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ncyclopaedia of religion
and ethics

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Encyclopædia
of
Religion and Ethics

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VOLUME VII

HYMNS—LIBERTY

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Encyclopædia
of
Religion and Ethics

Volumes VII and VIII

LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

A.H. = Anno Hijrae (A.D. 622).
Ak. = Akkadian.
Alex. = Alexandrian.
Amer. = American.
Apoc. = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Arm. = Armenian.
Ary. = Aryan.
As. = Asiatic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
AT = Altes Testament.
AV = Authorized Version.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
A.Y. = Anno Yazdagird (A.D. 639).
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = compare.
ct. = contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = editions or editors.
Egyp. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
EV = English Version.
f. = and following verse or page: as Ac $10^{34f.}$
ff. = and following verses or pages: as Mt $11^{28ff.}$
Fr. = French.
Germ. = German.
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Himy. = Himyaritic.
Ir. = Irish.
Iran. = Iranian.
Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J″ = Jehovah.
Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
Min. = Minæan.
MSS = Manuscripts.
MT = Massoretic Text.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
Onk. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phœn. = Phœnician.
Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
RV = Revised Version.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
Sab. = Sabæan.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Skr. = Sanskrit.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
t. (following a number) = times.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus.
tr. = translated or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. For the Literature

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

Baethgen=*Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.*, 1888.
Baldwin=*Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols. 1901–05.
Barth=*Nominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen*, 2 vols. 1889, 1891 (^{2}1894).
Benzinger=*Heb. Archäologie*, 1894.
Brockelmann=*Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, 2 vols. 1897–1902.
Bruns-Sachau = *Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, 1880.
Budge=*Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols. 1903.
Daremberg-Saglio=*Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.*, 1886–90.
De la Saussaye=*Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*^{3}, 1905.
Denzinger=*Enchiridion Symbolorum*^{11}, Freiburg im Br., 1911.
Deussen=*Die Philos. d. Upanishads*, 1899 [Eng. tr., 1906].
Doughty=*Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. 1888.
Grimm=*Deutsche Mythologie*^{4}, 3 vols. 1875–78, Eng. tr. *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. 1882–88.
Hamburger=*Realencyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud*, i. 1870 (^{2}1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
Holder=*Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, 1891 ff.
Holtzmann-Zöpffel=*Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirchenwesen*^{2}, 1895.
Howitt=*Native Tribes of S. E. Australia*, 1904.
Jubainville=*Cours de Litt. celtique*, i.–xii., 1883 ff.
Lagrange=*Études sur les religions sémitiques*^{2}, 1904.
Lane=*An Arabic-English Dictionary*, 1863 ff.
Lang=*Myth, Ritual, and Religion*^{2}, 2 vols. 1899.
Lepsius=*Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, 1849–1860.
Lichtenberger=*Encyc. des sciences religieuses*, 1876.
Lidzbarski=*Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898.
McCurdy=*History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 2 vols. 1894–96.
Muir=*Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, 1858–72.
Muss-Arnolt=*A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, 1894 ff.
Nowack=*Lehrbuch d. heb. Archäologie*, 2 vols. 1894.
Pauly-Wissowa=*Realencyc. der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1894 ff.
Perrot-Chipiez=*Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 1881 ff.
Preller=*Römische Mythologie*, 1858.
Réville=*Religion des peuples non-civilisés*, 1883.
Riehm=*Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*^{2}, 1893–94.
Robinson=*Biblical Researches in Palestine*^{2}, 1856.
Roscher=*Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, 1884 ff.
Schaff-Herzog=*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Relig. Knowledge*, 1908 ff.
Schenkel=*Bibel-Lexicon*, 5 vols. 1869–75.
Schürer=*GJV*^{3}, 3 vols. 1898–1901 [*HJP*, 5 vols. 1890 ff.].
Schwally=*Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892.
Siegfried-Stade=*Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT*, 1893.
Smend=*Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgesch.*^{2}, 1899.
Smith (G. A.)=*Historical Geography of the Holy Land*^{4}, 1897.
Smith (W. R.)=*Religion of the Semites*^{2}, 1894.
Spencer (H.)=*Principles of Sociology*^{3}, 1885–96.
Spencer-Gillen^{a}=*Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899.
Spencer-Gillen^{b} = *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.
Swete=*The OT in Greek*, 3 vols. 1893 ff.
Tylor (E. B.)=*Primitive Culture*^{3}, 1891 [^{4}1903].
Ueberweg=*Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., 2 vols. 1872–74.
Weber=*Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften*^{2}, 1897.
Wiedemann = *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, *Religion of the Anc. Egyptians*, 1897].
Wilkinson=*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols. 1878.
Zunz=*Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*^{2}, 1892.

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopædias, and other standard works frequently cited.

AA=Archiv für Anthropologie.
AAOJ = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
ABAW = Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
AE=Archiv für Ethnographie.
AEG=Assyr. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).
AGG=Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
AGPh=Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
AHR=American Historical Review.
AHT=Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
AJPh=American Journal of Philology.
AJPs=American Journal of Psychology.
AJRPE=American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.
AJSL=American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
AJTh=American Journal of Theology.
AMG=Annales du Musée Guimet.
APES=American Palestine Exploration Society.
APF=Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
AR=Anthropological Review.
ARW=Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
AS=Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
ASG=Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
ASoc=L'Année Sociologique.
ASWI=Archæological Survey of W. India.
AZ=Allgemeine Zeitung.
BAG=Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
BASS=Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (edd. Delitzsch and Haupt).
BCH=Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
BE=Bureau of Ethnology.
BG=Bombay Gazetteer.
BJ=Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
BL=Bampton Lectures.
BLE=Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
BOR=Bab. and Oriental Record.
BS=Bibliotheca Sacra.
BSA=Annual of the British School at Athens.
BSAA=Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.
BSAL=Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Lyon.
BSAP=Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, etc., Paris.
BSG=Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
BTS=Buddhist Text Society.
BW=Biblical World.
BZ=Biblische Zeitschrift.

CAIBL=Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CBTS=Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.
CE=Catholic Encyclopædia.
CF=Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGS=Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).
CI=Census of India.
CIA=Corpus Inscrip. Atticarum.
CIE=Corpus Inscrip. Etruscarum.
CIG=Corpus Inscrip. Græcarum.
CIL=Corpus Inscrip. Latinarum.
CIS=Corpus Inscrip. Semiticarum.
COT=Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of *KAT*^{2}; see below].
CR=Contemporary Review.
CeR=Celtic Review.
ClR=Classical Review.
CQR=Church Quarterly Review.
CSEL=Corpus Script. Eccles. Latinorum.
DACL = Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).
DB=Dict. of the Bible.
DCA = Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham).
DCB = Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Wace).
DCG=Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.
DI=Dict. of Islam (Hughes).
DNB=Dict. of National Biography.
DPhP=Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.
DWAW=Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.
EBi=Encyclopædia Biblica.
EBr=Encyclopædia Britannica.
EEFM=Egyp. Explor. Fund Memoirs.
EI=Encyclopædia of Islām.
ERE=The present work.
Exp=Expositor.
ExpT=Expository Times.
FHG=Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1885).
FL=Folklore.
FLJ=Folklore Journal.
FLR=Folklore Record.
GA=Gazette Archéologique.
GB=Golden Bough (Frazer).
GGA=Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN=Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen).
GIAP=Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie.
GIrP=Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.
GJV=Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes.
GVI=Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HAI=Handbook of American Indians.
HDB=Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.
HE=Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL=Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).
HI=History of Israel.
HJ=Hibbert Journal.
HJP=History of the Jewish People.
HN=Historia Naturalis (Pliny).
HWB=Handwörterbuch.
IA=Indian Antiquary.
ICC=International Critical Commentary.
ICO=International Congress of Orientalists.
ICR=Indian Census Report.
IG=Inscrip. Græcæ (publ. under auspices of Berlin Academy, 1873 ff.).
IGA=Inscrip. Græcæ Antiquissimæ.
IGI=Imperial Gazetteer of India^3 (1885); new edition (1908–1909).
IJE=International Journal of Ethics.
ITL=International Theological Library.
JA=Journal Asiatique.
JAFL=Journal of American Folklore.
JAI=Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
JAOS=Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB=Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
JASBe=Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal.
JBL=Journal of Biblical Literature.
JBTS=Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JD=Journal des Débats.
JDTh=Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.
JE=Jewish Encyclopedia.
JGOS=Journal of the German Oriental Society.
JHC=Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
JHS=Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JLZ=Jenäer Litteraturzeitung.
JPh=Journal of Philology.
JPTh=Jahrbücher f. protest. Theologie.
JPTS=Journal of the Pāli Text Society.
JQR=Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAI=Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
JRAS=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASBo=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.
JRASC=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch.
JRASK=Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korean branch.
JRGS=Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
JThSt=Journal of Theological Studies.
KAT^2=Die Keilinschriften und das AT (Schrader), 1883.
KAT^3=Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding [really a totally distinct work], 1903.
KB or *KIB*=Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Schrader), 1889 ff.
KGF=Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878.
LCBl=Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOPh=Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.
LOT=Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).
LP=Legend of Perseus (Hartland).
LSSt=Leipziger sem. Studien.
M=Mélusine.
MAIBL=Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
MBAW = Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
MGH=Monumenta Germaniæ Historica (Pertz).
MGJV=Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
MGWJ=Monatschrift f. Geschichte u. Wissenschaft des Judentums.
MI=Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).
MNDPV = Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
MR=Methodist Review.
MVG=Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
MWJ = Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NBAC=Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana.
NC=Nineteenth Century.
NHWB=Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NINQ=North Indian Notes and Queries.
NKZ=Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NQ=Notes and Queries.
NR=Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).
NTZG=Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
OED=Oxford English Dictionary (Murray).
OLZ=Orientalische Litteraturzeitung.
OS=Onomastica Sacra.
OTJC=Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
OTP=Oriental Translation Fund Publications.
PAOS=Proceedings of American Oriental Society.
PASB=Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay.
PB=Polychrome Bible (English).

PBE=Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.
PC=Primitive Culture (Tylor).
PEFM=Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs.
PEFSt = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
PG=Patrologia Græca (Migne).
PJB=Preussische Jahrbücher.
PL=Patrologia Latina (Migne).
PNQ=Punjab Notes and Queries.
PR=Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).
PRE^3=Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog–Hauck).
PRR=Presbyterian and Reformed Review.
PRS=Proceedings of the Royal Society.
PRSE=Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
PSBA=Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archæology.
PTS=Pāli Text Society.
RA=Revue Archéologique.
RAnth=Revue d'Anthropologie.
RAS=Royal Asiatic Society.
RAssyr=Revue d'Assyriologie.
RB=Revue Biblique.
RBEW=Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).
RC=Revue Critique.
RCel=Revue Celtique.
RCh=Revue Chrétienne.
RDM=Revue des Deux Mondes.
RE=Realencyclopädie.
REG=Revue des Études Grecques.
REg=Revue Égyptologique.
REJ=Revue des Études Juives.
REth=Revue d'Ethnographie.
RHLR=Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses.
RHR=Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
RN=Revue Numismatique.
RP=Records of the Past.
RPh=Revue Philosophique.
RQ=Römische Quartalschrift.
RS = Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.
RSA=Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.
RSI=Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.
RTAP=Recueil de Travaux rélatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.
RTP=Revue des traditions populaires.
RThPh=Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.
RTr=Recueil de Travaux.
RWB=Realwörterbuch.
SBAW=Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
SBB=Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
SBE=Sacred Books of the East.
SBOT=Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
SDB=Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
SK=Studien u. Kritiken.
SMA=Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie.
SSGW=Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften.
SWAW=Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
TAPA = Transactions of American Philological Association.
TASJ=Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
TC=Tribes and Castes.
TES=Transactions of Ethnological Society.
ThLZ=Theologische Litteraturzeitung.
ThT=Theol. Tijdschrift.
TRHS=Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
TRSE=Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
TS=Texts and Studies.
TSBA=Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archæology.
TU=Texte u. Untersuchungen.
WAI=Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
WZKM=Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA=Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZÄ=Zeitschrift für ägyp. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.
ZATW=Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZCK=Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
ZCP=Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
ZDA=Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZE=Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZKF=Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKG=Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZKT=Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
ZKWL=Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft u. kirchl. Leben.
ZM=Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
ZNTW=Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft.
ZPhP = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
ZTK=Zeitschrift für Theologie u. Kirche.
ZVK=Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
ZVRW = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
ZWT=Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*^{2}, *LOT*^{6}, etc.]

ENCYCLOPÆDIA
OF
RELIGION AND ETHICS

H

HYMNS.

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Buddhist (T. W. RHYS DAVIDS), p. 3.
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Chinese (J. DYER BALL), p. 4.
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  Latin (G. M. DREVES), p. 16.
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HYMNS (Babylonian).—In the extensive literature of Assyria and Babylonia a considerable number of hymns are found, most of them in the old Sumerian language, and generally accompanied by renderings into Semitic Babylonian. Several examples of this class of literature, however, are known to us only in the Semitic idiom, and do not seem to have been based on any Sumerian original. These compositions are generally in praise of the gods, and are such as might be expected from a nation so appreciative of the benefits showered down upon them from on high as the Babylonians. Hymns to heroes are exceedingly rare, unless those addressed to Merodach, Tammuz, and other deities who are stated to have been originally kings may be regarded as poems of that nature.

Though the Sumero-Babylonian hymns are addressed to various deities, it cannot be said that they vary greatly. They sing the gods' praises, extol their might, and descant on the glories of their temples. They also speak of the gods' mercies, their places in Nature with regard to man, and the benefits which they conferred on the world as the Babylonians knew it. The wording is often well-chosen and even elegant, whether the idiom is Sumerian or Semitic.

The poetical form is somewhat monotonous, variety in these compositions, whether Sumerian or Semitic, having apparently not been aimed at. This is probably due to the fact that most of them were composed by the priests, with whom all religious forms originated, and who copied the style of older compositions.

Naturally many theories concerning the nature of primitive Sumerian poetry are possible, but in all probability it was the root-syllable, or the principal root-syllable, which was accentuated, the others being passed over lightly. The lines are generally divided into two parts by the cæsura, indicated by a space so arranged that the text seems to be written in two columns. The Sumero-Babylonian hymns are often of considerable length, but among the shorter compositions of this nature may be cited the hymn to the setting sun, from the temple-library at Borsippa—a gem in its way:

'Šamaš in the midst of heaven, at thy setting
May the bolt of the limpid heavens speak thee greeting;
May the door of heaven bless thee;
May Mišarum, thy beloved minister, direct thee.
At Ê-babbar, the seat of thy lordship, thy supremacy shall
  shine forth.
May Aa, thy beloved spouse, joyfully receive thee;
May thy heart take rest;
May the feast of thy divinity be set for thee.
Leader, hero Šamaš, may there be praise to thee;
Lord of Ê-babbar, may the course of thy path be straight;
Make straight thy road—go the direct road to thy resting-
  place.
Thou art the country's judge, the director of its decisions.'

The above being part of a series (the next was a hymn to the Sun-god on his rising), the composition deals only with the satisfaction and peace that the god experienced when, after fulfilling his task in the sky, he was greeted by his home and his spouse, and, having been refreshed, thought over all that he had seen on his course above the earth, the decisions of whose tribunals he directed. The first four lines are alternately of 11 and 15 syllables, while the 5th and 6th contain 18 each. At this

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point are again four short lines (10–12 syllables), followed by two long ones (18–19 syllables). Evidently this regularity of form is intentional.

The Sun-god was one of the deities whose influence the Babylonians could appreciate, hence the tone of the above composition addressed to him. Enlil, the older Bel, however, was a divine personage whose ways were more inscrutable, and in some of the compositions addressed to him there is noticeable a tone of reproach. This is exhibited by the text beginning *Ame umašana šegibbi nebgin* (G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylon. Hymnen*, Berlin, 1896, p. 130 ff.)—a composition in dialect, where the god is called Mullil:

‘The fold of the lord bitterly laments;
The fold, the fold of the lord, bitterly (laments).
O lord of the lands, honoured one, lord of the lands;
O lord of the lands, heart-remote, whose word is faithful;
He does not turn—with regard to his command he does not turn—
The honoured one, Mullil, changeth not his utterance.’

Troubling the waters, he caught the fish, he snared the birds, he sent ‘the son of the plain’ up to the mountain, and he sent ‘the son of the mountain’ down to the plain, etc.:

‘O lord of the land, heart-remote Mullil, how long will thine heart not be appeased?
Father Mullil, who regardest, how long will thine eye not pity?
Thou who coverest thine head with a garment, how long?
Who sinkest thy chin (lit. ‘neck’) to thy bosom, how long?[1]
Who closest thine heart like a reed, how long?
Honoured one, who placest thy fingers in thine ears, how long?’

A kind of litany closes this long and interesting enumeration of ‘the older Bel’s’ inattention to the world created under his auspices. It contains much hidden teaching of the Babylonian priesthood.

Before the rise of Merodach, the worship of Enlil was probably more favoured in Babylonia than that of almost any other god except Êa, and the importance of Niffer, which was originally his city (before the adoption of Ninip as patron), always maintained Enlil's supremacy. This is shown by the descriptive hymn published in *PSBA*, March 1911, p. 85 ff. After describing the district wherein the temple of Enlil and his spouse Ninlil lay, the text continues as follows:

‘The god fixing the fate of (? everything)
Causeth Enlil to be taken to the reception-hall.
Enlil, may the sodomite (?) go forth from the city;
Nu-namnir,[2] may the sodomite (?) go forth from the city—
O Enlil, for the fate which thou hast decided;
O Nu-namnir, for the fate which thou hast decided.
Enlil cometh, Ninlil descendeth—
Nu-namnir cometh—the king.
Enlil calleth to the man of the great gate:
“Man of the great gate, man of the lock—
Man of the bolt, man of the holy lock—
Thy lady Ninlil cometh!
If (anyone) ask thee for my name,
Thou shalt not reveal to him my place.”
Enlil calleth to the man of the great gate:
“Man of the great gate, man of the lock—
Man of the bolt, man of the holy lock—
Thy lady Ninlil cometh—
The handmaid who is so bright, so shining!
Let none woo her, let none kiss her—
Ninlil so bright, so shining!”

. . . . .

Enlil, the bright, the fair, will pronounce the decision.’

In contradistinction to the ‘heart-remote Enlil’ or ‘older Bel’ is his younger representative, Bel-Merodach, ‘the merciful one,’ who, later, took Enlil's place. The hymns to Merodach are naturally, from the attributes of that deity, among the most interesting:

‘The merciful one among the gods,
The merciful one who loveth to vivify the dead—
Merodach, king of heaven and earth,
King of Babylon, lord of Ê-sagila,[3]
King of E-zida, lord of Ê-maḫ-tila,
Heaven and earth are thine;
Even as heaven and earth are thine,
The incantation of life is thine,
The philtre of life is thine,
Mu-azaga-gû-abzu[1] is thine,
Mankind, the people of the black head;
The living creatures, as many as there are, which bear a name in the land;
The four regions, as many as there are;
The Nun-galene, which are the host of heaven and earth, as many as there are,
To thee do they (turn) their ear.’

More popular than other deities of the Bab. pantheon were in all probability Tammuz and Ištar, whose worship goes back to the fourth millennium B.C. Hymns to them are generally composed in dialectic Sumerian, and are, therefore, of comparatively late date. As examples of Semitic Babylonian hymns to these deities will be found farther on, an extract from the exceedingly well-preserved bilingual hymn to Ištar, excavated by George Smith, is given here:

‘The light of heaven, which dawneth like fire in the land, art thou.
Goddess in the earth, in thy fixed abode;
She who, like the earth, stately advanceth, art thou.
As for thee, a path of righteousness blesseth thee.’

The goddess then answers:

‘Twin sister of the sun, the adornment of the heavens,
To produce the omens I exist—in perfection I exist;
To produce the omens for my father Sin I exist—in perfection I exist;
To produce the omens for my brother the Sun I exist—in perfection I exist,’ etc.

Though daughter of Anu, the god of the heavens, Ištar is here called daughter of Sin or Nannar, the Moon-god, probably because, like the moon, the planet shows phases. She was regarded as the sun's sister because she accompanied him on his course, sometimes at his rising, at other times at his setting.

One of the gods of war and also god of pestilence—Nergal, patron-deity of Cuthah—was worshipped as one of the sons of Enlil, the great divinity who, as the author of the story of the Flood informs us, desired to destroy mankind to prevent them from increasing too quickly on the earth. Notwithstanding Nergal's unsparing nature, hymns were addressed to him, and he was glorified therein with every confidence that harm would not overtake the Babylonians at his hands, but would befall their enemies:

‘Let me glorify the hero of the gods, the powerful, the brilliant one, the son of Enlil;
Urra (*i.e.* Nergal) let me glorify, the hero of the gods, the powerful, the brilliant one, the son of Enlil;
The beloved of Enlil, the supreme leader, the avenger of his father:
The offspring of the Lady of the gods, the great queen, the son of the king, who trusts in his might;
The clever one of the gods, the sublime oracle-priest, the great hero, the trust of Enlil.’

He is, after this, addressed as the one who overcomes evil devils and fates, the evil and powerful foe, subduing the evil gods, and loving the saving of life. Bêl-rêmanni, who seems to be mentioned as the composer of the hymn, asks for the god's favour upon the city of Marad, where the god was worshipped; and for the saving of his own life, which was threatened by some hostile fate. Another noteworthy Sumerian hymn addressed to Nergal is in the form of verses chanted by the priest, and repeated by the people, as follows:

Priest: ‘His bright image (?) overshadoweth the demons right and left.’
People: ‘His bright image,’ etc.
Priest: ‘The long arm whose blow (*i.e.* disease and pestilence) is invisible, the evil one with his arm [he smiteth].’
People: ‘Nergal, the long arm,’ etc.

This text, which is very mutilated, was of considerable length when complete, and is important not only on account of its form and the words used, but also because of the light which it sheds upon the Babylonian conceptions of this deity.

Another Sumerian hymn (*WAI* iv. pl. 26, no. 8, and 27, no. 3), regarded as being in the form of a dialogue, differs widely from the above. To what god it is addressed, however, is uncertain:

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[1] Cf. 1 K 18^{27}.

[2] Probably another name (or title) of Enlil.

[3] The temple of Bel there.

[1] ‘The holy incantation, the word (from) the Abyss,’ so called because communicated to Merodach by Êa, king of the Abyss and lord of wisdom

Priest: 'In [affliction] of heart, in evil weeping, in sighing
he sits;
In bitter crying, affliction of heart,
In evil weeping, in evil sighing,
He moans like a dove, in anguish night and day.
To his merciful god he lows like a wild cow—
Bitter sighing he constantly makes.
To his god in supplication he has bowed down his face;
He weeps, crying out without ceasing.'
Penitent: 'I will tell my deed—my unspeakable deed!
I will repeat my word—my unspeakable word!'

(These lines are repeated, after which the text is broken away.)

From the other inscriptions of a similar kind, it would seem that the gods of Babylonia loved to hear the confessions of their worshippers, which, composed in poetical form, were regarded as having weight with them to the penitent's advantage (cf. also art. CONFESSION [Assyr.-Bab.], vol. iii. pp. 825–827).

The above extracts show the nature of the Sumero-Babylonian hymns, composed, apparently, in that ancient idiom, and generally, on the tablets which have preserved them to us, provided with a Semitic (Assyro-Babylonian) translation. Those composed in the Semitic Babylonian (Assyrian) idiom only were modelled, to a certain extent, upon the Sumerian hymns, but, naturally, as the language is a widely differing one, the poetical form departs from that of the old writers of Sumer. The personal and prepositional infixes of the Sumerian verb, and the use of post-positions instead of prepositions, account for such differences as are noticeable.

As far as can be judged, the diction of Semitic Babylonian poetry is more regular, and, therefore, has an appearance of greater dignity. Each half-verse has four principal accents, as a rule, though this is by no means without exceptions. The following will give an idea of the nature of the Semitic compositions:

Thou, Ištar, whose spouse is Tammuz,
Daughter of Sin, the heroine traversing the land,
She who loveth reproduction, she who loveth all men art thou.
I have given to thee thy great gift—
A *vulva* of lapis-lazuli, a *multi* of gold, the adornment of thy
divinity.
To Tammuz, thy spouse, take my pledge—
May Tammuz, thy spouse, take away mine indisposition.'

After this the suppliant addressed Tammuz himself:

'Tammuz, the lord, shepherd of Anu, son of Êa art thou;
Spouse of Ištar the bride, ruler of the land;
Clothed with the scarf (?), bearing the staff;
Producer of all things, lord of the fold;
Eater of pure (food), the ashcake;[1]
Drinker of water from the sacred skins,' etc.

In certain of the Semitic compositions a similarity with the Hebrew psalms has been pointed out. The following is from a tablet of this nature:

'God, my lord, maker of my name;
Keeper of my life,[2] causing my seed[3] to be:
My angry[4] god, may thine heart be appeased;
My wrathful goddess, be at peace with me.
Who knoweth, my god, thy seat?
Thine holy dwelling-place, thine abode, have I never seen.[5]

. . . .

As for ill-luck (?), let (it) pass from me—
Let me be preserved with thee.
Allot to me then the lot of life;
Let my days be long—grant (me) life.'[6]

Among the most noteworthy texts of the nature of hymns may be mentioned also those which accompanied the new-year ceremonies in honour of Merodach. The lines are couplets, the first of each being dialectic Sumerian, and the other Semitic Babylonian. Though the second is regarded as a translation of the first, this is only exceptionally the case. One of the couplets reads:

'Celestial king of men, celestial king who bestoweth;
Lord of kings, bestower of gifts,'

and every other line at most merely reflects the sense of that preceding.

Among the royal hymns are compositions containing the names of Nebuchadrezzar I. of Babylon (about 1200 B.C.), Sargon of Assyria, Esarhaddon, and Aššurbanipal. The name of the last occurs in a dialectic bilingual psalm. A hymn containing the name of Nebuchadrezzar is an acrostic upon the name of the god Nebo.

LITERATURE.—Further examples will be found in A. H. Sayce, *Origin and Growth of Religion* (Hibbert Lectures, 1887), London, 1891, p. 149 ff.; H. Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to the God Nin-ip* (= *Bab. Exp. of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. xxix. pt. 1), Philadelphia, 1911; *PSBA*, 1906, pp. 203 ff., 270 ff.; 1908, pp. 53 ff., 77 ff.; 1909, pp. 37, 57 ff.; 1911, p. 77 ff.; and the works mentioned in art. BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS, vol. ii. p. 319, section (*d*).

T. G. PINCHES.

HYMNS (Buddhist).—The word 'hymn' is ambiguous. It has been defined as a 'song of praise,' a 'religious ode,' a 'sacred lyric,' a 'poem in stanzas written to be sung in congregational service.' In the last of these various senses the Buddhists, who have neither churches nor chapels, neither congregations nor services, have consequently no hymns. In the other senses there are quite a number of hymns scattered throughout the longer prose books in the canon; and in the supplementary *Nikāya* we have twelve anthologies, mostly short, of religious poems of different kinds. These are collected in the anthologies either according to subject (as in the *Vimāna* and *Peta Vatthus*) or according to the kind of composition (as in the *Udānas* and the *Iti-vuttakas*).

An example or two will make this clear. In the *Sutta Nipāta*, undoubtedly containing some of the very oldest of these hymns, we have seventy-one lyrics of an average length of sixteen stanzas each. These are arranged in five cantos (each of which existed as a separate booklet before they were brought together in one book),[1] and in them the arrangement and order of the lyrics have little or no reference to the subjects of which the lyrics treat. Quite the opposite form of arrangement is found in the well-known *Dhammapada*, where all the verses are arranged according to subjects—such as Earnestness, Thought, Wisdom, Foolishness, the Path, Craving, Happiness, and so on. The title means 'Verselets of the Norm'—that is, of the *Dhamma*. This word is often rendered 'religion'; but the idea is not the same, and the word 'religion' is not found outside the European languages. More than half of these 'Verselets of the Norm' have been traced back to the extant canonical books.[2] The rest were verses current in the community at the time of the rise of Buddhism; and some of them may even be pre-Buddhistic, belonging to the stock of moral sayings handed down in verse among the general body of Indians interested in such questions. This will, however, always remain doubtful, as no verse has as yet been traced in pre-Buddhistic literature. We can only say for certain that quite a number of the verses are reproduced, in either identical or closely similar words, in the various sectarian books of later speculation. We cannot be sure that these verses were not first composed among the Buddhists.

The fact is (though it has not been noticed anywhere in the voluminous literature on the *Dhammapada*) that the 'Verselets of the Norm' deal for the most part with the lower morality of the unconverted man—that is, with the ethics more or less common to all the higher religions. This may explain the great vogue that this anthology has had in Europe.[1] Most of its verses were easily understood. They had none of the strangeness and difficulty of those dealing with the ethics of the Path. So also in India. When the Buddhists began to write in Sanskrit, they imitated the *Dhammapada*, changing the title, however, omitting the difficult verses, and adding others. This new anthology, the *Udānavarga*, became very popular, was current in different recensions, and was translated into both Chinese and Tibetan.[2]

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[1] So Zimmern; a cake baked in the ashes is apparently intended.

[2] Cf. Ps 66^{9}.

[3] Ps 89^{29}.

[4] Ps 71^{1}.

[5] Cf. Job 11^{7} 37^{23}.

[6] Ps 21^{4}.

[1] See, on the growth of the *Sutta Nipāta*, Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*^{3}, London, 1903, pp. 177–180. The Pāli work has been translated by V. Fausböll (*SBE*, vol. x.^{2} [1898]), and a second edition of the text by D. Anderson appears in the *PTS* for 1913.

[2] For the details see Rhys Davids, *JRAS*, 1900, p. 559 ff.

The fate of the *Sutta Nipāta* has been exactly the opposite. It is concerned mostly with the higher ethics of the Path, and in both form and matter its hymns come much nearer to Christian hymns than do the 'Verselets of the Norm.' But it is scarcely read in Europe except by Pāli philologists, and except for three ballads which it contains. In India it did not survive the decline of Pāli, and it has not been translated into Tibetan or Chinese.[3]

In early times in N. India such hymns or verses were intoned or chanted either for edification or for propaganda. In the 7th cent. of our era I-Tsing gives an interesting account of the manner in which, in his day, the Sanskrit hymns then current were used as processionals, either round a monument to some religious leader or through the halls of the great Buddhist monastery at Nālandā.[4]

The *bhikkhus* in Ceylon now chant certain of the above-mentioned Pāli hymns in a kind of visitation of the sick—a ceremony called *Parittā*, instituted as a protest against the charms used by those of the peasantry who are still pagans at heart.[5] It is not known when or under what authority this custom was introduced, or to what extent it has been adopted.

LITERATURE.—M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der indischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1905 ff., ii. 60–184, gives a detailed account, with examples of all the early Buddhist anthologies. An earlier account is in Rhys Davids, *Buddhism: its Hist. and Lit.*, London, 1896.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

HYMNS (Celtic).—Apart from scanty notices in classical authors, documentary information regarding the continental Celts is lacking, and we have no relics of their sacred chants or poetic invocations or hymns. Cæsar writes that those who went for instruction to the Druids 'are said to learn there a great number of verses' (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 14); and there can be little doubt that many, if not all, of these were of a religious or magical character—runes, poetic invocations and incantations, and hymns. The prayers which accompanied sacrificial rites or were used in invocations and the like were perhaps couched in formulæ of verse like the Roman *carmina*. This is certain so far as the battle-chants are concerned. These, as well as the loud war-cries, are referred to by several writers, and are called *cantus*, or *ᾠδὴ ἀπειλητική*. These ritual battle-chants were accompanied by a dance, as well as by the waving of weapons and shields, and by measured noises—the clashing of the weapons, etc. (cf. Livy, xxi. 28, xxxviii. 17; Dio Cassius, lxii. 12; Appian, *Celtica*, 8). In single combats, warriors chanted or declaimed as they advanced on their opponent (Sil. Ital. iv. 278–280, Livy, vii.). After a victory an exultant chant was sung (Livy, x. 26. 11, *ovantes moris sui carmine*; cf. xxiii. 24). These warrior-chants were composed by bards, and doubtless included both invocations of the war-gods and the recital of ancestral deeds; and they may have been a kind of spell ensuring the help of the gods. Chants were likewise sung by the 'priestesses' of Sena for the purpose of raising storms (Mela, iii. 6).

Such hymns were used also by the Irish Celts (cf. CELTS, vol. iii. p. 298ᵇ). A curious archaic chant, preserved in the *Book of Leinster*, is said to have been sung by Amairgen, the poet of the Milesians, as they approached Ireland, and by its means the magical dangers raised against them were overcome. It is an invocation of Nature or of the natural scenery and products of Ireland, and was evidently a ritual chant used in times of danger. The following represents the translation given by H. d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Cours de litt. celt.*, Paris, 1883–1902, ii. 250; *Book of Leinster*, 12, 2; cf. the gloss on these lines cited by E. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, ii. 190):

'I invoke the land of Ireland!
Shining, shining sea!
Fertile, fertile hill!
Wooded valley!
Abundant river, abundant in waters!
Fish-abounding lake!
Fish-abounding sea!
Fertile earth!
Irruption of fish!
Fish there!
Bird under wave!
Great fish!
Irruption of fish!
Fish-abounding sea!'

Such archaic formulæ, unrhymed and alliterative, which have parallels in savage ritual, may have been in common use. There is a similar one in the words spoken after the destruction of Da Derga's hostel, by MacCecht on his finding water. He bathes in it and sings (*RCel* xxii. [1901] 400):

'Cold fountain,
Surface of strand,

. . .

Sea of lake,
Water of Gara; stream of river;
High spring well; cold fountain.'

At a still later period there is a trace of hymn-invocations in Highland folk-custom in Lewis. A man waded knee-deep into the sea and poured out an offering of ale or gruel into the waters, chanting:

'O god of the sea,
Put weed in the drawing wave,
To enrich the ground,
To shower on us food.'

Those on shore took up the strain in chorus, their voices mingling with the noise of the waves (A. Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Edinburgh, 1900, i. 163; cf. M. Martin, *Descr. of the W. Isles of Scotland*², London, 1716, p. 28). In Ireland, the Scottish Highlands, and Brittany many charms still survive and are sung or chanted in connexion with magical rites, usually for healing, or as invocations for a variety of purposes. In these, names of the Persons of the Trinity, the Virgin, and the saints have taken the place of those of older divinities (for these see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Celtic] and reff. there given). Scanty as these data are, they prove sufficiently that the pagan Celts must have had a large number of hymns, chants, and the like in common use.

LITERATURE.—C. Jullian, *Recherches sur la religion gauloise*, Bordeaux, 1903; J. A. MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

HYMNS (Chinese).—It must be premised that idolatry is not social in its service in the way in which Christianity is. The worshippers do not gather together in a congregation to hymn the praises of the gods, nor is singing employed by those who go into the temples to present their solitary petitions and prostrate themselves before the images.

In ancestor-worship there is an approach to a united service, but it is confined to the family or clan, and the use in such worship of an ode or hymn of praise is not entirely unknown. The *Shi King* (or *Book of Poetry*) contains among odes and folk-songs some hymns or sacred songs of filial piety, which were in use in ancient times in the worship of ancestors. The following is one used at one of the services and addressed to the progenitor from whom the kings of the Chow dynasty (1122–249 B.C.) traced their origin:

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[1] The translations into European languages are specified by M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Litteratur*, ii. 63.

[2] Sylvain Levy, in *JA*, 1913, has compared in detail one chapter of this with the corresponding chapter of the *Dhammapada*.

[3] That is as a whole; see Anesaki, in *JPTS*, 1906, p. 50.

[4] I-Tsing, *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, tr. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, pp. 152–167.

[5] See R. C. Childers, *Pali-Eng. Dictionary*, London, 1872–75, *s.v.*

> 'O, thou accomplished great Hâu-chi,
> To thee alone 'twas given
> To be, by what we owe to thee,
> The correlate of Heaven.
>
> On all who dwell within our land
> Grain-food didst thou bestow:
> 'Tis to thy wonder-working hand
> This gracious boon we owe.
>
> God had the wheat and barley meant
> To nourish all mankind.
> None would have fathomed his intent
> But for thy guiding mind.
>
> Man's social duties thou didst show
> To every tribe and state:
> From thee the social virtues flow,
> That stamp our land "The Great."'[1]

A hymn in honour of his ancestors was sung before the Emperor of China when he performed ancestor-worship. It was divided into three parts, and was begun when His majesty stood before the table or altar on which were placed the representations of his ancestors. The second part was sung while he performed the kow-tow; and, after the offerings had all been made, the third part followed, during which the spirits of the ancestors were supposed to return to heaven. The hymn was accompanied by music of a slow and solemn nature, played on a number of instruments. The solemnity and pomp of the occasion were increased by grave men who postured, and by their motions and attitudes expressed the feelings which the Emperor should evince at such a time, while the singers also expressed in the words of the hymn the sentiments that should actuate him. The first stanza of the second part was as follows:

> 'To you I owe my all, as I willingly confess.
> Your body is the source of this body I possess.
> The breath I breathe it comes from you,
> From you the strength to dare and do.
> When my deep gratitude I wish to make appear
> And prompted by high duty devoutly I draw nigh,
> I rejoice, Paternal Spirit, that you are present here,
> Descending to greet me from your glorious home on high.'[2]

In the worship of Confucius—a State-worship performed at stated times by high officials of government—a stanza adulatory of the Sage was chanted by a chorus:

> 'Confucius! Confucius!
> Great indeed art thou, O Confucius.
> Before thee
> None like unto thee;
> After thee
> None equal to thee.
> Confucius! Confucius!
> Great indeed art thou, O Confucius.'[3]

Hymns also are used in the worship of Heaven and Earth. In the Taoist canon there are several hymn-books containing hymns of aspiration and of repentance, and hymns to the 'Three Pure Ones,' as well as to other deities, such as 'The Dipper,' or 'Charles's Wain,' and certain other constellations and stars.[4] In the Buddhist books used in worship there are also stanzas which are chanted with the rest of the ritual employed in the services. In both Taoist and Buddhist tracts short hymns of praise to deities are to be found.

The old rural processions in Greece and Rome, which were mixed with religious ideas, had a counterpart in the China of Confucius, and the Sage countenanced them.[1] These ceremonies of *No*, as they were called, were somewhat of the nature of a play, and the processions were composed of singers. The performers at the present day sing as they go round. The name now is *Yang ko*, 'raising a song,' and a Buddhist priest in modern times forms one of the number.[2]

The celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, in his account of funerals at the city of Kinsay (the modern Hang Chow), says that the mourners follow the corpse to the sound of music 'and singing hymns to their idols,' and that

> 'the instruments which they have caused to be played at his funeral and the idol hymns that have been chaunted shall also be produced again to welcome him in the next world; and that the idols themselves will come to do him honour.'[3]

LITERATURE.—This is cited in the footnotes.

J. DYER BALL.

HYMNS (Greek Christian).—The vast accumulation of Christian hymns in the Greek language falls, in respect of form, into three sections differing widely in magnitude and importance. Thus we have (1) the prose hymns of Christian antiquity; (2) Christian hymns in the ancient quantitative metres; and (3) the new rhythmical compositions of Byzantine hymnody, the metre of which depends upon the enumeration of syllables and the stress accent.

1. Prose hymns.—The first praise-book of Greek-speaking Christians was the Psalter in the LXX version. This was at an early period supplemented by an appendix containing other Biblical passages, nine of which, already brought together in the *Codex Alexandrinus*, form the group of so-called *Songs*, viz. (i.) and (ii.) the Songs of Moses (Ex 15^{1-19} and Dt 32^{1-43}); (iii.) that of Hannah (1 S 2^{1-10}); (iv.) Habakkuk (Hab 3); (v.) Isaiah (Is 26^{9-20}); (vi.) Jonah (Jon 2^{3-10}); (vii.) and (viii.) the Three Holy Children (Dn 3^{26-56} and 3^{57-88} LXX [=Three $^{3-34. 35-61}$]); and (ix.) Mary and Zechariah (Lk $1^{46-55. 68-79}$). Here we should note that the mode of rendering these Biblical lyrics was of decisive importance for the development of Greek hymnody in the centuries to follow: they were recited by a single person, while the congregation, or, as representing it, the choir, simply responded at the end of every verse with a short refrain, the *hypopsalma*. Such *hypopsalmata* (a list of which, as used in Constantinople in the early Middle Ages, is still extant [*DACL* i. 3031 ff.; cf. 2467 f.]) may be said to constitute the simplest form of Christian prose hymnody in the Greek language.

Even in the 1st cent., however, we can trace the production of new Christian hymns, for which the Greek text of the 'Psalms of David' served as a model; and, as that text has no regular metrical structure, the imitations likewise were composed in prose form. Now and then we hear the echoes of such 'psalms and spiritual songs' in the Epistles of Paul and the Apocalypse (see Eph 5^{14}, 1 Ti 1^{15} 3^{16} $6^{15f.}$, 2 Ti 2^{11-13}, Tit 3^{4-7}, Ja 1^{17} [Julian, *Dict. of Hymnol.*^{2}, London, 1907, p. 458^{b}]); and in the 2nd cent. we find a non-Christian writer, Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* x. 97), speaking of the 'carmen' in which—as an essential element of their worship—the Christians of Bithynia glorified 'Christ as their God secum invicem,' *i.e.* probably, in some kind of antiphonal song. The statement of the heathen writer strikingly recalls 'the psalms and hymns written by the brethren from the beginning,' which, on the testimony of a work against Artemon, quoted by Eusebius (*HE* v. xxviii. 5) as by an unknown writer of the early part of the 3rd cent., praised 'Christ the Word of God, calling Him God.' The hymn which was composed by Athenogenes, who suffered martyrdom in the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211), and to which St. Basil appealed (*de Spir. Sanc.* 29) in support of the Deity of the Holy Spirit, was probably one of those primitive prose hymns. An early Christian hymnal of this kind—the 'Odes of Solomon'—fragments of which had long been known in a Coptic translation, has been recently re-discovered, almost complete, in a Syriac version. But whether the Gr. text upon which the two versions undoubtedly rest was the original or was itself a translation from Hebrew; whether these spirited lyrics are, as a whole, of Christian origin, or simply a Christian redaction of a Jewish original; whether they are Gnostic or Montanistic productions or hymns of the Catholic Church—these questions are still in dispute, and may perhaps never find a definite answer. It may at all events be taken as a fact that a type of religious poetry designed to compete with the OT Psalter was zealously cultivated in Gnostic circles. Certain pieces in the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas and Acts of John give us an idea of the nature of such heretical compositions, although in the case of those in the Acts of Thomas the Syriac text is probably the original.

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[1] J. Legge, *Religions of China*, London, 1880, p. 90; see also 'Shi King,' in Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1861–72, IV. i. 7, IV. ii. 7, IV. iii. 2.

[2] *Chinese Recorder*, xv. [Shanghai, 1884] 61–64, and J. J. M. Amiot, 'Mémoire sur la musique des Chinois,' in *Mémoires sur les Chinois*, vi. [Paris, 1779] 1 ff.

[3] G. G. Alexander, *Confucius, the Great Teacher*, London, 1890, p. 297.

[4] L. Wieger, *Le Canon taoïste*, Paris, 1911, pp. 73, 159–160, 168, 191.

[1] Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i. 97.

[2] J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, London, 1880, p. 269 f.

[3] Marco Polo, ed. H. Yule^{2}, London, 1874, ii. 174 f.

The favour enjoyed by such non-Biblical pieces among heretics naturally led the Church to make a stand against them and their use in Divine service. Thus Paul of Samosata, writing not later than A.D. 260–270, sought to justify the suppression of certain 'psalms' in praise of Christ, to which he objected on the ground that they were of quite recent origin (Eus. *HE* VII. xxx. 10). Nevertheless, the Church of the 4th cent. still held in high regard various prose hymns which were undoubtedly a legacy from the pre-Constantinian period, and at least two of these maintain to the present day an important place in the worship of the Greek Church. (*a*) The evening hymn sung at the close of vespers, the Φῶς ἱλαρόν, is attested *c.* 375 by St. Basil (*loc. cit.*) as a universally known part of Evening Prayer, the origin of which was altogether unknown. (*b*) The corresponding morning hymn, the Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις, θεῷ, called 'the Great Doxology'—an extended form of the original on which the Western 'Gloria in excelsis' is based—occurs in the group of hymns appended to the *Codex Alexandrinus*, and also in a more archaic redaction at the end of bk. vii. of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. In the former place is found another evening hymn and a hymn-like grace before meat. Moreover, the Gr. original of a short hymn to which the Rule of St. Benedict (ed. Woelfflin, Leipzig, 1895, p. 25. 20) gives a place in the monastic Morning Office of the Western Church is, at least, not of later origin than these. A relatively early origin must be assigned likewise to another prose text having the essential features of a hymn, viz. the 'Prologue,' which in the consecration of water at the Feast of Epiphany precedes the consecration prayer proper, and is a glorification of the day upon which Jesus was baptized in the Jordan, akin to the Easter 'Exultet' of the Roman liturgy. Of this there are, besides the Greek, a Slavic and a remarkably interesting Armenian version. Certain Gnostic features still adhering to it show that its composition was long prior to the days of St. Sophronius of Jerusalem († 638), to whom it is ascribed, apparently without MS authority, in the printed edd. of the Gr. Euchologion.

2. Hymns in classical metres.—Besides the prose hymns connected with the Gr. version of the OT, we find also, from the 2nd cent., a Græco-Christian hymnody employing the ancient poetic forms. It is in accordance with the general position of Gnosticism in the religious sphere that it took the lead here, and guided the development along fresh lines.

We are unable to say whether the 'psalms' or 'odes' of Basilides and a psalm-book of Marcion or the Marcionites attested by the Fragmentum Muratorianum belonged to the prose or the metrical type. But a hymn of the Naasenes and a specimen of the psalms of Valentinus, inserted by Hippolytus in his *Philosophoumena* (v. 10, vi. 32), both exhibit logaœdic anapæsts, and thus, in spite of a certain irregularity of treatment, show indubitably that here the Gnostic hymnology studiously followed the traditional forms of ancient lyrical composition.

In the sphere of Catholic Christianity the new style appears in the hymn to Christ with which Clement of Alexandria closes his *Pædagogus*. Apart from its introductory lines, which are of very doubtful authenticity, this hymn is manifestly composed in anapæsts, and, as compared with the Gnostic survivals, exhibits an even more rigid adherence to the laws of classical metre, while its contents do not seem to preclude the possibility that compositions of the kind were actually used in the service of the Alexandrian churches about the beginning of the 3rd century. The further stages of a development which doubtless begins at this point are certainly very obscure.

The list of the works of Hippolytus inscribed upon his statue in the Lateran makes mention of 'Odes.' We hear of an Egyptian bishop named Nepos as a prolific writer of psalms about the middle of the 3rd cent. (Dionysius of Alexandria, *ap.* Eusebius, *HE* VII. xxiv. 4), and of Hierakas, a rigorously dualistic ascetic, likewise an Egyptian (*c.* 300), who wrote 'psalms of a new kind' (Epiphanius, *adv. Hær.* lxvii. 3 [*PG* xlii. 176]); and we may assume that all these writers worked upon the lines of the development in question, although the historical data are not sufficient to substantiate the hypothesis.

To the hymn of Clement, however, is closely allied in a formal way a fragment preserved in a papyrus of the Amherst Collection; this also is in anapæstic metre, and dates probably from the 3rd rather than the 4th century. It has been described as a versified ethical catechism of early Christendom, although it might quite as fitly be regarded as a hymn forming part of the liturgy of initiation, and addressed to the newly baptized. By reason of the formal characteristics which differentiate it from Clement's hymn to Christ, it is of great interest in the development of Greek hymnody.

Its anapæsts, *e.g.*, are constructed with as much regard to accent as to quantity, and it thus marks the transition from the older metres of quantity to the newer metres of accent; while its verses are linked together by the thrice-repeated artifice of the alphabetical acrostic, which was to form so prominent a feature in the rhythmical hymns of the Church.

This artifice is also the connecting medium between the strophes of a hymn—likewise in anapæstic measure—which purports to be sung by a soul entering after death into the enjoyment of eternal bliss, and the conclusion of which is found in a Berlin papyrus. Above all, the acrostic forms the connective between the strophes of the 'psalm' of the virgins with which St. Methodius of Olympus († *c.* 311) concludes his *Symposion*. The latter is perhaps not entirely unrelated to the ancient *Parthenia* of Alcman and Pindar. But in the expansive freedom of its iambic rhythms it conforms not less closely to the accentual style of rhythmical verse than does the anapæstic text of the Amherst papyrus, and in the *ephymnion* repeated after each strophe there appears for the first time another feature which came to be of great importance for that kind of composition. We may, therefore, regard this production, which was in the first instance purely literary, as the representative of really vital elements in contemporary liturgy.

An altogether different type appears in the archaic Græco-Christian lyrics of the subsequent part of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century. While it is explicitly said of the heresiarch Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea from A.D. 361, that he sought to win acceptance for his doctrines by composing short metrical lyrics intended for the use not only of the community in public worship, but also of individuals in their hours of work or recreation (Soc. *HE* iii. 16), yet in general this type of lyric took a course which from the outset diverged widely from the sphere of congregational worship. This is true not only of the lost 'Odes' in which the younger Apollinaris (rather than his father) tried to emulate the art of Pindar, and of the extant hexameter paraphrase of the Psalms which bears his name; it holds good equally of the hymn-like poems which are found in the rich and varied literary heritage of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, by far the most eminent representative of this school († 389 or 390). As altogether subjective expressions of personal piety, these compositions of Gregory, which in their learned perfection of form are closely akin to the Hellenistic poetry of the Ptolemaic period, cannot possibly be regarded as liturgical prayers uttered by a Christian assembly. Of the ten extant 'hymns' in the Doric dialect composed by the Neo-Platonic philosopher Synesius, who became bishop of Cyrene in 406 or 409, not more than five in all (nos. 5 and 7–10) belong to the Christian period of their author, and these, no less than the poems of Gregory, exhibit an individualistic spirit and a technical structure incompatible with their liturgical use.

In the Byzantine period the classical metres sometimes employed in hymnody as in other kinds of poetry came to be reduced in effect to two, viz. the Anacreontic strophe and iambic trimeter. Hymns to saints are first found among the Anacreontics of St. Sophronius, in which the artistic devices and forms of the new rhythmical poetry appear in the linking together of the regular strophes by the alphabetical acrostic and the introduction of a stanza with a different metrical structure after every four strophes. As regards the poems which in their general style may be compared with the hymns of the Western writer Prudentius, there is, again, good reason to doubt whether they were ever actually used in the liturgy. Such liturgical use, on the other hand, is clearly implied by the note indicating the ecclesiastical tone to which the Anacreontic penitential hymn of a certain Syncellus Elias was to be sung, and here, too, the strophes are connected by the alphabetical acrostic. The iambic trimeter was used by Georgius Pisides, deacon in the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople in the reign of Heraclius (610–641), in an Easter hymn of 129 verses; though it is certain that this work never held a place in the liturgy. As regards a truly liturgical type of composition in rhythmical verse, we find that St. John of Damascus (cf. below, 3 (5)) employed the ancient dramatic metre in his three canons—for Christmas, Epiphany, and Pentecost, respectively—in which the initial letters of the iambic verses form an acrostic of two elegiac distichs. It is true that this artifice produced no imitations worthy of note, and it was left for a much later writer, Manuel Philes, in the first half of the 14th cent., to commit the barbarism of recasting in quantitative iambic trimeters one of the noblest examples of accentual sacred song in the early period, the hymn *Akathistos* (cf. below, 3 (2)).

3. Rhythmical hymnody.—The earliest examples of Græco-Christian sacred poetry in a metrical form based upon the stress accent alone are found in two of the poems of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, where they appear strangely out of keeping with their surroundings. One of them at least, an evening song addressed to Christ, is of the nature of a hymn. The fact which conditioned the development of the new type of hymnography was that Greek had in ever greater measure lost the quantitative distinction of its vowels. The development was prepared for by the artistic prose of the rhetoricians, and was in an equal degree influenced by the example of Christian Semitic poetry, which was accentual from the outset. Besides the abandonment of quantitative metre, there were two artistic devices which had an important influence upon the new *genre*, viz. rhyme and the acrostic. The purely rhetorical use of rhyme emanated unquestionably from Greek prose, which in the hands of Christian preachers made use of it with increasing frequency, while the employment of the acrostic was based essentially on Semitic models, though, as has already been noted, an occasional use of this artifice can be traced in the earlier poetic composition. Whether and to what extent, in addition to the influence of the ancient literary prose, that of ancient quantitative metre made itself felt in the extraordinarily copious and artistic forms assumed by the new rhythmical poetry must be left an open question.

(1) The simplest type of rhythmical hymnody—a type to which the two merely tentative pieces in the poems of St. Gregory of Nazianzus form a direct link of transition—is found in a class of hymns with lines of equal length, to which attention has been paid only in recent times. Of a group of primitive compositions of this type one example, found in a papyrus of the 6th or 7th cent., has permanently maintained a regular place in the 'Great Apodeipnon,' the solemn compline for Lent in the Greek rite. The other components of the group must also have been actually intended for a place in the liturgy. One of them is a special form of Evensong for the twofold festival of the Birth and Baptism of Christ, still celebrated together on the 6th of January (cf. artt. CHRISTMAS, EPIPHANY). Another begins with what are in reality the opening words of a hymn after communion, of which a piece in the *Antiphonary of Bangor* (ed. F. E. Warren, London, 1893–95, i. 32 *v*, *Ad commonicare*, 'Corpus domini accipimus') may be a Latin translation. All these were probably composed in the 5th century.

To the same period belongs a song in adoration of the Cross on Good Friday which is found only in MS liturgies of the Italian Basilians. Its two-line strophes, which already indicate the beginnings of a less simple metrical structure, are connected by means of the alphabetical acrostic, which it has in common with several other kindred poems (on the Mother of God, for Christmas, for the festival of the Presentation in the Temple).

This form was resorted to at an early period in Greek imitations of the poetic meditations of St. Ephraim. Subsequently it was used only exceptionally and in unpretentious compositions of a wholly personal character; as, *e.g.*, in a *ὕμνος ἐκ προσώπου Βασιλείου τοῦ δεσπότου* by Photius († 891), and in a penitential hymn of the Emperor Leo VI. (886–912)—compositions in strophes, which exhibit alphabetical acrostics, and the accentual metre of which seeks to imitate the quantitative Anacreontic.

(2) Dependence upon the Semitic poetry of Syria, of which St. Ephraim († 373) was the chief representative in Nisibis and Edessa, appears in the principal form of ancient Byzantine hymnody, viz. the *kontakion*. Here the Eastern Aramaic class of *sôgîthâ* was of fundamental importance, though this, again, in its characteristic features can be fully understood only as a product of Hellenistic influence. Its fructifying effects upon the work of Greek hymn-writers, according to a recent theory, were to a great extent mediated by Greek preachers. The use of the (originally alphabetical) acrostic, an introductory stanza of a different metrical structure, the refrain, or *ephymnion*, sung by a choir, which, breaking in upon the solo parts, bound together the *prœmion* or *kukulion* and the ordinary strophes, or *oikoi* ('houses'), and a highly dramatic treatment of the subject—such were the features borrowed from Syrian hymnody. The rhetorical splendour of the diction, and an artistic structure of line and stanza which was intimately related to the melody and did not need to fear comparison with the most elaborate metrical examples of ancient choral lyric poetry, were contributions of the Greek genius. Of Greek origin likewise were those forms of the acrostic which, instead of being alphabetical, give the name of the writer, or the theme, or the liturgical purpose of the piece—forms which, it is true, are found also in the *Carmina Nisibena* of Ephraim.

If the *Virgins' Psalm* of Methodius may be regarded as a transitional form between the hymns imitative of ancient models and the *kontakion*, there are other two early compositions which show how the new mode was related to the prose hymn. These are (*a*) a purely prose hymn which is found, almost intact, in a 6th cent. papyrus in the John Rylands Library, and which in its alphabetical acrostic and its short *ephymnion* (Κύριε, δόξα σοι) exhibits two essential features of the *kontakion*; and (*b*) a complete *kontakion* for Good Friday, which, however, surrenders the prose form for accentual metre only in the *ephymnion*, and which, like a related poem for Palm Sunday, is known thus far only in the Italo-Greek liturgy. The Good Friday *kontakion* is of interest also as regards its theme, being the earliest example of a lamentation supposed to be spoken by the suffering Saviour, after the style of the Western *improperia*.

The new species of poetic composition is first met with in its full maturity in a series of hymns and fragments of hymns which, like the earliest examples just specified, are anonymous. The oldest instance is probably a *kontakion* on the first man, showing simple four-line strophes and the alphabetical acrostic. A lamentation of Adam for the loss of Paradise, as also a *kontakion* (dating from before 553) on the 'holy fathers' of the earliest councils, and a fragment of another on Elijah and the widow of Zarephath, deserve mention as compositions of singular vigour and beauty. If Cyriacus, the writer of a hymn on the raising of Lazarus, could with confidence be identified with the Palestinian ascetic of the same name who, on the testimony of his biographer, Cyril of Scythopolis (*AS*, Sept. viii. [1865] 151), acted as choirmaster (κανονάρχης) in the Laura of St. Chariton for thirty-one years (from 488), we should have to regard him as the earliest writer of *kontakia* known to us by name. But the unrivalled master in this kind of composition was Romanus, the deacon, who in the centuries following was revered as a saint and distinguished by the epithet of 'the Melodist.'

Romanus, born at Emesa of Jewish parents, removed from Beirūt, where he had laboured in the Church of the Resurrection, to Constantinople in the reign of the Emperor Anastasius (491–518), probably towards its close, and filled the magnificent churches of Justinian's day with the music of his hymns. His sacred poems, according to a notice that is probably legendary, numbered nearly one thousand. Some eighty pieces bearing his name have survived, though with a legacy of authentic productions of undeniable merit tradition has mingled much that is spurious and inferior. The poets Dometius and Anastasius may be regarded as nearly contemporary with Romanus. Of the anonymous compositions of his time the most outstanding is the festal hymn for the second dedication of the Hagia Sophia of Justinian (562).

In this first and golden age of Byzantine hymnody, however, as in later times, it was not customary to create a new form of strophe and a corresponding melody for each fresh composition. On the contrary, the metre and melody of older pieces were frequently adopted. The typical strophe used as the pattern either of the *kukulion* or of the *oikoi* of a later song was called its *heirmos* ('series').

The heirmos reproduced in the *oikoi* of the so-called hymn *Akathistos* had already been used by Romanus, and the nucleus of that hymn must therefore have been composed as early as the 6th cent., and probably in the first third of it. Tradition assigns the highly esteemed Song in honour of Mary variously to Romanus himself and to a considerably later writer, Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople († 638), while Georgius Pisides and even as late a writer as Photius have also been credited with its authorship.

Originally a *kontakion* on the Annunciation, this production of the 6th cent. seems to have been subsequently transformed by the addition of a new *kukulion* into a song of thanksgiving addressed to the Most Blessed Virgin by the city of Constantinople for deliverance in the stress of war, and in all probability the change was made at the time when the city was threatened by the Avars in 626. It was at that period also that twelve of its twenty-four strophes were furnished with doxologies beginning with the word χαῖρε—ascriptions which form a signal contrast to the short *ephymnion* of a simple Alleluia at the end of the other twelve, and give a peculiar stamp to the whole.

In its enlarged form the hymn *Akathistos* was occasionally imitated, as in a lyric on St. Sabas the Younger by a melodist named Orestes, and in others on the Falling Asleep of the Most Holy Mother of God and on the Holy Cross by unknown authors. Even in later centuries, indeed, certain writers added not a little to the store of *kontakia* in the Greek Church. Writers whose compositions belong in the main to another and a later poetic type, such as Theodorus Studites and Joseph the Hymnographer (cf. below, (5)), cultivated also the older form. But in genuine poetic qualities the productions of the later period, destitute as they are, above all, of dramatic power, are far inferior to those of the 6th century. Then from the 10th cent. the *kontakion* itself lost the place which it had hitherto held in the liturgy.

The book known as the *Tropologion*, in which the hymns of this class were collected, fell more and more into oblivion. Only a few strophes of the older hymns, and at length—apart from the *kukulion*—generally but one, retained a permanent place in the daily office, and the poems composed for this office under the names of *kontakion* and *oikos* (or *oikoi*) were mere imitations of such mutilated survivals. The *kontakion* of Romanus for Christmas, however, continued to be sung annually on the 25th of December, even at the Emperor's festive board, until the downfall of the Eastern Empire. The *Akathistos* still forms the nucleus of a festival office dedicated to the Mother of God on the Saturday of the fifth week in Lent, and for the popular religious sentiment of the Orthodox East it takes the place filled conjointly by the Litany of Loreto, the rosary, and the *Te Deum* in the Roman Catholic West. Finally, the impressive funeral *kontakion* of Anastasius—though in a much mutilated form—is used to the present day in the office for the burial of priests.

(3) As compared with the *kontakion*, which in the zenith of its vogue appears to have been called also the *tropos*, the term *troparion*, a diminutive of the latter word, signified a shorter form of what was essentially the same thing: it was a single strophe constructed generally of accented lines of various kinds, the part performed by the precentor being, at least originally, supplemented by an *ephymnion* sung by the congregation or the choir.

We learn the nature of this species of sacred song in its earliest form from the *troparia* with which St. Auxentius, a prominent representative of Greek monachism, enriched public worship in Bithynia and Constantinople in the first half of the 5th cent., and specimens of which have been preserved by his contemporary biographer Georgius (*PG* cxiv. 1412). They are artless pieces, composed of a few short lines of lyrical rhythmical prose, in which genuine piety finds homely though effective expression. Anthimus, a pupil of Auxentius, once a court official, latterly a deacon and presbyter of the Church, and Timocles, his contemporary, who are said to have flourished *c.* 457, are named as the leading representatives of what was probably a more artistic type of *troparion*, although nothing survives that can be definitely ascribed to them.

The rich development which this form of liturgical poetry likewise speedily attained, more especially on the native soil of the *kontakion*, *i.e.* in Greek-speaking Syria, can still be seen in the so-called *Octoēchos* of Severus of Antioch—a complete hymn-book, the groundwork of which was laid by that celebrated exponent of Monophysitism in the years 512–518. This invaluable liturgical monument, lost in the original, is preserved in the revised form which Jacob of Edessa re-constructed in 675 from the older Syriac translation executed by a bishop of Edessa named Paul.

Its component pieces, 366 in number, are, without exception, lyrics of a single strophe, and in their general structure are all to be classed as *troparia*, although they exhibit a special and characteristic feature in the fact that by far the larger number of them were meant to be sung in connexion with a verse from the Psalms. Many of them already show an affinity, in manifold forms of expression, with the numerous *troparia* found in the later liturgical books of the Greek rite. On the other hand, a group of its texts, meant for use in the celebration of the Eucharist and called *prosphorikoi*, bear, in virtue of their archaic style, a close resemblance to the *troparia* of Auxentius.

Besides Severus, two contributors of special importance are John bar Aphtônyâ († 538), and John surnamed Psaltes, both archimandrites in the monastery of Qen-nešrê on the Euphrates. A *terminus ad quem* even for the latest poems in the original collection is found in the date of Paul's translation, which may be assigned to 619–629. A number of very short pieces seem to be of even earlier date than those of Severus. Two of the lyrics in this Syriac hymn-book are definitely called 'Alexandrian.'

In point of fact the ancient Greek liturgy of Egypt also must have had its own stock of *troparia*. To that must be assigned, first of all, the residue of hymns for the Feast of Epiphany found in a papyrus of the Archduke Rainer's Collection—lyrics which some, probably overshooting the mark, would trace back to the first half of the 4th, if not even to the 3rd century. Besides ostraka and various papyrus fragments, the Egyptian Monophysite Church has preserved further materials of great value in this connexion. Thus *troparia*, definitely so designated in their original Greek and in a Saidic translation, are furnished by fragments of the earlier MS liturgies of the Coptic rite. The almost indescribable state of neglect in which the Greek text of these fragments has been left points to the lapse of a considerable interval between the date of their composition and that of the surviving transcripts. Nevertheless, a *terminus ad quem* is indicated by the fact that several of them are based on the *Trisagion* in its distinctively Monophysite expansion. These Egyptian texts may, therefore, be regarded as of contemporary origin with those of the hymn-book of Severus.

The rapidity with which the entire public worship of the Greek Orthodox Church came to be permeated by the *troparion* is shown by a very interesting account which two monks named Johannes and Sophronius have given of a visit paid by them to Mt. Sinai, probably towards the close of the 6th cent. (Pitra, *Juris eccl. Græc. hist. et mon.* i. 2205). Here they found an anchorite, Nilus by name, living in complete seclusion from the world, and adhering to a form of Church daily prayer which on principle he kept clear of the new-fangled embellishments of liturgical poetry.

With his uncompromising devotion to antiquity, the writers contrast what, in its conjunction of *troparia* with the essentially Biblical elements of the Sunday Office, was for them 'the rule of the Catholic and Apostolic Church.' According to that rule, they say, the Κύριε ἐκέκραξα, *i.e.* Pss 140. 141. 129 and 116 in vespers, and a selection from the nine Biblical songs, viz. the 7th, 8th, and, from the 9th, Lk 1^{46-55} (the 'Magnificat' of the West), as also Pss 148–150, called the *Ainoi*, in matins, were associated with a series of *troparia*. Each of the three parts into which the psalmody of matins preceding the rendering of the odes was divided was followed by a hymn of the same class, called a *kathisma*, and in the rendering of the odes a corresponding piece, called a *mesodion*, marked a pause after the 3rd and 6th odes. In vespers, finally, a *troparion* was conjoined with the evening hymn Φῶς ἱλαρόν, and in matins, another, specially commemorative of the Resurrection, was combined with the Great Doxology.

We shall meet with not a few of such elements of a poetic character in the final form of the Greek Office, and we may, therefore, safely assume that many of the compositions performing a like service in that office date from the 6th century. Although we have not the necessary external evidence from which to draw definite conclusions regarding such ancient works, yet tradition furnishes the date of certain very old *troparia* which hold to this day an honoured place in the Eucharistic liturgy of the Greek Church. We are told that the Emperor Justinian himself (527–565) was the author of the Christologically important *troparion* entitled Ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱός, which comes shortly before the Scripture lessons. In the reign of his successor, Justin II. (565–578), the 'Cherubic Hymn' which accompanies the procession known as the 'Great Entrance' was inserted in the Byzantine Mass; while other two pieces, the Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ and the Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σὰρξ βροτεία, which are substituted for that hymn on Maundy Thursday and Easter Even respectively, are probably not of later origin. The introduction of a *troparion* to be sung after Communion (Πληρωθήτω τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν) is assigned to the year 624, and of another (Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν), which takes the place of the Cherubic Hymn in the Mass of the Pre-sanctified, to 645.

(4) The early Antiochene *troparia* of Severus's hymn-book, perhaps because they are essentially connected with verses from the Psalms, are assigned to a distinct class, the *antiphon* (Syr. *ma'nîthâ*). On the testimony of the Western pilgrim Etheria, or Eucheria (*Peregrinatio*, xxiv. 5, xxvii., xxix., xxxi. 5, xxxv., xxxvii., xl., xliii. 5, xlvii.), lyrics bearing that title, together with 'hymns' and 'psalms,' had already won an important place in the worship of the churches in Jerusalem towards the close of the 4th century. In the Greek liturgy of the following period a hymn formed of a Biblical passage and a *hypopsalma* rendered between the verses by two different choirs alternately was regarded as 'antiphonal.' Here it was customary at first to render whole psalms in this way; later, with increasing frequency, a few verses only were sung. The *hypopsalma*, again, in extending beyond the narrower limits of the formulæ originally employed, developed first of all into a somewhat longer prose formula, as found, *e.g.*, in the three antiphons at the beginning of the Eucharistic liturgy. Afterwards, however, it became the practice to introduce a real *troparion*, of which either the whole or the concluding part was repeated between the verses of the Biblical passage; characteristic examples of the latter method are retained to the present day in the vespers for Christmas and Epiphany. This unvarying repetition of a single *troparion*, however, was at length superseded by a whole series of such pieces, each of which was sung but once by either of the choirs, and thus, when these *troparia* were welded into an integral whole either by an acrostic or by an *ephymnion* common to all, there arose a distinct artistic type of antiphon.

It may be assumed that the use of this form of choral art was not altogether infrequent at an earlier stage of liturgical development. An extant example is furnished by the third of the fifteen so-called antiphons of Good Friday, which an unreliable tradition ascribes to St. Cyril of Alexandria. Generally, however, what we find here in the early period is a combination of verses of psalms with *troparia* which have no definite inner link of connexion, and at the present day even the verses of psalms formerly so employed have disappeared, so that only the name of the antiphon now survives.

The name 'antiphon' came also to be associated with the so-called *anabathmoi*, which had a recognized place in the matins of Sundays and important feast days, as also in the office of burial. The *anabathmoi* are two series of poetical paraphrases of the beginning and middle of the Psalms of Degrees (119–130 and 132) in two *troparia*, to which was attached, as a sequel to the Lesser Doxology (Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, κ.τ.λ.), a third *troparion* in praise of the Holy Spirit. It must be taken for granted that these very ancient forms likewise were originally intended to be used in an antiphonal rendering of the psalms in question.

Finally, special significance seems at one time to have attached to an antiphonal rendering of Ps 118. That psalm, sung antiphonally in combination with a *hypopsalma* of very short formulæ, has remained a regular feature of the burial service. In similar manner the *stichera* (see below, (6)), called from their opening words Αἱ ἀγγελικαί, which come before us as the work of Romanus, and which, divided into short groups, are used at the present day in the matins for the 20th–24th, 28th, and 30th of December for quite a different purpose—forming a peerless festal hymn on the Redeemer's birth in the stable at Bethlehem—must originally have been the poetic investment of an effective threefold antiphon constructed with the aid of the same psalm. On the other hand, a lyric in its own way not less magnificent, though doubtless of much later date, is now combined with Ps 118 in a peculiar antiphonal rendering for the matins of Easter Even.

These are the so-called *enkomia*—comprising a markedly poetical lament at the Saviour's bier—which, surviving in various recensions, and bearing the names of various writers, as, *e.g.*, Germanus, Michael Files, an archimandrite called Ignatius, and a patriarch called Arsenius, perhaps go no further back than the 12th or 13th century. Similar *enkomia* were composed at a later date in honour of the Mother of God and John the Baptist, and—at least in the local form of worship prevalent in Jerusalem—a funeral hymn upon the former, an imitation of the *enkomia* of Easter Even, has permanently retained a place of importance as a special feature in the matins of the 15th of August.

(5) The essential feature of the antiphon, *i.e.* the organic combination of *troparia* with a Biblical passage, appears also in the structure of the *canon*, which was the leading form of hymnody from the 8th cent., and which from the 10th cent. superseded the older *kontakion* in the liturgy. The canon, to speak more precisely, is a mode in which the singing of *troparia* is combined with all the Biblical songs recited in matins, the short and unvarying *hypopsalma* of an earlier day giving place to poetical strophes of considerable length and of the same metrical structure. The consistent application of this principle led necessarily to the composition of very long poems in nine parts, in each of which the number of strophes formed upon a particular model strophe as a *heirmos* corresponds to the number of verses in the associated Biblical song. A composition essentially of this kind is actually found in the so-called 'Great Canon,' a penitential poem of two hundred and fifty *troparia*,

which, notwithstanding its rhetorical embellishment and its wearisome diffuseness, is of a most impressive character, and is now recited annually on the Thursday of the fifth week in Lent, in exactly the same way as the hymn *Akathistos* two days later.

Its author was Andreas, archbishop of Crete († 740), a native of Damascus, who, trained in the clerical circles of Palestine, became in his youth secretary to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and then lived in Constantinople for a considerable time previous to his promotion to the archbishopric. He was a prolific writer, and in the tradition of the Eastern Church is actually regarded as the inventor of the new poetic form, to which was applied the name of 'Canon,' hitherto given to the whole morning office, or to its most important part, viz. the nine Biblical songs.

Certain other compositions of Andreas, as, *e.g.*, the canon on the Myrophori, sung on the second Sunday after Easter, and one of 180 *troparia* on Simeon and Anna, approximate in length to the Great Canon. But, in general, the practical necessity of limiting the duration of public worship soon led to the practice of attaching not more than three or four poetical strophes to each Biblical song. The same requirement led here, as in other parts of the office, gradually to the entire omission of what was originally the cardinal feature, *i.e.* the Biblical passages, or to their being restricted to a few verses. Thus the essential nine sections of the poetic canon—to which the term 'odes' was henceforth specially applied—actually came to take the place of the very elements with which they were once intended to be combined. A further departure from the earliest order is seen in the regular omission of the second ode of the lyrical group, the reason being that the second Biblical song had been previously left out of the actual recitation—from a superstitious dread, it was said, of uttering the imprecatory threats contained in it. Then, besides complete canons, *diodia*, *triodia*, and *tetraodia* were composed to be sung with groups of two, three, and four Biblical passages respectively. Of special importance are the *triodia* and *tetraodia* of the Lenten season, which owe their existence to the circumstance that during Lent one of the Biblical songs, i.–v., was recited on week-days from Monday to Friday, and nos. vi. and vii. on Saturday, these being followed each day by nos. viii. and ix. The term *heirmos*, conformably to what was noted in the case of the *kontakion*, denotes here the model strophe which was in most cases borrowed from an older canon, and with which the *troparia* of each ode had to conform both in metre and in melody.

The entire mass of compositions which follow the norm introduced by Andreas of Crete comprises two strata differing in date and place of origin. The earlier stratum had its origin in the ancient Byzantine form of worship found in Jerusalem, and embraces the lyrics of Passion Week, and of the chief festivals of the Christian Year, and the morning canons of the so-called *Octoëchos*, which contains the ordinary Sunday offices arranged for the eight ecclesiastical tones. The birthplace of this group was the Laura of St. Sabas in the Kedron Valley, where, in the first half of the 8th cent., its standard forms took shape in the hands of St. John of Damascus († *ante* 754) and his adoptive brother Cosmas, surnamed the Hagiopolite, who was consecrated bishop of Maiuma, near Gaza, in 743. The later stratum was deposited in Constantinople, where the Stadion monastery, as a centre of sacred poetry, attained an eminence corresponding to that of the Laura of St. Sabas. It was, above all, three of the most prominent residents of that monastery—Theodorus the Studite († 820), his younger brother Joseph, subsequently archbishop of Thessalonica, and Theophanes, surnamed Graptus, promoted to be metropolitan of Nicæa in 842—who, during the Iconoclastic conflicts of the 9th cent., completed the work of their Palestine forerunners in composing canons for Lent, for numerous Saints' Days, and for the festal offices arranged for the eight ecclesiastical tones in the so-called *Parakletike*. John of Damascus and Cosmas the Hagiopolite had been pupils of a Sicilian named Cosmas, who is also said to have been a writer of poetry, and was ransomed from slavery among the Arabs by the father of the former; and afterwards another Joseph, a Sicilian, like his fellow-countryman Methodius of Syracus, developed his talent as a hymnographer in the capital of the Eastern Empire alongside of the three just mentioned. The poets Georgius of Nicomedia, Metrophanes, and Theodorus of Smyrna, with other hymnographers of the Studion—as, *e.g.*, Antonius, Arsenius, Basilius, Gabriel, and Nicolaus—were all natives of the East.

In the hands of these and of later writers the artistic type of the canon, once it had become completely independent of the nine Biblical songs, came to occupy an essentially different position in the liturgy as a whole, being now employed in the most diverse parts of it. Thus, in the midnight office, on each of eight successive Sundays, the psalms were superseded by one of the eight canons on the Most Holy Trinity, two of which at least were the work of Metrophanes. A canon occupies a central position in the various forms of the burial office, in the administration of Extreme Unction, and in the Frocking of Monks. When the land suffered from drought or earthquake, or was threatened with war or pestilence, the canon was the official form of Church prayer, and it was likewise used at the sick-bed and the death-bed. Of two canons thus employed, the one is worthy of note as the work of Andreas and the other as being connected with the Western form of prayer called the *commendatio animæ*, and with the sepulchral paintings of ancient Christian art. In confession and in preparation for Communion a canon was used for private devotion, and for a like purpose one on the Guardian Angels, composed about the middle of the 11th cent. by Johannes Mauropus, bishop of Euchaita, was frequently employed. The 'small' and the 'large' παρακλητικοὶ κανόνες on the Mother of God—the former probably by a monk named Theosterictus, the latter by the Emperor Theodorus Ducas Lascaris (1254–58)—form the nuclei respectively of two votive offices of the Virgin.

In real poetic merit, not only such productions of a relatively late period, but even the canons of the 8th and 9th centuries, are far inferior to the classical creations of the writers of *kontakia*, though we cannot ignore the high achievement of works like the celebrated Easter canon of John of Damascus, or the Christmas canon of Cosmas. As regards its form, the canon borrowed from the *kontakion* the frequent device of linking its strophes together by the acrostic, which in some cases was, as before, simply alphabetical, and in others—where it was used to indicate the substance or purpose of the poem, often naming the author as well—was wont to take the form of a hexameter or an iambic trimeter. The solitary attempt to apply the laws of classical metre to the composition of canons was noted above (2).

(6) In the final form of the Greek liturgy the canon is the central feature in what is called the *akoluthia* ('sequence') of a particular liturgical day or festival—a term which corresponds in a manner to the Western *officium*. But, besides the canon, numerous other compositions belonging to various classes of rhythmic poetry occur as more or less regular elements in every *akoluthia*. To say nothing of *kontakion*, *oikos*, and *anabathmoi*, we may recognize here, generally without difficulty, the types of *troparia* which, on the testimony of the monks Johannes and Sophronius (see above under 3 (3)), found a place in public worship during the latter half of the 6th century. Thus the ancient *troparion* to the Φῶς ἱλαρόν seems to survive in the *apolytikion*, the closing *troparion* of vespers.

The *kathismata* formerly sung in matins after the three portions from the Psalms have also been retained—or, at least, two of them, as, on Sundays, instead of the third, a shorter strophe of rhythmical poetry called the *hypakoë* leads to the *anabathmoi*. Of the two *mesodia*, the first, now also called the *kathisma*, interrupts the continuity of the canon after the third ode, just as at an earlier period it interrupted the series of Biblical songs at a corresponding point, while the second was superseded by *kontakion* and *oikos*. The *megalynaria* sung in connexion with the ninth ode of the canon at the chief festivals of Christ and the Mother of God recall the *troparia* formerly associated with the 'Magnificat' (Lk 1^{46-55}).

Next to the canon, the most important elements in an *akoluthia* are the *stichera*, which almost always occur in groups. They derive their name from the fact that they are combined with verses of Biblical passages (στίχοι) usually taken from the Psalms. The *stichera* to the Κύριε ἐκέκραξα of vespers and to the *ainoi* are manifestly identical with the *troparia* which in the 6th cent. were attached to these Scripture passages; and the present usage of reciting in matins, not the whole of Pss 148–150, but only a few verses, in connexion with the appropriate *stichera* is merely a later abbreviation. Another class of *stichera*, however, which are rendered towards the close of vespers, just before the canon, in the hours of prime, tierce, sext, and nones, in general, and, in particular, in the so-called 'great hours' of Good Friday and of the vigils of Christmas and Epiphany, as well as in the most diverse parts of the liturgy outside the regular Daily Office, were meant from the first only to be inserted between two *stichoi* separated by the Lesser Doxology, and appear to have some affinity with the ancient Antiochene antiphons of Severus's hymn-book. A third class of *troparia*, which now have no connexion with any Biblical passages, were in all likelihood originally rendered in a similar way.

On their purely formal side the *stichera* fall into three groups. Those which in metre and melody are not in any way related to the rest are called *idiomela*, and are generally of considerable length. Those which serve as the metrical, and therefore also the musical, patterns of others are *automela*. Those, again, which in the form of their strophes follow the pattern of particular *automela*, and are set to their tunes, are *prosomoia*.

There are several other distinct forms of the *troparion*, but all of minor importance. Thus in matins the 'hymns to the Trinity' (*ὕμνοι τριαδικοί*), composed according to the eight ecclesiastical tones, are sung regularly at the beginning, and the *exaposteilaria* after the canon; the *eulogetaria*, devoted to prayers for the dead or to the praise of the Resurrection, are used especially on Saturdays and Sundays, and the *photagogika*, which hail the light of the dawning day, in Lent. In the Eucharistic liturgy of Sunday, in the nocturn of Good Friday, and in the burial office, the singing of the so-called *makarismoi* is interwoven with the text of Mt 5$^{3-12}$. A *troparion* in praise of the Mother of God, called a *theotokion*, is conjoined with the single odes of each canon and with all other forms of *troparion*; and here the strophes specially devoted to her maternal sympathy with the sufferings of her Son are called *staurotheotokia*. Of less frequent occurrence are the so-called *triadika* and *nekrosima*, expressing respectively a doxology to the Trinity and a prayer for the dead.

The vast mass of texts exhibiting these various kinds of *troparia* in the MSS and printed editions of the liturgical books was, of course, a slow and gradual growth. The texts themselves are for the most part anonymous. Not a few of them were the work of writers who have already been mentioned as authors of canons. Among other writers whose names are found, the most prominent is a certain Anatolius, who should not be confounded with his namesake, the patriarch of Constantinople in the 5th century. Like Anatolius, Sergius, a Hagiopolite, Stephen sometimes called a Hagiopolite, sometimes a Sabbaite, and probably also Andreas Pyrrhus belong to the older Palestinian school of rhythmical composition; the characteristics of this school appear also in a few *idiomela* by St. Sophronius, whose work is generally on such radically different lines. It is not easy to say whether, or to what extent, certain extant compositions bearing the name of Johannes 'the Monk' are the work of a writer not to be identified either with John of Damascus or John of Mauropus. In Constantinople, St. Germanus the patriarch († 740) and the nun Casia or Icasia, a woman of undeniable and peculiar gifts, who flourished in the reigns of Theophilus (829–842) and Michael III. (842–867), won repute in historically traceable compositions, especially in the class of *idiomela*. A series of morning hymns on Sundays attached to the eleven Resurrection gospels of their matins were composed by the Emperor Leo VI. (886–911), and the series of corresponding *exaposteilaria* by his son Constantius VII. Porphyrogenitus (912–959). These fall below mediocrity, while the *apolytika*, *kathismata*, and *stichera* of an earlier age surpass the contemporary canons in sheer poetic qualities.

In Byzantium and the East, hymnography as an active and living development virtually came to an end in the 11th cent., with the codification of the definitive liturgical books of the Greek rite, viz. the *Octoëchos* and the *Parakletike*, and, above all, the *Triodion*, the *Pentekostarion*, and the *Menaia*, which contain the choral texts respectively for Lent and Passion Week, for the period between Easter and Pentecost, and for the fixed feasts of the Christian year. Only in the Italo-Greek West was there about the same time a noteworthy revival of rhythmical hymnody. The art was assiduously cultivated in the famous and still surviving Basilian Abbey of Grottaferrata, near Rome, till well into the 12th century. The founders of the abbey, St. Nilus the younger († 1004), and his successors, Paulus and Bartholomæus, were the heads of a school to which Arsenius, Germanus, Joseph, Procopius, and others belonged. Within the Greek Orthodox Church itself, moreover, whole *akoluthiæ* and single lyrics were incorporated in the liturgical books at a still later date. Mention may be made of Nicephorus Xanthopulus and the Patriarch Philotheus († 1379) in the 14th, and Nicolaus Malaxus in the 16th cent., as authors of such later elements of the liturgy.

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ii. *GENERAL WORKS.*—The *Prolegomena* of Christ and Paranikas, and of Pitra, *Analecta sacra*, i., are of paramount importance; based on them and on the textual material furnished by them are: H. Stevenson, 'L'Hymnographie de l'église grecque,' in *Revue des questions historiques*, xi. [1876] 482–543, and L. Jacobi, 'Zur Gesch. des griech. Kirchenliedes,' in *ZKG* v. [1882] 177–250; E. Bouvy, *Poètes et mélodes: Étude sur les origines du rythme tonique dans l'hymnographie de l'église grecque*, Nîmes, 1886; K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byzantin. Litt. von Justinian bis zum Ende des oström. Reiches*^{2}, Munich, 1897, pp. 656–705, 'Die byzantin. Kirchendichtung'; in the 3rd ed., which is in preparation, this section will be edited by P. Maas; also F. Cabrol, *L'Hymnographie de l'église grecque*, Angers, 1893; O. Bardenhewer, *Patrologie*^{3}, Freiburg im Br., 1910, pp. 485–492; H. Jordan, *Gesch. der altchr. Lit.*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 455–470; and, above all, the excellent art. of L. Petit, 'Antiphone dans la liturgie grecque,' in F. Cabrol's

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iii. *SPECIAL STUDIES.*—On the origin of rhythmical form in poetry: W. Meyer, 'Anfang und Ursprung der latein. und griech. rhythm. Dichtung,' in *ABAW*, erste Klasse, xvii. ii. [1885] 270–450; E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom vi. Jahrh. vor Christo bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*², Leipzig, 1909, p. 841. On equilinear hymns: P. Maas, G. S. Mercati, and S. Gassisi, 'Gleichzeilige Hymnen in der byzantin. Liturgie,' in *Byzantin. Zeitschr.* xviii. [1909] 309–356 (with recension of texts). On the composition of *kontakia* and on Romanus (with recension of texts throughout): K. Krumbacher, 'Studien zu Romanos,' in *SMA*, 1898, ii. 69–268, 'Umarbeitungen bei Romanos, mit einem Anhang über das Zeitalter des Romanos,' *ib.* 1899, ii. 1–156, 'Romanos und Kyriakos,' *ib.* 1901, pp. 693–766, 'Die Akrostichis in der griech. Kirchenpoesie,' *ib.* 1903, pp. 551–691 (with an exhaustive collection of *kontakia* already printed or known in MS), 'Miszellen zu Romanos,' in *ABAW*, philos.-philol. u. histor. Klasse, xxii. iii. [1902]; T. M. Wehofer, 'Untersuchungen zum Lied des Romanos auf die Wiederkunft des Herrn,' in *SWAW*, 1907; P. Maas, 'Die Chronologie der Hymnen des Romanos,' in *Byzantin. Zeitschr.* xv. [1906] 1–44, 'Das Kontakion, mit einem Exkurs über Romanos und Basileios von Seleukeia,' *ib.* xix. [1910] 285–306. On the hymn *Akathistos*: P. de Meester, 'L'Inno acatisto,' in *Bessarione*, vi. [1903–04] 9–16, 159–165, 252–257, vii. [1904–05] 36–40, 213–224; P. F. Krypikiewicz, 'De hymni Acathisti auctore,' in *Byzantin. Zeitschr.* xviii. [1909] 309–356. A good introduction to the music associated with liturgical poetry in the Greek Church will be found in J. B. Rebours, *Traité de psaltique: théorie et pratique du chant dans l'église grecque*, Paris, 1907, to which may be added the valuable special artt. of H. Gaisser, 'Les Heirmoi de pâques dans l'office grec,' in *Oriens Christianus*, iii. [1903] 416–510, and H. J. W. Tillyard, 'A Musical Study of the Hymns of Cassia,' in *Byzantin. Zeitschr.* xx. [1911] 420–485.

A. BAUMSTARK.

HYMNS (Syriac Christian).—Our knowledge of the hymnody of the Syriac-speaking Churches has been greatly increased during the last 25 years by the publication of much literature in that language which formerly existed only in MSS, and in particular of many of the East Syrian or Nestorian service-books in Syriac, with English translations. But much still remains to be done, and until a similar work is effected for the West Syrian, or Monophysite (Jacobite), service-books, some considerable gaps in our knowledge will remain.

1. Early history of Syriac hymnody.—The earliest known writer of Syriac hymns was Bardaiṣān (Bardesanes), whose book of 150 hymns after the number of the Psalter was in the hands of Ephraim the Syrian (see below). Bardaiṣān was born at Edessa (Syr. Ur-hāi), the capital of Osrhoëne, A.D. 155 (for the date, see *DCB* i. 250), and was deemed by his successors to be heretical (for his doctrines see Eusebius, *HE* iv. 30). Sozomen (*HE* iii. 16) tells us that his son Harmonius was learned in Greek erudition, and

> 'was the first to subdue his native language [Syriac] to metres and musical laws; the verses he delivered to the choirs, and even now the Syrians frequently sing, not the precise copies by Harmonius, but the same melodies.' As these verses were somewhat infected with Bardaiṣān's heresy, 'Ephraim . . . applied himself to the understanding of the metres of Harmonius, and composed similar poems in accordance with the doctrines of the Church. . . . From that period the Syrians sang the odes of Ephraim according to the law of the ode established by Harmonius' (cf. Theodoret, *HE* iv. 26).

From these statements of Sozomen it has been deduced that the hymns ascribed by Ephraim to Bardaiṣān were really written by Harmonius, or at least that father and son worked together. It is clear, if Sozomen is to be trusted, that the Syrians derived their methods of hymnody from the Greek Christians in the first instance; and we know from Eusebius that the latter used sacred poetry at an early date. That historian speaks (*HE* v. 28) of the 'many psalms and hymns, written by the faithful brethren *from the beginning*,' celebrating 'Christ the Word of God, speaking of Him as Divine (θεολογοῦντες).' There is no indication *here* that these hymns were sung in church; but there is such an indication in Pliny's famous letter to Trajan (*Ep.* 96):

> 'They affirmed . . . that they were accustomed on a fixed day to assemble before dawn and to sing antiphonally a hymn to Christ as to a god.'

In Eusebius (*HE* vii. 24), Dionysius of Alexandria (†265) is quoted as praising the schismatic Nepos, an Egyptian bishop early in the 3rd cent., for his 'extensive psalmody,' and saying that his compositions still delighted many of the brethren. Probably Antioch led the way in the use of hymns in church. Socrates (*HE* vi. 8) ascribes the origin of singing antiphonal hymns to Ignatius the martyr, who 'saw a vision of angels hymning the Holy Trinity in alternate chants.'

The most famous hymn-writer of the Syriac-speaking Christians was Ephraim (*c.* A.D. 308–375), a native of Mesopotamia. He is always represented as a deacon, and his words 'Christ gave me the talent of the priesthood' (*Op. Syr.* iii. 467 D; *DCB* ii. 138) are not really against this, for the Syriac *kāhnūthā* ('priesthood') includes all ranks of the ministry (A. J. Maclean and W. H. Browne, *Catholicos of the East*, London, 1892, p. 185); so the E. Syr. *Sūnhādhūs* (Book of Canon Law), vi. 1. In addition to his numerous other works, he composed metrical homilies and other religious poems, including commentaries in metre on Holy Scripture; and he also wrote a large number of hymns for liturgical purposes, many of which are still sung (see below, § 4 (*a*)). He made use of hymnody to spread orthodox doctrine, just as Bardaiṣān and Harmonius had used it, and as the Arians did, to spread their erroneous teaching (for the latter, see Socrates, *HE* vi. 8, where we read that they went about Constantinople at night chanting antiphonal hymns to support their heresy, while the Catholics imitated their example). Ephraim seems to have done much to promote and improve ecclesiastical music, and his compositions became extremely popular (for an account of his writings see R. Payne Smith, in *DCB* ii. 137). His metres are irregular, and, as is the case with all the earlier Syriac poetry (see below, 3), his lines do not rhyme. There is no good reason to suppose that he ever wrote in Greek; his extant works in that language are doubtless translations. A very interesting and newly published Syriac metrical homily by him on Bardaiṣān may be seen, with English translation, in *JThSt* v. [1904] 546 ff.

After the separation of Nestorian and Monophysite Syrians, the most famous Syriac hymn-writer was the Nestorian Narsai (Narses), known as the 'Harp of the Spirit' (*kinārā d'rūkhā*), who, after spending 20 years at the great school of Edessa, left it A.D. 457 to preside over the scarcely less celebrated school at Nisibis; he died A.D. 502. His metrical compositions include 360 homilies; of these 47 have been published in Syriac by A. Mingana (Mosul, 1905), together with 10 short poems (*sōghyāthā*); and four of these homilies, dealing with the Liturgy and the Baptismal Office, have been translated into English by R. H. Connolly, with illuminative Introduction and Notes ('The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai,' *TS* viii. 1, Cambridge, 1909). These homilies, however, were not meant for church use, and for the hymns by this writer used in the services reference must be made to the East Syrian office books (see below, § 4 (*a*)). Narsai's favourite metre was the six-syllable line (see E. A. W. Budge's ed. of Thomas of Marga's *Book of Governors*, London, 1893, ii. 300 n.), but hymns by him in other metres are found.

Of other early Syriac hymn-writers may be mentioned Isaac of Antioch, a native of Amīdh (Diarbekr), who was an Orthodox priest at Antioch *c.* A.D. 450, and a disciple of Zenobius, who himself had learnt from Ephraim (*DCB* iii. 295); and Jacob, bishop of Baṭnān (Batnae) in Srūgh (Sarug), a district of Osrhoëne, in the 5th cent. († A.D. 521 or 522). Two volumes of the *Homilies* of the latter have been published by Bedjan (Paris, 1905–06), and some account of them may be seen in *JThSt*

viii. [1906–07] 581 (R. H. Connolly). It has been disputed whether he was Monophysite or Orthodox (see E. Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Collectio*, Frankfort, 1847, ii. 366 f., and *DCB* iii. 327). He ordinarily wrote in twelve-syllable lines. A third well-known hymn-writer was Balai (Balaeus), who wrote in quinquesyllabic metre (Connolly, 'Narsai,' p. ix; *DCB* iii. 296[a]), which he seems to have invented. He was a disciple of Ephraim, and a chorepiscopus (R. Payne Smith, *Thesaur. Syr.*, Oxford, 1897–1901, i. 534).

The plan of writing homilies and expositions in metre continued for a long time. We find one by Thomas, bishop of Marga, inserted in his *Book of Governors*, a long biographical composition of 415 stanzas in the twelve-syllable metre (9th cent.; Budge, i. 172, ii. 345). Thomas afterwards became metropolitan of Beth Garmai (east of the Tigris).

2. Syriac hymns and poems translated from Greek.—We have seen that the Greeks gave the Syrians the incentive to compose religious poetry. The Syrians also used many hymns translated from Greek. Of these the earliest example, probably, is to be found in the *Odes of Solomon*, poems in Syriac (some also in Coptic), which have been lately recovered. J. H. Bernard (in *JThSt* xii. [1910–11] 1 ff., and in his ed. 'The Odes of Solomon,' *TS* viii. 3, Cambridge, 1912) suggests that they are a collection of Christian hymns 'packed with allusions to baptism, and comparable to Ephraim's Hymns on the Epiphany' (*JThSt* xii. 29), though perhaps his theory of their object and contents goes too far. He dates them *c.* A.D. 150–200; R. H. Connolly (*JThSt* xiv. [1912–13] 311) possibly a little later; J. Rendel Harris, the first editor (*Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, Cambridge, 1909), a little earlier; E. A. Abbott (*Light on the Gospel from an ancient Poet*, Cambridge, 1912) thinks that they were written by a Jewish Christian in the 1st cent.; Harnack considers them to be a Jewish work with Christian interpolations—against this see Connolly in *JThSt* xiii. [1911–12] 298. That the *Odes* were used in public worship in the 4th cent. is made probable by a reference to them in the *Testament of our Lord*, which we know only by a Syriac translation made by Jacob, bishop of Edessa, in the 7th cent. († A.D. 708 or 710). This Church Order has a direction (i. 26): 'Let them sing psalms and four hymns of praise (*tishbkhāthā*, see below, § 4 (*a*)), one by Moses, and of Solomon, and of the other prophets.' The present writer accepts Bernard's correction (*JThSt* xii. 31) of his own suggestion in the English edition of the *Testament* (Edinburgh, 1902) that the Song of Songs is meant, and adopts his view that the *Odes* are here referred to. Now, though it has been suggested by Abbott (*Light on the Gospel*, and *JThSt* xiv. 441) that Syriac, or some Semitic dialect, is the original of the *Odes*, yet the argument by Connolly (*JThSt* xiv. 315 f., 530 ff.), that our Syriac text is translated from the Greek, appears to be very strong (see also *JThSt* xv. [1913–14] 44 ff.). If it be sound, we have here a good example of the use by Syriac-speaking Christians of Greek hymns.

Another example is the Syriac version of the Greek hymns of Severus, Monophysite patriarch of Antioch (A.D. 512–519), made by Paul, bishop of Edessa (A.D. 510–526; see *DCB* iv. 259), and revised by Jacob (see above). The Syriac has been edited by E. W. Brooks in *Patrologia Orientalis*, vii. 5 (Paris, 1912).

3. Rhymed poetry.—The metrical compositions hitherto mentioned are not rhymed, but about the 12th cent. the Syrians learnt from the Arabs the art of rhyming. A. Mingana states (Connolly, 'Narsai,' p. xiii) that after A.D. 1150 all the poetry had this characteristic; and Connolly (p. xxxviii f.) gives from Cardakhi (see in Literature) a list of 9 or 10 writers of the 13th cent. who wrote in rhymed verse. Of these the most famous were the Monophysite Bar-hebraeus, and the Nestorian Audīshū[1] ('Abhdīshō', Ebedjesus) the bibliographer, Khāmīs (West Syr. Khamīs), and George Wardā. From Wardā and Khāmīs, hymn-writers of great repute, have been named two East Syrian service-books, containing 'propers' for festivals, etc., several of them probably having been written by these authors.

These later writers are distinguished by an extremely artificial style, and by a profusion of Greek words and strange forms. For examples of their compositions reference may be made to the anthems at the Blessing of the Months, sung at Evening Service on the first day of every month except February (A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices*,[2] p. 230). The stanzas attributed to Mār Abraham of Slūkh (Seleucia) on the Tigris contain the following: Ahīyāh = אהיה, Tī'ūn = *θεόν*, Aghūsṭūs = Augustus, the reigning king, and Tī'ūlūgh = *θεολόγος*, the reigning patriarch (these stanzas rhyme in *-tā*). In the anthems given on p. 231 ff. each line of a stanza ends in *-tā*, *-nā*, *-ān*, *-thā*, *-rā*, *-zā*, *-ākh*; while the last four stanzas are non-rhyming. The authors of these rhyming stanzas are of the 13th cent. or later. A good example of the style of these later writers may also be seen in the highly artificial prayers said before the psalms in the East Syrian Morning Office on festivals, composed by Mār Elīyā (Elijah), Catholicos, surnamed Abūkhalīm (J. S. Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, Rome, 1719–28, III. i. 289); they are given in an English translation in Conybeare-Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum*,[3] Oxford, 1905, pp. 377–379. They are taken from the book called *Abūkhalīm* after Elīyā; they abound in foreign words to such an extent as to make them quite unintelligible to the Syrian. The famous Audīshū (see above) was a great composer of hymns of praise (*tishbkhāthā*) and anthems (Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* ii. 4028; Assemani, III. i. 708), but his style is greatly disfigured by its artificiality.

4. Hymnody in the present service-books.—In what follows the East Syrian service-books are those principally dealt with. They were largely re-modelled and systematized by Ishuyaw III. (Ishō'yahbh, Jesujabus, lit. 'Jesus gave'), who was the Nestorian Catholicos from A.D. 647 to 658. Till his time there was no system of hymns, and probably he borrowed ideas from the Byzantine churches when he visited Antioch and other Greek cities. He revised the *Khūdhrā* (lit. 'Cycle'), or book of 'propers' throughout the year, and introduced much hymnody into it. For some account of this Catholicos see Thomas of Marga, bk. ii. § 11; Budge gives some of his Epistles in Syriac in his edition of Thomas (ii. 132–147), and relates what is known of his life (i. pp. lxxxiv–xcvii). In addition to his work on the *Khūdhrā*, Ishuyaw re-modelled the baptismal rite.

The hymns in the East Syrian books are of different kinds, and may now be considered in order.

(*a*) The *Hymn of praise*, Syr. *tishbūkhtā* (pl. *tishbkhāthā*), lit. 'praise.' This word, which is used in the Peshiṭta of the hymns in Ex 15[1], Dt 31[19. 30] etc., and of the Song of Songs (*tishbkhath tishbkhāthā*) is used also in the service-books, both

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[1] In this article the more common names are given in their Western form, as George, Ephraim; others are given as pronounced by the East Syrians, with the exact transliteration of the Syriac added if necessary, and with their Westernized forms. In the pronunciation *au* = *ō*; *ai* = French *é* (usually); *kh* and *gh* are hard and soft gutturals; *aw* final is halfway between *ow* (as in 'cow') and *āv*; *dh* and *th* represent the two sounds of *th* in English. Consonants in words derived from the Pa'el conjugation, etc., are not doubled in pronunciation.

[2] Hereafter cited as *ESDO*.

[3] Hereafter cited as *RA*.

East and West Syrian, of prose hymns like the 'Gloria in excelsis' (called by the West Syrians the 'hymn of praise of the night') and of the 'Song of the Three Children' (called by the East Syrians the 'hymn of praise of the company of Ananias'). The ordinary 'hymn of praise,' however, is a metrical composition consisting of a number of stanzas sung alternately by the two choirs (which are called respectively 'the former' and 'the latter'), and usually of two lines each, though occasionally of four or more. Rarely these hymns of praise are acrostic, beginning with the letters of the alphabet (*ESDO*, 231, 233), or with the letters of a name, as Ishū Mshīkhā ('Jesus Christ') or Shimshā-sahrā ('sun and moon') or the like (*ESDO*, 167, 230).

The East Syrian service-books frequently (but not always) ascribe these hymns of praise to definite authors. The following, among others, are mentioned: Ephraim and Narsai (above, § I); Shĭmūn (Shim'ōn) Barsabā'ē (Simeon Barsaboë), Catholicos in the 4th cent.; Awā (Abhā, Abbas), Catholicos in the 6th cent.; Thomas of Ur-hāi (Edessa), contemporary and friend of Awā; Bāwai (Bābhai, Babaeus: W. Syr. Babai) the Great, Abbot of Mount Izlā early in the 7th cent. (see Budge, *op. cit.* ii. 46), Bāwai of Nisibis (8th cent.; Budge, *ib.*; he was famous for his beautiful voice); George, Monophysite metropolitan of Nisibis (7th cent.; see *DCB* ii. 642, Assemani, III. i. 456); 'Abraham, Doctor' or 'Abraham of Izla,' *i.e.* Abraham of Kashkar, the reviver of monasticism in the 6th cent., the head of the monastery of Mount Izlā near Nisibis (Budge, ii. 37); Abimelech (date?); Abraham of Nithpar, whose life was written by Saurīshū Rūsṭām (Sabhrīshō' Rōsṭām, Sabarjesus Rostam), a disciple of Narsai (Thomas of Marga, bk. i. § 32, bk. ii. § 17; see also Budge, ii. 108 n.); John of Bēth Rabān (6th cent.), founder of a monastery in Dāsin, a district on the Great Zab south of the modern Qūchānīs, the seat of the present Nestorian Catholicos Mar Shimun (Budge, ii. 67, 301; *DCB* iii. 405); Saurīshū, Catholicos *c.* A.D. 600; Barsaumā (Barsumas) of Nisibis (5th cent.); Khnāna of Kh'dhayaw (Kh'dhayabh, Adiabene), a district east of the Tigris, between the two Zabs (Assemani, III. i. 81). The ascriptions are in some cases doubtful, and the scribe himself sometimes hesitates, and gives two names as alternatives.

(*b*) The *Madrāshā* (lit. 'commentary,' Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* i. 956; pl. *Madrāshé*), said to be a 'doctrinal hymn.' This is a less common form of hymn. It consists of an antiphon (*'ūnāyā*) and two or more verses (*bāté*: these two names are used by the West Syrians also). The antiphon is said first, and the two choirs then sing the verses in turn. There is a daily Madrāshā at Compline (which is uncommon as a daily service, but is used, combined with Evensong, on saints' days and in Lent; it is, however, used by the more religious as a private devotion; see Maclean-Browne, *Catholicos of the East*, p. 234); two Madrāshé are said at the Night Service on Feasts of our Lord; one is said on Sundays, on saints' days, and on week days in Lent. A Madrāshā is sometimes called a 'station' (Syr. *isṭaṭyūnā*).

(*c*) The *Anthem* (*'ūnīthā*, pl. *'ūnyāthā*; this word sometimes denotes a stanza of an anthem) is at once the most characteristic and the most common form of East Syrian hymnody. It consists of a number of stanzas; each stanza is prefaced by a clause from the Psalms (occasionally from other books of the Bible) said in monotone; then the metrical stanza is sung to a chant. The Anthem usually ends with a stanza prefaced by 'Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost,' and often with another prefaced by 'For ever and ever, Amen,' sometimes with a third prefaced by 'Let all the people say Amen' (Ps 106^{48}). The length of the stanzas varies greatly; but they are usually short, consisting of 2, 4, or 6 lines; the lines are often of 4 feet (spondees or dactyls), sometimes of 3½ or of 5 feet or more. Under the heading of the 'Gloria' and of 'Let all the people' there are frequently grouped several stanzas, and these are sometimes elaborate and probably late compositions; they often commemorate the East Syrian martyrs and other worthies (see, *e.g.*, *ESDO*, 134 ff., where several other groups of stanzas are added after the 'Gloria').

As this form of hymnody is unknown in the West, it may be useful to give a specimen, taken from the Ferial Evening Service of First Tuesday (*ESDO*, 24):

Our help is in the name of the Lord (Ps 124^{8}). Our help is from God: who by means of His mercies chastiseth us all: for He is the giver of our life: The hope of the salvation of our souls shall never more be cut off: but let us cry and say: Keep us, O my Lord, in thy compassion and have mercy upon us.

And our helper in times of trouble (Ps 46^{1}). Our help, etc. (*repeat*).

Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost. O Christ, who didst reconcile at thy coming all creation with Him who sent thee: pity thy Church saved by thy blood: and bring to an end within it strifeful divisions: which allow the devil to enter: to the wonderful dispensation of thy manhood: and raise up in it priests to preach the sound faith.

In the Anthems some of the stanzas inserted before the 'Gloria Patri' are often called 'Of prayer' (see, *e.g.*, *ESDO*, 145, 195); but the meaning of this heading is not clear. Some are 'occasional' stanzas, as 'for a journey' or 'for rain' (p. 149). The Anthems at the Night Service, especially on Festivals of our Lord, are extremely long; the translation of those appointed for the Epiphany takes 84 octavo pages of small print in *RA*; but the daily Anthems are only of from 3 to 6 stanzas. The 'Martyrs' Anthems' in praise of the heroes of the past, which are sung twice daily on ferias except in Lent (according to the rubric, they are appointed for Sundays also), are somewhat longer. They are a great feature of the services. The martyrs are called architects, the beams of a building, combatants (*āghūnīsṭé*, *ἀγωνισταί*), merchants buying the pearl, precious stones, etc. In almost every one of these Martyrs' Anthems the following are mentioned: St. George, the famous martyr under Diocletian (*DCB* ii. 645 f.); St. Cyriac, the boy-martyr in the same persecution, and Julitta, his mother (T. Ruinart, *Acta Sincera Martyrum*^{2}, Amsterdam, 1713, p. 477); St. Pithyūn, 'who opposed the magi' and was martyred by Adhūr-prazd'gard (for a detailed account see the anthem in *ESDO*, 139); St. Sergius, martyr in Syria under Maximian or Maximin (*DCB* iv. 616: sometimes his companion, St. Bacchus, is mentioned, for whom see *DCB* i. 236); and the sons of Shmūnī (the seven martyrs of 2 Mac 7), and Elī'āzar (Eleazar) their teacher (4 Mac 5 ff.): their names are given (*ESDO* 111) as Gadai, Maqwai (Maqbhai, Maccabæus), Tarsai, Khyūrūn (Khibhrōn, Hebron), Khyūṣūn (Khibhṣōn), Bākūs (Bacchus), Yūnādāw (Yōnādabh, Jonadab). [In the Latin paraphrase of 4 Mac 8 ff., published by Erasmus (the *Rule of Reason*), the names are given as Maccabæus, Aber, Machar, Judas, Achas, Areth, Jacob; and the mother's name is Salamona (W. R. Churton, *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, London, 1884, p. 579 ff.).]

Anthems are used at each of the four daily services (Evening, Night, Morning, and Compline—for the last, see above, (*b*)) and also in the Eucharistic Liturgy, in the baptismal service, and in large numbers in the occasional offices such as marriages and funerals. Many of the anthems at the burial of the dead are of great beauty, and are highly dramatic. Those used at the Eucharist are: the 'Anthem of the Sanctuary,' sung after the psalmody at the beginning of the service; the 'Anthem of the Gospel,' sung after the Gospel is read; the 'Anthem of the Mysteries,' sung after an unnamed and fixed offertory anthem; an Anthem at the Fraction; and the '[Anthem] of the Bema,' sung by the choir in the nave during the communion of the people, which is unlike other anthems, and more nearly resembles a Madrāshā, consisting of an antiphon and verses (for that sung on Ascension Day see F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*,[1] Oxford, 1896, i. 298; for that sung on the Epiphany see *RA*, 388).

While 'Anthems' are most highly developed in the East Syrian books, somewhat similar compositions are found in Greek (see *LEW*, 354, where three parts of a prayer are 'farsed' with the clauses of the 'Gloria Patri'; the prayer, however, is not metrical). Much nearer to the East Syrian anthem is the West Syrian *sedrō* (E. Syr. *sidrā*, lit. 'order'), though it is not so highly developed (for specimens see *LEW*, 71, 74, 80, 108). The *sedrō* begins with a *prūmīōn*, or antiphon (*προοίμιον*), and this is followed by stanzas. The psalm-clauses, however, have in some cases dropped out; the best example is that on p. 108, which retains not only the clauses of the 'Gloria,' but also Ps 36^{8b}. Payne Smith (*Thes. Syr.* ii. 2534) says that a *sedrō* is so called because it is arranged in order, and often is acrostic, or rhymes.

The authorship of the Anthems is seldom mentioned in the East Syrian service-books, but the Martyrs' Anthems are said in some MSS of the *Qdhām-ū-wāthar* (lit. 'Before and After')—the book of the daily offices less the 'propers' of the season, etc., named after the two choirs who sing the services—to have all been composed by Mār Mārūthā (Maruthas), metropolitan of Mīparqaṭ (Maipheracti), a city on the Tigris between Mosul and Baghdad, otherwise known as Takrit (Tagrit) or Martyropolis. Mārūthā became metropolitan A.D. 640, or, as some say, A.D. 624; for his life, by his successor, Mār Dinkhā, see *Patrologia Orientalis*, iii. 1 (ed. F. Nau, Paris, 1912). G. T. Stokes, in *DCB* iii. 859, appears to confuse him with one or two earlier namesakes. The Sunday Martyrs' Anthems differ in style from the weekday ones, and seem to be of a later date (*ESDO*, 173). A few names of authors are given in the service-books to particular parts of other Anthems, especially to certain long and elaborate groups of stanzas added, in some cases, at the end. In the MSS translated in *ESDO* and *RA* these are: Khakīm of Bēth Qāshā (lit. 'house of the presbyter'), Shimshā Ṣaidnāyā, Audīshū the bibliographer (13th cent.; see above), Shĭmūn, metropolitan of Amīdh (Diarbekr), Abraham of Slūkh (Seleucia on the Tigris), and Gabriel. The Anthem of the last-named is dated in the MSS '1910 of the Greeks,' *i.e.* A.D. 1599 (*ESDO*, 231). It would seem that, when an author's name is given to an Anthem, the composition is comparatively late. Some of the Anthems in *RA* are said in the MSS to have been derived from the *Wardā* (above, § 3), and the *Gazā* (lit. 'treasury'), a large volume containing propers for Festivals of our Lord, etc.

(*d*) The *Tūrgāmā* (lit. 'interpretation') is an expository hymn sung in the Liturgy. An invariable *tūrgāmā* is sung before the Epistle ('Apostle,' *i.e.* St. Paul), and a variable one before the Gospel (*LEW*, 257, 259).

(*e*) The *Canon* (Syr. *qānūnā*=*κανών*) is a hymn, metrical or non-metrical, consisting of verses 'farsed' with a psalm or other composition (for other meanings of this word see *ESDO*, 292); it is another great feature of the East Syrian services. A conspicuous example is the Canon 'Terrible art thou,' sung on Feasts of our Lord (*LEW*, 297), which runs thus:

> 'Terrible art thou, O God most high, out of thine holy place, world without end. Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His place,'

and is sung between several clauses proper to the particular festival. A very elaborate Canon occurs in the Third Mōtwā (*Mautbhā*, a series of anthems sung sitting, Gr. *κάθισμα*) at the Night Service on Epiphany (*RA*, 365). The stanzas farse the clauses of Dt 32^{21b-43}, and are remarkable as including four unique verses in an old Persian dialect, in metre of lines of 8 syllables. D. S. Margoliouth judges them to belong to a dialect of Christians in Persia before the Muhammadan Conquest (*JRAS*, Oct. 1903, and *RA*, 367 n.). Another instance of a Canon is the *Lākhū mārā* (lit. 'Thee, Lord'), named from its first words, and sung at almost all the services:

> 'Thee, Lord of all, we confess: thee, Jesus Christ, we glorify: for thou art the Quickener of our bodies, and thou art the Saviour of our souls.'

This is used as a farsing of a psalm-clause with 'Gloria Patri' (see *ESDO*, 3, 104, etc.; *LEW*, 249). Yet another instance is the 'Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us,' which is farsed with the 'Gloria Patri' (*ESDO*, 10; *LEW*, 250). These two compositions, however, are not called 'Canons' in the service-books. It may be added that 'farsing' is a favourite practice of the East Syrians; the psalms, and even the Lord's Prayer, are farsed (for the last see *LEW*, 252; *ESDO*, 1 f.).

LITERATURE.—As the subject is so little known, it may be desirable to name certain East Syrian service-books where specimens of the hymns described above may be found. The following two service-books, published in Syriac by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission in London and at Urmi in Persia, may be mentioned out of several similar works: *Ṭakhsā* (lit. 'Order,' *τάξις*), the Missal (1890); *Qdhām-ū-wāthār*, the book of daily offices (1892), for which see above, 4 (*c*). These contain the services as used by the Nestorians. The services as modified for the 'Uniat Chaldæans' may be seen in the *Breviarium Chaldaicum*, Paris, 1886. For Eng. tr. of the services see A. J. Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices*, London, 1894; F. C. Conybeare and A. J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum and the East Syrian Epiphany Rites*, Oxford, 1905; F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. do. 1896 (contains one Liturgy, with the 'propers' for the Ascension); *Liturgy of Adai and Mari*, London, 1893 (contains three Liturgies and the baptismal service).

Besides the works mentioned in the course of the art., reference may be made to Gabriel Cardakhi, *Liber Thesauri de Arte Poetica Syrorum*, Rome, 1875 (an anthology of poems of different dates); G. Bickell, *S. Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena*, Leipzig, 1866; J. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*^{2}, London, 1907, art. 'Syriac Hymnody.' A few Syriac hymns have been rendered in English verse by R. M. Moorsom *Renderings of Church Hymns*, London, 1901, and by others.

A. J. MACLEAN.

HYMNS (Ethiopic Christian).—Hymns enter largely into the services of the Abyssinian Church, and in catalogues of Ethiopic MSS the names of certain hymn-books are usually found, viz. the *Degwa*, the *Egziabḥer nages* ('The Lord is king'), the *Me'rāf* ('Chapter'), and the *Mawāshĕĕt* ('Responses'). Like other hymns, they are dedicated to particular persons, and intended for special occasions; a complete hymn-book is one which contains hymns for every solemnity in the year. A specimen of a Response or Antiphon is given by A. Dillmann in his *Chrestomathia Æthiopica* (Leipzig, 1866, § 10); it consists mainly of Scripture texts, chanted by the minister, and partly repeated by the choir; their response is called *Melṭān*. Although it bears the title *Wāzēm* ('Hymn'), which resembles the Arabic *wazn* ('metre'), it bears no trace of rhythm or rhyme. Other hymns exhibit rhyme similar to that used in Arabic versification; *i.e.* a series of lines all terminate in the same consonant or consonant and vowel: but, whereas in Arabic this rhyme pervades the poem, in Ethiopic it pervades the strophe, which is ordinarily of five lines (see examples in

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[1] Hereafter cited as *LEW*.

E. A. W. Budge, *Miracles of the Virgin Mary*, London, 1900); sometimes, however, it is only of three. The lines of a strophe do not appear to correspond exactly in other respects, and at times vary considerably in length and sequence of syllables. The chanting is of three styles: *Geez* (or *Zēmā*), *'Ezel*, and *Arārāi*, said to be suited respectively to holy days, fasts, and feasts; of these names the second appears to be identical with the Arabic *Ghazal*, 'love songs,' but the others are obscure. The *Degwa* is supposed to be the composition of one Yārēd of the 8th cent.; but this ascription is probably valueless. The matter contained in these hymns does not differ from the contents of analogous compositions in other branches of Christianity.

LITERATURE.—Catalogues of Ethiopic MSS, especially A. Dillmann, *Cat. codd. MSS æthiop. Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ*, Oxford, 1848; W. Wright, *Cat. of the Ethiop. MSS in the Brit. Mus.*, London, 1877; H. Zotenberg, *Cat. des MSS orient. de la bibliothèque nat.* iii., Paris, 1877.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

HYMNS (Latin Christian).—I. *EARLY CHRISTIAN HYMNS.*—The language of the Western liturgies was originally Greek, not Latin, and the numerous Greek expressions in the present Roman liturgy remind us of this original dependence. Greek, moreover, was the written language of the early Fathers and ecclesiastical writers till Tertullian, so that it is not surprising to find that no original and independent Latin hymns were composed before the 4th cent. after Christ.

Isidore of Seville designates Hilary of Poitiers as the first hymn-composer of the Latin-speaking West,[1] and, according to Jerome,[2] he composed a whole book of hymns, but had apparently no decisive success.[3] The reason of his failure was that he made no attempt to condescend to the uncultivated Gallic populace, but tried to raise them to his own level.

Regarding the hymns of Hilary there was no certain information until quite recently. The *Liber hymnorum* of which Jerome spoke was lost, and the other compositions which circulated under his name in anthologies and literary histories either could not be proved authentic or were associated with his name only through an error which has found its way from Daniel's *Thesaurus hymnologicus* into countless works.[4] In 1884, G. F. Gamurrini discovered fragments of the missing *Liber hymnorum* in the public library of Arezzo, and published them in 1887 in the *Biblioteca dell' academia storico-giuridica*, vol. iv., under the title, 'S. Hilarii Tractatus de Mysteriis et Hymni et S. Silviæ Aquitanæ Perigrinatio ad loca sancta.' Unfortunately, the hymn-book is in a mutilated condition; it contains only three hymns, which are all incomplete, two being defective at the beginning, and one at the end; two of them are acrostics, or alphabet-hymns. In spite of this mutilation, the hymns are of priceless value to us, for they help us to estimate the oldest Latin hymns, and the poetical attempts of the great Gallic Church Father. Their contents—especially those of the first hymn, which deals with the doctrine of the Trinity and the consubstantiality of the Son—are not very clear, and have no popular characteristic. They are metrical in form, but show no artistic taste; and great liberties have been taken with the metre.[5]

Although Hilary was the first Western writer to compose hymns in Latin, Ambrose may be rightly called the Father of Latin hymn-composition, and, indirectly, of all Church hymnody and popular song.[1] There is far more evidence of the activity of Ambrose as a hymn-writer than in the case of Hilary. Many testimonies from Christian antiquity, among which his own takes the first rank, assure us of his poetical activity as well as of his striking success.[2] Augustine, his younger contemporary, has preserved quotations from the hymns of Ambrose; we have his good authority for four of them, viz. 'Æterne rerum conditor,' 'Deus, creator omnium,' 'Jam surgit hora tertia,' and 'Intende qui regis Israel.' If, by means of these four hymns, which are undoubtedly genuine, we examine the characteristics of Ambrose's style of thought and poetical expression in language and metre, we may be able to prove his authorship of a series of other hymns in the collection of the Church of Milan.[3]

The first fact that strikes us in connexion with the success of Ambrose is that his influence as a hymn-writer was as strong as it was lasting. Both Augustine and Ambrose himself describe the inspiriting and even fascinating effect which these hymns exercised when they first appeared. They were songs for the people and the congregation in the fullest sense of the term, being thoroughly popular in contents, form, and melody. Of course, the population of an imperial seat of residence like Milan stood at a higher level of culture than the people of a Gallic provincial town like the Poitiers of Hilary, and those who could follow the sermons of Ambrose with intelligence and affection would also appreciate his hymns, and sing them with enthusiasm.

The hymns of Ambrose spread rapidly over the West, and became popular everywhere. The ancient Latin hymns were also folk-songs, and they continued to be so as long as Latin remained a living tongue. When it became a dead language of liturgy, the sphere of influence of these hymns naturally became narrowed; instead of being the property of a whole people, they became, as poetry of the Church and cloister, the possession of a privileged class. But, later on, a popular form of poetry was evolved from this poetry, which continued to exist, and even flourish luxuriantly, in a dead language—an evolution which took place not in one, but in many languages; and thus we have the surprising phenomenon of a popular form of composition passing through an artistic stage to return again to the popular level. In this sense, also, Ambrose is the father of our popular ecclesiastical hymns; even to-day some of his poems and melodies are sung by the people. It is impossible now to discover the stages through which the popular hymn of Ambrose passed in its development into the clerical and monastic hymn of the Middle Ages, or the time when the transformation was completed. The want of liturgical records, and especially of MS hymns, reduces us almost entirely to the expedient of combining fragments—an untrustworthy method when the data are so scanty and uncertain. With the exception of a few MSS, such as *Vaticanus Reg. 11* and the *Antiphonary of Bangor* (ed. F. E. Warren, London, 1893–95), which, however, belong to quite a different environment and a different kind of composition, we have hardly any hymn-collections before the 10th century. In all of them the transformation is complete; and they also show another change—the hymn governed by quantity and metre has evolved one governed by rules of accent. The single certain fact in this long period we derive from the monastic rules of Benedict, and of Aurelian and Cæsarius of Arles, which show us a small number of hymns as existent in the 6th cent., and the Latin hymn almost completely transformed into the monastic hymn.[1]

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[1] *de Eccl. off.* i. 6.
[2] *De Vir. illust.* 100.
[3] *Com. in Gal. ii.*, pref.
[4] Cf. *Analecta hymnica*, xxvii. [1897] 49 f.
[5] For other questions connected with Hilary's hymns see the detailed account in *Anal. hymn.* l. [1907] 3 f.

[1] See G. M. Dreves, *Aurelius Ambrosius, 'der Vater des Kirchengesanges,'* Freiburg im Br., 1893.
[2] *Ib.* pp. 4, 28.
[3] This is the aim of Dreves's *Aurelius Ambrosius*. Following the example of L. Biraghi (*Inni sinceri e carmi di S. Ambrogio*, Milan, 1862), he proves fourteen hymns to be undoubtedly authentic, and four others to be probably composed by Ambrose (see *Aur. Amb.*, pp. 127–140, and *Anal. hymn.* l. 11–21). Dreves is also the first to attempt to ascertain by the same critical method the melodies which we are justified in regarding as originating from Ambrose (*Aur. Amb.* p. 129 ff.). His statements on both points have not been contradicted or disproved.

Contemporary with Ambrose, although his hymns appeared later, Prudentius[2] introduced a new kind of religious poetry; the non-liturgical hymn appeared and developed alongside of the liturgical; to the poetry expressing official and public congregational devotion was added the poetry of personal and domestic edification.

Besides his greater works (he wrote in all over ten thousand verses), which are mostly didactic and polemic, Aurelius Prudentius Clemens composed two works of mixed lyric and epic content, the *Cathemerinon* and *Peristephanon*, which have given his name a leading place in the history of hymnology. The first is a collection of hymns for the different hours of prayer in the day and the festivals of the year; the second consists of a series of poetical narratives celebrating the sufferings, conflicts, and victories of various martyrs, especially those belonging to Spain. These compositions belong to epic rather than to hymnic verse, but some of them were adopted into popular use as hymns.

Prudentius presents a striking contrast to his immediate predecessor Ambrose, writing as he did from an entirely different point of view, and only for private reading. Among the early Christian hymn-writers, Ambrose may be called the Classic and Prudentius the Romantic. While Ambrose everywhere betrays the genuine Roman character, with its sustained dignity and strenuous self-control, in the poems of the hot-blooded Spaniard there is a sparkle and glow, a thrill and enthusiasm unknown to the ancient Roman poets. The contrast between the liturgist and the poet is also obvious in the external form chosen by the two writers. While the hymns of Ambrose invariably consist of eight stanzas—a number which remained the rule till far into the Middle Ages—those of Prudentius are much longer. All the hymns of Ambrose are composed in the iambic dimeter—a metre whose simplicity was specially adapted to meet the requirements of congregational singing, and in which the majority of Latin hymns have been composed down to the present day; on the other hand, Prudentius takes pleasure in imitating and, if possible, surpassing, the rich variety of metres in Horace; so that, even in poetical form, self-limitation marks the one, and self-expansion the other, of the two protagonists of ancient Christian poetry.

As regards the influence of both writers on the hymn-composition which they originated, we may say that Ambrose has exercised a more powerful influence on the form, and Prudentius on the subject-matter, of sacred poetry, and that in later hymnody the one acted more as a restraint, and the other as a stimulus; the influence of Ambrose has been the more permanent, and that of Prudentius the more extensive, as he did not confine himself within the narrow limits of liturgical hymn-composition. Further, the influence of Prudentius on posterity was as great as that of a conspicuous poet has ever been, because, like the poets of classical antiquity generally, he became the common property of all nations who shared the intellectual wealth bequeathed by ancient Rome.

In comparison with these two masters of ancient Christian hymnody, the other Christian hymn-writers belonging to this period fall into the background. We possess numerous inscriptional poems of Pope Damasus († 384), which are distinguished by elegance of expression and artistic polish.[1] The hymns attributed to him, however (one in praise of Agatha, and a hymn commemorating St. Andrew, which has long been in liturgical use), apparently do not belong to him; the former is probably of Mozarabic, and the latter of Gallo-Frankish, origin. Augustine († 430) also touches the province of hymnology in so far as he composed a 'rhythm' against the sect of the Donatists, each strophe beginning in alphabetical order from *a* to *v*. He himself calls it 'Psalmus contra partem Donati: liber unus.'[2] It was intended for popular singing, in order to make the common people better acquainted with the distinctive teaching of the two parties, and had a refrain (*hypopsalma*). Although the form is lyrical, the contents are so pronouncedly didactic that the poem can hardly be counted among sacred lyrics; but it is of the highest importance for the history of rhythmic Latin poetry because of its indisputable authenticity. Pontius Meropius Anicius Paulinus, bishop of Nola in Campania († 431), composed a whole 'book of hymns.'[3] Either this refers to the *Carmina Natalitia* on St. Felix or the book has been lost. Among the extant poems of Paulinus, all that can be called hymns are the 'Prayer' (*Carm.* iv.) and three paraphrases of Ps 7–9.[4] Cælius Sedulius, who flourished about the middle of the 5th cent., has left two poems besides his great 'Carmen Paschale.' These he himself intended to be hymns, although the first is really a combination of didactic and lyrical poetry; and the second, the famous 'A solis ortus cardine,' is a poem in iambic dimeters, the initial letters of whose strophes form an acrostic. This hymn was used in the Mozarabic liturgy, where it was divided into six sections for the Festivals of the Annunciation, of the Virgin Mary, the Birth of Christ, the Epiphany, Innocents' Day, the Feast of Lazarus, and Maundy Thursday; it is also used in the Roman liturgy, but in a condensed form. Some verses from the 'Carmen Paschale' have a place in the Roman missal, in the Introit of the votive Mass of the Virgin.[5] Pope Gelasius († 496) also composed hymns in the manner of Ambrose.[6] Unfortunately his hymnary is lost, and we cannot authenticate any single hymn as his literary property.

II. *MEROVINGIAN HYMNS.*—Between early Christian and mediæval hymn-composition there are two transitional periods—the time of the Merovingians, which shows a further development from metre to rhythm, and the Carlovingian period, which is a time of artistic renaissance, and which also inaugurates a completely new epoch. Ennodius, bishop of Pavia († 521), like Gelasius, belongs in time to the Merovingian period, although in his whole character and tone of thought he is a product of the former early Christian age. We possess a complete hymnary written by him containing twelve hymns, most of which have survived only in a single Brussels MS.[7] Ennodius was obviously roused to poetical activity by the example of Ambrose, and at any rate wrote his hymns as archdeacon of Milan for the use of the Church there. His hymns, with the exception of the eighth, are in the same measure as those of Ambrose. He always divides them into eight stanzas, and chooses only subjects that had not already been treated in verse by Ambrose. The Church of Milan, however, did not respond to his desire; his hymns were not adopted in her liturgy, and only three of them can be traced in other liturgies. Ennodius is one of the poets on whom, as a rule, literary historians pour out the vials of their wrath. His hymns hardly deserve the censure generally heaped on them; in spite of being modelled on those of Ambrose, they are not entirely devoid of originality, and, notwithstanding their obscurity of style, they do not lack a certain inspiration.[1] We must mention here Pope Gregory the Great († 604)—not as a hymn-writer, but as a supposed hymn-writer. Just as all the reforming energy of this Pope with regard to the Liturgy lies in obscurity, so nothing is known about his poetical activity. All that we read about hymns which he is said to have composed is either the product of private supposition (such as that of Mone) or derived from Jodocus Clichtoveus, who, in his *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum* (Basel, 1517), was the first to assign a few hymns to Gregory, without any reason. During the whole mediæval period, down to the time of Gregory himself, almost absolute silence prevails on the subject.[2]

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[1] Cf. C. Blume, *Der Cursus Sancti Benedicti Nursini*, Leipzig, 1908.

[2] *PL* lix.-lx.

[1] *PL* xiii. 375 ff.; ed. M. Ihm, *Antholog. Lat. supplementa*, i. [Leipzig, 1895].

[2] *Retract.* i. 20.

[3] Gennadius, *de Script. eccl.* 48

[4] *Anal. hymn.* l. 47 ff.; *PL* lxi. 439 f., 449–452.

[5] *Ib.* l. 53 ff. The poems of Sedulius are to be found most conveniently in *PL* xix. 549 ff.

[6] Gennadius, 94.

[7] *PL* lxiii. 326–334.

The greatest and most conspicuous figure of this period is Venantius Honorius Clementianus Fortunatus, who was made bishop of Poitiers in 599. His poetry, with the exception of the four books of his *Life of St. Martin*, is 'occasional poetry' in the strictest sense of the term. According to Paulus Diaconus,[3] he also composed numerous hymns for the various Church festivals, but these have not been handed down. In his eleven books of 'miscellaneous poems'[4] there are three hymns on the Holy Cross and an 'occasional poem' on Easter, which, in an abbreviated form, was used as a processional hymn. Besides these there are other three hymns ascribed to Fortunatus: the baptismal hymn, 'Tibi laus, perennis auctor' (called 'Versus Fortunati presbyteri' in an 8th cent. office-book from Poitiers preserved in the 'Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal' in Paris), the Christmas hymn 'Agnoscat omne sæculum,' and the beautiful hymn in praise of Mary, 'Quem terra, pontus, æthera.'[5] In spite of neglect of artistic form, the hymns of Fortunatus belong to the acknowledged pearls of Christian literature. Hymns like the 'Pange lingua' and the 'Vexilla regis' have never been surpassed, and will remain immortal. They had a great influence on both text and music of later hymns.[6]

Among the contemporaries of Fortunatus we may mention Eugenius of Toledo († 658), who bestowed special care on Church-hymnody, and revised the Church office-books; but, as no ecclesiastical hymns have come down under his name, we cannot ascertain his probable share in the hymn-composition of the Mozarabic liturgists.[7] After Venantius Fortunatus the most conspicuous poet of the period is the Venerable Bede († 735). In the last chapter of his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, in which he inserted a synopsis of his original works, he says that he had also composed 'a book of hymns in various verse-measures and rhythms.' We have to lament the loss of this book as a whole; but eleven hymns have been handed down to us under Bede's name by Georgius Cassander in his *Hymni Ecclesiastici* (Cologne, 1556), regarding the genuineness of which there has been much controversy.[1] Besides these hymns we have an abecedary hymn on St. Edilthrida in the *Ecclesiastical History* (iv. 20), and two Psalm-paraphrases preserved in various MSS. Bede's hymns are of unmistakable sobriety, corresponding with the whole character of their author. They did not circulate widely, however, and exercised no lasting influence on later Latin hymn-writing; only a few of them occur in liturgical MSS. The hymn on St. Edilthrida was imitated in a large series of Anglo-Saxon and Irish hymns, *e.g.* those of Wulstan of Winchester (cf., further, below, p. 20ᵇ).[2]

We may mention here a double series of hymns, which began in the Merovingian period, and have a decidedly national character, which is strikingly evident in the national form of writing: the ancient Irish and the Gothic or Mozarabic hymn collections. The ancient Irish Latin hymns are discussed in art. HYMNS (Irish Christian). More important than these, however, are the hymns collected in the Mozarabic Liturgy. This Liturgy, which differs very little from the Roman, was first entitled 'Old Spanish,' then, with the dominion of the Goths, 'Gothic,' and, finally, after the conquest of Spain by the Arabs (A.D. 711) 'Mozarabic,' *i.e.* the Liturgy of Christians living among Arabs. Isidore of Seville seems to have done for this Liturgy what Gregory the Great did for the Roman, but the facts of the case are equally uncertain. The hymns, numbering about 200, which can still be collected out of old Mozarabic breviaries, are by no means the product of one period; on the contrary, there are some in the classical metre of the early Christian period, some which show the gradual transition from metrical to rhythmic composition, and some displaying all the linguistic barbarism of the 10th century. The Mozarabic Liturgy is much richer in hymns than the Roman. It has a whole series of hymns for special occasions, such as the consecration of a bishop, a bishop's birthday, a coronation, a king's birthday, marriages, etc.

With the disuse of the Mozarabic Liturgy this mass of lyrical poetry became obsolete, and found its way from the Church into the libraries and archives.[3]

III. *THE CARLOVINGIAN RENAISSANCE.*—The empire of the Carlovingians, with its Cæsaropapism often resembling that of Byzantium, marks a new epoch for Latin hymnology. During this period two tendencies appear which afterwards run parallel through the whole of the Middle Ages, viz. the artistic reproduction of the old and the obsolete, and the preparation of the new and original. Charlemagne was not only a warrior but a patron of art, and under his rule artistic Latin poetry received a new impetus which has been called the 'Carlovingian Renaissance.' The central focus of these efforts was the 'palace-school' of Charlemagne, with which the most famous learned men of the time were connected. It must be admitted that, considering their numbers and their poetical activity, the authors belonging to the learned circle of the palace and its 'school' composed few hymns—no doubt because the introduction of the Roman Liturgy into the whole empire of the Franks checked the impulse towards hymn-composition. Still, the majority of them made small contributions towards the treasury of Church hymnody.

The most important was Paul the Deacon († 799), who from 782 to 786 stayed at the Court of Charlemagne. Besides a hymn on the miracle-worker, Benedict of Nursia, in his *History of the Lombards* (i. 26), we have the immortal poem on John the Baptist.[1] **Paulinus II.**, patriarch of Aquileia († 802), was a more productive composer. His best known and most popular hymn was that on the Apostles Peter and Paul, beginning 'Felix per omnes festum mundi cardines.'[2] **Alcuin** († 804), a central figure in this group and one of the most prolific hymn-writers, is represented by only two hymns—one on Vedastus and an evening hymn.[3] Legend says that **Theodulf**, bishop of Orleans († 821), from his prison-window greeted the Palm Sunday procession in Angers, in which King Louis the Pious took part, with the improvised hymn 'Gloria, laus, et honor,' fragments of which are still in use in the Roman Liturgy. The only other extant hymns of Theodulph are those for 'The Salutation of the King,' *In Adventu Regis*.[4] In this circle of poets we may also include **Florus**, the deacon of the Lyons Church, and **Sedulius Scottus** († *c.* 874), the scholar of Liège. We have some hymns by Florus (fl. middle of 9th cent.) composed in elegiac verse, and some free translations of psalms in heroic metre (one Psalm-paraphrase is written in iambic dimeter).[5] The poems of Sedulius Scottus belonging to the rank of hymns are very few.[6]

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[1] *Anal. hymn.* l. 61 ff.

[2] Cf. Dreves, 'Haben wir Gregor den Grossen als Hymnendichter anzusehen?' *Tübinger Quartalschrift*, 1907, pp. 548–562. C. Blume, in an art. in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach* (lxxiv. [Freiburg im B., 1908] 269 ff.), has ventured to reclaim Gregory for sacred hymnody, but he seems scarcely satisfied with his own arguments.

[3] *de Gest. Longobard.* ii. 13.

[4] *PL* lxxxviii. 63 ff.

[5] Cf. Dreves, *Hymnologische Studien zu Venantius Fortunatus und Rabanus Maurus*, Munich, 1908, pp. 1–54.

[6] *Anal. hymn.* l. 70 ff.

[7] *Ib.* l. 89 ff.

[1] See *Anal. hymn.* l. 96 ff.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] See *ib.* xxvii. for Cienfuegos's attempt to resuscitate it. The Liturgy is found most conveniently in *PL* lxxxvi.

Besides this group of poets of the early Carlovingian period, there is another in the later period—the 'Singers' school' of St. Gall.[7] The two groups are connected by **Rabanus Maurus**, who was a pupil of Alcuin, and **Walafrid Strabo**, who came from St. Gall to Rabanus at Fulda, and later on became abbot of Reichenau. Walafrid, the younger of the two, is the better and more artistic poet, Rabanus the more productive and influential. The poems of **Rabanus** († 856), especially his hymns, are known chiefly from the ed. of C. Brower (Mainz, 1617), who took them from a MS which probably belonged to the Fulda monastery. A small portion of this MS is preserved in the monastic library at Einsiedeln.[8] In his hymns Rabanus is more original and inspired than in his other works. The immortal 'Veni Creator Spiritus' is assigned to him by a Breslau MS now in London.[9] **Walafrid**, nicknamed Strabo or Strabus ('the cross-eyed'), abbot of Reichenau († 849), seems to have composed a 'Book of Hymns' (*sacrorum hymnorum librum unum* [J. Pitseus]), but it has been lost. Only a few hymns of Walafrid are known—a Christmas hymn, a hymn on Gallus, well known in Germany in the Middle Ages, hymns on Mammes, Januarius, Sergius, and Bacchus, and poems to welcome the Emperor.[10] Another pupil of Rabanus—the monk **Gottschalk of Orbais** († 869)—composed hymns, or, rather, spiritual songs. Two of them are specially interesting because of their original rhythms.[11]

The 'School of St. Gall,' to which we now pass, produced two classes of writers—the first class being an offshoot of the Carlovingian Renaissance, cultivating the liturgical hymn in classical metre and developing the processional hymn, and the second (especially Notker and Tutilo) introducing an entirely new art of sequences and tropes.

(1) In the former class **Ratpert** († after 884) was an active writer, although all that remains of his liturgical writings is a short litany for Sunday processions, composed partly in elegiac, partly in heroic, verse, beginning 'Ardua Spes mundi,' a communion hymn 'Laudes, Omnipotens, ferimus tibi, dona colentes,' a processional hymn for the festival of St. Gall, and a song to welcome the Queen.[1] **Waldrammus** (wrongly entitled 'deacon' by Ekkehart IV.) composed a processional, 'Sancte Pater, juva nos,' two hymns to welcome the King, and a sequence for the Church-dedication festival.[2] A contemporary and brother-poet of his is the younger **Hartmann**, abbot of St. Gall († 925), of whose compositions we possess a hymn to be sung before the Gospel (really a precursor of the 'Conductus' which came into use later), a hymn and a processional for the festival of the Holy Innocents, a metrical litany for Sunday processions, hymns to welcome the King, and hymns for the procession bearing the remains of St. Magnus.[3] Others in this class are **Notker Physicus** († 975), who wrote hymns on the Virgin Mary and St. Othmar,[4] and **Ekkehart the Deacon** († 973), the author of some sequences.

(2) **Notker the Stammerer** (Balbulus; † 912) stands at the head of the second class. He introduced rhythmical sequences into the Church liturgy, freed hymn-composition from the trammels of early Christian art, and thus inaugurated the rhythmical composition of the Middle Ages, which afterwards developed so luxuriantly. In Notker's time there was no proper musical notation. Melodies had to be memorized; and the notation in use was merely an aid to memory for the singer, marking the groups of notes and the general rise and fall of the melody, but not the exact intervals between the notes. It was very difficult to remember passages in which a long sequence of notes (sometimes occupying several lines and called 'melisms' and 'jubilations') had to be sung on a single syllable of a word, as, *e.g.*, in the Alleluia at the end of the Gradual. Notker had often wondered how this difficulty could be obviated. When the monastery of Jumièges in Northern France was destroyed by the Normans, one of the monks came to St. Gall. In the choir-books which he brought with him Notker saw that there were words fitted into the long sequences of notes—a syllable for every note; and he determined to attempt something similar. Under the wordless 'melisms' he introduced words of his own composition, so that each note was sung to a single syllable; and he composed two lines of words for each musical phrase (*clausula*), which, if we may infer earlier custom from later, were rendered by choirs of men and boys alternately. After Notker had overcome the first difficulties with the help of his teachers Iso and Marcellus, he composed sequences for nearly all the festivals of the ecclesiastical year, divided them into two books, wrote a preface, and dedicated them to Bishop Liutward of Vercelli, the patron of his monastery. Notker's collection of sequences, which held its ground in Germany till the time of the Council of Trent—and some of it even later—exists in numerous MSS, in many of which, however, there is a mixture of later additions, *e.g.* sequences of Ekkehart and others. In contents, form, and manner of musical phrasing Notker's sequences are entirely original—a liturgi-

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[1] From the opening words of this hymn, 'Ut queant laxis resonare fibris,' Guido of Arezzo borrowed the tonic 'Ut, re, mi' notation. For the hymns see *PL* xcv. 472–474, 1597 f.; cf. also E. Dümmler, 'Zu den Gedichten des Paulus Diaconus,' in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xvii. [1891] 397-401, and *Anal. hymn.* l. 117 ff.

[2] *Anal. hymn.* l. 126 ff.; *PL* xcix. 479–504.

[3] *Ib.* l. 152 ff.; *PL* ci. 681 f., 726 f.

[4] *Ib.* l. 160 ff.

[5] *Ib.* l. 210 ff.; *PL* lxi. 1083–1087.

[6] *Ib.* l. 229 ff.; *PL* ciii. 293 ff.

[7] A. Schubriger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens*, Einsiedeln, 1858.

[8] On the genuineness of the poems assigned to Rabanus by Brower, see Dreves, *Hymnologische Studien zu Venantius Fortunatus und Rabanus Maurus*, pp. 55–136.

[9] *Anal. hymn.* l. 180 ff.; for the hymns see also *PL* cxii. 1043 ff.

[10] *Ib.* l. 167 ff.

[11] *Ib.* l. 219 ff.

[1] *Anal. hymn.* l. 237 ff.; *PL* lxxxvii. 39–41, 44.

[2] *Ib.* l. 244 ff.

[3] *Ib.* l. 250 ff.; *PL* lxxxvii. 29–33, 43 f., 47.

[4] *PL* lxxxvii. 48–50.

cal, poetical, and musical innovation—as the hymns of Ambrose had been, and their circulation and influence find no parallel except in the case of the great Milanese. As with Ambrose's hymns, Rome alone showed little appreciation for the Teutonic innovation of Notker—a circumstance which afterwards, at the Council of Trent, proved momentous for sequence-composition. Besides his sequences Notker composed a series of hymns on St. Stephen.[1]

Next to Notker the Stammerer, **Tutilo** († 898) is the most influential member of the St. Gall school; for he ranks as the first writer of 'tropes' (*i.e.* additions in prose or verse to an already existing liturgical text).

These insertions were afterwards more frequent in Missals or Graduals than in Breviaries or Antiphonaries. In the former we find them in the 'Kyrie,' 'Gloria,' 'Sanctus,' 'Agnus Dei,' and in the Epistles (*Epitres farcis*) as well as in other fixed or changing parts of the Mass (Introit, Gradual, Offertory, Communion); in the latter, as a rule, only in some of the Responses.

Only a few tropes composed by Tutilo remain, and these are mostly in prose, and therefore interesting to liturgists, not hymnologists. As regards hymn-writing Tutilo is important, not on account of what he composed, but for what he inaugurated and suggested: the composition of tropes, introduced in German territory and cultivated to a moderate extent in Germany, spread into France, Italy, and England, where it attained a much fuller development.

The 'School of Saint Amand' (*Schola Elnonensis*) also flourished during this period. **Milo** († 872) was one of its most celebrated teachers and a prolific poet, but none of his hymns have been preserved. The most distinguished, however, was **Hucbald** († 930), one of the first composers of harmony. He discovered the *organum*, or *ars organizandi*, *i.e.* the art of accompanying a melody in perfect fifths; and his name is also connected with the introduction of the metrical or rhymed office (*Historia rhythmica*), *i.e.* a daily liturgical prayer-office, comprising the seven canonical hours, in which the hymns and everything else sung, except the Psalms and lessons, are composed in metre, rhythm, and rhyme. Besides hymns on St. Theodoric of Rheims and St. Cyricus of Nevers, he composed rhymed offices on St. Rictrude of Marchiennes and others. At any rate, the district of St. Omer, St. Amand, and Liège may be rightly regarded as the birthplace of this kind of composition.[2]

IV. *THE EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD.*—When treating of the school of St. Gall as a whole, we have already touched on the early mediæval period (10th and 11th centuries). The 10th cent. takes up the task—interrupted and postponed by the Carlovingian Renaissance—of liberating the Latin hymn from ancient metrical laws and of bringing it under the government of rhythm. During the process, which is tedious and confusing, the hymns which appear are neither metrical nor rhythmical; they have neither accent nor metre—in fact, the composers seem simply to have followed the principle of counting syllables. Rhyme appears in a desultory manner in the Carlovingian period, in Rabanus and Gottschalk, but throughout the 10th cent. it remains weak and imperfect. It was not till the 11th cent. that both accent and rhyme reached the pitch of perfection which they maintained in the 12th and 13th centuries. At the same time the art of writing sequences, begun by Notker, continued to be cultivated, although it never again attained Notker's depth of thought and mysticism. In the 11th cent. sequences appeared in France which, re-constructing Notker's prose tropes in poetic form, and his syllable-counted cadences in rhythms and strophes, introduced a new type of sequence. They constitute—to borrow a figure from architecture—the transition-style, in which Romanesque forms are mixed with Gothic elements. During this period, as throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, metre holds its ground, but, like rhythm, it is re-modelled and re-moulded in the disguise of the most variable and purely ornamental forms.[1]

One of the most famous hymn-writers of this period is the Anglo-Saxon **Wulstan**, precentor of St. Swithin in Winchester. We have several abecedaries composed by him in elegiac measure on local saints of Winchester—Athelwold, Birin, and Swithin. They are modelled on Bede's hymn on Edilthrida, and have been revised by Ordericus Vitalis.[2] The monastery of the reformed Benedictine order at Clugny, which at this time influenced not only France but all the Christian kingdoms of the West, is represented in hymn-composition by the two most celebrated abbots that it possessed—**Odo**, the best musician of his time († 943), and **Odilo** († 1048). Only a few fragments of their hymns remain. Odo celebrated St. Martin of Tours;[3] Odilo panegyrized St. Majolus, abbot of Clugny, and the empress St. Adelheid, consort of Otto the Great.[4] The German poet-pope **Leo IX.**, a count of Egisheim († 1054), is closely connected with the Clugny group. Besides two hymns he composed a rhythmical office in honour of Gregory the Great.[5]

More famous than all these, however, as theologian, schoolman, and poet, is **Fulbert of Chartres** († 1028). The comparatively few poems of his which are extant are composed in the most varied metres and rhythms. The more widely-circulated of his writings were the sequence 'Sonent regi nato,' the Epiphany hymn 'Nuntium vobis fero de supernis' in France, and the Easter Song 'Chorus novæ Jerusalem' throughout Christendom.[6] Other French hymn-writers of this period are **Adhémar of Chabannes**, a monk of Angoulême († 1034), who panegyrizes in hymns the patron of his monastery, St. Eparchius;[7] **Eusebius Bruno**, bishop of Angers († 1081), who composed a number of rhythmical religious poems, of which one on St. Stephen became the common property of the mediæval Church;[8] and **Anselm**, archbishop of Canterbury († 1109), the composer of some pious prayers. It is to be regretted that we cannot give more substantial proof and a more detailed description of Anselm's activity as a hymn-writer.[9] In a MS of the poems of Eusebius Bruno there is a poem of **Berengar of Tours** († 1088), 'Juste Judex Jesu Christe.'[10]

In Italy, besides pope Leo IX. just mentioned, there are two conspicuous poets, who in other respects differ as widely as two writers can—**Peter Damiani** († 1072) and **Alfanus of Salerno** († 1085). One writes in mediæval rhythms; the other might be designated as a herald of humanism.

Peter Damiani belongs to the prolific hymn-writers of the Middle Ages. As regards artistic form, his poetry can hardly bear comparison with the more polished and elaborated compositions of the succeeding age; but under its bald exterior with the feeble assonantal rhymes are hidden a genuine poetic genius, and a warmth of feeling which at times bursts into a volcanic blaze. In the ordinary hymn-forms he celebrates the Virgin and the local saints of his native place, Ravenna, and depicts the joys of heaven and the terrors of the Judgment. His poem on the joys of Paradise, beginning 'Ad perennis vitae fontem,' has actually been honoured by being wrongly assigned to the 6th cent. or to St. Augustine himself.[1] **Alfanus of Salerno** composed a series of 21 liturgical hymns, a metrical office, and a number of religious lyrics.[2] With one exception all his poems are in classical metre, and are, for his age, remarkably pure in expression and form.

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[1] The legend of the origin of the 'Media vita in morte sumus,' which attained such celebrity, is the invention of a later time. Notker's hymns are conveniently edited in *PL* cxxxi. 1005–1026, lxxxvii. 58–62.

[2] The rhymed offices of the Middle Ages, as far as they are known, will be found in *Anal. hymn.* v. [1889], xiii. [1892], xvii. [1894], xviii. [1894], xxiv.–xxvi. [1896–97], xxviii. [1898], xlv.a [1902].

[1] Cf. the countless varieties of Leonine verse with its elaborations and artificialities, the 'versus caudati' and 'bi-caudati,' 'cruciferi' and 'cruciati,' etc. (*Anal. hymn.* v. 12 ff.).

[2] *Anal. hymn.* xlviii. [1905] 9 ff.; see also C. Blume, 'Wolstan von Winchester und Vital von St. Evroul, Dichter der drei Lobgesänge auf die heil. Athelwold, Birin, und Swithun,' *SWAW* cxlvi. [1903] p. iii.

[3] *PL* cxxxiii. 513–516.

[4] *Anal. hymn.* l. 264 ff., 297 ff.; *PL* cxlii. 961–964, 991f., 1035 ff.

[5] *Ib.* l. 302 ff.

[6] *Ib.* l. 280 ff.; *PL* cxli. 339–352.

[7] *Ib.* xlviii. 19 ff.

[8] *Ib.* xlviii. 79.

[9] *Ib.* xlviii. 94 ff.

[10] Mone, *Lat. Hymnen des Mittelalters*, i. 359.

Germany also produced several important hymn-writers. **Heribert of Eichstätt** († 1042), a count of Rothenburg, composed a series of liturgical hymns, some of which, *e.g.* his hymn on the Holy Cross, and a poem on St. Lawrence, found a general circulation in Germany. In other hymns he celebrates the local patron saints of Eichstätt—Willibald and Walpurgis.[3] **Bern of Reichenau** (Berno Augiensis; † 1048) was a musician as well as a poet, and he certainly wrote more than the few hymns and sequences known to us as his. **Othlo**, monk of St. Emmeran in Regensburg († 1072), deserves mention as the composer of a series of prayers in stiff hexameters and stanzas.[4] There were two writers of greater influence than these, however—**Heriman the Lame** (Hermannus Contractus) of Reichenau († 1054), one of the most celebrated men of his time, and **Gottschalk of Limburg** († 1098), the most distinguished composer, after Notker, of sequences in Germany. Heriman was a popular teacher and a prolific as well as celebrated writer. Besides his chief work, his *Chronicon Augiense* (the first universal history of the Middle Ages), he composed mathematical, astronomical, and musical works. Very few of his liturgical writings have come down to us under his name. The sequences which we know to be his are marked by a mysticism going far beyond that of Notker, and by the trick of inserting Greek words in the Latin text. The one most free from the latter mannerism is the most celebrated and widely used of Heriman's sequences, 'Ave præclara maris stella,'[5] which also shows the writer's preference for long cadences in contrast to the much shorter ones of Notker. Besides this we have an office in honour of St. Afra composed mostly in prose, and (probably) the beautiful antiphons still used in the services of the Church, 'Alma Redemptoris Mater' and 'Salve Regina.'[6] As a composer of sequences, Gottschalk of Limburg far surpassed Heriman. With the exception of Notker of St. Gall there is no composer of sequences during this period when rhymeless rhythms were in vogue from whose hand we have a greater number of 'proses' than Gottschalk. He writes in a very peculiar style. He is especially fond of the figures known as 'enumeratio,' 'polyptoton,' and 'annominatio.' He shares with Heriman the preference for long cadences, and, without imitating him, resembles him very closely in his manner of conceiving and presenting a subject.[7]

Mention must be made of one more contemporary composer, **Wipo**, a Burgundian, Court-chaplain to the Emperors Conrad II. and Henry III., and, according to a marginal note on an Einsiedeln MS, author of the famous Easter sequence, still in use, 'Victimæ paschali laudes.' This sequence is of special interest because it is a classical example of those transitional sequences in which the old forms initiated by Notker are adorned with rhymes and re-cast in a rhythmical mould.

V. *THE MIDDLE AGES.*—We now reach the acme of mediæval culture, the period of Early and High Gothic, in which poetic composition keeps abreast of the sciences and arts, and not least in the form of religious Latin poetry. There are more writers of reputation; the forms of composition show a richer variety; the rhythms are more correct, the language more tuneful, and the rhymes purer. Good writers of the 12th and 13th centuries obey the rule that the masculine (iambic) rhyme must be two-syllabled.

The writers of this period may be arranged into several groups. The first group is formed round **Hildebert of Lavardin** and the second round **Abelard**. The whole mass of liturgical composition, however, culminates in **Adam of St. Victor**. Another group is dominated by **Philippe de Grève**. Finally, there are several less celebrated writers.

(1) The chief members of the first group are **Marbod**, bishop of Rennes († 1123), **Baudri** (Baldericus), abbot of Bourgueil and bishop of Dol († 1130), and **Reginald**, monk of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury († 1109). All these writers have two characteristics in common: they cultivate classical and metrical poetry, although Marbod and Reginald also write Leonine or rhymed hexameters; and in their poems they incline towards worldly or religious-epical or didactic poetry. Marbod wrote a series of hymns and prayers (the latter partly in metre and partly in rhythm).[1] Of Baudri's compositions only a few hymns on St. Samson of Dol remain.[2] The form which he prefers is that of the poetic epistle, and the collection of his letters is of great importance from the point of view of the historical student. Reginald of Canterbury, in the last book of his chief work, the *Life of St. Malchus*, has collected a series of hymns addressed to God, to Christ, to the Holy Spirit, etc., all of which he puts in the mouth of his hero. These hymns show unmistakably a feeling for poetic form and a certain energy of sentiment which secure for their author an honourable place in the great throng of mediæval writers.[3]

Hildebert himself († 1133), archbishop of Tours, belongs to the most careful cultivators of form among the mediæval poets. Some of his verses were actually included by modern philologists in the anthology of Latin classical authors, and were taken for genuine productions of antiquity, till Hauréau drew attention to the mistake. It is unfortunate that there are no liturgical compositions of Hildebert known. But, even if Hildebert had given us nothing but the single *Oratio devotissima ad Tres Personas SS. Trinitatis*, 'Alpha et Ω magne Deus,' this one poem would give him a claim to be reckoned with the greatest hymn-writers of all ages and tongues.[4]

(2) Of an 'Abelardian' group we cannot, strictly speaking, say anything from the literary-historical point of view, since Abelard does not belong to any one school or tendency; but, considering the fact that the two men who most deeply and permanently affected his life—Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable—were both engaged in hymn-

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[1] *Anal. hymn.* xlviii. 29 ff.; *PL* cxlv. 861–864, 930 ff.

[2] The list of his hymns will be found in *Anal. hymn.* l. 330, the text, *ib.* xxii. [1895], on the pages referred to in l. 330; his religious poems of a non-liturgical character are collected in *ib.* l. 330–338. This ed. corrects the numerous faults of the earlier ones, since all the original MSS were freshly collated. For a convenient, though less critical, ed. see *PL* cxlvii. 1219 ff.

[3] *Anal. hymn.* l. 290 ff.; *PL* cxli. 1369–1374.

[4] *Ib.* l. 320 ff.

[5] On the question of the authorship of this sequence see *Anal. hymn.* l. 309.

[6] *Anal. hymn.* l. 308 ff.

[7] *Ib.* l. 339 ff.; Dreves, 'Godescalcus Lintpurgensis,' in *Hymnolog. Beitr.* i. [1897]; *PL* cxli. 1323–1334.

[1] Cf. *Anal. hymn.* l. 888 ff.; *PL* clxxi. 1647 ff.

[2] *Ib.* xviii. 252 f.

[3] *Ib.* l. 370 ff.

[4] *Ib.* l. 408 ff.; *PL* clxxi. 1411–1414; cf. also B. Hauréau, *Les Mélanges poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin*, Paris, 1882.

composition, it is perhaps justifiable to bring them together in a group. **Bernard of Clairvaux** († 1153) composed only a few hymns on the saints Victor and Malachias,[1] which are not very remarkable in contents or form. All the other works ascribed to him in the mediæval period have been proved by B. Hauréau[2] not to be his. The well-known 'Jubilus' of the Name of Jesus, in which two-syllabled masculine rhyme is employed throughout, is certainly not his. It is probably not earlier than the 13th century.

A larger number of liturgical hymns and sequences and extra-liturgical rhymed prayers have come down to us from the hand of **Peter the Venerable**, abbot of Clugny († 1156). His compositions are more numerous and of a higher quality than Abelard's, displaying variety and polish of form. His melodies are also preserved.[3]

Peter Abelard († 1142) surpasses both Bernard and Peter the Venerable as a hymn-writer. He is one of the few mediæval poets who composed a whole hymnary. It is very copious in contents, and has come down to our time almost complete. The first book contains the ferial hymns, the second the hymns for the festivals of our Lord, the third for the feasts of the saints. These hymns are not so rounded and complete as the hymns of later writers, and their contents sometimes suggest the philosopher rather than the poet; but their imperfections are due to the fact that the hymnary was not composed gradually in hours of inspiration, but had to be executed all at once. Still, as a whole, it is a remarkable piece of work, not only because of the new forms which Abelard introduces into hymn-composition, but also on account of the beauty of the contents. It is unfortunate that the two original MSS, which mutually supplement each other—the older Brussels codex and the more recent and fuller one at Chaumont-sur-Marne—do not record the melodies of the hymnary, since Abelard enjoyed a wide reputation as a melodist.[4]

(3) The writings of **Adam of St. Victor** († 1192) stand at the head of liturgical composition of the Latin-speaking Middle Ages—indeed, of all Christian lyric poetry. He is unquestionably one of the greatest poets who ever mastered the Latin tongue. His poetical works were edited four times during the 19th cent., three times by Léon Gautier (who deserves to be called his discoverer; Paris, 1858, 1881, 1894), and once by Eugène Misset and Pierre Aubry (do. 1900), whose edition gives the melodies of the sequences.[5] In the contents of his writings—*e.g.* his sequence on the Holy Trinity, 'Profitemur unitatem,' which in theological scholastic knowledge surpasses even the 'Lauda Sion' of Thomas Aquinas—in the euphony of his language, and in the incomparable grace with which he wears all the shackles of rhythm and rhyme imposed upon him, Adam of St. Victor is equally great.

(4) In the 13th cent. we come upon a group of poets who may be called the 'hymn-writers of the Mendicant orders,' although the central figure of the group is a personage who during his life belonged to the most strenuous opponents of the Mendicants—the chancellor, Philippe de Grève. In this group we find **Thomas Aquinas** († 1274), the singer of the Sacrament of the Altar, and the author of the justly-celebrated 'Lauda Sion,' the 'Pange lingua,' and the 'Adoro Te';[1] **Johannes Fidanza**, surnamed **Bonaventura** († 1274), a theologian and poet like Aquinas, author of the 'Tree of Life,' an office celebrating the Passion of Our Lord, and of the beautiful Passion-hymn 'Recordare sanctæ crucis';[2] **John Peckham** (Johannes Pechamus), a pupil of Bonaventura, subsequently archbishop of Canterbury († 1292), who composed the lovely nightingale-song 'Philomela prævia,' a rhymed office celebrating the Holy Trinity, which displays deep thought and warm feeling with the most elaborate rhythmical expression, and some widely celebrated hymns in honour of the Virgin, etc.;[3] **Julian of Speier** (Julianus Teutonicus; † 1278), the author of rhymed offices in honour of St. Francis of Assisi and Antony of Padua, remarkable for both contents and form;[4] **Constantinus Medici**, archbishop of Orvieto († 1257), the author of an equally elaborate office in honour of St. Dominic;[5] and **Thomas of Celano** († after 1250), the author of some sequences and probably of the immortal sequence on the Last Day, the 'Dies Iræ,' so often translated and set to music.

This was originally composed for private devotion and ended with the words, 'Gere curam mei finis.' In the 13th cent. it was sometimes adopted as a sequence in the Mass-books of the Franciscan Orders, and for that purpose the six last lines (which are not consistent with the rest either in contents or in form) were appended to it. It was not till towards the end of the 15th cent. that the 'Dies Iræ' was used more frequently as a sequence. By that time it had been forgotten that a Mass without an 'Alleluia,' such as the Mass for the dead, ought to have no sequence.

All those writers, to whom a large number of less importance might be added, are surpassed by a man who until recently has not received the recognition and honour which he enjoyed among his contemporaries—the chancellor of the Church of Paris, **Philippe de Grève** (Philippus de Grevia; † 1236). From his hand we have a *Summa Theologica* (unfortunately still unprinted) and three collections of sermons—for feast-days, on the Psalms, and on the Gospels appointed for Sundays. These sermons are still for the most part unpublished. In spite of his zealous and deep theological studies, Philippe de Grève found time for copious poetical activity. His chief poem was the 'Cantio,' a sacred song intended for vocal performance. Although extra-liturgical in contents and origin, it found its way into the liturgy and pervaded it, while it also prepared the way for the sacred popular song in the vernacular. We have a whole series of such songs composed by him on subjects ranging from hymns to the Virgin, of a child-like simplicity and devotion, to verses of keen wit and satire. He also wrote some hymns properly so called; and there are few hymns in the great treasury of the mediæval Church with which his hymn on Mary Magdalene will not bear comparison. Henri d'Andeli, in his poetical panegyric of Philippe de Grève, called him the most valiant and wisest 'qui fut en la crestiente.'[6]

(5) We have still to mention a series of writers belonging to this period who produced some fine religious lyrics: the 'doctor universalis,' **Alanus of Lille** († *c.* 1203), on account of his *Anticlaudianus*, ranks among the most famous and widely read poets of the Middle Ages; **Alexander Neckam** (latinized as Nequam), abbot of Cirencester († 1217), also one of the most skilled artists in verse of his time, composed fine hymns to the Virgin and in

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[1] *Anal. hymn.* xix. [1895] 189 ff.; *PL* clxxxiii. 775 f., 779, clxxxii. 1117 f.

[2] *Des Poèmes latins attribués à saint Bernard*, Paris, 1890; for a convenient ed. see *PL* clxxxiv. 1307 ff.

[3] *Anal. hymn.* xlviii. 233 ff.; *PL* clxxxix. 1012–1022.

[4] *Ib.* l. 141 ff.; *PL* clxxviii. 1775 ff.

[5] A fifth edition (by M. Legrain, Bruges, 1899) appeared in Belgium 'in usum scolarum,' which attempts the praiseworthy, although probably unattainable, task of making this master of a new form of Latin composition known to young students; cf. also *PL* cxcvi. 1423–1534; Eng. tr. (with original text) by D. S. Wrangham, 3 vols., London, 1881.

[1] *Anal. hymn.* l. 583 ff.

[2] At the end of the 15th cent., when canonized by the Franciscan pope Sixtus IV., he was credited, like Bernard of Clairvaux, with a series of ascetic poems which he did not compose.

[3] *Anal. hymn.* l. 592 ff.

[4] *Ib.* v. 126 ff., 175 ff.; cf. also J. E. Weis, *Julian von Speier*, Munich, 1900, and *Julian's von Speier Choräle zu den Reimoffizien des Franziscus- und Antoniusfestes*, do. 1901; H. Felder, *Die liturg. Reimofficien auf die heil. Franciscus und Antonius, gedichtet und componiert durch Julian von Speyer*, Freiburg, 1901.

[5] *Ib.* xxv. [1897] 239 ff.

[6] *Ib.* l. 528 ff.

honour of Mary Magdalene;[1] John Hoveden († 1275), Court-chaplain of Queen Eleanor of England, mother of Edward III., composed a series of mediocre religious lyrics, and a narrative lyric poem on the life and sufferings of Christ entitled *Philomela*, which is of conspicuous excellence; Guy de Basoches (Guido de Bazochis), precentor of Chalons-sur-Marne († 1203), in his collection of correspondence, which is important for the literary history of the period, has interwoven numerous hymns and religious poems;[2] Adam de la Bassée (Adamus de Basseia), canon of Saint Pierre de Lille († 1258), composed songs of the most varied kinds to suit existing liturgical or popular melodies;[3] and Orrigo Scaccabarozzi († 1293), the archpresbyter of Milan, wrote several liturgical hymns, rhymed offices, and Masses, which, however, are not remarkable either for contents or for form.[4]

We must specially mention two female writers: St. Hildegard, the abbess of Rupertsberg in Bingen († 1179), and Herradis of Landsberg, abbess of Hohenburg or Odilienberg in Alsace. Hildegard, the great seeress of the 12th cent., also composed hymns and sequences, or, rather, rough drafts of hymns and sequences, which are corrected by another hand. In the Wiesbaden MS (the only one in which they occur) these rough drafts are set to music—whether by Hildegard or some one else we do not know.[5] The compositions of Herradis of Landsberg († 1167) are of a different kind. She enriched the library of her convent with a MS which is equally interesting for the history of art and the history of literature. The 'Hortus deliciarum,' as it was called, seems to have been a kind of theological Encyclopædia, and was illustrated by interesting miniatures which are quite famous. On 23rd August 1870 the MS was destroyed by fire. This 'Pleasure-garden' of Herradis also contained a series of poems ascribed to the anthologist.[6] Whether these are her composition or not, she certainly wrote poetry, and so far mastered the Latin tongue as to be able to clothe sentiments of simple piety in an unadorned and pleasing garb.

We must here merely mention the fact that a number of hymns had been appearing anonymously during these early centuries, and, in fact, these far exceed in numbers the compositions whose authors are known.

VI. *THE LATER MIDDLE AGES.*—In the 14th and 15th centuries Latin hymn-writing slowly but steadily declined from the high level which it attained in the 12th and 13th centuries. There were more writers interested in the further development of the art, but they do not rouse our admiration. And the great stream of anonymous poetry increased. Some works of first-rate quality appeared, but the gradual falling-off continued. The *form* of hymn-writing seems to have undergone the most rapid eclipse in France, where it had reached its most perfect development. Word-accentuation, which constitutes the basis of rhythmical composition, did not even with Abelard attain the perfection to which Adam of St. Victor brought it, and in Philippe de Grève's work it perceptibly declined. The process of deterioration went on rapidly until hymn-writing was again reduced to the system of syllable-counting from which it had begun to emerge in the 10th century. In England, and perhaps more gradually in Germany, the same deterioration took place; in Italy it had never reached the perfection which it attained in France.

This period begins with Jacopone da Todi († 1306), the Franciscan poet, who composed many celebrated Italian religious poems. He is commonly regarded as the author of the world-renowned 'Stabat Mater,' the most beautiful mediæval elegy in honour of the Virgin. Like the 'Dies Iræ,' the 'Stabat Mater' was originally a hymn for private devotion; but it occurs in many of the 15th cent. books of prayer, and before the end of the century it found its way into the Liturgy. Cardinal Jacobus de Stephanescis († 1343) displayed activity as a liturgical writer and as a composer. Among acknowledged compositions of his are hymns on St. George, antiphons in honour of pope Cœlestin V. (Petrus Morrone), and a few other liturgical and extra-liturgical pieces.[1] Another cardinal, Guillermus da Mandagoto († 1321), more famous as a lawyer than as a poet, composed sequences which his nephew (of the same name) included in the Missal of Usez, and thus handed down to posterity. Faultless in form, these poems are greatly lacking in the glow of inspiration.[2] These writers are succeeded by two Austrian poets, the Cistercian Christan of Lilienfeld († before 1332) and the Carthusian Konrad of Gaming (Gemmicensis; † 1360), who is also called Konrad of Heimburg, after his birthplace. From the pen of the former we have a great number of hymns and sequences, offices and prayers in rhyme, which are all remarkable for their carefully-cultivated form and their tone of deep piety. His rhymed prayers are short; they nearly all contain five stanzas, each beginning with the word 'Ave.'[3] Konrad of Gaming has left liturgical compositions, chiefly hymns in honour of the Virgin and the saints. They are, as a rule, rather long, but reveal a child-like and touching piety.[4] Konrad of Gaming was more widely read in Germany than his model, Christan of Lilienfeld, whose poems are preserved almost exclusively in the MSS of his monastery. There were other imitators of Christan of Lilienfeld besides Konrad, *e.g.* the Carthusian Albert of Prague (first half of 14th cent.), who compiled a book of devotion entitled *Scala Cœli*, in which there is a series of his own compositions. They are inferior in style, and of wearisome prolixity.[5] The prolific writer, Ulrich Stöcklin of Rottach, abbot of Wessobrunn († 1443), shows skilful manipulation of the forms, but suffers from the same weakness of barren verbiage. He followed the lines marked out by Christan and Konrad, and may therefore be mentioned here, although he properly belongs to the next century.[6]

Turning from this group of South German writers to the North, we find in the 14th cent. a small group of Scandinavian hymn-writers of some importance. The oldest of them is Brynolphus I., bishop of Scara († 1317), the author of a rhymed office on St. Helena of Sköfde, with the hymns belonging to it, and probably also of a rhymed office in honour of St. Nikolaus of Linköging.[7] To Birger Gregorsen (Birgerus Gregorii; † 1383), bishop of Upsala, we owe rhymed offices in honour of St. Birgitta and St. Botuidus, with accompanying hymns.[8] The hymns of both these writers are distinguished by carefully modelled poetic forms, showing French influence. A third northern writer, Petrus Olavi, attendant of St. Birgitta and confessor in Vadstena († 1378), seems more careless regarding cadence and rhyme. He arranged the choral office of the nuns of the order of St. Birgitta, and composed a whole series of new hymns for it.[9]

In the first half of the 14th cent. there flourished in France Guillaume de Deguilleville (Guillermus de Deguilevilla; † after 1358), prior of Chaalis, known through his epic-didactic poems in his mother-tongue, 'Pèlerinage de la vie humaine,' 'Pèlerinage de l'âme,' 'Pèlerinage Jésu-Christ.' He has also left several very long Latin poems, in which is noticeable a vanishing of the word-accentuation.[1] Along with him should be mentioned the Englishman **Gualterus Wiburnus**, a Franciscan poet († after 1367), who composed several hymns in honour of the Virgin, in carefully-handled forms.[2] At the end of the 14th cent. lived two poets who are closely connected through the Feast of the Visitation of Our Lady, which was just then beginning to be observed—**Cardinal Adam Easton**, also called 'Adam Anglicus' († 1397), and **Johann of Jenstein**, archbishop of Prague († 1400). An illuminated edition of Jenstein's works, which he himself revised, appeared in Rome. This is the present *Codex Vaticanus*, 1122. It also contains the ecclesiastical compositions of Jenstein—sequences, tropes, rhymed offices, hymns, and rhymed prayers, which are very unequal in contents and form, his worst being the hymns on St. Wenzel.[3] Jenstein was the first to introduce the observance of the festival of the Visitation of the Virgin into his Archiepiscopal see, and urged Urban VI. to introduce it into the whole Church. Urban VI. was prevented by death from carrying out the suggestion; but his successor, Boniface IX., in 1389 issued the bull commanding the observance of the festival. The office composed by Jenstein, however, was not adopted into the Roman breviary, for that honour was reserved for a rhymed office composed by Cardinal Adam Easton. It begins with the words, 'Accedunt laudes virginis,' and exhibits an acrostic on his name, which, however, has fallen into disorder.[4] This office was handled severely, and not altogether justly, by the Humanist Jakob Wimpheling in his *Castigationes locorum in canticis ecclesiasticis et divinis officiis depravatorum* (1500). The festival of the Visitation of the Virgin caused great activity on the part of poets. There are no fewer than ten different rhymed offices in honour of it. One of them, used by the Dominican order,[5] and beginning, 'Collætentur corda fidelium,' was composed by **Raimund of Capua** († 1399), confessor and biographer of St. Catherine of Siena. Another Dominican, **Martialis Auribelli** († 1473), wrote acrostic hymns in honour of Saint Vincent Ferrer.

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[1] *Anal. hymn.* xlviii. 262 ff.
[2] *Ib.* l. 507 ff.
[3] *Ib.* xlviii. 298 ff.
[4] *Ib.* xiv.*b* [1893] and l. 617 ff.
[5] *Ib.* l. 483 ff.
[6] In *ZKT* xxiii. [1902] 632 ff. the present writer has shown that this is incorrect.

[1] *Anal. hymn.* l. 624 ff.
[2] *Ib.* xlviii. 317 ff.
[3] *Ib.* xli.*a* [1903].
[4] The first complete ed. of the poems of Konrad is in *Anal hymn.* iii. [1888] 1–102.
[5] *Ib.* iii. 105 ff.
[6] *Ib.* vi. [1889], xxxviii. [1902].
[7] *Ib.* xxvi. 90 ff.
[8] *Ib.* xxv. 166 ff., 179 ff.
[9] *Ib.* xlviii. 410 ff.

We have already entered the 15th century. Among the writers in the earlier part of it is the unfortunate fanatic Johann Hus († 1415). Only a few of his hymns remain, composed partly in Czech and partly in Latin. The most widely celebrated was his 'Jesu Christe, nostra salus,' which shows his name woven into an acrostic, and which is still occasionally sung. With the name of Hus we may connect the host of anonymous Bohemian poets who zealously cultivated a special kind of Church hymn, the so-called 'cantiones.' Next to France, no country has so delighted in this form of vocal music as Bohemia. Their form—doubled stanzas, and a concluding song to follow, sometimes similarly doubled—is often very artistic; their rhythm and rhymes, however, show every sign of decadence.

A figure whose fame belongs to universal history marks the end of the 15th cent.—that of **Thomas à Kempis** († 1471). He wrote a number of hymns and rhymed prayers. Some of the prayers seem to have been provided with melodies, most of them not for public but for private use. The compositions of the famous mystic are not of great poetic value.[6] Somewhat younger than à Kempis, and following in his track as a mystic and poet, is **Johannes Mauburnus** († 1503), abbot of Livry. Most of his works are still unprinted. Those which we know to be his are found in his *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium* (first printed, 1491).[1] With these two mystics we may associate a third, **Henricus Pistor**, canon of St. Victor in Paris. Jodocus Clichtoveus has preserved in his *Elucidatorium ecclesiasticum* a fine sequence of his composed for the festival of St. John the Baptist. One of the most prolific theological authors of this period is **Dionysius of Rickel**, known also as 'Dionysius Carthusianus' († 1471). He has been given the cognomen, 'Doctor Ecstaticus,' although, as a matter of fact, his character appears to have been the prosaic one of compiler. He also composed some Latin rhythms. There are extant long poems on God and the Holy Trinity, or, rather, rhymed dissertations and reflexions which are wearisome from their prolixity. They are known only from the author's *Opera Minora*, Cologne, 1532. A few other religious poets of this period deserve mention. **Matthäus Ronto**, a monk of the Olivetan convent at Siena († 1443), wrote some hymns which are preserved in a MS of the Wilhering monastery.[2]

Hieronymus de Werdea (as he was called in the convent, though christened John), prior of Monsen († 1475), wrote religious poems (which never take the form of liturgical composition) celebrating Christ and the Virgin, Saints Benedict, Florian, George, etc. Considering the period in which he wrote, their form is well managed, but there is no genuine poetical inspiration in them. We may also mention **Wynandus de Stega**, priest at Bacharach, who has left hymns and sequences in honour of St. Werner. A Vatican MS has preserved two other poems of his, one in a German adaptation. At the close of the century stands the Franciscan **Johannes Tisserand**, who founded an order of Magdalens in Paris in 1493. A Paris MS has handed down some of his poems, whose form reminds us of those of Guillaume de Deguilleville. He composed the Acts of Bernhard de Corbio and the five martyrs of Morocco, and possibly also the rhymed office which exists in honour of these martyrs.

Summary.—It would be easy to add to the foregoing list of hymn-writers, but the purpose of this article has been rather to indicate only the principal figures and most significant tendencies at work. We have seen that all through the Middle Ages metrical as well as rhythmical poetry was cultivated, while poetry modelled on that of ancient Rome was never entirely extinct. But towards the end of the mediæval period the character of this poetry changed; and the so-called humanistic poetry, the product of the Renaissance of classical learning, appeared. It is distinguished from the metrical poetry of the Middle Ages, not only by greater purity of language and poetical form, but also by greater dependence on the common models—a dependence which is sometimes repellent. This kind of composition first appeared in Italy in the beginning of the 14th cent., but soon passed over into Germany. At first it was only rarely in the form of religious poetry or hymns, but later it became quite an important branch of religious lyric poetry. As this humanistic poetry seldom found its way into liturgical use, for the exigencies of which the period of rhythmical poetry had made ample provision, we have here disregarded it. It was a new art, alien and hostile to the Middle Ages. Although mediæval composition in its offshoots reaches far past the Council of Trent, while the beginning of humanistic poetry goes far back into the departing mediæval period, we may designate the Council of Trent as the dividing line between the intellectual world of the Middle Ages and a more modern period. This line, at any rate, separates the freely developing liturgical composition of the mediæval period from that of the post-Tridentine period, which was executed to order. When the Roman rite obtained exclusive validity, the very conditions of existence were withdrawn from liturgical composition. It had to come to an end because there was no more scope for it in the liturgy; and the liturgy itself was looked upon as something finished and complete. Provision was made for the few necessities of the kind by a Roman Congregation, which gave a commission for hymn-writing, but could not supply poetic inspiration. On one occasion, however, a national Church, a Gallican, burst from these fetters and created liturgies and liturgical poems, although only one poet, J. B. Santeul, deserves mention. Even in the Gallican poems there is no pulse of genuine liturgical life; they were commissioned work; it is a matter of indifference whether the authority who commissioned them resided in Rome, Paris, or Lyons; they were manufactured, not a natural growth, and only furnish another proof that what has been extinguished cannot be called back to life by an arbitrary decree. And, since history is always the representation of life, we may without exaggeration affirm that the history of the liturgy in general and of liturgical poetry in particular closes with the Council of Trent.

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[1] *Anal. hymn.* xlviii. 321 ff.

[2] *Ib.* l. 630 ff.

[3] *Ib.* xlviii. 421 ff.

[4] *Ib.* xxvi. 89 ff.

[5] *Ib.* xxiv. 94 ff.

[6] *Ib.* xlviii. 457 ff.

[1] Cf. *Anal. hymn.* l. 515 ff.

[2] *Ib.* xlviii. 456 ff.

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G. M. DREVES.

HYMNS (Irish Christian).—Like all the hymns of the Middle Ages, the religious poems of Christian Ireland fall into two groups: (1) those directly intended for use in liturgical worship, and (2) those written for purposes not originally connected with the offices of the Church, such as hymns in praise of special saints, or verses composed as charms against disease or pestilence, or as safeguards in moments of danger. Many of these personal poems seem afterwards to have been used in the Church services, although they were not written expressly for this purpose. Of the first group all are in Latin; of the second group some are in Latin and some in Irish.

1. Liturgical hymns.—The use of hymns in the offices of the Church seems to have been a very ancient custom in Ireland. In Adamnan's *Vita S. Columbæ*, a *hymnorum liber septimaniorum sanctæ Columbæ manu descriptus*, apparently a book of hymns for use on each of the days of the week, is mentioned (ii. 9), and we learn from one of the prefaces to St. Columba's hymn, 'Altus Prosator' (*Ir. Lib. Hymn.* ii. 24), that Gregory sent a gift to St. Columba of the *Hymns of the Week*. We find also that, on the morning of the death of the Saint (9 June 597), hymns were sung in the monastic offices at Iona; *hymnis matutinalibus terminatis* is the phrase used by Adamnan (iii. 23). These slight indications point to the use of hymns in the offices of the Church as early as the 6th century. That they were so used in times not far removed from this at least is certain. The *Antiphonary of Bangor* dates from the end of the 7th cent., and twelve hymns used in the Church offices are given in it. Again, in the directions given in the liturgical fragment found at the end of the 9th cent. copy of the Gospels called the *Book of St. Mulling*, portions of three (possibly four) well-known Irish hymns are directed to be sung, with certain supplementary stanzas, in the course of a short office which seems to have been designed as a service of intercession against the yellow plague, a pestilence which decimated Ireland at frequent intervals during the 7th and following centuries. An office practically identical with this is appointed in the tract entitled *The Second Vision of Adamnan* (*Leabhar Breac*, p. 258^b f.) for special days of fasting and prayer; also on the first three leaves of the 10th cent. (?) Greek Psalter at Basel (A. vii. 3), which contains some Latin pieces and directions for what appears to be a monastic office in Irish handwriting, three Irish hymns are found.

In the largest existing collection of Irish and Latin hymns, that known as the *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, of which two MSS, slightly differing from each other in contents, exist—one now in the Franciscan Library, Merchant's Quay, Dublin, which belonged to the Library of Father John Colgan at Louvain in the 17th cent.; the other in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (classed E. 4. 2), a MS of the 11th cent.—the material does not appear to be arranged in any order of service. It contains in the main body of the collection 17 hymns and poems in Latin and 9 in Irish, also the 'Te Deum,' 'Benedictus,' 'Magnificat,' 'Gloria in excelsis,' an abridgment of the Psalter, etc.; and among the extra matter added at a later time in the Franciscan MS are found two other Latin hymns and the 'Lorica' of Gildas, with the 'Benedicite,' the 'Quicunque vult,' etc.

From the manner in which the material is thrown together and the elaborate prefaces in Irish with which it is accompanied, it would appear that this is a miscellany of religious pieces rather than an actual choir book. The editors suggest that it may have been compiled at a time when the older Celtic services were giving place to the use in England, in order to preserve all those pieces which were most cherished in the memories of the monks, as connected with a system of worship which was being superseded by a new and less national order of religious service.

Several of the poems contained in the *Liber Hymnorum* are ascribed to saints of the 6th and 7th centuries. Besides the 'Lorica,' or hymn of protection, ascribed to St. Patrick himself, there are hymns by St. Sechnall (Secundinus), a contemporary and disciple of St. Patrick, by St. Columba († 597), by St. Ultan († 656), by St. Broccan († 650), by St. Cummian Fada ('the Tall') († 661–2), and by other saints of the 7th and 8th centuries. That many of these hymns are of great antiquity is shown by the use in them of pre-Hieronymian texts in both the OT and NT quotations and allusions, such as are found in Sechnall's 'Audite omnes' in honour of St. Patrick, and in St. Columba's 'Altus Prosator.' The surprise of St. Patrick, expressed in the Preface, at the use by St. Sechnall of the word 'maximus' in the phrase 'maximus namque in regno caelorum' is also interesting, as this is the reading of St. Cyprian and of the Rushworth Gospels, the Vulgate (Mt 5^{19}) having 'magnus.' It shows that the hymn preserved a reading already almost forgotten at the time of the composition of the Irish prefaces, which are probably in all cases later than the hymns themselves, and that the author of the preface was perplexed at the use of a word unfamiliar to him. The ascription of the 'Lorica' to St. Patrick († 461), and of the hymn 'Audite omnes' to his contemporary St. Sechnall, is confirmed by their rude Latinity and by the use of uncouth grammatical forms in the former, as well as by the structure of both poems. The 'Lorica' is not in metre, and, though constructed with a sense of proportion, it shows no knowledge of either Irish or classic forms of verse. It contains allusions to pagan practices, and is evidently the direct descendant of the native pagan rune or charm. The hymn of St. Sechnall is unrhymed, and quantity and elision are completely ignored; nor does it show acquaintance with the Irish poetic rules of composition, which required a certain fixed number of lines and syllables, besides alliteration, rhyme, and assonance. It would seem that these poems were composed before the native poetic metres had reached perfection, and this is in accordance with their early legendary origin. In St. Columba's great poem, the 'Altus Prosator,' we are carried a step forward, for some more definite effort at structural conformity is shown; each line is closed by a word of three or more syllables, with a rhyming sound in the last syllable and a careful choice of concurrent vowels. This hymn recounts in an alphabetical poem of 24 stanzas of six lines each, addressed to the Trinity, the creation and fall of the angels, the creation and fall of man, the foundations of the earth and the under world, and the second coming of Christ and final judgment. It shows curious affinities with the *Book of Enoch* and may be compared with the *Saltair-na-Rann*, the longest Irish mediæval poem on any religious subject, which contains sections treating of the same questions of cosmogony and speculations on the system and fate of the universe. It is found in many MSS among works ascribed to Prosper of Aquitaine (403–465); in three cases or more it follows on the work *de Vita contemplativa*, now known not to be a genuine work of Prosper's. But its subject and character, its barbarous Latinity, and its use of words found only in a few pieces which have Celtic origins (see below, § 3), as well as its use of an O. Lat. text similar to that in early use in Ireland, tend to confirm the traditional ascription of the hymn to St. Columba. The inclusion of a long portion of this poem in a hymn by Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mainz (786–856), and its appearance among the works of Prosper, testify to its popularity. It is said in the preface to have been written in Hi (Iona) and sent as a gift to Pope Gregory, who 'found no fault with it except the scantiness in it of praise of the Trinity *per se*, though the Persons were praised through their creatures.' This reproof reaching St. Columba, he wrote the hymn 'In te Christe' to amend this lack in the former composition.

A gradual approach to a more perfect form of verse-structure according to native Irish ideals is seen in the hymn of St. Cummian 'the Tall,' 'Celebra Juda,' which has a rich end-rhyme or harmony of two or more syllables, with a careful correspondence in the vowel sounds and occasional alliteration and internal rhyme. In the later hymns by St. Colman mac Murchon in praise of St. Michael, and in St. Cuchuimne's hymn to the Virgin, written about the middle of the 8th cent. (at a time when we know from the fragments of non-liturgical verse that remain to us that Irish poetry was approaching its highest perfection), we find this verse-system developed with the richest and noblest effect. The prosody of the classical language is replaced by accent and rhyme, and the technical skill of such lines as this, with its rich trisyllabic rhymes, its alliterations, correspondences, and harmonies, could not easily be surpassed:

aeterna possint praestare   regis regni aulia
ut possideam cum Christo   paradisi gaudia
(Hymn of St. Colman [† 731]),

or again:

càntemùs in òmni die   còncinèntes vàriè
cònclamàntes Dèo dignum   hỳmnum sànctae Màriàe
(Hymn of St. Cuchuimne [† 746]).

The only hymn in the *Ir. Lib. Hymn.* not by Irish saints is that ascribed to St. Hilary of Poitiers, 'Hymnum dicat turba fratrum,' a classic unrhymed poem which is praised by Bede (*de Arte met.* 23 [*PL* xc. 173]), but without naming any author. It is not accepted as Hilary's by Daniel or Dreves; the latter considers that only the three hymns found in the Gamurrini MS in Arezzo are genuine works of Hilary. Yet there is much more solid ground for accepting it as his than there is for receiving the seven hymns printed under Hilary's name by Daniel and accepted by D. S. Wrangham in Julian's *Dict. of Hymnology*^{2} (London, 1907, p. 522), the authorities for which are very late. The 'Hymnum dicat' is expressly ascribed to Hilary in the *Antiphonary of Bangor*, 7th cent., in two ancient codices of St. Gall (codd. 567 and 577) of the 8th and 9th centuries, and in the two MS copies of the *Ir. Lib. Hymn.*; it is also so named by Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims († 882), twice (*de Una et non Trina Deitate*, i. and xii. [*PL* cxxv. 486, 566]); it forms part of the offices in the *Book of St. Mulling*, in the *Second Vision of Adamnan*, and in the *Book of Cerne*—the last a document which shows signs of having been formed under Irish influences; in the *Second Vision of Adamnan*, as in 'de Arreis,' an old Irish tract (for which see *RCel* xv. [1894] 285–298, it is directed to be repeated as a charm or penitential exercise, and the value attached to its recitation is shown by the story of the three clerics (W. Stokes, *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore*, Oxford, 1888, pp. viii, ix). It would appear from the *Rule* of St. Ailbe of Emly († 542 [?]), and from its place in the *Book of Cerne*, that it was sung in the early morning; but one of the prefaces suggests another purpose. It says *sic nobis convenit canere post prandium*, and the St. Gall MS no. 567 directs its recitation *omni tempore*. The last eight lines seem to be an addition by an Irish writer. Among the additamenta copied into the *Liber Hymnorum* at a later date are the well-known 'Christe qui lux es et dies,' and a hymn in praise of SS. Peter and Paul, 'Christi Patris in dextera'; the latter poem is not found elsewhere, and it is probably a native composition. Among the hymns in Irish, the poem in praise of St. Brigid, variously ascribed to St. Columba and to St. Ultan († 656), beginning *Brigit bé bithmaith*—'Brigid, ever-good woman'—is the most perfect, and shows a complete mastery of the difficult technical laws which governed Irish verse.

In the *Antiphonary of Bangor* are found twelve Latin hymns, ten of them placed close together in the first section of the book, and two at the end, but probably sung at intervals during the offices, for we find the musical rubric 'Post Hymnum' attached to four of the Collects. Besides these hymns proper, there is a whole series of rhyming Collects for the day and night hours (nos. 17–26), and similar Collects are found elsewhere interspersed among the prayers and antiphons. Of the twelve hymns, two, the 'Hymnum dicat' of St. Hilary and St. Sechnall's hymn in praise of St. Patrick, 'Audite omnes,' are found in the *Ir. Lib. Hymn.* and elsewhere. Three (nos. 14, 95, 129) are personal to the monastery of Bangor (Co. Down), from which the service book originally emanated; they celebrate the praises of this important foundation and of its first abbots. It contains also a hymn in praise of a St. Camelac, of whom very little is known. Of the remaining six hymns, one, 'Mediae noctis tempus est' (no. 10), is well-known and is given both here and in the *Mozarabic Breviary* (see *PL* lxxxvi. 932 f.) for 'medium noctis.' It is cited in the *Rule* (xi. 69) of Cæsarius of Arles († 542; *AS*, Jan. ii. 18) for use at the first nocturn and by the Codex Rhenoviensis (9th cent.) for use at nocturns on Sunday. Daniel (i. 46, iv. 26) thinks that it is an Ambrosian hymn, and that it is distinct from the hymn 'Jesu defensor omnium' with which it has often been printed. It does not seem to be of Irish origin. The remaining five hymns are not found elsewhere, and nos. 3, 8, 9 are almost undoubtedly Irish. Nos. 11, 12 do not show sufficient indications to pronounce upon their origin, but they are found in no other copy, which argues in favour of their local origin. The hymn of the Apostles (no. 3) was very popular in Ireland and is mentioned with St. Sechnall's hymn 'Audite omnes,' St. Colman's hymn to St. Michael, 'In Trinitate spes,' and the 'Hymnum dicat' of Hilary as among the penitential hymns recommended in *The Second Vision of Adamnan* (*c.* 1096). It consists of 42 stanzas beginning 'Precamur Patrem,' and was probably an Eastertide or Sunday hymn. Daniel thinks, and J. D. Chambers (in Julian, p. 642) agrees with him, that it bears evidence of having been translated from a Greek original.

The beautiful hymn, 'Sancti venite, Christi corpus sumite' (no. 8), is entitled *Hymnus quando communicant sacerdotes*, and was sung during the communion of the priests who formed part of the monastic body. Hence Daniel's argument (i. no. 160, iv. 109) that the administration of the sacrament in both kinds to the laity is implied in such lines as 'Hoc sacramento corporis et sanguinis' falls to the ground so far as this hymn is concerned. Tradition says that, when Patrick and Sechnall were passing a church, they heard this hymn chanted within by a choir of angels at the offering. It is still used in the offices of the Western Church, and is familiar in Neale's translation, 'Draw nigh and take the Body of the Lord.' The hymn 'Ignis Creator igneus' (no. 9), entitled *Hymnus quando cereus benedicitur*, seems to have been sung at the daily lighting of lamps at the 'Hora Vespertina' or else at the annual festival of the benediction of the Paschal candle on Easter even. The custom of lighting a Paschal fire was very ancient in Ireland, and Duchesne thinks that it spread from there to other countries (*Christian Worship*⁴, London, 1912, p. 250 f.). The hymn to martyrs, 'Sacratissimi martyres summi Dei' (no. 11), is rhythmic rather than metrical. No. 12, 'Spiritus divinae lucis gloriae,' is for use at matins on Sunday. Its origin is unknown.

It is to be remarked how common was the use of alphabetical hymns in the Irish Church. Nos. 1, 2, 14, 25, and 28 of the hymns in the *Ir. Lib. Hymn.* are alphabetical hymns, and nos. 13, 14, 15, and 129 in the *Antiphonary of Bangor.* In some instances, as in no. 14, the hymn to St. Comgall, abbot and founder of Bangor monastery, the whole poem is a *tour de force*; almost every line in the stanzas of 8 or 10 lines each begins and ends with the same letter or syllable. The hymn of Cælius Sedulius, 'A solis ortus cardine,' is also alphabetical, and there are other examples. Among the Latin poems of St Columbanus (b. 543) and Sedulius Scottus († after 874) are several on religious subjects. Dreves includes seven hymns by Sedulius in his collection, three of them being Paschal hymns (*Anal. Hymn.* l. [Leipzig, 1907] 229). Others will be found interspersed in the *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis* of Sedulius.

A number of Irish hymns which found their way abroad about the 11th cent. are studied by C. Blume in *Der Cursus S. Bened. Nurs.* (Leipzig, 1908).

2. Hymns used as charms.—A large number of the Irish hymns were composed as charms, the recitation of them being supposed to ward off famine, disease, fire, or pestilence, or they were used to safeguard a traveller on going a journey. Such are the 'Noli Pater' of St. Columba, the 'Loricas' of St. Patrick and St. Columba, the hymn of St. Colman mac Ui Cluasaigh (*Sén Dé*), the hymn of St. Cuchuimne, 'Cantemus in omni die,' the hymn of St. Colman mac Murchon, 'In Trinitate spes mea,' and many others. The recitation of such hymns was supposed not only to confer protection on the author, but to be a safeguard against similar perils to all who recited them afterwards, besides in most cases securing heaven to those who kept up the practice regularly (see prefaces to these hymns in *Ir. Lib. Hymn.*). In several instances, where the hymn was long or difficult to remember, the same benefits were obtained by reciting the last three stanzas only. For instances of this practice see the office in the *Book of St. Mulling*, in which the last three stanzas of the hymns 'Audite omnes,' 'Celebra Juda,' and 'Hymnum dicat' only are given. In one instance, 'Christus in nostra,' only the last three stanzas of what seems to have been a long alphabetical poem have survived either in the *Ir. Lib. Hymn.* or in the office in the Basel MS (A. vii. 3), where also it is found. A similar custom is the recitation of 365 verses gathered from the Psalms, which was held to be equivalent to that of the whole Psalter.

3. Loricas.—Among these charm-hymns, the *Luricas* or *Loricas*, 'Hymns of the Breast-plate,' which were composed as a protection against danger or disease, form a group by themselves, showing special peculiarities. Ten of these are known, but they are, doubtless, only examples of a common form of religious invocation. They usually fall into two or three parts, the first invoking the power of the Trinity and of the angels and heavenly hosts, the second enumerating at great length and with extraordinary minuteness the members of the body which might be subject to injury, with often a third part detailing the dangers to which the body is exposed, as in St. Patrick's 'Lorica.' A common feature of all these charm-hymns is the repetition of the same phrases and invocations, often at great length and with slight variations.

The following are the most important of these Loricas: (1) The *Lorica of St. Patrick* is of early date, though it is not found in Muirchu's Life of the saint. It was traditionally composed as a protection when the saint and his companions were in flight before the king of Tara, and is said to have rendered them invisible. It is uncouth in language; but in spirit and structure, as in religious fervour, it is by far the finest of all the charm-hymns.

(2) More pagan and very fatalistic in tone is an ancient and rude *Lorica of St. Columba*, in which God is addressed as 'King of the White Sun' and Christ as 'My Druid.' It is said to have been composed as a protection when the saint was journeying to Donegal after the Battle of Culdremhne.

(3) The authorship of the long *Lorica of Gildas* (called also the *Lorica of Lathacen*, *Loding*, or *Lodgen*) is uncertain. In the oldest document which contains it—the *Book of Nunnaminster* (Harl. MS 2965 ff. 38^{a}–40; 8th cent.)—it is said that 'Lodgen appointed this Lorica in the year of danger, and that the virtue of it is great if it be chanted three times a day.' The Darmstadt MS printed by Mone, now at Cologne (no. 2106, end of 8th cent.), has at the end, 'Explicit hymnus quem Lathacan Scotigena fecit,' and the *Book of Cerne* (9th cent.) says in its preface, 'Lodgen sang this Lorica three times a day.' The copy in the *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 111^{a}) is more explicit. It has 'Gillus hanc loricam fecit ad demones expellendos eos adversaverunt illi . .

Lai[d]cend mac Búith bannaig venit ab eo in Insolam Hiberniam, transtulit et portauit super altare sancti Patricii episcopi sanos nos facere, amen.' The Laidcend, son of Buith the Blessed, of the *Leabhar Breac* MS, is evidently the same as the Lathacan Scotigena of the Cologne MS. He was a monk of Clonfert-Mulloe in Ossory, and died 12th Jan. 660. Taking it for granted that Gillus is identical with Gildas the historian, a saint well-known in Ireland, who is so called in the Irish *Ann. of Tighernach*, the *Ann. of Ulster*, and elsewhere, it seems likely that the 'Lorica' was brought into Ireland at a later date by Lodgen, and appointed by him for use in 'the year of danger' or plague as a charm against the disease. If it was frequently used by him, as the *Book of Cerne* states, and placed by him on the altar of Armagh, it might easily be thought to be his own composition. Hugh Williams (*Cym. Record Series*, no. 3 [1901], 304–313) considers that the hymn is later than the time of Gildas, but that it belonged to the S.W. British group in which the name of Gildas was pre-eminent. Zimmer (*Nennius Vind.*, App. 291–342) also ascribes its origin to the S.W. British monasteries, but places it early in the 6th century.

The great interest attaching to this 'Lorica' arises from the number of peculiarities of language that it contains, some of the forms being found elsewhere only in the *Folium Luxemburgense*, a fragment containing an abstract of rare and difficult words from a continuous Latin text with portions of an enlarged recension of the tract *Hisperica famina* (first published by A. Mai in vol. v. of his *Classici Auctores* [Rome, 1828–38], pp. 479–500, from *Cod. Vat. Reg.* lxxxi.; cf. also Migne, *PL* xc. 1187–96).

(4) The same pompous and artificial Latin, interspersed with Greek and Hebrew, is found in the *Lorica of Leyden*, a fragment strongly resembling the *Lorica of Gildas* in its detailed list of the parts of the body as well as in the obscurity of its word forms (V. H. Friedel, *ZCP* ii. [1898] 64).

It will be seen that the two prominent features of all these charm-hymns are (*a*) a tendency to repetition of words and phrases, and (*b*) the use of uncommon words and forms. These peculiarities occur in a greater or less degree in the two remaining 'Loricas' hitherto published, the *Lorica of Mugron*, successor of Columcille († 980) (K. Meyer, *Hibernica Minora*, Oxford, 1894, pp. 42–44, from MS Rawl. B. 512), and a 'Lorica,' classed 23. E. 16, p. 237, in the Royal Irish Academy (partly translated by E. Gwynn, in *Ir. Lib. Hymn.* ii. 210; text printed by K. Meyer, *Archiv für celt. Lexikographie*, iii. [1907] 6 f., from MS 23. N. 10, p. 19, Royal Ir. Acad., and by A. O'Kelleher, in *Eriu*, iv. [1910] 236, with translation). The 'Altus Prosator' of St. Columba shows similar peculiarities of language, while redundancies of expression are a common feature in prayers, confessions, etc., produced under Irish influences (for examples see *Book of Cerne*, nos. 17, 15, 18, 54, 7; *Ir. Lib. Hymn.* ii. 211–212, 213–215).

To any one familiar with the ancient pagan charms or incantations universal among the peasantry of Europe, and in common use among the Gaelic peoples, it will at once be clear that these 'Loricas,' repeated as incantations against evil, come down in direct descent from earlier pagan models. In many cases, as in the *Lorica of St. Patrick*, the Christian tone and sentiment may have been added to an existing pagan charm. Such charms and runes are still found in the Western Highlands and in Ireland, and a glance at some of those collected in A. Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* (Edinburgh, 1900), or in Hyde's *Religious Songs of Connacht* (London, 1906), will show that their form is precisely that of the 'Lorica' of St. Patrick or of Mugron. Incantations were taught and practised as a regular part of their profession by the bards down to the 14th–15th cent. or later, and the fragments of incantations on the same model found in the St. Gall MSS show that they were also used in the monasteries. The pagan charms were Christianized in tone but their forms remained unchanged (see, further, HYMNS [Celtic] above, p. 4). It is also to be remarked that all charms contain large numbers of words that have become so corrupted by constant oral repetition that they remain as mere meaningless sounds; they are simply spell-words essential to the charm. Is it not probable that some of the uncouth forms found in the ancient 'Loricas' of Ireland may be explained in this way?

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ELEANOR HULL.

HYMNS (Modern Christian).—The rise of modern hymnody may be regarded as synchronous with the rise of Protestantism, and in the earliest hymns is mirrored the antithesis between the old faith and the new.

1. German hymns.—The earliest hymns of the Reformation were those of the Bohemian Brethren, of which a collection of 89 was printed at Prague in 1501, and another, of about 400, in 1505; but these were so effectually suppressed that only one imperfect copy of the former is known to exist, and none of the latter. For practical purposes the history of modern hymnody begins with the publication, in 1524, at Erfurt and Wittenberg respectively, of two small books of German hymns, in each of which about three-fourths of the contents were from the pen of Luther. Altogether, Luther's hymns and sacred songs number 38; of these 11 are wholly or partly translated from the Latin, 4 are revised from pre-Reformation hymns, 6 are metrical psalms, 6 paraphrases of other portions of Holy Scripture, and 11 original. At least 24 are still in more or less common use.

The hymnody of Protestant Germany is the richest in Christendom, and by 1820 it was known to include more than 80,000 hymns of varying merit. The great majority of the authors were members of the Lutheran Church, whereas the hymn-writers of the 'Reformed,' or Calvinistic, Church were comparatively few, and their effusions were generally more suited to private devotion than to public worship. This is due to a belief, strongly held by Zwingli and Calvin, and generally accepted by their adherents, that the Biblical Psalms furnish a complete manual of praise for public worship, and the only one divinely sanctioned. As a result of this belief, more than 130 German Metrical Psalters, more or less complete, are known to exist, and seven-eighths of them were composed by members of the Reformed Church.

The great German hymn-writers may be conveniently arranged in seven successive periods, each of which has its own distinctive character.

(1) The first group consists of Luther and his contemporaries, from about 1517 to 1560. Their hymns are neither didactic nor retrospective, but natural, cordial, and fearless, at once popular and churchly. As long as the German language endures men will sing Luther's pathetic 'Aus tiefer Noth,' his child-like 'Von Himmel hoch da komm ich her,' and his immortal 'Ein feste Burg.' With him must be associated Michael Weisse (1480-1534), who translated many of the Bohemian Brethren's hymns into German, but who is perhaps best remembered for his funeral hymn 'Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben,' Paulus Speratus (1484-1551), Nicholaus Hermann († 1561), Paul Eber (1511-69), Johann Zwick, of the Reformed Church (1496-1542), and Hans Sachs, the cobbler-bard of Nüremberg (1494-1576).

(2) The second period, 1560-1618, is one of transition towards the subjective style of later times. There are occasional references to personal circumstances, and didactic matter is sometimes introduced. Many worthless compositions of this age have come down to us, and the best authors were too prolific. Among these may be named Bartholomäus Ringwalt (1532-98), Johann Michael Altenburg (1584-1640), and, above all, Philipp Nicolai (1556-1608).

(3) The third period is that of the Thirty Years' War, 1618-48. The Psalms now become the model and type; prominence is given to personal matters; brevity and terseness give place to enlargement of thought. From this estimate one hymn must be excluded, the 'Nun danket alle Gott' of Martin Rinckart (1586-1649), which is almost the only one of his voluminous writings which has escaped oblivion, and which has become the national doxology of Germany. Martin Opitz (1597-1639) was a literary man of no very decided principles; but he greatly influenced German hymnody by his literary style, and as a reformer of German prosody. This influence operated chiefly on writers of what is called the Silesian School. Of these the foremost place belongs to Johann Heermann (1585-1647), the author of 400 hymns, including 'Herr Jesu Christ, du wahres Licht,' and 'Herzliebster Jesu, was hast du verbrochen?' Johann Rist (1607-67) was also a prolific writer. Others of the school are Josua Stegmann (1588-1632), Paul Flemming (1609-40), Matthäus Apelles von Löwenstern (1594-1648), and Johann Matthäus Meyfart (1590-1642). To the contemporary school of Königsberg belong Simon Dach (1605-59), Georg Weissel (1590-1635), Heinrich Alberti (1604-51), and others.

(4) The fourth period reaches from the peace of Westphalia to the outbreak of the Pietistic controversy, 1648-90. Hymns of this period assume more and more of a subjective character, the objective features tending to disappear, while hymns relating to various circumstances and events in life—as suffering, consolation, death, the family, etc.—become more numerous. There is often a tendency to excessive length, a common fault of meditative verse. The chief singer of this generation—in the judgment of many, the greatest of all German hymnists—is Paulus Gerhardt (1607-76). Foremost among his 120 hymns is the incomparable 'O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,' and not far behind it comes the ever popular 'Befiehl du deine Wege.' To the same school belong Ernst C. Homburg (1605-81), Johann Franck (1618-77), Georg Neumark (1621-81), and Johann Georg Albinus (1624-79).

Contemporary with these is a group of poets whose hymns are, in general tone, mystic and contemplative. Foremost among them is Johann Scheffler (1624-77), who, becoming a convert to the Roman Communion in 1653, assumed the name of Angelus Silesius. Many of his hymns, written both before and after his transition, display a marvellous sweetness, in strange contrast with the bitterness of his controversial writings, *e.g.* 'Ich will dich lieben, meine Stärke,' 'Liebe, die du mich zum Bilde,' etc. With him may be associated Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636-89), Michael Franck, Sigismund von Bircken, Christoph Wegleiter, and others of less note; and in the Reformed Church Joachim Neander (1650-80).

(5) The fifth period is that of Pietism, about 1690-1750. The hymnists of these two generations are far too numerous to be particularly specified, but they may be classified in five groups. (i.) The contemporaries of Spener, pervaded by a healthy and sincere piety. Spener himself wrote few hymns of any value, and those produced by the rest of the group are noticeable for quality rather than for quantity. We may mention Adam Drese (1620-1701), Johann Jakob Schütz (1640-90), Cyriacus Günther (1649-1704), Samuel Rodigast (1649-1708), Laurentius Laurenti (1660-1722), and Gottfried Arnold (1666-1714).

(ii.) The older school of Halle. Their hymns are of a scriptural, practical, and devotional tendency, and are mostly for individual edification and for the closet, rather than for the church. Most worthy of notice are Wolfgang Christoph Dessler (1660-1722), the author of more than 100 hymns, of which the best known are 'Mein Jesu dem die Seraphinen' and 'Ich lass dich nicht, du musst mein Jesus bleiben,' Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen (1670-1739), Johann Heinrich Schröder (1667-99), Bartholomäus Crasselius (1667-1724), and Johann Joseph Winckler (1670-1722).

(iii.) To these succeeded a younger school, representing the decline of Pietism into sentimentalism and trivialities. The better writers of this school are Johann Jakob Rambach (1693-1735), Johann Ludwig Conrad Allendorf (1693-1773), Carl Heinrich von Bogatzky (1690-1774), and Leopold F. F. Lehr (1709-44).

(iv.) Side by side with these is a group of poets devoted to strict Lutheran orthodoxy, and therefore unsympathetic towards Pietism. Three of these composed, among them, nearly 2000 hymns, many of which, though not of the highest order of merit, are of great and permanent value. Salomo Franck (1659-1725) is best remembered by his hymn for Easter even, 'So ruhest du, O meine Ruh'; Erdmann Neumeister (1671-1756) was the author of many cantatas for use in church, and re-modelled a number of older hymns; Benjamin Schmolck (1672-1737) was the most prolific of the school.

(v.) The school which is represented in theology by Bengel and Crusius, mediating between Pietism and orthodoxy, claims a few sacred poets. The chief of these are Johann Mentzer (1658-1734), Johann Andreas Rothe (1688-1758), P. F. Hiller (1699-1769), and C. C. L. von Pfeil (1712-84).

Two distinguished hymnists of the period appear to stand apart from all these various groups. Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769), brought up in the Reformed Church, but from early manhood a mystic and a separatist, has more in common with Scheffler than with any other poet. His numerous hymns were long restricted to a limited circle, but during the last 70 years have been represented in most German hymn-books, Lutheran as well as Reformed. 'Gott ist gegenwärtig' is the most popular; but 'Siegesfürste, Ehrenkönig,' 'Gott rufet noch,' and others are of sterling value.

Nicholaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–60), patron and afterwards bishop of the Moravian Brethren, wrote upwards of 2000 hymns of almost every possible degree of merit, but even at the lowest displaying deep personal devotion to Christ. His extraordinary aptitude for improvising led to the production of a huge mass of rhyme, of which sincere piety is the only redeeming feature. The use of his hymns is almost restricted to the Moravian Church; but 'Jesu, geh voran' and 'Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit' are hymns that Christendom will not willingly let die; and a few centos, translated into various languages, are current.

(6) The sixth period, from about 1750 to 1830, is that of the 'Enlightenment' (*q.v.*), whose effect on hymnody was for the time disastrous, especially in the dilution of the church hymn-books and sacred poetry in general. During its earlier years the orthodox tradition was worthily maintained by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–69), who in 1757 published 54 hymns characterized by rational piety and good taste, but generally individual rather than churchly. Many of them are still in use, the most popular being 'Jesus lebt, mit ihm auch ich.' Friedrich G. Klopstock (1724–1803) produced in 1758 modernized re-casts of 29 earlier German hymns, apparently without any doctrinal motive. Of his original pieces, mostly emotional and subjective, by far the best is the triumphant funeral song 'Auferstehn, ja, auferstehn wirst du.' Modernizing of standard hymns, without doctrinal purpose and with undesirable results, was undertaken by Johann Andreas Cramer (1723–88) and Johann Adolf Schlegel (1721–93). The one spiritual singer who stands conspicuous in this dreary time is Johann Caspar Lavater (1741–1801). Of his 700 hymns the best known is 'Jesus Christus, wachs in mir.' Georg F. P. von Hardenberg, commonly called Novalis, was a religious poet rather than a hymn-writer.

(7) A seventh period, one of Evangelical revival, may be dated from the publication by Christian Karl Josias Bunsen in 1833 of his *Versuch eines allgemeinen evangelischen Gesang- und Gebetbuchs*, containing 934 hymns, followed in 1837 by the *Evangelischer Liederschatz* of Albert Knapp, with 3590. Bunsen endeavoured to restore, as nearly as possible, the original text of each hymn; Knapp, unfortunately, was less scrupulous; but from that time the colourless hymn-books of the preceding age gradually disappeared; and those now in use usually contain the best productions of evangelical singers from the Reformation downward. It would be impossible to pass in review the original compositions of the last three generations. Five names are specially worthy of mention: Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769–1860), Christian F. H. Sachse (1785–1860), Johann Wilhelm Meinhold (1797–1851), Albert Knapp (1798–1864), and Carl J. P. Spitta (1801–59), of whose *Psalter und Harfe* 55 editions were printed in as many years.

2. Dutch hymns.—Even in the 15th cent. a number of macaronic hymns, partly Latin and partly Dutch, and generally of a Hussite character, were current in the Netherlands. A collection of these was printed at Kempen in 1550. The Reformation in these regions was of so strongly Calvinistic a type, however, that several synods forbade the singing of any hymns except those found in Holy Scripture. A collection of metrical Psalms, with music, was printed at Antwerp in 1539; and two complete metrical Dutch Psalters appeared in 1566. To another Psalter, published in 1580, were added metrical versions of other Scripture canticles, together with the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the 'Gloria in excelsis.' Altogether between 30 and 40 Dutch Psalters appeared before 1773, in which year the Synod of South Holland issued an authorized version, which is still commonly used in the Dutch Reformed Church.

The Dutch Lutherans, in 1615, published at Utrecht a collection of 58 hymns translated from the German. The suppression of these was attempted by the Synod of Dort (1619); but a few years later local synods authorized their use on festival occasions. In 1659, Willem Sluiter published a volume entitled *Psalmen, Gezangen en geestelijke Liederen*, which, together with a posthumous volume of hymns by the same author, was long in popular use for domestic worship. The first religious bodies in Holland to authorize the use of hymns in public worship, however, were dissenters from the Dutch Reformed Establishment. The Anabaptists published an Appendix to the Psalter in 1713; a hymnal for a separatist congregation, compiled by Jacob Groenewegen in 1750, ran through several editions; and a large volume of Mennonite hymns appeared in the latter half of the 18th century. It was not till 1805 that the first authorized hymn-book of the Dutch Reformed Church was offered to the public. It contained 192 hymns, of which a large proportion were translations. An Appendix, which had been nearly 20 years in preparation, was authorized in 1866. This hymn-book and appendix are still in common use both in Holland and in South Africa; and nearly all other Dutch hymnals have borrowed largely from them.

Of the older Dutch Lutheran hymns almost half were appropriate only to festivals. It was not till 1826 that the Lutheran Synod of Holland published its own hymn-book, containing 376 hymns, of which 150 were from the older Lutheran books, and 162 were new compositions. Some serious omissions were supplied in an Appendix 24 years later. The other most important Dutch hymn-books are the modern Baptist hymnal, a volume of translations from the Latin by R. B. Janson (1860), and a volume of revival hymns, translated from English and American originals. Very few Dutch hymns are original compositions; according to the best authority, the whole number does not much exceed 3000, of which at least two-thirds are translations.

3. Scandinavian hymns.—The Reformation in the Scandinavian countries was, to a greater extent than elsewhere, the work of the rulers rather than of the people. The national Churches of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway were thoroughly Erastian. These facts had some influence, if not on the composition of church songs, at least on their publication and use in public worship.

The father of Swedish hymnody was Lars Petersen, archbishop of Upsala († 1573), who, in addition to original pieces, made many translations from Latin and German hymns. His brother, Olaf Petersen, also has some repute as a hymn-writer. They were assisted in their poetical work by two other brothers, Lars and Peter Andersen. These, in 1536, published *Swenske songor eller wisor nw pa nytt prentade, förökade, och under en annan skick än tilförenna vtsatte* ('Swedish Songs or Hymns, now newly printed, enlarged, and published in a different shape from the former'; what that former book was we are not informed). Two kings of Sweden—Erik XIV. († 1577) and Gustavus Adolphus (slain at Lützen, 1632)—contributed to the national hymnody; the latter, shortly before his death, wrote the renowned battle-song, 'Förfäras ej, du lilla hop.'

The number of Swedish hymn-writers is not great. Of the 15 who wrote within the 17th and 18th centuries the greatest was Johan Olaf Wallin

(1779–1839). In 1819 he published *Den swenska Psalmboken af Konungen gillad och stadfästad* ('The Swedish Hymn-book, approved and confirmed by the King'), which is still in common use throughout the country. To it he contributed about 150 original hymns, besides translations and revisions.

In 1529 there was published at Rostock, in the Danish language, *Een ny Handbog, med Psalmer oc aandelige Lofsange, wdragne aff then hellige Schrifft* ('A new Handbook, with Psalms and Spiritual Songs of Praise derived from Holy Writ'). This contained translations from the Latin, German, and Swedish, and some originals. Its principal author was Claus Martensön Töndebinder (1500–76); and it was the hymnary of the Danish and Norwegian Lutherans for more than a century. In 1683, Thomas Kingo, bishop of Funen, whose *Aandelige Sjunge-chor* ('Spiritual Choral-Songs') had attracted attention, was commissioned to prepare a new hymn-book for the churches in both countries. The first part appeared in 1689; it contained many of Kingo's own compositions, and was greatly admired by some, while others, of the Pietistic school, unfairly denounced it as rationalistic. The controversy was so violent that the completion of the book was entrusted to a committee, who, however, worked on Kingo's lines, and included many of his hymns. The resultant *Forordnede ny Kirke-Psalme-Bog* ('Authorized New Church Hymn-book'), in its complete form, appeared in 1699. Several attempts were made to supplant it by collections on Pietistic lines. Especially notable was a *Ny Salmebog* ('New Hymn-book') edited in 1740 by Eric Pontoppidan. This contained a large number of hymns, both original and translated, by Hans Adolf Brorson, bishop of Ribe, whose views were decidedly Pietistic. Another attempt in the same direction was made by N. H. Balle, bishop of Seeland, who in 1797 produced a revision of Kingo's book under the title *Evangelisk-Kristelig Salmebog* ('Evangelical Christian Hymn-book'). The attempt failed, however, because of the feebleness of the verse; and more than half a century passed before any real improvement was effected. This at length was brought about, mainly through the influence of Nikolai Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872). This eminent scholar, true poet, and fervent evangelist waged war for many years against the prevailing Rationalism and Erastianism of the national Church, and suffered accordingly. While under ecclesiastical suspension he wrote and compiled *Sang-Värk til den danske Kirke* ('Song-Work for the Danish Church'). His moral influence at length prevailed so far that his worth was appreciated, and steps were taken to prepare a new *Salmebogen til Kirke- og Hus- Andagt* ('Hymn-book for Church and House Worship'). This was sanctioned for general use in 1853, having been edited by the poet Bernhard Severin Ingemann (1789–1862). It was based on the old book of Kingo, but contained many hymns by Brorson, Grundtvig, and Ingemann.

Iceland is closely bound to Denmark by political relations. For a long time the only hymn-book in use there was the *Graduale* or *Messu-saungs bök* ('Mass-Song-Book'), consisting of translations into Old Norse of a few of the earlier hymns of Martensön's collection. The last edition is dated 1773. Since then local translations of the Danish books have been in use. In 1861, Thordersen of Reykjavik issued *Nýr vidbætir vid hina evangelisku Sälmabök* ('New Contributions to the Evangelical Psalm-book'), much on the lines of the Danish book of 1855.

Norway, until 1814, had been politically united with Denmark; and Danish hymn-books, or revisions of such books in modernized language, have been in common use—the churches allowing themselves considerable freedom. The books now most in use are *Kirke-Salme-Bogen* ('The Church Hymn-book'), edited on the basis of older books by Magnus B. Landstad, and authorized in 1869; and *Christelige Psalmer til Husandagt og Skolebrug* ('Christian Hymns for Domestic Worship and for Use in Schools'), published in 1851 by Johan Nikolai Frantzen.

A very large proportion of the Scandinavian hymns are translated from German Lutheran authors. The older hymns are generally doctrinal or invocative; those of later date are rather subjective, expressing personal sentiments, hopes, and fears. As to the characteristics of individual singers, it is commonly said that 'Kingo is the poet of Easter, Brorson of Christmas, and Grundtvig of Whitsuntide.'

4. French hymns.—The earliest known French hymn-book was printed in 1527. It was entitled *Hymnes communs de l'année*, and consisted of translations of Latin hymns by Nicolas Mauroy. In 1533 appeared the *Miroir d'une âme pécheresse*, by Marguerite de Valois, to which were appended metrical versions, by Clément Marot, of the Creed, Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria, Grace before Meals, etc. Between this date and 1597 nine small books of Huguenot Songs were published, containing hymns, carols, ballads, and paraphrases of Scripture. Meanwhile, in 1542, Marot published his 50 metrical Psalms, which, being sung to ballad tunes, became widely fashionable. In hope of supplanting these, Guy de la Boderie, a Roman Catholic, published *Hymnes ecclésiastiques* in 1578, also *Cantiques spirituels*, consisting of translations from Prudentius, Petrarch, and Vidas, and some paraphrases of Scripture songs. Before the end of the century, several other volumes of devout songs were produced by Huguenot writers, such as Nicolas Denisot, Charles de Navières, Etienne de Maizon Fleur; but none of them were designed for public worship. The Reformed Church in France, as in Germany and elsewhere, limited its church-song to Biblical Psalms and Canticles. Various writers, therefore, sought to supply what was lacking in Marot's work; and in 1550 a complete Psalter was published in Paris, consisting of Marot's versions, with others by Gilles d'Aurigny, Robert Brincel, 'C. R.,' and 'Cl. B.' This was generally supplanted by *Les Pseaumes mis en rime françoise par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze*, 1562. Of this at least 24 editions were printed within the year, at Paris, Caen, Lyons, Geneva, and other places. Until the early years of the 18th cent. this Psalter alone was used in the public worship of the Reformed Church; and beyond the bounds of that community its influence has been far wider than that of any other metrical Psalter.

The Lutheran Church in France, besides using the Psalter, made free use of translations of the best German hymns. *Pseaumes, hymnes et cantiques . . . mis en rime français selon la rime et mélodies allemands*[3], Frankfort, 1612, contains 63 hymns or paraphrases. Successive enlargements or developments of this book appeared under various titles in the 17th and 18th centuries, that of 1739 having 381 pieces. The rigidity of the Reformed Church also gave way in 1705, when Benedict Pictet published *Cinquante-quatre cantiques sacrez pour les principales solemnitez*. Twelve of these were authorized for use in public worship, and became an appendix to the Psalter throughout the Reformed Church. Some of them are among the finest hymns in the French language.

The French Roman Catholic hymnists of the 17th cent. are not numerous. *La Philomèle séraphique*, by Jean l'Evangéliste, 1632, consisted of hymns of a mystical type, set to secular tunes. It was regarded as a Jansenist book, and was not designed for use in church. Pierre Corneille versified parts of the *Imitatio Christi*, thus producing a few hymns still current. Racine also wrote, in 1689, two hymns which are still in use. A few hymns of a soberly quietistic strain were written by the illustrious Fénelon, and a large number by Madame Guyon (1648–1717); but few, if any, of these have come into common use. A number of hymns by Abbé Pellegrin were published in 1706–15, and set to lively secular tunes; some of them are still in use. A meritorious collection of hymns was made for the Seminary of St. Sulpice in 1765. The *Recueil de cantiques, traduits de l'allemand*, 1743, was a Moravian hymn-book of 75 pieces. In successive editions the number was raised to 576 in 1778, of which about 370 are translations from the German, the rest being French originals.

Probably the greatest of French hymn-writers is H. A. César Malan (1787–1864), pastor at Geneva, champion of Evangelicalism, and the founder of modern French Reformed hymnody. He is said to have written about a thousand hymns; and, though many are weak and full of literary faults, others are of great value. A large number are still in use, and some of them are found in every French Protestant hymn-book. Of contemporary and later writers of the same school may be named Ami Bost, Merle d'Aubigné, Henri Lutteroth, Alexandre Vinet, and Adolphe Monod.

Modern French hymn-books are very numerous, and suited to every phase of Protestant Christianity. The first French Methodist hymn-book was issued in England about 1813, for the benefit of French prisoners of war; it contained many translations of English hymns. Another, for use in the Channel Isles, appeared about 1818, and in an enlarged edition in 1828; it was frequently reprinted, until replaced by a better book in 1868. In 1831, or earlier, appeared *Cantiques chrétiens à l'usage des assemblées religieuses*, which reached a 14th edition in 1881. The Reformed Church has overcome its aversion to 'human compositions,' and since 1787 has sanctioned several good hymn-books. The Walloon Collection (1803) contained 133 hymns; a good collection published at Frankfort in 1849 contained 289; and the *Nouveau Livre de cantiques*, edited by E. Bersier, Paris, 1879, has 217. At least six French Lutheran hymn-books were published in several editions during the 19th cent. at Paris, Montbéliard, Strassburg, and Nancy; and a French Moravian hymn-book, in 1880, contained 700 pieces, mostly translations from the German. Several modern books of the revivalist type have had wide circulation, especially those published in connexion with the Protestant Mission called 'L'Œuvre MacAll.' The most noteworthy of these is *Cantiques populaires*, which with its supplement contains upwards of 60 translations of English and American 'revival hymns.'

An undenominational hymn-book, with music, appeared at Paris in 1834, under the title of *Chants chrétiens*, edited by Henri Lutteroth. Its aim was to collect the best hymns of the older poets, as Racine, Corneille, Pictet, etc., together with others of recent date. It was much modified in successive editions, assuming its final shape, with 200 hymns, in 1857. Its influence has been wide and beneficial, bringing into common use numerous hymns of great merit. Its chief blemish is that it is too didactic—an unusual fault in French hymnody, which is, for the most part, intensely subjective. French hymns rarely or never have the strength of good German or English poetry; but the best of them have much sweetness and tenderness, while some are highly picturesque, and others of delightful simplicity.

This seems a fitting place to mention a group of French Roman Catholic poets of the 17th and early 18th centuries, who wrote in Latin, and whose hymns are to be found in the Paris Breviary of 1726 and other Gallican Breviaries. The foremost of them in merit is Charles Coffin (1676–1749); next must be ranked Jean Baptiste de Santeuil (1630–97) and his elder brother Claude (1628–84); with these are honourably associated Guillaume de la Brunetière († 1702), Nicolas le Tourneux (1640–86), S. Besnault, and several of lesser note. Their hymns, especially those of Coffin, are of a high standard of excellence.

5. Italian hymns.—The religious revival initiated by St. Francis of Assisi in the 13th cent. called forth a number of religious songs in the Veronese and Umbrian dialects, some of which were sung by the Flagellants in their processions. Towards the end of the century Jacopone da Todi (to whom is usually attributed the 'Stabat Mater dolorosa') wrote many vernacular songs extolling the divine love, which, though never used in the regular church services, were much sung during the two following centuries by members of the religious orders. Towards the middle of the 15th cent. G. Savonarola wrote 'Hymns of Praise and Contemplation,' which, however, were not suited for use in public worship. Two of his contemporaries, Maffei Belcari and Girolamo Benevieni, wrote hymns which were widely known and used. The spiritual poems of Vittoria Colonna (1490–1547) were highly esteemed, but there is no evidence that they were ever used in public worship.

From this time till late in the 17th cent. no religious poet of eminence arose in Italy. But in 1688, Matteo Coferati, a priest of Florence, edited a collection of about 330 hymns, under the title *Corona di sacre canzoni, o laude spirituali di piu divoti autori*. The authors' names are not stated. This is the earliest known Italian hymn-book.

Bernardo Adimari, a priest of the Oratory of San Filippo Neri, was the author of 212 hymns, published at Florence in 1703. These were accompanied by tunes in four parts; and there is evidence that at this time it was common in many places to sing hymns antiphonally, or one verse by the choir and another by the people. The next prolific hymn-writer was Alfonso Maria de Liguori (1696–1787). His verses were designed for popular use. Some are devotional, some ascetic, and some mystical; they abound in utterances of intense devotion, but are for the most part too warm and passionate for English taste. Liguori has often been credited with the authorship of the best known of all Italian hymns, 'Viva, viva Jesu'; but the ascription is very doubtful. The well-known poets Metastasio and Manzoni wrote hymns which have been included in church collections; and several recent Roman Catholic poets of less note might also be mentioned. Among the principal Protestant hymn-writers of the 19th cent. are Gabriele Rossetti, his kinsman, T. Pietrocola Rossetti, C. Mapei, G. Niccolini, and Michele di Pretoro. An Englishman, Thomas W. S. Jones, who lived many years in Italy, is also the author of more than 140 hymns in the Italian language. At least 10 Protestant Italian hymn-books, some of considerable bulk, have been published since the Italian Revolution, at Florence, Naples, Rome, Trieste, and Casella. Some of these contain numerous translations of English and American hymns. In Italy the Roman Catholic Church does not favour the singing of hymns in the vernacular in public worship; nevertheless, in extra-liturgical services such hymns are used with some freedom.

6. English hymns.—Popular tradition has constantly associated hymn-singing with the Lollards. But, although a number of devout songs are pre served in MSS of the 14th and 15th centuries, some of them of no little merit, they are all—except a few carols—too intensely personal to have been used in public worship. The earliest printed English hymns are probably those in Marshall's Primer of 1535 and the Sarum Primer of 1538. These are translations from the Latin, and their versification is of the rudest.

The first English hymn-book, properly so called, is the *Goostly Psalmes and Spirituall Songes* of Miles Coverdale, 1539. It contains 41 pieces, all but 5 of them translations or imitations from the German—17 being from Luther. There are versions of 13 Psalms, the 'Magnificat,' 'Nunc dimittis,' 'Gloria in excelsis,' the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. Efforts were made to suppress this book, but in 1545 Henry VIII. authorized a new Primer, which contained 8 hymns, smoother in versification than the former primers. In this Cranmer is believed to have had a hand, and it was his desire that English versions of the old Church hymns should have a place in the projected new service-books. It is thought that the influence of Calvin and Bucer had to do with the abandonment of this project.

During the interval between the death of Henry and the accession of Elizabeth the 'old version' of the Psalms was gradually compiled, the chief contributors being Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, Thomas Norton, William Kethe, and William Whittingham. To several successive editions a few hymns were prefixed or appended; the complete edition of 1562 has 23, including 'The Lamentation of a Sinner' and the earliest known non-Roman Communion hymn in the English language, 'The Lord be thanked for His Gifts.' The next really important hymnological publication is the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, which bears the same relation to the Reformation in Scotland as Coverdale's *Goostly Psalmes* does to that in England. The principal, but not the only, authors were the brothers John and Robert Wedderburne, clergymen of Dundee, who became exiles on account of their Protestant principles. The earliest editions have entirely perished, and their date is matter of conjecture; the oldest known perfect copy was printed at Edinburgh in 1578, with the title *Ane Cōpendious Buik of godlie Psalmes and spirituall Sangis*. It contains 116 pieces, all in the Scottish dialect. There are 22 metrical Psalms, 8 Scripture paraphrases, the Creed, 34 hymns, 8 graces, and 43 ballads, some devotional and some satirical. More than a fourth of the whole is translated from the German, and a few pieces are borrowed or adapted from Coverdale. Several of the devotional ballads are remarkable for their beauty and tenderness, while the satirical pieces, some of them coarse as well as humorous, attack the Roman Catholic clergy with considerable vigour.

It may seem surprising that, of about 130 English writers of religious verse in the latter half of the 16th cent., scarcely any contributed to the worship-song of the Church. The explanation lies in the fact that—largely, no doubt, through the Calvinistic influence brought to bear upon the formative period of the English Book of Common Prayer—only the scantiest scope was allowed for hymns in public worship, an injunction of the first year of Elizabeth granting merely that 'in the beginning or in the end of the Common Prayer, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn, or such like song, to the praise of Almighty God.' It was not until the revision of 1661–62 that the insertion, after the third collect at morning and evening prayer, of the rubric for the anthem opened the way, even though slowly taken, to a true hymnody. In modern times a few Elizabethan hymns have come into common use, *e.g.*, the earliest original English morning hymn, 'You that have spent the quiet night,' by George Gascoigne, and the delightful 'Hierusalem, my happie home,' of which the author, 'F. B. P.,' has not been satisfactorily identified.

Between the death of Elizabeth and the outbreak of the Civil War the conditions were much the same; and the sacred poets of the day, such as John Donne, George Herbert, and Phineas Fletcher, for the most part offered no contributions to public worship, though a few of their devout lyrics have found a place in modern hymn-books. A few attempts were made to supplant the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter, but with little success. The very meritorious version of George Sandys failed to win the public ear; that of William, Earl of Stirling, though put forth in the name of King James, had no better success; and the faithful but intolerably harsh version of Henry Ainsworth found favour only with the Separatists.

To this period, however, belongs the first really great English hymn-writer, George Wither (1588–1667). His poetical works, sacred and secular, are numerous. His noble version of the Psalms has been undeservedly neglected. His *Hymns and Songs of the Church* was printed in 1623, with 'the particular approbation both of the king and of convocation,' but the intrigues of the Stationers' Company frustrated the intentions of the king and clergy, and practically suppressed the book. It contained all the OT and NT Canticles, the Song of Songs, the Lamentations, versions of the Lord's Prayer and 'Veni Creator,' and 44 original hymns for various ecclesiastical seasons and special occasions. In 1641, Wither published *Hallelujah, or Britain's Second Remembrancer*, with a dedication to the Parliament, his sympathies being at that time on the popular side. The book contained 233 hymns, classified as occasional, temporary, and personal; 42 of them are taken from the former book, often with alterations which are not always improvements.

The Sternhold and Hopkins Psalter had become unacceptable to the Puritans, not because of its rugged versification, but because it was not, in their opinion, sufficiently close to the original. They conceived the impossible idea of a literal translation from the Hebrew in an English metre that could be sung. Between 1640 and the end of the century there were at least half-a-dozen attempts to realize this fancy—among them the curious *Bay Psalm-Book* of the Puritan Colonists in New England (1640). When the Long Parliament undertook to remodel the Church of England on Puritanical lines, part of the scheme was to provide a metrical Psalter for general use throughout England and Scotland. The work was assigned to a committee, who, by conflating two versions by Francis Rous and William Barton respectively, produced what is known as 'The Scots Version'—it being approved by the Scottish General Assembly in 1649. With all its faults—and they are neither few nor small—it has endeared itself to the hearts of the Scottish people, and will not be supplanted for generations yet to come. The wonderful 23rd Psalm in this version is probably the most perfect metrical Psalm in Christendom.

Between the fall of the Monarchy and the Revolution several poets produced lyrics which, though not designed for use in public worship, were utilized by later compilers of hymn-books. Such were Henry Vaughan, Richard Crashaw, and John Quarles. There were also at least three genuine hymnists—William Barton, whose work has been unaccountably neglected, Samuel Crossman, and John Mason, whose best productions are still deservedly popular. Mention must also be made of two rhymesters, whose verses are unmitigated doggerel, but who did excellent work as pioneers. Abraham Cheare, a Baptist minister of Plymouth, who died in prison in 1668, is the first known English author of hymns for children. Benjamin Keach, also a Baptist, had been set in the pillory for seeking to propagate his opinions through the press. His *Spiritual Melody* (1691) is poor; but by it, and by a couple of vigorous pamphlets, he practically broke down the prejudice which until then existed among Baptists against singing in public worship.

In 1692 was printed the first edition, unauthorized and incorrect, of Bishop Thomas Ken's *Morning and Evening Hymns.* At first written for the scholars of Winchester School, they have won an abiding place in the esteem of all English-speaking Christendom. Ken's other hymns, for the festivals of the Church, were a posthumous publication, and have been little regarded.

At the time of the Revolution the Psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, already archaic, were still almost exclusively used in the Anglican Church; the well-meant attempts of W. King, John Patrick, John Denham, and others had totally failed to supplant them; and the noble versions of Sandys and Wither had apparently been forgotten. About 1698 a New Version, by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady, was put forth under royal patronage, and soon became immensely popular. Its one merit is that, smooth and unimpassioned, it suited the literary taste of the day. For 150 years it held the field against all rivals; at present about half-a-dozen psalms of the 'New Version' continue in use, the most popular being the 34th and the 67th.

In the Church of Scotland, on the re-establishment of Presbyterianism after the Revolution, the General Assembly considered the question of an authorized appendix to the Scottish Psalms. Patrick Simson of Renfrew had published, at Edinburgh, six books of *Spiritual Songs or Holy Poems,* consisting of versified paraphrases of all the poetical parts of Scripture except the Psalter. The work is of considerable merit, the rendering being fairly close, without that rigidity which marked the Scottish and New England Psalms. In 1695, Simson being Moderator, the Assembly appointed a Commission to revise the Scripture Songs; but the business was delayed year after year, and in the end nothing was done, so that the Scottish Psalms continued in exclusive use for about 50 years longer.

Among English Nonconformists the manuals of Church Song chiefly in use were the Scottish Psalms, a revision of the New England Psalter, and, occasionally, Barton's. During the last decade of the century several ministers—Robert Fleming, Joseph Boyse, Thomas Shepherd, Richard Davis, and Joseph Stennett—produced hymns for the use of their own congregations, some of which found wider, though very limited, acceptance. Nearly all these hymns are personal rather than congregational; and most of them are mere Calvinistic theology in rhyme. The first selection of hymns for Nonconformist worship of which we have found any trace was published in 1694 under the title *A Collection of Divine Hymns upon several Occasions.* To this seven authors contributed, among whom were Richard Baxter, John Mason, and Thomas Shepherd. The next selection, Matthew Henry's *Family Hymns* (1695), consisted entirely of centos from various metrical versions of the Psalms.

In 1695 a young Nonconformist student commented on the unsatisfactory character of the rhymes in use at the Meeting-house in Southampton, and was challenged to produce something better. The next Sunday the spirited paraphrase 'Behold the Glories of the Lamb Amidst His Father's throne' was 'lined out,' to the delight of the worshippers. The young man was Isaac Watts, in after years renowned as pastor, philosopher, and poet. In 1707 he published *Hymns and Spiritual Songs, in Three Books,* containing 222 pieces, which in the second edition (1709) were increased to 360. These were followed in 1715 by *Divine and Moral Songs for the Use of Children*; and in 1719 by *The Psalms of David imitated in the Language of the New Testament.* Other publications in verse followed; and Watts's various works contain at least 750 hymns, of which nearly 200 are still in common use. Before his death, in 1748, fifteen or sixteen editions of his hymns had been circulated; and for more than 100 years their use, with or without a supplement, was all but universal among Congregationalists and Baptists. His meditative hymns are not usually superior to those of Crossman, Ken, and Mason; but in hymns of praise fitted for united utterance he has no superior and few equals. His theology is in the main Puritan, without the Puritan rigidity and intolerance.

Watts was the first who could be deemed the founder of a distinct school of English hymn-writers. Among his followers may be reckoned, in addition to a multitude of inferior rhymers, Simon Browne (1680–1732), Philip Doddridge (1702–51), Anne Steele (1716–78), Thomas Gibbons (1720–85), Samuel Stennett (1727–95), and Samuel Medley (1738–99).

The influence of Watts extended into Scotland. In the hymns of John Willison († 1750), and in the *Scripture Songs* of Ralph Erskine († 1752), he is plagiarized almost wholesale. In the *Translations and Paraphrases* prepared by a committee of the General Assembly in 1745, of 45 paraphrases 18 were by Watts. In the *Paraphrases* of 1781, of 67 pieces 19 are based on Watts and 4 on Doddridge, but all more or less altered. By far the most successful of these alterations is the fine paraphrase—transmuted from one of Watts's feeblest hymns—'How bright those glorious spirits shine.'

Of writers more or less contemporary with Watts, but outside the sphere of his influence, the following deserve mention: John Dryden († 1701), who is believed to have translated from the Latin most of the hymns which appear in the Roman Catholic Primer of 1706; Nahum Tate († 1715), already mentioned, the chief author of those hymns and alternative versions which appeared as a supplement to the 'New Version' in 1703; Joseph Addison († 1719); Samuel Wesley the elder († 1735); and Joseph Hart († 1768), most of whose hymns are strongly Calvinistic.

We come next to the greatest of all English hymn-writers, Charles Wesley (1707–80), the poet of the Methodist revival. The exact number of his hymns is doubtful, because of an arrangement with his brother John (1703–91) that in works for which they were jointly responsible their respective parts should not be distinguished. The poetical publications of the two brothers number 62 distinct issues, ranging from single leaflets to stout volumes, 9 of which include pieces by other authors. On the lowest estimate these works contain 4395 hymns by the Wesleys. Of these 100, including all those translated from the German, are certainly the work of John, while of 325 the authorship is uncertain; so that 3970 pieces at least may be ascribed to Charles. His general tone is strongly Arminian. At least 500 of Charles Wesley's hymns are in use in the Methodist Churches, and a large proportion of them are equally valued in other communions.

The unapproachable greatness of Charles Wesley seems to have had a repressive influence on hymn-writing in Methodist circles; not more than three or four of his Methodist contemporaries left anything of value; and even the most gifted of these, Thomas Olivers, is chiefly remembered by one great hymn, 'The God of Abraham praise.'

A totally different school is represented by a succession of writers who seem to have derived their inspiration from the Moravian Brethren. The German Moravian hymns are too often characterized by a kind of spiritualized sensuousness, and the same feature is found, in a mitigated form, in many English hymns of the same denomination. John Gambold (1711–71), sometime vicar of Stanton Harcourt, and afterwards Moravian bishop, edited the great hymn-book of 1754, containing 115

Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages, which, expurgated and revised, furnished most of the material of Moravian hymn-books till quite recent times. Its influence is evident in the hymns of John Cennick (1718–55), of James Allen (1734–1804), of Walter Shirley (1725–86), and of Jonathan Evans (1749–1809). Some characteristics of this school are also found in the poems of Augustus Montague Toplady (1740–78) ('Rock of Ages, cleft for me'); but they are modified by his militant Calvinism.

Yet another school, that of moderate Calvinism, is represented by the *Olney Hymns*, first published in 1779, the joint work of William Cowper (1731–1800) and John Newton (1725–1807). The romance of Newton's adventurous youth, and the pathetic story of Cowper's intermittent insanity, are well known; the effect of each on their respective contributions is easily traceable. The features common to both resemble those of J. Mason; Cowper is remarkable for his tenderness, and occasionally for expressions or thoughts that seem suggestive of Moravian sources; Newton is sometimes gloomy, and sometimes descends to mere doggerel, but at his best he exhibits a strength and joyousness to which his colleague is a stranger. His hymns number 280, of which 50 or 60 are still in use; Cowper produced 68 (besides his translations from the French of Madame Guyon), of which nearly half have a place in modern hymn-books. To the Olney school may be referred Thomas Haweis (1732–1820), John Fawcett (1740–1817), John Ryland (1753–1825), and many others of less note.

A few writers of the 18th cent., who cannot be classed with any particular school, are remembered as the authors of single hymns; while the rest of their works, sometimes voluminous, are all but forgotten. Such are Robert Seagrave (1693–1750) ('Rise, my Soul, and stretch thy wings'); James Fanch (1704–67) ('Beyond the glittering starry skies'); John Bakewell (1721–1819) ('Hail, Thou once despised Jesus'); Edward Perronet (1726–92) ('All hail the power of Jesus' name'); and Robert Robinson (1735–90) ('Come, Thou Fount of every blessing').

Two small sects which originated in Scotland about the middle of the 18th cent. yielded hymns of some literary interest. Among the *Christian Songs* of the Glasites, or Sandemanians (1749), are several especially designed for secular tunes; and this idea was still more vigorously carried out by John Barclay (1734–98), the leader of the Bereans. Some of Barclay's hymns, set to familiar Jacobite and other Scottish tunes, possess real beauty. Similar adaptations occur in *A Collection of Spiritual Songs*, published in 1791 by John Geddes, a Roman Catholic clergyman. Here, too, may be mentioned the *Christian Hymns, Poems, and Sacred Songs* of James Relly, the Universalist (1720–78), published in 1777; these display a good deal of rugged vigour.

It seems fitting to notice also some of the more important selections of hymns that appeared in the 18th century. The first of any note offered to the Church of England seems to have been the *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, 70 in number, published by John Wesley at Charlestown in 1737. This excited little interest, and was not reprinted. More important was George Whitefield's *Collection of Hymns for Social Worship* (1753). The hymns were mostly from Watts and Wesley, often freely altered; and, though compiled by an Anglican clergyman, were chiefly used in 'Tabernacles' and Meeting-houses for Nonconformist or undenominational worship. This collection passed through many editions, the 25th being dated 1781. Martin Madan's *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (1760) had a great influence on subsequent developments of hymnody, chiefly through his very skilful alterations and corrections. Other collections were those of Dyer (1767), R. Conyers (1767), Richard de Courcy (1775), and Toplady (1775). All these editors were Anglican clergymen of the Evangelical type, and the tone of their books was distinctly Calvinistic. So were the various collections used in the Countess of Huntingdon's chapels from 1764 till 1780, when they were displaced by her own *Select Collection*. A strong Evangelical Arminianism, on the other hand, pervaded the selections edited by John Wesley, from 1741 onward till the production, in 1780, of his *Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists*. A mild type of Calvinism characterized the selections compiled by Congregationalists, usually as supplements to Watts's *Psalms and Hymns*. The earliest of these was that of Thomas Gibbons (1769), which was followed by Rowland Hill's (1783), George Burder's (1784; 28th ed. 1829), William Jay's (1797), and a considerable number of local publications. Rather more pronounced was the Calvinism of the Particular Baptist selections of J. Ash and C. Evans (1769), and John Rippon (1787), while the General Baptist Hymn-book (1771) and Dan Taylor's (1793) were just as distinctively Arminian. Two Scottish Baptist books also deserve notice: the collection made by Sir William Sinclair of Keiss (1751) and *A Collection of Christian Songs and Hymns* (Glasgow, 1786).

The growth first of Arianism and then of Socinianism in the English Presbyterian Churches necessitated a special provision for worship. This was usually made by eliminating from the hymns of orthodox writers every allusion to the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement. The earliest selection made on this principle was printed in London in 1757, and at least 10 such books appeared at various places before the close of the century; one of them, by William Enfield (Warrington, 1778), professed to be 'unmixed with the disputed doctrines of any sect.' Most of these books contain little that could not be sung by a pious Jew or Muhammadan.

The earlier years of the 19th cent. were barren of new or striking hymns; but before long there burst forth such a flood of sacred melody as England had never heard before. It is quite impossible to review, within any reasonable limits, the English and Scottish hymnists of the century, of whom more than 550 are enumerated between 1800 and 1890. A few points may be briefly noted.

(1) The large number of women writers who produced not merely sentimental verses, but genuine hymns of lasting worth. Prominent among them are Cecil Frances Alexander (1823–95) ('The golden gates lift up their heads'), Sarah Flower Adams (1805–48) ('Nearer, my God, to Thee'), Charlotte Elliot (1789–1871) ('Just as I am, without one plea'), Frances Ridley Havergal (1836–79) ('Take my life, and let it be'), Adelaide Anne Procter (1825–64) ('The way is long and dreary'), and Anna Letitia Waring (1820–1912) ('My heart is resting, O my God'). Others have displayed remarkable skill as translators, especially from the German, as Jane Borthwick (1813–97), Frances Elizabeth Cox (1812–97), Sarah Findlater (1823–86), and Catherine Winkworth (1829–78). Others, again, are unrivalled in adapting themselves to the capacities of children, *e.g.* Cecil Frances Alexander ('There is a green hill far away'), Jane E. Leeson (1807–82) ('Saviour, teach me day by day'), and Jemima Luke (1813–1906) ('I think when I read that sweet story of old').

(2) The appearance, for the first time, of really good hymns for children, child thought in child language. Isaac Watts had led the way, but for two generations he had no followers. Even

Charles Wesley's efforts in this direction were far from being a complete success; his famous 'Gentle Jesus, meek and mild,' needs explaining to make it intelligible to children. But Jane Taylor (1783–1824) and her sister, Ann Gilbert (1782–1866), understood child nature; and, though sometimes entangled in theology, their songs for children usually excelled those of Watts as far as his did the efforts of Abraham Cheare. The path they opened up was worthily followed not only by C. F. Alexander and Jemima Luke, but by E. Paxton Hood, W. W. How, Annie Matheson, Albert Midlane, Hugh Stowell, and many more.

(3) The naturalizing, by satisfactory translations, of the best Latin, Greek, and German hymns. The last named have found most favour in the Evangelical section of the Anglican Church, and among the Free Churches. Some of the most capable translators have already been indicated; others are mentioned in the literature at the end of the article. Attention was drawn to the rich stores of Latin hymnody in connexion with the Oxford Movement between the years 1830 and 1840. Naturally the chief, though not the only, translators of the Breviary and other mediæval hymns were men of the High Church school, such as J. D. Chambers (1805–93), John Chandler (1806–76), W. J. Copeland (1804–85), R. F. Littledale (1833–90), and, above all, John Mason Neale (1818–66). With these may be associated a few Roman Catholics, especially Edward Caswall (1814–78). The foremost translator of the late Latin hymns of the Gallican Breviaries was Isaac Williams (1802–65). These hymns first found acceptance in High Church circles; but the best of them are now in common use in almost all Christian communions. The Greek hymns were first urged on public attention by J. M. Neale, and his versions are still most in favour; but many others have been effectively translated by John Brownlie.

(4) The enormous output of mission and revival hymns, mostly subjective or hortatory, and many of them set to the tunes of popular songs. These became common in connexion with the great religious revival of 1858, and were augmented about 1873 by hymns of American origin. Some of them were valuable, but many were sentimental and, when judged by strict canons, not always in the best of taste. It must be owned, however, that songs of this class, used by Evangelistic bodies like the Salvation Army, have often availed to call forth genuine religious emotions in persons of the most degraded type.

The hymn-books of the 19th cent. are literally innumerable. No fewer than 160 were compiled for use in the Anglican Church alone between 1800 and 1860, to which in the next 30 years 90 more were added. The use of many was merely local, while others are fairly representative of distinct schools of thought within the Church. Of the collections in use prior to 1860 by far the greatest number represented the Evangelical school; and it is estimated that these were used in nearly three-fourths of the English parish churches. The most popular books of this class were William Mercer's *Church Psalter and Hymn Book* (1854), Charles B. Snepp's *Songs of Grace and Glory* (strongly Calvinistic, 1872), and Edward H. Bickersteth's *Hymnal Companion* (1870, revised 1876). Of the moderate High Church type was *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1861, revised 1875; appendix 1889; another revision 1904), which has become the most popular of all English hymn-books. To the same school belong William Cooke and Benjamin Webb's *The Hymnary* (1872), and *Church Hymns* (1871, revised 1903). To the advanced High Church party belong *The Hymnal Noted* (1852), with its many supplements, James Skinner's *Daily Service Hymnal* (1863), R. F. Littledale's *People's Hymnal* (1867), C. F. Hernaman's *Altar Hymnal* (1884), and the *English Hymnal* (1906). Recently a few books of the Broad Church type have appeared, but they are not extensively used. Of hymn-books compiled for the use of the various Nonconformist Churches during the century, a list of at least 250 is before us, not including innumerable selections designed for Sunday schools, or the multitudinous 'undenominational' books, large and small, compiled in the interests of revival, missions, temperance, or merely as publishers' speculations. But the tendency has long been towards concentration; the local collections have generally gone out of use, and all the great denominations have their authorized or characteristic hymn-books, by which most of the others are being gradually supplanted.

It remains to indicate a few of the most distinguished hymnists of the 19th cent., not heretofore mentioned, according to their ecclesiastical associations. Two of them can scarcely be regarded as belonging to any special communion: Thomas Kelly (1769–1854) and James Montgomery (1771–1854), who between them produced nearly 1200 hymns, of which no fewer than 160 are still in common use. To the Anglican Church belonged Reginald Heber (1783–1826), bishop of Calcutta, John Keble (1792–1866), author of the *Christian Year*, Henry Francis Lyte (1793–1847), Christopher Wordsworth (1807–85), bishop of Lincoln, John S. B. Monsell (1811–75), William Walsham How (1823–97), bishop of Wakefield, Godfrey Thring (1823–1903), John Ellerton (1826–93), and F. T. Palgrave (1824–97). Among Roman Catholics, John Henry Newman (1801–90) and F. W. Faber (1814–63) stand pre-eminent. To the Presbyterian Churches belong Horatius Bonar (1808–89), John Ross Macduff (1818–95), James Drummond Burns (1823–64), and Anne Ross Cousin (1823–1906). Among the Methodists but few hymn-writers are conspicuous: Benjamin Gough (1805–77), W. M. Punshon (1824–81), Mark Guy Pearse (b. 1842), and Thomas B. Stephenson (1839–1912) deserve mention. To the Congregational Churches belong W. B. Collyer (1782–1854), Josiah Conder (1789–1855), George Rawson (1807–89), Thomas Toke Lynch (1818–71), Edwin Paxton Hood (1820–85), and Thomas Hornblower Gill (1819–1906). Among Baptists we note, of the exclusive Calvinist school, John Kent (1766–1843), William Gadsby (1773–1844), and Joseph Irons (1785–1852); of the modern liberal school, W. Poole Balfern (1818–87), Dawson Burns (1828–1909), T. Goadby (1829–89), Marianne Hearn (1834–1909), and J. M. Wigner (1844–1911). Of Unitarians, at least fifty have written hymns of merit; the best known are Anna Letitia Barbauld (1743–1825), John Bowring (1792–1872), J. Johns (1801–47), William Gaskell (1805–84), and James Martineau (1805–1900). Swedenborgian hymn-writers of note are Joseph Proud (1745–1826), Manoah Sibly (1757–1840), and F. M. Hodson (*c.* 1819). Among the Plymouth Brethren we observe Edward Denny (1796–1889), J. N. Darby (1800–82), J. G. Deck (1802–84), and S. P. Tregelles (1813–75). Bernard Barton (1784–1849) stands conspicuous in the Society of Friends; while of the Irvingites, Edward W. Eddis and Ellen Eddis deserve fuller recognition than they have yet received.

7. American hymns.—The celebrated *Bay Psalm-Book* of 1640 was the first English book printed in America. The 3rd edition, about 1650, revised and augmented by a number of Scripture hymns, was reprinted about 70 times, and continued in almost exclusive use in New England for about a hundred years. In 1757 a revision by Thomas Prince failed to gain public favour; but about that time Tate and Brady's New Version began to be known; and this, together with Watts's *Psalms* and *Hymns*, gradually superseded the older book. It is doubtful whether a single original hymn of American origin had been printed in America before the date last mentioned. Certainly the first American hymnist of whose work any part is still in use was Samuel Davies (1723–61), whose 16 hymns, including the noble 'Great God of wonders, all Thy ways,' were printed posthumously in England. Scarcely any collections of hymns were published in America before the War of Independence; probably the earliest was an appendix of 27 hymns, annexed to Tate and Brady's Psalms, issued by the Episcopal Church in 1789. The Reformed Dutch Church also published a collection of Psalms and Hymns in 1789. A Methodist *Pocket Hymn Book*, which was not approved by Wesley, certainly appeared before 1790; and a Baptist collection was printed at Newport, R.I., not later than that year. Two Universalist collections were published in 1792; Lutheran and Unitarian collections in 1795; the first Congregational selection of any merit is dated 1799; and no Presbyterian selection was authorized until 1828. It is a noticeable fact that in all these books, and in most of those which followed, by far the greater number of the hymns were by English authors. In 18 of the most extensively used hymn-books of the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, and Reformed Churches, published between 1826 and 1880, less than 14 per cent of the hymns are of American origin.

Until the great religious revival which commenced in America about 1858, and extended over a large part of English-speaking Christendom, very few hymns of American authors were included in English collections. Since that time, however, many have gained great popularity, especially hymns embodying the Gospel call, hymns of aspiration, and such as relate to the future life. A common fault of American hymns is a too great tendency towards sentimentalism; and many of them seem to owe their popularity to the light jingling tunes to which they are wedded.

8. Welsh hymns.—There is some evidence of the use, in the Early British Church, of hymns in the native language; but no specimens remain, and by the time when Protestantism arose the Welsh had apparently lost the gift of composing hymns. Early in the 17th cent. the celebrated Vicar of Llandovery, Rees Prichard, published a volume of religious poems, largely didactic, entitled *Canwyll y Cymry* ('The Welshman's Candle'), portions of which were commonly sung as hymns. It became immensely popular, was many times reprinted, and its influence is not yet extinct. In 1621 Archdeacon Edmund Prys produced his metrical version of the Psalms, which is still in use, though partially supplanted by the more modern version of William Morris. Skill in poetical composition is so widely diffused among Welsh-speaking people that the number of hymn-writers is very great, while the paucity of family names makes them somewhat difficult to distinguish. Two poets of the 17th cent., Rowland Vaughan (*c.* 1629–58) and Elis Wyn (1670–1734), are held in honourable remembrance, each by a single hymn. As early as 1703 a collection of sacramental hymns was published by Thomas Baddy, a dissenting minister. A few years later a collection was issued by the celebrated educationalist, Griffith Jones of Llanddowror (1683–1761), but it is not certain whether it included any of his own compositions.

The great outflow of Welsh sacred song began with the religious revival initiated by the early Calvinistic Methodists, in whose ranks are enrolled the greatest of all Welsh hymnists, William Williams of Pantycelyn (1717–91), his contemporary David Williams, Morgan Rhys († 1776), and Ann Griffiths (1776–1805). Outside that circle we find the names of David Jones of Caio, who in 1753 translated into Welsh Watts's *Psalms*, and afterwards his *Divine Songs*. He was a Congregationalist, as was Ioan Thomas of Rhaiadr (fl. 1776–86), many of whose hymns are still in use. The great hymn-writer among the Unitarians was Edward Williams, renowned as an antiquary under the name of Iolo Morganwg (1745–1826). The first Baptist hymn-book in Wales was compiled by Joseph Harris, called 'Gomer,' in 1821; it contained many of his originals.

The most striking characteristics of Welsh hymnody are depth of emotion and abundant use of metaphor—every kind of natural object being enlisted for the illustration of things spiritual. The hymns are for the most part intensely subjective.

9. Missions.—Since the year 1800, agents of the various missionary societies have produced hymns in upwards of a hundred and twenty languages and dialects, of which more than half had never previously been reduced to writing. Some of these are in native, some in English, metres, and, as might be expected, a large proportion of them are translations from English or German originals.

[**10. Cumanic and other early vernacular hymns.**—In a Latin-Persian-Cumanic glossary of 1303 (ed. G. Kuun, *Codex Cumanicus*, Budapest, 1880) are a few hymns in Cumanic, the language of a hybrid Turkish tribe then occupying Moldavia and the neighbouring districts. The majority of these hymns are translated from the Latin; *e.g.* there is a rendering of the 'Vexilla regis.' One hymn, however, Eucharistic in character, is thus far believed to be an original composition (cf. W. Bang, 'Beiträge zur Erklärung des koman. Marienhymnus,' in *GGN*, 1910, pp. 61–78, and 'Ueber einen koman. Kommunionshymnus,' in *Bull. Ac. roy. de Belge* [classe des lettres], 1910, p. 230).

It is by no means impossible that a considerable body of early vernacular hymnody was composed in various languages, only to disappear. Thus, the Observantine Minorite Ladislaus (*c.* 1440–1505) is recorded by his biographer, Vincentius Morawski, writing in 1633, to have composed many hymns, Psalters, etc., some of which were in Latin, but others in Lithuanian ('Vita,' I. ix. 59, in *AS*, May, i. [1866] 579). All trace of these Lithuanian productions has vanished.—LOUIS H. GRAY.]

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HYMNS (Egyptian).—The religious literature of ancient Egypt is fairly prolific in the department of hymnology, and a considerable amount of religious poetry has been preserved and translated; but, on the whole, it cannot be said that the quality is on the same level with the quantity. To a great extent the hymns which have survived bear the stamp, not of a genuine personal religious feeling on the part of the writer, as in the case of our own best hymns, but of a purely official and stereotyped attitude towards the divinities whose praises are celebrated. Religion in Egypt, as we know it, was far too much of a business of cast-iron ritual to leave much room for any natural outpouring of thoughts and feelings of devotion and affection. If there were such outpourings, they were probably not on account of the great gods, whose position was infinitely removed from that of the ordinary worshipper, but rather of some of the minor deities, whom, as we know, the common people of Egypt took to their hearts in preference to the distant and unsympathetic figures of the great triads and enneads. Such effusions were not at all likely to survive in any quantity in comparison with the stilted official odes which had the sanction of the priesthood, were multiplied in an infinity of copies, and were continually used for ritual purposes.

In the time of the New Empire, however, there are traces of a feeling of impatience with the stereotyped formulæ of the official religion, and one or two of the hymns which have survived from this period give us what is otherwise very unusual—the expression of a personal and living interest in religion. Thus, from a hieratic papyrus of this period we have the following:

> 'Amen-Ra, I love thee and enfold thee in my heart . . .
> I do not follow anxiety in my heart; what Amen-Ra saith cometh to pass.'

To the same period also belongs a hymn which gives us one of the very few evidences that the devout Egyptian ever realized his own sinfulness: 'Chastise me not,' says a writer whose poem is preserved in the Anastasi Papyrus, 'according to my many sins.' A hymn to Thoth from the Sallier Papyrus presents us with a view of the inward and secret nature of true religion totally alien to the beliefs of the upholders of the great religious cults of the nation, who emphatically seem to have thought that they would be heard for their much speaking:

> 'O thou sweet spring for the thirsty in the desert; it is closed for those who speak there, it is open for those who keep silence there. When the silent man cometh, he findeth the spring.'

Such natural expressions of love, confidence, and inward intercourse with God are, however, quite exceptional in Egyptian hymnology. Taking the ordinary run of the hymns to the great gods, we find a constant repetition of the same cycle of ideas in practically the same phrases—a repetition which becomes wearisome, and gives a very poor idea of the extent to which any genuine devotional feeling can have entered into Egyptian religion. Erman's opinion (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 389 f.) is amply justified:

> 'There seems to be no question of devotional feelings on the part of the singer; in fact, the greater part consists of stereotyped phrases, which could be adapted to any of the mighty gods, and could also be used in adoration of the king.'

In fact, the average Egyptian hymn seems to have been constructed on a certain definite recipe. It was essential that the writer should say that the two countries (Upper and Lower Egypt) together show honour to the god, that his fear is in all lands, that he has subdued his enemies and received the dignity of his father, that he is praised by the great cycle of the gods, that all creatures are full of delight at his coming and adore his beauty, and so forth. All this belonged to any of the gods. In order to make the effusion a characteristic hymn to Ra or Amen, there were added the name of the god in question, and perhaps one or two allusions to the myths associated with him and to the particular temple or temples which he most affected; the result was a standard hymn which had this advantage, that with a few alterations it would do equally well for Ptah or Osiris.

Thus we have the following from 'A Hymn to Ra when he riseth' (Papyrus of Nekht):

> 'Homage to thee, O thou glorious being, thou who art dowered with all sovereignty. . . . The regions of the north and south come to thee with homage, and send forth acclamations at thy rising in the horizon of heaven. . . . The goddess Nut doeth homage unto thee, and the goddess Maat embraceth thee at all times. . . . The company of the gods rejoiceth at thy coming, the earth is glad when it beholdeth thy rays.'

Ani (Papyrus of Ani) can find nothing more original to say of the same deity:

> 'Homage to thee, O thou who hast come as Khepera, the creator of the gods. . . . Thy mother Nut doeth an act of homage unto thee with both her hands. The land of Manu receiveth thee with satisfaction, and the goddess Maat embraceth thee both at morn and eve.'

Osiris fares no better than Ra at the hands of his devout worshipper:

> 'Glory be to Osiris Unnefer, the great god within Abydos, King of eternity, lord of the everlasting. . . . Eldest son of the womb of Nut, lord of the crowns of the north and south, lord of the lofty white crown. As prince of gods and of men he hath received the crook and the whip and the dignity of his divine father. Thou art crowned lord of Busiris and ruler in Abydos.'

The great bulk of Egyptian hymn literature consists of poems in praise of one or other of the three great gods, Ra, Amen, and Osiris.

1. Hymns to Ra.—A certain amount of real religious feeling was apparently awakened in the Egyptian mind by the contemplation of the rising and setting of the life-giving sun, and this was transferred to the Sun-god, though its expression is often very stilted.

> 'Homage to thee,' says an interesting hymn in the Papyrus of Hu-nefer, 'O thou who art Ra when thou risest and Tum when thou settest! Thou risest, thou risest, thou shinest, thou shinest, thou who art crowned king of the gods. . . . Thou didst create the earth, thou didst fashion man, thou didst make the watery abyss of the sky, thou didst form the Nile, thou didst create the deep, and thou dost give light unto all that therein is. . . . Thou art unknown, and no tongue is worthy to declare thy likeness: only thou thyself. . . . Millions of years have gone over the world, I cannot tell the number of those through which thou hast passed. Thou didst pass over and travel through spaces requiring millions and hundreds of thousands of years; thou passest through them in peace, and thou steerest thy way across the watery abyss to the place which thou lovest. This thou doest in one little moment of time, and then thou dost sink down, and dost make an end of the hours.'

Thus Ra is here adored as the Creator, the Ineffable, and the Eternal, and in this hymn, at least, there is a distinct vein of genuine poetical feeling in the description of the Sun-god's swift journey over space. But even in such hymns the constant reiteration of the creation formula and the endless repetition of the solar journey in the morning and evening boats become very tiresome.

One of the most important of the Ra hymns is that series which is sometimes called the 'Litany of Ra.' It exists in the form of a long text sculptured at the entrances of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes. Its importance lies, not in its poetical merits, which are very small indeed, but in the fact that throughout the hymn Ra is successively identified with 75 various gods or cosmic elements. They are all forms of the god, who, as primordial deity, embraces all, and from whom emanate all the other gods, who are only his manifestations.

> 'Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, he who descends into the sphere of Amentet, his form is that of Tum. Homage to

thee, Ra, supreme power, he who sends forth the plants in their season, his form is that of Seb. Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, the great one who rules what is in the Nun, his form is that of Nut,' . . . and so on.

2. Hymns to Amen.—Next in importance to the Ra hymns come those addressed to Amen. Of these perhaps the best is that found in a hieratic papyrus (no. 17, Boulaq). It contains, of course, the usual formulæ, which belonged to Amen, as they belonged to Ra, to Osiris, or to any of the great gods, and were mere matter of habit, so many lines to be filled according to the usual recipe,

'Chief of all the gods, lord of truth, father of the gods, creator of beasts, maker of men, lord of existences, creator of fruitful things, maker of herbs, feeder of cattle,'

and it expressly identifies Amen, not only with Ra, but with Tum, Min, and Khepera. Yet it contains also here and there traces of that realization of divine power in the sustenance of living things which always, as Erman has observed (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 391), brings reality, and something of beauty and freshness, into the arid desert of Egyptian hymn-writing.

'He it is who makes pasture for the herds and fruit trees for man; who creates that whereby fish live in the river and the birds under the heavens; who gives breath to them who are in the egg and feeds the son of the worm; he creates that whereby the gnat lives, and also the worms and fleas; he creates that which is needed by the mice in their holes, and that which feeds the birds upon all trees.'

The verses, with their minute description of the divine care for the smallest creatures, suggest a far-off anticipation of Coleridge's

'He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small,
For the dear God who loveth us
He made and loveth all.'

At the same time the writer has a sense, somewhat unusual, of moral quality in his god. To him, Amen is a god

'listening to the poor who is in distress, gentle of heart when one cries unto him, deliverer of the timid man from the violent, judging the poor, the poor and the oppressed, Lord of wisdom, whose precepts are wise, Lord of mercy most loving, at whose coming men live.'

The pantheistic tendency of Egyptian religious thought is clearly seen in the late hymn found in the inscription of Darius at the Oasis of el-Khargeh. The hymn is specifically addressed to Amen; but we find that the god is completely identified with the other great gods of Egypt:

'He is Ra, who exists by himself.' 'It is Amen who dwells in all things, the revered god who was from the beginning. . . . He is Ptah, the greatest of the gods.' 'Thy august ram dwells in Tattu' identifies him with Osiris. 'Shu, Tefnut, Mut, and Khons are thy forms, dwelling in thy shrine under the types of the god Khem.' 'We cannot,' says Naville (*The Old Egyp. Faith*, p. 149), 'sum up more clearly the Egyptian doctrine than in the following phrase: "Thy throne is reared in every place thou desirest, and, when thou willest it, thou dost multiply thy names."'

3. Hymns to Osiris.—Of all Egyptian hymns, those addressed to Osiris are perhaps the most disappointing. Here, if anywhere, we should have expected to find the evidence of sincere religious feeling. For the cult of Osiris was not only the most popular and long-enduring of Egyptian cults, but was so precisely because of the human elements in the life of Osiris, the sympathy which these created between him and his worshippers, and the ethical character of many of the beliefs regarding him. If any personal relationship existed between an Egyptian worshipper and any of the great gods, it is to be looked for in the Osiris cult. Yet, when we turn to the Osirian hymns, we find, almost more than anywhere else, only the multiplication of bombastic and meaningless epithets.

'Praise to thee, Osiris, son of Nut, who wearest the horns, and dost lean upon a high pillar; to whom the crown was given, and joy before the nine gods. . . . Great in power in Rosetta, a lord of might in Ehnas, a lord of strength in Tenent. Great of appearance in Abydos . . . before whom the great ones of might feared; before whom the great ones rose up upon their mats. . . . To whom Upper and Lower Egypt come bowing down, because his fear is so great and his might so powerful.' 'Beyond this,' says Erman (*Egyp. Rel.* p. 48), 'this priestly poet could find nothing to say of this most human of all the gods.'

A certain amount of human feeling does, however, enter into the funeral hymn known as the 'Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys,' in which these goddesses are supposed to bewail the deceased Osiris:

'Come to thy house, come to thy house, O god On! . . . O beautiful youth, come to thy house that thou mayest see me. I am thy sister whom thou lovest; thou shalt not abandon me. . . . Come to her who loves thee, Unnefer, thou blessed one. Come to thy sister, come to thy wife, thy wife, thou whose heart is still. . . . I call to thee and weep so that it is heard even in heaven, but thou dost not hear my voice; and yet I am thy sister, whom thou lovedst upon earth. Thou lovedst none beside me, my brother, my brother!'

This is both genuine and touching; but, as it was the typical funeral lamentation, it is permissible to believe that these qualities are due, not to the worship of the god, but to the human loss which was actually bewailed.

4. Hymn to Hapi.—Besides the hymns addressed to the great gods, there are others, such as the well-known hymn to Hapi, the Nile-god, in which the formulæ have a little more of life and reality behind them. The worshipper was here addressing a god who was a necessity of his daily life, and there could scarcely fail to be an element of sincerity in his approach to such a deity.

'The flowing stream, laden with blessing, is a visible sacred being, and when the Egyptian treats of the real, and describes the things he daily sees, his art always succeeds the best' (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 391).

The following extracts are from Maspero's translation of the 'Hymn to the Nile' (from the 2nd Sallier and the 7th Anastasi Papyrus):

'Hail to thee, Hapi, who appearest in the land, and comest to give life to Egypt; thou who dost hide thy coming in darkness. . . . Creator of corn, maker of barley. . . . Do his fingers cease from their labours, then are all the millions of beings in misery; doth he wane in heaven, then the gods themselves and all men perish; the cattle are driven mad, and all the world, both great and small, are in torment. But if, on the contrary, the prayers of men are heard at his rising, then the earth shouts for joy, then are all bellies joyful, each back is shaken with laughter, and every tooth grindeth. . . . Stones are not sculptured for him . . . he is unseen, no tribute is paid unto him, and no offerings are brought unto him; nevertheless the generations of thy children rejoice in thee, for thou dost rule as king . . . by whom the tears are washed from every eye!'

5. Royal hymns.—Among all the gods there was probably none who was so real to the ancient Egyptian as the one whom he called 'the good god,' in contradistinction from 'the great gods'—the reigning Pharaoh. It was the duty of all loyal subjects to offer adoration to him, and even the answers of the courtiers to the questions of their sovereign had to be prefaced with a short hymn of praise in which all the stock attributes of divinity were piled upon the king. Two of these royal hymns stand out above others, and are important enough to require notice, though their poetical merit is not very great. The first is that addressed to Senusert III. (Usertsen) of the XIIth dynasty. It is remarkable for its exact strophic structure, and for the illustration which it gives of the fact that at so early a period the Egyptian literary art was already bound, not to say strangled, by hard and fast rules.

'Twice great is the King of his city, above a million arms; as
for other rulers of men, they are but common folk.
Twice great is the King of his city; he is as it were a dyke,
damming the stream in its water flood.
Twice great is the King of his city; he is as it were a cool lodge,
letting men repose unto full daylight.
Twice great is the King of his city; he is as it were a bulwark,
with walls built of the sharp stones of Kesem.'

The hymn runs thus, with carefully balanced lines, through six long strophes, in which the king is compared to all sorts of good and gracious influences.

The second hymn was inspired by the warlike prowess of Tahutmes III. of the XVIIIth dynasty. After an introduction in praise of Tahutmes, the poet makes the god Amen guide his son the king round the whole circuit of the world, giving it all into his power. Occasionally in this long geographical excursion there are passages of vigour and fancy which show that the fierce energy of the old king had awakened the imagination of his subjects.

> 'I have come, giving thee to smite down those who are in their marshes.
> The lands of Mitanni tremble under fear of thee;
> I have made them see thy Majesty as a crocodile;
> Lord of fear in the water, unapproachable.
> I have come, giving thee to smite the Libyans,
> The isles of the Utentiu belong to the might of thy prowess;
> I have made them see thy Majesty as a fierce-eyed lion,
> While thou makest them corpses in their valleys.
> I have come, giving thee to smite those who are nigh thy border,
> Thou hast smitten the Sand-dwellers as living captives;
> I have made them see thy Majesty as a southern jackal,
> Swift-footed, stealthy-going, who roves the Two Lands.'

By far the most significant relics of Egyptian hymnology, however, are the two hymns addressed to the Aten, or life-giving power of the solar disk by the King Amenhotep IV., better known as Akhenaten, of the XVIIIth dynasty. The longer of these has been frequently translated, and it stands alone in its simple realism, its vivid depiction of the benefits received from the Aten, and its conception of a universal deity to whom all nations are alike dear:

> 'Thou restest in the western horizon of heaven,
> And the land is in darkness like the dead . . .
> Every lion cometh forth from his den,
> And all the serpents then bite;
> The night shines with its lights,
> The land lies in silence;
> For he who made them is in his horizon.
> The land brightens, for thou risest in the horizon,
> Shining as the Aten in the day;
> The darkness flies, for thou givest thy beams;
> Both lands are rejoicing every day.
> Men awake, and stand upon their feet,
> For thou liftest them up;
> They bathe their limbs, they clothe themselves,
> They lift their hands in adoration of thy rising,
> Throughout the land they do their labours . . .
> The ships go forth, both north and south,
> For every way opens at thy rising;
> The fishes in the river swim up to greet thee;
> Thy beams are within the depth of the great sea.'

Then passing to the universality of his deity:

> 'In the hills from Syria to Kush, and the plain of Egypt,
> Thou givest to every one his place, thou framest their lives,
> To every one his belongings, reckoning his length of days.
> Aten of the day, revered of every distant land, thou makest their life,
> Thou placest a Nile in heaven that it may rain upon them . . . .
> Oh, lord of eternity, the Nile in heaven is for the strange people,
> And all wild beasts that go upon their feet.
> The Nile that cometh from below the earth is for the land of Egypt,
> That it may nourish every field. . . .
> Thou makest the far-off heaven, that thou mayest rise in it,
> That thou mayest see all that thou madest when thou wast alone.
> . . Thou art in my heart, there is none who knoweth thee excepting thy son Nefer-Kheperu-ra-uā-en-ra.
> Thou causest that he should have understanding, in thy ways and in thy might' (Griffith, in Petrie's *Hist. of Egypt*, ii. 215 f.).

While there is perhaps nothing absolutely original in the hymn except the acknowledgment of a universal and spiritual god to whom all men are dear, yet even the familiar motives are handled with such freshness and vigour as to make Akhenaten's hymn a welcome oasis in the dry and thirsty land of Egyptian hymnology. The misfortune is that it stands practically alone.

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HYMNS (Greek and Roman).—I. *GREEK*.—

The term *ὕμνος* (first found in Hom. *Od.* viii. 429, and Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 657), of unknown and probably (like *ἔλεγος, παιάν, διθύραμβος*, etc.) non-Greek derivation,[1] was applied to poems addressed to the gods, as *ἐγκώμιον* was used to denote eulogies of human beings. In its widest sense it included such species as dithyrambs, pæans, nomes, threni, etc.; but, according to the definition of the grammarians, it was appropriated to narratives of or addresses to divine personages, without dancing and without music, other than that of the cithara (Proclus, *Chrestomathia*, p. 244, *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 320 A 12, Bekker: *ἐκάλουν δὲ καθόλου πάντα τὰ εἰς τοὺς ὑπερτέρους* [*ὑπηρέτας* MS] *γραφόμενα ὕμνους· διὸ καὶ τὸ προσόδιον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ προειρημένα φαίνονται ἀντιδιαστέλλοντες τῷ ὕμνῳ ὡς εἴδη πρὸς γένος . . . ὁ δὲ κύριος ὕμνος πρὸς κιθάραν ᾔδετο ἑστώτων*; cf. also Plato, *Legg.* 700 B, 801 B, *Ion*, 534 C; Aristotle, *Poet.* 1448*b* 27). It will be convenient to distinguish Greek hymns according to their metre, since the character of the hymn varied materially with the metrical form.

1. Hexameter hymns.—These originally constituted a kind of department of epos, and were in the hands of its executants, the rhapsodes. They were of different dimensions: some, such as the greater Homeric hymns (see below), were as long as a book of the *Odyssey*; others consisted of a few lines. The latter were known as *προοίμια* and were used by rhapsodes as a preface to their recitation (Pindar, *Nem.* ii. 1–3, who says that the usual invocation was of Zeus).[2] The word, however, was applied to the longer hymns also, as, for instance, by Thucydides, iii. 104, to the Homeric hymn to Apollo. The lay of Demodocus upon the loves of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* viii. 266–366) appears to be an imitation of a hymn of the first class; the first ten lines of Hesiod's *Works and Days* are the earliest specimen of the second. In the same poem (654 ff.) Hesiod says that he won a three-legged pot with ears at the wake of Amphidamas at Chalcis with a hymn; and a quotation from an unknown Hesiodic poem (fr. 265, Rzach) represents Hesiod and Homer competing at Delos with 'new hymns' to Apollo. Another hymn which we can refer to an early period is the *προσόδιον* written by Eumelus of Corinth (8th cent.) for a Messenian pilgrimage to Delos. Two Doric hexameters are quoted from it by Pausanias, IV. xxxiii. 2.

Hymns began with a formula of invocation—usually to the Muses: *Μοῦσαι . . . δεῦτε Δί' ἐννέπετε* (Hes. *Works and Days*, 1 f.); *Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει, Μοῦσα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱόν* (*Hym. Homer. in Herm.* 1); *ἀμφί μοι Ἑρμείαο φίλον γόνον ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα* (*Hym. Homer. in Pan.* 1) (the last opening was so frequent in the dithyramb as to give rise to a verb *ἀμφιανακτίζειν* [Suid. *s.v.*])—and ended with one of farewell and transition to another theme (*ἀλλά, ἄναξ, μάλα χαῖρε* [Zenobius, v. 99]; *νῦν δὲ θεοὶ μάκαρες τῶν ἐσθλῶν ἄφθονοι ἔστε* [Ælius Dionysius, *ap.* Eustath. 360]; *καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱέ· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς* [*Hym. Homer. in Apoll.* 545 f.]).[3]

The extant hexameter hymns may now be considered.

(*a*) *Homeric hymns.*—This name is applied to a collection of 33 poems handed down usually together with the hymns of Callimachus and Proclus and similar poetical literature (ed. A. Baumeister, Leipzig, 1860; A. Gemoll, do. 1877; E. Abel, do.

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[1] It is possible, however, that *ὕμνος* has arisen from **ὕδμος*, and is connected with *ὕδω, ὑδέω*, 'to tell of, celebrate'; cf. Brugmann, *Gr. Gramm.*^{4}, Munich, 1913, p. 89, and the lit. there cited.

[2] This statement is confirmed by the hymnal language of Theocritus, xvii. 1; Aratus, 1.

[3] Imitations of these formulæ are frequent in literature: Theocr. i. 132, ii. 14, xv. 142, xvii. 135; Ion of Chios, i. 15; Nonnus, xix. 174, 192; inscr. *ap.* Plut. *Vit. Aem. Paul.* 16.

1886; A. Goodwin, Oxford, 1893; T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, London, 1904; Allen, do. 1912). The antiquity of the collection as such is limited by the neo-Orphic character of the eighth hymn (to Ares), and cannot at earliest be fixed much before the Christian era.

The first five hymns in the collection were on a large scale, and of them a short account may be given. The hymn to Dionysus (i.) is a fragment, but that to Demeter (ii.) is of considerable poetical value. It narrates the rape of Persephone by Pluto; the wanderings of Demeter in search of her daughter; her reception, disguised as an old woman, in the house of Celeus at Eleusis; and her intention of making the child Demophon immortal. Frustrated in this by the child's mother, Metanira, she reveals herself, orders the foundation of a temple at Eleusis, and causes the fruits of the earth to cease. Zeus eventually commands that Persephone return to the upper world, although she must pass a third of each year in the under world. The crops once more come up, and to the Eleusinians are revealed the rites of Demeter's worship upon which depends happiness in another world. The date of this hymn turns almost entirely on an argument *ex silentio*. The doctrine of the after happiness of the initiate (ver. 480 ff.) is otherwise not found before Pindar, and there is no definite evidence by which to date its first appearance. Further, the hymn makes very large omissions; in fact, it ignores the whole of the mystery proper, as it was practised, nor does it mention one prominent personage, Iacchus, or the obscene part of the Baubo-story. As this was clearly intentional, just as was the dignified and epic tone of the story, no definite date can be inferred from it. Of more importance is the absence of any allusion to Athens, which, it is generally believed, had absorbed Eleusis by 600 B.C. This, together with the lofty style of the poem, leads us to date it not much later than 700 B.C. Subsequently, at a date unknown, it was excerpted and adapted to assist a prose narrative of the story in its fuller and Orphic form (cf. papyrus ed. W. Schubart and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. [Berlin, 1907] 7 ff.). Tradition is silent regarding the authorship of the hymn.

The hymn to Apollo (iii.) is unique in that it was ascribed in antiquity to Cynæthus of Chios, a rhapsode (Hippostratus, *FHG* iv. 433), who 'was the first to recite the Homeric poems in Syracuse in the 69th Olympiad.' The date has been recognized to be wrong on the ground that, firstly, it contradicts the other statement in the passage, since it is incredible that Homer should first have reached Sicily in 504 B.C. in the age of Epicharmus; and, secondly, from an argument *ex silentio* derived from the poem itself, which alludes neither to the Pythian games (instituted 586 B.C.) nor to the burning of the temple of Trophonius and Agamedes (548 B.C.). This is decisive against Ol. 69, and Cynæthus may revert to his natural date among the Homeric and Peloponnesian rhapsodes of the 8th century.[1]

The hymn begins with the birth of Apollo. Leto, seeking a place in which to bring forth her son, wandered in vain round the coasts of the Ægean, from Crete to Athos, from Pelion to Cnidus; only barren Delos received her. Here Apollo was born, and the island burst into flowers of gold. So it is beloved by Apollo more than any other place, and there the Ionians gather with their wives and children and ships and possessions, for boxing, dancing, and singing. Here is the marvel of the Delian singing-women, who imitate the words and the music of all men, and here the sweetest of singers, a blind man who lives in Chios. Besides Delos, Apollo inhabits Lycia, Mæonia, and Pytho, as well as Olympus, the home of Zeus. Brides hath he too, but the poet will tell how he set up the first oracle in the earth. To accomplish this, he left Olympus and set foot in Pieria; thence, passing the Ænianes, the Perrhæbi, and Iolcus, he reached Cenæum in Eubœa. The Lelantine plain displeased him, so he crossed the Euripus and travelled [along the later Sacred Way] by Thebes and Onchestus, Haliartus, and the city of the Phlegyæ to Crisa. There, with the help of Trophonius and Agamedes, he built his temple, and shot a great snake which wasted men and sheep, from whose rotting (*πύθειν*) the place was called Πυθώ, and the god *πύθιος*. He still required ministers, and them he brought by sea from Minoan Knossos in Crete—meeting their ship in the guise of a dolphin (*δελφίς*)—and there he established them to pray to him as *δελφίνιος*, and to maintain themselves upon the sheep that should be sacrificed by the tribes of men. But, in case of idle word, or deed, or insolence, other men should rule them.

It has long been recognized that this hymn consists of two parts, the Delian and the Delphic. The character of the two is different: the former is brilliant, and deals with the Ionians and the poet at least as much as with Apollo; the second is impersonal, and contains a number of essential details, local and historical. Moreover, the lines constituting the junction of the two parts (179–206) are not natural in the context, and the opening of the second hymn is unusual (207–214). If, then, Cynæthus wrote the first part, another author must be sought for the second, and probably in Bœotia, since the interest is entirely continental, and the events take place on the Pilgrims' Way from Mycalessus to Pytho. It is usually supposed, but without definite evidence, that the two parts were put together at a later period; yet it is quite as likely that Cynæthus composed the first part as a preface to the second, which was already existent, and joined them together without much ado. The Hesiodic *Scutum* is an ancient document of similarly composite character. The whole hymn, like the others, is distinguished by its omissions: the Delian portion mentions none of the sights and sacred places of Delos, which were well known at least as early as the 6th cent. (Theognis, 5 ff.); this is probably a proof of its antiquity, as is the cheerful description of the Ionians, and the allusion to Mæonia (*i.e.* Lydia) and Lycia as seats of Apolline worship. This outlook has been recognized to date from a time before the Lydian monarchy had begun to threaten Ionian independence, *i.e.* from the 8th century. Another important omission is that of Apolline worship in the north, and the story of the Hyperboreans (*q.v.*), which was sung by Olen (see below (*e*) (1)). It is uncertain what interpretation is to be put upon this fact. The Delphic portion equally omits most of the features of the oracle, especially the Pythia (see A. P. Oppé, *JHS* xxiv. [1904] 214 ff.), and its allusion to the pre-Apolline worship at Pytho (300 ff.) is superficial and vague.

The hymn to Hermes (iv.) is equally eclectic, and describes only the following features of the god's functions and history: his birth of Maia at Cyllene in Arcadia; the invention of the lyre four days afterwards; the theft of Apollo's cattle at Pieria; the invention of fire (produced by the friction of sticks); the slaughter, dismemberment, and roasting of two kine, and the portioning of the cooked parts into twelve, of which Hermes did not taste; Apollo's search and discovery of the cattle; the terms struck between these two gods—Apollo received the lyre, and Hermes, besides retaining the care of cattle, also received the *caduceus* ('rod of wealth'); and the witchcraft of the three *σεμναί* or *Θριαί*. The story, therefore, is very simple, although reference is incidentally made to most of Hermes' functions. The hymn is more ætiological than the others. On the other hand, it has a peculiar raciness; Hesiod is parodied (36), and the indifference of the Olympians towards mankind is roundly asserted (577 f.). The date of the hymn may be obtained by considering the geographical state of the legend; the cows are driven from Pieria (in an earlier form of the tale this had probably been Pereia in S. Thessaly) to the Alphean Pylus; later authors substituted the Messenian Pylus. The Alphean or Nestorian Pylus appears to have been sacked towards the end of the 7th cent. in consequence of the events narrated by Herodotus, iv. 145, and Mimnermus, fr. 9, and it rapidly became forgotten. Hence its mention here appears to make the document not later than the end of the 7th cent., for in Stesichorus, fr. 44, of the same period, we find mention of the adjacent Alphean Samos or Samicum, which was soon also to vanish from memory. Some slight linguistic peculiarities (Allen-Sikes, p. 133) perhaps point to a Bœotian or Eubœan origin. The same story of the invention of the lyre and the theft of the cattle is told in the newly discovered satyr-play, the Ἰχνευταί of Sophocles (*Oxyr. Pap.* ix. [1912]), but the influence of the hymn is not apparent.

The hymn to Aphrodite (v.) is a straightforward account of one episode in the goddess's life, telling how, in revenge for her influence over the whole universe, Zeus inspired her with a passion for the Trojan prince Anchises, who begat on her a child, Æneas, whose stock should rule over Troy for ever (196 f.). The poetical merits of the hymn are very high. Its date and place are uncertain, but the theme, the prophecy, and the detail that the Trojans and Phrygians speak different languages (113 ff., cf. P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache*, Göttingen, 1896, p. 182), as well as one or two verbal usages, point to a colonist, doubtless a Homeric, author.

A word must be said upon the evidence of the presence or absence of the digamma in these hymns, since it affords a legitimate criterion for their relative age. The result of the calculations (Flach, *Bezzenberger's Beiträge*, ii. [1878] 1–43; Allen-Sikes, p. lxxi) is (1) Pythian or Delphic part of the hymn to Apollo, (2) Aphrodite, (3) Delian part of the hymn to Apollo, (4) Demeter, and (5) Hermes. It should also be added that the style of their composition is a continuation of the Homeric manner: it is dignified and anthropomorphic. Although ritual *ἀπόρρητα* are alluded to (as in Demeter), and the origin of rites is explained (as in Hermes), the details are not given. There is, therefore, the same apparent absence of magic and primitive symbolism as in Homer. This is in striking contrast to the Orphic literature (see below).

The remaining hymns may be briefly dismissed. They appear to be all invocations or *προοίμια*, and are insignificant except that to Dionysus (vii.) and that to Pan (xix.). Their age is uncertain, but they contain no trace of Alexandrian style or, except in Ares (viii.), of eastern doctrine. It is doubtful if any, except viii., can be brought below 500 B.C.

(*b*) *Callimachus of Alexandria.*—This poet († *c.* 240 B.C.) has left six hymns, handed down in the same MSS as the Homeric, which, until the recent recovery of fragments of the *Hecale* and the *Ætia*, were all the writings of Callimachus that had directly survived. The hymns (ed. O. Schneider, Leipzig, 1870; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff², Berlin, 1897) are to Zeus, Apollo, Artemis, Delos, on the Bath of Pallas, and to Demeter. The Λουτρὰ Παλλάδος is in elegiacs, and this and the hymn to Demeter are in Doric. As might be supposed from Callimachus's reputation, these hymns have superior literary quality, but they are quite unepic and frankly modern, and, like the Alexandrian epics in general, find their interest in ætiology.

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[1] His antiquity is assumed by Philodemus, who mentions him together with Orpheus (*Herculanensium voluminum quæ supersunt*, Naples, 1793–1855, vi. 156, col. 7; cf. Gomperz, *SWAW* cxxiii. [1890]).

(*c*) *Orphic hymns.*—These poems (ed. G. Hermann, Leipzig, 1908; E. Abel, do. 1885), 88 in number, have nothing save the name in common with the older Orphic hymns and poems. They are of mystic signification and no literary value. According to A. Dieterich (*de hymnis Orphicis*, Marburg, 1891, p. 24), they are of different dates; the extremes are, on the one hand, the allegorizing doctrines of the Stoics; on the other, the magical inscriptions (A.D. 100–150) in which the hymns are quoted (see also Petersen, *Philologus*, xxvii. [1868] 385–431).

(*d*) *Hymns of Proclus.*—This philosopher, the head of the Academy († A.D. 485), composed, amongst his many other works, 8 hymns of a Neo-Platonic character (ed. A. Ludwich, Königsberg, 1895). Like the Orphic hymns, they are contained, for the most part, in the same MSS as the Homeric hymns. Their literary value is not great.

(*e*) *Lost hexameter hymns.*—Among hexameter hymns which are no longer extant the following deserve mention:

(1) Olen of Lycia wrote hymns to Eileithyia, Hera, and Achaia, which were in use at Delos. According to Pausanias (IX. xxvii. 2), he was the oldest of hymn-writers. His name 'Ωλήν, which is not Greek, confirms their Lycian origin, and Lycia is the most probable source of the Apolline worship. It is remarkable, therefore, that Herodotus (iv. 35) quotes him for the northern extension of Apolline influence, viz. the legend of the Hyperborean tribute, which, as we have seen, is passed over in the Homeric hymn. As Suidas calls Olen ἐποποιός, we may infer that his hymns were in hexameters.

(2) Pamphos (Πάμφως), whom Pausanias (IX. xxvii. 2) puts between Olen and Orpheus, wrote hymns for the Athenian sacral family of the Lycomidæ, who had the hereditary function of performing worship to Demeter at Phlya in Attica. He wrote about Demeter, and perhaps also on other divinities. Two hexameters (on Zeus) are quoted in Philostratus, *Heroicus*, 693.

(3) The quotations of the hymns and hymnal poems which go under the name of Orpheus are collected by E. Abel, *Orphica*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 224–251 (see also Dieterich, *de Hymnis Orphicis*; H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*^{2}, Berlin, 1906–10, pp. 473–482). According to Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* i. 21), the greater part of the Orphic corpus was composed by various hands in the 6th cent. B.C., although both the hymns and the poems were universally believed to be older than Homer. These hymns, like those of Pamphos, were written for the Lycomidæ for temple-worship at Phlya, and were used also at Eleusis. They were more devotional and less literary than the Homeric (Pausanias, IX. xxx. 12), short and few in number (*ib.*), and appeared incredible and grotesque to the uninitiate (Menander, *de Encom.* v. 41). The poem dealing with the rape of Persephone (fr. 209 ff.) illustrates this criticism, and, compared with the Homeric hymn to Demeter, shows the difference between the Orphic and the Homeric treatment of myth.

(4) Very similar to the Orphic hymns were those of Musæus (Paus. X. vii. 2), which were in use also at Phlya and Eleusis. Plato (*Rep.* 364 E) mentions Musæus and Orpheus together. There are no quotations. On Musæus in general, see Kinkel, *Ep. gr. fr.*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 218 ff.; Diels^2, 482–488.

Other hexameter hymns hardly require mention. Socrates wrote one in prison to the Delphic god (*Phædo*, 60 D); a beautiful imitation (to Adonis) is inserted into Theocritus's 15th Idyll; and the existence of many short ritual hymns in the classical period is inferred from imitations in drama by Adami, *Jahrb. f. klass. Philol.*, 1901, p. 213 ff.

2. Melic hymns.—The pæan is as old as the *Iliad* (i. 473, xxii. 391); the Δηλιάδες also (Eurip. *Herc. Fur.* 607) and the Cretan ministers of Delphi (*Hym. Homer. in Apoll.* 518) sang a pæan; and, if we took the word ὕμνος to cover the pæan, nome, dithyramb, and θρῆνος, a long list of titles would have to be given. When we adopt the somewhat arbitrary ancient restriction of meaning (see p. 40^a), we find the following among poets who wrote hymns: Alcæus, Alcman, Anacreon, Castorio, Lasus, Simonides (all in T. Bergk, *Poetæ lyr. Gr.*^{3}, Leipzig, 1882, iii.), Pindar, and Bacchylides, as well as Ion of Chios (*ib.* ii. 251, with a kind of elegiac hymn to Dionysus) and Aristotle (to Arete, *ib.* 360, of uncertain classification). All these, however, have perished, so far as direct tradition is concerned. A certain number of hymns or similar compositions have been preserved on stone; among these are Isyllus's poem on Asclepius (*IG Pel. Ins.* i. 950) of about 300 B.C., of unusual literary merit (see von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Isyllos von Epidauros*, Berlin, 1886); three hymns discovered by the French at Delphi (*BCH* xvii. [1894] 651, xviii. [1895] 71, xix. [1896] 393) by Aristonous, Cleochares, and Philodamus; a hymn sung by the Cretan Curetes (*BSA* xv. [1908–09] 347, with commentary by Bosanquet and Murray); a hymn to Asclepius (*CIA* III. i. 171 [3rd cent. A.D.]). See in general the article 'Hymnus' by S. Reinach in Daremberg-Saglio, *Lex. des ant. gr. et rom.*, Paris, 1896 ff., p. 337.

II. *LATIN.*—Hymns play a very small part in Latin literature. The *axamenta*, hymns of the Salic priests of Mars, unintelligible even to the priests (Quintilian, I. vi. 40), exist only in a few quotations (see Teuffel-Schwabe, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.*^{5}, Leipzig, 1890, § 64). The hymns of the Fratres Arvales, however, are preserved in inscriptions first dug up in 1570 in the Vigna Ceccarelli, near Magliana, on the road from Rome to Porto. They are edited in *CIL* vi. (1886) 2023 ff., and by Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* (Berlin, 1874). In literature proper we may point to Catullus's 34th poem ('Dianæ sumus in fide') and his invocation of Venus (xxxvi. 11–16), and Horace's *Carmen sæculare*.

LITERATURE.—Besides the sources mentioned in the article reference may be made to the usual Histories of literature, *e.g.* G. Bernhardy, *Grundriss der griech. Literaturgesch.*, Halle, 1876, i. 301 ff.; K. Sittl, *Gesch. der griech. Lit.*, Munich, 1884, pp. 15 ff., 193 ff.

T. W. ALLEN.

HYMNS (Hebrew and Jewish).—It will for the present purpose be best to adhere to the boundary line between Hebraism and Judaism provided by the destruction of the Temple by the Romans, A.D. 70, and the consequent substitution of synagogue worship for that of the Jerusalem sanctuary by the Jewish leaders assembled at Jamnia. We shall thus have to consider (1) the hymns embodied in the OT and the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings, which stand in some degree of relation to the Hebrew Canon, and (2) the hymns found in the Jewish liturgy and other literary sources belonging to Synagogue times.

1. Hymns of the OT and Hebrew writings related to it.—The ancient Hebrews were endowed with a high degree of poetical sensitiveness which often showed itself in quick lyrical utterance reflecting the inward emotion with wonderful truth and vividness; and, as the select and most refined spirits among them were also pre-eminently gifted with religious feeling and intuition, it was only natural that their lyrical faculty should have often exercised itself in strains of sacred song. Such song, moreover, though in each case naturally issuing from an individual spirit, generally expressed the feeling and thought of the national or tribal circle to which the poet belonged; for the sense of communal oneness, which is to the present day a marked characteristic of the Jewish diaspora, was probably stronger among the ancient Hebrews than among any of the nations surrounding them, and the religious poet, as a rule, gave genuine utterance to the emotions which at the moment swayed the community to which he belonged, or were supposed to have swayed it in the historical period which his song was intended to celebrate.

The three outstanding national songs of victory indited by some of the most gifted poets of the race are the Song of Deborah (Jg 5), which critics generally admit to be the earliest source for the history of the events which it celebrates; the Song at the Red Sea (Ex 15), which, though apparently composed in the time of the monarchy, may embody a nucleus from very ancient times; and the Song of Victory contained in 2 S 22 and Ps 18, supposed by some critics to be in part a genuine product of the Davidic age. The sense of Jahweh's might and of gratitude to Him for victories vouchsafed is a dominant note in all the three songs, but in power and intenseness of expression the Song of Deborah stands unequalled. 'With might steppest thou onward, O my soul' (v.[21]) fitly expresses the spirit of exultation which pervades the whole poem.

The outstanding antithesis to these strains of triumph is the Book of Lamentations, or *Threni*, which is traditionally ascribed to the prophet Jeremiah, and for the most part undoubtedly reflects the mournful attitude of the community in the early years of the Exile. In the highly finished five elegies comprised in the collection, Israel is seen heartbroken and weeping with bent head in the presence of Jahweh, who has allowed judgment in its fullest measure to fall on the sinful nation. The book thus consists of five dirges of a type akin to 'Dies Iræ,' written, not in the dread contemplation of future judgment, but in actual sight of the havoc wrought by the 'wrath' of the offended Judge whom the nation, in a flood of tears, nevertheless implores to allow His love and pity to reassume its ancient sway.

Striking instances of lyrical utterance occasioned by special situations, real or supposed, in the life of individuals, but affecting the community by reason of the great significance to it of the persons concerned, are the triumphal hymn of Hannah (1 S 2[1-10]), the Thanksgiving of Hezekiah (Is 38[10-20]), and what may be called the Psalm of Jonah (Jon 2[3-10]). The literary prophets, with their souls wrapt in the contemplation of things supra-mundane and hidden from ordinary sight in the counsel of the Eternal, also naturally break out at times in longer or shorter hymnal strains in the midst of scathing admonition or description of happiness to come (so, *e.g.*, Is 9[1ff.] 12. 44[23], Jer 14[7ff.] 16[19], and note particularly Hab 3); and the controversies of the Book of Job regarding the justice, power, and providence of God are as naturally apt to lead to occasional outbursts of hymn-like utterance (so, *e.g.*, 25. 26[5ff.]).

Apart, however, from the pieces named and others of a similar nature to be found in different parts of the Hebrew Canon, the Book of Psalms is the great hymnal treasury of the ancient Hebrew Ecclesia, or Church, embodying the typical expression of all possible religious moods, and ranging historically from David and the Davidic age down to the re-awakening of the national and religious life in the time of the Maccabees. Besides the compositions which were primarily communal in character (as, *e.g.*, Pss 33. 47. 50. 66. 106. 113–115), many Psalms appear to have been originally lyrics of individuals; but personal experience of whatever kind—whether of penitence, exaltation, prayer for help, or even of violent resentment of oppression and thirst for vengeance—is there, so far as it was considered to represent a true aspect of Israel's relation to Jahweh and the world, fully owned and echoed by the community at large, so that the original 'I' of the poet has everywhere become the symbol of the great communal self, of which he was, in truth, the genuine mouth-piece, uttering individually the religious emotions of the great body to which he belonged.[1]

The titles most in use to denote a hymnal composition are *shīr*, *shīrā*, *mizmōr*, *tᵉhillā*, and *tᵉfillā*. The first three terms point, in one way or another, to the rhythmical and musical character of the pieces concerned; *tᵉhillā* denotes a hymn of praise; and *tᵉfillā*, which primarily means 'prayer' or 'supplication,' sometimes bears the general sense of liturgical composition (see particularly Ps 90). 'Lamentations' or 'Threni' translates the term *Ḳīnōth*, though not so styled in the Hebrew Canon, the Synagogue name of the Book being איכה ('How!'), which is the first word of the first chapter.[2]

Regarding the question of rhythm, a subject which has been much discussed of late (for reference to summaries see Literature at the end), one can say that there is now a sufficiently general consensus of opinion in favour of the view that it is the accentual beat which mainly, if not exclusively, counts in Hebrew versification, the intervening number of syllables having (within limits, of course) no determining effect on the poetical structure. The 'parallelismus membrorum,' though 'not a constant phenomenon of Hebrew poetry' (G. B. Gray, 'Isaiah i.–xxvii.,' in *ICC* [1912], p. lxi), is yet almost everywhere as striking a characteristic in hymnal pieces as in gnomic composition. The only special kind of rhythm so far definitely established in OT poetry is the elegiac or *ḳīnā* form (first pointed out by K. Budde), in which the second hemistich of a line is shorter than the first, the mourner being supposed to break off his plaint in a sob.[3]

The proposition, however, that this rhythmic form had its origin in the ancient lament for the dead performed by women mourners (see, *e.g.*, *HDB* iv. 5) is so far incapable of verification, and it is, moreover, true that 'it can no longer be maintained that the rhythm is *peculiar* to elegy, though it may be said to be characteristic of it' (Gray, *op. cit.* p. lxiii, note).

The question of strophical arrangement in Hebrew hymns and OT poetry in general has also been much discussed in recent times (for a summary see *HDB* iv. 7 f.). A decisive factor in favour of, at any rate, occasional strophic structure is the refrain that is sometimes found (see, *e.g.*, Pss 42. 99); and there is, besides, a strong auxiliary argument for fairly frequent strophic arrangement in the undoubted fact that music, both vocal and instrumental, regularly accompanied the recital of hymns (besides the headings of Psalms, which are by themselves quite conclusive, see 1 Ch $25^{6.7}$, 2 Ch 7^6), for the musical tune is naturally either repeated with the successive longer units of the poetical composition, or else changes its character at the beginning of a part meant to express a different strain of poetical emotion. Congregational responses at certain intervals, for which there is some evidence (see Ps $106^{6.47}$), would seem to lead to a similar conclusion. A composition like Ps 136, in which the second hemistich is throughout the antiphonal response to the first, has, of course, no bearing on the question of strophical arrangement.

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[1] The question of the individual element in the Psalms has often been discussed in recent times. But we have something very similar in Modern English hymnal collections. Toplady's 'Rock of Ages, cleft for *me*,' and Newman's 'Lead, Kindly Light . . . lead Thou *me* on,' for instance, were primarily utterances of personal religious emotions, but they at the same time express the genuine cry of all Christian believers, that is to say, of the whole community or Church. A striking modern instance of the patriotic emotion of an individual poet becoming truly national in character is that of Theodor Körner, who died while fighting for the liberation of Germany. In the Psalter the national and religious spirit is one and indivisible, so that the hymn-writer is one and the same with the politician and nationalist.

[2] For terms that are used more or less rarely the reader is referred to the Introductions and Commentaries on the Psalms.

[3] Cf. the classic elegiac metre, in which the pentameter alternates with the hexameter.

The poetical compositions embodied in the Apocrypha stand on a lower level, both with regard to inspiration (using this term in its widest sense) and to their bearing on the national life; yet they do in some limited, and partly sectarian, manner continue on lines similar to the hymnal pieces contained in the Canon.

The Song of the Three Children[1] (the *Benedicite*) has a grand liturgical effect, notwithstanding the deliberate artificial attempt to enlist every part of creation in the great symphony of praise. Among other notable examples are the Prayer of Manasses, portions of Baruch, 2 Mac 1^{24-29}, Wis 9. The praise of Famous Men in Ecclesiasticus (44–50) is in reality also of the nature of a hymn, all praise being finally ascribed to the God whom the famous men served. Specially noteworthy are the 16 lines which in the Hebrew Cairo text are inserted between vv. 12 and 13 of ch. 51, and of which the first 14 are modelled on the antiphonal strains of Ps 136. It is a disputed point, however, whether these verses formed part of the original composition of Ben Sira.

The most notable hymnal section of the *pseudepigraphical writings* connected with the OT is the collection of 18 pieces belonging to the time of Pompey's invasion of Palestine, which are known as the Psalms of Solomon;[2] but shorter or longer hymn-like strains are also found in the fourth Book of Ezra and the Book of Enoch. The Greek hexameters of the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii., of which the greater part is also Hebraic in spirit, follow the prophetical writings with regard to the presence of an occasional hymnal strain.

Apart from the Psalms of Solomon, which have their root in important national events, the poetical portions of these writings are, as may be expected, as much removed from actuality as the prose frameworks in which they appear; yet they sound a genuine note of the religious idealism by which the *Pseudepigrapha*—largely sectarian in origin—were called into existence.

2. Hymns of the Synagogue.—After the destruction of the Temple by the Romans, Judaism definitely succeeded the ancient Hebraism. The bulk of the Hebrew people could not see their way to adopt the form of Christian adoration which, in the minds of its true devotees, was expressive of the most real inwardness of the religious life. The Jews, therefore, clung to their own ceremonial and devotional forms, which, indeed, enshrined a peculiar inwardness of their own, and it is this special Judaic religious inwardness that was perpetuated and developed—very often in beautiful language of true devotion—in a long series of hymnal compositions, which have become more or less closely attached to the general framework of the daily and festival prayers. The great model in the earlier stages of this liturgical development was naturally the Psalter, which, as in the Temple services, was itself largely drawn upon for purposes of synagogal and individual devotions, and which to the present day provides the ritual with some important constituent elements (so particularly the *Hallel* in the festival services and the series of Psalms in the earlier portions of the daily prayers). The liturgy, moreover, in its general idea as well as in its prevailing form, is a systematic elaboration of the *Bᵉrākhā*, or Benediction, which is in its simpler form well represented in the OT (see Gn 24^{27}, 1 K 1^{48}, Ps 28^6, Neh 9^5), but in the specifically Jewish period gradually developed into a system of prayers and doxologies, to some parts of which the lyrico-religious genius of the race could not but give a high poetical form.

Among the finest and most important of the poetical Benedictions which thus came into existence are the pieces which precede and follow the recitation of the שמע ('Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord,' etc.) in both the morning and evening services, the former having two Benedictions before and one after the *Shᵉmaʿ*, and the latter two before and two after this central confession of the Divine Unity (see Mishna *Bᵉrākhōth*, i. 4).[1] Among the other pieces whose existence in early times is attested by Talmudical references are the famous *Nishmath* ('The breath of all things living') in the Sabbath and festival prayers, and several compositions in litany form; and the elaborate Benediction at the end of a meal, to which much importance has always been attached, also exhibits a decidedly poetical tone in some of its parts.

Among the various compositions belonging to the time of the *Geonim*, which followed the Talmudical period, are the famous *Bārūkh Sheāmer* of the morning service, and the equally famous *Ēn Kᵉlōhēnū*, which stands in the modern Ashkenazi ritual at the end of the Sabbath service, but is recited every day by the members of the Spanish and Portuguese congregations scattered in different parts of the world. The Aramaic[2] *Yᵉḳūm Purḳān*, inserted in the Sabbath services, which also belongs to this period, may be classed as an interesting and characteristic congregational supplication in poetical prose.

The earliest synagogal hymn-writer known by name is Jose ben Jose, who appears to have lived in the 6th or 7th cent., and among whose compositions is an *ʿAbōdā* (on this term see below, p. 45^b) which is still used in Piedmont and other places. His pieces exhibit no rhyme, whereas Yannai, as well as his famous pupil and successor Elʿazar ben Jacob Ḳalir, adds the use of rhyme to the acrostic and other earlier marks of poetic form. Ḳalir opens a new and most prolific epoch in the history of synagogal hymnology. On his date and birthplace widely conflicting views have been held, but Zunz, who is the highest authority on questions of this kind, places him in the latter half of the 10th cent.,[3] and names southern Italy as the place of his nativity. He composed no fewer than 200 pieces, scattered over divers portions of the Ashkenazi and Italian forms of the *Maḥzōr*, as used at the present day. His subject-matter is derived mainly from Talmudic and Midrashic sources.

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[1] The question as to whether Hebrew or Greek was the original medium of composition for this and the other pieces named is not important in the connexion, the spirit pervading them being in all cases Hebraic, though no doubt influenced by Hellenistic tendencies.

[2] It has also been maintained by some that the so-called *Odes of Solomon*, of which J. Rendel Harris discovered a Syriac rendering, were also originally Hebraic; but this opinion is not likely to gain many adherents.

[1] Zunz (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*², p. 382 f.) considers that in their present form these pieces show later additions; but the rhyme of some parts, on which he largely relies, may be accidental.

[2] On the *Ḳaddish*, which is also Aramaic, see vol. i. p. 459 f.

[3] So in *Gottesd. Vorträge*², pp. 376 and 395; in *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 31, however, the first half of the 9th cent. is regarded as the earliest possible date.

His language is very often obscure and to the ear of the Hebrew purist strange and even uncouth, but his synagogal inspiration is of so high an order that the impression which he made on his contemporaries has — notwithstanding much influential opposition—continued its sway down to the present time.

An impetus to an entirely different style of liturgical poetry was given by Sa'adya Gaon (891–941), whose original home was Egypt, but who spent the most active part of his life as head of the Academy of Sura in Mesopotamia. He cannot be said to have been the founder of a liturgical school in the same sense as Ḳalir. His poetical compositions are not very numerous, nor was he strong as a poet, his genius enabling him rather to shine as philosopher, commentator, and controversialist; but, on the other hand, he brought to his task the best literary and scientific refinement of his age and surroundings, and he was in this way able, among his greater successes, to give an important fresh direction to liturgical efforts, which later on developed into the finest poetical achievements of mediæval Jewry. Acquainted as he was with the pure classical themes and forms of Arabic literature, he naturally aimed at similar purity of language in his Hebrew compositions; and the subject-matter of his devotional pieces rested for the same reason on philosophic contemplation rather than on Talmud and Midrash. His strophic system is elaborate, and he also uses rhyme besides the alphabetical acrostic.

Thus arose two distinct schools of liturgical composition, Ḳalir representing the more exclusive Jewish spirit of nationalism which found its chief nourishment in Talmudism, and Sa'adya paving the way in the direction of general human culture and the philosophico-scientific aspect of religion; and so deep-rooted as well as far-reaching were these two tendencies that each in its turn became the starting-point of one of the two main divisions of the Jewish liturgy, the Romano-Germanic order of festival services belonging, in the main, to the school founded by Ḳalir, whilst the Hispano-Arabian liturgy has been built up by the great poets who worked on in the spirit of Sa'adya.

No wonder, therefore, that the names of the leading writers of the last-named school, such as Solomon ibn Gabirol[1] (fl. 1050), in whom the Spanish school reached its most classical development, Moses ben Ezra (11th to 12th cent.), Yehuda hal-Levi († about 1140), and Abraham ibn Ezra († 1167) sound more familiar to the cultured Europe of the present day than the, in their own way, also highly distinguished names of men like Meshullam ben Kalonymos of Lucca (10th cent.), Gershon ben Yehuda (fl. first half of 11th cent.), Solomon Yiṣḥāḳī († 1105), and his son-in-law Samuel ben Meir.

It was, however,—on account of the general bond uniting all synagogal communities into one great organization,—inevitable that the poetical compositions of each school should exercise an influence on the other. The Jewish liturgical writers of each country were, moreover, naturally to some extent affected by the surroundings amidst which they worked; nor could individual poets help importing into their compositions their own intellectual, doctrinal, or emotional peculiarities. Among the later (post-classical) writers of sacred poetry who thus, for one reason or another, become entitled to particular mention in even a brief historical survey of the subject are Abraham of Beziers (13th cent.), his son Yed'aya (entitled hap-Penīnī), Yehuda Ḥarizi († before 1235), Moses Rieti (fl. first half of 15th cent.), Israel Nagara (16th cent.), Isaac Loria the Kabbalist (1534-1572), and the Yemenite Shalom ben Joseph Shabbezi (17th cent.). The most prolific authors of short hymnal compositions among those just named were Israel Nagara and Shalom Shabbezi, though of the former only a few penetrated into the liturgy; and of the other apparently none.

Among the most important terms used since early times in connexion with synagogal liturgical poetry are (besides *Payṭān* and *Piyyūṭ*, respectively denoting 'poet' and 'poetical piece of devotion,' the significant part of both words coming no doubt from the Greek ποιητής): (1) *Ḳᵉrōbā*, which is sometimes used in the general sense of liturgical poetry (the word denoting 'coming near' in prayer), but in the plural usually bears the more restricted meaning of pieces accompanying the Prayer of Eighteen, or, rather, its festival representative; (2) *Yōṣᵉrōth, i.e.* Piyyūṭīm accompanying the benediction *Yōṣēr Ōr* ('Creator of the Light'), but sometimes also used in a more general sense; (3) *Sᵉlīḥōth*, or penitential pieces; (4) *Ḳīnōth*, or elegies; (5) *'Abōdā*, a species of elaborate composition for the Day of Atonement descriptive of the Temple Service as solemnized on that day, the account being based on the Mishna *Yōmā*; (6) *Azhārōth*, embodying the Pentateuchal commandments; (7) *Hōsha'nōth*, i.e. pieces with a Hosannah refrain, used on *Hosha'na Rabba* (the 7th day of the feast of Tabernacles); and (8) *Widdui*, or confession of sins. The entire collection of the festival services is entitled *Maḥzōr, i.e.* '(annual) cycle.'

The introduction of rhyme into liturgical poetry prior to the time of Ḳalir has already been referred to. With regard to the use of acrostics, it is important to mention that, besides the very frequent employment of the alphabetical device, the authors of Piyyūṭīm were very much in the habit of marking their compositions with acrostics of their own names, the motive underlying this practice probably being, not vanity, but the desire of linking their own personalities with their sacred compositions. In the case of Ḳalir it has been shown (see Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*², p. 398 f.) that he also often achieved this object by means of *Gematria*, i.e. by the equation of the numerical value of his name with that of a sentence in the poem. Of special interest is the form of metre which has been employed in Hebrew hymns—and, indeed, Hebrew poetry in general—from the time of Solomon ibn Gabirol onwards. The measure rests neither on the quantity of the syllables nor on the accent, but on the difference between a simple syllable (*tᵉnū'ah*) and a syllable beginning with a moving *shᵉwa* (called *yāthēd*, i.e. 'tent-pin' or 'nail'). The simple syllable is in modern editions of Hebrew verse marked –, irrespective of quantity in the usual sense of the term, and the *yāthēd* is marked ᴗ–. Seventeen different forms of verse founded on this principle are generally counted, but it will here suffice to give examples of two only, represented by the opening hemistichs of the well-known hymns respectively beginning *Ădōn 'Ōlām* and *Yīgdāl*:

1. Ădōn | 'Ōlām | ăshēr | mālākh. |[1]
2. Yīgdāl | Ĕlō | hīm Ḥāi | wᵉyīsh | tābbāḥ.

In the first case the line is described as consisting of a *yāthēd* and two *tᵉnū'ōth*, followed by another *yāthēd* and two *tᵉnū'ōth*; in the second case the scansion is two *tᵉnū'ōth*, a *yāthēd*, and two *tᵉnū'ōth*, followed by another *yāthēd* and two *tᵉnū'ōth*.

Among the most popular pieces attached to the daily services are *Ădon 'Olam* and *Yigdal* (just referred to), and *Lᵉkhā Dōdī*. The first-named poem, which was probably not composed before the end of the 13th cent., lays special stress on the

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[1] Latinized as Avicebron, and widely known under that name as the author of *Fons Vitæ* (מקור חיים).

[1] The poet has, however, allowed himself considerable licence in this piece.

Divine Unity, and was in this way probably meant to enforce the Jewish side of a polemical religious topic. The *Yigdal*, written in Italy by Daniel ben Yehūda Dayyān in the early part of the 14th cent., embodies in brief poetic form the thirteen articles of faiṭh formulated by Moses Maimonides in the 12th century. The *Lᶜkhā Dōdī*, composed by Solomon Ben Moses al-Ḳābiṣ (16th cent.), is a fine poetical greeting of the 'Bride of the Sabbath' recited at its entrance in the Friday evening service.[1] Of considerable popularity are also the *Habdālōth*, *i.e.* poetical pieces recited in the home at the close of the Sabbath, some of which embody legends of the prophet Elijah. Solomon ibn Gabirol's great philosophico-religious poem entitled *Kether Malkūth* deserves special mention; it may be described as a great Hymn of Adoration and Penitence, though only attached, and that loosely, to some of the rituals.

The number of Piyyūṭīm of various kinds for fasts and festivals, and more particularly for the New Year's Feast and the Day of Atonement, is so large that much space would be occupied by even a careful selection. But it should be remarked in conclusion that the note of sadness that is so very prominent in the recital of the nation's manifold sufferings and its deep penitence, as well as the strain of joy in other parts of the liturgy, is very often of so intensely lyrical a character that musical expression becomes almost a necessity, and it is for this purpose mainly that the profession of *Ḥazzānīm*, or Synagogue Cantors, came into existence in early times, and has remained an institution down to the present day.

LITERATURE.—On the Psalms and hymnal compositions in other Books of the OT, see the Biblical Introductions and Commentaries. Summaries of the different theories regarding metre in OT poetry will be found in the artt. 'Poetry (Hebrew),' in *HDB* iv. 3 ff. (K. Budde), and 'Poetry,' in *JE* x. 93 ff. (E. König), as well as 'Poetical Literature,' in *EBi* iii. col. 3793 ff. (B. Duhm). For a general survey of the more primitive period the reader should be referred to *The Early Poetry of Israel in its Physical and Social Origins*, by G. A. Smith (Schweich Lectures, 1910; published London, 1912). Until quite recently the best edition of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha was that of E. Kautzsch (Tübingen, 1900); but there is now R. H. Charles's edition (Oxford, 1913), in which fuller information will be found on points connected with the present article; specially to be mentioned among editions of separate parts is R. H. Charles's *Book of Enoch* ², Oxford, 1912, in which special attention is given to the rhythmic form of some parts.

The great authority on Synagogal poetry is **Leopold Zunz**, *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1855, *Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes*, do. 1859, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, do. 1865, also parts of *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin, 1832, ²Frankfort, 1892. Consult also **M. Sachs**, *Religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, Berlin, 1845; **Franz Delitzsch**, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie*, Leipzig, 1836; the article 'Piyyūṭ,' in *JE* x. 65 ff. (besides ''Abōdah' and the artt. on individual liturgical writers [of varying merit, however] in the same Encyclopedia); 'Liturgische Poesie,' in Hamburger, Supplementband ii. (a very serviceable summary of the entire subject). Among Catalogues of MSS giving lists of hymns may be mentioned **A. Neubauer**, *Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1886, cols. 218–418, and the present writer's *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan MSS in the British Museum*, ii. [1905] 197–487.

Among the very numerous editions of the Daily Prayers and the *Maḥzōr* are the *Prayer Book* of Amram Gaon, Warsaw, 1865; *Maḥzōr Vitry* (compiled about 1210; published Berlin, 1893); *'Abōdath Yisrael* (ed. Seligman Baer, Rödelheim, 1868 [the best edition with a Hebrew Commentary]); 'The Authorized Daily Prayer-Book' (with a tr. by S. Singer, London; often reprinted); the Sephardic *Forms of Prayer* (with D. A. de Sola's tr., London, originally published 1836–38; revised by M. Gaster, 1901–06); *Services of the Synagogue: a New Edition of the Festival Prayers with an Eng. Tr. in Prose and Verse*, London, 1904–09.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

HYMNS (Japanese).—Before the introduction of Buddhism, the hymn was not an integral part of the liturgy of Japanese religion. The religious dance (*kagura*)[2] seems to be of a pre-historic origin, and it was performed with musical accompaniments, both instrumental and vocal. The songs chanted on these occasions were called the *kagura-uta*, but the extant ones are not so old as the dance itself; the collection dates from the 9th cent., and their style and language point to their composition at that age.

It was Buddhism that introduced hymns to Japan, or gave them an important rôle in the religious performances. In the first period of Buddhism in Japan they were sung in Sanskrit or Chinese, and were called *gāthā* (Jap. *ge* or *kada*), which were later adapted to Japanese and gave rise to a new style of poem composition, called *ima-yō*, or 'modern style.' It consisted of a strophe of 48 syllables, namely in four feet, each of which contained 12 syllables. The *kagura-uta* were mostly the regular Japanese verses of 31 syllables, and these were gradually superseded by the *ima-yō*, especially since the 11th century. These hymns were sung after the melody of the Indian *gāthā*, and the art was carefully cultivated in Buddhist colleges and monasteries, according to the theories and traditions of the Indian *śabda-vidyā* (Jap. *shōmyō*, 'theories of language and music'). A collection of these hymns (along with some secular poems) dating from the middle of the 12th cent.[1] is handed down to us, and they show a great extension of the *ima-yō* hymns. The themes are either Shinto benediction and felicitation for worldly prosperity, or they are taken from Buddhist legends and praises of Buddha. Thus, parallel with the distinction in style, these hymns show a division of labour between Shinto deities, who care for the earthly good, and Buddhist deities, who guide men to the other shore of bliss. Here we shall cite some examples:

'What a pity, we cannot see Buddha face to face,
Though he is everywhere at any time;
Yet, as in a vision, he appears to us
In the calm morning hour, when there is no human bustling.

'A mere illusion it was that we saw dispersed
The smoke (of cremation) arising from the Sāla grove (of Kuśinagara);
The Lord Śākya never died (in reality),
But He is preaching the truths eternally on Vulture Peak.'[2]

'The Deity of Mikasa Hill,
Whom we worship and pray now,
He is surely looking upon us;
So long as he blesses us,
Sure is the prosperity of our Lord,
Who rules the lands under heaven.'[3]

These hymns, both Buddhist and Shinto, were not only chanted in front of a sanctuary as a part of the liturgy, but were sung on various occasions, at banquets and musical evenings, in sitting rooms, and on streets. The intention in doing so was not profane, but it was meant to dedicate daily life and even amusement to the praise and glory of the deities. Yet the secularization led to the degradation of the sacred poems; and this circumstance gave rise, on the other hand, to particularly religious hymns, mostly composed by pious monks, in contrast to the composition of the *ima-yō* by court nobles.

We distinguish two categories in these pious or pietist hymns, the one called *wa-san* and the other *go-eika*. The *wa-san* means Japanese *gāthās*; they consist of 48 syllables and differ little from the *ima-yō* in style and themes. Yet there was a certain difference of melody, and the *wa-san* were chanted only at religious performances. The oldest *wa-san* are ascribed to Kūya (901–972) and Genshin (942–1017), the famous pioneers of Amita-Buddhism. Though the authenticity of this tradition is not well established, the rise of this category of hymns seems most probably to date from the last part of the 10th century. These pioneers were followed by many composers, and the *wa-san* were almost exclusively dedicated to Amita, the redeemer in the western paradise, Sukhāvatī.[1] The best known and most popular *wa-san* are ascribed to Shinran (1173–1262), the founder of the Shinshū, the largest of Buddhist sects in Japan up to this day. The following are three specimens from Shinran's *wa-san*:

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[1] Compare particularly the designation 'Princess Sabbath' in vogue among the Falashas (see J. Halévy, *Tĕ'ĕzâza Sanbat*, Paris, 1902).

[2] Aston's explanation (*Shinto*, London, 1905, p. 238) of the Chinese signs for *kagura* as meaning 'God-pleasure' is misleading; they mean 'divine music.'

[1] *Ryōjin Hishō* ('A Precious Collection of Chanting Pieces'), compiled by the monk-Emperor Go-Shirakawa, contained 10 fasciculi; but only one of them was recently discovered and edited by N. Sasaki.

[2] The contrast between the earthly life of Buddha and his true immortal life, the idea taken from ch. xv. of the *Lotus of the True Law*.

[3] A 31 syllable poem; the deity of Mikasa is the famous Kasuga, the ancestral deity of the clan Fujiwara.

'Beings so numerous as dusts and fine sands, who are in the worlds in the ten directions,
They are all embraced by Amita's grace and never forsaken,
Only if they invoke his name;
Our Lord is, therefore, called Amita, the Infinite.'

'Without end is the dreary ocean of births and deaths,
Immersed in it are we since eternity;
We can in no way be carried across (to the other shore)
But by being loaded on the ship of Amita's vow to save all.'

'Lo! There a torch illumines the ever-dark night of illusion!
Never regret yourself that the eyes of wisdom are troubled.
There is here a ship on the ocean of births and deaths,
No need of groaning over the heavy sins and obstacles.'

Nearly four hundred of Shinran's hymns make up a collection—the largest in the hymnology of Japanese Buddhism; and they are chanted and sung in many temples and families, so that the name *wa-san* has almost been monopolized by them.[2]

The second category, the *go-eika*, consists of the poems composed by deities. It owes its rise to the practice of pilgrimages to various sanctuaries scattered over the country. The mountaineering practice of syncretic Buddhists was very old in its origin, but it was limited to the priest class belonging to regular orders. Towards the end of the 10th cent. the example of an ex-Emperor, who became a pilgrim, was followed by many nobles and common people. During the centuries of civil wars which lasted from the 14th to the 16th, the practice became universal. The disgraced nobles and defeated warriors, the men who had lost dear ones, and those whose properties had been ravaged derived their consolation from their devotion to deities, and especially from the itinerancies made from sanctuary to sanctuary. The most popular of these places of pilgrimage were the thirty-three Kwannon (Skr. Avalokiteśvara, the god or goddess of mercy) in the central provinces, the eighty-eight temples dedicated to Kōbō Daishi,[3] the sixty-six places for the recitation of the *Hokke-kyō* (*Lotus of the True Law*), etc. The pilgrims go their way and prostrate themselves before the shrine, chanting the hymn ascribed to the deity of each shrine. Most of these hymns are simple in idea, saying that the deity appeared on the spot because he loved the place and wished to attract the people to the place and to his worship, and the like. They are also crude in rhetoric, and represent the poetic genius of the uncultured people in the ages of wars. Yet many of these are quite popular even at the present day, and they are chanted at meetings in private houses.[4]

Since the 17th cent., Buddhist hymnology has made hardly any progress (Shinto hymns almost in disuse since the 14th). Changes or development in melody were left to the various branches of secular music (which owe their origin to religious music), and the hymn retains its archaic simplicity, with some minor deviations according to sects. A feature of Japanese hymns (both Buddhist and Shinto) is that they are not always sung by all the worshippers but often by the priests alone. Another characteristic is the absence of refrain. In the case of the Shinshū hymns, Amita's name is repeatedly chanted, in the place of a refrain, between two strophes of the hymns.

LITERATURE.—The only literature bearing on the subject has been mentioned in the article.

M. ANESAKI.

HYMNS (Muslim).—Music and verse have no place in the ordinary worship of the Muslims, so that it might be difficult to find in Islāmic literature anything precisely analogous to the Christian hymn. The Qur'ān is hostile to the poets, and the Prophet was at first careful to dissociate himself from them; he 'had not been taught versification' (Qur. xxxvi. 69), and seems never to have had any appreciation of it, though towards the end of his career he employed a court-poet, and allowed poetical eulogies on himself to be recited. Still it is asserted that his troops inspired themselves on the field with war-songs, which, owing to the religious character of their cause, might be called hymns; and the songs of triumph which celebrated the early victories of Islām seem to deserve the same name; an example is to be found in the verses of the poet 'Afīf celebrating the victory of the Muslims over the apostates of Baḥrain (Aghānī, xiv. 49).

In the early poetry the verses had ordinarily little more than an artificial connexion with each other, so that the same poem might contain edifying and unedifying matter; but, with the settlement of the Arabian State and the consequent development of study, the departments of poetry came to be separated, and two which bear some analogy to hymns are encomia of the Prophet and his Companions, and the subject called *zuhd*, *i.e.* 'contempt of the world.' The composition of the former sort began, as has been seen, in the Prophet's lifetime, and has ever since been popular. Perhaps the most celebrated poem of the kind is the *Burdah* of Sharaf al-dīn Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Būṣīrī († A.D. 1295), in 170 lines. Miraculous powers are supposed to be attached to this work, which has been frequently interpreted and translated. An example of a poem in praise of the Companions is that by the inventor of the *maqāmah*, Badī' al-zamān al-Hamadhānī († A.D. 1008; see Yāqūt, *Dict. of Learned Men*, ed. Margoliouth, London, 1907 ff., i. 114–116). The Shī'ah naturally have poems in praise of 'Alī, Fāṭima, and their family; an author of celebrity in this line was 'Alī b. 'Abdallah al-Nāshi' († A.D. 976), one of whose laments on Ḥusain was chanted by a professional mourner in a mosque (Yāqūt, v. 240).

The beginnings of ascetic poetry are found very early; the author who is usually regarded as the best representative of this department is Abu'l-'Atāhiyah († A.D. 826, 827, or 829). His *dīwān* (published at the Roman Catholic Press, Beirūt, 1886) is mainly devotional and introspective; and, were the odes rendered into European verse, their content would be found to resemble that of many a hymn-book.

The use of music for the purpose of stirring religious emotions scarcely goes back to the time of Muḥammad, but appears to have commenced early in Islām; 'Aṭā b. Abī Rabāḥ († A.D. 734) is said to have introduced the practice at Mecca during the days of the pilgrimage month called *tashrīq*; he kept two singing-women to perform on these occasions (*Qūt al-qulūb* of Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, Cairo, 1310, ii. 62), and the custom was maintained in the Ḥijāz. Probably the verses sung by these women were erotic; but the Ṣūfīs habitually address the Divine Being in the terms of the erotic passion, and it is often difficult to tell whether a poet is allegorizing or not. The erotic poems of Ibn al-Mu'allim († A.D. 1196) were committed to memory by the dervishes of the Rifā'ī order, who sang them at their religious concerts, for the purpose of exciting their souls to a state of rapture (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, London, 1842–71, iii. 169). These appear to have been primarily erotic; but those of Ibn al-Fāriḍ († A.D. 1238), probably the most affecting in the Arabic language, seem to have been primarily religious.

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[1] Later on, some *wa-san* were composed in praise of various other Buddhas and saints.

[2] Many of the Buddhist sects in Japan do not use hymns, but recite their sacred texts and litanies.

[3] A popular saint who lived in the 9th century.

[4] One group of these hymns is dedicated to Jizō (Skr. Kṣitigarbha), revered as the patron deity of children, especially dead; and they are sung in mournful tones in the houses of the common people where a child has died.

The propriety of employing music and erotic odes for this purpose was naturally questioned by the orthodox, and some authorities condemn it unhesitatingly. Those who approve of it are inclined to confine it to persons who have attained a high stage of holiness, and in whom the music can wake only sublime thoughts, or with whom it serves as an aid to fasting (*Qūt al-qulūb*, ii. 61). The influence of music on the mind and its effect on persons of different spiritual attainment are discussed by Ṣūfī writers with great subtlety, *e.g.* in the *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* (tr. Nicholson, London, 1911, pp. 397–413). It seems clear that there need be nothing essentially religious about either the verses or the tunes which can be employed devotionally; and the enemies of the Sūfīs taunt them with singing frivolous songs in the mosques and even in the great sanctuary of Mecca (*al-'Alam al-Shāmikh*, by Ṣāliḥ b. Mahdī al-Muqbilī [† 1696], Cairo, 1328, p. 380). Naturally the legal systems which forbid all music could be quoted in condemnation of these performances.

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the article.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

HYMNS (Samaritan and Karaite).—The hymnal compositions of the Samaritans and the Karaites, though in each case decidedly particularist in spirit, are, nevertheless, properly comprehended in the wider Israelitish family of devotional verse.

1. Samaritan hymns.—Out of the great mass of valuable details that have resulted from A. E. Cowley's investigation (see Literature at the end), it becomes evident that the data bearing on the composition of the Samaritan liturgy, which consists of Pentateuchal lections alternating with poetical and prose compositions, appear to justify the assignment of special significance to the following three periods, each marking a fresh departure in liturgical development: (1) the 4th cent. A.D., when Aramaic was the language used; (2) the 10th and 11th centuries, when Aramaic had ceased to be the vernacular, but was still used in liturgy, though it had become artificial and mixed with Hebraisms; and (3) the 14th cent. and after, when Hebrew, mixed with Aramaisms, had become the liturgical language.

The names of great composers of hymns in the 4th cent. are Marqah and Amram Darah, the latter being possibly identical with Amram b. Sered, the father of Marqah; and the leading synagogal reformer, in conjunction with whom both of them worked, was Baba the Great, a contemporary of the high priest Nethanael, who died A.D. 332. Marqah's son Nanah also wrote some devotional poetry. The collection of their poems (Marqah's pieces being referred to in the texts under his name, and Darah's work being known as the *Durran*) constituted, together with the lections from the Pentateuch and a number of prose pieces, the original form of the liturgical canon which later acquired the title of *Defter* (دفتر = διφδέρα), its earliest known representative being the British Museum MS Oriental 5034, the greater part of which was written in A.D. 1258.

The dates of the leading writers of the 10th and subsequent centuries cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be fixed with much certainty; but Cowley, whilst fully appreciating the confused character of the references found in the chronicles and elsewhere, considers that the style of the compositions assigned to al-Dustān suggests a date in the 11th cent., that Abu'l-Ḥasan of Tyre also belongs to some part of the 11th cent., and that Ab Gelugah and Ṭabiah b. דרתה flourished in the early part of the 12th century. Firmer ground is reached in the allocation of dates in the third period. The founder of the new school of writers was apparently the high priest Pinḥas (1308–63), and the talent and zeal shown by him remained hereditary in his family for some generations. Of his two sons, Eleazar and Abisha, the former, who left only a small number of liturgical pieces, succeeded to the office of high priest, whilst to the latter, who enjoyed a great reputation as a writer, seventeen pieces can be assigned with certainty, and seven others with a high degree of probability. Pinḥas, the son of Abisha, who succeeded his uncle Eleazar in the high priesthood, and died in 1442, was also a liturgical writer.

There is, on the other hand, considerable uncertainty regarding the date of the liturgist Pinḥas b. Ithamar, who was high priest at Damascus. Cowley is inclined to accept A.H. 793 (A.D. 1391) as the beginning of his term of office, but he acknowledges that the possibility of his having flourished about a century later is not excluded. There is also some uncertainty about the dates of several other hymn-writers connected with Damascus (*e.g.*, Abraham היתרני, probably about the middle of the 15th cent.; Seth Aaron b. Isaac, probably about the same date). Of the hymn-writers of later times, chiefly belonging to the Levitical,[1] the Danfi, and the Marḥib families, only a few representative names can be mentioned in this place. A prolific writer of the first-named family was Ṭabiah (or Ghazzāl) b. Isaac († 1787), and among the latest hymn-writers of the same stock was Pinḥas b. Isaac († 1898). The Danfi names which most frequently occur are Murjān and Muslim (=משלמה), and the latest member of the Marḥib family to write liturgical compositions was Abraham b. Ishmael, who was living in 1828.

For a list of the services (which, as may be expected, follow *mutatis mutandis* the order of the Jewish liturgy) and the manner in which the poetical pieces are distributed in them, see Cowley's edition of the Samaritan liturgy, which includes an 'Index of First Lines' of the pieces published in the work (Introd. pp. lxxiii–xcv).[2]

'With regard to *metre* in the poetical compositions,' writes Cowley, 'no certainty is possible, since pronunciation varied at different periods and we know little about it at any time.' He, however, agrees that some pieces seem to be metrical, though the majority exhibit only 'some sort of rhythm.' The alphabetical acrostic has been very usual since the time of Marqah, and the acrostic giving the author's name, which is found once in Marqah (piece beginning מְרה דאלהותה רילך הי רבותה), is very usual in later pieces. Rhyme, which is used by neither Marqah nor Darah, becomes very common in the later periods, when it is not infrequently (in the long hymns) employed up to a high degree of tediousness, a long row of lines ending in the same rhyme.

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[1] The high-priestly family of Aaronic descent died out in 1623–24; from that date onward the office descended to members of the family of Uzziel, a younger son of Kohath.

[2] The services in praise of the prophet Moses, as exemplified by the British Museum MS Additional 19,021 (Arabic; composed in 1537 by the Shaikh Ismā'īl ibn Badr ibn Abu'l-'Izz ibn Rumaiḥ), should be added to the list embodied in Cowley's edition. It should also be noted that the Samaritan order appears to betray at some points conscious imitation of the Jewish liturgy (so, *e.g.*, the frequently occurring forms of ישתבח).

2. Karaite hymns.—At the foundation of Karaism, about A.D. 750, the traditional liturgy of the Jews was, as a part of Talmudical legalism, discarded by the sectaries, and the Pentateuch, the Psalter, and other parts of the OT were henceforth to constitute the only sources from which, besides lections, prayers and devotional songs were to be drawn. The totally unimaginative and stationary attitude which Anan enjoined on his followers could not, however, be maintained for very long; and, just as the abandonment of Talmudical hermeneutics and general Halakhah led to the gradual development of an almost equally involved system of Karaite legal hermeneutics, so also, in the course of time, the Rabbinic liturgy was replaced by a Karaite ritual running on parallel lines with the Rabbanite services. As, moreover, the Karaite leaders possessed the sense of logical consistency in a much higher degree than the poetic faculty, they for the most part not only found it necessary to imitate the hymnal models of the Rabbanites, but even could not help admitting Rabbanite compositions into their liturgical collections (as by Solomon ibn Gabirol and Yehudah hal-Levi).

The most prominent among Karaite liturgical authors was Moses Darʿī, who was also successful as a writer of secular poems. He is believed in Karaite circles to have flourished about the middle of the 9th cent., and it is, accordingly, claimed that Solomon ibn Gabirol, Moses ibn Ezra, Yehudah hal-Levi, and other Rabbanite poets worked on models provided by Darʿī. Investigations—principally by Steinschneider and Geiger—have, however, shown that the position must be reversed, Darʿī having in reality been the borrower from the Rabbanite poets referred to, so that the end of the 12th cent. is the earliest date that can be assigned to him.

The greatest name connected with the development of the Karaite liturgy is that of Aaron b. Joseph (called Aaron the Elder to distinguish him from Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia), who flourished at Constantinople (though born in Sulchat in the Crimea) in the second half of the 13th and beginning of the 14th cent., and who is often affectionately referred to at the head of his poetical compositions in the printed Karaite Service Books as הרב זל ('the Master, may his memory be for a blessing'). The impression made by Aaron b. Joseph's personality and work (which includes a series of poetical pieces for the pericopes of the Pentateuch as liturgically recited throughout the year) was, indeed, so great that his redaction of the liturgy remained, under somewhat varied forms, the norm of the Karaite services down to the present day. Traces of other rituals, in some cases actually exhibiting different sets of liturgical poems, and in other cases also having no doubt contained pieces by other authors, are, however, not lacking. Joseph b. Mordecai Troki, writing to his countryman Elijah Bashiatsi (both of them having belonged to the Byzantine body of Karaites) towards the end of the 15th cent., states that there were at that time three different rituals in the hands of the Karaites: (1) by one of the early liturgists (א׳ מהקדמונים), (2) by Aaron b. Joseph, just mentioned, and (3) by Joseph, the father of the same Aaron (see Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 1866, pp. 58, 140). More definite evidence of the existence of different rituals is afforded by the British Museum MSS Or. 2531 (dated A.D. 1700), 2530 (16th–17th cent.), and Or. 2532 (written about A.D. 1700), the first representing the ritual of Damascus, and the last two that of Jerusalem (for full descriptions, with lists of pieces, see Margoliouth, *Cat. of the Heb. and Samar. MSS in the Brit. Mus.* ii. nos. 725–727).

Among the other noted Karaite authors who—for the most part in addition to works of larger compass—composed liturgical poems are Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia (14th cent., already referred to), Israel b. Samuel Rōfē (early 14th cent.), Samuel al-Maghribi (*i.e.* of North Africa; in this case, Cairo; early 15th cent.), Elijah Bashiatsi (already referred to), Caleb Efendopolo (latter half of 15th cent., first at Adrianople, then Constantinople), Yehudah b. Elijah Gibbōr (author of מנחת יהודה, consisting of a series of poems on the pericopes of the Pentateuch; beginning of 16th cent.), Daniel b. Moses Pērōz (living at Damascus in the latter part of the 17th cent., where he also composed an introductory treatise on the Damascus ritual), Isaac b. Shalom (end of the 18th cent.), and another writer of the same name (presumably resident in the Crimea, now the only important part of Karaite settlements), who edited the Karaite Service Book printed at Vienna in 1854. In the Museum MSS referred to the name Samuel מני very frequently appears as the author of hymns, and other names (such as משלם = Muslim or Meshullam, and Manṣūr) occurring there also await further investigation. Among the topics dealt with are the praises of Moses, Aaron, Samuel, and Elijah. In the hymns occurring in the MSS, Hebrew is sometimes intermixed with Arabic, and occasionally Arabic only is employed. It furthermore remains to say that the order of the Karaite services corresponds (again, of course, *mutatis mutandis*) to the Jewish Synagogue services, and that in point of metre, rhyme, acrostics (both alphabetical and of authors' names), etc., the Karaite liturgical poems run on parallel lines with the Rabbanite *Piyyūṭīm*.

LITERATURE.—i. *SAMARITAN.*—The most important work to consult is *The Samaritan Liturgy*, ed. A. E. Cowley, Oxford, 1910, on which the section dealing with Samaritan hymns has been based. Other works (or articles) are: W. Gesenius, *Carmina Samaritana e codicibus Londoniensibus et Gothanis*, Leipzig, 1824; M. Heidenheim, *Die samaritanische Liturgie*, Leipzig, 1885 (=*Bibliotheca Samaritana*, ii.), and a number of liturgical pieces in different parts of *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für englisch-theol. Forschung und Kritik*, 1861–71; A. J. Merx, 'Carmina Samaritana e codice Gothano,' in *Atti della reale academia dei Lincei*, Rome, 1887; L. Rappoport, *La Liturgie samaritaine; office du soir des fêtes*, etc., Paris, 1900; G. Margoliouth, 'An Ancient MS of the Samaritan Liturgy' [*i.e.* the Brit. Mus. MS Or. 5034, referred to in the article], in *ZDMG* li. [1897] 499; J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, Philadelphia, 1907, where also a number of further details on this literature will be found (bibliography, pp. 322–346).

ii. *KARAITE.*—The two principal editions of the Liturgy (both representing forms of Aaron b. Joseph's redaction) are סדר תפלות הקראים, Vienna, 1854, and תפלות כמנהג הקראים, Odessa and Wilna, 1868–72. Complete lists of hymns found in the Brit. Mus. Karaite liturgical MSS are given in G. Margoliouth, *Cat. of the Heb. and Samar. MSS in the Brit. Mus.*, London, 1900 ff., ii. 450–487. Lists of hymns in the comparatively few Karaite liturgical MSS in Berlin are given in M. Steinschneider's *Heb. Handschr.* ii. [Berlin, 1897] no. 198; *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek*, by A. Neubauer, has been referred to in the body of the art., and scattered information on liturgical topics will be found in the works named in the bibliography appended to A. de Harkavy's art. 'Karaites,' in *JE* vii. [1904] 438.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

HYMNS (Vedic).

1. Importance.—The body of literature comprising the Vedic hymns claims a very high place in the history of civilization; for it supplies the investigator not only of Indian but of Aryan life with his most ancient data. The language in which they are composed furnishes the student of comparative philology with his oldest and most abundant material. From the information contained in them can be constructed a fairly detailed description of the social and political conditions of the earliest Aryan inhabitants of India. In them we find the sources of Aryan mythology and religion: here alone can be traced the process of personification by which gods were evolved from natural phenomena, and the stages by which polytheism was transformed into the pantheism that for far more than two thousand years has dominated the thought of the Hindus. In them can be discerned the foundations of the indigenous Aryan religions of India—Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism: the first the faith of four-fifths of the Indians of to-day, the last a world religion that has profoundly influenced the civilization of the Farther East. Without a knowledge of them these later religions cannot be understood any more than the NT without the OT.

2. Definition.—Owing to the somewhat different sense attaching to the word in other literatures, it is necessary to define the term 'hymn' as applied to the Vedas. Here it means a ritual poem consisting, on the higher side of religion, in praises of the gods, and generally accompanying the sacrifice offered to them; or, on its lower side, in spells or charms directed against hostile powers, and accompanying some domestic practice of a magical character. Hymns of the former type, in which praise of one or more of the gods associated with prayers for all sorts of worldly goods is the chief feature, are collected in the Rigveda, the oldest of the four Vedas. Hymns of the latter type constitute the main contents of the latest of the four, the Atharvaveda. The use of the term 'hymn' is also extended so as to include a certain number of poems, philosophical or even quite secular in character, that have found their way into the canonical form of both these Vedas. These two collections alone consist of hymns.

The other two Vedas are formed of disconnected verses or spells employed solely for application to special ritual purposes. The Sāmaveda contains hardly any independent matter, all its verses (except 75) being borrowed from the Rigveda and used exclusively in the ritual of the Soma sacrifice. These verses are strung together without any internal connexion, being significant only as applicable to a particular rite when they are chanted in the various melodies collected in certain song-books. The Yajurveda consists solely of ritual formulas (about one-half being in prose), which, unlike the verses of the Sāmaveda, are successively applicable to the whole sacrificial ceremonial. About one-half of its metrical portion is borrowed from the Rigveda, the remaining three-fourths of its contents being original. Owing to the compelling force which, by the time of this Veda, the sacrifice was regarded as possessing, its formulas virtually belong to the sphere of witchcraft: they are sacrificial spells, not differing fundamentally from the domestic spells of the Atharvaveda.

3. Chronology.—According to the native traditional authorities, the Vedas were the creation of Brahmā, and were only revealed to or, as they express it, seen by various seers (*ṛṣis*). Scientific investigation, however, has shown from internal evidence that not only the four Vedas but parts of the same Veda differ in age, and that they were composed by seers who belonged to various families, and who often refer to the skill with which they have endeavoured to fashion a new hymn to win the favour of the gods. But, although the relative ages of the various Vedas are known, we have nothing in the nature of exact chronology in regard to them. All that we can say is that the lower limit of the period covered by them must necessarily be fixed at several centuries before 500 B.C., the approximate date of the spread of Buddhism on India. For Buddhism presupposes the existence not only of the Vedas themselves, but of the intervening theological and theosophical literature of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads (see VEDIC RELIGION, 2, *b*, *c*). Since that literature is extensive and betrays a considerable development of ideas within its limits, it cannot be assumed to have begun later than about 800 B.C. Again, the evidence of their language, their religious ideas, and their geographical data proves that the Vedas vary greatly in age. Thus we find that, between the time when the earliest and the latest Vedic hymns were composed, the Aryan invaders had spread right across Northern India from Eastern Kabulistan to the delta of the Ganges. Similar evidence indicates the existence of successive chronological strata within each Veda. To allow for all this gradual development it is necessary to postulate a period of some centuries, decidedly longer, for example, than that between Homeric and classical Greek. Hence the age of the Vedic hymns cannot be assumed to begin later than about the 13th cent. B.C. In the opinion of the present writer, which practically agrees with the earlier moderate estimate of Max Müller in his *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, five hundred years are amply sufficient to account for the gradual changes, linguistic, religious, social, and political, that this hymn literature reveals. We have only to reflect on the vast transformation wrought on the continent of America by the lapse of only four centuries since the European immigration began. H. Jacobi, however, and an Indian scholar, B. G. Tilak, in 1893 independently arrived at the conclusion, on astronomical grounds, that the period of Vedic culture goes back to a far higher antiquity. The latter claims for some Vedic texts the immensely remote date of 6000 B.C., while, according to the former, the hymns of the Rigveda must at any rate be earlier than 3000 B.C. This is not the place to discuss the complicated arguments on which these results are based. Suffice it to say that such distinguished authorities as Whitney, Oldenberg, and Thibaut all refuse to accept these deductions, which are founded on the assumption that the early Indians possessed an exact astronomical knowledge of the sun's (not the moon's) course in relation to the lunar mansions, such as there is no evidence, or even probability, that they actually possessed. The astronomical calculations are not in doubt; it is the validity of the assumptions and inferences which constitute the starting-point of those calculations that is in the highest degree questionable. The possibility of extreme antiquity seems to be disproved by the relationship of the earliest literature of the Avesta (*q.v.*), estimated to date from the 6th cent. B.C., to the Vedic hymns. That relationship is linguistically (to say nothing of religious ideas and practices) already so close that, if the language of the Avesta were known to us at a stage earlier by six or seven centuries, it could hardly differ at all from that of the Vedic hymns. It therefore seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Indians cannot have separated from the Iranians much earlier than about 1300 B.C. By Jacobi's hypothesis the Indians had already separated from them before 4500 B.C. From this it follows that both the Indian and the Iranian language remained practically unchanged for the truly vast period of over 3000 years, whereas in a similar period the Vedic language has undergone the immense changes represented by the present condition of the modern vernaculars of India. The present writer's view does not seem to be invalidated by Hugo Winckler's discovery, in 1907, of the names of the Indian deities Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Nāsatya (in the form of *mi-it-ra*, *uru-w-na*, *in-da-ra*, and *na-ša-at-ti-ia*), in an inscription dating from 1400 B.C., at Boghaz-keui in Asia Minor. The phonetic form of these names quite well admits of their being assigned to the Indo-Iranian period, when the Indians and Persians were still one people. The date of the inscription would allow two centuries for the separation of the Indians, their migration to India, and the commencement of Vedic hymn literature in the north-west of Hindustan.

4. Growth of the hymn collections.—When the Indo-Aryans entered India by the passes of the Hindu-Kush, they brought with them a religion in which various powers of Nature were personified and worshipped as gods, of whom a few, such as Dyaúṡ (=Ζεύς), go back to the Indo-European period, and several others, such as Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, to the Indo-Iranian period. A comparison of Veda and Avesta shows that they also brought with them the cult of fire and of Soma, and were acquainted with the art of composing religious lyrics in several metres. The object with which most of these ancient hymns were composed was to win the favour of the gods by praises accompanying the oblation of melted butter in the fire and the offering of the juice of the Soma plant on a litter of grass. Doubtless many hymns of this character composed in the earliest period of the Aryan invasion have been lost. Those which have survived were composed almost exclusively by singers of the hereditary priestly class. They were handed down in different families by memory, not by writing, which cannot have been introduced into India before 800 B.C. at the earliest. These family groups of hymns were by gradual stages brought together till, with successive additions, they assumed the earliest complete form of the Rigveda, from which the later Vedas, when they came into being, borrowed a considerable part of their matter. The different Vedas were then handed down by a separate tradition till they were edited in their final form called *Saṁhitā*, with which the second period of their textual history begins, and in which they have come down to us. The constitution of the Saṁhitā text of the Rigveda must have taken place at the end of the period of the Brāhmaṇas or about 600 B.C., but before the appendages to those works, called Upaniṣads (see VEDIC RELIGION, 2, *c*), came into being. The editors of the Saṁhitā did not alter the diction of the text already in existence, but merely applied to it certain later euphonic rules, by which, in particular, vowels are contracted or changed to semi-vowels in such a way as to obscure the metre. On the completion of this work extraordinary precautions were taken to preserve intact the sacred text fixed in this manner. The first step was the constitution, by a grammarian named Śākalya, of the *Pada*, or 'word' text, in which all the words of the Saṁhitā are separated and given in their original form as unaffected by the rules of euphonic combination, and all compounds are analyzed. This text, which practically constitutes the earliest commentary on the Rigveda, was followed by others of a more complex character devised to prevent the possibility of any change or loss in the sacred collection of hymns. The result of all these safeguards is that the text of the Rigveda has been handed down for 2500 years practically unmodified, with a fidelity elsewhere unparalleled. There is evidence showing that even in the earlier period of the text the hymns of the Rigveda were preserved with such care that, if the Saṁhitā text is pronounced with due regard to metre, it represents the hymns almost in the very form in which they proceeded from the lips of their composers. The Saṁhitās of the other Vedas were also provided with Pada texts and other safeguards, but the tradition in their case has been a good deal less trustworthy than that of the Rigveda.

5. Language and metre.—The language in which the Rigveda (and to a less extent the other Vedas) is composed represents the oldest stage of the classical Sanskrit stereotyped by the grammarian Pāṇini (*c.* 300 B.C.), differing from the latter about as much as Homeric from Attic Greek. It is much richer in grammatical forms. Thus it possesses a subjunctive in frequent use and some twelve forms of the infinitive. The former has entirely died out in Sanskrit, while of the latter only a single form survives. The language of the Vedic hymns also differs from Sanskrit in its accent, which is marked in all the Saṁhitas, and, like that of the ancient Greeks, is of a musical nature, depending essentially on the pitch of the voice, not the stress. This accent was, some time after the beginning of our era, exchanged in Sanskrit, as in later Greek, for a stress accent.

All the hymns of the Rigveda are metrical. They consist of stanzas mostly of four verses or lines, but also of three and sometimes five. The line, called *pāda* ('a fourth'), forms the metrical unit, consisting generally of eight, eleven, or twelve syllables. A stanza is usually composed of lines of the same kind; but a few of the rarer forms of stanza consist of a combination of different lines. The metres are about fifteen in number, but of these only seven are at all common. Three of them, the *triṣṭubh* (four lines of eleven syllables), the *gāyatrī* (three of eight), and the *jagatī* (four of twelve), are by far the most frequent, accounting for two-thirds of the total number of the stanzas in the Rigveda. The metres of the Vedic hymns, compared with those of Sanskrit, of which they are largely the foundation, are somewhat elastic and irregular: only the rhythm of the last four or five syllables in the line is fixed, while that of the first part is not subject to any fixed rule. They occupy a position midway between the metres of the Indo-Iranian period, in which (according to the evidence of the Avesta) the metrical principle was the number of syllables only, and those of Sanskrit, in which (excepting the epic stanza called *śloka*) the quantity of every single syllable in the line is determined. Generally a Vedic hymn consists of stanzas in the same metre: a typical variation of this rule is to mark the conclusion of the hymn by a stanza in a different metre. A certain number of hymns are strophic in their construction. The strophes in them consist either of three stanzas in the same simple metre, usually *gāyatrī*, or of the combination of two stanzas in different mixed metres. The latter strophic type is found chiefly in the eighth book of the Rigveda and is called *pragātha*.

6. Extent and divisions of the Rigveda.—The Rigveda consists of 1017 or (counting eleven that are recognized as a later addition) 1028 hymns, containing altogether about 10,600 stanzas. The average length of a hymn is thus rather more than ten stanzas. The shortest hymn consists of only one stanza and the longest of fifty-eight. The Saṁhitā text, if printed continuously like prose and in Roman characters, would fill an octavo volume of about 600 pages of 33 lines each. The Rigveda is divided into parts in two ways. The one division is a purely mechanical one into *aṣṭakas*, or 'eighths,' of about equal length, each of these consisting of eight *adhyāyas*, or 'lessons,' each of which is subdivided into *vargas*, or 'groups,' of five or six stanzas. The other division is into ten *maṇḍalas*, or 'books' (literally 'cycles'), and *sūktas*, or 'hymns.' The latter system is a historical one, throwing light on the manner in which the collection arose. It is, therefore, the division invariably followed by Western scholars at the present day in dealing with or quoting the hymns of the Rigveda.

7. Arrangement.—Of the ten books, six (ii. to vii.) are homogeneous. The hymns contained in each of them were, according to native tradition, composed ('seen') by singers of the same family, which handed them down as its own collection. This tradition is supported by the internal evidence of the seers' names mentioned in the hymns and of the refrains occurring in those books. Hence they are generally designated the 'family books.' The principle of arrangement which prevails in them is uniform, each of them being divided in the same way into groups addressed to different deities. Books i., viii., and x. are not the composition of families, and the groups of which they consist are the productions of different individual seers. Book ix. is peculiar in that all its hymns are addressed to one deity, Soma, while their arrangement is in no way connected with their authors, for the groups within it are constituted by identity of metre. In the family books the first group is always addressed to Agni, the second to Indra, and those that follow to less important deities. The arrangement of the hymns within these deity groups is in the diminishing order of the number of stanzas. Thus in bk. ii. the Agni group of ten hymns begins with one containing 16 stanzas, the last having only six. The first hymn of the Indra group here has 21 stanzas, the last only four. The entire group of family books, again, is arranged according to the ascending number of the hymns they contain, if later additions are allowed for. Thus the second book has 43 hymns, the third 62, the sixth 75, and the seventh 104. The homogeneousness of these books renders it probable that they formed the nucleus of the Rigveda, which grew to its final extent by later successive accretions. The first of these additions seems to have been the second part of bk. i., which, as formed of nine groups, each by a different author, came to be collected and prefixed to the family collections, following the latter as their pattern in their internal arrangement. The eighth resembles the family books, inasmuch as it is composed for the most part by members of one family, the Kāṇvas. But it differs from them in other respects. Thus it does not begin with a group of hymns addressed to Agni; and it is peculiar in the predominance of the strophic *pragātha* metre. The fact that it contains fewer hymns than bk. vii. indicates that it was not included in the collection of family books; but its somewhat analogous character caused it to be the first to be added at the end of that collection. The hymns forming the first part of bk. i. (1–50) have various points in common with those contained in bk. viii.; more than half of them seem to have been composed by seers of the Kāṇva family; the strophic metre affected by that family reappears in them; and many similar or identical passages are found in the two collections. The present state of research does not enable us to decide the chronological priority of the two collections or to explain why they were divided. The fact, however, remains that they were added at the beginning and the end of an older collection.

The addition of bk. ix. was the direct result of the formation of the first eight into a unit. This book consists entirely of hymns addressed to Soma and recited while the pressed juice of the plant was 'clarifying' (*pavamāna*). Their composers were seers belonging to the same families as those of bks. ii.–vii., as is shown, among other evidence, by the occurrence of refrains peculiar to those families. The hymns to Soma Pavamāna have all been extracted from the family books (in which no Soma hymn of any kind occurs), as well as from bks. i. and viii. (which contain only one and two hymns respectively to Soma in his general character), being gathered into one book as the hymns proper to the Udgātṛ, or chanting priest (while the rest belonged to the sphere of the Hotṛ, or reciting priest), and added at the end of bks. i.–viii. There is no ground for supposing that these Soma hymns were of later date than the others. On the contrary, the presumption is that the hymns belonging to the Soma ritual, which goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, date from early Vedic times. It has not as yet been possible to detect differences of chronology in this book. As to its internal arrangement the order of its first 60 hymns depends on the number of their stanzas, which decreases from 10 to 4. In the remaining 54, some of which are very long (one having as many as 58 stanzas), this principle is not observed. The two parts also differ in regard to metre; for, while the first 60 hymns are composed (except 4 stanzas) in *gāyatrī*, nearly all the rest consist of groups in other metres: thus 68–86 form a *jagatī*, 87–97 a *triṣṭubh* group.

Book x. was added last of all. It is undoubtedly, as its language and contents show, of later origin than the rest of the Rigveda. Its composers were evidently acquainted with the older books. Not only the position that it occupies at the end of the whole collection, but the fact that the number of its hymns (191) is made up to that of bk. i., is an indication of its supplementary nature. It consists of hymns by a large number of seers of different families, the names of some of which occur in other books. But the traditional names of the authors of a great many of these hymns are very doubtful. Though this book is in general more modern than the rest, it contains some hymns as old, and at least as poetical, as the average of those in other books. Such hymns perhaps found their way into this supplementary collection because they had for some reason been previously overlooked. As a whole, the tenth book approximates in language and general character to the Atharvaveda, with which it is also closely associated. For of about 1350 stanzas from the Rigveda incorporated in the Atharvaveda more than 40 per cent are taken from bk. x. Here, in contrast with the other books, we find earlier grammatical forms and words growing obsolete, while indulgence in abstract ideas and philosophical speculation, as well as the introduction of matter connected with witchcraft, such as is characteristic of the Atharvaveda, has much increased.

8. Subject-matter.—The great bulk of the hymns of the Rigveda consist of *invocations* of various deities. Their contents are, therefore, largely mythological, and furnish the main source of our knowledge of Vedic religion (*q.v.*). The gods to whom most hymns are addressed are Agni (about 200), Indra (over 250), and Soma (over 100), who thus between them claim considerably more than one-half of the whole Rigveda.

Only a few hymns (not exceeding 30) are not intended for the worship of gods or deified objects. About a dozen of these, almost restricted to bk. x., are concerned with *magical practices*, the proper sphere of the Atharvaveda. Two such (ii. 42, 43) deal with augury; two others are directed against poisonous vermin (i. 191) and the disease called *yakṣma* (x. 163); two (x. 58; 60, 7–12) consist of incantations for the preservation of life; one (v. 55) is a charm to induce sleep; two (x. 183; 162) are spells for procuring offspring or for warding off a demon destructive of children; one (x. 166) is directed against enemies, another (x. 145) against rival wives; one (x. 159) is a song of triumph over rivals; another (vii. 103) a panegyric of frogs as magical bringers of rain.

Some 20 others are more or less *secular poems*, concerned with social customs, moral questions, riddles, and cosmogonic speculations. Several of these are especially important as throwing light on the earliest thought and civilization of India, though much information of this character may be gathered from incidental references scattered through the rest of the collection. One of the most noteworthy is the long wedding hymn (x. 85) connected with the marriage ceremonial, though containing a large admixture of mythological matter. There are also in bk. x. five hymns (14–18) dealing with funeral rites. Four of them, however, are addressed to deities concerned with the life beyond the grave. The last, being quite secular in tone, supplies more information than any of the rest about the funeral usages of early Vedic India (see DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Hindu]).

Besides several mythological *dialogues* in which the speakers are divine beings (iv. 62; x. 51, 52; 86; 108), there are two in which one or both agents are human. One is a somewhat obscure colloquy (x. 95) between a mortal lover Purūravas and a celestial nymph, who is on the point of forsaking him. The other (x. 10) is a dialogue between the twins Yama and Yamī, the ancestors of the human race. This group of hymns has a special literary interest as precursors of the dramatic poetry of a later age.

Among the secular hymns of the Rigveda are to be included the *dānastutis* ('praises of gifts'), which are represented by one complete hymn (i. 126) and appendages of 3–5 stanzas to over 30 others. They are poems of a *semi-historical* character, being panegyrics on liberal patrons in whose behalf the singers composed their hymns to accompany the sacrifice. They furnish incidental genealogical information about the seers and their employers, as well as about the names and habitat of the Vedic tribes. They are late in date, belonging chiefly to bks. i. and x., and to supplementary hymns of bk. viii.

Four of the secular hymns are of a *didactic* type. One of them (x. 34) is a remarkable poem, being the lament of a gambler who, unable to resist the fascination of the dice, deplores the ruin he has brought on himself and his family. The other three, describing the various ways in which men follow gain (ix. 112) and praising wise speech (x. 71) or the value of good deeds (x. 117), are the forerunners of the sententious poetry which was so assiduously cultivated in post-Vedic Sanskrit literature.

Two of the hymns of the Rigveda consist of *riddles*. One of them (viii. 29) in ten stanzas describes various gods by their characteristic marks, leaving it to the hearer to guess who in each case is meant. A far more elaborate collection of riddles is a long hymn (i. 164) consisting of 52 stanzas. These propound, in mystical and symbolic language, a number of enigmas, many of them connected with the sun. Thus the wheel of order with 12 spokes, revolving round the heavens and containing within it in couples 720 sons, means the year with its 12 months and 360 days.

Lastly, there are six or seven *cosmogonic hymns* containing speculations regarding the origin of the world in connexion with a Creator (called by different names) as distinct from any of the ordinary gods. Only one of them (x. 129), however, treats the subject in a purely philosophic spirit, as an evolutionary process from the non-existent (*a-sat*) to the existent (*sat*), and thus forms the starting-point of Indian philosophy.

From the *geographical data* furnished by the Rigveda, especially the numerous rivers mentioned there, we are justified in concluding that at the time when these hymns were composed the Aryan tribes were in occupation of the territory drained by the Indus river system lying between 35° and 28° northern latitude and 70° and 78° eastern longitude, and corresponding roughly to the North-west Frontier Province and the Panjāb of to-day. This conclusion is borne out by the references to the flora and fauna of the country in which they were settled.

From the *historical data* of the hymns we further learn that the Aryans were still engaged in warfare with the original inhabitants. Many victories over these foes are recorded, and once 1000 of them are said to have been bound and 30,000 slain with the aid of Indra. That the Aryans were still bent on conquest is to be inferred from the mention of rivers as barriers to their progress. Though split up into numerous tribes, they were conscious of religious and racial unity, for they contrasted the aborigines, whom they called Dasyus or Dāsas, with themselves, designating them as non-sacrificers and unbelievers, and calling them 'black skins' and the 'Dāsa colour' as opposed to the 'Aryan colour.' This racial contrast appears to have been the starting-point of the later system of caste (*q.v.*), the Sanskrit name of which (*varṇa*) means 'colour.' The enslaved Dāsas became the Śūdras, the fourth or lowest caste, first mentioned in one of the very latest hymns (x. 90) of the Rigveda.

The names of many of the Vedic tribes are mentioned. There was no political cohesion among them, for, though they sometimes formed coalitions, they were constantly at war with one another. A coalition of several tribes is referred to as taking part in the 'battle of the ten kings,' when Aryans fought against each other on the banks of the Paruṣṇī river (now Ravi).

The hymns also furnish material for a fairly detailed account of the *social conditions* of those early days. Thus we find that the family was the foundation of society with the father as its head, and that women held a freer and more honoured position than in later times. Mention is made of various crimes, of which robbery, chiefly in the form of cattle-lifting, seems to have been the commonest. Indebtedness was known, mainly as a result of gambling, and reference is made to the clearing off of debt by instalments. Various details are given about clothing and personal adornment. Thus we see that it was usual to wear an upper and lower garment, which were made of sheep's wool and were often decorated. Bracelets, anklets, necklets, and earrings were used as ornaments. Hair is mentioned as worn in different ways. Men usually grew beards, but occasionally shaved. The usual food consisted of milk, clarified butter, grain, vegetables, and fruit. Meat was eaten only on ceremonial occasions, when animals were sacrificed. The commonest kind was apparently beef, since bulls were the chief offerings to the gods. But the sanctity of the cow which prevailed, having in fact come down from the Indo-Iranian period, gradually grew in strength till in later times beef in general came to be absolutely forbidden, and has remained so among the Hindus down to the present day. Two kinds of spirituous liquor were made: *soma* was restricted to religious ceremonies or festivals, while *surā*, made from some kind of grain, was that in ordinary use.

That one of the main *occupations* of the invading Aryan was warfare is only natural. He fought either on foot or from a chariot; but, as far as can be seen, not on horseback, as in later times. The usual weapons were bows and arrows, but spears and axes were also employed. Cattle-breeding seems to have been the chief means of livelihood: cows are the most prominent objects of desire in the prayers to the gods. But tillage was also practised to some extent. Fields were furrowed with a plough drawn by bulls. Corn was cut with a sickle, and then threshed out and winnowed. The mention of channels excavated for water seems to indicate that irrigation was not unknown. Wild animals were trapped and snared, or hunted with bows and arrows, sometimes with the aid of dogs. Navigation in boats (doubtless of a very primitive type) propelled by paddles seems to have been employed mainly for the purpose of crossing rivers. Fishing hardly seems to have been practised, probably because the rivers of Kabulistan and of the Panjāb were in those days, as they are now, poor in fish. Trade was known only in the form of barter, the cow representing the standard by which the value of commodities was estimated.

The primitiveness of life in those days enabled every man to supply most of his own wants. But it is clear that certain trades and crafts already existed, though doubtless in a rudimentary stage. One of them was the combined occupation of the carpenter and the wheelwright, who, since the construction of chariots and carts required special skill, must have been much in demand. Skill in the composition of hymns is often compared by the singers of the Rigveda with the deftness of the wheelwright. Mention is also made of the smith who smelted ore in a forge, and made kettles and other vessels of metal. The tanner, too, is spoken of as preparing the skins of animals. Women practised plaiting mats of grass or reeds, sewing, and especially weaving, but whether they as yet ever did so professionally is not clear.

Among active *amusements* chariot-racing was the favourite one, as might have been expected in a warlike and conquering population. The social recreation most practised was playing with dice, which were four in number. Dancing was also indulged in, chiefly by women. The people were fond of music, playing on the drum (*dundubhi*), the flute (*vāṇa*), and the lute (*vīṇā*). The lute has from those early days been the favourite musical instrument of the Indian. Singing also is often mentioned. This art, at least as applied to religious purposes, must have advanced beyond a rudimentary stage by the time the Sāmaveda was compiled, for the melodies in which it was chanted were numerous, and are already often referred to by their special names in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.

9. Literary merit.—The diction of the hymns of the Rigveda is, on the whole, simple and natural. The moderate use of compounds, which are practically restricted to two members, contrasts strikingly with their frequency and inordinate length in classical Sanskrit. Considering their great antiquity, the hymns are composed with a remarkable degree of metrical skill and command of language. But, as they were produced by a sacerdotal class and were generally intended to accompany a ceremonial that was no longer primitive, their poetry is often impaired by constant sacrificial allusions. This is especially apparent in the hymns addressed to the two ritual deities Agni and Soma, where the thought, otherwise artless and direct, becomes affected by conceits and obscured by mysticism. This tendency was probably aggravated by the necessity of ringing the changes on a limited range of ideas throughout a large number of hymns, comprising nearly one-third of the whole collection. Here we already meet, in its earliest form, that partiality for subtle and difficult modes of expression which prevails in post-Vedic literature, and which one of the Brāhmanas already indicates by observing that 'the gods love the obscure.' In spite of such defects, the Rigveda contains much genuine poetry. Since the gods addressed are, for the most part, personifications of natural phenomena, and their connexion with those phenomena is still felt, the praises addressed to them give rise to much beautiful and even noble imagery. It is, however, only to be expected that the literary merit of so large a body of poetry should vary considerably. Some hymns accordingly consist of commonplace and mechanical verse, while others attain a high level of poetic excellence. The average degree of literary skill is in fact remarkably high. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that these early singers felt the necessity of producing a hymn composed with the highest art in order to please the gods. A poet often says, generally in the last stanza, that he has praised the deity according to his knowledge or ability, that his hymn is like a well-wrought car, a well-woven garment, or a bride adorned for her lover.

The hymns in which literary merit is most conspicuous may be briefly indicated. The group of some twenty addressed to Uṣas, goddess of Dawn, is the most poetical in the Rigveda. It will probably be admitted by all who read them, even if only in a good translation, that their beauty is quite equal, if not superior, to that of the descriptive religious lyrics of any other literature. Some of the hymns to Indra (esp. i. 32) show much graphic power in their account of the conflict of that god with Vṛtra, the demon of drought; those to the Maruts, or storm-gods, often depict with much striking imagery the phenomena of thunder and lightning, and the mighty onset of the wind. One hymn to Parjanya (v. 83) paints the devastating effects of the rainstorm with great vividness. The hymns addressed to Varuṇa, the most ethical of the Vedic gods, describe the various aspects of his sway as moral ruler of the world, in an exalted strain of poetry. Several of the mythological dialogues already referred to set forth the situation with much beauty of language. Such are the dialogue between Indra's messenger, Saramā, and the demons who have stolen the cows (x. 108), and that between the primeval twins, Yama and Yamī (x. 10). The gambler's lament (x. 34) is the finest specimen of pathetic poetry in the Rigveda. Ideas connected with death are treated in language of impressive and solemn beauty in one of the funeral hymns (x. 18). Among the cosmogonic hymns one in particular (x. 129) is an example of how profound philosophic speculation can be clothed in poetry of a high order.

10. Interpretation.—In dealing with the hymns of the Rigveda, the important question arises, to what extent are we able to understand their real sense, considering that they have come down to us as an isolated relic from the remotest period of Indian literature? The reply, stated generally, is that as the result of the labours of scholars the meaning of a considerable proportion of the Rigveda is clear, but of the remainder many hymns, and a great many single stanzas or passages, are still obscure or unintelligible, as a comparison of different translations suffices to show. This was already the case in the time of Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*, the oldest extant commentary on parts of the Rigveda (*c.* 500 B.C.); for he quotes one of his predecessors as declaring the Vedic hymns to be obscure, unmeaning, and mutually contradictory. Detailed critical research has already done much to reduce the number of passages the sense of which is questionable. It cannot be doubted, however, that an irreducible minimum of unintelligible matter will always remain, simply because no evidence survives of the particular circumstances that could enable us to understand the allusions made. Much progress is still to be expected from patient and minute research guided by the method of interpretation now generally accepted. In the earlier period of Vedic studies, commencing in the middle of the 19th cent., the traditional method, which follows the great commentary of Sāyaṇa (14th cent.) and is represented by the translation of the Rigveda begun by H. H. Wilson in 1850, was considered adequate. But now the critical method initiated by Rudolf von Roth, the founder of Vedic philology, is, with some modifications, that which has been adopted by practically all Western scholars. Roth proved that, though the native commentators were invaluable guides in explaining the theological and ritual texts of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, with the atmosphere of which they were familiar, they did not possess a continuous tradition from the time of the Vedic hymns. They could not in fact possess any such tradition, for interpretation began only when the meaning of the hymns had become obscure. That the gap between the poets and interpreters even earlier than Yāska must have been considerable is shown by his predecessor's opinion quoted above. That Yāska's own interpretations are often merely conjectural appears from his frequently giving two or more alternative meanings for a word. Yet he must have had more and better means of ascertaining the sense of various obscure words than Sāyaṇa, who lived nearly 2000 years later. Sāyaṇa's interpretations, however, sometimes differ from those of Yāska. Hence either Yāska is wrong or Sāyaṇa does not follow the tradition. Again, Sāyaṇa often gives several inconsistent explanations of a word in interpreting single passages or commenting on different passages. In short, it is clear from a careful examination of their explanations that neither Yāska nor Sāyaṇa possessed any certain knowledge about a large number of different words in the Rigveda. Hence their interpretations can be treated as decisive only if they are borne out by probability, by the context, or by parallel passages. For the traditional method Roth therefore substituted the critical method of interpreting the difficult parts of the Rigveda from internal evidence by the minute comparison of all passages parallel in form and matter, while taking into consideration context, grammar, and etymology, without ignoring the help supplied by the historical study of the Vedic language in its connexion with Sanskrit or the outside evidence derived from the Avesta and from comparative philology. In the application of his method, Roth attached too much weight to etymological considerations, while he undervalued the evidence of native tradition. Pischel and Geldner, on the other hand, in emphasizing the purely Indian character of the Vedic hymns, connect the interpretation of them too closely with the literature of the post-Vedic period and the much more advanced civilization which is described therein. There is good reason to hope, from the results already achieved, that a steady adherence to the critical method, by admitting all available evidence, including that of ethnology, and by avoiding the excesses just indicated, will eventually clear up a large proportion of the obscurities and difficulties that still baffle the translator of the Vedic hymns.

II. **The Atharvaveda.**—The Atharvaveda, regarded as a whole, deals with the lower side of religion as represented by witchcraft, the word itself meaning the 'lore of the Atharvans or magicians.' The oldest designation by which this Veda is known in Indian literature is *Atharvāṅgirasaḥ*, 'the Atharvans and Angirases,' the names of two classes of pre-historic fire-priests, referring respectively to the two kinds of spells, the propitious and the hostile, that form the main content of the collection. Very different from the world of the Rigveda is the sphere to which we are now introduced. There we have moved among the beneficent gods of the bright heavens. Here we are confronted with the dark hostile powers that the sorcerer seeks to win over by flattery or to drive away by imprecations. The priest and the magician, though originally one and the same, had from the beginning of the Vedic period been separated, the functions of the former being concerned with the gods, those of the latter with the uncanny world of demons. The ceremonial, moreover, to which the spells of the Atharvaveda apply is that of domestic rites or of such as are connected with the person of the king. It has nothing to do with the great sacrificial ceremonial of the three other Vedas which, in the works of the Brāhmaṇa and the Sūtra period, are constantly characterized as the *trayī vidyā*, or 'the threefold sacred lore.' A long time accordingly elapsed, after its hymns had assumed the form of a collection, before it attained to canonical recognition as the fourth Veda. The Saṁhitā text, in the shape in which it has come down to us, undoubtedly came into being later than that of the Rigveda, for internal evidence of different kinds shows that a good many of its hymns belong to a more recent period than any in that collection. It probably dates from after the completion of the Brāhmaṇas of the Rigveda, which do not mention it, while it is referred to in two of the Brāhmaṇas of the Yajurveda. Its original contents had already been Brāhmanized by the addition of many hymns which are of a theosophic character, or contain references to the sacrificial ceremonial, or were composed directly in the interests of Brāhman priests. But it was probably not till it had been superficially connected with the great sacrificial ceremonial by the addition of bk. xx., which, excepting twelve hymns, is borrowed unchanged from the Rigveda, that the Atharvaveda came to be acknowledged as a canonical work. It appears to have gained that position by the second cent. B.C., when it is referred to in this sense by the *Mahābhāṣya*, the 'great Commentary' on Pāṇini's grammar.

Probably the composition of the Atharvaveda, like that of the Rigveda, extended over a period of several centuries, which, however, is not to be regarded as a period subsequent to that of the Rigveda. While some of its hymns are later than any in the Rigveda, and the Brāhmanized additions are contemporaneous with the late portions of the Rigveda, many of the characteristic hymns forming the nucleus of the collection may be considered just as old as the earliest in the Rigveda. There is, indeed, a probability that some of its spells go back in their original form to a very early prehistoric age, being cognate in form and matter to ancient spells preserved in other Indo-European languages.

The *language* of the Atharvaveda, considered grammatically, is later than that of the Rigveda, but earlier than that of the Brāhmaṇas. Lexically it is noteworthy for the many popular words that appear in it. This is doubtless due to its material having been current among the people and not the priestly class. Another peculiarity of this Veda is the introduction among its hymns of a considerable amount of prose like that of the Brāhmaṇas. The whole of one bk. (xv.) and the greater part of another (xvi.) are composed in prose, while six others (viii.–xiii.) contain prose passages of some length. The *metre* in which the great bulk of the Atharvaveda is written does not essentially differ from that of the Rigveda. But two points in regard to it are to be noted. One is the extreme metrical licence that appears in its hymns: it is so great that the irregular verses probably outnumber the regular ones. The other is the predominance of the *anuṣṭubh* metre, which in the Rigveda comes only fourth in order of frequency.

The Atharvaveda consists of 20 *kāṇḍas*, or books, containing 731 hymns. The number of stanzas in a hymn ranges from one to eighty-nine, their total being about 6000. Leaving out of the calculation what is borrowed direct without alteration from the Rigveda, the Atharvaveda has 5038 stanzas, or about one-half as many as the older Veda. Internal evidence shows that this collection also underwent a process of growth by successive additions till it assumed the form in which it has come down to us. It is clear that the first eighteen books had been combined before the last two were added. That older collection consists of three main divisions, in the first two of which, bks. i.-vii. and viii.-xii., the hymns are arranged according to the number of stanzas they contain, while the guiding principle in the third, xii.-xviii., is unity of subject-matter in each book. The first group comprises short hymns (none exceeding eighteen stanzas), the second long hymns with more than twenty stanzas, the subjects in both being miscellaneous.

There can be little doubt that the first six books of the first group formed the nucleus of the Atharvaveda, their hymns consisting of its characteristic matter, charms and spells exclusively in metrical form. These six books are arranged primarily according to the amount of text they contain in an ascending scale, the first having 153 stanzas, the sixth 454. This principle is supplemented by the arrangement of these books according to the normal number of stanzas contained in their hymns, also in an ascending scale. Thus bk. i. contains hymns of 4, ii. of 5, iii. of 6, iv. of 7, v. of 8 stanzas. Book vi. contains hymns of only 3 stanzas, occupying this position because the secondary principle here is subordinated to the primary one of amount of text. Book vii. is to be regarded as a supplement to this group. This is indicated by the fact that it infringes both principles that govern the arrangement of the preceding books, being both much shorter than bk. vi. and consisting of hymns which have normally one stanza only, and which can, therefore, hardly be accounted hymns at all.

In the second main division, bks. viii.-xii., the hymns are arranged according to decades, each of the first four containing ten hymns of 20 to 50 stanzas, while bk. xii. has five of more than 50 stanzas. This group further differs from the first in two special points. As contrasted with the mainly popular matter of that group it is clearly of hieratic origin, its sphere of thought being that of the Brāhman priesthood. It also contrasts with the first group in form, each of its books containing an extensive passage of prose like that of the Brāhmaṇas.

The third main division, xiii.-xviii., distributes its hymns among its six books according to their subject-matter. Thus xiv. deals with the wedding ceremonial, and xviii. with burial rites, both borrowing most of their stanzas from bk. x. of the Rigveda, and thus not being specifically Atharvan in character. Bks. xiii. and xvii. consist of hymns addressed to the sun, in the character of Rohita, or the Ruddy one, in the former, and as identified with Indra and Viṣṇu in the latter. The whole of xv. and most of xvi. consists of prose resembling that of the Brāhmaṇas. The former treats mystically of the *vrātya*, probably meaning the religious mendicant; but it is hard to say exactly what unity of subject-matter connects the hymns of the latter.

Some time after these main divisions had been formed into a collection of eighteen books, the nineteenth was added to it as a supplement. That this was the case is proved by a considerable amount of cumulative evidence. The most striking is that the 23rd hymn of this book supplies a sort of table of contents to the eighteen preceding books, and presupposes their existence practically in their present arrangement. It is also to be noted that the corrupt state in which the text of this book has been handed down is in marked contrast with that of the earlier collection. Last of all was added bk. xx., which consists almost entirely of extracts from the Rigveda taken over unchanged (while the material borrowed from the Rigveda at an earlier stage had undergone considerable modification), and is in no way related to the rest of the Atharvaveda. This supplement was appended simply in order to bring the Veda of spells into connexion with the sacrificial Soma ceremonial of the Brāhman priesthood. It is a significant fact that two of the most important auxiliary works belonging to the Atharvaveda and dating from the latest period of Vedic literature, its Prātiśākhya and its Kauśika Sūtra, ignore bks. xix. and xx.

It now remains to give a brief survey of the various *contents* of the Atharvaveda. A large number of its hostile spells are intended as remedies, together with the use of different herbs, against a number of diseases, ailments, and injuries, such as fever, jaundice, scrofula, leprosy, dropsy, cough, baldness, ophthalmia, impotence, poisoning, snake-bite, wounds, and fractures (cf. DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Vedic]). These incantations are addressed to the diseases personified as demons, or to whole classes of demons supposed to cause them. This Veda, supplemented by its Kauśika Sūtra, is thus our earliest source for the history of Indian medicine. Allied to the remedial spells are the charms which invoke or praise healing plants, the purifying waters, and fire, the most potent dispeller of demons. Among the auspicious spells are many prayers for protection from the various forms of death and disease, and for long life, often expressed in the form of a desire to live 'a hundred autumns.' Others are charms for the prosperity of flocks and the produce of the fields, or for luck in undertakings, especially in gambling. Another group aims at the attainment of harmony and concord or of success in the assembly. A large class is concerned with wedlock and love. Several of these are of a pacific character, being charms for the obtainment of a husband or bride, blessings on a newly married couple, prayers for children or a happy wedded life. More numerous, however, is the hostile type, such as imprecations against rivals or incantations to compel the love of an unwilling person. A considerable group of hymns concerns the person of the king. They consist of spells to be employed at the royal inauguration or intended to secure for him the attainment of power, fame, and especially victory in battle. There are, again, a few hymns consisting of spells for the expiation of sins or moral transgressions, such as the non-payment of debts. Finally, there remain three or four classes of hymns which, being alien to the true Atharvan spirit, date from a late period in the growth of this collection. One of these comprises the hymns composed in the interest of Brāhmans. Though the later literature frequently refers to witchcraft and sorcerers in a hostile spirit, their use is even sanctioned when employed by Brāhmans against others. In these hymns the inviolability of the person and property of Brāhmans is emphasized, while imprecations are hurled against their oppressors. They also contain exaggerated panegyrics of the sacrificial fee (*dakṣiṇā*), the liberal bestowal of which is pronounced to be the height of piety. In this group, prayers of a less interested nature, as for wisdom and theological knowledge, are rare. Sacrificial hymns and spells, besides those borrowed wholesale from the Rigveda in bk. xx., occasionally appear in other parts of the Atharvaveda. The group of cosmogonic and theosophical hymns doubtless constitute the latest additions to this collection. Their speculations and terminology indicate a development of philosophy corresponding to that which appears in the Upaniṣads. They are not to be regarded as forming a connecting link between the philosophy of the Rigveda and that of the Upaniṣads. They are mystical productions not of genuine seekers after truth, but of sorcerers who utilize the philosophical notions current in their day mainly to subserve their practical purposes. Among the hymns of this class may be mentioned those in which the sun appears as a cosmogonic principle (xiii.; xi. 5), and those in which personifications of Prāna, or Breath (xi. 4), Kāma, or Desire (ix. 2), Kāla, or Time (xix. 53–54), and even Uchchhiṣṭa, or 'Remnant' of the sacrifice (xi. 7), are deified as the Supreme Being.

The *literary merit* of the Atharvaveda is, as may be expected from its contents, much lower than that of the Rigveda. But a few of its hymns, besides many isolated verses scattered throughout the collection, furnish specimens of true poetry. Such is the long hymn (xii. 1) in which the Earth is invoked as the supporter of all living things and the bestower of all blessings. Another (iv. 16), though concluding with two verses essentially Atharvan in character, exalts the omniscience of Varuṇa in language unsurpassed by any hymn addressed to that deity in the Rigveda.

The geographical data found in the Atharvaveda indicate that its composers lived in a region much farther east than the home of the singers of the Rigveda. Certain tribes of the north-west are referred to as remote, while the country of the Magadhas (Bihar) and that of the Aṅgas (Bengal) are mentioned as known. By the time this Veda was completed the Aryan migration appears, therefore, to have extended as far as the Delta of the Ganges. It is noteworthy that the Atharvaveda seems never to have penetrated to South India, and that it is practically unknown there at the present day.

The Atharvaveda and the Rigveda combined enable us to understand fully the character and spirit of the oldest poetry of the Aryan Indians. The information we derive from the former supplements in a remarkable manner what we know from the latter about the religious and social conditions of the times, especially the more intimate side of domestic life, the regulated form of which is presented by the Gṛhya Sūtras, or manuals of domestic ritual, belonging to the latest stratum of Vedic literature (*c.* 500–200 B.C.). Between them these two Vedas furnish a body of material which is of inestimable value, not only for the early history of India in its various aspects, but for the study of the development of human institutions in general.

12. Though the two liturgical Vedas cannot be said to consist of hymns, it is perhaps advisable to describe as briefly as possible their form, their arrangement, their contents, and their relation to the other Saṁhitās. The Sāmaveda consists of 1549 stanzas chanted in various melodies, called *sāman*, to accompany the Soma ritual. Its stanzas are nearly all borrowed from the Rigveda, chiefly from bks. viii. and ix. The 75 stanzas not derived from the Rigveda are to be found in other Saṁhitās or in ritual works. Its stanzas are mostly composed in the *gāyatrī* metre or in the so-called *pragātha* strophe, both of which metrical forms were originally meant to be sung (their names being derived from *gā*, 'to sing'). It is divided into two parts. The first consists of 585 single stanzas arranged in decades, the first group of which is addressed to Agni, the second to Indra, the great Soma drinker, and the third to Soma. The second part, containing 400 chants, is arranged on a different principle. It consists throughout of small groups of stanzas, closely connected and generally three in number, which follow the order of the main sacrifices. Internal evidence shows that the second book is secondary in character as well as later in date. As regards the age of the Sāmaveda, it is at least certain that the divisions of the first book are known to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. There is also some ground for believing that as a collection the Sāmaveda is older at any rate than two of the recensions of the Yajurveda, the Taittirīya and the Vājasaneyi Saṁhitās. The two parts of this Veda supply only the words. The melodies of the chants were doubtless long handed down by vocal tradition only. They were later collected in *gānas*, or 'song-books,' which indicated in musical notation the manner in which the words were to be sung. These tunes received special names in very ancient times, two of them, the *Bṛhat* and the *Rathantara*, being even mentioned in the Rigveda. There are indications that the oldest of them may have been of popular origin and connected with the rites of pre-Brāhmanical sorcerers. Thus the second part of the Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, a ritual work belonging to the Sāmaveda, is a manual of witchcraft which prescribes the employment of various *sāmans* for purposes of sorcery. The injunction of the Brāhmanical law-books, that the recitation of the Rigveda and the Yajurveda must cease on the sound of a *sāman* being heard, is perhaps a reminiscence of such early use.

Thus, though the contents of the Sāmaveda are worthless from a literary point of view, they are of some value for the history of sacrifice and witchcraft, and decidedly important for that of Indian music.

13. The Yajurveda is the prayer book of 'sacrificial formulas' (*yajus*), from which it receives its name, and which are in prose. These form about one-half of its matter and are original. The remainder is metrical, consisting of stanzas (*ṛchas*), about one-half of which are original, while the other half are borrowed from the Rigveda. The latter are taken over singly or in groups for application to a particular ceremony, but a few entire hymns, such as the *puruṣasūkta*, 'Hymn of Man' (x. 90), have found their way into this collection. In the characteristic prose formulas and prayers of the Yajurveda, the gods are not always invoked or prayed to, but various sacrificial implements or rites are brought into connexion with them. Thus the priest, in offering an oblation, says, 'Thou art the body of Soma, thee (I offer) to Viṣṇu'; or, in taking hold of some utensil, he exclaims, 'At the stimulation of god Savitṛ I grasp thee with the arms of the Aśvins, with the hands of Pūṣan.' The object of most of these formulas is not to worship the gods, but to force them to fulfil the desires of the sacrificer. Many of them are in fact nothing else than spells in prose. Among them imprecations like those of the Atharvaveda are also to be met with. Here, too, we find the beginnings of that form of prayer which seeks to influence a god by the repetition of his various names, and which was greatly developed in later times. This is represented by the *Śatarudriya*, or enumeration of the hundred names of the god Rudra. A similar tendency appears in the frequent employment of sacred but unintelligible exclamations, especially the syllable *om*, which, having originally been a particle of assent, is somewhat analogous to the Hebrew 'Amen.' Thus prayer in the Yajurveda shows deterioration as compared with the Rigveda and a proclivity to revert from the domain of religion to that of witchcraft.

The language and the metre of the prose formulas and of the original verses of the Yajurveda agree on the whole with those of the Rigveda, but represent a distinctly later stage. The internal evidence of the subject-matter points in a similar direction. It shows that the country in which the Yajurveda was composed lay much farther east than that of the Rigveda, having as its centre the tract between the two small rivers Sarasvatī (Sarsuti) and Dṛṣadvatī (Chautang), somewhat to the west of the Jumna. The organization of society also appears at a more advanced stage than in the Rigveda, the caste system in particular having grown up and been consolidated in the interval.

The Yajurveda has come down to us in six recensions. Four of these form a closely connected group, called the Black Yajurveda, the texts of which are often identical word for word. They agree in mixing up, to some extent, explanatory matter with their sacrificial formulas and stanzas. The two other recensions, which are very closely allied, form the so-called White Yajurveda. This contains the prose and verse formulas to be recited at the sacrifice only, the explanatory matter being collected in a Brāhmaṇa. It is divided into 40 chapters, in which several chronological strata may be distinguished. It appears to have originally consisted of the first eighteen alone, for this is the only portion explained word for word in the Brāhmaṇa and recurring in the Taittirīya recension of the Black Yajurveda. To them were then added the next seven chapters. These 25 chapters together form the older part of this recension and contain the prayers for the most important great sacrifices, which comprise food offerings on the one hand and Soma offerings on the other, both being associated with the cult of fire. The remaining fifteen chapters are evidently of a supplementary character. The fortieth, being an Upaniṣad, was added last of all. Even the original part of this recension must have assumed shape at a later date than any of the recensions of the Black Yajurveda, because the separation and distribution of its matter are more systematic than in the latter.

Though the Yajurveda can scarcely be said to display any literary merit, it is important and even interesting to the student of the history of religions, especially with reference to the significance of prayer.

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HYPERBOREANS.—A people who, in Greek legend, were fabled to live in the extreme north, beyond (ὑπέρ) the north wind (βορέας), and hence to enjoy a warm climate which continually gave them sunshine and abundance. They were imagined to exist without war, and free from all natural ills; but they were not supposed to be immortal, the life of each Hyperborean being 1000 years in duration. They are mentioned in poems attributed to Homer and to Hesiod, and are described by Pindar and Herodotus. Æschylus (*Choeph.* 373) alludes to their proverbial felicity. Later writers, like Strabo, accept them (on the authority of Pindar, Simonides, etc.) as having at least a legendary existence. They were thought to be worshippers of Apollo, and especially to have sent maidens to Delos for the service of that god. Herodotus (iv. 36) says: 'If Hyperboreans exist, then there must also be Hypernotians' (who live as far to the south as the Hyperboreans live to the north), and seems sceptical as to the real existence of the people, though he narrates the legend of the maidens coming to Delos (iv. 33–35). Pindar (*Pyth.* x. 29–34) says that it is impossible for men to mount to heaven or reach by sea or land the Hyperboreans, 'with whom Perseus once feasted, as they were sacrificing asses to the god' (Apollo). He depicts them as a joyous, music-loving race, to whom disease and old age never came.

The etymology of the name is not certain, but *bor* is probably the same as Skr. *gir*, 'mountain'; and *hyper-borean* may at first have meant (as Otto Schroeder thinks) 'above the mountains' (in heaven); that is, it may have been an appellation of celestials. But, from a comparison of similar myths, it seems more probable that, while 'over the mountains' is the literal meaning of the word, the locality thus indicated had, as is usually understood, the sense 'across' rather than 'above' the mountains. For the Hyperborean myth is not unique. It has a parallel in the Hindu fable of the 'Northern (*uttara*) Kurus,' who live for '10,000 and 1000' years in a land of bliss beyond the northern mountains—a land of perpetual bloom, where the food is the 'milk of the milk-tree, resembling ambrosia' (see art. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Hindu]). These Hindu Hyperboreans also are ever free from illness. Megasthenes, in the 4th cent. B.C., made the Greeks acquainted with them (*FHG* ii. 424), and the parallel with the native Greek myth is noticed by Strabo (p. 711). In Hindu tradition, Mount Meru is also supposed to be in the north, and is described as the abode of bliss. The Persians, too, had a form of the legend in the myth of Yima's paradise (see art. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Persian]), a garden of delight having imperishable food, where people live 'without age or death,' although this paradise seems to be combined out of various elements, and may originally have referred to a happy realm of the blest hereafter.

The tradition of a northern home, which succeeding generations would conceive of as an abode of greater and greater felicity, is not incompatible with the geographical origins of the Indo-Europeans, who entered Greece and India from a northern land; and it is possible that the myth of the Hyperboreans has in it some germ of historical truth, especially as there is other evidence in the Vedic age of the northern origin of the people holding this tradition. The same myth, however, is found among some of the tribes of North America—of course, set in an appropriate frame; and this fact has led to the more or less fanciful interpretation of the story as a tradition belonging to the whole human race, and commemorating descent from the arctic zone, the garden of Yima and Mount Meru being the North Pole. Such a hypothesis is too ill supported to meet with general approval, and much of the literary evidence adduced in its support is unconvincing.

LITERATURE.—Homer, *Epigoni*, and *Hymns* (vi. 29); Pindar, 10th *Pythian Ode*; Herodotus, iv. 32 f.; Strabo, p. 711 (xv. 57); Hesiod and Simonides, as cited by later writers; Plutarch, *Moral.* 1136; O. Crusius and M. Mayer, 'Hyperboreer,' in Roscher, i. 2805–41; B. G. Tilak, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, Poona, 1903; J. T. Wheeler, *The Zonal-Belt Hypothesis*, Philadelphia, 1908. For the etymology of the word, cf. Otto Schroeder, in *ARW* viii. [1905] 81; see also W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1875–77, ii. 234 ff.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

HYPNOTISM.—Hypnotism is the name now generally given to the study of, and the practice of inducing, a peculiar abnormal state of mind which in some respects is allied to sleep (hence the name, from *ὕπνος*, 'sleep'). The modern practice of hypnotism has been developed from the practice of 'magnetic' or sympathetic healing, which enjoyed a great vogue in Europe and especially in Paris in the latter half of the 18th cent., owing chiefly to the labours of F. A. Mesmer (whence the term 'mesmerism,' still in popular use). Until the middle of the 19th cent. almost all practitioners of 'mesmerism' followed Mesmer in attributing the effects they produced in their patients to the passage from the operator to the patient of some subtle physical influence or fluid, generally called 'animal magnetism.' The adoption by the mesmerists of this unverifiable conjecture largely accounts for, and to some extent perhaps justifies, the extreme scepticism and hostility with which the arts of the mesmerists were regarded by the great bulk of the medical profession until almost the close of the 19th century.

To a French physician, Alexandre Bertrand, belongs the honour of having first pointed out (*Traité du somnambulisme*, Paris, 1823) that the therapeutic and other effects attributed to 'animal magnetism' are (in so far as they are genuine, and not, as in the early days so many were, errors due to fraud or to malobservation) to be regarded as in the main produced through the mind of the patient working upon the organism, as effects of expectation induced in the mind of the patient by suggestions given directly or indirectly by the operator, these effects being generally favoured and intensified by a peculiar mental and bodily condition of the patient induced by the mesmeric procedures. Bertrand's great discovery remained, however, almost unheeded by the medical world; and twenty years later James Braid, a surgeon of Manchester (*Neurypnology*, London, 1843), arrived independently at the same conclusions, and by his successful application of hypnotic measures in his practice secured for them, under the name of 'Braidism,' a certain consideration even in medical circles. But it was not until the truth was discovered and published independently for the third time in 1884 by H. Bernheim, Professor of Medicine at Nancy, that it began to gain general acceptance in the scientific world and (under the name of 'hypnotism,' which Braid had suggested) to be applied by medical men in all parts of Europe without serious risk of loss of their professional reputations. In the last decade of the 19th cent. it became generally recognized that hypnotism was a legitimate method of medical practice, extremely useful in many cases of nervous and functional disorder.

When Bernheim published his work (*De la Suggestion*, Paris, 1884), he took the view that the therapeutic effects he recorded were secured by creating in the mind of the patient the expectation of the disappearance of symptoms; and the process of inducing such expectation, which generally took the form of confident affirmation on the part of the physician, he called 'suggestion.' He recognized that such 'suggestions' operate more powerfully if the patient to whom they are directed is first brought into a drowsy or half-sleeping state. But he did not recognize that this state, so favourable to the operation of suggestion, differs essentially from a normal state of drowsiness. On the other hand, Charcot, the celebrated physician who extensively applied the hypnotic methods in the Salpêtrière Hospital at Paris (in the eighties), taught that the hypnotic state is a peculiar and abnormal condition which can be induced only in persons suffering from certain nervous deficiencies. These two views of the hypnotic state were opposed to one another in a lively controversy prolonged through many years. It is now generally recognized that the truth is to be found by adopting the middle way. Hypnosis (as the hypnotic state is now generally called) is a peculiar state of mind, involving some abnormal condition of the nervous system, as Charcot maintained; but this condition is one which can be temporarily induced by a skilful hypnotist in the great majority of normal and perfectly healthy persons. The most constant, perhaps the only constant, feature or symptom of hypnosis is the increased suggestibility of the subject; for, although in most cases, especially in cases of deep hypnosis, the subject presents the appearance of drowsy passivity or even profound sleep, this is not always the case; and in this respect much depends upon the methods used for the induction of hypnosis and the general handling of the case by the operator.

In a typical condition of hypnosis of moderate depth, the subject appears completely plastic in the hands of the operator. He remains unresponsive to, and apparently unaffected by, all persons and things of his environment, except the operator and those things or persons to which the latter may direct his attention. But, in relation to the operator, his mind and senses seem to be peculiarly alert and responsive; and he obeys implicitly the slightest indications of the operator's wishes or expectations. This responsive obedience, however, which is the essence of the abnormal 'suggestibility' of the subject, is not a voluntary obedience; it differs from the most abject voluntary obedience in two important respects. First, the hypnotized subject may, and sometimes does, exert his will to resist the suggestions of the operator; and, though such exertion may be attended with more or less success according to the depth of the hypnosis, the degree of training of the subject, and the extent of the personal influence established by the operator, the measure of its success is very much less than in the normal condition, or the effort required for success is much greater. Secondly, the subject's obedience to, or acceptance of, suggestions is much more complete, unhesitating, and uncritical, than in the normal state. He accepts with conviction suggestions so improbable and against all common experience that in his normal state he could not accept them or believe in them even though he should endeavour to do so. For example, he may be told that he cannot lift his hand from his knee, and forthwith he finds himself unable to perform this simple action. And in a similar way he may be prevented from performing any other movement or be made to execute any 'suggested' movement. In such cases it seems that the essential condition of the effectiveness of the 'suggestion' is that the notion suggested to the subject shall be accepted by him with complete conviction, and shall prevail firmly in his mind without being subjected to the criticism or opposition of other notions. There is good reason to believe that, if any person in a normal condition could be induced to accept any such suggestion with complete conviction, the notion thus established in his mind would be just as effective in controlling his movements as is the suggestion made during hypnosis; for we occasionally observe instances of such control of movement by an idea suggested under peculiarly favourable conditions to a person in a normal state. And not only control of bodily movement, but many others of the phenomena of hypnotism, notably the induction of hallucinations and delusions of all sorts, and the abnormally increased influence of the mind over organic functions such as sleep, the action of the bowels, and the circulation of the blood, may plausibly be brought under the same type of explanation.

According, then, to one view widely prevalent among the more orthodox psychologists and practitioners of hypnotism, hypnosis is essentially a condition in which the suggestibility (the tendency to accept any proposition imparted) normal to all minds is temporarily increased owing to some peculiar condition of the patient's brain induced by the process of hypnotizing him; and this condition of the brain is held to be one of 'relative dissociation,' *i.e.* one in which the interplay of the systems of neurons (the anatomical elements of which the brain is composed) is rendered less free and lively than it normally is, so that, any one system being excited, it works out its effects in an untrammelled and thorough manner.

But there is a class of hypnotic phenomena which does not easily lend itself to interpretation of this simple type; in various ways the subject's behaviour may seem to express two independent but simultaneous streams of mental activity, and this peculiar condition seems in many cases to be prolonged beyond the period of hypnosis into the fully waking state. It is, in fact, in the influence of commands or suggestions given during hypnosis, but designed to take effect after the termination of that period (post-hypnotic suggestions), that the dual stream of mental activity is most clearly revealed. For the waking subject may be quite unable to recall to consciousness any incident of the period of hypnosis or the nature of any suggestions made to him during that period, and yet he may carry out such suggestions with minute accuracy; and these post-hypnotic suggestions thus carried out by the waking subject, without conscious recollection of the instructions given, may be such that their execution implies complex intellectual activities. For example, the subject may be instructed to perform some simple action after the lapse of a given number of minutes; and in some cases the number of minutes so named may be so large that the accurate determination of the appointed moment may necessitate either continuous counting of the passage of the minutes throughout hours, days, or even weeks, or the carrying out of complicated arithmetical operations which seem to be beyond the normal powers of the subject. Such post-hypnotic executions of suggestions are typical of a large class of phenomena which seem to render necessary the notion of subconscious or co-conscious mental activity.

Some of the exponents of the hypothesis of neural dissociation attempt to apply it to the explanation of the facts of this order also. Others, notably Pierre Janet, attempt a rather different line of explanation. They argue that, while truly productive mental process is always fully conscious and involves the activity of a centre of synthetic mental energy, the subconscious processes are always of the nature of semi-mechanical or automatic repetitions of processes previously achieved by true mental activity.

To many students of hypnotism it seems that both these attempts at explanation are wholly inadequate. It may be admitted that neural dissociation of various degrees is characteristic of the hypnotic state, while yet it is recognized that this hypothesis affords but a partial interpretation of a part of the facts. By those who take this view it is urged that, according to both these theories, hypnotic and subconscious mental processes must be of a relatively low grade of efficiency (and many of them, no doubt, answer to this description); yet in some cases, it is pointed out, they far surpass in intellectual level or in range of control over bodily functions the normal mental processes of the subject; and it is insisted that these features of hypnotic process must be considered in relation to a wealth of facts which have been recorded in the course of modern studies of hysteria, spontaneous trance, mediumship, genius, religious conversion and ecstasy, and other unusual mental states and processes in which the bounds of normal mental activity seem to be transcended.

When hypnosis is thus regarded in relation to the larger field of manifestations of obscure but wide-ranging powers of the mind, hypnotism appears as a means of experimental investigation capable of greatly extending and deepening our conception of human personality; and it is from this point of view that many of the most effective students have pursued it, and that many interesting speculations have been made for the purpose of rendering the facts in some degree intelligible. Such speculations are, in the main, of two types. On the one hand, the psychical constitution of man is regarded as indefinitely richer and more complex than is revealed by the course of our normal mental life, as comprising potentialities or faculties which normally find no expression owing to the limitations imposed by our bodily organization, and which find only partial and very incomplete expression in the super-normal phenomena of the abnormal states of which hypnosis is the experimental type. Of speculations of this group, the conception of the 'subliminal self' put forward by F. W. H. Myers (*Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, London, 1903) is the boldest and most elaborated.

Speculations of the other type (best represented by William James in *A Pluralistic Universe*, London, 1909, and other writings) attempt to account for the super-normal phenomena by conceiving human individuality as relative only and as conditioned by the nature of the bodily organization. Each human mind or personality is conceived as but a fragmentary and temporary expression of some larger psychical whole; and it is sought to explain the super-normal phenomena by assuming that they are rendered possible by some temporary relaxation or breaking down of the conditions by which the isolation of the individual mind is commonly maintained, so that for the time being it may share in the larger life of the whole, of which it is in reality a part, and may draw psychical or spiritual energy from the common store more freely than is possible in normal conditions.

That some such far-reaching hypothesis would be needed for the explanation of the facts is indisputable, if any large part of the mass of supernormal phenomena reported by careful and credible observers should be finally established—telepathy, clairvoyance, expression of knowledge possessed only by deceased persons, and so forth. Those who attempt to explain all the facts of hypnosis in terms of the hypothesis of the division or dissociation of the normal mind generally ignore or repudiate the alleged super-normal phenomena as the products of fraud or error. The decision as to the type of theory which must eventually gain general acceptance for the explanation of hypnosis thus depends upon disputed questions of fact in that obscure and difficult province of investigation in which the Society for Psychical Research has now for a generation been actively engaged.

LITERATURE.—J. M. Bramwell, *Hypnotism: its History, Practice, and Theory*, London, 1903; C. L. Tuckey, *Treatment by Hypnotism and Suggestion*^{6}, do. 1913; A. Moll, *Der Hypnotismus*, Berlin, 1889 (Eng. tr., London, 1901); art. 'Hypnotism,' in *EBr*^{11}; several artt. in *Proc. of Soc. for Psychical Research*, especially those by E. Gurney, in vols. i.-v.

W. McDOUGALL.

HYPOCHONDRIA.—In the literature and practice of medicine, hypochondria is regarded as one of the many forms of mental affection embraced under the term 'melancholia.' Any uneasiness or disease of the regions on either side of the abdomen beneath the cartilages of the false ribs, of the hypochondriacal regions in short, was, from the earliest times, associated with those feelings of profound depression and sense of ill-being which constitute the basis of the affection. This is well illustrated in the old Folio frontispiece of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, where Hypochondriacus is depicted leaning on his arm:

> 'Winde in his side doth him much harm
> And troubles him full sore, God knows,
> Much pain he hath and many woes.'

Underlying all signs of hypochondria are functional disorders, less frequently organic disease, of any portion of the intestinal tract from the stomach downward or of the larger secretory glands in the abdomen, especially the liver and the sexual organs, or a combination of these conditions. Consequent on deranged chemical processes initiated by the abnormal functioning of the abdominal organs and the absorption of poisonous products thus elaborated into the blood system, all parts of the body may be functionally disturbed, and more particularly those organs and tissues which are predisposed. There is a consensus of opinion that hypochondria is induced by poisons arising from the deranged chemical processes above mentioned (metabolic origin); but recent researches suggest that the virus in the blood may be due to the presence of micro-organisms, which find a footing in the disordered walls of the intestinal tract; cases of hypochondria have been recorded in which the mental affection has disappeared with the elimination of such organisms under appropriate treatment (microbic origin).

Sense impressions received by way of the several intestinal and abdominal organs do not intrude on the mind in healthy states save as vague, and not clearly distinguishable, pleasurable emotions. Where disordered or diseased functioning occurs, the affective or emotional elements of mind are of a more or less painful nature. Further, where there is an insane or neurotic inheritance, such as is commonly found in hypochondria, varied manifestations of this malady are excited by worry, shock, or mental stress and strain of any kind.

Hypochondria is more prevalent in men than in women, and is usually met with in middle age; it is rarely seen in persons under thirty. It is preceded, as a rule, by dyspeptic and anæmic conditions, is insidious in its origin, and develops slowly. The attack may be slight, and take the form of mild depression. In such circumstances it does not interfere with one's occupation, and ends in recovery after a few weeks or months of proper attention. In many cases, especially where there is a hereditary taint, the disease develops and may pass the limits of sanity. Here the disturbed general sensations already referred to force themselves on the attention, gradually arrest it, and occupy the whole mental domain. The affected person becomes fearful and anxious. There is marked mental inhibition and particularly of will power. The sensations perceived are much exaggerated; thus excessively painful spots are pointed out, shooting pains are complained of, and loud lamentations are made of loss of power or want of sensation in various parts of the body. The trouble grows worse until the hypochondriac thinks of nothing but his many ailments, and believes he is the subject of some frightful malady. He seeks relief in all sorts of remedies, and consults all kinds of persons in the hope of finding help. He is constantly searching his excretions for signs of serious disease; he reads medical and quack literature in order to diagnose his condition. Any mild disorder he has, or change in his appearance, is magnified into a grave malady; spots on his skin are signs of syphilis; vague pains and throbbing in the head tell him that his brain is dissolving or breaking up. He points to well nourished limbs and says they are wasted or dead. He believes he is the source of infectious disease, and recounts all his ailments in endless variety. The sensations arising from the disordered or diseased organs of the body are falsely interpreted, and are, therefore, to be classed as illusions. These illusions constitute prominent symptoms of hypochondria, and the most striking examples of the serious effects of illusion are seen in this connexion. The misinterpretations thus referred to pass insensibly into false conceptions and judgments. Hallucinations, *i.e.* the experience of sensations, when the terminal sensory organs are not excited, are not common. When they do occur, they are generally auditory and incidental (see, further, art. HALLUCINATION).

A lady known to the writer, when labouring under hypochondria in an advanced stage, believed that an egg, which she had partaken of, had developed into a chicken. She heard the chirp of this chicken for some days coming from the region of the epigastrium. As the chicken grew the chirp was no longer heard, and the beliefs changed into ideas based on the illusion that a fowl was located somewhere in the intestine, and that, whenever food was taken, this bird picked it up. The sensations of the act of picking were graphically described. The gnawing pains of an ulcer, subsequently discovered in this patient, accounted for the sensations and the beliefs experienced, as they disappeared with the surgical treatment of the ulcer.

The mental pain felt by the hypochondriac is more apparent than real. He may look the picture of grief when detailing his distresses, but, unlike the true melancholic, he can for the moment be diverted from his troubles to talk rationally and act brightly. Defective will power and loss of memory are associated with hypochondria. The memory defect is due to the concentration of the mind on the bodily troubles. All other thoughts for the time are excluded, and so the experience of recent events not obtruding on his limited mental outlook is lost.

Hypochondria is not easily confused with other mental affections. Though it differs in degree only from true melancholia, which is more concerned with morbid thoughts than morbid sensations, there are obvious differences: the hypochondriac is restless, always seeking for sympathy and the ear of one to whom he may detail his sorrows; the melancholic generally keeps to one place and one attitude, and does not dwell on his mental state unless under pressure. The frequency of suicidal attempts, which are generally openly made, is to be explained by the desire of the hypochondriacal to elicit sympathy and not from any impulse to self-destruction, though it has to be noted that in a few cases such attempts may be accidentally successful. The suicidal attempts of the melancholic are generally deliberate and secretive.

The condition known as 'psychasthenia' has been confounded with hypochondria. In this disease, there are irrepressible thoughts, fears, and impulses, and an absence of those morbid sensations which are the central theme of hypochondria. Hypochondriacal symptoms not infrequently arise in the course of many forms of mental disease; they are generally of a temporary nature, and due to the same causes as are at the basis of the real affection.

With appropriate treatment, hypochondria is eminently recoverable. The main lines of treatment are rest, alteratives, tonics, milk and farinaceous foods, and, above all, cheerful surroundings and skilful nursing.

LITERATURE.—D. Hack Tuke, art. 'Hypochondria,' in *Dict. of Pyschol. Medicine*, London, 1892; chapters in the many works on Mental Disease, such as T. Clouston's *Clinical Lectures on Mental Diseases*^{4}, do. 1896, *Hygiene of Mind*, do. 1906, and *Unsoundness of Mind*, do. 1911; H. J. Berkley, *Mental Diseases*, do. 1900; W. H. B. Stoddart, *Mind and its Disorders*, do. 1908; L. C. Bruce, *Studies in Clinical Psychiatry*, do. 1906; A. Church and F. Peterson, *Nervous and Mental Diseases*^{5}, New York, 1905; Eugenio Tanzi, *Mental Diseases*, Eng. tr., London, 1909; Ernesto Lugaro, *Modern Problems in Psychiatry*, Eng. tr., Manchester, 1909.

HAMILTON MARR.

HYPOCRISY.—Primitive man was so much a member of the society to which he belonged that he was unable to conceive of any existence apart from it. It was all-important to him that there should be a body with power to regulate his habits. What he wanted most urgently was to be disciplined, and early society undertook this task with a will. What he got was a comprehensive rule binding men together, making their conduct in similar matters the same, moulding them, as it were, into a common pattern. The rules evolved covered the whole field of life as completely as a modern bureaucrat could desire. There was no room left for individuality, for conduct in every respect must conform to the common type. Primitive man, too, was most anxious to comply perfectly with the rules laid down for him; he was afraid of the wrath of the gods incurred by any departure from them. The element of fear bulked largely among the motives controlling his life. Like ourselves, from this point of view, he hated trouble, and chose—though he was barely conscious that he made a choice—the line of least resistance. In tropical Africa the country is covered by a network of narrow footpaths, made by the natives. These paths seldom run straight, and their flexuosities witness to small obstacles, here a stone and there a shrub, which the feet of those who first marked the path avoided. To-day one may perceive no obstacle. The prairie which the path crosses may be smooth and open, yet every traveller follows the windings, because it is less trouble to keep one's feet in the path already marked than it is to take a more direct route for oneself. The latter process requires thought and attention; the former does not. Primitive man instinctively felt this, and discouraged all independence of judgment. He was most desirous of creating what Bagehot called 'a cake of custom' to bind all his actions into a whole that would commend itself to his community. Consequently, hypocrisy was an idea outside his line of action, for he wanted to conform.

This intense eagerness to conform can easily be seen in such arrested civilizations as those of the East. The hardening of the cake of custom became too much for India, and men were so stereotyped by this hardening that they were unable to break through it. There is a tendency in descendants to differ from their progenitor, but the Indian discouraged variation from the original type. Among successful peoples the differers dissembled at first, until they became strong enough to soften the cake of custom, though they pretended to themselves that they had changed nothing.

This course, however, was the exception, not the rule; for the propensity of man to imitate what is before him is one of the strongest parts of his nature. In early times it was a case of 'that which hath been is that which shall be; and that which hath been done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun' (Ec 1^9). This extreme propensity to imitation forms one great reason of the amazing sameness which every observer notices among savage nations. No barbarian can bear to see one of his nation deviate from the old barbarous customs and usages of his tribe. All the tribe would inevitably expect a punishment from the gods if any one of them refrained from what was old or began what was new (cf., further, art. CUSTOM). Comparative sociology at once reveals a substantial uniformity of genesis. The habitual existence of chieftainship, the establishment of chiefly authority by war, the rise everywhere of the medicine-man and the priest—these are evident in all early organizations. It is true the old order changes—leaving some room for dissemblers—yielding place to the new, but the new does not wholly consist of positive additions to the old; much of it is merely the old very slightly modified, very slightly displaced, and very superficially re-combined. 'If you want,' remarked Swift, 'to gain the reputation of a sensible man, you should be of the opinion of the person with whom for the time being you are conversing.' It is obvious, then, that all primitive men were profoundly sensible. When Lord Melbourne declared that he would adhere to the Church of England *because* it was the religion of his fathers, he was acting upon one of the most deeply rooted maxims of his ancestors.

Conduct in the olden days was never individualistic; it was always corporative. To early man all his acts were tribal, for all the acts of the tribe involved him in their consequences. Hypocrisy to him was abhorrent, for he could not bear any divergence from the observed ritual. When the street statues of Hermes were mutilated, all the Athenians felt afraid; they thought that they would be ruined because one of their corporate body had mutilated the image of a god. The mind of the citizen had been so permeated by the ideas of the day that they were part and parcel of its mental furniture. His brain, not merely his actions, was so cut and marked as to conform to the orthodox type. His habits, his superstitions, and his prejudices were absolutely those of his fellow-tribesmen. In the Fiji Islands, for example, a chief was one day going over a mountain path followed by many of his people, when he happened to stumble and fall. All his followers, save one, also stumbled and fell. Immediately they beat the defaulter, asking him whether he considered himself better than the chief.

The Greeks and the Romans possessed the seed of adaptiveness, and were, therefore, able to free themselves from the cake of custom. This freedom, however, made possible the existence of the hypocrite, and Æschylus (*Agam.* 788 ff.) analyzes the traits in his character:

πολλοὶ δὲ βροτῶν τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι
προτίουσι δίκην παραβάντες.
τῷ δυσπραγοῦντι δ' ἐπιστενάχειν
πᾶς τις ἕτοιμος· δῆγμα δὲ λύπης
οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἧπαρ προσικνεῖται·
καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς
ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι.
ὅστις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων,
οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὄμματα φωτὸς,
τὰ δοκοῦντ' εὔφρονος ἐκ διανοίας
ὑδαρεῖ σαίνειν φιλότητι.

The *Iliad* (ix. 312 f.) speaks even more plainly:

ἐχθρὸς γάρ μοι κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πύλῃσιν,
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ.

With this passage may be compared *Od.* xviii. 282 f., and Theognis, *Eleg.* 87. So far has the Greek travelled from the old conception that Plato lays down in the *Republic* (iii. 394) that our guardians ought not to be imitators, and that the productions of the imitative arts are bastard and illegitimate (x. 603 ff., *Laws*, xi. 915 f.).

During the last two centuries of the Roman Republic the presence of superstition and scepticism is very noticeable. With the unreality of Roman literature was combined the unreality of education. The teacher often selected questions of casuistry for discussion by the pupil. Such discussions inevitably developed the tendency of the age to affectation and lack of reality. To this Lucian and Seneca, Statius and Velleius bear witness. In the pages of the first writer we meet the sham philosopher, speaking loudly of virtue while his cloak covers all the vices of dog and ape. Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.* ii. 28. 70, iii. 17. 43, *de Div.* i. 3. 6), Seneca (frag. 39), Panætius, Polybius (vi. 56), Quintus Scævola, and Varro (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 4) regarded religion as the device of statesmen to control the masses by mystery and terror. It had become impossible for these men to believe in the old faith, yet the people had to continue to take part in a gross materialistic worship. According to Gibbon, all religions were regarded by the people as equally true, by the philosopher as equally false, and by the statesman as equally useful. Cicero quotes a dictum of a Pontifex Maximus that there was one religion of the poet, another of the philosopher, and another of the statesman.

Stoicism maintained the idea of a 'double truth'—one truth for the intellectual classes and one for the common people, the climax being reached in the phrase, 'It is expedient for the state to be deceived in matters of religion' (*expedit igitur faili in religione civitatem*). Thinkers in the community adopted this attitude towards religion in the last cent. B.C. It is too much to say that they were hypocrites, but the outcome of their thought was hypocritical. Sulla used religion for State purposes, and with him it became merely another department of political activity. In Cicero's time old women had ceased to tremble at the fables about the infernal regions (*de Nat. Deor.* ii. 2–5). Even boys, according to Juvenal, disbelieved in the world of spirits (*Sat.* ii. 149–152). Cicero was an augur, yet he quotes with approval Cato's saying that he wondered how one augur could meet another without laughing. On the whole, however, the people still retained their faith in the old gods, which the educated had lost. The latter, in spite of their disbelief, attended carefully to the details of ritual. In their case creed and practice were utterly divorced, and the effects of this divorce on the moral character can easily be imagined. In commenting upon the life of Seneca, Macaulay remarks:

> 'The business of a philosopher was to declaim in praise of poverty with two millions sterling out at usury; to meditate epigrammatic conceits about the evils of luxury, in gardens which moved the envy of sovereigns; to rant about liberty, while fawning on the insolent and pampered freedmen of a tyrant; to celebrate the divine beauty of virtue with the same pen which had just before written a defence of the murder of a mother by a son' (*Essays*, pop. ed., London, 1870, p. 393).

Just as many a sturdy beggar in the Middle Ages donned the cowl of a begging friar, many an idle vagabond and profligate called himself a Stoic, and brought discredit upon the name. (See Tacitus, *Ann.* xvi. 32, for Egnatius, a hypocrite of this order; A. Grant, *Ethics of Aristotle*, London, 1866, i. 281; J. B. Lightfoot, *Ep. to Philippians*^{4}, London, 1878, p. 284, note 5.)

The latter-day philosophies of Greece proved to the Roman that the foundations of his religion were baseless, yet its existence was indispensable for the preservation of the State. This conflict between private belief and public conduct can be seen, for example, in Ennius. He wrote treatises, embodying advanced sceptical doctrines, and he also wrote patriotic poems in which the whole cycle of Roman gods was exhibited and most reverently treated. From Augustine's *de Civ. Dei* (iv. 27) we learn that Quintus Scævola develops the 'double truth' of Ennius into the familiar triple one—the religion of poets, of philosophers, and of statesmen. The writing of Scævola and Varro came too late, for Sulla's control of religion by the State had killed it.

Contemporary with the classical possessors of 'double truth' and 'triple truth' were the Pharisees, the people often taken as typical hypocrites. Their hypocrisy was a consequence of their past history, for, in the catastrophe of the Exile, Ezra perceived the danger of associating with the neighbouring peoples. The policy of splendid isolation was that best fitted to save Israel: it must 'observe to do all that is written in this book of the Torah,' that is, what is contained in the five books of Moses. The importance of the Torah forms the central point in the outstanding reformation of Ezra. Henceforward the Jew felt, as he had never felt before, that he had a guide laying down a detailed code of conduct; it was an honest attempt to guard the religious life of the family from the corruption of intercourse with strangers. The strict Jew became the *Pharisee*, 'the separate one.' As his strictness increased, he explored the Torah more thoroughly, and came to see that by analogy its precepts applied to cases not originally contemplated. The Scribes, the *Sôphĕrîm*, interpreted the Divine teaching so widely that many traditions came into being; the *Responsa Prudentium*, the 'answers of the learned in law,' furnishes a parallel case from Roman law. The *Sôphĕrîm* worked out rules applying to particular cases, much after the fashion of the Jesuits. Their system inculcated deliberation in judgment, which is the key to the casuistry of the Talmud. Moreover, the Scribe and the Jesuit equally urged that this deliberation proceeded from the desire to do justice to every possible aspect of the question at issue.

Under the princes of the Maccabæan house there was a steady tendency towards a stricter enforcement of the Torah. The Pharisees (*Pĕrûshîm*, 'separated') frowned upon the worldliness of the rest of the nation, and formed themselves into distinct societies pledged to observe certain rules in the matter of meat, drink, and clothing, according as the Torah or traditions derived from it allowed or forbade these points. The rules of right conduct, the Hălākhāh, increased so much in scope that they practically covered all the actions of a man's life. It is plain that the Hălākhôth imposed upon the many what only the few could obey, and the result was hypocrisy, and formalism became prevalent. The tithing of mint, anise, and cummin was performed, while the motive of these actions was not sufficiently scrutinized. Jesus, then, was obliged to speak plainly in the long speech contained in Mt 28, when He said: 'Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!' In their case the letter had killed the spirit. They had played a noble part in Jewish life, but their hypocrisy (cf. the seven classes of Pharisees, of whom five are hypocritical or foolish, *Sotah* 22*b*) had destroyed their usefulness. They had been truly patriotic, truly scrupulous, but their social ritual forced them to become unscrupulous. It is the degeneration of the best which makes the worst, and the sincere observer of the Torah in the days of Ezra left for his successors in the days of Christ the most insincere of men.

Most men want their lives regulated for them, and what the *Sôphěrîm* had done before the Christian era the Christian Church undertook to carry on. Cases of conscience had rules formulated for them, and in the writings of Thomas Aquinas we find an elaborate code of morality. In the *Summa Theologica*, ii. 2, the question of hypocrisy receives careful treatment.

Qu. cxi. art. i. asks, 'Is all simulation sinful?' Simulation, we learn, is properly a lie enacted in certain signs, consisting of outward actions; and it makes no difference whether one lies in word or in action. Hence, as all lying is sinful, so also is all dissimulation. As one lies in word when he signifies that which is not, but not when he is silent over what is—which is sometimes lawful; so it is simulation when by outward signs, consisting of action or things, any one signifies that which is not, but not when one omits to signify that which is; hence without any simulation a person may conceal his own sin.

Art. ii.: 'Is hypocrisy the same as dissimulation?' Augustine says: 'As actors (*hypocritæ*, ὑποκριταί) pretend to other characters than their own, and act the part of that which they are not; so in the churches and in all human life, whoever wishes to seem what he is not, is a hypocrite or actor; for he pretends to be just without rendering himself such.' So, then, hypocrisy is simulation, not, however, any and every simulation, but only that by which a person pretends to a character not his own, as when a sinner pretends to the character of a just man. The habit or garment of holiness, religious or clerical, signifies a state wherein one is bound to works of perfection. And, therefore, when one takes the holy habit intending to betake himself to a state of perfection, if afterwards he fails by weakness, he is not a pretender or hypocrite, because he is not bound to declare his sin by laying the holy habit aside. But if he were to take the holy habit in order to figure as a just man, he would be a hypocrite and pretender.

Art. iv.: 'Is hypocrisy a mortal sin?' There are two things in hypocrisy, the want of holiness and the state of possessing it. If, therefore, by a hypocrite we are to understand one whose intention is carried to both these points, so that he cares not to have holiness but only to appear holy—as the word is usually taken in Holy Scripture—in that understanding it is clearly a mortal sin; for no one is totally deprived of holiness otherwise than by mortal sin. But if by a hypocrite is meant one who intends to counterfeit the holiness which mortal sin makes him fall short of, then though he is in mortal sin, still the mere prudence on his part is not always a mortal sin, but is sometimes only venial. To tell when it is venial and when mortal, we must observe the end in view. If that end be inconsistent with the love of God and of one's neighbour, it will be a mortal sin, as when one pretends to holiness in order to dissemble false doctrine, or to gain some ecclesiastical dignity of which he is unworthy, or any other temporal goods, placing his last end in them. But if the end intended be not inconsistent with charity, it will be a venial sin, as when one finds pleasure and satisfaction in the mere assumption of a character that does not belong to him: of such a one it is said that 'there is more vanity than malice in him.'

This analysis is noteworthy because it is the presentation that dominated mediæval life, and in the *Summa Theologica* Latin Christianity received a definitive form, covering all the transactions of life. The separation between law and custom, thought and action, lies at the very root of all forms of hypocrisy, and literature bears witness to this divorce of creed and life.

The poem *Piers the Plowman* exposes the corruption of the times, while Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* does not overlook the ecclesiastical courts. In *The Scourge of Villanie*, Marston analyzes the most offensive forms of the hypocrisy of the sensualist. The Reformers devote much attention to this particular vice. Bradford describes a hypocritical profession of the Gospel (*Sermons*, Cambridge, 1848, p. 436 f.). Ridley shows that hypocrisy is a double evil (*Works*, do. 1841, p. 60). Becon points out its prevalence (*Early Writings*, do. 1843, p. 40), analyzes it (*Prayers*, do. 1844, p. 610; cf. Bullinger, *Decades*, v. [do. 1852] 11 f.), exposes the dislike of God's word (*Catechism*, do. 1844, p. 468), the liability to fall away in time of persecution (*Prayers*, 263), and the vainglory of its prayer (*Early Writings*, 130). Bullinger compares hypocrites to chaff and rotten members (*Decades*, v. 12–13). Latimer emphasizes the difficulty in knowing them (*Remains*, Cambridge, 1845, p. 62), dwells on their salutation and conduct (*Sermons*, do. 1844, p. 289) and their desire to sell their works, their 'opera supererogationis' (*ib.* 482; *Remains*, 200). John Woolton notes their observance of rites and ceremonies (*The Christian Manual*, Cambridge, 1851, p. 45). William Tindale observes that they extol their own works above the law of God (*Expositions*, do. 1849, p. 127), notes their alms, prayers, and fastings (*ib.* 78), their desire to be praised of men (*Doctrinal Treatises*, do. 1848, p. 73), their outward abstention from sin (*ib.* 80), their impurity in heart (*Expositions*, 26, *Doctrinal Treatises*, 496), their faith (*Expositions*, 11, 130), their judgment of others (*ib.* 112), that they have the world on their side (*Doctrinal Treatises*, 133), that they must be rebuked (*Expositions*, 44), and their wisdom must be turned to foolishness (*Doctrinal Treatises*, 134).

A perusal of the works of the Reformers proves how conscious they were of the relaxation of moral discipline in the 16th century. Moreover, when persecution overawes, it transforms a man into a hypocrite. The weak bent to the intolerant policy of the time by the use of the weapons of intrigue and falsehood, and both then and ever since escape has frequently been sought from censure—whether ecclesiastical or social—by a feigned compliance which is the mark of hypocrisy.

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HYSTERIA.—Hysteria (ὑστέρα, 'the womb') is a psychical, or at any rate a functional, nervous disease, which is so much more frequent in women that its consideration as regards the male sex may for the present be omitted. The chief clinical feature of the disease, which, however, is not manifested by the majority of the subjects of the affection, is the hysterical fit; the other symptoms are either preliminary or subsequent to the fit, or they occur as isolated symptoms with a tendency to culminate in the fit. The fit may succeed a period of great excitement, or it may come on spontaneously, but it never occurs suddenly, as is the case in epilepsy; and it usually takes place when other people are present. Consciousness is never entirely lost, as may be ascertained by touching the conjunctivæ, when a protective spasm of the eyelids will at once occur. The eyeballs are always turned up, so that the pupils are concealed under the upper eyelids. The hands are clenched, and the thumbs inverted. There is usually clonic spasm of the muscles, and the patient struggles and throws herself about. She may moan or cry and breathe stertorously, but there is no biting of the tongue or bloody froth about the mouth, as in the epileptic fit. The paroxysm generally terminates with crying, laughing, sighing, or yawning, and is followed by a feeling of exhaustion. Various mental, motor, and sensory symptoms appear in hysterical subjects, subsequent to the fit, associated with it, or independent of it.

1. Mental symptoms.—The subjects of hysteria are neuropathic, and a hereditary tendency to insanity or the neuroses is usually present in their family history. They manifest prominently those symptoms of instability which are described by modern writers as mental degeneracy. Chief among these are a want of intellectual vigour, excitability, ostentation, vanity, deficient self-reliance, and a craving for sympathy and notoriety. The subjects are extremely susceptible to suggestion by stronger wills than their own, and exhibit a feeble resistance to various instinctive promptings or temptations to which they may be subjected. At the same time, they are by no means deficient in intelligence, and the ingenuity they display in attracting attention to their supposed maladies, or in simulating diseases, is often phenomenal. Upon such a psychical basis it is easy to see that the diseased mental symptoms may assume many and diverse forms. Some of the patients are depressed and moody; others gay, excited, and reckless in their conduct. Many of them are restless, irritable, impatient, and difficult to manage or to live with. The morbid ambition of others leads them to such means of attaining notoriety as prolonged fasting, the invention of improbable tales of assault upon themselves—usually of an indecent nature—or the simulation of various forms of obscure diseases, of which paralysis of motion is the principal.

2. **Motor symptoms.**—It is a mistake, however, to suppose that true hysterical paralysis is a simulated affection. This paralysis is distinguished from ordinary organic forms in so far as sensation in the paralyzed limb is never abolished, and the nutrition of the affected part is not impaired. In hysterical hemiplegia the face and tongue are rarely implicated, while in hysterical paraplegia the two lower limbs are usually unequally paralyzed.

3. **Sensory symptoms.**—The principal sensory disturbance is a condition of hyperæsthesia, or over-sensitiveness, which involves both the special senses and the general sensibility of the patient. Slight sounds, bright lights, or a small degree of cutaneous pressure produce undue and exaggerated effects upon the nervous system. Neuralgic pains in various parts of the body are often complained of. One of the most common symptoms is the *globus hystericus*, described as a choking feeling or a constriction in the throat or chest, as if a ball were passing up or down the cavity. Anæsthesia of different parts of the body, sometimes involving one whole side, is not an unusual symptom in advanced cases. The patient may be unaware of the presence of the symptom, and the anæsthesia may be either complete or partial. Generally speaking, in hemianæsthesia the condition is permanent, but fluctuates in degree from time to time. Charcot attached great importance to tenderness of the ovary, usually the left, in hysteria. The ovarian hyperæsthesia is indicated by pain in the lower part of the abdomen, corresponding in site to the position of the affected ovary. This pain may be so extremely acute that the slightest touch on the part is dreaded, while in other patients firm pressure is required to elicit it. Firm pressure has usually a decisive effect in checking the advent of the hysterical fit. In other cases it tends to bring out certain sensations which are known as the *aura hysterica*, prominent among which is the *globus hystericus* already referred to. The hyperæsthetic ovary is usually upon the same side of the body as is affected by the various sensory and motor disturbances which have been mentioned.

4. It is necessary to refer briefly to three phenomena which are associated with hysteria. These are: (1) catalepsy, (2) trance, and (3) ecstasy. These three phenomena are so intimately associated with one another that the one may merge into the other in the same subject. In *catalepsy* there is a condition of stupor, accompanied or not with loss of consciousness, and followed or not by a recollection of what took place during the condition. The will to move is in abeyance, and the muscles are rigid. When a limb is moved passively by an observer, it remains in any position in which it may be placed. In the state of *trance* the patient lies as if dead—some persons have even been 'laid out' as dead in this state; the skin assumes a deathly paleness; and the functions of respiration and circulation are so attenuated as to be almost imperceptible. In the *ecstatic state* the patient becomes so vividly hallucinated that complete scenes which she is able to describe fluently pass in sequence before the mental vision. The nature of the 'visions' changes according as the mental condition of the patient varies emotionally from grave to gay. The ecstatic state is accompanied by posturing and gesturing of an exaggerated character, which not infrequently terminate in dancing movements such as are practised by certain religious communities.

5. Estimated by its universal diffusion over the world and by the frequent references to it in the writings of travellers, lay and medical, hysteria must be the most common of all the neuroses. In the very oldest Brāhmanical writings, which precede the Christian era by thousands of years, mention is made of it among the diseases of the nervous system (J. Jolly, *Medicin* [*GIAP* iii. 10 (1901)], p. 119). The origin of the word, derived from the writings of the Greek physicians, is also very ancient. Coming down to comparatively modern times, we find it constantly referred to in the writings of travellers. Judging from the comparative frequency of these references, we can form the opinion that 'one of the principal seats of the malady is the group of countries in the Arctic latitudes of the Eastern Hemisphere, including Iceland, the Faröe Islands, Lapland, and the parts of European and Asiatic Russia in the extreme north. From the last of these we have information of the truly endemic prevalence of hysteria among the women of the Samojeds . . . and of the Jakutes and other Siberian tribes, as well as among the inhabitants of Kamschatka . . . thus hysteria is unusually common among the women of the Baltic Provinces, and among those of Viatka, Simbrisk, Samara and the Kirghiz Steppes' (A. Hirsch, *Geog. and Hist. Pathol.*, Eng. tr., London, 1883–86, iii. 519). Among the inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula a peculiar manifestation of the disease, known as *latah*, is very common, of which an excellent description has been given by Ellis (*Journ. of Mental Science*, 1897, p. 32).

6. When we turn from endemic to epidemic hysteria, a wide and difficult field of inquiry presents itself. As hysteria is a hereditary disease, it must be latent in otherwise apparently normal populations to an enormous extent. This latent potentiality may suddenly become active, under the influence of any powerful excitant, moral or spiritual, acting on a people. It is generally believed that these powerful emotional excitants sharply delimit the neuropathic from the normal elements in a population. The history of religious hysterical epidemics is inextricably associated with the history of the human race, so far as we know it, and can be traced, through the records of the Asiatics and other Eastern races, down to the accounts of the Mad Mullahs of our own day. In Europe, during the Christian era, the most remarkable instance of it was the 'dancing mania' of the Middle Ages. An account of it given by Raynald, as it was witnessed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1374, is as follows:

> 'They formed circles hand in hand, and appearing to have lost all control over their senses, continued dancing, regardless of the bystanders, for hours together, until at length they fell to the ground in a state of exhaustion. . . . While dancing they neither saw nor heard, being insensible to external impressions through the senses, but were haunted by visions, their fancies conjuring up spirits whose names they shrieked out. . . . Where the disease was completely developed, the attack commenced with epileptic convulsions. . . . They foamed at the mouth, and suddenly springing up began their dance amidst strange contortions' (quoted from J. F. C. Hecker, *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, Eng. tr., London, 1844, p. 87).

Those interested in this peculiar form of psychopathology will find a very full description of it in J. F. C. Hecker's *Epidemics of the Middle Ages.* That such epidemics are not necessarily associated with religious fervour alone is seen from the similar outbreaks of hysterical excitement which occurred in Paris during the Revolution and after the close of the Franco-German war. In Madagascar, in the year 1864, an epidemic of hysteria occurred among girls and young married women between fifteen and twenty-five years of age. The occasion of the outbreak, which began at one point and spread gradually over almost the whole island, was the profound sensation caused among the people by the violent death of the king, and the consequent changes in the form of religion and laws. The morbid phenomena were almost identical with those of the dancing mania of the Middle Ages (Hirsch, *loc cit.* p. 529). See also art. DEGENERATION.

From the above facts and many others that might be cited, it appears probable that in every population there is a certain amount of hysteria; that it varies in amount in different communities or races; and that in predisposed individuals the disease varies in intensity—from those subjects who without known cause present the pronounced clinical symptoms of convulsion, hallucination, mental aberration, or disease-mimicry, up to those who only under extreme excitement manifest perversions of feeling and conduct of a pathological nature.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited in the article, and the standard works on Medicine and Pathology, see P. Sollier, *Genèse et nature de l'hystérie*, Paris, 1897; P. Janet, *État mental des hystériques*, do. 1893, and *Les Névroses*, 1898; R. Lee, *Treatise on Hysteria*, London, 1871; Legrand du Saulle, *Les Hystériques*^{3}, Paris, 1891; A. Moll, *Das nervöse Weib*^{2}, Berlin, 1898; A. T. Schofield, *Functional Nerve Diseases*, London, 1908; F. C. Skey, *Hysteria*, do. 1867; P. Mantegazza, *Estasi umane*, Milan, 1887.

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I

IBĀḌĪS.—**The Ibāḍīs were a Muslim sect, a** branch of the Khawārij (*q.v.*). They were called after ʿAbdallah b. Ibāḍ, who figures in the *Chronicle* of Ṭabarī (ii. 517) in the year 65, as separating himself from the Khārijite leader, Nāfiʿ b. Al-Azraq (founder of the Azāriqah), and taking a more lenient view of the treatment to be accorded to the unorthodox than Nāfiʿ, but less lenient than that of ʿAbdallah b. Ṣaffār, founder of the Ṣufriyya. The chronicles otherwise say little about him, and indeed confuse him with other personages; but, in an Ibāḍite treatise excerpted by E. Sachau (*Mittheil. des Seminars für orient. Sprachen*, ii. [Berlin, 1899] 47–83), two letters purporting to have been written by him to the Umayyad Khalīf ʿAbd al-Malik are preserved, and his birth and death are said to have taken place in the reigns of Muʿāwiya (A.D. 661–680) and ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705) respectively. These letters are homiletic in character, and contain little that is definite respecting the special doctrines of Ibn Ibāḍ, though insisting on the political programme of the Khārijites, who were responsible for the assassination of Othman, and afterwards for that of ʿAli. There is probably little reason for supposing them to be genuine, and analogous forgeries are common. Ibn Ibāḍ appears to have devised a new interpretation for the word *kāfir*, 'denier,' which ordinarily means 'unbeliever,' but may also signify 'ungrateful'; according to him, a Muslim who committed a capital offence might be described as a *kāfir* in the latter sense; and the consequence to be deduced was that the goods of Muslims might not be appropriated as spoil, though their lives might be taken. This doctrine, which is sketched by Ṭabarī (*loc. cit.*), is afterwards said to be characteristic of the Ibāḍīs by writers on sects (ʿAbd al-Qāhir [† A.H. 429], in *al-Farq bain al-Firaq*, Cairo, 1910, p. 82; ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī [† A.H. 561], in *al-Ghunyah*, Cairo, 1288 A.H., i. 76. 19).

By the end of the Umayyad period the views of Ibn Ibāḍ appear to have found numerous adherents, since the Ibāḍī ʿAbdallah b. Yaḥyā, who headed an insurrection in A.H. 130, found support in Baṣra, Ḥaḍramaut, and Yemen. A detailed account of this revolt is given in the *Aghānī* (1st ed., Būlāq, 1285, xx. 97–114); and perhaps the most authentic documents which we possess about the tenets of the sect are the sermons which in that narrative are ascribed to the heads of the rebellion, which was shortly crushed by the Umayyad forces, after the Ibāḍīs had enjoyed brief supremacy in both Mecca and Medina. Early in the Abbasid period they gained ground in Africa, where in A.D. 758 they founded Sijilmasa, and held Qairawan from 758–762. They became prominent again between A.D. 942 and 947, but were defeated by the Faṭimids, and the survivors took refuge in Jebel Nefusa, where they were to be found in the time of Ibn Hauqal († A.H. 366), and where the community still survives. From Africa they spread to Spain, where in the time of the author last quoted they were represented in Castille, and an author of the 5th cent. A.H. (Ibn Ḥazm) speaks of the Ibāḍīs in that country rejecting meat slaughtered by Jews or Christians. In the somewhat earlier treatise by ʿAbd al-Qāhir they are divided into four subsects, called Ḥafṣiyyah, Ḥārithiyya, Yazīdiyya, and 'Believers in pious acts not done for God's sake'; they differed on a variety of subjects, but all agreed on the interpretation of the word *kāfir* given above, with the consequences deduced.

From an early time they appear to have been dominant in Oman, where their religion is still official. There they were found by Ibn Batuṭa in the 14th cent.; he observes that at midday on Friday they have a prayer of four inclinations, and something like a *khuṭba* ('sermon'). They ask God's favour for the first two khalīfs, but say nothing of the third or fourth, and indeed speak of the last as 'the man,' whereas they call the assassin at whose hand he fell 'the faithful servant' (ed. and tr. Defrémery and Sanguinetti, Paris, 1853–59, ii. 228). J. R. Wellsted (*Travels in Arabia*, London, 1838, i. 332) claims to be, after Sale, the first European to give any account of their tenets; he appears to have employed an account drawn up by a contemporary dervish, which he imperfectly understood; the statement that the Ibāḍīs deny that the Deity will be *seen* in the next world (as the Sunnīs think) is, however, confirmed by Sachau's treatise. The account of W. G. Palgrave (*Travels*, London, 1865, ii. 366) is even less accurate than Wellsted's. Other places, besides Jebel Nefusa, where Ibāḍī communities continue to exist are the island Jerba, and the Cercle Laghouat in Algeria, where the M'zab profess this doctrine. L. Rinn (*Marabouts et Khouan*, Algiers, 1884, p. 143) states that this settlement dates from about A.H. 400, and that those who started it had originally dwelt south of Vargla at Kerima, Sedrata, and Jebel Ibad. These Algerian Ibāḍīs, who in 1884 numbered about 49,000, are, according to this author, more like an ascetic sect than a political community. He speaks very highly of their honesty, morality, and devoutness. Their organization resembles in many respects that of the Ṣūfī confraternities. The most accurate account hitherto published in Arabic is that excerpted, as stated above, by Sachau from a treatise called *Kashf al-Ghummah*, which is only one specimen of a large Ibāḍī literature, little known in Europe. The treatise is evidently late, and appears to be modelled on the manuals in use among the larger Muslim communities; and the differences between the Ibāḍī doctrine and the Sunnī do not appear to be very numerous; moreover, the author, in his polemic against the Sunnī doctors, seriously misrepresents them. Like the Sunnīs, the Ibāḍīs believe in predestination; they define 'faith' as 'word and deed,' and declare that repentance is only for unintentional offences. The bulk of their polemic is directed against views which are associated with the Shīʻah, the Murjis, and the Muʻtazils.

Owing to the French annexation of the M'zab confederation in 1882, the legal system of the community has been studied by French scholars, and a manual of M'zabite legislation was drawn up by E. Zeys (Algiers, 1886). This is based on a work called the *Nīl* by the Shaikh 'Abdal-'Azīz, of the second half of the 18th century. A further list of Ibāḍite works is enumerated by A. Imbert, *Le Droit abadhite chez les Musulmans de Zanzibar et de l'Afrique orientale* (Algiers, 1903); the earliest of these is called *Bāyan al-Shar'* ('Explanation of the Code'), in more than 70 volumes, composed by Muḥammad b. Sulaimān († A.H. 508), while the most authoritative is of about the year 1840 A.D., called *Qāmūs al-Sharī'a* ('Ocean of the Law'), in more than 90 volumes. Imbert gives some account of the peculiar features of the system in the matter of inheritance, based on a monograph by Sachau ('Muhammedanisches Erbrecht,' in *SBAW*, 1894, p. viii).

LITERATURE.—To the authorities quoted above add I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910; E. Mercier, *Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris, 1888–90.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

IBN EZRA.—1. Ibn Ezra, Abraham ben Meir (Aben Ezra, Avenares), Jewish philosopher, poet, grammarian, and exegete, and one of the most widely-known Jewish scholars of the Middle Ages, was born in Toledo, Spain, during the last decade of the 11th cent., and died *c.* 1167. The first part of his life was spent in his native country, which he seems to have left in the year 1140. From that year until his death he was a continuous wanderer, his way leading him to Egypt and through Northern Africa, Italy, and Southern France, and to England. His place of death is variously given: some authorities contend for Rome, others for Calahorra on the frontier of Navarre. Ibn Ezra was a prolific writer; his roaming life did not prevent him from composing works upon a variety of subjects. His style is always precise—sometimes so precise as to be slightly unintelligible, especially in his commentaries; and at times hurried—owing to the circumstances of his life.

As a poet, Ibn Ezra is a worthy representative of the Hispano-Jewish Hebrew poetry, which was modelled upon that of the Arabs. While not possessing the simplicity and naturalness of its greatest representative, Jehudah Halevi (*q.v.*), he excels him in the depth of his feeling and in the pungency of his wit. Fully 150 of his religious poems—lyric, didactic, and historical—have found their way into the prayer-book of the Synagogue. His *Dīwān*, or collected poetical works, comprises about 260 different pieces, and contains many that are of a purely worldly character. He often plays with numerical relations, as he was much interested in mathematics. As is the fashion in Oriental literature, he clothed a variety of subjects in poetic garb. Not only did he intersperse short poems in the introductions to his various commentaries on parts of the Bible, but he versified treatises on religion, on calendar-rules, and on chess.

His *Dīwān* has been published by Jacob Egers, *Dīwān des Abraham ibn Esra*, Berlin, 1886; and his collected poetical works by David Kahana, *Kōbeẓ ḥokmat ha-Ra'ba'*, 2 vols., Warsaw, 1894; and with German tr. by David Rosin, *Reime und Gedichte des Abraham ibn Esra*, Breslau, 1885–1894. Cf. K. Albrecht, 'Studien zu den Dichtungen Abrahams ben Ezra,' *ZDMG* lvii. [1903] 421–473.

In philosophy, Ibn Ezra shows distinct traces of Neo-Platonic and Pythagorean influences. His Neo-Platonic ideas he seems to have adopted from his earlier contemporary Solomon Ibn Gabirol (*q.v.*); the Pythagorean from the writings of the Arabic 'Brethren of Purity.' According to Ibn Ezra, the whole universe is made up of substance and form—with the exception of God, who is substance alone; though substance is defined as that of which being can be predicated. God is further described as the power out of which comes that which is felt and thought. He is incorporeal and spiritual, 'knowing in a sense very different to the knowledge of man, since He is at one and the same time the Knower and the thing known.' But God knows only general ideas—the immutable and permanent species, not the individuals that go to make up the species. When we attribute wisdom, goodness, and righteousness to Him, we are describing His actions only, not His essence. When we speak of God's creative act, we refer only to the sublunar world; the rest of creation—heavenly bodies, angels, spheres, and stars—have neither beginning nor end. He is thus opposed to what became the official theological doctrine of Judaism, the *creatio ex nihilo*. God determines the species, to which He gives the power to fashion the individual. The sublunar world is created through the instrumentality of the angels. In fact, God acts upon the world through the angels, and through certain human beings who have not entirely lost the character of angels—prophets, pious ones, and the righteous. He also uses as intermediaries the heavenly bodies, which, by their conjunction, work good or evil upon mankind. But, in order to save his religious conceptions, Ibn Ezra holds that God can overpower the workings of the heavenly bodies; and that this interference depends upon the moral condition of the subject affected, thus making free will possible. It is accomplished through the angels. Ibn Ezra does not rationalize the wonders in the Bible, though he warns against exaggerating their importance. The universe is composed of the Highest world (angels), the Middle world (sun, moon, and stars), and the Lowest world of Nature (made up of the four elements and the three kingdoms). With the exception of his *'Aruggat ha-Ḥokmāh* and *Pardēs ha-Mezimmāh*, written in rhymed prose, Ibn Ezra has left no work of a peculiarly philosophic character. His ideas are scattered throughout his other writings.

See Rosin, in *Monatsschrift für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, xlii. [1898], xliii. [1899]; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, iii., vi.

Two theologico-religious works of Ibn Ezra deserve mention. The first is the allegory *Ḥai ben Mēḳīṣ*, a rhymed prose description of the Supreme Being, composed upon the lines of Avicenna's *Ḥai ibn Yakṣān*, and to be classed with Ibn Gabirol's *Keter Malkūt* (best text in Egers' ed. of the *Dīwān*). The second is his *Yesōd Mōrā* (ed. and tr. by M. Creiznach, Leipzig, 1840), a pamphlet written in England, in which he treats of the study of the Law and of the nature of the divine commandments. But Ibn Ezra not only gives semasiological explanations; he tries to find the ethical foundations for the various commandments.

As a grammarian, Ibn Ezra was the first of the Spanish school to write in Hebrew, though his method of treatment and his terminology are still wholly dependent upon his Arabic prototypes. His wish was to popularize the Arabic system among the Jews and to make them acquainted with the works of his noted predecessor, Judah Hayyūj. His largest work on grammar is his *Sefer Ṣaḥōt*, written in 1145. To this must be added a number of smaller treatises: *Yesōd Diḳdūḳ*, *Sāfāh Berūrāh*, *Yesōd Mispār*, *Sefer ha-Shēm*, *Sefer Yēther*, and a popular treatise entitled *Mōznayim*, a sort of terminological dictionary of Hebrew lexicography. Most of these works are poor and hurried in their arrangement, and written probably merely as text-books.

See W. Bacher, 'Die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft,' in J. Winter and A. Wünsche, *Die jüdische Litteratur*, ii. [1892–95] 184.

Ibn Ezra is best known as a commentator of the Bible. His commentaries were always popular among the Jews, being usually printed together with the glosses of Rashi. He wrote commentaries upon the following books: Pentateuch, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets, Psalms, Job, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Kohelet, Esther, and Daniel; and a second commentary to Exodus, Canticles, Esther, and Daniel. As a commentator Ibn Ezra opens up a new era among his compatriots because of his judicious aloofness to the claims of tradition when they cannot be substantiated by the plain meaning of the text. In the introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch he discourses upon the methods hitherto employed in explaining the Biblical text: the digressive, the anti-traditional, the allegoric, and the Midrashic. All of these he rejects in favour of his own method, which he characterizes as a combination based on tradition and free research. In this manner a scientific sanity pervades his comments, which causes him to reject the theory of the verbal inspiration of the text, to lay minor stress upon the miracles, and, exegetically, to oppose any insistence upon the difference between *scriptio plena* and *scriptio defecta* as indicating a difference of meaning. Whenever he himself departs from this level, it is either with the object of finding a deeper and more philosophical meaning or of indulging in astrological speculations, to which he was much given. Free research, however, leads him to take up positions on certain questions which, though on a line with currents which were not strangers to the Synagogue (see Gottheil, 'Some Early Jewish Bible Criticism,' *JBL* xxiii. [1904] 1–12), would have rendered him an object of suspicion, had he not at times veiled his real meaning, at times given his reader a choice of explanations by adding such expressions as 'the reader will adopt the opinion which recommends itself most to his judgment,' or 'he who understands the difficulty should keep silence.' Thus, because he does not believe that the writers of the Bible anticipated history, he holds that the latter part of Samuel was written by some one other than the prophet; and that the second part of Isaiah was not written by the author of the first part. His influence upon Spinoza's theories in this respect (*Tract. Theol.-Pol.* viii.) is evident.

See M. Joël, *Spinoza's theol.-pol. Traktat*, Breslau, 1870, p. 64; and, in general, Bacher, in Winter and Wünsche, *Die jüdische Litteratur*, ii. 289 ff.

In addition, Ibn Ezra wrote a number of works on mathematical subjects, e.g. *Sefer ha-Mispār* and *Yesōd Mispār* on arithmetic; *Sefer ha-'Ibbūr* on the calendar; and *Kelē ha-Neḥōshet* on the astrolab, as well as a treatise on chronology.

Despite his tendency to rationalism, Ibn Ezra was a child of his times, and, as mentioned above, was much interested in astrology. As many as eight small treatises on this subject have come from his pen.

See M. Steinschneider, 'Abraham ibn Ezra . . . zur Gesch. der mathem. Wissensch. im xiii. Jahrhundert,' in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Mathematik*, Leipzig, 1880, pp. 57–128.

LITERATURE.—M. Friedländer, *Essays on the Writings of Ibn Ezra*, London, 1876; N. Krochmal, *Mōreh Nebukē ha-Zeman*, Lemberg, 1851, ch. xvii.; H. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, Leipzig, 1861, vi. note 8; W. Bacher, *Abraham ibn Ezra als Grammatiker*, Strassburg, 1882, also in *JE* vi. 520–524.

2. **Ibn Ezra, Moses ben Jacob**, Jewish poet and philosopher; contemporary and relative of his greater namesake Abraham ibn Ezra; born in Granada *c.* 1071, died *c.* 1138. He was a most fruitful writer of religious poetry, which is all characterized by gravity and a touch of pessimism. It is not surprising, therefore, that of the 220 such poems ascribed to him the greater part are to be found in the rituals for the solemn festival of New Year and the Day of Atonement. Of his secular poems, which do not possess the wit and sparkle of Abraham ibn Ezra, a large number (300) are found in his *Dīwān*, which is still unpublished. He is also the author of a remarkable poem, variously styled *Tarshīsh* and *'Anāḳ*, containing some 1210 verses and written in the style of the Arabic *tajnīs*, in which the lines of each strophe end in words similarly written and pronounced, but differing in meaning (homonyms). Ibn Ezra intended by this *tour de force* to show the possibilities of the Hebrew language in the working out of such literary conceits. The poem is divided into ten chapters, in which the *tajnīs*-rhymes are arranged alphabetically. The first chapter is occupied with the praise of some great man, who is supposed to have been the learned astronomer Abraham bar Ḥiyyah of Barcelona.

Even in his secular pieces, Moses ibn Ezra preserves his seriousness; but so varied is his use of the Hebrew language that his compositions are often preferred to those of Jehudah Halevi and Abraham ibn Ezra.

The *Tarshīsh* has been inadequately edited by David Günzburg for the society Meḳiṣē Nirdāmim, Berlin, 1886. See, however, T. Lewenstein, *Prolegomena zu Moses ibn Ezra's Buch der Tajnīs*, Halle, 1893.

The most important work that has come down to us from Moses ibn Ezra is his *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍarah*, written in Arabic. It is the only work of its kind written by a Hebrew scholar, and contains a detailed treatise on Hebrew prosody, a history of Hebrew poetry, and a mirror of the history of the Jews of his time. It is evidently fashioned closely upon the model of the Arabic *Adab* books.

Only a portion of it has been edited by P. K. Kokovtzov, in *Vostočnyja Zamètki*, St. Petersburg, 1895 (pp. 193–220); but a general account of its contents has been given by M. Schreiner in *REJ* xxi. [1890] 98–117, and xxii. [1891] 62–81, 236–249.

Moses ibn Ezra also wrote a philosophical work under the title *'Arugat ha-Bōsem*. Only fragments of this composition have been published, so that it is impossible to understand the system to which he adhered. He cites a number of Greek philosophers, al-Farabi, and, of Jews, Saadia Gaon and Ibn Gabirol. It is evident that this work must be of inferior importance, as it has left little trace in the literature of the time.

A few selections have been published by L. Dukes in the Hebrew periodical *Ziyyōn*, ii. [1842] 117 ff.

LITERATURE.—L. Dukes, *Moses ben Ezra aus Granada*, Altona, 1839; L. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin, 1865, p. 202; M. Sachs, *Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, do. 1845, p. 276.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

IBN GABIROL.—Solomon ibn Gabirol (Gabriel) enjoyed two distinct reputations. To the Synagogue he was known as a hymnologist, to the Church as a philosopher. It was S. Munk who, first in a periodical in 1846 and later in his *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (Paris, 1857–59), proved the identity of Ibn Gabirol with Avencebrol or Avicebron. This name seems to have arisen by successive corruptions of Ibn Gabirol into Aven-gebrol, Avicebrol, and the other forms familiar from quotations in the mediæval Scholastics. E. Renan (*Averroès*, Paris, 1852, p. 76) describes Munk's discovery as an 'eminent service to the history of philosophy.' For the curious implications of the identification, compare the remarks of Ueberweg-Heinze, *Gesch. der Philos.* (Berlin, 1898) ii. 296.

Ibn Gabirol was a Spanish Jew, who passed the years 1040–50 in Malaga (M. Steinschneider, *Die heb. Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893, § 219). It is commonly supposed that he was born about 1020 and died about 1070. Some authorities fix his death in the year 1058. The picture drawn of his personal life by H. Graetz may be found in the latter's *History of the Jews* (Eng. tr., London, 1891–92), vol. iii. ch. ix. There are no materials for a more definite narrative. Of his literary activities, however, we are better informed. Many of his Hebrew poems have been preserved in the Synagogue liturgy. Among these may be particularly cited his *Royal Crown*, which has been more than once rendered into German, and is to be found fully in English prose in the Prayer-Book of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews (ed. M. Gaster, *Day of Atonement*, Oxford, 1904, p. 47), and in part in English verse in Alice Lucas's *Jewish Year* (London, 1898), p. 140. It is an interesting fact that Ibn Gabirol, famous philosophically as a Platonist, should in this poem, the masterpiece of the neo-Hebraic muse, have gone for inspiration to Aristotle's short treatise 'On the World.' Gabirol's text is Aristotle's saying: 'What the pilot is in a ship, the driver in a chariot, the coryphæus in a choir, the general in an army, the lawyer in a city—that is God in the world' (*de Mundo*, ch. vi.). Where Gabirol differs from Aristotle is not merely in the moral optimism of his outlook, but in the mystical fervour of his inward gaze. There is, moreover, a charm of 'youthful freshness' in his verse, a quality which led to the erroneous belief that the poet died young. Many others of Gabirol's poems are found in the 'Spanish' liturgy; a short invocation of his, translated by Mrs. R. N. Salaman, is now included in the 'German' service-book (see *Authorized Hebrew Prayer-Book*, annotated ed., London, 1913, p. ccxlvi). Gabirol also wrote didactic hymns, such as his *Azhārôth* (*Exhortations*)—poetical summaries of the Biblical Laws, for recitation on Pentecost. Another long poem of his is termed *'Anāq*; this is a linguistic treatise. Others of his poems previously unknown have been recently published. Ibn Gabirol, like other mediæval Hebrew authors, wrote secular as well as religious poems; several of his epistles have come down to us. His command of a pure Hebrew style is as remarkable as is the elevation of his thought. He stands very high among post-Biblical writers of Hebrew.

Besides his poetical works, Ibn Gabirol composed ethical and metaphysical treatises, some of them of minor importance. A full account of these may be found in the work of Steinschneider cited above. One popular collection of moral maxims, the *Choice of Pearls*, is attributed to Ibn Gabirol, though authorities are divided as to the correctness of this ascription. The book was translated into English by B. H. Asher (London, 1859). More authentic is the *Improvement of the Moral Qualities*, written in Saragossa about the year 1045 (ed. S. S. Wise, in Arabic and English, New York, 1901).

'In two respects the "Ethics" (by which abbreviation the work may be cited) is highly original. In the first place, as compared with Saadia, his predecessor, and Baḥya and Maimonides, his successors, Gabirol took a new stand, in so far as he set out to systematise the principles of ethics independently of religious belief or dogma. Further, his treatise is original in its emphasis on the physio-psychological aspect of ethics, Gabirol's fundamental thesis being the correlation and interdependence of the physical and the psychical in respect of ethical conduct' (*JE* vi. 529). This thought, indeed, permeates the philosophy of our author.

By far the most important of Ibn Gabirol's philosophical treatises was the Arabic work of which the original is lost, but which is known in Hebrew as *Mᵉqôr Ḥayyîm* and in Latin by the equivalent title *Fons Vitæ*. The fullest edition of the Latin is by C. Baeumker, *Avencebrolis Fons Vitæ* (Münster, 1895). Mysticism naturally attaches itself to Platonism; hence the *Fons Vitæ*, being Platonic in spirit, easily influenced the Jewish Qabbālā, especially in its theory of emanations. On the other hand, it did not affect the progress of Jewish scholastic theology, partly because the latter assumed an Aristotelian guise, and partly because the *Fons Vitæ*, though it essentially is an attempt to harmonize the Jewish monotheism with Platonism, is based on extra-Biblical foundations. The *Fons Vitæ* is, however, frequently quoted by Christian scholastics. Albertus Magnus cites its author as an Arab (Ueberweg-Heinze, 266). Duns Scotus, whose hostility to the Jews is notorious, had no suspicion that the author whom he so admired was himself a Jew. Of Duns Scotus the historian just cited (p. 291) says that 'many Platonic and neo-Platonic ideas penetrated into his thought by the channel of the *Fons Vitæ*.'

Holding that every created substance, whether spiritual or bodily, possesses matter as well as form (a position contested by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas), Duns Scotus asserted: 'ego autem ad positionem Avicembronis redeo.' He agrees with Ibn Gabirol in holding 'quod unica sit materia' (p. 296). Platonic realism and its underlying hypostatization of ideas have obvious relations with Ibn Gabirol's *materia universalis*, though, unlike Spinoza, Ibn Gabirol does not identify God with the *materia universalis*. On the contrary, he absolutely excludes God from any such category. The theory of the identity of substance running through the universe of spirit and body is a hypothesis of far-reaching import, and interest in Ibn Gabirol has been revived in recent times because of the new turn which has been given to mystical and monistic conceptions.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works cited in the course of the article, the following may be added, out of the extensive literature on the subject: M. Sachs, *Die rel. Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, Berlin, 1845, pp. 3–40, 213–248; G. Karpeles, *Gesch. der jüd. Lit.*, do. 1886, pp. 465–483; W. Bacher, *Bibelexegese der jüd. Religionsphilosophen des Mittelalt.*, Strassburg, 1892, p. 45; J. Winter and A. Wünsche, *Die jüd. Litt.*, ii. (Trier, 1894) 723, iii. (1896) 28, 109; D. Kaufmann, *Stud. über Salomon ibn Gabirol*, Budapest, 1899; D. Neumark, *Gesch. der jüd. Philos. des Mittelalt.*, i. (Berlin, 1907) 157, 500, 524, 555.

I. ABRAHAMS.

IBN HANBAL.—Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, the founder of the Ḥanbalite school, was born in the month of Rabī' the first, A.H. 164 (A.D. Nov. 780) in Baghdād. His lineage was of pure Arabic stock, from the great tribe of Bakr ibn Wā'il. Ḥanbal was the name of Aḥmad's grandfather. His father, Muḥammad, died when Aḥmad was still in infancy. Rarely the *imām* is called Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥanbal. When 15 years of age, he began the study of tradition and other Muslim sciences. To acquire a full knowledge of the holy texts, he visited Mecca and Medīna, Yemen, Syria, Mesopotamia, Kūfa, and Baṣra, and studied under Sufyān ibn 'Uyaina, Abū Yūsuf, al-Shāfi'ī, and many other famous teachers of those days. During this time he often lived in penury and suffering. Yet, when still a youth, he was held in reverence as an authority in matters of Muslim tradition. Al-Shāfiʿī too seems to have had a great respect and affection for Ibn Ḥanbal. It is told that, when al-Shāfiʿī went at last to Egypt, he said: 'I do not leave behind any one greater as a *faqīh* or more pious and learned than Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.'

After this period of travelling, Aḥmad continued to reside in Baghdād. Soon he was regarded as one of the greatest teachers of tradition and *fiqh*. During his whole career he was a great defender of orthodoxy. In his personal life he was very scrupulous in his adherence to the ritual observances. It is said that he was wont to pray every day 300 *rakʿa's* at least (every prayer consists of a certain number of *rakʿa's*). It was his custom at night, after the last prayer of the day, to sleep only for a short time, and then to arise and offer prayers of supererogation until the morning. He recited the whole Qur'ān once every seven days. His needs were so extremely few that his life might seem a continuous fast. His demeanour was that of a man abstracted from the common concerns of life.

Aḥmad's maintenance of the integrity of orthodox faith, during the inquisition (*miḥna*) ordered by the Khalīf al-Ma'mūn and his successors, is looked upon as one of his greatest merits by his Muslim biographers. Al-Ma'mūn had adopted in the year A.H. 212 (A.D. 827) the doctrine of the Muʿtazilites, that the Qur'ān was *created*. The Khalīf made this tenet obligatory upon his subjects, and sent letters to all the provinces, ordering that his governors should cite the *qāḍīs* and learned men and demand of them a clear answer as to Allāh's *creation* of the Qur'ān. Those who would not yield, as the test was applied, were frightened by threats and tortures. But Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal remained firm in the orthodox faith that the Qur'ān was Allāh's *uncreated* word. He was cast for some time into prison, in chains, but refused to assent to the Khalīf's doctrine. In the year A.H. 219 he was scourged in the palace of the Khalīf Muʿtaṣim, Ma'mūn's successor. Finally, as the crowd outside became moved with anger and was preparing to attack the palace, the Khalīf ordered the suspension of the punishment, and soon after set Aḥmad free.

After the scourging Ibn Ḥanbal was let alone. It may be that the Government feared a popular outbreak if any further action was taken against the holy man. In the year A.H. 234 (A.D. 848) the Khalīf al-Mutawakkil stopped the application of the test by public proclamation. When Aḥmad was asked by this Khalīf to undertake the teaching of al-Muʿtazz, his favourite son, in the palace at Surramanra, he excused himself, fearing that the Khalīf was going to make him an attaché to the court.

As a *faqīh* and a traditionist, Ibn Ḥanbal bore a great reputation among his own and the following generations. He was a man of great influence among the people, and the leading representative of the strictest orthodox party in those days. He died on the 12th of Rabīʿ the first, A.H. 241 (A.D. 31 July 855), at the age of 77 years. When the news of his death became known, there was general grief over the city of Baghdād and even in distant countries. It is told that many thousands were present at his funeral.

In regard to Ibn Ḥanbal's works we know very little. Only one book, the *Musnad*, his great work, is well known. It is a compilation containing about 30,000 or 40,000 traditions relating to the *sunnah* of the Prophet. According to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, only the traditions in it were a reliable basis for argument in *fiqh* and other Muslim sciences, whilst the traditions omitted therein were not at all to be regarded as a sound basis. The *Musnad* is not arranged with any reference to the subjects of the traditions it includes, but only according to the earliest authorities of the cited traditions. The work has always had a great reputation in Muslim circles; it has been used by many traditionists, but its immense size and the inconvenient method of its arrangement prevented it from becoming a popular book. A printed edition was issued at Cairo in 1896.

After the death of Ibn Ḥanbal, his pupils and admirers continued to form the so-called *Ḥanbalite madhhab*, one of the four Muslim schools of *fiqh*, which still exist at the present day. The Ḥanbalites have always distinguished themselves by their aversion to liberal theories in matters of faith, and their enmity against the Muslim rationalists and freethinkers (see, further, art. SECTS [Muslim]).

LITERATURE.—Walter M. Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna: a Biography of the Imâm, including an Account of the Moḥammedan Inquisition called the Miḥna*, Leyden, 1897; I. Goldziher, 'Anzeige von Patton's Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna,' in *ZDMG* lii. [1898] 155–160, 'Zur Gesch. der hanbalit. Bewegungen,' *ib.* lxii. [1908] 1–28, 'Neue Materialien zur Litt. des Ueberlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern,' *ib.* l. [1896] 465–506, and art. 'Aḥmed b. Muḥammed b. Ḥanbal,' in *EI* i. [1913] 188–190; C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Lit.*, Weimar and Berlin, 1897–1902, i. 181–183.

TH. W. JUYNBOLL.

IBN ḤAZM.—Ibn Ḥazm (Abū Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Aḥmad), a celebrated theologian and *bel esprit* of Muslim Andalusia, was born A.H. 384 (A.D. 994) in a suburb of Cordova, the Umayyad capital. He belonged to a Spanish family of converts (*muwallad*; cf. *ZDMG* liii. [1899] 602 ff.) hailing originally from Niebla. His great-grandfather, Ḥazm by name, had renounced the Christianity in which he was born, and embraced Islām; but the family subsequently denied their Christian descent, and fabricated for themselves a Persian origin, claiming to be descended from a Persian who had been emancipated (*maulā*) by Yazīd, the brother of Muʿāwiya, the first of the Umayyad Khalīfs, and to be the protégés of that family. Aḥmad, the father of Ibn Ḥazm, had served as vizīr under the ʿĀmirids (al-Manṣūr ibn Abī ʿĀmir, and his son al-Muẓaffar), and Ibn Ḥazm himself held the office for a short time under the Khalīfs ʿAbdalraḥmān IV. (al-Murtaḍā) and ʿAbdalraḥmān V. (al-Mustaẓhir), taking part in the wars forced upon the tottering Umayyad Khalīfate by the insurgent Berbers under the claimant ʿAli b. Ḥammūd. He was for a time a captive among the Berbers. After the fall of Mustaẓhir (A.D. 1024), he was thrown into prison by Muḥammad II. (al-Mustakfī), the next occupant of the throne. On regaining his liberty, he withdrew entirely from the political arena, and lived a rather solitary life on his ancestral estate near Niebla, devoting himself to the literary and scientific pursuits which at length made him one of the most prominent figures in Andalusian Islām. He died there A.H. 456 (A.D. 1063).

His literary work was of a varied character. His son, Abū Rāfiʿ, estimates that he was the author of some 400 compositions, consisting in the aggregate of 80,000 pages, and there is no doubt that he was a most prolific writer. He was a tasteful poet, and his love poems are often quoted. He also composed a belletristic monograph on love, entitled *Tauq al-ḥamāma fi-l-ulfa wal-ullāf* ('the dove's neck-ring on sociality and the sociable'), still extant in a single MS (in Leyden), an edition of which is being prepared for publication by a Russian scholar. From this work a charming love-experience of its author has been translated by Dozy. Ibn Ḥazm contributed also to historical study. A short treatise of a historical character, *Nuqaṭ al-ʿarūs fī tawārīkh al-khulafā*, was recently edited from the sole surviving MS (in Munich), and published with a Spanish translation ('Regalos de la novia sobre los anales de los califas') in the *Revista del Centro de Estudios Historicos de Granada y su Reino* (i. [1911] 160–180, 236–248), by C. F. Seybold. Of more importance in this field is Ibn Ḥazm's great work entitled *Jamharat al-ansāb* (in Maqrīzī, *Kitāb itti ʿāẓ al-ḥunafā* ['History of the Faṭimids'], ed. H. Bunz, Leipzig, 1909, p. 8, l. 4—the title appears as *Kitāb al-jamāhīr fī ansāb al-mashāhīr*), treating of the genealogy of the Arab and Berber tribes, with special reference to the branches of the former in the Maghrib. This work, a section of which has been published in India by S. Khudā Bukhsh, was highly prized by Ibn Khaldūn ('Ibn Ḥazm is the *imām* of genealogists and learned men'; 'trustworthy, he has no equal'), and was often used by him (*Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, Algiers, A.D. 1847–51, i. 106 f., 147, ii. 2, and *passim*).[1]

But the bulk of Ibn Ḥazm's literary work is devoted to theology. Even a treatise on Logic—now lost—he is said to have brought into the theological sphere, thus disregarding the position assigned to the former by Aristotle. Voluminous works on the *fiqh*, the *ḥadīth*, the dogmatics, and other elements of Islām are ascribed to him; but, for a reason to be mentioned presently, the greater number have perished. He was at the outset an adherent of the Shāfiʿite school, but, following in the wake of Dāwūd b. ʿAlī (*q.v.*), the founder of the Ẓāhirīyya school, abandoned it for the latter. Just as, in a general sense, he vindicates the rejection of the non-traditional sources for the deduction of the Laws in a special work (*Ibtāl al-qiyās*) first made known by the present writer, so, in particular, he develops his Ẓāhirite polemic against the dominant schools (*madhāhib*) in the special chapters of his work *al-Muḥallā*, which deals with the religious law, while in various works in systematic theology he exhibits the Ẓāhirite method in its broadest application. In one direction, however, he advanced beyond the normal position of the Ẓāhirite school; for, whereas they had hitherto limited the scope of their principle to the science of law (*fiqh*), and had regarded the province of dogmatic theology as indifferent, Ibn Ḥazm applied their method to the latter as well. In controverting, on the one hand, the Ashʿarite theology, which in his day represented the orthodox conception of the faith, and, on the other, the dogmatics of the Muʿtazilites, he interprets theology in the light of the Ẓāhirite school, and from that standpoint assails all other views. He develops his criticism in his best known work, the *Kitāb al-fiṣal fi-l-milal wal-ahwā wal-niḥal*—a title usually abbreviated to *Kitāb al-milal wal-niḥal*—of which a printed edition is now available (4 vols., Cairo, A.H. 1317–21; on the MSS cf. *ZDMG* lxvi. [1912] 166).

In this treatise he first of all gives, for polemical purposes, an account of non-Muhammadan religions and their doctrines, and then a critique of the doctrinal divisions of Islām. The first part of the work is devoted mainly to Judaism and Christianity, and to criticism of the OT and NT and the inconsistencies and absurdities therein, his design being to confirm a view already expressed in the Qur'ān and elaborated with increasing distinctness in later Islām, viz. that the alleged documents of revelation in the hands of Jews and Christians cannot possibly be the sacred writings given by God. He deals also with later religious writings of Judaism and Christianity, and, in particular, he submits the Talmud to severe criticism. This side of his work would never of itself have aroused the animosity of other theologians, but it was a very different matter with the bitter and merciless spirit in which, alike in the work before us and in his writings on the *fiqh*, he speaks of the most eminent authorities in Muslim jurisprudence and dogmatics.

In his theological writings his tone is immoderate, fanatical, and unsparing, and he shows not the slightest respect for authority or for the great personalities of the past who stood high in the general esteem. His character for severity became a proverb in literary circles: *Saif al-Ḥajjāj waqalam Ibn Ḥazm* ('The sword of Ḥajjāj and the pen of Ibn Ḥazm'). The result was that he lost all favour with the theologians; his books were banned, and left unstudied (cf. Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Shafiʿīya*, Cairo, A.H. 1324, iv. 78), and were seldom quoted. This explains why most of his works are lost, and why some are extant only in rare MSS. Under the Abbadid ruler al-Muʿtamid, indeed, his books were publicly burned in Seville—a proceeding upon which Ibn Ḥazm commented in an epigram charged with supreme disdain:

> 'Though you burn the paper, you cannot burn what the paper contains, for it is laid up in my breast;
> It goes with me whithersoever my camel betakes himself; it stops where I stop, and will be buried with me in my grave;
> Let me alone with your burning of parchment and paper, and speak rather about science, so that the people may learn which of us knows anything;
> If not, go to school again. How many secrets has God beyond the things you aspire to!'

In his increasing isolation he was shunned even by students. Of the few pupils who availed themselves of his oral teaching the best known is Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Ḥumaidī († A.H. 488 [A.D. 1095]), who speaks in laudatory terms of his learning, and his moral and religious character.

Amongst his polemical works may also be included a still extant satirical poem of 137 couplets in which he holds up Christianity and its institutions to derision by way of a rejoinder to a Byzantine writer who had assailed Islām and the Khalīfate in verse. A complete text of this poem appears in Subkī (*op. cit.* ii. 184–189). Ibn Ḥazm never speaks of Judaism or Christianity except in fierce and virulent language.

Of his theological writings, besides the polemical work above referred to, his treatise on Abrogation in the Qur'ān (*Kitāb al-nāsikh wal-mansūkh*) has been published (Cairo, A.H. 1297, in connexion with an edition of the Jalālain Commentary; also at the Khairīya Press, A.H. 1308). An ethical work, *Kitāb al-akhlāq wal siyar fī mudāwāt al-nufūs* ('On the healing of souls')—a series of maxims relating to morals and the conduct of life, arranged in chapters—has also appeared in print (ed. Maḥmaṣānī, Cairo, 1905) This tractate, in which the *Imitatio Muhammedis* is set forth as the ideal of the ethical life (cf. I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 30), is of importance as affording a vivid impression of the author's personal character, and reveals very candidly his qualities and defects. He refers in it to the arrogance which ruled him for a time, but from which he was delivered by self-discipline. His intolerance, his propensity to bitter criticism of his fellow-men, and his ill-humour he ascribes to an enlargement of the spleen resulting from an illness (p. 77). This work is the tranquil outcome of the mature experience to which he constantly appeals. He complains here of the inconstancy of friends; after long years of intimacy his own best friend had deserted him (p. 40). But in spite of all he is able to say:

> 'Everything has its advantages: I myself have derived great benefit from the attacks of the ignorant. They have stirred up my spirit, quickened my feeling, stimulated my thought, and fostered my activity. They were the cause of my composing large works which I should never have written unless they had disturbed my peace and fanned the spark hidden within me' (p. 52).

Of his sons, besides the Abū Rāfi' mentioned above, we hear also of an Abū Usāma Yaʿqūb as the transmitter of one of his father's works (*Nuqaṭ al-ʿarūs*; cf. Ibn al-ʿAbbār, *Muʿjam* [*Bibl. arab. hispana*, iv.], p. 29, line 2 from foot).

LITERATURE.—Sources for the life of Ibn Ḥazm: C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.* i. (Weimar, 1898) 400; R. P. A. Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leyden, 1861, iii. 341 ff. (*Gesch. der Mauren in Spanien*, Leipzig, 1874, ii. 210 ff.); the Arabic periodical *al-Muqtabas*, i. (A.H. 1324) 39 ff., ii. (A.H. 1325)

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[1] A quotation will be found in Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1842–47, p. 376, line 4 from foot.

313 ff. For his work on the sects: I. Friedländer, in the *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, Giessen, 1906, pp. 267–277; the same writer has edited and translated the chapter on the Shi'ite sects in *JAOS* xxviii.–xxix. (1908–09). On his criticism of Judaism and Christianity: M. Steinschneider, *Polem. und apologet. Lit. zwischen Muslimen, Christen, und Juden*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 22, 99; I. Goldziher, 'Muham. Polemik gegen Ahl al-Kitāb,' in *ZDMG* xxxii. [1878] 365; M. Schreiner, *ib.* xlii. [1888] 612, xlviii. [1894] 39; his polemic against the Talmud was published by Goldziher, in Kobak, *Zeitschr. für Gesch. des Judentums*, viii. [1872] 76–104; his dogmatic system with references to his works is set forth in Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Gesch.*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 115–170.

I. GOLDZIHER.

IBN TAIMĪYA.—Ibn Taimīya (Taqī al-dīn Abu-l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Abdalḥalīm), the most eminent Muslim theologian of the 13th–14th centuries, was the scion of a Syrian family of scholars, and was born A.H. 661 (A.D. 1263) in Ḥarrān, near Damascus, a locality where a rigidly puritanical conception of religion had prevailed from early times (Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Ḥaidarābād, n.d., ii. 48, line 3 from foot), and where the Ḥanbalite school was strongly represented. The family of Ibn Tiamīya belonged to that school. As a public exponent of its tenets in Damascus he succeeded his father in A.H. 681 (A.D. 1282), and in a short time his lectures and writings, in which he assumed a position of decided antagonism to the dominant tendencies of Muslim orthodoxy, made a great stir and aroused vehement opposition. He rejected the unthinking and slavish adherence to a particular school of religious law (*taqlīd*), and in the discussion of that subject he called upon his fellow-Muslims to fall back upon the old traditional sources. It is true that he went further than the Ẓāhirites (see art. DĀWŪD B. 'ALĪ), with whose principles he closely agrees, in the range which he assigned to arguments from analogy (*qiyās*). Alike in the sphere of theology and in that of religious usage, he relentlessly assailed the innovations (*bida'*) which had found their way into the religious life, and, above all, he fought strenuously against the spiritualistic interpretation of the anthropomorphic passages in the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth*, against the Ash'arite method of dogmatics, and against the mysticism of the Ṣūfīs (*q.v.*). In the cultus, again, he declared war upon the worship of saints and tombs which had crept into Islām, and he even objected to the practices of invoking the Prophet and making pilgrimages to his tomb. He differed from the acknowledged schools of jurisprudence with reference to the law of divorce. It is of special importance to note his opposition to the abuses which brought in their train the practice of *taḥlīl*, viz. that a man should not re-marry a woman from whom he had been definitely divorced, unless she had meanwhile consummated a valid marriage with another and been divorced from him. In his writings he is a zealous adversary of Greek philosophy, Judaism, and Christianity. By way of inciting the Muslims against them, he pointed to the Mongol invasion which had just swept over Syria, asserting that the visitation was in part due to the laxity of his co-religionists. He issued a *fatwā* demanding that the Jewish synagogues in Cairo should be destroyed, and urging his people not to allow the chapels of other faiths to exist in their midst (ed. M. Schreiner, in *REJ* xxxi. [1895] 214 ff.). In his criticisms he did not spare the most widely accepted authorities of Islām, not even the first Khalifs. But the special object of his antagonism was al-Ghazālī, whom he disliked both as an Ash'arite and as a mystic, and whose knowledge of the sources of theological science he greatly disparaged. His opposition to the Muslim *consensus* (*ijmā'*)—a theological growth of centuries—brought upon him a series of prosecutions, and from A.H. 705 (A.D. 1305) till his death he was repeatedly imprisoned both in Damascus and in Cairo. He died in prison on 22nd Dhulqa'da 728 (29th September 1328).

Though a stringent interdict was laid upon the acceptance of his doctrines, he was not left without champions. Even after his death, pamphlets were written on the question whether he was to be regarded as a *kāfir* ('unbeliever') or as a genuine representative of orthodoxy. The tradition of his teaching was continued by his faithful pupil Shamsaddīn ibn Qayyim al-Jauzīya († A.H. 751 [A.D. 1350]) in numerous works. At a much later period his views enjoyed a furtive revival in smaller circles, and the most striking historical result of his teaching is the fact that in the 18th cent. the founder of the powerful Wahhābi (*q.v.*) movement in central Arabia derived his initiative from the writings of Ibn Taimīya (cf. Goldziher, *ZDMG* lii. [1898] 156). His name is the shibboleth of the Wahhābite theologians in their controversy with the orthodox, who in turn take as their watchword the name of Ghazālī.

As regards the influence of Ibn Taimīya at the present day, it should be noted that the party championed by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā in his periodical *al-Manār* (now in its 16th year)—a party which rejects the *taqlīd* of the four orthodox schools, appeals to the *ḥadīth*, and is opposed to the worship of saints and the superstitious practices associated therewith—draws its constant inspiration from the writings of Ibn Taimīya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jauzīya. It is perhaps due to this wide-spread acceptance of Ibn Taimīya's views that within little more than a decade so many of the hitherto much neglected works of the great Ḥanbalite theologian have been issued in printed form in Cairo and Ḥaidarābād.

Ibn Taimīya displayed a vast literary fertility in books, tractates, epistles, and *fatwās*. The list of his works given in Brockelmann's *Gesch. der arab. Litt.* ii. 103–105 is by no means exhaustive, and, in particular, attention should be drawn to a series of treatises (*majmū'at al-rasā'il al-kubrā*), published in 2 vols. at Cairo, A.H. 1322.

LITERATURE.—I. Goldziher, *Die Zâhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Gesch.*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 188–193, and in *ZDMG* lxii. [1908] 25 f.; M. Schreiner, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der theolog. Bewegungen im Islam*, Leipzig, 1899 (=*ZDMG* lii. [1898] 540–563, liii. [1899] 51–61), with a bibliography of the controversial writings for and against Ibn Taimīya; C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, ii. (Berlin, 1902) 103.

I. GOLDZIHER.

IBN ṬUFAIL.—Ibn Ṭufail (Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd-al-malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭufail al-Qaiṣī), referred to by the Christian Scholastics as Abubacer, was born, probably at the beginning of the 12th cent. A.D., in the little Andalusian town of Guadix (Wādī Ash), and died in the royal city of Morocco in 1185. Besides the name Abū Bakr he also bore that of Abū Ja'far (as in the MS of the British Museum tr. by Pococke), from the name of another of his sons. Our information regarding his life is but meagre, and what we are told is by no means always reliable. It is certain, however, that he was possessed of the learning and culture of his day, that he composed verses, and that he was actively engaged in medicine and politics. Thus we read that he was the physician and vizīr of Khalīf Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (1163–84), with whom he lived on terms of friendship. He performed a special service to Muhammadan philosophy by introducing Ibn Rushd (Averroes) to that prince, and encouraging him to write a commentary on Aristotle. This event has been generally assigned to the year 1154, but L. Gauthier brings it down to 1169.

We possess no scientific work from the hand of Ibn Ṭufail. His claim of being able to improve the Ptolemaic system is probably to be interpreted merely as expressing his conviction that he must adhere as closely as possible to Aristotle rather than to Ptolemy.

His only surviving work—a work that secures for its author a niche in the temple of universal literature—is a philosophical allegory entitled *Hayy ibn Yaqẓān*. In the introduction to that book he indicates his position in Muslim philosophy. He professes to be an adherent of the philosophy of enlightenment (*ishrāq*, 'illumination'). This is not the crude pantheism current in India and Persia, but a speculative mysticism of a Neo-Platonic type. Having laid the foundations in the observation of Nature and in rational thought, he aspires to ascend to the highest—*i.e.* to the state of ecstasy, in which the soul experiences what the eye has never seen, the ear never heard, and the heart of man never imagined. Just because such a spiritual process cannot be described easily, or even described at all, in words, it must be presented allegorically. The persons in his allegory, so far as their names are concerned, are borrowed from the mystical treatises of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna). But 'Salāmān' and 'Asāl' are in all probability derived from the field of Hellenistic-Jewish legend, while 'Hayy' recalls the first syllable of 'Gāyōmarṭ,' a mythical king of Persia. Many features of Ibn Ṭufail's work are of legendary origin, but the arrangement is doubtless his own. The theme proposed was a practical question in Western Islām at the time, just as it had been in the East at an earlier day. The problem was, in fact, the relation of the individual to society, or, to state it more precisely, the relation between the philosophical reflexion and intuition of the individual and the traditional belief of the multitude.

The author seeks to portray as clearly as possible three distinct types: (1) the philosopher, who by natural endowment and his own reflexion and self-abnegation is fitted to receive enlightenment from above—one, that is to say, who rises step by step to a mystic unity with higher spirits, and ultimately with the Divine Being Himself ('Hayy'); (2) the man of traditional beliefs ('Salāmān'); and (3) the speculative theologian, who interprets the figurative language of revelation, as given in the Qur'ān, in a spiritual sense ('Asāl' = Ibn Sīnā's 'Absāl'). The last-mentioned, accordingly, stands for the allegorical method of interpreting the sacred writings—a legacy of Alexandrian thought—which had been far more widely assimilated in Islām than philosophy in the stricter sense as represented by Hayy.

The thread of the narrative is as follows: Hayy ibn Yaqẓān ('The Living, son of the Awake') is, when a mere child, cast upon an uninhabited island below the equator—or, according to another legend, comes into being there by spontaneous generation. He is suckled by a gazelle, and grows up among animals, the language of which he learns, and from which, after trying the leaves of trees, he obtains his first primitive clothing. This is the starting-point of his development, which completes itself in 7×7 years. He has an intense desire to learn. The gazelle that suckled him dies, and shortly afterwards he begins to dismember it, continuing till he comes to the conclusion that the heart is the central bodily organ, the seat of the principle of life. Having discovered how to produce fire, and having found a relish in roasted flesh, he proceeds to dissect various other animals, either dead or alive. Then, just as he studied the animals of his island, even taming a number of them, so he investigates its plants and minerals, its atmospheric phenomena, and, in a word, the whole philosophy of Nature. He is struck by the multiplicity of phenomena, and he endeavours to find unity in all—the unity of the organism, that of the species and the genus, and at length the all-pervading unity of the world. From his study of physical Nature, in every part of which he traces the distinction between matter and psychical or spiritual form, and, accordingly, an ever-recurring birth and decay, he infers the existence of a pure and invariable Form as the cause of all that is, and in this way he comes to know the Deity from His works. The existence of the Divine Spirit he infers also from the fact that space must necessarily be conceived as finite.

Thus far he has recognized the Creator of the world only as the most perfect spiritual being. He now proceeds to study his own spirit as the medium through which he has obtained that knowledge. He perceives that he belongs to a realm above the animal kingdom, and that he is akin to the spirits who control the celestial spheres. It is only as regards his body that he is of the earth; his soul or spirit (*rūḥ*) is indubitably of a celestial nature, and the highest that is in him—that by which he has come to recognize the Supreme Being—must surely be akin to that Being. These reflexions furnish him with the law for his future conduct (cf. the exercises of Buddhist monks and of whirling dervishes). He restricts his physical wants to what is absolutely necessary. By preference he eats ripe fruits and vegetables, and only in case of necessity resórts to animal food, while he fasts as often and as long as possible. He resolves that no species of animate beings shall become extinct on his account. He aims at scrupulous cleanliness, and in his movements, as, *e.g.*, his walks around the beach of his island, copies those of the heavenly bodies. By these means he is gradually enabled to raise his true Self above the heavens and the earth, and so to reach the Divine Spirit; and at this stage, in place of his earlier logical proofs of God's existence, he enjoys the *visio beatifica* and the *unio mystica*. He has now transcended the mathematico-logical categories of unity, plurality, etc. So far as the world still exists for him, he regards it only as a reflexion of the Divine light.

Hayy has often enjoyed the raptures of ecstasy, when at length his solitude is interrupted. Upon a neighbouring island live a people who, though adherents of the Muslim faith, are given to sensuous pleasures. A friend of Salāmān, the ruler of this island—an individual named Asāl—desiring to devote himself to study and self-denial, sets out for Hayy's island, which he supposes to be uninhabited. Here, then, he meets with Hayy, and, when the latter has at length acquired human language, the two become convinced that the religion of the one, in its rational interpretation, and the philosophy of the other are essentially the same. With a view to proclaiming this pure version of the truth to the credulous multitude, Hayy proceeds to the adjacent island, accompanied by Asāl. But their design miscarries; and the two friends have ultimately to admit that Muḥammad had acted wisely in giving the truth to the people under a veil of symbolical language. They, therefore, go back to the uninhabited island, in order that they may further give themselves to a life consecrated to God.

The greater portion of Ibn Ṭufail's book is devoted to the course of Hayy's education, and it is not to be wondered at that those who first translated the work, and gave an account of the author's philosophy, were mainly concerned with the person of Hayy. But the central theme of the allegory, as has been indicated, is the relation between religion and philosophy, and the principle that philosophy is one with religion properly understood. This has been specially emphasized by Gauthier, though perhaps somewhat one-sidedly. It is certainly quite obvious that in several passages Ibn Ṭufail is on Hayy's side: the eyes of Asāl are opened to the profoundest mysteries of the Spirit, not by the direct revelation of the Qur'ān, but by Hayy's philosophy of enlightenment; and at all events the work permits the inference that man may attain to supreme salvation by the inner light alone, and without the aid of prophetic revelation. This point of view was enough of itself to render the book objectionable to the Christian theologians of the Middle Ages, while, in particular, the monopsychitism of its author was stigmatized by Albertus Magnus as 'error omnino absurdus et pessimus' (*de Nat. et Orig. An.* ii. 4), and as a thing 'omnino deliramento simile' (*de An.* III. i. 7).

The *Hayy ibn Yaqẓān* had at first but few readers. The Neo-Platonists of the Renaissance seem not to have known it, else they would have found it acceptable, inasmuch as they taught that there were rays of the one Divine truth in all religions and philosophies. Certain points of connexion between *Hayy* and *El Criticón*, a work by the Spanish author Baltasar Gracián published in 1650–53—links recently pointed out by Menéndez y Pelayo—have not yet been satisfactorily explained.

LITERATURE.—i. *TRANSLATIONS OF HAYY IBN YAQẒĀN.*—The Arabic text with a Lat. tr. by E. Pococke, Jr., and an introduction by his father, was published at Oxford in 1671, and reprinted in 1700. The first Eng. tr. (1674; from the Lat.) was the work of George Keith, who, as a Quaker, probably set a higher value upon the 'inner light' than upon the letter of a revelation. A second Eng. tr. (also from the Lat.), by George Ashwell, appeared in 1686. In 1708, Simon Ockley, the orientalist, published a new English version from the original, and this was recently re-issued with few alterations by E. A. van Dyck, 'for the use of his pupils' (Cairo, 1905). Of Dutch translators probably the first was J. Bouwmeester, a friend of Spinóza, whose rendering (Amsterdam, 1672) was executed from the Lat. of Pococke, and this work was re-published at Amsterdam in 1701, while in the same year another issue, collated with the original Arabic and furnished with notes by the oriental scholar H. Reland, a professor in Utrecht, was published at Rotterdam. The earliest Germ. tr., by J. G. Pritius (Frankfort, 1726), was based upon the English of Ockley; that of J. G. Eichhorn (Berlin, 1783) is more independent. French and Spanish trr. have appeared only in recent times (see below).

Pococke's designation of the work, 'Philosophus Autodidactus,' appears on the title-page of most of the trr., even the Spanish of 1900. Reland (1701) has 'De natuurlijke Wijsgeer' ('The Natural Philosopher'), and Eichhorn, 'Der Naturmensch' ('The Natural Man'). In the 19th cent. Hayy was often compared with Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, but to us it is surely rather the contrast than the resemblance that suggests itself: Crusoe is the pattern of the practical man, while Hayy is the ideal of the reflective and mystical mode of life. Since 1882 the original has been frequently issued in the East—in Cairo and Constantinople—and has thus been brought within the range of active European study.

ii. *DISCUSSIONS*, etc.—**A. Merx**, 'Eine mittelalterliche Kritik der Offenbarung,' in *Die protestantische Kirchenzeitung für d. evang. Deutschland*, 22nd July–12th August 1885; T. J. de Boer, *The History of Philosophy in Islam*, London, 1903, pp. 181–187; *El Filósofo autodidacto de Abentofail: Novela psicológica traducida . . . del arabe por D. Francisco Pons Boigues, con un prólogo de Menéndez y Pelayo* (=*Colección de Estudios*

Árabes. v.), Saragossa, 1900; Léon Gauthier, *Hayy Ben Yaqdhân: Roman philosophique d'Ibn Thofaïl, texte arabe . . . et traduction franç.*, Algiers, 1900, and *Ibn Thofaïl: sa vie, ses œuvres* (=*Publ. de l'École des Lettres d'Alger, Bulletin de Corresp. Afric.* xlii.), Paris, 1909 (with bibliography).

T. J. de Boer.

IBN TŪMART.—Ibn Tūmart was a famous Muslim reformer of Morocco, surnamed 'the *Mahdī* of the Almohads.' According to Ibn Khaldūn, his name was *Amghar*, Berber for 'the chief.' The names of his ancestors were also Berber. The date of his birth is unknown; but it must have taken place between A.H. 470 and 480. He was born in a village of Sūs called Ijli en Warghān. His family were Iserghins, a section of the Hintata, one of the chief tribes of the Atlas. Ibn Khaldūn says that they were celebrated for their piety, and that Ibn Tūmart seemed eager to learn, and frequented the mosques, where he burned so many candles that he received the surname *Asafu* (Berber), 'the fire-brand.' It was probably the thirst for knowledge that drove him to the East.

At this time the Almoravid dynasty, which ruled in the Maghrib and a part of Spain, was declining, and corruption of morals had followed close on conquest. One of the strictest Muslim sects, that of Mālik ibn Anas, was in power; it confined its attention to the study of *furū'*, manuals which had usurped the place of the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīths.* Ghazālī had strongly opposed its doctrines in the East in a chapter of his *Iḥyā 'ulūm al-dīn*—the *Kitāb al 'Ilm,* which called forth the hatred of the lawyers (*faqīh*), such as the *qāḍī* Iyāḍ, and even Ash'arites like al-Ṭurṭūshī, who did not admit independent minds into their sects. His works were burned by order of the Almoravid amirs. Further, the grossest anthropomorphism (*tajsīm*) was prevalent; the allegorical expressions of the Qur'ān were taken literally; and God was given a corporeal form.

Ibn Tūmart started his travels in Spain, and it was undoubtedly there that he began to modify his ideas under the influence of the writings of Ibn Ḥazm (*q.v.*). He then went to the East, but the chronology of his travels is not certain. If, contrary to the opinion of al-Marrākushī, it was during his first stay in Alexandria that he imbibed the doctrines of Abu Bakr and Ṭurṭūshī, the latter—a believer in the Ash'arite teaching, although opposed to Ghazālī—must have imparted it to his pupil. He afterwards made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and studied at Baghdād and perhaps at Damascus. There he became imbued with the ideas of Ghazālī. Later writers say that it was under Ghazālī's influence that Ibn Tūmart decided to reform the beliefs of his country; but the two men never met.

These years of travel and study had transformed the Maghrībine *ṭālib.* If his plan was not yet fixed in all its details, he had at least thought of it. On the vessel in which he sailed he preached to the crew and the passengers, who, in obedience to his words, set themselves to read the Qur'ān and to pray. Thoroughly inspired with Ash'arite doctrines, he continued his preaching in Tripoli, in Mahadia, where the ruling sultan, Yaḥyā ibn Tamim, showed him great regard after hearing him state his case, at Monastir and at Bougie. There he played the part of moral reformer without restraint, making liberal application of an early maxim:

> 'Whoever among you sees anything reprehensible must change it with his hand; if he cannot, he must do it with his tongue; if that is impossible, he must do it with his heart. This is the minimum of religion.'

The Hammadite sovereign was annoyed at this impeachment of his authority; the people themselves rose up, and Ibn Tūmart fled to the Beni Uriagol, a neighbouring Berber tribe, who took him under their protection. There he met[1] the man who was to continue his work, 'Abd al-Mu'min, a poor *ṭālib* of Tajira, to the north of Nedroma, who, like himself, went to the East to study. Legend, which ascribes to Ibn Tūmart a knowledge of the qabbālā, which he learned in the East, claims that he recognized, from certain signs in this young man, the person for whom he was looking, just as Ghazālī had recognized the future reformer in him. All that we know is that he had an interview with 'Abd al-Mu'min, that he questioned him minutely, and that he ended by making him decide to give up his travels in the East in order to follow him. He then returned to the Maghrīb by way of Warsenis and Tlemsen, out of which he was driven by the governor; and then he passed through Fez and Miknāsa, where the people received his remonstrances with blows. At last he arrived at Morocco, where he asserted more than ever his rôle of uncompromising reformer of morals and doctrines. The Lemtuna women, like the Tuaregs and Kabyle of the present day, did not veil their faces. On this account Ibn Tūmart insulted them, and even assaulted Sura, the sister of the Almoravid amir 'Alī. 'Alī himself was not free from his insults. He rebuked him even in the mosque. 'Alī, who was more patient and tolerant than the reformer, did not punish him as he deserved; he merely summoned a conference at which Ibn Tūmart had to argue with Almoravid lawyers. They discussed such points as: Are the ways of knowledge limited or not? The principles of the true and the false are four in number: knowledge, ignorance, doubt, and supposition. He had no difficulty in defeating them, although among them there was a Spaniard as intellectual and as intolerant as himself—Mālik ibn Wuhaib, who advised 'Alī to put him to death, but in vain. The amir spared him, and Ibn Tūmart fled to Aghmāt, where he took part in further discussions, and thence to Agnilin, where he inaugurated his apostleship in a methodical way. At first he posed simply as the reformer of morals in so far as they were contrary to the Qur'ān and tradition; then, when he had obtained a certain influence over his followers, he went on to preach his own doctrines, inveighing violently against the dynasty 'that followed false doctrines,' and pronounced as 'infidel' any who transgressed his teaching: it was a preaching of holy war, not only with pagans and polytheists, but also with other Muslims. He chose ten companions, 'Abd al-Mu'min among them, and, after preparing their minds by a description of the characteristics of the Mahdī, he made them recognize him as such, and composed a genealogy for himself which made him a descendant of 'Alī ibn Abū Ṭālib. His doctrine was not pure Ash'arism; it was mixed with Shī'ism. The historians mention tricks of jugglery and perfidy to which he resorted in order to justify his claims. He rallied round him all the Hergha and a large section of the Maṣmūda, who had always been hostile to the Lemtuna (Almoravids), so much so that Yūsuf (ibn Tashfīn) had founded Marrākesh in order to keep them at a safe distance. He had written various treatises for them in Berber—a language which he spoke very well.[2] One of them, the *Tauḥīd*, is preserved in an Arabic version, published at Algiers in 1903. He completed the organization of his followers, whom he divided into categories: the first was composed of the ten who had been the first to recognize him; they were called the *juma'a* ('community'). The second was made up of fifty faithful ones; these he sometimes called 'believers' (*mū'minūn*) and sometimes 'unitarians' (*mu'aḥḥidūn*, from which comes the name 'Almohads'). His authority, however, was not recognized all over, as was shown particularly by the inhabitants of Tīnmāl (or Tīnmelel). He entered this town by strategy, massacred 15,000 men, took the women as slaves, divided the land and houses among his followers, and built a fortress. He converted the neighbouring tribes with their consent or by force, and in A.H. 517 he sent an army against the Almoravids under the leadership of 'Abd al-Mu'min. It sustained a terrible defeat, and the Mahdī found himself blockaded in Tīnmāl. Some of his followers suggested surrender. Ibn Tūmart had recourse to charlatanry with the complicity of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Wansharisī, whom he had brought from Warsenis; and, having regained his prestige, he massacred those of whom he was not sure. Ibn al-Athīr gives the evidently exaggerated number of 70,000 men as that of those thus slain. The cause of the Almohads revived as the power of the Almoravids weakened in Spain and Africa, and, when the Mahdī died in 524 (522 according to others), 'Abd al-Mu'min, whom he had chosen as his successor, was ready to re-commence the struggle. His tomb is in Tīnmāl, but his name and his history are completely forgotten.

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[1] According to the *Rauḍ al-Qirṭās*, this meeting took place at Tajira, the birthplace of 'Abd al-Mu'min.

[2] The Berbers knew so little Arabic that, in order to teach the uneducated Maṣmūda the *Fātiḥa* (first *sūra* of the Qur'ān), he named each of them by a word of this *sūra*: the first was called *al-Ḥamdu li'llāh* ('praise to God'); the second, *Rabbi* ('lord'); the third, *al-'Ālāmīn* ('of the worlds'). By asking them to repeat their names in order, he succeeded in teaching them to recite the *sūra*.

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Western authors: I. Goldziher, 'Materialien zur Kenntniss der Almohadenbewegung,' *ZDMG* xli. [1887] 30–140; the Introd. to *Livre de Moḥammed ibn Toumert*, pp. 1–102; cf. also R. P. A. Dozy, *Essai sur l'hist. de l'islamisme*, Leyden, 1879, pp. 368–377; A. Müller, *Der Islam*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1885–87, ii. 640–644; C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litt.*, 2 vols., Weimar and Berlin, 1898–1902, i. 400–402; A. Bel, *Les Almoravides et les Almohades*, Oran, 1910, pp. 9–16.

RENÉ BASSET.

IBSEN.—Henrik Ibsen (dramatist and poet) was born at Skien, in southern Norway, on 20th March 1828, the eldest son of Knud Ibsen, a substantial merchant. Scottish, German, and Danish strains preponderated over Norwegian in his ancestry. While Henrik was still a child, his father failed in business, and the family removed from his first home, a stately house in the market-place, to a humble suburban dwelling. His schooling was brief, and distinguished chiefly by a bent for art. This could not be indulged, and he was apprenticed at fifteen to an apothecary at Grimstad, a place still smaller and more remote. Here he spent seven years (1843–50), his time of storm and stress. The revolution of 1848–49 quickened his instinct of revolt and wakened his lyric power. He wrote fiery appeals on behalf of struggling Hungary and Denmark. He chose a Roman revolutionary for the hero of his first drama. *Catiline* (1850) excited no attention whatever; but its importance is great. Ibsen re-published it in 1875, with a preface in which he points out that it foreshadows the standing theme of his later drama—'the conflict of will and power.' And he is already a dramatist; in spite of his revolutionary sympathies, he has not idealized his hero; his Catiline is a tragically mixed character, who owes his ruin more to his own inner corruption than to the power of his foes.

A few months before its publication, Ibsen, having completed his apprenticeship, had come to Christiania. Here a second piece, *A Viking's Barrow* (*Kjæmpehöjen*), was acted with some success. He lived precariously by journalism, editing, with two friends, a short-lived periodical. In Nov. 1851 an appointment as stage-poet of the theatre at Bergen cut short these desultory activities, and decided his career. In accordance with the terms of his contract, he spent some months of 1852 in the study of stage arrangements at Copenhagen and Dresden. The five following years at Bergen brought him a practical training in stage technique of the utmost value to him. Besides staging numerous plays by other men, he produced four new pieces of his own—in particular *Dame Inger at Östraat* and *The Feast at Solhaug*. Enthusiasm for the national past was in the air at Bergen, and Ibsen did not escape it. But his mind was utterly unhistorical; history, even the national history, attracted him only as a source of dramatic or psychological problems, and these he was soon to find were furnished in greater abundance by contemporary society. Even when he drew upon history he re-shaped it freely to his needs. The historical Dame Inger was a spirited and high-handed, but not a tragic, figure; Ibsen involves her in a harrowing conflict between ambition and motherly love, which ends in her involuntary murder of the son for whom she has dared and endured. The *Feast at Solhaug* (1855) was the first result of his study of the sagas of Iceland. Something of their tragic grandeur is already reflected in the heroine Margit. But the lyrical form of the dialogue echoes the Norwegian ballads, and the temper of the play has a romantic buoyancy which Ibsen never again recovered. Two other new pieces were written and performed at Bergen—*St. John's Night* and *Olaf Liljekrans*, both based upon Norwegian legend. Both remained till recently unprinted.

In the summer of 1857, his contract at Bergen having terminated, Ibsen accepted a similar post at the Norwegian theatre in Christiania. A few months later he brought a wife to his new home, Susannah Daae Thoresen of Bergen.

The theatre had been recently established expressly to combat the dominant Danish taste by promoting a national Norwegian drama. With *The Vikings at Helgoland* (1857), Norway definitely acquired an original and very noble drama of her own. But the resources of the Norwegian theatre were unequal to staging it, and the older theatres both at Christiania and at Copenhagen rejected it with scorn. Danish poets like Oehlenschläger had dramatized the heroic saga in elegant iambics, and with a persistent effort to assuage and refine. Ibsen kept the rude strength of persons and situations, and the sinewy unadorned prose of their speech. Hjördis, the passionate wronged woman, who slays in deliberate vengeance the man she loves, is a tragic creation worthy of her prototypes in myth and saga, Brynhild and Gudrun.

The rejection of *The Vikings*, which was not played anywhere before 1861, increased Ibsen's estrangement from Christiania society. Conservative in politics, orthodox in religion, and devoted to Danish ideals of culture, the official and mercantile circles of the capital offered a stolid resistance to the young and needy idealists of the Nationalist cause. Björnson, four years Ibsen's junior, a born orator, and already the author of *Synnöve Solbakken* (1857), stood above the taciturn Ibsen both in persuasive potency and in popular repute. And Ibsen's next drama was a satiric comedy which ridiculed well-to-do society at its most sensitive point, and turned its apathy into furious indignation. *Love's Comedy* (1862) is, on the surface, an amusing exposure of the foibles incident to conventional courtship and marriage; a plea for the subjection of these relations to calm good sense, undistracted by sentiment and romance. But this attack upon 'romance' was inspired by a conception of love romantic in the extreme. Love's 'comedy' concerned only the shallow sentiment which society called by that name. The plight of genuine love in marriage could only, in Ibsen's eyes, be tragic: the routine of married life, the cares of household and children, vulgarized, he thought, the passion of souls. Falk, the young poet who preaches this doctrine, is at once ardent and shallow enough to make it, in his own case, plausible. The heroine, Svanhild, one of Ibsen's loveliest and most pathetic creations, gives him her heart, and they are on the point of adopting the conventional solution when the representative of calm good sense, an elderly merchant, intervenes, poses the young lovers with their own forgotten principles, and offers his own hand to Svanhild, who sadly accepts it. The play is written with abounding wit in ringing rhymes, and is now popular on all Scandinavian stages; but its imperfect technique and impossible ethics have hindered its vogue elsewhere. *Love's Comedy* is, however, important as Ibsen's first essay in the modern 'social' drama. A second saga-drama followed. The *Pretenders to the Crown* was written in a few weeks of the summer of 1863. Like *Dame Inger*, it is built upon Norwegian history, but is at once less unhistorical and more Ibsenian. The two figures, whose prolonged duel for the throne of Norway we watch, are admirably imagined and drawn: Hakon, the born ruler, clear-sighted and strong-willed; Skule, paralyzed by his own doubts. In Skule, Ibsen's own still hesitant faith in his powers may be reflected; but it is Hakon, not Skule, who is suggested by the clear structure and powerful build of this striking play.

Early in 1864 Ibsen's affairs reached a crisis. His outward circumstances, always precarious, had been seriously embarrassed by the failure, in 1862, of the Norwegian theatre. A small appointment as 'æsthetic adviser' at the Christiania theatre barely afforded a livelihood. His inner estrangement from society grew more bitter and intense. Some measure of it is given by the terrible stanzas of *On the Fells* (1860), an autobiographic confession shot through with the passion of Faust and the cynicism of Mephistopheles. The outbreak of the Dano-Prussian war in the spring of 1864 added a new and more definite provocation. Norway and Sweden declined, as in 1849, to support their Danish brothers; and the poet, who as a young man had then striven vainly to rouse them, felt their abstention yet more bitterly now. Some enthusiastic students went to the front as volunteers, but the government remained neutral; and service in the Norwegian army remained, as Ibsen intimated in his mocking verses, *The Ground of Faith*, one of the safest of callings. He sought to leave the country, and applied for a travelling pension, such as had recently been granted to Björnson. But *Love's Comedy* was too recent, and the favour was refused. In April 1864, Ibsen left Christiania for the south. Off Düppel he heard the Prussian guns; at Berlin he saw the Danish trophies, and the first idea of a great retributive poem upon his unfaithful fellow-countrymen flashed into his mind. It was the germ of *Brand*. In May he settled in Rome. The project at first made little progress. *Brand* was originally planned as a narrative poem, but the few cantos executed are laboured, and they were finally thrown aside and lost sight of. Thirty years later the Danish collector Pontoppidan discovered the MS in an antiquarian shop at Rome; it was published at Copenhagen in 1907. Meanwhile Ibsen, better inspired, had reverted to the dramatic form in which he was a master, and to a swift, flexible, ringing verse; he now wrote with fire, and in three months of the summer of 1865 completed the colossal poem. Brand, the prophet of 'All or Nothing,' hero and fanatic, is a great tragic figure, sublimely, but not quite consistently, conceived; and the drama itself is something less and something more, and greater, than the invective against Norway which it set out to be. Types of her prevailing weaknesses—of compromise, sentimentality, faintheartedness—are drawn with brilliant and incisive touch; peasants and artists, officials and clergy, come under the satirist's stroke; but the final upshot is in the spirit of Agnes the devoted wife rather than of Brand, of love rather than uncompromising will. *Brand* has *longueurs*, but in its greatest moments, such as the close of the fourth act, it reaches a tragic intensity unsurpassed in the literature of the century. Contrary to the expectation of both author and publisher, it was received throughout the Scandinavian world with rapturous applause; its fierce invectives counted for nothing with readers who recognized that the poet who lashed his country passionately loved it, or who saw in it, above all, a thrilling religious romance. With *Brand*, Ibsen's Scandinavian fame begins.

A yet greater work was immediately to follow. In *Peer Gynt* (1866), Ibsen found a totally new way of saying essentially the same things. The hero, instead of being the prophetic assailant of Norwegian failings, is their embodiment. The sombre tone and Hebraic intensity of *Brand* are replaced by an action of immense scope and many-coloured diversity. Peer, a romantic egoist, living only to 'fulfil himself,' finds at the close of a career of self-indulgence that he has no self to fulfil. From the Nemesis pronounced by Ibsen upon fragmentary and purposeless lives he is saved, apparently, by the devotion of Solveig, in whose faith and love his 'self' has lived—a beautiful incoherence which betrays the persistence of the romantic heart in Ibsen himself. In wealth of poetry, sometimes, as in Ase's death-scene, of the most daring originality, *Peer Gynt* marks the highest reach of modern Scandinavian literature. Even more than in *Brand* the poetry overshadowed the polemical animus which had inspired its inception.

But in Ibsen himself the polemical animus was still vigorous. The desire to give it more direct and searching expression contributed to shape *The League of Youth* (1869), the first of the prose comedies of modern society. It was written at Dresden, whither he had moved from Rome in the previous year. The Liberal party, which was the main support of Norwegian separatism, is here brought with scathing realism upon the stage. The temper of the piece is as far removed from poetry as the form. Ibsen compared it to the Dresden 'beer and sausages,' after the Roman 'wine' of *Peer Gynt*. The play provoked a storm of obloquy, to which Ibsen retorted in the verses *At Port Said*. A vaster work, meantime, was approaching completion. *Cæsar and Galilean*, published in 1873, had been planned in 1864, and occupied much of the intervening years. The spell of classical antiquity, which inspired Julian's overthrow of Christianity, Ibsen himself, living at Rome, did not escape, and Julian is drawn with unmistakable sympathy. But Ibsen profoundly understood the futility of his enterprise, and portrayed his failure with an emphasis which procured for the drama the plaudits of the orthodox. Julian's character, however, is not perfectly maintained; in the Second

Part he is too far degraded to rouse genuine tragic pity. Ibsen, for the first and last time, appears not completely master of his material. In both the contending forces, Hellenism and Christianity, he saw the seed of failure, and looked forward, like Heine, to the coming of a 'Third Kingdom,' superseding and surpassing both.

The passage containing this prophecy is deeply interesting; but Ibsen never reverted to it. It suggests a belief in the permanence of some form of political or religious community, which events were rapidly sapping in his mind. His fervid championship of Scandinavian brotherhood, of a union of the Northern States, had for years held in check his native individualism. He had allied himself with the Norwegian conservatives, and, not without astute arrangement on their part, had received flattering attentions and distinctions from the Swedish king, as an illustrious pillar of the Union. He was thus drawn into a false position. To political and ecclesiastical institutions as such he had at no time attached value. He had derided them in the persons of the Mayor and the Dean in *Brand*. His letters of the early seventies express a yet more radical antagonism. 'The State must go!' he wrote to Brandes in the crisis of the fate of France, 1871; 'all religion will fall!' The pillars of society, he was convinced, were rotten; and the hope of humanity lay in a revolution which would alone make possible the free development of the individual. That such a revolution was imminent in Europe Ibsen for at least twenty years (1864–84) believed. One who thought thus could not long remain in alliance with the conservatives; in 1877, Ibsen cut himself loose with the drama significantly called *The Pillars of Society*. 'It may pass in some sort as an antithesis to *The League of Youth*,' he wrote to his publisher shortly before its appearance. The satire is now aimed, not at the democratic agitators, but at the men of social standing and prestige, the magnates of finance and business; and it is aimed with more conviction and more passion. In technical mastery and psychological force the *Pillars* falls short of Ibsen's finest work; but the impact of the sharp tonic of truth, in the person of Lona Hessel, upon the fabric of an imposing but hollow respectability is represented with extraordinary verve. The conservatives deeply resented this unexpected blow. One yet more searching followed. *A Doll's House* (1879) probed the roots not merely of social status, but of the family itself. That women were to count with men as individuals, and to share men's claim to self-development, was now first made clear. In marriage this claim seemed to be all but universally ignored. Ibsen's ideal for women had hitherto been the selfless devotion of an Agnes or a Solveig to husband or lover. Even the emancipated Lona shatters the 'Pillars' only that she may vindicate her brother. Nora is the first to discover that she herself has a personality, and a duty towards it, which as the wife of Helmer she cannot fulfil. The play, a capital stage piece, called forth a storm of protest, which made its author's name for the first time widely known in Europe. The weightiest criticism took the form of the inquiry: 'What then of the children?' Ibsen replied in the terrible drama *Ghosts* (1881), a work far greater in technical mastery, as well as in intellectual reach, than any of its predecessors. In laying bare the horrible possibilities of inheritance, Ibsen discovered a new source of tragic terror and pity, analogous to the antique destiny, but indefeasibly real; he also struck a courageous blow for the cause of womanhood. But *Ghosts* only redoubled the scandal of *A Doll's House*. Ibsen, provoked by what he took to be a general conspiracy to ignore ugly facts, retorted the next year with *An Enemy of the People* (1882), an incisive and brilliant satire, in which patricians and democrats fare equally ill, and Ibsen's individualism culminates in the ringing declaration that 'the strongest man is he who stands alone.'

With this challenging cry, however, the polemical phase of Ibsen's drama closes. In his eight remaining plays the temper of revolution is constantly present as a subject, but it no longer altogether reflects his own; on the contrary, he probes its weaknesses as remorselessly as those of conservatism and orthodoxy; and his attitude is now that of the inscrutable doubter who puts searching questions everywhere and answers none. To find answers, as he said, was not his business. *The Wild Duck* (1884), a masterpiece of construction, is a wonderful study of the disasters wrought by the blundering idealist; Gregers Werle is a diminutive Stockmann, Hjalmar Ekdal a mean and shabby Peer Gynt. *Rosmersholm* (1886), perhaps the greatest of the prose dramas, paints the guilty passion of an emancipated woman, and her purification by love and in death. No other modern play is informed with so deep a sense that sin may be forgiven, but must be atoned for, as this masterpiece of the 'immoral' Ibsen. Here, too, the mysterious suggestions of folklore, so abundant in *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*, so severely banished from the revolutionary prose dramas, once more recur. The 'white horses of Rosmersholm' gleam eerily in the background, foreboding the fateful issue; and *The Lady from the Sea* (1888) is a study of such revolt as Nora's, inspired by no doctrine of self-development, but by the spell of the sea. Contrary, too, to Ibsen's wont hitherto, the spell is finally mastered; Eline is reconciled to her husband. In *Hedda Gabler* (1890), even more than in *The Wild Duck*, he is occupied with the meaner and baser types of emancipated character; Hedda is a pitiful parody of romantic revolt drawn with merciless power. *The Master-Builder* (1892), which shows a growing use of symbolism, portrays emancipation in a form at once more fascinating and more dangerous; his old theme of rivalry between youth and maturity is resumed but in other terms. Solness succumbs to no young men's revolt but to the too stimulating homage of a girl. *Little Eyolf* (1894) and *John Gabriel Borkman* (1896) painted other tragic issues with diminishing power. Finally, in 1900, *When We Dead Awaken*, little more than an eccentric parody of an Ibsenian play, closed the great series. In 1901, Ibsen suffered a nervous collapse, from which he never recovered. On the 23rd of May 1906 he died. He was buried with national honours.

The fierce controversies once provoked by Ibsen's name have long subsided, even in England, where they survived longest. It is premature to determine the final rank of his work; but there can be no doubt that it will count among the most potent and original literary forces of the 19th century. One of the last descendants of the Revolution, near of kin to the poets of Young Germany, above all to Heine, he added to their ardent individualism and to their brilliant imagination artistic conscience, method, and will. Drama was for him from the first a means of expressing his own impassioned apprehension of the dissonances of modern society; but he fashioned the instrument to his purpose with deliberate and calculated precision. In mastery of dramatic resource, in knowledge of the stage, he has no superior; but his technique, without disdaining tradition, was shaped essentially by the need of presenting with the utmost cogency and clearness what he had to say. This meant, however, a wholesale rejection of stage conventions, stage situations, and stage talk; a return to fearless realism, especially in dialogue. It meant also a re-discovery of some long disused but potent ways in drama—the concentrated or inverted tragic plot, as in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and *Rosmersholm*, the stress of an irresistible fate, rooted in past events, as in the *Oresteia*, and *Ghosts*. His subject always concerned the forces which disturb or shatter social cohesion; but his normal sympathy with these forces was at no time unqualified; he exposed the corruption of a Catiline, the fanaticism of a Brand; he angered both political parties, and perplexed his warmest partisans by an ironical impartiality which spared the failings of neither side. To see the truth under many aspects, 'to see life thoroughly and see it whole,' in the great Sophoclean way, was less signally his gift; and the drift of his thinking is accordingly not towards any kind of harmony, but to the statement of fundamental problems about life which cannot be resolved and must not be escaped. With all this, Ibsen was fundamentally a poet. His few but enthralling lyrics, and his magnificent verse dramas, amaze the reader of his colourless prose by their splendour of imagination, their metrical brilliance, and the romantic intensity with which they render the passion of love. It was one of the secrets of his dramatic achievement that the white heat of poetry was in him united, as it has rarely been, with logical rigour and precision, and inflexible self-control. He gave the drama not merely an original technique, but immensely heightened intellectual and ethical significance. Since 1870 the influence of his work has told powerfully upon the scope and status of the drama throughout civilized Europe.

LITERATURE.—Collected editions of Ibsen's works, with introductions to the several plays, are now accessible (1) in the original, ed. Halfdan Koht, and others, Copenhagen, 1898; (2) in German, ed. G. Brandes, and others, Berlin, 1899 ff.; (3) in English, ed. W. Archer and C. H. Herford, London, 1906. The best study of his life and work, as yet untranslated, is R. Woerner, *Henrik Ibsen*, Munich, 1900. Halvorsen's bibliography, included in the Norwegian edition of the Works, is invaluable. The first drafts of the plays are collected in *Efterladte Skrifter*, 3 vols., Christiania, 1909. Ibsen's *Letters* were published in 1904, Eng. tr., Christiania, 1905. Many of the lyrics have been excellently translated by F. Garrett, London, 1912. Other studies are: Brandes, *Essays*, Copenhagen, 1868 ff.; E. Gosse, *Ibsen*, London, 1907; G. Bernard Shaw, *Quintessence of Ibsenism*, do. 1892; R. E. Roberts, *Ibsen*, do. 1912. The literature of Ibsenian commentary and exposition, esp. in German, is already immeasurable. Much of it is catalogued in the appendix to Woerner's *Life* mentioned above.

C. H. HERFORD.

ICELAND.—See TEUTONS.

ICONOCLASM.—Iconoclasm is the name of a movement against the worship of holy pictures in the Eastern Church, in the 8th and 9th centuries, which was repeated on a smaller scale in the Frankish kingdom.

1. Origin.—The source of Iconoclasm is much discussed. Just before the Roman Emperors began to persecute image-worshippers, their rivals, the Khalīfs at Damascus, had started a similar campaign among their Christian subjects (Yazīd I., 680–683; Yazīd II., 720–724). The Iconoclast movement in the Empire was warmly approved by the Muslims; yet it is unlikely that it should have been caused solely, or even chiefly, by the influence of the great enemy of the Christian Emperors. Undoubtedly in the 8th cent. the worship of images in the East had arrived at an extreme point. When we read of people who chose, not a living man but some special icon (εἰκών), to be the godfather of their child, and who ground an image to powder, mixed this with water, and drank it as a magic medicine,[1] it is not difficult to understand that a reaction would come. Moreover, long before the Iconoclast troubles began there were parties in the East which objected to the prevalent cult of holy images.[1] The Paulicians, thinking all matter bad, rejected material pictures. In the early 8th cent. several Orthodox bishops (Constantine of Nakolia, Theodosios of Ephesus, and Thomas of Klaudiopolis) had already preached against images and relics. A Jacobite bishop, Xenaias of Hierapolis, was a forerunner of the Iconoclasts; and, when this party succeeded in getting the ear of the Emperor, the Iconoclast persecution began.

2. The first Iconoclast persecution.—Iconoclasm throughout was a government movement; the chief secondary issue all the time—indeed, from some points of view, the main issue—was the right of the Emperor to legislate for the Church. On the other hand, the monks were always defenders of images. The Isaurian dynasty of Emperors were the Iconoclasts of the first period, and the first of this dynasty, Leo III. (A.D. 716–741), began the campaign. As soon as he had made himself Emperor, he developed a policy of strengthening the Empire by enforcing uniformity and centralizing the power.[2] He persecuted Jews and Paulicians cruelly. Then he was persuaded by the party opposed to images that they were the main obstacle against the conversion of Jews and Muslims. There was also a certain rationalizing tendency in this dynasty which helps to explain his attitude. Constantine of Nakolia and his party persuaded the Emperor that the worship of images was the great hindrance to the unity of the Empire, that it caused superstition and divisions, and that it was forbidden by the first commandment (in the Byzantine numbering). Seeing the coming trouble, John of Synnada wrote to warn the Patriarch of Constantinople of Constantine's views; and the Patriarch, Germanos I. (A.D. 715–730), wrote a treatise in favour of images, addressed to Thomas of Klaudiopolis.[3] But the Emperor, having now made up his mind to forbid image-worship, began to enforce their destruction ruthlessly. In 725 he published an edict declaring that image-worship is idolatry, and commanding all icons in the churches to be destroyed. The soldiers began to carry out his order, and there were disturbances throughout the Empire.[4] Germanos protested against the edict and appealed to the Pope (Gregory II., A.D. 715–731) in 728,[5] whereupon the Emperor declared him a traitor, deposed him, and set up an Iconoclast, Anastasios, in his place (730). Leo had already written to the Pope, commanding him to accept the new edict, destroy his images, and summon a general council to forbid their use. In 727 Gregory answered by a long defence of images; he also blamed the Emperor's interference in Church matters, denied the need of a council, and demanded that Leo should cease his policy in this matter.[6] A correspondence between the Emperor and the Pope followed in which each maintained his position, Leo claiming the right to legislate for the Church, on the strength of being both *βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεύς*.[7] Meanwhile the persecution of image-worshippers raged in the East. The government was specially fierce against the monks, as being the chief defenders of images. Monasteries were destroyed, monks banished, tortured, and put to death. The Iconoclast movement took the further lines of rejecting and destroying relics, and denying the intercession of saints. These two further points, though not necessarily involved by Iconoclasm, became generally identified with it. At this time St. John Damascene, safe from the Emperor's anger at the Khalif's court, wrote his famous defences of icons.[1] In the West, too, the people rose against the Emperor's Edict. In 727 there was a revolt in Greece against the Iconoclast Emperor, and a certain Kosmas was set up as anti-Emperor, ostensibly to protect the images. It was easily put down; then followed a second and severer law against image-worshippers. In 731 Pope Gregory II. was succeeded by Gregory III. (731–741), and the new Pope at once held a synod of 93 bishops at Rome, who excommunicated all who defiled or destroyed pictures of Christ or the saints.[2] The legate sent to Constantinople with a copy of this decree was stopped and imprisoned in Sicily. The Emperor then sent a fleet to Italy to punish the Pope; but it was wrecked by a storm on the way. He confiscated all the property of the Holy See on which he could lay his hands (in Sicily and Southern Italy), and affected to withdraw Illyricum from the Roman Patriarchate and to join it to that of Constantinople. To make the Byzantine Patriarchate coterminous with what was left of his Empire was part of his general centralizing policy. He continued an active persecution of all image-worshippers till his death in 741. His son, Constantine V. (Kopronymos, 741–775), was an even fiercer Iconoclast than his father. At Leo's death there had been another rebellion when Artabasdos, who had married Leo's daughter, set himself up as Emperor and restorer of the icons. The intruded Patriarch, Anastasios, veered round (in the usual Byzantine way) under Artabasdos, restored the images, and excommunicated Constantine. The rebellion was soon suppressed. Artabasdos was blinded and imprisoned; Anastasios was blinded, publicly flogged, forced to return to Iconoclasm, and then reinstated as Patriarch. In 753, Constantine summoned a great synod, which was to be ecumenical and to forbid image-worship for ever. Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem refused to send legates. About 340 bishops attended. The see of Constantinople was vacant by the death of Anastasios (who did not long survive his mishandling), and Theodosios of Ephesus and Pastillas of Perge presided. This synod carried out the Emperor's wishes exactly, and declared all images idols forbidden by Ex $20^{4f.}$, Dt 5^{8}, Ro 1^{23-25} etc. Pictures of Christ must be either Nestorian or Monophysite, since it is impossible to represent His Divinity; the only lawful representation of our Lord is the holy Eucharist. It is blasphemous to represent by dead matter those who live with Christ. Image-worshippers are idolaters; Leo and Constantine are the glory of the Orthodox faith, our rescuers from idolatry. With regard to three great defenders of images, already dead (Germanos of Constantinople, John Damascene, and a monk George of Cyprus), the synod declares that 'the Trinity has destroyed these three.' An Iconoclast, Constantine II. (754–766),[3] was elected to the vacant see of Constantinople, and the government at once published the decrees of this synod, demanding that all bishops in the Empire should sign the acts and destroy images in their dioceses. Instead of pictures of saints the churches were now decorated with those of flowers, fruit, and birds. The Paulicians were well treated, but the monks were tortured and put to death. A great number of the martyrs of the Iconoclast persecution come from this time. Relics were thrown into the sea. Then the Emperor, seeing in monasticism the mainstay of image-worship, made a great effort to abolish it altogether. The monastic habit was forbidden, monasteries were turned into barracks, and the Patriarch was made to denounce his former state as a monk in his own Church. It is noticeable that the army especially became fiercely Iconoclast. Constantine died in 775. His son Leo IV. (775–780), though he did not repeal the laws, was milder in enforcing them. He tolerated monks and, at least in the first part of his reign, carried out a policy of conciliation. Towards the end of his life, however, he renewed the active persecution of his father. But his wife Irene was always a devoted image-worshipper, and kept icons secretly in her apartments.

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[1] So the letter of Michael II. to Louis the Pious (Mansi, xiv. 417–422). On the cult of icons in the Byzantine Church just before Iconoclasm see E. Marin, *Les Moines de Constantinople*, Paris, 1897, ch. iv. pp. 312–325.

[1] One of the earliest forerunners of Iconoclasm was Serenus of Marseilles, to whom Pope Gregory I. (590–604) wrote a severe letter (*Ep.* ix. 105 [*PL* lxxvii. 1027]).

[2] For Leo III.'s policy in general see Bury, *Hist. of the later Roman Empire*, vi. ch. ii.

[3] Harduin, iv. 245–262.

[4] See Gregory II.'s first letter to the Emperor (Mansi, xii 959 ff.).

[5] Harduin, iv. 238 ff.

[6] Mansi, xii. 959 ff

[7] Jaffé, *Regesta*, nos. 2180–2182.

3. The first reaction.—As soon as Leo IV. died (Sept. 780), a complete reaction set in. His son, Constantine VI. (780–797), was only nine years old, and the Empress Irene became regent for him. As soon as her fear of the army allowed, she set about to repeal the Iconoclast laws. All this time Iconoclasm had prevailed only within the territory over which the Emperor actually ruled. Outside the Empire, under the Muslims and in the West, image-worship went on as before; indeed, in the West especially, there was much angry feeling against the Iconoclast Emperors. Irene first deposed the Patriarch of Constantinople (Paul IV., 780–784, naturally a partisan of the late government), and a pronounced image-worshipper, Tarasios (784–806, an uncle or cousin of Photios),[1] was appointed to succeed him. Then the Empress renewed relations with Rome. She sent an embassy to the Pope (Adrian I., 772–795) begging him to come himself or to send legates to a synod which should undo the work of the former one.[2] Adrian in answer sent two letters, one for the Empress and one for the Patriarch.

He is not pleased with Tarasios' succession to the Patriarchate, but praises his orthodoxy about the images. He repeats arguments in favour of these, insists on his own authority, and demands the restitution of Illyricum to his Patriarchate.[3] As legates he sends an Archpriest Peter and Abbot Peter of St. Sabbas near Rome. The other Patriarchs were then too much harassed by the Muslims to be able to send legates. However, the monks of Egypt and Syria send deputies, who seem in some sort to have been accepted as representing their Patriarchs too.

So the synod was opened by Tarasios in the church of the Apostles at Constantinople in August 786, but it was at once dispersed by the soldiers. Irene then disbanded these and replaced them by others, and for greater safety the synod reassembled at Nicæa in Bithynia (where the first General Council had been held). Here it was opened in the summer of 787. This is the council counted by Orthodox and Catholics as the seventh General Council (Nicæa II.). About 300 bishops attended. The Roman legates signed first and were named first in all lists of members; but Tarasios conducted the proceedings, apparently because of the usual difficulty of language. The synod declared the lawful use of icons, and defended this by texts showing that there were images in the Temple (Ex 25^{18-22}, Nu $7^{8f.}$, Ezk $41^{18f.}$, He 9^{5}) and by quotations from the Fathers. In the 5th session an icon was set up in the hall of the synod. The former council (of 753) was declared to be not ecumenical, since neither the Pope nor any of the other Patriarchs was represented at it, and its arguments were refuted one by one. The 7th session drew up the symbol (*ὅρος*) of Nicæa II., in which, after the usual renewed condemnation of old heresies, it is declared that the holy icons are to receive veneration (or worship, *προσκύνησις*), not adoration (*λατρεία*). The honour paid to them is only relative (*σχετική*), and is given for the sake of their prototypes. There is nothing new in this. It is what the defenders of image-worship had said throughout the controversy. The synod then anathematizes the chief Iconoclasts, and, in opposition to the phrase of the other council, declares that 'the Trinity has made these three (Germanos, John Damascene, and George of Cyprus) glorious.' Twenty-two Canons were drawn up, of which the third forbids the civil government to appoint bishops.[1] Copies of the acts were sent to the Pope, who approved them and had them translated into Latin. Then the images were restored in all the churches, and the first Iconoclast movement was at an end, although there remained a strong Iconoclast party, especially in the army.

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[1] Three apologies 'Against those who destroy holy images' (*PG* xciv. 1231–1420).

[2] Mansi, xii. 299 ff.

[3] The acts of the Iconoclast synod of 753 are contained in those of Nicæa II., Mansi, xiii. 205–363.

[1] *Vita Tarasii*, ed. J. A. Heikel, Helsingfors, 1889.

[2] Mansi, xii. 984–986.

[3] Jaffé, *Reg.*, nos. 2448 and 2449; Mansi, xii. 1078 ff.

4. The second Iconoclast movement.—Twenty-seven years later Iconoclasm broke out again. This time it is easily explicable, for the Iconoclast party, which had not ceased to exist, again got the power. After Nicæa II. the Empire was singularly unfortunate. The image-worshipping Emperors were defeated by the Muslims and Bulgars, and the soldiers looked back with regret to the glorious reign of Constantine V. Michael I. (811–813) was defeated by the Bulgars and forced to resign, while in his place the army set up Leo V. (the Armenian, 813–820), whom they persuaded that all the troubles of the Empire came from image-worship. The new Emperor invited the Patriarch of Constantinople, Nikephoros I. (806–815), to re-open the question of the icons; but he refused, saying that it was already settled by a general council. In spite of this the old laws against images were renewed, and the work of breaking images in the churches began again. In the year 815 Nikephoros[2] was deposed by a synod of bishops in obedience to the Emperor's orders, and an Iconoclast, Theodotos I. (815–821), was made Patriarch in his stead. Nikephoros was banished, and the new Patriarch immediately summoned a synod which undid the work of Nicæa II. and renewed the acts of 753.[3] The persecution of image-worshippers broke out again, more fiercely than ever. Bishops, monks, clergy, and laymen who would not accept the Iconoclast laws were banished, tortured, or killed. The great champion of the images at this time was St. Theodore, abbot of the Studion monastery,[4] who, with the image-worshippers generally, appealed to the Pope (Paschal I., 817–824). Paschal wrote to the Emperor, protesting against his renewal of the old heresy, but without effect.[5] He also welcomed the exiled monks at Rome, and gave them a monastery. In 820 Leo V. was murdered, and Michael II. (the Stammerer, 820–829) was made Emperor. He continued the same policy, and the persecution went on as before. In 842 Theophilos (829–842), who had succeeded Michael II., died. The story of the former Iconoclast movement is repeated in this one with curious exactness. Theophilos left a son three years old (Michael III. the Drunkard, 842–867), and again the Empress, Theodora, became regent for her son. At once she put an end to Iconoclasm. She deposed the Patriarch (John VII., 832–842) and put an image-worshipper (Methodios I., 842–846) in his place. She opened the prisons and let out the image-worshippers. In 842 a synod renewed the decrees of Nicæa II., approved John VII.'s deposition, and excommunicated all Iconoclasts. On the first Sunday of Lent (19th Feb. 842) the images were taken in triumph in a great procession, and were restored to the churches. That is the end of the story in the East. Iconoclasm disappeared; the holy icons have ever since been honoured by the Orthodox Church; the decrees of Nicæa II. have not again been disputed, and the memory of the restoration of the images is still kept every year (Feast of Orthodoxy, first Sunday of Lent).

5. Iconoclasm in the West.—At the end of the 8th cent. there was a slight echo of the great Iconoclast movement in the Frankish kingdom, caused by two misunderstandings. First, the Frankish bishops misunderstood what had been decreed at Nicæa II., and knew its acts only through a grossly inaccurate version.

For instance, in the 3rd session of the council a bishop had declared: 'I receive the holy and venerable images, but I give that worship which is real adoration (κατὰ λατρείαν) only to the consubstantial and life-giving Trinity.' This phrase had been translated: 'I receive the holy and venerable images with the adoration which I give to the consubstantial and life-giving Trinity.' The Franks misunderstood the word 'worship' (προσκύνησις) too. It is abundantly clear from the acts of the council, indeed from the whole controversy in the East, that this means reverence, a relative honour, for the sake only of the prototype (such is the explanation given by all the defenders of image-worship, St. John Damascene, St. Theodore, etc.). But in Latin προσκύνησις was translated *adoratio*, and the Franks thought it meant what we generally mean by 'adoration.'

Further, they were not used to, and did not understand, Byzantine etiquette. The Byzantines prostrated themselves before the Emperor, incensed him, and kissed his feet; they even gave these marks of respect to his portraits. So it was natural that they should do the same to portraits of the saints. Really all such forms have no absolute nor inherent meaning. They mean just what the custom of the time and place makes them mean. But the Franks, unused to such ceremonies, interpreted them according to their more reserved custom, and thought them idolatrous. Lastly, there was already the dislike of the Greeks and deep distrust of all that they did (the Franks were just about to break with the Eastern Empire altogether and to set up their own king as rival Emperor). Yet it should be noticed that these Frankish bishops never meant to take the side of the Eastern Iconoclasts. If they for a time condemned the second Council of Nicæa, they also condemned the Iconoclast Council of 753.

Already, in 767, Constantine V. had tried to gain the Frankish bishops for his views, but without success. A synod at Gentilly sent a declaration to the Pope (Paul I., 757–767) which quite satisfied him;[1] but, when Adrian I. (772–795) sent the acts of Nicæa II. (wrongly translated) to Gaul, the bishops sent back a refutation of them (790) in 85 chapters (790). This answer, expanded later, is the famous *Capitulare de imaginibus*, or *Libri carolini*.[2] In it the bishops admit that images and relics should be kept in churches and treated with due respect; but God only can receive adoration. The images are to have *opportuna ueneratio*, not *adoratio*. Except for the misunderstood use of the word *adoratio* (προσκύνησις), this is exactly what Nicæa II. had declared. In 794 they held a synod at Frankfurt in the presence of two papal legates, who seem to have done nothing to clear up the misunderstanding. This synod formally condemns Nicæa II., while showing plainly that the bishops do not understand what has there been decreed. They report it as a synod held by the Greeks at Constantinople (they do not even know where Nicæa II. sat), in which the 'Greeks' had declared that the same service and adoration are to be given to images as to the holy Trinity; and, accordingly, the Franks at Frankfurt, not sorry to be able to condemn 'Greeks,' declare that they 'despise and condemn that synod.'[1] They sent their acts to Rome with a petition that the Pope would confirm them, which, of course, he refused to do. He had already written a long explanation of the acts of Nicæa II.; but this did not arrive in Gaul till after the synod of Frankfurt. There matters rested for a time. When the second Iconoclast persecution had broken out, Michael II. wrote to Louis the Pious demanding that the Greek image-worshipping monks who had fled to the West should be handed over to Byzantine justice, and also arguing at length against the images.[2] Louis then begged the Pope (Eugene II., 824–827) to receive from the Frankish bishops a collection of texts from the Fathers bearing on the subject, and to prepare this document they met in Paris in 825, where they again attempted a middle way, but leant decidedly towards Iconoclasm. The treatise was sent to Rome with every possible expression of respect, as useful material for consideration in the crisis. Nothing is known about the result of this document, except that it made no change in the attitude of the Holy See. Then gradually the Frankish misunderstanding was cleared up, and the movement in the West died out. Pope John VIII. (872–882) sent a more accurate translation of the acts of Nicæa II., which helped to allay the suspicion of the Franks.

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[1] The acts of Nicæa II. in Mansi, xii. and xiii.

[2] His writings against Iconoclasm in *PG* c. 201–850; *Vita Nicephori Patr.*, by the deacon Ignatius (ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1880).

[3] Mansi, xiv. 135 ff., 417.

[4] His life, by a contemporary monk, in *PG* xcix. 113 ff.; his works, *ib.*; A. Gardner, *Theodore of Studium*, London, 1905.

[5] J. B. Pitra, *Spic. Solesm.*, Paris, 1852–58, ii. p. xi ff.

[1] Hefele-Leclercq, *Hist. des conciles*, iii. 726.

[2] *Ib.* 1061–1091; in *PL* xcviii. 999–1248. The authenticity of the *Libri carolini*, once disputed, is now admitted.

There are a few later isolated cases of opposition to the veneration of images in the West. In 824 Claudius of Turin destroyed all pictures, crosses, and relics in his diocese; for which action he was reprimanded by a number of other bishops and by a Frankish abbot, Theodemir. He was condemned by a local synod. Agobard of Lyons at the same time shared Claudius's views; but Walafrid Strabo and Hincmar of Rheims defended the attitude of Nicæa II., and so explained it that we hear little more of Frankish Iconoclasm. Still, as late as the 11th cent., Joceline of Bordeaux was severely reprimanded by Pope Alexander II. for Iconoclastic ideas.

6. The cult of images.—Both the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches accept the decrees of Nicæa II., with their distinction between *σχετικὴ προσκύνησις* and *λατρεία*. But there is a practical difference in their application. The Orthodox have innumerable pictures, and even bas-reliefs, which they treat with great reverence. But they have no solid statues, and are very much disposed to regard these as idols. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, sees no difference in principle between a solid statue and a flat picture. Except the Nestorians, all the other Eastern Churches agree with the Orthodox in this matter. They, too, have pictures, but no statues, though some of them (notably the Armenians) are more reserved in their forms of reverence towards pictures, and sometimes blame the Orthodox in this matter. The Nestorians now have no pictures of any kind, only a plain cross, to which they pay the greatest reverence. They alone among the Eastern Churches make a principle of not venerating images, although there is evidence that formerly they had them, according to the usual Eastern custom.

LITERATURE.—C. J. Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, French tr. by H. Leclercq, vols. iii.–iv. (Paris, 1909), contains a complete account of Iconoclasm with the acts of all the councils, and copious bibliography. The acts are in Mansi, xii. and xiii.; Natalis Alexander, 'de Iconoclastarum hæresi,' in F. Zaccaria, *Thesaurus Theologicus*, Venice, 1762, iv. 64–83; L. Maimbourg, *Histoire de l'hérésie des iconoclastes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1683; F. C. Schlosser, *Gesch. der bildersturmenden Kaiser*, Frankfurt, 1812; J. Marx, *Der Bilderstreit der byzant. Kaiser*, Trier, 1839; K. Schwarzlose, *Der Bilderstreit, ein Kampf der griech. Kirche um ihre Eigenart und ihre Freiheit*, Gotha, 1890 (the best short history); L. Bréhier, *La Querelle des images*, Paris, 1905; J. B. Bury, *A History of the later Roman Empire*, London, 1889, ii. 428–438.

ADRIAN FORTESCUE.

IDEA.—This word has been used by philosophers to denote (*a*) eternal natures or essences, the objects of true and abiding knowledge; (*b*) such natures considered as contents of a Divine mind, and archetypes of the things which we perceive with our senses; (*c*) the contents, or some of the contents, of the human mind or consciousness. The present article will be devoted to tracing the historical origin and connexion of these several usages.

1. In Greek philosophy.—The importance of the word in the vocabulary of philosophy is due to *Plato*, and its earlier history concerns us mainly as illustrating his usage. Both *ἰδέα* and the kindred term *εἶδος*, from whose history its own is, down to the time of Aristotle, inseparable, are derived from the root of *ἰδεῖν*, 'to see,' and originally had the sense of 'look,' 'looks,' 'outward appearance.' Already in Homer (*Od.* xvii. 454) *εἶδος* is used for 'beauty.' The primary sense of 'appearance' passes easily into that of 'form' or 'kind,' and in such passages as Thucydides, ii. 50 (*τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου*), the reference is plainly not so much to outward appearance as to true structure or essential nature; and this meaning seems to have established itself in scientific circles before the time of Plato. A. E. Taylor has recently contended (*Varia Socratica*, Oxford, 1911, p. 178 ff.) that it is independent of the meaning 'kind,' and is derived from a Pythagorean use of the word for geometrical figures, conceived as the ultimate elements of reality (cf. Plato, *Tim.* 53 C) and then extended to such elements (*στοιχεῖα*), however conceived. The evidence seems insufficient to support this conclusion (see C. M. Gillespie, in *Classical Quarterly*, July 1912).

We learn from the *Iatrica* of Meno (see J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*², London, 1908, p. 235 n.) that Plato's contemporary, Philistion, called Empedocles' four elements *ἰδέαι*; but this may only have meant 'kinds of body.' The fact that Democritus called his atoms *ἰδέαι* or *εἴδη* (Sext. Emp. *Math.* vii. 137; Plut. *adv. Colot.* 1111*a*; see Burnet, p. 388 n.) is explicable by his view that the atoms differed from each other only in shape (Aristotle, *Met.* A 4, 985^b 13, *de Gen. et Corr.* i. 2, 315^b 7). On the early history of the word see C. A. Brandis, *Gesch. der gr. und röm. Phil.*, Berlin, 1835, pp. 242, 299, 307; H. Diels, *Elementum*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 16; Burnet, *op. cit.*, p. 354, and the reff. under *εἶδος*, *ἰδέα*, in the index; Taylor, *Varia Socratica*, p. 178 ff.; Constantin Ritter, *Neue Untersuchungen über Platon*, Munich, 1910, p. 228 ff.

The full examination of Plato's doctrine of Ideas and of the questions how far it was original, how far the common inheritance of the Socratic circle (see Burnet, p. 354 ff.), and what changes it underwent at different periods of his life, lies beyond the scope of this article, which will confine itself to a general description of his usage, especially in relation to the later history of the word. Aristotle (*Met.* A 6, 987^a 29 ff.) tells that Plato, when young, learned from Cratylus the doctrine of Heraclitus, that everything sensible or corporeal (and to such things alone Heraclitus referred, according to Arist. *Met.* M 4, 1078^b 14) was involved in a process of perpetual flux or change; and that Plato, who perceived the deadly consequence of this doctrine for knowledge, sought a way of escape suggested to him by his intercourse with Socrates, who, in dealing with attempts to show the purely conventional nature of such notions as those of justice, courage, and the like, had attempted, by defining these terms, to reach fixed objects of moral approval. For the very statement that what was just under *these* circumstances is unjust under *those* becomes meaningless unless what is meant by 'just' is the same in both cases. Plato, by extending this principle beyond the ethical sphere, reached his doctrine of Ideas—permanent realities or natures corresponding to general terms. Such permanent natures are not objects of *sense*; they are apprehended by *understanding*. Others, *e.g.* Democritus, had thought that such truly existent natures, εἴδη or ἰδέαι, must underlie the shows of the world; but it was definitely realized by Plato (and, it would seem, first by him) that they must be *incorporeal*.

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[1] Mansi, xiii. 861; Pertz, *Mon. Germ. hist.* iii.

[2] Hefele-Leclercq, iv. 43–49.

Aristotle, by giving this account in close connexion with a treatment of the theory, usual with him, as a modification of the Pythagorean doctrine that Numbers are the ultimate realities, suggests that the Pythagorean influence on Plato was not independent of the Socratic; and there are other indications (collected and insisted upon, not without exaggeration, in Taylor's *Varia Socratica*) that Socrates stood in closer connexion with Pythagorean circles than has always, despite Plato's *Phædo*, been recognized.

Aristotle's account brings out clearly the fact that Plato's ideas are *objects of thought* (νοητά): they are not 'concepts' or 'thoughts in the mind' (νοήματα). The latter explanation is actually put by Plato (*Parm.* 132 B) into the mouth of the youthful Socrates, only to be dismissed by Parmenides with the pertinent inquiry whether there could be a thought which was a thought of nothing (νόημα οὐδενός). Plato must not be regarded as one who, at first a 'conceptualist,' went on to 'substantiate' or 'hypostatize' concepts. Such a gratuitous proceeding could not be regarded as an important contribution to philosophy (see Lotze, *Log.*, Leipzig, 1874, iii. 2, § 313 ff., Eng. tr., Oxford, 1888, ii. 200 ff.). We should rather approach his theory by considering that, while we should readily admit that we might be mistaken about the motive of an act we *thought* just, or the beauty of a face which affection predisposed us to love, or which had been injured since we last saw it, we could not claim even to have an opinion about them, did we not *know* what justice or beauty is. So, too, a judgment that two visible lines are equal to one another can never express more than an opinion; but, if we did not know what equality is, no such judgment could have any meaning at all. One could not doubt what was just in a hard case, or correct a wrong definition of justice on the production of a case not in accordance with it, except in virtue of a knowledge of the nature of justice. This nature or Idea is no corporeal being perceptible by the senses, but something more lasting, better known, and more properly to be called real than anything which is so perceptible. It is no notion in my mind; I have a notion or knowledge of it, but for that very reason it is distinct from the notion or knowledge which I have of it. We may legitimately ask how this Idea is related to particular instances of it, or to the sensible phenomena which exhibit it, or to the mind which apprehends it; but in all such questions we are talking and thinking of it as something real, permanent, known; and, whatever it be, it is certainly neither a body nor a mode of consciousness; if it is less plain that it is not a spirit, it is certainly not plain that it is so.

Aristotle held that Plato was wrong in asserting that this Idea was χωριστόν, separable and separate from the particulars which might be said to 'copy' it or 'partake of' it. The former metaphor Aristotle (*Met.* A 6, 987^b 11) ascribes to the Pythagoreans, the latter to Plato. The difficulties of both are exhibited by Plato himself (*Parm.* 130 E ff.). But Aristotle did not hold that it should have been described as a 'thought in our minds.' Such thoughts are not the individual substances of which we think; and 'conceptualism' is at least as open as Platonism to the charge of χωρισμός, the separation of the universal from the particulars. What Aristotle denied was the Platonic view that science required the assumption of 'separate' Ideas (*Post. Anal.* i. 11, 77^a 5 ff.), whereas it only required the possibility of universal predication. What Plato called an Idea Aristotle called a καθόλου, or universal, an expression not used by Plato (but see *Meno*, 77 A) and implying the Aristotelian criticism. The ἀρχὴ ἐπιστήμης is for Aristotle 'one beside the many' (ἓν παρὰ τὰ πολλά) like Plato's Idea (*Post. Anal.* ii. 100^a 7), but *as thus separated from the particulars* it is in the mind only. Any other separation is not necessary for science, and involves insuperable difficulties. Aristotle, then, did not take Plato for a conceptualist who 'substantiated concepts,' but for a realist who placed the essence of individual substances outside of them, and supposed that in predicating universally of them we were asserting another substance beside them, which possessed their common predicates without their distinct individualities. This had led to denial that the individual substances were substances at all, because they were not this additional substance. Hence Plato's εἴδη or ἰδέαι to which Aristotle said good-bye (τὰ εἴδη χαιρέτω [*Post. Anal.* i. 83^a 33]) were mere idle sounds (τερετίσματα); but Aristotle himself held to εἴδη otherwise conceived. For Aristotle every individual had its own εἶδος (*Met.* Λ 5, 1071^a 29); thus the soul of every animal is the εἶδος of its body (*Met.* Z 10, 1035^b 16). In perishable beings a perpetual succession of individuals of the same kind realizes as near an approach to immortality as is possible to them. Of all such individuals the same things which belong to the essence of each can be predicated in common; hence εἶδος may be used, not only of the individual's 'form,' but of that of the group of beings of whom the same essential predicates hold, the *infima species* (ἄτομον εἶδος). Where one individual is (like a planet) eternal, there is no multiplicity of individuals of that kind. Eventually 'form' has come to be the usual rendering of εἶδος in the sense of the essential or fundamental characteristics of a substance; 'species' in that of a group of substances, whose essential characteristics are not to be distinguished. But this differentiation has been only gradual. Cicero preferred *forma* as a rendering of εἶδος, because it could be declined throughout, while *species* must borrow the gen. and dat. pl. of *forma* (*Top.* vii. § 30); but he gives *species* as the Latin equivalent of ἰδέα (*Acad. Post.* i. 8, § 30, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 24, § 58).

We have so far not distinguished the use of ἰδέα from that of εἶδος; but a preference for ἰδέα in certain contexts may be noted even in Plato. See L. Campbell's note in Jowett and Campbell, *Republic*, Oxford, 1894, ii. 294 ff. Ἰδέα is the more picturesque term, and signifies 'form' rather than 'kind' or 'class.' Cf. P. Natorp, *Platos Ideenlehre*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 2 f.; Ritter, *Neue Untersuchungen*, p. 325 ff. In consequence of the fact that Aristotle rarely used ἰδέα in its philosophical sense except when referring to Plato, while εἶδος is used by him no less when expounding his own views, Idea has become the recognized name for the Platonic Form; and, even when it has come to be used in very un-Platonic fashion, its Platonic associations have constantly led either to a misinterpretation of Platonic Ideas, because so-called, or to such a modification of the word's non-Platonic meaning as will bring it into closer accordance with Platonic usage.

In the *Euthyphro* (the earliest Platonic dialogue in which the word occurs) the ἰδέα of holiness is to be used as a παράδειγμα (6 D, E). This is important in view both of the subsequent employment of this expression by Plato himself (*e.g. Rep.* v. 472 C, ix. 592 B, *Parm.* 132 D) and of the fact that it is as eternal patterns of phenomenal things that the Ideas were retained in the mediæval tradition of Platonism.

For passages illustrating the Platonic usage, see G. A. F. Ast's *Lexicon Platonicum*, Leipzig, 1835–38 (until superseded by Burnet's), Ritter's very full essay (vi.) in his *Neue Untersuchungen*, and Campbell's discussion of terminology in Jowett and Campbell, *Republic*, vol. ii. As Campbell shows, the transition to specially Platonic use is well marked in *Parm.* 131 E, 132 A, and the frequent combination μία ἰδέα is deserving of notice.

On the question whether to all or only to some general terms there correspond Ideas, see *Parm.* 130, where the young

Socrates' hesitation to allow Ideas of mean things is treated as a mark of philosophical immaturity. On the relation of the particulars to the Ideas see *Parm.* 131 ff. It cannot be explained in terms of a different relation, such as *μίμησις* or *μέθεξις*, yet the doctrine of Ideas must not be given up, else even so indispensable a notion as Unity, which also involves puzzles, must also be given up. The attempt to describe the relation as *μίμησις* is presupposed in the criticism embodied in the argument called *τρίτος ἄνθρωπος*, invented (see Alex. Aphrod. on Arist. *Met.* 990^b 15) by the sophist Polyxenus, often referred to or used by Aristotle (*e.g.*, *Met.* A 9, 990^b 17, where cf. Alex. *ad loc.*), and answered in principle by Plato, *Rep.* x. 597 C.

In *Rep.* vi. 508 A ff. the *ἰδέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ* is the supreme principle of the being of the other Ideas, and of the knowledge whose object these are, *οὐκ οὐσίας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας πρεσβείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχοντος.* This account greatly influenced later, especially Neo-Platonic, speculation. In Aristotle's *Met.* we learn of a doctrine of Ideas which are also numbers, which is not expounded in the *Dialogues.* See, for Aristotle's criticism of Plato's ideas, esp. *Met.* A 9; but it is to be found in all parts of his works.

The essential features of the Platonic Idea are that it is (1) an *object of thought*, not a *thought* (*νοητόν*, not *νόημα*); (2) an object of *thought* or knowledge, not of *sense* (*νοητόν*, not *αἰσθητόν*). Plato's philosophy is not Idealism in the sense of a doctrine which resolves the phenomenal world into facts of human consciousness. Lotze's explanation (*Log.* iii. 2) of the *οὐσία* of the Ideas as 'validity' (*Geltung*) or Natorp's description of them as 'laws' (*Gesetze*) may be useful, if not understood as making them mere attributes of something else, considered in abstraction from their substances; but J. A. Stewart's expression 'points of view' (*Plato's Doctrine of Ideas*, Oxford, 1909; see esp. p. 4) so plainly makes them ways of apprehending, not realities apprehended, that its use is fundamentally incompatible with the account given above.

Aristotle's abandonment of the word to Plato determined its subsequent history, although instances of its use which involve no reference to Plato's doctrine are to be found in many later writers, and even in the Middle Ages (see Du Cange, *s.v.*).

Among the problems about the Ideas bequeathed by Plato to his successors historically the most important was that of their relation to the Divine mind. A doctrine of a personal God in the Christian sense forming no part of Plato's theology, he himself freely varied his language to suit his context. God 'makes' Ideas (*Rep.* x. 597 B), 'contemplates' them (*Phædr.* 247 D, E), 'uses them as models' in creation (*Tim.* 39 E). Such expressions are mythical or imaginative. More philosophically important is the line of thought illustrated by *Soph.* 249 A, *Phileb.* 28 D. The Ideas cannot be of inferior nature to the soul which finds its chief good in knowing them; they must themselves possess life and thought. Again, as the material elements of our bodies are derived and replenished from the vaster masses of like nature in the great world, so must our souls be derived from the 'royal soul and royal reason' in the nature of Zeus, wherein dwells the wisdom to which the order in the world is due. The relation of the Ideas to this world-soul (for which see also *Phædr.* 245 ff., *Tim.* 34 ff., *Laws*, x. 892 ff.) is a genuine problem for Platonism, but there is nothing to suggest that in order to solve it Plato would have surrendered the objectivity of the Ideas. Rather they inform it and our souls, which are parts of it, 'as a light to enlighten and a guide to govern' (Berkeley, *Siris*, § 335 [*Works*, ed. Fraser, Oxford, 1871, ii. 496]). It was their indwelling of the soul as the *τόπος εἰδῶν* (Aristotle, *de An.* 429^a 27) that proved to Platonists that it was immortal.

Though Aristotle rejected Plato's Ideas, his speculations influenced the development of thought respecting them, which led to the view of them as Divine thoughts. While no idealist in the later sense, he held that the Divine mind cannot be (like ours) in a position of dependence upon its object; still less can it exercise itself in knowledge of what is inferior to itself: thus its object must be what itself is, and its activity *νόησις νοήσεως* (*Met.* Λ 9, 1074^b 34).

After an interval of five centuries *Plotinus* stands in the direct line of succession from Plato and Aristotle. While in sense-perception the perception conforms itself to an object other than itself, *νοῦς*, or understanding, can have no alien object external to itself. Its object must exist in it, but such an immanence in *νοῦς*, just because *νοῦς* is higher than anything but the One or the Good which transcends (like Plato's *ἰδέα τἀγαθοῦ*) the distinction between subject and object, is a higher kind of existence than the independence which the objects of inferior faculties enjoy over against the apprehending faculties. The intelligible natures of all things, which, of course, are no other than the Platonic Ideas, thus form the content of the eternal *νοῦς*, which is the 'second person' of Plotinus's Trinity (the One, the *νοῦς*, and the World-Soul); see *Enn.* v. ix. 8. Here we reach the interpretation of the Ideas as Divine thoughts which became traditional in the Middle Ages; but the *νοῦς* of Plotinus is not what we should call a 'personal' God.

2. In mediæval philosophy.—A further step is taken under the influence of Christianity, which seriously conceives God as 'personal.' A passage of *Augustine* (*de Div. qu. 83*, xlvi.) became in the Middle Ages the *locus classicus* on Ideas, and is quoted as such by Albertus Magnus (*Sum. Theol.* I. xiii. qu. 55. 2, § 2), Alexander of Hales (*Sum. Theol.* i. qu. 23. 2, § 4), Thomas Aquinas (*Sum. Theol.* i. qu. 15, art. 1; cf. *in I. Sent.* dis. 36. qu. 2. art. 1, *de Veritate*, art. 3, 'de Ideis'), Bonaventura (*in I. Sent.* dis. 35, *Comp. Theol.* i. 25, *Sum. Theol.* qu. 11, art. 1), and Duns Scotus (*Op. Oxon.*, *in I. Sent.* dis. 35, art. 1). Augustine could reconcile his earlier conviction that we must suppose Ideas as eternal and immutable patterns of phenomenal things with his Christian belief in one eternal Being, the Creator of all others, only by supposing the Ideas to be internal to God's essence and to participate in its eternity and unchangeableness. The world is in time, which (according to Plato, *Tim.* 38 B) began along with it; its existence is throughout dependent on the Divine will; but its eternal pattern, the world of Ideas, is an integral part of the Divine nature. Augustine assists himself by the analogy of the designs in an artist's mind. This illustration had already appeared in Philo (who as a Jew was also accustomed to regard God as personal). See *de Opificio Mundi*, §§ 16, 25, pp. 4, 5 (the Divine Logos, as one with the world of Ideas, the *κόσμος νοητός*, is called by Philo *ἰδέα τῶν ἰδέων*; the phrase, however—which occurs in Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 64—is bracketed by Cohn). The same metaphor of an artist's designs had been used by Seneca (*Ep.* 58, § 19) in exposition of Plato; and we may compare with it a passage (in which, however, the word *ἰδέα* does not occur) in the *Introd. Arithm.* of the 1st cent. mathematician Nicomachus of Gerasa in Palestine (i. 6). The *Placita Philosophorum* (i. 882 D [Diels, *Dox. Gr.*, Berlin, 1879, p. 309]) already assert that Plato held the Ideas to exist *ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι καὶ ταῖς φαντασίαις τοῦ θεοῦ τούτεστι τοῦ νοῦ.* The use of such language was encouraged by the new stress which Christianity laid on the thought of Divine personality. Hence the importance of Augustine's adoption of the analogy with the artist's designs. In the earlier period of Western mediæval thought Augustine's influence was paramount, and to the same still powerful influence it was due that even after the triumph of Aristotelianism in the 12th and 13th centuries the Platonic Ideas, as interpreted by Augustine, retained their place in the philosophical tradition beside the Aristotelian Forms.

In the 12th cent. we meet with an explicit *Platonism* which regards the Ideas as eternal patterns; *e.g.*, in Bernard of Chartres (John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon*, ii. 17, where the author traces the history of the doctrine of Ideas, and, it may be noted, speaks of εἶδος as standing to ἰδέα in the relation of *exemplum* to *exemplar*). We find other examples in the *Megacosmus et Microcosmus* of Bernard Silvester (sometimes identified with his probably older namesake of Chartres) and in the *Anticlaudianus* of Alan of Lille. This Platonism depends not only on Plato's *Timæus* (the only accessible dialogue) and Augustine, but on such writers as Boethius, Macrobius, and Marcianus Capella. After the triumph of Aristotle the acceptance of Ideas was still, as we have seen, general. It was a subject of controversy whether they were Ideas of individual things (Thomas Aquinas) or of universals only; whether they were practical or only speculative (Henry of Ghent); whether they were in God's essential nature as *rationes cognoscendi* or only in His intelligence as objects of His knowledge (Ockam). The answers given to such questions depended, of course, on the general philosophical and theological position of the thinker concerned.

3. Transition from the mediæval to the modern use.—We have now to trace the process by which a word hitherto associated with eternal natures and archetypal Divine designs came to be commonly employed for the thoughts and even imaginations of human beings. The Stoics (perhaps carrying on a Cynic tradition; see E. Zeller, *Socrates and the Socratic Schools*, Eng. tr., London, 1868, p. 254) interpreted the Platonic Ideas as mere concepts (ἐννοήματα) or even as images of sensible things (*Plac. Phil.* 882 E, Stob. i. 12, p. 332 H; Diels, *Dox. Gr.* pp. 309, 472). Great as in certain directions was the influence of Stoicism (esp. through Cicero, Seneca, and Boethius) on mediæval thought, it is doubtful whether this interpretation of the Ideas affected the fortunes of the word before the Renaissance, when a general revolt against Aristotelianism brought into favour a word free from Aristotelian associations, while at the same time attention was drawn to the Stoic logic as the chief ancient rival of the Aristotelian. Thus the habit gradually crept in of using *idea* where the originally equivalent *species* had been commonly employed in the sense of νοητὸν εἶδος, αἰσθητὸν εἶδος (*species intelligibilis*, *species sensibilis*) of Aristotle's *de Anima*. We find Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525) passing from the Divine Idea to the *idea quæ est in mente nostra, quæ est species* (*de Incantationibus*, Basel, 1567, p. 36). *Melanchthon* identified *idea* with the *actus intelligendi*, which is best described as the formation of an image (*de Anima*, Lyons, 1555, p. 187), and characteristically attempted to reconcile Plato and Aristotle by interpreting Plato's Ideas as *imagines in mente* ('Erot. Dial.', in *Corp. Reform.* Halle, 1834–60, xiii. 520), or (in an exposition of the *Ethics*) as *communes notiones*. In the latter interpretation he was taken to task by J. C. Scaliger (*de Subtil.*, Frankfort, 1576, vi. 4) on the ground that *notiones* are accidents, whereas Plato held the Ideas to be substances, but was defended by Goclenius (*in Exercit. J. C. S. de Subtil.*, Marburg, 1599, p. 98), whose *Lexicon Philosophicum* (Frankfort, 1613), *s.v.* 'Idea,' is worth consulting.

The 16th cent. physician *Fracastorius* (*de Intellectione*, i. [*Opera*, Venice, 1574, p. 129 A, 130 A]) uses *idea* as equivalent to *universale*, and the so-called Spagyric school of medical writers affected the use of the word, from which their master Paracelsus formed a number of technical derivatives (see B. Castellus, *Lex. Med. Renov.*, Nüremberg, 1682, pp. 705, 706). The Paracelsian terminology was the source of *Jacob Boehme's*, to whom the word 'idea,' when he heard it from his friend and biographer von Frankenberg, 'proved vastly agreeable,' suggesting to him 'a beautiful, heavenly, chaste virgin' such as is Sophia or Wisdom in his theosophical system (*Memoirs of Life*, etc., tr. F. Okely, Northampton, 1780, p. 16).

Outside the Schools the tendency at this period to give the word a wide extension of meaning may be illustrated from *Shakespeare*. Here the general sense of 'pattern' or 'model,' itself directly descended from that current in mediæval philosophy (cf. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* i. 4, § 1, ed. Oxford, 1874, p. 212, of the Lord's Prayer: 'the perfect Idea of that which we are to pray for'), passes into that sense of the 'idealizing' memory in *Much Ado*, IV. i. 226 ('the Idea of her life'), and into that of a true copy of the pattern in *Rich. III.*, III. vii. 13 ('the right Idea of your father'), while 'ideas' appear in *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. ii. 69, along with 'forms, figures, shapes, objects, apprehensions' among the furniture of 'a foolish, extravagant spirit.'

4. In modern philosophy before Kant.—In the technical language of philosophy the substitution of *idea* for *species* served to some extent to conceal the fact that the difficulties of the old theory of 'representative species' passed unsolved into a later psychology (cf. Reid, 'Human Mind,' ii. § 6, in *Works*, ed. Hamilton, ii. 140; H. W. B. Joseph, in *Mind*, Oct. 1910). These difficulties are traceable to Aristotle's statements in *de Anima*, ii. 12, iii. 2, about the reception by the perceiving soul of the form of the object without the matter, which easily lent themselves to a quasi-materialistic interpretation, and in any case tended to make the immediate object of perception and ultimately of conception also an image or representation within the mind of the real thing without. This substitution becomes generally current through its adoption by *Hobbes* and *Descartes*. In his *Hist. Animæ Humanæ* (Paris, 1636), David Buchanan frequently uses *idea* as the equivalent of *species* for the immediate objects (*objecta interna*) of human consciousness. There is no evidence that he enjoyed personal intercourse with Descartes, but the facts of his life do not exclude the possibility; his *clara et liquida idea* (p. 339) reminds us of the Frenchman's 'clear and distinct' perceptions. With Hobbes *idea* is synonymous with *phantasma* and signifies an 'appearance which remains in the brain from the impression of external bodies upon the organs of the senses.' Such appearances, if they represent external bodies where they are not, are properly 'idols,' false 'ideas.'[1] How the false idea or idol is to be distinguished from the true Hobbes leaves obscure; but it is clear that 'idea' and 'idol' alike are something in the brain or mind. Thus we have different 'ideas' of the same thing in succession when what we first saw at a distance to be some material object we see on coming nearer to be a living thing, and on coming yet nearer to be a human being.

An instructive controversy arose between Descartes and Hobbes over their use of the word 'idea.' Descartes had spoken freely in his *Meditations* of the 'idea' of God; Hobbes objected that he had no such 'idea.' He did not mean that there is nothing to suggest to us the existence of a God; but that we have no image in our minds of a being such as the admirable order of the world leads us to suppose exists. Descartes admitted this, but said that by 'ideas' he did not mean 'images of material things in the corporeal phantasy,' but always 'anything of which the mind is directly aware'; so that, when we perceive ourselves to be, *e.g.*, willing or afraid, he would call the volition or the fear 'ideas.' He adds: 'I have made use of this name because philosophers have long been accustomed to use it to signify the forms of the perceptions of the divine mind, although we do not suppose any *phantasia* (sensible imagination) in God.' Thus the historical associations of the word with the Divine thoughts recommended it to Descartes as a very general expression for the immediate or direct object of consciousness, which would not commit him to a materialistic theory of the nature of consciousness. He was naturally, therefore, displeased by Hobbes's assumption that its proper meaning was that of an 'image in the corporeal phantasy.' Hobbes appealed to etymology; and so went back behind the associations which recommended the word to Descartes, who indeed had himself in *Med. II.*, before Hobbes's criticisms had raised the question, observed that, although volitions, fears, and judgments are all *cogitationes*, yet that kind of *cogitationes* to which alone the word 'idea' properly refers are those which are *tanquam rerum imagines*. This use of 'idea' it is difficult to distiuguish from that found in Hobbes (see Hobbes, *Lev.* i. 11, iii. 34, iv. 45 f., *de Corp.* i. 1, § 3, 2, § 14, 5, § 9; Descartes, *Med.*, Obj. iii. 5. For Descartes's use see reff. collected in Veitch's note to his tr. of *Meth.*, *Med.*, etc., Edinburgh, 1880, p. 276 ff.).

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[1] Bacon had already contrasted *humanæ mentis idola* with *divinæ mentis ideæ* as *abstractiones ad placitum* with *vera signacula Creatoris* (*Nov. Org.* i. §§ 23, 124).

Thus the word came into common philosophical use tainted with an ambiguity as carrying with it at once an association with a materialistic theory of experience and an association with one (the Cartesian) which insisted on the impossibility of any such theory. But in both Hobbes and Descartes it was associated with the view that the immediate object of knowledge is something in the mind—a view which admits of different developments according to the different views entertained of the nature of the mind. Notwithstanding the ambiguity, *Gassendi* (1592–1655), the friend of both Hobbes and Descartes, proposes to use it in the widest sense as less open to ambiguity than other equivalent words, such as *species*, *notio*, etc. (*Inst. Log.* pt. i. [*Opera*, Lyons, 1658, i. 92]). *Cudworth* (1617–83) speaks of 'sensible ideas' (*Int. Syst.*, London, 1678, i. §§ 5, 39), but does not limit the word to these; against Hobbes he recognizes an 'idea of God' (iv. § 1). *Huet* (1630–1721) regards Descartes as restoring the Stoic usage (*Cens. Phil. Cartes.*, ch. ii. § 7, ed. Paris, 1694, p. 48). *Malebranche* (1638–1715), like his contemporary Locke, uses *idée* for 'objet immédiat de notre esprit' (*Rech. de la vérité*, iii. 2, ch. i., ed. Paris, 1700, i. 386); but his doctrine (based on the Cartesian emphasis on the disparateness between mind and matter) that the immediate objects of our perception are not bodies, but rather the Divine archetypes of bodies, reverts in a way to the mediæval use of the word. *Fénelon* (1651–1715) follows Malebranche: the ideas which constitute the human reason are universal, necessary, eternal, immutable, in fact they are God revealed in our souls so far as the limitations of our nature allow (*De l'Exist. de Dieu*, ii. 4 [*Œuvres*, ed. Paris, 1787, ii. 228 ff.]). For the use (or uses) made of the word by *Spinoza* (1632–77) the reader must be referred to Spinoza himself (see esp. *Eth.* ii. def. 3, 4, prop. 48, 49) and his commentators (esp. H. Joachim, *Study of Spinoza*, Oxford, 1901). As the spiritual or psychical correlate of an extended thing or body, a man's mind is described as the 'idea' of his body.

Locke (1632–1704) and *Leibniz* (1646–1718) both make ideas 'the immediate objects of the understanding in the widest sense' (Locke, *Ess.* i. 1, § 8; Leibniz, *Nouv. Ess.* ii. 1, § 1 [ed. Erdmann, Berlin, 1840, p. 222]). Locke held, against Descartes, that they are never 'innate,' but always derived from experience or from reflexion upon experience. For Leibniz all ideas are innate; if distinct, they represent God; if obscure, the world. Thus for both Locke and Leibniz they *represent* objects from which they are themselves distinct. With *Berkeley* (1685–1753) ideas, though conceived, after Locke, as the immediate objects of conception, represent no objects beyond themselves. They are themselves the only objects; of everything, except spirits or minds (of which we are said to have not 'ideas' but 'notions'), the *esse* is *percipi*; thus the object of perception is called an idea rather than a thing, because things are 'generally supposed to denote somewhat existing without the mind' and also to include 'spirits' (*Princ. of Human Knowledge*, i. § 39 [*Works*, ed. Fraser, Oxford, 1871, i. 175]). Out of this very un-Platonic theory of ideas a more Platonic one is developed by Berkeley in the much later *Siris*. Among the 'ideas' of Locke and Berkeley, *Hume* (1711–76) distinguished direct perceptions as 'impressions,' while the name 'ideas' is confined to reproductions of these which are known as such by their inferior 'liveliness.' This has become, on the whole, the tradition of later English philosophy (see Spencer, *Princ. of Psychology*, London, 1872, pt. vii. ch. 16 [vol. ii. p. 454 ff.]; cf. Baldwin, *DPhP*, *s.v.* 'Idea'). Hume's contemporary *Johnson*, who in his *Dictionary* defines 'idea' as 'mental image,' branded (erroneously) as 'modern cant' the use of it for a notion or opinion of which there can be no such image (Boswell, *Life*, ed. Oxford, 1826, iii. 176).

5. In modern philosophy since Kant.—This use of 'idea' as primarily denoting a sensation reproduced in memory or imagination passed with the English empirical philosophy to which it belonged to the French free-thinkers of the 18th cent., among whom *Condillac* (1715–80) uses *idée* for a sensation remembered and related to an external object, except in the case of a sensation of touch, where the sensation by itself is an *idée* because directly relating itself to such an object (*Extr. rais. du traité des sensations* [*Œuvres*, Paris, 1798, iii. 39 ff.]); and, similarly, *Holbach* (1728–89) uses the term for the image of an object which causes a sensation or perception (*Syst. de la nature*, Paris, 1821, i. 133). Not altogether dissimilar is the account of 'idea' given by *Wolff* (1679–1754), in *Psych. Emp.*, Frankfort, 1732, § 48, as a mental representation in relation to the represented object. This use of 'idea,' however, was not to prevail in Germany. *Kant* (1724-1804) set himself (*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, *Transc. Dial.* i. 1 [*Werke*, ed. Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1867, iii. 256 ff.]) to restore the word from a deplorable degradation, in which it could be used for 'the representation of the colour red' to its original Platonic use of a 'conception transcending the possibility of experience.' Of such conceptions, which Reason inevitably forms, but which cannot be verified in experience, he recognized three: the soul, the world, and God. To Kant, that we necessarily think a thing to be so and so by no means implies that it is so in itself; but to *Hegel* (1770–1831), who does not thus divorce thought from reality, such a conception, transcending but implied in our experience in space, in time, as Kant called an Idea is no mere speculative problem or at most a postulate of action; it is the ultimate unity, in the light of which alone whatever is real is seen as it truly is, and that because it is only what it is as a stage in the eternal process wherein the Idea unrolls, as it were, before itself the riches of its own nature (see *Log.* §§ 213, 236 [*Werke*, Berlin, 1843, vi. 385, 408]). As the Platonic Ideas constitute in Philo the content of the supreme Idea, the Divine mind or Logos, so in Hegel the one Idea breaks itself up into a system of definite Ideas; and similarly for *Schelling* (1775–1854) the Ideas are the living Universals in the Divine mind (*Vorles. über die Meth. der akad. Stud.* xi. [*Werke*, Stuttgart and Augsburg, 1856–61, v. 317]), or, as it is put elsewhere (*Syst. der Philos.* § 33 [*ib.* vi. 183]), the essences of things as grounded in God's eternity.

If divested of the theistic language, this use of Idea approximates to *Schopenhauer's* (1788–1860) (see *Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, Leipzig, 1873, § 25). An Idea is a 'definite and fixed grade of the objectification of the Will so far as it is thing-in-itself and therefore has no multiplicity.' These grades are related to individual things as their eternal forms or prototypes. Such Ideas are the forces of Nature (gravity, electricity, etc.), life, the various organic species, the chief types of humanity. This Schopenhauer holds to be in agreement with Plato's true meaning, while Kant's three Ideas of the Reason have nothing in common with Plato's except a transcendence of experience which they share with the merest chimeras. The Idea, thus conceived, Schopenhauer holds to be the object which the fine arts aim at representing (it is to be observed that Kant also recognized æsthetic Ideas, *Kritik der Urth.* i. §§ 17, 49, 57 [*Werke*, ed. Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1867, v. 238, 324, 353]). Such a view gives to art a higher rank in the scale of values than is assigned to it by Plato, who, although sometimes describing the apprehension of the Ideas in language suggestive of æsthetic contemplation, regards the productions of the artist as an imitation not of the Ideas, but only of the sensible copies thereof (*Rep.* x. 596).

Following Kant, who had taught that the Ideas, which were mere problems for the Speculative Reason, became postulates for the Practical, sufficient grounds for action though unverifiable in experience—thus we can, and indeed are bound to, act as though free, yet a speculative proof of freedom is impossible—*Herbart* (1776–1841) speaks of *practical* Ideas (Freedom, Perfection, etc.) springing from judgments of value (*Kurze Encyc. der Phil.* § 47 [*Werke*, Leipzig, 1850, ii. 79]). A similar usage is found in *Wundt*.

6. Ambiguity of the word 'Idea.'—Some of the ambiguities which have beset the word 'idea' are merely verbal, and may be removed by careful definition. Such is that arising from the application of the word at once to eternal principles which underlie appearances and are discovered by the exercise of reason, and also to varying modes or states of a finite consciousness. Less easily kept apart are the sense of 'mental image' and the sense of 'concept'; but the distinction between the words *Vorstellung* and *Begriff* (in recent philosophical English represented by 'concept') has to a large extent saved German writers from this equivocation. But less easily eradicable is the ambiguity which the word 'idea' inherited from the word species' when, in the 17th cent., it took its place in the philosophical vocabulary. Used now for an activity of the mind apprehending an object (cf. the phrase 'I have no idea'='I do not know,' or the occasional use for 'the faculty of apprehension,' as in the well-known line in Thomson's *Seasons*, 'to teach the young idea how to shoot' ['Spring,' 1152]), now for the object immediately apprehended (even where, as in Berkeley, this is not treated as representative of anything beyond itself), it inevitably comes to suggest a *tertium quid* internal to the mind as compared with the external object it is supposed to represent, yet not the mental process or activity of apprehending, but its immediate object. The assumption of such a *tertium quid* is rendered plausible by the difficulties due to a comparison between the experiences which different individuals, or the same individual at different times, claim to have of one and the same object. Even justice seems to be done to all of these if each be considered as an apprehension of a different 'idea' of the same thing, which is itself in no case the direct object of the experience. This may seem to be supported by the fact that we can seldom, if ever, think without imagery—a fact expressed by Aristotle in the saying, *οὐδέποτε νοεῖ ἄνευ φαντάσματος ἡ ψυχή* (*de Anima*, iii. 7, 431^a 17), 'the soul never thinks without an image'—even when, as in the instance of a chiliagon or of the Roman Empire, any image that may present itself is plainly not that of which we are thinking. In thinking, however, of a sensible thing not actually present to the senses, but remembered, it is easy to confuse the image with the object, to talk as though *it* were the object of our thought, as though *it* were what we remembered (and yet, as it is here in our imagination *now*, it is clearly not *it*, but what it represents, that we remember); and, lastly, as though, even in perceiving an object actually present to the senses, it were such an image, and not the object, that is before us. This is a way of speaking which, when used of others, comes naturally enough, because we do not share their perceptions, but picture to ourselves what we take them to be perceiving, forgetting that this is not what *they* perceive, but only a picture of it in *our* imagination.

The assumption of such a *tertium quid* between the apprehending mind and its object appears to be confirmed by the existence of hallucinations and of dreams, where what seems, as presented in consciousness, to be indistinguishable from a real object is afterwards judged not to have been such. This suggests that, both when a real object is present and when it is not, what we actually perceive is not this object, but a 'mental image,' which may or may not be representative of a real original. But this assumption only transfers the difficulty; it is no more easy to understand how, on the hypothesis that our immediate object is always such an 'idea,' we can become aware at all of an external object represented by some of them and not by others (cf. Berkeley, *Princ. of Human Knowledge*, § 8), than how in any case we sometimes come to think we perceive external bodies when we do not. These disadvantages of so ambiguous a word as 'idea' (which are not removed by substituting, with J. Ward, 'presentation'—a literal rendering of the *Vorstellung* of Herbart and Wundt) make it a hindrance rather than a help in discussing the nature of our experience prior to any such reflective discrimination between the respective shares of subject and object as must appear in any account which can be given of it. It is significant of the realization of this by English psychologists that W. McDougall avoids its use on the ground that most who have so named features distinguished in the stream of consciousness have tended to 'reify' them, preferring to use the word 'feelings,' which describes them as features of our behaviour rather than as objects of our apprehension (see *Psychology, a Study of Behaviour*, London, 1912, p. 50); and that in Loveday and Green's *Introd. to Psych.* (Oxford, 1912) the word 'idea' and its scarcely less misleading synonyms do not occur at all.

LITERATURE.—For further information as to the history of the word 'idea,' see W. Hamilton, *Discussions*, London, 1852, p. 70, *Works of Thomas Reid*, Edinburgh, 1872, p. 925 ff.; R. Eucken, *Geschichte der philos. Terminologie*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 199–201; R. Eisler, *Wörterbuch der philos. Begriffe und Ausdrücke*, Berlin, 1899, *s.v.* 'Idee,' i., to all of which this article is much indebted.

C. C. J. WEBB.

IDEAL.—1. Use of the term.—The term 'ideal' is perhaps one of the vaguest in common use. In popular usage it signifies sometimes what is excellent of its kind, *e.g.* 'we had ideal weather'; sometimes what would be perfect if it could be attained, but as a matter of fact is utterly unattainable, as when we speak of the 'ideal' State; sometimes what is regarded as unworthy of serious attention as being purely fanciful and oblivious of the facts of the case. With the last two usages in mind, Hegel speaks of

> 'the popular fancy that ideals are nothing but chimeras, and the very different fancy that ideals are something far too excellent to possess reality, or something far too feeble to procure it for themselves' (W. Wallace, *Logic of Hegel*, Oxford, 1874, p. 8).

From philosophical language, too, there comes an ambiguity, for the adjective 'ideal' may correspond to either of the two nouns, 'idea' and 'ideal'; and in the former case, corresponding to 'idea,' in the sense in which the English psychological philosophers from Locke to Hume made the term current, 'ideal' is apt to be interpreted as in contradistinction to what is actual. The 'ideal' and the 'real' are distinguished, and the distinction becomes an opposition, and the tendency is intensified to think of what is ideal in any sense as non-existent and permanently so—something that is 'all in the air.' Further, this notion of ideals derives strength from consideration of the ideals of the artist. His ideals, the types of beauty which he depicts, are commonly taken to be representations of a beauty which never and nowhere existed, nor can be found.

> 'The light that never was, on sea or land,
> The consecration, and the Poet's dream'
> (Wordsworth, *Peele Castle*).

Turning from popular usage to writers on psychology and ethics, one's impression that 'ideal' is a word of vague import is strengthened. Some have no use for the word at all. Some introduce it casually in the course of discussions without any explanation. Some use it as synonymous with 'end.' Some draw a careful distinction between ideal and end, and, having drawn it, seem to ignore it. Various writers deal with various aspects or characteristics of the ideal; few think it necessary to define the term or give a connected treatment of the topic. It is difficult to understand why 'ideal' should not be handled with something of the care which, *e.g.*, 'motive,' 'intention,' and 'desire' receive.

2. Definition.—An ideal in general may be defined as a conception of what, if attained, would fully satisfy; of what is perfect of its kind, and, in consequence, is the pattern to be copied, and the standard by which actual achievement is to be judged. The ideal is the standard of value, and the actual has worth in so far as it embodies the ideal. (For a general discussion of ideals and their significance, see EPISTEMOLOGY, § 20 f., in vol. v. p. 352 ff.).

The moral ideal is what we are now concerned with; and a moral ideal is a conception of what, if attained, would completely satisfy man as a moral being. It stands, as what *ought to be*, over against what *is* in character and conduct, and constitutes a standard by reference to which character and conduct are estimated. The ideal is not synonymous with the end. It is a product of constructive imagination in which the end is envisaged as attained, embodied, and expressed. Individuals who agree in their way of defining the end may differ widely enough in their ideals. The ideals of a hedonist, for instance, may be high or low. On the other hand, it seems quite erroneous to say, as has sometimes been said, that difference of conception of the ideal determines the difference between various schools of ethical speculation. For men who differ profoundly as moral philosophers do not necessarily differ widely as moral individuals. They may approve, condemn, seek after, and avoid the same things; their ideals, therefore, are not dissimilar. It will appear below that difference of ideal—the kind of difference in view in the statement which we are considering—marks, not school from school of ethical theory, but stage from stage of moral progress.

To entertain ideals is part of man's nature. It is given with his power of retrospect, forecast, and choice. All men have an ideal of some kind, for all rational beings distinguish what *is* and what *should be*. The moral ideal can be only formally defined as a conception of man with his powers at the best, using them for the best. It cannot be concretely defined. For man is a developing being, and does not know what his powers at the best may be. And conceptions of 'for the best' may differ, and do differ. Further, a particular individual may find that, in constructing his ideal, the peculiarity of his circumstances requires that there is a conflict of some kind between 'at the best' and 'for the best.' It is a serious question for some, *e.g.*, whether, in view of all their circumstances and obligations, they are justified or not in taking a University course, or entering a career for which they are fitted, but which requires an expensive training which will mean hard sacrifice for others. Hence it is that 'ideals are relative to the lives that entertain them' (W. James, *Talks to Teachers on Psychology*, London, 1899, p. 292). An ideal, however, is not conceived to be something purely or essentially individualistic. He who holds it is not impressed with the relativity of it, but with its universality. It is not something which he alone should seek after; it is what he conceives all should follow.

There is an infinite variety of ideals as held by different individuals. They may be low or high, sordid or sublime; they may be limited by the seen and temporal, or stretch forward to the unseen and eternal; they may be so worth striving after, and the individual so thwarted and baffled in pursuit of them, that an argument for immortality may be founded thereon. Whatever its nature, the ideal is that which inspires, directs, and gives coherence to the moral life. (For an excellent discussion of the meaning of ideals, see Leslie Stephen, *The Science of Ethics*, p. 74 ff.)

3. The forming of ideals.—As character is partly an endowment, partly an achievement, so ideals are partly imposed upon the individual, partly chosen by him. A child develops towards moral individuality by obeying authority which it did not itself constitute. When it awakens to moral consciousness, its standards of judgment are already so far fixed for it. It has been following an ideal chosen by others, set before it, and imposed upon it. And obviously the imposed ideal may determine in varying degree the deliberately chosen ideal. The ideal in many cases never differs appreciably from the ideal found in the home or the community. Many are never aware of any break or contrast between what they are ordered or expected to obey and what they freely choose to obey. Such freedom to choose, indeed, is only dimly, if at all, realized; or, if realized, may be regarded only as a temptation to be combated. In communities, however, where individual freedom is safeguarded and esteemed, and where there is a wide range of choice of life-work open, the necessary choice of some definite life-work, which brings a multitude of varied possibilities before the individual, contributes to his becoming keenly conscious of his power of choosing an ideal of what his life, character, and achievement are to be.

The psychology and the whole process of such choice, such 'setting up' of an ideal, are very obscure. Factors enter into it due to temperament, previous training, and all sorts of 'personal equation,' which make analysis in any particular case very difficult and generalization impossible. Our earliest ideals glow with colour and romance, and, literally enough, baffle description. There is something great and splendid that we wish to attain, but what more definitely it is we cannot say. We hear the wind rise 'roaring seaward' and feel we must go, but whither and wherefore we are not clear. We are inclined to think of our ideal as something absolutely new, unheard of till we discovered it (cf. W. James, *Talks*, p. 292; J. Royce, *Studies*, New York, 1898, p. 80). The truth in this exaggerated view of ourselves and our ideals is that there is an element of uniqueness in every personality. With the lapse of time the ideal loses in colour but gains in clearness. It comes down from the skies to common earth. While it remains something personal, peculiarly our own, we lay more stress on its universal character. (On the contrast between the 'idealism' of youth and the 'realism' of maturer years, see H. Lotze, *Microcosmos*, Eng. tr.^{4}, Edinburgh, 1899, ii. 305 ff.)

4. Is the ideal realized?—To this question the answer is Yes and No. (*a*) On the one hand, we must hold that the ideal is attainable and is realized. An ideal which is absolutely and inherently unattainable cannot be an ideal; for, as we have said, the ideal is our conception of what should be, and, as Kant says, 'an ought implies a can.' If a thing cannot be, there is no sense in saying it should be. And, unless we are prepared to deny that men ever act rightly, or that there is such a thing as moral progress, we must hold that the ideal is realized. 'The moral ideal may be said to be realized every time we truly act' (J. S. Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*^{4}, p. 29). We know, too, that multitudes find their ideal realized in some individual; their effort is to try to be like him. What would *he* think of this? is their standard of judging. (*b*) On the other hand, most men are constrained to admit that the ideal is never attained by them. Strive as they like, it remains ahead of their accomplishment. The fact is that man is a developing moral being, and that moral progress means, not only that in achievement the individual is ever coming nearer an ideal, but that the ideal itself is progressing. Like character, the ideal is only relatively fixed and permanent. If, as we have said, the ideal gives coherence to the moral life, it must obviously have stability of a kind. But we have to think of a stability in progress—a mobile equilibrium. As we progress in the moral life, the ideal unfolds and expands.

> 'Every achievement of good deepens and quickens our sense of the inexhaustible value contained in every right act. With achievement, our conception of the possible goods of life increases, and we find ourselves called to live upon a still deeper and more thoughtful plane. An ideal is not some remote all-exhaustive goal, a fixed *summum bonum*' (Dewey-Tufts, *Ethics*, p. 421 f.).

Hence it is that what at any moment in the moral life we picture to ourselves as the *best* turns out to be only a *better*. As in achievement we approach what we regarded as the best, we gain a conception of something still more excellent.

Hence the statement 'ideals are realizable' is true; it means that moral progress is possible. The statement 'the ideal is not realizable' is also true, as meaning that we can assign no limit to moral progress. To say that there is an absolute ideal, an absolute best, is to say that such limit can be fixed, that there will come a time when no further moral progress can take place. (For full discussion of the points dealt with briefly in this paragraph, and of the problems which emerge, see T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, bk. iii.; S. Alexander, *Moral Order and Progress*, bk. iii.)

5. Change of ideal.—Apart, however, from the change of ideal which proceeds in every life gradually and imperceptibly, probably the majority are familiar with a change of another kind, when the cleavage between old and new is distinctly marked, and the connexion seems to be only one of sharpest contrast. There are times when one can say, 'The old things are passed away; behold, they are become new' (2 Co 5^{17}), when one feels oneself to be a new creature looking out upon a new world. This may come about under a manifold variety of circumstances in which little, if any, general rule may be discerned. It may happen that needs of our nature of which we were not previously conscious suddenly make themselves felt, so that what formerly satisfied is no longer adequate. Needs which were weak or suppressed may become relatively stronger. Or we may find that what we thought would satisfy proves in experience unable to do so. It may happen that our call to, and assumption of, fresh responsibilities give a new vision of what life and character ought to be. We see that the old ways are unworthy, that the old habits must be broken, that our standards must be raised, and our whole scheme and view of life revised, as Henry V. found when he assumed the dignity of kingship. A new bond of friendship or love may mean a similar new vision. Or the change may be, and often is, concomitant with a religious experience; 'if any man is in Christ, he is a new creature' (2 Co 5^{17}).

In some cases the phenomenon admits of explanation; in others, especially when religious elements enter, it is too recondite; obscure factors are involved of which the individual himself can give no clear account, and the case defies psychological analysis. We cannot explain our tastes, our likes, and aversions; it is a cold-blooded sort of love if one can explain why he prefers one person before others. And of that change of ideal which means a revolution in the moral life, and comes, or seems to come, suddenly, an adequate explanation is seldom possible. 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh, and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit' (Jn 3^8).

When a new vision of the ideal comes to us, it may affect us in a variety of ways. We may feel at once a peace and satisfaction like that of the merchant who has long been searching for the goodly pearl, and, having found it, sells all that he has and buys it; we may yield to its attraction and inspiration. More often, especially when we not merely get a new conception of the ideal, but see the ideal realized or approximated in an actual life or deed, we may experience a sort of despair; we may feel overpowered with a sense of the contrast between what we are and what we now see we ought to be (on this topic generally, and the value of self-abasement, see Iverach, *The Other Side of Greatness*, serm. i.). Or we may for a time be involved in a conflict of ideals, undecided as to how the moral life is to be directed, and, like Paul, 'kick against the pricks' (Ac 9^5).

While moral progress is often marked by the positive appearance of a new ideal, it is also frequently marked mainly or entirely, *negatively*, by the failure of the old ideal any longer to satisfy us. Sometimes we see more or less clearly what the new 'better' is, sometimes we have nothing but a sense that what we used to regard as best is not good, and that a 'better' there must be, though we cannot yet say what it is. We have to grope our way, 'moving about in worlds not realized' (Wordsworth, *Intimations of Immortality*).

6. The teaching of ideals.—It may be said to be the duty of every moral being to unfold and commend an ideal to those who are morally undeveloped, or are searching for an ideal, and to propose something better to those who are plainly following a low ideal. In various aspects of it, this is the special task of preachers, teachers, and parents (see art. EDUCATION, MORAL, vol. v. p. 216 ff.). We may note some of the most important principles which must be kept in mind in this connexion. Regarding the kind of ideal that should be commended for imitation, some remarks by L. T. Hobhouse are worth noting:

> 'It is just worth noticing, as we pass, that ideals are interesting or vapid according as the element of construction or abstraction preponderates in them. Types in which differences are left out, in which you try to get down to the pure thing, free from all incrustation of other elements, are nauseating in proportion as their delineation is successful. This kind of "idealism" gives us the heroes and heroines who live to utter

> moral platitudes, and spoil whole chapters of good writing. It inspires the morality which tries to make all life a study of what you ought not to do. The constructive idealism, on the other hand, finds dissatisfaction always in incompleteness, and finds completeness only in the many-sided character and the varied life' (*The Theory of Knowledge*, p. 211).

It is very important that the ideal exhibited should be positive, and not negative. Otherwise a boy will get the impression that a good boy is one who does none of the things that an average boy wants to do, and at any age one will conceive of virtue as an anæmic thing, and goodness as essentially some form of abstinence. Further, the aim must be to make the ideal concrete, not abstract, to show flesh and blood examples, not merely to lay down precepts, to point to lives or deeds in which the ideal has been approximately embodied, to show that, as actual occurrences prove, virtue is not incapable of attainment. (On this topic see S. M. Bligh, *The Direction of Desire.*)

7. The unrealized ideal.—We have seen that the ideal is unrealized and unrealizable in the sense that it is a mobile thing which constantly keeps ahead of us in our moral progress. It ever appears as 'a better beyond the best.' But, apart from this, every one who is in earnest in moral endeavour knows that the ideal is not realized in another sense—in the sense, namely, that in his conduct he comes short more or less, and usually more rather than less, of what he purposed. Taking the moral life at any moment, and the ideal as it is then presented to us, and striven after, there is often a wide gulf between what *was to be* and what *is*. This may be due to our fault or to our misfortune. We may find, like Paul, that the good we would we do not; and the evil that we would not, that we do (Ro 7^{19}). Or in ignorance we may adopt a wrong means of realizing our ideal. Or we may find that circumstances are in conspiracy against us, and forbid the realization of our purposes, that we are handicapped, thwarted, baulked by the *force majeure* of practical facts which we cannot circumvent or surmount. Besides, we must take account of our general inability to give adequate or appropriate expression to the deepest things of the spirit. Take the case of emotion. We can only stammer brokenly, and to an unsympathetic or uninterested ear ludicrously, about our love. We search in vain for an adequate mode of expressing contempt or hate. In an excess of joy we are moved to tears, and a smile may be all the expression we can give to heart-breaking disappointment or despair. So with the ideal which in our highest moments may be revealed to us. Unutterable thoughts, inexpressible aspirations may come to us; we feel, we know, that they are the most valuable of our possessions, though neither in word nor in deed can we fully reveal them. They are among the truest riches of our nature though we cannot exhibit them:

> 'Thoughts hardly to be packed
> Into a narrow act,
> Fancies that broke through language and escaped;
> All I could never be,
> All, men ignored in me,
> This, I was worth to God'
> (Browning, *Rabbi Ben Ezra*).

The familiar words of Kant respecting the good will may be applied to the ideal:

> 'Even if it should happen that, owing to special disfavour of fortune, or the niggardly provision of a stepmotherly nature, it should wholly lack power to accomplish its purpose, . . . then, like a jewel, it would still shine by its own light, . . . its usefulness or fruitlessness can neither add nor take away anything from its value' (T. K. Abbott, *Kant's Theory of Ethics*^{3}, London, 1883, p. 10).

A lover of paradox might well say that a man's real worth depends on what he fails in. 'Thou didst well that it was in thine heart' (2 Ch 6^{8}). The ideal in some cases is doubly ideal; it is a conception not of what *would* but of what *should* satisfy. The individual does not feel the needs which it would meet, but in some sense he acknowledges that he ought to feel them, or at least that they ought to be felt generally. An audience the individuals of which are immoral, or even criminal, will hiss the villain of melodrama, and applaud the triumph of long-suffering virtue. One who makes no attempt to realize high ideals in his own conduct may be very exacting in demanding them of others, or very earnest in commending them to others. Ideals which are not realized in conduct may thus still be determinant of character; though ineffective to shape conduct, they do have a share in making the individual what he is. Further, ideals which he never seeks to realize as a private individual may none the less mould his conduct in various ways as a member of society. They may determine his contribution to public opinion, his attitude on public questions, his vote at elections, his discharge of public duty. If he be a parent, they may prescribe the rules he lays down for his children. The moral standard of his home may be very different from that of his office, and both very different from the standard he acts up to when he feels himself free for the time from his usual social obligations. We may regard such a man as we please, but we cannot say that the ideals he never seeks to realize are altogether valueless, either for himself or for society. Conduct is at the best but an imperfect expression and revelation of an individual's ideals, and, similarly, institutions and customs are imperfect embodiments of the ideals, the moral worth, and the moral standpoint of a community (see art. GOOD AND EVIL, vol. vi. p. 318 ff.). This has been so well said by Julia Wedgwood that we may close the subject with a quotation from her work:

> 'That which gives life its keynote is, not what men think good, but what they think best. True, this is not the part of belief which is embodied in conduct: the ordinary man tries to avoid only what is obviously wrong; the best of men does not always make us aware that he is striving after what is right. We do not see people growing into the resemblance of what they admire; it is much if we can see them growing into the unlikeness of that which they condemn. But the dominant influence of life lies ever in the unrealized. While all that we discern is the negative aspect of a man's ideal, that ideal itself lives by admiration which never clothes itself in word or deed. In seeing what he avoids we judge only the least important part of his standard; it is that which he never strives to realize in his own person which makes him what he is. The average secular man of to-day is a different being because Christendom has hallowed the precept to give the cloak to him who asks the coat; it would be easier to argue that this claim for what most would regard as an impossible virtue has been injurious than that it has been impotent. Christianity has moulded character, where we should vainly seek to discern that it had influenced conduct. Not the criminal code, but the counsel of perfection shows us what a nation is becoming; and he who casts on any set of duties the shadow of the second best, so far as he is successful, does more to influence the moral ideal than he who succeeds in passing a new law' (*The Moral Ideal*, p. 373 f.).

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IDEALISM.—I. The term.—'Idealism' is a term of very varied application. As 'personal idealism' it may denote a view of human life in which all utilitarian and eudæmonistic considerations are subordinated to duty or to objective ideals of culture, and in which the mind asserts its superiority in the face of all determinism and materialism. This is the type of idealism the attainment and vindication of which find imposing and even classical expression in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*.

Again, the term may be applied generally to philosophical and religious systems, to views of the universe and poetic creations, in which the world is represented as being dominated by spiritual ends of a moral, religious, or æsthetic character. An idealism of this kind is found in all the great national religions, in the most diverse philosophical systems, and in poems such as Dante's *Divina Commedia* and Goethe's *Faust*; its antitheses are sceptical relativism and hopeless pessimism. But these rather general applications of the word have no place in a scientific terminology, and have not much significance even in the inexact speech of everyday life, as everything turns upon the particular ethical, religious, or æsthetic sense in which the nature of the ideal and its authority over personality are conceived. As a technical term, idealism concerns us only as denoting a distinct type of metaphysical thought, and in that sense alone will it be dealt with here.

2. **The fundamental position of idealism.**—In order to determine the philosophical import of the term 'idealism,' it will be necessary to fix the place which the corresponding theory occupies among the various fundamental philosophical positions. These fundamental positions may be combined in the several systems of philosophy, but they always remain separate and distinct as regards their starting-points. No one single or solely possible point of origin can be ascribed to philosophical reflexion. On the contrary, the data of experience form from the outset the subject of various problems, the very variety of which renders anything like a real monism impossible. Thus we have, first of all, the question as to the ultimate reality given in experience; secondly, the question as to what the thinker expects to attain by a logical elaboration of the given; and, finally, the question regarding the attitude to be assumed to the facts of becoming and change, and therefore also to the existence of ends and values, in the data of experience. These three questions, even if the answers to them can be harmonized and combined, cannot, as has been said, be reduced to one another. To begin with the last: we note that from this question arise the systems of pantheistic changelessness on the one hand, and of pluralistic change on the other, the two sides of the antithesis being exemplified by the Eleatics and Heraclitus respectively. In the second question originate, on the one hand, the systems which by logical elaboration of the given find a more specific and certain reality behind or above the manifold of experience—as, indeed, the basis and explanation of it; and, on the other hand, the systems which seek merely to explain psychologically the formation of the concepts actually applied in experience, and thus to regulate such application. These systems are respectively the dogmatic *a priori* theories of which Platonism is the type, and the empirical pragmatic theories represented by the Sophists. The first question, again, gives rise, on the one hand, to the systems which regard material reality as the primary element of experience, and find in it the explanation of consciousness; and, on the other, to the systems which begin with the individual consciousness, and pass thence to the trans-subjective reality: they are respectively the realistic systems represented by materialism and by a naturalistic pantheism of the Spinozistic type, and the idealistic systems framed by Descartes, Malebranche, Berkeley, and Hume.

Now the place of 'idealism' among philosophical conceptions lies within the confines of the last of these antitheses. It denotes the metaphysical theory which, as regards the primary and most certain datum of experience, takes its stand upon consciousness and its contents. In its most uncompromising and self-consistent form idealism is solipsism, and finds its initial and most difficult problem in the question regarding the trans-subjective reality of knowledge, or the separation of the merely subjective element from elements which are super-subjective and universally valid. This problem, which had been touched upon by the Greek Sophists and Sceptics, by Augustine and the mediæval Nominalists, became the real crux of Descartes and Malebranche, of Locke and Berkeley, and it is impressively expounded by Fichte in his *Bestimmung des Menschen*. This idealism is often called 'Phenomenalism'—a designation which implies that consciousness and its content of phenomena must form the starting-point of all philosophical reflexion, that the entire range of physical and psychical reality is given as a mere phenomenon to a consciousness which carries the whole within itself. Whether the phenomena thus immanent in consciousness have correlatives of an objective character, and what such correlatives may be, are questions left entirely unanswered. Of late it has become common to speak of this view as 'Immanence'—a term signifying that all reality is comprised in consciousness as sensation, perception, and idea. All these, however, are neither more nor less than metaphysical idealism in the only technical sense that we can ascribe to the term. Hence, to put the matter shortly, idealism implies that the relation of subject and object is one of the essential starting-points of philosophy, and in its view of that relation it lays down the decisive principle that objects can exist only for a subject, and that the subject which carries the objects within itself is the higher category, and as such must determine the process of philosophical thought.

3. **Various developments of the idealistic principle.**—As thus understood, idealism is simply one of the essential starting-points of philosophical thought. But in its further development as a system it may assume a vast variety of forms. It really implies a method, not a school of opinions and beliefs with a definitely fixed result, or, at most, it involves such a result only in so far as it is opposed to materialism, according to which consciousness has its source in material reality, and arises from it in certain conditions, as was maintained by the ancient materialists and their successors, as well as by the naturalistic monists and agnostics, who often approximate very closely to them; and, of course, it similarly opposes every kind of objectivism which would derive personal consciousness and its contents from some such supposed primordial datum as God, nature, the All, or cosmic law, as was done by Neo-Platonism and the ecclesiastical philosophy, by Spinoza and his modern followers. So far, it is true, idealism means something more than a mere method; it signifies a mode of thought whose subject-matter is fixed and defined from the standpoint of consciousness and the ego. Even so, however, the most varied lines of systematic development lie open to it.

(*a*) ***Various attempts to reach trans-subjective reality from the idealistic standpoint.***—Thus we may, with Descartes and Malebranche, begin with the idea of God as a fact of consciousness, pass thence to the objective world, and then from that position explain consciousness, or the ego. Or we may, with Locke, assert merely the probable existence of objective correlatives to the contents of consciousness, and upon that probability construct a system that differs but little from objectivism. With Berkeley, we may attribute our experience of phenomena to the divine will, and thus attain to a theological theism, or, with Hume, Comte, and the Pragmatists, we may hold the relation of subject and object to be inexplicable and inscrutable, and so content ourselves with what can be based upon the laws of phenomena. Some, with Schelling and Hegel, deduce from experience the identity of subject and object, and with this identity as a basis elucidate the being and evolution of all things. Others, again, with Leibniz, Herbart, and Lotze, derive from the facts of consciousness a pluralistic reality corresponding thereto; while some, finally, with Schopenhauer, deduce from the individual consciousness the theory that it subsists in the unconscious, from which subject and object severally arise, only to fall back again into the unconscious. There is thus an extraordinary variety in the systems evolved from the fundamental position of idealism. Some of these approximate to materialism, or else to objectivism; some do not pass beyond the subject; while some propound an objective reality corresponding to it. But in virtue of their common starting-point they are all rigidly opposed to pure materialism or pure objectivism.

(*b*) *Idealism combined with epistemological theories.*—Further specialized forms of the idealistic theory present themselves, however, when this metaphysical starting-point is combined with conclusions developed from the epistemological starting-point. Here we meet with the great main divisions of idealism related to the second source of philosophical reflexion (as noted in § 2 above), viz. empirical-nominalistic and *a priori* realistic idealism—a distinction which, as represented by the Greek Sophists and Sceptics on the one hand, and by Plato on the other, differentiates idealistic systems to the present day.

i. Nominalistic idealism culminates in Berkeley's Phenomenalism, in Hume, in Pragmatism, in James's Voluntarism, and in the entire psychological philosophy of modern times. It emphatically affirms that not only the facts of mind but also the facts of nature are phenomena of consciousness. Here consciousness becomes simply the stage on which the facts exhibit their movements. The associations and dissociations which take place according to the laws of nature and the psychological laws of social life are the material of which our so-called knowledge—and, therefore, also our philosophy—is built. Here philosophy explains the genesis of the conceptual world as a process of moulding the contents of experience, or consciousness, and distinguishes between the elements that pertain to a trans-subjective world and those that pertain to the ego, and it ascribes to both groups of conceptions a power of continuous self-direction and of progressive self-adaptation to the ends of practical life. What these ends really are is a question that cannot be decided from the standpoint under consideration; it belongs to the ethico-teleological series of problems (see (*c*) below). But, if we bring the modern doctrine of biological evolution within the epistemological circle of problems, then the theory of empirical idealism resolves itself into the doctrine of the continuous adjustments, inheritances, and selections according to which the contents of consciousness group themselves conceptually with reference to the ideal ends realizing themselves therein. We have here, in fact, a psychological relativism having the idealistic method as its pre-condition, but it entirely avoids the metaphysical endeavour to reach absolute reality, and abstains even from a metaphysical interpretation of its own starting-point. At the same time, however, it lends to the systems which it embraces an anti-materialistic bent that does justice to the mystery of existence and of spirit. The idea of the great mystery which Comte recognizes in his 'Idée de l'humanité,' Spencer in his 'Unknowable,' and Simmel in his hypothesis of a 'relativistischer Pantheismus' emanates from the idealistic starting-point.

ii. The idealism directed by an *a priori* and realistic epistemology, *i.e.* Platonism in its various forms, proceeds in a directly opposite way. From the psychical data of consciousness and the psychologically explicable laws of association it distinguishes a specific inner capacity of forming concepts. This function cannot be explained by, or derived from, anything else, but, on the contrary, is itself the necessary condition of all explanation and derivation. It is a spontaneous and creative faculty of spirit or reason, and is independent of the soul as such, of its contents and their interaction under the operation of psychological laws. This independence finds expression in the attributes 'a priori' and 'autonomous,' which imply that the faculty does not originate in experience, but that, on the other hand, experience is spiritually permeated and so rendered intelligible by it. Thus *a priori* idealism does not merely differentiate between the bare elements of consciousness and their associative combinations, but also distinguishes from the latter the conceptual faculty, which follows its own logical laws. As valid, self-consistent, and necessary knowledge results only from an elaboration of the data of consciousness in conformity with these laws, it is the conceptual faculty that transforms the chaos of mental phenomena into a reality systematized and apprehended by means of concepts. True reality is generated only by a process of thought governed by autonomous *a priori* principles. Hence this type of idealism is also designated realism—the knowledge of the veritably real by means of concepts. Such an idealism, by reason of its epistemology, stands at the opposite pole from nominalist-empirical idealism. But in this very circumstance lie the peculiar difficulties of the position, viz. (1) the dependence of all conceptual activity upon experience, and the observed variability of the views advanced—facts ever in conflict with the apriority and autonomy maintained by the theory; (2) the very idea of a reality which is attained by means of concepts—an idea which led Plato to hypostatize the concepts as absolute entities, and has led others to regard them as the laws by which the divine mind acts; (3) the question as to how far the entire manifold of consciousness can be rationalized by concepts, and whether the process does not leave a residuum of non-rational elements—a doubt which has re-asserted itself in fresh forms from Plato to Schelling and Schopenhauer; and, finally, (4) the difference between the purely theoretical general concepts, on the one hand, and, on the other, the practical ideals or values whose inherent *a priori* necessity coincided, in Plato's view, with the cognate necessity of theoretical knowledge, but whose genuinely practical and theoretically inexplicable character could not permanently remain unrecognized. Thus, while the subsuming of idealism under the *a priori* epistemology corresponds to the true import of knowledge and of the conception of truth—since, of course, every sceptical and relativistic theory must likewise find its warrant in autonomous and logical evidence—yet this idealism, in setting up a reality which is apprehended only through concepts, and stands higher than the reality of immediate experience, involves all the difficulties of rationalism. The idealism which is interpreted on nominalistic-empirical principles lies closer to reality, and does more justice to the changes that occur in the separate sciences and their presuppositions, but precisely on that account it surrenders the idea of truth, and falls into scepticism and sophistic relativism.

(*c*) *Idealism combined with teleological theories.*—

Idealism assumes definite forms of yet another type, and encounters fresh problems, when it is brought into relation with the third main philosophical position (cf. § 2 above), *i.e.* that from which arises the antithesis of pluralism and monism, of change and immutability. In itself idealism is not exclusively bound up with either of the alternatives, but may take both directions. It contains elements which may lead to the one as well as to the other. But, once it becomes involved in the two antitheses, it manifests a very different character in each.

i. Thus, when it proceeds from the individual consciousness, it encounters at the very outset the fact of a variety of consciousnesses. The joint action of these and the dialectic of their common discovery of the concepts are here held to be the necessary conditions of a kingdom of knowledge. From this point, then, idealism becomes pluralistic; and, moreover, when the question is raised as to the possibility and probability of an extra-human consciousness, idealism must, on the higher plane, admit the existence of a plurality of intellectual realms, and, on the lower, must regard it as probable that the sub-human, and perhaps even the inorganic, world is endowed with a spiritual life. Now, as such pluralism involves the idea of movement and reciprocal influence, consciousness—conceived as a subjective activity seeking to reduce its contents to clearness and order—contains also the impulse to strive and advance towards self-comprehension and self-organization. Then, as ethical and practical values are at length recognized in this striving and developing subjective principle, there arises the ideal of personality and of a kingdom of individual minds. This form of idealism finds typical representatives in Augustine, Nicolas Cusanus, and Leibniz. Further, this multitude of spirits must, of course, remain united in their common starting-point—in consciousness in general. But this in turn brings us naturally to an absolute relativism, as in Heraclitus; or to a pan-psychism, as in Averroes; or to that unreconciled opposition between the cosmic consciousness and finite personal spirits which is characteristic, above all, of European idealistic thought.

ii. At this point, however, we touch upon the other factor of the antithesis—that which presses towards monism and changelessness. The consciousness that forms the starting-point here is not the casual finite consciousness at all, the latter being indeed simply its representative. The individual consciousness represents consciousness in general, inasmuch as it is a quintessence of the simplest metaphysical conditions. Here 'being' means being for a consciousness: *esse est percipi*. Then, as consciousness in its individual aspect cannot perform this function except on the absurd supposition of solipsism, and as, moreover, the individual consciousness has its genesis and its decay, its own 'being' can exist only for and in an *absolute* consciousness. In this way the individual person, like all else, becomes an element in the divine mind. Here then we find ourselves within the sphere of monism—the monism of consciousness. If, however, we begin with the absolute consciousness, it is difficult to find a place for becoming and movement, as these can be predicated only of particular, finitive, and relative things. Hence, either the absolute consciousness is interpreted anthropomorphically, *i.e.* as a being who creates, imparts, and directs the movement of things, or else movement is altogether denied, and the finite consciousness becomes a mere illusory appearance of the absolute consciousness. With the surrender of plurality and movement, in fact, the ego and consciousness themselves disappear, and become the unconscious. From the mysticism of Brāhmanism to Schopenhauer runs a quite intelligible line of development, which Western thought, under the influence of Christianity, has been able to avoid only by tracing the human personality in some way to the Deity, and so lapsing into the well-known antinomies in the idea of God.

We thus see that the bare adoption of metaphysical idealism does not carry us very far. Idealism acquires definite character only by being combined with the tendencies of thought which are definitely moulded by actual decisions regarding the other two philosophical starting-points. To exalt the mind, or consciousness, above all its contents is doubtless an important step, but it in no way determines the fundamental character of philosophical thought. The vital question is how the mind as thus exalted above its phenomena is itself regarded as to its own nature and the direction of its activity. But this, as we have seen, brings us face to face with a vast variety of alternatives, and with antinomies of the most formidable kind.

4. **Transcendental idealism.**—The recognition of these innumerable complications and paralogisms led to that unique form of idealism which is known as Transcendental or Critical Idealism—the doctrine of Kant. That doctrine concerns us here only in so far as it is idealistic, and has furnished modern thought with a new weapon against materialism and semi-materialism. The character of this idealism finds its clearest expression in the distinction which Kant drew between his own views and the empirico-nominalistic idealism of Hume, as well as that of Berkeley—certainly no less empirical, but corrected and supplemented by a metaphysical theology. Kant's doctrine is idealism of the type evolved from the first starting-point. It is a metaphysic from the standpoint of consciousness as embracing all experience, in so far as that standpoint itself implies a metaphysical position. But this idealism is distinguished from Hume's by the fact that it is developed and explained, not by the empirical-nominalistic, but by a rationalistic-aprioristic, method, and from Berkeley's by the fact that it does not simply accept the facts of consciousness as given psychologically, and then graft upon these the metaphysical element, but transforms them by a critical and rational procedure into real knowledge, and at the same time will have nothing to do with a metaphysical procedure that would transcend the rational order of the phenomena themselves. Here we have the grounds of the two leading characteristics of the Kantian philosophy, viz. (1) the rational *a priori* transformation of the facts of consciousness into real knowledge by the *a priori* forms of reason; and (2) the limitation of the validity of this transformation to the actual data of experience, and the tracing of all contradictions and antinomies to an illegitimate application of the categories to a reality beyond experience. Experience itself, in its intuitions of time and space, in its synthesis of phenomena by means of the categories, and in the unity which it presupposes, becomes real only in virtue of the *a priori* forms of reason already operative within it. But these forms are to be applied only to the experiential material of the human consciousness; for, if they are applied to what lies beyond, they inevitably become involved in all the paralogisms of traditional metaphysics. Adhesion to the fundamental idealistic position; the expansion of this position into the intra-experiential rationalism of a logically necessary systematization, and a practically necessary valuation, of the contents of experience or consciousness; a demonstration of the fact that a metaphysic which seeks to transcend experience necessarily results in antinomies; the vindication of ethico-religious con-

victions by a practical postulate on the basis of the moral reason; and, finally, the reconciliation of the metaphysical postulate of moral freedom with the theoretical-rational system of an ordered totality of experience by the doctrine of the purely phenomenal character of the latter—these are the leading features of the Kantian idealism. It is, accordingly, a philosophical fabric *sui generis*, and, in fact, could not come into existence at all until the several starting-points of philosophy had been adequately developed, and until, in particular, the idealistic principle had been fully wrought out. Still, it is essentially idealism—idealism within the sphere of consciousness as embracing all experience, and in it the individual consciousness represents consciousness in general. But it does not sanction any advance beyond the idea of representation, or any reaching forth towards what is represented. The rational articulation and valuation of the contents of consciousness—that and that alone is its aim. How consciousness itself comes into being, how it is related to what transcends it, how the theory comes to embrace a plurality of consciousnesses and the possibility of their mutual intercourse—these are for it unanswerable questions. The metaphysical range of Kant's idealism does not pass beyond the fundamental thesis of a system within the limits of conscious experience.

The nature and deduction of the principles by means of which the contents of consciousness are reduced to order and valued need not concern us here. But it is necessary to point out that the Kantian system is also a form of *personal* idealism, *i.e.* that in its recognition of ethical ends and imperatives, and its corresponding conception of the All, it rests upon practical judgments and postulates which lie wholly outside its metaphysical idealism as such, and are admittedly drawn from interests of a non-logical character. Hence it is possible, by divesting the system of its practical aspect, to interpret it in a decidedly naturalistic way. In point of fact, however, Kant himself, by thus expanding his system, has burdened it with a dualism which brings in its train all the old antinomies and perplexities of philosophical thought.

Whatever significance is to be ascribed to the Kantian idealism, it at all events broke away from the practice—inherited from Greek philosophy—of simply identifying theoretical and metaphysical with personal and ethical idealism, and of extending the consistency of the former to the latter. Theoretical procedure and practical procedure, logical articulation and ethical judgment, natural law and moral imperative, though both members of each pair have a common idealistic foundation, are rigorously differentiated by Kant. While necessity and validity are predicated of either side, yet they are not of the same type in both, and are in each case demonstrated on different grounds. The personal idealism of the ethical, religious, and æsthetic sphere must, accordingly, be clearly distinguished from the metaphysical idealism that ranks consciousness above all its phenomena, nor is it to be identified with the logical and theoretical articulation of these phenomena. Thus a fresh source of philosophical principles is recognized and set apart, while at the same time further perplexities are added to philosophical reflexion. The manner in which Kant ultimately at once distinguished and combined the antagonistic elements by his dual conception of the world, viz. a phenomenal, empirical, and logical, on the one hand, and a noumenal, intelligible, and personal, on the other, is obviously unsatisfactory, as human experience exhibits, and, for a true interpretation, demands, not the mere juxtaposition, but the actual fusion, of the two aspects. This explains why Kant's subjective idealism of logically ordered experience and moral freedom soon fell back again into an objective idealism, *i.e.* a theory which derives reality from the absolute or divine consciousness.

5. German idealism.—The objective idealism evolved from the Kantian system is usually called 'German Idealism'—a term covering the movement of speculation from Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel to Schopenhauer and Herbart, of the last of whom, again, such thinkers as Lotze, Fechner, and Wundt, notwithstanding the independent character of their contributions, may be regarded as the legitimate successors. But this type of idealism has spread far beyond the confines of Germany. In France it is more or less independently represented by Cousin, Renouvier, and Maine de Biran; in Britain by Coleridge, T. H. Green, Hutchison Stirling, the Cairds, and the Seths. It thus forms one of the outstanding phases of modern philosophy. It is impossible to deal here with the movement in detail. Suffice it to emphasize its most vital feature, viz. that in all cases its starting-point is the individual consciousness, and that, as this is treated as representing consciousness in general, it forms the bridge by which thought advances to the conception of the divine universal consciousness or the divine universal will—the internally organized process of the former, or the active movements of the latter, being then the source of the world of subjective consciousness, which, in turn, will merge in the universal consciousness or universal will. Of the utmost importance in this connexion, accordingly, are the several interpretations of the idea of God which is disengaged by analysis from the subjective consciousness—as being, in fact, its necessary foundation and pre-condition. Thus we have theistic, pantheistic, or pessimistic interpretations, corresponding to the various leading conceptions of the subjective consciousness. This form of idealism is, in reality, a revived Platonism or Neo-Platonism, except in so far as, on the lines of Descartes and Kant, the idealistic factor depends upon the principle of a philosophy of consciousness, and all laws and values are regarded as respectively but the processes and ends of the absolute consciousness which is deduced from that principle, whereas in the older systems named their idealistic character rests, not upon any central element abstracted by analysis from consciousness, but upon the hypostatization of the general concepts readily evolved from it. This expansion of the central idea of Kant—a position which was of set purpose narrowly circumscribed—brings back, of course, all the antinomies and perplexities which in his conscious and studied agnosticism he had so ingeniously got rid of.

6. 19th cent. development.—The remarkable advance of physical science and the concrete study of sociological development which mark the 19th cent. brought about the collapse of this idealistic metaphysics in the grand style, and thus gave materialism once more an open field and a position of far-reaching influence. But a part of still greater moment was played at this juncture by semi-materialism or positivism, which declared the problem of subject and object to be insoluble and of no consequence, and recognized the phenomenal order of nature as of no less decisive import for the mind than an order metaphysically deduced. Our whole task, it was held, is to adjust ourselves to the laws actually operative in the world, in life, and in society as a means of the fullest possible self-expression and of the utilitarian organization of society. The determinative factor is in all circumstances the law of physical and psychical phenomena; the mind has no creative power of its own, but has only a capacity of adaptation by means of which, in its differentiations and integrations, it may maintain and further the existence of human beings. To that existence itself no independent spiritual content is ascribed; there is nothing beyond the adaptation of an empty capacity for existence. Here the mind is not derived from matter,—and so far an idealistic element is retained,—but it is divested of all specific and spontaneous content, and receives everything from the surrounding world. Hence the relation between subject and object, and thus also the problem of idealism itself, together with all the fundamental views which serve to determine its development, may, as being insoluble and of no practical utility, be relegated to the sphere of the unknowable. This positivism, it is true, was challenged by a revival of the Kantian idealism——in the form of Neo-Kantianism, in which, however, Kant's ethics, his doctrine of freedom, and his philosophy of religion were for the most part set aside. Strong opposition came also from the nominalist-empirical idealism which, in the hands of G. Simmel, produced a type of thought as definitely idealistic as it was relativistic.

But the modern or German idealism, as a philosophy based on consciousness, met with a very severe and powerful criticism from the side of modern psychology, with its experimental investigation of consciousness. This psychology demolished the conception of the ego, the soul, and the unity of consciousness, and thus made it difficult to deal with and make use of the individual consciousness as the representative of consciousness in general. Still more effective were the investigations regarding the relation of supraliminal consciousness to subliminal consciousness (or the unconscious). Consciousness now became a mere series of isolated movements associated by contiguity—a mere fortuitous intensification of the subconscious. It is in the latter that the real continuity of consciousness lies, and in it likewise subsist the most important movements and forms, of which only a few ever come into the light of clear consciousness. This being so, supraliminal consciousness cannot be regarded as the primordial metaphysical datum, or as representative of the universe, or of reality in general. It should be remarked, however, that the subconscious, in which Schopenhauer and E. v. Hartmann find the principle of the cosmos, is itself no immediate datum of thought—no ultimate reality of experience.

But, as a matter of fact, these psychological theories of consciousness merely shift, and do not subvert, the foundation of idealism. Even the Kantian idealism—like the earlier Leibnizian theory of *petites perceptions*—took as its basis an unconscious or pre-conscious activity of reason, and his entire system was based upon the development of the occurrences due to that activity into the consciousness of principles, and upon the self-reflexion of reason which it rendered possible. Hence we should probably distinguish between a critico-transcendental conception and the psychological conception of consciousness. The latter alone need be taken into account by the idealistic philosophy, and for that conception the distinction between the psychologically subconscious and the psychologically conscious fusion of subject and object does not really matter; in fact, that fusion and the preponderance of the subject over its contents are thought of here as only relative, as more or less complete. But, even if the foundation of the philosophy of consciousness is thus maintained and recognized, its development therefrom is confronted with new problems. Account must be taken from the outset of the distinction between the two grades of consciousness, and consciousness in the ordinary sense must be regarded as in itself inadequate, and as capable of being supplemented by elements and ideas which emanate from the subconscious. Above all, the higher concept, which embraces both ordinary consciousness and subconsciousness, becomes something which lies beyond the possibility of experience, and the true conception of reality is detached from experience and thought in quite a different way from Kant's method in the doctrine of the antinomies. To enable us to grasp that conception, in fact, we must fall back upon an imaginative and poetic intuition of the feeling of life and reality—a feeling the object of which cannot be demonstrated in experience or grounded in thought. Idealism thus becomes intuitive, as in the most recent school, viz. that of Bergson—a school whose influence is steadily increasing—and the conclusions drawn from that fundamental position conform less and less to the idea of a homogeneous and complete system.

7. The significance of idealism for religion.—Having thus surveyed the development of the idealistic conception of things, we are now in a position to determine its significance for the verification and valuation of the constitutive ideas of the Christian religion. Here, however, we must always bear in mind that idealism is concerned with only one of the fundamental problems of philosophy, and that, whatever its contributions to religious thought may be, it does not thereby solve the problems associated with the other main starting-points of philosophical reflexion. Thus it in no way furnishes a solution of the questions arising from the antithesis of an empirical-relative *versus* a rational-absolute epistemology, or from that of pluralism *versus* monism, for these questions lie outside its range. Nor, again, does it decide anything with reference to practical and personal idealism, inasmuch as the question regarding the import of ideas and values is not solved simply by ranking consciousness above all its contents. What is of importance in personal idealism is rather the question as to the practical ends which we must recognize in the mind—ends that always have a spontaneous character and are not to be established by formal reasoning; here, in point of fact, the decisive factor is the personal, individual will.

Still, even with due recognition of all these reservations, idealism is of immense significance for religion. It invalidates all materialism and semi-materialism. It maintains that consciousness cannot be derived from matter, but that, on the contrary, matter exists only for consciousness—that its *esse* is *percipi*. Nor does this imply that matter is simply given in consciousness, for in that case it would be of no consequence whether we started from the one or from the other. But in the fundamental relation between the two, according to idealism, consciousness is the formative and regulative principle—that which contains in itself meaning and life, and is, therefore, pre-eminent, and intelligible to itself. Idealism asserts the mind's supremacy over the real. But the conviction that mind cannot be explained by matter, and that it is the formative principle of the real, is a fundamental scientific postulate of religious life and thought, and is recognized as such wherever religious thought is consciously directed upon its possibility and its rights. It is true that the idealistic theory cannot in itself determine the direction in which the mind's supremacy will assert itself, or the ends and values which that supremacy involves. Idealism regards the mind merely as a formal principle, the materials of which are given, and the ends of which are revealed to the will in the process of spiritual development. What particular ends the mind will choose are determined in part by the solutions of the other two groups of philosophical problems, and, above all, are drawn from the supreme convictions of the mind itself. No more than any other form of philosophy can idealism by itself develop into religion; it must ever be supplemented by independent elements of religious life, and from these receive a concrete determination. But in so far as mind and the supremacy of mind form the metaphysical pre-condition of religious belief, idealism is to that extent of the utmost significance for religious life and thought.

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E. TROELTSCH.

IDENTITY.—1. General (logical Law of Identity).—Any discussion of the problems connected with Identity must necessarily start from a clear understanding of what is meant by Identity as a concept of pure logic, and what is the precise sense of the so-called logical Law of Identity. This is the more needful since Hegel at least professes to reject the Law of Identity, and since some of the most eminent of our modern philosophers have, in consequence, been led to minimize the significance of the formula, though they have usually stopped short of actually denying it.

There are several ways of defining sameness or identity as a notion in pure logic, but all of them are logically equivalent (on the meaning of 'equivalence' a few words will have to be said further on). Thus, in a logic which, like that of Boole and Peano, is founded on the notions of class, member of a class, and the relations of inclusion in and exclusion from a class, we may conceivably begin by defining the identity of individuals, and proceed to consider identity between classes as derivative, or we may first define the identity of class with class and then deduce an expression for individual identity. Taking the first course, we may say that, if x and y are *terms* (*i.e.* determinate individual objects of thought represented in language by singular names or denoting phrases), x and y are the *same* term when *every* assertion which is true of x is also true of y, and every assertion which is false if made of x is also false when made of y; or, to put it in other language, if x and y are *not* to be the same, there must always be at least one assertion which is true of the one but false of the other. Now, this definition of identity will also hold good if x and y are not individuals but classes. For classes are identical only when they comprise precisely the same members, and in that case it is clear that whatever can be truly asserted of class x, and nothing else, may be truly asserted of class y.[1]

Or, again, we may reach an equivalent result by first defining identity as a relation between classes; thus, the class x is identical with the class y when, and only when, every member of x is a member of y and every member of y a member of x. Bearing in mind that for every individual term there is always at least one class of which the term in question is the *only* member (as, *e.g.*, Thomas Hobbes is the only member of the class 'author of *Leviathan*,' 2 the only member of the class 'even prime number,' and so on), we get the result that, if x and y are both classes of one member, *the* one member of x is the same term as *the* one member of y. This obviously reduces to our previous formula for the identity of individuals. For, if a be 'the x,' and there is a proposition which is true of 'the x' but not of 'the y,' such as 'the x is a w,' it must be true that 'a is a w,' but false that 'the y is a w,' contrary to our previous deduction from the definition of identity between classes.

When we say of anything that it is 'the same' or is 'identical,' our statement is manifestly incomplete, and, as it stands, without significance, unless we say what it is the same *with*. Identity is thus clearly a relation of some kind. Further, it is a symmetrical relation, *i.e.* it is its own converse, since, if a is the same as b, b is always the same as a. Also, the relation is transitive, *i.e.* it is always true that, if a is the same as b and b the same as c, a is the same as c.[1] Again, identity, like self-love, self-support, suicide, is a self-relative, since everything is always 'the same as' itself, or, to put it more technically, the same term which is antecedent, or first term, in the relation may always be sequent, or last term. It is this that is expressed in the abstract formula known as the Law of Identity, $a=a$ (for some remarks on the meaning of the symbol $=$ in this formula, see immediately below). It should be noted that the formula of itself does *not* state that the asserted identity excludes the co-existence of difference or variety, and that the attacks which have been directed against it on this ground thus arise from misapprehension of its precise purport. Thus, if for a we substitute 'the crosser of the Rubicon,' the formula in no way denies that the person who crossed the Rubicon is the same person who was killed by Brutus and Cassius; all that it denies is that the person who crossed the Rubicon can be identical with a person who never crossed the Rubicon, or who did not cross it in the circumstances described in the proposition. This consideration of itself largely invalidates the Hegelian attack on the principle. There is, however, a further peculiarity about the relation of identity which is not taken into account by the formula, but has now to be mentioned, and does afford more plausible grounds for raising metaphysical difficulties. Self-relatives in general are relations which may subsist between a term and itself, but may also subsist between one term and another. Thus, a suicide is one who kills himself, but the relation of killer to killed may, and most often does, hold between distinct persons; a man may govern or love himself, but he may also love or govern other persons. But absolute self-sameness, or identity, can subsist only between a term and itself. If a and b are numerically distinct terms, then it is never absolutely true that a and b are identical—a point which is perhaps most clearly brought out when we consider such relations as those studied in pure mathematics, where, *e.g.*, it is fundamental that a point or an integer is *never* identical with any point or integer which is not itself. And, as we shall see directly, the same consideration that a thing is never identical with anything but itself is really of no less moment in the study of human moral and social relations.

Summing up, then, we may say that identity is a relation which is symmetrical, transitive, and self-relative, and that in its strictest logical sense it is the *only* relation which can exist only between a term and itself. We have now to consider some of the objections which have been urged against admitting the reality of such a relation. But perhaps it will be well first to say a word about one or two possible misapprehensions which arise from the ambiguity of the commonly adopted symbol $=$ to express this relation.

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[1] If, *e.g.*, there is a certain term m which belongs to x but not to y, there is a proposition, viz. 'x contains m,' which, as it stands, is true, but would be false if y were substituted for x.

[1] In the case where a, b, c are geometrical magnitudes, this formula becomes the familiar 'first axiom' of Euclid, 'things which are equal to (*i.e.* have the same magnitude with) the same thing are equal to one another.'

It must be remembered that the symbols which represent relations and operations are, in the first instance, arbitrary. Such signs as $=$, $+$, $\times$, $\div$ of themselves tell us nothing of the relations or operations for which they stand. The person who first introduces them is at liberty to put what sense he pleases upon them, provided only that the sense intended is made perfectly clear and that the same symbol retains, so long as no notice to the contrary is given, the same precise sense. It follows, further, that there is no objection to the employment of an already familiar symbol in an extended or otherwise modified sense, provided two conditions are observed: the relation or operation for which the symbol is henceforth to stand must have certain formal logical characteristics in common with that for which it had been formerly used; the same symbol must not be used for relations and operations which bear no analogy at all with one another. And it ought to be clearly indicated exactly how far the analogy between the old sense and the new extends, what formal characteristics are common to the two cases. Thus, in arithmetic, if the symbol $\times$ has first been 'defined' for the domain of natural integers, and 'multiplication' of one natural integer by another has thus received an unambiguous sense, we have no right to use the same symbol $\times$ or the word 'multiplication' to denote an operation with rational fractions, or with 'algebraic' or 'real' numbers in general, without first fixing its sense by re-defining the word or the symbol for the new domain in which it is henceforth to be employed. It follows that, taken apart from its definition for a given domain, a symbol of relation or operation is usually ambiguous, and some at least of the criticisms which have been passed on the formal expression of the Law of Identity seem to be mere consequences of the ambiguity of the symbol $=$. It has been said, in support of the view that the relation $=$ has no meaning unless it relates two distinct terms, that the whole point of such expressions as $x+7=10$, or $(a+b)^2 = a^2+2ab+b^2$, would be destroyed if the sides of the 'equation' were not different expressions. It must be replied that in the first case, where we are dealing with a genuine 'equation,' the symbol $=$ does not denote logical identity at all, but *equality*, *i.e.* identity of magnitude. The symbol x here stands for a number, as yet supposed to be unknown, but such that, when it is discovered, the sum of it and 7 is equal to 10. If we replace x by the only value which satisfies the equation, viz. 3, the statement $3+7=10$ becomes a strict identity. Its meaning is that *the* self-same number which results from the operation of adding 7 to 3 is *the* number which results from adding 1 to 9. The two operations are distinct; but, since each integer occurs only once in the series of natural numbers, the result of the operation is identical in the strictest sense, and it is of the result that we mean to speak. There is only one 10 in the whole universe of thought, and it is this unique object 10 about which we are making an assertion. If there could be two different numbers 10, one of which resulted from the addition of 1 to 9 and the other from the addition of 7 to 3, arithmetic would be impossible. Thus, if we take $3+7=9+1$ as a statement about the *results* of two different operations, we are asserting the identity of a term—10—with itself; if we take it, as we are also at liberty to do, as a statement about two *operations* of addition, the symbol $=$ no longer denotes identity but equivalence (*i.e.* the operations of adding 1 to 9 and of adding 7 to 3 are not identical, but they yield a result which is identical). So in an algebraical formula, like that given above, which contains no 'variable,' though it is often convenient to speak of the formula as an 'identity,' or to say that the two sides of the expression are 'identically equal,' what is really stated is an equivalence. The meaning is not that the operation of multiplying $(a+b)$ by itself is the same as that of multiplying a by itself, b by itself, and 2, a, b by one another, and then adding the results, but that the two processes yield a final *result* which is identical.

It may still be urged that, at any rate when we make significant judgments of identity, there is always an assertion of difference included in our statements. (For an able statement of the view, here criticized, that *two terms* are required for the relation of identity, see particularly Varisco, *Conosci te Stesso*, p. 147, note.) Thus, it may be said that, even in the 'identities' of which we have just been speaking, by our own admission what we assert is that different operations determine one and the same result, and that, apart from the difference of the operations, it would not be worth while to assert the identity of the result. Who, for instance, would be the wiser for knowing that $10=10$, or, to take Hegel's example, that 'a plant is—a plant'? And it may even be urged, as by Bradley, that the so-called Law of Identity $a=a$ is not a judgment or proposition at all, since every significant proposition is a synthesis of different elements. Yet neither criticism seems to go to the root of the matter. It is not true to say that $10=10$ (the symbol $=$ being here taken as meaning 'is identical with') is an unmeaning or otiose assertion. For it means that the number 10 is unique in the series of natural integers, so that, *e.g.*, in counting, when one has once passed 10 he will never come back to it, or, to use other words, that the series of integers is non-recurrent. If we do not usually think it necessary to mention this peculiarity of the series of integers, that is merely because of its familiarity; in a logical study of the properties of number the peculiarity is a highly important one, and the proof of it a highly elaborate affair. Hence it is not strictly true to say that, whenever we assert identity, we simultaneously assert or, at any rate, imply difference as well, though this is, no doubt, most commonly the case. And reflexion will show that, where we assert 'identity in difference,' there is always an assertion of absolute self-sameness involved. Thus, if we say 'the wall-paper in Mr. X's study has exactly the same shade as that in Mr. Y's dining-room,' we do state a difference; the papers are not the same papers, and the walls which they cover are not the same walls. But the shade of colour of the one paper is numerically one and the same with that of the other. There are not two colour-shades, but one. Or, if an actor in a stage recognition-scene exclaims, 'That person is my long-lost son,' it is implied, of course, that the long-lost son has changed in many ways, but there is something of which absolute identity is asserted; he is numerically one and the same person. If personal identity were the fiction that Hume asserted it to be, such a statement as 'This is my long-lost son' would always be false. Hence, wherever a statement of identity in diversity is made, it will be found to include as part of its meaning an assertion of the form $a=a$. This is not to deny that physical things change or that organisms grow; it is merely to state that, unless the change or growth is a process within something permanently self-identical, the very statements '*This* changes,' '*This* grows,' cannot be true.

With respect to the statement that an expression of the form $a=a$, if it means what it says, is no genuine judgment, one may say that the matter is partly one of arbitrary definition. If, in Bradley's fashion, a judgment is defined in such a way as to make the presence of distinct terms part of the definition, then, of course, with such a definition, no affirmation in which there is only one term will be a judgment *according to this definition*. But this obvious consideration does not dispose of the question whether there may not be true and significant statements which fall outside the limits of this definition. Thus $10 = 10$, according to what has just been maintained, is significant and true, since it disposes of the conceivably possible view that the number-series may be recurrent; but it would not be a judgment according to Bradley's definition. And certainly the abstract schema of all such propositions, the formula $a=a$, cannot be an actual judgment, for the simple reason that a has here no determinate signification, but is merely a blank form standing equally well for any actual term, but not itself a term at all. And, where there is not even one term, there clearly can be no judgment. But this criticism has of itself no more direct bearing on the Law of Identity than upon any other pure logical schema of possible judgments, such as, *e.g.*, 'All x's are y's.' As the present writer understands it, none of the so-called formal laws of thought claims to be more than a rule or formula according to which true propositions can be made, and in violation of which no true proposition can be made. The real function of the Law of Identity is thus simply to assert that every object of thought has a definite character. Similarly the Law of Contradiction (which, it may be incidentally observed, is not the Law of Identity disguised in a negative form, but a wholly independent law) adds that no object of thought can at once have and not have a given determinate character, while the Law of Excluded Middle further adds that, if the given character is fully determinate, any given object of thought must either have it or not have it. The effect of the three taken together as postulates of thought is to ensure that the logical universe of discourse shall contain only determinate and distinct objects of thought, or, in other words, that its members, whatever they may be, shall possess a definite and recognizable individuality. Since each of the three 'laws' is required to guarantee this result, it seems impossible either to deny the logical value of the Law of Identity, or, in Hegelian fashion, to maintain that an actual thing is only identical with itself *because* it is also different from itself, and *vice versa*. Indeed, we have seen that, in the case of such objects as the natural numbers, there seems to be a self-identity which excludes all difference whatsoever. To revert to our example, $9+1=10=3+7$, there is undoubtedly a difference between $9+1$ and $3+7$, but it is a difference not in the result of the operations, the number 10, but merely in the methods by which it is obtained. What is identical here, the result, has no element of difference within it; and what is different, the two operations, is not identical, but merely equivalent. So, when we say that two different men, *A* and *B*, see the same sun, the whole situation exhibits identity in difference; but the identity belongs to one thing, the object seen, and is absolute down to the utmost particular; the difference to something else, the processes by which the perception of the object is effected in the case of *A* and of *B* respectively. So more generally, if it is said of *A* and *B* that they are 'the same and not the same,' meaning, *e.g.*, that their formal structure is the same but their material different, it is clear that identity is asserted about one constituent element of *A* and *B*, and difference about quite other constituent elements. The common formal structure, *e.g.*, in respect of which *A* and *B* are pronounced the same, is strictly and numerically one and the same with itself, and it is precisely this that is expressed in the affirmative part of the statement.

2. Application.—It is no part of the business of logic to formulate criteria of identity, or to say when any particular assertion of identity is correct. Still it may well fall within the logician's province to utter a warning against one or two popular fallacies, which might, if unnoticed, prevent the recognition of identity where it exists. The chief of these prejudices is perhaps the inveterate tendency to assume that identity, wherever it is asserted, means the presence of an identical material constituent or constituents in a complex. This, of course, need not be the case; the point of identity in a given case may lie entirely in the formal structure of the complex, as when a melody is said to be the same, though it has been transposed into a different key. Or we may mean to assert identity of formal structure together with identity of some, but not all, of the material constituents. In such cases it may be impossible to say with certainty how many of the material constituents of a complex must remain the same in order that our assertion may be regarded as true. This is illustrated by the old question whether the pair of stockings which had been darned so often that no part of the original silk remained were still the same or a new pair. The point is that, in a case like this, we mean in ordinary life to assert something more than the formal or structural identity of the pair of stockings; we feel that the identity of the stockings is not preserved unless at least some part of the material has remained all through the processes of mending; but we have no fixed standard by which to determine how much of the material must be preserved, and thus the question admits of no determinate answer. What we may learn from it is that in any concrete case the question of identity cannot be answered unless the exact respect is specified in which identity is sought. It is possible to have, for instance, absolute identity of material constituents without identity of formal structure, or, again, complete identity of formal structure without any identity whatsoever of material constituents. This shows us that the Law of Identity is in no way affected by the fact that change is real, since either the material constituents of a complex or its formal element may change without affecting the other element. Hence, if a person is, in any given context, specially interested in the one aspect, he may correctly assert identity, though there may have been considerable change in the other. We also see that the identity which co-exists with change is not well described as a permanent substratum. Where what we mean to assert is identity of form or structure, the use of a word like substratum, which inevitably suggests a material factor in a complex, is wholly misleading. In general we may say that, owing to the fact that in concrete cases we usually mean to assert an identity which is neither wholly formal nor wholly material, the question whether something is still 'what it was' or has become 'something different' cannot be satisfactorily answered except with reference to the end we have in view in raising it. To take a trivial instance—the fact that every material constituent of one's body may be different from any of what were its material constituents ten years ago is irrelevant to an 'identification' in the police-court.

So far we have been in the main considering the case of complexes which on their material side have been treated as mere aggregates capable of receiving a structural determination from without; and we have seen that, with respect to them, there appears to be always a certain degree of arbitrariness involved in deciding the question how far they can be modified without losing their identity. (For some general remarks applicable to the case in hand, see Varisco's observations on the arbitrary element in scientific formulæ [*Conosci te Stesso*, pp. 118–120].) The case of wholes which are not mere aggregates, and whose formal character consists not in a structure imposed from without, but in internal development along definite lines and towards a definite end, requires some further consideration. In what does the identity of a living organism or, again, of a personal self consist? In the case of the organism, which is constantly renewing itself by getting rid of superfluous material constituents and building up fresh elements to take their place, it is plain that identity does not depend on the retention of any material constituent throughout the whole of the organism's life. If we interpreted rigidly the Aristotelian formula, 'presence of the *same* form in the *same* matter,' it would clearly not be a correct account of the identity of any living organism. What seems to be of primary importance is formal identity as shown not in unchanging retention of one and the same structure, but in the continuous development of structure through successive phases according to a definite law of growth. We do not mean by this merely a law of growth common to all the members of a class or species, but a law or principle of structural development which in its full determinateness is unique and peculiar to this one organism. (It is true that, *e.g.*, one oak grows on lines which are much the same for all oaks; but there are always individual differences: no one oak is a mere replica of any other, and no mere general formula applicable to all oaks alike is an exhaustive statement of the living law of development or 'form' of this special oak.) From the continuity of development presupposed in such a formal identity, it seems to follow at once that identity would be destroyed if there could be an instantaneous change of all the material constituents of the organism. There would be no sense in speaking of a structure in which all the material constituents were simultaneously replaced as a growth or development. It would be in the strictest sense a new creation. Finally, a word or two may be said about personal identity. Does it reside solely in the soul or mind, or does it involve identity of the physical organism? In actual practice, of course, life does not present us with cases in which personal identity is found apart from such an identity of the organism as has just been spoken of. But we can at least imagine such a possibility.

Suppose, for example, that the Pythagorean doctrines were true, and that the soul of a man could become associated with the body of a parrot. If it were possible for the supposed parrot to convince us that it retained the psychical character which we had previously known as that of a friend, it is difficult to see how we could refuse to believe that we were dealing, not indeed with the same *man*, but with the same *person*. We should, *e.g.*, be morally bound to treat the parrot, not as a mere parrot, but as having the same moral claims and rights as our friend. And we should hardly regard the belief in personal immortality as capable of refutation by the mere consideration that there can be no identity of organism between an embodied and a disembodied spirit.

And, again, though many theologians would maintain that complete immortality involves a 'resurrection of the body,' it is hard to see in what sense they can maintain that the 'glorified' body is the same organism as the 'corruptible' body. Personal identity would thus seem to be essentially psychical and, in its concept (whatever the full concrete facts may be), independent of bodily identity. Once more, as in the case of the organism, it is important to understand that personal identity is, primarily, identity of form. It does not require the permanent and unchanged persistence of any special material content, such as a group of sensations or thoughts or feelings, throughout the course of personal existence. It is no more required, in order that a man may be the same person as he was twenty years ago, that some mental 'contents' should have persisted unchanged during the twenty years, than the sameness of his body requires that some of its particles should still be the same as twenty years ago. What is required is that the succession of changes in mental and moral character should be linked together as a continuous development according to a law of growth which in its concrete fullness is characteristic of the person in question and of no other being in the universe. A man's present experience is *his* experience, because it fits on to *his* past experiences as it does not fit on to any other series of individual experiences. It is thus an abuse of language, which may easily lead to the gravest confusion of thought, to speak of personal identity as involving anything in the nature of an unchanging psychical 'substratum.'

The confusion appears in the crudest form in the difficulties raised by Hume about personal identity. His difficulty is real only if we assume that personal identity means the permanent persistence of some identifiable mental 'state' or group of states. If this is conceded, it is, of course, easy to show that we have no evidence for the existence of any such permanent 'impressions' or 'ideas.' Even Bradley's suggested minimum of a persisting core of cœnæsthesia is something in which it is very hard to believe. The difficulty vanishes when it is seen that personal identity is primarily identity of form, not of content or matter. The same mistaken demand for identity of content as a basis of personal identity seems to lie at the bottom of the contemporary tendency to exalt the 'subliminal' self into a principle for the explanation of all psychological difficulties. It is, of course, a fact capable of establishment by careful observation, even if it were not already presupposed in the conception of the mind as a thing that grows and develops, that mental 'states' do not arise and vanish instantaneously; they have a period of 'marginal' existence which may exist both before and after their occupation of the 'centre' of attentive consciousness. But the doctrine of the 'subliminal' self extends this conception of the 'margin' surrounding the 'focus' of consciousness beyond the limits within which its validity can be submitted to experimental tests. The 'subliminal' is thought of as a region in which mental contents of all kinds still persist as actual, though unconscious, when they have disappeared from even the 'margin' of consciousness, and from which they can be evoked again in the processes of recall. As a symbol for the truth that the actual condition of consciousness may be largely determined by experiences which are no longer present to consciousness, there can be no objection to the use of such a notion; but when the attempt is made to regard the symbol as an explanation—for instance, to explain recollection by the supposed persistence of a percept or idea 'below the threshold,' or to convert a mental tendency into an actual conjunction of 'subliminal' states—and, most of all, when personal identity is supposed to rest upon such an actually unchanging body of 'subliminal' mental contents, it should be clear that we are dealing with the Humian fallacy in a new dress. An identity which is really one of form and law is being illegitimately converted into one of material constituents. If we are right in holding that personal identity requires no notion of an unchanging 'substrate,' the theories which may be formed of the character of the supposed 'subliminal' self will have no bearing upon the problem of identity. In fact, the very problem to be solved, in what the identity of a person consists, obviously breaks out again when we ask what is meant by the unity and self-identity of the supposed 'subliminal' personality itself.

Without introducing any reference to the 'subliminal,' we may simply state the facts of which it appears to give a mythological account thus. Since personal identity would appear to depend on the unique linking up of past with present mental states in virtue of a formal law or principle of mental development, it seems to involve as a consequence at least the possibility of a recall in memory of whatever experiences have belonged to a self. That we in all probability forget most of our experiences so completely that they are never recalled, at least in the life that we know, is no objection to such a view. For it may well be that they are not recalled simply because further experience does not provide us with the appropriate cues. From abnormal cases, such as those of persons who have survived the very near approach of death and have recorded their experiences, it would seem unsafe to assert of any experience that it has certainly passed beyond all possibility of recollection. On the other hand, it is hard to see how the kind of continuity in mental development without which there would be no meaning in speaking of certain past experiences as mine, and not those of another person, could be preserved if all possibility of their actual recovery were precluded. Such totally lost experiences would not be 'linked up' with any personality at all, and, if they could be supposed to exist, would seem to have become ownerless. But an ownerless experience is surely a contradiction in terms. On the contrary, if there is such a continuity in personal development that there is always a real dependence of the later phases of a personality upon the earlier—a dependence which is different in kind from the dependence of one man's personality on that of another—this would seem to be of itself enough to guarantee the possibility that any experience which has been that of a given individual may be, when the cue for it arrives, reinstated in the form of memory. Hence it seems, to the present writer at least, that memory is essential to personal identity, and that there is ultimately no sense, *e.g.*, in speculations which represent the same person as passing through a succession of lives in each of which he is absolutely precluded from all possible memory of the events of those which have gone before. If all links of memory are destroyed at death (or at re-birth), on what ground do we pronounce a given man *A* to be a reincarnation of another man *B* rather than an entirely new creation?

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IDENTITY (Buddhist).—1. We find the notion of identity principally in material objects which preserve the same aspect for a long time, and which may be moved in space without change of form. The Buddhists have carried the doctrine of non-identity so far that they have come to deny movement. According to them, when a body seems to move, it is really being continually renewed, and is, so to speak, re-born of itself—re-born each moment in a different spot. Such is the opinion of the orthodox (Skr. *Abhidharmas*). The Vātsīputrīyas, who are heretics, believe that a gesture is a movement, whereas, according to the orthodox opinion, gesture is but a new disposition of a body, which is no longer the same body as it was before. Yet, like all Buddhists, the Vātsīputrīyas admit—basing their faith on Scripture and experience—that a flame is always being renewed, and that it never remains for one moment identical with itself. The flame of the lamp in the third watch of the night is the continuation of the flame in the first watch; these two flames form a series (*santati*): the first is the cause (*hetu*) of the second, for they have both the same nature; the wick and the oil are not causes, but only coefficients (*pratyaya*). This series may be developed in space while it lasts: when there is a prairie fire, the flame of the Northern extremity of the prairie stands in the same relation to the flame of the Southern extremity as the bird arriving in the South to the bird which has come from the North. But we may follow the problem still more closely. It may quite well be the case that flame, sound, and thought are essentially 'momentary,' 'perishing from moment to moment,' and yet that certain objects and the atoms originally constituting all objects remain identical. Certain things remain in existence as long as there is no cause to destroy them.[1]

If things (*saṁskṛta*)[2] are momentary, then they perish of themselves, without any cause. It is denied that the flame dies because it is blown out, or that sound dies because a hand is laid on the bell. The cause which is in opposition to the existence of the flame does not destroy the flame; for how can we destroy what exists, or how can we destroy what does not exist? This cause prevents the new flame from springing up to replace the present one; it interrupts the series of the flame by paralyzing the forces which made it last. From all evidence, it is the same with wood.

> 'Are we to think that wood perishes by contact with flame?—Yes, for we no longer see the wood when it is burnt, and no reasoning is worth the evidence of our senses.—No. It is a matter of reasoning; for, even if we no longer see the wood, that may be the outcome of the fact that it perishes of itself and ceases to be renewed. The non-existence of the wood, which, you say, is caused by the fire, is a pure nothingness, a non-entity: and non-entity cannot be an effect and cannot be caused. Besides, if destruction, the non-existence which succeeds existence, had sometimes a cause, it would always, like birth, have a cause. And you willingly admit that flame, sound, and thought are momentary by nature' (*Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, iv. 2).

If things perish without cause, from their very nature—as objects thrown into the air fall—they must perish in the very moment of birth, and they cannot exist beyond the moment in which they actually receive being; they perish in the spot where they are born, and they cannot pass from one place to another.

> 'If destruction, being without cause, does not take place at the very birth of the thing, it will not take place later, for the thing remains what it is.' But, one may say, the thing changes, it ripens, it grows older. What grows older and what changes is a 'series,' for the notion of change is by its very terms contradictory: 'That the same thing should become other than it is, is absurd; that the thing should remain the same, and its characters become different, is absurd.'[3]

There is much discussion over the example of water which disappears by ebullition. The fire prevents the atoms of water, which disappear every moment, from procreating new atoms of water: 'thus the mass of water is reduced more and more, until it entirely disappears, and finally does not exist in its series, or in its being.'[4]

2. The point of view of the Dignāga school (5th cent. [?]) is too well known to require more than brief mention here.[5] By existence is meant the capacity for producing an effect (*arthakriyākāritva*). Now, a permanent thing is inactive. Does it possess, at the moment when it is accomplishing its present act, the power to accomplish its past and future acts? If so, then it will certainly accomplish them at once, for it is not usual that anything capable of an act should postpone it. If

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[1] The old school believes that things are *anitya*, 'non-eternal,' 'fragile'; but it does not say that they are all *kṣaṇika*, 'momentary,' 'instantaneous.' Buddha says: 'It is evident that this body lasts one year . . . a hundred years, and even more. But that which is called mind, intellect, consciousness, keeps up an incessant round by day and by night of perishing as one thing and springing up as another' (*Saṁyutta*, ii. 96).

[2] *Saṁskṛta* = 'what is composed, caused.' The *saṁskṛta* alone exists. The 'non-caused,' be it 'space' or *nirvāṇa*, is but a name.

[3] Vasubandhu (3rd–4th cent. A.D. [?]) in *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, iv. 2, fol. 180 of *Tanjur*, *Mdo*, vol. lxiii. (India Office Library copy).

[4] *Ib.*

[5] See *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, Calcutta, 1858, tr. A. E. Gough, London, 1882, p. 16; tr. L. de la Vallée Poussin, in *Muséon*, new ser., i. [1902] 64.

not, it will never accomplish them, just as a stone, which is at the present moment incapable of producing a bud, will never produce one. It may be said that the permanent thing produces such and such an effect by reason of the co-operation of additional factors. If these factors remain exterior, then it is they that are active. If they give some new capacity to the permanent thing, then our point is proved: the primitive being, who lacked this capacity, has perished; a new being has been born who possesses this capacity. It is very difficult to attribute to a non-momentary thing, to a thing which is permanent and identical with itself, a successive activity. That which produces no effect—space or *nirvāṇa*—is not a thing, since it is incapable of action or reaction, and incapable of being caused.

3. If we consider in a series (*santati*) two moments which are very close, the one 'cause' and the other 'effect,' we shall have no difficulty in persuading ourselves that they are neither identical nor different. The philosophy of Nāgārjuna (1st cent. A.D. [?]), arguing from the fact that the relations of cause and effect are 'inexpressible,' gives its opinion in favour of the relative character of the idea of causality; there is, in absolute truth, no cause and effect. A more moderate or less critical philosophy admits a certain identity in the series. Every atom of water, according to it, is fluidity; every atom of fire, heat.

With regard to the most interesting of all series, the mental or intellectual series which constitutes our pseudo-individuality, our substantial and permanent pseudo-ego,[1] the *Milindapañha* remarks that the murderer deserves to be punished, although he is, at the time of punishment, no longer the same being who committed the crime; just as the marriageable woman belongs to the man to whom she has been promised as a little girl.[2] Thus the series which constitutes our soul is divided into an infinite number of existences (*nikāyasabhāga, janman*), each one of which is prepared to make retribution for a certain lot of actions (see art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Buddhist]). In each of these existences the soul really remains identical with itself: its acts, with the exception of the very gravest, will not be requited till a future existence. There is no reason for surprise over the fact that it makes retribution (*vipāka*) for its past acts, or that it is disposed either to good or to evil by reason of the 'issuing' (*niṣyanda*) of its past acts, although there is nothing permanent in itself. It is a parallel with the flower which receives the counter-blow from the substances on which the seed has fed.

The Sautrāntikas believe that acts bring about a certain modification in the series, *i.e.* in the soul —a spiritual modification, if we may call it so, from which retribution springs. The school of Abhidharma believes that the act creates a subtle matter (*avijñapti*), which develops in an uninterrupted series, forming part of the series of the human being, just as the series of thoughts or the series of gross elements does. So the past is perpetuated in the future; and the being, although developing, yet remains to a certain extent similar to itself.

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[1] H. Taine (*De l'Intelligence*^{3}, Paris, 1879, pref. p. 9): 'There is nothing real in the ego, except the train of its events.'

[2] *Milinda*, II. ii. 1, ed. V. Trenckner, Lond. and Edinb., 1880, p. 40; Rhys Davids, 'Questions of King Milinda,' in *SBE* xxxv. [1890] 63: 'The king said: "He who is born, Nāgasena, does he remain the same or become another?" "Neither the same nor another." "Give me an illustration." "Now what do you think, O king? You were once a baby, a tender thing, and small in size, lying flat on your back. Was that the same as you who are now grown up?" "No. That child was one, I am another." "If you are not that child, it will follow that you have had neither mother nor father, no! nor teacher . . ."' (cf. H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1900, pp. 148–152).

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated in the notes. See also H. Oldenberg, *Buddha*^{6}, Stuttgart, 1914, Eng. tr., London, 1882; P. Oltramare, *Hist. des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, i. [Paris, 1906] 197; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, do. 1909, p. 178.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

IDLENESS.—The essential idea of the word 'idle' seems to be *empty* or *unoccupied*. This idea may be applied vaguely to what is void of any content, unsubstantial, trivial, useless, fruitless. More definitely it may refer to time that is not filled with *occupations*. In English the latter is the more prominent meaning; in the German *eitel*, the former. Probably the German usage keeps nearer to the original meaning of the word, and the prominent English meaning is derivative; but it is this meaning that gives definite import to idleness as descriptive of a condition in the moral life of men.

In this sense idleness presents an aspect that is not necessarily unfavourable, but is at times even favourable, to morality and happiness. It offers an agreeable relief from the irksomeness which is occasionally attendant on nearly all the occupations of life. This *dolce far niente* has found a delightful expression in Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, and Tennyson's *Lotos-Eaters*. It is in the spirit of these poems that W. Morris speaks of himself in *The Earthly Paradise* as 'the *idle* singer of an empty day,' and Johnson entitled one of his well-known series of papers *The Idler*. But in its higher purport idleness is commonly denoted by 'leisure'; it means such relief from the occupations that are necessary for physical existence as leaves time and energy for the higher interests of life. In a practical shape this idea of idleness has found embodiment in the holidays or festivals of all races. Of these the highest type is the Hebrew Sabbath. But the Greek mind embodied the idea of the Sabbath in its own way. The name for an institution designed to cultivate the higher life—the name from which our 'school' is derived—is the common Greek word for 'leisure,' σχολή. In his blunter fashion the Roman called a school *ludus*, 'play' or 'sport.' Both of the great races of the ancient pagan world thus saw, like the Hebrews, that the culture of a higher life becomes possible only when men have secured a certain relaxation from the serious labour for physical existence—such relaxation as appears comparatively like playful exercise. As Gray puts it, life must 'leave us leisure to be good' (*Hymn to Adversity*, 20).

But this is not the most prominent feature in the moral aspect of idleness. The truth is that in this higher aspect idleness is conceived as idleness only in a relative sense of the term. The idle man enjoys relief from one class of occupations only that he may be free to occupy himself with others.

> 'How various his employments whom the world
> Calls idle, and who justly, in return,
> Esteems that busy world an idler too!'
> (Cowper, *Task*, iii. 852–854).

Accordingly idleness, as such, is never viewed by the moralist in a favourable light. Even Thomson, though the praise of industry in his second canto is a very palpable failure to neutralize the drowsy spell of the first, has yet to describe indolence as 'a most enchanting wizard, . . . than whom a fiend more fell is nowhere found' (canto i. 2). The ethical literature of the world is therefore full of warnings against the evils to which moral character is exposed by a life of idleness. These evils corrupt both spheres of the moral life, that of personal character and that of social relations.

1. *Personal character is injured in various ways by an idle life.*—(1) Even if morality be interpreted in the spirit of a narrow egoistic hedonism, recognizing no worth or aim beyond personal pleasure, it is clear that that aim itself is defeated by idleness. What-

ever theory of pleasure and pain may be adopted, it is self-evident that they are but emotional products of the activities that make up life. Pleasure, therefore, can be obtained only by a sufficient degree of occupation to create an interest in life. The pleasure of ease itself is enjoyable only as a relief from the fatigue of work. If the interest of life is not sustained by adequate employment, there is apt to grow up an emotional condition of life-weariness—tedium or *ennui*—which may become so intolerable as to drive its victim, if not to suicide, at least into some escape from idleness by means of laborious sports or feverish excitements like gambling.

(2) But not only is activity necessary to enjoyment; it is necessary also to maintain our energies in vigour. Bodily organs become atrophied from lack of exercise, and all the powers of life become enervated if not constantly employed. Consequently a general enfeeblement of character is the inevitable result of idleness.

(3) Probably, however, the malign aspect of idleness, which is mainly emphasized by the moralists, is that vacuity which leaves the unoccupied mind open to any seductive influences of evil. We have seen that sheer idleness becomes intolerable by eliminating all interest from life, leaving nothing to make life worth living. The craving for relief in some direction becomes irresistible; and, if it is not found in useful occupations, it will be sought in occupations that are frivolous, if not positively pernicious. This is such an obvious teaching of common experience that it has found embodiment in many a familiar proverb, as well as in the homely lessons of popular moral and religious literature.

2. But the larger aspect of idleness, as of ethical problems in general, is that which bears upon *social relations*. By its very nature idleness connects itself with the economics of society, and it draws its significance for social morality from a familiar commonplace of economical science with regard to the production of wealth. All those commodities —the necessaries and comforts and luxuries of life —which constitute wealth are producible only by labour expended on raw material furnished by nature. Every human being, therefore, who lives in unproductive idleness, who is merely a consumer without being a producer of wealth, requires others to labour not only for their own subsistence, but also for his. This fact forms the foundation of that sturdy moral sentiment to which St. Paul gives expression, that, if a man will not work, he has no right to the means of subsistence (2 Th 3^{10}). In this sentiment St. Paul represents a peculiar feature in the moral ideal of the Hebrews. For they stand almost alone among the nations of the ancient world in their appreciation of the moral value of industrial labour. On this subject there is nothing in all literature more noble than the utterances of some of their Rabbis (some are quoted in E. Deutsch's essay on the Talmud, published in the volume of his *Literary Remains*, London, 1874, p. 5).

Among other races social sentiment with regard to industrial labour took a very different course. The ideal of uncivilized tribes is well known. It is often illustrated by Herodotus's description of the Thracians (v. 6): 'To be idle is accounted the most honourable thing, and to be a tiller of the ground the most dishonourable. To live by war and plunder is of all things the most glorious.' This ideal was undoubtedly confirmed by slavery. The origin of this institution is generally regarded as indicating an advance upon a more savage practice, by which captives in war were ruthlessly slaughtered, if not also eaten, to gratify hunger, or revenge, or some horrid superstition. Instead of this, captives came to be adopted by their victors, and forced to undertake those peaceful, steady labours which are out of harmony with the bodily and mental habits of a warlike race. The result was that such labours came to be viewed as appropriate occupations only for persons of an inferior rank in society; and, as slavery was perpetuated in all the later and higher civilizations, the prejudice against industrial labour became deeply engrained in the moral sentiment of the ruling classes everywhere (see W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of Rationalism*^{3}, London, 1877, ch. vi. *ad init.*; see also his *Hist. of European Morals*^{2}, do. 1869, i. 277; the fullest exposition of the varied influence of slavery upon the free classes will be found in H. Wallon, *Hist. de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité*^{2}, Paris, 1879, especially bk. i. ch. xii., and bk. ii. ch. ix.).

The great pagan races of the ancient world in general regarded most forms of industrial labour as incompatible with the highest morality, and more particularly with the moral character of a free citizen. It is not indeed to be understood that the great States encouraged idleness. On the contrary, in some the law required every citizen to show that he had some honest means of living, and failure to do so was punishable by death (Herod. ii. 177). According to Herodotus, this law was imposed upon Athens by Solon's legislation; but, though Grote (*Hist. of Greece*, London, 1846–56, ch. xi.) rightly judges this to be improbable, it may be taken as implying that the great reformer did provide some measure to protect the State against idle vagrants. Herodotus, however, himself indicates the sweeping qualifications by which such condemnations of idleness are to be interpreted. For he takes care to inform us that, among the nations with whom his researches had made him acquainted, barbarian as well as Greek, the prejudice against trades (*τέχνας*) was almost universal, those persons being held in highest rank (*γενναίους*) who kept themselves aloof from such occupations, and especially those who devoted themselves entirely to war (ii. 166, 167). The truth is that the ancient States were in their whole sentiment military, not industrial, societies. The strength of their prejudice against trade, as Herodotus observes (*loc. cit.*), went at times so far as to prohibit their citizens from engaging in trade; *i.e.* tradesmen were not allowed the full rank and rights of freemen. This remarkable prohibition is taken by Montesquieu (*L'Esprit des lois*, Geneva, 1748, iv. 7) to illustrate the prevalent conviction of ancient legislators, that the trading spirit is incompatible with the moral character necessary for civil freedom. It was for this reason that ancient thinkers sometimes justified the institution of slavery as being the only means by which industrial labour could be carried on in a free State. It is, moreover, significant that the moral treatises of ancient paganism, being designed to expound the moral life of freemen, not only ignore the industrial virtues, but, when they do touch upon trade, are in general opposed to the recognition of it as a legitimate sphere of life for the virtuous man. The only great teacher among the Greeks who had surmounted this prejudice was Socrates (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, i. 2, ii. 7. 8, iii. 9); and his wholesome teaching on the subject throws a light, which has seldom been appreciated, on his personal character and influence. We seem to catch an echo of his teaching in that of his great disciple. For Plato recognizes the fact that trade cannot be harmful in its essential nature, as it is indispensable to society. He admits, therefore, that, if it were conducted in accordance with reason, it would be an honourable employment. But, as he holds this to be impossible for human nature, he would exclude the trader from the rank of freemen (*Laws*, xi. 918). Aristotle is unwilling to go even so far as his master in his concession to trade

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While holding that the best democracy is that of an agricultural country, and next that of a pastoral, he declares democratic government by a town population to be far inferior, because 'there is no room for moral excellence in any of their employments, whether they be mechanics, or traders, or labourers' (*Politics*, vi. 4. 12, vii. 9. 3–4). The latest utterances of Greek philosophy carry the same sentiment to an extreme. Two extraordinary illustrations are furnished in Plutarch's *Pericles* and Lucian's *Somnium*. Both of these authors speak with contempt of sculpture, even in the hands of Phidias and Praxiteles, as merely a manual occupation. In such employments, says Plutarch, *op. cit.*, *ad init.*, 'though we are charmed with the work, we often despise the workman, as we are pleased with perfumes and purple, while dyers and perfumers appear to us in the light of mean mechanics.'

It thus appears that the prejudice against manual labour continued down to the beginning of the Roman Empire. Cicero, in fact, during the last days of the Republic, had struck the keynote of Roman sentiment on the subject. After dismissing nearly every kind of productive industry, except agriculture, as 'sordid,' he turns to commerce; and the utmost length he is willing to go is a grudging admission that, if it is conducted on a large scale—if it is 'magna et copiosa, multa undique apportans, multisque sine vanitate (cheating) impartiens'—then it is not to be severely condemned—'non est admodum vituperanda' (*de Officiis*, i. 42 [151]). Such a state of sentiment accounts for the vast number of Roman citizens who were content to live the parasitic life of clients, or even to accept a daily dole of bread from the Government rather than take up any industrial occupation. Even the learned professions, with the exception of law, suffered social degradation from the same cause, and were left to men of lower rank, mostly slaves or freedmen (Cicero, *loc. cit.*). Apparently it was this cause also that prevented a freeman or any of his family from cultivating music professionally. In this connexion Aristotle's discussion on the place of music in education is curious. While recommending that the young should be trained in music, he insists that the practice of it should be abandoned in maturer years, and must never be undertaken for gain. 'Professional performers,' he says, 'we call vulgar (βαναύσους), and no freeman would play or sing unless he were intoxicated or making fun' (*Politics*, viii. 5. 8). It is evidently owing to the same sentiment that Juvenal is shocked at a man of consular rank driving his own chariot. The satirist finds in the incident a proof of the degrading innovations that were invading society, and he cannot palliate the degradation even on the ground of its having occurred by night, for still 'the moon and the stars were witnesses'—'sed luna videt, sed sidera testes | Intendunt oculos' (*Sat.* viii. 144–152).

It is evident, therefore, that, when Christianity began to spread over the pagan Empire, it had to encounter a deeply-rooted prejudice that encouraged idleness so far as most forms of industrial labour are concerned. It is true that Christianity brought with it the more wholesome sentiment of the Hebrews. It is also true that in the young Christian community industrial labour was elevated to the loftiest dignity by the example of the Master (Mk 6³). And it is true still further that it would be difficult to overestimate the far-reaching influence on industrial life of the fact that the slave took equal rank with his owner in relation to their common Master (1 Co 12¹³, Col 3¹¹). But the conversion of the Empire did not mean that pagan sentiment died out altogether. On the contrary, new tendencies growing up in Christendom itself created some additional forces hostile to the industrial life of the world. One of these was the happy prominence given in the Christian ideal to the gentler virtues, and especially to charity. There is evidence, indeed, that at first careful precautions were taken to avoid the abuse of this expansion of moral and religious life. The best proof of this is the fact that some of the official titles in the Church seem to have been adopted originally to designate those officers who were appointed to administer the Church's charitable funds (G. Uhlhorn, *Chr. Charity in the Anc. Church*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1883, bk. ii. ch. iv.; E. Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Chr. Churches*, London, 1881, especially Lect. ii.). But, notwithstanding all precautions, there is ample evidence to show that unfortunately the charity of the Church was often misdirected to the encouragement of idle beggary (Uhlhorn, *op. cit.* bk. ii. ch. v.; a glimpse of this abuse is afforded by Lucian's *de Morte Pereg.*, even if it be but a fictitious story of contemporary life). This unfortunate effect was aggravated by the development of the simple conception of almsgiving as a sacrifice into the theological dogma of its efficacy as an atonement for sin, and still more by that strange perversion of moral sentiment which elevated mendicancy into a peculiar grace of religious life. Under these influences it is no wonder that the aristocratic prejudice of the ancient pagans against labour was carried over into the aristocracies of mediæval Europe. In fact, it was apparently intensified in the transmission. In many countries a nobleman or gentleman lost all the privileges of his rank by engaging in trade (H. Hallam, *Middle Ages*⁹, London, 1846–48, i. 191).

It will thus be seen that practically through all the ages and nearly all the races of men there has been an ideal of social rank strongly hostile to industrial activity, strongly favourable to industrial idleness. This inheritance has come down to the modern world, and infects even its most advanced industrial communities. It is still an object of ambition among many of the most energetic industrial workers to attain rank in the leisure class of their community; and all the usages of such a class are based on the principle of avoiding everything that has the appearance of industrial labour—the principle of flaunting conspicuously the fact that they are living in unproductive idleness (T. B. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York, 1898; cf., by way of antithesis, his *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, do. 1904). There is obviously but one cure for this condition of things; and that is a revolution in the ideal of social rank, such as was foreshadowed in the memorable address: 'Ye know that in other communities the rulers are those who lord it over them, and the nobles those who exercise authority. Not so shall it be among you; but whoever will become a noble among you shall be a servant, and whoever will be your prince shall be the slave of all. For the Son of Man also came not to be served, but to serve and to give his life a ransom for many' (Mk 10⁴²⁻⁴⁵).

In the love of idleness extremes meet. Besides the idle rich who live upon accumulated wealth, there is in every community a vast horde of idlers who have no such wealth, but whose habits render steady labour so irksome that they prefer subsistence by beggary or theft. Not only is this class an object of serious concern to moral and religious reformers, but its maintenance and its control impose such a burden upon the industrial labourers of the world as to form a perplexing problem for the statesman.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the works referred to above.

J. CLARK MURRAY.

IDOLATRY.—See IMAGES AND IDOLS.

IGNORANCE.—Ignorance has a bearing on the ultimate problems of philosophy (see art. AGNOIOLOGY); but it has an important significance in moral and religious life as well. This significance, as might be anticipated, has been but gradually evolved. In the moral and jural condition of primitive society there are many facts which prove that ignorance regarding the nature or injurious tendencies of an action is not recognized, at least not unequivocally recognized, as freeing the agent from responsibility for the injury done. This early confusion of the moral consciousness was evidently connected with the peculiar jural organization of primitive tribes. It is now a commonplace of historical science that society did not originate by previously isolated individuals combining. On the contrary, society is historically prior to the individual. Its primitive unit is not the individual, but some community—a family or clan—in which the individual is born and brought up. The moral life, therefore, is at first associated with the community rather than with the individual. The moral responsibilities of the individual are absorbed in those of his family or clan. The whole family or clan is held responsible for the misdeed of any member, nor is the misdeed fastened specially on the offender personally even when he is well known. In such a condition of society any individual may find himself involved in responsibility for an action of which he was entirely ignorant; and consequently ignorance is not felt to be of essential importance in determining whether or how far any one can be called to account for an action. All this is abundantly illustrated in societies at the tribal stage of development. It was a striking feature of the aboriginal tribes of North America at the time of their discovery, and it may be traced still in the conduct of the surviving tribes with which the Governments of Canada and the United States are called to deal. An elaborate and interesting illustration of this phase of moral consciousness is given by F. Parkman in his *Jesuits in N. America*^{10}, Boston, 1876, pp. 354–360. More familiar illustrations are furnished by the clans of the Scottish Highlands prior to the collapse of the clan-system after the disaster of Culloden. It is but a logical corollary from this moral and jural condition that criminal jurisprudence in its primitive crudeness often involves the whole family or kindred of the offender in the punishment of his offence. A well-known example of this, bringing it down even into a later civilization, is the story of Haman in the Book of Esther. War has continued this barbarous confusion of moral ideas to a much later period. Even in the wars of Christendom down to a very recent date it remained the custom to plunder and even butcher indiscriminately not only the combatants, but also the unoffending civilian population of a conquered town or an invaded country.

The tribal organization, with its limited moral ideas and sentiments, has not always vanished at once on the welding of tribes into a nation. Among the ancient Hebrews tribal distinctions remain clearly marked long after the attainment of a larger nationality. Among the Hellenes the old tribal alliances and tribal feuds continued to the very last to complicate and fetter all nobler political aspirations, so that they never succeeded in establishing any unity of national life. In actual history, therefore, the morality of the great nation is still narrowed and hampered by the moral ideas of tribal life. In the States of the ancient world generally the individual finds his chief, if not his sole, moral value in being a citizen. Man exists for the State, not the State for man. It is true that with the loss of political freedom individuals in the ancient States took to personal culture as the supreme object of life; and this explains the vigorous vitality which for generations was imparted to the ancient schools of philosophy, to the Academics and Peripatetics, the Stoics and Epicureans, and even the Sceptics. But the absolute worth of the individual finds distinct recognition for the first time in the teaching of Christianity that it can profit a man nothing, though he gain a whole world, if he himself be lost (Mt 16^{26} ||). Still, the significance of this teaching did not make itself felt at once in the reorganization of society after the conversion of the Roman Empire. The old ideas of social organization continued to dominate the minds of men and modified the whole mediæval interpretation of Christianity itself. Under that interpretation the individual lost his direct religious responsibility and entered into relation with God only as a member of the religious community, the Church. The great revolution of the 16th cent. was a new assertion of the independent worth of the individual, and that not in his religious life alone, but in all his relations, social, economical, and political as well (this is illustrated by many interesting facts in the monograph by E. Belfort Bax on *German Society at the Close of the Middle Ages*, London, 1894).

But, if the narrow ideas of a tribal society continue to cramp the larger life of nations, on the other hand the ideas of a more spiritual morality begin to purify the moral life even of rude communities. Then the import of ignorance for moral responsibility comes to receive more or less explicit recognition. Thus among the Hebrews, while the tribal custom of blood-revenge is still recognized in law, there is an explicit distinction drawn between the deliberate murderer and the man who happens to slay another 'ignorantly' (Dt 19^{4}), 'unawares and unwittingly' (Jos 20^{3}; cf. Nu 35). For the latter, the law makes the equitable provision of cities of refuge where he can find protection from the avenging kinsmen of the person slain. Moreover, Deuteronomy (24^{16}) explicitly abolishes the custom of punishing a whole family for the misdeed of a single member, limiting the penalty to the actual transgressor. This enactment is given as the ground in law why the children of the murderers of king Joash were not put to death (2 K $14^{5.6}$). On this point, of course, the prophets represented the higher morality, and it finds eloquent expression in a singularly noble passage of Ezekiel (18^{19-32}; cf. the more brief but pithy expression in Jer $31^{29.30}$).

Athenian law had followed a similar course to that of the Hebrews. At an early period it had drawn a distinction between *φόνος ἑκούσιος* and *φόνος ἀκούσιος* (Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Phonos'), recognizing the fact that actions done in ignorance do not belong to the same moral category as those done in full knowledge. It is true that some of the old Hellenic myths, like that of Oedipus, point to a state of moral confusion which does not discriminate between an unwitting transgression of law and an intentional wrong; yet the handling of these myths by the great dramatists of the 6th cent. B.C. indicates in general a complete emancipation from the perplexed morality of the myths themselves. In fact, the two great tragedies of Sophocles on the Oedipean myth, especially the *Oedipus in Colonus*, might be interpreted as taking for their leading motive the vindication of an unfortunate transgressor on the plea of ignorance (see esp. lines 262–270, 546–547, 957–988).

While the import of ignorance in relation to moral responsibility was being brought into clearer light by the great dramatists of Greece, it received at the same time a more explicit recognition by the philosophic teachers. This was specially the case with Socrates. The one definite doctrine which can with certainty be ascribed to him seems to give an exaggerated value to knowledge and ignorance in the moral life. This is the doctrine that in its essence virtue *is* knowledge, and vice ignorance (Xen. *Mem.* iii. 9, iv. 2; cf. Plato's *Laches*, *Protagoras*, *Meno*, and numerous references in other dialogues). In later ethical systems of the Stoical type there has been generally and logically a tendency to the same view. The view is criticized by Aristotle on the ground that virtue is not a single act of knowledge or of any other kind, but a habit (*q.v.*) trained by repeated action. The Socratic doctrine undoubtedly fails to recognize sufficiently the fact that virtue implies something to be *done*, not merely something to be *known*. But, as Aristotle himself points out (*Eth. Nic.* vi. 13. 3), though all virtue is not knowledge, there can be no virtue without knowledge (*φρόνησις*). That is to say, in order to do what is right a man must know what is right; and therefore knowledge is an indispensable factor of virtue. A very fair plea may also be made for the contention that at the critical moment in a vicious action the agent is so blinded by passion that he does not really know what he is doing. To this extent also Aristotle recognizes a certain truth in the Socratic doctrine (*Eth. Nic.* vii. 3. 14).

But the truth implied in the doctrine is not the whole truth. The doctrine overlooks at least two other truths: (1) that knowledge does not necessarily involve will to do what is known; (2) that ignorance is not always or wholly involuntary.

(1) Socrates assumed that, as virtue is knowledge, and vice ignorance, a man needs only to have his ignorance removed—to learn what virtue requires—in order to become virtuous. That would imply that the doing follows with certainty the knowing of what is right. Now it may be admitted that a scientific psychology does not allow us to regard knowledge and feeling and will as absolutely dissociated in actual life. Not only is there an element of will in all knowledge, but without knowledge will becomes merely the blind impulse of emotion. The power of will is thus so intimately dependent on knowledge that to common thought they appear at times identical. We say, in Bacon's phrase, that 'knowledge is power'; in many a popular phrase in different languages the knowledge how to do a thing is spoken of as equivalent to being able to do it; and etymology seems to identify in origin *ken* and *can*, *kennen* and *können*. Yet, while every allowance may be made for these significant facts, a scientific psychology also obliges us to admit that at times one of the aspects of mental life—knowledge or feeling or will—may so predominate as to make the others practically negligible quantities. There is often a cool inert contemplation of bare fact without any response from the emotions or the will. There are even morbid conditions of mind, in which the patient has a perfectly clear idea of what it would be wise for him to do or not to do, while his will is so enfeebled that he has no power of constraint in the one case or restraint in the other. The pathology of mind furnishes strange illustrations of this practical dissociation of intelligence and will. (T. Ribot, in his *Les Maladies de la volonté*, Paris, 1883, gives a detailed exposition of the subject; H. Maudsley also treats it in *Body and Will*, London, 1883, pt. iii., 'Will in its Pathological Relations.')

These morbid phenomena exhibit in an exaggerated form that disintegration of mental unity which in less injurious forms is a common characteristic of imperfect mental action in general. For the healthiest mental life is that in which intellect and emotion and will harmoniously cooperate. Moral and religious teachers therefore have found it necessary to distinguish that mental state which represents merely an intellectual activity from that knowledge or faith which carries the whole mental nature with it, involving the assent of the affections and the will as well as of the intellect. But all this implies that virtue cannot be identified with knowledge, nor vice with ignorance, in the ordinary sense of these terms.

(2) But there is another invalid assumption in the doctrine of Socrates. It is not true that a man may not be willingly ignorant. Knowledge is not a state of passive reception; it always implies active effort, even if it be only the effort of attention. Consequently, as a man cannot do his duty if he does not know what his duty is, he is bound to put forth the voluntary effort required to obtain a knowledge of his duty. If he does not make the necessary effort, then he is to be blamed not merely for having done wrong, but for the ignorance that led to his wrong-doing. Such ignorance may relate either to particular facts or to general principles.

(*a*) To discern what is right in particular cases, the facts must be known. But the agent may fail to learn the facts because he makes no effort to know them, possibly even because he makes some effort *not* to know them. In such cases his is properly said to be *wilful ignorance*; and, if it is pleaded as an excuse, the plea must be met with the reply that he ought to have known better.

(*b*) Often moral ignorance extends to general principles. In the moral life of men there is no fact more familiar than the experience that conscience is kept clear by a consistent course of virtuous conduct, while it is darkened by persistent indulgence in vice. Men may come to prefer moral darkness to moral enlightenment because their deeds are evil (cf. Jn 3^{19}). As this darkening of moral intelligence is a natural penalty resulting from habitual disregard of its teaching, the condition has been described in old religious language as *judicial blindness.* Such moral ignorance, so far from being an excuse for sin, may be its most heinous aggravation. In an extreme form it may become that fixed habit of resisting the enlightenment of the Divine Spirit—that 'sin against the Holy Ghost' (Mt $12^{31f.}$ ||)—which by its very nature cannot be forgiven.

But ignorance is often involuntary. Not only individuals, but whole races and classes of men are placed at times in such circumstances that it is practically impossible for them even to conceive any lofty ideal of morality. In particular cases, also, the most cultured moral intelligence may be unavoidably ignorant of facts necessary to a correct judgment; and consequently it is not an infrequent reflexion of good men that they would have acted differently if at the time of action they had known better. Under such conditions ignorance is, in the technical language of the old moralists, spoken of as *invincible*; and it forms a valid apology for faulty conduct. The same principle of justice demands further that all moral judgments on the conduct of men must be modified by a regard for the opportunities of enlightenment which they have enjoyed. This principle is made peculiarly explicit in the teaching of Christ (see esp. Lk $12^{47.48}$, Mt 11^{20-24}). Cf. INVINCIBLE IGNORANCE.

The problem of the moral import of ignorance is thus seen to be by no means simple. The external circumstances and the internal motives of moral action are so complicated that human judgment practically breaks down in attempting to determine how far in individual cases ignorance is a just plea. It remains, of course, one of the sustaining assurances of religious faith that in the final account all the complications of every man's life will be truly and justly appreciated by an Omniscient Intelligence. But the perplexity arising from these com plications has naturally opened a wide field for casuistical ingenuity. Unfortunately the science of casuistry, which might be made a valuable discipline for the enlightenment of moral intelligence, has commonly shown a tendency not to err on the side of moral safety, but rather to try to find how near action may go to the brink of the precipice of sin without actually slipping over into the abyss. But, fortunately, jurisprudence takes a healthier attitude; and in the problems connected with the moral import of ignorance probably the jurists will be found more helpful even to the moralist than any of the casuists. It is true that the juridical point of view differs from the moral. Still it is based upon it; and, as jurisprudence demands specific statement of the conditions under which an action is done, it can hardly fail to impart some of its own definiteness to the moral aspect of the action as well. In regard to our present problem, jurisprudence is in general governed by the maxim that 'ignorantia facti excusat, ignorantia juris, quod quisque scire tenetur, neminem excusat.' It is specially in medical jurisprudence that the problems of moral ignorance take their most interesting and important shape. For the largest section of this science is that which deals with insanity in its relation to responsibility, and the old legal definitions of insanity generally made moral ignorance its test. It was a common judicial decision that, unless a person was at the time ignorant of the moral quality of the action for which he was called to account, he should be held legally responsible (Maudsley, *Responsibility in Mental Disease*, pp. 88–98). Obviously this involves the assumption, which has been shown to be involved also in the Socratic doctrine of virtue, that the knowledge of what is right implies will-power to do it, and that the knowledge of what is wrong implies will-power to refrain from doing it. But this assumption has been shown to be upset by psychology, especially in its analysis of morbid phenomena. It is now, therefore, acknowledged that mere ignorance of wrong-doing is not a sufficient criterion of insanity. Nervous or cerebral disease may generate an impulse which the patient knows to be wrong, but which is so irresistible that he cannot in justice be held responsible for yielding to its power.

There is another class of actions arising from ignorance, on which the moralist may receive some guidance from the more specific definitions of the jurist. These are the actions coming under the general category of *mala praxis*—the malpractice of men in their professions or trades. In all the occupations of life, injury may be inflicted by the ignorance of practitioners or by that *negligence* which, as etymology indicates, is a peculiar form of ignorance, a temporary lapse of intelligence. In cases of this kind, while allowance must be made for a certain amount of ignorance or negligence as 'invincible,' yet justice also demands that every man shall show reasonable diligence in mastering and applying the knowledge which he professes in his occupation. But the complications of modern professional and industrial life run this general principle of justice into an infinitude of details, for which the legislation of all countries has been obliged to make elaborately minute provisions.

It may be added that a peculiar modern phase of semi-professional life raises a curious question of moral ignorance. There seems to be good ground for believing that in their abnormal condition 'mediums' indulge at times in trickery or deceit, although in their normal consciousness they are not aware of what they have done. It is therefore a valid question, how far such persons are justified in allowing themselves to lapse into a condition in which they lose intelligent self-control, and become capable of doing unwittingly actions which in their normal state they know to be wrong.

LITERATURE.—On the doctrine of Socrates, the original sources of information in the works of Xenophon and Plato have been given above. Reference has also been made to Aristotle's critique, and it may be added that the whole of the first three chapters in the seventh book of the *Nicomachean Ethics* are of interest in this connexion. The casuistry of moral ignorance is discussed at length in J. P. Gury, *Compendium Theologiæ Moralis*, Paris, 1850, which is illustrated by its companion volume of *Casus Conscientiæ*, do. 1863. In this work Tractatus i., *de Actibus Humanis*, has a section (cap. ii. art. iii. § 1) *de Ignorantia*, and Tractatus ii., *de Conscientia*, also bears on the subject. These passages should, of course, be read in the light of the illustrative cases of conscience. On the relation of ignorance to legal responsibility the maxim quoted above finds a discussion of some interest to the moralist in *A Selection of Legal Maxims, Classified and Illustrated*, by H. Broom (pp. 205–227, 7th ed., London, 1900). On the connexion of insanity with responsibility, moral as well as legal, valuable aid will be found in any of the great works on medical jurisprudence. H. Maudsley's *Responsibility in Mental Disease*, London, 1874, has been already referred to, and with it may be mentioned his *Pathology of Mind*^{2}, do. 1895, which devotes nine out of its eleven chapters to insanity. It must always be remembered, however, that Maudsley's psychological and ethical views are deeply moulded by an extreme determinism. In *The Juridical Review* for March, June, and September, 1904, the present aspect of the problem of insanity is discussed from both the medical and the legal points of view in a series of articles, by J. B. Tuke and C. R. A. Howden, conjointly, on 'The Relation of the Insanities to Criminal Responsibility and Civil Capacity.' On the moral aspect of malpractice there is a discussion in W. Whewell's *Elements of Morality*^{4}, Cambridge, 1864, art. 114. Responsibility for negligence is the subject of a vast juridical literature, but it is mostly an exposition of special provisions in local legislation. In T. Beven's elaborate work, *Negligence in Law*^{2} (1st ed. *Principles of Negligence*), London, 1895, bk. i. may be referred to as dealing with the 'constitutive principles of the law. F. Pollock's *The Law of Torts*^{7}, London, 1904, devotes two chapters to negligence. Browning's *Sludge the Medium* is an attempt at psychological and ethical analysis of a peculiarly subtle condition of mind, but it cannot be accepted as based on a fair study of facts. Of real psychological and ethical value, however, is the discussion of the same mental condition in F. Podmore's *Modern Spiritualism*, London, 1902, ii. 315–328.

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ILLEGITIMACY.—The subject of illegitimacy, in general, presents a number of complex problems which demand the close attention of the sociologist. No single explanation can account for isolated cases, still less can it be used as a reason for the wide variations in the rates of illegitimacy in civilized communities. Differences of religion, of mental range, of social conditions and aptitudes, of race, and of the marriage laws of the different countries, must all be taken into consideration. The importance of the subject, so far as it concerns Great Britain, is shown in the fact that 48,517 illegitimate births were registered in the British Isles during the year 1910. As the most recent statistics available are those for Great Britain and Ireland, a detailed examination of the prevalence of illegitimacy in the several parts of the United Kingdom will throw light on some of the problems before mentioned. Taking the countries in the order of an ascending scale of frequency of illegitimacy, and estimating the percentage of illegitimate births to the total number of births, unless where otherwise stated, the percentage for Ireland is 2·8, for England 4·3, for Wales 5·4, and for Scotland 7·29.

The percentage of illegitimacy in Ireland varies in the four provinces from 0·7 in Connaught to 3·7 in Ulster. The latter province is the only one which has been above the mean for Ireland (2·8) during the quinquennium period 1906 to 1910. Of the counties of Ulster, the two with the highest percentages are Antrim (5·6) and Down (4·6), the two with the lowest percentages are Donegal (2·0) and Cavan (1·1). In Antrim, the district of Ballymoney had 7·7 per cent of illegitimacy, and that of Ballymena 7·3 per cent; in Down the district of Newtownards had 5·5 per cent of illegitimacy, and Banbridge 5·2 per cent. The percentages of illegitimacy in the cities of Dublin and Belfast were 2·5 and 3·3 respectively. An analysis of those varying ratios in the different parts and districts of Ireland points to the prevalence of illegitimacy in large market towns subserving agricultural districts, and the populous rural and maritime districts of North East Ulster—a condition of affairs quite different from that obtaining in England, Wales, and Scotland, where illegitimacy is most common in thinly populated rural districts. At first sight racial differences may appear to account for the distinction referred to. In the eastern half of Ulster the majority of the inhabitants are of Scottish descent, while in Connaught the race is almost wholly Celtic. Illegitimacy is, however, as common, if not more so, among the Celtic population of Scotland as among the Teutonic, and commoner in Celtic Wales than in Teutonic England. Probably the explanation, so far as Ireland is concerned, is to be found in the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, which has a wholesome effect in preventing illegitimacy.

Of the ten districts into which England is divided, those which are under the mean rate of illegitimacy (4·3 per cent) are the South Midland (3·7 per cent) and West Midland (3·9 per cent), and those which are over it are the North Midland (4·9 per cent), North Western (4·5 per cent), Yorkshire (4·5 per cent), and Northern (5·5 per cent). Eight counties form the South Midland district, and in four of these (Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northamptonshire) illegitimacy is on a relatively low scale; in the remaining four the percentages are: Bedfordshire 4·4, Cambridge 5·1, Huntingdon 5·6, and Oxford 5·7. In the Thame district of Oxfordshire, which comprises Lewknor and Thame, the high percentage of 8·2 is attained. This rate is higher than that obtaining in the highest of all the districts, the Northern, and exceeds by 2·9 per cent that of the County of Westmorland, which is the county with the largest amount of illegitimacy in the Northern district. In London there is 4·0 per cent of illegitimacy. It will be noted that illegitimacy is more prevalent in the rural and agricultural districts of England, and especially where those districts are not thickly populated. The relatively low rates in London and large towns are undoubtedly helped by the steady influx of well-doing and enterprising young people from country districts; the same cause adversely affects the country districts. In this connexion, however, it may be pointed out that illegitimacy and immorality are not synonymous terms. In large cities, sexual immorality is prevalent, and opportunities for its practice are more abundant and less exposed to the force of public opinion than in the country. In large cities, moreover, illegal means to prevent the fulfilment of pregnancy are not uncommonly used, and can be resorted to with less risk of detection, injury, and punishment. On the other hand, the system of cohabitation, especially in the poorer districts of large cities, is a source of illegitimacy; and such a mode of life is not necessarily associated with continuous immorality.

Wales affords, in contrast to Ireland, the example of a Celtic race with the presence of a large amount of illegitimacy in its midst. The average percentage for the whole of Wales is 5·4, or 1·3 per cent higher than that of England and 2·6 per cent above that of Ireland. In the country districts of Wales, the highest levels are reached in Anglesey (8·7 per cent), Radnor (7·5 per cent) and Montgomery (7·5 per cent). The most thickly peopled county, Glamorgan, has the low percentage of 2·8. When subdivisions of counties are taken into consideration, Bala, an inland rural district of Merioneth, gives the high rate of 13·1; and Anglesey, a maritime-rural district, has 11 per cent of illegitimacy. The same remarks which were made on England with respect to the prevalence of a high rate of illegitimacy in a rural and thinly scattered populace apply to Wales, and, as the sequel will show, to Scotland, with this proviso regarding the last two countries, that the proximity of a maritime population to such rural districts tends to an increase of illegitimacy. In Wales, as in Scotland, peculiar social customs, concurred in by tradition, are not uncommon in country districts during courtship, and these exercise an influence on the amount of illegitimacy.

Of the four countries, Scotland has the highest percentage of illegitimacy, namely 7·29. The percentage varies from 14·51 in Banffshire to 4·49 in Dumbarton. All the Scottish counties, towns, and cities have an average illegitimacy rate above the English mean of 4·3 per cent. In the principal towns, there is a variation from a maximum of 9·79 in Edinburgh to a minimum of 3·96—the percentage found in Govan and Coatbridge. It is worthy of notice in passing that Govan and Coatbridge are two large industrial centres, whose population consists of the working classes. The average percentage for the principal towns in Scotland is 7·35. Large towns have 5·74 per cent of illegitimacy; small towns 6·63 per cent; mainland rural districts 7·24 per cent; and insular rural 6·14. The Eastern districts, with a more fertile soil and better adapted for agricultural purposes than the Western, show a greater prevalence of illegitimacy than the Western. The Northern and Southern districts have the high rates of 8·7 and 11·85 per cent respectively. When a comparison of county districts is made, three have an unusually high percentage of illegitimacy —Banff 14·51, Elgin 14·27, and Wigtown 13·41. These three counties are mainly agricultural, with a large admixture of seafaring population. More than one-fourth (5951) of the male population of Banffshire are engaged in agricultural pursuits, and more than one-fifth (4183) are fishermen or seafaring men. Almost similar conditions to those prevailing in Banff with respect to the occupation of the population are to be found in Elgin and Wigtown. On the other hand, in counties with the lowest number of illegitimate children, such as Dumbarton (4·49 per cent), the populace is to a large extent occupied in shipbuilding, foundries, engineering, and calico-printing works. The housing of farm servants of both sexes in bothies—a custom peculiar to Scotland—is regarded as a fruitful source of illegitimacy, especially in those districts where the rate is high.

The decline in the birth rate of the majority of civilized countries throughout the world has been very marked. If the quinquennium 1901–1905 is compared with that twenty years earlier, the fall in the birth rates in Switzerland, in Ireland, and in Spain has been about 3 per cent; it reached 14 per cent in France and Italy; 16 per cent in Servia, England, Wales, and Hungary; 25 per cent in the Australian Commonwealth; and 27 per cent in New Zealand. Except in the cases of the German Empire, Sweden, France, Belgium, and the Australian Commonwealth, the decrease in the number of illegitimate births is greater than the corresponding fall in the general birth rate. This marked decrease in the majority of European and other civilized countries has been almost continuous during 20 years. With the exception of Sweden and France, where there has been an increase of 7·5 and 8·5 per cent respectively, it has varied within wide limits. Thus it has been 3·1 per cent in Spain, 39·7 per cent in England, 37·4 per cent in Scotland, and 13·6 per cent in Ireland. The proportion of illegitimate births per 1000 unmarried and widowed women between the ages of 15 and 45 years of age and for the years 1900–1902 reached its highest points in Austria and the German Empire; the numbers in those two countries were 40·1 and 27·4 respectively. Calculated on the same basis, the smallest number of illegitimate births took place in the Netherlands and Ireland, where the numbers were 6·8 and 3·8 respectively.

Countries (arranged in order of rates in 1900–1902).	Proportion of illegitimate births per 1000 unmarried and widowed women aged 15 to 45 years.
Austria	40·1
German Empire	27·4
Sweden	24·3
Denmark	24·2
Prussia	23·7
Italy	19·4
France	19·1
Belgium	17·8
Norway	17·2
Spain	15·5
Scotland	13·4
Australian Commonwealth	13·2
Switzerland	9·8
New Zealand	8·9
England and Wales	8·5
The Netherlands	6·8
Ireland	3·8

The causes underlying the almost universal decline in the amount of illegitimacy are difficult to determine. Beneficent legislation, social activities, a more elevated moral tone, and extended practice of the Christian religion are undoubtedly at their root. In the discussion of illegitimacy throughout the British Isles, reference has already been made to the influence of race, religion, and some social surroundings and conditions. It now remains to refer to these more fully and add other factors which exert a modifying power.

There are differences in laws relating to illegitimacy which have a restraining influence or the reverse on its prevalence. By the law of Scotland and in accordance with the laws of most of the Continental countries, an illegitimate child is fully legitimated by the subsequent marriage of the parents. Such laws were intended to benefit the child by removing its dishonour and disgrace; but a subsequent marriage does not always take place, and a woman is often led into immoral courses by the promise of marriage, which the man either refuses or never intended to fulfil. In Scotland at any rate, this state of the law, combined with a common custom among the lower classes in country districts and fishing villages, whereby marriage does not take place until the woman is with child, is mainly responsible for the high position it takes with respect to illegitimacy. This conclusion is justified when the effect of the existing state of the law in other portions of the British Isles is considered. By English common law, an illegitimate child cannot be legitimated, though the civil and canon laws legitimate children whose parents subsequently marry.

A factor that cannot be disregarded in the production of illegitimacy is the state of the law towards the fathers and mothers of such children. In Scotland, the mother has legal custody of the child until the age of 10 years, and the father is legally bound to contribute from 2s. 6d. to 3s. weekly towards the aliment of the child; in England, the putative father may be summoned and compelled to make a proper allowance not exceeding 5s. per week. Here also the maintenance of the child devolves on the mother, who is bound to maintain the child as part of her family so long as she remains unmarried, or until the child is 16 years of age or gains a settlement in its own right, or, being a female, is married. Thus a man is penalized for having an illegitimate child to the extent of, at most, a meagre pittance of 5s. per week, and is often allowed to go scot free, either from fear on the part of the mother to sue for aliment, lest such action might spoil the prospects of a future marriage, or by the facilities afforded of escaping his obligations by emigration to another country. Even when all the legal obligations are undertaken by the parents, an illegitimate child is expected to earn its own living and take care of itself at the early age of 16. Social legislation tending to guard child life from immorality, and providing for the better care and training of such children, ought to embrace more suitable provision for the illegitimate child as well as sounder measures for combating illegitimacy. Already the Children's Act in this country has had a beneficent effect in these directions, and it is much needed when the mortality of illegitimate children is compared with that of legitimate. It cannot be doubted that the illegitimate starts life less fitted physically for the battle than the legitimate. The deaths from all varieties of disease are greater among illegitimate children under one year than among legitimate children of the same age. With reference to statistics applicable to England and Wales for 1910, the proportion of deaths among illegitimate infants to 1000 illegitimate births, and among legitimate infants to 1000 legitimate births is seen in the following table to be greater for the illegitimate in all varieties of disease, and with respect to diarrhœal and tubercular diseases more than double the deaths from similar causes among legitimate infants.

Mortality of illegitimate as compared with legitimate for England and Wales under one year of age, 1910.

Cause of death.	Both sexes.	
	Illegitimate.	Legitimate.
1. Common infectious diseases	8·92	7·16
2. Diarrhœal diseases	26·34	12·05
3. Wasting diseases	75·29	39·02
4. Tubercular diseases	7·86	3·74
5. Miscellaneous diseases	76·43	39·67

As in Great Britain, so it is elsewhere. In several European countries, new legislative measures have been adopted or are in the course of being promulgated which will have a material effect on the existing amount of illegitimacy. In Germany, where the illegitimacy rate ranks next to the highest amount, that shown by Austria (see Table i.), the laws which allow the father of an illegitimate child to be freed from his responsibilities by a small monetary payment have been widened in their scope so that such a father, in addition to monetary aliment, is now required to provide training for his child such as will fit it to earn its own living in after life. Further, if the child should be physically or mentally unfit to earn its own livelihood after the statutory age limit of 16 years, the father must then support it all his life. The governing principles of recent legislation, both in Germany and in Austria, are for the betterment of the illegitimate child. It is generally recognized that neither the mother nor the father is the most suitable guardian for an illegitimate child: such parents make the interests of the child subservient to their own, and in general they have not the moral strength to retrieve the honourable position which they have lost by giving the same attention and care to the child which it would receive had it been born in lawful wedlock. On these grounds an official guardian—the *Vormund*—is appointed to enforce the laws. In Germany the mother may be—though she seldom is—appointed guardian. In Austria, it is illegal for the mother to be appointed to this position. The reasons given for forbidding the mother to be *Vormund* are those already mentioned, in addition to the fear that she might not like to displease the father by putting into force the laws protecting the child, and this might lead to the child's being neglected. Again, the *Vormund* must be some person other than the father of the illegitimate child, or the father's relatives, or any one who may have an interest in saving expense to the father. In the performance of his or her duties, the guardian is assisted by voluntary agencies—such agencies as the Vigilance Societies of Britain. The guardian appointed by law is usually the president of one of these societies, and among the duties which are required to be performed are the proper direction of aliment so as to educate and train the child to be self-supporting, and the legitimation of the child by inducing the father to marry the mother. In Austria about one-half, 45·4 per cent, of the illegitimate children have become legitimated in this way through the influence of the *Vormund* and his voluntary helpers.

In France, where the lot of the illegitimate has been made extremely hard by the existence of article 340 of the civil code containing the well-known clause, 'La recherche de la paternité est interdite,' an Act to remove the hardships and amend the existing law has been announced. There are many points in this Act which find general acceptance throughout France; and, should it become law, it will tend to diminish illegitimacy and confer benefit on such as are illegitimate. By a process at law a mother may establish legal responsibility on the father for his child if the action is brought within two years of its birth. Such an action may also be brought by the Court which, according to the Law of July 1907, acts in the capacity of the *conseil de famille*.

One source of illegitimacy has not been referred to, but is worthy of special prominence—that which occurs as the result of the seduction of feeble- or defective-minded women. Legislative action is at present under consideration in Great Britain, which, if successful, will prevent or at least minimize such occurrences in the future, either by placing the feeble-minded woman under strict guardianship or by visiting with severe punishment those who thus take advantage of her. The clauses referred to have the following purposes: (1) feeble-minded persons who are in receipt of poor relief at the time of giving birth to an illegitimate child, or who are with child, may be dealt with and placed under special care; (2) any person having carnal knowledge of a feeble-minded person who is under the provisions of the Mental Deficiency Act is guilty of a misdemeanour. Legislation such as has been described is being undertaken in many countries other than those referred to, but on similar lines to those to which reference has already been made. There is good reason to believe from experience that it will not only reduce still further the general prevalence of illegitimacy, but also, where the latter occurs, will remove or alleviate the disgrace that clings to the illegitimate throughout life.

LITERATURE.—The statistical information and the tables for Great Britain and Ireland are taken from the Annual Reports for 1910 of the Registrars-General of the several countries. The Report of the Registrar-General of England and Wales for 1910 contains much valuable information relating to foreign countries. See also Reports by the Presidents of Statistical Departments or Bureaus of European countries, Reports of the Registrars-General of the British Colonies, and Reports of the Chief Statistician for Vital Statistics, Bureau of the Census U.S.A. Cf. C. Smith Rossie, 'The Love Child in Germany and Austria,' *Eng. Rev.*, June 1912; O. Spann, *Die Lage und das Schicksal der unehelichen Kinder*, Leipzig, 1909; A. Keller and H. Reicher, *Die Fürsorge für uneheliche Kinder*, Vienna, 1909; F. Janisch, *Die öffentliche Schutzfürsorge für die unehelichen Kinder*, do. 1906; Memoranda on 'A Social Evil in Glasgow,' by J. R. Motion and J. Lindsay, Glasgow, 1911; Acts of Parliament and Bills before Parliament such as 'The Children Act' (1908), 'Criminal Law Amendment Act' (1912), and 'Mental Deficiency Bill' (1912–13).

HAMILTON MARR.

ILLUMINATION. — See ENCYCLOPÆDISTS, ENLIGHTENMENT.

ILLUSION.—By the common usage of psychology the name 'illusion' is now reserved for certain special anomalies of sense, which do not necessarily involve any process of cognition in the strict sense of the term.

For the most part our senses provide us with a well ordered and steadily integrated system. This is most probably based upon the various series of differences that are known as the attributes of sensation. States also occur that are dependent upon variations in these attributes, and that presumably are founded upon them or consist of them. These are known as 'forms' (*Gestalten*) or modes, and usually constitute variable series. Examples are found in the series of distances of increasing length in any of the three dimensions—in the line of sight, or vertically or horizontally perpendicular thereto—in the series of motions of increasing speed, in the series of surfaces of increasing area, in the series of positions 'round the head' of auditory space, and so on. These series become correlated with one another in the sensory experience of ourselves, and presumably of all other creatures in proportion to their complexity and development. In these higher developments at least the order of the system is manifest. No one fails to respond coherently, by action or by thought, to the integration of apparent size with distance from the point of observation. To uniocular vision the apparent surface of an object varies inversely with the square of the distance. In normal binocular vision this rule holds good without modification only from beyond a certain distance from the eye. For nearer distances, within which differences of optical position (convergence, divergence) are effectively distinct, the apparent surface tends to retain one and the same size. We do not notice differences in the apparent size of equally tall persons seated around a drawing-room or moving about in it. But a photograph shows us how their projections on our retinæ must differ. And, if we seat them in a row and look along it, we can easily see these differences. For we then destroy the integrative process which usually guides us at near distances, and base our perception solely upon such differences as are conveyed by the size of the retinal impressions, which alone guide us at great distances. Thus in various circumstances various integrative processes, based upon a manifold of simpler sensory data, guide us, or rather our cognition. From their own point of view, however, our sensory processes are simply harmonious and systematic. If I am startled by the sound of a motor horn, I can usually locate it in a position in the horizontal plane round my head with considerable accuracy. If my head and eyes are impelled to turn towards this point, its source, they will turn rapidly and accurately. If the motor horn is a familiar one, I shall also have some 'idea' (I shall experience some mode) of the distance of the motor from me, even before I see it. And, when I see it, this auditory distance will be confirmed by the visual distance at which it will appear, and that again by its apparent size. In a sense there is, of course, no confirmatory process here at all, for that strikes beyond the senses into cognition, anticipatory belief, and judgment of coherence. It is rather merely the fact that all the more complex and usual sensory processes are adjusted to one another, integrated and correlated in a systematic way. It is also true that, if sense is stripped of cognition, it can never be illusory, in so far as illusory is taken to include a reference to the realities of the external world. For, stripped of cognition and the memory which it involves, sense can refer only to sense, both being actually present and given, linked to one another by integrative processes. A reference to a permanent object means at least a reference to the contents and implications of experiences that are not actually present. Nevertheless, every cognition of the outer world implies and involves such an integration of sense as will make it possible. And sense must be systematic for systematic knowledge to be possible by means of it.

In the major part of the complex integrations of sense, then, the combining factors and their references and attachments to one another are patent and manifest. An illusion, on the contrary, is a 'departure' from these generally prevailing schemes of sense by reason of the operation of 'hidden' factors—factors which do not themselves fall within any of the main integrative schemes of sense. As their effects, however, appear in sense and within a common integration, they get wrongly attributed to the operation of that process which in the course of ordinary integration would bring them about. Thus arises a primitive kind of error, which has much interest for epistemology, just because it is so primitive. It provides a case of natural or unavoidable error, which is, none the less, erroneous and misleading. This peculiarity gives special importance to the study of illusions, and raises them far above the triviality which any practical considerations would attach to their study.

Thus in the case of retinal irradiation whereby a bright surface looks larger than a dark surface of the same real size, the untutored mind will act and think as if the bright surface were really larger. Such a mind is guided by the habitual integration of distance from the eye and apparent size of surface, according to which two surfaces of the same apparent size and at the same apparent distance should be of the same real size, *i.e.* should give the same results by the method of visual superposition through the medium of, say, a foot-rule. The hidden cause of this illusion is sought on the retina, where its presence is hardly verifiable, because there is no psychical difference between the two cases which might account for the effect. Similarly the red letters of a coloured lamp sign appear farther away than the green or blue ones, because the cause—a mere matter of the difference of refraction of coloured lights, and hence of retinal 'disparity'—is hidden (cf. the red and blue patterns on many rugs). We soon discover the illusion in this case when we see that the frame of the sign or the glass upon which the letters stand is flat. Still it is to be noted that we discover this only in virtue of the correlations of sense with which it disagrees.

In the illusions of reversible perspective there is no retinal distortion. The cube that appears solid, though merely drawn upon a flat surface, makes identical impressions upon both eyes. This is proved by the fact that the paper upon which the cube is drawn still appears flat, that the illusion holds also for uniocular observation, and that the illusory solid changes its aspect from moment to moment, all the then far points now appearing to be near and *vice versa*. If there is thus no change in the outer or in the retinal impressions to account for the apparent solidity and its reversal, the cause of these will lie in some more central physiological factor or in a purely psychical factor. Thus fatigue is said to determine at which moment the reversal shall happen, when the psychical determinations given by change of fixation and by thinking of one or other form of the solid have been excluded. Under certain circumstances, *e.g.* momentary exposure, supporting indices, suppression of background, etc., the illusion can be greatly increased. The cube will appear to be 'really' solid. Here, of course, we have succeeded in excluding only the integrations of sense which in ordinary circumstances make the illusion obvious, viz. that we see the object looked at—paper and drawing of cube upon it—as if it were at once flat and solid. The hidden cause of this illusion probably lies in the nature of stereoscopy as a purely psychical process. Possibly a primitive form of integrative recall operates here. It is not surprising that the cause of the illusions of reversible perspective, whether it be found in the process of redintegrative memory or not, should be hidden; for the fusion that characterizes stereoscopy almost entirely obscures any psychical integrative factors it may contain. We are not usually aware of the double images that all vision involves, but only of their integrative result.

The other illusions of sense still await definite classification. Much research has been done on them, but the discovery of their causes is perplexingly difficult. A familiar example and one of the most pronounced is the Müller-Lyer illusion, in which the lengths of two equal horizontal lines are distorted by the addition to their ends of two arrow-heads, pointing, in the one outwards (←——→), in the other inwards (>——<). The former line seems much shorter. The amount of the illusion has been measured under various circumstances. Anything that tends to let the compared horizontal lines become prominent reduces, or destroys, the illusion. Certain primitive people are not subject to the illusion; their synthetic visual capacity is probably low. If an analytic habit of vision is practised, the illusion can likewise be suppressed. But the synthetic attitude is the usual one in ourselves; for the illusion appears even when the exposure is momentary. If a regular series of Müller-Lyer figures is prepared in which the arrow-head lines revolve harmoniously about the two end points of the horizontal line, and if this series is shown in the stroboscope (projection by the cinematograph would be the equivalent of this), the illusion will show its presence most emphatically, for the horizontal line will appear to shorten and lengthen, and the end points will appear to move up and down. Many theories of this and other similar illusions have been given, but most of these—especially such as involve a reference to the physiology of the retina or of the optical muscles—have been shown to be untenable. The final explanation, however, is not even yet quite clear. Though we are told to compare the lengths of the horizontal lines, we seem to be compelled by the hidden cause of the illusion to compare the spaces enclosed by the two figures instead, and to refer the result of this comparison to the comparison which we were instructed and endeavoured to make. Of course, it is easy to learn that it is the end lines which are ultimately responsible for the illusion; but it requires very little insight into psychological science to discern that this most patent factor is insufficient to account for the illusion. There is nothing in the side lines which should alter lengths or spaces. The cause must lie hidden in psychical processes, built upon the skeleton of lines given in the figure, but not patent in it; for the illusion just consists in the difference between the size of the line as a mere line and the size of the line as an element in a complex of lines and spaces.

Much remains to be discovered before we can fully explain the illusions. Apart from the discovery of special facts, the greatest contribution towards their solution will probably be made by the progress of general psychological theory regarding the interconnexions of sensory states of different complexity.

In the illusions of perception proper, we have to deal with the redintegrative completion of a sensory presentation that forms a part of two or more of the perceptual complexes of an individual

Thus a shadowy form seen at the roadside on a dark night might be the outline of a bush, a brigand, or a beast. One would suffer from illusion if one took it for anything but the harmless shrub. But the mistakes one makes have clear though hidden motives. What is seen and heard and felt and known all suggest the ordinary wayside objects, but the fears that more or less assail us all in the dark help us to see what we dread. To children, who instinctively dread the darkness, the terrors of the way to bed up the dark stair through the unlit halls are very real indeed. We need not appeal to special 'traumata' for an explanation of the origin of these fears. Children naturally fear darkness, strangers, and animals separately; and these fears are sufficiently similar to be able to induce one another where that is possible. Of course, many a child knows that there is really nothing to fear in the unlit home, but revived images combine so readily with the data of perception of the same sense which evokes them that they are at once referred to the usual cause of the latter. Their own cause thus becomes hidden. In the illusions of suggestion we also see the operation of hidden causes which, of course, may be either emotional or merely associative and cognitive, or both.

In general, then, true illusions all owe their being to the fact that incidental integrative and fusional coherences of (broadly) simultaneous experiences may obscure or usurp to themselves the references which parts of these experiences possess and would otherwise plainly reveal. True illusions are, therefore, all of psychical origin. There is no sense or purpose in speaking of the disparity between the psychical and the material as being illusory. For the same reason, illusions caused by the anomalous distortion of impressions by the sense-organ hardly deserve the name. They enjoyit only in virtue of the fact that the anomaly which they represent exists both on the material and on the psychical side.

LITERATURE.—For a very broad treatment of illusion as equivalent to error, see James Sully, *Illusions*, London, 1881. For an introduction to the experimental investigation of the illusions, see any good text-book of experimental psychology, *e.g.* C. S. Myers, *A Text-book of Experimental Psychology*², Cambridge, 1911, ch. xxii., or E. B. Titchener, *Experimental Psychology*, New York, 1905, i. 151–170, and ii. 303–328, where numerous references to the experimental literature will be found.

HENRY J. WATT.

IMAGES AND IDOLS.

General and Primitive (G. D'ALVIELLA), **p. 110.**
Ægean (H. R. HALL), p. 116.
Babylonian (L. W. KING), p. 117.
Buddhist (A. S. GEDEN), p. 119.
Celtic (J. L. GERIG), p. 127.
Chinese (J. DYER BALL), p. 130.
Christian.—See ICONOCLASM, IMAGES AND IDOLS (General and Primitive), WORSHIP (Christian).
Egyptian (J. BAIKIE), p. 131.
Greek and Roman (P. GARDNER), p. 133.
Hebrew and Canaanite (ADOLPHE LODS), p. 138.
Indian (W. CROOKE), p. 142.
Japanese and Korean (T. HARADA), p. 146.
Lapp and Samoyed (D. MACRITCHIE), p. 148.
Muslim (E. SELL), p. 150.
Persian (A. V. W. JACKSON), p. 151.
Teutonic and Slavic (M. E. SEATON), p. 155.
Tibetan (L. A. WADDELL), p. 159.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (General and Primitive).—There is a theory that certain species of animals have the instinct of proportion and even a feeling for art, as shown by the habitations which they make for themselves, the way in which they ornament them, the influence of the plumage or the song of the male on the female, etc.; but it must be admitted that man alone possesses the gift of making images, *i.e.* of creating figured representations of beings and objects for a utilitarian or sentimental purpose. This kind of representation implies not only that man reasons about his ocular impressions, but also that he claims the power of exteriorizing them accurately and even of reproducing them after they have disappeared from his vision.

I. *CLASSIFICATION.*—Images having a religious value may be divided into three classes: (1) purely representative images, (2) magical images, and (3) idols.

1. Purely representative images.—This class includes drawn, carved, sculptured, or painted images of a purely commemorative, instructive, or edifying nature, *i.e.* whose only aim is to reproduce the features of a real or ideal person, the shape of a well-known object, an episode taken from history or legend, the appearance of a sacred spot, or the celebration of a rite. Every one likes to have near him whatever reminds him of the beings whom he loves or worships—especially their image; this feeling alone would suffice to explain the frequency of figures representing either persons who have played an important part in worship, such as priests, reformers, miracle-workers, scholars, theologians, and martyrs, or the superhuman beings to whom the worship is rendered. J. B. de Rossi,[1] analyzing the different kinds of images found in the catacombs of Rome, makes a classification which might be applied to the figured representations of religions in general: (1) hieratic portraits, (2) ideographical symbols, (3) allegorical paintings illustrating parables, (4) historical scenes drawn from OT and NT, (5) scenes taken from the history of the Church, and (6) reproductions of ritualistic ceremonies.

The maker of an image may either content himself with imitating an accepted type or seek inspiration for the treatment of his subject in the character and rôle ascribed to his model by tradition. As a matter of fact, the resemblance to the original person and the accuracy with which scenes are represented are secondary points; all that is necessary is that people should believe in their accuracy or convention sanction them. It is a short step from this to purely allegorical images—representations of abstractions or ideal beings, such as Faith, Hope, Charity, Virtue and Vice, Religion, in forms borrowed from life. Even God Himself has been treated in this way. A. N. Didron, a famous 19th cent. archæologist, wrote a volume on the iconographical history of God.[1] As an antithesis to this we might mention the copious iconography of the Devil published by Paul Carus.[2]

The image may be realistic, but interpreted in such a way that it becomes a pure symbol—*e.g.*, among Christian images, the lamb and the dove; in Buddhism, the wheel and the lotus-flower; among the Egyptians, the *crux ansata*, the winged globe, etc. Some of these symbols are so clear as to require no comment: the representation of the moon by a crescent, of the sun by a disk or a rayed face, the scales of Justice, the bandage over the eyes of Love, the aureoled hand coming forth from a cloud and brandishing a weapon; others are so complex that they become rebuses or hieroglyphs, the origin of which it is not always easy to trace—*e.g.*, the fish, which in Greek (*ἰχθύς*) gives the anagram of Christ.

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[1] *Aperçu général sur les catacombes*, Paris, 1867, p. 17.

[1] *Iconographie chrétienne, histoire de Dieu*, Paris, 1844.

[2] *History of the Devil from the earliest Times*, Chicago, 1900.

These remarks are still more applicable to the representation of religious groups and scenes. Every great historical religion except Judaism and Islām has attempted to express its legends and myths in images. These representations may have only a commemorative or explanatory intention; but we must remember that certain religions use them especially for the purpose of education and edification.

> 'All the pictures that we see in the Church tell us as plainly as if the image spoke the story of Christ's coming down among us, the miracles of His Mother, or the struggles and exploits of the saints, so that we may imitate their wonderful and ineffable actions.'[1]

No religion can rival Christianity in the multiplicity of its images. In some large churches, such as the French cathedrals of Paris, Chartres, Reims, and Amiens, there are as many as two, three, or four thousand statues; and in the cathedrals of Chartres, Bourges, and Le Mans, three, four, or five thousand figures on stained-glass.[2] Although quite a number of these are merely figures of unimportant personages, nevertheless we have here what has been called a whole Bible for the use of the unlettered. Next to Christianity comes Buddhism, which has covered India, Ceylon, and the Malay Archipelago with its bas-reliefs, and flooded Tibet, China, and Japan with its painted images; in this it has been imitated by the other religions of the Far East, including Hinduism. It is superfluous to mention here the service rendered to art by the mythological compositions of Græco-Roman sculpture. Of less importance from an æsthetic point of view, but none the less interesting, are the bas-reliefs and paintings of Egypt, and the sculptures of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. It may be said that the region where religious images are found forms a belt on the surface of the globe which includes the Northern hemisphere from Japan to Mexico, while in the Southern hemisphere there are only some rudiments of art.

The desire to be permanently in touch with venerated objects led man to set up his own image in places where everything evoked the memory of his Divine patrons; hence the effigies of private persons which were so frequent in the sanctuaries of pagan antiquity. In the Oriental monarchies, the right to a place in the sanctuary was almost entirely confined to the images of the Pharaohs, the Patesi, and the Great kings; even the most favoured citizens never aspired beyond having their features reproduced on a stele or in a statue placed near their tomb. In Greece, the privilege of figuring in the temples was accorded to the images of the most illustrious citizens or of private individuals who were rich enough to present a generous donation along with their effigy. The sanctuary chosen for this purpose was generally the one belonging to the god who had watched over the professional occupation of the donor, or to the god whom he specially worshipped.[3] The two aims of having the gods near oneself and being near them were frequently combined by placing religious images on objects of everyday use—jewels, pendants, whorls, clothing, weapons and tools, vases, lamps, seals, and coins, the discovery and interpretation of which have contributed so much to our knowledge of the principal ancient religions. For a still closer combination the faithful engraved the portrait or the symbol of the god on their very bodies. Tatuing has enabled man to assume this Divine uniform, and examples are found all over the world, from the Australian savage who paints on his breast the image of his totem to the Breton or Italian sailor who has the image of the Madonna or of the Sacred Heart figured on his arm. It is now admitted that everywhere the tatuing of the uncivilized has a religious or magical significance.

2. Magical images, *i.e.* images having magical properties.—Recent ethnology has thrown light on the close connexion which primitive intelligences establish between a being or object and its figured reproductions. This is an application of the laws of similarity and contiguity, in which J. G. Frazer has found two of the chief sources of magic belief. Primitive man believed that, by tracing an image, he was producing the reality, and that, when he acted on the image, he was also acting on the thing itself. From the quaternary age onwards we find, on fragments of stone and bone, and also on the walls of caves, sculptured, carved, or painted images, representing animals of the period. Salomon Reinach[1] reproduces more than 1200 of these figures, and points out that they nearly all represent species of animals which formed the food of the people of the time, and therefore the people would naturally desire to favour their multiplication—mammoths, reindeer, horses, goats, etc.

As a result of observations made in our own day among the savages of Australia, it has been proved that among the magical proceedings for promoting the development of species which provide clans with their totem and their food there is a certain worship of the *churingas*, *i.e.* blocks of stone or pieces of wood on which there has previously been traced the schematic image of the totem and which are placed underground in sacred places. In other places, these same figures are painted on rocks, and become the centre of ceremonies for furthering the multiplication of the totem.[2] Another hunting people, the Bushmen of S. Africa, painted on the walls of their caves very good likenesses of the animals that they hunted or carried off from their neighbours, the Kafirs.[3] Finally, similar paintings have been observed on the rocks of California and North Africa.[4]

Even among the figured representations of prehistoric times, however, we find some images of harmful and undesirable animals; but these exceptions may also have a magical import. Thus the negro of West Africa cuts out figurines representing crocodiles, tigers, or serpents. Attempts have been made to explain these images by totemism, but it is simpler to account for them thus: the negro thinks that, possessing the copy, he will be able to compel the original to go away or even destroy it altogether.

The Kaitish of Australia believe that the rainbow prevents the rain from falling or makes it stop prematurely. They therefore draw a rainbow on a shield, which they hide far from the encampment, thinking that they will prevent the phenomenon by making its image invisible.[5] The natives of Malaysia use as preservatives bamboo stalks carved with representations of the scorpions and centipedes which infest the country; but they set the remedy and the scourge side by side by also carving on the bamboo the image of the pheasant which devours this vermin. Among the Burmese, the natives of the Shan States use the capsule of a plant called *martinya* as a snake-charm because it roughly resembles the head of a venomous snake with its two fangs.[6] All these are applications of the principle that like acts on like, evokes it, or produces it. Emile

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[1] John of Damascus, *adv. Constantinum Cabalinum Orat.* 7 (*PG* xcv. 324).

[2] Didron, *Histoire de Dieu*, Paris, 1843, Introd. p. 1.

[3] E. Courbaud, in Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Image.'

[1] *Répertoire de l'art quaternaire*, Paris, 1913, and 'L'Art et la magie' in *L'Anthropologie*, 1903, p. 257.

[2] For the various applications of the process in Australia and among other savages, see *ERE* i. 821–823, 'Note on the use of Painting in Primitive Religions.'

[3] E. Cartailhac and H. Breuil, *La Caverne d'Altamira*, Berlin, 1906; cf. C. H. Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*, Oxford, 1909; A. Schweiger, 'Neuentdeckte Buschmannmalereien in der Cape-Provinz' in *Anthropos*, viii. (1913) 652–669, 1010–1025.

[4] J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique*, i. (Paris, 1908).

[5] Spencer-Gillen^b, p. 294 f.

[6] H. Balfour, *Evolution of Decorative Art*, London, 1893, p. 83.

Durkheim has even extended this formula thus: 'Anything that affects an object affects also whatever has any relation of proximity or solidarity to that object.'[1]

As a general rule, the portrait of an object is supposed to give its possessor control over the original. This is the belief of savages, who usually refuse to be photographed or sketched, and who in nearly all countries make use of this kind of spell to work evil on their enemies. The oldest cases of such sorcery which have come down to us are perhaps the figured representations discovered on the walls of the grotto of Niaux (Ariège), where we find bisons riddled with barbed arrows. We have here, combined with the solidarity of the image, the idea that the realization of an event may be brought about by simply sketching it. According to the practice of the Middle Ages, when one wanted to wound, paralyze, or kill an enemy, it was sufficient to make a figurine more or less like him, have it blessed by a priest on some pretext or other, and then prick it with a needle in the heart or wherever it was desired to harm the original. Similar spells were in use among the Chaldæans, Egyptians, Hindus, Greeks, and Romans. They are also found among most uncivilized peoples who employ the arts of black magic.

The same idea of artificial solidarity is found in *ex-votos*, where imitations of legs, arms, other organs, and even of whole bodies are placed near sacred images by believers who have been granted, or are praying for, the cure of certain ills: in the one case the donor hopes that, on account of this proximity, the gods will act on the injured member through the medium of its image; in the other, the desired effect having been obtained, he expresses his thanks to the deity by offering up the organ, of which the deity has already in a sense taken possession by expelling the malady. These same images, which abounded in the temples of Æsculapius and other gods of healing,[2] are found on the continent of Europe, without any modification of material or form, even in the smallest chapels of Roman Catholic rural districts. Often the possession of the image is sufficient to ward off illness and all kinds of calamities. Each image has its special charm: some guard against fever, others against plague, others against lightning, the perils of the sea, the enemy's shot, and so on; there are even some which show where lost objects may be found, as, *e.g.*, certain of the Congo fetishes. Some have still wider scope, as talismans for appeasing fate and mastering destiny.

Central Africa is the promised land of fetishism (*q.v.*); yet the negro, according to a statement made by Albert Réville, which seems to be well founded,[3] distinguishes clearly between fetishes, which he believes to be inhabited by a spirit, and amulets, which he wears about his person, but does not worship, even when they reproduce the form of a living being. Schoolcraft also speaks of domestic idols in human or animal form found in the huts of the American Indians, but they were more of the nature of talismans, for they were not worshipped in any way.[4] We may place in the same category the *zemis* of the Antilles, *i.e.* figurines made of wood, stone, or bone, representing fish, turtles, lizards, serpents, and even men.[5] These were so numerous at the time of the discovery of the Antilles that the Benedictine monks who came in the train of Columbus boasted of having destroyed single-handed more than 170,000 of them at Hayti. To the same class perhaps belonged the *teraphim* of Laban, which Rachel concealed in the camel's furniture (Gn 31^{19-34}); and the statuettes which abound in ancient tombs from Ægean times to the end of paganism.

Large statues are as highly prized by communities for their magical services as small ones are by individuals and families. The desire to possess them frequently gave rise to armed contests, which took place as often between the cities of antiquity as between the towns of the Middle Ages; the desire was not so much to have the monopoly of paying homage to the divinity or the saint as to gain possession of a talisman of repute. This is proved by the bad usage which the images sometimes received, either to punish the original for having refused a demand, or to compel him to fulfil it. It is not only in the Congo that nails are hammered into the sacred image to command its attention.

In a church in Louvain there was until quite recently an old statue of Christ, the red velvet robe of which used to bristle with pins. Now worshippers stick their pins into two cushions placed at the feet of the image, over which is the inscription in French and in Flemish: 'Please do not stick pins into the robe.' This practice, however, may be explained in another way; it may be a case of getting rid of an illness by nailing it into the image, or sometimes of passing it on by hanging on the image linen which has been in contact with the injured member. Frazer, following Mannhardt, gives sufficient evidence in his *Golden Bough* of cases of folk-lore, where agricultural populations, having manufactured an image or a mannikin representing the spirit of the last harvest and sometimes the spirit of death, destroy, burn, or drown it, after having loaded it with the sins or calamities which they desire to get rid of periodically.

Just as the copy procures the services of the original, it may replace it on every occasion; the offering of the image instead of the reality thus becomes both an attenuation and an extension of sacrifice. Thus the Chinese offer to the divinity clothes, houses, furniture, sumptuous repasts, and even considerable sums, without growing any poorer, for these offerings are simply paper images. The Egyptians painted on the walls of the tombs offerings intended to maintain indefinitely the posthumous existence of the deceased, or depicted experiences that they would like him to be able to continue or repeat; they even added figurines representing his wife, slaves, and workmen, so that in the life beyond the grave he might have all the co-operation that he enjoyed on earth. It seems now to be admitted that this was also in many cases the aim of the bas-reliefs and paintings decorating the tombs of Etruria and ancient Greece.

3. Idols, *i.e.* conscious and animated images.—The talisman, the fetish, and the idol form an ascending scale. The talisman is a material object endowed with marvellous properties, either because of its nature or of some magical operation it has gone through, or because it is invested with supernatural properties by some external Power. The fetish is a talisman in which resides the spirit that gives it its power. The idol is a fetish representing the supposed form of the spirit dwelling inside it.

Idols are formed in various ways. (1) *By the natural association of natural objects with the human features which they resemble*, *e.g.* the rocks resembling human beings worshipped by Negroes, Fijians, Chippewas, Lapps, and, indeed, by all peoples inhabiting hilly countries—not to speak of other similar *ludi naturæ*. (2) *By forgetfulness or ignorance of the significance originally attached to an image.* This, however, is an exceptional occurrence. In most cases, it is only a question of the transfer of an image from one cult to another. Sometimes an attempt is made to explain the image by creating personages and even inventing myths for the occasion. Clermont Ganneau has called this, by the apt name of 'ocular or optic mythology,'[1] and he gives several examples of it: the child Horus, who becomes among the Greeks the god of silence, because he holds his finger to his lips; a Pharaoh sacrificing three barbarians, which forms the prototype of Cacus slaying the three-bodied Geryon, etc. Examples of legends which originated in misunderstood images are no less frequent in mediæval Christianity. It has often been asserted that the stories of cephalophorous saints (*i.e.* saints who are pictured with their heads in their hands) had their origin in the figured representation of their decapitation. The martyrs and saints recognized by naive and perhaps interested parties in the bas-reliefs of pagan sarcophagi are too numerous to be quoted.[1] (3) *By simply manufacturing an image representing a superhuman being.* The artist, choosing his subject either according to his own taste or in obedience to orders, may conform to tradition; but it is the popular voice alone that ratifies and sanctions his work. Sometimes the idol is an ancient fetish of wood or stone which has been carved so as to give it the appearance of a human being; at other times it is a statue whose reputation for supernatural power is due to the fetish enclosed in it, as, *e.g.*, the statue of the *Magna Mater Idæa* in Rome. (4) *By the supposed command of the divinity whom the image represents.* In the Antilles, the tree in which a spirit dwelt revealed to the sorcerer how to set about manufacturing a statue with its wood. In the public square of Corinth there were two statues of Dionysus which were held in great veneration; according to Pausanias (II. ii. 7), they were cut out of the wood of a tree which the Corinthians, in compliance with the command of an oracle, had worshipped under the name of Dionysus. In France, Italy, Spain, and the East there are frequent examples of images of the Virgin which are said not to have been made by the hand of man. We might mention in passing the Buddhist legend that the portrait of Maitreya, the future Buddha, was drawn by an artist temporarily transported into the special division of Paradise where Maitreya was awaiting the moment to descend on earth.[2] Among the Greeks the same reputation was enjoyed by many of the most venerated statues, including the palladium in the Acropolis at Athens, representing the protective goddess of the city. (5) *By means of some magical operation.* Among the Negroes of the West Coast there are regular shops for fetishes and idols, kept by sorcerers. The purchaser makes his choice, and it is only then that the sorcerer causes the spirit to descend into the idol. Among the New Zealanders, the priest makes the souls of the dead pass into statues which he shakes up and down as if he were rousing a sleeping man; if the operation is unsuccessful, the soul may pass into the body of the officiating priest, who then falls into convulsions. In Finland a kind of doll, or *para*, made out of a stick and some rags, is carried nine times round a church to the words, 'Live, Para'; the *para* then begins to live, or, rather, a spirit comes and dwells in it.[3] Towards the end of classic paganism, the operation was more complex, but its nature remained the same. According to Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, viii. 23), Hermes Trismegistus speaks of it in the following terms:

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[1] *Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris, 1912, p. 508.

[2] Cf. the art. 'Donarium,' by Homolle, in Daremberg-Saglio.

[3] *Religions des peuples non-civilisés*, i. 97.

[4] H. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, Philadelphia, 1851–57, v. 169.

[5] Cf. J. W. Fewkes, *25 RBEW* (1907), pp. 42, 58–59.

[1] *Mythologie iconographique*, Paris, 1878.

> 'To unite, therefore, by a certain art those invisible spirits to visible and material things, so as to make, as it were, animated bodies, dedicated and given up to those spirits who inhabit them—this, he says, is to make gods, adding that men have received this great and wonderful power.'

The last upholders of paganism met the taunts of the Christians with the reply that they did not worship the bronze, gold, or silver of the statues, but the divinities that had passed into them on consecration (Arnobius, *adv. Gent.* v. 17, 19).

Nevertheless, an explanation is needed as to how this unlimited multiplication of the person of the divinity, and the belief in his actual presence in each of these images, could be reconciled with the unity of his personality. Here, we must remember, we are in the domain of things sacred, where a lack of logic is overlooked, or, rather, a particular logic is admitted which applies the principle of contradiction in a different way from that of ordinary logic. According to a rudimentary idea, a superhuman individuality may be doubled or multiplied *ad infinitum*, and yet remain an unbroken whole in its original type and in each of its manifestations.

II. *HISTORY.*—A favourite theory among 18th century theologians and philosophers was that idolatry was a degeneration. Man was supposed to have begun with a very high and pure idea of the divinity. Then, desiring to have a material picture of his deity, he represented him by the noblest and most elevated thing that he knew—his own image. Gradually he came to regard these symbolical images as real portraits, and ended by treating them as divine individualities. As early as the time of the author of Wisdom (14^{13-20}) it was held that idols were originally the images of deceased ancestors; and Herbert Spencer has revived this idea.[1] It is not difficult to show, however, that history, pre-historic archæology, and ethnology are agreed in giving an entirely different explanation of the origin and evolution of idolatry. Undoubtedly there may be found in more than one religion periods of decadence in which idols, which had been more or less outgrown, re-appear in the worship. Thus, Buddhism, which had shaken the very foundations of idolatry, judging from the quasi-philosophical doctrine of its founder, re-installed the ancient idols of Hinduism and even of Tantrism, merely surrounding them with a new mythology created specially for them. But these are cases of infiltration or retrogression, not of logical and spontaneous development.

Strictly speaking, idolatry is neither a general nor a primitive fact. It was entirely unknown in India in Vedic times. We have to come far down in the history of China and Japan to find any traces of its development. It was not practised by the nomadic tribes of the Semites. Among the Jews it appeared only in exceptional cases (*e.g.*, the Golden Calf and the Brazen Serpent). Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 21) and Tacitus (*Germ.* ix.–x.) assert that there were neither temples nor images among the Teutons. In Rome, according to Varro (Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 31) the Romans lived 170 years without representing their gods by images. Even among the Greeks we find scarcely any traces of idolatry in the time of the Pelasgi. The question is whether this absence of idols is due to the fact that these peoples had too spiritualized a conception of their gods to give them material forms. It will be sufficient answer to note that idolatry is equally unknown to most of the peoples who are to-day still on the lowest rungs of the social ladder—Bushmen, Hottentots, Fuegians, Eskimos, Akkas, etc., who are at the first stages of intellectual and religious development. This seems to have been the mental condition of the future civilized races at the period of which we have just spoken.[2] Even among the nations where idolatry has been pushed to the furthest extreme, *e.g.* the Egyptians, Chaldæans, Greeks, and Hindus, it came into being only with their progress in the arts of civilization. In the case of the aborigines of the New World, while idolatry flourished in the civilized States of Mexico, Peru, and Central America, it was encountered but rarely among the savages of the two American continents. Lafitau recognized this fact as early as the 17th cent.: 'We may say in general that the majority of savage peoples have no idols.'[1] In Japan, idolatry was equally unknown before the spread of Buddhism. Even to-day, 'broadly speaking, Shinto has no idols.' With a few exceptions, 'the pictures of the gods sold at Shinto shrines in the present day are owing to Chinese or Buddhist influence.' But, as the same author shows, this is simply due to the arrest of development which made itself felt, more than a thousand years ago, in the ritual as well as in the theology of the old national religion of Japan.

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[1] P. Saintyves (pseudonym for E. Nourry), *Les Saints, successeurs des dieux*, Paris, 1907.

[2] A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, Paris, 1899, p. 118.

[3] M. A. Castren, *Finnische Mythologie*, St. Petersburg, 1853, i. 106.

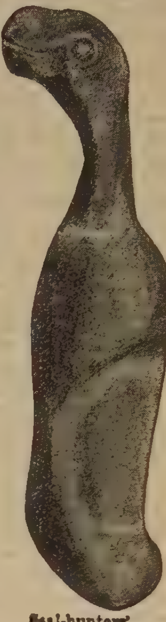
[1] *Sociology*, London, 1885, pt. vi. § 585.

[2] For the period of cults without images see (*a*) among the Greeks, Farnell, *CGS*, 1896–1909, Index, *s.v.* 'Aniconic worship'; (*b*) among the Romans, W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, pp. 146, 264; G. Wissowa, *Rel. und Kultus der Römer*², Munich, 1912, pp. 32, 56; (*c*) among the Hindus, H. Barth, *The Religions of India*, London, 1882, pp. 61, 128, 259; (*d*) among the Semites, W. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*², London, 1894, p. 207 ff.; (*e*) among

> 'This absence of idols from Shinto is not owing, as in Judaism and Islam, to a reaction against the evils caused by the use of anthropomorphic pictures and images, but to the low artistic development of the Japanese nation before the awakening impulse was received from China. It indicated weakness rather than strength.'[2]

We may conclude, then, that idolatry is but a step in religious evolution, and that it even represents a comparative advance. From the time of its first appearance onwards, man appeals to art—however rudimentary the attempt may be—to aid him in giving material shape to his religious ideal. Several authors maintain, with every appearance of reason, that the plastic arts originated in the service of religious or magical ideas (see ART, vol. i. pp. 817–827). The oldest images that have been discovered are the sculptures and paintings mentioned above, which go back to the reindeer period, in the second half of the quaternary age. For a long time before that, man had probably imitated the attitudes and movements of the animals he wished to capture or cause to multiply. Then it suddenly dawned upon him that approximate images of them existed in certain fragments of stone, bone, or wood, or in some seed or shell. In his magical operations he may already have used objects which to his infantile imagination seemed like living beings, and for this purpose he naturally employed the natural or chance products most favourable to his illusion. He would then try to increase the resemblance by clumsily touching up the object. Examples of this have been found in the primitive sculpture of various entirely different peoples. The next step would be to carve, or directly manufacture with the help of suitable materials, the image which he wished to possess and utilize. The fig. represents an object, now in the Oxford Museum, which was used as a charm by seal-hunters in the Queen Charlotte Islands. It is simply a pebble roughly resembling a seal, but sufficiently like it for the natives to have tried to increase the resemblance by scratching in the eye, mouth, and nostrils.[3]

It was probably a similar idea that inspired the first figured representations of the superhuman personalities whom man desired to have within reach so as to make them more accessible to his evocations and sorceries as well as to his prayers and homage. Whatever opinion one may have of the origins of religion, it must be admitted that at a certain period man began to experience the need for representing in concrete and personal form the mysterious forces which he conceived of as being, on the one hand, embodied in certain natural or artificial objects, and, on the other, situated at the very source of the phenomena of nature. The first images which seem to have been the object of real worship occur long after the quaternary age. These are the rudely sculptured female figures in the caves of Marne, in France, found side by side with the representation of an axe, just as in the pre-Mycenæan pictures discovered in Crete.[1] As a matter of fact, statues of women have been found belonging to the reindeer age, with the abdomen, breast, and hips exaggerated out of all proportion; but these very probably represent pregnant women—a magical means of ensuring the increase of a tribe. At any rate, it is certain that man began at a given moment to make his fetishes in the form of the spirit which he believed to dwell inside each one.



Seal-hunters' charm.

Examples of the transition from fetish to idol may be found among the most widely differing peoples. The first step seems to have been the worship of upright stakes or more or less conical stones, found among the aborigines of India, the tribes of the Upper Nile, the Ostiaks of Siberia, and some small tribes of Oceania and North and South America—not to speak of the ancient populations of Western Europe. Elsewhere the natives set themselves to manufacture a kind of doll. The idols of some of the Siberian tribes consist of skins stuffed with grass. The Crees of the United States worship bundles of sticks topped with a head made of rags. The Brazilian sorcerers make idols out of calabashes which they set on a stick and bore with a hole to represent the mouth. In the Society Islands, fragments of columns dressed in native costume are worshipped. In the Fiji Islands, the natives decorate conical stones with a girdle and assign a sex to them. In the Deccan, the head at the top of the cippus is represented by a round mark painted red. Among the Indians of Virginia, a head was carved at the top of the stave, as is seen in a curious illustration in Lafitau's work. The head once formed, the rest must have followed rapidly. Arms and legs still joined to the body were sketched, and then finally these were separated off to give them the necessary appearance of life and action.

These facts are nearly all given in Lord Avebury's *The Origin of Civilization*, so it is not a little surprising to find, even in the seventh and last edition (London, 1912, p. 284), the following assertion:

> 'Fetichism is an attack on Deity, Idolatry is an act of submission to Him, rude, no doubt, yet humble. Hence Fetichism and Idolatry are not only different, but opposite; so that the one cannot be directly developed out of the other.'

As a matter of fact, fetishism is a direct antecedent of idolatry, and is everywhere co-existent with it. The fetish and the idol are both conceived of as the body of a spirit; they are used for the same purposes and employed under the same conditions, except that idolatry lays more stress on the anthropomorphic, or rather zoomorphic, conception of the divinity, and so lends itself to a more accentuated development of the cult. There exist, on the one hand, domestic idols, and, on the other, tribal or village fetishes. There are even fetishes that fill a still higher rôle, *e.g.* the black stone of Pessinus, which represents the Mother of the Gods in the Palatine temple. No occurrence is found of an intermediary state between fetishism and idolatry; on the contrary, the history of art makes it clear that idolatry is the direct and immediate outcome of fetishism. Nowhere is this continuity more evident than in Greece, from the thirty stones of Pharæ, which in

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the Chinese, A. Réville, *La Religion chinoise*, Paris, 1889, p. 183; (f) among the Japanese, W. G. Aston, *Shinto, the Way of the Gods*, London, 1905, p. 71 ff.

[1] *Mœurs des sauvages américains*, Paris, 1723, i. 151.

[2] W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, pp. 71–78; see also M. Revon, *Le Shinntoisme*, Paris, 1905, p. 227.

[3] Given in H. Balfour's *Evolution of Decorative Art*, fig. 31.

[1] Déchelette, *Archéologie préhistorique*, i. 585 ff.

the time of Pausanias (VII. xxii. 3) were regarded as the most ancient images of gods, down to the masterpieces of Phidias and Praxiteles.[1]

Among the first idols, representations of animals or monsters predominate, as is still the case with the uncivilized peoples of to-day. All that can be maintained with certainty is that the tendency to invest supernatural beings with human shape increases with the growing conception of their personality as a type of ennobled manhood. At the same time the animals which originally represented these beings did not entirely disappear from iconography; they became the companions or slaves of the divinities whom they used to embody, as, *e.g.*, the owl of Athene, the eagle of Zeus, the hind of Artemis, the dolphin of Poseidon, and the dove of Aphrodite. In other cases, the bestial or repugnant forms have been left to evil spirits, the enemies of gods and men; examples of this are too numerous to be mentioned here. A third combination has perhaps helped to give rise to composite figures, sometimes with a human head on an animal's body, sometimes with an animal's head on a human body. The Egyptian pantheon is formed almost entirely of these curious figures, and they are found in nearly all ancient and modern forms of polytheism. Peoples such as the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Chinese, who had left barbarism far behind, undoubtedly believed in the actual existence of such monsters. Their written traditions testify to this belief, and traces of it are found even among French authors of the Middle Ages.

We must remember, however, that, when the sculptor in ancient times represented Janus as a god with three faces, to mark his faculty for seeing the present, the past, and the future all at one time, he was probably as fully conscious of making a pure allegory as the sculptor who in Christian times symbolized the Trinity by a three-headed being. It is questionable whether the Greeks, or before them the Phœnicians, when reproducing the image of a spirit with two pairs of wings, the one raised and the other lowered, really aimed at representing perpetual movement and not at simply reproducing superhuman beings who for the Assyrians had an actual existence. Again, it is a moot point whether, when the Buddhists assigned to their future Buddha, Avalokiteśvara (*q.v.*), an infinite number of arms, it was really, as they say, so that he might the better save all his creatures, or whether it is not rather an express imitation of the numerous pairs of arms attributed to the Hindu Siva.

We must, however, take into consideration another factor, viz. the possibility of the fusion of two types. There is a law in symbolism which holds good for all kinds of images. When two signs or two plastic types in any given neighbourhood express the same or similar beliefs, they are inclined to amalgamate, if not to unite, and form an intermediary type. An attempt has been made by the present writer[2] to show how symbolic images differing as much as the wheel, the winged globe, the rose or the lotus, the conical stone, the *crux ansata*, or 'key of life,' the cuneiform star, the sacred plant, and even the human outline, have changed their forms and passed into each other, making composite types, in the different features of which the various originals may be recognized. These phenomena of plastic hybridization are rarer in the case of the representation of living creatures, but even here some examples are found. Bancroft, referring to the totems in use among the Indians of North-West America, says:

> 'When the descendant of the "hawk" carries off a wife from the "salmon" tribe, a totem representing a fish with a hawk's head for a time keeps alive the occurrence, and finally becomes the deity.'[1]

This emblem is just as odd as the hawk-man who represented Horus among the Egyptians.

We have also to reckon with religious types which continue to exist after the disappearance of the worship to which they originally belonged. In present-day iconography, we may still find representations of subjects which originated among the sculptures of ancient Chaldæa, five or six thousand years ago, and which have come down to us through two or three intermediary religions and still retain at least a symbolic value. Such, *e.g.*, is the sacred tree between two monsters facing each other, which has passed, on the one hand, to India, Persia, China, and Japan, and, on the other, to Greece, Rome, and the Christian countries of the West, where sculptors used it in cathedrals to represent the tree of the Garden of Eden. The transmission of images does not necessarily imply the transmission of the beliefs to which they were originally attached. When in a new religion it is desired to represent personages or traditions which have not yet been expressed in plastic art, the artists naturally treat the subject on the principles of the only art within their reach. In the catacombs, Christians did not scruple to use the image of Orpheus taming the wild animals with his lyre, to symbolize Christ teaching men. Psyche being teased by Cupid came to represent the soul guarded by an angel. The ram-bearing Hermes, who originally figured in the sculptures of Asia Minor as a priest bearing the sacrificial lamb, furnished the essentially Christian type of the Good Shepherd, and we know from the sculptures of Gandhāra that this subject passed into Buddhist India about the same time.[2] The first representations of the Heavenly Father as an old man seated in a *cathedra* were inspired by certain statues of Juppiter; it is even possible that their prototype may be found among the Assyrian images of seated divinities which occur among the rock sculptures of Malthai.

Again, we have to reckon with the deformations which in the long run always appear in the reproduction of images. It is somewhat difficult to recognize in the classic type of the thunderbolt two tridents soldered together at the base. Joachim Menant[3] has shown that the Greek Sagittarius has its prototype in the winged bull of Assyrian palaces, which became among the Persians the image of the mythical bull Gāyōmarṭ, half transformed into an archer; and, by a series of easily discernible modifications, the bust of Apollo has become the simple *epsilon* found on coins. Among the paddle carvings exhibited in 1872 at the British Association for the Advancement of Science, there was a crouching human figure and next to it a crescent placed on the point of an arrow. No one who did not possess the whole series of intermediary figures could possibly have imagined that the latter was the outcome of the former.[4] Inversely, there are examples of the transformation of a linear image into a human figure. The sacred *baetyl* which figures on the coins of Byblos reappears, modified in form through contact with the Egyptian *crux ansata*, in certain representations of Astarte and Tanit which depict these goddesses in a conical form with their elbows close to their sides and their forearms outstretched.[5]

It must be borne in mind that a religion, more especially when it has just superseded another, has often to tolerate the worship of images and even of sanctuaries belonging to former cults. When it is unable to destroy them, it finds that it is more advantageous to appropriate them. By adopting the *labarum*, Constantine wittingly chose an emblem which could be accepted both by the worshippers of Christ and by the worshippers of the Sun. Even to-day, Leroy-Beaulieu[1] speaks of an old Buriat idol, preserved in the Monastery of Posolsk on Lake Baikal, which has been transformed by the monks into a statue of Saint Nicholas, and is worshipped by pagans and Christians alike. The Buddhists are still less scrupulous about appropriating the images of the religions which they have succeeded in suppressing by their propaganda: the solar wheel becomes the wheel of the Law; the feet of Viṣṇu are transformed into the feet of Buddha. When the Buddhists gained possession of the sanctuary erected at Bhārhut by tree- and serpent-worshippers, they simply appropriated the bas-reliefs for their own religion by attaching to each scene an inscription giving it a Buddhist interpretation.[2] The followers of Hinduism acted in the same way when they had succeeded in expelling Buddhism from India.

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[1] Cf. M. Collignon, *Mythologie figurée de la Grèce antique*, Paris, n.d., pp. 11–17.

[2] In *The Migration of Symbols*, London, 1894, chs. v. and vi.

[1] *NR* iii. 87.

[2] A. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, Eng. tr., London, 1901, fig. 44.

[3] *Pierres gravées de la Haute Asie*, Paris, 1886, p. 191.

[4] For other examples of the same kind see H. Balfour, *Evolution of Decorative Art*, p. 33 ff.

[5] Cf. *RHR* xx. (1889) 142.

It is sometimes rather difficult to judge whether the image of a superhuman being should be classed as an idol or as a magical or purely commemorative representation. Even the people who use them are not always clear on this point. When the priests of Hierapolis explained to Lucian (*de Dea Syria*, 34) that they had not placed the Sun and the Moon among the images of the gods in their temple, because men could see and worship them directly, it is possible that, at least to the priests, divine images were merely representational signs. But, when the Tyrians, besieged by Alexander, chained up the statue of Baal Melkart to keep the god from escaping to the enemy's side (Curtius, IV. iii. 21 f.), it is evident that they considered and treated it as an idol. The same idea recurs in Sparta, where, according to Pausanias (III. xv. 5), the statue of Ares was chained up to prevent its escaping.[3]

Speaking generally, we may include in the category of idols all images that open or close their eyes, gesticulate, utter oracles, move of their own free will, or converse with their worshippers. On the other hand, it would be an exaggeration to maintain that every image worshipped or even venerated is necessarily an idol. Nothing is more natural than to set up in a conspicuous place the images of the beings loved or esteemed, and to take as a personal insult outrages perpetrated on them. Later, the image is regarded as an intermediary in all dealings with its original, and it is invested with the supernatural faculties attributed to the original. This tendency is co-existent with the mental state, mentioned above, which confuses the copy with the original and leads to investing the images with a personality of their own. In the time of Pericles, Stilpo was banished from Athens for having maintained that Phidias's statue of Pallas Athene was not the goddess herself (Diog. Laert. II. xii. 5). In Buddhist iconography, Gautama's entry into Nirvāṇa was represented at first only by an empty throne or by footprints. Gradually his image was introduced, and it finally ended by working innumerable miracles and becoming a regular object of worship. In order to escape from these superstitions certain monotheistic religions, such as Judaism and Islām, have entirely forbidden representations of the human figure or even of any animate being.

LITERATURE.—E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*^{4}, London, 1903; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*^{3}, do. 1911 ff.; A. Réville, *Religions des peuples non-civilisés*, Paris, 1883; A. C. Haddon, *Evolution in Art*, London, 1895; A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, do. 1887; Yrjö Hirn, *The Origins of Art*, do. 1900; M. Hoernes, *Urgesch. der bild. Kunst in Europa*, Vienna, 1898; Goblet d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, London, 1894; G. Ferrero, *Les Lois psychologiques du symbolisme*, Paris, 1895; G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, do. 1881–1911; H. Leclercq, *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne*, do. 1907.

GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Ægean).—It was thought a few years ago that Ægean religion was aniconic, that the Mycenæans envisaged their deities in no form, human or other, and that with a sublime simplicity they confined their worship to trees or stone monoliths in which the divine spirit was supposed to take its residence, or placed in sacred spots a single stone seat, an empty throne, for the god to sit on, unseen by his worshippers. This view, however, always seemed rather improbable to some observers, who were convinced that, the phenomena of religion being pretty much the same in every country and all over the world, the Ægeans would eventually be proved to have been by no means so lofty in their ideas as the 'aniconic' view would imply. This has come to pass, and we now know that the Ægeans made idols and venerated them as did every other people of their time. Whether D. G. Hogarth is right or not in claiming (*ERE* i. 143^a, 147^a, *EBr*^{11} i. 247^a) that the Ægeans worshipped only two deities, the Mother Rhea and the son Zeus, or whether we should rather say that these were the two primary objects of worship, it is at least probable that the 'Dual Monotheism' which he postulates was accompanied by the veneration of spirits of wood and water, sky, sea, and land, as in every other country of the world. In later Greek religion there is many a trace of these pre-Hellenic worships; and, though we may say that Artemis, Diktynna, or Britomartis of Crete is but another form of Rhea, yet we may doubt whether the worshippers themselves thought so. They surely would have considered that they were venerating different goddesses. And in the representations of deities which we have on seal-rings, etc., we no doubt see different forms of the goddess. We have representations, too, of demons, like the Thueris-headed water-carriers, no doubt deities of streams, who must be regarded as, if not gods, at any rate supernatural beings worthy of worship and distinct from the two primary deities.[1]

We have not, however, many representations of other gods than Rhea and Zeus, although we may yet find them. The few images of the gods that have been found in the Cretan and other excavations are almost exclusively female, and represent different forms of the great goddess, who is usually associated with the snake, no doubt to mark her chthonic character. The faience images of her, or of various different forms of her (or of different but closely-related goddesses), found at Knossos (*ERE* i. 143^a) are well known. One figure has on its head a spotted cat curled up. This is a curious attribute of the goddess, and may perhaps connect with Egypt (are we to see by connexion also the panther of later Greek iconography?).

The ruder figures of the goddess found at Knossos and Gournia, with their accompaniment of votive clay trumpets, are well known. They are contemporary with the equally rude 'owl-headed' figures from Mycenæ, also representing a goddess.

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[1] *La Religion dans l'empire des Tsars*, Paris, 1889, p. 113.

[2] A. Cunningham, *The Stûpa of Bharhut*, London, 1879.

[3] For other instances see J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, London, 1898, iii. 336 f.

[1] Primary Rhea and Zeus certainly were; one only doubts if they were the sole objects of worship. Such monotheism is, after all, an artificial development of human religion: the natural man is polytheistic and idol-making. Monotheism is a product of high spirituality. We have no proof that the Ægeans were at all a spiritual people: it is highly probable that they were nothing of the sort; and, if Egyptians and Hittites worshipped gods, it is probable that Ægeans did so too.

The young god, Zeus-Velchanos, has not yet been found represented in the round, but we have hints of his appearance. On a fresco at Tiryns he stands, a warrior, upright, holding spear in hand, and guarded by a great 8-shaped shield. On a ring from Mycenæ and on a sarcophagus from Palaikastro he descends to earth with long hair flying behind him in the wind. He is a true Minoan in appearance.

Some of the demons look like strange dog-headed insects, perhaps locusts. Certainly they are modelled after the Egyptian hippopotamus-goddess Thueris.

One cannot say more as yet of Minoan iconography; but more light will doubtless reach us with the further progress of study, and we may be able to distinguish between different forms of different deities. For, though one may consider that Hogarth's fundamental characterization of Ægean religion, its special worship of Rhea and Zeus, is no doubt correct, yet one may doubt whether their 'Dual Monotheism' excluded all other worship. It certainly did not exclude the veneration, if not worship, of the genii already mentioned, who resemble sometimes Egyptian deities, sometimes certain queer Anatolian demons whom we see on the rocks of Yasili Kayā.

An odd feature was the veneration as idols of natural concretions of stone, which bore some fortuitous resemblance to the human figure: such crude objects of adoration have been found in the Western Palace at Knossos.

It is perhaps strange that the Minoans, with their love of art, should not have cared to represent their deities more often and more grandiosely than they did. But neither did they represent mankind in the grandiose style of Egypt, and we do not yet know how many of the representations of the human form which we have in fresco and other materials are really meant to portray men, and how many are intended to shadow forth the godhead. One would expect, as one obtains in the case of Rhea and Zeus, complete anthropomorphism.

The theriomorphic demons look exotic. The likeness to Thueris may have some special reason of which we are ignorant. Can it be referred to the most ancient days, when the Ægeans first came from the Nile-delta (as they probably did) to Crete? They might have brought with them a memory of the great hippopotamus, a beast associated in their minds with water. This is but a suggestion. The cat on the head of the Knossian goddess points, as we have seen, to Egyptian influence. This may have acted occasionally, but we have no further trace of it. The goddess and her male companion have nothing Egyptian about them; and there is nothing Egyptian about the Thueris-headed demons but their heads. Thueris never carries water-pitchers in Egyptian iconography. We must regard this as a chance bit of foreign influence, like the cat, which is, by the way, treated in quite un-Egyptian fashion.

The demons themselves, however, cannot be exotic. They are emphatically racy of the soil of Greece, the land of naiads and hamadryads. The two great gods are, of course, closely related to the Anatolian Kybele and Atys, and this Anatolian relation of the Minoan religion is not contradicted by the Greek naiads and hamadryads, since we know from the treaty of Rameses II. with king Khattusil of Khatti (1279 B.C.) that the Hittites worshipped innumerable spirits and divinities of mountain, wood, and stream, as well as the great gods.

LITERATURE.—C. Tsountas and J. I. Manatt, *The Mycenæan Age*, London, 1897, ch. xiv.; A. J. Evans, *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*, do. 1901; D. G. Hogarth, 'Ægean Religion,' in *ERE* i. 141 ff., and 'Ægean Civilization,' in *EBr*[11] i. 245 ff.

H. R. HALL.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Babylonian).—Idolatry and image-worship form a very striking feature of the Babylonian religious system, and already meet us in an advanced stage of development in the earliest cultural period of which material remains have been preserved. In Babylonia we have no means of tracing the gradual evolution of image-worship out of the fetish and the stock-and-stone worship which necessarily preceded it. The earliest inhabitants of the country, of whose existence we have obtained evidence by excavation, were the Sumerians, and they were immigrants who brought with them an extraneous civilization from some mountainous region of Central Asia. Their gods were already anthropomorphic, and their cult-images undoubtedly combined the character of portrait with that of fetish. It is a remarkable fact that even the earliest representations of Sumerian deities that we possess are not of the Sumerian racial type: they exhibit characteristic features of the Semite, the other racial element in the country which gradually displaced the Sumerians after absorbing their culture. The most probable explanation that has been suggested is that the Sumerians found a Semitic population in possession of Babylonia, and that the representation of their own deities was subsequently influenced by the Semitic cult-images in the ancient centres of worship which they took over.[1] But the question is one of externals only, and, though of interest in another connexion, does not affect the essential character of the divine image itself. Fashioned in the god's human form, it was believed to enshrine his presence, and for the Babylonians of all periods it never lost this animistic character. It never became a mere portrait or memento of the deity, but was believed to have a life and spirit dwelling within it and acting through it.

Originally, no doubt, a Sumerian tribal or city-god was wholly identified with his cult-image. No more than one image of each deity was worshipped, and the idea of the god's existence apart from this visible form must have been of gradual growth. It is possible to conjecture circumstances which would tend to encourage speculation in that direction. The capture and deportation of a god, followed by the substitution of another figure in its place and the subsequent recovery of the original image, would have led to the incorporation of two figures within one shrine. A king's ambition to rebuild or beautify a temple might have been extended to the image itself, if the latter had suffered damage or decay. The misfortunes of the material image, especially if unaccompanied by national disaster, would in any case foster a belief in the god's existence apart from his visible body of wood or stone. And such a belief undoubtedly developed at a comparatively early period into the Babylonian conception of a heavenly division of the universe in which the great gods had their dwelling, making their presence manifest to men in the stars and planets which moved across the sky.

This was a great stage in advance of pure image-worship, and the development undoubtedly followed the growth of a pantheon out of a collection of separate and detached city-gods. The identification of the more powerful of these deities with the great forces of nature emphasized the distinction between the god and his image. The sun-god could not be confined within his shrine, if he was seen to pass daily overhead from one gate of heaven to the other; and the moon-god's continual activity and changing phases precluded the possibility of such a limitation in his case. The god of lightning must surely leave his temple, since he is seen riding upon the storm-cloud, while the true dwelling of the god of the abyss must obviously have been the abyss of waters below the earth until he was translated to the Southern heaven. We have no means of dating this association of some of the greater gods with natural forces. It is possible that the Sumerians had passed this stage of thought before their arrival in Babylonia, and also that they found some of the ancient religious centres of the country already associated with sun- and moon-cults and with other divisions of nature-worship. However that may be, it is quite certain that during all subsequent stages of Babylonian history the divine images never degenerated into mere symbols of divinity. They continued to enjoy a very real, though mystical, connexion with the gods they represented. Without consciously postulating a theory in explanation of his belief, the Babylonian never lost his faith in his god's actual presence within the image, and he found no difficulty in reconciling such a localization of the divine person with his presence at other cult-centres and with a separate life in the heavenly sphere. That this was actually the case will be at once evident if we refer to a few historical examples of image-worship taken from different periods.

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[1] See Eduard Meyer, 'Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien' (*Abh. der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1906, Phil.-histor. Classe, iii.), and L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, p. 47 ff.

Of the Sumerian epoch it is unnecessary to speak at any length, as Gudea's cylinder-inscriptions prove the sacrosanct character of a city-god's image even in the latter half of the period. The elaborate ritual and purification of both people and city, preceding the removal of Ningirsu's image from the old shrine at Lagash to the new,[1] are a sufficient indication that the god and his image were still identified. With the rise of Babylon we note the important part which the actual image of Marduk played in each king's coronation-ceremony and in the renewal of his oath at every subsequent Feast of the New Year; the hands of no other image than that in Esagila at Babylon would serve for the king to grasp. In the reign of Ḫammurabi, the real founder of Babylon's greatness, we see the Babylonian's conception of his visible gods reflected in his treatment of foreign images. It was not merely as booty, but in order to gain their favour, that Sin-idinnam and his army carried off to their own land the images of certain Elamite goddesses. And, when misfortunes followed, it was simply because these foreign goddesses resented their enforced banishment from their own country. On the careful restoration of the images to Elam, the goddesses themselves returned thither.[2] Later, in the 15th cent. B.C., we know that an image of the goddess Ishtar was carried with great pomp and ceremony from Mesopotamia to Egypt, and in one of the letters found at Tell el-Amarna the statue and the goddess herself are absolutely identified. The land of Mitanni and Egypt were on friendly terms at the time, and the city of Nineveh was under the former's control. So, when Amenophis III. requested Tushratta, king of Mitanni, to send Ishtar of Nineveh to Egypt, he consented, and with the image sent a letter which throws light on the relation which the goddess was believed to bear to her image.[3]

In the letter the goddess Ishtar herself is made to declare her intention of going to Egypt: 'Thus saith Ishtar of Nineveh, the lady of all lands, "Unto Egypt, into the land which I love, will I go."' Tushratta exhorts Amenophis to pay her due honour and to send her back, saying: 'Verily now I have sent (her) and she is gone. Indeed, in the time of my father, the lady Ishtar went into that land; and, just as she dwelt (there) formerly and they honoured her, so now may my brother honour her ten times more than before. May my brother honour her, may he allow her to return with joy.' There is here no question of the image being a mere symbol of the goddess: the image is the goddess herself.

It is clear from Tushratta's letter that this was not the first occasion on which Ishtar had paid a friendly visit to Egypt. Indeed, we may infer that, at any rate at this period, the custom was not uncommon for the image of a deity—in other words, the deity himself—to be sent on a ceremonious visit to a foreign country, where, if properly treated, he would, no doubt, exert his influence in favour of the land in which he was staying. And this conclusion explains the great value that was always set on the capture of another race's gods. The captured images were not valued simply as symbols of victory; they constituted the conquered nation's chief weapon of offence. Not only were the conquered deprived henceforth of their god's assistance, but there was a very great probability that, if the captured image was pleased with its new surroundings and the deference paid to it, it would transfer its influence to the side of its new worshippers. This explains the care with which captured images were preserved both by the Babylonians and by their more civilized neighbours, and the joy which marked any subsequent recovery of them.

It is needless to cite instances: the most striking is Ashurbanipal's recovery of the goddess Nanâ's image from Susa in 650 B.C., which an Elamite king had carried off from Erech sixteen hundred and thirty-five years before.[1] During this long period the Elamites had doubtless carefully ministered to the image, for their civilization and their religious cults had much in common with those of Babylonia. It is probable that, even when a barbarous mountain tribe was conquered and its villages sacked, its divine images were never destroyed, but carried off and preserved in the same spirit. This close connexion between the god and his image endured into the Neo-Babylonian period, and Nabonidus's offence in the eyes of the priesthood, which rendered Cyrus's conquest of Babylonia so much more easy,[2] was simply the fact that he ignored this feeling. With his natural instincts blunted by archæological study, and probably in furtherance of some ill-advised idea of centralizing worship, the king collected all the old images throughout the country into his capital, little recking that he was tearing the gods themselves from their ancient habitations. The gods had long had their real abode in the heavens, but this had in no way weakened their mystical infusion of their images on earth.

Far less close was the connexion between a Babylonian deity and his sculptured symbol or emblem, by means of which his authority or presence could in certain circumstances be insured or indicated. The origin of such emblems was not astrological, nor is it to be sought in liver-augury: the emblems were not derived from fancied resemblances to animals or objects, presented either by constellations in heaven or by markings on the liver of a victim. They clearly arose in the first instance from the characters or attributes assumed by the gods in the mythology; their transference to constellations was a secondary process, and their detection in liver-markings resulted not in their own origin, but in that of the omen. The spear-head of Marduk is a fit emblem enough for the slayer of the demon of chaos; the stylus or wedge of Nabu suits the god of writing and architecture; the lightning-fork was the natural emblem of the weather-god, and the lunar and solar disks for the moon-god and the sun-god. Some divine emblems were purely animal, such as the dog of Gula, the walking bird of Bau, the scorpion of Ishkhara. In these cases there is nothing to indicate a totemistic origin, and the analogy of the goat-fish of Ea, the god of the Deep or the Abyss, suggests that they are not to be traced beyond the mythological stage. In the earliest period the emblem of the city-god was the same as that of his city, and might sometimes symbolize the city's power, as in that of Ningirsu of Lagash, represented by a lion-headed eagle grasping lions. Images of divine emblems, when sculptured upon a stone monument, ensured that the monument was under the protection of the deities to whom the sculptured emblems belonged. Legal documents concerning ownership of land were protected in this way from the Kassite period onwards,[1] and it was with a similar object that the later Assyrian kings carved at the head of their stelæ the emblems of the chief gods of their pantheon. Divine emblems, in addition to the figures of patron deities, were also engraved upon cylinder-seals,[2] and both were, no doubt, intended to ensure the owner's protection.

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[1] Cf. E. de Sarzec, *Déc. en Chaldée*, Paris, 1884–1912, pl. 33–36; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sum. und akkad. Königsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 88 ff.; L. W. King and H. R. Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia*, London, 1907, p. 195 ff.

[2] Cf. King, *Letters of Hammurabi*, London, 1898–1900, i. p. xxxvii ff.

[3] H. Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna* (Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, v. [Berlin, 1896]) 48 f., no. 20; and J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1907, etc., p. 178 ff., no. 23.

[1] H. C. Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscr. West. Asia*, London, 1861–84, iii. [1870] pl. 38, no. 1.

[2] O. E. Hagen and F. Delitzsch, *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, Leipzig 1890 ff., ii. [1894] 205 ff.

Another class of animal images entered very largely into the Babylonian religious scheme, and, though not the emblems of gods themselves nor the objects of direct worship, are entitled to be referred to in this connexion. The colossal lions and winged bulls which flanked the doorways of Assyrian palaces and were borrowed for the Persian palaces at Persepolis, the enamelled lions of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad and of the Sacred Way at Babylon, and the brick bulls and dragons of Ishtar's Gate were not purely decorative, but symbolized protective influences under animal forms. Texts of earlier periods also describe the lion, the bull, the raging hound, the serpent, the dragon, and other mythological monsters as characteristic of religious decoration. In two instances at least, the lions of the Gates of the Sun on whose backs their pivots rest, we may undoubtedly trace their origin to the noise of the creaking gate;[3] and it is probable that sound, rather than sight, was the more important factor in determining the outward form of many mythological creations, whose protective qualities were portrayed in images which were often strange and ferocious.[4] Other Babylonian images of repulsive form represented evil and not beneficent beings, and spells engraved upon them were intended to ensure the employment of their powers in the owner's favour or, in any case, not to his detriment.[5] Clay images of gods, along with those of doves, were also buried near the gateways of palaces and temples to ensure their protection; but these, again, were not objects of worship, but merely foundation-figures.[6] For the use of images by the Babylonians in sympathetic magic, see MAGIC (Babylonian).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the references given in the footnotes, the general works dealing with Babylonian religion and cult may be consulted, such as M. Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1902 ff., with *Bildermappe* (1912); R. W. Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1908; or L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, London, 1899. For a convenient survey of the religious literature (which has a close bearing on the subject), see O. Weber, *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer*, Leipzig, 1907.

LEONARD W. KING.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Buddhist).—It would naturally seem as though, of the great religions of the world, Buddhism were the least likely to have developed a system of idol-worship and veneration for images. The founder consistently deprecated the rendering of any special honour or reverence to himself, made no claim to divine prerogative or rights, and ignored, if he did not distinctly repudiate and deny, the presence and influence of the supernatural in human affairs. What he had done in the way of the attainment of perfect knowledge and of achieved deliverance or salvation, every man might do by the force of his own will and perseverance. The office of the Buddha was but to show the way. Each man must tread the road and win the goal for himself, none helping or hindering him in the supreme task. In a system of philosophy controlled by such principles there would appear to be no room for adoration or worship, and no authority to whom such worship might be addressed. Ultimately, however, and after no great interval of time, the tendency to create or conceive supernatural beings to whom homage might be rendered and from whom assistance might be hoped for re-asserted itself. Apparently the conception of the deification of the Buddha himself began to find a place in the thought of his immediate disciples even during his lifetime, and thus a system in intent and purpose non-theistic, neither postulating nor requiring the divine, became endowed with as extensive and varied a pantheon as the most frankly polytheistic religion ever conceived. In the monasteries and temples expression was given in plastic form, in image and sculpture, to these deities, the recipients of a true worship, which in concrete and visible presentation embodied and satisfied the desire of the worshipper for a substantial object of his adoration and regard.

1. Deification of Gautama himself.—It was upon the person of the Buddha that this reverence and worship concentrated itself; and throughout the entire history of Buddhism the figure of the founder remained central for all art and imagery. The degree of prominence assigned to him, however, varied greatly in the different countries in which Buddhism found a home. In some instances the influence of pre-existing faiths, with their popular divinities, proved too strong for the doctrines and principles of the imported creed; and the figure of the historic Buddha was in effect superseded by forms of gods or goddesses, to whom a more sympathetic and helpful rôle was assigned. Theoretically, for the present age, Gautama Buddha is supreme; and in general it is his image that occupies the place of honour in the temples, and is indefinitely multiplied in the halls of the monasteries, and in all places where an opportunity offered itself for a work of merit in erecting an image designed to embody in actual concrete form the gentle spirit and teaching of the founder of the faith.

The tendency, therefore, to regard Gautama as more than human, and to endow him with some at least of the attributes of divinity, began to develop itself during his lifetime, and therewith the tendency also to represent him in imagery and sculpture as an object of adoration. The earliest sculptures, however, do not yet venture apparently to depict him as a man, but his presence is symbolically indicated by the sacred wheel (*dharmachakra*), the Bo-tree, the footprint (*pada*), or a *dāgaba*, etc. In the older representations also, the more important figures of the Hindu pantheon retained a place, especially Sakka (Sakra, Indra) with his thunderbolt, who was later identified with one of the celestial Buddhas, Vajrapāṇi, and to the end occupied a considerable place in Buddhist legend and tradition.

It is not possible to determine at how early a period this desire for concrete and visible portraiture of the Buddha himself did in fact find expression in art. Images of him were certainly known before the time of the Chinese pilgrims Fā-Hian and Hiuen Tsiang. Their narratives suggest, if they do not assert, that such images were neither rare nor a novelty. A more or less conventional and idealized type also was adopted, alike of choice and from the necessities of the case, which then imposed itself upon all representations of the Buddha in every country and for all future time. The type was Hellenic, not native Indian; and was derived from the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra and the North-West. Its artistic development, however, was checked and limited by the historical conditions of Gautama's life and character, and the need to preserve a general identity of aspect and feature throughout the wide area to which the Buddhist faith had gained access. The type, therefore, became stereotyped, the conventional and recognized form under which the Buddha was depicted. Almost the only variety permitted to the artist was in the pose of the hands (*mudrā*), and, to a less extent, the arrangement of the feet. The Hellenic character also was consistently maintained throughout, and is noticeable especially in the expression of the face and the disposal of the folds of the robe. In the earliest and oldest representations this is most apparent; in the later there is a distinct approximation to Hindu forms and ideals. The figure thus delineated is that of a young Indian in the garb of a monk, with gentle and thoughtful countenance. In frescoes and paintings the head is often surrounded with a nimbus or halo, the symbol of deity and of the claim to adoration, a feature which is derived from Greek model and precedent. The type adopted was severely simple, and afforded comparatively little opportunity for the development of artistic taste or the display of artistic skill. These found a limited opportunity for expression in the figures of the Buddha's disciples, and more widely in the extensive pantheon of divinities, Bodhisattvas and others, of the Mahāyāna school.

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[1] See W. J. Hincke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I.*, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 87 ff.; King, *Bab. Boundary-Stones and Memorial Tablets in the Brit. Mus.*, London, 1912, p. x ff.

[2] See J. Menant, *Recherches sur le glyptique orientale*, Paris, 1883; L. Delaporte, *Cylindres orientaux*, do. 1910; and W. Hayes Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910.

[3] Cf. L. Heuzey, *RAssyr*, IX. iii. [1912] 85 ff.

[4] Cf. King, 'The Origin of Animal Symbolism in Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia' (*PSBA*, Dec. 1912, p. 276 ff.).

[5] For examples of such devil-images, see R. C. Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, London, 1903–04, i. pl. ii. frontispiece; C. Frank, 'Köpfe babylonischer Dämonen' (*RAssyr*, VII. i. [1909] 21 ff.).

[6] Cf., *e.g.*, R. Koldewey, *Die Tempel von Babylon und Borsippa*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 19, 26, 29.

The character of the type was thus determined, and is easily recognizable. From whatever part of the Buddhist world the figure may be derived, the general features are the same, and convey the same impression of calm dignity and untroubled repose. The painter or sculptor had, as it were, the main outline and framework of his subject already laid down, and comparatively little latitude was admissible in the filling in of details. Three attitudes or poses of the figure are represented—sitting, standing, and lying or recumbent. Within each of these there are varieties of type, which are usually associated with events of the Buddha's life or offices which he performed. The ascetic ideal was maintained in all, and in all the dress and outward appearance were plain and decorous, contrasting strikingly, on the one hand, with the richly ornamented figures of the Bodhisattvas and other divinities, and on the other with the nude statues of the Jaina saints. Images, however, in each of the three attitudes are by no means equally common on the sculptures or in the temples. The sitting posture is most frequently represented in all Buddhist countries. The recumbent figure, on the contrary, is hardly met with in the monasteries of the north.

2. Types of sculptures.—There are three main types or varieties of the seated Buddha.

In all of them the Buddha was represented sitting cross-legged, the right foot resting on the left, the soles usually upturned and bearing one or more of the auspicious marks which indicated his character as a 'perfected' being. The body is clad in the conventional robe of the monk, which leaves the right shoulder bare, and in some examples is very lightly indicated by a mere line across the chest. Less commonly the robe is drawn over both shoulders. The latter arrangement of the dress is found at all periods and in all the three attitudes, but is perhaps more characteristic of the early Græco-Buddhist art. The head is shaven, but is never entirely bare, a few tufts of hair being left to represent the stumps of the locks which remained when Gautama cut off his own hair with his sword on the occasion of his flight from home.[1] On the top of the skull also is the swelling or protuberance known as *uṣṇīṣa*, a mark of the sacred character of the wearer, but perhaps originally representing merely the coil of hair on the head.[2] A tuft or circlet of hair (*ūrṇā*) also appears in the centre of the forehead, for which a pearl is frequently substituted both in early and in late examples. The ears and arms are long, the former dependent as far as the shoulders. In Indian sculpture long arms are conventionally recognized as a sign of high birth. The figure is seated upon a lotus flower or throne (*padmāsana*), or upon the coils of the cobra which then raises its crest above the Buddha's head to protect him from the heat of the sun. In the Indian sculpture the face is always clean-shaven, but in images from China and Japan, or from Korea, a light moustache or beard is sometimes found. Others also of the *lakṣaṇas*, the marks of physical beauty or perfection, may be represented, the most common perhaps being the *chakra*, the wheel of the law, figured on the upturned soles of the feet.[3] Moreover, in the southern school the entire treatment is more stiff and formal, and seems to lack the freedom and spontaneity of the earlier northern types.

The three fundamental types are distinguished by the position of the hands (*mudrā*), which is always symbolical, designed to express the thought or office of the Buddha in some great crisis or event of his life. There are numerous less important varieties, devised by the artists to correspond to the biographical details contained in the tradition.

(1) The 'witness' attitude. The left hand lies flat upon the lap, while the right is stretched downwards, the palm towards the body, and touches the ground. The scene commemorated is the conflict with Māra before the attainment of Buddhahood, when Gautama called upon the earth to testify to the events of his previous existences, and it responded with a roar like thunder.[4]

(2) The 'meditative' attitude, representing the Buddha in profound thought upon the mysteries of existence. The crossed hands lie flat in the lap with the palms upturned, the right resting upon the left.

(3) The 'teaching' attitude. The right arm is half raised to bring the hand on a level with the breast, with the palm outwards, while the left hand hangs down by the side or grasps and supports the robe. As the name indicates, Gautama is engaged in preaching or teaching his disciples, as in the Isipatana Park at Benares.

In the standing figures the hands are represented as in the teaching *mudrā*. The robe is more frequently drawn over both shoulders, and falls to the ground, covering the entire body. The feet are held close together. A rare variety of the upright pose represents the Buddha moving forward, the right foot raised and slightly advanced beyond the other.

The 'lying' or 'recumbent' attitude represents the Buddha at the moment of death, when he passed into *parinirvāṇa*. The figure lies at full length on the right side, the right hand supporting the head, the left arm and hand extended and resting upon the body. The face, turned towards the spectator, retains its thoughtful and placid aspect. The attitude and features convey no impression of old age, although, according to the tradition, Gautama had reached the age of fourscore years at death.

The earliest figures of the Buddha that have been preserved are from the North-West of India and the border-land of Afghānistān, the ancient Gandhāra. They all exhibit the same Grecian type of features and pose, a type which changes slowly, approximating more and more to a Hindu ideal in the later centuries and more particularly in the southern school. Many of the later statues and images are rough and rude in comparison with the delicacy and refinement of the early Indian examples. The difference, however, consists entirely in the execution. No innovation was made upon the normal and established Buddha type, and no departure therefrom was admissible. The general lines of the workmanship of the figure were determined by precedent, and it was only within narrow limits that the genius or capacity of the artist found opportunity to express itself. It is unlikely that any tradition of the real appearance of

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[1] *Jāt.* i. 64.

[2] Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, p. 105.

[3] There are 112 *lakṣaṇas*, of which 32 are primary and 80 smaller or secondary. They are enumerated, *e.g.*, in Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 161 f.

[4] *Jāt.* i. 74.

Gautama Buddha himself should have been preserved. The presentation of face and figure is entirely ideal, and is that of a young Indian prince of noble birth, embodying the conception of a gentle, thoughtful, deeply mystical and religious character, which tradition associates with the name of Gautama.

3. Ancient images.—The Chinese Buddhist pilgrims in their writings make reference to existing images, which were believed to be authentic and, in some instances, contemporary portraits of Gautama himself. The earliest of which mention is made by Fā-Hian was a sandal-wood image which Prasenajit, king of Kosala, had caused to be carved and placed in the Jetavana *vihāra* in Srāvastī in the seat usually occupied by the Buddha, but now vacant during his absence in the Trayastriṁśa heaven. On his return Gautama is said to have recognized the image as a faithful copy of himself. Not long after, the monastery was accidentally set on fire and consumed. The image, however, was preserved unscathed, and later was restored to its place.[1] A second and even more famous sandal-wood image about 20 ft. high is described by Hiuen Tsiang, erected by Udāyana, king of Kauśāmbī, a replica of which the Chinese monk carried with him on his return home from India. The royal city was in ruins at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, but the statue stood within an ancient *vihāra*, a stone canopy above its head, having resisted, as it was said, every attempt to remove it. This image also had been carved in the Buddha's lifetime, the work of an artist who had been transported to the Trayastriṁśa heaven that he might there observe the appearance of the Buddha and take note of the sacred marks on his body. A miraculous and bright light shone forth from it intermittently.[2] Mention is made of other images, and, in addition to sacred relics and books, Hiuen Tsiang took with him on his return a considerable number of statues of the Buddha in silver and gold as well as in sandal-wood.

4. Hīnayāna school.—With the exception of the figures of the Buddha thus stereotyped in normal and regular form there is no uniformity in the number, character, or disposition of the images worshipped in the different Buddhist countries. No general or comprehensive description which would be of universal application is practicable. It will be most convenient, therefore, to give a brief account of each of these separately, in regard to the nature and variety of the images recognized, following as far as possible the geographical order. The pantheon of the Hīnayāna is usually simpler, of a more severe and restricted character, than that of the Mahāyāna.

(1) *Ceylon.*—In Ceylon, and in the southern school generally, no representation is found of the earlier Buddhas, or of the Bodhisattvas whose images fill so large a place in northern Buddhist lands; except of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future. The images are exceedingly numerous, but the effect of the constant repetition of the same features and pose is to a certain extent monotonous. They are of all sizes, huge figures being sometimes seen carved in the living rock. The materials used are various, but for the most part the ordinary images in the temples are made of clay, overlaid with chunam highly polished, and are usually gilded and ornamented with real or imitation precious stones. The mouth and eyes are frequently painted, to render them more distinct. Stone figures are also numerous, and more rarely cast images of metal are found, copper or bronze, and also statues of ivory and wood. Formerly in all Buddhist countries and for many centuries the manufacture of the images was almost entirely in the hands of the monks, who were able to bless and consecrate their handiwork. It is now for the most part a specialized occupation or trade, and the work is done by skilled artisans. Some of the more ancient and famous idols were traditionally said to have been self-produced. The temples also contain frequently a specimen of the sacred footprint (*śrīpada*), to which adoration is paid. Of these footprints the most renowned is the hollow upon Adam's Peak, held sacred by Hindus, Muhammadans, and Christians alike, as well as by Buddhists, and explained in accordance with the creed of each as the footprint of Gautama or Siva, of Adam, Muhammad, or St. Thomas.

By the side of the principal image in the *vihāras* are frequently represented one or more of the Buddha's chief disciples, especially Moggallāna and Sāriputta, or, with the recumbent Buddha in the *nirvāṇa* scene, Ānanda. They stand on either side or at his feet in attitudes of worship. Figures also of the ancient Hindu deities, especially Brahmā and Viṣṇu, are found, usually in buildings (*dewāla*) attached to the *vihāra* itself, and representations of demons, etc., to which homage is paid by Buddhists equally with Hindus. The members of the stricter sect of the Rāmanya, however, refuse to associate themselves with this worship of strange gods, which they denounce as heretical. In an ancient temple, *e.g.*, at Kelani near Colombo, said to be on the site of an older shrine built at the close of the 4th cent. B.C., there is a recumbent figure of the Buddha, 36 ft. long, by the side of which stand huge images of the guardian deity of the temple, and of the Hindu gods Viṣṇu, Siva, and Ganeśa. In the temple of the sacred Tooth also, at Kandy, either side of the central shrine is occupied by images. In the country *vihāras*, where the worshippers are few in number and poor, the images often suffer from neglect, and little heed is paid to them even by the priests or monks themselves. Not far from the same temple at Kandy there is an ancient shrine of Viṣṇu with a silver-gilt image about 6 in. high, wearing a rosary. Shrines also are found in Ceylon dedicated to Skanda, the brother of Ganeśa. The only prominent Hindu divinity, indeed, whom the Buddhists appear never to have adopted is Kṛṣṇa.

The sites of ruined cities which have been excavated in Ceylon have supplied many ancient and remarkable figures. It is evident that in former times the concrete representations of the Buddha for purposes of worship were no less numerous than at the present day.

One of the oldest is a dark granite statue of the seated Buddha, 8 ft. high, carved from a single block of stone, believed to be more than 1000 years old, now deserted and lonely in the jungle not far from Anurādhapura. In the rock temple at Polannaruwa also are three colossal images, that of the Buddha lying at full length, 46 ft. long, the head resting on the right hand on a bolster, and the details of the robe carefully and skilfully rendered; the erect image by the Buddha's side on a pedestal ornamented with lotus leaves, 23 ft. high, probably represents Ānanda, the favourite disciple. Within the temple is a large seated Buddha, carved in high relief out of the rock; and at the further end behind the altar a similar figure, 15 ft. high, on a pedestal with lion ornamentation, in front of a carved and decorated screen. At Anurādhapura itself all the great temples and monasteries were possessed of countless images; and numbers of monolithic statues still exist there, prostrate on the ground, or standing amidst the ruins. On the circular platform of the Ruanweli *dāgaba*, for example, together with royal statues are three of the standing Buddha more than life-size. The larger statue by their side, 10 ft. high, represents king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, of whom the Ceylonese chronicles report that he caused a golden image of the Buddha to be made, and set up near the sacred Bo-tree of Anurādhapura.

(2) *Burma.*—In the monasteries of Burma the principal hall or room set apart for the reception of the images contains usually a large central figure of the Buddha against the further end,

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[1] *Fā-Hien's Travels in India and Ceylon*, tr. J. Legge, Oxford, 1886, ch. xx.; cf. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1906, ii. 4.

[2] Beal, *op. cit.* i. 235 f.

while others stand on either side or are ranged round the walls. Smaller figures are placed on brackets or shelves. The material employed is brick, wood, or alabaster, or, for more costly images, brass, silver, or gold. The process of casting an image is accompanied by religious ceremonies, and the occasion is made a public holiday. Formerly, and perhaps in some places at the present day also, offerings of silver, gold, and jewellery were thrown into the melting-pot by pious donors—to whom much merit accrued, as their gifts were thus incorporated in the body of the image. Similar offerings are said to have been made at the casting of bells for the temples.

The same three positions of the figure are found as in Ceylon, but the seated Buddha is more usually in the 'witness' attitude. Kneeling in front of the figure of the Buddha, the two disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, are frequently represented, worshipping or listening to his words. Gautama's three predecessors also, the earlier Buddhas of the present age, Kakusandha, Koṇāgamana, and Kassapa, sometimes find a place, and Dīpaṅkara, the first of the 24 great Buddhas, his forerunners. In the larger temples and *vihāras* other buildings beside the central hall are filled with images. Great and important temples like the Shwe Dagon at Rangoon contain numerous shrines with many hundreds of images of different sizes. These are, for the most part, the gifts of Buddhist laymen, presented as an act of merit. It is prescribed also that the offering of the images must be made in a definite order, first the standing figure, then the seated, and, finally, in the recumbent attitude. In the courtyard of the temple will often be found, as in Ceylon, a delineation of the sacred footprint. The steps that lead up to the temple or shrine are ornamented with fantastic figures, in plaster or stone, of lions, dragons, and other monsters.

Offerings of incense, flowers, and plain or coloured candles are made before the images, with prostrations and prayers. The more enlightened Burmese declare that worship is not thereby intended, but that the image serves as a reminder of Gautama himself, and excites in their minds similar feelings of reverence and devotion. It is only in the temples of Lower Burma that considerable numbers of images are seen. In Upper Burma few except the more important images are to be found. Of these the standing figures in the attitude of preaching are often of great size, some of the Pagan images reaching a height of over 40 feet. A Buddha in marble at the foot of the hill at Mandalay is 25 ft. high; and around the dimly-lit building in which it stands are smaller shrines, the gilt images in which direct their gaze towards the central figure. In Burma, as elsewhere, the recumbent attitude is the least common; but very large figures exist, usually constructed of brick, as at Pegu and Ava. These are often surrounded by the figures of the disciples, or of mythological rulers of the heavens or other deities.

It is comparatively seldom that the images are found in the open air. There exists, however, a large seated statue at the ancient capital, Amarapura, which is judged to be 90 ft. high; smaller figures are grouped around. At a few riverside places on the Irawadi, rock-cut statues may be seen, facing Ava, and a few miles below Prome, some of which are of great size. Opposite Pegu and elsewhere, with the aid of bricks, the rocks themselves have been moulded and shaped into the form of enormous Buddhas. These, for the most part, are now crumbling to ruins, and are overgrown with jungle.

(3) *Siam.*—The images and worship of Siam are entirely similar to those of Ceylon and Burma, and further description of them is therefore unnecessary.

5. **Mahāyāna school.**—In the pantheon and imagery of the Mahāyāna school new developments of the most rich and ornate character have been introduced. In some forms of the faith and doctrine, Gautama Buddha himself has ceased to occupy the central and most important position; and the sculpture and temple furniture reflect the views of the worshipper, who addresses his prayers to one or another favourite divinity, and in practice ignores the personality and claims of the founder of the faith. In the result, the Buddhism of some of the northern countries has become endowed with perhaps the largest pantheon in the world. The imagery and cult, however, vary in the different lands, in each of which the introduced worship of the Buddha has blended with the native religion, and more or less completely taken over the native gods to form a composite whole, the characteristic features of which are clearly seen in the figures and images with which the temples are provided. The restrained and ascetic type of the image of the Buddha himself is preserved unchanged. The artistic sense of the worshipper, however, finds its opportunity in the variety and lavish adornment of the figures of the deities that surround him, whose popularity and influence exceed that of Gautama himself to a very marked extent. The source and home of all these developments and varied types, as of the legends and traditions on which they were based, was Northern India, and especially the districts of the North-West and the border-land of Afghānistān, where the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra was responsible for more or less rigidly determining the conventional forms under which the principal gods should be delineated. These chief types or classes of images, therefore, which are more or less common to all the northern Buddhist countries, it is possible summarily to describe. In greater detail account may then be given of the features in which the imagery and worship of the different countries vary from that which may be supposed to be the original form, the modifications which have been introduced, or the actual additions that have been made to the accepted figures of the pantheon.

Reference has already been made to the adoption by Buddhism of the principal Hindu gods. These retain their distinctive attributes and appearance in the carved representations and idols. The most ancient images found in India are Buddhist. In the older Buddhist sculpture, however, at Sāñchī, and on the Bhārhut *stūpa* of the 2nd cent. B.C., the Buddha himself is not depicted, although the figures of other gods appear. Only in the early centuries of our era do images of the Buddha become common. Their existence at a previous date cannot, however, be disproved; and it would appear most probable that as the attractive centre of worship the Buddha early dispossessed the ancient Hindu deities. Later carvings at Ellora and elsewhere exhibit numerous figures of the Buddha, among which are some of great size. Occasionally a triad is found, in which Brahmā and Indra are represented on either side of the Buddha, as if guarding him, or in an attitude of reverence. The lesser deities or semi-deities also of Hinduism, as the Nāgas, etc., sometimes find a place.

The sacred triad of the Buddha, the Law or Religion, and the Order (*Buddha*, *Dharma*, *Saṅgha*) found early and frequent representation, and, although Gautama usually occupied the central place, the relative order seems not to have been invariable. It has been suggested indeed, perhaps without adequate justification, that in this triad Buddhist thought first gave concrete expression to its feeling of reverence to the person of its founder, and the personified doctrine and order in which he embodied and perpetuated his teaching. Ancient examples have been found at Bodh Gayā and elsewhere.

The Saṅgha is usually depicted as a male figure with the right hand resting on the knee, and holding a lotus flower in the left. The images of the Dharma have four arms and hands, two of which are raised and touch one another in front of the breast; the others grasp respectively a book or lotus and a rosary of beads (*mālā*). In Nepāl and Sikhim the Dharma is always represented as female, the personification of *prajñā pāramitā*, 'supreme wisdom.' The worship of Dharma still maintains itself in India (in Orissa and Western Bengal), a solitary survival and witness to a faith once so wide-spread and influential throughout the peninsula. In some of these districts images of the Dharma are common, before which animal and other sacrifices are offered by the lower classes of the people, and in parts of Bengal a Dharma temple stands in nearly every village. A figure of Dharma, recently discovered at Badsai in Orissa, exhibits an arrangement of the arms and hands which seems designed to be a compromise between that described above and one or more of the *mudrās* of the Buddha. Two of the hands are laid on the knees, the right pointing downwards; the others, uplifted to the level of the head, bear a rosary and an open lotus. At a village in the Bānkurā District an actual image of the Buddha is, or was, worshipped as Dharma.

In the elaborate and extensive pantheon of the Mahāyāna the favourite figures are those of the Bodhisattvas (*q.v.*) and the Dhyānibuddhas, none of which find a place in the south. The general type is that of a young Indian prince, with turban or crown on the head; and the richness of the dress and ornamentation forms a striking contrast to the severe plainness of the monk's robe in the statues of the Buddha. The principal Bodhisattvas appear in the ancient Indian sculptures; and in the Buddhist caves at Ellora Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi are represented in attendance on Gautama. These two with Mañjuśri form a kind of second Buddhist triad, the members of which are sufficiently distinct to be identified for the most part, without much difficulty, in the sculptures. For others a general character or type is made to serve, and it is often impossible to determine which particular Bodhisattva is intended. It is worthy of note also that, in scenes before the attainment of *bodhi*, the figure of Gautama where it appears is always depicted after the Bodhisattva model, not according to that of the Buddha.

The most usual emblem in the hands of the Bodhisattva images is the full-blown lotus, or sometimes a bunch of blossoms. The presence of the flower is due not only to the fact that it is the emblem of purity, but also to its constant association with offerings and worship. Figures of Padmapāṇi or Avalokiteśvara are the most common, and are frequently mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, who state that the images were found on the summits of the high hills.

The portraiture of this Bodhisattva seems to have been borrowed from that of the ancient Indian deities, especially Viṣṇu. He appears usually with several faces, with two or four pairs of arms, and bears on the front of his crown a small figure of a Buddha. Two of the hands are raised in the attitude of adoration; the others carry emblems, as the lotus or the *chakra*. Figures of Avalokiteśvara, therefore, resemble those of Viṣṇu, but may readily be distinguished by the position of the hands, which in the case of the Hindu god are never in the attitude of worship. A special form or representation of Avalokiteśvara is known as the eleven-headed; this is especially common in Tibet and Nepāl, but is met with already in early Buddhist cave temples. The heads are arranged in pyramidal form, in three tiers of three each, with two single heads one above the other at the top. The uppermost head represents Amitābha, the spiritual father of the Bodhisattva. The rows or tiers of heads sometimes exhibit each its appropriate colouring in the order upwards of white, yellow, red, blue, red. Other figures have a larger number of arms, and the god is then described as 'thousand-handed.'

Vajrapāṇi carries a *chaitya* or *dāgaba* on his forehead, and a *vajra* in his hand. Mañjuśri is represented as a seated figure, holding a sword and a book, the latter either grasped directly by the hand or supported on a flower which the hand holds. The two other principal Bodhisattvas have each their appropriate emblem or emblems by which they may be recognized. Mahāsthānaprāpta has the *vajra* and *chaitya*, like Vajrapāṇi; Viśvapāṇi carries a sword resting on a flower.

Of the Dhyānibuddhas only Amitābha, judging from the frequency of the representations, established a claim to popular approval and worship. He is depicted seated in the 'meditative' pose, the hands laid one upon another, in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. According to a well-known form of the legend, he was born from a lotus flower, and is sometimes so represented in the sculpture.

Kāśyapa, the Buddha who immediately preceded Gautama, may be recognized by his close-fitting robe, which hides the right hand in its folds at the level of the breast, while the left, resting on the knee, supports the garment.

Of the series of Buddhas besides Gautama himself, only Maitreya, the Buddha of the future, finds a place in all the schools, and is worshipped by all Buddhists. His image was apparently common in North India at the time of the visits of the Chinese pilgrims. Both Fā-Hian and Hiuen Tsiang report having seen a wooden image of Maitreya, 80 cubits in height, from which a bright light proceeded. A second figure of sandal-wood was possessed of the same light-giving virtue; a third at Bodh Gayā was made entirely of silver. Since he has not yet become a Buddha, Maitreya is not usually represented in the conventional Buddha pose, but appears in the dress and equipments of a young Indian prince. Both standing and seated figures are found, the former being more common; in the latter case, the feet are not crossed, but the legs hang down, as though seated in Western fashion on a chair. In standing figures the robe is often drawn up, to leave the left leg bare. His emblems are the water-flask and rosary, both of which are sometimes depicted resting upon lotus blossoms, which the hands hold. The latter usually assume the attitude known as the *dharmachakramudrā*, in which the hands are raised to the breast with the fingers touching. The hair is abundant, and often curls. His image is also found in the conventional Buddha form; but it retains in all cases the characteristic position of the hands.

(1) *Tibet.*—A marked feature of the imagery and worship of the Lāmaistic type of Buddhism is the prominent place assigned to deities of Hindu origin, and to gods and demons derived from the native mythology. 'The pantheon is perhaps the largest in the world. It is peopled by a bizarre crowd of aboriginal gods and hydra-headed demons, who are almost jostled off the stage by their still more numerous Buddhist rivals and counterfeits.'[1] The number of images and statues is correspondingly great; and these are not confined, as for the most part in other Buddhist lands, to the temples, but are found everywhere in the open air and in private houses; and in the form of charms, talismans, etc., they are carried on the person. Local and tutelary divinities are also very numerous; and a place is given to deified saints, to present and past incarnations of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, and to mythological conceptions of every kind, the offspring of an unrestrained fancy and speculation.

The largest images are usually those of Maitreya, the Buddha of the future. The material employed is clay moulded into shape and painted or gilded. Wooden images are not common, and, except in the rock-cut figures and bas-reliefs, stone is rare. Others are of metal, ordinarily copper or, less frequently, bronze. The more costly are gilded, and often inlaid with real or imitation precious stones. In the temples and halls of the monasteries (*lha klang*, 'hall of the gods'), the arrangement of the images is the same as is usually found in other Buddhist countries, but no uniform rule is observed. The image of Gautama is placed in the centre behind the great altar, and on either side are the figures of Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara. The latter is usually present, as would naturally be expected, seeing he is incarnate in the Dalai Lāma; but Amitābha not seldom takes the place of Gautama, and instead of Maitreya there stands the founder of the sect to which the monastery belongs. The triad of the 'three holy ones'—Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha—is said to be rare.

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[1] L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 325.

Waddell apparently does not cite a single instance; in comparison with other countries, therefore, it is little if at all known or held in regard.

The normal attitude and pose of the Buddha images are determined, as elsewhere, by convention and precedent. The seated 'witness' attitude is the most common, few figures are represented standing, and the recumbent position is seldom found. The Buddha is usually seated upon a lotus, and wears the *uṣṇīṣa*; behind and overshadowing him is the sacred *pīpal* tree, beneath the shade of which Gautama attained supreme wisdom. Accompanying the larger figures the two disciples frequently appear, Śāriputra on the right of the Buddha, and Maudgalyāyana on his left.

The same general type was employed to represent the earlier Buddhas, the predecessors of Gautama. The more distant and mythical of these were not as a rule depicted, except Dīpaṅkara, whose image is often found, with small holes or sockets in which lighted lamps are placed at the festivals. Of the more recent Buddhas a frequent arrangement is in groups of seven or five. The former consists of Gautama together with his six immediate predecessors; the latter, of the three latest Buddhas, Krakuchchhanda, Kanakamuni, and Kāśyapa, with Gautama himself and Maitreya. The five corresponding celestial Buddhas, or Jinas, are depicted in general in the same attitude, but they never carry a begging-bowl such as is often seen in the figure of the earthly Buddha. Each, moreover, has his appropriate *mudrā*, or pose of the hands, and a different colour. Amitābha is the only one of the five who receives a popular worship, as is attested by the frequency with which his image meets the eye. He is seated in the 'meditative' attitude, without begging-bowl, and is coloured red. Healing or medical Buddhas so-called are also present and are held in high honour, being resorted to in times of sickness; their pictures or images are believed to be possessed of magical healing virtue. Images of these Buddhas, however, are not common in Tibetan temples. A superior or primeval Buddha is also worshipped. He is represented seated in the 'meditative' attitude, as Amitābha, but with the body of a blue colour, and often unrobed.

The most distinctive feature, however, of the Mahāyāna, or Northern, school of Buddhism in art and sculpture, as in doctrine and cosmology, was associated with the Bodhisattvas. In Tibet their images are to be found everywhere, and their cult far surpasses in popularity that of the Buddha himself. The figure of Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva who becomes incarnate in the Dalai Lāma, is most frequently encountered; but the others—Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi, and especially Maitreya—are to be seen in very considerable numbers. The original type is that of the youthful Indian prince as on the Gandhāra sculptures, in rich embroidered robes, crowned and wearing earrings, and carrying in the hands distinctive emblems. The typical form, however, has been modified and transformed almost beyond recognition under the influence on the one hand of the ancient Indian deities, and on the other of the native gods, tutelary divinities, demons, and others, of the early religion of Tibet. The result is that the pictures and images are presented under various 'aspects,' which are distinguished not only by appearance and mien, but usually also by colouring.

The mild or Indian type is coloured white or yellow, and a halo surrounds the head, and not infrequently the entire body. A red or black shade is characteristic of the fiercer forms, designed to excite terror and remorse. These last forms belong more especially to the Tāntrik type of Buddhism, which has close affinities with the Śāktism of the Hindu faith. The figures are both male and female, the latter differing only in the absence of the beard and by the prominent breasts. The head is large, with a third eye in the centre of the forehead, and the whole expression is uncouth and terrifying. They stand or are seated upon a 'vehicle,' in the form of some animal. In other instances they are represented trampling upon the bodies of their victims, brandishing weapons, and wearing necklaces of skulls.

Mañjuśrī, as the personification of wisdom, carries a book and sword. With the latter he dispels the clouds of ignorance. Almost alone of the Bodhisattvas he has no female counterpart. He is usually represented seated in the 'mild' aspect.

Vajrapāṇi bears a *vajra* or bolt in his right hand, and a bell or other emblem in the left. His aspect is fierce, and his image is correspondingly coloured dark blue or black.

Maitreya's figure usually appears seated in the 'teaching' attitude with the legs hanging down. Colossal figures of this Bodhisattva are to be seen, carved in the rock.

Avalokiteśvara is said to have twenty-two forms. In all he is represented with features or members beyond those appropriate to ordinary men. The eleven-headed figure is the most usual, but a type almost as commonly depicted is four-handed, with the ornaments and dress of a prince. Two of the hands carry respectively a lotus and a rosary; the others are joined in the attitude of worship. As Vajrapāṇi has borrowed the manner and weapons of Indra, so the figure of Avalokiteśvara is modelled on that of Brahmā.

In Tibetan Buddhism not only Avalokiteśvara but the other Bodhisattvas also frequently bear on the head a small figure of one or other of the Dhyāni-buddhas, who is the spiritual father of the Bodhisattva represented. Exceptionally, however, Maitreya is found with the figure of his predecessor Gautama. Instead of the actual figure the symbol or emblem alone of the Jina sometimes appears, placed on the head or seated among the locks of the Bodhisattva's hair.

Moreover, each of the female powers who are worshipped has its characteristic figure or delineation, and appears under a 'mild' or 'fierce' type. The most common and popular is Tārā, wife or consort of Avalokiteśvara, who corresponds to the Chinese Kwanyin. Her forms are 'green' and 'white' respectively; and the two foreign wives of king Sron Tsan Gampo, who introduced Buddhism into Tibet in the 7th cent., are believed to have been incarnations of Tārā, the Chinese princess of the white form, the Nepalese of the green. The latter is depicted as an Indian lady seated, with a lotus in her hand and the left leg pendent; the face is green. The 'white' form of Tārā, with a white face, is seven-eyed, the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet being each provided with an eye, while another is placed in the centre of the forehead; her worship is said to be confined mainly to the Mongol peoples. Like the Mahāmātṛis of India, the number of Tārās was multiplied almost indefinitely.

Marīchī, the queen of heaven, is represented with three faces and eight hands, carrying weapons. She is seated on a lotus throne, drawn by swine, and one of her faces is that of a sow. The abbess of the Samding monastery near Lhasa, who bears a high character for sanctity, is an incarnation of a sow-goddess who is perhaps to be identified with Marīchī. At Lhasa there are shrines of Kālī, where the figure of the goddess is black, ornamented with skulls, masks, etc., and others of a mild type of handsome aspect, wearing robes of silk and adorned with pearls and precious stones.

The four Guardians of the four quarters appear frequently in the temples. Yama also, the god of the under world, has numerous shrines. His consort, Lhamo, is the tutelary divinity of Lhasa. The images of local and tutelary deities are to be found everywhere; and the demoniacal powers of evil are not less numerously represented. Deified saints and the founders and patrons of local monasteries obtain considerable worship, and are frequently represented with unnatural features or members in excess of the normal, to emphasize their superhuman character. Of these the Dalai Lāma is the most popular. Padma Sambhava also, the founder of Lāmaism, takes a high place.

Of the disciples of Gautama Buddha, besides Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, a group of sixteen is commonly found. These are the early *arhats*, or saints; and the same group reappears in the other countries of Mahāyāna Buddhism, enlarged to eighteen in China, and there known as the Lohan.

Few of the images are of skilful or attractive workmanship. In the more important monasteries at Lhasa and elsewhere may be seen statues of Buddha or of other deities, of much value, either from the material employed or the costly precious stones and ornaments with which they are adorned. In the private chapel of the Dalai Lāma at the Potala palace in Lhasa there stands an image of Avalokiteśvara of solid gold. The great temple in the same city contains, among many other images, a celebrated gilt figure of Gautama, said to have been brought from Peking by the Chinese wife of Sron Tsan Gampo. Another representation is that of Gautama as a young prince, crowned and robed, at the time when he left his home. The workmanship of the latter figure is said to be poor and inartistic, but the crown and shrine are thickly set with precious stones. In a third temple in the same city, the 'Temple of Medicine,' is a renowned figure of the 'healing' Buddha, with a bowl of blue lapis-lazuli stone, surrounded by other statues, which are supposed to represent physicians whose skill and fame have won for them deification after death. Cf. IMAGES AND IDOLS (Tibetan).

(2) *China*.—The Buddhist images of China are similar in character, but not so numerous as those of Tibet, and they are almost entirely confined to the monasteries and temples.[1] In addition to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, tutelary deities and demoniacal powers, together with patriarchs and saints of olden time who have been raised to the position of gods and receive homage, occupy a large place. In the monasteries there are usually two halls set apart for the service of the gods. A central and more important hall contains the effigies of the Buddhas, with their disciples, and of the Bodhisattvas, placed at the further end of the hall and ranged round the sides. Large monasteries have, in addition, more than one entrance hall, where the figures of the guardian spirits stand, and of the protecting genii of the place, the images of founders or patrons, and of the native popular gods adopted by Buddhism into its pantheon.

Of the Buddhas, Gautama is the chief.

His image is most frequently found in the 'meditative' posture, seated on a lotus, with *ūrṇā*, and pendent ears. The robe is usually drawn over both shoulders so that the arms also are covered, the neck and chest being exposed. Frequently a halo surrounds the head, or an ornamental screen behind the image represents the leaf of the sacred Bo-tree, and serves the purpose of a bright and gilded background. Two standing postures are not uncommon: the one as a child, with the arms extended and pointing upwards and downwards, in reference probably to the shout of victory and conquest uttered immediately after birth; the other as an ascetic, with begging bowl, rough and unkempt, in ragged monastic dress. Recumbent figures are rare. They are represented fully clothed, lying in the usual attitude upon the right side, sometimes even upon an ordinary Chinese bed.

Of the celestial Buddhas, Amitābha (in Chinese, *O-mi-to-fo*) is the most reverenced and popular. The normal Buddha type of figure is adopted for all, but each has his characteristic *mudrā*. Amitābha is usually depicted in a standing position, with long arms hanging at his sides. Among the Buddhas of the past, Dīpankara alone is generally recognized. His image is often found with the niches and lamps. The number of these last varies; but usually there are 108, a number said to correspond to that of the sacred books.

With the exception of Gautama himself, certain of the Bodhisattvas are more widely reverenced and receive more constant worship than the Buddhas. The image of Kwanyin, the 'goddess of mercy,' the female form of Avalokiteśvara, is universally honoured. There is evidence that in the early centuries this Bodhisattva was worshipped in his proper male form; and the circumstances under which the transition to a female deity took place are altogether obscure. There seems to be no definite or accepted type for the figure of Kwanyin. The goddess is represented under very varied forms. Universally, however, she is beloved, and perpetual offerings are brought to her shrine. Of the other well-known Bodhisattvas of Indian origin, Mañjuśrī (Chin. *Wen-shu*) and Samantabhadra (*Pu-hsien*) are perhaps the most widely known and most frequently delineated in painting and sculpture. Each is depicted riding upon his 'vehicle,' Wen-shu on a lion, Pu-hsien on an elephant. They often appear as members of a triad in which Kwanyin takes the middle place. A frequent triad also is that of the 'three holy ones of the western region,' *i.e.* the paradise of Amitābha. In this triad Amitābha himself is in the centre, Kwanyin on his left in the place of honour, and the Bodhisattva Mahāsthānaprāpta (Chin. *To-shih-chī*) on the right. The Chinese Yama, *Ti-tsang*, the ruler of Hades, with his twelve subordinates, who execute punishment and torture upon the wicked, is a familiar effigy in the idol temples and halls.

An altogether strange and anomalous figure is that of the Bodhisattva Maitreya (*Mi-le-fo*), the Buddha of the future age. He does not occupy so prominent a position as in Tibet and elsewhere, and seems to have become identified with a native genius or tutelary deity.

He is usually represented in a crouching attitude, the robe thrown back so as to expose the breast, with long pendent ears and shaven head, and the left leg drawn up in front of the body. In the right hand is a lotus flower or a rosary, in the left a purse or bag, described as containing the 'five lucky gifts.' The expression of the face is lively and even merry, and the whole figure is reminiscent of a comfortable, well-living friar of the Middle Ages.

Other tutelary deities are the four Guardians of the four quarters, whose images stand in a defensive or protecting attitude on either side of the entrance to the temple or hall of the monastery.

Their figures are usually of more than life-size, and each has his own appropriate colour, and emblem or device which he carries in his hand. The Guardian of the North (*To-wen*) is black, and bears a snake and a pearl; the Guardian of the East (*Chih-kwo*) is blue, with an instrument of music; the Guardian of the South (*Tseng-chang*) is red, with an umbrella; the Guardian of the West (*Kwang-mu*) is white, and holds in his hand a sword. In the same hall, in addition to the Guardians, two figures are generally placed in the centre, facing in opposite directions, towards and away from the entrance. Moreover, a special deity presides over the culinary department, and his figure is said to be found in the kitchens of most monasteries. The well-known and popular god of war, Kwangti, is a deified hero of early Chinese history; and the images of other gods, saints, or demons, of native origin or derived from Indian sources, are very numerous, and are more or less closely associated with Buddhist worship.

Of the disciples of the Buddha, the most commonly figured are Ānanda and Kāśyapa. They stand or kneel on either side of Gautama, in reverential attitude, with upraised hands, Ānanda having the appearance and mien of a young man. The group of the 18 Lohan frequently finds a place in the temples, where their statues are ranged along the sides of the buildings. In the older monasteries the original group of 16 disciples is sometimes found, as elsewhere in the Northern school. Comparatively rarely a larger group of 500 Lohan is met with, consisting for the most part of deified emperors or other notable heroes and men of former times. Of deified saints, the most prominent and popular are the six patriarchs of Chinese Buddhism. The first of these, Bodhidharma (*Ta-mo*), who established the patriarchate in China in the 6th cent., is universally known and honoured. His appearance lends support to the tradition of his foreign origin, the face being bearded and possessing none of the characteristic Chinese features. His image usually stands near the principal altar, at the further end of the great hall.

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[1] The alienation within recent years of many Buddhist temples and halls to educational purposes, and the neglect and destruction of the images, make it difficult to determine how far the changed conditions of the country have affected either the number or the cult of the idols.

In the principal hall a trio of images is often found behind the principal altar. The members of the trio vary. Frequently Gautama is accompanied by Amitābha and Yo-shih-fo, the Buddha of healing; sometimes by other Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. Maitreya seems never to be represented. If the figure of Gautama is unaccompanied by others of his own rank, then the two disciples, Ānanda and Kāśyapa, stand before him. In front of the altar are smaller images of Bodhisattvas and others. The 18 Lohan, occasionally with other gods, occupy the sides of the room.

The material employed for the images is generally wood or clay. Bronze images are rare and costly; a few are of marble. They are painted or gilded, and a curious ceremony is observed, by virtue of which the deity is supposed to take possession of his habitation. Through a hole at the back of the statue a living animal—a frog, snake, or other small creature—is introduced into the hollow interior. The hole is then sealed up, and the soul of the animal passes into and gives life to the image of the god. The last act is the painting in of the eye, that the deity may have complete vision. This is known as *kai-kwang*, the giving of light.

(3) *Korea.*—There is little that is distinctive of the temple images and statues of Korea as compared with China or Japan. The most remarkable feature is the presence of pictures on the walls of the rooms of the monastery. These are never so found in the two countries named, with which the Buddhist thought and practice of Korea have otherwise been in the closest relation. The images themselves are few in number, and with little or no decoration; they are usually also of comparatively small size, gilded as in China, the material used being wood or clay. The five chief Buddhas are represented, and the corresponding Bodhisattvas, Kwanyin taking the place of Avalokiteśvara. Amitābha maintains a popular worship, which rivals, if it does not surpass, that of Gautama himself. Of the celestial beings and deified saints, Indra and other gods recur, and the 16 Lohan; the larger group also of the 500 disciples is met with in some of the temples. Tutelary deities are common, and personifications of the forces of nature. The mountain god, whose emblem is the tiger, and the 'kitchen' god are well known, and are worshipped with offerings and prayer. Perhaps the most feared divinity, whose wrath is most to be deprecated, and whose image is most frequently set up, is Ti-tsang, the ruler of the lower world. There are traces also of a solar cult, adopted by Buddhism, in the reverence paid to the sun and moon, the Great Bear, etc. For the last a special hall or chapel is sometimes provided within the monastery.

(4) *Japan.*—The most striking feature of Japanese Buddhism is the extent to which it has asserted its independence of Chinese influence. The independence of thought is reflected in its images and worship. There is similarity in the external form, in the architecture and arrangement of the temples, and the general disposition of the figures of the deities therein, but in the spirit and in detail the differences are very considerable. In the principal hall of the temple the chief images are placed, as in China, on the altar at the further end. In front a partition is sometimes erected, and the remainder of the hall remains free and unoccupied for the purpose of worship. There is usually also a chapel dedicated to the founder of the sect to whom the temple or monastery belongs, and separate rooms or chapels with the image of Kwannon, Amida, or other favourite divinity. In addition to deities of Hindu and Buddhist origin, Japanese Buddhism has adopted Shinto and Chinese gods also into its pantheon.

Of deities that are definitely Buddhist in origin the five Buddhas and Dhyānibuddhas, and the five corresponding Bodhisattvas, are naturally the most prominent. The Ādibuddha is not represented. Of the Dhyānibuddhas Amitābha (Amida), the compassionate ruler of the western paradise, is the favourite, and his figure is to be met with everywhere, especially in the temples and monasteries of the Pure Land Sect. His effigy is represented in the usual Buddha attitude, cross-legged, with the hands lying in the lap. The *ūrṇā* on the forehead is said to be indicative of wisdom. At Kamakura the great bronze *daibutsu* represents Amida. The figure is nearly 50 ft. high, and is hollow, with a small shrine within to which access is obtained by means of a ladder. The larger *daibutsu* in the Todaiji temple enclosure at Nara is said to represent Vairochana (Jap. *Dainichi*). The image has suffered from successive fires, and has been repaired. It is 53 ft. high, and is seated on a lotus throne, with the right hand upraised to the level of the shoulder, the left resting on the knee. The whole is believed to have been originally gilded. Behind is a wooden halo richly gilt, and on either side of the principal figure and at the back are images of Bodhisattvas and other deities, of more than life-size.

In Japan as in China Avalokiteśvara has become a female deity, Kwannon, the Chinese Kwanyin, the goddess of mercy.

She is depicted under various forms, sometimes with three heads and many arms. The hands grasp objects typical of Buddhist doctrine or practice, as the wheel, a pagoda, a lotus, or an axe, etc. A begging bowl is sometimes held in the lap. The Sanjusangendo temple at Kyoto contains 33,333 images of Kwannon. A thousand larger figures, each 5 ft. high and gilded, represent the goddess in her 'thousand-handed' form. On the hands, foreheads, etc., of these there are executed smaller figures, the arrangement of which is said to be different in every instance. Besides Kwannon, the Bodhisattvas most commonly represented are Mañjuśrī (Jap. *Monju*) and Samantabhadra (*Fugen*). They often appear seated on the left and right hands respectively of the Buddha. The only other Bodhisattva who commands wide reverence and worship is Daiseishi, joint ruler with Amida and Kwannon of the western paradise. The figure of Maitreya (*Miroku*) also is sometimes seen rock-carved, of great size; but it is not found in the temples.

The temple entrance is usually guarded by the ancient Hindu deities Brahmā (*Bonten*) and Indra (*Taishaku*), who stand in threatening attitudes on the left and right sides respectively. The popular divinity *Fudo* is by some authorities identified with Śiva, but others regard him as representing Vairochana. His appearance is fierce and grim, with black face, and he bears in his hand the sword of justice. Other Indian gods are found, as Vaiśravaṇa (*Bishamon*), the god of wealth, who has become one of the seven deities of good fortune, and Gaṇeśa. The real god of wealth is Daikoku, who carries with him bales of rice. The ruler of Hades, Emma-O, is frequently depicted. He is seated with a judge's cap on his head and a staff in his hand, and is usually accompanied by attendants who bear writing materials. The name is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Yamarāja. Ti-tsang, the Chinese ruler of the world below, is represented by the Japanese *Jizo*, whose stone image is perhaps the most common and popular object of worship throughout the country. He is the patron of travellers, the guide and helper of all who are in trouble, and is represented in the attitude of a monk sitting cross-legged, with closely shaven head, holding in his hands a jewel and a staff.

Of the disciples of the Buddha, Ānanda and Kāśyapa (Jap. *Anan* and *Kasho*) are most usually found with Gautama. The 16 Lohan (Jap. *Rakan*) are often represented, and the larger group of 500, the latter sometimes in a special hall or chapel. Of the Rakan by far the most popular is *Binzuru*, the healer of disease, whose image in the forepart of the temples is frequently defaced and has its features almost obliterated by the constant rubbing to which it is subjected, the practically universal belief among the lower classes being that relief from pain may certainly be secured by rubbing in succession the corresponding part of Binzuru's image and the affected limb or other portion of their own bodies. The Chinese patriarch Bodhidharma (*Daruma*) is also present in many instances; and the founders or patrons of the various sects are deified and their images erected in the temples.

Of Shinto deities that have been adopted by Buddhism the most popular is Hachiman, the god of war, to whom many temples are dedicated. He is said to represent a deified Emperor of the 3rd or 4th century.

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IMAGES AND IDOLS (Celtic).—1. Terminology.—A specific Celtic terminology for idols is found only in Irish, Ir. *ídal*, 'idol,' being borrowed from Gr. through Lat., while Ir. *arracht* is a native term meaning 'shape, likeness, spectre, or idol.' A more common word is *lám-dia* or *lám-deo*, 'hand-god,' a small, portable idol, a kind of household god somewhat similar to the *penates* of the Romans (*ZCP* ii. [1895] 448). In Cormac's *Glossary* (tr. J. O'Donovan, ed. W. Stokes, Calcutta, 1868, p. 163), O'Donovan cites the word *tromdhe* from an old Irish glossary as meaning 'tutelary gods, *i.e.* floor-gods, or gods of protection.'

2. Gauls.—For lack of evidence to the contrary, it has been hitherto an accepted fact that the pre-Roman Gauls had no images or idols of their gods. The reasons advanced in support of this belief are that the Druids, who were pre-Celtic in origin, but who became eventually the priests of the Celts, were opposed to image-worship, which they prohibited in Gaul as early as the end of the palæolithic age (S. Reinach, 'L'Art plastique en Gaule et le druidisme,' in *RCel* xiii. [1892] 189 ff. = *Cultes, mythes, et religions*², Paris, 1908, i. 146 ff.). No direct evidence, however, has been found of the existence of such a prohibition, save that various classical authors postulated a connexion between the Pythagoreans and the Druids, and that the analogy which they saw between these doctrines was obviously hostile to anthropomorphism. More recent authorities, who refuse to accept this explanation, claim that the similarity between the two sects is to be found in the common belief in metempsychosis or the immortality of the soul. Since no evidence of the existence of a prohibition against image-worship has been found in the doctrines taught by the Druids, or in the observations of Latin and Greek historians, who would, no doubt, have been quick to notice it, it is maintained that the reason why no pre-Roman images have been discovered, while those of Gallo-Roman times have been unearthed in rather large numbers, is that the Gauls made their idols, like their houses, of wood only (J. A. MacCulloch, *Rel. of the Anc. Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 288).[1] Yet it remains to be explained why the primitive Gauls were able to carve on stone various animals, which may or may not have been objects of worship, but did not make use of the same material to represent their gods—unless one or two figures among those that have been recently discovered belong to the period antedating the invasions of the Romans.

Most authorities seem to hold that, though anthropomorphism was an accepted belief among the primitive Gauls, their gods did not figure in visible form at the rites performed in their honour because they were considered to be invisible (C. Jullian, *Hist. de Gaule*, Paris, 1908, i. 359). This was especially true of those tribes who dwelt in other countries than ancient Gaul. Only after the gods had for a long time assumed a more or less clearly defined human shape in the belief of the people did poets and artists attempt to relate their lives and deeds and give to them an individuality like that of man (Jullian, *Recherches sur la rel. gaul.*, Bordeaux, 1903, p. 48).

According to Diodorus (*Bibl.* xxii. 9), the Celtic chief Brennos, having entered a Greek temple and found there images of wood and stone, laughed loudly at the Greeks who made their gods in their own likeness. This chief was obviously not acquainted with deified images of the anthropomorphic kind; although that fact does not preclude the possibility that he as well as his soldiers worshipped the crude figures of animals painted or scratched by man in the neolithic age on the walls of grottos or on stones—a cult that persisted in most of the tribes (H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Druides et les dieux celt. à forme d'animaux*, Paris, 1906, p. 150). But in primitive times in Ireland, even these divinities were invisible. Among the many that could be mentioned, the most interesting is probably Badb, the goddess of war and murder, who only on important occasions—usually the death of a great warrior—appeared to the human eye, always in the form of a raven (J. Strachan, *Stories from the Táin*, Dublin, 1908, p. 6; W. M. Hennessy, *RCel* i. [1870–72] 34).

Anthropomorphism arose among the Celts from the cult of trees and stones, principally of those set up over the graves of the dead. The stone associated with the dead man's spirit became an image of himself, and was perhaps later on rudely fashioned in his own likeness (MacCulloch, 284). This is probably the point of departure of the neolithic idol whose artistic history has been so aptly traced by J. Déchelette (cf. 'Les Origines de l'idole neolithique,' in his *Manuel d'archéol. préhist. celt. et gallo-romaine*, Paris, 1908–10, i. 594 ff.). Lucan describes trunks of trees in a sacred wood roughly carved to represent gods—*simulacra maesta deorum* (*Phars.* iii. 412 f.), and this rude likeness became an image of the spirit or god of trees. When Cæsar states (*de Bell. Gall.* VI. xvii. 1) that there were *plurima simulacra*, especially of the god Teutates in his time, he does not mean carved images, but probably boundary stones, like those of the Greeks and Romans, or shapeless pillars that symbolized the god but did not show him. On seeing them objects of a special cult, he concluded that they were really *simulacra* of a god (MacCulloch, *op. cit.*). Some authorities even maintain that these *simulacra* were nothing else than accumulations of stones, menhirs, etc., found all over ancient Gaul (Reinach, *loc. cit.*); and Jullian maintains that there is only one statue found thus far that really belongs to the pre-Roman period—a stone inscribed with geometrical figures, swastikas, and the like (*Bull. archéol.*, 1898, pp. 339–401). If this be true, then it forms the sole exception, for not another one has been found anywhere in Gaul belonging to a period previous to the Roman epoch (G. Dottin, *Rel. des Celtes*, Paris, 1903, p. 32 f.).

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[1] St. Maurilius is said to have burned several idols at Prisciacus in Gaul (*AS*, Sept. iv. [1868] 73), and Clovis, on his conversion, burned his idols (*AS*, Oct. i. [1866] 146). St. Firminus of Amiens destroyed idols wherever he could find them (*AS*, Sept. i. [1868] 179), and St. Mello routed the fiend Seragon, who apparently dwelt in a brazen, gilded idol of Roth, near a 'fons qui Meretricum dicitur' at Rouen (*AS*, Oct. ix. [1869] 572). Whether the idols destroyed by St. Columban and St. Gall on the continent, especially in Germany, and by St. Augustine in England (*AS*, Oct. vii. [1869] 886; Mai. vi. [1866] 882), were Celtic is uncertain.

The adoration of boundary stones and pillars, or menhirs, continued until well into Christian times. In the life of St. Samson of Dol, written at the beginning of the 7th cent., there is mention of a standing stone—*simulacrum abominabile*—worshipped by the ancient Bretons (J. Mabillon, *Acta sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti*, Paris, 1668–1701, i. 177 f.; *AS*, Jul. vi. [1866] 584^b). For the purpose of stopping these heretical practices, the saint carved a cross upon this stone. The fact that many menhirs have been found in France containing this mark is an indication that this was the usual method adopted by the Church to oppose such worship (Reinach, *RA* xxi. [1893] 335 = *Cultes*, iii. 402 f.).

Later on a terrestrial abode was assigned to the gods, usually an oak-wood, for the oak and the mistletoe were especially sacred, according to the doctrines of the Druids (G. Callegari, *Il Druidismo nell' antica Gallia*, Padua, 1904, p. 58 ff.). Then, when the tribes had more fully developed the custom of apotheosizing their dead chiefs, the divine and the human were brought into still closer relations with one another, which tended to strengthen the belief in anthropomorphism. Thereafter, such gods as Teutates, Esus, Taran, and Belenos not only assumed human form, but, under the influence of other nations, were clothed and armed like the Gauls (Jullian, *Hist.* ii. 152).

The Gauls at Ephesus and Marseilles were the first to take up the practice of idol-worship, due, without doubt, to their contact with the Greeks and Romans. Justin (xliii. 5. 7) informs us that the Celto-Ligurians in the environs of Marseilles worshipped the image of Minerva. Other classical authorities state that the Galatian Celts had images of their native Jupiter and Artemis, while the conquerors who entered Rome bowed to the senators as to the gods (Strabo, XII. v. 2; Plutarch, *de Virt. Mul.* xx.; Livy, v. 41). What was the attitude of the Druids towards the spread of idolatry among the people? Reinach maintains that they discouraged it as far as they could, because they realized that the moment a man gives to his god a figure and lodges him in his home he has less need of the intervention of priests (*RCel* xiii. 189 ff. = *Cultes*, i. 146 ff.). Whatever may be our opinion of this ingenious explanation, it is possible that the Druids did not encourage the spread of this worship; for, according to Lucan (i. 452, iii. 416 f.), much of their prestige was due to the fact that they claimed to have sole knowledge of the divinity. This might lead us also to the belief that they had such a high idea of their gods that they disliked to clothe them with the human form.

While in remote parts of Gaul the statues of the gods reveal attributes approaching closely those of the early Germanic tribes (G. Grupp, *Kultur der alten Kelten und Germanen*, Munich, 1905, p. 153 ff.), the gods of those Celts who fell under the yoke of the Romans assumed at times so many of the attributes of the divinities of their conquerors that complete identification was the result.

The images of the Gallo-Roman period are usually divided into two categories. First, we have the native divinities, such as Tarvos Trigaranos, Cernunnos, Smertullos, and the tricephalous gods, the crouching gods, the horned gods, etc., all of which belong to the pre-Roman period (Jullian, ii. 155, n. 3). To this period belong also the statues of water-goddesses, of Epona, and of the Matres, usually in the form of three seated figures with baskets of fruit or flowers, or with one or more infants (MacCulloch, 289). The second category comprises those images bearing the name of a Roman god, but often with a Celtic name added thereto. Of these images that of Mercury is the most common. Finally, we must include also in this class the small figures of white clay, representing probably some kind of *ex-voto*, which have been found in large quantities (for the archæological history of these images see Déchelette, *op. cit.*).

3. **Irish.**—That the Irish were given to the worship of idols or images in pre-Christian times is obvious from the explanation of the word *hindelba* in Cormac's *Glossary*. According to this authority, the name *hindelba* was given to 'the altars or those idols from the thing which they used to make (?) on them, namely, the *delba* or images of everything which they used to worship or of the beings which they used to adore, as, for instance, the form or figure of the sun on the altar.' Again, the word *hidoss* is explained as being derived from 'the Greek εἶδος which is found in Latin, from which the word *idolum*, namely, the shapes or images [*arrachta*] of the idols [or elements] the Pagans used formerly to make.'

To these idols or images sacrifices were offered, usually for the purpose of securing abundant harvests. Whether the Druids had private idols for their own worship cannot be definitely ascertained, though some authorities affirm that they had (D. Hyde, *Literary Hist. of Ireland*^{4}, London, 1906, p. 84), this supposition being based on the evidence given in a passage of Cormac's *Glossary* which describes the incantation called *imbas forosnai*, or 'knowledge that enlightens.'

'This describes to the poet or druid,' says the glossator, 'whatsoever thing he wishes to discover, and this is the manner in which it is performed. The poet chews a bit of the raw red flesh of a pig, a dog, or a cat, and then retires with it to his own bed behind the door [or, according to Stokes, 'he puts it then on the flagstone behind the door'], where he pronounces an oration over it and offers it to his *idol gods*. He then *invokes the idols*, and if he has not received the illumination before the next day, he pronounces incantations upon his two palms, and takes his idol gods unto him [into his bed] in order that he may not be interrupted in his sleep. He then places his two hands upon his two cheeks and falls asleep. He is then watched so that he be not stirred nor interrupted by any one until everything that he seeks be revealed to him at the end of a *nomad* [*i.e.* a day] or two or three, or as long as he continues at his offering, and hence it is that this ceremony is called *imbas*, that is, the two hands upon him crosswise, that is, a hand over and a hand hither upon his cheeks. And St. Patrick prohibited this ceremony, because it is a species of *teinm laeghdha* [another kind of incantation mentioned in the *Glossary*], that is, he declared that any one who performed it should have no place in heaven or on earth' (Stokes, *loc. cit.*; Hyde, *loc. cit.* 84). It is related also in the *Book of Leinster* that Dathi, who succeeded Niall of the Nine Hostages as King of Ireland in A.D. 405, consulted the Druids on the eve of the great festival of Samhain in the seventeenth year of his reign, or A.D. 422, regarding his destiny during the next year, for he was then contemplating an invasion of the continent. Dathi and nine of his chiefs were taken to the plain of Rath Archaill, where the Druids had their idols and altars, and there the prediction was made (E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS Materials of Anc. Ir. Hist.*, Dublin, 1878, p. 284). As stated above, these passages seem to indicate that the Druids had private images at that time which they alone were permitted to consult. They show also that, whatever may have been the attitude of the Druids on the continent towards idol-worship, those in Ireland had no hesitation in accepting it and adapting it to their own ends.

As for public idols, there is sufficient evidence that they were very numerous throughout the country. To these sacrifices were offered up by the people, or rather by the Druids on behalf of the people, for the purpose of securing good weather for the crops and an abundance of cattle. St. Patrick states in his *Confession* (xviii.) that previous to his arrival in Ireland the people 'worshipped only idols and abominations' (*PL* liii. 810; N. J. D. White, 'The Latin Writings of St. Patrick,' in *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* xxv. [1905] 270, § 41). According to the *Tripartite Life*, during a certain year Patrick found no more fitting place to celebrate Easter than Mag Breg, 'in the place wherein was the chief (abode) of the idolatry and wizardry—*baili imbai cend idlachta ocus drúidechta*—of Ireland, to wit, in Tara' (W. Stokes, *Tripartite Life of Patrick*, London, 1887, p. 41). Again, when Patrick visited Oengus, the son of Natfraich, in Munster, the morning after his arrival 'all the idols were on their faces—*inna arrachta huili inna ligib*' (lit. 'in their beds'; *ib.* p. 195). Furthermore, Jocelinus, in his biography of Patrick, remarks that 'idola corruunt ad adventum S. Patricii in Momoniam' (*AS* Mart. ii. [1865] 553). That the chief purpose of Patrick's sojourn in Ireland would be the destruction of 'all the images of the idols' was, in fact, foretold by the wizards and enchanters at the court of King Laegaire, son of Niall (*ib.* pp. 32–35); and when, at the end of the *Tripartite Life*, we are told that, 'after destroying idols and images, and the knowledge of wizardry, the time of holy Patrick's death drew nigh,' the prophecies were fulfilled (*ib.* p. 259). So strong a hold had idolatry upon the people that two maidens, converted to Christianity, were persecuted and drowned by a petty king named Echaid for having refused to engage in the pagan form of worship (*ib.* p. 225).

These idols were generally very rudely carved, most of them, in fact, being mere pillar-stones (J. B. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1905, p. 74). There was, however, in the plain of Magh Slecht one great idol which apparently was of much finer workmanship. The image, ornamented with gold and silver, was called, according to the *Dinnsenchus* in the *Book of Leinster* (p. 213^b), Cromm Crúach ('Bloody Crescent'), but in the *Tripartite Life of Patrick* the name given to it is Cenn Crúaich ('Bloody Head'; Stokes, 91). This gold-covered idol, surrounded by twelve lesser ones ornamented with brass, was the special tutelary deity of certain Irish tribes, representing, in all probability, the sun-god ruling over the twelve seasons. According to the *Dinnsenchus* mentioned above, this great idol exacted a terrible tribute from its worshippers. In return for the beautiful weather they desired for their crops, they offered up to it their first-born children 'with many cries and heart-rending moans for their death, assembled about Cromm Crúach' (d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Le Cycle mythologique irlandais*, Paris, 1884, p. 107).

The Rennes MS of this poem tells us that Cromm Crúach was, before the arrival of Patrick, the *rig-idal h-Erenn*, or 'king idol of Ireland.' 'Around him [were] twelve idols made of stones: but he was of gold. Until Patrick's advent he was the god of every folk that colonised Ireland. To him they used to offer the firstlings of every issue and the chief scions of every clan. . . . And they all prostrated themselves before him, so that the tops of their foreheads and the gristle of their noses, and the caps of their knees and the ends of their elbows broke, and three-fourths of the men of Erin perished at these prostrations' (K. Meyer and A. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895–97, ii. 149 f.; for the versified form, see *ib.* p. 301 ff.). Many were the legends grouped about this idol. The *Dinnsenchus* in the *Book of Leinster* informs us that, several centuries before the Christian era, King Tigernmas and crowds of his people were destroyed in some inexplicable manner while they were worshipping it on the eve of the first of November, or Samhain Eve (P. Joyce, *Soc. Hist. of Anc. Ireland*, London, 1903, i. 275). According to the *Tripartite Life* (pp. 91–93), this idol, which was worshipped by King Laegaire and many others, was overthrown by St. Patrick, who cast his curse upon it. The ground opened up and swallowed the twelve lesser idols as far as their heads, which may be interpreted that, when the life of the Saint was written, the pagan sanctuary had so fallen into decay that only the heads of the twelve lesser idols remained above ground (J. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom* [*HL*, 1886]^2, London, 1892, p. 201).

Another famous idol in western Connaught was Cromm Dubh, or 'Black Crescent,' whose name, according to O'Curry, is still connected in Munster and Connaught with the first Sunday of August (*MS Materials*, 632). This Sunday, the anniversary of its destruction, is still called 'Cromm Dubh's Sunday' (*Domnach Cruimm Duibh*). There was also an idol called Kermand Kelstach, which, it appears, was the special tutelary god of the province of Ulster (Joyce, *loc. cit.*). Cormac's *Glossary* (p. 23) mentions the idol *Bial*, which is called elsewhere *Bél* (G. Petrie, *On the Hist. and Antiq. of Tara Hill*, London, 1839, p. 84). At the festival of *Bron-Trogin*, *i.e.* the beginning of autumn, the young of every sort of animal was assigned as an offering to this god (*RCel* xi. [1890] 443). According to another legend, 'a fire was always kindled in Bial's name at the beginning of summer, and cattle were driven between the two fires' (Stokes, *Cormac's Glossary*, p. 23).

According to the passage quoted above from Cormac's *Glossary*, St. Patrick abolished the *imbas forosnai* and the *teinm laegda*, because the performance of these incantations needed an offering of some kind to idols or demons. These probably include the *lám-dia*, or 'hand-gods,' which were small images used for divination. When Cormac mac Art refused to worship idols and was punished therefor by the Druids, it is probable that the *lám-dia* are referred to (*RCel* xii. [1891] 427; MacCulloch, 286); and, before the lady Cessair decided to make a trip to Ireland, she consulted her hand-gods to see if the omens were favourable (*ib.*). In the account of the Battle of Moytura, mention is made of a speaking sword, which had that power, because at that time 'men worshipped arms, and they were a magic safeguard' (d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Epopée celt. en Irlande*, Paris, 1892, i. 444).

Notwithstanding St. Patrick's prohibition, idol-worship in certain forms continued in many places in Ireland far down into Christian times; and traces of these rites exist even to-day in some of the more remote districts of the country.

4. Welsh.—The lives of the early Saints of Britain inveigh frequently against idolatry or image-worship, to which the British Celts were addicted (MacCulloch, 286 f.). Gildas tells us that in his time there were images 'mouldering away within and without the deserted temples, with stiff and deformed features' (*de Excid. Brit.* ii.). Like the Irish, the Welsh had also their speaking stone, called *lech-lawar*, or 'stone of speech.' Giraldus Cambrensis relates (*Hib. expug.* i. 38) that, when Henry II., king of England, landed at St. David's on his return from Ireland, a Welsh woman threw herself at his feet and made a complaint against the bishop of the diocese. Receiving no redress, she clapped her hands loudly and shouted: 'Avenge us this day, Lechlawar, avenge our race and nation on this man.' According to the same authority, this was a stone 'which was placed across the stream, dividing the cemetery of St. David's from the north side of the church, to form a bridge.' The surface of the stone, which was of beautiful marble, was worn smooth by the feet of pedestrians. Once, when a corpse was carried over it, the stone spoke, but in the effort it cracked in the middle. Giraldus also mentions (*Itin. Camb.* ii. 7) a stone in the island of Mona which always returned to the same place, no matter where it was transported.

5. Scots.—M. Martin relates that the inhabitants of the Scottish islands worshipped an image of a god called Bel, without doubt the same as the Irish god of that name (*Descrip. of the Western Islands of Scotland*^{2}, London, 1716, p. 105).

6. Bretons.—The ecclesiastical canons of Brittany mention stones, fountains, and trees as being worshipped even as late as the 10th cent. (J. Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries*, London, 1872, p. 24 f.). Processions of images were quite common in Brittany up to a recent date. St. Martin stopped one of these processions, because he considered them a form of pagan worship (Sulp. Severus, *Vita S. Martini*, xii.). These processions were forbidden by the edicts of various councils, and often, finding this method of inveighing against them to be of no avail, they Christianized them. Thus the rogation processions with the crucifix and the Madonna, as well as the pilgrimage of St. John's image, at the Midsummer festivals, were but a continuation of these ancient forms of worship. The *Groah-goard*, or 'Venus of Quinipily,' which may date back to pre-Roman times, was for many centuries an object of important rites in Brittany (D. Monnier, *Trad. pop. comparées*, Paris, 1854, p. 362).

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

JOHN LAWRENCE GERIG.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Chinese).—China is full of images. Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism have all fostered the use of them, and they are to be found in Buddhist and Taoist temples in the greatest abundance, in private houses, in boats, in streets, and almost everywhere.

The Emperor Wu Yik (1198–1194 B.C.) is credited with having made the first images or idols. The objects of worship then were heaven and earth, the spirits of mountains and streams, etc. The Emperor looked upon them as mythical; and, to show his disbelief in, and contempt for, them, he had images of clay and wood made to represent them, and ordered men to fight with them. As a result, he said that men were stronger than the gods, and it was folly to worship them.[1]

The art of sculpture and the making of images of stone do not reach back in China to the high antiquity that they attained in Egypt and some other ancient lands, though the germ was present before the Christian era, and revealed itself in sculpturing in bas-relief on the surface of stone. The earliest known specimens were executed in the 2nd cent. B.C. They display a primitive character in their composition, and convey the impression that the art was in its infancy and could not have been in existence more than one or two centuries, though the development of art in China was nearly as old as Egyptian and Chaldæan civilization.[2] The mural decorations of buildings were apparently the precursors of the isolated image which later on came out, as it were, from the stone stelæ of which it had previously formed a part, and on the surface of which it was carved. Chinese art is also greatly indebted to Buddhism in the treatment of animal and human life as we see it revealed at a later period; for it, again, developed the germ of the idea in the Chinese mind, and gave a great extension to it. It inspired the statue which hitherto had only half emerged from the stone, and, copying the examples introduced by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims on their return with the idols which they brought from India, the first Chinese statues were of Buddhist deities.

1. Buddhist.—The majestic forms of some of the gigantic images—one is 100 ft. in height—bear a certain grandeur in their mien; a serenity and calmness appears in their faces in keeping with the control which a Buddha should have over the passions. The Indian inspiration is distinctly to be seen, and for some time the Chinese were mere copyists. In the stone work of images there has been no development in an artistic sense. Arrested progress has been the type of it, whether seen in the gigantic figures of warriors that line the approaches to royal tombs or in the more common stone idol of Buddhism. Images of animals also appear, cut in stone, at these royal mausolea, and a pair of lions before temples and official and public buildings, these stone images of lions, as well as clay images of cats on the topmost part of a roof, being believed to act as charms against the malign influences.[1] Clay images placed by evilly-disposed builders and plasterers in the wall of a house are believed to exert an evil influence, since these images, it is said, are imbued with life by the infusion into them of some of the men's own life-blood.[2] 'Ghosts of idols are not unknown.'[3] Straw images are used to injure enemies in witchcraft.[4] Two miniature images of white cocks in sugar are conspicuous objects at a Chinese wedding. Bits of them are broken off and given to the newly-married couple to eat. A white cock, or a paper image of one, is carried on the coffin in a funeral procession to induce one of the souls of the deceased to enter it.[5]

Both Buddhism and Taoism have legends of images of their founders being revealed in dreams to Emperors, and the introduction of the former into China is ascribed to one of these—a dream of a golden image. As the result of the Taoist dream, a stone image of foreign material, 3 ft. in height, was found. P. L. Wieger is inclined to believe that this image, discovered in A.D. 741, was Nestorian, and not that of Lao-tse; for he says that it was a Nestorian service conducted by seven priests which was held in the palace on receiving the image, and it was the same Emperor who showed favour to that sect.[6]

In bronze-work (gilded bronze is much used for Buddhist images) copied from Buddhist sources, it was not servile copying, but judicious imitation, with freedom for the artist to carry out his own ideas in the world which he created of gods, goddesses, heroes, sages or patriarchs, ascetics, and others. The technique is such as to call forth the unstinted praise of the artist. In the image of Buddha himself the Chinese have adhered most closely and longest to the Indian models which were introduced centuries before, and which give the characteristics of Buddha as told in the sacred books (cf. IMAGES AND IDOLS [Buddhist]). The Chinese have excelled in their images of the Goddess of Mercy, some of which have been compared to the work of Donatello and Ghiberti.[7]

2. Taoist.—Viewed from an artistic standpoint, the Taoist bronze images as well as some of other materials are most interesting. Here there is a freedom from foreign influence, and a national expression shows itself. The images thus produced are not confined to one type, but much variety is seen. An animated life often reveals itself in place of the serene contemplative mood of many of the Buddhist images, which have, of course, a beauty of their own. The founder of Taoism, Lao-tse, is often represented with long beard, bushy eyebrows, and huge forehead; and the Eight Genii are also often produced. It would be impossible to particularize all the celebrated Taoist deities which are constantly to be seen. One must confine oneself to a mention of only a few of the most notable. One of the most interesting is the Star-god of Literature, who is more a Confucian god, and whose attitude is most artistic. Poised on one foot on a sea-monster's head, with outstretched arm and hand holding a pen, he recalls some of the classic statues of Mercury. Another common one is the Northern Ruler, with unbound locks, and bare

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[1] J. Macgowan, *Hist. of China*, London, 1897, p. 187; also E. Faber, *Hist. of China*, Shanghai, 1902, p. 9.

[2] E. Chavannes, *La Sculpture sur pierre en Chine*, Paris, 1893, and *Mission archéol. dans la Chine*, do. 1909; R. Petrucci, *Peintres chinois*, do., n.d., p. 80 f.; G. M. Paléologue, *L'Art chinois*, do. 1888, pp. 131–140; S. W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, London, 1904–05, pp. i–xv and ch. ii.

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[1] N. B. Dennys, *Folklore of China*, London, 1876, p. 42; H. Du Bose, *Dragon, Image, and Demon*, do. 1886, p. 343 f.

[2] Dennys, 83.

[3] *Ib.* 78.

[4] Du Bose, 339.

[5] Dennys, 16, 22.

[6] *Le Canon taoïste*, Paris, 1911, Introd. p. 19 f.

[7] Paléologue, pp. 47, 50–52; Bushell, p. 50.

feet, one placed on a tortoise, while his banner has a sombre ground on which appear the seven stars of the plough, or Charles's Wain. There are also the Ten Judges of Hades, and in their courts are images of men and women undergoing the punishments of Hell. Besides these, there are the State-gods, such as the God of War, the Patron Saint of the late Manchu dynasty, and a number of others.

3. Confucian.—Statues of Confucius came into vogue during the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–905). It may be noted here that there is not much scope in China for images or statues except for religious purposes, since the form which monuments take is not that of statues, but of ornamental arches over roads or streets in town or country. These images of Confucius, however, seem to approach nearer to our idea of a statue than any others; for the tablets to the Sage are retained as well. At one time these images were prayed to for the granting of posterity; but this was stopped. The adoration offered to him is adulatory and not supplicatory in its nature. For some time the images were of wood, but in A.D. 960 clay images were used.

In A.D. 1457 a copper statue of the Sage was placed in the Imperial Palace and saluted by ministers before admission on State business. The *literati* did not approve, and it was done away with. In A.D. 1530 the images were removed from Confucian temples.[1] There are still, however, images of Confucius and his disciples to be found here and there throughout the country. No image of the Sage is allowed in Buddhist or Taoist temples; but there are some temples styled 'Three Religion Halls,' in which Buddha, Lao-tse, and Confucius are enthroned as a triad.[2]

4. Images of ancestors.—Images have not been used in ancestor-worship, tablets for one of the souls of the deceased being considered the proper mode of providing an object of worship. But a notable instance of a contrary practice is recorded: one of the Twenty-four Paragons of Filial Piety carved wooden images of his parents, and served them as if alive. His jealous wife pricked the fingers of the images, and they wept.[3]

5. Aboriginal images.—In the south-east of the empire there is a large boat population who are descended from aborigines. They have customs of their own, and one is that of having wooden images made of their dead children, which they worship. As the space on the boats is limited, the shrines, which every boat has, are small, and consequently the images are likewise of small dimensions, ranging from about 4½ to 8 or 9 inches in height. Most of these images represent what are evidently older persons than mere children. There is quite a variety in the positions and attitudes: some, like many of the gods, are seated on thrones and are clothed in official attire; others are represented as standing, perhaps even on dragons, and clad in warlike robes; and many of them carry swords or daggers and halberds in their hands. One in the writer's collection has English clothes on—a blue jacket, light green trousers, and a low-crowned hat. One curious feature of these images is that some of the girls, or women, are represented as riding on storks—that bird being supposed to carry the soul to heaven—and some of the boys, or men, on small ponies. In others, not content with one, the image is astride two ponies or two tigers, and has its feet resting on two of these wild beasts as well.

6. The spirit of the being worshipped is supposed by the Chinese to be present in the image when a ceremony has been performed invoking its presence At a temple near the writer's home in Canton, where extensive repairs were to be effected, the spirits were asked to vacate their abode in the images; and, when the repairs were finished, another ceremony was held in which the spirits of the gods were invited to return.

Some images are made hollow, and models of the internal organs are placed inside them. At times a live creature, such as a lizard, is placed inside, and the idol is then apparently considered to be vivified.

There is a niche or shrine or loft in a Chinese house or shop for images, or a red-painted board, or red paper, with the names of one or more gods, in addition to ancestral tablets, unless the clan has an Ancestral Hall; but in Central China this general rule does not hold good, for 'a considerable proportion of the houses . . . are devoid of idols or even Ancestral Tablets.'[1] The changes now taking place in China are causing a movement towards disbelief in idols and a discarding of them.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the footnotes.

J. DYER BALL.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Egyptian).—1. Early methods of representing deity.

—In the earliest stages of the Egyptian religion, the images of the gods were of the rudest and simplest description—mere fetish emblems such as pillars of stone or wood, trees, or cairns. Thus the god of the highways, Min of Koptos, revealed himself either in a rough stake, or in a heap of stones by the wayside; the goddess Hathor dwelt in a sycamore tree; and Osiris was represented by a curious pillar apparently composed of the capitals of several pillars superimposed. An alternative method of representing divinity, which co-existed in early times with the crude fetish emblem, was that in which the god was presented in the form of an animal. Sebek, the water-god of the Fayum, manifested himself as a crocodile; Khnum, the god of the cataract district, as a he-goat; Upuat of Siut as a jackal; while Sekhmet, the goddess of Memphis, appeared as a lioness, and Hathor of Denderah as a cow. These rude early methods of representing deity maintained their influence in a modified form down to a very late period, and, even when the original emblems had been superseded by more elaborate images, traces of the original emblem are still to be perceived in the form of the image. Thus down to the very latest stages of the worship of Osiris, the original pillar, which was supposed to represent the backbone of the god, was still an object of worship, and its setting up, which typified the restoration of Osiris after his murder by Set, was the occasion of great festivals in particular localities, while the later images of Min of Koptos, though adorned with a human head and rudely shaped to human form, are merely the original stake wrapped in swathings of linen. The animal form of representation was also perpetuated, in the case of many of the gods, by the curious combination of an animal's head with a human body. In the case of the Sun-god, Ra, the exploration of the Sun-temples at Abusir has made it evident that, as late as the period of the Vth dynasty, this god was worshipped under the guise of his original emblem. The central object of adoration in these temples was, not an image of Ra, but a huge truncated obelisk, standing on a pedestal in the midst of an open court. The earliest divine images known to us are the three colossal figures of the god Min, found at Koptos by Flinders Petrie. These belong to a very early dynastic period, are of very rude workmanship, and, among other reliefs sculptured upon them, have representations of the fetish emblem of the god—a tall pole, adorned with a garland.

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[1] B. Laufer, 'Confucius and his Portraits,' in *Open Court*, xxvi. [1912] 166; E. H. Parker, *Studies in Chinese Religion*, London, 1910, p. 182.

[2] *Chinese Recorder*, xl. [1909] 104.

[3] S. W. Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, London, 1883, i. 539, and *Chinese Recorder*, xxxi. [1900] 397.

[1] W. A. Cornaby, *Call of Cathay*, London, 1910, p. 33.

2. Images of deity in human form.—Somewhere about the time of the IInd dynasty the Egyptians began systematically to represent their gods by images of a human form. The god appears as a man wearing the ordinary clothing of an Egyptian, a tunic, adorned, as in the case of a king, with the tail of an animal. On his head he wore a helmet, a crown, or a head-dress of tall plumes, while in his hand he carried a sceptre or leading staff, the goddesses carrying, as their distinctive emblem, papyrus stalks. From this time onwards throughout the historic period, the use of images, either human in form or human with an animal's head, to represent the gods to the senses of the faithful was constant, save for one short interval, when, in the reign of the reforming King Akhenaten (*c.* 1385–63 B.C.), all such representations of deity were forbidden, and the only image tolerated was the figure of the solar disk with outspreading rays ending in human hands.

Of the images of the gods used for purposes of worship, the most important type was that of which, unfortunately, we have no surviving example—the small cultus image which was kept in a costly shrine in the Holy of Holies of each Egyptian temple, duly tended day by day by the priests, and exposed to the view of the general public only on great ceremonial occasions. While no identifiable specimen of this most sacred object of Egyptian worship has survived, we can form a fair idea of its style and material from the literary references which have come down to us. The sacred image was in curious contrast to the gorgeous and gigantic temple which existed for its sake. It was generally neither of large size nor of costly materials. Thus in the temple of Hathor at Denderah, there were, among others, the following sacred statues: Hathor, painted wood, copper, inlaid eyes, height 3 ells, 4 spans, and 2 fingers; Isis, painted acacia wood, eyes inlaid, height 1 ell; Horus, painted wood, inlaid eyes, height 1 ell and 1 finger. The largest, therefore, was scarcely of life size, the smallest only about 16 inches in height. The reason for this insignificance in size was that for certain acts of worship the images had to be easily portable.

The paltry size and material of these little wooden dolls were, however, atoned for by the splendour of their abode, and the reverence with which they were served. The shrine of the god was in the innermost chamber of the temple, which was in total darkness save on the entry of the officiating priest bearing artificial light. It consisted generally of a single block of stone, often, especially in the later periods, of enormous size, hewn into a house which surrounded with impenetrable walls the image of the god. The doorway in front was closed with bronze doors, or doors of wood overlaid with bronze or gold-silver alloy; and each day, after the daily ritual had been gone through, these doors were closed, fastened with a bolt, and then tied with a cord bearing a clay seal. On either side of the sanctuary of the principal god of the temple were subsidiary sanctuaries, containing images of the other two members of his triad. Thus in the temple of Amen at Thebes, Amen would occupy the central sanctuary, while his consort, Mut, would be on one side, and the Moon-god, Khonsu, on the other. Within the shrine, the image of the god reposed in a little ark, or portable inner shrine, which could be lifted out and placed upon the barque in which the deity made his journeys abroad on stated occasions.

The daily ritual of service to the image was in its main outlines the same in all the temples, though there were many minor variations, and in some temples the ritual was much more elaborate than in others. At Thebes the priest of Amen had sixty separate ceremonies to perform each day; at Abydos there were only thirty-six.

Generally speaking, the procedure was as follows. Early in the morning the priest of the day, after lustrations, entered the Holy of Holies, bearing incense in a censer, and stood before the shrine. He first loosened the door that closed the shrine, repeating as he did so a stereotyped phrase: 'The cord is broken, and the seal loosened,—I come, and I bring to thee the eye of Horus. Thine eye belongs to thee, O Horus.' The breaking of the clay seal was accompanied by another set phrase, and also the drawing of the bolt. As the doors of the shrine opened and the god was revealed, the priest prostrated himself and chanted 'The gates of heaven open, the gates of earth are undone. . . . The gates of heaven are opened, and the nine gods appear radiant, the god N is exalted upon his great throne. . . . Thy beauty belongs to thee, O god N; thou naked one, clothe thyself.' Taking his vessels, the priest then began to perform the daily toilet of the god. He sprinkled water on the image twice from four jugs, clothed it with linen wrappings of white, green, red, and brown, and painted it with green and black paint. Finally he fed the image, by laying before it bread, beef, geese, wine, and water, and decorated its table with flowers.

This was the regular daily service; but in addition there were great festival occasions when enormous quantities of food and drink were offered to the god. After their ceremonial appropriation, the greater part of these provisions, no doubt, became the perquisite of the priests; but a certain portion was reserved for the use of the distinguished dead who had adorned the temple by the dedication of votive statues. 'The dead desired to share in the food from the altar of the god, after that the god had satisfied himself therewith.' In addition the wrappings of the divine image were taken off, and given as bandages for wrapping the mummies of those who had been benefactors of the temple—thereby, no doubt, securing their blessedness in the other world.

On great festival occasions, there was one special addition to the ordinary ritual, besides the multiplication of offerings. The chief event of such a day was that the people should 'behold the beauty of their Lord.' The little image was, therefore, taken out of its chapel in its portable shrine, which, carefully swathed in veils, was placed on a barque carried by poles on the shoulders of several priests. This barque was carried through the open court of the temple, and thereafter through the town. At intervals it was set down upon a stone pedestal, and, when one of these stations of the god was reached, incense was burned and prayers were offered, and at last the hangings which closed in the sides of the ark were withdrawn, and the image of the god was revealed for a moment to the eyes of the faithful. Besides these journeys through his own town for the benefit of his faithful people, the image was in the habit of making occasional ceremonial visits to the gods of neighbouring towns—voyaging, on these occasions, in one of the ships which were attached to the temple. The visit, which doubtless had its origin in some traditionary intercourse of the two gods, was duly returned by the image which had been visited.

These little cultus images were supposed to be endowed with the power of giving oracles. For a discussion of the consultation of images, see art. DIVINATION (Egyptian), vol. iv. p. 793 ff.

One other attribute of these images remains to be noticed. They were endowed with magical powers of healing, and, on sufficiently great occasions, these powers were brought into requisition. A late legend, composed for the glory of the Moon-god, Khonsu, relates how Bent-resht, princess of Bekhten, and sister of Neferu-ra, the wife of Ramses II., was possessed by an evil spirit which could not be driven out. In answer to a request made to Ramses by the prince of Bekhten, the image of Khonsu was sent to the rescue, healed the distressed damsel, and was detained in the land of Bekhten for more than three years. The prince of Bekhten would fain have kept the wonder-working image altogether, but was induced to send the god back to Egypt by a vision in which he saw Khonsu coming out of his shrine in the form of a golden hawk, and flying back to his native land (cf. art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Egyptian], vol. iv. p. 753).

These little images were the chief objects of Egyptian worship, so far as the temples were concerned; but, in addition, the temples of the various deities were provided with innumerable other images of the gods. These were mainly votive offerings contributed by pious people who believed themselves to have been the recipients of favours from some particular god, or who desired to receive favours. Thus the little temple of Mut at Thebes became, for some reason, a perfect storehouse of votive images of the goddess Sekhmet; and the bronze and stone images of the gods found in most museums are largely of this votive class. Further, images of the gods were extensively used in connexion with the family religion of the Egyptians. The remains of several houses give evidence of the existence of a recess in the wall of the central hall, whose adornment of religious scenes points to it having been the focus for family worship, and the multitude of little statuettes of the gods in pottery, bronze, silver, and even gold, shows how wide-spread was the custom of having a tutelary image of the favourite god to watch over the house. In the later stages of the Egyptian religion the image of Horus subduing the powers of evil seems to have been the standard protective figure for the house; but under the Empire the favourite domestic divinities were not any of the great gods, but minor deities. Chief among these were the grotesque little bandy-legged god Bes, and his wife, the hippopotamus-shaped Taurt. Images of these very humble gods had an unbounded vogue, and were supposed to protect against evil spirits. They were found in every household, and were often wrought into the handles of mirrors and other toilet articles, while they were frequently worn, especially by children, as amulets. The curious little images of deformed children, called *pataikoi* by Herodotus (iii. 37) and regarded as the sons of Ptah, shared in the popularity of Bes and Taurt.

3. **Animals as living images of deity.**—It must not be forgotten that, in addition to all their graven and molten images, the Egyptians possessed living images of certain of their gods, and that in the later historical period the worship of these developed to an extraordinary extent, so much so as to have impressed upon other nations the idea, totally erroneous at least as regards the greater part of Egyptian religious history, that the Egyptians were a race of animal-worshippers. Originally, as we have seen, certain deities were conceived of under the guise of animals, and through the whole historic period certain animals were held to be living images, incarnations of divinity. Chief among these, of course, were the Apis-bull of Memphis, the incarnation of Ptah, and the Mnevis-bull of Heliopolis, the incarnation of Ra. But, while this is so, the development of animal-worship which excited the attention of Herodotus and the derision of Juvenal belongs only to the decadence of the religion. 'It was a remarkable adjunct to the Egyptian religion, but it did not belong to its original structure. In later times veneration for the sacred cat, monkey, sheep, and serpent increased greatly . . . but the ancient faith of the people knew nothing of this craze' (A. Erman, *Handbook*, p. 24). Of one Egyptian divinity alone no image was ever made for purposes of worship. This is Maat, the goddess of truth, who appears in the scenes of judgment before Osiris, and whose little figure, crowned with a single feather, is continually presented by the king as an offering to the god whom he is worshipping.

4. **Images of human beings used in a religious connexion.**—There remains to be noticed the extensive use made by the Egyptians of images of human beings in a religious connexion, especially in connexion with their belief in the life after death. The necessity of securing that the *ka* of the deceased person should have a recognizable habitation to which to return resulted in steps of a very elaborate kind being taken to secure so important an end. First of these was, of course, the mummification of the body, ensuring its continuance for a long period. But the mummy might perish or be destroyed, so there grew up, from a very early period, the custom of placing in the tomb of the deceased an image, or many images, of him in stone or wood. The first requisite of these images was that they should be absolutely faithful likenesses of the person whom they were meant to represent; and the result is a series of statues which aim, not at beauty, but at life-like resemblance—physical deformities being reproduced with as much care as beauties. No other nation offers anything in the least corresponding to the series of portrait-statues which has been preserved to us in the tombs of Egypt.

Besides the portrait image or images, the tomb of an Egyptian was furnished with a number of other images, of tiny size, representing the servants who were supposed to discharge for their master any work which he might be called upon to do in the Sekhet-Aaru, or 'Fields of the Blessed.' These *ushabtis*, or 'answerers,' probably represent the survival from a time when the slaves of the Egyptian grandee were slain at his tomb to accompany and serve him in the other world (cf., further, art. DEATH, etc. [Egyptian], vol. iv. p. 460).

In common with many other nations, the Egyptians believed in the magical power of images of gods and men. These images, made of wax, and smuggled into the house of the person to be injured, were believed to 'cripple the hand of man.' The standard instance occurs in the trial of certain conspirators against Ramses III., where it was proved that the 'superintendent of the cows' had taken a magical book from the Pharaoh's own library, and, in accordance with its directions, had made waxen images, and introduced them into the palace for the purpose of injuring Ramses. This belief plainly comes down from a very early period, as a waxen crocodile is used to punish a criminal in the earliest of Egyptian folk-tales, whose action is supposed to take place in the time of the IIIrd dynasty.

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JAMES BAIKIE.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Greek and Roman).—1. **Greek.**—The cult of images belongs to a later stage of religious development than mere fetishism, or the holding sacred of any object which has acquired supernatural power (*mana*). It is developed out of such fetishism by growing anthropomorphism, as the gods become humanized and come into closer relations with the human spirit. Among primitive peoples there is a belief in a near connexion between an image and the person or thing portrayed; so that what affects the image must also affect the original of the image. Connected with beliefs of this kind were some of the customs of early Greek religion. The temple was the abode of the deity, his image being his surrogate, and taking his place. The deity in a measure resided in the image; petitions to him were laid on its knees, incense was burned before it, and the treasures given to the god were heaped about it. Among the most pleasing gifts to the god were other images, whether of himself or of votaries. The notion appears to be that, as the image of a votary stands in the presence of the image of the god, so the god will be near the votary's person to aid and direct him. The tomb rivalled the temple as a place for images, and with the dead were buried a great quantity of terra-cotta figures.

The religious objection to the use of images in the worship of gods and heroes, which was strongly developed among the Jews, and has been adopted by the Muhammadans and some branches of the Christian Church, can scarcely be said to have existed in Greece. We have learned from the brilliant discoveries of Schliemann and Evans that idols were known in the country many centuries before the arrival there of the Greek race. The chief deity at Knossos in Crete seems to have been a great goddess of nature, of the same class as Mylitta and Cybele, who is represented on gems as flanked by lions, and in a remarkable statuette of enamel as holding snakes in her hands. With her was associated a male deity of less importance, who is sometimes depicted on gems, but who was usually worshipped in the symbol of a double axe, which is of frequent use in Crete (see, further, 'Ægean' section above, and art. AXE).

After the decay of the Minoan and Mycenæan civilizations, and the entry of the Greeks upon the scene, still in a barbarous condition, the art of image-making, like all other products of civilization, seems to begin again at the lowest level, and gradually to rise. When a site of an ancient city in Greece or on the coast of Asia is excavated, there is usually found on the lower levels a multitude of rude terra-cottas. The same is true, in some districts, of graves.

It is a noteworthy fact that the great mass of these images represent the female figure. This may be the result of religious conservatism, as the Greeks probably adopted from their predecessors in the country the cultus of goddesses of growth and procreation, the varieties of the great Mother-goddess whose cultus was spread over the whole East, from Babylon to the Ægean. Figures of the characteristic deities of Greece—Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, and others—do not appear. Figures of men on horseback and in chariots do, however, occur (fig. 1),[1] most commonly in Cyprus, but also in Greece Proper. Whether these images represent ordinary mortals or the heroized dead is a question not easy to answer.

Before the 7th cent. B.C. these works are of a very primitive character, and their date is not easy to determine. If of stone, they represent the naked female body in rudest form, the arms and legs being roughly indicated, and the head a mere flat protuberance. These figures are especially characteristic of the Islands of the Ægean. Commoner on all the coasts of that sea are figures of terra-cotta of conical form. Sometimes they are naked, more often draped, the legs hidden by the garments, the arms mere stumps, the head formed by a few pinches of finger and thumb in the soft clay. Some points, such as the breasts, are roughly indicated. There is the standing type (fig. 2, 3) and the seated type but slightly distinguished from it by a bend in the front of the figure (fig. 4). Jewellery and adornments are added, for the most part in paint. Sometimes the image grasps an infant in its arms.

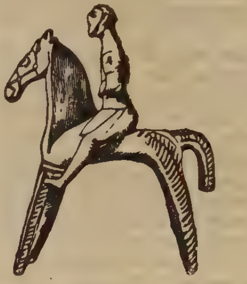
FIG. 1.

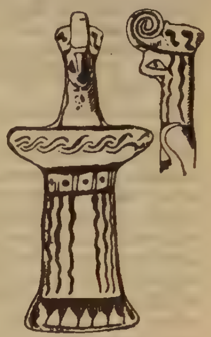
FIG. 2.

Such images have been found in abundance on the great religious sites of the Greek world—Ephesus, Argos, Naucratis, and elsewhere. Numbers of them are also found in the early tombs. That they had a religious meaning can scarcely be doubted; but clearly to define that meaning is not easy. In some way they were regarded as a gift pleasing to the gods, and as talismans to protect the spirit of the dead in his journey to the land of souls. The outstanding feature is that they are predominantly female, male figures being almost entirely absent; here we have a point of contact with pre-Greek religion in Greek lands. It seems that the worship which in the Mycenæan age adhered to certain sites, and dedicated them to the worship of the ancient goddess of nature, still survived for many ages. It has, in fact, survived in those regions to the present day, when the Mother-goddess of Christianity takes in the beliefs of the people the place of her heathen prototype.

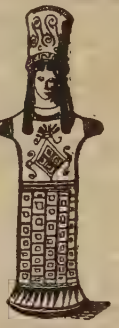
FIG. 3.

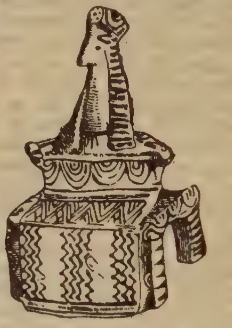
FIG. 4.

In the 6th cent. B.C. the old generalized type of goddess becomes differentiated in various localities. She merges in the goddesses of the Greek pantheon, and carries their symbols. As Aphrodite she carries the dove, as Artemis the stag (fig. 5), as Persephone the sacrificial pig; as Athene she wears the helmet or the ægis. Excavations, *e.g.*, on the Athenian Acropolis have brought to light a multitude of seated and standing figures which can represent only Athene herself, and are sometimes armed (fig. 6). In Corfu there is a series extending over a long period, in which Artemis may clearly be recognized. Many such local series may be studied in our museums; and at this time male deities as well as female become common. The terra-cotta figures are now swept from the vague and merely traditional use of the pre-historic age into the full current of Greek Olympian religion.

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[1] Figures 1 to 6 are from F. Winter's *Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, Stuttgart, 1903.

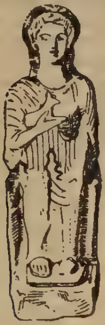

FIG. 5.

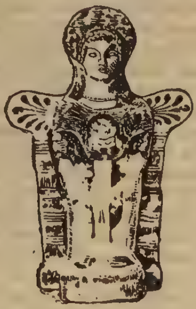

FIG. 6.

In the 4th cent. B.C., if not earlier, we may trace a further change of usage. The great mass of terra-cottas from temples and from graves at sites like Myrina in Æolis and Tanagra in Bœotia are clearly not religious in character. They represent youths and girls of pleasing type, either simply or as engaged in conversation or in games. Sacred figures are rare among them. When such figures were thrown into a grave, they seem to have been purposely broken, as if to unfit them for any but sepulchral use. The meaning of these images has been much discussed. Some archæologists would see in them survivals of the primitive custom of slaying wife or slave to accompany the dead to the world of shades; others would see an intention to furnish the tomb with pleasing copies from the world without. Probably the true explanation is a very simple one. Figures of terra-cotta were used as playthings by children, and they were part of household decoration. When representing the gods they served as images for domestic worship, and were placed in niches or on pedestals. The Greeks were so devoted to the representation of the human form that they applied it everywhere, even to common household utensils. So they naturally regarded little images as gifts grateful alike to the gods and to the dead, fitted to people alike the temple and the tomb. And they had one very great advantage as offerings—they were extremely cheap.[1]

Meantime, for the larger cultus-images of the gods and goddesses who were brought in by the Greek invaders we may trace another origin. The primitive Greeks have no scruple in attaching divine virtues to stocks and stones; but they must be stocks and stones of a special character, such as the divine powers themselves had marked out and chosen. Trees which for some reason were regarded as full of divine energy, and meteoric stones which had fallen, or were supposed to have fallen, from the sky, easily acquired a sacred character. That mere obelisks, called ἀργοὶ λίθοι, were even in later Greece regarded as sacred we learn from Pausanias,[2] who saw ranged in the agora of Pharæ thirty conical stones, each of which received the name of a particular deity. The testimony of Pausanias has been confirmed by the recent discovery in Arcadia of a number of square pilasters, each surmounted by a conical stone, and inscribed with the name of a god—Zeus, Artemis, the Hero, and so on.[3]

As the spirit of anthropomorphism in religion grew strong in Greece and Asia Minor, it was very natural to add something of human appearance to a conical stone or the trunk of a dead tree. The coins struck in the Roman age in cities of Asia preserve for us the outlines of *simulacra* which can scarcely be said to be of human form, yet are by no means shapeless blocks. Of such a kind were the images at Perga of Anassa or Artemis (fig. 7),[1] at Ephesus of the local goddess (fig. 8), at Euromus in Caria of the Carian god of the double axe (fig. 9). A head, wearing a tall crown, emerges from the stone; arms are inserted; the wooden cylinder is covered with bronze or gold wrought by an artist. The process is well described in Is $40^{19f.}$. Sometimes rude images excavated from the ground, or brought from foreign lands, were accepted as a kind of revelation of a deity. Their uncouthness was no obstacle; for there is truth in the well-known saying of Goethe: 'Wonder-working images are usually but ugly pictures.'

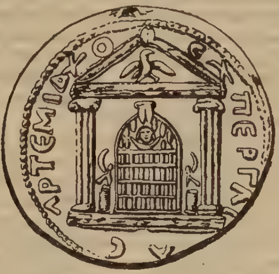

FIG. 7.

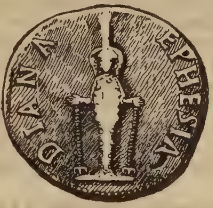

FIG. 8.

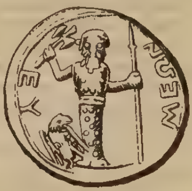

FIG. 9.

The origin of idols is similar in most countries. But what is most interesting in the present connexion is the way in which Greek artistic taste and the love of human beauty formed out of such unpromising beginnings a pantheon of exquisite forms. In this the Greeks are almost unique; for, although mediæval Europe ran riot in the production of images of angels, apostles, and saints, there was not then in existence the appreciation of beautiful bodies which is shown in Greek sculpture.

In the religion or religions of historic Greece there were several strata or tendencies; and the tendency to religious sculptural idealism does not belong to all of them. To the philosophers the representation of the gods in human form did not appeal; and the writings of Plato and other great thinkers show a steady contempt for plastic art. At the other end of the scale, the uncultured husbandmen and slaves were ready to venerate figures of the gods in proportion to their wonder-working power rather than in proportion to their beauty. The Dionysiac and other mysteries afforded to their religious feelings a more suitable field of exercise than did the staid worship of the great temples. But between the intellectuals on the one hand and the superstitious on the other came the mass of intelligent and art-loving citizens. To them the State-religions, belonging to the cities and great shrines of Greece, centring in the worship of the deities of Olympus, and the heroized ancestors of the clans, afforded full satisfaction. For them the poets and dramatists worked into beautiful poems the tales of mythology; and for them the artists incorporated in bronze or marble or ivory and gold the ideas of the race as to the higher powers. As to the great city festivals, they were of mixed character. The conservative tradition, which is so marked a feature of all religious cult, retained in them much that had belonged to prehistoric and even to non-Hellenic days, scraps of savage religion preserved as flies are preserved in amber. But as a whole the festivals were remoulded by the Olympian religion and filled with Hellenic sweetness and light.

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[1] An excellent general account of Greek figurines will be found in E. Pottier's *Statuettes de terre cuite*, Paris, 1890.

[2] VII. xxii. 4.

[3] Ἀρχαιολ. Ἐφημερίς, 1911, p. 150.

[1] Figures 7 to 18 are from coins in the British Museum.

Maximus of Tyre, a rhetorician of the Antonine age, has left us a pleasing, if somewhat verbose, defence of Greek image-worship.[1] Men, he says, who can raise their spirits directly into communion with the divine perhaps need no images. But this kind of man is rare; and it would be impossible to find any whole race conscious of the divine and needing no such aid. The Persians worship fire, and solemnly feed it with logs; the Egyptians regard the animals of the Nile as sacred, poor things though they be; the Celts venerate the oak, the Pæonians a sun-disk set up on a pillar; the Paphians worship Aphrodite in the form of a white pyramid. But the Greek custom is to represent the gods by the most beautiful things on earth, pure material, the human form, consummate art. The idea of those who make divine images in human shape is quite reasonable, since the spirit of man is the nearest of all things to God and most god-like. If the Greeks are lifted to the contemplation of God by the skill of a Pheidias, and the Egyptians by honour given to animals, while others honour a river and others fire, the variations do not vex Maximus: only let men know God, love him, think of him.

There is a well-known saying of Herodotus,[2] that it was Homer and Hesiod who first distinguished the functions of the gods and assigned their forms. Of course, in the time when the Homeric poems were written, there could be no question of statues of the gods; there can have been none but the rudest images. But it is doubtless true that Homeric incidents and descriptions may have dwelt in the minds of great sculptors of subsequent ages, and inspired them. It is expressly told us[3] that, when Pheidias made the great statue of Zeus at Olympia, he had in his mind the lines of Homer which describe how the nod of Zeus shook Olympus, and how his hair floated out, although in fact the Homeric lines would far better suit a Zeus of the Hellenistic age than the stately and self-contained colossus of Pheidias. Homer did much to settle the order and personalities of the Hellenic pantheon; but, as a matter of fact, he has not a statuesque imagination. We should be mistaken if we took back to Greek times that predominance of literature over art which has been, though of late years less markedly, a feature of modern times.

The great difference between the religious art of the Greeks on the one hand, and that of Babylon, Egypt, and India on the other, is that, whereas the Oriental nations were content with merely symbolic representations of the divine powers, the Greeks were ever struggling to merge mere symbolism in anthropomorphism.

The gods of Egypt differ one from the other not in shape but in the attributes which they hold, or in the animal heads which are placed on their shoulders. Isis has the head of a cow, Horus of a hawk, and so on. The deities of the Babylonians are often furnished with wings to indicate swiftness, but they are only ceremonial wings, and not meant for real flight. Sometimes they hold a pair of animals or birds in their hands to indicate their power over animal nature; but the arrangement is merely a conventional one; the creatures are not carried suitably. In India the symbolic turn given to art runs riot: the varied powers of the gods are indicated by giving them many heads, and many hands full of instruments for various purposes.

In the earliest distinctive Greek art, deities like those of Egypt and Babylon sometimes make their appearance. On the chest of Cypselus, preserved at Olympia, Pausanias saw represented a female figure which puzzled him. It was inscribed with the name of Artemis, but it had wings on the shoulders, and carried in the two hands a lion and a panther.[1] As it became adult, Greek taste set aside this crude symbolism, and preferred to represent the swiftness of Artemis not by wings, but by the litheness and vigour of her frame, and her power over nature by giving her as an attendant and friend a dog or a stag. In the art of the 6th cent. the Greek deities almost always carry an attribute by which they may be identified—Zeus an eagle or a thunder-bolt, Hermes a herald's staff, Apollo a bow or a lyre, and the like; but these become less necessary later, when the deity can be identified by bodily type. There is no fear of hesitation whether a 5th cent. image represents Apollo or Herakles, Athene or Aphrodite, since in each case the qualities of the deity are thoroughly incorporated and revealed in the bodily form. In mature Greek art external symbolism is not entirely absent. Eros (Love) and Nike (Victory) still retain their wings, though they use them to fly with, and do not merely carry them. Hermes has small wings on his cap or on his heels, and river-gods are still bull-headed. These, however, are little more than survivals.

If we bring together Pliny's *Natural History* (bks. xxxiv.–xxxvi.) and the descriptions of Pausanias, we are able to discern the historic origins of religious sculpture. Just as Homer stands at the source of Greek poetry, so at the source of Greek sculpture we have the figure of Dædalus, who is himself merely mythical, and who was set down as the maker of most figures the actual origin of which was lost in the mists of antiquity. But a number of artists classed by the ancient writers as pupils of Dædalus (Dædalidæ) really existed, for we find their signatures on existing bases of statues. Beginning about 600 B.C., we can trace lines of descent in a variety of materials. One school in Peloponnesus began with work in wood; and so, by inlaying the wood with gold, ivory, and ebony, or clothing wooden statues with metal, worked their way towards that technique in gold and ivory which was used in the 5th cent. for the most magnificent of the statues of the gods. Another school, of which Rhœcus and Theodorus of Samos were the most noted members, discovered or improved the art of casting statues in bronze, and so made antiquated the earlier fashion of beating out plates of bronze into the required shape, and fastening them with nails. Other schools, belonging mostly to the Greek islands, such as Chios, Paros, and Naxos, used their native marble, and superseded the old rude figures cut out of limestone by delicate and beautiful statues of glittering material.

It is impossible here to follow, even in outline, the process whereby the sculptors of Greece succeeded in embodying more and more completely the types of the great deities of their race. It was a long and intricate history. A great English book on the subject is L. R. Farnell's *Cults of the Greek States* (5 vols., Oxford, 1896–1909). A still larger work had been planned by J. Overbeck (*Kunstmythologie*, Leipzig, 1871–89), but he died after publishing only three volumes. The articles in W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1884 ff.) contain usually the most recent information on the subjects with which they deal; but the material grows every day; and a complete digest of it is scarcely possible. Three statues of Apollo, represented on coins, may serve to illustrate the process: fig. 10 is of the Apollo of

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[1] *Dissert.* viii.

[2] ii. 53.

[3] Strabo, VIII. xxx. [p. 354].

[1] Paus. v. xix. 5.

Delos, a 6th cent. work of Dædalidæ; fig. 11 is of the Apollo of Miletus, made by Canachus of Sicyon late in the 6th cent.; fig. 12 is of the Apollo at Alexandria Troas, a work of Scopas, but in a somewhat stiff and archaic style.

It is evident that the higher qualities of the deity are much less easy thus to incorporate than the lower. Apollo as the god of the gymnasium was easy to render in art, since he had to be only an idealized athlete. Apollo, the god of music and song, could also be embodied, a rapt and poetic expression being not beyond the resources of developed Greek art. But Apollo as the prophet of the supreme Deity, or as the great patron of purification, was a less easy subject for art. In the same way, Artemis as an archeress or as the queen of the nymphs naturally attracted the artist, but Artemis as goddess of moisture and source of the springing powers of nature was less easy to depict. Thus the rendering of the gods in human form did undoubtedly tend in a measure to limit them, and to throw into the background that which in them inspired awe rather than pleasant appreciation. Perhaps, however, we may make a few exceptions to this rule. Of the gold and ivory colossus of Zeus at Olympia (fig. 13), Quintilian says that it added something to the accepted religion;[1] and Dio Chrysostom in the 1st cent. A.D. tells us how it affected educated men.

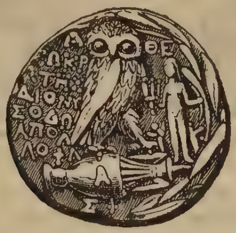

FIG. 10.—Coin of Athens.

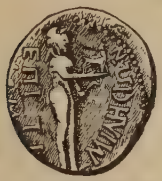

FIG. 11.—Coin of Miletus.

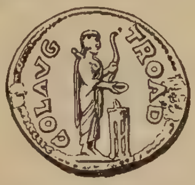

FIG. 12.—Coin of Troas.

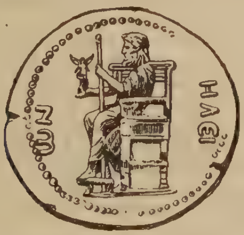

FIG. 13.—Coin of Elis.

'Our Zeus is peaceful and gentle in all ways, as the overlooker of an undivided and united Hellas . . . set up gentle and stately in form above all grief, giver of life and means of living and all good things, the common father and saviour and guardian of men, so far as it was possible for a mere man by meditating to copy the divine and infinite nature. . . . If any man were utterly burdened in heart, after meeting in life many misfortunes and troubles, a stranger to sweet sleep, even he, I think, standing before this image would forget all the terrible pains and sufferings of our mortal life' (*Orat.* xii.).

In the same way, the great statue of Athene Parthenos at Athens (fig. 14) concentrated about herself the patriotic ardour of the people of the city; she was not only the deity who gave wisdom in council and skill in craft, but she also embodied the common life, the destiny, the star of the Athenians, and all the better because she was as dignified and majestic as Pheidias could make her. So also, when, about 300 B.C., Eutychides the sculptor made for the people of the newly-founded city of Antioch a representation of the Fortune, or Tyche, of that city, he represented her as a most graceful figure seated on a rock, with the river-god Orontes emerging at her feet. The statue, of which copies are extant (fig. 15), not only gained wide admiration, and was copied in many other cities, but we are told that it was held in the highest religious reverence. Probably it greatly helped to make the people of Antioch feel that they were citizens of no mean city. In Greece, civic politics and religion were nearly related: the general or the statesman was often also a priest of the deity of the city.

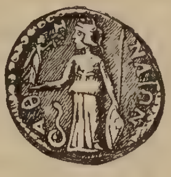

FIG. 14.—Coin of Athens.

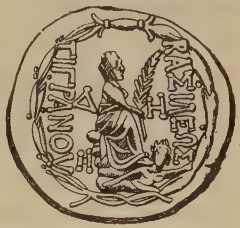

FIG. 15.—Coin of King Tigranes.

A different fate attended another sculptural creation of the same period—the Sarapis of Bryaxis. Religiously, Sarapis was of great importance, as he united the conquering Greek and the conquered Egyptian in a common cultus,[1] since the former could see in him a form of Hades, and the latter a modification of Osiris. But the sculptor, if we may judge from the poor copies extant, tried to introduce into the expression of the face of the deity too much of mystery and solemnity, and so passed the bounds of possible sculpture. In a painting he might have been more successful.

Strict anthropomorphism in the embodiment in art of their deities was eminently suited to the Greeks. They were little inclined to mysticism; their minds were clear-cut and practical; and they were content to abide within the limits set them by the eminently statuesque character of their art. At the best, they could produce images perfectly adapted to the character of their worship and their religious festivals—figures which a good citizen of fine taste could look on with pride, and which he could with self-satisfaction contrast with the poorer inventions of surrounding peoples. But in the latter part of the 4th cent., when the city-State was falling into decay, and the city festivals were becoming mere pageants, we cannot be surprised that the statues of the gods lost their high dignity. Sculptors of that age, notably Praxiteles, though they could still produce exquisite forms, produced them at a lower level. The images of the gods no longer embodied human nature at its highest ideal stage, but rather human nature on the level of the average sensuous man. The Apollo killing a lizard, by Praxiteles, represents the deity on the model of an idle and sportive youth. His Aphrodite, though she cannot be called impure or sensual, is yet little more than a woman of exquisite form engaged in taking a bath. The tendency thus begun soon went further, and in the Hellenistic age we find images of male and female deities which could satisfy only a sensual and pleasure-worshipping people. Of course, there were reactions. The great statues of Demeter and Persephone set up by Damophon at Lycosura in Arcadia in the 2nd cent. B.C., still extant in a fragmentary condition, have much of the ancient dignity. Sculptors who were set to make cultus-images for temples went back for their models to the great creations of the 5th century. Some new types, such as that of the Fortune of Antioch already mentioned, had real religious value. But an art which cannot produce original types suited to the genius of a new age must soon decay. In the Roman age the figures of the Greek deities which were produced in unlimited abundance in the workshops of the sculptors have no vitality. They are only elegantly eclectic — charming compositions, but not at all stimulating to the powers of worship. We are not, therefore, surprised to find, from the trustworthy evidence of coins, that many of the cities of Asia Minor set aside the fine Greek statues of their city deities which held the place of honour after Alexander the Great, and re-installed the quaint and ugly figures which those statues had superseded. In the time of St. Paul the people of Ephesus had gone back to the image which fell from heaven. Rome was filled with splendid statues of the gods brought from Greece by conquering generals and by Emperors; but they were cherished mainly as works of art, and not as cultus-images. In fact, the same transition from worship to admiration took place in regard to these statues which has occurred in the change of modern feeling in regard to Gothic cathedrals.

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[1] *Inst. Orat.* XII. x. 9.

[1] Cf. GRÆCO-EGYPTIAN RELIGION, § 2 (1), vol. vi. p. 376.

2. **Roman.**—In Roman religious usage, images do not take nearly so important a place as they do in Greek. Neither the anthropomorphic tendency nor æsthetic taste was so highly developed among the Romans. In fact, the primitive deities of the Romans were in nature too vague and abstract to be at all appropriately rendered in plastic art. At lowest, they were mere traditional dæmonic forces connected with agriculture, or the pastoral life, or the various activities of man; at highest, special aspects of a great spiritual force. Perhaps, apart from Greek and Etruscan influence, the Romans would not have had any statues of the gods. The early graves of central Italy furnish us with no such population of terra-cotta figures as do those of Greece and Asia. Perhaps the only images of true Roman type, which the Romans themselves called *imagines*, were the naturalistic portraits or masks, in wax or metal, of heroes and ancestors which Romans of birth set up in their houses and carried in funeral processions, and which served to localize the spirits of the departed, and bind them to the living. But Greek influences began at an early period to tell upon Rome, alike radiating from Greek colonies such as Cumæ, and coming through the mediation of the Etruscans. As the Greek gods, through the influence of the *Sibylline Books*, were called to Rome on the occasion of famine or pestilence, or any crisis with which the native deities seemed unable to cope, they must needs have their temples, and Greek sculptors were called in to make images for those temples. On the coins of the Roman Republic we find copies of many such statues; but there is little that is Roman about them; they are merely Greek figures of the Hellenistic age. Occasionally the sculptor was called on to portray beings of Roman origin, such as Vejovis (fig. 16), Saturnus, Janus (fig. 17), Nerio, or Acca Larentia; but he fulfilled his task by merely adapting the nearest Greek type in his repertory. The veneration of images, however, by the 1st cent. B.C. had become part of the ordinary domestic religion. We learn from the excavations at Pompeii that many houses had a *Lararium*, or private shrine, presided over by the *Lares* (fig. 18), who were represented either by snakes or by the figures of young men, the type of whom was probably taken from the Greek Dioscuri.

The vast crowd of images of the gods which had been constantly increasing in Greece and Italy until the 3rd cent. A.D. met with extreme hatred from the Christians, who were as eager to destroy them as were the Puritans of England to break up the sculptured figures of our churches. A few great statues were carried to Byzantium, as works of art rather than as objects of cultus; but they gradually disappeared; and naturally none survived the Turkish conquest.

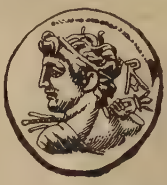

FIG. 16.—Roman coin.

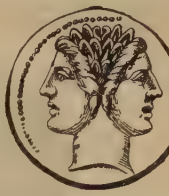

FIG. 17.—Roman coin.

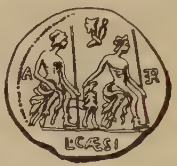

FIG. 18.—Roman coin

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned in the course of the art., reference may be made to H. B. Walters, *Art of the Greeks*, London, 1906, and *Art of the Romans*, do. 1911; P. Gardner, *Principles of Greek Art*, New York, 1913; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, 3 vols., Paris, 1897–1904; G. Wissowa, *Rel. und Kultus der Römer*^{2}, Munich, 1912.

P. GARDNER.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Hebrew and Canaanite).—I. *HEBREWS IN PRE-PALESTINIAN TIMES.*—Israelite tradition on this subject is confused and contradictory. In its oldest form (J) there is no suggestion of idol-worship among the forefathers of the nation, except in the Golden Calf episode (Ex 32), which is a satirical narrative directed against the bull-worship of the Northern kingdom. The E cycle, while admitting that not only the Fathers, including Teraḥ, the father of Abraham, but also the Hebrews in Egypt (Jos $24^{2.\,14\mathrm{f.}}$) worshipped other gods, shows no knowledge of the legend according to which the father of Abraham was an idolater and even a maker of idols (*Jubilees*, 12; *Apoc. Abr.* 1–8; *Gen. R.* xxxviii. 13; *Qur'ān*, ix. 115, xix. 43 ff., xxi 53 ff., xxvi. 70 ff., xxxvii. 81 ff. etc; cf. *JE*, *s.v.* 'Abraham'). This cycle represents the worship of the *tᵉrāphîm*, that is to say, of at least one class of images, as a foreign custom (Gn $31^{19.\,34\,\mathrm{f.}}$). Ezekiel, on the other hand, accuses the Israelites of having worshipped 'abominations,' no doubt images, in Egypt ($20^{8.\,18}$ $23^{3.\,8}$; cf. 16^{26}), and perhaps also of having served their tribal gods ('the "abominations" of the house of Israel') under the form of 'creeping things and abominable beasts' (8^{10-12}).

It is probable, however, that, as long as the Hebrews led a nomadic existence, they made little or no use of figured representations of the divinity, at least in public worship (cf. the case of the pre-Islāmic Arabs [J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*^{2}, Berlin, 1897, p. 102]). Even at a more advanced stage of culture, the Semitic peoples still represented the divinity in their most venerated sanctuaries (*e.g.* on Mount Carmel) by objects which had little or no resemblance to the human form (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 78). Analogies may be found in the case of the Romans (Varro, in Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, IV. xxxi. 2; Plut. *Numa*, 8; Pliny, *HN* xxxiv. 4 [15]), Greeks (Lucian, *de Sacrif.* 10 f.), Egyptians

(Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* 3), and Persians (Deinon, in Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 65 [ed. Dindorf, i. 71]; Herod. i. 131; Strabo, xv. iii. 13 [732]).

As a matter of fact, the religion of Jahweh at the time of the sojourn in the desert probably did not carry with it such a strict prohibition against the use of images in worship as the first decalogue ascribes to Moses (Ex $20^{4f.}$, Dt $5^{8f.}$); otherwise it would be difficult to explain the freedom with which the most faithful worshippers of Jahweh made use of them down to the 8th cent. (see II. 2). The much more ancient decalogue of Ex 34 condemns only a certain kind of images (34^{17}). It is probable that the nomadic Hebrews used statuettes as amulets and in private worship (Gn $31^{19. 30-35}$ $35^{2. 4}$; cf. Ex $33^{5f.}$ 35^{22}). Among the Arabs of the time of Muhammad (W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*^{2}, London, 1894, p. 208 f.), the Phœnicians, and the Canaanites, images were much more frequently employed for domestic purposes than for public worship. The same is true of the Ægean peoples (G. Karo, *ARW* vii. [1904] 155 f.).

II. *AFTER THE SETTLEMENT IN PALESTINE.*—**1. Idol-worship among the Canaanites.**—Canaan was a land of idols (Nu 33^{52}, Dt 7^{25} 12^3 29^{17}, Ps 106^{38}, etc.)—a fact which has been confirmed by the excavations recently made in Palestine. As yet nothing has been found in the sanctuaries but stelæ, and it is probable that the deity was usually represented on them under the form of a *maṣṣēbhā*, an *'ǎšērā*, or some natural object. But in private houses, in tombs, and in a sacrificial trench at Gezer, statuettes have been discovered in profusion which were obviously used in private worship (amulets, *ex-votos*, etc.). Those of most frequent occurrence are images of goddesses (Astarte) in bas-relief or, more rarely, in the round, tending towards the Babylonian type in the North and becoming more 'Egyptized' in the South. An Atargatis (?) has also been found, some phalli, heads and shoulders of the bull, a brazen serpent, figurines of doves, cows, fish, statuettes of Egyptian divinities—Ptah, Osiris, Thōth, Naprît, Thueris, and, above all, Bes. Although statues were of rarer occurrence in the public sanctuaries of Palestine, we need not conclude that they were entirely lacking (1 S 5^{2-4}); they were naturally much more exposed to destruction than private ones.

LITERATURE.—*PEFSt*, especially from vol. xx., new ser. (1890); *ZDPV*, from vol. xxv. (1902); *MNDPV*, from vol. viii. (1902); *Harvard Theol. Review*, ii. [1909] 102–113, iii. [1910] 136–138, 248–263, iv. [1911] 136–143; *RB*, vols. i.–xii. (1892–1903), new ser. vol. i. ff. (1904 ff.); H. Vincent, *Canaan, d'après l'exploration récente*, Paris, 1907, pp. 152–180 (an excellent general survey).

2. Idol-worship in Jahwism.—After they had settled in Palestine, the Israelites, no doubt taking their lead from the people of the country, proceeded freely to the fabrication of images of Jahweh (and eventually of other gods), and began to worship them in the public sanctuaries as well as in private.

Micah had in the 'house of gods' of which he was proprietor a graven image and a molten image (according to another version, an *'ēphôd* and a *terāphîm*) which were afterwards transferred to the great sanctuary of Dan, where priests of the line of Moses officiated (Jg 17–18). Gideon made an *'ēphôd* which was worshipped by the whole of Israel (8^{24-27}). At Nob there was an *'ēphôd* served by the priests of the family of Eli, which was often consulted by Saul and David (see II. 7). David had a *terāphîm* in his house (1 S 19^{13-16}).

In the great sanctuaries of the Northern kingdom, *e.g.* at Bethel and Dan, and perhaps in Samaria (Hos 8^6), Jahweh was worshipped in the form of a golden bull (1 K 12^{28-30}). The author of the Book of Kings, who looks on the past from the point of view of the prophets of the 7th cent. B.C., describes these acts of idolatry as innovations of Jeroboam I., but they were quite in keeping with the ideas which were dominant in the Jahwism of the 10th cent. B.C.: neither Elijah nor Elisha, nor even Amos in the 8th cent., thought of censuring the worship of 'golden calves.' In the kingdom of Judah a brazen serpent, said to have been made by Moses himself, received sacrifices till Hezekiah destroyed it (2 K 18^4). The land was full of idols (Is 2^8). Ezekiel, about 592 B.C., mentions an 'image of jealousy' set up in the Temple ($8^{3. 5}$).

At Gezer and at Taanach several statuettes of Astarte have been found in heaps of Israelite débris (Vincent, *op. cit.*, 162, 164 f.).

3. The meaning attached to idol-worship.—The first Semitic statues were probably stelæ (*maṣṣēbhā*) which had been given a human or animal form: the statue of Panammon is called *nṣb*, the same word as *neṣîbh* (a Heb. synonym of *maṣṣēbhā*), and the Arab. *nuṣb*. Idolatry was thus in principle only a variety of fetishism, commonly practised by the Hebrews and the other Semites (*maṣṣēbhā*, *'ǎšērā*, 'ark'). We must, then, consider the image as having been, like all other fetishes, a dwelling-place offered to the god, where he consented to take up his abode only after the performance of certain inauguration ceremonies (Jg 8^{27}; cf. C. Fossey, *La Magie assyrienne*, Paris, 1902, p. 132 f.; M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les rel. sém.*^{2}, do. 1905, pp. 166, 229; E. B. Tylor, *PC*^{3}, London, 1891, ii. 168 ff.).

4. The rites connected with idol-worship.—In ancient Israel images were kissed (Hos 13^2, 1 K 19^{18}; cf. Job 31^{27}; Mish. *Sanh.* vii. 6; Apul. *de Magia*, 56; S. I. Curtiss, *Ursemit. Rel. im Volksleben des heut. Orients*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 164, 287); incense was offered to them (Ezk 8^{11}); they were consulted as oracles (see II. 7 and 8); they were placed in a closed *cella*, differing thus from most of the other sacred objects of the ancient Semites (Jg 17^5; cf. Ep. Jer. $^{15. 17f. 21. 55}$, 1 Mac 10^{83}, Wis 13^{15}); they were clothed in sumptuous garments (Ezk 16^{18}; cf. Jer 10^9, Ep. Jer. $^{11f. 20. 33. 58. 72}$; Mish. *Sanh.* vii. 6).

Other customs connected with idol-worship are mentioned, but in passages which refer expressly only to pagan idolatry—*e.g.*, the custom of carrying idols in procession (Is $46^{1. 7}$, Jer 10^5, Am 5^{26} (?), Ep. Jer. $^{4. 26}$), of giving them food (Sir 30^{18} [Heb. 19], Ep. Jer. $^{28. 30}$; Bel and the Dragon), of embracing them, anointing them, washing them, and sprinkling them with water (Mish. *Sanh.* vii. 6), of bowing before them (*ib.*; Ep. Jer. ^{5}), of decorating them with jewels and garlands (Ep. Jer.^{9}; Mish. *Aboda Zara*, i. 9), of fixing them in their place with nails (Is 41^7, Jer 10^4, Wis 13^{15}) or chains (Is 40^{19}), and of lighting candles for them (Ep. Jer. ^{19}).

5. Names for idols.—The diffusion of the worship of images in ancient Israel is attested by the multiplicity of words used to designate them (cf. *HDB* ii. 451; G. F. Moore, *EBi* ii. 2146–2150). (*a*) *General terms.*—(1) *Ṣelem*, 'image' (2 K 11^{18} [2 Ch 23^{17}], Ezk 7^{20} 16^{17}, Nu 33^{52}, Am 5^{26} [gloss]); (2) *semel*, 'statue' (Dt 4^{16}, Ezk $8^{3. 5}$, 2 Ch $33^{7. 15}$); (3) *tabhnîth*, originally 'model,' whence 'representation' (Dt 4^{16-18}, Is 44^{13}, Ezk 8^{10} [gloss?]); (4) *temûnā*, 'form' (Dt $4^{16. 23. 25}$ 5^8 [= Ex 20^4]; (5) *neśû'ā*, 'portable idol' (Is 46^1). (*b*) *Names taken from material or manner of fabrication.*—(6) *'Aṣabbîm* (sing. *'ōṣeb*; to it, as to many of the reputedly pagan terms, the Massoretes gave the vowels of בֹּשֶׁת 'shame,' and it thus became identical with עֹצֶב, 'grief'). This term, which is usually applied to idols in general, even idols of silver and gold, doubtless originally meant clay statues (cf. עצב, עָצַב); this is probably the reason why the עֲצַבִּים are sometimes distinguished from the graven image (Is 48^5, Mic 1^7) and from the molten image (Is 48^5, Hos 13^2). Besides clay statues (Vincent, 158–162, 166, 169, 172 [idol mould]; cf. Wis 15^{7-13}), there are also: (7) the *pesîlîm* (sing. *pesel*), 'graven images,' made of wood (Dt $7^{5. 25}$ 12^3) or of stone (Is 21^9, 2 Ch 34^4; Vincent, 153, 157, 173), and sometimes (at least in the case of pagan idols) painted (Wis 13^{14} 15^4) or ornamented with silver and gold (Jer 10^4). This must have been a very common kind of image, for the word *pesîlîm* could be applied to idols in general, even those made of metal (Is 40^{19} 44^{10}, Jer 10^{14}).

There was also (8) the molten image, *massêkhā*, *nesekh* (Is 41^{29} 48^{5}, Jer 10^{14} 51^{17}), *nāsîkh* (Dn 11^{8}), in gold, silver, or sometimes bronze (see II. 6 (2)). According to certain texts, the bulls of Dan and Bethel were *massêkhôth* (Hos 13^{2}, Ex 32^{4}, Dt $9^{12.\ 16}$, Neh 9^{18}), made by pouring the molten metal into a mould (Ex $32^{4.\ 8.\ 24}$): נָסַךְ = ‘to cast,’ ‘to melt’ (Is 40^{19} 44^{10}). Cf. Vincent, 163 f., 167 f., 173–175. Again, we have (9) the *περίχρυσα* and *περιάργυρα* (Dt 7^{25}, Is 30^{22}; cf. also Ep. Jer.$^{8.\ 24.\ 39.\ 50.\ 55.\ 57.\ 70f.}$). The framework on to which the sheets of gold or silver were hammered and soldered might be of some common metal (Is 40^{19} 41^{7}; cf. the statuette of Osiris, R. A. S. Macalister, *PEFSt*, new ser., xxxv. [1903] 39) or of wood, such as the ‘golden calves,’ according to the evidence of Hos 8^{6} (‘in pieces’), Ex 32^{4} (‘fashioned it with *a graving tool*’), 32^{20} (‘*burnt* it with fire . . . strewed it *upon the water*’). (10) Figured stones, *’ebhen maśkît* (Lv 26^{1}, Nu 33^{52}, Ezk 8^{12} [?]), probably intermediary between the stele and the statue (Lv 26^{1}), were used as idols, and also (11) images carved out (or, according to others, ‘drawn’ [‘graven’ images]) on the inner walls of the Temple (Ezk 8^{10}).

There are numerous ironical descriptions of the manufacture of idols, but they are all post-Exilic, and are directed against foreign idols—Hab $2^{18f.}$, Is $40^{18\text{-}20}$ $41^{6f.}$ $44^{9\text{-}20}$ $46^{6f.}$, Jer $10^{2\text{-}5.\ 9.\ 14f.}$, Ps $115^{4\text{-}8}$ = $135^{15\text{-}18}$, Wis $13^{10\text{-}16}$ 15, Ep. Jer. (= Bar 6 [cf. Weigand Naumann, *Untersuchungen über den apokr. Jeremiasbrief*, Giessen, 1913, pp. 8–9]), *Apoc. Abr.* 1–8.

6. Forms of idols.—(1) *Human.*—The Israelites, like the Canaanites (see II. 1), the Philistines (1 S 5^{4}), and the pagans (Is 44^{13}, Ps $115^{4\text{-}8}$), possessed human idols (Dt 4^{16}, 1 S 19^{13}, Ezk $16^{17f.}$), but theriomorphic images were of much more frequent occurrence (Dt $4^{17f.}$ $5^{8f.}$ = Ex $20^{4f.}$).

(2) *Animal.*—(*a*) The *neḥuśtân*, ‘brazen *serpent*’ (*neḥōšeth*), was worshipped in Jerusalem down to the 8th cent. B.C. (2 K 18^{4}). As far as one can judge from tradition (Nu $21^{4\text{-}9}$), the Israelites regarded this statue as the image of the *jinn*—subject to Jahweh rather than identified with Him, as has been supposed (A. Loisy, *Rel. d’Isr.*^{2}, Paris, 1908, p. 81 f.)—who becomes incarnated in fiery serpents (*śerāphîm*), and in turn heals and inflicts mortal wounds (cf. E. Meyer, *Die Isr. und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle, 1906, pp. 116, 426 f.). It is quite probable, however, that this bronze statue was originally an ancient Canaanite idol representing the spirit of a spring (there was a ‘serpent stone’ by the side of the sacred spring of Rôghēl in Jerusalem [1 K 1^{9}]), perhaps the eponymous ancestor of the Hivvites. In the Canaanite high place of Gezer a little brazen serpent, and at Taanach six or seven real serpent heads and one in terra-cotta, have been found (Vincent, 117, 174–176). (*b*) Jahweh was usually represented under the form of the *bull*, as a symbol of His irresistible force (Nu 23^{22} 24^{8}). Hosea and the prophetic writers call these statues ‘calves,’ perhaps derisively, from their small size. Reisner, however, in 1910 found on a Samarian ostracon the proper name *‘Eghelyo* (*Harvard Theol. Rev.* iv. [1911] 141), which may be interpreted: ‘Jahweh is a calf, *i.e.* a young bull’ (said in no spirit of mockery); the name, however, seems rather to signify ‘calf of Jahweh,’ *i.e.* ‘son of the bull-Jahweh’ (cf. Abel, *RB*, new ser., viii. [1911] 293). The Israelites probably borrowed this symbol from the Canaanites (see BULL [Sem.]), who in their turn may have got it from the Egyptians.

In Palestine, besides several bulls’ heads and figurines of cows, statuettes of goddesses have been found with horns on their head [Vincent, 160, 164, 169 f., 174]—a decoration probably copied from the statues of the Egyptian goddess Hathor.

This symbol occurred with great frequency throughout Israel, and played a great part in the ornamentation of the temple in Jerusalem. The seal of a certain ‘Šema‘yāhû ben ‘Azaryāhû’ bears the figure of a bull (I. Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.*^{2}, Tübingen, 1907, p. 227). From this probably comes the epithet of ‘*’ăbhîr* (‘strong man’ or ‘bull’) of Israel’ or ‘of Jacob,’ given to Jahweh (Is 1^{24}, Gn 49^{24}, Is 49^{26} 60^{16}, Ps $132^{2.\ 5}$), and perhaps also the custom of placing horns at the corners of the altar (1 K 2^{28}, Am 3^{14}; cf. Lagrange, *RB*, new ser., iv. [1907] 501, for the same custom in Crete).

7. The Ephod.—The *’êphôd* and the *terāphîm* must be treated separately because of the uncertainty as to their true nature. The word *’êphôd* signifies: (*a*) in certain ancient texts, a garment worn by the priest (*’êphôd badh*) (see *HDB* i. 725); (*b*) in P, a piece of cloth which the high priest wore above his dress and from which hung a pocket (חֹשֶׁן) containing the oracle (*ûrîm-tummîm*) (see art. DRESS, vol. v. p. 67^{a}). But there are (*c*) a certain number of ancient passages where *’êphôd* certainly stands for some symbol of the divinity, and probably for a sort of statue.

In Jg $8^{24\text{-}27}$ Gideon, with the golden ear-rings taken as spoil from the Midianites, the weight of which amounted to 1700 shekels, made an *’êphôd* which he set up (or ‘put’) in Ophrah, and ‘all the sons of Israel went a whoring after it there,’ which means, according to the ordinary sense of this expression, that the Israelites offered it an illegal worship (cf., however, Hos 4^{12}, Lv $20^{5f.}$, Nu 15^{39}). It would obviously be impossible to wear a garment or an oracle pocket weighing over 60 lbs. It was also the custom to manufacture divine symbols out of gold or jewels used as amulets or otherwise held sacred—the Golden Calf (Ex 32); the ark (Ex $33^{4\text{-}6}$ 35^{22}; cf. Dt $7^{25f.}$). In the story of Micah (Jg 17–18) the *’êphôd* is mentioned in connexion with *terāphîm* and ‘a graven image and a molten image.’ In the sanctuary of Nob, there was an *’êphôd* behind which the sword of Goliath was kept wrapped up in a cloak (1 S $21^{9f.}$). This *’êphôd* was often consulted by Saul and David in their campaigns; the priest on those occasions held it ‘in his hand’ (1 S 23^{6}); he was asked to ‘bring it hither,’ and carried it to the person who was consulting it (14^{18} 23^{9} 30^{7})—he ‘carried’ it (נָשָׂא = ‘to carry,’ not ‘to wear’; 14^{3} 22^{18} [LXX]).

It would be utterly impossible to bring together all the different acceptations of the word *’êphôd* under one general meaning, by supposing, *e.g.*, that the word had always the signification of ‘pagne,’ one corner of which formed a pocket for holding the *sortes* (Foote, *The Ephod*, pp. 19, 27, 41–44; Moore, *EBi*, art. ‘Ephod’ [exception made for *’êphôd* of Gideon]), or that it was the golden mask of the divine statue which the priest put on when he was delivering oracles (Duhm, *Handkomm. zum AT*, Göttingen, 1892, on Is 30^{22}).

One would rather do well to remember that semantics has disclosed in every language diversities of meaning which are far more singular than those attaching to the word *’êphôd*. אֵפוֹד, whatever its etymological significance, and whether the verb אָפַד, ‘to cover,’ is a denominative of אֵפוֹד or not, could mean a ‘garment,’ then a ‘covering’ of precious metal on a statue (this is the natural meaning of אֲפֻדָּה in Is 30^{22}; ∥ צִפּוּי), and in the end a ‘statue’ covered with a layer of gold or silver (cf. II. 5 (9)).

The objection has been raised that a statue does not declare oracles, especially oracles obtained by a sort of drawing of lots like the Urim and Thummim (1 S 14^{41} [LXX]). Yet the *terāphîm* (Ezk 21^{26}, Zec 10^{2} [see, however, II. 8]) and the molten image (Hab 2^{18}) gave consultations. In Babylonia, questions were apparently ‘whispered’ to newly consecrated idols (Lagrange, *Études rel. sém.*^{2}, 232). In Egypt there were statues which nodded their heads or spoke, the priests who made them move or speak being supposed to be inspired by the god. Another suggestion is that the *’êphôd* was a statuette which, when set in motion by the priest, could stop in two or three different positions, or an idol with a cavity containing sacred lots, possibly like the vases of female or animal shape found in the Palestine excavations (Vincent, 229, 314).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works quoted above, see G. F. Moore, *Judges*, London, 1898, p. 381; T. C. Foote, *The Ephod, its Forms and Use*, Baltimore, 1902 (with bibliography): H. T. Elhorst, *ZATW* xxx. [1910] 259-276.

8. The Teraphim.—It is difficult to draw from the text any coherent idea of what the *terāphîm* were.

Rachel steals those of her father Laban, and, when he asks for 'his gods,' she conceals them in the camel's furniture (Gn 31$^{19.30-35}$). Later, Jacob buried these 'strange gods' under the (sacred) terebinth of Shechem (35$^{2-4}$). Here *terāphîm* signifies small statues representing strange gods. Micah has in his sanctuary an *'ēphôd* and *terāphîm* (Jg 17–18), which were used in the worship of Jahweh. Hosea also mentions the *terāphîm*, connecting them closely with the *'ēphôd* as one of the indispensable elements of the Israelite cult of his day (3^4). Michal assisted her husband David in his flight from Saul by putting 'the *terāphîm*' in bed in his place (1 S 19^{13}); for the subterfuge to be successful, the *terāphîm* in question must have had the size and appearance of a man. From this anecdote we gather that in the time of David the *terāphîm* was one of the normal articles of furniture in an Israelite house. On the other hand, in all texts belonging to a date later than the 8th cent. B.C., the *terāphîm* are condemned side by side with divination (1 S 15^{23}), necromancy, and idolatry (2 K 23^{24}). Nebuchadnezzar, hesitating between two ways, consults the oracles: he shakes the arrows to and fro, consults the *terāphîm*, and inspects the liver; the divination for Jerusalem having come into his right hand, he sets his face towards that town (Ezk 21$^{26f.}$). Here *terāphîm* is used for a pagan means of divination. In Zec 10^2 the word is used of a pagan or illegal mode of consultation (connected with soothsayers and dreams).

The suggestion has been made that *terāphîm* should be identified with *śerāphîm* (C. S. Wake, *Serpent Worship*, London, 1888, p. 47), but there are no clear grounds for adopting it.

Others think that the *terāphîm* were statuettes used as *sortes* and enclosed in the *'ēphôd*, which would then be a kind of pouch (Foote, *op. cit.*; K. Marti, *Kurzer Handkomm.* xiii., Tübingen, 1903, on Hos 3^4; cf. John Spencer, *de Leg. Hebræorum ritualibus et earum rationibus*, Cambridge, 1685, bk. iii. diss. 7). This explanation, however, would not suit Michal's *terāphîm* of human size, and in any case the use of *terāphîm* for divination is supported only by late texts.

It is held that the *terāphîm* were images of ancestors (Lippert, Stade, Schwally, Nowack, Budde, Charles, Torge). If this were proved, the fact that the *terāphîm* sometimes appeared as domestic idols (Laban, Michal) and were used in various countries (Laban, Nebuchadnezzar) would be explained. But why should the Danites have transported the images of Micah's ancestors into their public sanctuary, or why should the daughters of Laban have stolen the *terāphîm* of their father, since ancestor-worship could not be taken part in by women? Would Rachel and Michal have treated the images of the ancestors of their family with such scant ceremony? Again, no traces have been found up till now of any statues of ancestors among the Babylonians.

According to another explanation, the *terāphîm* originally represented the familiar spirit of the house, and were analogous with the *lares* and *penates* (Cornelius à Lapide, *Comm.*, Antwerp, 1681; E. Reuss, *Die Gesch. der heil. Schriften Alten Testaments*^{2}, Brunswick, 1890, p. 177; J. Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube und Seelenkult im alten Israel*, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 102–104; C. Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels*, Halle, 1900, p. 175; H. Gunkel, *Gen.*^{3}, Göttingen, 1910, p. 345; A. Loisy, *Rel. d'Isr.*^{2}, 202).

In Babylonia each place has its tutelary genius, each individual even has 'his god' and 'his goddess.' The cult of the *genius loci*, of the *gad* (Fortune) of the house, continued among the Jews down to Talmudic times (Bab. *Sanh.* 20^a; *Ned.* 56^a); clear traces of it are found in the foundation sacrifices of modern Syria (Curtiss, *Ursem. Rel.*, pp. xvi, 208 f., 265–267). This interpretation seems the most plausible, at least if the word *terāphîm* always signifies one and the same thing. It still seems rather curious, however, in spite of the analogy of the *kerûbhîm*, that these statues of *genii loci* should almost always have had a place in the sanctuaries of Jahweh (Jg 17–18, Hos 3^4), and that the Danites should have carried off to Laish the statue of a *genius loci* of Mount Ephraim.

The explanation of the difficulty of finding any agreement between the different contexts in which *terāphîm* occurs may be that the word, for which no satisfactory etymology has been found, is one of the opprobrious terms used by the Jews of recent times in Biblical texts as a substitute for the abhorred names of idols and false gods (see III. 3). *Terāphîm* may be the plural of *tōreph*, which in the Hebrew of the Mishna means 'foulness,' 'obscenity.' Now, in this case, we have no assurance that this abusive term was everywhere and always substituted for one single expression. In Zec 10^2 the Peshiṭṭa still appears to have read יִדְּעֹנִים ('spirits of divination' or 'necromancers'), ܝܕܘܥܐ (cf. Lv 19^{31} 20^{27}, 1 S 28^9, 2 K 23^{24} etc.); in other contexts there may have been some term signifying idol in general (*pesîlîm*, Ezk 21^{26} LXX; *'ăṣabbîm*) or god (*'ĕlôhîm*).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works quoted, reference may be made to A. Lods, *La Croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l' antiquité israélite*, Paris, 1906, i. 231–236; P. Torge, *Seelenglaube und Unsterblichkeitshoffnung im AT*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 141–148.

III. *REACTION AGAINST IDOL-WORSHIP.*—**1. Before the 8th cent. B.C.**—The worship of images soon became suspect to the upholders of the true religion of Jahweh; Asa is said to have done away with those which his fathers had made, but the second decalogue (Ex 34^{17}), towards the 9th cent., condemns only the worship of 'molten gods,' *i.e.* statues whose splendour contrasted too strongly with the simplicity of olden times. The history of the Golden Calf (Ex 32) reflects the same point of view.

2. The Prophets.—Hosea is the first to lay down the principle of the incompatibility of idol-worship with the true worship of Jahweh (8$^{4-6}$ 13$^{1f.}$; cf. 3^4). Isaiah forbids the use of idols of gold and silver (2$^{8.20}$); and Hezekiah, apparently at his instigation, breaks the brazen serpent in pieces (2 K 18^4). It was probably about this time that all manufacture or worship of images of the deity was absolutely prohibited (Ex 20$^{4f.}$). The reforms instituted by Josiah (621 B.C.) include a prohibition against all representations of Jahweh—even unfigured ones (Dt 16$^{21f.}$, 2 K 23$^{6.14.24}$). Dt 4$^{15f.}$ (7th–6th cent. B.C.) indicates a motive—the only one formulated in the OT—for this prohibition, namely, the fact that the Israelites on Mount Horeb saw no form or shape.

One of the arguments used by the prophets of the 7th cent. B.C. and later against pagan gods is that they are gods of stone and wood. They describe the manufacture of these idols with complacent irony, and identify them purely and simply with the divinities that they represent (a frequent theme from the 6th cent. B.C. onwards; see II. 5). This line of argument presupposes that it is an accepted Jewish belief that Jahweh has not, and cannot have, any material representation.

3. Judaism.—These divine images still retained their prestige among the common people to a certain degree (2 Mac 12^{40}; cf. perhaps Ps 16^4 31^7, Zec 10^2 [?], Is 30^{22}, if these passages are post-Exilic and refer to Jews). In the ruins of Jewish houses at Elephantine some bas-reliefs and statues have been found, which were probably worshipped by the members of the Jewish colony of that town (O. Rubensohn, *ZA* xlvi. [1909] 30; E. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 65 f.). But probably idol-worship was now only a popular superstition; and, when the author of Enoch (99^{14} 104^9) accuses his Jewish adversaries of 'following idols,' it is apparently to be understood as a polemic exaggeration respecting their tolerance of the pagans and Greek art.

Among the Jews who were most rigorous in keeping the law, the Second Commandment was so scrupulously followed that all manufacture of images was forbidden, even when the images were not intended for worship at all (cf. Wis 14^{12-20}). Thus, while animal representations abounded in the decoration of the pre-Exilic Temple (cf. Sir 38^{27}), a perfect storm of disapproval arose when Herod set a golden eagle above one of the doors of the sanctuary (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 2–4, *BJ* I. xxxiii. 2–4). Pilate also met with great opposition when he attempted to allow the legions to enter Jerusalem with their ensigns (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 1, *BJ* II. ix. 2 f.). In A.D. 66 the Jewish insurgents destroyed the palace of Herod Antipas at Tiberias because it was decorated with sculptures representing animals (Jos. *Life*, 12). It was out of regard for this scruple that neither Herod nor the Romans put human or animal effigies on the *as* or fractions of the *as* coined for Judæa.

The pious Jew avoided even pronouncing words signifying 'images,' 'idols,' etc. (Zec 13^2, Ps 16^4), substituting for them opprobrious terms, which were usually those used to replace the names of pagan gods (Ex 23^{13}, Dt 12^3, Hos 2^{17}; בַּעַל, *e.g.*, was read בֹּשֶׁת, 'shame,' in proper names), so that it is often difficult to tell whether idols or strange gods are meant: *'ĕlîlîm*, 'nothingness' (according to others, 'small gods'); *gillûlîm*, 'dung' (RV 'abominations'; according to others, 'shapeless masses,' 'grotesque figures'); *šiqqûṣ*, *tô'ēbhā* (Is 44^{19}, Jer 16^{18}, Dt 27^{15}), 'abominable thing'; *miphleṣeth*, 'object of horror'; *p^eghārîm* (Lv 26^{30}), *n^ebhêlā* (Jer 16^{18}), 'carcass'; *mêthîm* (Ps 106^{28}), 'the dead'; *'āwen*, 'trouble,' 'wickedness'; *hebhel*, 'vanity'; *lô' 'ĕlôhîm* (Hos 8^6), 'not God.' Some of these terms of abuse go back to the Prophets (*e.g.*, Am 5^5, Jer 2^5, Is 44^{20}); but in many cases they were introduced into Scripture at a very late date by Jewish scribes as a substitute for neuter terms. As a matter of fact this process continued even after the time of the Septuagint version (2 S 5^{21}, 1 K $11^{5.7.33}$, 2 K 23^{13}, Is 19^3). Cf. G. F. Moore, *EBi* ii. 2148–2150.

LITERATURE.—W. W. Baudissin, *Stud. zur sem. Religonsgesch.*, Leipzig, 1876–78, i. 49–177; P. Scholz, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebräern und den benachbarten Völkern*, Regensburg, 1877; B. Stade, *Bibl. Theol. des AT*, Tübingen, 1905, pp. 119–121; W. Nowack, *Heb. Archäol.*, Freiburg, 1894, ii. 21–25; I. Benzinger, *Heb. Archäol.*^{2}, Tübingen, 1907, pp. 219 f., 327–329; E. Kautzsch, *Bibl. Theol. des AT*, do. 1911, pp. 94–99, 215–217, 220 f., etc.

ADOLPHE LODS.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Indian).—**1. Introductory.**—In no part of the world, perhaps, can the characteristics of idolatry be investigated with more success than in India, owing to the abundance of the material, and the attention given to it since Hinduism and its allied faiths, Buddhism and Jainism, came under the observation of the foreigner. A visitor to one of its sacred cities is at once aware of the prevalence of image-worship. The streets, like those of Athens in the time of St. Paul, appear to be 'wholly given to idolatry' (Ac 17^{16} AV). Writing forty-five years ago, M. A. Sherring estimated that the city of Benares contained 1454 temples, and that

> 'the number of idols actually worshipped by the people certainly exceeds the number of the people themselves, though multiplied twice over; it cannot be less than half a million, and may be many more.' 'Idolatry,' he adds, 'is a charm, a fascination to the Hindu. It is, so to speak, the air he breathes. It is the food of his soul. It is the foundation of his hopes, both for this world and for another' (*The Sacred City of the Hindus*, London, 1868, p. 41 ff.).

Since his time, for reasons elsewhere explained (§ 8), the number of temples and images in this and other sacred cities has largely increased. There are in all about sixty temples in Nāsik, a number which has earned for it the name of the Benares of W. India (*BG* xvi. [1883] 503). Within the sacred enclosure at Puri rise about 120 temples 'dedicated to the various forms in which the Hindu mind has imagined its god' (W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, London, 1872, i. 128). At all the Hindu sacred places the minor idols enshrined in little niches along the streets and the entrances to the bathing-places are innumerable.

Among the more primitive tribes only a few, like the Muṇḍās or Kandhs, are said to practise no image-worship; but this does not exclude the cult of rude stocks and stones (E. T. Dalton, *Descript. Ethnol. Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 256; S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, do. 1912, p. 122; S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, London, 1865, p. 102). According to J. G. Scott, in Burma 'none of the races have, or at any rate admit that they have, idols. There is no bowing down to stocks and stones' (*Upper Burma Gaz.*, 1900, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 83). There are, of course, numerous images of the Buddha, but to the Burman 'the accusation of bowing down to stocks and stones is intolerable, and the implication is combated with feverish energy. Where there are no prayers, in the technical sense of the word, there can be no idolatry.' The words uttered before his impassive features 'are not a supplication for mercy or aid, but the praises of the Lord himself, through the contemplation of whose triumphant victory over passions and ignorance the most sinful may be led to a better state' (Shway Yoe [J. G. Scott], *The Burman*, London, 1882, i. 220).

Many writers, missionaries in particular, fiercely denounce the grossness of Hindu idolatry (J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners and Customs*^{3}, Oxford, 1906, pp. 548, 581, 590 f.; W. Ward, *The Hindoos*^{3}, Serampore, 1818, Introd. ii, x f.). Some later writers, however, recognize that the prevalence of image-worship is not the chief obstacle to the spread of Christianity. The growth of agnosticism, the revival of Vedāntism, and the rise of modern sects, like Sikhism, or the Ārya and the Brāhma Samāj (*qq.v.*), which reject the idolatrous Purāṇic cults, and seek to revive an earlier and simpler form of worship, are a more serious hindrance to Christian propaganda.

2. The historical development of idolatry.—The universality of image-worship in its more elaborate form is comparatively modern among the Hindus. In the Vedas we observe the deification of terrestrial objects—rivers, mountains, plants, trees, implements, and weapons; and 'material objects are occasionally mentioned in the later Vedic literature as symbols representing deities' (A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Myth.*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 154 f.). The existence of idols in Vedic times has been asserted in the cases of a painted image of Rudra, of Varuṇa with a golden coat of mail, in the distinction drawn between the Maruts and their images (Rigveda, II. xxxiii. 9, I. xxv. 13, V. lii. 15, in J. Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, v. [1872] 453 f.). The comparative scarcity of these references, however, does not support the conclusion that idolatry, in its general sense, as contrasted with the lavish idol-worship of a later age, is modern, because, though the higher Vedic religion may not have admitted images or sacred places, there must have been a lower stratum of Animists, who did not confine their worship to the deities of Nature (cf. A. Barth, *Rel. of India*, London, 1882, p. 60 f.). Fergusson (*Hist. Ind. Arch.*, do. 1899, p. 183) pressed the case too strongly when he suggested that 'it may become an interesting investigation to inquire whether the Greeks were not the first who taught the Indians idolatry.' The influence of the Hellenistic school of Gandhāra on Hindu sculpture is undoubted (V. A. Smith, *Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911, p. 97 ff.). But it is more than doubtful whether the use of idols can be solely attributed to this influence. Manu (*c.* A.D. 200 in the present recension, but embodying much more ancient material) gives rules about circumambulating an image, forbids stepping on its shadow, and refers to the taking of oaths in its presence (*Laws of Manu*, iv. 39, 130, viii. 87). In the *Mahābhārata*, with which the *Laws* are closely connected, idol-worship is found fully established (E. W. Hopkins, *Rel. of India*, London, 1902, p. 370 ff.). Early Buddhism knew nothing of image-worship, which arose with the spread of the Mahāyāna school (A. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, London, 1892, p. 53 f.). In fact, the worship of the image of Buddha, if the attitude of the Buddhist to images of the Master can be considered a form of idolatry, dates from the 1st cent. A.D., about four or five centuries after his death (L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 13; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 95; A. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, London, 1901, p. 67; Smith, *Hist.* 79, 106). The early artists did not dare to portray his bodily form, which had for ever vanished, being content to attest his spiritual presence by silent symbols—the footprints, the empty chair, and so forth. Further, the absence of images of Buddha from early Indian art does not imply that images of the Hindu gods were then unknown; they were certainly in use as early as the 4th cent. B.C. (Smith, 79 n.; *IA* xxxiii. [1901] 145 ff.). The modern idolatrous system dates from the establishment of neo-Brāhmanism on the downfall of Buddhism. Though image-worship prevails widely in S. India, it must be comparatively late in its present form, because all the Malāyālim terms for images are of Sanskrit origin (W. Logan, *Malabar*, Madras, 1887, i. 184).

3. The aniconic stage.—It is needless to discuss whether the stage of aniconism historically precedes or leads up to that of pictures and images—an evolution denied by some modern anthropologists (*EBr*^{11} xiv. 329). In India the two stages exist side by side, and it is possible in many cases to watch the rude stock or stone developing into the anthropomorphic image. The so-called 'fetish'—to use a term which has lost most of its significance to students of the present day—appears in many forms, included in the two general types of poles or stocks and stones. We observe, first, the pre-animistic type, in which a rude stock or stone, from its quaint or unusual appearance, is looked on as the manifestation of some unknown, vague power, which impresses the imagination of the observer. In the case of stones, this form of belief is more apparent in the great alluvial plains, where stone is a rare substance, and is naturally regarded with a feeling of awe. Thence we pass to the animistic stage, where the stone, stock, or pole suggests a well-defined form, animal or human, which fits it to be the abode of a spirit. In one type of such beliefs the stone is supposed to be a petrified man or animal, the conversion into stone being due to the wrath of some offended god or saint, or it is a punishment for the breach of some stringent tabu. Many such peculiarly shaped stones are connected by some ætiological legend with the cults of one or other of the orthodox deities. Some stones, stocks, or poles, again, acquire special sanctity, like the boundary-stone, the guardian stone of the village, death and memorial stones, the stone on which the bride is made to stand so that she may acquire strength and stability, the grindstone used as a fertility charm at birth or marriage rites. Similarly, among stocks, posts, and poles, we have the sacrificial post, the wedding post, the tank post, the village guardian post, the death post, the house pillar and posts, the post burned at the vernal fire festival, the Holī, symbolizing the burning of the old year (see artt. STONES [Indian]; POLES AND POSTS [Indian]).

4. The iconic stage of idolatry; anthropomorphism.—The Hindu forms his gods in his own image, and we can trace the development, by various means, of the rude stone or stock into the idol.

In parts of the Central Provinces, squared pieces of wood, each with a rude figure carved in front, representing the village goddess with her five brothers, who are credited with the power of sending disease and death, are set up close to each other beside the highways (S. Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, Nagpur, 1866, p. 15). In Mirzapur, similar figures, with rude heads and faces, represent Bīrnāth, the cattle godling of the Ahīrs (W. Crooke, *TC*, 1896, i. 63 f.). In honour of spirits, the Nāikdās of Gujarāt fix teak posts in the ground, roughly hacking them at the top into something like a human face; these posts are smeared with red dye, and rows of small clay horses, the 'equipage' of the spirits, are placed round them (*BG* ix. pt. i. [1901] p. 327). In the Telugu country, the stake representing Poturāzu, brother or husband of the village goddess, develops into a painted image, on which the deity sits as a warrior, sword in hand, and carries a lime and nine glass bangles belonging to his sister Ellama (H. Whitehead, *Bull. Madras Museum*, v. 124). In the same districts, four village goddesses are represented by stone pillars with the figures of women carved upon them (*ib.* 143). On the same principle, one of the chief *liṅgas*, or representations of Śiva, is shaped in front into an image of Brahmā holding a small figure of Viṣṇu on his head, thus forming the sacred Triad (*BG* vii. [1883] 551). The development of the 'fetish' into an anthropomorphic image is also shown by the use of masks which are permanently attached to the stone or stock, or used only at special feasts or ceremonies. At Nāsik in the Deccan, a *liṅga* has a silver mask with five heads, which it wears on special days, particularly the full moon of the month Kārttik (Nov.); and Bālajī, a form of Kṛṣṇa, always wears a golden mask (*ib.* xvi. [1883] 505, 507). A *liṅga* at Pur wears a rude copper mask of a man's face, with staring eyes and a curled moustache (*ib.* xviii. pt. iii. [1885] p. 427). At Benares, Bhaironnāth, warden of the city, occasionally wears a silver mask fixed on the stone which represents him, and the image of Durgā is covered with tinselled cloth and has a face of brass, silver, or other metal, according to the whim of her priests, who keep on hand a stock of masks which fit the head of the image (Sherring, 62, 166).

The result of this process of anthropomorphization is that the idol is supposed to possess powers of volition and movement.

There are numerous instances in which the image refuses to be moved by human agency, or moves only by order of certain persons. When, in anticipation of a raid by Aurangzīb, the ancient image of Keśava Deva was removed from Mathurā to Mewār, as they journeyed the wheels of the carriage refused to move, and the image, one of the most venerated statues of Kṛṣṇa, insisted on remaining at the village now known as Nāthdwārā, 'door of the Lord,' where it stands to the present day (F. S. Growse, *Mathura*^{3}, Allahabad, 1883, p. 130; J. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Calcutta, 1884, i. 558). The image of Śiva was being taken to his capital, Laṅkā, by the demon Rāvāṇa, and preferred to remain at Gokarn (*q.v.*), where it is at present (F. Buchanan, *Journey from Mysore*, London, 1807, iii. 166). A Rājā in Berār found an image on the river bank, and prayed that the god would accompany him to his capital; the reply was that it would follow him so long as he did not look back; at Sirpur he violated the tabu, and the image refused to move farther (A. Lyall, *Berar Gaz.*, Bombay, 1870, p. 178). The image Bālmukand, found lying in the river Jumnā, attached itself to the Brāhmanical cord of the saint Vallabhāchārya, as he was bathing in the river (Bholanauth Chunder, *Travels of a Hindoo*, London, 1869, ii. 49). The image of Jagannāth followed a gardener's daughter as she sang a verse from the *Gīta-govinda* (M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Rel.*, Oxford, 1909, vi. 9). There is a story current in S. India that an image of Kṛṣṇa, plundered from a Hindu temple, shared the bed of one of the Delhi princesses, and that she finally became absorbed within it (F. Buchanan, ii. 70 f.). The *liṅga* at Nagardhan opened to receive a pious woman who was unjustly suspected by her husband of infidelity (R. V. Russell, *Nagpur Gaz.*, 1908, i. 307 f.). Some images are known to grow in size, like the stone called the 'cat mother' (Bilāī Mātā), which has grown from infancy to youth; Tilabhandeśvara, 'Lord of the sesamum storehouse,' increases daily in size to the amount of a grain of the seed (A. E. Nelson, *Raipur Gaz.*, 1909, i. 287; Sherring, 151). An image of Buddha in Burma recently began to develop a moustache (Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, London, 1882, i. 235). An old legend tells that an image sweated so copiously that the Brāhmans were obliged to cool it with their fans, and a similar story is current in Burma (Stobæus, *Physica*, i. 56, in J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Lit.*, Westminster, 1901, p. 173; Shway Yoe, i. 234 f.). In Baroda, an ancient image is called 'Mother of the Scorpions,' because a gummy substance, like a small red scorpion, oozes from its belly (*BG* vii. [1883] 601).

5. The manufacture and consecration of images.—(*a*) *The substances from which images are made.*—These are numerous, and in the case of the so-called 'fetishes' the variety is specially great.

In Bombay, Humāi, the goddess of the Vārlīs, a forest tribe, is represented by a ball made from the brains of a cow, or by a small figure of the animal; their household deity, Hirvā, is a bunch of peacocks' feathers, or the figure of a hunter with his gun, a warrior on horseback, or a five-headed monster riding on a tiger (*BG* xviii. pt. i. [1885] p. 188). An image of one of the village goddesses in S. India is made of turmeric kneaded into a paste (H. Whitehead, 143). The Mālā goddess, Sunkalamma, in S. India, is in the form of a cone made of boiled rice and green gram; a little hollow is made in the top, and this is filled with butter, onions, and pulse; four lampwicks are put into it, a nose-jewel is stuck on the outside of the lump, two garlands are tied round it, and the whole structure is decorated with religious symbols (Thurston, *TC* iv. 357). Ashes, either from the sacred fire or from the funeral pyre, are often made into images; among the Gaudos of Madras, an image of the deceased is made on the spot where he was cremated, and to this food is offered (*ib.* ii. 275; cf. vi. 357). Balls or cones of clay often represent the deity or a sainted ancestor, as among the Aruvas, whose gods are a mass of mud in conical shape, with an areca-nut stuck on the top (*ib.* i. 60; cf. iii. 461 f.). Eight little heaps of brick plastered over with clay represent the village gods in the Shāhābād district of Bengal (*NINQ* i. [1891] 128). The household deity of the Koravas of Madras is a brick picked up at random (Thurston, iii. 469). The Kānphaṭā Jogīs represent their ancestors by unhusked coco-nuts, changed yearly on New Year's Day, the old coco-nut being made into oil to feed the lamps of their shrine; the family god of the Mukrīs is an unhusked coco-nut; the house *nat* is represented in every Burmese house by a coco-nut hung in a frame of cane (*BG* xv. [1883] pt. i. pp. 354, 376; *Census Rep. Burma*, 1911, i. 156). Ambā Bhavānī, a caste goddess in Sholapur, is a lamp (*BG* xx. [1884] 108). Clay pots are commonly used to contain the deity, as among the Mālas of Madras, who represent Lakṣmī, goddess of prosperity, by a pile of six pots; in W. India pots are commonly used as homes for spirits (Thurston, iv. 359; *BG* xv. pt. i. [1881] p. 248 n.).

For anthropomorphic images the material most used in ancient times, as in the case of the Greek *ξόανα*, was probably wood (J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, 1898, iv. 245 f.; Farnell, *CGS* i. [1896] 14 f.).

Jagannāth, originally a rude block, has, under Buddhist influence, been adapted to represent the Triad—Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha (A. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, p. 358 ff.; W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, i. 92 ff., 129). The wood of the *nīm*, or margosa tree (*Melia azadirachta*), is used for the most sacred images (*JASBo* ii. 275). Ancient wooden images have naturally, for the most part, disappeared. But there are records of their existence in Kāśmīr. 'In Inner Kashmir, about two or three days' journey from the capital, in the direction towards the mountains of Bolor, there is a wooden idol called Śārada, which is much venerated by pilgrims' (al-Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. E. C. Sachau, London, 1910, i. 117). Commenting on this passage, Stein (Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, London, 1900, ii. 285) remarks that al-Bīrūnī associates this image with other famous idols, like that of the sun-god at Multān, Chakraśvāmin of Thāneśvar, and the *liṅga* of Somnāth; 'I am unable to trace elsewhere any reference to the image of Śārada being a wooden one. There was a famous wooden statue of Maitreya, much venerated by Buddhists, in Dāril, not far from Cilās. It is mentioned by Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang (see *Si-yu-ki*, tr. Beal, i. pp. xxix, 134). This image was 80 feet long, and its upturned feet 8 feet, much worshipped by neighbouring kings. Hiuen Tsiang says it was about 100 feet high.' Similar images have recently been found in Orissa (Nagendranath Vasu, *Arch. Surv. Mayurbhanja*, Calcutta, 1911, i. c). For other religious carvings in wood, see V. A. Smith, *Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 364 ff.

Many of the images now in use are made of metal of various kinds. Among the more primitive tribes iron in various shapes is used.

If a Savara dies of wounds caused by a knife or other iron weapon, a piece of iron or an arrow is thrust into a rice-pot to represent the deceased (Thurston, vi. 331). Among the gods of the Goṇḍs are found a spear, sword, or iron bar (R. V. Russell, *Census Rep. Cent. Prov.*, 1901, i. 94). Spears often represent the S. Indian village goddesses, and among the Lamānīs of Bombay needles are worshipped in the name of dead ancestors (H. Whitehead, 124; *Eth. Surv. Bombay*, no. 140 [1909] 10). For house images and for those carried in procession, brass is usually employed, and, cast by the *cire perdue* process, is found even among primitive tribes like the Kandhs (Thurston, iii. 391). A combination of eight metals—gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, brass, iron, and steel—(*aṣṭadhātu*) is specially sacred; of this substance the face of the image of Bāgheśvarī at Benares is made (Sherring, 90).

Metal images are made at Benares, Mathurā, Ujjain, Ahmadābād, and other places; Gayā, Bardwān, and, in particular, Jaipur, supply stone images (T. N. Mukharji, *Art Manufactures of India*, Calcutta, 1888, Index, *s.v.* 'Idols'). Tavernier states that in his time Armenians used to export idols to India, and his editor asserts that at the present day Bohemia sends idols made of cast glass to India, which undersell the marble images of Agra (*Travels*, ed. V. Ball, London, 1889, ii. 261). J. G. Scott says that images of Gautama are imported from Birmingham to Burma; but this has been denied (*Burma*, London, 1906, p. 336).

(*b*) *Carving and style of images.*—The style of the sculptor is always dominated by ritual prescription or hieratic formalism, and hence the modern idol is monotonous in execution, and possesses little artistic beauty; it is only artists of exceptional ability that have been able to make their powers apparent, and elevate compositions mainly conventional to the rank of works of art (V. A. Smith, 184 f.; Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, London, 1882, i. 237 f.). The proportionate sizes of the various parts of an image are carefully prescribed by the ancient authority known as the *Śilpa Śāstra* (Rajendralāla Mitra, i. 134 ff.). In making idols the Madras stone-carver distinguishes by the ring of the stone, when struck, whether it is male or female, suitable for the image of a god or a goddess (Thurston, vi. 388). The extraordinary multiplication of images and the introduction of monstrous and impossible forms, such as the Chaturānana or Chaturmukha, 'four-faced' Brahmā, the Chaturbhuja, or 'four-armed' Viṣṇu, the Dasabhuja or Aṣṭabhuja, 'ten-armed' or 'eight-armed' Devī—the intention being to enhance the dignity and power of the deity—are, from the artistic point of view, indefensible (V. A. Smith, 6 f., 100, 182). But these are not modern inventions, as the type of four-handed figures appears in the later Gandhāra period, and polycephalic images in the Kuṣān age (*ib.* 124, 143). Even in the Buddhist period multiplication of *stūpas* was common (*ib.* 153). In modern times the multiplication of images, generally of the *liṅga*, has assumed a monstrous form (R. V. Russell, *Bhandara Gaz.*, 1908, i. 241; *BG* xiv. [1882] 175; Sherring, 42 f.). Colossal images are more common among the Jains than among the Hindus.

'Undoubtedly the most remarkable of the Jain statues are the celebrated colossi of Southern India, the largest free-standing statues in Asia, which are three in number, situated respectively at Śrāvana Belgola in Mysore, and at Kārkala, and Yenūr (or Venūr) in South Kānara. All three, being set on the top of eminences, are visible for miles around, and, in spite of their formalism, command respectful attention by their enormous mass and expression of dignified serenity. The biggest, that at Śrāvana Belgola, stands about 56¼ feet in height, with a width of 13 feet across the hips, and is cut out of a solid block of gneiss, apparently wrought *in situ*. That at Kārkala, of the same material, but some 15 feet less in height, is estimated to weigh 80 tons. The smallest of the giants, that at Yenūr, is 35 feet high. The three images are almost identical, but the one at Yenūr has the "special peculiarity of the cheeks being dimpled with a deep, grave smile," which is considered to detract from the impressive effect' (V. A. Smith, 268).

(*c*) *Consecration of images.*—The molten or carved image, until the deity can be induced or compelled to enter it, is useless and unfit for worship among those castes and tribes which have risen beyond the level of mere 'fetishism.'

The rite of consecration, in parts of S. India, provides that the image, when brought from the workshop, should be washed with the five products of the cow, and kept in a copper pot for twenty-four hours. It is then taken out, and the sacred fire is lighted; while this is burning the priest recites verses. The image is kept buried under a heap of rice for about half an hour, and it is then covered with a silk cloth. The priest touches the image in all its limbs, and finally breathes into its mouth. The sacred fire is re-lighted, and the image is then fit for worship (*BG* xv. pt. i. [1883] p. 147 n.). In Bengal, at the festival of Durgā, the officiating Brāhman consecrates the image of the goddess, and, placing it in its appointed place in the temple, recites the proper formulæ. After this comes the giving of eyes and life to the image. With the two forefingers of his right hand he touches the breast, cheek, eyes, and forehead of the image, saying: 'Let the soul of Durgā long continue in happiness in this image!' After this he takes a leaf of the *vilva* tree (*Ægle marmelos*), rubs it with butter, and holds it over a lamp until it is covered with soot, of which he takes a little on the stalk of another *vilva* leaf and fills the pupils of the eyes with the soot (Ward, ii. 85). In other places, when an image is not prepared, the goddess Devī is caused to enter an earthen pot by a priest, who is obliged to undergo fasting and submit to other tabus of food during the nine days' ceremony (*NINQ* iv. [1894] 20 f.). Following a still cruder form of ritual, among the Tibetan Buddhists, 'internal organs of dough or clay are sometimes inserted into the bodies of the larger images, but the head is usually left empty; and into the more valued ones are put precious stones and filings of the noble metals, and a few grains of consecrated rice, a scroll bearing "the Buddhist Creed," and occasionally other texts, booklets, and relics. These objects are sometimes mixed with the plastic material, but usually are placed in the central cavity, the entrance to which, called "the charm-place," is sealed up by the consecrating Lāma' (Waddell, 329). The rite of making the eyes of the image is often supposed to confer life upon it, and until this is done it is not worshipped (Thurston, iii. 106 f.). A strange story is told regarding Jagannāth, that the priests periodically make a new image of the god, and place something inside—according to some, a bone of Kṛṣṇa, according to others, 'the spirit of the god.' 'When two new moons occur in Assur [Āsāṛh] (part of June and July), which is said to happen once in seventeen years, a new idol is always made. A Nīm tree is sought for in the forests on which no crow or carrion bird was ever perched. It is known to the initiated by certain signs. This is prepared into a proper form by common carpenters, and is then entrusted to certain priests who are protected from all intrusion; the process is a great mystery. One man is selected to take out of the idol a small box containing the spirit, which is conveyed inside the new; the man who does this is always removed from this world before the end of the year' (Col. Phipps, *Mission Register*, Dec. 1824, quoted by A. Sterling, *Orissa*, London, 1846, p. 122; Ward, ii. 168; *Calcutta Review*, x. 223, quoting Brij Kishore Ghose, *Hist. of Puri*, 18). The Rath-jātra, or car festival, of 1912 was of special importance, because the image, after thirty-six years, was to be changed (*Times of India*, weekly ed., 20 July 1912). It is, of course, quite contrary to the spirit of the Vaiṣṇava cultus of Jagannāth that anything in the shape of a bone should be enclosed in the image. The tradition obviously represents a survival of Buddhist relic-worship, as in the Tibetan customs quoted above.

6. The ritual of image-worship.—(*a*) *Forms of worship.*—The ritualistic worship of images takes various forms, ranging from that adopted by the more primitive tribes in the cult of the rude stocks and stones in which their spirits, usually malevolent, are embodied, through the more highly organized cult of the village and local deities, up to the worship of the orthodox gods conducted by Brāhmans or by members of the ascetic orders.

Among the forest and menial tribes the worshippers, more particularly when disease or other calamity menaces the hamlet, make a sacrifice to the stone or collection of stones which represents their local or tribal deity. The victim, usually a chicken or a castrated goat, is taken to the shrine, the worshipper or his priest decapitates it with a single stroke of an axe or knife, the form and material of such ritualistic implements being sometimes specially prescribed, and they are placed in charge of the Baigā or other medicine-man, who hands them down to his successor, at the same time explaining to him the form of the ritual and the invocations which are used at the service. Some of the victim's blood is then dropped on the stone, and sometimes rude offerings consisting of milk or the fruits of the soil are laid on an earthen platform or altar in the hut which the deity is supposed to occupy. After this the victim is cooked and eaten in the immediate presence of the deity by the worshipper and his friends, the head being usually reserved as the perquisite of the priest.

Among the more settled tribes, particularly in S. India, the ritual assumes a coarser form. Thus, at the worship of Māriyamma in the Bellary district, men and women substitute garments of the margosa tree (*Melia azadirachta*) for their ordinary clothing, and offer to the image milk and curds, which are drunk by the priest. The change of dress possibly points to a survival of the leaf clothing which up to quite recent times was worn by the Juāngs and other primitive tribes, or it may merely indicate that they are in a state of tabu and remove their usual clothing lest it may become infected (cf. the special dress (*iḥrām*) worn by the Muhammadan pilgrim at Mecca [W. R. Smith, *Rel. Semites*, 1894, pp. 333, 484; T. P. Hughes, *Dict. Islam*, 1885, p. 196]). A buffalo bull is bound with ropes and dragged with shouts to the shrine; it is beheaded and its head is placed on the ground beside the goddess, with the right foot, which is also cut off, in its mouth. On the fourth day of the festival a booth is erected in which the goddess is represented by a brass plate containing ashes, red powder used by women for their adornment, earthenware bangles, and a gold necklace. 'The people congregate there, and a man whose patronymic is Pōturāz ["ox-king"] brings a small black ram to the goddess. Standing in front of the goddess he holds the ram in his arms, and seizing its throat with his teeth bites the animal until he kills it. He tears the ram's bleeding flesh with his teeth and holds it in his mouth to the goddess. The body of the ram is then buried beside the booth, and Pōturāz is bathed by the headmen of the village, who put a new turban on his head and give him a new cloth' (*JASBo* ii. 164 ff.; G. Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa*, Westminster, 1893, p. 475 f.). Accounts of similar rites of sacrifice will be found in H. Whitehead, 'The Village Deities of Southern India,' *Bull. Madras Museum*, v. [1907], no. 3. Similar brutality is shown at the sacrifices performed by the Gorkhas at the Dasahrā or Durgā Pūjā festival in Nepāl (H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, London, 1880, ii. 345 ff.). A survival of these rites of blood sacrifice appears in the custom of smearing rude stones and images with red paint, in order to endow them with a warm vitality, or as a substitute for an older practice of feeding a god by smearing the face, and especially the lips, of an idol with the blood of a sacrificial victim (*CGS* v. [1909] 245; *GB*^{3}, pt. i. 'The Magic Art,' vol. ii. [1911] p. 175 f.).

When the worship falls into the hands of Brāhmans, who are influenced by the humanistic traditions of Buddhism, particularly in the Vaiṣṇava cultus, the grosser types of worship disappear. Thus, in the case of the cult of Devī at Bechrājī in Baroda, though the local legend implies the former prevalence of animal sacrifices, the chief priest, in the morning, after ablution, enters the sanctuary, and pours five holy liquids (*pañchāmṛta*)—milk, curds, butter, sugar, honey—over the image, and drops cold water on it from a perforated pot. While this rite (*abhiṣeka*) is taking place, the Brāhman chants Vedic hymns. The goddess is then dressed and ornamented with coloured powder and flowers, and incense is burnt. The first meal, known as the 'child's meal' (*bālbhog*), is offered in the morning, and then the waving rite (*ārti*) is performed, in which lamps are waved, camphor is burnt, and hymns are sung to the ringing of bells and beating of gongs. She is again fed at 10 p.m., a little food being sprinkled over the image and the rest consumed by the priests. In the evening, passages from the sacred books describing the exploits of the goddess are read, and the evening meal, known as the 'great offering' (*mahānaivedya*), with gifts from pilgrims, is presented (*BG* vii. [1883] 611 f.).

The widest extension of the rites of feeding and dressing the image is found in the Vallabhāchārya cult of Kṛṣṇa, which includes the washing of the idol at dawn, dressing it, feeding it at noon—the food being shared between the temple priests and the votaries—the siesta and the awaking, the afternoon repast, the evening toilet, and the repose for the night (*BG* ix. pt. i. [1901] p. 535 f.; F. S. Growse, *Mathurā*, p. 290).

In contrast to this elaborate ritual, that of Śiva is much simpler. To the *liṅga* are offered sandal-wood paste, water, and the leaves of the *vilva* or bel tree (*Ægle marmelos*). It is only on his special 'nights' that the stone is covered with a mask (§ 4), or decked with pieces of refrigerated butter, or carried in procession (*BG* ix. pt. i. [1901] p. 541). Sometimes as a rain-charm, a form of sympathetic or imitative magic, the *liṅga* is covered with water (*PR*^{2} i. 76; *BG* xiv. [1882] 5, xviii. pt. iii. [1885] p. 339; *GB*^{3}, pt. i. vol. i. pp. 304 ff.).

(*b*) *Processions of images.*—There is a common custom of carrying images in procession, often accompanied with a 'sacred marriage,' of washing them in water to remove pollution and strengthen them for the discharge of their duties, or of flinging them into water as rain or fertility charms. The idol procession, which is intended, partly to please the deities, partly to spread their beneficent influences through the streets along which they pass, usually implies Jain or Buddhist tradition, and is more common in S. than in N. India.

A typical instance of such processions is the car festival (*rath-jātrā*) of Jagannāth. At Madura, during the spring festival, Śiva is wedded to Mīnākṣī, the local goddess, and a leading incident of the rite is the dragging of the images through the streets (W. Francis, *Madura Gaz.*, 1906, i. 270, 273). The rite of bathing their patron goddess, Gaurī, consort of Śiva, by the Rājputs of Udaipur is one of their most solemn festivals (J. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, 1884, i. 603 ff.). At the Kundalpur temple the chief rite is the ceremonial bathing (*jaljātrā*) of the god Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna; the water in which the god has been bathed is sold by auction, and votaries buy a little to rub on their hands and faces (R. V. Russell, *Damoh Gaz.*, 1906, i. 203). Among the Prabhūs of the Deccan, their goddess, Gaurī, is fed, laid on a winnowing-fan, and stripped of all her ornaments, except her nose-ring, glass bangles, and black bead necklace. Some food and four copper coins being tied to her apron, she is placed in the arms of a servant, who, without looking back, while an elderly woman sprinkles water on his footprints, walks straight to a river or lake, and, leaving the goddess in the water, brings back her silk waist-cloth, the winnowing-fan, a little water, and five pebbles (*BG* xviii. pt. i. [1885] p. 248). On the banks of the Indus, Daryā Ṣāḥib, the river-god, is represented by an image made of reeds, which is ornamented with flowers, worshipped, and finally thrown into the river (H. A. Rose, *Punjab Census Rep.*, 1901, i. 118).

(*c*) *Images used in divination.*—The use of images for the purpose of divination is common.

At the Dharmāvaram temple, when any worshipper craves a boon at the shrine of a famous Sannyāsī, the priest puts a leaf of the *vilva* tree on the head of the image, and, if soon after it falls off, it is believed that the request will be granted (W. Francis, *Vizagapatam Gaz.*, 1907, i. 316). At the shrine of Pisharnāth, on Matherān Hill, near Bombay, the priest explains to the god what is desired, and lays two stones in a hollow formed in the breast of the image; if the right-hand stone is first to fall, he tells the worshipper that his request is granted; if the left-hand stone falls, an additional offering is needed (*BG* xiv. [1882] 263 n.). When the Muhammadans destroyed the temple at Mandhāta on the Narbadā river, the leader was told that the *liṅga* had the power of showing by a reflexion within its surface the creature into which the soul of the inquirer would pass at the next metempsychosis; when the Musalmān officer looked into it he saw a pig, and in his rage flung the *liṅga* into the fire; this explains how it gained its jet black colour (C. Grant, *Cent. Prov. Gaz.*, 1870, p. 261).

(*d*) *Binding the god.*—The custom of binding an image so as to keep the deity under control is found in India (*FL* viii. [1897] 325 ff.).

The image of Hanumān, the monkey-god, is sometimes barred in by means of strips of wood nailed in front of his shrine, to prevent him from wandering in the jungle (R. V. Russell, *Betul Gaz.*, 1907, i. 53). In Kumaun, some of the local gods are shut up in a copper vessel or covered with a cylinder, lest they may do mischief (*NINQ* iii. [1893] 145). Near Madras is a temple where the reformer, Śaṅkarāchārya, put the goddess Kālī down a well, and placed a large stone on the top to keep her confined, because she used to eat a Brāhman daily (*JASBo*, ii. 281). The Kurumbas of Madras worship their god, Vīra, the 'hero,' only at his annual festival, and for the remainder of the year keep him shut up in a box (G. Oppert, 238).

(*e*) *Stolen images.*—Images which have been stolen from other people are more valuable than those acquired by purchase or gift, because they bring with them the luck of the former possessor, and are more easily propitiated (*NINQ* iii. [1893] 55; cf. J. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, iv. 1321; Gn 31^{19}).

Among the Meitheis, in recent times, a celebrated ammonite, which had been stolen more than once, was the subject of a lawsuit in the British Courts. In ancient days the Meitheis used to plunder and remove to their capital the sacred stones of the Nāgas (T. C. Hodson, 102). The Kallans, a thieving tribe in Madras, do not hesitate to steal a god, if they think he will be of use to them in their predatory excursions (Thurston, iii. 85; F. R. Hemingway, *Trichinopoly Gaz.*, 1907, i. 3313). It was the habit of some Kandhs to steal their neighbours' gods in order to acquire influence as priests (S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials*, 200 ff.). A Rājā of Kulu, afflicted with leprosy, was advised in a dream to steal the image of the god Raghunāth from Oudh; his messengers stole the god, were pursued and overtaken, but the god showed such a decided wish to go to Kulu that they were allowed to take him away, and the Rājā was cured (*FL* ix. [1898] 184 f.).

7. Legends of discovery of images.—Most of the legends of the discovery of images are ætiological, invented to explain the rudeness of the type, their existence in spite of iconoclasm, or other miraculous powers attributed to them.

The image is often said to have been originally a shapeless log which was found floating down a river or discovered on the seashore. That of Gokulnāth in Mewār was discovered in a ravine on the river bank (J. Tod, i. 580). That of Jagannāth was discovered by a Savara, one of the jungle tribes (W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, i. 92 ff.). About a century ago the god Manoharjī appeared to a Khārvā fisherman in Bombay, and informed him that his image had floated ashore; when search was made, it was discovered (*BG* v. [1880] 81). Many famous *liṅgas* have been identified by a cow dropping her milk on the spot where they were subsequently discovered. That of Balāchari still bears the mark of the cow's hoof; that at Indī was identified by a cow dropping milk on it, and, when being dug out, it sank into the ground, and was thus proved to be self-existent (*svayambhu*) (§ 3). At Bhīmaśankar, a man, while cutting timber, saw blood oozing from a tree, but the wound healed when a cow dropped her milk on the stump, and a *liṅga* came out of the tree; at Pāshān, a man found a cow feeding a snake in an ant-hill, which, when excavated, disclosed five *liṅgas* (*BG* xiii. [1884], 655, xxiii. [1884] 655, xviii. pt. iii. [1885] pp. 120, 265). An image is often discovered as the result of a dream, like one which recently appeared in Bombay, or that of Jāgīśvara Mahādeva at Bandakpur (*NINQ* i. [1891] 165; C. Grant, *Cent. Prov. Gaz.*, 1870, p. 175). Sometimes, when attacked by foreigners, an image is miraculously defended by swarms of hornets, as in the case of the Bileśvar *liṅga* in Kāṭhiāwār, or that at Bheṛagaṛh on the Narbadā (*BG* viii. [1884] 401; W. H. Sleeman, i. 66 f.). When the Muhammadans attacked the image of the bull Nandi, at Nirvangnī, or that of Omkārjī on the Narbadā, blood gushed out, and the assailants were discomfited (*BG* xviii. pt. iii. [1885] p. 263).

8. The future of idolatry.—The attitude of the Hindus towards their images has been discussed elsewhere (art. HINDUISM, § 38). The influence of monotheistic religions, like Christianity and Islām, has done much to suggest purer conceptions of the Godhead—the belief in a single, spiritual, benign Providence. A similar effect has been the result of sectarian movements, such as Sikhism, the Brahmā and the Ārya Samāj, and other recent movements of the same kind which encourage the study of the Vedānta, reject the Purāṇic scheme of Hinduism, and aim at restoring the Nature-worship of the Vedic age. But, granting this, idolatry still not only prevails widely among the menial and forest tribes, but is actively encouraged by the Brāhman hierarchy, and, in particular, by those priestly classes which act as pilgrim guides at sacred cities and places of pilgrimage. The growth of a moneyed class under British rule has largely encouraged the erection of temples, which are still built in great numbers, as the result of religious enthusiasm and ostentation, and from the belief that little merit can be gained by the restoration of an ancient shrine or the repair of an old image. It is improbable that a form of worship which is so deep-rooted and universal, and which, in the present state of their culture, meets the wants of the masses of the population, will readily disappear.

To quote A. C. Lyall (*Asiatic Studies*^{2}, London, 1907, ii. 151): 'Idolatry is only the hieroglyphic writ large, in popular character; it came because unlettered man carves in sticks and stones his rude and simple imagination of a god; and this manner of expressing the notion by handiwork continues among even highly intellectual societies, until at last the idea becomes too subtle and sublime to be rendered by any medium except the written or spoken word.'

LITERATURE.—The vast subject of Indian idolatry has as yet been investigated in no single monograph. The illustrations of images contained in the popular works on Hinduism are, as a rule, taken from the coarse lithographs found in the houses of many castes. It is understood that the Indian Archæological Department contemplates the preparation of a complete iconography showing the development of the idol during historical times—a work which is much needed. Many illustrations of Indian sculpture will be found in V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911. The existing books on Hindu mythology and cults, such as E. Moor, *The Hindu Pantheon*, London, 1810; C. Coleman, *Mythology of the Hindus*, do. 1832; W. J. Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology, Vedic and Puranic*^{2}, Calcutta, 1900; J. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, London, 1879; B. Ziegenbalg, *Genealogy of the South Indian Gods*, Madras, 1869, are largely based on literary sources, and give little information on local temples, their images, and cultus. The illustrations of these works are, as a rule, inferior. For the earlier period much information will be found in the various series of Archæological Reports edited by A. Cunningham, J. Burgess, J. H. Marshall, and others, with special works, such as A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, *Stupa of Bharhut*, do. 1879, *Mahābodhi*, do. 1892; J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, do. 1880; A. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, ed. J. Burgess, do. 1901; J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, do. 1868, ^{2}1873, and *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*^{2}, do. 1910; al-Bīrūnī, *India*, tr. E. C. Sachau, do. 1910; the article, including a bibliography, in *IGI*, 1908, ii. 89 ff.; J. N. Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, Oxford, 1913. For the Tantrik worship of images, see *Tantra of the Great Liberation* (*Mahanirvāna Tantra*), ed. A. Avalon, and *Hymns to the Goddess*, tr. A. and E. Avalon, London, 1913. For idolatry in its modern forms the information is scattered through a wide literature of Indian ethnography—accounts of tribes and castes, local gazetteers, census reports, and similar publications, to which reference is made in the course of the present article.

W. CROOKE.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Japanese and Korean).

—I. *JAPANESE.*—i. IN THE INDIGENOUS RELIGION.—1. The use of images and idols as objects of worship is not indigenous to Japan, for one characteristic of pure Shinto is the absence of all figures. Among the archæological remains of greatest antiquity, however, many clay images of men, and of horses and other animals, known as **haniwa**, have been found in the burial vaults of Imperial and noble families. It had been the custom at a funeral to sacrifice attendants, servants, and beasts of burden, that they might accompany their master upon his journey and attend him in the spirit land. In the reign of Suijin (29 B.C.–A.D. 23), when the Queen died, Nomi-no-sukune, councillor to the throne, advised the Emperor to substitute clay images for living victims. One hundred potters were summoned from Idzumo to the court, and these made figures which were placed about the royal tomb. The custom thus established was followed by the nobles and prominent families for several hundred years, down to the 7th cent. A.D. Recent excavations in ancient tombs have brought *haniwa* to light in as many as 32 provinces of the Empire, thus witnessing to their widely prevailing use. The rules concerning tomb-construction issued in the first year of Taikwa (A.D. 645) make no mention of *haniwa*;

but in special cases their use was probably continued to a later date. The latest instance was in 1912, when *haniwa* were placed by the tomb of the Emperor Meiji Tenno, in deference to ancient custom and sentiment. At no time were these images objects of worship, though they possessed religious significance as symbolic offerings to the spirits of the dead (see, further, art. HUMAN SACRIFICE [Japanese and Korean]).

2. Although in Shinto no images are used to represent objects of worship, a **mirror** is usually placed in the holy place within the shrine. The mirror within the Shrine at Ise is alleged to be the one used by Ama-terasu, the sun-goddess, or ancestress of the Royal Family. It is octagonal, although usually the mirrors are round. They are not strictly objects of worship, but typical of the human heart which in its purity reflects the image of Deity; and faithful followers of Shinto are instructed to bow before the mirror of the shrine morning and evening in an act of self-examination.

3. Before the mirror of the Shinto shrine hang the **gohei**, strips of white paper cut into small squares and draped upon an upright of wood, supposed to symbolize the ancient offerings of cloth. Together with the mirror, the *gohei* are not infrequently objects of popular worship.

4. About the shrine the **shime-nawa**, a straw rope with tufts of straw or cut paper at regular intervals, is often hung. This rope may be placed about anything considered sacred or worthy of reverent care, and is supposed to avert evil influences. Trees, rocks, and caverns are occasionally so defended; and the custom of surrounding with straw rope the area upon which a house is to be erected may have its origin in the idea of thus averting evil.

ii. AS INFLUENCED BY BUDDHISM.—The beginning of real image-making in Japan dates from the coming of Buddhism, whose influence is to be noted even in Shinto shrines, for a gradual mutual adaptation took place and various images came to be placed in the shrines.

1. The most popular of these is that of Sugawara Michizane († A.D. 901), worshipped by the people under the posthumous name of **Tenjin**, as the god of learning, especially of calligraphy. He is represented in the robe of an ancient court-noble seated on a matted floor.

2. The **Ni-o** or **Deva**, as gate-guardians to scare away demons, are often found before Shinto shrines as well as before the temples of certain Buddhist sects; and the images of animals traditionally associated with specific deities are placed in their shrines and popularly worshipped as images of the deity itself. For example, *Inari*, called also Uga-no-Mitama, is the goddess of rice, and hence much worshipped by Japanese, who are rice-raising, rice-eating people. The fox is her servant or messenger; and images of foxes are always found at Inari shrines, being regarded by many as images of the goddess herself. In the case of *Benten*, one of the seven deities of luck, the snake, her attendant, is often imaged as an embodiment of the goddess.

3. **Images of Buddha.**—For the most part, images to which religious reverence is paid are closely associated with Buddhist temples. The first record of the introduction of Buddhistic images is to the effect that, in A.D. 522, Shibatatsu of Ryo (one of the provinces of China at that time) came to Japan and settled in Yamato, bringing with him several images which were worshipped in his home. The people in general, however, paid little attention to the fact. Some time later, in A.D. 552, the Korean king sent ambassadors to the Japanese court, who brought a gilt-bronze statue of Buddha with hanging canopies and several Buddhist Scriptures. The new faith gained ground through favour of the court circle, and the making of images became a professional art. Shibatatsu was himself a skilled sculptor, and was succeeded by his son and grandson, the latter, Tori-busshi, being considered one of the greatest ever known in Japan. Several of the most famous images at Horyuji, the oldest Buddhist temple in Japan, are declared to be by his hand. In the sixth year of Bintoku (A.D. 577) the king of Kudara made a present to the court of Japan of a large image of Buddha which was accompanied by the artist; and in A.D. 585 a Japanese sculptor is known to have executed two images of Buddha. The images of this early period were of wood; but during the reign of Bintoku a large stone image of Miroku was presented by the court of Kudara, and set the fashion for work in stone. Gradually bronze, clay, and hard lacquer were used; and images were made in great numbers, especially about the middle of the 8th century. This continued till the 12th cent., when the art began to decline. From the 8th to the 12th cent., many famous sculptors, including Keibunkai and Kasuga (8th cent.), Eshin (10th cent.), Jocho, Kokei, and Unkei (11th cent.), and Tankei and Kwankei (12th cent.), devoted their energy and skill almost exclusively to the making of Buddhist images and idols. Among the most famous images are the *daibutsu* in Nara, Kamakura, and Kyoto. See art. DAIBUTSU.

4. One of the most popular objects of worship is the image of **Kwannon** (Skr. Avalokiteśvara [*q.v.*]), the goddess of mercy, who listens to the prayers of the unhappy. The sex of the deity is a matter of dispute, but in popular worship the pity invoked is that of the eternally feminine. The San-ju-san-gen-do, a temple to Kwannon in Kyoto, contains 33,333 images of the deity. The temple was originally founded by the ex-emperor Toba in 1132, and in 1662 the present building was erected. Ranged in rising tiers throughout the length of the temple are 1000 figures, each 5 ft. high, and bearing upon its head and hands smaller images, making a total of 33,333. Some of these were executed by the best artists of their time; and, while all represent the same deity, no two are exactly alike in the arrangement of the myriad hands which hold forth various articles.

5. **Jizo** (Skr. Kṣitigarbha) is a very common figure, not only in temples, but also along country roadsides and by mountain paths. He is a helper of those in trouble; and is especially besought by pregnant women and by children. A stone image of Jizo swathed in little bibs, the offerings of women in distress, is one of the most pathetic sights amid all the image-worship of Japan.

6. Among other popular Buddhist images may be mentioned **Rakan, Emma, Fudō,** and **Benzuru.** Rakan (Skr. Arhan) includes all the immediate disciples of Śākyamuni, such as the five hundred disciples (Gohyaku Rakan) or the sixteen disciples (Juroku Rakan). Emma (Yama rāja) is the ruler of the Buddhist hell, a most ferocious-looking image. Fudō (Achala), the immovable, is represented in blazing fire. Benzuru, one of the sixteen Rakan, is a god of healing sympathy; and the lower classes believe that their bodily diseases will be healed by their touching the corresponding part of his sacred image.

7. **The seven gods of Luck**—Ebisu, Daikoku, Benten, Fukurokuju, Bishamon, Jurojin, and Hotei—receive special regard from merchants and small traders. Their images, now as much in jest as in earnest, are frequently to be seen; and figures of them adorn popular advertisements. The present trend of things is clearly seen in the

fact that less and less respect is paid to the images which once meant something very real in the life and thought of the people.

8. Besides images, the commonest object of worship is the ancestral tablet, *ihai*, which plays a prominent part in Japanese Buddhism. The custom was introduced from China and is universal among all classes of people, and with Shintoists as well as Buddhists. The tablets are usually of rectangular shape, a slip of planed wood, rounded at the top, and placed on a pedestal. The size differs according to the rank or wealth of the family and the age of the dead. On the front side is inscribed the posthumous name of the dead, and on the back the date of his or her birth and death. They are put in a small shrine or on a shelf, not infrequently with the images of Amida or other Buddhist deities, and are placed in a room specially prepared for the purpose or in a sitting room of the family. Often duplicates of the tablets are kept in the Buddhist temples of their own attachment. For a certain length of time after death food and drink are offered, generally until the 49th day, and thereafter on the 100th day and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, 33rd, and 50th anniversary. The idea of these offerings before the tablets is not the same as for deities. It is with the idea of feeding the souls in the world beyond, or simply to keep bright the memory of the dead. Priests are invited on the anniversaries to read scriptures before *ihai*. In the time of the *bon*-festival on the 13th, 14th, and 15th days of July (old calendar) the souls of the dead are believed to come to the world in order to visit the members of their family, when special feasts are offered before the tablets. The custom is steadily declining, giving way to the coming in of more intelligent faith.

9. Picture-trampling.—It may be of interest to note that, following the introduction of Roman Catholic Christianity by the Jesuit missionaries in the 16th cent., the persecution found expression in a peculiar form of *efumi*, or picture-tramping, all suspected of Christian sympathies being required to trample upon the picture of the Christ. Later, an iron plate was substituted for the picture; and the practice was continued until the beginning of the Meiji era, when religious freedom was allowed to the people.

II. *KOREAN.*—Buddhism was introduced into Korea at a time when the country still formed three separate kingdoms—Shiragi, Korai, and Kudara.

1. Buddhist images.—Korai, being nearest to China, was the first to receive Buddhist missionaries, with whom came the idols of that faith, in A.D. 343. Soon after there was built a large Buddhist temple called *Iburanji*. Twelve years later, Buddhism was introduced into Kudara, and forty years later into Shiragi, gradually spreading over the entire peninsula. The idols and images in the Korean temples are for the most part not different from those in Japan, images of Buddha, Kwannon, Amida, Jizo, Emma, and Rakan being most frequent. The largest Buddhist statue in Korea is that of *Miroku* (Maitreya), in the temple of Kwanchokji in the province of South Chusei (Chung Chong). It was made in stone about 1000 years ago, by a priest called Emyo (Heimiung), who, it is said, employed one hundred workmen for thirty-seven years. It is 55 ft. in height, with a width of 30 ft. On the forehead, which measures 6 ft. in width, is set a precious stone.

2. In addition to Buddhist images, the image of Kwang-woo is frequently seen. Kwang-woo was an ancient Chinese general; and in the city of Seoul alone there are four shrines to his honour, one each in the north, south, east, and west. He is popular as a household deity with the common people; and the images of Gentoku, Chohi, and Komei, three other generals, are often placed near his.

3. The mountain-god.—The image of the mountain-god is that of an old man mounted upon a tiger. He is very popular, and occupies small shrines upon the hill-tops.

4. Post-gods.—Everywhere in Korea, by the wayside and at the entrance to villages, stand demon-posts, rudely cut with grinning teeth and horrible faces. They were originally distance-posts, which gradually became objects of worship, believed to be strong defences against the countless forces of the unseen world.

5. Ta Chue, or 'the Lord-of-the-place,' is made of straw in a hollow form generally about 1 ft. long and 5 in. wide; and within him are placed old coins, bits of pretty cloth, and similar treasures. He is enshrined in the corner of the roof, of the kitchen or store-house, and offered *mochi* (rice cake) on the 1st and the 15th of the old calendar months. He is supposed to avert evil and bring luck to his owner.

LITERATURE.—B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*⁴, London, 1902; John Murray, *Handbook for Japan*, do. 1907; Kakuzo Okakura, *The Ideals of the East*, do. 1904.

TASUKU HARADA.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Lapps and Samoyeds).—The worship of idols and images of wood and stone appears to have been at one time common to all the Ugrian races occupying the Arctic regions of the Eurasian continent. This worship still survives among the Samoyeds of the Russian Empire, and it has not been long abandoned by the Samelats, or Sameh, of Lapland, otherwise known as Finns or Lapps, the former term being current in Norway, and the latter in Sweden, Denmark, Britain, and other countries. It is true that the people of Lapland outwardly professed the Lutheran form of Christianity as early as the 17th cent.; but even at that time they secretly retained the religious ideas which they had inherited from their forefathers. Of the condition of the Lapland Samelats in the 17th cent., the best contemporary exponent is John Scheffer, Professor in the University of Upsala, whose *Lapponia*, published at Frankfort in 1673 (Eng. tr., Oxford, 1674), contains very precise accounts of the existing religious practices of these people. A striking feature of the Lapp religion was the worship of certain idols.

These were two in number, popularly known as 'the wooden god' and 'the stone god.' The wooden god (*muora jubmel*) was called Aijeke, 'the ancestor,' and, alternatively, Thor, or Tiermes, 'the thunderer.' It may be that the name of Thor, and his association with this particular idol, ought properly to be regarded as a Teutonic intrusion in Lapland, but that is a detail into which it is unnecessary to enter here. The image of Aijeke or Thor was always made of birch wood.

> 'Of this wood they make so many idols as they have sacrifices, and, when they have done, they keep them in a cave by some hill side. The shape of them is very rude; only at the top they are made to represent a man's head' (Scheffer, p. 40, Eng. tr.).

Scheffer's book portrays one of the rudest of these idols, a mere wooden block, but there is also a more elaborate representation of Thor's image, standing upon a table or altar. The trunk is simply a block of wood, with sticks projecting on either side to represent arms. At the end of the right arm is fixed a mallet, intended for the hammer of Thor. Across the chest are cross-belts or bandoliers. The head is shaped to resemble a human head, with eyes, eyebrows, nose, and mouth. On either side of the skull are two spikes, in accordance with Scheffer's words:

> 'Into his head they drive a nail of iron or steel, and a small piece of flint to strike fire with, if he hath a mind to it' (p. 40).

On the table, in front of the figure, is a plate of birch bark, containing portions of a sacrificed reindeer. Behind the figure are deer's antlers, and round the base of the table are branches of birch and pine. A Lapp kneels in adoration before the altar.

Gustaf von Düben, in his work *Om Lappland och Lapparne* (Stockholm, 1873, p. 288), reproduces a drawing from a MS of the year 1671, by Rehn, Stockholm, which is in close agreement with Scheffer's contemporaneous picture. Rehn's drawing shows three images of Thor upon one table, and in front of them are three upright sticks bearing portions of the sacrificed animal. Von Düben draws attention to the branches adorning the sides of the altar, to the two antler-heads between the images of Thor, to the hammers wielded in each hand of these images, and to the haloes encircling their heads. It is noteworthy that the sacrifice of animals is an essential element in the worship of these idols. Scheffer states that the Lapps make a new image to Thor every autumn, consecrating it by killing a reindeer, and smearing the idol with its blood and fat. The skull, feet, and horns are placed behind the image. Part of the meat is eaten by the Lapps, and part is buried, together with the bones.

In addition to 'the wooden god,' the Lapps also worshipped 'the stone god' (*kied kie jubmel*), otherwise, in Swedish, *Storjunkar*, or 'the great Lord.' The term *seita* was also applied, generically, to a stone god. In form, the *seita* sometimes resembled, or was supposed to resemble, a bird, or a man, or some other creature.

> 'The truth is, its shape is so rude that they may sooner fancy it like something themselves than persuade other people that it is so. Their imagination is so strong that they really believe it represents their *Storjunkar*, and worship it accordingly. Neither do they use any art in polishing it, but take it as they find it upon the banks of lakes and rivers. In this shape, therefore, they worship it, not as though it were so made by chance, but by the immediate will and procurement of their god *Storjunkar*, that it might be sacred to him' (Scheffer, p. 41).

The last sentence, it will be seen, implies that the *seita* was the medium through which an invisible deity was worshipped, and was not itself an object of worship. Von Düben shows (*op. cit.* pp. 236–246) representations of three Lapp *seitas*, one taken from a reindeer-pasture and another from a stream, while the third, of white marble, with a covering or cap of calcareous spar, was found in a small island, at a spot known to Lapp tradition as a place of sacrifice, where many horns and bones were found. It may be added that, although the *seitas* are generally quite unworked, there are some instances in which the upper part has been carved sufficiently to bring out a resemblance to the head of a man or of an animal.

The ceremonies connected with the worship of *Storjunkar* were very similar to those associated with 'the wooden god.' The animal specially selected for sacrifice was a male reindeer. Its right ear having been pierced and a red thread run through it, the reindeer was killed, and its blood carefully preserved in a barrel. The officiating priest then took the blood, some of the fat, the antlers, the bones of the head and neck, and the feet and hoofs, to the hill where the sacred stone had already been placed. Uncovering his head and bowing reverently, he then anointed the stone with the fat and blood, and placed the antlers behind it, the right horn having the penis of the reindeer attached to it, while on the left horn was an amulet of tin and silver worked together with red thread.

Although not represented by any special image, the sun was also worshipped by the Lapps of the 17th century. Scheffer states his belief that the sun was incorporate in Thor, who, it may be noted, was sometimes decorated with a nimbus round his head. The act of sun-worship, at any rate, was performed before the altar of Thor, upon which occasion the sacrificial bones were arranged in a circle upon the altar.

In return for the reverence paid to them, or through them, the wooden and stone gods were believed to protect their worshippers against misfortune and to aid them in hunting and fishing. Each family had its own sacrificial mount, with its wooden or stone god; but in some cases individuals possessed *seitas* who were understood to be specially interested in their welfare and to whom they prayed.

Rites similar to these are common to other cognate races in Northern Europe and Siberia.

> 'The Samoyedes, Ostiaks, Voguls, and Lapps all smear the mouths of their idols with blood and fat' (John Abercromby, *Pre- and Proto-historic Finns*, London, 1898, i. 159).

Among the Samoyeds of to-day the religious practices of the 17th cent. Lapps are still in full swing, as several modern travellers have shown. In 1875 and 1878 the Swedish explorer Nordenskiöld and his comrades visited sacrificial sites on Vaygatz Island and the Yalmal Peninsula. To these places the Samoyeds are accustomed to make pilgrimages, sometimes from a distance of six or seven hundred miles, in order to offer sacrifices and make vows. At a sacrificial eminence on the south-western headland of Vaygatz Island, the Swedish explorers found a large number of reindeer skulls and horns, bones of the bear, various objects of metal, and several hundreds of idols, described as

> 'small wooden sticks, the upper portions of which were carved very clumsily in the form of the human countenance, most of them from fifteen to twenty, but some of them 370 centimetres in length. They were all stuck in the ground on the south-east part of the eminence. Near the place of sacrifice there were to be seen pieces of drift-wood and remains of the fireplace at which the sacrificial meal was prepared. Our guide told us that at these meals the mouths of the idols were besmeared with blood and wetted with brandy, and the former statement was confirmed by the large spots of blood which were found on most of the large idols below the holes intended to represent the mouth' (Nordenskiöld, *Voyage of the Vega*, Eng. tr., London, 1881, i. 94 f.)

That these customs are still in force seems quite evident. In 1894, Frederick Jackson, in the course of his expedition to Franz-Josef Land, learned that the Samoyeds of Vaygatz at that date were accustomed to sacrifice a reindeer to their god, killing the animal by slow degrees. The Samoyeds, moreover, carry small portable gods with them during their sledge-journeys. In 1878, Nordenskiöld purchased four of these gods from a Samoyed woman. Two of them were dolls, one was a miniature garment, and the fourth was 'a stone, wrapped round with rags and hung with brass plates, a corner of the stone forming the countenance of the human figure it was intended to resemble' (*op. cit.* i. 86). This last appears to have been identical with the 'stone god,' or *seita*, of the Lapps.

> 'Professor De Harlez thinks it possible that the small domestic idols of felt and rags, used by the Mongols, and mentioned as early as the year 1200 by Armenian authors, may have been introduced by the Buddhist preachers, as Vartan states without hesitation' (Abercromby, *op. cit.* i. 163).

The stationary wooden idols of the Samoyeds seem to have been larger in past times. Martinière in 1653, Linschoten in 1601, and an old Dutch engraving reproduced by Nordenskiöld (i. 84) all show images as large as a man; and in the last instance the human trunk as well as the head is carved with some elaboration. Probably the earliest written description of Samoyed idols is that given by an English traveller, Stephen Burrough, in 1556 (Hakluyt's *Voyages*, new edition, Glasgow, 1903–05, 'Principal Navigations,' ii. 338). Burrough speaks of his visit to

> 'a heap of the Samoeds idols, which were in number above 300, the worst and the most unartificiall worke that ever I saw: the eyes and mouthes of sundrie of them were bloodie, they had the shape of men, women, and children, very grosly wrought, & that which they had made for other parts, was also sprinckled with blood. Some of their idols were an olde

sticke with two or three notches, made with a knife in it. . . . There was one of their sleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, & there I saw a deers skinne which the foules had spoyled: and before certaine of their idols blocks were made as high as their mouthes, being all bloody, I thought that to be the table whereon they offered their sacrifice.'

A comparison of these various statements makes it evident that the idol-worship of the Samoyeds and of the Lapp Samelats was substantially the same. The only striking difference is that the Samoyed idols have not the outstretched arms wielding the hammer of Thor which formerly characterized the wooden gods of Lapland. It is reasonable to presume, therefore, that the idea of Thor and his hammer was introduced into Lapland from the South.

LITERATURE.—Appended to Von Düben's *Lappland* (Stockholm, 1873) there is a list of over 250 works relating to Lapps, a considerable number of which include references to their religion. Nearly as ample is the bibliography prefixed to Abercromby's *Finns* (London, 1898). Special mention may be made of C. E. Lenequist, *De superstitione veterum Fennorum*, Abo, 1782; C. Ganander, *Mythologia Fennica*, do. 1789; A. Andelin, 'Religion der heidnischen Lappen,' in Erman's *Archiv für wissenschaftl. Kunde Russlands*, xx. 167–180 and 349–365; and V. M. Mikhailovskii, 'Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia,' in *JAI* xxiv. (1894) 62.

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Muslim).—Muḥammad protested strongly against idolatry, but other Arabs had done so before him. While he was yet a lad, there were men, called the Ḥanīfs, who rejected the gross idolatry around them. Some of these afterwards became Christians; some remained unitarians. Of the latter, Zaid ibn 'Amr was one of the chief. He embraced neither Christianity nor Judaism, but said that he worshipped the God of Abraham. He kept entirely aloof from idol-worship and all connected therewith, and had a great influence on Muḥammad's early preaching. So long as Muḥammad only exhorted to better lives, or spoke of the Last Day, the Meccans treated him with good-humoured contempt; but when he attacked the idolatry of the Ka'ba, the case was different. He must respect their temple and its gods, for which Mecca was famed far and wide. His uncle Abū Ṭālib begged him to make some concession, but he replied, 'Say there is no God except Allāh, and renounce what you worship beside Him.' So the friendly offices of his uncle came to nothing. The persecution now became severe. The Meccans called him a liar, a demoniac, a sorcerer. Again he had to seek the protection of his powerful relatives. Some of the Meccan leaders then proposed that the God of Muḥammad should be worshipped at the same time as the Meccan deities, or alternately each year. Muḥammad did not fall into the snare, but produced this revelation, showing that the two religions must be kept quite distinct:

> 'Say, O ye unbelievers, I worship not that which ye worship, and ye do not worship that which I worship; I shall never worship that which ye worship, neither will ye worship that which I worship. To you be your religion; to me my religion' (cix.).

Very soon after he gave the most emphatic testimony to the doctrine of the unity of God which is to be found in the Qur'ān:

> 'Say, He is God alone: God the Eternal! He begetteth not, and He is not begotten; and there is none like unto Him' (cxii.).

Still the people of Mecca were hard-hearted, and the preaching of the Prophet at this time is full of denunciations of the despicable person, the back-biter, the defamer, the insolent, as he terms the prominent individuals who led the opposition. Protected himself by his powerful family connexions, the Prophet could not save his followers from persecution, and a number took refuge in Abyssinia. His cause did not gain ground. Then came another proposal for compromise. A leading man of Mecca was deputed to call on Muḥammad and to point out to him that blaspheming their gods, reviling their religion, and charging them and their fathers with unbelief had done no good. Would it not be better to come to some terms? If he would only acknowledge their deities, the Meccans would accept Allāh as one of their gods and worship him. It was a great temptation. Under circumstances such as these, Muḥammad one day came upon a group of men near the Ka'ba, and in a friendly way began to recite the opening verses of *sūra* liii.:

> 'By the star when it setteth, your compatriot erreth not, nor is he led astray, neither speaketh he from mere impulse. The Qur'ān is no other than a revelation revealed to him: One mighty in power taught it him.'

Then he went on to refer to some of the Meccan idols by name. 'Do you see al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā and Manāt, the third besides?' Then, to the astonishment and joy of the Meccans, came the words: 'These are the exalted females, and verily their intercession is to be hoped for.' They prostrated themselves in worship and said, 'Now we know that it is God alone that giveth life and taketh it away; that createth and supporteth. These our goddesses make intercession for us, and, as thou hast accorded to them a position, we are content to follow thee.' Thus were they willing to fulfil their part of the compact. But to the credit of Muḥammad it must be said that he saw the grave error that he had committed, and that the people would still retain their idols. Tradition records that a verse inserted in a later *sūra* now came, showing Muḥammad that as other prophets had been tempted of the devil so had he:

> 'We have not sent an apostle or prophet before thee, among whose desires Satan injected not some wrong desire, but God shall bring to nought that which Satan had suggested' (xxii. 51).

The mind of the Prophet being set at rest, the revelation came as it now stands in the Qur'ān:

> 'Do you see al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā, and Manāt, the third idol besides? What, shall ye have male progeny and God female? This were, indeed, an unfair partition! These are mere names: ye and your fathers named them thus' (liii. 19–23).

The Meccans were much displeased at this, and said, 'Muḥammad hath repented of his favourable mention of the rank held by our goddesses before the Lord. He hath changed the same and brought other words in their stead.' The persecution recommenced; but Muḥammad henceforth attempted no compromise, and now and for ever broke with idolatry. He received a solemn warning never to run into such danger again:

> 'Verily, they had well-nigh beguiled thee from what we revealed to thee, and caused thee to invent some other thing in our name' (xvii. 75).

The idols of Mecca are derided:

> 'What think ye of the gods whom ye invoke besides Allāh? Show me what part of the earth they have created' (xxxv. 38).

Before he left Mecca, Muḥammad said to his opponents:

> 'Call now on those whom ye made God's companions; and they shall call on them, but they will not answer them' (xxviii. 64).

The statues of false gods furnish fuel for hell:

> 'Fear the fire prepared for the infidels, whose fuel is men and stones' (ii. 22).

Idolaters are likened to

> 'the spider who buildeth her a house: But, verily, frailest of all houses surely is the house of the spider' (xxix. 40).

They are not to be prayed for (ix. 115); their end is to enter into the fire (vii. 36). Marriage with an idolatress is forbidden (ii. 220). Idolatry is an unpardonable sin (iv. 51).

A few converts were gained at Medīna, who, when they came to Mecca to perform the annual pilgrimage, took an oath of obedience to Muḥammad, in which a promise to give up idol-worship, as with all converts, was an important point. Later, in Medīna the Prophet made it quite clear that idolatry was a great crime, an unpardonable sin:

> 'Verily, God will not forgive the union of other gods with Himself! But other than this will He forgive to whom He pleaseth. And he who uniteth gods with God hath devised a great wickedness' (iv. 51; cf. 116 f.).

In the year A.D. 629, Muḥammad, with the permission of the chief men in Mecca, was able to perform the pilgrimage to the Kaʿba, and went through the usual ceremonies—after which he returned to Medīna. The time, however, soon came when it was necessary that Mecca should be the centre of the new religion; and so, seizing an opportunity for a quarrel, he marched with 10,000 men against the city. The Meccans saw that the time for opposition was past, and submitted. Muḥammad proceeded to the Kaʿba, saluted the Black Stone, but destroyed all the idols. Idolaters are henceforth to be severely dealt with:

> 'When the sacred months are past, kill those who join other gods with God, wherever ye shall find them; and seize them, besiege them, and lay wait for them with every kind of ambush; but if they shall convert, and observe prayer, and pay the obligatory alms, then let them go their way' (ix. 5).

Idolaters are no longer to make the pilgrimage:

> 'O Believers! only they who join gods with God are unclean! Let them not, therefore, after this year come near the sacred Temple' (ix. 28).

The people of Ṭā'if made a stout resistance to Muḥammad, and, when they finally submitted, begged to be allowed to retain their idols. They received fairly good terms, but this request could not be granted, and the idols were all destroyed by Muslims appointed to do the work. Whilst Muḥammad destroyed all the idols at Mecca, he still retained the pagan ceremonial of the Pilgrimage and the Black Stone as an object of superstitious reverence, thus leaving the old stone-worship of the pagan Arabs intact. The retention of the Pilgrimage was perhaps a necessity in order to win over all the Arab tribes, by yielding to their reverence for Mecca as the centre of a national faith; but it has worked evil since, not only by giving undue importance to the mechanical performance of the old pagan ritual, but by emphasizing the fact that Islām was started as a local and national religion, and that rules suited for Arabs in the 7th cent. are binding on the most diverse peoples in the 20th.

There is a curious tradition which relates how Muḥammad was lost when a little boy. An old man comforted his nurse and led her to the idol house. He then walked seven times round the idol, kissed its head, and said, 'O exalted Hubal, wilt thou be pleased to bring back Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, whose wet-nurse this woman is?' Hubal and the other idols fell prostrate to the ground, and Hubal said, 'O old man, do not mention Muḥammad's name before us; the destruction of ourselves and the other idols and the idolaters is to be in his hands. Tell the idol-worshippers that our greatest sacrificer is to be Muḥammad; that is, he is to kill us all, whilst they that follow him shall be safe' (Mirkhond's *Rauḍat-aṣ-Ṣafa*, pt. ii. vol. i. p. 115).

The Wahhābites, who are most careful to avoid anything which might seem to impair the dogma of the unity of God, and who look upon many practices of other Muslims as tending towards polytheism, or *shirk*, have defined the latter in these four terms: *shirk al-ʿilm*, ascribing knowledge to others than God; *shirk at-taṣarruf*, ascribing power to other than God; *shirk al-ʿibāda*, offering worship to created things; *shirk al-ʿāda*, performing ceremonies which imply reliance on other than God. It is *shirk al-ʿilm* to suppose that prophets and holy men have any knowledge apart from that which God gives them. Hence it is wrong to place any reliance on the words of soothsayers and astrologers. It is *shirk at-taṣarruf* to look upon any human being as an intercessor with God. The orthodox view is that Muḥammad is now an intercessor. The Wahhābites deny this and quote the verses:

> 'Who is he that can intercede with Him but by His own permission?' (ii. 256). 'Say: Intercession is wholly with God' (xxxix. 45). 'No intercession shall avail with Him but that which He shall Himself allow' (xxxiv. 22).

It is *shirk al-ʿibāda* to prostrate oneself before any created thing, or to visit the shrines of saints. It is *shirk al-ʿāda* to trust in omens and lucky days and to keep up superstitious practices. Though idolatry is severely condemned and the worship of idols is unknown, saint-worship is very common, and in all Muslim lands pilgrimages to the tombs of holy men are constantly made.

LITERATURE.—*The Koran*, tr. G. Sale[2], London, 1825, 'Preliminary Discourse'; D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, London, 1905; W. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, London, 1861, Edinburgh, 1911; E. Sell, *The Life of Muḥammad*, London and Madras, 1913; T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, London, 1895: E Sell, *Historical Development of the Qurān*, London and Madras, 1905.

EDWARD SELL.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Persian).—**1. Introductory.**—From the earliest antiquity the Persians had no idols in the sense of a representation of the godhead set up as an object of worship. Such allusions to the practice as are found are always in the way of condemning it as an abhorrent custom employed by foreigners and unbelievers. Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Irān, makes no reference to idol-worship, even though his vision saw graphic pictures of the hosts of heaven. These vivid images, however, which might easily have been given a plastic form, remained, with the seer and with his people, simply a visualization of the ideal. Throughout the history of the religion of Irān, idolatry played no part.

This is true despite the fact that the Persians of Achæmenian and Sasanian times had no religious scruples against images, as is shown by the delineation of the divine being, and occasionally of other spiritual manifestations, on the monuments of the great Persian kings and the monarchs of the House of Sasan. This use of sculptured forms, however, did not mean to them in any sense a worship of graven images. If Darius and the other Achæmenian sovereigns portrayed in bas-relief on stone a conventionalized half-figure of Ormazd as floating in a circle above the head of the king, and presenting to him, as by divine right, a ring or symbol of sovereignty, it was a motive borrowed from Assyrian and Babylonian art, and was doubtless chosen with the express purpose of appealing to the non-Persian conquered nations, who were more anthropomorphic in their ideas.[1] Nor is an exception made by the Sasanian bas-relief at Naqsh-i-Rustam, on which Ormazd is represented on horseback approaching to offer the sovereignty to Ardašīr, who is similarly mounted; the intent was the same as before.[2] There is kindred evidence regarding the nimbus-crowned figure, holding a fluted staff, in a Sasanian sculptured niche at Ṭāq-i-Bustān, near Kirmānshāh, which is supposed to represent Zoroaster, but may possibly portray Mithra, genius of the sun (see Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York, 1906, pp. 215–220, for a discussion of the subject and for photographs). A like possibility may be claimed, though it seems less certain, for the view that the figure graven in a group in the adjoining vaulted arch portrays Anāhita (*q.v.*), goddess of the heavenly streams; yet such an interpretation still awaits more authoritative corroboration (cf. Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 225, n. 3). Other examples of images as effigies, but not as idols, may likewise be cited from Sasanian carvings as referred to in ART (Persian), in vol. i. p. 881 f. The general result is the same, and the statements of the Greek and Latin authors bear out this fact, as shown by the testimony from the classic writers cited in the following paragraph.

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[1] For a discussion of this special subject and for reasons against assuming (as some do) that the conventionalized figure represents not Ormazd but the *fravaši*, or idealized spirit of the king, see Jackson, 'Ormazd,' in *The Monist*, ix. (Chicago, 1899) 168 f.

[2] The figure is known to represent Ormazd, because his name appears in the inscription on the stone as describing the purport of the bas-relief; for references see Jackson, *op. cit.* p. 169, n. 1; and cf. E. W. West, 'Pahlavi Literature,' in *GIrP* ii (Strassburg, 1904) 77.

2. Greek and Latin testimony to the Persian abhorrence of idols and image-worship. — The oldest Greek reference, though somewhat indirect, to the Persian hatred of images and temples is found in Æschylus, *Persæ*, 809 (produced in 472 B.C.), in which the Athenian dramatist places on the lips of the spectre of Darius the statement that the Persian hosts,

> ‘when invading Greece, shrank not from destroying the wooden figures (βρέτη) of the gods, nor from burning the temples.’

Well-known above all, however, is the classic passage, which was written a few years later in the 5th cent. B.C. by Herodotus (*Hist.* i. 131), in which the father of history said of the Persians:

> ‘They do not make it a custom to erect images (ἀγάλματα) and temples and altars; on the contrary, they impute a charge of folly upon those who do so; because, as it seems to me, they do not conceive of the gods as having the nature of men, as the Greeks do.’

This statement by Herodotus has always been justly regarded as representing in its tenor the true facts of the Persian view.

Four centuries later the same statement was reiterated by Strabo (*c.* 63 B.C.–A.D. 21) when he emphasized it as holding good in his time, for he says (*Geog.* XV. iii. 13 [p. 732]):

> ‘The Persians do not erect images (ἀγάλματα) and altars,’ though he does mention, a few paragraphs beyond (xv. iii. 15 [p. 733]), the existence of ‘temples of Anaïtis [Ἀναΐτις, *i.e.* Av. *Anāhitā*] and of Omanes [Ὠμάνης, *i.e.* Av. *Vohu Manah*] as belonging to these shrines; and a statue [ξόανον] of Omanes is carried in procession; we ourselves have seen these things’ (cf. xi. viii. 4 [p. 512]).[1]

The Church Father Clemens Alexandrinus (at the end of the 2nd cent. A.D.), when referring to the Persian Magi in his *Protrept.* 5, cites the older authority of Deinon in his statement that

> ‘they, as Deinon says, sacrifice beneath the open sky, regarding fire and water as the only images (ἀγάλματα) of the gods; . . . nor have they presumed stocks and stones to be images of the gods, like the Greeks (*ἀγάλματα μὲν θεῶν οὐ ξύλα καὶ λίθους ὑπειλήφασιν, ὥσπερ* Ἕλληνες), nor ibises and ichneumons, like the Egyptians, but fire and water, as do the philosophers; and Berossus, in the third (book) of his *Chaldaics*, shows that it was later—after many periods of years—that they worshipped images in the likeness of man,[2] this practice having been introduced by Artaxerxes, son of Darius Ochus,[3] who first, after setting up the image of Aphrodite Anaïtis in Babylon and Susa and Ecbatana [and] Persepolis [lit. Persæ],[4] and Bactra and Damascus, and Sardis, taught that she be worshipped.’ In connexion, furthermore, with the latter half of this citation it may be added that the names Mithra and Anāhita appear in the inscriptions of the Achæmenians first on the monuments containing the edicts of Artaxerxes II., 404–358 B.C. (cf. Justi, Gesch. Irans,’ in *GIrP* ii. 467).

The great patristic writer Origen (*c.* A.D. 185–253), in his controversial defence of Christianity in opposition to Celsus, inveighs against all the points made by that Epicurean philosopher, but dialectically admits some matters in favour of the Persians, who had a natural aversion to idols and image-worship. In referring to other peoples who, like the Persians, were non-idolaters, Celsus says of the latter (in Origen, *c. Celsum*, vii. 62):

> ‘They cannot tolerate temples, altars or images,’ and he continues by citing the passage quoted above from Herod. i. 131 as to the Persian abhorrence of such usages; to which Origen replies (vii. 63 f.) that the Persians do not reject idols for the same reason as do Jews and Christians.

Equally strong is the statement of the later Greek historian and biographer, Diogenes Laertius (fl. *c.* A.D. 200), in his reference to Persian Zoroastrian Magi, of whom he says:

> ‘The Magi . . . give accounts of the existence and generation of the gods, saying that they are fire, earth, and water; and they condemn the use of carved images (ξοάνων), and above all things do they condemn those who say that the gods are male and female. . . . It was quite consistent (therefore, for Xerxes) to destroy the images (ἀγάλματα) of the gods’ (*de Clarorum Philosophorum Vitis, Proœm.* 6, 9).

The allusion in the last sentence of Diog. Laert. is evidently to the burning and pillaging of the temple on the Acropolis at Athens by Xerxes when he took the city (cf. Herod. viii. 50–54). Barbaric as was the act (and Cicero sufficiently condemns it, *de Leg.* II. x. 26), it did not prevent Xerxes from carrying away to Persia two cult-statues of Greek divinities — one the Brauronian Artemis, plundered from Attica, and the other the bronze statue of Apollo, stolen from the noted shrine at Branchidæ near Miletus, as told by Pausanias (*c.* A.D. 175) in his *Description of Greece*, VIII. xlvi. 3, I. xvi. 3.[1] Nor, again, did it deter Xerxes from taking to Sardis a Greek statue in bronze of the ‘Water-carrier’ (Plutarch, *Themist.* 31), or from removing from Athens the famous sculpture of the ‘Two Tyrannicides’ (see Paus. I. viii. 5; cf. Pliny, *HN* XXXIV. viii. 70; Arrian, *Anab.* III. xvi. 8; Val. Max. *Mem.* ii. 10, ex. 1).[2] The significance of these passages in their general bearing upon the religious attitude of Xerxes is discussed by G. P. Quackenbos, in the *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1913, p. 299 f. In the same connexion it is plain that the procedure of Xerxes is referred to likewise by the Greek rhetorician and Platonic philosopher Maximus of Tyre (2nd cent. A.D.) when he upbraids the Persians for their fire-worship and their destroying and robbing of Greek sanctuaries and images (*Dissertationes*, viii. 4, ed. Fr. Dübner, Paris, 1840, p. 28 = *Dissert.* 38, in the ed. of J. Davis, Cambridge, 1703, p. 397; and cf. the comments on the passage by J. F. Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Anhang, II. iii. [Riga, 1783] 106 f., n. 1 f.).[3]

The late Latin historian Ammianus Marcellinus (*c.* A.D. 330–400) records, in his *History*, XXIII. vi. 23 f., that in the latter part of the Parthian period the Arsacid capital Seleucia

> ‘was stormed by the generals of Verus Cæsar (in A.D. 164) and a statue of the Comaean Apollo (*simulacrum Comaei Apollinis*) was torn from its seat and carried off to Rome, and the attendants upon the gods set it up in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.’

This allusion to a *simulacrum Comaei Apollinis* may possibly be compared with the existence of statues of Omanes, or Vohu Manah, as referred to by Strabo in the passage (XV. iii. 15) quoted above and again discussed below. The disasters which afterwards fell upon Rome were regarded by the superstitious as a direct visitation in consequence of this act of spoliation, and are referred to by several other late Latin writers (see the references given by G. Rawlinson, *Sixth Oriental Monarchy*, London, 1873, ch. 19, pp. 326–329, and compare Justi, p. 509 f.).

In the Greek ‘Passion of SS. Acindynus and his Companions,’ written at an unknown date, mention is made (ii. 9) of an image (ξόανον) in a temple (ναός) to which the persecuting king Sapor leads the martyrs. As they pray, the image falls to the ground and is broken in pieces. A parallel text calls the image 'the idol of the statue' (*τὸ εἴδωλον τοῦ ἀνδριάντος*), and yet another MS names the idol 'Zeus,' which would be Ahura Mazda (*AS*, Nov. i. [1887] 470; cf. also the version of Simeon Metaphrastes, *ib.* p. 496 [=*PG* cxvi. 20]). These citations practically exhaust the material that may be drawn from outside sources; what follows is derived from the Persian sources themselves.

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[1] On certain elements connected with the general interpretation of Strabo’s remarks in the light of the Avesta, observe the tone in the rest of the present art. and cf. what has already been stated in ART (Persian), vol. i. p. 881.

[2] This sentence, referring to Berossus, *μετὰ πολλὰς μέντοι ὕστερον περιόδους ἐτῶν ἀνθρωποειδῆ ἀγάλματα σέβειν αὐτοὺς Βήρωσσος ἐν τρίτῃ Χαλδαϊκῶν παρίστησι*, is rendered in the tr. by W. Wilson, *Clement of Alexandria*, Edinburgh, 1867, i. 67, as: ‘Berosus shows that it was after many successive years that men [*sic*] worshipped images of human shape.’

[3] *i.e.* Artaxerxes II., 404–358 B.C.

[4] On Persæ (Πέρσαις) as Persepolis see Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London, 1892, ii. 132, n. 3. The copula καί, ‘and,’ has been necessarily supplied in the tr. above from the context.

[1] From statements as to the subsequent fate of the Artemis statue, see Paus. III. xvi. 8. In this connexion it may be noted that among the sculptures in the modern Museum at Athens there is a finely carved female figure which was taken to Persia by Xerxes, but afterwards sent back to Greece by Alexander the Great.

[2] According to Paus. I. viii. 5, the latter group was eventually restored to Athens. It is possible that in carrying away this trophy Xerxes may have been influenced more by a desire to remove such a memorial than by any appreciation of it as a work of art.

[3] It would be far-fetched, if not altogether wrong, to interpret as a reference to an image the allusion by Phœnix of Colophon (in Athenæus, *Deipnosophistæ*, xii. 40) to ‘touching the god with sacred rods’ when he speaks of Ninus, king of Assyria, as not taking his place among the Magi in worship; the passage, however, does allude to the *barsom*-twigs, or rods, used in the Zoroastrian ritual (cf. art. BARSOM).

3. Earliest times: before Zoroaster, or at least prior to the 7th cent. B.C.—There is little or no direct evidence regarding the use of idols and images in the most remote period of Iranian history, because no truly archaic sculpture of any size has yet been found. It is possible that some of the small terra-cotta images and bronze figurines which have been unearthed from ancient graves or excavated from antique sites may indicate signs of idolatry (see ART [Persian], vol. i. p. 881); but, if so, it would be merely a witness of primitive beliefs or of foreign practices that were later rooted out when Zoroastrianism became the religion of Persia. Support is lent to such a view by the tenor of some of the passages referred to below, especially in the section on Pahlavī literature.

4. Absence of special allusions in the Avesta.—The Avestan texts, which represent the conditions prevailing in the period of Zoroaster, or before and after the 7th cent. B.C., contain practically no references that can be construed into a direct allusion to any prevalent existence of idol-worship in Irān. It is true, as already stated, that some of the passages in the Avesta referring to demon-worshippers (*daēva-yasna*) and sorcerers (*yātu*) may possibly contain an implication as to idolatrous customs existing among infidels, but, if so, an execration of such practices is equally implied.[1]

An obscure Avestan word *baosavas* (possibly a plural, though its etymology is wholly uncertain), which occurs in the fragmentary *Haṭōxt Nask*, ii. 13, and in the likewise fragmentary *Vištāsp Yašt*, 37, has been interpreted as alluding to the sin of idolatry among unbelievers, because its obscure Pahlavi rendering, *b n n d k*, is glossed by *aīghšān* (*ku šān*) *šēdā*(*dēv*)-*yazakīh*, that is, 'the demon-worship of these.' Possibly some support for this interpretation may be found in the Pahlavī rendering of the word *baosāyā* (as it is there written) in the parallel Avestan fragment, *Vištāsp Yašt*, 37, the gloss being in Pahlavī, *aūzdēst-būt-parastīh*, lit. 'idol-image-worship'; but the whole matter remains rather uncertain (see Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, ii. 653, n. 15, and ii. 676, also in *SBE* xxiii. 316; and cf. West, *Arda Viraf Translated*, Bombay and London, 1872, pp. 287, 312, and C. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterb.*, Strassburg, 1904, *s.v.* 'Baosav-,' col. 920).

A further question might be raised as to whether a passage in the Avesta (*Vend.* xix. 20–25) relating to cleansing may not imply indirectly an image of Vohu Manah, the Zoroastrian archangel of Good Thought, such a supposition being based on Strabo, XV. iii. 15 (p. 733), and possibly on Amm. Marcell. XXIII. vi. 23–25 (both cited above); but to interpret the Avestan passage in that manner would be extremely hazardous (see ART [Persian], vol. i. p. 881). On the other hand (since sculptures, though not images in the sense of idols, certainly did exist as early as Achæmenian times), it is not unreasonable to regard the description of Ardvī Sūrā Anāhita in *Yašt* v. 126–129 as possibly influenced by some consecrated type of statuary of the goddess of the heavenly stream.[2] Yet this particular passage need not be understood as involving real image-worship, any more than does the description which Xenophon (400 B.C.), in his historic romance (*Cyrop.* VIII. iii. 11 ff.), gives of the triumphal procession headed by Cyrus the Great with chariots of pomp, each of which was dedicated to a particular divine being. The same may be said of the statement of Dio Chrysostom (A.D. 100), in his *Borysthen. Orat.* 36, p. 448, regarding Zoroaster's glorification of the celestial chariot, because the Avestan passages which refer to the 'course of the sun' (Gāthā Av. *x^{v}ēng . . . advānem*, *Ys.* xliv. 3), 'the swift-horsed sun' (Younger Av. *hvar^{e} aurvat-aspem*, *Yt.* vi. 4, x. 13, x. 90), and the like, are purely metaphorical expressions, and in no sense imply image-worship. It may be re-affirmed, therefore, that the Avesta, especially the Zoroastrian Gāthās, or oldest part of the canon, is significantly lacking in any allusion to idol-worship.

5. Bas-relief sculptures in Achæmenian, Parthian, and Sasanian times.—Sufficient intimation has already been given and references enough have been made to prove the existence of sculptured bas-reliefs, though not the use of images as idols, in Achæmenian, Parthian, and Sasanian times. For a discussion of the entire subject in its relation to the Achæmenian era (559–330 B.C.), it may suffice to refer to ART (Persian). A like reference may be made with respect to the antique stone lion at Hamadān (exceptional in Persian art, as being carved in the round)—a sculpture which may possibly date back to Median times, and is still regarded as a sort of talisman of that ancient city. With regard to the bas-relief winged figure of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadæ (near the modern Mashad-i-Murghāb) and the high-reliefs of Darius I., hewn on the Bahistān Rock, and again of Darius, Xerxes, and their royal successors, chiselled at Naqsh-i-Rustam and Persepolis (mod. Takht-i-Jamshīd), in all of which, as stated above, an effigy of Ormazd appears, a similar reference is enough. Besides the Achæmenian monuments themselves, Herodotus (vii. 69) refers to a golden statue of Darius's favourite queen, and (ii. 110) alludes to the fact that Darius, while in Egypt, wished to set up a sculpture (*ἀνδριάντα*) of himself in front of those which Sesostris had erected, before the great temple, in his own honour and in commemoration of his family, but was dissuaded from this act by the officiating Egyptian priest.[1]

For Parthian times (*c.* 250 B.C.–A.D. 224), reference may be made to the still existing martial image of the Arsacid king Gotarzes (A.D. 46–51), hewn in a panel near the base of the Bahistān Rock (cf. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, p. 209 f.); likewise to the moulded effigies on the so-called slipper coffins (Loftus, *Travels in Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 204), and to some Parthian terra-cotta figurines (Loftus, *op. cit.*); but they all are memorials, and have in them no element of idolatry and image-worship.

As to a sculptured panel possibly representing Mithra (if not Zoroaster), which belongs to the Sasanian era (A.D. 224–650), see above, § I; and for other Mithraic monuments, as bearing indirectly upon the whole question in relation to Persia, consult ART (Mithraic) by Cumont, vol. i. pp. 872–874. In direct connexion, however, as covering the general subject of image-carvings during the Sasanian Period, reference may once more be made to ART (Persian); and for numismatic representations of Iranian divinities see M. A. Stein, in *BOR*, 1887, pp. 155–166.

6. Allusions in Pahlavī literature of Sasanian times and later.—Important in its bearing—as a sequel and to supplement the material drawn from glyptic art—is the testimony offered by the Pahlavī literature of the Sasanian age and later, or the centuries directly preceding and following the Muhammadan Conquest about A.D. 650. The entire subject will be found fully discussed in a monograph prepared for the forthcoming *Jubilee Volume of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa*, to appear in Bombay, 1914. Many of these Pahlavī allusions refer back to an age, a millennium or more, before Zoroaster appeared as the founder of the national religion of Persia, and are the more valuable as showing the traditional attitude of Irān in regard to idols and images. Only the main references need be given here.[1]

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[1] For some references also to certain passages in the Pahlavi literature which might be similarly interpreted see West, *SBE* xlvii., Introd. pp. xxvi–xxvii.

[2] Such is the interpretation by Darmesteter, *SBE* xxiii. 58, and *Zend-Avesta*, ii. 365; also by Justi, *Gesch. des alten Persiens*, Berlin, 1879, p. 95, where is reproduced from Loftus, *Travels in Chaldæa and Susiana* (reprinted), New York, 1857, p. 379, a clay figurine of Anāhita found at Susa among a number of similar small terra-cotta images of the goddess, the type, especially the profile, being decidedly Assyrian.

[1] In this connexion mention may be made, without laying undue stress upon the fact, of the action of Cambyses in slaying the Apis bull (Herod. iii. 29), and of his derision of the Egyptians for having 'gods of blood and flesh, sensible to steel,' as well as of Cambyses' mockery of the idol (*ἄγαλμα*) in the temple of the Egyptian Hephæstus (iii. 37).

The *Dīnkarț* (vii. 1. 19), which is a Pahlavī work based upon very old material, contains an antique legend of Takhmūrūp (a monarch placed by tradition in the 4th millennium B.C.) that names him as a pioneer who 'cast out idol-worship (*aūzdēs-parastākīh*) and promulgated among creatures the reverence and worship of the Creator.'[2] The same work alludes in another passage (vii. 4. 72) to the idol-worship (*aūzdēs parastīānīh*) and witchcraft practised by the monster Dahāk of Babylon, whose usurping reign over Irān is assigned by tradition to the 3rd millennium B.C., and whose baneful influence in this heretical regard was only eradicated two thousand years later by the establishment of the religion of Zoroaster. The passage reads in translation :

> 'Through that seduction [of Dahāk] mankind had come to idol-worship ; . . . but through the words of the triumphant religion, which Zartūsht [*i.e.* Zoroaster] proclaimed in opposition to that sorcery, it [*i.e.* the heresy] is all dispersed and disabled.'[3]

Another legend, oft-repeated in the Pahlavī books, is the story of the crusade waged against idol-worship by the ancient ruler Kaī Khūsrau (*Kavi Haosravah* of the Avesta), who is reputed to have reigned about 800 B.C. By the help of the Kingly Glory (Pahl. x^{v}*ārīh* ; cf. Av. x^{v}*arenah*) this monarch demolishes the idol-shrine which his arch-enemy, Frangrāsīāk of Tūrān (Pahl. *Frāsīak*, Mod. Pers. *Afrāsiāb* ; cf. Av. *Tūirya Frańrasyan*), had maintained on the shore of Lake Chēchast, and substituted for it the great fire-temple of Ādhār-gushnāsp, with which his name was afterwards associated.[4] The *Dīnkarț* (vii. 1. 39), *e.g.*, tells of how Kaī Khūsrau

> 'vanquished and smote Frangrāsīāk of Tūr, the sorcerer, and his fellow-miscreants, [namely] those of Vakyīr, Kērsēvazd, and many other vile world-destroyers, and applied himself to the demolition of that idol-temple (*aūzdēs-čār*) on the shore of Lake Chēchast, which was a frightful thing of fiendishness.'

The same legend of the destruction of this noted idol-temple is referred to several times in other Pahlavī works. The *Būndahišn*, xvii. 7, *e.g.*, in telling of this pious achievement adds a detail regarding the help given to the hero in his work by the sacred fire, Āṭār Gushnāsp, as follows :

> 'When Kaī Khūsrau was demolishing the idol-temple (*aūsdēs-čār*) of Lake Chēchast, it [*i.e.* the Fire] settled upon the mane of his horse and drove away the darkness until he destroyed the idol-temple.'[5]

Kaī Khūsrau's religious act is praised, furthermore, in two passages of the *Maīnōg-ī Khraț* (ii. 93–95 and xxvii. 59–61), which may be dated somewhere about the 6th cent. A.D. The idolatrous practices of the tyrant Frāsīak (Afrāsiāb) are alluded to in a somewhat later treatise, *Shatrōīhā-ī Aērān*, 7, which anathematizes this foe for having transformed each of the sacred shrines in the city of Samarkand, in Sogdiana, into 'an idol-temple (Pahl. *aūzdēst-čār*), the abode of demons.'

A statement has been made above regarding the attitude which Zoroaster in his own time must have held towards anything approaching idolatry, as shown by the tenor of his religion, even though no direct pronouncement by him on the subject is preserved in the Avesta itself. Additional evidence is furnished by the fact that in the Pahlavī *Bahman Yašt*, iii. 30 and iii. 36 f., the hero Pēšyūtānū, the son of Zoroaster's patron Vīštāsp, is said to have received divine authority from Ormazd, combined with the archangelic aid of the Amšaspands and that of the sacred fires, in his crusade to 'destroy and smite the idol-temple (*aūzdēst-zār*) of the demons'; and 'that idol-temple was destroyed through the glorious exertion of the illustrious Pēšyūtanū.' Again, a section in the Pahlavī *Jāmāsp Nāmak* (vi. 1 ; ed. J. J. Modi, Bombay, 1903, p. 73), which is a book probably written some time before A.D. 900 and purporting to hand down the words of the sage Jāmāsp, chief-counsellor at the court of Zoroaster's patron Vīštāsp, contains, in its Pāzand version of this chapter, a prophecy of the time (not then wholly fulfilled because of heretics) when the true spirit of the faith will prevail and 'the priests will come to the country of Īrān and smite idolatry (*aūzdēs*).' The *Maīnōg-ī Khraț*, ii. 93–95, looks forward to the final destruction of the wicked 'idol-worshippers' (*aūzdēs-parastān*) in the last millennium of the world when the Saviour (Pahl. *Sūšāns*, Av. *Saošyant*) shall appear before the Day of Judgment.

There are several general allusions to the hatred of idolatry in other Pahlavī books besides those already mentioned.

The *Arțā Virāf Nāmak*, lxviii. 11, *e.g.*, in an account of an apocalyptic vision, enters upon the roll of the damned a woman whose perversity led her to choose the practice of 'idol-worship' (*aūzdēs-čār*); and the *Šāyast lā-Šāyast*, ix. 2 f., a compilation dating from about the 7th cent. A.D., though based on older sources, sees a like fate awaiting a priest 'who passes over to idolatry' (or, possibly, 'passes away in idolatry'). Among the most abominable places on earth, according to *Maīnōg-ī Khraț*, vi. 7, is the one 'on which they build an idol-temple (*aūzdēs-čār*); and accordingly the commandment is given (ii. 93–95): 'Abstain from idol-worship (*aūzdēs-parastišnīh*) and demon-worship,' because its enormity is 'eighth' (Pahl. *haštūm*) among the most heinous sins (xxxvi. 10). For this reason the *Dīnkarț*, vi. 275, sees in the disappearance of idolatry a sign of the growth of the true religion, on the ground that, 'if idol-worship be annihilated, no faith in the good spirits will thereby disappear.'

It is easy, therefore, to understand the importance attached to the exploit of Ardašīr, founder of the Sasanian Empire, in overthrowing an idolatrous monster that ruled over Kīrmān and was known as the 'Worm' (Pahl. *Kērm*), a vile practiser of idolatry (*aūzdēs*), as told in the Pahlavī romance *Kārnāmak-ī Artākhshīr*, vii. 1–12, viii. 1–11 ; this story presents interesting parallels to the OT narrative of Bel and the Dragon, as discussed, with bibliographical references to the Pahlavi editions of the work concerned, by Jackson, 'Notes on OT Apocrypha,' in *Essays published as a Testimonial to Charles Augustus Briggs*, New York, 1911, pp. 95–97.

The practice of idol-worship by foreign nations, who were outside the pale of Zoroastrian Irān, comes in for a share of condemnation in the Pahlavī texts. For instance, the veneration which the Hindus paid to images, personified as the idol *Būt* (lit. 'spectre, spook,' then 'image, idol'), is execrated in *Būndahišn*, xxviii. 34 (cf. also *Great Iranian Būndahišn*, ed. B. T. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1908, p. 187) as follows :

> 'The demon Būt[1] is he whom they worship among the Hindus, and his prayer is in the *būt*-shrine abode [*i.e.* goblin-shrine].'[2]

A similar damnable practice of the worship of a *būt* is attributed, according to the Pahlavī-Pāzand *Jāmāsp Nāmak*, vii. 3–4 (ed. Modi, p. 76 f.), to the people of China, Bārbārīstan, and the Tājīks—the name of the latter nation probably including the tribes of Central Asia as well as those of their Islāmitic ancestors in Arabia who conquered that territory and may have retained traces of pre-Muhammadan idolatry fostered by the primitive beliefs of the people they vanquished.

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[1] For full citation of the Pahlavī passages in transliteration, with tr., see the above-mentioned monograph in the *Jubilee Volume*; tr. of almost all the texts will be found in West, 'Pahlavi Texts Translated,' in *SBE* v., xxiv., xxxvii., xlvii.

[2] The Pahlavī word for 'idol' (which is here transcribed as *aūzdēs* and is also written in Pahlavī as *auzdēz*, *aūzdēst*, with other variations) is derived from Av. *uzdaēza*, the original meaning of which is 'elevation, something raised up,' and may refer to an idolatrous structure as well as to an image itself.

[3] An allusion in later Persian literature to the use of images by Dahāk (or Ḍaḥḥāk, as he is called in Mod. Pers.) is found in a passage referred to below from the epic poet Firdausī.

[4] Lake Chēchast (Pahl. *Var-ī čēčast*, Av. *Vairi caēčasta*) is the ancient name of the body of water corresponding to the modern Lake Urumiah and its environs in Azarbaijān, N.W. Persia ; see Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 70–73.

[5] The fact that a reminiscence of this legend of the descent of the fire, in the form of lightning which settled on the pommel of Kaī Khūsrau's saddle, while thus engaged, lingered as late as the 16th cent. of our era is shown by a passage in the Pers. Lexicon (*Risālah*, or *Farhang*) of Vafāī, dated A.D. 1526, which is discussed by A. Yohannan, in *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 150–152.

[1] Regarding this word, which appears in Pahl., Av., Skr., and Mod. Pers., see Bartholomae, *s.v.* 'Būtay,' col. 968.

[2] The designation in Pahl. is preferably thus to be read as *būt-gāh*, 'idol-shrine,' even though West, *SBE* v. 111, n. 6, and Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, ii. 259, n. 4, read the word as *būtīhā*, 'idols.'

7. After the Muhammadan Conquest in the 7th cent. A.D.—The overthrow of Zoroastrianism as the national faith through the Muhammadan Conquest by the Arabs in the 7th cent. A.D., whatever it may have signified in other regards, meant no significant change with respect to the true Persian hatred of idolatry. Vanquished and victors were at one in this matter, and many of the citations given above from the Zoroastrian patristic works in Pahlavī may, in fact, date from a time after the Muslim victory over Persia, even if the sources on which their standards were based go back to a far earlier period. It must be conceded, however, that the iconoclastic spirit of Islām killed off all progress in the Persian art of sculpture, as being a factor that might lead to encouraging idolatry, despite the fact that there was no such inclination in the Persian heart. This circumstance accounts for the fact that no sculptured portrait was carved after the downfall of the Sasanian Empire through Islām until modern times, when, about the beginning of the 19th cent., Fath ʿAlī Shāh (1798–1835) caused his effigy to be sculptured over an antique carving of Sasanian times, thus unfortunately effacing an old bas-relief that had been cut some 1500 years before; but this innovation, or, rather, this resumption of the old practice of carving portraits on rocks, combined with one or two other modern instances, is a matter of recent times (consult ART [Persian]).

8. References in later Persian literature.—The whole tone of later Persian literature, or for the past 1000 years and more, has been strongly against idolatry, and that, too, irrespective of Muhammadan influence as well as under a natural sympathy with the iconoclastic tenets of the Qurʼān. Only a few references need be given to show this. The great epic poet of Persia, Firdausī (fl. A.D. 1000), *e.g.*, tells with evident zest and in spirited heroic verse how Farīdūn, 2500 years before, overthrew a talisman (Pers. *ṭalismī*) in the form of an idol which the monster Ḍaḥḥāk (or Dahāk, whose idolatry has been alluded to above) maintained in his palace (see Firdausī, *Shāhnāmah*, ed. Vullers and Landauer, Leyden, 1877, i. 53, l. 357; tr. J. Mohl, *Le Livre des rois*, Paris, 1876, i. 72; tr. A. G. and E. Warner, *Shāhnama*, London, 1905, i. 161). Many instances might be cited from other Persian authors. The poet and moralist Saʿdī (*c.* A.D. 1184–*c.*1291) recounts how he discovered in his travels the trick by which the famous idol in the great temple of Somnāth in India lifted its hand; and, outraged by the infamous delusion, he thereupon slew the priest in charge of the sanctuary. Yet it must be confessed that, in his account, Saʿdī has hopelessly confused some of his allusions to Hindu idolatry with the so-called worship of fire in the 'Avastā and Zand' to which he refers (cf. Saʿdī, *Būstān*, ch. viii., story 9, tr. A. H. Edwards, London, 1911, pp. 106–109). Saʿdī also makes use of a story of an idolater to adorn a tale in his *Būstān*, ch. x., story 3 (tr. Edwards, p. 121 f.). The great lyrist Ḥāfiẓ (*c.* A.D. 1325–*c.*1389) often makes allusion in his *Ghazals*, or 'Odes,' to 'idol-worship' (*but-parastī*), or likens his beloved to an 'idol' (*but*) or to an 'image' (*ṣanam*); but his references are mostly in the way of poetic similes drawn from love (*e.g.* *Ghazals*, 301, verse 3; 210, v. 3; 254, v. 8; 297, v. 5; 172, v. 10, in the ed. by H. Brockhaus, *Die Lieder des Hafis*, Leipzig, 1863, pp. 225, 130, 175, 221, 92). Finally, the last classic Persian poet, Jāmī (A.D. 1414–1492), in vol. vii. of his *Haft Aurang*, entitled *Khirad-nāmah-i Iskandarī*, or 'Book of Alexander's Wisdom,' represents Alexander the Great as destroying a well-known temple of idols. Citations might easily be multiplied from other later Persian writers, but they would all be of a similar character as showing the deep-seated Persian hatred of idolatry. This persistent detestation of the use of idols and images is as marked as ever in the attitude of the Parsīs, or modern followers of Zoroaster, both in India and in Persia.

LITERATURE.—The bibliographical references to edd. of the Gr. and Lat. works quoted have been given above. For the Avesta consult the Eng. tr. by J. Darmesteter and L. H. Mills, in *SBE* iv., xxiii., xxxi., Oxford, 1880–87, and the Fr. tr. by Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta, traduction nouvelle*, 3 vols., Paris, 1892–93. For trr. of the Pahlavī works, see E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts Translated*, in *SBE* v., xviii., xxiv., xxxvii., xlvii., Oxford, 1880–1897; cf. also the forthcoming monograph by A. V. W. Jackson, in the *Jubilee Volume of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa*, Bombay, (to appear in) 1914.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Teutonic and Slavic).—**1. Teutonic.**—The evidence for the existence of idols and images among *Germanic* peoples is somewhat conflicting. The pronouncement of Tacitus, that the Germani had no images of their gods, is repeated by later Christian writers; but this is evidently an uncritical re-statement. On the other hand, there is sufficient, if not abundant, evidence to attest the existence of images among the different Germanic peoples, at the several periods of their conversion to Christianity.

Tacitus definitely says of the Germani:

> 'Ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimulare, ex magnitudine coelestium arbitrantur' (*Germ.* 9);

and again, of the Nahanarvali, that they have no *simulacra* of their twin-gods Alcis (*Germ.* 43). Elsewhere, however (*Germ.* 7), he tells of the symbols taken from the sacred groves, and borne into battle: *signa*, probably attributes of the gods, as the ship which he names the *signum Isidis* (*Germ.* 9); and *effigies*, probably representations of animals which possessed a sacred significance. Such might be the *ferarum imagines* of the Batavi (*Hist.* iv. 22). Later examples would be the dragon-heads on poles shown among the spoils taken from the Germani by Marcus Aurelius, and depicted on the Antonine Column (cf. P. S. Bartoli, *Columna Antoniniana*, Rome, n.d., pl. 37 f.); these are perhaps similar in form to the Dragon of Wessex displayed as Harold's standard in the Bayeux Tapestry. Such representation of animals appears in a slightly different form in the *eoforcumbol* and *eoforlīc* mentioned in *Elene*, line 259, and in *Beowulf*, line 303; or in the boar-helmets worn by the warrior-figures on the Torslunda helmet. On the other hand, Tacitus's account of the worship of the goddess Nerthus (*Germ.* 40), in which *numen ipsum* is immersed in a sacred lake, would seem to point to some kind of image, although it may mean nothing more than a symbol. It is probable that Nerthus appears in Norse mythology, with change of sex, as the gods Njörðr and Freyr; and in the worship of Freyr a similar ceremonial procession is described, in which an image is used (*Oláfs Saga Tryggvasonar, Fornmanna Sögur*,[1] ii. ch. 173). If the cult of Nehalennia, representations of whom were found at Walcheren, contains any Germanic elements, we then have very early evidence of the representation of a deity; but, even if she is Germanic, the whole style of the figure shows very strong Roman influence.

It seems probable that the Germanic representation of gods passed through the usual stages of development (cf. R. M. Meyer, *Altgerm. Religionsgesch.* ch. v. § 24). There is no actual evidence for the shapeless log or stone, which was probably the earliest form of idol, or for the worship of meteoric stones, as in classical mythology. But it is likely, from what we know of the later use of logs, straw figures, branches, etc., in plough, harvest, and other ceremonies, that this stage did exist (cf. W. Mannhardt, *Mytholog. Forschungen*, Strassburg, 1884, p. 332 f.; Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* ch. 24, pp. 768, 782, 784); and it is even possible that some such rough figure may be denoted by the *numen ipsum* of Nerthus. Contemporary evidence does exist, however, for the second stage—the trunk or log, carved with a representation of the head only, or of the head and shoulders. Pillar-worship, of which the reverence paid to the Irminsul by the Saxons and to the high-seat pillars by the Scandinavians seems to have been a late survival, probably belongs to this stage. For the more artistic stage—the complete reproduction of deities—there is sufficient evidence, especially from Scandinavia; they are represented with their attributes, as Thor with his hammer; or with ornaments of gold and silver. Finally, as with some statues of classical gods, and with Christian images, one finds instances of images that can move, walk, and speak.

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[1] Hereafter quoted as *F.M.S.*

The earliest definite evidence for the existence of Germanic idols is connected with the *Goths*, and dates from the latter half of the 4th century. The Constantinople Column, erected by Arcadius to commemorate the wars of Theodosius, has representations of Gothic gods, borne on the backs of camels in his triumph. These are life-size figures of bearded men, of which the head and shoulders only are carefully carved; the rest of the figure is of the *xoanon* type, with slight indications of ornament to represent a robe (cf. A. Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, Venice, 1729, ii. 417, pl. ix.). Sozomen, *HE* vi. 37, writing of the same period, mentions that Athanaric, king of the Goths, in his attempt to revive heathenism, caused a statue (*ξόανον*) to be carried in a waggon to the houses of Christians, that they might worship and sacrifice.

The references of Christian writers to the existence of idols among the remaining Germanic peoples are numerous, but reliance can be placed only on those in which images are specifically mentioned or described (*simulacra, imagines*). Phrases such as 'idola colere' are not definite enough, nor is the mention of temples positive evidence, as it is possible that Germanic temples did not invariably contain images; the custom of alluding to Germanic gods under the names of the approximately corresponding classical deities sometimes causes confusion.

For *Frankish* images, there is continuous evidence. The earliest reference, dating from 491, is the speech of Clotilda to her husband King Clovis, in favour of baptism:

> 'Nihil sunt dii quos colitis, qui neque sibi, neque aliis poterunt subvenire; sunt enim aut ex lapide, aut ex ligno, aut ex metallo aliquo sculpti' (Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* ii. 29).

In the *Constitutio* of Childebert, *c.* 554, punishment is decreed against those who refuse to destroy from off their land, or who prevent the priests from destroying, 'simulacra constructa vel idola daemoni dedicata' (Pertz, *MGH*, 'Leges,' Hanover, 1835 ff., i. 1). In the *Vita S. Goaris*, contained in the *Acta Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Paris, 1668–1701, sect. ii. p. 282, we are told that *c.* 649 the saint

> 'coepit . . . gentilibus per circuitum (*i.e.* Ripuaria) simulacrorum cultui deditis et vana idolorum superstitionis deceptis verbum salutis annuntiare.'

The only definite authority for *Saxon* idol-worship is to be found in the anonymous *Indiculus Superstitionum* of the 8th century. With entry 26, 'De simulacro de consparsa farina,' may be compared the story of the figure of Baldr, which was baked and smeared with oil (*Friðjófs Saga*, 9; *Fornaldar Sögur*, ii.). Possibly such cakes were sometimes representations of a divine attribute, or of an animal sacred to the god, and not of the god himself. Entry 27, 'De simulacris de panais (pannis), factis,' may refer to doll-images for the private use of worshippers (cf. A. Saupe, *Indiculus Superstitionum*, Leipzig, 1891, *ad loc.*); or to figures in straw and rags, such as the effigy of Death, which in later times we know to have been carried round in procession (cf. Grimm, ch. xxiv. p. 771). Entry 28, 'De simulacro, quod per campos portant,' shows that the Saxons practised the general Germanic custom of religious processions, probably to secure fruitfulness and prosperity.

There is little definite reference to the practice of idol-worship among the *English*; the most convincing is the description of the heathen reaction in Essex, *c.* 660:

> 'Coeperunt fana, quae derelicta erant, restaurare, et adorare simulacra' (Bede, *HE* iii. 30).

Other references are found in Bede; Pope Gregory, writing to Bishop Mellitus, gives instructions,

> 'ipsa quae in eis (*i.e.* fanis) sunt idola, destruantur' (i. 30).

Boniface v. in his letter to Edwin, king of Northumbria, quotes the description of idols in Ps 113, and reinforces it thus:

> 'Quomodo . . . possunt habere virtutem hi, qui ex corruptibili materia inferiorum etiam subpositorumque tibi manibus construuntur; quibus videlicet artificium humanum adcommodans eis inanimatam membrorum similitudinem contulisti; qui, nisi a te moti fuerint, ambulare non poterunt, sed tanquam lapis in uno loco positus, ita constructi nihilque intellegentiae habentes . . . nullam . . . facultatem adepti sunt' (ii. 10 [*PL* lxxx. 437]).

The force of these two references is weakened by the fact that the writers of the letters were foreigners, and not immediately in touch with English conditions. Again, in the story of Coifi, and of his active share in the destruction of the temple at Goodmanham (Bede, *HE* ii. 13), no word more definite than *ydola* is used; but in the poetic account of the incident by Alcuin, *Versus de Pontificibus et Sanctis Eboracensis Ecclesiæ*, l. 162, Paulinus is represented as saying, 'omnia sternantur fundo simulacra deorum.' The word *wih* occurs in Old English in the meaning of 'idol'; thus it is used of Nebuchadrezzar's golden image; its most peculiar use is in the phrase *Wóden worhte weós* (Gnomic Verses, l. 133, *Exeter Book*). Again, in *Beowulf* (line 176) the word *wigweorðung*, 'honour to idols,' is used in an express description of a heathen custom: 'At times they ordained worship of the idols in the temples.'

For the *Frisians* the evidence is neither full nor very conclusive; there is no direct reference to an idol in the descriptions of the sanctuary of Fosite on Heligoland given by Alcuin, *Vita S. Willebrordi*, i. 10 (*PL* ci. 700); by Altfrid, *Vita Liudgeri*, i. 19 (*MGH*, 'Scriptores,' Hanover, 1826 ff., ii. 410 [*PL* xcix. 778]); and by Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburg.* iv. 3 (*MGH*, 'Script.' vii. 369 [*PL* cxlvi. 623 f.]). Elsewhere (i. 13) Alcuin speaks of Willebrord's arrival

> 'ad quandam villam Walachrum nomine, in qua antiqui erroris idolum remansit.'

In Willibald's description of the heathen reaction under the Frisian king Redbod, *c.* 716, we read:

> 'idolorum quoque cultura exstructis delubrorum fanis lugubriter renovata' (*Vita S. Bonifacii*, iv. 12 [*MGH*, 'Script.' ii. 339; *PL* lxxxix. 611]).

The most definite reference is that of Anskar in his account of the preaching of St. Willehad in the middle of the 8th cent. to the Frisians at Humarcha:

> 'Barbaris coepit . . . persuadere . . . dicens insanum esse . . a lapidibus auxilium petere, et a simulacris mutis et surdis subsidii sperare solatium' (*Vita Willehadi*, 3 [*MGH*, 'Script. ii. 380; *PL* cxviii. 1015 f.]).

Grimm quotes from different lives of St. Gall an incident which would be a proof of the existence of idols in *Alamannia*, if, as he thinks, it can be referred to Germanic deities (Grimm, ch. vi. p. 108). Although there is some confusion in the account of Ratpert, *Casus S. Galli*, 1 (*MGH*, 'Script.' ii. 61 [*PL* cxxvi. 1058]), it seems clear that on the Lake of Constance, near Bregenz, St. Gall and Columban discovered, *c.* 612, a sanctuary dedicated to

St. Aurelia; it nevertheless contained 'tres imagines aereas et deauratas' (*Vita S. Galli I.*, i. 6 [*MGH*, 'Script.' ii. 7; *AS*, Oct. VII. ii. [1869] 886]). These the missionaries threw into the water. Walafrid Strabo says definitely that they were images of heathen gods; 'isti sunt dii veteres et antiqui huius loci tutores.' He says, further, that they were 'parieti affixas' (*Vita S. Galli*, vi. [*Acta Bened.*, sect. ii. p. 233; *PL* cxiv. 983]). Grimm cites later instances of this practice of retaining the ancient gods, 'probably to conciliate the people' (p. 108, n. 1), and it has approximate parallels in classical mythology (cf. Pausanias, III. xiv. 5: 'the wooden [*i.e.* the archaic] image of Thetis is still preserved in secret').

For *Scandinavian* images there is very full evidence, the most trustworthy coming from Christian sources; the words *skurðgoð* and *trégoð* are used in Icelandic, but the custom prevails of speaking of the image merely by the name of the deity. The most important evidence is the account by Adam of Bremen, in the 11th cent., of the great sanctuary at Upsala, with its statues of Thor, Odin (Wodan), and Freyr (Fricco). Odin is represented armed, Freyr with the symbol of fertility, and Thor 'cum sceptro Iovem simulare videtur'; this probably refers to his hammer, the attribute of the thunder-god (*Gesta Hammaburg.* iv. 26 [*MGH*, 'Script.' vii. 379; *PL* cxlvi. 642 f.]). Other statues of Thor and Freyr are mentioned (*ib.* ii. 60, p. 327, iv. 9, p. 371; *PL* cxlvi. 543, 627). The most detailed accounts we owe to the Christianizing expeditions of Oláfr Tryggvason, and St. Oláfr. Thus at Rauðsey, Oláfr Tryggvason encountered a representation of Thor which could speak, walk, and even make war upon him (*Oláfs Saga Tryggvasonar*, 150, *F.M.S.* i.). At Mori near Trondhjem the same king found an image of Thor with his hammer, adorned with gold and silver; it stood in a chariot drawn by two wooden goats, round the horns of which was a silver chain (*Flateyjarbók*, *Oláfs S. Trygg.* 268). St. Oláfr was opposed in the Highlands by Guðbrandr, a votary of Thor, and a great chief; Guðbrandr's son described Thor's image to the king:

'He has a hammer in his hand, and is great of stature . . . he is hollow within . . . four loaves are brought to him every day, and therewith meat in the same proportion.' The image stood upon a pedestal, and was adorned with gold and silver; when it was shattered, out came 'mice as big as cats, and lizards and snakes' (*Oláfs S. hins Helga*, 107–108, *F.M.S.* iv.).

Statues of Thor seem to have been particularly numerous; in *Njálasaga* 88 we find, in a temple at Hlaðir, Thor in a chariot, and with him Thórgerðr, Hölgabrúðr, and Irpa; each wears a great gold armlet, and Thórgerðr has a kerchief on her head. Reference has already been made to the story of Freyr, and of his image being borne in yearly procession (*Oláfs S. Trygg.* 173, *F.M.S.* ii.); also to the story of the baked image of Baldr (*Friðjófs S.* 9). It seems to have been a common Scandinavian custom to place several statues in one temple; even the temple built by Hrafnkel, who was a special votary of Freyr, contained other gods (*Hrafnkels S. Freysgoða*, 15). Still, the notice of the great temple in Gautland, with its hundred gods, is probably an exaggeration (*Jómsvíkinga S.* 12).

Traces are found of the practice of carrying on the person small images, probably for secret worship, or as amulets; the skald Hallfreðr carried an ivory 'likeness' of Thor in his pocket (*Hallfreðar S.* 6); and Ingimundr wore a silver talisman of Freyr (*Vatnsdœla S.* 10). For similar protective reasons Earl Eiríkr carried an image of Thor at the prow of his ship (*F.M.S.* ii. 253). We even find such a familiar use as the image of Thor carved life-size on the back of a chair (*Fóstbrœðra S.*, pt. ii. 9). The walls of Oláfr Pái's hall in Iceland were adorned with representations of old stories, probably in painted wooden reliefs (*Laxdœla S.* 29); these were described by Ulfr Uggason in the *Húsdrápa*, and, from the fragments that remain of the poem, they seem to have depicted the burning of Baldr, Heimdallr's fight with Loki, Thor's journey to Hýmir, and his fight with Miðgarðsormr. The high-seat pillars were also adorned with figures; thus Thor was carved upon the pillars which Thórólfr Mostrarskegg threw overboard on approaching Iceland, in order to find a landing-place; these same pillars were afterwards set up in the temple built by Thorolfr.

To sum up, then, our knowledge of Scandinavian images: they were very numerous, often life-size, generally of wood (cf. *trémaðr*, 'wooden man'), and frequently adorned with gold and silver. In later times the people identified the image with the god, and in this way they were able to believe that the figure had the power of movement; a very clear example of this occurs in the story of Thróndr of Gata (*Fœreyinga S.* 23), where the statue of Thórgerðr loosens a ring as a sign of acquiescence, but clasps it tightly when she denies her favour. The story of Gunnarr and his intercourse with Freyr's priestess proves that the god was identified with his image. The idea of vitality and volition in the image is carried so far that the statue of Thor at Rauðsey is made to compete in wrestling with Oláfr Tryggvason, the object being to hurl the vanquished into the fire; the king proved the stronger, and the wooden figure was burned to ashes.

There is very little archæological evidence for Germanic gods; the representations of Nehalennia and of the *deæ matres* are more Roman than Germanic in style, and with them may be classed the altar to Mars Thingsus, with its representation of the god armed. Although it was found in England on Hadrian's Wall, the votaries, who came from near Deventer, were probably Batavi; the stone dates from the first half of the 3rd cent. (cf. Helm, *Altgerman. Religionsgesch.* i. 366 ff.). Again, the most important evidence is connected with Scandinavian mythology. The figures on the Gallehus horns are too problematical to count as evidence; and even the figure on one of the plates of the Torslunda helmet may represent a mere warrior, though it is tempting to identify it with Odin, accompanied by his two ravens. Undoubted representations of Odin exist on the gravestones of Ardre, Hablinghö, and Tjängvide; here we see Odin on Sleipnir, but even these are late representations and show a somewhat specialized aspect of the god (cf. Helm, i. 213). Curiously enough, the clearest representations of Scandinavian deities are found in England. The Gosforth Cross in Cumberland shows probably the last fight of Viðarr with the Fenrisulfr; another group probably represents the punishment of Loki. On the Gosforth Stone is a group evidently meant to represent Thor's fishing. From time to time wooden figures have been unearthed, especially in Jutland, which seem to show primitive types of images; for a detailed discussion of these, cf. Helm, i. 214 ff.; according to him, the majority of them may be considered to represent deities of fertility.

2. Slavic.—The discussion of Slavic images is rendered difficult by the fact that much of the early evidence really refers to Scandinavians who were settled among Slavic populations; in particular, the chief god of whom one finds images is really Thor, the Swedish thunder-god, worshipped under the same aspect, but under a Slavic name, Perun, thunder-bolt. It is therefore not easy to disentangle the Scandinavian worship from the Slavic, and only at one period does the evidence refer incontrovertibly to the Slavs—the period of

Slavic settlements in the island of Rügen, and around the Elbe. The evidence for Poland, however, appears fairly trustworthy.

The 10th cent. narratives of Arabian travellers, though nominally concerned with the Slavs, in reality treat of the Russians, *i.e.* of the Scandinavian settlers around the Volga. Ibn Faḍlān (ed. Fraehn, St. Petersburg, 1823), ambassador to the Russians, describes the worship paid to 'a high wooden pillar, that has a human face and is surrounded by small figures.' Here, again, is evidence for the rougher form of image. The narrative of Mas'ūdī, in the *Fields of Gold*, is far less trustworthy; he describes gorgeous temples, one of which contained 'a colossal statue of an old man holding a rod with which he called forth skeletons from their tombs,' while another temple contains an idol formed wholly of precious stones (Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*, ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861–77, ch. lxvi.). Apart from the inherent improbability of his account, it is difficult to know of whom he is speaking, and of what place; Arkona has been suggested, but there seem to be no means of settling the question.

Even some of the early Christian evidence really refers to Scandinavians. The so-called Chronicle of Nestor, dating from the 11th to the 12th cent., gives a detailed account of the setting up of idols in 978 at Kieff by Vladimir:

> 'Upon a public eminence he set up several idols; Perun in wood with a silver head and a golden beard, and also Khors, Dazbog, Stribog, Simargl, and Mokoch. Sacrifices were offered to them; the people offered their sons and their daughters as victims to the idols' (*Chronique de Nestor*, ed. and tr. L. Leger, Paris, 1884, ch. 38).

We hear again of an attempt to force a Christian Vareque to sacrifice to the idols; he replies:

> 'These are not gods; these are only wood, which is to-day, but to-morrow is rotten; they do not eat, or drink, or speak. It is the hand of man which has cut them out of wood' (*ib.* 39).

Ten years later Vladimir reversed his work at Kieff:

> 'He commanded the idols to be thrown down. Some he had burnt, and the rest cast into the fire. He commanded men to tie Perun to the tail of a horse, and to drag him down . . . to the stream; and he ordered twelve men to beat him with staves, not because he thought the wood had any feeling, but to insult the demon who in this form had insulted men, and to punish him for his deceptions. . . . While he was being dragged along the stream as far as the Dnieper, the heathen wept for him. . . . Then . . . they threw him into the Dnieper' (*ib.* 43).

Another statue of Perun was set up by Vladimir's uncle at Novgorod (*ib.* 38). There are later references to the statue of Perun at Kieff, and to the church of St. Basil which stood upon its site, but apparently nothing independent of the account in Nestor (cf. Dlugosz, *Historia Polonica*, ed. H. von Huyssen, bk. ii., Leipzig, 1711, col. 104).

From the *Chronica Bœmorum* of Cosmas of Prague, we have 12th cent. evidence for the primitive worship of idols by the *Czechs*. The passage has a legendary tone, and is not above suspicion, but is interesting as far as it goes. A certain princess Tetcka taught the people the worship of Oreads, Dryads, and Hamadryads:

> 'sicut hactenus multi villani velut pagani, hic latices seu ignes coluit, . . . iste lucos et arbores aut lapides adorat, . . . alius quae ipse fecit idola surda et muta rogat et orat, ut domum suam et se ipsum regant' (i. 4 [*MGH*, 'Script.' ix. 35; *PL* clxvi. 62]).

Similar practices are described more in detail in the account of the extermination of paganism by Duke Bracizlaus, but there is no mention of actual idols (*ib.* iii. 1, p. 102 [*PL* clxvi. 189]). On the other hand, the princess Ludmilla, in her pagan days, had a golden idol of the goddess Krosina, which was of more than human size (*AS*, Sept. v. [1866] 344).

Dlugosz, who wrote his *Historia Polonica* late in the 15th cent., gives a long and somewhat doubtful list of *Polish* gods, identified with Roman deities, and shows that their cult was practised by the Poles with all the apparatus of *delubra*, *simulacra*, and *flamines*. The notice on Diana or Dziewanna is interesting:

> 'Diana quoque quae superstitione gentile femina et virgo existimabatur, a matronis et virginibus serta simulacro suo ferebantur' (bk. i. col. 37).

Later on, at the conversion of Miecslaus, he describes the measures taken to stamp out idolatry:

> 'Strictissimo posthaec Miecslai edicto, . . . confringuntur idola, et falsorum deorum simulacra. . . . Quae quidem deorum et dearum idolorumque immersio et confractio tunc facta . . . simulacris Dziewannae et Marzannae in longo ligno extollentibus, et in paludes in Dominica Quadragesimae Laetare, projicientibus et demergentibus, repraesentatur, renovatur in hunc diem nec hujus consuetudinis vetustissimo effectus usque modo apud Polonos defluxit.'

This account of Dlugosz is cited by Cromerus, *De origine Polonorum*, iii., Basel, 1568, p. 33 B; for survivals of this Polish custom in Mid-Lent see Grimm, ch. 8, p. 190; ch. 24, pp. 773, 782.

The evidence of foreign chroniclers is fairly abundant, and is, on the whole, more trustworthy, although even such circumstantial testimony as that concerned with Otto of Bamberg is not free from suspicion. The greater part of this foreign evidence deals with the Slavs settled on the shores of the Baltic, and round the basin of the Elbe. An early reference occurs in the *Annales Weissemburgenses* for 1069:

> 'Rex Heinricus barbaros trans Alpiam flumen constitutos cum exercitu invasit . . . fana cum simulacris succendit' (*MGH*, 'Script.' iii. 71 [*PL* cxli. 527]).

Adam of Bremen's testimony is important as contemporary 11th cent. evidence; he mentions the town Rethra:

> 'templum ibi magnum constructum est demonibus, quorum princeps est Redigas. Simulacrum eius auro, lectus ostro paratus' (*Gesta Hammaburg.* ii. 18 [*MGH*, 'Script.' vii. 312; *PL* cxlvi. 513]).

Thietmar, *Chronicon*, vi. 17 (*MGH*, 'Script.' iii. p. 812), gives a more minute description of this sanctuary in Mecklenburg-Strelitz, but differs in some important details, notably in calling the town Riedegost, and the god Zuarasici (contrast Helmold, *Chronicon Slavorum*, i. 23 [*MGH*, 'Script.' xxi.]). In the temple

> 'dii stant manu facti, singulis nominibus insculptis, galeis atque loricis terribiliter vestiti, quorum primus Zuarasici dicitur. . . . Vexilla quoque eorum, nisi ad expeditionis necessaria . . . hinc nullatenus moventur.'

Later, he speaks of the Liutici and of their goddess whom they carried with them into battle 'in vexillis formata' (*ib.* vii. 47, p. 857); and elsewhere he refers to the general Slavic practice of image-worship:

> 'Quot regiones sunt in his partibus, tot templa habentur, et simulacra demonum singula ab infidelibus coluntur' (*ib.* vi. 18, p. 812).

Next in chronological order come the references connected with the Christianizing missions of Otto of Bamberg to the *Pomeranian* Slavs, early in the 12th century. The references to idols and their destruction are frequent; unfortunately the value of these lives by Herbord and Ebbo is much disputed. The most detailed description is that of a great temple at Stetin, apparently very like that at Rethra:

> 'Erat autem ibi simulacrum triceps, quod in uno corpore tria capita habens, Triglaus vocabatur' (Herbord, *Dialogus de Vita Ottonis*, ii. 32 [*MGH*, 'Script.' xii. 794; *AS*, Jul. i. [1867] 357]).

At Gutzkow there was an idol of great size and beauty, which was mutilated and burned (Ebbo of Bamberg, *Vita Ottonis*, iii. 10 [*MGH*, 'Script.' xii. 866]). Ebbo gives more details on the image of Triglaus at Stetin:

> 'Tricapitum habebat simulacrum, quod aurea cidari oculos et labia contegebat, asserentibus idolorum sacerdotibus ideo summum eorum deum tria habere capita, quoniam tria procuraret regna, id est coeli, terrae et inferni; et faciem cidari operire pro eo quod peccata hominum quasi non videns et tacens dissimularet' (*ib.* iii. 1, p. 859; *AS*, Jul. i. 388).

In the temple at Julin were 'statuas . . . auro et argento decoratas' (*ib.* iii. 1, p. 858; *AS*, Jul. i. 387).

Helmold, who went on his mission in 1155, is the first to mention the sanctuary at Rügen, and the image of Svantovit, with the confusion between Svantovit and Saint Vitus (*Chronica Slavorum*, i. 6 [*MGH*, 'Script.' xxi.]). An interesting general reference occurs:

> 'Hi (*i.e.* Slavi) simulacrorum imaginaria formas praetendunt de templis, velut Plunense idolum cui nomen Podaga; alii . . . lucos inhabitant, ut est Prove . . . quibus nullae sunt effigies expressae' (*ib.* i. 83, p. 75).

In 1168, Waldemar of Denmark captured Rügen, and destroyed

> 'simulacrum illud antiquissimum Zvantevith, quod colebatur ab omni natione Sclavorum' (*ib.* ii. 12, p. 96).

Helmold's evidence is confirmed by the more detailed account, by Saxo Grammaticus, of Waldemar's campaign in Rügen and capture of Arkona (*Gesta Danorum*, xiv. p. 565, ed. A. Holder, Strassburg, 1886). The temple is described minutely, and the image of Svantovit:

> 'Ingens in aede simulacrum, omnem humani corporis habitum granditate transcendens, quatuor capitibus totidemque cervicibus mirandum perstabat, e quibus duo pectus totidemque tergum respicere videbantur. Ceterum tam ante quam retro collocatorum unum dextrorsum alterum levorsum contemplacionem dirigere videbatur. Corrase barbe, crines attonsi figurabantur ut artificis industriam Rugianorum ritum in cultu capitum emulatam putares . . . Leva arcum reflexo in latus brachio figurabat. Tunica ad tibias prominens fingebatur, quae ex diversi ligni materia create, tam arcano nexu genibus iungebantur, ut compaginis locus non nisi curiosiori contemplacione deprehendi potuerit. Pedes humo contigui cernebantur, eorum basi intra solum latente.'

On the gate-tower of the town the people displayed *signa* and *aquilas*:

> 'Inter quas erat Stanitia (marg. Stuatira), magnitudine ac colore insignis' (*ib.* p. 575).

Bishop Absalon found at Karentia (*i.e.* Garz), in Rügen, three temples similar to that at Arkona; in the inmost shrine of one was found a gigantic oaken figure,

> 'quod Rugievithum vocabant . . . In eius capite septem humane similitudinis facies consedere, quae omnes unius verticis superficie claudebantur. Totidem quoque veros gladios cum vaginis uni cingulo appensos eius lateri artifex conciliaverat. Octavum in dextra destrictum tenebat. Hunc pugno insertum firmissimo nexu ferreus clavus astrinxerat, nec manui nisi precise evelli poterat; quae res truncande eius occasio extitit. . . . Nihil in hoc simulacro iocundum visentibus fuit; lineamentis impoliti celaminis deformitate sordentibus' (*ib.* p. 577).

In the next temple was the image of Poreuithus:

> 'Id quinque capitibus consitum sed armis vacuum fingebatur.'

In the third temple was found Porenutius:

> 'Haec statua, quatuor facies representans, quintam pectori insertam habebat, cuius frontem leva, mentum dextera tangebat' (p. 578).

The destruction of the idols in Rügen is described in *Knytlingasaga*, 122; Svantovit appears as Svantaviz, and the names of the three images at Karentia are given as Rinvit, Turupið, and Puruvit. Statues with several heads seem to be peculiarly Slavic; there is apparently no similar representation of Germanic gods.

Unfortunately there appears to be practically no trustworthy archæological evidence for Slavic images (cf. Leger, *Mythologie slave*, pp. 33 f., 221 ff.).

3. In connexion with the Teutonic and Slavic evidence, brief reference may be made to the neighbouring Prussian peoples; Simon Grunau, *Preussische Chronik*, tract II. cap. v. § 2, describes a Prussian sanctuary built in an oak, in the 6th century.[1] The description is thus adapted and rendered in Latin by Alexander Guagninus, *Rerum Polonicarum*, Frankfort, 1584, ii. 107 f.:

> 'Quercus haec tripartita fuit; . . . ex una parte Prutenorum Deum, qui Peruno, id est fulmen, dicebatur, habebant. . . . Ex altera parte collocatum erat Patrimpo idolum; cuius cultus erat in serpente vivo retinendo. . . . Tertia ex parte daemoniacum idolum, Patelo nomine, situm fuit.'

In descriptions of late survivals of Prussian or Lithuanian paganism, mention of the serpent-cult recurs frequently, but apparently there is no other reference to images.

To sum up the evidence: Teutonic and Slavic peoples alike seem to have had no idols in early times, but they must certainly have possessed them at a later stage; in their adoption of them they may have been influenced by classical cults. Although individual references by early chroniclers may not be above suspicion, the weight of their collective testimony is too great to be disregarded.

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ii. *SLAVIC.*—L. Leger, *La Mythol. slave*, Paris, 1901, *passim*; G. Krek, *Slav. Litteraturgesch.*^{2}, Graz, 1887, p. 410 ff.; W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*^{2}, London, 1872, pp. 94, 211, 240 ff.

M. E. SEATON.

IMAGES AND IDOLS (Tibetan).

—1. **Occurrence.**—In Tibet images and idols abound, though not, perhaps, to any greater extent than in other Buddhist countries, even of the 'Southern,' or relatively primitive, division of that religion—*e.g.* Burma and Ceylon. Whilst, however, in the latter case, the images are mainly reduplicates of the conventional effigy of the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni (in one particular attitude, namely that of 'the earth-touching pose' [*bhūśparśamudrā*], at the supreme moment of attaining Buddhahood, under the 'Tree of Wisdom' [*Bodhi*]), in Tibet, on the other hand, as in the other countries of the polytheistic Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, the images represent also a host of deified Buddhas and celestial Bodhisattvas (or potential Buddhas), saints, and demons. Besides the images enshrined in temples and other religious buildings, *chortens* (*q.v.*), etc., a large number of miniature images are met with on domestic altars, and worn by the people in amulet-boxes, as talismans. Pictures of many of these divinities are as abundant in the houses of laymen as in temples, and illuminated in colours on the title-pages of favourite scriptures and manuals of worship. Consecrated medallions are also bestowed by the grand Lamas upon generous donors of alms. The images of the pre-Buddhist aboriginal religion, the *Bon*, are now cast in Buddhist form.

2. **Divinities, saints, etc., represented.**—The great majority of the divinities represented by the idols are those of the orthodox Mahāyāna Buddhism of India, as was first elicited by the present writer, who has also traced the origin of the majority of these divinities and their images to an adaptation of Brāhmanist myth, and to the deification of metaphysical categories and different modes of Buddha's 'Word' (or *Logos*) by a concrete symbolism. The more commonly prevalent images are as follows.

(*a*) *Buddhas, celestial and human.*—Of these the most frequently represented is perhaps the divine *Amitābha* (*'Od-dpagmed*), or 'The Buddha of Boundless Light' (see ĀDIBUDDHA) of the Western Paradise, and his mode *Amitāyus* (*Ts'e-dpag-med*), 'The Boundless Life' (see AMITĀYUS). Other common forms are the Medical or Æsculapic Buddha (*sMan-bla*), the primordial Ādibuddha as *Samantabhadra* (*Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po*), or *Vajradhāra* (*rDo-rje-chaṅ*), or *Vajrasattva* (*rDo-rje-sem-dpa*), and their mystical Tantrik modes displaying their female energies; also the remaining Buddhas of the four quarters of the universe; and—less common than these—the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni (*Śākya-tu'b-pa*).

(*b*) *Bodhisattvas*: the coming Buddha, or *Mai-*

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[1] It must be admitted that Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 83, discredits the accuracy of Grunau in general, and of his mythology in particular, thus following the lead given by M. Toeppen, *Gesch. der preuss. Historiographie*, Berlin, 1853, p. 122 ff., esp. 178 ff., 190 ff. On the other hand, H. M. Chadwick, *Origin of the Eng. Nation*, Cambridge, 1907, p. 254 ff., accepts the evidence of Grunau on the characteristics of Prussian gods, and uses it in connexion with his Nerthus-Freyr theory.

treya (*Byāms-pa*), usually figured seated in European fashion, not cross-legged, and usually of gigantic size, as a several storeyed image, or carved on rocks; *Avalokiteśvara* (*q.v.*) (*Spyan-ras-gzigs*), or personified Compassion, *Mañjuśrī* (*Jam-dbyaṅs*); personified Wisdom, *Vajrapāṇi* (*P'yags-rdor*); *Tārā* (*Sgrol-ma*), consort of Avalokita, as 'the white' (*Sitā*) and 'the green' (*Bhṛkuṭi*); *Marīchī* (*rDo-rje p'ag-mo*); *Prajñāpāramitā*, personified Divine Wisdom; 'the all-victorious Diadem,' *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*; 'the White Umbrella Invincible against others,' *Sita-ātapatra-aparājitā*; 'the Great Turner away of Harm,' *Mahāpratyaṅgirā*; 'the Flaming Crown,' *Uṣṇīṣajvala*.

(*c*) *Placid gods* (*lha*) *of Brāhmanist type*: modes of Indra and Brahmā as door-keepers and attendants on Śākyamuni; the four Guardian gods of the Quarters; and Jambhala, the god of Wealth.

(*d*) *Demoniacal tutelaries* of the fierce type of Śiva as 'Defenders of Religion' (*Ch'os-skyoṅ*), *e.g.* 'the fearful Thunderbolt,' *Vajrabhairava* (*rDorje-'jigs-byed*), a form of Yama, the god of the Dead; 'the horse-necked demon,' *Hayagrīva* (*rTa-mgrin*); 'the Goddess,' *Devī* or *Lha-mo*.

(*e*) *Local gods and demons*: chiefly indigenous, namely 'country-gods,' *yul-lha*, and earth-demons, *sa-bdag*, of which the most numerous are red (*tsan*) and black (*bdud*).

(*f*) *Saints*: the sixteen apostles or 'the sixteen Arahats'; also the two chief disciples, '*Mongol-pu*' and '*Sari-pu*'; *Padmakara* or *Padmasambhava*, whom the present writer has shown to be the founder of Lamaism; also the reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, Tsonkhapa, the founder of the Yellow-hat sect, now the dominant Church, to which belong the Grand Lamas of Lhasa and Tashilhunpo. The image of Padmasambhava is given the chief place in temples of the Red-cap sect, and Tsonkhapa in the Yellow. Each of the other minor sects accords its own particular founder a chief place on its altars.

3. **Canon descriptive of images.**—The authoritative source for the detailed description of the images of Buddhism is the great body of the *Sādhana* (*Sgrub-t'ab*) literature of rituals for the worship of these respective divinities. The rituals were composed in India, in the early centuries of our era onwards, during the rise of the *bhakti*, or devotional movement, which permeated both Brāhmanism and Buddhism. They number many hundreds, and each purports to contain minute descriptions of the form assumed by the deity on becoming manifest to a votary; the distinctive form, dress, posture, and pose of body and hands, as well as the colour, and the symbols held in the hands to emblemize the functions and attributes, are all detailed therein. Several recensions of these texts are on record as translated into Tibetan. Two large collections are included in the great Tibetan commentary, *Tangyur*, of which the titles have been published by F. W. Thomas and P. Cordier. It is from these Indian manuals that Tibetan artists form their images. Many of the deities are given a variety of forms, owing, it seems to the present writer, to the apparent incorporation of popular Brāhmanist and other aboriginal divinities to whom their functions and symbolism are thereby assimilated. These polymorphic forms fall into three types: (*a*) placid, mild, or benign (*śiva*); (*b*) fierce (*khroda*); (*c*) terrible and demonist (*dragpo*).

4. **Style of art and technique.** — The Tibetan artists have preserved to a great extent the mediæval Indian style of Buddhist art. This is especially noticeable in the dress and form of the female divinities, who are represented displaying exuberant charms of figure, according to the Indian ideals of female beauty. This character contrasts strikingly with the Chinese treatment, which tends to repress sexual distinctions. In the conventional treatment of externals, such as landscape effects, clouds, water, trees, and houses, the Tibetan images and pictures exhibit a decided Chinese influence rather than Indian, though Tibet has to some extent evolved a special style of its own, intermediate between that of its two great neighbours, and distinct from that of Nepāl. Some of the large images in Tibet were cast in Nepāl by Newar artisans.

5. **Materials of image.**—The commonest images are composed of plastic material—clay, or a mixture of incense-paste, flour, and clay moulded into shape, dried, painted, and gilded. The better images are fashioned from brass or copper, usually cast from moulds and gilded. The most valued images are inlaid with turquoises and other precious or imitation stones. Stone is seldom used for images or statues, though figures are sometimes outlined on rocks. Bas-reliefs and medallions are often made in butter, in the winter season, for certain festivals. Following the Indian custom, auspicious times must be selected for the preparation of the materials, and for the execution of the work, especially of the principal organs, *e.g.* the eye, etc. A remarkable realistic detail is the insertion into the larger images of models of brain, heart, lungs, stomach, and intestines. The conventional colour of Buddha's hair is dark blue.

On completion of the image, it requires to be consecrated. For this purpose sacred texts are recited, and into the hollow interior are inserted small rolls of texts, one of which often is 'the Buddhist Creed' or a spell (*dhāraṇī*). Other objects thus inserted are grains of consecrated rice from the altar, bodily relics, hair, nail-parings, shreds of the robes of holy men, and filings of precious metals. The image is usually wrapped with silk scarfs, giving the impression that it is clothed. Pictures (*z'al-t'aṅ*) of images are painted in distemper, usually on cotton, seldom on silk. Sometimes the paintings are executed on the walls of temples as mural frescoes.

6. **Worship of images.**—The image, as in other Buddhist countries, is popularly worshipped as a sort of fetish, holy in itself, and not merely as a diagram or symbol of the infinite or unknown. Food and drink are regularly offered to it. It is believed to hear and answer prayers. It is a common experience to hear the devotees in a temple addressing personal requests for benefits before the image. Certain of the older images of which the history has been forgotten are, like those in Brāhmanism and other religions, regarded as miraculous in construction, and credited with being 'self-formed' or as 'fallen from heaven ready fashioned.'

See also 'Buddhist' section above, esp. p. 123 ff.

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L. A. WADDELL.

IMAGE OF GOD.—1. **General view.**—(1) 'God is a Spirit,' said Jesus to the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well at Sychar (Jn 4^{24}), thereby giving utterance to the deep truth that God is free and self-determining, essentially ethical in His nature. This great idea is the basal conception on which the interpretation of man as made in God's image, as set forth in Scripture, must proceed. For, if God is a Spirit, then man, reflecting Him, must be a spirit too; in other words, human nature has more in it than what we find in sensuous experiences, animal proclivities, and fleshly inclinations. He stands erect, and is by nature allied to the Divine; and his attachments, in the first instance and properly, are heavenwards and not towards earth. He has fellowship with the Source of his being, then; and his own nature, to the extent that it is pure and unsullied, may be held as revealing the Divine. The foundation of his being is deeper than anything that may be seen or tasted or handled: it is found in relation to the unseen and the eternal. Consequently, what the nature of the great God is can be discovered in part by consideration of His image as reproduced in man; and, however much more God may be than what finite intellect, finite will, finite conscience, and finite love may disclose, He must at least correspond to the reflexion of Himself that the higher faculties and emotions of man's soul exhibit: if the human spirit is not the Divine Spirit, at any rate it reflects it, and may be trusted as a revealer to the extent of its capacity.

The line of argument which is suggested by Jesus' utterance is supported by the OT, and especially by the Creation narratives (P and J) at the opening of the Book of Genesis. Whatever be the historical or the scientific value of these two narratives, they lie at the root of both the Jewish and the Christian faith, and embody truths that are indispensable for the understanding of redemption. According to them, man is a spirit, being created by God, who is 'the Father of Spirits,' and having the breath of life 'breathed into his nostrils' by God Himself. This renders him the image of his Maker: the Divine Spirit is the Source of the human spirit, and the rational creature is thus far stamped with the stamp of the Creator.

(2) Now, if this be the Scripture teaching, OT and NT, what is the practical significance of it? Clearly this—that, if man is essentially a spirit, drawing his being from the great Creator Spirit, the agnostic position that God, even if we suppose Him to exist, is unknown and unknowable is untenable. God cannot be unknown, much less unknowable, if man bears in him the Divine image. Even the reflexion of a face in a mirror is a copy; and, although it lacks the warmth and fullness of the original, it does, nevertheless, within limits reproduce it, and thus far gives a true idea of it. Further, on the Bible conception of man's spiritual nature and original heavenly relationship, both natural theology and Divine revelation become possible, and, indeed, are seen to be inevitable; and the distinction between the two becomes one of degree and not of kind. But, on the supposition that man is not a spirit, it is not possible to see how either natural theology or Divine revelation could be. Divine revelation is shown to be a necessity from the fact that, as man's deepest need is God, and as God is a Person, it is only if God reveals Himself that we can come to know Him. It is the characteristic of personality to be self-declaratory and self-communicative. Even in the case of our fellow-men, who are persons, we cannot know them unless they themselves will to disclose themselves to us. Knowledge of a neighbour depends upon whether he opens his heart and lays bare his thoughts to us: the motion must come from *his* side; otherwise, we are powerless. We might, without his revelation, come to learn something about him; but we should not know himself. Now, the revelation of one person to another is also the revelation of that other to himself. We can never know ourselves except in the light of our experience and knowledge of others. This arises from the necessities of the case—in particular, from the circumstance that our nature is in the essence of it social, and that imitation is largely our teacher in our early days. How much more, then, is the revelation of God to us also the revelation of ourselves to us! It is only in His light that we see light. But the meaning of this is that humanity is taken up into the Divine; which, again, implies that the image of God—and, therefore, the Godward attitude—is the primary fact in man. God and man in union and communion is the same thing as saying that man is naturally allied to God, that the Infinite is not the contradictory, but the complement, of the finite.

Still more obvious is the need for revelation if we introduce, as Scripture does, and as our own experience attests, the idea of sin, or voluntary transgression, intervening to create a rupture between man and God. There is now not only ignorance or limited knowledge to cope with, but also voluntary alienation or estrangement. The understanding is weakened, but the will also is perverted, and the affections are turned away in the wrong direction. A thorough transformation has to be effected in the sinner—clearness of perception has to be brought back to his intellect, strength to his will, purity to his heart, and peace to his conscience. Only a Divine revelation can do this.

2. OT teaching.—(1) The psychology of the OT centres in the terms 'body,' 'soul,' 'heart,' and 'spirit.' Of these four factors man consists. His body is at first conceived simply as 'dust' (*ʽāphār*, עָפָר), or 'dust of the ground,' *i.e.* simply as the earthly part of him, composed of dust and resolved at death into dust again, but without any idea of unworthiness or degradation attaching to it. It is a work of the Creator, and, like other such works, it was pronounced at the beginning to be 'very good.' Looked at as an animated and sentient organism, it is viewed as 'flesh' (*bāśār*, בָּשָׂר), devoid, however, of any implication of vitiosity or carnal desire, which so frequently attaches to 'flesh' in the NT. Nevertheless, although 'flesh' is not represented in the OT as the source or origin of sin, it is regarded as indicating man's mortality and frailty, and also the fact that the body may be the instrument of evil desires and passions. Thus, while, on the one hand, it says, 'All flesh is grass' (Is 40^6), on the other hand, it records the depravity of the race at a particular moment in the significant phrase, 'All flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth' (Gn 6^{12}), though even then the congruity of 'flesh' with 'spirit' is not lost sight of, for it is said, in almost immediate connexion, 'My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh' (Gn 6^3). The body as flesh is congruent with spirit: hence the Psalmist can say, 'My heart and my flesh cry out unto the living God' (Ps 84^2). The 'soul' (*nephesh*, נֶפֶשׁ) is specially the seat of the emotions and the will, although other functions are frequently accorded to it. It is the soul that 'hopes,' 'fears,' 'trusts,' 'desponds,' 'praises,' 'is glad' and 'longs,' etc.—all emotive and volitional states. To the 'heart' (*lēbh* or *lēbhābh*, לֵב, לֵבָב) are assigned thought, wisdom, intellect, understanding; so that 'the heart,' in Hebrew usage, so far from signifying the chief seat of affection, as in English, is the nearest equivalent to the English term 'mind.' It is also the seat of character—the centre of man's being, moral and religious. As the seat of sin, 'the heart is deceitful above all things, and it is desperately sick: who can know it?' (Jer 17^9). It is deep and hidden from common view, and is reached only by God: 'I the Lord search the heart, I try the reins, even to give every man according to his ways, according to the fruit of his doings' (17^{10}). But neither soul nor heart constitutes man's outstanding greatness. That is reserved for his 'spirit' (*rûach*, רוּחַ), which is distinctively the heaven-derived principle in him, drawn immediately from the Divine Spirit, 'breathed' into him directly from that Source, and thereby making him specifically a person, a self, with power to determine his actions and to control his nature, and, therefore, above all, an ethical being—an ethical being whose inmost inclination is religious, who, if unsullied, is ever looking towards God, responsive to His influence, and drawing his inspiration from Him. This is what gives him his supreme dignity and worth, making him 'but little lower than God' (Ps 8[5]), and securing his dominion over the lower animals and over all the earth. Thus we are introduced to the fundamental conception of man as made in God's image: 'And God said, Let us make man in our image [lit. 'shadow,' *ṣelem*, צֶלֶם], after our likeness [*d*e*mûth*, דְּמוּת]: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth. And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them' (Gn 1[26f.]).

(2) All this goes to show that, in the view of the OT, man holds a unique place in the earth. He is, like the lower animals, a creature of God indeed; but he is more. His body, like that of the brutes, is dust of the earth, and is animated as a physical organism; but he is spirit, and stands to his Creator as a son to his father. Thus are the facts of our experience interpreted. It is not for nothing that, in the first creation narrative, with its charming pictorial setting, the account of man's creation is isolated from that of the other creatures by being introduced by the solemn injunction, 'Let us make man,' and followed up by the sublime announcement, 'And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him.' There is no word here of creation 'after its kind,' which is the formula used in the case of both animals and plants: it is a peculiar and special creation. Nor is any secondary agency invoked to bring about the result, such as we read of in the case of animals, 'Let *the earth* bring forth the living creature after its kind,' and of fishes, 'Let *the waters* bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life.' The act in man's case is immediate, personal, direct, thereby indicating the exceptional worth of the spiritual being now brought into existence, and his special kinship to his Maker.

The OT estimate of the worth of the Divine image in man is further shown by the fact that it uses the possession of it as an argument for the just and impartial treatment of man by man in the world. In the pronouncement that God is represented as making to Noah, as recorded in Gn 9[6], the condemnation of murder and the punishment of it are based on this very fact: 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man.' And in this same spirit St. James, in the NT, tries to curb the unruly tongue, and to show the enormity of slander, backbiting, and the like (all of which are really species of murder), by the very same argument of man's native dignity and celestial relationship: 'Therewith bless we the Lord and Father; and therewith curse we men, which are made after the likeness of God' (Ja 3[9]).

(3) In man's spiritual nature, drawn from its heavenly Source, is involved the fact of immortality and never-ending life. This is a logical deduction from the possession by man of the Divine image: spirit cannot die. How far, however, this was understood by the Jews is subject to dispute. What is obvious is that the idea of a future life grows in the OT as the ages run; and, when it does crop up, it comes as an intuition of the heart rather than as the result of logical reasoning, and is associated with the thought of communion and fellowship with God. It is the expression of the vision and the aspiration of psalmist and of prophet prompted by the longing for purity and righteousness, and poured out of the individual's glowing faith: 'As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness' (Ps 17[15]: 'likeness' = תְּמוּנָה, LXX δόξα, Vulg. *gloria*).

But the objection has been raised that immortality was lost by the Fall; for our first parents were driven out of the Garden of Eden (such is the representation), lest they should 'put forth their hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever.' The signification of this clearly is that an everlasting life to a fallen or sinful creature, in the condition to which his fall had reduced him, would not be a blessing but a curse, and that something better was in store for erring man, even though it should cost him labour, pain, and sorrow. To eat of the tree of life and live for ever just as he was would simply be to prolong degradation and misery. But the whole lesson of the Fall is that of hope for man. The curse of the ground was for man's sake; it was for man's sake that he was expelled from the Garden, and that access to the tree of life was strictly guarded by cherubim and a flaming sword. In a finely impressive way the myth brings out that man has now realized that his life is to be a battle of the right against the wrong, of good against evil, of strenuous resistance of temptation, of rising to higher things through personal effort; and that through this continued warfare the potentialities that are in him are to be actualized, character is to be formed, and spiritual progress secured. And the NT throws further significance into the fact when it insists that the conflict is not confined to men, but is shared by Heaven itself. It is the characteristic of the very Son of God, the Ideal Man, who was made perfect through suffering, and in whose victory over sin and temptation we have the highest revelation of the Divine purpose with men and the truest manifestation of the Father's love.

3. NT teaching.—The fact of sin and the universal degradation and bondage of men on account of it, and the need, nature, and purpose of the remedy offered in Jesus Christ, are the subject-matter of the NT. The worth of the individual soul lies at the root of it—the supreme value of the image of God in man, which had become corrupted, defaced, and blurred ('How is the gold become dim! how is the most pure gold changed!' [La 4[1]]), and the determination of God that this image shall not be finally lost. A new creation is required: man has to be regenerated, 'renewed in the spirit of his mind' (ἀνανεοῦσθαι δὲ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν), submitted afresh (in the altered circumstances) to the enlivening, quickening influence of the Divine Spirit. The means is the person of Jesus Christ and His work of redemption—His life on earth, His death, His atoning sacrifice, His resurrection and ascension, His sovereignty and continual priesthood, and, through all, the active working of the Spirit in the hearts and minds of believing men, making application to them of the remedy, creating them anew, purifying, enlightening, subduing them, and reinstating sinners in their sonship to God and keeping them in immediate filial communion with Him. 'If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature: the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new' (2 Co 5[17]). And not only so, but Nature itself is represented as suffering through man's sin. As he was created with dominion over all the earth, his fall had a cosmic significance; and, therefore, St. Paul pictures 'the earnest expectation of the creation' as 'waiting for the revealing of the sons of God. For the creation was subjected to vanity, not of its own will, but by reason of him who subjected it, in hope that the creation itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now' (Ro 8^{19-22}).

This gives the meaning of the whole teaching of the NT regarding man and God.

(1) In regard, first, to the NT psychology, it is pertinent to remark that it follows largely that of the OT. Neither of them is, strictly speaking, philosophical. How should they be, seeing that religion, not philosophy, is the great end of the Bible? But Christianity is the completion of the OT revelation, and would be unintelligible if severed from it. Yet it must not be forgotten (*a*) that Divine revelation is a progressive thing, and, consequently, that the terms received new content as time went on; and (*b*) that Christianity was affected by Hellenism, especially through the LXX. It is only quite recently that scholars have come to realize how much the NT owes to the LXX, not least for its language; and, indeed, it is hardly extravagant, in the face of modern research, to say, with E. C. Selwyn (*Expositor*, 8th ser., v. [1913] 169), that 'the time is not far distant when it will be seen that the Greek Bible was the cradle of the Christian faith.' St. Paul's teaching, too, bears many traces of Hellenism, as was inevitable in the case of a man who was a Roman citizen of Tarsus (a chief seat of Stoicism in St. Paul's day), and a pupil of the scholarly and liberal-minded Gamaliel. Above all, it is essential to remember that Christianity is offered as the remedy for sin. Its object is to bring man back to the Source from which he had wandered, and to reinstate him in his rightful heritage. Consequently, it has much to say of mortality, corruption, death; and much also of immortality, incorruption, life.

(2) How, then, is sinful man's nature renewed? Through redemption brought by Christ, and applied by the Holy Spirit.

In considering this, it is well to begin with the fact that Jesus is set forth in Scripture as 'the Image of the Invisible God' (*εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου*), 'the firstborn of all creation' (Col 1^{15}). This means that He is Himself a Spirit (for 'God is a Spirit'), and that, in a special sense, He is God's Son, the 'Son' of His love; for He is '*the* Image' of God, and not simply, like man, 'made *in*' it. On this account He makes to men the supreme revelation of God's nature, which is that of a Father, whose essence is love—the revelation of a compassionate God ('not willing that any should perish'), and of a suffering God with love at the core of it, bringing redemption through sacrifice.

He is also said by St. Paul (Ph 2^{6}) to be 'in the form of God' (*ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ*). That refers to Christ in His pre-existent state; but it cannot fail also to suggest the Divine image in which man was at first made (Gn 1^{26}), where 'form' might not inaptly translate the Hebrew *ṣelem* ('shadow'). And, agreeably to this, St. Paul, in Ro 8^{29}, speaks of those who are predestinated as 'conformed to the image of his Son' (*συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*), where the word 'conformed' clearly takes us back to the original Hebrew term for 'shadow,' with outline or form as the predominant idea. And it is significant in this connexion that, when St. Luke traces the genealogy of Jesus from Joseph upwards (Lk 3^{23-38}), he ends with Adam, whom he designates 'the Son of God.' Thus the Lucan pedigree connects the second Adam with the first Adam: 'it places a son of God at either end of this list of names'; 'it makes *us* out to be children of God both by nature and by grace, by birth and by second birth' (S. Cox, *Expositions*, i., London, 1885, p. 27). And so it is well for us to remember that 'both he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one'—*i.e.* have all the same origin—*ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντες* (He 2^{11}).

(3) How the image of God in sinful man is renewed is set forth in many ways in the NT. Sometimes we meet with terms that are common to Christianity and Greek thought, such as 'following' and 'imitating'—significant words to be found frequently in Plato and among the Stoics and the Neo-Platonists; but, when this is the case, the powerful personal influence of Jesus lies at the root of the process. It is not simply 'following' Jesus that we find, but it is Jesus' magnetic personality drawing men towards Him as disciples and Himself saying to each, 'Follow me' (*ἀκολούθει μοι*). Hence, it is not the verb *ἕπομαι* that is used (that verb never occurs in the NT), but *ἀκολουθέω*, thereby indicating that it is the following of disciples who are also *companions* that is meant—men who are living in the constant consciousness of the Master's presence with them. Again, it is not only the command to 'imitate' Jesus and take Him as our Example or Model that is issued to us, but it is also St. Paul exhorting us, 'Be ye imitators (*μιμηταί*) of me, as I also am of Christ' (1 Co 11^{1}). In other words, the personal note in this connexion is distinctive and supreme. But there are other modes of statement, all of them recognizing the fact that the renewal of the image in the individual man is a gradual process, requiring time and life's experiences, and even looking forward to the future life: 'Now are we children of God, and it is not yet made manifest what we shall be. We know that, if he shall be manifested, we shall be like him; for we shall see him even as he is' (1 Jn 3^{2}). Yet, although the renewal is a process, in every man who has accepted Christ the new image is there at any moment, needing only to be realized, for 'Christ is all and in all.'

This is brought out very clearly in Col 3^{5-11} and in 2 Co 3^{18}. These passages and many more go to show that re-creation, or the new birth, or regeneration, does not mean a despising or rejecting of the faculties that man as man possesses, or a making of any addition to them, but a taking of them up by the Spirit of Christ into a higher influence, imparting to them a new vigour, quickening them in their exercise, and turning the operation of them in a new direction. Intellect, feeling, and will are found in every man (that is the heritage from the original creation), but, through Christ and through Divine grace, they are purified and invigorated and dedicated afresh to the service of God.

(4) It is obvious, from the whole tenor of what has now been said, that the renewed image of God in man cannot be restricted to man's life on earth. We saw, under the OT teaching, that immortality is logically involved in the conception of man as a spirit. But this is explicitly brought out in Christianity and put in the forefront. St. Paul claims for Christ that He 'abolished death, and brought life and incorruption to light through the gospel' (2 Ti 1^{10}). That was the end and aim of His earthly mission: resurrection and immortality are effected by Himself as 'a life-giving Spirit' (*πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν*, 1 Co 15^{45}). The assurance of immortality, therefore, is now complete: 'Because I live, ye shall live also' (Jn 14^{19}). And the life promised is to the whole man—body and soul, not soul only apart from body. There is more than philosophical immortality promised: there is the final redemption of the body, as well as the salvation of the soul—complete redemption means complete future existence for the redeemed. Even under the OT, the fact of future life might have been evident, as Jesus Himself indicated to the Sadducees (Mt $22^{31\text{ff.}}$),

when He reasoned from God's revelation of Himself to Moses in the land of Midian as the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, on the ground that 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.' But it is accentuated now, and become the great motive power of the Christian teaching. The constraining Scripture passages are such as these: 'I am the resurrection and the life' (Jn 11^{25}), and 'When Christ, who is our life, shall be manifested, then shall ye also with him be manifested in glory' (Col 3^{4}).

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IMAGINATION.

IMAGINATION.—Originally both the Gr. term *φαντασία* and the Lat. *imaginatio* meant simply the power of bringing an object before the mind in the absence from perception of the object itself. The product of imagination was an 'image' or copy of the object as perceived. Later, when perception was known to have a physiological basis in the central nervous system, the image was regarded as produced through the revival, without an external stimulus, of the same cerebral process as accompanied the original perception—a 'decaying sensation' or perception, as Hobbes put it, or, in Kuelpe's phrase, a 'centrally excited sensation.' Such images might be combined in the same order as that in which they were originally given, or in new and different orders. The former was called 'reproductive,' the latter 'productive,' imagination. But, as Wundt points out (*Grundzüge der physiolog. Psychol.*^{5}, Leipzig, 1902–03, iii. 631), this usual distinction of productive imagination from memory (or reproductive imagination), as that faculty by which we can reproduce ideas and experiences in altered arrangement, is quite unsatisfactory, for memory itself invariably alters the experiences it recalls. The differences must be sought either in the mechanism or in the purpose of the processes in question. In memory, as Wundt argues, the mind moves in succession from point to point, according to the ordinary laws of association by contiguity, while in imagination, in the narrow sense, some idea of the whole that is to be formed always precedes the actual formation; it is a development from within, while memory is an accretion from without of part to part. On the other hand, recent experiments have shown that in memory also there is invariably an idea of the whole anteceding the recall of the details of an experience, and that the laws of association are quite inadequate to explain the processes involved (see, *e.g.*, H. J. Watt, *Theorie des Denkens*, Leipzig, 1904). A more fruitful distinction between memory and imagination is in the purpose or function of each. The object in memory is to revive a past experience of the individual, something that has already occurred, a 'real' event, perception, or thought. In imagination the purpose is to construct or prepare for a *new* experience, something hitherto unrealized by the individual; it faces the future, as memory the past; its product is essentially new, spontaneous, original, as that of memory is essentially old, reproduced, imitative. In the history lesson, it is by memory that a child recalls the words of the textbook, or of the teacher; it is by imagination that he pictures, and 'lives himself into' the personalities and events. So I may remember what I have read or heard of Tibet, but it is imagination that makes real to me the country and its people. The two processes are to a certain extent antagonistic to each other; a strong and accurate memory for details is rarely found accompanied by a vivid power of realizing in imagination the events passed through, or of communicating their *spirit* to others.

Imagination does not work merely with images, but also with percepts—as in the child's play with doll or pet, the artist's work with colours and canvas, or the sculptor's with clay or marble—and with concepts, abstractions, non-presentational meanings and thoughts—as in scientific invention and literary creation. On the other hand, images are used not only by imagination and by memory, but also by every other process of the mind, including perception itself. Thus images are by no means characteristic of imagination, either as materials or as products. Imagination is a complex power, to be paralleled with reasoning and with will, not with sensation or feeling. It is the primitive form of reasoning, 'thinking in pictures.' Reasoning works more in the abstract, with verbal images, imagination more in the concrete, with object-images; reasoning is governed by conceptions of law and necessity, imagination is free and unlimited; reasoning in the main seeks to determine what *is*, or what *must be*, as the necessary outcome of what is, imagination is concerned with what *might be*, or *might have been*, had other conditions been present. But none of these characters is essential. Some recent criticism would reduce reasoning to a special form of imagination (see F. C. S. Schiller, *Formal Logic*, London, 1912). In all higher thinking, at any rate, imagination is as essential a constituent as reasoning in the narrow sense. Both rest, as Ribot points out (*Essai sur l'imagination créatrice*, Introd.), upon a faculty of perceiving or thinking resemblances—a preponderance of exact resemblances on the one side, or of remote and superficial resemblances on the other, making the difference between the 'thinkers' and the 'imaginatives' or 'dreamers.' One may add that vividness and accuracy of imagery may be a bar rather than an aid to imagination; the French are described by Galton as the keenest visualizers among European races; in science and criticism they are also among the foremost; but one of their own psychologists describes them as devoid of imagination (A. Fouillée, *ap.* Ribot, p. 161). No one would deny that Edgar Allan Poe had imagination, but a study of his poems and tales shows his imagery to have been vague and formless in the extreme. So it is not definiteness, but vagueness in a child's imagery, that makes its thinking 'imaginative.'

What most strongly separates imagination from reasoning is, however, the personal and individual element—the emotional tone, that characterizes the first, and is absent, in theory at least, from the second. Imagination, like other psychophysical functions, has, in its origin, a purely practical value. It is an extended perception, an anticipation of experience, foresight of the issue of an action that is in process, of the effect from an observed cause, of the outcome of a given situation. Its possession enables the organism to adapt itself to new situations and environments, not merely, as in memory, to cope with recurring cases. It retains this practical side, from the earliest attempts to meet physical dangers or to satisfy hunger, up to the scientist's search into the hidden causes of things or the artist's pursuit of the ideal. Its driving force is, therefore, always an emotion of some kind—a want or desire and its accompanying dissatisfaction with the present. In the imaginative mind there is necessary a combination of strong desires and impulses, on the one side, and a rapid and varied flow of imagery, on the other.

> 'There may be in the mind an inexhaustible mass of facts and images, yet nothing is created, for example the great travellers who have seen and heard much, and who cannot draw from their experiences anything more than colourless recitals, men taking part in great political events or military adventures, which leave memories of the driest and poorest kind; prodigious readers, living encyclopaedias, crushed under the weight of their learning' (Ribot, p. 37).

Equally uncreative, however, is the vigorous active type, with poor imagery and intellect. Two good examples of the contrast referred to are to be found in the two tramps in R. L. Stevenson's essay 'On Beggars.'

Several features of imagination are explained by the closeness of its connexion with emotion: (1) the vagaries, the bizarre connexions, the inexplicable leaps, in its lower forms; ideas and experiences tend to be revived, not through their direct connexion with other ideas, but through the emotional tinge which they have in common with the excitant ideas; (2) the predominance in emotional natures of the type called 'passive imagination,' as opposed to 'active imagination'; in the former the flow of imagery is spontaneous, uncontrolled by the will of the subject, who is a spectator rather than an actor, while in the latter the subject can alter the imagery at will, but has a far poorer range and vividness (see A. Binet, *Étude expér. de l'intelligence*, p. 42); (3) the intensity and concentration of the imaginative state, as in the 'psychic' blindness and deafness of day-dreams, of play, of the creative mood (see Stanley Hall, *Aspects of Child Life*); as in all strong emotion, there is a temporary dissociation of the personality; from this point of view the imaginative state suggests comparison with somnambulism, hypnotism, and with the phenomena of double consciousness; (4) the sense of strangeness, suddenness, 'inspiration,' or 'possession,' with which innumerable creations of the imagination are accompanied. Much of the elaboration which is embodied in imaginative products takes place unconsciously. R. L. Stevenson's account of the source of some of his plots (see 'A Chapter on Dreams') is paralleled by the reports of many writers, artists, musicians, as to how their greatest creations 'came to them.' The most interesting attempt to explain this feature is that of Freud and his pupils (references in Lit.). A dream, as it is experienced by the subject (the manifest content), is the transformed, symbolic presentment of a deeper system of ideas (the latent content) suppressed by the censorship of consciousness; this latent content in its turn may be the suggested realization of some hidden desire, which the conscious subject has repressed, because impossible of attainment, absurd, childish, or immoral. These principles, originally formulated for dreams and for some forms of mental disease, are being applied to the materials of poetry, of art generally, and especially to the myths, fairy tales, and legends of primitive imagination.

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IMBECILITY.—See DEGENERATION, DEVELOPMENT (Mental), INSANITY.

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.—The Roman Catholic Church teaches that from the very first instant of her conception the Virgin Mary was immune from original sin. This privilege is called 'immaculate conception.' Before the 12th cent. there was no thought of exempting the mother of Christ from the law of original sin. The Feast of the Conception of Mary, however, was in vogue; and it is from this Feast that the belief in the immaculate conception arose.

1. The Feast of the Conception of Mary originated in a legend circulated by the *Protevangelium of James*, a 2nd century apocryphal writing. The substance of the book is as follows:

> Joachim and Anna had no children, and their unfruitful union caused them to be exposed to public contempt. One day an angel appeared to Anna, and said to her: 'Anna, Anna, the Lord hath hearkened to thy prayer: thou shalt conceive and bring forth a child, and thy posterity shall be spoken of throughout the whole world.' At the same moment Joachim, who was tending his flocks in the field, also received a revelation from heaven. An angel said to him: 'Joachim, Joachim, the Lord God has hearkened to thy prayer; descend hence, for behold thy wife Anna has conceived in her womb' (according to other MSS: 'thy wife Anna will conceive in her womb,' but the reading 'has conceived' seems to be the original; this is the form known and followed by Epiphanius in the *Panarium* [*Hær.* lxxix. 5]). Nine months later, Anna gave birth to a daughter, whom they called Mary, and who became the mother of the Saviour. The *Protevangelium* seems to say that Mary was conceived in the womb of Anna in a virginal manner (especially if we follow the reading: 'thy wife has conceived'). In any case it was in this sense that the story was interpreted for a long time by popular piety. But Epiphanius (*loc. cit.*) and, following him, several other writers explain that the conception of Mary took place according to the ordinary laws, after union with Joachim. Gradually the justice of their explanation was allowed, and the virginal conception gave place to a conception which was no doubt miraculous—for Anna was barren—but at least conformed to the ordinary laws of human reproduction.

Christians wanted to celebrate the marvellous events related in the *Protevangelium*, and so they held a Feast of the Conception of Mary—of the conception as they understood it, *i.e.* at first the virginal conception, and later, the miraculous, though not virginal, conception. This Feast made its appearance in the East probably during the 7th cent.; but its first witnesses are Andreas Cretensis and Joannes Eubœensis, who belong to the 8th century. Andreas, in his *Canones* (*PG* xcvii. 1305 and 1312), mentions, under the date December 9th, what he calls the 'conception of St. Anna,' *i.e.* the conception of Mary in the womb of Anna. Joannes Eubœensis has left a sermon on the conception of Mary (*PG* xcvi. 1459–1500), which concludes with the words:

> 'On the 9th of December we celebrate the anniversary of the day on which the blessed Joachim and Anna were informed of the conception of Mary. We celebrate this festival, which is not universally accepted.'

From the East the Feast of the Conception spread into England. As regards the details of time and manner we are reduced to guess-work. Most probably Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, was the cause. Born at Tarsus, a monk at Rome, placed by Pope Vitalian at the head of the church of Canterbury, which he governed for more than twenty years (668–690), Theodore was an Easterner dwelling in the West—a combination of the conditions necessary for the solution of the problem before us. A pontifical of Canterbury previous to 1050 contains a benediction: 'For the day of the conception of the holy mother of God, Mary'; and two calendars belonging to the abbeys of Old Minster and New Minster in Winchester contain under the date of December 8th the following inscription: 'The conception of the holy mother of God.' The Irish Church supplies similar texts, some of which go back to the 10th century. From these evidences it is clear that the Feast of the Conception of Mary was celebrated in England and Ireland long before the Norman Conquest. At the beginning of the 12th cent. wonderful stories came into circulation tending to prove that the Virgin Mary patronized this liturgical practice. Supported by these 'revelations,' the Feast of the Conception gradually spread, and was approved by the Council of London in 1129. It even reached the Continent, penetrated into Normandy, and as far as the church of Lyons, where we find it about 1128. At this date it encountered a formidable enemy—Bernard of Clairvaux. This famous abbot wrote a very strong letter (*Ep.* 174) to the canon of Lyons, in which he tried to prove that the Feast of the Conception was a 'superstition' (*superstitione deprehensa*) condemned by the principles of theology. But, in spite of Bernard's protestations, the Feast continued to spread. At the end of the 13th cent. nearly all the dioceses in France celebrated it, and England placed it among the obligatory festivals (council of Exeter, 1287). The papacy refused at this time to join the general movement; but it also yielded, during the residence at Avignon (14th cent.). Long before this the Feast of the Conception had lost its original object. Its purpose was no longer to honour the virginal, or simply miraculous, birth of Mary; what it celebrated was the exemption of Mary from the law of original sin—an important transformation, the history of which we shall now trace briefly.

2. **The belief in the immaculate conception.**—The Feast of the Conception caused no difficulty in the East. In the West, however, the Augustinian theory was prevalent, according to which the generative act, vitiated by the concupiscence which accompanies it, vitiates in its turn the human organism which issues from it; and this organism also vitiates the soul that comes to dwell in it. By virtue of these principles, the conception of Mary, which took place in conformity with the law of generation—they believed in a miraculous but not virginal conception—was necessarily vitiated. It could not, therefore, decently be celebrated by a Feast. Objection was made as early as 1125 by the English monks; it was made emphatically by Bernard in his letter to the canon of Lyons. An answer had to be given. Some English monks replied by explaining that, by a special privilege, Mary had escaped the defilement of the generative act performed by her father Joachim, and that, therefore, her body and soul were immaculate from the first moment of their existence; *i.e.*, the objection of the opponents of the Feast was met by the proclamation of the immaculate conception of Mary. In a word, the belief in the immaculate cenception made its appearance between 1121 and 1130; its apostles were a few unknown English monks; it aimed at the legitimization of the Feast of the Conception, of reconciling this Feast with the Augustinian theory of original sin.

For nearly a century and a half scholars were unanimous in asserting that it had not attained its aim. Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Lombard held that Mary was under the dominion of sin until the moment when the mystery of the incarnation took place within her womb, and they did not condescend even to discussion with the upholders of the new belief. Alexander of Hales Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura —in fact, all the scholars of the 13th cent.—discussed and refuted it. They all taught that Mary had contracted the original stain, and that the hypothesis of an immaculate conception was in contradiction to the principles of the faith. They should, logically, have condemned the Feast of December 8th, but it had become so wide-spread that there was no possibility of suppressing it. Being forced to tolerate it, they found themselves reduced to interpreting it. They said, therefore, that the Feast had as its object not the conception of Mary itself, but the sanctification with which Mary had been gratified after her conception at a date which was unknown, but before she came forth from her mother's womb—a false statement, for, wherever the festival of December 8th was celebrated, the homage of the people was offered to the conception of the mother of Christ. In fact, theology and popular piety were in conflict. One or the other had to come to terms.

It was theology that capitulated. Its opposition to the immaculate conception came from its Augustinian doctrine of original sin. Now, towards the middle of the 13th cent., it modified its doctrine. For the theory that concupiscence infects the body of the child, and then, by means of contact, its soul, it substituted a theory according to which the hereditary stain was constituted by the lack of original righteousness. This substitution was accomplished by Thomas Aquinas. Naturally Thomas did not intend to serve the cause of the immaculate conception, of which he was one of the keenest opponents; he allowed himself to be guided solely by metaphysical considerations, the elements of which he borrowed from Anselm of Canterbury. But the immaculate conception benefited from the operation. From the day on which the concupiscence inherent in the principle of generation ceased to be original sin, the conception of Mary might be regarded as immaculate, although taking place under the dominion of concupiscence.

Theology had come to terms; but not the theologians. They—at least those of them who were well known—remained firm. It was not until the 14th cent. that scholars took account of the new fact expounded by Thomas Aquinas. Duns Scotus, the Franciscan monk, took the initiative. He was English, and had been brought up in the belief in the immaculate conception which the English monks had handed down from the 12th century. When he became a scholar, in spite of the authority of the scholars, he remained faithful to the convictions of his childhood, and exonerated Mary from the law of original sin. He was followed by the order of Franciscans, of which he was the oracle. After that time the immaculate conception ceased to be a purely popular belief; it took first rank among the most serious, as well as the most disputed, theological doctrines. The Dominicans, out of respect for Thomas Aquinas, retained the attitude of the ancient Scholastics, and accused the Franciscans of teaching heresy. The immaculate conception became a battlefield where Dominicans and Franciscans engaged in ever renewed conflicts. In these conflicts the sympathies of the people were on the side of the Franciscans, who maintained the most glorious theory for Mary; and the papacy, although very circumspect, found itself obliged to follow the people. The immaculate conception assumed a more and more important place in the liturgy, and in the religious life of the faithful. Pious souls gradually became accustomed to venerate it as a dogma, and were impatient for the day when it would be placed among the verities of the Catholic faith. Their prayers were answered by Pius IX., who, in the bull *Ineffabilis*, which was promulgated on 8th December 1854, wrote as follows:

> 'We declare, pronounce, and define that the doctrine which holds that the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, from the first instant of her conception, was, by a most singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the human race, preserved from all stain of Original Sin, is a doctrine revealed by God, and therefore to be firmly and steadfastly believed by all the faithful.'

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JOSEPH TURMEL.

IMMANENCE.—**1. Meaning of the term.**—The word 'immanence' is used in modern theology to denote the presence or indwelling of God in the world. Its opposite is 'transcendence,' which means God's apartness from or elevation above the world. The two conceptions may exist together: God is at once in the world and above it; or they may be mutually exclusive: God is wholly in the world or He is wholly apart from it. The theological use of the words is modern, dating only from the 19th cent.,[1] but the ideas for which they stand are very old.

2. History.—Christianity inherited from Judaism belief in God as a strictly personal being, Creator and Ruler of the world; and, though Jesus in His emphasis upon God's love and men's filial attitude towards Him substituted the sense of His nearness and approachableness for the notion of His remoteness and inaccessibility, which had become increasingly common in later Judaism, the idea of Divine immanence in the full sense of the word seems to have been far from His thought. At least there is no trace in His recorded utterances of the notion that God is within the world of nature or physical things. The Oxyrhynchus Logion—'Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood and there am I'—is in sharp contrast with the canonical Gospels in this respect. Nature to Jesus was not the seat of God's indwelling, but the work of His hands.

In the Hellenistic world of the period two opposite conceptions of the relation between God and the universe were widely current. By many God was thought of as wholly above the world and separate from it (as in the dualism of the later Platonists), by others as completely resident within it, its soul or vital force (as in the pantheism of the Stoics). To these two contrasted views the names 'transcendence' and 'immanence' may justly be applied.

The Gnostics were the most consistent representatives of the former view in the early Church. The conception of God as a person and the belief that He was the Creator and Ruler of the world, made the latter view in its extreme form impossible to most Christians. The words of Hermas are typical of the common Christian attitude:

> 'First of all, believe that God is one; even He who created all things and set them in order, and brought all things out of non-existence into being, and comprehendeth all things, being alone incomprehensible' (*Mand.* i.; cf. also the *Apology* of Aristides, chs. i. and xv., and the *Apology* of Athenagoras, ch. iv. ff.).

Clement of Alexandria, following the Jewish philosopher Philo, undertook to combine Platonic transcendence with Stoic immanence by means of the Logos conception. As the Absolute, God is remote from the world, inaccessible and inconceivable; in the Logos, He is present, creating and informing all things and revealing Himself to His creatures. But the identification of the Logos with the Son of God incarnate in Jesus Christ, and its consequent personalization, tended to narrow the sphere of its activity and to confine its significance to the revelation and mediation to Christian believers of the Supreme God, in Himself remote and unapproachable. As a consequence the dogma of the Trinity, by which the Logos idea was given an assured place in Christian theology, while it has made the synthesis of Divine transcendence and immanence possible to many theologians (particularly in the West, where the subordination of the Son and His distinction from the Father were less marked than in the East), has more often had the value, which it had primarily to Athanasius himself, of guaranteeing the deity of Christ in order to the redemption of man. Christ possesses the Divine nature, and hence union with Him through the sacraments means participation in the nature of God, otherwise entirely foreign to us. Thus the Catholic doctrine of salvation denied implicitly, if not explicitly, the immanence of God in the world apart from the Christian Church.

The absorption of most *ancient theologians* in the Christian revelation and its implications prevented much speculation upon the question of God's general relation to the world and the reconciliation of the notions of Divine transcendence and Divine immanence; but, when the matter was thought of at all, it was commonly taken for granted that the transcendent God who was before the world and above it, its Creator and Ruler, is yet in some sense at least present and active in it. Sometimes this presence was interpreted in terms of substance, as, *e.g.*, by Scotus Erigena:

> 'When we hear that God made all things, we ought to understand by it nothing else than that God is in all things, that is, subsists as the essence of all things' (*de Div. Nat.* i. 72).

Sometimes it was interpreted rather in terms of activity or power, as, for instance, by Origen, who taught the doctrine of eternal or continuous creation, and by Augustine, who declared that God did not withdraw from the world after He had created it, but was always filling heaven and earth with omnipresent power (*de Gen. ad Litt.* iv. 12; *de Civ. Dei*, vii. 30). This was a very common notion both in East and West, it being everywhere believed that God's activity was necessary to sustain the world and keep it from lapsing into nothingness. The idea of God's ever-active power did not exclude the notion of substance, which was always present, at any rate where the influence of Neo-Platonism was felt with its conception of absolute being apart from which there is no reality; nor did the idea of substance exclude that of activity. In the passage just quoted from Erigena we read: 'In God is there no difference between being and doing, but are they one and the same thing? I cannot avoid this conclusion.'

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[1] In the vocabulary of philosophy the words have had a long and varied history, being employed, though in different senses, by the Schoolmen, Spinoza, and Kant. With the philosophical use of the words this article is not concerned.

A position similar to Augustine's was held by many of the *Schoolmen*, *e.g.* Anselm and Thomas Aquinas. According to the latter, God is the absolute being, apart from whom there is no real existence. He has not only created all men and things, He is in them all, and every event is but an expression of His all-controlling will. Nothing but God has any independent reality or activity of its own (*Summa*, I. qu. 8). God is thus transcendent, existing independently of men and things, but He is also immanent in the fullest sense of the word. In spite of this metaphysical theory of immanence, Thomas was an orthodox Catholic, denying the possibility of communion with God here and hereafter to any but Catholic Christians.

A still more consistent and outspoken statement of the theory of immanence is found in the writings of the Protestant theologian, Ulrich Zwingli, particularly in his striking little work entitled *de Providentia*. According to Zwingli, God is at once the only real being and the only real will. All that is exists only in Him, and all that occurs is due to His immediate agency. All the acts of men, evil as well as good, are God's acts; but, as man is under law while God is above law, what is sin in man is not sin in God. There is nowhere to be found a clearer and more fearless statement of the view that God is the alone being and the alone will, a view in which an extreme doctrine of Divine immanence is associated with the unhesitating recognition of Divine transcendence.

A conception of Divine immanence, no less thoroughgoing but of quite a different type, is illustrated by many of the great *mediæval mystics*. Some of them, *e.g.* Meister Eckhart, were so full of the sense of God's presence that they almost wholly lost sight of the difference between God and the creature, and taught a mystical pantheism of an extreme, if not always consistent, form. Eckhart's pupil, John Tauler, and the author of the famous *Theologia Deutsch*, while emphasizing the immanence of God and the possibility of immediate contact with Him, and while making religion consist in the complete loss of oneself in God, yet kept the distinction between God and the creature, insisting upon the majesty of the former and the meanness of the latter. They thus escaped the pantheism of many of the mystics and reached a religious position closely allied to the metaphysical position of Thomas.

Meanwhile in the period of the *Renaissance* a new conception of Divine immanence became common. It was not due to contempt for the world, which in Neo-Platonism and in the Christian theology influenced by it had resulted in the denial of all reality apart from God; it was due rather to the sense of the world's greatness. A more or less sentimental exaltation of the beauty, sublimity, and harmony of Nature grew increasingly common and resulted sometimes in its complete deification. The way was thus opened for a genuine pantheism in which the world itself is identified with God, and in which Divine transcendence, retained by all the Fathers and Schoolmen, entirely disappears (cf. especially Giordano Bruno).

A similar tendency to magnify the dignity and worth of the creature—in this case man rather than Nature—a tendency in which the modern age was foreshadowed, had already led Duns Scotus to exactly the opposite conclusion. Duns was interested primarily to conserve the freedom and independence of the human will. Reading reality in terms of will rather than of substance, and reacting against the determinism of Augustine, he pushed God out of the universe altogether, and gave the latter a wholly external relation to its creator. Closely allied with the voluntarism of Duns was the Nominalism of his successors, which was pluralistic in its interest rather than monistic. As Nominalism gained in popularity in the later years of the Middle Ages, the transcendence of God was inevitably more and more emphasized at the expense of His immanence.

A conception of Divine transcendence closely allied to that of Duns is found in the system of the Protestant theologian, John Calvin, who interpreted God, as Duns had done, wholly in terms of will. At the same time, sharing with Augustine and most of the mediæval theologians a low estimate of man and the world, his doctrine of God as will resulted in the belief that God is the only independent will in the universe and that all the acts of man are caused by Him. The extreme transcendence of Duns was thus supplemented by an immanence doctrine of a certain kind (immanence of will only, not of substance) which resulted not in the glorification of man but in his belittlement.

In the 17th and 18th centuries the development of *physical science* led to views of Divine transcendence more extreme than anything found in earlier days. As men became increasingly aware of the universality and invariability of natural law, the tendency was to push God back to the beginning of things, and to find Him less and less necessary to account for the ever changing phenomena of the world. Galileo's first law of motion had wide influence in this connexion: 'Every body continues in its state of motion or of rest unless acted upon by some opposing force.' Hitherto it had been commonly believed that the power of God was needed, not only to start the heavenly bodies upon their courses, but also to keep them in motion. Newton still thought Divine interference occasionally necessary to correct observed irregularities in their movements; but La Place, a century later, showed that such irregularities corrected themselves, and that Newton's assumption was, therefore, gratuitous. The steadily-growing tendency, indeed, was to find ever less place for Divine activity in connexion with the conduct of the physical universe. It came to be more and more widely believed that in the beginning God had impressed upon the world the laws by which it was thenceforth to be governed, and had then left it to run of itself. This extreme doctrine of Divine transcendence is commonly called Deistic, though it was neither shared by all the Deists nor confined entirely to them. Increasingly it took possession of the minds of the 18th cent., and it may fairly be called its characteristic conception of the relation of God and the world.

In the 19th cent. the idea gave way again to views of Divine immanence, as extreme in comparison with the ideas of an earlier age as was the 18th cent. notion of Divine transcendence. The prevalence of the new conceptions was due largely to reaction against the current notions of transcendence, but this was only one phase of a general reaction against many of the leading tendencies of the 18th cent., and it was aided by various influences. The reaction found its most striking expression in the literary and æsthetic movement known as *Romanticism*, which dominated Western

Europe during the early part of the 19th century. Romanticism was a complex phenomenon, but it was commonly marked by emotionalism, subjectivism, self-expression, often in the most untrammelled forms, by love of nature, affected if not real, and by the recognition of man as part of a larger whole, in oneness with which and in openness to whose influence he finds his true life. An important part of culture, according to the Romanticists, consisted in learning to appreciate the beauty and harmony of the universe, in coming into more intimate sympathy with it, and in acquiring a sensitiveness to the whole world of nature and of man. It was a common tendency among them to try to reproduce the conditions of earlier ages before the modern spirit of enlightenment had taken possession of the world, when every one believed in immediate intercourse between man and the universe about him, in apparitions, fairies, and fables, and when the fancy had free play and was not yet destroyed by the ruthless hand of reason. The effect upon religion was very diverse. Some of the Romanticists felt the religious impulse strongly, but were led by their hostility to the dominance of reason which they believed began with the Reformation, and by their distaste for the prevalent coldness and barrenness of contemporary Protestantism, to turn to Catholicism and to seek in it what they could not find in the newer faith. The result was a great revival of Catholicism in Germany and France, and later in England, where the Oxford Movement gave expression to certain elements of the Romantic spirit. Many of the Romanticists, on the other hand, particularly in Germany, far from finding themselves attracted by Catholicism, revolted against religion altogether, which they knew only in its rationalistic form, and looked down upon it in contempt. It was for Romanticists of this class that the theologian Schleiermacher wrote in 1799 his famous *Discourses upon Religion addressed to the Educated among its Despisers.* The most important of the Discourses is the second, on 'The Nature of Religion.' Its general thesis is that religion has its seat neither in the intellect nor in the will, but in the feelings, and consists in the sense of the universal or infinite. Schleiermacher's religious sense was simply a translation into other terms of the artistic sense of the Romanticists. What they called openness to the universe he called openness to God. What they regarded as a sense of the beauty and harmony of the universe he made a sense of the Divine. And hence he claimed that the highest culture, of which the Romanticists made so much, includes religion, and that to be without the latter is to neglect an important part of one's nature and to be content with a partial and one-sided development. Religion raises a man above his individual limits into converse with the Infinite, and the religious man recognizes in everything a manifestation of the Divine. Every event is a miracle, a sign of God's presence and activity. The ego, or spirit, and non-ego, or matter, are simply differentiations of the Infinite. In the Infinite the two exist in perfect unity; in the world they are separated, but they become one again in every impression of the world upon us. The universal manifests itself only through the individual, and, on the other hand, the individual comes to his true life only in the universal; and to be aware of this life is to be religious.

'The usual conception of God as a single being outside of the world and behind the world is not essential to religion. It is only one way of giving expression to it, seldom entirely pure, and always inadequate. . . . The true essence of religion is neither this idea nor any other, but the immediate consciousness of Deity as we find him in ourselves as well as in the world' ('Reden über die Religion,' *Sämmtliche Werke*, Berlin, 1843, i. 264).

This is a genuine doctrine of Divine immanence, and fitly illustrates the influence of Romanticism in the sphere of religion.

The influence of certain *philosophical tendencies* of the modern age has also promoted the theory of the immanence of God. Much of modern philosophy, from Descartes down, was frankly dualistic; but now and then monism, even before the 19th cent., when it became almost everywhere dominant, had its representatives, and resulted in a more or less thoroughgoing doctrine of Divine immanence, as, for instance, in the occasionalism of Malebranche and the idealism of Berkeley, both of whom made God the immediate and sole cause of all phenomena; as also in the Neo-Platonism of Jonathan Edwards, who thought of the universe as an emanation of the infinite fullness of God.

Of still greater historical importance was the system of Spinoza, in which the modern conception of Divine immanence had one of its principal roots. For a hundred years and more after his death Spinoza found little favour. The dominant spirit of the age was radically opposed to his spirit. He first came to his rights in the revolt against the one-sided rationalism and individualism of the century which began in Germany under the lead of such men as Lessing, Herder, and Goethe. In 1787, in a little book entitled *Gott* (see art. by A. C. McGiffert, in *HJ* iii. [1905] 706 ff.), Herder came to the defence of Spinoza, claiming that he had been commonly misunderstood, and at the same time setting forth an original interpretation of his system, which was in many respects a misinterpretation, but had profound influence upon his contemporaries. Reading Spinoza in the light of the philosophy of Leibniz, he succeeded in showing, at least to his own satisfaction, that the former was neither an atheist nor a pantheist. In substituting force for extension in his definition of matter, Leibniz had departed not only from Descartes, but also from Spinoza. He had departed from the latter also in substituting multiplicity for unity. The universe, according to Leibniz, is not the embodiment of one great and all-embracing force, but of an infinite number of forces. Spinoza was a monist, Leibniz a pluralist; and hence the two systems represented two radically different tendencies. But, unlike as they were, they were combined by Herder, who preserved the unity of Spinoza's system without sacrificing the multiplicity upon which Leibniz laid stress, by making force the essence of Spinoza's infinite substance. The result was a conception of Divine immanence of such a sort as to prove very attractive to multitudes of thinkers of his own and subsequent generations. The theory was essentially monistic, and yet it did not sacrifice individuality, but rather, so Herder claimed, promoted and deepened it. It thus fell in admirably with the growing Romanticism of the age.

Among others of the late 18th or early 19th cent. whose thought was dominated more or less completely by the influence of Spinoza, were the poet Goethe, the theologian Schleiermacher, and the philosophers Schelling and Hegel, and it is largely because of Spinoza's influence that post-Kantian philosophy, whether idealistic or realistic, spiritualistic or materialistic, has been so controllingly monistic. Religious thought, too, has shown the same tendency. Many of the leading religious thinkers of the 19th cent. were completely under the sway of one or another monistic system, particularly Hegelianism. But the modern conception of Divine immanence is due ultimately, not to the prevalence of any particular system of philosophy, but rather to the general monistic tendency which runs through various systems, and of which they are the exponents. It is, therefore, enough simply to have called attention to the revival of Spinozism, and to have pointed out its general effect.

Meanwhile the influence of *science*, to which modern scepticism was largely due, was also working to promote belief in the immanence of God, or at any rate to make the belief seem natural and rational. By most thinkers of the 17th and 18th centuries the universe was looked upon as a machine, and the laws of nature were viewed as mechanical laws imposed upon it from without. A classic illustration is found in the familiar passage in Paley's *Natural Theology* (1803), where the world is represented as a watch. When the universe is viewed under this aspect, God, if He exists at all, can be transcendent only, outside of the machine which He has made and set in motion. But during the 18th cent. evolutionary ideas became common, and in the 19th cent. took almost entire possession of the field. Whatever form the theory of evolution may take, the general conception means the recognition of immanent energy by virtue of which the universe is continuously changing and advancing. The world as we know it has not come ready-made from the hand of God or of any other power; it has gradually grown to be what it is through the play of forces resident within itself. This great change from a mechanical to an organic conception meant much for religious thought. With the old idea a transcendent God, maker of the world machine, Himself entirely above and apart from it, was a natural assumption. But the new idea of the universe as an organism suggests a God within rather than without the world process, and, as a matter of fact, one of the most notable consequences of the increasing prevalence of evolutionary ideas has been the rapid growth of the doctrine of Divine immanence at the expense of the doctrine of Divine transcendence. The following quotations will illustrate the situation:

> 'Out of all this the modern conviction has arisen that God creates now and will always create; that his creative act is normal and incessant, and that the notion of a definite era at which he brought the world into being is as puerile and gratuitous as is that of a theatrical "Day" of Judgment with God seated on a throne. Hence, whatever matter may be, it seems to follow that it is co-eternal with God, and the thought inevitably presses itself in that the great forces of the universe, gravitation, electricity, and such-like, are the means by which creation and other divine action are carried on. In fact, they seem to be strictly inseparable from the divine existence. And if what we call nature is inextricably interwoven with God, we have to make fundamental changes in the deistical theory of the last century' (F. W. Newman, *Relations of Theism to Pantheism*, Ramsgate, 1872, p. 11).
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> 'The one absolutely impossible conception of God, in the present day, is that which represents Him as an occasional Visitor. Science had pushed the deist's God farther and farther away, and at the moment when it seemed as if He would be thrust out altogether, Darwinism appeared, and, under the guise of a foe, did the work of a friend. It has conferred upon philosophy and religion an inestimable benefit, by shewing us that we must choose between two alternatives. Either God is everywhere present in nature, or He is nowhere. He cannot be here and not there. He cannot delegate His power to demigods called "second causes." In nature everything must be His work or nothing. We must frankly return to the Christian view of direct Divine agency, the immanence of Divine power in nature from end to end, the belief in a God in Whom not only we, but all things have their being, or we must banish Him altogether. It seems as if, in the providence of God, the mission of modern science was to bring home to our unmetaphysical ways of thinking the great truth of the Divine immanence in creation, which is not less essential to the Christian idea of God than to a philosophical view of nature' (Aubrey Moore, in *Lux Mundi*^{12}, London, 1891, p. 73 f.).

Such passages as these, and they could be multiplied indefinitely, do not show that modern science promotes faith in God, but only that it leads many to substitute Divine immanence for Divine transcendence. Belief in God is not a scientific, but a philosophical or religious, belief. Science may affect the form which faith in God takes, but the faith itself has commonly other roots. It has proved of great religious significance, however, that the science of recent times permits for those who desire it a theistic interpretation of the universe, which was becoming increasingly difficult in the face of the science of an earlier generation.

Religious considerations have also had their part in promoting the doctrine of the immanence of God. In this connexion the influence of German Pietism and English Evangelicalism must not be overlooked. The Pietists and Evangelicals emphasized the immediate presence of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers, witnessing to their regeneration. This, of course, did not mean a recognition of Divine immanence in the strict sense as distinguished from Divine transcendence, for it was only in the hearts of believers, not in the world and in nature, that immediate Divine activity was recognized. But set over against the common tendency of the age to push God far away and to admit His presence only in ages known, in distinction from their own, as the ages of revelation and inspiration, the assertion of the presence of the Divine and its constant activity, even in a limited sphere, could not fail to have its effect in breaking down the old ideas of externality and aloofness. Closely connected with this emphasis upon the presence of the Holy Spirit was the Evangelical notion of the redeemed man's possession of a special faculty enabling him to perceive spiritual things as directly as he perceived the material world with his bodily senses. This, of course, promoted the idea of the nearness of the Divine and led to the growing substitution of the witness of one's own individual experience for the external Christian evidences upon which the Rational School of the 18th cent. laid all the stress. There can be no doubt that this increasing attention to religious experience has made the older ideas of Divine transcendence less satisfying to religious men of various sects. And yet we must not over-estimate Evangelical influence in promoting the theory of Divine immanence. The Evangelical doctrine of the Holy Spirit is in some respects radically opposed to modern immanence ideas, for the essence of the doctrine is that the Spirit works in the hearts of believers in a wholly unique way, and the existing tendency to see the immediate presence of the Divine in all nature involves commonly the neglect, if not the complete repudiation, of those peculiar doctrines of Christianity which Evangelicalism made most of, such as the Fall of Man, Original Sin, and Vicarious Atonement. As a matter of fact, the influence of religious considerations upon the rise and spread of the doctrine of Divine immanence has been largely secondary, not primary, and negative, not positive. Modern science tended to make belief in a transcendent God appear superfluous and unfounded. Only by the doctrine of Divine immanence did it seem possible to vindicate the reality of God, who had been proved unnecessary to account for the creation and maintenance of the physical universe. And so their religious need of God has led many to faith in an immanent God simply because no other God seems possible.

The effects of the various influences that have been described are similar and yet in many respects diverse. All have tended to promote belief in Divine immanence, but the belief takes many forms, according as one or another interest is dominant. God is conceived as the soul of the world, the spirit animating all nature; the universal force which takes the myriad forms of heat, light, gravitation, electricity, and the like; the all-embracing substance of which men and things are but differentiations; the principle of unity underlying all multiplicity; the infinite consciousness in which all things have their existence; the indwelling personality with whom we commune when we contemplate nature or look into our own souls. The conception may be crass or refined, spiritual or material, idealistic or realistic, but in every case it is a form of cosmical theism, faith in a god of whom the world of nature is in some real and immediate sense a manifestation or expression.

3. Present position.—An important result of the process which has been described is the outflanking of the scepticism of the 18th century. The God who had been read out of the universe by the progressive discovery of natural forces adequate to account for all phenomena has now been brought back into it, not as before to supplement its insufficiencies and incapacities, but to give it spiritual meaning and worth. Science, of course, can never prove the presence of God in the world, nor can it disprove it. The indwelling God is an object of faith, not of sight. To him who believes in an immanent God the multiplying discoveries of modern science have no terrors. Physical forces may accomplish all that is claimed for them, and natural laws be accurate descriptions of their way of working, but they are interpreted by such a believer only as manifestations of Divine activity. The doctrine of Divine immanence evidently offers a refuge for faith which science is powerless to invade, and this constitutes one of its greatest attractions to the religious men of our day, who live in an age of science and know the havoc wrought by the modern study of nature in the theism of the past.

The modern notion of Divine immanence has also led to many significant changes in the traditional system of Christian theology. The old chasms between the Divine and the human, God and the world, this life and another, have been bridged by it, and the result has been a profound modification of the old doctrines of salvation, eternal life, the incarnation, the person and work of Christ, the sacraments, religious authority, and the like.

But the conception of Divine immanence is beset, from the point of view of Christian theism, with serious difficulties. The tendency of the doctrine is undoubtedly pantheistic. In the hands of many of its exponents, indeed, it has been nothing more nor less than thoroughgoing pantheism. But pantheism imperils, if it does not destroy, the personality of God, the individuality of man, and the reality of sin, and hence seems to make religion and ethics in the Christian sense alike an illusion. As a consequence, many modern theists, while accepting the doctrine of Divine immanence, have striven to distinguish it from pantheism and to safeguard the interests imperilled thereby.

Thus they claim that, while God is immanent in the universe, He also transcends it. All things are pervaded by Him, but He is more than them all. A strict pantheism identifies God with the totality of men and things. The theists referred to recognize God as including this totality, but as more and greater than it. This form of theism has been called, in distinction from pantheism, panentheism (*e.g.* by the German philosopher, K. C. F. Krause), its formula being not 'all things are God,' but 'all things are in God.' In reaction against the extreme transcendence of the 18th cent. the tendency among Christian theists of the early 19th cent. was to emphasize immanence to the complete exclusion of transcendence. But more recent theologians have tried to make again the old combination, and it is now frequently said that the difference between theism and pantheism lies not primarily in the character or nature of the God assumed by theists or pantheists, but in the assertion or denial of his transcendence (cf. Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*, p. 82). When, however, it comes to the definition of transcendence, there is as great variety as in the definitions of immanence. Some take it crassly and baldly as a quantitative conception: God is larger than the universe of men and things, which exhausts only a part of His being; or the universe is but His activity in space while He Himself in His immensity transcends all space. Others interpret it temporally: God is eternal, and the universe is but a passing expression of Him, His manifestation in time, while He Himself transcends time.

Again, the objections to pantheism are avoided by insistence upon the personality of God. Herder denied the Divine personality on the ground that the term is anthropomorphic, but he ascribed intelligence and will to God, and so distinguished his theism from pantheism, which, as he claimed, makes God mere unconscious substance or blind force. Difficulties in the notion of personality as applied to an immanent God have been felt by many since Herder's day (cf. Schleiermacher's discussion in his 'Reden über die Religion,' *Sämmtl. Werke*, i. 256 f.). Personality seems to involve limitation—a self and a not-self—and hence to be inapplicable to the being who includes and embraces all that is (cf. Strauss, *Die christl. Glaubenslehre*, Tübingen, 1841, i. 500 f.). This difficulty is now commonly met by asserting that the essence of personality lies not in the distinction of self from not-self, but in free intellectual and volitional activity. Such personality, it is claimed, belongs in complete measure only to the absolute or infinite being, God. As the philosopher Lotze says:

> 'Perfect personality is in God only . . . the finiteness of the finite is not a producing condition of . . . personality, but a limit and hindrance of its development' (quoted from Illingworth, *Divine Transcendence*, p. 47).

To this may be added the following passage from the theologian James Martineau:

> 'For these reasons the modern scruples that are felt with regard to the personality of God appear to me not less intellectually weak than they are morally deplorable. If any one is fastidious about the word and thinks it spoiled by the Athanasian controversy, let him supply us with a better; but some symbol we must have of the divine freedom in the exercise of will, the acknowledgment of which makes the difference between theism and pantheism, and gives religion its entrance into the conscience and affections of men. As the parts of our nature which thus enter into relation with God are precisely those which make us persons and distinguish us from other living things, it is difficult to see why the same term should not be given to the corresponding attributes of rational and moral will in him, and where the idea is really present and craving expression I believe that for the most part it will be glad of the word. At all events its contents are just what we rescue from pantheism' (*Study of Religion*, Oxford, 1888, ii. 183).[1]

Similarly, the evils of pantheism are avoided by interpreting God in ethical terms. The God who is resident in the world is a God of moral ideals, and is working out His holy will through all the processes of nature and of life. Such writers as John Fiske in his *Through Nature to God* (London, 1900), Joseph Le Conte in his *Evolution and its Relation to Religious Thought* (New York, 1888), and C. B. Upton in his *Bases of Religious Belief* (London, 1894) assert that God must be ethical, because the ethical is the highest thing in the universe, and God is the indwelling force in all the evolutionary process from the beginning to the end. Eventuating as it does in the ethical and spiritual, the process involves the ethical and spiritual character of God, the immanent cause.

Again, immanence has been guarded against some of the defects of pantheism by emphasis upon the reality of human personality. Already in the 2nd edition of his *Gott*, Herder grappled with the problem of individuation, and maintained that Divine immanence does not destroy the personality of man, but only makes it the more real and vivid (cf. also Schleiermacher's *Monologen*, which appeared the year after his *Reden über die Religion*, and in which human personality and freedom are strongly emphasized). The discussions of Josiah Royce in the volume entitled *The Conception of God* (New York, 1897) and in his Gifford Lectures on *The World and the Individual* (do. 1901) are among the most notable of modern contributions to the subject. According to Royce, individuality consists in the partial nature of human consciousness which is distinguished from the Absolute's all-embracing consciousness by its limited and fragmentary character.

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[1] Cf. also W. A. Brown's *Christian Theology in Outline*, New York, 1906, pp. 200, 229, where God's transcendence is found in His personality. God is a personal being, and so transcends, or is distinct from, the universe, which is His dwelling-place.

A still more emphatic assertion of human individuality, providing a more secure place for freedom and initiative, and so for moral responsibility on the part of man, is found in Martineau's *Study of Religion*, according to which God is immanent in nature, but not in man. All natural phenomena are due to the immediate activity of God, who is their sole cause; but man is a free spirit, created such by God, and his actions are his own, not God's. He thus in a real sense, though, of course, by Divine appointment, transcends God, and constitutes a sphere of independent causality, a centre of free ethical life.[1] Thus the individuality of man and the reality of human righteousness and sin are preserved by a partial denial of immanence and its limitation to only a portion of existence—a significant admission of the ethical inadequacy of any thoroughgoing doctrine of immanence.

The many attempts to combine immanence with Christian theism abundantly reveal the serious difficulties involved in immanence. That the difficulties are insuperable need not be asserted, but it is evident at any rate that two disparate interests, the cosmical, leading to the emphasis of immanence, and the ethical, leading to the emphasis of personality, are involved in the combination.[2]

The modern books setting forth the doctrine of Divine immanence in one or another form are legion, but few of them have large philosophical or theological value. The doctrine of Divine immanence, indeed, common as it is, is seldom clearly conceived or carefully defined. With most it is hardly more than an instinctive protest against traditional mechanical and external notions of the relation of nature and the supernatural, or against the deistic banishment of God from the world and from human life; and, when the attempt is made to say what is involved, problems emerge most of which are neither solved nor as a rule seriously grappled with.

Literature.—In addition to the works referred to in the body of the article, and the various standard Histories of Philosophy and of Christian Doctrine, may be mentioned the following: G. W. F. Hegel, *Philos. der Religion*, Berlin, 1832; H. Ritter, *Ueber die Erkenntniss Gottes in der Welt*, Hamburg, 1836; T. Parker, *A Discourse of Matters pertaining to Religion*, Boston, 1842, and *Sermons of Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology*, do. 1853; G. Weissenborn, *Vorlesungen über Pantheismus und Theismus*, Marburg, 1859; J. W. Hanne, *Die Idee der absoluten Persönlichkeit oder Gott und sein Verhältniss zur Welt*, Hanover, 1861–62; H. Ulrici, *Gott und die Natur*, Leipzig, 1862; J. A. Picton, *The Mystery of Matter, and other Essays*, London, 1873; E. H. Gillett, *God in Human Thought*, New York, 1874; C. E. Plumptre, *General Sketch of the Hist. of Pantheism*, London, 1882 (1st ed. 1878–79 anon.); J. Caird, *An Introd. to the Philos. of Religion*, Glasgow, 1880; G. C. B. Pünjer, *Gesch. der christl. Religionsphilos. seit der Reformation*, Brunswick, 1880–83; O. Pfleiderer, *Religionsphilos. auf geschichtl. Grundlage*², Berlin, 1883–84; J. Hunt, *Pantheism and Christianity*, London, 1884; J. Fiske, *The Idea of God as affected by Modern Knowledge*, do. 1885; R. Eucken, *Grundbegriffe der Gegenwart*², Leipzig, 1893, p. 292 ff.; A. Drews, *Die deutsche Spekulation seit Kant mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Wesen des Absoluten und die Persönlichkeit Gottes*, Berlin, 1893; J. R. Illingworth, *Divine Immanence*, London, 1898, *Divine Transcendence*, do. 1911; W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, do. 1899; W. Dilthey, 'Der entwickelungsgeschichtl. Pantheismus nach seinem geschichtlichen Zusammenhang mit den älteren pantheist. Systemen,' *AGPh*, Berlin, 1900, p. 445 ff.; A. Caldecott, *The Philos. of Rel. in England and America*, London, 1901; J. A. Leighton, *Typical Modern Conceptions of God*, do. 1901; T. Steinmann, 'Die lebendige Persönlichkeit Gottes, seine Immanenz und Transcendenz als religiöses Erlebniss' (*ZTK*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 389 ff.); B. P. Bowne, *The Immanence of God*, London, 1905; H. M. Gwatkin, *The Knowledge of God and its Hist. Development*, Edinburgh, 1906; F. Ballard, *The True God*, do. 1907; R. J. Campbell, *The New Theology*, London, 1907; W. N. Clarke, *The Chr. Doct. of God*, New York, 1909, p. 311 ff.

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[1] This is in interesting contrast with the position of the German philosopher F. H. Jacobi, who held that God is immanent not in nature, but in human personality.

[2] To how complete a repudiation of the notion of Divine immanence a controlling ethical interest may lead is strikingly shown in G. H. Howison's reply to Royce in the volume already referred to (*The Conception of God*, p. 81 ff.); and particularly in his *Limits of Evolution and other Essays* (New York, 1905). Similarly Ritschl's ethical interest led him to insist always upon the contrast between God and the world and man and the world rather than upon their oneness, and this made him more of a dualist than a monist (cf. *e.g.* his *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Bonn, 1870–74, vol. iii. ch. iv. *passim*).

IMMORTALITY.—1. Introductory.—The significance of this term—in that sense of it which has determined the shape of the problem as it has come down to modern reflexion—may be stated in the words of Kant: 'The Immortality of the Soul means the infinitely prolonged existence and personality of one and the same rational being.'[1] By 'personality' is here meant the conscious rational unity which links together the years of a sane man's life on earth; and immortality signifies the continuance of this rational consciousness *in sæcula sæculorum*—the degree of its continuity being at least as great as in earthly life, and the duration of its continuity being essentially unlimited. The purpose of the present article is to investigate the degree of truth and of value involved in this conception. Its adequacy, even as a mere conception, forms one of the primary questions to be raised; we shall have to ask whether it must not be materially modified in order to reveal even the significance of the problem itself. There are, however, certain inquiries which must first be referred to in their relation to the point of view here adopted, although the treatment of them lies outside the scope of this article.

(*a*) It is said that every form of belief in the power of human personality to survive bodily death is invalidated because such belief arose among primitive men in consequence of an erroneous interpretation of sleep, dreams, and similar psycho-physical phenomena. Against this, it must be insisted that the validity of a conception is a question entirely distinct from that of its origin or genesis. When the truth or falsity of a belief is under investigation, it is a mere irrelevancy to raise the question of the manner in which the belief arose in distant ages of time. The latter question constitutes an important historical inquiry, belonging to a branch of anthropology in which valuable work is now being done (see artt. Soul, Animism, Dreams and Sleep, Life and Death, Demons and Spirits, Ancestor-worship, Communion with the Dead); but these historical and descriptive inquiries have no bearing on the validity of the developed forms of the belief in survival. From the historical point of view, we assume that assignable conditions and causes can be found not only for the first beginnings, but for the continued survival of any belief; and we must insist that the causes which condition its continued survival may differ fundamentally from those which originally brought about the belief.[2]

(*b*) The 'animistic' explanation of the origin of belief in the soul as distinct from the body calls for a critical comment which has a bearing on our present argument. The theory is that the dream-image is the prototype of the 'soul.' In dreams the primitive man sees himself and others, together with common objects of experience; and to all these images he attributes an independent and etherial existence. This interpretation becomes specially impressive to the man when in dreams he sees the images of those who have died (see reff. under art. Animism; esp. Tylor, *PC*). This theory needs to be supplemented in one important respect. We must ask: What leads the man to attribute *mental life* to the moving image which he sees in his dream, and which resembles the living body seen in waking life? It is evident that he must have had some vague awareness of a mental life of his own, before he could regard the image even as an animated 'double.' Hence some writers have spoken of a 'personifying tendency' leading primitive man to attribute an inner life, resembling his own, to forms which he recognizes as outwardly more or less like himself (cf. H. Siebeck, *Geschichte der Psychologie*, 'Einleitung,' Gotha, 1880–84; R. Avenarius, *Der menschliche Weltbegriff*, Leipzig, 1847, ch. iii.).

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[1] Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, bk. II. ch. ii. § 4 (cf. John Watson, *Selections from Kant*, Glasgow, 1897, p. 294). Kant does not intend to exclude the idea of *growth*; but he assumes that the essential element in the idea of immortality is that of mere endlessness.

[2] Cf. S. H. Mellone, *Immortal Hope*, London, 1910, ch. i.

2. Survival of personality.—A marked feature of the scientific and philosophical thinking of the present century is the gradual substitution of dynamical for statical views of existence. There has prevailed a tendency to assume that (notwithstanding the universality of change) everything has a fixed nature, and that, when we know anything of this fixed nature or constitution, we know so far what the thing is. The tendency which now prevails—and which is progressively justifying itself by its results—is to regard existence as an active productive process, so that to the question 'What is it?' the first answer must be 'What it is is shown in what it does'; and 'what it does' means especially 'what it can produce or bring forth'; a thing *is* what it *does*. This is the principle which we apply in our conception of the material world, of human nature, of the human mind and its faculties—in a word, in our conception of the universe and all that it contains. In every case, it must be remembered that we thus derive only a partial answer to the question; for, if we want to know all that a thing is, we must know all that it does and all that it is capable of doing; and as yet we do not know this of anything.

In the application of it which especially concerns us here, this principle leads us to lay special stress on the idea of growth in reference to human personality. 'Growth' is not exclusive of self-direction. The growth of human personality is, so to speak, an achievement, realized through conscious activity. The essential nature of mind consists in its creative functions, which are inexhaustible, though they work under conditions which are given. From this point of view it follows (*a*) that the value of human personality must be estimated by considering not merely what men are, but what they have it in them to become; (*b*) that the future life, if it is to be anything at all, must be not a life of mere sameness, or mere endlessness, but of continued growth; (*c*) that human personalities as such—not merely the aggregate of the results of the best human achievements and ideals, but the personal lives from which these achievements spring—are themselves worth preserving, and will not perish in growing. It is evident that this involves a material modification of the conception of immortality which was stated above (after Kant). The vitally important factor in the conception, we repeat, is not mere endlessness, but continued growth. It is true, growth is the progressive fulfilment or realization of latent powers; it involves, and must involve, a process in time. But to suppose that the process is literally endless in time is to go far beyond anything that experience or reflexion warrants in our present state. When it is asked, 'If there is an end, why not at death?' the answer is that the 'end' we look for is not annihilation at some point of time; it is the absolute completion of our nature—the complete fulfilment of the purpose or meaning of each individual life. We have no means of knowing how far this fulfilment will carry us; only we know that it is not realized at death.

The survival of personality, so understood (whether as problem or as belief), must be carefully distinguished from two entirely different conceptions with which it has been confused.

(*a*) It must be distinguished from the so-called 'corporate immortality' based on the solidarity and continuity of the human race, which simply means that the effects of each man's thoughts, desires, and deeds on his fellow-men are real and permanent. The reality of this permanent influence of every personal life is not in question; but we must insist that it is mere confusion of thought to regard this as equivalent to or as an adequate substitute for the belief in personal survival. In truth, the human individual cannot be regarded as a mere means to the survival and improvement of the race. When individuality has risen to self-conscious personality, it cannot be a mere means, existing only to contribute to an end in which *as an individual personality* it has no share. For, if the individual were only a means, the humanity as a whole could be nothing more than a system of means, and, therefore, would exist only for the sake of some end outside itself; and the supposed 'corporate immortality' would prove illusory.[1]

(*b*) It must be distinguished from that 'eternal life' which means experience of the super-personal and eternal, in which we may share irrespective of time. This is not a question of survival—'Does our individuality endure?' It is not a question of what is to be. It is a question of present reality, of what is; 'Do we share in the Eternal Life of God, and may this connexion become a matter of experience?' It is evident that an answer to one of these questions is not necessarily an answer to the other. If man is a 'reproduction' or 'differentiation' of the Eternal Mind, it does not follow that, regarded as an individual spirit, he is eternal; and, if this metaphysical tie is what gives absolute value to human life, the thing of value would remain, however transient each single life might be.

The most prominent representatives of this point of view in the history of modern philosophy are Spinoza and Schleiermacher. Whether Hegel also shared it is open to debate. There is no doubt that for Hegel the essential element in experience is the eternity of Spirit, which is not merely future, but is realized even now whenever the human spirit thinks and wills what is universal; but it does not appear that Hegel made any distinct pronouncement as to the survival of the individual soul. With Spinoza it is different. In his early treatise, *de Deo, Homine, et ejus Felicitate* (c. 1655), he asserted the immortality of those souls who in love to God had come to have part in His unchangeable being. But in bk. v. of the *Ethics* this view appears in a different light. He there speaks of a *pars æterna nostri*—the eternity of the active spiritual element in the human soul, which is greater as our love to God is greater. But memory, on which the continuity of self-consciousness depends, is treated by Spinoza as part of the *imaginatio*, which is a function of the physical body and perishes at death. Hence there can be no survival of finite personality. For Schleiermacher, in like manner, the only real immortality is one which we may fully possess in this life in time, and which it is the purpose of this life to realize: in the midst of the finite to be one with the Infinite—to be eternal every moment. Hence Schleiermacher denied both the reality and the value of personal survival of bodily death. This is equivalent to saying that the value of the Eternal, as such, is not affected by the transiency of the finite forms in which it is manifested; or—as some have urged, against belief in the value of finite personality—that what we want is *depth*, not *length*, of life.

It has been our purpose not to criticize this conception of eternal life, but to point out that it cannot be substituted for, and must not be confused with, any belief in the survival of personality. We may, however, with McTaggart, seriously question the assumption that the value of the eternal, as such, is unaffected by the transiency of its finite manifestations: 'It is not justifiable to assert that a state of consciousness can ever rise so high that its duration or extinction in time should be completely irrelevant. It is true that if such a state reached absolute perfection, it would not matter if it were extinguished immediately afterwards. But why is this? Only because a perfect state is an eternal one, and the eternal does not require duration in time for its perfections to be displayed in; but then the eternal is the timeless, and therefore its end in time is not only unimportant but impossible. . . . If we deny that a perfect state is eternal, we have no reason to suppose that a perfect state is indifferent to its duration. But if the perfect is the eternal, it seems quite clear that no state which is imperfect enough to cease in time can be perfect enough to entirely disregard its cessation.'[1]

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[1] Cf. T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Oxford, 1883, § 184 ff.; J. M. E. McTaggart, *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology*, Cambridge, 1901, § 12 ff.

3. Objections to belief in immortality.—The main contentions of those who at the present time reject all belief in personal immortality appear to resolve themselves into three propositions: (*a*) there is 'no evidence' of the power of human personality to survive bodily death; (*b*) more definitely, such survival can be shown to be impossible on scientific grounds; and (*c*) if it were possible, it would have no ethical value.

(*a*) In dealing with this proposition, we must ask: (1) What kind of evidence is in fact demanded? and (2) What kind of evidence would it be reasonable to expect in the subject under consideration?

If by 'evidence' is meant 'conclusive evidence,' it must be pointed out that of conclusive evidence for anything mankind possesses comparatively very little. What we usually have is a convergence of reasons more or less fundamental in character, which, taken together, may in some cases be overwhelming, but which are not strictly conclusive. Scientific evidence is essentially of the same character as that which in law is termed 'circumstantial evidence,' and has the same elements of strength and weakness.[2]

The kind of evidence available in the various branches of physical science, where experiment is applicable, does afford a high degree of reliability in the results, because these rest on definitely measurable facts of sense-perception, constantly and uniformly recurring in our experience. The 'exactness' of physical science consists in measurement. If, then, definite facts of sense-perception are the only kind of evidence admissible, it is true that there is 'no evidence' for the survival of personality. This criterion of what is credible would, however, rule out most of the evidence on which, in this and countless other matters of serious import, we as rational beings are wont to rely, since we can find no principle of logic, or mathematics, or ethics, and no psychological fact in the way of thought, feeling, or will, whose reality and validity can be warranted by sense-perception alone. This may be said to be one of the assured results of modern philosophy since the publication of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739).

What, then, are the actual logical conditions of the argument? The truth of personal survival may be held, not as we hold the results of particular observations and experiments, but as a reasonable faith, based on the essential reasonableness of the world. The primary facts, which are appealed to, are not definitely measurable facts, and their adequate interpretation is not immediately obvious; but they form a constant and uniform experience. It has been well said that 'within the whole range of the wide world's literature we find no more constant theme than this disparity between man's possibilities and aspirations on the one hand, and the narrow scope afforded them in the brief space of the present life on the other.'[3] These possibilities and aspirations are the distinctive features of human life, which is thus planned on a greater scale than earthly life can ever satisfy; hence, if existence has a meaning, human life extends beyond earthly life. This we may call the 'teleological argument' for survival. This is the only avenue of *direct proof*; and we must repeat that what it establishes is not conclusive certainty but reasonable faith. From this point of view, the special work of philosophy in the matter is to show the connexion of this faith with the distinctive features of human personality, to demonstrate its value, and to purify it from all comparatively unworthy motives.

In addition to these considerations, there are lines of *indirect proof* converging to a conclusion which may be held with considerable confidence: namely, that there are no sound reasons for denying the power of human personality to survive bodily death. The purpose of these lines of thought is to show that the apparent indications of the annihilation of personality at death, which are supposed to be warranted by some of the facts of ordinary experience, or by some of the conclusions of 19th century science, are only apparent and not real, and break down one by one upon examination. Hence the original conclusion, established as a reasonable faith, remains in possession of the field.

The 'indirect proofs' are, as we have already implied, occupied with objections, difficulties, and denials which have actually been alleged against belief in survival. In effect, they amount to a demonstration of the impossibility of a materialistic interpretation of the world.

Those constructive philosophical systems which admit personal immortality have usually done so by combining with metaphysical spiritualism a teleological view of personality. That is to say, they defend an interpretation of existence throughout in terms of mind, implying that the world consists fundamentally of spiritual beings, sharing the Life of the Absolute Spirit, acting and reacting on one another, and carrying in their nature the power of survival; so that what we call the physical world is the result of the interaction of 'subjects,' or beings ultimately spiritual in nature. This involves the teleological view that the fulfilment of the potentialities of finite personality is part of the purpose of the universe and involves life beyond death.

The most celebrated and impressive system of this type is that of Leibniz (*q.v.*), presented in popular form in his *Monadologie* (1714), and involving the fundamental view of the soul as an independent 'monad' capable of infinite development, to which death imports no more than a transition to a new stage of growth. The more definitely pluralistic philosophy of Herbart, for whom the individual is alone the real, naturally carried with it a doctrine of the immortality of the individual soul; but an element of difficulty arises because, according to Herbartian principles, the consciousness of the soul springs only from its union with the elements which form the body; hence it is not easy to find a place in the system for the continuance of the same personal self-consciousness beyond death. The teleological argument for survival was revived and restated by K. C. F. Krause (*System der Philos.*, Göttingen, 1828; cf. Pfleiderer, *Phil. of Rel.*, Eng. tr., London, 1887, iv. 48 ff.). Dealing with the assertion that interest in the future life promotes forgetfulness of the claims and value of the present life—that our earthly life as such has its distinctive value and justifiable satisfactions, and is not to be degraded into a mere means for a life to come—Krause observes that, just as each period of our earthly life (*e.g.* childhood, adolescence, early manhood, mature manhood) has its own peculiar significance and worth, and is never merely a means to the succeeding period, so this earthly life as a whole, when compared with the life beyond death, has its own peculiar significance and worth. The fact that it is not the whole, but only a fragment, is no reason for treating it as nothing but a means; and the law of development holds of every individual life now as it will do in the future.

Among the purely metaphysical, as distinguished from the ethical and teleological, arguments for the immortality of the soul, there is one of special historic interest, which was elaborately worked out by Moses Mendelssohn in his *Phædon* (1767). He deduced the immortality of the soul from the abstract metaphysical idea of a simple substance, which idea he regarded as expressing the essence of the soul. A simple substance, from its nature, cannot cease to exist; hence the immortality of the soul follows. If so, we must add, it also follows that the soul can never have been created; it existed from the infinite past and must exist through the infinite future. Even if the validity of this use of the conception of substance be granted, it does not logically involve personal immortality, since the imperishable substance which constitutes the nature of the soul must have borne, in its past lives, qualities totally different from those which form the personality in which it now expresses itself, and it may do so again in its future lives. But in any case such a use of the conception of substance is not now admitted to be valid. It was attacked by Kant, in his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781 and 1787), as a serious logical paralogism (see J. Caird, *Critical Philosophy of Immanuel Kant*, Glasgow, 1889, vol. ii. p. 290 ff.). Kant pointed out that the unity of the soul is not that of a simple substance, but the unity of self-consciousness, in which the many different mental activities are held together in so far as they are able to be referred to the common centre, self, as 'mine.' Kant's own view, in the *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788), made immortality a postulate of the practical reason. Reason prescribes absolute obedience to the Moral Law as the *highest* good: this is virtue. Reason also prescribes, as the *complete* good, the union of happiness with virtue. The highest virtue is unrealizable in any finite period owing to the persistent opposition of man's animal, impulsive, and passional nature to the demands of the moral imperative. Further, the complete good (the union of virtue and happiness) is, as a matter of fact, unrealized in this life. Hence Kant formulates immortality (an endless duration of personal life) as a postulate which must be granted if the supreme ends of practical reason are to be possible.

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 44.

[2] Cf. Mellone, *Introductory Text-Book of Logic*^{5}, London, 1909, ch. viii. §§ 3, 4.

[3] James Ward, *Realm of Ends*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 386.

The defect in Kant's argument consists in the implicit dualism of duty and inclination or desire. Duty can never completely overcome and never be completely reconciled with natural desire. But nothing less than this victory is the purpose and meaning of duty; hence an endless life is demanded for duty to do what can never be completely done (see Caird, *op. cit.* ii. 303). Apart from this ethical dualism, the inner meaning of Kant's argument is akin to what we have called the teleological proof. It is noteworthy that Mendelssohn, in addition to developing the argument referred to above (from the conception of substance), accurately conceived and stated the teleological argument from man's natural striving after ever greater perfection—a striving which Mendelssohn held to have been implanted in man by his Creator as his destiny. This destiny even death cannot hinder him from fulfilling; and, if this striving is to go on, the soul's essential properties of thought and will must continue.

It is of much interest to notice that some philosophical thinkers of the first rank have been prepared to defend a doctrine of the type described as Conditional Immortality: those shall be immortal who are worthy of it. Spinoza appears to have held such a view in his early treatise *de Deo*, etc. In like manner, J. G. Fichte at least held as a possible view that not every individual is destined to share in the life beyond death, but only those who in this life have developed out of themselves a character of abiding and universal worth. Similar views were held by Goethe, I. H. Fichte, C. H. Weisse, and Lotze. The spirit of the doctrine is well expressed in the following quotation from Lotze: 'Every created thing will continue, if and so long as its continuance belongs to the meaning of the world; everything will pass away which had its authorized place only in a transitory phase of the world's course. That this principle admits of no further application in human hands hardly needs to be mentioned. We certainly do not know the merits which may give to one existence a claim to eternity, nor the defects which deny it to others.'[1] (On this subject, see art. CONDITIONAL IMMORTALITY.)

(*b*) Are there any valid scientific reasons for denying that survival of bodily death is possible? We are not concerned with speculative philosophical systems which involve this denial, such as those of Spinoza or Schopenhauer. A theory of the universe may be by no means 'materialistic,' and yet may completely exclude belief in a future life. The examination of such theories is manifestly beyond the scope of this article. We are now concerned with the appeal which is made to 'modern science,' and the attempt to cover the denial of immortality with the prestige which science enjoys. Only on one condition can this attempt succeed, namely, that the view of the world known as Materialism is shown to be a valid inference from the assured results of science. We are concerned with Materialism, not as a general tendency partly ethical in character, and not merely as a mental inclination to affirm certain things and deny others; we are concerned with it as a definite conception. In this sense it rests directly on the assumption that the *mechanical* aspect of existence is the fundamental aspect, all else being derivative. Two primary principles are involved in this assumption. (1) Until recently it was believed that the material world was built up out of some seventy elementary substances which are themselves changeless in their properties and indestructible; these elements, separately and by 'combining' with one another, make up the various substances which we know. The discovery and study of 'radio-activity' have led to the modification of these conceptions in form rather than in principle. The ultimate elements of matter are differently defined—as 'units of negative electricity,'—but still, so far as experience and induction can penetrate, they are found to be indestructible: hence the 'indestructibility of matter' is assumed as an axiom of universal validity. (2) Along with this principle is likewise assumed the so-called 'Conservation of Energy.' This principle is usually stated in a semi-metaphysical form: 'the quantity of energy available in the universe is constant, and can neither be increased nor diminished.' In their actual use of the principle, scientists are not concerned with 'the universe,' but with the verifiable fact that energy passes from one form to another, passes, *e.g.*, from electricity to heat, and from chemical attraction to electricity, but in all its changes undergoes neither increase nor diminution. The direction in which these conceptions point was concisely indicated by Helmholtz:

> 'If, then, all elementary substances are unchangeable in respect to their properties, and only changeable as regards their combination and states of aggregation—that is, in respect to their distribution in space—it follows that all changes in the world are changes in the local distribution of elementary matter, and are ultimately brought about through Motion.'[1]

This is the fundamental assumption of modern physics; the substance of the world—however that substance may be defined—has, as its most fundamental and essential attribute, motion; and motion is always a change determined from behind, *i.e.* by some other mode of motion preceding it in time. This is the essence of what we may call the 'Mechanical Theory.' This theory has been applied to the human body and brain with remarkable results; it is a theory which has been found to work. The laws which regulate the constant interchange of material in the brain-cells—so far as physiology is able to investigate them—are found to be not different in kind from the laws derived from a study of the less complex forms of matter. The difference is one of complexity. It has been computed that there are in the 'grey matter' of the brain (*i.e.* that portion of it which is specially the 'seat of mind') about 3,000,000,000 cells; and every one of these cells is 'an active organ of most complicated internal arrangements, so far independent in action, and each has attached to it as part of it "dendrites" and means of connexion with other cells and with the organs of the body.'[2] Yet, notwithstanding this unimaginable complexity, the human brain becomes merely one small aggregate in the vast material universe, and as such is swept into the system of matter and motion to which physics has reduced the world.

Now the question is not one of the right of physics and physiology, as special sciences, to regard the facts in this way and exclusively in this way. It is clear that only in the light of the hypothesis that the ordinary physical laws do hold in the brain can physiology hope to make any progress in the investigation of that organ. The mechanical assumption 'works'; and this means that life, mental and physical, actually has a mechanical aspect. And, when a special science limits itself to the exclusive study of a real and important feature of things, then for the purposes of that special science this feature of things is fundamental. We cannot, however, infer that it is the fundamental feature also *in rerum natura* and from the point of view of ultimate truth. We cannot infer that all natural law is mechanical law. We cannot infer that the series of physical changes which take place in the brain (the building up and breaking down of the brain-cells, which are the concomitants of mental activity) is in absolute conformity to mechanical law. In a word, the laws of motion do not hold good absolutely.[3]

Materialism rests entirely on the assumption which is here rejected—namely, that the mechanical theory is capable of providing a complete explanation of the facts because it is a complete and accurate copy of the fundamental nature of things. This assumption involves a pushing of scientific hypotheses into regions where they have never been verified; and it leads to absurdities so intolerable that we have a *prima facie* right to deny that such verification will ever be forthcoming. The absurdity of the mechanical theory is seen when we ask: What is the place of consciousness in such a universe? The distinctive feature of mechanism is determination *a tergo*, by previous mechanical movement. The distinctive feature of consciousness is determination *a fronte: i.e.* human conscious activity is essentially purposive activity. It involves a specific process in the way of forecasting of ends. Now, in a purely mechanical universe consciousness is useless. Any momentary brain condition is the inevitable result of the condition immediately preceding, and both are only a part of the continuous series of mechanical movements which constitutes the universe. Hence the actions and words of every individual of the human race would have been exactly what they have been in the absence of mind. Had mind been wanting, the same empires would have risen and fallen, the same battles would have been fought and won, the same literature and art would have been produced, the same indications of friendship and affection given. Thus we have a universe devoid of purpose or rational meaning, continually evolving more and more complex forms of mechanism, and at numerous points producing a kind of existence (consciousness) diametrically opposed in its distinctive properties to those of mechanism—making no difference to the course of events—yet continually creating illusions as to its own place and importance in the course of events.

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[1] Lotze, *Metaphysic*, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1884, § 245.

[1] H. L. F. von Helmholtz, *Über die Erhaltung der Kraft* (Lecture), Berlin, 1847.

[2] Mellone and Drummond, *Elements of Psychology*^{2}, London and Edinburgh, 1912, p. 78.

[3] For a further development of the foregoing points see Mellone and Drummond, *op. cit.* ch. v.

Purposive rational action is not the only feature of human experience which is inexplicable if the Mechanical Theory is true. The same may be said of the unity of consciousness. Every retrospect of our past mental life arouses the idea of the ego as the combining centre of its simultaneous variety and its temporal succession; these are thus unified by their relation to a being which is in nature one.[1] The unity of conscious life, centred in one single being, is utterly without parallel in the material series; 3,000,000,000 cells, each highly complex and variable, certainly provide no such central unity. Taking into account their molecular constitution and activities, it may be maintained that they do not even form a physical basis conceivable as the correlate of such a unity.

Further illustrations might be given of the intellectual impossibilities involved in Materialism, but it is enough to point out that careful scientific thinkers are aware of these considerations. The futility of attempting to reduce mental activities to mechanical processes is admitted. 'No effort enables us to assimilate them. That a *unit of feeling* has nothing in common with a *unit of motion* becomes more than ever manifest when we bring the two into juxtaposition.'[2]

In order to evade some of the more obvious of these difficulties, the speculation has been put forward that to every particle of matter in the universe there is attached an element of feeling or sentience. Clifford, who vigorously defended this doctrine, called these minute particles of sentience 'mind-stuff'; and the use he made of the doctrine is shown in the following statement: 'When matter takes the complex form of a living human brain, the corresponding mind-stuff takes the form of a human consciousness, having intelligence and volition.'[3] This quality of sentience attributed to material particles is, of course, a mere speculation for which there is not a shadow of evidence. Hence it throws a somewhat sinister light on the attitude of some materialistic writers, when we find this hypothesis stated dogmatically as an assured 'scientific' result, as is done by Haeckel in his well-known book, *The Riddle of the Universe* (London, 1900).[4]

Haeckel calls his system 'Monism' and repudiates the name 'Materialism,' on the ground that the system affirms the reality of 'force' as well as of 'matter' and assumes the elementary particles to be sentient. The arbitrary hypothesis of mind-stuff avails little in relief of the difficulties of Materialism. The material particles are conceived to be combined in the brain according to mechanical laws: how are the corresponding particles of sentience combined? In thought, especially in the unity of consciousness involved in judgment and self-knowledge, we have a concrete indivisible activity, which, accordingly, must pertain, not to an assemblage of particles of sentience devoid of intelligence and volition, but to a single central agent or permanent principle of intelligence and volition. Nor are the difficulties of Materialism affected by any distinction between 'matter' and 'force.' In fact, such distinctions only conceal the real point at issue—the place of Mechanism in the universe. The Mechanical Theory means that the substance of the world (whether that substance is defined as 'matter,' 'force,' or 'mind-stuff') has, as its most fundamental attribute, motion determined *a tergo*. If it manifests itself not only in mechanism but also in other modes of activity, this means that there are changes in the universe where mechanical laws do not hold; and the fundamental assumption of Materialism breaks down.

In an Essay to which we have already referred (*CR* xviii. [1871] 464) Huxley said: 'There is every reason to believe that consciousness is *a function of nervous matter*, when that nervous matter has attained a certain degree of organization, just as we know the other "actions to which the nervous system ministers," such as reflex action and the like, to be.' We must ask: What is meant by a 'function of matter'? The term is ambiguous in the extreme. It might be made to cover what William James has called 'transmissive function,' in connexion with the hypothesis that brain and nerve are the instruments of transmission by which the conscious mind manifests itself in the spatial and temporal world. The mind is dependent on the instrument, but the instrument does not in any sense create or produce the mind.[1]

Those who use the language of 'function' do, however, by no means desire to turn the conception in this direction. If we keep to assured scientific results, what can the word 'function' mean when used of the mind's relation to the brain? We may answer in the words of W. James: 'If we are talking of science positively understood, function can mean nothing more than bare concomitant variation. When the brain activities change in one way, consciousness changes in another. . . . In strict science, we can only write down the bare fact of concomitance.'[2] This fact has suggested the famous hypothesis of 'psycho-physical parallelism,' that every change in consciousness corresponds to a change in the activity of the brain—a hypothesis which is well grounded as regards the more elementary facts of sensation and ideation, and is assumed to hold throughout. This principle, rightly used, should exclude materialistic and all other assumptions as to the real connexion between the mental and the physical series, for about this connexion it says nothing. It is adopted by careful writers for that reason, as a hypothesis regulating the study of mental in relation to physical facts. But many of the physiological school have given it a materialistic turn by speaking as if the mental state were entirely 'dependent' on the bodily, and assuming that the mental state is 'explained' when the corresponding bodily state is assigned. Hence the idea has arisen that the 'new' psychology has proved everything characteristic of human personality to be due to the activity of the brain and nervous system, while the truth is that, if such results appear in the end to be proved, it is only because in the beginning they were taken for granted.[3]

In addition to the works already referred to, we may add the following references to literature dealing with Materialism: F. A. Lange, *History of Materialism*, Eng. tr., London, 1892; J. Martineau, 'Modern Materialism,' in *Essays, Reviews, and Addresses*, London, 1890–91, iv.; James Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*; G. T. Ladd, *Outlines of Physiological Psychology*, London, 1896, pt. iii. ch. iii. §§ 15–24, ch. iv. §§ 11–25; S. H. Mellone, *The Immortal Hope*, chs. iv. and v.; Oswald Külpe, *The Philosophy of the Present in Germany*, Eng. tr., London, 1913, chs. iii. and iv.; T. M. Herbert, *The Realistic Assumptions of Modern Science Examined*, do. 1886, §§ 7–19; M. Guthrie, *Spencer's Unification of Knowledge*, do. 1882, ch. iv. § 3; artt. BODY AND MIND, and BRAIN AND MIND, in this work. On Haeckel the best is Erich Adickes, *Kant contra Haeckel*^{2}, Berlin, 1906 (not yet translated into English).

On the whole, modern physiology has nothing valid, positive or negative, to contribute to the solution of our problem. Physiology has effectually disposed of 'the whole classic platonising conception' of soul and body as two separate things, of which the body is necessary to the soul only in this world of sense. We find it impossible to say where body ends and soul begins; but physiology affords us no means of making clear the distinction between them. And, apart from mere assumptions, we are told nothing as to their connexion which is not obvious from common experience. We do not need the physiologist to tell us that there is a good deal of the body in the affections and emotions of the soul, that in deep thought the brain is taxed, that anxiety or joy affects the heart, that other instincts affect other organs. There is nothing in all this to prove the identity of the soul with the body, since all the facts are reconcilable with the supposition mentioned above, that the dependence of the soul on the body is the dependence of an agent on the instrument which transmits and expresses its activities. All experience points to the view which may be thus stated: the soul is distinct from the body and has a being in and for itself as the subject of its various activities; the functions of the soul are in many ways dependent on those of the body through which they act, but not dependent in such a way that the soul necessarily perishes with the death of the body; we can conceive the distinction between the two only by saying that the soul is more essential to the personality and the body less so. Our whole discussion in the preceding paragraphs tends to show that there is no scientific ground for questioning any of these propositions.

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[1] Lotze, *Microcosmus*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1894, bk. ii. ch. i. § 4 (on the unity of consciousness), *Metaphysic*, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1884, §§ 273, 268–269, 241, and *Microcosmus*, bk. ii. ch. iv. § 1 (on the 'relating activity' of the mind as a process of unification).

[2] Spencer, *Principles of Psychology*, London and Edinburgh, 1890, i. § 62; cf. also the well-known utterance in J. Tyndall's *Address to the British Association at Norwich* ('the passage from the Physics of the brain to the corresponding facts of consciousness is *unthinkable*') and Huxley's similar admission (*CR* xviii. [1871] 443).

[3] 'On the Nature of Things-in-Themselves,' in *Mind*, iii. [1878] 64.

[4] Cf. also *Haeckel's Critics Answered*, London, 1903, by Joseph McCabe, an enthusiastic disciple.

[1] See W. James, *Human Immortality* (Ingersoll Lecture), London, 1906, pp. 32–58, 142–144; and Mellone, *Immortal Hope*, pp. 48–54. H. Bergson's conception of the relation of mind and brain is essentially in harmony with this interpretation; see *Matter and Memory*, Eng. tr., London, 1911, *passim*.

[2] *Human Immortality*, p. 42.

[3] On the doctrine of 'parallelism,' see James Ward's Gifford Lectures on *Naturalism and Agnosticism*^{3}, London, 1903, ii., lectures xi. to xiii.; and Mellone, *Studies in Philosophical Criticism and Construction*, London, 1897, p. 84 ff.

(*c*) Our third proposition raises the question of the ethical value of the belief in a future life. It has been urged that the race would rise to a higher point of view if the hope of immortality were dispensed with.

Most of those who hold that the immortal hope is grounded on truth and reason are prepared to lay down a primary and fundamental principle, namely, that the superiority of truth, beauty, and goodness to their opposites is not conditional on the permanence of the individual life. If some one doubted their superiority, we could not cure him of his moral scepticism by convincing him that his personality was to last for centuries or millenniums. To ask, as Tennyson[1] asks, what it is all worth, if death is the end, is to put the emphasis in the wrong place. Immortality is not the whole of the religious view of the world, but a part of it—a consequence of the fundamental view that truth, goodness, and love are supernal realities, whose permanent worth does not depend on the continued existence of any man or million of men. 'Human ministers of justice fail, but justice never.' Hence, far from saying that a noble earthly life is not worth living without immortality, we say the opposite: immortality is worth having, because a noble earthly life has an intrinsic worth of its own. It follows that the only true preparation for another life is to make this life noble; and the profound truth of Spinoza's saying appears—'Homo liber de nulla re minus quam de morte cogitat.'

It is affirmed that a true substitute for personal immortality may be found in the fact that, if individuals perish by the way, their work survives even after they are forgotten. This is true so far as it goes. How far it goes will be made clear to any one who tries to answer Huxley's forcible question: 'Throw a stone into the sea, and there is a sense in which it is true that the wavelets which spread around it have an effect through all space and all time. Shall we say that the stone has a future life?'[2] The universal life of humanity, deepening, developing, and advancing through the ages to its consummation, has a deeper unity than any which science finds in dead matter; but it is none the less true that to take this fact—the fact of the results of our individual lives being incorporated into this wider life of humanity—as a substitute for the belief in personal immortality is to deceive ourselves.

The desire to live after death has been declared to be merely the barren utterance of human egoism. It is admitted by believers in immortality that the desire for another life as affording 'compensation' may be so held as to become a refined form of selfishness. But it is affirmed, on the other hand, that the real meaning of the wish for 'compensation' is nothing ignoble or selfish. Frequently we can trace in it a motive like that which animated Milton in his greatest work to 'assert Eternal Providence, and justify the ways of God to men,' to live to see the meaning of the apparently undeserved sufferings of life. Even when we regard it simply as the expression of a man's interest in his own destiny, it is the opposite of a merely personal or selfish wish. The man who desires the compensation of another life is not desiring anything which he can enjoy by himself, and from which others are excluded. His desire is to go on being and doing whatever of truth and good he has realized in this life, and more than this life has ever given him opportunity to realize.

The 'ethical' objections to belief in another life are not characteristic of any particular school of writers and thinkers, though they appear to be professed most widely among the followers of Auguste Comte. It cannot be said that the objections are of great weight; but the discussion of them serves to bring out further features of the true meaning of the immortal hope. We may refer to John Caird, *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity* (Gifford Lectures), Glasgow, 1899, esp. ii. 292 ff.; Edward Caird, *Lay Sermons*, do. 1907, esp. p. 276 ff.; H. Jones, *Immortality of the Soul in the Poems of Tennyson and Browning* (Essex Hall Lecture, London, 1905); Mellone, *The Immortal Hope*, ch. ii.

4. The 'teleological argument' for immortality.—We have already indicated the general nature of what may be called the 'teleological argument' for immortality (§ 3 (*a*)); and in the absence of any valid scientific or ethical reasons for questioning the possibility and value of a future life, it must be admitted that this argument holds the field. The root of the argument lies in a twofold motive which is specially prominent in forming the desire for another life: that personal affection may continue, and that personal goodness may grow;[1] *i.e.* that our faculties may be realized and exercised to their fullest capacity. In this life we do not find it possible to be and to do all that we feel and know ourselves to be capable of; every element in the life that now is seems rudimentary, incomplete, and preparatory.

This principle is applied to the distinctive qualities of human nature. Without entering into interrupting refinements concerning 'animal intelligence' or 'animal conscience,' it is evident that, while human life includes animal life, it rises above the latter; and that those higher things which distinguish man from the animals are his higher rational, spiritual, and moral qualities. It must be admitted that everything that is best in us bears witness in itself to a power of life and growth far beyond the utmost afforded by the opportunities of this world. It is, indeed, true that there are human beings in whom the higher emotional, intellectual, and moral qualities seem crushed out of existence, and there are others who seem to show no sign of possessing such qualities. Yet every one who has begun to use the higher gifts of his manhood has begun to find in them possibilities of growth to which no limit can be seen; and, the more truly he does all that this life calls for, the more he feels that many such lives would not exhaust his powers.

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[1] *e.g.* 'Vastness' (xvi.-xviii.), in *Demeter and other Poems* (p. 850 in *Works*, ed. Hallam, Lord Tennyson, London, 1913).

[2] Huxley, in *The Nineteenth Century*, ii. [1877] 334.

[1] Cf. Mellone, *Immortal Hope*, chs. i. and iii.; J. M. E. McTaggart, *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology*, §§ 47, 48; and A. C. Pigou, *Browning as a Religious Teacher*, London, 1901, chs. iv., v., vi.

We may make in the sphere of spiritual life an assumption similar to that which science makes in the sphere of physical life; *i.e.*, we may assume that these characteristically human qualities have their proper use and function, which is not realized until they are exercised in all their fullness. Some writers have treated this principle as a self-evident axiom. It is, rather, a consequence or corollary of a deeper principle, which is not a logical axiom but a progressively verified faith—that the world is at bottom a harmonious and completed whole, a rational whole, and not 'a confusion and dispersion'; so that nothing which exists and shares in the universal sustaining life of the whole can remain permanently incomplete and imperfect. Man, as a spiritual being, cannot completely realize his powers in that round of experience which he calls his life in this world. Their complete realization demands another life; and, if all things form, in God, a perfect system, that other life will be granted. Apart from this act of faith in the reasonableness of the world—an act of faith on which the trustworthiness of all reasoning depends, and which is progressively but never completely verified by acting on it or working it out—there would be no reason for supposing that human capacities fulfil any purpose by their growth, or that the incompleteness of life has any meaning.

These distinctively human qualities do not serve any merely physical purpose; they are not useful in the biological sense. As soon as we enter into the inner circle of human characteristics, the interpretation of these characteristics as instruments for working the bodily organism utterly fails us. In fact, to explain them, in their present form, by this means is never attempted; but it is supposed that they were manufactured out of primitive animal wants whose utility to the organism needs no demonstration. Against this whole conception it is contended that such a process of manufacture is inconceivable when seriously examined, and that it rests on a fundamental misconception of all that development can possibly mean.[1]

It appears then to be a reasonable assumption that human existence is constructed on a scale such that each man can put forth in their fullness the distinctive possibilities of his humanity; and this means that the life begun here is continued beyond death, where these endowments may find progressively more adequate scope and employment. At first sight the analogies of nature's ways do not lead us to regard this suggestion as a very hopeful one. What if the undeniable waste in the animal and vegetable world has its analogue in the human world? It appears to involve a waste of resource and a frustration of purpose and capacity; if in the case of man death ends his life, there would only be a similar blighting of promise, and perishing of capacities which have only just begun to unfold. Granting that the analogy is a true one—*i.e.* that there is mere waste in both cases—we must observe that in the one case it is a waste of physical capacity, in the other a waste of intellectual, moral, and spiritual capacity. Has this difference any significance? Have we a right to hold the growth of human love and reason as worth more—to expect that, though physical life may be wasted, spiritual life will not be wasted? A conviction of the absolute and indefeasible worth of these human ideals answers the question. These are the only things that give value to life; and, if we have a right to believe anything, we have the strongest moral and intellectual right to believe that they shall abide for ever. And, if the progress of humanity continues, while the actual human beings whose efforts contribute to it perish by the wayside, then what perishes is the best part of the whole achievement—the effects of each man's work which remain in his living, growing self; since all ideals are realized in life only by personal activities which grow by their personal use.

It is at this point that we reach the absolutely fundamental issue of all arguments really relevant to the problem of immortality. In the last resort they all depend on the view taken of the worth of human personality, as such, in the nature of things. The essential question could hardly be stated better than by Pringle-Pattison: 'Man as rational, and, in virtue of self-conscious reason, the free shaper of his own destiny, furnishes us, I contend, with our only indefeasible standard of value, and our clearest light as to the nature of the divine. He does what science, occupied only with the laws of events, and speculative metaphysics, when it surrenders itself to the exclusive guidance of the intellect, alike find unintelligible, and are fain to pronounce impossible—he *acts*. As Goethe puts it in a seeming paradox, *Man alone achieves the impossible.* But inexplicable, in a sense, as man's personal agency is—nay, the one perpetual miracle—it is nevertheless our surest datum and our only clue to the mystery of existence.'[1]

Whatever view may be taken of this question of the significance of personality, if the question is seriously dealt with, its decision will determine the decision of the problem of immortality and, in fact, of all the fundamental problems of metaphysics; and this question of personality may be used as a principle of division for the classification of philosophical systems and tendencies. In this reference, systems otherwise opposed (*e.g.* extreme Idealism and extreme Materialism) may be found on the same side of the line. This does not prove that the principle of division is not fundamental; on the contrary, it is so fundamental that it brings to light the inner affinities of philosophies which in form are diametrically opposed. Extreme idealism and extreme materialism are opposed much more in appearance than in reality. Thus, speculative materialism treats the soul as a merely derivative function of the brain and nervous system, whence it follows that the distinctive features of human personality are not what they appear to be, and personality has no real existence. Again, some forms of speculative idealism treat the soul as a derivative function (realized by means of the body) of a universal ideal principle; and, since the individuality of that soul rests exclusively on the body, the soul is in effect the derivative function of the body; and the distinctive features of human personality are an unreal appearance. From the point of view adopted in this article, it is contended that all such systems involve *ab initio* a fatal fallacy, resulting from the arbitrary rejection of a fundamental fact of experience, namely, our own immediate awareness of our individual reality and personal agency. If this primary fact is treated as an illusion, it is hard to see what else can claim superior validity. The classic example of a philosophy involving the assumption that finite personality is an unreal appearance is, of course, seen in the system of Spinoza. In quite recent years the same result has been reached by two eminent English thinkers: F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*^{2}, London, 1893, and B. Bosanquet, *The Principle of Individuality and Value* (Gifford Lectures), do. 1912.

We must insist that the primary and fundamental aspect of experience consists in its personal form. Indeed, when we investigate the full concrete meaning of fact as such—when we ask, What is any fully concrete fact in our experience?—we seem compelled to admit that, whatever more it may be, it is always an element in some one's personal life. Whenever you have a 'fact' in the full meaning of the word, you have 'a conscious field *plus* its object as felt or thought of *plus* an attitude towards the object *plus* the sense of a self to whom the attitude belongs.'[2]

5. Conclusion.—From different points of view we are thus led to the conclusion that 'matter,' as it figures in the literature of physical science, is an abstraction. Some of the prophets of science would admit this, and eagerly assure us that we do not, and perhaps never shall, know what matter really is. But they would at once repudiate the supposition that the qualities of 'matter' which we do not yet know should make any difference to those which we do know; *i.e.*, that they should be capable of any efficient action inside the region which is known. It is as if we were shown 'a sort of sunlit terrace' where mathematical physics builds up its constructions of the world; and, where that terrace stops, science stops, and the absolute metaphysical ground of the world begins (for science the unknowable). Certain types of recent idealistic philosophy[1] have done much to encourage this conception, that the teeming universe in which we live is verily nothing else than a thing of two aspects—mechanism and causation on the one hand, and meaning on the other: the world of mechanical causation being the world in which science is at home, and the other world (not a world of other things, but another way of viewing the same things) being the eternal world of the absolutely real. 'If anything,' says W. James, 'is unlikely in a world like this, it is that the next adjacent thing to the mere surface-show of our experience should be the realm of eternal essences, of platonic ideas, of crystal battlements, of absolute significance.'[2] And we may add: if anything is likely, it is that the material world contains objects of many kinds and degrees of reality operative within it, that there are kinds of matter and sources of energy subtler and more complex than were dreamt of, that the universe has in it resources deeper than any of which we have the faintest inkling, deeper than our deepest thought can reach so long as our bodily senses are limited as they now are. These statements are in accord with the whole tendency of recent science, which is opening up to us a material universe with possibilities of embodied existence far larger than any that science has destroyed.[3]

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[1] See J. Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, *passim*; A. S. Pringle-Pattison, *Man's Place in the Cosmos*^{2}, London, 1902 (esp. Essay i.); H. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Eng. tr., do. 1912, *passim*; J. Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*, Oxford, 1885, ii.

[1] *Man's Place in the Cosmos*, p. vi.

[2] W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience* (Gifford Lectures), London, 1903, p. 499.

When, however, we seek for detailed knowledge of the manner of the future state, we find ourselves standing before the ultimate mystery, of that which 'eye saw not, and ear heard not, and which entered not into the heart of man' (1 Co 2^9). We have not any conception, much less any mental picture, of the conditions of that existence. Dogmatic insistence on any particular representation is nowhere more blameworthy than here. But it may be maintained that this absence of knowledge is entirely beneficial. It leaves the possibility open to every one to frame such a view of the future as will meet his practical needs; and at the same time it checks the inclination (which easily becomes dangerous) to revel in these representations of the future to such an extent as to forget the claims and value of the present.

There are, nevertheless, two distinct ideas, or ideals, of the future state which may claim consideration, since both are equally based on human nature, and both have found expression in many historic types of doctrine. This question, we may observe in passing, is independent of the problem of conceiving how wilful wrongdoers will be treated in the world to come. On the one hand, we find that the dominant thought governing all representations of the future is that of restful peace; on the other hand, that of active progress. The one ideal is of that service of the Highest which finds its perfect realization in Vision and Communion; the highest blessedness is pictured to the mind as that of the Divine Home, the Heavenly Fatherland. The other ideal is of rising in an unwearying progress from one stage to another through the countless spheres of labour in the vast economy of the Infinite Whole. It need not be said that these are not two mutually exclusive ideas, one only of which can be entertained. They correspond to different types of temperament and experience, both of which must enter into the fullness of a complete life. Neither the man of Vision nor the man of Energy can claim that his experience is the whole experience; and we may be assured that both point to aspects of life which are reconciled in the Perfect Whole. It may be said that both elements are reconciled in the conception which we have suggested as defining the future life—*the development and perfecting of every personality* in thought, feeling, and will. The ideal of knowledge is Truth, and of feeling, Love; the perfect Will is that which is guided by perfect Truth and Love. These are inseparably bound up one with another; we can love only what we know to be true, and we can truly know only where we lovingly seek and find communion. The realization of these capacities brings us to God, the goodness in all that is good, the truth in all that is true. The perfect life, the final end of Divine Wisdom and Love, is the knowledge and love of God, not only God by Himself, but God along with all that is of Him in the world—all that is divine in nature and man. This conception satisfies at once the ideals of Communion and of Action (see, further, art. STATE OF THE DEAD).

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S. H. MELLONE.

IMPLICIT FAITH.—Implicit in contrast to explicit faith means believing all that the Church believes, or may in future believe. According to William of Auxerre († 1215), in nearly the first reference to the subject, *Credere explicite est credere in hoc universali, quicquid credit ecclesia, credere esse verum.*[1] He believes implicitly who, although ignorant of the details, accepts whatever is taught by the Church or is contained in Holy Scripture. The conception was designed to meet the case of the *simplices* or *minores*, *i.e.* the less instructed laity and lower clergy. The higher clergy (*doctores et maiores*) must believe explicitly, or with knowledge of detail, as being bound to give a reason for their faith. For, as the doctrine handed down by traditional theology became more complex, it was necessary to recognize an ever larger number as incapable of rightly understanding or expressly accepting all the Church doctrines. Learned theologians soon perceived the dangers of this. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus both insist that the laity must believe expressly those articles of faith which are concerned with redemption through Christ and are proclaimed in Church festivals. This practically means the Apostles' Creed. Items in the Scripture narrative, however, for which they admitted implicit faith to be sufficient are such facts as that Abraham had two sons or that David was the son of Jesse. The lower limit of express belief appears to be fixed by He 11^6. Alarm may have been felt at the statement of Innocent III. († 1216) that no holder of an unorthodox opinion, provided he regards it as a belief of the Church, is a heretic; Innocent further says that by holding it in this sense he actually acquires merit. The scope of *fides implicita* was later much widened by William of Occam, who used it to protect himself against the charge of heresy; and Biel took a position which really permits to the implicitly believing ignorant a total indifference towards all specific Christian truth.

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[1] Cf. Bosanquet, *The Principle of Individuality and Value*; and the same writer's Essay on 'The true Conception of Another World,' in his *Essays and Addresses*, London, 1891.

[2] 'In Memoriam F. W. H. Myers,' in *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, London, 1901.

[3] See Mellone, *The Immortal Hope*, p. 55 ff.

[1] *Com. in IV. libros Sent.*, lib. iii. tract. 3, cap. 1, qu. 5.

The conception has been defended or explained in two ways. (1) The Church believes, and my faith is contained in hers, since I am a constituent part of her. (2) The Church is the supreme doctrinal authority; hence whatever the Church teaches, I accept. I give a blank cheque, undertaking to honour it to any sum.

It is obvious that the notion of *fides implicita* is derived from the intellectualistic thought of faith current in Scholasticism. If, as with Thomas Aquinas, faith is an act of the intellect impelled to assent by the will, and if, being the acceptance of doctrinal propositions, it is an act of obedience to authority rather than of personal conviction, provision must of course be made for all those who are unable to follow the subtle obscurities of detailed theology.

The mediæval discussion ended in opaque and inharmonious conclusions, very various opinions being held regarding the scope of explicit and implicit faith respectively. Roman Catholic writers subsequent to the Reformation tend to narrow the range of the latter. Modern Jesuit divines seldom touch the subject. Ritschl argues that the Vatican Council of 1870, in its determination of the relations between faith and reason, virtually gives a wide scope to implicit faith even in the case of the learned.

Luther was the first to protest against the general notion, and Calvin echoes his denunciations. He says that it is very absurd to decorate with the name of faith what is merely 'ignorance tempered by humility.'[1] Some later Protestant writers, who revive the conception, argue that implicit faith suffices for justification but not for salvation; others, that it avails for both.

A man's verdict on the admissibility of *fides implicita* will depend on his conception of faith and of the Church. If it be held that Christ offers a present salvation, in fellowship with God, and that faith means the heartfelt trust by which we take this boon, implicit faith must be rejected as unmeaning. It is indeed a strange suggestion, in that case, that things are made easier for any one by waiving the necessity for a clear and conscious apprehension of the mercy of God in Christ. Nothing but explicit faith can avail, since the trust of others is not *our* trust. In Protestantism this can be denied only by those who assign a substantial value to what is called 'unconscious Christianity.' The fact which has been wrongly interpreted under the rubric of *fides implicita* is this, that a saving experience of Christ may be accompanied by very different degrees of knowledge. But, wherever faith is regarded as the obedient acceptance of dogmatic statements, not trustful adherence to a Person, the notion of implicit faith will appear unfailingly, and piety will so far be gauged by theological attainment.

LITERATURE. — G. Hoffmann, *Die Lehre von der Fides Implicita*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1903–09; A. Ritschl, *Fides Implicita* (posthumous), Bonn, 1890; L. Ihmels, *Fides Implicita und der evangelische Heilsglaube*, Leipzig, 1912; F. Loofs, *Leitfaden der Dogmengeschichte*^{4}, Halle, 1906.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

IMPOSITION OF HANDS.—See HAND.

IMPRISONMENT.—See PRISONS.

IMPUTATION.—Imputation is a term which belongs in the first place to law, and in the second place to Christian theology, where that has been expressed in legal terms. The meaning is thus defined by Hodge, *Syst. Theol.* ii. 194: 'In the juridical and theological sense of the word, *to impute* is to attribute anything to a person or persons, upon adequate grounds, as the judicial or meritorious reason of reward or punishment.'

The theological use of the term belongs (apart from Biblical references) essentially to the Western Church, and may be distinguished as threefold. (1) There is a general usage, in which it has reference to God's judgment of individual persons on the basis of their own merits or demerits. He is said to impute to them fault or blame (*culpa*) or merit (*meritum*). In so far, however, as merits are transferable, the merits of others also can be imputed to a non-meritorious individual (see MERIT). (2) In particular, however, the term is used of the judgment passed by God upon the human race as guilty in view of the sin of Adam. This usage prevails in orthodox theology, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, from Augustine onward, the view of Pelagius, that Adam's sin entailed no guilt upon his posterity, having been stamped as heretical. (3) Peculiar to the Protestant orthodoxy is the third usage, which speaks of the imputation of Christ's righteousness to believers. The last two usages demand further consideration.

I. The imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity.—This forms one aspect of Augustine's doctrine of original sin, for which see R. Seeberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengesch.* ii.^{2}, Leipzig, 1910, p. 450:

> 'Augustine conceives the matter thus. God visited Adam's guilt with punishment. In this state of punishment Adam begat children. On the one hand, these were now involved ideally in the guilt and punishment of Adam. On the other hand, they participated thereby in the concrete condition of Adam, *i.e.* they received from him a *languor* of the enfeebled nature, or evil concupiscence, ignorance, and mortality. Materially, however, the two things are identical, for just in this *languor* consists the punishment for Adam's sin. In that, therefore, all are placed, through procreation and birth, in the penal state of Adam, the punishment visited upon Adam's guilt realizes itself in them, or his guilt is punished in them, and is therefore also their guilt.'

This doctrine of Augustine determined the general view of Western Catholicism. Thomas Aquinas virtually repeats it, but defines further especially the point that, since original sin involves guilt before God, and guilt necessarily implies a voluntary act, therefore it is not enough merely to teach that from Adam his posterity derived a corrupt nature, but they must be regarded as involved in the guilt of his voluntary act of transgression. Cf. *Summa Theol.* II. i. qu. 81, art. 1:

> 'All men, who are born of Adam, can be considered as one man, so far as they agree in the nature which they receive from their first parent; just as in civil matters all men who are of one community are reputed as one body, and the whole community as one man.' Thus all men are to be regarded as members of one body by reason of their common descent from Adam; and just as murder is not imputed to a man's hand except as part of his body, so original sin is not guilt by reason of the will of each individual man, but by reason of the will of Adam.

This is a very clear doctrine of imputation. Aquinas accompanies it with an equally clear statement, after Augustine, that materially original sin is *languor naturæ* (II. i. qu. 82, art. 1). Aquinas, however, also defines original sin (as

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[1] *Inst.* III. ii. 3.

Anselm had done before him) as the lack of original righteousness; and this definition opened the way to a more Pelagian apprehension of its nature, which, appearing first in Duns Scotus, reaches its full development in the Roman Catholic theologians of the time of the Reformation, Albertus Pighius and Ambrosius Catharinus. Duns admitted a corruption of human nature in so far as to acknowledge a proneness to inordinate desire. This corruption, however, means for him much less than the *languor naturæ* meant to Augustine or Aquinas. Cf. F. Loofs, *Dogmengesch.*^{4}, Halle, 1906, p. 596:

> 'The will remains free in spite of the *pronitas*. . . . Sin, however, can exist only in the will. . . . Original sin is, therefore, for Duns only original guilt or, more properly, a state of condemnation, which God inflicts upon all the posterity of Adam, since they as his posterity ought to possess but do not possess the *justitia originalis data a deo ipsi Adae pro omnibus filiis*.'

Following along this line opened by Duns, Pighius and Catharinus taught that original sin was nothing but the imputed guilt of Adam (see Bellarmine, 'de Amissione gratiae et statu peccati,' *Disputationes*, vol. iii., Ingolstadt, 1693, lib. v. cap. xvi.). It was in opposition to this tendency of Roman Catholic theology that the early Protestant doctrine of original sin was framed. The consequence is that it is chiefly the material side of the doctrine, or the corruption of human nature, that is emphasized in the early Protestant statements upon the subject (cf. Hodge, *Syst. Theol.* ii. 194, n. 1). The result as regards the Lutheran theology is thus expressed by H. F. F. Schmid (*Die Dogmatik der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*^{5}, Frankfort and Erlangen, 1863, p. 198):

> 'The doctrine of the *imputatio culpae et poenae primorum parentum* is first developed by the later doctors, say from Calov onwards, though a suggestion of it is to be found in the sentence of the Form. Conc. (sol. decl. 19), *quod hoc haereditorium malum sit culpa et reatus, ut omnes propter inobedientiam Adae et Hevae in odio apud Deum et natura filii irae sumus*.'

The doctrine is very clearly stated by David Hollaz, who says:

> 'The first sin of Adam in so far as he is regarded as the common parent, head, stem, and representative of the whole human race, is imputed to all his posterity truly and by the just judgment of God, as guilt and as ground of punishment' (see Schmid, p. 196).

It was in the Reformed Church that the doctrine of imputation was most fully developed and discussed. It was here that the controversy arose as to whether the imputation of Adam's sin was immediate or mediate, *i.e.* whether men were punished directly for Adam's transgression, and the corruption that they derived from him was part of the punishment; or whether, inheriting as a matter of fact Adam's corruption, they are punished directly for this, and only indirectly for the sin which brought it into being. It is to be observed, moreover, that, in the very beginning of the history of the Reformed Church, Zwingli repudiated the doctrine of imputation altogether:

> 'Culpam originis non vere sed metonymice a primi parentis admisso culpam vocari' (A. Schweizer, *Die Glaubenslehre der evangelisch-reformirten Kirche*, Zürich, 1844–47, ii. 54).

As to the other great initiator of the Reformed theology, Calvin's doctrine of original sin certainly leans a good deal on the doctrine of mediate imputation. He asserts that,

> 'being perverted and corrupted in all parts of our nature, we are merely on account of such corruption deservedly condemned by God. . . . This is not liability for another's fault' (*Inst.* II. i. 8).

The general doctrine of the Reformed Church, however, is undoubtedly that of immediate imputation. B. Keckermann says:

> 'Imputatum (sc. peccatum) est nobis, quatenus in Adamo in radice et primo nostro principio potentia fuimus' (see Schweizer, p. 54).

To the same effect also J. H. Alsted and M. K. Wendelin (see Schweizer, p. 54). The doctrine of mediate imputation is especially connected with the name of Placæus (La Place) of Saumur, who presented his views in a disputation *de Statu hominis lapsi ante gratiam*, and afterwards more fully in a treatise *de Imputatione primi peccati Adami*. But the doctrine was condemned by the National Synod of Charenton in France (1644–45), by the Swiss Formula Consensus, and by the theologians of Holland. J. H. Heidegger, one of the theologians of the Swiss Consensus, says:

> 'The imputation of Adam's sin is immediate and antecedent, not mediate and consequent. . . . The imputation of sin is not by the mediation of inherent corruption, but the imputation of sin is the cause of inherent corruption' (Schweizer, p. 55).

2. The imputation of Christ's righteousness.—This is a form taken by the doctrine of justification by faith in the Protestant theology, though not in its earliest stage of development.

> 'The expression "justitia Christi imputatur" is seldom found in the older documents of the Reformation, and first comes more generally into acceptation through the controversy with Osiander' (R. A. Lipsius, *Dogmatik*^{3}, Brunswick, 1893, p. 676).

Osiander taught that the forgiveness of sins was the effect of the historical work of Christ, but that justification was more than mere forgiveness, and consisted in the imputation to the believer of the essential righteousness of the Divine Person, Jesus Christ. This imputation however, involves the infusion of this same righteousness in the believer, since God's imputation is necessarily according to truth (cf. Loofs, p. 870). This doctrine was rejected by the Lutheran Church as Catholicizing, and in opposition to it the Formula of Concord (sol. decl. iv. 16) maintains:

> 'The righteousness (of Christ) which is imputed before God to faith or to believers, is the obedience, passion, and resurrection of Christ, by which He satisfied the law for our sake and made atonement for our sins.'

There is, however, considerable difference in the later Lutheran doctrine as to the exact relation of the forgiveness of sins and the imputation of Christ's righteousness.

> 'The Formula of Concord sometimes sets both expressions side by side, sometimes it reduces the content of the justifying judgment to the single expression of the remission of sins' (Schmid, p. 356).

J. Brenz says that the imputation of Christ's righteousness is the reason of the forgiveness or non-imputation of sins (*ib.* p. 357). D. Hollaz says:

> 'The remission of sins and the imputation of the righteousness of Christ are acts undivided and intimately united, but still formally distinct, since the former is privative, the latter positive: the former follows immediately from the passive obedience, the latter from the active obedience of Christ' (*ib.*).

As regards the Reformed Church, we may take as typical statements those of F. Turretin (*Inst.*, Edinburgh, 1847, loc. xvi. 3. 9) and Jonathan Edwards ('Justification by Faith alone' [*Works*, London, 1817, vi. 257]). Turretin's statement is as follows:

> 'When we say that the righteousness of Christ is imputed to us unto justification, and that we through that imputed righteousness are just before God, and not through a righteousness which inheres in us; we mean nothing else than that the obedience of Christ, presented to God the Father in our name, is so granted to us by God, that it is to be regarded as really ours, and that it is the one and only righteousness on account of which, and through whose merit, we are absolved from the guilt of our sins and obtain a right to (eternal) life.'

Edwards says as follows:

> 'First, I would explain what we mean by the imputation of Christ's righteousness. Sometimes the expression is taken by our divines in a larger sense, for the imputation of all that Christ did and suffered for our redemption, whereby we are free from guilt, and stand righteous in the sight of God; and so implies the imputation both of Christ's satisfaction and obedience. But here I intend it in a stricter sense, for the imputation of that righteousness or moral goodness that consists in the obedience to Christ. And by that righteousness being imputed to us, is meant no other than this, that that righteousness of Christ is accepted for us, and admitted instead of that perfect inherent righteousness that ought to be in ourselves: Christ's perfect obedience shall be reckoned to our account, so that we shall have the benefit of it, as though we had performed it ourselves.'

It may finally be observed that in Protestant theology the imputation of Adam's sin and that of Christ's righteousness are closely connected. The one is set over against the other, as balancing and countervailing it. B. de Moor, *Commentarius in Marckii Compendium*, Leyden, 1761–71, says:

> 'Imputatio justitiae Christi et culpae Adami pari passu ambulant, et vel utraque ruit, vel utraque agnosci debet' (see Hodge, ii. 207).

3. The Scriptural basis of the doctrines of the imputation of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness.—This is to be found principally in the Epistles of Paul. In the first place, Paul, following the Rabbinic theology, tends to view man's relation to God along juridical lines, though this is by no means his exclusive point of view, nor is his legalism thoroughgoing, even where it exists. In particular, as regards the imputation of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness the fundamental passage is Ro 5^{12-21}, where the effects of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness are contrasted: as sin flows from Adam, so righteousness flows from Christ. When this great passage is examined, however, it is found to lack altogether the sharp formulation of the later doctrine, and it cannot be said that the imputation either of Adam's sin or of Christ's righteousness is distinctly taught in it. All efforts to make Paul, here and elsewhere, an exact systematic theologian must fail; there is always about his statements a breadth and expansiveness in which much is left to the imagination, and the meaning is suggested rather than precisely defined. In the passage before us, while it is clear that Paul believed in the Divine imputation of sin and in the derivation of all human sin from Adam's transgression, it is by no means clear that he held, let us say, the doctrine of immediate imputation. In fact, v.^{13} is inconsistent with this and with the doctrine of mediate imputation alike: 'until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed when there is no law.' The famous ἐφ' ᾧ of v.^{12} will not bear the sense put upon it by Origen and Augustine of 'in whom,' *i.e.* in Adam. 'In that case (i.) ἐπί would not be the right preposition; (ii.) ᾧ would be too far removed from its antecedent' (Sanday-Headlam, *Commentary on Romans*, Edinburgh, 1895, p. 133). Again, v.$^{18f.}$ are by no means theologically precise. It is clear in v.^{18} that Paul traces back in general the condemnation of men to the trespass of Adam, but the intermediary links establishing the connexion are left vague. And so again with the connexion in the latter half of the verse between the ἓν δικαίωμα and the δικαίωσις ζωῆς. Besides, the exact meaning of δικαίωμα is uncertain, whether the righteous act or merit of Christ (K. C. J. Holsten, C. J. Vaughan, R. A. Lipsius, H. P. Liddon) or the justifying sentence (H. A. W. Meyer, E. H. Gifford, W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam). Finally, the exact sense in which we are to understand in v.^{19} that the trespass of Adam and the obedience of Christ constituted the many sinners and righteous respectively is left vague. It is, no doubt, right to understand Paul to mean 'constituted' in the Divine judgment, *i.e.* imputed; but how the sin of Adam and the obedience of Christ bring about the imputation of sin or of righteousness is left unexplained.

If we turn to Ro 4^{3} we find, instead of the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's righteousness, that of the imputation of faith for righteousness, which Paul derives from Gn 15^{6}, perhaps as a result of his Rabbinic training. It is at least interesting to observe that the imputation of one thing for another is known to the Rabbinic theology, *e.g.* vow for performance, willingness to suffer for martyrdom (see F. Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 282). The Mechilta actually says on Ex 14^{31}: Abraham inherited this world and the world to come solely by the merit of faith, whereby he believed in the Lord, and He reckoned it to him for righteousness (see J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, London, 1896, p. 162).

4. Opposition to the doctrines of the imputation of Adam's sin and of Christ's righteousness.—With the above statements in view, it is not surprising that, even apart from the moral difficulties of the doctrines, they should have been challenged on Scriptural grounds, even where the legal terminology of St. Paul has not altogether been abandoned. The Pelagians, and the Socinians after them, entirely repudiated the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's guilt. The Socinians and Arminians objected to the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's righteousness; the Arminians proposed instead to follow Paul in speaking of the imputation of faith for righteousness. On the last point the opinion of A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, Edinburgh, 1894, p. 155 f., is noteworthy:

> 'The great doctors of the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions emptied faith of all moral contents, that no pretext might remain for ascribing to it justifying virtue, and assigned to it simply the humble service of claiming an interest in the foreign righteousness of Christ. They even went the length of setting aside the scriptural idea of the imputation of faith, and substituting for it the idea of the imputation of Christ's righteousness, keeping themselves right with St. Paul by the ingenious device of taking faith, in the texts where it is said to be imputed, *objectively*, so bringing out the meaning that not the act of believing, but the object believed in, the righteousness of Christ, is imputed. This manner of handling the *locus* of justification is very open to criticism. In the first place, it is unfortunate that the Protestant doctors, in their laudable zeal against neo-legalism, should have found it necessary to become un-Pauline in their terminology, banishing from their theological vocabulary the imputation of faith as not only inexact but even heretical, and employing exclusively a phrase which, however legitimate as an inference from Scripture texts, has no express scriptural warrant. This fact is an index that somehow they had got upon the wrong track, and had fallen into one-sidedness.'

Modern theology, as governed by the new emphasis on the Synoptic teaching of Jesus, and especially on His doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, tends away from legal analogies and modes of statement. The consequence is that the term 'imputation' has tended, except on account of its historical associations, to be banished from recent theology. So far as concerns, not the term, but the matter of the doctrines of the imputation of Adam's sin and Christ's righteousness, it is widely felt to be morally impossible to maintain that men in general are guilty because of Adam's sin, and also that, as above stated, Paul himself does not distinctly teach this. The usual line of modern teaching, therefore, follows the suggestion made by Paul in Ro 5^{13}, and, while recognizing the inheritance from the past of sinful propensities, admits guilt only where there is conscious and wilful transgression (so, *e.g.*, J. Kaftan, in his *Dogmatik*^{4}, Tübingen, 1901).

As regards the imputation of Christ's righteousness, the passage above quoted from Bruce is, on the whole, typical. Since Kant's *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, the doctrine of justification by faith has been commonly stated in the form that God accepts our faith in Christ as the earnest of the Christlikeness which it is destined to produce, or sees in Christ the full fruition of what in the believer is present only in the germ. It is noteworthy, however, that Ritschl, with his glowing admiration for the principles of the Reformation, here substantially maintains the orthodox doctrine, though without the parallel doctrine of the imputation of Adam's guilt.

> 'On the other hand, when what we want is to see forgiveness become operative as the attribute of a community, this aspect of it is guaranteed by the community's Representative, whose inviolably maintained position towards the love of God, which is distinctive of Him, is imputed by God to those who are to be accounted His. Because Christ kept Himself in the love of God by His obedience even unto death, God's forgiving love is thereby secured beforehand to those who belong to Christ's

community. Their guilt is not taken into account in God's judgment, since they are admitted in the train of God's beloved Son to the position towards God which was assumed and maintained by Him. The verdict of justification or forgiveness is therefore not to be formulated in such a way that the community has its relationship to Christ imputed to it, but in such a way that the community which belongs to Christ has imputed to it His position towards the love of God, in which He maintained Himself by his obedience' (*Justification and Reconciliation*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1900, p. 547).

This fine passage may be regarded as the classical modern restatement of the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's righteousness.

See, further, artt. SIN, JUSTIFICATION.

LITERATURE.—The principal literature has been indicated in the course of the article. It is to be observed that C. Hodge's *Systematic Theology*, London and Edinburgh, 1872–73, especially ii. 192 ff. and iii. 144 ff., is particularly valuable, both for the history of the doctrines of imputation and for an exact statement of their orthodox Protestant form.

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

INCAS.—See ANDEANS.

INCANTATION.—See CHARMS AND AMULETS, DIVINATION.

INCARNATION.

Introductory (N. SÖDERBLOM), p. 183.
American (H. B. ALEXANDER), p. 184.
Buddhist (L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN), p. 186.
Chinese (P. J. MACLAGAN), p. 188.
Christian.—See JESUS CHRIST.
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Semitic (G. A. BARTON), p. 199.
Tibetan (L. A. WADDELL), p. 200.

INCARNATION (Introductory).—The term 'incarnation' is applied to the act of a divine or supernatural being in assuming the form of a man or animal, and continuing to live in that form upon the earth. Incarnation is thus distinguished, on the one hand, from 'transmigration,' in which the vagrant entity is not a deity, but a soul; and, on the other, alike from 'possession' (*q.v.*), in which a spirit or a deity takes up its abode in a human being, but only temporarily, and not for a whole lifetime, from 'emanation,' which implies a divine source, but not the actual presence of a deity, and from the capacity of deities, or of holy men and magicians, to assume on occasion whatever forms they please (as, *e.g.*, Verethraghna [*Yt.* xiv. 7 ff.] and Tishtrya [*ib.* viii. 16 ff.]; see art. METEMPSYCHOSIS).

Among primitive peoples there is really no such thing as incarnation in the strict sense of the term. The men and animals worshipped among such peoples are usually regarded and treated as actual deities, or at least divine, and not as the manifestations of certain gods or demons. Frequently, in cases where the men or animals worshipped have been supposed by investigators to be the embodiments of demons or other supernatural beings, a more searching inquiry has shown that in reality they ranked, and were worshipped, as living deities (J. G. Frazer, *Lectures on the Early Hist. of the Kingship*, London, 1905, pp. 132 ff., 279 f.). At a later stage, sacred beings of this type might be regarded as the incarnations of a god (*e.g.* Avalokiteśvara becomes incarnate in the Dalai Lama; see 'Tibetan' section of this art.). Among primitive races the closest approximations to the conception of incarnation are found in (1) the animals in which the primitive mind traces the peculiar and mysterious *force*[1] (see art. HOLINESS [Gen. and prim.], vol. vi. p. 735) of the dead—now regarded as divine and endowed with power—and which therefore become objects of worship, and (2) the aged and the medicine-men in the parts they play in the performance of the mysteries; here they assume the forms of the great personages of sacred tradition, and feel that they are one with these superhuman beings and deities (K. T. Preuss, *Die Nayarit-Expedition*, Leipzig, 1912, p. xcv ff.). It is true, of course, that this impersonation or embodiment was not permanent or complete. The sacrificed man-god of the Mexicans, 'our Lord God,' to impersonate whom a young and beautiful man was chosen from among ten picked captives, was regarded as the 'figurer' or representative of Tezcatlipoca (E. Seler, 'Die achtzehn Jahresfeste der Mexicaner,' in *Veröffentl. des königl. Museums für Völkerkunde zu Berlin*, vi. [1899] 194; see 'American' section). Even at a more advanced stage of religious development the craving for the immediate presence of deity gives rise, as a rule, to the practice of deifying men (as, *e.g.*, in the Athenian Hymn to Demetrius, Athenæus, vi. 253*c–e*, or in the cult of the emperors) rather than to the belief in incarnation.

Among Western peoples, again, the idea of incarnation in the proper sense seems to have originated in Egypt (see the 'Egyptian' section), and then, with Hellenism as its medium, to have reached its highest form in Christianity (see art. JESUS CHRIST) and heterodox Islām. A parallel development is the Indian doctrine of *avatāras* (see the 'Indian' section)—first mentioned in the *Bhagavadgītā*, iv. 7 f.—which in turn also exercised an influence upon the Muslim sectaries, *i.e.* in the Shī'ite doctrine of the *imām*.

The moderate Shī'ites do not teach incarnation in the strict sense; but certainly the Shī'ite doctrine that the right of succession belongs to the descendants of 'Alī, the Prophet's cousin, and of Fāṭima, his daughter, in virtue of blood-relationship and divine ordinance, and not, as the Sunnites hold, to the khalīfs installed by human election and appointment (I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 210), has some affinity with the idea of incarnation. The theory of the *imāms*, like Islām in general, rests upon various grounds. The divine sequence of these rulers is guaranteed not only by their legitimate descent from the Prophet's family and by their superhuman gifts, but also by their possession of a divine light-substance (cf. Shahrastānī, tr. T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850, i. 172, 206, 217 f.; it is a divine power [217], a part of deity [172, 200], and even the spirit of deity [170, 173]) which had streamed down from Adam in a succession of divine men, passed into the loins of the grandfather of Muḥammad and 'Alī, and was then portioned out to 'Abdallāh with his son, the Prophet, and the latter's daughter, Fāṭima, on the one side, and to Abū-Ṭālib with his son 'Alī, on the other; transmitted thereafter by the offspring of the marriage of 'Alī and Fāṭima, the martyrs of Kerbela, and by the successive *imāms* of the Prophet's lineage, it will culminate in the last, the 'hidden,' *imām*, who will appear in the final age.

The Sunnite tradition, too, had a place for the *nūr Muḥammad*, the 'light of Muḥammad,' which rested upon the forehead of Adam, and from which all the prophets have sprung. This light pervades all the ages, falling ever upon the bearers of the divine tradition. It went through the forefathers of Muḥammad. But the Shīʿite sect invested ʿAlī with one of the brightest aureoles of that light. Fourteen thousand years before the creation of the first man, the combined lights of Muḥammad and ʿAlī shone before God, and then flowed 'through the pure and holy loins' (Goldziher, 'Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīth,' in *ZA* xii. [1909] 328 ff.). This light-substance, which attests the prerogative of each successive *imām*, and endows him with the supernatural gift, strikingly recalls the *khwarenah* of the Avesta (Pahlavi *khurrak*; in Firdausī, *farr*), and has perhaps some historical link with that Parsi conception (see Parsi' section). Goldziher (*ZA* xii. 327 ff.), it is true, rejects the hypothesis of any such relationship, though he emphasizes the close connexion between the light inherited throughout the ages and the pre-existence of the Prophet, and shows that traces of Jewish thought appear in this sphere of ideas. It is, at any rate, a significant fact that the idea of the inherited consecration, which is foreign to the orthodox doctrine regarding the Prophet, should have been specially developed in Persian Shīʿitism.

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[1] The approximation was much closer when this power came to be regarded as a soul, represented in the later civilizations of Greece and Rome as a migratory individual being.

It is true that Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker, i. 170, 172 f.) associates the transmission of the divine spirit or divine light to the *imām* with metempsychosis, which is unknown in the Avesta. The idea that every age must have its own *imām*—the love and trust accorded to him being regarded by the Shīʿites as a sixth pillar of the faith, and so added to the usual five—is undoubtedly influenced by the Neo-Platonic emanational theory of the cyclical manifestations of the cosmic reason (Goldziher, *ZA* xii. 339), and by the Indian doctrine that an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu is given to every successive age. The eschatological aspect of the last *imām*, who has been withdrawn from the earth, and now rules in secret, and who is destined to return and assume the final dominion, is a product of Jewish-Christian aspirations (Shahrastānī, i. 199, 216; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, p. 219). Jewish influence can also be traced elsewhere; thus the *sakīna*, which, in the sense of a divine and holy consecration, is sometimes ascribed to the *imāms*, is derived from the Jewish *sheʿkīnāh*, *i.e.* the divine presence manifesting itself in visible symbols (Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philol.* i., Leyden, 1896, p. 188). In like manner, the Jewish shekinah abode with Israel from the days of the Sinaitic legislation till the destruction of the Second Temple, and it rested upon Jacob and other men of God (F. Spiegel, *Erân. Altertumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871–78, ii. 50; cf. the *keʿbhōdh Jahweh* in the OT).

The party of 'exaggeration' (*ghulāt*) were not content with the doctrine of the divine light, but taught an actual incarnation of deity, so that the title 'God' was applied at least to ʿAlī (Shahrastānī, 217). Incarnation (*ḥulūl*), however, was condemned even by the ordinary Shīʿites (cf. R. A. Nicholson, *Trans. of the Third Intern. Congress for the Hist. of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, i. 295), and believers in incarnation (*ḥulūlīya*), like the 'exaggerators' (*ghalīya*), were compared by Shahrastānī (199 f.) to the Christians. In these circles ʿAlī and his family, as embodiments of deity, were not infrequently exalted above Muḥammad himself, who, in relation to Allah, was clearly conscious of his human limitations, and the Semitic-Muslim conception of God was modified in the direction of Aryan thought (see art. SHĪʿA). In Persian Islām, God and man were regarded as more closely related. The identification of the Ṣūfī with deity, which has been fairly common since it began with the great Ṣūfī, Bāyazīd of Bisṭām,[1] in the 9th cent., must be distinguished from incarnation strictly so called. That Neo-Platonic and Indian ideas of union with the All-One played a ruling part in the rise of Ṣūfīism was already noted by al-Bīrūnī.[1] Such forms of pantheistic extravagance are common in all mystical theories of the kind, and in reality involve an expansion of the idea of incarnation that results in mere indefiniteness. An incarnation that embraces all religious persons has lost its specific meaning.

The conception of one solitary incarnation of deity is peculiar to Christianity. In India the development of the idea resulted in an exactly opposite view. The earliest incarnation of Viṣṇu would seem to have been Kṛṣṇa. Thereafter there is a constant increase in the number of embodiments—we find successively the figures ten, twelve, twenty-two, twenty-four, twenty-eight (A. Barth, *Religions of India*^{3}, London, 1891, p. 171)—until at length they are spoken of as innumerable, so that the great teachers of any religion whatever, as, *e.g.*, Buddha and Jesus, could be numbered among the *avatāras*. Eventually every *guru* ('teacher') claimed to be an *avatāra*. Even the theory of a single incarnation for each age leads here to the idea of an infinite number, as the several ages always recur. In certain schools of the Mahāyāna the doctrine of a Buddha in each 'non-void' cosmic period (see art. AGES OF THE WORLD [Bud.], vol. i. p. 189 f.) developed into the theory of a celestial prototype for each earthly Buddha, and subsequently into the idea of the one Buddha-god, of whom the various individual Buddhas are emanations. Schopenhauer (*Sämmtliche Werke*, Leipzig [Reclam]^2, 1892, v. 413) and others are of opinion that the idea of a plurality of Buddhas is more rational than that of the one Christ.

The Shīʿa and its sects adopted an intermediate position. There is among them no unanimity as to the number of *imāms*. On the ordinary enumeration, officially recognized by the Persian State religion, there are twelve, the last of whom, Muḥammad Abu-l-Qāsim (9th cent.), will return in the final age as the Mahdī. In the Middle Ages, the 'Sect of the Seven Imāms,' the Ismāʿīlites, had a great vogue. They enumerated seven *Nāṭiq* ('speaking ones') or manifestations of God, viz. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad (with ʿAlī as his *Asās*, 'deputy'), and Muḥammad Mahdī, the son of Ismāʿīl, from whom the sect took its name (A. Christensen, *Muhamedanske Digtere og Tænkere*, Copenhagen, 1906, p. 77 ff.). As Islām, in conformity with the Bible as its literary source, teaches that human history has a consummation, the number of possible incarnations must in any case be limited.

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the course of the article.

N. SÖDERBLOM.

INCARNATION (American).—The notion that the 'life' may be transferred from one body to another is wide-spread among the American aborigines. It is a conception fostered by that type of Animism which sees in Nature powers rather than things, or, at all events, no sensible thing without its active and concealed potency; and, again, it is a conception already mythically expressed in the frequent cosmogonies which derive the life of the Earth and of Earth's children from that of the demiurge whose transformed body the Earth is.

> 'The thought originally expressed by the ancient teachers of the Iroquoian and other barbaric peoples,' writes J. N. B. Hewitt (*21 RBEW* [1903], p. 138), 'was that the earth through the life, or life power, innate and immanent in its substance—the life personated by Tharonhiawakon—by feeding itself to them produces plants and fruits and vegetables which serve

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[1] Bāyazīd said: 'Of a truth I am God; there is no god beside me; give homage unto me! Glory be unto me! How great is my majesty!'

[1] *India*, ed. E. C. Sachau, London, 1910, i. 33.

> as food for birds and animals, all which in their turn become food for men, a process whereby the life of the earth is transmuted into that of man and of all living things.'

'Tharonhiawakon' is the demiurgic titan, descended from the sky to become the fashioner and the soul of earth-life. The word means, says Hewitt, 'He grasps the sky (by memory)'—a designation which clearly places this being in the pan-mythic group of beings cast down from heaven to become sources of earth-life (cf., further, Hewitt, in *HAI* ii. [1910] 718 ff.). Other designations, such as 'Sprout' and 'Sapling,' indicate the reverse consideration of this being, *i.e.* as already fallen and as incarnate in the vegetable life of Mother Earth. This character appears explicitly in the close of the Onondaga version of the myth, as given by Hewitt (*21 RBEW*, pp. 218–220):

> 'Moreover, it is said that this Sapling, in the manner in which he has life, has this to befall him recurrently, that he becomes old in body, and that when, in fact, his body becomes ancient normally, he then retransforms his body in such wise that he becomes a new man-being again and again recovers his youth, so that one would think that he had just then grown to the size which a man-being customarily has when he reaches the youth of man-beings, as manifested by the change of voice at the age of puberty. Moreover, it is so that continuously the *orenda* immanent in his body—the *orenda* with which he suffuses his person, the *orenda* which he projects or exhibits, through which he is possessed of force and potency—is ever full, undiminished, and all-sufficient; and, in the next place, nothing that is *otkon*, or deadly, nor, in the next place, even the Great Destroyer, *otkon* in itself and faceless, has any effect on him, he being perfectly immune to its *orenda*; and, in the next place, there is nothing that can bar his way or veil his faculties. Moreover, it is verily thus with all the things that are contained in the earth here present, that they severally retransform or exchange their bodies. It is thus with all the things that sprout and grow, and, in the next place, with all things that produce themselves and grow, and, in the next place, all the man-beings. All these are affected in the same manner, that they severally transform their bodies, and, in the next place, that they retransform their bodies, severally, without cessation.'

This may be regarded as the general philosophy of those Animists who have not attained a clear conception of personality: life is regarded as fluid, passing readily from one embodiment to another; it has no monadic totality, but separates into qualities and functions rather than into organisms; into effluences and simulacra rather than into individual spirits. Almost universally the Indians hold such a view—the notion of individual immortality, and even the 'Happy Hunting Ground,' being largely developed under White influence.

This conception of a fluid life permeating all material things finds an early and logical expression in the innumerable sacramental rites whereby the Indians endeavour to acquire the traits of those creatures whose flesh they eat or of those divinities symbolized in the sacramental food. Thus Le Jeune (*Jesuit Relations*, ed. R. G. Thwaites, 1896–1901, ix. 121) notes:

> 'A savage, seeing a Frenchman eat the heart of a certain bird, said to him, "How! thou who art a man, darest thou eat that? If we people should eat it, our enemies would surprise us and would kill us; that is a woman's food."'

The inter-continental custom of eating the flesh, especially the heart, and of drinking the blood, of an enemy who had proved his courage in death by torture, that this courage might be transferred to the partakers (cf. ETHICS AND MORALITY [American]), is but a further, and terrible, illustration of this idea. Indeed, Garcilasso (*Royal Commentaries*, ed. Paris, 1830, I. xi.) states that some of the S. American tribes, after having eaten the body of such a victim, dried the nerves and bones and worshipped these remains as divine. In Mexico, in various festivals, we find cakes fashioned into the likeness of the deity, or of its attributes, or even, in the case of Omacatl, into the shape of a bone regarded as a bone of the god, which are then eaten as sacraments. Similar sacramental notions underlay the various forms of ceremonial cannibalism practised by the Aztecs and other Mexican peoples. The hearts of victims were customarily devoted to the divinity, but the bodies were eaten by the worshippers in many, if not all, cases. It seems to be beyond doubt that the partaker was expected to derive some magical or 'holy' power from the flesh of one who had in turn derived it from consecration to the divinity.

In the large number of Aztec instances in which the sacrificial victim is regarded as a personation of the god, this is certainly true. The theanthropic idea is everywhere present. Sahagun (*Hist. gén.*, Paris, 1880, bks. i., ii.) gives a multitude of examples. Thus, in the worship of the god of merchants, with his five brothers and his sister, 'they sacrificed to all together, or to each of them, one or more slaves, clothed in the ornaments of the god, as if they were his image.' Slaves were bought for this special purpose, care being taken that they were sound and without defect; they were fed and fattened for the sacrifice and the sacramental banquet following it, all the while being encouraged to dance and sing and live a life of rejoicing, so that, says Sahagun, 'they made no case of the death that was reserved for them' (I. xix.). The typical instance of this sort is perhaps that of the young man who for a year personated the great god Tezcatlipoca, living amid the splendour of temple service, with four maidens having the character of divine consorts. At the end of this time he was sacrificed to the god, while at the same time another youth, beautiful and unblemished, was chosen in his place.

> 'During the year he traversed the city carrying flowers in his hands and accompanied by a great following. He saluted graciously all whom he encountered, and they, on their part, taking him for the veritable image of Tezcatlipoca, threw themselves on their knees before him and worshipped him' (II. v.; see also the brilliant description in Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, London, 1874, ch. iii.).

The flaying of the victims and the wearing of their skins was a not uncommon mode of transferring the divine attributes. In the worship of the 'Mother of the Gods' the woman who personated the goddess was flayed and her skin worn by a priest, who, 'thus clothed, traversed the city, where he was the occasion of a thousand insanities' (Sahagun, I. viii.; cf. II. xi.). A curious divinity was Xipe Totec, 'the flayed one,' in whose rites the worshippers wore the skins of the sacrificed victims, assuming that they were clothed in the skin of the god, and expecting thereby to be healed of skin diseases (*ib.* I. xviii.). The notion appears to some extent in the northern tribes—at least the Pottawatomi 'Story of the man with six sons,' narrated by de Smet (*Life, Letters, and Travels*, New York, 1905, VII. viii.), presents striking analogies.

Ritualistic impersonation of mythical beings, spirits of ancestors, the heroic dead, etc., is to be found in many localities. It is probably a factor in all totemic rites and in symbolic face-painting. In the Pawnee *Hako*, when the consecrated child has been painted with the lines in which, says the priest, 'we see the face of Tiráwa atius, the giver of life and power to all things,' it is told to look into a bowl which has been filled with running water:

> 'The running water symbolizes the passing on of generations, one following another. The little child looks on the water and sees its own likeness, as it will see that likeness in its children and children's children. The face of Tiráwa atius is there also, giving promise that the life of the child shall go on, as the waters flow over the land' (A. C. Fletcher, *22 RBEW*, pt. 2 [1904], pp. 233, 241).

The most notable development of this conception is among the Indians of the North-West, where masked shamans personate mythic powers, and among the Pueblo Indians, with whom veritable mysteries are enacted by the priesthoods—tests of initiation implying at least some degree of participation in the supernatural character represented (see J. W. Fewkes, *15 RBEW* [1897] and *21 RBEW*; M. C. Stevenson, *23 RBEW* [1904]; J. R. Swanton, *26 RBEW* [1908]).

It is not without significance that the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa was regarded by his followers as an incarnation of Manabozho. For Manabozho is the demiurge, the servant of the Good Manitou, through whose labours power has been brought from heaven to earth, and the life of man made tolerable—and it is in this capacity of creator and mediator that Manabozho holds a central place in the *Midē* rites. And not only was Tenskwatawa himself an incarnation of this demiurge, so that 'his words were believed to be the direct utterances of a deity,' but his body was regarded as transubstantiated in 'four strings of beans, which we were told were made of the flesh itself of the prophet'; these

> 'were carried with much solemnity to each man in the lodge, and he was expected to take hold of each string at the top, and draw them gently through his hand. This was called shaking hands with the prophet, and was considered as solemnly engaging to obey his injunctions, and accept his mission as from the Supreme' (J. Mooney, *14 RBEW*, pt. 2 [1896], pp. 675, 678 f.).

It is with Manabozho, again, that Longfellow identifies the Iroquoian chief and prophet Hiawatha—possibly with some traditional right, since the Iroquoian demiurge is very similar to the Algonquian.

The Aztec myth of Quetzalcoatl is a typical case of belief in re-embodiment. This deity-god of the winds, closely associated with the quetzal (*Pharomacrus moccino*), which was his emblem, was the ruler of Anahuac in a golden age of peace and plenty; driven thence by the conquering Tezcatlipoca, he set sail, over the eastern waters, for the land of Tlapallan, promising one day to return and rule again, king of a re-juvenated realm. The appearance of Cortes was mistaken for the millennial return of this deity, re-embodied in his ancient form, for he was traditionally bearded and light of hue—a fact which modified the resistance offered to the Spaniards by the superstitious Montezuma. Possibly Quetzalcoatl is but the personification of the quetzal itself (to which temples were erected as far south as Guatemala), regarded as a symbol of the Sun, and, like the phœnix, periodically dying to be born again. The plumes of the quetzal were insignia of the Mexican rulers, and it is an interesting analogy that the Peruvian Incas wore as a special sign feathers of the 'coraquenque,' of which they supposed but a single pair to exist, the earthly representatives of their sun-descended ancestors, Manco Ccapac and his spouse (see Garcilasso, *Royal Commentaries*, VI. xxviii.).

The Aztec deity Huitzilopochtli is another deity regarded as having once been an earthly hero, to whom 'after his death they rendered the honours of godship, making him offerings of slaves' (Sahagun, I. i.). A very curious rite in his service was his symbolic slaying, an elaborate effigy being made of cereals, into the heart of which a dart was plunged by a man personating Quetzalcoatl. Afterwards the body was eaten, but the participants in this strange sacrament were compelled to undergo such penance that, says Sahagun, they sometimes fled the country, preferring death at the hands of their enemies (III. i.).

This god, like many another god and wizard, possessed the shape-shifting power; and from this to belief in transmigration and reincarnation is a step the Indians were certain to take. 'They believe that souls enter other bodies after death' is the simple form in which this general notion is expressed by the Jesuits (Thwaites, xv. 183). The most primitive and crude form in which the idea appears is in that form of cannibalism which consists in eating the bodies of deceased relatives, in order that their 'life' may be transmitted to the partakers. This custom appears only among the lower peoples, chiefly in S. America, one form of it, interesting as probably representing a transition from the cruder forms noted by Garcilasso, being that of the Yapura river tribes, who burn the bones of their dead and then mingle the ashes with their drink.

An interesting custom in this connexion is the rite of bestowing the name of the deceased upon another person, who is then supposed to have assumed the dead person's character:

> 'It has often been said that the dead were brought to life by making the living bear their names. This is done for several reasons—to revive the memory of a brave man, and to incite him who shall bear his name to imitate his courage; to take revenge upon the enemies, for he who takes the name of a man killed in battle binds himself to avenge his death; to assist the family of a dead man, because he who brings him back to life, and who represents him, assumes all the duties of the deceased, feeding his children as if he were their own father—in fact, they call him their father, and he calls them his children. Mothers or other relatives who love a son, or a daughter, or any of their kindred, cause such persons to be resuscitated, through a desire to see them close by them—transferring the affection that they felt for the deceased to the persons who take their names (Thwaites, xxii. 289; cf. xxvi. 155–63, where the ceremony of resuscitating a chieftain is described in detail).

Nor must we forget the Indian messiah of the 'Ghost-Dance Religion,' who taught that the Indian dead were to be resurrected, the old life restored, and even the buffalo and other game of former days to be brought back in the body (see *14 RBEW*, pt. 2). Christian influences were at work here, but they fell on well-prepared aboriginal ground.

See also POSSESSION, REINCARNATION.

LITERATURE.—In addition to authorities cited in the article, see list appended to COMMUNION WITH DEITY (American).

H. B. ALEXANDER.

INCARNATION (Buddhist).

—I. It has been held that certain Australian tribes deny all connexion between conception and sexual intercourse, and believe that the spirit—an animal totem or the soul of an ancestor—takes its place in the womb of the mother in accordance with certain mysterious laws and under certain trees, without the normal intervention of any physical cause.[1] The savage theories of conception, however, do not necessarily imply such ignorance of physiological laws. It would be more accurate to say that many primitive peoples believe in the pre-existence of the soul of the child, and hold that it is independent of the soul and life of the parents. From all time it has been accepted as a fact that only divine union is always productive—*οὐκ ἀποφώλιοι εὐναὶ ἀθανάτων* (Hom. *Od.* xi. 249)—and from this it has been logically concluded in Australia and India that sexual intercourse, though it may condition conception, is not the cause of it. A living and intelligent germ is necessary. The Brāhmans thought that this germ was a soul descended from the moon through air, smoke, rain, rice, and seminal fluid. Among the Australians and Hindus the belief was that a kind of spirit, a totem or a *gandharva*, lay in wait for a suitable opportunity to penetrate the womb of some woman and so become reincarnated.

According to Buddhist belief, three causes are necessary to conception: (1) that the father and mother have intercourse, (2) that the mother fulfil her time, and (3) that a *gandharva* should be in readiness. Such is, in so many words, the reply of the Buddha when he is asked how children are born (*Majjhima*, ii. 156; *Divyāvadāna*, 440; *Milinda*, 123). In scholastic circles this *gandharva* is given a name which is really a definition—*antarābhava*, an intermediary being, succeeding the *maraṇabhava*, 'the being in the dying state' or 'death,' and preceding the *upapattibhava*, 'the being in the state of being born' or 'conception.'

[1] See, *e.g.*, S. Reinach on the Ratapas, in *CAIBL* xl. (1912).

A certain sect possesses a *sūtra*, which is lacking in the Pāli canon, where the Buddha speaks of the *antarābhava*; the Pāli canonical sources mention only the *gandharva*.

2. All sects do not believe in the *antarābhava*.

In this connexion we might quote more particularly the case of the Mahāsāṁgikas (W. Wassilieff, *Buddhismus*, St. Petersburg, 1860, pp. 266, 274, 281; W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, London, 1884, p. 191) and the school of the Kathāvatthu (viii. 2; cf. xiv. 2). In the time of Vasubandhu (3rd–4th cent. A.D. [?]) a certain sect of India proper considered the doctrine of the *antarābhava* heretical, and its arguments coincide in many respects with those of Tissa-Buddhaghoṣa (Kathāvatthu); but, while the Pāli school preserves the traditional text: 'Three causes are necessary . . . that a *gandharva* should be in readiness,' the Sanskrit scholars, who deny the existence of the *antarābhava*, read: '. . . that a being in the dying state (*maraṇabhava*). . . .' They believe that, just as an object projects its reflexion directly and without intermediary on a mirror, so the constituent elements (*skandhas*) of the dying being are immediately replaced by other elements, situated in a suitable womb, which form a new being who inherits the *karma* of the dying being. It is in this sense that we must understand H. C. Warren's formula (*Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1900, p. 234): 'Rebirth is not transmigration' (see the long and interesting discussion in *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Fr. tr., London, 1914, p. 16f.).

3. The belief in the *antarābhava*, however, is not contradictory to the doctrine of non-identity or to the denial of 'transmigration' (*saṁkrama*), *i.e.* the passage of a person (*pudgala*), or *skandhas* (the five constituents of the ego), from one existence to another. The *skandhas* do not pass from one existence to another, but, as a flame, continually renewed, sweeps over the whole prairie, so the *skandhas* of the dying being engender the *skandhas* of the intermediary being, which, being continually renewed, finally arrive at the point where they are to enter a womb and engender the *skandhas* of the new being.

The *sūtra* (*Dīgha*, ii. 63), as a matter of fact, speaks only of the 'descent of the *vijñāna* into the womb,' *i.e.* the descent of 'thought,' 'the spiritual element,' 'the series of thoughts'; but here, we are told, we must understand by *vijñāna* the five *skandhas*. In the sphere of desire and matter (*kāma*°, *rūpadhātu*; see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist], vol. iv. p. 130), thought is too weak to exist without the support of matter.

The opinion, common to several European writers, that only the *karma* is reincarnated, would be of more weight if confirmed by undisputed texts. In cases where the existence of the intermediary being is denied, it is believed that the *skandhas* of the dying being project their substitutes into the womb, and such *skandhas* indeed—infernal, brute, human, or divine—as the retribution of *karma* requires. But it is not to be explained how a *karma* could exist independently of the *skandhas*, or produce the *skandhas*.

4. The intermediary being is 'projected' by the same *karma* as projects the future existence. It will in consequence have the form and aspect of the future being, *i.e.* it will be infernal, human, divine, and so on, according to the nature of the future being. Its dimensions are those of a child of 5 or 6. Its organs are developed; *e.g.*, the intermediary being which is to generate a Bodhisattva bears all the marks of a Bodhisattva. It penetrates the womb, not along with aliments, but by the natural way; that is why the second-born of twins is considered the elder. The body of the intermediary being is transparent and subtle and is 'not susceptible to touch.' Nothing can stop its progress towards the place of its birth, since it is armed with the magic power of *karma*; it feeds on the aliment called 'in mouthfuls' (contrasted with touch, joy, etc.), but only on the subtle part of it, viz. the smell (*gandha*), from which it derives its name, *gandharva*, 'smell eater.' Some say there is no fixed rule as to how long this being lasts; it simply exists till the conditions requisite for conception are realized, *e.g.* till the union of the animal, human, or divine couple of the species it is to belong to is completed, or else, in the case of beings born of heat, *i.e.* from the exudation of the elements (*saṁsvedaja*), till masses of flesh in a state of decomposition permit of its incarnation as a worm, and so on. Others maintain that the intermediary being lives seven days. If, at the end of this time, incarnation has been impossible, it dies and is reborn for another week. Others put the length of the period at seven weeks. Instead of being reincarnated as an ox, a dog, or a black bear, it may be reincarnated as a buffalo, a jackal, or a brown bear, if it is not the season for oxen, etc. But the animal class may be definitely determined; in this case the *karma* which has determined the intermediary being will bring about the realization of the causes necessary to incarnation, irrespective of season.

5. How is the intermediary being incarnated? With an eye born of the force of *karma*, it recognizes, even from a great distance, the place where it is to be born and where its father and mother are united. When it is female, it conceives a desire for the father; when it is male, for the mother. Troubled by thoughts of love and hate, it hovers round the place of its birth; in its desire for the delights of love, it imagines that it is the agent, and it enters into the impurity (seminal fluid and blood) already formed in the womb. The *skandhas* of the intermediary being then grow hard; it dies, and conception takes place. Conception presupposes also the destruction of the elements of productivity—sperm and blood; the first cause of the embryo is the intermediary being, for sperm and blood are devoid of thought. This is how the beings which are to be born out of the chorion or the egg are incarnated.

Those which are to be born of the exudation of the elements are attracted by smell. There is a fourth matrix (*yoni*) or category of birth: the apparitional beings (*aupapāduka*, *i.e.* 'easily born') which come to life instantaneously, with all their organs intact, and all their members and sub-members complete. To this category belong the gods, the beings of the lower world, the intermediary beings themselves, and some privileged men, who are born without the aid of blood, seminal fluid, or the exudation of the elements. The intermediary beings who are to be born in this way are attracted to the place of their birth by a desire to be in a special place or to dwell in a certain abode, *e.g.* the nether world. 'How does the future infernal being come to desire to dwell in the lower regions? He is troubled in spirit, he thinks he is tormented by icy wind and rain, and he sees the fires of hell burning; his desire for heat hastens him thither. The inverse takes place in the case of the cold infernal regions' (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Fr. tr., p. 26). In this class, incarnation is rapid, for it depends solely on the conditions proper to the intermediary being itself. For the beings born in what is called the 'immaterial' domain (*ārūpya*; see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist], vol. iv. p. 130), the intermediary being is useless. Under the very tree where the saint dies in meditation, and at the very moment of his death, he begins an existence above and beyond space.

6. A detailed account of the incarnation of the 'future Buddha' (Bodhisattva [*q.v.*]) would require too much space, so we must be content with indicating a few of the chief points, some of them unpublished as yet.

(*a*) The old school, represented in this case at least by the Sanskrit school of Abhidharma, makes no essential distinction between the incarnation of the Bodhisattva and that of other men:

'Which is the best of all matrices (*yoni*)? The apparitional matrix (*aupapāduka*). It is exempt from sperm, blood, and all foreign matter on which an intermediary being could fix. Why then did the Bodhisattva at his last birth choose the matrix of the chorion (*jarāyu*)? He possesses the "mastery" over birth, *i.e.* he can be born where he wills. Because he saw the great advantages of being born of the chorion, the advantage of binding the great family of Śākyas by ties of parentship to the Dharma, the advantage of inspiring with respect the people who would say of him: "He belongs to a family of Sovereign Kings (*chakravartin*)," the advantage of encouraging the faithful who would say: "He is a man; even men can attain to this perfection." If he had neither race nor family, people would ask: "Who is he? A magical man or a demoniacal being (*piśācha*)?"—There is another explanation: nothing remains of the bodies of apparitional beings at death, just as no oil remains in the lamp at morning. Now, the Bodhisattva wanted to leave behind him at death remains through the worship of which thousands of men could gain heaven and deliverance. That is the reason why he was born of the chorion. But this explanation cannot be accepted by the Buddhists, who attribute to the Buddha a magic power of creation; he could have created remains' (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Fr. tr., p. 14).

The Bodhisattva, however, is not incarnated in exactly the same way as the intermediary beings destined for the human race. These generally enter the womb under the impression that it is a hut to protect them from rain and cold (in the case of common beings), or a palace (in the case of noble beings). The Sovereign Kings enter the womb knowing that they are entering it. So also do the Pratyekabuddhas, who in addition, while remaining, know that they are there. The Buddhas alone enter the womb, remain there, and leave it in full consciousness of what they are doing.

The future Bodhisattva does not assume an animal form to penetrate the womb of the mother, the vision of Māyā (in which the Bodhisattva becomes a white elephant with six tusks) being merely a portent of the future.

(*b*) The Great Vehicle, in its first stages (viewed from the logical point of view), continues to believe that the Bodhisattva is a man, 'not a god.' Men must not be given the chance of thinking 'we are only men, incapable of fulfilling this task, incapable of reaching this state of perfection' (*Lalitavistara*, 87 f.). But the blessed or noble (*bhadrika*) character of his descent into and sojourn in the womb is insisted on; he is not soiled by the impurities of the womb or by excremental matter. The question of the 'virginity' of Māyā, of the absence of blood and seminal fluid, has been settled, since Māyā (*Lalitavistara*, 42. 9) takes the octuple vow before conception; but the author of the *Lalitavistara* does not press the point.

The *Mahāvastu*, the *Suvarṇa*, etc., hold that the Buddha is born as an apparitional being; his body is, therefore, defined as 'spiritual' (*manomaya*), which means 'produced by the spirit' without the aid of the elements of generation. It follows from this that there are no remains of his body after death.

The Bodhisattva was also regarded as a magical apparition (*nirmita*), the unreal reflexion of the true body which is resplendent in the Tuṣita heaven or in the distant and colossal empyrean familiar to the later *sūtras* (*Saddharma*).

LITERATURE.—E. Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung*, Leipzig, 1908 (numerous Buddhist, Brāhman, and medical sources); A. Barth, in *Journal des Savants*, August, 1899; L. de la Vallée Poussin, in *JA* ii. [1902] 294, *JRAS*, 1897, p. 466, *Théorie des douze causes*, London, 1913, pp. 12, 127, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Fr. tr., London, 1914; H. Oldenberg, *Religion du Veda*, tr. V. Henry, Paris, 1903, p. 209; T. W. Rhys Davids, in *JRAS*, 1899, p. 79; H. A. Jaeschke, *Tib.-Eng. Dictionary*, London, 1881, p. 367; Sarat Chandra, *Tib. Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 867; *Mīmāṃsāślokavārttika*, Benares, 1898, p. 703; *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, MS, Cambridge, fol. 144a; *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, ii. 3 (*SBE* xlv. [1895] 393); *Mahābhārata*, iii. 183. 76, xii. 298. 18 (E. W. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, New York, 1902, pp. 39, 175; *JAOS* xxii. [1901] 372); *Anugītā*, iii. (*SBE* viii. [1898] 241); *Praśastapādabhāṣya*, Benares, 1895, p. 83.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

INCARNATION (Chinese).—Incarnation in anything like the meaning attached to that term in Christian theology is unknown in Chinese religious thought. We find there the idea of human beings elevated to the sphere of the divine in the case of those worthies who are worshipped with divine honours. We find also the idea of the manifestation of spiritual beings, or the possession by them of human persons who are their mediums in such a way that the spiritual power may be regarded as temporarily resident in the medium; but in neither is there any approach to the thought of true incarnation.

When we disregard the secondary spiritual powers and confine ourselves to the consideration of Shang Ti, we find that the idea of the Incarnation of the Supreme is as remote from Chinese religious thought. We have, it is true, such ideas as occur in connexion with the birth of Hou Chi.

> 'The first birth of our people was from Chiang Yüan. How did she give birth to our people? She had presented a pure offering and sacrificed, that her childlessness might be taken away. She then trod on a toe-print made by God (Ti),[1] and was moved, in the large place where she rested. She became pregnant; she dwelt retired; she gave birth to and nourished a son who was Hou Chi. When she had fulfilled her months, her first-born son came forth like a lamb. There was no bursting, nor rending, no injury, no hurt—showing how wonderful he would be. Did not God (Shang Ti) give her the comfort? Had He not accepted her pure offering and sacrifice, so that thus easily she brought forth her son?' (*Shi King*, pt. iii. bk. ii. ode 1 [*SBE* iii.^{2} (1899) 396 f.]).

But the idea of supernatural conception and birth must be distinguished from the idea of incarnation. The former does not imply the latter, and of the latter idea, understood as Shang Ti becoming man and revealing himself in and through the development of a human personality, there is no trace in Chinese thought.

The classical conception of Shang Ti is remarkably high. Physical anthropomorphism is restrained, and no image of Shang Ti has ever been made; but he is freely spoken of as an ethical being, righteous and loving. As the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation, then, finds its fundamental Biblical presupposition in the conception of man as made in the image of God, so, if within the circle of Chinese religious ideas it seeks a point of attachment, it must find such a point in the ethical affinity of Shang Ti and man, which, *e.g.*, makes Shang Ti the ethical standard for man's imitation (*Shi King*, pt. iii. bk. i. ode 7), and underlies the thought of the Emperor, in so far as he is worthy of his position, being, like the theocratic King of Israel, the Son of Heaven. Perhaps, also, there might be brought into connexion with the cosmical significance of the Incarnation the conception in 'The Doctrine of the Mean' of the Sage, in whom the principles involved in nature are brought to perfection, and who in turn brings to perfection the world of men and things.

P. J. MACLAGAN.

INCARNATION (Egyptian).—The ancient Egyptians had great difficulty in forming abstract or general conceptions,[1] therein resembling certain negro races who to this day do not frame such general terms as, *e.g.*, 'woman' or 'crocodile,' but think always of a particular woman or a particular crocodile.[2] Like children, therefore, they found it difficult to think of an ego or self as an integrating conception, and instead of saying 'I see,' 'you walk,' 'he strikes,' they said 'my eyes see,' 'your legs walk,' 'his hand strikes.'[3] Similarly, they lacked originally the concepts 'all' and 'whole'; so that, instead of the expression 'all men,' they used the phrases 'each men,' or, more commonly, 'each eyes,' 'each legs,' etc., according to the bodily organ concerned in the particular case. For 'whole' they had no distinct term, but expressed the idea by some such circumlocution as 'to its limit,' 'to its extent,' 'in its scope.'[4]

This inability to frame abstract ideas operated powerfully upon the formation of religious conceptions among the Egyptians. The thought of a more or less abstract deity, exercising his power in a transcendental manner, was entirely foreign to the Egyptian mind. Even a supreme being was conceivable only as a concrete existence. In order that such a being might conform to earthly norms, it must have earthly attributes, and give effect to its powers by earthly means. The Egyptian deities were accordingly thought of as being embodied in men, or in animals, or, though less frequently, in plants, and even in things fashioned by human hands, such as statues, obelisks, houses, and temples. A deity had to eat and drink;[5] he lived and died. He was, therefore, always connected with a particular locality. If he went elsewhere, he deserted his previous locality, as he could not in his complete individuality be present in different places at one and the same time. If he desired to hear or to see, he required ears or eyes; and while, *e.g.*, ears were ascribed to a deity in large numbers[1] in order that he might perceive more sounds and words than human beings can perceive, yet the faculty was of limited range. It is true that certain texts speak occasionally of a deity as omnipresent and omnipotent, but these passages are in reality invocations designed to flatter that particular deity, and to induce him to maintain his reputation as a supreme power by granting his suppliant's prayer.[2] The conception of a truly omnipotent deity was one that the Egyptians never attained; and that the ostensible references to such are, after all, but phrases to which no real conviction attached is made quite clear by the fact that similar qualities were ascribed to the reigning Pharaoh in the panegyrics of his subjects.[3]

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[1] 'Made by God' is by some Chinese authorities translated 'made by the sovereign' and so this element of the supernatural is eliminated.

[1] A. Wiedemann, *Muséon*, x. [1891] 42 f.

[2] K. Weule, *Negerleben in Ostafrika*^{2}, Leipzig, 1909, p. 56.

[3] Cf. E. de Rougé, *Chrestomathie égyptienne*, ii. [Paris, 1868] 54 ff.

[4] Examples, *ib.* p. 91 ff.

[5] According to C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Berlin, 1851–59, iii. 30*b*, line 16, each of the four obelisks of Thutmosis III. in Thebes received as sacrificial offerings a hundred loaves and four pitchers of beer.

When the Egyptians sought to attribute a more universal character to a deity in a precise and complete sense, they had to resort to a kind of syncretism. They fabricated a number of figures as manifestations of the deity, and as bearing in that capacity various names (*ren-u*). To the Egyptian mind, however, the 'name' was not, as in modern languages, a general term. It was a thing by itself, and independent of the object which it denoted, and it possessed an immortality of its own.[4] It was related in the closest way to what it signified, but was not identical with it. To have knowledge of a name was to have power over its bearer, but in certain cases the name might continue to exist apart from the latter. The 'name,' in fact, was related to its bearer in some such way as the *ka*, the *ba*, and other immortal elements were related to the individual human being.

The several 'names' of a deity were not simple incarnations thereof, but were generally distinct personalities. Thus, if Isis was designated by, and worshipped under, various epithets, such as Hathor, Mut, etc., these were not regarded as mere emanations existing in and through Isis, but were figures complete in themselves and endowed with a power and activity of their own. The Egyptians did homage to each by itself, and did not think of such homage as accorded to the central deity. When they wished to worship Isis herself, they required to direct their thoughts specially to her. The primary deity always remained a unity, neither surrendering any of his distinctive characteristics to the subsidiary figures, nor taking from them any of their attributes or achievements.

In order that a deity might exercise his power at a particular place, he required a material body, which served him for a longer or shorter period as a vesture or embodiment; and, by way of facilitating such material manifestation, the temples were furnished with statues or symbols which corresponded to his supposed corporeal form, and could, accordingly, be used by him at once as a place of sojourn. When such object had been animated by the presence of the deity, it was regarded as actually the deity himself. But a material tenement of this kind was not absolutely necessary. Thus the god of Edfu, in order to help the sun-god against his enemies, assumed the form of a winged solar disk, and thereafter some portion of his divinity always inhered in this new figure, which, accordingly, became one of the most potent apotropæic symbols in the religion of Egypt.[1] In exactly the same way statues and symbols likewise permanently retained something of the divine personality. They became separate deities, whose existence in no way interfered with the continued existence of the original deity as an integral entity, or with his capacity to become incarnate in similar fashion at another place. Here we encounter a mode of thinking which is found among many other peoples, viz. the belief that in the painted figure, or even in a mere reflexion, there inheres permanently a part of the personality of the original, though without in any way taking from the latter any portion of his individuality.

Such modes of thought explain the rise of numerous distinct forms of one and the same deity in a single locality, and also, when once he had become embodied there in various objects, their continued co-existence. The several forms were differentiated from one another either by the attributes which the deity had manifested in his various embodiments or by the sacred localities from which he had been derived under a certain characteristic, and at which he usually resided in a particular form. Each of these forms of the original deity had a distinct individuality. They were represented side by side in long rows of statues or reliefs, or else were enumerated in extensive lists.[2]

So far as a deity was not compelled by incantations to abide in a particular place in order to serve the purposes of the person casting the spell, the choice among the various available forms of incarnation lay with the deity himself. By means of certain spells, a dead man, being endowed with magical powers, could, after his resurrection to life, avail himself of existing embodiments or not, having the power to assume whatever forms he liked, as that of a bird, a serpent, a crocodile, the god Ptah, etc., and was subject to no compulsion in the matter.

What we find here is not metempsychosis, but the capacity of the dead to incarnate themselves as they willed. The number of possible transformations was unlimited. It is true that the *Book of the Dead*[3] gives only a few—about twelve—but these are merely a selection of peculiarly important forms, and by no means exhaust the series. The fact that in a text of late origin[4] the regular twelve transformations are brought into relation with the twelve hours of the day doubtless points to a later attempt to reduce the forms to a scheme. But the arrangement of the relative chapters in the *Book of the Dead* shows no uniformity, and the forms given in that text are not exhaustive, while such a relation between forms and hours is nowhere else referred to.

The dead might also assume a human form. Thus, in the first tale of Setna, Ahure becomes incarnate in Tabubuë, and Neferkaptah in an old man. In this narrative, indeed, even the pieces of a game have incarnations as the fifty-two human menials of Tabubuë.[1] The same text tells us that Ahure and her child Merab lay buried in Koptos, and yet that they repose in the tomb of the husband and father. They desire that their mummies should likewise be brought to the tomb—a desire all the more natural because the mummy was regarded as the principal form in which the dead became incarnate; it was a vesture which he could restore to life, and in which he could once more move about.

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[1] A god with 77 eyes and 77 ears is met with in the Magic Papyrus Harris (vii. 6), ed. F. J. Chabas, *Le Papyrus magique Harris*, Châlon-sur-Saône, 1860, p. 99; cf. E. A. W. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1910, pl. 26, p. 26.

[2] Cf. the remarks in the art. God (Egyptian), vol. vi. p. 276.

[3] Papyrus Anastasi, ii. pl. 6, line 3 ff. = iv. pl. 5, line 6 ff.; cf. G. Maspero, *Du Genre épistolaire chez les anciens Égyptiens*, Paris, 1872, p. 79 f.

[4] Wiedemann, *Die Amulette der alten Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 16, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, Eng. tr., London, 1897, p. 293 ff., in *Muséon*, xv. [1896] 49 ff., and in *L'Égypte*, i. [Alexandria, 1895] 573 ff.

[1] H. E. Naville, *Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus*, Geneva, 1870, pl. 12 ff.; tr. H. Brugsch, 'Die Sage von der geflügelten Sonnenscheibe,' in *AGG* xiv. [1869] 173–236.

[2] *e.g.*, the rows of statues exhibiting the forms of the goddess Sechet in Karnak, founded by Amenophis III., and completed by Sheshonk I.; cf. P. E. Newberry, in *PSBA* xxv. [1903] 217 ff., M. Benson and J. Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher*, London, 1889, pp. 31, 41, 248. Some of the figures in that series bore no distinguishing epithet, and were manifestly intended to represent new, and not as yet distinctive, types of incarnation assumed by the goddess. For a series of reliefs representing forms of Amon, cf., *e.g.*, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 36*c*, *d*. For lists of the forms of Osiris, see the *Book of the Dead*, cxlii.—a chapter which can be traced as far back as the Theban period; cf. the important list in W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, Leyden, 1869–76, pls. 11–13, p. 22 ff.

[3] lxxvi.–lxxxviii. The texts of the *Book of the Dead* dating from the Middle Kingdom devote numerous chapters to the subject; cf. the enumeration given by G. Röder, in *ARW* xvi. [1913] 79 f.

[4] Brugsch, *ZÄ* v. [1867] 21–26; Wiedemann, *ib.* xvi. [1878] 96 f.

The mummy was subject to bodily needs, and the more mobile *ba*-soul is depicted as conveying bread and water to it through the shaft of the tomb.[2] Of equal importance with the mummy were the statues,[3] which in the Old Kingdom were erected in the *serdab*, and sometimes also in the chamber of worship; in later times mainly in the latter. They were sometimes given a place in the temple,[4] where, being near the gods, they could more naturally look for a share in the sacrificial gifts than in a tomb situated at a distance. In particular, statues were placed in temples by kings as marks of special distinction for men of merit.[5]

The dead man, moreover, had a singular power of incarnation in relation to the reliefs in his tomb. When he uttered his magic formula, the incidents portrayed in the reliefs became real. He incarnated himself in his own figure, and at the same time compelled the other persons and the animals and things depicted in the relief to become embodied in theirs, and to perform the actions represented.[6] To the same mode of thought belonged the notion that a magician could by means of spells change the wax figure of a crocodile into a real crocodile.[7]

If beatified men could thus become incarnate in so great a variety of forms, there can be no doubt that the same capacity was assigned to the gods also, though it is true that our documents furnish no lists of the forms usually or possibly assumed by the individual deities, or of the magic formulæ employed by them in order to assume such incarnations.

Of more importance among the forms of incarnation resorted to by the gods were the sacred animals. This idea was not indigenous to Egypt. The god-animals were originally the independent deities of the primitive inhabitants. The normally anthropomorphic and spiritually conceived deities introduced into the country during the Nagada period by the invading and conquering peoples were brought into relation with the old indigenous objects of worship.[8] The deity of a conquering tribe that settled in a particular locality was declared to be identical with the sacred animal hitherto worshipped there, and the latter was thereafter regarded as his material manifestation. But the deity did not thereby surrender his independent existence. Thus we find, besides the Ptah incarnate in Apis, the god Ptah; and, besides the ram Amon, the god Amon. In these identifications of deity and animal, no attention was paid to possible differences in the distinctive properties of the associated pair, and this inherent disparity, as we might expect, permanently stood in the way of a real fusion between the primitive and the incarnate deity. Even when the similarity of the two was more marked, as in the case of the hawk of Edfu and the sun-god, they still maintained a mutually independent existence. The incarnation, in fact, added a fresh and independent by-form to the deity, but the distinct individuality of the latter remained as before.

These ideas emanate directly from the Egyptian conception of what is involved in personality. Man was not in himself an integral unity, nor, by analogy, was any other existent being. Each individual existence was rather a mosaic-like complex of various severally independent constituents which merely happened to be conjoined in a particular body, but was not in its own being dependent upon that body or its continued existence. Thus, in the individual human personality there were, besides the body, the various constituents of the soul—the *ka*, the *ba*, the *sechem*, etc.[1]—which, while conjoined in the man during life, first attained complete independence after death, each of them then repairing to the world beyond in order that, according to the Osirian doctrine of immortality, it might, as a result of the judgment before Osiris, be once more united with the rest in the personality so restored in the realm of the dead. In beings of a higher rank, such as kings and gods, the partition of the soul was carried still further. These had not simply a single *ka* and *ba*, but several of each, and in these the various attributes combined in the divine person were at a later date supposed to be severally incarnated.[2]

A crucial instance of the distinct individuality of these elements is found in the idea that the divinity of the king might be detached even from himself. In this case the divine personality is figured as a man bearing a general resemblance to the earthly ruler, but sometimes it wears other crowns besides his, and it seldom has even the hawk's head corresponding to the hawk-soul of the Pharaoh. It receives sacrificial offerings from the king himself, and bestows upon him heavenly gifts.[3] The proper divinity of the Pharaoh is embodied in this figure, but such disengagement of a part of the monarch's personality in no way diminishes his own individuality. The sacrificing king remains in himself complete, and is in no sense a merely partial or fragmentary being.

The *ka* of the Pharaoh is often represented as a little child—less frequently as a grown man[4]—who walks behind the king, bearing the royal *ka*-name on his head, and carrying the royal symbols. It sometimes appears also as the hieroglyphic transcript of the *ka*-name, furnished with arms in order to hold the symbols.[5] Here the incarnation of the *ka*-element in a hieroglyphic expression is effected in the same way as the individual life, power, stability, etc., of the king are embodied in the hieroglyphs for 'life,' 'power,' 'stability,' etc., which are fitted with arms and legs, and carry symbols of the monarch.[6]

Further, attributes which seem to us purely abstract were regarded as becoming incarnate, as, *e.g.*, the divine protection, which was embodied in the blood of Isis, and is represented by the knot-amulet *tet*. This amulet likewise is fitted with hands,[7] or, in some instances, with a head.[1] Similarly, incarnate forms of various senses and ideas, as taste and feeling,[2] hearing and sight, year, eternity, infinity, joy,[3] male and female darkness,[4] etc., are met with as deities to whom homage is paid, and who are, therefore, expected to manifest an individual activity in favour of the suppliant. Of such forms the most frequently mentioned is Truth, who became a goddess—the Maāt worshipped in a number of temples as a woman with the symbol for 'truth' upon her head.[5] Further, the particular truth which dwelt in a particular man or deity could become incarnate in a similar figure, and this type of truth might be eaten or drunk, while the king might offer it to the deity.[6]

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[1] G. Maspero, *Contes populaires*[4], Paris, 1911, p. 123 ff., where further literature on the text is cited. On the figures used as 'men,' cf. Wiedemann, *Altägyp. Sagen und Märchen*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 136.

[2] Vignette in the Papyrus Nebket in the Louvre, ed. T. Devéria and P. Pierret, *Le Papyrus de Neb-Qed*, Paris, 1872, pl. 3.

[3] On these, cf. Maspero, *Études de mythologie*, i. [Paris, 1893] 53 ff., 77 ff.

[4] Cf. the numerous statues of private persons in the hiding-place at Karnak, in G. Legrain, 'Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers' (*Cat. du Musée du Caire*, i. [Cairo, 1906], ii. [1909]).

[5] *e.g.* Legrain, *op. cit.* i. 23, 79.

[6] Cf. Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, i. [Paris, 1886] 193 f., *Études de mythologie*, vi. [do. 1912] 398 f.

[7] Papyrus Westcar; cf. Maspero, *Contes populaires*[4], p. 27 f.

[8] Wiedemann, *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 27 ff.

[1] Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, Eng. tr., London, 1895, also in *Congrès provincial des Orientalistes*, St. Étienne, 1878, p. 159 ff., and in *Muséon*, xv. [1896] 46 ff.

[2] Lists of the sun-god's 14 *kas*, in F. W. von Bissing, *SMA*, 1911, no. 5, pp. 5, 12 f. The sun-god, moreover, had seven *bas* (J. Dümichen, *Altägyp. Tempelinschriften*, i., Leipzig, 1867, pl. 29; cf. P. Le Page Renouf, *Life Work*, ii. [Paris, 1903] 241; Brugsch, *Hieroglyph.-demot. Wörterbuch*, Suppl. vii. [Leipzig, 1882] 997, and R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, Turin, 1881–86, p. 1205). We read often of the *ba-u* (pl.) of the king, though their precise number is not given.

[3] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 85*a*, 189, 191.

[4] *Ib.* iii. 78*e*.

[5] Cf. the illustrations in W. M. F. Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, London, 1888, pl. 20, p. 22; well-defined illustrations in Lepsius, iii. 20*a*, 21, 55*b*, 61.

[6] As in Lepsius, iii. 36*a*; A. Mariette, *Abydos*, i., Paris, 1869, pls. 28, 32; E. Naville, *The Festival-hall of Osorkon II.*, London, 1892, pls. 1, 9, 14; Lepsius, iii. 209*b*; Mariette, *Dendérah*, i., Paris, 1870, pls. 13, 38, 44, 45, iv., 1873, pls. 2, 12.

[7] *Book of the Dead*, clvi.; cf. the vignette in Naville, *Das ägyp. Todtenbuch der XVIII–XX Dynastie*, Berlin, 1886, i. pl. 105.

The possible co-existence of a number of individually distinct entities in another being which yet maintained an existence independent of them is seen also in a curious conception of the royal person. The Pharaoh comprised in himself the kings of Upper and of Lower Egypt, each of whom retained his own individuality. The monarch not only bore the titles and dignities that severally belonged to the two provinces, and had a double house and a double treasury, but, as king of either province, he also offered two distinct sacrifices, and in some instances had two tombs,[7] which, as it would seem, belonged severally to the king of Upper Egypt and the king of Lower Egypt.

The king was regarded as of divine origin, and even as a god. In this aspect, however, he was not merely the incarnate form of a particular deity, but was a new addition to the pantheon—one who, clothed in a human form and born of a human mother, lived as a man amongst men, and yet could associate with the other gods on a footing of perfect equality. At death he discarded his purely human traits, though he did not completely surrender his human nature. In the earlier period, he was supposed to eat the older gods, thereby acquiring their peculiar qualities, and so becoming the supreme divinity.[8] In later times the process of complete deification after death, by which he became a kind of Osiris, is not depicted in detail.

The Pharaoh owed his divine nature to his having been begotten by a god—a transaction which is often brought clearly before us.[9] When the procreation of a new deity had been resolved upon by the higher powers, the god Rā or Amon-Rā assumed the form of the reigning king, and visited the queen upon her couch in the palace. He revealed to her his divine character; his love suffused her person, and he begot the coming ruler, and decided what his name should be. So far, however, the god had implanted in the mother only the divine element of the son. He now commissioned the god Khnuphis to form the child's bodily members, and accordingly that deity fashioned the body of the future ruler, as also that of his *ka*, which was of like shape with himself,[1] upon the potter's wheel, while a goddess bestowed life upon these fresh creations.[2] Then at length the child was born in the presence of, and with the aid of, various gods and goddesses.

The circumstance that, when the god begot the child, only the divine element of the latter was created enables us to understand why occasionally not merely a single deity was implicated in the act, but why all the gods might claim to have begotten the Pharaoh,[3] and to exist in him. To the purely concrete mode of thought characteristic of the Egyptians such an infusion of deity could be most simply represented after the manner of a procreation. It was only in respect of this divine element, and not in respect of the whole divine personality, that the god became incarnate in the king.

That a mere particle of divinity sufficed to make the newly created king a partial incarnation and a divine person is also implied in the myth of Rā and Isis.[4] Here Isis kneads earth with the spittle of the sun-god, and forms a serpent which, in virtue of the spittle, may be a source of danger to the god himself. The same idea is found in an extant legend from the XIIth dynasty,[5] in which Isis tries to secure a portion of the seed of Set as a means of gaining power over him. In such instances the implanted particle of deity does not always carry with it the entire range of the divine nature as an incarnation in another being. Sometimes, indeed, it is only a particular attribute that is transferred in this way. Thus the man who sucks the milk of a goddess or a sacred cow absorbs thereby, not her entire divine ego, but only her inherent immortality.[6]

The choice of the reigning monarch's figure for the act of procreation was determined by the fact that the god, on other occasions of his intercourse as an incarnate being with the king, chose a form which corresponded externally to that of the Pharaoh then upon the throne. Inasmuch as the two homologous figures both existed at the same time, it is clear that the deity did not become incarnate in the king, but really assumed an independent figure of similar appearance. This figure might be designated by a special name, which applied both to the deity and to the reigning king. Thus we read of the Amon of Ramses II., of the Sechet of Saḥurā,[7] etc. When a monument, and especially a temple or chapel, was founded, not by a king, but by a private individual, the latter was, equally with the king, regarded as the creator of a new divine by-form. Thus, *e.g.*, in the reign of Ramses II. worship is said to have been accorded, not only to the Ptah of Ramses himself, but also to the Ptah of a certain Menna.[1]

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[1] *e.g.*, on the late-Theban coffin in the Museum at Cairo, first floor, vestibule, no. 1161. Similar forms of incarnation might be ascribed also to the gods, as in a relief from the reign of Amenemhāt III., ed. H. Schäfer, *Amtliche Berichte aus den königl. Kunstsammlungen*, xxxiii., Berlin, 1911-12, cols. 40-46 (the *Sebak* of Crocodilopolis).

[2] Wiedemann, in *Sphinx*, xvi. [1912] 40 f.

[3] Altar of Pepi I. in Turin; ed. J. Bonomi and S. Sharpe, in *TSBA* iii. [1874] 110 ff., pls. 1-3.

[4] References for these and similar conceptions in Lepsius, 'Über die Götter der vier Elemente bei den Ägyptern,' in *ABAW*, 1856, p. 181 ff.

[5] Cf. E. A. W. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, London, 1904, i. 416 ff.

[6] Wiedemann, *AMG* x. [1887] 561 ff.; A. Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, Paris, 1902, p. 138 ff.

[7] Cf. H. R. Hall, *JHS* xxvi. [1906] 176 f.

[8] Pyramid Unas, l. 496 ff. (tr. Maspero, *RTr* iv. [1883] 59 ff.).

[9] *e.g.*, in reliefs (for Amenophis III.) at Luxor, ed. A. Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor* [=*Mém. de la mission arch. du Caire*, xv. 1], Paris, 1894, pls. 63-67; in better form, with discussion, Colin Campbell, *The Miraculous Birth of King Amonhotep III.*, Edinburgh, 1912; at Deir el-Bahri (for Ḥātshepsut), ed. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, ii., London, 1897, pls. 46-55; a fragment (for Ramses II.), ed. C. Campbell, *op. cit.* 48 f.; alluded to in the Papyrus Westcar (for kings of the Vth dyn.), in the royal titles, etc.; cf. Wiedemann, in *Muséon*, xiii. [1894] 372 f.; A. Moret, *Du Caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, Paris, 1902, p. 48 ff.; Maspero, *Études de mythologie*, vi. 253-286.

[1] The *ka* and its relation to the man have been discussed most recently—with references to earlier works—by Maspero, in *Memnon*, vi. [1912] 125 ff.

[2] Naville, *op. cit.* ii. pl. 48; Gayet, *op. cit.* pl. 66. On the life-giving frog-deities of Egypt, cf. A. Jacoby and W. Spiegelberg, in *Sphinx*, vii. [1903] 215 ff., viii. [1904] 78 f.; and on the closely related idea that frogs might be generated from the slime of the Nile, Wiedemann, in *OLZ* xi. [1908], col. 179 ff.

[3] As, *e.g.*, in the Stele of Kuban, ed. E. Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments égyptiens*, Paris, 1847, pl. 21, l. 8.

[4] Pleyte-Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pls. 31, 77, 131-8; tr. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, 54 ff.

[5] F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, London, 1898, pl. 3, p. 4; cf. Wiedemann, in *Sphinx*, xiv. [1911] 89 ff.

[6] Wiedemann, 'Die Milchverwandtschaft im alten Ägypten, in *Am Urquell*, iii. [1892] 259 ff.

[7] Cf. the texts given by L. Borchardt in *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. xxxvii. (Aug. 1908) 29 f.; Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, i. [Leipzig, 1862], pl. 4, no. 3.

Besides real incarnations, however, considerable interest attaches in Egypt to pseudo-incarnations. The adept in magic, when uttering his spells, frequently claimed to be a particular deity, and as such demanded obedience and threatened the powers that resisted him.[2] It need not be supposed that he actually believed himself to be the god in question, but he was at all events convinced that such a claim would make an impression upon other gods. By way of making the identification more emphatic, the adept in some cases had the name of the particular deity inscribed upon his person. From similar motives the names of Isis and Nephthys respectively were inscribed upon the bodies of the two principal female mourners who recited the dirges in mourning celebrations, and effected the resurrection of the dead person by sympathetic magic.[3] Whether in early times masks of the gods likewise were employed with a view to a more complete identification cannot be decided by the extant records, but the practice is attested in connexion with the cult of Isis in the Hellenistic period, and may well go back to earlier usage.

Again, the glorified dead[4] and the gods might assume the forms of other deities. Thus Isis took the form of a sacred cow, and Horus that of the Apis bull, in order to reach the city of Apis unmolested.[5] In this case the incarnation was effected, not in the sacred cow and the Apis bull themselves, but in figures resembling them, and so, of course, commanding a like degree of respect. The story in which Batau is said to have assumed the form of a bull with all the beautiful symbols in its hair, and thus to have been honoured as a sacred bull—though in reality it was not such[6]—must be interpreted in the same way. This text also shows the vast variety of possible metamorphoses which a higher being might assume in his incarnations. When the bull had been slaughtered, Batau caused two trees to arise from the drops of its blood, and in these he then took up his abode. From the trees, again, he passed, in the form of a splinter, into the body of a woman. She became pregnant, and the child she brought forth was his final form of incarnation, *i.e.* Batau himself.

In most cases a particle of the being incarnating himself was implanted in the new form that he adopted, though, as we have seen, this was not absolutely necessary. But certainly the Egyptians, with their concrete habit of thought, persistently sought to invest all beings with a tangible and material form. If the gods, or the dead, or any other entities were to endure and to evince their power, they could do so only by means of an incarnate form.

LITERATURE.—There is as yet no monograph on the Egyptian ideas of incarnation. Apart from the passages cited in the article, we have in modern literature nothing to fall back upon except treatises dealing generally with the Egyptian religion, as cited in the artt. EGYPTIAN RELIGION, vol. v. p. 236 f., and GOD [Egyptian], vol. vi. p. 279.

A. WIEDEMANN.

INCARNATION (Greek and Roman).—The term 'incarnation' usually implies God becoming man, and connotes the opposite process to 'apotheosis.' But thought wavers in a curious way between the two. When virtue in man's esteem has won its way to heaven, when a Pollux, a Hercules, an Augustus, a Bacchus, a Quirinus—to employ the examples used by Horace (*Carm.* III. iii. 9–15)—have assumed their seat at the celestial board, and begun to quaff the nectar of the gods, then it is suspected that merit so transcendent must have been of heavenly origin, and a birth-story is invented which goes to show that the person who has been apotheosized was in reality already divine.

Strictly speaking, incarnation means the putting on of flesh by the divine; it need not necessarily be—although, as a matter of fact, it usually is—the flesh of man. When Zeus visited Leda in the form of a swan, that was incarnation as much as when he visited Alcmene in the form of Amphitryon; but we must insist on flesh of some kind. There would be no propriety in applying the term incarnation to the visit of Zeus to Danaë in the shape of a shower of gold. Artemis, according to one legend, compassed the destruction of Otus and Ephialtes by turning herself into a stag, and running between the young giants, who shot each other in their eagerness to hit the beast. We have also an instance of this lower form of incarnation in the tale that on the appearance of another of earth's monstrous brood the gods were so terrified that they changed themselves into beasts and took refuge in Egypt, this part of the story being perhaps a Greek attempt to account for the theriolatry in the Nile country.

To the Greek mind the specific difference between gods and men lay in the fact that the former were immortal and the latter mortal (except in case of apotheosis). All other differences, as in wisdom and beauty, were of degree, not of kind. Herein is the key to the Greek concept of incarnation, and throughout the pagan period it was really believed that the gods could and did assume the form of men. Their motives for so doing were many and various, but the most prominent was to gratify their amorous desires. The sons of Zeus by human mothers were innumerable. Among them were Perseus, Castor and Pollux, who were specially called 'the sons of Zeus' (though it is said that only one was really so), Heracles and Bacchus, Æacus and Sarpedon. The mothers of these were Danaë, Leda, Alcmene, Semele, Ægina, and Laodameia. Many, too, were the sons of Poseidon, most of whom are marked by gigantic size and insolence. Of the three brothers who divided the world between them, Hades alone seems to have been without issue of any kind.

The sons of the gods did not fail to follow the example of their sires in the way of amours with mortal maids or matrons; and, in consequence, a particular member of a human family might have in him or her a strain of the divine. Thus Theseus was said to have been the son of Poseidon, Troilus the son of Apollo by Hecuba, Deianeira was said to have been the daughter of Dionysus, Meleager the son of Ares, Linus the son of Apollo, and so on. These were perhaps appreciations arising out of the characters of those persons either in fact or in fiction; but one obvious motive for the invention of such stories was the general desire to ally oneself with the divine. Thus Hellen was said to have been really the son not of Deucalion, but of Zeus, which at once conferred the patent of nobility upon every Hellene. All Greek physicians claimed to be descended from Asclepius, and so from Apollo; and on the same lines Socrates is made playfully to argue in the *Euthyphro* (11 C) that all sculptors were descended from Dædalus, and so from Hephæstus.

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[1] See a writing-palette in Berlin, no. 6764. The omission of the cartouche and the mode of writing the name Menna show that the reference here is not, as Erman (*ZÄ* xxix. [1891] 48 ff.) supposed, to King Menes, but to a private individual—perhaps that charioteer of Ramses II. of whom we read in the Pentaur poem.

[2] Wiedemann, *Magie und Zauberei im alten Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 13 ff. Of peculiar interest in this connexion is the Magic Papyrus Leyden, no. 348, pl. 11, line 2 ff., ed. Pleyte, *Études égyptologiques*, Leyden, 1866, p. 178 ff.; cf. Pap. Ebers, ed. G. Ebers, Leipzig, 1875, pl. 1.

[3] See lamentations of Isis and Nephthys in the Papyrus Berlin, no. 1425, ed. P. J. de Horrack, *Œuvres diverses*, Paris, 1907, p. 34 ff.; and in the Papyrus of Nes-min in the Brit. Mus., no. 10188, pl. 1, l. 4; cf. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, p. 1.

[4] Attested as early as the time of the Pyramid of Pepi I., in which (line 166) that king takes the head of the Anubis jackal.

[5] J. Dümichen, *Die Oasen der libyschen Wüste*, Strassburg, 1877, pl. 6, p. 27; cf. Brugsch, in *ZÄ* xvii. [1879] 19.

[6] Papyrus d'Orbiney, pl. 14 ff.; cf. Maspero, *Contes populaires*^{4}, p. 1 ff.

But love was not the only motive which induced divine beings to take human flesh upon them. It was anger at the gods that drove Demeter to leave heaven and incarnate herself as a woman. It was to gratify her spite against Heracles that Hera assumed the form of an Amazon. Occasionally, however, it is the censorship of human morals that is the operating motive. Thus it was to test the insolence of Laomedon that Apollo and Poseidon assumed the form of men; and the great god Zeus himself came to earth in the likeness of a working man (Apollod. iii. 98, εἰκασθεὶς ἀνδρὶ χερνήτῃ), in order to make trial of Lycaon and his fifty sons, who excelled all men in impiety. The same motive underlies the well-known story of Baucis and Philemon, which has been immortalized by the genius of Ovid; and we know from Hesiod that the belief was entertained that the gods roamed the earth in the likeness of men to take note of human conduct. That is the highest moral use that is made of the idea of incarnation in pagan mythology.

The idea of divine birth appears now and then among the Greeks even in historical times. Plato, after he had achieved immortality for his writings, was reported to have been the son of Apollo. He is the only philosopher who has attained the honour of a birth-story. The Spartan king Demaratus, we are told by Herodotus (vi. 69), was declared by his mother to have been the son of the hero Astrabacus; but then there was a malicious counter-statement that the supposed hero was really the donkey-driver. Alexander the Great was believed even in his own lifetime to have been the son of Ammon; and there is a story told by Plutarch (*Alex.* 3) that the reason for the loss of Philip's eye was that he had peeped through the keyhole of his wife's chamber, and had seen the god in the form of a serpent entwined about her couch. The birth-story of Romulus and Remus is an echo of many similar tales in Greek mythology.

LITERATURE.—See references in text and art. GREEK RELIGION.

ST. GEORGE STOCK.

INCARNATION (Indian).—The tenet of incarnation (*avatāra*) is a fundamental one in mediæval and modern Hindu religion as taught in the *Purāṇas* and similar works; it is so especially with the Viṣṇuites, the greater number of whom worship either Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, the two last incarnations of Viṣṇu, not that god in his proper form; the reverse holds good with Siva, who is adored as such, or under one of his various forms which cannot be properly called incarnations. We must, therefore, examine the incarnations of Viṣṇu in order to comprehend the nature of incarnation as conceived in India, and to form an idea concerning the origin and development of the complex body of beliefs on the subject.

The theory of the incarnations of Viṣṇu presupposes the recognition of Viṣṇu, or, as he is more appropriately called in this connexion, Nārāyaṇa, as the Supreme God, the creator and ruler of the universe, the upholder not only of the cosmic, but also of the moral, order of the world. When the enemies to his rule endanger the order of the world, the god incarnates himself for the purpose of defending it. This is expressed in two much quoted verses of the *Bhagavadgītā* (iv. 7 f.):

> 'Whenever there is a decline of the Law, O Bhārata, and an increase of iniquity, then I put forth myself (in a new birth). For the rescue of the pious and for the destruction of the evil-doers, for the establishment of the Law I am born in every age.'

Originally, therefore, the number of these appearances or births of the Lord seems to have been regarded as indefinite; but theological speculation tended not only to fix the number of incarnations, but also to define more clearly their relation to the Supreme God. This can be seen from the account of the incarnations in the *Harivaṁśa*, i. ch. 42 f. It commences with a verse made up of the beginning and the slightly altered end of the passage from the *Bhagavadgītā* just quoted:

> 'Whenever there is a decline of the Law, O Bhārata, then the Lord appears for the establishment of the Law.'

And it continues:

> 'One form of him, the best one, for ever abides in heaven practising austerities [Nārāyaṇa seems to be intended], the second [form] is gone to sleep on his couch, for the destruction and creation of beings, meditating on his mysterious self; who after sleeping a thousand æons becomes manifest for the purpose of action, at the end of a thousand years, as the god of gods, the Lord of the world [Viṣṇu].'

Then some of his incarnations are related, the last of which—that of Kalkī—being designated as the tenth (v. 2368), proves that the number of his incarnations amounted to ten, as in later times. It is worthy of note that in this place the incarnations are called *prādurbhāva*, 'manifestation,' and not *avatāra*, which has since become the current term; thus it is usual to speak of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. According to the common belief these are: (1) Fish, (2) Tortoise, (3) Boar, (4) Man-lion, (5) Dwarf, (6) Paraśurāma, (7) Rāma, (8) Kṛṣṇa, (9) Buddha, and (10) Kalkī, whose incarnation is still to come.[1]

Now, if we examine the various incarnations of Viṣṇu, we shall find that they fall into several groups. First the Vāmana, or Dwarf, incarnation is a legend developed from a mythical feat of Viṣṇu frequently mentioned in the Rigveda, viz. the three strides with which he measured the three worlds. Secondly, the Kūrma, or Tortoise, and the Varāha, or Boar, incarnations ascribe to him deeds which originally were believed to have been performed by Prajāpati the Creator (see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII. v. 1, 5; *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VI. ii. 42; *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, i. 13; and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. i. 2, 11). Prajāpati is frequently represented as taking one form or other for some special purpose; in our case the reason of his being assumed to have taken the form of a tortoise and of a boar may have been that his primitive worship had been of a theriomorphic character, at least with some classes of the people. When Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) became the Supreme Deity, the Creator and Lord of the world, he stepped into the place of Prajāpati, the Creator in the period of the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the deeds of Prajāpati were transferred to Viṣṇu. In this class of incarnations we may reckon, besides the Tortoise and Boar incarnations, the Matsya, or Fish, incarnation, which refers to the legend of Manu's being saved by a fish during the Deluge; for that fish, according to the later version of the story in the *Mahābhārata* (iii. 187 = 12474 ff.), reveals himself as Brahmā Prajāpati. The incarnation of Narasiṁha, or the Man-lion, stands by itself, or might be ranged with the Dwarf incarnation; it refers to a popular legend of Viṣṇu killing, in the form of a Man-lion, the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu—a legend which is once alluded to in the Vedic literature, viz. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, x. i. 6.

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[1] The incarnations (*prādurbhāva*) actually related in the *Harivaṁśa* (*loc. cit.*) are: (1) Varāha, (2) Man-lion, (3) Dwarf, (4) Dattātreya, (5) Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma), (6) Rāma, (7) Kṛṣṇa, and (8) Kalkī, which, as stated in the text, is called the tenth. In the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* (cccxxxix. 103=12966 f.) the following incarnations (*prādurbhāva*) are enumerated: (1) Haṁsa, (2) Tortoise, (3) Fish, (4) Boar, (5) Dwarf, (6) (Paraśu) Rāma, (7) Rāma Dāśarathi, (8) Sātvata (Kṛṣṇa), and (9) Kalkī. The *Bhagavadgītā* (*loc. cit.*) speaks of the 'many births' (*janmāni*) of the god; the *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva* (487), of the 'thousands of his manifestations' (*prādurbhāva*). Of the account in the *Matsya* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*, Muir (*Orig. Skr. Texts*, iv.^{2} [1873] 155 f.) says: 'Viṣṇu's incarnations are then enumerated (*Matsya Purāṇa*, xlvii. 234–254), viz. (1) a portion of him sprung from Dharma, (2) the Narasiṁha, or Man-lion, and (3) the Dwarf, incarnations, which are called the celestial manifestations (*sambhūti*), the remaining seven being the human incarnations caused by Śukra's curse. These seven are: (4) the Dattātreya, (5) Māndhātṛ, (6) Paraśurāma, (7) Rāma, (8) Vedavyāsa, (9) Buddha, and (10) Kalkī incarnations. (Eight instead of seven are obtained if, with the Marāthī expounder, we understand the beginning of verse 243 to refer to Kṛṣṇa.) The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives twenty-two incarnations (I. iii. 1 ff.), viz. those in the forms of (1) Puruṣa, (2) Varāha, or the Boar, (3) Nārada, (4) Nara and Nārāyaṇa, (5) Kapila, (6) Dattātreya, (7) Yajña, or Sacrifice, (8) Ṛṣabha, (9) Pṛthu, (10) Matsya, or the Fish, (11) Kūrma, or the Tortoise, (12 and 13) Dhanvantari, (14) Narasiṁha, or the Man-lion, (15) Vāmana, or the Dwarf, (16) Paraśurāma, (17) Vedavyāsa, (18) Rāma, (19 and 20) Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, (21) Buddha, and (22) Kalkī. The last two are represented as future. But the incarnations (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu are innumerable, like the rivulets flowing from an inexhaustible lake. Ṛṣis, Manus gods, sons of Manus, Prajāpatis are all portions of him.'

The remaining three incarnations, viz. those of Paraśurāma, of Rāma Dāśarathi, and of Kṛṣṇa, have this in common, that those heroes had originally no connexion with Viṣṇu. The story of Paraśurāma itself, as told in the *Mahābhārata* (iii. 115 ff., xii. 49), has no reference to Viṣṇu, but the first book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which is a later addition to that epic, contains a continuation of Paraśurāma's story, according to which the hero was in possession of Viṣṇu's bow and met the young Rāma, son of Daśaratha, expressly to subdue him; but the latter, who had already broken Śiva's bow, now bent Viṣṇu's bow and deprived Paraśurāma of his glory. This legend, apparently a late invention, would be absurd on the supposition that both Rāmas are incarnations of Viṣṇu, since then the god would humiliate himself; but it shows that Paraśurāma had, in popular tales, been brought into some connexion with Viṣṇu; and this circumstance, together with the name Rāma, which he shares with the more famous seventh incarnation of Viṣṇu, may have facilitated his reception in the series of incarnations of that god. He was recognized as such at the time of the redaction of the present text of the *Mahābhārata* (see note on p. 193b), and thus in the introduction of his story there (iii. 115) a confused passage is inserted (v. 15–19) in order to make allowance for the current belief.

The incarnations with which we have dealt seem more or less to be set up by theological speculation rather than to have constituted part of a general and popular belief. It is different, however, with the two next incarnations, those of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. They are the only ones which have any practical importance in the religion of India; for, as stated above, their worshippers form a considerable part of the Hindus and the great majority of Viṣṇuites. Hence it will be necessary to enter into more details with regard to these two *avatāras*. According to the unanimous belief of the Hindus, Rāma came long before Kṛṣṇa, the former at the end of the Tretā, the latter at the end of the Dvāpara, Yuga. The reason of this belief is, no doubt, the fact that the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which celebrates the life and deeds of Rāma, does not mention Kṛṣṇa, while, on the other hand, the *Mahābhārata*, in which Kṛṣṇa plays a most important part, not only frequently mentions Rāma and the other heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* as belonging to a past age, but also relates his adventure in a lengthy episode (Rāmopākhyāna).

In the case of Rāma we seem to watch an incarnation in the making, for in the original parts of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, viz. bks. ii.–vi., the poet regards his hero as essentially human, and seems entirely to ignore his divine character. The latter, however, is fully acknowledged in bks. i. and vii., which by common consent of all critics are declared to be later additions.[1] Therefore between the composition of the original work and the addition of these later parts the belief that Rāma is an incarnation of Viṣṇu must have arisen and have gained universal assent. Before that time Rāma had been an epic hero, but the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to have made him immensely popular. Since the poet has described him as the best of men, the most dutiful son and loving husband, as possessed of every virtue, in short, as a model of morality, he became the favourite of the people at large and so the subject of veneration.[1] There is still another cause for Rāma's promotion to divine rank. His adventures are of such a wonderful character that he certainly appears more than a common mortal; he associates with superhuman beings represented as monkeys and bears, he undertakes an expedition against Laṅkā over one hundred *yojanas* of sea, fights and vanquishes the demon race of the Rākṣasas, etc. Thus it is not difficult to imagine that the epic hero became a popular god, and that in order to account for his divine dignity, notwithstanding his human character, he came to be regarded as one of the manifestations of the highest god—as an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

This belief has a popular as well as a speculative side. The latter is determined by the ideas about *brahma*, the evolution of the world from it, and the identification of Nārāyaṇa with Brahmā. The popular side of the belief in the incarnation of Viṣṇu is to some extent founded on that god's popular character as destroyer of demons (*daityāri*); Viṣṇu vanquishes the fiends to relieve the world, gods and men, from their oppression. The same function, ascribed to some minor deity, becomes the bond that connects him with Viṣṇu in popular opinion. The idea of manifestation was probably beyond the grasp of the mind of the people; they required a more material link between the god and his incarnation. In fables and epic poetry the connexion of a hero with a god is usually accounted for by a myth relating how the god begot the hero in question with some girl or woman; the hero is the offspring of the god. This relation did perhaps savour of illegitimacy; at any rate, it was not assumed in the case of the highest god and his manifestations, but was replaced by one of a more mystical character. The story about Viṣṇu's incarnation in Rāma is told in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, i. 15 ff.

The gods complain to Brahmā about the oppression and violence of the Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa, on whom he had conferred the boon that he could not be killed by a god. But, as he could be slain by a man, Viṣṇu consents to be born as such in the persons of the four sons of King Daśaratha by his three wives. When that king celebrates a sacrifice for the purpose of begetting sons, Viṣṇu appears in the sacrificial fire and gives Daśaratha a big vessel filled with divine sacrificial food (*pāyasa*) which he enjoins him to divide among his wives. Kausalyā gets half of the potion, and Sumitrā and Kaikeyī the remaining part, but in unequal portions.[2] In due time all the three queens are delivered of sons, Kausalyā of Rāma, Sumitrā of Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna, and Kaikeyī of Bhārata.

In accordance with this story, the incarnation of Viṣṇu is not of the same degree in all four sons; but his essence is present to a greater degree in Rāma than in his brothers. Probably Rāma alone was originally considered an incarnation, and his brothers were only later, through their connexion with him, regarded as partial incarnations. By a similar process the wife of Rāma, Sītā, came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu's wife, Lakṣmī, though originally Sītā seems to have been a chthonic deity before she became an epic heroine.[3] These details, however, are apparently the outcome of theological speculations, not of popular belief.

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[1] This question has been discussed at great length by Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, iv. 441 ff. As it is important for the problem under discussion, we adduce here an argument which, in the writer's opinion, is conclusive. Near the end of the original work occurs a chapter (vi. 117) which is, without doubt, a later addition. It relates that, when Sītā entered the fire, the gods appeared and Brahmā declared Rāma to be Nārāyaṇa, the highest deity, etc.; for Rāma had thought himself a man till then. Now, if in the preceding part of the original poem Rāma had been asserted to be Nārāyaṇa, no such passage as the above could have been inserted in this place; nor would the author of the original work have deferred till its end mention of the fact that the hero is no other than the highest god. It may be noted that this is the only passage in this epic in which we meet with a name of Kṛṣṇa.

[1] In the original story on which Vālmīki based his epic, the character of Rāma does not seem to have reached perfection. He perfidiously killed Vālī—a deed which the poet struggles hard to show in a good light.

[2] The same story is told in different *Purāṇas* and other works; but there is no agreement regarding the proportion of the several parts of the *pāyasa* given to the three queens.

[3] Cf. art. HEROES AND HERO-GODS (Indian), vol. vi. p. 661.

The remarkable change in Rāma's position from an epic hero to an incarnation of Viṣṇu, which, as stated above, took place between the redaction of the original *Rāmāyaṇa* and the addition of its first and last books, does not appear to be the result of a slow development of religious ideas, but seems to have been caused by the application to him of a theory already fully established. In other words, it is not likely that the theory of incarnation was first suggested by the story of Rāma; in all probability there was already another similar incarnation of Viṣṇu acknowledged by the people of India. This must have been his incarnation as Kṛṣṇa, since the preceding incarnations, as appears from our remarks on them, seem to have had little importance as far as popular religion was concerned. In the opinion of the present writer, the wide-spread worship of Kṛṣṇa as a tribal hero and demi-god, and his subsequent identification with Nārāyaṇa, the Supreme Lord of creation in that period, gave birth to the theory of incarnation, not as a philosophical speculation of learned mythologists and theologists, but as the great principle pervading and upholding a popular religion. For Kṛṣṇaism in this sense prevailed in India probably centuries before the beginning of our era, while Rāmaism, so popular from the 10th cent. A.D. downwards, is a comparatively late development. The incarnation of Kṛṣṇa is, therefore, the most important one for the elucidation of the problem under discussion—the origin and the development of the theory of incarnation.

The identity of Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu (or Nārāyaṇa) is generally acknowledged in the original sources of the history of his life and deeds, viz. the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa*, and the *Purāṇas*. References to him in the literature which precedes the redaction of our text of the *Mahābhārata* are few and short; but they are of the highest interest, and therefore deserve to be examined with great care. In these ancient allusions to Kṛṣṇa we must distinguish between the names Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa, though in historical times they denote the same person. Vāsudeva is mentioned first in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, X. i. 6, as a god together with Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu, apparently as mystically identical with them. We next meet with this name in Pāṇini, IV. iii. 98, where the wording of the *sūtra* and the context in which it stands indicate that Pāṇini regarded him not as a Rājput, but as a person of the highest rank, probably as a god.[1] Kṛṣṇa's name occurs first in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*, III. xvii. 6, where it is said that Ghora Āngirasa imparted a particular piece of secret knowledge to Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī. Here, then, Kṛṣṇa is still regarded as a man and not as a god. But in a verse quoted in two late *Upaniṣads*, the *Nārāyaṇātharvaśiras* and the *Ātmabodha Upaniṣads*, he, the son of Devakī, is mentioned together with Madhusūdana (= Viṣṇu) as having the attribute *brahmanya*; whatever that word may mean in this connexion, it is evident that the son of Devakī is here regarded as equal to Viṣṇu, or at least as a deity. The testimony adduced seems to warrant the assumption that, when the Vedic period drew towards its end, Vāsudeva was considered an equal of Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu, but that Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, was still regarded in the Vedic period as a wise man inquiring into the highest truth, and only at some later time was he put on an equality with Viṣṇu. We conclude that Vāsudeva, the god, and Kṛṣṇa, the sage, were originally different from one another, and only afterwards became, by a syncretism of beliefs, one deity, thus giving rise to, or bringing to perfection, a theory of incarnation.

Vāsudeva is unanimously explained by all Indian writers as a patronymic of Vasudeva, his father according to the epic narratives. But Baladeva, who is likewise reputed a son of Vasudeva, is never called Vāsudeva. Besides, an old variant of Vāsudeva, noticed by lexicographers and used by Bhāsa in the *Dūtavākya*, v. 6, is Vāsubhadra, a form which recalls the similar name of another popular deity, Maṇibhadra, king of the Yakṣas. Now, as Maṇibhadra is also spelt Māṇibhadra (Māṇibhadda in Jainaprakrit), and Narasiṁha Nārasiṁha,[1] by an inorganic lengthening of the first syllable, so Vāsudeva and Vāsubhadra seem to have been forms, perhaps popular, of Vasudeva and Vasubhadra—names directly derived from *vasu*, denoting either 'wealth, riches,' or the gods of that name. If this etymology of Vāsudeva is right, we must assume that the story of his being the son of a knight Vasudeva and the name of his father have been developed from his very name Vāsudeva. In support of this assumption it may be said that the oldest tradition does not mention Kṛṣṇa's father, but his mother, calling him the son of Devakī.

If the narrative of Kṛṣṇa is more closely examined, we find indications that two different persons, a god and a man, are combined in him. For the story itself is naturally divided into two distinctive parts; the first (*bālacharita*) relates his early life among the cowherds as foster-child of Nanda; and the second, covering the rest of his life, relates his adventures as the leader of the clan of the Vṛṣṇis, and his alliance with the Pāṇḍavas, especially with Arjuna. In the former part it is easy to recognize him as a cowherd-god (Govinda, the cow-finder), and in the latter, as a Rājput hero. As infant, child, and young man, he worked many wonders, destroying demons chiefly, and mostly in company with Baladeva, his brother, who is also called Rāma and Halī, 'he with the plough,' or Halāyudha, 'he whose weapon is the plough.' Now, Baladeva too was a popular god—of husbandmen, as his plough proves. He is called Rauhiṇeya, the son of Rohiṇī; but the story is that he was conceived by Devakī and afterwards transferred to the womb of Rohiṇī.[2] This story is apparently invented in order to make him a brother of Kṛṣṇa; probably the two popular gods Govinda-Vāsudeva and Baladeva[3] were closely connected, and, after the former was identified with the Rājput hero Kṛṣṇa, the latter came to be regarded as his brother. They are always found together till Kṛṣṇa has slain Kaṁsa and placed Ugrasena on the throne of Mathurā. Henceforth he appears as the tribal hero of the Yādavas; he is their leader in all important events of their history, he defends their town Mathurā against mighty enemies, and when resistance seems hopeless he leads the tribe of the Yādavas to the shore of the western ocean; there he builds Dvārakā, the new capital of the Yādavas. He enters into an alliance with the Pāṇḍavas, and with their help overcomes his great enemy Jarāsandha, king of Magadha; and he slays the latter's general Śiśupāla, king of Chedi. He took part in the tribal feuds of the Yādavas, and at last witnessed their ruin and the destruction of Dvārakā. His death was occasioned by the hunter Jaras (old age), who mistook him for an antelope and pierced his foot with an arrow. The unmistakably epic character of this story seems to prove that it has been the subject of an epic or a cycle of epic songs. This epic must have been current among the Yādavas, the Rājput race which revered Kṛṣṇa as its tribal hero; and, as the numerous clans of the Yādavas were settled in Northern as well as in Western India, the assumed epic must have had a wide circulation. The originals, if ever they were written down, have been lost, but the matter they contained has been preserved in the *Harivaṁśa* and some *Purāṇas*. Their great popularity in so large a part of India seems to have been the cause of their hero Kṛṣṇa having, by an epic syncretism to be observed in other literatures also, been introduced into the great national epic of the Bhāratas, where he appears as the friend and counsellor of the Pāṇḍavas.

Now in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṁśa*, and the *Purāṇas* the poets take every opportunity of glorifying Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme God; but their description of his deeds, and especially of the counsels he gives to his allies, reveals to us a man, certainly not eminently good, like Rāma, but rather the contrary—a crafty Rājput chief who is not over-scrupulous in his choice of means for accomplishing his ends. Even the Hindus seem to have been conscious of the fact that he is not quite an ideal hero; for there is a very interesting chapter in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv. 13) which undertakes a vindication of the character of Kṛṣṇa in one particular instance.

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[1] See Patañjali's remarks on the *sūtra* in question. It is clear that Pāṇini did not regard Vāsudeva as a *kṣatriya* in the usual sense of the word, since he then would fall under the rule in the next *sūtra*. The compound *Vāsudevārjunābhyām* is against Pāṇini's own rule (II. ii. 33), according to which Arjuna should be placed first. The inversion of the order in the compound was apparently occasioned by Pāṇini's regarding Vāsudeva as superior to Arjuna, *abhyarhita*, though the rule which assigns the first place in a Dvandva compound to the *abhyarhita* was first given by Kātyāyana, his successor (II. 2. 34, *vārtt.* 4).

[1] *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, x. i. 7.

[2] A similar transfer of an embryo is told by the Śvetāmbara Jains of Mahāvīra, who was transferred from the womb of Devānandā to that of Triśalā.

[3] Notice the similarity of the names Vāsudeva and Baladeva and of their variants Vāsubhadra and Balabhadra.

The question, then, is how this Rājput hero should have come to be acknowledged not only as a god, but as the incarnation of the Supreme Deity.[1] Christian influence, assumed by Weber, is excluded by chronological considerations, for the Jains have built up their entire hagiology on the model of the history of Kṛṣṇa; they assume nine Vasudevas, Vāsudevas, Baladevas, and Prativāsudevas. As this curious system of the Jains, which presupposes the worship of Kṛṣṇa as a very popular religion of India, is already found in some of their canonical books, and as these are prior to our era, there can have been no Christian influence at work in originating the worship of Kṛṣṇa. R. G. Bhandarkar supposes

> 'that a Kṣattriya of the name of Vāsudeva belonging to the Yādava, Vṛṣṇi, or Sātvata race founded a theistic system as Siddhārtha of the Śākya race and Mahāvīra of the Jñātṛka race founded atheistic systems.'[2]

This theory seems scarcely tenable for a very weighty reason: the deeds and adventures of Kṛṣṇa related by the authors of the great epic and the *Purāṇas* are essentially those of a warrior and Rājput chief, and there is none which shows him in the light of a founder of a religion. All that may safely be conceded, as a surmise, is that this Rājput chief, like some other kings of *Upaniṣad* renown, took a great interest in the highest theosophical questions, and thus gave an impetus to the formation of a new religion. Bhandarkar proposes an alternative theory:[3]

> 'Or, perhaps, it is possible that Vāsudeva was a famous prince of the Sātvata race and on his death was deified and worshipped by his clan; and a body of doctrines grew up in connexion with that worship, and the religion spread from that clan to other classes of the Indian people.'

This theory is, in the opinion of the present writer, more probable than the former, but it requires some alteration. We must keep in mind three significant points. (1) Vāsudeva seems to have been regarded originally as a god and as distinct from Kṛṣṇa; for, besides the general reason adduced above, there is an interesting story related in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata* (ii. 14) in connexion with the history of Jarāsandha. Pauṇḍraka, king of the Baṅgas, Puṇḍras, and Kirātas, pretended and was believed to be Puruṣottama (*i.e.* Viṣṇu); he was known under the name Vāsudeva, and had assumed the emblems of Kṛṣṇa. In the *Harivaṁśa* and several *Purāṇas*[4] his conflict with and destruction by Kṛṣṇa are related at some length. Now, whatever facts, if any, may underlie this legend, it is obvious that it could not have been invented unless at that time the dignity of Vāsudeva was not thought inseparable from the person of Kṛṣṇa; or, in other words, Vāsudeva was still regarded as an independent deity, probably a form of Viṣṇu. (2) A religious system based on the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as the highest god is that of the Pāñcharātras or Bhāgavatas. The oldest account of it is contained in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata* (xii. 334–351).

> There 'the Pāñcharātra is represented as an independent religion professed by the Sātvatas and is also called the Sātvata religion (cccxlviii. 55, 34, 84); and Vasu Uparichara, who was a follower of that religion, is spoken of as worshipping the Supreme God according to the Sātvata manner (*vidhi*) which was revealed in the beginning by the Sun' (cccxxxv. 19, 24).[1]

It appears from the above quotations that the new religion was originally a tribal religion confessed by the Sātvatas. Now, the Sātvatas are an important section of the Yādava race; thus we see that the religion which recognized Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme God was originated in that race to which Kṛṣṇa belonged. On this supposition we can understand that Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is not found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the early Buddhist writings; for these works belong to Eastern India and the home of the Yādavas was Northern and Western India. (3) Some indications of the character of the religion professed by Kṛṣṇa may be found in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*. There (III. xvii. 1 ff.) human life is described under the form of a *soma*-sacrifice, the natural functions—eating, drinking, etc.—are interpreted as elements of the sacrifice, and the cardinal virtues as the reward (*dakṣiṇā*). Then the text goes on:

> Ghora, son of Aṅgiras, having explained this [subject] to Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, said: 'He who has become exempt from desire should repeat, at the time of his death, these three [Yajur Vedic mantras]: "O! thou art undecaying! Thou art unchanging! Thou art the true essence of life!" About it there are these two stanzas from the Rigveda [VIII. vi. 30 and I. l. 10]: "They see the morning light of that primeval seed which burns beyond the sky"; "Having beheld the superior light from beyond the darkness, we go to the Sun-god amongst the gods, to the highest light."'

The idea that human life itself is equal to a Vedic sacrifice is more than once expressed in the *Upaniṣads*;[2] it tends to lessen the importance of sacrificing, which was the highest duty in the old Brāhmanical religion, but has no place in a popular religion. Further, the imperishable nature of the soul is insisted upon, and its ultimate union with the Highest Light. These are some principles which have been fully developed in the religion which teaches the identity of Kṛṣṇa with the Supreme God.

The facts explained above allow us to form an opinion on the origin and gradual development of the belief in Kṛṣṇa's incarnation. During the Brāhmaṇa period Prajāpati the creator was believed to assume, on occasions of distress, various forms, as that of a boar or a tortoise, in order to rescue the creation. After him came Nārāyaṇa; he was identified with Viṣṇu, the slayer of demons. About the end of the Vedic period a popular deity, Vāsudeva, came to be acknowledged as a form of Viṣṇu. Now the race of the Yādavas, whose clans were settled both in the North and in the West of India, revered as their tribal hero Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, who, like other princes of the *Upaniṣad* period, had the renown of having been an earnest seeker of religious truth. We assume that about this time the worship of Vāsudeva as a form of Viṣṇu had become the popular religion of the same people who worshipped Kṛṣṇa as their tribal hero, and that both kinds of worship influencing each other became in the end one in such a way that Kṛṣṇa was believed to be a manifestation of Viṣṇu—in a word, a human incarnation of the Supreme God.

To continue the account of Kṛṣṇa's incarnation, a myth must now be mentioned which connects his incarnation bodily with Nārāyaṇa. When the latter was implored by the gods to save the earth from the oppression of her enemies, Nārāyaṇa plucked out two of his own hairs, a black and a white one. Descending to the earth and entering the womb of Devakī, the black hair was born as Kṛṣṇa, and the white one as Baladeva. This legend explains the names Kṛṣṇa, 'black,' and Keśava, fancifully derived from *keśa*, 'hair'; it accounts, moreover, for Kṛṣṇa being of dark colour and Baladeva light. It is to be noted that this myth makes Baladeva also an incarnation of Viṣṇu, though he is generally declared to be an incarnation of Śeṣa, the snake-god.

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[1] A good account of the opinions put forward by various writers on this problem is given by Richard Garbe in the introduction to his (German) tr. of the *Bhagavadgītā* (Leipzig, 1905). The reader will find there the references to the original papers.

[2] *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1883–84*, Bombay, 1887, p. 74.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, v. 34, tr H. H. Wilson, London, 1864–77, v. 123. n. 1.

[1] Bhandarkar, *Report*, p. 73.

[2] Cf. *Mahānārāyaṇa*, 64.

As has already been mentioned, the incarnations of Nārāyaṇa seem originally to have been termed 'manifestations' (*prādurbhāva*), whereby it is indicated that the god continued to exist in his true form though at the same time he manifested himself in a form chosen for a particular purpose.[1] However, instead of *prādurbhāva*, another term has become current, viz. *avatāra*, literally 'descending.' It was imagined that a part of the deity descended from heaven and took bodily form as a man, etc., or was born as such; we find also the word *aṁśāvatāra*, 'partial incarnation,' and even *aṁśāṁśāvatāra*, 'incarnation by a part of a part.' These terms were probably originated by a somewhat materialistic conception of the process of incarnation, evidenced also in the case of the four sons of Daśaratha. The orthodox opinion in the case of Kṛṣṇa, however, denies that the Supreme Deity is not wholly present in him. What the orthodox opinion was will be seen from the following extract from a commentary on the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* which we transcribe from Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, iv. 258:

'Puruṣottama is here figuratively said to have become incarnate with a portion of a portion of himself, because in the Kṛṣṇa incarnation he was manifested in a merely sportive body in the very circumscribed form of a man, and not because of any diminution of his power, since even in the Kṛṣṇa and other incarnations he is said to have shown himself in every possible form, and to have possessed all divine power, and so forth. But is it not the case that, if a portion is taken from a whole composed of parts, there is a decrease of power, etc. [in that whole], and that thus an inferiority of power will attach to the portion relatively to the whole, just as when a heap of grain, or any other such whole, is divided? I answer, No; since such a diminution does not occur in him whose nature is light; for though there is a seeming difference in the individuality of one lamp, and of another lamp derived from it, yet an equality of power is perceived in each; agreeably to the text from the Veda . . ., "That is full, and this is full; a full arises out of a full: if a full be taken from a full, a full remains"; and also agreeably to such texts as this, "The supreme Brahmā with the form, and with the characteristics, of a man, is a great mystery; but Kṛṣṇa is the lord of himself." And the employment of the term "hairs" in the words, "My hairs shall descend to the earth," and "This hair shall slay Kaṁsa," etc., is intended to signify that the task of removing the earth's burthen was such as Brahmā in all his plenitude could effect by a very slight instrumentality, and not to assert that the two hairs were identical with [Bala]rāma and Kṛṣṇa: for two insensible hairs, not being conscious spirits animating the bodies of those two persons, could not fulfil their task. If it be said that the lord occupying the bodies of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, which were produced by the magical operation of the hairs, will do so and so, we reply, "Yes; for there is no difference in the result, and because he himself said, 'I [shall be born] on the eighth night of the dark fortnight of the moon.'"'

It remains to notice the application of the incarnation theory to other gods besides Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. We may exclude as alien to the present subject the various forms under which Śiva is adored as Rudra, Bhava, Mahākāla, Ardhanārīśa, etc., and the worship of his spouse as Gaurī, Pārvatī, Devī, Vindhyavāsinī, Chāmuṇḍa, etc.; for these are not limited and successive manifestations of the deity, as in the case of Viṣṇu's *avatāras*, but they may be said to be co-existent with each other. Different from them are the *avatāras* or *aṁśāvatāras* of many gods which are acknowledged in epic or classical works, and are intended to establish a connexion between a person, famous in mythical or legendary history, and some god or goddess. In original epics, in India as elsewhere, many of the heroes are supposed to be sons of a god. Thus, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Hanuman is the son of the Wind-god, Vālī of Indra, Sugrīva of Sūrya, etc., and in the *Mahābhārata* Bhīma is the son of the Wind-god, Arjuna of Indra, Karṇa of Sūrya, Yudhiṣṭhira of Dharma, Nakula and Sahadeva of the Aśvins, etc. The same view still prevails in the first book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (ch. 17) where Brahmā exhorts the gods to beget sons with nymphs and demi-goddesses—sons who as monkeys and bears will be the helpers of Rāma in his strife with Rāvaṇa. In the *Mahābhārata* (i. 67, xv. 31), on the contrary, all the heroes of the epic are declared to be partial incarnations of gods, demi-gods, demons, great saints, etc. Here it is obvious that the idea of incarnation becomes mixed with that of re-birth; for only the latter could apply to the two last-named categories. It may be mentioned that something similar holds good also in the fully developed theory of Viṣṇu's *avatāras*; for the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu, whom Viṣṇu slays as Nṛsiṁha, is born again as Rāvaṇa, and for a third time as Śiśupāla, to be killed by Kṛṣṇa. But in the case of gods we have true *avatāras*, and, in this part of the epic, partial incarnation is substituted for the original parentage. In some cases, however, opinions differed. Thus Arjuna is the son of Indra, and should, therefore, also be an *avatāra* of Indra, and so he is called in a passage of the *Harivaṁśa* (v. 3040); but in the *Mahābhārata* he is considered an *avatāra* of Nara. The reason for this opinion, apparently, was that he is associated with Kṛṣṇa, and, as the latter is an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa, who is also named together with Nara, Kṛṣṇa's friend was regarded as an incarnation of Nara. For a similar reason, Baladeva is occasionally regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, because his brother Kṛṣṇa is one; but usually he is regarded as an incarnation of the snake-god Śeṣa.

This theory of *avatāras* has become very popular, and is being applied in many cases even now. When a local saint has a proper shrine where he is worshipped, and his fame continues to increase, a legend is sure to be fabricated which declares him an *avatāra* of some god or *ṛṣi*. A similar notion of *avatāras* is also frequently met with in Sanskrit and Prakrit tales; a hero or heroine of the fable is declared to be an *avatāra* of a Gandharva, Vidyādhara, Apsaras, etc., in the sense that the latter has been born as a man or woman on earth, usually by a curse of some higher god whose displeasure he or she has incurred, and will resume his divine state when the period assigned for his punishment is over. Finally, the notion of incarnation has occasioned a frequent metaphor in Sanskrit; a man may be called an *avatāra* of Kāma, or a girl of Rati, just as we would say of a man that he is an Apollo, or a woman that she is a Venus. Such expressions prove how deeply rooted the idea of incarnation is in the Indian mind.

LITERATURE.—The necessary references have been given in the article. The subject has not been treated systematically before.

HERMANN JACOBI.

INCARNATION (Muslim).—Among the Muslims an interesting development of belief in incarnation occurred, though it is confined to the Shīʻites or Persian section of Islām and is in no sense Semitic. The details of the belief have varied with different sects and individuals, but its general outline is clear. It arose out of the fact that ʻAlī, whom Muhammad desired as his successor, was set aside by the leaders at Medina until after Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, and ʻUthmān had occupied the position of Khalīf, and out of the further fact that ʻAlī was assassinated in A.D. 660 by a Kharajite dagger. Al-Ḥasan, his elder son, died of poison nine years later, while al-Ḥusain, the younger, perished at the battle of Kerbela in 680. In time these tragic events led the followers of ʻAlī in Persia to regard him and his sons as semi-divine, or even as incarnations of God. Thus the Shīʻites, who are called *ghāliya* or *ghulāt* ('ultras') or *ʻAlī ilāhī* ('deifiers of 'Alī'), go the length of believing that God became incarnate in the person of the Prophet's son-in-law by descent (cf. T. Haarbrücker, *Schahrastâni's Religionspartheien*, i. 199). The best known of these sects, the Nuṣairī, regard 'Alī as the first of the three persons of the triad.

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[1] A similar power is ascribed to the accomplished *yogi*, who is credited with the faculty of creating several bodies and being present in all of them at the same time (see *Yogasūtra*, iv. 4–6).

According to the more general Shī'ite view, 'Alī and his two sons were *imāms*, or divinely appointed leaders, and were succeeded for a time by other *imāms*. By some of the sects these *imāms* are regarded as *Nuqaṭ*, or 'Points,' of divine manifestation. The Shī'ites are divided as to the number of *imāms*, one part holding that there were seven, the other that there were twelve. Both agree that the last *imām* did not die, but is concealed, awaiting the proper time of his full manifestation. From each of these branches of Shī'ites important claimants of incarnation have appeared.

From the believers in seven *imāms* arose the sect called by Europeans 'Assassins,' a branch of which was established in Syria during the Crusading period. 'The Old Man of the Mountain,' Rāshid-ad-Dīn Sinān, who was for many years the terror of the region, claimed to be not only an *imām*, but an incarnation of the deity. His claim won large acceptance among the Ismā'īlians, though some hesitated to believe it because he was lame (see art. ASSASSINS, vol. ii. p. 138 ff.). From those who believe in twelve *imāms* there arose in the last century the Bābīs and Bahā'is. On May 23, 1844, Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad, a merchant of Shīrāz in Persia, announced himself as the Bāb, or gate through which men might communicate with the concealed *imām*. He rapidly advanced from this point, soon claiming to be an incarnation of God—a claim that was allowed by a number of enthusiastic followers, some of whom suffered martyrdom for the belief. The Bāb himself was martyred at Tabrīz, July 9, 1850. One of the followers of the Bāb named Bahā'u'llāh in the year 1866–67 proclaimed himself as 'He whom God shall manifest,' whom the Bāb had foretold, claiming that the Bāb had been but as a John the Baptist to him. This caused a schism, the followers of Bahā'u'llāh being known as Bahā'īs and claiming that their founder was an incarnation of God (see art. BĀB, BĀBĪS, vol. ii. p. 299 ff.).

Another interesting outcome of the Shī'ite doctrine occurred in Egypt, where, in A.D. 967, the Fāṭimid dynasty, founded upon the claims of 'Alī, was established. In the reign of the Khalīf Ḥākim (A.D. 996–1021), of this dynasty, there came to Egypt an Ismā'īlian named Darazī, and publicly expounded Ismā'īlite doctrines. Though repulsed by the people, he was well received by the reigning family. In time he taught that the soul of Adam had entered into 'Alī and so had passed to the Fāṭimid line, and that consequently Ḥākim was an incarnation of God. Ḥākim was an eccentric character, whose persecutions of Christians and Jews, and whose attempt to purge Egypt of sexual immorality, had taken fantastic forms. It is doubtful whether he was altogether sane. The teaching of Darazī appealed to him, and, while he lived, these views appear to have dominated the court at Cairo. When Ḥākim finally vanished in a mysterious way, the followers of Darazī were driven out and went to the Lebanon, where they founded a new sect, called Darasæan, now commonly termed Druses. The Druses still regard Ḥākim as an incarnation of God. During the lifetime of Ḥākim a difference arose between Darazī and another teacher named Ḥamzah. The teaching of Ḥamzah prevailed. He became the real founder of the Druses. It thus happened that Darazī is counted a heretic by the sect that bears his name. The Druses hold that at the beginning there emanated from God a pure spirit of light called the universal mind, who became the medium of creation, and that, when God was incarnate in Ḥākim, this universal mind was incarnate in Ḥamzah. For a fuller account of them see SECTS (Christian) and SECTS (Muslim).

LITERATURE.—T. Haarbrücker, *Abu'l-Fath' Muh'ammad asch-Schahrastâni's Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, Halle, 1850–51, i. 164–230; C. Huart, artt. ''Alī' and ''Alī ilāhī,' in *EI* i., Leyden, 1913, pp. 283 ff., 292 f.; Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, Paris, 1838; J. Wortabet, *Religion in the East*, London, 1860; F. J. Bliss, *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine*, New York, 1912. For literature on other phases of Muslim incarnation see the bibliographies under ASSASSINS and BĀB, BĀBĪS.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

INCARNATION (Parsi).—Incarnation in the proper sense of the term has no place in the religion of the Avesta ('the incarnation of Ahura Mazda' not being a proper designation of Zarathuštra [R. Edulji Dastoor, *A True Zarathosti Guide*, Bombay, 1913, p. 182]), but the conception of the king's sacred endowment, or 'holiness' (see art. HOLINESS [General and Primitive]), in virtue of the somewhat vague personification of its supernatural efficacy, developed into something in the nature of incarnation. This *khwarenah* was the mysterious element which made the gods (*Yt.* xiv. 2, xvii. 15, v. 89, x. 141; *Nyā.* iii. 11; *Ys.* lvii. 3, i. 1) and the souls of the dead (*Yt.* xiii. 1, 9, 11, 14–16; *Ys.* lx. 4) powerful (*Yt.* xix. 9 ff.) and worthy of worship; which gave the sun (*Yt.* vi. 1 ff.), the moon (*Yt.* vii. 5 f.), the stars (*Yt.* viii. 1), the pre-eminent star, Sirius (*Yt.* viii. 2 ff.), and water (*Yt.* viii. 34, xiii. 65; *Ys.* lxviii. 11, 21) their benign influences; which protected the house (*Ys.* lx. 2, 7) and the nation (*Yt.* xix. 64, 69, x. 27); which, as the 'Aryan glory' (*Sīr.* ii. 9), or the 'glory of the Aryans' (*Yt.* v. 42; *Sīr.* i. 25), bestowed wealth upon the Aryans, *i.e.* the Iranians (*Yt.* xviii. 1 f.), endowed men with vigour and wisdom, with the power of overcoming the hostility of nature and of demons (*Yt.* xviii. 2), with success and prosperity (*Yt.* v. 86; *Ys.* lx. 7); and effected what they sought to attain by their sacrifices (*Yt.* xiii. 24, 41, xvii. 6, x. 108, xxiv. 34, 46).

Etymologically the word *khwarenah* means 'light,' 'lustre,' and there is perhaps some connexion between this original meaning and the fact that, when Zarathuštra's mother, who was richly endowed with the *khwarenah*, was a young girl, she glowed like a great fire (*Dīnkarṭ*, VII. ii. 7 f.), and so also the body of the Saošyant will shine as the sun (*ib.* VII. xi. 2; cf. iii. 7). In the Avesta, however, the 'glory' is never spoken of as 'light.' Here it flies in cosmic space (*Dīnkarṭ*, VII. ii. 3) like a bird (*Yt.* xix. 34 ff.); it swims and hides in the sea (*Yt.* v. 42, xix. 56 ff.); it sojourns in reeds and in milk (*Bund.* xxxi. 32); in the form of an animal it accompanies the Chosen.[1]

The *khwarenah* of the Kavi dynasty was of a special and distinct type; here the 'Kavi *khwarenah*' becomes the 'king's glory' (*Ys.* i. 14; *Yt.* i. 21, xix. 9, 69 ff.). It was in virtue of this Kavi glory that the world-rulers of that dynasty acquired their title to their position, and their ability to perform their exploits. Now, as this power-substance manifested itself as a deity, and was invoked and worshipped as such (*Yt.* xviii. 7 f.; *Sīr.* ii. 9), we may speak of it in this aspect as in some sense an incarnation. The line of the Elect, of the men inspired and possessed by the *khwarenah*, begins with Haošyanha (*Yt.* xix. 26), and is continued through Takhma Urupi to Yima, the ruler of the blissful primal age (31). When once, in foolish arrogance, Yima spoke false words, the power-substance broke forth from him thrice (*Yt.* xix. 34, *i.e.*, doubtless, as priestly glory, warrior glory, and peasant glory, respectively; cf. *ib.* 53), passing to the god Mithra and the heroes Thraētaona and Keresāspa (cf. *Dīnkarṭ*, VII. i. 25 ff.), and, finally, after a fierce struggle between the god of fire and the dragon for its possession, seeking shelter in the world-ocean. Here the Turanian chieftain Fraṅrasyan vainly sought by dint of swimming to gain possession of it. The legend that tells how this head of a Turanian people, hostile to the Iranians (*Yt.* v. 41 f., ix. 18, 22, xix. 56 ff.), once delivered the Iranian country from an Arab conqueror is in all probability based upon pre-historical events (cf. E. Blochet, *Introd. à l'hist. des Mongols*, Leyden, 1910 [*Gibb Memorial Series*, xii.], p. 205 ff.). A fragment preserved in the *Hymn to the Khwarenah* (*Yt.* xix. 93) actually recognizes that Fraṅrasyan too possessed the Kavi glory. At that period, however, it properly belonged to the monarchs of the pre-Zarathuštrian Kavi dynasty (*Yt.* xix. 71 ff.) down to Vištāspa, who at length embraced the religion of Zarathuštra. But the richest in glory was Zarathuštra himself (*Yt.* xix. 83). From him the supernatural endowment passes to the renewers of the world (xix. 22), and especially to the Saošyant, who comes in the final age (89). According to certain lost additions to the Avesta, the Kavi glory was transmitted to Ardašīr (Artaxerxes) and the Sasanian dynasty (*Dīnkarṭ*, VIII. xiii. 17 ff.).

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[1] According to the *Kārnāmak*, 41 ff., and the *Šāh-nāmah* (E. G. Browne, *The Literary History of Persia*, London, 1902 ff., i. 137, 143), '"a very large and mighty ram" caught up Ardašīr and rode beside him on his horse, the fine ram being the royal glory.'

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited in the art. see J. Darmesteter, 'Le Zend-Avesta,' in *AMG* xxi.–xxiv. (1892–93). N. SÖDERBLOM.

INCARNATION (Semitic).—One cannot expect to find among the ancient Semites a doctrine of incarnation as the term is ordinarily understood in Christian theology, for such a doctrine presupposes a reasoned conception of the universe, in which the natural and the supernatural, or the divine and human, are set over against one another. The Semites were far too primitive in their thought to have made such a distinction. In the period in which their religious ideas took shape they conceived that gods, men, and animals formed a single society, and even plants were sometimes thought to have a connexion with this society. One might, accordingly, expect divine potency to manifest itself in men, animals, and trees. Such a stage of thought is preparatory to that in which real incarnation may be thought to take place; it is itself too primitive. The Semites did not approach the later conception of incarnation until they came under the influence of the philosophical Greeks, and even then their thoughts were coloured by their earlier and less philosophical views.

1. Rocks, springs, and trees.—In its earliest form their thought pictured the manifestation of the divine as exhibited in springs of water, trees, and crags of natural rock.[1] This was, of course, not incarnation, but materialization, or rather the recognition of a divine power as resident in these material forms. It is not really materialization, for they had never conceived the gods as pure spirits separated from these things. Survivals of this stage of thought are seen at the present day in the East, where Muslims hang personal offerings on sacred trees, as at Sūf.[2]

2. Animals.—A closer approximation to incarnation was the conception of gods as living in animal forms. This stratum of thought is exhibited in its greatest perfection in Egypt (see 'Egyptian' section, above, p. 190). The sacred animals of Egypt were at the beginning but the totems of the originally distinct tribes, and what the ultimate explanation of totemism may be is not yet clear. Among the Semitic peoples the traces of totemism are not so pronounced as among the Egyptians, and yet the investigations of Robertson Smith[1] made it a probable view that the Semites had also passed through the totemistic period of religious thought. It seems that among the heathen Arabs there may have been animal-gods, for some of the tribes trace their descent from animals, as other Semites trace their descent from gods, as will be shown later. One or two animal-gods clearly existed in Arabia. Yagūth, the lion-god,[2] was worshipped in the time of the prophet. Ya'ūq was an idol in the form of a horse,[3] while Nasr was said to have the figure of a vulture.[4] At Erech in Sicily, Ashtart was thought to have the form of a dove,[5] and at Tyre the head of a bull.[6] Ancient Babylonian hymns often speak of gods as bulls,[7] and in Palestine the Baals were symbolized by images of bulls. Whether the deity was actually thought to reside in the animal, or the animal was only a symbol of the strength and creative power of the god, is an open question. It is quite possible that the thoughts of the worshippers were not clear as to this. Obscure and equivocal as some of the evidence is, it is, nevertheless, clear that in varying degrees, and at times in a shadowy way, the Semites frequently thought of the gods as incarnate in animals.

An early stratum of thought discernible in a few passages in the OT conceived of God as taking the form of a man and then discarding it at will. Such was the man who came to Abraham's tent in Gn 18, the one who appeared to Gideon in Jg 6, to Manoah's wife in Jg 13, and to Joshua in Jos 5^{13-15}. These were special manifestations of Jahweh; cf. art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Hebrew), I., 2.

3. Descent from gods.—The possible incarnation of a god in human flesh appears to have given rise to two different conceptions. These are the descent of men from gods, and the deification of certain men. Of these two conceptions the former seems to be the older. In Gn 2^7 God is said to have breathed into man's nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul. This implies that man has a kind of kinship to God. In one of the Babylonian myths of Oannes it is said that he mingled his own blood with the soil and thus made man. This myth expresses in this way the sense of man's kinship to the divine which Gn 2^7 expressed. In Gn 6^{2-4} it is said that beings of the divine order (*bᵉnê hā-elôhîm*) married human wives, and that the issue of such marriages consisted of the heroes and men of renown of olden time. This is a recognition of a divine element in men of unusual or heroic qualities. The Babylonian Adapa, a man of unusual wisdom, is called a son of the god Ea.[8]

The view that unusual persons were god-begotten was undoubtedly universal in the early Semitic world. It lingered in an attenuated form down to the beginning of the Christian era. Philo Judæus declares that Zipporah was found by Moses 'pregnant by no mortal';[9] Isaac was 'not the result of generation, but the shaping of the unbegotten';[10] Samuel was 'born of a human mother' who 'became pregnant after receiving divine seed';[11] Tamar was 'pregnant through divine seed.'[12] It is possible that in the mind of Philo there was no thought of setting aside the human father. He may have thought that the divine life-giving power of God was manifested through Abraham and Elkanah. His language with reference to Zipporah is, however, hardly open to that construction. But, whether he thought of the human father as an agent in these births or not, it is clear that the older conception lived in some form in his mind.

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[1] Cf. W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*², London, 1894, pp. 132, 167, 185. 193; G. A. Barton, *Semitic Origins*, do. 1902, pp. 87–97.

[2] Cf. Barton, *A Year's Wandering in Bible Lands*, Philadelphia, 1904, p. 162.

[1] *JPh* ix. [1880] 79 ff., *Lectures and Essays*, London, 1912, p. 455 f., *Kinship and Marriage*², do. 1903, p. 217 ff.

[2] W. R. Smith, *Kinship*², p. 224 ff.

[3] *Ib.* 242.

[4] *Ib.*

[5] Ælian, *de Nat. anim.* iv.

[6] *Hebraica*, x. [1893] 30 f.

[7] Cf. the references cited in *Studies in the History of Religion presented to C. H. Toy*, New York, 1912, p. 199, n. 70.

[8] R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, New York, 1912, p. 68 ff.

[9] ed. Mangey, i. 147.

[10] i. 215.

[11] i. 273.

[12] i. 598.

At least as old as this conception is the idea that whole tribes are of divine descent. Thus the Moabites are called the sons and daughters of Chemosh (Nu 21^{29}). Jeremiah ($2^{27f.}$) speaks as though the heathen Semites generally claimed descent from their gods; and, since these gods were represented by idols, he sarcastically refers to them as 'a tree' and 'a stone.' Virgil (*Æn.* i. 729 f.) by the phrase 'Belus et omnes a Belo' describes the Tyrians as claiming descent from Bel. As pointed out above, the Arabian tribes who claimed descent from animals probably in reality claimed descent from gods.

This more general conception, that whole tribes were descended from gods, is further removed from what we understand by incarnation than the conception that heroes or eminent persons are god-begotten. The ordinary plane of human life is too commonplace for early men, who are as yet unable to distinguish the spiritual from the material, or to have any strong realization that God is in it.

4. **Deified kings.**—Another close approach to the idea of incarnation is presented by the deification of kings in Babylonia, where, however, this was not as common as in Egypt. Most Babylonian kings recognized that they were quite distinct from the gods. Urumush, king of Kish, seems, however, to have been deified in his own lifetime, and his name enters as that of a god into the name of another man.[1] Shargani-sharri has the determinative for god written before his name[2] during his life, while Naram-Sin,[3] of the same dynasty, is constantly called a god, and had himself portrayed with the horns which represented divinity.[4] Naram-Sin is called on some seals the 'god of Akkad.' What led these kings to assume, contrary to the general Babylonian custom, that they were gods, we can now only conjecture. Some have supposed that it was the possession of the shrine of Nippur, but many monarchs who controlled that shrine never claimed divine honours. Others have suggested that it was the sudden world-wide expansion of the territory of these kings that led to their deification. Still others attribute it to Egyptian influence.

Two or three centuries later these kings of Agade were imitated by Dungi, Bur-Sin, and Gimil-Sin, kings of the dynasty of Ur. The founder of the dynasty, Ur-Engur, had not been regarded as a god, but Dungi greatly enlarged the dominion of Ur and contemporaneously began to write the determinative for divinity before his name. He had a festival ordained to himself as a god, and rearranged the calendar so that one month should be called *Ituezen-dungi*, or 'Month of the festival of the god Dungi.'[5] His name also enters, as the name of a deity, into the composition of the names of a considerable number of other men. Perhaps he and his successors in his dynasty meant by these claims to inform the world that they were the equals of the great monarchs of Agade. During the reign of these kings of Ur, offerings were made to Gudea and Urlama, former *patesis* of Lagash, as though they were gods. This was a post-mortem deification, for during their lifetime these rulers had claimed no divine honours.

Apart from these cases we have no clear evidence of the deification of Babylonian kings. Ishmi-Dagan, of the dynasty of Isin, claimed to be the 'beloved spouse'[1] of the goddess Ishtar of Erech. Possibly this was because the king himself laid claim to divine rank. From whatever source or cause the deification of these kings arose, it was an even more emphatic way of marking their unusual quality than their supposed descent from a god would have been. To represent them as full-fledged gods in human form was to claim for them a real incarnation. It was all the more effective because opposed to the general customs of Babylonian thinking.

LITERATURE.—This has been fully cited in the footnotes.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

INCARNATION (Tibetan).—The theory of incarnation attains its most extreme development in Tibet. It is utilized there not merely in the usual Buddhist (and Hindu) way to explain by re-incarnations the ethical doctrine of retribution by the *karma* acquired by the individual, but also as a practical method of regulating the succession to the hierarchy, and even to postulate the perpetual incarnation of Buddhist gods within the bodies of the Grand Lamas.

The theory of hieratic succession by re-incarnation appears to have been introduced by the first of the series of Dalai Lamas, named Geden-dup (± A.D. 1473), the successor of Tsonkhapa who founded the now dominant Yellow-hat sect, the Ge-lug-pa. It seems to have been a device, on quasi-Buddhistic principles, to secure stability for the succession, by providing to some extent against the intrigues of rival party leaders. It assumes the continuous succession to the headship by the same individual under an uninterrupted series of consecutive re-embodiments. This obviously differs from the orthodox Buddhist conception of re-incarnation of an individual, which is not confined to any one particular channel. It supposes that the deceased head Lama is always re-born as a child within the country and often in the neighbourhood of the monastery, and the infant is to be discovered by oracular means and then duly installed in the vacant chair. On his death, he is similarly re-born, and so the process is repeated *ad infinitum*.

At first this system of selection appears to have been restricted solely to the Dalai Lamas of Lhasa; but about A.D. 1662 it was extended by the then Dalai Lama to the newly instituted Grand Lamaship of Tashilhunpo, and now it has been adopted by nearly all the great monasteries throughout Tibet, China, and Mongolia. It gives opportunities for much intrigue; and China as the suzerain of Tibet has found it necessary politically to take an active part in controlling the 're-incarnation' of the Dalai Lama, the temporal sovereign of the country. In A.D. 1793, China prescribed for the selection of this priest-king a lottery-scheme called the 'oracle of the urn,' by which the names of the competing infants are written on slips of paper and put into a golden urn, and, after prayer and other rites, the name first drawn is the fortunate one. The official directions for the working of this scheme are notified in a Chinese Imperial edict of A.D. 1808 engraved on stone slabs at the door of the great temple of Lhasa and translated by the present writer. It is a long document, and states near its beginning:

> 'On the passing away of the Lama the individual born in his stead is called "the incarnation of the illusory emanation" (*sprul-sku*), which in Chinese is called "So-so-i," meaning "the accepted and undoubted individual [re]-born"' (*sic*).

The lottery takes place in the immediate presence of the Chinese ambassador, the Amban, and it is also prescribed for the other three Grand Lamas of the Yellow-hat Church, namely at Tashilhunpo,

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[1] L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, p. 208.

[2] *Ib.* 251.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Cf. J. de Morgan, *Délégation en Perse*, Paris, 1900, ii. 53.

[5] See King, *op. cit.* pp. 288, 298.

[1] See King, *op. cit.* 310.

Peking for inner Mongolia, and Urga for outer Mongolia. In practice the Lamas occasionally contrive to evade this form of nomination. In the exercise of its control over these 're-incarnations' the Chinese Government arrogates to itself powers which if taken seriously would imply direct interference with the soul, or its Buddhist equivalent. Thus the *Peking Gazette* of 31st March 1877, in denouncing a recalcitrant 're-incarnating' Lama who had insulted the Imperial Chinese Resident at Lhasa and carried off the official seals, intimates that the Emperor as 'Son of Heaven' had decreed as a punishment that 'his [the Lama's] soul should not be allowed to transmigrate at his decease.'

The fiction which credits the Dalai Lama of Lhasa with being the perpetual incarnation of the greatest and most popular of the Buddhist divinities, Avalokiteśvara (*q.v.*), the God of Mercy and the special object of the popular *Oṁ-maṇi* magical formula, has been shown by the present writer to have been the invention of that Dalai Lama who was the first of the Lhasa priest-kings, namely Lo-bzang Gya-mts'o (A.D. 1615–1682). He posed thus as a priest-god as well as temporal sovereign. Contemporary evidence of this title and position is found also in a letter from the Jesuit missionary (J. Grueber) then resident in Lhasa in the middle of the 17th cent., which refers to this Dalai Lama as 'that devilish God-the-Father who puts to death all such as refuse to adore him.'

LITERATURE.—W. W. Rockhill, 'Dalai Lamas and their Relations with the Manchu Emperors,' *T'oung-Pao*, xi. (Leyden, 1910) 1 ff.; L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 230 ff., 'Chinese Imperial Edict of 1808 A.D. on the Grand Lamas of Tibet,' *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 69–86, *Lhasa and Its Mysteries*, London, 1905, pp. 27–36.

L. A. WADDELL.

INCENSE.—The custom of burning sweet-smelling substances in religious ceremonies, or sometimes as a separate rite, has been of wide-spread occurrence, especially in the higher religions.

1. Kinds of incense.—While frankincense and other gum resins are more strictly to be called incense, many other substances have been used for the purpose of producing an agreeable odour when burned—various kinds of wood or bark, branches or roots of trees, herbs and odoriferous plants, seeds, flowers, fruits, aromatic earths, etc.

Of substances referred to in the Bible which are known to have been used by the Hebrews and other peoples as incense there are: (1) *Wood*—aloes (eagle-wood), Ca 4^{14}, cf. Dioscor. i. 21; sweet cane, Jer 6^{20}. (2) *Bark*—cassia, Ps 45^{8}; cinnamon, Rev 18^{13}. (3) *Roots*—costus, Ex 30^{24}. (4) *Gum resins*—balm (? mastic), Gn 37^{25}, Ezk 27^{17}; tragacanth (spicery), Gn 37^{25}; balsam (spices), Ca $5^{1.13}$; bdellium, Gn 2^{12}, cf. Dioscor. i. 80; galbanum, Ex 30^{34}; ladanum (myrrh), Gn 37^{25}; stacte, Ex 30^{34}; frankincense, Ex 30^{34}. (5) *Flower products*—saffron, Ca 4^{14}; spikenard, Ca 4^{14}. (6) *Animal products*—onycha (the operculum of a marine mollusc), Ex 30^{34}.

The sacred incense used in later Hebrew ritual was a compound of stacte, onycha, galbanum, and pure frankincense, seasoned with salt and reduced to a fine powder.[1] In still later times—the Herodian period—Josephus records that thirteen ingredients (sweet-smelling spices) were used.[2] Plutarch gives a list of sixteen ingredients used by the Egyptians in preparing *kuphi*—honey, wine, raisins, sweet rush, resin, myrrh, frankincense, seselis, calamus, asphalt, thryon, dock, both kinds of arceuthids, cardamum, and orris root.[3] In both cases the compounding was of ritual importance and a matter of mystery. Sacred books were read aloud while the *kuphi* was being mixed.

Frankincense (Gr. λιβανωτός, Heb. *lᵉbhônāh*, Med. Lat. *olibanum*, *libanus* in Vulg. of Sir 24^{21} 39^{18}) is the gum resin of trees of the genus *Boswellia* (*B. Carterii*, *B. Frereana*, *B. Bhua-Dajiana*), and is exported from Somaliland, probably the Punt of Egyptian inscriptions. Pliny[4] refers to it as a product of Arabia (Hadramaut), and says that the Sabæi alone behold the tree which produces it, and of these only 3000 families by virtue of hereditary succession. The trees are sacred; and, while pruning the trees or gathering the resin, men must not contract pollution by sexual intercourse or contact with a corpse. It is carried to Sabota, where the priests claim a tithe of it in honour of their god Sabis; until this is paid, none of it may be disposed of. Herodotus[1] speaks of winged serpents which guard the trees and are driven off by burning styrax. It was one of the ingredients of Jewish incense,[2] as it is still of that used in Christian ritual. Classical authors, in speaking of frankincense, usually refer to its exporting place as the seat of its origin, *e.g.* Syria and Phœnicia.

2. Purpose of incense.—The use of incense is connected primarily with the psychical aspects of the sense of smell. Pleasant-smelling perfumes, in whatever way they are obtained, are agreeable to men. They were offered to honourable persons in ancient times, or diffused over the roads on which they travelled.[3] Incense was also used at banquets as an agreeable accompaniment of food and wine. Hence it was supposed that such perfumes would also be agreeable to gods or spirits, on the same principle as that by which foodstuffs which men liked were offered to them. This is obvious when we consider that the smoke of sacrifice is pleasing to the gods, and that they are thought to seize on 'the unctuous smoke' with delight,[4] and that flowers are commonly offered to the gods, or scented oils applied to their images.[5] The bodies of the dead are also decked with flowers, aromatic oils, and perfumes for the same reason. Disagreeable odours, being obnoxious to men, were also obnoxious to supernatural beings. Hence it came to be thought that beneficent gods not only liked, but actually themselves possessed, pleasant odours.

Egyptian texts illustrate these beliefs. Isis has a wonderful odour which she can transfer to others, *e.g.* to the dead. Osiris transfers his odour to those whom he loves. At the anointing of the corpse, the 'perfume on the head of Horus' is besought to place itself on that of the deceased.[6] Similar ideas are found in Mandæan belief. The Light beings have a perfume which invigorates those who smell it.[7] In Persian belief the righteous after death are said to have a sweet odour.[8] The region of the gods, the place of bliss, has also a sweet perfume. The Polynesian *Rohutu* is free from all noxious odours.[9] In the Persian texts the deceased, approaching the blissful regions, is surrounded by a perfumed breeze.[10] Sweet odours form one of the characteristics of Hindu and Buddhist Paradises, and, where Divine beings or saints descend to the malodorous hells, they change the evil odour to sweet perfume.[11] Evil odours characterize the Persian regions of punishment, as well as the Muhammadan and Christian hell.[12] The idea that Paradise has a pleasant odour is found in Jewish, Christian, and Gnostic writings. Thus in the regions of the eastern Paradise and the 'garden of righteousness' visited by Enoch there are many fragrant aromatic trees, *i.e.* those which yield material for incense, and among them one 'with a fragrance beyond all fragrance.'[13] The idea that Paradise is a region of fragrant perfume appears already in the *Apoc. of Peter*, and is found in most accounts of visits to or visions of the Other-World, while the same idea is referred to in inscriptions on Christian gravestones.[14] Spiritual persons and martyrs also possess this fragrance.[15] In Gnostic writings this perfume is connected with

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[1] Ex 30^{34}.
[2] *BJ* v. v. 5.
[3] *de Isid.* 81.
[4] *HN* xii. 14 ff.

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[1] iii. 107.
[2] Ex 30^{34}.
[3] Dn 2^{46}; Herod. vii. 54.
[4] Cf. G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, London, 1894 p. 681; Lucian, *de Sacr.* 9.
[5] W. Ellis, *Polyn. Researches*, London, 1831, i. 338, 351; Maspero, p. 679 (Babylonian); this caused the actual persons of the gods to be anointed.
[6] E. A. W. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyp. Resurrection*, London, 1911, i. 5, 78, 103; H. M. Tirard, *The Book of the Dead*, do. 1910, p. 32.
[7] W. Brandt, *Mand. Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893, p. 114.
[8] *Hāṭōxt Nask*, ii. 10.
[9] Ellis, i. 245.
[10] *Hāṭōxt Nask*, ii. 7.
[11] Cf. *ERE* iv. 652^{a}.
[12] M. Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*^{4}, London, 1907, p. 222; E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, do. 1846, i. 101; J. A. MacCulloch, *Early Christian Visions of the Other-World*, Edinburgh, 1912, *passim*.
[13] *En.* $24^{3\text{ff.}}$: for other examples, cf. *Slav. En.* 8^{2}; Syr. *Bar.* 29^{7}; *Apoc. Mos.* 29, 38, 40.
[14] MacCulloch, *op. cit.* p. 11, and *passim*; A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 34.
[15] Cf. *Apocryphal Acts*, *passim*; *Martyrdom of S. Polycarp*, § 15; Eusebius, *HE* v. 1 (martyrs of Lyons and Vienne are so 'impregnated with the sweet odour of Christ that they seem as if anointed with earthly perfumes'); cf. also 2 Co $2^{14\text{-}16}$, and Ignat. *ad Ephes.* § 17.

the powers of the upper world, or the various heavens.[1] In Gnostic and Christian circles the anointing with fragrant oil had the effect of repelling the demons, because it was 'a type of that sweet odour which is above all things.'[2]

While evil odours are obnoxious to gods, they also scare off demons, who are likewise put to flight by pleasant odours, *e.g.* that of incense, which is one of the material objects commonly credited with magical virtues. The Andaman Islanders believe that the smell of bees'-wax is offensive to a demon of epidemic, who is kept off by stakes painted with it.[3] The Kei Islanders (New Guinea) burn the scrapings of buffalo horn to drive off demons.[4] The Thompson River Indians scare off ghosts by burning juniper.[5] In India, incense, which pleases the gods, drives off demons, who are also kept off by offensive odours.[6] In Canton, on the third day of the tenth month, filth is swept out of the house, and three sticks of incense are used to drive off the demon of penury.[7] In Palestine it is commonly used as an apotropæic,[8] and in Morocco before and during the 'Great Fast' incense is burned to keep off the *jinn.*[9] Incense, because dreaded by evil spirits, is one of the ingredients of the 'amulet-box' in Tibet.[10] In Greece, at the *Anthesteria* and also at child-birth, doors were smeared with pitch to keep out ghosts and demons.[11] The Book of Tobit[12] illustrates this belief among the Jews. The liver and heart of a fish are laid on 'ashes of perfumes' so as to cause a smoke. When the demon smells this, he flees away to Egypt. In modern survivals similar ideas are found. In the Tyrol, witches are expelled by fumigating houses with juniper, and by burning rosemary, hemlock, sloe, and resinous splinters. Fairies are also kept off by strong odours, *e.g.* burning an old shoe, or by garlic.[13] Hence, generally, fumigation is a method of purifying persons and places, and of scaring off all kinds of evil influences; and for this incense is often used, as, *e.g.*, in mourning ceremonies in China.[14]

Besides the primary purpose of the use of incense as an offering pleasing to the gods, there were other practical, symbolic, or mystical uses which it served. (1) It was burned to neutralize the strong odours of bloody or burnt sacrifices, especially in hot regions. It was also used for sanitary reasons, *e.g.* in places where the dead were buried.[15] (2) It was likewise a symbol or vehicle of prayer. This is already found in Egypt, where it was thought that the smoke as it rose bore words of power or of prayer to the gods, who were pleased by its odour. The soul of the dead ascended to heaven by the smoke of the incense burned on his behalf.[16] In Jewish thought, prayer was connected with incense. In Ps 141^2 it is compared to incense. Cf. Rev 5^8, where golden bowls full of incense represent prayer. In Rev $8^{3.4}$ prayer rises with the smoke of the incense, as in the Egyptian view. So in Christian thought incense has usually been regarded as symbolic of prayer, though it also typifies contrition, the preaching of the faith, etc. (3) More mystical views have sometimes been entertained. Plutarch explains the beneficial effect of the Egyptian *kuphi* by saying that its sixteen ingredients are a square out of a square. Being composed of aromatic ingredients, it lulls people to sleep, loosens the tension of daily anxieties, and brightens the dreams. It is made of things that delight most in the night and exhibits its virtues by night.[1] Plutarch also gives medico-mystical reasons for the burning of other substances at other times, *e.g.* resin in the morning to purify the air, because of its strong and penetrating quality; myrrh at midday, because its hot nature dissolves and disperses the turbid qualities in the air.[2] Philo explains the four ingredients of the Hebrew incense as symbolizing the four elements, and thus representing the universe.[3] Josephus writes that the altar of incense, with the thirteen kinds of sweet-smelling things gathered from all places, points to the fact that God is Lord of all.[4] In the Orphic hymns the different substances used and offered to the gods are chosen because of some occult reason in each case.

W. R. Smith (426 f.) considers the religious value of incense as originally independent of animal sacrifice, since frankincense was the gum of a very holy species of tree collected with religious precautions. The right to see the trees was reserved to certain sacred families. While harvesting the gum they must practise continence and take no part in funerals.[5] The virtue of the gum lay in its being regarded as the blood of a divine plant.

3. Ritual use of incense in ethnic religions.—(*a*) *Lower races.*—The use of incense among lower races is hardly known, save perhaps where they have been in contact with higher races using it We may, however, note the American Indian custom of offering tobacco smoke to the gods, and the Polynesian offering of flowers and aromatic substances.[6] Among the Sakai, Semang, Jakun, etc., the only common kind of offering is the burning of incense (benzoin). At a death among the Sakai, the magician waves a censer seven times over the body, recommending the dying man to think of his dead ancestors. As the smoke mounts up and then vanishes, so does the soul. Good spirits love its smell and evil spirits hate it. In sickness, among the savage Malays of Johore, the magician burns incense. The fumes rise to the abode of Jewa-Jewa and gratify him. He welcomes the soul of the magician and grants him medicine for the sick.[7] Incense is burned as an offering at shrines, saints' tombs, etc., among the Malays, and is the usual form of burnt sacrifice, with invocation to the Spirit of Incense. It reaches the nostrils of the gods and propitiates them as a foretaste of other offerings to follow.[8] It is also used in magical ceremonies, *e.g.* to make one walk on water or remain under water in an ordeal, in the use of the divining rod, or to cause a spirit to possess a magician.[9] Callaway refers to 'incense' burned with Zulu animal sacrifices (blood and caul of a bullock) to the spirits, in order to give them a sweet savour. It is apparently some native product and is also used in rites for the cure of sickness.[10]

(*b*) Among the *Semites* the use of incense came to be wide-spread. Its name among the Babylonians was *ḳutrinnu*, and the incense-offering consisted of odoriferous woods (cedar, cypress), myrtle, cane, and sweet herbs, by which the gods were made to smell a pleasing odour. After the Deluge, its survivor offered calamus, cedar, and fragrant herbs, and 'the gods inhaled the sweet odour' and 'gathered like flies round the sacrificer.'[1] Incense is frequently mentioned in the texts—*e.g.*, 'before Samaš he makes an incense-offering'—or kings are represented making this offering. Nabonnedos is described as filling the temple with the odour of incense.[2] Herodotus[3] says that 1000 talents of frankincense were offered on the great altar of Bel at his annual feast, and the author of Is 65³ refers to Babylon as the land where incense is offered on bricks. It was burned as a ritual accompaniment of incantations, prayers, and the presentation of oracles, and also at the yearly mourning for Tammuz, with which was combined a memorial of the dead, who are said to 'arise and inhale the incense of offerings,' as well as at funeral rites.[4] It was also used as a fumigatory, *e.g.* of the gods' table and its accessaries and the place whither the gods were supposed to come, of houses, and of persons.[5]

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[1] Cf. Iren. i. iv. 1; Hippol. *Philosoph.* v. 14, vii. 10; *Apoc. Acts, passim.*

[2] Iren. i. xxi. 3.

[3] E. H. Man, *JAI* xii. [1883] 97.

[4] Frazer, *GB*² iii. 63.

[5] J. Teit, *Memoirs Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* ii. pt. 4 [1900], p. 332.

[6] Crooke, *PR*², 1896, ii. 21; cf. *ERE* iii. 445ᵃ.

[7] *L'Anthrop.* iv. [1893] 175 f.

[8] *FL* xviii. [1907] 59.

[9] E. Westermarck, *FL* xxii. [1911] 132, 142.

[10] See *ERE* iii. 468ᵇ.

[11] Hesychius, *s.v.* μιαραὶ ἡμέραι; Photius, *s.v.* ῥάμνος.

[12] $6^{7.16.17}$ $8^{2.3}$.

[13] J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1900, p. 36; E. S. Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, p. 99.

[14] J. J. M. de Groot, *Rel. System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., i. 33, 77; cf. W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*², London, 1894, p. 426; M. Jastrow, *Aspects of Rel. Belief and Practice in Bab. and Assyr.*, New York, 1911, p. 318 (purification of house after sickness with torches and censers); cf. also *ERE* iv. 729ᵇ, 762ᵃ.

[15] Cf. Tert. *de Cor. Mil.* 10; *Apol.* 30, 42.

[16] Budge, *op. cit.* iii. 255; cf. the idea current in the New Hebrides that the soul of the departed rose to the sun on the fire kindled at the grave (G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, p. 335).

[1] *de Isid.* 81.

[2] *Ib.* 80.

[3] *Quis rerum divin. heres.* 41.

[4] *BJ* v. v. 5.

[5] Pliny, xii. 54.

[6] Turner, i. 36, 71.

[7] Skeat-Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. 98, 199, 352.

[8] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 74 f.

[9] Skeat, *FL* xiii. [1902] 136, 144 f., 152.

[10] *Religious System of the Amazulu*, Natal, 1870, London, 1874 pp. 141, 174.

Evidence of the popularity of incense-offerings among the peoples of Canaan and the surrounding districts is found in the fact that it is the most commonly denounced form of idolatry in Israel. Incense was offered on altars of brick or on the housetops to Baal, the sun, moon, stars, etc.[6] Lucian describes the sweet odours and the incense smoking without ceasing in the temples of the Syrian goddess.

(*c*) Although in the OT the *Hebrew* use of incense seems to be early, this is due to the rendering of the word *ḳᵉṭôreth* as 'incense,' when, strictly speaking, it means the savoury odour or smoke of a burnt sacrifice.[7] The word translated 'frankincense' is *lᵉbhônāh*, λίβανος, Arab. *lubān*, meaning a sweet resinous gum, and incense in this sense was not certainly used until the 7th century.[8] *Ḳᵉṭôreth* also came to mean 'incense.'[9] Ezekiel makes no reference to incense in his description of the reformed ritual. The first distinct reference to its use in the cult of Jahweh is in Jer 6²⁰ 'To what purpose cometh there to me frankincense from Sheba, and the sweet cane [calamus] from a far country?' Cf. 17²⁶ 41⁵ and Is 43²³. ²⁴ 60⁶ 66³—the latter passages show that it was not required, and was an innovation in the cult of Jahweh and was expensive. Once admitted, however, it came to be a regular part of the ritual, and is frequently referred to in the Priestly Code (P). Incense was offered either (1) by itself, or (2) as a part of other sacrifices. (1) It was offered in censers, *e.g.* on the Day of Atonement when the high priest appeared before the mercy-seat;[10] or when Aaron passed through the congregation to stay the plague with his censer and incense (an atonement and fumigation).[11] The incense used in these rites was carefully compounded according to a set formula,[12] and was obviously regarded as sacred—'most holy' and not to be used for common purposes. It must not be consumed on 'strange fire,' *i.e.* fire from some other source than the glowing altar coals,[13] and it must not be offered by any but the priests.[1] Probably as a later custom a separate altar on which this incense was burned came into use, and on it incense was burned morning and evening.[2] (2) Frankincense (*i.e.* not the compounded incense of Ex 30³⁴) was offered with the meat-offering,[3] and firstfruits,[4] and burned with them on the altar. It was also placed on the shewbread as a 'memorial,' *'azkārāh*, in two golden vessels and then consumed on the altar at each weekly renewal of the bread.[5] But it was not to be offered with a sin-offering or with the 'meal offering of jealousy.'[6]

In later times the daily offering of incense became an elaborate ceremony, and priests were chosen by lot to offer it.[7]

(*d*) In *Egypt* the burning of various kinds of incense was always an important rite, each ingredient of it having magical properties, and, as has been seen, its smoke was supposed to carry the words of prayer as well as the souls of the dead to heaven. Prayer was made, *e.g.*, to Rā, that he would draw the soul up to heaven on the smoke of the incense. Probably the earliest reference to the use of incense in any religion occurs in the notice of Sanehkara, a king of the XIth dynasty, who sent an expedition for aromatics through the desert to the Red Sea towards the incense land of Punt. Hâtšepsu, a queen of the XVIIIth dynasty, also sent an expedition by sea thither. Punt is probably Hadramaut and Somaliland.[8] Incense was also obtained from Gilead.[9] A common representation on the walls of temples is that of a king offering incense. He holds a censer in one hand and with the other throws little balls or pastilles of incense upon it, praying the god to accept it and give him a long life. Immense quantities of incense are often spoken of as having been offered, *e.g.* 1000 censers, or, as an inscription referring to Rameses III. reports, 1,933,766 pieces of incense, etc., during the 31 years of his reign.[10] It was offered to all the gods, who delighted in its odour, their statues being censed with it and perfumed. Often it accompanied other offerings, greater or smaller—*e.g.*, frankincense, myrrh, and other perfumes were placed in the carcass of the bullock offered to Isis[11]—or was presented by itself, as described above. The censer was an open cup holding fire, with or without a handle, but other forms were also used.[12] At funerary rites the deceased was purified with incense. Five grains were twice offered to mouth, eyes, and hand, once for the north and once for the south; then incense from foreign parts was similarly offered, along with the litany of purification. Myrrh, resin, etc., but not frankincense, were placed in the body which was embalmed.[13]

(*e*) Incense, in the sense of a gum resin, does not seem to have been used in *Greece* until post-Homeric times, and Pliny says that people knew only the smell of cedar and citrus as it arose in volumes of smoke from the sacrifice.[14] The idea of a fragrant odour, *e.g.* of sacrifice, being pleasant to the gods was well known.[15] The wood of odoriferous trees, *e.g.* a kind of cedar (*τὸ θύον*),[16] as well as myrtle was burned in houses for its fragrant smell. In Homer[17] *θύος* probably means no more than the burning of such wood or some native pro-

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[1] Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 503.

[2] Jastrow, p. 665; F. Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWB*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 600.

[3] i. 183.

[4] Jastrow, pp. 281, 346, 575; A. Jeremias, *The Bab. Conception of Heaven and Hell*, London, 1902, p. 11.

[5] M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*², Paris, 1905, p. 239 ff.; Herod. i. 198.

[6] Cf. 1 K 11⁸, 2 K 22¹⁷ 23⁵, Jer 7⁹ 11¹³ 19¹³ 32²⁹, Hos 2¹³, Ezk 6¹³ 8¹¹.

[7] Cf. Ps 66¹⁵ 'incense of rams'; see also Dt 33¹⁰, 1 S 2²⁸, Is 1¹³ etc.

[8] Cf. the absence of any denunciation of incense in the well-known passages, Am 4⁴ 5²¹ᶠ·, Is 1¹¹, Mic 6⁶.

[9] Cf. Ezk 8¹¹.

[10] Lv 16¹²ᶠᶠ·.

[11] Nu 16⁴⁶.

[12] Ex 30³⁴, and see § x above.

[13] Lv 10¹, and cf. passages just cited.

[1] Nu 16⁷ᶠᶠ·, 2 Ch 26¹⁹ᶠᶠ·.

[2] Ex 30¹· ⁷· ⁸, a secondary part of P.

[3] Lv 2¹ 6¹⁵.

[4] Lv 2¹⁴ᶠ·.

[5] Lv 24⁵ᶠᶠ·; Jos. *Ant.* III. x. 7.

[6] Lv 5¹¹, Nu 5¹⁵.

[7] Lk 1⁹· ¹⁰; *EBi*, col. 2167.

[8] Schrader, *Reallex.*, *s.v.* 'Weihrauch.'

[9] Gn 37²⁵.

[10] J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of Anc. Egyptians*, London, 1878, iii. 414, 417; A. Erman, *Ägypten und ägypt Leben im Altertum*, Tübingen, 1885, p. 407.

[11] Herod. ii. 40.

[12] Wilkinson, iii. 398.

[13] See also § x.

[14] *HN* xiii. 1.

[15] Homer, *Il.* viii. 548 ff.

[16] *Od.* v. 60.

[17] *e.g. Il.* ix. 499.

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duct as an offering, or it may simply mean 'sacrifice.' Later it came to mean 'incense,' and was the source of Lat. *tus*. The word for 'frankincense,' λιβανωτός, was of foreign derivation. Incense as such was not used before the 8th cent. B.C.,[1] and is first mentioned in Euripides.[2] Schrader is of opinion that it may have been introduced through the cult of Aphrodite, and it was certainly traditionally thought to have come from Phœnicia *via* Cyprus, where it was used in her cult.[3] It was brought into Greece commercially from Arabia, and imported thence by Phœnicians.[4] Incense was burned with bloody sacrifices as an offering or to combat evil odours,[5] or with fruits, cakes, wheat, etc.,[6] or as a separate offering, both in domestic ritual and in the cult of the gods; *e.g.*, it was burnt to Zeus Meilichios, to Demeter before consulting the oracle at Patræ, and to Hermes and Sosipolis.[7] The inventory lists of some temples contain evidence of the large quantities which came to be used, and it was sometimes given as a gift by one person to another.[8] Incense of different kinds was also used largely in the Orphic cult, as the hymns show. It was offered along with cakes of honey, πέλανοι, without being burned, in the rites of certain divinities.[9] The method of burning incense was to throw it on the altar so as to mingle with the smell of the victim, or to fill the victim with it,[10] or to burn it in braziers standing on or near the altar, or even outside temples, or in vessels which could be borne on the hand.

(*f*) In *Roman* religion, incense (*tus*) was one of the most important of the bloodless offerings (*libamina*), and indeed without it no rite was regarded as complete. But, as in Greece, odoriferous woods and herbs had probably been used first, as described by Ovid in his account of the Palilia[11]—olive, pitch-wood, laurel branches, and Sabine herbs.[12] Gums and resins came to be used—frankincense (*masculum tus*),[13] myrrh, crocus, costum.[14] In the case of animal sacrifices, incense, saffron, and laurel were burned as a preliminary, and, as the animal was led up, incense and wine were sprinkled on the altar. It was also offered with the blood, and burned with the *exta*.[15] Incense was also offered by itself in public or private ritual; and this is illustrated by the fact that one method of forcing a renunciation of Christianity was to burn some incense on an altar before an image or to the Emperor. Incense was offered to the *lar familiaris* daily.[16] The method of using it was to burn it on the greater altars, or in braziers, or small portable altars (*focus, turibulum*). It was carried in a casket called *acerra* (much used in funerary ceremonies), whence it was taken and burned.[17] It was also offered for the averting of prodigies *c.* 296 B.C.,[18] and burned in magical ceremonies.[19] The introduction of incense into the cult was connected with Bacchus, the first to make offerings of cinnamon and frankincense[20]—an obvious suggestion of its entrance into Roman ritual through the Greek cult of Dionysos. Elsewhere Ovid[1] speaks of its importation from the Euphrates region, perhaps connecting it with the Oriental cults which introduced it into Greece.

(*g*) Hindus have always been fond of pleasant odours, and *India* was already celebrated for its perfumes in ancient times. Incense from Arabia was early imported there, but many native kinds of sweet-smelling materials have long been in use—benzoin, and other gum resins, seeds, roots, dried flowers, and fragrant woods. These are burned ritually or in ordinary domestic usage. In ancient times sandal-wood was burned as incense in temples and as a fragrant stuff in houses, and in the daily rites the sacred fire was fed with consecrated wood, usually from the Palāśa tree.[2] In modern Hinduism the use of incense is wide-spread in all forms of cult. Thus in the cult of Śiva it is daily burned by the priest before the stone representing the god at Orissa, and perfumes are also placed on it. In the Vallabha sect of Vaiṣṇavism the Mahārājas offer incense and swing lights before the images, and the same act of homage is paid to them by the people. Camphor and incense are burned before the image of Kṛṣṇa, and in the demon cults of Western India perfumes are commonly burned. In the *Pañchāyatana* ceremony of the Brāhman householder perfumes and flowers are offered, and among the sixteen acts of homage is the offering of perfumes, sandal, flowers, and incense (*dhūpa*; see Monier Williams, *passim*).

(*h*) Incense was unknown in early *Buddhism*, which was opposed to external ritual, but in the course of time its use, especially in northern Buddhism, has become general. Thus, in Ceylon, perfumes and flowers are offered before the image of Buddha, and in the Pirit ceremonial incense is burned round the platform on which the relics of Buddha are exposed.[3] But it is in Tibet that the use of incense is most prevalent, and Huc and other travellers there have referred to the likeness of its ritual use and of the censers to that of the Roman Catholic Church. It is used in the initiation of a monk; it is offered to the good spirits and Lamas in the daily cult of the monasteries and of the village priesthoods; it is one of the usual offerings in the temples, and is prominent in the festivals at which 'clouds of incense fill the air'; it is used in exorcisms, in baptisms, and other ceremonies; it is burned in censers before the Lamas at the performance of religious dramas, or in shrines and chapels, etc. Perfumes and incense form one of the five sensuous offerings, and figure prominently in the 'presentation of offerings,' which is one of the seven stages of worship. These seven offerings are 'essential,' and among them flowers and incense occur as early as the 7th century. They bear Sanskrit names, and are borrowed from Hinduism.[4] In Japanese Buddhism, incense is also commonly used, and has influenced the native Shinto religion. In earlier Shintoism incense was unknown, but it is now burned in censers at many ceremonies, *e.g.* at the new moon, and at magical rites.[5]

(*i*) In *China*, incense is much used in public and private cults. It is offered in the temples as part of the daily worship, and it is burned at festivals and in processions. It is also offered before the ancestral tablets or before the household deities, and is used in consulting the gods and in magical ceremonies. Chinese Buddhism also used it extensively.[1] In Chinese funeral ceremonies the burning of incense plays an important part, both as an offering and as a fumigatory, and one purpose is to gratify the olfactory nerves of the soul of the deceased.[2]

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[1] Farnell uses this as an argument against the likelihood of Mesopotamian influences affecting Greece in earlier periods (*Greece and Bab.*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 232 f.).

[2] *Bacch.* 144.

[3] Athenæus, xii. 10; Hesychius, *s.v.* θύα.

[4] Herod. ii. 8, iii. 107 (the trees are said to be guarded by winged serpents).

[5] Paus. ix. 3. 8; Daremberg-Saglio, IV. ii. 964*a*.

[6] Paus. v. xv. 10, VI. xx. 3.

[7] Paus. v. xv. 10, VI. xx. 3, VII. xxi. 12, xxii. 3; Lucian, *de Sacr.* 12; Plaut. *Aul.* 24.

[8] Boeckh, *CIG* 2852, 5773; Lucian, *Cronosolon*, 16.

[9] L. F. A. Maury, *Hist. des religions de la Grèce ant.*, Paris, 1857–59, ii. 116.

[10] Paus. IX. iii. 8.

[11] *Fasti*, iv. 741 f.; cf. i. 338 ff.

[12] For the burning of laurel in a magical ceremony, see Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 82 f.; cf. Theocr. *Id.* ii. 33.

[13] Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 65.

[14] *Fasti*, i. 339 ff.

[15] *Ib.* iv. 933 ff.; Arnobius, vii. 26.

[16] Plaut. *Aul.* prol. 23 f.

[17] Verg. *Æn.* v. 745.

[18] Livy, x. 23.

[19] Verg. *Ecl* viii. 65.

[20] *Fasti*, iii. 727.

[1] *Fasti*, i. 338.

[2] C. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*^{2}, Leipzig, 1858–74, i. 334 f.; M. Monier Williams, *Rel. Thought and Life in India*, London, 1883, p. 366.

[3] Monier Williams, *Buddhism*, London, 1889, pp. 315, 319.

[4] Monier Williams, pp. 329, 345, 350, 357; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, *passim*.

[5] W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905, pp. 213, 292, 354.

(*j*) In the ancient *Persian* religion incense was in use. It was burned five times daily in the official cult, and at times was used in large quantities. Herodotus[3] describes Darius burning 300 talents of frankincense upon the altar. It was also burned as a method of purification or fumigation, and in a passage of the Vendīdād[4] it is called 'incense of *vohu-gaona*'—'Thou shalt perfume Vohu-mano [perhaps an idol; see above, p. 153ᵃ] therewith.'[5] Sandal-wood and incense are burned in modern Parsi ritual.[6] The *Bahman-Yašt*[7] describes how, in the 'sheep period,' firewood and incense will be properly supplied.

(*k*) Incense was very largely used in the religion of ancient *Mexico*, and was offered to all the gods, and in all festivals, processions, and sacrifices. Incense-burning was performed four times daily in the temples. Images of gods were censed in the temples and in processions, and the chief officiant was also himself censed. Some gods desired only bloodless sacrifices, of which incense was one, *e.g.* Quetzalcoatl, who delighted in fragrant odours and perfumes. The incense was carried in an embroidered bag and thrown on an open censer (*temaitl*) of baked clay containing fire. It consisted of copal, or it was sometimes made from a herb called *yiauhtli*. Its fumes were of a narcotic kind and were also used to stupefy human victims. The fumes of incense were regarded as typifying prayer.[8] Incense consisting of sweet-scented gums was used in *Peruvian* ritual and offered as a sacrifice. Golden censers or braziers stood in the temples.[9]

(*l*) In *Muhammadan* cultus proper, incense is not used, but it is commonly offered at the shrines of saints, and is permitted by the traditions as a perfume for a corpse. Muhammadans in India, possibly as an influence from Hinduism, use it in their rites, *e.g.* circumcision, marriage, funerals, etc., and it is supposed to have the effect of keeping off evil spirits. But among all Muhammadans it is burned in houses on braziers, or at marriage processions it is burned in a *mibkharah*, and it is also commonly used in magical ceremonies, *e.g.* to counteract the evil eye, or in the 'science' of *daʿwah*, a method of incantations in which various perfumes are burned according to a table showing the letters of the alphabet. The letter of the name of the person for whom the incantation is made gives the required perfume. The materials used for incense are frankincense, benzoin, storax, coriander-seed, aloes-wood, etc.[10]

4. Incense in the Christian Church.—Although incense was used in Jewish ceremonial, while such a prophecy as Mal 1^{11} might seem to point to its continued use in the new dispensation, and though it was one of the offerings of the Magi and its use is referred to in the Apocalypse, there is no evidence that it was part of early church ritual; indeed there is strong evidence against it. Some of the Fathers refer to it as a type of prayer; but Tertullian, Athenagoras, Arnobius, and Lactantius clearly witness against its ritual use.

Tertullian[1] says: 'Not one pennyworth of incense do I offer Him.' Athenagoras[2] declares that God does not require the sweet smell of flowers or incense. Arnobius,[3] referring to the fact that the early Romans did not use it, maintains that Christians may safely neglect it. Lactantius[4] says that odours are not desired by God, and agrees with Neo-Platonist writers that frankincense and the like should not be offered to Him.

The fact that it was a Jewish usage may have tended to make Christians neglect it, but what had probably a more powerful effect was its use among pagans and the common practice during the ages of persecution of insisting that Christians should offer a few grains of incense to the gods or on the altar of the Emperor as a token of their renunciation of their faith. Such apostates as yielded in this way during the Decian persecutions were called *Thurificati*. Incense was, however, used for fumigations as a sanitary precaution, *e.g.* at burials or in places with a disagreeable odour;[5] but otherwise its ritual use was almost unknown during the first four centuries. The *Apostolic Canons* refer to the use of incense (*θυμίαμα*) at the Eucharist, but this is probably a later interpolation. It was used at the vigil offices on Sunday in Jerusalem towards the end of the 4th century.[6] Pseudo-Dionysius[7] speaks of the priest censing the altar and making the circuit of the holy place. In the Liturgy of St. James it is used in the pro- and post-Anaphora portions, and in that of St. Mark before the gospel, at the great entrance, at the kiss of peace, and at the commemoration of the dead. In the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom the sacred vessels, the Gospels, altar, priest, and sanctuary are censed in the pro-Anaphora, and the altar is censed in the Anaphora. Evagrius[8] refers to the gift of a thurible to a church in Antioch by a Persian king *c.* 594. In the West the *Ordines* of the 8th cent. describe the swinging of the censer during the procession of the pontiff and his acolytes from the sacristy to the altar in the church at Rome. 'As for censing the altar, or the church, or the clergy or congregation, such a thing is never mentioned.'[9] The further use of incense was gradual, since it is not mentioned by writers of this period who treat of ritual, and its use at the elevation and benediction was not known in the West till the 14th century. In the Roman Catholic Church at the present time incense is burned at solemn Mass before the introit, at the gospel, offertory, and elevation, at solemn blessings, processions, choral offices, consecration of churches, burial rites, etc. In the Church of England there is no decisive evidence of its ritual use in Divine service during the period after the Reformation. It was used, however, for sanitary purposes, as a fumigatory, and for the sake of its agreeable odour in churches, at feasts, at coronations, etc. Its ritual use was resumed towards the middle of the 19th cent., but this was decided to be illegal in Martin *v.* Mackonochie, 1868, and in Sumner *v.* Wix, 1870.[10] Incense is used ritually in many churches of the Anglican communion, and the practice is certainly spreading as a pleasing adjunct to worship, and as a symbolic rite typifying prayer.

LITERATURE.—H. von Fritze, *Die Rauchopfer bei den Griechen*, Berlin, 1894; Pliny, *HN* xii. 30 ff., xiv. 88 ff.; O. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, Strassburg, 1901, *s.v.* 'Weihrauch'; Theophrastus, *de Odoribus*; H. Zwaardemaker, *Die Physiologie des Geruchs*, Leipzig, 1895; E. G. C. F. Atchley, *Hist. of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship*, London, 1909; R. Sigismund, *Die Aromata in ihrer Bedeutung für Religion . . . des Alterthums*, Leipzig, 1884. Cf. also the authorities cited in the footnotes of the present article.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

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[1] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, London, 1866, *passim*.
[2] J. J. M. de Groot, *op. cit.* i. *passim*.
[3] vi. 97.
[4] xix. 24.
[5] *Vend.* xix. 24; cf. Haug, pp. 335 f., 385.
[6] Haug, 404, 408.
[7] iii. 40; cf. *SBE* v. [1880] 230.
[8] Bancroft, *NR* iii. chs. 7-10, *passim*.
[9] W. H. Prescott, *Hist. of Conquest of Peru*, 1870, pp. 47, 50; A. Réville, *Native Religions of Mexico and Peru*, London, 1884, p. 218.
[10] See E. W. Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, London, 1846, i. 186, 217, ii. 71, 93, iii. 154; Hughes, *DI*², 72 ff., 206.

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[1] *Apol.* 30; cf. 42.
[2] *Leg.* 13.
[3] *adv. Gent.* vii. 26.
[4] *Div. Inst.* vi. 25, *Epit.* 2.
[5] Tert. *Apol.* 42, *de Cor. Mil.* 10.
[6] *Peregr. Etheriæ*, cited by L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*⁴, London, 1912, p. 495.
[7] *de Hier. Ecc.* iii. 2.
[8] *HE* vi. 21.
[9] Duchesne, p. 163.
[10] See the summary of the evidence by L. T. Dibdin, in *EBr*¹¹ xiv. 352 f., *s.v.* 'Incense.'

INCEST.—See Crimes and Punishments, Ethics and Morality.

INCUBATION.—Incubation, a translation of the Gr. technical term ἐγκοίμησις, denotes in comparative religion the practice of sleeping (or at least of passing the night) in a shrine or other sacred place with the object of receiving a Divine revelation or Divine aid; in a still more specific sense—which is also the one most commonly denoted by the word because of the Greek use of the rite—the aid in question is currently held to be the cure of disease, though this limitation is of later development. Naturally, the subject of incubation is connected with those of communion with Deity, disease, divination, dreams, omens (*qq.v.*), etc.

In the state of sleep, when the soul is released from the ordinary trammels of the body, it is particularly subject to Divine visitations, and may receive revelations from Divine beings (cf. Gn 28$^{12ff.}$ 37$^{5ff.}$ 41$^{1-36}$, 1 K 3$^{5-15}$ etc.). Indeed, the whole basal theory of incubation could not be better expressed than in the words of Job (33$^{15f.}$):

> 'In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed; then he [God] openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction.'

It is perfectly true that Divine revelations in dreams may come in almost any place (for examples, see art. Dreams); and, as when the American Indian goes forth in search of the revelation of his *manitou*, the inquirer may have no idea as to the spot in which the Divine will draw near to him (cf. art. Communion with Deity [American], vol. iii. p. 741). Yet it is obvious that a god will reveal himself more readily in a distinct locality with which he is already associated by legend or by cult, and where he has a dwelling provided in the shape of temple or shrine. In some instances this dwelling may be only temporary, and prepared for the special occasion on which Divine revelation is sought.

Thus, among the Malays, after a proper site for a house is found, four sticks are laid down to form a rectangle in the centre of the plot, and a clod is taken from this enclosure, with the prayer to the lords of the spot:

'If it [my purpose] is good, show me a good omen,
If it is bad, show me a bad omen.'

After this, 'wrap the clod up in white cloth, and after fumigating it with incense, place it at night beneath your pillow, and when you retire to rest repeat the last two lines of the above charm as before and go to sleep. If your dream is good proceed with, if bad desist from, your operations' (W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 142; cf. also p. 144; and, for a similar usage in Torres Straits, see *ERE* iv. 776^{a}). The ancient Irish had a kindred practice in the *tarbfess*, which is usually translated 'bull feast,' although *fess*, 'feast,' is probably identical with *fess*, 'to pass the night' (H. Pedersen, *Vergl. Gramm. der kelt. Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1908–13, ii. 524, 559; cf. also i. 80). In *Serglige Conculaind*, 22 f. (ed. E. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, i. [Leipzig, 1880] 212 f.) we read that the Irish kings Medb, Ailill, Cúroi, Tigernach, and Find assembled, but did not decide upon a king for Ulster because they were united against that kingdom. 'Thereupon a *tarbfess* is made there among them, that they might know from it to which of them they should give the kingdom. 'Tis thus this *tarbfess* was done, *i.e.* a white bull to be killed, and a man to eat to satiety of its flesh and its broth, and slumber for him from this satiety, and the *ós firindi* [a certain charm] to be sung over him by four druids, and the sort of man who should be made king there was seen by him in vision from his form and from his description and the sort of work he did. The man awoke from his sleep, and his dream is told to the kings.' Similar in principle was the ancient Irish *imbas forosnai*, in which incantations were pronounced over his palms by him who sought a revelation, after which he placed his palms to his cheeks and fell asleep, being guarded against any interruption. During his slumber the future was revealed to him (see above, p. 128^{b}; the text is conveniently given by Windisch, 616). Very frequently incubational dreams are facilitated by fasting, vigils (*qq.v.*), and the like (cf. *PC* ii. 410 ff.; M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, pp. 114, 151, 159, 164 f., 169).

The place where such a revelation was vouchsafed would naturally be regarded as an abode of the Deity (cf. Gn 28$^{16-19}$ 35$^{1.7}$), and might long be held a centre of worship, as in the case of Bethel ('house of God,' cf. 2 K 2$^{2f.}$, Am 7$^{10.13}$). Incubation might also be practised at sacred stones and sacred trees. An excellent example of the former is found in the instance of the pre-Islāmic priests who slept near the oracular stone of al-Jalsad (J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*^{2}, Berlin, 1897, p. 55), and of the latter in the revelation received by Alexander the Great as he slumbered under the plane tree at Smyrna (Pausanias, VII. v. 2). Consultation might likewise be sought in grave crises of the State, as was done on at least one occasion in Greece (Pausanias, III. xxvi. 1).

The usual locality for incubation is the shrine or temple.

Thus, among the Meitheis, when the king and his people had been alarmed by the gods, who desired to show their power lest they be forgotten in Meithei prosperity, a *maibi* ('wise woman') gave a message to the king directing him 'to send all the *maibas* and *maibis* of the country to sleep in the temple of Thāngjing [the god of the country of Moirang] wearing their sacred clothes. . . . There in their dreams they were instructed to divide the people into sections, some for one duty and some for others. . . . Then, when they had told the King all the wonderful things communicated to them in their dreams, they were bidden to do as the God had said' (T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, London, 1908, p. 131).

Incubation in shrines for advice in all sorts of problems of life is common, as in ancient Egypt (cf. *ERE* iii. 762^{a}, and especially v. 35 f.) and among the modern Berbers (cf. *ERE* ii. 513). Of modern Mesopotamia we are told that

'the shaikhs, the Muhammadan mullas, the Kurds, and the Arabs lie down in mosques or places of pilgrimage, and in ancient convents which formerly belonged to Christians, and to which they give the generic name of *mazār* [from *zār*, 'to visit, go on pilgrimage'], with the purpose of obtaining good dreams or inspirations suited to guide them in their dreams. In Mesopotamia it is not uncommon to find heretical or Catholic Christians who seek slumber in churches or convents to have good and lucky dreams' (J. Tfinkdji, in *Anthropos*, viii. [1913] 506).

From such consultation as to the proper course to be adopted in problems of various kinds has developed that type of incubation which, because of its prominence in Greece, has gained a natural, though not wholly deserved, prominence in the common parlance of comparative religion. This is incubation for the purpose of gaining cure from disease of the most diverse kinds. The subject has been so thoroughly discussed (see Literature appended below) that the briefest summary will be sufficient here (cf., for some special instances, also *ERE* vi. 542, 548 f., 552). There was a primitive American centre at Izamal.

'In their heathendom those Indians [the Mayas of Yucatan] raised one altar and temple on another to their king or false god Ytzmat-ul, where they placed the image of a hand which served them as a memorial; and they say that there they carried the dead and the sick, and that there they were resuscitated and healed by touching the hand. . . . And therefore it was called and named Kab-ul, which means "artificial hand"' (Lizana, in Landa, *Relacion de las cosas de Yucatan*, ed. C. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg, Paris, 1864, p. 358, quoted by H. H. Bancroft, *NR* ii. [1882] 796, n. 44).

The principal classical accounts, apart from the burlesque in Aristophanes' *Plutus* (v. 634 ff.), are the stelæ of cures at Epidaurus (*CIG* iv. 951 f.; J. Baunack, *Stud. auf dem Gebiete des Griech. und der arischen Sprachen*, i. [Leipzig, 1886] 120–144; Hamilton, *op. cit.* 17–27); the *Sacred Orations* of Aristides (ed. W. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1829, summarized by Hamilton, 44–62); and the inscription set up at Epidaurus in the 2nd cent. A.D. by Julius Apellas, a Carian sophist (*CIG* iv. 955; Baunack, 110–118; Hamilton, 40 f.). In the earliest period there was entire dependence upon the god for healing, and he might work the cure either by himself acting as surgeon or by advising certain medicaments. Later skilled medical men became connected with the shrines, co-operating with, but not superseding, the revelations given by the god in visions. Much obscurity exists as to the precise methods of procedure, and details doubtless varied at different times and places, and under special circumstances. The general mode, however, seems to have been as follows:

On arriving at the shrine, the patient probably received instruction from the priest or priests, and was caused to perform some rites and sacrifices to bring him to a thoroughly recipient frame of mind. After successful incubation, during which the patient, sleeping within the shrine of the god, had been visited by the deity with actual cure or with counsel, the person thus healed was required to make payment of a fee (ἴατρον), non-payment being punished by recurrence of the disease. Votive offerings would also be made, and in some instances were commanded by the god. The costliness of these votive offerings—which, it is to be conjectured, were the earlier mode of showing gratitude, the 'fee' being introduced only when the shrine had become comparatively elaborate and expensive in upkeep—naturally varied according to the means of those who had been cured. Phalysius of Naupactus gave 2000 gold staters (£1900) when healed of blindness (Pausanias, x. xxxviii. 7); a boy offering the god ten dice for cure was healed without charge (Stele of Epidaurus, i. 68–71).

The rite of incubation for the cure of disease still prevails widely in churches of the Greek and, to a less extent, Latin countries, as in Tenos, Cyprus, Mytilene, Rhodes, Argolis, Achæa, Phocis, Bœotia, Laconia, Cyzicus, Amalfi, Sardinia, and Styria; and in the Middle Ages the practice is mentioned in connexion with Saints Cosmas and Damian, Therapon, Cyrus and John, Martin, and Fides (cf., *e.g.*, Hamilton, 109–233). The reality of at least some of the cures resulting from incubation is acknowledged by even the most prejudiced of writers; and there can be no doubt that faith is a potent agency in the amelioration and even complete cure of bodily ills.

There is, however, at least one point where scepticism seems warranted. It appears rather questionable whether the Greek system of incubation can be definitely derived (as by E. Thrämer, above, vol. vi. p. 542^{a}) from Babylonia by way of Lydia. Incubation in its full meaning is far too wide-spread to be traced to any single locality for its origin; it is an expression of a religious conviction to a large part of the earlier human race; even the exact relation of the incubation of Asia Minor to that of Greece (cf. *ERE* vi. 549^{a}) is not certain. It may, in view of the lateness of our sources, have been influenced by the Greek practice; or it may (and this, perhaps, is the more probable hypothesis) have been an independent development.

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LOUIS H. GRAY.

INDEX.—The Index (*i.e.* 'librorum prohibitorum') is the catalogue of books which ecclesiastical authority forbids Roman Catholics to read or have in their possession; by an extension, the name Index is used to cover the rules for the proscription of pernicious literature, and for the examination and censorship of books before publication. The Index is a product of positive ecclesiastical law; it is based on the assumption that bad books are dangerous, and concerns society as such; the moral law forbidding the reading of pernicious books is motivated by the real danger lurking in them, and affects the individual directly.

I. *HISTORY.*—It is natural that every religious authority should set itself to prevent the publication and reading of such books as might disturb the faith and religion of its followers, or corrupt their morals. In the first centuries of Christianity the Church condemned and prohibited the apocryphal and heretical writings (see especially the catalogue known as the *Decretum Gelasianum* 'de libris recipiendis vel non recipiendis' [*PL* lix. 162–164, 175–180]); and commanded pernicious writings to be committed to the flames (cf. Ac 19^{19}); and the burning of heretical works, decreed by the Church, was sanctioned by Christian Imperial law (cf. lex 3 Cod., lib. i. tit. i. 'de Summa Trinitate,' anno 449). Throughout the Middle Ages we find cases of heretical books being condemned. The true history of the Index does not begin, however, until the introduction of printing—when bad books were likely to be multiplied as rapidly as good ones. Before the close of the 15th cent. the University of Cologne passed the measure that finally became the 'Imprimatur,' or preliminary censorship of books; it prescribed the examination of every book before printing, and earned for the University the congratulations of Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. (14th Nov. 1487). By the constitution 'Inter multiplices' (1st June 1501) Alexander VI. extended this practice; he forbade the printers of the dioceses of Cologne, Mainz, Trèves, and Magdeburg, on pain of excommunication and fine, to print any book whatever without the permission of the bishop; as for books already in print, the bishops were required to demand the printers' catalogues, and make them hand over the pernicious works to be consigned to the fire. These prescriptions became common law at the Lateran Council (Leo X., constitution 'Inter multiplices,' 4th May 1515). The prohibition of books by name began in 1520 by Leo X.'s bull 'Exsurge Domine,' condemning all the writings of Luther; in 1524, Clement VII. inserted excommunication *latæ sententiæ* in the bull 'Coenæ,' as the penalty for reading books in support of heresy; this has remained unchanged to the present day.

Lists of prohibited books soon began to be published by the Universities (Paris, 1542; Louvain, 1546; Cologne and Venice, 1549, etc.), the bishops (Milan, 1554, etc.), and the Inquisitions (Venice, 1554, etc.). Such an important movement demanded the attention of Rome; Paul IV. ordered the recently established Congregation of the Holy Office to make a catalogue of prohibited books; their first effort, printed in 1557, failed to give satisfaction, and a revised edition appeared at the beginning of the year 1559—the first official Roman Index. All the books in it are prohibited on pain of excommunication, and they are classified in three divisions: (1) authors condemned, with all their writings; (2) condemned books whose authors are known; and (3) pernicious literature, mostly anonymous. This Index was very strict; after a decree of the Holy Office, recently discovered, dated 14th June 1559, Cardinal Michel Ghisleri (afterwards Pope Pius V.) published, by order of Paul IV., a modification (*moderatio*) of the Index (24th June 1561). Almost immediately the Council of Trent took up its interrupted labours. In session xviii. (26th Feb. 1562) it commissioned eighteen fathers, assisted by theologians, to re-compile the catalogue of prohibited books and revise the general rules of the Index. The Commission had accomplished its task when the Council was abruptly concluded; but a detailed discussion of its work was impossible, and the assembly remitted the whole matter to the pope (sess. xxv., 4th Dec. 1563). The catalogue was almost the same as that of Paul IV., with its distribution into three classes; the rules, ten in number, were aimed principally at the books of heresiarchs and heretics, and the editing and reading of the Bible; rule X. demanded the bishop's 'Imprimatur' for every printed publication. These rules, with several additions, remained in force until the time of Leo XIII. The Index and the rules of the Council of Trent were published by Pius IV. (bull 'Dominici gregis,' 24th March 1564).

In order to relieve the Congregation of the Holy Office without impairing its competency, Pius V.

established the Congregation of Cardinals 'de reformando Indice et corrigendis libris' in March 1571. This institution, improved by Gregory XIII., was included by Sixtus V. in the general re-organization of the Congregations (bull 'Immensa,' 22nd Jan. 1588), with the title 'Congregatio pro Indice librorum prohibitorum.' This Congregation was composed of a fixed number of cardinals, a permanent assistant, the Master of the Sacred Palace (a Dominican, specially entrusted with the preliminary censorship of books in Rome), a secretary (also always a Dominican), and several consultors, and has continued almost unaltered down to our own day, Pius X. having retained it in his reorganization of the Roman Curia (constitution 'Sapienti consilio,' 29th June 1908). It is responsible for the successive editions of the Index since Sixtus V. and for various additions to the general rules, as well as for the majority of condemnations of books deemed pernicious.

A few words will suffice about the successive editions of the Index. Those of 1590 and 1593, printed, but not published (cf. Hilgers, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, pp. 12, 524, 529), were superseded by the 1596 edition, by order of Clement VIII. In Alexander VII.'s edition (1664) the three classes of the Trent Index were combined into one alphabetical series. In 1757, Benedict XIV. provided a more correct edition, of which later editions, until that of Leo XIII., were simply reprints, supplemented by works condemned since the preceding edition. Of the additions to the rules, we may mention the Instruction of Clement VIII. on the preliminary censorship; the constitution of Benedict XIV. 'Sollicita ac provida' (9th July 1753) on the procedure in carrying out the same, the only document preserved by Leo XIII.; and the general decrees of the same pope on the prohibited books not contained in the Index. Then, without any notable alteration, we come to the reform of Leo XIII. by his constitution 'Officiorum ac munerum,' 25th Jan. 1897.

II. *MODERN LEGISLATION.*—The rules and the Index of the Council of Trent had been drawn up at a time when the Roman Catholic Church had to struggle against militant Protestantism, when they hoped that it would be possible to control all books on account of their small number, and when reading was not wide-spread among the lower classes. In the 19th cent. these conditions were greatly changed, especially since the civil authorities almost everywhere lost their interest in the preliminary censure and in the publication of books. Reform was necessary: the law had to be fitted to the new conditions, and at the same time carried into execution with more force, as was now possible. In the preamble of his constitution, Leo XIII. recalls these changes: he mentions the demands for reform addressed to the Holy See by the bishops of various nations, especially at the time of the Vatican Council; it was on their account that he ordered a thorough revision of the Index and of the general rules. All previous law, except the constitution 'Sollicita' of Benedict XIV., is abrogated by the new general decrees. These are divided into two classes: (1) the prohibition of books, and (2) their preliminary censure. The first contains ten chapters, and the second five, the whole forming a single series of forty-nine articles.

1. Prohibitions.—(*a*) There is now no general prohibition of all the works of any heretical writer; books which uphold heresy or schism, and those which attack the very foundations of religion, are banned; but the writings of the heterodox, even on religious topics, are no longer banned if they contain nothing against the faith—much less those that do not treat of religious matters at all (artt. 1–4).

(*b*) The reading of the Bible, which was the object of the minute prescriptions of rules iii. and iv. of Trent, is the object of modified prescriptions: those who are engaged in theological studies may use heterodox editions of the sacred text, and versions in vulgar or non-vulgar tongues, provided the introductions and notes contain nothing against the faith. Before being allowed, the versions in vulgar tongues must be approved by the Holy See, or published under the supervision of the bishops, with annotations taken from the Fathers of the Church or from Roman Catholic writers: versions in vulgar tongues by heterodox authors and Bible Societies are still prohibited to Roman Catholic lay-people at large (artt. 5–8).

(*c*) Obscene books are always banned; the classics alone are allowed as far as necessary for professional ends, but they must not be put into the hands of young people without being expurgated (artt. 9–10).

(*d*) Books derogatory to God or the Saints, to the Roman Catholic Church and the liturgy, to Scripture and the hierarchy, are banned; also books which propagate magic, divination, and spiritualism; works published without approval which recommend new cults, apparitions, and prophecies; and those which defend as lawful duelling, suicide, divorce, free-masonry, etc., and also the errors condemned by the Holy See (artt. 11–14).

(*e*) Holy images which deviate from the authorized tradition, and apocryphal indulgences, are condemned; formal approval is demanded for all books, summaries, collections, and sheets of indulgences (artt. 15–17).

(*f*) Ecclesiastical approval is required for official liturgical books, litanies, prayer-books, books of devotion, and books of religious instruction (artt. 18–20).

(*g*) Ecclesiastical law also proscribes bad newspapers and periodicals already condemned by natural law; it desires the bishops to dissuade the people from reading these, and hopes that Roman Catholics will not publish anything in these periodicals without a good reason (artt. 21–22). Bishops may, and ought to, condemn and prohibit in their dioceses pernicious or dangerous newspapers and periodicals, especially 'modernist' writings.

2. Censorship.—(*a*) The permission to read and to keep prohibited books is given by the Congregation of the Index, accessorily by that of the Propaganda for its subjects, and for Rome by the Master of the Sacred Palace. Bishops may give this permission in isolated cases, but they receive more ample powers from Rome by indults. Those who have permission to read the books on the Index are not exempt from the observance of the moral law; they must observe the reservations regarding their permission and take care that the prohibited books do not reach other hands (artt. 23–26). Permission to read books condemned by a bishop naturally depends on that bishop.

(*b*) Denunciation of wicked books to the Holy See is open to all; it is an official duty of the representatives of the Holy See and of bishops; it is desirable that the denunciation, which is kept secret, should be accompanied by a review. To this outside denunciation Pius X. has added the obligation of the Congregation of the Index to inquire officially into pernicious books (artt. 27–29; const. 'Sapienti,' 29th June 1908).

(*c*) The steps taken by the Congregation of the Index to condemn books denounced or inquired into are explained in the constitution 'Sollicita' of Benedict XIV.: first the secretary, with two consultors, makes a cursory examination of the book; if he concludes that the work should be retained, he appoints a competent reviewer to make a detailed study of it and indicate the objectionable passages; this report is discussed at a preliminary meeting in which several consultors take part, together with the secretary and the Master of the Sacred Palace; the opinions of these men, along with the report, are presented to the assembly of cardinals who form the Congregation; they pronounce the condemnation of the work either absolutely or until correction (the condemnation 'donec corrigatur' is now very rare). There is no injustice in condemning a book by a Roman Catholic author without hearing him, as the condemnation is directed not against him but against his book, which is circulated among the public, and against which readers must be warned. Benedict XIV., however, recommended that the Congregation should inform such an author and receive his defence. The decrees of prohibition are declared and promulgated in the name of the Congregation; the books are condemned everywhere and in every language (art. 45). Below the decrees are published the submissions of the authors received by the Congregation.

3. The preliminary censure of books and their publication.—(*a*) Certain books must be specially authorized; *e.g.*, books put on the Index cannot be reprinted unless the corrections have been approved by the Congregation; official documents and collections of decrees of the Roman Congregations cannot be edited except with their permission (artt. 30–33).

(*b*) Further, there are special regulations for certain classes of persons: missionaries must observe the decrees of the Propaganda; monks must obtain the permission of their superiors, besides that of the bishop; priests cannot publish any work or undertake the management of any periodical without the permission of their bishop (artt. 34, 36, 42).

(*c*) It is necessary to have the permission to print —the 'Imprimatur'—of the bishop of the place of publication for all books on religious topics or sciences, but not now for all books, as rule x. of Trent desired. The bishop entrusts the examination of the MS to a competent, upright, and impartial censor, who studies it without bias; if, on examination, he sees nothing objectionable, he writes on the MS 'Nihil obstat,' and signs; on this evidence, coming even from a censor of another diocese, the bishop of the publisher gives permission to print. All this must appear at the beginning of the book, except in Britain, according to a decision of 1897 (artt. 35, 38–41).

Preliminary censure of religious newspapers and periodicals was practically impossible; Pius X. substituted for it a special censor to read every publication officially and then submit his report (encyc. 'Pascendi,' 8th Sept. 1907).

4. Penalties.—There are two kinds of penalties. Excommunication is incurred by those who wittingly and without permission read, keep, print, or defend, not any book on the Index, as many people say, but any books of apostates and heretics countenancing heresy, or the works condemned directly by the pope with mention of this penalty. Excommunication is the penalty also for those who without permission print or cause to be printed the books of Holy Scripture, or annotations, or commentaries on those books. For all other delinquencies the penalties are awarded by the bishops according to the degree of culpability (artt. 47–49).

5. The Revised Index of Leo XIII.—The Index revised by order of Leo XIII. was published in 1900, and reprinted in 1907 and 1911. It has been greatly modified; and the prohibitions are mitigated; *e.g.*, the clause 'Opera omnia' put after the author's name does not now include those of his books that are not objectionable.

6. Conclusion.—While the rules of the Index are wise and prudent, we must admit that the catalogue leaves room for criticism, owing to the conditions of our time rather than the actions of authority. It is abundantly evident that the Index is unsatisfactory. While allowing numerous harmful books by non-Catholic authors to pass, it seems to reserve its severity for the works of Roman Catholics which expose themselves to criticism by certain tendencies rather than by definite errors. For this reason the uniformity of condemnations without any indication of the degree of harmfulness, as if all the books on the Index were equally pernicious, is the more regrettable. Further, the faithful are led to regard the books inscribed in the catalogue of the Index as the most harmful, while they do not pay sufficient heed to the general rules, and think that every book that does not appear in the Index may be read. It would be far more to the purpose to appeal to the conscience and the observation of the general rules; for the Church finds it difficult to sanction its prohibitions in present-day conditions, and is forced to grant permission to read prohibited books far and wide.

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A. BOUDINHON.

INDIA.—See VEDIC RELIGION, BRĀHMANISM, and HINDUISM. CASTE and other subjects are treated separately, and under each of the great subdivided topics, like BIRTH, DEATH, DEMONS, etc., there is an Indian article. See also the various provinces and the religious cities each under its own name, and the art. MUHAMMADANISM IN INDIA. Christianity in India will be dealt with under MISSIONS.

INDIAN BUDDHISM.—The religion which was founded by Buddha (*q.v.*) towards the end of the 6th cent. B.C. is one of the three great world-religions, and has been calculated (but with considerable uncertainty) to have 500 millions of adherents. Its original and essential doctrine is that all earthly existence is suffering, the only means of release from which is renunciation and eternal death. The main importance of the Indian form of Buddhism lies in the fact that it represents the earliest phase of the religion; that it produced all the canonical texts of the faith; that without a knowledge of it the Buddhism of the many countries to which it has spread could not be understood; and that without the evidence of its architecture and sculpture the history of Indian art would be impossible. Though, like Christianity, it disappeared many centuries ago from the land of its birth, it has profoundly influenced the civilization of the Farther East, much as Christianity has done in the West. In India itself, Buddhism deeply affected the spiritual life of the country for over a thousand years, and occupies a prominent place in the history of its literature.

1. History. — Buddhism arose on peculiarly favourable soil, the S.E. half of the Ganges territory, which, being far removed from the centre of Brāhman culture, was imperfectly Brāhmanized. This geographical area comprised the two principal kingdoms of Kosala (the modern Oudh) and Magadha (now Bihār).

Buddha's death has been calculated with the greatest probability to have taken place about

480 B.C. This, the earliest approximate date in Indian history, is of the utmost importance in the chronology not only of Buddhism, but of Vedic and Epic Sanskrit literature also.

According to the statements of the Pāli texts, a few weeks after the death of the Master one of his most trusted followers, Kāśyapa the Great, proposed, now that the Order was without a head, to hold an assembly of monks who had been the immediate disciples of Buddha, for the purpose of rehearsing the precepts of the Master, and fixing a canon of the doctrine (*dhamma*) and discipline (*vinaya*) of the Order. An assembly was accordingly held at Rājagṛha, constituting the so-called *first Buddhist Council* (see COUNCILS AND SYNODS [Buddhist], vol. iv. p. 182). Buddhist tradition is unanimous in stating that exactly a century after Buddha's death the *second General Council* was held at Vaiśālī (*ib.* p. 183). In the reign of the famous king Aśoka (*q.v.*) a *third Council* was held at Pāṭaliputra after the schism of the Mahāsāṅghika (or Āchāryavāda) had arisen (*ib.* p. 183).

The reign of Aśoka, who ruled over the whole of India except the extreme south, forms an epoch of the highest importance in the history of Indian Buddhism. The patronage of so powerful a king must undoubtedly have supplied a mighty stimulus to the growth and spread of Buddhism in India, for it raised the religion of what was only one of several sects to the dominant position of a State religion. An era of zealous propaganda, not only throughout India, but in distant foreign countries, was inaugurated. Since all the Buddhist traditions agree as to the latter statement, it may be accepted as a historical fact. The conversion of Ceylon (see CEYLON BUDDHISM, vol. iii. p. 331) was the most important result of these missionary expeditions. It is ascribed to Mahendra (Mahinda), son or (according to the Skr. Buddhist texts) younger brother of Aśoka and a pupil of Tissa Moggaliputta. All sources agree in attributing the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon to the reign of Aśoka. Another prominent apostle was Madhyāntika, who carried the faith to Gandhāra and Kaśmīr, while Mahādeva proselytized Mysore.

That a body of canonical texts already existed in the time of Aśoka is shown by one of his edicts (that of the Bairat rock), in which he enumerates some such works, and recommends their study by monks and nuns as well as by the laity. Some of the titles, moreover, show that works of the doctrinal (*sutta*) and disciplinary (*vinaya*) type of canonical text were among them.

It is to be noted that, in consequence of his zeal for the faith, there arose in Aśoka's reign that religious architecture which furnishes continuous and striking monumental illustrations of the history of Buddhism in India for many centuries till the disappearance of that religion from the land of its origin.

During the 330 years that elapsed between the death of Aśoka and A.D. 100, Buddhism steadily strengthened its position in the north of India, though it was not favoured by the kings of the Śunga dynasty, the founder of which, Puṣyamitra, is stated in more than one Buddhist source even to have been a persecutor of the faith. In the 2nd cent. B.C. the doctrine certainly flourished in the N.W. under the Græco-Indian rulers. There seems no reason to doubt that the most celebrated of these, king Menander (Milinda), became a convert to Buddhism about 100 B.C., as stated in the Pāli work *Milinda-Pañha*, or 'Questions of Menander.' Meanwhile, Buddhist doctrine spread beyond the confines of India to Bactria and China, while in Ceylon it established that supremacy which it has retained ever since. In India itself, however, dissensions and schisms had been growing to such an extent that by the end of this period eighteen distinct sects were in existence.

With the reign of the Indo-Scythian king Kaniṣka (*q.v.*), from whom probably dates the Śaka era (A.D. 78), a new epoch in the history of Indian Buddhism begins. The wide dominion conquered by him comprised Kabul, Gandhāra, Kaśmīr, Sindh, and part of the United Provinces of to-day. The memory of this mighty monarch was revered by the Buddhists of Northern India almost as much as that of Aśoka. Like the latter, he was not originally a Buddhist, as is indicated by the fact that most of his coins bear the symbols of an Iranian religion; comparatively few of them have Buddhist emblems, but one shows a figure of Buddha, with the legend 'Boddo' on the reverse. The Skr. Buddhist tradition ascribes his conversion to Sudarśana, but we have no evidence as to the probable date of its occurrence. Under Kaniṣka's auspices, another *Buddhist Council* was held, probably about A.D. 100 (see COUNCILS AND SYNODS [Buddhist], vol. iv. p. 184). The place where it met is variously stated as Jālandhara (in the Eastern Panjāb) or Kuṇḍalavana (in Kaśmīr). The traditional accounts given of it are vague and conflicting; but we may conclude that it was attended by representatives of all the 18 sects of the older Buddhism called Śrāvakas or Hīnayānists, and that the views of the new school of the Mahāyānists (see artt. HĪNAYĀNA, MAHĀYĀNA) were either not represented or found no support. Yet all the Indian Buddhists, including the Mahāyānists, acknowledged the authority of the Council. The Ceylon branch of the Buddhist Church, however, took no part in its deliberations. The main result of this meeting was the cessation of the dissensions that had prevailed for a century among the Hīnayānists, although it by no means extinguished the new doctrine of Mahāyānism; and the statement of a Tibetan authority that on the occasion of this Council the sacred books were revised, and that some parts of the canon were then written down for the first time, is not improbable. None of the sources says anything about the language in which the sacred books were now recorded, but the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang appears to assume that they were written in Sanskrit.

Under the influence of Hinduism the Mahāyāna doctrine, combining a fervent devotion (*bhakti*) to Buddha with the preaching of active compassion, was a kind of theism in which Buddha occupied the place of the personal deity in the Vedānta system of the Brāhmans. This doctrine was destined to have a far-reaching influence on the history of Buddhism as a world religion; for by appealing to the sympathies of the masses it ultimately not only absorbed all the Buddhist sects of Northern India, but became the religion of all the countries that derived their faith from Skr. Buddhism. The old orthodox faith of the Pāli canon henceforth became restricted to Ceylon and the countries proselytized from that island. Since even the name of Kaniṣka is not found in the religious literature of Ceylon, its Buddhism appears to have been cut off from that of India by the 1st cent. A.D.

Many inscriptions, ranging from the time of Kaniṣka over more than two centuries, show that Buddhism flourished at Mathurā (Muttra) by the side of Jainism. Other sources indicate that the Doctrine prospered in Kabul, Kaśmīr, and the N.W. of India. The epigraphic evidence of Nāsik and Kārli proves that there were numerous Buddhists in the West, while that of Amarāvatī shows that there were many in the South also.

About A.D. 400 one of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa Hian, describes the condition of Buddhism as very flourishing in Udyāna (the

Swat territory), in the Panjāb, and at Mathurā, though he makes no mention of Nālanda (in Magadha), the chief seat of Buddhist learning two centuries later. The same authority informs us that at this time four Buddhist philosophical schools were fully developed; two, the Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas, who were realists, were adherents of the Hīnayāna, while the Yogāchāras and Mādhyamikas belonged to the Mahāyāna. The Mādhyamikas, whose reputed founder was Nāgārjuna, were pure nihilists, holding that the phenomenal world is a mere illusion, an adaptation of the Māyā doctrine of the scholastic Vedānta of Hinduism. From Fa Hian we also learn that at Mathurā the Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara were worshipped, and that at Pāṭaliputra the Hīnayānists had one monastery and the Mahāyānists another, with 600 or 700 monks between them. Two other Chinese pilgrims, Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing, who visited India in 629–40 and 675–93 respectively, tell us much about the state of things in the 6th and 7th centuries. During this period Buddhist scholasticism flourished greatly, the contention between the sects gradually weakening and resolving itself into rivalry between the two main parties of Hīnayānists and Mahāyānists. The great patron of the faith in the 7th cent. was the famous king Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (A.D. 606–648), who, originally a Śaivite, became an ardent Mahāyānist, but was tolerant to all sects except the Hīnayānists. In fact, such religious rancour as prevailed existed between Mahāyānists and Hīnayānists, while the relations between Hinduism and Buddhism were peaceful. Hiuen Tsiang found Buddhism prospering not only in India, but in Kaśmīr and Nepāl, where Buddhists and Hindus lived in harmony. The last great literary champion of Buddhism in India was Dharmakīrti, who flourished between the visits of Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing.

In the 8th and early 9th centuries a revival of Hinduism took place, chiefly under the influence of the two great dialecticians Kumārila and Śaṅkara (born A.D. 788), whom the tradition of the Buddhists regards as the two most formidable adversaries of their creed. Partly owing to the activity of these opponents and partly to its own degeneracy caused by increasing approximation to Hinduism, the religion of Buddha gradually lost ground in India. Its decline set in about A.D. 750, and was accelerated in the West by the Muhammadan conquest of Sindh by the Arabs in A.D. 712.

This decline went hand in hand with the growth of Tantrism, a kind of degraded *yoga*, which, with the aid of mental concentration, muttered prayers, spells, and other magical expedients, sought to secure all kinds of material advantages and supernatural powers. This system of sorcery flourished under the kings of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal (A.D. 800–1050), who were protectors of Buddhism. Under their successors, the Sena kings, who were Hindus, though not active opponents of the Faith, Buddhism still further declined till it received its death-blow in Magadha from the Muhammadan invasion in A.D. 1200, all the monks either being killed or escaping to other countries. It lingered on for a considerable time after that date in other parts of India. Thus a Buddhist stone inscription of A.D. 1220 from Śrāvastī shows that the doctrine was not altogether extinct in Oudh early in the 13th century. In Bengal it still had a few adherents in the 16th century. In Orissa it died out in the middle of that century, in consequence of the conquest of the country by the Musalmān Governor of Bengal. In Kaśmīr the accession to power of a Muhammadan ruler put an end to Buddhism in A.D. 1340. In Nepāl, however, Buddhism has maintained its existence, in a degenerate form, by the side of Hinduism down to the present day.

2. **Literature.** — For this see art. LITERATURE (Buddhist).

3. **Doctrine.**—Since Buddhism arose on the basis of Brāhmanism, its essential features cannot be fully understood without clearly ascertaining which of the religious ideas of the antecedent religion it rejected and which of them it retained. On the one hand, Buddha repudiated the authority of the Vedas and the Vedic sacrificial system; he condemned self-mortification; he denied the existence both of a world-soul and of the individual soul; he discarded the distinctions of caste within the monastic order, though not as a general classification of society; and he was entirely averse to speculation on metaphysical problems, to which the adherents of Brāhmanism were so prone. On the other hand, Buddha held fast to the belief in transmigration (*saṁsāra*) and retribution (*karma*) practically unchanged; he also adhered to the doctrine that the great goal of endeavour is release from transmigration to be attained by means of renunciation. But this meagre residuum of Brāhman tenets could not possibly have constituted a new religion. What, then, were the fundamental features that made the teaching of Buddha a new force in the life and thought of India? Stated quite generally, the doctrine of Buddha, on its philosophical side, was pronounced pessimism: the deep-rooted conviction that all earthly existence is suffering, the only means of release from which is the abandonment of all desire. Even this fundamental doctrine is only a development of the view of life already apparent in the *Upaniṣads*. Buddha may in this respect be regarded as a genuine descendant of the Yājñavalkya of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, who turned with aversion from this unsatisfying world and sought refuge in the homeless life of the spiritual mendicant. It must also be noted that H. Jacobi and R. Garbe hold that the Sāṅkhya (*q.v.*) supplied the foundations of the metaphysical side of Buddhism. On the other hand, we know this most pessimistic of all the Brāhman systems of philosophy only in its fully developed form, as it appears in the classical texts of the system, which are posterior by many centuries to the rise of Buddhism. Yet it is possible that, as the Sāṅkhya doctrine and the philosophical side of Buddhism have some points in common, a much earlier phase of the Sāṅkhya (of the existence of which we have no direct evidence) may have exercised a certain influence on primitive Buddhism in India. On what may be called its religious side—it was rather a religion of humanity—primitive Buddhism was a system of practical morality, the key-note of which is universal charity: kindness to all beings, animals as well as men. It is here that the originality of Buddha's teaching is chiefly to be found; for the sphere of ethics had been neglected by Brāhman thought, which was mainly directed to ritual and theosophical speculation. To this source is to be traced the profound influence exercised by Buddhism as a world religion.

The whole of the early Buddhist doctrines are set forth in the fundamental 'Four Noble Truths,' the first three of which represent the philosophical, the fourth the religious, aspect of the system. These truths are: all that exists is subject to suffering; the origin of suffering is human passions; the cessation of passions releases from suffering; the path that leads to the cessation of suffering is the eightfold path. They already play the chief part in the first address of Buddha, the sermon of Benares, and they continually recur in the sacred books of the Buddhists.

(1) The very first of them shows the thoroughly pessimistic character of the Buddhist attitude. Indeed, the Buddhist scriptures constantly dwell on the transitoriness and worthlessness of all things, and no other religion is so penetrated by the belief in the utter vanity and misery of existence.

(2) The origin of suffering is described as due to 'thirst' (*tṛṣṇā*, Pāli *taṇhā*), or the desire of life, which, until it is destroyed, leads to continued transmigration and the return of suffering. The origin of 'thirst' is explained by the formula of causation (*pratītya-samutpāda*, Pāli *paṭichcha-samuppāda*, 'origination from an antecedent cause'). This is one of the fundamental teachings of Buddhism as supplying a solution of the problem of evil.

'Thirst' is traced backward through a chain of several causes to its ultimate source, 'ignorance' (*avidyā*), or lack of knowledge of the doctrine of Buddha. From ignorance are derived the latent impressions (*saṁskāras*) of former acts, constituting predispositions leading to further acts. Buddha taught that man on his own initiative could influence these predispositions and determine his own fate, while his contemporary Maṅkhali Gosāla, founder of the Ājīvika (*q.v.*) sect, denied the freedom of the will. But he who did not know the formula of causation could not be freed from the predisposition to a new birth. From the *saṁskāras* were produced 'consciousness' (*vijñāna*), the thinking part of the individual, regarded as a non-corporeal element that does not perish with the body, but remains along with the *saṁskāras* after death, and with them forms the germ of a new existence. From consciousness are evolved 'name and form' (*nāma-rūpa*), equivalent to 'the individual.' From these, again, arise the six organs, that is, the five senses and 'mind' (*manas*); in other words, the individual assumes a practical form. From the organs are produced 'contact,' thence 'perception,' which is the immediate source of 'thirst.' From 'thirst' arises 'attachment' (*upādāna*) to worldly objects. This leads to continued 'becoming' (*bhava*), an infinite series of new existences. These, finally, are the cause of birth, old age, and death, pain, suffering, sorrow, and despair.

The doctrine next in importance to that of causation is the doctrine of the five *skandhas* (Pāli *khandha*), or elements of existence, of which every thinking being is composed: body, sensation, perception, *saṁskāra*, and *vijñāna*. In this connexion *saṁskāra* means mental powers or emotions, such as reflexion, joy, and hate, of which there are 52. *Vijñāna* as a *skandha* signifies critical cognition or judgment, of which there are 89 subdivisions.

A being thus composed was regarded as not in a permanent condition, but always in a state of becoming, personality being only a sum of perpetually successive movements. A man remained the same in the next existence; as only the elements of which he was composed constantly changed, like the flame of a lamp in successive watches of the night, he thus suffered the consequences of his deeds in the previous existence.

Similarly, 'what was called *soul*' was regarded by Buddha only as an aggregate of changing individual elements, not as eternal and unchangeable, different and separate from the body. *Vijñāna*, 'consciousness' or 'thought,' is spoken of as ruling the body, but it is not essentially different from the mental powers and the sensations which it surveys. There is no conception of an internal entity which sees, hears, thinks, or suffers, a separate soul or self, a spirit or ghost, existing inside the human body.

(3) With the view of Buddha regarding the soul is closely connected that of *Nirvāṇa*, which means 'extinction' like that of a lamp. This is of two kinds, representing two stages of release. The first, which is a necessary condition of the second, is the extinction of desire (*tṛṣṇā*), resulting in 'blissful calm' during the remainder of life (corresponding to the *jīvanmukti* [*q.v.*], 'deliverance while alive,' of the Brāhmans). The enlightenment now attained causes the cessation of ignorance and consequently of re-birth, but the results of deeds done before enlightenment have to be suffered while the released man is still alive. The second stage is not reached till decease, after which there is no awakening, transmigration is at an end, and birth and death are overcome without a remainder. This is *Parinirvāṇa*, or 'complete extinction,' often inaccurately spoken of simply as *Nirvāṇa*.

Buddha has sometimes been thought to have avoided a clear definition of complete *Nirvāṇa*, because in many passages he puts aside the question what the exact condition after death is when release has been obtained. But he appears to have done this because he considered the question immaterial, the main object of his doctrine being deliverance from suffering. He left no doubt as to the goal to which his teaching led: the cessation of all the *saṁskāras*, annihilation of all the *skandhas*, eternal death. The glowing colours, however, in which the bliss enjoyed in the first or living stage of release is described gave rise to the transformation of complete *Nirvāṇa* into a positive paradise in Skr. Buddhism.

(4) The first three noble truths, being concerned with the philosophical side of Buddha's teaching, were meant for the learned only. It was the fourth truth, the way leading to the cessation of misery, embracing practical morality, and meant for the people, that made Buddhism a religion. It is the 'eightfold path' comprising right belief, right resolve, right word, right deed, right life, right endeavour, right thought, right meditation.

The first stage, true belief, was, of course, indispensable for all who entered on the path of salvation, but especially for the monk who had renounced the world. The next five stages comprise the five commandments prescribed for laymen, and include duties to one's neighbour. The cardinal virtue dominating them all is charity (*maitrī*, Pāli *mettā*), which Buddha declared to be of far greater value than all other means of acquiring religious merit, and the practice of which is constantly emphasized in the Buddhist scriptures. From this fundamental principle of human kindness flow compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathy (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekṣā*), these together being called the four 'lives in God' of Skr. Buddhism. One of the precepts inculcated in connexion with *mettā* is to requite evil with good. The history of Buddhism shows that such precepts were actually practised.

That the standard of the moral law in Buddhism is very high appears from the five commandments mentioned above. The first of these is 'Thou shalt not kill.' The meaning conveyed by the prohibition is that one should refrain not only from taking life directly or indirectly, but from doing harm to creatures both strong and weak. With the desire to avoid crushing insects and the shoots of plants was connected the practice of remaining in the monasteries during the rains. For similar reasons the Buddhists abominated the animal sacrifices of the Brāhmans as well as hunting and war. A practical result of this appears in one of the edicts of Aśoka, which forbids the killing and sacrificing of animals. The extension of kindness to animals was undoubtedly influenced by the doctrine of transmigration. The far-reaching application of the principle made Buddhism the most tolerant of religions, for it has never extended itself by the sword or by force. But this very toleration was disastrous to it, especially when it came into contact with Islām.

'Thou shalt not steal,' the second commandment, means that one should refrain not only from taking what is not given, but from causing or approving of such action. On its positive side it implies liberality, which comes next to *mettā*, seems sometimes to be accounted the chief of all virtues, and is even expected to go the length of giving one's life for others.

The third commandment, 'Thou shalt not be unchaste,' as applied to laymen, prohibits adultery, but in regard to the monastic order further enjoins celibacy.

The full meaning of the fourth commandment, 'Thou shalt not lie,' is that falsehood of every kind, including calumny, misrepresentation, and false witness, is to be avoided. On the positive side it implies that one should say only what is good of one's neighbour and only what is conducive to harmony.

The last of the five, 'Thou shalt not drink intoxicating liquors,' also implies that one should not cause others to drink or approve of their doing so, because it leads to folly and ends in madness.

These five commandments are to be observed by the Buddhist monk also, but there are five additional ones specially applicable to him. These enjoin that he should (6) not eat at unlawful times; (7) not engage in dancing, singing, music, or plays; (8) not use garlands, perfumes, and ornaments; (9) not sleep in a high or broad bed; (10) not accept gifts of silver or gold.

The last two stages of the eightfold path, right thought and right contemplation, concern the individual himself only.

Thought could only be represented by confessional formulas and hymns in praise of Buddha and the Church. But there was no prayer; for there was no god to whom prayer could be addressed, and Buddha was only a human being who, after he had entered *Parinirvāṇa*, no longer existed. Thus to the early phase of Buddhism prayer was unknown. Its place was taken by contemplation. The four stages which are distinguished in it, and which can be practised only by the monk, are concentration of the mind on one point; the attainment of certainty; deliverance from joy and sorrow; and indifference to all things. As aids to mental concentration, exercises in expiration and inspiration were much indulged in by the monks. Thus, though Buddha rejected all self-mortification, he was not unsympathetic towards some of the practices of *yoga*.

There are, moreover, four stages of holiness called the 'four paths.' These are represented by the following four classes. (1) The *srota-āpanna* (Pāli *sotāpanna*), 'he who has joined the stream,' is one who has become a member of the community with a vow that he will obey the commandments. Such a one is freed from re-birth in the hells, or in the world of ghosts and of animals, but he must be born again seven times. (2) The *sakṛd-āgāmin* (Pāli *sakad-āgāmi*), 'who returns once,' is one who, having overcome desire, hate, and delusion, will be born again only once in this world. (3) The *an-āgāmin* (Pāli *an-āgāmi*), 'who returns not again,' is one who is born again only once in one of the worlds of the gods before attaining *Nirvāṇa*. (4) The *arhat* (Pāli *arahāt*) (*q.v.*), the 'saint,' being free from all sins and desires and enjoying perfect mental calm, has attained earthly *Nirvāṇa*. The Sanskrit Buddhists have also a threefold classification comprising the *śrāvaka*, or 'disciple'; the *pratyekabuddha*, or 'individual Buddha,' who by his own efforts has gained all that is necessary for the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*, but cannot communicate the law to others; and the *bodhisattva* (*q.v.*), or 'future Buddha,' who can be born again even as an animal, but can never commit sin.

High above all is Buddha, 'the (fully) enlightened one.' In descriptions of him it is said that no being, no Brāhman, no god, can equal him, and no one can fathom his grandeur. Among his innumerable qualities 32 were later singled out as the characteristics of a great man. One of these is the *uṣṇīṣa*, a round excrescence on the top of the head, always represented in images of Buddha. In the latter there also generally appears between the brows a kind of wart (*ūrṇā*, Pāli *uṇṇā*), which is described as emitting powerfully illuminating rays of light. Nevertheless, Buddha was regarded as a man, perfect indeed, but mortal.

Gautama is not the only Buddha. Each cosmic age is supposed to have at least one Buddha, sometimes as many as five. The names of the last 27 are enumerated, a short life of 24 of them being given in the *Buddha-vaṁsa*, a work of the Pāli canon. Of the present age Gautama is the fourth Buddha, while the fifth will be Maitreya (Pāli Metteyya), who at present is in the stage of a Bodhisattva.

4. Organization and cult.—The Buddhist Church was organized as a celibate order of monks and nuns by Buddha, who only gave fixity, by rules of ordination, to conditions which already existed in the antecedent Brāhmanism. In the latter system the institution of the four *āśramas* (*q.v.*), or stages of life, already contained all the elements of a monastic order. Thus the *brahmachārin*, or religious student, was required, during the whole course of his apprenticeship to a teacher, both to practise absolute chastity and to beg his food daily. He might remain a student all his life. He did not in that case differ essentially from the mendicant ascetic (*bhikṣu*) of the fourth stage. Groups of the latter type in all probability formed the nucleus of distinct sects, which both during the lifetime of Buddha and after his death developed into monastic communities with disciplinary rules and outward characteristics of their own. Since Buddha laid great stress on the propagation of his doctrine by means of missionaries, his monks were scattered all over India and beyond its confines, forming many small and remote communities, over which his influence could not possibly extend. There was thus during his lifetime not one community, but very many. His personality, however, gave unity to the Order. But he neither designated nor made provision for a successor as visible head of the Church. This necessarily resulted in the formation of many sects, of which, two centuries after Buddha's death, there were no fewer than eighteen, with their own monasteries. The highest authority was the whole Church, or *Saṅgha*. 'Elders' (*sthavira*, Pāli *thera*) were distinguished, but they were not officials, the term being merely an honorary title bestowed on monks who had long been ordained. This obvious looseness of organization in the Buddhist Church was undoubtedly a great source of weakness throughout its history, and was one of the main causes leading to its ultimate downfall in India.

(*a*) *Confession.*—The disciplinary and penal code of the Church was embodied in the *Pātimokkha* (Skr. *Prātimokṣa*), a formulary of confession constituting one of the oldest parts of the Pāli canon. It is a list of sins enjoined by Buddha to be recited twice a month on the days of full and new moon in an assembly of at least four monks. At the end of each section the reciter inquired whether any of those present had transgressed any one of the articles that it contained. These two confessional days are called *upavasatha* (Pāli *uposatha*), a term originally meaning 'fast-day,' since it was inherited from Brāhmanism, in which it designated the fast-day on the eve of the great *soma*-sacrifice. The eighth day after new and the eighth after full moon were also *upavasatha* days, though not for confession. These four days together constituted weekly recurring festivals of the nature of Sabbaths. On these days laymen put on their best clothes, and the pious refrained from business and worldly amusements. Laymen were also regarded as irreligious if they did not observe, on the Sabbath, the first three of the five commandments specially enjoined on monks.

(*b*) *Admission.*—A man became a Buddhist layman by pronouncing the creed consisting in the words, 'I take refuge in Buddha, I take refuge in the Law, I take refuge in the Order'—these refuges being called the three 'jewels.' He then had to promise to keep the first five commandments. To the life of a monk or nun any one, without distinction of caste or rank, could be admitted excepting murderers, robbers, slaves, soldiers, and persons suffering from contagious diseases or certain bodily defects. The act of admission is called *pravrajyā* (Pāli *pabajjā*), 'leaving the world,' every one becoming a monk (*pravrajita*, Pāli *pabbajita*) by putting on the yellow robe, shaving his hair and beard, and uttering the creed thrice in the presence of an ordained monk.

(*c*) *Ordination.*—Ordination proper, called *upasampadā* ('accession'), which gave all the privileges belonging to the Order, might be conferred on all who had been admitted excepting those who had been guilty of serious crimes or offences. Twenty was the lowest age for ordination. Young novices, above seven years of age, could be received, but only with the consent of their parents. Converts from heterodox sects were, in addition to the ordinary formalities, subjected to a probationary period (*parivāsa*) before ordination. The ceremony of ordination was more formal than that of admission, taking place before a committee of at least ten monks. The candidate was examined as to his qualifications and possible disabilities by the president, who, if the proposed ordination was accepted by the assembly, exhorted him to restrict himself to the four 'requisites' and to avoid the four capital sins. A monk could be temporarily or permanently expelled for committing any of these sins, or for general unsuitableness; but he could also voluntarily leave the Order. A result of entering the Order was the dissolution of marriage. The new monk had also to give up all private property, and was debarred from acquiring anything individually.

(*d*) *Clothing and equipment.*—A monk might possess only one suit of clothes, consisting of three parts: an under-garment, equivalent to a shirt; a lower garment, a kind of skirt reaching to the knee and fastened with a girdle; and a mantle which, coming down to below the knees, was thrown over the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder and part of the breast bare. The colour of the garments in early times was yellow (as it still is in Ceylon), but in the Middle Ages it was reddish. Only a few other articles were required to complete the monk's equipment. One of these was an alms-bowl, which he carried in his hand for the purpose of collecting food. He was also provided with a razor, which he used for shaving his head and his beard twice a month on the *upavasatha* days of new and full moon. The rest comprised a needle, a water-strainer, and later also a mendicant's staff. Besides regularly paring his nails, he used tooth sticks for cleansing his teeth.

(*e*) *Housing.*—Originally the monks had no fixed abodes, but lived in woods or caves, though within easy reach of a village or town, so as to be able to beg food. It was their duty to wander about preaching the doctrine, but during the rains they went into retreat (*vārṣika*, Pāli *vassa*), generally several of them together. For their use during this season pious laymen often built shelters to which they annually returned during the rains. These were called *vihāras*, in which monks later began to live even at times other than the rainy season. In this way regular monasteries gradually grew up.

(*f*) *Food.*—In early times the monk was allowed only one daily meal, and that at noon, after his return from his begging rounds. The use of *ghī*, butter, oil, honey, and sugar was permitted to members of the Order only in times of sickness; otherwise it was treated as an offence requiring confession and absolution. Fish and meat were allowed under certain restrictions. Thus Buddha himself is recorded to have eaten pork. Like the Brāhman religious student, the Buddhist monk had to beg his food, but he was not allowed to ask for alms by word of mouth.

(*g*) *Worship.*—In the early days of Buddhism, religious observances were of a very simple character. Twice a month all the monks of a district assembled to celebrate the *upavasatha*, or Sabbath days, at new and full moon. The meeting, having been convoked by the eldest among them, was held in the evening at the place designated. It was restricted to ordained monks, but all of these had to be present. It consisted, as has already been said, in a ceremony of confession. The Sabbaths in general were days of rest and fasting, when no trade or business was allowed, hunting and fishing were forbidden, and schools and courts of justice were closed. Preaching and hearing sermons were a common feature of the celebration of every Sabbath. But the regular time for this was the retreat during the rains—an institution dating from the very commencement of Buddhism. The retreat began on the day of full moon in the month of Āṣāḍha (June–July), and ended with the day of full moon in the month of Kārttika (about the middle of October). Its conclusion was marked by the *Pravāraṇā* festival, held, before the wanderings of the monks again began, on the 14th and 15th days of the light fortnight, the latter being at the same time a Sabbath. This was made an occasion for giving presents, especially in the form of clothes, to the monks, for inviting them to dinner, and for celebrating processions.

In later times there was also a quinquennial festival, called *Pañchavārṣika*, on a grand scale, its distinctive feature being the practice of extraordinary liberality to the Order. In the first half of the 7th cent. King Harṣa of Kanauj regularly convoked such assemblies. In the 7th cent. the date of the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha was also celebrated as a great festival.

It was not long after the establishment of Buddhism that the worship of relics and the adoration of sacred sites began to develop. Buddha himself, before he died, recommended four sites as deserving to be visited by the pious: his birthplace, the places where he obtained enlightenment, where he first preached, and where he entered into *Parinirvāṇa*. After the cremation of Buddha, his relics, as we are told in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, were divided into eight parts, over which the various recipients built *stūpas*. The veneration of relics later became a much developed form of worship. Among these, the tooth relic, with which a whole *sutta* is concerned, played a prominent part. The records of the Chinese pilgrims show that *stūpas* were also erected over the relics of Buddha's disciples and of saints in various cities, such as Vaiśālī and Mathurā. Fa Hian, about A.D. 400, saw Buddha's alms-bowl at Peshawar, and his staff near Nagara (south of the Kabul river). In the 7th cent. the head-dress of Buddha when a boy was to be seen in South India at Koṅkanapura, where it was displayed on Sabbath days and honoured with flowers. In the same century, shadows, regarded as relics left by Buddha, were shown in caves at Kauśāmbī, Gayā, and Nagara. From the 1st cent. A.D. onwards, images of Buddha, of Pratyekabuddhas and Dhyānibuddhas, and of Bodhisattvas began to be made.

5. Art.—Indian Buddhist art is peculiarly important, not only because it is of great value as illustrating the fortunes of Buddhism in India during nearly the whole course of its existence there, but because, if it had been lost, there could be no history of Indian art at all. The remains of Buddhist art in India are almost entirely architectural and sculptural. None of them, with one exception, goes back to a period earlier than the reign of the emperor Aśoka (variously fixed at 272–231 B.C. and 264–223 B.C.). The nine centuries over which they spread may be divided into three roughly equal periods. In the first, 250 B.C. to A.D. 50, stone began to be employed in India for building. Before this the architectural use of brick was known, as is shown by the *stūpa* of Piprahwa, which dates from about 300 B.C. or perhaps earlier. But the ornamental edifices of the pre-Aśokan age must have been built of wood, like the modern palaces of Burma, the substructure alone being of brick. The whole history of Indian architecture points to previous construction in wood, the stone monuments being largely imitations of wooden models.

(*a*) *Architecture.*—Indian Buddhist architecture may be divided into three classes: (1) *stūpas*, or relic mounds; (2) *chaityas*, or assembly halls, corresponding to our churches; (3) *vihāras*, or dwellings for monks.

(1) The *stūpa* was a dome-shaped structure, developed from the sepulchral mound, in which baked bricks were substituted for earth with a view to durability. They were first intended to serve as monuments enclosing relics of Buddha. Some, however, were only commemorative of important events connected with his history. The best extant example of a *stūpa* in India is that at Sānchī, which probably dates from the 3rd cent. B.C.

The *stūpa* is a hemispherical dome erected on a low circular drum, the upper rim of which formed a procession path round the base of the dome. On the top of the dome was a box-like structure surrounded by a railing, and surmounted by an umbrella. The *stūpa* itself was encircled by a massive stone railing which had gates on four sides, and enclosed a procession path and a sacred precinct. Both the rails and the gates are unmistakable imitations of wooden models. The *stūpa* became to the early Buddhist *the* religious edifice. In the oldest sculptures we constantly find representations of its adoration by celestial beings, men, and even animals, such as elephants. It was also the sacred object always set up for circumambulation in all the temples of early Buddhism in India.

(2) The *chaitya* (*q.v.*), or assembly hall, is the exact counterpart of Christian churches not only in form, but in use. Till recently only rock-cut examples, to the number of about thirty, were known in India. The typical assembly hall consists of a nave and side aisles terminating in an apse or semi-dome. The pillars separating the nave from the aisles are continued round the apse. Under the apse and in front of its pillars is the *stūpa*, in nearly the same position as that occupied by the altar in a Christian church. The tee was doubtless usually surmounted by a wooden umbrella, which has, however, everywhere disappeared except at Kārli, the finest cave of this type in India. The roof is semicircular. Over the doorway, which is opposite the *stūpa*, is a gallery, and above this a large window shaped like a horse-shoe. This window is constantly repeated on the façade as an ornament.

In the rock *chaityas*, the excavation of which extended from about 260 B.C. to about A.D. 600, the development of their style can be followed step by step throughout these nine centuries. The oldest, dating from near the commencement of the reign of Aśoka, are at Barābar, 16 miles north of Bodh Gayā. The front of one of these is carved so as to represent in rock the form of the structural *chaityas* of the age, all the details clearly imitating those of wooden buildings. All the most important examples of *chaityas* occur at six places in Western India. As we pass from the earliest to the latest specimens, we can clearly trace progress towards stone construction on the one hand and degeneracy in cult on the other. In the later specimens at Ajantā (*q.v.*) a striking change is the fact that figure sculpture has superseded the plainer ornamental carvings of the earlier caves. The greatest change, however, is that figures of Buddha have now been introduced in all his attitudes. In the earlier caves only ordinary mortals are sculptured, but Buddha himself never appears. Now he is the object of worship, his image being introduced in the front of the *stūpa* itself, which alone was adored in the older *chaityas*. In place of the earlier total lack of images we are here confronted with an overwhelming idolatry, in which Buddha, originally regarded as a human being, is the chief deity. In the latest of the Ajantā caves, dating from about A.D. 600, the sculptures are more mythological, evidently approximating to the iconography of Brāhmanism.

The caves of Ellora (*q.v.*) are particularly interesting, because here the juxtaposition of Buddhist with Hindu and Jain temples throws light on the relation of the three religions. The large Buddhist assembly hall at this place dates from about A.D. 600.

Besides many other evidences of architectural lateness, its most striking feature is the *stūpa* which, instead of being circular, has a large frontispiece that makes it rectilinear on this side, and contains a figure of a seated Buddha surrounded with attendants and flying figures in the latest style. In what is probably the most recent Buddhist cave temple in India, at Kholvi, the *stūpa* is no longer solid, but is hollowed out into a cell, in which an image of Buddha is placed. This marks the latest step in the development of the *chaitya*. A link connecting this stage with the later Jain and Hindu temples is to be found in an old structural Viṣṇu temple dating from about A.D. 700. Here the *stūpa* is superseded by a cell for the image, but this cell still has a semicircular back, and is separated from the wall behind by a passage for circumambulation. The transition is completed by making the cell square, as is the case at Pattadkal in an early Hindu temple, otherwise the same in plan as the one just described. The archæological evidence of the development of the *chaitya* thus shows how the Buddhist religion gradually grew idolatrous, and came nearer and nearer to Hinduism. It supplies us with concrete evidence showing how by this time that religion was gradually disappearing before the encroachment of the new form of the faith, from an earlier phase of which it had itself sprung.

(3) Beside the *chaityas* there arose *vihāras*, or monasteries, as residences for the Buddhist monks. Our knowledge of these is still more dependent than that of *chaityas* on rock-cut examples. There are about 900 Buddhist examples of this class in India.

The *vihāra* consisted, as a rule, of a hall, generally square but sometimes oblong, surrounded by a number of cells or sleeping-cubicles, and shaded in front by a pillared verandah. The cubicles in the oldest caves usually contain a stone bed. There is generally only a single floor, but two-storeyed *vihāras* also occur. Nearly all the caves of this class are found in Western India. Probably about forty were excavated before the Christian era. The most important of them are found at Bhāja, Bedsa, and Ajantā. In those of the earliest period there are no figure sculptures, no reliefs, not even carved emblems. The only ornament consists of horse-shoe arches and the Buddhist rail as a string course, with an occasional pilaster. Towards the end of the first period, four pillars supporting the ceiling began to be introduced. In the second period the number of pillars was increased, and finally reached twenty-eight. This feature is always accompanied by the introduction in the back wall of a sanctuary containing an image of Buddha.

The *vihāras* at Ajantā are specially important, because they constitute a complete series of examples of Buddhist art without any admixture from Hinduism or any other religion. They extend from 200 B.C. to A.D. 600, and thus belong to all three periods. The *vihāras* at Ellora, on the other hand, are interesting mainly because they illustrate the inter-relation of the three Indian religions, Buddhism, Brāhmanism, and Jainism. For here we have three groups of caves which distinctly represent these religions, and in which the transitions from one to the other can be clearly traced. Most of the eleven *vihāras* at this place have sanctuaries containing figures of Buddha seated. Thus the Buddhist monastery is seen to be becoming a place of worship, in which images of Buddha are ousting the monks from their cells. These *vihāras* come down to about A.D. 700, at which point the earliest Brāhman examples begin. Three two-storeyed caves at Ellora illustrate clearly the transition from Buddhism to Brāhmanism. The first is entirely and unmistakably Buddhist. The second is similar in plan, and the sculptures are still all Buddhistic, but deviate sufficiently from the usual simplicity to have justified the Brāhmans in appropriating this cave as belonging to their religion. The plan of the third resembles that of the second, but the sculptures are all unmistakably Brāhman. This is evidently the earliest Hindu cave, being a close copy of the preceding Buddhist example.

(*b*) *Sculpture.*—In the earliest period there are no images of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. No sculpture of Buddha, in any of his conventional attitudes, that has been executed in India can be assigned to an earlier date than the end of the 1st cent. A.D. Reverence was paid during the first period to relics, *stūpas*, Bo-trees, footprints of Buddha, and sacred symbols, such as the trident and the wheel of the law. These are constantly represented in the sculptures as adored by men, and even animals.

The sculptures of this period are found at Bhārhut (now in the Calcutta Museum) and Sānchī, at Bodh Gayā, and in the early temples and monasteries of Western India. They appear on the rails and gateways of *stūpas*, on monolith columns, on the pillars and façades of *chaityas* and *vihāras*. The most ancient railings, as those at Sānchī, are quite plain. But they soon began to be adorned with bosses, panels, and friezes. The railing at Bhārhut (200–150 B.C.) is covered in every part with elaborate sculptures in relief, and is practically a treatise in stone on Buddhist mythology. The gateways of Sānchī are covered with sculpture, including all sorts of incidents connected with Buddhist legend. It is worthy of note that both here and at Bhārhut occur representations of Lakṣmī, the Hindu goddess of fortune, with an elephant on each side pouring water over her from pots. This is the earliest example in Indian sculpture of worship being paid to any being, divine or human.

The commencement of the second period of Buddhist religious art coincides with the rise of the Mahāyāna school. Its history begins in the extreme north-west, the region of Gandhāra.

Representations of Buddha and of numerous Bodhisattvas suddenly appear in the Buddhist monasteries of this district for decorative purposes in the first cent. A.D. It is characteristic of this new phase of Buddhism that figures of Buddha occupy the cells originally meant for monks, and that the heads of these figures are always adorned with a halo. In this corner of India was created the conventional type of Buddha which, spreading from this source to other parts of India, was finally diffused over the whole of the Buddhist world. From the already stereotyped character of the figure on the votive casket discovered in the *stūpa* of Kaniṣka at Peshawar in 1909 we may infer that some nameless Greek artist first produced this type of the Enlightened One in the century preceding our era. It has perhaps been the most enduring, as well as the most widely dispersed, type that the history of art has ever recorded. In the hands of the artists of Gandhāra the image of Buddha became a centre for groups of sculpture in which Buddha plays the same part as Christ in Christian works of art.

Buddhist art, even in the western caves, represents the figures of its mythology in ordinary human form only, while it is characteristic of Hindu sculpture frequently to represent the gods with several heads and many arms. Probably the earliest figure of a Hindu god with more than two arms is one of Śiva on a coin of Kadphises II., dating from the 1st cent. A.D. This feature of Hinduism made its way into Buddhist sculpture only in the third and decadent period. Thus we find in one of the caves at Kanheri the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara represented with eleven heads. These disfigurements never extended to images of Buddha. But the sculpture of the second period furnishes melancholy evidence of the most striking feature in the degeneration of Indian Buddhism: Buddha, who denied the existence of a supreme god and rejected the worship of gods altogether, himself came to be treated as a supreme god, and the images representing him gave rise to a vast development of idolatry in the later forms of Buddhism.

(*c*) *Painting.*—About half-way through the second period another branch of art—painting—begins to appear as a handmaid of the Buddhist religion. The actual remains of these early paintings are chiefly limited to the frescoes found on the ceilings, walls, and pillars of several of the Ajantā caves. The oldest belong to the end of the 2nd cent. A.D. They extend through the third period of Buddhist art, the best and most interesting specimens dating from *c.* A.D. 550 to 650. They comprise pictures of Buddha with drapery and nimbus in the style of the Gandhāra school of about the 4th century. The frescoes, like the sculptures on the rails at Bhārhut and Amarāvatī, were intended for the edification of pious Buddhists. The subjects are confined to such as are drawn from Buddhist mythology or legend. Among them may be mentioned frescoes (of about the 6th cent.) illustrative of the *Jātakamālā* accompanied by inscriptional verses by its author, Āryaśūra.

As regards sculpture, Buddhist religious art declined more and more in the third period, gradually approximating to that of Hinduism. The Buddhists now used images as freely as the Hindus. The mediæval statuary of Bihār is found to be almost identical with that in the Hindu temples, and the two classes of images became so similar that they are often confounded even by skilled archæologists. Thus the history of the art of Indian Buddhism shows how that religion lost its original characteristic features, and became almost indistinguishable from reviving Hinduism.

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INDIFFERENTISM.—This doctrine makes its first clear appearance in Stoic ethics. Virtue consists in living according to nature; but certain things are in our power, certain things are not. The latter are ἀδιάφορα, things indifferent; they have nothing to do with the motives of the virtuous man; he must be entirely independent of them, taking them as they come, but trying to do nothing—for, indeed, it is really impossible—either to secure or avoid them. 'Some things are in our power, such as desire, impulse, inclination; others are not, such as the body, property, reputation. . . . If you really know what is your own, and what is not your own, no one will be able to exercise compulsion or restraint over you: you will never blame or chide another; no one will injure you, and you will never have an enemy' (Epict. *Man.* i. 1 ff.). Virtue is nothing but the good will; Epictetus illustrates this by the story of two lads who were sent to fetch Plato: the one sought for him everywhere, but missed him; the other spent his time listening to strolling jesters in the street, and then happened to see Plato passing, and gave him the message. Ἀδιάφορα, on the other hand, are things which, properly speaking, 'neither help nor injure, such as life, health, pleasure, beauty, strength, wealth, good repute, good birth, and their opposites, death, disease, toil, disgrace, weakness, poverty,' etc. (Diog. Laert. vii. 102). It is this conception that is the chief element in the popular view of Stoicism; and it forms an interesting contrast to Aristotle's description of the 'great-souled man,' for whom the things in the first class of ἀδιάφορα as described above are a necessity, but who despises what can only be received from other people.

But there are three objections to the conception. (1) It leaves man without guidance in a large part of life; (2) it is too severe for most men; (3) it is impracticable, since all life involves a continuous series of choices, even in our dealings with ἀδιάφορα. Even if pain is an indifferent thing, does it not matter how one acts under it? Hence the doctrine was modified, but only in the direction of the second—and least important—objection; and a distinction was introduced between what were known as *καθήκοντα* (*officia media*) and *κατορθώματα* (*officia perfecta*), the former denoting acts that are suitable and commendable, the latter acts that are positively right. The latter term refers to virtue and vice, *i.e.* things according or contrary to nature; they are absolute. The former refers to things relative to ends; they involve degrees, and allow of considerations of convenience; hence only with *κατορθώματα* can there be no compromise; there the imperative is, as Kant would say, categorical. It must be noted here that we are not dealing with counsels of perfection, as they have been called, for *κατορθώματα* are necessary for all; and in the same way all may have the benefit of the principle of the *καθῆκον*. Nor is casuistry involved; for casuistry (*q.v.*), whose existence the Stoics did not recognize to any great extent, arises in the case of a conflict of duties.

The distinction between *καθήκοντα* and *κατορθώματα* implies a further distinction in indifferent things, between *προηγμένα* and *ἀποπροηγμένα*, things to be preferred or rejected, or *ἄξια* and *ἀπάξια*, *i.e.* things with or without value; thus, even in the class of indifferent things is found the distinction of being either according to or contrary to nature; and objects in the one class may be lawfully pursued, in the other avoided.

This, however, is really an excrescence on the system, not an integral part of it. For, if an act is according to nature, surely it is a *κατόρθωμα*; how could it be anything but definitely wrong to turn from what is according to nature, or pursue what is contrary to it? Or, if *ἄξια* are what they are because they involve ends at which we may rightly aim, on what grounds are these aims admissible? They are either good or bad. What makes them so? Nature again. Further, if ends are right, are all the means to them right? If not, how are we to decide between the different means? Only as they involve virtue or vice; in any case, we are driven back to *κατορθώματα*. Indeed, the Stoic ideal is now destroyed, for the sage is no longer a rival of Zeus—'rex denique regum'; he is jostling in the crowd for objects whose lack makes him confessedly in an unsatisfactory position, and to secure which he will at least be tempted to evil. Hence, the introduction of this distinction does nothing to relieve Stoicism from the burden of the doctrine of ἀδιάφορα in general.

The question did not again take an important place in ethics till Kant. Kant recognized in the Stoics a school with whose views he could not but sympathize; most austere of moralists as he appears to be, however, he blames them for not seeing that, while happiness cannot be the cause of virtue, it ought to be its accompaniment and result. It is the second, though only the second, element in the *summum bonum*. To the Stoic doctrine of ἀδιάφορα, however, he does not explicitly refer; but by implication it is roundly condemned. For, just as to Kant there is nothing good except the good will, so there is no freedom save in the absolute obedience of the will to the Moral Law; and whatever is not of freedom is immoral. But to be guided by inclination or preference is to set other ends above the Moral Law.

It thus appears that, while Kant criticizes the Stoics for neglecting happiness altogether, he is totally opposed to the issue in which they as a matter of fact recognize it, and there can be no doubt that he has logic on his side. On the other hand, he has certainly laid himself open to Schiller's well-known epigram.[1] Argument by epigram is dangerous, however; and Kant did not call an act done from affection wrong necessarily, but only an action done from affection instead of from respectful obedience to the Moral Law. Strictly speaking, affection which leaves such respect intact is itself an ἀδιάφορον, unimportant from the point of view of morals. But here Kant is on dangerous ground. The consideration, indeed, that led the Stoics to their doctrine of *προηγμένα* he would neglect, since he is confessedly describing the implications of complete virtue, and he has no interest in the secondary virtue of the ordinary man; but he cannot avoid challenging comparison with the NT, to which, indeed, he constantly, though somewhat patronizingly, refers in the *Religion within the Bounds of Pure Reason.* In Paul's experience, Christianity, as with Kant, is essentially a principle of freedom; but it is freedom *from* a purely moral law, *to* a supreme person. Moreover, the spring of obedience to this person, *i.e.* Christ, is not respect, but gratitude and love. The relation of obedience to love in Christianity is similar to the relation of happiness to virtue in Kant. In each pair the former member has its roots in the latter, and without the latter is of no value. But, when it is said that Christian freedom is freedom from the law, this does not mean that the necessity for conformity to the law disappears. It is rather 'established' (Ro 3^{31}). Its scope, indeed, is infinitely extended. 'Whatsoever ye do . . . do all to the glory of God' (1 Co 10^{31}). Thus nothing can be indifferent; there is no place for ἀδιάφορα; for there are certain things at which a Christian will never think of aiming (Lk 10^{42}); there is nothing to which his attitude is not of supreme importance.

As long as respect for the law is the sole motive, it is difficult to escape such distinctions as that between *προηγμένα* and *ἀποπροηγμένα*. But Kant himself has provided a way out in his second statement of the categorical imperative: 'Treat everyone as a member of the Kingdom of Ends.' This formula shows the real strength and weakness of Kant's system. Obedience to the formula brings one very near to the Christian rule of loving one's neighbour as oneself; and, indeed, the two formulæ explain one another; and both exclude ἀδιάφορα, since in dealing with oneself there are no ἀδιάφορα. At the same time, such an attitude is impossible unless the deepest emotions and affections, instead of being expelled, are made central.

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INDIGITAMENTA.—The Roman Indigitamenta were those portions of the pontifical books (Serv. *Georg*. i. 21: 'in indigitamentis . . . id est, in libris pontificalibus') whose origin was traced to King Numa Pompilius (Arnob. ii. 73: 'Pompiliana indigitamenta'). The citations made from them by the ancients go back to the work of Granius Flaccus (Censor. *de Die Nat*. iii. 2:

'Freedom and the consciousness of it as a faculty of following the moral law with unyielding resolution is independence on inclinations, at least as motives determining (though not as affecting) our desire' (*Critique of Practical Reason*, tr. Abbott, London, 1879, p. 310). So also religion is 'the recognition of all duties as divine commands, and here, to [illegible] remains disinterested and founded merely on duty, neither hope nor fear being made the foundation springs, which, if taken as principles, would destroy the moral worth of actions' (*ib.* p. 329).

[1] 'Gerne dien' ich den Freunden, doch thu' ich es leider mit Neigung, | Und so wurmt es mir oft, dass ich nicht tugendhaft bin' (*Die Philosophen*, 'Gewissensskrupel').

'Granius Flaccus in libro quem ad Caesarem de indigitamentis scriptum reliquit'), and to the *Antiquitates rerum divinarum* of M. Terentius Varro (cf. R. Agahd, *Jahrb. für Philol.*, Suppl. xxiv. [1898] 131 ff.). As the verb *indigitare* (which is not connected with the *di indigetes*) has, on the testimony of the ancient lexicographers (Paul. p. 114; Serv. *Æn.* xii. 794; *Corp. gloss. Lat.* vi. 564), the same meaning as *invocare*, the Indigitamenta were formulæ of invocation not to be differentiated from the 'comprecationes deorum immortalium quae ritu Romano fiunt' which Gellius (xiii. 23. 1) cites from the *Libri sacerdotum populi Romani*—*i.e.* the books of the *pontifices*. Accordingly, the Indigitamenta were lists containing the names and epithets of the gods, and specifying the occasions on which the help of each should be invoked; and the fact that the function and sphere of a deity were generally indicated by his name explains the statement of Servius (*Georg.* i. 21) to the effect that the Indigitamenta had contained 'et nomina deorum et rationes ipsorum nominum.' The few passages that explicitly mention the Indigitamenta, or else make use of the word *indigitare*, refer to the deities Bona Dea (Macr. *Sat.* I. xii. 21), Tiberinus (Serv. *Æn.* viii. 330), Genius (Censor. iii. 2), Numeria (Nonius, p. 352), and Apollo (Macr. *Sat.* I. xvii. 15). The last-cited passage may seem to conflict with the testimony of Arnobius (ii. 73: 'non doctorum in litteris continetur, Apollinis nomen Pompiliana indigitamenta nescire?'), but we must suppose that, while the name of Apollo may not have occurred in the oldest portions of the Indigitamenta, the latter were in course of time supplemented in order to correspond with the expansion of the Roman pantheon.

The absence of Apollo's name from the Pompiliana indigitamenta is referred to by Arnobius, or his source, as conclusive evidence that that deity was unknown in the earliest religion of Rome. This proves that when the Indigitamenta were composed they must have embraced all the deities then worshipped in Rome. It is, therefore, an error, and one that has become fairly common since its promulgation by J. A. Ambrosch (occurring recently, *e.g.*, in A. v. Domaszewski, *Abhandl. zur röm. Religion*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1909, p. 159), to regard the Indigitamenta as lists of those deities whom Usener (*Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 74 f.) has designated *Sondergötter*, *i.e.* gods whose sphere of power was narrow—being restricted to particular actions and circumstances of human life—and to apply the name 'indigitamenta-deities' exclusively to these. That the Indigitamenta really contained the names of such deities is distinctly implied by Censorinus:

> 'Sed et alii sunt praeterea dei complures hominum vitam pro sua quisque portione adminiculantes, quos volentem cognoscere indigitamentorum libri satis edocebunt' (iii. 4; cf. Serv. *Georg.* i. 21);

but that they were not wholly confined to that class of deities appears from the mention of Bona Dea, Tiberinus, and Genius in the fragments cited above. The much discussed lists of *di minuti*, which were arranged according to the various phases of divine action, and which can be reconstructed, especially from the writings of the Church Fathers (cf. Agahd, *op. cit.* 36 ff.), are not derived in that particular form from the Indigitamenta, but were drawn up by Varro (*Antiquitates rerum divinarum*, xiv.) as lists of the *di certi*, *i.e.* deities regarding whose function and signification the ancient scholars were still able, as he thought, to speak with certainty. Varro may have taken many of the names and interpretations from the Indigitamenta, but many were derived from other sources, and most of the accompanying explanations rest entirely upon etymologies which are open to question or even demonstrably false.

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G. WISSOWA.

INDIVIDUALISM.—The term 'individualism' may be taken either in a genetic or in a normative sense. In the former sense it denotes the systems which appear in religious and political society and their laws, as well as in the great manifestations of the human mind, creations of isolated or associated individuals; in the latter it denotes a principle according to which the integral and free development of the individual ought to be the aim of social life. Individualism in the genetic sense has a historical significance; individualism in the normative sense has a moral significance. They may stand independently of each other; but, as a matter of fact, individualism in the genetic sense of the word is often allied to a tendency which is individualistic in the normative sense, *i.e.* individualism in the genetic sense only traces back to the origins of societies, which thus form a First Cause, the aim which we claim to assign to them, or, in other words, transfers into the historical mode a certain conception of moral and social life. It seems best, therefore, to treat these two notions without separating them; as a matter of fact, they are often united and even confused. We shall discuss: (1) religious individualism, (2) moral individualism, and (3) political, social, and juridical individualism.

1. Religious individualism.—Primitive religions regarded the individual merely as the member of a clan, tribe, or race. Even their deities are not developed individualities, but personifications of forces of nature or of social laws. It was only gradually that the imagination of the poets gave them more definite characteristics. In this connexion the religion of Israel has the same character as the other national religions. Jahweh is the God of a people. It is to this people that He has given His law. For transgressions of this law He demands satisfaction indifferently from just and unjust—the descendants who have not sinned as well as the ancestors who are guilty. The individual simply shares the lot of the whole of which he is a part.

The time of the prophets witnesses a transformation of ideas in the meaning of individualism. The prophets themselves were powerful individualities who, strong by means of their inspiration and the revelations of which they were the conscious objects, opposed the people and the national tradition, preaching the religion of justice in opposition to the religion of worship, and realizing in their person an individual communion between God and man. They undoubtedly still speak to the people as a whole; they announce the punishments of God to the people as a whole, but in a different spirit. On the one hand, there appears the idea that the sufferings of the just are not punishments, but dispensations of God in view of the salvation of sinners by means of expiation: it is prominent in the parts of Deutero-Isaiah referring to the servant of God; on the other hand, Ezekiel develops the idea of a strictly individual justice: every one will suffer for his own sins; they will no longer say in Israel: 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge' (Ezk 18[2]). The book of Job also marks an important stage in the development of religious individualism in Israel. Conscience was still subordinated to facts; the Israelites judged people according to their fate, and they judged themselves in the same way. This is the point of view of Job's friends: they prove to him that he is guilty because he is unfortunate. But Job protests. To the verdict of outward conditions he opposes that of his conscience, and maintains that, even if he were to despair of the justice of God, his exceptional misfortunes are not the proof of exceptional wickedness. He does not regard himself as an example of a sinner; his predominant feeling is that his conduct has been upright; and his friends are in the end disowned by God Himself, whose cause they thought they were defending. This is the triumph of the individual conscience over the collective conscience—the slave of appearances. The victory of individualism is completed by the coming of the doctrine of resurrection and the judgment of the dead which is announced in the book of Daniel and gradually becomes implanted in the mind of the Jewish people. The triumph of this belief was due—at least in the minds of many scholars—partly to the effect of foreign influences on the Israelitish mind. Certain religions, *e.g.* Parsiism and the ancient Egyptian religion, in their beliefs concerning the life to come and the judgment of the dead, have a very important individualistic element. As regards Jewish piety, it more and more assumed the character of an individual effort to merit eternal life, by good works and a strict observation of the law. The ancient idea of national solidarity did not disappear, however, and religious hopes still continued to bear a national character.

The individual soul is the special interest of Jesus. It is the object of His appeals, His solicitude, His promises. To Him the work of saving souls is more important than that of saving His people, although this too is not neglected. He was the real initiator of religious individualism, by the announcement of His filial connexion with God and of God's solicitude for all sinners, and by His invitation to His followers to enter into a communion with the heavenly Father similar to, if not identical with, His own communion with the Father. With St. Paul also the care of individual souls is predominant; we find in him, however, the idea of the Church as the body of Christ. He does not place it above individual souls, but there appears in his Church the notion of a spiritual reality which enters into competition with the individual. Afterwards the Church is regarded as an institution of divine origin, the mediator between God and man, and the regulator of the thought and life of the individual. In fact, if not in theory, the individual exists for the Church rather than the Church for the individual. The Christian becomes a member of the Church by a sacrament which is officially administered to him at a time when he has not the power to reject it, and he remains a member, not because of personal qualities, but because of the sacrament, as long as the Church does not think fit to exclude him from its communion.

Alongside of the Church institution another type of religious association appears in the Middle Ages, viz. the sect—if we may use this word to signify communities to which persons voluntarily attach themselves on account of personal convictions, and membership in which consists in the fulfilment of certain rules or vows. The sects were incontestably, in many cases, the refuge of individual piety and conscience from the hand laid by the Church on the religious autonomy of individuals. The Reformers proclaimed the principle of justification by faith, *i.e.* by a certain disposition of the soul with regard to the promises of God, and so brought the individual face to face with God, and prepared for the maturing of personal piety and religious thought. The consequences of their principle, however, were of slow development. The two great Churches resulting from the Reformation preserved the idea of the Church-institution on the whole, and took up a position against the sect of Anabaptists, which was based on the individualist principle. But the idea of universal priesthood expounded by Luther did not readily harmonize with the Church's dogma of a special priesthood. On the other hand, the idea of predestination favoured individualism, and relegated to the second place the idea of a Church as the guardian of the means of salvation. In the Lutheran Church, Pietism sought to realize the idea of universal priesthood, and, without attacking the ecclesiastical institution in general, to revive it by the formation of groups of Christians animated by a conscious personal piety. The Reformed Church gave birth to a series of sects, Baptist and Methodist, which are all founded on the idea that the holiness of the Church and the efficacy of its work depend upon the character of its members—that the Church is an association of living and converted Christians who have adhered personally to the Christian faith.

As the doctrine of the Church came to be contested more and more by criticism, the question of the rights of individual religious thought in the Church was a pressing problem. Catholicism could not solve it except in a negative way; the traditionalist section of Protestantism could do no more than make certain concessions; while the reformist section set itself to ensure the independence of individual thought, by insisting on liberty of thought as an essential element of Christian liberty, or by reducing the doctrinal consensus to a minimum, or by making thought and doctrine quite secondary elements of the religious life, and seeking to unite souls in mystical and practical aspirations. In this order of ideas, of which Schleiermacher was the instigator, religious thought follows religious experience, which by its nature is much more individual than collective. The rights of the individual with regard to every religious doctrine are, therefore, assured, and the doctrinal decisions of the Church have to take account of them. And, in addition, although mysticism properly so called has always offered a protective refuge to individual piety, it is not positively favourable to individualism, as it tends to absorb the human individualities in God rather than to make them independent.

Once at this point of development, religious individualism necessarily generated in the bosom of the official Protestant Churches a movement in favour of ecclesiastical individualism, which the sects had been practising for a long time, and this movement had its reflex action on the connexion of the Churches with the State. The Church-institutions were all united to the State. At first the effect of this union was to enslave the Church, but afterwards it produced exactly opposite results. The Western Catholic Church very soon regarded itself as invested with spiritual glory in Christendom, while the State held the temporal glory under its authority and for its protection. The Protestant Churches too, at first, spoke more or less consciously of the idea of 'Christendom'—a politico-religious body, of which the Church (subject, of course, to the State) was the inspiration. The union of Church and State, therefore, was part of a system in which the individual was surrounded in every respect, even intellectually and morally, by society, and in which the State was the prop of a particular form of the Christian religion. In so far as the State, under the influence of the widening of ideas and the enfranchisement of intellect, became more unconfessional and even unreligious, its union with the Church appeared to many minds prejudicial to the liberty of the latter, and to the liberty of the individual. The idea of a civilization founded on religion became gradually more vague, and in some places disappeared entirely. A new notion made its appearance—that of the Church-association, composed of men animated by one and the same faith, independent of the State, and exerting no influence whatever on it or on persons who do not voluntarily belong to its membership. This is the system of the Independent Churches, or of ecclesiastical individualism. The great theorist of this system was Alexander Vinet, the promoter of the Free Church movement in the canton of Vaud. According to this system, persons cannot become members of a church except by voluntary adherence to a confession of faith which forms the base of the Church (Churches of professing Christians). The Churches have no longer anything in common with ethnic or historical groups; they are regarded as free creations of the spirit of God by means of individual souls who, on coming into contact with each other, form religious societies. As a matter of fact, the principle of ecclesiastical individualism has nowhere been carried out to its full extent, even in the communities in which infant-baptism is not practised. It clashes with the existence of the Christian family, which is itself a small church, and which, in reality, entails membership of the Church on the children born within it.

From the Protestant point of view religious individualism is legitimate, and inseparable from every higher form of religion, in so far as it asserts the right and the duty of the individual to enter into direct communion with God, to think freely about religious matters, to join or not to join such and such a religious society, and in so far as it asserts the decisive influence of the great religious individualities on the historic march of religions. Religious individualism, however, runs the risk of weakening religion, when it does not recognize its social past, its origin in beliefs common to all the members of a society, and the inevitable connexions between the religious society and the political society—connexions which are beneficial when they are based on respect for the real nature of the two institutions.

2. Moral individualism.—Moral individualism is seen mainly in three forms: (1) the criticism of national customs and traditions; (2) the view that moral obligation is born in the individual conscience, and that the latter is also the heuristic principle of moral duties; and (3) the view that the development of the individual is, if not the only aim, at least one of the chief aims, of the moral life.

We find the first form in antiquity. The Sophists submitted the traditional morality to a dissolving criticism, which opposed individual reflexion to national tradition. Socrates, building on the ruins, appealed to reason to re-construct a morality. This we may call individualism in its second form. Naturally, this rational morality of Socrates is strongly influenced by tradition; it is even more so with Plato, who, when not under the influence of his mystic ideas, places the city above everything; and it is equally so with Aristotle. The Epicureans and the Stoics represent in their way the third form of moral individualism. They aim above all at the happiness of the wise man considered 'alone by himself.' This individualism, however, is very relative, or, rather, negative, for it allows of hardly any variety in the conception of the moral ideal. Each school produces only one uniform type, but this type is no longer that of the citizen who lives for his country; it is now the man who seeks his way and his place in the universe and in humanity. The Catholic Church regards morality essentially as obedience to a collection of divine and human laws. In the Middle Ages, Abelard was almost the only one who (in his *Scito te ipsum*) invited man to look within himself for the foundation of morality. The Renaissance was, in theory at least, if not in practice, a very pronounced individualistic movement. Powerful individualities asserted themselves to such an extent that in many cases they freed themselves from all tradition and all law. Among the Reformers, Luther especially laid emphasis on the internal character of the moral obligation; the only actions with any moral value in his eyes were those accomplished by the individual in virtue of this inner constraint; while Calvin insisted above all on the notion of the divine law, not forgetting, however, that this law is inscribed on the conscience. The philosophy of Kant exaggerates Luther's theory: moral obligation is not only internal, but absolutely autonomous, and this obligation, which proves the liberty of man, is in a way his proper aim: all the contents of morality flow from it. Kant is the most characteristic representative of the second and third forms of moral individualism: morality comes from the individual, and it has as its aim the freedom and the dignity of the individual. Fichte's idea is similar, although less formalistic. For Hegel, on the contrary, the moral subject is only a stage towards the realization of the objective mind in the State. The last word of morality for Hegel is the sovereignty of the State, which shows its majesty by sacrificing individuals, if need be, to the maintenance of its independence and authority. Hegelian morality is the finished type of an anti-individualistic morality, although Hegel had really no intention of sacrificing the individual and disregarding his dignity. It is the spirit of Hegel that animates Ludwig Feuerbach when he attempts to make the idea of space (*Gattung*) the predominating idea of morality, and D. F. Strauss when he makes a similar attempt in his work entitled *Der alte und der neue Glaube* (Bonn, 1872). Later, however, Feuerbach passes to an individualism so extreme that it was exceeded only by Max Stirner (whose real name was J. Kaspar Schmidt), author of a book entitled *Der Einzige und sein Eigenthum* (Leipzig, 1893), which recommends not only individualism but egoism, and which ends in the paradoxical idea of an association of egoists.

If the philosophy of the second half of the 18th cent. and the first half of the 19th was in general favourable to moral individualism, the literature was equally so. In Germany the *Sturm und Drang* period, an age of geniuses, was ultra-individualistic; the neo-humanism of the classics also made much of human individuality, without disregarding, however, man's social aspirations and work. Romanticism, again, exalted the individual in a way sometimes approaching the morbid, and now and then carried the cult of the individual so far as to forget all moral rules. It was as a disciple of Romanticism that Schleiermacher, encountering the abstract individualism of Kant, which he criticized with sagacity, developed a concrete individualism which takes account of the difference between individuals, and no longer cultivates the single individual, but individuality. This is the object of the *Monologues* (Berlin, 1800), which are all impregnated with the Romantic spirit. If in his later works on morality Schleiermacher attributed more importance to society, he none the less sought to safeguard in every sphere the rights of individuality, whose development alone renders possible the complete moral life. Richard Rothe, the disciple of Schleiermacher, defines morality as the penetration of nature by the personality; he was clearly dominated by the idea of the value of the human person. The individualism of these two theologians can be traced back to the Gospel; it is no less connected with the philosophic and literary movement of their time. Another theologian and writer, Sören Kierkegaard, the Dane, opposed the Hegelian tendencies in his country, and became the defender of a very extreme individualism which he identifies with true Christianity. This individualism is both intellectual and practical: subjective experience alone grasps the truth; the suffering which is born of the opposition of the individual to his surroundings is inseparable from moral life. Kierkegaard was driven by the logic of his position into conflict with the Established Church.

In England an individualism which is the parent of German Romanticism, and has yet a distinct character as in a way the privilege of the powerful, appears in Byron. Alongside of this great poet we must mention Carlyle, who, in his praise of a sort of hero-worship, sets forth great individualities as the flower and the perfection of humanity.

In France, moral individualism in the spirit of Kant was the distinctive characteristic of the morality of the spiritualist and neo-criticist school. The Positivism of Auguste Comte, on the other hand, was anti-individualistic; it made society the aim of the individual, and ended by preaching a kind of social religion. The neo-Positivism of which Emile Durkheim and Lucien Lévy-Bruhl are the principal representatives goes still further in this direction. It identifies morality with custom, and submits the individual unreservedly to the laws of society; for man owes everything to society—his development from the animal state, the creation of language, religion, and law.

In opposition to this extreme anti-individualism there is at present a new form of individualism, viz. Nietzschianism. Nietzsche exempts the strong man from all rule, despises moral laws as an invention of the weak in order to triumph over the strong, and sees in the Superman the terminus of human evolution. In the fragments of his last work, *The Will to Power* (in *Nachgelassene Werke*, Leipzig, 1901), however, there is a tendency to make the superman the creator of a new social rule.

3. Political, social, and juridical individualism.—Primitive races present the spectacle of the absorption of the individual in the clan or the tribe. Later, when the family, in the modern sense of the word, was constituted, it generally exercised, in the person of its chief, considerable rights over its members. The State gradually weakened this family authority in order to put itself more or less in the place of the family, although at the same time recognizing important rights in the individual. Græco-Roman antiquity, to the very end, imposed an official cult on every individual. The Roman Catholic Church afterwards tried to impose a similar conception of society upon the State, and Protestant Churches did not at first proclaim the principle of individual religious liberty. The idea of tolerance and of non-interference of the State in religious matters did not begin to obtain a footing in Europe, and especially in America, until the Revolution in England. Apart from religion, the ancient State and the feudal State of the Middle Ages, for different reasons, were less concerned about the happiness of individuals than the modern absolutist State, at least at the beginning of the 18th century. It had no hesitation in unscrupulously sacrificing the individual, when necessary, for the benefit of the State. At the beginning of the epoch of Cesare de Beccaria (1735–94), author of *Dei Delitti e delle pene*, Milan, 1764, there are signs of benevolence even with regard to criminals. From the end of the 18th cent. the system of economic guardianship and direction of commerce and industry by the State was gradually attenuated, or even abandoned, in favour of a system of liberty and of free competition, which is often called economic individualism. Adam Smith, Cobden, and Bright in Britain, and Bastiat in France, were the chief exponents of this movement.

As regards the general welfare of individuals, Great Britain was for a long time the only country where serious precautions were taken to ensure imprescriptible liberties for the individual. British traditions, the Anglo-Saxon temperament, and the Calvinist education all tended to the enfranchisement of the individual. The idea of inviolable individual liberties was afterwards recognized in several constitutions of the States of North America, whence it passed into the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme* in 1789. The French Revolution was at first bent on establishing the liberty of the individual, though it was forced in the end to sacrifice it. The Liberal school took up this aim, and reduced the State to the position of guardian of the rights of the individual. This theory, however, could not meet the reality, and to the abstract individualism of the Liberals socialism opposed a more practical care for the material welfare of all—at the risk, it is true, of compromising their liberty, and of making them purchase a moderate happiness at the expense of their independence; though idealist socialists claim that this will not follow. Anarchism is the extreme form of political and social individualism. It seeks to put free and contractual association in place of the State, and repudiates all constraint of society with regard to individuals. Down to the present it has not been able either clearly to define its ideal or to put it actively into practice.

We must now consider, independently of these theoretical and practical efforts to make the individual the chief or, at least, one of the chief concerns of the State and social life, the theories according to which governments and societies are the product of the conscious will of individuals. The idea that governments owe their origin to contracts entered into by individuals was known even to antiquity. It is found in the Middle Ages, and later among the Jesuits, with the distinct tendency to break down civil governments, originating as they do from contracts which are always revocable, in favour of the Church, an institution which goes back to God Himself. In the hands of the theorists of modern natural law, *i.e.* non-religious, the idea of contract becomes, on the contrary, a means of freeing the State from the Church. Hobbes was the first to trace back not only government, but society itself, to a social contract. Rousseau was his disciple in this matter, but with neither of these two thinkers did this theory profit individualism. Both of them, on the contrary, make the individual abdicate in favour of the society which he has helped to create—with this difference, that Hobbes makes society itself abdicate in favour of an absolute monarch, while Rousseau makes society supreme. Rousseau's theory of social contract, treated in the book which bears the same name (1762), shows the wildness of his dreams about the happiness of the savage, free from all fetters because he lives outside of society, and makes for the support of a civic ideal which is not even compatible with full religious liberty. The French Revolution was inspired by him when it instituted an obligatory civil religion, without any regard to the rights of conscience.

There is a kind of individualism also which has attacked the family and the institution of marriage. At the beginning of the second half of the 19th cent. marriage began to be looked at far more from the individual point of view than from the social. Under the influence of Romantic ideas, even a theologian like Schleiermacher held for some time that marriage could be dissolved if the two individuals united by it no longer suited each other. Free love, or a conception of marriage which is very near to it, has been extolled by a series of writers (*e.g.* the brothers Margueritte, Ellen Key), in the interests of individual liberty. It is far from being the case, however, that all the attacks against marriage and the family have been inspired by individualistic tendencies; sometimes they are the result of an anti-individualistic tendency which regards the strongly constituted family as an obstacle to the omnipotence of a society which aims at equality.

With regard more particularly to the idea of law, individualist theories and social or socialistic theories stand in opposition. The former maintain that the essential origin and aim of the law is the establishing of the liberty and dignity of individuals whose spheres of action and of influence are so prescribed as not to encroach on one another. This is especially the theory of Kantianism and French spiritualism. The German historical school, on the other hand, finds in law a manifestation of the national spirit holding sway over the individual. Auguste Comte, with his Positivism, opposes the idea of individual rights, and insists on the rights of society and the duties of the individual towards it. The same theory is held by contemporary neo-Positivism. Every school that finds in law only the expression of the social relations demanded by the nature of men and things or by social utility either limits or entirely suppresses the individualist character of the law.

Moral and social individualism is an enormous improvement on the instinctive and brutal solidarity of ancient times. It ennobles man, but at the same time it runs the risk of isolating him, on the one hand, and, on the other, rendering him proud and making him forget what he owes to the community and to tradition. Individualism is fruitful only when it leads man to accept solidarity with his fellows without reserve, and to make it an instrument of justice and liberty for all.

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E. EHRHARDT.

INDIVIDUALITY.—1. The term.—The word *individuum* is simply the Lat. translation of the Gr. ἄτομον, and thus originally signified 'that which cannot be cut,' or 'divided.' In this sense the word is found in Cicero, and Seneca uses it in the same way.[1] Even by the later period of antiquity, however, the word had come to denote a single thing as 'unique,' 'distinct from others,' 'alone of its kind.'[2] The mediæval writers adhered to this sense of the word, and, by the 12th cent. at latest, they had also coined the terms *individualis* and *individualitas*. The modern usage of the words in the sense specified is mainly due to Leibniz.

2. Historical survey.—Just as the word *individuum* has two meanings, viz. that of a 'single' thing, and that of a 'unique' or 'peculiar' thing, the corresponding idea is associated with two main problems, which, it is true, are closely connected. These problems are: (1) whether human society is to be traced chiefly to the action of single individuals or to a general order which is superior to them; and (2) whether the development of the qualities shared by all or the development of those peculiar to the individual is to be regarded as of more importance in the sphere of education and culture. These two questions are closely related also in the process of historical development.

The historical process of human society exhibits a rhythmical tendency; we perceive in it a movement from a general order to the individual, as also a movement from the individual to a general order, and the culmination of either seems to lead inevitably to the other. In the earliest stages of culture the human individual is but part of a social economy which hedges him in with its laws and customs, and rigorously controls his conduct. The progress of civilization brings with it a more extensive division of labour, and at the same time carries the individual to a position of greater independence; the human units do not now simply hearken and obey, but begin to question the authority of the existing order, and at length, feeling themselves superior to it, they repudiate all outward control, and refuse to recognize anything that does not clearly and definitely approve itself to their minds. Such emancipation, however, tends naturally to bring about a state of things in which the stability of life is dissolved, and all communal existence abolished, with the result that a counter-movement sets in, and attempts are made, by spiritual means, to restore that relationship of human beings which in its natural form had been irretrievably lost. At this stage the distinctive quality of the individual may be duly recognized so far as it fits in with the wider order. But, even when such an order has been attained, it by no means implies finality. In the further progress of humanity it may be found to be too narrow, too inflexible, and may at length become intolerable. There will then set in once more a movement in favour of the individual, and a concomitant transformation of the entire situation.

In this conflict between the general order and the individual the former is usually defended by an appeal to the necessity of a fixed and stable organization, transcending the aims and powers of the individual units, while, on the other hand, the individuals maintain that the true human life wells up in the individual soul alone, that that life requires perfect freedom for its development, and that a far greater inwardness and fullness of life is to be looked for from such unhampered development than any general order could ever produce.

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[1] Seneca, *de Provid.* 5: 'quaedam separari a quibusdam non possunt, cohaerent, individua sunt.'

[2] The various senses borne by the term *individuum* towards the end of the ancient period are set forth by Boethius in his commentary on Porphyry (Basel, 1570, p. 65): 'Individuum pluribus dicitur modis. Dicitur individuum quod omnino secari non potest, ut unitas vel mens; dicitur individuum quod ob soliditatem dividi nequit, ut adamas; dicitur individuum cujus praedicatio in reliqua similia non convenit, ut Socrates; nam cum illi sint caeteri homines similes, non convenit proprietas et praedicatio Socratis in caeteris, ergo ab iis quae de uno tantum praedicantur genus differt eo quod de pluribus praedicatur.' The leading passage in Porphyry runs as follows: ἄτομα λέγεται τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅτι ἐξ ἰδιοτήτων συνέστηκεν ἕκαστον, ὧν τὸ ἄθροισμα οὐκ ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλου τινός ποτε τὸ αὐτὸ γένοιτο τῶν κατὰ μέρος. This definition held its ground throughout the Middle Ages till modern times.

This oscillation between the two sides can be distinctly traced in the history of European civilization. The complete emancipation of the individual, as manifested in the philosophical sphere by the Sophists, was presently recognized as a grave danger, and the political constitutions drawn up by Plato and Aristotle are largely dominated by the idea of once more giving a commanding position to the conception of a general order. By availing themselves in particular of the idea of a living organism, these thinkers illustrated, on the one hand, the absolute subordination of the individual to the community, and, on the other, the distinctive function of each individual within the community. While Aristotle certainly concedes to the individual a position of greater importance than does Plato, that position must nevertheless lie within the whole; he never admits that the individual has any rights as against the community, and sets no limit to the community's claims upon its single members. Aristotle's view finds its most significant expression in his assertion that the State (the organized community) is prior to the individual.[1]

The idea of the organism was extended by the Stoics to the universe as a whole. At the same time, however, the Stoics insisted strongly upon the unique character of every particular element in the whole, asserting that no two hairs or grains of corn were perfectly alike.[2] Thereafter the metaphor was adopted by Christianity, and was applied to the Kingdom of God, as, *e.g.*, in the figure of the vine and the branches, although this conception is found only in the Fourth Gospel, which was strongly influenced by Greek modes of thought. The endeavour made in the later period of antiquity to fortify the individual by the formation of permanent associations appears also in the rise of various schools—as, *e.g.*, those of the Stoics and the Epicureans—the object of which was not merely unity of opinion, but also a certain community of life.

The movement towards a stable organization of human society, however, attained success not through the instrumentality of philosophy, but by linking itself to religion. It was, in fact, the Christian Church that first proved capable of creating an organization which united its members in a firm bond, and imparted truth and salvation to them individually. The commanding position won by that organization was largely due to the rise of new nationalities, which required to be trained to independent spiritual effort. But philosophy likewise had a share in bringing about the alliance with religion—in so far, namely, as it gave the individual a link of relationship with the cosmic whole. The outstanding name here is Plotinus, who includes all things in their multiplicity and variety in a universal life, and regards all individual existence as being permeated thereby. Thus, as the universal life is immediately present in the individual, and may indeed become his own essential nature, he is undoubtedly raised to a much higher position; nevertheless he is still dependent upon the universal, and the development of his peculiar qualities is left out of account. This mode of thought was fostered by mysticism. But, while mysticism advances to the desired unity with the All by means of individual effort, and aspires to realize that unity directly, and while it therefore admits of a greater freedom than does the ecclesiastical system, yet here too all life is derived from the universal, and devotion thereto prevails over the development of individual qualities.

Of the modern period, again, nothing is more characteristic than the fact that it came to find the mediæval form of human life too narrow and restrictive, and brought the independence and opulence of the individual life to their full development. The various civilized peoples have furthered that development in various spheres: the Italians in art, as is shown by the Renaissance; the Germans, as the people of the Reformation; the British, in the political and economic sphere; the French, in the structure of social life. These movements have generated enormous activities, unchained vast forces, and radically altered the entire conditions of life—facts so palpable as to require no fuller treatment here. In the modern period, moreover, the full development of individual characteristics came to be recognized as an end of the first magnitude. Here, on the theoretic side at least, it was especially the Germans who led the way; thus Leibniz enunciated with telling effect the unconformable character of the individual 'monads'; Schleiermacher and the older Romanticism asserted that the great end of life was to be an individual, a personality, and to invest every action with one's own individuality; while German pedagogy made it its aim to give the most careful attention to the peculiar qualities of individual children, and bring those qualities to their full development. J. H. Pestalozzi emphasizes the opposition between individual and 'collective'; he scoffs at 'collective actions,' at the idea of a 'collective conscience,' at 'official creeds,' and asserts that the collective life of the race can at best civilize it, but cannot give it a true culture ('kultivieren'; see *Werke*, ed. L. W. Seyffarth, Berlin, 1881, xii. 154). In all this we can trace the powerful influence of Rousseau, who, as regards the whole range of human life, was the first to bring out with perfect clearness the antithesis between the individual and society.

Valuable as were the results of this individualistic tendency, and powerfully as it still operates, we nevertheless cannot fail to see that its limitations and its dangers are being more and more recognized, and that a counter-movement is setting in and increasingly asserting its power. This counter-movement is due to various causes. Among these we should note first of all the theory which from various sides directed attention to the significance of societary groups, and to the individual's dependence upon them—facts emphasized by history and the historical mode of thought, to which, in particular, Romanticism gave an artistic form of expression; by philosophical speculation, which, in the hands of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, interpreted the manifold of experience as the evolution of a single principle; and by modern sociology, which showed that the individual cannot exist at all except in connexion with others, and also made manifest the close dependence of the individual's personal characteristics upon the social environment—the *milieu*.[1]

Theoretic considerations, however, were much less effective than practical experience in counteracting the preponderance of the individual. The perils of the unlimited freedom of the individual manifested themselves, above all, in the economic sphere. As labour became more and more technical in character, and was more and more concentrated in huge factories, and as, in consequence, the antagonisms between varying interests became increasingly fierce, the evils of unrestricted competition became ever the more marked, and the social process seemed to be less and less capable of self-regulation. In such conditions some interference of the State was imperative, and this policy has been more and more adopted even among those peoples who by their character and their history are in a pre-eminent degree the champions of individual freedom.

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[1] *Polit.* 1253*a*. 19 (Bekker): *πρότερον τῇ φύσει πόλις ἢ οἰκία καὶ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἐστίν.*

[2] Cf. Cic. *Acad.*, *Quæst.* iv.: 'Stoicum est . . . nullum esse pilum omnibus rebus talem qualis sit pilus alius, nullum granum,' etc.

[1] The term 'milieu,' as comprehending all the surrounding conditions of life, was probably first used by Lamarck in his *Philosophie zoologique*, Paris, 1809. It was transferred from the sphere of zoology to that of sociology by Comte, but it was Taine's predilection for the term that gave it general currency.

If a tendency to narrow the sphere of State action was characteristic of the 18th cent., a reversion to the opposite procedure asserted itself strongly in the course of the 19th. If reason and morality were to rule the societary life of man, it appeared to be urgently necessary alike to strengthen the power of the State and to circumscribe that of the individual. No exaggeration of this idea—such as we find very specially in the proposals of Social Democracy—can detract from its rightful claims.

This reaction against a sheer individualism takes its ground, in the first instance, upon the conditions necessary to the mere maintenance of life, and treats the inward interests of man as matters of secondary importance. Yet it cannot be denied that a movement towards a closer association of mankind is increasingly at work in the inward sphere as well—that there is a growing desire for spiritual fellowship. The inner experience furnished by religion has for many people at the present day become all but evanescent, and the spiritual association based on such experience is likewise largely dissolved. The individual realizes that he is thrown upon his own resources, and begins to feel himself isolated; even in what he regards as exalted and sacred he encounters endless inconsistency. In such a state of things his convictions cannot attain stability or win power over his conduct. The more earnest a man is in the spiritual life, the more intensely does he feel his isolated position to be unsatisfactory, and, indeed, intolerable, and the more eagerly does he crave for some fresh spiritual bond of union with his fellowmen, and for the support that such a connexion would afford. It may be said, in fact, that the unmistakable movement towards religion at the present time proceeds in a special degree from such desires—from a positive reaction against the threatened isolation and the growing apathy of the individual. Here emerge great problems for the future; the present generation is engaged in the search for a new mode of life and a new framework of human society.

3. The problem of individuality.—On the problem of individuality itself we would add but a few reflexions suggested by our historical survey. Mankind is acted upon by two opposite tendencies, each of which has its own strong points as well as its own weaknesses. It is indisputably the case that the immediate sources of spiritual life lie in the individual alone, and thus a system of things which places the individual above all else must undoubtedly prove superior to any other system in originality, mobility, and variety. But, on the other hand, the individual would appear to be incapable by himself of fully developing and consolidating such spiritual capacities as he possesses, while, again, the separate individuals tend to come into such opposition and conflict with one another as threaten the existence of all fellowship whatever. Society then develops a form of organization, but this in turn is exposed to the danger not only of permanently fettering human life to the organized structure of a particular age, but also of seriously hemming in the individual and depriving him of all freedom in life and thought. It is thus quite intelligible that in the process of history now the one tendency, and now the other, should gain the upper hand.

It is scarcely to be expected that we shall arrive at a solution of the problem that would avail for all ages, but we may at least discover certain points of view which help towards a decisive conclusion. Such a conclusion will depend, first of all, upon the value attached to the spiritual and moral capacity of the individual *per se*. Those who take an optimistic view of that capacity will base society as far as possible upon the will and ability of individuals, while a pessimistic estimate prompts the demand for a social order higher than, and as far as possible independent of, its individuals. Thus modern liberalism is pervaded by a vigorous optimism, while pessimists like Hobbes and Schopenhauer were in favour of absolute forms of government. In another aspect of the subject it is important to note the value that is attached to the element of change in human history. Changes are brought about primarily by individuals, and, accordingly, the more human affairs are regarded as being in a state of flux, the greater is the rôle assigned to the individual, while, in societies where human life is felt to be sustained by eternal truths, a social order, as preserving and bearing witness to these truths, ranks as the higher factor. In any case the actual decision between the two tendencies depends, not upon abstract considerations, but upon the existing conditions of human life.

A question of a different character is how far a particular age does justice to the peculiar nature of the individual. Manifestly the various periods differ very greatly in this respect, some developing more fully the characteristics common to all, while others rather foster the qualities which differentiate individuals from one another. The present age finds itself in great perplexity in this matter, its conscious purposes being at variance with the actual social structure. Modern culture favours a high estimate of individual qualities, and seeks to develop them fully, while the contemporary forms of social, political, and economic life tend strongly to work against them. Modern life, with its technical arrangements of labour, its huge aggregations of human beings, its increased power of locomotion and its annihilation of distance, its complicated inter-relations of individuals, its railways and its newspapers, tends strongly to wear down the distinctive traits of individuals and to produce a uniform and average type. The social environment is asserting its power ever the more forcibly, and man appears to become a mere product of that environment. The dangers involved in this process were clearly recognized by John Stuart Mill, who did his best to counteract them. The immense influence of Nietzsche in our own day is due, above all, to his vigorous crusade against the levelling tendencies of our modern social system. It is true that the positive elements of his polemic, and especially his doctrine of the Superman, are hardly adequate to the task of circumventing the evils against which he fought. In a world of necessary law there can be no freedom or independence for the individual.

4. The educational problem involved. — From ancient times the demand has been put forward that education should recognize and foster the individuality of the pupil, but men have often failed to realize the perplexities inherent in this demand. To begin with, education must maintain against an extravagant optimism its right to put all individual qualities to the proof; its task here is not simply to recognize, but, if need be, to reject; and hence it must first ascertain which elements of the individual character are of value and worth cultivating. Even so, however, it is not implied that the valuable elements spontaneously combine to form a rounded individuality; on the contrary, the several characteristics of the individual often hang loosely together and even conflict with one another, so that it is only with great pains that a leading and controlling tendency can be won from the materials. A complete individuality is not the starting-point, but the goal; it is no mere gift of nature, but a high ideal that in most cases calls for strenuous effort. Think of the travail undergone by great minds, as, *e.g.*, a man like Goethe, before they came to a clear understanding of their peculiar gift. Here too, then, we light upon an arduous task in what is often regarded as simple and self-evident.

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R. EUCKEN.

INDO-CHINA (Savage Races).—The name 'savages' is applied in French Indo-China to a group of half-civilized races inhabiting Tongking, Annam, Cochin-China, Cambodia, and Laos, and called Muongs, Mois, Penongs, or Khas, according to their locality. All these words mean 'barbarians' or 'savages.' These races are scattered over a vast district of 130,000 sq. miles, extending from 22° to 12° N. lat., from the frontiers of China to the confines of Cambodia, Cochin-China, and Annam. The length of territory occupied by them is 30 miles between 21° and 22°, 300 between 20° and 21°, and 90 to 180 between 12° and 18°.

1. **Habitat.**—The country inhabited by the savages is an immense forest stretching from the plain (where they seldom stay) to the higher slopes and mountains. This forest, which is more or less dense, has little variety of growth in the plain, but great variety on the slopes. Along the river-banks impenetrable undergrowth affords shelter for all the beasts of the forest, birds, and innumerable insects. The temperature varies, according to the season, from 30° to 40° C. during the day, and from 10° (sometimes 5°) to 25° during the night.

Visited on different occasions by missionaries, officers, military doctors, explorers, and colonists, these tribes have been the object of several monographs, which are usually sincere and interesting, but always wanting in precision and method. Since 1900 the 'École française d'Extrême-Orient' has been conducting a very full inquiry into this subject—an inquiry which will no doubt occupy many years.

2. **Origin.**—At the present day it seems possible to make the assertion that the savages of French Indo-China form one race, practically the same in all the districts in which they are found, except for modifications due to admixture with the more civilized Khmer, Tai, Annamese, and Tibeto-Burman races round about them. It is even possible to see in some of them the relics of a Malay or Indonesian race, to which the Chams of Cambodia also belong.

3. **Physical characteristics and mode of life.**—Generally speaking, the different sections of the people present certain physical, psychological, and social affinities, so that the account given of one of them may be applied to all, except in minor details. They nearly all belong to the physical type (with very slight differences) whose characteristics have been summarized as follows by Noël Bernard, medical officer to the colonies, in a study of the Khas of French Laos: 'Straight black hair, yellow skin with a tinge of red, smooth body, short stature varying in the different tribes from 1 m. 52 to 1 m. 59, long narrow head (dolichocephalic), average cephalic index 76, flat nose, generally bruised, breadth of nose average, transversal nasal index varying between 85 and 94, prominent cheek-bones, short broad face (chamæprosopic), general shape of head viewed from front pentagonal or lozenge-shaped—these are the characteristic features of the Indonesian race' (Bernard, *Les Khâs*, p. 36).

They are robust, active, and hardened against fatigue, and they sleep little. Their senses of hearing, smell, and sight are acutely developed, and seem to be much superior to their sense of taste. Very abstemious as a rule, they can live on a handful of rice or on roots torn up in the forest; but under easy circumstances they eat as much as they can, and then drink more beer or rice-wine than is wise. They are very improvident, and famine fails to make them more economical when a piece of good fortune comes, or more careful to prevent the return of want by cultivating a larger area or sowing a greater variety of crops. The only thing that rouses them from their idleness is actual need: when the savage sees his rice-granary empty, and hears his wife and children complain of hunger, he puts aside his apathy, lays down his eternal pipe, and, with a basket on his back and a pruning-hook in his hand, sets out for the forest to hunt or gather fruit; then no difficulty baffles him, and for whole days he will scour the woods in search of food for his family.

The savages have no ambition, and are naturally generous. They are, nevertheless, as greedy as children, and sometimes mercilessly impose upon ill-protected strangers who come asking guides, carriers, or simply shelter. Because they themselves are ruthlessly robbed by all the Annamese, Siamese, Chinese, and Laos who deal with them, they naively believe that they in their turn are justified in imposing upon any strangers whose merchandise attracts them. But they are not such thieves among themselves as might be imagined from their covetousness, and people of the same village preserve the most absolute respect for each other's property.

They are very suspicious of a stranger, because they firmly believe that he comes with evil intent on their lives or goods. Yet they very rarely break their promise to him. They are not cruel, but timid rather, in spite of their innate bravery. They never kill any one unless they believe their own life to be in danger, or when moved by a superstitious terror which urges them to avenge on an intruder a ritual offence, committed, it may be, in ignorance, which would bring misfortune on the whole village. The perpetual state of tribal war in which they live, always in danger of being taken unawares and sold as slaves, makes them reserved. Generally speaking, they are hospitable, proud, and extremely polite without becoming obsequious. Conspicuous among their qualities is their love of liberty. They submit to no authority or legal constraint. To agree to any kind of taxation is regarded as a mark of slavery. They would rather live in poverty and wretchedness, always on the alert, than obey any authority—even among themselves. Quite unconsciously they realize the spirit of perfect anarchy.

Their communism is equally striking, for a truly brotherly solidarity reigns among them. Great works are always undertaken in common, and, if a man's property keeps him, he always shares with his neighbours. In time of famine those who have rice divide their resources equally with those who have none. When one of their number kills a pig, a buffalo, or a goat, he divides it into as many parts as there are inhabitants in the village; his own share is no larger than his neighbour's, except in the case of an animal slain in the chase, when a little extra allowance is made to the hunters as compensation for their exertions. Even a hen is doled out among 50 persons to satisfy this instinct of brotherhood. So strong is this feeling, even among the children, that, when one catches an earth-crab, a lizard, or a mouse, he will not eat it until he has given all his comrades a share. By the same instinct of solidarity the whole village takes the part of any one of the inhabitants who complains of injury or loss at the hands of some member of a neighbouring village. They will even take vengeance for an insult dealt to a stranger who has once made friends with them.

All the missionaries and explorers who have stayed any time among them are at one in praising the general purity of their morals, exception, of course, being made in the case of a few tribes (Jarais, Bolovens, etc.). Although their rules of morality are not the same as ours in every detail, it is noticeable that they are modest and have a keen sense of decency. These remarks apply specially to those savages who have not come into contact with the more civilized populations. The result of such contact is that they lose the best of their traditional virtues, and adopt the vices of their Khmer, Annamese, or Laotian neighbours.

4. **War.**—Although they live with arms continually at hand and in a constant struggle with the animals of the forest, the savages (with the exception of a few bellicose tribes of pillagers like the Jarais and the Sedangs) do not like war. They hardly ever make war except to avenge some injustice suffered by one of their number, and only after repeated conferences with the enemy with a view to compromise. Nevertheless, they sometimes launch into war from sheer covetousness, or even from poverty, in order to steal cattle or elephants, or to get possession of prisoners, whom they then release for a ransom, employ, or sell as slaves, and thus enrich the village. Slavery, in fact, is a perpetual menace to their lives, and war is their best means of obtaining those feasts for which they long so much after the periodic famines.

The savage employs a very clever ruse to start an offensive war: he glides noiselessly across the almost impenetrable undergrowth of the forest either to surprise the hostile village—this is a common occurrence—or to carry off women, children, or solitary men who have left their shelter to work in the fields. In either case, old men are mercilessly massacred, being worthless as slaves, and liable to raise the alarm if spared. Except in cases of offensive war, the fighting of the savages is not very serious; it is merely a few simple and dexterous razzias. In defensive war, however, the savage sometimes proves resolute even to heroism; he would never dream of leaving wife and children and fleeing. When the village is surrounded, the warriors place the old men, women, and children in the middle and defend them to the death. Under such circumstances there is nothing that will make them draw back—neither fire-arms nor the prospect of a cruel death,—and the enemy, excited by the fight, usually finish it with a general massacre of the weak. The Sedangs have a custom of eating the livers of their slain enemies.

Before declaring war, the village always convenes an assembly of the men, at which the youths' enthusiasm for war is sometimes in conflict with the prudence of the older men. This council is always accompanied by invocations to the spirits, sacrifices, and a feast. If war is decided on, one of the councillors announces it to the enemy, giving an enumeration of the wrongs which his tribesmen have suffered without reparation. Of course, the exact time of the war is not specified, and from this event onwards the two villages live in a state of constant alarm, while their neighbours maintain an anxious neutrality, lest they too become involved in the conflict.

When the war has been bloody and directed against the whole village, the rejoicings on the return of the victors are in proportion to the risks that they have run. Among the Bahnars, especially, the very solemn feast called the 'Festival of Victory' is announced every night for a fortnight beforehand by the beating of gongs and warlike marches in the common house. The number of buffaloes to be slain is equal to the number of prisoners taken.

If weariness of the war on both sides does not lead to reconciliation by means of a mediator, every expedition is inevitably followed by a series of others, for vengeance is a sacred duty among the savages. The tribes which are too weak themselves will suffer injustice under force, but will never become resigned to it; they cherish the secret hope of some day being avenged by means of alliance with a more powerful tribe. The savage spirit of independence of each village, however, makes these alliances very rare. The confederation attempted in 1884 between the Bahnars, Röngaos, and Sedangs by J. B. Guerlach, director of the Roman Catholic Mission, who assembled almost 1200 warriors of different villages under his command, in order to put an end to the continual and unjust incursions of the Jarais, was such an extraordinary phenomenon that it succeeded in defeating the Jarais by its moral effect. When establishing Christianity among the more peaceable tribes, which are always the first to receive them, the missionaries try to unite them in order to guarantee them material as well as moral security.

5. Social organization.—The family, constituted among the savages by marriage, as a rule includes the immediate predecessors and descendants as far as first cousins; but first cousins on the male side are often excluded, as marriages are allowed to that degree in almost all the tribes though forbidden on the female side. This reservation arises from the belief that in heredity the maternal strain is much stronger than the paternal. Among the Radès it is the woman who occupies the first place in the home. Consanguinity among the savages forms a sacred bond which entails the avenging of each other's injuries, and never permits war with each other.

Marriage is endogamous, although some small tribes, such as the Alak, allow their daughters to marry men of neighbouring villages. It generally takes place at puberty, *i.e.* at the age of fourteen or fifteen years; and in almost all the tribes the older the girls are, and, therefore, the more skilled in household work, the better marriages they make. Among the Kha-Pi, however, marriages are mentioned where the wife is only eight years of age. Rich Halang chiefs often marry girls at this age, who continue to live with their parents at the husband's expense until puberty, when the marriage is consummated. As a general rule woman is greatly respected among the savages, and everywhere rape and seduction are punished by a heavy fine. It is even forbidden to abuse women prisoners of war. Among the Western savages, sexual relations before marriage are not considered improper, and a woman is often married at an advanced stage of pregnancy. The custom of sending the young boys to sleep in the common house fosters a strict morality. The Niahöns and the Bolovens impose a fine of three buffaloes for a case of seduction; but, if there is an acknowledged betrothal, the betrothed pair have full liberty of intercourse.

The woman nearly always chooses her husband, and the latter very often pays an indemnity to the woman's family; or he lives for a certain time—for some months to several years—in a kind of slavery in the family of his parents-in-law, in order to compensate them for the loss of their daughter. When he does not want to do this, he nearly always offers them a strong healthy slave instead. Under these conditions we can understand how many of the tribes welcome the birth of a daughter with more enthusiasm than that of a son: if the one will afterwards defend the tribe, the other will enrich it. Among the Alak the husband is compelled to provide a dowry, which usually includes four buffaloes and two Cambodian jars. Among the Kha-Pi, custom prescribes that the rich must marry among themselves, and the poor likewise members of their own class.

Among a great number of tribes, the intended husband gives only a few unimportant presents, and works for a year with his future father-in-law. The eldest daughter, however, even after marriage, never leaves the paternal roof. The asking in marriage is almost always done by the youth himself, through his parents or a mutual friend. The length of the betrothal depends on individual circumstances, especially on the time necessary for the making of all the rice-wine for the marriage-festival. The date of the marriage is usually fixed by the chief of the village, who for this purpose examines the entrails of a chicken. After the omens relating to the marriage have been received, and invocations and sacrifices made to the spirits, the marriage is celebrated, followed by a feast more or less magnificent according to the resources of the couple, in which the whole village takes part until a state of satiety and complete intoxication is reached. Rich and poor alike find means to pay the expenses. Among the Kha-Pi, where marriages take place earlier, it is noteworthy that they are arranged by the parents; among the Radès, on the contrary, it is the girl herself who chooses her husband and asks him in marriage.

Although chiefs and rich men marry as many wives as they can support, monogamy is the rule. The savage has generally only one wife, to whom he is very much attached and faithful; but the wife is never in any way opposed to new alliances, which would bring her valuable assistants in her household work.

Divorce is rare, and takes place on either side. The man sometimes seeks divorce on account of incurable illness or barrenness in his wife; the wife, when she sees an opportunity of getting a better home, or when her husband requires her to do too much work. The assembly of the old men, or the chiefs of the village, hears complaints and pronounces judgment. The husband as far as possible avoids seeking a divorce, for his wife represents for him an actual value—the dowry he has paid to get her and the compensation he will have to pay for casting her off. Among the Niahöns this fine is three buffaloes; among the Halangs seven slaves. In a case of divorce the children are divided between the two parents, the mother usually taking the younger ones. As a rule this course of action is seldom resorted to, for the family ties of the savages are nearly always very strong.

Adultery is even rarer than divorce; some missionaries state that during twenty years among the Bahnars, Sedangs, and Stiengs they have not recorded a single case of it. Among all the tribes it is punishable by heavy fines, varying according to the rank of the injured husband, who always has the right to kill culprits taken *flagrante delicto*, and in some cases the right to sell the lover as a slave. Among the Stiengs, only the man is punished by being sold into slavery, the woman being considered irresponsible. As a rule, in practical life, punishment is limited to a fine paid by the lover; then the husband takes back his wife.

Among the Kha-Pi there is a sort of expiatory ceremony before this peaceful settlement: a pig is killed at the expense of the culprit, and the right foot of the injured husband is sprinkled with its blood; then he takes back his wife.

Though the moral and legal condition of the *women* is based on the principle of complete equality of rights with the men, their material condition is miserable. On them devolves all the labour of the household, the fields, etc. They work from dawn like beasts of burden, carrying water and wood, grinding rice, cooking, weeding, planting, weaving, plaiting, and dyeing, under the calm eye of their husbands, who pass most of their time drinking or smoking on the doorstep of the common house. In spite of real affection for his wife, the savage would feel degraded if he did anything but fish, hunt, or fight. His duty is to protect the home, and to provide sustenance in time of famine, when he can show extreme bravery and devotion.

As a result of the spirit of anarchical independence of these tribes, the authority of parents over their *children* is very feeble. Correction is rare, and, besides, useless. Owing to the sweetness of the domestic harmony, parents are honoured by their children, and love them tenderly. In cases of serious offence on the part of children, the Kha-Pi perform the expiatory ceremony mentioned above in connexion with adultery.

The *old men* are very much respected, but in spite of this their importance in the life of the village is diminished by their physical uselessness. Their number is very small, however, on account of the hardness of the savage life.

6. Death and disposal of the dead.—When a savage dies, his family proclaim their grief by cries and tears, and among certain southern tribes, particularly the Bahnars, by laceration of their bodies and faces with their nails or even with weapons. Young men have been known to wound themselves even mortally in such circumstances. In the north, under the influence of the Laotians, death soon loses its mournful character; and relatives and friends flock to the house of the deceased in order to prevent the near relatives from giving themselves over to too keen sorrow, as well as to mourn. Hence the Bolovens, Niahöns, etc., hold great feasts, with generous supplies of alcohol, at which the survivors get intoxicated in honour of the dead. In the south, as well as in the north, burial, not cremation, is the rule; the ceremony is more or less complicated according to the wealth and position of the dead man.

In the case of the death of a poor man, as soon as he has breathed his last, his relatives or his children wash him, put on his best clothes, and, leaving his eyes wide open, wrap him in a mat, along with several small axes, pots, necklaces, and baskets for his use. They close the mat with a strong piece of rattan, and then bury him in a grave with the remainder of his personal goods, within 24 hours, taking care to put beside him two baskets of rice and two jars of alcohol, one of each at his head and one at his feet. The grave is filled up and covered with tree-trunks to prevent wild animals from disinterring the body. For a chief or a rich man a coffin is always made, hollowed out of a tree-trunk. The use of coffins is becoming more prevalent throughout the south, and the shape of the coffin is improving the nearer the savages come to civilized races. The making of the coffin of a chief requires from 48 to 72 hours, that of a poor man 24 hours: this is what settles the time of burial.

Before laying the dead man in his coffin, the Bahnars bind up his lower jaw with a cotton thread fastened on the top of his head, his arms are stretched by his sides, and his great toes are tied together with a cotton thread. The Radès bind the dead man's hands and feet with a cotton thread. Among these two tribes the coffin is filled to the brim with the dead man's most precious belongings, closed up with a resinous substance, or, more simply, with a paste of glutinous rice, and carried out of the house to the sound of gongs. At the burial-place, while one party of mourners digs the grave, the other kills the buffalo, ox, pig, or chicken (according to the station of the survivors) which is to be given to the dead man. A bamboo, pierced from one end to the other, is fitted into a little opening made in the coffin at the place where the head is. When the grave is sufficiently deep, the coffin is lowered into it with the customary two baskets of rice and two jars of alcohol; then, besides these, part of the buffalo, ox, pig, or chicken, raw; and, finally, various utensils for the dead man's use. The generosity with which the relatives deprive themselves for his sake shows the depth of their sorrow at his death. The grave is filled up, everything being covered except the bamboo tube. But the soul of the dead man is not yet supposed to have left his original dwelling; the body alone is in the ground with its vital needs. This is the reason why the widow or the children of the deceased come every morning for a variable period of time, usually two or three months, and pour a little soup, rice, and alcohol down the bamboo tube, and blow down some puffs of tobacco smoke, to cheer him. At the end of this period a small thatched shed is erected over the tomb, which becomes the dwelling-place of the ghost. As soon as this is achieved, the dead man finally leaves the family. This event is celebrated by a feast, and the animals which are to form the banquet are sacrificed near the tomb. The dead man receives his share of the food, and what is left is carried back to the home of his heirs.

From that time the dead man is not visited any more except at the end of each lunar month. When the moon is disappearing from the horizon, the relatives and friends, to the sound of tom-toms, gongs, and tambourines, carry food and alcohol to the dead man with the customary lamentations. The offerings are left on the tomb, and, after begging the deceased not to come back and torment the living, the mourners retire. They eat and drink till sunset, when they return home to wait until the next moon. This ceremony is called *glom por*, 'throwing down cooked rice,' among the Bahnars.

This worship hardly ever lasts for more than a year, and it is completed by a ceremony which marks the final separation of the deceased from his terrestrial parentage and his entrance into the kingdom of the dead. It varies in grandeur and importance in different tribes. Among the Bahnars the ceremony is very costly; the families of all those who have died within the year in a village unite in celebrations at the common expense. A month or two before the appointed day, the cleverest artisans of the neighbourhood carve wooden statuettes representing each of the dead to be honoured, and bearing the name of *kon ngai*, 'eyeball.' These puppets are dressed in mourning costume, ornamented with hair or beards of grass tufts, and set up in a row side by side on a common burial-mound covered with a roof of bamboo trellis-work. Each one has its arms stretched out, laden with little pieces of food, and holds in its left hand a wax torch, and in its right a piece of meat; and a pipe rests on each one's breast. At their feet are little wheels, baskets, axes, cross-bows, pots, and cups—all the utensils which the dead had used during life. This common tomb is surrounded by a strong enclosure of stakes, many of which are surmounted by other *kon ngai*, seated, with their heads in their hands as if weeping.

On the morning of the ceremony the relatives and friends come great distances, each bringing a chicken and a jar of rice-wine—the rich sometimes bringing a pig. A large opening allows the mourners to enter the enclosure and present their offerings to the dead. Buffaloes, oxen, and pigs are killed; and the frontal bones of the buffaloes and the jaws of the pigs are carefully fastened to the arms of the *kon ngai*. The mourners dance, laugh, play most unmusical instruments, and make most licentious jokes, all to entertain the dead, to whom they offer wooden platters of carefully prepared food. The living in their turn eat and drink by the side of the tomb until they are quite intoxicated; then, as the day advances, they plant banana-trees, pumpkins, and sweet potatoes in the enclosure, the fruit of which nobody will dare to eat. Any person impious enough to risk it, besides incurring the anger of the gods, must pay a heavy fine to the village. Before departing the mourners tie a chicken to a little stake by a cotton thread and imprison it in the enclosure. The creature soon breaks its feeble bonds: if it escapes into the forest, it is a good sign; if it returns to the village, it is pursued with bows and arrows, and, when killed, is thrown into the forest. There is no more thought of the dead after this feast.

The period of mourning varies with the different tribes and circumstances. Mourning for a chief always lasts longer than that for an ordinary man.

The rules regarding re-marriage are also very variable.

Among the Radès the widow may give a feast after three months at her own expense in the home of her deceased husband's parents, and, if they have another son, she may ask him in marriage. If refused, she marries any man whom she chooses. Among the Kha-Pi the duration of mourning and, consequently, of inability to contract a fresh marriage is two years. Of course, these rules do not affect the poor; they may re-marry whenever they get the opportunity. One of the characteristics of mourning among all the tribes that wear long hair is that they keep their heads shaved during the whole period.

From what has been said, it is clear that ancestor-worship is by no means general among the savages, and that, as far as death is concerned, all that takes place is a few funeral rites performed at the time of death and at intervals comparatively soon thereafter.

There is a vague notion among certain tribes that the soul of the dead relative wanders round his former dwelling-place, on the threshold of which the son places offerings for his acceptance; but this practice is neither fundamental nor general. At the end of a year the dead are supposed to have gone to join their fellows 'in the mysterious regions of the South.' If they return, they are feared rather than honoured, and it is not necessary to offer sacrifices except to the *manes* of those who have been very rich or powerful during their lives and might be able to transmit a little of their good luck to their descendants.

Suicide is very rare, though not unknown, among the savages. It entails, particularly among the Bahnars, an isolated burial, in the forest, far from the haunts of men. Those who have buried a suicide must not enter the village again until they have performed certain purificatory rites and a sacrifice.

7. Eschatology.—If ancestor-worship is vague among the savages, their ideas of what follows death are even more so. They almost all believe that the personality subsists after death and continues its terrestrial life in another place and another way; but among many of the tribes the idea of a judgment of the dead and a reward for good deeds in this world is very confused. The Bolovens, the Kha-Pi, and the Radès do not, as a rule, believe in the rewards and punishments of a future life. The Kalangs believe in these things, but without any clear notion as to what they may be.

The Bahnars believe in a whole *mang lung*, 'kingdom of the dead,' which the dead enter, a year after their burial, by means of the feast described above and called *mut tö kiek*, 'to enter the cemetery.' This kingdom is hidden in the depths of the earth. The dead do not reach it until after they have crept in fear and trembling between two huge stones which continually strike against each other. They must slip through at the instant when the stone which is acting as hammer is raised in the air. They have next to avoid the formidable motion of two gigantic scissor-blades, and then to cross a frightful precipice on a bridge of tree-trunks, stripped of their bark, and animated by a constant rotatory movement which makes the smallest step dangerous. The bridge, moreover, does not reach across the whole abyss; there is a considerable empty space, which the dead man must leap across. Only those who have done good deeds on earth can accomplish this leap; thieves and liars fall into the chasm, without hope of resurrection. When a person issues victorious from this third trial, he finds himself standing before the cottage of an old witch or sorceress who is busy pounding rice from morning till night, and who in return for glass-ware or little axes provides the *manes* with fire and light, which are absolutely necessary in these gloomy realms. If the ghost cannot pay in current coin, he must allow his ears to be cut off. They immediately attach themselves to the sorceress's ears, which, as a result of additions of this kind, reach down to the ground. Equipped with safe fire, the dead man reaches a cross-road—the junction of two roads leading to two cities. One of these roads, strewn with brambles and briars, is for men who died a natural death; the other, very smooth and bordered with red flowers, is taken by those who have met a violent death—*e.g.*, warriors slain by the enemy, in expedition, or by their own arms, or from wounds inflicted by a dart. Dressed in brilliant red, because of the blood which they have shed, they dwell in a specially privileged village. In both the cities and the village, life is much the same as it was on earth, and the dead there are happy in proportion to the abundance of the supplies of meat, flocks, utensils, slaves, and necklaces which their relatives place in their coffins or on their tombs, of *glom por*, and, above all, of *mut tö kiek*. Slaves are represented by rough little figures placed along with pots, cross-bows, wooden sabres, etc., at the foot of the *kon ngai*.

The Bahnars have no definite idea of a judgment of men after death, but their traditions imply that only the good can reach the cities of the kingdom of the dead; the wicked succumb to the trials of the journey.

8. Sorcerer-chiefs and sorcerers.—Although the savages of Indo-China do not recognize any constituted power, it is worthy of mention that there are among them three individuals with mysterious moral power. The best known are the 'water king' and the 'fire king.' We have only vague information about the 'wind king.' The designation *sadetes*, which they receive in Indo-China, is simply the Laotian *sadet* (=Khmer *sdeč*), 'king.' They belong to the powerful Jarai tribe. In spite of their title, they have no effective power, and their authority, which is purely spiritual, is not even recognized except by the few villages bordering on their own territory. But all the savages know them by name, and dread them. They seem to offer an analogy with the god-kings of whom Frazer speaks (*GB*^{2} i. 164). Their influence can greatly facilitate the movements of an explorer if he manages to approach them and to get into their good graces. The *sadete* who is most feared is the fire *sadete*, known especially by the savages of the Annamese slope; the water *sadete* exercises a less perceptible sway over the Laotian slope; the power of the wind *sadete* seems insignificant.

The *sadetes* live in the neighbouring villages, and it is believed that at least those of fire and water are always at hand in a certain pair of families which are related to each other. They possess objects endowed with magic power. The fire king has a sacred sword, or magic blade, badly hewn, and carefully rolled in white cotton rags. No savage would dare to approach it. If the *sadete* drew this blade half-way, they say it would be enough to make the sun disappear and men and animals fall into a profound sleep; if he were to draw it full length, the whole world would be devoured by flame. The traditions of Chams, Cambodians, and Laos claim that this magic sword was stolen from them long ago. The Cambodians, monks and laymen, and even a rebel chief, it would appear, have several times gone right into these inhospitable regions to ask for it or to try to get it back again. They never returned, being destroyed, the savages say, by fire from heaven in punishment of their unjust claim.

The water *sadete* has a magic cup and wand, according to some authorities, and, according to others, a rattan bearing flowers that never fade, and a bindweed saved from the Deluge, but still green. Armed with these objects, the *sadete*, if he is roused to anger, is able to bury the earth under the waters.

Although legends of the most confused kind are current about the *sadetes*, and although the savages shrink from giving explanations of the subject to strangers, and the *sadetes* themselves are very difficult to approach, it seems certain that, in spite of their occult power, they live the simple life of the other savages, and go through the villages asking a tribute of alms, which is seldom refused them, but still more rarely offered. Certain Radè villages, of their own accord, present the fire *sadete* every year with a little cotton, some rice, and a chicken.

The *sadetes* must never die a natural death.

When one of them falls ill, the chiefs and the old men assemble to examine his condition. If this is judged to be very serious, the invalid is dispatched by spear-thrusts. The *sadetes*, alone among the savages, are cremated, not buried. The ashes are gathered, and honoured for five years. The widow receives some of them, which she has to carry on her back in an urn when she goes to mourn at the tomb of her husband.

It is certain that, in spite of its prerogatives, the office of *sadete* seems to be forced upon the members of families which benefit from it. To succeed the *sadete* a descendant on the female side is always sought; and the nomination of the new *sadete* often meets with undisguised unwillingness from the privileged family. This has given rise to several stories.

It has been claimed that immediately after the death of a *sadete*, all his relatives eligible for succession flee to the forest to escape this honour. The village inhabitants set out to look for them, and the first one discovered is nominated. Another tale is that all go to sleep in the common house; an old man enters quietly during the night, and asks the sleepers in a loud voice, 'Who will succeed?' The spirits prompt one of them to answer, 'I.' The old man ties a cotton thread, as a guarantee of the will of the spirits, to the wrist of the chosen one, who is thus recognized next day. Surer and more numerous testimonies lead us to believe that the new *sadete* is chosen by the old men from the appointed family.

Until the time of king Norodom, predecessor of the present king Sisowath, the sovereigns of Cambodia, at their accession, used to send expensive presents to the fire *sadetes*: elephants, silk stuffs to wrap round the sacred sword, glass trinkets, etc. The two savage chiefs in return sent several rural presents to Phnom-Penh: rhinoceros-tusks, rice, sesame, and cakes of unwrought wax, on which was seen the impress of a finger as signature. Rice, sesame, and wax were sent to the *bakus*, or Brāhman priests of the royal palace, who used them in certain ritualistic ceremonies. In spite of the objections of the *sadete*, Norodom put an end to these traditional customs without giving any reason for his action. Perhaps he saw in this gift a form of disguised tribute to Cambodia, which doubtless recalled either the services rendered long ago to the Khmer kings in the evolutionary epoch, or a relation of kinship between the sovereigns and the savages.

The *sadetes* or *pataos*, still so little known, remain, as regards both origin and attributes, one of the most interesting problems to be solved in the political and religious organization of the Indo-Chinese.

The extremely wavering beliefs and the complicated worship of the savages have given rise also to a whole class of sorcerers expert in soothsaying and in nullifying the evil designs of the *yang*. They may be grouped in two categories: (*a*) wizard-doctors, who are employed in exorcizing diseases and prescribing remedies and sacrifices; they are in greatest demand, and best paid, but not most influential; (*b*) wizard-soothsayers; they alone know how to burst eggs, and their business is to discover by this means theft, murder, or death by witchcraft. All-powerful among these superstitious tribes, they are very much feared, for their word alone is sufficient to have a man convicted of witchcraft and reduced to slavery. Naturally many sorcerers abuse their terrible power. Certain wizard-soothsayers practise casting spells by means of wax figures, and belief in the effects of this practice is general among the Indo-Chinese savages.

A man is either born a sorcerer or may become one; there is, in the one case, direct inspiration of the spirits, and, in the other, preliminary initiation. The wizard-soothsayers who practise divination by means of the crushing of eggs receive their mission directly in a dream from the spirit of the lightning. The wizard-doctor (*böjāu*) may also be directly inspired by a special spirit called *yang gru*.

When the *yang* takes possession of a man, the latter becomes aware of it from the fact that he can no longer eat certain foods without becoming sick or fevered: dogs, frogs, lizards, and mice, from which sorcerers always abstain. Soon he is seized with a sort of hysterical delirium, which often lasts five or six days, and flees into the forest to follow the *yang*; then he has paroxysms of fever, refuses to eat, and holds long conversations with his *yang gru*, who reveals to him all the diseases with which such and such inhabitants of the village are to be smitten; and then he goes to sleep, overcome by fatigue. These paroxysms seize him periodically for several months, but each time becoming feebler, and at last the initiated one appears to have returned to his normal condition, except that he has become a *böjāu*, *i.e.* seer and healer. He always has with him in a little bag his special *dömong*, one of which contains the *yang gru*, or spirit which inspires him.

The *böjāu* may also be initiated by another sorcerer.

He first of all feels himself becoming feverish after having eaten the foods mentioned above. An initiated sorcerer examines him, and then, lifting up his eyelids, by the light of a small candle, and repeating a certain incantation, communicates the magic power to him. Thereupon the *yang* makes sure that the initiated man finds several *dömongs*, and he immediately becomes a perfect sorcerer. But many of the savages show greater confidence in the sorcerer who has waited till the spirit possessed him than in one who compels it by means of a fellow-sorcerer.

It is a remarkable fact that the majority of these sorcerers, the soothsayers as well as the doctors, are women. The *böjāu* of the Bahnars, Röngaos, and numerous other tribes, with her hysterical stamping and her cataleptic sleeps, resembles the *pajau*, the pythoness of the Chams.

9. Penal law.—The crime most severely punished is theft, especially of domestic animals or of rice; the latter is sometimes punishable by death. A less serious theft is punished by a fine, almost always equal to double the value of the stolen object. If the thief cannot pay, his debt makes him the slave of the man whom he has robbed. Crimes of passion—adultery, rape, and murder—are, as a rule, punished with a variable fine, which is handed over to the injured family or person. The laws of the savages are averse to punishing by death, because a man can always be useful to the village. Crucifixion, however, is practised among certain tribes, and cudgelling to death is allowed. Slavery for debt is fairly frequent, but the slave may always regain his freedom by paying the sum due.

10. Oaths and ordeals.—When a person denies his guilt, the savages have recourse to ordeals, which are undergone in the presence of a sorcerer. The most usual, the water test, is a custom still in vogue among the Khmers:

The accused and the accuser, both holding on to a post firmly fixed in the river, plunge at the same time underneath the water. If the accuser remains longest under the water, the accused is judged to be guilty; if the accused, he is innocent. The savages firmly believe that the hæmorrhage which occurs in the weaker of the two at the beginning of asphyxia results from the fact that the spirit of the waters, indignant at his falsehood, has pricked his nostrils.

Other ordeals consist in making the culprit plunge his hand into boiling pitch or even into molten lead. If his hand remains unhurt, he is proclaimed innocent. A more formidable test, because it allows more scope for manipulation or wickedness, is the ordeal of 'breaking an egg between the thumb and the first finger,' among the Bahnars, Röngaos, Sedangs, etc. It is used in cases of theft and poisoning; and, especially in cases of witchcraft, it takes place with the aid of a sorcerer or a sorceress.

When, by superstition, ignorance, or brazen-faced falsehood, a savage of any village accuses a member of the same village, or, more usually, of a neighbouring village weaker than his own, of having stolen something from him, or cast over him a spell of illness or of death, the two villages assemble to decide the issue. As a rule the accused is a poor man or woman, or one of no lineage; and it also very often happens that, having no faith in the fairness of the ordeal, and fearing that he will be abandoned by his village or that he may involve it in war, the victim pleads guilty rather than resist, and, though innocent, allows himself to be sold as a slave to the Annamese or the Laotians. When the accused is rich and of influential family, the attitude of his relatives and of the whole village sometimes makes the accuser beat a rapid retreat. When the parties are about equal in rank, the case is nearly always decided by the egg-test. The *böjāu* takes an egg between his thumb and forefinger and asks it if there has really been *deng*, 'witchcraft.' The egg, if cleverly pressed, never fails to break if the sorcerer wishes it. Other eggs are then taken to find out in which village the *deng* is; generally one of the eggs collapses with a crackle at the name of the guilty village. A third time the sacred eggs are interrogated, to find out which person in this village, the inhabitants of which are all enumerated by name, has the power of casting spells (*deng*); when the egg breaks at the mention of one of these names, the unfortunate individual, irrefutably convicted, is immediately bound, and handed over as a slave to the accuser. It is evident that the greed or wickedness of the *böjāu* may draw great profit from such a custom.

Another very repugnant test is to make the accused lick the decomposed corpse of the person he is suspected of having poisoned, while saying: 'May I die within the year if I am guilty of the death of this man!' If he reaches the end of the year without accident, he is pronounced innocent. When the body has been buried for some time, the accused may clear himself of the accusation of poisoning by repeating the same formula while swallowing some of the earth taken from under the coffin and pounded with dry leaves.

Very often the peaceable tribes, *e.g.* the Bahnars, are satisfied with a more kindly ordeal.

The families of the deceased and of the accused and the accused himself go into the cemetery. A little earth is taken from the grave, and a model of a tombstone is made with it. This is sprinkled with rice-wine and the blood of a chicken, while one of the company pronounces the following imprecation: 'Thoué! We are making libations of chicken's blood and wine in order that this business may be ended! May the perjurer die, slain by the axe or the knife! May he be caught in a snare! May he be drowned in the water! May the lightning strike him! May his enemies pierce him with arrows! May they slay him with the sword in battle! May cancer eat him away! May the blood gush from his nostrils and his mouth!' Then they mix the earth, moist with the blood and wine, with a little ground stag-horn, each one present swallows some of it, and a bumper of alcohol all round closes the ceremony. According to the savages' ideas, the culprit, if there is one, is sure to die within the year.

The oath of friendship is a complicated one, for it serves to create a bond as sacred as kinship between those who exchange it.

Intermediaries are chosen between two persons who wish to swear allegiance to each other, and are charged with sounding their intentions. They receive two jars of rice-wine and two chickens from the contracting parties; one half is to pay them for their trouble, and the other is required for the ceremony. One of the chickens is roasted, and each of the future friends receives an equal share of the heart, the liver, and the legs, which he must eat. Then both drink together from the same jar of rice-wine by means of a flexible bamboo tube, while the spectators utter the usual imprecations: 'Remember that to-day you become brothers. . . . If one of you betrays his brother, may he be struck by lightning! May he be reduced to slavery! May he die miserably, and may his unburied body become the prey of the ravens!' In most cases they prick the arms of the two friends with the point of a dagger, in order to mix their blood with the wine, which they have to drink together. The solemnity is greater still when not two individuals, but two villages, swear indissoluble friendship after a war. Into the jar of rice-wine are put a boar's tusks, spear-heads, and arrows; above it are hung fish, ropes, fetters, and a serpent's head. Then the whole assembly drinks, after having uttered the most terrible maledictions against the village which should try to break the peace.

The savages are somewhat extravagant with their oaths when they wish to affirm or convince. They 'eat' their sword, their spear, their pipe, or their clothing—which means that, if they lie, they give themselves over to be killed by the sword or by the spear, or to smoke their last pipe, or wear their last dress in this world.

11. Religion.—The religion of the Indo-Chinese savages appears to be Animism strongly tinged with fetishism and polytheistic naturalism. It is both public and private, demands an infinite number of duties, often very onerous, and constitutes a utilitarian worship based on the fear of evil powers and the desire to conciliate them in order to obtain satisfaction of personal interests. The savages give souls or spirits to animals, objects, plants, and phenomena; these evil spirits take vengeance for even involuntary neglect of a rule or an offering. Famine, bad luck at fishing, hunting, etc., illness, accidents, and death are the result. Everything that the savage does to guard his wretched life must be preceded or followed by rites and sacrifices to baffle these formidable powers. These spirits, which are very numerous, are the possessors of considerable but not hierarchical power, and are dependent on one another. Having the same passions as men, they are in constant rivalry, contending for the offerings of men. Among the savages all manifestations of a supernatural power—genii, souls, spirits—bear the generic name of *yang*, a word of Malayo-Polynesian origin.

The spirits, or genii, are divided into two great categories: the good and the wicked. Among the good are those whose mission is to make the fruits of the earth grow, who dispense light and heat, rain, cold, or wind as there is occasion, and who bestow rich harvests, health, and happiness. Although much honoured (for their anger might become dangerous in a case of neglect of an offering), yet they are less honoured than the maleficent spirits, who hate men, and try to torment them in every possible way, or to make them die, and whose neutrality must be conquered by means of sacrifices. These evil genii live in large trees, in huge rocks, or in mountain caves. A savage would not dare to cut down a large tree or begin to cut wood in the forest without first having killed a dog, dipped some arrows in its blood, and drawn them across the tree. Then the tree may be cut down; the *yang* has changed its abode.

These spirits vary in power, attributes, and dwelling-place. First of all, there are the most powerful, the spirits of the sky. At their head is the god of lightning, whose voice is the thunder. This god, called by the Bahnars *Bōk Glaiḥ*, 'the Grandfather who thunders,' comes down to the earth in the guise of the storm, and with a stone axe strikes those who have offended him; hence the veneration among the savages for cut flints and meteoric stones. He is also the god of war, and then he assumes the form of a goat or of a shaggy old man with a long beard. He lives in the sky with the goddess of the harvest (Bahnar *Yang śöri*; cf. Skr. *Śrī*, and Malayo-Polynesian *Sĕri*) and her mother, who has a pair of wings, and is ugly, dirty, and poor, but very fond of the liver of victims, and who comes down to earth to test the enthusiasm of men. The person who gave her a good welcome, in spite of her repulsive appearance, was immediately loaded with fortune's gifts, but he who turned her away through pride came to misery.

Between the sky and the earth, in a zone of space, live certain ill-intentioned spirits, of whom the most famous is Grandfather Nu, who, without a rag to cover him, tries to snap up the livers of victims, the blood, and the wine offered to other gods. These deities hurl their wrath on the unfortunate savage who is believed not to have offered anything, and becomes the prey of mischance. This spirit is by nature such a thief and so maleficent that it would be useless to attempt to stop his depredations by heaping him with sacrifices.

The inferior spirits live in holes under the earth. Wounded unwittingly by the savage who is ploughing his field, they have their revenge by inflicting internal diseases upon him, which become fatal unless they are disarmed by means of offerings. Along with these should be mentioned the earth-spirit and the water-spirit.

Among the inferior spirits, many become incarnated in the form of human beings or enter inanimate objects. There are certain crickets whose cry always foretells a successful hunting expedition to the savage. In order to thank them, an offering is made in their honour of certain hairs of the captured game (these hairs are roasted and a libation of rice-wine is then poured out) and of birds whose singing is taken as an omen. Omens are also taken from the kite—the sight of which in time of war fills all hearts with joy—and certain sparrows, whose flight, to right, to left, in front, or behind, decides what action the savage is to take. He never starts on any expedition or voyage without consulting the birds.

The savages also worship rocks which have roughly the shape of a man or an animal; they are supposed to harbour a *yang*. There is nearly always a legend attached to them. Libations are offered to them, or a leaf from a neighbouring tree is plucked in passing.

Practically all the Bahnars, Sedangs, Jarais, and Hadrongs still believe that spirits reside in those huge jars which, along with the gongs, constitute the chief wealth of the savages. The presence of spirits in the jar is shown by some external sign, but they are not incontestably *ge yang*, 'spirit-jars,' nor are they honoured as deities, until a dream reveals their value to the savage who possesses them or wishes to buy them. On holidays the mouths of these jars are coated with blood and rice-wine. When a Sedang makes up his mind to sell a very expensive one, he breaks off one handle of the jar in the hope of keeping the *yang* in the handle, and continues to worship it in the same way as before.

We have still to mention the protecting spirit of villages. The coarse figure which represents him is made of wood and adorned with a plume of grass, and he is armed with a sword and a bow, bound to his diminutive arms. As soon as the grain is cut and the rice stored, the images of this spirit, carefully sprinkled with the blood of a chicken and with rice-wine, are fixed on the palisade of the village and on the roofs of the houses, with the notion that he will pierce with his arrows the evil genii who might kill or ruin the inhabitants. The next year the little figure, very much worn out, is replaced by another of the same kind without ceremony, the spirit having left the old one when it became too dilapidated.

More formidable is a malevolent spirit with human form, his body torn with wounds, his entrails hanging out of his lacerated body, and his heart visible in his open breast. He wanders about unceasingly through the mountains and forests, chuckling and groaning alternately, leaving large bloodstains as he goes. The savages are in mortal terror of him, and never dare to ask: 'What blood is this?' The angry *yang* would pursue them, seize them by craft, and drown them in a sea of blood. Perhaps we may recognize in these spirits, whom the Bahnars call *laiḥ lem kleng bri*, 'spirits which bar the forest,' the souls of men who have died a violent death and lain unburied in the forest or been devoured by wild animals: for these and the souls of women who have died in child-birth are particularly malevolent spirits in the eyes of the savages. This last belief is very wide-spread throughout the whole of the Far East, and is found among the Malaysians, the Khmers, and the Annamese.

The worship of the savages consists chiefly in *sacrifices* and offerings, varying according to the circumstances and rank of the *yang* to whom they are offered. Almost every action of their life entails a sacrifice: the choice of the site of a village, the building of a house (there are special rites for the erection of the first pillar and for the arrangement of the hearth), the act of drawing water from a well for the first time, birth, marriage, death, war, hunting, fishing, sowing, reaping, the gathering of roots in the forest, etc. These sacrifices include several ritual actions, an invocation, and the presentation of certain offerings and certain dishes to the gods. They are always concluded by a feast, at which the savages consume almost the whole of the victims and drink rice-wine until they are quite intoxicated. The principal animals offered in sacrifice are the buffalo (for expeditions of war, to celebrate a victory, in cases of serious illness, and at funerals), the pig, the goat (in cases of reparation of a crime or to celebrate a gorgeous *glom por*), and the chicken (in all the many daily occasions). The share of the *yang* is the victim's liver, a little of its blood, and some rice-wine. In sacrifices made after a successful chase, the hunter generally adds to the liver and the blood an ear or the tip of an ear of the quarry. Offerings of food are usually presented to the *yang* by the sorcerer on a board adorned with little candles stuck on the edge; he then throws several grains of rice over his left shoulder, reciting formulas which the bystanders repeat in chorus. In several villages small buildings are erected with a miniature roof and a platform, on which are placed dishes of meat for wandering or hungry spirits.

The Radès still remember the *human sacrifices* which they used to offer at the funerals of great chiefs; but this custom has disappeared everywhere except among the Sedangs, who, at the construction of a common house, cast a prisoner of war alive into the hole dug for the first post, and crush him under the post.

12. Cosmogony.—Almost all the savages of Indo-China have ideas, identical in their confusion, of the creation of beings and of the world. The sky and the earth existed always, but the human race comes, in their opinion, from the 'Grandfather and Grandmother with the big box.' These two survivors of a deluge which destroyed everybody long ago were saved in a large box, where they took refuge along with a pair of animals of every species. Warned by the cry of a chicken sent by the *yang*, they came out at last from their floating prison, and, while the animals again spread over the earth, from their union was born a new race of human beings—a race happy in every way, for another messenger from the *yang*, a big black ant, had brought to the 'Grandparents of the big box' two grains of celestial rice which grew without cultivation, and a single grain of which filled a pot. By the help of a magic fire, which burned without fuel and made savoury dishes—a fire which one of the sons of the Grandfather of the big box had stolen from a powerful fairy—the Golden Age reigned on the earth; the dead, buried at the foot of a certain tree, were restored to life in adult state; the earth abounded in happy beings. Then credulity and the malice of the *yang* deprived them of order; the magic fire, the celestial rice, and the tree of resurrection disappeared. Since then the savages have been troubled, and suffer famine, cold, and death.

The evil was aggravated by the confusion of tongues which, among the direct sons of the Grandparents of the big box, followed the building of a vague tower of Babel. This confusion led to the dispersion of the races, or, rather, of the different savage tribes.

The legends of the savages still mention the existence of heroes of gigantic size who declared war against the gods. All were killed except their chief, Diōng, a Bahnar who conquered Bōk Glaiḥ, the god of lightning. This Diōng also became reconciled with the *yang*, for he fought the Jarais, who sought a quarrel with him, by getting the gods to stop the sun in order to allow him to obtain his victory. In order to console the Jarai chief, trampled in the *mêlée*, the *yang* transformed him into a constellation—an honour granted to several other people famous for their misfortunes or their bravery in the savages' traditions.

Although the savages do not know how or by whom the world was created, they hold that it will come to an end by a terrible fire due to a giant who lives in the centre of the earth.

13. Fetishes.—Pebbles of uncommon shape or colour, pre-historic axes or arrows of flint, and splinters of meteoric stones are the favourite fetishes of the Indo-Chinese savages. When a savage comes upon one of these objects, he picks it up, wraps it in cotton thread, and puts it into a basket which he carefully closes. He waits until the spirit of his fetish manifests itself in a dream and shows him by what sacrifice it wishes to be honoured. If the *yang* of the fetish-pebble does not reveal itself during the night in human form, or if it demands a sacrifice as costly as, *e.g.*, a buffalo, the savage throws the pebble away in the forest, and there the matter ends. Otherwise he offers it a chicken and a jar of rice-wine; then the pebble, rubbed with the chicken's blood and sprinkled with wine, is put, along with similar objects, into a bag made of bamboo fibre, and the bag is attached to one of the pillars of the house.

These fetish-pebbles, which among the Bahnars receive the name of *dömong*, are not peculiar to any individual; the village possesses a large number of them, carefully preserved in the common house, on a little altar placed on the principal pillar, or *jörang*. They are the city-protectors, and a savage is specially employed to sprinkle them with blood and wine during the ceremonies. Those most reverenced are the *dömong* of war, which are generally picked up on the return from an expedition, and whose spirits manifest themselves in the form of strong shaggy men. After the return from a successful razzia, they are coated with the blood of a sacrificed buffalo.

When fire breaks out, if the flames reach the *dömong*, they are thrown away, for it is believed that the *yang* must have gone away before the fire had reached them. These *dömong* are the protectors of the rice, of fishing, hunting, health, etc. Each one has his own particular sacrifice by which the others also benefit, receiving after him their share of blood and wine. Perhaps the *dömong* who is most worshipped is the rice *dömong*, but great care is taken not to sprinkle him with buffalo's or even pig's blood. In order that he may not get accustomed to such costly sacrifices, he is never offered anything but a chicken. Both male and female *dömong* exist. Their sex is determined by the sorcerer. Their power is equal.

We may add that, according to the missionaries, the savages, amid the great number of supernatural beings to whom they render worship, have an idea of a higher Being, the creator and absolute master of all that exists, rewarding good and punishing evil; but this Supreme Being, stripped of all ill-will towards men and inspiring no fear in them, is not an object of worship.

14. **Tabu.**—Prohibitions are as numerous as offerings among the savages. The words *dieng*, *deng*, *kö*, *tan*, *man*, *köm*, etc., in Lower Laos, *kalam* in Upper Laos, or even *tabung*, among certain tribes bordering on ancient Champa, mean the prohibition against doing certain things at certain times, certain ritual interdictions—in a word, an ensemble of tabus.

When a village removes to another place, no one is allowed to walk on the road which it followed at its exodus. When a woman is confined, or when any one is married or dies, the village, or merely the house, is tabued for a variable period. When there is a famine, the village which is suffering from it is forbidden to strangers, for fear that the rice-*yang*, already angry, may want to go with them. When the wind blows in a certain way, hunters must not kill such and such an animal in the chase. The small spaces round the *ge yang*, 'spirit-jars,' and round the pillars where the *dömong* are hung are tabued. Gold and silver are *kalam* for several villages of the Stiengs round Attopen (Laos), who, on the other hand, accept copper. Every action not in accordance with the settled traditions of the savages at once appears to them unlawful, and a great many presents and arguments are required to prove their innocence. It must be said, however, that among the savages who are neighbours of more civilized races, and especially since the French occupation, the extent and inflexibility of tabus are on the decline.

15. **Totemism.**—Properly speaking, food abstinences do not exist among the savages; nor do they appear to render special worship to any animal, and so far no clearly totemistic tradition has been recognized among them. Nevertheless it must be said that all the savage tribes speak of the tiger with timid reverence, and, when they do bring themselves to eat its flesh, it is only out of revenge, and only among tribes which abstain from the flesh of the domestic elephant.

Among the Radès, when a domestic elephant is wounded, they offer him a roasted pig, place some rice on his head, and pour libations of alcohol, all the while reciting prayers. The Stiengs beg the animals' pardon before slaying them. A curious legend of the Bahnars 'of the first ages of the world' relates that the men of the village had gone away on business, and, on their return, found their wives and children transformed into monkeys, doubtless by the vengeance of the *yang*. In order to restore these metamorphosed beings to their human form, their relatives made incisions on themselves, and with the blood that flowed forth rubbed them limb by limb; all that were thus treated immediately resumed their human appearance. All the savage tribes and the Indo-Chinese in general—like the Indonesians—have a strong antipathy to killing monkeys.

16. **Festivals.**—The chief festivals are the Festival of Victory (see § 4), the Festival of the Dead (see § 6), and the Festival of the Fructification of the Rice.

When rice is sown, a chicken is first sacrificed; but the real ceremony in its honour does not begin until the rice is in the blade. To ensure fructification, the *dömong* are taken down from the granary where they stay, and placed in the house after a chicken or a goat and a jar of rice-beer have been offered to them. Then early next day the owner of the field carries them off with a chicken whose beak and claws have been washed in the juice of a certain forest-plant, and a tube of bamboo filled with millet-wine. In the middle of the field he digs a hole, into which the *dömong* of the rice are laid; he surrounds this hole with a circle of sticks ornamented with tufts of bamboo and joined together by seven strands of cotton thread. The chicken is killed, and with its blood are sprinkled the fetish-pebbles, which are then buried. Over their grave a post is stuck, adorned with tufts of bamboo, and smeared with blood; this post ends in a leaf rolled up into the shape of a horn and filled with wine and chicken's blood; to the foot of the post is fastened a small bamboo tube full of millet, wine, and chicken's blood. The sacrificer offers the contents to the beneficent *yang*, after having adjured the malevolent spirits to depart from his field.

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INDONESIANS.[1]—1. **Names for the conception 'soul.'**—The Indonesian peoples use two names for the conception 'soul,' and by these names they express two different things. The first soul plays a part only in this life on earth; it occurs both impersonally as the vital force which animates all nature, and personally. With the peoples whose life is still strongly communistic, and among whom there is therefore little room for the individual, the impersonal character of the soul stands out more clearly. Where the feeling of individuality is more developed this soul is more personal. The second soul plays a part only in the next life; then the first soul vanishes, and the second appears as an essence of the human being itself. The first soul we shall call 'soul-substance,' in contradistinction to the second soul. Soul-substance is therefore the spiritual substance which pervades man during his life on earth; in its impersonal character man can have too little of it, and then he must add some soul-substance to it, derived from men, animals, plants, or things; in its personal character it is addressed and flattered. After the death of the human being this soul-substance animates another part of nature—an idea which has given rise to the belief in metempsychosis. The soul, however, which only after death separates from man, carries on a personal existence in a realm of spirits, which is similar to the earth. This soul dies several times (mostly seven or nine times), and finally turns into soul-substance. Sometimes the Indonesian says that he has more than one soul, even as many as seven; but these are simply different modes of appearance of the one soul-substance which is in him during his life on earth. For the impersonal soul the Indonesians have no general name. A very common name for the soul-substance is *sumangat* with the Malays, with several variations, as *sumangè* in Minañkabau, *sumanga* and *sumange* with the Macassars and the Buginese, *esmangan* in Buru, and *sumangan* in Ambon. In Northern and Central Celebes we find words meaning 'little man,' whereas the Dayak words *ham-*

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[1] On the geography and ethnology of the region dealt with in this article cf. art. AUSTRALASIA. See also art. PAPUANS.

baruan and *bruwa* point to a derivation from *ruwa*, 'two'; so that these names probably mean 'companion,' a meaning which we find in *rĕngarĕngan* of the inhabitants of Minahassa, *kakĕduañ* of the Sañirese, *katutubo* ('of the same nature as another') in Luzon, and *ikararua* of the Ibanag. Among the Batta tribes in Sumatra we meet with *tĕndi* and *tondi*; and the races which have been strongly under the influence of the Hindus, as the Javanese and the Balinese, use Sanskrit words, e.g. *yitmă* and *sukmă*. Besides these names for the soul-substance, *njawa*, originally 'breath,' is often used. The soul, *i.e.* man as he lives on after death, bears quite different names. A word of frequent occurrence is *nitu, anitu, onitu*, meaning 'souls' in the Moluccas, but 'spirits' in Celebes, Nias, and other islands. The Batta tribes and the Niassians use the word *begu*, which means 'spectre,' *anga* in Central and *andja* in Southern Celebes. The Dayak tribes in Borneo have words such as *liau, andiau, luwa*, etc. The belief in a life after this life is so vague with the Indonesians, and the conception they form of the soul is therefore so indistinct, that, having come into contact with monotheistic religions, they have adopted words for the soul from other languages—*e.g.*, the Sanskrit *jīva* among the Malays and Javanese, and the Arabic *mala'ekat*, which all through the Malay Archipelago does not stand for 'angel,' but for the soul of man after death.

2. The impersonal soul-substance in man.—All parts of the human body, and its secretions, contain impersonal soul-substance. This may be extracted from any part; and then pain is felt at the part.

(1) Many customs show that the Indonesians consider the human *head* to contain soul-substance. The great object of head-hunting is to possess themselves of their enemy's soul-substance, in order to increase their own. In the Moluccas, missionaries have sometimes been charged by the natives with having made medicine out of human heads.

(2) Other important storehouses of soul-substance are the *bowels* and the *liver*. For this reason it is a general usage in the Archipelago to offer to the gods a piece of the liver of an animal, which means that not only the material part, but also the soul-substance of the animal is sacrificed. The Olo-Ngaju in Borneo and other Dayak tribes regard the liver as the seat of all emotions. The Battak also hold this belief, and are therefore very much afraid of abdominal operations, because they think that then the soul-substance is removed from the body. With the Javanese, the Malays, and the inhabitants of the Mentawey Islands and Halmahera also the liver is the seat of the emotions, with the Papuans the bowels. Among a few tribes (Minañkabauians, Niassians, and Kailians) the heart is believed to be a receptacle of soul-substance.

(3) The *blood* is of much greater importance in this respect. It is sacrificed as containing soul-substance. In the consecration of the house it is customary to rub the blood of the victim on the woodwork, in order to give it strength. The Macassars smear old sacred objects with blood, in order to infuse new life into them. The Orang Sakai in Siak sprinkle, as *pars pro toto*, a few drops of their blood on a corpse, lest the soul of the dead man should take with it all their soul-substance and they should die. Throughout the Archipelago the law holds that the blood of a man guilty of incest must not be spilled, because this would make the soil barren.

(4) That soul-substance is found in the *placenta* and *umbilical cord* appears from the connexion which the Indonesians see between child and afterbirth; the latter is called elder or younger brother. The placenta is carefully preserved or buried. The Battak call upon the soul of the afterbirth. Other peoples (Macassars, Tomorians) preserve the placenta with salt and tamarind. The little piece of the umbilical cord which has fallen off is generally preserved by the Indonesians, and administered as medicine to the child when it is ill.

(5) A great amount of soul-substance is thought to reside in the *hair* of the head; hence many object to having their hair cut, as this might cause them to fall ill for want of soul-substance. When a Javanese has lost two or more children by death, he does not shave the head of the next child. After their conversion to Christianity, many of the Battak were afraid that they would die if their long hair was cut. In case of accident or disease the mother rubs her child with her hair, to supply it with new soul-substance (Minahassa, Sañi, Central Celebes, Añkola, Central Nias). Among the Dayaks, parents protest against the cutting of the hair of school children, for fear of disease. Hair is laid at the foot of fruit trees to make them more fruitful, *i.e.* to adduce soul-substance (Torajas, Malays, Karo Battak, Timor, Dayaks). The Kayans in Borneo administer burnt human hair to delicate people by way of medicine. Betrothed couples exchange some of their hair, in order to become one in soul and always to think of each other (Moluccas, Central Celebes, Minahassa, Timor, Battak, Dayaks). With the Karo Battak the hair of bride and bridegroom is knotted together at the wedding. Father and mother give some of their hair to a child, that it may feel that its parents are near it, and that it may not cry too much during their absence (Central Celebes, Minahassa). Therefore it is a prevailing custom to preserve some hair of deceased relatives, lest they should die with longing for the dead. According to Indonesian belief, a little hair (hence a little soul-substance) taken from a man gives power over all his soul-substance; whatever happens to the hair happens also to the man. This idea is at the root of all the sorcery with hair which occurs among the Indonesians. As a rule the hair is first wrapped up in a parcel with pungent spices, and then buried or hung in a tree; the owner of the hair is afflicted with all kinds of diseases as the consequence of this. The worst thing one can do is to burn a person's hair with an imprecation. The person is then sure to die. Hair is also used as a sacrifice: a Toraja pulls out a hair when he has told a lie the consequences of which he fears. A Boni prince offered his hair when he had delivered his country from the enemy. Dayaks sacrifice some of their hair when they have returned uninjured from war. A general form of sacrifice in the Malay Archipelago is the cutting off of the hair of children. Frequently, however, a lock of hair is spared, as if to retain the soul-substance. The sacrifice of hair at a death is common: the relatives offer part of their spiritual existence, that the soul of the dead one may leave them undisturbed (Moluccas, Halmahera, Timor, Bali, Dayak tribes, Eñgano, Malays, Battak, Malagasy). This entire or partial cutting or shaving off of the hair is sometimes required only of the widow or widower, sometimes of the nearest relatives, at other times (when a chief of special importance has died) of all the subjects.

(6) Of equal value with a man's hair are his *nails*. Hair and nails are therefore generally mentioned together. Great care is taken that nail parings do not fall into the hands of people who might do harm with them. Among many of the tribes the nails must not be cut after sunset, because the spirits wandering about then might seize them.

(7) The Indonesians imagine the *teeth* to be filled with soul-substance. This appears from the knocking out of teeth (as it occurs still in Central Celebes, Formosa, and Eñgano), and from the general custom of filing off teeth, which reaches its height in the skilful way practised by the Javanese and others. Originally this was intended as a sacrifice when entering upon puberty. What is left of the teeth after they have been filed off is blackened—originally for the purpose of hiding from the spirits the fact that part of the sacrifice was withheld. The sacrifice of teeth as a mourning rite is still found among the Indonesians in Kedu in Java, in Benkulen in Sumatra, and in the isle of Saleier.

(8) The *secretions* of the human body also contain soul-substance, as, *e.g.*, the *saliva*. Many Dayak tribes spit on an offering or bite it, that the spirits may know that it comes from them. Spitting occurs as a sacrifice, in order to get rid of something impure or sinful. When the Indonesian hears some ominous sound, he spits; the Battak do so when a corpse is carried past them; the Galelarese immediately spit when they have pronounced a forbidden name. A dying man leaves some of his saliva, that the survivor may not long too much for him (Macassars, Olo-Dusun in Borneo, and Javanese). By the possession of a person's saliva one gets power over all his soul-substance; therefore the Indonesians do not spit near graves or high trees, because the spirits might avail themselves of this saliva to take away all their soul-substance. Saliva is used in sorcery also, generally in the form of a quid (Moluccas, Nias). All the tribes are careful with everything that has been in contact with the mouth (with saliva), *e.g.* remains of food. That saliva contains soul-substance, force, is proved by the fact that tools are rubbed with it to make them stronger (Minañkabau)—especially rifles (Añkola, Kaili, and others). The Land Dayaks of Sarawak begged Europeans to spit on bits of coco-nut shell, which were then scattered over the fields to make them fertile.

Sweat also—and consequently the clothes saturated with it—contains soul-substance. Hence a Javanese thinks that his child will fall ill if an article of its dress has been carried away by the stream; and it is customary among different tribes to ask for worn clothes of European children, that their children, wearing them, may thrive the better through the sweat which the clothes contain. *Water* in which persons of high standing have washed off the perspiration of their hands and feet is believed to have the power of making the soil fertile, or is taken as a medicine (Dayaks, Macassars, Javanese); and the water in which clothes of certain people have been washed is used to cure all kinds of diseases, but especially (and in this case it is a garment of the husband which is washed) to hasten a confinement. Even *earth* from footprints, to which something of a person adheres, is sometimes used to injure that person by sorcery (Malays, Battak, Galelarese).

From the stories current among Galelarese, Torajas, and Javanese relating to deceased persons who were restored to life by means of *tears*, it appears that this secretion of man is also thought to contain soul-substance. *Urine* has similar effects where it is used as a medicine (Javanese, Kailians, Macassars, Battak, Dayaks). The Buginese rub people with urine to make them bullet-proof, while in Añkola and Halmahera a person's urine is used to destroy him; in the island of Kisser a young man urinates on the urine of his heart's elect, hoping that this will make her love him. Moreover, many stories are found among the Indonesians about animals which were impregnated with a human being by drinking human urine. Among the Macassars and Torajas *fæces* are used to heal wounds. Among the former and the Karo Battak they are also used to practise in sorcery.

3. Ways in which man increases his soul-substance.—In the opinion of the Indonesians the soul-substance discussed above is impersonal; it can be both increased and decreased. Primitive man was always bent on increasing his soul-substance in order to make his life stronger. (1) He accomplished this by *eating* and *drinking*. The Indonesian imagines that the soul-substance of the food is absorbed by him (though he does not always realize this), as may be seen from the food which he forbids in different illnesses. This prohibition is not founded on empiricism, but on shape, taste, name, and properties of the various foods. On account of their form, name, etc., they are considered injurious to the patient, and their soul-substance corresponds to their name, form, etc. The Dayaks do not eat the flesh of deer, lest they should become cowardly (like a deer). The eating of white buffaloes causes leprosy (Central Celebes), etc. The Malays believe that they strengthen their own soul-substance when absorbing the soul-substance of the food. They tell a story, in which a poor man grows strong and healthy by eating the flavour of a rich man's food; whereas the rich man, eating the food itself, grows thinner and weaker. Moreover, many Indonesian peoples call rice the strengthener of soul-substance. If a person's shadow falls on food, the food must not be eaten, else the soul-substance of the person is also eaten (Atche, Halmahera). Cannibalism is founded on the idea of eating some one else's soul-substance. It existed (or still exists) among the Battak, some Dayak tribes, and the Papuans; among other peoples we find traces of it in the drinking of human blood, the eating of brains and other parts of the body. That the great object was to add to their soul-substance appears from the parts eaten: the palm of the hand was eaten to get strong hands (Battak, Dayaks, Galelarese); knee-caps, to get strong knees (Battak); scrapings of human bones, to make the whole body strong (Olo-Ngaju, Macassars, Torajas). In the Moluccas, pieces of the heart, liver, and lungs are eaten to become 'brave'; and for the same reason dogs are eaten (Nias, Torajas, Moluccas). It is a general precept that a pregnant woman must not eat pungent, stimulating, hot things, else the child she brings forth will also be 'hot,' *i.e.* unhealthy.

(2) A way of adding to one's soul-substance is by *drinking blood*. The Macassars, Buginese, Torajas, Kailians, Gorontalese, Minahassians, and Tobelorese drink the blood of a slain enemy in order to become brave and strong. Those who conclude peace drink each other's blood, as well as those who wish to become blood-brothers; some drops of blood from the shoulders or arms of the two parties were mixed and drunk; this betokened that their soul-substance, and so also their wishes and thoughts, had become one. This custom is specially prevalent among the Dayak tribes; but it also occurs among the Battak, in many of the islands of the Molucca group, and in Timor. Among the Olo-Ngaju in Borneo, when a child was adopted by others, it was given some blood to drink from the right shoulder of the foster-father and from the right breast of the foster-mother; and a newly married couple on their wedding-day, a man who has been appointed chief, or persons who settle a quarrel are smeared with blood to strengthen their soul-substance. The same customs also occur in the south of Celebes. In Java it is believed that the blood lost during confinement by a woman who has borne a child in *jumat lĕgi* or *sĕloso kliwon* has a special healing power.

(3) Since saliva contains a large amount of soul-substance, the Indonesians think that they can add to a man's soul-substance by *spitting* on him. This spitting is very general; sometimes some herb or root is chewed to strengthen the effect of the saliva. Dayak parents spit on their children daily to promote their growth; sores and wounds also are spat on; the remuneration which a witch-doctor receives for this spitting is still called 'reward of the saliva' among the Madurese. Some years ago there was a holy man in Padang whose saliva was said to be particularly efficacious; many people had themselves spat on by him to become strong and healthy. The Indonesians try to cure a benumbed leg by rubbing it with their saliva, the numbness being, in their opinion, caused through temporary want of soul-substance.

(4) The *breath* is another manifestation of soul-substance; hence a man may be supplied with new soul-substance by being breathed upon. It is therefore a prevailing custom among the Indonesians to breathe on sick or dying people. This is also done in cases of confinements which do not go smoothly, and when any one faints. With the Muhammadans water is exorcized and breathed on to give it healing power. Soul-substance is also transmitted from one man to another by mere contact. In most parts of the Archipelago the people like Europeans to touch their children; and offerings are touched by the participants. Connected with this is the belief that, if a person has been infected with a skin disease through contact with a person suffering from the disease, the latter will have got rid of his illness.

4. The personal soul-substance in man.—The soul-substance of a man is also imagined to be personal; this is specially the case with the tribes among whom the idea of individuality is more highly developed than in the case of a communistic society. This personal soul-substance is then the personification of all the impersonal soul-substance in man. It has the shape of its owner, but the Indonesian always imagines it as a diminutive human being, as large as a thumb: hence it is concentrated soul-substance. It can separate from the body voluntarily or by compulsion. Some tribes, *e.g.* the Toba Battak, endow it even with an independent existence outside of man. This is also found among the Karo Battak, who recall the soul-substance when it is going away, not to its owner, but to his house. A Loda (Halmahera) story tells of a person who keeps his soul-substance in a bottle. Sometimes people procure a certain object of which the soul-substance is supposed to be very fond, and this object is then thought to bind the soul-substance to the house. This custom is specially prevalent among the Battak. Most of the Indonesians hold the belief that, although the soul-substance may carry on an independent existence, it has its home *in* the body. If it is too long separated from the body, the person falls ill and dies.

(1) The Indonesian sees his soul-substance embodied in his *shadow*. To the question whether a new-born child has soul-substance, the answer in Halmahera is: 'Of course, for it has a shadow.' Some assert that there are people who have no shadow, or only a very faint one; they will die soon, as their soul-substance is gone (Macassars, Kailians, Añkolaians). Food on which a person's shadow falls must not be eaten, else the person is harmed, for his soul-substance is eaten (Dayaks, Niassians, Achinese, Añkolaians, Javanese, Malays). Throughout the Malay Archipelago no one must stand on a shadow, tread on it, hew, or stab it, nor let his shadow fall on a grave or a tree or any other object in which a spirit is thought to reside, as the soul of the dead person in the grave or the spirit in the tree might seize the shadow (soul-substance), and cause the person's death.

(2) There is also a close relation between the *name* and the soul-substance of a man. If sorcery is practised, the soul-substance of the man who is to be ruined is called upon by his name to approach. The Javanese think that writing some one's name on a bier is sufficient to destroy him. The names of those who are out hunting, or on a journey, must not be mentioned by those at home, else their soul-substance returns home, or they fall ill—at all events, they are unable to carry out their intention (Torajas, Galelarese). The Indonesians think that an evil spirit loses its power as soon as its name is pronounced. Many plants owe their supposed healing power only to their name. The names of those who are ill are changed, in order to mislead the spirit who is annoying them. A child who has not yet received a name is not regarded as a human being; when such a child dies, it is put into the earth without any ceremonies (Dayaks, Torajas, Macassars, Javanese, Añkolaians, Toba Battak).

(3) During *sleep* the soul-substance separates from the body, and wanders about; what it sees the man dreams. In sleep the soul-substance meets the souls of the deceased. It is universally assumed by the Indonesians that, when the souls of the deceased receive the dreamer kindly, and give him food, he will soon die. The Dayaks, Torajas, and Javanese court meetings with spirits by going to sleep in places inhabited by them. On various occasions an attempt is made to learn through a dream what the dead say, *e.g.* in case of marriage (Dayaks, Niassians); when trying to find suitable trees when seeking camphor (Battak); when choosing a branch of trade (Javanese), etc. Among some tribes a person watching near a corpse must not sleep, because the soul of the deceased might easily seize the roving soul-substance; and a sick person is not allowed to fall asleep, lest the soul-substance should go away and never return. After an oppressive dream, which may have frightened the soul-substance and caused it to depart, it is necessary to bring an offering to call it back. It is wrong to wake a person suddenly, because the soul-substance may not have had time enough to return. The strict prohibition against stepping across a sleeping person, which at present is only looked upon as bad manners, may be traced to the same idea.

(4) *Fright*, a *yearning* for some one or something, *want*, and *discontent* also cause the soul-substance to move to another place, with the result that the person falls ill. Hence it is only when in a passion that Indonesian parents dare to beat their children; when it is beaten the child gets discontented, then its soul-substance may run away and the child fall ill. To prevent the loss of soul-substance, *e.g.*, in times of epidemics, bits of tape are tied round the wrists (Torajas, Dayaks, Minañkabauians, Niassians, and Battak). The soul-substance goes into and out of the body through mouth, nose, or ears, but usually through the crown of the head, through the large fontanel. Only the Papuans say that it goes in and out at the shoulder, under the collar-bone. The soul-substance does not always leave voluntarily; it may be carried off by other people, or it may follow a man of its own accord. The custom of refusing a stranger admittance to mother and child during the first few days after a confinement must be owing to fear of this; the very frail soul-substance of the child might cling to the stranger and go with him (Achinese, Dayaks, Macassars, Javanese). Women must abstain from festivities, dances, and some daily occupations while their husbands are travelling, in order not to hamper them on their journey

(Central and Southern Celebes). The fear which most Indonesian tribes have of being photographed arises from the thought that the soul-substance may be carried off with the photograph. The soul-substance of a man is often lured away by sorcerers for the purpose of injuring him; and in times of war the soul-substance of enemies is lured away in the conviction that the enemies themselves will follow it—thus causing them to fall an easy prey to their lurking foes. Rice and eggs are always used as an enticement (Battak, Niassians, Torajas, Dayaks). Finally, a man's soul-substance may be tempted away by the soul of one of his deceased relatives, either because it longs to have him with him or as a revenge for some offence.

If the soul-substance remains long separated from its home in the man, the man must die. When it is suspected that the soul-substance is gone it must be brought back. The sick person tells where he first felt ill, and the soul-substance is found there. After a burial the soul of the deceased is accused of having stolen the soul-substance, and it is brought back from the grave. If a spirit has taken away the soul-substance, this is revealed by sorcery or in a dream. The calling back of the spirit is very simple: a mother, thinking that the soul-substance of her child is gone, calls, 'Come, soul-substance,' sometimes accompanying this by the sound with which chickens are called. Among the Olo-Ngaju, when a child falls downstairs, the mother scoops up in a basket the soul-substance, which she thinks has been lost by the fright; and among the Javanese, if a person comes home feeling ill, a relative takes one of his garments, and, trailing this along behind him, runs to the spot where the person first felt ill, catching up the lost soul-substance in this way. Generally, however, they have recourse to a sorcerer. He goes to the spot in question with an offering and a piece of cotton or a branch of a tree. The soul-substance is caught in the piece of cloth or in the branch, carried home, and applied to the sick man's head (Moluccas, Minahassa, Central and Southern Celebes, Timor; among the Dayaks, Javanese, Sundanese, Niassians, Battak, and Gayos). In Bolañ Moñondou and among the Malays it is sometimes caught in a doll; among other tribes generally in a bowl or in a bag of rice (Southern Celebes, Watubela, Olo-Dusun, Land Dayaks, Karo and Timor Battak, Malays). The priestesses among the Bahau Dayaks declare that they split the sick man's head, and thus open a way for the soul-substance; or remove it by placing a beautiful garment on the patient's head. Occasionally the sorcerer uses a ladder for the soul-substance to pass along; this is a thread (Timorese) or a string of beads (Land Dayaks of Sarawak). When the soul-substance has been caught, it looks like a piece of a leaf (Minahassians, Torajas), a little spider (Timor, Nias), or hair (Dayaks of Sarawak), coal, oil, earth, or blood (Olo-Dusun and others).

(5) *Sneezing* is generally looked upon as one of the signs that the soul-substance is leaving the body or returning to it. The belief is wide-spread that a sick man will recover when he sneezes, because then the soul-substance has come back. The wishes pronounced by a mother when her child sneezes are to the effect that a spirit may not take away the soul-substance which has issued out of the child (Torajas, Javanese, Battak, Dayaks). For grown-up people sneezing is a sign either that friends think of them or that enemies want to harm their soul-substance. In consideration of the latter case imprecations are frequently uttered with sneezing.

When a spirit has caught the soul-substance, a doll is often made representing the sick person, and this, instead of the soul-substance of the patient, is offered to the spirit (Uliassians, Torajas, Minahassians, Macassars, all Dayak tribes, Malays, Battak, Niassians). The name given to this doll often has the meaning of 'ransom,' 'substitute,' 'price for which something is bought,' etc. The doll is generally brought beforehand into closer connexion with the sick person by adding to it a thread of his clothes, a hair, some saliva, or some scrapings of skin and nails, or by simply pressing it against him. Another kind of substitute is a doll representing the patient, which is ill-treated, in order to give satisfaction to the spirit which has caused the disease, that it may refrain from troubling the sick man any longer.

5. Voluntary departure of soul-substance.—When the sick person continues to be ill in spite of all efforts, this is a proof for the Indonesian that the spirit has taken the soul-substance to a spot whence men cannot bring it back. Then a priest or a priestess must be summoned, who is conversant with the spirits, and who can conjure up well-disposed spirits to help them in their search for the soul-substance. These priests and priestesses generally intone a litany, in which they record their experiences on the journey to the spirit world. Then the priest invokes the help of the spirits which are well disposed to man. The spirits come for the priest in some vehicle (generally the rainbow), and conduct him (*i.e.* his soul-substance) to higher regions, where after many meetings with gods and spirits, and after some vicissitudes, he regains the lost soul-substance, and, having returned to earth in the same vehicle, restores it to the sick person. The idea which gives rise to this practice is that in sleep the soul-substance can move about freely in the haunts of the spirits. Among the Javanese and Buginese, and in the Moluccas, the priests and priestesses still actually lie down to sleep. Among other tribes sleep is only feigned. The language used by the priests is a mixture of words of their own, circumlocutions, and words derived from foreign languages. All these things have certainly been used to enhance the importance of the priests and priestesses, but among the Indonesians the priests have never practised a secret cult. The above is true of Dayaks, Torajas, Minahassians, Tobelorese, Buginese, Minañkabauians, and Javanese.

The personal soul-substance may separate from the body in order to harm a person. Those who possess this power are wer-wolves and witches. Some tribes believe that the whole wer-wolf changes into a tiger (Malacca, Sumatra, Java), into a crocodile (Philippine Islands, Lombok), into a dog or cat (Timor); but most of them believe that only the soul-substance changes into an animal, and the body remains at home. As a rat, dog, snake, milliped, owl, etc., it penetrates into the houses of people to injure them. When the soul-substance leaves or enters the body, it does so in the shape of a mouse (Timor), a firefly (Bali, Central Celebes), or a lizard (Malays). The harm which the wer-wolf is supposed to do to people is to eat their soul-substance; he does this by taking the entrails (especially the liver) out of a man (Bali, Halmahera, Central Celebes, and other places), by drinking the blood (Southern Timor), or by preying upon the heart (Korinchi). A man becomes a lycanthrope by inheritance or by transmission (Central Timor, Central Celebes, Dayaks, Malays), by pronouncing certain charms (Java, Bali), or by offerings to evil spirits (Halmahera). It is not always possible to recognize a lycanthrope; sometimes, however, he may be known either by twisted feet (Atche), or by want of the groove under the nose in the upper lip (Korinchi), or sometimes by peculiar actions, as, *e.g.*, standing naked on his head (Central Timor). When some one is suspected of being a wer-wolf, it has to be decided by an ordeal whether he is really guilty or not; if he is guilty, he is killed.

The witch (vampire) is a woman, who can sever her head from her body, and make it fly through the air to harm people; the bowels fly along with the head; she uses her ears (sometimes her lungs) as wings. Generally the name for witch points to this power; *e.g.*, among most of the Indonesian tribes the word is connected with the Malay *tanggal*, 'to draw out, to pull out.' The witch may be recognized by the noises which she makes on her journeys (represented by *ko* or *po*). She works harm in the same way as the wer-wolf. She can go on her expeditions only by night; if she has not returned to her body before daybreak, she dies. The Indonesians try to protect their homes from visits of witches by all kinds of means, the most common being the hanging up of some thorny boughs. The witch is killed when her guilt has been convincingly proved.

6. Soul-substance of animals.—According to the Indonesians, the soul-substance of animals is similar to that of man. This appears from their folklore. In the story of creation of the Karo Battak, men were to be born from eggs, but through the carelessness of a mythical personage the eggs broke too soon, and animals and plants issued forth. Numerous stories tell that animals were originally men; this applies specially to monkeys, crocodiles, and birds; but also to deer (Macassars, Torajas, Malays) and to dogs (Halmahera). Women give birth to animals, as is generally told of the crocodile, of the iguana (Papuans, Madurese), of snakes and lizards (Battak). Animals also may bring forth human beings, as monkeys (Malays), dogs (Java, Lombok, Southern and Central Celebes, Nias), buffaloes (Macassars), and deer (Dayaks). Men sometimes turn into animals by eating part of an animal, into birds by eating birds' eggs (Minahassa), into crocodiles by eating crocodiles' eggs (Dayaks), into snakes by eating the flesh of snakes (Minahassa, Padang). Animals sometimes play the part of allies of man.

Man uses the soul-substance of animals for his own benefit: the ashes of the milliped or of the burnt prehensile tail of the cuscus are rubbed between the hands to make them strong in combat (Galelarese); lizards are used in cases of leprosy, on account of their regenerating power (Java); the head and the fat of the tortoise are used to bring splinters to light, in virtue of its power of drawing in or putting out its head from under its shell (Torajas, Battak). The bones have special power; bones of crows make a person dexterous in stealing, and in Central Celebes they make a person invisible. Everywhere we meet with stories that miraculous trees grow out of buried bones of animals. Skulls of deer and pigs are hung up in the house to call the soul-substance of their fellows (Macassars, Torajas, Galelarese, Niassians). The blood of animals plays an important part at sacrifices. Sacred heirlooms are rubbed with blood to give them power (Macassars and Buginese); padi-seeds are sprinkled with blood to make them grow rapidly (Torajas, Dayaks). The Macassars drank deer's blood to assimilate themselves to these animals, in order to catch them more easily. The saliva of animals also has power; we find cases where people are cured by the saliva of a cow (Padang *panjañ*), a tiger (Javanese), and dogs (Añkola, Halmahera). The saliva of hens is applied to cure stings or bites of venomous beasts. On the other hand, the animal itself is very often used, burnt and pounded to powder.

Animals which are of special importance to man are endowed with a personal soul-substance. Thus, among a tribe of hunters dogs are considered to possess personal soul-substance; they have names, and are spoken to and treated as men (Torajas, Galelarese, Dayaks). This continues up to the time when they are no longer hunters (Minañkabauians, Malays). Buffaloes and cows also have personal soul-substance; they are addressed, their soul-substance is invoked, and offerings are given to them (Minañkabauians, Achinese, Battak, Dayaks, Javanese, Timorese, Macassars, Buginese, and Torajas). As a rule one animal in a herd is considered as the leader which keeps the herd together, and is neither killed nor sold.

7. Soul-substance of plants.—According to the Indonesians, plants too have soul-substance similar to that of man. The close relation between man and plant appears from stories. Sometimes a person going on a journey gives the relatives whom he leaves behind a plant, which will languish when he is in danger or ill. Many tribes plant a coconut at the birth of a child; the soul-substance of the child is then bound to the tree when it grows up. Other stories tell that some trees were originally men, *e.g.*, the *Metroxylon* and the *Arenga saccharifera*; others deal with persons who have come forth from trees or plants, especially from rotan and bamboo. There are plants to which a particularly strong soul-substance is attributed, on account of their tough vital power. With all Indonesians the *Dracæna terminalis* stands foremost among them. It is the sacred plant, which is used by the priests in all their proceedings, and whose strong soul-substance they try to transfer to man. The name and shape of plants characterize their soul-substance, and to this the Indonesian pays heed when seeking for cures for diseases, or for bringing about some change in his body. In Central Celebes there is a tree called *lenturu*; now *turu* means to sleep, and therefore the leaves of this tree are used to alleviate (cause to go to sleep) pain. The soul-substance of the principal trees and plants which are of great use to man is imagined to be personal: thus fruit-bearing trees are often addressed as persons. The rice is fed by touching the stalks with rice-porridge; wood and leaves of trees with large fruit are laid between the rice, that it may form large grains; all kinds of precautions must be taken, lest the soul-substance of the rice should be frightened and flee. If from the languishing condition of the rice it appears that the soul-substance is gone, then it is brought back as with man. This soul-substance is imagined in the shape of a bird or a snake; particularly at the moment when the rice is to be cut, it is necessary to be careful not to startle the soul-substance; then an object is made out of rice-plants, the 'rice mother,' which will keep back the soul-substance of the other rice; it also attracts the soul-substance of rice which has got lost through birds or in other ways; the soul-substance of the rice mother is still more strengthened by the addition of stones, iron, and plants with strong soul-substance; it is spoken to kindly, and it is told what is desired from it; with great show of honour the rice mother is carried home, and preserved in the barn with the other rice. Among trees the coco-palm has a personal soul-substance. It is said to have grown out of the head of a man. The nut is frequently used in sorcery; various animistic actions take place when planting it. In order to prevent the tree from shooting up too rapidly it is planted in the afternoon, when it casts a short shadow, or the people who plant it squat down; in order to make it bear much fruit, it is planted by a person who has many children and grandchildren, etc. The *Arenga saccharifera* grew out of a woman; the palm wine is milk from her breasts, or it is her tears; during all the operations to which the tree is subjected it is also spoken to (Torajas, Dayaks, Javanese, Niassians, Battak). In the Moluccas the clove tree is considered and treated exactly in the same way as a woman with child, during the time that it is in bloom; people are particularly careful to avoid anything that might frighten the soul-substance of the tree. The Battak believe that the camphor tree has a spirit of its own to which sacrifices are offered; the camphor-seekers use a language of their own making, lest the soul-substance of the tree should understand what their object is and hide its camphor crystals from them. In Sumba the natives call the sandalwood tree *ai nitu*, *i.e.* spirit wood, and formerly nobody dared cut down such a tree. In a grove of caoutchouc trees there is one tree which is considered the chief of all, and which takes care that the soul-substance of the other trees does not vanish (and with it the sap); such a tree is never tapped.

8. Soul-substance of objects.—That objects also have soul-substance appears from the use that is made of them. Very often people carry with them iron objects, stones, china, beads, or hard fruits, as some kinds of nuts, or make their children carry them about, that their soul-substance may be as hard as that of the objects mentioned (Malays, Battak, Gayos, Dayaks, Sundanese, Macassars, Torajas, Galelarese). Brittle objects are brought into contact with hard ones, to make them hard; *e.g.*, an earthen pot is touched with iron or stone (Macassars, Torajas). Objects are also fed: agricultural tools are fed on the new rice (Dayaks, Torajas, Central Timor); the plough gets an offering (Macassars); the loom is given rice to eat (Southern Timor); the rifle gets part of the game (Central Timor); the Javanese offer sacrifices to all kinds of objects—to their cart, their barn, etc. The Indonesian smiths in particular offer sacrifices to their tools. A large piece of gold is supposed to attract other gold (Achinese, Parigians, Torajas, Dayaks); a particularly large diamond to attract other diamonds (Dayaks). The soul-substance of iron plays an important part among the Indonesians: they sit down on iron to make their own soul-substance strong (Malays, Macassars); iron is used to make people invulnerable (Karo Battak); water in which iron has lain is drunk to produce strength (Nias, Java, Central Celebes, Halmahera); a Javanese woman-doctor always carries iron about with her, in order to give additional force to her massage; among the Torajas and Dayaks iron plays an important part in various solemnities. The smith, who handles iron every day, is considered a very important man (Battak, Dayaks, Torajas), and among the peoples who have become Muhammadans he has continued to be the representative of heathenism. In those countries where gold is found there are all kinds of precepts not to drive away the soul-substance of the gold (and with it the gold itself) (Malays, Minañkabauians). The Dayaks believe that the soul-substance of gold can avenge itself on the gold-seeker and make him ill. In the tin explorations among the Malays it is necessary to avoid everything that might frighten the soul-substance of the tin; the tin ore is always heated with great respect.

9. Metempsychosis.—What becomes of the soul-substance after death? Some of the tribes believe that it passes into soul, but most of them do not. The facts prove that after the death of a person the soul-substance continues to be distinguished from the soul (Dayaks, Torajas, Papuans, Timorese, and others). The general idea is that after death the soul-substance returns to the chief god, who doles it out again to other people, animals, and plants; or this animation takes place directly. The conceptions concerning the soul-substance have given rise to the belief in metempsychosis—which in its turn has been superseded by the belief in the soul, in man living an independent spiritual existence after death. Even in this earthly life the soul-substance can move to another person. It is universally believed that, when a child resembles its father (or its mother) strongly, it has got possession of that parent's soul-substance, and he (or she) must die. If a child resembles a person who has died, the dead one has been incarnated in the child (Javanese, Balinese, Niassians, Dayaks). The soul-substance of the dead is also transmitted to animals and plants: beasts of prey are ancestors who avenge a violation of moral laws. The dead are also supposed to live on in animals which have something in common with the spirits: the firefly, because of its mysterious light; birds and butterflies, because they can soar up to the realms of the spirits; snakes, because they come forth from holes in the earth, from the under world, etc.; and house lizards and mice, because they live with men in the same house, etc.

The soul-substance of a living person is imagined as a firefly (Torajas, Battak, Niassians); also that of deer and swine (Battak, Dayaks), and of plants (Javanese). Moreover, all the Indonesian tribes look upon the firefly as the incarnation of a deceased person. The soul-substance leaves a sleeping person in the shape of a cricket (Sundanese and Galelarese). The cricket is a dead person, showing the living the way to the Land of Souls (Torajas). Sometimes a blowfly is an embodied curse which comes to some one (Kailians, Dayaks); generally, however, it is a dead person who comes to fetch a relative to the Land of Souls (Torajas, Javanese, Añkolaians, Battak, Niassians); sometimes it is a person who has died abroad, and has come to announce his death to his relatives (Galelarese, Macassars). Only in Añkola and Nias is the butterfly regarded as a dead person; everywhere else it is looked upon as the soul-substance of a friend who has come to announce his visit to some house; sometimes it is the soul-substance of animals (Torajas, Battak). If a butterfly settles on a sick person, the latter improves in health, for his soul-substance has returned (Torajas, Minahassians, and Añkolaians). Soul-substance is also supposed to have the shape of a bird, as is proved by the fact that it is summoned back by interjections with which chickens are called (Buginese, Macassars, Malays, Minañkabauians, Central Celebes). The idea that birds are incarnations of the dead is prevalent throughout Indonesia.

Among the Torajas, Dayaks, and Timorese the mouse is supposed to be the soul-substance of a living person. When a mouse nibbles at the clothes or nails of some one, it is considered by nearly all the tribes as a dead person who has come to take him to the Land of Souls. A snake is generally looked upon as a dead person, whose coming forebodes evil. Among some tribes, *e.g.* the Dayaks, the soul-substance appears as a snake, but as a rule a reptile represents a dead person. If it enters a house, it is a person who has died and has come to fetch one of the inmates. The soul-substance of a lycanthrope appears among some peoples as a house lizard (Malays); but in other cases this animal is taken as the incarnation of a dead person who wishes to continue living in the same house with his relatives.

Remnants of the belief in the transmigration of souls are found everywhere throughout the Archipelago. Man can pass into all kinds of animals; but in these ideas concerning metempsychosis there is not a trace of any thought of retribution. This is met with only among the Javanese and Balinese, who have been under the influence of the Hindus, and who try to find charms to secure for themselves a new birth into a higher being, or lead the life of a hermit for this purpose.

10. The worship of animals.—Closely connected with the belief in the transmigration of souls is the worship rendered to some animals by the Indonesian peoples, because they think their ancestors are embodied in them; such animals must not be harmed. Examples are the white hen (Battak), or another bird (Tagalas), or a species of monkey (Battak, Dayaks), pig (Babar), buffalo, deer (Dayaks), eel (in the Philippine islands, in Southern Celebes, and the Moluccas). An object of universal worship among the Indonesians is the crocodile. In Java and Sumatra it is believed that the souls of the ancestors have become crocodiles, which protect their descendants. They are killed only by way of revenge when they have killed a man. Mothers place the placenta of their children in a small vessel and let it float down the river, as an offering to the crocodiles (to the ancestors). In Bañka good and evil are supposed to be due to the crocodile; it is addressed as 'high lord'; at festivals sacrifices are offered to it; the highest thing imaginable is to become a crocodile after death. Buginese and Macassars see their ancestors in crocodiles, and throw offerings into the water; a crocodile is believed to devour a man only by mistake. Formerly a virgin was offered to the crocodiles by the Timorese when a new ruler ascended the throne. All through the Moluccas the crocodile is worshiped, and people refrain from eating its flesh. In Celebes and the islands north of it the crocodile is called 'grandfather.' In all the temples of the Torajas figures of crocodiles are found. Many Indonesian tribes consider the lizard as the incarnation of the household gods of the ancestors living in the house. If an offering is put ready for those household gods, and a lizard is heard, this means that the souls of the departed have eaten enough, or that they want more (Halmahera, Southern Celebes, Nias). A worship proper, however, as is found among the Polynesians, does not occur in Indonesia. It is probably because there were no crocodiles found there that the lizard cult has developed so strongly. Wherever tigers are found (Java, Sumatra, and Malay peninsula) they are worshipped as incarnations of ancestors; they are called 'grandfather,' and are never hunted. The Timor Battak believe that only very old men who have lived exemplary lives change into tigers, and protect their descendants in this shape.

11. Fetishism.—The fetishes of the Indonesians are objects with a soul-substance which is thought to be personal. These objects are used by men to their own advantage. All through the Archipelago stones are found in the shape of men, animals, and plants, but they are not generally fetishes. The Indonesians do not pray to their fetishes, but they feed them on rice, eggs, and blood to strengthen their efficiency and power to bless. The fetish is addressed as a person.

(1) All *objects* can become fetishes; this depends on their singularity or rarity, or the circumstances under which they are found. Very common fetishes are bezoar-stones, which are found in animals and plants. The Indonesians consider them as the concentrated soul-substance of the animal or plant. They are used for various purposes: they are worn on the naked body, to make the strength pass from them into the body; they are supposed to ensure a long life, to stanch blood, to procure invulnerability. In some parts of the Archipelago a trade is carried on in these stones. So-called thunder-stones, objects from the Stone Age, are also treated as fetishes. They are considered as the 'teeth' of thunder and lightning. They occur everywhere, and are used to allay the elements and bring about rain or dry weather. They also render a person invulnerable in war. Among the fetishes common stones are also found. The Indonesians look upon stones and mountains as the skeleton, the bones, of the earth; and, just as they consider the bones of man as the most important, the least transitory part, so they think stones the most important part of the earth; hence their objection to the chipping of stones by explorers. Special stones may become fetishes; sometimes they are indicated in dreams, or their shape or colour reveals them, or they strike some one's fancy. Stones as fetishes are found everywhere; the Minañkabauians have even stones producing sound; they are rubbed with blood to make them efficacious, and fumigated with incense. Stones are used as fetishes mainly in Timor; they tell their owners in a dream what sacrifice they wish; altars are erected for them; they are generally fed on rice and eggs. There are State and family fetishes. The soul-substance of the precious sandalwood is embodied in a stone. Among some tribes a large stone is erected at every village, and this embodies the soul-substance of the whole population (Nias, Minahassa, Borneo). Stones which are said to have brought forth little stones are also found as fetishes (Minañkabau, Central Celebes). Fetishes are frequently used as amulets; they are worn round the neck, on the belly, or across the shoulder, and consist mostly of stones, twigs or roots of a peculiar shape, or teeth of men and animals. War amulets are in general use as fetishes which give luck in warfare. The Torajas use a string of horned shells for this purpose. In Timor this amulet is a little bag filled with stones and roots, which is kept at the top of the house, where the ancestors are supposed to live. In Halmahera and among the Dayaks little pots filled with sacred oil are often worn round the neck. The Dayaks also use strings of the teeth of beasts of prey. Other amulets are hung in fruit-trees, to save them from being robbed of their fruit. They are often known by the name of 'red-eye,' and mostly consist of nettles and other things causing itching, which will bring illness to the thief. They have the distinguishing feature of fetishes—viz. to act self-consciously like persons. A remarkable fetish is the *pangulubalang*, a rough stone image, in which holes have been bored, and filled with a pulpy substance made of eyes, lips, nose, and other parts of a corpse. With this mixture the stone is animated, *i.e.* made into a person. The soul of the corpse of which the mixture has been made has nothing to do with this. These stone images are planted near the villages, and warn the inhabitants of an approaching danger. These stones are also found among the Dayaks, Minahassians, Niassians. Among the first and the last mentioned, life is infused into them by means of blood. The Dayaks sacrificed to them before they went to war, and the captured heads were placed near them. Among the Battak this principle is applied in the magic wands, carved sticks, which are also animated by means of blood, and are used for various purposes—especially to bring about rain or dry weather. The *perminakan* is a pitcher filled with blood, with a wooden stopper, on which a human figure has been carved. *Pagar* ('fence') consists of fetishes prepared in different ways and hung up in the house; these objects guard the owner against all kinds of evil practices and magic spells and poison.

Objects which have gradually become fetishes are old heirlooms, known in the Archipelago as *pusaka*. They derive their fetish power from the circumstance that in olden times they were used by the ancestors. The objects are so sacred that nobody would think of selling them. It is impossible to give an enumeration of the different *pusaka*;

their number is continually added to. We need mention only the *bĕlangas*, or sacred earthen pots, of the Dayaks, seen all through Borneo. These pots are old and of foreign origin—the Dayaks say, of supernatural origin. Frequent attempts have been made to copy the pots, but the Dayak easily distinguishes the genuine ones from the imitations. The Dayaks pay fabulous prices for these objects. It is recorded that vessels have been bought for £330, £1200, and one for as much as £2000. When a pot breaks the shards are sold separately at high prices. These pots have supernatural power: they bring luck and avert evil. They secure to their owners a flourishing trade, a plentiful harvest, success in hunting and catching fish; they ward off diseases and disasters, and banish all evil spirits from their neighbourhood. Water drunk from them has healing power. They are worshipped like gods; after one has been bought a sacrificial feast is given; frequently they are rubbed with the blood of pigs or of fowls.

Among the *pusaka*, or heirlooms, the State ornaments call for special mention. Each of the different Toraja districts in Central Celebes preserves some object—as a spear, a *baju*, a wooden rice-spoon, a ladle of coco-nut shell, or an earthen pot. These objects are said to have belonged originally to the household of a prince who ruled all the Torajas. Nobody dares to take charge of these old heirlooms but the chief himself, who is the representative of the tribe. Among more primitive tribes these State ornaments are no more than fetishes which bring luck to the country. They have become of more importance to more civilized tribes, as the Macassars and the Buginese. Their State ornaments consist of all kinds of objects; offerings are made to them, and they are fumigated with incense; frequently a vow is made, in cases of disease, pregnancy, childlessness, etc., to sacrifice an animal to these objects. In cases of general disasters, sacrificial feasts are organized for them, at which they are rubbed with the blood of a buffalo. The man to whose care they are entrusted is the ruler of the people. All kinds of wonders are told about the State ornaments in the Padang highlands; they are said, *inter alia*, to emit a glow which is injurious to the health of children. People wash themselves with water in which they have lain. Another ornament killed the person whose shadow was cast on it. In some regions of the Malay Peninsula the natives were so afraid of the ornaments that they did not dare to look at them. The State ornaments at the courts of the Javanese princes are displayed only at feasts and ceremonies; they consist, for the greater part, of solid gold objects representing mythical beings or animals. A cannon was supposed always to warn the prince of imminent dangers, and another cannon could make women fruitful; for this reason barren women made offerings to that fetish, during which they sat astride on horseback like men.

(2) *Persons* may also become fetishes even during their lives,[1] *i.e.* some persons are considered to be endowed with supernatural power, which renders them objects of adoration. This may be said to be generally true of all native princes in the Archipelago: their parents are supposed to have descended from heaven; they have white blood; their curse alone is sufficient to ruin all the land, and so forth. Perhaps the most striking example of this may be found in the *singa-mangaraja*, or priest-king of the Battak: he was said to have been in the womb for seven years; his birth was attended with all kinds of miraculous natural phenomena; when at a more advanced age he slept with his legs upwards and his head downwards, all the rice grew with its roots in the air. His tongue was overgrown with hair, and one word uttered by him could destroy a man or lay waste a region. Another example is furnished by James Brooke, the raja of Sarawak: water which he had blessed, or in which he had washed his hands or feet, was scattered over the land to make it fertile; and he was invoked by the Dayaks in their prayers.

(3) We know only one example of *living animals* becoming fetishes, viz. the worship of the turtle-dove by the Javanese and Malays in Sumatra. This, however, is not purely Indonesian, but was introduced by the Hindus. For the dove with the special marks a high price is paid; it brings its owner all kinds of blessings, averts disease, gives a good harvest of rice, and so on. These birds are tended with great care. Their dead bodies are embalmed and preserved, as they retain their power even after death. (See art. AUSTRALASIA.)

12. Spiritism; the appearance of the soul.—The soul living on after death is to the Indonesians a kind of essence of the dead body, having the same shape and the same defects as the material body; *e.g.*, the souls of people whose heads have been cut off by the enemy enter the Land of Souls without heads.

On this belief is based the practice of tatuing, which, as far as the Malay Archipelago is concerned, occurs only in the Moluccas and in Borneo. The tatu marks are also impressed on the soul. It is no longer possible to ascertain for what purpose this is done—whether it serves as clothing for the soul, or as a record of important events, or (and this is most probable) whether it is connected with puberty. Of the same nature is the practice of wounding shoulders and breast, as a proof that one does not shrink from pain, and as a test of courage—a virtue which is highly valued in the Land of Souls.

Most of the Indonesian races believe that the soul is black. During or after a funeral they blacken each other with charcoal, soot, or ashes (Torajas, Minahassians, Dayaks, Niassians, Karo Battak, inhabitants of Halmahera and the Aru islands, Papuans), to make the soul of the dead person believe that they also are souls; else it might resent its own death so much that it would kill its relatives. In Timor people cover themselves with a piece of black cotton for this purpose. There are other occasions when the artifice of making people black is practised to delude souls or spirits; babies are blackened when they are left alone (Dayaks, Niassians), and the custom is followed during a thunderstorm or other natural phenomena, in which spirits are supposed to have a hand (Añkolaians, Toba Battak, Karo Battak).

13. Man's fear of the soul.—Now and then we meet with instances of the love for the dead one overcoming the fear of his soul; this happens especially with dead children. But as a rule the Indonesians feel great fear of the soul of a dead person. They naturally think that the dead person resents leaving this earth, and in his resentment wishes to have his fate shared by others. He therefore tries to carry off the soul-substance of the surviving people into the grave, which will cause them to die.

The soul of a woman who has died in childbed is especially feared. Such a soul is called *pontianak* with some variations. It has the appearance of a bird with long claws, which utters a plaintive sound. Resenting that she has died in childbed, she tries to make other pregnant women suffer the same fate that has befallen her. She penetrates for this purpose into the woman's belly, and drives her claws into it. In this way she kills both mother and child. Some peoples believe that the *pontianak* tries to emasculate men (Western division of Borneo, Ceram, Key Islands, Savu). As a safeguard against the *pontianak*, people hang up thorny boughs (generally of a particular lemon tree) at the entrance of houses in which there are pregnant women. The *pontianak* will keep outside for fear of being wounded by the thorns. The inhabitants of the Philippine Islands bare the genital parts in order to drive away the *pontianak*.

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[1] Objections may be raised to ranking men and animals with supernatural power among the fetishes. We have classed them here because they come very near to fetishes.

The fear of the souls of the departed has given rise to innumerable methods of keeping them at a distance. Soul and body are believed to be in close connexion with each other, and it is thought that what is done to the body happens also to the soul. Therefore the corpse of a woman dying in childbirth is bound down to prevent her soul from turning into a *pontianak*. Needles and thorns are stuck into her hands and limbs, that she may be afraid to stir for fear of hurting herself. Eggs are placed in her arm-pits, that she may not open her arms like wings, for fear of losing the eggs. Besides these measures, which are universal, the Achinese give such a corpse an entangled ball of cotton and a needle without an eye; when the *pontianak* wants to go off, she must first sew trousers from her shroud, but spends the time in disentangling the cotton and seeking the eye of the needle.

The corpses of other people also are bound (Eñgano, Malacca, Halmahera, Central Celebes, the Moluccas), or the thumbs and the big toes are tied together, that the soul may not be able to run and seize (Battak, Niassians, Dayaks). The openings of the head, eyes, ears, and mouth are filled up, that the dead person may not be able to see, hear, or speak (Malays, Achinese, Battak, Niassians). Another way of keeping souls from doing harm is to throw ashes, by which the soul is blinded (Torajas, Battak, Niassians, Baduis in Java, Dayaks, Galelarese in Halmahera, in Ceram, and in Babar). The Indonesians also feel the need of representing symbolically the breaking of all connexions with the dead person: by splitting or cutting through a piece of rattan (Toba Battak, Torajas, inhabitants of Babar); by hewing a bamboo into two (Tanimbar), or a coco-nut (Macassars); by tearing a leaf in two (Papuans); by tearing the waist-cloth of the deceased in two (Niassians). Among the Karo Battak, if a woman dies, the widower splits the oblong stone with which spices are ground or tears a sirih-leaf in two. Another common method of separating oneself from the soul is bathing. Bathing is in general a means of getting rid of something unpleasant, something ominous, especially of something in connexion with the dreaded soul. Among the Olo-Ngaju in Borneo this bathing takes place in a curious way. After the burial the relatives of the dead person sit down in a boat, which is upset in the river, so that they all fall into the water; this is done three times. Among some tribes this rite has been reduced to a partial bathing. Some wash only their hands or their feet (Karo Battak, Torajas, Minahassians, and in Babar). The Dayaks in Sarawak break a stone bottle of water to pieces on the ground after the funeral. The tribes which have adopted Islām generally sprinkle water on the grave. Numerous are the methods used to make the soul lose its way to the house, lest it should return to it and haunt it. The Karo Battak bury the corpse of a person who has died a violent death, and whose soul is therefore supposed to bear malice even more than others, with its head towards the village, that the dead man, when he rises, may not be able to see the village. Some, as, *e.g.*, the Battak and the people of Halmahera, run away from the grave, every one trying hard not to be the last. Of very general occurrence is the custom of making the dead body leave the house through a window or a gap in the wall; this window or gap in the wall must face the west (Central and Southern Celebes, Halmahera, New Guinea, Borneo). Some peoples carry out in this way only the corpses of special personages whose souls are particularly dreaded; thus the Battak and the Balinese of earlier times did so only with the bodies of persons of high rank; in Nias the corpse of a woman who has died in childbirth is removed from the house through the floor. The Minahassians try to bewilder the soul of a dead person by running quickly a few times round the house with the corpse. This is probably the origin of the rapid pace at which the Muhammadans in Java and elsewhere in the Archipelago bury their dead. The Niassians make a special path to the burial-place to mislead the soul. It is a common practice, when returning from a funeral, to erect a forked stalk or piece of wood behind oneself on the road to keep back the soul (To-buñku, Sea Dayaks, Battak, Niassians). Others block up the road with poles (Buru, New Guinea), or light fires and make noise (Sunda, Minahassa, Bolañ Moñondou, Southern Celebes, Dutch New Guinea; among Dayaks, Battak, and Niassians). Some tribes make the coffin as narrow as possible, to prevent the dead person from taking one of the survivors with him into it (Torajas, Galelarese, Olo-Ngaju, Niassians).

14. **Mourning customs.**—The Indonesians assume that, when a person has died, his soul is angry at renouncing life on earth. Afterwards it gets used to its new condition, but at first it is in a mood dangerous for the survivors. Therefore great care is recommended for the first few days after a death; this fear has given rise to the institution of mourning customs.

During the first days after a death the inhabitants of a village must keep perfectly quiet. No noise must be made, dancing or singing is forbidden, music must not be heard, rice must not be pounded, nor coco-nuts thrown down from the trees, nor shots fired; in fact, they go so far as to forbid fishing, sailing on the water, and carrying goods in the usual way. The intention is that no sound should meet the ear of the soul to indicate the way to its home; people try to conceal themselves from it. Such injunctions are found among all Indonesian peoples.

In the mourning clothing of the Indonesians is embodied the idea of hiding from the departed spirit or making oneself unattractive to it by wearing old, worn clothes; but these clothes have another purpose: the wearer wishes to make himself as much as possible similar to the dead person. Hence the Galelarese wear pieces of the shroud as clothes or as wraps round the wrists. This is found in the Tanimbar Islands and in Southern Celebes. It is also advisable to wear old clothes or clothes no longer in use, because the souls of the departed in the Land of Souls are supposed to wear old-fashioned clothes. Thus the rule survives here and there to wear mourning clothes of bark (Dayaks, Central Borneo, Torajas), or to return in some way to old times (Ceram, Ambon, Aru, B[illegible]ni). It is a wide-spread custom to take off all ornaments, or to wrap pieces of cloth round them, to prevent them from being seen.

These mourning customs are observed by the nearest relatives, or by a wider circle when the deceased was the chief of a tribe. Widows and widowers especially have to beware of the revenge of the soul. They must have their hair cut or shaved off; among some tribes more distant relatives also submit to this rule (New Guinea, Halmahera, Luañ-Sermata, Babar, Timor, Sarawak, Borneo, Eñgano, Battaland). In Timor all male subjects shave their heads at the death of a chief.

and among some Dayak tribes the serfs do so at the death of their master. Sometimes this shaving of the head is considered as the laying down of the ornament of the hair, but more probably it betokens a sacrifice of a part of oneself to save the whole.

Widows and widowers must also hide themselves from the souls of their dead mates in a special way, namely, by covering the head with a mat (Torajas), a piece of cotton or bark (Babar, Boni, Kenyah Dayaks, and Battak), a hat or cap (Papuans, Minahassians, Bahau Dayaks, Olo-Ngaju, Eñgano), or a net (Papuans).

One of the mourning customs is abstinence from certain food, especially daily food; hence sago-cakes are eaten instead of the usual sago-porridge (Papuans, Galelarese, Tobelorese); or maize instead of the daily rice (Torajas, Minahassians, Dayaks); eating in the house of death is not allowed (Silinduñ, S.-E. Borneo, Southern Celebes); eating is allowed, but not cooking (Minahassa, Minañkabau); among some tribes the widow is fed (Eñgano, Southern Nias). Several authorities regard these customs as a renunciation in order to propitiate the souls of the departed. More probably they are attempts to be taken for souls, and thus to escape the vengeance of the departed soul. The rationale of these practices is that the souls of the departed do not eat—at least not in the same way as men; what they eat is invisible; hence those who wish to pass for companions of the dead must pretend not to eat; therefore they leave the house, or the food is put into their mouths by others.

The Indonesians have a short, deep mourning-time and a long, light mourning-time. The former is generally observed by a wide circle of relatives, and lasts from three to seven days (sometimes also till the new moon, as in some islands of the Moluccas). The light mourning is observed only by widow or widower, and lasts till the feast of the dead has been celebrated, when the soul is supposed to have gone to the Land of Souls. Among some Dayak and Toraja tribes the deep mourning is ended by the sacrifice of some animal, which pacifies the vexation of the departed soul. This may have been general in earlier times.

15. **Human sacrifice.**—The fear that a person who has died, especially when he is of high rank, wishes to have a companion in his misfortune, has led the Indonesians to kill a human being, that the departed soul may be satisfied. Afterwards the thought has been attached to this custom that the victim may serve the dead person in the future life. The Indonesians have also a bloodless human sacrifice. Among the Torajas on the south and east of Lake Posso and among the Balinese, when a chief dies, a family of slaves who are to live in the grave-hut are set apart, and treated as souls; nobody may deny them anything, or talk with them. After the feast of the dead has been held, this family is set free, but they are not allowed to live in the village; they are looked on as dead. This custom must also have been prevalent among the Toba Battak; in former times nobody was allowed to give shelter or food to such slaves. Among the Buginese and the Macassars the custom survives to the present day that the slave, male or female, who receives the water in which the corpse of a high-born personage is washed is set free. The Baduis in the west of Java, who guard the sacred graves of the princes of Pajajaran, are most likely descendants from such a slave-family. It is recorded of numerous Indonesian tribes that for some nights after the death of a person watchers are placed on the grave, that the dead person may not feel lonely. This bloodless human sacrifice might be called the link between the mourning rites and the bloody human sacrifice; it was a preliminary measure, which, however, did not do away with the bloody human sacrifice.

In order to get a victim the Torajas go out head-hunting, or buy a slave from another tribe. The scalp is stripped off the head; with it the people who have captured the head dance seven times round the grave, after which they nail bits of the scalp on the coffin and the posts of the hut. The leader of the expedition rips up the widow's or widower's mourning *baju* in the middle of the back, and cuts off a piece from the other mourning clothes. The Mountain Torajas sing for several days round the victim before they kill him; then the head is placed on the sleeping-mat of the deceased, and the scalp is stripped off and hung up in the house. In former days head-hunting on behalf of a dead person was universal in Minahassa. With the blood of the person killed the woodwork of the grave-hut was painted red, and the heads were buried by the side of the grave. Among the Dayaks in S.-E. Borneo the victim was exorcized on the evening before his death, to drive the soul out of his body; hence they thought that they were killing a soulless man the next day. The bodies of the victims were burned, and the ashes placed with the corpse in the coffin. The Kinjin Dayaks threw the heads into the grave, and placed the coffin on them. In Central Borneo they generally bought a person of another tribe, whom they slowly speared to death; the body was buried under the pole which was erected in honour of the dead person, and the head was placed on the top of it. Among the tribes in the district round Sarawak human sacrifices were of frequent occurrence. The victim was tied to the grave, and left there to starve, or he was slain, or buried alive; generally he was a slave from another tribe. In earlier times the custom of finding victims must have been prevalent among the Battak, as it still is among the Niassians. In Bali it has died out, but there are indications that formerly it was deemed necessary to offer a human sacrifice for a dead person. In Sumba, Savu, and Timor the custom existed, and continues to exist. In the first-mentioned island sometimes thirty men were slain for one chief. Human sacrifice was also universal among the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. Sometimes a favourite slave was given as a companion to the dead person. Under the corpse of a brave man a bound warrior was buried alive.

The meaning of human sacrifice is generally held to be that it gave the dead man a servant to attend on him in his future life. Taking into account, however, that originally there were no slaves, this conception must be of later date; besides, the conception formed of the Land of Souls is incompatible with the idea of servitude. No doubt the fear of the disappointed soul of the dead man, which would like to make others sharers in his fate, has been one of the principal motives. But there is another reason: valour secures a foremost place to the departed soul in the life hereafter. The human sacrifice was intended to endow the departed man with a show of valour; the idea must therefore be that the valour displayed in head-hunting by the relatives left behind would profit the departed soul. This is rendered the more probable by the custom prevalent among the Torajas and Dayaks of enumerating the brave deeds (which are much exaggerated) of the deceased on certain occasions, in the firm conviction that these brave deeds will benefit the departed soul. That the slaughter of slaves must be of a later stage than head-hunting is proved by the fact that those slaves had nearly always to be from another tribe.

16. Widow sacrifice.—Widow sacrifice occurred only in Java, Bali, and Lombok. (It is also reported of the Bimanese and the Orang-bĕnuwa, but this is open to doubt.) It has been said that widow sacrifice was universal, and that the mourning rites are a mitigation of that custom; but this is not probable. In Java and Bali widow sacrifice has undoubtedly been introduced under Hindu influence. In Java women vowed that they would follow their husbands in death, and insisted on being burned with the corpse. The last recorded widow sacrifice took place at the end of the 16th cent. in the empire of Balambañan in East Java. At that time women were stabbed with a dagger. They carried a turtle-dove with them, in which the soul was supposed to soar up.

In Bali the burning of widows exists up to the present day, in spite of the earnest attempts of the Government to prevent it. Only women of the second and third castes are burned. Among the Brāhmans widow-burning is rare; and the fourth caste is too poor to pay the cost required for the ceremony. Widow sacrifice is perfectly voluntary. As soon as they have offered themselves they are considered as saints; offerings are made to them, and all their wishes are satisfied; they are in a state of exaltation about all the delights which await them in heaven. Their death raises their relatives also in the estimation of the people. Widows are burned alive, or they kill themselves beforehand by falling upon a dagger. In Bali also the turtle-dove is used to convey the soul to higher regions.

17. Sacrifices to the dead.—Sacrifices to the dead are not voluntary gifts; the dead are receiving what is due to them, *i.e.* their own possessions. Originally there was no private property; everything was the common property of a group of people; there was no question of offerings to the dead; they were not necessary, for the feeling of individuality was so undeveloped that there was no thought of an independent existence of the soul after death. The first individual possessions were no doubt hunting trophies and, in a wider sense, all personal adornments. These ornaments were, of course, taken into the grave, as they were supposed to be of no use to anybody but the deceased.

The offerings to the dead are paid from the inheritance of the deceased; sometimes presents are added, but this is not essential, and is done more for the sake of the survivors than for that of the dead; these presents are returned later. The Indonesians exert themselves, therefore, during their lives to provide themselves with clothes and sacrificial animals which may be given to them at their death. The distribution of the inheritance is also connected with the offerings to the dead. As a rule, the inheritance is not divided; but, if it is, this takes place only after the great festival of the dead, because first all expenses must be paid from the inheritance. Generally the dead man receives the mat on which he slept, his clothes, cooking-pan, rice, water, betel, tobacco, valuables, and ornaments.

In earlier times, when giving possessions to the departed soul to take with him, people were prompted by fear of the dead man's envy, if he should see that his property was used by his descendants, rather than by the wish that the gifts might be useful to him in the life hereafter. This fear must have given rise to the custom of giving the possessions of the dead to others (New Guinea, some islands of the Moluccas, Minañkabau).

At present the Indonesians are universally of opinion that the departed soul really uses these objects, or rather their souls, in the life hereafter; and in order to detach the soul from the objects, the food offered must be cooked and the objects broken. It is also usual to give the deceased some trees of his plantation; these trees are then cut down (New Guinea, Moluccas, Halmahera, Minahassa, Borneo, Eñgano, Nias, Malacca).

The conviction that the departed soul makes use only of the soul of his possessions must have led primitive men to spare the real objects, and to present the dead person only with representations of them. For this reason shrouds and coffins are painted with figures of men and animals; the Dayaks give two boards to their dead, on which all kinds of desirable objects are represented. Arms especially, so valuable to the Indonesians, are copied in wood and given to the dead man (Key Islands, Buru, Halmahera, Batu Islands, Malacca). All other property of the deceased is only exhibited and put away again after the funeral.

Many of the tribes provide the dead person with money (Madagascar, Battaland, Nias, Timor, Halmahera, Macassar, Central Celebes, Borneo), which is laid on his eyes, in his mouth, on his breast, or in his hand. It is supposed that he can procure something for the money in the Land of Souls; but this interpretation is of later date. The money may be considered as part of the dead man's property, which is given to him to take with him, or as an indemnification for all the rest of his property which is not given to him.

The Indonesian thinks it of the highest importance that at least one sacrificial animal should be slain at his funeral, and this is universally done in the Archipelago. Often at the funeral of a man of rank so many animals are butchered that a great many of them remain unused. Among agricultural peoples, like the Indonesians, cattle constitute the greatest riches, and in order to be rich in the life hereafter the dead man must therefore take cattle with him. Among those that have become Muhammadan the animal slain at the funeral is considered as a beast to ride on across the bridge to the future life. It is also customary to kill one or more horses for the departed soul (Madagascar, Battaland, Rotti, Timor, Sumba). There are also a few records of dog sacrifice (New Guinea, Leti, Rotti, and among the Bahaus in Borneo).

18. Lingering of the soul temporarily near the grave or the house.—The soul of the dead person does not go to Hades immediately after death, but roves about for some time in the neighbourhood of the grave; therefore the Indonesian builds a hut on the grave as an abode for the soul. In the house of the dead man a kind of bed of state is arranged for his use, near which his property is exhibited and a light is burned every evening. This bed of state is left from three to forty days (Galelarese, Ambonese, Torajas, Philippine Islands, Dayaks, Minañkabauians). The third day after death plays an important part among the Indonesians, for they hold the belief that the soul is unconscious of the death of the body, and does not find it out before the third day after death. Generally the soul of the person who has just died must first be convinced of his death by the souls of the departed (Dayaks, Galelarese, Battak, Niassians). The native Christians in the Moluccas spend this day, therefore, in prayer and psalm-singing. For the same reason people attach great importance to having the bodies of their relatives with them in their native country, that the soul may immediately have the souls of the departed of his own tribe as companions. When a person dies abroad, his friends, if possible, take his skeleton with them, or only the head. If this is impossible, they take at least his clothes, his hair, or rarely (in Añkola) some earth from the spot where he has died. If they cannot get any part of his corpse, a doll is sometimes used to represent him (Papuans, Galelarese, Añkolaians). The objects mentioned are used as a medium to convey the soul of the departed to his native country. The soul remains bound to the corpse, to the earth, till the great festival of the dead has been celebrated. This celebration cannot take place until all the flesh has been consumed; for until then the soul 'stinks,' and is not admitted to the Land of Souls. The most important part of the feast of the dead is the collecting of the bones of the deceased, which are then buried or put away in a cave (Central Celebes, Aru and Key Islands, Ceram, Timor Laut, Halmahera, Buru, Timor, Borneo, Battaland, Nias). Sometimes (as in Nias) all these solemnities are performed only with the head of the dead man. Many Indonesian tribes take the bones to a cavern, which they consider as the entrance to the Land of Souls.

19. **Burning of corpses.**—Generally corpses are buried in the ground, or placed on a scaffold or in a tree. One tribe sometimes practises different methods. The essential thing is that the flesh must be decayed before the soul is really soul, and for this purpose corpses are burned among the Dayaks, Battak, and Balinese. The Dayaks in the Southern and Eastern division bury the bodies, and then at the festival of the dead burn the bones. This custom is also prevalent among some Dayak tribes in Sarawak; corpses of chiefs are often burned two or three days after death. Among the Battak, only the Karo Battak and some more Northern tribes burn the bones of their dead. The ashes and the remnants of the bones are gathered in earthen pots and entombed. One of the divisions of the Karo Battak, the Marga Simbiring, put the pots with the ashes into miniature vessels, and let these float down the river. Among the Balinese, cremation is in direct relation to metempsychosis; for this enables a soul to ascend to heaven, and descend from there to the earth to animate another body. The souls of those whose bodies have not been burned become spectres, or ghosts. The corpses of people of rank are sometimes burned only a few days after death. Investigations have made it certain that cremation is not originally an Indonesian custom, but has been introduced by the Hindus.

20. **Conducting the soul to the Land of Souls.**—When the soul has got quite clear of the body because all the flesh has decayed, it is not sufficient to give it various objects to take with it on its way to the Land of Souls at the feast of the dead; it must also be 'conducted' there. This is done by the priests and priestesses whose soul-substance leaves their bodies in their songs, and conducts the soul of the departed to the Land of Souls. Among the Papuans the bones of the departed are wrapped up into a parcel and carried round in the dance; afterwards they are collected and put into a hut, round which the people dance faster and faster till at last they run back to the village. By this dance the soul is led or, rather, driven away. Among the Galelarese the feast of the dead consists chiefly in performing dances, which after some days end in the people running four times round the house of the family, and four times round the grave; on this occasion a daughter or sister of the dead man arrays herself like a warrior; she represents the deceased, and as such is treated with homage and reverence by the guests. The Tobelorese keep the feast of the dead for several dead persons at the same time, whose bones are wrapped up in a piece of cotton and placed in the temple. On this occasion the priests are supposed to deliver the souls from the power of evil spirits and convey them safely to their destination. After the feast the bones are placed on scaffolds round the temple, and left there to decay, or they are taken to a small island, pointed out for the purpose. The Sumbanese believe that the souls of the departed trouble men in many ways; through the feast of the dead they find rest, *i.e.* they settle finally in the Land of Souls. The Sundanese have a ferryman, who is summoned by the priests during the feast of the dead to ferry the souls to the island where they are supposed to assemble. In the Luañ Sernata islands a very old person calls upon the souls to place themselves in a diminutive vessel, which is then buried by the side of the grave. In the island of Babar only the skulls are dug up from the graves; they get something to eat at the feast of the dead, after which the women take them to a cavern. In Central Celebes the feasts of the dead are very elaborate. At the opening of the feast the souls are summoned; the next day the bones are dug up; they are cleaned and wrapped up in white bast. Among some tribes they are provided with a mask with a human face. These collections of bones are placed in huts erected for the purpose in the temple. The priestesses are constantly engaged in conducting souls to the Land of Souls through their songs, and to illustrate this dramatically the bones are now and then carried round the temple. The *tiwah*, or feast of the dead, of the Dayaks in the Southern and Eastern division of Borneo is generally very extensive. Three days before the feast commences, a chest containing the bones is placed in a hut built for the purpose, where it is decorated, and where the dead person receives something to eat. The priest summons Tempon telon, the Dayak Charon, to convey the souls to the Land of Souls; he himself also accompanies them, and in his song he informs the assembled guests what place he reaches on his journey. At this feast the bones of those who have been buried in the earth are dug up, and in festive procession they are carried to the *sandong*, the family grave. They cross the water in native boats. When the bones have been entombed in the family grave, the priestesses dance round it, and pray the souls of those who have previously been interred in this grave to welcome kindly the newly arrived souls. A separate ceremony takes place to convey the souls of the offerings to the Land of Souls. The whole ceremony is concluded with a sumptuous banquet, at which the older people are supposed to drink palm-wine with the souls from the Land of Souls. With another Dayak tribe (the Manyan) the priestess relates that she sees the souls chase a pig without being able to catch it; the newly arrived soul kills the animal without the slightest difficulty, since this is the pig which has been killed for him at his funeral. The Dayaks of Sarawak make a vessel of bamboo, and call upon the spirit of the winds to convey the souls. On account of the expense of the feast which must be held when the bones of the dead are dug up, the Battak celebrate it only with the bones of people of rank; these souls then go to the Land of Souls, and gradually rise in rank till they are gods; the souls of the common people, for whom this feast is not held, continue to wander about on earth. Even among the Indonesian tribes who have been converted to Islām, this feast of the dead, at which the departed soul is conveyed to the Land of Souls, survives. It is generally celebrated on the fortieth or hundredth day after death.

21. **Experiences on the way to the Land of Souls.**—The priest or priestess conducts the soul to the Land of Souls, because, according to the idea of the Indonesians, there are many difficulties to be overcome—*e.g.*, the climbing of high mountains and the crossing of rivers; the Dayaks even speak of passing through a cataract of fire. Some

tribes believe that it is a dog (Sarawak, Olo-Ngaju), others that it is a hog (Minahassa, Central Celebes), that keeps watch; in order to pass the animal the soul gives it a hard nut (Central Celebes) or a bead (Sarawak) to eat; while the animal is trying to chew the hard object, the soul can pass unmolested. It is a common idea that there is a guardian in the Land of Souls who interrogates the souls. In Central Celebes he is called Lañkoda, and is a smith by trade. Unmarried people and those who have never been incontinent receive a blow on their knees, which prevents them from going on; also the souls of men who have never killed any one are not allowed to pass undisturbed. Of the same nature is the *kukañ* of the Dayaks: the soul of a chaste man is pushed into a ditch, and that of a chaste woman crushed by a trunk of a tree (the ditch represents a vagina, the tree a penis). Among the Minahassa the guardian of heaven is Makawalang, who treats the souls of the rich to a piece of pork, but sends away those of the poor. According to the Macassars, the guardian of heaven asks the souls whether they have faithfully observed the duties imposed by Islām. Among the Orang Lom in Bañka the guardian of heaven is called Ake Antak. An aged person always whispers to the corpse what it has to answer to the questions of this spirit. In Añkola two spirits are supposed to keep watch near a trap. If the soul answers to their questions with lies, the trap comes down and the soul is crushed to death. Among the Karo Battak it is Bapa nibadabadia, 'the illustrious father-guardian,' who questions the souls, chiefly concerning the way in which they have died (this being, in Indonesian thought, closely connected with the character of their earthly life); he makes the souls pass over a plank which lies across a precipice; then he draws back the plank, and the souls are separated from the earth for ever. In Nias the guardian of heaven is called Kalekamô; he inquires about the deeds of the people on earth, and about the number of feasts they have given. When he judges a soul to be evil, he makes him cross the river on the edge of a sword; the soul wounds his feet, falls into the water, and dies. Many Papuan tribes also believe in a guardian of heaven; he admits to the city of souls only those who have brought something.

An idea common to all conceptions of the hereafter is that the soul has to cross a sea; this belief found its origin in the sun, which crossed the sea every day on its way to the Land of Souls under the earth. It is only with further development that this notion has begun to play an ethical part in the ideas about retribution. Originally the coffin must have been the vessel in which the soul was supposed to cross the sea. The Torajas, Dayaks, and Niassians still use words for 'coffin' which have also the meaning of 'vessel.' Some tribes put the corpses in vessels even to this day (some Dayak tribes, Karo Battak, in the Moluccas); the Kayans give an oar to the dead person. In the Moluccas and in New Guinea the dead receive miniature vessels in which to make the voyage.

Among the tribes who lived far inland, the idea of the sea gradually gave place to that of a river, across which a bridge was laid (Central Celebes, Southern Celebes, Minahassa, New Guinea, Borneo, Sunda, Battaland). This bridge consists of a plank or tree trunk, which bends and rocks violently when it is crossed, or it is a sword, or at least something as sharp as a sword (Galelarese, Bahaus, Niassians). It is only among the Papuans that we find the idea of a snake serving as a bridge to the Land of Souls.

22. Retribution.—The Indonesians have no idea of retribution, in our sense of the word; yet they try men by a moral standard. Whether they will be allowed to enter the Land of Souls is made dependent on the possession of some virtues: valour, liberality (and in connexion with this, riches), the gift of eloquence, or the observance of the marriage-duty. Killing an enemy after the death of a chief had also the purpose of endowing the chief with the character of valour. The souls of some people were not allowed to enter the Land of Souls; in the idea of the Indonesians they either have their own City of Souls or continue to wander about on earth. They are the souls of those who have perished suddenly by some accident, of those who have been killed in battle, of suicides, and of those who have died of smallpox, leprosy, or cholera. Such a sudden death was regarded as a judgment of the gods: they had offended in some way or other, and therefore the gods had suddenly cut off their lives. People are afraid of these souls: their bodies are often left unburied, and, if they are buried, this is done without any ceremonial. Some Indonesian tribes have notions about retribution which must have been borrowed from other peoples—*e.g.*, when thieves are condemned to carry for ever the things stolen by them (Battak, Southern Celebes, Sañir Islands), or when souls have to pass through a fire in which those of the bad perish and those of the good are uninjured.

23. The Land of Souls.—The course of the sun, which disappears in the West every day, and is supposed to take the souls with it to the land of the dead, gave rise to the belief that the Land of Souls was situated in the West, and also to the custom of indicating the age of people by the different positions of the sun; thus the word for 'setting of the sun' is used for 'dying' (Torajas, Macassars, inhabitants of Halmahera, Añkola, Battaland). Allied to this is the custom of building houses with the ridge from East to West, the entrance facing the West, so that a person, on entering the house, will have his face turned to the rising sun. For the same reason corpses are buried from East to West; or, in places where the Land of Souls is no longer supposed to be in the West, with the feet in the direction where it is supposed to be. Many peoples think that the Land of Souls is under the earth, and they look upon chasms and caves as being passages leading to it. Originally all the Indonesians believed in the under world, as may be seen from data still extant. At present many imagine the Land of Souls to be on the earth—on a mountain or in a valley. Among the inhabitants of Northern and Central Celebes it lies in the land which is their original home, so that the direction in which it is supposed to lie also shows where the people have come from. The religious conviction of the Teñgerese and the Baduis (both in Java) has had a share in the determination of the Land of Souls: the former consider it to be the volcano of Bromo, the latter the tombs of the last princes of the empire of Pajajaran.

The views about life in the Land of Souls harmonize fairly well among the different tribes. Two features in them are strongly marked: life in the realm of the dead is simply a continuation of the life on earth; he who was important here is important there; he who was of no consequence here is of no consequence there. The second feature is that there are different divisions in the realm of the dead; in every division the souls who have died in the same way live together: those who have perished in warfare live in one village, those who have been drowned or committed suicide, etc., live in others. Certain actions are done in the Land of Souls contrary to the way in which they are done on earth: thus the souls give each other things with the left hand; the language of the souls is the same as that of men, but the meaning of the words in the Land of Souls is the direct opposite of their meaning on earth; *e.g.*, 'black' there means 'white,' 'backward' means 'forward,' etc. (Borneo, Ceram, Halmahera).

Some tribes believe that the hereafter consists of layers, generally seven, one above the other. This is, no doubt, connected with the belief that the soul dies several times—three, seven, or nine; finally, it turns to water or dew (Torajas, Macassars, Dayaks, Balinese), a tree or a species of grass, a fruit or a blossom (Dayaks, Karo Battak, Papuans), earth (Minañkabauians), an animal (Niassians, Minañkabauians, Papuans). This belief is another proof of how material the soul is thought to be. When it has died a few times, it finally becomes soul-substance, and animates another part of nature. If, *e.g.*, the soul which has been converted into dew or into a fruit is eaten, a new man is animated.

24. Nature of the souls worshipped.—About the Land of Souls and the life of the soul the Indonesians are indifferent; but there is frequent intercourse between the souls and the living people, which shows itself in the greater or less reverence which the people feel for the souls (the difference between the souls of the departed and spirits which have always been considered as such is often hardly noticeable). For the souls of the departed continue to live with their descendants; they are feared for their superior power, but they are also looked up to for help in the daily work; they have power over rain, and they accompany the living in war. The souls punish with bad crops, illness, or death, when the *'Adat* ('customary law') is not observed. Therefore the living always try to conceal from them careless observance of the old customs. Thus an oath which has been made must be kept. The Indonesians have a strong sense of justice, and, when they know that they are wrong, they do not think that they can rely upon the help of their ancestors. The souls of the departed have a very exclusive character; the souls reverenced by one tribe will not help members of another. The Indonesians cannot form a conception of a universal God. Strangers may violate the *'Adat* without being punished by the souls, but the latter avenge themselves in this case on the inhabitants of the land, or their descendants, over whom they have power; this punishment can be averted only by killing the offender.

Among the Karo Battak the souls of stillborn children, or children who have died before teething, are honoured with sacrifices, which induce them to avert illness from the house and to grant the wishes of their relatives. In the eastern part of the Archipelago it is chiefly the souls of those who have perished in warfare and who have died by accident that are reverenced as helps by their living relatives. Very often the Indonesian does not realize what souls he invokes, as he very rarely mentions them by name.

The souls of people who have called into life a new state of things are worshipped. So in Java every village worships the soul of the man who founded the village or first cultivated the land. At the beginning of every year a village-feast is held in his honour. In many islands of the Moluccas the founder of the village is reverenced; sacrifices are offered to him when a disaster is imminent. This is found also among the Galelarese, Minahassians, and Niassians. An even more natural object for adoration is the soul of a man who has brought about a great change in the economic or political state of things—*e.g.*, the first tiller of the soil, the first smith, etc.

25. Accidental meetings with souls.—As the Indonesians believe that many souls wander about on earth, they must sometimes come in contact with them. So there are stories relating how some one has seen a soul, and as a rule the consequence is that he dies soon after. It is generally believed that, when a dog howls without reason, it is seeing a soul or a spirit. This power of seeing spirits is often ascribed to chickens, cats (Macassars and Battak), and pigs (Niassians). Occasionally a spirit or soul copulates with a woman, and the result is an 'albino'—a timorous person who is afraid of the society of his fellow-men and soon withdraws to the wood—or a man endowed with supernatural strength. Some peoples pretend that they can perceive footprints of souls in ashes which are scattered on the floor for this purpose; these footprints are either transverse or only as large as the joint of a finger (Philippine Islands, Central Timor, S.E. of Borneo, Añkola, Battaland). When a soul returns to the house, it generally makes its presence known by imitating the noise of some one moving or dropping all kinds of household articles. When a soul or spirit speaks to, hits, or bites a person, the consequences are generally bad; a headache, fever, or a feeling of illness ensues. An irritating eruption of the skin, shingles, and similar diseases are also attributed to contact with a spirit or soul.

26. Incidental worship of souls.—At such casual meetings there is no question of adoration. Reverential acts generally take place in the house, because the souls of the departed usually stay in places where they lived during their lives. At feasts the souls of the departed always get a share; it is placed in the attic, or in the ridge of the roof, the places where the souls are supposed to reside. But the souls receive a share not only of the food, but of everything that is made in the village or outside it; if a house is built, the souls get a miniature dwelling (Torajas, Gorontalese, Galelarese, Dayaks; the Torajas also make miniature smithies and salt factories for the souls); if a rice field is made, a small garden is specially laid out for the souls (Niassians, Minahassians, Torajas).

27. Worship of souls in houses specially erected for the purpose.—The souls worshipped in the homes are naturally the ancestors of the family living there. Besides these, there are ancestral souls that look after the interests of all the village. These are the souls of chiefs and brave warriors, who protected the inhabitants of their own village during their lives, and continue to do so now that they are dead. For them a home is built—a temple. We find such houses among nearly all Indonesian tribes; and, where they are no longer extant, there are usually indications that they did exist. We sometimes read that souls, battling for the people in war, live in the temple (Timor, Halmahera, Central Celebes, Nias), but the village guardian spirit has joined them. Where, through the influence of the Government, warfare has been made impossible, as among the Macassars and Buginese, only the village guardian spirit is worshipped in the temple. When the people go to war, sacrifices are made in the temple, and the souls are asked to march with them; as a rule nobody is allowed to enter the building till the warriors have returned. But offerings are also made in the temple when a general disaster visits the village, or when the people join in work of a general nature, such as planting or reaping rice. Some tribes keep the captured skulls of enemies in the temple (Papuans, Dayaks of Sarawak, Torajas); among the Niassians the idols in the temple are touched with the skulls. Even among such tribes as the Kailians and the Luwuians in Celebes, who have adopted Muhammadanism, heads of slain enemies are preserved in the temple, which in other respects has more or less assumed a Muhammadan character.

One of the chief functions of the chiefs is to discuss matters of general interest with their fellow-villagers (=relatives). The souls of the departed chiefs, however, must also have a share in the consultations of their descendants; therefore the temple of the village has come to be used as a council-house (Solor, Halmahera, Central Celebes, Borneo, Nias, Battaland).

The temples are mostly decorated with figures of animals, especially of crocodiles and serpents (New Guinea, Solor, Halmahera, Central Celebes, Borneo). These figures are believed to represent the incarnations of the souls that live in the temple. In the temples are kept the instruments with which the souls are summoned or their attention drawn, such as drums, bamboo speaking-trumpets, and triton shells (New Guinea, Ceram, Solor, Central Celebes).

28. Corpse and parts of the body as mediums in soul-worship.—When the Indonesian invokes the souls, he has in view either a certain class of souls or the souls of the departed in general. When he wants to have intercourse with the soul of a definite person, he does so usually by a medium. The medium must always be something with which the dead person was in close connexion during his life on earth—*e.g.*, the corpse or the bones. So the corpse of a person is sometimes used to find out who is guilty of his death; if the coffin begins to move at one of the questions, this is considered to be an affirmative answer (Babar, Buru). Among the Torajas a skeleton is preserved in his former home or in the temple to remain in contact with the soul. The numerous graves where the Indonesians continue to bring their offerings from year's end to year's end to obtain the fulfilment of a wish prove that the skeleton is considered as a medium for the soul. Among the Torajas an ancestor's skull is sometimes kept in the house, and on certain occasions people bring it offerings and ask it to heal their sick. Particularly among the Dayaks, preserving the skulls of deceased chiefs is of frequent occurrence. The Battak consider the loss of such a skull so important that they would sacrifice anything to get it back; all the happiness of the house is intimately connected with it. The Niassians bury the skulls of their men of rank before the house; in times of illness a cord is passed from the graves into the house, and prayers are uttered for the patient's recovery. In the islands of Timor Laut, Ceram, and Buru, and among the Papuans, skulls are often used as mediums. Hair and nails of the deceased are used throughout the Archipelago to get into contact with the departed soul. The Papuans frequently use the teeth and the lower jaw for this purpose.

29. Objects as mediums.—Objects used by the deceased are considered as mediums, for something of its late possessor is supposed to cling to them. Many objects which have now become fetishes must originally have been mediums, which carried on intercourse with the former owners; the State ornaments mentioned above are examples. Besides these old heirlooms which constitute the connexion with the deceased, many other objects are used as mediums, not to get into contact with a definite soul, but with any of the souls—experiments, resembling our table-turning, by means of which thieves are found out. The experiment with the rice-van resembles our table-turning very closely; it is laid on the extended fingers, and, when it begins to tap on the floor, the answer is considered to be affirmative (Luwu, Ambon); among the Macassars the van rolls over the floor and falls at the feet of the thief. The Dayaks spin an axe on the top of their fingers. In Babar, Leti, and Halmahera a piece of rattan or bamboo is made to vibrate; the Galelarese measure a piece of rattan with the span of the hand, and, if the fingers begin to trill when stretching the span, this is considered to be an affirmative answer. A lemon, a basket, or a stick is suspended on a rope; the answer is affirmative when the object begins to swing to and fro (Malays, Macassars, Buru). There are countless experiments of this kind among the Indonesians.

30. Images as mediums.—Making images which represent the departed is certainly of a much more recent date than the use of relics as mediums. The Torajas use wooden masks, which are bound before the bones at the feast of the dead; after the feast the bones are buried, but the masks are preserved till another feast of the dead; they are rarely used as mediums, yet people are very much attached to them. An image in itself has no value. It gets its value only when something of the deceased has been transmitted to it. Among the Torajas the masks owe their sacredness to their contact with the bones of the dead person. In Nias one of the shapes in which the soul appears, namely, a spider, is brought into contact with the image. In New Guinea the Papuans drive the soul into the image, etc. The Papuans call their images *korwar*; they are hideous things, carved in wood, a foot long; people pay homage to them, and on important occasions consult them, *e.g.* when going on a journey. When the questioner is seized by a fit of trembling, the affair looks ominous, and he gives up his plan; in cases of illness the images are placed at the head of the sick-bed. When a *korwar* has predicted something that has not come true, the image is ill-treated or sold. In many of the Molucca islands images of the departed are found, which are generally stored away in the attic of the house; in times of need or illness the father of the family feeds them, and asks for their assistance. Sometimes the tribes of the Moluccas do not use images as mediums, but stones and pieces of wood (Wetar, Timor), or palm-leaves cut in the form of a hand with six fingers (Rotti). At every death such an object is made, hung on the roof, and sprinkled with blood; it is left there till it has completely decayed. In Halmahera the soul is gradually lured into an image, but only temporarily. In earlier times the Javanese must have made images of the departed; we meet with a remnant of this in a children's game, called *Nini Towong*, in which a doll made in a special way is animated, after which it jumps about in a jerky manner, to the great enjoyment of the children. From many particulars of the game it appears clearly that we have really to do with an image used as a medium in former times. The Teñgerese in Java have their household gods, consisting of images, up to this day. The Battak use some images of ancestors which they call *debata idup*. They are kept among the rafters of the roof, and frequently receive food-offerings. They are believed to give life and to bestow blessings, and are particularly worshipped by barren women. The Niassians always worship their ancestors by means of skilfully carved images called *adu*. They feed them by rubbing them with blood and egg, and adorn them by sticking feathers of fowls and bristles of pigs on them. If an image receives a crack, it is thought that the soul has escaped, and a new image is made. Offerings are made to the images on all important events of life, in illness, etc. Several Dayak tribes in Sarawak keep images, which they feed at stated times, and which guard the village and watch over the work of the fields. Some tribes in the Philippine Islands used images of ancestors made of stone, gold, and ivory. They were kept in the houses. Here and there, as, *e.g.*, in the

Philippine Islands and in Borneo, the souls of the departed are worshipped by means of pots.

31. Shamanism.—It is possible to get into contact with the souls of the departed not only by means of objects, but also by means of men. Spirits wandering about freely enter a human being, take possession of him, and act and speak through him. Such a human medium is called a shaman. To summon the spirits, drums are beaten (Central Celebes, Halmahera), dracæna leaves are woven, rice is stewed, etc. During the ecstatic trance the soul remains on the shoulder of the medium or in the apex of his heart. The spirits enter through the joints, under the nails, through the anus, and so forth. The spirit generally leaves the medium imperceptibly; sometimes the medium snaps his fingers, or presses his hands on the back of his head; sometimes people blow into his ear to expel the spirit.

The spirits are believed to arrive when the body or the limbs begin to tremble. This trembling passes into shocks, after which the medium calms down, and answers the questions put to him; or else he leaps to his feet and begins to dance to the measure of the drums. A shaman is simply a medium who allows himself to be used as a mouthpiece for the spirits. A priest's only aim is to make his soul-substance rise up to the lord of the heavens, and to reclaim the lost soul-substance of a man. Among some Indonesian tribes this is still the salient trait in their shamanism, and the medium phenomena are a mere appendage; among others priesthood and shamanism have been blended; and among others priesthood has been merged in shamanism. Among the Torajas of Central Celebes, priesthood only is found. Among the Toba Battak the two classes are sharply distinguished. A shaman is called *sibaso*; he works quite spontaneously, and is perfectly unconscious of what he says or does; *datu* is the word for the real priest, who practises sorcery, banishes the spirits of disease, and recalls runaway soul-substance to a man. At sacrificial ceremonies it is the *datu* who calls upon the spirits, but they manifest themselves in the *sibaso*. The Papuans also keep the two functions separate; the *inderri* reveals his predisposition to be a shaman by a fainting fit in the presence of a corpse; the *konoor*, on the other hand, is simply a priest who acts as a mediator between men and spirits. The Javanese, too, distinguish the ordinary *dukun*, who bears the same character as the Batta *datu*, from the *dukun* shaman; the Javanese dancing-girls are probably a degeneration of the earlier shamans.

There is a blending of shamanism and priesthood among the Dayaks, Buginese, and Minahassians. The priests perform some shamanistic actions in addition to their priestly functions. Among the Dayaks the only shamanistic element is that the spirit which has helped the priest in discovering the soul-substance, or in conducting the soul of the dead person, incarnates itself finally in the body of the priest, who in this condition performs some actions as if it were the spirit itself that did so. Among the Minahassians the only sign of the shamanism part is that, wherever the priest in his peregrination through the heavens to seek the soul-substance meets a spirit, he makes the latter speak through himself. With the Buginese priests and priestesses the shamanistic side is not essential.

Among the inhabitants of Halmahera and the Parigians in Central Celebes, priesthood has been resolved into shamanism. Among the Halmahera the priest is entirely inspired by a spirit called *jini*; then he speaks another tongue; different spirits manifest themselves, according to which the *jini*-feasts are divided into different divisions. The shamanism in Parigi is exactly the same. It may be demonstrated with all but absolute certainty that both these peoples have adopted shamanism from the Muhammadans.

32. Demonology.—For different reasons souls of dead people may rise so high in the esteem of the people that they come to be regarded as gods. Besides these, the Indonesians have other gods who have never been men. They ascribe the mystery of the origin of man, natural phenomena—*e.g.*, volcanic eruptions, landslides, storms—to gods who have always been gods. With the souls of his ancestors the Indonesian has daily intercourse; he fears them, but at the same time he is familiar with them. With gods and spirits he comes only occasionally into contact—*e.g.*, when he happens to cross their path or offends them; but for the most part he feels indifferent towards them and leaves everything to the priests, who know how to manage them.

33. The Creator and Creation.—In the Archipelago we find some Hindu names for the gods, but it is going too far to say that the gods have been borrowed from the Hindus: the foreign names were given to existing conceptions. Thus the name of *Batara Guru* is found among Battak and Malays; among the Dayaks in *Mahatara* and *Betara* or *Pitara*; among the Balinese in *Pitara*; and among the Tagals in the Philippine Islands in *Bathala*. In the same way we find the Arabic *Allāh ta'ālā* in *Hatalla* among the Dayaks, *Lahatala* in Buru, and *Latala* in Solor.

Among all peoples we find a supreme Being who has created the world; sometimes his functions are divided among different gods. In the Moluccas the creator is often called Upu lero, but the connexion between him and the creation of man is very vague. In some islands people are supposed to descend from a woman who came down from heaven. In others the first men are believed to have originated from trees or bamboo. In Buru the highest god is called Opo-geba-snulat, 'the lord moulder of man,' 'the lord creator of man.' He is said to have sent his messenger to the earth in olden times; this is Nabiata (the 'prophet Adam'). The name has certainly been derived from the Muhammadans, but messengers of gods who descend to earth are prevalent among all Indonesian peoples. Among the peoples living more to the West we find creation stories. Thus the Buginese say that the first men were born from a union of a son of the god of the upper world with a daughter of the god of the under world. Their children were the first men, who, when their parents returned home, were left behind in this world, which was formed from a handful of earth given by the god of the upper world to his son. This is the poetic expression of an idea current among the Indonesians that man has arisen by conjunction of sun and earth. It is also strongly pronounced among the Minahassians. The first human being, a woman, is moulded from the earth, and is impregnated by the west wind. She bears a son, who wanders about on the earth, and, meeting her afterwards, but not knowing her to be his mother, marries her, and in this way becomes the progenitor of the first men. The son, Toar, is merely the sun, who in the morning arises from his mother, the earth, and in the evening returns to her again as her husband. Among the Torajas of Central Celebes the two gods Ilai, 'man,' and Indara, 'maid,' make man. These two again stand for the sun and the earth. They make a couple of men of stone, who are animated by the wind and live. In Siau the highest god is called *Duata* or *Ruata*, a corruption of the Skr. *Devatā* ('divinity'). (This name is also found among the Macassars and Buginese in *Dewata*; among the Javanese in *Dewata*, *Debata*, and *Juata*; among the Dayaks in *Jebata* and *Jata*; among the

Mongondouians in *Duata*; in the Philippine islands in *Divata, Davata,* and *Diuata.*) The Dayaks in S.E. Borneo think that the world was created by Mahatara and Jata, who are simply the sun and the earth. The Battak believe that the first men were born from the daughter of the chief god Ompu Tuhan mula jadi, who descends on earth, after having moulded it in the world-ocean with the aid of her father. Probably this daughter stands for the earth itself. In Nias the chief god Lowalangi (Lubu-langi) and the lower gods and men are all believed to have come forth from the buds of one and the same tree.

34. The preserver of Creation.—Nature-worship, which is found in the Eastern part of the Archipelago, passes into myths of gods towards the West. The chief god is the sun, and this god continues to exert influence on his creation; he makes the earth fruitful, penetrates with his light everywhere, sees everything, and punishes what displeases him (chiefly incest, sexual intercourse with animals, lies, and theft). On the other hand, this sun-god has entered so little into the life of the people, that he is not worshipped to any extent.

Sometimes creator and preserver are united in one person; but often the creator has transferred to one or more other gods the task of the administration of created things. Then the creator retreats to the background and he is known only by name, while his servants, to whom he has transferred his task, are worshipped. In the Moluccas, creator and preserver are one person; he is worshipped under the symbol of a lamp. Once a year a great sacrificial feast is held, at the time when he is thought to descend to earth to make it fruitful. He never interferes with the deeds of other spirits, whether good or evil; he does not rule. In Buru the chief god is invoked only on special occasions, at oaths, at ordeals, or in general calamities. The Timorese calls upon the preserver when making a vow, or by way of confirmation of the truth of what he has said.

The chief servant of the creator among the Torajas is Puë mpalaburu; he is the sun, who sees everything and punishes; he receives offerings in cases of general disaster, and his name is called upon when some one takes an oath or is cleansed from sin. The myths of the Minahassians set forth with great clearness how the creator has divided the administration of the world among different gods, but all these different gods may be traced back to the sun. The Mahatara of the Dayaks does not take notice of unimportant things; he is called upon only in cases of the utmost need, and then it is always necessary to sacrifice a buffalo to him, the sacrificial rites being performed by seven priestesses. Tamei Tiñgei is the chief god of the Bahaus, who punishes misdeeds and gives rewards. Other gods have the charge of husbandry, and are therefore called upon at harvest-festivals. The chief god of the Battak, Ompu mula jadi, has transferred his power to three gods: Batara guru, Soripada, and Mañalabulan. The last is a wanton, inconstant, and fickle divinity. He has the principal share in the conduct of human affairs, and is always able to thwart the good intentions of the other two gods. For this reason the Battak are particularly anxious to secure his favour. The Niassians assert that the god Lature resides in the sun; he is the owner of mankind, and can kill people at pleasure; therefore offerings are made to him that he may spare them. But Lowalangi (Lubulangi) is even more powerful than Lature. Lowalangi has power over life and death, blessings and curses, riches and poverty; he appoints kings and deposes them; he is omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, and an avenger of evil. His name occurs in numerous expressions in daily life, but in spite of this the Niassians pay very little heed to him.

The administrator often interferes with men by means of animals, which are his messengers. Thus birds of bad omen are sent as the messengers of the gods to warn men. Among different peoples, crocodiles and tigers are sent by the gods to avenge some evil, and by ordeals also the gods judge guilt or innocence among men.

35. Predestination.—The Indonesians always consider an accident which has befallen a man as a punishment for some evil that he has committed. They also believe that their lot here on earth is predetermined, and that they themselves have wanted it to be as it is. This idea is illustrated in a great many stories. There is, for instance, a story of a man who was dissatisfied with his lot, and went to the supreme lord to ask him to change it. The lord consented, and allowed the complainer to choose again, and then it was found that he had chosen the same as had fallen to his share before (Torajas, Battak, Dayaks, Galelarese, Niassians). The way in which a person is to die is also predestined at his birth; to prove this a story is told about a man who was always on his guard against tigers, because at his birth he had been told that a tiger would kill him, and who was crushed by a falling wooden image of a tiger; of a child who was killed by a string of crocodile teeth, because it had been foretold that crocodiles would cause its death (Torajas, Battak). The length of a man's life is predestined among the Battak and Sea Dayaks by means of a plant; among the Dayaks of S.E. Borneo and the Torajas by means of a rope; among the Karo Battak by means of a measure for rice; among the Minahassians by a burning torch.

36. Moon-worship.—At the present stage of development of Animism in Indonesia a definite moon-worship is rarely found. Here and there in the Moluccas the moon is worshipped. In Babar the war-spirit is supposed to reside in the moon; the Tomorians point out the moon as the abode of the rice-spirit; and they have many songs in its honour. The Mafors in New Guinea receive the crescent of the new moon with shouts of joy, and the women sing in its honour. The Papuans believe the moon to be the abode of a woman. Many Indonesian peoples believe that happiness and misfortune are caused by the different positions of the moon—which proves that its influence on their spiritual conceptions must have been much greater in earlier times.

37. Intermediate gods.—Just because the gods who have never been men are so far above the inhabitants of the earth, the latter have felt the need of intermediate gods, souls of the departed who have risen to be gods. They can assist man in approaching the original gods. A frequently recurring name for these is *sañiañ,* and other modified forms. They are of little use to the people, but of infinite use to the priests, who call upon them to assist them in their work, and then the spirits accompany and help them. The Dayaks have the most intimate knowledge of these intermediate gods. According to them, they have not been souls of men, but are allied to men. They used to live with them on the earth, but a quarrel induced them to move to the heavens. Every priest (or priestess) has his own *sañiañ* who assists him, from which it appears that here we really have souls of the departed. This is also seen from the fact that heroic exploits are told of some of these *sañiañs.* In a storm a special spirit is called upon, whilst another has power over the tribes. These spirits punish their servant (the priest) when he does not fulfil a promise. The Torajas say that their intermediate spirits carry on an endless warfare with other evil spirits, who live in the air, and who always lie in wait to fall upon men.

38. Abode and manner of living of the gods.—These gods and spirits are supposed to live in heaven or on high mountains. As they always live in the light, they are imagined as white figures, who for that reason require white offerings: white hens, white buffaloes, etc. Stories prevail everywhere that heaven used to be close to earth, so that it was possible to reach it with the hand. Grease or oil was scraped off from heaven, but, in consequence of some injudicious action of an inhabitant of earth, heaven was drawn up (Moluccas, Central Celebes, Borneo, Nias). In former times there was a lively intercourse between men and gods; numerous stories survive telling of somebody climbing up to heaven along a liana or rattan. Mountains are considered as leading up to heaven (Minahassians, Toba Battak); or the rainbow is the way upward (Central and Southern Celebes); or a gossamer thread (Halmahera). In the abode of the gods everything is imagined as earthly, only much more beautiful; often wonderful trees are found there, which bear cotton, or gold and silver fruits. A peculiar trait in the conceptions which these people form of the gods is that they are easily deceived and imposed upon, one of the commonest deceptions being that a buffalo, pig, or other animal is promised as a sacrifice, whereas in reality nothing is given but an egg or some such trifle.

39. Volcano gods and sea gods.—Volcanoes and seas, with their dangers, in which some perish and from which others escape, are thought by the Indonesians to be inhabited by spirits. In Minahassa every volcano is supposed to be inhabited by a god, and numerous stories are current about these volcano gods. The volcano Gunuñ Awu in the island of Siau received an annual sacrifice of a child. Human skulls were occasionally thrown as sacrifices into the crater of Ternate. Every year the Teñgerese in Java hold a great sacrificial festival for the crater of the volcano Bromo.

Throughout the Archipelago sacrifices are made to the spirits of the sea. The most widely known of all these is the goddess Njai or Ratu Loro Kidul, who lives in a beautiful palace at the bottom of the ocean on the south coast of Java, whence she holds sway over the spirits living in the caverns. With great reverence and with offerings the Javanese enter this region. She is also supposed to live at some definite places on the south coast; there people lie down to sleep in order to receive revelations from her. Those who live by gathering swallows' nests in the crevices of the rocks especially reverence her. A temple has even been built for her there, in which sacrifices are made.

A spirit, Karaeng lowe, 'the high lord,' is worshipped in Southern Celebes under the sign of the *liṅga* and *yoni*. This is the only instance of this kind of worship in the Malay Archipelago. In many places in Southern Celebes there are houses dedicated to this spirit, where he is worshipped under the sign of two stones, which evidently represent the genitals of the two sexes. Karaeng lowe dispenses fortune and misfortune; he has dominion over life and death; the patient who desires health, the mother who desires a child, the merchant who desires success, the gambler who desires gain, the husbandman who desires a good harvest, all pray to Karaeng lowe, and vow to give him something if he will grant them their desire. When they have obtained what they wanted, it would be very dangerous to refrain from keeping their vow; Karaeng lowe would avenge this by sending illness. The Karaeng lowe worship is probably of Hindu origin.

40. Tree spirits.—Besides gods and demi-gods, the Indonesians have lower spirits, who reside in trees, mountains, and rivers. It is only when people cross their paths that they injure them. If a person supposes himself to have been made ill by such a spirit, he makes offerings to him; otherwise there is no worship offered to these lower spirits. Among them the tree spirits occupy a foremost place. Every tree has soul-substance, but not every tree has a spirit. These spirits inhabit large trees, generally some species of ficus. If the Indonesians cut down a large tree, they first make an offering to the spirit, and beg him to go to some other place. These tree spirits are very dangerous. They often carry off the soul-substance of a man, and then a sacrifice is made to reclaim it. The Dayaks believe that they sometimes carry off even living people. They can also cause lunacy. Some tribes (as in Borneo and in Siau) imagine the tree spirits to be spirits wandering about independently. The Minañkabauians believe that they appear in the shape of animals. The Dayaks of Sarawak hang on a tree a piece of their clothing, as being a part of themselves, as an offering for the spirit.

41. How spirits appear and how they are banished.—We have already mentioned that tree spirits sometimes appear as animals. This is also the case with other demons, when they reveal themselves to man. They sometimes appear as serpents (Buru, Sunda, Borneo), as fireflies (Babar), as birds (Minañkabau), as tigers (Sundanese), or as men. Some tribes believe that the spirits may appear in all possible shapes. The universal means of keeping them away is the use of pungent and bad-smelling things, among which onions and ginger-roots take a foremost place; very often a bad smell is produced by burning something. A custom of frequent occurrence in the Archipelago is to lay women after childbirth near a smouldering fire, to keep the spirits at a distance from them. Besides fire, thorny boughs are used to ward off spirits, who are supposed to be afraid of being wounded by them. When a man knows the spirit's name and pronounces it, the spirit's power over him is broken.

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LITERATURE.—The greater part of Indonesia is under Dutch rule, and the Dutch have paid great attention to the customs and religions of their subject races. Many valuable contributions to these subjects are dispersed in a number of Dutch scientific periodicals, among which may be particularly mentioned: *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Batavia and The Hague); *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (The Hague); *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavia); *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap* (Rotterdam); *Tijdschrift van het koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap* (Leyden); and *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië* (Zalt-Bommel).

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INDULGENCES.—Indulgences, as employed in the Roman Catholic Church, are a partial survival of the primitive discipline of penance; they are the remission of the penitential satisfaction due for pardoned sins, and are granted by spiritual authority for the performance of optional works of merit. In order, therefore, to understand the true nature of indulgences, we must first trace their historical evolution.

I. **History.**—The fundamental principle, admirably stated by the Council of Trent (sess. v. n. 5, sess. xiv. chs. i., ii., viii.), lies in the different conditions controlling the pardon of sin by baptism and by sacramental penance. Baptism brings complete remission of all sins previously committed, and entails no further expiation; as soon as he leaves the baptismal font, the adult, born to supernatural life by the sacrament, is no longer responsible to God or to Christian society for any past fault or punishment. But the same conditions do not hold for the remission of sins committed after baptism, in violation of baptismal vows. Remission of post-baptismal sin takes the form of a sort of judgment, comprising a confession of guilt and a punishment—a penal reparation called 'satisfaction' in theological language. The Christian who by mortal sin violates the law which he promised at baptism to observe assumes a moral responsibility of which he must give an account to God; and he also renders himself unworthy of the holy society into which he has entered, unworthy of the sacred mysteries into which he has been initiated. To recover his former status, to participate worthily once more in the holy mysteries, he must present himself as guilty before the tribunal of the priest, confess his unworthiness, and ask to be reinstated by sacerdotal authority. Absolution remits his fault (*culpa*), and at the same time the punishment due for unpardoned sin ('eternal punishment'); but it still obliges the sinner to undergo a certain penalty, and to earn full rehabilitation by reparations or 'satisfactions' ('temporal punishment' for pardoned sin). It is to this satisfaction, or temporal punishment, that the concession of indulgences refers. Following the development of penitential discipline, indulgences did not attain their final form until the 11th cent.; but the essential element was present from the very beginning, viz. the remission, in consideration of certain good works, of such penances as the sinner would otherwise be bound to perform. In the early centuries this remission would result in hastening the return of the sinner to ecclesiastical communion; later, it would consist in the substitution of easier works or works of shorter duration for the required penances; and, when penances ceased to be individually imposed, they would be remitted all the more readily and generously.

The characteristic feature of ancient public penitential discipline was the exclusion of the culprit, by way of satisfaction, either from ecclesiastical communion or at least from eucharistic communion, this exclusion being supplemented by penances under ecclesiastical control. But the Church always reserved the right to terminate this exclusion; the bishop, who had judged the fault and given the sinner his penance, could also decide when the penitent had made sufficient satisfaction. The principle is clearly stated by one of the most ancient penitential canons:

> 'The bishops shall have the power, after having tried the conduct of each, to mitigate the penalties, or to extend the time of penitence; but they must take care to inquire what has passed before and after their fall, and their clemency must be exercised accordingly' (Council of Ancyra [A.D. 314], can. 5; cf. 2, 4, 7; Nicæa, can. 12; Basil's canonical letter [ccxvii.], can. 74 ff.).

We have facts of even earlier date. If Cyprian denied confessors, imprisoned for the faith, the right of admitting penitents to ecclesiastical communion by giving them 'certificates of peace' (*libellus pacis*), he himself reclaimed that right; for we know that he absolved all the penitents of Carthage *en masse* at the approach of the persecution (Cyprian, *Ep.* x., xiv., lv., lxiv., ed. Hartel, ii. [Vienna, 1871]); and it has always been the custom to give full ecclesiastical communion to repentant sinners at death. So much for the indulgence in the initial stage of penitential discipline.

In the system of the Penitential Books, the most important part of the satisfaction is no longer exclusion of the sinner from communion, but works of reparation, prayer, psalms, fasts, mortifications, and alms, every sin having its penance assigned, and the whole system being reckoned by days, weeks, months, or even years. The priest imposed penances on the various sinners in accordance with the Penitentials, and naturally had the right to see that they were fulfilled. Primitive indulgence took a new form analogous to that new form of penance. Not only did the Penitentials allow the priest great latitude in assigning the penance, but they provided various methods of compensation and commutation with a view to mitigating the satisfactions required. Thus, a bread-and-water fast equalled two or three ordinary fasts; the recitation of a psalter (50 psalms), or a flagellation, was equivalent to several days of penance; while alms, which could not be prescribed indiscriminately for all, served as a basis for compensation which varied with the wealth and charity of the penitent. This gave rise to 'redemptions' of penance, left at first to the discretion of the confessor, and then officially regulated, in particular by the Councils of Tribur (A.D. 895, can. 56 ff.) and Rheims (A.D. 923). A relic of this method of imposing and remitting penances has been preserved in the scale of indulgences, which are granted for a stated number of days, months, or years; the remission is in proportion to the penances indicated by the Penitential Books, though the scale is no longer employed in imposing them.

The control of penance by the priest who had imposed it gradually fell into disuse, and penitents could proceed to redemptions of penance on their own account. It was then possible to offer them not only compensations, which were calculated according to the amount of their personal debt, but even general reductions, from which all might profit, by performing a work, not prescribed for each one of them, but which all were invited to do, even though they did not know their own exact penitential debt. From the 11th cent. onwards we meet with reductions of penances, either proportional (a seventh, a quarter, or some other fraction) or absolute (ten, twenty, or forty days), offered to every one on such occasions as the consecration of a church, the translation of relics, the festival of a venerated saint, or a pilgrimage, or even for alms towards the building or upkeep of churches, abbeys, hospitals, etc. This method of redemption or substitution reached its zenith when it covered all kinds of penance, which was done at the indulgence of the Crusade. At the Council of Clermont (1095), Pope Urban II. passed the following decree :

> 'Whoever, out of pure devotion and not for the purpose of gaining honour or money, shall go to Jerusalem to liberate the Church of God, may count that journey in lieu of all penance' (can. 2; Mansi, *Concilia*, Venice, 1759 ff., xx. 816).

Moreover, he preached the same thing to the masses. This was not only an indulgence, but a plenary indulgence—indeed for a long time the type of plenary indulgence—until it was imitated by so many others. Though the work proposed to Crusaders was peculiarly hard, the Crusade indulgence contains all the constituent elements of an indulgence according to the accepted definition: ecclesiastical authority remits the penitential satisfaction, without considering the personal debt of each sinner, in virtue of the accomplishment of an optional task proposed equally to all. This remission, far from dispensing with confession of sins, presupposes and demands it, since it is the confessor who imposes the penance when he pardons the fault. On the other hand, an indulgence is valid directly in the eyes of the Church, and indirectly in the eyes of God, in the same way as absolution is; for the Church, the authorized intermediary between God and the Christian for the pardon of sin, is none the less the intermediary for the imposition, and consequently the reduction, of satisfaction.

In those days, just as in our own, it was mainly for their value in reference to God that indulgences were sought, and, then as now, above all by those who had least need of them, since it is never the greatest sinners who frequent the confessional most. Thus people set themselves, as they still do, to pursue penitential works for their own value and to have the right to be liberated from penance, without considering carefully whether their penance had been determined or even incurred. And, when the gradual mitigation of penitential discipline had reduced penance or sacramental satisfaction almost to the vanishing point, the remission obtained by indulgences, by the performance of less and less arduous works, served to reduce this indeterminate but certain debt of every one to the divine justice, even for pardoned sins. The importance of commutation, which is the basis of all indulgence, decreased as that of condonation increased; at the same time, the primitive idea of debt to the Church and of the penitential scale disappeared gradually from the view and practice of the faithful and even of theologians, so that the indulgence has come to be the extra-sacramental remission of the temporal punishment due to God for our pardoned sins.

The transition evidently took place by degrees; towards the end of the 11th cent. we meet with the practice of getting definite penances imposed on oneself in order to ransom them more surely. St. Peter Damianus relates (*Sanctorum vitæ*, viii. [*PL* cxliv. 1015 f.]) that a pious hermit, St. Dominic of the Cuirass (Loricatus; † 1062), so named from the iron cuirass which he always wore for mortification, made his confessor impose years of penance, once even a thousand years, on him; and this the holy man accomplished in a single Lent, thanks to the methods borrowed from the ancient Penitentials; by singing a psalter, *e.g.*, while dealing himself fifteen thousand disciplinary blows, he did five years of penance. This exceptional fact, even in the 11th cent., practically marks the end of penances actually imposed on and redeemed by individuals; sacramental satisfaction could no longer be redeemed. There was, accordingly, nothing left but penitential works proposed indiscriminately to all. These, however, continued to be quite considerable, so that the remission of satisfaction had a very real counterpart. The Crusade indulgence, the first of the plenary type, was almost a commutation; though it was extended later to those who did not go themselves to the Holy Land, but sent a representative to fight, and then to those who merely supported the holy enterprise by their alms, it was still not too easily won. On the other hand, partial indulgences were still reckoned by ten, twenty, and forty days in the 12th and 13th centuries; there was no more than a year's indulgence for a pilgrimage to the tomb of Christ or to the basilicas of the holy apostles in Rome. This means that figures still retained nearly all their old significance. Further, when the Lateran Council (1215, Decr. lxii.), after checking the abuses of certain churchmen and alms-gatherers, decreed that bishops should not grant more than a year's indulgence after the consecration of a church, and forty days in other circumstances (by a concession of Pius X., of 28th Aug. 1903, this is extended to fifty days for bishops, a hundred for archbishops, and two hundred for cardinals), it must not be imagined that it was making a great reduction of a right that had hitherto been exercised to a much larger extent. Undoubtedly the Council was aiming at making episcopal concessions uniform and restricting abuses; but the limits which it assigned were by no means excessive at the time.

The whole history of indulgences after this, however, is summed up in constantly increasing concessions, ever more easily obtained, for the most varied acts of piety and charity. By the end of the 13th cent. there were numerous indulgences for a year, five years, and so on. We then come to the second plenary indulgence, the Jubilee, granted for the first time in 1300 by Boniface VIII. for the pilgrimage to the apostles' tombs in Rome. Originally proclaimed for secular years, the Jubilee was afterwards renewed at shorter periods, and was then extended beyond Rome, and imitated on various solemn occasions. Later, plenary indulgences were multiplied and made extremely easy of access; but by this stage the evolution of the indulgence was complete.

2. Theology.—The theology of indulgences was, in early times, complete according to the principles stated above: temporal punishment to be undergone after sin has been pardoned; penance imposed, controlled, and even reduced, by ecclesiastical authority, its concessions being approved by God, as pardon given in His name, but in a degree which cannot be definitely stated. When theologians came to consider, chiefly in relation to God, both the remission of the penalty and the absolution of the sin, they were inclined to ask how this temporal debt to divine justice was paid. This is where the theory of 'treasure' came in—the theory not, as has been alleged, invented by Alexander of Hales, but brought into relief by him and introduced into everyday teaching. It is no more than an aspect and a consequence of the Communion of saints: ought we not to pray for one another? If merit properly so called is not directly communicable between the members of the Christian society, at least satisfaction can

be transferred, almost as a man can pay a friend's debts. The infinite satisfaction of our Lord and the superabundant satisfaction of the Virgin Mary and the saints form a treasure which the Church guards and administers, drawing upon it for the payment of the debts remitted to the faithful by indulgences. This explanation pleased the realist spirit of the scholastics, and was accepted by the whole school; provided the limits of the comparison with debts between human beings are not transcended, it is indeed quite satisfactory. Clement VI. was the first to make much of it, in his bull promulgating the Jubilee of 1350, and the Church upheld it against the attacks both of Luther (Leo X.'s bull 'Exsurge Domine,' 15th June 1520) and of the Jansenist Synod of Pistoia (Pius VI.'s bull 'Auctorem fidei,' 28th Aug. 1794).

Connected with the theory of treasure are the theory and practice of the application of indulgence to the dead, a new form which helped, rather than hindered, the development of prayer for the dead, a custom always employed in the Church. The transfer of indulgence to the dead seemed to clash with the principle that the Church has no control over the other world; to this the theologians replied that it was not a case of granting indulgences directly to the dead, but simply a matter of offering to God for them the indulgences which the living could acquire; they added that the application of indulgences to the dead was not made in the form of strict, just payment, but by means of prayer—'per modum suffragii,' according to the accepted expression; in other words, it depended on the mercy of God. On this understanding the application of indulgences to the dead was adopted by the whole school (cf. Thomas Aquinas, *In IV. Sent.*, dis. 45, qu. 2, art. 3; Bonaventura, *In IV. Sent.*, dis. 20, p. 2, art. 1, qu. 5). It was not included in any official document till 1476 under Sixtus IV. This Pope, the first to accord indulgences to the dead, explained its significance; and from this time it became official doctrine and general practice (see the response of the Congregation of Indulgences of 28th July 1840 [*Decreta authentica*, no. 283]). The most notable official document on the theology of indulgences is the decree of the Council of Trent (sess. XXV.), affirming the traditional authority of the Church to grant them (cf. Mt 16^{19}, Jn 20^{23}), and declaring the practice most salutary for the Christian people.

This decree avoids precise statement, but this is because the real efficacy of indulgences cannot be estimated with precision. Not only is the Christian ignorant of the degree of temporal punishment that is his due (the scale for imposition of penance has not been preserved, but only that for remission), but he does not know how God measures this punishment or in what proportion He accepts the indulgence; and this uncertainty is, of course, more marked in the case of the efficacy of indulgences for the dead.

At least it is clear what indulgences are not: they are not merits, though some pious persons seem to think they are; nor the remission or pardon of sin itself, though this has been inferred from the celebrated expression, 'a culpa et a pœna'; nor the purely gratuitous, unconditioned remission of the expiation due for pardoned sin; nor a sort of authority to sin gained by making a promise of some simple expiation. Without entering into discussions raised by so-called indulgences 'a culpa et a pœna,' we may formulate some conclusions: (*a*) no single extant text implies the remission of mortal sin without recourse to the sacrament of penance; (*b*) a person who, after receiving absolution from his sins, obtains a plenary indulgence is actually free 'a culpa et a pœna'; (*c*) as a matter of fact, this expression is not found at first, except in reference to the two early plenary indulgences, the Crusade and the Jubilee, for which every one was allowed to apply to the confessor of his own choice; (*d*) the same explanation holds for letters of confession and indulgence, so frequent from the 14th cent.; (*e*) the expression has always been correctly interpreted by theologians: after all, it is no more difficult to explain than such expressions as 'peccatorum remissiones,' which continue to appear in pontifical letters without being misunderstood by any one; besides, is sin fully remitted so long as it leaves an expiation to be accomplished?

3. Abuse and reform.—The abuse commonly known as the 'sale of indulgences' was a very real exploitation of the concessions of indulgences granted in return for almsgiving to the churches; but it must be remarked that this was always an abuse, never a legitimate custom, and that it was always combated and finally suppressed by the Church. The principle that the Church can reward the contributions of the faithful to the temporal needs of the religious society by spiritual favours is unassailable, and requires no justification. The abuse consisted in the exaggerated and inaccurate statements made by preachers in order to encourage generous giving (especially for the deliverance of souls from purgatory), the culpable maladministration of alms, the deductions made from the alms for the benefit of the Church dignitaries and even of civil authorities, and other modes of procedure which gave to the granting of indulgences the appearance of a traffic. It is well known that the granting of indulgences for reconstructing the church of St. Peter in Rome was the occasion of Luther's revolt; if the doctrine was sound, as Tetzel proved, appearances were very unfavourable.

The Lateran Council (1215) and the Council of Vienne (1311) had tried to crush the abuses of alms-gatherers, but without much effect; it fell to the Council of Trent to strike at the root of the evil by condemning abusive practices, and abolishing the collecting of alms and trading in indulgences (sess. XXI. 'de reform.', ch. 9; sess. XXV.); the publication of indulgences was put in the hands of the bishops, assisted by two canons: they had to collect the alms of the faithful themselves, and keep nothing back. A further step was taken; indulgence-alms were completely suppressed (except the bull for the Crusade in Spain, which was also freed from all abuse); on the rare occasions when general indulgences included almsgiving, the latter was only one of the prescribed duties; its taxation and employment were left to the free choice of the faithful.

The reform of indulgences was energetically pursued by the popes, and the problems relating to them were entrusted by Clement VIII. to a provisional commission of cardinals. Clement IX. re-established it on a stable basis in 1667, charging it 'to resolve the difficulties that arose, to correct and suppress abuses, to do away with false, apocryphal, and indiscreet indulgences, etc.' This Congregation of Indulgences continued to exist till 1904, when it was united with the Congregation of Rites; in 1908, at the re-organization of the Roman Curia, indulgences were entrusted to a section of the Congregation of the Holy Office.

4. Practical remarks.—A plenary indulgence is one which covers all penance required of the penitent; a partial indulgence covers a part of the penance, and is counted by days, months, or years. A better distinction would be that the latter is reckoned, not according to the actual debt of the sinner, but according to the ancient penitential scales, while the former is not. While all indulgences really refer to persons, those which are granted directly to persons, *e.g.*, to a confraternity, are called personal; those directly attached to a church, an altar, etc., are called local; while those attached to holy objects—crucifix, medals, beads, etc.—are called real. It is easy to understand the distinction between temporary and permanent indulgences, indulgences obtained for certain specified days, or once a day, or 'toties quoties,' whenever the penitential actions are repeated, and so on. The chief indulgences are, as formerly, the Crusade (still kept up in Spain in a special form); the Jubilee, which occurs every quarter-century, and is imitated more or less frequently by solemn indulgences called 'in form of Jubilee'; indulgences attached to the most popular devotions, as the Rosary or the Stations of the Cross; those of famous sanctuaries, as Rome, Jerusalem, Compostella, Assisi's Portiuncula, etc.; 'apostolic' indulgences, attached by the pope (or the priest authorized by him) to holy objects blessed by him, etc. The Congregation of indulgences published an official collection (*Raccolta*) of indulgenced devotions (Rome, 1854, and numerous editions), and two collections, one of decisions (*Decreta authentica ab anno 1668 ad annum 1882*, Ratisbon, 1883), the other of rescripts and summaries of indulgences (*Rescripta authentica . . . necnon Summaria indulgentiarum*, Ratisbon, 1885). Numerous other private collections exist, recognized and approved by Roman or Episcopal authority.

LITERATURE.—(*a*) *HISTORY*.—J. Morin, *Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione sacramenti pœnitentiæ*, Paris, 1651 (bk. x. is devoted to the history of indulgences); E. Amort, *De origine, progressu, valore, et fructu indulgentiarum*, Venice, 1738 (a rich store of texts); H. C. Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, Philadelphia, 1896, vol. iii. (Protestant); T. Brieger, art. 'Indulgenzen,' in *PRE*^{3} (Protestant); above all, numerous artt. by N. Paulus in various reviews, esp. *ZKT*.

(*b*) *THEOLOGY*.—All theologians are occupied more or less with indulgences. The *Tractatus dogmatico-moralis de indulgentiis* of Theodorus a Spiritu Sancto, Rome, 1743, has long been regarded as classical. The best recent practical treatments and collections are: F. Beringer, *Die Ablässe*^{12}, Paderborn, 1900, Fr. tr. by P. Mazoyer, *Les Indulgences*^{3}, Paris, 1905; P. Mocchegiani a Monsano, *Collectio indulgentiarum*, Quaracchi, 1897.

A. BOUDINHON.

INDUSTRIALISM.—The conditions governing the progress of a country in civilization are exceedingly complex. Among these the industry of the people occupies a position of considerable importance. Wealth and culture are far from being interconnected; but, at the same time, a very poor country is unlikely to attain to the same stage of progress as one in which commerce has developed sufficiently to provide a moderate standard of comfort for the majority of the inhabitants. Thus industrial progress becomes the potentiality from which other agencies can realize a higher stage of civilization. In some recent discussions of progress, there are two forms of description, each of which is liable to mislead. On the one side, industry is spoken of in terms which imply that it is something altogether modern, while, on the other side, it appears to be inferred that industry alone will create a satisfactory amount of national wealth. Against the first trend of thought, it is to be noted that among primitive peoples, whose situation is disadvantageous, there are periods of sustained and painful labour. A tribe, trembling on the verge of starvation, will be condemned to severe toil, and the demands which this condition makes on mind and body account for the stationary or even declining state of such a society. Hence there must be conjoined with habits of industry a not unfavourable geographical position, in order that progress may be made—to modify a saying of W. Petty: 'Labour is the father, and natural resources the mother of wealth' (*Economic Writings of Sir W. Petty*, ed. C. H. Hull, London, 1899, p. 377). But of these two conditions of progress it is easy to over-estimate the importance of natural resources. There is some instinct or gift in certain peoples which urges them either to force their way from a disadvantageous situation or by their labour to modify a country which was originally almost barren so that it becomes moderately fruitful.

Wherever a society maintained itself for any considerable period, industry was a characteristic of its life. If it existed in a nomadic or pastoral state, there was the care of the cattle, while at the same time there was, no doubt, in most cases the work of providing clothing for the tribe. With the general advance of civilization there came the time when, as in England during a great part of the Middle Ages, the occupations of the people were predominantly agricultural. At this stage, the manor constituted a complete economic unit, providing for almost all its own normal wants. In it one can trace the beginnings of organization in the allocation of specific functions to certain workers. The rise of the towns involved important economic and social consequences. The bringing together of a population of some size and the contact with distant markets enlarged the horizon of the mediæval burgess as compared with the man living in the country, and the towns were centres of initiative and, on the whole, stood for the breaking down of oppressive customs. In fact, with the growth of towns the way was prepared for the beginnings of the period which is distinguished as the modern one, as compared with Mediævalism.

The problem of the 17th cent. was the substitution of some new method for the series of customs and laws which had been found to hamper industry during the previous two centuries. The method available was the enlarging of the productive unit, and for this capital was required. Gradually capitalistic production began to replace the purely domestic system. The former had been early adopted in the woollen, the coal, and the iron trades, and it had the advantage of enabling a certain amount of division of labour to be adopted; but in the 17th cent. and the early part of the 18th cent. there were limits to the specialization that was possible. When, for instance, one reads of a Glasgow woollen 'manufactory' which in 1700 employed 1400 hands, it is to be inferred that the majority of the workers were engaged in their own homes, while power was used for the finishing of the cloth. Such industries were, in fact, carried on under the domestic system in the preliminary processes, under factory conditions in the final processes, and there was a capitalistic regime in the marketing of the product.

During the first part of the 18th cent. in England considerable additions were made to the capital of the country. At the same time markets were being extended, and by the joint action of both causes it became possible to increase the quantity of capitalistic production. The latter again led to further division of labour—a phenomenon to which Adam Smith drew attention in *The Wealth of Nations*. Then there followed a series of important mechanical inventions, affecting first the textile trades and later other industries. As a result there was a great displacement of hand labour, followed by increased specialization and organization of industry. In many ways the period from 1770 to 1840 was one of change, even of upheaval, and it is usually termed 'the industrial revolution.' In the middle of the 18th cent. British industry was largely of the cottage or domestic type. A hundred years later the factory system had become predominant. Nor did the change end here; the second half of the 19th cent. witnessed a revolution in transport, which is still continuing. The facilities of communication tend to bring distant places into commercial relationship, and thus to render possible production on a larger and larger scale, with further specialization of industry and increased invention of machines.

All these changes may be summed up in the word 'industrialism,' and they have profoundly modified not only the mode of production, but also the whole social life of those countries where they have taken place. The effects of industrialism extend into almost all departments of the national life. Under the domestic system the power required for the primitive instruments then in use was supplied either by the workers or by animals. Now it is drawn from purely mechanical sources. Thus it has become possible to use the labour of men and women for purposes which, on the whole, require greater skill, while the total product can be very many times greater. Real wages are much higher, and the condition of the skilled artisan is certainly much better. The concentration of factories in large towns gives the workers the advantage of city life, and their lives are brighter and fuller than those of their predecessors who worked under the domestic system. These constitute some of the chief gains of the system, as against which allowance must be made for its losses and its evils. During the transition period of the industrial revolution great classes of the population sustained severe hardships, and in the early days of the factory system the conditions of female and child labour were deplorable. These, as well as other abuses, have been lessened by the Factory Acts; but there remain certain dangers to national well-being in the aggregation of large populations in the towns. When public sanitation was little regarded, the mortality of urban life was high; and, even yet, when so large a proportion of the population lives in towns, there is a certain danger to the physique of the people. There are signs which encourage the anticipation that for large numbers of the working class population this disadvantage is capable of remedy. Town-planning, the opening up of slums, increased air space in the smaller houses, greater care of the children, and better knowledge of hygiene among the people themselves point to an ultimate improvement in the physique of those who live in towns. Then, as regards the state of the worker in the course of his employment, some occupations are 'dangerous trades,' either through the mechanical processes involving risk of accident or through danger to health from the substances which have to be dealt with. Regulation of factories tends to limit the number of the former, and, while the total accidents are distressingly great, the percentage according to the numbers employed has diminished as compared with earlier periods. Thus the number of accidents per 100 stage-coach drivers was higher than that per 100 engine-drivers, and similarly with the travellers. The best medical opinion points to trade diseases being preventable. From the purely economic standpoint there are strong inducements to their eradication. As a rule, where there is risk of a trade disease the nominal wages of the workers tend to be higher than they would have been otherwise, since such risk checks the inflow of labour and lessens the earning time of those employed. Besides, almost every trade disease is traceable to a waste of material, the saving of which represents an economy of human life. It has been urged against the factory system that it tends to create a surplus of labour which is little more than on the verge of starvation, which, indeed, apart from Poor Law relief, would be in the deepest distress. This 'submerged' portion of the population suffers either from irregularity of employment or from the unremunerative character of the employment that it can obtain, as in the case of sweated industries. Neither of these characteristics is generally prevalent among the artisan classes which have been called into existence by the factory system. Accordingly, it may be concluded that the cause of a depressed market for certain kinds of unskilled labour is to be sought elsewhere. Attempts have recently been made to deal with these unfavourable conditions by legislation—as regards sweating by the institution of wages boards, and as regards irregularity of employment by the second part of the Insurance Act of 1911 (see INSURANCE).

It follows then, on the whole, that, while the disadvantages of industrialism appear to be capable of gradual amelioration by the exercise of knowledge, forethought, and improved organization, the advantages are substantial, and they tend to be cumulative. At the same time, it is a dangerous error to suppose that, because industrialism has increased the material welfare of the nation, it has established a condition of life which is to be regarded as altogether satisfactory. Opinion has fluctuated between two extremes. For some years after the success of the industrial revolution it was commonly held that industry throve best in the absence of all interference and regulation by the State—a doctrine which reached its most forcible development in the interpretation of *laissez faire* by the Manchester School. Gradually this attitude was modified by the acceptance of exceptions from the principle of *laissez faire* in industry—as, for instance, in the Factory Acts. Of late the pendulum of opinion has tended to swing in the direction of increased State-regulation of industry. And, if this tendency is carried too far, there is the danger that initiative may be checked. Economic forces are so complex that the prevention of one evil sometimes occasions another no less serious. Thus the problem of the future will be, on the one hand, to correct, or at least diminish, some of the ills of the industrial system; while, on the other hand, this should be effected without the sacrifice of any of its essentially valuable characteristics.

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W. R. SCOTT.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.—See JUVENILE CRIMINALS.

INFALLIBILITY.—I. *GENERAL: INFALLIBILITY IN COMMON LIFE.*—1. Infallibility a universal idea; its basis and general significance; equivalent terms and cognate ideas.—At the heart of such universal questions as What shall I believe? Whom shall I trust? Whom shall I obey? Where shall I find certitude? What is the foundation of faith? What is truth? there lies a principle of faith in the existence of a source and channel of infallible knowledge. The quest and discovery of an infallible authority has, in some form or other, been the business not only of the great systems of religion throughout the world which have canonized the utterances and injunctions of their prophets, priests, and legislators, but also of innumerable social and political associations, each inspired with an analogous hope and confidence. Usually, it may be said, it is a practical or working infallibility that men agree to recognize; but just in proportion as that infallibility is challenged and placed in need of vindication it is apt to be invested with a robe of mystery, and advanced to a dignity which it is fondly hoped will make it absolute and above question.

The word 'infallibility' is late Latin in its origin; but the idea, both religious and political, which it conveys is as ancient as authority in Church and State. As a negative virtue or perfection it is practically equivalent to 'inerrancy' and 'indefectibility,' the root notions of 'stumbling,' 'straying,' and 'failing' representing obvious and kindred defects in a guide to truth. As a positive virtue or perfection it has for its counterpart 'reliability,' 'trustworthiness,' or 'trueness.' The same difficulties and problems inhere in both sets of terms. In considering them we are brought face to face with an impressive series of ultimate questions, moral, social, political, legal, ecclesiastical, and religious. It is impossible to define, analyze, and weigh the concept of infallibility without recognizing that there are involved in it the foundations upon which human thought has built up its ideas of an absolute authority, a court of final appeal, a majesty of law and government, a divine right of persons or of institutions, a warrant of certitude, a rule of faith, a code of honour and of duty, a system of truth. To believe in inspiration, in revelation, in illumination, to accept a dogma, to proclaim a truth, implies in every case a faith in some infallible. Human intelligence may locate this ultimate ground of faith and conduct very variously. A man may be convinced that it resides in his own unaided mind or heart or conscience, or in the unaided faculties of some ruler or official or dignitary, or in the unaided instinct of some family or corporation or people, or in the contents of a sacred book or law or literature, or in any one of these conceived as dictated or imparted by supernatural instruction. But that an infallible seat and oracle of authority does exist is axiomatic in ethics and in politics not less than in religion. 'Oh that I knew where I might find it!' is the burden of a longing for it, hardly to be distinguished from the aspiration after God Himself. It is easy to say that to err is human, that inerrancy as a perfection belongs to God alone, that any human claim to it savours of rank presumption and, indeed, of blasphemy. And certainly it would be insufferable that any mortal mind or will should arrogate it to itself as an indefectible individual possession. But, as we shall see, its claimants in Church and State seek to elude the condemnation which they would otherwise incur, and which they freely inflict upon others in like case, by representing themselves as hereditary or official life-renters of a divinely delegated authority and wisdom. Kings or castes claim divine right, not as created or won by themselves, but as given irrevocably to themselves. A prophet or a priest claims to express the very will of God, not as a maker but as a recipient of revelation. The maxim of civil law, 'The King cannot err,' is neither more nor less intelligible and defensible than the later maxim of canon law, 'The Supreme Pontiff cannot err.' Each rests upon a philosophy of absolute monarchy as profound, subtle, and elusive as the other; each springs from an instinct deep-seated in human nature, and satisfies in its own way psychological needs that never fail to assert themselves. It will be the principal suggestion of this article that ecclesiastical or papal infallibility is not to be explained or criticized in theological or philosophical terms so much as in political and practical. Forensic and public rather than academic considerations have defended it during its protracted development. Sentiment and a sense of corporate discipline have done more for it than logic and apologetic. It was no accident that in the Vatican Council of 1870 and in the Roman Catholic Church outside that imposing assembly the conflict resolved itself into a bitter opposition between the scholarly and the administrative genius of the Church, the former as hostile to the definition of papal infallibility as the latter was urgent in its favour. The Curia is a court, not an academy. Its utterances are decrees, not theories. Its language is not theological so much as legal, and is to be interpreted and judged as such. To construe it literally, as if its vocabulary were derived from science, is perhaps as imprudent as to insist that court dress be made compulsory in the schools, or that wig and gown be borrowed from the hall of justice and made the dress of commerce and of recreation. It is true, of course, that infallibility, like other dogmatic formulations, has called into being a scholarship, or a scholasticism, of its own. But it rested on grounds distinct from scholarship and philosophy. It had silent reasons superior to the texts of Scripture which it cited. It was the canonization of a practical and essentially political principle. For its ecclesiastical promoters the doubts and hesitations and objections of their learned and eloquent opponents served no other purpose than the set speeches of the *advocatus diaboli* at the canonization of an already venerated saint. They were as shadows to enhance the new illumination. They were the resistance needed to give zest and triumph to a victory.

2. **Degrees of infallibility; qualified forms of the idea.**—The term 'infallible,' as applied to an individual, an organization, a system of doctrine, or a body of literature, does not, on the face of it, lend itself to qualification or modification. As a thing is either perfect or imperfect, so is a thing either fallible or infallible. But, in fact, the term is confidently employed, especially in controversy, in a variety of senses, its extreme asserters having in reserve a citadel of common sense for refuge when their exaggerations have been exposed and made untenable. As the term 'truth' has had to sustain a formidable diversity of interpretations, infallibility, as befits an idea so near of kin to it, has passed through the same experience. It may denote, as we have stated, absolute or practical immunity from error or failure. At the top of the scale a person may be conceived as in himself so perfectly constituted as not only in all circumstances to be found never to fail of right and truth in any degree, but as to be incapable of thus failing. At the bottom of the scale one may conceive a person not in himself, but by external influence, saved, on the whole and in the long run, from material or irremediable error. Between these two conceptions there lies a considerable series of descending degrees of infallibility, each of which is an adequate basis of faith and conduct, though it comes short of the ideal. Viewed scientifically, the proud boast of infallibility tends more and more to qualify itself. Though real, it is virtual, official, conditional, occasional, derived, or relative, in every claimant except God. The Bible is deemed infallible as inspired and kept pure by divine agency, either in every syllable and letter or as a whole, either in matters of faith and morals only or in matters of historical fact also, either in text or in substance, either in the original or in a particular version, either in the literal, in the historico-literary, or in a figurative sense, either as interpreted by the Fathers, by the Reformers, or by a particular branch of the living Church, and so on. The Church is deemed infallible in its clergy alone or in the episcopate, in councils or in popes, or in its clergy and laity together, either in matters touching faith and morals only, or in discipline or science or scholar

ship also, either at a certain era or in its unbroken practice, either in a certain denomination or in its entirety, and so on. But, when viewed through the medium of religious or patriotic faith, infallibility rises in the scale and ascends to the lofty altitude at which truth and authority are absolute and divine. Of infallibility, as of truth, there are idealist, utilitarian, and pragmatist interpretations, and each varies in an individualistic or an institutionalistic direction.

3. **Wide range of the idea.**—It is important that the wide range of the idea should be recognized. Infallibility is claimed in some measure or degree in a large number of regions of human activity. While the ecclesiastical and political uses are the most familiar as themes of literary and academic discussion, others deserve mention in an article like this, since the analogies they present are valuable, and have undoubtedly lent support to the former. Wherever in human affairs authority is respected and truth recognized, a degree of infallibility appropriate to the circumstances is implied. Usually the quality of perfect trustworthiness is attributed simply to the object, person, or institution in which it is believed to reside. But in reality it is also implied that the mind which recognizes infallibility has itself formed an infallible, an absolutely trustworthy, judgment, whether directly on the basis of evidence before itself, or indirectly on the basis of evidence accepted by a reputed infallible, external witness or authority, such as tradition, usage, or a living organization. Nothing assists the student of infallibility more effectively to appreciate its essential complexity and subtlety than a swift glance at the less notorious and controversial regions of life in which it is acknowledged to be operative.

(1) *In external Nature.*—External Nature, upon any view of an ultimate explanation, presents the eye of man with a spectacle of infallibility. Think what you will of her achievements, her products in detail, her tragedies, and her catastrophes, her laws operate with a serenely or a grimly perfect regularity, her processes are so absolutely reliable that an alleged suspension of them or exception to them becomes a miracle, and no one credits it except a theist who may find himself able to explain it as a divine suspension of a divine custom for divine ends, and thus implicitly leaves intact the general conception of Nature's normally unbroken regularity and uniformity. The sequence of the seasons, the alternation of day and night, the undeviating course of physical processes and of natural laws which know no exceptions, have passed into a proverb of unfailing trustworthiness. For religious faith Nature is infallible within her appointed sphere, because her Author and Upholder is infallible, and expresses His mind and will, within limits, through her. Failure in her would be failure in Him.

(2) *In human Nature.*—Trust Nature, says one school, and she will guide you rightly in the end. In other words, instinct is infallible. Convention is artificial and represses Nature. But Nature, though you expel her with a pitchfork, will make her way back and master you. A return to Nature in its primitive sense, however, is not more attractive than a return to his cradle would be to a grown man. The trouble for a sansculottist philosophy of any type is that the great conventions of life are themselves profoundly natural; they are the dictates of instinct guided by long experience. It is more natural to the genus *homo* to go clothed than naked, to observe law than to be anarchist. And for the individual the rule to trust one's instinct as a sure guide is not to be crudely simplified into a wanton and libertine indulgence of each passing whim or fugitive passion. Even the brutes are above that. Instinct, the nature in us, is as complex as the universe, nature around us. Each has required an age-long evolution to bring it to what it is. Nature, instinct, is a perfectly trustworthy authority, but it needs patience and impartial investigation to know her mind and catch her final mandate. 'Be natural,' a first law of manners and of style in art and literature, and, rightly understood, also in morals and religion, does not mean 'Play the new-born babe, or play the backwoods savage,' but 'Be true to your real genius and station and mission in life.' Nature is infallible, in the region of human instinct as in her own external province, the world of the elements and forces; but her mind and will are expressed in decrees which are not momentary or intermittent or capricious, but are in time discerned as universal laws making for progress and cohering in consistency.

(3) *In human society.*—In human social life various degrees of infallibility are recognized under the conceptions of authority and discipline. No one pretends that all parents or that any parents are incapable of making mistakes and misleading their children, yet the will of the parent and the information and instruction of the parent are for a time infallible to the child, gladly accepted by him as such, and within limits authorized as such both by law and by public opinion. The rights of the parent in the child who is flesh of his own flesh and is brought up by him, the mutual affection that is natural to both and inspires trust, sympathy, and understanding, and makes submission to authority no hardship, the special knowledge which the parent possesses of the temperament and capacity of the child and his natural desire to develop the best in him—such considerations make interference between parent and child at a certain stage in life profoundly undesirable, and lend at least a temporary infallibility to parental authority. The same is true of the authority of the teacher in school and university not only to command obedience, but to command faith in his instruction. The apprentice in business or in handicraft, the subordinate official in well-nigh every organization in commercial, military, professional, and public service, accepts, and is authorized to accept, within limits as final for him the mandate or advice of his superior. Such infallibility is maintained as socially economical and as conducing to efficiency in the common interest. It is held to be justified as working well, and flagrant instances of abuse of power are held to discredit the individual, not the system. Democracy itself is not less a form of government, entailing discipline and subordination in its public departments, than a theory of citizen equality. Expediency alone, based on confidence in special knowledge, is the warrant of military infallibility with its autocratic subjection of all ranks to one mind and will, of legal infallibility with its judicial *cul de sac* in a court of final appeal, and of political infallibility with its autocratic or constitutional vesting of all authority ultimately in a sovereign power. The physician in practice is assigned an all but arbitrary infallibility, tempered by occasional appeal to the specialist, and restrained from gross incompetency or crime by professional honour fortified by the common law and the Medical Council. 'Trust the expert' is a rule in which humanity for the most part has a childlike confidence, utterly misplaced in numerous particular instances, yet based generally on a solid foundation of close observation and long experience. Proverbial though it is that doctors differ, no proverb encourages the patient to differ from his doctor. Proverbial though it is that tastes differ, each generation suffers itself willingly to be

directed in its architecture, art, and music by the experts of the day, in spite of the fact, too clearly shown by history, that their judgment in many cases proves to be as transitory and as unfortunate in its issue as the æsthetic canons and decrees of sartorial fashion.

(4) *In reason.*—If we turn to reason, the ultimate differentia of mankind in the world of life, in search of an infallible principle, our quest is not in vain, but the result is not the discovery of an automatic solvent of all problems. Reason is infallible. It is the organ of truth. But, though it resides in every normal human being, it confers no immediate miraculous identity of judgment or opinion upon humanity. All men reason; but not all reason accurately or consistently. Fortified though it is by increasing personal experience and individual knowledge, and fostered and assisted though it is by tradition and by common intercourse, the individual reason is not delivered from errors and shortcomings. When we speak of reason as infallible, we look beyond the individual and even beyond the aggregate to what is anything but an abstraction, to the common principle of all our thinking and judging, which is not many but one, which guides and directs our science in all its departments, which appeals to men of every race. The rationalist isolates it as a standard and criterion of faith and duty, forgets that it is but an instrument, though the highest in our use, and in its favour ignores other elements in our spiritual constitution which give force and value to life. But reason, by which we discriminate truth from error, religion from superstition, and in great measure right from wrong, as an indwelling principle in humanity, must be infallible. Apart from its complete and unimpeded exercise there is no rest to the soul. Through it the observation of nature and its operations rises from a pastime into science, enhancing not more man's knowledge than his power, and approximating his intelligence and his insight nearer and nearer to the divine. But, as with nature or instinct, so with reason—it is infallible as an ultimate principle, fallibly employed by individual intelligences even in the exalted sphere of science, which, outside the somewhat frigid bounds of pure mathematics, is never altogether innocent of questionable dogma and changing fashion.

(5) *In conscience.*—It is an axiom of all schools and all sects that a man ought to obey his conscience in all circumstances and at all costs. Religion, indeed, recognizes in human conscience the very whisper of the infallible Spirit of God. But what one man's conscience sanctions for him another's sometimes in the same circumstances refuses to permit. The slavery which one generation contemplates with equanimity and justifies without a qualm revolts the soul of its successor. The polygamy which one race practises deliberately as its social duty appears abhorrent to another people. The pride, the ambition, the love of power and wealth, which are the breath of life to one class of men, are as death to the soul of another. Usages and impulses which pass unchallenged in the OT, or are regarded as directly approved, are condemned in the NT. Yet conscience is not dethroned from its sovereign dignity, nor is it acknowledged to lack essential unity. For the individual, the time, the race, it is final; it is to be believed implicitly, and obeyed. But even conscience can be developed and trained, as in the individual so also in the race. It is the same principle in all its variations, in all individuals, periods, and peoples. Its function is the same. Its genius or spirit is the same. But, like everything human, it has to grow, to come to itself, to increase in self-knowledge and in vision. If it is the whisper of God, it is also a still, small voice sounding in human ears amid the distractions of other sounds, and it speaks a language whose vocabulary, accent, and tones man does not learn at once without education and taking pains. Conscience is not an oracle before whose tripod the human soul can sink its native intelligence and responsible discernment and resign itself to passive listening. To regard it as an automatic index to duty, operated supernaturally apart from the dispositions of the heart and mind in which it is resident, is to degrade both it and its divine operator. The compass is an infallible pointer to the pole, but science which gave it to the seaman for his guidance has had to toil and search in order to discover its true direction and to instruct him how to house it, how to allow for its deflexion, how to strengthen its power and protect it from external interference, how to construe its behaviour in all circumstances. So conscience in the individual, for all its dignity as a divine voice speaking in the soul of man, is no exception to the sacred law that revelation, though it comes to earth from heaven, enters through human faculties, entrusted to human vision, human intelligence, and human utterance. Essentially the same conjunction of human and divine which Christological theology has made familiar in the Incarnate Word as a mystery to faith, and which baffles prosaic analysis in the divine message of the prophets and in the written Word of God, which are at the same time intensely human, presents itself to reverent inquiry in the divine Word which we call conscience. It is infallible for religious faith, though its organs of utterance are in themselves found to be imperfect and errant. In the moral world it is better to do the wrong thing under the conscientious conviction that it is right than to do the right thing in spite of the conscientious conviction that it is wrong. But in either instance the organ of moral discrimination is at fault and is in need of further education. Thus the infallibility of conscience, absolute as it rightly is for the individual, is always relative to his enlightenment, and ought to be consciously so, and therefore open to fresh enlightenment. Education and development may modify its actual decrees, but as a principle it represents a consistent attitude towards ethical values as in the course of time and experience they are successively understood and rightly appreciated.

(6) *In the State and in political life.*—Again, it is a maxim and mark of good citizenship that the laws of one's country are to be loyally obeyed. They possess a certain majesty more sovereign even than the king in whose name they are promulgated and enforced. They express the genius and spirit of a people, mould its life incessantly, and outline for common instruction a certain minimal suggestion of its ideal of justice. What represents the settled conviction of many generations of experience must, it is readily felt, be true, and has a right to be enforced. Conscience and expediency combine to dignify its authority. But in all civilized countries the development of parliamentary legislation has introduced so great an amount of legal detail into statutory obligations, and the victories of party which carry legislative programmes into the statute-book frequently represent so attenuated, shortlived, and doubtful a majority of public opinion in their favour, that the majesty which once rightly belonged to the greater and often unwritten codes of earlier days has become at once a moral and a psychological impossibility. Party government is everywhere in just disrepute, except among the politically ambitious whose ends alone it serves, because more and more it presumes to employ coercion in

the name of the whole State and with the resources of the whole commonwealth to enforce the will of a section of the people in things morally indifferent. On one plea or another it will not wait to secure moral unanimity, the only legitimate basis of compulsion. It seldom cares to invite an explicit mandate, but prefers to merge a number of separate issues in its appeal to the constituencies, juggling as it pleases with their aggregate response. Yet in the Crown, the State, the commonwealth, however organized for government and administration, there resides a real infallibility. Its authority, like that of conscience, articulates itself in different lands and at different periods in very various utterances, and sanctions things which in course of time it would fain repudiate. Even with the best and most honourable intentions it may do wrong, act tyrannically, and retard progress. But such cases constitute to the right-minded reformer simply a signal of the need of education. The just authority of public opinion, and of immemorial tradition, and of the institutions which they have constructed for the public good must not be overthrown if it is to be brought to bear with a freshly enlightened purpose upon the establishment of a better order of things. Infallibility, therefore, in the State, vested in its head and officers, its government and administration, absolute though it appears from moment to moment when the interests of individuals collapse in conflict with it, is and always has been relative and conditioned. Autocracy at its worst has its restraints, and owes the very continuance of its power to them. Democracy is but a readjustment and redistribution of responsibilities and authorities. The legal principle that the king or the legislature cannot err holds its own only by the help of the seemingly inconsistent rule that the sovereign power is in duty bound to redress wrongs and to promote reforms as need arises. The same ministers and members of parliament who on admission swear to uphold the constitution of their country are vested with power to alter or modify it. If the interest of common order and public peace demand immediate obedience to the existing law, that obedience will not long be rendered where there is no confidence that the highest good of the people is being vigilantly promoted by the occupants of official power. Closely as the ecclesiastical claimants to infallibility have modelled their politics upon the theory and practice of the secular powers under whose shadow they have had to live, they have not found in them any example or analogy for an absolute regime whose decrees were not only affirmed to be final for the time but irreformable and unalterable for all time. It was reserved for ecclesiastical statesmen to endeavour to erect a hierarchical autocracy distinguished from all secular organizations by its steadfast and immovable exclusion of innovation even by constitutional means.

(7) *In religion.*—It is in religion that the principle of infallible authority asserts itself most powerfully. Every religion has its solemn ordinances and obligations, its absolute decrees which rule the public and domestic life of its people. The higher religions, which claim in some sense to save men here and hereafter, use the same order of language and operate with the same instruments of instruction and discipline as the lower, but they leave the lower far behind in respect of the urgency of their appeal, the dignity of their claims, and the wealth of means which they bring to bear upon mankind for the accomplishment of their lofty purpose. They make explicit and articulate the presuppositions and the genius of earlier faiths. They are theologically and ecclesiastically self-conscious. They are not content merely to proclaim, but feel bound also to explain. They develop organizations for their propagation and diffusion comparable in extent and in cost with the secular politics of history. They are not content to rest on the authority of custom or usage as the valid basis of their law, but affirm their direct origination by divine agency. They describe their authority not only as a power demanding to be obeyed, but as a power desiring and requiring to be believed. The truth they preach does not derive its credibility or its cogency from human sources. It is God's Word. It is a divine revelation, not a human discovery. Tradition itself can add no sanctity to it: it can only keep it pure and pass it down the generations. In such a setting infallibility takes on an enhanced solemnity. It is no longer an empirical convention founded on natural right and supported by simple expediency, but rises into an august principle of dogmatic faith. In Christianity most of all it has come to mature self-consciousness, and found expression in a series of transcendent affirmations of faith. Buddhism, Muhammadanism, Hinduism, Sikhism, Parsiism, have precisely analogous dogmas associated with their conceptions of an inspired founder, an inspired literature and canon, a holy organization or fraternity, and a providentially safeguarded tradition and interpretation. But in Christianity the questions relating to infallibility have been developed and worked out both by scholarship and by administration with a completeness that is without rival, and a literature of extreme value and great impressiveness is available for the student who desires to master them for himself.

II. *SPECIAL: INFALLIBILITY IN THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.*—**I. Introductory considerations.**—In the Christian life and within the Christian organization of society the various types and degrees of infallibility which have been sketched in the first division of this article all have their counterparts. Each of the Churches and every type of Christian has a seat of authority, simple or complex, accessible or remote, to which it habitually refers its doctrinal and practical difficulties. The response of the oracle may not be regarded as final for more than the occasion or the party concerned, but it is believed to represent an independent and in some sense authoritative voice, confirming or correcting individual opinion. This authority in the Christian world is at once a rule of faith and of duty, promoting, if not demanding, belief in its testimony and obedience to its injunctions. In every case it is believed to owe its prerogative and power to divine inspiration and to a permanent divine commission. In argument and counter-argument the advocates of these authorities are apt to draw distinctions between the rival principles as in themselves either more or less spiritual in character. But the Christian rationalist, for example, who makes reason supreme, does so only under the conviction that God gave reason to man to be his guide through all his perplexities of faith and conduct, and that it is impiety towards the Author and Upholder of that noble faculty to doubt its authority and its adequacy. He can point effectively to the fact that all schools of Christian thought argue or reason, when they can, the correctness of their views, even when those views have reached the paradox *Credo quia absurdum*; and there is justice in his judgment that for Christendom reason is infallible within its own legitimate province, inferring truth from the data supplied to it by nature, experience, or revelation, correlating truths derived from whatever source, and exposing error either directly or by reduction to absurdity.

Broadly speaking, infallibility has been sought by Christian faith in a direction either external or internal to the individual. In historical documents, the Scriptures or the Creeds and Confessions of Faith, or in sacred traditions embedded in literature or embodied in life, or in the living Church either as a whole or represented by some class or individual, or in the historical Jesus, a fundamentally external norm of infallible truth is found. In the Christian reason, or in the witness of the Holy Spirit within the individual Christian soul, an inward norm is accepted. But the common presupposition of all these views is that God may be trusted not to fail the believing soul, that His guardian and guiding Spirit is increasingly at work in the Church, bringing infallible conviction to those who, officially or personally, use the means of grace and knowledge available in the Church in reliance upon God. Individuals and Churches emphasize differently the particular instruments and vehicles of infallible guidance, but under all their differences it is clear that they operate with the same elements of spiritual power and knowledge. There is one Spirit, the common ultimate; and His instruments, though they are many, are essentially alike for all. In a sense no claims to infallibility are more provincial than the ultracatholic in so far as they are ultramontane, and none are more individualistic than the papal since they are vested in one man. Thus do extremes meet in their pursuit of a common object.

The principal forms of infallibilist theory which have been urged by Christian thinkers locate the seat of Christian authority in sacred writings, in the organized or visible Church, in the historical Jesus, or in the Christian reason, conscience, or spirit. In that order they are here reviewed.

2. Infallibility of Holy Scripture.—Christianity was born to revere a Bible. Its earliest place of worship was the Galilæan synagogue, a House of the Book, a provincial equivalent for the distant Temple, whose open Holy of Holies, in the full view of the congregation, contained the Old Covenant, the rolls of the Word of God, in their shrine or ark. Master and disciples had alike learned in the synagogue and its schools to regard the Law and the Prophets as the veritable utterance of the Spirit of God. For them a visit to the Temple at the great feasts owed its impressiveness not less to the Scriptural instruction than to the ritual and sacrifice which it housed. Their nation, in the phrase so picturesquely used by Muhammad in the Qur'ān to describe them, was the 'People of the Book.' The most admired and distinguished class in the nation, according to the popular judgment, were the scribes and Pharisees, whose profession it was, not by birth, but by learning and talent, to be the priests and Levites of the Temple and Cultus of the Book. If the Temple priesthood who served in the sight of Israel principally at the great festivals represented Aaron in their ephods, the Rabbis sat in Moses' seat with the phylactery on their forehead as their symbol, exercising an authority which practically overshadowed the direction of public ritual in the Capital alone, since it reached the infinitesimal details of daily life and piety throughout the country. Public opinion invested them in the period of the ministry of Christ with an authority in matters of faith and morals which Christian priesthoods with significant and ominous avidity have made the precedent and the model for their own. Yet it was the Book they handled rather than the way they handled it that surrounded them with popular veneration. To the almost superstitious awe with which the popular mind universally regarded book-learning in ancient times, the transcendent character of the Holy Book which they expounded lent vastly added force. If we remember what the OT in Hebrew and in Greek was to Israel, and also bear in mind the profound impression that it made, in spite of its foreign atmosphere and peculiar exclusiveness, upon the cultured classes of neighbouring races among whom it gained thousands of disinterested proselytes by its sheer grandeur, elevation, and spiritual uniqueness, we shall not wonder that from the beginning something verging on Bibliolatry was native to Christianity. The NT, which has no infallible pretensions for itself any more than the OT had for itself, and gains our allegiance none the less readily because of their absence from its unaffected pages, from first to last quotes from the OT and defers to it as a treasury of literal oracles of God. The reader of it does not need to recall particular references of Jesus to the authority of the Bible of His people whose 'Scripture cannot be broken' (Jn 10^{35})—ignorance of which and of God's power is a cause of error (Mt 22^{29})—an authority which was common ground for the strangely different interpretations of it made by Him and by His enemies. The 'oracles of God,' as Paul calls them (Ro 3^{2}), are as truly the basis of Christ's teaching, and, as in the Temptation and the Transfiguration, the strength of His life, as they are the source of the language and imagery in which the Apostolic writers set forth His teaching and His life and character. The most consummate scholarship of our time is only coming to realize fully the minute and profound dependence of the NT upon the OT, Gospels and Epistles, Master and disciples alike. For one and all the OT was the Infallible Book, God's own Word and Revelation through inspired seers, singers, thinkers, statesmen, and annalists, every word of which was authoritative for the soul, if rightly understood.

The composition and publication of the Apostolic writings was necessarily followed by an almost immediate extension of the Canon, the infallible rule of faith and life. For, apart from their intimate connexion with the Lord Himself as veracious records and expositions of Him composed by men belonging more or less closely to His earliest following, they have a spiritual tone, power, and distinction, and they proclaim a message, which not only raised them at once to the exalted level of the OT, but made them in sober truth its completion and perfection, the crown of its hopes and promises, the light that in earlier days had projected moving shadows as it drew near the world. If the OT was inspired, much more the NT. If the OT was infallible, much more the NT. If the OT formed a Canon, with or without the late Apocrypha, much more the NT, also with or without the later writings, which were painfully marked by waning power. Detailed examination, sentence by sentence, of these newer writings only served to vindicate the comparison. They preserve, to this day, the same inexhaustible edification and stimulus for religious minds which Israel and the first Christians found unfailingly in the reverent perusal and study of the older Bible of their race. Both Testaments remain inextricably bound up together as the Bible and Common Rule of the whole of Christendom. Greek, Roman, and Protestant alike use it, and cherish it, as the fountain of sacred truth, the unfailing and inerrant source of Christian instruction, God's literal Word for all time, dictated by His Spirit and phrased by his chosen servants to be an eternal possession of the faithful in His Church. For the Greek and Latin Fathers, for the Schoolmen great and small, for all branches of the divided modern Church, the unmistakable teaching of the Bible is infallible. 'It is written,' for them as for the first Christians, is officially final proof, where the Scripture is at one and its sense correctly reached, just as 'Thus saith the Lord' is final on the lips of a true prophet.

Then how comes it that there are so many Churches, and so many Biblical theologies at their foundation, it may be asked, if the Bible is one, and infallible, and accepted by all Christians? The answer is twofold.

(*a*) While the Bible is one, its contents are far from homogeneous, representing many historical strata of religious experience and many types of religious temperament; so that a Book which comes to us from so many minds may very naturally appeal to men very differently, some responding to one element in it, others to others, no single individual and no Church, it may be, ever being capable of appreciating all alike. It lends itself, not unintentionally, to as many interpretations as it finds interpreters. The rival Church theologies are neither wrong in themselves nor, as we are apt to judge in haste, destructive of the unity of Holy Writ, any more than the rival tendencies within its own pages, as, for example, of priest and prophet or of Paulinism and Petrinism, are subversive of it. Scholarship and common sense have come to doubt the wisdom and the justice of making the Bible into a code, or a quarry of materials for a code, of statute law which must be rigorously administered if justice is to be done to it and to the lieges. The letter killeth; the spirit giveth life. Faith cannot be legislated; it has to be 'inspired.' Unity or conformity may become a fetish, and its cult a superstition, if it is not comprehensive enough to admit of a certain play of freedom and spontaneity in the faith which inspires it. The division and subdivision of the Church in all lands, far from disclosing a merely schismatic spirit, is in great measure a proof that the Christian mind has been alive and awake, that it has demanded a wider catholicity than orthodoxies would acknowledge, and that the many-sidedness of the Christian Scriptures has received recognition in spite of all legalistic repression and restraint. Bossuet's controversial use of the variation of Protestant doctrine rests on a grotesque misconception of the nature of unity, and consorts very ill with the spirit of his native Gallicanism. Christianity itself was at first known as a sect, a αἵρεσις, because it rested upon an interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures which was contrary to that of the accepted schools. The Sermon on the Mount, with its 'It was said of old time . . . but I say unto you,' is a perfect illustration of the mingled reverence and independent discrimination of Jesus' attitude to the OT. The conflict of texts in the threefold temptation in the wilderness, some being rejected as lower and worldly, others accepted as spiritual, is another proof of the critical position which He took up towards the letter and details of the Book whose inherent infallibility He invariably assumes. And, far from discouraging a like reverent freedom in His followers, He was at no pains to preclude variation in Christian thought, and prescribed no dogmatic interpretation either of the OT or of His own words and ordinances, although the daily conversation of His immediate disciples, even the inner circle, revealed with unmistakable clearness the grave differences of opinion which were inevitable in the future. It may, indeed, be part of the moral vocation and intellectual responsibility of every Christian to form his own best judgment as to the message of the Word of God, and Christian unity may find expression less in identity of opinion than in identity of attitude, less in finding a uniform doctrine than in finding the truth for oneself, whatever others may seem to find. Certain it is, in any case, that from the very outset of its career Christianity has expressed itself through diverse interpretations of its common Scriptures, retaining its sense of their divine authority notwithstanding unimpaired.

Moreover, the infallibility of Scripture was not incompatible with a varying Canon. At first the Canon was simply the accepted OT, but it existed in both its Hebrew and its Greek form, each of which was authoritative, and was, in fact, employed as the textual basis of quotations in the NT. An artificial identity of Hebrew text was secured by rabbinical care, greatly to the loss of later scholarship; but, though the legend of the Septuagint credited the work of the seventy Greek translators with miraculous identity in a similar interest, the same miracle-loving Providence omitted to supply an identical text or even an identical number of books to the received Hebrew and to the received Greek Canons, suggesting thereby that infallibility was to be found in something higher than the hireling work of the copying scribe and the selective judgment of the Canon-former. It was not otherwise with the Christian Bible when by degrees the NT drew together as the complement of the OT. No doubt it was comparatively easy to set aside inferior aspirants to a place in the completed Canon, though some writings ultimately included and some excluded hung in the balance for a considerable time. But, as time went on, and versions into the vernaculars of Christian Europe, Asia, and Africa were made and recognized for use, and the process of manuscript reproduction steadily increased the distance between the current copies and the lost originals, the difficulties which beset the natural ideal of a single interpretation of the Bible were greatly multiplied. Rome in its own practical and not over-scrupulous fashion cut the knot by ordaining that the Greek and Hebrew texts should retire into academic seclusion as antiquarian matter, and that a standard revision of Jerome's Vulgate should for all time coming be the only Bible for doctrinal and disciplinary and liturgical use. Even that Vulgate has come to need textual revision and standardization by a Biblical Commission. The Scriptural infallibilist who desiderates a single authentic text as the basis of his scholarship and dogma might well despair. But it is clear that the kind of infallibility which Jesus Christ and the early Church recognized in Scripture was not textual or linguistic or historical in character, but spiritual, and the Roman Catholic or Protestant controversialist who flees for refuge to an arbitrarily selected version and text as his infallible Canon, or postulates an infallible authority to be its interpreter, has succumbed to an unchristian panic, and has failed to recognize the true nature of the inerrancy of Holy Writ. It must be acknowledged without reserve that scholarship has made it simply impossible for any man or any church to point to one text, or one rendering, or one interpretation of the Bible and say, 'This is the one true Word of God, infallible and exclusive.' It is self-delusion, and in the strictest sense superstition, to set up any authority, whether amateur or expert, and appeal to it to settle controversy either temporarily or finally. We may make increasing approximation to the true answer, but nothing is more certain than that a certainty upon it which is beyond question can never be reached. Can Christendom, however, not be content to take up its Lord's position in the matter? He lays down no rule for posterity about the Massoretic text or the Septuagintal rendering. He frames no rules for exegesis. He proclaims the establishment of no court to settle such disputes. The inerrancy of Scripture for Him was compatible with its inclusion of much that was or had become imperfect. He distinguished weightier from minor matters of the Law (Mt 23). For Him there were Messianic elements in it so misleading and seductive as to be satanic, and there were encouragements to what in a Christian would be vice and sin. The divine kernel of Scripture was what alone concerned Him, the Canon within the Canon, the element which reached and held fast the Christian conscience and satisfied the demands of the Holy Spirit operating in the Christian soul.

(*b*) There are many divergent schools of Christian opinion and many types of church life for this further reason, that, apart from the differences of text, rendering, and interpretation just considered in relation to the Bible as one and infallible, traditions external altogether to the Scriptures have been taken as a conjunct and co-ordinate basis of faith and duty. No Church, however devoted or however servile in its Biblicism, has succeeded in eliminating the authority of tradition altogether, for in the sphere of interpretation it makes its presence universally felt. But in no Church is a tradition hostile to the plain sense of Scripture welcome in itself. Roman Catholic dogma expressly co-ordinates tradition with Scripture as a source of revealed truth and duty. 'This [saving] truth and [moral] discipline,' says the Council of Trent in its 'Decree concerning the Canonical Scriptures,' 'are contained in the written books and the unwritten traditions, which, received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ Himself, or from the Apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost dictating, have come down even unto us, transmitted as it were from hand to hand: the Synod, following the examples of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates with an equal affection of piety and reverence all the books both of the Old and of the New Testament—seeing that one God is the author of both—as also the said traditions, as well those appertaining to faith as to morals, as having been dictated, either by Christ's own word of mouth, or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved in the Catholic Church by a continuous succession.' And in the 'Decree concerning Original Sin' it professes to follow 'the testimonies of the sacred Scriptures, of the holy Fathers, of the most approved councils, and the judgment and consent of the Church itself.' But conflict between them is not conceived as possible, the function of tradition being to make explicit as need arises what has lain implicit in the treasury of ecclesiastical authority and Scriptural truth. But any addition of Church tradition to the letter of Scripture on equal terms must increase the room for divergence in men's interpretation of the Bible viewed as an infallible document. Great as is the opportunity for honest difference of opinion on the teaching of Scripture, it is as nothing compared with the opportunity provided by accumulated custom and convention in the Church. It may be difficult to determine the harmony or 'consent' of Scripture, but will any one seriously maintain that a *consensus patrum* or a *consensus traditionum* with any approach to unanimity could be produced for a similar range of doctrine?

The infallibility of Scripture consists of no absolute immunity from error in matters of historical and scientific fact. Even the Gospels defy the harmonist in some details, misquote at least one passage from the OT (Mk 1^2, Lk 7^{27}, where 'thy' is substituted for 'my,' and the whole meaning of Malachi altered), and misattribute another passage (Mt 27^9, where 'Jeremiah the prophet' should be 'Zechariah'). The OT, in its cosmogony and in its history, fails again and again to satisfy an exact standard of accuracy and to consist with modern knowledge, while its statistics are not seldom inconsistent in detail. Many of its lapses are covered up by the kindly offices of textual tradition and translation, though every scholar knows them familiarly. Others have been smoothed over by the indulgent resources of an ingenious interpretation. It is now a commonplace of

Biblical learning that God has been at no pains to prevent errors of history and knowledge and defects in the text and its transmission from finding an entrance into the sacred pages of His written Word. The marvel is, in truth, that detected errors are so few. The devout reader of Scripture may indeed accept them as there, if not from accident, on purpose, to protect him from the sin of Bibliolatry, and to chasten the religious instinct which demands infallibility of a literal sort and insists on revelation as an *opus operatum* and on inspiration as a finished fact. Add together the sum of Biblical inaccuracies and flaws, and, while they do disprove the notion, formed *a priori* of all divine instruments, that the Book contains no blemish, the aggregate is so slight as to be practically negligible. It merely serves to admonish us that Biblical infallibility is not to be sought in the letter, and proves to the discomfiture of our instinctive literalism that jots and tittles can pass away without disturbance of the spirit of the Book. No one will suspect the Westminster divines of disloyalty to the doctrine of Scriptural infallibility, and there is therefore a peculiar impressiveness in their discriminating conclusions regarding it. Speaking, as they do, the last dogmatic word of the older Calvinism, they devote a great part of the opening chapter of their Confession to the subject as the key to their whole doctrine.

> 'The authority of the holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself), the Author thereof; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God. We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverent esteem of the holy Scripture; and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts. . . . Those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed, for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them. . . . The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself; and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold, but one), it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly. The Supreme Judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture.'

Thus, in Calvinistic as in Lutheran orthodoxy, rooted though each is in a thoroughgoing Biblicism, a spiritual principle of dogmatic authority was resorted to in distrust of all external infallibility. The infallible in Scripture was not to be learned by scholarship nor by application to Church Councils in their wisdom.

> As A. B. Davidson says in *The Theology of the OT* (Edinburgh, 1904), p. 205, 'When we speak of the infallibility of Scripture, we must remember it is not a scientific or philosophic infallibility, but the infallibility . . . of common-sense.'

It could be divined by the simple through the illuminating grace of God's Spirit. It concerned not secular knowledge but salvation. In the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England there is no formal reference to Scriptural infallibility, but, instead, to 'the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation.'

> 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite as necessary to salvation' (Art. VI.). 'The Church hath power to decree Rites or Ceremonies, and authority in Controversies of Faith: and yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of Holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of Salvation' (Art. XX.).

In both these articles the authority of Scripture is drawn upon only so far as relates to the great practical needs of religious life and experience.

3. **Infallibility of Creeds and Confessions, of dogma.**—The dogmatic symbols of Christendom, on any view of them, invite discussion in this connexion as a sequel to Holy Scripture and as a preliminary to the Church in the series of accredited authorities; for, on the one hand, like the Bible they are written documents, scriptures, and they are also canonical in their own degree; and, on the other hand, they owe their official authority to the consent of the Church and to unbroken tradition. They are regarded as inspired, but only in a secondary and derivative sense; not as delivered by prophetic men by whom the Holy Spirit uttered fresh truth, but as compiled from Scripture or deduced from Scripture by saints, scholars, and churchmen under the guidance or illumination of the same Spirit. In high theory they are all subordinate to Scripture, and unmistakably sprung from it. To the primary Canon of Apostolic writings they form an appendix of ecclesiastical dogma. But in practice they came to receive a liturgical, disciplinary, and didactic deference hardly inferior to Scripture. Not seldom, indeed, in their character as authoritative summaries of its contents and definitions of the sense in which a Church accepted and construed God's Word, they effectively supplanted Scripture. Scripture, by its many-sidedness, its informality, its popular speech, its unconventional freedom, and its infinite suggestiveness, everywhere prompted men to think for themselves and fashion systems of doctrine for themselves. All the heresies, great and small, appealed to it. Each of the Churches was convinced that it was founded on it, and could cite a wealth of passages palpably in its favour. Thus, if uniformity was to be secured in Christendom, Scripture was seen to be inadequately narrow and exclusive as a standard of orthodoxy, and Creeds and Confessions (*qq.v.*) with growing elaborateness were employed by supreme ecclesiastical authorities, ostensibly to condense and supplement it, but in effect, for disciplinary purposes, to replace and supersede it. That has been a virtually universal process throughout Christendom. There is much to be said for it. Much of it was salutary. It represented a long-continued endeavour not only to exclude grave error and to keep the faith pure by the help, where possible, of Scripture itself, but also to define the essence of Christianity as a faith. The ancient Creeds have a character and a venerableness all their own, so impressive as well-nigh to disarm criticism. Yet even the simplest of them is scarred by controversy. The Apostles' Creed, the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan, the Athanasian, or Quicunque Vult, and the Te Deum form a monumental group of dogmatic symbols, owing less of their authority to formal acceptance by councils and enforcement by discipline than to their willing and, indeed, proud acceptance by the devotion and the scholarship of the Christian centuries. But, different as they are in character, origin, form, and popularity, they are alike acts of faith in Scripture, human responses to the initiative of revelation rather than inspired objects of faith. Their authority is Scriptural in so far as their clauses are borrowed from Scripture with all the advantages and the limitations of mere quotation. If they gain by leaving out much that can be dispensed with in Scripture, they necessarily lack its comprehensiveness, catholicity, and intimate touch with life and experience. What they add to Scripture is controversial in its

origin, and as majority-opinion claims only a questioned immunity from error. What they gain through their approbation or imposition by councils is but a ministerial and, as compared with Scripture, a secondary authority. Fashioned by the Church—for the most part quite obscurely, since even the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan largely consists of pre-conciliar materials—the Creeds differ from formal decrees and definitions like the Confessions, inasmuch as they represent a more spontaneous growth and wield an authority less widely resented; but ultimately the question of their infallibility is the same as that of the infallibility either of the Scriptures from which they are drawn or of the Church which gave them birth, shelter, and recognition. Whether one has regard to the Scriptural elements within them or to the theological additions made in the varied interests of orthodoxy, comprehensiveness, and precision, they are one and all to be interpreted historically; their language, vocabulary, topics, and scope must all be understood in the light of their particular times. What Scripture owes to the affectionate patience of Christian scholarship dare not be withheld from the Creeds and Confessions, if they are either to be understood or regarded with affection. No Creed, not even the Apostles', has the universal currency of Scripture. No Confession has the ecumenicity of the Bible. The same agency which produced dogma is at any time competent to emend, augment, or unmake it. The same authority which gave it sanction is at liberty, if duty should demand it, to set it aside. Few such documents make any claim to be infallible, except in so far as conviction of their truth may be taken to imply infallibility; and those which do—the Athanasian Creed, the appendix to the Nicene, and, for example, the Decrees and Canons of Trent—betray on close inspection no generic difference, no theological elevation, no religious genius, to warrant such distinction. Though Newman and his school counted it a point in favour of the title of the Roman Catholic Church to be the exclusive representative of the infallible Church Catholic that it persistently and deliberately claimed to be such, nothing can exempt the products of the human intellect from the conscientious scrutiny of a living and enlightened scholarship, or from the practical but never completed test that by their fruits they shall be known. Most of them, it may freely be acknowledged with gratitude, served their original purpose admirably, and were faithful to the assured results of the learning and experience of their time.

But, as W. Sanday says in *Christologies Ancient and Modern* (Oxford, 1910), p. 237, although they are 'great outstanding historical monuments of the faith of the Church,' which we cannot but regard with veneration, and to which we desire in loyalty to conform our opinions, 'it is impossible that the thought and language of those centuries should exactly coincide with the genuine, spontaneous, unbiased, scientific . . . language of the present day. We must modernize, whether we will or no.'

4. Infallibility of the Church.—(*a*) *The Universal Church.*—Christian faith in the infallibility of the Church has expressed itself in a protean variety of ways. Some of these verge closely upon the theories which have already been considered. All of them rest on principles which have already been touched upon.

'Whatever various modes,' says W. Palmer in *The Church of Christ*, London, 1838, ii. 123 f., 'of treating the authority of the church there may have been, I believe that scarcely any Christian writer can be found, who has ventured actually to maintain that the judgment of *the universal church, freely, and deliberately given, with the apparent use of all means*, might in fact be heretical and contrary to the gospel.'

At their foundation is a common appeal to the promises of Christ regarding His Church, and an *a priori* theory or presumption as to the means which Providence must needs employ to have them fulfilled. Undeterred by the scantiness of Christ's allusions to the Church as an organization, by His silence regarding its government, and by the unmistakable immediateness of the communion which He taught and promoted between the individual believer and the Father and Himself, churchmanship has fastened upon a few allusions in the Gospels, and erected upon their slender basis an imposing doctrine of the duty of the Christian, in all matters of faith and morals, to trust and obey the Church. Appeal is made to the dictum of Augustine: 'Ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me Catholicae Ecclesiae commoveret auctoritas.' The Church, it is urged, is a living institution, linking all the Christian generations together, nourishing and fostering the faith of individuals, bringing the Scriptures and other means of grace to bear upon them, and investing those saving instruments with authority, whereas the Bible is a mere book, holy but inanimate in itself, requiring the attestation of the Church, requiring authoritative interpretation by the Church, itself indeed originally a product of the Church's experience and self-utterance as well as a compilation made and adjusted by its care. In the nature of the case, the Church, as the Society which was founded to promote God's Kingdom, preceded the NT, just as Israel, the older theocracy, preceded the Hebrew oracles, and, as it preceded it, also ushered the Canon into being and opens its mysteries to view. Plausible as this theory appears, its inadequacy to fit the facts of history and to bear the inferences which have been drawn from it is becoming more and more evident. It is valid only against a doctrine of Scripture as a book, a mere record and compilation as distinct from the utterance and activity which it records. Thus, for example, though the Gospels as books were composed by members of the Church, and were preserved by the Church from loss, the Church did not utter the words of Jesus which they record. We have to thank the Church for recording and transmitting them, not for their authority. The words and acts of Jesus founded the Church, not *vice versa.* He preceded both Church and Scripture. No matter how accurate and honest the Apostolic writers were, no matter how careful and trustworthy the transmitting and explaining Church, it would avail nothing but for the ulterior authority of the voice which they echo. The Protestant preference of Holy Writ to tradition and Church authority rested upon the simple conviction, derived from sorrowful observation and painful experience, that the two mandates differed, and that the Christ of Scripture was unspeakably superior to the Christ who, they were commanded to believe, spoke through the tainted lips of the Renaissance papacy, or through the very human and variable opinions of Schoolmen and Fathers. And it is significant that Rome itself betrays an unmistakable preference for Biblical authority where texts can be cited in favour of its views with any show of exegetical warrant. It will not do to set Scripture over against Church tradition as a dependent and apologetically inferior authority, and then to proceed to prove the superiority of Church and tradition by appeal to Scripture texts. Both sides in the long controversy have erred. If Protestantism has tended to harden its doctrine of Scripture and to evade the duty of discriminating between its contents in the light of the mind and spirit of Jesus Christ, Roman Catholicism, while guilty of the same error, has added to it a grave exaggeration of the independent value of tradition. The Bible itself is tradition at its highest, supremely valuable and authoritative because of its intimate proximity to Jesus Christ, and its undimmed reflexion for the lines of His image. The Bible is not a person, it is true; but neither is the Church. The Bible is not more 'dead' than the words of pope or Council, once they are spoken. Its divine spirit and power are deathless. When ecclesiastical tradition is invited to make an inventory of all the truth in Jesus Christ which it has stored up in its treasury apart from Scripture, the aggregate is ludicrously meagre and painfully at variance with Biblical tradition. At once, in fact, the ecclesiastical claim is driven to shrink into a mere office of interpretation. It cannot, it is said, pretend to new revelations. Its inspiration is scholarly, its authority is rabbinical, its office is hermeneutic. Scripture is there. Scripture is God's undeniable Word. But it is in places obscure, and its testimonies are at times divergent. The Church must save the unity of faith by possessing and by exercising the prerogative of definition. It can say, and it must say, what Scripture means upon any point of controversy. And what by the grace of God it is pleased to say, the faithful ought, without question, to receive as God's very Word. There must be in every age, in every generation, at any moment, some voice on earth, whether single or conjunct, which can allay mortal questionings by the sincere and lawful use of the formula of the Apostolic Council: 'It seems good to the Holy Spirit and to us.'

Leaving out of account OT passages which have been brought to bear upon ecclesiastical infallibility, such as Is 59^{21}, quoted in the Preface to the Vatican Decrees, where the prophecy of the coming of a Redeemer to Zion is followed by the divine covenant, 'My spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed . . . from henceforth and for ever,' ecclesiastical infallibility in general is founded upon the following Scriptural warrants: Mt $16^{18.19}$ 28^{18-20}, Jn 14^{16-20}, and 1 Ti $3^{14.15}$. In Mt $16^{18.19}$, immediately after Jesus' acceptance of Simon Peter's confession of Him as the Christ, which He declares to have been revealed, not by 'flesh and blood,' but by His Father in heaven, He continues: 'And I also say unto thee, that thou art Peter (Πέτρος), and upon this rock (πέτρᾳ) I will build my church; and the gates of death shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' In Mt 28^{18-20} the risen Jesus says to the Eleven: 'All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name . . . teaching them to observe (τηρεῖν) all things whatsoever I commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' In Jn 14^{16-20}, after the words 'If ye love me, ye will keep (τηρήσετε) my commandments,' Jesus says: 'And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may be with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth: whom the world cannot receive; for it beholdeth him not, neither knoweth him: ye know him; for he abideth with you, and shall be in you'; and in 14^{26}: 'But the Paraclete, even the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring to your remembrance all that I said unto you'; and in 16^{12-14}: 'I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he shall guide you into all the truth: for he shall not speak from himself. . . . He shall glorify me: for he shall take of mine, and shall declare it unto you.' In 1 Ti $3^{14.15}$ Paul writes: 'These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how men ought to behave themselves in the (a) house of God, which is the (a) church of the (a) living God, the (a) pillar and ground (στύλος καὶ ἑδραίωμα) of the truth.'

The passages in the Gospels belong to portions of the NT which have not escaped controversy as to their authenticity and historicity. The two passages in Matthew have not unnaturally been subjected to the same kind of doubts as the Johannine narrative regarding their fidelity to the mind and words of Jesus, and the inherent nature of the teaching they contain, the acute differences of opinion they have ever since occasioned, their divergence from other teachings in the NT, and the silence of the other Gospels upon their momentous affirmations have lent confirmation to those doubts. But we may accept the passages as they stand and consider them as a group. They belong to the same order of utterance as the sayings: 'Heaven and earth shall pass away: but my words shall not pass away' (Mk 13^{31}, Lk 21^{33}), 'The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life' (Jn 6^{63}). Their common aim is to proclaim the eternity of Jesus' message, and the security of the guarantees for its continuance after His departure from visible fellowship with His disciples. 'This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations; and then shall the end come' (Mt 24^{14}), and 'Behold, I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes' (Mt 23^{34}), are also cognate passages. The same message which upon Jesus' lips gave rest to the souls that laboured and were heavy-laden under the bondage of the scribes and Pharisees, and replaced a hard and heavy yoke and burden of teaching by one that was easy and light, since it was imposed by a Master who was not proud and self-righteous, but meek and lowly, was not to fail upon the lips of His Apostles who were to carry on His earthly work and mission and be His 'prophets, wise men, and scribes.' It is to be remembered that 'binding' and 'loosing' were rabbinical technical terms current at the time, which denoted 'forbidding' and 'authorizing' a practice or an opinion; so that, when the Apostles, Peter and his fellows, were empowered to 'bind and loose,' it was signified that, whereas the Jewish Synagogue had its wise men and scribes, the Apostles would be the corresponding teachers in the Church, very different in spirit and in message, exercising an altogether different type of authority, shunning claims to precedence, avoiding the title of Rabbi, Master, or Teacher, not lording it over one another or over the flock entrusted to their care, but remembering that they had one Master or Teacher only.

When these passages are taken in conjunction it seems clear that Jesus was confident, and intended to assure His disciples and Apostles, that His gospel would never cease to be proclaimed while the world endured; that faith like Peter's, or the utterance of faith like Peter's, or men of faith like Peter, would be the rock-foundation of His Church against which the powers of death and decay would war in vain; that His bodily withdrawal would neither terminate nor impair His mission; that a substitute for His bodily presence would be provided, to teach His followers His truth, to remind them of His words, to lead them into all needed truth—in a word, to 'glorify' the Son by fulfilling the purpose for which He came, and revealing His divine person and mission. In the exercise of His 'full authority' He bids His disciples make disciples of all nations, baptizing them and teaching them to 'keep' all his 'injunctions'; and He promises them, what is manifestly the same assistance phrased in two alternative ways, first, His own unfailing and everlasting presence—'I am with you alway even unto the end of the world,' that is, His positive help and approval; and secondly, in answer to His prayer to the Father, the Spirit of Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus. In Mt $10^{19.20}$ the Spirit of God their Father is promised to the Twelve Apostles to give them utterance when they are arraigned by their accusers and persecutors, so that they are not to be anxious how or what they are to speak. In Lk 10^{16} Jesus says to the Seventy Apostles: 'He that heareth you heareth me; and he that rejecteth you rejecteth me; and he that rejecteth me rejecteth him that sent me'; and in Lk 11^{13} He says: 'If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?'

As to the passage in 1 Timothy, it is far from certain that 'a pillar and ground of the truth' refers to the 'household of God' which is the 'church of the living God.' Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus make it refer to Timothy, while Bengel links it with the 'mystery or revelation of godliness' which immediately follows it in the text. But, assuming that it does refer to the Church, God's household, and that *ἑδραίωμα* means 'ground' rather than 'stay' or 'support,' the passage teaches simply that the Church is a pillar and ground or base of revealed truth, just as individuals like James, Cephas, and John are called 'pillars' by Paul in Gal 2^{9}, and in Rev 3^{12} 'he that overcometh' is to be made 'a pillar in the temple' of God. There is no suggestion that the 'house of God' is the only 'pillar' of the truth, or that the temple of truth is so ruinous as to have only one column and base.

It seems clear, upon a review of the evidence of the Gospels, that Jesus gave His disciples to understand that, as His words would never pass away, but would live on in the world by the power of the Spirit of truth, so His Church, built as on a rock upon Apostolic faith in His Messianic Sonship to the living God, would never perish, the gates of death would never close upon it. Faith in His followers' mission was the necessary complement to faith in His own. Faith in their teaching was essential to faith in the future of His own. He would inspire and teach them unseen as He had inspired and taught them in the flesh. His Spirit would lead them aright to the truth which they required. But of the teaching that His Church would never err, would never have to learn through experience of misjudgment and occasional error, would be able through certain Councils or officials to command immunity from mistake or fault in matters of faith and morals, there is no trace. History lends no sanction to any such interpretation of the mind of Jesus. As the prayer of Jesus that Peter's faith might not fail (Lk 22^{32}) was followed by Peter's desertion and denial before it was fulfilled through his 'turning again' and subsequent fidelity so that he could stablish his brethren, so the 'ultimate' or the 'essential' guidance of the Church into all truth may satisfy the requirements of its Lord's promises. The Providence which makes all things work together for good does not preclude the incidence of evil in the experience and conduct of God's saints. The Church may by the grace of God withstand the gates of death and be guided into all truth, in spite of many partial and temporary and local defections and mistakes. It will not help the Church to walk circumspectly if it is convinced *a priori* that it enjoys infallibility at every step that is precarious or debatable. What it needs is to know itself fallible in detail, to be ready to confess error and to profit by experience, and to maintain a steadfast faith that the Spirit of God is leading it, however deviously, to the truth that it needs. Further, the gift of the spirit of truth is not promised to the Church and denied to the individual. Each of the Seventy, as we saw, was identified with his Lord, so that those who heard them heard Him. The Father in heaven will no more withhold the Holy Spirit from individual believers than an earthly father will deny good gifts to his children. Is the Holy Spirit unable, or unwilling, to bestow the same immunity from error upon the individual Christian that He confers upon the Church? *Ubi Spiritus ibi ecclesia. Ubi Spiritus ibi veritas.* The same promise of guidance is given to the individual as to the Church; the same assurance belongs to each. The faith that can move mountains, the believing prayer whose persistence will prevail, is not vouchsafed to the Church and withheld from the Church-member. The High Churchman or the Roman Catholic and the Quaker are on the same ground when they claim infallible guidance for the Church or the pope or the individual Christian through the inner light or illumination of the promised Spirit, except that the preponderance of authority derived from the Gospels lies unmistakably in favour of the Friends. All Christians are agreed that the Spirit of God can and will guide God's believing children, the humblest not less than the most exalted or the most learned; but experience has taught most Christians to beware of constructing that faith into an assurance of particular infallibility. History deepens the conviction that on man's part a lively sense of liability to err, and a willingness to be corrected and to acknowledge fault, are an indispensable pre-requisite and guarantee of ultimate arrival at the goal of truth.

(*b*) *The universal consent of Christendom.*—Few minds would hesitate to acknowledge the impressiveness and authority of the unanimous consent of Christendom in favour of any matter touching faith and morals. We are all so profoundly indebted to authority, voicing the lessons of long experience external to ourselves, that the strongest presumption arises that what all Christians are agreed upon must be right and true. The *consensus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* counts for Christian faith as the *argumentum e consensu gentium* counts for theistic faith. 'De quo omnium natura consentit,' says Cicero (*de Nat. Deorum*, I. xvii.; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 117), 'id uerum esse necesse est.' It is the principle, urged by Augustine against the Donatists, which appealed so powerfully to Newman: *securus iudicat orbis terrarum.* It is the principle also which finds expression in the Vincentian Canon of faith and practice: *quod semper, ubique et ab omnibus creditum est.* Unquestionably the moral unanimity of all types of Christian belief in every land and in every period of the Church's history could not fail to inspire trust in a doctrine or a usage, and would go far to protect it in advance against any onslaught of scepticism or criticism. But in practice the rule fails us lamentably. Outside the Holy Scriptures, and indeed outside the cardinal elements in their narrative and teaching, it is exceedingly difficult to point to any extensive group of universally accepted traditions and usages. Even the great Creeds and the great Festivals and the great Sacraments fail to satisfy a demand so exacting. Catholicity so complete is the attribute of few things in the Christian system.

But short of an extreme form of the Vincentian Canon of infallibility the principle of a 'common sense' of Christian people still asserts itself in all Christian lands. Even the Churches which elevate the clergy as authorities high above the laity and use 'church' and 'clergy' as almost equivalent terms, assign, when it suits them, no small virtue to the consent of the people. If the clergy have authority as teachers, their teaching gains added force when it carries the people with it, for they can bring experience to reinforce and vindicate the experts who are their guides. To a far greater degree than is generally credited the determination of orthodoxy has rested with the popular mind. What appeals to the people, helps their life, stirs their imagination, inspires their faith or satisfies their credulity, or calls forth their good works and piety, is naturally regarded by their instructors as demonstrably good and right and therefore inherently true. Very often there is divergence between the churchman and the theologian because of the different attitudes which they tend to adopt towards popular ideas and experience. The ecclesiastic may value as a help to piety and obedience what the scholar distrusts as promoting superstition and servility. The ecclesiastic may be suspicious of the scholar's 'truth' and 'open-mindedness' as savouring of scepticism and private judgment. The *vox populi* not only enthroned an Ambrose in the cathedral of Milan and procured for a Newman the red hat of his ambition, but it has, not less wholesomely though less obtrusively, controlled the selection of many a form of dogma and many a pious usage. When true to itself our religion has always cared for the poor, the simple, the humble, the masses of the people, the 'little ones,' the 'babes and sucklings,' as Jesus called them. It has founded universities, but no university founded it or fashioned its forms of thought and speech and piety. The people may be easily led astray. They may make a poor judge, but they form the best of juries. Like the first Apostles, who represent them in their strength and weakness, they are apt to confound poetry with prose, parable with fact, myth with truth. But their heart is essentially as sound, and their instinct as reliable, to-day as when they heard Jesus gladly and gave Him His first followers and friends. It is from their ranks that the Christian priesthood and ministry are still mainly recruited. It is for their minds that Christian dogmas and devotions are still principally framed.

(*c*) *Particular representatives of the Church; the Episcopate; general Councils.*—Impressive as the consensus of Christendom is, and weighty as is the authority of Christian common sense and popular feeling, their movement and utterance are too slow and unwieldy to enable them to be employed for the speedy solution of faith's problems, perplexities, and controversies. Accordingly, infallible direction has been sought in the consensus of office-bearers of the Church. The testimony of the Apostles, or the Fathers, or the Councils deemed Ecumenical, or the Episcopate, or the papacy, has been regarded and proclaimed in certain relations and at certain times as the final organ of infallibility. Even in these groups of official representatives a perfect consensus is in every case lacking; as between the groups it is equally hard to find. But the assertion of their claims to implicit credence interestingly illustrates the determination of humanity to leave no stone unturned in its search for an infallible oracle of divine truth. One might have supposed that the Old Dispensation would have taught the Christian Church to beware of trusting either the official or the hereditary transmission of hierarchical authority or prophetic vision or interpretative insight or governing power. But, as time advanced and the interval which separated each generation from the historical person of Christ steadily widened, it was natural and inevitable that men should cherish with augmented force the conviction that their Lord had constituted the Apostles and their successors in some definitive sense the heirs to His own divine authority and infallibility. Had He not laid His ordaining hands upon them, bestowing His Holy Spirit upon them for the discharge of their sacred responsibilities, and had they not transmitted to successors the ordination and the gift of the same Spirit? Further, since the Apostles had differed from one another upon occasion and had met in council at the chief seat of the infant Church to confer upon their differences and difficulties, and had issued authoritative decisions for the guidance of the local churches, what more natural than that their successors should do likewise with results as binding upon the Christian conscience, especially if they were similarly unanimous in their decisions? Thus reliance came to be placed on the conjunct mind and unanimous consent of the Episcopate met upon occasion in duly convened universal councils, or acting through the administration of common creeds and ritual and discipline, or accepting the doctrine of certain great teaching Fathers or Doctors on faith and morals. Faith was turned into dogma; a mission into a hierarchy; a brotherhood into a group of federated but rival monarchies. Unanimous consent became majority-finding raised to the dignity of a conceded or a coercive uniformity. The Canon of Scripture was reinforced by a Canon or rule of faith constructed by authority out of creeds hitherto voluntarily cherished by local churches. The Church insensibly became an empire after Constantine's adhesion. The patriarchs, spiritual overlords of subject groups of bishops and dioceses, received among themselves an order of precedence, partly through unsolicited court influence, partly through general consent and usage, partly through deliberate and unashamed arrogation. At length through the vicissitudes of history Rome emerged as the sole vigorous survivor of the patriarchal family, practically untouched by the Arab conquests, at the centre of the culture, the art and architecture, and the politics of the western world.

It is not necessary to dwell at length upon the limitations of the graded office-bearers and courts of the Church as organs of infallible utterance. The summoning of local and general Councils, the party differences in each, the variations of their findings according to their time, place, and racial composition, are sufficient evidence that spontaneous unanimity in doctrine was not to be found in the Episcopate or in the hierarchy. Bishops were seldom selected for purely theological or doctrinal eminence: their business called for other qualities more urgently. It was an extremely distinguished representative of the Episcopate who, according to Lord Acton ('The Vatican Council,' in *North British Review*, liii. [1871] 208), said at the beginning of the Vatican Council:

> 'We bishops are absorbed in our work, and are not scholars. We sadly need the help of those that are. It is to be hoped that the Council will raise only such questions as can be dealt with competently by practical experience and common sense.'

They were often not so much leaders as mouthpieces of religious opinion, chosen by their clergy to administer rather than to receive illumination. For that reason they may justly be claimed as representative men, living epitomes of the faith and common sentiment of their people. If they were incapable of securing freedom from controversy throughout their dioceses, and in crises had recourse to Councils in which to confer upon their difficulties, they were at once confronted with the problem of method. The gathering which in theory was an ideal instrument for the determination of the Church's belief and practice appeared in a very different light at close quarters. Councils convened by princes and intended to be ecumenical were seldom, if ever, attended by bishops from all parts in geographical, racial, or populational proportion. Nicæa, the first meeting-place, was con venient enough for Constantinople, the Emperor's own seat, but the prelates who came at the Emperor's summons were almost to a man Easterns or Greeks, the bishop of Old Rome himself being absent though the occasion was one of extreme gravity for the peace of Christendom. And so it has always been. Ecumenical in name, general Councils have invariably assumed the complexion of the region of the Christian world in which they chanced to be held. Not seldom the locality was selected with a definite view to secure certain results. Moreover, they were increasingly restricted through the abstention or exclusion of particular Churches, the Oriental first, and the Greek Orthodox next, until the claim of the latest Councils of Trent and the Vatican to be ecumenical was reduced to the verge of the farcical by the absence of the Greeks, the Protestants, and all but Roman Catholic delegates. The conciliar illusion was yet further disturbed by the problem of a common language in which effective debate and controversy might take place without substantial disadvantage to any section of the membership, by the problem of rules of debate, of the determination and preparation of the subjects to be propounded, of the method of voting, and the means of securing 'unanimity.' The breakdown of the conciliar apparatus of infallibility was evident in the long-drawn-out and continually interrupted proceedings at Trent, when the prestige won at the close of the Great Schism by the Council of Constance (A.D. 1414–18), the unmaker and maker of popes, was dissipated under papal and Jesuit influence, and it was remarked that the 'inspiration' of the Council, in which, as always, Italian bishops and abbots predominated, was strangely affected by each arrival of the courier from the Vatican. In 1854 the publication by Pius IX., before a mere congress of assembled cardinals and bishops, of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception as a papal decree, and in 1870 the preliminary determination of the business and method of the Vatican Council by the same pope, the adoption of the principle of the sufficiency of majority-findings, and the final supersession of Councils by the dogma of papal infallibility were signs that, so far as the Church in communion with Rome was concerned, the age of Councils was at an end. Christendom had scarcely ever derived prestige from the meeting and proceedings of a Council. Wire-pulling, manœuvring, wrangling, recrimination, and acute division of sympathies had almost always been unconcealable features of their sessions.

Under the rhetoric and polemical exaggeration of James Martineau there is a solid foundation of fact when he says ('Catholic Infallibility,' ch. ii. of his *Rationale of Religious Enquiry*, London, 1836): 'When you tell me of an infallible *assembly*—an inspired parliament, whose decrees are nevertheless liable to error, till confirmed by the signature of a certain bishop, I try in vain to conceive where the divine agency can take place, of what separate atoms of inspiration the collective miracle is made up, from what distribution of influence on the faculties of the several parties the elimination of error results. Every individual member in his separate capacity, and before he entered the assembly, is perfectly fallible; when there, he utters the very opinions which he brought thither, and tenders the vote which he previously designed; yet the aggregate of these fallibilities is inspiration. . . . When I remember the motives which actuate the members of such assemblies, and of the vehement operation of which no reader of ecclesiastical history can doubt; the anxiety for imperial favour, or dread of popular displeasure;—the love of display, the passion for influence, the ambition of promotion;—the dread of episcopal molestation, and the hope of party triumph, and the horror of the reputation of heresy,—I look in vain for the resting-place of the divine and guiding light; it escapes me like an *ignis fatuus*, quitting every point on which I gaze; and goes out at last in those mists and marshes of human corruption.' And again (*Seat of Authority in Religion*, London, 1891, p. 67), 'No crowd of pigmies can add themselves up into a God.'

Whatever might be said of the value of their decisions—and there is to this day no ecclesiastical agreement as to which of them are genuinely ecumenical—it was impossible to pretend that the speeches and votes were invariably free and disinterested, or that their 'unanimity' in the Holy Ghost was cordial and voluntary. Each Council could determine in the plenitude of its constitutional authority which of its predecessors were to be regarded as ecumenical, and as a matter of fact they differed among themselves in their verdicts on the question. They were unwieldy, unmanageable, insubordinate, polyglot, costly, inconvenient, and inefficient. They disturbed discipline in the effort to promote it. They took men away from the administration of their dioceses and ecclesiastical offices, in many cases to a work which was uncongenial and outside the range of their individual competence. And, within the Roman Catholic regime, they had no freedom of initiation or of action or of utterance. Over against a settled and continuous system like the papacy, with its administrative bureaucracy and its gradation of offices culminating in the autocratic head, the spasmodic and intermittent and heterogeneous authority of Councils was bound to lose ground. When they ceased to command absolute loyalty to their decisions, and could not obtain a disinterested unanimity in their decrees, they were reduced to employing something of the same coercive force of excommunication that Rome was accustomed to use. The logical outcome of that conception of authority and infallibility is the papal system, close-knit, outwardly homogeneous, imperial, imposing, and continuous. It is difficult to conceive how this method, conciliar or papal, can be harmonized with the teaching of the Gospels or with the practice of the Apostolic Church. How it appeared to so gifted and so loyal an observer from within as Döllinger on the eve of the Vatican Council may be gathered from the closing section of the work entitled, in its English version, *The Pope and the Council*, by 'Janus' (p. 419 ff.):

> 'The experiences of the non-Italian bishops at the Council of Trent, its results, which fell so far short of the reforms desired and expected, the conduct of Rome in strictly prohibiting any explanations or commentaries on the decrees of the Council being written and reserving to herself the interpretation of them, while she quietly shelved many of its most important decisions (*e.g.* on indulgences, and many others), without even any semblance of carrying them out—all this led to the call for a new Council, so often repeated previously, being silenced from that time forward. In countries subjected to the Inquisition, the mere wish for another Council would have been declared penal, and have exposed to danger those who uttered it. The Roman See had no doubt suffered considerable losses of privilege and income in consequence of the Tridentine decrees, and still more from the opposition of the different Governments; but, on the other hand, those decrees, the activity of the Jesuits, and the establishment of standing congregations and of the nunciatures, which had been previously unknown, had very materially increased the power and influence of Rome. But at Rome Councils were always held in abomination; the very name was strictly forbidden under penalties there. When in the controversy about grace in 1602 the Molinists spoke of its being decided by a Council, the Dominican Peña wrote that in Rome the word Council, at least in matters of dogma, was regarded as sacrilegious, and excommunicated.
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> And thus it has come to pass that three centuries have elapsed without any earnest desire for a Council making itself heard anywhere—a thing wholly unprecedented in the past history of the Church. It is commonly taught in theological manuals, schools, and systems, that the Councils of the Church are not only useful but necessary. But this, like so much else in the ordinary teaching, was held only in the abstract. It was at bottom universally felt that Councils as little fitted into a Church organized under an absolute Papal monarchy as the States-General into the monarchy of Louis XIV. The most faithful interpreter of the Roman view of things, Cardinal Pallavicini, put this feeling into words when he said, "To hold another Council would be to tempt God, so extremely dangerous and so threatening to the very existence of the Church would such an assembly be." In that point, he thinks his History of the Council of Trent will make the same impression on the reader as Sarpi's. Even National Synods, he says, the Popes have always detested.
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> But the chief reason why nobody any longer desired a Council, lay in the conviction that, if it met, the first and most essential condition, freedom of deliberation and voting, would be wanting. The latest history showed this as much as the theory. In the Papal system, which knows nothing of true bishops ruling independently by virtue of the Divine institution, but only

> recognises subjects and vicars or officials of the Pope, who exercise a power lent them merely during his pleasure, there is no room for an assembly which would be called a Council in the sense of the ancient Church. If the bishops know the view and will of the Pope on any question, it would be presumptuous and idle to vote against it; and if they do not, their first duty at the Council would be to ascertain it and vote accordingly. An œcumenical assembly of the Church can have no existence, properly speaking, in presence of an *ordinarius ordinariorum* and infallible teacher of faith, though, of course, the pomp, ceremonial, speeches, and votings of a Council may be displayed to the gaze of the world. And therefore the Papal legates at Trent used at once to rebuke bishops as heretics and rebels who ever dared to express any view of their own. Bishops who have been obliged to swear "to maintain, defend, increase, and advance the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of their lord the Pope"—and every bishop takes this oath—cannot regard themselves, or be regarded by the Christian world, as free members of a free Council; natural justice and equity requires that. These men neither will nor can be held responsible for decisions or omissions which do not depend on them. There have certainly been the weightiest reasons for holding no Council for three hundred years, and avoiding such a "useless hubbub," as the infallibilist Cardinal Orsi calls Councils.
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> Complete and real freedom for every one, freedom from moral constraint, from fear and intimidation, and from corruption, belongs to the essence of a Council. An assembly of men bound in conscience by their oaths to consider the maintenance and increase of Papal power their main object,—men living in fear of incurring the displeasure of the *Curia*, and with it the charge of perjury, and the most burdensome hindrances in the discharge of their office—cannot certainly be called free in all those questions which concern the authority and claims of the See of Rome, and very few at most of the questions that would have to be discussed at a Council do not come under this category. None of our bishops have sworn to make the good of the Church and of religion the supreme object of their actions and endeavours; the terms of the oath provide only for the advantage of the *Curia*. How the oath is understood at Rome, and to what reproaches a bishop exposes himself who once chooses to follow his own conviction against the tradition of the *Curia*, there are plenty of examples to show.
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> In Rimini and Seleucia (359), at Ephesus (449), and at Vienne (1312), and at many other times, even at Trent, the results of a want of real freedom have been displayed. In early times, when the Popes were as yet in no position to exercise compulsion or intimidation upon Synods, it was the Emperors who sometimes trenched too closely on this freedom. But from Gregory VII.'s time the weight of Papal power has pressed ten times more heavily upon them than ever did the Imperial authority. With abundant reason were the two demands urged throughout half Europe in the sixteenth century, in the negotiations about the Council,—first, that it should not be held in Rome, or even in Italy; and, secondly, that the bishops should be absolved from their oath of obedience. The recently proclaimed Council is to be held not only in Italy, but in Rome itself, and already it has been announced that, as the sixth Lateran Council, it will adhere faithfully to the fifth. That is quite enough—it means this, that whatever course the Synod may take, one quality can never be predicated of it, namely, that it has been a really free Council.
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> Theologians and Canonists declare that without complete freedom the decisions of a Council are not binding, and the assembly is only a pseudo-Synod. Its decrees may have to be corrected.'

Döllinger's words are deliberate, and are based on unrivalled knowledge. But they provoke a still deeper reflexion than they intend, for they expose to view the weakness of both papacy and Councils. In neither is true freedom, such as he desiderates and demands, conceivable. To bind the conscience of Christendom is the motive and the office of both institutions. Neither in reality is at liberty to claim the freedom it would withdraw from its subjects. The binder need not complain if he finds himself in bonds. Admit the principle of coercive authority in your Council and you will not be able to deny it to the permanent officials of your Church. Better on such principles a living pope than a dead Council, or a Council yet unborn. You cannot indulge in Councils very often. The pope is always with you. He need not act arbitrarily. He has advisers innumerable, informants innumerable, and access, presumably, to the mind of the vast dominion over which he rules. May not God be trusted to give none but the best popes to His confiding Church, and none but the best advisers to His confiding Vicegerents, and pour out His Holy Spirit upon them all to save them from error and lead them to truth? The theory is plausible, and valid as against Councils for those who believe in a hierarchy endowed with corporate infallibility. But, as we have seen, there is nothing in our Lord's teaching to suggest that God values the Church or watches over the Church with a more fatherly solicitude than over the individual. On the contrary, individual infallibility through perfect faith in God's readiness to bestow His Holy Spirit has a much stronger and more explicit warrant in the Gospels.

If it be assumed, though none but Roman Catholics are prepared to acknowledge it, that the Vatican Council of 1870 was ecumenical and ecumenically binding, its results are interesting in the present connexion. For it, a valid Council, decreed, in assent to the mind of the pope, that the pope is, when pronouncing on faith and morals *ex cathedra*, infallible. It follows that, if the pope is not infallible, neither is the Council which pronounced him immune from error. It does not follow that Councils are henceforth set aside for ever. They remain infallible instruments of authority, obsolete but revivable at any time. Princes or popes may still convoke them, though it would be strictly unnecessary to do so in the lifetime and health of a supreme pontiff, and might be construed as an insult and act of treason to the office and prerogative of the occupant of St. Peter's throne. But henceforth, unless the Council of 1870 is ruled out as merely Roman Catholic and therefore provincial and sectarian, or as morally lacking in unanimity, or as devoid of genuine freedom in voting, debate, and business, it may be maintained that, while a Council is infallible only when its decrees enjoy the adhesion of the Roman See, when it acts in communion and harmony with its chief bishop, the infallibility enjoyed by the reigning pope does not depend upon any consent of future Councils. It may, however, be observed that in a great autonomous institution no law or convention can absolutely fetter the resources of corporate freedom, or destroy its initiative in great crises of its existence. The Council of Constance may serve as an example of an extreme emergency calling out into active service extreme and scarcely contemplated methods of procedure. The Vatican has not yet decreed that henceforth Councils are incompetent, lacking in infallibility, and therefore prohibited. It is one thing to supersede them, and to prevent their resumption; quite another to forbid them altogether or to pronounce them for all time defunct.[1]

(*d*) *Papal infallibility.*—The Church of Rome is but one of the sects of Christendom, but it is outwardly at least the most catholic of Churches. The most exclusive in its communion, it is the most comprehensive in geographical diffusion and in racial distribution. The most complex in its organization, it is the most rigorously unified in its discipline. Its history, its service to Christian life, piety, and tradition, and its numerical strength lend a peculiar importance to the theory of infallibility with which it has come finally to be identified. The term 'Papist,' which might formerly have been resented throughout Roman Catholic lands, is now, since 1870, at least as accurate a designation as the term 'Roman Catholic.' Since that date the doctrine that the pope is infallible, which had hitherto been repudiated in the strongest terms by the Roman Catholic authorities and manuals in Great Britain and in Ireland, has become a dogma of faith, part of the distinctive working creed of the Church. Its evolution is one of the most interesting and, in certain aspects, one of the most significant episodes in Church history. Thanks to the voluminous literature which arose out of the controversy in which the completion of the dogma was involved, the story can be studied with unusual thoroughness and ease. In the present article a review of its broader features and main facts must suffice.

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[1] For the Roman Catholic view see artt. CHURCH, DOCTRINE OF THE (Roman Catholic), PAPACY.

It is beyond dispute that the dogmatic infallibility of the bishop or patriarch of Rome stands in the closest possible relationship to his general authority as a ruler in the Church.

In a letter to Lady Simeon, of date 1867, quoted in W. Ward's *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*^{2} (London, 1912, ii. 193), Newman writes: 'I say with Cardinal Bellarmine whether the Pope be infallible or not in any pronouncement, anyhow he is to be obeyed. No good can come from disobedience. His facts and his warnings may be all wrong; his deliberations may have been biassed. He may have been misled. Imperiousness and craft, tyranny and cruelty, may be patent in the conduct of his advisers and instruments. But when he speaks formally and authoritatively he speaks as our Lord would have him speak, and all those imperfections and sins of individuals are overruled for that result which our Lord intends (just as the action of the wicked and of enemies to the Church are overruled), and therefore the Pope's word stands, and a blessing goes with obedience to it, and no blessing with disobedience.' And in a letter to Pusey (*ib.* ii. 217) in the same year he writes: 'Any categorical answer would be unsatisfactory—but if I *must* so speak, I should say that his jurisdiction (for that I conceive you to mean by "powers") is unlimited and despotic. And I think this is the general opinion among us. . . . There is nothing which any other authority in the Church can do, which he cannot do at once—and he can do things which they cannot do, such as destroy a whole hierarchy. . . . As to the question of property, whether he could simply confiscate the funds of a whole diocese, I do not know—but I suspect he can. Speaking generally, I think he can do anything, but break the divine law. . . . But such a jurisdiction is (1) not so much a *practice* as a *doctrine*—and (2) not so much a *doctrine* as a *principle* of our system.'

In an institution which rests faith upon authority or tradition and makes belief a duty of obedience, the right to prescribe or decree dogma is naturally included within the wider right to rule *in spiritualibus*. Much of the wide-spread reluctance on the part of Protestants to regard with seriousness the dogma of papal infallibility is due to their instinctively different attitude towards faith and the means by which it may be secured; they find it difficult to conceive of faith as a product of obedience, as an activity to be ordered. In Roman Catholicism, under the demands of ecclesiastical discipline, the principle has broken down that obedience to the supreme earthly head of the Church is to be restricted in any way so as to exclude the authoritative interpretation of revealed doctrine, and the definition of the sense in which Holy Scripture, the Creeds, and the Conciliar Decrees are to be understood and applied.

On the Roman Catholic view our Lord bestowed upon Peter, after his great confession and again after the Resurrection, a unique authority and office as His peculiar representative in the Apostolic company and in the Church. 'Peter' and 'Cephas' mean 'rock,' it is urged, and Peter is the rock-foundation of the imperishable Church; not simply his confession, or his faith, but he himself, the living Apostle, the utterer of his faith in the Christ. Not a doctrine, not a belief, but a living person is the basis of a standing Church. The gift or charge of the keys of the kingdom denotes his authority as a teacher; what he 'binds or looses,' *i.e.*, in rabbinical language, 'affirms or denies,' in teaching spiritual truth is 'in heaven,' *i.e.* 'divinely,' affirmed or denied. In Lk 22^{32}, though the context and sequel are painfully adverse to the Roman Catholic theory, it is said by Christ that He has prayed for Peter that his faith 'fail not,' from which it may be deduced that the prayer has been answered; and the command is laid upon Peter: 'Do thou, when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren.' The risen Lord, moreover, commissions the forgiven Peter to feed His lambs, to tend His sheep, and to feed His sheep (Jn $21^{15ff.}$). It is inconceivable, it is urged further, that our Lord intended such a charge to terminate with Peter's individual tenure of it. Each successive generation would require at least the same guaranteed infallibility in a living inspired instructor. A living rock-foundation cannot have been withdrawn on Peter's decease; his faith cannot be allowed to fail in any age; his brethren still need stablishing; the sheep of Christ still need not only to be fed but to be shepherded, which implies guidance and protection from error. The need grows greater rather than less with the passage of time, since faith tends to cool as distance from its objects is increased.

On the face of them, these passages in the Gospels cannot be so construed with any confidence. Simon Peter is anything but a model of infallibility either in the Gospels or in Acts or in the Epistles of the NT. To the same person who received the words 'Thou art Peter' came all too soon the words 'Get thee behind me, Satan.' The 'Rock' of the Church's foundation became in a few hours a 'stumbling-block,' a rock of offence. The same Apostle who confessed the Christ not only denied Him, but endeavoured to deter Him from going to His death, and, as mistakenly though as naturally, tried to defend Him with the sword. It is the faith he utters that fits him for our Lord's beatitude, since it is recognized by its recipient as divinely revealed; yet that faith did soon 'fail,' Satan did 'have' him. If he has infallibility in any sense, it is ultimate or practical infallibility, and it does not render him immune from particular failure of judgment in faith and duty. Further, it is brethren that he is to stablish, not subjects, after his restoration, and the duty of stablishing is plainly enough a duty that each Apostle owed to the others, however their gifts might vary (cf. the parallel use of στηρίζειν with reference to Paul and others in Ac 14^{22} $15^{32.41}$ 18^{23}, Ro 1^{11}). 'Binding and loosing' is not a prerogative conferred upon one man alone; it is given to all the Apostles as such, the Seventy as well as the Twelve, as an essential of authoritative proclamation of Christ's message. There is no indication that particular infallibility was given to every Apostle, or that Peter's gift differed in kind from that of the others. It is also unfortunate that Lk $22^{31.32}$ should follow immediately Christ's rebuke to the disciples in their contention on the very subject of precedence, and His warning to them not to be like Gentile princes who lord it over their people, and assume grandiloquent titles such as 'benefactor.' Peter's final commission, thrice repeated, contains no single unique element; it is simply a pastorate, whose triple injunction refers to his threefold denial and repudiation of his Master. As for the claim that Peter's office could not die with him, it proves too much for papal theory, since no pope has ever claimed an apostolate identical with his; but it contains a kernel of truth. Apostolic faith, and faithful Apostles, are needed by the Lord of the Church in every generation, and we are justified in believing that they will not fail. But we are still in total ignorance, as was the general Church in the first four centuries, of any evidence that our Lord desired to have Peter's faith and Peter's prerogative confined to one man, and in particular to the bishop of Rome.

'Of all the Fathers,' writes Döllinger (*op. cit.* p. 91 ff.), 'who interpret these passages in the Gospels (Mt xvi. 18, Jn xxi. 17), *not a single one applies them to the Roman Bishops.* How many Fathers have busied themselves with these texts, yet not one of them whose commentaries we possess—Origen, Chrysostom, Hilary, Augustine, Cyril, Theodoret, and those whose interpretations are collected in catenas—has dropped the faintest hint that the primacy of Rome is the consequence of the commission and promise to Peter! Not one of them has explained the rock or foundation on which Christ would build His Church of the office given to Peter to be transmitted to his successors, but they understood by it either Christ Himself, or Peter's confession of faith in Christ; often both together. Or else they thought Peter was the foundation equally with all the other Apostles, the Twelve being together the foundation-stones of the Church (*Apoc.* xxi. 14) . . . they did not regard a power first given to Peter, and afterwards conferred in precisely the same words on all the Apostles, as anything peculiar to him, or hereditary in the line of Roman Bishops, and they held the symbol of the keys as meaning just the same as the figurative expression of binding and loosing.

Every one knows the one classical passage of Scripture on which the edifice of Papal Infallibility has been reared, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren." But these words manifestly refer only to Peter personally, to his denial of Christ and his conversion; he is told that he, whose failure of faith would be only of short duration, is to strengthen the other Apostles, whose faith would likewise waver. It is directly against the sense of the passage, which speaks simply of faith, first wavering, and then to be confirmed in the Messianic dignity of Christ, to find in it a promise of future infallibility to a succession of Popes, just because they hold the office Peter first held in the Roman Church. No single writer to the end of the Seventh Century dreamt of such an interpretation; all without exception—and there are eighteen of them—explain it simply as a prayer of Christ, that His Apostle might not wholly succumb, and lose his faith entirely in his approaching trial. The first to find in it a promise of privileges to the Church of Rome was Pope Agatho in 680, when trying to avert the threatened condemnation of his predecessor, Honorius, through whom the Roman Church had lost its boasted privilege of doctrinal purity.

Now the Tridentine profession of faith, imposed on the clergy since Pius IV., contains a vow never to interpret Holy Scripture otherwise than in accord with the unanimous consent of the Fathers—that is, the great Church doctors of the first six centuries, for Gregory the Great, who died in 604, was the last of the Fathers; every bishop and theologian therefore breaks his oath when he interprets the passage in question of a gift of infallibility promised by Christ to the Popes.'

Human nature and political analogy can supply many reasons for vesting in the single holder of an eminent office a monarchical authority in faith and morals as in government, but we turn in vain for any warrant in the words of Jesus Christ for such a claim. Think what one may about the limitations of argument based on silence, it is a grave omission indeed on the part of an infallible and divine Teacher and Legislator to have left His infant Church entirely without authorization and explicit instruction in so vital a matter, and entirely without a single allusion either to Rome or to its Episcopate. Think what one also may about the legitimacy of a doctrinal 'development,' the postponement till 1870 of a revelation of dogma so momentous to Christendom seems to call for delicate explanation.

The fact is that, while all the world deferred in many ways, especially after Constantine's accession, to the See of Rome, while the frequent dependence of lesser sees upon its guidance and direction prepared for the Western Church's ultimate submission to its authority, and while the bishop of Rome was a great power to reckon with in any ecumenical interest, the ancient Church betrayed no sign of any recognition of his infallibility. A patriarch among patriarchs, bishop of a diocese which came to overshadow and usurp the Empire itself since it proved itself more lasting and more trustworthy, heir to traditions of office without rival in historical prestige, it was inevitable that the Roman pope should be given, and should accept, a rank of his own as the centuries attested the permanence and the power of his office. No competent student of history would desire to detract from the dignity of the papal name as a historic fact. But it is plain that neither the early popes themselves nor the rest of the world credited their office with infallibility. The unapostolic See of New Rome erected by Constantine in his Eastern capital never acknowledged its authority as overruling its own. Councils, deemed ecumenical by East and West alike, were convened and issued their decrees without submitting them to the separate or final approval of the ruling pope. No one suggested that the existence of the Roman See made Councils unnecessary, much less presumptuous and incompetent. How much trouble might have been saved to the Christian world if direct appeal to an oracle in the Eternal City had been recognized as sufficient to decide all controversies in faith and morals! But, as Döllinger (*op. cit.* p. 64 ff.) says:

'None of the ancient confessions of faith, no catechism, none of the patristic writings composed for the instruction of the people, contain a syllable about the Pope, still less any hint that all certainty of faith and doctrine depends on him. For the first thousand years of Church history not a question of doctrine was finally decided by the Pope. The Roman Bishops took no part in the commotions which the numerous Gnostic sects, the Montanists and Chiliasts, produced in the early Church, nor can a single dogmatic decree issued by one of them be found during the first four centuries, nor a trace of the existence of any. Even the controversy about Christ kindled by Paul of Samosata, which occupied the whole Eastern Church for a long time, and necessitated the assembling of several Councils, was terminated without the Pope taking any part in it. So again in the chain of controversies and discussions connected with the names of Theodotus, Artemon, Noetus, Sabellius, Beryllus, and Lucian of Antioch, which troubled the whole Church, and extended over nearly 150 years, there is no proof that the Roman Bishops acted beyond the limits of their own local Church, or accomplished any dogmatic result. . . . In three controversies during this early period the Roman Church took an active part,—the question about Easter, about heretical baptism, and about the penitential discipline. In all three the Popes were unable to carry out their own will and view and practice, and the other Churches maintained their different usage without its leading to any permanent division. . . . In the Arian disputes . . . Julius and Liberius (337–366) were the first [Popes] to take part in the course of events, but they only increased the uncertainty. Julius pronounced Marcellus of Ancyra, an avowed Sabellian, orthodox at his Roman Synod; and Liberius purchased his return from exile from the Emperor by condemning Athanasius, and subscribing an Arian creed. . . . The apostasy of Liberius sufficed, through the whole of the middle ages, for a proof that Popes could fall into heresy as well as other people. . . . During all the fourth century Councils alone decided dogmatic questions. If the Bishop of Rome was ever appealed to for a decision, it was understood that he was desired to call a Synod to decide the point at issue. At the second Œcumenical Council in 381, which decreed the most important definition of faith since the Nicene, by first formulizing the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, the Church of Rome was not represented at all; only the decrees were communicated to it as to other Churches. . . . Pope Siricius (384–398) declined to pronounce on the false doctrine of a bishop (Bonosus) when requested to do so, on the ground that he had no right, and must await the sentence of the bishops of the province, "to make it the rule of his own."'

It is impossible in an article like the present to trace in minute detail the long course of the development of the papal claims, and of the resistance to them; but the following historical facts are of interest, and in various ways have a significance of their own. They are set down almost as a miscellany in a roughly chronological sequence, and they reflect the varying attitude adopted by popes, Councils, and teachers of the Church.

In the middle of the 3rd cent., Stephen, bishop of Rome, in controversy with Cyprian of Carthage on the validity of heretical baptism, asserted his claim to a superior authority as the occupant of Peter's chair, and claimed for Roman tradition a supreme value as having been delivered by Peter and Paul; but Cyprian rejected the notion of the existence of a bishop of bishops, and appealed to the Apostolic Scriptures as a higher authority, and Eastern bishops at once supported his attitude.

'None of us,' he writes (cf. G. Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*^{3}, London, 1899, p. 407), 'sets himself up as a bishop of bishops, or by tyrannical terror forces his colleagues to a necessity of obeying; inasmuch as every bishop, in the free use of his liberty and power, has the right of forming his own judgment, and can no more be judged by another than he can himself judge another.'

In the 3rd cent. the Church was still a federation of bishoprics in communion with each other, each with its own distinctive influence and prestige, Rome manifestly the most powerful, but all together in a fraternal parity. But in 343 the Council of Sardica, from which the Eastern bishops had departed in indignation, made the pope, in certain circumstances, a court of appeal for aggrieved bishops in the West. This step was taken in the interest of security of episcopal tenure in times of heated controversy and frequent depositions.

> It provided that 'as due to the honour of St. Peter, the Roman bishop Julius shall be informed . . . by letter, in order that, under the presidency of a presbyter sent by him, a new trial may be held by bishops of a neighbouring province' (cf. K. von Hase, *Handbook to the Controversy with Rome*, Eng. tr., London, 1906, i. 226).

In the 5th cent., Augustine's much abused saying in a sermon (cxxxi. 10), 'Rome has spoken; the case is ended,' had reference to local African controversy, and does not contradict his reiterated adherence to Cyprian's position. For him, Councils as well as bishops were fallible, though venerable, and appeal might be taken as need arose. To give his words an ecumenical application is unhistorical. But the pontificate of Leo the Great enhanced the dignity and power of the Roman See in all eyes. In 445 the Emperor Valentinian gave supreme judicial and legislative power to it over the bishops of Italy and Gaul. Leo's Epistle to Flavian in 449 was the first doctrinal utterance of a pope to be accepted ecumenically; but it did not receive dogmatic force until it had been submitted to the Council of Chalcedon, and examined by the bishops therein assembled, and ratified by them—a procedure whose necessity its author acknowledged. But Leo's successors quickly dissipated the authority which his powerful personality and successful enterprise had won. Vigilius in 546 pronounced orthodox the 'Three Chapters' of Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas, which had been accused of Nestorianism; a year later he condemned them, though he had formally anathematized their accusers; later still he reversed his judgment a second time, only to be condemned himself by the Fifth Ecumenical Council, to whose decree he bowed in 554, saying, very sensibly, that it was no disgrace to perceive and recall a previous error. Even more serious was the fate of Honorius I., who in 638, in two public letters to Eastern patriarchs, had endorsed the Monothelite heresy, and after his death was solemnly condemned as a heretic by the Sixth Ecumenical Council without any dissentient voice, in presence of the legates of his successor—a sentence which his own successors carried out, expunging his name from the liturgy.

Until the fabrication of the Isidorian decretals nothing more than an episcopal and patriarchal primacy was effectively claimed by the popes or conceded to them: that primacy no one in Church or State seriously disputed. The bishop of Rome could not summon Ecumenical Synods: he had to petition the Emperor to do so. It was not his right to preside over them in person or by legate. Rome was not their usual place of meeting. The Pope's signature was not required as a final formality to validate their decrees. His legislative, administrative, and judicial powers, *i.e.* his sovereign authority, did not extend beyond his own province; neither Africa nor the East acknowledged it. No counsellor and no arbiter enjoyed the same acceptance or the same influence; but as yet there was no Curia or sovereign Court, no tribute, no granting of sovereign dispensations from the obligations of ecclesiastical law. Of the power of the keys, the power to bind and loose, the power to excommunicate, Rome had no monopoly, either claimed or conceded. But there was a spirit at work which operated steadily in the direction of securing these things. The Sardican canons, the name, prerogative, and throne of Peter, the social influence and appellate counsel of Rome, were steadily turned to increasing account. As the Empire weakened, the papacy found its opportunity and became heir to its secular methods and spirit as well as to its dignity and power. The sixth canon of the First Nicene Council had recognized the rights of the Roman See over part of the Italian Church, but had assigned similar rights to the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch over their patriarchates; but the local Sardican canons were speedily confused with it in the West, and the resultant claims were advanced by Innocent I. as recognized by 'the Fathers' and the Synod. At the Council of Ephesus it was affirmed by the Roman legates that Peter lived and judged in the persons of his successors in the Roman throne. Leo I. reiterated the same plea. But the Council of Chalcedon, in its 28th canon, maintained that Rome owed its primacy to the decision of the Fathers in view of the political eminence of the city, and, in spite of Leo's opposition, it recognized Constantinople as a patriarchate of the highest rank, second only to Rome in precedence, and equal to Rome in rights. When Leo declined to recognize that canon, he did not base his action upon any complaint of injury to his own bishopric, or on the lack of his consent, but only on the injustice done to the older patriarchates of the East, especially those of Alexandria and Antioch—the one founded by Mark, Peter's disciple, the other by Peter himself before he went to Rome—and on the alteration of the Nicene canon. When dealing with other than Eastern bishops, he made much of the 'merit of St. Peter' as a ground of Roman dignity, and strengthened his disciplinary hold upon the West. But nothing demonstrates so clearly the long distance which the papacy had yet to travel, before it reached its final claims, as the rebuke of Gregory the Great addressed formally to the patriarch of Constantinople, who assumed the title of 'Ecumenical Bishop' (lib. v. ep. 18; lib. vii. ep. 33; cf. von Hase, *op. cit.* i. 225; Salmon, *op. cit.* p. 423).

> 'It is with tears that I say that a bishop, whose duty it is to guide others to humility, has himself departed from it. Paul was unwilling to suffer that any one should call himself after him or after Apollos. What art thou prepared to say to Christ, the Head of the universal Church, at the last day, when thou seekest to bring all members of the Church into subjection to thee by means of the title of the universal ruler? This haughty name is a copying of Satan, who also exalted himself above all angels. . . . Far from Christian hearts be that blasphemous title, in which all priests have their honour taken away, while the one foolishly usurps it.'

Gregory did not hesitate to contrast his rival's pretensions with those of St. Peter, who, although first of the Apostles, did not place himself in a superior rank to his brethren—a piece of historically sound pleading which was to prove subsequently embarrassing to the pope's successors.

The subsequent course of the papal development is matter of common knowledge. The decretal forgeries, beginning about the middle of the 9th cent., many of them motived by provincial, not primarily Roman, ambitions, assisted powerfully the extension of the papal primacy into an absolute monarchy combined doctrinal with disciplinary powers, required papal confirmation for the decrees of every Council, and elevated the bishop of Rome into the sovereign bishop, from whose hands all other bishops receive their authority in matters of faith as well as government and order. It was assumed that the extension of papal dignity and authority over bishops would liberate them from secular control and jurisdiction—a policy which survives at the present time in full vigour. But, in liberating the provincial bishops from one yoke, another yoke was imposed. Secular authority was avenged. The bishops found themselves in the grasp of a power once spiritual, now both secular and spiritual. The power from which they shrank in the dioceses laid its firm hand upon them in the Vatican. For a papacy which wielded temporal power as a spiritual prerogative it was impossible to exclude dogma from the sovereign function. The papacy accordingly assumed control of synods greater and lesser; it alone could convene, accredit, and dissolve them. It assumed the appointment and institution of bishops; dealt with vacant sees; made subjects of princes and kings; and claimed the right to overrule Councils and the teaching of the Fathers. The theocratic achievements of Gregory VII. made it easy for the most extreme views of papal authority to impress the imagination of Christendom as a realizable ideal. He did not hesitate to claim personal sanctity as the successor of Peter, and to make the supernatural holiness of popes the foundation of their absolute power. 'In Peter' they had 'power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven.' They were subject to no man's judgment, but answerable alone to God. The forged decretals of Isidore and Gratian were eagerly employed by an age already prepared for them; and in good faith mediæval Schoolmen, like Aquinas, drew from them, and frequently from corrupted texts of conciliar decrees and writings of the great Fathers, materials which confirmed their confidence in papal autocracy. In the 13th cent. the rise of the great monastic Orders, under vows of obedience through their generals to the pope, and exempt from episcopal authority, increased yet further the exaltation of the papal dignity, while the Reunion Council of Florence, 1439, short-lived though its recognition of the Roman primacy proved, revealed the extent to which dignitaries of the Eastern Church were prepared to abate their claims and their rivalry, under pressure of that growing Muhammadan peril which was so soon to cripple them, and leave Rome without an effective rival in the ecclesiastical world. Unfortunately, however, for the papal regime, access of temporal and spiritual authority brought with it no guarantee of a noble employment of its perilous privileges. Instead there ensued a swift deterioration of the papal personnel, and even more of the curial entourage. At length Christendom was amazed and shocked by the spectacle of rival popes, and disgusted and revolted by the gross luxury and unconcealed immorality of the Vatican. The secularization of the Roman bishopric was responsible for both scandals. Both combined to make the work of reformation not only an urgent and clamant need, but by their notoriety a thing possible for part at least of Europe. In an age of new learning and kindled imagination—an age which explored the Apostolic past as enthusiastically as it thought about the future—the papacy proved incapable of supporting its triple crown. The lofty theory of a working infallibility and a practical autocracy broke down abjectly before the Great Schism and the Great Scandal. With three claimants of the heritage of Hildebrand in power, the common sense and the reserved energies of Christendom asserted themselves in the Reforming Councils of Constance and Basel. Whatever popes in their majesty had asserted, their subject bishops, met in Council and supported by the conscience of the Christian world, dealt sternly with their rival overlords. The Church's necessity knew no refinement of law. The Council pronounced deposition. The rivals, one after another, submitted. For a brief period the Council came to its own again as a supreme authority in the Church. In its 4th and 5th sessions the Council of Constance decreed that

> 'every lawfully convoked Ecumenical Council representing the Church derives its authority immediately from Christ, and every one, the Pope included, is subject to it in matters of faith, in the healing of schism, and the reformation of the Church.'

Without protest, the painfully elaborated doctrine and practice of papal infallibility and monarchy was cut down to modest proportions by a lawfully convoked Council, which appointed the new pope, Martin V., as well as deposed his predecessor or predecessors, and thus gave practical illustration of conciliar authority. The Council of Constance, indeed, decreed that Councils should meet every ten years. In 1431 the Council of Basel met, and, in spite of dissolution by Eugenius IV., who viewed with misgiving its energetic assertion of the principles of Constance, it persevered with its work and secured the withdrawal of the papal dissolution, the pope acknowledging that the Council had been justified in proceeding, promising to adhere to it 'with all zeal and devotion' as 'the holy Ecumenical Council,' and renouncing his claim as pope to the right to suspend or dissolve any Council. Reaction followed, intensified by the natural reluctance of the remnant of the Fathers of Basel to dissolve and to lay aside their power. The very name of Council became a by-word. The opportunity of the papacy returned. Reform had been accomplished neither by Council nor by pope; but the papacy had at least continuity, whereas the Council had none. In 1516, Leo X. issued the bull *Pastor Æternus*, with the approval of the Fathers of the fifth Lateran Synod, in which he asserted the authority of the pope over general Councils, including the right to convoke, transfer, and dissolve. In the Council of Trent the papal view was powerfully strengthened by the new Jesuit Order, itself built upon the absolutist theory of authority, and dedicated from the first with unquestioning devotion to the service of the mind and will of the sovereign Father. It would have been too much to expect that an Order whose conspicuous talent was prostrated in the cause of the needful counter-reformation before the papal throne would encourage independence either in faith or in morals on the part of the secular clergy. It was inevitable that in the absence of the Reformers, who had no faith in papal infallibility, the restorers of the residual Church should use every instrument in their power to strengthen its disciplinary unity and homogeneity. The lessons of recent centuries were still so freshly impressed upon all minds that a decisive victory was impossible in the Council for either side. National feeling asserted itself in the deliberations, and the bishops were too gravely exercised concerning the condition of the Church to be willing to abdicate their own responsibility. The influence of the Vatican was so strong as to give point to the wit of the French ambassador when he remarked that the Holy Spirit appeared to arrive every Friday from Rome in the mail-bag; but no decree of papal infallibility was then procurable. The Tridentine Catechism is content to affirm that the Church cannot err in matters of faith and morals, without defining the particular organ of that infallibility. But it was significant that the administration and interpretation of the decrees of the Council, with the completion of the ecclesiastical manuals other than the Catechism, were entrusted to the Vatican. In France, Bossuet's *Declaration of 1682* represents the attitude of the Gallican clergy towards the papal prerogative. Its four propositions deny the pope's authority in secular affairs, assert its inferiority to that of Councils in accordance with the decrees and action of the Council of Constance, and subject it to the judgment of the Church (see art. GALLICANISM, vol. vi. p. 161 f.). Not until the alarms and vicissitudes of Pius IX.'s troubled reign did the papal and Jesuit policy of the rigorous centralization of all ecclesiastical authority find its final opportunity. On the eve of the loss of the temporal power, the Vatican Council met to compensate a venerated pope for the withdrawal of a worldly crown by the bestowal of a spiritual (see art. COUNCILS AND SYNODS [Christian], vol. iv. p. 201). Ever since Pius IX., in his own exile from Rome, had turned for help to the then proscribed Society of Jesus, his policy had been more and more closely identified with the principles for which that Order had worked and had suffered. His first great experiment in dogma—the proclamation of the Decree on the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the bull *Ineffabilis Deus*, read before a Concourse of Cardinals and Bishops in St. Peter's, in Dec. 1854—acknowledged no other authority than 'that of our Lord Jesus Christ and the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and . . . our own.' Though it was preceded by a formal epistolary consultation of the individual bishops throughout the Church, the Decree was uttered without conciliar assistance, and, with the long succession of dogmatic judgments which were gathered together to form the *Syllabus of Errors*, 1864, it signalized the practical advent of a consummated infallibility. Nothing was left for the Vatican Council of 1870 to do but to add the ceremonial form of a conciliar sanction, and to furnish the already operative principle with a definitive form of words. For good or for evil, the vision held out before the eyes of a long line of pontiffs seemed to be realized in accomplished fact. The work of Isidore and Gratian, of Loyola and Lainez, of Cajetan, Bellarmine, and Torquemada, appeared to have been justified. In faith as well as morals and discipline the pope was at last declared, in his own person, as the official teacher of the Christian world, supreme and infallible.

The terms of the Decree and of some portions of its setting, in Manning's rendering, are as follows (*Petri Privilegium: Three Pastoral Letters to the Clergy of the Diocese*, p. 214 ff.; they occur in the *First Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ*, chs. iii. and iv.):

> 'We teach and declare that by the appointment of our Lord the Roman Church possesses a superiority of ordinary power over all other Churches, and that this power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is immediate; to which all, of whatever rite and dignity, both pastors and faithful, both individually and collectively, are bound, by their duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, to submit, not only in matters which belong to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world; so that the Church of Christ may be one flock under one supreme pastor through the preservation of unity both of communion and of profession of the same faith with the Roman Pontiff. This is the teaching of Catholic truth, from which no man can deviate without loss of faith and of salvation. . . . Wherefore they err from the right course who assert that it is lawful to appeal from the judgments of the Roman Pontiffs to an Œcumenical Council as to an authority higher than that of the Roman Pontiff.
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> Moreover, that the supreme power of teaching is also included in the apostolic primacy, which the Roman Pontiff, as the successor of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, possesses over the whole Church, this Holy See has always held, the perpetual practice of the Church confirms, and Œcumenical Councils also have declared, especially those in which the East with the West met in the union of faith and charity. . . .
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> To satisfy this pastoral duty our predecessors ever made unwearied efforts that the salutary doctrine of Christ might be propagated among all the nations of the earth, and with equal care watched that it might be preserved genuine and pure where it had been received. Therefore the Bishops of the whole world, now singly, now assembled in synod, following the long-established custom of Churches, and the form of the ancient rule, sent word to this Apostolic See of those dangers especially which sprang up in matters of faith, that there the losses of faith might be most effectually repaired, where the faith cannot fail. And the Roman Pontiffs, according to the exigencies of times and circumstances, sometimes assembling Œcumenical Councils, or asking for the mind of the Church scattered throughout the world, sometimes by particular Synods, sometimes using other helps which Divine Providence supplied, defined as to be held those things which with the help of God they had recognised as conformable with the Sacred Scriptures and Apostolic Traditions. For the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter that by His revelation they might make known new doctrine, but that by His assistance they might inviolably keep and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith delivered through the Apostles. And indeed all the venerable Fathers have embraced, and the holy orthodox Doctors have venerated and followed, their apostolic doctrine; knowing most fully that this See of holy Peter remains ever free from all blemish of error, according to the Divine promise of the Lord our Saviour made to the Prince of His disciples: I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and, when thou art converted confirm thy brethren.
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> This gift, then, of truth and never-failing faith, was conferred by Heaven upon Peter and his successors in this Chair, that they might perform their high office for the salvation of all; that the whole flock of Christ, kept away by them from the poisonous food of error, might be nourished with the pasture of heavenly doctrine; that, the occasion of schism being removed, the whole Church might be kept one, and, resting on its foundation, might stand firm against the gates of hell.
>
> But since in this very age, in which the salutary efficacy of the apostolic office is most of all required, not a few are found who take away from its authority, we judge it altogether necessary solemnly to assert the prerogative which the only-begotten Son of God vouchsafed to join with the supreme pastoral office.
>
> Therefore, faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic Religion, and the salvation of Christian people, the Sacred Council approving, we teach and define that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church; by the Divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, is possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be endowed for defining doctrine regarding faith or morals: and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church.
>
> But if any one—which may God avert—presume to contradict this our definition, let him be anathema.'

It is not necessary to enter into a detailed discussion of the somewhat painful features of the process through which this definition came to light, and of the policy which issued in this long-desired result. Nothing would be easier for a future Council more representative of ecumenical Christianity than on technical grounds to pronounce the Vatican Council no true and Ecumenical Council, *e.g.* because of its lack of freedom and autonomy in debate, in conference, and in final vote, or because of papal interference and dictation, or because of its lack of voluntary unanimity. The result is not a Decree of a Council, but a Decree of the pope, with the approval or submission of the Council. The papal correspondence with the bishops of the Church had tested their attitude beforehand, and confronted each as an individual with the prospective displeasure of the Vatican as an inevitable consequence of dissent from the policy of their venerable Head. Eminent theologians, like Döllinger and Newman, known to be hostile, were not officially invited to attend. Eminent prelates of the same mind who had to be invited *ex officio* were harassed throughout the proceedings by papal remonstrances. The proceedings were anything but reassuring to contemplate (cf. Lord Acton's account in the *North British Review*, liii. [1871], art. 'The Vatican Council'). But, while it is true that learning and ecclesiastical statecraft were in irreconcilable opposition, the opponents of the dogma were in an impossible position from the first. For 'Decrees' are essentially matters of statecraft, not of learning, science, or philosophy, and are proverbially fashioned with reference to expediency and opportunism, not with reference to truth. The ground on which alone they dared or desired to fight the issue out was that the Decree, though true, would be untimely. They were Inopportunists, whose intense feeling in debate and in controversy threw grave doubt upon the genuineness of their faith in the doctrine itself. Probably the failure both of pope and of Council to trust the divine illumination and guidance in serious and free deliberation and conference was never more distressingly displayed. For purposes of dogma, for *ex cathedra* utterance, the majority were entitled to brush aside questions of mere timeliness. They knew their own mind; they knew the mind of their beloved and compassionated pope; they were smarting under an acute sense of injustice and humiliation inflicted upon him and upon the Church by the times; they were practical men bent upon drawing tighter the bonds of unity and discipline; and they, not their more brilliant antagonists, were the true representatives of the genius of the Roman Catholic Church. Without being philosophers, they grasped the logic of the system to which they belonged more accurately than such academic minds as Newman and Döllinger. No one can survey the past of the papacy without recognizing that, however undignified and desperate the method was by which the definition was secured, it was profoundly consistent with the traditions of the papal Church. A Church which gave authority so exalted a place in faith as well as government, whose bishops were bound by oath to obey the bishop of Rome and accept his conscience and his judgment as their own, a Church which made external unity one of its vital notes and counted coercion when necessary a duty, could not be accused of betraying its past by crediting its visible Head with that infallibility, that absolute assurance of divine guidance, without which unquestioning obedience to him was manifestly a crime. In von Hase's words (*op. cit.* i. 251), infallibility is 'the supernatural condition of the unlimited power.' From one standpoint the Decree of 1870 is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the venerable Roman method of securing unity, a method as old as the desire of the Apostles that Jesus should forbid those who followed not with them, as old as the contention of the Apostles concerning precedence. From the opposite standpoint it was the consummation of the system, the crown or climax of its development. For once Newman's dialectic failed him when he opposed the dogma; he had forsaken one *via media* only to be discovered plodding along another. In 1867 he had urged to Pusey (Ward, *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, ii. 222):

> 'Our feeling as a *fact* . . . is this:—that there is no use in a Pope at all, except to bind the whole of Christendom into one polity; and that to ask us to give up his universal jurisdiction is to invite us to commit suicide.'

In 1870, in the famous letter to Ullathorne (*ib.* ii. 288 f.), he counted the threatened Decree a 'calamity':

> 'As to myself personally, please God, I do not expect any trial at all, but I cannot help suffering with the various souls that are suffering. I look with anxiety at the prospect of having to defend decisions which may not be difficult to my private judgment, but may be most difficult to defend logically in the face of historical facts. What have we done to be treated as the Faithful never were treated before? When has definition of doctrine *de fide* been a luxury of devotion and not a stern painful necessity? Why should an aggressive and insolent faction be allowed to make the hearts of the just to mourn whom the Lord hath not made sorrowful? . . . If it is God's Will that the Pope's Infallibility should be defined, then it is His Blessed Will to throw back the times and the moments of that triumph He has destined for His Kingdom; and I shall feel I have but to bow my head to His Adorable Inscrutable Providence.'

But the fact is that the Decree was not substantially in advance of the theory and practice of the Church. In 1862 at Whitsuntide the bishops had addressed the pontiff in these words: 'Thou art the centre of unity, thou art the Divine Light prepared by the Divine Wisdom for the nations, thou art the rock, thou art the very foundation of the Church.' He had taken them at their word. He desired, in fact, his official apotheosis in the Decree for the same reason that alone made Newman eager for his Cardinal's hat, viz. to protect and guarantee his teaching in the future, and to prevent it from being set aside. He had made no secret, as Lord Acton points out (*op. cit.* p. 186), from the first of his policy:

> 'In his first important utterance, the Encyclical of Nov. 1846, he announced that he was infallible; and the claim raised no commotion. Later on he applied a more decisive test, and gained a more complete success, when the bishops, summoned to Rome, not as a council but as an audience, received from him an additional article of their faith. But apart from the dogma of infallibility, he had a strong desire to establish certain cherished opinions of his own on a basis firm enough to outlast his time. They were collected in the Syllabus, which contained the essence of what he had written during many years, and was an abridgment of the lessons which his life had taught him. . . . The Syllabus was not rejected; but its edge was blunted and its point broken by the zeal which was spent in explaining it away. . . . In private he said that he wished to have no interpreter but himself.'

What the divine right of anointed kings meant for past ages this divine right of popes to decree or interpret faith means for the papal Church. Its strength lies in the fact that it forms a focus of institutional loyalty and unity. The breast of the pope is, as a mediæval pontiff put it, 'the shrine of all rights,' as in the State the hand of the sovereign is the source of all authority. Every one knows that a king is fettered, even though the fetters be of gold, by the custom of his predecessors and by the law and the circumstances of his time. So with the pope—his infallibility is not unlimited, though he is answerable to none and there is none to limit him. In wise and holy hands the decreed right need do no harm. In unwise, in worldly, in selfish hands such as have often held the office, and in times of panic and unrest, the power may be employed to the Church's hurt. In normal circumstances its attribution to the Vicar of Christ may intensify the care with which his peers in the Sacred College select him from their number. It is questionable whether the dogma conferred any really new power. A distinguished Cardinal prophesied that, as worded finally, it would be such as to prevent any substantial exercise of the power to innovate. Newman's own fears were considerably allayed when he read its terms. In the historical introduction of the authoritative publication, prepared by Fathers Franzelin and Kleutgen (Ward, *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, ii. 307), occurs the statement:

> 'The Roman Pontiffs, as the state of things and times has made advisable, at one time calling Ecumenical Councils or finding out the opinion of the Church dispersed through the world, at another by means of particular Synods, at another using other means of assistance which Divine Providence supplied, have defined those things to be held which by God's aid they had known to be in agreement with sacred Scripture and the Apostolic traditions, for the Holy Ghost was promised to the successors of Peter, not that by His revelation they should disclose new doctrines, but that by His *assistentia* they might preserve inviolate, and expound faithfully, the revelation or deposit of faith handed down by the Apostles.'

Newman recognized all that, but based his fears less upon the risk of papal vagaries or arbitrariness than upon the fact that 'there will necessarily always be round about the Pope second-rate people who are not subjects of that supernatural guidance which is his guidance' (*op. cit.* ii. 635). The trouble also is that no one but the ruling pope can authoritatively determine what is and what is not *ex cathedra* definition and *de fide*. Newman, Manning, and a host of theologians tell us, each in his own fashion, what are the tests of this august qualification, and unlimited ingenuity has been expended upon the problem. One by one the awkward instances of historical misdemeanour on the part of popes in the definition of doctrine have been taken in hand with a view to their elimination by hook or by crook. When misdemeanour has to be admitted, it is pleaded that the act was an indiscretion and less than *ex cathedra*, or that the intention was good, but that the pope was under compulsion, and so on. The result has certainly been to curtail, as far as subordinate opinion can curtail, the limits of the pontifical power; but the real foundation for legitimate anxiety lies in the fact that in any crisis the personal will of the pope must prevail by virtue of his unbounded claim to obedience in faith, morals, and discipline. It is obvious that matters which pertain to morals and the discipline of the Church, not to speak of faith, may touch at a thousand points the private conscience and the prerogative and interests of the civil powers. Gladstone in his powerful and impressive attack upon the dogma has no difficulty in exposing this danger, and in espousing the legitimate cause of the threatened State. But in the statesman for once he forgot or sank the churchman, and his argument is open to the retort that the Church has the same need for autonomy, the same right to legislate for itself with sovereign authority, as the State. By all the principles which fence about the jurisdiction of the Crown, the tiara may equally be guarded by its cassocked defenders. With no consistency can civil power reproach ecclesiastical power for copying its own methods and invoking the same instruments of order. The churchman is subject to no temptation whose counterpart the statesman has not to encounter; his fault is the greater because the King of his allegiance sanctioned no coercive discipline, deprecated precedence and titular dignity, and authorized no legislative apparatus to pass laws for human faith and conscience. Short of the complete renunciation of the life-long tradition and policy of Rome, it is difficult to see how the Roman Catholic Church could have laid aside the manifestly unworkable and unmanageable instrument of world-wide Councils either for the determination of doctrine or for the exercise of discipline, without vesting in the papacy the right and duty of using all proper means of consultation, learning, and prayer to ascertain the will of God by His Spirit for the instruction and edification of the flock entrusted to its charge. There is no need to vindicate this faith in divine providence by appealing, with an old-time Jesuit professor and theologian of Mainz, to OT Scripture and urging that 'a thoroughly ignorant Pope may very well be infallible, for God has before now pointed out the right path by the mouth of a speaking ass.' Trusting the Church, trusting the Episcopate, and trusting the 'assisted' head of the Church on earth are co-ordinate duties for the Roman Catholic mind. They rest on the same order of faith in the Holy Spirit which animates every individual Christian, and they are subject to the same order of limitations. But it will not fail to impress the reflective student of history as a singular fact that in the cycle of its progress the Church which condemns private or personal judgment in things of faith should now anathematize those who distrust the personal or individual judgment of popes 'apart from the consent of the Church.' Even Rome cannot evade the awkward circumstance that, after all, our acceptance of the pope as in any character and capacity infallible depends in the last resort upon an exercise of individual conscience and private judgment. 'How otherwise,' wrote Mivart to Cardinal Vaughan in 1900, 'could we know that authority had spoken at all, or what it had said?' Before the soul has any right to fling itself into arms extended to receive it in its quest of truth and peace, it must first convince itself that the arms are everlasting and that the proffered bosom is divine. If even popes have justified the withdrawal of their pledges by reason of their having been extorted under fear, is the individual faith which is yielded on pain of spiritual anathema to be accounted any whit more valid? Most readers of the history and proceedings of the Vatican Council, and, for that matter, of the Tridentine Council also, will rise from their occupation with a profound sense of the soundness of the papal conviction that ecumenical Councils are not to be trusted any longer, if they ever were, that the spirit guiding them is not infallibly holy, that they are subject to a multitude of infirmities inherent in their nature. But it is not every reader who will be guided by these histories to the further conclusion that the Sacred Breath which has been withdrawn from the Chamber of Council is now both assured and restricted to the apartments of the Vatican.

5. Infallibility of Jesus Christ and His Spirit.—It was indicated above that, while Scripture has been authoritative for all types of Christian faith, the infallibility it possesses for them resides, even within the Gospels, in the person of Jesus Christ. The Bible is for Christianity the record of a Life and its setting.

(1) Objectively, Jesus Christ is the authority which lends it its unique impressiveness. His life, His teaching, His character, His person, and His attested influence upon the world around Him constitute a fact of history to which the human heart and mind go back again and again, to test it and anon to bow before it. System follows system of doctrine, mode succeeds mode of piety and devotion, but Jesus Christ, learned from history and tried by experience, remains the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. Other foundation can no man lay. Back to Him, down to Him, up to Him, are the watchwords of reviving faith. Age after age rediscovers Him behind the veil of tradition and convention and religious pedantry. To enjoy His sanction or authority is the highest boast of any Christian usage, ordinance, or teaching. Amid all their differences of sectarian opinion and sectarian life, Christians are at one in acknowledging His historical life to be their ideal and their example, not only an incarnation of the divine, but at the same time a complete embodiment of human excellence. Though there is no agreement in the Christian world as to the details of His teaching, there is in progress a steady approach towards a common understanding and exegesis of His words. No year passes without bringing some new light upon the record of that holy and sublime life, and, instead of taking Him further from us into the past, time seems but to define His character and genius and message more sharply. Faults have been found in His character by hardy critics. He has been adjudged too stern, too gentle, too visionary, too ascetic, or not ascetic enough. Scholarship has recast traditional notions of the meaning of His words and of the composition of the Gospels. To some extent the halo and the Fact which it encircles and illumines have been distinguished. The mind of the Master and its interpretation by His disciples stand out with a new distinctness. But, in spite of all, the Figure and the Countenance form a Presence which decomposes but to recompose, and without wincing abides the unsparing scrutiny of every passing generation. Philosophy, history, science, poetry, art, and devotion show no signs of faltering in their interest in Him. Their acknowledgment of His greatness and all-sufficient perfection has not grown fainter. There is no sign that Christendom has discerned an example more appealing, a message more arresting, an authority more commanding, an ideal more exacting, a goodness, truth, and beauty more satisfying to the soul.

(2) Subjectively, Jesus Christ and His Spirit experienced in the soul have proved the unfailing authority before which Christian people without compulsion and without humiliation are content and glad to kneel. To contemplate Him from without is sooner or later to admit Him within, and to admit Him within is to surrender to His influence and guidance without a murmur. Christ and His indwelling Spirit are for Christian experience the source of power from above, yet from within. Something more than a memory, however tender, however sacred, possesses the believer. A Power demonstrates a Presence. Faith says from age to age: 'He is not dead: He is risen.' History has not enclosed Him within a niche. Experience

does not exhaust Him. His words have not passed away, but are still spirit and life to those whose ears are gladdened and solemnized by them. His Church has not succumbed to the gates of death. He has never been so intimately realized by men as at the present time. Social life is reckoning with Him on a scale never previously attempted. He is transforming the world more radically than science and invention can. In all that constitutes spiritual influence the infallibility of Jesus Christ and His Spirit is the common faith of Christendom. By the fruits of His contact with us we know Him. Every evidence of His divinity is testimony to His infallibility in thought, word, and deed. He is not only flawless but unfailing.

6. Infallibility of the Christian conscience.—The Christian conscience or consciousness, human conscience stimulated, educated, transformed, transfigured, possessed by the Spirit of Christ, is, for the individual, the nation, the Church, the world, the final arbiter of all duty and all faith. Whether we speak of Christ dwelling in the soul, of the soul at one with Christ, or of the Christian conscience, our meaning is essentially the same. The seat of judgment on earth is that tribunal within the heart. The Spirit of Christ, the Christian Spirit, is the common denominator of all Christian authorities. It is the power that animated the Christian Scriptures and breathes from them still, that inspired the Creeds and Confessions, that prompted the heroism of the faithful, that enlightens the judgment of clergy and laity, of pope, bishop, presbyter, and deacon alike. It is invoked to constitute and sanctify and overrule the deliberations of Synods and Councils. It is divinely promised to the two or three met in the name of Christ, and promised to the solitary believer whose isolation it ends not less than to the world-wide fellowship of the Faith. It is not the monopoly of the individual, nor is it the monopoly of the organization. Its authority is as universal as truth, as various in its embodiments. All mechanical or official oracles of the Christian Spirit are to be regarded with distrust. Our *a priori* assumptions of the modes in which God *must* have provided for our need of guidance and enablement are very liable to be overturned in the school of daily experience. The letter of Scripture does not more surely kill or deaden faith and discernment than would unreasoning reliance upon the mere word of an official or a caste or an organization, however devout and well-intentioned. The Church which vests infallibility exclusively in an order of office-bearers who are human, humanly trained, and humanly appointed fetters the very liberty of God to choose His instruments as of old from every class, every race, and every type of men. One may honour the faith in divine providence and divine predestination which can bind together a great communion of believers, yet recognize the dangers, which inhere in it, of superstition, arrogance, and illusion. To err is human: not to err is a divine perfection. To learn through error is our lot, both Churches and men. Therefore it is essential to a reverent faith, on the part of both, while believing that God's Spirit will not fail us, to avoid the presumption of believing that we shall never fail God's Spirit. Timorous mistrust and reckless arrogance are equal enemies to faith. To trust majority-findings in all cases is as fatuous as to trust no one but oneself. Genius is greater than majorities or averages. An inspired priest is a higher guide than a commonplace and conventional prelate or pope. God has sanctioned and hallowed many forms and instruments of authority in the Church as in the world. The teaching of history, which is the sphere of His providence, seems to admonish us to learn from all, to give all their just place in our confidence, to be loyal to their dictates according to our conscience. The promise stands that the Church will not perish, but the promise also stands that the Spirit will not fail the individual believer. The heart of the Master shepherd goes out to the one sheep even more than to the ninety and nine. One with God is a majority. Where the Spirit is, though there be but two or three, there is the Church. Where the truth is, there alone is infallibility, a revelation that is divine. Every Christian is a vicar of Christ, representing Him and His Spirit in the world. The servant is not greater than his Master. If Christ disclaimed or deprecated the name of 'good,' assigning it to God, and if Christ disclaimed or deprecated titular dignity and precedence, interpreting His Masterhood in terms of service, there is surely danger and disloyalty in any claim of particular human infallibility. Earthly authority, even the best, is intended to educate its subjects into independence of its help and its restraint. Every historic authority, as Sabatier justly says, demands at once respect and criticism. One may be loyal without being obsequious. One may be obedient without being a slave. It is as dangerous for obedience as for authority to be blind. For both there is no organ of vision save an open eye, no organ of truth save a reverently open mind.

'There have always been,' wrote W. E. Gladstone in his *Vaticanism* (London, 1875), 'and there still are, no small proportion of our race, and those by no means in all respects the worst, who are sorely open to the temptation, especially in times of religious disturbance, to discharge their spiritual responsibilities by *power of attorney*. As advertising Houses find Custom in proportion, not so much to the solidity of their resources as to the magniloquence of their promises and assurances, so theological boldness in the extension of such claims is sure to pay, by widening certain circles of devoted adherents, however it may repel the mass of mankind. There are two special encouragements to this enterprise at the present day: one of them the perhaps unconscious but manifest leaning of some, outside the Roman precinct, to undue exaltation of Church power; the other the reaction, which is and must be brought about in favour of superstition, by the levity of the destructive speculations so widely current, and the notable hardihood of the anti-Christian writing of the day (p. 46). . . . There are those who think that the craving after an infallibility which is to speak from human lips, in chapter and verse, upon each question as it arises, is not a sign of the strength and healthiness of faith, but of the diseased avidity of its weakness. Let it, however, be granted for the sake of argument that it is a comfort to the infirmity of human nature thus to attain promptly to clear and intelligible solutions of its doubts, instead of waiting on the Divine pleasure, as those who watch for the morning, to receive the supplies required by its intellectual and its moral trials. A recommendation of this kind, however little it may endure the scrutiny of philosophical reflection, may probably have a great power over the imagination and the affections of mankind (p. 106).

One thing is clear: Between the solid ground, the *terra firma* of Infallibility, and the quaking, fluctuating mind of the individual, which seeks to find repose upon it, there is an interval over which he cannot cross. Decrees *ex cathedra* are infallible; but determinations what decrees are *ex cathedra* are fallible; so that the private person, after he has with all docility handed over his mind and its freedom to the *Schola Theologorum*, can never certainly know, never know with "divine faith," when he is on the rock of infallibility, when on the shifting quicksands of a merely human persuasion' (p. 108).

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INFANCY.—The period of individual life immediately following birth. In law, human infancy extends to the attainment of one's 'majority,' usually the age of twenty-one years. In other than legal usage the term signifies, according to convenience, any number of years from one to seven. The present article concerns a period of about five years during which, in an unusually complete sense, the family is the child's educator.[1]

1. The relation of infancy to moral evolution.—John Fiske has shown[2] that the extreme unripeness of the human child at birth and the extreme length of his immaturity are crucial points for intellectual and moral evolution. (*a*) Life begins with fewer 'sets,' and fewer of them are formed early, than is the case with other species of animals. Here is the opportunity for accumulating experience in an individual way—for originality, individuality, and progress. Applying this to morals, we may say that the prolongation of infancy in the human species makes character possible. (*b*) The peculiar and prolonged helplessness of the human child has been the chief factor in producing, first, maternal affection, and then the stable monogamic family. It is chiefly from the family, in turn, that regard for others has radiated into the wider social groups. Human infancy, then, is a hinge on which both the moral growth of the individual and the moral evolution of the race have turned.

2. The physical basis of the beginnings of character.—At two points the body of the infant has the closest relation to his start in the moral life. (*a*) In the absence of the habits and inhibitions of later life, incidental physical conditions, whether good or ill, have a peculiarly pervasive effect. Wrong feeding, *e.g.*, is a potent cause of depressed states, such as peevishness. Inadequate care, or overstimulation, produces nervousness. The significance of nervous poise and of physical comfort or their opposites reaches far beyond the date of their occurrence, for all of them tend under the law of habit to become fixed as disposition. (*b*) The acquisition of muscular co-ordinations constitutes the earliest will-formation, which includes self-control and self-direction. Hence each of the following conditions is unfavourable to moral growth: swaddling the body so as to prevent free movement of any part; lack of objects to handle (though toys can easily be too numerous or too complicated); repression of free movement and experimentation; failure of the parents to play with the infant.

3. The moral endowment of infants.—The individual begins life neither moral nor immoral, but pre-moral. Yet is there not a moral nature or hereditary endowment that favours the attainment of a positive moral character? In view of the moral evolution of the race, it cannot be that the endowment of individuals is, on the whole, either unfavourable or neutral. Two questions, however, remain.

(*a*) Specifically where, among the instincts and other unlearned tendencies, do we find the infant's *moral nature*? The answer, in general, is that a complex of unlearned tendencies towards truly voluntary social reactions is the moral nature. One of these tendencies, the sexual instinct, does not appear in infancy. But even in infancy we can discern gregariousness, imitation, sympathy, and rudiments of the parental instinct in attitudes toward babies, pet animals, and even toys. These do not of themselves constitute a genuinely moral endowment, however; there must be provision, also, for the growth of an individual will that may erect into deliberative, discriminative, and generalized ideals the otherwise fitfully exercised social motive. Without individual wills there is no true society. We include, therefore, in the infant's moral endowment his enjoyment in being a cause, his curiosity, his instinct for collecting and hoarding, and certain instinctive self-assertions, as jealousy, and what Thorndike calls 'mastery and submission' and 'approving and scornful behaviour.'[1] Granted this whole complex of original tendencies, together with a human environment in which they may find expression, the individual tends to become deliberately as well as instinctively social. That is, he has a moral nature.

(*b*) But a moral nature grows into *moral character* only under some sort of stimulus. What, then, is the special condition or stimulus under which an otherwise fitful social motivation becomes the principle of a socialized will? The answer is that character is formed through conflict within the very tendencies that have just been described as constituting the moral nature. Moral growth does not pursue a straight line such as might represent a single instinct, but a zigzag from predominant self-regard to predominant other-regard and back again. This inherent conflict of impulses is intensified by the pains and pleasures incident to the child's membership in a regulated group. Thus arises conscience. In its earlier forms, which clearly appear in infants who live in well-regulated families, conscience is simply the coincident experience of egoistic and social impulses which have not yet found their unity. Yet the resolution of the conflict may begin very early. Even in infancy, wherever wise nurture prevails, we behold genuine efforts at self-control in the social interest, and genuine victories over mere egoistic desire. That such victories bring a heightened sense of individual self-realization is an added evidence that a genuine moral nature is growing into moral character.

The common impression that the conduct of every infant is purely egoistic arises from the relative immediacy of his objects, *i.e.* his lack of consideration. Such impulsive action on the part of an adult would, indeed, connote selfishness, since adult society depends upon the pursuit of remote ends; but the ends of infant conduct are often social in the sense of pleasure in the pleasure of others, and even, as we have just seen, in the sense of preferring the social good even when it conflicts with egoistic desire.

4. The infant's life in the family.—Not only has human infancy produced the human family; but this is the only social organization that is inherently adapted to the infant's moral needs. The family develops individuality; the members cannot be dealt with as classes or impersonally. Yet the intimacy that prevails among its members, based partly upon natural affection, partly upon the smallness of the group and the physical conditions of home life, is the most powerful socializing influence in the world. Institutional care of children, as in orphan asylums, can provide the conditions of physical health, but not the individualizing and socializing influences that are essential to normal moral growth. It is now an axiom among social workers that a child who is deprived of his natural family connexion should be placed, as promptly as possible, in another family, not in an institution.

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[1] The art. GROWTH (Moral and Religious) contains a systematic description of the stages of growth, infancy included. See also CHILDHOOD.

[2] *The Meaning of Infancy*, passim.

[1] E. L. Thorndike, *Education*, New York, 1912, ch. v., also *The Original Nature of Man*, do. 1913, ch. vii.

Even the intellectual growth of the infant is best fostered by the same individualizing intimacy. The reason is that genuine intimacy between parent and child becomes reciprocal—the parent fondles and plays with his child, but also grants him access to mature thoughts, attitudes, and activities. The soundest educational practice provides a rich environment for the child, never fearing that he will partake too freely or extend his interests unduly as long as fellowship with mature mind is part of the situation. To answer a child's questions in a serious way, to create situations in which his curiosity will lead him to ask important questions, to cultivate his imagination, and to enjoy with him mutual intellectual discovery—this is the proper method of promoting intellectual progress in infancy. Children who have an early intellectual development without forcing or abnormality are generally those who are admitted to such intellectual intimacy with their parents.

These considerations, to say nothing of freedom as included in the individual's moral destiny, make against the popular belief that the first virtue to be inculcated in infants is absolute obedience. What parent, moreover, is wise enough to prescribe rules that deserve such obedience? The first moral need of an infant is to act consciously as a member of the family group. This conscious mutuality involves law and obedience, but it gives content to the moral will as 'absolute' obedience does not, and it begins at once the process of acquiring freedom.

5. **The infant and religion.**—No one at the present day looks for innate ideas of God, but there is a common notion that infantile thinking is spontaneously animistic. If the term 'Animism' is used in Tylor's sense of belief in spirits, then Animism is not spontaneous in the infant, for he acquires the notion of spirits just as he acquires other concepts. On the other hand, the abstractions that characterize adult thought have not yet been made; the infant thinks in wholes, and these wholes are of the sense order. Yet emotional thinking still prevails with him, and this gives an anthropomorphic tinge to his objects. The reason is simply that the emotionality of a whole mental situation still inheres in particular objects as they appear in it; *i.e.*, a strictly objective point of view, which implies abstraction of the object experienced from the experience itself, has not yet been attained. The infant's mind moves freely within stories that attribute language and motives to any object of his experience. As early as the age of four there is delight in dramatic 'make-believe,' which, helping the infant to make himself and other persons definitely individual, helps also to differentiate persons from things. At this age, and even younger, one easily believes in God; but the nature of this belief appears in the acceptance of fairy stories, and stories of the 'black man,' so unwisely used by nurses to secure obedience.

This god-belief is not yet distinctly monotheistic, for neither the thought-problem nor the moral problem underlying monotheism has yet arisen. The infant's belief may be polytheistic, or simply vague. (Concerning its relation to the child's scientific and religious growth respectively, see CHILDHOOD, § 4.) Further, the idea does not necessarily have any specifically religious value. The writer has a drawing, made without suggestion or guidance, by a child of four years and eight months, in which a toy railway train, a house, a Christmas tree, Santa Claus, and God all figure, evidently on terms of approximate equality. This child's interests have not been much differentiated; the idea of God is on substantially the same plane as that of Santa Claus. Another child of about the same age invented during the Christmas season a play in which he himself impersonated God, and brought in the star of Bethlehem, a crude device made of sticks that he had fastened together. The infant's possession of an idea of God, then, is not of itself an evidence of religion.

Does the infant mind show traces of a religious instinct? The fact that religion is not altogether a deliberate device or a product of logical thinking has led to the assertion that it is instinctive. This use of the term 'instinct' is too broad and indefinite. In strictness an instinct implies a definite motor response in a type of situation that is objectively definable. The readiness of infants to believe in God and to perform religious acts requires no special instinct as its cause. These ideas and acts originate in the same way as those that concern a human relative as yet unseen, or those that concern Santa Claus. The ideas are acquired on authority; they are made real through imagination, and the acts are imitative.

The springs of real religion are present, however, in what we have just described as the moral nature. As the Christian religion, broadly taken, is an idealized expansion of family relationships, Christians should regard infants as religious to the extent that they idealize parenthood in the direction of a universal Divine Fatherhood, and childish goodwill in the direction of universal brotherhood. Under instruction and example, infants do, in fact, make idealizations of this kind that become potent in conduct. To focalize one's social ideals in the thought of a Heavenly Father; to talk to this Father in prayer; to submit one's impulses to this superior will—this is religion, and it is easily produced in infants under Christian nurture.

LITERATURE.—John Fiske's essay on 'Infancy,' originally published in his *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, London, 1874, pt. ii. chs. xvi., xxi., xxii., is now available in briefer form, together with 'The Part played by Infancy in the Evolution of Man,' in a booklet bearing the title, *The Meaning of Infancy*, Boston, 1909. The best brief analysis of unlearned tendencies is ch. v. of E. L. Thorndike's *Education*, New York, 1912. For a full, critical discussion of this subject see his *The Original Nature of Man*, do. 1913. The line of the child's social growth is traced most fully in E. A. Kirkpatrick, *The Individual in the Making*, Boston, 1911. Help in getting the small child's point of view will be found in Patterson du Bois, *Fireside Child-Study*, New York, 1903, and *Beckonings from Little Hands*, do. 1900. E. P. St. John, *Child Nature and Child Nurture*, Boston, 1911, is a series of simple studies for parents with respect to the moral and religious nurture of children. It contains useful reading lists. On child religion see, further, CHILDHOOD, § 4, and Literature appended. See also G. Compayré, *L'Evolution intellectuelle et morale de l'enfant* ^{2}, Paris, 1896; J. Sully, *Studies of Childhood*, new ed., London, 1896; A. F. Chamberlain, *The Child*, do. 1900; W. E. Urwick, *The Child's Mind* ^{2}, do. 1910; W. B. Drummond, *An Introduction to Child-Study* ^{4}, do. 1912; and art. FAMILY (Biblical and Christian).

GEORGE A. COE.

INFANT BAPTISM.—See BAPTISM.

INFERENCE.—All attempts at logical science assume that inference is a source, distinctive, effective, and authoritative, of knowledge. It is in view of these three characteristics that schemes are framed for the self-conscious revision of it, and that mutual criticism goes on between different logical systems.

1. **Distinctiveness of inference.**—Inferential knowledge is distinctive because of its dependence on other knowledge the security of which is differently founded and cannot be helped or hindered in the same way by revision. At the first beginning of logical science, the Hindu Gotama distinguished inference from the deliverances of sense-perception, the recognition of likeness between things, and doc-

trine intrinsically worthy of belief or commended to us by the good and wise (see artt. LOGIC, NYĀYA). On these inference is dependent. From its obvious dependence, Aristotle, in his theory of science, argued to the independence of other knowledge, though he could not for science, as he did for mere debate, appeal to the opinion of the good and wise; and he left in some obscurity the share in the complete function of intelligence which should be assigned to sense-perception and intellectual intuition respectively—these being the independent faculties which he mentions. Modern epistemology has raised the latter question more definitely. Kant's logical teaching seems to accept as independent the whole interplay of the two faculties, sensibility and understanding, which are required by his epistemology, until it sunders into the distinct moments of reason and consequent, and then it becomes inference (*Introduction to Logic*, tr. Abbott, London, 1885, § vii.). Modern psychology has encouraged a more definite list, such as that given by Mill: perception, conception, memory, belief—the forms of 'immediate consciousness' by reference to which inference may be viewed as dependent. Dependence may also be treated as a mere matter of degree. Even the 'irreducible datum' contained in perception exists only through qualifications imposed by judgment, and judgment itself is nascent or implicit inference, while inference owes its stability to its place in total knowledge; so that the paradox which Aristotle wished to avoid by his theory of independent sources of knowledge is accepted as a truth, and the system of our inferences is one that returns into itself like a circle (B. Bosanquet, *Essentials of Logic*, London, 1895, § ii., and *Logic*, Oxford, 1888, ii. 7). But this still allows a dependence that is relative.

2. Effectiveness of inference.—Inference becomes worthy of its special theory through its effectiveness in enriching our endowment with truth. Mill acknowledges it only when we 'believe a fact or statement by reason of some other fact or statement' (*Logic*^{8}, 1872, ii. 1. 1). Kant defines it as 'that function of thinking by which one judgment is derived from another' (*Logic*, § 41). Hamilton, consistently with the stress he lays on the concept as an instrument of thought, requires merely a new recognition of the relation of whole and part between one concept and another. While Hamilton's requirement, as Mill urges (*Exam. of Hamilton's Philosophy*, London, 1872, ch. 19), is too slight, in view of the countless riches of truth open to us beyond immediate consciousness, Mill's own demand for belief in new facts is too stringent. It sterilizes both immediate inference and the syllogism taken apart from an inductive foundation, and perhaps even scientific induction taken apart from deductive applications in detail. And it might well excuse the logical paralysis affected by Meno in Plato's dialogue (*Meno*, 80 D) when he was invited to proceed to knowledge out of conscious ignorance: 'How will you know, when you light on a result, that this is what you did not know?' Aristotle, with this affectation in mind, required merely that the 'manner of knowing' should be new: 'We possess knowledge after a certain fashion before induction or the assumption of a syllogism, but in another manner not' (*Anal. Post.* i. 1). And a recent writer remarks: 'Much of inference consists in demonstrating the *connection* of matters that as facts are pretty familiar' (Bosanquet, *Essentials of Logic*, p. 138).

3. Authoritativeness of inference.—The despair of Meno in regard to novelty was a sequel to the demand of Socrates for cogency; and the union of these two requirements constitutes the crisis in pursuing any systematic logical theory. Mill's insistence on new 'facts' hampers him throughout a long labour to show a satisfying authority. He unites the two requirements, as the primitive logic of Gotama did, in the 'recognition of signs.' And he perverts incidentally the scholastic axiom of intensive reasoning to suit this conception and to mean that whatever possesses any significant attribute possesses the significate of which it is a sign. But that one thing can be a sign of another is not a truth that can be left in this primitive crudity; and Mill only slightly softens the crudity when he appeals to empirical or causal laws. These do, indeed, confer signification on facts, but, being themselves inferences from facts, they appear to have no more title to do so than facts have to assume it for themselves. Signification remains a mere shadow from the unseen. In contrast with Mill, Hamilton's choice of the minimum in his requirement for novelty allows inference to carry with it the full authority of the conceptual faculty, but at the expense of effectiveness. With Kant it has the authority of a law of the understanding imposing the relationship of reason and consequent, while other logicians, with doubtful success, attempt some formula which pledges reality more definitely than a reference to understanding can do.

> 'The logical forms and the laws of their application are the conditions through the fulfilment of which thought satisfies its own requirements, and brings the connection of its ideas with one another into that form, which for it, for thought itself, is truth' (H. Lotze, *Logic*, Oxford, 1884, § 334).

And it is sufficient for the reassurance of philosophic doubt that the Kantian principle of rational consequence 'is but the side, normally turned towards empirical thinking, of the fact that there is in the thought-content itself such an immanent inter-connexion that if something is true then something else is true and something else not true' (W. Windelband, in *Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences*, vol. i. p. 25; see also Losskij, *ib.* p. 240 ff.).

4. Immediate inference.—If the same fact, understood through the same concepts, nevertheless comes to be known in a new way without a new reference to independent sources, there is immediate inference as distinguished from mediate. In speech or in writing, the transition from one judgment to another appears as a change in the order of ideas, 'A is B,' 'B is A'; or in the use of one rather than the other of a pair of contradictory ideas, 'A is B,' 'A is not other than B'; or in what may be described as the logical self-consciousness of judgment, 'A is B,' 'It is false that A is not B.' To Mill such 'ways of knowing' are merely schemes for the use of whatever equivalent expressions may be available for the same fact. To Kant they suggest distinct plans of synthesis in the interplay between sensibility and understanding, of which one may be a reason for the other; and he names them syllogisms of the understanding. And other logicians recognize an internal development of the concepts employed in a judgment, which alters the judgment in 'type,' but not in 'substance.' There may thus be a change from a historical import to a scientific, or *vice versa*: 'Some sovereigns are tyrannical, A tyrant may have sovereign power.' Or a contradictory idea may arise as a species complementary within an implicit genus: 'Lovers are prone to jealousy, Lovers are not indifferent to each other's friendships'; though the formula for this, 'A is B, A is not other than B,' is considered meaningless by Kant.

5. Mediate inference.—Where the new way of knowing is through a concept new in substance and boundaries, 'X is P,' 'S is P,' the authoritativeness is due to some mediating idea, and the inference is entitled 'mediate.'

A scheme of expressions with letters as symbols for concepts has been inherited by current Logic from Aristotle, to which nearly all examples of mediate inference can by ingenuity be made to conform. As a personal discipline in making clear the mediating idea that is employed in any example, this scheme has been almost universally commended; but it fails to make clear the ground and hazard of the mediation. And its rules can justify only the classifications or the intensive subordinations of concepts which accompany inferential belief. That 'All men are mortal, and the king is a man and therefore mortal,' reveals 'the human' as mediating idea, and arranges king, man, and mortal in a classificatory or conceptual hierarchy. That 'Alexander, Muhammad, and the other persons of history have died, and these are men, and therefore man is mortal,' reveals the list of historical persons as mediating idea, correlates the list with 'man' as a class concept, and subordinates this to 'mortal.' Nature, however, as Mill contends, has not arranged all the objects of the universe into definite *a priori* classes (*Logic*, people's ed., London, 1884, ii. 2, § 2), and we might add that neither does the universe present itself as a museum of permanently assorted attributes. And it is only inferential predication already accomplished that enables us to systematize our concepts either in extension or in intension, or to correlate a list with a concept.

6. Interpretative deduction.—A more material value may be given to such schemes, as representing a plan of co-operation between different minds in building up a common inferential system. The insight transforming incident into generalization or law, 'Man is mortal,' may be accomplished by one mind; and concrete expectation may be framed accordingly, 'The king is mortal,' by another. The rules of the deductive syllogism mark a dividing line between originative and interpretative thought in their co-operative function, whether the personality requiring the distinction be that of teacher and disciple, audience and orator, legislator and magistrate, earlier and later self, or otherwise. Mill considered that deductive interpretation does not amount to inference unless there is a reference back to the original datum for the authoritative rule itself (*Logic*, ii. 3, § 4). If, however, the formula of authority be not merely understood as a meaning, but also adopted by the interpreter as a conditioned rule for his own beliefs, and then developed into a specific belief according to the rule, there really arises in the passage from rule to instance a 'new way of knowing.' The traditional maxim for the deductive syllogism—whatever is predicated concerning a class distributed may be predicated in like manner concerning anything contained therein—does not express this. But Kant's maxim does: Whatever fulfils the condition of a rule falls under the rule itself (*Logic*, § 57). And it is relatively to such inference that Gotama's inclusion of extrinsic authority, as an independent source of knowledge, along with perception and intuition may be still approved.

7. Demonstrative deduction.—Independently of authority as a source, the deductive intersubordination of concepts also represents inference when the 'conditions' of a rule are fixed and their fulfilment exemplified, intuitively, that is to say, when the occasion of inference is what has been known in widely separated epochs of philosophy under such phrases as 'intrinsic worth of a doctrine' (Gotama), primary scientific principle (Aristotle), *a priori* synthesis (Kant). Mill as an empiricist in epistemology would reduce this kind of inference to the same level as the interpretative—a treatment which is the less plausible in logic because the class extensions so natural and useful in the interpretation of experiential knowledge are here a superfluous gloss on the demonstration. It is as easy to see that a triangle ABC, constructed in Euclid's first proposition, is equilateral, without referring to anything outside that figure, as with the aid of generalizations.

Where intuition fails us, and, according to empiricists, in all knowledge, the ultimate occasion of inference that is not merely interpretative must be the coincidences and sequences of experience, and the 'new way of knowing' converts special features of these into a 'conditioned rule' for our expectations. The universality of the rule is not the 'logical' or *a priori* universality conferred by intuition (Kant, *Logic*, § 81), but analogous to it—a reaching towards 'the thought by which all things through all are guided' in the flux of Heraclitus. Inference here is 'belief' in contrast with strict knowledge (cf. art. BELIEF [Logical]); and Kant entitles it 'syllogism of reflective judgment.'

8. Enumerative induction.—Where many experiences repeat the connexion of some attribute with the instances of a given concept, we infer the concept as the condition for a rule as to predicating the attribute. The concept may be simple, 'Yellow is the brightest colour'; or it may be composite, 'Metals conduct electricity.'

> 'From perception memory results, and from repeated recollections of the same phenomenon comes experience; from experience, or from the entire universal which is retained in the soul . . . comes the elementary principle of art and science' (Arist. *Anal. Post.* ii. 19).

Recurrence has no meaning except when environments or specific determinations change, but it is the recurrence, and not the change, that appeals to our inferential activity. The maxim followed is: Many things do not agree in one characteristic without a reason (Kant, *Logic*, § 84). The numbering of recurrences is, for progressive intelligence, the primitive mode of inference; and Mill considers that out of it scientific analysis grows as an effort to sustain or correct a narrower enumerative induction by a wider (*Logic*, iii. 3, § 2). And, converting this psychological precedence into a logical one, he declares that the distinctive maxim of scientific analysis, the Law of Causation, can 'have no better foundation' than our wider faith in uniformity as mere recurrence (iii. 21, § 2). But, while faith in recurrence is an indispensable factor in our expectations if these are to meet the requirements of concrete life, its authority is less secure than that of inference from change of environing circumstances or in specific determinations. Bacon describes it as 'puerile, precarious, and exposed to danger from contradictory instances.' Aristotle's doctrine that 'the universal becomes evident out of a plurality of particulars' must be supplemented by Bacon's, that the evidence depends on 'rejections and due exclusions' (*Nov. Org.* i. 105). Current logic prefers to justify enumerative induction as a nascent causal analysis, and so reverses the order of precedence assigned by Mill.

9. Eliminative induction.—Where the instances of a concept differ in their environing circumstances or in their specific determinations, variations that are concurrent with each other may become condition and rule. Friction between flint and steel is an incident that concurs with heat; minute grooving and iridescent colour are specific determinations of surface that concur in mother-of-pearl. Mill's two types of elimination, entitled 'Method of Agreement' and 'Method of Difference,' are ways of isolating and defining such concurrences. With Agreement, the relation becomes isolated by repeating itself throughout several instances while any passing concurrence of its terms with other circumstances or determinations is inconstant. The condition for iridescent colouring of a surface cannot be the peculiar chemical composition of mother-of-pearl, for the colouring appears also on grooved wax or metal; nor can it be molecular consistence, nor weight. With Difference, on the other hand, an instance or species of the concept is found where the concurrence is isolated even as a passing one. Only friction and heat distinguish the moment of use from the moment of rest, in flint and steel.

Because eliminative induction infers a rule of change or variation, that is to say, a causal or determinative relationship rather than a class attribute, its influence on our concrete life is distinguishable from that of enumerative induction. The latter enables us to select from among means provided by Nature the best for our end—*e.g.*, the camel for desert transport. The former subserves the invention of new mechanisms for an end—*e.g.*, the conversion of electric strain into light, heat, or movement. But neither of the two ventures of our reason can thus pass freely into practical wisdom without the co-operation of a further venture which constitutes a distinct species of inference—the analogical.

10. Analogy.—In connexion with environments or specific determinations that remain unchanged or are repeated, the partial exemplification of a concept is the condition for a rule that completes it. Mars is habitable, because it is so like our habitable earth. Such a venture of belief fulfils the same function in practical wisdom as the *a priori* construction of examples fulfils in demonstrative science. And it is in view of this function that Aristotle submerges it in a double syllogism which he entitles 'Example.' War between Athens and Thebes would be calamitous, as being a border war, like that between Thebes and Phocis. Gotama classes the 'recognition of likeness,' not as an inference, but as an independent source, like perception, that may contribute to inference. Modern Logic allows it as a kind of inference, or at least as an independent source of inductive hypothesis, co-ordinate with enumerative induction (C. Sigwart, *Logic*, Eng. tr., London, 1895, § 83).

Within a sphere of belief where environments and specific determinations are sustained by purpose or by the power of organic life—*e.g.*, when we follow judicial precedents or recognize physiological functions—we may justify analogy by a maxim corresponding to Kant's maxim for induction: since the many characteristics do not unite in one thing without a reason (cf. Kant, *Logic*, § 83). But even where the finality which unifies a collocation is not definable in terms of purpose or of life, our conceptual faculty still demands, in the spirit of the ancient realism, that destiny shall pre-ordain the repeated exemplification of limited conceptions, and that the impending shall not be infinite in surprise (see art. CONCEPT; and cf. J. Venn, *Empirical Logic*², 1907, ch. 4). It is not sufficient that the world of facts follows, as Mill describes it, 'from laws of causation together with a primeval collocation of forces that is inexplicable' (*Logic*, iii. 5, § 9).

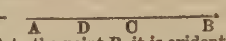
> 'It is necessary to suppose that not merely do general laws hold good in the world, while the arrangement of facts on account of which a definite form of actuality flows from the laws is . . . given over to chance, uncontrolled by any principle; but rather that in the arrangement of the aforesaid facts also, a principle (that is to say, an 'Idea') is effective, and that this principle fixes beforehand . . . the whole system of the future phenomena which are to be actualized' (Lotze, *Outlines of Logic*, Eng. tr., Boston, 1887, § 62).

LITERATURE.—This is co-extensive with systems of Logic. Among recent writers, in addition to those quoted above, may be mentioned as specially important on the nature of inference: T. H. Green, *Lectures on Logic*, London, 1886 (*Works*, ii.); F. H. Bradley, *Principles of Logic*, do. 1883; L. T. Hobhouse, *Theory of Knowledge*, do. 1896; J. Dewey, *Studies in Logical Theory*, do. 1909; *EBr*¹¹, art. 'Logic'; and the several contributors to the *Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences*, vol. i., Eng. tr., London, 1913. Among recent German writers, W. Schuppe, H. Lotze, W. Wundt, and C. Sigwart are most frequently referred to. There are numerous monographs and essays on species of inference specially connected with philosophy or with particular sciences.

J. BROUGH.

INFINITY.—The problem of infinity is one of considerable complication and difficulty; and all that it is possible to do in such an article as this is to give some account of the place of the conception in the development of human thought, to indicate some of its chief difficulties, and to suggest methods by which they may be met.

1. The meaning of the term.—There are two senses in which the term tends to be used, and it is very important to distinguish them. It may mean simply that which is *endless*, or it may mean that which is *complete* or *perfect*. One of the simplest illustrations of infinity in the former sense is to be found in the series of cardinal numbers. When we arrange the numbers in order—0, 1, 2, 3 . . .—it is evident that no point can ever be reached at which the series can be regarded as complete. However large the number may be that we have reached at any point, it is always possible to add one more. Hence this series is infinite, in the sense that it never reaches an end. On the other hand, the circumference of a circle may be said to be infinite, in the sense that it is complete. It seems clear that these two senses of the term are not identical, and are even in some respects opposed to one another. Yet they are apt to be confounded.

A simple mathematical instance may serve to bring out the reason for this. The series $1, \frac{3}{2}, \frac{7}{4}, \frac{15}{8}$ . . . is infinite in the former of the two senses. Each member of the series is of the form $\frac{2n-1}{n}$, and the value of n is doubled at each successive step. Here, again, however large n may be made, it is always possible to double it. But, in this case, when n is made very large, the value of $\frac{2n-1}{n}$ is very little different from that of $\frac{2n}{n}$. Hence it may be said that 2 is the ultimate value to which the series is approximating. This is sometimes expressed in the form that, when n becomes infinite, the value is 2. Here the series is represented as becoming completed when it reaches infinity. The endless series is thus regarded as reaching an end, in which it is completed. A more concrete illustration of this is found in one of the puzzles that were put forward by Zeno with regard to motion—  If a body moves from the point A to the point B, it is evident that it must first traverse half the distance, AC, and that in order to do this it must first traverse the half of that, AD; and so on, indefinitely. Hence it may be said that, in the motion from A to B, an infinite series is completed. In such instances the two notions of endlessness and completion, which appear to be opposed to one another, are somehow brought together.

Another illustration, from the sphere of religion, may now be given. God has sometimes been represented as infinite, in the sense of having no assignable end as regards duration of existence in time or possibility of action. He has been said to be Eternal and Omnipotent. These attributes may be interpreted as meaning simply endlessness with respect to two characteristics. They may be taken to imply that, however far we may go back in His history, there is something prior to the point that we have reached; and, however far we might go forward, there would be something to come after; and, again, that, however great may be the action that is performed by Him, there is something greater that He might do. Here we have simply the conception of endlessness. But God has also been represented as infinitely wise and infinitely good; and it is clear, on the face of it, that these are qualitative conceptions. They do not mean endlessly wise and good, but completely or perfectly wise and good. We can hardly suppose, in these cases, that what is meant is that, however wise or good God may be at any particular point, He has always the possibility of being still wiser or better. The meaning would seem to be rather that at every point His wisdom and goodness are complete or perfect. But, as perfection with regard to duration and action tends to be thought of as implying endlessness, perfection with regard to wisdom and goodness is apt to be vaguely conceived in a similar way.

How far the term 'infinite' is rightly applied to any form of perfection is a question for further consideration. In the meantime it may suffice to note that the conception of endlessness appears to be applicable only to things that consist of numerable parts. If there are any things that do not consist of numerable parts, they cannot be said to be either finite or infinite, in the purely quantitative sense of the word. This appears to be true of goodness, wisdom, beauty, colour; and, in general, of all things that are essentially qualitative rather than quantitative. But it is common to apply the term 'infinite' to such things when they have a high degree of perfection—as in such phrases as 'infinite penetration,' 'infinitely pure,' and the like. As the term means primarily 'endless,' it may be best to use it only in this sense; but, as the two meanings are not always easy to disentangle, the more qualitative sense of the term must also be taken into account.

2. History of the conception.—At a very early period in Greek speculation we find traces of the conception that the universe is to be regarded as formed from a material that is in some sense boundless. Anaximander, in particular, took this as his starting-point, and thought of the different forms of existence as having been 'separated out' from a vague and chaotic mass to which no definite bounds could be assigned. What we have here is perhaps rather the conception of the indefinite than that of the infinite; but the transition is easy from the one to the other, and we seem to see it being made most clearly in the development of the Pythagorean school. It would appear that the fundamental view of the early Pythagoreans was that a boundless material, described as *τὸ ἄπειρον*, received definite form through the imposition of limits. This may be regarded as the earliest form of the doctrine that 'determination is negation.' Against this may be set the Eleatic doctrine, which involves the denial of negativity. According to the view of Parmenides, reality is to be thought of as always definite, and not boundless. It is compared to a well-rounded sphere. Here we may perhaps recognize the first statement of the conception of a perfect whole, as opposed to that of a chaotic mass. Melissus, however, appears to have urged that this perfect whole should be conceived as infinitely extended both in time and in space, thus bringing together the two conceptions of the complete and the endless. But it was apparently Zeno who first realized the difficulties involved in the conception of the infinite. Reference has already been made to the way in which he brought out the difficulty involved in the recognition that the space through which a body moves may be regarded as capable of indefinite subdivision. His familiar paradoxes—that 'the flying arrow rests,' and that 'Achilles could never overtake a tortoise'—were evidently intended to emphasize the same difficulty. The service which Zeno rendered to exact thought by the statement of such difficulties can hardly be exaggerated. The Atomists, however, whose views were developed from reflexion on the points brought out by the Eleatics, do not seem to have taken much account of the problems of Zeno when they postulated an infinite space and, apparently, an infinite number of atoms moving in the void, though, no doubt, they gained something by avoiding the conception of the infinitely little. In the later developments of Greek thought, especially under the influence of Socrates and his school, the conception of endlessness becomes relatively unimportant; and its place may be said to be taken by the thought of perfection. This change is perhaps partly due to Parmenides, but appears to be more directly traceable to the speculations of Anaxagoras. The view that Mind is to be taken as the principle of order was readily interpreted as implying that determination is not merely negation or limitation, but is due rather to the effort after perfection. The 'Form of Good' thus comes to be the central conception, as it is especially with Plato; and the material tends to be thought of only as something by which the working out of the Good is in some way limited. This may almost be said to involve the inversion of Pythagoreanism—an inversion which comes out most definitely in the philosophy of Aristotle. The Form has now become the positive aspect, and the Matter is the negative by which it is limited; and that which is thus limited is no longer the boundless, but the perfect.

This brief sketch must suffice as an account of the way in which the conceptions of endlessness and perfection first came into prominence in European speculation. The most definite attempt to combine the two conceptions is found in the doctrines of the Cartesian school. The most fundamental doctrine of the Cartesians is that the absolutely perfect must be thought of as existing. The grounds on which this is maintained cannot be considered here. It is enough to say that the absolutely perfect is regarded as the standard by reference to which all other things are determined. But this standard tends to be thought of as boundless. Space is conceived as an infinite whole, and all other realities are thought of on the analogy of space. This is most definitely the case in the philosophy of Spinoza, in which the fundamental conceptions of the Cartesians are most logically developed. Thus the perfect comes to be identified with the boundless, and everything determinate is regarded as involving negation. Leibniz corrected this tendency by treating space as a confused mode of thought, and by definitely re-introducing the Platonic conception of the Good. On the other hand, he sought to give a positive significance to the conception of the infinitely little, and thus revived those problems which had, on the whole, lain in abeyance since the time of Zeno.

The difficulties involved in the conceptions of the infinitely great and the infinitely little were strikingly set forth by Kant in his first two antinomies. The main point there urged is that the conceptions of infinite extent and infinite division involve the recognition of a completed endlessness, which is self-contradictory. Reflexion on this led Hegel[1] to regard the simply endless (*schlecht unendlich*)[2] as an incorrect conception to take as the opposite of the finite. The positively infinite, according to him, means that which is complete; but he urged further that the complete should not be simply opposed to the incomplete, but should rather be regarded as including it. The perfect whole necessarily includes parts which, regarded in abstraction from the whole, are imperfect. It is in this way that his conception of perfection differs from those of Plato and Leibniz. Thus conceived, however, the perfect is not, it would seem, to be regarded as boundless.

More recently the conception of infinity has been largely dealt with from the more purely mathematical side. It is impossible here to enter into any full consideration of the work that has been done in this direction. The most important result would seem to lie in bringing out the fact that the conception of infinity, as employed in mathematics, is not that of simple endlessness, but rather that of a definite kind of endlessness, due to the formal working out of some system of relations. The infinite thus comes to be sharply distinguished from the indefinite. Every infinity that has mathematical significance is a definite infinity; and there are as many different infinities as there are systems of relations that can be worked out without limit.

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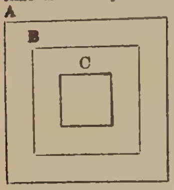
[1] Hegel's distinction was partly anticipated by Spinoza and, more definitely, by Leibniz.

[2] Sometimes, not quite happily, translated 'bad infinite.' *Schlecht*, as Hutchison Stirling pointed out (*Secret of Hegel*, new ed., Edinburgh, 1898, p. 553), has here its original meaning of 'simply'—as it still has in *schlechthin*. Stirling translates it 'downright.' But Hegel seems to have been punning. He intended the term to convey the implication of 'bad' or 'vicious' as well. He calls it also 'negative.'

A simple case of this is found in the conception of a part that is exactly similar to the whole of which it is a part. Thus, if the small square B is exactly similar to the large square A, its similarity implies that it also will have a part C which is exactly similar to itself and to A. C also must have a similar part, and so on without end. The endlessness arises here from the constant repetition of the same relation of similarity; and the constant repetition is necessitated by the statement of the first relation. This particular case has a special interest from the way in which it has been applied by Royce to the relation between the universe and its parts.



3. **Critical summary.**—We may now consider more definitely the exact significance which the conception of infinity has for us at the present time. In doing so, we may set aside the conception of perfection and also the conception of simple endlessness, and concentrate our attention on the definite conception of an endlessness that is involved in the working out of a system of relations.

It seems clear that certain systems of relations do lead us into an infinite series. The instance already referred to is evidently such a case, and it seems to have a large range of possible applications—*e.g.*, to the parts into which the path of a moving body may be subdivided, and the like. It is important, therefore, that we should consider the exact significance of this conception.

There are three main ways in which it may be regarded. It may be contended (1) that such mathematical determinations are essentially subjective, and need not be supposed to have any objective validity; (2) that they express definite characteristics of existing things; or (3) that they are hypotheses having a certain objective significance, but not necessarily having any direct application to particular existences. To discuss these views thoroughly would involve a metaphysical investigation of the meaning of reality, and of the place of mathematical determinations in it. It must suffice to say here that the first view at least appears to be erroneous. It connects with such theories as those of Berkeley and Hume and the modern pragmatists; and it falls to the ground along with the general doctrines of subjective idealism. The arguments of Frege and others have probably convinced most people that mathematical determinations cannot be regarded as purely subjective. Hence we are left to choose between the other two views. The former of them appears to err by overlooking the distinction between the possible or hypothetical and the actual or existent, or, in other words, between what is formally valid and what applies to particular concrete objects. Any hypothesis, or (in Meinong's language) 'Annahme,' is no doubt, in a certain sense, objective. It is a real meaning, and is subject to the conditions that are involved in that meaning. The thought of a centaur, for instance, is subject to the determinations that are implied in a definite union of certain characteristics of horse and man. Nevertheless, so far as we know, centaurs do not exist and never have existed; or, if a mathematical mode of expression is preferred, we may say that the number of existing centaurs is zero. Similarly, it may be asked, with reference to any other hypothetical determination, how far it can be applied to any existing things. In some cases undoubtedly a direct application can be made, whereas in other cases this is not legitimate. For instance, any number is capable of subdivision; and there are some numerable things to which such subdivision is immediately applicable. A flock of 100 sheep, for instance, can readily be divided into two halves; and each half can again be subdivided into two. But the flocks thus formed could not again be cut into two equal portions without destroying some of the sheep. Yet the conception of such a subdivision has a real meaning; and, though it is not directly applicable to the sheep, it may be applicable to some special aspect of them (*e.g.*, their price). Similarly, the conception of an endless number has a real mathematical significance; but the question remains to what particular objects, if any, that conception is directly applicable.

Some illustrations may serve to make this clear. Take the case, previously referred to, of an object that contains a part exactly similar to itself. It is clear that in this case we are led to the conception of an endless series. The meaning of this is quite definite and objective. But the question remains whether we can point to any existing object that contains a part exactly similar to itself. It has been suggested that such an object would be provided if within any country a perfectly accurate map of that country were constructed, showing every detail. For such a map, being perfectly accurate, would contain, among other things, a representation of itself; and the map of the map would, of course, contain another similar map within it, and so on without end. But this is manifestly an unreal illustration. A picture always represents something other than itself. Further, no materials could be provided by which such a detailed map could be constructed. At the same time, the conception is, no doubt, objective, in the sense that it conveys an intelligible meaning. Again, it has been said that, if it is true to hold that when I know anything I know that I know it, then it must also be true that I know that I know that I know it, and so on *ad infinitum*. This is a better illustration; for, in this case, there is no definite limit that can be set to this knowledge of knowledge. The knowledge is actual, however, only in so far as we produce it by reflexion; and, as a matter of fact, we should soon tire of this reflective process. Another illustration that has been given is that of two mirrors facing one another. Each mirror contains a reflexion of the other, and in this reflexion there is an image of itself, and so on without end. But this also is unreal. The conditions of the reflexion of light would not allow the process to go on beyond a certain point. Another ingenious application of the conception of endlessness has been given by B. Russell in his statement of the problem which he has called 'the Tristram Shandy':[1] 'Tristram Shandy, as we know, took two years to write the first two days of his life, and lamented that, at this rate, material would accumulate faster than he could deal with it, so that he could never come to an end. Now, I maintain that, if he had lived for ever, and not wearied of his task, then, even if his life had continued as eventfully as it began, no part of his biography would have remained unwritten.' This seems to be a clear case of a *reductio ad absurdum* of the attempt to apply the mathematical conception of infinity directly to a concrete problem. For, however convincing the mathematical reasoning may be, it is surely obvious that the conclusion must be wrong. The longer Tristram Shandy lived, the more would he be behindhand with his biography. It would, indeed, be difficult to find a clearer instance to show that the mathematical conception of infinity has only a formal validity, and that its applicability to any concrete case must be tested by other considerations. Every existing thing excludes certain abstract possibilities. This is at least one of the senses in which we may interpret the saying that 'determination is negation.'

With this general view in mind, we may now consider briefly some of the chief cases to which the conception of endlessness has been thought to be applicable.

4. **Infinite extension.**—The conception of infinite extension is commonly thought to be applicable to things in space[2] and to events in time, and also to the series of conditions (whether temporal or not) upon which existing things are dependent. It might be supposed to be applicable also to series of degrees and qualities (*e.g.*, degrees of heat or shades of colour). From a formal point of view, it is evident that there is no reason for stopping short anywhere in such relations as that of before and after, side by side, greater and less in degree, more and less of particular qualities, or causal antecedent and consequent. However far we may proceed in the application of these relations, it appears to be always possible to think of a further extension; and it seems quite arbitrary to stop at any particular point. It does not follow, however, that there is an endless number of existent cases that can be determined by these formal relations.

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[1] *Principles of Mathematics*, London, 1903, p. 358.

[2] Jonathan Edwards has an ingenious argument against the application of infinity to spatial objects. But it does not appear to be convincing. See *Works*, London, 1840, vol. i. p ccxii.

In the case of the alphabet, B comes after A and before C, but there is no letter prior to A. Here the limitation is arbitrary; *i.e.*, it is dependent on a human convention. On the other hand, grey is darker than white and lighter than black, but there is nothing darker than black or lighter than white. The fact that this particular scale of qualities has two ends is not arbitrary, like the similar limitation of the alphabet; but the limitation seems to be quite as definite. Similarly, red and blue appear to present themselves as end-points in a scale of colour-qualities. May it not, in like manner, be the case that there is some occurrence that has nothing before it, that there is some star that has nothing due west of it, that there is some happening that has no determining antecedent, and so on in other instances? There are, no doubt, difficulties in conceiving any such end-points. The difficulty in the case of spatial extension was vividly stated by Lucretius.[1] He supposed himself to stand at an extreme end of the physical universe—say, at its extreme western verge—and to shoot an arrow outwards. What, he asks, is to prevent him from doing so? The answer seems clearly to be that there is nothing in the formal constitution of space to prevent him; but, on the other hand, it might be physically impossible for him to get to the extreme verge or to shoot his arrow outwards. Though there is nothing in the form of space to prevent him, there may be something in the general conditions of the Cosmos. A more serious difficulty was urged by Kant in the case of time. He contended that we could not suppose a first occurrence in time, because there could be no reason for it to happen at one point in time rather than at any other. It seems clear, however, that this is not a difficulty with regard to the temporal series as such, but rather with regard to the causal series. If causation is conceived, as Kant conceived it, as temporal sequence, the first member in the series of causes would be unexplained. If, however, the causal series is thought of in a different way—*e.g.*, teleologically—this difficulty would disappear. In a teleological series there may be a reason for beginning at one point rather than at another. What is necessary is only that something should be taken as self-explanatory or *causa sui*. It does not, of course, fall within our present scope to consider whether this is a legitimate hypothesis. It is enough to urge that it is a conceivable one. If this is granted, all the series to which reference has been made might be supposed to be finite, *i.e.*, not endlessly extended.

But, of course, this does not prove that they *are* finite. It may still be asked whether there is any real objection to the supposition that they may be endless. The chief objection appears to be the one that was urged by Kant with reference to the particular case of time—viz. that the supposition of an endless series which is actually completed seems to be self-contradictory. If we say that, however great anything may be, there is always something else that is greater, we seem to be in effect stating that there both is and is not something which is greatest. If there is a greatest—viz. the infinitely great—the series is not endless; if there is not a greatest, the series is incomplete. Similarly, if we say that every ground has another ground, we seem to be saying both that there is and that there is not an ultimate ground. But, it may be urged, does not the conception of a limited whole involve difficulties quite as great? Not, it would seem, if some real ground can be assigned for the limitation. In most cases of limitation, the limits seem arbitrary or imperfectly explained. Why, for instance, it may be asked, are there only three dimensions in space as commonly conceived in the interpretation of the physical system? Why is there only a limited number of possible colour-experiences? Perhaps grounds could be given for such limitations. At any rate, there seems to be no reason for assuming that no ground could be given for the limitation of any particular series of concrete things. The conception of limits to existence in time is perhaps the most difficult. For some considerations bearing upon this, reference may be made to art. ETERNITY.

5. Infinite division.—The objections to endless division are even more apparent than those to endless extension. It involves the same difficulty of the completion of an endless series; but it has a further difficulty with respect to the limiting conception that is involved in it. When we think of anything as being divided without end, the ultimate parts have to be conceived as infinitely little. Now the infinitely little seems to be indistinguishable from zero; and zero seems to be indistinguishable from the non-existent. On the other hand, the grounds that lead us to postulate endless division are in some respects more cogent than those that lead us to the conception of infinite extension. We start in this case with a completed whole, so that at least its completion cannot be questioned; and yet there seems to be no reason for stopping at any point in its subdivision. Hence Kant urged that, in the case of division, the series must be supposed to be actually infinite, and not merely indefinitely extensible. But it is to be observed that Kant's argument depends upon the homogeneity of the whole that is to be divided. And this is where the weakness of the argument lies. If we assume that a given whole is homogeneous throughout, we are assuming that it is divisible throughout. The real question is whether any given whole *is* homogeneous. Now, this at least is clear, that we are not entitled to make any such assumption in the case of degrees and qualities. An intense heat does not appear to be made up of a number of smaller heats; nor does it seem legitimate to say that the distinction between any intensity and the next intensity below it is the same as the distinction between any other intensity and the next below it. Nor are we entitled to say that the distinction between blue and green is the same as that between green and yellow. Hence in such cases we do not seem to have any ground for the postulation of an infinite series of homogeneous units within a given whole. Moreover, if we confine ourselves to recognizable distinctions in degrees and qualities, it seems certain that the number is finite. Similarly, modern physical science tends more and more to throw doubt on the view that physical bodies can be indefinitely divided into homogeneous parts. Rather it seems at least probable that physical bodies consist of parts which cannot themselves be described as physical bodies. If so, the argument from homogeneity is not cogent. There may be parts that are not capable of further subdivision. Similarly, it may be doubted whether any such conception is applicable to conscious states. An experience of pleasure, for instance, does not appear to be capable of subdivision into a number of homogeneous parts.

The strongest case is probably that of motion, to which reference has already been made. When any body moves from one point to another, it is certainly natural to think of it as passing through an indefinite number of intervening positions; and it is here that we come upon the paradoxes of Zeno. With regard to Achilles and the tortoise, however, it seems clear that the motion does not consist of homogeneous parts. Both of these moving bodies would presumably advance step by step. This suggests the question whether it may not be the case that all motion is discontinuous. If so, we, of course, come upon one of the other paradoxes of Zeno, viz. that 'the flying arrow rests.' If the flight of the arrow is discontinuous, this may be interpreted as meaning that it *is* successively at the points A, B, C, etc., but is never moving between them. But is this a serious objection? If it occupies these points successively, it *does* move from one to another. Its motion would not be made any the less real by the fact that it did not occupy any intervening positions. The fact that there is no cardinal number between two and three does not make the transition from two to three any the less real. Considerations of this kind may serve to show that there is no real reason for denying that the number of parts in the subdivision of any concrete thing may be finite.

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[1] *de Rerum Natura*, i. 968–973.

6. Infinite attributes.—The conception of infinity—especially in the Cartesian school, where it was most freely applied—has been specially used as a determination of the idea of God. In this case it is generally regarded as being applicable to certain attributes, of which the chief are knowledge, power, and goodness. Temporal and spatial infinity have also been frequently ascribed to God; but with these it is not necessary to deal further. The other three forms of infinity call for some notice. As regards the first, it may be observed that, if infinite is interpreted as meaning boundless, infinite knowledge would seem to mean the knowledge of an endless number of things. Now, there is evidently a sense in which any one who has a clear apprehension of number at all does know an infinite number. A competent mathematician may be said to know all conceivable numbers, since the formation of numbers depends upon a single principle; and, if it be allowed that an infinite number is conceivable, the mathematician knows that. But he does not know all the relations that might be ascertained as holding between different numbers. Infinite knowledge would presumably include this. It would also include a full apprehension of the temporal, spatial, causal, intensive, and qualitative orders, and of all the different kinds of existences, and of all the relations that could be ascertained as holding within or between these various types; and this kind of knowledge might be held to be boundless. As regards particular existences, the knowledge of these would not be boundless, unless the things to be known are boundless—which is at least doubtful; but it would include the apprehension of every particular thing that actually does exist. In this respect it would be all-inclusive, but not endless.

Infinite power is more difficult to interpret when infinity is understood in the sense of endlessness. Some writers have interpreted it in a way that seems to lead to absurdity. J. M. E. McTaggart,[1] for instance, takes it as meaning the possibility of bringing about anything, however self-contradictory it may be—of making black white, good evil, the existent non-existent, the infinite finite, 2+2=5 or 100, and so forth. This, however, seems meaningless. A being infinitely powerful in this sense might evidently also be lacking in all power. Such a being would be, in the fullest sense, unconditioned or indeterminate. We might, however, interpret infinite power as meaning the possibility of accomplishing whatever is chosen. It would then be limited by the condition that what is chosen is not evil or absurd—*i.e.*, it would be taken in conjunction with the conceptions of infinite goodness and knowledge. Infinite power, thus interpreted, would be boundless, if there is an endless number of things to be chosen.

Infinite goodness, again, interpreted as boundless, would seem to mean the choice of what is best in every case. If the number of cases is endless, the choices would be endless. In dealing with goodness, however, it is certainly better to regard the attribute as essentially qualitative. The attitude of always choosing the best seems to be in itself a simple determination of will or character. It does not really consist of a number of distinct things. The endlessness lies only in the number of cases to which the one principle of choice may be applied. Hence it seems better to speak of *perfect* goodness than of *endless* goodness.

And this suggests the question whether the same is not really true of the other attributes as well. If infinite power means the possibility of bringing about what is chosen as best, this also does not seem necessarily to involve in itself anything that is endless, though there may be an endless number of things in which the potentiality is displayed. Similarly, infinite knowledge might be interpreted as meaning complete insight into the conditions on which anything is to be known. A thoroughly skilled mathematician might in this sense have infinite knowledge within his own domain, and yet not have an endless number of facts present to his mind. It may be urged, therefore, that it is better to apply the conception of perfection, rather than that of endlessness, in the interpretation of all these attributes.

It is perhaps partly the difficulty in the application of the conception of endlessness that has led some writers to postulate the existence of a 'finite God.'[1] If an infinite God exists, it seems clear that such a being must be thought of as complete; yet it is difficult—if not self-contradictory—to think of anything that is endless as being complete. It is, however, mainly from the point of view of perfection that the conception of a finite God has been brought forward. It is urged that what we know about the imperfections of the world forces us to believe that, if there is a God at all, He is either not perfect in goodness or not perfect in knowledge or in power. But the consideration of this question lies beyond the scope of the present article.

7. The infinity of the Cosmos.—It is evident that, in a certain sense, the Cosmos includes the endless; for it includes number, and number is endless. This does not necessarily imply, however, that the Cosmos contains an endless number of existences. This distinction has been partly brought out in the present article; but to explain it fully would require a careful consideration of the distinction between existence and reality. It must suffice to say here that existence seems to present itself as a selection from a larger realm of possibility. If we mean by existence that which occurs in the time order, within which our own conscious experience falls, it seems clear that some things—*e.g.*, perfect knowledge, goodness, and power—may be real, though they do not in that sense exist. Again, there is a sense in which anything that is conceivable may be said to be real. If it is conceivable, it is *really* conceivable; and the conditions of such conceivability would seem to be contained within the structure of the Cosmos.[2] In this sense it may be said that endlessness—inasmuch as it has a real meaning—is contained in the Cosmos. But it does not appear to be correct to say that the Cosmos itself is endless. Rather it would seem that, if there can properly be said to be a Cosmos at all, it must be supposed to be a complete whole. But it may be infinite, in the sense that it is perfect and all-inclusive. Indeed, to say that it is a complete whole seems to imply that it is perfect and all-inclusive; but whether it is to be really so conceived, and, if so, how, is a problem that cannot be adequately dealt with in such an article as this. Nor is it possible to discuss here how far the conception of such a perfect Cosmos would agree with or differ from the conception of an infinite God referred to in the preceding section.

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[1] *Some Dogmas of Religion*, London, 1906, ch. vi.

[1] One of the best statements of this view is to be found in H. Rashdall's *Theory of Good and Evil*, Oxford, 1907, ii. 237–244; cf. also McTaggart, *Some Dogmas of Religion*, ch. vii., and J. Ward, *The Realm of Ends*, Cambridge, 1911, especially p. 443 f.

[2] Reference may be made to an article on 'The Meaning of Reality,' in *Mind*, Jan. 1914.

See also artt. GOD, GOOD AND EVIL, HEGEL.

LITERATURE.—The literature dealing with Infinity is very extensive; but the following references may be found useful: J. Royce, *The World and the Individual*, 1st ser., London, 1901, esp. supplementary essay; A. E. Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysics*, do. 1903, esp. bk. ii. ch. iii.; J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*^{2}, do. 1908, esp. ch. viii.; H. H. Joachim, *A Study of the Ethics of Spinoza*, Oxford, 1901, esp. bk. i. ch. i. sect. 2; B. Russell, *A Critical Exposition of the Philosophy of Leibniz*, Cambridge, 1900, esp. ch. ix.; R. Latta, *Leibniz, the Monadology*, Oxford, 1898, esp. pt. iii.; E. Caird, *Critical Philosophy of Kant*, Glasgow, 1889, bk. i. ch. xii.; J. M. E. McTaggart, *A Commentary on Hegel's Logic*, Cambridge, 1910, esp. ch. iii.; B. Bosanquet, *Logic*^{2}, Oxford, 1911, esp. bk. i. ch. iv.; B. Russell, *Principles of Mathematics*, vol. i., Cambridge, 1903, esp. pts. ii., iii., and v.; A. N. Whitehead and B. Russell, *Principia Mathematica*, vol. ii., do. 1912, esp. pt. iii. sect. C; E. W. Hobson, *The Theory of Functions of a Real Variable*, do. 1907, esp. ch. i.

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INFORMERS.—One who has knowledge that a crime has been committed is morally, and frequently legally, bound to lodge information of such crime in order that justice may be done. This holds both in the strictly legal and in the religious sphere; indeed, in many strata of civilization there is no demarcation between the two. The duty is binding, moreover, not only upon the official classes, whether civil or religious, but upon every one who has cognizance of the crime. Morally speaking, he who conceals his knowledge of, *e.g.*, a murder, and thereby assists the murderer to escape detection (to give the least possible consequence of his dereliction), is *particeps criminis*. This principle is recognized in primitive codes, as when, among the Aztecs, one who had cognizance of treason and did not divulge his knowledge was enslaved (H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg, 1894–95, ii. 314, 324, with further instances and lit.). At the same time, there may be limits to this obligation. Thus Chinese law forbids a kinsman or a slave to lodge information, and even punishes with death anonymous informers, if their identity is established, while the African Kru regard as a culprit one who divulges information concerning a crime in which he has no concern (Post, ii. 314 f.).

The important assistance rendered to justice by the informer receives recognition in the usage of giving him a substantial reward, generally from the fine which the convicted must pay, this reward being a ninth among the Kalmuks; and the same code also recognizes the principle of 'king's evidence,' so that he who deserts a robber band and lodges information regarding them escapes punishment (Post, ii. 315 f.).

Such is the ideal theory of the informer, whose importance in aiding the ends of justice must be frankly recognized. Yet the informer is a hated creature, often despised by those who profit by what he tells. The code of Manu, for instance, places him in the same category as madmen and scoffers at the Veda; no Brāhman may eat food proffered by an informer; and the lodging of (false [?]) information is equivalent to the most heinous sin of killing a Brāhman (iii. 161, iv. 214, xi. 56). In Europe any private citizen who, with the most unexceptional of motives, seeks to secure evidence of the violation of the laws of the land, such laws, for example, as those governing the sale of liquor or those regulating houses of ill-fame, may, indeed, further the ends of justice, but will too often be exposed both to the more or less concealed contempt of the official service and almost certainly to the contumely of the public, even of the more enlightened and thoughtful of its members.

This attitude, too, has its justification. The informer may be the most honourable of men; but he may also be a thoroughly despicable creature, serving not for the promotion of the welfare of society, but for the mere money that he can make, or he may be influenced by personal hatred. This is why the informer is loathed, with the added factor that all peoples of even moderately advanced ethical development have a predilection for fair play and for open fight, if fight must needs be.

To summarize the ethical aspect of the informer, we may say that in many cases he undoubtedly advances the cause of law and justice where without his aid crime could be perpetrated and flourish. That by his means many an instance of unjust punishment has been inflicted does not in the least militate against the use of his services; it merely signifies that his motives and evidence need to be tested with more rigidity than in the case of official guardians of the law. Indeed, he is a check upon these guardians, who may err on the side of leniency (and not always from disinterested motives), just as he may be guided by undue severity (and sometimes from motives at least equally interested). As regards the ethical position of the informer, each case is to be judged separately. If he is convinced that the offence concerning which he lodges information is indeed wrong and that it should be punished, his act is commendable and in the interests of society, even though he may have a sub-motive of personal hate (perhaps in consequence of injury which he has suffered either from the system of crime as a whole or from the person or persons involved in the particular offence). If, however, his motive is merely to gratify personal resentment or to secure the pecuniary or other reward offered, then, while his act may be to the welfare of the social organism, he himself is ethically to be condemned.

The informer does not seem to have become a real problem until the days of the late Republic and early Empire of Rome. By the former period he must have become a peril, for Cicero urges (*de Offic.* ii. 14) that his statements must be received only for cogent reasons and in infrequent cases, and then with caution. Yet under the worst of the emperors the evil side of the *delator* waxed luxuriant. Tiberius 'decreed special rewards to accusers, and sometimes to witnesses; credence was refused to no informer' (Suetonius, *Tib.* lxi.); and probably the rhetoric of Pliny the Younger was not very far beyond the mark when he said (*Panegyr.* xxxiv.):

> 'Vidimus delatorum agmen inductum, quasi grassatorum, quasi latronum. Non solitudinem illi, non iter, sed templum, sed forum insederant. Nulla iam testamenta secura, nullus status certus: non orbitas, non liberi proderant. Auxerat hoc malum principum avaritia.'

While the system of *delatio* flourished in all its worst forms, repeated efforts were made to curb it. Nero reduced to a fourth the rewards offered by the Lex Papia (Suetonius, *Nero*, x.), and in his reign was passed the Senatusconsultum Turpillianum, by which assistance of informers by procuring evidence or supporting unjust charges was penalized (Digest, XLVIII. xvi.; Cod. Justin. X. xi.). Women, 'viri clarissimi,' veterans, etc., were absolutely forbidden to act as informers, while soldiers and guardians could do so only in special cases (Dig. XLIX. xiv. 18). But despite every effort, as S. Dill remarks (*Roman Soc. from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1904, p. 35 f.),

'the profession grew in reputation and emolument. It is a melancholy proof of the degradation of that society that the delator could be proud of his craft and even envied and admired. Men of every degree, freedmen, schoolmasters, petty traders, descendants of houses as old as the Republic, men from the rank of the shoemaker Vatinius to a Scaurus, a Cato, or a Regulus, flocked to a trade which might earn a fabulous fortune and the favour of the prince. There must have been many a career like that of Palfurius Sura, who had fought in the arena in the reign of Nero, who had been disgraced and stripped of his consular rank under Vespasian, who then turned Stoic and preached the gospel of popular government, and, in the reign of Domitian, crowned his career by becoming a delator, and attempting to found a juristic theory of absolute monarchy.'

After scourging delators, Titus either sold or exiled them (Suetonius, *Tit.* viii.); every possible impediment was placed in their way (Dig. XLVIII. ii. 7. 1; Cod. Justin. IX. i. 3, ii. 17, iii. 2); in 319 Constantine imposed the death penalty on any delation (Cod. Theodos. X. x. 2); and in 365 Valentinian and Valens forbade anonymous delations (Cod. Justin. IX. xxxvi.); but all these measures proved ineffectual.

Yet in all these enactments attention was evidently directed to the suppression of the abuses of the system rather than to the abrogation of the system itself. It is true that Trajan banished the delators (*Panegyr.* xxxiv.–xxxvi.); but, at least in the provinces, they were not merely tolerated, but their evidence was received. This is admirably attested by Pliny's famous letter (xcvii.) regarding Christians and the Emperor's reply.

Certain individuals were denounced (*deferebantur*) to Pliny as Christians, and he tried each case strictly upon its merits. To this course the Emperor replies approvingly, directing that 'they [the Christians] are not to be sought out; if they are denounced and convicted, they must be punished' ('conquirendi non sunt: si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt').

The early Christians must frequently have suffered from the zeal of informers, whether honest or not (doubtless both types were to be found). It was not, however, until the early 3rd cent. that the Councils of the Church took official cognizance of them. The 73rd canon of the Synod of Elvira (305 or 306)—a canon incorporated in the Canon Law (C. 6, causa v. qu. 6)—enacts that

'Delator si quis extiterit fidelis, et per delationem eius aliquis fuerit proscriptus vel interfectus, placuit eum nec in finem accipere communionem: si levior causa fuerit, intra quinquennium accipere poterit communionem; si catechumenus fuerit, post quinquennii tempora admittetur ad baptismum.' The 13th canon of the Synod of Arles (314) requires the degradation of all ecclesiastics who had delivered over (*tradidisse*) sacred vessels, copies of the Scriptures, or 'names of the brethren.' 'But this penalty was only to be inflicted in case the offence of *traditio* was proved, not merely by private denunciations (*verbis nudis*), but by the public laws, by writings signed by officers of justice (*ex actis publicis*), which the Roman officers had to draw up in executing the Emperor's edict' (C. J. Hefele, *Hist. of the Christian Councils*, Eng. tr., i.^{2} [Edinburgh, 1894] 192). The ordinations previously performed by bishops who had turned delators were, however, valid. The following canon of the same Synod excommunicates until they die ('usque ad exitum') those 'who falsely accuse their brethren' (cf. Hefele, i.^{2} 191 f.).

If, however, the Church condemned those who delated against her, she encouraged those who informed for her, and even bade them do so. In her efforts to suppress all manner of heresy in the Middle Ages, the informer was called into service. To further the extirpation of the Cathari, penitents were obliged to denounce all whom they knew or suspected to be heretics of that type, and delation was regarded as necessary proof of conversion.

'How useful this was is seen in the case of Saurine Rigaud, whose confession is recorded at Toulouse in 1254, where it is followed by a list of one hundred and sixty-nine persons incriminated by her, their names being carefully tabulated with their places of residence for immediate action. . . . Delation was so indispensable to the Inquisition that it was to be secured by rewards as well as by punishments. Bernard Gui tells us that those who voluntarily come forward and prove their zeal by confession and by betraying all their associates are not only to be pardoned, but their livelihood must be secured at the hands of princes and prelates; while betraying a single "perfected" heretic insured immunity and perhaps additional reward. . . . It became, in fact, a settled principle of law that either husband or wife knowing the other to be a heretic and not giving information within a twelvemonth was held to be a consenting party without further evidence, and was punishable as a heretic' (H. C. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, London, 1908–11, i. 409, 432).

Where it was possible to take vengeance on the informer, he was not spared. This is clearly exemplified by the history of delation among the mediæval Jews. Under Arab dominion, information was rife in Jewry, as when, about 1089, Khalfa ibn al-A'jāb and his son Ḥayyīm drove Isaac al-Fāsī from N. Africa to Spain; and after the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the informer continued to harass the Jews under Christian rule, as was the case throughout Europe generally. No new principles appear, but the penalty of death was not merely pronounced upon the delator, but was actually carried into effect, often with the consent of the King, notably in the cases of Joseph Pichon, royal farmer of taxes, beheaded at Seville, 21st Aug. 1379, and of a notorious delator executed by royal authority at Barcelona about 1280. So heinous was the offence of an informer deemed that he might be seized and condemned to death forthwith, and the penalty might even be imposed in his absence. In Germany the tribulations brought upon the Jews by the informer (מסר, 'traditor,' דילטור, 'delator,' מלשין, 'slanderer') were especially severe, as in the expulsions from Augsburg, Nüremberg, and Regensburg; and in Poland, where, with government sanction, an informer's tongue or ears might be cut off, the death penalty is said to have been inflicted as late as the close of the 18th century.

'As a survival of that gloomy phenomenon of mediæval history, there had long existed in the Ritual of Congregations a prayer, which was repeated on Mondays and Thursdays and at other times, against this social evil, and which in various lands was extant in manuscript for the use of the readers of congregations. Excommunication and execution had thus yielded to prayer and imprecation' (D. Kaufmann, *JQR* viii. 228).

LITERATURE.—The various treatises on Roman Law (conveniently summarized in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. [1901] 2427 f.); J. Bingham, *Ant. of the Christian Church*, XVI. x. § 10 (Oxford, 1843–45); artt. 'Delator,' in W. Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.* (London, 1875), p. 388 f., 'Informers,' in *DCA* i. [1875] 838, 'Moser,' in *JE* ix [1905] 42–44; D. Kaufmann, 'Jewish Informers in the Middle Ages,' in *JQR* viii. [1895–96] 217–238.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

INHERITANCE.

Primitive and Savage (E. N. FALLAIZE), p. 283.
Babylonian (C. H. W. JOHNS), p. 295.
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Muslim.—See LAW (Muhammadan).
Roman (W. J. WOODHOUSE), p. 310.
Teutonic (B. S. PHILLPOTTS), p. 311.

INHERITANCE (Primitive and Savage).—**1. Primitive property and the conception of inheritance.**—Among primitive races, both religious beliefs and social organization are such as to hinder rather than favour the origin and growth of the conception of the transfer of estate, by regular succession, to a representative of a former possessor. This is especially the case with material property. Individual possessions are confined to a few weapons, implements, ornaments, and utensils. At death these are buried with the owner or destroyed by breaking or burning, either that they may serve for his use in the future life, or because of the pollution of death which has made them useless to the living. The hut is pulled down or allowed to decay.

Even when the principle of inheritance is recognized, this custom of destroying property is continued, and may seriously diminish the estate, although not unnaturally there is a tendency to limit the practice to articles of little value.

In Savage Island the heir receives only what remains of the material possessions of the deceased after the greater part has been destroyed in his honour.[1] The Nāgas of Manipur seriously reduce the value of the inheritance by placing a number of articles in the grave—usually those most closely associated with the deceased in his lifetime—though as a rule the custom is confined to articles of small value.[2] Death among the Bathonga is regarded as a great pollution, and is followed by elaborate purificatory ceremonies: part of the property of the deceased, such as rugs, clothes, mats, and old earthen pots, is placed in the grave; articles of value are purified and the hut is crushed.[3]

It is clear that the practice, whether based upon the idea of continued ownership after death or upon pollution, did not, in the earlier stages of development, allow for any rights of the heirs. Nor are the conditions of land tenure such as either to originate or to foster such rights. Among nomad hunters, even if their sense of possession is strong enough to lead them to guard their hunting grounds from trespass by their neighbours (which is not invariably the case), rights of individual ownership, which might be inherited, are, as a rule, not recognized; and the same applies to lands in the occupation of primitive pastoral tribes such as the Yakuts, while among agricultural peoples, where transmission of land to heirs is from the nature of the case of greater moment, it frequently happens that the conditions of tenure and the custom of periodical redistribution are such as to indicate a communal tenure, not entirely superseded, rather than an absolute individual ownership. The right to hunt or pasture over certain lands, however, although belonging to the individual in virtue of his membership of a certain group, is hereditary in a somewhat vague and undefined manner, inasmuch as it is in fact transmitted from father to son.

It is said of the tribes of the Lower Hunter River that the males inherited the hunting grounds of their fathers.[4] Probably it would be more correct to say that the rights were transmitted to them as members of the local group to which their fathers belonged. An initiation custom practised by the natives of Cape York in reference to territorial rights seems to stand midway between this form of transmission in virtue of group membership and inheritance in the stricter sense. Inheritance is through the mother, or a man's heirs are his uterine nephews, but the country over which the youth who is being initiated shall have the right of hunting and collecting roots and fruits is determined at one stage of the ceremony when one of his teeth is knocked out by repeated blows with a bone. At each blow the operator names the 'country' of his mother, his mother's father, or one of her relatives. The country named as the tooth falls out is the one over which he has rights.[5] He has been admitted to a group to which the country belongs; at the same time it is a group with which he has a hereditary and not merely a local connexion.

2. Origin of inheritance.—Although custom and religious belief operate in this way to prevent personal property from passing to those who might be regarded as the heirs of a deceased person, it is, nevertheless, probable that the practice of inheritance and the rules of succession first grew up in connexion with this rather than with land, rank, profession, or calling, and the like, which, though at this early stage transmitted by other means, are inherited at a higher level of culture (see below, 3 (*d*)). This seems clear from the fact that inheritance of personal property is recognized while the tenure of land continues to be communal, or subject to rights originating in communal tenure; the chieftainship or headship of a group is wholly or partly elective; and a profession, such as that of the medicine-man, or an industrial calling is assumed by association rather than by relationship. Further, it arises out of the action of the living rather than the dead. Testamentary disposition appears at a comparatively late stage of development, and gifts *inter vivos* are frequently rendered void by death. It is the desire of the living to possess some specially valuable weapon or ornament which has overcome religious scruples, rather than the wish of the owner to benefit those who come after him.

Among the Arawak it is not uncommon for the hammock in which the body is laid in the grave to be withdrawn afterwards if it is new and good.[1] In New Guinea, among the Koita and Motu tribes, although the house of a dead man is allowed to decay, the floor beams, which are valued on account of their fine workmanship, are not allowed to suffer the same fate, but are regarded as the most important part of the inheritance.[2]

The familiar custom of substituting ceremonial objects or models for objects of utility or value, and avoiding the sacrifice of slaves and wives, which is found in its most highly developed form in the burials of ancient Egypt, is probably due to the wish of the heir to prevent too serious a reduction in his inheritance rather than to the desire of the owner to pass on his estate intact. It may also be noted that an important or a chief part in the rites accompanying the burial ceremony, which would afford the opportunity of withholding any of the personal property from destruction, is frequently entrusted to a near relative, who at a later stage is either the heir or takes a considerable share of the estate.

In Samoa only the sister or the sister's child had the privilege of sitting at the head of the grave and breaking the bottle of scented oil to pour over the uncovered face of the dead man,[3] while among the Bathonga the younger brother, who inherited the chief wife of the deceased, entered her kraal, of which he became the master, performed the 'rite of the twig,' and delivered the address to the ancestors.[4] If a Kikuyu son refuses to assist in digging his father's grave, he is disqualified from receiving a share in the estate.[5] The sons or grandsons chosen by the Baganda clan to perform the burial ceremonies each took a widow from the inheritance, and the sister's son received a woman for performing the ceremonies which brought the mourning to an end.[6]

3. The inheritable estate.—(*a*) *Personal property.*—Material things, such as weapons, implements, utensils, and ornaments, would be among the earliest kinds of articles to be regarded as falling by succession to a man's connexions at his death. In ordinary circumstances these are affected by no special rule, but follow the regular line of succession, although certain articles may be by custom assigned to a particular person or class of persons.[7]

The Tube-tube tribes of New Guinea distinguish two categories of personal property. Drums, lime-pots, lime-spatulæ, and canoes go to the sister's children, even if they are girls, but in this case for their children. If the sister has no children, this class of property would pass to the maternal uncle, but with a reversion at his death to a man's own brothers and sisters. Property of the second category, such as arm-shells and the like, and also pigs, was divided between a man's own children and those of his sister. Among the Waga-waga tribes, ornaments given to a wife by a husband are regarded at his death as the heritage of his *gariaüna*, a man who performs certain ceremonies

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[1] B. Thomson, 'Note upon the Natives of Savage Island or Niué,' *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 143.

[2] T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, London, 1911, p. 99.

[3] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, London and Neuchatel, i. [1912] 140, 142; cf., further, on the subject as a whole, A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, ii. 174 f.

[4] B. McKiernan, 'Some Notes on the Aborigines of the Lower Hunter River, New South Wales,' *Anthropos*, vi. [1911] 888.

[5] A. C. Haddon, *Head Hunters*, London, 1902, p. 191.

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[1] E. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of British Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 225.

[2] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 90.

[3] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, pp. 42, 403.

[4] Junod, i. 142, 200.

[5] C. W. Hobley, 'Further Researches into Kikuyu and Kamba Religious Beliefs and Customs,' *JRAI* xli. [1911] 418; cf. Post, ii. 186.

[6] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 270.

[7] On the primitive regulations concerning alienable and inalienable property see Post, i. 200 f.

at the grave, or his brothers.[1] Among the Bathonga, of the two assegais which are a part of a man's regular equipment, one, the larger, passes to the son, the other to the uterine nephew; the nephew has first choice, but by custom leaves the big assegai to the son.[2] A regular classification of inheritable property among the Kayans and Kenyaks of Borneo allots all or most of the domestic utensils to the widow; old beads, cloth, bead-boxes, and female slaves to the daughters; and war-coats, weapons, and canoes to the sons.[3]

(*b*) *Land.*—Inheritance of land is closely bound up with the system of land tenure. Individual ownership is a late development, and even among civilized races communal ownership still affects the terms upon which land is held. In the more primitive types of society—the hunting, pastoral, and early agricultural stages—it is the right of user and not the absolute ownership that is transmitted. Indeed, in the case of a nomadic community of hunters ranging over a wide tract of country, the term 'inheritance,' as has been stated above, is hardly applicable in the strict sense to the methods by which members of the tribe enter into or are admitted to the territorial rights of their group. They obtain and hold their rights primarily in virtue of birth in a group, and not in virtue of their relationship to an individual. The same applies in a less degree to the conception of land held among pastoral tribes, except that the group tends to be smaller or a subdivision of a larger group, such as the *sib*, or the family, among the Yakuts and the mediæval Basques. The land descends through the head of the family as a joint possession and not as the property of a single individual. The strong gentile organization of the tribes of the north-west coast of America points to group tenure as the origin of the custom whereby the hunting grounds of the Western Dénés and other tribes of that region are the hereditary property of the chiefs or the nobles.[4]

In an agricultural community, some degree of recognition of individual right of ownership with power of transmission to heirs is usual.

Uganda affords an instance to the contrary. All the land, with the exception of the clan burial-grounds, belongs to the king. The holdings cultivated by a man's wives are granted him by the chief or directly by the king, who gives estates to the nobles holding office in various districts of the country. These estates are not inherited, and, on the promotion of the official, pass to his successor without allowance for improvements.[5]

It is more usual, however, where all land is regarded as the property of the chief, for the custom to be modified by what is practically a grant in perpetuity from the chief, either with or without an annual payment, the land then being transmitted as hereditary property, but being inalienable by sale.

This form of tenure was found in ancient Mexico, where, among the Nahua races, the property of the nobles was held directly from the king by the individual, but the land of the common people was the property of the clan, and held from it as inalienable but inheritable property by the individual.[6]

In Nigeria, land was granted in perpetuity subject to an annual rental and occupation. Although the grantee had no power to alienate, at his death it did not revert to the chief, but descended to his heir, usually a son,[7] who held it on the same conditions as his father. Similar rules of tenure and succession are found among the Bathonga, with the exception that the grants are made by the chief in the first instance to the local headman by whom the lots are apportioned among the members of the village, without, however, affecting the right of transmission to heirs.[8]

The mode in which land may be inherited sometimes varies in the same community, the variation being based upon a distinction between group and individual ownership, with the result that the right to inherit is vested in two distinct classes of persons.

Among the Mafulu, each man has a house site in the village, which at his death ceases to be the property of his family and reverts to the village; it is, or may be, then allotted to another member of the group. In addition, he possesses garden land and bush land, which are his absolute property, but in the latter case subject to a right of the villagers to pass over it. This land descends to his sons, but is held in common by them and their heirs; it is never divided, so that the number of individuals holding a plot of such land in joint ownership in time may become very large. Any house built upon this site remains the property of the family.[1] In Melanesia an analogous distinction is maintained. There, however, the ancient garden lot (because, it may be assumed, it was originally cleared by the labour of a group of settlers organized on a kinship basis) descends to the members of the owner's kin, his sisters' children, but bush land cleared by the owner himself and made into a garden lot descends to his children and continues to be inherited in the direct line so long as the origin of the clearing is remembered.[2] In Fiji, though the bush land was held in common, and the tenure of arable land, descending according to a fixed law of inheritance, was little more than a grant of user from the chief, land in the Rewa province, consisting of tracts reclaimed from the delta of the river, was appropriated by individual families, and as such was subject to ordinary chattel law, alienable, and inheritable by the eldest son in the first instance, and not by the eldest brother.[3] An interesting point arises in connexion with the tenure of trees as apart from land tenure in Melanesia and the adjacent area. Property in the trees being distinct from property in the land on which they stood, they might, and, indeed, frequently did, descend to an entirely distinct class. Trees planted with the consent of the owner of the land were inherited by the planter's sons; and trees planted on his own land might be declared to be the property of his sons instead of the members of his kin.[4]

As the principle of individual tenure becomes more generally recognized, the custom regulating its transmission at a break in continuity of ownership caused by death tends to approximate more nearly to the rules of inheritance characteristic of a highly developed type of civilization, and to ignore claims outside the direct line. If any traces of the more ancient system remain, they may be sought in the rules for the disposal of the house and the house site, this being the part of the land in which the individual first makes good his claim to absolute ownership, and as such tending to preserve the original form of transmission.

In New Guinea the house site formed an important part of the inheritance, although the house itself was usually allowed to rot. It passed either to the son (Koita, Motu) or to the brother's sister or sister's son (Waga-waga, Tube-tube, Bartle Bay).[5]

(*c*) *Women as inheritable property.*—Many primitive peoples, especially in Africa, regard wives and daughters as an important part of the estate, to be transmitted in accordance with the regular rules of inheritance with the rest of the property. The explanation is to be sought partly in the economic value of women either as workers, or, in the case of daughters, as potential wealth in the shape of a bride-price; partly in the solidarity of group feeling which tends to regard everything over which the head of the group has authority as his absolute possession, and, as such, to be transferred to his successor; and partly in the necessity, where the independent status of women is not recognized, for every woman to be attached by some definite relation to a male protector. As a rule the heir married the widow, except when she was his own mother, and received the bride-price for the daughters on their marriage.

Among the Akikuyu the son, if adult, inherits his father's widows, but, as a rule, takes as his own wives only those in excess of three; as it is usual for a man not to marry more than three wives until his son has been received into the tribe, these widows would be of about the same age as the heir.[6] In Nigeria (Kagoro) the son takes any of the widows not taken by his paternal uncles.[7] According to the rule of the Wa-Sania, the wives become the property of the eldest brother of the deceased; but, if he already has three wives, or if the number inherited would give him more than three, the number allowed,

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[1] Seligmann, p. 522 f.

[2] Junod, i. 208.

[3] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, i. 83; cf., for further examples, Post, i. 224 f.

[4] C. Hill-Tout, *The Far West*, London, 1907, p. 146.

[5] Roscoe, pp. 238, 278.

[6] H. H. Bancroft, *NR* ii. 224 ff.

[7] R. E. Dennett, *Nigerian Studies*, London, 1910, p. 195.

[8] Junod, ii. [1913] 6.

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[1] R. W. Williamson, *The Mafulu*, London, 1912, p. 117.

[2] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 61 f.

[3] B. Thomson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, pp. 358, 369.

[4] Codrington, *loc. cit.*

[5] Seligmann, pp. 89 f., 521–524.

[6] W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, London, 1910, p. 143.

[7] A. J. N. Tremearne, 'Some Nigerian Head Hunters,' *JRAI* xlii. [1912] 189.

he hands them over to other men, while their children remain his property.[1] Among the Bahima, if the brother already has two wives, the eldest son takes charge of the widows, although they are looked upon as the property of his uncle.[2] The Araucanos assigned the widows to the eldest son, but in default of a son they were either given to the eldest brother or distributed among all the brothers in the order of their marriage.[3] Among the Arunta the wife passes to the younger brothers.[4]

(*d*) *Chieftainship, rank, status, etc.*—Although the tendency is for the chieftainship or headship of a group to be hereditary, this is by no means a matter of course, and among many primitive peoples other considerations are taken into account in choosing or accepting a leader of the group.

In the Australian tribes the office is elective; though the choice usually falls on a son of the previous headman, he must have distinguished himself as an orator or bard, and as a rule be skilled as a medicine-man and qualified to perform magic rites at initiation ceremonies.[5] Among the Salish of the upper waters of the Fraser River the office is elective, but among the tribes who live lower down the river social conditions become less democratic until the coast is reached, when the chieftainship becomes purely hereditary in the normal course.[6] The hereditary principle is so clearly recognized by the Halkōmélem tribes that the daughter of a headman transmits the chieftainship to her husband, though ineligible to hold it herself,[7] while the headship of the Roro-speaking and Mekeo groups of New Guinea is not only hereditary, including in the latter case the war chieftainship, but may be held by a daughter of a deceased headman.[8] On the other hand, personal prowess may be all-important, and may delay or prevent recognition of a regular line of descent. In most American tribes the office of *sachem* was hereditary in a family or clan, but elective within that group. When a war chief existed side by side with the *sachem*, the office was conferred in virtue of personal prowess, while among the Tlingits election was dependent upon wealth.[9] The war chieftainship of the Araucanos in the time of the Spanish wars was elective; now the chieftainship is hereditary in the families claiming to be descended from the founders of the local groups.[10] Both election and hereditary succession were found among the ancient inhabitants of Central and South America. In the royal line of Peru, in Ecuador, and in Colombia, hereditary succession was the rule.[11] The Nahua monarchy at Tezcuco and Tlacopan was hereditary and lineal, while in Mexico it was collateral and elective, the election falling upon the king's brother. Among the Jakun of the Malay Peninsula, the eldest son of the deceased headman is presented for election, while among another group of jungle tribes of the Peninsula, the Sakai, the office is hereditary.[12] In Cumana, on the other hand, it is the youngest son of the head wife who inherits the chieftainship.[13] In Borneo, among the Kayans, the office of chief is elective, with a bias in favour of the son, who, if not of mature age, is held to have a strong claim to election after the death of his father's successor; but among the Kenyahs, where the chief has greater authority, the heir (a son or a nephew) is recognized during the lifetime of his father, and given a certain amount of authority as a preparation for the duties he will have to perform later.[14] In Uganda the chieftainships of the various districts were not hereditary, but in the disposal of the king. As a rule the son of the deceased chief, especially if he was killed in battle, was appointed, as being by upbringing and training most fitted to hold the position. The principle of office being subject to appointment but hereditary in a limited group also appeared in Uganda in the appointments to the great offices of State, which by custom were frequently assigned to members of the clan of the previous holder, and even in the royal succession; the three great officers of State chose as the successor to the throne the prince whom they considered the most suitable, without necessarily paying regard to the nomination customarily made by the previous king at the time of his death.[15] The lucrative village offices of the Nāgas, which are the most valuable part of an estate, are hereditary in the male line,[1] but among the neighbouring Lushei Kuki tribes both elective and hereditary offices exist, sometimes side by side in the same village.[2] The great offices and the accompanying grants of land of the Mayas and peoples of ancient Mexico and Central America either were hereditary or, when in the gift of the monarch, tended to become hereditary, while the nobles about the person of the king formed a hereditary caste.[3] Hereditary castes or classes are found in many parts of the world, the most noteworthy examples perhaps being in British Columbia, where hereditary social distinctions are most strictly observed.[4] In Samoa the office of councillor was hereditary in certain families, descending to the next eldest brother.[5]

The position of medicine-man of a group or tribe, although, like the chieftainship—an office with which in the early stages it is usually combined—not originally hereditary, but the result of a real or supposed mental or physical peculiarity, becomes in the course of development an office which is transmitted in accordance with a rule of inheritance. This may be due partly to the influence of association.

In New Britain, on the death of the chief, who is regarded as a powerful sorcerer, his brother frequently assumes the position on the strength of a declaration that his brother's powers have passed to him—a declaration in full accordance with the Melanesian conception of *mana*, and its power of affecting persons or objects with which it comes into contact.[6]

On the other hand, those who are closely associated with the medicine-man by ties of kinship may be held not only to be infected with his powers, but to have special opportunities of acquiring a knowledge of magical rites and incantations—an idea which would be fostered by a not unnatural desire to keep a position of power and profit for children and relatives.

Not only is the Baloki medicine-man succeeded by his son, to whom he imparts the secrets of his powers, but it is extremely difficult for any one who is not a member of his family to become a medicine-man.[7] At Bartle Bay, in New Guinea, the headman, who is also a kind of medicine-man, is succeeded by his brother or sister's son, to whom he has passed on his knowledge.[8] The inheritance of the priesthood either by individuals or by families or groups, as among the Chibcha of Colombia[9] or among the ancient inhabitants of Central America—at Yopaa the office of priest was hereditary in the family of the Wiyatao[10]—may be assigned to an origin in similar ideas.

In connexion with these sacred offices may be mentioned the inheritance of special functions, privileges, and objects in connexion with religious matters.

The Arunta sacred objects, including the *churinga*, and the privilege or duty of performing certain parts in the religious ceremonies are the property of individuals. As such they form part of the property transferred by inheritance, but not otherwise alienable. The women may also own *churinga nanja*, though they may never see them; these are inherited, but not according to the ordinary rule, passing to the women's younger brothers and not to the other half of the tribe, as they must not leave the local group. The same conditions are found in other tribes of the region.[11] Among the Kwakiutl of the north-west coast of America the right to wear a certain crest, to perform certain duties, to sing certain songs, to eat human flesh, to have certain *manitous*, and the membership of secret societies (after initiation) are hereditary in the clan or the family, and may be acquired for the children by marriage to an heiress or by killing the possessor. It may be noted that the position of the owner of these privileges is defined by the fact that only one person at a time is regarded as the representative of the ancestor from whom they are ultimately derived.[12] Names and crests in the British Columbian tribes are regarded as family property, and as such are transmitted to the heir.[13]

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[1] W. E. H. Barrett, 'Notes on the Customs and Beliefs of the Wa-Giriama, etc., British East Africa,' *JRAI* xli. 31.

[2] Roscoe, 'The Bahima,' *JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 103.

[3] R. E. Latcham, 'Ethnology of the Araucanos,' *JRAI* xxxix. [1909] 360.

[4] N. W. Thomas, *Natives of Australia*, London, 1906, p. 202.

[5] *Ib.* p. 142.

[6] Hill-Tout, p. 158 f.

[7] Hill-Tout, 'Ethnological Report on the Stseélis and Skaúlits Tribes of the Halkōmélem Division of the Salish of British Columbia,' *JAI* xxxiv. [1904] 318.

[8] Seligmann, pp. 219, 342.

[9] F. S. Dellenbaugh, *The North Americans of Yesterday*, New York and London, 1901, p. 424.

[10] Latcham, p. 355.

[11] T. A. Joyce, *South American Archæology*, London, 1912, pp. 19, 59; Letourneau, *Property*, p. 326.

[12] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, i. 500 ff.; for other instances see Post, i. 218 f.

[13] T. Waitz, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, iii. (Leipzig, 1862) [illegible]

[14] Hose-McDougall, i. 66–68.

[15] Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 189, 249, 269.

[1] Hodson, p. 98 f.

[2] J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, London, 1912, p 153 f.

[3] *NR* ii. 187, 636 ff.

[4] Hill-Tout, *The Far West*, pp. 146, 160.

[5] Brown, p. 287.

[6] *Ib.* p. 270.

[7] J. H. Weeks, 'Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River,' *JRAI* xl. [1910] 381.

[8] Seligmann, p. 456.

[9] Joyce, p. 82.

[10] See *NR* ii. 142 f.

[11] Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 615 ff.

[12] F. Boas, 'The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians,' *Rep. U.S. Nat. Mus.*, Washington, 1897, p. 334 ff.

[13] See Hill-Tout, *JRAI* xxxiv. 322 f., 'Report on the Ethnology of the Siciatl of British Columbia,' *ib.* p. 21, 'Report on the Ethnology of StlatlumH of British Columbia,' *ib.* xxxv. [1905] 130 ff., 'Report on the Ethnology of the South-Eastern Tribes of Vancouver Island,' *ib.* xxxvii. 308 ff., and *The Far West*, *loc. cit.*

For the inheritance of the totem and of tabus, reference must be made to the special articles dealing with these subjects.

Mention may be made, however, of an inheritance of a food tabu which is found among the Bangala of the Congo, whereby a man who may be forbidden a certain food by the medicine-man, as part of the course of treatment for a disease, transmits the disability to his descendants,[1] while among the Bambala a hereditary class, wearing a distinctive head-dress and a bracelet which passes at death to the uterine nephew but cannot be purchased, also inherits a tabu against eating human flesh or fowls.[2]

(*e*) *Debt.*—Inheritance usually connotes the acquisition of property by the heir. It may, however, on occasion involve the reverse, as among the Bangala[3] and the Ba-Yaka,[4] where a man's heir is responsible for his debts, even if there is no property, or as among the Johor Jakun, where the heirs must pay one half of the debt, irrespective of the size of the inheritance.[5]

4. The heir.—(*a*) *The kin and its members.*—As inheritance tends by custom to follow the line of descent, in a matrilineal society the heirs to a man's estate will be not his own children, but the members of his kin either as a whole or as represented by those members who are more immediately related to him (see art. FAMILY [Primitive], § 12). There is ground for believing that inheritance by the kin was far more wide-spread than it is at present, even if it was not at one time universal. It still survives, with or without modification, in a considerable number of instances, of which the following may be regarded as typical.

Among the Melanesians the normal heir to a man's property is his nephew, the son of his sister.[6] So also among the Kurnai.[7] The Arunta rule is that a man's property shall pass to that half of the tribe to which he himself does not belong, *i.e.* to his mother's brothers or his daughters' husbands.[8] In the Louisiades, land is inherited by the owner's brothers, sisters, and sisters' children, *i.e.* by the members of his kin. Among the Waga-waga tribes of New Guinea, garden land passes to the sister's children, or, if these are too young, to the maternal uncle, or the owner's mother, with reversion to the sister's children. On the other hand, a woman's garden property, including coco-nut trees, descends to her children, while her personal property, such as ornaments not given her by her husband, is divided between her children and her sisters.[9] Among the North American tribes this rule was followed in the majority of cases. Property was shared among the clan, and chiefly by the kin.[10] It sometimes occurs in Africa, *e.g.* among the Bambala [11] and some of the tribes of the Great Lakes.[12] The Selangor Sakai choose the successor to a deceased headman from among his sister's children,[13] and among the Orang Berlanus the chieftainship falls to the sister's son.[14] Among the Chibcha of Colombia, as already mentioned, the priesthood was hereditary in the female line. In New Britain, land, it is said, could not pass to a son because descent was traced in the female line.[15]

Only certain classes of property may be hereditary in the female line.

Among the Zagháwa, succession to the headship passes to the son of a sister or, failing him, the son of a maternal aunt, though property descends to the children,[16] and among the Picts a sister's son likewise succeeded to the chieftainship.[17] Among the Nairs, personal effects pass to a sister's children, and land belonging to the wife is inherited by a daughter or sister.[1]

Property may pass exceptionally to a sister or her children when direct heirs fail.

Among the Bathonga a sister holds the property in trust for her own children, if her brother should leave no direct heirs—in this case if no brothers survive him.[2] In New Guinea the Koita rule of inheritance of the clan chieftainship is that, failing sons, or if the sons are too young, the property passes to the sister's sons. In the latter case it would revert to the sons if they were grown up when their uncle died.[3] The heir among the Congo tribes, failing a brother, is the sister's son [4] (see, further, below, (*d*)).

Some instances of the privileged position of women and of those related in the female line seem to point to an earlier system which has been superseded in general usage.

The peculiarly close relation between maternal uncle and nephew existing in the Torres Straits and in Fiji (where it is known as *vasu*), which allows the nephew to treat his uncle's property with the greatest freedom, suggests that, although now patrilineal, these people were once matrilineal, and the nephew was the uncle's heir.[5] A similar relation in dealing with property as between maternal uncle and nephew (and to a limited extent between paternal uncle and nephew) is found among the Nandi and the Masai. In this case it is reciprocal: an uncle may claim any article from the father of his nephew, and the nephew must buy it for him. The nephew, on the other hand, may claim any property belonging to his uncle.[6] In Savage Island, where the people are in a transition stage, though the son inherited his father's property, the daughters had a claim on their maternal uncle.[7] In Uganda the fact that one of the queens is the king's sister and that princesses are not allowed to marry and have children suggests that at one time the kingship was transmitted in the female line.[8]

(*b*) *Transition from kin to family.*—It is not surprising to find that, with the growth of family, as opposed to kin, feeling, an attempt should be made to avoid this law of inheritance by various means, either by gifts *inter vivos*, as among the Melanesians, or the Buntar of South India, among whom, however, these gifts become null and void at death,[9] or by adoption of the heir, a common device among the Iroquois, in order to perpetuate the chieftainship in their family,[10] or by marriage of the heir—the sister's son—to the daughter, as among the Carriers (Déné).[11]

Evidence of what appears to be a transition stage is afforded by arrangements such as that which prevails among the people of Tiga Loeroeng, whereby the inheritance is divided equally among the children of the man himself and of his sister.[12] A similar compromise between the maternal and paternal branches among the Wolaroi of Australia divides the boomerangs, waddies, etc., between a man's sons and his brother-in-law.[13] Among the Koita, personal property, such as canoes, spears, etc., is divided among the *nana* (elder brother, sister, or cousin) and *rora* (younger brother, sister, or cousin) by the eldest son, but a portion is put aside for any young children, while the garden land, assigned out of the clan holding, descends to the children, and the house site descends rigidly in the male line.[14]

(*c*) *The family and its members.*—In addition to the father's increasing desire to benefit his own children rather than those of his sister, as the family ties gradually assume an ascendancy over those of the kin, two influences are at work which would tend to divert the line of inheritance to sons in preference to nephews. As the sense of property in land grows stronger, increased importance is attached to residence as a factor determining the heir. Even in Australia, where, as has been mentioned, in the case of the chieftainship the idea of inheritance is not highly developed, and the hunting grounds are regarded as the common property of the tribe and not of the individual, hunting rights descend from father to son, because the patrilocal organization, providing a residence for the sisters and daughters with their husbands' tribe, makes any assignment of these rights to another than the sons an impossibility.

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[1] Weeks, p. 366.

[2] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, 'Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala,' *JAI* xxxv. 409.

[3] Weeks, p. 425.

[4] Torday-Joyce, 'Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka,' *JAI* xxxvi. [1906] 44.

[5] Skeat-Blagden, i. 519; cf. also Post, ii. 186 f., 206-209.

[6] Codrington, p. 59 ff.

[7] A. W. Howitt and L. Fison, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, Melbourne, 1880, p. 129.

[8] Spencer-Gillen b, p. 523.

[9] Seligmann, pp. 521, 789.

[10] L. H. Morgan, 'Houses and House-Life,' *Contrib. to Amer. Ethnol.*, Washington, 1881, p. 5; for instances see Morgan, *Ancient Society*, London, 1877, p. 528 ff.; *NR* i. 278, 505 (Salish, Navahos).

[11] Torday-Joyce, *JAI* xxxv. 411.

[12] R. Burton, *Lake Region of Central Africa*, London, 1860, i. 37, 38.

[13] Skeat-Blagden. i. 504, quoting Logan.

[14] F. W. Knocker, 'The Aborigines of Sungei Ujong,' *JRAI* xxxvii. 294.

[15] Brown, p. 272; for numerous other instances see Post, i. 77 f.

[16] H. A. MacMichael, 'Notes on the Zagháwa and the People of Gebel Mídób,' *JRAI* xlii. 336.

[17] H. Zimmer, in *Zeitschr. der Savignystiftung für Rechtsgesch.*, Rom. Abt. xv. [1894] 209 ff.

[1] J. F. McLennan, *Primitive Marriage*, Edinburgh, 1865, p. 147.

[2] Junod, i. 208.

[3] Seligmann, p. 52.

[4] Torday-Joyce, *JAI* xxxvi. 40, 'Ba-Huana,' *ib.* p. 284.

[5] W. H. R. Rivers, 'On the Functions of the Maternal Uncle in Torres Straits,' *Man*, no. 136 (in *JAI* xxxi. [1901]); cf. Thomson, *Fijians*, p. 75.

[6] A. C. Hollis, 'A Note on the Masai System of Relationship, *JRAI* xl. 479.

[7] Thomson, *JAI* xxxi. 148.

[8] Roscoe, p. 187.

[9] McLennan, p. 170.

[10] Morgan, *Anc. Society*, p. 71 f.

[11] Hill-Tout, *The Far West*, p. 145.

[12] Wilken, quoted by E. S. Hartland, *Prim. Paternity*, ii. 12

[13] Letourneau, p. 320.

[14] Seligmann, p. 87 ff.; cf., further, Post, i. 321.

This cause underlies the Nāga custom, in case of default of sons, of assigning immoveable property to the deceased man's brothers, and moveables to his daughters;[1] among the Lusheis, the son who is to inherit the paternal house and land —usually the youngest—remains with the parents, while the other sons at their marriage leave the parents to found a village of their own.[2]

The substitution of an agricultural for a pastoral life, with the consolidation of individual property in land, strengthens this tendency. Further, where the cultivation of the ground is the duty of the men, the inheritance of land is, as a rule, confined to the male members of the family.

Among the Basques, while pastoral pursuits predominated, the estate passed to the eldest child, whether male or female; but with an increased practice of agriculture, of which women were unsuited to take charge, and the gradual obsolescence of land tenure based upon the communal idea, male inheritance tended to become the rule exclusively.[3] In Nigeria, where security of land tenure depends upon the land being kept under cultivation, women cannot inherit it, because they are regarded as unable to comply with this condition.[4]

The second set of circumstances which supports the patrilocal organization in diverting inheritance from the female collateral to the male collateral or direct line, but affects moveable as well as immoveable property, is that which is connected with the payment of the bride-price. This custom not only frees the woman from the claims which the family or tribe may have over her, but at the same time, by effecting her transfer to her husband, cuts off herself and her children from participating in the estate of her father or brothers (see art. FAMILY [Primitive]). It is found, accordingly, among most of the African races, *e.g.*, where the bride-price is a regular institution, that inheritance in the male line is commonly the rule. Exceptions, however, are to be found among races in a state of transition or who retain some traces of the institution of mother-right (see below, p. 294).

When once the predominance of the female line has broken down, it does not follow that the inheritance will fall to the sons as a matter of course, nor that the eldest son will take precedence over his brothers. Indeed, there is ground for believing that, in some regions at least, the course of development has been from the female collateral to the male collateral rather than from the female collateral to the direct line; that is to say, the principle of group inheritance continues to hold good, but it is organized on a basis of male relationship rather than female. This is suggested by the priority or prominence given to the brothers of the deceased. A factor of importance which also helps to support the claim of the brothers or other adult members of the group as against the children is that only those are allowed to inherit who are able to hold the property, by force if necessary, or to take their share in the affairs and the defence of the group if required. This leads to the exclusion of women and minors.

The custom among the tribes of Manipur, that a clan should take a part of the estate when daughters inherit in default of male heirs;[5] the trace of clan tenure of burial grounds in Uganda, the only land which is not regarded as belonging to the king, and for which at the death of the holder, who is a tenant for life rather than owner, a successor is chosen by the clan subject to the king's sanction, as well as to the control exercised over the inheritance of personal property by the clan;[6] the fact that in Ashanti the king is theoretically the heir of all his subjects, though in practice he receives only a certain quantity of gold dust on the death of chiefs;[7] the family tenure of burial lands in Korea;[1] and other analogous customs of which instances could be adduced—suggest that the place of the kin as collective heir was taken by the clan, and that this group was later narrowed to the more immediate relatives, the brothers. Among the Ba Kwere the heir is a brother; among the Bathonga all the brothers must hold the inheritance before it can fall to the heir, the son.[2] In Nigeria (Kagoro) a grown-up son inherits such of the wives as are not taken by his paternal uncles.[3] The Buduma of the Chad assign the wives to the eldest brother, while personal property is divided into two equal parts between the children and their uncle.[4] The ceremony performed by the Kamba heir before he can assume possession of his father's property, in the course of which he throws a branch at his paternal uncle, saying, 'I pay you before the elders,' and the ceremonial cohabitation of the uncle with the wives of the deceased, seem to be a form of compensation or propitiation of the uncle, either, as is suggested by Hobley, as the representative of the deceased, or, more probably, as an heir whose claims have been superseded. In either case it implies the solidarity of the family group.[5] The Wa-Sapia chieftainship is inherited by the eldest brother and by the son only in default.[6] In Samoa the legitimate heir was the next eldest brother.[7] In Fiji the succession to the chieftainship depended upon a limited election for which the son was eligible only in default, firstly of brothers, and secondly of sons of the late chief's paternal uncle. The normal heir to the house site is the eldest brother.[8] Among the Nahua, Maya, and other races of Central America, where the succession was strictly hereditary, it descended to the son, but, where there was a limited election, choice was made from among the brothers.[9] The uncle, if the children are minors, is usually regarded as the natural holder of the estate until they are of age, when, in some cases, as with the Suk, he shares it with them,[10] and sometimes hands it over to them as a whole.

When the inheritance passes to the children, the eldest son being normally the strongest, primogeniture is a common but not an invariable rule;[11] but, should the eldest son be unsuitable, he may be set aside by his father, or, in the case of a chieftainship, by those in authority. A chieftainship may descend in a family while the actual member to hold office is chosen by election. A rule of inheritance may definitely set aside the eldest son.

Among the Nāga tribes, especially among the Maos, the youngest son, as already mentioned, inherited the house. Sometimes, as among the Suk, the eldest son inherited the father's, the youngest son the mother's property, or, according to the En Temusi rule, the eldest takes all the mother's property and the largest share of the father's.[12] An interesting parallel in a civilized community is afforded by the custom of 'Borough English,' still in existence in certain parts of England, whereby certain classes of property descend to the youngest son.

When primogeniture is the rule, it is generally an obligation on the eldest son to look after and provide for his brothers out of the estate, as among the Akikuyu, where each son ultimately receives about an equal share.[13] In some Nāga villages the eldest son has to maintain his brothers; among the Quoirengs he supports the rest of the family;[14] at Ladak, when the eldest son marries for himself and his brothers, the paternal possessions are transmitted on the understanding that he maintain his brothers.[15] Sometimes the younger brothers acted as the eldest brother's assistants, or were virtually his slaves, as among the Bahima.[16] A rule which places a further restriction on primogeniture, not uncommon, especially among the Bantu tribes, confines the inheritance to certain of the children only. In Uganda the eldest son of the king, who acted as his brothers' keeper or guardian, was expressly debarred from inheriting. The successor to the throne must be chosen from 'children of the drum,' *i.e.* children born after the accession of the father.[17] Frequently only the children of the chief or principal wife are eligible to succeed to the father's position, as among the Nandi[18] or the Zulus,[19] the chief wife in the latter case being the first of the wives for whom the bride-price was paid with cattle from the father's estate and not from cattle earned by the man himself. In ancient Mexico at Tezcuco only children born of the

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[1] Hodson, p. 103.
[2] Shakespear, p. 42.
[3] A. R. Whitway, 'Customs of the Western Pyrenees,' *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xv. [1900] 625–640.
[4] Tremearne, *JRAI* xlii. 189.
[5] Hodson, p. 103.
[6] Roscoe, p. 270.
[7] A. B. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, London, 1887, p. 277; cf. Post, ii. 184 f.

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[1] W. Hough, 'Korean Clan Organisation,' *Amer. Anthropologist*, new ser., i. [1899] 150–154.
[2] Junod, i. 383.
[3] Tremearne, *JRAI* xlii. 189.
[4] P. A. Talbot, 'The Buduma of Lake Chad,' *JRAI* xli. 248.
[5] C. W. Hobley, *JRAI* xli. 411 f.
[6] Barrett, p. 35.
[7] Brown, p. 314.
[8] Thomson, *Fijians*, pp. 356, 358.
[9] *NR*, *loc. cit.*
[10] M. W. H. Beech, *The Suk*, Oxford, 1911, p. 35.
[11] For examples see Post, i. 220 ff.
[12] Beech, p. 35 f.
[13] Routledge, p. 144.
[14] Hodson, p. 103 f.
[15] W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels*, London, 1841, i. 120.
[16] Roscoe, *JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 103.
[17] Roscoe, *Baganda*, p. 188.
[18] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, Oxford, 1909, p. 73.
[19] H. Callaway, *Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus*, Natal and London, 1868, i. 256 ff.

principal wife, generally a princess of blood royal, or at Tlascala of a wife married according to certain rites, could succeed.[1] Except in the last-named case, this disability has no reference to the question of legitimacy.

At the stage of development where the value of the individual as adding strength to the tribe is the chief consideration, children of free and slave women are treated equally, while those of doubtful paternity are regarded without question as members of the putative father's family. As already mentioned, adoption is practised for the purpose of inheritance, though sometimes the adopted child is disqualified from sharing the estate of his adopted parents.

In Korea, where only the eldest son can hold the family estates, it is a frequent practice, in a family without sons, to adopt the second son from another family.[2]

Even slaves are permitted to inherit in certain circumstances.

The Bangala might free slaves after long service, and allow them to receive a portion of the estate.[3] Among the Ba Yaka, in default of heirs a slave may inherit the estate, thereby becoming a free man.[4]

(*d*) *Women as heirs.*—Notwithstanding the importance attached to female descent and the part it plays or has played in determining the disposal of property, women are, among many peoples, debarred from inheritance.[5] This is due partly to the unstable conditions of a primitive society mainly based on physical force, and partly to the fact that, where the economic value of women is high, it tends to keep them in a subordinate position, without rights to hold or receive property apart from their male relatives or connexions. Throughout the greater part of Africa not only is a woman incapacitated from receiving a share of the property of her husband or father, but she frequently constitutes the most valuable part of the estate.

(*α*) *Widows.*—The custom of regarding the widow or widows as part of the responsibility or part of the property falling to the heir, which arises from the fact of their close incorporation into the group by marriage, secures a provision or a protector for them after the death of the husband. Where the wife holds a position of greater independence, she may return to her own relatives when she is left a widow. In neither case, generally speaking, would it be consonant with primitive modes of thought that she should hold property belonging to her husband's group. A woman may, however, sometimes be allowed at the death of her husband to retain such articles, especially clothes, utensils, or ornaments, as have become closely associated with her by use, although her right of ownership during her husband's lifetime has not been recognized.

Among the Arunta, a man's widows are allowed to take nothing but the yam sticks.[6] The Mafulu widow takes the current season's crop, which she has helped to plant, unless she has returned to her own people.[7] On the other hand, among the Waga-waga tribes of New Guinea, valuable shell ornaments given to a wife revert to the husband's brothers at his death.[8] In Nigeria the widow appears to have an interest in the house if she has no grown-up family and no relatives by marriage. In this case she may marry again, taking her husband to the house.[9] Among the tribes of the Baringo district of East Africa, the property given to the wife at marriage is divided among the children on the death of the husband.[10] Among the Nilotic Kavirondo, each widow receives a certain number of cattle, which, at her death, pass to her sons.[11] Among the Wagiriama and the Kikuyu, personal ornaments are distributed among the female members of the family of the deceased.[12]

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[1] *NR* ii. 132, 141.

[2] Hough, *Amer. Anthrop.*, new ser., i. 150–154.

[3] Weeks, *loc. cit.*

[4] Torday-Joyce, *JAI* xxxvi. 44.

[5] For instances see Post, i. 218 f.; on the general relations of female to male inheritance, *ib.* i. 222–225.

[6] Spencer-Gillen b, p. 651.

[7] Williamson, p. 119.

[8] Seligmann, p. 522.

[9] Tremearne, *JRAI* xlii. 189 ff.

[10] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI* xl. 60.

[11] G. A. S. Northcote, *JRAI* xxxvii. 61.

[12] Barrett, *JRAI* xli. 25; Hobley, *ib.* 419, 481.

It sometimes happens that, in cases where there is apparent transmission of property to a female, it is held upon terms resembling a trust.

The Mafulu widow, on the death of her husband, receives a pig from the estate, which does not, however, become her property, but is kept by her for the mourning rites which take place at the end of a year.[1] Among the Dinkas the property of a man who dies without a son passes to his widow, the reason being that it is her duty to perpetuate the family; she must provide an heir to the property by taking a second husband, whose children are regarded as children of the first husband.[2] Among the Akikuyu, each of the widows at the death of the husband retains the plantation and the hut which were hers during his lifetime, together with the goats which lived in her hut, to enable her to provide for her children; but they are in no way regarded as her absolute property, and, as her sons marry, a portion of the land is cut off and transferred to the first wife of each.[3]

Even where there is a distinct tenure of lands, as among the Tube-tube tribes of New Guinea, and the husband and wife work side by side on their respective plots, the wife has to give one half of her first year's crop after her husband's death to his relatives as the product of his labour.[4]

(*β*) *Daughters.*—Although it is generally true to say that among primitive races of to-day women do not inherit, there is evidence to suggest that at an earlier stage, and in a community organized on matriarchal and matrilocal lines, women were regarded not only as heirs, but as even taking precedence of men (see art. FAMILY [Primitive], § 6).

In the island of Kythnos the eldest daughter inherited the house,[5] and in Telos she inherited all the property.[6] The Cantabrians, on the authority of Strabo,[7] are, like the Lycians,[8] said to have transmitted property to their daughters, while among the Basques property descended to the eldest child, whether a son or a daughter.[9] The Iroquois bride stayed in her own house at marriage, as the heiress.[10] The influence and predominant position occupied by women among the American tribes are shown by the customs affecting inheritance among the tribes of the south-western region of the United States. Among the Hopis, the Zuñis, the Spokanes, and other tribes, the house and its contents belong to the woman, and are transmitted in the female line.[11] Among the Navahos, a woman's property descended to her nieces.[12] The peculiar social organization of the Nairs extends to the tenure of property. All land belongs to the women, and the heir is the eldest daughter or the sister.[13] In Egypt, a daughter had an equal, or in early times a preferential, right to a share in her father's property.[14]

In some cases, when the daughter does not inherit, she may transmit the inheritance to her husband or to her children; this is especially frequent when the husband takes up his residence with the family of his wife.

Among the Puyumas of Formosa, the son-in-law resides with his wife's parents, and on their death takes possession of the house and property.[15] In Japan the man who marries an only daughter may be adopted as a son, and his children inherit the grandfather's property.[16] Among the Bororo the husband, after the death of his wife's parents, takes up his residence in the family house and becomes head of the family.[17] An analogous transmission through a woman is found among the Salish (Halkomélem) and among the Kwakiutl of North America, where the husband transmits the hereditary name, crest, and privileges of his wife's father to his own children.[18] In those cases where, as in the Malay *ambil-anak* system, a man on marriage sustains no further relation to the family in which he was born, he naturally forfeits all rights to inheritance from it. His rights as regards the family into which he marries range widely according as his status there varies from that of a slave, as in Kaur and the Ranau districts of S. Sumatra, to that of a son of the house, as in Kroë, where his property passes to his children or the nearest female relatives of his wife, while he himself can have the usufruct of inherited property only so long as he resides with his parents-in-law.[19]

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[1] Williamson, p. 199.

[2] H. O'Sullivan, *JRAI* xl. 173.

[3] Routledge, p. 144.

[4] Seligmann, p. 523.

[5] H. Hauttecœur, *Le Folklore de l'île de Kythnos*, Brussels, 1898, p. 17.

[6] F. von Vincenz, in *Globus*, 1877, p. 46.

[7] III. iv. 18 (p. 165).

[8] Nic. Damasc. 129 (*FHG* iii. 461).

[9] Whitway, p. 627.

[10] Charlevoix, quoted in Hartland, *Prim. Paternity*, ii. 67.

[11] See Hartland, ii. 73 ff., for detailed references.

[12] *NR* i. 505.

[13] McLennan, p. 147.

[14] Letourneau, p. 326.

[15] J. W. Davidson, *The Island of Formosa*, London, 1903, p. 577.

[16] *ASoc* viii. [1905] 422.

[17] K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, Berlin, 1894, p. 501.

[18] Hill-Tout, *JAI* xxxiv. 317; Boas, pp. 334–338.

[19] G. A. Wilken, *Over het huwelijks- en erfrecht bij de volken van Zuid-Sumatra*, The Hague, 1891, pp. 68, 71, cited by Post, i. 215; cf. also Post, ii. 182 f.

It is also possible, in exceptional circumstances, for an estate to fall to a woman, among a people who do not, as a rule, recognize female inheritance.

Among the Bangala, failing male heirs, a man's sister will inherit his property. Married daughters, however, among the Bangala usually take from the estate of their deceased father the women who were paid as bride-price for themselves, and hand them to their brothers, who thereafter make presents periodically to their brothers-in-law.[1] In Samoa, land might be held by females when all the males in the family were dead.[2] The inheritance may be in the nature of a temporary provision. Among the Nandi, the daughters received the mother's utensils and ornaments as well as a share in her plantation until their marriage, while the eldest son of the principal wife, who inherited the chief share of the property, was expected to give a cow to each widow.[3] Clan or kin rights may be revived to emphasize the exceptional circumstances, as in the customs followed at Laiyi and Liyai among the Maos, whereby, in the event of the inheritance falling to girls through lack of male heirs, the clan, the male relatives, or a paternal uncle took a share of the inheritance, usually the house.[4]

Where it is generally recognized that women may hold property, the inheritance is frequently shared among all the children,[5] subject to any regulation as to a larger or special share being allotted to any one or other of them.

The Mafulu woman can hold as property only clothes and personal ornaments, which, at her death, go to her husband, or are divided equally among her children.[6] Among the Benua Jakun of the Malay Peninsula, one-third of the property is assigned to the daughters, two-thirds to the sons, and the Jakun of Johore make an equal division among all the children.[7] The Tuareg children divide equally all lawful property, *i.e.* property acquired by labour.[8] Among the Koita and Motu tribes of New Guinea, coco-nut trees are divided equally between boys and girls, while the latter inherit a life interest in the land which is commonly extended to their children.[9] Among the Kenyahs and other jungle tribes of Borneo, there is a customary allocation of the different classes of property to the widow, sons, and daughters, the latter obtaining old beads, etc.; while among the Dayaks the Chinese jars, which are highly valued, are divided equally among all the children.[10] Artificial brotherhood and kinship frequently involve the rights and obligations of inheritance.[11]

5. Testamentary disposition of property.—It is evident from what has already been said that inheritance to the primitive mind depends upon a rule or custom, invariable outside certain limits, over which the deceased person has no control. Property, in so far as it is not required by the owner in the life after death, is at the disposal of the living, originally the group-kin—family, village, or the like—of which he was a member, and subsequently the limits of this group are restricted until it is composed only of his children or more immediate relatives. Virtually the disposal of the property is with the living; but by usage it comes about that those to whom it shall fall stand in certain relations to the former owner. In these circumstances it is not surprising to find that it is not usually possible for a man to dispose of his property by will. It is definitely stated in most cases that no such power exists. On the other hand, it is clear that in some cases the desire to modify the regular line of succession does exist, and attempts are made to evade the rule. This is a frequent cause of gifts *inter vivos*.

Reference has already been made to the gifts presented by the Melanesian father to his sons in his lifetime to keep property in the family, or, in the case of a chief, to secure the chieftainship for them, and the marriage of a daughter to the heir among the Salish. Among the Veddas, the gifts made to a daughter on her marriage are counted against anything she might inherit at her father's death. But it was also usual for a man on his death-bed to give to his unmarried nephew—the man allotted by custom as the husband of his daughter—the land which he would not otherwise have received until his marriage, and also to divide his land and property among his children in preparation for death, handing to each the tokens of possession—usually a stone, a tooth, flint and steel, and a lock of hair—to be produced as title-deeds in the event of dispute.[12] In this case the wishes of the dying man seem to be regarded with more respect and to carry more force than is usual. In Uganda, the king designated his successor, but his wishes might be disregarded if, in the opinion of the officials who made the selection from among the sons, the one designated was not suitable. The clan in determining the apportionment of an estate might also disregard the wishes as to its disposal expressed by the owner before his death.[1] It is usual among the Akikuyu for a man to call his family together and express his wishes as to the disposal of the property; the heir-at-law is expected to carry out those wishes in making provision for the members of the family. Theoretically the owner had absolute power of appointment; practically the demise was dictated by custom. Although it is customary for a woman to keep the goats and land which she has tended in her husband's lifetime, she might, if not on good terms with him, be assigned a smaller share. It was also possible, by means of the *kirume*, or dying curse, to 'tie up' a particular piece of property, such as a cow, so that it could not be alienated, but must remain a family possession.[2] Among the Kenyahs and Kayans of Borneo, property was divided among the women and children at the death of the father. The division, however, was frequently made before death to avoid disputes.[3] In Samoa, part of the property was sometimes apportioned by the owner on his death-bed. In New Britain, a dying man would call together his relatives and tell them what to do with his property; but his directions would, as a rule, be strictly in accordance with custom, except that he might assign a small portion of *diwara* to his children and wives.[4] In Savage Island, house, land, and such personal property as would not be destroyed out of respect to the memory of the deceased was transmissible by testamentary disposition;[5] so also in Tahiti.[6] The limitations usually imposed upon the wishes of the owner are perhaps best indicated by the custom among the Tube-tube peoples and in the Louisiades, where, though the property fell in the one case partly to his sister's children, partly to his own, and in the other to the kin, a man might suggest to his heir-at-law that certain ornaments or personal possessions should be given to particular children. In the latter locality, gifts *inter vivos* did not revert to the estate for division, nor were they counted as part of an individual's share.[7] Melanesian customs also paid considerable deference to an owner's wishes as to the disposal of his property. In Florida he might direct that his canoe be given to his son. In Banks Island he might ask his heir to allow his sons to remain in possession of his land, and this might be permitted on payment by the sons, while personal property could be disposed of by an *ante mortem* declaration which held good on the same terms.[8]

Among the Basques there was a limited power of testamentary disposition, the individual being permitted thus to dispose of any property acquired by himself, but not of that acquired as part of the family inheritance.[9]

An ingenious method of evading the laws of succession has been devised by the Bangala. The dying man sent for the one whom he wished to benefit and committed a technical assault upon him; after the death had taken place the assaulted man then claimed compensation from the heirs. Another method was to promise that the property should pass to the individuals whom it was desired to benefit and to hand them tokens in the presence of witnesses. After the death of the owner, the property was handed over to the heir on production of the tokens.[10]

LITERATURE.—Lewis H. Morgan, *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress*, London, 1877, 'Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines,' *Contributions to American Ethnology*, Washington, 1881; C. Letourneau, *Property, its Origin and Development*, London, 1892; E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, do. 1910, vol. ii. ch. 5; A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1894–95, i. 211–226, ii. 171–209.

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INHERITANCE (Babylonian).—We must be careful not to assume the implications in English law of words used to translate into our tongue the legal terms occurring in Babylonian and Assyrian documents. The Assyrian civilization and customs were so entirely the same as those of Babylonia that they may be treated as one. The sense in which the verb 'inherit' is here used implies a right on the part of another to take possession, on the death of the possessor, in virtue of a personal relation between the 'inheritor' and the deceased. The nature of that relation constitutes for our purpose the 'law of inheritance.'

The prime source of information as to inheritance in Babylonia is the Code of Ḫammurabi, which appears to have remained in force from the close of the 3rd millennium B.C. down to the

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[1] Weeks, *JAI* xxxix. 426.
[2] Brown, p. 287.
[3] Hollis, p. 73.
[4] Hodson, p. 103.
[5] Cf. the English custom of *gavelkind*.
[6] Williamson, p. 123.
[7] Skeat-Blagden, i. 516, 519.
[8] Letourneau, p. 326.
[9] Seligmann, p. 90.
[10] Hose-McDougall, i. 83.
[11] Post, i. 96, ii. 177.
[12] C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 113 f.

[1] Roscoe, pp. 183, 270.
[2] Routledge, p. 143 f.; Hobley, *JRAI* xli. 427.
[3] Hose-McDougall, i. 83.
[4] Brown, pp. 288, 284 f.
[5] Thomson, *JRAI* xxxi. 143.
[6] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, London, 1831, ii. 362.
[7] Seligmann, *Melanesians*, pp. 523, 789.
[8] Codrington, p. 63 ff.
[9] Whitway, *loc. cit.*
[10] Weeks, *JRAI* xxxix. 426 f.

6th century. The almost endless legal documents which deal in some way or other with the practice of which the Code records the theory may be noticed as illustrations and occasional exceptions.

The rules as to inheritance differed with the status of the deceased possessor.

1. **Father's estate.**—On the death of a father his children divided his estate equally. But real estate was often kept together and enjoyed in common. It thus constituted the *bît abishu*, 'his father's house,' on which a son had claims of revenue and which he was bound, if possible, to preserve intact and redeem if sold. When portions had been parted with by the family, by way of sale, lease, pledge, or inheritance, to distant branches, it was redeemable, and an heir had a right to exercise this power of redemption to the prejudice of another claimant's power to sell. If one son sought to sell his share, another had power to stop the sale by buying it in.

All estate was divided equally by agreement among the heirs, who executed documents asserting that they were satisfied and pledging themselves not to dispute the settlement. Each took a signed and sealed document setting out the items of his share and giving attestation of acceptance. In the case of real estate which could not be conveniently divided, as a house, pond, or even a right to revenue from office, etc., the division was often stated formally and liquidated on some convenient sale, or one heir paid off the others. The division was subject to some reservations. A father might give a favourite child real or personal property by executing a deed of gift explicitly defining its extent. In such a case the gift was not brought into 'hotchpot,' and the son so favoured could claim to share equally with the other children in the residual estate.

A father was bound to provide every son with a bride-price, or means to procure a wife, and usually set him up with his 'portion,' which would include both real and personal property. At the division of the residual estate an attempt was made to allow for this portion already received in estimating the share then to be taken, unless exempted by deed of gift as above. But, if a son was still unmarried at his father's death, the others had to reserve him a bride-price and then share equally with him.

A father was bound to provide a dowry for each daughter, on her marriage, or on taking vows, if this were done with his consent or at his instigation. Apparently a daughter might take vows without his consent. In that case she was entitled to her dowry on his death. If a daughter was left unmarried, she was entitled to receive her dowry from her brothers and sisters, and in addition they were expected to find her a husband. The daughter's dowry was her portion, but her right in it was only for life, unless she had children, when it passed to them. If she died childless, it reverted to her family—brothers in the first instance, and their heirs after them. A deed of gift might convey real property as well as personal, the dowry usually consisting of the latter. In the case of vowed women the brothers were usually stewards to their sister; but, if not satisfied with their administration of her estate, a votary might appoint her own steward.

The sons and daughters, having grown up, been married, and therefore portioned off during their father's lifetime, were bound to maintain him in his old age. But for various reasons this duty might be burdensome to them or their ministrations unsatisfactory to the father. It was in his power to adopt a son by deed, leaving to him all his residual estate and usually specifying the maintenance to be given (cf. ADOPTION [Semitic], vol. i. p. 114 f.). On such an adopted son devolved the funeral rites so important in the Babylonian's eyes (cf. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Babylonian], vol. iv. p. 444). This arrangement excluded the other children from any further share in the father's estate, but also relieved them of further responsibility. Hence they usually appear as parties, or at any rate witnesses, to the deed of adoption. It is not clear that they could object to or veto such a settlement, but there is often an express statement that they shall have no claim on the adopted heir. There may here be an indication that the son adopted was a natural son by a slave woman on whom the legitimate children might have a claim, but, as such sons were freed at their father's death, it could in any case be pressed only during his life. It is more likely to refer to a claim to share in the property left by the father to the adopted son.

But sons were not always adopted solely because the earlier children had grown up and left the paternal roof. A wedded pair might adopt a child while they still cherished hope of a family. In such a case, they might stipulate in the deed of adoption that the child now adopted should rank as elder brother to the family, if they should have other children.

If a man acknowledged his natural sons by a slave woman during his lifetime, at his death they shared equally with his legitimate sons; but these took first choice at the division of property on his death.

2. **Mother's estate.**—The same things held *mutatis mutandis* for mothers and daughters. In fact, more evidence is available of cases where women, widows or vestals, nuns or votaries, adopted daughters to care for them in their lonely old age and succeed to their estate and property. As a rule, women could not transmit estate which had come to them from their own family, but only what was given by their husbands, or purchased with their own money, although the Ḫammurabi Code expressly gives to a votary of Marduk power of testamentary disposition of whatever estate she received from her father. In some cases, a votary of some other god did so dispose of real property, which she had received by will from another votary, who had in turn received from yet another. In these cases, however, there was a blood relationship between the women, as aunt and niece, etc.

In the case of a married woman her children inherited or divided what had come to her from her father on marriage, what she had been given by her husband, and whatever she had otherwise acquired during her life.

If, after her death, her husband married again, the children of such a second marriage had no share in her property, nor had the natural sons of her husband by a concubine or a slave wife, even though he acknowledged them as his. If she married again and had a second family, both her families together shared in her estate; except that the second family had no claim on her first husband's gift to her on marriage, which was divided among his children by her. This expressly applied only to her 'dowry,' *nudunnu*, or gift on marriage, but may not have touched presents made to her afterwards, which seem to have been hers to dispose of as she pleased among her children. But the *nudunnu*, what he 'paid' her, was the price of the children, and she must leave it to them. The husband also paid her father a price for her—the bride-price, or *terkhatu*—which the father usually handed over to her. The presents which as suitor a man had made to his prospective parents-in-law, and which he forfeited to them if he jilted the girl, seem to have been retained by them on her marriage, although they often formed part of her property. In every case half-brothers and half-sisters shared in the estate of their common parents, but not in that of a step-parent.

If a woman died childless, all she had received from her father went back to his heirs, except the 'bride-price' which her husband had paid for her to her father. If her father had given her that, her husband could keep it; if not, her father or his heirs had to repay it to her husband. But, if her father had given her the right of disposal, she could dispose of it where she chose.

A widow would be left in possession of what her father had given her on marriage, but had only a life interest in it. She could not leave it away from her children. She had the right to live on in her husband's house, which, however, she could not dispose of, as it must go to her children. If her husband gave her a gift on marriage, she continued to enjoy it; and, if not, she took the same share of his property on his death as a child of his would do, but it reverted to their children. If, however, she preferred to leave her husband's house, she could return to her own family, but must leave her children the wedding gift she had from her husband, and could carry off what her father had given her on marriage and re-marry if she chose. But her children by the first husband, if any, retained the right to share equally with her children by the second marriage in her father's gift to her on the first marriage. So long as she lived she would enjoy it as her child's portion of her father's estate; on her death all her children shared equally. If she had no children by either marriage, it reverted to her family.

3. Slave marriages.—If a man married a slave woman, or, being married to a free wife, had natural sons by another woman, he could acknowledge them in his lifetime by the same formula as that of adoption. In any case, they were free on his death, and the slave wife obtained her freedom also. But, unless so acknowledged by the father, these sons would not inherit his property. If he made them heirs, they shared equally in his property with the legitimate sons, but took second choice.

If a slave married a free woman, as well-to-do slaves often did, their children were free. They, of course, inherited their mother's property and half their father's, the other half going to his master.

The children of two slave parents were, of course, slaves. It appears that custom allowed them to inherit, as if free, from their parents and under the same laws, but probably the master had a large share also.

4. Vowed women.—Some special features attached to the cases of women who were vowed to a religious life. It is doubtful if these were ever temple prostitutes, but they did include vestals who were expected to be childless. A woman who was vowed by her father to a religious life was given her portion as if on marriage, and her brothers were constituted her trustees. If her father chose, he could by deed make it her absolute property and she could devise it as she willed; otherwise it went back to her brothers, like the portion given to a married daughter who proved childless. If her father died without giving her a portion as for marriage, she, like an unmarried daughter, would take an equal share with her brothers, and, whether she subsequently married or not, this would be her brothers' on her death unless she had children to inherit it.

It is not altogether certain how the various classes of votaries should be distinguished, but in some cases where the father had not given a vowed daughter a share before his death she came in for only one-third of a son's share at his death. Of this she had the life interest, and on her death it reverted to her brothers.

The votary of Marduk had a special treatment. If her father had not given her a share during his lifetime, she was entitled only to one-third of a son's share of his personal estate. But she had always the disposal of it at her death; it did not revert to her brothers. Further, she was not responsible for the State obligations which such property usually carried with it. By deed of gift her father might give her both real and personal property, over which she had absolute power.

5. Concubines.—The children of concubines were free, but did not inherit unless acknowledged. A father might give his daughter to be a concubine, and he might give her a marriage portion and also a deed of gift. But she had no share in his property on his death. If the father, however, made her no provision, her brothers were bound to give her a proper marriage portion.

6. Disinheritance.—Sons might be disinherited, but only by legal process. If a father intended to disinherit a son, the judges were bound to look into the story of the disagreement, and, if the son had not committed a serious crime such as could be held to justify disinheritance, they would forbid it. Even if the crime was bad enough to justify such a penalty, they were bound to reconcile the father and son on the first offence; but, if repeated, disinheritance was permitted. The exact nature of crime which would be held sufficient to deserve this penalty is nowhere stated, nor is the exact nature of the consequences. It would, however, certainly imply exclusion from share in the father's estate at his death.

The child adopted to care for a parent's old age was usually bound to perform certain duties of maintenance and personal care. These were specified in the deed of adoption, and a failure to perform them involved the annulment of the deed. This was a cutting off from sonship which amounted to disinheritance.

The adopted son might be repudiated by the adoptive father. In the old Sumerian Family Laws this was most heavily penalized. The father forfeited all his estates and the adopted son took them over. Whether this rule continued into the time of Ḫammurabi is not yet certain. The Code deals with a different case. A man might take a child to adopt as a son, and repudiate him when he grew up. If he did so, the young man had no claim, probably on account of the advantages he had already received. But, if a man had so adopted and reared a child and afterwards acquired a family of his own, he was not allowed to send away the young man empty-handed. He must give him one-third of a son's share, but not of real estate. An artisan who adopted a son was bound to teach him his trade or handicraft, and there his obligation ended. But indentures of apprenticeship were often entered into which strictly defined the obligations of both parties, so that this form of adoption may be merely a legal fiction for apprenticeship.

A man who committed incest was cut off from his father's house. This, of course, involved disinheritance, but was always more; it was outlawry also.

LITERATURE.—S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Ḫammurabi*, London, 1903; H. Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, Leipzig, 1904; C. H. W. Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, Edinburgh, 1904; J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Hammurabis Gesetze*, Leipzig, 1909–11.

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INHERITANCE (Celtic).—As has been already indicated in artt. FAMILY (Celtic) and CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Celtic), one of the chief features of Celtic society in ancient times was the prominence therein of the social factor, and this feature is conspicuous in the case of Celtic inheritance. The succession to property is here essentially the continuity, with any necessary readjustments on the death of one or more of its members, of a society of joint-owners and tillers. For this purpose, Celtic society, as known to us from Irish and Welsh law in historic times, had been articulated and organized into distinct family groups within the wider group of the tribe (Ir. *cenél*, Welsh *cenedl*). In theory the land of the tribe belonged to the tribe as a whole, and doubtless originally the land was so held as a matter of fact; but in course of time, through the evolution of the definite family groups in question, the land of a tribe had come to be allotted in a regular customary manner, and, though inheritance still continued to be regarded from the collective standpoint, cases of liability through contract had often arisen which required the emphasizing of individual responsibility. In mediæval times, side by side with the older system, much of the land even of Ireland had come to be held by individual owners. Since the Celtic legal system of Scotland was that carried over by the Dalriad Scots from Ireland, the essential features of Scottish land tenure can best be studied in the Irish laws, especially in some of its earlier phases, such as the original exclusion in Ireland of women from any right to succession. When the Dalriad Scots entered Scotland, the few concessions afterwards made to women in Ireland through the influence of the Church had not been made, and, in the custom of the Highlands, never were made under Celtic law.

I. *IRELAND*.—**1. General.**—Lands of inheritance were in Ireland technically called *orba* lands. These belonged in theory to the tribe (*cenél*), and were subdivided into *coibne* and *díbad* lands. The tribal land had upon it the dwellings of its members, the share of the chief, which was tilled by his special tenants, portions in exclusive ownership (made as grants), and the portion cultivated by common tillage. The portions cultivated by common tillage would be divisible into those held by members holding through recognized family groups, notably the *gelfine*, and those held under the chief, as representing the tribe, by others. For the present purpose, the important portion of the land was that held by the recognized family groups (see FAMILY [Celtic]), called the *gelfine*, the *derbfine*, the *iarfine*, and the *indfine* respectively. The *gelfine* consisted of the group of agnates or male kinsmen comprised in the series father, son, grandson, great-grandson, and great-great-grandson; the *derbfine* was a similar and wider group commencing with the grandfather; the *iarfine* with the great-grandfather; and the *indfine* with the great-great-grandfather. Of these, the most important group in practice was the *gelfine*. This consisted essentially of a group formed of a father with his sons and their descendants, the father occupying until his death the main dwelling of the group, while his sons, beginning with the eldest, would, as they came of age and married, occupy dwellings of their own, until at last, on the death of the father, the youngest son occupied the original family dwelling.

On the extinction of the *gelfine* division, $\frac{3}{4}$ of the property passed to the next in point of exclusiveness, viz. the *derbfine* division, while the other quarter was divided between the *iarfine*, which received $\frac{3}{16}$, and the *indfine*, which received $\frac{1}{16}$. On the extinction of the *derbfine*, $\frac{3}{4}$ of its property went to the *gelfine*, while the other quarter went to the *iarfine* and the *indfine*—the *iarfine* had $\frac{3}{16}$, while the *indfine* had $\frac{1}{16}$. On the extinction of the *iarfine*, $\frac{3}{4}$ of its property went to the *derbfine*, the other quarter to the *gelfine* and the *indfine*, *i.e.* $\frac{3}{16}$ to the *gelfine*, and $\frac{1}{16}$ to the *indfine*. On the extinction of the *indfine*, $\frac{3}{4}$ of its property went to the *iarfine*, and the other quarter to the *derbfine* and the *gelfine*, the *derbfine* receiving $\frac{3}{16}$, the *gelfine* $\frac{1}{16}$.

The land was held by the *gelfine* as land held by a community, or, to use the Irish technical term, as *coibne*-land. The *gelfine* family-group owed its stability largely to the fact that it was a union not of individuals, but of householders with separate homesteads.

The right of hereditary succession in the *gelfine* was not transmissible beyond the fourth generation of the descendants of the original acquirer of the plot of ground on which the *gelfine* was settled; the sons of the fifth chief or head had no right to allotments; and no more independent households could be formed. The youngest son of the fourth occupier had to divide the original holding. The land of the family was broken up among the members of the various independent properties. It is this that explains a reference to covenants relating to *coibne* property, which the sixth chief could not confirm, while the power of confirming them was allowed his five immediate predecessors. He was disqualified, because the sixth chief of the family, in whatever way elected, would be the first who was not a representative of the rights of the original acquirer of the property.

It naturally followed from this system of tenure that a close restraint was placed on the alienation of property; and so we find that the head of a family who owned property could not part with it for his own purposes, to the injury of his descendants. A person's sons, even in their father's land, had a sufficient right to restrain the latter's power of alienation. While the *gelfine* was in existence, assent of the *gelfine* chief was necessary for the validity of contracts dealing with *coibne* property and with the head of the main tribe (*cenél*). Great importance was attached to correct conduct on the part of members of the family groups in the matter of contracts.

Inheritance lands (*orba*), outside those which the *gelfine* had occupied, were called *díbad*-lands. The latter term is a very difficult one, since it appears to be also used for the property that passed from a deceased person to the persons entitled to succeed him; and, in the latter sense, it is clearly used to describe the share of a deceased co-owner in *coibne*-land, when land of that kind passed by succession.

The term *díbad* seems to stand in opposition to *coibne* rather than to describe any specific class of lands. It appears to call attention to the divisible character of land among various persons as tenants in common, and not as members of an associated group. The same land might conceivably be classed as *coibne* or *díbad*, according to the standpoint from which the rights of the individuals holding it were regarded.

2. Tanistry.—This term (in Ir. *tánaisteachd*) comes from the Irish *tánaise* ('next'), and refers to the Irish system whereby a king's successor was not his eldest son, but the oldest member of the family, or possibly one from another family. The term *tánaise* was used for the heir-presumptive of a king.

3. Inheritance of fuidir-tenants.—These tenants were mainly recruited from those members of the tribes who had lost land and kinship, and who were settled on the chief's share of the tribe-land. In the tribal system they were supposed to form a portion of the *fine*, or family group, of the chief; but they appear, at an early period, to have formed artificial family-groups, based on the principle of reciprocal liability, and among them the custom of the hereditary transmission of property came to be established. They do not appear to have been originally regarded as kinsmen for the purpose of paying compensation for crimes; but, if there were five houses of *fuidir*-tenants, each householder having a stock of a hundred cattle, and all under one chief, they formed an association recognized as a part of a tribe. Each in that way shared in the common tribe-land (*díbad*), and paid compensation for the crimes of the other members of their separate organization. In their case, too, it was said that the father sold nothing to the prejudice of his sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, or great-great-grandsons.

4. Inheritance of an adopted child.—An adopted child (*mac foesma*) could not inherit without the consent of the family. If the *gelfine* or the *derbfine* had concurred in the verbal act from which the adoption resulted, and if the distant branches had not objected, the consent was presumed.

5. **Inheritance through the mother.**—Originally in Ireland a woman could receive only a dowry (*tinól*), but no inheritance. At the same time, a sister or a daughter of a member of the agnatic group who was married to a stranger with the consent of the tribe could obtain tribal rights for her son (see H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *La Famille celtique*, Paris, 1905, p. 72). Among the Pictish kings there appears to have been a tendency for the crown to be transmitted to a sister's son (W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts*, Edinburgh, 1867, p. 7), and in the Welsh Mabinogi stories of Branwen and Math ab Mathonwy there are apparently echoes of such a practice even in Wales. The evidence is not sufficient to warrant us in seeing in this custom the vestiges of a decayed matriarchal system. It is possible that the marriage of an acceptable stranger into the tribe was regarded as an accession of strength, and, accordingly, it would not be unnatural to see provision made for the incorporation of his sons in the tribe. The will was the instrument adopted in Ireland by fathers for enabling their daughters' sons to succeed them in the inheritance technically known as *orba cruib ocus sliasta*. The property, however, which a daughter owed to a father's will was not indefinitely transmissible by her to her heirs, and, in Irish law, there was a maxim that 'the property of a woman returns.' As a matter of fact, the daughter had to give a security in such cases that the property would in future be restored to her father's kinsmen on the male side, *i.e.* to her father's agnates. When property passed from a mother to her son, care was taken to see that there was a guarantee of concurrence in the payment of the composition for crimes, and also of the share in the private wars waged by the family.

II. *WALES*.—1. **General.**—The Welsh evolution of the tribe (*cenedl*) was essentially parallel to that found in Ireland, and, consequently, it is clear that a form of the family group has been developed which was practically identical with the *gelfine* of Ireland. This family group was known as a *gwely* (lit. 'bed'), and the land occupied by it was called *tir gwelyog*. The members of these family groups were called free tenants in contradistinction to the *taeogiaid*, or unfree tenants, of Wales.

On the death of their father the daughters took nothing, unless there was a failure of male heirs; the sons divided the land among them in the following manner:

> 'When brothers share the patrimony between them, the youngest is to have the principal homestead and all his father's buildings and eight acres of land, his boiler, his fuel hatchet, and his coulter; because a father cannot give these three to any one but to the youngest son; and though they should be pledged, they never become forfeited. Then let every brother take a homestead with eight acres of land; and the youngest son is to share, and they are to choose in succession from the eldest to the youngest' (Aneurin Owen, *Ancient Laws of Wales*, London, 1841, i. 548; Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law*, Oxford, 1909, p. 199).

When the inheritance had been thus divided among the first generation of descendants, it was again divided among the grandsons, and again among the great-grandsons, after which time there was no further apportionment. The re-sharing had to be so arranged that no one should remove from his homestead to another, because the homesteads were of such a number that no one was obliged to be a builder for another.

The right to inherit the share of any deceased relative was not held by any one as a collateral heir of the deceased, but as a direct descendant of the original ancestor. The inheritance, however, stopped short at the fourth generation of descendants. The descendant of the fifth degree had no hereditary claim derived from his ancestor to any portion of the lands of inheritance. Consequently, kinsmen more distantly related than third cousins could not be heirs to each other in the matter of shares in lands of inheritance. On the failure of relatives within this degree, the land escheated to the king. According to the *Venedotian* (or North-West Wales) *Code*, the division between cousins-german and their children took place only if they wished it.

It will be seen from the foregoing statement that the Welsh equivalent of the Irish *gelfine* did not take into account the great-great-grandson; otherwise the two groups are identical, and are a clear proof of the parallel development of the tribal institutions of the two countries. In Wales there were special provisions for inheritance beyond the sixth degree in the case of the descendants of an exile. The process was called *dadanhudd*.

2. **Succession through the female.**—In Wales, as in Ireland, the son of a woman who was married to a stranger that joined her tribe was allowed, under certain conditions, to become a member of his mother's father's tribe, and to inherit along with the tribesmen. In N. Wales, the brothers had a say in the case of a daughter's marriage to a stranger, while in S. Wales (according to the *Dimetian Code*, II. cxxiii. art. 7) a woman might inherit in the absence of a son. In a system of tribal law there was an obvious objection to female succession, in that it naturally tended to alienate the lands of the family, and, by marriage with strangers, to transfer them to members of foreign tribes. When the idea of female succession enters into a social system, it is usually a clear sign of the emergence of the principle of absolute ownership, in place of the older conception of collective agnatic tenure. In Welsh law, the woman's counterpart to succession was her dowry (*gwaddol*).

> 'As a brother is rightful heir to his patrimony, so is his sister rightful heir to her *gwaddol*, through which she may obtain a husband entitled to land: that is to say, from her father, or from her co-inheritors if she remain under the guidance of her parents and co-inheritors' (Aneurin Owen, *op. cit.* i. 545).

3. **Succession to a kingdom.**—The heir-apparent to a kingdom is called in the Welsh laws *edling*, a term borrowed from the English 'etheling.' He had to be either the king's son, his brother, or his nephew (brother's son).

LITERATURE.—See Literature under FAMILY (Celtic).

E. ANWYL.

INHERITANCE (Egyptian).—*Introductory.*—

The sources from which we gather our knowledge of this subject are of several kinds: (*a*) mural inscriptions (or isolated stelæ) from private tombs, hypogees of the feudal lords of the provinces, sepulchres of high Theban dignitaries, and funerary temples; (*b*) indirect information furnished by the official temple-inscriptions; (*c*) *graffiti*; and (*d*) papyri, referring more especially to the six last centuries of Egyptian history—a more abundant source than any of the other three. Generally speaking, the sources known to us cover a period extending from the end of the IIIrd dynasty (Amten inscription) to the Græco-Roman period (to which belong the Greek texts, which have enabled Revillout to find the exact equivalent for numerous Egyptian legal terms). As a matter of fact, however, we have no positive information on our subject till about the Saite period. Before that, except in the case of the XIIth dynasty, we have only conjecture and analogy to help us, rather than positive sources of information. Discoveries like the Kahun papyri and the more assured interpretation of Memphite inscriptions allow us to hope for better things in the future.

In spite of the inequality and the restricted number of our sources, and the many differences of opinion among authors on this difficult subject, we may give a certain number of sufficiently well-founded details concerning inheritance (1) in the succession of the nobility belonging to the provinces or 'nomes'; (2) in the priesthood; and (3) in private family law. As a preliminary, we might note that, as is the case with everything connected with Egyptian property, the question is dominated by a general principle: more or less fictitiously, yet theoretically, all land of the 'eminent' property belongs to the Pharaoh.[1] Even the cessions that he has made by special act from his nominal right of property may always be recalled. This is a principle which we find frequently in other Oriental civilizations, with the same consequences.

1. **Inheritance among the feudal nobility.**—The largest amount of information regarding the laws of feudal inheritance is gained from some inscriptions belonging to the Middle Empire, the theory of investigation being founded on the idea that the laws of the old nobility would preserve more clearly than the laws relating to ordinary private individuals visible traces of the rules of primitive society, and thus furnish a means of guessing what the Egyptian family was like in its origins.

Feudal inheritance must be divided into several different categories. The succession to the exercise of the law and to the position of head of the province, from an administrative point of view, is hereditary from father to son, but is subject to the royal investiture.[2] It bears with it also the inheritance of the priestly prerogatives or laws peculiar to the feudal province.[3] Such a succession is entirely distinct from the inheritance of goods or lands constituting the lordly domain. In this case, as is seen from the 'Contracts of Siut,' for example, Egyptian law distinguishes between two kinds of property for which the hereditary rights are different: (1) the private domain, and (2) the feudal fief.[4] In spite of the lack of agreement on this subject resulting from the obscurity or the small number of the sources at our disposal, it would appear that the feudal fief is regarded as forming part of the succession to the dignity of head of the province, and is, consequently, handed down to the one whose investiture is confirmed by the Pharaoh.[5] As for the private domain, the rule seems to have been equal shares for each of the children, carrying with them the same rights for sons and daughters, and again in turn for their sons and daughters.

It should be added that the patrimony of a daughter is never fused with that of the man she marries, but passes intact to her child at birth.[6] The child inherits separately from its father and from its mother—a characteristic which we find again in the laws relating to private inheritance (see below).[7] This peculiarity of Egyptian law clears up a great deal of the mystery surrounding the difficult feudal inscriptions of el-Bershēh and Beni-Hasan, which have sometimes been interpreted (not without hesitation, however)[8] as signifying that in ancient Egypt there were traces of an inheritance passing to the son of the eldest daughter. This, however, is a confusion arising from the fact that sisters have the same hereditary rights as their brothers, and can pass on these rights after their marriage to their own children.[9] It is a mistake, then, to suppose that there is, in this connexion at least, any text which would suggest the existence of a matriarchate in ancient Egypt. On the other hand, all the acts and other documents known to us establish the independence of the woman in the disposal of her hereditary share, her equality with man in all laws, and the high rank that she holds in the Egypt of history.[1] This generosity towards the woman, which is so apparent in feudal law, is found again in everything regarding succession in private family law.[2]

2. **Inheritance of priestly functions.**—These do not pass to the eldest son by law. As a matter of fact, no charge or function of a priestly character constitutes a property which an individual can dispose of in another's favour *de jure*.

A mistake has been made in taking as a legal assertion of the exercise of this right a series of formulæ like the following: 'I shall leave my son in my place after me.' This assertion is frequently made, but is merely an euonymous expression.[3] An even more definite case would seem to be the office left to a son 'between his hands, as an inheritance for ever,'[4] but it is simply another example of the preceding. This is seen more clearly if we consider the case of the dead, who in their formulæ of adjuration make exactly the same promise to those who are faithful to their memory or to their funerary cult. They promise them that 'you will transmit your offices to your children as an inheritance for ever'—a thing over which they have obviously no control whatsoever.[5]

Legally, the 'titularization' in a priestly charge belongs to the king, as it does in the case of public functions. What really takes place in practice, however, is that the priestly functions are transmitted *de facto* to the members of the same family, and generally from father to son. The Pharaoh considered that this transmission was desirable, and regarded it as the legitimate reward for services rendered by the father.[6] All the same, it remained a favour, even though the favour came to be the general rule. The formal proof of this lies in inscriptions like those of the priest Roy mentioning that Siphah is handing over his father's charge to him.[7]

It is of importance to distinguish carefully here between the priesthood properly so called and the 'perpetual revenues' instituted in connexion with some priestly group or body in return for a funerary cult or some other favour. In the case of these revenues, it may be stipulated in the contract that the benefice is to form part of the inheritance (always supposing, of course, that the priestly function is to remain in the family). In the same way, the benefits attaching to the possession of a priestly charge may be disposed of in an act of cession (*amitpi*), so that they pass to one of the children, to several of them, to a collateral relation, to a stranger,[8] in return for certain payments, or, again, to the eldest son on condition that he will provide a maintenance for his father[9] (literally: so that he may be his father's 'staff of old age'). This is, however, not a real hereditary transference. These priestly functions might be compared in a summary fashion with the modern professions of lawyer, summoner, recorder, or notary, the office and benefices of which may be sold or transferred to another, but never without the sanction of the head of the State.

3. **Inheritance in family law.**—The law relating to private individuals offers numerous difficulties, principally as a result of the scarcity of legal documents belonging to the ancient period of Egyptian history. The time of Amasis and the following periods, on the other hand, abound in testamentary acts or acts connected with inheritance, and the untiring work of Revillout on the demotic papyri has thrown a great deal of light on these times.[10] For the preceding centuries, no definite statements can be made without the greatest reserve. The discovery by Petrie, however, of the splendid Kahun documents (XIIth dynasty) enables us to give a far greater cohesion to the fragmentary indications furnished by certain stelæ and certain passages of the tomb inscriptions. The combina-

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[1] Maspero, *Histoire*, i. 296, 328; for further details see Revillout, in *REg* vii. [1893] 49.

[2] Cf. Maspero, *Bibl. égyptol.* viii. [1899] 161, 163.

[3] Maspero, *Histoire*, i. 297, 299.

[4] Revillout, *REg* i. [1880] 75.

[5] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 91 ff.

[6] Maspero, *Bibl. égyptol.* viii. 163, 166.

[7] Revillout, *REg* x. [1903] 55.

[8] Erman, p. 156 f.

[9] Maspero, *Grande inscription de Beni-Hassan* (= *Bibl. égyptol.* viii. [1900]) 163, 166.

[1] Maspero, in *Journal des Savants*, Feb.–March, 1897.

[2] Revillout, 'Condition de la femme,' in *JA* x. vi. [1905] 473, and vii. [1906] 57, 162, 345.

[3] Cf. *e.g.* Breasted, *Ancient Records*, ii. nos. 53, 766, 925.

[4] Cf. *ib.* iii. no. 622.

[5] Cf. *ib.* iii. no. 626.

[6] Cf. Erman, pp. 290, 292, 294.

[7] Cf. Breasted, iii. no. 647 f.

[8] *e.g.* Griffith, *Hier. Papyri from Kahun*, pl. xiii. lines 19–38.

[9] *Ib.* pl. xi. lines 10, 27.

[10] See, in addition to the literature quoted at the end of this art., Revillout, in *REg* i. 97 f., 'Les Régimes matrimoniaux,' and ii. 71 f., 'Notice sur les papyrus démotiques.'

tion of these, already connecting, to a certain extent, the laws of the XXVIth and following dynasties with those of the Theban and even the proto-Theban period, enables us to interpret the Memphite monuments far more clearly than formerly, at least in their essential points.

The initial principle that the 'eminent' property always belongs (at least theoretically) to the sovereign (or to the lord of the province, or to the provincial god of the temple) lies at the foundation of every interpretation of the laws regulating inheritance. It explains the registering of testamentary or similar acts in the presence of representatives of the sovereign,[1] the forms of publicity, the ratifications given by officers of the crown,[2] and also the mutation taxes collected by them. Revillout has proved at great length the ancient and permanent character of these taxes.[3] As constant characteristics of these laws, we have: (1) the absolute equality of the rights of men and women to will and to inherit, (2) the equal rights of inheritance of all children, whether male or female, (3) the preference given to the eldest, but *only as administrator of the real estate*, (4) the *hæres sui* character of each of the children, and (5) their right of intervention, even in the lifetime of the *paterfamilias*, in the acts disposing of real estate, either gratuitously or under burden of certain conditions.

The act disposing of an inheritance is known by the general name of *amitpi* (lit. 'what belongs to a *domus*,' taking the Latin word to mean what constitutes 'the family estate'—buildings, gardens, lands, etc.). The exclusive meaning of 'will,' suggested by Chabas, and accepted by Griffith, Maspero, and Revillout, was afterwards extended by the three last-mentioned to include various acts of donation, cession, constitution of usufruct, etc. The antiquity of the terminology of the *amitpi* itself and the legal expressions referring to it have been established by tracing it back from the Saite period to the XIIth dynasty, and even up to a certain point of the Memphite period.

The formality of registering the *amitpi* attested by the demotic contracts is proved to have existed as early as the Theban period by a passage of the great Rekhmara inscription. It is called *hobsu*. An examination of the Kahun documents shows that it was in existence even in the XIIth dynasty. This registration of wills is often accompanied by an attestation to ensure the carrying out of the will and to prevent future lawsuits. It consists in a copy or an extract from a copy being placed in the funerary temple of the king or prince to whom the testator is bound, on the one hand, by some function which he performs for him or by a royal pension, or, on the other hand, by a religious endowment (analogous to the Arab. *waqf*). A good example of this is found in the Sonames stela, placed in the funerary chapel of Uadzmāsu.[4] The copy may also be placed in the testator's own tomb.

The act regulating inheritance ought to be completed, if it is to have its full value, by the production of family registers (*uaprotu*), which are necessary to put the heir in legal possession of the property. These registers give an account of relationships, the origin of the property, and the legatee's right to inherit. They are submitted to legalization by competent magistrates, and at the same time the Exchequer is enabled to levy the mutation taxes. The Ptolemaic custom of (1) proving one's right to inherit by authentic documents, (2) paying the ἀπαρχή, and (3) registering the transaction, on public tablets, on pain of a fine of 10,000 drachms, is a prescription from the time of the Pharaohs, going back at least as far as the XIIth dynasty, which is as far as our present research can follow it.[1]

The pre-eminence of the eldest son, which has been definitely proved for the whole of the last period of history, from Amasis onwards, is supposed, and not without reason, to have existed from the earliest times,[2] or at least from the time of the Kahun papyri.[3] Revillout and Maspero have shown that this peculiarity of Egyptian law persisted in modern Egypt, especially in Coptic families, until the introduction of the civil law emanating from Europe.[4] Later, in the time of Nepherites, we find that the shares to be inherited are regulated by the father, who deals exclusively with his eldest son. He, in his turn, has to settle the claims of his younger brothers and sisters. It is he that administers the hereditary domain for the common good.[5] He is responsible for the dividing of the revenue, as his father's will has decreed, into the shares due to his brothers and sisters and the usufruct instituted for his mother's benefit,[6] whether by will, marriage contract, or act registered during wedlock, before or after the birth of the children.[7] The eldest, as representing his mother, brothers, and sisters, is legally bound to defend their inheritance against strangers. He acts as *nib*, or 'master.' Revillout's opinion is that he had even the right to prevent the family property from being disposed of by his father in any way contrary to family law.[8] This last point, however, has not been definitely proved. Generally speaking, the eldest seems to have taken the place of *paterfamilias* at the death of his father, administered the estate, pleaded in the law courts, and been generally responsible for the family estate to each of his brothers and sisters and other members of the family, including his mother, his aunts, and any children who were still minors. At his death the inheritance passed to the second oldest son,[9] who must observe the clauses regarding usufruct for the benefit of the testator's wife, which he accepted as binding by registered act. The share to which the eldest was entitled does not seem to have been in any way larger than that given to the rest, and the principle of equal shares seems to have been the rule down to the Ptolemaic period, when a law was made entitling the eldest to a larger share than his co-heirs.[10]

In these rules regarding inheritance, we find the same Egyptian characteristic as in everything relating to property in general—the permanence and fixity of the domain (*nuit*) is set above the claims of individuals. The estate, as we find from the stelæ, is often preserved intact with the same name, personality, and boundaries for several centuries.[11]

Two examples of wills belonging to the XIIth dynasty will give us a good idea of the general scheme:

> 'The last will and testament of . . . surnamed Ankhranu. All my goods, in the gardens or in the town, are for my brother the priest . . . Uahu. Everything connected with them belongs

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[1] *e.g.*, *Kahun papyri* (XIIth dyn.).

[2] Cf. *ib.* and *Rekhmara inscription* (XVIIIth dyn.).

[3] Revillout, *REg* viii. 147 ff., vii. 59, 64.

[4] Cf. Daressy, 'La Chapelle d'Ouadzmès,' in *Ann. Serv. Antiq.* iii. [1903] 155.

[1] Cf. Revillout, *Transmissions héréditaires* (=*REg* x. [1903]), p. 172, doc. 82, 88, 90, 92–97.

[2] *e.g.*, the Amten inscription and the information about it given by Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, ii. 238.

[3] Maspero, *Journal des Savants*, Feb.–March, 1898.

[4] Revillout, *Origines égyptiennes du droit civil romain*, p. 87. Maspero (*RC*, Nov. 1905, p. 343) thinks that 'indivision' was not obligatory.

[5] Revillout, p. 89.

[6] *REg* i. [1880] 91, 97 (=Pap. Leyden, 379).

[7] *Ib.* vii. [1893] 49.

[8] Revillout, *op. cit.* At any rate it is certain that the father could not by *post mortem* disposal of property infringe the rules relating to inheritance.

[9] Maspero, 'Petrie Papyri,' *Journ. des Savants*, March, 1898. p. 137.

[10] Revillout, p. 87.

[11] Cf. *REg* vii. [1893] 58.

to this same brother. This was registered at the office of the second conservator of Acts for the South canton, in the year 44, in the 2nd month of Shomu, on the 13th day.'

The above is an example of an elder brother's will, giving his younger brother full possession *post mortem* of all that he had as administrator of the common estate. The following is the will of Uahu himself:

'The last will and testament of the priest . . . Uahu. To my wife . . . surnamed Teti, I bequeath all that was left to me by Ankhranu, all moveable estate which I inherited from him, so that she may give it to any one she likes of the children she has borne me. I leave her also the four slaves bequeathed to me by my brother, so that she may give them to any of the children she likes. With regard to the sepulchre where I shall be laid with my wife, let no one, whosoever he may be, take away any part of it. Touching the buildings which my brother constructed for me and where my wife resides, let no one dare to evict her from there. The *Wakīl* Sibu will be my son's guardian.' (Then follows a list of witnesses.)[1]

Hereditary patrimonies always seem to have been kept quite separate. The daughter has the same rights as her brothers. At her marriage, her share remains distinct, as far as we can gather from the contracts known to us. She still has the administration of it and bequeaths it, separately and with entire independence, to her children. The husband may pass part of his property over to his wife, but only in the name of the children born or to be born of the marriage[2] (see MARRIAGE [Egyptian]). The children then have two distinct inheritances, one from the *paterfamilias* and one from the *materfamilias* (Egyp. *nibitpi*). The woman's right to will away her own personal estate has been attested by many different texts. The marriage contracts published up to date lead us to suppose that the widow might receive a usufruct decided by marriage contract or after marriage (by will, etc.). The acquisitions to the joint property during marriage were not subject to the rigorous rules affecting the family estate. In this case (as we find, *e.g.*, in contracts of the time of Psammetichus) these acquisitions are registered in the name of the children that the husband will have or has had by his wife.[3]

All that has been said so far concerns the inheritance of family estate exclusively, and has nothing to do with the transference of an income from any employment or office. This is regulated by a far more complicated law, of which we get some idea from inscriptions of the Memphite period, like the *mastabas* of Nikônkhu[4] and Sanuônkhu.[5] Generally speaking, the divisible revenue from the fixed or casual income coming from the employment is equally divided, wherever possible, among all the children; if not, the benefice goes to the eldest son to divide among his younger brothers and sisters. The remarks concerning the priesthood (see above) apply to the inheritance of the dignity or functions of office properly speaking (distinct from its material advantages).

The double formality requiring (1) a warrant from the central power (the king, the feudal lord, or the temple administrations), and (2) the presence of the children interested at the signing of the act of partage, has given rise (as, *e.g.*, in the case of testamentary acts or *ante mortem* acts of cession in connexion with the family estate) to *abrégés* which describe the event, in a conventional way, in the form of frescoes or bas-reliefs, and may serve, in case of future dispute, to bear witness to what really took place. The conferring of an emblem or insignia by the *paterfamilias*, or the holding of a baton, a *sistrum*, a sceptre (*hikū*), etc., or the wearing of some special article of dress by the inheriting son or daughter, serves in these cases as a sort of résumé of the solemn ceremony gone through in the past. There is still a great deal of work to be done in the way of interpreting a number of Memphite and Theban stelæ and frescoes of this kind.

Of lawsuits or disputes concerning inheritance, the best example is found in the long inscription discovered by Loret, in 1898, in the tomb of Mes, a scribe in the treasury of Memphis under Ramses II. This functionary claims and finally obtains a piece of land, his right to which was disputed by relatives. It had been given to one of his ancestors more than a century before by the Pharaoh, who stipulated that it should be the common property of the whole family. The series of lawsuits over this lasted several generations, and exhausted every kind of trial and all the different methods of jurisdiction. An epitome will be found in Maspero, *RC* (Nov. 1905, p. 342), of the masterly publication of these texts by Alan H. Gardiner (see Literature).

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GEORGE FOUCART.

INHERITANCE (Greek).—The general unity of Greek law is seen in the rules governing inheritance, adoption, and participation in the blood-feud.[1] Rights of property and succession were universally based upon the principles regulating the life of the family, in its extended form as *γένος* (*gens*, clan); they were the outcome neither of caprice nor of policy directed by a legislator or Assembly, being, in fact, prior to the State, and religious in origin. These primitive ideas, and the rules to which they gave birth, were only slowly subjected to reconstruction as society developed. The general course of this evolution consisted in the discovery or creation of the individual as the unit with which the State had properly to deal. In some departments the substitution of the individual for the group was carried out with logical completeness, but in others the older ideas were very tenacious of life and led to strange results. Naturally, our knowledge is chiefly confined to the details of Attic family law, but the Athenian rules were not necessarily in all respects the most admirable and enlightened.

I. The family property and family cult were conceived as forming a whole, which, as far as possible, remained stable in the hands of successive generations of male representatives. Under such a conception intestate succession within the family (*οἶκος*) was necessarily the rule, for there was no place for a personal expression of will to direct the devolution of a body of rights and duties which could proceed only along lines sanctioned by immemorial, and therefore sacred, usage. Even when testation became possible, the will was for long but a precarious means of regulating succession, because generally in conflict with the cupidity of relatives who could always fall back upon the traditions of intestate succession. 'At Athens a will was thought fair game' (Wyse, *The Speeches of Isæus*, p. 650).

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[1] Maspero, *Journal des Savants*, Feb.–March, 1898.

[2] This was separate from the indemnity, consisting of moveable estate (*hannu*), money, or income, decided upon in the marriage contract, to be paid in the case of desertion or divorce. There was also a resolutory clause for the case of adultery on the part of the woman (see MARRIAGE [Egyptian]).

[3] Cf. Griffith, *PSBA* xxxi. 212; Revillout, *Précis du droit égyptien* (=*REg* i. [1880]), pp. 91–100.

[4] Cf. G. Fraser, *Ann. Serv. Antiq.* iii. 122–130; Maspero, *ib.* 131–138.

[5] A. Mariette, *Les Mastaba de l'ancien empire*, Paris, 1882–89, p. 318.

[1] See Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, p. 72: 'es ist nicht eine Summe einzelner Stadtrechte, sondern das Recht einer grossen, weltbeherrschenden Nation.'

According to the letter of the Solonian law, a man with a legitimate son of full age could not make a will at all, the devolution of his estate being entirely beyond his control (Is. vi. 28). Whether he could by any legal means disinherit his son is at best uncertain—at any rate not by will.[1] Nor could he disregard his daughter's rights (Is. iii. 42: *οὔτε γὰρ διαθέσθαι οὔτε δοῦναι οὐδενὶ οὐδὲν ἔξεστι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἄνευ τῶν θυγατέρων, ἐάν τις καταλιπὼν γνησίας τελευτᾷ*). Isæus certainly speaks too strongly, as he practically asserts that the testamentary power permitted to a man whose only legitimate descendants were girls, still unmarried, meant simply the appointment of their husbands, and did not include the right to bestow legacies outside his family. Usually, if a man wished to divert his estate from his next-of-kin, he would adopt the legatee in his will, with the essential proviso that he must marry the daughter; but it seems clear that he might, if he wished, bequeath her and the estate together, without adopting.[2] The original significance of a will being to enable a man without a son to adopt one, thus in effect also enabling him to defeat the anticipations of the next-of-kin, a will which adopted any other than the next-of-kin himself, and *a fortiori* one bequeathing both daughter and estate without at the same time adopting the devisee, challenged assault; and a perfectly legal will was always liable to be annulled by the omnipotent jury on grounds of equity.[3] If the estate was worth powder and shot, the girl would inevitably become *ἐπίδικος*, claimed at law as 'heiress' (*ἐπίκληρος*) by the next-of-kin. Anyhow, the law was explicit that the estate could not be willed away from daughters, but must go 'with them' (Is. iii. 68). It was generally futile for a man to try to divert his estate from his legitimate offspring on the one hand, or from his next-of-kin on the other. But custom, if not law, allowed him to give by will a special legacy to a son, even an illegitimate son, or to non-relatives or religious bodies, such bequests often being of considerable magnitude. Only the childless man of full age and in full possession of his faculties was at liberty to choose his own heir; and even he was powerless to thwart the application of the traditional rules of inheritance *ab intestato* if the cupidity of the next-of-kin tempted him to try his luck against the will.[4]

The right of inheritance of legitimate male descendants, including the son adopted *inter vivos* (see ADOPTION [Greek]), was indefeasible, and was placed on a different footing from all other claims; for collaterals and testamentary heirs must claim before the Archon (*ἐπιδικάζεσθαι*), and get an order of him, or ultimately of a *δικαστήριον*, before taking possession of the estate; *i.e.*, they must submit their claim to public challenge (Is. iii. 59). Sons of the body, or one adopted *inter vivos*, entered on possession at once without this process, and had as against a third party in actual possession an 'action of ejectment' (*ἐξούλης δίκη*). On the other hand, lineal heirs could not escape the inheritance with all its encumbrances, whereas for all other heirs declinature was possible.[5] Rights of primogeniture were unknown in Greece, although an eldest son had by courtesy, as *primus inter pares*, a privilege of choice (*πρεσβεία*). The law asserted the principle of equal division (Is. vi. 25: *τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἅπαντας τοὺς γνησίους ἰσομοίρους εἶναι τῶν πατρῴων* [whether the sons were by the same mother or not was immaterial]). If a married son predeceased his father, his sons were entitled to his share in equal parts; *i.e.*, distribution was *per stirpes*.[6]

At Athens daughters had absolutely no rights of inheritance by the side of their father's sons; but their brothers were under obligation to provide them with a suitable dowry and to give them in marriage (Dem. xlv. 74).[1]

Failing lineal heirs, or a valid and undisputed adoption by will, it was necessary to fall back upon the rules of intestate succession.

The law, obscure already in the 4th cent. B.C.,[2] ran as follows: 'Whosoever dies without a will, if he leave behind him daughters, [the next-of-kin] with their hand [shall inherit]. If he do not [leave daughters], the following shall be masters of his estate. If there be brothers of the same father [as the deceased, they shall inherit]; and if there be legitimate children of brothers, they shall take their father's share. If there be no brothers or brothers' children, [sisters, of the same father as the deceased, and children][3] of them, shall inherit, in the same way. But males and the issue of males shall have precedence [over females and the issue of females], if they have the same origin [as the said females], even if [such males] be in degree more distant. If there be none on the father's side as far as children of first cousins, the collaterals on the deceased's mother's side shall in like manner inherit. But if there be no descendants on either his father's side or his mother's side, within the prescribed limits, the nearest in descent on his father's side shall inherit. But an illegitimate son or illegitimate daughter cannot claim as next-of-kin either family cult or family estate, if born after the Archonship of Eukleides.'[4]

Succession at Athens, therefore, was arranged according to a series of stocks: (*a*) lineal descendants of the deceased; failing these, an heir must be sought in (*b*) that inner circle of relatives constituting the deceased's *ἀγχιστεία*: (1) descendants of his father; (2) descendants of his paternal grandfather; (3) descendants and collaterals of his mother; (4) failing all these, the nearest kinsman of any degree discoverable on the father's side.[5] The downwards and outwards limit, which was also the limit of the *ἀγχιστεῖς*, was given by the deceased's first cousins once removed, *i.e.* children of his first cousins (cousins-german). That is to say, ultimately any great-grandson could claim as heir-at-law to succeed any grandson of a common ancestor; with respect to that inheritance a new succession began at this point, so that second cousins, as such, had no claim upon one another's estate, but each found his heir, failing a son, in the circle of his own *ἀγχιστεῖς* as aforesaid.[6] The *οἶκος* included four generations, down to great-grandsons (second cousins to one another).[7] Such an one could not inherit from any below the third generation, being himself, as heir (=son), the fourth. That is to say, the third generation could call upon the fourth to undertake the duties of sonship—in primitive times doubtless without escape.

'Whether we look at the rights of succession, or at the duties of the blood-feud, or at the honours owed to the dead, we discover on all sides signs that the *ἀγχιστεία* was not a conception that could be extended indefinitely' (Wyse, p. 566). It is an archaic classification, one of the oldest facts of Greek social organization, perhaps designed to apply not originally to the transmission of property, but to distinctions of religious obligation towards the dead, and community in blood vengeance.

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[1] At Sparta in the 4th cent. B.C., if the story of the law passed by the Ephor Epitadeus is true (Plut. *Agis*, 5), this was possible.

[2] Cf. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 583.

[3] Cf. Is. i. 41: *χρὴ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες . . . ὅπερ ποιεῖτε, τοῖς κατὰ γένος ψηφίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς κατὰ διαθήκην ἀμφισβητοῦσιν.* It was a symptom of the moral collapse of Bœotia in the 3rd cent. B.C. that childless men left their property by will away from collaterals, while many who had children left the bulk to their clubs (Polyb. xx. 6).

[4] Hence the Speeches of Isæus, being all about claims to property, turn not upon evidence of its legal transfer, and the like, but upon proofs of kinship. For the statute of limitations, which only partially protected the will, see Is. iii. 58.

[5] Cf. Dem. xxii. 34: *κληρονόμον καθίστησιν ὁ νόμος τῆς ἀτιμίας τῆς τοῦ πατρός.* In the Gortynian Code the son is not *heres necessarius*, as at Athens.

[6] The principles of equal shares to all of the same degree, and of representation and distribution *per stirpes*, seem to have been applied also to collaterals and when the estate passed through daughters

[1] There was no legal definition of a suitable dowry. A father in Lys. xxxii. 6 stipulates in his will the amount to be given; but this probably could not bind his heirs as a matter of law. Inscriptions seem to prove that at Mykonos (*BCH* vi. [1882] 590), and at Ephesos (Dittenberger, *Syll.*2, Leipzig, 1898–1901, no. 510, l. 55), the law was the same as at Athens.

[2] Cf. Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 9: *διὰ τὸ μὴ γεγράφθαι τοὺς νόμους ἁπλῶς, μηδὲ σαφῶς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ περὶ τῶν κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων, ἀνάγκη πολλὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις γίγνεσθαι.* Solon, who perhaps really was the first to redact these laws, was, of course, simply formulating the practice of immemorial antiquity. The law is paraphrased by Isæus (xi. 1).

[3] But the gap here may be much larger (see J. H. Lipsius, *Att. Proc.*2, Berlin, 1887, p. 584).

[4] The text of the law, clearly not complete, is quoted in [Dem.] xliii. 51.

[5] Nothing is known about the disposal of *bona vacantia* at Athens. Perhaps the case never arose; at any rate there is nothing like the Roman *usucaptio pro herede*.

[6] Strictly, the term *ἀγχιστεία* did not embrace sons or grandsons, but meant those who succeed on failure of lineal heirs, and must, therefore, prove their title (Is. iii. 59).

[7] Cf. Cic. *de Off.* i. 17: 'Prima societas in ipso coniugio est; proxima in liberis; deinde una domus, communia omnia . . . sequuntur fratrum coniunctiones, post consobrinorum sobrinorumque, qui cum una domo iam capi non possint, in alias domos tanquam in colonias exeunt.'

The effect of the maxim *κρατεῖν τοὺς ἄρρενας* was to split each stock into two sections, the male excluding the female. Sons and sons' sons inherited before daughters and daughters' issue. Similarly, a brother's son, though a step further from the common ancestor (the deceased's father in this case), excluded his own aunt, the deceased's sister. This principle governed all successions, whether in the direct line or as between collaterals. But it held only within each in turn of the orders or stocks of succession, so that a female in stock (1) excluded a male of stock (2). Thus, a sister of the deceased by the same father (*ἀδελφὴ ὁμοπατρία*) ranked before his male cousin on the father's side (*ἀνεψιὸς πρὸς πατρός*), because, the condition *ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν*, or issue from the same point on the stem, not being realized, male preference did not here operate; a female cousin on the father's side (*ἀνεψιὰ πρὸς πατρός*) would, on the same principle, exclude the uterine brother (*ἀδελφὸς ὁμομήτριος*). The law called to succession the paternal kindred down to and including first cousins once removed before admitting the relatives on the mother's side. And these in their turn ranked as follows: (1) uterine brothers, and issue; (2) uterine sisters, and issue; (3) maternal uncles of the deceased, and issue; (4) maternal aunts, and issue. The limit here also was first cousins' children. The symmetry of the table of orders of succession is intelligible; the real difficulty is to understand how precedence of males was combined with the principle of representation.[1]

Greek family law does not exemplify the *levirate*, or marriage of the widow by the deceased's brother for the purpose of perpetuating the line. The wife, as such,[2] could not inherit from her husband, whose estate, failing lineal heirs, must pass to his father's or mother's relatives. An analogy to the levirate is perhaps to be found in Sparta, where a wife might be commissioned by her husband to bear children to another (Xen. *Resp. Lac.* i. 7; see M. P. Nilsson, 'Die Grundlagen des spartanischen Lebens,' in *Klio*, xii. [Leipzig, 1912] 325 ff.).

Did Attic law recognize the 'melancholy succession' of parents to the estate of deceased children? A passage in Isæus (xi. 30) seems to assert that under certain conditions a mother might succeed her son, and perhaps in his time the law was interpreted as containing an implicit recognition of her right; but this contradicts another passage in the same speech (xi. 17). That a father ranked before all collaterals has been deduced from the obligation of sons to maintain parents and grandparents (Is. viii. 32); but this would prove too much, if it will bear any inference at all (cf. J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht und Rechtsverfahren*, ii. 550).

If a man, having no son of his body, died without adopting an heir, leaving only a daughter (or daughters), she was in a peculiar position, in that she could not claim her father's estate, but was herself liable to be claimed at law (*ἐπίδικος*) by collaterals as an appendage thereto (Is. x. 5). She was an *ἐπίκληρος* 'on the estate,' and became the object of a claim at law (*ἐπιδικασία*), in which a court[3] decided who was next-of-kin and entitled to take her to wife (*συνοικῆσαι τῇ γυναικὶ κύριος*, Is. viii. 31) with the estate.[4]

The rules of succession to an *ἐπίκληρος* followed those of intestate succession to the estate (*κλῆρος*) itself, with the obvious modifications, the general principle being that she was the prize of that male relative (*ἀγχιστεύς*) who would have inherited the estate *ab intestato* had she not existed. Claimants fell into stocks as before. Within each stock the rule of *seniores priores* may have been followed. As the primitive aim had been to continue the male line, descendants and collaterals of the deceased's mother were perhaps not originally admissible; the tendency would be to enlarge the list of claimants when property was at stake, and in the 4th cent. B.C. the mother's relatives had a legal claim to the *ἐπίκληρος* just as they had to the *κλῆρος*.

The next-of-kin could not be compelled to marry the girl if she was poor; he had the choice of bestowing her in marriage with a portion on a scale fixed by law according to his own property-classification, and it was the Archon's duty (on which see Is. vii. 30) to see that he adopted one or other course (law in [Dem.] xliii. 54: *τῶν ἐπικλήρων ὅσαι θητικὸν τελοῦσιν, κτλ.*). The decision of the next-of-kin would generally turn upon the size of the estate, and a rich 'heiress' was naturally a coveted prize. If he was himself below the third property-class, he was apparently free of obligation to dower. Contumacy was probably construed as *κάκωσις ἐπικλήρου*,[1] the penalty for which was serious. Her enforced dowry would probably make it worth the while of a more distant kinsman to take the girl. In the case of a rich *ἐπίκληρος*, waiver by the first kinsman entitled to her opened the door to the next in succession. In Sparta apparently the next-of-kin gained the right to bestow in marriage an *ἐπίκληρος* upon whom he pleased, and this was one cause of the gradual concentration of wealth (Aristotle, *Pol.* ii. 9. 1270*a*; see W. L. Newman, *Pol. of Ar.*, Oxford, 1887, ii. 327).

The estate to which an *ἐπίκληρος* was appended did not pass to the next-of-kin who married her, but to the son (*θυγατριδοῦς*) or sons on attaining majority—their father in the meantime being controller (*κύριος*) of the estate, and enjoying the usufruct (Is. iii. 50). The *ἐπίκληρος* was thus not strictly an 'heiress,' but an intermediary through whom the estate passed to her father's heir (Is. viii. 31).[2] Whether her first son had an exclusive right to his grandfather's estate is not clear ([Dem.] xlvi. 20: *καὶ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐπικλήρου τις γένηται, καὶ ἅμα ἡβήσῃ ἐπὶ διετές, κρατεῖν τῶν χρημάτων, τὸν δὲ σῖτον μετρεῖν τῇ μητρί*—not in accord with Is. viii. 31: *οἱ γενόμενοι παῖδες, κτλ.*; see Wyse, p. 361). It is obvious that it might indeed be little to the advantage of the boy to pass out of his father's *οἶκος* into that of his maternal grandfather by posthumous adoption, leaving his brothers to inherit the paternal estate. One thing, however, is certain—that primitive family law or custom took no account whatever of personal likes or dislikes; it was left to *esprits forts* and the lawyers of a later age to defy or evade its rules, pending their abrogation by the emancipated community.

Interest in the *ἐπίκληρος* culminates when the complications of previous marriage are considered. What happened if she had been given in marriage by her father to one[3] who was not also next-of-kin? Isæus is explicit that the next-of-kin had an absolute right to compel her to abandon her husband and to marry her himself (Is. iii. 64: *πολλοὶ συνοικοῦντες ἤδη ἀφῄρηνται τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας*). In practice, doubtless, she might escape by sacrificing the estate, if the next-of-kin would be satisfied with that; but such bargains can hardly have been legalized, and what fiction was in use to prevent the next in succession from asserting his claim upon waiver by the first is not known (cf. Is. iii. 74; And. i. 121: *Καλλίας λαγχάνει τῷ υἱεῖ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ τῆς ἐπικλήρου, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιδικάσωμαι ἐγώ*). Perhaps the existence of male issue of the marriage may have extinguished the claims of the next-of-kin, as at Gortyn. General considerations of equity are quite inapplicable to the problem. 'All the rules concerning the ἐπίκληρος are a violation of equity' (Wyse, p. 609).

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[1] Would representation be possible when the division was amongst cousins' children, and so bring in the fifth generation, which fell outside the *ἀγχιστεία*? When Isæus (vii. 18 f.) says that male preference really began only with first cousins, he is simply dishonest (see Wyse, p. 560).

[2] She might be, and in fact perhaps generally was, related to him by blood.

[3] At Sparta it was the duty of the kings *δικάζειν πατρούχου παρθένου πέρι, ἐς τὸν ἱκνέεται ἔχειν, ἢν μή περ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὴν ἐγγυήσῃ* (Herod. vi. 57). This power of decision was important, and sometimes entailed serious consequences for the body politic (cf. Aristotle, *Pol.* 1304*a*: *καὶ περὶ Μυτιλήνην ἐξ ἐπικλήρων στάσεως γενομένης, κτλ.*; and so in Phokis, *ib.*). At Sparta, king Kleomenes having died *ἄπαιδος ἔρσενος γόνου*, his daughter Gorgo was married by her uncle Leonidas (Herod. vii. 205).

[4] The law in respect of girls not yet marriageable is not known. The Gortynian Code permits the 'heiress' (*πατρωῷκος*) to be married when she is twelve. If Blass has rightly restored Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 56. 7, fourteen was the lower limit at Athens.

[1] It must be borne in mind that a female, married or unmarried, without brothers or grandfather became *ἐπίκληρος* on her father's death, though she had not a penny in the world (and whatever her age), and had a claim as such upon the next-of-kin. The intention of the institution was not to discover who should receive a windfall, but upon whom lay the sacred duty of perpetuating the dead man's line. Naturally, as the older religious ideas at the basis of the family decayed, the purely financial aspect of the situation tended to become paramount.

[2] Hence she is never called *κληρονόμος* (cf. Dem. lvii. 41: *ἐπικλήρου κληρονομήσας*).

[3] If he had been adopted, in lifetime or by will, he was, of course, 'son,' and his wife did not become *ἐπίκληρος* on her father's death. If the will or the act of adoption were contested and declared invalid, she would at once become *ἐπίκληρος* and be subject to claim.

It seems that a man, on becoming entitled to an ἐπίκληρος, could put away his wife, or at least bestow her on another, in order to take advantage of his good fortune (cf. Dem. lvii. 41: ἐπικλήρου κληρονομήσας εὐπόρου).

II. The interest of the Attic law of inheritance lies largely in its application of the rules governing primitive society to a democratic organization steadily drifting away from the old point of view. The Gortynian Code[1] exhibits these principles as modified in a Dorian oligarchical society.

At Gortyn intestate succession is the rule, for testamentary power is unknown, so that the Code in this respect is more archaic than Solon's laws. Male precedence is in force, as at Athens. The estate passes to the following series of heirs: (1) the deceased's children, grandchildren, or great-grandchildren; (2) his brothers, their children, or grandchildren; (3) his sisters, their children, or grandchildren; (4) failing these, it goes to 'those entitled' (οἷς κ' ἐπιβάλλῃ ὀπῶ κ' ᾖ, *i.e.* the next-of-kin); (5) failing a kinsman, to 'those constituting the family lot' (τᾶς Fοικίας οἵτινές κ' ἴωντι ὁ κλᾶρος, *i.e.* the serfs on the estate, who are thus a man's heirs in the last resort).[2]

The Code is in advance of the Athenian law in its treatment of women, for (1) although sons have sole right to the town-house and its furniture, and the cattle, daughters share in the rest of the patrimony, a daughter's share being fixed at half that of a son;[3] (2) a woman has rights of several property absolute during her lifetime against both husband and children; (3) her property is transmitted in the same way as a man's estate.

The Code contains elaborate rules about the πατρῳῶκος (=ἐπίκληρος). Clearly the original idea of providing male succession to the deceased has come to be felt less strongly than at Athens, and the pecuniary interests of the relatives override the conception of duty to the dead; in especial, the institution conflicts with the right of inheritance given to women by the Code. The Gortynian πατρῳῶκος is, in fact, a true 'heiress,' retaining her inheritance in severalty for life, and is not, as at Athens, a mere vehicle of the estate to her son.[4] The right to marry the heiress belongs to (1) her father's brothers according to seniority—if there are several πατρῳῶκοι, the second brother is entitled to the second sister, and so on; (2) if there are no living brothers of the dead man, the sons of the senior uncle claim their cousins in order of seniority; but any living uncle excludes his nephews, sons of a predeceased elder brother. There is nothing to show that the right to marry the 'heiress' passes beyond these to the other collaterals; *i.e.*, the conception of the ἀγχιστεία is looser than at Athens. The rule is that each claimant lays his account with one πατρῳῶκος only (v. 27: μίαν δ' ἔκεν πατρωιῶκον τὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα, πλίαδ δὲ μή); *i.e.*, if a compromise is accepted by him, he cannot go on to assert a claim to the next sister; and, conversely, compromise with the senior claimant frees the πατρῳῶκος from all. But, if there are no next-of-kin, she is required to find her husband among her tribesmen, if possible—giving them the chance by public advertisement.

The Code deals with the situations arising when one or other of the parties is too young to marry, or is unwilling to do so Neither is, in fact, compelled to marry the other; the next-of-kin may simply waive his claim, in which case it is open for the next in succession to claim, or he may accept the legal indemnity of half the estate (which frees the πατρῳῶκος from further claims of next-of-kin). It rests solely with the πατρῳῶκος to decide whether she will marry or indemnify the claimant.

The Code lays down definite rules for the following interesting cases: (*a*) when a woman who is already married becomes πατρῳῶκος by the death of her father and (or) her brother, and (*b*) when a πατρῳῶκος becomes a widow. In each case the liabilities turn upon the presence or absence of children. (*a*) The married πατρῳῶκος is not compelled, but is at liberty, to separate from her husband: (1) if there are children (τέκνα), the rights of all claimants are extinguished, and she may remain *in statu quo*, or, by surrendering one-half of the estate to her husband,[1] regain her freedom to re-marry within her tribe; (2) if there are no children, the rights of the next-of-kin operate, but, at the price of half of the estate paid to him who has first claim, she can either remain *in statu quo* or separate from her husband and re-marry within her tribe. (*b*) In the case of a πατρῳῶκος who becomes a widow: (1) if there are children, rights of relatives lapse, and she may re-marry, if she pleases, within her tribe, without penalty; (2) if there are no children, the first marriage is of non-effect, the rights of relatives revive, and she must either marry the next-of-kin or indemnify him, as before. The 'heiress' must, therefore, marry under any circumstances; she is not free from that obligation either through failure of next-of-kin or by indemnifying. Again, it is not until she has borne a child that she has fulfilled her duty wholly, and is thenceforth free. On the other hand, she cannot, as at Athens be forced into a distasteful union.

III. An interesting inquiry is as to what happened when this body of Hellenic legal principles came into contact with other systems—those of the East and Egypt, and finally with that of Rome. Especially interesting must have been the relations established in the great Hellenistic foundations of the Seleucids. As regards Ptolemaic Egypt, the answer is being given by the Papyri (cf. Mitteis, p. 46 ff.). In the East the Syrian Code shows how the social structure was modified by the combined working of Hellenic tradition and Roman legal ideas in the early centuries of the Empire.

The Syrian Code, in its rules of intestate succession, exhibits the following chief analogies with Hellenic law: (1) natural right of legitimate children to inherit the patrimony;[2] (2) a succession of stocks; (3) male precedence;[3] (4) equal distribution within the stocks; (5) rights of inheritance given to relatives of the deceased's mother on failure of the paternal side.

On the other hand, the Code exhibits the following departures from the Athenian rule: (1) daughters rank with sons, and sisters rank with brothers of the deceased, for equal share; (2) his mother ranks with his brothers and sisters for an equal share with them; (3) yet issue of daughters and sisters inherit *after* the agnates,[4] *i.e.* after his uncles and their sons, but before his aunts and their issue. A fourth divergence would lie in the fact that, by the Syrian rule, the father inherits before brothers and sisters of the deceased—if it were proved that at Athens he could not inherit from a son.

The right of daughters to some share in the patrimony was already recognized in the Gortynian Code; but it seems probable that these divergences from the general Hellenic practice are due to the influence of Roman law, and perhaps to definite interference on the part of Constantine (see Mitteis, p. 342 ff.).

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[1] The date of the actual Code is perhaps not earlier than the 5th cent. B.C., but its basis is very much older. The sections concerning inheritance and heiresses seem to give the whole law on their subject, and to belong to the newest section of the Code.

[2] But on this see Kohler-Ziebarth, *Das Stadtrecht von Gortyn*.

[3] A daughter previously given in marriage with dowry by her father has no further claim, the dowry being fixed in amount by law as half a son's share in the intestate estate. Ephoros (quoted by Strabo, p. 482: φερνὴ δ' ἐστίν, ἂν ἀδελφοὶ ὦσι, τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μερίδος) makes this the universal rule in Crete.

[4] This is marked as an innovation in the Code by the fact that a retrospective limit of its working is given. The definition of a πατρῳῶκος is the same as at Athens.

[1] The law says simply, 'parting the estate as laid down by law' (διαλακόνσαν τῶν κρημάτων ᾇ ἔγραπται); and this might mean that in this case also the indemnity goes to the next-of-kin (see *Recueil des inscr. jurid. grecques*, i. 474). The next-of-kin might, of course, already be her husband.

[2] Cf. Varro: 'Venio nunc ad alterum genus testamenti quod dicitur physicum, in quo Graeci belliores quam nostri' (fr. quoted in F. Schulin, *Das gr. Testament verglichen mit dem römischen*, Basel, 1882, p. 16).

[3] The Code gives a reason for this: 'Denn die Gesetze suchen den reinen Samen heraus, und wer der Nächste ist, den bringen sie der Erbschaft nahe' (quoted in Mitteis, 326).

[4] *i.e.*, daughters and sisters cannot be represented, as in Attic law, by their children; but sons are represented by their sons.

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INHERITANCE (Hebrew).—Our word 'inheritance' has no exact equivalent in Hebrew. The various terms which denote possession may be used when the possession comes in the way of succession to a person deceased. But, if this is the case, the context must show how the possession came about. When we inquire of the documents in the Canon how this succession was regulated, we find no answer until we come to the latest period of the history. The oldest code of laws is silent on this point, and the patriarchal narratives reflect later conditions. The Biblical writers evidently supposed matters of this kind to be regulated by well-known family and tribal customs.

For Israel's nomadic stage, therefore, we are left to conjecture. Fortunately the customs of the desert are much the same in all ages, and conjectures based on the analogies of nomad life may claim a considerable degree of certainty. Individual ownership of land is unknown in this state of society, and personal property is small in amount. The man owns his arms, the woman her ornaments. The cattle, while nominally the property of the shaikh, are really common to the whole clan. The spoils of war are divided among the able-bodied men. At a man's death his arms are seized by the next-of-kin, or are divided, like the spoils of war, among the men able to bear arms. Women do not inherit, because they are themselves the property of their husbands and pass to the heirs with the rest of the estate. This was the rule in Israel even after the settlement in Canaan. Muhammad's regulation, giving a daughter half as much of the estate as went to a son, was an innovation on the earlier custom, according to which none could be heirs who did not take part in battle.[1] In the nature of the case Hebrew custom must have been the same.

Israel established itself in Canaan partly by conquest, partly by amalgamation with the older inhabitants. So far as the arable land was acquired by conquest it was treated like other spoils of war. Each family group assigned portions for tillage to its able-bodied men, but without relinquishing title. On the other hand, we must suppose the Canaanites to have had private property in land. The cultivation of the vine and olive is hardly practicable under any other system. Light on the state of things in this period may be got from present custom in Palestine. Here we find private ownership of part of the land, and along with it communal ownership of another part. The land of the commune is laid out in portions of equal value, and then assigned by lot to the cultivators.[2] The frequency with which the *lot* is spoken of in the OT indicates some such system of allotment. But private property in land is also indicated. Naboth refuses to sell his vineyard, and the narrative shows that there were no restrictions on his title.[1] The patriarchal stories represent Abraham and Jacob as buying land from the earlier inhabitants.[2]

While we suppose that private property in land was fully recognized in this period, it is probable that the right of inheritance was limited to male kinsmen. There is no clear case of women owning land before the Exile, though they had personal property. The mother of Micah saved a considerable sum of money, and her title was recognized by her son.[3] Abigail brought five slaves to David, though this seems to have been the whole of her fortune. Rachel and Leah each received a slave girl from her father.[4] The case of Achsah, who is said to have received territory from Caleb,[5] forms no exception, for Achsah is only the eponym of a clan. Laban's daughters, just referred to, say quite frankly that there is nothing for them in the house of their father, and that he has sold them and eaten up the price. The language shows conclusively that at the time when the account was written daughters had no claim as heiresses, and that the most they could hope for from a generous father was some part of the price that he had received for them. The persistency with which the Hebrew writers represent the widow as an object of charity indicates that widows were without claim on the estates of their husbands.

The dormant rights of the clan may have reasserted themselves when a man died. But in the period of the monarchy it probably came to be recognized that the sons were the rightful heirs. Gifts by the father during his lifetime were recognized as valid, if we may argue from the conduct of Abraham towards the sons of his concubines.[6] But the inheritance went to all the sons—there was no difference between the son of a wife and the son of a concubine. The sons of Zilpah and Bilhah are on the same footing with the sons of Rachel and Leah.[7] Probably this was always the theory, and we may venture to adduce the Babylonian parallel. Here we read that, if a man recognizes the son of a slave woman by calling him 'my son,' that son is entitled to a share of the estate. In Hebrew practice the son of a slave woman often suffered injustice. The expulsion of Ishmael is an illustration, and so is the banishment of Jephthah by his brothers.[8]

The first-born son had special rights.

> The law in Deuteronomy, which probably reproduces ancient custom and guards it from abuse, is as follows: 'When a man has two wives, one beloved and the other hated, and they bear him children, if the firstborn belong to the hated wife, then in the day in which he gives the inheritance to his sons he shall not be allowed to treat the son of the beloved wife as the firstborn instead of the son of the hated. He shall recognize the firstborn (son of the hated) by giving him a double portion of whatever he has; for he is the firstling of his strength and the right of the firstborn is his.'[9]

The birthright seems to have been originally connected with the chieftainship of the clan. That some sort of priestly prerogative also belonged to the oldest son seems clear from the Pentateuchal narrative, which makes the tribe of Levi a substitute for the first-born sons of the people, and this prerogative was probably connected with the worship of the clan ancestors.

The sharpness with which the law forbids the transfer of the birthright to any but the actual first-born indicates that earlier the matter had been in the power of the father. This also is illustrated by the patriarchal story where Isaac is induced (unwittingly, to be sure) to give the blessing to Jacob, and where Jacob in turn prefers Ephraim to Manasseh. The Chronicler believes that the birthright was taken from Reuben and given to Joseph.[1] All these stories are the reflexion of tribal relations, but they show that the transfer of the birthright was not a strange conception to the writers. We are nowhere told that the double portion given to the oldest son was to enable him to support the widow and the younger children, though this has usually been assigned as the reason. That the dependent members of the family passed into the care, or rather into the possession, of the heir, we have already had occasion to note. The right of the first-born son of a king to succeed to the throne was not necessarily a part of his prerogative, as we see in the case of Solomon.[2]

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[1] Qur'ān, ii. 12; W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge, 1885, p. 54.

[2] F. Buhl, *Die sociale Verhältnisse der Israeliten*, Berlin, 1899, p. 57 ff.

[1] 1 K 21^{16}.
[2] Gn $23^{9ff.}$ 33^{19}.
[3] Jg $17^{1ff.}$
[4] 1 S 25^{42}, Gn $29^{24.29}$; cf. 31^{14-16}.
[5] Jos 15^{16-19}, Jg 1^{12-15}.
[6] Gn 25^{6}.
[7] Gn $35^{23ff.}$
[8] Gn $21^{9ff.}$, Jg 11^{2}.
[9] Dt 21^{15-17}.

In default of sons the patriarchal system makes the brothers inherit, and after them uncles, that is, father's brothers. Next come cousins in the various degrees, always on the father's side; for, the women being excluded, their descendants have no rights. The Hebrews, however, always felt it to be a misfortune that a man should have no son to succeed him. The root of this feeling must be sought in the animistic stage of religion. The spirit of a man is left without sustenance and honour if he has no son to pay these dues. To prevent the name from being blotted out, custom early enjoined the levirate marriage, and, as in other cases, the custom was finally embodied in the written law. Deuteronomy is specific on this:

> 'When brothers dwell together, and one of them dies leaving no son, the wife of the deceased shall not be given to a stranger. Her brother-in-law shall come to her and take her to him for a wife and perform a brother's duty. And her first-born son shall succeed to the name of the brother who is dead, and his name shall not be blotted out from Israel.'[3]

How seriously the brother's duty is taken is made clear by the story of Tamar in the book of Genesis,[4] where the reason given for Onan's early death is his refusal to raise up seed to his brother, and where, also, it is held that Tamar, when refused another husband, is justified in taking a substitute by deception. In Deuteronomy the recalcitrant brother is put to open shame by the ceremony of pulling off the shoe.[5]

The arrangement under discussion is a survival from the time when a man's wives went to the next-of-kin. In fact, the levirate was the duty, not of the brother alone, but of the next-of-kin, whoever he might be. So Judah was the one upon whom the duty devolved when his son was in default. This is also the theory of the book of Ruth. Ruth offers herself as wife to Boaz in the belief that he is next-of-kin to her deceased husband. Boaz informs her that there is a nearer kinsman, and he takes her only after this other has refused. Here the connexion with the right of inheritance is made clear by the statement that the kinsman has the right of redemption of such real estate as belonged to the deceased, the wife going with it. The book is not altogether clear, because it does not give the first-born son to the deceased; but in its general conception it agrees with what we know elsewhere of the levirate. At the present day it is Jewish custom to release the brother from his duty. The subject has a place here only so far as it throws light on the Jewish ideas of inheritance. The levirate was in force so long as it was thought necessary for a man to have a male heir. When the right of daughters to inherit was recognized, the law forbade the marriage of a woman to her brother-in-law.

The device of adoption, by which a man who has no heir of his body begotten takes a child from another family to be his son, seems not to have been much in use among the Hebrews. Where Abraham expects his slave to become his heir, however,[1] we think of the slave as having been made a 'son' of the clan. In the patriarchal period we find also the recognition of Ephraim and Manasseh by Jacob,[2] which may be called an adoption; and the reception of Moses into the family of Pharaoh[3] shows the idea not to have been unknown to the writers of these stories. At a later date one of the genealogists tells of a Hebrew who had no son, and who gave his daughter to his Egyptian slave to wife, and the children were counted in the Hebrew line.[4] None of these cases can be called historical; and Esther, who was brought up by Mordecai, came to him not by adoption, but as his ward by the ordinary law of inheritance.[5] The declaration of the book of Proverbs, that a maid may 'inherit' from her mistress, is too slight to build upon.[6]

We come to a time, finally, when daughters are allowed to inherit. It would not be strange to discover that the idea of women holding property arose in connexion with the clan sagas. When the clans were brought into genealogical relations, those which had feminine names appeared as daughters of the eponym heroes of the whole people. As all the clans had territory in the land of Israel, it was believed that the patriarchs had given portions to daughters as well as to sons. The story of Achsah, already mentioned, is in point.[7] So is the statement that a daughter of Asher has a place in the genealogy. Further, we find an explicit declaration in the book of Joshua that the daughters of Manasseh took possession along with his sons.[8] The genealogy in Ezra knows of a certain Barzillai who received that name because he married the daughter of Barzillai the Gileadite.[9] We must suppose the daughter to have been an heiress, and the case naturally leads up to that of the daughters of Zelophehad. We read in the book of Numbers that, when Israel was about to take possession of the Promised Land, the daughters of Zelophehad came to Moses informing him that their father had died, leaving no son. In consequence they fear that his name will be blotted out, for he will receive no portion in the coming division of the land. On consultation with the oracle, Moses is directed to grant their implied request, and to assign them the portion which should fall to their father. The conclusion of the paragraph is a specific direction that hereafter daughters shall inherit where there are no sons. The law, however, is amended, or supplemented, in another chapter by the requirement that, where daughters succeed to landed property, they shall marry within their own tribe; otherwise the land of their father will be lost to the tribe of which he was a member.[10] The regulation here given shows how precedents for new laws were sought in the history of the people. When it was seen to be an injustice that daughters should be shut out of the inheritance in favour of remoter relatives, a precedent was found in the tribal traditions. If females inherited in the patriarchal age—which seems to be shown by the narratives—why should they not now have the privilege? The answer to the question is given in the law here promulgated. But along with the desirability of giving these rights to daughters was a sense of the inviolability of the tribal boundaries as fixed in the Mosaic age. On this account the regulation was supplemented, as we have seen. The arrangement by which the daughters are obliged to marry within their own tribe could not have seemed a hardship—perhaps it hardly seemed an innovation—because from the earliest times a kinsman was thought to be the most desirable suitor for a young woman's hand. Arab custom in this matter is well known, and as late as the time of Tobit the cousin had a presumptive right as against other suitors.

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[1] Gn 27^{32-37} 48^{17-20}, 1 Ch 5^{1}. [2] 1 K 1, and cf. 2 Ch 21^{3}.
[3] Dt 25^{5-10}. [4] Gn 38^{6-26}. [5] Dt 25^{9}.

[1] Gn 15^{3}. [2] Gn $48^{8ff.}$. [3] Ex $2^{5ff.}$.
[4] 1 Ch 2^{34-42}. In Babylonia we find elaborate regulations on the subject of adoption (Code of Ḫammurabi, §§ 185–193; cf. B Meissner, *Aus dem bab. Rechtsleben*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 27).
[5] Est $2^{5ff.}$. [6] Pr 30^{23}. [7] Jos $15^{16ff.}$.
[8] Jos 17^{6}. [9] Ezr 2^{61}.
[10] Nu 27^{1-11} 36^{1-13}, Jos 17^{3-6}.

In the post-Exilic period, therefore, the idea of women holding property and inheriting it became thoroughly established. Job gave his daughters portions along with his sons, and the author of the last chapter of Proverbs found it natural that a capable woman should buy a field with the earnings of her own hands.[1] Written testaments are nowhere spoken of in the OT, but it is assumed that a man about to die will dispose of his estate by word of mouth. So Ahithophel 'gives orders concerning his house' before committing suicide;[2] and Hezekiah, when dangerously ill, is advised to regulate his affairs.[3] The last words of a father to his sons would naturally couple advice and admonition with directions concerning property. Hence the character of the testament (though not so called) put into the mouth of Jacob. Ben Sira recommends that one distribute his goods at the end of life, but not earlier.[4] It is not certain that a written will is intended in any of these passages, or in the passage in Tobit sometimes cited in this connexion.

The latest portions of the Pentateuchal legislation aim at limiting the right of testamentary disposition in accordance with the theory of divine ownership. The land being Jahweh's, and assigned by Him to the various tribes, it should be kept in perpetuity in possession of those tribes. To this end no man was to have the right of disposing of his share to any one but the next-of-kin. Moreover, in case he were driven by poverty so to dispose of it, he could give only a lease for the time to the next Jubilee year, when it would revert to him or his direct descendants. The basis of this regulation is probably the old clan order by which the individual held only what was assigned him by the commune. We learn from Jeremiah that, when land was sold, it was offered first of all to a kinsman.[5]

Whether a criminal forfeited his property rights is nowhere specifically told us. When Naboth was executed for blasphemy,[6] his estate was seized by the king; but this may have been simply an act of tyranny, and without authority of law or custom. If we may argue from Achan's case,[7] the man guilty of sacrilege had his property destroyed with himself. What became of his lands when he had any is not clear. We should expect them to be forfeited to the temple, as 'devoted' to the divinity.

LITERATURE.—The Hebrew law as understood by the traditional authorities is formulated in the Talmud treatises *Baba Bathra* and *Yebamoth*. The most thorough discussion, and one still valuable, is J. Selden's *De Successionibus ad Leges Hebræorum in Bona Defunctorum* (1638), in his collected works, London, 1726, vol. ii. 1–76; J. D. Michaelis treats the subject with his usual learning in his *Mosaisches Recht*, Frankfort, 1770 (Eng. tr. *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, London, 1814), §§ 78–80 and 98; L. Lévy, *La Famille dans l'antiquité israélite*, Paris, 1905, and T. Engert, *Ehe- und Familienrecht der Hebräer*, Munich, 1905, give good summaries of what is known on the subject. On the levirate, see S. R. Driver's commentary on Dt 25^{5-10}, where other literature is cited. The custom of release among modern Jews is described by J. Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*^{3}, Basel, 1661, § xxx., and by J. C. G. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen, 1748, pp. 148–158. Reference may be made also to the articles 'Heir,' in *HDB*, 'Erbe,' in Hamburger, 'Inheritance,' in *JE*, and 'Familie und Ehe bei den Hebräern,' in *PRE*^{3}, vol. v. (1898), condensed as 'Family and Marriage Relations,' in Schaff-Herzog, vol. iv. (1909).

H. PRESERVED SMITH.

INHERITANCE (Hindu).—The rules of succession, as developed by the Brāhman lawyers of India, may be described as to some extent a spiritual bargain in which the right to succeed to another depends on the successor's capacity for benefiting that person by the offering of funeral oblations (*śrāddha*). Thus the term *sapiṇḍa*, which is commonly used to denote a heritable relation, means literally a relation connected through funeral oblations of food, such as a ball of rice (*piṇḍa*). The more remote ancestors, viz. the great-grandfather, his father and grandfather, who are offered only the fragments of that ball of rice which remain on the hands of the offerer, were therefore called 'partakers of the wipings' (*lepabhāgin*, Manu, iii. 216). Still more distant is the relationship of *samānodakas*, or kinsmen, connected by the mere offering of water, said to extend to the fourteenth degree. In a decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, it was declared that 'there is in the Hindu law so close a connexion between their religion and their succession to property, that the preferable right to perform *śrāddh* is commonly viewed also as governing the preferable right to succession of property.' Dubois (in India, 1792–1823) observes (*Hindu Manners*^{3}, p. 374) 'that the right of inheritance and the duty of presiding at the obsequies are inseparable one from the other. When, therefore, a wealthy man dies without direct descendants, a crowd of remote relatives appear to dispute with each other the honour of conducting the funeral rites. The contest is occasionally so tumultuous and prolonged that the body of the deceased is in a state of complete putrefaction before a definite settlement of these many pretensions is arrived at.' And so an old Sanskrit authority says, 'He who inherits the wealth presents the funeral oblation,' and 'A son shall present the funeral oblations to his father, even though he inherit no property' (*Institutes of Viṣṇu*, xv. 40, 43). The doctrine of spiritual efficacy was further developed, and relied on as a corroborative argument in favour of certain expositions of the texts on inheritance, in the *Dāyabhāga* and other leading works of the Bengal School of law. The *Mitākṣarā*, on the other hand, which is the leading authority on the law of inheritance for the majority of the Hindus, explains the term *sapiṇḍa* as denoting one of the same body, *i.e.* a blood relation, and does not give countenance to any other principle than propinquity, or proximity of birth, as regulating the order of succession. Nevertheless, the connexion between the right of succession and the obligation to offer the customary *śrāddhs* may be supposed to have been constantly present to the Hindu mind. The widow, in particular, who succeeds to her husband's property on failure of male descendants, is enjoined to offer up the regular oblations to him at stated times.

The religious element enters largely into the Indian law of inheritance in other respects besides the general rules of succession. Thus civil death, *i.e.* the exclusion of a man from his caste on account of some offence or breach of caste rules, has the same consequences as natural death, and causes the property of the person out-casted (*patita*) to devolve on his heirs, and himself to lose the capacity to inherit any property devolving on him. Civil death is now inoperative, as loss of caste, according to an Act of 1850, does not affect a man's civil rights. Spiritual relationship is recognized as well as blood relationship, the pupil succeeding to his spiritual teacher and *vice versa*. No relative can, as a rule, claim any property acquired by a man during the time he was a *sannyāsī* (ascetic). It is taken by one of his disciples, who should perform the funeral rites according to custom. The succession goes either by nomination by the previous

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[1] Job 42^{15}, Pr 31^{16}.
[2] 2 S 17^{23}.
[3] 2 K $20^{1ff.}$.
[4] Sir $33^{19.23}$, Tob 8^{21}.
[5] Jer 32^{6-14}.
[6] 1 K $21^{13ff.}$.
[7] Jos $7^{24f.}$.

sannyāsī or by election after his death. The *sannyāsis* are, in many cases, heads of a *maṭha* (*mutt*), *i.e.* of a religious institution founded and endowed for the purpose of maintaining and spreading the doctrines of some religious sect. These monastic institutions were endowed with considerable grants of land by Hindu princes and noblemen, their property being vested in the preceptor or head for the time being, generally called *mahānt*. Though many of these *mahānts* have become worldly, or are not even versed in the first principles of their religion, the acquirement of wealth by trade being their great object, the old rule of succession remains, and the property passes by inheritance to no one who does not fill the office. It is devoted to the maintenance of the establishment, but the superior has large control over it and is not accountable for its management. The two principal Sanskrit treatises on inheritance and succession on which the law as administered by the British Courts of India is supposed to be based are the *Mitākṣarū* and the *Dāyabhāga*. Colebrooke's English translation of these two works was first published in 1810.

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J. JOLLY.

INHERITANCE (Jewish).—The Jewish law of inheritance based itself on the Biblical regulations (on which see W. H. Bennett, art. 'Heir,' in *HDB* ii. 340). In the Rabbinic Code these regulations were systematized, and the accepted principles are given in the Codes of Maimonides (*Hilkhoth Naḥaloth*) and Joseph Qaro (*Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ*, §§ 250–258 and §§ 276–289). In modern times, Jewish practice naturally conforms to the civil laws of the States in which Jews are domiciled. So far as the older Rabbinic laws are concerned, the rule of inheritance may be summarized as follows:

> 'The order of succession in intestacy is: first, sons (eldest son taking a double portion), their descendants; daughters, their descendants. Failing issue, the father succeeds, then brothers (Mishn. *Baba Bathra*, viii. 2). Sisters come after brothers and their descendants (*ib.*). If a son dies in his father's lifetime, grandchildren succeed to their father's share in the estate of their grandfather (Bab. *Baba Bathra*, 122*b*). A man is his mother's heir, the husband is the wife's heir, but the wife is not her husband's heir. She has, however, her dower. Illegitimacy is no bar to inheritance or transmission. Recognition by father is accepted as proof that children are his (*ib.* viii. 6). Hotchpot was not recognized in Jewish jurisprudence (*ib.* viii. 8)' (M. Hyamson, *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio*, London, 1913, p. 161; cf. J. H. Greenstone, in *JE* vi. 583).

The owner of property could not depart from this order in bequeathing by way of inheritance, though he could do so if he bequeathed by way of gift.

> 'The law of testamentary succession, as laid down in the Bible (Nu 27⁸⁻¹¹), is unalterable; and any attempt made by the owner of property to bequeath it as an inheritance to those who would not naturally inherit it is null and void. No one can be made an heir except such persons as are mentioned in this Biblical law; nor can the property be lawfully diverted from the heirs by the substitution, either orally or in writing, of some other person as heir (Mishn. *Baba Bathra*, viii. 5); but the owner of property has such control over it that he may dispose of it by sale or gift to any person, to the exclusion of his heirs. This important distinction, therefore, must be noted, that a bequest by way of inheritance to persons other than the legal heirs is null and void, whereas a bequest by way of gift is valid' (D. W. Amram, in *JE* iii. 43).

Such procedure was, however, regarded with much disfavour by the Rabbis (Bab. *Baba Bathra*, 133*b*; *Kethuboth*, 53*a*), and it was very unusual for the owner to depart through bequest by way of gift from the order of succession (see L. N. Dembitz, in *JE* xii. 522). One important point deserves special mention. The Pharisaic Law denied to daughters any share in the inheritance if there were sons, though the Sadducees (Bab. *Baba Bathra*, 115*b*) and later on the Qaraites (J. Fürst, *Gesch. des Karäerthums*, Leipzig, 1865, i. § 9) gave the daughters equal rights with their brothers. Nevertheless, in the Pharisaic scheme the daughter had ample rights for maintenance while unmarried. Very significant is the decision of Admon (first half of 1st cent. A.D.)—a decision confirmed by Gamaliel:

> 'If a man die, leaving sons and daughters, and his estate be large, the sons inherit it and the daughters are maintained by it; but if the estate be small, the daughters are maintained by it, and the sons may go begging' (Mishn. *Kethuboth*, xiii. 3).

The Court might set aside a part of the estate in trust for the maintenance of the daughters (on all these matters see D. W. Amram, in *JE* iv. 448). In general, it must be remembered that the family solidarity (see art. FAMILY [Jewish]) and sense of good-will among its members secured an equitable distribution of the family goods, which were to a large extent enjoyed in common.

As to the extra-legal ideas associated in Jewish thought with the idea of inheritance, the Rabbis were concerned to combat the view that the Israelite *inherited* the Law. He had to acquire his part in the Torah by his active study and performance of it. R. Josê (Mishn. *Aboth*, ii. 12) said: 'Set thyself to learn Torah, for it is not an heirloom unto thee.' This, at first sight, may seem contradictory of Dt 33⁴ 'Moses commanded us a law, an inheritance for the assembly of Jacob.' But the Sifrê (§ 345, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1864, p. 143ᵇ) interprets the text to mean that the Law is not an aristocratic possession; it belongs to all Israel. The Rabbinic attitude closely illustrates the saying of Goethe: 'What thou hast inherited from thy fathers, be sure thou earn it, that it may be truly thine.' This is enforced in another saying: 'Pay special regard to the sons of the poor, for from them the Torah goeth forth' (Bab. *Nedarim*, 81*a*), the point being, as the Talmud remarks, that a learned man's offspring are not always learned, lest it be believed that the knowledge of the Torah is an inheritance. On the other hand, the children of the unlearned might be among the active promoters of the knowledge of the Law (*Sanh.* 96*a*). All Israel (and the righteous of all nations were included in the boon [Tosefta *Sanh.* xiii.]) had its share in the future life (Mishn. *Sanh.* x. 1), in accordance with the Rabbinic exegesis of the text (Is 60²¹), 'thy people also shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land for ever.' So, for a while Israel may forsake the law, but, when he seeks to return, he need feel no shame; it is his ancestral inheritance that he resumes possession of (*Exod. Rabbah*, xxxiii. 7). This combination of confidence in Israel's future and demand for Israel's present effort is a unique quality in the Rabbinic system of morality. Yet another way of meeting the difference between the two points of view may be cited. The Torah is Israel's *communal* inheritance, but the *individual* has to win for himself the right to share (cf. Comm. of W. Einhorn to the passage cited from *Exod. Rabbah*, ed. Wilna, 1878, p. 123).

Turning to another aspect of the idea of inheritance—it was considered a misfortune for a man to leave no son to inherit his estate. Such misfortune was sometimes regarded as due to the father's misconduct; witness such sayings as: 'If one destroys by fire his neighbour's produce, he leaves no son to be his heir' (Bab. *Soṭah*, 11*a*). Absalom (*loc. cit.*) was childless at his death; his three sons and his daughter predeceased him as a punishment for his having set fire to Joab's grain (2 S 14³⁰). The pious Israelite was also considered to have neglected one of his main duties unless he married with the hope of leaving issue (Bab. *Berakhoth*, 10*a*; *Yebamoth*, 63*b*, and often). The idea went beyond the desire to continue the race. Almost mystically the divine presence dwelling in a man was carried over to his children (*Yeba-*

moth, 64), or—and this is significant—to a disciple (cf. Bab. *Baba Bathra*, 116*a*). In particular, it was the father's duty to ensure that the inheritance of fidelity to God was carried on through the generations. This thought was based on the example of Abraham. 'I have known him, to the end that he may command his children and his household after him, that they may keep the way of the Lord, to do justice' (Gn 18^{19}). And, further, he who teaches his son's son is esteemed as though he had himself stood at Mt. Sinai, a personal participator in the original revelation (Bab. *Qiddush.* 30*a*). From the text in Genesis just cited was derived the custom of Jewish fathers writing for their children an ethical testament containing moral and pious directions; and these testaments were an honoured heirloom (see I. Abrahams, art. 'Jewish Ethical Wills,' in *JQR* iii. [1891] 436). For the part played in Judaism by the conception of the child's inheritance of the father's merits see S. Levy's volume on *Original Virtue and Other Studies*, London, 1907.

LITERATURE.—This is given throughout the article.

I. ABRAHAMS.

INHERITANCE (Roman).—As compared with the Greek, two features in chief distinguish the Roman laws of inheritance taken as a whole: (1) the very early, and relatively extended, power of devising, by the *testamentum calatis comitiis* or the *testamentum in procinctu*, i.e. the recognition of the individual will as a decisive factor in the activity of the group; and (2) the peculiarly Roman conception of the paternal relationship, the *patria potestas*.

In the regal period the estate of a *paterfamilias* was inherited by such of his descendants as were 'under his power' (*in potestate*) at the time of his death and became by that event *sui iuris*. Such were his sons and grandsons (unless they were no longer subject, through emancipation), his daughters (unless they had passed by marriage *in manum* of their husband, *i.e.* into another family), and his wife *in manu*, and, therefore, standing *loco filiæ*. All these were styled *sui heredes*, 'self-heirs,' as having an inherent right dormant during the father's life. All, including the widow, took an equal share. Failing *sui heredes*, the *gens* of the deceased inherited. Of primogeniture there is no trace. But from the first the father was able to regulate the succession by testament, if he cared to do so, within such limits as recommended themselves to his peers in the Curies.

Succession of agnates, as such, was perhaps established by the XII Tables, so as to bring both plebeians and patricians under the same law as far as possible.[1]

Strictly, a man's agnates were those of his collaterals who were under the same *patria potestas* as himself, or would have been had the common ancestor been alive. His children (whether of the body or by adoption) *in potestate*, and his wife *in manu*, being *loco filiæ*, were mutually agnates; but a wife not *in manu*, or a daughter who had passed *in manum mariti*, or emancipated children, were not their agnates, nor were they *sui heredes* to the father—for the tie of the *potestas* was broken (and in the case of the wife not *in manu* had never been created). So a man was agnate to his brothers and their children (assuming that there had been no *capitis minutio* on either side); but not to his sister married *in manum* or to her children, for they were not of the same *familia* (having become agnates of her husband's relatives).

In the absence of a will, succession was now open to the agnatic heirs *ab intestato* (law: 'si intestato moritur cui suus heres nec escit, adgnatus proximus familiam habeto'). How far the agnatic circle extended is not clear. The order of succession established by the XII Tables was, therefore, as follows: (1) *sui heredes*; (2) the nearest agnate or agnates; (3) the *gens* as a body—this last possible only in the case of a patrician. The law was interpreted in the sense that only the nearest agnate[1] (or agnates of the same degree) could claim, so that, if they declined, the next in degree could not take the estate, and, further, that no female agnate more remote than a sister could inherit.

Sui heredes, whether instituted by will or taking *ab intestato*, could not decline the inheritance however burdensome (hence they are called *heredes necessarii*); but a stranger instituted by will, or an agnate heir *ab intestato*, could reject the inheritance.

The interpretation put upon the clause in the XII Tables—'uti legassit super pecunia tutelave suae rei, ita ius esto'—together with the growth of that form of testament called *per æs et libram* (originally not a testament, but a fictional substitute for one) made the testator's will supreme, even to the extent of disinheriting his *sui heredes* in favour of a stranger, if he expressly mentioned the disherison (*exheredatio*). In the later Republic, owing to the decline of religion and family morality, children were often disinherited, or cut off with a mere fraction of the estate, for the benefit of a stranger. This led to the recognition of the *querela inofficiosi testamenti*, or the challenge of the will by a *suus heres* capriciously treated. Under the early Empire this developed the rule of the legitim of children, giving them a right to at least one-fourth of the father's estate in spite of the will, except for good grounds.

Very important was the effect of the *bonorum possessio* (*secundum tabulas*), by which the Prætor gave provisional enjoyment of the estate to the heir named in a will *prima facie* valid, pending possible claim by heirs-at-law.[2] A year's undisturbed possession gave him full ownership by usucaption. The ultimate effect of the Prætorian action, in granting *bonorum possessio* in relief of various classes of petitioners, was to establish the following Prætorian order of intestate succession: (1) in place of the *sui heredes* of the old *ius civile*, they put descendants (*liberi*), including the wife *in manu*, sons and daughters of the body whether *in potestate* or emancipated, and representatives of predeceased sons and adopted children who were *in potestate* of the deceased when he died; (2) *legitimi heredes*, i.e. the nearest collateral agnates; (3) cognates, this class not being precisely defined; (4) survivor of husband and wife. It was open for these classes in turn to petition for *bonorum possessio*; but it was for them to maintain the grant against any who claimed as heir according to the *ius civile*.

The above changes were in part the outcome of the doctrine of the *ius naturale* as embodying a higher ideal of justice than the old *ius civile*. The process was carried further in the Tertullian *senatusconsultum* in Hadrian's reign. This gave preference to the mother over all agnates of her deceased child, except father, brother, or sister—father and brother excluding her; but with a sister, and failing father and brother, she shared equally. This right was confined to women with the *ius liberorum*, i.e. free women who had three children, or freedwomen who had four. In A.D. 178 the Orphitian *senatusconsultum* gave legitimate or illegitimate children a prior right over all her agnates to succeed a mother. The Code of Justinian made a mother's right of succession independent of the *ius liberorum*, and extended that of a daughter or sister to her descendants. In his 118th and 127th *Novellæ*, Justinian wiped away the rights of agnates entirely, except as regarded adopted children, and settled the orders of succession purely on a basis of blood-relationship: (1) descendants of the intestate, male and female alike taking

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[1] Ulp. fr. xxvii. 5: 'legitimae hereditatis ius . . . ex lege Duodecim Tabularum descendit.'

[1] Division between agnates was *per capita*, not *per stirpes*. In the case of a freedman his *patronus* and his children took the place of agnates.

[2] There were two other forms of *bonorum possessio*—*contra tabulas*, practically setting the will aside, and *ab intestato*.

per capita if of the same degree, *per stirpes* if of different degrees; (2) the nearest ascendants, concurrently with full brothers and sisters and children of predeceased brothers and sisters (division equally *per capita* when there were ascendants and brothers and sisters, or brothers and sisters only; *per stirpes* when children of a deceased brother or sister participated; if there were only ascendants, the estate was divided equally to the paternal and maternal sides of the account); (3) half-brothers and half-sisters, and their issue, and grandchildren of full brothers and sisters, dividing on the same principle; (4) all other collaterals of all degrees, those nearest akin excluding those more remote, and dividing *per capita* between all of the same degree.

In his 119th *Novella*, Justinian laid down the principle that a child had an indefeasible right to some share at least as an heir of his father, and conversely, and enumerated the legal grounds of disherison. It followed, therefore, that a will to be valid must state the reasons for disherison; and, further, that it was liable to challenge upon the facts. A child not given some share, however small, could have the will nullified; and, if not given his legitim (at least one-third of the estate, and under certain circumstances one-half), he could claim to that amount; but nullification could not extend to any accessory provisions of the will.

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W. J. WOODHOUSE.

INHERITANCE (Teutonic).—For the last sixty years this subject has been a prolific source of controversy, which at present shows no sign of abating. Thus, it is not decided whether the right of inheritance was originally limited to the near family, or whether the wider kindred reserved it for themselves. The organization of this wider kindred is still a matter of debate, and scholars are not yet agreed as to whether matrilineal inheritance prevailed at the beginning of our era among the Teutons, or whether inheritance fell exclusively to males descended through males. A few facts, however, stand out clearly. Tacitus (*Germ.* 20) tells us that the Germans had no system of testamentary dispositions, but that they had rules of intestate succession; and his statement holds good of almost all Teutonic countries until far into the Middle Ages. The heir, as some of the laws tell us, is born, not chosen. Adoption during lifetime is the only way of selecting an heir, and this proceeding is hedged about by restrictions. It is permitted only if the adopter is without near kinsmen of his own, as in the case of the Frankish *affatomy* and the Langobardian *thinx*; or else the amount which may be bequeathed to an adopted son is limited and subject to the consent of the legal heirs or kindred (Scandinavia).

Wills, which were introduced by the Church under the influence of Roman law, made their way very slowly, though encouraged by ecclesiastical institutions, which would otherwise have been debarred from receiving bequests of land. In most Teutonic countries such bequests were of the nature of a *donatio post obitum*, and were subject to the consent of heirs or kindred. Among the Frisian inhabitants of the little island of Wangeroog, testamentary dispositions were almost unknown far into the 18th cent., the children, or, in their absence, the nearest kinsmen, succeeding automatically to the inheritance, which they divided among themselves by agreement, disputes being very rare. Certain mediæval laws will not admit disputes as to inheritance among kindred in the ordinary courts of law, regarding them as a matter to be settled by the 'common kinsmen' of the parties concerned.

The principle of primogeniture appears to have found no place in ancient Teutonic society. Tacitus says (*loc. cit.*) that the children inherit, and in later times (with the exception of the feudal nobility) all the sons, at least, had an equal claim to inheritance. Where there are two heirs, the division of the shares usually devolves on the elder, the younger having the right of choice between them. In the case of a number of heirs, the matter is decided by the casting of lots after the eldest has divided the shares. Equal division among all the sons or other heirs is still common in many parts of Teutonic Europe, and this feature survives in the Kentish *gavelkind*.

In many parts, however, the farm is not divided among all the heirs, either for purely economic reasons or in order to facilitate the collection of dues or taxes. In such cases the farm is either held in common by all the co-heirs—a system which seems to have been common in England—or one of the heirs is allowed to purchase it at a price quite irrespective of its market value, but calculated not to be an undue burden on the farm. This system persists in Schleswig-Holstein to the present day. Sometimes this right of purchase is granted to the eldest, but more often to the youngest son, the idea being that, while his brothers have had time to set up establishments of their own, he has not done so, but has remained with his parents. In the custom known as Borough English, still prevailing (in the case of intestacy) in certain English districts and boroughs, the youngest son inherits land to the exclusion of all the other children.

The inheritance of real property is often limited to males, especially in the case of ancestral land such as the *terra aviatica*, which appears in the earliest Frankish (ripuarian) law, and the Norwegian *odal*. Frequently the son excludes the daughter, but she inherits in his absence. In other parts—Denmark and Friesland—the daughter receives half as much land as the son. Low Saxon law gives preferential treatment to sons; but, as soon as an inheritance falls to collaterals, it makes no distinction between males and females, nor between the paternal and maternal kindred. On the whole, we may say that a tendency to limit inheritance to agnates (persons descended through males) is observable chiefly in South Germany. The supporters of the mother-right theory lay weight on certain statements of Tacitus (with regard to the privileged position of the mother's brother, and to inheritance by children, not by sons only), but find the chief confirmation of their view in the earliest texts of the Frankish Lex Salica, which, in the absence of children, gives all moveable property to the mother, or, in her absence, to her relatives, females taking precedence of males (Lex. Sal. tit. 29). It must be pointed out that it is unsafe to base theories of inheritance mainly on the rules governing the transmission of real property, since individual ownership of land was of late growth among the Teutonic races. Neither Tacitus (*Germ.* 26) nor Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 21 f.) knows of it; and as late as 574 a Frankish edict intimates that tribal land had only recently and partially become heritable.

Moveable property may be regarded under three heads: (1) cattle, farm implements, etc.; (2) armour and weapons (*Heergewäte*); (3) household furniture, clothing, and women's ornaments (*Gerade*). (1) Except in some of the earliest laws, cattle, etc., went with the land. (2) In Old Saxon law, agnatic kinsmen, males descended through males, succeeded to armour, weapons, and the war-horse. This form of property was restricted to persons of noble birth, but in certain towns we find the workman's tools, even the tailor's scissors, being treated as *Heergewäte* as regards succession. (3) *Gerade* falls in almost all early laws, and in the Old Saxon *Sachsenspiegel*, to women, and generally to those whose connexion with the deceased person is to be traced through women. It cannot, however, be regarded merely as dowry, for we find unmarried women also in possession of it. It is best defined as consisting of those chattels which are under the woman's charge. The *Sachsenspiegel* enacts that, on the death of a man's wife, the successor to the *Gerade* must leave the widower his bed, a table and cloth, and a stool and cushion, so that evidently the entire household furniture is included in the term. With regard to (1) and (2), it is important to remember that in heathen times a considerable proportion of the personal property of the deceased (weapons, ornaments, cattle, and even slaves) would be buried or burned with the original owner. The Arabian traveller Ibn Faḍlān says that among the Scandinavians in Russia one-third of a man's personal property was burned with him, and another third expended on the funeral banquet. A memorial banquet was common all over Scandinavian territory, and was usually made the occasion for the heir to succeed to the dead man's property. In Scandinavia this was signified by his taking up his position for the first time in the 'high-seat.' In Germany the inheritance was usually entered into on the thirtieth day after the death of the previous owner.

In historical times rank is so closely bound up with the possession of land that its transmission necessarily follows the rules governing inheritance of real property. There can, however, be little doubt that in earlier times succession to hereditary royal rank and title was independent of inheritance of land, indeed probably of any form of inheritance.

With regard to the order of inheritance, we must make a distinction between the immediate family (persons related within the first degree) and the wider kindred; for the principles governing inheritance are different in the two groups. The inner group, which is supposed to have once formed a 'house-community,' consists of children, parents, and brothers and sisters. The Frisian law calls these the 'nearest six hands': *i.e.* (1) son, (2) daughter, (3) father, (4) mother, (5) brother, (6) sister. To this group the Salic law added mother's brothers and sisters, and, later, father's brothers and sisters. It seems that, if the son was dead, his sons did not originally precede all other relatives, but were regarded as no nearer to the inheritance than grandfathers of the deceased. This, however, is disputed by some authorities.

In the outer group the degree of consanguinity is alone regarded: all persons equally related to the deceased have an equal claim, though, as we have seen, in certain forms of inheritance preference may be given to persons related through the father's or the mother's kindred. It is necessary to indicate the mode of reckoning kinship which prevailed among the Teutons. This is a subject round which a storm of controversy still rages; but, without committing ourselves too deeply to any theory, we may say that the Teutonic kindred was regarded as falling into groups centring round the person whose property was to be inherited, and that any one tracing his descent through the grandfather of this person was nearer than one tracing his descent from the great-grandfather. Thus kinship was not reckoned by the number of births between the persons concerned, as in Roman law, but by the number of generations ('knees') between one of them and the common ancestor. The first 'knee' is formed by the parents: thus brothers and sisters are in the first degree; the second by the grandparents: first cousins are, therefore, in the second degree, and so on. To describe persons related in the unequal collateral line, Teutonic languages employ circumlocutions.

Sometimes the kindred is clearly thought of as divided on a 'parentelic' system, the first parentela being (*a*) the parents and their descendants; the second (*b*) the grandparents and their descendants, exclusive of (*a*); the third and fourth (*c*) being the two pairs of great-grandparents and their descendants, other than (*a*) and (*b*); while the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth are the descendants, other than the preceding, of the four pairs of great-great-grandparents. The descendants of these are called in Dutch dialects the four 'quarters' (*vierendeele*) of the kindred, while the eight groups descended from the couples one degree higher are known as *achtendeele*. It is supposed that the Scandinavian *ætt*, 'kindred,' is derived from a word meaning 'eight' and referring to these eight divisions; otherwise there is little evidence for a 'parentelic' ordering of the kindred in the North. There are, however, traces of a reckoning of the kindred in 'cousinships' both in Scandinavian and in old Continental law.

The outer limit of the kindred is variously described in the early Continental laws as the fifth, sixth, or seventh generation. It is probable that the degree of kinship referred to is the same, the reckoning beginning in one case with the common ancestor himself, in another with his children, and in the third with first cousins, the children being in this case regarded as belonging to the family. When the outer limit of the kindred varies, as in Norway, popular ideas on the subject have probably been affected by ecclesiastical ordinances determining the prohibited degrees of affinity.

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INHIBITION.—Inhibition is a term commonly and loosely applied to certain aspects of physiological and mental processes in which one process is checked or displaced by another. It is thus not a function comparable, *e.g.*, with nutrition or circulation on the physiological side, or with perception, memory, or emotion on the mental side; it is rather descriptive of a condition resulting from the action or inter-action of these or other functions.

Whether regarded as a mental or as a physical phenomenon, it is a result of the incapacity of the organism to give simultaneous expression to its many different impulses to action. The organism's energy being limited, under ordinary circumstances it tends to be more or less concentrated in a few directions. If it is scattered over much ground, it is less effective. If it is concentrated, it is correspondingly more effective. For instance, great activity of one part of the body, while not necessarily or always incompatible with the action of other parts, may frequently interfere with the action of these other parts through the draining off of needful energy; when, *e.g.*, the forces of the body are devoted to the digestion of a full meal, there is not much energy available for mental work or for vigorous physical exercise. If two such processes involving the large use of bodily force are attempted at the same time, the effectiveness of each is greatly diminished. Then, again, one type of action may be antagonistic to another. An athlete cannot run a race and observe the scenery at the roadside at the same time. If he wishes to run well, he must suppress the impulse to gaze about.

Inhibition is, then, an incident of the fact that effective action must be relatively concentrated, both because of the limitation of one's energy and because too many disparate processes interfere with one another.

On the physiological side there is some evidence of specifically inhibitory nerves. The best attested example is that of the vagus, which, when stimulated, tends to check the action of the heart. According to Yerkes, however,

> 'the cases of inhibition which result from the functioning of inhibitory nerves or centres, if such exist, are few and unimportant in comparison with those which appear to be due to the conflict or competition of impulses within the nervous system' (art. 'Inhibition,' in *Cyclop. of Education*, iii. 457)—the inhibition, in other words, which results from the fact that the action of the nervous system tends to be confined at any one time to relatively few channels.

Only in extreme cases is this actually due to the limited fund of energy at the disposal of the organism; but every such case is a manifestation, in degree at least, of the fact of the limitation of the organism's resources. It may in its simplest form be due, however, to the neutralization of one nerve impulse by another when they meet in the same centre, as when

> 'the appropriate reflex of the leg of the frog to stimulation of the foot may be inhibited by simultaneous stimulation of the other leg' (*ib.*).

The higher nerve centres, especially those of the cortex, tend to hold in check the impulses emanating from the lower centres. Hence in a broad sense the brain may be regarded as an inhibiting centre. The function of the brain is in part

> 'to hold back or to inhibit the activity which other centres, left to themselves, would carry out in response to the sensory stimuli which reach them' (Royce, *Outlines of Psychology*, p. 70).

On the psychical side, there is abundant illustration of the apparent interference of states of consciousness. Within narrow limits one sensation, as an auditory, seems sometimes to enhance the vividness of another, as a visual; but, ordinarily, two vivid sensory experiences interfere with each other, both being diminished in their conscious effects, or one being ignored for the sake of the other. The distraction of attention by some exciting situation will render one suffering from acute pain unconscious of it. Strong emotions interfere with ideation and tend to annul weaker feelings or emotions. One absorbed in thought is unaware of many sensory impulses impinging on his nervous system. Two disparate trains of thought cannot occur with complete effectiveness in consciousness at the same time.

Historically, several different views of the nature of inhibition, as it appears in mental phenomena, have been held. The oldest, that of Herbart, regarded ideas as permanently existing entities or psychical forces which constantly tend to interfere with each other, some being thus prevented by the repellent force of others from appearing in consciousness. Another view is that 'inhibition is the negative side of the associational process' (Breese, 'On Inhibition,' p. 12). The number of mental elements which may co-exist is limited, and those which cannot fit into the associative system that is uppermost are suppressed. According to this view, inhibition is an aspect of the control of mental elements through attention. Logical contradiction has been considered by others as one phase of inhibition; *e.g.*, one cannot think of an object as white and not-white at the same time. In so far as this is true, however, it is really a special phase of the preceding type. Others have regarded inhibition as an aspect of the control of mental and physical processes by the will. It is pointed out that the will may not only excite and direct, but also hold in check, a movement or a mental process.

All views, however, which assume that inhibition may be a purely psychical process are inadequate. It is rather a phenomenon of the action of the organism as a whole, *i.e.* of the psycho-physical organism. It depends ultimately upon the drawing off of the nervous energy from certain centres, resulting in the checking of their action, and the concentration of the energy in other centres, resulting in their heightened activity. Every case of apparent psychical inhibition is associated definitely with some re-adjustment of the energies of the physiological organism. Hence it is only relatively true that we can say that thought is opposed to action. It is opposed only to some kinds of action, for thought itself is bound up with and expresses itself through the expenditure of a definite amount of energy of the physiological system. In fact, to the degree in which there is inhibition of movement, to that degree mental processes are themselves rendered impossible. The problem of inhibition, then, whether on the side of the physical organism or on that of the mind, is the problem not of merely suppressing action, but of substituting one kind of action for another kind. When we speak of thought as suppressing bodily activity, we mean only that *one kind* of bodily activity is suppressed. When a person thinks intently and his outer movements are inhibited, there has simply been a shifting of the locus of psycho-physical action. For the gross overt forms of bodily movement there have been substituted the more subtle inner movements of the vaso-motor system and those of the cortex itself, which are more intimately associated with the thought processes. Only relatively speaking, then, does inaction take the place of action when a process is inhibited. What actually occurs is a transfer of psycho-physical energy from one point to another, a lessening or suppression of one form of action and a corresponding intensification of another form.

It is frequently and truly said that the higher the process (*e.g.*, the more intellectual), the more numerous are the inhibitory influences which it exercises on the nerve centres controlling the more primitive forms of action; but this means, as we have just pointed out, not that the psychical, as such, inhibits the physical, but that different action complexes are associated with the higher intellectual processes, and that, if the latter are to function, it must be at the expense of the former or lower types of action. It is for this reason that all phases of character development and growth of personality involve a large amount of inhibition. In fact, it is through the capacity of the psycho-physical organism to suppress inconsistent modes of action that it is possible for any definite type of behaviour to emerge at all. The growth of an individual from childhood to effective maturity is associated from start to finish with the building up of certain complexes of conduct, the obverse of which is always the draining of energy from the lower, less organized forms of action and their consequent inhibition. Thus the little child has an excess of gross, overt, bodily activity. He is apt to be flighty and inconsistent in his behaviour. He gives way to all sorts of instincts and impulses. The problem of character development is not that of suppressing the energy thus exhibited, but of gradually organizing it into more definite and desirable forms. The higher types of behaviour, therefore, displace the lower by consuming their energy or by giving it outlets in accord with more definite purposes and ideals.

The re-construction, which thus takes place so conspicuously in the development of child-nature into maturity, is typical of the process which occurs in every instance of change of attitude in the adult. Whenever an adult inhibits an undesired act or mode of behaviour, he must accomplish it by fixing his attention upon some other mode of action, which thereby has a chance to develop. Nor is this fixing of attention to be thought of as some intervening outside agency. It is simply the expression of the fact that another impulse, or set of impulses, is present which, for the time being, is felt to be more definitely in accord with the real personal character as that has gradually integrated through many previous reactions. The inhibition of one mode of behaviour by another is due to the superior power of the then dominant complex of psycho-physical attitudes over those less perfectly organized and for the time being inconsistent with the action of the dominant mode. The re-construction thus effected may be partial or complete. It is partial when the suppressed impulse is merely suppressed or ignored rather than utilized. In that case the suppressed factor may drop out of consciousness and be apparently forgotten, but it is still capable of exerting an influence or of causing a stress beneath the level of consciousness which is injurious.

The strain of merely holding the undesired tendency in check or of preventing its finding expression acts as a drag, though unconscious, upon conscious processes, preventing their attaining their highest degree of efficiency. Moreover, the suppressed impulse may have various pathological effects. In extreme cases, as Freud has shown (*AJPs* xxi. [1910] 191 f.), it may result in producing the condition of nervous disease known as hysteria. All those modes of training which attempt flatly to prohibit the expression of undesirable tendencies in children incur this danger. The inhibition resulting is not genuine. The better method, and the one which would accomplish real inhibition, would be that which would seek to re-direct the impulse into some more desirable channel. The energy of the impulse could thus be saved and turned to positive account in character formation. The tendency to tell falsehoods is undesirable, but it is of little avail to say to the child, 'Thou shalt not.' What is needed is to determine the underlying motive leading to lying, and see that it can find expression in a more desirable form. The correction must, in other words, be positive, by opening to the child other lines of action which will afford an outlet to the energy thus far finding expression in an undesired form.

What is true of child-training is true of every phase of character development. Many adults suffer from excessive inhibitions. The energy they expend, sometimes unconsciously, in holding in check their undesired tendencies greatly reduces their positive efficiency. The root of the difficulty is that their inhibitions are only partial. The undesired forms of behaviour are struggling to assert themselves instead of being assimilated by more approved complexes of conduct. The work of Freud, referred to above, and of his followers in the treatment of hysteria furnishes many examples of this condition. While some pathological conditions of adults have been traced to the improper suppression of impulses in early childhood, in the majority of cases they are the outcome of the determined repression of intense desires which develop in youth and which are usually connected, directly or indirectly, with the sex impulse. This normal and necessary phase of human nature frequently runs counter to accepted social usages. Desires recognized as improper are thrust into the background of the mind, are ignored or even forgotten, but when thus dealt with are apt to continue to exert a harmful and mysterious influence over the person's conscious life.

Thus, a governess treated by Freud for hysterical tendencies, finally confronted with the question as to whether she was not in love with her master, replied: 'Yes, I believe it is so, but I did not know it, or rather I did not wish to know it. I wished to crowd it out of my mind, never to think of it, and of late I have been successful.' But this impulse, thus ignored and forgotten, became the exciting cause of a host of hysterical symptoms.

The problem presented by this case, which is typical, was to dispose of the energy of the impulse in a manner that would not conflict with the woman's own sense of social propriety. One of the serious problems of the education of the adolescent is that of finding ways of using in sports, in physical and mental labour, in artistic creation of various types, and in social intercourse impulses which, though intrinsically sexual, may thus be transmuted into forces of the utmost worth in the development of a well-rounded character. Here, if ever, it is important to recognize the practical character of the psychological dictum that the most effective inhibition occurs only through the re-direction of the energy into other channels of expression.

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IRVING KING.

INITIATION.

Introductory and Primitive (G. D'ALVIELLA), p. 314.
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INITIATION (Introductory and Primitive).—**1. Definition and nature of initiation.**—Initiation in its general sense is synonymous with 'beginning' (*initium*), 'training,' 'instructing.' The word is usually applied in a restricted sense to signify admission to ceremonies or traditions of a religious or magical order. The communications made to the initiated are not necessarily secret; they may consist of teaching whose efficacy depends on the authority of the one who gives it, the character of the one who receives it, and the conditions in which it is imparted. But ordinarily they are a secret carefully guarded from the profane, and so initiation comes to mean 'introduction to a mystery,' whether we take 'mystery' as meaning truths beyond the reach of vulgar comprehension or practices jealously reserved for a chosen few. Among the Romans *initia* was a generic term for mysteries.[1]

Two exegetical schools, which have often held rival opinions on the subject of the history of religion, differ also in their conclusions as to the origin and function of initiation ceremonies. According to the one (Dupuis, Creuzer, Guigniaut, etc.), initiation furnished a philosophical explanation of vulgar beliefs and led to a rational and moral interpretation of official cults. The other school (Lobeck, Andrew Lang, etc.) holds that it tended rather to perpetuate, under cover of secrecy, rites and myths of primitive barbarism, which their adepts were ashamed to lay bare to the open day. These two theories may both be applied in particular cases, but neither of them can be accepted as a general view. Another theory, which is no better founded, is that every initiation is invariably an embodiment or a dramatic representation of old legends or myths. In most cases it is not the myths that have given birth to the ceremonies of initiation, but rather, as has been superabundantly proved by Robertson Smith and Frazer, the ceremonies that have been explained by myths, after their original meaning has been lost sight of. In any case, an unbiased study of the forms and circumstances of the initiation ceremonies themselves in the different regions where they are found will enable us to gain some enlightenment as to their nature and function.

All known peoples admit the existence of a sacred world, peopled by mysterious influences, which are sometimes propitious, sometimes baleful, but always to be feared. In every country, too, there are individuals or groups of individuals who claim to be able to find out these forces, disarm them, and use them for their own purposes. This power is given by initiation into certain processes. The ceremonies of initiation are divided into two categories. (*a*) In the one the ceremony has as object the granting of a certain power to the neophyte, who uses it exclusively in his own personal interest, or, in return for a remuneration, for the benefit of others. This is the kind of initiation which is practised by sorcerers all over the world—shamans, angakoks, and so on. Those to be initiated are chosen by preference from young men showing a tendency to hysteria or visions, a tendency which is developed by the aid of intoxicants or narcotics, fasting, over-fatigue, hypnotism, and all kinds of devices. The apprenticeship at an end, these new sorcerers set out to apply the magic recipes which have been imparted to them, and add new ones from their own experience. Even when, as is sometimes the case, men set up as sorcerers of their own accord, they do so only after dreams or hallucinations either naturally or artificially induced, which are regarded as being a veritable initiation in which they have received direct revelations from above.[2] (*b*) The second category includes initiation ceremonies forming an integral part of the social institutions of so-called primitive peoples; they are usually performed on behalf of the community by a natural or artificial group. It is impossible to say with certainty which is the older of these two forms of initiation, but the second is by far the more important, not only because it forms a necessary part of the life of individuals and communities in primitive society, but also because its development is parallel with the modifications taking place in the structure of the social body.

2. Aims of initiation.—Those who penetrate the domain of the sacred with the sole ambition of finding there a means of satisfying their personal desires run the risk of entering into conflict with the community, and not without reason. The day is sure to come when the community will recognize the distinction between witchcraft and priesthood, and these sorcerers will be finally and utterly proscribed. Yet, in the heart of primitive societies, and later in the less developed strata of cultured populations, the magician's claims are still acknowledged or submitted to, not only because of the fear he inspires, but also for the services he can render to most individuals, and even to the community itself, by curing disease, bringing rain, favouring the multiplication of useful animals or plants, ensuring the periodicity of heavenly phenomena, finding out the guilty, exorcizing evil spirits —in a word, fulfilling real priestly functions in the dealings of the people with certain parts of the sacred world or certain personages belonging to it. This function of influencing natural phenomena is frequently assumed by groups of initiated persons representing a subdivision of the tribe or by secret societies, which gain new recruits by co-optation. Where division into clans still prevails, the principal magical operations are undertaken by the clans for the benefit of the community, each clan acting on its own particular totem.

Among the natives of Australia, *e.g.*, it is the emu clan that performs the rites supposed to be capable of ensuring the multiplication or the capture of this species; the rain clan which recites the incantations necessary for forming clouds, and so on.

In all primitive societies, individuals of the same sex and age, having the same interests, tastes, and occupations, have a tendency to group themselves into particular societies within the general society. Thus arise many classes standing in juxtaposition and including respectively youths, adults, celibates, married men, old men, women in different conditions, totemic groups, clans, phratries, inhabitants of the same territory, strangers, even dead men, and also, as Van Gennep has noted, certain social categories constituted by normal though particular and temporary events, such as illness, pregnancy, a common danger, travel, seasonal occupations, etc.[1] It was not until later that distinctions founded on permanent professions appeared. Now every passage from one of those states to another is accompanied by a modification in the form or nature of the superhuman influences with which the individual has to deal. In each group these influences, whether personified or not, are inoffensive and even highly useful to those who are within and who know how to avail themselves of their help, but dangerous and extremely harmful to strangers. On the other hand, those passing into a new group are apt to bring with them the magical and infectious taints of their old *milieu*. They must therefore be purified, assimilated, and instructed, which is the threefold object of initiation.

Among initiation ceremonies of this nature, one of the most important and most common is that which marks the attainment of puberty, or rather the ceremony which about that age officially breaks all ties binding the adolescent to children and women, and admits him into the society of men. This ceremony is found, either as an established institution or as a survival of an older ceremony, among nearly all uncivilized peoples—among the Fuegians, the natives of North and South America, Arctic populations, in Australia, Polynesia, Melanesia, in New Guinea, and in India—not to speak of the traces of it still found among the civilized peoples of antiquity. Its function is to confer on the adolescent the rights and obligations of an active member of society; *i.e.*, it enables him to take part in war, to lay the foundations of family life, and to observe the customs and rites necessary for the well-being of the tribe. Initiation, so understood, may be considered as the oldest form of public instruction.

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[1] Varro, *de Re Rust.* iii. 5 (ed. H. Keil, Leipzig, 1889).

[2] H. Hubert and M. Mauss, 'Théorie générale de la magie,' in *ASoc* vii. [Paris, 1902-03] 239.

[1] Van Gennep, *Rites de passage*, 1 ff.

This was realized by the Tuscarora of North Carolina when they explained to Lawson more than two hundred years ago that initiation 'was the same to them as it is to us to send our children to school to be taught good breeding and letters.'[1]

This instruction, nevertheless, retains a magico-religious character which often envelops the whole official cult of the tribe. Women also are divided into similar age classes; but with them initiation, even when it is a close imitation of the men's ceremony, is less important because it confers fewer privileges.[2] There are many other social transitions entailing rites which may be considered as initiatory—*e.g.*, naturalization, adoption, marriage, the consecration of priests, funeral ceremonies, etc. Sacrifice, too, at least in connexion with cults which regard it as a means of penetrating into the sacred world, assumes the form and functions of initiation. The spot on which all these ceremonies take place is, as it were, a sanctuary, to which access is forbidden to the uninitiated. The organization of the rites of initiation remains in the hands of the old men, who are the natural guardians of the tribal traditions, and they lay down as the first duty of man obedience to the ancients and to their teaching.

3. Evolution of initiation.—The initiation of adults loses its general character in proportion as the authority of the chiefs develops and legal institutions become separated from the magico-religious rites of which they were at first part and parcel. The age classes tend to become subdivided into a hierarchy of different grades, which fill up their ranks sometimes without regard to age or seniority. The initiated of the higher grade think that they have a right to rule over those of the lower grades. Sometimes even their privileges become hereditary, at least to the extent that their children alone have a right of initiation into the grade. The age class is thus turned into one or more secret societies, which sometimes recruit their members from various tribes and even open their doors to women, as, *e.g.*, in West Africa and North America.

In the district of Gabun, we are told, there was a secret society exclusively composed of women, who, like the ancient Bacchantes, celebrated orgiastic rites in the depths of the forest, and were much feared by men, who ran the risk of death if they surprised them in their ceremonies.[3]

The same individual can thus belong to several 'brotherhoods,' especially when they have different aims. Some of these societies become mere schools for working magic arts, and thus assimilate themselves to the societies of sorcerers who unite for mutual benefit in the exercise of their art. Most of the societies, however, continue to play some part in the affairs of the community. In Africa they sometimes reinforce and sometimes limit the authority of the chiefs. Sometimes, like the *Vehmgericht* of mediæval Germany, they form a sort of superior police acting with repressive justice, and they are all the more to be feared that they do their work in secret. The societies whose members belong to different tribes contribute towards the maintenance of peace, and on occasion we find them performing the function of arbiters. Yet almost all these societies respect the social and religious traditions and customs that have come down to them, and transmit them to their successors. As de Jonghe says with regard to the Lower Congo, they form, in spite of their abuses, 'a centre of religious instruction and civic formation.'[1]

An analogous evolution has taken place among the Kafirs, the Polynesians, the Melanesians, and the tribes of New Guinea. Each of the numerous secret societies of the natives of North America deals with some kind of magical operation which influences the course of nature—the ripening of crops, the falling of rain, the success of hunting or fishing, and the treatment of innumerable individual ailments. In the Oceanic Islands and among the American Indians, the ceremonies connected with all these societies are partly public and partly secret, according as they represent scenes from current mythology or explain to their neophytes the esoteric meaning of these representations.

When belief in the efficacy of magic begins to disappear, or when public cults gain in importance, secret societies gradually develop into mere clubs, from which all mystic element has disappeared; their old sanctuaries become the social meeting-places of the club, and their rites degenerate into popular rejoicings or mere buffoonery. But we must not lose sight of the fact that these brotherhoods, which monopolize all communication with the domain of the sacred, are able to fulfil the characteristic functions of a cult as well as the magic rites proper to sorcery.

The transition may be seen in the order of the Areoi in Polynesia, who accompany the worship of the god Oro with all sorts of magic practices. There were eight or nine different grades, entrance to which was gained by successive ceremonies of initiation. All the great religions of the East had room for initiation ceremonies over and above their public cults. Some of the Greek mysteries certainly go back to the pre-Homeric period.[2] Texts analyzed by Moret, Lefébure, and others confirm the opinion of Herodotus and Plutarch that there was in the Egyptian cult an initiation reserved for a chosen few, which besides the regular and official cult included the celebration of the passion of Osiris.[3] The famous Chaldæan poem describing the descent of Ištar to the gloomy abode of Aralû to look for her lover Tammuz presents all the characteristics of an initiation ceremony. From texts edited by A. H. Sayce we learn that certain priests or soothsayers had to submit to a formal initiation; they were made to pass through an artificial representation of the under world, where they were shown 'the altars amid the waters, the treasures of Anu, Bel and Ea, the tablets of the gods, the delivering of the oracle of heaven and earth, and the cedar-tree, the beloved of the great gods, which their hand has caused to grow.'[4]

C. P. Tiele has shown that, among the Western Semites, Byblos and other centres of Syrian cults had their mysteries from before the time of the Assyrian conquest of the country.[5] The OT has more than one allusion to mysteries reproved by the Prophets.[6] In India, a man was a Brâhman by right of birth, but could not exercise sacrificial functions without first having passed through a complicated initiation.

Even the subjection of a nation by conquerors and the superimposing of new cults tend rather to develop than to discourage initiation ceremonies. Sometimes the victors organize them for the use of peoples desirous of adopting the cult of the victorious god.

Thus the Mazdæan religion, which was essentially a national religion (to be born a Mede or a Persian was also to be born a worshipper of Ormazd and Mithra),[7] had no initiation ceremony other than the admission of children into the cult; but, when the Achæmenians had extended their sphere of influence as far as the Mediterranean, Mazdæism had to organize the mysteries of Mithra, which were to become of such importance in the Western world.

On the other hand, the victorious people often become converts to the cult of the conquered nation.

After the subjugation of Eleusis, the Athenians could not gain admission to the *sacra gentilicia* of some Eleusinian families who worshipped Demeter, until they had gone through the formalities of an initiation ceremony. This ceremony, which was instituted exclusively for the citizens of Attica, was gradually opened to the other inhabitants of Greece, and even to all the subjects of the Roman Empire, 'as a sanctuary common to the whole earth' (Aristides, *Eleusinios*, ed. W. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1829, p. 415). Every foreign religion which spread through the Roman world assumed the form of mysteries open to all who showed themselves worthy or merely desirous of being initiated into them.

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[1] J. Lawson, *History of Carolina*, London, 1714, p. 380 ff.

[2] H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, p. 45.

[3] J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, London, 1856, p. 398.

[1] E. de Jonghe, 'Les Sociétés secrètes au Bas-Congo,' in *Revue des questions historiques*, 9th ser., xii. [1907] 511.

[2] K. Otfried Müller thought the origin of the Greek mysteries was to be found in old Pelasgian cults, which were turned into secret cults after the invasion of the Greeks (see art. 'Eleusinien,' in *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, vol. xxxiii. [1840] sect. i.).

[3] A. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens* (Musée Guimet Lecture), Châlons, 1911, p. 1 ff.

[4] A. H. Sayce, *Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*[3] (Hib. Lect. 1887), London, 1891, p. 241.

[5] C. P. Tiele, *Religions de l'Égypte et des peuples sémitiques*, Fr. tr., Paris, 1881, p. 296.

[6] W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2], p. 358 ff.

[7] F. Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1900, i. 239.

Thus initiation paved the way for universalistic cults by substituting community of beliefs and rites for nationality as the foundation of religious ties.

The Christian sacrament of baptism (*q.v.*), the primary rite of initiation into the Church, was elaborately developed by the Gnostics. Two MSS, belonging to the sect of the Valentinians, the *Pistis Sophia* and the *Book of the Great Logos according to the Mystery*, give a description of four grades of initiation: the Baptism of water, 'which gives access to the place of Truth and the place of Light'; the Baptism of fire, 'which admits one into the company of the heirs of the kingdom of Light'; the Baptism of the Spirit; and, finally, 'the mystery which forces all the Archons to remove iniquities from off the Disciples and make the Disciples immortal.'[1] Among the Druses, according to the Arab historians al-Maqrizī and al-Nuwairī, there were no fewer than nine grades of initiation where the hidden meaning of the *Qur'ān*, the real origin of the universe, the inaccessibility of the supreme principle, and, finally, the equivalence of all cults were successively taught.[2] The Christian sects of the Middle Ages had frequent recourse to initiation ceremonies, the secrecy of which served to protect them from the attacks of orthodoxy. The favour which symbolism then enjoyed allowed them to attribute to texts and to sacred or at least inoffensive emblems an esoteric significance which was gradually revealed to neophytes. Even such exclusively technical details as the formulæ and tools employed in the art of building lent themselves in the apprenticeship of mediæval freemasons to a moral or philosophical interpretation, which has preserved their use in the initiation of modern Freemasons, though freemasonry (*q.v.*) has long ago lost its professional character.[3]

It is of importance to note that, while preserving its outward form throughout this evolution, initiation changed its object somewhat in passing from magic to the service of religion. What was required of it now was to make the gods better known, and to bring about a closer intercourse with them. As a consequence, we notice among neophytes new feelings of curiosity, anxiety, and even anguish, allied with an ardent desire for communion with their religious and moral ideal. The rites giving them access to the sacred world—whether these ceremonies were originally held in connexion with the changing of the seasons, the revolutions of the stars, or the transformations of the crops—recurred in a rhythm of periodicity and alternation which the initiated applied to their own destiny. In the liturgical drama, in which he had to play a part, the novice now saw the passion of a god—some divine sacrifice, the benefit of which he was personally called upon to reap. All the symbolism of the ancient mysteries found an outlet in this direction. The aim of initiation thus became once more the attainment of an individual advantage, but this time on a different plan: 'Thanks to these beautiful mysteries which come to us from the gods,' we read in an Eleusinian inscription, 'death is for mortals no longer an evil, but a boon.'[4]

The question is to discover whether, as Paul Foucart maintains,[5] initiation confined itself to furnishing the neophyte with topographical information, as it were, to prevent him from losing his way in the under world, and with magic formulæ to baffle the demons lying in ambush in his path, or whether it insisted also on the necessity of his having led a just and righteous life. It would seem that initiation was sufficient in itself to ensure eternal life, and Diogenes of Sinope was more or less justified in putting the crucial question: 'Will the brigand Poetacion be happier after his death because he has been initiated than Epaminondas, who has not been initiated?'[1] In Greece an attempt was made to satisfy the demands of morality more or less by excluding from initiation all traitors, perjurers, and criminals—in a word, all those who had not 'clean hands.' The Egyptians had found a more practical expedient. They introduced as part of the ceremony representing the supreme journey into the infernal regions a summons before the tribunal of Osiris; only those who were acquitted there could benefit by the formulæ and amulets provided to help the dead to attain safely to the blessed region of the fields of Aalu. If this had not been the case when the culture of the ancients was at its height, men like Plato, Cicero, Plutarch, and Diodorus would have been more careful about proclaiming the moralizing and civilizing influence of initiation into the mysteries of their time.

4. The ritual of initiation.—The formalities of initiation, whether its dominant function is magical or religious, present striking general resemblances. Andrew Lang notes the following general characteristics: (*a*) mystic dances; (*b*) the use of the *turndun*, or bull-roarer (*q.v.*); (*c*) daubing with clay and washing this off; (*d*) performances with serpents and other 'mad doings.' To these we might add: (*e*) a simulation of death and resurrection; (*f*) the granting of a new name to the initiated; (*g*) the use of masks or other disguises.[2] In any case, we may say that initiation ceremonies include: (1) a series of formalities which loosen the ties binding the neophyte to his former environment; (2) another series of formalities admitting him to the superhuman world; (3) an exhibition of sacred objects and instruction on subjects relating to them; (4) re-entry or re-integration rites, facilitating the return of the neophyte into the ordinary world.[3] These rites, especially those of the first three divisions, are found fulfilling a more or less important function in all initiation ceremonies, both among savages and among the civilized.

(1) *Separation rites.*—In every initiation of any importance the neophyte has to leave his family, live in isolation, consent to all kinds of restrictions and tabus, and submit to purifications, aspersions, purgations, fasting, flagellation, even mutilation (and, more particularly, circumcision), and, finally, assist at his own burial, or at least pretend to have left this world. Sometimes spirits wearing masks corresponding to their supposed character come and carry him off to some hut or enclosure, or to some isolated spot where he lives in their company for a certain period, which may be months or even years, as in Africa, America, New Guinea, and other countries. Even when initiation is nothing but a mere transmission of magical powers, the neophyte is supposed to be carried off to the spirit world.

Among the Eskimos, an *angakok* goes through the ceremony of killing the aspirant to magical powers, and his soul then flies off to probe the depths of sky, sea, and earth, and thus learn the secrets of nature. On its return it resuscitates the body, which has been lying stretched on the frozen ground, and the patient then becomes an *angakok* in his turn.[4] It would be useless to insist upon the importance of this practice of simulating death in the initiation ceremonies of the ancients. Many mysteries included, we are told by Lampridius in connexion with Mithraic mysteries, something similar to an immolation 'which was described or represented so as to produce unnecessary fear.' There is a story that the Emperor Commodus, filling the rôle of mystagogue, one day took his part too seriously and really killed the unfortunate candidate.[1] The allusion of Apuleius to his initiation into the mysteries of Isis is well known.[2] Even to-day, in the 'profession of vows' in use among the Benedictines, the novice is laid out on the ground between four candles, and covered with a winding sheet, the service of the dead is performed above his body, and the whole congregation chants the *Miserere* for him.

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[1] E. Amélineau, *Le Gnosticisme égyptien*, Paris, 1887, p. 243 f.

[2] A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druses*, Paris, 1838, p. lxxiv f.

[3] R. F. Gould, *Concise History of Freemasonry*, London, 1904, pp. 127, 304 ff.

[4] Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική, Athens, 1883, p 82.

[5] P. Foucart, *Recherches sur l'origine et la nature des mystères d'Éleusis*, Paris, 1895, 1st Mémoire, p. 63.

[1] Plutarch, *de Audiendis Poetis* (=*Moralia*, ed. F. Dübner, vol. i. [Paris, 1841] p. 26).

[2] Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, i. 282.

[3] Van Gennep adds to these what he calls 'marginal' rites or periods, the object of which is 'to facilitate changes of state, without violent shocks or abrupt stops to individual and collective life' (*Rites de passage*, 14).

[4] Hubert and Mauss, 'Théorie générale de la magie,' in *ASoc*, vii. 38.

It is noticeable that among nearly all peoples funeral ceremonies themselves imply a sort of initiation of the deceased into the society of the dead; without this, he would have no choice but to remain on earth and torment the living.

(2) *Admission rites.*—Plato has rightly written τελευτᾶν τελεῖσθαι, 'to die is to be initiated'; we might reverse the order and say, 'to be initiated is to die.' But it is only to die so as to be re-born under better conditions. 'That which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die' (1 Co 15³⁶) is a reflexion which must always have occurred to man from the day when he conceived the idea of a higher life in the sacred world. We find this notion wherever initiation ceremonies exist, as we may see by a glance over the examples collected by Frazer in *GB*² ii.

In the Lower Congo, initiation ceremonies are called *kimbasi*, which means 'resurrection.' During a dance the neophytes fall dead, and then the sorcerer resuscitates them.[3] Sometimes the rôle is filled by persons who have already been initiated, and the neophyte is present simply as a spectator. On the River Darling in New South Wales, an old man lies down in a grave which has been dug and holds a small bush in his hand. He is then covered with a thin layer of earth and the branch is allowed to protrude, to look as if it were growing. Other bushes are stuck in the soil to heighten the effect. The novices are then brought to the edge of the grave, when a singer begins a chant invoking the totem, and a dance is performed by old men. The dancing and singing are continued till the bush held by the buried man begins to quiver, and he rises from the grave.[4] In the Fiji Islands the novices are set before a row of men lying on the ground and seemingly dead, their bodies having been previously covered with the blood and entrails of pigs. At a given signal they rise and run down to wash in the neighbouring river.[5] Among the Omahas of the United States the neophyte is bound to a plank, after which one priest pretends to kill him, and another brings him back to life.[6] Where we can penetrate behind the veil of secrecy overhanging the initiation ceremonies of the ancients, we find in nearly all cases the representation of the passion of a divine or semi-divine being, who is attacked or carried off by infernal powers, descends to the realm of the dead, is liberated by the intervention of some higher divinity, and brought back to the region of light in the presence or company of those assisting in the ceremony. It is curious to find the same idea not only in Japan, Polynesia, etc., but also among peoples who could never have had any connexion whatever with the mythology of the ancient world. Father de Smet discovered in 1840 among the Pottawatomies of North America a legend about the introduction of agriculture and organization of mysteries which bears an astonishing resemblance to the drama played at Eleusis.[7] Still more recently, J. W. Fewkes, describing the secret rites performed among the Hopi of Arizona by the Brotherhood of the Antelope and the Snake, reports that there the initiated are treated to a representation of the adventures of a personage called Ti-Yo—his journey to the spirit world, the ordeals he passed through there, and his return to the land of the living, bringing with him the knowledge of the rites for making rain.[8]

Sometimes the idea of re-birth is still more clearly marked: the initiated passes into a state of embryo.

Initiation with the Nosairis of Lebanon was closely connected with child-birth, and the neophyte received the embryonic name of *alakali*, lit. 'clot of blood.'[9] In Egypt the Pharaoh, who was solemnly consecrated in ceremonies which were supposed to ally him with Osiris, had to wrap himself up in an animal's skin which was called 'the cradle skin,' or 'the place of becoming, of transformations, of renewed life,' and this skin was used also in funeral ceremonies as a temporary shroud. According to A. Moret, a similar ceremony was celebrated for certain privileged persons, whose return to a state of embryo was simulated in the same way as in the legend of the resurrection of Osiris; this is what is called 'passing through the skin.'[1] The same symbolism is found in India, where the young Brāhman had also to assume the attitude of an embryo in the course of his initiation, by setting himself on a black antelope's skin which represented the womb.[2] After this ceremony he was called *dvija*, 'twice born.' The Romans had an analogous expression (*in æternum renatus*) to designate one who had passed through the ceremonies of the Taurobolium and the Criobolium; and we find the same expression again in an inscription which Pope Xystus III. had carved on the baptistery of the Lateran:

> 'Coelorum regnum sperate, hoc fonte renati.
> Non recipit felix vita semel genitos.'

It is obvious in all these cases that initiation is literally a *re-generation*. This is brought about in two ways: (*a*) the ceremony evolves mystic influences which modify the spiritual and even the physical nature of the neophyte.

Among the Australians these influences materialize as pebbles or bits of quartz which are supposed to enter the body of the candidate for magicianship.[3] Some clans even believed that his entrails were replaced by new ones. In other parts, a snake is supposed to enter his head.[4] In still other cases there is the substitution or even the superposition of a new soul which comes down from the spirit world; J. G. Frazer has shown that this is a very common way of explaining the change, but he is mistaken in thinking that this *avatar* is invariably the work of a totem which communicates its own soul to the novice, while retaining its own individuality. There is, as a matter of fact, nothing to prevent the soul or spirit thus incarnated from being ascribed to an entirely different source. This new factor may be merely a quality, a virtue, or a gift of grace, which the sanctifying influence of initiation has poured down on the neophyte to purify and exalt his inner nature.

(*b*) The neophyte may pass for the time being into the spirit world. He lives the life of the spirits, becomes like one of them, and so enjoys their privileges. Perhaps the idea here is, reasoning from imitative magic, that, since the neophyte has once died and been resuscitated, the same thing will happen again when he dies in reality.

It is impossible to enter into details of the rites which finally admit the neophyte into the superhuman world. Those which are quoted by Andrew Lang nearly all belong to this category. It is a curious thing that among almost all uncivilized peoples the noise produced by the bull-roarer, or rattle, is supposed to be the voice of spirits; but it is still a moot point whether this instrument was in general use in initiation ceremonies among the ancients. Daubing with clay, chalk, or other colouring substances is a very common rite, but the washing which follows it is not to be confused with the lustrations whose object is to rid the novice of all pernicious taints, and which belong rather to the rites of separation. On the other hand, the mutilations which were classed under separation rites (circumcision, the drawing of a tooth, the removal of a phalanx, etc.) may also be taken as admission rites when their object is to test the courage of the neophytes and their power of resistance, or to set a mark on them by which they will know each other. Dancing, as Lucian noted when he wrote 'there is no mystery without dancing,'[5] may be regarded as of universal use in initiation ceremonies, if we include under it all rhythmic movements, from the *corroboris* in which the Australians imitate the actions and gestures of their totems, to circumambulations (*q.v.*), which aim at drawing a circle to separate the two worlds (except when these circumambulations are a magic ceremony to influence the course of nature). The giving of a new name is often accompanied by the use of a new language, formed either from archaic expressions or turns of speech, or from everyday words which are given a new intonation. Again, we must notice the frequent recourse to communion, through which the neophytes, by partaking of the food of the initiated, become assimilated with them, or, in the case of sacrifice, with the gods themselves.

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[1] Lampridius, *Commodus*, ch. ix.

[2] Apuleius, *Met.* xi. 23.

[3] De Jonghe, in *Revue des questions historiques*, 9th ser., xii. 467 ff.

[4] A. W. Howitt, 'On some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation,' in *JAI* xiii. [1883–84] 453 f.

[5] L. Fison, 'The Nanga,' *ib.* xiv. [1884–85] 22.

[6] J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami*, Bremen, 1859, i. 59 ff.

[7] P. de Smet, *Missions de l'Orégon*, Ghent, 1848, i. 284.

[8] J. W. Fewkes, 'The Snake Ceremonials at Walpi,' in *Journ. of Amer. Ethnol. and Archæol.* iv. [Boston, 1894].

[9] R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nosaïris*, Paris, 1900, p. 110.

[1] A. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, 90.

[2] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. ii. 1. 6 (=*SBE* xxvi. 27).

[3] M. Mauss, *L'Origine des pouvoirs magiques dans les sociétés australiennes*, Paris, 1905, p. 16.

[4] *Ib.* p. 43.

[5] Περὶ ὀρχήσεως xv.

(3) *Communication of the sacra.*—The communication of the *sacra* is at once the complement and the essential object of the admission rites. It includes: (*a*) exhibitions, (*b*) actions, and (*c*) instructions—a threefold distinction already made by the ancients (at Eleusis: *τὰ δεικνύμενα*, 'what is shown'; *τὰ δρώμενα*, 'what is done'; and *τὰ λεγόμενα*, 'what is said'). (*a*) The exhibitions include magical or evocatory instruments (amulets, charms, relics, the *churingas* of the Australians, certain shells, the rattle of the American Indians and Negroes, the contents of the medicine bags, the cithern of the Egyptians, the fan, the cist, the tympanum of the Greeks); representational and symbolic objects (various images and effigies, masks, animals, ears of corn, etc.); or pictures representing the adventures of superhuman beings or scenes from the other world. In this way the novice gets to know the inhabitants of this higher world, to familiarize or identify himself with them, and to live their life. (*b*) The performances vary according to the goal aimed at, but we must distinguish between those whose object is initiation properly so called, and which are performed only once for each neophyte, and those which are repeated periodically and form the essential aim of the institution.[1] (*c*) The instruction, which often comprises several grades or degrees, bears of necessity on what the neophytes are to gain by initiation, but it generally extends to other matters than the explanation of rites and the teaching of formulæ. It includes the communication of the real name of divine personages, theogonies, and cosmogonies, mythical history, common law, the exercise of certain arts, moral and social obligations, tabus, and marriage laws.

Among the Basutos, the initiated are adjured to 'be men, fear theft, fear adultery, honour your father and mother, obey your chiefs.'[2] Here we are reminded of the laws attributed to Triptolemus, and said by St. Jerome to have been carved in the sanctuary of Eleusis: 'To honour one's parents, to worship the gods by offerings, and not to eat flesh.'[3]

The revelations may even include, under pressure of a more advanced state of culture, a supposed rational interpretation of vulgar beliefs, or even a religious philosophy agreeing with the most advanced philosophical views of the time. In any case, this instruction is protected by the obligation of secrecy, which the neophyte cannot infringe without laying himself open to the gravest consequences. But, as Seneca says, speaking of the mysteries of his time, the secrecy could apply only to the *sacra*, *i.e.* to the formulæ of incantation, the esoteric explanation of symbols, and the signs by which the initiated recognized each other; it could not cover philosophical precepts, if philosophy there was, because they were current among the uninitiated also.[4]

(4) *Reintegration rites.*—It is only very rarely that the initiated can remain for ever in the realm of the sacred. By some means or other he has to renew his relations with the ordinary world. But he does not return in exactly the same state as he went away. Since he reappears laden with mystic influences, which are, of course, dangerous for the uninitiated, he has to be, so to speak, 'detabuized' and readmitted to his original sphere. He has, for a certain period, to submit to rules of silence and abstinence, and, yet more, he must, in his new character, pretend to have forgotten all about his previous existence and re-learn everything connected with ordinary life.

In the Congo, he must pretend that he cannot either walk or eat by himself, and he has to be fed like a new-born infant. In Virginia, he has to learn the language of his tribe all over again. In New Guinea, he has to go backwards into his house. Among the Brāhmans, he throws his old garments into the river and puts on new ones.

These precautions are only transitory, yet a man who has once been initiated is, throughout his whole life, subjected to a special and more or less strict discipline. Sometimes he bears a special mark or wears special garments or insignia, as, *e.g.*, the cord worn by the Brāhmans, the white dress of the Essenes and Pythagoreans, etc.; he must also respect certain tabus and avoid certain localities. In every case he gains great prestige in the eyes of the uninitiated. When one has visited the infernal regions, even though it is only after the manner of Dante, some trace of it always remains.

LITERATURE.—H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, New York, 1908; A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909; H. Schutz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, Berlin, 1902; Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, London, 1887; J. G. Frazer, *GB*², do. 1900, ii.; L. Frobenius, *Masken und Geheimbünde Afrikas*, Halle, 1898; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*², London, 1894; F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris, 1906 (Eng. tr., *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Chicago, 1911).

GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

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[1] Perhaps some such distinction is alluded to in *Hom. Hymn to Demeter*, 481, where the author seems to mention successively 'initiation into' and 'participation in' the mysteries: Ὃς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν, ὅς τ' ἔμμορος (cf. Goblet d'Alviella, *Eleusinia*, Paris, 1903, p. 60).

[2] E. Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, Paris, 1860, p. 278.

[3] Jerome, *adv. Iovinianum*, ii. 14.

[4] Seneca, *Ep.* xcv.

INITIATION (Buddhist).—**1. Forms of initiation.**—Admission to the Buddhist Order (*saṁgha*) is gained by two forms of initiation, a lower, *pravrajyā* (Pāli, *pabbajjā*), and a higher, *upasampadā*, though the former is only preparatory to the latter and, in fact, a probationary part of it.

(*a*) *Pravrajyā* means 'going out'; and by this ceremony one goes out from a prior state of life, either from the worldly life in the case of an ordinary person, or from a monastic life in the case of one changing to another faith. This is in a certain way analogous with the Brāhmanical initiation (*upanayana*) by which a boy is admitted to a teacher's hermitage (*āśrama* [*q.v.*]) in order to live with him (*antevāsin*) as a *brahmachārin*. With the Buddhists a layman is thereby admitted to the Order, and is henceforth obliged to live with a preceptor, without whose directions he is not allowed to do anything. The lowest limit of age is eight, children under that age being ineligible. With this ordination the child begins his life as a 'homeless one' (*pravrajita, pabbajita*), and is called a *śrāmaṇera* (*sāmaṇera*), 'novice.' The period of novitiate lasts for twelve years, and, in the case of one initiated at eight, his higher ordination takes place only in his twentieth year.

(*b*) *Upasampadā* means 'arrival,' and is the entry into the circle of the fully accredited members of the *saṁgha*. This second and full ordination is never conferred on a novice under twenty years of age; but, if he receives the *pravrajyā* ordination at or after twenty, and is otherwise properly qualified, he can proceed at once to the *upasampadā*. One who has gone through the *upasampadā* is henceforth an *upasampanna bhikṣu* ('fully ordained mendicant'), and will be called, after ten years' standing, a *sthavira* (*thera*), 'elder,' elders only being allowed to instruct others, that is, to become an *upādhyāya* (*upajjhāya*), 'preceptor,' or an *āchārya* (*āchariya*), 'tutor.' Those who cannot as yet be named 'elders' are called *daharas* ('small teachers'), according to I-tsing.[1]

The names, *śramaṇa* (Pāli, *samaṇa*), 'one performing austerity, ascetic,' *bhikṣu* (Pāli, *bhikkhu*), 'one begging, mendicant,' and especially *śākyaputrīya śramaṇa* (*sākyaputtiyasamana*), 'an ascetic belonging to the son of the *Śākya* tribe,' are ap plied to all the members of the Order except the laity, though, strictly speaking, these terms can be applied to the elders only, for no one can be designated an ascetic or a mendicant until he is fully confirmed by the *upasampadā* and becomes himself responsible for such a mode of life.

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[1] I-tsing, *Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised i India*, tr. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, p. 104.

While the *pravrajyā* resembles the initiation (*upanayana*) to the first stage of the Brāhmanic life, the *upasampadā* makes the Buddhist system quite different from that of the Brāhmans. Coming of age and finishing his study, a *bramachārin* becomes a *snātaka* ('bathed') and returns to household life (*gṛhastha*), whereas a *śrāmaṇera* becomes by the *upasampadā* a *sthavira*, a full member of the Order, or a *bhikṣu* in the proper sense of the word, corresponding to the fourth and last stage of the Brāhmanic life, i.e. *sannyāsin*, an ascetic.

2. Particulars of initiation.—(*a*) The *pravrajyā* ordination chiefly consists of (1) the investment with a yellow robe, (2) a tonsure, (3) the declaration of the Three Refuges (*saraṇattaya*), and (4) the imparting of the Ten Precepts (*dasasikkhāpadāni*).

A lay person desiring to enter the Buddhist Order first chooses a *vihāra* ('monastery'), approaches an elder living therein (bringing with him a suit of yellow robes), and requests to be initiated. The elder invests him with the robe, and instructs him to keep the Three Refuge creed by repeating it:

> 'I take refuge with the Buddha, I take refuge with the Religion, I take refuge with the Order. For the second time I take refuge with the Buddha. For the third time I take refuge with the Buddha,' etc.

After this the candidate is again taught to adhere to the Ten Precepts (*dasasikkhāpadāni*):

> 'Abstinence from taking life, Abstinence from taking what is not given, Abstinence from impure practices, Abstinence from telling a lie, Abstinence from intoxicating drinks, Abstinence from eating out of time, Abstinence from dancing, singing, and seeing shows, Abstinence from the application of perfume, incense, etc., Abstinence from the use of a high or large couch or seat, Abstinence from receiving gold and silver.'

So far the ceremony. Henceforth the novice lives with his preceptor and acts under the latter's supervision until he is fully qualified for the next ordination.

The *pravrajyā* is in reality a preparatory ceremony by which one enters into the probationary course of the priestly life. Without this course of novitiate one cannot proceed to the higher Order, the relation between a *śrāmaṇera* and a *śramaṇa* being analogous to that between deacon and priest in the Anglican Church.

(*b*) The *upasampadā* ordination is not so simple as the *pravrajyā*, since it involves the fullest possible enjoyment of the privileges of the Buddhist Order and the final registry of the right of seniority among the younger brethren. Every step of the ordination has to be performed before a chapter of fully equipped elders, the number of the members being in this case at least ten.[1] An ecclesiastical vote of the chapter of elders is called *kammavāchā*, and there are two forms of arriving at a resolution: (1) a summary decision (*ñattidutiyakamma*), in which a resolution is arrived at by the first reading, and (2) a decision by the third reading (*ñattichatutthakamma*).[2] In the *upasampadā* ordination all questions are decided by three readings. The method of voting is very simple. Those who assent remain silent, while those who dissent speak out. Occasionally, however, when there are dividing opinions in case of a difficult question, the chapter has recourse to the use of voting slips (*salākā*), which are divided in colours, generally white and black, but sometimes of several different colours. The time generally chosen for holding the ordination is the full-moon day of Vaiśākha (April–May), and the three successive days of quarters of the moon.[1] The proceedings are as follows.

> First a preliminary examination of the candidate takes place A novice is brought by a tutor before the president of the chapter,[2] and an *upādhyāya* (*upājjhāya*, 'preceptor') is appointed for the candidate. Meanwhile one of the assembly comes up as a second tutor, or, rather, witness. By these two tutors he is questioned as to his name, his preceptor's name, his bowl, and his robes. All being well, he is ordered to stand on a certain spot, while the tutors remain before the president, and, having asked the permission of the chapter, they instruct the candidate to tell the truth, and further examine him as to his qualifications. He is first questioned if he has any such diseases as leprosy (*kuṭṭha*), boils (*gaṇḍa*), itch (*kilāsa*), asthma (*sosa*), or epilepsy (*apamāra*). These questions being answered in the negative, he is asked if he is a human being (*manussa*), a male (*purisa*), and a free man (*bhujissa*); if he is free from debt (*anaṇa*), exempt from military service (*rājabhaṭa*), and permitted by his parents (*anuññāta mātāpitūhi*); and, further, if he is of the full age of twenty. The questions as to the state of the bowl, and the robes, and his name and his preceptor's name, are also asked.

This strict and searching examination being over, the two tutors go up to the president of the chapter and report the result, and then the candidate is called out (*āgachchhāhi* or *ehi*).[3] Thereupon he comes out and stands between the two tutors and says: 'Venerable sirs, I ask the chapter to confer upon me the *upasampadā*. Have pity on me and lift me up (*ullumpetu*).' He repeats this request three times.

Now the tutors repeat the above examinations once more before the assembly, and finally a motion (*ñatti*) is proposed publicly with the words:

> 'This Nāga desires the *upasampadā* under the venerable Tissa. He is free from disqualifications (*antarāyikā dhammā*). If any of the venerable chapter approves the ordination of the candidate, let him be silent; but if any objects, let him speak.'

This motion also is repeated three times. If all are silent, the president declares that the resolution is carried.[4] As soon as the ceremonies are over, the shadow of the sun (*chhāyā*) must be measured, and the season (*utupamāna*) and the division of the day (*divasabhāga*), with the details of the assembly (*saṁgīti*), should be recorded.

The four requisites (*nissayā*) for a *bhikṣu* and the four interdicts (*akaraṇīyāni*) must be minutely taught.

> The four requisites are (1) food collected in the almsbowl (*piṇḍiyālopa-bhojana*); (2) robes made of rags (*paṁsukūla-chīvara*); (3) lodging at the foot of a tree (*rukkhamūlasenāsana*); and (4) cow's urine used as medicine (*pūtimutta-bhesajja*). To each of these several exceptions are given
>
> The four interdicts are (1) sexual intercourse (*methuna-dhamma*); (2) theft (*adinnādāna*); (3) killing (*pāṇātipāta*); and (4) a claim of superhuman power (*uttarimanussadhamma*). To these also many exceptions are allowed.

With the instructions as to these two series of important moral precepts the ordination comes to an end.

3. Training of the initiated.—The *upasampadā* ordination confers on the candidate no mystic power, as is the case in the *abhiṣeka* described below; nor is it regarded as an indelible Order imposed upon him, for one's free will is always respected in the Buddhist Order. But the *upasampadā* ordination alone does not give a man freedom of conduct, for he has further to live under the supervision of the superiors whom he has chosen. The superiors are generally two, one being the preceptor (*upādhyāya*), the other the tutor (*āchārya*).

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[1] *SBE* xiii. [1881] 170.

[2] *Ib.* p. 169.

[1] The full-moon day of Vaiśākha is the day of the Buddha's *parinibbāna*; see Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāsādikā*, in H. Oldenberg's *Vinaya Pitaka*, London, 1879–83, iii. 283.

[2] An elder who becomes president must be of more than ten years' standing after his *upasampadā* ordination; see *SBE* xiii. 178.

[3] Cf. Rigveda, III. viii. 4, which is used in the Brāhmanic initiation in the Gṛhyasūtras. The first verse, *Yuvā suvāsāḥ parivīta āgāt*, etc., is recited by a candidate, and the second verse, *Taṁ dhīrāsa Kavaya unnayanti*, etc., is said by the teacher. *Āgachchhāhi-āgāt* and *ullumpetu-unnayanti* are interesting. The ordination is sometimes called *ehi-bhikkhu-pabbajjā*, 'come-priest-ordination' (V. Fausböll, *Dhammapadam*, Copenhagen, 1855, p. 119).

[4] *SBE* xiii. 170.

The duties of the two superiors are very difficult to define; it is perhaps impossible to draw a line between them. Their offices, as detailed in the *Mahāvagga*, i. 25–33,[1] are exactly identical. Most probably, as the general purport of the two words indicates, the *upādhyāya* (preceptor) is responsible for his pupil's study of the sacred texts, while the *āchārya* (tutor) takes charge of the pupil in respect of conduct. The latter is sometimes called *karmāchārya*, meaning, most probably, a tutor in the ecclesiastical act, but personally a tutor in discipline.[2]

Thus an *upasampanna bhikṣu* is dependent on the two teachers. Though the *upādhyāya* seems to be more important than the *āchārya*, contrary to the Brāhmanic usage,[3] the duty of giving a *nissaya* (dependence, protection) properly belongs to the *āchārya*. It is prescribed by the Buddha in the Vinaya that a *bhikṣu* after the *upasampadā* should live ten years in dependence (*nissaya*) on an *āchārya*, and that he who has completed his tenth year may himself give a *nissaya* to others.[4] Thus an *āchārya* is a proper *nissaya-da* ('giver of protection'), and his protégé is *nissaya-antevāsika* ('pupil in dependence'). The pupil should be regarded as a son, and the tutor should be looked up to as a father.[5] Yet it is said in the *Vinaya* that a *nissaya* will cease when the *upādhyāya* and the *āchārya* come together.[6] This would imply that, though a pupil is always dependent on his *āchārya*, when he is in the presence of his *upādhyāya* for instruction or otherwise his dependence on the *āchārya* would cease for the time being.

As a *bhikṣu* is an *antevāsika* ('dwelling close by pupil') towards his *āchārya*, so he is a *saddhivihārika* ('living in the same *vihāra*, co-resident') towards his *upādhyāya*. Of the two superiors one is something like a private tutor whose duty is chiefly towards the progress of morals, while the other is a professor in the college (*vihāra*) who is mostly responsible for the instruction of the pupil.

4. Initiation in the mystic school of Buddhism (Japan).—The mystic doctrine of Buddhism is imparted only by the *abhiṣeka* ('anointing') rite, which is important, as it raises one above the level of ignorance and reveals the real state of nature. Through this one can witness the true *bodhichitta* ('mind arising from perfect knowledge') of the Buddha, unite one's mind with it, and become blessed and enlightened. An *āchārya's* sprinkling over the head of a novice of the water of knowledge (*jñānodaka*) of the Mahāvairochana Buddha (one of the Dhyānibuddhas) is at once symbolical of dispelling one's ignorance and one's sins. The *abhiṣeka* is certainly a reproduction of the crowning of Indian Rājas.[7]

In contrast to the *upasampadā*, liturgical elements come to the front, which are considered to effect a mystic transmission in the candidate's mind and person. A new name is always given to the anointed (*abhiṣikta*).

In the Buddhist *abhiṣeka* there are, theoretically, the three following forms: (1) the *abhiṣeka* of signs (*mudrā*); (2) the *abhiṣeka* of actions (*karma*); and (3) the *abhiṣeka* of mind (*chitta*). The *mudrā-abhiṣeka*, chiefly consisting of finger intertwinings symbolical of actions, is a curtailed form of initiation to be conferred on an earnest believer who is short of means, whereas the *chitta-abhiṣeka*, which is beyond the scope of speech and action, is conferred only on a holy personage (*ārya-pudgala*) like a Bodhisattva (*q.v.*). The *karma-abhiṣeka* is the ordinary rite which an *āchārya* performs for a fully equipped pupil, and is important in proportion as it is elaborate in details. The *karma-abhiṣeka* is again divided into three kinds: (*a*) the *abhiṣeka* for forming a sacred connexion (*pratītyabandha-abhiṣeka*); (*b*) the *abhiṣeka* for holding a magical power (*vidyādhara-abhiṣeka*); and (*c*) the *abhiṣeka* for transmitting the law (*dharmasaṁchāra-abhiṣeka*).

These ordinations are the stages of training in the mystic school. The most common of all is the *pratītyabandha-abhiṣeka*, which may be performed for any person, making no distinction whatever of qualifications, either good or bad; sometimes one is forcibly brought to the ordination hall so as to improve one's character. The object of this particular rite is to form a sacred connexion with a Buddha or a saint in the *maṇḍala* (sacred diagram), a fact which in the end will lead one to perfect knowledge. Every one who believes in the mystic doctrine is entitled to receive this ordination. During the rite the candidate is made to throw a flower over the sacred *maṇḍala* placed before him. If the flower falls on a Buddha or a Bodhisattva, he is considered to be worthy of the Buddha-gotra; but, if it falls on the outer circle of the *vajra-kula*, as on Vināyaka (Gaṇapati), he is not allowed to study the mystic doctrine, though at the present day there is no strict adherence to this rule. The *vidhyādhara-abhiṣeka* is a step higher than the *pratītyabandha*. It is conferred on the best qualified pupils who are able to grasp the highest truth. *Vidyā* ('science,' especially 'occult science') means *mantra* ('incantations'), *stotra* ('praises'), *dhāraṇi* ('charms'), and *mudrā* ('signs'). One who is possessed of this knowledge is called *vidyādhara* ('holder of occult science'). An *āchārya* through this ordination gives his select pupil permission to acquire the *vidyā* above specified, and also the *kriyā*, a religious achievement such as the four *pāramitās* ('perfections'); and this rite is, accordingly, also called the *abhiṣeka* for the position of a pupil (*śiṣyasthāna-abhiṣeka*). While the *pratītyabandha-abhiṣeka* is an admission to the mystic circle, the *vidyādhara-abhiṣeka* is an introduction to the mystic doctrine, and is therefore placed much higher than the *pratītyabandha*. Still higher in grade is the *dharmasaṁchāra-abhiṣeka*, which gives one, not the position of a pupil, but the position of a teacher, especially a transmitter of the mystic doctrine. The name means, therefore, the transmission of the teaching (*dharmasaṁchāra* or *śāsanasaṁchāra*), but sometimes it is called the *āchāryasthāna-abhiṣeka* (the *abhiṣeka* for the position of a teacher). This ordination is not conferred on a *bhikṣu* under fifty years of age, however well qualified he may be. This was in any case the rule set forth by Kūkai, the founder of the Japanese school of mystic Buddhism.

5. The ceremonial of the Buddhist abhiṣeka.—The object of the *abhiṣekas* as specified is to create (*a*) an ideal religious personage, (*b*) an ideal religious scholar, and (*c*) an ideal religious instructor. Consequently the rules of the religious performance preparatory to the *abhiṣeka* (*samaya-śīla*) are very minute and strict. By the *samaya* practice the candidate should produce a believing mind ('faith'), a compassionate mind ('compassion'), deep *prajñā* ('wisdom'), and a great *bodhi-chitta* ('mind arising from perfect knowledge'), and remain firm in determination. *Samaya* means 'agreement,' 'union,' 'communion,' and the *samaya-śīla* is intended to keep a man in communion with the Mahāvairochana Buddha. Through the efficacy of this preparatory performance the candidate now assumes the position of the Buddha-son, Vajrasattva, and enters into the hall of ordination (Pali, *sīmāmaṇḍala*).

Among the chief objects in use during this rite are a tooth-stick symbolizing the cleansing of passion and sins, a bundle of *vajra* threads in five colours representing the five Buddhas in union, a pot of the holy *vajra* water indicating the firm determination to seek *bodhi* ('supreme knowledge'), and so on. This ended, the *āchārya* blesses the candidate and covers his eyes, meaning to shut the gate of evils so as to open the divine eye. He is now led into the room of ordination with his eyes covered, and is made to throw a flower as before described, his object of worship being determined in this way. Afterwards he is allowed to gaze on this sacred *maṇḍala*. He is then led into the terrace of Bodhi (*bodhi-maṇḍa*), and is made to sit in the *padmāsana* fashion or on a lotus seat, and wear a diadem of the five Buddhas (*ratna-mukuṭa*) and a necklace (*hāra*). The *āchārya* sprinkles over his head the holy water of knowledge from five jars (*pañcha-kuṇḍaka*), and furnishes him with several things, such as a wheel (*chakra*) and a conch-shell (*śaṅkha*). While the *abhiṣeka* is still going on, a *homa* rite is performed, in which a sacred fire is lighted to burn all the past sins of the candidate.

Each ceremony is performed twice, first for the *garbhakośadhātumaṇḍala* (or *dharmadhātu*), and then for the *vajradhātumaṇḍala*, or *vice versa.* Without entering into details of these *maṇḍalas*, it will be sufficient to say that these two are quite different in Japan, whereas in Nepāl the distinction is very vague, one *maṇḍala* serving for the other, in spite of the existence of two separate names.

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[1] *SBE* xiii. 151–180.

[2] I-tsing, tr. Takakusu, pp. 106, 198.

[3] *Āchārya* is more important; Manu, ii. 145; Yājnavalkya, i. 35; see *SBE* xiii. 179, note.

[4] *SBE* xiii. 179.

[5] *Ib.* xiii. 179; I-tsing, p. 104.

[6] *SBE* xiii. 182.

[7] See art. ABHIṢEKA, vol. i. pp. 20–24.

The description here given follows the practices of the Japanese *mantra* school which were originally taught in China, by Subhākara Siṁha, an Indian *āchārya*, who was active in China A.D. 716–724, and which were brought to Japan by Kūkai (A.D. 774–835).[1] The tradition on the whole is no doubt much older than that in Nepāl.

6. The pravrajyā rites (Nepāl).—

In the Nepālese *abhiṣeka*, called the *pravrajyāvrata*,[2] the initiation of the Nepālese *banra* (Skr. *vandya*, 'worthy of honour, priest') is again different from those given above. A *guru* (teacher) in charge of the candidate prepares a pot (*kalaśa*) full of water and puts into it a lotus made of gold. Five confections, five flowers, five drugs, threads of five colours, etc., are properly provided. The candidate sits in the *vajrāsana* fashion before the pot and the four sacred *maṇḍalas* specially provided. He repeats the formula of the Three Refuges, and the first day's service is over. On the second day the candidate sits on the *svastikāsana*, and the *guru* gives him (1) the *vajra rakṣā* ('protection') by placing a *vajra* on his head; (2) the *loha* ('iron') *rakṣā* by placing three iron padlocks on the belly and on the two shoulders; and (3) the *agni* ('fire') *rakṣā* by placing a wine-cup (*surāpātra*) on his head. Then comes (4) the *kalaśa-abhiṣeka*, in which the holy water is sprinkled over his head. The *nāyaka banra* (head priest) of the *vihāra* ('monastery') now comes to him and puts a silver ring on the finger of the pupil. To the sound of a bell he sprinkles rice on the pupil and on the images of the protecting deities. On the third day, all necessary preparations being made, the pupil sits again on the *svastikāsana* and performs worship of the *guru maṇḍala*, the *chaitya* ('memorial tope'), the Three Treasures '*Tri-ratna*, *i.e.* Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha), and the *prajñā-pāramitā* text, and, lastly, he receives the Ten Precepts. He is again given three *rakṣās*, invested with a robe, and tonsured by a barber. Thereupon a diadem of the five Buddhas is put on his head, and the holy water is sprinkled on it, *mantras* being repeated all the while. With an offering (*pūjā*) the ceremony comes to an end, and a new Buddhist name is given to him.

Though *maṇḍalas*, five-coloured threads, the holy water, and the diadem of the five Buddhas are in common with the Japanese *abhiṣeka*, the Nepālese rite is more Hindu in its appearance. The ceremony of initiation in Tibet is generally similar to that of the southern Buddhists.[3] The *vinaya* school in Japan also mainly follow southern Buddhism in their ordination. The *abhiṣeka* belongs only to the *mantra* school of the mystic Buddhism.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the references given in the art. see F. Spiegel, *Karmavākyam*, Bonn, 1841; J. F. Dickson, 'Kammavācā,' in *JRAS*, 1875, pp. 1–16; T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, i. (*SBE* xiii. [1881]); R. C. Childers, *Dict. of the Pali Lang.*, London, 1875, pp. 305 f., 532, 180 f.; H. Kern, *Man. of Ind. Buddhism* (=*GIAP* iii. 8), Strassburg, 1896, pp. 76–79.

J. TAKAKUSU.

INITIATION (Greek).—The Greek word for 'initiation,' *τελετή*, has until quite recently not been rightly understood. The lexicons tell us that it means 'accomplishment,' 'fulfilment,' 'attaining an end,' a *τέλος*; hence a rite of accomplishment, hence initiation into the mysteries. But we are left uncertain as to what end is to be accomplished. The word *τελετή* is derived from *τελέω*; its gist is best seen in the cognate *τέλειος*, which means 'full-grown.' A *τέλειος ἵππος* is a full-grown horse as contrasted with a foal. A *τέλειος ἀνήρ* is a full-grown man, an *adult*; *τελετή* is the rite of the first human accomplishment, the rite of growing up, of coming to maturity.

This meaning of *τελετή* is very clearly shown in the myth of the Prœtids told us by Apollodorus (II. ii. 2). The daughters of Prœtus, king of Tiryns, went mad and ranged over the mountains. They were finally cured by the soothsayer Melampus, who healed them by a ritual dance, and eventually married one of them. The time *when* they went mad is most instructive: 'when they had grown to maturity' (*ὡς ἐτελειώθησαν*). The reason *why* they went mad is equally so: 'they refused the maturity rites of Dionysos' (*τὰς Διονύσου τελετὰς οὐ κατεδέχοντο*). It is not safe to grow up without the orthodox rites of maturity; the crisis is momentous, and needs *rites de passage.* Not only baptism is needed, but confirmation.

Another version of the story given by Apollodorus says that the maidens went mad because they held the image of Hera cheap. Hera was worshipped in three forms: as child (*παῖς*), as full-grown woman (*τελεία*), and as widow (*χήρα*); she represented the three stages of a woman's life. This explains the sequel of the story of the Prœtids. The maidens who are healed by initiation are immediately married. Marriage, in fact, is the sign-manual of maturity. A boy among primitive peoples cannot take a wife till he has been initiated. In some cases initiation is not complete till after the birth of the first child. This explains the statement of Pollux (iii. 38): 'The married are mature'—*τέλειοι οἱ γεγαμηκότες.* This explains also why to the Greeks the Danaids both were 'uninitiated in marriage' (*ἀτελεῖς γάμου*) and became the prototypes of those who were 'uninitiated' in the Mysteries. To the Greeks, as in the English Prayer-Book, marriage is 'an excellent mystery.'

Initiation rites will be discussed under the head of MYSTERIES (Greek). All that concerns us here is to grasp the important fact that the primal *τελετή*, or initiation rite, was the rite of maturity. This rite was, of course, carefully concealed from the immature, and in sex rites from the uninitiated sex. Therein resided the *mystery*, which was indeed the social sanctity of the whole proceeding.

How little 'mysterious' in our sense the rite of maturity was is seen from a marble relief, probably funerary, now in the Central Museum at Athens, and dating about the 1st cent. A.D. A matronly figure seated on a decorated chair is inscribed 'Increase' (Ἐπίκτησις). Before her, on a base, is a statue of 'Fertility' (Εὐθηνία), who carries a basket of fruit. Behind 'Fertility,' on a Doric pillar, is a goddess of the Artemis type. Near her in the field is the inscription Τελετή, 'Rite of Maturity.' Whether this refers to the figure on the pillar or to the whole scene is not very clear. What is clear is that Τελετή, 'Initiation or Maturity Rite,' stands both for the fertility of man and for that of the fruits of the earth, for behind the figure on the pillar is a great tree with a fillet hanging from one bough and round the stem a snake, the emblem of the fertility of the ground. According to ancient thinking, the same rite promotes and protects the maturity of man and of nature. In the light of this conception we understand why the great Eleusinian Mysteries were a festival of sowing. In the light of the fact that Τελετή stands on a gravestone we understand those hopes of immortality which centred round the Mysteries. Death was a *rite de passage* to a new life. 'It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body.' 'Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die' (1 Co $15^{44.\ 36}$).

LITERATURE.—For Greek initiation rites see MYSTERIES (Greek) and KOURETES; for possible survivals of initiation rites in the mysteries of the Kouretes and the Myth of Zagreus, J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 1–29; for marriage as an initiation rite, J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, do. 1910, p. 590; for the Danaids as unmarried and uninitiated, J. E. Harrison, *Proleg. to Study of Gr. Rel.*², do. 1908, p. 618; for death as initiation rite, R. Hertz, 'La Représentation collective de la mort,' in *ASoc* x. [1905–06] 48; for sculptured relief of

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[1] The above account of the *abhiṣeka* was furnished by S. Yoshida, who himself went through the rite with the object of studying the mystic doctrine.

[2] See B. H. Hodgson, *Religion and Literature of the Nepalese Buddhists*, xv., London, 1874, p. 212; L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 179, note 3.

[3] See 'Tibetan' section below, and Waddell, 173–185.

Τελετή, A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 535, fig. 407; for survivals of initiation rites in the customs of the Greek *Ephebeia*, Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Ephèbe.'

J. E. HARRISON.

INITIATION (Hindu).—The ceremony of initiation, or girding with the sacred thread, is considered one of the most important events in the life of a young Hindu. Before it he is, under the ancient Sanskrit law, equal to a low-born Śūdra, but the investiture is supposed to confer a spiritual birth in virtue of which he is reckoned a member of the higher classes, and these are therefore called the twice-born (*dvija*). It appears probable that the original meaning of this Indian custom has been preserved in those celebrations which take place among wild tribes all over the world at the time when a youth attains puberty, the Indian notion of a spiritual re-birth, or beginning of a new life, being present at many of these ceremonies. The Brāhmanical law of India seems to have narrowed the original meaning and importance of the custom by converting it into an 'introduction' (Skr. *upanayana*) to the future teacher, but the extension of the privileges conferred by it to many non-Brāhmanical castes was retained, and the now prevailing neglect of the course of sacred studies prescribed for the young novice seems to have been very common from an early period even among the Brāhmans. The Sanskrit law-books and the *Gṛhyasūtras* (domestic rules) are prolix in their descriptions of the rite of *upanayana*, the principal part of which consists in the communication of an ancient Sanskrit prayer (*gāyatrī*) to the novice by his future teacher, and in the investiture of the boy with a girdle which he puts round his waist, and with the sacred thread which he carries over the left shoulder. The performance of this rite is enjoined in general for a Brāhman in his eighth year, for a Kṣatriya in his eleventh, and for a Vaiśya in his twelfth. After initiation the youth has to live at the house of his spiritual teacher, studying the Veda under him, obeying his commands, begging for alms on his behalf, and collecting fuel for his fire. The period of studentship lasts for twelve years, or until the student has acquired a knowledge of the Vedas, and it terminates with another ceremony called *samāvartana* ('return'). The expense incurred by initiating a boy is defrayed by his parents, and after their death it becomes a charge on the inheritance.

At the present day the rite of *upanayana* is performed by Brāhmans and other high castes all over India, and the ancient ceremonies are preserved more or less in their original form. Thus among the Mādhva class of Deshāsth Brāhmans in Dhārwār (Bombay Pres.) eight is the usual age for a boy's thread-girding, and the season from mid-February to mid-July is the right time. An astrologer chooses a lucky day for the ceremony, for which great preparations are made, the house being cleaned and whitewashed, a porch erected in front of it, with posts ornamented with twigs and flowers, an altar raised facing the east, and invitation letters sent to friends and kinsmen. The lucky day having arrived, musicians begin to play at the boy's house; he is anointed with oil and turmeric, and bathed; a barber shaves his head, leaving three or five locks, according as he is supposed to study the Rigveda or the Yajurveda. He is then taken to the dining-hall, where his mother places him on her lap, feeds him, and for the last time eats from the same plate with him. The barber shaves the boy once more, leaving only the top-knot on his head; he is bathed, and made to sit down on a low wooden stool between his parents, and the Brāhman priests present chant eight auspicious hymns. As soon as the 'lucky moment' has arrived, the musicians raise a loud noise, the guests clap their hands, and the Brāhman priests and guests throw red rice over the boy. The priest then formally girds him with the sacred thread, one part of which rests on the boy's left shoulder, the rest falling below the right arm. A piece of deer-skin is tied to the sacred thread, and a staff is placed in his hand. Money presents are made to Brāhman priests, and fruits and flowers are handed round among the guests. At noon the boy is made to say his midday prayers, and in the evening his evening prayer. He asks alms of his mother in Sanskrit, and afterwards of his father, and in the same way of friends and kinsmen. Each drops rice and silver coins into the boy's cloth wallet. On the following three days he is taught to say his regular prayers, and is made to worship the sacred fire. On the fifth day he is dressed in fine clothes and taken in procession with music to a temple in the village, where he worships the idol and returns home. Among the Paradeśa Brāhmans of Travancore, in the extreme south of the Peninsula, the *upanayana* consists of no fewer than fourteen parts, which have retained their old Sanskrit names, and correspond in the main to the ceremonies in vogue at Dhārwār as above described. The actual initiation, however, is performed by the teacher instructing the boy in the holy *gāyatrī* prayer, which he mutters in a low voice so that the assembled throng of friends may not hear it. Elsewhere it is the father who mutters the *gāyatrī* in the boy's right ear, whereas it rests with the priest to kindle the sacred fire and to gird the boy with the sacred thread. The initiation ceremony entails considerable expense; thus it is said to cost 40 to 100 rupees among the Deshāsth Brāhmans of Bijāpur, and 20 to 50 rupees among the Patane Prabhus of Poona. The course of instruction in the sacred books and prayers after *upanayana* has in most cases dwindled down to a period of a few days, but the privilege of wearing the sacred thread continues to be highly prized. In the 17th cent. the valiant Śivaji, the founder of Mahratta power, on account of his low origin did not venture to wear the sacred thread till his solemn coronation had taken place. On the other hand, customs precisely analogous to the initiation of the Brāhmans are found to occur even among those castes the members of which never wear the sacred thread. Thus among the Agarvāls of Poona it is customary for every boy at the age of eight or nine to prostrate himself once before his teacher, who presents him with a wreath of flowers and mutters a sacred verse in his ear. The Kanphatas of Cutch, a religious body, give every novice a black woollen thread, which he ties round his neck with a knot; and on receiving him into their Order the teacher whispers a certain verse into his ear.

LITERATURE.—J. Jolly, 'Über die indische Jünglingsweihe,' in *Jahrbuch der internat. Vereinigung für vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft*, Berlin, 1897; A. Hillebrandt, *Rituallitteratur*, Strassburg, 1897; *The Census of Travancore*, 1891, vol. i., Report; *Bombay Gazetteer, passim.*

J. JOLLY.

In modern practice only a few of the initiatory or purificatory rites (*saṁskāra*) remain in force. In the case of a boy, on the twelfth or on some other lucky day after the fortieth from birth the naming rite (*nāmakarma*) is performed, the name being regarded as a part of the personality. It is selected either by astrological calculations, by adoption of that of some deceased ancestor, or in other ways. In the sixth or eighth month after birth comes the 'food-giving' rite (*annaprāśana*, in W. India *boṭan*), at which boiled milk with rice and sugar or coarse wheat-flour mixed with sugar and clarified butter is laid on a rupee or gold plate and given to the child by the maternal uncle or by some other near relation (*BG* ix. [1901] pt. i. p. 35; *Census Reports*, Kashmir, 1911. i. 145, Central Provinces, 1911, i. 156; W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, London, 1887, p. 13). This is regarded as an initiation into caste, and the child henceforth is supposed to observe the food rules and tabus peculiar to his group. In the Central Provinces, the lower Hindu castes and the Gonds (*q.v.*) regard the ear-piercing (Skr. *karṇavedha*, Hindi *kan-chhedan*) as the mark of admission to the caste community. It is generally done when the child is four or five years old, and up to this time he or she is not considered to be a member of the caste, and may consequently take food from any one (R. V. Russell, *Ethn. Survey, Central Provinces*, pt. viii. Allahabad, 1911, p. 99 ff.).

There have been various explanations of this rite. F. B. Jevons (*Introd. Hist. Rel.*, London, 1896, p. 171 f.) considers it to be a survival of the offering of blood to the deity. A. E. Crawley (*The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 135) classes it with other forms of savage mutilation:

> 'When we find that the mouth and lips, the teeth, nose, eyes, ears, and genital organs are subjected to such processes, we may infer that the object is to secure the safety of these sense-organs, by what is practically a *permanent* amulet or charm.'

Russell (*op. cit.* 101) suggests that

> 'the continuous distension of the lobe of the ear by women and the large hole made is supposed to have some sympathetic effect in opening the womb and making child-birth easy.' In this connexion he refers to the horror felt by women if the flesh surrounding the hole is torn by accident or design. In such case the woman has to undergo a rite of purification as severe as in the case where it is found that maggots have formed in a wound or sore.

On the whole, the theory that it is intended as a protection to one of the body exits appears most probable (cf. KAPĀLAKRIYĀ).

The initiation of a child of one of the higher castes into the Hindu religion is provided by the rite in which the *guru*, or spiritual teacher, whispers into the ear of the child a formula containing the name of some god, which thenceforward becomes his special personal deity (*iṣṭadevatā*), 'by repeating whose name he is to obtain present and future happiness' (W. Ward, *A View of the Hist., Lit., and Mythol. of the Hindoos*^{2}, Serampore, 1815, ii. 253 f.). Marriage is the only form of initiation required for a girl, as she thereby enters the group of her husband; but in some cases tatuing (*q.v.*) is an indispensable preliminary to marriage, and is regarded as a form of initiation.

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities quoted above, see M. Monier Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*^{4}, London, 1891, p. 357 ff.; H. A. Rose, 'Hindu Birth Observances in the Punjab,' *JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 226 ff.; *Census Reports*, Assam, 1911, i. 76 ff., Central Provinces, 1911, i. 156 ff., Rajputana, 1911, i. 153 f.

W. CROOKE.

INITIATION (Jewish).—**1.** Philo of Alexandria regards the assumed allegorical sense of the Scriptures as a mystery. Thus, in a fragment of his *Quæstiones in Genesin* entitled περὶ θείων λόγων, and preserved by Johannes Damascenus (*Sacra Parallela*, p. 782; in Philo's *Opera*, ed. Mangey, London, 1742, ii. 658), he declares that it is not proper to divulge the sacred mysteries to the uninitiated before they have been purified by a perfect purification,[1] and speaks of the words of Scripture as the true mysteries (τὰς ἀληθεῖς τελετάς) which must not enter into profane ears (ὦτα μεστὰ φλυαρίας). That these are only metaphorical terms, by which the author does not allude to any initiatory rite of mysterious description, appears from the conditions he lays down for those to whom the Scriptural mysteries may properly be communicated, viz. (1) piety and holiness, corresponding to a strict belief in the one true God; (2) 'to be cleansed by the sanctifying purification, in body and soul alike—by (through?) the laws and customs of the fathers';[1] (3) seriousness of mind. Here the 'cleansing of the body' (καθαρθῆναι κατὰ σῶμα) can be regarded only as being effected by the purifying baths prescribed by the law (see PURIFICATION [Jewish]), perhaps also by abstinence from forbidden foods, and by observation of the traditional Jewish fasts, while the 'cleansing of the soul' (καθαρθῆναι κατὰ ψυχήν) must be understood as that which is effected by the influence of religious and moral principles. The words διὰ νόμων πατρίων, κτλ., require this interpretation, which we find fully confirmed by similar utterances of the same author.[2]

2. In another work Philo (*de Pœnitentia*, p. 717; Mangey, ii. 406), in counselling a kind behaviour towards proselytes, says that, having abandoned polytheism in order to worship the one God, they are 'like men who, once blind, have recovered their sight, having from the deepest darkness descried a most glorious light.'[3] The context, as given here, shows that the statement of Philo is simply a rhetorical simile, for the instruction and baptism of Jewish proselytes cannot rightly be regarded as an initiation into a mystery, nor were they ever associated with any such rite.

3. The 'dreadful oaths' required of the neophytes of the Essene order (ὅρκους . . . ὀμνυσι φρικώδεις) might with more confidence be regarded as forming part of an initiatory ceremony. Josephus, after recounting the obligations which the candidates were bound by oath to fulfil, continues as follows:

> 'Moreover, they swear that they will communicate the doctrines to no one on any other condition than those on which each himself received them, . . . and that with like care they will preserve the books of their sect and the names of the angels,'[4] and adds: 'By such oaths do they [*i.e.* the Essenes] make their proselytes trustworthy.'

Now, in his autobiography (*Vita*, 2), Josephus tells us that, when a youth, he became a pupil successively of the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, and thereafter of an eremite named Bannûs, with whom he remained in solitude for three years, and then, at the age of nineteen, returned to the city. It is thus clear that he must have parted from the Essenes in his sixteenth or seventeenth year—at an age, that is to say, when he could not yet have been received into the full membership of the sect. Accordingly, he had not taken the oath that would have obliged him to maintain the secrecy of the Essene doctrine, nor had he undergone the consecrating ceremonies or taken part in the initiatory rites of the order, so that, however willing he may have been, as a historian, to speak of these things in detail, he was not in a position to do so.

The present writer is, nevertheless, inclined to believe that, if initiatory rites were now and again performed among the Essenes, either in connexion with the admission of new members or on other occasions, Josephus would certainly have become aware of the mere fact, and in that case would doubtless have expressly attested it. Our conclusion, accordingly, is that, although baptism of proselytes is an initiatory rite, there was among the Jews no practice of initiation in the technical sense; that is to say, no mysterious initiation and no initiations into a mystery.

W. BRANDT.

INITIATION (Parsi).—There are two distinct forms of initiation among the Parsis: *naōjot*, the reception of a child into the Zoroastrian faith; and

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[1] *Sacra Parall.* 782 A: οὐ θέμις τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια ἐκλαλεῖν ἀμυήτοις, ἄχρις ἂν καθαρθῶσι τελείᾳ καθάρσει. The reason given is that an uninitiated person will laugh at what is not to be laughed at (μωμηθήσεται τὰ ἀμώμητα).

[1] *Sacra Parall.* 782 B: καθαρθῆναι τὰς ἁγνευούσας καθάρσεις κατά τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν, διὰ νόμων πατρίων καὶ ἠθῶν (ἐθῶν).

[2] Cf. *de Plantatione Noë*, p. 237 (Mangey, i. 354; L. Cohn and P. Wendland, Berlin, 1896 ff., ii. 166): σώματα καὶ ψυχὰς καθηράμενοι, τὰ μὲν λουτροῖς, τὰ δὲ νόμων καὶ παιδείας ὀρθῆς ῥεύμασι, κτλ.

[3] καθάπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ τυφλοὶ πρότερον ὄντες ἀνέβλεψαν, ἐκ βαθυτάτου σκότους αὐγοειδέστατον φῶς ἰδόντες.

[4] *BJ* II. viii. 7 adds ἀφέξεσθαι δὲ λῃστείας; these words seem not to be in their proper place here.

nāvar and *marātib*, the initiation into the priesthood.

1. Naōjot.—The *naōjot* is essentially the ceremony of investing a child with the sacred shirt (*sudrah*) and girdle (*kustī*), which must be worn throughout the remainder of a Zoroastrian's life, though otherwise he may adopt any costume he desires.

The word *naōjot* (Pers. *nūzūd*) is derived from Avesta * *navazaotar*, 'new priest,' because after the completion of the rite a Parsi child is held responsible for prayer and for the observance of religious customs and ceremonies. According to another view, it represents Pers. *nauzād*, 'new-born,' thus implying spiritual re-birth. The modern Persian Zoroastrians term the ceremony *šib-kustī*, 'basal girdle.'

The age of initiation is seven, when, according to the pseudo-Platonic *Alcibiades Primus* (121 D), as confirmed by the *Vendīdād* (xv. 45) and the *Dīnkarṭ* (ed. and tr. P. B. Sanjana, Bombay, 1874 ff., iv. ch. 170), the education of the child began (see, further, art. EDUCATION [Persian]). If a child is not sufficiently intelligent to understand the ceremony and to know its responsibilities, the *naōjot* may be postponed to any age below fifteen, when investiture must take place, or the child will be claimed by the Evil Spirit (cf. *Vend.* xviii. 54–59; *Sad-dar*, x. 1, xlvi. 1; *Šāyast la-Šāyast*, x. 13), and is guilty of the sin of 'running about uncovered' (*Dīnā-ī-Maīnōg-ī-Xraṭ*, ii. 35; *Arṭā-ī-Vīrāf Nāmak*, ed. and tr. J. Hoshang and M. Haug, Bombay, 1872, xxv. 6; *Patēṭ* 10).

Both the *sudrah*[1] and the *kustī* bear a symbolic meaning, though the symbolism is not explained in the Avesta, but only in later Persian works.

The *sudrah* is made of white cambric, the white colour being symbolic of innocence and purity. It must not be made of one continuous piece of cloth, but of two pieces sewn together on the sides, so that one seam may be on the right-hand side and the other on the left-hand side, thus dividing the shirt into two parts, front and back. These two parts are said to be symbolic of the past and the future, both being related to each other through the present. The most important part of the shirt is the *girihbān* ('that which preserves the knot') or *kissah-i-karfah* ('bag of righteousness'), which signifies loyalty to or faith in the religion. It is made in the form of a bag or purse, a little below the throat. It indicates symbolically that a man has to be industrious, and has not only to fill his purse or bag with money, but also with *karfah*, *i.e.* righteousness.

The *kustī*,[2] or girdle, is made of lamb's wool, which is first combed and then spun into a fine thread on a hand-spindle (*chhātri*). Two such threads are twisted into one, and this is woven into the *kustī* on a hand-loom, the ends of which are movable, so that it can be adjusted to the length required. The twisted thread is passed round the loom seventy-two times, so that the *kustī* consists of seventy-two threads, which are divided into six strands, each of twelve threads. In the process of weaving, a continuous thread is made to pass through each of the six strands, and, when the weaving is almost finished, and only about a foot of the threads remains to be woven, the whole thread is removed from the loom and handed to a priest to be cut and consecrated. It is the privilege of the women of the priestly class to weave and prepare the sacred thread, and it is the privilege of a priest finally to cut and consecrate it.

To consecrate the thread, the priest first performs the *pādyāb* (see next col.), and then recites the *sraōš bāj* (for which see J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–93, ii. 686–688) as far as the word *ašahe*. He next recites the *nīrang* (liturgical formula) for cutting and consecrating the thread, followed by the *ašem vohū* and *yaθā ahū vairyō* (*Ys.* xxvii. 14. 13), and while reciting the latter he cuts the *kustī* into two parts as he utters the word *šyaoθananām*. On finishing the *yaθā ahū vairyō*, he utters a brief Pazand formula, and then finishes the *bāj*.

The women who prepare the *kustī* generally get it cut and consecrated by the male priestly members of their own families. When they have no such members, and have, therefore, to get it consecrated by other priests, they have to pay a small fee for it.

After this consecration the *kustī* is returned by the priest to the owner, who now completes it. First, by means of a needle, she turns the *kustī*, which is hollow, inside out, and then knits by hand the remaining part of the thread. Three tassels, each of four threads, are formed at each end of the woven thread. The *kustī* is then finally washed before being used.

The *kustī*, being prepared from the wool of a lamb, is held to remind a Zoroastrian of the purity of life and action which he has always to observe; the seventy-two threads composing the *kustī* symbolize the seventy-two chapters of the *Yasna*; the twenty-four threads which make up each of the three tassels at each end of the *kustī* symbolize the twenty-four sections of the *Vīsparad*, a part of the liturgy; the six strands, each of twelve threads, into which the seventy-two threads of the *kustī* are divided at the time of weaving, are said to symbolize the six religious duties[1] of a Zoroastrian; the twelve threads in each of the strands symbolize the twelve months of the year; the six tassels symbolize the six seasonal festivals of the Zoroastrian year; the hollow of the thread symbolizes the space between this world and the next; the doubling of the thread in the beginning symbolizes the connexion between the present corporeal world and the future spiritual world; the turning of the *kustī* inside out symbolizes the passage of the soul from the corporeal to the spiritual world; the final uniting of all the threads into one symbolizes universal brotherhood.

The *kustī* is said to have existed in the pre-Zoroastrian religion, and to have been adopted by Zoroaster, who held it to be a symbol of obedience to God, closing the door against sin, and breaking the power of evil.[2]

Except when bathing, the *sudrah* and *kustī* must always be worn, but the latter must be untied and re-tied immediately after rising in the morning, after answering a call of nature, before prayer, after bathing, and before meals. After performing the *pādyāb*, or ablution of the face and other exposed portions of the body, the Parsi recites the *ašem vohū*, and then (facing the sun by day, and the moon or a lamp or the stars by night) the *kēm-nā Mazdā* (*Ys.* xlvi. 7, xliv. 16; *Vend.* viii. 21; *Ys.* xlix. 10), after which he unties the thread and, holding the doubled end in his left hand and taking in his right the centre of the remaining portion, recites the *nīrang kustī* (for which see Darmesteter, ii. 685, and E. W. West, *SBE* xviii. 384 f.). After re-tying the *kustī* (for which see below, p. 326) *Ys.* xii. 8 is recited. When the *kustī* is put on, it must be fastened with two knots, one on the front and the other on the back. While forming the first half of the first knot on the front in the second round of the thread, a Zoroastrian must think that Ahura Mazda exists, and that He is one, is holy, and is matchless. While forming the second half of this first knot, he must remember that the Mazdayasnian religion is the word of God, and that he must have full faith in it. In the third round of the thread, while forming the first half of the second knot on the back, he has to remember that Zoroaster is the prophet of God, and shows the proper path of worship. While forming the second half of the second knot, he must bear in mind that he has always to attend to 'good thoughts, good words, and good actions' (*Sad-dar*, x.).

Before a Parsi child is eligible for the *naōjot*, it must know a few short prayers, of which the *nīrang kustī* is the most important. A short time before the actual ceremony, which may now be performed in the evening, though formerly only in the morning,[3] the child, until recently required to be fasting, is bathed and taken to the room where the *naōjot* is to be performed. The child, the upper part of whose body is covered with a piece of white cloth, is seated on a low stool, facing the east, with a lighted lamp, new clothes, etc., near him, and with the officiating priest sitting before him. After all the priests have taken their places, the officiating priest places a new *sudrah* in the child's hand, and all recite the *patēṭ* (for which see art. EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT [Parsi], § 1, vol. v. p. 664 f.) or *Yt.* i., the child repeating this or reciting the *yaθā ahū vairyō*. The priest and child now rise, and the investiture proper begins.

This consists of four parts: (*a*) the recital of the Confession of Faith[4] by the child, led by the officiating priest, who then invests the child with the *sudrah*; (*b*) the recital of the *nīrang kustī*, prefaced by *Yt.* i. 0, and accompanied by investiture with the *kustī*; (*c*) the recital of *Ys.* xii. 8 f., as a brief summary of the Zoroastrian faith; (*d*) the recital of the *tan darustī*, or final benediction.[5] The process of donning the *kustī* is as follows. The priest holds the centre of the *kustī* in his left hand, and takes in his right a part of the two cords thus formed, the remainder hanging vertically until the recital of the words *manašnī*, *gavašnī*, *kunašnī* ('thought, word, deed') in the

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[1] The term is probably Persian, and may mean 'advantageous path.' Anquetil du Perron (*Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1771, ii. 529) traces it to an alleged Avesta *setêhr peeschenghé*, 'tapis (étoffe) utile.'

[2] The word *kustī* is the rendering of Avesta *aiwyānhana*, 'girdle' (cf. *Ys.* ix. 26, *Yt.* i. 17, *Vend.* xviii. 54, 58). It is variously derived from Pers. *kušt*, 'direction,' or *kušt*, 'waist,' or *kušt*, 'limit, boundary,' or is even identified with Pers. *kištī*, 'ship.' The true etymology is quite uncertain.

[1] The enumeration of these duties differs in different Pahlavi and Pazand books (cf. *Šāyast lā-Šāyast*, xii. 31; *Sad-dar*, vi. 2; *Dīnā-ī-Maīnōg-ī-Xraṭ*, iv.; *Sar-nāmah-i Rāz-i-Yazdānī*, ed. P. J. Hātaria, Bombay, 1255 A.Y., pp. 38–40).

[2] *Sad-dar*, x.; *Dāṭistān-ī-Dīnīk*, xxxix.

[3] The priest recites, in the course of the *naōjot*, the *hōšbām*, or prayer to the rising sun (on this see Darmesteter, ii. 688–690).

[4] See art. CREED [Parsi], vol. iv. p. 247 f.

[5] For the text of this see E. K. Antiā, *Pāzend Texts*, Bombay, 1909, p. 160 f.; for the tr., F. Spiegel, *Avesta übersetzt*, Leipzig. 1852–63, iii. 250 f.

nirang kusti. With the recital of these words, a part of the string is then formed into circular curves in both the hands, and then, on reciting the words *xšnaoθra Ahurahe Mazdāo* ('through the joying of Ahura Mazda'), the curves are let loose, and with the recital of the *ašem vohū*, the thread is passed around the child's waist. With the recital of the first *yaθā ahū vairyō*, the second round is completed, the first knot in front being tied with the recital of the word *šyaoθananãm.* With the recital of the same word in the *yaθā ahū vairyō* the second knot in front is tied, and then, with the recital of another *ašem vohū*, the thread is passed round the waist for the third time and the final two knots at the back are tied.

After being thus invested with *sudrah* and *kustī*, the child recites *Ys.* xii. 8 f., and the initiation, in the strict sense of the term, is now complete. The officiating priest then repeats the *tan darustī*, with a special invocation of blessing on the new member of the Zoroastrian faith; and as he recites it, he showers over the child's head a mixture of rice, pomegranate grains, raisins, almonds, and slices of coco-nut, after which all the priests join in another *tan darustī.* The priests then receive their fees, and, like the assembled guests, are given presents of flowers, betel-leaves, and rose-water, after which a formal dinner is given in honour of the event.

2. Initiation into the priesthood.—Among the Parsis only the son of a priest is eligible for the priesthood (see, further, art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD [Iranian]). This law, reintroduced by the Dastur Tansar, in the reign of Ardašīr Pāpagān,[1] is traditionally as old as the mythic period of Jamšīd (Yima),[2] and there have been but few exceptions, notably Dastur Rustām Guštāsp Ardašīr, who, in the 17th cent., 'is said to have sprung from the laity, and not from a priestly family,'[3] being raised to the priesthood for his services in averting a massacre by proving to the Muhammadan king of Persia that the Zoroastrians were monotheists. At the present time it is held that a priest's father need not necessarily have been a priest, but, after the fifth generation of a priestly family, the right of its members to enter the priesthood is forfeited if in the meantime none of them have been priests.

To become a thoroughly qualified priest two grades of initiation are requisite, *nābar* and *marātib.*

(*a*) *Nāvar.*—The first rite of initiation into the priesthood is termed *nāvar* (also written *nāībar*, *nāgbar*; Pahlavi *nāpar, nāīvar*).[4] The etymology and exact meaning of the word are uncertain.[5]

The rites connected with the *nāvar* are three in number: the *barašnūm* (for which see art. PURIFICATION [Iranian]), the *gewrā*, and the initiation proper. The *barašnūms* are two: one for the priest himself who is being initiated; and the other for the person, whether dead or living, in whose memory or honour the priest is initiated. The two *barašnūms* may be performed either consecutively or with an interval of a few days. When they have been completed, two priests perform the *gewrā*[6] ceremony, which consists of the recital of the *Yasna*, with its ritual, for six consecutive days.

The priest who recites the whole *Yasna* is called *jōtī* (Pers. *zōt*, Avesta *zaotar*), or the officiating priest; and his assistant is the *rāthwī* (Pers. *rāspī*, Avesta *raēθwiškara*, 'mixer').[7] The two alternate in the performance of the *gewrā*, the *jōtī* for each day being obliged to remain awake on the night of that day to obviate danger of *pollutio nocturna*, which would vitiate the whole *gewrā* and require it to be begun again. As a further precaution two priests frequently act as *jōtī*, and a third as *rāthwī.*

During these six days the candidate must devote himself to religious duties and avoid contact with any non-Zoroastrian. On the seventh day he bathes and is clothed in white *jāmā* (loose robe) and *picchori* (linen girdle). In his left hand he carries a shawl as insignia of temporary office and function, and in his right a mace or club (Pers. *gurz*, Avesta *vazra*) to symbolize his resolution to fight against all evils, physical or moral.[1] If local conditions permit, as at Naosari, the headquarters of the Zoroastrian priesthood in India, the candidate, escorted by the head-priest or by his deputy and other elders of the community, heads a procession of invited friends of both sexes to the Dar-i Mihr, or fire-temple, in which he is to be initiated. Where conditions are unfavourable to a public procession, as at Bombay, the candidate lives in the Dar-i Mihr during the *gewrā*, and the friends assemble there, representing the procession by moving from one part of the temple to another.

The guests having taken their places, the candidate goes to the *yazišn-gāh*, where he is to perform the *yazišn*, or recital of the *Yasna.* The assembled priests are generally seated on carpets spread on the floor. The candidate removes his upper garments, performs the *pādyāb-kustī*, and puts on the *padān* (mouth-veil), which, at first, is not thrown across the face, but is held up and made to lie on the turban. Thus prepared, the candidate is brought before the assembly by one of the priests, who asks permission to initiate him. The head-priest present, after the interval of a few seconds, takes the silence of the assembly for assent, and nods his head or puts forward both his hands to signify the acquiescence of the gathering.

If the candidate suffers from leprosy,[2] or if he has a wound on his body from which blood oozes, it is expected that he may be rejected, and, accordingly, in order to enable the assembly to see him well, he is presented after the removal of his upper garments.

The candidate now returns to the *yazišn-gāh* to go through the ceremonies of his initiation and to recite the *Yasna* with its ritual. The visitors disperse after flowers and rose-water have been presented to them. If the father or the guardian of the candidate is well off, he distributes money among the assembled priesthood. Relatives and friends are, at times, feasted at noon and even at night when the parents can afford to do so.

On retiring to the *yazišn-gāh* the candidate recites the *mīnō nābar Yasna* (*Yasna* without the *Vīsparad*)[3] with its ritual, he acting as the *jōtī*, and the priest who initiates acting as the *rāthwī.* In the afternoon he performs the *bāj*[4] ceremony and takes his meals, after which he performs the *āfringān* ceremony.

On the second day, on which, as also on the third day, the candidate is allowed only one meal, these three ceremonies are repeated in honour of Sraoš, the *bāj* being performed in the morning instead of the afternoon, as on the first day. On the third day they are again repeated in honour of *Sīh rōčak* (the thirty days of the month). On the fourth day, the *Yasna* is recited with the *Vīsparad*, the *bāj* and *āfringān* being in honour of Ahura Mazda.

Thus qualified, the priest, now called *hērbad* (Avesta *aēθrapaiti*, 'teacher'), can perform the *āfringān*, *naōjot*, marriage, and such other rites, but not the *Yasna*, the *Vendīdād*, or the *bāj* ceremonies.

It appears that the *nāvar* has been, from the first, a ceremony of trial—of self-abnegation, self-denial, and self-renunciation. (1) The candidate is expected to pass his days during the whole ceremony, which lasts about a month, in a kind of retreat, in order to be free from worldly thoughts and engaged in pious thoughts; he must sleep on the floor and not on a cot, take his meals at stated hours after prayers, etc. According to the present custom, if the candidate has a *pollutio nocturna* during the two *barašnūms*, he is disqualified and has to go through the *barašnūm* again, since the untoward occurrence is held to show that he was not passing his time in pure meditation, which he was expected to do, as a would-be priest, but that he thought of worldly matters.[1] (2) During the last four days, when he is being initiated and performs the *Yasna* ceremony himself as *jōtī*, he may take only one meal on the second and third days, this also implying that the *nābar* is intended to prove whether he has control over hunger and thirst, and hence over other passions.

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[1] J. Darmesteter, 'Lettre de Tansar au roi de Tabaristān,' *JA* ix. iii. [1894] 518-520.

[2] Firdausī, *Šāh-nāmah*, tr. J. Mohl, Paris, 1876-78, i. 49 f., A. G. and E. Warner, London, 1905 ff., i. 182; cf. Ṭabarī, *Chronique . . . sur la version persane de . . . Bel'ami*, tr. H. Zotenberg, Paris, 1867-74, i. 103.

[3] E. W. West, *SBE* v. p. xxxiii.

[4] *Ib.* xviii. 234.

[5] Cf. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, i. p. liv, note 2.

[6] The word is derived from Avesta *garew*, 'to seize, acquire.'

[7] For the etymology see Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, i. p. lxxi, note 4.

[1] Cf. the mace of Mithra *Yt.* vi. 5.

[2] On the Iranian horror of leprosy cf. *Vend.* ii. 29 and Herod. i. 139.

[3] On the meaning of *Yasna*, *Vīsparad*, and *Vendīdād* in this connexion see Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, i. p. lxvii.

[4] On the *bāj* see Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, ii. 152 f.

To obviate risk of the special danger just indicated, candidates are now made to pass through the *nābar* before the age of fifteen or sixteen. Furthermore, not only those intended for the priesthood, but many others whose parents plan for them very different walks in life, are thus initiated with the idea that the *nābar* is a good ceremony to have performed, whatever the future occupation is to be. In these cases only a portion of the *Yasna* is recited.

(*b*) *Marātib.*—Since the *hērbad* is forbidden to perform for others the *Yasna*, *Vendīdād*, and *bāj* ceremonies, or to officiate at the rites of purification, even though he has himself performed them at his *nābar*, he must, in order to qualify for these higher functions, undergo a second initiation called *marātib* (Arab. 'high degrees,' pl. of *martaba*). For this he must read the *Vendīdād*, in addition to the *Yasna* and *Vīsparad* read for his *nābar*.

In the *marātib* the candidate has to go through one *barašnūm* of ten days. On the eleventh day, in the company of a qualified priest, he performs the *khūb* ceremony[2] and recites for it the *mīnō nāvar Yasna* with its ritual. On the second day, in the morning, he has to recite another *Yasna* in honour of Sraoš, and at midnight he recites the *Vendīdād*. This completes the *marātib*. He is then entitled to perform and recite any of the Zoroastrian ritual and prayers, and his official title is *mōbad* (Pahlavi *magupaṭ*), 'chief of the magi.'

LITERATURE.—Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp Asana, *Short Treatise on the Navjot Ceremony*, Bombay, 1887; Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *Hist. of the Parsis*, London, 1884, i. 165–168, ii. 237–240; J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–93, i. pp. li–liv; A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York, 1906, p. 380 f.; J. J. Modi, *The Naojote Ceremony of the Pársis*, Bombay, 1909. The Pahlavi texts to which reference has been made are translated by E. W. West, *SBE* v., xxiv. [1880–85].

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

INITIATION (Roman).—Although the word *initio* is used by Latin writers of the best period to express the same idea as our 'initiation,' the concept of advancement from a lower to a higher stage in cult hierarchy, by means of a rite which often partakes of the mysterious, is not native to Roman religious practice. In early Roman times the worship of the gods was more a matter of State than of private enterprise. It involved a complicated ritual, for the observance of which a trained body of men was required. Naturally this priesthood had its method of obtaining and training new members, but this can hardly be classed as 'initiation.' Apart from the State worship, it may be said that the very life of the people was a continuous practice of religion. They imagined themselves surrounded by unseen forces, and practised innumerable means of appeasing those that were evil, and returning thanks for favours received. This was a matter of everyday usage, and required no special training or initiatory rites.

The practice of initiation involves a close organization of a more or less secret character, into which the initiate is received after an examination and ordeal, of which the tendency is to excite the imagination and render of more apparent value the knowledge he is to receive. It is but human nature to desire that which is difficult to attain, and this is the trait which, at all periods, the wiser or more clever of mankind have used for their own advantage.

It must also be remembered that we ourselves use the word 'initiation' rather carelessly, and that in all probability the Romans did the same. Thus, even when we find the word in their literature, without some explanatory context, it is often impossible to determine whether the writer means a distinct ceremony, or merely that the individual referred to has attained some slight degree of knowledge over and above those about him, or is well informed concerning a given subject. Moreover, the border line between initiation proper and cult practices which deal with the admission of new members is very narrow. Thus, in the cults of Vesta and Bona Dea, in which no men were allowed to participate, new followers were of course taken in. For the sake of limiting the subject, the word 'initiation' is here understood to involve a more complicated ceremony, with secret and mysterious rites, by means of which one was admitted to a close organization.

Even at a fairly late period initiation did not play the part in Roman religion that one would expect from its use at other times. The references to it in literature are by no means frequent; they are so slight, in fact, that the more important modern classical encyclopædias and dictionaries (*e.g.* Pauly-Wissowa, Daremberg-Saglio, etc.) include no treatment of the subject save for scanty references under other headings. In Roman literature there is no mention of any such practice before the introduction of the cult of Demeter (identified with the Roman Ceres) in the first years of the Republic. The Eleusinian mysteries connected with the worship of this goddess must soon have become known, although they were not officially introduced into Rome until much later. Cicero refers to them in *de Leg.* ii. 9:

> 'Let no one be initiated into the mysteries save those of Ceres, and according to the Greek rite'; cf. also ii. 14: 'Certainly I do [*i.e.* make an exception of the mysteries into which we have been initiated], for among all the excellent and divine institutions which Athens has given to mankind, there is nothing better than these mysteries, which have raised us from a wild and savage state to one more noble and refined. As is indicated by the word *initia*, in very truth have we learned the first principles of life, and not only to live happily, but to die with hope for a better future.' In *de Leg.* ii. 15 also Cicero insists that the initiation of women into the rites of Ceres must take place as it is done in Rome.

These passages bring out the respect in which the Eleusinian mysteries were held, and also the fact that they received some modifications at the hands of the Romans. They show indirectly that there existed at the same time other cults of a more harmful nature.

Something of the same import is also found in Varro, *de Re Rustica*, III. i. 5:

> 'Not without reason do they call her Mother Earth, and Ceres, and believe that those who worship her lead a virtuous and useful life, and that they are the sole survivors of the ancient Saturnian stock. With this is in harmony the fact that the term *initia* is generally applied to those rites which are held sacred to Ceres.'

Here, too, *initia* means the sacred mysteries to which only the initiated were admitted. In this connexion may be mentioned two references of merely general import in Seneca. In *Ep.* xc. 29 he says:

> 'These are her [wisdom's] initiatory rites, by means of which are revealed, not the mysteries of a municipal temple, but of the world itself, the vast temple of all the gods.' And in *Lucil.* xcv. 64: 'Thus, just as only the initiates know the most holy of the sacred rites, so in philosophy,' etc.

We learn from Vitruvius that in temple construction account was sometimes taken of those who were to be initiated. In the preface to bk vii. he says:

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[1] If this occurs during the last four days, the candidate is called *nābūd* ('non-existent') and is absolutely rejected as unfit for the priesthood.

[2] The *khūb* is of two grades. For the major the recital of the whole *Yasna* is requisite; for the minor the recital of *Ys.* ii.–vi.

'Thus by the addition of a vestibule he gave to the initiates an increase of space, and to the work a supreme dignity.'

There is also a reference to initiation as a general practice in Terence (*Phorm.* i. 13, tr. Sargeaunt):

> 'Then again Geta will be hit for another present when a child is born: and another on its birthday, and another at the initiation ceremony.'

On the whole, however, in spite of these and a few other references, we know very little of the actual rites of initiation—a fact which is not surprising when we consider the mystery in which they were involved.

Even in the case of the cults of Cybele, Isis, Bacchus, and Mithra, we know comparatively little concerning the initiation ceremonies. In Livy we have several references to the Bacchanalia, especially in bk. xxxix., and the verb *initio* is often used [*e.g.* xxxix. 9: 'Bacchis eum se initiaturam (vovit)'], showing that certain definite rites were performed. Concerning the Mithra cult something more is known (see art. MITHRAISM). Still other mysteries were connected with the worship of Isis and Serapis, and their cult attained great importance in Rome. In Apuleius (*Met.* xi.) are described the various stages by which the initiate gradually became familiar with the secrets of the cult of Isis; but not even here are the actual details revealed, and the language used is purposely figurative; *e.g.* xi. 23:

> 'I approached the confines of Death. Having trod the threshold of Proserpina, I returned through all the elements. At midnight I beheld the sun brightly gleaming. I was in the presence of the gods above and the gods below, and worshipped them close at hand.'

All of these cults appealed to the love of the mysterious. They aroused the interest of their followers, and often led them on to the highest pitch of frenzied excitement and fanaticism. With this in mind we understand why the initiates were numbered by the thousands, and why the cult of Mithra was for some time a serious rival to Christianity. This state of affairs could not have existed at an early period, when individual action was suppressed and made subservient to the welfare of the family and of the State. The banding together of men of different walks in life for some cult practice meant the downfall of the early unity, and of the cold formalism of a State religion as well.

LITERATURE.—*Thes. Ling. Lat.* (the material for *initio*, *initia*, etc., was kindly placed at the present writer's disposal in Munich); artt. on different cults, in Roscher, Daremberg-Saglio, Pauly-Wissowa, etc.; G. Wissowa, *Rel. und Kultus der Römer*^{2}, Munich, 1912; J. B. Carter, *The Religion of Numa*, London, 1906, *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome*, do. 1911; F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1895–99, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, New York, 1912; J. Toutain, *Les Cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1908; W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, *Social Life at Rome*, do. 1909; E. Rohde, *Psyche*^{4}, Tübingen, 1907.

C. DENSMORE CURTIS.

INITIATION (Tibetan)

INITIATION (Tibetan).—Admission into the Buddhist Order in Tibet follows generally in its details the orthodox practice of ancient Indian Buddhism. The most notable exception is that in Tibet, in common with the countries of 'Southern' Buddhism, the nominal age limit is reduced to considerably below the sixteen years of primitive Buddhism. This earlier entrance, however, is in the case of Tibet expressly regarded as a preliminary stage of probation, anterior to the actual novitiate, and is, therefore, analogous to the period of 'probation' (Skr. *parivāsa*) imposed in early Buddhism upon adult converts from a heterodox religion before their initiation into Buddha's Order. In Tibet, therefore, we find three stages in the process of initiation—probation, novitiate, and full initiation or ordination.

1. Probation.—In this preliminary stage, which corresponds to the 'leaving home to become an ascetic' (*pravrajyā*) of primitive Buddhism, there is little ceremony. The boy-candidate is brought to the monastery by his parent or guardian between the ages of eight and twelve. His parentage is inquired into by a senior monk (not necessarily the head of the monastery) to ascertain that he is not the son of a butcher, smith, or other irreligious trade, and that he is free-born; and he is physically examined to ascertain the absence of any disqualifying bodily or mental defect. On passing this examination, he has a tuft of his hair snipped off, as a preliminary tonsure, and he is clad in the monastic robe, and made over to one of the senior monks, preferably a relative, as a tutor. He is now a 'pupil,' or *ḍā-pa* (*grva-pa*) of the monastery. His tutor or teacher (*ger-gan*, Skr. *upādhyāya*) takes him to an informal conclave of fellow-monks, and gains their consent to taking the boy as his pupil. The boy is not allowed to take part in the public services, but performs acts of personal service to his teacher. After several years spent in learning to read and write and recite from memory the elementary scriptures, he becomes eligible for the novitiate.

2. Novitiate.—This may not be entered before the age of sixteen years, and the ceremony is more formal and solemn than for the preliminary entrance. In Tibet it has two stages, a lower and an upper initiation. The candidate himself applies for admission into the Order. He is conducted by his tutor to the abbot or prior of the monastery, who examines him with any other candidates as to his desire to enter the Order, and his knowledge of some elements of the religion, and hears him recite some sacred texts. The candidate, on being passed, has his head shaved, excepting a tuft on the crown, and he is given a new religious personal name, usually that of some ancient Buddhist divine. He is taught to repeat the 'Three-Refuge' formula, 'I go for refuge to Buddha, His Word, and His Congregation,' and is exhorted to keep the fasts, the first five (or eight) moral commandments (*śīla*), and 'the ten precepts' (*śikṣā-pada*), the transgression of which creates 'the ten sins.' The novice is now of the class called *gé-ñen*, 'the approacher towards virtue,' a translation of the Skr. *upāsaka*, with which stage it generally corresponds, so that it is practically equivalent to the stage of the lay devotee of primitive Buddhism. The great majority of the so-called 'monks' of Tibet do not advance beyond this stage of what is practically a lay devotee, and they still are called *ḍā-pa*, or 'pupil.'

The higher grade of the novitiate, which is the real novitiate, is attained only by the more intelligent and meritorious pupils and those who can afford to pay the somewhat heavy educational fees necessary. In this stage the neophyte is called *ge-ts'ul*, 'follower in the path of virtue,' the equivalent of the *śrāmaṇera* of Indian Buddhism. He must be specially approved by the superior of the monastery, and he solemnly vows to renounce the world for a religious life, to embrace poverty and celibacy, and to keep the thirty-six moral and disciplinary rules. He is then permitted to mix with the other higher monks in the routine of the monastery, recite with them the sacred texts, participate in the various celebration rites, and take part in discussions. Initiation into this grade takes place in a formal chapter or conclave of the monks, presided over usually by one of the higher 're-incarnating' Lamas, who during the ceremony completes the tonsure by removing the remaining tuft of hair, and calls the novice by his religious name, which now is exclusively used as his personal designation. This consecration to the higher novitiate is supposed, in Tibet, to bind the individual to the Order for life.

3. Full initiation or ordination.—Admission to the final stage of full monkhood cannot take place before the age of twenty, and is usually much later. In this stage the monk receives the title of *ge-long*, 'the virtuous beggar,' the literal equivalent of the Indian *bhikṣu*, or mendicant friar, the usual epithet of Buddha and his disciples. This stage is attained by comparatively few of the monks in Tibet, owing to the high standard of qualifications, intellectual and moral, demanded, and the educational expense. For this purpose several years of study must be passed in one or other of the great collegiate monasteries, at Tashilhunpo, Gahldan, Sera or Depung at Lhasa, Kumbum, etc., for the yellow-hat sect, or at Saskya, Mindolling, etc., for the red-hat sects. To reach these centres of learning the novice has to undertake long journeys on foot, and great privations, and be for a time in a very literal sense a 'beggar of virtue.' The examination, which is searchingly severe, is undertaken by a chapter of the most learned monks available, usually over ten in number. The successful candidate formally vows to keep the full rules, 253 in number. The fully fledged monk, or *ge-long*, is the acme of the Buddhist Order in Tibet. The Dalai Lama himself rejoices in this title. From the ranks of the *ge-long* are recruited the abbots, teachers, chief celebrants, high priests, and astrologers of the great monasteries and temples.

The initiation of nuns is substantially identical with that of the male members of the Order. Into the esoteric doctrines and practices of Yoga mysticism special personal teaching is imparted by adepts.

LITERATURE.—L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, *Lhasa and Its Mysteries*, do. 1904. See also art. INITIATION (Buddhist) and the literature appended to it.

L. A. WADDELL.

INNER LIGHT.—See CERTAINTY (Religious), EXPERIENCE (Religious), FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF.

INNOCENCE.—There are two words in the NT which, though not uniformly translated in the English versions, seem to convey the ideas suggested by the word 'innocent.' In Ro 16^{18} the word ἄκακος is translated (RV) 'innocent'; in He 7^{26} (of Christ) 'guileless.' The other word, ἄδολος, occurs in 1 P 2^{2}, where the Apostle exhorts his readers to 'long for the spiritual milk which is without guile' (ἄδολον). Each word, however, has its own strict sense.

1. The ἄκακος (Vulg. *innocens*) is he who hurts nobody by word, deed, or thought—the character virtually described in 1 Co $13^{6, 7}$. In He 7^{26} our Lord is described as ὅσιος, ἄκακος, ἀμίαντος (cf. Cypr. *de Orat. Dom.* 15: 'Voluntas Dei est quam Christus et fecit et docuit . . . iniuriam facere non nosse, et factam posse tolerare'). Cicero perhaps overlooks the word ἀκακία (used by Demosth.) when he remarks that *innocentia* has no exact Greek equivalent, but that possibly ἀβλάβεια would express that state of mind which injures no one (*Tusc. Disp.* iii. 8; the same definition is given by Augustine, *Serm.* cclxxviii. 8). It is obvious that the character which 'taketh not account of evil,' and which believes to any extent in the integrity of others, is apt to be credulous and easily deceived. Hence the word ἄκακος, like ἁπλοῦς, tends to acquire a contemptuous sense in some heathen writers, suggesting the notion of one who is inexperienced and readily imposed upon.

2. ἄδολος (Vulg. *sine dolo*, 1 P 2^{2}) clearly connotes the absence of conscious fraud or intention to deceive (cf. Jn 1^{47}). The word may thus be regarded as virtually synonymous with ἁπλοῦς. Thus Augustine asks, 'Quid est dolus nisi aliud agere et aliud simulare? . . . dolus duplicat cor' (*Serm.* cccliii. 1). But it seems also to include that kind of quality which we describe by the word 'innocent,' or, in other words, the characteristic grace of childhood, the grace commended by St. Paul in 1 Co 14^{20} (τῇ κακίᾳ νηπιάζετε) and by St. Peter in 1 P 2^{1-3}.

3. The ἄκακος, then, is he who has no *malitia* in him, and who harms no one; the ἄδολος is without 'guile,' and deceives no one. The two words taken together express the childlikeness, the simplicity, which our Lord requires in the citizens of His Kingdom (Mk 10^{14}). In fact, 'innocence' is specially claimed by Tertullian as the characteristic grace of Christians: 'Nos ergo soli innocentes. . . . Innocentiam a Deo edocti, et perfecte eam novimus ut a perfecto magistro revelatam, et fideliter custodimus, ut ab incontemptibili dispectore [*al.* dispensatore] mandatam' (*Apol.* 45). Cf. the aphorism of Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* vi., 'de Vero Cultu,' 1: 'Nihil sancta et singularis illa majestas aliud ab homine desiderat quam solam innocentiam; quam si quis obtulerit Deo, satis pie, satis religiose litavit.'

In a sermon ascribed (incorrectly) to St. Bernard[1] some useful distinctions are drawn.

(i.) There is an 'innocentia *secundum potestatem*,' the innocence which is incapable of committing sin. Innocence in this sense is the attribute of Christ alone. He only is without sin; the Evil One comes 'and hath nothing in' Him (Jn 14^{30}). In Him only is there 'that absence of all evil which implies the presence of all good.' He is innocent because He fulfils 'all righteousness' (cf. Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 100 $[101]^{3}$: 'Tota ergo iustitia ad unum verbum innocentiae redigitur').

(ii.) There is also an 'innocentia *secundum aetatem*,' the 'harmlessness' of those who through weakness of body or simplicity of mind know not how to sin. This is the primal innocence of childhood, a negative state—the state of those who either are untempted or have not yet awakened to the consciousness of good and evil in choice and action. The 'innocence' of the first man was of this kind. He was not 'perfect' in the sense of having reached his full or final development, but 'upright' in the sense that he was on the right line towards the perfection of which he was capable. He had not the perfection either of knowledge or of sanctity (we must not confuse 'innocence' with 'sanctity'); but he possessed those faculties which made him capable of a progressive development, which was to be conditioned, ennobled, and secured by communion with God (see G. Bull, *Discourses*, no. 5, 'The State of Man before the Fall,' in his *Works*, Oxford, 1846, ii. 52–136; H. Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, Edinburgh, 1878, § 78).

Perhaps it is also appropriate to mention under this head the assertions of innocence and integrity, both personal and national, with which we meet in the Psalter. It must be remembered that side by side with language of this tenor we find the most heartfelt acknowledgment of sin (*e.g.* in such Psalms as 32, 51, and many others), together with a deep sense of dependence on the divine mercy (*e.g.* Pss. 25, 86, 130). The fact is that the consciousness of innocence awakened in devout Israelites by the study of the Law is 'relative, not absolute.' 'The assertion of integrity . . . is that of the *ḥaṣid*, the "godly" man, who is determined to keep well within the bounds of the covenant which is the charter of national religion, or is conscious of having done so' (W. T. Davison, in *HDB* iv. 157^{b}). Further, the spirit of childlike confidence in God which pervades many of the Psalms in question is entirely opposed to the temper of self-righteousness. It is significant that, in the argument of Ro 4 on the blessedness of justification by faith, St. Paul illustrates his point by citing the language of a Psalm ($32^{1f.}$).

(iii.) There is, finally, an 'innocentia *secundum voluntatem*,' *i.e.* the confirmed habitual innocence of those who have retained their purity of heart in spite of temptation, and have consistently striven to be true to their highest ideals. This state is compatible with minor faults of ignorance or infirmity, but it is essentially a Christ-like state. The Christian believer does fall into sin; but for him sin is exceptional, and contradicts the *habitual* tenor of his life, leaving his essential character intact (1 Jn 1[6] 2[1] 3[6]).

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[1] *Opera*, ed. Paris, 1839, ii. 1520 (*PL* clxxxiv. 1119).

Here, then, we pass beyond the conception of innocence as mere harmlessness. The innocence which man lost in the Fall is restored to us in Christ. He enables men to become what He bids them to become—as 'little children,' and so 'simple concerning evil' (Ro 16[19]; cf. Ph 2[15]). Innocence is practically equivalent to that simplicity or singleness of mind which springs from whole-hearted and entire devotion to God. As Augustine more than once insists, innocence belongs to him who injures neither others nor himself; that is, who abstains from the wilful self-injury involved in sin. Innocence, then, means the personal integrity of which the heathen dreamed, but which he had no means of realizing (Hor. *Carm.* i. 22). Nor does it exclude zeal for the good of another. 'Pertinet ad innocentis officium, non solum nemini malum inferre, verum etiam cohibere a peccato vel punire peccatum, ut aut ipse qui plectitur corrigatur experimento, aut alii terreantur exemplo' (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xix. 16).

4. The question may be raised whether innocence once lost can be restored. Augustine touches upon this point in his *Op. Imperf. c. Julian.* vi. 19. The answer to the question is that there is no limit to the power of true repentance so long as the soul is capable of it, and is willing to accept the discipline which penitence implies. There is such a thing as a re-created purity and beauty of character. And in this re-creative process a chief agent is the very spectacle of innocence. Christ acts upon the sin of the world, not only or chiefly by unveiling and denouncing it, but also by exhibiting to men a flawless pattern of goodness, which exercises its own attractive power and elicits goodness in others. Men are drawn to Christ by what He *is*, not less than by His words of grace and works of power. The vision of stainless purity, combined with perfect humility and gentleness to the sinful, awakens the longing for holiness; the dumb yearning of the soul for righteousness is kindled by the actual presence and influence of a righteous personality. This power of kindling the desire for holiness is one of the many precious privileges of innocence. Others might be mentioned, such as 'the boldness and frankness of those who are as if they had no sin, from having been cleansed from it; the uncontaminated hearts, open countenances, and untroubled eyes of those who neither suspect, nor conceal, nor shun, nor are jealous' (Newman, *Paroch. and Plain Serm.* viii. 268)—the clear conscience, strong will, and joyous temper of those who have experienced the renewing power of grace, and have 'tasted the powers of the world to come' (He 6[5]).

LITERATURE.—R. C. Trench, *Syn. of the NT*, Cambridge, 1854, § lvi.; J. H. Newman, *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, London, 1868, vol. v. no. 8, vol. viii. no. 18; J. R. Illingworth, *Univ. and Cath. Sermons*, London, 1893, no. vii. 'Innocence'; R. Rainy, *Sojourning with God, and Other Sermons*, London, 1902, no. ix.

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INQUISITION.—I. History.—Inquisition was a method for searching out heretics, instituted by the Church with a view to bringing them to repentance, or punishing them in proportion to their offence.

In the present article we shall confine our discussion to the Inquisition of the 12th and 13th centuries against the Cathari and the Waldenses, and of the 14th cent. against the Franciscan heresies. The Spanish Inquisition established in 1478 by the Catholics Ferdinand and Isabella, with the approval of Sixtus IV., and specially directed against the lapsed Jews, Moors, and Moriscoes, is outside of our scope; we shall also leave out of account the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office or Inquisition which Paul III. established by his Constitution *Licet* of 21st July 1542, and to which Sixtus V. put the final touch (Constitution *Immensa* of 25th Jan. 1587 or 1588).[1]

From the 12th cent. onwards the repression of heresy was the great business of Church and State. The distress caused, particularly in the north of Italy and the south of France, by the Cathari, or Manichæans, whose doctrine wrought destruction to society as well as to faith, appalled the leaders of Christianity. On several occasions and in various places, people and rulers sought justice at first in summary conviction and execution; culprits were either outlawed or put to death. The Church for a long time opposed these rigorous measures, its representatives forming three classes—those who denied the right of punishing heterodoxy as a crime, and limited their opposition to discussion; those who wished to use only spiritual weapons against it, such as excommunication, and so preserve the orthodox from contamination; and, lastly, those who, while advocating temporal punishments for the heretics, resorted to extreme measures only half-heartedly and against their better feelings. The death-penalty was never included in any system of repression.

Towards the end of the 12th cent. and the beginning of the 13th a change took place. At the Lateran Council of 1179 (can. 27), Pope Alexander III. invited sovereigns to employ force of arms to protect the Christian people from the violence of the Cathari, Brabançons, etc., giving princes the right to imprison offenders and confiscate their property. The pope even offered indulgences to those who should accomplish this work of piety. In 1184, Pope Lucius III., in consort with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, published an edict at Verona with still more severe measures: heretics, once excommunicated, were to be handed over to secular authority to be punished according to their deserts (*animadversio debita*). This *animadversio* did not mean the death-penalty, but it included exile, confiscation of property, demolition of their houses, *infamia*, loss of civil rights, and so on.

The most noteworthy measure of the Council of Verona was the institution of episcopal inquiry, or inquisition. Every bishop was required to inspect carefully, in person or through his archdeacon or by means of trustworthy clerks, all suspected parishes, and to make the inhabitants denounce under oath all heretics, acknowledged or secret. The latter were then required to free themselves from suspicion by oath; and, if they refused to take the oath, or recanted later, they were sentenced and punished. Counts, barons, rectors, and consuls of towns and other places were required to assist the Church in this work of repression, on pain of forfeiting their office, being excommunicated, and seeing their lands laid under interdict.

The pontificate of Innocent III., which began in 1198, marks a lull in the development of the penal legislation of the Church. Neither his Letters nor the Lateran Council of 1215, over which he presided, did anything beyond confirming the decisions of his predecessors. But, if Innocent III. did not add to the canons, he justified them by motives which afterwards served to make them considerably more severe.

> 'According to civil law,' said the pontiff, 'criminals convicted of treason are punished with death and their goods are confiscate; if even their children's lives are spared, it is simply out of pity. With how much more reason then should they who offend Jesus, the Son of the Lord God, by deserting the faith, be cut off from Christian communion and stripped of their goods, for it is infinitely more serious to offend against the Divine majesty than to injure human majesty' ('cum longe sit gravius aeternam quam temporalem laedere majestatem').

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[1] For the further history of the Inquisition, see art. OFFICE (Holy).

This saying, addressed to the magistrates of Viterbo on 25th March 1199 (*Epp.* ii. 1), will live for ever. Frederick II. set himself to deduce the consequences implied in it; and the Constitution which he promulgated on 22nd Nov. 1220 for the whole empire exactly reproduces (ch. vi.) Innocent III.'s phrase (*Mon. Germ. Leges*, sect. iv. vol. ii. pp. 107–109). In the Constitution of 1224 for Lombardy, the death-penalty is decreed against the Manichæans; and, as the ancient legislation imposes upon them the penalty of death by burning, we may take it that Frederick II. condemned heretics to die at the stake. In 1230, the Dominican Guala, bishop of Brescia, exacted this law in his episcopal town.

Pope Gregory IX., who had frequent dealings with Guala, adopted his point of view. The Imperial Constitution of 1224 was entered in the register of pontifical letters either at the end of 1230 or at the beginning of 1231, and is found there under the number 203 in the fourth year of Gregory's pontificate (Auvray, *Registres de Grégoire IX.*, no. 535). The pope then set himself to put this Constitution into practice, beginning with the city of Rome. He promulgated a law, probably in Feb. 1231, in which he commanded that heretics convicted by the Church should be abandoned to secular justice, to be punished as they deserved (*animadversio debita*). A municipal regulation published at the same time by the senator of Rome, Annibaldi, established the new jurisprudence for the Eternal City (J. F. Boehmer, *Acta Imperii selecta*, Innsbruck, 1870, xiii. 378). The penalty to be imposed was not specified; but the kind of punishment was sufficiently indicated by the Constitution of the Emperor, which had just been entered in the registers of the pontifical office. From the month of Feb. 1231 onwards a number of Patarins were arrested in Rome; those who resisted conversion were condemned to be burned alive, and the others were sent to Monte Cassino and Cava to do penance (*Mon. Germ. Script.* xix. 363). The actual facts thus showed, in a very striking manner, in what sense these documents were to be interpreted (see Vacandard, *L'Inquisition*, pp. 129–134).

The bishops, who, in virtue of their ordinary powers, were originally charged with the duty of searching out heretics and judging them in concert with the secular authority, performed their duty with more or less precision. Where their zeal was insufficient, Rome was obliged to step in. The popes commissioned their legates to take action against heresy over and above the bishops; and, from the end of the 12th cent., we find two inquisitions at work at the same time—the episcopal inquisition of the ordinary bishops in their own respective dioceses; and the legatine inquisition carried on by the legates throughout the districts under their supervision, in virtue of their commission from the Holy See. For example, we know that, in 1178, Pope Alexander III. had sent the cardinal of St. Chrysogonus to Languedoc as legate, with full power to repress heresy.

> 'In virtue of this commission, the legate and the Cistercians who accompanied him extracted a promise under oath from the bishop of Toulouse, a section of the clergy, the consuls, and all the citizens whose orthodoxy was not under suspicion, to give written information against all heretics and their abettors' (*Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, Toulouse, 1879, vi. 79).

Similarly, in 1198, Innocent III. gave absolute power to the Cistercian religious whom he sent into the county of Toulouse as apostolic legates. The princes received orders to put themselves at their disposal:

> 'It is our wish also that all the people take arms against the heretics whenever brother Raynier and brother Gui may deem it advisable to give the command' (Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 95).

St. Dominic, who has been credited with being the first inquisitor, acted at first only as a subordinate; any services that he rendered to the Inquisition were done in fulfilment of an office which he held—the Cistercian legateship under the direction of Arnaud of Citeaux and Pierre of Castelnau (cf. *AS*, Aug. i. [1867] 410 f.).

The time was approaching when the papacy was to confine the office of inquisitor exclusively to religious Orders, and, among them, particularly to the Dominicans and Franciscans. It was in this form that the Inquisition was established nearly everywhere under Pope Gregory IX. In 1132, the pope put the prosecution of the heretics in Bourgogne into the hands of the Dominican prior of Besançon and Fathers Gautier and Robert. This mission, limited at first to a well-defined area, soon extended over the whole of France. On 13th April 1233, Gregory IX. advised the bishops of France that he had invested the Dominicans with the office of inquisition in this country, because 'the cares of their multifarious duties hardly left the bishops time to breathe.' Finally, by another bull, dated 21st Aug. 1235, the pope nominated as Inquisitor-General of the kingdom of France ('per universum regnum Franciae') brother Robert (surnamed 'le Bougre' because, before he joined the Dominican Order, he himself had been a member of a body of Cathari known by the name of Bulgari, Bougres). Robert was required to act in concert with the bishops and religious Orders (Fredericha, *Robert le Bougre, premier inquisiteur général de France*, p. 13).

It is well known how these pontifical measures were welcomed by the king of France. The statute-book known as *Establissements de Saint Louis* and the *Coutumes de Beauvoisis* of Beaumanoir attest the readiness of the civil power to support the work of inquisition:

> 'Quand le juge [ecclésiastique] aurait examiné [l'accusé], se il trouvait qu'il fut bougre [hérétique], si le devait faire envoier à la justice laïque et la justice laïque le doit faire ardoir [brûler] (E. J. de Laurière, *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Paris, 1723, i. 211, 175). 'En tel cas,' says the *Coutumes de Beauvoisis* (ed. Société de l'hist. de France, Paris, 1842, i. 157, 413), 'doit aider la laïque justice à sainte Eglise; car quand quelqu'un est condamné comme bougre par l'examination de sainte Eglise, sainte Eglise le doit abandonner à la laïque justice et la laïque justice le doit ardoir, parceque la justice spirituelle ne doit nul mettre à mort.'

The Inquisition soon overstepped the boundaries of France. Flanders and the Low Countries, for example, were subject in 1233 to the authority of the Grand Inquisitor of France, Robert le Bougre (cf. Fredericq, *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis neerlandicæ*, i., *passim*).

In the south, the ecclesiastical dioceses had their seat on the two slopes of the Pyrenees; hence the frequent communications between the orthodox, as also between the heretics, of Spain and France. The King of Aragon, Jayme I., was always interested in questions of faith. On the advice of his confessor, the Dominican Raymond of Pennafort, he requested Gregory IX. to send him some inquisitors; and in a bull of 26th May 1232 the pope invited the archbishop of Tarragone and his suffragans to institute a general inquisition in their dioceses, either personally or with the help of the Dominicans or some other religious Order. A little later (30th April 1235), in reply to several questions, Gregory IX. handed over to the king of Aragon a whole code of inquisitorial procedure which had been drawn up by Raymond of Pennafort. From this time the Inquisition operated regularly throughout Aragon, with the co-operation of Dominicans and Franciscans, and extended its sway into Navarre (Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, ii. 162 ff.). Castille could not escape its influence. The *Fuero real*, a code promulgated by Alphonso the Wise in 1255, and the *Siete Partidas* of 1265 reproduce the prescriptions against heresy inserted into the *Decretals* of Gregory IX., and also those of his successors, which figured later in the *Sextus* of

Boniface VIII. (cf. *El Fuero real*, iv. 1; *Siete Partidas*, i. 6. 58, viii. 24. 7, vii. 25).

The Cathari heretics in the south of France had come over from the north of Italy; but Italy still cherished a goodly number in her breast. Even before Gregory IX. adopted the laws of Frederick II., the Inquisition was doing active work in these regions. As early as 1224, Honorius III. had ordered the bishops of Brescia, Modena, and Rimini to expel the heretics from their dioceses. In 1228 the papal legate, Geoffrey, commanded the unconverted and lapsed heretics of Milan to be handed over to the secular authority. We have already noticed the inquisitorial work of Guala in Brescia in 1230. Seeing the trend of the movement, Gregory IX. nominated the Dominican Alberic inquisitor in Lombardy (1232), the Dominican Peter of Verona (St. Peter Martyr) inquisitor at Milan (1233), and the Dominicans Aldobrandini Cavalcanti and Ruggieri Calcagni inquisitors at Florence—the former in 1230, the latter about 1241 (cf. Lea, ii. 201 ff.).

In Germany, it was given to the Dominican Conrad of Marburg to apply the Imperial ordinances and pontifical bulls relating to the Inquisition. A letter from Gregory IX., dated 11th Oct. 1231, gave him minute directions as to the procedure to be followed (J. P. Kuchenbecker, *Analecta Hassiaca*, Marburg, 1730, iii. 73).

From Germany the Inquisition spread into Bohemia and Hungary and even into the Slavic and Scandinavian countries. In short, with the exception of England, it soon covered the whole of Latin Christendom.

2. **Procedure.**—The working of the Inquisition is explained in a letter addressed by Gregory IX. to Conrad of Marburg on 11th Oct. 1231 as follows:

> 'When you arrive in a town, convoke the prelates, clergy, and people, and deliver a solemn address; then, with the help of some discreet persons make a very diligent search for heretics and suspects (who will have been denounced to you). Those who, after examination, are considered guilty or suspected of heresy must promise absolute obedience to the orders of the Church; otherwise you will have to proceed against them in accordance with the statutes recently promulgated by us' (Kuchenbecker, *loc. cit.*).

Here we have the whole inquisitorial process: the 'time of grace'; the summoning and depositions of witnesses; the examination of the accused; the sentence of reconciliation of repentant heretics; and the sentence of condemnation of the unrepentant. The several acts of this drama call for separate explanation.

The first duty of the inquisitor was to invite those who acknowledged heresy to present themselves voluntarily before him, within a fixed time varying from fifteen days to a month. The time thus set apart for voluntary confession was called the 'time of grace' ('tempus gratiae sive indulgentiae'; cf. *Processus inquisitionis*, composed between 1244 and 1254, in Vacandard, App. A, p. 315). Those who took advantage of this and whose offence had not been previously discovered were exempt from all penalty, or were prescribed a secret and only nominal penance; those whose heresy was already known before confession were exonerated from the penalties of death and life-imprisonment, and suffered no worse punishment than a short pilgrimage or some other of the usual canonical penances (Consultation of Cardinal Pierre of Colmieu, bishop of Albano, formerly archbishop of Rouen, in fonds Doat, xxxi. fol. 5; cf. Tanon, *Hist. des tribunaux de l'Inquisition en France*, p. 144 f.).

With the edict of grace was connected an 'edict of faith,' which made it incumbent upon any one who knew a notorious heretic or any person suspected of heresy to point him out to the inquisitor (Eymeric, *Directorium*, pt. iii. nos. 52, 53–56). Thus, if they failed to give themselves up voluntarily, the heretics were rooted out by the denunciation of the orthodox catholics. The number of witnesses required to make an accusation valid was not fixed at first, but was finally settled as two. Gui Foucois (afterwards Pope Clement IV.) thought that more than two witnesses would be advisable in certain circumstances (Consultation in Doat, vol. xxxvi. qu. xv.; cf. Eymeric, pt. iii., 'De testium multiplicatione,' p. 445). In theory the inquisitor was not supposed to accept the evidence of any but discreet persons, and it had long been acknowledged by the Church that the evidence of a heretic, an excommunicated person, a homicide, a thief, a sorcerer, diviner, or false witness was not valid in a criminal prosecution (Gratian, *Decretum*, pt. ii. causa v. qu. iii. cap. 5). But the great fear of heresy made room for an exception in matters relating to the faith. In the 12th cent. Gratian decreed that the evidence of a heretic or a person under civil disability (*infamis*) should be received on the question of heresy (*Decretum*, pt. ii. causa ii. qu. vii. cap. 22, causa vi. qu. i. cap. 19). The edicts of Frederick II. denied the right of appearing in a court of justice to members of a sect, but this disability was removed in the Constitution of Ravenna of 22nd Feb. 1232: 'adjicimus quod haereticus convinci per haereticum possit' (cf. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica Frederici II.*, iv. 299 f.). At first the inquisitors sometimes hesitated to consider evidence so obtained. But in 1261 Alexander IV. soothed their consciences (bull *Consuluit* of 23rd Jan. 1261, in Eymeric, App. p. 40). From this time onwards it was agreed that the evidence of a heretic should be valid at the discretion of the inquisitor. This principle was accepted generally, incorporated in canon law (cap. vi. 'In fidei favorem,' *Sextus*, v. ii.; Eymeric, p. 105), and confirmed by constant practice. Of all the legal pleas of common law that an accused person could bring forward against the witnesses to a charge, only one held good—mortal or very serious enmity (Eymeric, pt. iii. qu. lxvii. p. 606 f.; cf. Penna's remarks, *ib.* pp. 607–609).

It was quite useless to count on witnesses for the defence; in fact, we very seldom hear of their presence (cf. Lea, i. 446 ff.). And this is natural, for they would be practically certain to be suspected of complicity as abettors of the heretics.

For the same reason, the accused could not put their case in the hands of advocates except under conditions. The bull *Si adversus nos*, signed by Innocent III. in 1205 and inserted by Gregory IX. in the *Decretals* (cap. xi. 'De haereticis,' lib. v. tit. vii.), expressly forbade advocates and notaries to defend heretics; and this rule, though meant by the pontiff to concern only the acknowledged heretics, was insensibly extended to the accused who were striving to establish their innocence (Eymeric, pt. iii. qu. xxxix. p. 565; cf. p. 446; Vacandard, p. 151, n. 3).

The heretics and suspects, therefore, usually found themselves quite alone in the presence of their judges. They had to reply to the various charges (*capitula*) collected against them. It was important that the sources of these denunciations should be known. But the fear—a fear, moreover, that was justified (cf. Vacandard, 152, n. 1)—that the accused or their friends might take vengeance on their denunciators made the judges keep a prudent silence as to the names of the witnesses (see *Processus inquisitionis*, in Vacandard, App. A, p. 317; cf. bull of Alexander IV., *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, vol. iii. [1875] no. 4221). When Boniface VIII. incorporated this rule in the canon law (*Sextus*, v. ii. cap. 20), he made express reservations, and required the inquisitors to communicate the names of the witnesses to the accused when there was no danger involved in doing so (cf. Eymeric, pt. iii. qu. 72: 'An nomina testium et denuntiatorum sint delatis publicanda,' p. 627). But, as a rule, the accused had no other means of invalidating the evidence against him than the privilege of naming enemies whom he knew to be bent on his destruction; if his denunciators were of their number, their evidence was dropped (Eymeric, p. 446 ff.).

But the real aim of the inquisitor was to induce the heretic to confess. For this purpose various means were employed, an account of which is given by David of Augsburg (analyzed in Douais, *L'Inquisition*, p. 170): (1) the fear of death; the supreme penalty and the stake were held before the prisoner's eyes if he should refuse to confess; on the other hand, he was promised that he would be spared these punishments if he would consent to speak; (2) more or less strict imprisonment, made more trying by very scanty fare and the total absence of friends; (3) the visit of two capable judges who could force a confession from the prisoner by clever insinuations and tricky questions; (4) finally, from the time of Innocent IV., torture (*Tractatus de inquisitione hæreticorum*, ed. Preger, Mainz, 1876, p. 43).

Torture could not be resorted to until the judge had exhausted all the gentler methods on the prisoner, and unless the latter was under very serious suspicion. Even in the torture-chamber, while the prisoner was being stripped and bound, the inquisitor continued his exhortations to confession. The *vexatio* then began with the mildest ordeals; if these were ineffectual, others were tried, and from the very beginning care was taken that the prisoner should see the whole series of punishments, so that he might be inspired with a salutary fear by the thought of the pains in store for him (Eymeric, pt. iii. p. 481, col. 1). But, of course, the prisoner's life and limbs were not meant to be endangered: 'cogere citra membri deminutionem et mortis periculum,' says the bull *Ad extirpanda* of Innocent IV. (in Eymeric, App., p. 8). Originally it was not even allowable to repeat the torture; but later it became the rule that, if necessary, torture might be applied several times and even at intervals of a few days, not by way of 'repetition,' but by way of 'continuation' ('ad continuandum tormenta, non ad iterandum,' as Eymeric says in *Directorium*, pt. iii. p. 481, col. 2).

If on leaving the torture-chamber the accused repeated his confession, his case was easily disposed of; but, if he withdrew the confession made under the pressure of torture, he necessitated recourse to witnesses. The rule of the *Processus inquisitionis* was that the accused must not be condemned without confession or certain and clear proofs (cf. Vacandard, p. 321). But, whether he confessed or not, if two witnesses deemed competent by the inquisitor agreed in charging him, he was declared a heretic.

Helpless in the face of such witness, the accused could only choose between two courses: either he had to make a confession and show his penitence by submitting to whatever penance the Church, in the person of the judge, decided to impose upon him, or he might stand firm in his denial of crime or in his profession of heresy, and bravely take the consequences.

If converted, the heretic bowed before the inquisitor as a penitent before his confessor. He had no cause to fear his judge, for the latter did not inflict real punishments, but rather penances.

> These penances 'consisted, firstly, of pious observances—recitation of prayers, frequenting of churches, the discipline, fasting, pilgrimages, and fines nominally for pious uses, such as a confessor might impose on his ordinary penitents. These were for offences of trifling import. Next in grade are the "*pœnæ confusibiles*"—the humiliating and degrading penances, of which the most important was the wearing of yellow crosses sewed upon the garments; and, finally, the severest punishment among those strictly within the competence of the Holy Office, the "*murus*," or prison' (Lea, i. 462; cf. C. Molinier, *L'Inquisition dans le midi de la France aux xiii^e et xiv^e siècles*, pp. 358–398).

Imprisonment might be temporary or for life.

> 'There were two kinds of imprisonment, the milder, or "*murus largus*," and the harsher, known as "*murus strictus*" or "*durus*" or "*arctus*." . . . In the milder form, or "*murus largus*," the prisoners apparently were, if well behaved, allowed to take exercise in the corridors, where sometimes they had opportunities of converse with each other and with the outside world. This privilege was ordered to be given to the aged and infirm by the cardinals who investigated the prison of Carcassonne and took measures to alleviate its rigors. In the harsher confinement, or "*murus strictus*," the prisoner was thrust into the smallest, darkest, and most noisome of cells, with chains on his feet—in some cases chained to the wall. . . . When the culprits were members of a religious Order, to avoid scandal the proceedings were usually held in private, and the imprisonment would be ordered to take place in a convent of their own Order. As these buildings, however, usually were provided with cells for the punishment of offenders, this was probably of no great advantage to the victim. In the case of Jeanne, widow of B. de la Tour, a nun of Lespenasse, in 1246, who had committed acts of both Catharan and Waldensian heresy, and had prevaricated in her confession, the sentence was confinement in a separate cell in her own convent, where no one was to enter or see her, her food being pushed in through an opening left for the purpose—in fact, the living tomb known as the "*in pace*." . . . While the penance prescribed was a diet of bread and water, the Inquisition, with unwonted kindness, did not object to its prisoners receiving from their friends contributions of food, wine, money, and garments, and among its documents are such frequent allusions to this that it may be regarded as an established custom' (Lea, i. 486, 487, 491).

The greatest penalty was that of death. The inquisitor, indeed,

> 'never condemned to death, but merely withdrew the protection of the Church from the hardened and impenitent sinner who afforded no hope of conversion, or from him who showed by relapse that there was no trust to be placed in his pretended repentance' (Lea, i. 460).

It was then that the civil authority intervened. The ecclesiastical judge handed the prisoner over to the secular arm (cf. *Liber sententiarum*, in Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*, p. 91), and it applied the legal punishment (*animadversio debita*), death by fire. The prisoner had one last resource, however: to save his life he could, even at the stake, renounce his error, and his sentence was immediately commuted to imprisonment for life (Constitution of Frederick II. of 1232; cf. Eymeric, pt. iii. p. 515).

Death did not protect heretics from the condemnation of the Inquisition. Trial after death was not unknown to the Romans; it was applied to criminals who had committed treason, and, in case of conviction, entailed confiscation of property and spoliation of heirs. The analogy established by Innocent III. (bull of 25th March 1199, inserted in the *Decretals*, v. vii. 10) between heresy and the crime of treason led the tribunals of the Inquisition to punish deceased heretics just as if they were still alive. They were regarded as condemned in default, and treated accordingly; their goods were seized and their remains exhumed. The exhumation was carried out with great solemnity; bones and even semi-decomposed bodies were carried through the streets to the sound of trumpets, and then burned at the stake. The names of the dead were proclaimed, and the living were threatened with a similar fate if they followed their example: 'qui aytal fara, aytal périra,' says the *Chronique de Guilhem Pelhisso*, first inquisitor of Albi (published in Douais, p. 110).

These various penalties could be applied only after sentence pronounced in a public assembly convoked for the purpose and known by the name of *Sermo generalis* (see Tanon, pp. 425–431). This assembly was what is commonly called the *auto da fé*, or *auto de fe* ('act of faith'). To the masses and to many others the name *auto da fé* suggests the very worst horrors of the Inquisition; they can scarcely picture it without towering flames and fierce-eyed hangmen. In reality there was neither hangman nor burning stake. The heretics who appeared at this tribunal had simply to listen to a speech and then hear their sentence, which was sometimes very light. The death-penalty was not always the result of these 'solemnities,' which were meant to appeal to the imagination of the orthodox. Of the 18 *auto da fé* presided over by the famous inquisitor Bernard Gui, 7 pronounced no greater penalty than prison or dungeon. When the heretic deserved a worse punishment, he was handed over to the secular arm. This was the device employed by the Church to avoid transgression of the principle forbidding her ministers to shed blood ('Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine').

3. **Appreciation.**—We need not discuss the abuses which crept into the inquisitorial system through the fault of individuals. Whatever their origin, history, and extent, they should be the object of inexorable and universal reprobation. No one would ever dream of defending the memory of Cauchon, the sole judge of Joan of Arc. Nor is there any excuse for those inquisitors like him who used their authority to convict all suspects brought before their tribunal with no thought of justice or moderation.

It is the institution itself that we must judge here, according to our idea of a higher social justice. The form of inquisitorial procedure appears in itself to be inferior to that of accusatory procedure. In the latter it was the accuser's duty to prove the truth of his words; in the former the accused had to prove his innocence, no one was allowed to speak in his defence, he was reduced to a desperate self-defence before a secret tribunal without the help of an advocate. It is possible, indeed, to allege important reasons in justification of this system. The risks that the witnesses would have run if their names had been divulged are patent to all; and publicity of debate would certainly have hindered the success of the work. But these considerations do not alter the nature of the institution; the large part left to the discretion, or rather licence, of the judges marks an inferiority that leads inevitably to suspicions of its strict justice. All that can be said in defence or even to the credit of the Roman pontiffs is that, once the principle of inquisition was admitted, they did their best to prevent its inconveniences and to repress its abuses. They stipulated for exceptionally high moral qualities in inquisitors: Alexander IV. (1255), Urban IV. (1262), Clement IV. (1265), Gregory X. (1273), and Nicholas IV. (1290) insisted on spiritual qualities, moral purity, and scrupulous honesty in these judges (Potthast, *Regesta*, nos. 16132, 16611, 18387, 19372, 19924, 20720, 20724, 23297, 23298); Clement V. made a decision, in confirmation of one already made by his predecessors, that, in order to guarantee against any possibility of frivolity, no one under the age of forty should exercise inquisitorial power (Clementin. ii. 2). In Bernard Gui (*Practica*, vi., ed. Douais, p. 232 f., tr. in Vacandard, p. 156) we have a portrait of the ideal inquisitor; it is a model which leaves nothing to be desired. It was, further, decreed by Innocent IV. and Alexander IV. that, in order to protect the judges themselves against sudden outbursts of passion, they should be guided by a certain number of *boni viri* and gather a body of experts (*periti*) about them (cf. *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, iii. no. 4111; Potthast, *Regesta*, no. 15804; Vacandard, p. 165, n. 1). The official reports of sentences, in fact, often mention the presence of *periti* and *boni viri* in great numbers (see Douais, 'La Formule "Communicato bonorum virorum concilio" des sentences inquisitoriales,' in *Congrès scientifique international des catholiques*, section 'Sciences historiques,' Freiburg, Switzerland, 1898, pp. 316–367). We see in these councillors a foreshadowing of the modern jury; and it has been rightly observed that the inquisitors generally followed their advice and even tempered it with mercy (Douais, pp. 324–326, with examples). They were, furthermore, forbidden, from the time of Clement V. (bull *Multorum querela*) to make any serious decision without first hearing the advice of the bishops, the natural judges of the faith. In a word, although they do not present 'a sublime spectacle of social perfection' (*Civiltà cattolica*, Rome, 1853, i. 595), the tribunal of the Inquisition conformed to a very high ideal of justice—an ideal as lofty as that conceived by the best spirits of the Middle Ages.

We could not adopt this ideal for our own; for among the methods employed by the Inquisition there was one, namely, torture, which could never find favour in the eyes of criminalists with a love of justice. If they had even restricted themselves to flagellation, such as was administered, to quote St. Augustine, at home, in school, and even in the episcopal tribunals of the early ages, or such as was recommended by the Council of Agde in A.D. 506, and applied by the Benedictine monks (Augustine, *Ep.* cxxxiii. 2; cf. clxxxv. 23; *Concil. Agath.*, can. xxviii.; *Benedicti Regula*, xxvii.; cf. Vacandard, p. 38, n. 3), their conduct would not have appeared so scandalous. We might have looked upon it as a sort of domestic or paternal practice, somewhat rigorous, of course, but harmonizing with the ideas of goodness prevalent at the time. But the rack, *strappado*, and lighted torches were particularly inhuman inventions (cf. St. Augustine, *Ep.* cxxxiii. 2). When they were employed in the first centuries against Christians, every one agreed in regarding them as relics of barbarism and inventions of the devil. Their character did not change when they were employed by the Inquisition against heretics; and it is a sad fact that, in spite of Innocent IV.'s appeal for moderation ('citra membri diminutionem et mortis periculum'), it was possible to draw a comparison between the pagan and the ecclesiastical tribunals. Pope Nicholas I. delivered a judgment on torture as a means of getting judiciary information which is worthy of remembrance.

> 'Such processes,' he said, 'are contrary to both Divine and human law, for confession should be spontaneous and not forced; it should be made voluntarily, not extracted by violence. The prisoner can endure all the torments you inflict without confession, and then what shame there is for the judge, and what an exhibition of his inhumanity! If, on the other hand, the prisoner is overcome by pain and confesses a crime of which he is innocent, on whom does this enormous impiety recoil if not upon him who forced the poor wretch to tell a lie?' (*Responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum*, lxxxvi., in Labbe, *Concilia*, viii. col. 544).

Innocent IV. was, of course, ignorant of this text when he recommended the use of torture. His excuse, if he had any, was that he was only following the example of the civil courts and conforming to the customs of his time.

The penalties imposed by the tribunals of the Inquisition are more difficult to judge. The death-penalty is of the first importance. Let us notice, to begin with, as a point of history, that the punishment of death for the crime of heresy owed its origin to the people, and passed into the penal code only at the wish of the princes, without any intervention of ecclesiastical power; the Church never admitted the penalty of death into her code. This being so, it remains for us to see whether heretics could be justly condemned to death, and whether the Church could have, or actually had, any share in their condemnation.

The early Fathers, notably Origen, Cyprian, Lactantius, Chrysostom, and Augustine, did not approve of the death-penalty for heresy (see texts in Vacandard, pp. 3, 5, 20, 34); and their doctrine seems to conform to our Lord's parable of the wheat and tares: ‘Is it not possible,’ said Wazon, bishop of Liège, in the 12th cent., ‘that those who are tares to-day may be converted into wheat to-morrow?’ (*Vita Vasonis*, xxv. [*PL* cxlii. 753]). To put them to death, then, was to deprive them at a stroke of any possibility of conversion.

Those who advocated the death-penalty, Frederick II. and Thomas Aquinas (*Summa*, II. ii. qu. xi. art. 3), tried to support their doctrine by arguments from reason. The supreme penalty, they said, was the recognized punishment for persons guilty of treason or forgery, and accordingly . . . and so on. Their argument is, of course, a case of mistaking comparisons for reasons. The State criminals in question were a serious menace to the social order, which could not be truly said of all and every heresy as such. There is nothing in common between a crime against society and a crime against God; and, if these were to be assimilated, it would be quite an easy matter to prove that every sin is Divine treason, and consequently punishable with death.

To tell the truth, the heresies of the Middle Ages were nearly always interwoven with anti-social systems. Such a sect as the Cathari, for instance, which wrapped itself round in mystery and corroded the heart of the people, inevitably called down the vengeance of society and the sword of the State for no other crime than existing and acting;

‘and, however much we may deprecate the means used for its suppression and commiserate those who suffered for conscience' sake, we cannot but admit that the cause of orthodoxy was in this case the cause of progress and civilization. Had Catharism become dominant, or even had it been allowed to exist on equal terms, its influence could not have failed to prove disastrous. Its asceticism with regard to commerce between the sexes, if strictly enforced, could only have led to the extinction of the race, and as this involves a contradiction of nature, it would have probably resulted in lawless concubinage and the destruction of the institution of the family, rather than in the disappearance of the human race and the return of exiled souls to their Creator, which was the *summum bonum* of the true Catharan. Its condemnation of the visible universe and of matter in general as the work of Satan rendered sinful all striving after material improvement, and the conscientious belief in such a creed could only lead man back, in time, to his original condition of savagism. It was not only a revolt against the Church, but a renunciation of man's domination over nature’ (Lea, i. 106).

Its development had to be stopped at any cost. In fighting it to the death, society was only acting in self-defence against the inroads of an essentially destructive force. It was the struggle for existence.

It is not surprising that Church and State should combine to oppose their common enemy. If all disturbers of public order and ordinary law-breakers were to be struck from the list of sect-members sent to the stake or the dungeon, we should find the remaining number of condemned heretics to be very small indeed. They were, according to commonly received doctrine, equally amenable to the jurisdiction of Church and of State. It was inconceivable that God and His revelation should lack defenders in a Christian kingdom: the magistrates were held responsible to a certain extent for offences committed against the Deity. Hence heresy belonged indirectly to their tribunal. It was their privilege and duty to combat errors of faith as they did anti-social theories.

As regards the Church's attitude, in principle no heretic was condemned to death. The sacred formula ran: ‘Damnati per ecclesiam seculari judicio relinquantur, animadversione debita puniendi’ (ch. *Excommunicamus*, 15, x. lib. 5, tit. 7 [ed. E. Friedberg, Leipzig, 1882, col. 789]); and the sentence of delivery to the civil judges added: ‘We recommend the secular court, and with confidence, to such moderation in your sentence as will avoid all effusion of blood or danger of death’ (Eymeric, p. 588). But these formulæ evidently belong to a time when the *animadversio debita* did not include death at the stake; Lucius III. (bull *Ad abolendam*, in *Decretals*, v. vii. 9) and Innocent III. (*ib.* v. vii. 13) could use them without any reservation. But it was different from the time when Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. sanctioned the code of Frederick II. and imposed it upon the tribunals of the Inquisition. The Church continued to recommend the State to act with moderation and avoid all ‘effusion of blood and danger of death.’ This was, unfortunately, only an empty formula that deceived no one. Its purpose was to safeguard the principle which the Church had taken for its motto: ‘Ecclesia abhorret a sanguine.’ The inquisitors imagined that, by boldly proclaiming this traditional rule, they removed all responsibility in the matter from their own shoulders. It was their only safeguard against being soaked in judgments of blood, and it must be taken for what it is worth. It has been described as a ‘device’ and ‘hypocritical’ (Lea, i. 224); we may call it simply a legal fiction.

It is impossible to claim that the Church had never any responsibility for the execution of heretics. This was attempted, however, in the 13th cent.:

‘Our Pope,’ so says a clumsy apologist (‘Disputatio inter Catholicum et Patarinum haereticum,’ in E. Martène, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, Paris, 1717, v. col. 1741), ‘neither kills nor orders to be killed any person; it is the law that kills those whom the Pope allows to be killed, and it is they themselves who cause their own death by committing deeds that must be punished by death.’

The same position has been taken up by modern apologists. But they forget that the Church excommunicated princes for refusing to burn the heretics delivered into their hands by the Inquisition (Boniface VIII., *Sextus*, ‘de Hæreticis,’ xviii., in Eymeric, pt. ii. p. 110; cf. qu. 47, p. 360 f.). It was undoubtedly the princes who passed the death-sentence; but there were two authorities involved —the civil power, which applied its own laws; and the ecclesiastical power, which forced it to apply them. Hence the command to Peter the Cantor not to kill the Cathari immediately after an ecclesiastical judgment, as this might compromise the Church; ‘illud ab eo fit cujus auctoritate fit’ was added in justification (*Verbum abbreviatum*, lxxviii. [*PL* ccv. 231]).

The question whether the Church's responsibility was a juridical or simply a moral responsibility is of no importance historically. Let us notice, however, that in the tribunals of the Inquisition sentences involving death were not frequent. We have the sentences of Pamiers from 1318 to 1324, and of Toulouse from 1308 to 1323. During 9 *Sermones* or *auto da fé* held by the tribunal of Pamiers, and involving the sentence of 75 persons, only 5 heretics were handed over to the secular arm (Vidal, *Le tribunal de l'Inquisition de Pamiers*, pp. 50–56). Bernard Gui presided over 18 *auto da fé* in Toulouse, and pronounced 930 sentences; of this number only 42 were marked with the fatal sign, ‘relicti curiae seculari’ (cf. Douais, *Documents*, i. p. ccv; Vacandard, App. B). The proportion is, therefore, one in 15 for the tribunal of Pamiers, and one in 22 or 23 for that of Toulouse (cf. Vacandard, p. 236 f., with notes). Taking everything into consideration, we may hold that the institution and working of the tribunals of the Inquisition were the means of real social progress: not only did they close the era of summary judgment (cf. Vacandard, pp. 38–66), but they also considerably lessened the number of sentences involving the death-penalty. Lea, who could not be charged with any bias in favour of the Church, has found it possible to say in all truth: ‘The stake [of the Inquisition] consumed comparatively few victims' (i. 480).

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INSANITY.

I. *INTRODUCTION.*—There is no comprehensive definition that can adequately embrace the various types of insanity. The nervous system, which is the physical substratum of mental manifestations, is liable to disorder of function arising from many causes. Among these may be mentioned congenital defects in its development, lesions of its structure due to disease such as tumours or apoplexies, and toxic conditions such as the poisons of fevers, or syphilis, or alcoholism, or metabolic changes within the body which, although imperfectly understood, have nevertheless been proved to act after the manner of toxins, causing not only mental disturbance but also well-marked physical changes. The nature of these poisons has not been wholly determined, and those who most strenuously support the theory of their influence admit also that other elements enter into their action in the causation of insanity. The chief of these is immunity, or the resistance which the tissues of the body offer to the action of certain toxins. Were it not for this element of immunity, which varies greatly in different individuals, all persons would be equally liable to acquired insanity. Upon immunity, therefore, depends, to a large degree, heredity or predisposition, which plays so large a part in the causation of mental diseases. But there is another aspect of heredity which is not necessarily concerned with the question of immunity, namely, the germinal transmission of inborn variations in the structure and functions of the nervous system, and which are manifested by the repeated appearance of idiocy, imbecility, eccentricity, and anomalies of various kinds in members of certain families. We see, therefore, that the main divisions of mental unsoundness are: (1) congenital defects in the structure of the brain, which prevent the proper manifestation of its function, and produce idiocy and the various grades of imbecility and mental weakness or imperfection; (2) the acquired insanities which occur as a rule between the ages of 20 and 50 years, and which chiefly depend upon, or are invariably accompanied by, definite physical changes of a subtle nature, indicating in the majority of forms a general toxæmia of the system; (3) the toxic insanities caused by the effects of poisons such as metabolic toxins, syphilis, alcohol, lead, etc., acting directly or indirectly upon the cortical cells in the convolutions of the brain; (4) the insanities which accompany such nervous affections as epilepsy, hysteria, etc.; (5) the mental unsoundness caused by gross lesions of the brain, including injuries, tumours, apoplexies, and other vascular diseases which destroy or injure its substance; and (6) the mental symptoms which accompany the decline of physical and mental vigour in old age.

1. Causes of insanity.—As scientific investigation proceeds to throw light upon certain limited fields of this broad question, two facts begin to assume prominence: the great influence of hereditary predisposition, and the extreme complexity of the changes in the human system which occur in all cases of mental disease. As we contemplate these facts we are compelled to admit the importance of hereditary predisposition, and to relegate to a more distant sphere of influence the host of popular influences which our forefathers regarded as the proximate, intimate, and essential causes of insanity.

The question of *heredity* itself is beset with great difficulties, and it has to be admitted that we are very far from a true comprehension of its intricacies (cf. art. HEREDITY, vol. vi. p. 597 ff.). It is clear, however, that the individual inherits from his ancestors both his mental and his physical characteristics. In most ordinary families it is impossible to obtain the accurate information upon which to found an undoubted history of transmitted disease. On the other hand, in the case of certain races, sects, and castes, *e.g.* Jews, Quakers, and the aristocracy, fuller information on these points can be obtained, and the result shows indubitably that insanity in the ancestors tends to reproduce itself either in the same form or as a mental anomaly of some kind in the descendants. But, according to the law of reversion to the normal which has been expounded by Galton, and according to the law of atavism, the incidence of this heredity varies greatly in different members of the same family, so that the majority of the members may escape the taint altogether. Even although it may be shown that actual mental disease has not occurred in the family history of an insane person, it is often possible to ascertain the presence of nervous degeneration as exemplified by epilepsy, neuralgia, sexual and alcoholic excesses, or paralysis of various kinds, in the past and present members of his family. Perhaps the most common precursory symptom of insanity in a family is what is known as mental degeneracy, which includes feeble-mindedness, great impressionability, suspiciousness, violent temper, impulsiveness, or excessive timidity. Certain families show a marked tendency to produce at intervals individuals afflicted with certain physical deformities of various types. This is, of course, the result of an innate germinal variation. When this variation affects the structure of the nervous system, especially that of the brain, it is apt to be accompanied by idiocy or imbecility. In estimating the influence of mental defect and aberration in ancestors upon the production of insanity in their descendants, it must be kept in view that the strain of circumstances may determine the appearance of insanity in a predisposed person who might, under different conditions, have escaped the incidence of the malady. Nor must it be forgotten that a person predisposed to insanity by heredity may, in favourable circumstances, manifest no symptoms of insanity during his life, and yet transmit the tendency to his children. Here we meet face to face one of the problems of hereditary predisposition. What is, in the latter instance, transmitted? There can only be speculation on such a problem, but, so far as we can perceive, there are probably two elements, among others, transmitted, namely, a structural, functional delicacy of the nervous system, and a defective immunity of the body tissues against the action of toxins of various kinds.

Races and families become acclimatized to special *environments* and modes of life, and their removal from them is attended by degeneration. It is a well-established fact that the type of town dweller differs in many respects, physically and mentally, from the rural inhabitant. A little consideration will show that the change from the one type to the other is effected, chiefly, by the elimination of those individuals who are not fitted for the life of the new environment. The process of this elimination of the unfit must necessarily be attended by disease both of the body and of the mind. It has also to be remembered that the conditions of all localities, whether urban or rural, are constantly varying, in consonance with the universal surrounding change. Populations fluctuate; new inventions disturb old social relations; food, dress, and customs vary. To one and all of these changes the human organism has to adapt itself, and always the less fit types—not necessarily the less strong or the less favoured—with respect to these variations in the environment have to suffer. But those who become first, and most readily, the victims of mental alienation as the result of changes in their environment are the hereditarily predisposed.

Closely allied with the influence of the environment in producing insanity is the question of the influence of certain *habits and excesses*. Chief among these is the alcohol habit. There can be no question that over-indulgence in alcohol exercises a baneful effect upon the nervous system, and that a considerable number of people now insane might have remained sane had they abstained from its use. Sexual excesses are, though to a less degree, accredited causes of insanity. There is also to be mentioned indulgence in narcotic drugs, such as opium, hashish, and cocaine. With regard to all these causes of insanity it must be pointed out that their causative relation to insanity is complicated by the following facts: (1) in some cases they constitute symptoms of an incipient or an already established insanity; (2) in regard to certain of them (alcohol in particular) there undoubtedly exists a special inherited tendency towards their excessive use, and this in itself gives alcoholism a right to be regarded as a separate neurosis; (3) unfortunately, the tendency to both alcoholism and insanity may be inherited by the same individual. This double heredity and the independence of alcoholism and insanity are established by the existence in the same family at the same time of alcoholic members who do not become insane, and of insane members who never become alcoholic.

With regard to the hosts of *moral causes* which are popularly regarded as producing insanity, their influence has to be accepted with great caution. That a sudden moral shock may cause insanity in a highly nervous individual is probably true, but such shocks when they do occur must be regarded more as of the nature of traumata, or direct injuries affecting the nerve cells and fibres, than as subtle influences of a spiritual nature. That prolonged anxiety and worry may cause insanity in predisposed individuals is probably also true, but here the effect is indirect, and due to the lowering of the general health and nutrition of the body as a result of insomnia, decreased appetite, and disorder of function.

The wide field of *toxæmia* and its rôle in the causation of mental troubles can only be touched upon. It is usual to divide such toxic agents into two great classes: (*a*) those introduced into the system from without, *e.g.* alcohol, syphilis, etc.; and (*b*) those formed within the system, *e.g.* uric acid, oxalic acid, gastro-intestinal toxins, and toxins due to defective gland secretion, especially that of the thyroid gland. The effect of these toxins will be referred to under the headings of the diseases which they are supposed either to cause or to influence.

2. Terminology of the symptoms of mental aberration.—(*a*) *Mental exaltation or mania* is a condition in which the subject, under the influence of a corresponding emotion, exhibits intellectual excitement with defective self-control, impaired judgment, and consequent anomalies of conduct. This condition is known as simple mania. When the excitement becomes acute, the flow of ideas more rapid, the conduct of the patient less and less restrained, the speech incoherent, and the bodily restlessness incessant, the condition is known as acute mania.

(*b*) *Mental depression or melancholia* is the antithesis of the preceding condition. It is characterized by mental pain and gloom, slow reaction to stimuli of all kinds, slow muscular action, and diminished general sensibility. The ideational centres are always implicated in melancholia, and the thoughts of the patient are constantly engaged in formulating explanations of his misery, and in the invention of self-accusatory and self-deprecatory ideas. When the condition becomes acute, there may be motor restlessness, and, under the influence of gloomy delusions, strenuous resistance to any offers of assistance on the part of others. Suicide is probably contemplated seriously by all sufferers from this affection.

(*c*) *Mental confusion or delirium.*—In this condition, in contrast to both mania and melancholia, where the intellectual functions and memory remain clear, there is obfuscation of thought, greater or less unconsciousness of surroundings, and an imperfect memory, or total loss of memory, of what has taken place during illness. The condition is met with most typically in the delirium of fevers, in acute alcoholism, and in many forms of mental affections which owe their origin to toxic infection.

(*d*) *Stupor* is a symptom which may occur in the course of any mental affection. It is especially characteristic of the katatonic form of 'dementia præcox' described below. Patients suffering from stupor manifest little or no volition, and do not respond to any of the ordinary sensory stimuli. They usually retain the power of walking and eating, but in severe cases even these functions may be suspended. The conscious state varies greatly, some patients being aware of and capable of recalling all that occurred during the attack, while others are unconscious and without memory. Most of the subjects exhibit in greater or less degree the curious phenomenon of catalepsy, or the tendency of the muscles to maintain a limb in any position in which it is placed by another person.

(*e*) *Delusions or insane ideas.*—A delusion is a partially dissociated train of ideation which invariably involves the personality of the subject, which possesses a distinct emotional tone, and the content of which refers to subjects either inimical or beneficial to the welfare of the individual.

The new school of morbid psychology has done much to extend our knowledge of the origin of delusions. According to their teaching, certain ideas or trains of thought possessing a strong emotional tone which tend to interfere with the ordinary thought processes must either be wholly excluded from the mind or suppressed. When they are suppressed and sunk below the level of conscious thought, they manifest a tendency—stronger in ill-balanced minds—to force themselves upon attention. Hence arises in some persons a constant conflict between the will and the morbid idea. In time the suppressed idea may gradually force itself into the sphere of conscious thought and capture for itself a place in the ideation and personality of the individual, but in the great majority of such instances the sphere of influence of the morbid train of thought is rigidly delimited and to a large extent independent. Having once entered the sphere of personal ideation, it assumes the position of an intuitive certainty similar to that occupied by any other fundamental belief of the individual. The fact that it may be absurd in the opinion of others does not affect the individual's belief in its truth, for he builds around it a system of 'rationalization' whereby he satisfactorily accounts to himself for its validity in the same way as a normal individual explains his religious, political, or social opinions apart from any rational bases. The partial dissociation of the morbid train of thought and its rigid delimitation from the ordinary normal ideation of the individual explain the otherwise incongruous phenomenon of divided personality and the not uncommon spectacle of an individual endowed with intelligence above the average and eminently capable in the affairs of life being yet dominated by beliefs wholly incredible to ordinary people, and being often thus influenced in his conduct to an extent which compels his sequestration in his own interests or that of others. Delusions form the basis of the two large and important groups of insanity described below under the headings 'dementia præcox' and 'paranoia.'

(*f*) *Hallucinations* of the senses are frequently observed in different forms of insanity. All the five senses may be implicated, but by far the most common is that of hearing. Next in order of frequency come false sensations of touch or pain, of taste, of smell, and of sight. Hallucinations are of two kinds—primary or peripheral, and secondary or ideational. When the stump of an amputated limb is electrically stimulated, the absent fingers and toes are distinctly perceived—the cause of which can only be that the excessive irritation of the afferent nerves forces into association neuron paths long previously disused. In the same way peripheral irritation of the aural or optic nerves tends to arouse latent ideas by forced association, and in this way to cause auditory or visual hallucinations. Secondary hallucinations are of ideational origin, and are intimately associated with the emotional tone of the mental state of the patient. Thus a man who believes himself the victim of persecution generally develops hallucinations corresponding to his delusions, and a man who is the subject of delusions of pride and grandeur is liable to hallucinations corresponding to these ideas (see, further, art. HALLUCINATION, vol. vi. p. 482 ff.).

(*g*) *Obsessions and impulses.*—An obsession is a dissociated idea, or group of ideas, which suddenly enters consciousness, disturbing the ordinary course of ideation, but not involving the personality of the individual—that is to say, the subject of obsession regards it as an unreality, and as apart from his ordinary ideation. Obsessions are most common in neurasthenic, hysteric, or hereditarily degenerate people. The number of obsessions is endless, there being almost as many forms as there are of thought. Some are harmless and meaningless, as, *e.g.*, the desire to repeat certain words or phrases, to count objects of no interest, or to touch certain articles. Others are fateful, as the desire to kill, to commit suicide, or to steal.

As thought precedes action, so does obsession lead up to impulse. Some impulses are harmless; others are serious. Among the latter are suicidal and homicidal impulses, the impulse to drink (dipsomania), or the impulse to steal (kleptomania). True impulse is generally preceded by mental distress, due to the strength of the obsession against which the purposive will of the individual contends. The recognition of this contest between impulse and will is important in the diagnosis of obsession and impulse.

(*h*) *Dementia or mental enfeeblement.*—Mental enfeeblement is of two kinds—primary and secondary. The first is congenital, and will be referred to under congenital mental defect; the other is a terminal condition of many forms of mental disease. Secondary dementia varies greatly according to the nature of the preceding malady, the hereditary power of resistance of the individual, or the character and extent of the injury to the nerve cells of the cortex of the brain. It may manifest itself variously from a mere change in disposition up to the most complete ineptitude for the simplest duties, with abolition of the faculty of ordinary thought, loss of memory, and absence of the human instincts.

II. *CONGENITAL MENTAL DEFECTS.*—**1.** Idiocy varies from a condition in which the mental faculties are rudimentary, if, indeed, they can be said to exist, up to a state of mind characterized by such limited ideation that the subject is unable to take proper care of himself, or to perform ordinary social or civil functions. All idiots are incapable of acquiring literary education. The higher grades of them, however, may be trained to habits of decency and cleanliness. There are various types of idiocy, *e.g.* the genetous or congenital type, which are malformed germinal variations; the paralytic type, in which an early brain injury or inflammation has resulted in infantile paralysis, with accompanying arrest of mental development; the microcephalic type, in which the head measures less than 17 inches in circumference, and in which the skull sutures are for some reason prematurely ossified; the hydrocephalic type, accompanied by enormous enlargement and deformity of the head; and cretinism, a condition associated with failure of development of the thyroid gland, and accompanied by dwarfishness and abnormality of the skin and its appendages. In addition to a paucity of ideas, idiots usually present speech defects and a host of physical abnormalities. Their resistance to disease, especially to tubercle, is low, and they are liable to suffer from caries of the teeth, and from gastro-intestinal disorders.

2. Imbecility is a much less pronounced form of mental degeneracy than idiocy, from which it differs more in degree than in kind to that it is often difficult to classify borderland cases. The absence of mental power in imbeciles may be so slight that it becomes apparent only in the continuing infantilism which the subject manifests as puberty is approached. On the other hand, it may manifest itself by inability to acquire ordinary education at an early period of life. Not only so, but imbecile young children generally manifest peculiarities of conduct, unusual attitudes of mind, and abnormal ways of thought, all of which are characterized by a feeble and undeveloped mind. Physical deformity is rare, as compared with idiocy, and many imbeciles, though not well developed physically, are of robust bodily constitution.

The mental reaction of imbeciles towards their environment is, generally speaking, defective; they are incapable of learning by experience the common social relationships of everyday life, or of understanding anything beyond the merely animal and the simpler human necessities of existence. At the same time, these defects are, in a few exceptional individuals, associated with some musical or arithmetical faculty, with an extraordinary memory for dates, or even an aptitude for certain limited mechanical skill. The power to protect themselves varies greatly, from helplessness in the midst of ordinary dangers up to a capacity for partially or even wholly earning their own means of livelihood by the performance of, as a rule, unskilled labour. The majority of imbeciles are deficient in self-control and in the moral sense; and, though many are good-natured, not a few are impulsive, passionate, and vicious.

3. Higher grade imbecility or degeneracy.—This class of imbeciles, though often apparently normal, physically and mentally, are only a degree removed from imbeciles. As a rule, such individuals, though of average intelligence—occasionally even exhibiting genius—are mentally ill-balanced, and the subjects of certain distinguishing peculiarities. Chief among these are eccentricity in manner, extravagance in thought or conduct, extravagant immorality of various kinds, and anomalies of emotion either in the direction of hyper-emotionalism or in the absence of certain emotional qualities, such as sympathy, which not infrequently results in cruelty. Certain types of criminals undoubtedly belong to this class. The intellectual development of such persons is always defective, and presents well-marked irregularity. On the physical side they do not present any constant signs of degeneracy. As a class, they are subject to various forms of psychopathic affection, such as paranoia or hysteria, and to such nervous diseases as epilepsy.

III. *THE ACQUIRED INSANITIES.*—The acquired insanities include those mental affections which manifest themselves between puberty and the end of the fourth decade in life. Undoubtedly they may appear, though rarely, both before and after these periods.

i. **MANIA-MELANCHOLIA GROUP.**—The relationship between mania and melancholia, which until recently were regarded as separate entities, consists in the fact that they are often associated in the same individual. The manifestation may be alternate (circular insanity); or the recurrent attacks of mania may be ushered in by a slight mental depression, which rapidly disappears; or an attack of melancholia may be followed by a slight transient mental exaltation; or, finally, a person who has suffered for many years from attacks of recurrent melancholia may suddenly develop an attack of mania, or *vice versa*. Notwithstanding the fact that one solitary attack of mania or melancholia may be the sole manifestation of the disease in an individual lifetime, the validity of the relationship is not thereby affected.

(*a*) *The circular form of mania-melancholia.*—The attacks of mental exaltation and of mental depression succeed each other usually without intermission, and are followed by a lucid interval of longer or shorter duration (*folie à double forme*). When the alternate attacks follow each other without a lucid interval, or are continuous, the form is known as 'circular insanity' (*folie circulaire*). The term 'circular insanity' is, however, used to embrace both forms. It is unimportant whether the mental depression succeeds or precedes the mental exaltation.

Although the form of mania which occurs in circular insanity may assume an acute type, it is usually of the form known as 'simple.' There is a general exaltation of the mental functions, without any apparent incoherence of ideas, without hallucinations of the senses, and without the presence of marked delusions. The memory becomes extraordinarily acute, and the patients talk or write incessantly. At the same time, although they appear capable of reasoning correctly, they lose their sense of proportion and of the fitness of things, and their judgment loses its normal balance. Thus they become less reticent regarding themselves and their affairs, and less cautious in speculation, or in what they say to or about other people, and their moral conduct becomes faulty and untrustworthy. They lose their natural affection for their relatives, and affect the company of people of an inferior type. In short, they become extraordinarily active, vain, vindictive, quarrelsome, and lose their moral status. When this condition has lasted for months, it may be years, the subject gradually loses his abnormal energy, though occasionally it may flicker up, and lapses into a state of mental depression. The contrast between the same patient labouring under melancholia and in his previous maniacal condition is profound. He becomes silent, pale-faced, seeks solitude, and shows a disinclination to converse. His former energy is replaced by extreme lassitude and an almost paralyzing disinclination to, or an incompetence for, mental or physical work. The durations of the two periods of mania and melancholia are not always the same, the period of depression being generally longer than that of excitement. Great irregularity also exists in the duration of the lucid interval, although there are some cases in which it bears a stated relation to the length of the mental affections which go to form the cycle. Circular insanity is, from the point of view of recovery, a very unhopeful condition; for, though the individual attacks are almost always recovered from, the condition tends to recur with an almost fatal certainty. It is a condition that is more common among the educated classes of society, and which occurs not infrequently in persons with an inherited tendency to insanity.

(*b*) *The recurrent forms of mania-melancholia.*—**1. Mania.**—The form in which mania appears may be either simple or acute. The description of simple mania given above in connexion with circular insanity must suffice for the present purpose. Acute mania differs from it only in degree of intensity, and simple mania may in any patient suddenly pass into the acute form. In acute mania there is great mental exaltation combined with intellectual disturbance, sensory disorders, and uncontrollable motor restlessness. The first appearance of the affection is usually ushered in with malaise and mental depression generally of short duration. Gradually mental excitement supervenes, sometimes suddenly, at other times after lapses into depression. The patient's ideas soon become confused, for the ideation becomes so rapid that there is difficulty in consecutively expressing them, until finally speech becomes incoherent. The exaggerated excitability of the senses of sight and hearing becomes so intense that a stray word or an object starts a train of ideation unconnected with the train of thought. Thus the patient's attention becomes unfixed, and he tends to associate his ideas more by their external than by their essential relationship. The motor excitement manifests itself by incessant movement and loquacity. The will-power at this stage can hardly be said to exist, and actions are determined, not by any formulated principle, but by the idea predominant for the time. Further, there is complete loss of the moral sense and of natural affection, and the emotions are equally disturbed: grief, joy, fear, and hatred may be manifested by the patient within a few minutes of each other. Notwithstanding this extraordinary mental disturbance, the memory in many cases remains intact. Not only do many of the patients remember afterwards what had been said and done to them, but they are able to describe their sensation and repeat their own sayings. The physical symptoms comprise a marked change in the facial expression, which betrays the instinctive and varied passions which dominate the mind. The disorder of movement to which reference has been made expresses itself in an agitation of all the voluntary muscles, which during intense mental excitement results in violent movements. Insomnia is always a more or less marked symptom of acute mania; it often resists all treatment, and, when long continued, has a deleterious effect upon the patient. The functions of digestion and nutrition are always disordered during the attack; the appetite, whether diminished or increased, is capricious, and the patients invariably lose weight during the acute stages The body temperature is only slightly, if at all, increased. Finally, there is high blood pressure and a marked increase in the relative number of the white corpuscles of the blood. This last change is regarded as indicating a toxic condition of the blood. Mania may be associated with various nervous and cerebral affections, such as hysteria, epilepsy, and general paralysis. After one attack the disease tends to recur at regular or irregular intervals. Although it is not a usual occurrence, it is right to remark that at any time in the course of recurrent mania an attack of melancholia may take the place of one of the maniacal attacks. The termination of the attacks is by recovery in from 70 to 80 per cent, a small percentage die of some complication, and a certain number pass into chronic mania.

Chronic mania is simply the indefinite persistence, in a milder form, of the symptoms of acute mania. The excitement is continuous but less intense, and the patients are more manageable. Many of the subjects are able to perform some simple work. The illusions and morbid ideas of the acute stage become more fixed and crystallized, so that many patients exhibit the symptoms of delusional insanity (paranoia). A certain degree of mental enfeeblement is always present, and many such patients are unable to express themselves coherently. The patient may be liable, from time to time, to acute attacks of excitement which resemble those of the primary condition.

2. **Melancholia.**—The characteristic feature of melancholia is a morbid depression of feeling which expresses itself in every degree from silent resignation up to the most violent despair. At the same time, there is intellectual disturbance in which painful impressions predominate. In contradistinction to mania, the ideational centres are more or less depressed and inactive, so that instead of the pleasurable feelings which accompany their activity there is produced a feeling of pain and misery. The treatment of the attacks of manic-depressive insanity is symptomatic, and as a rule the patients make satisfactory recoveries from the individual attacks. From the point of view of prognosis, however, the matter is more serious, for the danger of a relapse at some future period can never be ignored. In the circular form of the disease the recurrence of the attacks is almost certain.

ii. THE DEMENTIA PRÆCOX GROUP.—Dementia præcox is essentially a disease of adolescence; by far the greater number of cases develop between the ages of 20 and 35 years. The fact that some cases develop before the age of 20 and a few after 40 does not affect the validity of the above statement. The onset of the disease is so slow and insidious as almost to escape observation. The early symptoms extend over a period of years. Patients, the majority of whom have given promise of a normal development, may gradually exhibit, in early adolescence, unmistakable signs of progressive mental deterioration. This intellectual decadence is almost always accompanied by emotional disturbances, such as outbreaks of temper, impulsive conduct, or violent language. These irritable manifestations are at first rare and isolated, and the patient may fully realize, and be truly repentant for, his behaviour. As the disease progresses, these unaccountable and unprovoked emotional outbreaks may become more numerous, alarming, and even dangerous, and the patient becomes apathetic, careless in his habits, tends to lie in bed too long, and often gives up work altogether without any adequate reason. Then his natural affection abates until it may disappear or become perverted into an antipathy towards his nearest relatives. Finally, he may develop loose ideas of persecution, rarely co-ordinated except in the paranoiac form of the disease. These delusions of persecution are accompanied by hallucinations and illusions of the senses. The disease ends, in the great majority of instances, in dementia or permanent mental decay.

Dementia præcox presents three forms: hebephrenia, katatonia, and paranoia, or the delusional form.

1. **Hebephrenia** occurs, as a rule, in young subjects who, although fairly normal up to a certain point in the intellectual sphere, yet have always presented some symptoms of emotional instability or eccentricity. The mental deterioration, which sets in very gradually, is characterized by a desire for solitude, reticence, shyness, and suspicion of others. Suddenly a period of slight mental exaltation may appear, during which the behaviour of the patient attracts attention; or, on the other hand, an attack of depression may supervene, in many respects similar to a mild attack of melancholia. These mental disturbances quickly pass off, but sooner or later they recur. The patient may suffer from indefinite delusions, or even hallucinations, but these, as a rule, are rare in hebephrenia; meantime the mental deterioration progresses. The patient comes to lose all initiative, all interest in his work or surroundings; becomes indifferent towards relatives; careless of appearance and negligent of duties. His speech becomes jerky and hesitating, and the power to carry on a conversation is gradually lost. Throughout the course of the disease, and up to the time when actual dementia sets in, there is a surprising degree of accurate knowledge of his surroundings and of what is being said or done in his presence. The inability of the patient to respond or react is the characteristic feature of the disease. Sooner or later, however, the patient lapses into a state of irresponsiveness due to permanent loss of mental

power. Before this final stage is reached, it is not infrequent to observe violent and impulsive conduct, as a result, probably, of hallucinations, of delusions, or of both.

2. Katatonia differs from hebephrenia chiefly in the presence of peculiar attacks of muscular tension or cataleptic rigidity of the muscles; in mutism-phases of the disease, during which the patients refuse to speak; and in the peculiar symptoms of negativism in which the patients resist all attempts on the part of others to do anything for them. Impulsive actions are perhaps more marked in the katatonic form than in the other varieties of dementia præcox. In other respects, such as the presence of acute temporary attacks of mental excitement and depression, and in the gradual mental deterioration of the subject, katatonia bears a general resemblance to hebephrenia.

3. **Paranoia.**—This variety of dementia præcox may commence exactly like hebephrenia, or katatonia, or with an acute attack of manic-depressive insanity followed or not by katatonic symptoms. Its chief and distinguishing feature, however, is the presence of delusions of a more or less systematized nature, and of hallucinations of the senses. These delusions lack the clearness and consistency of true paranoia (see below); and, moreover, the patients almost always exhibit peculiarities and mannerisms indicative of mental degeneration. Sooner or later one or other of the symptoms which have been described as characteristic of dementia præcox supervenes and is followed by a tendency towards dementia.

From the point of view of prognosis, dementia præcox is a particularly grave form of mental disease, and only a small minority of the subjects make a satisfactory recovery. It has been estimated that no less than 80 per cent of the cases fall into permanent dementia, that about 15 per cent recover partially, though more or less mentally crippled, and that only 5 per cent recover absolutely. So little is as yet known of the pathology of the disease that no scientifically formulated line of treatment can be laid down. As regards causation, the hereditary factor would appear to be of great importance, no less than 75 per cent of the cases showing a hereditary tendency to mental affections. The environment of the subject is also, apparently, important, and it has been pointed out by some observers that dementia præcox is particularly liable to occur in families which have been subjected to sudden and extreme social changes, such as from poverty to wealth, or from a country to an urban life.

iii. THE PARANOIA GROUP. — Paranoia is a chronic mental disease of which systematized delusions, with or without hallucinations of the senses, are the prominent characteristic. The delusions may take the form of ideas of persecution or of grandeur and ambition; these may exist separately or run concurrently in the same individual, or they may become transformed in the course of the patient's life from a persecutory to an ambitious character. The disease may begin during adolescence, but the great majority of the subjects manifest no symptoms of the affection until full adult life. The prominent and distinguishing symptom of paranoia is the delusion, which is gradually organized out of a mass of original but erroneous beliefs or convictions, until it forms an integral part of the ordinary mental processes of the subject and becomes fused with his personality. This slow process of the growth of a false idea is technically known as 'systematization,' and the delusion is then said to be 'systematized.' As such delusions are coherently formed, there is no manifest mental confusion in their expression. Notwithstanding the fixity of the delusion, it is subject in some cases to transformation which permits of the gradual substitution of delusions of grandeur for delusions of persecution. It happens also that periods of remission from the influence of the delusion may occur from time to time in individual cases, and it may even happen, though very rarely, that the delusion may permanently disappear.

Paranoia is classified for clinical purposes according to the form of delusion which the patients exhibit. Thus there are the persecutory, the ambitious, the amatory, and the litigious types, these divisions depending upon the prevalence of the primary emotions of fear or suspicion, pride or vanity, and love.

1. **Persecutory paranoia.**—This form is characterized by delusions of persecution, with hallucinations of a painful and distressing character. In predisposed persons there is often observed an anomaly of character dating from early life. Towards the commencement of the insanity the patients become gloomy, preoccupied, and irritable. Suspicions regarding the attitude of others take possession of their minds, and they ultimately come to suspect the conduct of their nearest relatives. Certain physical symptoms caused by sleeplessness and anxiety gradually supervene, and the patients become pale and worried in appearance, and their appetite is affected. The mental symptoms slowly become more pronounced, until the patient believes that people are conspiring against him. The conversations of his friends are supposed to be interlarded with phrases which, on examination, he believes to contain hidden meanings, and the newspapers appear to abound in veiled references to him. A stray word, a look, a gesture, a smile, a cough, a shrug of the shoulders on the part of a stranger, are apt to be misinterpreted and brooded over. The extraordinary prevalence of this imagined conspiracy may lead the patient to regard himself as a person of great importance, and may result in the formation of delusions of ambition which intermingle themselves with the general conceptions of persecution, or which may wholly supplant the persecutory insanity.

At this juncture, however, it generally happens that hallucinations begin to appear. These, in the great majority of instances, are auditory, and usually commence with indefinite noises in the ears, such as ringing sounds, hissing, or whistling. Gradually they assume a more definite form, until isolated words and, ultimately, formed sentences are distinctly heard. There is great diversity in the completeness of the verbal hallucinations in different patients. Some patients never experience more than the subjective annoyance of isolated words, generally of an insulting character, while others are compelled to listen to regular dialogues carried on by unknown voices concerning themselves. A not uncommon form of verbal hallucination is formulated in the complaint of the patients that 'all their thoughts are read and proclaimed aloud.' Even more than the enforced listening to verbal hallucinations this 'thought reading' distresses the patient, and often leads him to acts of violence, for the privacy of his inmost thoughts is, he believes, desecrated, and he often feels helpless and desperate at a condition from which there is no possible escape.

Though some of the subjects do not develop any other form of hallucination, it is the unfortunate lot of others to suffer, in addition, from hallucinations of taste, smell, or touch. The misinterpretation of the subjective sensations in these sense organs leads to the formulation of delusions of poisoning, of being subjected to the influence of noxious gases or powders, or of being acted on by such agencies as electricity. Such are the persons who take their food to chemists for analysis; who complain to the police that people are acting upon them injuriously; who hermetically seal every crevice that admits air to their bedrooms to prevent the entrance of poisonous fumes; or who place glass castors between the feet of their beds and the floor with the object of insulating electric currents. Such patients obtain little sleep; some of them, indeed, remain awake all night—for the symptoms are usually worse at night—and have to be content with such snatches of sleep as they are able to obtain at odd times during the day. It is obvious that a person tormented and distracted in this way may at any moment lose self-control and become a danger to the community.

This type of the disease may persist for an indefinite period—even for 20 or 30 years—without any change, except for the important fact that remissions in the intensity of the symptoms occur from time to time. These remissions may be so marked as to give rise to the belief that the patient has recovered; but in true paranoia this is never the case, and sooner or later the persecution begins again in all its former intensity.

2. **Ambitious paranoia.**—After a long period of persecution, a change in the symptoms may set in, in some cases, and the intensity of the hallucinations may become modified. Delusions of grandeur begin to appear, at first faintly, but gradually they increase in force until they ultimately supplant the delusions of persecution. At the same time, the hallucinations of a disagreeable nature fade away, and are replaced by auditory hallucinations conformable to the new delusions of grandeur. Undoubtedly, however, paranoia may commence, so far as can be observed, with delusions of grandeur, in which case there is seldom or never a transformation of the personality, or of the delusions from grandeur to persecution, although delusions of persecution may engraft themselves upon or run side by side with the predominant ambitious diseases. The emotional basis of ambitious paranoia is pride, and every phase of human vanity and aspiration is represented in the delusions of the patients. There is, moreover, considerably less logical acumen displayed in the explanations of their beliefs by such patients than in the case of the subjects of persecution. Many of them, without any regard for accurate genealogical detail, affect to be the descendants of historical personages. They have no compunction in disowning their natural parents or explaining that they have been 'changed in their cradles,' in order to account for the fact that they are of exalted or even of royal birth. Dominated by such beliefs, paranoiacs have been known to travel all over the world in search of confirmation of their delusions. It is people of this kind who drop into the ears of confiding strangers vague hints as to their exalted origin and kindred, and who make desperate and occasionally alarming attempts to force their way into the presence of princes and rulers. The sphere of religion affords an endless field for the ambitious paranoiacs, and some of them may even aspire to divine authority; but, as a rule, the true paranoiac does not lose touch with earth. The more extravagant delusions of persons who call themselves by divine names and assume omnipotent attributes are usually found in patients who have passed through acute attacks of such insanity as mania or 'dementia præcox,' and who are mentally enfeebled.

A not uncommon form of paranoia, combining both ambition and persecution, is where the subject believes that he is a man of unbounded wealth or power, of the rights to which he is, however, deprived by the machinations of his enemies. These patients frequently obtain through auditory hallucinations the knowledge on which they base their delusions. They are often so troublesome, threatening, and persistent in their determination to obtain redress for their imagined wrongs that in the public interest they have to be forcibly detained in asylums. On the whole, however, the ambitious paranoiac is not troublesome, but calm, dignified, self-possessed, and reserved on the subject of his delusions. He is usually capable of reasoning as correctly and of performing work as efficiently as ordinary people. Many of them, however, while living in society, are liable to give expression to their delusions under the influence of excitement, or to behave so strangely and unconventionally on unsuitable occasions as to render their seclusion either necessary or highly desirable.

3. **Amatory paranoia.**—A distinguishing feature of this form of paranoia is that the subjects are chivalrous and idealistic in their love. Some of them believe that they have been 'mystically' married to a person of the opposite sex, usually in a prominent social position. The fact that they may have never spoken to or perhaps never seen the person in question is immaterial. The conviction that their love is reciprocated and the relationship understood by the other party is unshakable, and is usually based upon suppositions that to a normal mind would appear either trivial or wholly unreal. The object of affection, if not mythical or of too exalted a position to be approached, is not infrequently persecuted by the admirer, who takes every opportunity of obtruding personally or by letter the evidences of an ardent adoration. The situation thus created can easily become complicated and embarrassing before it is realized that the persecutor is insane.

The subjects of this form of paranoia are in the majority of instances unmarried women well advanced in years who have led irreproachable lives, or men of a romantic disposition who have lived their mental lives more in the realm of chimeras than in the regions of real facts.

4. **Litigious paranoia (paranoia querulans).**—The clinical form of litigious paranoia presents uniform characteristic features which are recognized in every civilized community. The basic emotion is vanity, but added to that is a strong element both of acquisitiveness and avarice. Moreover, the subjects are, as regards character, persistent, opinionative, and stubborn. When these qualities are superadded to a mind of the paranoiac type, which, as has been pointed out, is more influenced by the passions or emotions than by ordinary rational considerations, it can readily be appreciated that the subjects are capable of creating difficulties and anxieties which sooner or later may lead to their forcible seclusion in the interests of social order.

It is important to observe that the rights to which such people lay claim, or the wrongs of which they complain, may not necessarily be imaginary. But, whether imaginary or real, the statement of their case is always made to rest upon some foundation of fact, and is, moreover, presented, if not with ability, at any rate with forensic skill and plausibility. As the litigants are one-ideaed and capable of seeing only one side of the case—their own—and as they are actuated by convictions which preclude feelings of delicacy or diffidence, they ultimately succeed in obtaining a hearing in a court of law under circumstances which would have discouraged any normal individual. Once in the law-courts, their doom is sealed. Neither the loss of the case nor the payment of heavy expenses has any effect in disheartening the litigant, who carries his suit from court to court until the methods of legal appeal are exhausted. The suit may be raised again and again on some side issue, or some different legal action may be initiated. In spite of the alienation of the sympathy of his relatives, and the advice of his friends and lawyers, the paranoiac continues his futile litigation in the firm belief that he is only defending himself from fraud, or seeking to regain his just rights. After exhausting his means and perhaps those of his family, and finding himself unable to continue to litigate to the same advantage as formerly, delusions of persecution begin to establish themselves. He accuses the judges of corruption and the lawyers of being in the pay of his enemies, and imagines the existence of a conspiracy to prevent him from obtaining justice. One of two things usually happens at this stage. Though well versed in legal procedure, he may one day lose self-control, and in open court resort to threats of violence. He is then probably arrested, and may on examination be found insane and committed to an asylum. Another not uncommon result is that, finding himself non-suited in a court of law, he commits a technical assault upon, it may be, some high legal functionary, or on some person in a prominent social position, with the object of securing an opportunity of directing public attention to his grievances.

Paranoia is generally a hopeless affection from the point of view of recovery. From what has been stated regarding its genesis and slow development it is apparent that no form of ordinary medical treatment can be of the least avail in modifying its symptoms. The best that can be done in the interests of the patients is to place them in surroundings where they can be shielded from influences which aggravate their delusions, and in other respects to make their unfortunate lot as pleasant and easy to endure as possible.

IV. *THE TOXIC INSANITIES.*—In this division are included those forms of mental affection which we know to be associated with the presence of toxic substances within the body. Among these substances are the poison of infective fevers and of syphilis, the auto-intoxication of the body by waste products, as in fatigue, the disturbance of metabolism by shocks, either physical or mental, or by exhausting and wasting illnesses, and, finally, the poisoning of the system by the habitual abuse of such drugs as alcohol. Such a number of causes necessarily produce different clinical symptoms, which for convenience and clearness have been labelled as distinct varieties of disease. It is manifest that only the typical forms can be dealt with here.

There are certain general symptomatic features common to all these affections. On the mental side there is more or less marked confusion of ideas, in striking contrast to the mental clearness found in patients labouring under the so-called acquired insanities, especially in the manic-depressive and paranoiac groups. The mental state is dreamy, thought is dissociated, speech is incoherent, and memory is blurred. There is great restlessness of an aimless character, accompanied often by mental and physical uneasiness, or pain, or an anxious emotional state. False sense-perceptions amounting to hallucinations, accompanied by delusions of a passing kind, are common. All the mental manifestations are further coloured by the bodily weakness which is present. On the physical side there are grave bodily symptoms, characterized either by fever and prostration, or by slow, chronic changes and wasting of the tissues. There is always a tendency to destruction of the finer nerve elements and cortical cells of the brain. In the acuter forms the prognosis is always serious, but the course is more rapid, and recovery often takes place. In the more chronic forms, such as chronic alcoholism and general paralysis, the prospect of recovery is almost hopeless.

1. The delirium of fevers.—This delirium is typical of the whole of the toxic insanities. The delirium varies greatly in different fevers, being, as a rule, more severe in typhus and certain types of smallpox, and less severe in the milder exanthemata, such as measles or scarlet fever. Much, however, depends upon the individual resistance of the nervous system to the influence of the toxin. Some persons, children in particular, tend to become confused and delirious when subjected to the action of any disease poison, *e.g.* pneumonia or influenza, which raises the temperature of the body. The delirium generally subsides after the crisis of the fever.

2. Septic delirium.—Delirium is also apt to occur when the system is invaded by certain poisonous micro-organisms. This condition is frequently observed in the blood-poisoning arising from wounds, in puerperal conditions, and in purulent affections of the pleural and abdominal cavities, and in some conditions unaccompanied by purulent inflammation. The puerperal insanities, because of their frequency, are important; but there are various forms of this disease. In predisposed individuals, insanity may occur during pregnancy, especially in the later months; at the time of parturition the ordinary forms of manic-depressive insanity may occur. The shock of parturition may induce the symptoms of exhaustion delirium, or the system may become infected by some pathological micro-organism which may occasion an attack of septic delirium. It is with the last variety that we are at present concerned, because it is in all respects similar to the other septic deliria associated with blood-poisoning as distinct from the delirium of fevers. The mental symptoms of septic delirium reach their climax of intensity very rapidly after infection, though in some cases there is a preliminary period of mental depression, with apathy and listlessness. The speech is incoherent; there is great motor restlessness, and a subdued but intense excitement. Vivid hallucinations of sight and hearing are present, so that the patient loses touch with the environment and lives in a world of phantasy. Sleep is invariably suspended, and the expression is anxious and morbidly mobile. The bodily symptoms point to prostration with fever, and the temperature ranges from 100° to 103° F. or higher. The pulse is weak and rapid, the tongue furred, and there is marked loss of appetite. The great majority of the patients (70 per cent) recover, the recovery being often preceded by a period of stupor. In those cases which do not recover, the patients, as the disease advances, become more and more prostrate, their movements become more feeble, and they lapse into coma from which they do not emerge.

3. Delirium of collapse (the exhaustion insanities).—These mental affections are most apt to occur in persons who have been exhausted by long-continued fatigue, insufficient food, or wasting diseases; but they are found most frequently after the crisis of fevers or during convalescence from fevers, after surgical operations, injuries of a severe kind, or shocks. The insanity breaks out, as a rule, with suddenness. The prevailing mental condition is one of confusion, with excitement, incoherence of speech, and weakened ideation. The patients suffer from vague hallucinations, and not infrequently express delusions of persecution or of self-importance. Such delusions are, however, fleeting and ill-defined. On the physical side the patients are weak, and manifest profound disorder of nutrition; the pulse is feeble and slow, the pupils are dilated, and the skin is clammy; the tongue is furred, and the appetite so perverted that the patients are averse to taking food. The great majority of the patients recover, but the prognosis is by no means always favourable. When the predisposing cause has been comparatively slight, as, *e.g.*, influenza or pneumonia, the patients rapidly recover; but, when it has been prolonged and grave, as, *e.g.*, some forms of typhoid fever, long-continued wasting illnesses, or severe injuries, the prospect, depending always upon the patient's strength, is more grave.

4. **Alcoholism.**—Many other drugs besides alcohol, when habitually taken into the system, may produce chronic poisoning, accompanied by mental disturbances; but, in view of their greater frequency, the effects of alcohol only will be referred to here.

(*a*) *Ordinary intoxication.*—Alcoholic intoxication is itself an insanity, and a person who drinks himself from sobriety into unconsciousness passes through many phases of mental alienation. In certain predisposed or degenerate persons, ordinary alcoholic intoxication may develop great excitement, with a tendency to violence. In this condition, of which the patients retain but a confused recollection, serious crimes against others, or suicide, may be committed.

(*b*) *Acute alcoholism* (*delirium tremens*) is the result of excessive drinking, but it is a secondary and not a direct consequence of alcoholic poisoning. For instance, a person who has drunk to excess, but who has abstained from alcohol for several days, or even for several weeks, may, after some physical shock, such as a surgical operation, an illness like pneumonia, or a bodily injury, develop the symptoms of acute alcoholism. Such an onset points to a secondary toxæmia from the intestinal canal, for alcohol is very rapidly eliminated from the system. The chief mental symptoms are vague terror, mental distress, and confusion of ideas. These symptoms are further complicated by vivid hallucinations of the senses, especially of sight and hearing. The dangers attending the mental symptoms of acute alcoholism are the violent impulses to which the patients are liable—impulses to homicide and suicide. These impulses are partly obsessional, but they are undoubtedly often the result of the despair produced by the hallucinations. The chief bodily symptoms are insomnia, want of appetite, great thirst, and trembling or twitching of the muscles. The danger accompanying the physical symptoms is death from heart failure, from pneumonia, or from nervous exhaustion. Under suitable medical treatment the great majority of the patients recover.

(*c*) *Dipsomania.*—Dipsomania is really more an obsessional condition than an alcoholic disease, but it is more convenient to consider it here. Probably all the subjects have a hereditary predisposition to alcohol, but the chief inherited quality is an instability of the nervous system which renders them liable to obsession, and consequently to impulse. The impulse to drink probably would not appear in a person who had never experienced the pleasurable effects of alcohol, but an attack may occur suddenly in a predisposed person of perfectly irreproachable character. There are generally, however, exciting causes, such as moral shocks or strain or physical illness, and the attack is usually preceded by malaise or mental depression. The attacks usually last several weeks, often with short intermissions, during which the patient strives with all his might to overcome his obsession. According to circumstances and the environment, the attacks tend to become more numerous or less frequent. If the former, then rapid physical and mental deterioration takes place, and the case becomes hopeless; if the latter, (unfortunately the minority), the patient may experience only one or two attacks and afterwards be immune.

(*d*) *Chronic alcoholism* is a somewhat vague term including numerous conditions. It may be defined as a condition of mental deterioration, emotional depression, and enfeeblement of the will, with a progressing tendency towards dementia, met with in persons who have habitually used alcohol to excess. The enfeeblement of the will-power, which is the cardinal mental symptom, is not confined to the inability to resist the craving for alcohol, but extends into all the social and business relations of the individual. So much is this the case that the subjects are apt to become the tools or dupes of other people. In more advanced types of the disease there is loss of memory, especially for recent events, with confusion of ideas. The bodily symptoms are also characteristic, and include tremor of muscles, weakness of certain muscle groups, various sensory disturbances, and, not infrequently, epileptiform seizures. Certain internal organs, especially the liver, kidneys, and heart, are liable to organic disease. The condition is incurable.

5. **General paralysis.**—While modern authorities have long been agreed that syphilis is the antecedent cause of this disease, the recent discovery by Noguchi of the spirochæte of syphilis (*Treponema pallidum*) in the cerebral tissues of persons dying of general paralysis has placed beyond doubt the fact that the disease is of direct syphilitic origin. General paralysis is a disease chiefly of middle life, occurring most often between the ages of 35 and 45. It is a disease of modern civilization, and affects chiefly persons residing in industrial urban centres. It may be stated generally that it does not exist in the remoter rural parts of England, or of Ireland, or in the Highlands of Scotland. The male sex is more liable than the female. General paralysis is a subacute inflammatory disease of the brain, occasionally involving the spinal cord and the larger nerve trunks. It is characterized by the concomitant appearance of mental and physical symptoms. On the mental side there is progressive dementia, to which is superadded, in the majority of instances, insanity of the maniacal, melancholic, or confusional type; on the physical side there is weakness of the muscles and incoordination of movement, with partial degeneration of the osseous, cartilaginous, and muscular tissues.

For clinical purposes the disease is divided into three stages, although a prodromal stage is also recognized. The symptoms of the first stage are chiefly mental, although certain bodily symptoms can be detected by medical experts, or by the near relatives of the patient. These bodily symptoms vary, but they may include lassitude, headache of a severe type, nervous pains, or epileptiform convulsions. Insomnia is almost always a feature of the early period. Mentally, while the intelligence remains apparently unimpaired, the patients are usually conscious of defects of memory, revealing themselves in odd and unaccountable lapses in writing, in spelling, or in the performance of their ordinary routine duties. The chief change, however, is in the moral character: at home the patient is irritable, and occasionally violent; among strangers he is facile, versatile, and easily led astray. Gradually there develops in typical cases a condition resembling simple mania, with, however, a certain amount of mental confusion depending upon the underlying condition of progressive dementia. Delusions of grandeur are common in this stage; these delusions, which result from the predominant state of mental exaltation, do not always exceed the bounds of possibility and credibility. It is important to bear in mind that the insanity of the first stage may be a simple mental confusion without any conspicuous feature, or may be of the melancholic type. The latter forms are more common in females. Towards the end of the first stage, the affection of the innervation of the muscular mechanism becomes more pronounced. The muscles of the face show tremulousness, and the speech becomes incoordinate. Difficulty is experienced by the patient in pronouncing certain words, such as 'artillery,' 'British Constitution,' 'incompatibility,' etc. The staccato manner of pronouncing such words is characteristic of the disease.

In the second stage, the mental weakness and confusion are more marked, the delusions become extravagant and absurd, and the conduct of the patient uncertain and foolish. He is apt to steal useless objects, to stuff his pockets with rubbish, and to lose all sense of propriety, especially with regard to instinctive human habits. The embarrassment of speech becomes painfully apparent, and the muscular incoordination becomes so great that the patient loses the power of performing accurately such habitual movements as buttoning clothes or untying knots. The handwriting becomes shaky and unrecognizable, the gait ataxic, and all muscular movements feeble; towards the end of this stage there appear convulsive seizures which are known as congestive attacks, and which appear to accelerate greatly the downward course of the patient's strength.

The state of mental weakness and confusion reaches its acme in the third stage. The patient appears to be devoid of emotion, sentiment, or memory, and the only animal instinct which seems to remain is that for food. The physical symptoms of the third stage are characterized by a progressive weakness and paralysis which necessitate ultimately the patient's continued confinement to bed. The third stage terminates his life. He usually dies in a convulsive seizure, or from extension of the disease to some vital centre in the brain, or from blood-poisoning or pneumonia.

General paralysis is the most fatal of all diseases, for no authentic instance of recovery is known. The average duration is from 2 to 3 years in the male, and from 3 to 4 years in the female.

V. *INSANITY CONNECTED WITH THE NEUROSES.*—There are many forms of neurosis, but the types with which insanity is most usually associated are, in order of importance, epilepsy, hysteria (*q.v.*), neurasthenia, and chorea. It must be remembered that the majority of persons who are the subjects of the neuroses do not become insane. As epilepsy is the most important of all the neuroses, and the one most commonly associated with insanity, it alone will be described here.

Epilepsy is a disease which is characterized by convulsions of a definite type, or by sudden and temporary loss of consciousness without convulsions. The former is known as the 'grand mal,' the latter as the 'petit mal.' In the severer form the patient falls to the ground and is violently convulsed; in the milder form he does not usually fall; he is suddenly overwhelmed with mental darkness, but after a few seconds he is able to continue the work in which he may have been engaged at the time of the seizure. The two forms of fit are often combined in the same individual. As a rule, beyond the congenital degeneracy or mental deterioration, to which reference will be made, the subjects of epilepsy who manifest insanity are free from mental symptoms in the interval between the seizures. Mental disturbances are most commonly observed either immediately preceding the fit, immediately succeeding it, or replacing it. The last form is designated 'larvated' or 'masked' epilepsy. Of all the forms of insanity accompanying the fit, either before or after it, mania is the most common. The kind of mania varies, not only in different cases, but very markedly in the same cases at different times. From mere irascibility with capricious conduct it may vary to the most violent excitement, incoherence, and fury. But insanity does not always accompany the fits in the same person, and an epileptic may be free from it for long periods notwithstanding the regular recurrence of the fits. The insanity may then occur quite suddenly and be attended by acts of violence of which the patient retains afterwards no recollection. In the pre-epileptic mania the mental symptoms usually come on gradually, and may last a few days preceding the fit; the post-epileptic mania, on the other hand, is sudden in its onset, and usually of very short duration.

Another, but less common, post-epileptic form of insanity is stupor. When stupor occurs it is more persistent in its duration than mania, and may be accompanied by hallucinations and a tendency to automatic impulsive action.

The least common form of insanity connected with epilepsy is melancholia, which is not a passing insanity accompanying the fits, but a progressive, chronic, and usually incurable condition.

Many epileptics exhibit mental degeneracy of a congenital kind which manifests itself by certain oddities and eccentricities of conduct, want of self-control, and instability of the emotions. An extreme form of degeneracy is observed in epileptic idiots where epilepsy is superimposed upon a markedly degenerate physical and mental constitution. On the other hand, epilepsy is often the cause of mental deterioration. Under the influence of repeated attacks the mental faculties tend to become enfeebled; the patients gradually become more and more demented; their movements lose energy; and the facial expression reveals a condition of feeble-mindedness. Sooner or later, in greater or less degree, all prolonged cases of epilepsy tend towards mental feebleness and mental deterioration. Generally speaking, the younger the age at which epilepsy occurs, the greater the tendency to mental enfeeblement because of interference with mental development. When it occurs in infancy or childhood, the normal development of the brain is more or less arrested, with the result that idiocy or imbecility may be produced in otherwise normal children. Recovery from epileptic insanity is rare. The insanity depends upon the recurrence of the seizures, and epilepsy is a chronic persistent disease.

VI. *INSANITY CAUSED BY GROSS LESIONS OF THE BRAIN.*—1. Of these various lesions, apoplexy is by far the most common in ordinary life. 'Apoplexy' is a vague popular term which in medical nomenclature is generally divided into two distinct lesions: (*a*) hæmorrhage from a blood vessel within the skull, and (*b*) the blocking of a small artery supplying an area of the brain. Although any cerebral artery may become diseased, the most commonly affected artery is the middle cerebral; and, as it supplies the motor cortex of the brain and the chief basal ganglia, the symptoms are usually well marked, and depend upon the branch of this artery affected. In hæmorrhage, or blocking of the branches of this artery, there is generally paralysis of some limb or portion of the body; as in every cerebral affection, the resulting mental symptoms depend upon the health, age, and state of nutrition of the brain. If, *e.g.*, the person is young and the lesion slight, complete recovery may take place; on the other hand, if the arteries are atheromatous and the brain tissues feeble, recovery does not take place so readily, if at all. In a typical case of apoplexy occurring after middle life, there ensues as an almost invariable result a certain amount of dementia accompanied by emotional disturbances. Depending upon the nature, situation, and extent of the lesion there may also occur loss of memory, mental confusion, and an impairment of judgment. Again, in most of the older patients the mental enfeeblement is slowly progressive, but in the majority of the younger cases and sometimes, though exceptionally, in the older cases, the condition is not progressive.

Apoplexy may be followed by any of the chief forms of insanity. Perhaps the most common form is mania which is greatly modified by the underlying condition of dementia. The mania is characterized by a noisy excitement accompanied by restlessness, and illusions or hallucinations of the senses. The symptoms are usually more accentuated during the night, so that it is not uncommon to find a patient either quiet or slightly excited during the day become noisy and sleepless during the night. This form of mania is also often intermittent, the attack lasting for two or three weeks, followed by a period of calm which, however, cannot be regarded as a true lucid interval. Melancholia is less frequently an accompaniment of cerebral lesions of this kind. It is usually acute in appearance, but there is probably less mental distress than the restlessness and noisy emotionalism of the patient would lead one to suppose. Delusions with visual and auditory hallucinations may also be met with as a result of such lesions. The delusions are of the persecutory form, but are irregular and badly systematized.

2. With regard to the insanity arising from tumours and injuries to the head, it may be said in a word that it is very irregular and difficult to describe. In cerebral tumour, by far the most common form is a progressive enfeeblement ending in complete dementia. Traumatic injuries may undoubtedly cause a confusional insanity in predisposed persons, immediately following the injury. Where a portion of the skull has been depressed and affects the brain, serious cerebral affections may be caused, which are relieved by operation. In the class of case in which insanity is said to occur long after the receipt of the injury, some excusable doubt has been cast upon the relation of the injury to the mental trouble. It is believed by many authorities, however, that profound moral deterioration accompanied by impulsive tendencies may supervene as a result of injuries to the head received years previously.

VII. *SENILE INSANITY.*—The insanity of old age has been divided into: (*a*) cases in which there is no dementia present, and (*b*) cases in which dementia is the most prominent mental symptom.

(*a*) In the first class any form of insanity may be observed, but by far the most common are mania and melancholia. The mania usually presents itself in an acute form, the patients being restless, confused, and often troublesome and destructive in their habits. The subjects are generally hereditarily predisposed, or have suffered from mania at previous periods of their lives. The melancholia is also acute. The patients present a debilitated appearance, and suffer from delusions of persecution and from hallucinations of hearing. Melancholia in senile persons is not so favourable as mania so far as recovery is concerned, and either lasts a long time or becomes chronic.

(*b*) The second class, who present dementia, owe their condition to advancing age, which varies in its onset according to the cerebral integrity of the individual. In some cases it occurs as early as 50, in others as late as 90. Superadded to this dementia there may be either mania-melancholia or a form of systematized delusional insanity. The mania and melancholia correspond closely to the types already described as accompanying gross lesions of the brain. Systematized delusions may take the form of either persecution or ambition. In the former type the patients are in constant dread of being robbed. They may hide their more valuable possessions in out-of-the-way places which on account of their faulty memory they are afterwards unable to find; or they barricade their house or room doors to prevent the ingress of imaginary thieves or robbers. The delusions of ambition usually exist side by side with those of persecution, and are generally accompanied by hallucinations both of a pleasant and of a disagreeable character. The progress of senile insanity combined with dementia is always unfavourable.

For primitive views concerning the insane, cf. the various sections of art. POSSESSION.

LITERATURE.—L. Bianchi, *Text-Book of Psychiatry*, Eng. tr., London, 1905; L. C. Bruce, *Studies in Clinical Psychiatry*, do. 1906; T. S. Clouston, *Clinical Lectures on Mental Diseases*^{4}, do. 1896; M. Craig, *Psychological Medicine*, do. 1905; B. Hart, *Psychology of Insanity*, Cambridge, 1912; E. Kraepelin, *Psychiatrie*^{8}, Leipzig, 1913; J. Macpherson, *Mental Affections*, London, 1899; H. Noguchi, *Serum Diagnosis of Syphilis and Luetin Reaction*^{3}, do. 1912; W. H. B. Stoddart, *Mind and its Disorders*^{2}, do. 1912.

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INSPIRATION.

Primitive.—See POSSESSION (Primitive).
Christian (Protestant) (J. STRAHAN), p. 346.
Christian (Roman Catholic) (E. L. VAN BECELAERE), p. 350.
Greek and Roman.—See POSSESSION (Greek and Roman).
Hindu (A. S. GEDEN), p. 352.
Japanese.—See POSSESSION (Japanese).
Muslim (E. SELL), p. 354.

INSPIRATION (Protestant doctrine).—Protestant scholars of the present day, imbued with the scientific spirit, have no *a priori* theory of the inspiration of the Bible. They do not attempt to define the term by abstract reflexion. Their method of inquiry is critical and inductive, not metaphysical and deductive. They do not, of course, attempt to make the mind which receives and weighs evidence a mere *tabula rasa*—that is neither possible nor desirable—but they do their best to free it from prepossessions and presuppositions. They reject every foregone conclusion as to the mode and shape in which God must reveal His ways to men. They do not open any book of the OT or NT with the feeling that they are bound to regard its teaching as sacred and authoritative. They yield to nothing but what they regard as the irresistible logic of facts. They feel that, if they are not convinced of the inspiration of the Bible by its intrinsic merits, they cannot be legitimately convinced in any other way. And, if in the end they formulate a doctrine of the Divine influence under which the Scriptures were written, this is an inference from the characteristics which, after a free and fair investigation, they are constrained to recognize.

The time of privilege and prestige among books is past for them. The attitude of all liberal thinkers towards the Scriptures was admirably indicated half a century ago by Richard Rothe:

'Let the Bible go forth into Christendom as it is in itself, as a book like other books, without allowing any dogmatic theory to assign it a reserved position in the ranks of books: let it accomplish what it can of itself through its own character and through that which each man can find in it for himself: and it will accomplish great things' (quoted by W. N. Clarke, *The Use of the Scriptures in Theology*, p. 154).

Some believers in inspiration prefer to avoid 'the ancient, ambiguous, confusing word.' They think that this word

'has lost its clearness without losing its claim: it bears the urgency of sacred tradition after definableness has forsaken it: it is now an enemy to clear thought, and a misleading guide to reverence for the Scriptures. It will be a good day for theology, and for religion, when we fearlessly take the Bible for exactly what it is, with an abiding value resident in itself' (*ib.* 155).

The term 'inspired of God' (*θεόπνευστος*) is, however, used in the Bible itself (2 Ti 3^{16}); and if, after the application of the most rigid tests, inspiration is proved to be a fact, it is better not to abandon the accepted word, but, if possible, so to re-mint it as to free it from all misleading associations.

1. Inspiration and experience.—It is through an experience of the spiritual power of the Bible that the term first comes to have a real meaning. Something more than the 'criticism of pure reason' is required for the correct and just valuation of the Scriptures. They make their appeal not only to the intellect but to the imagination, the heart, and the conscience. Their light is for the seeing eye, their message for the spirit which hungers and thirsts after righteousness and truth; and it is the testimony of one generation after another that through the Scriptures God finds the soul and the soul finds God.

Two Christian utterances may be regarded as typical. In his *Letters on the Inspiration of the Scriptures* (Letter i.), Coleridge tells how he re-read the books of the Old and New Testaments, each book both as a unit and as an integral part, and then he continues: 'Need I say that I have met everywhere more or less copious sources of truth, and power, and purifying impulses; that I have found words for my inmost thoughts, songs for my joy, utterances for my hidden griefs, and pleadings for my shame and my feebleness? In short, whatever *finds* me, bears witness for itself that it has proceeded from a Holy Spirit, even from the same Spirit, *which remaining in itself, yet regenerateth all other powers, and in all ages entering into holy souls maketh them friends of God and prophets* (Wis 7^{27}).' 'If I am asked,' says W. R. Smith, 'why I receive Scripture as the Word of God, and as the only perfect rule of faith and life, I answer with all the fathers of the Protestant Church, *Because the Bible is the only record of the redeeming love of God, because in the Bible alone I find God drawing near to man in Jesus Christ, and declaring to us in Him His will for our salvation. And this record I know to be true by the witness of His Spirit in my heart, whereby I am assured that none other than God Himself is able to speak such words to my soul*' (*Exp.* IV. x. [1894] 250).

2. Inspiration and ecstasy.—The theory that inspiration is an ecstasy, or possession, has probably few advocates to-day. It was the view propounded by Plato, from whom it was borrowed by Philo, Josephus, and some early Christian writers.

'God has given the art of divination not to the wisdom, but to the foolishness of man. No man, when in his wits, attains prophetic truth and inspiration; but when he receives the inspired word, either his intelligence is enthralled in sleep, or he is demented by some distemper or possession' (Plato, *Timæus*, 71). 'For a prophet gives forth nothing at all of his own, but acts as interpreter at the prompting of another in all his utterances, and as long as he is under inspiration he is in ignorance, his reason departing from its place and yielding up the citadel of the soul, when the Divine Spirit enters into it and dwells in it and strikes at the mechanism of his voice, sounding through it to the clear declaration of that which He prophesieth' (Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* iv. 8 [ed. Mangey, ii. 343]). Josephus takes Balaam as a typical prophet, who spoke 'not as master of himself, but moved to say what he did by the Divine Spirit,' and makes him express himself thus to Balak: 'God is stronger than my resolve to serve thee. For those who fancy that of themselves they can foretell the fortunes of men are all too weak to help saying what God suggests to them or to resist His will; for when He has entered into us nothing that is in us is any longer our own' (*Ant.* IV. vi. 5). Athenagoras, the Christian apologist (*c.* A.D. 177), said, in reference to the prophets, that, 'while entranced and deprived of their natural powers of reason by the influence of the Divine Spirit, they uttered that which was wrought in them, the Spirit using them as its instruments as a flute-player might blow a flute' (*Apol.* ix.). Another favourite figure was that of a plectrum striking a lyre (Epiphanius, *Hær.* xlviii. 4).

This theory commended itself to the Montanists (*q.v.*), whose excesses were castigated by Miltiades in a treatise bearing the title, *That the Prophet ought not to speak in Ecstasy*, which recalls the words of St. Paul, 'The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' (1 Co 14^{32}). Few people now cling to the idea that the Divine influence was communicated to the Bible by dictation to its writers. It is seen that the prophet, the psalmist, and the apostle are degraded if they are regarded as the mere mouthpieces or penmen of Deity. Inspiration does not suspend the powers and faculties of the soul, but raises them to their highest activity, the supernatural intensifying the natural. A cognate word to inspiration (*θεοπνευστία*) is enthusiasm (*ἐνθουσιασμός*, from *ἐν* and *Θεός*), and the Divine energy is comparable to a breath which quickens, a seed which fertilizes, a flame which kindles the human spirit to the finest issues.

3. Inspiration and revelation.—Inspiration is the correlate of revelation. Whenever God revealed Himself, He inspired men to receive and to communicate the revelation. It is a truism that no lesson, human or Divine, is taught until it is learned; and it is inconceivable that the facts of the Kingdom of Heaven should have failed to find appreciative minds. There were seekers ready to be initiated into the mysteries. Spiritual truths made their due impression upon the finest minds in the Hebrew nation and the Christian Church, in order that they might ultimately make a similar impression upon all mankind. Amos was disciplined to become the stern prophet of Divine righteousness. Hosea had an experience which sensitized his mind to receive a new image of Divine love. Isaiah's regal spirit apprehended the Divine majesty. Paul knew himself to be separated and called that God's Son might reveal Himself in him (Gal $1^{15f.}$). Rare indeed were the minds which at first were possessed by any new truth, and impelled to utter it with a power greater than their own. Yet the Divine influence felt by the few was not essentially different from that which affected a much wider circle. Without a general inspiration there could have been no special one. Behind the inspired prophets and psalmists of the OT there was the inspired Hebrew nation, and behind the inspired apostles there was the inspired Christian community. The organ of revelation was never a solitary visionary. It was in the religious consciousness of the many, purifying itself in the life and the teaching of their noblest representatives, expanding itself from age to age, and ultimately concentrating and consummating itself in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, that the voice of God was heard.

4. Inspiration and literature.—It is self-evident that the true medium of revelation is not a book, but a man. Inspiration is a condition of the soul in relation to God, and can be ascribed to a roll or book only in so far as this is the record of a vital experience. It was not into prophecies and histories, laws and psalms, gospels and epistles, that the Spirit of God was directly breathed, but into their authors. The living truth always shaped itself first in some living mind, and whether it was published *viva voce* or by writing was immaterial. As a means of preserving the truth the art of writing was of immense value, but it could make no difference to the inspiration.

'The authority of the word written was precisely the same as that of the word spoken, neither less nor more. It was inherent in the person who wrote or spoke, and was derived from the special action upon that person of the Spirit of God' (W. Sanday, *Inspiration* ^{3}, 226 f.).

5. In OT.—(*a*) The *prophets* are by pre-eminence the inspired men of the OT. Their inspiration is the type of all inspiration. The 'madness' of the earlier prophets, such as those among whom Saul found himself (1 S $10^{11ff.}$), had certain well-marked affinities with heathen mantic and with the excesses of the Muslim dervish, but the inspiration of the later Hebrew prophets purified itself from that taint; and, if the claims which they made can be established, the Divine influence upon the minds of men is an indisputable fact. Judged by their *gesta*, their credibility is the highest. The establishment of ethical monotheism as the religion of Israel was their achievement, and their affirmations regarding the righteousness and love, the faithfulness and holiness of God, are to-day the kernel of the world's faith. It was their characteristic that, instead of reasoning and conjecturing, they announced and commanded. Each of them spoke as if he was commissioned to publish the laws of heaven in the language of earth, as if his mind was a medium for the transmission of the white light of eternity. The ideas of which they were the bearers were not proclaimed as their own pious opinions or shrewd guesses. They drew a firm and unwavering distinction between the thoughts of their own minds and the sacred authoritative truths which came to them by God's own prompting. They thus separated themselves from the false prophets who uttered the deceits of their own hearts. The whole fellowship of the prophets, whose activities extended over several centuries, made the same claim to inspiration. 'Thus saith the Lord,' or some equivalent expression, was the formula with which they habitually introduced their utterances. And on the fact of their own consciousness, the belief of their contemporaries, the unanimity of their testimony, the ethical quality of their teaching, and the beneficent results of their labours a strong foundation is laid for the truth of their assumption that they were the organs or instruments of the Most High.

> 'There is no alternative between accepting this belief as true and regarding it as a product of mental disease or delusion. But to bring such a charge, not against a few individuals but against the whole line of prophets from Moses or Samuel to Malachi, is a step from which most of us would shrink' (Sanday, *op. cit.* 394).

(*b*) In what sense and to what extent were the *historians of Israel* inspired? It is a remarkable fact that the books of the OT from Joshua to the end of Kings (Ruth excepted) are called 'the Former Prophets.' Historical criticism justifies this title, finding, as it does, that all the older historical writings were the work of men imbued with the prophetic spirit. That imbuement was their sole and sufficient inspiration. They had the double function of relating and interpreting events, and as narrators they were dependent upon the ordinary channels of information—folk-ballads, oral traditions, State annals, and the like. In their researches they were as liable as ordinary historians to fall into errors. Their inspiration did not fill up lacunæ in their knowledge of events. If their sources of information were good, their narratives were full and accurate, but not otherwise. It is evident that they sometimes glorified the institutions of which, as patriots, they were justly proud, and that they frequently idealized the past by reflecting upon it the beliefs and practices of a later time. The monuments of Assyria have shown how unreliable is their chronology. In the execution of the whole technical part of their work—the collecting, sorting, and combining of materials—the scientific historian of to-day finds many grounds for criticism. Yet their value remains unimpaired. It is by their insight into the true meaning of events, their interpretation of history, and the lessons which they educe from the past for the guidance of men in the present, that they demonstrate their prophetic inspiration. History as well as Nature was for them a book written by the hand of God, and their community of spirit with Him made it possible for them to read His secrets. The stories which they tell—often with astonishing dramatic power—might, if otherwise related, have done infinite mischief, but in the light of inspiration the annals of Israel's fortunes and misfortunes are so transfigured as to become the vehicles of spiritual and eternal truth for all men of all ages.

(*c*) If a measure of inspiration is also conceded to the *Pentateuch*, this cannot mean—except for the orthodox Jew—that the Torah is still authoritative in matters of conduct and worship. The ancient Rabbis considered that the highest degree of inspiration was necessary for the Law, a lower for the prophets, and only a small degree for the other Scriptures (called the *Keᵗhûbhîm*, or Hagiographa). The 'Reform Judaism' of to-day, on the contrary, recognizes that the inspiration of the prophets excels that of the Law, and accordingly would like to see such a revision of the synagogal lectionaries as would do justice to the finest parts of the OT (C. G. Montefiore, *Liberal Judaism*, London, 1903, p. 125; see, further, art. LIBERAL JUDAISM). Those elements of the Torah which have an intrinsic and permanent value—such as the humane provisions of Deuteronomy—are just the parts that embody the ideals of Prophetism, and, for the rest, the ritual of Judaism may be regarded as a sacred form without which the volatile spirit of true religion would perhaps have perished in Israel's days of tribulation and distress.

(*d*) The common origin of certain *Chaldæan and Biblical legends*—notably those of the Creation, the Fall, and the Flood—cannot be disputed; but, with all the apparent affinities, which are too close to be mere coincidences, the stories in Genesis display a remarkable difference, and the difference is the measure of their inspiration. The spirit of true religion penetrated the primitive traditions of the human race, purified them of their grossness and polytheism, and brought them into harmony with the ethical monotheism of the prophets of Israel.

(*e*) If one of the marks of a book's inspiration is its spiritual power over its readers, no part of the OT is more fully inspired than the *Psalter*, which was originally the hymn-book of the second Temple, and is now the world's chief classic of praise and prayer, giving lyric expression to every mood of religious feeling, every phase of spiritual life. Its authors were the successors of the prophets. It need not be denied that some of them had a primary inspiration, a direct and original insight into the things of God; but as a class they were poets and singers who assimilated the characteristic ideas of the prophets and applied them to all the varied relations of human life. The products of their secondary inspiration are certainly not inferior in practical value to those of prophecy. Expressing for every man the grief of repentance and the joy of forgiveness, the agitation of doubt and the serenity of faith, the agony of spiritual abandonment and the rapture of communion, the Psalter bears on the face of it the unmistakable stamp and sign of the Spirit of God. Not that every psalm is equally inspired, or that every sentiment can be endorsed by a Christian.

> 'We cannot and we do not mean that the passages which show an ignorance about the immortality of the soul, or the passages which breathe out cursings and threatenings against personal enemies, are in any sense whatever the words or the utterances of God' (R. F. Horton, *Inspiration and the Bible*, 224 f.).

(*f*) The inspiration of the *Wisdom literature*—Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes—is for the most part secondary. Impregnated with the ideas of a religion whose first principle is the fear of the Lord, the writers apply their minds now to the ordinary questions of conduct in the household and in society, now to the world's ultimate enigmas of sin and suffering, of life and death, and nearly always as sages observing, reflecting, and even speculating, rather than as seers coming forth from God's immediate presence with authority to publish new truths in His name. Yet in some of the noblest passages of Job, where a great mind wrestling with deep and difficult problems is rewarded, if not with a satisfying solution, at least with glimpses of Divine greatness and goodness which make life's mystery bearable, and in such passages as the eighth chapter of Proverbs, where Wisdom is personified as God's Master-workman in creation, the inspiration may be regarded as primary.

(*g*) In the *Book of Esther*, whose canonicity was long disputed by the Rabbis, and which Protestant Christian theologians accepted only in deference to Jewish tradition, inspiration is at a minimum. A certain vague doctrine of providence is presupposed, but God's name is never mentioned in the story, and no spiritual interpretation is attempted, while the massacre over which the reader is invited to gloat sends him, by reaction, either to the critical verdict that one is here perusing romance and not history, or to the higher criticism of Marjory Fleming, 'But then Jesus was not then come to teach us to be merciful' (John Brown, *Horæ Subsecivæ*, Edinburgh, 1882, iii. 214). The *Song of Songs* is instinct with at least the highest *poetic* inspiration, and, though the allegorical interpretation which secured it a place in the Canon is regarded by Protestants as a mistake, it cannot but be welcomed on other grounds, such as its passionate delight in nature, its enthusiastic praise of a pure idyllic love strong as death and mightier than the grave.

To sum up: the old doctrine of the equal and infallible inspiration of every part of the OT, with its correlated doctrine of the absence of inspiration from every book outside the Hebrew canon, is now rapidly disappearing among Protestants. There is, in reality, no clear dividing line between what is and what is not worthy of a place in the Scriptures. If some of the books of the Apocrypha could be admitted into the canon, few would be found to object.

'It is out of the question to say that the Book of Esther is wholly filled with the Spirit of God and the Book of Wisdom wholly devoid of it. . . . Just as there is a descending scale within the Canon, there is an ascending scale outside it. Some of the books in our Apocrypha might well lay claim to a measure of inspiration' (Sanday, *op. cit.* 258 f.).

Further, our leading authority upon the Apocalyptic books finds in their contribution to the doctrine of immortality 'a genuine product of Jewish inspiration,' and in the ethics of some of them an advance upon the highest morality of the OT and a preparation for the Sermon on the Mount (R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*^{2}, London, 1913, pp. 179, 226 ff.).

6. In NT.—The writers of the NT were as conscious of their own inspiration as those of the OT. The apostles, like the Lord, spake with authority. They were not pedants like the scribes. Whether they used tongue or pen, they somehow knew that their minds were under the control of the Spirit of God. (*a*) *St. Paul's* claim to teach is based on a special call and a special endowment. The gospel which he preaches was not received from man, but came to him through the revelation of Jesus Christ (Gal 1^{12}). He had no need to confer with flesh and blood. His inspiration was primary, immediate, and personal. Having drunk at the fountain-head, he affirms that he and others who share his inspiration speak 'not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Spirit teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual' (1 Co 2^{13}). Like the OT prophets, he can in general distinguish clearly between the revelations of God and his own opinions. After expressing his preference for the celibate life, he adds, 'and I think also that I have the Spirit of God' (1 Co 7^{40}). Evidently there is a borderland between inspiration and uninspiration, a region in which he has to tolerate, if he cannot welcome, difference of opinion, because the oracle is silent. On some important points—*e.g.* 'concerning virgins'—he has no commandment of the Lord, but can only offer his own judgment for what it is worth (v.^{25}). When he is about to give advice to the brother who has an unbelieving wife, or the woman who has an unbelieving husband, he is careful to premise that his counsel is based merely on his own sense of the fitness of things: 'But to the rest speak I, not the Lord' (v.$^{12f.}$). When, however, he admits that he speaks 'after the manner of men' (*ἀνθρώπινον λέγω, κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω*, Ro 6^{19}, 1 Co 9^{8}, Gal 3^{15}), he implies that, unless he chooses to descend from a privileged position, he speaks and writes under a Divine influence to which most men are strangers.

(*b*) If the writers of the *other Epistles* do not directly refer to their inspiration, this is apparently because their authority has never, like St. Paul's, been questioned and resisted. When St. Peter, St. James, and St. Jude teach and command, warn and exhort, they expect to be believed and obeyed. St. John's claim to first-hand knowledge of Christ and His gospel is peculiarly impressive:

'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, of the Word of life . . . declare we unto you' (1 Jn 1$^{1.3}$).

(*c*) The author of the *Apocalypse* makes a strong, explicit claim to inspiration. He is a prophet, and his book a prophecy (1^{3} 10$^{7.\ 11}$ 22$^{6f.\ 9.\ 18f.}$). The things of God are revealed to him when he is 'in the Spirit' (1^{10} 4^{2} 17^{3} 21^{10}). His letter to each of the seven Churches is 'what the Spirit saith.'

(*d*) Like the OT historians, the *Evangelists* did not depend on inspiration for any of the facts which they wished to record.

The Prologue to the Gospel of St. Luke is in this relation singularly instructive. It indicates that a narrator required to be in touch with 'eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word,' and thus be able to trace the course of all things accurately from the first, before he could 'write in order.' Papias of Hierapolis indicates the source of St. Mark's information by saying that this evangelist, 'having become interpreter of St. Peter, wrote down, as far as he remembered accurately, the things said or done by Christ' (Eusebius, *HE* III. xxxix. 15).

Inspiration cannot, and there is no reason why it should, do the work of memory and research. It rather makes its presence felt in the spirit which was breathed into the evangelical narratives, and which is exhaled from them by the receptive reader. Two of the evangelists, according to tradition, were themselves apostles, and the other two belonged to the apostolic circles, St. Luke being the companion of St. Paul as St. Mark was of St. Peter. But behind all the narrators was the Spirit-filled Church, and many parts of the Gospels are doubtless not the composition of the evangelists themselves, but their transcripts from vivid traditions, first oral and then written, which had taken definite shape within the Church as the result of the apostles' own preaching and teaching. It may be assumed that the Logia of the Synoptic Gospels come, as a whole, directly from Christ Himself, whose words are the standard of the highest inspiration. While the Divine power which seized the OT prophets was intermittent, and even that which worked in the apostles was not without breaks and flaws, the inspiration of Jesus was continuous and perfect. His words are revelations which touch the common heart of mankind as no other utterances of human lips. He is the incarnate Word, and no part of the Bible can be profitably used as a rule of faith and life until it proves itself to be in harmony with His Mind and Will.

7. Non-inspired Bible passages.—Tried by this standard, there are not a few passages in the Bible which cannot be regarded by Protestants as in any true sense inspired. Its sixty-six books certainly have not all the same measure of the Divine fire. Yet the old phrase 'the inspiration of the Bible' continues to have a real significance, which is thus expressed by Sanday:

> 'It may be hard to sum up our definition in a single formula, but we mean it to include all those concrete points in which as a matter of fact the Bible does differ from and does excel all other Sacred Books. . . . And if we are asked to define the measure of this special influence, we can see it reflected in that wide margin which remains when the common elements of the Biblical religion and other religions have been subtracted and that which is peculiar to the Bible is left' (*op. cit.* 128, 140).

8. Inspiration in the Church and individual.—The last matter is the bearing of the doctrine of inspiration upon the living Church and the individual believer. Every Christian is inspired in so far as he is enlightened and renewed by the Divine Spirit. It is sometimes maintained that there is a distinction in kind between the inspiration of the apostles and that of the ancient or modern Church. This is probably a mistake. The real distinction is one of degree rather than of kind. The inspiration of an apostle should be conceived as that of a common Christian raised to a higher power in proportion to his clearer vision of Christ, his closer fellowship with Christ, and his deeper devotion to Christ.

> 'This must be insisted on, that the inspiration of the NT writings is not due to the mysterious endowment of a few choice souls, but must be traced to the inspired life of Christian believers of greater or less intensity according to the moral and religious condition. If the Church of Christ to-day were as a whole cleansed and renewed, so that a like receptivity for the divine truth and grace were secured, who can doubt that the divine activity in the presence and power of the Spirit of God in man would once more be made manifest?' (A. E. Garvie, *A Handbook of Christian Apologetics*, London, 1913, p. 66).

LITERATURE.—W. Sanday, *Inspiration*^{3}, London, 1896; R. F. Horton, *Inspiration and the Bible*, do. 1888; C. A. Briggs, *The Bible, the Church, and the Reason*, Edinburgh, 1892; W. N. Clarke, *The Use of the Scriptures in Theology*, do. 1906; Marcus Dods, *The Bible, its Origin and Nature*, do. 1905; James Orr, *Revelation and Inspiration*, London, 1910; P. Gardner-Smith, 'Revelation,' in *The Parting of the Roads*, ed. F. J. F. Jackson, do. 1912, p. 328 ff.

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INSPIRATION (Roman Catholic doctrine).—**1.** In ascertaining what is meant and must be understood by inspiration in Roman Catholic doctrine, we are helped by several dogmatic definitions issued at different times. For the Catholic these are documents of the greatest possible weight and authority, next to the texts of the Scriptures themselves, since they are accepted by all, within the Church, as pronouncements of an infallible authority. All are of a comparatively recent date —from which it is plain that the doctrine of inspiration remained for many centuries a universally recognized tradition, and that it was only later, under the pressure of accidental and historical circumstances, that it was considered necessary to crystallize it, partially at least, into a defined dogmatic form.

The date at which the first authentic doctrinal statement concerning the Scriptures was issued in the Church (at the Council of Toledo in 442)[1] is, accordingly, both comparatively late and comparatively early. The eighth anathema then formulated reads thus: 'Si quis dixerit vel crediderit, alterum Deum esse priscae Legis, alterum Evangeliorum, A. S.' (Denzinger, no. 28; cf. also no. 707). The obvious meaning of this declaration is that the one and only God whom the Christians adore reveals Himself in both Testaments alike, and that they are, therefore, of equally Divine authority. Several similar declarations were made later, at different times, explicitly stating the belief of the Church in the Divine authorship of the books of Scripture, for the detail and text of which H. Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum*^{11} (Freiburg, 1911, nos. 348, 421, 464, etc.) may be consulted.

The first definition, however, in which the doctrine of the Divine authorship is stated with use of the word 'inspiration' is the decree of the Council of Florence for the Jacobites (1441), in which we read (Denzinger, no. 706) that the Roman Church

> 'Unum atque eundem Deum Veteris et Novi Testamenti, hoc est, Legis et Prophetarum atque Evangelii profitetur auctorem: quoniam eodem *Spiritu Sancto inspirante* utriusque Testamenti Sancti locuti sunt.'

This decree evidently marks an important doctrinal advance, since it not only asserts, as a dogma of faith in regard to the Scriptures, the Divine authorship, but explicitly assigns inspiration as the peculiar mode by which it exercises itself. The same assertion was afterwards renewed by the Vatican Council in the following terms:

> 'Si quis sacrae *Scripturae* libros integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout illos sancta Tridentina Synodus recensuit, pro sacris et canonicis non susceperit aut eos divinitus inspiratos esse negaverit: A. S.' (Denzinger, no. 1809; for the Tridentine *Decretum de canonicis Scripturis*, see *ib.* no. 783 f.; cf. also the present Pontiff's condemnation of the Modernist assertion, 'Nimiam simplicitatem aut ignorantiam prae se ferunt, qui Deum credunt *vere esse Scripturae sacrae auctorem*' [*ib.* no. 2009]).

To the doctrine of the Divine authorship we find here added the important statement that inspiration must be held to extend to the books in their entirety and including all their parts. It remains, therefore, established as an undisputed dogma of the Catholic Church that God is the author of the Holy Scriptures through this peculiar mode of influence to which the Church gives the name, borrowed from the Vulgate,[1] of 'inspiration.'

2. The texts that we have quoted thus far establish the belief of the Church in the *fact* of inspiration. But, in order to understand what is meant by it, and what is the *nature* of the fact expressed by that name, we must have recourse to another doctrinal pronouncement—a definition of the Council of the Vatican, which is both very explicit and very guarded. After having once more re-asserted the Divine character of the books of the two Testaments enumerated by the Council of Trent and contained in the Vulgate, as extending to all their parts, the Vatican Council adds, by way of explanation:

> 'Eos vero [libros] Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo, quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo dumtaxat, quod revelationem sine errore contineant; sed propterea, quod *Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti Deum habent auctorem*' (Denzinger, no. 1787). It is plain, from this definition, that in the interpretation of what is meant by inspiration two hypotheses are excluded. The first is that of what has been called *subsequent* inspiration, a theory propounded in 1582 by the two Jesuits L. Lessius and J. du Hamel, in the following terms: 'Liber aliquis . . . humana industria, sine assistentia Spiritus Sancti scriptus, si postea Spiritus Sanctus testatur ibi nihil esse falsum, efficitur Scriptura Sacra.' Manifestly the Council rejects the notion of books which were originally human in authorship being raised, by a subsequent approbation, to the dignity of sacred Scriptures. The second hypothesis, which is also excluded by the above definition, is the theory held, at a later date, by another theologian, J. Bonfrère, and proposed by him in the following terms: 'Hoc modo potest Spiritus Sanctus scriptorem dirigere, ut in nullo eum errare fallive permittat; ita ei adstat ut sicubi videret eum erraturum, inspiratione sua illi esset adfuturus.' This way of conceiving inspiration makes it practically identical with the 'assistance' of the Holy Spirit which the Church understands to accompany the Supreme Pontiff in his *ex cathedra* definitions, both guiding and pre-

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[1] Cf., however, Denzinger, no. 19, note, where the *Libellus in modum Symboli* is tentatively ascribed to a Gallaecian bishop of about the middle of the 5th century.

[1] Cf. 2 Ti 3^{16} 'omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata' (πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος); 2 P 1^{21} 'Spiritu sancto inspirati locuti sunt sancti Dei homines' (ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι).

> serving him from error; but inspiration implies more than this. The meaning of the Council requires something of a higher order, something positive, not negative; antecedent, not concomitant, a motion *sui generis* by which man acts as an instrument, conscious and free, while God remains the primary and responsible author; or, as it has been very happily expressed by J. B. Franzelin (*de Div. trad. et script.*^{2}, p. 334 f.), 'Deus est auctor Scripturae Sacrae per conscriptores humanos.'

If the formula of the Vatican Council implies this much and no more, inspiration is not necessarily either a mechanical, automatic performance, in which the Holy Spirit is the exclusive agent, and the human writer the mere material writing machine or 'penholder,' so to speak; nor is it necessarily a process of dictation, in which the writer acts simply as a scribe or registrar of *effata*, or oracles, in relation to which he is a mere conscious but passive recipient. On the contrary, the definition of the Council does not even require that the things thus inspired by the Holy Spirit should always have been new and revealed to the sacred writer. It may have been so, and in some cases at least the Council does not exclude such a possibility; it might very well not have been, and the Council says nothing about it.

3. If we seek now to form a theory in harmony with the definition of the Vatican Council, we can, by applying to the dogma of inspiration the old scholastic doctrine of the instrument, give a notion of it which will appear both very luminous and very consistent, although this is no longer a matter of faith, but merely a theological explanation. An instrument may be defined as a cause which receives its impulse and activity from a superior and principal agent, in virtue of which it produces the effect of that principal agent, but produces it according to its own peculiar mode of action. An instrument is bound to show the traces of its own particular, specific, or individual characteristics in the effect which it produces in virtue of the impulse of the principal cause. Assuming now that, in the case of inspiration, God is the principal cause, and man the instrument, an instrument of a conscious and free nature, we understand that man will act through the impulse of God, who supernaturally inclines his will and illumines his mind to enable it to grasp, conceive, and view such things as God desires and in the light in which God means the agent to do. Sometimes God might reveal to the mind of the writer new and hitherto unknown facts or doctrines; sometimes He might content Himself with inspiring him with regard to facts or things already previously known to him through natural means. At the same time we shall find no difficulty in understanding why the result of inspiration, viz. the sacred book of one writer, is very unlike the work of another equally inspired writer. The conscious and free 'instrument,' of which God makes use, retains his own individual characteristics, either congenital or acquired, his own temperament, culture, style, idiosyncrasies, etc., which will necessarily be reflected in his work. Hence the inspired writings of Isaiah must needs be unlike those of Jeremiah, the Gospel of Matthew unlike that of John, etc.

4. Such being the most accurate conception of the Catholic doctrine of inspiration—viz. that God is the moving agent and responsible author, and the sacred writer His free and conscious instrument—we are naturally led to inquire about the consequences that are likely to follow from such premisses. We have already seen, by referring to the definition of the Vatican Council, that all the books and all the parts of each book enumerated as canonical by the Council of Trent and contained in the Roman edition of the Vulgate are Divinely inspired. Hence, if a Catholic should convince himself, through critical researches, that the history of the adulteress, for instance, in the Gospel of John, or that the final chapter of the Gospel of Mark, cannot possibly have been written by the same authors as those Gospels themselves, he must nevertheless maintain that they are the work of some (other equally) inspired writer. But, if we grant, as we must in the Catholic Church, that inspiration extends to all the *books* and to all the *parts* of the books, it does not necessarily follow that we are bound to believe that all the *things* which we find referred to in them are, by that very fact, to be declared sacred, Divine, and God-appointed in themselves, so that God should be made answerable for every one of them; the definition of the Council, at least, does not say so. Accordingly, Catholic theologians are in the habit of distinguishing several classes of *things*, such as the teachings of faith and morals, the historical or scientific facts that may be known to the writer by natural means, the minor details or *obiter dicta*, the quotations, etc., and, finally, the words of the text themselves, and to inquire of each class separately whether they too are inspired.

The obvious cause for establishing such distinctions and separate inquiries is the difficulty often experienced, apparently at least, of reconciling some statements contained in the Scriptures with what seem to be the well authenticated and reasonably certain conclusions of modern science. The natural tendency of some theologians is to limit inspiration to such things (viz. dogmatic and moral teachings) as belong exclusively to the domain of revealed religion, getting rid of scientific or historical objections by asserting that inspiration does not extend to scientific or historical matters, even when they are touched upon in the Scriptures.

5. Previous, therefore, to entering upon the question whether inspiration extends to the various classes of things or facts that can be distinguished among the contents of the Scripture, it is advisable, first of all, to answer the often mooted and vexed question, Can there be any errors in Scripture? It is granted on all sides, and the concession has been officially recognized in the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* of Pope Leo XIII., that, once committed to writing, the sacred text became subject to alterations and vicissitudes, analogous to those to which all books subject to repeated transcription are exposed; that, as a consequence, some errors foreign to the original slipped into the copies through the mistakes of the transcribers, or otherwise. The original text itself might even contain such expressions or modes of speech as a fastidious and scientifically trained mind might consider not strictly and rigorously accurate from a scientific point of view, since the authors themselves saw no reason for departing from the modes of speech that were prevalent at the time, lest they might uselessly arouse controversies foreign to their main object by ostentatiously discarding the received notions in the minds of their hearers in non-religious matters. Every one nowadays will grant this. The question, however, remains, and must be solved, Can any inspired writer ever utter a false statement or perpetuate a positive error?

The older theologians for whom the problem did not exist, and those modern theologians who apparently do not suspect that the question exists, used to decide the question by simply answering in the words of Thomas Aquinas (*Sum. Theol.*, prima pars, qu. I. art. 10, ad 3): 'Patet quod sensui litterali sacrae Scripturae numquam potest subesse falsum.' The sacred text, giving expression to an utterance of the first truth, can contain no error, since God can neither deceive nor be mistaken. Other theologians, however, for whom the problem does exist, have often endeavoured to modify in a more or less subtle way the rigour of the Thomistic axiom, while, of course, claiming to remain, both at heart and in word, perfectly orthodox.

As it would be tedious to enter upon a detailed historical account of the various phases of the question, we shall content ourselves with recalling a simple distinction, in which, in our opinion, might be found a means of conciliation between the opposing parties. If and whenever it is the manifest intention of a sacred author authoritatively to teach us a fact, however slight or unimportant, in any department whatsoever, the principle of Thomas Aquinas must find its full and irresistible application. Thus, to use a comparison of Thomas Aquinas himself, if it should be definitely the intention of the Scripture to teach us authoritatively that Samuel was really the son of Elkanah, it is impossible that the statement should be erroneous, and that Samuel should have been in reality the son of another. There are, however, obviously many cases when such an intention is absent, and can be introduced only by arbitrarily forcing one's private view on the text; the author writes in conformity with received historical or scientific views, which are evidently immaterial to his purpose. Who could, for instance, without assuming to himself the rôle of an authoritative interpreter of the mind of the sacred writer, maintain that the latter certainly meant to teach us that, at the battle of Gibeon, the sun itself stood still in the heavens in the literal sense of the words, and that any other interpretation of the text is positively excluded?

Briefly, to assert in an absolute manner that error is compatible with inspiration in the mind of the sacred writer is to adopt a position which most Catholic theologians would characterize as 'erroneous' or 'errori proxima,' as being indirectly opposed to the Catholic dogma of inspiration.[1] To maintain, on the other hand, that every statement in the Scripture must be taken as strictly accurate in the literal sense in which it appeared in the original text seems unnecessary, besides being out of harmony with many clearly established and well authenticated facts.

It will be enough to note here, by the way, that no one nowadays thinks of claiming inspiration for any of the versions of Scripture, either the Septuagint or any other; and, indeed, the decree of the Council of Trent declaring the Vulgate of St. Jerome 'authentic' (*pro authentica habeatur*) means only that, being sufficiently accurate for the purposes of Catholic theology, it is adopted by the Catholic Church as its official version.

6. The question of the compatibility of inspiration with error being thus disposed of by denying the possibility of any falsehood being authoritatively asserted in the Scripture, even by mistake, it becomes comparatively easy to answer the various questions raised concerning the extension of inspiration to the various classes of subjects contained in the Scripture. There is really no necessity for any classification whatsoever. Everything that is contained in the sacred books—be it dogma, moral precept, historical statement, quotation, or the words themselves—was clearly selected and put there by a mind under the actual influence of inspiration. Inspiration, therefore, must be understood as extending to everything; for why, indeed, ought it to have stopped short at anything in the sacred text?

Leaving out of account the desire to avoid imputing to the Holy Spirit a certain number of supposed erroneous statements in matters not strictly religious — a desire which apparently haunts some minds—there is no class of things contained in the Scripture to which there is any apparent reason to deny the benefit of the influence of inspiration, except perhaps the words themselves, those material particles, so to speak, of which the text is composed. Verbal inspiration, indeed, is denied by a large number of theologians, but mainly on two grounds: (1) it seems impossible, on that hypothesis, to account for the diversity of style, which is so marked between two different authors; (2) because most theologians are averse to the notion of dictation, which they consider inseparable from that of verbal inspiration. But, for any one who has read and understood our exposition of the theory of the instrument, as applied to the case of inspiration, those difficulties do not exist. Inspiration is the same in all sacred writers, in kind at least; but its result, the style and wording of the Divine oracles, ought nevertheless to be different, owing to the natural differences that exist between the various free and conscious instruments. An Isaiah and a Jeremiah, a Matthew and a John, write under the same pervading Divine influence, but each one in his own natural way, *modo proprio*. Moreover, the same theory has nothing in common with the conception of a dictation of God to the sacred writer. For to inspire is to illumine, and to illumine is not to dictate. Instead, therefore, of conceiving of a kind of diminished inspiration, stopping short at the selection of the words, we ought to conceive of a supernatural influence full and one, pervading the sacred writing throughout, and casting its Divine splendour on everything contained in it, even the most minute particles of the sacred text. There is no necessity to assume that inspiration enlightened the mind of the sacred writer in regard to his thoughts only, but abandoned him to his own natural industry when endeavouring to give literary utterance to his Divinely inspired conceptions.

LITERATURE.—J. B. Franzelin, *Tractatus de divina traditione et scriptura*^{2}, Rome, 1875; F. Schmid, *de Inspirationis Bibliorum vi et ratione*, Louvain, 1886; D. Zanecchia, *Divina inspiratio Sacræ Scripturæ*, Rome, 1898; L. Billot, *de Inspiratione Sacræ Scripturæ*, do. 1903; C. Pesch, *de Inspiratione Sacræ Scripturæ*, Freiburg, 1906; P. Dausch, *Die Schriftinspiration*, do. 1891; K. Holzhey, *Die Inspiration der heil. Schrift in der Anschauung des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1895.

E. L. VAN BECELAERE.

INSPIRATION (Hindu).—Indian authorities and scholars in their references to the Hindu writings draw a clearly marked distinction between Scripture, revealed and inspired, and other compositions which, however great their antiquity and worth, have, in their judgment and in accordance with the verdict of tradition, no valid claim to divine inspiration, or to direct derivation from a superhuman source. The former are *śruti*, that which is heard, the human ear receiving the divine voice, and communicating its message direct to men by the pen or by oral teaching. The latter are *smṛti*, that which is stored up in the mind, learning acquired by observation and study, which is then delivered as the ripe fruit of human intelligence and application, moulded and fashioned at the writer's will, and presented as the reasoned conclusions of his meditation and thought. The writings known as *smṛti*, therefore, however choice their theme and style, or however high the regard in which they are held, occupy an entirely subordinate position of authority. They furnish no prooftexts, and, great as their popularity may be, they may not in a formal and strict sense be drawn upon for the establishment of rule and doctrine. The theory formulated with regard to *śruti*, on the other hand, assumed and taught a doctrine of literal and verbal inspiration, as consistent and exacting as has elsewhere ever been conceived. In practice the line was not seldom overstepped, especially in regard to works which appealed to the general taste and inclination, and enjoyed in consequence a wide popularity. In many instances these gained and retained a hold upon the allegiance and affections of the people, and especially of the non-priestly classes, which lay entirely outside of any theory or dogma of inspiration limited in its application to certain books and to these alone. The volume of *śruti*, however, was absolutely closed, and was incapable of either addition or diminution.

The language also that is employed with regard to the Vedas is sufficiently definite to remove all doubt as to the religious estimate which the writers themselves placed upon them. For, although in certain passages a degree of inspiration appears to be claimed for other and later works, yet in more formal doctrine and practice the distinction was always observed between the Vedic writings which possessed authority as *śruti* and other compositions, in the production of which the mind and skill of man played the predominant part. Thus in *Bṛhad. Up.* II. iv. 10 it is said that the Rigveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvāṅgirasas, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, and other works have been breathed forth from Brahman alone. The same theory is expounded elsewhere in the same Upaniṣad, not always with an identical enumeration of texts.[1] A definite doctrine of inspiration is assumed and stated, *e.g.*, by Rāmānuja on Vedāntasūtras, II. ii. 43: 'the Veda . . . on account of its non-human character, is raised above all suspicion of error and other imperfections';[2] and the Veda, therefore, is the final authority and court of appeal on all questions of teaching and interpretation. The epithets applied to the Veda appear to be intended to convey the same idea, *e.g.* 'imperishable,'[3] 'eternal,'[4] etc. And the most comprehensive and profound teaching is enunciated when the Veda, or the syllable *Om*, which is the beginning and the end of the Veda, is identified with Brahman.[5] The same thought also is poetically expressed when it is elsewhere said that the deity is resident in the sacred text.[6]

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[1] The recent condemnation of the Modernist proposition that 'inspiratio divina non ita ad totam Scripturam sacram extenditur, ut omnes et singulas eius partes ab omni errore praemuniat' expressly reproves that opinion (Denzinger, no. 2011; the pronouncement of the Commissio Biblica of 23rd June 1905 may also be consulted in this connexion [*ib.* no. 1980]).

A further indication of the sacred character attached to the Vedic writings was the elaborate provision made in the schools for the exact preservation of the letter of the text. Apparently each of the schools had its own traditional recension, of which the members of the school were jointly and severally in charge, and which it was their office and duty faithfully to bear in mind, and to communicate orally to their disciples. The Vedic texts, therefore, were committed to memory by all; and the precise and perpetual recitation of them was their safeguard, and a sufficient check against alteration even in the least detail of the accepted order and form of words. Moreover, as an additional precaution against accidental variation, the sacred text was learnt and recited not only directly, but also according to a method known as *kramapāṭha*, or 'serial reading,' in which each word was repeated twice in progressive order, with the preceding and also with the succeeding word. An extension of the same method, which further illustrates the anxious care with which it was sought to secure the *ipsissima verba* of the sacred text, was the *jaṭāpāṭha*, 'twisted' or 'inverted reading,' in which each successive pair of words was repeated three times, in one instance in inverted order. Moreover, the verses and words of the hymns were laboriously counted, and the records preserved in the works of the Sanskrit grammarians; these numbers are found to be in agreement with the extant texts. It was in harmony also with this conception of the peculiarly sacred character of these writings that the communication of them to Śūdras, or out-castes, was strictly forbidden.[7] They were the heritage and possession of the 'twice-born,' and might not be carried beyond the circle of the elect, lest defilement in any form should reach them. Parallel instances to this scrupulous limitation of the circulation of a sacred book or books are numerous among other peoples. A *sūtra* of the Vedānta prohibits to Śūdras the hearing or studying of the Veda.[1]

Further, it would appear that the method of revelation, as it was conceived by the Hindu authors themselves, and the descriptive terms employed with regard to it were intended to imply the same sacred and inviolable character of the text. The *ṛṣis*, the ancient poets and seers of the Vedic hymns, are said to have 'seen' (*dṛś*) the sacred texts which they then conveyed to men. Although in some instances they claim in so many words to have been the authors of the hymns which bear their names, the claim is disallowed, as far as the play of individual character is concerned, or the application of human intelligence and skill. Their part is limited to that of exact recorders of a message in the ordering of which they have no share, as regards either subject-matter or form. Their merit is that of faithful transmission of the words and teaching which the eye 'saw.'[2] No doubt the language employed is to a very considerable extent figurative and metaphorical. The 'eye' is the eye of the mind. The figure, however, in harmony with the universal tendency of thought and language, became obscured, and was literally interpreted. The mental or spiritual vision was transformed into a real 'seeing' of the actual letters and words, presented to the eye in material form. It is not improbable also that to the mystical meditative temperament of India a strong capacity for visualizing the creations of the mind may have played a considerable part in the elaboration of the metaphor, and have contributed not a little to its ready acceptance and popularity.

Moreover, in India and, it may be said, to the Eastern mind in general, inspiration is much more a matter of men than of books or of the written word. The Veda was regarded, indeed, as the source and spring of all knowledge, and the teaching which it conveyed was the final and infallible standard of practice and belief. Even so, however, the veneration with which the Vedic text was regarded by the people as a whole hardly equalled the strict and anxious care with which the Jewish Rabbis erected a 'hedge' about the Law. In part this was due to the fact that the sacred writings were so jealously guarded by the Brāhmans, and screened from profane knowledge, that to the great majority of the Hindus they were and always have been invested with attributes of distance and mystery rather than accepted and known as a guiding presence and authority in the life. The *theory* of the inspiration and inerrancy of the scriptures was universally taught and received, being denied only by the *nāstikas*, the atheists or infidels, whose influence appears at no time to have been wide-spread, or their numbers considerable. But its practical effect upon the everyday thought and experience of the Hindu was slight. Like the books themselves, it was the doctrine and possession of a learned class. And, although theoretically acknowledged and accepted by all, it was in reality little in touch with the needs and movements of everyday life.

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[1] *Bṛhad. Up.* IV. v. 11; cf. Śaṅkara on *Vedāntasūtras*, I. i. 3, a text which he interprets to mean that Brahman is the source of Scripture, the latter being defined as consisting of the Rigveda and other Vedas, with the works subsidiary to them.

[2] Cf. *SBE* xlviii. [1904] 435, 473 f., 529 f.

[3] *Śatap. Br.* x. iv. 1. 9.

[4] Manu, iii. 284, *purātanī*, rendered 'eternal' by G. Bühler (*SBE* xxv. [1886] 127), but perhaps connoting rather high antiquity, and the dignity and authority which the texts accordingly were believed to possess.

[5] Baudhāyana, II. x. 17. 40, IV. i. 26; cf. Vasiṣṭha, xxv. 10.

[6] 'I [Lakṣmī] reside . . . in the sound of the Veda' (*Inst. of Viṣṇu*, xcix. 14 f.).

[7] *e.g.*, 'The Veda must not be recited in the presence of a Śūdra' (*Vasiṣṭha*, xviii. 12); 'Let him not recite (the texts) indistinctly, nor in the presence of Śūdras' (Manu, iv. 99).

[1] *Vedāntasūtras*, I. iii. 39; cf. Śaṅkara's comment and citation of passages (*SBE* xxxiv. [1890] 228 f.).

[2] Cf. Manu, xi. 244: 'the sages . . . obtained (the revelation of) the Vedas through their austerities'; and *ib.* 234. Śaṅkara (on *Vedāntasūtras*, I. iii. 30) quotes the authority of earlier writers that the ten books of the Rigveda were 'seen' by the ancient *ṛṣis*; and elsewhere asserts the same of the *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* portion of the Veda (on I. iii. 34). Rāmānuja seems to make an attempt to combine the theory of inerrancy with a natural belief in the effective authorship of the poets: 'The eternity of the Veda admits of being reconciled with what scripture says about the mantras and kāṇḍas of the sacred text having "makers," and about Rishis seeing the hymns . . . the Rishis . . . thus gifted by Prajāpati with the requisite powers . . . *see* the mantras, and so on . . . perfect in all their sounds and accents, without having learned them from the recitation of a teacher,' etc. (*SBE* xlviii. 332 f., on *Vedāntasūtras*, I. iii. 28). To the *ṛṣis* themselves, in their divine or semi-divine character, worship was offered.

It was entirely otherwise with the belief in the inspiration and authority of the teacher, the man upon whom the spirit of the god had descended, and whose utterances, like his actions and person, were invested with the sanction and force of the divine. It would be difficult to indicate any one doctrine or belief which has had a more profound influence on the habits and character of the Indian peoples. Beginning with the *ṛṣis* themselves, and passing down through a long series of deified men, among whom the *guru*, the teacher, has in India always occupied the most important place, the doctrine of the direct inspiration of the individual has never ceased to be an effective and influential article of faith. The repeated incarnations of the gods bear witness to the same tendencies of thought and belief. And, although modern conditions of life, and the forms under which modern education is being conveyed, are gradually and perhaps inevitably undermining and destroying the ancient reverential habit of thought and life, it will be long before the Hindu affection deserts its ancient ideals, or regards as other than unwelcome a new theory of life, which minimizes the spiritual element in the heart and character of the individual.[1]

These numerous incarnations of the gods, and the readiness with which men or women endowed with unusual qualities or an attractive and dominating personality are deified, are evidence of similar characteristics of thought. The high-priests of the different sects, in their formal visitations of the districts under their charge for purposes of pastoral oversight and confirmation of the young men, journey in state and are greeted by all with a reverence which implies the assumption of divine or semi-divine rank. Their persons and utterances are inspired; their touch confers happiness and deliverance from the bondage of evil. In a similar manner the recognition of authority concentrated in the hands of an individual, whether European or Indian, is separated by a very narrow line in the thought of the Hindu from a belief in definite inspiration by the deity, who in greater or less fullness has taken up his abode within, and thus manifests his presence and power. The experience of any Englishman who has come into real touch with the mind and heart of the Indian would furnish many instances of the facility with which exceptional or unfamiliar gifts and powers are set down to the credit of a supernatural afflatus which for the time being, or permanently, confers upon the man the rights and dignity of a god.

To the Hindu, therefore, the conception of an inspired personality or an inspired book is perfectly natural. In neither case would the affirmation of inspiration suggest doubt, or the necessity of an inquiry into the validity of the claim advanced or the possibility of the fact asserted. The disposition would rather be in favour of its acceptance as part of the natural order of things. It is regarded as not improbable, it is even looked upon as highly probable, that the god will thus communicate his will and make known his ways. The burden of proof lies with those who deny. And this disposition or tone of mind is part of the larger bias and tendency of the Eastern nature, which, for whatever reason, seems to live in closer touch with the realities of the unseen and the spiritual than the more practical and unemotional mind of the West.

LITERATURE.—See artt. GOD (Hindu), HINDUISM.

A. S. GEDEN.

INSPIRATION (Muslim).

INSPIRATION (Muslim).—Inspiration may come to a prophet in an external form, and consist of the very words which God wishes him to give forth as the divine message. This is called *waḥī ẓāhir*, 'external inspiration.' It is the highest form of inspiration, in the opinion of Muhammadans, and was used for the production of the Qur'ān. The mind of Muhammad was passive, and the message, an external one, was brought to him by Gabriel. A somewhat lower form of this is called *ishārat al-malak*, 'the sign of the angel.' Muhammad refers to this when he says: 'The Holy Ghost has entered into my heart,' that is, the inspiration came through Gabriel, but not orally. The other term is *ilhām*, which means the saint or prophet using his mental powers and, under divine guidance, giving forth the message of God, though not in the very words of God.

The recipient knows the medium, *i.e.* the angel, by which he receives the information. This is *waḥī*, the inspiration of prophets, the inspiration of the Qur'ān. The recipient receives information from an unknown source and in an unknown way. This is the inspiration of saints and mystics. It is called *ilhām*. The difference between *waḥī* and *ilhām* is that in the former an angel is the medium of communication, and in the latter he is not. It comes direct to the mind of the Prophet (see al-Ghazāli in the *Mudāq al-Arifīn*, an Urdu tr. of the *Iḥyā 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, Lucknow, 1873, iii. 30).

Some theologians hold that, whilst the Qur'ān was revealed by the *waḥī* method, the teaching of the Prophet as recorded in the traditions was by the *ilhām* mode; that is, the traditions are a real revelation and convey divine injunctions, only the mode was different. Others hold that even the traditions were of *waḥī* authority, and ash-Shahrastānī speaks of 'the sayings of the Prophet which have the marks of waḥī' (quoted in *Dābistān*, ed. Bombay, A.H. 1242 [A.D. 1826], p. 21). In support of this view this verse is quoted:

> 'By the star when it setteth, your companion Muhammad erreth not, nor is led astray, neither doth he speak of his own will. It is none other than a revelation which hath been revealed to him' (Qur'ān liii. 1).

The latter part seems to refer to the Qur'ān, but the former distinctly asserts that he was rightly guided either by the *waḥī* or by the *ilhām* mode of inspiration, and so all his words and actions form a rule of faith called the *Sunna*, which all Muslims must accept, for they were said and done under the constant influence of a divine inspiration.

The revelation given to Moses is thus described in the Qur'ān.

> 'We wrote for him upon the tables a monition concerning every matter, and said, "Receive them thyself with steadfastness, and command thy people to receive them for the observance of its most goodly precepts"' (vii. 142).

This equally describes the inspiration of the Qur'ān. The Muhammadan cannot conceive that there can be a human as well as a divine side to inspiration. This is clearly stated in the verse in which Muhammad is directed to disclaim any knowledge apart from the words revealed:

> 'Say; I say not to you, "In my possession are the treasures of God"; neither say I, "I know things secret"; neither do I say to you, "Verily, I am an angel"; only what is revealed to me do I follow' (vi. 50).

The Qur'ān, then, comes direct from God. The word 'say' is either expressed or implied before each sentence. This to the Muslim mind is its highest perfection. It is verbal inspiration in its most extreme form. The Christian view of inspiration—the divine mind working through the human consciousness—is considered to be very inferior, and any book so revealed to be altogether on a lower plane.

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[1] The conception is illustrated, *e.g.*, by Manu, iv. 182: 'The teacher is the lord of the world of Brahman'; ii. 233: 'By obedience to his teacher [the student gains] the world of Brahman'; cf. ii. 144–154, *Inst. of Viṣṇu*, xxxi. 10, etc., *Āpast.* I. iv. 14. 7: 'The feet of all Gurus must be embraced (every day) by a student who has returned home.'

Thus, Ibn Khaldūn says:

> 'Of all the divine books, the Qur'ān is the only one of which the text, words, and phrases have been communicated to the Prophet by an audible voice' (*Prolégomènes*, tr. de Slane, i. 195).

This is the universal belief, and it shows how mechanical is the Muslim view of inspiration. The Qur'ān, both as to matter and as to form, is all of God; but the mode in which it was revealed varied. It is only once clearly stated in the Qur'ān that Gabriel was the medium of communication:

> 'Say, "whoso is the enemy of Gabriel?" For he it is who by God's leave hath caused the Qur'ān to descend on thy heart' (ii. 91).

Other passages, though they do not mention Gabriel by name, are generally believed to refer to him.

> 'The faithful spirit hath come down with it' (xxvi. 192); 'one terrible in power taught it to him' (liii. 5); 'the Holy Spirit hath brought it down with truth from thy Lord' (xvi. 104).

Tradition, however, is very clear on the point that Gabriel was the medium. Sometimes a brightness surrounded the Prophet, out of which Gabriel delivered his message; sometimes the angel appeared in the form of a man called Duḥiyya, one of the Companions of the Prophet, renowned for his beauty. This statement is supported by the verse:

> 'And if we had appointed an angel, we should certainly have appointed one in the form of a man' (vi. 9).

When the revelation was one of denunciation or a prediction of woe, the angelic nature of Gabriel overcame the nature of Muhammad, who was then transported to the angelic world; when the message was one of comfort and consolation, the angel, in the form of a man, delivered his message. Gabriel sometimes made his message known through the tinkling of a bell, a mode of operation which had a most disquieting effect on the Prophet. His body became agitated, and even on a cold day the perspiration rolled off him. His countenance bore witness to the agitation of his mind. If riding, the camel on which he sat would fall to the ground.

> Zaid said: 'One day when God sent *waḥī* on the Prophet, his thigh was on mine, but it became so heavy that I feared mine would be broken' (*Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, 'Kitāb aṣ-Ṣalāt,' Leyden, 1862–68, i. 105).

Gabriel sometimes, without appearing in person, so influenced the mind of the Prophet that what he spoke was a divine message. This is *ilhām*, the inspiration of the traditions.

On the occasion of the night journey to heaven, 'great mysteries and numerous conversations took place' (Mirkhond's *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā*, Ras, 1893, II. i. 211). God is said to have spoken to the Prophet directly, though whether with face veiled or not is a matter of doubt. God sometimes appeared to the Prophet in a dream and made known His will. On two occasions angels, each having six hundred wings, appeared and brought the message (for other accounts see *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā*, II. i. 135–148).

The seasons when it came were usually periods of anxiety and care. His countenance changed; his fear seemed uncontrollable. This terrifying effect of inspiration is shown in the verse:

> 'The best of recitals hath God sent down, a book in unison with itself and teaching by repetition. The very skins of those who fear their Lord do creep at it' (xxxix. 24).

The fear caused to men is not to be wondered at when it is believed that in heaven the effect of it is that angels become senseless and that Gabriel is the first to return to consciousness (*Khulāsat at-Tafāsīr*, Lucknow, A.H. 1311 [A.D. 1893], iv. 75). The revelation of *sūras* xi., lvi., and ci., known as the '*sūras* of terror,' turned the hair of the Prophet grey.

Ibn Khaldūn thus describes inspiration.

> After stating that some souls cannot attain to a perception of spiritual truth, and that others can enter into a state of contemplation and ecstasy, which is the intuition of the saints, he goes on to speak of those whose souls can rise from the human body to the angelic state and there hear the divine voice. Such are the souls of the prophets. God has given them the power of leaving the human body and, when so separated from it, they receive His revelations, which, when they return from the spiritual world, they make known to men. The journey to and the journey from the angelic world and the comprehension of the message received occupy less time than the twinkling of an eye. This is why inspiration is called *waḥī*, which, according to Ibn Khaldūn, means 'to make haste' (*Prolégomènes*, i. 196–205, quoted in full in Sell, *Faith of Islām*³, p. 242 f.).

The orthodox view is that a prophet knows all things without having received previous instruction, that he gives information regarding the past and the future, otherwise than by analogical reasoning, and that he is superior to other human beings, as he has communion with the angelic world.

The sacred month of Ramaḍān has been specially selected as the time for the descent of divine books: on the first day the book of Abraham, on the sixth the book of Moses, on the thirteenth the Gospel, and on the twenty-seventh the *Lailat al-Qadr*, or 'Night of Power,' the Qur'ān which then came complete to the 'House of Glory,' situated in the lowest of the seven heavens, from which, as occasion required, portions were brought by Gabriel and revealed to Muhammad: 'Verily we have caused it [the Qur'ān] to descend on the Night of Power' (xcvii. 1 ff.). This is the blessed night, the night 'better than a thousand months,' the night 'which bringeth peace and blessings to the rosy dawn' (*ib.*).

> Some suppose that the first revelation was 'Warn thy relatives of nearer kin' (xxvi. 214), but the objection to this opinion is that the words of the context, 'kindly lower thy wing over the faithful who follow thee' (*ib.* 215), and 'who seest thee when thou standest at prayer and thy demeanour among those who worship' (218 f.), presuppose the existence of a small Muslim community. There are other objections also connected with the style and use of words in this chapter which show that it must be a later one.

The general view, then, may be accepted as correct, which is that, when in the cave at Ḥīra, a little distance from Mecca, the Prophet heard a voice calling on him to recite the opening words of the *sūra* xcvi. Tradition has surrounded the event with many marvels. The following is a condensed account of the narrative concerning the inspiration of the Prophet given in Mirkhond's *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā* (II. i. 140).

> The Prophet was sleeping in the cave of Ḥīra when Gabriel made his appearance in the form of a man, and said, 'Read.' But his Lordship answered, 'I am not a reader.' Then Gabriel squeezed him so hard that he thought his end was near; but the angel again said 'Read,' and received the same answer. Having again given the command, Gabriel said: 'Recite thou in the name of thy Lord, who created man from clots of blood. Recite thou! For thy Lord is the most Beneficent, who hath taught the use of the pen; hath taught man that which he knoweth not' (Qur'ān, xcvi. 1–4). The first squeezing purified his august nature from all concupiscence; the second, from all sinful desires. Though free from all ignominious qualities, his purification was necessary to divest his heart from all human failings and to prepare it for the reception of divine revelation. His terror was so great that he meditated suicide, but Gabriel called out: 'Thou art the Apostle of Allāh and I am Gabriel.'
>
> Another account is that, when the third call was made, Gabriel struck his foot on the ground, and a spring of water gushed out. He then performed the ablutions before prayer and taught Muhammad to do the same, after which they said the *namāz*, or stated prayers. When the Prophet was terrified at the appearance of Gabriel, whose feet were yellow and his wings green, and between whose eyes the words were written, 'There is no God but Allāh, and Muhammad is the apostle of Allāh,' Gabriel comforted him by saying that he was the messenger of God to prophets. When Muhammad said that he could not read, Gabriel took from beneath his wing a piece of the silk of Paradise, embroidered with pearls and gems, and threw it on his blessed face.
>
> All this very much alarmed the Prophet. He hastened home, and Khadīja, his wife, said: 'I perceive a light in thy countenance, the like of which I have never beheld'; but in terror he lay down in a paroxysm of fear. When he recovered, he said, 'O Khadīja, I have become a soothsayer or mad.' She replied, 'God will not surely let such a thing happen to thee, for thou speakest the truth, dost not return evil for evil, keepest faith, art of a good life, kind to thy relatives and friends. Hast thou seen aught terrible?' He then told her what had happened, whereupon she said: 'Rejoice, dear husband, and be of good cheer. He in whose hands stands Khadīja's life is my witness that thou wilt be the Prophet of His people' (*Literary Remains*

of Emmanuel Deutsch, London, 1874, p. 77). She then went to Waraqa, one of the Ḥanīfs, and told him that Gabriel had appeared to Muhammad. He assured her that great benefits and blessings would follow from this (see *Rauḍat aṣ-Ṣafā*, II. i. 146).

Then, for a while, the revelations ceased, and the mind of Muhammad was much disturbed thereby. He doubted the reality of his call and became so melancholy that he sought to put an end to his life. On such occasions Gabriel appeared and strengthened him in the belief that he was to be the apostle of God, and so gave him comfort. A tradition states that Khadīja, alarmed at his state, not only wrapped him up, but sprinkled cold water upon him, which seems to show that he had a fit (*Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, Madras, A.H. 1274 [A.D. 1857], p. 846). Bukhārī relates how on one such occasion he saw the angel seated on a throne midway between heaven and earth. Alarmed, he hastened home and said to his wife: 'Cover me with a cloth.' Then God revealed to him *sūra* lxxiv., beginning 'O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle, arise and warn' (*Ṣaḥiḥu'l-Bukhārī*, i. 2). This became the first of a continued series of revelations. The period of suspense—the *fatrah*—was now over. Henceforth there was no intermission in the revelations, which came with remarkable aptness to time and circumstance for the rest of his life.

The doctrine of *waḥī*, the inspiration of the Qur'ān, is closely connected with the attribute of God, called *kalām*, 'word,' or 'speech,' and concerning which there was a long and bitter conflict between the Mu'tazilite and the orthodox section of the Muslims. It ranged round the great dispute as to whether the attributes of God were eternal or not. The orthodox belief is that the Qur'ān was written from all eternity on the Preserved Table.

> 'The unbounded reverence of the Muslims for the Qur'ān reaches its climax in the dogma (which appeared at an early date through the influence of the Christian doctrine of the eternal Word of God) that the Book, as the divine word, *i.e.* thought, is immanent in God, and consequently eternal and uncreated' (T. Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, p. 58).

This view has been well stated by D. B. Macdonald:

> 'There had grown up very early in the Muslim community an unbounded reverence and awe in the presence of the Qur'an. In it God speaks, addressing His servant, the Prophet; the words, with few exceptions, are direct words of God. It is, therefore, easily intelligible that it came to be called the word of God (*kalam Allah*). But Muslim piety went further and held that it was uncreated and had existed from all eternity with God. Whatever proofs of this doctrine may have been brought forward later from the Qur'an itself, we can have no difficulty in recognizing that it is plainly derived from the Christian Logos and that the Greek Church, perhaps through John of Damascus, has again played a formative part. So, in correspondence with the heavenly and uncreated Logos in the bosom of the Father, there stands this uncreated and eternal Word of God; to the earthly manifestation in Jesus corresponds the Qur'an, the Word of God which we read and recite. The one is not the same as the other, but the idea to be gained from the expressions of the one is equivalent to the idea which we would gain from the other, if the veil of the flesh were removed from us and the spiritual world revealed' (*Development of Muslim Theology*, p. 146).

It is interesting to notice how, right in the heart of the Islāmic system, there is such a near approach to a great truth, and how, in rejecting the Incarnate Word, the eternal Son of God, Muslims have accepted instead the dead letter of a book.

The history of the development of the Qur'ān and of its exegesis lies outside the scope of this article; and so it only remains to state the various views on *kalām*, 'the word,' so far as they are connected with the question of inspiration (see, further, art. KALĀM). The orthodox view of *kalām*, one of the attributes of God, is that

> God 'speaks, but not with a tongue as men do. He speaks to some of His servants without the intervention of another, even as He spoke to Moses, and to Muḥammad on the night of the ascension to heaven. He speaks to others by the instrumentality of Gabriel, and this is the usual way in which He communicates His will to the prophets. It follows from this that the Qur'án is the word of God, and is eternal and uncreated' (Muhammad al-Birkawī, quoted in Sell, *Faith of Islām*³, p. 187).

The speech (*kalām*), then, that is necessary to God is not the glorious expressions revealed to the Prophet, because these are originated, and the quality that subsists in the essence of God is eternal. Both the glorious expressions and the eternal quality are called the Word of God; but the former are created and written in the Preserved Table, from which on the Night of Decree they were brought to the lowest heaven, and thence were revealed to the Prophet.

These are the views held by the Sunnī Musalmāns. They were earnestly opposed by the Mu'tazilites, who deny the eternity of the Qur'ān on the following grounds. It is written in Arabic, it descended to earth, and is written and read. Events are described in the past tense, whereas, if the Qur'ān existed before all time, the future tense would have been used; it contains commands and prohibitions; who, then, were commanded, and who were prohibited? If it existed from eternity past, it will exist till eternity future, and so in the next world its laws will be incumbent on men who must perform the same religious ceremonies as they do now; if it is eternal, then there are two eternals, God and the Word, which would destroy the Unity of the Divine Being. If it is said that it is speech only which is eternal, and not the word and sounds, then how can there be speech without sound? To the latter objection the Sunnīs reply that a man's thoughts are a kind of speech without sound. It is true that, as man's thought is originated, it cannot be compared to God's speech, which is eternal; yet the illustration is good as far as it goes to show that speech does not necessarily need sound.

The Mu'tazilites produced such texts as 'Verily we have made it an Arabic Qur'ān' (xii. 2, xiii. 37, xx. 112, xxxix. 29, xli. 2, xlii. 5, xliii. 2). Now, what God made He created, as it is said: 'Who hath created the heavens and the earth' (vi. 1). To which the reply is made: 'Are not the creation and the command His?' (vii. 52). Here there is a difference between the creation and the command, and, inasmuch as the command 'Be' creates, it cannot itself be created, and is, therefore, eternal. Some of the 'Abbāsid Khalīfs of Baghdad were supporters of the Mu'tazilites, and the Khalīf Ma'mūn in the year 212 A.H. issued a decree declaring that all who asserted that the Qur'ān was eternal were heretics. A little later on the Khalīf sent an order to the Prefect of Baghdad denouncing as a mere rabble and mob, as men of no insight or knowledge, those who held the orthodox views. He was told to assemble the Qārīs, the Qur'ān readers, to question them as to their opinions, and to inform them that the Khalīf neither wished for nor would retain in his service any one whom he considered to be untrustworthy in the faith. The inquiry was unsatisfactory, and so this order was issued:

> 'What the pretenders to orthodoxy and the seekers after the authority for which they are unfitted have replied has reached me. Now, who does not admit that the Qur'ān is created, suspend his exercise of judicial powers and his authority to relate traditions' (Jalāl-ad-dīn as-Suyūṭī, *History of the Khalīfs*, Calcutta, 1881, ch. on Ma'mûn).

The next Khalīf, al-Mu'taṣim, severely punished and imprisoned the Imām Ibn Ḥanbal (*q.v.*), a theologian of great repute, because he would not admit that the Qur'ān was created. Al-Buwaitī, a theologian, was brought from Cairo to Baghdad, and there imprisoned till the day of his death for the same reason. Whilst they led him on fettered and chained, he kept repeating to himself, 'Almighty God created the world by means of the word "Be." Now, if that word was created, one created thing would have created another,' which he held to be impossible.

The reference here is to the verse, 'Verily our speech unto a thing, when We will the same, is that we say to it only "Be," and it is' (xxxvi. 82). This was a standing argument against the Mu'tazilites. So also the verse, 'Nay, but it [the Qur'ān] is a warning . . . written on honoured pages, exalted, purified' (lxxx. 11 f.), is said to refer to the eternal copy of the Hidden Table, an argument repudiated by the Mu'tazilites.

When times changed and the orthodox returned to power, Imām ash-Shāfi'ī called before him a theologian named Ḥafs, and, quoting the verse, 'God said "Be" and it is,' said, 'Did not God create all things by the word "Be"?' Ḥafs assented. 'Then, if the Qur'ān was created, must not the word "Be" also have been created?' To this Ḥafs agreed. 'Then all things were created by a created thing, which is a gross inconsistency and manifest impiety.' Such was the effect of Shāfiʻī's reasoning that Ḥafs was put to death as a pestilent heretic (Sell, *Faith of Islam*^{3}, p. 217).

The Muʻtazilites opposed the orthodox view, for they said that it limited their freedom of thought. To them the Qur'ān had a human as well as a divine side; but, if it was an eternal word, it was clearly beyond even reverent criticism. Their view of the nature of the divine attributes also led them to fear that there was a danger lest this idea of an eternal attribute (*kalām*, 'word') should impair the great doctrine of the Unity of God. However, the reaction came, and the orthodox school gained the day. The Muʻtazilite movement was a great one, and, when it failed, Islām again resumed the rigid form which has characterized it till this day. In India, under the influence of Western thought and a liberal government, there has been some attempt to revive Muʻtazilite teaching. The leaders of the movement see that the mechanical view of inspiration taught in Islām is fatal to enlightened progress, and they have selected this very subject as one to be discussed, and as one on which sounder views should be propagated. One of them says:

> 'A prophet is neither immaculate nor infallible. A prophet feels that his mind is illumined by God, that the thoughts which are expressed by him and spoken or written under this influence are to be regarded as the words of God. This illumination of the mind, or effect of the divine influence, differs in the prophet, according to the capacity of the recipient, or according to the circumstances—physical, moral, and religious—in which he is placed' (M. Cherāgh 'Ali, *Critical Exposition of Jihad*, p. lxix).

Another well-known writer, an avowed Mu'tazilite, speaks of the realistic description of heaven and hell as borrowed from Zoroastrian and Talmudic sources (see Syed Amir Ali, *Spirit of Islām*, London, 1891, p. 394). It may be said that, as his followers grew in the apprehension of spiritual conceptions, so the mind of the Prophet developed; but the objection to this is that the later chapters of the Qur'ān are, as a rule, less spiritual than the earlier ones; and so the development, if such there was, tended in a downward direction. But it is clear that there are a few Muslims who see wherein the weakness of their system lies, who boldly repudiate all the teaching of the past, and adopt what is practically a Christian view of inspiration. These men, however, are repudiated by the great mass of the Muslim world, as men having forsaken a revealed religion, and are to be shunned as innovators, a class most distasteful to the orthodox Muslim. But herein the only hope of Islām lies; for, until more reasonable views of inspiration become general, until the dead weight of traditionalism is lifted off, and until intelligence and reason are allowed some force, there can be no enlightened progress in the community.

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E. SELL.

INSTINCT.—With regard to the exact meaning which we should attach to the words 'instinct' and 'instinctive' there is much difference of opinion. There is, indeed, a general agreement that, as W. Paley long ago phrased it, an instinct is, in some sense, 'a propensity prior to experience [in the individual] and independent of instruction' (*Natural Theology*, London, 1802, ch. xviii.). But the word 'propensity' is somewhat vague. Then it must be asked to what end the propensity leads. Is it a propensity to behave in some more or less specific manner, or to experience certain emotional states, or to believe certain things, or to frame certain types of judgment? Is it one of these, or all of these? Furthermore, what are we to understand by *an* instinct? Is it a propensity to a specific mode of behaviour, a particular belief, a definite type of judgment? And can such a propensity be clearly marked off and isolated in analytic treatment? There are difficulties in doing so; and it is probably better to use the noun as a grouping term—as we use 'intelligence'—to cover all those processes to which the adjective 'instinctive' is properly applicable. But this still leaves on our hands the question: What is the distinguishing nature of these processes?

Those who approach this question from the biological side tend to limit the term 'instinctive' to certain more or less specific modes of behaviour which are characterized by the fact that they just come, without any intervening and guiding mental process, when the organism is appropriately stimulated by the presentation of a more or less complex situation, often supported by stimulations arising within the organism. And on this view they so come because the organism, and, especially in higher forms of life, its nervous system, have been prepared by a long evolutionary process to respond to such stimulation in more or less specific ways. The chick pecks, the duckling swims, the moorhen dives, the infant sucks, because the inherited organic constitution is such that these modes of behaviour are the automatic outcome when the requisite situation is presented, without any mental realization of the meaning of the situation or of the instinctive response. The word 'instinctive' is thus, for those who accept this view of the matter, primarily a biological term. But the presented situation, and the process of behaving in such and such a manner in its midst, are accompanied by a coalescent mode of experience—the instinctive experience—and this is assimilated to or incorporated with such prior experience (revived through association) as the organism may have already gained in other ways and on previous occasions. Thus, although the word 'instinctive' is primarily a biological term, it is secondarily a psychological term which labels a somewhat complex factor in the development of the mental life of the individual.

Now, such a definition of the term 'instinctive' as has been briefly indicated, tenable as it may be in the appropriate universe of discourse, seems hardly acceptable in connexion with the topics of ethics and religion. It seems desirable, therefore, so to extend the connotation of the word 'instinctive' as to bring our treatment into line with current usage in the familiar speech of educated persons, who are often impatient of subtle psychological distinctions. In this broader sense of the word, the traditional distinction between that which is instinctive and that which is based on carefully reasoned foundations is preserved and emphasized; stress is laid on the spontaneous as contrasted with the deliberate nature of the mental processes involved; and, though it may be difficult to distinguish between that which is the outcome of the net results of previous training and education and that which is due to congenital and hereditary disposition, it is generally implied that what is instinctive in this larger sense is in the main unlearnt and, at least predominantly, the expression of the innate constitution of the mind.

William James has given a graphic description of the manner in which he was affected by the

Californian earthquake of 1906, which lasted some forty-eight seconds. It may be quoted in illustration of the spontaneous as contrasted with the volitional attitude of mind.

> 'In my case,' he says, 'sensation and emotion were so strong that little thought, and no reflection or volition, were possible in the short time consumed by the phenomenon. . . . As soon as I could think, I discerned retrospectively certain peculiar ways in which my consciousness had taken in the phenomenon. These ways were quite spontaneous, and, so to speak, inevitable and irresistible. First, I personified the earthquake as a permanent individual entity. . . . It came, moreover, directly to *me*. It stole in behind my back, and once inside the room, had me all to itself, and could manifest itself convincingly. Animus and intent were never more present in any human action, nor did any human activity ever more definitely point back to a living agent as its source and origin. . . . For "science," when the tensions in the earth's crust reach the breaking-point, and strata fall into an altered equilibrium, earthquake is simply the collective *name* of all the cracks and shakings and disturbances that happen. They *are* the earthquake. But for me *the* earthquake was the *cause* of the disturbances, and the perception of it as a living agent was irresistible. It had an overpowering dramatic convincingness. I realize now better than ever how inevitable were men's earlier mythologic versions of such catastrophes, and how artificial and against the grain of our spontaneous perceiving are the later habits into which science educates us' (*Memories and Studies*, London, 1911, pp. 210–214).

In this graphic account of his mental attitude at a moment of crisis given us by a leading psychologist and a master of description, although the term 'instinctive' does not occur, what is commonly understood by the word in its wider and currently popular sense is admirably exemplified. The outlook of the moment was not that which calls into play the rational faculties developed by scientific thought; it was far more primitive and unsophisticated. What James wished to emphasize is, seemingly, that, in face of a new and thrilling experience, deep-seated natural tendencies, spontaneous and nowise explicitly volitional, emerged unsummoned in the light of consciousness—and especially a tendency to personify the cause of the disaster, and to attribute to that cause malign intent. The natural man in William James was, during those forty-eight seconds, laid bare; his science, his psychology, his philosophy had not, just then, a word of protest to utter. The sudden onslaught of the earthquake shock caught the guardians of the citadel of reason asleep at their post. Whether the verdict of reason or that of instinct was the truer verdict is not here the point. The point is that the verdict of instinct was in possession. That James's attitude was spontaneous rather than deliberate, and that his swift interpretation of the meaning of the calamitous situation was charged with a sense of its being inevitable and irresistible—as much beyond his control as the earthquake itself—is clear from the description he gave just after the event. But whether this direct and immediate pronouncement of the natural man within him was due to something innate in his mental constitution, or was the unbidden outcome of acquired habits of mind—habits perhaps acquired in quite early stages of his development—he does not attempt to determine. And, if it was partly due to the one and partly to the other, he does not pause to assign something like approximate values to the innate and to the acquired determinants of the attitude spontaneously assumed. No doubt, since his aim was to describe faithfully what passed through his mind at the moment when the earthquake caught him in its grip, he was wise not to enter upon a discussion of an exceedingly difficult problem. So difficult, indeed, is this problem that it is questionable whether it is possible to solve it on the basis of the broader definition of the term 'instinctive.' Innate tendencies are undoubtedly profoundly modified in the light of the experience which is personally acquired through education, through commerce with the world of nature, and through a thousand social influences in childhood and in later life. Can we eliminate these if the question arises whether the moral and religious attitude of the adult is instinctive in the sense of being, strictly speaking, innate and not acquired—or even predominantly inborn, no matter how much they have been directed in early education? To differentiate the strictly congenital factors of the tendencies and propensities of mature life from those which have been insensibly developed through individual training and habit seems, at present, to be a task beyond the powers of psychological analysis.

Still, analysis may help us on our way towards the solution of such problems. A resolute and suggestive attempt to lay bare the innate foundations of the mental life of man is made in W. McDougall's *Introduction to Social Psychology* (London, 1908). He holds that the problem for solution has been mis-stated—nay more, completely inverted.

> The doctrine has been accepted, he says, that 'men normally and in the vast majority of cases act reasonably and as they ought to act,' so that the question arises why they sometimes act otherwise; 'whereas the truth is that men are moved by a variety of impulses whose nature has been determined by long ages of the evolutionary process without reference to the life of men in civilized societies; and the psychological problem we have to solve . . . is—How can we account for the fact that men so moved ever come to act as they ought or morally and reasonably?' For 'mankind is only a little bit reasonable and to a great extent very unintelligently moved in quite unreasonable ways' (pp. 10, 11).

This is McDougall's way of asking the question how moral and rational conduct have been evolved. But he renders the question more concrete by asking from what primitive impulses, common to men and the higher animals, this progressive evolution has proceeded. And his answer is: From a relatively small number of primitive instincts.

These instincts are directly or indirectly the prime movers of all human activity. By the conative and impulsive force of some instinct, or of some habit derived from an instinct, every train of thought, however cold and passionless it may seem, is borne along towards its end, and every bodily activity is initiated and sustained. There is on the inlet side the presentation of some situation or of some problem; there is on the outlet side an appropriate response in bodily behaviour or in mental activity; and between these two there is the conative impulse emotionally toned in some more or less specific manner. Analysis discloses in any such emotional impulse, no matter how complex, a subtle combination of a few primitive instincts; and any higher secondary or tertiary product of evolution may, therefore, be regarded as a synthesis of a few primary constituents. What, then, are these primitive and elemental factors in the conative life of social mankind? The principal instincts of man, each of which is also a primary emotion, are, according to McDougall's analysis, seven in number: (1) the instinct of flight and the emotion of fear; (2) the instinct of repulsion and the emotion of disgust; (3) the instinct of curiosity and the emotion of wonder; (4) the instinct of pugnacity and the emotion of anger; (5) and (6) the instincts of self-abasement (or subjection) and of self-assertion (or self-display), and the emotions of subjection or of elation (positive or negative self-feeling); (7) the parental instinct and tender emotion. These seven instincts

> 'are those whose excitement yields the most definite of the primary emotions, and from these seven emotions together with the feelings of pleasure and pain (and perhaps also feelings of excitement and of depression) are compounded all, or almost all, the affective states that are popularly recognized as emotions, and for which common speech has definite names (p. 81).

To these are added, in a supplementary list, the instinct of reproduction, the gregarious instinct, the instinct of acquisition, and that of construction. Among the more general innate tendencies, whose behaviour-outlet is less definite and circumscribed, are sympathy, suggestibility, imitation, play, habit, and certain ingrained temperamental factors.

It must be remembered that the presented situations which call forth such emotional impulses as self-abasement, or self-assertion, or the parental instinct with its tender emotion are very varied, and may be much modified in the course of the development of individual experience as life runs its course. It must be remembered also that the resulting behaviour is no less varied and no less subject to modification through acquired habit. But McDougall contends that the central emotionally-toned impulse remains relatively unchanged amid changing circumstances and varied response. All the principal instincts of man, he says, are liable to modifications of their afferent and motor parts, while their central parts remain unchanged and determine the emotional tone and the visceral changes characteristic of the excitement of the instinct. No doubt this must be taken in a relative sense; but even on these terms it is open to question whether there are not as many different shades and varieties of, say, tender emotion as there are situations which call it into being, and modes of behaviour which further qualify its experiential nature. We must, however, attempt to classify modes of instinctive experience which are bewildering in their rich variety and multiplicity, and of which perhaps no two are in all respects quite alike. McDougall's treatment is a helpful step towards such a classification of experiences which are differentiated, with much residual overlap, and what H. Bergson terms 'interpenetration,' through the presentation of diverse situations and by means of that instinctive behaviour in their midst which is a legacy of ages of evolutionary preparation.

We have thus a list of seven or more elementary 'propensities' or impulses which may be predicated of man in virtue of his innate and hereditary constitution. Each concrete case of predication is, of course, conditional upon the presentation of a situation of somewhat varied nature, and upon the performance of sundry appropriate activities linked therewith. But, as experience develops and becomes more complex, the life of emotion and conduct becomes richer, more subtly differentiated, and more harmoniously integrated. Still, according to McDougall, whom we are taking as our accredited guide, no new elementary factors are introduced. The higher and richer emotions are compounds of the primary emotions subtly combined or blended. We may take as examples admiration, awe, and reverence, since these are salient features in the religious attitude. With regard to admiration, McDougall says, there seem to be two primary emotions essentially involved in the state provoked by the contemplation of the admired object, namely, wonder and negative self-feeling or the emotion of submission. Thus admiration is a binary compound. But awe is a tertiary compound, since an element of fear is also present. Awe is, indeed, of many shades, ranging from that in which admiration is but slightly tinged with fear to that in which fear is only slightly tinged with admiration. But, unless fear is in some measure incorporated with wonder and submission, the emotion which we name awe is not fully constituted. And, when to awe, as a tertiary compound, gratitude is also added, we experience the highly compound emotion of reverence. Now, gratitude itself is a binary compound of tender emotion and submission or negative self-feeling. Submission is thus doubly emphasized, for it is a constituent both of admiration and of gratitude. Thus we have a highly complex and predominantly submissive emotional state, but still one which is compounded of elementary instinctive and emotional constituents. Now,

> 'reverence is the religious emotion *par excellence*; few merely human powers are capable of exciting reverence, the blend of wonder, fear, gratitude, and negative self-feeling. Those human beings who inspire reverence, or who are by custom and convention considered to be entitled to inspire it, usually owe their reverend character to their being regarded as the ministers and dispensers of Divine power. . . . The history of religion seems to show us the gradual genesis of this highly complex emotion. Primitive religion seems to have kept separate the superhuman objects of its component emotions, the terrible or awe-inspiring powers on the one hand, the kindly beneficent powers that inspired gratitude on the other, and it was not until religious doctrine had undergone a long evolution that, by a process of syncretism or fusion, it achieved the conception of a Deity whose attributes were capable of evolving all the elements of the complex emotions of reverence' (*ib.* pp. 132, 135).

McDougall has an interesting suggestion with regard to the difference in attitude which characterizes religion on the one hand and magic on the other. He suggests that the fundamental distinction between religious and magical practices is not, as is sometimes said, that religion conceives the powers it envisages as personal powers, while magic conceives them as impersonal, but rather that the religious attitude is always that of submission, the magical attitude that of self-assertion, and that the forces which both magical and religious practices are concerned to influence may be conceived in either case as personal or impersonal powers. Hence the savage, who at one time bows down before his fetish in supplication, and at another seeks to compel its assistance by threats or spells, adopts towards the one object alternately the religious and the magical attitude. In this connexion we may ask whether William James's attitude in presence of the personified earthquake, as an attitude of submission, was religious in its nature.

The point of view which McDougall has developed in his discussion of reverence in its relation to religion is interesting and suggestive. But questions of no little difficulty arise. Granted that reverence may be regarded as such a compound of elementary factors as McDougall has indicated, how far may we regard the process of compounding as an innate propensity, and thus look upon reverence in its developed form as instinctive in the broader acceptation of the term—an acceptation somewhat broader than that which he advocates? Is the process of blending as instinctive as the elementary factors which are blended? And, if so, instinctive in what sense? Is it instinctive in its unreasoned and involuntary spontaneity? Is it instinctive as wholly unlearnt? Can we say that it is entirely congenital and nowise acquired? And, if in some measure acquired, are we to regard the acquisition as a relatively negligible modification of an attitude that is fundamentally innate? The answers to these questions in some degree turn upon the previous answer to that most vexed of vexed questions with regard to the inheritance of that which is acquired in the course of individual life. But apart from this question, which cannot here be discussed, it is exceedingly difficult to determine how far attitudes which are seemingly racial in character are due to inborn proclivities or tendencies, and how far these attitudes are due to the influence of the environment on each succeeding generation and to the traditional outlook imparted through early education. W. C. D. and C. D. Whetham, in *Science and the Human Mind* (London, 1912, p. 25 f.), have drawn attention to the fact that, whereas

> 'in Chaldæa and, more markedly, in Assyria, the gods were usually conceived as hostile to man, pursuing him in life and death with implacable hatred; in Egypt, as in Greece, the

> divine powers were represented in mythology as friendly, ready to watch over, to protect, and to guide mankind in life, in death, and in the after-world. It would be interesting to enquire what share the external conditions of their lives have in shaping their attitude towards the forces of nature and the mythology by which they endeavour to interpret the phenomena of the world and of consciousness. In Egypt, the Nile, with its regular and unfailing rise and fall, was the source of all fertility—steady, trustworthy, and friendly. In Chaldæa, the tempestuous and incalculable flooding of the Euphrates and the Tigris made life on their banks dangerous and uncertain. Nature was hostile, ready to sweep away man and his puny works in one unforeseen ruin. . . . In the one case, any attempt to understand or to control the elemental forces becomes an impious and useless action. Deceit and trickery by magic and sorcery, or, at the best, propitiation of the hostile powers by sacrificial bribes, represent the logical outcome of this view of nature. . . . But in the other case, where the deities are friendly, any increase of man's mastery over his surroundings is approved by the tutelary powers, and is probably directed by them, since it is their good pleasure to help him on his way. One or other of these alternative attitudes of mind predominates in every religious system, according to the race and circumstances of those who hold to it.'

Here we have different attitudes as the result of differences of environment. We speak of the net result as illustrating racial characteristics. But it is hard to say how far the 'instinctive' attitude assumed is congenital and innate, and how far it has been handed on by tradition in the social *milieu* of the race.

Although McDougall deals with admiration, awe, and reverence under the heading of 'complex emotions that do not necessarily imply the existence of sentiments,' his treatment of their connexion with religion leads us to infer that, at the stage of mental development when religious conceptions are in being, they are incorporated in that higher ideational synthesis in which the sentiments play so conspicuous a part. By sentiment we are to understand, following A. F. Shand ('Character and the Emotions,' in *Mind*, new ser., v. [1896]), an organized system of emotional tendencies centred around the idea of an object. The object here is not merely a presentation to perceptual experience evoking such naive behaviour, adapted to the immediate situation, as is found in animal life. It is a centre, not only of a system of emotional dispositions, but of a system of knowledge in some degree organized, and of a system of conduct which is significantly related to the idea of the object or class of objects. It is always in some measure a centre of thought, of emotional tendency, and of conscious endeavour. Otherwise it does not attain to the level of sentiment, which is always in alliance with concepts and with conduct. On these terms the sentiment cannot be wholly instinctive in the sense that it is on the same plane as the innate ideas of early writers. As McDougall says,

> 'the organization of the sentiments in the developing mind is determined by the course of experience; that is to say, the sentiment is a growth in the structure of the mind that is not natively given in the inherited constitution' (p. 159).

None the less, it may be founded on an inherited basis.

If, then, the question be raised whether the moral sentiments (centred around the ideas of self and of alter) and the religious sentiments (centred around the idea of a super-alter as source and cause of mundane happenings) are instinctive, our answer must again depend on the connotation to be attached to this perplexingly elusive term. That in the course of life they may become instinctive, in the sense that they rise unbidden and spontaneously within the mind without explicit rational backing, when the circumstances are of the appropriate kind, can scarcely be questioned. That they are instinctive, in the sense that they are the outcome of a hereditary bias or proclivity in the native constitution of man, is more open to question, and is as roundly asserted by some people as it is flatly denied by others.

The fact is that, when once we accept the broad and general usage of popular speech, anything like a precise and clear definition of instinct becomes very difficult, if not impossible. And perhaps some measure of vagueness and elasticity is commonly regarded as only right and fitting where strict accuracy of scientific interpretation is at present unattainable. If the instinctive in man is to be taken as synonymous with 'of or belonging to his constitution as human,' do we mean the constitution of the infant at birth, or the constitution of the adult after a prolonged period of education and development? Or do we mean neither of these, but rather some indwelling principle of synthesis—or, if it be preferred, a synthetic tendency the existence of which is inferred from certain observed facts—in virtue of which man is at birth and throughout life what he is or may become? By this nothing more mysterious is implied than that which is commonly accepted as the ground of embryological development in the organism, or even, in inorganic nature, as the ground of crystalline synthesis or of the formation of complex chemical compounds. The acceptance of a specific constitutional factor is only carrying up into the realm of mind what is by many regarded as scientifically legitimate in the interpretation of other natural phenomena. Assume, *e.g.*, that tender emotion (to select one item from McDougall's list) is what, to borrow a term from Mendelian interpretation, may be regarded as a 'unit character.' Even thus regarded, it is a synthesis of no little complexity. Its components are more elementary factors which are additive in the emotional state; and they are probably more than additive in that in their combination they possess a constitutive quality which gives to the algebraical sum of the factors what we may perhaps term its peculiar and specific emotional *timbre*. Just as a note played on the violin gives a complex periodic wave affording to our consciousness a simultaneous combination of the fundamental tone and an orderly series of fainter overtones, and yet there is something about the timbre of the note which is not merely additive but constitutive of that peculiar auditory experience, so in tender emotion there is a constitutive supplement to the additive factors—a supplement which gives to these factors in combination the characteristic property of the unit character as a synthetic whole. To pursue the analogy a stage further, just as a musical chord is not only the additive sum of the constituent tones and overtones simultaneously presented to hearing, but has its constitutive property *as a chord*, so, too, the blend of wonder, negative self-feeling, and fear, as generators of the complex emotion of awe, affords in consciousness what we may term an emotional chord, the specific nature of which is not exhausted by giving a list of its factors. When the emotional chord has its definite place in life's symphony, and derives further and richer significance from its context, it is raised to the level of a sentiment, and, in relation to the context, has a higher constitutive value.

Not all psychologists would concur in such statements as these. But many are prepared to accept what W. Wundt (*An Introduction to Psychology*, Eng. tr., London, 1912, p. 164) has termed the principle of creative resultants—creative in the sense that the resultant compounds have new properties. This principle, he says, attempts to state the fact that

> 'in all psychical combinations the product is not the mere sum of the separate elements that compose such combinations, but that it represents a new creation' (p. 164).

This is extended to the whole realm of life in Bergson's doctrine of creative evolution, which many biologists can accept without subscribing to his radical vitalism. Even in the inorganic world the same principle holds. W. Nernst teaches (quoted in *The New Realism*, New York, 1912, p. 238) that, while a large number of physical properties are clearly additive, there are other properties which are not merely additive. Such non-additive properties, he says, are termed constitutive.

Granted, then, that in the course of mental development new constitutive properties of, let us say, the moral and religious emotions and sentiments are characteristic evolutionary features that supervene at critical periods of synthesis, our immediate question is whether they should be regarded as instinctive in that broader sense of the term which is here provisionally accepted. They appear to be distinctive of man in virtue of his inherent constitution as human; they appear to be in large measure beyond volitional control; from the ethical point of view they appear to be the outcome of character (which is the constitutive factor) rather than the sum of the conditions which, of course, must supply the requisite additive data; and on such grounds they may well be claimed to be instinctive in the widest sense of the term. On such grounds, therefore, it can scarcely be denied that the moral and religious sentiments, so widely prevalent in mankind, though they assume varied forms under varied circumstances, have an instinctive basis in the human constitution.

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C. LLOYD MORGAN.

INSTITUTIONS (Indian).[1]—A native of India, as observed by R. C. Bose in his attractive little work, *The Hindoos as they are*, is a religious character. 'He is born religiously, lives religiously, eats religiously, walks religiously, writes religiously, sleeps religiously, and dies religiously.' All the more important ancient institutions of the Aryan Indians may be said to have a religious tinge. Even the *rules of Government*, as framed by the Brāhmans, are essentially theocratical. It is true that they could never have been fully enforced, but, whenever Brāhmanism was in the ascendant in a Hindu State, the orthodox union of Church and State was carried into practice as much as was found practicable. Thus one of the eight ministers appointed by the great Śivaji, the founder of Mahratta power, was entrusted with the exercise of all the sovereign's ecclesiastical powers, and was to order punishment to be inflicted after investigating into what is and what is not in accordance with the religious law (A.D. 1674). The main inspiring principle of the whole movement initiated by Śivaji, and carried on by his successors, was the preservation of the Hindu religion against foreign aggression.[2] The administration of justice, which was considered one of the principal duties of a king, is similarly characterized, the test by ordeal being a regular feature of judicial proceedings (see LAW).

Caste, whatever its origin, is another important institution of an essentially religious or hierarchical nature. As observed in the Report on the Census of 1901 (p. 360), the most obvious characteristic of the ordinary Hindu is his acceptance of the Brāhmanical supremacy and of the caste system. Although the political power of the Brāhman caste is gone, their influence with Hindu society continues to show itself in what has been called the Brāhmanization of non-Hinduized castes—the endeavour to rise in the social scale by adopting the characteristic social customs of the Brāhmans, such as infant marriage and the prohibition of widow remarriage.

Passing to religious institutions in the proper sense of the term, we may perhaps mention the following as specially characteristic. *Purity*, both external and internal, is a great object with Hindus of every sect and persuasion, and manifold are the rules regarding the avoidance of pollution or defilement, and the removal of its consequences where it has been contracted (see PURIFICATION, FOOD). There is not only a fully developed system of penances (see EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT), but an endless round of devotional acts tending to the expiation of guilt and to the acquisition of spiritual merit. The *saṁskāras* or sacraments, to be performed during pregnancy (*puṁsavana*, *sīmantonnayana*), at childbirth (*jātakarma*), when the child receives a name (*nāmakaraṇa*), when it first gets rice to eat (*annaprāśana*), on the first hair-clipping (*chūḍā*), when the boy is girt with the sacred thread (*upanayana*), on marriage (*vivāha*), after death, etc., are still kept as of old, and form a regular source of income for the Brāhmans officiating at these ceremonies. Thus among the Patane Prabhus of Poona, a highly respectable caste, a birth was said to cost £20 to £40, a thread-girding £20 to £50, the marriage of a son £150 to £400, of a daughter £100 to £500, a girl's coming of age £10 to £20, a pregnancy £10 to £15, the death of an adult £20 to £30, of a child 10s. to £5 (*BG* xviii. 194). Marriage is a particularly expensive and solemn celebration, at which many of the old rites described in Sanskrit literature are still observed, together with many new ones. The special importance and sanctity attributed to the institution of marriage in the Hindu religion become conspicuous equally in the before-mentioned customs of infant marriage and of prohibition of widow remarriage. By betrothing their children at an early age, parents could best provide for their not remaining unmarried, a spinster, especially of the Brāhman caste, being considered a disgrace to her family. This early betrothal was in reality the decisive act, though married life could not begin till some years later; and thus arose the peculiarly Indian institution of virgin widows, remarriage of a woman, like divorce, being unknown to the Brāhmanical law of India (see CHILD-MARRIAGE). The former practice of *satī*, or self-immolation of widows, has been abolished by the British Government. The two ceremonies of tonsure (*q.v.*) and of thread-girding (see INITIATION) are considered important events in the life of a Hindu boy. The ordinary mode of disposing of the dead is by cremation (see DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD). Every death is followed by a certain period of impurity, and by the offering, at regular intervals, of sacrificial oblations called *śrāddha* to the manes. Adopting a boy, though not a sacrament, is a religious act of considerable importance for Indian family life (see ADOPTION). According to the religious duties prevailing in each successive stage of life, there are four *āśramas*, or orders, in the life of a Brāhman, of pupil (*brahmachārin*), married householder (*gṛhastha*), hermit (*vānaprastha*), and ascetic (*yati*, *bhikṣu*). Of these, however, the order of hermits has died out, and the pupil and ascetic are chiefly represented by the *chelas* and *gurus* of the monastic orders of the present day, so that the householder is the ordinary type of the modern Brāhman (see ĀŚRAMA).

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[1] The institutions of other countries are sufficiently described, each under its own title.

[2] See K. T. Telang, 'Gleanings from Marâthâ Chronicles,' in *Trans. of the 9th Cong. of Orientalists*, London, 1892, i. 252 ff.

Monastic life is common enough in India, and many convents (*matha*) possess considerable endowments, for the devolution of which, after the death of their heads, there are special rules of succession (see INHERITANCE). *Idol-worship* exists both in private houses and in public temples. *Bathing*, particularly in a sacred river, is considered highly efficacious, and belongs to the class of daily duties. There are brotherhoods of priests, such as the *Gaṅgāputras*, waiting on the bathers. *Sacrificing* was considered one of the principal duties of a Brāhman, from the discharge of which a considerable part of his income was derived. The horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha* [*q.v.*]) is an instance of a sacrifice on a large scale which not only is described in Sanskrit literature, but of which there are several historical instances as well, such as the horse-sacrifice of king Puṣyamitra (2nd cent. B.C.), and of king Samudragupta (4th cent. A.D.). The practice of animal sacrifice is nowadays confined to certain religious sects, but other oblations to the gods, to deified ancestors, etc., are very common. Thus the tutelary deity of a respectable Hindu household is worshipped every morning and evening by the hereditary *purohit*, or priest, of the family, who is allowed to carry home, after the close of the service, the offerings of rice, fruits, sweetmeats, and milk made to the god. Endowments for a family idol are very usual, especially in Bengal. *Public charities* are also recommended a great deal, and supposed to confer the highest bliss in a future state on those who offer them. They include the foundation and repair of temples and sanctuaries, together with endowments for the maintenance of the priesthood and of the idol; the establishment of an image in a temple; the digging of pools and tanks, especially near a public road, to supply the thirsty with water; the planting of trees, particularly of sacred trees; the building of lodging-houses or sheds for travellers; the building of flights of steps to descend into a tank or sacred river. Thus king Aśoka in his inscriptions (3rd cent. B.C.) boasts of having planted banyan-trees on the high-roads to give shade to man and beast, of having planted mango-groves, of having ordered wells to be dug and rest-houses to be built, and numerous watering-places to be prepared here and there for the enjoyment of man and beast. Arrangements for the healing of man and beast were provided by the same king. Benevolent institutions and religious establishments were also founded by king Harṣa throughout his empire (7th cent. A.D.).

Hospitality (*q.v.*) is enjoined as a religious duty, being one of the five great devotional acts (*mahāyajña*) according to the Code of Manu (iii. 69), who declares that a Brāhman sojourning in a house without being honoured takes to himself all the merit of the householder's good deeds (*ib.* 100). Making gifts to Brāhmans, and honouring and serving them, are also considered highly meritorious (see GIFTS). Austerities (*tapas*) of every kind, and mortification of the body, are believed to lead not only to heavenly bliss, but to the acquisition of miraculous power in this life, the great deity Śiva himself being represented as practising severe asceticism in a forest. The wonderful performances of Indian ascetics in the way of self-torment are sufficiently well known. *Fasting* is an important element in many of these self-imposed austerities and penances, and seems to have been carried to a surprising extent. It also enters very largely into the composition of the so-called *vratas*, or devotional acts, tending to the gratification of some special desire (see FESTIVALS AND FASTS, VOWS).

Visiting sacred places of *pilgrimage* (*tīrtha*) is supposed to have the effect of wiping off the guilt of even a heavy sin. An ancient Sanskrit text, the *Viṣṇusūtra* (ch. lxxxv.), names no fewer than 53 different places of pilgrimage, including Pushkar, Bodh Gayā, Prayāga (Allahābād), the banks of the Ganges, and of other sacred rivers, etc. Great feasts and pompous religious displays, such as the *Durgā Pūjā* in Bengal and the Car Festival at Purī, still tend as of old to excite the religious fervour of worshippers. In the devotional practices and daily worship of the Brāhmans, texts from the Veda, such as their sacred prayer called *gāyatrī*, occupy a conspicuous place. According to the *smṛti*, Brāhmans had to devote a large number of years to the study of the Vedas, and there were lifelong students (*naiṣṭhikabrahmachārin*) leading an unmarried life in the family of their teacher. Religious education was also to a great extent in the hands of the monks, some of whose educational institutions, such as the great convent of Nālanda (2nd cent. A.D.), were frequented by thousands of pupils. Though Sanskrit learning has gone down very much at the present day, the monastic establishments of the different religious sects continue to be centres of religious instruction. Public recitations from the *Purāṇas* and other sacred books also continue to be in vogue, and the mere repetition of the name of one's guardian deity is considered a meritorious practice.

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J. JOLLY.

INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH.—The 'Institutional Church' is a clumsy title used to describe a modern development of Church life necessitated by new social conditions. It is not clear how the term originated, but it was first heard in America about a quarter of a century ago. Before that time many attempts had been made sporadically to minister through the Churches to the social needs of the community; and social settlements had arisen which were in some instances definitely linked to certain Churches, and in all cases a product of the Christian social spirit. These 'settlements' consisted, at first, of groups of men or women, associated for the study of social conditions, and living the community life. As they developed, however, more elaborate buildings were erected, in which provision was made for educational work and social engagements, so making the settlement central to the life of the community alike for instruction, inspiration, and recreation. In a sense the settlement aimed at the recovery of an old ideal, for time was when the Church stood for education, for the relief of poverty, and generally for the practical care of the community. But many settlements not only had no direct connexion with any Church, but were anxious to emphasize the fact lest any suspicion of proselytizing should attach to their work. On the other hand, those who valued the Church idea and who were anxious to strengthen the position of the Church within the life of the community, looked at the modern problem from this point of view. They saw that there was no institution through which the settlement workers brought their influence to bear upon their neighbours which might not with equal advantage be used by the Christian Church.

It goes without saying that this conviction was confirmed by the new sense which was being developed among the members of all Churches as to their duty to the young. The English Sunday Schools have seldom succeeded in retaining their older scholars. Even in schools where large Bible Classes exist, the need for some week-day provision for keeping in touch with these young men and women was increasingly felt. The statistics were alarming as to the small number of young people who went forward in membership from the school to the Church. R. W. Dale, on a memorable occasion, pressed home the question, 'How have we lost them?' Certain religious associations sprang into existence to meet this felt need. The Christian Endeavour Societies (see art. CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOUR) were probably the most successful in making appeal to the religious nature of the young. But the Church was even then hardly prepared to recognize that the physical and intellectual needs are equally urgent, and that it may form part of her duty to make provision for these. In some communions this ideal was advocated; and what were known as 'Guilds' were formed upon the explicit basis of the organic unity of our nature, and that just because we are human beings we must be treated as such. Hence the Guild had its athletic and social programme as well as its intellectual and religious one. The Guild movement had a partial success. Where the home-life is normal and strong, it is evident that the need for many of the activities of such societies is less insistent. But modern Britain and modern America have tended increasingly to produce overcrowded areas, where little or nothing deserving the name of home-life exists, and where all social and recreative satisfactions must be sought for elsewhere. Earnest people in all Churches began to see that the problem before them was to adapt the Church's institutions to the needs of areas such as these.

One other movement had brought home this problem to the conscience of Christian people. This was what was known as the 'P.S.A.' movement, by means of which large congregations of men and women were brought together on Sunday afternoons for purposes which, it would be fair to say, were at once religious and social. These people were not exclusively young people. They were workmen and their wives, for the most part; and very many belonged to the poorest classes in the community. They enjoyed and profited by the Sunday afternoon meeting, with its freedom from conventionality; and they soon formed themselves into societies with branches designed to promote thrift, to encourage reading, and to secure effective house-to-house visitation. But, in the majority of cases, the Churches had no hospitality to offer them apart from the Sunday meeting. It was borne in upon the minds of those who were especially concerned that the Church should prosper in the industrial districts that something must be designed more satisfactory than the orthodox place of worship, with rigid pews, which is usually closed from Sunday night to Sunday morning. The Institutional Church was an inevitable product of the new-born ambition of the Church of Christ to minister to our modern social needs.

The Institutional Church, therefore, was a practical experiment along the lines indicated. It aimed at bridging the gulf between the Sunday School and the Church; it aimed at ministering to the development of a man's all-round nature; it aimed at making such provision as is necessary under social conditions which make true home-life impossible. In many instances old places of worship were modernized into halls, with seats instead of pews, platforms instead of pulpits, and equally serviceable for public worship, lectures, concerts, and other meetings. This becomes the central meeting-place of the Church, where its members receive their vows of dedication to the social service to which Christ calls His people. There, too, the obligations of the Christian life are pressed upon those who have not as yet accepted them. There the Gospel of Brotherhood, with its innumerable applications, is preached to gatherings of men and women. Then, round about the central building are smaller halls and rooms of various kinds, some of them for conferences and discussions, some of them for music or art, some of them for recreation and games, some of them for reading and writing, and some for social conversation. Clubs are formed for working lads or girls; and gymnastics, singing, elocution, cooking, wood-carving, dressmaking, signalling, and many other wholesome activities are organized. The settlement idea is conserved by means of sisterhoods, whose members conduct such classes, and do much of the visitation and administration of relief inseparable from a many-sided work like this; and who commonly live together either in rooms on the Church premises or in a house in the immediate neighbourhood. Lectures, scientific, literary, historical, and economic, bring the public together on the basis of some general interest. By all these means an attempt is made, and realized, to strengthen the social bond, and demonstrate that everything that makes for human happiness and efficiency is part of the mission of religion.

It will be seen from this that the Institutional Church is best able to carry out what is known as the policy of 'counter-attractions.' W. S. Rainsford, formerly rector of St. George's, New York, has described (*Preacher's Story of his Work*, New York, 1904) how this policy was gradually forced upon him by the necessities of the situation. The evil associations of the saloon compelled him to provide a social centre with wholesome food and drink; the undesirable dancing saloons drove him to permit dancing in his church hall; the doubtful dramatic exhibitions of all kinds led him to organize a dramatic society for the production of good, wholesome plays. Probably few, if any, of the similar experiments in England have been on so comprehensive a scale as Rainsford's; but the need to provide counter-attractions to the public-houses, and to supply refreshments, good and lively music, billiards and other games, and abundant social opportunities, apart from the unwholesome atmosphere of licensed premises, is just as great in England as in New York. Instances might be quoted in which social enterprises of an even more ambitious character have been successfully carried out, such as labour-yards, night-shelters, and even hospitals and orphanages; but there is an increasing disposition not to burden the Church with work which the State should properly undertake. Nevertheless, the Church has led the way in many new forms of work among the young. The *crèche*, or day nursery, where infants are well nursed and fed while their mothers are away at work, and the 'play-centre,' where, outside school hours, children who have no playground but the street are taught organized games, form part of the operations of nearly all Institutional Churches.

The ideal aimed at is of a Mother Church which thus offers hospitality to all men, women, and children, and applies herself to discover and to satisfy their needs. The centre of the whole organization is the society of avowed disciples of Christ, who are inspired by His example and teaching, and who, in His spirit, are dedicated to the ends of His kingdom. The members of the Institutional Church would always feel that they had failed in their mission to any one who had come within their influence, and joined one or other of their

institutions, unless they had converted him into a Christian citizen, and inspired a disinterested zeal for human betterment. This can be brought about only, as they would confess, by contact with a living Church. Thus the Institutional Church is not under any temptation to magnify its institutions and depreciate the Church. On the other hand, the necessity for keeping the institutions Christian leads to the emphasis of the Church and its ordinances. By common consent the highest success of the Institutional Church has been realized where the worship and teaching of the Church have been effectually central to all the manifold operations of the institutional work.

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C. SILVESTER HORNE.

INSURANCE.—1. Origin and development of insurance.—The principle of the averaging and distributing of risks is one which, no doubt, existed from the time when commerce began to emerge from the more primitive needs of a pastoral community. Among Western nations there was a scheme for the insurance of slaves at Athens which is attributed to Antigenes of Rhodes (356–323 B.C.), and loans on 'bottomry' (that is, an advance on the hull or 'bottom' of a ship, which was repayable, with interest, on the return of the vessel, but was not repayable in case of a total loss) were well known among the Greeks. Such loans, under the title of the *fœnus nauticum*, were so common at Rome that legislation was devised to prevent fraud; thus at this early stage the problem of an 'insurable interest' had arisen. In the Greek Empire the rate of interest upon loans on bottomry was regulated by an edict of Justinian in A.D. 533. The incursions of barbarians disorganized the mechanism of commercial life, and it is not till the 13th or early in the 14th cent. that allusions to bottomry begin to reappear. These occur at Florence, Pisa, Bruges, and Barcelona. In the Laws of Wisby and the *Recessus Hansæ*—both being codes of the Hanseatic League—bottomry is mentioned, and the system was introduced into England, either by this body or perhaps earlier, through the shipments of wool to the Mediterranean by Italian merchants. Hence, when an Act was passed in 1601 'concerninge matters of Assurances amongste merchantes,' this practice was described as having been 'an usage tyme out of mynde.'

Meanwhile transactions of the nature of insurance had grown up independently among the gilds, which took quite a different direction (see FRIENDLY SOCIETIES, GILDS). Among the Anglo-Saxon gilds it was the custom to give to the members, in addition to opportunities for social intercourse, certain benefits which were provided from the contributions of the gildsmen, as, for instance, blood-compensation (*wer-geld*), where a gildsman slew another without wantonness, also what might be described as funeral benefit, namely the furnishing of a funeral, mourners, and masses by the agency of the gild. Again, in the gild at Exeter, in the event of the house of a member being destroyed by fire, a contribution was levied from each member. This practice constituted a rude approximation to the principle of fire insurance on a mutual basis, except that the amount of the contribution was limited (B. Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*, London, 1865). In the Anglo-Norman gilds the range of benefits was extended—while that for funerals remains most prominent, cases occur in which gilds made provision for the loan or the replacement of stock and the providing for the children of a deceased gildsman, by apprenticing the sons to trades and offering dowries for the daughters.

A species of insurance which related to persons and not to goods, and was no doubt one of the first of this type, was that for a ransom. There are traces of this in the statutes of gilds, and, in the 17th cent., this risk was undertaken by individual underwriters. Under this type of insurance, if the traveller was captured by pirates or an enemy, the assurer was bound to provide the necessary ransom.

The decay of the gild system after the Reformation left many blanks in the national life, and prominent among these was the absence of the compensation against some of the great risks of life which it provided. It is true that marine insurance was unaffected, and this system was gradually extended. Before the end of the 16th cent. the loan on bottomry had been supplemented by a type of policy which provided compensation on the loss of a ship in proportion to the premium paid (*Guidon de la Mer*, Rouen, 1607); and at the end of the reign of Elizabeth there was an 'Office of Assurances' or 'Chamber of Assurance' in London, where the whole risk on a ship was subdivided among a number of underwriters. During the first half of the 17th cent. there were few new ideas relating to insurance, though marine underwriting was increasing in popularity, and the grading of risks came to be better understood.

The period bounded on the one side by the Great Fire and on the other by the feverish promotion of companies in 1720 was one in which insurance made great strides, both in the insuring against new risks, or to provide new benefits, and in the prosecution of existing types of assurance by new methods. In the reign of Charles II. marine insurance was well understood, and, with the growth of coffee houses, those interested in shipping began to use certain of those resorts as meeting-places and offices. By 1688, Lloyd's Coffee House had been started, and *Lloyd's News*—a newspaper dealing with the movements of ships—was founded in 1696. Then, between 1717 and 1719, two companies were established, both of which received incorporation in 1720 as the Royal Exchange Assurance and the London Assurance. These bodies, at their foundation, were endued with a monopoly against any other companies, but not against individuals. Thus from 1720 marine insurance has been effected, partly by individual underwriters, partly by joint-stock companies. The Great Fire naturally turned attention to fire insurance. In Germany, mutual fire insurance societies had been founded at least as early as the 16th cent., and Sir William Petty mentioned associations of this type as being worthy of imitation in England. After the disaster of the Great Fire three or perhaps four distinct kinds of fire insurance were attempted. The Corporation of London opened an office in 1679 or 1680, that is, insurance by a municipality. Then there was a mutual society, known as the Friendly Society, which had issued proposals in 1683. The remaining methods were practised by an individual underwriting fire risks, or by several individuals in partnership. Nicholas Barbon had opened an office in 1667 which was transformed into a joint-stock company in 1680. Of these four types of fire insurance only two survived. Insurance by individuals never became prominent as regards fire risks, and municipal insurance was soon abandoned. There remained the mutual fire insurance societies and the joint-stock companies, both of which continued side by side in competition. The Hand in Hand Society was a mutual one. It was founded in 1696, and was absorbed by the Commercial Union

Assurance Company in 1905. On the other hand, the Sun Fire Office, which was founded by Charles Povey between 1706 and 1708, was a joint-stock company. In the first twenty years of the 18th cent. many fire offices were established in London, and some in the provinces.

Besides the provision made against losses by shipwreck or by fire, other risks to property were gradually insured against. Thus by 1684 goods sent by waggon or cart could be insured against thieves (*Merchant's Dayly Companion*, London, 1684). By 1720 schemes had been projected for insurances against losses by highwaymen, by the dishonesty of servants, for the payment of seamen's wages, and for making good losses sustained by owners of horses through disease, disablement, or theft. Thus schemes had been propounded resembling burglary, fidelity, guarantee, and live stock insurance, though, owing to the excessive number of promotions, long periods elapsed before all of these were established.

Meanwhile, the provision for life contingencies lagged behind marine and fire insurances. In the middle of the 17th cent. a species of life insurance could be effected whereby any one who borrowed money to purchase a place or office could arrange by means of payments from the income that, in the event of his death, the part of the loan outstanding would be repaid to the lender. It is after the Revolution that something of the nature of life insurance can first be traced. One of the methods by which the Government raised funds for the carrying on of the war against France was by the guaranteeing of annuities in return for loans. In 1698 the Mercers' Company also began to issue annuities. These schemes were very imperfect, owing to the want of anything approaching mortality tables. Even the population of the country was unknown. It is true that the labours of Petty and Halley were providing a basis for future statistical investigations, more particularly in relation to the Bills of Mortality; but, as yet, these inquiries were in such a tentative condition that they did not admit of practical application. Accordingly, insurance relating to life contingencies was developed in a different direction from modern life insurance, being concerned chiefly with such risks or eventualities as terminated at a comparatively early date as compared with that of the payment of the premium. Before the Revolution a scheme was considered for the State Endowment Insurance of children on their attaining the age of 20 years (Add. MS. 28,078, f. 462). Early in the 18th cent. there were many offices which transacted professedly provident business of this character. These were all dividend societies —that is, the premiums collected in a quarter or in a year, as the case might be, were divided among those claimants who, in the same period, ranked for the specified benefits. Thus, in a marriage society, all insured persons who had been married since the last division participated *pro rata* in the distribution. Similarly in other societies the parents of all children born in wedlock, who had paid premiums regularly, ranked for the benefit. Then again, in the same way, a sum could be secured to enable a young man to start in business for himself when his apprenticeship was finished. These were known as marriage, christening, and apprenticeship insurances respectively. In 1709 and 1710 there was quite a rage for participation in these schemes; since the amount of benefit varied greatly, the idea appealed to the gambling spirit of the times. There were many scandals, and insurance of this type was prohibited by legislation in 1710. It was out of these crude schemes that the earliest general life insurance emerged. It was based on the dividend principle. Just as in marriage insurance, the premiums were divided periodically among those who were entitled to claim. There was no distinction at first as to the age or sex of the life insured. One of the earliest life offices was the Society of the Assurance of Widows (1699), which was followed by the Amicable Society in 1706. The latter existed independently till 1866, when it was absorbed by the Norwich Union Life Insurance Society.

During the remainder of the 18th cent. the chief progress in marine and fire insurance was in the extension of the system. As the various offices acquired reputation, the number of persons insured increased. In life insurance, on the other hand, great progress was made. The researches of de Moivre, Kersseboom, Hodgson, Corbyn Morris, Simpson, and Price gradually provided materials for the construction of tables of the expectation of life, and these were used by the Equitable Society (which was founded in 1762) in the establishing of graduated premiums. In 1825 insurance began to attract the attention of the company promoter, and a great number of new offices were started, the majority of which were soon forced to discontinue business. The remainder of the century is marked by a more exact classification of risks, by the variation of the forms of policies, by the issue of policies against risks which were not previously insured, and, finally, by a great increase in the total sums insured.

In the early forms of insurance the benefits were confined to persons who were comparatively well-to-do. The working-class population was altogether outside most of the schemes which had been started. The amount and the times of payment of premiums were unsuitable to the wage-earner, nor were the benefits offered of the kind of which he stood most in need. As early as 1773 a bill was introduced into Parliament which was designed to extend some of the advantages of insurance to the poor, but it failed to become law. The gradual development of Friendly Societies tended to provide some of the benefits of which the wage-earning classes stood in need (see FRIENDLY SOCIETIES). Though the first Friendly Societies Act was passed in 1793, it was some time before the operations of these societies became general. While many of these bodies have proved insolvent, others have attained a high degree of financial stability, and the growth of the benefit side of Trade Unions has also aided in extending the benefits of insurance. The general method of the organization of a Friendly Society or of a Trade Union, in relation to the part of its activities resembling those of a Friendly Society, is by the collection of contributions from the members each week. Thus the payment of what is, in effect, a premium is arranged so as to accord with the budget of the contributors. The chief benefits provided for the members are sickness, medical, out-of-work, and funeral benefits.

The essence of a Friendly Society is that it must be a voluntary organization, though it may be assisted and controlled by the State. Naturally the membership of such bodies will consist of those workers who are most thrifty. Thus, even in a city or district where there are Friendly Societies, very many of the working classes remain uninsured; and to meet this situation State insurance has been devised. Unlike all the other kinds of insurance already described, it is not permissive but compulsory. In Germany and France the idea of insurance by the Government may be traced back to the beginning of the 19th cent., since it arises out of the conceptions of Fichte, Lassalle, and Sismondi. As early as 1854 Prussian miners were compelled to belong to one of the

Knappschaftskassen, or associations for sick funds; and in 1883 the same rule was applied to other labourers. The next year accident insurance was established, while in 1889 old age and invalidity insurance were provided. The old age pensions in Germany are to be distinguished from those in Great Britain, since the former are contributory, the latter are non-contributory. State insurance applies compulsion not only to the worker but also to his employer. The usual method is to provide that the worker, his employer, and the State contribute.

State insurance on a large scale was established in the United Kingdom by the National Insurance Act, 1911 (1 and 2 George V. cap. 55). This scheme has two main divisions, the one relating to health, and the other to unemployment. Thus an attempt is made to provide for two of the great risks of wage-earners, namely, sickness and unemployment. As regards the first of these, it is intended that, while the payment of contributions is compulsory for all employed persons as defined by the Act whose ages are between 16 and 65, and whose remuneration does not exceed £160 a year, the administration is committed to Friendly Societies under the supervision of a Government department. What may be described as the normal rate of contribution in Great Britain is 7d. per week for men and 6d. for women. The man pays 4d. per week, and the woman 3d. per week; while, in each case, the employer adds 3d. per week. The State adds a sum which amounts to 2d. per week for both sexes. Where the total earnings in Great Britain are less than 2s. 6d. per day these rates are modified, and there is a reduced scale for Ireland. The benefits consist of medical benefit (including medicines and such medical and surgical appliances as are prescribed by the Insurance Commissioners), sanatorium benefit (being the treatment in sanatoria, in other institutions, or otherwise, of persons suffering from tuberculosis), sickness benefit, disablement benefit (comprising periodical payments to persons rendered incapable of work by disease or disablement after termination of sickness benefit), maternity benefit (being a payment of 30s. on the confinement of the wife of an insured person or of any other woman who is insured), additional benefits, which are dependent on the financial success of the Friendly Societies working the Act, and which may include additions to the amounts of the foregoing benefits, or further benefits, such as dental treatment, superannuation allowances, payments to insured persons who are out of work through infection, etc. Though the intention of the Act is that it should be administered by Friendly Societies or similar bodies, account has to be taken of those persons who, while compelled to pay contributions, are not members of a Friendly Society. These become deposit contributors. The sums paid by and for them are lodged at the Post Office, and they are entitled to benefits only till the end of the year in which the amount standing to their credit may be exhausted. Though this system is described as 'deposit insurance,' it is clear that the element of insurance is relatively small. The second part of the Act—that relating to unemployment—deals with those trades in which irregularity of work is common, *e.g.* building, construction of works, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, iron-founding, construction of vehicles, saw-milling. Contributions are provided by the workers in these trades, their employers, and the State. Subject to certain minor exceptions, the worker and the employer both pay 2½d. per week. The normal rate of unemployment benefit is 7s. per week; there are numerous rules to prevent malingering; and provision is made for a court of referees to which the insured person may apply in case his unemployment benefit is stopped by the insurance officer.

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2. Modern insurance.—i. RISKS OF PROPERTY.—(*a*) *Marine insurance.*—Allusion has already been made to the resort of underwriters of marine risks to Lloyd's Coffee House, and from this grew the body now known as 'Lloyd's.' While insurances on ships are effected both by the members of Lloyd's and by marine insurance companies, Lloyd's is the centre of this class of business, since the society is not only an association of underwriters, but, in addition, it has gradually undertaken important functions in connexion with the obtaining and the circulation of shipping intelligence. By means of its agents, it is in touch with all places from which ships can be reported, and thus materials arrive in London which determine the positions of ships, as well as any casualties they may sustain. Since 1834, *Lloyd's Register* has been published annually; it provides for an elaborate classification of ships according to their condition. Lloyd's is a voluntary society resembling in its constitution the Stock Exchange. The affairs of the body are managed by a committee, and each 'underwriting member' is entitled to accept risks subject to the rules of the committee. In addition to the shipowner who is insured and the underwriter who insures, there sometimes intervenes an insurance broker who acts as an intermediary between the two interests, both in the initiation of the insurance and in the settlement of any claim that may arise through it. Besides the members of Lloyd's and marine insurance companies, there is another type of this class of insurance, namely, where a shipping company, owning a large fleet of vessels, insures them itself by paying to a fund the premiums which would otherwise be handed over to an underwriter; or a company may itself insure a part of the value of its ships and place the remainder with an insurance company or with members of Lloyd's. The method by which marine insurance companies maintain their financial solvency is similar to that adopted by fire and life companies, but the way in which the individual underwriter meets his losses is not so clear. This is effected by a minute subdivision and diffusion of any 'line' he may underwrite; that is, the member of Lloyd's who insures a ship for a large sum will at once re-insure the greater part of his risk with other underwriters. In this way the stability of a Lloyd's policy is very great.

(*b*) *Fire insurance.*—Fire insurance has long been standardized. The chief offices have formed a tariff association, according to which they charge identical rates of premium for risks classed as the same. To some extent this body serves a similar purpose to that of *Lloyd's Register*, though, in the case of fire risks, the property is not capable of the same exact graduation as is possible with regard to shipping. Originally insurance began upon a basis of specialization—that is, the early offices were established in order to effect a particular class of insurance. It was not long before a tendency manifested itself to combine the underwriting of different classes of risks. Thus in 1720 the Royal Exchange Assurance added to its marine business that of fire insurance by the purchase of an undertaking which had been formed for the latter type of risk. While labour tends more and more to minute division, industry works on a larger and larger scale. In insurance the movement towards large scale operation finds expression in the combining of different classes of risks by the same office, either by amalgamation with other companies or by the adding of new branches to its business. Of recent years in both banking and insurance the grouping together of companies, which were previously independent, has been very marked, while the combination of other kinds of insurance with that against fire has become so common that among British offices there now remain very few which confine themselves to fire risks only. There are 138 companies which made returns under the Insurance Act of 1909 as being engaged in fire insurance. The business of some of these was small, and the number which transacted a fair amount of business was about 100. In 1910 the total net premiums of British offices effecting fire insurance were returned at £29,157,780. Some of these companies insure buildings and goods in America, other foreign countries, and the colonies; but, on the other hand, re-insurances with foreign companies have been deducted.

(*c*) *Other insurances of risks to property.*—In addition to marine and fire insurance, certain other classes of risks have been selected for regular insurance. The chief of these are boiler insurance, burglary insurance, insurance of horses, cattle, and other animals, insurance against hailstorms (*e.g.*, in tea plantations, where damage by hail is a serious risk), insurance of licences, insurance of mortgages, insurance of plate glass, insurance of motor cars. The system of registration of packages or letters sent by the Post Office is in effect an insurance of the contents against loss or damage, and the same principle is shown in railway rates in excess of those at owner's risk. While workmen's compensation insurance and guarantee insurance appear to relate rather to persons, in principle they belong to the class now under consideration. The compensation to a worker is secured to him, once the injury has been legally established. The insurance in this case relates to the liability for the payment of that compensation, which by this device is transferred from the employer to the office which insures him against it.

The foregoing may be described as risks to property which are constant. For instance, as long as a boiler is in use, there is the risk of an explosion; or, again, in any business where the clerks have the handling of large sums of cash, there is the danger of embezzlement. There are other risks which are occasional. A reduction in the tax on tea would mean, other things being the same, a loss to merchants who held stocks on which the former and higher duty had been paid. Such a reduction of duty will be announced only in the statement at the introduction of the Budget; and hence it is usual, when changes in indirect taxation are expected, for insurances to be effected against them by those who expect to be affected prejudicially. Necessarily no insurance of this kind prevents an alteration in taxation from taking place, but it secures pecuniary compensation to those who have insured. Circumstances of this kind are numerous, since almost any considerable alteration in trade will affect some one. A prolonged Court mourning will injure businesses which are largely interested in the West End trade. The danger of a war arouses anxiety among many important interests. Further, many social functions require favourable weather conditions. In fact, a list of adverse contingencies might be extended almost indefinitely. Though the actual occurrence of any one of these is comparatively rare in comparison with the number of transactions which are subject to that contingency, it often happens that the trader who encounters the actual happening of prejudicial circumstances loses not only possible profits but also his original capital. Hence it is usual to insure against some contingencies of this kind. Such policies are effected at Lloyd's. Thus people who would suffer in their business from a general election will sometimes take out a policy against the dissolution of Parliament within a specified period. The premium is determined by the opinion formed by underwriters as to the degree of probability of the event insured against. Transactions of this type are often described as 'wagering insurances'; and, when the possibilities as to the occurrence of the event, which is the subject of a policy, are obscure, the rate often varies very rapidly.

ii. RISKS OF PERSONS.—(*a*) *Life insurance.*—The payment of a fixed sum on the death of the insured to his legal representatives may be described as the fundamental type of modern life insurance. The system requires a number of conditions, among which may be mentioned the possession of a satisfactory mortality table. This will show the average expectation of life at each age, and is important in determining the amount of the premium. The assured pays premiums annually during life, and therefore the insuring office has the interest on these, less expenses, either to add to the premiums themselves or as profit. Assurance of this type is known as whole life insurance. Life insurance offices are of two kinds—proprietary and mutual. In the latter any surplus after providing for future claims is available for the benefit of the members insured, generally by way of additions to the sums originally insured. The proprietary offices allocate a portion of their surplus funds as bonus, and the bonus is available for those who insure subject to bonus additions, and in that case the premium for whole life insurance at a given age is slightly higher than for whole life insurance without bonus. In such insurances, in any individual case, there is a gain to the representatives of the insured if death takes place before the time indicated by the mortality tables; while, on the other hand, there is a loss if that time is passed. To lessen the latter contingency insurances are effected whereby premiums are paid for a term of years, and the specified sum is handed over by the office either at the death of the insured or on his attaining a specified age. A modification of the last type is that by which, on the birth of a child, premiums are payable against which a sum is disbursed on the child attaining the age of 21 years or any other age agreed upon.

(*b*) *Annuities.*—An annuity may be either for a term of years, or for a life, or for joint lives. The insurance principle enters into all annuities for lives, since the length of time during which such annuities will be payable depends on the chances of mortality. While the principles in life annuities and life insurance are the same, each is the complement of the other. In a life annuity the insurance office receives a capital sum and pays an annual income; in life insurance this process is reversed.

The progress of life insurance has been very marked. Excluding colonial and foreign offices in the United Kingdom and also industrial life companies, the ordinary life companies had a premium income (after deducting re-insurances) in 1882 of £11,658,319—a figure which increased in 1910–11 to £28,994,404. At the earlier date the income from interest and dividends (less income-tax) was £5,369,007, while at the later one it was £13,166,857. In 1910–11 the ordinary life policies numbered 2,863,851, and the amount assured was £800,215,506.

(*c*) *Personal accident insurance.*—The number of offices filing returns in 1910 was 84, and their premium income for the year was £1,829,710. Many ingenious methods have been adopted to extend this type of insurance as, *e.g.*, the printing of coupons in diaries and certain periodicals, which entitle the holder to compensation should he sustain an accident of a specified character and under certain conditions within a fixed period.

(*d*) *Other contingencies relating to persons.*—Sickness insurance is the chief of these, whereby provision is made for the expenses of an illness and, if desired, for the loss of earnings through disease. Transactions of this character are of minor importance in the business of insurance offices, whereas these are most important in the work of Friendly Societies and of State Insurance in relation to the wage-earning classes (see above, § 1).

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3. The principles of insurance.—The general principles of insurance are fairly obvious, but they have many ramifications which require to be traced with some care. Some of the uncertainties of life and business at times involve most serious consequences to the individual, unless some method has been devised by which he can provide against them or against their pecuniary results. When Shakespeare makes all the ventures of Antonio to miscarry and 'not one vessel 'scape the dreadful touch of merchant-marring rocks' (*Merch. of Ven.* III. ii. 269 f.), the owner is confronted with ruin. But, while some ships are wrecked, many complete their voyages in safety; while some houses are destroyed by fire, the great majority escape this catastrophe; indeed, there are certain risks to which property is liable which, on the one hand, involve the total destruction of the things, but, on the other, are comparatively rare. Similarly, in the case of labour, death or illness involves the total or the temporary cessation of earning power. It is clear that these risks can be divided into classes, and all those which fall within a certain class are subject to that risk, though it may result in a loss to a very few. Further, the damage sustained by those who suffer is relatively great. Hence it is to the advantage of the members of such a class to sacrifice a small part of their income, upon condition that the estimated amount of the loss shall be made good. In the special case of life insurance the sum assured may be regarded in most instances as a compensation for the loss of income, accruing to the person who insures, either by his labour or in other ways which may be of a terminable nature. Thus, in fact, the risk of loss by a calamity which may occur to any one of a certain group is distributed over the members of that class. The method by which what may be termed 'loss-sharing' is distributed depends on the law of averages, and requires a collection of statistics. Taking the period of adult life, every one is subject to the risk of illness which would interrupt the earnings derived from his occupation; but, as between individuals such illnesses fall unequally, some may have none, others may have a few, and others may have many. Where statistics of uncertainties are available upon a sufficiently extended scale, it is generally found that an average will be established for a special kind of risk; and, therefore, the average liability to that risk can be made the subject of actuarial calculation. Accordingly, it is on this basis that the premium to insure against it is arrived at. In the absence of statistical data, any calculation of a premium is impossible. Suppose, for instance, that insurances were effected against damage to aeroplanes which occurred through their flying. If existing offices undertook this risk, any mistake in the rate of the premium would not be serious, in view of the relatively small part of such insurance as compared with the total transactions of the insuring companies. In the event of a number of new offices being formed for this class of insurance, it is probable that at first, owing to the imperfection of the data, there would be considerable variations in the rates; and, as shown by the outcome, some would prove to have been too high and some too low.

The application of the theory of insurance in practice is modified by the conditions under which the event insured against takes place. In some cases there is the danger that this event may be simulated. Life insurance is least subject to this disadvantage. In fire insurance, fraud may take the form of arson, where the insured himself creates the conditions insured against, with a view to obtaining the proceeds of his policy, should the crime be undetected. In marine insurance there is the possibility of 'barratry' in order to defraud the underwriters. Sickness insurance is subject to a greater degree of difficulty, in so far as illness may be feigned. As a general rule, those risks commonly insured against are such as admit of easy proof of loss by the claimant, and verification of his claim by the insurer. Outside the risks usually insured against at insurance offices there are other uncertainties which are similar from the point of view of theory, but which are not usually insured against in this way. A business may not suffer from fire, accidents, or losses of ships, and yet may experience most serious losses. The reason why the latter risk is not undertaken by insurance companies is that such business risks are inseparably connected with the general management of the business; and thus an office underwriting them would in effect become responsible for the management of the business (A. Marshall, *Principles of Economics*^{4}, London, 1898, p. 470). At the same time fluctuations in profits, due to variations in trade, enter into and form part of the expenses of the business, and thus come to be added to the prime cost of its products. The amount which it is necessary to charge under this head represents a species of premium against this risk, and attempts are made to reduce it by the making of, or the dealing in, a number of commodities the demands for which are subject to varying conditions; or, again, by securing access to different markets for the same commodity in which there is some chance that changes in demand will operate in different directions. Again, a manufacturer may insure his machines against accident, but he is subject to the further risk of the wearing out of these instruments of production, against which he provides by a depreciation fund to which a sum is contributed each year that with compound interest will replace the value of the machines by the time they are worn out. But machines suffer not only from wear and tear, but from the risk of being superseded. In so far as this contingency differs from that due to variations in trade, a further provision will be required, and depreciation and a contribution towards obsolescence together constitute a species of insurance resembling life insurance as applied to inanimate things. In fact, this analogy has been so fully recognized that it is usual to speak of 'the life of a mine,' and the process just described is often termed 'amortization' —*i.e.* the formation of a fund which will make good the capital outlay when the source of income will have expired. In like manner, any use of capital in a business which is subject to risk may be described as having only a limited life. The principle of the spreading of risks has been applied here, partly through the agency of the joint-stock system, whereby the investor, instead of risking his resources in one enterprise which may result in a total loss of his capital, distributes his funds in several investments, and, if he displays equal judgment in each case, both his income and his capital are likely to fluctuate less on a system of dividing the risk. The same result is attained by Investment Trust companies, where the stockholder who makes only a single investment has the advantage of participating in the united results of many employments of capital. In addition he should gain by the specialized knowledge of the officials, though the practice of forming investment trusts in order to place capital in a certain country or a certain industry may lessen the full gain from a system of averaging. It is obvious that, in these instances, the method adopted is an application of the principles of insurance.

If one asks, 'Why should people risk their capital in enterprises of a hazardous nature?' the answer is not quite so easy as it might appear at first sight. A little consideration will show that the gains in appreciation of investments must at least balance the losses in depreciation, after allowance is made for the interest which would have been received on a first class security. But, as is well known, uses of capital, which are subject to business risks, commonly return a higher rate of income per cent than those that are more secure. Accordingly, the difference between the rate of interest on a perfectly secure investment (known as 'interest proper' or 'economic interest') and that returned by capital employed subject to hazard constitutes a fund as against depreciation of the capital. This difference is known as 'insurance against risk.' Such insurance, it should be noted, is only a partial one. It may be supposed to suffice to make good wastage of capital (after allowance is made for increments to capital value of other investments) on the whole and over long periods. Thus it is insurance against depreciation of trading capital over the whole community. But this is not insurance for the individual. If what may be termed the expectation of life of his investment at the time he makes it is exactly borne out by events, even though at the end of that time his original capital will have disappeared, he will have received not only economic interest but, in excess of that, a sufficient amount to replace at least the amount of his first investment. Such a phenomenon is rare: the prospects of undertakings subject to business risks change from day to day. Even though, after the investment is made, these become less favourable, he has no opportunity of increasing his insurance against risk, since its rate is determined, once for all, by the price paid for the stock, the dividend then paid, and the rate of economic interest at that time. The decline in prosperity will contract the estimated sum available for insurance against risk; and, if ill success continues, a loss of capital will result. The converse would apply where the history of a company was more favourable than had been expected at the time when the investment was made; and there might well be an appreciation of capital altogether independent of the provision available in insurance against risk.

Insurance, both in its common forms and in its wider signification, has important advantages, both for the individual and for the community. It lessens the dislocation of industry which would otherwise arise through the cessation of production by some firm that has sustained a sudden calamity through a fire which destroyed all its works, or any other similar disaster. In fact, in so far as insurance tends to make production more uniform, it tends to augment its efficiency. Similarly it makes labour more efficient also, since it relieves all those workers who have persons depending on their earnings from the harrowing anxiety as to the pecuniary position of those persons in the event of the early death of the earner of the income. Further, the system undoubtedly prevents cases of actual poverty which would otherwise have arisen. It is thus beneficial not only to the families of persons insured, but to the community. Besides, there are important psychological effects. The necessity of the punctual payment of premiums tends to form habits of saving, which are valuable towards the accumulation of capital in a country. For these reasons Governments are disposed to encourage life insurance as well as certain other forms of insurance. The encouragement takes various forms, such as the provision of statistical material and departmental supervision. In Great Britain income tax is rebated on that part of an income, otherwise subject to it, which is employed in the payment of life insurance premiums. These aids are of the nature of indirect bounties on insurance, and on the Continent cases occur where direct bounties are paid by the State. In the National Insurance Act, the principle of a double direct bounty to the insured (*i.e.* in the contributions of the State and the employer) is adopted, reinforced by compulsion. The latter element conflicts with some of the accessory advantages of insurance, *e.g.* in the formation of habits of thrift. At the same time, even in the case of ordinary life insurance, while the person who insures himself is free in law to discontinue the payment of his premiums and to obtain the surrender value (if any) of his policy, once a policy has been begun, in the great majority of cases there is a feeling almost amounting to compulsion towards the maintaining of the insurance. The problem in relation to the insurance of the working classes is in reality a choice of the line of least disadvantage. Bounties would maintain the voluntary principle, and would extend its applications under a certain artificial stimulus. Compulsion secures at once that, in a properly devised scheme, a greater number of persons obtain the benefits. Every effort has been made to conserve as much individual action as is possible, within a scheme of general compulsion, by associating Friendly Societies with the actual working of the Act.

Finally, the tendency to the more exact gradation and valuation of general business risks has important social effects. Here, too, there is a development in averaging, and thus the hazard of uncertainty tends, on the whole, to be reduced. The element of 'uncertainty-bearing' in production thus becomes more efficient. Hence, on the whole, the provision required for insurance against risk can be reduced with safety; and, therefore, *pro tanto* there is an economy in production. Further, external circumstances co-operate in increasing the saving. Outside the risks insured by underwriters, there remain many uncertainties; which are gradually being reduced by improvements in organization, by increase in commercial knowledge and experience, and by developments in communication. The last two always afford increased opportunities of averaging, while the first lessens the amount of uncertainty, and in favourable circumstances may remove large classes of transactions from this category altogether.

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W. R. SCOTT.

INTELLECT.—A. Bain says:

> ‘Thought, Intellect, Intelligence, or Cognition includes the powers known as Perception, Memory, Conception, Abstraction, Reason, Judgment, and Imagination. It is analyzed, as will be seen, into three functions, called Discrimination or Consciousness of Difference, Similarity or Consciousness of Agreement, and Retentiveness or Memory’ (*Mental and Moral Science*^{4}, London, 1884, p. 2).

Sully (*Human Mind*, i. 64) objects to the inclusion of retentiveness among the functions of intellect, on the grounds that it is not confined to the phenomena of intellect, but underlies the processes of feeling and willing as well; that the representation, like the sense-impression, is nothing but material for the process of intellection; and that the revival of past impressions takes place according to laws of association which are closely connected with the processes of assimilation and integration. Sully substitutes for retentiveness, as the third function of intellect, associative integration or the connecting of a given material with its concomitants in time and place.

If we exclude the presentations of sense and the representations of memory and imagination, ‘intellect’ is the name given to the higher cognitive powers of the mind. It may be considered as identical with what Sir W. Hamilton called Thought Proper, the Faculty of Comparison, and also to include what he called the Regulative Faculty—the Faculty of Principles. So understood, it includes the νοῦς and διάνοια of the Greeks, and stands opposed to merely sensitive knowledge, although always regarded as standing in close inter-connexion with the latter.

While the above may be taken as roughly describing what intellect means in almost any system of philosophy or psychology, yet the whole significance of the description depends on the way in which intellect is conceived to stand to sensation, feeling, will, and the psychic principle itself.

In the Platonic philosophy, the soul is, so to speak, externally related to the body. It exists in the body as a detached principle, which directs and controls it, as the charioteer the chariot. Although Plato distinguishes various parts of the soul, or even various kinds of soul, still it is only through the soul considered as intellect, as pure thought, that the passions of the irrational part are known (R. D. Archer-Hind, *Phædo*, London, 1883, Introd. p. 30). The same holds true of sensuous perception (Archer-Hind, *Timæus*, London and New York, 1888, p. 256, note). As Beare says (*Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition*, p. 273),

> ‘It may help us to understand Plato's distribution better if, distinguishing *αἴσθησις* as we have done into two elements, the element of feeling and the element of cognition, we refer the latter element of *αἴσθησις* uniformly to the intellectual soul, which has its seat in the *cranium*.’

Sensation, therefore, as known, is an affection of the pure psychic principle, and is not to be regarded as something *sui generis*, distinct from intellect. It is rather to be regarded as a phase of intellectual activity itself—intellect entering into relation with phenomena.

In the philosophy of Aristotle, the psychic principle occupies a different position. It is not related to the body as agent to instrument, but as form to matter, as *relatum* to correlate, as entelechy, actualization of what the body potentially is. It is not, in itself, purely intellectual. Not only do the merely vital activities proceed from the same principle which exerts the cognitive activities, but the latter also, at least those which belong to sense and imagination, stand in the same conditioning and conditioned relation to the organism in which the vital activities stand. If Aristotle had remained at this standpoint, he would have held a position substantially identical with modern Sensationism, as we find it, for example, in Bain, which reduces intellect to a mere self-elaboration of the fundamental attributes of sensation—assimilation, discrimination, retention—a system in which relations of similarity and difference between sensations are conceived to become the conscious apprehension of resemblance and difference as such.

Aristotle, however, did not remain at this position. He postulated the presence of a Divine element in the human soul—the νοῦς, emanating from the Divine νοῦς, and constituting the really immortal part of man. It enters from without. Aristotle's doctrine of νοῦς has been a problem from his day until now. What is its relation to sensitive knowledge? The answer to this question is contained in the celebrated doctrine of the active and passive νοῦς—*intellectus agens* and *intellectus patiens*. The active intellect is that which illuminates the sensitive phantasm and transmutes what is there apprehended into the intelligible form which is then received by the passive intellect. But this process may be conceived in different ways. Of what nature is the transmuting process? On the one hand, the active intellect may be thought to create the form, as light does colours—in other words, to generate it on the occasion of the sensuous phantasm, so that the passive intellect does not really receive anything from the phantasmata or sensible species, but rather an entirely new creation produced from itself by the active intellect. In the Middle Ages it was maintained that no material agency could act on this immaterial intellect, nor could the latter fabricate intellectual species from the material phantasm (cf. Maher, *Psychology*, p. 308; and Hamilton, *Reid's Works*^{7}, p. 953 f., and the references there given). The species *intelligibilis impressa* is thus elaborated by the active intellect, and received by the passive intellect, where, together with the act of intellection, it constitutes the species *intelligibilis expressa*. It is consonant with this view that the active intellect and the passive intellect should be regarded as two powers or faculties, as was held by the majority of the scholastic philosophers. On the other hand, the active intellect may be regarded as playing a far less important rôle, as not producing the intelligible species, but as simply supplying the illumination, as it were, through which the passive intellect receives the intelligible form abstracted from the sensuous phantasm. From this point of view the passive intellect is not a distinct principle, but simply the recipient phase of the active intellect.

In which form was the doctrine of the active and passive intellects held by Aristotle himself? Intellect, he says, is 'a distinct kind of soul' alone capable of separation as the eternal from the perishable (*de Anima*, 413^b, 26). In *de Anima*, 430^a, 10–25, he says:

> 'But, since in all Nature there is something which is the matter to each kind of thing and is all those things potentially; and another something which is the cause and efficient in making them all, as art is related to its material, it is necessary that in the soul also these differences should subsist. The intellect is one thing because it becomes all things, another thing considered as it makes all things—as an effective force like light; for in a manner light makes what are only potentially colours to be colours actually.' And this intellect is separable and impassive and unmixed, being in its essence activity; for the efficient is ever held more in honour than the patient, and the principle than the matter. Knowledge in activity is identical with the thing; potentially it is prior in time in the individual, but universally it is not prior in time. This intellect does not at one time think, at another not think. When separated, it is alone what it is, and this alone is immortal and eternal. But we do not remember because this intellect is not passive. The passive intellect is, however, perishable, and thinks nothing without this.'

Aquinas and Duns Scotus regarded not only the active but also the passive intellect as distinct from the faculty of sensuous cognition.

The following modern interpretations of the passive intellect are cited by Hicks (*de Anima*, Introd. lxvii). F. A. Trendelenburg identifies it with 'all the lower faculties in contradistinction to the active intellect,' E. Zeller with 'the sum of those faculties of representation which go beyond imagination and sensible perception and yet fall short of that higher Thought, which has found peace in perfect unity with its object,' F. Ravaisson with 'the universal potentiality in the world of ideas,' F. Brentano with 'imagination,' G. Hertling with 'this cognitive faculty of the sensitive part,' and W. A. Hammond with 'the life of sensation as a potentially rational mass,' 'the sum of the deliverances of sense-perceptions and their re-wrought form in memory and phantasy, regarded as potentiality.'

These various interpretations, with the exception of those of Zeller and Ravaisson, really identify the passive intellect with sensitive perception, imagination, or with the *sensus communis*; that is, with something which is not intellect at all. This view has been ably controverted by Hicks:

> 'If these modern interpreters were right in equating the intellect which becomes with one or other of the lower faculties or with the sum of them, then the function of these faculties would be identical with the function of thought, so far as the intellect becomes all things. But the lower faculties, sense and imagination, never succeed in obtaining an object which is a true universal' (*op. cit.* lxviii).

If both the active and passive intellects are distinct from the inferior faculties of sense and imagination, are they to be regarded as two faculties, or one and the same faculty? The question has been debated both in mediæval and in modern times. The answer given by Wallace, Hicks, and many schoolmen seems to be the true one. They are not two intellects, but only two different modes of viewing the same intellect. This interpretation, as pointed out above, is naturally allied to that view of the active intellect which assigns to it a very unimportant rôle—that merely of illuminating the image. As Hicks says, 'the functions of the latter [the active intellect] are then reduced within the narrowest compass.' Moreover, it is the passive intellect which cognizes, and which, therefore, seems to be identical with the conscious side. It was precisely one of the difficulties urged against the separation of the active and passive intellects that it seemed to make of the former a faculty blindly and instinctively operating. The *intellectus agens*, if distinct and viewed as creating the intelligible species, has no perception beforehand of what it creates. This difficulty is not confined to ancient philosophy. It is precisely for this reason that E. von Hartmann (*Religion des Geistes*, Berlin, 1882, p. 145) refuses to regard the creative idea as conscious. In relation to God, von Hartmann identifies consciousness not with a productive ideal archetype of the world, but with a receptive ideal ectype. The parallelism of the distinction of the active and passive reason to the pure Ego and the empirical self of Fichte, and the consequent absence of consciousness in God both in Fichte's system and in Hegel's, as interpreted by the Hegelian Left, have been pointed out by Pringle-Pattison (*Hegelianism and Personality*, London, 1887, pp. 46, 226). The present writer has maintained (*Objectivity of Truth*, London, 1884, p. 106 f.) that, alike in the human and the Divine thinking, the two aspects coincide and are to be conceived as one. Intellect in its very receptiveness is determinative, and receptive in its determinativeness. If this determinativeness is regarded as a continuously acting timeless activity, we have, perhaps, the true conception of the Aristotelian active intellect, resembling the *intuitus originarius* of Kant. An opposite view is taken by A. E. Biedermann (*Christliche Dogmatik*^{2}, Berlin, 1884–85, §§ 698–717), who emphasizes the diametrical opposition in the relation of the Absolute and of the finite spirit to material existence. Cf. Spinoza, *Ethics*, i. prop. xvii. schol.

The mention of Kant's *intuitus originarius* brings before us another great problem in the interpretation of Aristotle's doctrine of the intellect which we have deferred till now. Is the intellect Divine or human? There are three views possible. (1) The active intellect, *νοῦς ποιητικός*, may be identified with the Deity and regarded as communicating itself to individual men, the passive intellect, *intellectus possibilis*, *νοῦς παθητικός*, belonging merely to the individual soul. This view was held by Alexander the Aphrodisian, and by Avicenna, who, however, substitutes for the Deity a lower intelligence that has proceeded by a series of emanations from Him (Stöckl, *Gesch. der Philos. des Mittelalters*, ii. 1. 42). (2) Averroes separates both the active and possible or material intellect from the individual soul, and regards it as one and the same intellect in all men, identifying it, however, not with the Deity Himself, but, like Avicenna, with an emanation from the Deity (*ib.* 113).[1] (3) Aquinas and the mediæval scholastics regard the intellect, active and passive, as a faculty of the individual human soul. The first of these interpretations is exposed to the difficulty that it separates the active and passive intellects so that they cannot act together (cf. Aquinas, *contra Gent.* II. clxxvi.). The second interpretation makes both the active intellect and the apprehension of the rational concept the act not of the human intellect, but of an intellect outside the individual human being, and one and the same in all men. Such a conception divorces intellect so completely from the individual soul that it is hard to conceive how any tie remains between them. The third interpretation is exposed to great difficulties. Unless conceived as a distinct faculty apart from the passive intellect, it becomes little more than a phase of the latter. It can only be regarded as illuminative of the Divine creative thought, already implicitly present in the phantasm. If the active intellect is conceived as something distinct from the passive—and Aquinas did so regard it—it is difficult to understand how a merely human faculty, acting instinctively or blindly, can be creative of an intelligible species which, nevertheless, has an ideal community or identity with the independently existing phantasm. Lastly, it seems impossible to understand how a human *intellectus agens* should be in perpetual activity, still more a speculative intellect that combines both active and passive intellect (see Hicks' *de Anima*, note 430, a. 22).

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[1] In mediæval philosophy the *intellectus possibilis* is, in general, identical with the passive intellect. They were distinguished by some of the Arabians, but, as in that case the passive intellect is identified with some of the interpretations already rejected, a bare mention of that fact is sufficient here.

A solution of these difficulties in Aristotle's doctrine may possibly be found if we view him as regarding *νοῦς* in its relation to the human soul as a Divine-human faculty or power—on the human side active and passive at once, on the Divine ever active, for the activity of intellect is life. This agrees with the language of the *Nic. Ethics* (x. 7), that *νοῦς* is 'something Divine' —'the true self.'

> 'Nor is it necessary, as the wiseacres have it, to think like a man because one is a man, or to think like a mortal because one is a mortal, but one ought to play the immortal, as far as in one lies, and leave nothing undone to live up to the highest part in one; for even if it be small in bulk, yet in power and preciousness it far surpasses all things' (Stock's tr., Oxford and London, 1886, p. 97).

The relation of the Aristotelian doctrine of intellect to the question of the immortality of the soul depends on the relation in which intellect and sense are conceived to stand to consciousness and memory. Hamilton (*Reid's Works*, p. 878) cites a passage from Aristotle (*Probl.* xi. 33) which he translates: 'To divorce Sensation from Understanding, is to reduce Sensation to an insensible process; wherefore it has been said—*Intellect sees, and Intellect hears.*' This would lead to a Platonic view, essentially identifying consciousness with the immaterial intellect. On the other hand, if the lower animals are not mere machines, their sensuous life implies some kind of consciousness. Balmes was consequently led to attribute to them an immaterial self and some sort of possible immortality (*Fundamental Philosophy*, bk. ii. ch. 2). That the mere animal soul is a simple immaterial substance, originating and perishing with the body, was held by S. Tongiorgi, and opposed by Stöckl, who held that matter was the substrate of the organic life of brutes (*Lehrbuch der Philos.*^{2} ii. 168). Unless, therefore, intellect and sensibility can be regarded as still united in some common root, to use Kant's expression, the separability of intellect from the body seems to involve the division of consciousness itself. The doctrine of Aquinas regarding memory seems to involve a similar division of that faculty, the cognition of the past object in itself belonging to sense, and intellect preserving only the intelligible species, yet having, nevertheless, in relation to the act of intellect, though not to the object, a cognition of the past as such (*Summa*, I. qu. lxxix. art. 6). The real significance of Aristotle's doctrine of the intellect in its bearing on the immortality of the human soul has been disputed in every age. W. Archer Butler says:

> 'It it not sufficient to satisfy the demands of human anxiety on this subject, that an eternity should be pronounced essential to an active intellectual principle, which itself seems described as unable to exercise any conscious energies apart from the bodily structure; a quickening essence whose very existence retreats into nothingness when it is left nothing to quicken' (*Lectures*, p. 558).

The changed point of view from which intellect is regarded in modern philosophy appears in Spinoza. The intellect, whether finite or infinite, is regarded by him as only in actuality, not in potentiality; but then this intellect belongs, not to active but to passive nature, not to *natura naturans* but to *natura naturata* (*Ethics*, I. prop. xxxi.). Hence it does not represent a power standing over against nature, but one which is identical with nature. The same changed standpoint shows itself in Leibniz's addition to the scholastic formula, 'Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu, nisi intellectus ipse.' Intellect or reason is conceived in Leibniz and Kant as possessing a content essentially related to the objects of nature.

We have already had occasion to mention the conception of intellect which we find in the Association school. This school makes feeling, sensation, the fundamental phenomenon of psychical and of rational life. Intellect, intelligence, is only the development of the most fundamental features of sensation. Similarity, discrimination, retention, beget by means of the continued action of association the cognitive apprehension of objects distinct, or apparently distinct, from sensations themselves. It is unnecessary to repeat the well-known criticisms to which this doctrine is exposed. The unity of consciousness, through which similarity and difference are recognized, and which imparts significance to retention, is unexplained. In general, Associationists put the cart before the horse. In the most important activities of mind, phenomena are associated because they are cognized as related, not cognized as related because certain psychical events are associated. The same applies to the Herbartian school. As Höffding says, 'Consciousness is not merely a platform on which ideas carry on their struggle for existence; it acts itself in and through the individual ideas' (*Outlines of Psychology*, Eng. tr., London, 1896, p. 144).

Owing perhaps to the influence of A. Schopenhauer and F. Nietzsche, a tendency has shown itself in recent philosophy, especially in Pragmatism, to regard intellect no longer as the refined product of Association, but as the creature and instrument of the will.

> According to Schopenhauer, 'nature has produced the intellect for the service of an individual will: therefore it is destined only to know things so far as they furnish the motives of such a will but not to fathom them or apprehend their essence in itself' (*Werke*, ed. J. Frauenstädt, Leipzig, 1877, iii. 156). To Nietzsche 'Reason is only a tool' (*Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, do. 1896, p. 122).

The possibility of conceiving the force in nature as will, impulse, does not directly concern us here, but the possibility of so conceiving the fundamental principle in mind does. When it was thought that we had in the sense of effort an immediate consciousness of energy expended, it was not unreasonable to regard the consciousness of effort not only as determinative of many of our most intellectual perceptions, but even as affording a glimpse into the metaphysical nature of reality. But, now that the existence of such a feeling is generally rejected, it is difficult to conceive the stream of consciousness merely as such as presenting a conative aspect. According to G. F. Stout, the process of consciousness is *in part* self-determining. There is in it a current, a current which it feels, a tendency towards an end (*Manual of Psychology*^{2}, London, 1907, p. 64 f.). Through this conative tendency the presentations of consciousness acquire objective meaning, and in general through conative continuity the processes of consciousness acquire meaning and significance. This theory seems exposed to the same objections as the Association theory. Such consciousness of an end, however vague, implies the presence of an intellectual power which already differentiates such end from the current tending towards it. Only so can the current feel itself to be tending towards an end.

A much more decidedly voluntaristic explanation of intellect is involved in H. Münsterberg's 'Action Theory' (*Grundzüge der Psychologie*, Leipzig, 1900, i. 525). According to that theory, the liveliness of a sensation depends on the strength of the centrifugal excitation propagated from it. Sensory excitation is not in itself accompanied by psychical processes, whether the excitation proceed from the periphery or from associated centres. The afferent process is thus wholly unconscious; only in its passage into motor discharge does it give rise to consciousness. The cerebral cortex, which is the seat of the psycho-physical processes, must, in order to produce movements, act on sub-cortical centres. Every sub-cortical centre stands always in connexion with an opposite centre, viz. the centre which carries out the diametrically opposite movement. This fact, according to Münsterberg, is the basis not only of all motor antagonistic functions, but also of all psychical oppositions, even such as are purely intellectual and logical. Opposition of beliefs is reducible to difference of attitude in regard to our activity in the world. Upon the spatial variations in the discharge depend the varying intellectual values of the sensations. This theory is exposed to serious physiological and psychological objections, and its application in detail has not yet been given by the author. It is necessary only to mention that, at the point of transition to motor discharge, the author seems to postulate the action of a spiritual principle which determines the path of discharge and the consequent attitude of the agent to the world. It is here that the author's relation to Fichte comes in, whose ethical idealism he claims to unite with the physiological psychology of our time. The voluntaristic theory must not be confused with the practical Reason of the Scholastics. The latter refers merely to the application of reason to the harmony of action with nature and its final end.

The voluntaristic conception of intellect appears in an interesting form in the writings of H. L. Bergson. To Bergson intellect is but a special instrument created by that *élan vital* which lies behind the whole process of evolution. This instrument reveals not truth, but utility. It acts not by unveiling the nature of things, but rather by limiting and falsifying the larger intuition of reality which flows through the vital impulse out of which consciousness itself issues. The falsification, however, works; it is useful for directing our activities, and is justified by its results. In fact, it is these activities which give us the forms of things. It is with inert matter, the solid, that our intelligence deals: the fluid in the real escapes it in part. Of the discontinuous and immobile alone can it form a clear idea. 'Intellect is characterized by a natural inability to comprehend life' (Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Eng. tr., London, 1912, p. 174). Intellect and matter have progressively adapted themselves one to the other 'because it is the same inversion of the same movement which creates at once the intellectuality of mind and the materiality of things' (*ib.* 217). It does not appear how such a movement, even if it existed, could explain the adaptation of intellect to the object. Thought may in determining its object be determined by it (Stokes, *Objectivity of Truth*, p. 58 f.), but, except in the individual, this reciprocal determination does not take place as a mere process in time.

But, just as much as the psychological theories we have considered, does Bergson's biological theory of the origin of intellect imply intellect itself as already existing. He postulates a consciousness or supra-consciousness lying behind intellect. The sympathetic insight by which we penetrate the mobility of things, the supra- and ultra-intellectual intuition by which there is a taking possession of the spirit by itself—these conceptions are but intellect itself, misconstrued and misunderstood. It is the problem of the *intellectus agens* once again. Philosophy here treads the same ground which the followers of Aristotle have trod, and meets the same difficulties.

Grant, however, that intellect is somehow evolved out of, and is grappling more or less successfully, if not with the mystery, at any rate with the practical working of things. What does this amount to? It means at least that the key fits the lock, and that the lock is fitted to the key. It means that nature in its working is relative, in large measure, to the concepts which intellect has framed; therefore, in still larger measure to the intelligence which has framed these concepts and will still frame others, by which nature itself will be better understood—a process which can be justified only on the presupposition, which is common alike to Aristotelian philosophy and Absolute Idealism, that nature is relative to intelligence, that *νοῦς* governs all.

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GEORGE J. STOKES.

INTELLECTUALISM.—In its popular and most general sense, 'intellectualism' means the belief in the supremacy in human life of the intellect. More precise, technical meanings of the term appear in the theory of knowledge, in ethics, and in theology.

1. In the theory of knowledge, intellectualism is the doctrine which derives knowledge chiefly, or mainly, from the intellect, *i.e.* from pure reason. Intellectualism is here practically synonymous with rationalism (*q.v.*), and stands opposed to sensationalism (*q.v.*). Whereas intellectualism affirms that reason is the unique or the principal source of knowledge, and that knowledge so derived is independent of, and superior to, the impressions received from the outside world through the senses, sensationalism affirms that general ideas arise from sensations. In its extreme form, sensationalism maintains that independently of sensation the mind is a *tabula rasa*, that there is nothing in the mind that was not first in the sense. One may also oppose to intellectualism the systems of thought represented by Schopenhauer's philosophy, in which the 'will' is given a dominant rôle in the determination of action and the discovery of knowledge. German philosophy has been dominantly of the intellectualistic type, while sensationalism has found its most numerous exponents in France (Condorcet, d'Alembert) and in England (Locke, Hume).

The method pursued in the search for knowledge will differ according to the conception formed of its source or sources. The pure intellectualist will rely altogether upon the *a priori*, deductive method, the pure sensationalist upon an empirical, inductive method, since knowledge comes, according to him, through sensory experience.

2. In ethics, the intellectualistic doctrine affirms that knowledge is in itself sufficient to determine action. Socrates is the first and the chief representative of ethical intellectualism. According to him, no one does wrong knowingly. Sin is error, *i.e.* ignorance; for no man purposely injures himself. This doctrine is opposed by the Stoics, on the ground that the will is not altogether determined by knowledge, but is, at least in some degree, self-determined. Aristotle differed from Socrates in that he held it possible for desires arising from insufficient knowledge to be stronger than those proceeding from full knowledge. He thought, therefore, that the practice of virtue required not only right insight, but a training of the will, by which it became able to resist the stronger allurement of unenlightened desire and to follow the dictates of reason. Ethical intellectualism reappeared in the modern period, particularly in the English moralist, S. Clarke.

3. In theology and in the philosophy of religion, the intellectualistic tendency leads to a more or less complete neglect of feeling and of will, impulses, and desires, in favour of thought—this both in the problems of the origin and in those of the nature of religion. A consequence of this tendency is that certain ideas, or systems of ideas, necessary to religion are identified with religion, or are treated as if they constituted the whole of religion. Thus, religion is defined as 'a department of thought having for its object a self-conscious and intelligent Being' (G. J. Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*, London, 1895, p. 41), or as 'an attempt to explain human experience by relating it to invisible existence' (G. T. Ladd, *Journ. of Phil., Psych., and Scientific Methods*, i. [1904] 9). Martineau's definition also puts the emphasis upon a belief: 'belief in an ever living God, that is, in a Divine Mind and Will ruling the Universe and holding moral relations with mankind' (*A Study of Religion*, Oxford, 1888, i. 1).

In the solution of the problems of origin, intellectualism leads to an exclusive concern for the genesis of the ideas upon which the existence of religion depends, to the neglect of the other aspects of religious life, in particular of the emotions and of the ceremonial. Intellectualism is here opposed to affectivism and to voluntarism. The first emphasizes the feeling and the emotion; it looks upon some particular feeling as being the 'essence' or the 'vital part' of religion. Schleiermacher's standpoint is an affectivism mitigated by an explicit recognition that feeling and activity are inseparable, though distinct. For him the essence of religion consists in the feeling of an absolute dependence upon God. In voluntarism a more comprehensive point of view displaces both intellectualism and affectivism. It recognizes that religion is a mode of life, and that it involves necessarily—as does every pulse of life—ideas and feeling; and, in accordance with contemporary psychology, it insists that these exist only as a part of a conative act. There can be no thinking and no feeling without desire or intention. Religion comes, thus, to be looked upon as a particular type of activity, or mode of behaviour (J. H. Leuba, *A Psychological Study of Religion*, London, 1912, pp. 35-45).

Literature.—In addition to the works mentioned in this article, see the articles to which reference has been made, and the literature appended to them.

J. H. Leuba.

INTELLECTUALISM (Philosophical). — 1. Historical survey. — The term 'intellectualism' had originally nearly the same meaning as 'idealism,' and it is so used, *e.g.*, by Schelling. As the intellect was regarded as the proper representative of the human mind in its entirety, the word 'intellectualism' seemed to be the most fitting designation of the philosophical view that stands opposed to materialism. It is only within recent times that the word has acquired a derogatory sense, and has come to signify a theory which exalts the mere intellect at the expense of other elements of the mind, such as emotion and will.

Ever and again, in the course of historical development, there emerge periods in which the intellect—reflective thought—usurps the place of command, and these periods are always coincident with an advance in culture and a more conscious mode of life—conditions in which principles hitherto assumed to be self-evident begin to show themselves insecure. As a matter of fact, the intellect is originally by no means the decisive factor in all aspects of civilized life. The truth is, rather, that all primitive culture contains a non-rational and positive element. This is seen, *e.g.*, in the fact that the beginnings of human knowledge and action are at first traced to a divine source. Tillage, handicraft, measures, weights, art, language, moral laws, legal systems, and political constitutions are all believed to have been given by divine revelation, and anything like fundamental criticism of them is therefore debarred. Or ancestral custom and immemorial tradition continue to rule with an authority that seems self-evident. Then all at once the hitherto unchallenged is assailed by doubt. External conditions and the inner life have alike undergone a change. The question arises why any particular institution should be precisely as it is and not otherwise, and there springs up a desire for a rational vindication of things. The time has now come when the intellect asserts its independent power. In what had previously been received *simpliciter*, it now discovers defects, impossibilities, contradictions. Nothing shall count as authoritative that has not stood the scrutiny of the intellect. We have come to the stage exemplified in the Sophistic movement of Greek philosophy.

The beginning of the modern period shows a no less powerful advance of the intellectual factor. The unity of mediæval culture was broken up by the Renaissance and the Reformation. It is true that, although the Renaissance and the Reformation did not originate in purely intellectual considerations, they availed to liberate the intellect by setting up, alongside of the institutions of the Middle Ages, other institutions having equal claims. For, when rival forms of cultural life thus stand side by side, the questions arise which of them can give the best reasons for its existence, and whether some other form is not possible; and, when such questions arise, it is in reality the intellect that is called upon to give a decisive answer.

This is clearly shown with reference to the question regarding truth. To the mediæval mind truth was really tradition. The mediæval period was not one of rigid repose. It had its own spiritual movements and its own problems; witness the controversy between the Thomists and the Scotists. While Thomas Aquinas regards natural knowledge and the supernatural truth of revelation as combining to form the one vast and regularly graded kingdom of reason, Duns Scotus considers the truth of the Church's doctrine to be something totally irrational. But these antagonistic views are both at one in assuming that the truth is actually there; that it requires, not to be discovered, but simply to be handed on from one generation to another. The Church is in possession of the truth, and she is its guardian. The Renaissance and the Reformation brought about a change—though not, indeed, a radical one, inasmuch as the intellect as such was not yet invested with the function of discovering and safeguarding the truth. The Renaissance itself was partly involved in a tradition, though not so much in that of the Church as in that of classical antiquity, while for the Reformers the Bible, as the Word of God, came to rank as the foundation of all knowledge of the truth. But, when materially diverse truths, resting on different grounds, come into conflict with one another, the eventual result must be that the intellect acquires a larger measure of independence. The various truths must necessarily operate and dispute with the same principles of reason, and hence the conviction gradually gains ground that the credentials of truth are to be found in the reason—in the intellect—and nowhere else.

But these movements give rise to great incertitude. All real, as apart from merely formal, truth is reduced to an unstable condition. In all things a new foundation must be laid, a new structure raised. The intellect finds itself face to face with a stupendous task. But it claims the right to believe that the solution of the difficulties is within its powers. For there is one kind of knowledge, viz. mathematics, upon which doubt has never been able to lay its hand. Now, mathematics is without question an affair of the reason; it does not rest upon divine revelation, or upon venerable tradition, but is entirely a product of the intellect. If, therefore, the intellect has succeeded so well in this sphere, why should it not prove equally successful elsewhere? Mathematics thus comes to be regarded as the pattern of knowledge, and a close alliance between it and philosophy is the result. The powerful influence of mathematics is clearly discernible in the systems of Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz. In alliance with mathematics the intellect gains a secure standpoint and a robust self-confidence. It now undertakes the task of framing clear and distinct conceptions, and of exposing to view the ultimate grounds of existence. It claims that the essential nature of the world, the fundamental unifying principle of all things, and thus also the decisive laws that regulate the life, action, and conduct of human beings, must all yield their secrets to thought and its methodical procedure. Nor is the intellect content to assert its supremacy only in the sphere of scientific knowledge; it extends its claim of authority also to morality, law, religion, politics, economics, and art. Men are fully persuaded that by means of intellectual action in all departments of human life obvious principles of truth can actually be drawn from a state of affairs which has proved unsatisfactory and is incapable of justification, and thus there spring up a natural jurisprudence, a natural morality, a natural religion; political constitutions are drafted, rules are drawn up for economic life, laws are formulated for art. In addition to the philosophers specially noted above, this movement is associated with the names of Hobbes, Shaftesbury, Montesquieu, Lessing, Adam Smith, and many others.

The intellectualistic tendency was enormously reinforced by the rise of modern physical science and technical craftsmanship. As in mathematics, so also here, we find an indisputable contribution of the intellect. By means of observation, calculation, and skilfully devised experiments, the most amazing results have been achieved. Intellectualism continued to make steady advance from the 17th cent., and, notwithstanding the rise of opposing tendencies, it reached its culminating point in the 19th cent.—in the philosophy of Hegel.

Great as was the reliance placed upon the intellect, however, it had been noted that its special function was exercised in discovering and elucidating, not in creating. In all that it had achieved it had proceeded upon something which it had not itself produced, which confronted it as something given and already existing. Even mathematics and kinematics were seen to depend ultimately on space and time—on entities, that is to say, which the intellect could not evolve from itself, but must in some sense recognize as given to it. The fact was still more obvious in the sphere of physical science, where the intellect could not advance a single step except in contact with the objective facts of perception. But in other spheres as well —in ethics, law, religion, politics, economics, art —intellectual activity encountered ultimate elements, such as God, freedom, immortality, enlightened self-interest, the struggle of each against all, etc., which the intellect could not create from its own resources, but could only expose to view. In the light of such considerations, however, the entire work of the intellect might seem to become insecure. For the question as to the relation between thought and reality might be answered in such a way as to deny that the intellect was capable of comprehending the real at all. In point of fact the Kantian philosophy had restricted the function of the intellect to the logical articulation of phenomena. It was then surmised that the intellect could without dubiety apprehend the veritably real only if what had hitherto been regarded as given, as prior to experience, was itself in the last resort the creation of the intellect. To show that this was actually the case was the task undertaken by Hegel. On the Hegelian theory all reality whatever is an absolute process of thought, a self-unfolding of the absolute idea, the essential nature of which is logical; thought and existence are identical. Hegel describes how the absolute idea externalizes itself and so becomes nature—the world of space and time; how the finite spirit issues from the world, and how in the process of historical development it realizes itself in its essential identity with the absolute spirit. The entire development proceeds with logical necessity. In this system, accordingly, the intellect assumed the position of absolute sovereignty, and, although it did not hold that position long—the Hegelian philosophy being soon superseded—yet intellectualism was not thereby set aside. It still continues to exercise a powerful influence, as may be clearly seen, *e.g.*, in the system of H. Cohen, whose great work, *Die Logik der reinen Erkenntnis*, Berlin, 1906, is based upon the idea that thought and being are one, that the foundations of being are actually created by thought. Whole sections of this work are thoroughly Hegelian in tone, and, in fact, Hegel's mode of thought has in our own time experienced a revival both in Britain and in Germany. On the other hand, intellectualism has always encountered a good deal of opposition. In every definite theory of empiricism, as represented, *e.g.*, by Locke and Hume—in every system, that is to say, according to which the function of the intellect is one of mere passive receptivity—there subsists also an anti-intellectualistic spirit. Reference has already been made to Kant. When Fichte and Schelling exalt moral volition or artistic intuition above the intellect, their thought really moves on anti-intellectualistic lines. Schopenhauer finds the ultimate cosmic force in a mysterious will, and in this connexion mention should be made also of von Hartmann, in whose system, however, there is a Hegelian strand. But the authority of intellectualism has been challenged above all by modern psychology. Wundt has endeavoured in his great works to win recognition for the volitional element in all life, so that his philosophical theory may be appositely described as voluntarism. Heinrich Maier, in a notable work entitled ***Psychologie des emotionalen Denkens***, has drawn attention to the fact that besides 'cognitive' thought there is also an 'emotional' thought, which, while it contains logical elements, is nevertheless guided by feeling and will. An extremely anti-intellectualistic position is taken also by pragmatism—a product of British and American thought—of which the leading representatives are W. James, J. Dewey, and F. C. S. Schiller. According to this theory, the intellect is *per se* incapable of deciding what truth is. Only that which justifies itself to living experience is to be accounted true, so that the intellect is here subordinated to life. Reference should also be made in this connexion to Vaihinger and his significant work, *Die Philosophie des Als Ob.* On Vaihinger's theory the function of the intellect is not the discovery of truth, but the pre-calculation of occurrences which are to be designated as sensations (*Empfindungen*). The most delicate creations of the intellect—those which it produces for that purpose—are not reproductions of the real, but fictions.

To these psychological and philosophical movements a fresh anti-intellectual tendency has been added by the recent emergence of a new æsthetic culture. The inadequacy of purely intellectual attainments is increasingly being felt on all sides. The over-estimation of the intellect, with its tendency to reduce all to a uniform level, its indifference to individual qualities, and its elimination of the subjective factor, is blamed for the impoverishment of the inner life and the repression of all true individuality of character, while, on the other hand, it is felt that art, with its eager interest in the concrete, its sympathetic understanding of individual characteristics, and its creative force, should be the guide to a richer, deeper, and fuller life. These considerations have brought about a complete revolution, as, *e.g.*, in the educational sphere. Thus, while the views disseminated by Herbart—views designed above all things to secure intellectual lucidity in education—held until quite recently a position of almost unchallenged authority, they are now to a very great extent discarded. 'Art in child life' has become a widely recognized maxim in contemporary pedagogics.

Yet the intellect, in spite of all these counter-movements, and in spite of the active depreciation which it has had to encounter, still continues to assert its power and its indispensability. It is obvious that mere negation will not answer here, and that the question regarding the significance of the intellect requires further investigation. Of contemporary thinkers, Eucken, in particular, has submitted the problem to searching treatment. He, too, strives earnestly to transcend anything like mere intellectualism. It is a fundamental doctrine of his philosophy of the spiritual life that the spirit of man involves more than intellectual activity, that the spirit in its entirety is richer than the intellect, but also that the intellect belongs to the spirit, and that the proper development of the spirit is impossible without intellectual action. He certainly admits that the intellect cannot of itself alone evolve any complete reality. It can act only when it has something else—something that does not originate in itself—to act upon, as can be clearly seen in the sphere of natural science. Here the intellect, however far-reaching and comprehensive its activity, is forced to keep in touch from first to last with given facts, with the world of experience. And the like holds good in every other department of human life. Ethical laws and ideals, religious convictions, and æsthetic intuitions are not products of the purely intellectual function, but have their rise in deeper regions of the spirit. If the intellect relies upon itself alone, it moves in a realm of merely formal concepts; and if, nevertheless, it aspires to create a reality, yet this reality has, in point of fact, come to it from elsewhere—only the intellect does not itself realize this, or else the fact is screened from view. In such cases the sources from which the intellect has surreptitiously drawn are empirical and spiritual experience. This, however, does not exclude the recognition of the fact that, conversely, knowledge and life, whatsoever their nature may be, can make no proper progress without the co-operation of the intellect. The intellect sifts and combines; it clarifies and moulds. It is present in all experience, and its presence is unconditionally necessary if a completely articulated and ordered reality is to be attained at all. What could we make of sensations, which to-day are often held to be the truly real, if the intellect did not impart itself to them? They would be something inert, orderless, chaotic, and, in the last resort, absolutely null. Similarly, morality, religion, and art can never attain lucidity apart from the action of the intellect. Its critical action is, indeed, essential to the very possibility of their progressive development and refinement. In what a rudimentary condition would not art have been doomed to remain if the intellect had not taught it how to look at human life and the surrounding world? By such considerations does Eucken seek to maintain the rights of the intellect, yet without making it the sole authority in human life.

We arrive at results similar to those of Eucken by a consideration of the fundamental character of reality. That fundamental character stands in a peculiar relation to the tendencies of the intellect. The intellect strives to rationalize all reality, to bring it under calculation, to view it as necessary; and its ultimate aim is to construct a formula which will embrace all that occurs in the world, and which is capable of determining the actual condition of things at any particular moment. To a large extent, moreover, reality submits to this procedure of the intellect. But there is always a point at which all the efforts of the intellect must necessarily fail. The great instrument of the intellect is law—the formula. Law and formula, however, are necessarily general in character, and may be made to comprehend as many particular instances as desired. But they cannot determine what particular instance will actually emerge. Thus the formulæ of the law of gravitation would hold good precisely as they do even if there were more or fewer planets in the solar system. It does not follow from the law of gravity that its formulæ shall apply to that particular system, and no other. In a word, laws and formulæ are in their nature merely general, while the real is in all cases special and concrete, and accordingly reality refuses to be completely rationalized. The real might be described, indeed, as an intermixture of the rational and the irrational, or positive—an intermixture in which, however, the latter factor predominates over the former, since the rational can operate only in contact with a positively given object, apart from which it moves in a mere vacuum, and with all its efforts produces nothing.

This is true not merely of the reality which meets us in our external experience, but also of that which we call spiritual. In the moral sphere, for instance, we are confronted by various alternatives: there may be a morality of enlightened self-interest and one of self-denial; a morality which affirms and one which negates the world; a morality of rigid justice and one of benevolence; a morality of natural selection and one of religious ends. The intellect cannot claim to have produced any of these, nor can it demonstrate that any one of them is exclusively authoritative. It may certainly be employed in combating or defending any of them, but the individual's acceptance of a particular ethical tendency rests ultimately upon a personal decision which is incapable of logical explanation. Once the decision is taken, however, the intellect may render valuable service in illuminating, elucidating, and developing the theory chosen.

Every genuine work of art, again, is an absolutely individual and unique creation. To interpret a work of art as due to an application of unvarying universal rules is utterly to misunderstand it; thus Richard Wagner was undoubtedly right in protesting against the notion of an absolute work of art, *i.e.* a work which would be simply the result of universal laws valid for all time and under all conditions. To desiderate such a work would involve the establishment of an absolute intellectualism in the sphere of art. As a matter of fact, the general laws of art are mere abstract deductions from existing works of art or from the achievements of a particular period, and a new creation or a new period will give rise to new laws. Such laws may serve as a means of comprehending and interpreting what already exists, but they have no creative power of their own. Thus in ethics and art, precisely as in science, mere intellectualism always works to the prejudice of reality, while, on the other hand, the action of the intellect is not only valuable, but indispensable.

2. **Intellectualism in religion.**—It is not necessary here to refer to the various forms of religion; it will suffice to elucidate the relevant facts as they appear in Christianity. Christianity in its original form made not the slightest claim to serve as a rational interpretation of the world; the love of God, the expiatory death and the resurrection of Christ, immortal life, and eternal salvation—all these come before us as something absolutely incomprehensible, something which no human reason can attain to, and no human understanding excogitate, which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, neither has entered into the heart of man. That rational proofs are of no avail here was an emphatic conviction in the mind of St. Paul. Nevertheless, intellectualism very soon found its way into Christianity, and, indeed, by the time of the early apologists, Christianity had come to be regarded as the true philosophy. In Alexandria the endeavour of Clement and Origen to reconcile their religion with Greek philosophy served to further the process of rationalization. The fact that these theologians regard *γνῶσις* as the highest attainment possible to man, and that *γνῶσις*, as pertaining to the perfect, is considered to be unequivocally superior to *πίστις*, which is all that the ordinary member of the community can aspire to, simply implies that the Christian religion had opened the door to intellectualism. The conception of the Logos also played an important part in the rationalizing process. This conception, on the one hand, was in every respect a product of scientific thought; it signified the cosmic idea, and by means of it the world was to be made intelligible, to be rationalized, and interpreted, while, on the other hand, it is used in the Fourth Gospel to enunciate the eternal deity of Jesus Christ, and, although here the Logos is certainly brought into relation with the world, yet the conception is in no sense a scientific one, but purely religious, since the point in question is not the possibility of a rational interpretation of the world, but the dignity to be assigned to Christ. Nevertheless, the conception served in part to bring various types of thought into contact with one another, and even to fuse them together. Thus arose a disastrous intermingling of ideas, bringing great perplexities in its train. For one thing, correct knowledge was now considered to be the most important element in religion, and, on similar grounds, heresy was accounted the gravest of sins, while, again, this position was constantly disputed by the natural conviction that religion is concerned with something else—something more essential than mere knowledge. Religious knowledge, moreover, could not even attain to lucidity with regard to itself. On the one hand, it was regarded as being of the same nature as rational truth, *i.e.* the type of cogitation found in logic, metaphysics, and mathematics; on the other, the feeling that religion has essentially to do with an entirely different kind of truth, with a positive and non-rational truth, could never be wholly suppressed. A wavering between the two sides runs through the entire mediæval theology; and, while Christianity sought to defend itself against intellectualism, it was never able actually to free itself from its grasp.

The work of Luther, in virtue of which faith was once more invested with its proper prerogative, effected an emancipation of religion from intellectualism. Faith is now interpreted as trust in the grace of God manifested in Jesus Christ, and thus alike in its character and in its object is no mere matter of knowledge. Trust is never the outcome of purely intellectual reflexion, while the grace of God in Christ is something that transcends all rational credentials and intellectual demonstration. Nevertheless, intellectualism soon re-asserted its power in religious things, even in the Churches of the Reformation. Faith came to be identified with the recognition of true doctrine, and this intellectualistic interpretation proved most detrimental to religion, and long stood in the way of a better understanding of what religion really signifies. In orthodoxy, in the Illumination, in rationalism and supra-rationalism, intellectualism held unbroken sway. The substance of what was regarded as religious truth was certainly of a very heterogeneous character, but the essential interest was in all cases a kind of knowledge which is accessible to the intellect and upon which the intellect can arbitrate. The views of Bayle, who emphasized the non-rational character of religion, and those of Spinoza, as set forth in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, were of a different trend, but remained in great degree inoperative. Nor was the distinction which thinkers now began to make between religion and philosophy able as yet to deliver the former from the bonds of intellectualism, though it was certainly an earnest of better things.

It was in reality Kant who first succeeded in overthrowing the supremacy of intellectualism. By drawing a rigid distinction between theoretical and practical reason, by limiting the action of the former to the sphere of phenomena, and by denying its right to decide any question regarding religion or its object, Kant laid the foundation—we cannot, indeed, say more—of a truer understanding of religion. He himself did not attain to a well-grounded conception of the distinctive character of religion, inasmuch as, basing it upon morality, he virtually treated it as identical therewith. The first to see in religion a spiritual entity with a distinct character of its own was Schleiermacher, who maintained that the religious sense is *per se* neither knowledge nor action, but a condition of immediate self-consciousness—the feeling of absolute dependence upon God. Whether this definition is in all respects satisfactory is a question for separate discussion; but at all events the merit of having recognized the specific nature of religion, and thus of making it secure against the aggressions of intellectualism, is unquestionably to be ascribed to Schleiermacher.

A glance at the history of theology since Schleiermacher's day shows us, however, that the dangers of intellectualism were not removed all at once; on the contrary, we find everywhere a struggle between intellectualism and anti-intellectualism. Another mighty wave of intellectualism passed over religion as a result of the Hegelian philosophy. The influence of Hegel operated powerfully upon many theologians, and here special mention should be made of F. C. Biedermann, who sought to express the essential elements of religion in abstract logical categories. Reference should also be made to O. Pfleiderer, of whom it may be said that he considered the proper content of religion to be ultimately a type of truth capable of philosophical proof. This new endeavour to rationalize religion was challenged by the Erlangen theologians and by the school of Ritschl, of whom in particular W. Herrmann has fought against the harmful influences of intellectualism in the religious sphere.

On the whole, we may venture to say that the danger of an intellectual interpretation of religion is now much less than it was. This is due variously to the insistent appeal of Ritschl and his followers to the Gospel as the criterion of all Christian belief and doctrine, to the historical investigation of religion, with its discovery of a vast mass of material which defies all rational explanation, and, finally, to religious psychology, which serves to bring the unique character of religion into fuller relief. It is not thereby implied, of course, that the history and psychology of religion may not be used in the interests of intellectualism, as, *e.g.*, when religion is repudiated altogether. In that case religious history may simply be drawn upon for materials to illustrate the story of human error, while religious psychology really becomes a study of the disorders of the human soul. Quite recently an endeavour to preclude this application of religious psychology has been made by Wobbermin (see Lit.), who makes a sharp distinction between the psychology of religion proper and the psychology which is concerned with religious phenomena. The former, according to Wobbermin, presupposes the existence of religion in the investigator himself; the latter does not. It is only the former, however, that can arrive at a true understanding of religion, while the other, dealing with religious phenomena, is concerned merely with the externals of religion. Religious psychology in this special sense is antipathetic to mere intellectualism. We are therefore justified in asserting that in the sphere of religion powerful anti-intellectualistic forces are in operation at the present day.

3. The significance of the intellect in the religious sphere.—It is quite obvious that the intellect is not the most important factor in the religious view of things. A fundamental element in every religious conception of the world is the conviction that God infinitely transcends all human existence. This involves the inscrutability of God, and thus also negatives the claim of the intellect to be supreme. The intellect finds itself confronted here by an absolute limit, since the inscrutable cannot be brought within its capacities. The inscrutability of God is the indispensable pre-condition of religion; it is not something that might be surrendered without detriment to religion; on the contrary, religion stands or falls with it. God would not be God if He were not inscrutable. Nor is the inscrutableness of God merely one postulate of religion among others; it permeates everything embraced by religion. Thus, the fact that the central element of Christianity is the redeeming love of God is a blessed, but at the same time an incomprehensible, mystery. Of every genuine religious utterance it will be found to hold good that it breathes the conviction that God is inconceivable. In religion there is something before which the intellect must abase itself, and its every claim to autocratic authority is utterly silenced.

On the other hand, disparagement of the intellect finds no justification in religion. It would be an error to regard the intellect as alone, of all the functions of the human mind, hostile to religion, and to assume that the others are more intimately allied with it. Even morality, for instance, is in itself no more akin to the divine than is intellect. It is possible to have a morality which positively surpasses the intellect itself in its antagonism to God and religion. Religion, moreover, must insist upon the fact that the intellect too belongs to God; that it is a gift of God which may be used in His service, and indeed ought to be so used. Hence religion itself requires that a high value shall be set upon the intellect, which, nevertheless, must be satisfied with a position below the highest.

Here, however, the question arises whether in at least one particular reference the last word does not lie with the intellect. When we come to deal with the unavoidable problem regarding the truth of religion, is it not the intellect alone that must decide? To what other competent tribunal can we appeal for judgment? Self-evident as the answers to these questions may appear, it is nevertheless to be observed that the intellect would be able to maintain its sovereignty only on one of two conditions, viz. that it creates religion, or else abolishes it. Hegel undertook the task of evolving religion from the intellect, but any such deduction must inevitably founder upon the fact that religion has to do with the inscrutable. Were it on any possibility to succeed, it would bring religion itself to naught. To derive religion from the intellect would certainly be to do away with the inscrutable, and therefore with religion too. We should in that case have only the second alternative to consider, *i.e.* the abolition of religion by the intellect. And, indeed, that the intellect has a right to assert its power in this way seems actually to be conceded by religion itself—in the admission, namely, that all its affirmations resolve themselves into antinomies: God is immanent and transcendent; He acts from necessity and in freedom; He is inviolable justice and redeeming love, etc. Thus, as Vaihinger seeks to make out (*op. cit.*), all these affirmations must be regarded as fictions, in which case, again, they would be divested of all real truth, and religion itself would fall to the ground. This conclusion, however, assumes the unconditional validity of the proposition that whatever involves antinomies is fictitious and unreal. Yet even the reality given in sensation, which is the only kind of reality recognized by Vaihinger, is permeated by antinomies; thus every sensation is at once limited and unlimited; related to other perceptions and yet posited absolutely. On Vaihinger's theory, therefore, sensation itself, and in fact everything, would be illusory, and this would simply imply that the term 'fiction' or 'illusion' had lost all meaning whatever, since it is only as contrasted with the real that we can put any true construction upon the term at all. It follows from these considerations that the mere presence of antinomies does not enable us to decide whether we are working with fictions or not. Accordingly, the question whether the intellect can abolish religion is lifted out of the intellectualistic sphere altogether The intellect cannot determine the matter merely on the ground of its having here discovered antinomies. Once more, therefore, we find that in religion, as in all other spheres of experience, the intellect encounters a reality which it has not evolved from itself, and that even in the question regarding the truth of religion it cannot lay claim to absolute authority. The decisive thing here is the spiritual force with which religion operates, for in its energetic action it transforms the antinomies of thought into evidences for its truth by showing that they constitute the most pertinent expression of its own peculiar nature, which, as we have seen, is permeated through and through by the inscrutable. If anywhere, then certainly in religion, it holds good that, as Kierkegaard has said (*Efterladte Papirer*, v. 269), it is not our reasons that support our convictions, but our convictions that support our reasons.

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PAUL KALWEIT.

INTELLIGENCE.—1. Use of the term.—Probably no term in psychology is used with so many different shades of meaning by different writers as the term 'intelligence.' In Thomas Aquinas, from whom most of the Renaissance and modern controversies directly or indirectly originate, intelligence is the act or function by which the soul acquires knowledge of the universal—it is the spiritual function of the soul as participating in the divine nature, as a direct creation of God, and, therefore, immortal. The universal is reached by an extreme process of abstraction, abstracting from all material conditions of objective existence. There is also a lower form of abstraction found in animals, in the faculty called *æstimativa.* This might be translated 'practical judgment,' the power to appreciate the significance of objects for the needs of life. It is an instinctive judgment, a spontaneous impulse, implying choice, but not deliberation, an implicit generalizing, without any *notion* of the universal; there is abstraction, but abstraction only from conditions of space and time, not from matter as such. Animals, therefore, have no knowledge of general principles, of causation, of the relation of means to end, etc. In the development of man's natural faculties, *æstimativa* becomes *cogitativa*, 'understanding,' particular or empirical reasoning, inference from particular to particular, or from a series of particulars to a new case of the same kind, still without any conception of general principles, or intuition of the universal and necessary. It is only when the intellect or reason comes into action that this further step is taken, and knowledge in the true sense of the word—'science'—begins (see A. D. Sertillanges, *S. Thomas d'Aquin*, Paris, 1910, vol. ii. bk. v. ch. iii. f.).

In the long and still unsettled controversy as to the relation between animal and human soul and intelligence, the question—theological dogma apart—has turned upon: (1) psychological analysis; is there a difference in kind between the functions referred to, as Aquinas supposes, or a difference only of degree or complexity? (2) observed facts and their interpretation; do animals give evidence of behaviour the same in kind as that which in ourselves we term intelligent? Philosophical and scientific as well as theological bias made sometimes the one, sometimes the other, view prevail; but at the present day there can be no doubt that a large majority of psychologists, and a still larger majority of students of animal behaviour, would decide for difference of degree, not of kind, between animal and human intelligence.

2. Instinct, intelligence, reason.—In the ordinary usage, an animal or a child is called 'intelligent' when it seems to appreciate what is wanting in a given situation or given circumstances, quickly adopts some method of supplying the want, and, where one method fails, attempts others. Where such a power, however, is shown to be present without any previous experience of similar situations, it is referred either to *instinct* or, it may be, to *reason.*

Instinctive action in an organism is the product of a special structure, provided at birth, practically independent of experience, adapted to a special class of situation, and to that only; the reaction is, therefore, adequate, if not always perfect, the first time of asking; examples are the different forms of nest-building and the care of the young, the pursuit, recognition, and method of capture of prey, the recognition and avoidance of enemies, etc. If failure occurs, it is absolute, except that there are occasionally alternative reactions provided for special forms of a situation. On the other hand, reason, it is said, may achieve the same efficiency as instinct, with the same immediacy, and without experience of similar situations, by the direct perception of the causal relations involved; it is a general power, adapted to any kind of situation, and not tied down, as an instinct is, to a single class. In most cases, however, when a new contingency arises, the actions of an animal are not immediately effective; it appears to act blindly, with many fruitless efforts, until, by accident, as it appears, the right action may be hit upon, after a longer or shorter series of trials or essays. If the animal is again placed in the same predicament, it does not at once adopt the method by which it previously succeeded, but acts somewhat less at random, and usually lights upon the correct action in a shorter time or with fewer trials; ultimately, all unnecessary and inappropriate acts are omitted, and the one effective action is immediately adopted. This has been termed the 'method of trial and error,' and under its formula all individual learning, in man as well as in animals, may be brought. Animal species, and individuals in the same species, differ in the time or number of trials required to learn the same action, in the number of different actions they may learn, in the complexity of situation they can meet, in the extent to which previous experience is applied in new contingencies, and the like. Man's reason is itself an extension of the same process, and there are close approximations to it in the apes and other higher animals. But, while there is no ground for distinguishing between reason and intelligence, instinct and intelligence must be regarded as different in kind. They are not alternatives to each other, or different ways of achieving the same end, or 'lower' and 'higher' forms of action, or the like. Instincts provide the material on which intelligence builds; the intelligence of an animal is always limited and conditioned by its structure and habits, *i.e.* its instincts; intelligence develops progressively as the instincts become more numerous and more complicated. On the other hand, there is probably no species of animal which has instinct only, without intelligence, *i.e.* without any capacity to learn by experience. The method of trial and error has been found, by Jennings and others, as low as the protozoa. In the development of the individual also, instinct and intelligence are concurrent from the beginning, but intelligence is progressive, while instinct is stationary: hence in the adult of the higher animal species, and especially in man, the primitive instincts are so buried beneath the accretions of intelligence that the dependence of the latter upon them is apt to be ignored.

3. Analysis of intelligence.—What are the mental qualities involved in learning by experience? If we take the classical instance of the burnt child dreading the fire, we have to distinguish between the first and the later experiences of the situation. In the first an object is perceived, which the child instinctively feels to be pleasing, and the instinctive reaction of grasping results; this is immediately followed in the supposed case by a strong sensation of pain, for which a reflex or instinctive withdrawal of the hand is provided. If there were no intelligence, the same series of impressions and acts would be repeated as often as the situation arose, with damaging results. How does any change take place through intelligence? The simplest assumption, that the child sees the fire to be the *cause* of the pain, and avoids it in consequence, is ruled out for numberless instances of such learning, although it may occasionally hold for a given child or animal in a given case. Let us suppose, then, that on the second experience the sight of the fire leads as before to the stretching out of the hand, that this associatively calls up in memory the painful sensation of the burn, and this in turn the actual drawing back of hand and arm, the net result being that, if the association is rapid, the hand is drawn back almost before it begins to move. For this to be possible we require initial sensitiveness and mobility, retentiveness of the impression, and associative recall, but above all intensity and *unity* of attention: the experience must have been appreciated as a single whole, otherwise the associative current would not run from 'fire' to 'grasp,' from 'grasp' to 'pain,' etc., but might be turned off at 'grasp' to any other of the hundreds of grasping experiences. This comprehensiveness of attention is the essential thing in intelligence; on it depends the number of trials required in the trial and error method before success is achieved; on it depends also the transition from concrete to abstract imagery and thought. Abstraction is the power of neglecting the irrelevant and concentrating on the important features of a situation, whether in perception, in memory, or in thought, *i.e.* it is a process of attention. In its turn, attention depends on the degree of sensitiveness of the individual, his quickness of reaction, and, at higher levels, his retentiveness and the strength of his interests, instinctive or acquired. It may be said, in short, that the intelligence of an individual is the degree of his ability to learn, and to apply what he has learned, and that this depends on his whole mental endowment. It is, therefore, absurd to ask whether animals have 'intelligence.' If they have any form of mental experience—sensation, *e.g.*, and no one denies this even of the lowest —then they have also intelligence. The task of comparative psychology is to determine the conditions of intelligent adaptation in different animals and in the child, to reconstruct the scheme of mental evolution and development, parallel to the scheme of physical evolution and development which biology already has within its grasp.

4. **Special problems.**—How complex the nature of 'intelligence' is may be seen by a perusal of the literature, already extensive, on two very modern problems—that of 'formal discipline,' and that of 'tests of intelligence.' The former is the question whether intelligence is a *general* power, which can be turned at will from one subject to another; whether high ability in one sphere is or tends to be accompanied by high ability in other spheres; whether improvement in any kind of mental ability carries with it improvement in other and different mental abilities, etc.; the probability being that intelligence is almost as specialized as memory, that ability in one subject gives no ground for inferring ability even in a closely similar subject, and that improvement in one subject carries with it improved ability in others only so far as these others involve the same forms of perception, attention, etc. The second problem is that of finding a scientific and tractable substitute for the teacher's or doctor's rough classification (and rougher tests) of children in regard to their intelligence—'bright,' 'average,' 'poor,' 'dull,' 'backward,' 'defective,' 'feeble-minded,' etc. What is generally agreed upon is that the most objective classification of children is by a comparison of the 'mental' with the 'physical' age; that for this an average mental ability for each physical age must be determinable; that the tests used in fixing the average, and in proving each child, must be of several kinds for each age, and must be graded for different ages, more difficult as the age is higher. But sex, social rank of family, school training, race, country, and many other factors are found to interfere with the projected average or standard, and experimenters are still far from united in agreement upon the tests suitable for each age.

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J. L. MCINTYRE.

INTEMPERANCE.—See DRUNKENNESS.

INTENTION (Theological).—A sacrament involves some action of a minister, having a special significance; and, since the significance of a human action may depend in part upon the intention with which it is performed, it was inevitable that in the progress of theology a question should be raised whether a proper intention in the minister is requisite for the spiritual validity of a sacrament; if so, the nature of that intention would have to be considered.

In the Eastern Church this question has been generally avoided; a sacrament is regarded as an act of the Church at large; the πρόθεσις of which theologians speak is the purpose or spiritual meaning of the appointed rite, and the minister's only function is to exhibit that rite integrally. This applies even to the sacrament of marriage, in which, since it consists materially in the consent of the contracting parties, there is special room, because of the nature of a contract, for inquiry into their intention and the genuineness of their consent. Some systems of law will annul a marriage on the ground of defective consent, even when all formalities have been ostensibly fulfilled; but the Canon Law of the Eastern Church allows no such objection to be raised against a marriage publicly contracted with the blessing of the Church.

In the Western Church, however, a different theory and practice followed upon the final rejection of St. Cyprian's teaching about the baptism of heretics. When it was admitted that baptism administered by persons separated from the Church was possibly valid, the sacrament could no longer be regarded exclusively as a public act of the Church. It was then necessary to inquire whether a particular baptism was valid. The Easterns evade the difficulty by accepting such baptism κατ' οἰκονομίαν, in which case the consent of the Church is supposed to supply whatever may have been lacking; but the trend of Western theology and practice has always been to treat such baptism as absolutely valid if the necessary conditions are fulfilled, or otherwise as absolutely invalid. Inquiry into the conditions of validity was, therefore, necessary, and the practice of such inquiry spread from baptism to other sacraments.

In his *de Baptismo* (vii. 53), Augustine considers several questions about the *animus* with which baptism is received as affecting the validity of the sacrament; and more incidentally, as though of less importance, he considers the *animus* of the minister: 'Quid enim prosit animus veraciter dantis fallaciter accipienti non video.' Taking the case where both alike 'fallaciter agunt in ipsa unitate catholica,' he asks: 'An plus valent ad confirmandum sacramentum illi veraces inter quos agitur, quam ad frustrandum illi fallaces a quibus agitur, et in quibus agitur?' In reply, he appeals to the practice of the Church: 'Si postea prodatur, nemo repetit, sed aut excommunicando punitur illa simulatio aut poenitendo sanatur.' His own opinion he was unwilling to give where there was no express conciliar decision; but in council he would be disposed to support the proposition: 'Habere eos baptismum qui ubicunque et a quibuscunque illud verbis evangelicis consecratum sine sua simulatione et cum aliqua fide accepissent.' This seems to exclude the notion that the *animus dantis* can affect the integrity of the sacrament; only the *simulatio* of the recipient or his complete lack of faith can mar it if administered in due form *verbis evangelicis*.

The general acceptance of this judgment is proved by the probably fictitious story of the actor Genesius, baptized in mockery on the stage. Augustine (*loc. cit.*) glances at the currency of such stories, and shows a curious reluctance to give any opinion on the case 'ubi totum ludicre et mimice et ioculariter ageretur.' The story told by Sozomen (ii. 17) of Athanasius baptizing boys in play is less to the point, since it is implied that the children, though in play, had a more or less serious intention of doing what they had seen done in the Church.

The judgment of Augustine long prevailed. Nicholas I. (858–67; *Resp. ad Bulg.* 104) ruled that persons reported to have been baptized by a Jew, 'si in nomine sanctae Trinitatis vel tantum in Christi nomine . . . baptizati sunt,' are validly baptized, no question being raised about the intention of the minister. It should be observed that he presses (cap. 3) the necessity of *consensus* for a valid marriage, but without any indication that he would allow the intention underlying a publicly expressed consent to be called in question. In the early scholastics of the 12th cent. a contrary opinion appears. Hugh of St. Victor (*Summ. Sent.* v. 9) requires 'ut forma sacramenti servetur et intentio illud celebrandi habeatur.' Peter Lombard (iv. 6. 5) follows him, and the great vogue of the *Libri Sententiarum* made the doctrine dominant. The nature of the requisite intention, however, was not yet defined. William of Auxerre (*In iv. Sent.* iv. 7) seems to have been the first to adopt the phrase 'intentio faciendi quod facit ecclesia.' Albertus Magnus (*In iv. Sent.* iv. 6. 11) limited this by adding 'licet non credat hoc aliquid valere.' He held that the intention of performing the rite of the Church, indicated by the use of the ordinary form, is sufficient, even if the minister does not believe the rite to have any spiritual effect; and he used this to meet the objection that the minister might maliciously withhold his intention, and so invalidate the sacrament. Sinibaldo Fieschi, afterwards Innocent IV., in his commentary on the Decretals (iii. 42. 2), went further:

> 'Non est necesse quod baptizans . . . gerat in mente facere quod facit ecclesia, imo si contrarium gereret in mente, sc. non facere quod facit ecclesia, sed tamen facit quia formam servat, nihilominus baptizatus est, dummodo baptizare intendat . . . licet non credat ipsum posse aliquid operari.'

He denied that *specialis intentio* was necessary, and this was the intention to produce the *effect* of the sacrament, as the *Compend. theol. veritatis*, doubtfully attributed to Innocent V., has it (vi. 9): 'ut iste baptizandus mundetur.' Thomas Aquinas, however, stiffened the requirement, saying (*Opusc. iv. de Sacram.*): 'Si minister sacramenti non intendit sacramentum conficere, non perficitur sacramentum,' and strengthening the current formula into 'intentio conferendi et faciendi quod facit ecclesia.' Elsewhere he further defines the purport of the intention; Christ is the 'principal agent' in the sacramental action, and the minister must act as the representative of Christ; therefore 'requiritur eius intentio qua se subiiciat principali agenti, ut scilicet intendat facere quod facit Christus et ecclesia.' But to the objection that all certainty about the sacrament is thus destroyed, since no man's intention can be known, he replies:

> 'Minister sacramenti agit in persona totius ecclesiae, cuius est minister; in verbis autem, quae profert, exprimitur intentio ecclesiae, quae sufficit ad perfectionem sacramenti, nisi contrarium exterius exprimatur ex parte ministri vel recipientis sacramentum' (*Summa Theol.* iii. 64. 8).

This seems to deprive of all importance what he calls *mentalis intentio*, and we are back at the position of Augustine, except that a *contrary* intention openly expressed by the minister would invalidate the sacrament. A merely *defective* intention would do no harm; it must be positive and avowed. A *iocosa intentio*, however, 'cum aliquis non intendit sacramentum conferre, sed derisorie aliquid agere,' makes no sacrament; he adds, 'praecipue quando suam intentionem exterius manifestat' (*ib.* 10). The case in view is clearly a mimic representation. These same conclusions, supported by the similar teaching of Bonaventura, became dominant in the schools until the 16th century.

In the meantime the Scholastic doctrine was finding its way into dogmatic decrees. In the profession of faith imposed by Innocent III. on converted Waldensians, it is said that for a valid Eucharist is required 'fidelis intentio proferentis' (Denzinger, *Enchiridion*[11], Freiburg, 1911, no. 424). In the dogmatic definition of the 4th Lateran, cap. i., where something of the kind might be expected, there is nothing. At the Council of Florence, Eugenius IV., in his *Decr. pro Armenis*, adopted the language of the *Opusc. iv.* of Thomas Aquinas almost intact, for this as for other matters.

Luther made a brief and contemptuous reference to the Scholastic doctrine in the treatise *de Bab. Capt.* (ch. 'de Sacr. Baptismi'), citing the 'exemplum de quodam mimo per iocum baptizato.' Maintaining the position that the sacraments operate as visible signs of the grace of God rousing faith in the recipient, so that 'non in conferentis tantum quantum in suscipientis fide vel usu sita est virtus baptismi,' he brushed aside the whole discussion about the intention of the minister. His bold treatment of *iocosa intentio* had a large place in subsequent controversy, but as used by adversaries rather than as developed by his followers. One of the propositions extracted from his writings for condemnation by Leo X. was: 'Si per impossibile confessus non esset contritus, aut sacerdos non serio, sed ioco absolveret; si tamen credat se absolutum, verissime est absolutus.' The silence on this head of the Augustana, and of the Saxon Confession presented to the Council of Trent, is significant. The *Conf. Helvetica* (ch. xix. sect. 11), however, expressly excludes from the conditions requisite for a valid sacrament administration 'a consecrato, et qui habeat intentionem consecrandi.' Calvin's austere conception of the operation of the sacraments as exclusively divine, and resting on the eternal decrees, left no room for any effect to flow from the intention of the minister.

Ambrosius Catharinus, in a treatise *de Int. Ministr. Sacr.*, re-stated the Scholastic doctrine with an important difference. Maintaining with Thomas Aquinas that the requisite intention is secured positively by the serious use of the external forms appointed in the Church, he denied that the minister could by any individual intention of his own, however contradictory, destroy the effect of those forms. Thus he excluded from validity only a mimic or derisory representation of a sacrament; the only intention required of the minister is the intention seriously to use the appointed rite. Pallavicino (ix. 6) asserts that the Council of Trent did not repudiate this teaching, though the language of sess. xiv. 6, denying the effect of absolution, 'si . . . sacerdoti animus serio agendi *et vere absolvendi* desit,' seems to look that way. In sess. vii. can. 11, the Council condemned the opinion, 'non requiri intentionem saltem faciendi quod facit ecclesia,' without further specification. The opinion of Catharinus, however, carried little weight; the contrary opinion, exaggerated by controversy so as to lay additional stress on the internal intention of the minister, had more vogue, running at length to its extreme statement in the words of J. B. Franzelin (*de Sacr. in Gen.*, ed. 1888, p. 225):

> 'Minister *extrinsecus simulans etiam iocum*, adhibendo tamen legitimam materiam et formam *cum interna intentione*, sacramentum conficeret.'

Controversy turned chiefly on this point, it being said that the sacraments were thus robbed of all assurance. Jewel, in his Reply to Harding (Parker Soc., i. [Cambridge, 1845] 139), used a phrase which became classic:

> 'This is the very dungeon of uncertainty. The heart of man is unsearchable. If we stay upon the intention of a mortal man, we may stand in doubt of our own baptism.'

Hooker (v. 58) fell back upon the position of Thomas, quoting, however, by preference the canonist Lancelot:

> 'The known intent of the Church generally doth suffice, and, where the contrary is not manifest, we may presume that he which outwardly doth the work, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God.'

The peril indicated by Jewel compelled defenders of the doctrine to diminish their demands; and Bellarmine (*de Sacr. in Gen.* i. 27) said almost the last word on this side:

> 'Non est opus intendere quod facit ecclesia Romana, sed quod facit vera ecclesia, quaecumque illa sit, vel quod Christus instituit, vel quod faciunt Christiani.'

Towards the end of the 17th cent. the teaching of Catharinus was once more brought up. There were stories current of a priest who declared that he had habitually perverted his interior intention when baptizing, and of a bishop who had done the same when ordaining, and relief was sought from the implied consequences. This relief was denied by a decree of Alexander VIII. in 1690, condemning among others the proposition:

> 'Valet baptismus collatus a ministro, qui omnem ritum externum formamque baptizandi observat, intus vero in corde suo apud se resolvit: Non intendo quod facit ecclesia.'

This authoritative locking of the 'dungeon of uncertainty' was resisted by some Thomist theologians, notably by J. H. Serry (*Ambrosii Catharini Vindiciæ*, Patavium, 1727); but the more exigent teaching prevailed, chiefly through the influence of Benedict XIV. and the Jesuit schools, until recent times. Thomism revived under the encouragement of Leo XIII., and in his bull *Apostolicæ Curæ* that pontiff laid down a principle which in practical effect differs little from that of Catharinus:

> 'De mente vel intentione, utpote quae per se quiddam est interius, ecclesia non iudicat: at quatenus extra proditur, iudicare de ea debet. Iamvero cum quis ad sacramentum conficiendum et conferendum materiam formamque debitam serio ac rite adhibuit, eo ipso censetur id nimirum facere intendisse quod facit ecclesia.'

This seems to bring the authentic teaching of the Roman Church exactly into line with that of Hooker (see above), and the conclusion may be held judicious.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

T. A. LACEY.

INTERCESSION.—**I. Connotation of the term.**—The word is now usually restricted in its application to (*a*) pleading for others, as when a favour is asked for another from a fellowman; (*b*) praying for others, as when blessings are sought for another from God. When it is used of the intercession of Christ, it has a wider significance, and expresses the more general idea of (*c*) acting for others.

On the varying connotation of 'intercession' light is cast by its derivation and by the history of the Greek and Hebrew words of which it is the translation.

(1) *Intercessio* (*inter*, 'between,' and *cedere*, 'to pass' or 'to go') denotes (*a*) a passing between, as, *e.g.*, an intervening period of time. Hence, in 16th and 17th cent. writers 'intercession' is equivalent to 'intercessation'—a meaning now obsolete. Latimer could write: 'We must call upon God without intercession' (*OED* v. 386); (*b*) a going between, as, *e.g.*, the intervention of a mediator who strives to reconcile those who are at variance. The functions of a go-between may, however, differ greatly. The right of veto acquired by the Roman tribunes of the people was known as *intercessio*. These tribunes could forbid the carrying out both of the resolutions of the *senatus*, or deliberative assembly, and of the decrees of the *comitia*, or legislative assembly. Referring to a statute which the senators could not oppose by argument, C. Merivale says: 'They gained one of the tribunes to intercede against it' (*Fall of the Roman Republic*, London, 1853, viii. 216). The connexion of thought must, therefore, determine whether the intervention is *for* or *against*. But it is in accord with the tendency to limit the meaning of 'intercession' to an appeal for a favour that in Ro 11^2 the RV reads 'how he [Elijah] pleadeth with God against Israel,' instead of 'how he maketh intercession,' etc. (AV).

(2) In the NT 'intercession' is once (1 Ti 2^1) the translation of ἔντευξις, which is also once (1 Ti 4^5) rendered 'prayer.' The corresponding verb (ἐντυγχάνειν, 'to fall in with,' 'to have an interview with') is four times translated 'to make intercession' (Ro 8$^{26.27.34}$, He 7^{25}). In Ro 11^2 the rendering is 'to plead with,' and in Ac 25^{24} 'to make suit to.' In his note on the last cited passage, F. Field (*Notes on the Translation of the NT*, Cambridge, 1899, p. 140 f.) gives quotations from Greek writers which show that frequently the idea of a personal interview seems to be required. In 2 Mac 4^8 the RV 'at an audience' is an improvement upon the AV 'by intercession,' for the reference is to 'a confidential interview, face to face, between Jason and Antiochus' (cf. R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*^{11}, London, 1890, p. 190). The root idea of ἔντευξις is, therefore, not prayer for others, but familiar intercourse such as obtains when confidential relationships are established, as between parent and child. In 1 Ti 4^5 'prayer' is the only possible translation, but it should also be noted that in EV 'intercession' is found (Jer 27^{18} 36^{25}) when the petition has no reference to another's benefit. It is by a natural and suggestive transition of thought that ἔντευξις, which means prayer regarded as personal communion, familiar heart converse, should come to signify prayer regarded as supplication for others. The expression of this aspect of prayer is not, however, limited to this word; it is often represented by adding qualifying clauses to one or other of the synonyms for prayer.

(3) In the OT the subject of 'intercession' has great prominence, though the English word is of rare occurrence in EV. (*a*) The Hebrew verb פָּגַע is translated 'to make intercession' in Jer 7^{16} 27^{18} 36^{25}, Is 53^{12}, and the corresponding noun is rendered 'intercessor' in Is 59^{16}. This verb is closely related in meaning to ἐντυγχάνειν and signifies 'to encounter,' hence 'to encounter with a request.' In two passages the context makes it plain that the meaning is 'to pray for others' (on Jer 27^{18} 36^{25}, cf. (2) above). In Jer 7^{16} 'pray not for this

people' is parallel to, and synonymous with, 'neither make intercession to me'; in Is 53^{12} a defining clause is added: 'he made intercession for the transgressors.' (*b*) The Hebrew verb most frequently employed to express the idea of prayer for others is הִתְפַּלֵּל, 'to intervene.' Typical examples of its use are found in passages referring to the prayer of Abraham for Abimelech (Gn $20^{7.\ 17}$), of Moses for Aaron (Dt 9^{20}), of Moses for the people (Dt 9^{26}), and of Job for his friends (Job 42^{8}). (*c*) Another verb which sometimes expresses the same idea is עָתַר. By most modern lexicographers it is connected with an Arabic root signifying 'to sacrifice,' and its earliest associations are with sacred rites. The usual rendering is 'to entreat,' and often the entreaty is for others. In Ex $8^{8f.\ 28f.}$ 9^{28} 10^{17} this verb is six times used of the prayers of Moses and Aaron for Pharaoh; in Gn 25^{21} it refers to Isaac's prayer for his wife, and in 2 S 24^{25} to David's prayer for Israel.

2. Intercessory prayer.—When 'intercession' is defined as prayer for others, it is obvious that the objections raised against prayer in general apply to intercessory prayer. Indeed, the mystery which attaches to prayer of all kinds reaches its climax in prayer for another's blessing (cf. art. PRAYER). But the efficacy of intercession has been generally admitted by theists. Such controversy as existed in pre-Christian times was rather as to the nature of the gods than as to the propriety of invoking their aid.

'We may not say that the efficacy of prayer was admitted by *all* ancient Theists, but it does seem that this doctrine was not denied by any whose theology rendered its admission possible' (J. H. Jellett, *The Efficacy of Prayer* [Donnellan Lectures], Dublin, 1878, p. xxi).

It is held to be a *reductio ad absurdum* of Epicureanism that it rendered prayer nugatory (cf. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* i. 44). In Origen's treatise on Prayer (i. 186 ff., Benedictine ed.) the denial of the efficacy of prayer by later sceptics is represented as 'a necessary result of their fundamental principles.' In all ages men who have had knowledge of God have regarded it as a reasonable inference that to Him they might 'lift hands of prayer both for themselves and those who call them friend' (Tennyson, *Morte d'Arthur*). In this respect systems of religion agree, notwithstanding differences in many important particulars.

'Prayer is, and has ever been, an element of every system of Theism—of the polytheism of the Greeks and Romans, no less than of the monotheism of the Jews—of the religious systems of Zoroaster and of Mahomet no less than of the religion of Christ. The spirit of prayer breathes through the hymns to Indra and Varuna no less really than through the Psalms of David' (Jellett, 87 f.).

The conception of intercessory prayer, like the idea of prayer in general, presupposes not only a doctrine of God, but also a doctrine of man and of his relation to his fellowmen. That relation is best described by the word 'solidarity.' An intercessor is one with those for whom he pleads, and yet he differs from them in that he is nearer to God. The qualification for the work of intercession is twofold.

'The more eminent the great heroes of the Bible are for holiness of life, the more intensely do they realise their oneness with the people whose pastors and priests they are, and take upon themselves the burden of their nation's transgressions and sins' (Bersier, *Solidarity of Humanity*, quoted by D. W. Simon, *The Redemption of Man*^{2}, London, 1906, p. 334).

To make intercession for the nation was alike the duty and the privilege of the priests of Israel. Only once during a priest's lifetime could it fall to his lot to enter the holy place as intercessor for the people. The incense he offered there was the symbol of Israel's prayers presented with his own (Ex 40^{27}, Lk 1^{9}; cf. Ps 141^{1}, Rev 5^{8} $7^{3f.}$). Once a year also the high priest exercised the highest function of his office when he entered the Holy of Holies; having first made atonement for his own sins, he became the people's representative, and in him the entire nation had access to God (Lv 16^{15}).

In the history of Israel it is the prophets who most frequently act as intercessors. Moses, Aaron, and Samuel are singled out as pre-eminent in this regard (Ps 99^{6}, Jer 15^{1}). So intense was Samuel's sense of obligation that he described neglect of the duty of praying for others as 'sin against the Lord' (1 S 12^{23}). 'Pray for us' was the request made to Jeremiah by Zedekiah (Jer 37^{3}), and again by 'all the people' (Jer 42^{2}).

'Practically all the intercessory prayers of the OT are offered either by prophets or by men—such as Abraham and Job—whom later ages idealized as prophets.' As a rule their intercessions were for the nation they loved, but occasionally the petitions have a wider range. 'Jeremiah, for example, urges the exiles [Jer 29^{7}] to pray to Jehovah for Babylon and to seek her welfare . . . and Darius, in his decree [Ezr 6^{10}], desires the prayers of the Jews for himself and his dynasty' (J. E. McFadyen, *The Prayers of the Bible*, London, 1906, p. 58 ff.).

Intercessory prayer has the sanction of our Lord's example during His earthly ministry. He 'continued all night in prayer to God' before selecting the twelve Apostles (Lk 6^{12}). That His prayer included intercessions is a reasonable inference, as well from His petitions for His disciples on the eve of His departure from the world as from His supplication for Peter in anticipation of the hour when that disciple's faith would be sifted (Lk 22^{32}). At the grave of Lazarus His words of thanksgiving for prayer heard and answered, according to the Father's wont, point to a habit of intercession (Jn $11^{41f.}$), such as makes it natural for Him to use almost His latest breath in praying for His enemies (Lk 23^{34}). The command, 'Pray for them that despitefully use you' (Lk 6^{28}), falls from His lips with the authority of the teacher and Lord who could say of this grace, as of all others, 'I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done' (Jn 13^{15}). The true spirit of intercession breathes in the pattern prayer (Mt $6^{9ff.}$). Our Lord teaches His disciples that they

'should not pray as atomistic individuals, not "singly," but as *members* of human society, of the believing Church, of the kingdom' (H. Martensen, *Christian Ethics*, i. [*Individual*], Edinburgh, 1881, p. 180).

T. von Haering rightly finds a sufficient warrant for intercession in the '*Our* Father' of the Lord's Prayer:

'"Our" and "us" instead of the natural "my" and "me" is for the Christian a really natural utterance. This faith in the Father cannot exist without love to the brethren, both to those who really are so and to those who may presently become so. . . . Love would not be Christian love if it were not true of it, "I am responsible in God's sight for my love." When intercessory prayer is taken in this obvious way, the objection need not arise . . . that intercession is an interference with our neighbours' freedom and with God's arrangements. The Christian idea of the Kingdom of God, which it is the purpose of its Creator and Builder to build by earthly means, transcends these objections. The task of each co-worker with God (1 Co 3^{2}) is to be faithful in the exercise of his influence on others outside, and in his intercession as the motive power of his work for them. And both are done in humility' (*The Ethics of the Christian Life*, Eng. tr., London, 1909, p. 288).

St. Paul has the mind of Christ when he exhorts, 'first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings be made for all men' (1 Ti 2^{1}). The obligation to pray for others does not, however, depend upon the single word 'intercessions.' If ἐντεύξεις be translated 'petitions,' the clause 'for all men' still qualifies the four synonyms for prayer. Manifold as are the kinds of prayer, all men are to have the benefit of them. The prayers of St. Paul for his converts are the fervent outpourings of a heart that longed to share with others the fullness of the blessings of the gospel of Christ. Surprise has been expressed at the absence from his Epistles of allusions to prayer for the heathen; the explanation is that

'Such prayers are really involved in his prayers for the success of the gospel and in his requests for the similar prayers of others' (McFadyen, p. 153).

But, if *laborare est orare*, then the entire life of this strenuous missionary was a continual prayer that all men might 'know the grace of God in truth' (Col 1^{6}).

As to the value of intercessory prayer there is little difference in theory amongst those who believe in the efficacy of prayer at all. But in practice many Christians fail to imitate the example of Christ and of the Apostolic Church. Nevertheless,

> 'the test of the purity of our petitionary prayers is whether they contain *intercession*. This shows if the individual be concerned about the whole kingdom of God. Without intercession, prayer becomes egoistic, the view and the heart narrow. When piety lacks expansion, it also lacks intensive force. And then our prayer is not prayer in the name of Jesus, our Head' (I. A. Dorner, *System of Christian Ethics*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1887, p. 147).

Gore addresses an irresistible appeal to Evangelicals, urging them to 'emphasize this priesthood of the whole body in its rich positive meaning' (in *Priesthood and Sacrifice*, ed. Sanday, London, 1900, p. 148). All who believe in the universal priesthood of believers should give intercession a prominent place in their private devotions and in public worship. Every member of the kingdom of priests should realize that on him rests a positive obligation to obtain for himself and for others in intercourse with God those blessings which, under the old dispensation, it was the purpose of the priest's intercession in the holy place to obtain for the people.

3. The intercession of Christ.—The NT teaches that Christ's intercession is not confined to His earthly life. 'Jesus Christ the righteous' is now our 'Advocate with the Father' (1 Jn 2^{1}; cf. art. ADVOCATE). The climax of St. Paul's argument before he triumphantly inquires, 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?' is the statement that He who has all power 'at the right hand of God' in His compassion 'also maketh intercession for us' (Ro $8^{31f.}$). But the fullest exposition of this truth is in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Contrasting our great High Priest with the Levitical high priest, the writer of this Epistle declares that no defilement unfitted Christ for His sacred ministry. As a Son He was perfected for evermore, and had no need either to offer for His own sins or to repeat His sacrifice made once for all when He offered up Himself. B. F. Westcott shows that the fulfilment of the Levitical type by Christ takes three forms: (1) He intercedes for men as their present representative before God (He $7^{25ff.}$ 9^{24}); (2) He brings man's prayers to God (He 13^{15}); (3) He secures access for man to God (He 4^{16} $10^{19ff.}$).

> 'The modern conception of Christ pleading in heaven His Passion, "offering His blood," on behalf of men has no foundation in the Epistle. His glorified humanity is the eternal pledge of the absolute efficacy of His accomplished work. He pleads, as older writers truly expressed the thought, by His Presence on the Father's Throne. Meanwhile men on earth in union with Him enjoy continually through His Blood what was before the privilege of one man on one day in the year' (B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, London, 1892, p. 230).

A. J. Tait discusses the subject fully in *The Heavenly Session of our Lord* (London, 1912), rightly insisting (p. ix) that

> 'it is as King that Christ is also Priest, it is as seated on the Throne that He intercedes.'

The Session of our Lord signifies the cessation of propitiatory offering, and therefore the intercession of Christ is not to be conceived as a continual process of propitiation.

> 'Propitiatory sacrifice and offering are alike over: the Intercession, consisting in the Presence of Christ on the Throne, is continual' (Tait, p. 151).

Discussion has arisen as to whether or not the intercession of the Son is to be understood as made through words. A. B. Davidson (*Handbooks for Bible Classes*, 'Hebrews,' Edinburgh, n.d., p. 142, note on He 7^{25}) takes the negative view; but he makes a suggestion which approximates to the positive view when he refers to the example of Christ (Jn 17):

> 'He interceded in human speech to God in the days of His flesh, and translating this into the modes of heavenly communion, so far as we can imagine them, we may form some conception of it.'

In our Lord's intercessory prayer it is important to note the significance of the simple past tenses which the RV substitutes for the perfect tenses of the AV. Our Lord is already in thought at the right hand of the Father when He says: 'I glorified thee on the earth,' etc.

> 'The words of the prayer belong at least in spirit to that upper sanctuary. They are the concentration of all the prayers of the heavenly Intercessor, as He bore on earth, as He bears now, and will bear for ever, the wants of His people before the Father, who is both able and willing to supply them' (W. Milligan, *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord*^{2}, London, 1901, p. 156).

Milligan also gives expression to a needed caution when he reminds us that the intercession of Christ is not to be interpreted 'as if He were asking aid from an external source' (p. 153). If this be borne in mind, the idea of the intercession of Christ may be extended so as to include every way in which He acts for others (cf. art. MEDIATION).

4. The intercession of the Holy Spirit.—'Advocate' is a title of the Holy Spirit as well as of Christ, and to the Holy Spirit the work of intercession is ascribed. He is 'our Advocate within,' and, like Him who is our 'Advocate with the Father,' He is 'touched with the feeling of our infirmities.' St. Paul assures us that

> 'the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity: for we know not how to pray as we ought; but the Spirit himself maketh intercession for us with groanings that cannot be uttered; and he that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, that he maketh intercession for the saints according to the will of God' (Ro $8^{26f.}$).

The spirit of true prayer is identified with the voice of the Divine Spirit in man.

> 'There are times when we cannot pray in words, or pray as we ought; but our inarticulate longings for a better life are the Spirit's intercessions on our behalf, audible to God who searches all hearts, and intelligible and acceptable to Him since they are the voice of His Spirit, and it is according to His will that the Spirit should intercede for the members of His Son' (H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, London, 1909, p. 221).

In the verses just quoted (Ro $8^{26f.}$, cf. v.^{16}) the Spirit of God is distinguished from the spirit of man, even when in the mystery of prayer His relations with the human consciousness are most intimate. When the Christian is oppressed with the weight of 'this unintelligible world' (cf. v.^{22}), when he longs for light to shine on its perplexities and for deliverance from its evils, when in his ignorance he fails to express his spirit's yearnings in words, even then he is not alone, for he has the sympathy of a Divine friend.

> 'Perhaps the best periphrasis of "Paraclete" for modern readers would be "*the Friend in Need*"' (E. A. Abbott, *Paradosis*, London, 1904, p. 188).

There is One whose intercessions are prompted by perfect knowledge of the blessing that is really desired; His inarticulate petitions are understood by the Searcher of hearts, for His 'mind' is ever in accord with the Father's will. It is the idea of 'representation' which is common to the intercession of Christ and the intercession of the Holy Spirit.

> 'Jesus glorified represents us before the Father's Throne; the Holy Spirit abiding with us represents in us Jesus gone to the Father.' The Holy Spirit 'brings the Redeemer in such a manner home into our hearts that, in the innermost depths of our nature, we see and judge and feel with Him; that His requests for us become our prayers for ourselves; and that the unity of Father, Son, and redeemed humanity is in Him completely realised' (Milligan, p. 159 f.).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works referred to in the art., F. Buhl, 'Gebet im Alten Testamente' in *PRE*^{3} vi. 393 f.; E. von der Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit*, Leipzig, 1901; D. G. Monrad, *The World of Prayer*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1879; W. B. Pope, *The Prayers of St. Paul*, London, 1876; L. Andrewes, *Preces Privatæ*, tr. F. E. Brightman, do. 1903 (gives 'Reflections before Intercession' and 'Schemes of general and particular Intercession,' p. 263 ff.); A. J. Worl

ledge, *Prayer*, do. 1902; D. Stone and D. C. Simpson, *Communion with God*, Edinburgh, 1911; J. G. James, *The Prayer Life, its Philosophy and Practice*, London, 1912; W. A. Cornaby, *Prayer and the Human Problem*, do. 1912; W. T. Davison, *The Indwelling Spirit*, do. 1911.

J. G. TASKER.

INTERCESSION (Liturgical).—The custom of offering intercessions at the Eucharist seems to have been universal, at any rate from the middle of the 2nd cent. onwards. It would doubtless be considered the best way of carrying out St. Paul's injunction to Timothy 'that supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings (δεήσεις, προσευχάς, ἐντεύξεις, εὐχαριστίας) be made for all men' (1 Ti 2^{1}), whether the εὐχαριστίαι were interpreted as having any reference to the Eucharist or not. We accordingly find that intercessions formed part of the Eucharistic service at least from the time of Justin (*c.* A.D. 150), and that in the 4th and 5th centuries they were developed into three different forms, of which two still remain in all liturgies.

1. Second and third centuries.—We do not get much information on the subject from the *Didache*. If the prayers there given are those used for the Eucharist proper, the only approach to an intercession is in the prayer over the 'broken bread' (κλάσμα), and in the thanksgiving 'after being satisfied,' where there are clauses praying for the gathering in and protection of the Church (§ 9 f.). If, as is suggested in art. AGAPE, they are the Agape prayers, while those for the Eucharist proper were extemporaneous, we cannot tell how far the feature of intercession was introduced. Justin Martyr, however, is explicit. In describing the baptismal Eucharist (*Apol.* i. 65), he says that after the newly-baptized is brought 'to the place where those who are called brethren are assembled,' they offer 'hearty prayers in common (κοινὰς εὐχάς) for themselves and the newly-baptized (illuminated) person, and for all others in every place.' Then follow the Kiss of Peace and the Offertory, bread and the mixed cup being brought to the president, who 'gives praise and glory . . . and offers thanks at considerable length.' Justin adds that, 'when [the president] has concluded the prayers and thanksgivings, all reply Amen'; and the administration by the deacons follows. So in the description of the Sunday Eucharist (*Apol.* i. 67) after the lections, at which the 'reader' officiates, the president preaches, and all 'rise together and pray'; then, 'when their prayer is ended,' bread and wine and water are brought and the president 'in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability,' the people answering 'Amen.' We are not here concerned with the rest of the description.

It would seem probable that the 'prayers and thanksgivings' of the president did not include intercessions, and this is borne out by the earliest 4th cent. evidence (see below, 2 (*c*)). The intercessions would be confined to the 'prayers in common,' at which all the people stood up. What this phrase means is not quite clear, but we may perhaps suppose it to signify that the minister (the deacon ?) bade the prayers and that the people answered each petition responsorially, somewhat after the manner of an ectene or litany, though that, in the written form which it afterwards attained, was not yet invented (see below, 2 (*b*)). Thus Brightman remarks (*JThSt* xii. [1910–11] 322) that Justin's κοιναὶ εὐχαί must have been some inchoate form of a litany in order to be κοιναί at all. See also *JThSt* x. [1908–09] 505.

It is noteworthy, as J. Wordsworth points out (*Holy Com.*, Oxford, 1891, p. 64 ff.), that neither in Justin nor in the *Didache* is there a trace of intercession at the Eucharist for any one outside the Church. For Justin's words 'all others in every place' are shown by the context to mean 'all Christians'; and this custom of confining the liturgical 'offering' to those of the household of faith is found long after in Augustine's rule that it is wrong to 'offer' for any unbaptized:

'Who would offer the body of Christ except for those who are members of Christ? . . . For the non-baptized the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ may not be offered' (*de Anima et ejus origine*, i. 10, 13; cf. ii. 15, 21, iii. 18; but for the interpretation of this see below, 2 (*b*)).

Thus we gather that both in the 2nd and in the 5th cent. there was some clear limit to the liturgical intercession. On the other hand, St. Paul emphatically orders prayers 'for all men,' including 'kings and all that are in high place'; indeed, he emphasizes prayer for those who are outside, that they may 'come to the knowledge of the truth' (1 Ti 2^{1-4}). And Clement of Rome in the long prayer at the end of his epistle has a somewhat elaborate intercession, which includes 'our rulers and governors upon the earth' (*Cor.* 60 f.); there is, however, no evidence that this was offered at the Eucharist (for a discussion of the prayer see J. B. Lightfoot, *Clement*, London, 1890, i. 382 ff.). Tertullian says (*Apol.* 39) that 'we pray for Emperors, for their ministers, and for those in authority (*potestatibus*),' etc.; and (*ad Scap.* 2) that 'we sacrifice for the health (*salute*) of the Emperor, but to Him who is our God and his, but, as God commanded, in pure prayer'—probably an allusion to the Eucharist as opposed to the animal sacrifices of the heathen.

Cyprian speaks of penitents when restored to communion having the privilege of being prayed for by name at the Eucharist (*Ep.* ix. [xvi.] 2, 'To the clergy'; the true reading seems to be 'offertur nomine [not nomen] eorum,' but this does not greatly alter the sense; if the Eucharist was offered in their name, they must have been named as the object of prayer). In *Ep.* lix. [lxii.], writing to the Numidian bishops, Cyprian asks them to present their captive brethren in their sacrifices and prayers, and subjoins the names of each of these and of others for whom he asks their intercessions.

The Eucharistic intercessions in the 3rd cent. included prayers for the faithful departed. These appear first in Africa. Tertullian (*de Cor.* 3) says: 'We make oblations for the departed.' Cyprian, writing to the Church at Furni (*Ep.* lxv. [i.] 2), says that, in the case of a certain offender,

'no offering is to be made for him, nor any sacrifice be celebrated for his repose (*dormitione*). For he does not deserve to be named at the altar of God in the prayer of the priests . . . no offering may be made by you for his repose, nor any prayer be made in the church in his name' (for the recital of names in Cyprian's time see W. C. Bishop in *JThSt* xiii. [1911–12] 258).

We may here anticipate a little, and give testimony of a somewhat later date for the custom. In the *Canons of Hippolytus* (probably, in their present form, of the 4th cent., though slightly added to at a later date), at the commemoration of the departed (which must not be on a Sunday) the people 'first partake of the mysteries' and 'after the oblation' receive the bread of exorcism and sit at an Agape (can. xxxiii.; ed. H. Achelis, *TU* vi. 4 [Leipzig, 1891], § 169 f.). In pseudo-Pionius's *Life of Polycarp* (probably of the 4th cent.) we read that the people took Bucolus's body to the cemetery at Smyrna, and 'when all was over they offered bread for Bucolus and the rest' (§ 20 [Lightfoot, *Ignatius*^{2}, London, 1889, iii. 452]). Of the other Church Orders, the *Testament of our Lord* (*c.* A.D. 350 ?, i. 23, 35), the *Arabic Didascalia* (*c.* A.D. 400 ?, § 38), and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (*c.* A.D. 375, viii. 13) may be mentioned as including prayers for the departed in their Eucharistic liturgies. For Sarapion and Cyril of Jerusalem see below, 2.

2. Fourth century and later.—From the middle of the 4th cent. at least, the liturgical intercessions began to take written and fixed forms, and were developed in three lines: (*a*) the diptychs; (*b*) the Litany, or Ectene, or Synapte, or [Deacon's] Proclamation, and other forms of the 'people's prayers' before the Offertory; (*c*) the Great Intercession in the middle of the Anaphora. Technical names did not at first arise, but all these three classes of intercession are found in the 4th century.

(*a*) *The diptychs and their predecessors.*—In the *Testament of our Lord* the priest, chief deacon, and readers, at some time not stated, sit in a special place to write down the

> 'names of the offerers of the oblations and of those for whom they have offered them, so that, when the holy things are offered by the bishop [*i.e.* at the Eucharist], the reader or chief deacon may name them by way of commemoration, which the priests and people offer for them with supplication' (i. 19).

In other words, the names of those who made offerings, and those for whom the prayers of the congregation were asked, were 'commemorated' at the Eucharist, though the point of the service at which this was done is uncertain (in this manual 'to commemorate' also means 'to say the Litany' [i. 35]). In the *Pilgrimage of Silvia* or *Etheria* (*c.* A.D. 380?, though some have suggested a later date) the bishop on certain occasions 'commemorates' the names of persons to be prayed for; but this is not at the Eucharist. In the middle of this century we find a recital of the names of the departed in the Liturgy of Sarapion (see below). At the end of the century Jerome says that the names of those who offered for the Church were publicly read by the deacon (*in Jerem.* ii. 11, *in Ezech.* vi. 18).

Thus in the second half of the 4th cent. there is a regular recital of names; and even at the beginning of the century there is an allusion to the custom, at the Council of Elvira, in Spain (can. 28 f.); the bishop may not accept the oblation of a non-communicant, and the name of a demoniac is not to be recited at the altar 'cum oblatione,' *i.e.* as an offerer at the Eucharist. On the other hand, there is no clear evidence of a recital of names in Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 348) nor in the *Apostolic Constitutions*; and it has been denied that there is any, except in the case of martyrs and deceased bishops, in Augustine (E. Bishop, in Connolly's *Lit. Hom. of Narsai*, p. 113 n.; Srawley, *Early Hist. of Liturgy*, pp. 147, 215; on the other side see W. C. Bishop, in *JThSt* xiii. 258 f.). In view of these facts we cannot affirm that the practice was *universal* in the 4th century.

In the 5th cent. the name 'diptychs' came into common use. It is derived from the fact that the names of the living and of the departed respectively were inscribed on two-leaved tablets, 'normally' made 'of ivory like the consular diptychs inscribed with the consul's portrait and name, distributed on his accession'; many of these were transferred to ecclesiastical use (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 575). The reading of the names of the dead became at this time a test of orthodoxy. The letters that passed between Cyril of Alexandria and Atticus, bishop of Constantinople, early in the century describe the controversy as to the insertion of St. Chrysostom's name, some enthusiastically demanding its recital, others as enthusiastically demanding its omission. The letters show that the living and the dead were at that time commemorated in two separate tables, the latter arranged in categories; and that the diptychs contained a list of the bishops of Constantinople from the first. The public recitation was an important and popular part of the service, and the inclusion or omission of a name might lead to a riot or at least to very serious disturbance among the congregation (Brightman, p. 485, n. 7; E. Bishop, p. 102 f.; *DCB* i. 208).

The diptychs now become universal. We find them inserted in the Arabic translation (date uncertain) of the *Test. of our Lord*; they were used *c.* A.D. 500 by the East Syrians, for the *Lit. Hom. of Narsai* (ed. Connolly, pp. 10, 112) attest the recital of the names of both the living and the dead, though the contemporary pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita mentions only the names of the dead. Edmund Bishop points out (*op. cit.* p. 101) that the evidence tends to show a divergence of usage in East and West; and that the recital of the names of the offerers was early abolished in the East, those of the departed being retained, while in the West the former were read and the latter not until a later period.[1] In Gaul and Spain we do not read of the names of the dead being recited till the 6th cent.; Innocent I. mentions (*Ep. to Decentius*, early 5th cent.) the reading of the names of the offerers, but not of the departed. The commemoration of names is explicitly mentioned in the oldest Gallican book, the *Missale Richenoviense*, thus: '*Post nomina.* Auditis nominibus offerentum,' etc. (C. E. Hammond, *Lit. East. and West.*, Oxford, 1878, p. lxxxiii). A similar phrase is found in many later Gallican books.

The place of the diptychs in the Eastern liturgies varies. In the Byzantine rite (Greek and Armen.), they come during or in connexion with the Great Intercession; and so in the Egyptian rite (Melkite, Coptic, and Ethiopic, including the Abyssinian *Anaphora of our Lord* derived from the *Testament*), and in the West Syrian (Greek) rite.[2] But in the East Syrian or Persian (Nestorian) rite they came during or before the Kiss of Peace, in connexion with the Offertory,[3] and similarly in the Gallican rite as given by Hammond (p. xxviii); and it is probable that this is the original position. The names were connected with the Offertory, as including those of the offerers. In the Greek St. Mark (Egyptian) rite there is, just after the Kiss of Peace and the Creed, a prayer for those who offer. In Narsai and in pseudo-Dionysius the diptychs are read during the Kiss of Peace or after the Offertory and the Creed. Thus there seems to be good reason for thinking that in the Byzantine and Egyptian rites the diptychs have been moved from the neighbourhood of the Offertory to that of the Great Intercession. On the other hand, in Sarapion's sacramentary (*c.* A.D. 350), the ὑποβολή (recitation of names) of the departed comes in the middle of the Great Intercession.

An elaborate Nestorian example of diptychs may be seen in Brightman, p. 275 ff; for those of Jerusalem see *ib.* p. 501 ff.; for those of the Stowe Missal see L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, Eng. tr.^{4}, London, 1912, p. 209 f.

(*b*) *The Litany.*—The intercessions before the Offertory took, at least in some places, the form of a written litany not later than the 4th cent.; but probably before that they were tending in this direction.

The technical names of this form of devotion seem to have been invented later. In Greek-speaking countries it was (and is) usually called the *Ectene*, which has been interpreted as 'the extended prayer' (Brightman, p. 596), or, perhaps more probably, as 'the fervent prayer' (Lightfoot, *Clement*, i. 385; note how Clement lays stress on the prayer and supplication being fervent, ἐκτενῆ [*Cor.* 59], and cf. *Ap. Const.* viii. 6–10, where the catechumens, the penitents, and the faithful after the dismissal of the others are repeatedly bidden to pray 'fervently,' ἐκτενῶς; see also Brightman, *loc. cit.*). Other names are the *Synapte*, or suffrages 'linked together,' and the *Eirenika* (Brightman, pp. 596, 602). In Syriac-speaking countries the litany is called the *Kārūzūthā*, or 'Proclamation.'

We have two written litanies of the 4th cent. extant, as said before the Offertory in the liturgy, one in the *Test. of our Lord* and one in the *Apost. Const.*, both being of the same form; and this form has survived in the East with scarcely any alteration to the present day. The deacon asks the prayers of the people for various persons and objects; *e.g.*, 'For the exalted powers [the Emperor] let us beseech, that the Lord may grant them prudence and the fear of Him.' No response is given in either of these manuals; but probably, as in *Silvia* (above, (*a*)) and in the later forms, the people answered 'Kyrie eleison' to each petition. But in Augustine (if, indeed, he refers to a litany; see below) the answer is simply 'Amen'; and in the latter part of the daily litany of the East Syrians the people answer 'Amen' to each suffrage, not, as in the former part, 'Kyrie eleison' (Brightman, p. 265).

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[1] See some curious facts bearing on this in E. G. C. F. Atchley's *Ordo Romanus Primus*, p. 100.

[2] In the West Syrian (Jacobite) rite the names are read both before the Kiss of Peace and at the Great Intercession (Brightman, pp. 83, 94).

[3] When a memorial is made of persons departed, their names are read at the Great Intercession (Brightman, p. 286 n.).

In the Appendix to the *Arabic Didascalia*, which contains a Church Order based on the *Testament of our Lord*, and which describes the liturgy, but does not give it in full (*c.* A.D. 400 ?), the lections read by the deacons follow the Offertory (?), and the deacons then pray for the sick and travellers, for those in necessity, concerning the weather and crops, for kings and those in authority, for the departed, for penitents, for benefactors of the Church, for catechumens, for the universal Church, for the bishop and clergy, and for the assembled congregation. Then the bishop 'makes the liturgy' within the veil (F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Const. Ap.*, Paderborn, 1905, ii. 132; Brightman, p. 510). The place of the Offertory before the lections is very curious; but this may not be the exact meaning of the writer. He probably intends a litany by his description.

In the *Testament* and *Apost. Const.* the suffrages said by the deacon are concluded by an intercessory prayer said by the bishop, the text of the prayer being given in the latter but not in the former manual, where it was probably an extemporaneous utterance. In the *Apost. Const.* there are two other diaconal litanies (ii. 57, viii. 13), much shorter than that described above, but both concluded by the bishop. At first, as it would seem, the people stood throughout these intercessory devotions, as in Justin, the older *Didascalia* (Funk, i. 160), and probably in *Apost. Const.* ii. 57 (*ib.* p. 165); but in bk. viii., as in the *Testament*, the people knelt for the suffrages and stood for the concluding prayer.

The further development of the intercession on these lines, by which, and by its conjunction with the Penitential Procession, the modern Western litany arose, does not belong to this article; but it is noteworthy that the ancient place of the litany, just before the Offertory and after the lections, is preserved in the English Book of Common Prayer on one occasion only—at the consecration of a bishop. In the Roman Church it was said at the ordination of deacons just after the Epistle and Gradual (Atchley, *Ordo Rom. Prim.*, p. 37).

It has been doubted if there is other evidence for formal litanies in the 4th century. It seems probable, however, if *Silvia* was written at the end of that century, that at Jerusalem they were then in use, though perhaps not at the Eucharist. The description in *Silvia* might apply to a mere recital of names; but the authoress can hardly mean that the boys cried 'Kyrie eleison' after each name. If she refers to litanies, it follows that they were used, as at the present day among all Eastern Christians, at the daily morning and evening services; also that at Jerusalem, while the deacon said the evening litany, the bishop said the morning one.

In some other countries the Eucharistic intercessions before the Offertory perhaps did not take a litany-form so soon as the 4th century. No litany is given in any Egyptian document of that period, nor, indeed, are any fixed intercessory forms found. Cyril of Jerusalem mentions no intercessions before the Offertory (see below, (*c*), for his detailed intercession at a later stage). The Council of Laodicea in Phrygia (*c.* A.D. 380) says that after the dismissal of the catechumens and penitents three prayers for the faithful were said, one in silence and the others aloud, and that then the Kiss of Peace was given and the oblation offered (can. 19). This seems to exclude the litany, at any rate at this point in the service. It has been thought that in Augustine's writings also there is no trace of a litany. He calls, however, the intercession 'common prayer' (*communis oratio*), which, as in the case of Justin (above, I), would seem to imply something of this nature. He speaks of the bishop (*antistes*) praying with a loud voice, and the 'common prayer' being repeated by the voice of the deacon (*Ep.* lv. 34, Ben. [cxix] *ad inquis. Januarii*). The priest prayed for the heathen: 'Thou hearest the priest of God at the altar exhorting the people of God to pray for the unbelievers that God may convert them to the faith' (*Ep.* ccxvii. 26, Ben. [cvii] *ad Vitalem*; the people's response is given as 'Amen'). Thus Augustine's rule about not 'offering' except for the faithful (above, I) must be interpreted as meaning only that private individuals could not be prayed for by name at the Eucharist unless they were Christians. Augustine also mentions the prayer for the catechumens (*Ep.* ccxvii. 2), and for the faithful (*ib.* and *de Dono perseverantiae*, 63, Ben. [23], where again the response is given as 'Amen'). For a re-construction of the African liturgy from Augustine's writings see W. C. Bishop in *JThSt* xiii. 250, and Atchley, *Ord. Rom. Prim.*, App. iv. p. 182.

It is more remarkable that the Nestorian Narsai (*c.* A.D. 500) mentions no litany, though he refers to the deacon's exhortations. Brightman, indeed, says (*JThSt* xii. 325) that the omission is due only to Narsai's beginning his exposition at a point after that where the litany would occur. Yet the description includes the expulsion of the catechumens. The same omission is found in the Monophysite Jacob of Edessa (7th cent.), who describes the liturgy in his letter to the presbyter Thomas (Brightman, p. 490 ff.). After the Creed, which by that time had become part of the Eucharistic service, come three prayers of the faithful (cf. Laodicea above), and the deacon admonishes the people to stand in becoming order for the Kiss of Peace. Later on Jacob uses the word 'commemoration' for the Great Intercession, perhaps meaning that the diptychs were then said.

The conclusion from the evidence is that the formal litany was known in the 4th century, in Syria, as the *Apost. Const.* show (this Church Order probably does not emanate from Antioch itself [see A. J. Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 150]), and in the country where the *Testament of our Lord* was written (perhaps Asia Minor). At least something of the nature of a litany was probably in use at the end of the century at Jerusalem and in North Africa. In some other countries its place seems to have been taken by continuous intercessory prayers (Phrygia and the farther East), but we must guard against the fallacy of supposing that absence of evidence of its use means evidence of its non-use. At a later period the formal litany in the Eucharistic service became universal.

(*c*) *The Great Intercession.*—The third form in which the prayers for all men developed belongs entirely to the 4th and later centuries, and was almost certainly not in use before that. This was the 'Great Intercession' in the liturgy, the 'Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church.' This has exactly the same object as the Ectene—to intercede for all who need the prayers of the faithful. But two noteworthy facts show that it came into existence after the rest of the central part of the Eucharistic service had assumed a written, as opposed to an extemporaneous, form. Firstly, the Great Intercession is remarkable for the variety of its position in the service; and, secondly, it is not found at all in the two earliest liturgies that we know, those of the Ethiopic Church Order (Brightman, p. 189), and of the *Verona Fragments of the Didascalia, etc.* (ed. Hauler, Leipzig, 1900, p. 107), and it is found only very slightly developed in the *Test. of our Lord* and in Sarapion. As described in Chrysostom's Antioch writings, it is much more elaborate, if Brightman's re-construction is right (p. 474, and notes 25, 26 on p. 480); and in the *Apost. Const.* (viii. 12) it is a long one.

Thus this feature of the service grew only gradually and slowly in the 4th century. There is, however, by way of exception, an instance of early development of the Great Intercession in Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 348). This is one out of many instances in which Jerusalem led the way with regard to liturgical customs. In Cyril's description (*Cat.* xxiii.) the Great Intercession prays 'for the common peace of the Church, for the tranquillity of the world, for kings, soldiers, allies, the sick and afflicted and all who need succour; then we commemorate also those who have fallen asleep before us; first, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that at their prayers and intervention God would receive our petition; afterwards also on behalf of the holy fathers and bishops who have fallen asleep before us, and, in a word, of all who in past years have fallen asleep among us, believing that it will be a very great advantage to the souls for whom the supplication is put up, while that holy and most awful sacrifice is presented.' This intercession is expressly said by Cyril to have come after the Invocation, and 'after the spiritual sacrifice is perfected.' But so elaborate an intercession in this part of the service must at that date have been exceptional.

The most ancient place of the Great Intercession would appear to have been after the Invocation. It is found there in the only 4th cent. liturgies where it occurs at all—those of the *Testament*, of the *Apost. Const.*, and of Sarapion, and also in Cyril of Jerusalem's description. And this is its place also in the Byzantine (Greek and Armenian) and West Syrian rites. In the East Syrian rite, however, it comes between the Commemoration of Redemption and the Epiclesis, and this is the case as early as Narsai (*c.* A.D. 500). In the Egyptian rite (Greek, Coptic, Ethiopic) it precedes the Commemoration of Redemption; and so in the Abyssinian *Anaphora of our Lord* (see art. INVOCATION, [Liturgical], below, p. 411^b, note 1; for a translation see J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, *Test. of our Lord*, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 245 ff.), where there is also a shorter intercession after the Invocation, as in the *Testament* from which it is derived.

In the Roman rite the Great Intercession is divided into two parts, that for the living, with a commemoration of saints, being said directly after the Sanctus, and that for the departed, with another commemoration of saints, following the prayer for Divine intervention *Supra quae* and *Supplices te* (see art. INVOCATION [Liturgical], § 6). The Ambrosian liturgy has the same feature. In the old Gallican and Mozarabic, the Great Intercession comes, with the names of the living and the dead, before the Kiss of Peace (Duchesne, p. 211). This custom was reprehended by Innocent I. in A.D. 416 (*PL* xx. 553 f.; see Atchley, *Ordo Rom. Prim.*, p. 99).

The main difference between the Great Intercession and the 'people's prayers' at the earlier part of the service is that the former was a prayer by the priest, the people answering 'Amen' at the end, while the latter were at least usually responsorial, the deacon addressing the people and bidding their prayers a clause at a time, and the people responding to each clause, usually with an ejaculation addressed to God. In the modern Coptic rite (Brightman, p. 165) the people respond 'Kyrie eleison' in the Great Intercession also, and the deacon interjects some short exhortations.

3. **Conclusion.**—To sum up the evidence: it appears that the liturgical intercessions have developed in three directions, into the diptychs, the Ectene, and the Great Intercession. These devotions seem not to have taken a fixed or written form quite so soon as the other central parts of the service. The development went on in parallel lines, the Ectene keeping the form of a dialogue and being said (as in Justin) before the central act; the Great Intercession growing into a long prayer of the celebrant; while the diptychs, which are in reality the essence of the whole intercession, became in time a mere list of somewhat meaningless names, and in most countries have fallen into complete desuetude.

LITERATURE.—E. Bishop, Appendix to R. H. Connolly's *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, Cambridge, 1909 (on the diptychs and litanies), and artt. in *JThSt* xii. [1910–11] 384, xiv. [1912–13] 23 ('Liturgical Comments and Memoranda'); F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, i., and art. in *JThSt* xii. 319 ('Chronicle: Liturgica'); W. C. Bishop, art. 'The African Rite,' in *JThSt* xiii. [1911–12] 250; R. H. Connolly, art. 'The Book of Life' in *JThSt* xiii. 580 (on the diptychs); R. Sinker, art. 'Diptychs' in *DCA* i. 560; H. J. Hotham, art. 'Litany' in *DCA* ii. 999 (for the later litanies); E. G. C. F. Atchley, *The People's Prayers*, London, 1906 (for the later period), and *Ordo Romanus Primus*, do. 1905; A. J. Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, Cambridge, 1910, ch. iv.; J. H. Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy*, do. 1913.

A. J. MACLEAN.

INTEREST.—See USURY.

INTERIM.—Three documents bearing the name of *Interim* figured in the Church history of the South of Germany during the troubled decade in the 16th cent. which contained the death of Martin Luther. They were drawn up as bases of reunion between the Roman Catholic and Reformed factions in the Empire. The unswerving policy of the Emperor Charles V. to keep the German Church one and in communion with Rome, though organized in a distinctive fashion of its own, sought a solution of the problem in the imposition of articles of compromise upon the recalcitrant Protestants and Roman Catholics alike. They were of an *interim* or provisional character, meant only to form an accommodation or *modus vivendi* until a free General Council of Western Christendom should determine a final settlement of the matters in doctrine, ritual, and government at issue within the Church. They represent, without any genuine constructive or reconstructive genius, the effort of the imperial authority, all but grown desperate, to heal in a hurry the fresh schism of Christendom and to close the Christian ranks against the menacing advance of Islām. Charles V., anxious though he was to check the power and claims of the papacy whenever it crossed his own imperial path of ambition, was resolved that no one else should thwart the bishop of Rome. Even when his own envoys were demanding that the Tridentine Council should be withdrawn from Bologna and from Italian or Roman dictation, and in his name (Jan. 18, 1548) declined to recognize its decrees until it had returned to Trent, he had no thought of undermining the papal authority. It was his fixed conviction that in the hopelessly divided and exhausted state of the forces of Protestant Reform a moderate Catholic Reform, which should allow play and scope for the German national genius, could be trusted to appeal in the long run to all parties. Already in 1540 and 1541 conferences had taken place at Hagenau, at Worms, and at Ratisbon (Regensburg), the last of which made some real progress towards a compromise. In May 1548, at the Imperial Diet which met at Augsburg, the principal Interim was enacted, and in December of the same year the Saxon Diet, met in Leipzig, passed a similar document for its own territory. There are thus three Interims, that of Ratisbon in 1541, that of Augsburg in 1548, and that of Leipzig in the same year. Of these it is the second which is familiar to history as 'the Interim.'

1. **Ratisbon Interim.**—The Conference at Ratisbon in 1541 could not vie with its immediate predecessor at Worms either in numbers or in talent. The earlier gathering included Melanchthon, Brenz, Capito, Bucer, and Calvin among the eleven who formed the Reformed side; Eck, Gropper, Malvenda, Granvelle, and the nuncio Morone among the eleven on the papal side. Its discussions gave little promise of an agreement in favour of traditional authority, and it was speedily terminated by adjournment till the Diet met in the Emperor's presence at Ratisbon. At Ratisbon, Granvelle, bishop of Arras, again presided, this time in association with Frederick the Count-Palatine, and over against Eck, Gropper, and Julius von Pflug were set Melanchthon, Bucer, and Pistorius, while the conciliatory Contarini represented the Vatican. With Melanchthon, Bucer, Pflug, and Contarini on the commission, progress was speedily made, for their desire to reach an understanding was sincere and intense. Bucer had been indefatigable in promoting communication and compromise, and had taken a considerable part in the preparation of the 23 articles which formed the *Regensburg Book*, the basis of discussion at the Conference. Melanchthon had proved the sincerity of his attachment to the cause of reconciliation four years earlier, when the Articles of Schmalkald were drawn up by Luther, at the request of the Elector of Saxony in view of the promise of Pope Paul III. to call a General Council to meet at Mantua in 1537. It was natural that articles which were to represent Protestant conviction in a far from sympathetic gathering should

be militant; but Melanchthon, who furnished them with an appendix on the papacy, did not hesitate to qualify his subscription to them with the clause:

> '. . . in regard to the Pope, I hold that, if he would admit the Gospel, we might also permit him for the sake of peace and the common concord of Christendom to exercise by human right his present jurisdiction over the bishops who are now or may hereafter be under his authority.'

Agreement was reached on the first four subjects of discussion, which concerned man's original state, free will, and sin, and even on the doctrine of justification by faith, an inhering as well as imputed righteousness being affirmed on the strength of Christ's merit. But, when the subjects of the Church, the sacraments, and the papal authority were dealt with, it became clear that the two sides were irreconcilable. To concede the cup to the laity and marriage to the clergy of Germany was but to touch the fringe of the problem, and to concede primacy to Rome without delimitation of its prerogative was merely to postpone a settlement. Moreover, when the results of the discussion were submitted to the pope and to Luther, it was ascertained that each was profoundly dissatisfied. The Emperor made the most he could of the disappointing situation. Although the Roman Catholics would not allow themselves to be bound by the agreed articles, he imposed these upon the Protestants as the substance of the 'Ratisbon Interim.'

2. Augsburg Interim.—Despite the fact that the Ratisbon Colloquy thus virtually came to nothing, and the antagonistic interests were destined never again to come so near to a settlement of their differences, the Emperor clung to his project. Luther's death in 1546 removed one obstacle. The summoning of the Council of Trent in 1545 removed another, although Charles soon charged the pope with infringing its freedom, and thus defeating its purpose of promoting reunion. The Schmalkald League was broken up. The defeat and capture of the Saxon Elector John Frederick, last champion of the Protestant cause in arms, at Mühlberg in 1547 left the Emperor, for the time being, master of the political situation and gave a new opportunity to his great design. Despairing of successful action by the Council, he set himself, as Lindsay writes (*History of the Reformation*, i. 389 f.),

> 'to bring about what he conceived to be a reasonable compromise which would enable all Germany to remain within one National Church. He tried at first to induce the separate parties to work it out among themselves; and, when this was found to be hopeless, he, like a second Justinian, resolved to construct a creed and to impose it by force upon all, especially upon the Lutherans. To begin with, he had to defy the Pope and slight the General Council for which he had been mainly responsible. He formally demanded that the Council should return to German soil (it had been transferred to Bologna), and, when this was refused, he protested against its existence and, like the German Protestants he was coercing, declared that he would not submit to its decrees. He next selected three theologians, Michael Helding, Julius von Pflug, and Agricola—a mediævalist, an Erasmian, and a very conservative Lutheran—to construct what was called the *Augsburg Interim.*'

The Interim was enacted on May 15, 1548, and was put in force by the Emperor throughout the Empire, many Lutheran preachers and teachers, *e.g.* Brenz, Osiander, and Bucer, being sent into exile for refusing to submit. But it was vain to force it on Protestants while Roman Catholics declined it and had to be furnished with a *Formula Reformationis* for themselves. Where the preachers were banished the churches stood empty. In a short time the Interim was a spent force.

The document is an example of what Thomas Carlyle calls 'concoctive science.'

> 'Nothing that Charles ever undertook proved such a dismal failure as this patchwork creed made from snippets from two Confessions. . . . It is a hopeless task to construct creeds as a tailor shapes and stitches coats' (Lindsay, i. 390 f.).

Its propositions are cast in terms of studied ambiguity. To conciliate the party of reform it affirmed a doctrine of justification by faith, conceded the marriage of priests and the use of the sacramental cup by the laity, and revised the doctrine of the Mass. But the number of the sacraments, the retention of ceremonies, the worship and invocation of Mary and the saints, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the sovereign authority of the pope were regularly maintained in favour of Rome.

3. Leipzig Interim.—In Saxony the Elector Maurice, assisted by Melanchthon, whose heart was set upon the restoration of his beloved University of Wittenberg after the war, and upon the speedy return of peace to his distracted country, imposed upon his subjects the Leipzig Interim, the counterpart of the Augsburg settlement. The policy of Melanchthon, for which he was never wholly forgiven by ardent Lutherans, was to yield to Rome and the Emperor well-nigh all that concerned ritual and usage so long as the essentials of the Reformed doctrine, in particular justification by faith, were conserved. Luther had remonstrated again and again with his scholar-colleague on this very point, but Melanchthon was content at this time of ebb in the fortunes of the Reformation to sacrifice ceremonies if doctrines were kept pure. Brenz, Bucer, and Calvin (see Schaff, *History of the Creeds of Christendom*^{5}, p. 301) all saw deeper into the perils of Melanchthon's 'adiaphorism,' and deplored his attitude. Not till the Formula of Concord took shape in 1577 did the controversy thus originated reach a termination. But the Interim which gave rise to it was set aside by the sudden change of front of the Elector Maurice, and the dramatic success of his bold stroke on behalf of the cause which he had betrayed, and by the establishment of the Peace of Augsburg, which authorized finally the profession of the Confession of Augsburg.

Cf. art. CONFESSIONS, vol. iii. p. 848^a.

LITERATURE.—T. M. Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, Edinburgh, 1906; Church Histories of J. H. Kurtz^3, London, 1894, and J. C. L. Gieseler, iv., New York, 1862 (for documents); *Cambridge Modern History*, ii., Cambridge, 1903, 'The Reformation'; P. Schaff, *History of the Creeds of Christendom*^{5}, New York, 1887; S. Issleib, art. 'Interim,' and T. Kolde, art. 'Regensburger Religionsgespräch' in *PRE*^{3} ix. 210 and xvi. 545 (both with very full bibliographies).

WILLIAM A. CURTIS.

INTERMEDIATE STATE.—See STATE OF THE DEAD.

INTERNATIONALITY.—The term 'internationality' may be used with reference to both law and morality in their international aspects. In its legal bearing, it can apply only to the relations existing between those States which are within the sphere of international law. This circle of States includes the Christian nations of Europe and their offshoots in America, the Ottoman Empire, and Japan—which had been admitted even before the Russo-Japanese War. China and Persia, too, have now a recognized international status of some kind. How the circle comes to be so restricted may be explained as follows. International law, according to a well-known authority (W. E. Hall, *International Law*^{6}, pt. i. ch. i.), primarily governs the relations of those States called independent States which voluntarily submit themselves to it, although to a limited extent it may also govern the relations of certain analogous communities. The marks of an independent State are: that the community constituting it is permanently established for a political end; that it possesses a definite territory; and that it is independent of external control. But, as international law is a product of the special civilization of modern Europe, and forms a more or less artificial system, such States only can be presumed to be subject to it as are inheritors of that civilization. States which are outside European civilization must enter in a formal way into the circle of those governed by the law, although an express act of accession is not to be regarded as necessary. When a new State comes into existence, its position is determined by the same considerations; and its origin decides whether it is *presumed* to belong to the circle or not. Recently, however, the tendency has been for admitted States to conduct their relations with States which are outside the circle, so far as the case permits, in accordance with the legal standard which they have themselves set up. And so the spirit of international law is making itself felt all over the world.

There are some principles of State action which are, as it were, just over the borders of the law. For example, the State's duty to extradite criminals is said on good authority to be a moral and not a legal one. And such bordering rights and duties are supplemented by others more clearly moral, and by many duties in which the State's relationship is not so clearly extended to other States, but rather to masses of foreigners or to the world in general. Thus the duty of a State to permit intercourse with it to be maintained by foreign nations is said to be a moral duty, as opposed to a legal one. But, whether it is a moral or a legal one, it is subject to the limitation that the State may take what measures of precaution it considers needful to prevent the right of access and intercourse from being used to its own injury. And, when we come to consider the laws actually in force preventing the access of alien vagabonds, destitute persons, and so forth, the interest and importance of the subject lie primarily in its ethical and economic aspects, and not in its strictly international bearing.

Mention must also be made, more specifically, of uncivilized peoples. Obviously the principles by which a civilized State is to regulate its conduct towards the people of less highly developed races give rise to many burning questions, though in a legal sense such problems might be ruled out of discussion. A civilized country possesses in its army and navy instruments of the most powerful kind for assuming the offensive. In treating with a barbarous people, it probably knows the dangerous fact that, whatever be the soundness of its arguments, it has the power to enforce its wishes. And, when a civilized nation has acquired dominance over an uncivilized, its political and commercial organization must be employed with due regard for the inferior race. By the establishment of protectorates, States frequently acquire rights over countries the inhabitants of which are in an uncivilized condition; and the States are then expected to see that a reasonable measure of security is afforded both to their own subjects and to foreigners who are members of other States within the protectorate. The native inhabitants must, on their side, be protected from harm to a reasonable extent; and there must be some provision for the administration of justice between man and man. It is generally not possible to administer a European law with its systematic completeness, and the problem of justice must be solved according as the local circumstances dictate. Protectorates of this newer kind, it must be remembered, ought not to be classed with those of our Indian Empire. A 'sphere of influence,' again, is a looser and vaguer term than protectorate. The State here assumes a much less definite responsibility; but it is expected to exercise such influence as it possesses in the direction of good order.

LITERATURE.—W. E. Hall, *A Treatise on International Law*6, Oxford, 1909; H. S. Maine, *International Law*, London, 1890; W. Wundt, *Ethics*, Eng. tr., do. 1901, pt. iv. ch. iv.; D. W. Forrest, *The Authority of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 272 ff. (in international affairs); W. A. Watt, *A Study of Social Morality*, do. 1901, ch. iv.

W. A. WATT.

INTERPRETATION.—**1. Introduction.**—A sacred book, like a legal code, calls for interpretation, as a means of bridging the chasm which, in religion as in law, exists between the progressive development of life and the fixed letter. The book and the legal code do not supply all the information that may be required; to many questions they give no satisfactory answer; while, again, they contain much that can no longer be used, and much that to a more advanced stage of thought seems antiquated, erroneous, and objectionable. Interpretation thus comes to be a process partly of supplementing the original record, partly of giving it a new significance. It is a feature of all book-religions, and appears also among peoples who invest ancient poetry (*e.g.* the Vedas in India and the Homeric epics in Greece) with canonical prestige—with the authority of a Bible. Even prior to Buddha's time Indian scholars had compiled huge commentaries to the Vedas—the so-called *Brāhmaṇas*; while the Stoics built their philosophy very largely on the interpretation of Homer (Heraclitus of Pontus, *Quæstiones Homericæ* [ed. Leipzig, 1910]; Cornutus, *Theologiæ Græcæ compendium* [ed. C. Lang, do. 1881]).

This feature appears in its most definite form in later Judaism: the *Hălākhā* and *Haggādā* (see art. RABBINISM), the one practical, the other theoretical, were in reality such supplements to or re-interpretations of the OT; and this feature is equally marked in Christianity, which, by conjoining the OT, the religious document of the inferior dispensation, with the NT, was in a special way confronted with the problem of bringing its own religious convictions into harmony with the letter of Holy Scripture. It is true that the parables of Jesus speak in the same homely language to people of all ages, and that the Gospels tell clearly and plainly of the life which brought light to the world. But what was the Christian to make of the sacrificial legislation of the OT, and of what use was the history of Israel to him? The Prophets contain much that is obscure, and even in the Psalms there are many things that cannot but jar upon the Christian consciousness. What had become a customary procedure in the case of the OT was soon extended also to the NT, and all the more readily as the latter had difficulties of its own, and especially as it presented much that was repugnant, and omitted much that would have proved acceptable, to the Greek mind. Along with a sacred book, Christianity found current also a method of exegesis which merely needed to be developed in accordance with its own peculiar character. Greek, Jewish, and Christian exegesis differ from one another, not in method, but in purpose: they respectively seek to elicit philosophy, law, and Jesus Christ.

2. Development of exegetical theory.—The human mind endeavours to reduce such exegetical practice to rules, to a theory. Rabbi Hillel formulated seven rules of exegesis, which Rabbi Ishmael further extended to thirteen, and Rabbi Eliezer to thirty-two, most of them simply showing how to foist an extrinsic sense into the text by arbitrary and artificial devices. They include the argument *a minore ad maius*, the analogy, the combination of two passages, the *nôṭārîqôn* ('abbreviation') (e.g. *selāh* = סב לְמַעְלָה חַשֵׁר = *da capo*), *gematriā* ('numerical value of letters') (cf. Rev 13[18]), the *temūrāh* ('form,' 'shape') (e.g. *Sheshach* = Babylon [Jer 25[26]]). The Greeks went more deeply into the subject. What writers like Aristotle (in the *Organon*), pseudo-Demetrius of Phaleron, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, etc., include in *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* was a subdivision of rhetoric, dealing with the formation of thought or judgment in word and sentence, *i.e.* the mode of expression in the choice and combination of words, diction in the grammatical sense, and, finally, style in the rhetorical sense (*elocutio*; Arist. *λέξις*). With this, again, was closely allied the analysis of this process of thought in a single writer; and, just as the terms *ἑρμηνεύειν* and *interpretari* were used to denote translation into another language (*transferre*), so they were also applied to the explanation of a sentence in itself obscure (*explicare*). The latter sense was also expressed by *ἐξηγεῖσθαι*, a word originally connected with the sacred mysteries.

In the exegesis of Holy Scripture, however, it was not merely the thoughts of the human writers that had to be taken into consideration; the idea of inspiration, along with the notion of an incomprehensible and mysterious God, required men to search for a more profound hidden meaning behind the natural sense. Hence Philo of Alexandria, the Jewish philosophical theologian, adopted the 'allegorical method' of the Stoics, and the Christian theologians followed his example. As he assumed that the Biblical history was not in the real sense history at all, but was rather eternal, unchanging truth under a historical veil, so they maintained that what was told in the OT about Joseph, David, or Solomon was in reality the story of Jesus. The tabernacle and its sacrificial worship stood for the Christian Church and its services. If the true sense was to be discovered, every detail must be read as implying something else, as in a pictorial enigma; or, to put it more precisely, the allegorical interpretation was something given in its entirety beforehand, and only required to be fitted into the text as a whole in such a way as to harmonize the greatest possible number of details. See, further, art. ALLEGORY.

But, besides the allegorical method, which was a product of the Greek spirit and had an inner link of connexion with Plato's theory of ideas, there was another method—more congenial to the Semitic mind, and also more just to the idea of historical development—viz. the method of 'typology,' which recognized the historicity of the narrative, but in its system of prediction and fulfilment postulated a kind of pre-established harmony between the OT and the NT history. Thus, *e.g.*, it is a historical fact that Abraham was ready to sacrifice Isaac, but the true significance of the incident is its being a prefiguration of God's sacrifice in Christ. Typology, no less than allegory, puts an extrinsic meaning into the text; but it looks at the relation between the literal and the added sense in a somewhat different way.

The allegory, after its excessive cultivation by the Gnostics, found a footing chiefly among the Platonizing theologians of Alexandria, while typology, to which Jewish Christians had resorted from the outset, was brought to its highest development in the so-called School of Antioch (cf. art. ANTIOCHENE THEOLOGY). There is no good reason for connecting the difference between the two with the antagonism between the Alexandrian and the Pergamenian schools of Hellenistic philology. It was believed by the ancient scholars that the two methods worked quite well side by side.

Of the Christian theologians, the first to formulate a theory of interpretation was Origen (*Περὶ ἀρχῶν*, bk. iv.); by the hypothesis of the manifold sense of Scripture (somatic, psychic, and pneumatic, *i.e.* verbal, moral, and mystical) he showed that the several modes of exegesis were all valid in their own place. This was expanded by the Greek theologians of the 4th cent. into the theory of the 'fourfold' sense of Scripture, which was in turn adopted in the West by Augustine, and then fixed and brought to maturity by the Scholastics.

Like the *κλεῖς* of Melito of Sardis, the treatise of Diodorus 'on the difference between theory and allegory' and that of Theodorus 'on allegory and history' are unfortunately lost; and the notes of Isidore of Pelusium (*Ep.* iv. 117, 203 [*PG* lxxviii. 1192 f., 1289–92]) and Nilus (*Ep.* i. 118–127, ii. 223, etc. [*PG* lxix. 133–137, 320]), as also the *Instituta regularia divinæ legis* of Junilius Africanus (A.D. 551 [*PL* lxviii. 15–42; also ed. H. Kihn, Freiburg, 1880]), which emanated from the school of Paul of Nisibis, make but a poor substitute for them. The most valuable contribution, here as elsewhere, was made by Augustine, who, in his *de Doctrina Christiana*, with the distinction between *res* and *signum* as his starting-point, arrived at an almost modern theory of interpretation, although, like all the exegetes of the ancient Church, he confined himself to the task of explaining difficult passages of Scripture.

The other extant manuals of hermeneutics—the *Liber regularum* of the Donatist Tychonius (ed. F. C. Burkitt, *TS* iii. 1 [1894]; its seven rules were adopted by Augustine, Isidore, Thomas Aquinas, etc.), the *Formulæ spiritalis intelligentiæ* and the *Instructiones* of Eucherius of Lyons (ed. K. Wotke, *CSEL* xxxi. [1894]), as well as the *Εἰσαγωγὴ εἰς τὰς θείας γραφάς* of the monk Adrianos (*c.* A.D. 500; *PG* xcviii. 1273–1312)—are simply practical directions for the allegoristic interpretation of Scripture, and treat of the OT and the NT in exactly the same way.

Scarcely any further advance was made by the mediæval writers Cassiodorus (who merely combined the last-named three with Augustine and Junilius), Isidore, Bede (*de Schematis et tropis sacræ scripturæ*), Notker Balbulus (*Notatio de interpretibus divinarum scripturarum*), Hugh of St. Victor (*Prænotatiunculæ de scripturis et scriptoribus sacris*), or the Scholastics. The allegorical method dominated all of them, and was systematized as the fourfold sense of Scripture. In the later mediæval period, however, a new feature, due to the independent thought of men like Roger Bacon, and also to a revived knowledge of Rabbinical interpretation, was introduced into the ecclesiastical exegesis, as seen in Nicolaus of Lyra (1270–1340) (*Prologus in moralitates bibliæ*), J. Gerson (1363–1429) (*Propositiones de sensu literali sanctæ scripturæ*), and others. Santes Pagninus of Lucca (1470–1541) reinstated the mystical sense in his *Isagoga* (Lyons, 1536), and Sixtus of Siena (1520–69), in his *Bibliotheca sacra* (Venice, 1566), collected with vast erudition all the learning of the past that was necessary for Biblical exegesis. The new and decisive impulse, however, came from a different quarter. Humanism revived the study of the ancient languages, and the Reformation made that study subservient to an exegesis that centred in the plain historical sense. But the real turning-point was that, whereas the entire ancient and mediæval theology had regarded Scripture as abstruse, as something that could and should be interpreted only by learned men with the help of allegory and under the control of the Church, it was now asserted, in virtue of the new evangelical ideas of a revealed God and the assurance of salvation, that Scripture was easy to understand (its *perspicuitas*): the devout reader of the Bible, once he was furnished with the necessary linguistic aids, would discover the meaning without difficulty. Hence, in addition to the philological *Ars critica* of G. Scioppius (1662), J. Clericus († 1736), and H. Valesius (Amsterdam, 1740), we have the *Clavis scripturæ sacræ* of Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1567) and the *Philologia sacra* of Salomo Glassius (1623–36), which are chiefly concerned with the lexical and grammatical material required to bring out the verbal sense of the text.

It was Biblical exegesis, and not classical philology, that—as W. Dilthey (see Lit.) also holds—gave rise to modern hermeneutics. The term 'hermeneutics' (a reminiscence of Plato, *Epinomis*, 975 C ?) first occurs in a work of J. C. Dannhauer (Strassburg, 1654), while others still spoke of the *ars interpretandi* (Rudorff, 1747; 'Auslegekunst,' G. F. Meyer, Halle, 1756). Through the renewed study of the ancient treatises Περὶ ἑρμηνείας a great many topics came in which belonged properly to rhetoric, and do not, strictly speaking, fall under hermeneutics in the modern sense. In the 18th cent. hermeneutics was a favourite study; scarcely a single year passed without the issue of a handbook on the subject. The outstanding theologians of all confessions added their quota, and of these J. A. Turretini of Geneva (1728), his friend S. Werenfels of Basel, and the semi-Pietistic, semi-Wolffian S. J. Baumgarten of Halle (1742) deserve special mention. The most influential of them all was J. A. Ernesti of Leipzig, whose *Institutio interpretis* (1762) is distinguished by its philological sobriety and lucidity.

The necessity of a purely historical mode of understanding the text, however, was not yet fully realized. In place of the ecclesiastical authority of the Roman Catholic exegesis, the orthodox theologians of the Reformed Churches, notwithstanding their maxim 'scriptura scripturæ interpres,' substituted the authority of their respective creeds. The Cartesians found the standard of Biblical interpretation in philosophy (L. Meyer, *Philosophia s. Scripturæ interpres*, Amsterdam, 1666; J. Amerpoel, *Cartesius Mosaizans*, Leovardiæ, 1669), and the champions of the Enlightenment, in their desire to keep their exposition of Scripture within the bounds of reason, did the same thing in their own fashion. The Pietists, on the other hand, like the mediæval mystics, wished to use the Scriptures only for edification, and were not concerned to understand them historically (A. H. Francke, *Manuductio ad lectionem Scripturæ Sacræ*, Halle, 1693, ^{2}1700, *Prælectiones hermeneuticæ*, Halle, 1717); while Kant desired to have them expounded with a view to moral perfection. The infallibility of the divine revelation given in the Scriptures was assumed by all these writers, and they were thus impelled, unwittingly, to find extrinsic meanings in the text.

Apart from all the theologians of this period stands Baruch Spinoza, the Jewish philosopher, who, in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670), first ventured to question the fundamental axiom of all previous theology and Biblical exegesis. What Luther had intuitively felt, but had not consistently carried out, viz. that the value of the Bible lies simply in its being a religious book, was made explicit by Spinoza, who thus prepared the way for a distinctively religious estimate of the contents of Scripture, and for a historical interpretation that should do justice to the different world-views of various lines.

The pioneer of a fresh movement was F. D. E. Schleiermacher, in whose hands hermeneutics (cf. 'Hermeneutik und Kritik, mit besonderer Beziehung auf das NT,' *Werke*, I. vii., ed. F. Lücke, Berlin, 1838), which had hitherto been an aggregation of knowledge and devices needed for exposition, became a philosophy of 'comprehension' ('Philosophie des Verstehens'). While Augustine had analyzed the materials to be understood, Schleiermacher deals with the process of understanding itself. For him there is no distinction between difficult and simple passages, and nothing is self-evident. The interpreter's task is to understand the religious personality of the writer as manifested in every single word, to look from the details to the whole, and from the standpoint of the whole to set the details in their true light. Accordingly, hermeneutics is one and the same for all literature, sacred or profane, and yet it assumes a special character for each individual writer, even within the Bible itself. Schleiermacher's views were maintained by his pupils F. Lücke (*Grundriss der NT Hermeneutik*, Göttingen, 1816) and H. N. Klausen [or Clausen] (*Hermeneutik*, Leipzig, 1841).

The rehabilitation of orthodoxy in the 19th cent., with its deepened Christian piety, revived the demand for an exegesis recognizing a twofold sense of Scripture (H. Olshausen, *Ein Wort über tieferen Schriftsinn*, Königsberg, 1824; R. E. Stier, *Andeutungen für gläubiges Schriftverständnis*, 1824), for a pneumatic exposition (J. T. Beck, *Zur theologischen Auslegung der Schrift*, 1838; J. L. S. Lutz, *Biblische Hermeneutik*, Pforzheim, 1849), and for a believing, *i.e.* a doctrinally correct, exegesis (E. W. Hengstenberg); on these, again, J. C. C. Hofmann's biblico-historical principle of exegesis (*Biblische Hermeneutik*, ed. W. Volck, Nördlingen, 1880) certainly marks a distinct advance. Exegetical theology, however, refusing to be led astray by these ventures, partly, indeed, in sharp conflict with them, and moving on various lines—from the dogmatic attitude of H. A. W. Meyer and his continuator B. Weiss of Berlin, through the so-called mediating theology of E. Reuss, F. Bleek, and others, to the Tübingen School of F. C. Baur—has, with constantly increasing emphasis on the historical element (H. J. Holtzmann, C. Weizsäcker, A. Jülicher), striven to the utmost to gain a grammatical and historical comprehension of Scripture. Nevertheless, it has failed to provide its ever-expanding industry with a proper rationale in a theoretic discussion of the hermeneutic problem. This failure is now beginning to bring its retribution, inasmuch as an art that does not reflect upon its own essential function readily degenerates into a mechanical routine.

3. The principles of exegesis.—(1) *Fundamental hermeneutics.*—Hermeneutics is not simply a congeries of practical rules, but a science built upon a theory of comprehension—just as logic is not a mere organon (Aristotle), but a canon (Galileo); it proposes to explain why a given work is to be understood in one way and not another. Thinking, speaking, and writing are three marvellous gifts which man possesses. They are acquisitions whose discovery we cannot associate with any human name, and are, as the ancients believed, gifts of the deity.

To these three productive capacities correspond three reproductive, viz.—to give them in the reverse order—silent reading, reading aloud, and interpreting. Knowledge of the script, whether the script be ideographic or phonetic, makes reading possible, and reading attains its full realization in reading aloud. Even silent reading involves an inward phonetic element, as, *e.g.*, in accentuation, grouping of words, etc., and the special difficulty in reading aloud is that the cadence of the spoken language is not indicated in the script; certain marks of punctuation are but a make-shift. Thus, ἐρευνᾶτε in the phrase ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς (Jn 5^{39}) may mean either 'you search,' or 'do you search?' or 'search,' and, moreover, the tone of the indicative form may imply approval or reproach. It is only when the separate signs in writing and speech, and also the thought as a whole, are fully understood—by interpretation—that reading to oneself or to others is brought to perfection. It is a long step from spelling out a text to reading fluently to others; interpretation is usually treated as something that comes of itself until experience has shown with how many possibilities of misconception it is attended.

When these operations are applied to an entire literary document, they become a process of comprehension and interpretation; *i.e.*, the thought expressed in word and script is, in virtue of the general laws of thinking, speaking, and writing, apprehended and reproduced by another mind (and may then be given once more in speech and writing). Modern psycho-physics has shown by observation and experiment what difficulties have to be overcome in the process, even under normal conditions, when the individual possesses the ability to hear, to see, to read, to think, etc.; the process demands an effort of the will, *i.e.* attention. Where there is congeniality of spirit, no doubt, this process often takes place spontaneously, like the sympathetic vibration of strings tuned alike. The task of skilfully understanding the text is a different matter; this proceeds by rules, and is conscious of both its method and its aim, though here also affinity of spirit and sympathetic intuition are necessary. The work of comprehending culminates in exposition—*i.e.* in making a thing comprehensible to others, in 'discovery and transmission of the sense' (G. Heinrici in *PRE*^{3} vii. 718). The decisive proof of one's having understood is the ability to reproduce with clearness, although we must here guard against the intrusion of the practical and hortatory element. The psychological laws of association show—what was already noted by Augustine—how necessary a wide knowledge and how important a good memory is for the expositor, who, in order to grasp the peculiar significance of details, must assign them to their proper place in the whole, and compare them with as many similar facts as possible.

The final test of exposition is in the free reproduction of the thought expressed in the text—in translation and paraphrase. It is easy to repeat verbally what one has heard, but difficult to reproduce it in its true sense; and unless every detail is brought out by ample paraphrase,[1] something will usually be lost. The task of conveying the thought in another language presents special difficulties; a translation must not be slavishly literal, nor yet merely a free rendering of the sense, but must be in keeping as much with the genius of the original as with that of the foreign language.[2]

Exposition, however, is more than a mere reproduction of the thought. It is rightly required of the expositor that he shall be above his text, *i.e.* that he shall in a sense understand its thought better than the original writer, so that he is in a position to criticize the thought itself as well as its formulation. Just as in the interpretation of a law it is an acknowledged duty of the expositor to elicit and make good the intention of the lawgiver, as something in certain circumstances actually opposed to the letter of the law, so also in literature: what the author intended to say; how he ought to have said it; whether a particular thought is relevant to his general argument, and whether it is in itself a right thought; whether the form is artistic and the reasoning sound—all these questions must be considered by the exegete, so that the exposition really resolves itself into a criticism. Here again, no doubt, a strong subjective element emerges—certainly a source of danger for the exegete, yet an involuntary expression of his personal interest in the work he has to expound. From this point a path leads directly to the homily, which does not, however, belong to the proper function of the expositor, but for which the critical exposition is an indispensable preparation.

(2) *General hermeneutics.*—This science of comprehension forms the groundwork for the technique of exegesis proper, or general hermeneutics, which deals with the following topics. (*a*) The fixing of the true text.—There is often a difficulty even in reading an autograph, but it is specially difficult to re-construct a lost autograph from copies of various grades (Textual Criticism), as due consideration must be given not only to the genealogical relations of the derivative documents, but also to the psychological possibilities of error. (*b*) Words and sentences as the vehicles of formulated thought.—For the sense of the words mere etymology is of much less importance than statistics of linguistic usage (Concordance), variations of meaning (Lexicon), and comparison with similar words (Synonymics). Foreign words, poetical words, and archaisms require special treatment; the construction of sentences must be studied in connexion with historical grammar. (*c*) Restraints upon natural expression, *i.e.* forms of composition, and quotations.—This is of great importance; the non-literary man speaks and writes as he thinks, but the orator or author is under the necessity of making his productions conform to certain recognized forms of literature. Poetry differs in its structure from prose, having a peculiar metrical form conditioned by exigencies of rhythm, rhyme, etc.; and history is not composed in the same way as a speech. Even style in its modern sense, *i.e.* as denoting the mode of expression peculiar to an individual writer, involves a certain limitation. The exegete, moreover, must be specially careful in passages where his author has not himself framed the expression of his thought, but has borrowed it, as, *e.g.*, where there is imitation, use of sources, or quotation; here it will often be necessary to note three distinct things—the author's own thought, the original sense of the passage quoted, and the sense in which the author uses it. (*d*) The materials of thought—terms and ideas.—As a means of understanding the matter of the work before him, the exegete must be acquainted with the relevant archæology, history, geography, etc., while, in order to grasp the ideas and judgments, he must make himself familiar with the thinking of the age from which the document dates; here he must carefully guard against making unwarranted additions to, and putting false constructions upon, the original. (*e*) The motives of the utterance as determined by the general character of the work and the special purpose of the passage.—The exegete must endeavour to comprehend the composition in its entirety, taking account of every sentence in its relation to the whole, and tracing out the arrangement; hence the practical rule that, before entering upon a detailed exegesis, he should try to gain a general survey of the whole by a cursory reading; he must seek to understand the work from the position of the author, and must, above all, be cognizant of the latter's relations to his readers. (*f*) The personality of the writer.—It is of the utmost importance that the exegete should by painstaking psychological analysis gain an insight into the personality of his author. A literary work, like a work of art, is, in the highest sense, but the outward manifestation of a creative mind, and even the exegesis of details is conditioned by a knowledge of the personality behind them: 'si duo dicunt idem, non est idem.'

The fact that the proper understanding of details rests necessarily upon information which the original readers could supply for themselves, but which could subsequently be provided by exegesis only, justifies the time-honoured practice of prefacing a literary work with an Introduction.

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[1] M. Kähler's reproductions of the thought in the Pauline Epistles (*Hebräerbrief*, Halle, 1880, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Galater*, do. 1884, and *Der sogenannte Epheserbrief*, do. 1894) are models of this kind of paraphrase.

[2] On the difficulties of translation cf. the *Prologue* to Sirach, and Iamblichus, *de Mysteriis*, vii. 5 (p. 257, Parthey), also Jerome, *Ep.* lvii. *ad Pammachium de optimo genere interpretandi* (*CSEL* liv. [1912] 503–526); Luther, 'Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen an Wenceslaus Linck,' 1530 (Erl. ed., 1850, lxv. 102–123); Schleiermacher, 'Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens,' *ABAW*, 1813; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Was ist Übersetzen?' in *Euripides' Hippolytos*, Berlin, 1891.

(3) *Special hermeneutics.*—General hermeneutics, when applied to a special field, becomes special hermeneutics, *i.e.*, in the present case, Biblical hermeneutics. It is not thereby implied, however, that the Bible, as a book, is distinct from other books, and, in virtue of its inspiration, above the ordinary hermeneutical rules; but the particular conditions in which it took shape, its peculiar contents, and our special interest in them naturally require a specific application of the rules in question. To leave the Heb. text of the OT entirely out of account, it is not every classical philologist who can deal critically with the original text of the NT, who can rightly estimate the character of its Greek, or rightly judge the style of what is essentially a popular literature; while the explanation of the material calls for special knowledge, and the principle of congeniality demands a receptivity for religious thinking, though this, again, must not be used to support the claim for a peculiar theological or 'believing' exegesis.

(4) *Individual hermeneutics.*—The conception of special hermeneutics carries us still further. The Bible is not a literary unity, but an aggregation; and, just as the OT and the NT must, in the present position of exegesis, be dealt with separately, so for every single book of the Bible it is necessary to institute an individual hermeneutic, *i.e.* to determine the modifications undergone by the general rules of hermeneutics in consequence of the peculiar problems raised by the individual book. We cannot interpret the writings of the Synoptists, Paul, and John all in one and the same way, and it would be a crude error to transfer thoughts from Paul to the sayings of Jesus, or from the Epistle to the Hebrews to those of Paul or John; the word *πατήρ* as used by Jesus, Paul, and John has in each case a different meaning. The Apocalypse has a hermeneutic of its own. The exegesis of the Synoptic Gospels must have regard to the literary problem of the sources; that of Paul must consider the epistolatory style; that of Hebrews the rhetorical form. Everywhere in the NT the relation to the OT presents peculiar difficulties, and this is specially true as regards the quotations; moreover, the relation varies with each NT writer. Individual hermeneutics must also take into consideration the history of interpretation for every single book, or, at least, the exegetical development of the last hundred years.

4. The history of exegesis.—The exegesis of earlier times is now of almost no practical importance. As compared with the work of recent years, it proceeded upon entirely different principles and worked with very different means. It is nevertheless necessary, in the interests of science, to study the earlier work; we must know upon whose shoulders we stand, and what our predecessors had already attained. We distinguish here between (1) the history of exegetes and (2) the history of exegesis.

(1) The biography of exegetes forms part of the general history of Christian literature. It deals with many outstanding figures in the life of the Church who were engaged in practical work as well as in other kinds of literary work, and only one phase of whose work is to be considered here. It is also concerned with many whose names are all but forgotten, and whose writings have been lost, but who were of some importance in their own day, and had an influence upon later writers; such names appear in great numbers in Eusebius, *HE*, in Jerome, *de Viris illustribus* (copied largely from the *HE*), and in his continuators Gennadius, Isidore, and Ildefons. A considerable mass of material from these lost works is to be found in the *Catenæ*, and the first thing to be done is to disengage and restore it—a task which has been taken in hand by H. Lietzmann, J. Sickenberger, M. Faulhaber, and others. A great deal can be recovered from quotations in extant commentaries, and, while there is a difficulty in the fact that the Fathers in their polemical remarks seldom give the relevant names, careful observation enables us to assign not a little to the original writers; *e.g.*, portions of Apollinaris of Laodicea can be reconstructed from Chrysostom and Jerome. The history of exegesis would present a much more vivid picture of the learned discussions of the period if we could but endow these *anonymi* with distinct personalities. The Latin exegetes of that age depend as much upon the Greeks as Cicero and his contemporaries on Posidonius and others. Ambrose might almost be called the echo of Origen. From a Latin translation Swete has been able to re-construct a great commentary by Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Theodori episcopi Mopsuestini in epistolas beati Pauli commentarii*, Cambridge, 1880–82). How the work of the earlier Latin exegetes may be recovered from the later has been shown by A. Souter, A. L. Ramsay, and J. Haussleiter with regard to Pelagius, Beatus of Libana, and Primasius respectively. A thorough investigation of the Carlovingian commentaries would assuredly yield as rich materials as would that of the Greek *Catenæ*.

The individual exegetes must next be grouped in schools. The Gnostics (*e.g.* Heracleon) form a party of their own, while Hippolytus and Methodius stand apart from the main development. With Origen are associated, on the one hand, Eusebius of Cæsarea and the Cappadocians; on the other, the later Alexandrians, as, *e.g.*, Didymus the Blind, and also Cyril of Alexandria. To Lucian are attached the so-called Antiochenes (Theodore of Heraclea, Eusebius of Emesa, Diodore of Tarsus, John Chrysostom, Isidore of Pelusium, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus), and the Syrian Nestorians, *e.g.* Īšō'dādh. Others, such as Apollinaris of Laodicea, Hesychius of Jerusalem († 433), and Severian of Gabala, must be more thoroughly examined before they can be classified. Of the later Byzantians, Aretas, Œcumenius, and Theophylact are mere compilers; Photius is more independent. There is no such close connexion among the Latin exegetes, though those of Africa (Tertullian, Cyprian, Tychonius, Augustine) and of Spain (Gregory of Elvira, Beatus of Libana, Isidore) had in each case a common tradition. The Roman Decimus Hilarianus Hilarius, the Roman convert Isaac ex Judæo (probably the so-called Ambrosiaster and at the same time the author of *Quæstiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, ed. A. Souter, *CSEL* l. [1908]), the British Pelagius, and the Arian *Opus imperfectum in Matthæum* (among the works of Chrysostom, *PG*, lvi. 611–946) merit special attention.

In the Middle Ages we have the Venerable Bede, with whom as leader a number of less independent Carlovingian theologians, such as Alcuin, Haymo, Hrabanus Maurus, Paschasius Radbertus, Angelomus of Luxeuil, Remigius of Auxerre, and—the most eminent of them all—Christian Druthmar of Stavelot, are associated. Walafrid Strabo with his *Glossa Ordinaria* laid a foundation for the succeeding period, in which Peter Lombard, Hugh of St. Caro, Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, and Bonaventura composed their great scholastic commentaries; along with these we have the mystics, Rupert of Deutz, Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, Herveus, etc. The 14th cent. saw the production of the comprehensive *Moralitates* (*Speculum morale*, etc.) of Vitalis a

Furno, Peter Berchorius, and Robert Holcott. A new beginning was made by Nicolas of Lyra († 1340) and his continuators Paul of Burgos and Matthias Doring. Of the Humanists, besides Erasmus, mention should be made of Faber Stapulensis, Cajetan; of the Reformers of various tendencies, Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas; Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Pellican, Bullinger; Bucer, Capito; Calvin, Beza, Marlorat. The 17th century was, in the sphere of exegesis as elsewhere, the century of polemics. On the Roman Catholic side there were, in addition to Maldonat and Salmero, N. Serarius, Escobar, Cornelius a Lapide, J. Tirinus, and Menochius; on the Lutheran, N. Selnecker, D. Chytræus, Hunnius, Balduin, Erasmus Schmid, Dorsch, Calovius, and Sebastian Schmidt; on the Calvinistic, Piscator, Pareus, Amyraut, Gomarus, Heidegger; on the Socinian, Faustus Socinus, Crell, and others. Exegesis in the historical spirit begins with Hugo Grotius († 1645), J. Clericus († 1736), and J. J. Wetstein (1751). Valuable collections are [J. Pearson] *Critici sacri*, London, 1660; M. Poole, *Synopsis criticorum*, London, 1669–76; C. Starke, *Synopsis Bibliothecæ exegeticæ in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, Leipzig, 1733–41 (^{3}1763). The work of the 18th cent. is for the most part embedded in dissertations; but commentaries of a more general kind were written by J. L. von Mosheim († 1755), J. D. Michaelis (1769–1790), S. J. Baumgarten (1757), J. S. Semler (1769 ff.), and, somewhat later, by J. G. and E. F. C. Rosenmüller, and H. E. G. Paulus, of Heidelberg († 1851), the last eminent representative of rationalism. Of 19th cent. exegetes the following deserve special mention: Schleiermacher, F. Lücke, W. M. L. de Wette; A. W. Knobel, F. Hitzig, O. F. Fritzsche, L. J. Rückert, H. A. W. Meyer, E. Reuss, H. Ewald; F. C. Baur, K. C. J. Holsten; F. A. G. Tholuck, F. L. Godet, E. W. Hengstenberg, J. C. K. Hofmann, T. F. K. Keil, Franz Delitzsch, J. P. Lange, J. T. Beck; in the latter half of the century: A. Dillmann, F. Baethgen, C. Siegfried, O. Zöckler, H. Strack, J. Wellhausen, A. Merx; B. Weiss, W. Beyschlag, G. Haupt, T. Zahn, P. Ewald, H. J. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, H. von Soden; J. B. Lightfoot, B. F. Westcott, J. M. S. Baljon; of the present day: B. Duhm, H. Gunkel, K. Marti, W. Nowack, R. Kittel, C. Steuernagel, G. Heinrici, A. Jülicher, R. Knopf, F. Spitta, J. Weiss, W. Bousset, W. Heitmüller, H. Lietzmann, E. Klostermann, M. Dibelius, H. Windisch, E. Riggenbach; S. R. Driver, A. Plummer, W. Sanday, H. B. Swete, C. A. Briggs, G. A. Barton, W. R. Harper, G. F. Moore, H. P. Smith, B. W. Bacon, E. D. Burton, J. E. Frame, J. H. Ropes.

(2) The history of exegesis, in so far as it is separable from the history of exegetical theory, can deal only with the exegesis of single books and, more specifically, of single passages. Where it treats of single books, it falls most conveniently under the so-called individual hermeneutics (§ 3 (4)), while, where it is concerned with special passages, it is a study as interesting as it is profitable, guarding the exegete against many an error. If it often seems a mere labyrinth of aberrations, yet it frequently exhibits the various possible views more clearly than a purely argumentative analysis of the text would do. Further, it shows which views have already been refuted and may therefore be left out of account, and it thus brings the exegete to the point where he can begin to work afresh with a prospect of success. Many of the interpretations proposed from time to time in periodicals, etc., would never see the light if their proposers had a knowledge of the history of exegesis.

Thus, while J. G. B. Winer (*Pauli ad Galatas Epistola*, 1828, p. 125) speaks of some two hundred and fifty interpretations of Gal 3^{20}, the later history of exegesis shows us that the variations fall under two main types, and that the choice of the exegete must lie between these. It would not be right, however, to take account of modern exegetes only; in many cases the various possible theories are found from the very outset, and thus run parallel to one another throughout the entire history of exegesis. The Greek exegetes, slight as may be the value of their theoretical principles for us, had the immense advantage of a living knowledge of Greek (though we must certainly bear in mind the linguistic development that took place between the 1st and the 4th century, and the difference between the popular idiom of the Bible and the literary language of the Fathers), and the advantage also of an accurate knowledge of details. With reference to the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, we learn more from Origen's statement that ἐπιούσιος does not occur elsewhere than from all etymological attempts to explain it; the comparison of the ancient versions gives a synopsis of all possible renderings of the word; Augustine's classification in *de Sermone Domini in monte* (*PL* xxxiv. 1229) shows the three lines on which all subsequent exegesis of the passage proceeded—the natural, the spiritual, and the sacramental; while the history of exegesis since the Reformation shows that the last two have gradually been given up, so that the first alone is possible to-day. As regards the Lord's Supper, again, a truly historical exegesis of the narratives may be said to begin with L. J. Rückert (1853). All previous exegetes had started from the dogmatic question, 'What is the Holy Communion?' instead of asking, 'What actually took place at the last meal of Jesus?' It is true that here and there in the older exegesis, as in Chrysostom, Augustine, Luther, and Calvin, we find glimpses into the historical aspect of the institution, and these the modern exegete must also take into account.

Exegesis is an art; and of exegesis, as of all art, it is true that its highest merit consists, not in originality, but in the sureness with which the right thing is seized; for, however often the right thing has been thought and said before, it still remains both true and new.

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E. v. DOBSCHÜTZ.

INTERPRETATION (Vedic and Avesta).—The history of the exegesis of the Rigveda is not without value in its implications for the interpretation of other sacred texts. This Veda possesses an elaborate commentary by Sāyaṇa, a South-Indian scholar (latter half of 14th cent. A.D.), and in the earliest stage of European study of the Veda it was believed that it would be sufficient to translate the text according to this commentary—a process which is actually exhibited in the version by H. H. Wilson (London, 1866–88). There is, however, an earlier source in the *Nirukta* of Yāska, who was eighteen centuries prior to Sāyaṇa, and who not merely diverges from him, but declares that his own predecessors, whose works are no longer extant, differed both from himself and from each other. In other words, the meaning of a large number of Vedic words and passages was lost in

India. This fact, together with the many contradictions found in Sāyaṇa's commentary, led R. Roth to urge that the Rigveda must be explained from itself, together with the assistance furnished by comparative philology and the closely cognate language of the Avesta (*q.v.*). The results of this method are admirably presented in the translation by H. Grassman (Leipzig, 1876–77). Yet, if the 'traditional' school inclined to one extreme, the 'linguistic' school went to the other. The result was a growing conviction that the golden mean should be followed, and on this basis A. Ludwig re-translated the Rigveda (Prague, 1876–88), not disregarding the native commentaries of Yāska and Sāyaṇa, and at the same time taking into account the data afforded by comparative philology, etc. Some scholars, however, have not been satisfied with this general principle, and have sought to interpret the Rigveda along other lines. Thus A. Bergaigne explained practically the entire text allegorically (cf. his *Religion védique*, Paris, 1878–83), and his pupil, P. Regnaud (*Le Rig-Véda*, Paris, 1892), endeavoured to prove that the whole Rigveda was composed for the sacrificial ritual. On the other hand, an 'Indian' school arose, headed by R. Pischel and K. Geldner, who, in their *Vedische Studien* (Stuttgart, 1889–1901), maintain that the Veda is to be interpreted from the India of the classical period, a round millennium later. Both the 'ritual' and the 'Indian' schools have a certain justification: some Vedic verses may well have been composed for the liturgy, and, even where this is not the case, the ritual use of Vedic passages may assist in casting light upon the meaning attributed to them (whether rightly or wrongly) in the early Brāhmanic period; and for the 'Indianists' it must be said that there would be—at least if the Rigveda had not been composed under very different circumstances and views of life from those which prevailed in the classical period—relatively little change in the course of a thousand years in the East. Curiously enough, comparative religion has thus far played little part in Vedic interpretation, though its importance has been recognized by H. Oldenberg (*Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 33–38), and has been sanely applied by L. von Schroeder in his *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda* (Leipzig, 1908). In some cases, moreover, it is by no means impossible that the religions of modern India may illuminate some of the problems of Vedic religion. The ideal translation of the Rigveda, which shall take into consideration native tradition and the sciences of comparative philology and comparative religion, the liturgy and classical Indian thought, is still to be done.

The process of development in the exegesis of the Avesta has not been dissimilar. The major portion of the Avesta possesses an elaborate gloss in Pahlavi, with a Sanskrit version by Neriosangh (fl. *c.* A.D. 1200). The first to attempt a translation of the Avesta, Anquetil du Perron (Paris, 1771), was naturally restricted to the native Parsi tradition, which was itself based, in his day, on an inadequate knowledge not merely of Avesta, but even of Pahlavi. But Roth on the Vedic side had a counterpart on the Avesta in E. Burnouf (*Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, Paris, 1833–35), and a savage controversy now broke out between the 'traditionalists' and the 'linguists.' The 'traditional' school was represented chiefly by F. Spiegel (*Avesta übersetzt*, Leipzig, 1852–63, *Commentar über das Avesta*, do. 1864–68) and F. Justi (*Handbuch der Zendsprache*, do. 1864), followed, with considerable reservation, by C. de Harlez (*Avesta traduit*^{2}, Paris, 1881), as well as by L. H. Mills (*Gathas*, Leipzig, 1894–1913), while the translation of the Avesta by J. Darmesteter (*SBE* iv.^{2} [1895], xxiii. [1883], and especially *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–93) is little more than a reproduction of the Pahlavi version. The 'linguistic' school, inspired largely by Roth, found defenders in such scholars as H. Hübschmann, also J. and T. Baunack (*Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griech. und der arischen Sprachen*, i., Leipzig, 1886–88). As in Vedic exegesis, however, the best method has been found to be one of combination of 'traditional' and 'linguistic' methods. M. Haug, who began as a pronounced antagonist of traditionalism (*Fünf Gathas*, Leipzig, 1858–60), became almost a traditionalist himself after residence in Bombay (*Essays on . . . the Parsis*^{4}, London, 1907); and C. Bartholomae, who in his *Arische Forschungen* (Halle, 1882–87) was pronouncedly a 'linguist,' now gives full credit to the tradition, weighing both sides impartially, and deciding strictly according to the merits in each case (*Altiran. Wörterb.*, Strassburg, 1904, from which he has compiled his *Gatha's des Awesta*, do. 1905, and his pupil, F. Wolff, his *Avesta . . . übersetzt*, do. 1910). In the interpretation of the religion of the Avesta it is not impossible that a new stage has been inaugurated by the researches of J. H. Moulton (*Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913), who holds that much that has hitherto been believed to be Iranian is Magian, and that the Magi were neither Indo-germanic nor Semitic (see art. MAGI). The 'higher criticism' of both Veda and Avesta is as yet only in its initial stages, though a beginning has been made by H. Oldenberg (*Die Hymnen des Rigveda*, i., Berlin, 1888) and E. V. Arnold (*Ved. Metre*, Cambridge, 1905) for the one, and by K. Geldner (*Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, Tübingen, 1877) for the other. For an account of the interpretation of the Qur'ān, see art. QUR'ĀN.

LITERATURE.—H. Oldenberg, *Vedaforschung*, Stuttgart, 1905; K. Geldner, *GIrP* ii. [1904] 40–53.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

INTROSPECTION.—'Introspection,' briefly defined, is turning the mind inward upon itself, and is thus practically synonymous with self-consciousness to that extent. It is distinguished from both external and internal events considered as a mere stream of experiences that are not held in the field of attention as phenomena of self. External events may occur in a series, or be a stream of facts in a sequential or a causal order, but they are not aware of this fact, nor of themselves as individual events. They simply occur and do not know. Ordinary states of consciousness, such as sensations, memories, and thoughts, occur also more or less like outer events, but they also represent some kind of knowledge. In one's waking states one is continuously conscious, perhaps usually conscious only of what is going on about one. One may not be inspecting the states themselves. But, at any moment in which one may wish to look at these states as one's own, one may turn the mind's attention to these internal events and distinguish them as mind and not outer facts. This is an act of introspection. It is identical with self-consciousness in so far as it represents awareness of one's own states, but it also implies more persistency of attention than is necessary for an act of self-consciousness. Hence it has come to denote the habit of the reflective psychologist who studies or examines his own mental states and their laws, considered as such and apart from their causal relation to external events. We thus contemplate our own action and its relation to the 'self,' and become observers of our mental states as they pass, whether these states are the result of external stimuli or are the inner and spontaneous actions of the mind.

So far as we know assuredly, man is the only being that practises introspection, and it is certainly one of the most important incidents in his intellectual and moral development. It is the point at which the mind arrests its native tendency to let its thoughts take their own course, or to let the will express the passing impulses. Without this power and habit of introspection man would be a mere passive spectator of outer events, and would take no voluntary part in his own development, but would be the blind result of his environment. Introspection, however, shows his partial independence of this environment, and his capacity for controlling his own thoughts and interests.

Locke calls this power of introspection the 'internal sense,' and distinguishes it from sensation, which he regards as 'external sense.' As an 'internal sense' he names introspection 'reflexion,' and says that he 'would be understood to mean that notice which the mind takes of its own operations, and the manner of them, by reason whereof there come to be ideas of these operations in the understanding.' But he carries his discussion of it very little beyond that of definition, though he means to include in it all those functions which are related to the body of our subjective knowledge. Locke deliberately compares the function of internal sense to that of external sense, and so implies thereby that it receives its 'ideas' by impression, though, in the opinion of the present writer, he did not intend readers to suppose this. The falsity of the implication was no doubt the reason that later students of the question lay no stress on reflexion as a distinct faculty. Leibniz apparently does not mention it, save to accept it as a functional action of importance in knowledge. In Hamilton 'self-consciousness' is the term for this function, and he carefully admits that, as a function of knowledge, it does not determine the basis of any non-sensational philosophy. But he regards it as a presentative function of knowledge.

It is probable, however, that we too often forget what it is that makes this function an important one in the economy of intellectual and moral development. This is its relation to attention (*q.v.*). However else we may regard attention, it is the movable aspect of consciousness, so to speak, and enables the mind to arrest its interest in the panorama of events naturally passing before it, and in this arrest it discovers its own part in the drama itself. That consciousness is a variable function in the scene becomes thus a factor in the total product of observation, and the attention can seize this part in its progress and make it a part of our analyzed knowledge, as well as the phantasmagoria of external objects. Introspection is thus the means of arresting, through attention, the purely automatic or reflex course of events in the natural sensory life.

It has been customary on the part of a certain group of scientific philosophers, if 'scientific' can apply to them, to ridicule introspection as an organ of knowledge. Possibly this attitude of mind was due to the habit of the opposing school of trying to assert certain truths which were supposed to be unanalyzable and unamenable to scepticism. But, whatever the faults of a dogmatic method, it was easy to show that the very critic of introspection could not make any contention in his own favour without the use of introspective and analytic habits of thought and reflexion. Human intercourse is practically impossible without that examination of our own ideas and conceptions which enables us to ascertain and understand the mental processes in beings like ourselves, and some agreement must exist preliminary to all mutual intercourse in such matters. Introspection simply establishes the rationale on which rest all social relations, and makes possible the interchange of ideas and adjustment of our moralities.

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JAMES H. HYSLOP.

INTUITIONALISM.—1. Introductory.—The term 'intuition' (*intueri*, 'to look upon') symbolizes the conception that one among the sources of knowledge is the direct and immediate apprehension of truth. It opposes the notion that all wisdom is based, whether directly or indirectly, upon intellectual processes and reasoned judgments.

In the 18th and early 19th cent. the advocates of intuitionalism were engaged in combating the view of utilitarianism, which believed that the groundwork of moral judgments consists, in the last analysis, in the estimation of the greatest good to the greatest number, and that of hedonism, which claims that the source of moral judgments is and should be in the determination of that line of conduct which will bring, in the long run, the highest happiness. On the contrary, intuitionalism claimed that there is that within us which will, independently of any calculation of facts or expediencies, furnish an inviolable criterion of right and wrong, good and bad, true and false.

In the present state of the theory of knowledge, the chief contention of intuitionalism is against empiricism, which reduces all rational verities and moral and religious certainties back not simply to individual and tribal experiences, but to those also of the race which have been harvested throughout a long stretch of biological evolution in the form of instincts and the predisposition of the organism towards right behaviour.

Intuitionalism still tries to make the distinction, as Kant did in *The Critique of Pure Reason* (1783), that the necessary truths of morality and religion are not caused and produced by experience, but conditioned and called out by it. Apriorism has also antagonized the point of view of empiricism. Intuitionalism differs from apriorism in emphasizing usually the importance of affection rather than, or in preference to, cognition as being itself a direct source of knowledge. The unlikeness of the two is represented, *e.g.*, in the fondness of apriorism for the doctrine of innate ideas—a point of view with which intuitionalism has latterly little sympathy. The relationship between apriorism and intuitionalism is, however, often a friendly one, as, *e.g.*, in the intellectual intuitionalism of Plato and Fichte and in the claim of other students that, while affection is fundamental as a source of knowledge, it is essential that the content of the affective life be cognized and thus organized before it can constitute knowledge of an effective sort or consciousness of a high order.

2. Classification of intuitionalists.—It is customary to classify intuitionalists according to what they regard as the predominant source—within consciousness or outside of it—of moral and religious truth. The following view-points may be mentioned: (1) the mythical intuitionalists, who simply affirm that conscience and the love of righteousness are the voice of a Supreme Ruler who hovers about and dominates the personal life; (2) the juristic intuitionalists, who posit God as the Law-giver, who speaks to the heart through Church, creed, or revealed word; (3) the mystical intuitionalists, who have a sense of the *rapport* between the personal life and the higher personality who operates as indwelling spirit; (4) the rationalistic, or intellectual, intuitionalists (Chrysostom, Augustine, Cudworth, Clark, Calderwood), who believe that it is in the very nature of reason or the understanding to apprehend the unchangeable truths of moral life, and who sometimes appeal by way of analogy to the axioms of mathematics, which they claim to be finished truths that could not have come through experience; (5) the emotional or æsthetic intuitionalists (Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Rousseau, Herbart, Kant in his later years, and Schleiermacher), who discover finality in the feeling of the beauty or the rectitude of certain kinds of thought and conduct as opposed to other kinds; Herbart, *e.g.*, has used the analogy of our appreciation of consonant and dissonant notes which are universally appreciated as such without the necessity of training and without the need of description or analysis; the Hebrew religionists were predominantly of this type and were fond of appealing to the heart as the source of wisdom; (6) the perceptual intuitionalists (Butler, Martineau, W. E. H. Lecky, and Kant during his middle years), who claim that the perception of right and wrong, which is never mistaken by a normal mind, can be compared to the perception of colour by the eye, extension by the hand, or the relationship among discrete objects by the mind.

Such a classification, while convenient, is unsatisfactory. There are those like Locke and Paley, who, while claiming to be consistent empiricists, naively accept as ultimate the intuitions of the law of causality, of God, and of the axioms. Others, of whom Descartes is typical, make a show of extreme intellectualism and at the same time accept the non-rational intuition as a starting-point and constant criterion of truth (*Meditations II.*, *et al.*). In like manner, Spinoza, a strict moral logician, posits 'a third kind of knowledge'—'scientific intuition'—which transcends the knowledge of the qualities and attributes of things given by reason and arrives at the apprehension of the essence of things (*Ethics*, Eng. tr.^{2}, London, 1894, pt. ii. prop. 40, scholium 2; pt. v. prop. 25, *et al.*).

We find, too, an unclassifiable type of intuitionalism in Plotinus and the Mystics, which might be termed negative intuitionalism. The reason is constantly defining truth *in order* to be able to transcend its formulations. The classifications usually suggested do violence to the facts, since so many of the writers cultivate a sort of eclecticism which would recognize the value of essentially all the sources of wisdom. Martineau, in letter and spirit, is as much an æsthetic as he is a perceptual intuitionalist. Price, Reid, Butler, and others of the 'common sense' school accept the ultimate theistic origin of the moral consciousness and at the same time find within it a rational principle of action alongside of the natural impulses, instincts, and appetites which, when normal, are useful.

A valuable instance of the refusal to accept a single faculty or function as the source of wisdom is that of Fichte (*The Science of Ethics*, tr. A. E. Kroeger, London and New York, 1897, p. 183): 'Conscience is *the immediate consciousness of our determined duty*. . . . The consciousness of a determined somewhat is never immediate, but can only be found through an act of thinking; and hence, so far as its material is concerned, our consciousness of duty is never immediate; but the consciousness *that* this determined somewhat is duty, is an immediate consciousness as soon as the determined is given. The consciousness of duty is *formaliter* immediate; and this formal part of consciousness is a mere feeling.'

3. History of theory.—The 19th cent., particularly the latter half of it, has witnessed the falling of intuitionalism into disrepute. 'Pure' intuitionalism, which assumes a final, though latent, form of ethical and religious consciousness, waiting only to be called out by experience, has had almost no advocates. The whole trend of thought has been inimical to such a view. Comparative ethics has shown that the moral standards among peoples in different parts of the earth are as diverse as are the social customs by which they are governed (*e.g.*, L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, London, 1906; E. Westermarck, *MI*, do. 1906). Developmental ethics has been able to trace out the laws of the evolution of morality from animal and tribal life to its higher types (H. R. Marshall, *Instinct and Reason*, New York, 1898; A. Sutherland, *The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct*, London, 1898). The study of instincts and their evolution has seemed to account for the content of the moral and religious life in terms of the content of instinct (T. A. Ribot, *The Psychology of the Emotions*, London, 1897; W. McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, do. 1908). It has been easy to describe how the laws of imitation bind humanity together so closely that the 'sanctions' are supremely authoritative (G. Tarde, *Les Lois de l'imitation*, Paris, 1895; J. M. Baldwin, *Social and Ethical Interpretations*, London and New York, 1906). The laws of suggestion have been so well described that one can understand how social judgments can perpetuate themselves from generation to generation through 'social heredity,' and how they can become so authoritative that they assume the majesty of a transcendental authority; hence also the sifting of standards in the same tribe or people until there is such a unity, time-wise and space-wise, within the united group that the social judgments (*i.e.* moral precepts as felt within the individual) seem absolutely universal, necessary, and changeless. It has been understood, too, how in the lives of growing children all the commands of those in authority, all the precepts, and all the emotional appeals leave their traces or fringes until the mind is clothed finally with a moral 'atmosphere' that is irresistibly impelling. The effect of the environment on the child who is constantly submerged within the social complex is not unlike that of hypnotic suggestion, which can alone and of itself produce effects indistinguishable from moral impulses. Indeed, the person undergoing the suggestion will not believe his impulses other than of subjective origin, personal and original (cf. M. J. Guyau, *Education and Heredity*, London, 1891). If one combines in his thought the effect of all these influences upon the personal consciousness, and keeps well in mind the accumulated predispositions towards certain types of thought and sentiment which are passed on from generation to generation, it does not seem unreasonable to share the conviction of those who look upon conscience as a refined hereditary memory. It is not to be wondered at that, with the prevailing passion for the developmental explanation of all things, intuitionalism should have been well nigh swept away.

This irresistible evolutionary habit of thinking has recently found expression in the two widely accepted doctrines of radical empiricism and pragmatism. It would seem to the devotees of these schools that all the old landmarks of thought—time, space, causality, freedom, God, conscience, the axioms—had been swept from their base and swallowed up in the current of a changing order. To be sure, they re-establish themselves as postulates, perhaps necessary postulates, of thought. But, even so, the doctrine of intuitionalism has seemed to suffer a deluge of destruction, for it has been its genius to claim to base the unsteady thought and wavering faith of mankind upon foundations that are changeless and eternal.

What is there left, then, of intuitionalism? Very little, indeed, in its older form, except to those who still cling to a conception of a static as against a plastic and changing universe. It is a remarkable fact, however, that during the last two or three decades the tide has been turning in exactly the opposite direction. There has been a revival of a modified intuitionalism as lively as was the English ethical intuitionalism in the days of Hume. It is particularly noticeable among the recent students of the origin, development, and meaning of religion. It has arisen not in spite of, but by reason of, the evolutionary conception of the world and of morals and religion. The point of departure of the newer intuitionalism is the study of instinct and feeling; its method of procedure is the description of the processes of consciousness in their genetic relations, and the analysis of the nature of thinking; and its culmination is the notion that intelligence and reason are not primary and controlling facts of consciousness, but secondary functions of a consciousness which is fundamentally of a pulsing, energistic kind, for the sake of aiding it in making finer and fuller adjustments. It looks as if the life of lower animals and plants is essentially dynamistic or voluntaristic. The first fact of organic life seems to be an impulse towards action, a want, a need. Probably in its early stages it does not cognize, much less rationalize, its behaviour; still it leads a relatively happy and successful career of delicately intuiting the situations it meets. If the lower and higher kinds, including the mind of man, belong to a single order, if nature makes no leaps, but each 'new' thing is but the variation upon and refinement of some old fact or function, then there is no difference in kind between the 'native reactions' of simpler organisms and the conscious behaviour of men, between the instinctive adjustments of animals and the logical judgments of a scientist. Genetic logic is approximating to a satisfactory description of the relationship between these apparent extremes. It is not uncommon for the students of the mental life to speak of the 'intellectual instinct.' Genetic psychology is making many advances towards discovering the kinship between the instinctive wisdom of animals and the refined intuitions of cultivated minds. They differ essentially in two respects: the ability of higher creatures to 'fix' more definitely, through cognition, ideation, and judgment, their states and processes; and the refinement, from within, of the 'values' that accompany conduct, which have flowered into the inner life of art, morality, and religion. If the direct source of the wisdom of these higher aspects of life is the 'wisdom' that is bound up in instinct, and if there has been an evolution, not simply of intelligence, but of the mechanism for the immediate, affective interpretation of experience as well, then we should seem to have a basis for a confidence in the worth of the higher intuitions. And such is the case—so that many students now believe that intuitionalism has gained a more substantial foundation in philosophy than it has ever enjoyed.

The history of intuitionalism has been, indeed, a record of the knocking out, one after another, of false bottoms in the theory of knowledge, each time accompanied, on the one hand, by the fear that this doctrine had permanently collapsed, and, on the other, by the hope that it had established itself more securely upon a permanent basis. When science, during the 15th and 16th centuries, was destroying the conception of an 'absentee' God who spoke and operated upon the heart, the only alternative seemed to be atheism. Rationalism, however, came to the rescue and promised to establish intuitionalism upon the surer foundation of truth, a copy of which is somehow reflected in the eternal verities of the understanding. Empiricism and associationism then dissolved the certainties of rationalism by showing that the axioms and conscience are built up out of experience. The impending consequence seemed to be pluralism and sensationalism; but the 'common sense' philosophers found in the experiences themselves the saving grace of truth, and thought that they had found a more substantial ground for morals and religion in the common experience of common men. Since latterly the dominant way of thinking about the mental life is in terms of evolutionary psychology, it seemed at first flush as if nothing were left but 'pure' experience, or even, in the last analysis, the facts and laws of physics and chemistry, until there set in the reaction already mentioned.

4. Criticism.—At every stage in the ebb and flow of the doctrine, important considerations have been overlooked. It is as if the mind could entertain but one impelling conception at a time. Atheism was failing to entertain a possibility of the divine immanence; associationism, a sort of 'mental chemistry,' was obtuse to the simple truth that the blending or fusion of 'pure' experiences would be the summation of nothings which could give only nothing as a resultant. This careless thinking has persisted through two centuries, and has begun to yield at last, as the outcome of more highly disciplined judgment and a more careful analysis of the facts of pathology and of physiological and experimental psychology (consult, *e.g.*, two articles by J. Ward on 'Assimilation and Association' in *Mind*, new ser., ii. [1893] 347–362, and iii. [1894] 509–532). 'Association is wholly confined to ideas that, to begin with, are distinct and to the end are separable' (*ib.* iii. 531). Perhaps it is true, as Ladd, Baldwin, and other psychologists contend, that apperception is found in every sensation. The notion of pure sensation is an artificial abstraction. No less false is the abstraction of the 'pure experience' of evolution and the supposition of radical naturalism that consciousness can be built up out of 'organic memories,' the fusion of original chemical elements, and of 'behaviour' that is void of any ability to evaluate the quality or fitness of its reactions. Perhaps it is always impossible rightly to assume that something can come out of nothing. It may be true that an organism is always doing something to the environment at the same time that environment is forming consciousness. If so, it is wholly consistent to say that, while consciousness is constructed out of experiences, the very condition that they are experiences at all is that they are, at every step in the process, parts of a personal consciousness. Then there would be the elements of moral and religious insight resident somehow within all experiences. The only absurdity of such a belief would arise in the thought of one who holds still to a static and finished, as against a plastic and developing, truth. With this amendment the old question assumes a new meaning.

5. Modern statement of theory.—The central problem of the newer modified intuitionalism, however, is this: are the hereditary moral predispositions harvested up solely out of cognized experiences, or are there other of the higher affirmations of morality and religion than cognition, intellection, and judgment? There are several lines of evidence that the cognitive life is only one of the sources of such wisdom; that intuition is, in a certain sense, *sui generis*, our present intuitions having arisen not out of cognitions, but out of other intuitions; and that intuition is always more or less successful in guiding life into making 'wise' adjustments.

(1) It is clear from embryology, comparative anatomy, and genetic psychology that the intellectual processes are not primary in biological evolution, but are a later 'afterthought' or 'by-product,' a specialized mode of carrying out that which is fundamental—behaviour. Reason has arisen out of conduct, and exists for the sake of improving it. The original means of interpreting the fitness of conduct and of distinguishing right behaviour from wrong was through the affective life —immediate intuitions, we may say, of its fitness.

(2) There has been a progressive refinement of the mechanism of affection, which has kept pace with that of cognition. The latter has been refined through the agency of the cerebrum and the logical functions. The former has developed through the instrumentality of the sympathetic nervous system and its connexions with the special senses, the glands, intestines, and the circulatory system, as the mechanism for the immediate evaluation of higher experiences as wholesome or unwholesome, good or bad, right or wrong. As indicated by the generally accepted James-Lange theory of the emotions, the organic responses often, if not generally, precede the cognitive reactions, and do much towards determining their character. The higher instincts and sentiments are the direct outcome of the refinement of the coarser, simpler instincts.

(3) There is 'wisdom' in instinct. Judging by the behaviour of animals, this wisdom is more like intuition than cognition. Low organisms will 'learn' how to meet a novel situation successfully; a sea-anemone, *e.g.*, when tricked a few times into the vain attempt of assimilating filter-paper saturated with beef-juice, will soon refuse the tempting morsel. Every reaction of every animal seems to carry with it a tang or tone or flavour of its worth or value to the organism, and the ability to move in the direction of the accentuation of the valuable reactions and away from those which bode ill. This evaluating quality of consciousness is itself probably a primary instinct. Should one care to give it a name, it might be designated 'cosmæsthesia,' a feeling of relation, a sense of fitness. There is also in instinct the peculiarity, usually overlooked, of feeling after the consequences of a reaction before it has completed itself, a dim awareness of ends *about to be* attained. It might be useful to give this quality a name, as, for example, 'telæsthesia.' This prophetic quality of instinct has been observed by several recent writers.

C. S. Mayer, *e.g.*, says ('Instinct and Intelligence,' *British Journal of Psychology*, vol. iv. [1910] 210 f.): 'But there is even more than this "feeling of activity" at the very first performance of an instinct. There is another element which, so far as I am aware, has hitherto been completely ignored. To my mind it is certain that, on the occasion of the chick's first peck or the duckling's first swim, the bird is dimly, of course very dimly, conscious of the way it is about to act.' G. F. Stout agrees with this view, and adds: 'But the instinctive equipment will not, in my view, be sufficient to account for the animal's actual behaviour. . . . The animal will be on the alert to mark whatever new phases the developing situation brings with it. This will be so because it feels interested in the situation, and especially in the situation as having a future. It will, accordingly, show more or less initiative in watching or searching for coming experiences. It will, so to speak, go to meet them' (*ib.* p. 240 f.).

The developed equivalent of these two endowments of consciousness, cosmæsthesia and telæsthesia, which designate the essential nature of the wisdom of instinct, is the higher wisdom of the heart, much of which cannot be cognized.

(4) There is always operative the act of subconscious incubation, which presents to the field of clear consciousness new and unexpected results. These often arise from lines of conveyance among the instincts, impulses, and imperfect ideations whose combined effect is a 'revelation' to the mind of that which before had been at most but dimly felt. The study of the subconscious, indeed, has robbed intelligence of the credit it had claimed for its control of life, and for our scientific, philosophical, and æsthetic heritage.

(5) The analysis of the processes involved in invention and discovery shows that something like intuition has played a most important rôle in this sphere, where clear consciousness is supposed to be at its point of highest efficiency and in complete control (consult E. Mach, 'The Part Played by Accident in Discovery and Invention,' *Popular Scientific Addresses*, Chicago, 1897).

(6) Clear concise judgments are often derived from the summation of imperceptible factors in experience. There is a vast array of evidence from psychological experimentation pointing in this direction, and much that proves the law conclusively.

A case in point is the work of A. Brückner upon touch sensations (*Zeitschr. für Physiol. und Psychol. der Sinnesorgane*, xxvi. [1901] 38 ff.). Two simultaneous tactual impressions, each of which is below the threshold of consciousness will produce a definite perception if the sum of the two is above the threshold (see also G. M. Stratton, *Experimental Psychology and its Bearing upon Culture*, London, 1903, ch. iv. f.).

It amounts to a turning-point in the history of thought that the proof is forthcoming that even our clear conscious judgments are based upon evidences that must be felt out rather than cognized.

It is not strange that with the many conspiring lines of evidence, of which the above are only typical, of the fact of an intuitive source of knowledge, there should recently have arisen a predilection for belittling the value of intellection as compared with that of intuition (see W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1903, ch. on 'Philosophy'; H. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, do. 1911). The genetic view of consciousness hinted above would tend to bring the two aspects of life into a satisfactory harmony. It would suggest the validity of the progressively enriching content of the moral, æsthetic, and religious life, drawn from the content of all the instincts, independently of conscious description, and mayhap often transcending it. It would assume, too, that reason and judgment are the articulated organized aspects of the entire stream of processes, not different in kind from the life of instinct and intuition. The intellect, being but a specialized expression of the rest of life in certain of its phases, preserves as its own content the inner life of the instincts. It does not furnish 'values' to life *because* of its formulations; on the contrary, its formulations are for the sake of describing, so far as possible, the values that consciousness already apprehends.

It is likely that most of life will remain below and above the reach of accurate description and formulation, and that mankind will continue to derive much of its truth or values from 'the recesses of feeling, the darker, blinder strata of character,' which 'are the only places in the world in which we catch real facts in the making, and directly perceive how events happen and how work is actually done' (James, *op. cit.* p. 501 f.).

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EDWIN D. STARBUCK.

INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY.—Investiture (from *vestire*, 'to put in possession') was the act of installation by which the vassal in the feudal period entered into possession of a property or an office, and acknowledged that he held it on condition of fulfilling certain duties to the suzerain who invested him. The formal acts which accompanied investiture were symbolic of the new relation into which vassal and suzerain entered. The vassal did homage and tendered the oath of fealty to his liege-lord; thereupon the suzerain invested him by delivering over some object which was the symbol of his new rights. The object might be a clod of earth to symbolize his possession of the land, or a sword, which at once symbolized his power over those beneath him and the nature of the service he must render to his superior. Investiture, therefore, marked how, whenever a man entered into possession of office or land, he took his place in the feudal system, and enjoyed certain rights on condition of rendering certain service.

1. In the Empire.—The controversy which sprang up on the question between Church and Empire, and which bulks so largely in the mediæval period, was the natural result of the increased wealth and social importance of the clergy. So long as the Church was the communion of the faithful and was supported by their gifts, its clergy were elected by those who valued their services, and owned no allegiance save to the flock whom they served. They were chosen in view of their capacity to fulfil spiritual functions, and were invested with spiritual authority over all who owned themselves their subjects. The ring and crozier, which became the symbols of investiture of the higher clergy, were symbols of spiritual authority. The ring symbolized the marriage between the Churchman and his bishopric or monastery; the crozier stood for the cure of souls which was delivered into his charge. He held his office from the Church to serve the ends of the Church: he was the Church's 'man.'

But the Church came into possession of great donations of land, and, since the Church never died, it rarely surrendered any of this property. As holders of land, Churchmen became at once involved in the responsibilities which, according to the feudal tenure of all land, attached to such possessions. They became incorporated in the feudal system. Bishops and abbots became secular lords in virtue of their lands. As such, they held their property of secular lords on condition that they fulfilled their duty to their suzerain. They became responsible also for courts of justice among their own vassals, and required the secular service of their vassals. The king of France was vassal to one of his own bishops for his possessions in the Vexin. The bishop-counts held their temporal possessions as the king's men, even as their own vassals in turn held property as their men. The system, which gave Churchmen rights and privileges in connexion with their temporal possessions, could be safe only if the Churchmen fulfilled in turn the responsibilities to their superiors which the possessions implied. But, because the superior needed the service of the holder of an ecclesiastical property, he needed also some guarantee that a new holder was competent to fulfil that side of his duty. He interfered, therefore, in the election of bishops, not out of wantonness, but from the natural desire to have a loyal and capable vassal. Hence there was a tendency to construe the ecclesiastical benefice, not as a spiritual office, but as a feudal fief, which, like every other feudal fief, involved allegiance to a secular lord and conferred on him the right of investiture. The suzerain received homage and oath of fealty from the Churchman, and thereupon invested him with ring and crozier. While the claim was naturally most eagerly pressed in the case of the bishops, the situation was the same, though in an inferior degree, in connexion with the abbeys and the majority of ecclesiastical benefices. The suzerain could say that he only invested the beneficiary into the temporalities, but practically it was his fitness to hold the temporalities from the suzerain that determined the beneficiary's election.

The reasons which caused the controversy to break out in an acute form between the Empire and the Church were many. It is necessary to point out only the principal. On the one side, the sacrosanct character which attached itself in men's minds to the Holy Roman Empire had enabled the Emperors to go further than other rulers in claiming the right to invest Churchmen. The Emperor even claimed the right to appoint the pope; much more could he invest a bishop. Since, therefore, the Emperor had gone furthest in the claim to invest, the effect of the claim in secularizing the whole tone of the Church was most patent in the Empire. As has already been pointed out, the freedom of the electors, who stood for the faithful choosing a spiritual director, was overridden by the suzerain, who desired a competent vassal. Further, since during a vacancy the suzerain drew largely on the revenues of a see, it was in his interest, as it was in his power, to obstruct the efforts of the electors in choosing a bishop. But, above all, the suzerain's power stimulated simony. It is always easier to bribe one man than to bribe a court of electors, and to do it secretly; men bought their sees more readily when the court of electors had become an individual.

The chronicles and acts of synods during the 11th cent. prove how strong the custom had grown in the Church. In 1049, at a synod in Reims, the three bishops of Nevers, Coutances, and Nantes acknowledged that they had purchased their promotion. The bishop of Toulouse, at a synod held in the city in 1056, was accused of having paid 100,000 solidi for his see, and of having sold the holy vessels of his cathedral to buy a bishopric for his brother.

The increased wealth and power now attaching to Church offices were sure in themselves to tempt men to use any method of attaining them; but the fact that those who could confer office were more open to bribery increased the temptation. What added to the temptation was that the Church had not yet succeeded in carrying its absolute prohibition of clerical marriage. Churchmen had children, and were not yet so ashamed of them as to conceal the fact. They openly schemed to obtain their offices for their sons. Many abbeys and churches had been founded by men who stipulated that the right of appointing the holders of the benefices should be reserved to them and their heirs. Hence high dignities in the Church came to be regarded as the appanages of great families, and the means of providing for younger sons and bastards. Men who owed their appointment to such claims were likely to regard their offices as the natural property of their children.

The connexion of clerical marriage with the disappearance of the rights of electors who stood for the Christian people is seen in the synod of Pavia, 1018, which was largely concerned with the issue of decrees against Churchmen who, living with wives and children, diverted Church property to their relatives.

On the other hand, what forced the question to the front in the Empire was the rising tone of the Church itself. The Roman Church became more conscious of its spiritual functions, and at once began to claim the power to govern itself with the view of fulfilling its special functions. Laying weight on the office and duties of the clergy, it insisted that a spiritual function could be conferred only by spiritual men. Churchmen must be chosen by the Church with a view to their religious qualifications, and must be free to act as the Church's 'men,' owning only one allegiance. Naturally, the Church failed to recognize that such a change in the status of the clergy within mediæval society must bring with it their renunciation of functions which they had hitherto fulfilled and dignities which they had hitherto enjoyed. No kingdom dared allow the establishment in its midst of a body of men who enjoyed all the privileges, but

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were not to be relied on to fulfil the duties, of their temporal possessions.

The rising claim for autonomy on the part of the Church found expression in the Lateran synod of 1059, which, in its sixth decree, forbade clerics to accept any spiritual office from lay hands; and the claim thus made in Italy was echoed by the synods of Vienne and Toulouse in the following year. It was not, however, until Hildebrand became Pope Gregory VII. that the battle was joined with increasing consciousness of all that was involved in the issue.

This was partly due to the uncompromising temper of the new pope, but still more was it due to the fact that he knew his own mind, and had no hesitation about uttering it. He saw, with the instinct of a born ruler, that the only justification for a government is that it should take the responsibility and the risks of governing. All Christendom recognized a certain privilege resting in Rome, but practically Christendom was going on in its several provinces as though Rome did not exist. Gregory grasped the reins and actually drove. He saw that the first aim to be sought was the Church's liberty to choose its servants. He reconstituted the College of Cardinals, with the sole right to elect a pope; the Church, not the Emperor, must choose its head. That carried with it the free choice of the bishops by their chapters and their confirmation by the pope; no archbishop could assume authority till he had received his pallium, the symbol of his authority, from Rome. He extended the practice of sending legates from Rome in order to bind the Church into unity with the head that it itself had chosen. His attack on simony and clerical marriage was meant to free the clergy from secular control.

The key to the situation lay in investiture. Who invested a Churchman with his authority? If the secular power, then he was chosen for his fitness to fulfil the ends of that power, and, as its 'man,' must take its orders in his duties. If the Church, then his qualification was a religious one, and he must throughout serve religious ends. Accordingly, in the famous Lenten synod of 1075, Gregory denounced the married clergy, excommunicated five of Henry IV.'s councillors because they had obtained their ecclesiastical offices by simony, and forbade every layman to grant investiture to an ecclesiastical dignity.

It was impossible for the Empire to submit to this decision *simpliciter*. So long as Churchmen held high office in the Empire and large fiefs in every kingdom in Europe, they must hold these under pledge to fulfil the duties to the secular authorities involved in their dignities; and the secular authorities must have some guarantee at their election that the beneficiaries were loyal subjects. The revived power of Rome only made more intolerable the position which Gregory claimed. So long as the practical government of the Church was lodged in each provincial Church, the secular ruler could acknowledge beneficiaries who were loyal to a Church over which the provincial government held some control. But, when Rome not only claimed but exercised power over every section of the Church, the admission of Gregory's claim meant the institution in every kingdom of a body of men, holding large secular authority, who were liable to remain free to follow the dictates of a foreign power. The only terms on which the newly formulated demands of the Church were admissible in their full scope were that the Churchmen should surrender their territorial power and secular dignities, and, since they claimed to be free to exercise spiritual authority, undertake to fulfil only spiritual duties. In the course of the struggle, many of the high dignitaries of the Church saw that this was involved in Gregory's demand, and were distinctly lukewarm in their support of the pope.

It is unnecessary to follow the course of the struggle between Gregory and the Emperor. It is enough to note that Henry's humiliation at Canossa in 1077 was followed in 1085 by Gregory's death in exile; and that the sudden and dramatic changes in the situation prove that the question in debate was not ripe for settlement. Church and Empire could alternately win; but no lasting settlement had been arrived at. The popes who followed Gregory were content to reiterate the claims of the Church, Victor III. at the synod of Benevento in 1087, Urban II. at the synod of Melfi in 1089. Paschal II., however, made a significant admission. At Sutri his legates in 1111 met Henry V. and offered, if the Emperor would grant freedom of election and the abolition of lay investiture, that Paschal was prepared to surrender all the temporalities which the clergy had received since the time of Charlemagne. But, when Henry arrived at Rome to be crowned on those terms, the bishops present entered a strong protest against what they accounted a surrender. The Church, apart from the pope, was not willing to pay the price of its liberty.

There followed more than ten years of confused debate and struggle. Paschal, whom Henry had taken prisoner after his abortive visit to Rome, was cowed or persuaded into a renunciation of the right of investiture. But a Lateran Council (1112) rejected the pope's submission on the ground that Paschal was not at liberty; and the synod of Vienne, with the consent of the pope, renewed the uncompromising claim of the Church. Many other factors entered to complicate the quarrel between the Church and the Empire, but the main principle which divided the two powers, in that period of antipopes and rival Emperors, was still the question of investiture.

A compromise between the conflicting principles was reached by Henry V. and Calixtus II. in the Worms Concordat (1122), to which the Church set its seal in the 8th and 9th canons of the Lateran Council (1123). The election of bishops and abbots was to take place in presence of imperial commissioners, and the elected dignitary was invested with his temporalities by the Emperor. The Church, however, retained the power of electing, though the elected must be accepted by the Empire, and the Church alone could confer ring and crozier, the emblems of spiritual authority. The worst abuse connected with lay investiture thus fell away at once, for the Emperor was unable to keep a benefice vacant, since he could not prevent the electors from meeting. Otherwise the Concordat is a compromise, and, as such, theoretically open to criticism. The Church safeguarded the claims of the electors to whom belonged the right of declaring who was a fitting person to fulfil an ecclesiastical office; it preserved the recognition of every church dignitary as the holder of a spiritual office, since he was invested with ring and crozier by the Church. The State retained the power to make its influence felt by the presence of its commissioners, and the Emperor was acknowledged as feudal suzerain over Church fiefs as over all fiefs. Both parties, in fact, owned that the situation needed delicate handling, and could not be determined by either side pressing its claims to their logical issue. The practical utility of the Concordat was proved by the fact that, though it did not and could not prevent encroachments on one side or the other, its principles regulated the tenure of church dignities in the Empire till its dissolution in 1806. Then the situation was wholly changed, since Christendom no longer owned only one Church;

the investiture question passed into the issue of Church and State.

2. In France.—The controversy arose in France, but there its course was different, because the Church was not dealing, as in the Empire, with one central authority. The settlement, for the same reason, was different. There could be no Concordat, since any decision at which the king arrived did not bind the great nobles. Hence, for a full statement of the struggle and its settlement, it would be necessary to review all the greater fiefs. It need only be noted that by the Pragmatic Sanction under Paschal II. the king abandoned all claim to homage from Churchmen and the right of investiture. He demanded, however, an oath of fealty before any beneficiary was allowed to enter on his temporalities, and thus retained suzerainty over church dignities, so far as they were fiefs. The agreement, though different in its terms, shows the same essential and inevitable features of compromise as the Worms Concordat. The arrangements, made by the feudal lords, varied according to their power and the condition of the Church in their territories. In the South of France, where the clergy were less amenable to the influence of Rome, homage was long exacted from bishops.

3. In England.—In England the controversy was clearly raised by Archbishop Anselm under Henry I. Anselm's conduct in the matter illustrates vividly the service which the monastic orders rendered to the Church in the long debate. Monks, who held high dignity, were indifferent, to a degree that the more secularized Churchmen were not, to the emoluments and dignities of office and were specially disciplined to obedience to the Church. Anselm, appealing to the decrees of Gregory and Urban, refused to do homage for his own see on Henry's accession (1100), or to consecrate bishops who had done such homage. The controversy which followed was sharp and decisive, as was to be expected from two men who were intelligent enough to respect each other's position. The compromise at which they arrived and which Paschal confirmed (1106) was practically the Worms Concordat. It came to be embodied in Magna Charta.

Cf., further, art. CONCORDAT.

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A. C. WELCH.

INVINCIBLE IGNORANCE.—The question as to how far ignorance in its various degrees affects the voluntary character of action calls for consideration in any ethical system which aims at completeness. Only in so far as it is voluntary is an action imputable. In the moral theology of the Roman Catholic Church a broad distinction is drawn between 'invincible' ignorance and 'vincible' ignorance. A man is said to be in a state of invincible ignorance if, when he acts, he is altogether unaware of the law or of the facts of the case, and hence is unconscious of the obligation of further inquiry on the point; or, again, if after reasonable effort he is unable to arrive at certain knowledge. Ignorance is vincible when a man is conscious of his lack of knowledge and of the duty of making some further inquiry, and nevertheless neglects to use his opportunities of so doing. Vincible ignorance presents several varieties. A man may actually foster his own ignorance for fear lest the obligation should become known to him (*ignorantia affectata*); or, while not deliberately fostering ignorance, he may neglect all means to acquire knowledge (*ignorantia crassa* or *supina*); or he may make some efforts, but such as are incommensurate with the gravity of the matter (*ignorantia pure vincibilis*). It will be noted that the terms 'invincible' and 'vincible' ignorance have reference to the state of mind in which a particular action (or series of actions) is performed. Invincible ignorance in no way signifies that the mind is incapable of further enlightenment on the subject. New information may transform it into clear knowledge. As regards the degree of effort to attain knowledge in default of which ignorance cannot be regarded as invincible, no hard and fast rule can be given. It varies with the gravity of the matter and with the circumstances of the individual. There are certain callings (*e.g.* that of a judge) which carry with them heavier obligations as regards the acquisition of professional knowledge than do others. In these, invincible ignorance cannot be pleaded as an explanation of errors due to want of such knowledge, unless considerable efforts have been made to attain it. All are bound to make very great efforts to escape ignorance in matters affecting the salvation of their own souls or those of others. Yet even here much will depend on the circumstances and capacity of the person concerned. What would be invincible ignorance in the case of the uneducated or of one much occupied with duties from which there was no escape would be vincible ignorance in those less unfavourably situated.

Invincible ignorance excuses from all culpability. An action committed in ignorance of the law prohibiting it, or of the facts of the case, is not a voluntary act. The true character of what he is doing is unknown to the agent. Such is the unanimous teaching of Roman Catholic moralists. This position was, however, traversed by the Reformers. According to Luther, invincible ignorance renders breaches of human law alone inculpable; it is otherwise as regards the law of God. For here our ignorance is due to original sin, and is itself sinful. It cannot, therefore, invincible though it be, be pleaded in excuse.

> 'In politicis negotiis potest esse locus invincibili ignorantiae . . . sed haec ad res sacras et conscientiae negotia transferenda non sunt. Sumus enim nati in caecitate peccati originalis: id malum invincibile est . . . sed non adeo excusabile est, sicut Scholastici invincibilem ignorantiam dixerunt excusabilem' (Comment. *in Gen.* xii. 17).

Calvin goes so far as to deny the possibility of invincible ignorance as regards the divine law. Our ignorance, he says, is always vincible ignorance of the crass or supine sort.

> 'Certum est ignorantiam nostram supinae crassaeque negligentiae semper esse comitem' (*in Lucam*, xii. 47).

Jansenius on this point followed the teaching of Luther (*de Stat. nat. laps.* ii. 6); and, even after the condemnation of the five propositions, his doctrine on this subject continued to be upheld by some of his adherents. In 1690, Pope Alexander VIII. authoritatively condemned the proposition:

> 'Even if there be such a thing as invincible ignorance as to the natural law, he who in the state of fallen nature acts out of such ignorance, is not thereby excused from formal sin' ('Tametsi detur ignorantia invincibilis iuris naturae, haec in statu naturae lapsae operantem ex ipsa non excusat a peccato formali,' Denzinger, no. 1292).

This thesis had been maintained by the Jansenist theologians Jean de Witte and Macaire Havermans (A. Vacant, *Dict. de théologie*, Paris, 1903, i. 752). The doctrine that invincible ignorance excuses from sin is, indeed, of great importance in Roman Catholic theology. It renders the seemingly rigorous doctrine of the Church, that communion with the See of Peter is by God's ordinance necessary to salvation, compatible with the confident hope that many who are outside all visible communion with the Roman Catholic Church will enter heaven. This point was clearly expressed by Pius IX. in his Encyclical to the bishops of Italy (10th Aug. 1863):

> 'It is known both to ourselves and to you (venerable brethren) that they who are in the state of invincible ignorance regarding our holy religion, and who carefully observe the natural law and its precepts written by God Himself on the hearts of all . . . can, through the action of God's light and grace, attain eternal life, since God . . . will by no means suffer any to perish who has not incurred the guilt of wilful sin' (Denzinger, no. 1677).

On the other hand, vincible ignorance regarding those matters which a man is under obligation to know is culpable. Here the want of knowledge is voluntary, either directly, as in *ignorantia affectata*, or indirectly, as in *ignorantia crassa* or *pure vincibilis*. And no man is justified in remaining voluntarily ignorant as to the duties of his state of life or as to the truths essential to his salvation. On this point Roman Catholic moralists find themselves at issue with the very prevalent opinion that speculative error can never be a breach of the Moral Law. Where the speculative error relates to vital matters of religion, and is due to negligence, such error, they hold, is gravely culpable. Further, since vincible ignorance is voluntary, the responsibility for the acts resulting from it remains with the agent. The guilt, however, of sin due to this cause is proportioned, not to the objective character of the thing done, but to the degree of culpable negligence to which it is due. Moreover, an act done through ignorance, even if that ignorance be crass or supine, is less culpable than an act done with clear knowledge; for it is less fully voluntary, and, therefore, less imputable. As regards the ignorance which is deliberately fostered, there is a divergence of opinion among moralists.

How far can invincible ignorance extend? It would seem that there are limits beyond which it is impossible. There are certain broad principles of the natural law which can never be altogether obscured. No one, *e.g.*, can be invincibly ignorant that he should not do to another what he would be unwilling to have done to himself. As soon, however, as we pass to derivative principles, invincible ignorance appears. To the Christian moralist it is evident that polygamy is contrary to the law of nature. Yet many a pagan and Muhammadan is certainly in invincible ignorance on this matter. Duelling provides a case in which invincible ignorance prevails in certain more civilized countries. A question of special interest in view of opinions now often maintained is whether it is possible for a man to be invincibly ignorant regarding the existence of God. The general reply of Roman Catholic theologians is that, even if such ignorance be possible, it is altogether abnormal and can last at most but a short time: the evidences for God's existence both in the created world and in the human conscience are so manifest and clear that it is impossible for ignorance on this point to remain long invincible (J. de Lugo, 'de Incarn.,' disp. v. n. 106, in *Opera*, Paris, 1868, ii. 351). It is plain that this view is incompatible with the admission that any one can continue long to be a conscientious agnostic. Agnosticism appears as vincible ignorance on a question as to which a man is under the gravest obligation to acquire certain knowledge and as to which such knowledge is easy of attainment.

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INVISIBILITY.—The attribute of invisibility is one which is shared by gods, spirits, demons, the dead and the region of the dead, or the world of the gods, while the power of becoming invisible belongs to those beings as well as to certain mortals. Where invisibility was ascribed to gods or spirits, one simple reason probably was that in the case of most of them, apart from animal-gods or worshipful parts of nature, they were in fact unseen. When man begins to people his world with spirits, which, as many savages believe, swarm everywhere, so that one cannot move without striking against them, their quality of invisibility is obvious. In the case of the dead it was more a power which could be exercised by them or a property hiding them from bodily eyes, since they could be seen in dreams, and it was then considered that the soul of the dreamer had been with the dead. Gods or spirits are not always invisible; they have the power of becoming visible or invisible at will, assuming in some instances a bodily form for the former purpose. In the case of favoured mortals, the supposed power of invisibility was ascribed to or claimed by them because it was a desirable thing. What men wish for is often what they think they or others possess. Such a supposed power might easily then be reflected back upon supernatural beings, otherwise material and visible. It should be observed that medicine-men often claim the power of seeing invisible beings whom ordinary mortals cannot see. In some instances it is thought that, formerly, when gods and men dwelt together, the gods were visible; but, now that separation has taken place, they are no longer seen, except on occasion. Hence perhaps one reason of the wide-spread belief that it is dangerous to see a god or spirit, when he takes a visible form.

1. Spirits and gods.—The *Andamans* believe that their high god Puluga is nowadays invisible, even when he descends to earth. Ju-ru-win, the evil spirit of the sea, is also invisible, and so, too, are the soul and spirit of the dead.[1] In general the high gods of *Australian* blacks—Baiame, Daramulun, etc.—are invisible and unknown, though they may be heard.[2] Codrington writes of the *Melanesian nopitu* that they come invisibly and possess men. Should such spirits chance to be seen, they disappear at once. Some *vuis* are visible; others are not, being incorporeal. There is a belief that, if the latter could be seen, it would be as a grey indistinct something.[3] In *Polynesia*, gods generally were invisible, or visible only in so far as they became incarnate (though not always then) or embodied themselves in a visible shape. Such a god as Taaroa (Leeward Islands) had a body, but was invisible to mortals, and he sustained the world by his invisible power. Men lived in an invisible world of spirits and ghosts, which might occasionally, however, make themselves seen.[4]

Among the savage races of the *Malay peninsula* many of the gods (*e.g.*, the creator Pirman of the savage Malays of Johor, who dwells in the sky), spirits, and demons are invisible, or, if seen, disappear at once.[1] The Dayaks believe that gods are invisible, even when (as with many gods of other races) they come to a house to feast. *Antus* (spirits) surround men invisibly, though they may assume various visible forms.[2] The *Araucanos* believe that supernatural beings can make themselves visible or invisible at will. The *pilli* ('other-self,' 'soul') of men can leave them invisibly in dreams, but they are visible to other wandering *pilli*, as are also the dead, though these are invisible to bodily eyes.[3] The Indians of *Guiana* believe in countless invisible beings surrounding them—a belief common to most savage peoples and others more advanced in civilization.[4]

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[1] E. H. Man, *JAI* xii. [1883] 157 ff., 162.

[2] W. Ridley, *JAI* ii. [1873] 268 f.

[3] *JAI* x. [1881] 270, 275, 285.

[4] G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, pp. 18, 63, 69, 282, and *passim*; W. Ellis, *Polynes. Researches*, do. 1831, i. 325, 336, 406; Waitz-Gerland, *Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, vi. (Leipzig, 1871) 315.

The gods of *Babylon* 'constituted a countless multitude of visible and invisible beings,' their bodies of a more rarefied substance than that of mortals. The hosts of demons were invisible and impalpable, though possessed of some form, and could creep into houses through the narrowest possible openings.[5] In *Greece* the gods had powers of invisibility or they could surround themselves with a mist, but they could also make themselves visible to mortals in various forms. They would also enshroud their favourites in darkness or a mist to save them in time of danger.[6]

Early *Hindu* literature shows that the gods were invisible, yet could assume any visible form at will to favoured worshippers. They did not, however, possess a purely spiritual form. Such deities as Vāta, the wind, are naturally regarded as invisible: 'his sound is heard, but not his form.' Here also we find the belief in an earlier visible intercourse of gods with men, broken off because of men's solicitations which wearied the gods. Formerly they drank with men visibly; now they do so unseen.[7] Holy men formerly beheld the gods and the mighty *ṛṣis*. Hosts of spirits surrounded men invisibly.[8] In modern Hinduism, while invisibility is an attribute of gods, as well as of most spirits and demons which surround men, the decidedly anthropomorphic forms ascribed to them make the belief in their visible appearance possible, as does also the conception of visible incarnations. Thus Rudra 'by himself or by the numberless spirits whom he commands is omnipresent, but he manifests himself to neatherds and water-carriers.'[9]

The numerous gods of *Northern Buddhism* are invisible; *e.g.*, they are invited to attend the ceremonies and are believed to arrive unseen. Household gods occupy various parts of the house unseen, and these are religiously guarded while the god is in possession. The earthly Buddhas have ethereal and invisible counterparts in the formless worlds of meditation.[10] In *Shintoism* the invisibility of gods is explained 'by the theory that since the Age of the Gods they have removed further from the earth, so that they are now beyond the scope of human vision.'[11]

In *Celtic* belief similar views must have been entertained. The divine *sid*-folk appeared or disappeared at will, often from or into a supernatural mist, and one of them is represented as saying, 'We behold and are not beheld.' They may be seen by favoured persons, but not by others present at the same time, and some of the gods possess objects which cause invisibility—*e.g.*, Manannan's magic cloak. Of him it is said that he makes the gods invisible and immortal.[1]

The narrative of Gn $3^{8ff.}$ shows that in early *Hebrew* belief the idea of a time when God visibly had intercourse with man was prevalent. In later times God is thought to be more withdrawn; and, though certain persons see Him or some part of Him or His glory,[2] or theophanies of the Angel of Jahweh are granted to certain persons,[3] or God is seen in visions,[4] or He appears in symbolic form, *e.g.* as fire, yet the idea is also strongly prevalent even in some of these instances that it is dangerous to see Him. Thus 'no man shall see me and live.'[5] The finest expression of God's invisibility is to be found in the words of Job.[6] That God is invisible is also a doctrine of the NT[7] and is finely stated by St. John.[8] God in Christ—the Incarnation—is the full manifestation of the invisible God. The idea of the danger of seeing God is found in the NT.[9] Angelic orders of beings are also invisible,[10] yet they appear occasionally to men.[11]

The *Christian* doctrine of God's invisibility is a natural correlate of the doctrine that God is spirit, but it does not mean that God does not manifest Himself as in the Incarnation and already in other ways—'the invisible things of Him . . . are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made.'[12] The vision of God of the mystics, Neo-Platonist and Christian, is entirely a spiritual experience, 'not with the eyes of the body, nor of the soul.'[13] But the vision of God is enjoyed by angels, and is the reward of the pure in heart.[14]

The invisibility of God is also a doctrine of *Islām*, and here, too, it is held that such supernatural beings as the *jinn* can become invisible 'by a rapid extension or rarefaction of the particles which compose them, or suddenly disappear in the earth or air or through a solid wall.' They can manifest themselves in any form which they please.[15]

In folk-belief fairies, elves, dwarfs, etc., are supposed to have the power of invisibility, often by wearing a hat or garment, or by means, *e.g.*, of fern-seed. They also confer their power on mortals. By a magical salve with which the eyes are anointed it is possible to see invisible elves.[16]

2. Invisibility of the dead.—That the spirits of the dead are invisible is a general belief among most peoples. This is obvious when we consider how, in so many instances, where they are supposed to haunt the grave, or their former abode, or some particular locality, they are not usually seen, but their presence is known or felt, or they make themselves heard, or, as in Manabiki, where certain grounds were occupied by ghosts, those spots were known by their repulsive odour.[1] On the other hand, they can be seen by the living—*e.g.*, in dreams or trances—or they manifest themselves as apparitions, more or less impalpable, or they can be seen or communicated with by wizards. In many instances to see a ghost is dangerous to the percipient, causing death, disease, or madness. A few instances will illustrate the general belief in the invisibility of ghosts.

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[1] Skeat-Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. 214, 245, 349.

[2] H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and Borneo*, London, 1896, i. 166, 173, 182 f., 189, 209.

[3] R. E. Latcham, *JAI* xxxix. [1909] 345.

[4] E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Ind. of Guiana*, London, 1883, *passim*.

[5] G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, London, 1894, pp. 630, 633; M. Jastrow, *The Rel. of Bab. and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, pp. 260, 262, 265.

[6] Cf. Homer, *Il.* vi. 24, viii. 50, xv. 668, etc.

[7] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II. iii. 4. 4, III. vi. 2. 26.

[8] H. Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 39.

[9] J. Muir, *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, London, 1872, i.^{2} 147, v. 59, 308, and *passim*; A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, do. 1882, pp. 162 f., 178; E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, Boston, 1895, pp. 88 f., 187.

[10] M. Monier Williams, *Buddhism*, London, 1889, pp. 202, 319; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, do. 1895, p. 373.

[11] W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905, p. 32.

[1] J. A. MacCulloch, *The Rel. of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, pp. 78, 89, 380.

[2] Gn 32^{30}, Ex 33^{11}, Nu 12^{6-8} (Jacob and Moses see God face to face); Ex $24^{10f.}$ (Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and 70 elders see the God of Israel); Ex $33^{17ff.}$ (Moses sees the back of Jahweh).

[3] Gn 16^{13} etc.

[4] Nu 24^{3}.

[5] Ex 33^{20}; cf. Gn 16^{13}, Ex 3^{6} 19^{21} 'Lest they break through unto the Lord to gaze, and many of them perish'; Jg $6^{22ff.}$ 13^{22} 'We shall surely die because we have seen God'; Is 6^{5}.

[6] $23^{8.9}$; cf. 9^{11}.

[7] Ro 1^{20}, Col $1^{15.16}$, 1 Ti 1^{17} 6^{16}, He 11^{27}.

[8] 1^{18} 'No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.'

[9] He $12^{19f.}$, Rev 1^{17}.

[10] Col 1^{16}.

[11] Cf. *Par. Lost*, iv. 677 f.

[12] Ro 1^{20}.

[13] St. Teresa, *El Castillo interior*, Madrid, 1881, cap. 8.

[14] Lk 1^{19}, Mt 18^{10} 5^{8}; cf. 1 Co 13^{12}, 1 Jn 3^{2}; and Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* i. 4. 1, 'God, invisible saving only unto spirits that are pure.'

[15] E. W. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, London, 1883, pp. 29, 35. For an example of the fear of unseen spirits by a Syrian, see G. A. Smith, *Early Poetry of Israel*, London, 1912, p. 32.

[16] See Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, Eng. tr., London, 1882-88, p. 1418; art. FAIRY, in vol. v. p. 679^{b} and references there

According to the *Araucanos*, they are invisible, but may be seen by the *pilli*, *i.e.* the other selves of dreaming men.[2] The *Andaman Islanders* believe that the soul and spirit of the dead are invisible to human eyes, yet may be seen by dreamers with supernatural power (*óko-pai-ad*), who can also see the invisible powers of good and evil.[3] Ghosts among the *Melanesians* 'do not appear in visible form, but if anything is seen of them it is as fire or flames.'[4] The *Semang* think that souls of the dead are visible to each other, but invisible to mortal eyes.[5] At the *Dayak* feast of the dead the spirits are present invisibly—an idea which is constantly found in connexion with all such feasts among savages and in folk-survivals.[6] In *Samoa*, where the soul is thought to have the same form as the body, it is dreaded by those who profess to see it after death.[7] Men lived in a world of invisible spirits of the dead surrounding them, but they might be seen at night.[8]

In most cases, as Crooke has said, 'the dead have joined an invisible army.'[9] This is illustrated by the story told by Procopius[10] of the fishermen on the coast opposite Brittia who were summoned by night to ferry across the shades of the dead, who were unseen by them.

3. Invisibility of the Other-world.—The Other-world, or the world of the gods, being a spiritual or quasi-spiritual region, is generally held to be invisible under ordinary circumstances. But, like the dead, it may be seen in dreams and visions, the soul being supposed to go thither, or actual visits are paid there by medicine-men or specially favoured mortals.[11] Examples of this belief are found in the *Polynesian* conception of Rohutu, the aerial paradise, invisible save to spirits;[12] in the idea of the *Duke of York Island* natives regarding the place of the dead, *matana nion*, that, 'if our eyes were turned so that what is inside the head were now outside, we would see that *matana nion* was very near to us and not far away at all';[13] in one of the *Celtic* conceptions of Elysium as a mysterious region on the same plane as this world or entered through a mist—a conception also entertained in later times regarding fairy-land;[14] and in the *Jewish* idea that the righteous dead 'will behold the world which is now invisible to them.'[15] The unseen nature of the Other-world is a fact of ordinary experience, but in all ages and all religions it has been visible to select persons on occasion.

4. Invisibility as a power.—Invisibility, like shape-shifting, is a power frequently claimed by medicine-men, wizards, and witches, or various recipes or charms exist by which other persons can become invisible, or invisibility is produced by some magical means. A native told Count de Cardi that the Ju-ju priests in W. Africa could make themselves invisible so quickly that one could not tell when they had done so.[16] Usually the means employed is a spell or potion. The *Sinhalese* think that a number of 'medicines' mixed and charmed in a grave less than seven days old and rubbed on the face near the eyes makes one invisible at night.[17] The *Hausa* priests make charms which give the wearer the power of invisibility.[1] In *Dahomey* the potion used was made from the body of a male infant pounded in a mortar.[2] In a *Kashmir* tale collyrium rubbed on the eyes causes invisibility.[3] In modern folk-survivals similar powers are ascribed to magic potions. According to a belief current in the *S. Sporades*, a snake should be killed on 1st May, and its head buried with a bean in its mouth. When the beans are grown, all should be gathered and placed one by one in the mouth before a mirror. As soon as a bean is found which makes the face invisible, this particular bean should be kept, and, when put in the mouth, will make one invisible.[4] Witches in *Long Island* take the ear of a black cat, boil it in the milk of a black cow, and wear it on the thumb to produce invisibility.[5] Fern-seed, gathered between 12 and 1 on Midsummer Eve, caused one to walk invisibly.[6] The ancient *Druids* were believed to possess the power of invisibility, either by means of a spell or by producing a magic mist. This spell, the *faeth fiadha*, was also used by *Christian saints*, and survives in one form as St. Patrick's *Lorica*, by which he and his companions were made invisible to their enemies, or changed into deer—probably a late corruption of the earlier story through a confusion of the name with *fiadh*, 'deer.' The charm *fith-fath* is still remembered in the W. Highlands.[7] The gods of *Greece* frequently made their favourites invisible by means of a magic mist when they were in danger (see above).

A cap of invisibility is often mentioned in *Märchen*—German, Greek, Italian, Kalmuk, etc.[8] This corresponds to the helmet of Orcus which made Athene invisible, the *tarnkappe* of Alberich and Siegfried—a hat or cloak, which is also a common property of elves and dwarfs, causing their invisibility, the *Hulithshjálmr* of Norse tales, and the cap of Perseus.[9] Similar invisibility-producing articles are the ring of Gyges, Manannan's cloak, and many others mentioned in myth and legend. The cap or cloak of invisibility may have taken its origin from the disguises to which clothes lend themselves so easily, coupled with the natural desire of becoming invisible as a protection against danger.

In some myths of the *Mandæan* religion, Hibil Ziwa descends to the seven lower worlds, and remains invisibly in them for long periods, acquiring their mysteries.[10] *Gnostic* descriptions of the descent and return of the heavenly æon Christ through the spheres of the archons sometimes tell how it was accomplished invisibly to them, as in the Basilidean system, where He probably descended through His mystic name 'Calacau.' Gnostic souls, ascending through these spheres, were invisible to their rulers, because of their baptism or initiation, or because they had mastered the Gnosis and knew the names and nature of the archons.[11]

The power of becoming invisible is still believed in sporadically, even by educated people, the process suggested being perhaps a kind of dematerialization of the body.[12]

5. Invisible weapons.—As sickness or death is usually ascribed by savages to invisible demons, so they are often supposed to effect the evil by invisible weapons.[13]

LITERATURE.—This is given in the footnotes.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

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[1] Turner, 277. [2] *JAI* xxxix. 345. [3] *Ib.* xii. 97, 162.

[4] *Ib.* x. 285. [5] Skeat-Blagden, ii. 218.

[6] Ling Roth, i. 209; cf. A. Le Braz, *La Légende de la mort chez les Bretons armoricains*², Paris, 1902, ii. 115, and *passim*.

[7] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, p. 219 f.

[8] Ellis, i. 406. [9] *PR*², 1896, i. 201.

[10] *De Bell. Goth.* vi. 20.

[11] See artt. BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Ethnic); DESCENT TO HADES (Ethnic).

[12] Ellis, i. 245, 397. [13] Brown, 192.

[14] See BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Celtic], §§ 3, 4; FAIRY, § II.

[15] *Apoc. Bar.* 51⁸.

[16] M. H. Kingsley, *West Afr. Studies*, London, 1899, p. 499.

[17] W. L. Hildburgh, *JAI* xxxviii. [1908] 164.

[1] A. J. N. Tremearne, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, London, 1913, p. 171.

[2] R. Burton, *Mission to Gelele*, London, 1864, ii. 71.

[3] J. H. Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, London, 1888, p. 86.

[4] *FL* x. [1899] 171. [5] See Hopkins, 158.

[6] Grimm, 1210; *1 Henry IV.*, ii. i. 90; Jonson, *New Inn*, i. 6.

[7] MacCulloch, 310, 322; *FL* xxi. [1910] 442.

[8] *CF*, pp. 216, 218, 222.

[9] *Il.* v. 844 f.; Grimm, 462–463, 1418; B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, London, 1851–52, i. 217.

[10] W. Brandt, *Mand. Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893, p. 138 ff.

[11] Iren. i. 24. 4 f.; Hippolytus, v. 2; *Exc. ex Theod.* § 81.

[12] See, *e.g.*, some curious instances in August Strindberg, *Legends*, London, 1912, pp. 56–58. For the invisible astral body of theosophy, see C. W. Leadbeater, *Man Visible and Invisible*, do. 1908; A. Besant, *The Riddle of Life*, do. 1911.

[13] See instances referred to in art. FAIRY, § 6, and cf. *JAI* xxxix. [1909] 346.

INVOCATION (Liturgical). — Invocation or Epiclesis is the technical term for the prayer for Divine intervention, especially in the consecration of the Eucharist, but also, more rarely, at Confirmation.

1. The Eucharistic consecration conceived as effected by a prayer.—The universal practice of the Church in early times was to use a prayer for the consecration of the Eucharist, just as it was the practice to use a prayer rather than any declaratory formula for Ordination.[1] In both cases, however, we must make a distinction between what our Lord did and the manner in which the Church followed His example. It does not follow that, if our Lord used a declaratory form in consecrating the Eucharist, or in ordaining, the Church would think it right to do the same. In instituting the Eucharist, our Lord 'blessed' or 'gave thanks'—with what words we do not know—and then gave the sacrament to the disciples with a declaratory formula, 'This is my body,' etc. We remark that the 'blessing' (Mt 26^{26}, Mk 14^{22}) and 'giving thanks' (Mt 26^{27}, Mk 14^{23}, Lk $22^{17.\,19}$) over the bread and wine are identical. St. Paul, who uses the latter phrase in 1 Co $11^{24f.}$, speaks in 1 Co 10^{16} of 'the cup of blessing which we *bless*'; and this explains why the form used in consecrating the Eucharist was in after ages called the 'Thanksgiving,' although it consisted of prayer as well as giving of thanks (cf. 1 Ti $4^{4f.}$ 'Every creature of God is good if it be received with thanksgiving, for it is sanctified through the word of God and prayer'; here prayer is part of thanksgiving). At a later time the question arose whether Jesus consecrated the Eucharist by this 'blessing' ('thanksgiving') or merely by declaring it to be His body and blood. The mediæval theologians seem generally to have taken the latter view (and so perhaps Tertullian; see below, 3); yet the Council of Trent apparently inclined the other way, for it says (sess. 13, cap. 1):

> 'Our Redeemer instituted this wonderful sacrament at the Last Supper, when, *after the blessing of the bread and wine*, He testified in express and clear words that He was giving them His own body and His blood.'

We have, however, to consider what the early Christians thought to be the essence of the consecration as celebrated by the Church, whether the invocation of Divine assistance, or the declaratory words, 'This is my body,' etc. It will appear from what follows that, though there was probably some difference of opinion in the early Church as to how our Lord consecrated the Eucharist at the Last Supper, yet all agreed that the Church could consecrate only by praying God that what was done then by Jesus might be done at each Christian Eucharist. To use a mere declaratory formula, whether in Holy Communion or at Ordination, would have appeared to the early Church as presumptuous and irreverent.

2. Early period. — No clear deduction can be made from the *Didache*, as it is uncertain whether the prayers there given were used for consecrating the Eucharist or not (see art. AGAPE). But Justin Martyr uses language which, however interpreted, shows that he conceived the consecration to be effected by a prayer. He says (*Apol.* i. 66):

> 'As Jesus Christ our Saviour, being incarnate by the Word of God [for the possible confusion here of the Word and the Spirit, see below, 8], took (ἔσχεν) both flesh and blood for our salvation, so we have been taught that τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν . . . are both the flesh and blood of that incarnate Jesus.' For our purpose the words left untranslated are the important ones; but they are very obscure. They might be rendered 'the food which has been given thanks over [eucharistized, consecrated] by the formula of prayer which comes from Him' (so Batiffol, *Études*, 2nd ser., p. 146). Similarly C. Gore renders εὐχῆς λόγου by 'word of prayer' (*Body of Christ*, London, 1901, pp. 7, 289 f.). Brightman thinks that 'the "word of prayer that is from Him" must be the liturgical thanksgiving derived from the εὐχαριστήσας of the Institution, which Justin proceeds to quote' (*JThSt* i. [1899–1900] 112). So Dods (in *Ante-Nic. Chr. Lib.* ii., Edinburgh, 1870, p. 64), who, however, translates 'prayer of His word.' The difficulty of these explanations is that there *is* no form of prayer derived from our Lord, and that they give an unusual order of the words. By others it has been proposed to translate this difficult phrase by 'prayer for the Word' (cf. Sarapion, below, 8). Swete (*JThSt* iii. 169 f.) takes the phrase to mean the Divine command called into operation by prayer; he paraphrases the sentence thus: 'As our Lord was made Flesh by the Divine Word, so the word which issues from Him, when invoked by the prayer of the Church, makes the Bread and Cup to be His Flesh and Blood.'

Now, whatever view be taken of Justin's language, it is clear that the change (μεταβολή) of which he speaks is thought of as effected by a prayer for Divine intervention, or, in other words, by an invocation. The nature of that invocation does not appear from his words. In the two descriptions of the Eucharist (*Apol.* i. 65, 67) the central action of the president is described as 'prayers and thanksgivings,' and the communion of the people is called a 'participation of the things over which thanks have been given.'

3. Second period.—When we come to Irenæus, the matter is clear. This Father tells us (*Haer.* I. xiii. 1, 2) that the Gnostics used an Epiclesis. Mark the Valentinian, who came from Asia to Gaul, used (apparently at his Eucharist) a cup full of wine and water which was at first clear, and continued 'the word of invocation' till (by some conjuring trick) it became dark purple. It was pretended that the æon 'Grace' mixed its blood with the wine in answer to the invocation. Here we see a parody of the Christian Eucharist. The Orthodox also used an Epiclesis. In *Haer.* IV. xviii. 5, Irenæus says:

> 'Bread from the earth receiving the Epiclesis (the ἔκκλησις of the printed editions seems to be a misprint [A. Harnack, *TU* v. 3, Leipzig, 1900, p. 56]) of God is no longer common bread, but Eucharist.' The bread and wine 'receive the word of God, and the Eucharist becomes the Body of Christ' (*Haer.* v. ii. 3).

Here the 'word of God' may be personal, as perhaps it is in Sarapion (see 8, below), but more probably it is impersonal; it may mean the prayer of consecration (so Batiffol, *Études*, 2nd ser., p. 159), or may have exactly the same force as Justin's phrase δι' εὐχῆς λόγου. Swete cautions us not to assume 'that any form of invocation existed in the time of Irenæus; the εὐχή was itself the ἐπίκλησις τοῦ θεοῦ' (*JThSt* iii. 171 n.).

In the Gnostic *Acts of Thomas* (2nd or 3rd cent.?) there is an invocation at the Eucharist. 'O Jesus Christ, Son of God, who didst vouchsafe to make us partakers of the Eucharist of thy holy body and precious blood, lo, we make bold to approach thy Eucharist and to invoke thy holy name; come now, make us partakers, . . . come, perfect compassion; come thou that knowest the mysteries of the chosen one; . . . come thou that disclosest secrets, and makest manifest things not to be spoken; the sacred dove which hath brought forth twin young; come thou secret mother,' etc. (§ 46, ed. M. Bonnet, Leipzig, 1903, p. 35 f.; *Ante-Nic. Chr. Lib.* xvi., Edinburgh, 1870, p. 416; for the Ethiopic *Acts*, of which the text differs somewhat from the above, see E. A. W. Budge, *Contendings of the Apostles*, London, 1901, ii. 453). This invocation is noteworthy as being addressed to our Lord; it shows also some approach to a prayer for the Spirit. The Syriac *Acts* (given in W. Wright, *Apocr. Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1871, i. 258, ii. 146 ff.) name the Holy Spirit in the invocation explicitly; but they may have been revised by an orthodox hand. The Gnostic *Acts of John* (§ 85, ed. Bonnet, 1898) has no Epiclesis; the work is earlier than the *Acts of Thomas*.

Tertullian approaches the matter from a somewhat different point of view. He says that the Eucharist is the body and blood of Christ, because our Lord distinctly called it so:

> 'Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus illum suum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei' (*adv. Marc.* iv. 40).

This passage does not, indeed, deny that Jesus used words of blessing or thanksgiving to consecrate the Eucharist at the Last Supper, and it need not mean more than that the words 'This is my body,' etc., were those by which our Lord made the change in the elements known to the disciples;

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[1] In the Church Orders of the 4th (or possibly 5th) cent., bishops, priests, and deacons are ordained simply by a single prayer, with laying on of hands.

but it undoubtedly gives us a fresh point of view. Yet it tells us nothing of the usage of the African Church in Tertullian's time.

The usage of the Cappadocian Church in the 3rd cent. may indirectly be gathered from the words of Firmilian in a letter to Cyprian (Cypr. *Ep.* lxxiv. (=*Ep.* lxxv. in *PL* iv. 426] 10). He says that a prophetess in Cappadocia had arisen 22 years before, had administered the sacraments, and in consecrating the Eucharist had used 'no contemptible invocation.' Firmilian, though a Cappadocian bishop, shows no knowledge of Cyprian's usage being other than the Asiatic in this respect.

The Alexandrian usage of that time was, doubtless, the same, for Origen (*c. Cels.* viii. 33) speaks of the bread becoming 'a sacred body through the prayer,' and (*in Mt* 15¹¹) of the Eucharist as 'sanctified by means of the Word of God and prayer.' In his comment on 1 Co 7 he speaks of the Eucharistic loaves 'over which the name of God and Christ and the Holy Ghost has been invoked' (ἐπικέκληται).

The *Pistis Sophia*, an Ophite work of Egyptian origin (early 3rd cent., perhaps based on an earlier work), describes a sort of Eucharist with bread and wine; when the invocation is pronounced, the wine on the right of the oblation (θυσία) is changed into water (Srawley, *Early Hist. of Liturgy*, p. 43).

The older *Didascalia*, a work of the 3rd cent., perhaps testifies to an invocation of the Holy Spirit; but the text is not quite certain (Srawley, p. 88 f.).

These quotations show that an invocation of some sort was in general use in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, but give us, except in the case of the Gnostics, very little idea as to its nature. The Eucharistic worship of that time was probably in the main extemporaneous; the invocatory prayer had no fixed form, and all that we learn is that a calling down of Divine power was, to all appearance, universal.

4. Period of development.—When we come to the 4th and 5th centuries, a great era of liturgy-making, we have quite clear evidence as to the Epiclesis. The *Hippolytean Canons*, which perhaps represent Egyptian usage in the 3rd cent., though in their present form (allowing for some slight additions of a later period) they are probably of the 4th cent. (Maclean, *Anc. Ch. Orders*, p. 156 ff.), when describing the Eucharistic service, say that the priest, after the Salutation and Sursum Corda, 'recites the prayer and finishes the Offering' (can. iii.; ed. H. Achelis, *TU* vi. 4, Leipzig, 1891, §§ 21-27). The *Egyptian Church Order* (early 4th cent.? [Maclean, p. 160 f.]) has almost exactly the same words. But, in addition to descriptions of the service, we now possess five 4th cent. liturgies, of which at least the central part is extant in full: those, namely, of the *Ethiopic Church Order*, the Latin *Verona Fragments of the Didascalia, etc.* (these two are almost the same, so far as they run parallel), the *Testament of our Lord*, and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and that of Sarapion, bishop of Thmuis in the Nile Delta. In all these, after the Sursum Corda, there is (in some cases with the Sanctus added) a Eucharistic Thanksgiving, giving thanks for our redemption, among other blessings, and, in doing so, introducing the narrative of the Last Supper, mentioning more or less fully (see below) our Lord's words and actions at it. Then come the Offering of the elements to God and the Invocation, asking for the Divine intervention (see 8, below). These three elements—narrative with thanksgiving, offering of the elements, and prayer —will be found to be the essence of all later liturgies, whatever else may have been added.

Before dealing with the comments on the Eucharistic liturgy of this period, it will be convenient to consider the omission of our Lord's words in some authorities. Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 348) describes the service at Jerusalem (*Cat. Lect.* xxiii. 6 f.); he deals fully with the 'preface' with its mention of the heaven, earth, sea, the angels and archangels, and the Sanctus, and yet he says nothing of the commemoration of redemption, or of our Lord's words, 'This is my body,' etc. Immediately after mentioning the Sanctus he says:

> '*Then* we call upon God to send forth His Holy Spirit upon the gifts lying before Him, that He may make the bread the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ; for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched is sanctified and changed.'

This is what strikes him as the essential feature of the service. So in xxi. 3 he says that the bread of the Eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is no longer mere bread, but the body of Christ. There is no evidence of the existence of the Words of our Lord in the Jerusalem liturgy of the 4th cent., and Cyril's silence is significant as showing at least that they did not appear to him to be the principal act in the service. He comments on them elsewhere (xxii.) as used at the Last Supper, but not in connexion with the liturgy (Brightman, indeed, thinks that there is a liturgical reminiscence about this chapter, just as the phrase 'His undefiled hands and feet' in xx. 5 [*On Baptism*] has a parallel in the *Liturgy of St. James*, Greek and Syriac [*Lit. East. and West.*, p. 469, n. 11]). However this may be, half of the Words of our Lord—those over the cup—are omitted in the liturgy of the *Test. of our Lord*, which only alludes to them; and so in the Abyssinian *Anaphora of our Lord* (below, § 7), which is derived from the *Testament*, and which, though it has inserted several later features, leaves the narrative of the Last Supper in the same mutilated state. The East Syrian *Lit. of the Apostles Adai and Mari*, which in its essential features is probably to be dated before A.D. 431 (though it has received additions in course of time),[1] omits the words entirely. That this was not regarded, even at the beginning of the 7th cent., as an essential omission, however unusual, appears from the curious opinion of Gregory the Great, that

> 'it was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the sacrificial oblation *solely* with [the Lord's] prayer' (*Ep.* ix. 12 [26]).

He contrasts the prayer in use in his day, 'composed by some scholar,' with our Lord's own words:

> 'Inconveniens visum est ut precem quam scholasticus composuerit super oblatione diceremus, et ipsam traditionem quam Redemptor noster composuit super ejus corpus et sanguinem non diceremus.'

He appointed the Lord's Prayer to be said directly after the Canon for this reason. There is no question whether Gregory's opinion was right or wrong; but the fact that he held it shows that he did not consider the essence of the service to lie in the declaratory formula, but thought of the consecration as being effected by a prayer.

5. Patristic comment in this period.—Turning to the comments of the Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries, we find the same conception of the consecration by a prayer. Basil (*de Spir. Sanct.* xxvii. [66]) says:

> 'Which of the saints has left us in writing the words of invocation at the making (ἀναδείξει) of the bread of the Eucharist and the cup of blessing?'

This shows the absence of any fixed form. Athanasius (or pseudo-Athanasius?), in a sermon to the newly-baptized quoted by Eutychius of Constantinople in the 6th cent. (*de Paschate et de sacrosancta Euch.* 8 [Brightman, p. 533, n. 17; *PG* lxxxvi. 2401, fr. 7]), says:

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[1] Connolly (*Liturgical Hom. of Narsai*, p. lxiv) more cautiously says that the extra-Anaphoral part, in so far as it is represented by Narsai's description of the Liturgy, is before A.D. 450. But we may probably go further than this.

> ‘When the great prayers and holy supplications are pronounced (ἀναπεμφθῶσι), the Word descends on the bread and the cup, and [the bread] becomes His body’ (καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῦ σῶμα: cf. Sarapion, below, 8).

Other Alexandrian writers speak of prayer for the *Spirit.* Thus, Athanasius’s successor, Peter, says that at the altar ‘we invoke the descent of the Holy Ghost’ (Theodoret, *HE* iv. 19). Optatus, a Numidian bishop (*c.* A.D. 363) speaks (*c. Parmenianum*, vi. 1) of Almighty God being invoked, and the Holy Ghost being prayed for (‘postulatus’) and descending (cf. *c. Donat.* vi. 1).

Jerome (*Ep.* ci. [lxxiii. or cxlvi.] ‘ad Evangelum’) says: ‘The body and blood of Christ is made (‘conficitur’) at the prayer of the priest.’ Ambrose (*de Fide*, iv. 10 [125]) speaks of the ‘sacrament which by the mystery of the sacred prayer is transfigured into the flesh and blood.’ Elsewhere, if (as is probable) the *de Mysteriis* is his authentic work, Ambrose uses words which recall Tertullian:

> ‘[In the consecration] the very words of the Lord, the Saviour, operate; for that sacrament which thou receivest is made by the word of Christ. . . . The Lord Jesus Himself proclaims, “This is my body.” Before the blessing of the heavenly words another nature is spoken of, after the consecration the body is signified,’ etc. (*de Myst.* ix. [52, 54]).

If these two passages are both by Ambrose, we must interpret the latter, in the light of the former, to mean that our Lord’s command operates through the prayer of the priest (cf. Justin, above, 2). The *de Sacramentis*, which is almost certainly later than Ambrose (see below, 6), has a similar passage, but in more explicit terms (iv. 5).

Chrysostom’s evidence goes both ways. He says that

> ‘the priest stands, not bringing down fire [like Elijah; cf. § 178], but the Holy Spirit, and prays at length . . . that the grace falling on the sacrifice may through it inflame the souls of all’ (*de Sacerdotio*, iii. 4 [179]); and that ‘the priest stands before the table stretching forth his hands to heaven, calling on the Holy Ghost to come and touch the gifts set forth’ (*Hom. de Coemet.* 3).

Yet elsewhere he says:

> ‘It is not man who makes the gifts set forth to become the body and blood of Christ. . . . The priest stands filling a part (σχῆμα πληρῶν), uttering those words; but the power and grace are of God. “This is my body,” saith he. This saying changes the gifts set forth; and as the word which said “Increase and multiply” . . . was uttered once, but gives actual power to our nature to beget offspring through all time, so this word once spoken makes the sacrifice perfect at every table’ (*de Prod. Judae, Hom.* i. 6).

The last passage, like that quoted above from the *de Mysteriis*, recalls Tertullian, but it stands alone among Eastern writings. It certainly suggests that it was the custom of Chrysostom to recite the words of our Lord at the Eucharist; but that these words as uttered by the priest in the narrative form found in all liturgies are those which consecrate the Eucharist, he does not say; indeed, he would seem rather by implication to deny it. He thinks of our Lord as consecrating the bread and wine at the last Supper by this declaration, or at least as consummating the consecration thereby; but he says that that declaration, once made by Jesus at the Last Supper, consecrates the Eucharist for all time. Putting with this passage those quoted immediately before it, we may take Chrysostom as teaching that every Eucharist is consecrated by the priest praying that our Lord’s declaration at the Last Supper may make effectual the particular act on which he and the people are then engaged. There is not in Chrysostom, or in any other ancient writer, any approach to the idea that, if a priest were merely to say over bread and wine the words ‘This is my body’ and ‘This is my blood’ with a proper intention, a valid Eucharist would result.

Augustine in one place (*Serm. ined.* vi.; *PL* xlvi. 835 f.) speaks of the ‘Word’ (*Verbum*) being added to the bread and wine and of their becoming thereby the body and blood of the Word:

> ‘Accedente verbo fit corpus et sanguis Verbi . . . [the Salutation, ‘Sursum Corda’ and Thanksgiving mentioned] . . . et inde jam [succedunt] quae aguntur in precibus sanctis . . . ut accedente verbo fiat corpus et sanguis Christi . . . adde verbum et fiet Sacramentum.’

In *Serm.* 227, Ben. (*in die Paschae*, iv.), he says that the bread and cup are sanctified ‘per verbum Dei.’ What is the ‘word’ here? In *de Trin.* iii. 4 [10], Ben. (A.D. 396), Augustine speaks of the elements being consecrated by the ‘mystic prayer,’ and only by the invisible operation of the Spirit of God. This last passage seems, especially when taken with the teaching of his countrymen Optatus (see above) and Fulgentius (see below), to show that Augustine used an invocation of the Holy Ghost at the Eucharist, and this would suit also the first passage about ‘adding the word’; the ‘verbum Dei’ in the second passage would suit better the Divine command at the Last Supper, and, if so, we have a conception very like that of Chrysostom. It should be added that Srawley thinks that at Hippo there was no invocation of the Holy Ghost in Augustine’s time (*op. cit.* p. 150).

The Cappadocian Fathers of the 4th cent. attest an invocation without stating its exact form. For Basil, see above. His brother Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the Eucharistic bread as sanctified by the Word of God and prayer (he interprets this Pauline phrase personally), and of the virtue of the benediction by which the change is accomplished (*Cat.* 37). So Gregory of Nazianzus begs Amphilochius to pray for him in his illness at the Eucharist and to ‘draw down the Word by your word’ (*Ep.* 171). On the usage of the Cappadocian Church in the 4th cent. see below, § 8.

That the Eucharist is consecrated by a prayer is an idea not confined to orthodox circles. Nestorius believed the same thing. In a fragment of his (F. A. Loofs, *Nestoriana*, Halle, 1905, p. 241) we read: ‘Christ is typically crucified [in the Eucharist], being slain with the sword of the priestly prayer.’ And we may add the comment of a distinguished Nestorian on the subject. The newly published *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai* gives us the nearest approach that we have in Eastern books at so early a date (*c.* A.D. 500) to the doctrine of what has by some writers been called ‘the moment of consecration.’ After saying that the chosen apostles have not made known to us what our Lord said, when ‘He gave thanks and blessed’ at the Last Supper, and after describing what is recorded in the Gospels, with a traditional comment of Theodore, Narsai adds that to this effect ‘the priest gives thanks before God,’ *i.e.* commemorates the Last Supper; then, after mentioning the Great Intercession which here, in East Syrian fashion, follows, he describes the Epiclesis: ‘The priest . . . summons the Spirit to come down and dwell in the bread and wine and make them the Body and Blood of King Messiah. To the Spirit he calls, that He will also light down upon the assembled congregation, that by His gift it may be worthy to receive the Body and Blood. The Spirit descends upon the oblation without change (of place), and causes the power of His Godhead to dwell in the bread and wine, and completes the mystery of our Lord’s resurrection from the dead. . . . The Spirit comes down at the request of the priest, be he never so great a sinner, and celebrates the Mysteries by the mediation of the priest whom He has consecrated. . . . Then the herald of the Church [the deacon] cries in that hour: “In silence and fear be ye standing: peace be with us. Let all the people be in fear at this moment in which the adorable Mysteries are being accomplished by the descent of the Spirit”’ (ed. Connolly, pp. 16–22). It will be noticed that even here there is no cut-and-dried theory of a ‘moment of consecration,’ but only a statement that at the Epiclesis the consecration of the Eucharist by the power of the Spirit is completed. A similar proclamation by the deacon is still on some occasions used in this place by the East Syrians.

We may close this review of Patristic comment by two quotations from Fathers of the 6th cent., which tend in somewhat different directions. Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspe in North Africa, says (*c.* A.D. 507):

> ‘The Holy Ghost is asked of the Father for the consecration of the sacrifice’ (*ad Monimum*, ii. 7; cf. 10, 12); so the fragment of the same writer *c. Fabianum*, 25, 28.

Cæsarius of Arles in A.D. 502 writes:

> ‘When the creatures that are to be blessed with the heavenly words are placed on the sacred altars, before they are consecrated by the invocation of the holy name, the substance of the bread and wine is there, but after the words of Christ, the body and blood of Christ’ (*Hom.* v. *de Pasch.* [*PL* lxvii. 1056]). Cæsarius’s thought seems to run on the same lines as Chrysostom’s, as described above.

6. Place of the Invocation.—Taking first the 4th cent. liturgies of the Church Orders and of Sarapion, and the Great Liturgies of the four families designated by Brightman as Syrian, Egyptian, Persian (*i.e.* East Syrian or Nestorian), and Byzantine (this includes the Armenian), and omitting the Great Intercession, which varies in position (see art. INTERCESSION [Liturgical], 2 (*c*)), the order of the central part of the service in all (except the Egyptian in one detail) is as follows. After the Sursum Corda (which is prefaced by a benediction or salutation) comes the Eucharistic Thanksgiving, with a reference, in most cases, to the work of creation (cf. Irenæus, *Haer.* IV. xviii. 4, 6, where emphasis is laid on the oblations being God's creatures), and in all to that of redemption, introducing (except in some 4th cent. forms)[1] the Sanctus in reference to the angelic creation (which seems to be the reason of its occurrence here), and ending, except in the cases mentioned above (§ 4), with the recitation of our Lord's deeds and words at the Last Supper. Then comes the oblation of the elements, which usually takes up the words, 'Do this in remembrance of me,' and gives them as the reason for the act (hence this is often called the Anamnesis); and after it, in close conjunction, comes the Invocation. In this scheme the words of Jesus are introduced in the recital of what happened at the Last Supper as part of the Commemoration of Redemption.

Next let us take the *Roman rite.* It is not known for certain how the Eucharist was celebrated at Rome before the 5th century. Extemporaneous worship may have lingered there much longer than elsewhere, for in early ages it was Jerusalem that ordinarily led the way with regard to liturgical matters, and Rome showed the most conservative spirit. When we first meet with the Roman rite, there are two differences in detail from the scheme given above. (*a*) A prayer is found in the Eucharistic Thanksgiving *before* the Commemoration of Redemption, which in its earliest known form (in the *de Sacramentis*, iv. 5 f. [*PL* xvi. 463], a North-Italian work, probably written at a place where the Roman and Milanese uses were combined, *c.* A.D. 400; see Duchesne, *Chr. Worship*, p. 177) runs as follows:

> 'Make this oblation for us (nobis) established (ascriptam), valid, reasonable, acceptable, for it is the figure of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, who, in the day before He suffered, took bread,' etc.

This is slightly altered in the present Roman canon, which probably goes back, at least in its main features, as far as Gregory the Great (6th cent.), to the following:

> 'Which oblation do thou vouchsafe to make blessed, established, valid, reasonable, and acceptable, that it may become for our sakes (nobis . . . fiat) the body and blood of thy most beloved Son our Lord Jesus Christ, who in the day before,' etc.

This prayer, the *Quam oblationem*, was developed by Cranmer in the First English Prayer-Book (1549), and afterwards in the Scottish Liturgy of 1637, into a more detailed Epiclesis, with an invocation of the Holy Ghost.

(*b*) After the Commemoration of Redemption and the oblation of the elements comes a prayer for the Divine intervention, as in the other liturgies described above. It is made up of two parts, the *Supra quae* and the *Supplices te.* But, instead of asking that the Holy Ghost may come down to the earthly altar, it asks that the elements may be taken up by God's holy angel to the heavenly altar. The two conceptions, though differing in form, are really one, and are both justified by NT usage.

A writer in *CQR* (xxix. [1890] 379) remarks that 'the same facts of grace are presented in two forms: we are said to be raised up with Christ and made to sit with Him and to be in the heavenly places (Eph $2^{5f.}$ 6^{12}): and on the other hand the Holy Ghost is sent forth into our hearts, and is in us, and we are strengthened by the Spirit so that Christ comes to dwell in our hearts (Gal 4^{6}, Jn 14^{17}, Eph $3^{16f.}$).'

The earliest form of the prayers *Supra quae* and *Supplices te* is found in the *de Sacramentis* (*loc. cit.*). After the narrative of the Last Supper in the liturgy described in that work comes the oblation of the elements, followed by the words:

> 'We ask and pray thee to take up this oblation on thy sublime altar by the hands of thy angels, as thou didst deign to take up the gift of thy servant just Abel and the sacrifice of our forefather Abraham and that which Melchizedek the high priest offered to thee.'

The present Roman canon has inverted these clauses, has changed 'angels' into 'angel,' and has made some additions; notably it expresses the purposes of the prayer:

> 'that all we who receive the holy body and blood of thy Son . . . may be filled with every heavenly benediction and grace.'

For the meaning of these passages see below, 9. The idea of the heavenly altar is first found in Irenæus (*Haer.* IV. xviii. 6).

We may next take the *Gallican rite.* The peculiarity of this rite is that the central parts of the Eucharistic service vary with the day and season, instead of being fixed, as in other liturgies, Eastern and Western. In other words, the Mass for each day is a distinct liturgy. The only part which need detain us is that which corresponds to the Eastern Epiclesis, the 'Post pridie,' so called because it comes after the narrative of the Last Supper ('Qui pridie quam pateretur'). On some occasions the 'Post pridie' contains an explicit prayer for the Holy Ghost, on others it does not; but apparently it always or almost always asks for the Divine intervention in the mystery (see examples in Scudamore, *Not. Euch.*^{2}, 589, 594; Duchesne, p. 217 f.; Gummey, *Cons. of the Euch.*, 334 ff.). On some days, also, the 'Post Sanctus' (a prayer said after the Sanctus and before the Narrative of the Last Supper) contained an invocation, or an anticipation of the invocation (see the 'Post Sanctus' for Easter Even in the *Missale Gothicum* [Gummey, p. 337]). So in the *Mozarabic Missal* we find anticipatory invocations, sometimes mentioning the Holy Ghost and sometimes not, as well as invocations in the 'Post pridie' (Gummey, pp. 339, 350 f., 353, 358).

The *Egyptian rite* is noteworthy in this connexion as having an anticipatory Epiclesis before the Narrative of the Last Supper in addition to the normal one afterwards, though the anticipatory one is not usually very explicit. The words of Sarapion, 'Full is the heaven, full also is the earth of thy excellent glory; Lord of hosts, fill also this sacrifice with thy power and thy participation,' are taken up and amplified in the Greek *Liturgy of St. Mark* (Brightman, p. 132) and in the Coptic *St. Mark and St. Cyril* (p. 176). The latter amplifies the last sentence thus:

> 'Fill this also thy sacrifice, O Lord, with thy blessing that is from thee, through the descent upon it of thine Holy Spirit, and in blessing bless and in purifying purify these thy precious gifts which have been set before thy face, this bread and this cup.'

The most marked development of this invocation before the Narrative is in a newly-discovered fragment of an Egyptian Anaphora, perhaps of the 6th or 7th cent., which has:

> 'Fill us also with the glory that is with thee, and vouchsafe to send down thy Holy Ghost on these creatures, and make the bread the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the cup the blood of the New Testament. For our Lord Jesus Christ himself, in the night in which He was betrayed [the narrative of the Institution follows] . . . ye announce my death and confess my resurrection. We announce thy death, we confess thy resurrection, and pray . . .'; here the fragment abruptly ends, and all the rest is wanting (P. de Puniet, *Report of the Nineteenth Euch. Congress* [1908], London, 1909, p. 382 f.; Cabrol, *DACL* ii. 1882 ff.).

There is no reason to suppose that an Anamnesis and Epiclesis did not follow, as in the other Egyptian Anaphoras which have an anticipatory invocation before the Narrative. There is no trace of any such anticipatory Epiclesis in the liturgies of the Church Orders, and from the evidence given above it is clear that the invocation in this fragment is a development (for we can see it in the process of growing) and not the survival of an antique feature. The development may have been due to an imitation of the Roman rite. A still more striking instance of an anticipatory Epiclesis may be seen in a prayer to the Son in the Coptic *St. Mark and St. Cyril* and in the present Ethiopic Liturgy (Brightman, pp. 148, 204; E. Renaudot, *Lit. Orient. Coll.*^{2}, Frankfort, 1847, i. 2); this is said when the elements have just been put on the altar, before the lections are read, and is called in the Coptic the 'prayer of (or over) the Prothesis' (see Renaudot's note, p. 168). It runs thus:

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[1] In some Abyssinian Anaphoras the Sanctus is thrust in without any connexion with the context (Brightman, *JThSt* xii. [1910–11] 325). This may show that even later liturgies lacked this element.

> 'O Master, Lord Jesus Christ, . . . make thy face to shine on this bread and on this cup which we have set on this thy priestly table: bless, sanctify, and hallow them, and change them that this bread may become indeed thy holy body, and that which is mixed in this cup indeed thy precious blood; and may they become to us all for participation and healing and salvation of our souls and bodies and spirits.'

On these anticipatory invocations it may be observed that, however puzzling they may be to the more logical Western mind, to the more subtle Eastern mind they would be natural enough. In Divine mysteries there is no such thing as time, just as there is no such thing as space.

7. The Person or Persons addressed in the Invocation.—In the most ancient authorities sometimes the Holy Trinity is addressed, sometimes the Son or the Holy Ghost, but more often the Father. Doubt occasionally arises because the phrase 'invocation *of* a Person' may mean a prayer for Him to come, or a prayer addressed to Him; but an 'invocation of the Holy Trinity' can only mean prayer addressed to the Holy Trinity. In the 2nd cent., Irenaeus speaks of the invocation of God or of the Father, or of the Holy Ghost, or of the Holy Trinity. In the 4th cent., Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of invoking the Father in the Eucharist to send the Holy Ghost (*Cat. Lect.* xxiii. 7), and by 'invocation of the Holy Ghost' (xxi. 3) he probably means prayer *for* the Holy Ghost. On the other hand, in xix. 7 he speaks of the 'holy invocation of the adorable Trinity' to consecrate the Eucharist, and contrasts it with the 'invocation of unclean spirits.' This can only mean invocations addressed to the Holy Trinity and to unclean spirits respectively. Thus in Cyril's time it was perhaps the custom sometimes to address the Father, sometimes the Holy Trinity. In the liturgies of the *Ethiopic Church Order*, the *Verona Fragments*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and Sarapion, the Father is addressed. But the Oblation and Invocation (such as it is) in the *Testament of our Lord* are addressed to the Holy Trinity (i. 23):

> 'We offer to thee this thanksgiving, Eternal Trinity, O Lord Jesus Christ, O Lord the Father . . . O Lord the Holy Ghost; we have brought [this is the best reading] this drink and this food to [the MSS have 'of'] thy holiness; cause that it may be to us not for condemnation,' etc.

Just before this our Lord had been addressed:

> 'Remembering therefore *thy* death and resurrection, we offer to thee bread and the cup,' etc.

It was perhaps in view of such formulæ that the Council of Hippo in 393 (can. 21 [C. J. Hefele, *Councils*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1876, ii. 398]) forbade Eucharistic invocations to be addressed to any but the Father:

> 'In prayer no one shall address the Son instead of the Father, or the Father instead of the Son, except at the altar when prayer shall always be addressed to the Father. No one shall make use of strange forms of prayer without having first consulted well-instructed brethren.'

If this is aimed at books like the *Testament*, the language is not unsuitable, for the Prayers in that manual show considerable confusion in the Persons addressed. The Abyssinian *Anaphora of our Lord*, derived from the *Testament*, retains the peculiar features (as to the Oblation and Epiclesis) of its prototype; but before the address to the Holy Trinity (which it slightly modifies) it inserts an invocation of the more usual type, asking for the Holy Ghost, and addressed, as we see from its wording, to the Father, though from what had immediately preceded we should have thought that it was addressed to the Son. It is, in fact, a very clumsy insertion (this Anaphora is given in Cooper-Maclean, *Test. of our Lord*, p. 245 ff.).[1] In the Great Liturgies the Invocation is addressed to the Father.

8. The object of the Invocation.—We may group Invocations in three classes: (*a*) those which do not explicitly pray for the Holy Ghost; (*b*) those in which the intervention of the Holy Ghost is asked for, without any explicit mention of a change in the elements; and (*c*) those (the great majority) in which the intervention of the Holy Ghost is asked for that He may change the elements and make them to be our Lord's body and blood.

(*a*) The invocation in Sarapion's sacramentary (*c*. A.D. 350) exhibits some confusion between the Word and the Spirit, and prays that the Word may descend (for the Gr. text, with notes by Brightman, see *JThSt* i. 88 ff., 247 ff.; for an Eng. tr. see J. Wordsworth's ed., London, 1899). It runs thus:

> 'O God of truth, let thy holy Word come upon this bread, that the bread may become body of the Word, and upon this cup that the cup may become blood of the Truth, and make all who communicate to receive a medicine of life. . . . For we have invoked thee, the Uncreated, in [the] Holy Spirit.'

It is possible that λόγος is used in two senses here, the first time as the Divine command ('thy holy word'), and the second time, by a sort of paronomasia, as the Eternal Word. But probably there is merely a confusion of thought, of which we find some instances elsewhere in early times (*e.g.*, Tertullian, *adv. Prax.* 26, 'hic Spiritus Dei, idem erit Sermo'; cf. also Justin, *Apol.* i. 33, 66, Hermas, *Sim.* v. vi. 5 ff., IX. i. 1, ps.-Clem. *2 Cor.* ix. 5, xiv. 3, 5, and perhaps Aristides, *Apol.* 15). It may be permissible to conjecture that the reason of this confusion of language, such as it is, comes from the fact that all that the Eternal Word does for us is done through the Spirit. He is with us 'alway, even unto the end of the world' (Mt 28^{20}), but it is through the Comforter that He comes to us (Jn 16^{14}). Perhaps, therefore, before the Macedonian controversy arose, it seemed immaterial to some of the early Fathers whether they prayed for the Word or for the Spirit to come. It is probable that Athanasius's invocation prayed for the descent of the Word (above, 5); this was perhaps an Alexandrian peculiarity (for Origen see 3). After Sarapion the invocation of the Word disappears, though, as Swete remarks (*Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, London, 1912, p. 292), 'the thought of the Logos descending on the elements was not altogether abandoned' (see passage in Eutychius given above, 5). But, while we find the same thought in the Cappadocian Fathers (above, 5), whose literary affinities were Alexandrian, there is no evidence of a Logos-invocation in Cappadocia. Srawley (*op. cit.* p. 126) regards it as practically certain that the Holy Spirit was named in the invocation of that Church.

The most eminent example of the omission of the mention (or, at least, direct mention) of the Holy Ghost is the Roman liturgy. Neither the *Quam oblationem* nor the later prayer for the Divine intervention (*Supra quae* and *Supplices te*) mentions the Holy Ghost; the latter asks that the elements may be taken up by 'the holy angel'[1] to the heavenly altar, as has already been described (above, 6).

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[1] It had been suggested by the present writer (*Test. of our Lord*, p. 167) that this curious Anaphora was a connecting link between the *Testament* and the modern Abyssinian liturgy. But E. Bishop (*JThSt* xii. [1911] p. 399) gives reasons for thinking that it is rather a version of the *Testament* liturgy enriched from the already existing Abyssinian rite.

(*b*) The implicit form is that found in the *Ethiopic Church Order* (Brightman, p. 190) and the *Verona Fragments* (ed. E. Hauler, Leipzig, 1900, p. 107):

> 'Send thy Holy Spirit on the oblation of this Church; give it together unto all them that partake [for] sanctification and [*Ver. Frag.* better: all saints who partake] for fulfilling with the Holy Ghost,' etc.

The liturgy used by St. Chrysostom at Antioch was probably similar in this respect (see the first two quotations from his writings given above, 5). The *Testament of our Lord* is even less explicit in its invocation; the Holy Ghost is not directly asked for, though He is named in the address to the Holy Trinity, and only the blessing to the communicants is explicitly mentioned (above, 7). The Nestorian or East Syrian *Lit. of Adai and Mari* (above, 4) has an invocation of this implicit form, though it has in addition a prayer for the blessing and hallowing of the oblation:

> 'May thy Holy Spirit, O my Lord, come and rest upon this oblation of thy servants, and may He bless and hallow it, and may it be to us, O my Lord, for pardon,' etc.

(*c*) The explicit form is found already in the 4th cent.; Cyril of Jerusalem has it (above, 4), as also have the *Apost. Constitutions* (viii. 12):

> 'We implore thee . . . to send down upon this sacrifice thy Holy Spirit . . . that He may show (ἀποφήνῃ[2]) this bread as the body of thy Christ, and this cup as the blood of thy Christ, that they who partake thereof may be strengthened in godliness,' etc.

Similar explicit invocations are found in the Abyssinian *Anaphora of our Lord* (above, 7), in the Egyptian Anaphora described in the *Sahidic Eccles. Canons*, § 66 (Brightman, p. 462), and in all the Great Liturgies (except *Adai and Mari*) if they have an express invocation of the Holy Ghost at all. Sarapion also has an explicit invocation, though it does not invoke the Holy Ghost.

It seems clear from the evidence here detailed that the implicit type of invocation is somewhat older than the explicit; and, indeed, it would be almost impossible for the former to be evolved out of the latter.

9. Interpretation of the evidence.—If we approach the evidence without any theory as to what are the words or the moment of the Eucharistic consecration—and to deal with evidence *after* we have made our theories is a fatal mistake—we shall be impressed by the fact that, however much different ages and different countries may have used divergent details in their Eucharistic worship, the general scheme of the service was one and the same throughout Christian antiquity. The Eucharist, at least from the 2nd cent., was consecrated by a prayer, whether the prayer asked for the Holy Ghost, or for the Word, or for neither explicitly. But how are we to regard the invocation of the Holy Ghost? It would appear that before the rise of the Macedonian controversy about the Holy Spirit, the Third Person was not even in the East always mentioned in the Eucharistic Epiclesis. Indeed (now that the Pfaffian fragments of Irenæus have been dismissed as modern forgeries [Harnack, *TU* v. 3]), there is no certain evidence of the Holy Spirit being mentioned in the invocations before the 4th cent.; the evidence is only consequential, and E. Bishop (App. to Connolly's *Lit. Hom. of Narsai*, p. 136 ff.) even treats the kind of Epiclesis which became universal in the East and common in the West (see the Gallican and African evidence, above, 5, 6) as an *invention* of the 4th century. He rightly calls attention to the fact that, in combating the Pneumatomachi, the Orthodox did not appeal to the work of the Holy Ghost in consecrating the Eucharist, while they did appeal to His work in baptism. But the argument from silence here, as so often, is precarious; for at the very time when the controversy arose, and when it is said that the silence of the Orthodox shows that they were not in the habit of using an Epiclesis of the Holy Ghost at the Eucharist, we find Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 348) and the liturgies of the *Ethiopic Church Order* and of the *Verona Fragments* (which, or their common original, must almost certainly be dated about then) attesting its use, and (what is important) betraying absolutely no idea that it was a novelty. It will be remembered that Cyril and Sarapion were contemporaries. Is it possible to explain the extraordinarily widespread—almost universal—use of the custom from that time forward, without a protest from any one, in most diverse countries, if it were an invention of that period? Is it not much more probable that the prayer for the Holy Ghost goes back to a much more remote time, although it was not the only form in use? It would seem that in this matter, as in others, the rise of heresy had indirectly a beneficial result; it forced the Church to think more clearly about the work of the Third Person. In the invocation of the Holy Ghost we have an instance of the experience of Christianity, after various trials, showing what were the forms most suitable for liturgical use.

Again, if we start with no pre-conceived theory, there seems to be no reason why the invocation should always be in the same place, or why there should not be more than one invocation in the same service. The Egyptian rite has a sort of invocation before the Narrative of the Last Supper, or even in the preliminary service, and a fuller one after the Narrative (see above, 6). The Roman rite has the same feature. But there is no reason for denying that both prayers are, in their own way, invocations. No doubt, if we start with a theory that the consecration takes place at a particular moment, as when it is said that at the word 'meum' in the phrase 'Hoc est enim corpus meum,' the bread is transubstantiated,[1] then we shall be obliged by the theory to hold that the *Supra quae* and the *Supplices te* in the Roman rite are merely petitions for a blessing on the communicants; but this is a very difficult position. It is, indeed, common ground that almost all known liturgies have, at the place where these prayers occur, a petition for the communicants; the Epiclesis states this as the reason for its petition for Divine intervention. But that is a very different thing from saying that the Roman prayers in question were designed by their author merely to pray for this blessing, and that the consecration was conceived as having already taken place. Several considerations make such a supposition improbable. In the *de Sacramentis* (iv. 6), where these prayers are first found, there is no prayer for a blessing on the communicants. And, if the prayers have only this meaning, why should the elements already consecrated be taken up by the angel to the heavenly altar? What would be the significance of the reference to the offerings of Abel and Melchizedek and the rest? Further, if a prayer for a blessing is all that is meant, it is unnecessary, as such a prayer already occurs in the *Quam oblationem* ('nobis fiat'). And the difference of nomenclature shows that these prayers were regarded as completing the consecration. After the narrative of the Institution the oblation is called bread (in the *Unde et memores*); but after the *Supplices te* it is always called the body and blood of our Lord—*e.g.*, at the commixture (cf. Duchesne, p. 182). It appears, therefore, that the interpretation of writers of the school of Duchesne takes a view of the case which is more in accordance with the facts, namely, that the *Supra quae* and *Supplices te* exactly correspond to the Epiclesis after the Narrative of the Last Supper which is found in the Eastern and usually in the Gallican liturgies, and are intended to be at least a part of the words of consecration.

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[1] An attractive theory identifies the angel with the Holy Spirit (see de Puniet, *op. cit.* p. 393); but the *de Sacramentis* has the plural 'angels.'

[2] Cf. Basil's use of ἀνάδειξις, above, 5. For other parallels see Srawley, p. 105 n.

[1] The theory that, in the Roman rite, by the time the Words of our Lord have been uttered the consecration is complete is not quite the same thing as this, inasmuch as it does not bind the holder of it to the idea that the consecration is effected only by a declaratory formula.

The devout Christian need not ask too particularly, nor can he expect to know, at what moment God consecrates the elements; it is enough for him to be assured that, when all has been said, the consecration has been completed.

10. Invocation at baptism and confirmation.—The prayer for the gifts of the Holy Ghost is also in some early authorities called an Epiclesis. The bishop, in normal cases, was present at the administration of baptism, though he did not usually himself baptize; and directly after the immersion the newly-baptized were brought to him, and he prayed for them (either before or at the laying on of hands) that the Holy Ghost might be given to them (cf. Ac $8^{15. 17}$). Tertullian, who mentions the laying on of hands as an act distinct from the anointing, says:

> 'Having come out of the laver, we are anointed with the blessed unction. . . . After that, a hand is imposed, calling on (advocans) and inviting the Holy Spirit by a benediction' (*de Bapt.* 7 f.).

In the *Verona Fragments* (ed. Hauler, p. 111) the bishop, after the newly-baptized have been anointed by a presbyter and clothed and brought into the church, lays hands (or a hand) on them and 'invokes'; the prayer is given. In the *Testament of our Lord* the same thing is found; the prayer is expressly called 'the invocation of the Holy Ghost' which the bishop 'says and invokes over them' (ii. 9). In other Church Orders a similar prayer is given, but it is not expressly called an invocation. It may perhaps be added that in the Gnostic *Acts of Thomas* there is an invocation of Christ and of the Holy Spirit *before* the baptism, at the anointing (ed. Bonnet, p. 68; *Ante-Nic. Chr. Lib.* xvi. 404).

The invocation after the immersion has no connexion with the invoking of the Divine name at the immersion, of which we read in Justin (*Apol.* i. 61: 'the name of God, the Father of all, the Lord, is named upon him') and in the *Apost. Const.* (iii. 16: 'naming the Epiclesis of Father and Son and Holy Ghost, thou shalt baptize them in water'), for these refer only to the words used in baptizing. The same may be said of the allusions in Ac 15^{17} (from Am 9^{12}) and Ja 2^7 ('the honourable name which was invoked [ἐπικληθέν] upon you'; cf. Nu 6^{27}).

LITERATURE.—L. A. Hoppe, *Die Epiklesis*, Schaffhausen, 1864; W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*^{2}, London, 1876, pp. 572–594; J. Wordsworth, *Holy Communion*^{3}, Oxford, 1910, pp. 100–102; E. S. Ffoulkes, *Primitive Consecration of the Eucharistic Oblation*, London, 1885; F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. i., Oxford, 1896 [an invaluable mine of liturgical material]; H. B. Swete, 'Eucharistic Belief in the Second and Third Centuries,' in *JThSt* iii. [1902] 161 ff.; J. H. Srawley, *The Early History of the Liturgy*, Cambridge, 1913; J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, *The Testament of our Lord*, Edinburgh, 1902, pp. 170–176, 219 f.; L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien* (Eng. tr., *Christian Worship, its Origin and Evolution*^{4}, London, 1912), chs. ii., vi., vii.; P. Batiffol, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, 2nd ser., Paris, 1905, pp. 137–178; H. R. Gummey, *The Consecration of the Eucharist*, Philadelphia, 1908; R. H. Connolly, 'Liturgical Homilies of Narsai,' with appendix by E. Bishop, in *TS* viii. 1 (1909); A. J. Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, Cambridge, 1910; G. Horner, *Statutes of the Apostles*, London, 1904; F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1905; W. C. Bishop, 'Primitive Form of Consecration of the Holy Eucharist,' in *CQR* lxvi. [1908] 385 ff.; D. Stone, 'Eucharistic Doctrine and the Canon of the Roman Mass,' in *CQR* lxvii. [1908] 24 ff.

A. J. MACLEAN.

INVOCATION (Roman).—It was believed by the Romans that, if a prayer was to be truly effective, it must be directed specially to the deity within whose sphere of power its fulfilment lay, and that this deity must be invoked by his right name; so Arnobius, iii. 43:

> 'Usque adeo res exigit propriatim deos scire nec ambigere nec dubitare de unius cuiusque vi nominis, ne si alienis ritibus et appellationibus fuerint invocati, et aures habeant structas et piaculis nos teneant inexplicabilibus obligatos.'

To know the right name of the competent deity was to possess a real power of compulsion over him (cf. A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*^{2}, Leipzig, 1910, p. 110 f.); hence the names of the specific tutelary deities of Rome were kept secret, in order that they might not be used for evil ends by the enemies of the State (Serv. *Æn.* ii. 351: 'iure pontificum cautum est ne suis nominibus dei Romani appellarentur, ne exaugurari possent'; cf. *Georg.* i. 498; Plin. *HN* xxviii. 18; Macr. *Sat.* iii. 9. 3). This explains also why it was regarded as of the utmost importance to invoke the gods in the proper form, and why every precaution was taken to avoid mistakes. If a suppliant was in doubt as to the right name of the deity he desired to address, he either uttered a variety of names for the deity to choose from (so Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6. 20: 'Matutine pater seu Iane libentius audis') or added some such formula as 'sive quo alio nomine fas est nominare' (Macr. *Sat.* iii. 9. 10; cf. Serv. *Æn.* ii. 351; Apul. *Metam.* xi. 2; *CIL* xi. 1823) or 'quisquis es' (*e.g.*, Verg. *Æn.* iv. 577, and the note of Servius: '"quisquis es" secundum pontificum morem, qui sic precantur: "Iuppiter omnipotens vel quo alio te nomine appellari volueris"'; cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1913, p. 144 f.).

If, however, the suppliant did not know which deity was concerned with the matter in hand, a variety of expedients was open to him. He might omit the divine name altogether, and substitute for it a phrase like 'Genio urbis Romae sive mas sive femina' (Serv. *Æn.* ii. 351; cf. Macr. *Sat.* iii. 8. 3; Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 61) or 'sive deo sive deæ in cuius tutela hic lucus locusve est' (so among the Arval Brothers [*CIL* vi. 2099, ii. 3; cf. G. Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium*, Berlin, 1874, pp. 144–146])—a *dubitationis exceptio* (Arnob. iii. 8; cf. Gell. ii. 28. 2 f.), of which we have numerous instances in extant formulæ of prayer alike in literature (Cato, *de Agric.* 139; Macr. *Sat.* iii. 9. 7) and in inscriptions on altars (*CIL* vi. 110 = 30701, 111; *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, v. 1043, ix. 608); on these cf. C. Pascal, in *Bull. archeol. comun.* xxii. [1894] 188 ff. = *Studi di antichità e mitologia*, Milan, 1896, p. 85 ff. In many cases, however, the worshipper simply applied a new name to the deity. It is certain that many of the recognized Roman deities derived their origin from the practice of invoking as divine things lying close at hand (*e.g.*, *ianus*, 'the door,' *vesta*, 'the hearth'), or of using the names of the evils which the prayer was designed to avert (*e.g.*, *febris*, 'fever,' *robigus*, 'mildew on grain'), or of the virtues and conditions prayed for (*e.g.*, *fides*, 'fidelity,' *concordia*, 'agreement') as the names of divine beings. In such cases it was of importance to define clearly the conception of the higher power thus invoked, and to express its connotation fully. Hence the gods frequently received double names, meant to indicate their character from two contrasted points of view, as, *e.g.*, Anna Perenna, who could grant a favourable year's beginning (*annare*) and year's end (*perannare*); Genita Mana, who presided over birth and death; Patulcius Clusivius, the god of the opening and shutting of doors or gates, etc. Again, the suppliant might break up the action for which he sought divine aid into its several component elements, and frame for each of these an appropriate divine name. Thus, while in the *sacrum Ceriale* the flamen offered the sacrifice to the goddesses Tellus and Ceres, he gave definite expression to what he asked of them by invoking twelve names which covered the husbandman's work from the first ploughing to the delivery of the grain from the granary, viz. Vervactor, Redarator, Imporcitor, Insitor, Obarator, Occator, Sarritor, Subruncinator, Messor, Convector, Conditor, Promitor (Serv. *Georg.* i. 21), and, similarly, the Arval Brothers, by way of expiating the acts of bringing down, cutting, and burning a fig-tree that had grown on the roof of their temple, offered sacrifice to three newly created deities, viz. Deferunda, Commolenda, and Adolenda, while on another occasion of the same kind they sacrificed to Coinquenda and Adolenda (Henzen, *op. cit.* 147 f.). In the case of gods whose range of power was very wide, it was necessary to specify the particular matter in which their help was required; and from this arose the practice of dividing the personality of certain deities and investing the component elements with distinct epithets, of which quite a number might appear together in a single prayer. Thus, *e.g.*, the Arval Brothers, in the vow which they made for the triumphant return of Trajan from the Dacian campaign in A.D. 101 (*CIL* vi. 2074, i. 25 ff.), invoked not only Juppiter Optimus Maximus and Mars Pater, but also Juppiter Victor and Mars Victor. In the case of so multiform a deity as Fortuna, the suppliant was above all concerned to direct his prayer to the proper quarter, so that, if, *e.g.*, he prayed for the favourable issue of a battle, he appealed to 'Fortuna huiusce diei,' *i.e.* the particular Fortuna in whose hands lay the destiny of the day of battle (Wissowa, *Rel. und Kult. der Römer*^{2}, Munich, 1912, p. 262). Great care was also taken that no divine power who had a right to be invoked should be passed over. Hence, after all the deities specially concerned had been duly invoked in a prayer, it was customary to add a 'generalis invocatio' which should include all the others:

> 'Post specialem invocationem transit ad generalitatem, ne quod numen praetereat, more pontificum, per quos ritu veteri in omnibus sacris post speciales deos, quos ad ipsum sacrum quod fiebat necesse erat invocari, generaliter omnia numina invocabantur' (Serv. *Georg.* i. 21; cf. *Æn.* viii. 103, *Georg.* i. 10).

This practice finds parallels in Greek prayers (cf. O. Crusius, *Untersuchungen zu den Mimiamben des Herondas*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 80***; R. Wünsch, in *ARW* vii. [1904] 100).

In forms of prayer that have come down to us, accordingly, the group of deities addressed is very frequently rounded off with some such formula as 'di deaeque omnes,' or, more definitely, 'di omnes coelestes vosque terrestres vosque inferni' (Livy, i. 32. 10), or 'di novensiles, di indigetes, di quibus est potestas nostrorum hostiumque' (*ib.* viii. 9. 6). With this custom is connected the requirement that in every prayer, no matter to what god it was addressed, Janus and Juppiter should be invoked first of all (Macr. *Sat.* i. 16. 25; cf. Cato, *de Agric.* 141 [see also 134]: 'Ianum Iovem vino praefamino'), and that the series of gods invoked should always begin with Janus and end with Vesta (Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 67, and other passages, as cited by Wissowa, *op. cit.* 103).

Literature.—G. Appel, *De Romanorum precationibus* (*Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, vii. 2), Giessen, 1909, p. 75 ff.; G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur röm. Religions- und Stadtgesch.*, Munich, 1904, p. 327 ff.

G. Wissowa.

INWARD LIGHT.—See Experience (Religious); Friends, Society of.

IONIC PHILOSOPHY.—The schools of philosophy that arose in Ionia, on the coast of Asia Minor, and among the adjacent islands, during the 6th cent. B.C., are above all remarkable for their originality and vigour. With them begins the great march of Greek philosophy, and even their fragments are stimulating to this day. It is hard to fix precisely the limits of the term 'Ionic.' In so active a period of thought, systems gave birth to other systems with astonishing rapidity, and Xenophanes, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, and Anaxagoras, all of them bred in Ionia, were deeply influenced by the speculations around them. All historians would agree, however, that Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, the earliest in time, form to some extent a class apart, and most would confine the distinctive name to these three and their immediate disciples. But Xenophanes seems to come nearer to them than to their great successors, and we may include him here, especially as he gives particular expression to the religious side of their views. Dominant in the four is the recognition of matter, motion, and physical causation—*i.e.* of objects extended in space, and orderly movements and changes in space—as being themselves manifestations of the Absolute Reality. There is a marked aversion to earlier anthropomorphic ideas, and to all such mythology as that in which a storm at sea would be explained simply as due to the incalculable wrath of a Poseidon. At the same time this 'matter' with which our philosophers are concerned does not appear to be conceived as anything apart from spirit. They shrink from imagining it in terms of mere mechanism, but do not ask themselves the precise distinction between mechanism and spirit, or the precise connexion between them—questions, certainly, that no one has answered yet. But, with the possible exception of Xenophanes, these early thinkers do not even raise such questions, at least not expressly: in Hegelian language, they do not ask how far space can be taken as an adequate manifestation of the Absolute; they are absorbed rather in the simple feeling that it is *a* manifestation. They feel that things do happen in the way of mechanical and physical 'causation,' one event in space and time being followed by another as its necessary 'effect'; that a cloud, *e.g.*, is formed and will be formed by an exhalation from the sea, not by the god choosing to send his messenger wrapped in a magic veil. At the same time, they insist that these physical processes are, in some profound sense which they do not determine, bound up with life, mind, and divinity. Thus they have been called 'hylozoists' (ὕλη = 'matter,' ζωή = 'life'), since they assert a union, though an undefined union, between the two; or, rather, they do not assert it, they assume it, for they have hardly reached the stage of distinguishing the two as two. Aristotle sees the danger of this indefiniteness, one result of which was to make extended things and movements in space *as such* appear to be the sole causes of all that existed, including the movements themselves and the glory and beauty of the universe (*Met.* A 3, 983^b 6–984^b 20). But no criticism can do justice to these pioneers that does not recognize the immense service done to thought by initiating research into the properties of space and the physical qualities of things, and connecting with this, rather than with mere mythological fancies, the search for the absolute truth about the universe and God. Science and mathematics are not in themselves metaphysics and theology, but there will never be a great metaphysic that does not take account of them, and never a great theology that does not take account of metaphysic.

1. Thales.—It is significant that Thales, the first of these thinkers, is said to have brought the elements of geometry to Greece, having studied the science in Egypt and made discoveries of his own (Ritter-Preller, *Hist. Phil. Græcæ*, 9 E and reff. there). But how far it was a true deductive science and not a mere collection of rules learnt empirically, it is difficult to say. Our direct information for Egypt is derived from a document written, probably about 1500 B.C., by the priest

Aahmes (on the Rhind papyrus now in the British Museum). Mathematicians who have studied this treatise state that it refers to a rule for 'determining the trigonometrical ratios of certain angles' (see W. Ball, *A Short History of Mathematics*, London, 1888, p. 8 ff.), but they are not sure whether this rule could not have been discovered by mere observation of special instances, without the general reason being known. On the other hand, the Greek Democritus, writing in the 5th cent. B.C., and boasting of his proficiency in mathematics, asserts that he has not found himself surpassed even by the Egyptians in the construction of diagrams 'accompanied by demonstration' (μετὰ ἀποδέξιος [Ritter-Preller, 188]). This at once suggests that, though by that time the Greeks had outstripped the Egyptians, they recognized that demonstration and deduction were present from the first in the foreign teaching. This agrees with Aristotle's remark that mathematics arose first in Egypt, because there the priests had leisure, and leisure is necessary for all the liberal studies that go beyond utility (*Met.* A 1, 981^b 20). Thus it seems quite possible that Proclus had good foundation for his opinion that there was a true 'general' element in the mathematics of Thales, *i.e.* a true element of deduction (Proclus, *in Euclid.* 19 [Ritter-Preller, 9 E]). Proclus is writing *c.* A.D. 450, but he quotes Eudemus (*c.* 325 B.C.), who undoubtedly thought that Thales must have grasped the general principle that a triangle is determined when the base and the angles at the base are given; for otherwise, Eudemus held, he could not have measured the distances of ships at sea, as he is said to have done (his base, apparently, 'being a tower, and the base angles being obtained by observation' [Ball, p. 14; Proclus, p. 352. 14]).

Thus we may see in Thales the first beginnings of that insight into the real importance of mathematics both for science and for metaphysics which so deeply influenced Greek thought, from the time when the Pythagoreans believed that the very essence of all things was to be found in number down to the days of Archimedes.

Herodotus tells us (i. 74) that Thales foretold the eclipse of the sun which took place in the sixth year of the war between the Lydians and the Medes. Incidentally this gives us a date for Thales' life, since astronomers calculate that an eclipse was visible in Asia Minor on May 28, 585 B.C. (Ritter-Preller, 8*b*). We cannot suppose, without authority, that Thales had discovered the true cause of eclipses, but we know from Assyrian records that the Babylonians watched for eclipses at fixed dates (Burnet, *Early Greek Phil.*^{2} p. 42). Thales may have had access to this knowledge in his travels, possibly at the court of Crœsus, king of Lydia (Herod. i. 29). In any case we can understand how such knowledge, coupled with his mathematical studies, would stimulate his search after one universal physical cause for all the changes in the world. This, he held, was water. Aristotle, our nearest authority, suggests that he was led to this view by observing that the seed of all living things is moist, and also the nutriment of all things, 'and that heat itself is generated from the moist and kept alive by it' (*Met.* A 3, 983^b 18). It is not clear whether the last passage refers to animal heat alone, as the context certainly suggests, or, as later writers thought, to the belief that the fire of the sun and the stars was fed by exhalation (Ritter-Preller, 12; Plut. *Plac. Phil.* i. 3; Diels, *Doxographi*, p. 276). It is quite possible that Thales had both in mind. Aristotle also states (*de Cœlo*, ii. 13, 294^a 28) that he believed the earth to float on water, as a piece of wood might float. This recalls the Semitic belief of the waters under the firmament.

How exactly Thales conceived the ordered universe to be evolved from this fundamental water is quite unknown to us. Diog. Laert. states (i. 22) that, according to some authorities, he left nothing written, and certainly no writings of his have come down to us. Aristotle, whenever he refers to his doctrines, speaks of them in a tone of conjecture. From a passage in the *Physics*, however (i. 4 *init.* 187^a 12), where Aristotle is dealing with those early thinkers who assumed one definite substance underlying all the forms that we see, it may be inferred that Thales believed in a process of rarefaction and condensation. Still, this is only an inference, and Simplicius seems to have held that Theophrastus (the pupil of Aristotle) considered Anaximenes the first to state such a theory (Ritter-Preller, 26*b*; Diels, p. 164^2). Perhaps Anaximenes was the first to state it fully.

Of greater interest is Aristotle's remark that Thales is reputed to have said that the magnet had a soul, because it could make iron move (*de Anima*, i. 2, 405^a 19 [Ritter-Preller, 13*a*]). As Aristotle saw, this suggests that Thales was not satisfied with mechanism as providing an ultimate explanation for the cause of movement, and held that in some fashion (cf. Plat. *Laws*, x. 899 B: ὅπῃ τε καὶ ὅπως) soul must be that cause, and must be present throughout the universe (*de Anima*, 411^a 7). This feeling, Aristotle thinks, may be the source of the saying ascribed to him that 'all things were full of gods' (*ib.*; also ascribed to Heraclitus [Ritter-Preller, 46*d*; Diog. Laert. ix. 7]).

It is plain, however, from Aristotle's criticisms, both here and in *Met.* A 3, that Thales did not attempt to work out any relation between soul and matter, or even definitely to state the two as distinct, if interconnected, principles. Hence we cannot trust a later writer, such as Stobæus, who attributes to him a fully-formed doctrine about the 'mind of the world' being God (*Ecl.* i. 56 [Ritter-Preller, 14; Diels, p. 301]).

Like all thinkers of Greece in the great period, Thales showed a deep interest in matters of State. He was classed with Solon among the Seven Sages (Diog. Laert. i. 42), and Herodotus recognizes the wisdom of the advice that he gave the Ionians, in view of their danger from Persia, to form a united confederation among themselves (i. 170). He was certainly a citizen of Miletus, and, according to Herodotus (*loc. cit.*), of Phœnician extraction, but the latter statement seems far from certain (see Burnet, p. 39 ff.).

2. Anaximander.—Anaximander, also a Milesian, and probably a pupil of Thales (Ritter-Preller, 15), astonishes us by the boldness and subtlety of his speculations. According to Aristotle, and also, apparently, to a tradition preserved in Simplicius (Arist. *Met.* A 2, 1069^b 18; Simpl. *Phys.* 24, 26 [Ritter-Preller, 16, 26]), he struck out the idea of one primitive substance, infinite in extent, but otherwise undetermined in character, something that was thus none of the things we know, but something that was capable of becoming all things and manifesting all qualities. That the primitive substance was thus conceived as indeterminate has been disputed (see Burnet, p. 57 ff.), chiefly on the ground that Aristotle may have read into his predecessor an approximation to his own theory of matter as something that is essentially potentiality, *i.e.* something with the power of receiving form and character, though not of generating it by its own force alone. But there is no real reason why Aristotle should have misrepresented his forerunner, whose book was in existence at the time, and, moreover, we must account for the tradition in Simplicius. If we accept Aristotle's account, we have a significant connexion between Anaximander and Heraclitus, who found the very life of the world to lie in the incessant process of change, everything coming to be something which as yet it was not. It must be admitted, however, that the word ἄπειρον (which Anaximander uses to describe his substance) is not conclusive, meaning simply 'limitless'; and, though this certainly may imply 'indefinite in character' as well as 'infinite in extent,' we cannot be positive that it does. So far as we can follow Anaximander's development of his theory, we seem to notice, as with Thales, an uncritical union of mechanical and spiritual conceptions, vaguely grasped. This 'infinite-indefinite' is said to 'surround all things and govern all things,' to be divine, deathless, and indestructible (Arist. *Phys.* iii. 4, 203^b 7 [Ritter-Preller, 17]). But, when we come to ask how this divine government brings the diversified world into being, we only learn that in some fashion *the opposites are separated out* from the primitive source (Arist. *Phys.* i. 4, 187^a 12 [Ritter-Preller, 16*c*]). Now, this kind of statement can be taken in two ways, as Aristotle seems to suggest with regard to the later theory of Anaxagoras, who conceived a primitive state in which all physical substances were somehow mingled together so as to be indistinguishable, a conception which has interesting points of likeness to Anaximander's (*Met.* A 8, 989^a *fin.*–989^b *init.*). It is open to us to imagine 'the opposites'—*e.g.*, the hot element and the cold—as already there actually, fully developed, but divided into such small amounts that we do not perceive their presence. In this case the primitive substance is not really undefined in all its parts, and we must admit so much inconsistency in the theory. It then becomes natural to assume the 'separating out' as a merely mechanical process due to the sifting action of a perpetual motion, without any intrinsic qualitative change. Such an interpretation for Anaximander is suggested by a passage in Simplicius:

> οὐκ ἀλλοιωμένου τοῦ στοιχείου τὴν γένεσιν ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποκρινομένων τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τῆς ἀϊδίου κινήσεως (*Phys.* 24, 13 D [Ritter-Preller, 16]).

Or else—and this other interpretation seems more in harmony with the general drift both of Anaximander and of Anaxagoras—the primitive quality of the substance is throughout indeterminate, possessing no special characteristic anywhere at all; and then we are almost driven to seek some further cause, other than the substance itself and other than motion, to account for the growth of the various definite characters that do appear (cf. Theophr. *ap.* Simplicius, 154. 24 D, 27. 17 D [Ritter-Preller, 16*c*; Diels, p. 479]). Now, Anaxagoras, whatever his view of the process in detail, did definitely assert that mind (νοῦς) was the ultimate cause of this ordered variety—a step for which Aristotle puts him far in advance of his predecessors (*Met.* A 3, 984^b 11–18). This step Anaximander certainly did not take, but the affinity between the two systems is real: each assumes a primitive matter that is unformed, either relatively or absolutely, possessing no characteristics that are discernible, but capable of changing, under the influence of *something*, into the ordered world which we know. Anaxagoras names that something, Anaximander does not, and perhaps he has a still nearer affinity to a modern such as Tyndall, who spoke of matter as endowed with 'the promise and potency of all life,' and left the subject there. Or it might not be fanciful to say that he conceives the world in the beginning as without form and void, and, though he thinks of the spirit of God as brooding on the face of the waters, he will not say so definitely.

Simplicius adds another important point, illustrated by a direct quotation (Ritter-Preller, 16). The generation of the various elements, as we know them, is followed by their dissolution into the primitive substance, and this re-absorption is felt to be right and seemly (κατὰ τὸ χρεών):

> 'At the appointed time they make reparation and satisfaction to one another for their injustice' (Burnet's tr., slightly altered).

Thus Anaximander seems to hold that the diversity and multiplicity of the world depend on a struggle of opposites (*e.g.*, of warmth against cold, of wet against dry), and that the definite emergence of one element is a wrong done to the other. Heraclitus carries on this idea of struggle, but rejoices in it and justifies it. Anaximander held also, it would appear, that this double process of generation and destruction was repeated incessantly: 'generation could never fail,' for the infinite fountain was always there (Arist. *Phys.* iii. 8, 208^a 8 [Ritter-Preller, 16*a*]). Thus Anaximander may really have reached the idea, which later writers say he held, of innumerable universes, rising and passing away for ever (Ritter-Preller, 21). It is not clear whether they think he imagined many universes in existence at the same time, or meant that they followed singly, one after the other. But the latter is suggested by the coherent system which he conceived for the present universe, comprising all we know, earth and sun and stars, in one complete whole. He came very near to realizing that the earth was a globe: he conceived it, apparently, as shaped like a stumpy cylinder, with a convex lid, in dimensions three times as broad as it was deep, swinging free in the centre of the universe, and surrounded by hollow rings of compressed air (or vapour) which contained the fire of the different heavenly bodies, the rings with apertures in them through which the fire showed (Ritter-Preller, 19, 20; Burnet, pp. 70, 71). His biological speculations were equally bold, and in many ways acute. He anticipated the modern theory of hereditary connexion between all animals by his suggestions that the earliest living creatures were of the nature of fishes, and that man was developed from these, supporting his view by the sound observation that man now requires a longer period of nurture than any other creature, and considering that it was hard to imagine how he could have survived from the first if this had been always so (Ritter-Preller, 22).

3. Anaximenes.—Anaximenes, his successor, also a Milesian (*ib.* 23, 26), was a man of much tamer intellect. He fell back to the old idea of the earth as a flat disk, and to the simpler, clearer, but less profound and fruitful, conception of the primitive substance as one of the recognizable elements. This was air, infinite in extent, but definite in quality. Rarefied, air became fire; condensed, it appeared successively as wind, cloud, water, earth, and stones. Motion existed from all eternity and was the cause of change, but no explanation of motion itself was given (*ib.* 24, 26, 28). Soul, he said in so many words, was air:

> 'Just as our soul, being air, holds us together, so do breath and air encompass the whole world' (tr. Burnet, p. 77; Ritter-Preller, 24).

We cannot say, however, whether he meant that the air encompassing the universe was conscious, as it is in man; he is said to have thought it 'divine' (Ritter-Preller, 28*a*), nor need we doubt that he did; but he is unlikely to have formulated the conception of divinity any more precisely than his predecessors. There is little new in his thought, but he too has a claim to what Hegel regards as the great merit of these thinkers—that they were the first to announce that the bewildering variety of the world could be explained as the manifestation of one principle, a principle that was indestructible (*Gesch. der Phil.*, i. 'Griech. Phil.' A 1 [Thales], p. 203). The theory of Anaximenes was revived a century later by Diogenes of Apol-

Ionia, whose system, however, shows the mark of other influences (Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Phil.*, i. 280 ff.).

4. Xenophanes.—In Xenophanes the mental enthusiasm of the time seems to blaze out into a sane and splendid religious fervour. The best introduction to him is still the brief sentence of Aristotle (*Met.* A, 986^b 21), that Xenophanes was the first to believe in the unity of all things (cf. Plat. *Soph.* 242 D: 'All that we call many is really one,' an Eleatic tenet derived 'from Xenophanes'). Not that Xenophanes made any clear statement, or distinguished what was one in matter from what was one in principle;

'he simply looked up at the whole heaven and said the One existed, and was God' (ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέψας τὸ ἓν εἶναί φησι τὸν θεόν. For ἀποβλέπων cf. Hipp. *Ref.* i. 1, ἀποβλέπων πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν: Diels, *Dox.*, p. 555).

We may compare the famous passage in Sext. Emp. (*adv. Phys.* ix. 26 f.), which, no doubt, refers to Aristotle's opinion, telling how some have thought that the first conception of the providence of God came to man from the sight of the starry heavens:

'The men who first looked up at the sky (οἱ πρῶτον εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέψαντες) and gazed at the sun running his course from his rising to his setting, and watched the ordered dances of the stars, these men set themselves to discover the creator of so glorious a harmony, believing that it could not have arisen by chance, but through a mightier and immortal power, and that this power was God.'

Xenophanes made no clear statement (οὐδὲν διεσαφήνισεν), says Aristotle, cutting to the root of the matter in his trenchant way; as with Xenophanes' predecessors, so with himself, we are unable to discover any articulated theory of the relation between space and spirit, either in the universe or in man. But his fragments are instinct with the sense that these two conceptions are of ultimate importance, and must somehow be brought together. How to bring them together he does not know; one is tempted to say that he simply claps them together, but he has got hold of what neither philosophy nor religion must ever let go again. He will have nothing of the old anthropomorphic fancies by which the real grandeur and mystery of the physical universe are juggled out of sight:

'What men call Iris is a cloud, coloured purple and scarlet and green' (Ritter-Preller, 103).

But that does not make him write the rainbow 'in the dull catalogue of common things.'

If 'all things come from the earth and all things end in the earth' (*ib.* 103*a*), and if we ourselves and all living things are 'born from earth and water' (103), yet also everything that he sees leads him back 'to the One' (101*b*), everything is somehow in the charge of 'one God, mightiest among gods and men, not like mortals in shape or mind' (100). Not like them in mind—but that does not imply that He is without mind, rather He is the mind of which ours is but a faint reflex, He is νοερώτερον ἢὲ νόημα: 'more intelligent than intelligence' (102*a*). God's thought embraces every thing, 'without effort He rules all things by the thought of His mind' (108*b*). There is a striking enigmatic line, οὖλος ὁρᾷ, οὖλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὖλος δέ τ' ἀκούει (*ib.* 102), which may be translated variously: (1) 'He is all eye, all ear, all thought' (Zeller, Murray); (2) 'The whole sees, the whole hears, the whole thinks'; or (3) 'He sees all over, thinks all over, and hears all over' (Burnet).

We ask ourselves whether Xenophanes meant: (1) that in the divine there was nothing but sight and hearing and the activity of thought; or (2) that every scrap of matter was somehow linked up into a coherent system, which *as a whole*, though not otherwise, was instinct with the highest powers of perception and thought; or (3) that matter throughout the universe was somehow conscious in every part. The second interpretation seems most in harmony with his conception of 'the One,' but the third is supported by passages in the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *de Melisso, Xenophane, Gorgia* (*Zenone*) (chs. 3, 4; Ritter-Preller, 108), and the line may express Xenophanes' belief in the omnipresence of the divine. In any case it is a good illustration at once of his suggestiveness and of his vagueness. The world conceived as a physical whole is, in his view, *somehow* a manifestation of one God whose influence is present in every part, and who has the attributes of reason and perception, but we do not understand *how* it is such a manifestation. Does he conceive it to stand to the mind of God as body to soul? Or is space the first appearance to us of something which, in its ultimate nature, is free from the limitations of space, as we know space? This seems perhaps too subtle a theory for so early a period, but there are accounts strongly suggesting something of the kind. For instance, Simplicius, on the authority of Theophrastus, the scholar of Aristotle, says that Xenophanes conceived the One, the Unity of all things that was God, as neither limited nor limitless, neither at motion nor at rest (οὔτε πεπερασμένον οὔτε ἄπειρον, κτλ. [Ritter-Preller, 106*a*, *init.*]; cf. *de Melisso, Xenophane, Gorgia* [*ib.* 109, 110], which *may*, however, only be derived from Theophrastus). Again, sometimes Xenophanes is said to have described the One as spherical in form and limited (πεπερασμένον δὲ καὶ σφαιροειδές [*ib.* 108, 108*b*]), and, on the other hand, we hear that he spoke of 'the limitless roots of the earth' (Arist. *de Cælo*, ii. 13, 294^a 21; ἐπ' ἄπειρον αὐτὴν ἐρριζῶσθαι; Ritter-Preller, 103*b*)—all of which conflicting statements could be reconciled if we did suppose him to have thought that God could appear to us in one aspect as spatially limited, in another as spatially unlimited, but that in His ultimate nature He was something that was above either (cf. Ritter's interpretation of 'the sphere' as the self-limited, neither limitless nor externally limited, quoted by Zeller, *op. cit.* i. 548^2). All this, however, is very doubtful, and perhaps we ought only to say that Xenophanes may have used spatial images to describe his God just because he was feeling after, but had not yet grasped, a conception in which God could be known to be as much the source of space as of mind and spirit. Certainly the desire for a vast monotheism which will somehow include both personality and impersonality seems to underlie his vivid satires on the current anthropomorphism of his day.

'The Ethiopians make their gods black-haired and flat-nosed, and the Thracians make theirs red-haired and blue-eyed' (Ritter-Preller, 100*b*). 'Yes, and if the beasts had hands and could paint and carve, the horses would make their gods like horses, and the oxen make theirs like oxen.' 'Men think the gods are begotten as they are, and dress as they do, and look and speak as they' (*ib.* 100).

His own God is unbegotten, uncreated, and everlasting (*ib.* 98), infinitely beyond the reach of the 'immoral' myths invented by the poets.

'Homer and Hesiod have credited the gods with every shame, thefts and adulteries and lies' (*ib.* 99).

It is very probable, as Murray points out, that the anthropomorphism of Homer is itself superimposed on an earlier, less personal, mythology of nature, and Xenophanes might almost be said to lead the reaction. Crude anthropomorphism is full of dangers, and not the least arise when symbols of the great generative forces in the world are turned into tales about 'a god of enormous procreative power and innumerable amours' (*Four Stages of Gr. Religion*, London, 1912, ch. ii. p. 89). Not that Xenophanes shows any wish to restore older mythologies, if such there were, any more than he shows sympathy for the transmigration fancies of the Pythagoreans. His way lies forward along the path of sober thought and inquiry. He is aware of our ignorance, and does not hope to dispel it entirely.

'No man has ever known, nor ever will know, the full truth about the gods. Though he should utter it, yet he himself cannot know that it is true' (Ritter-Preller, 104).

But this does not involve, for Xenophanes, a sceptical despair; the possibility of advance towards knowledge still remains:

> 'The gods do not reveal all the truth at once; men must search, and at length they find the better' (*ib.* 104*b*).

The greater part of what we hear about his physical speculation is neither well attested nor of much interest. It was his revolt against a low mythology, and his conception that all things must somehow form a unity, that had the profound and far-reaching results. There is much in both Plato and Euripides that recalls his attacks on the 'Olympian' creed, and there can be little doubt that Parmenides, whose philosophy centres in the conception of the One, is in the direct line of succession from Xenophanes, who thus forms the link between the Ionian and Eleatic schools. Aristotle says in so many words that Parmenides was reported to have been his pupil (*ib.* 101), and it is quite possible that Xenophanes, in his long years of wandering, came to Elea in Italy, the city of Parmenides (*ib.* 97). His own native city was Colophon in Lydia, but it is natural to suppose that he left it when the Mede appeared (*ib.* 95). The date given by Diog. Laert. for his *floruit* is Ol. lx. (=540–536 B.C. [*ib.* 97]). Besides his religious writings we possess some charming fragments, half-lyrical, half-didactic. A very lovable nature appears in them, typically Greek in its union of sunny enjoyment with self-control, and high above all luxury, tyranny, and superstition. His picture of a drinking-feast is characteristic: the clean floor and the clean cups and the clean hands of the guests, the flowers and the flower-scented wine and the fresh cool water, the dance and the song and the drinking, but such drinking that a man needs no servant to help him home after it, the feast itself beginning with prayer to the gods 'for strength to do right,' and ending with songs that have no lies in them, no worn-out fancies about gods and Titans and giants, and no bitterness, no rancorous memories of party-strife (Bergk and Hiller, *Anthologia Lyrica*, 'Xenophanes,' 1 and 2).

LITERATURE.—H. Ritter and L. Preller, *Historia Philosophiæ Græcæ*^{8}, Gotha, 1898 (indispensable for a conspectus of the leading original authorities); H. Diels, *Doxographi Græci*, Berlin, 1878 (the standard work on the later Greek commentators); T. Bergk, *Anthologia Lyrica*, ed. E. Hiller^4, Leipzig, 1897 (for Xenophanes' poems); E. Zeller, *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, tr. S. F. Alleyne, London, 1881; J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*^{2}, do. 1908; T. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr., vol. i., do. 1901; J. Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, Edinburgh, 1908; G. W. F. Hegel, *Gesch. der Philosophie*, vol. i., Berlin, 1833–36, section on 'Philosophie der Ionier.'

F. M. STAWELL.

IRANIANS.—**1.** *Irān*, the modern name of Persia, comes from the adjective seen in Avestan *airyana*, used generally as an epithet of *vaējah* (of uncertain meaning) to describe the land from which the *airya* folk came; its identification has not been achieved. *Airya*, Old Pers. *ariya* (cf. Gr. Ἄριοι), is cognate with Skr. *ārya*; and it seems to have been the name by which the undivided Aryan people called themselves, a race of invaders from Europe,[1] who, perhaps about the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., occupied Bactria and the neighbouring country, and imposed their form of Indo-European speech upon the inhabitants. This admittedly speculative reading of the facts of a dim pre-history seems to suit best the evidence at present at our disposal. Whether the term 'Aryan' may be accurately used of a wider unity, as in British popular phrase (cf. O. Schrader's art. ARYAN [*i.e.* Indo-European] RELIGION, vol. i. p. 11 ff.) need not be discussed here; for the purposes of the present article the term will be restricted to the Indo-Iranian branch of the family. The division of the branch took place relatively late, the ancestors of the Aryan Indians migrating into the Panjāb, where we find them in the Vedic period, and leaving the Iranians in possession of the wide belt of territory from Bactria to Media, down to the frontiers of India. The linguistic tests of Iranian as against Indian dialect are very simple, the two groups lying closer together than any other distinct languages in the Indo-European family; it is as close a connexion as that between French and Italian. In Avestan and Old Persian, for instance, *Hindu* is the name for India, answering to the Skr. *Sindhu*. This illustrates two characteristic Iranian developments—the prevocalic change of *s* to *h*, and the loss of the original aspirates. The application of a few phonetic laws enables us to transform the oldest extant Sanskrit into the corresponding Iranian of our early texts, and *vice versa*, with quite a small residuum of new developments to be allowed for. Apart from some linguistic complications, involving certain speculations on pre-historic movements described in the present writer's 'Notes on Iranian Ethnography,' our material enables us to reconstruct with considerable fullness the cultural conditions of the Aryan people before the Indian trek. We restrict ourselves here to matters affecting religion.

Our evidence is collected partly from the comparative treatment of words, names, and ideas occurring in the older Indian and Iranian literature, and partly from historical notices of Iranian tribes found in ancient writers, of whom Herodotus is the most important. It will be remembered that the term 'Iranian' properly connotes a language only; and there is no reason to presuppose racial affinity among the wild nomad tribes who spoke, or may have spoken, an Iranian dialect. It is, accordingly, unsafe to depend much upon customs or beliefs of Massagetæ or Scythians in framing our picture of proto-Iranian religion. It is at least as probable that such traits may be purely aboriginal.

2. Naturally the most certain elements in this reconstruction are those which we can prove to have been Aryan. The combination of Vedic evidence with that of Herodotus, in his description of the popular religion of Persia, presents us with a system which agrees closely with that of the later Avesta (excluding the later prose and the ritual parts). Now these Avestan texts represent apparently a counter-reformation, a relapse from the too drastic reform of Zarathushtra into the old Iranian nature-worship, conformed to Zarathushtra's most emphatic tenets, but mostly in phrase alone, and compounding for its abandonment of Zarathushtra's essential teaching by an apotheosis of the prophet himself. In language and thought alike we find the Rigveda closely paralleled by the Yashts, and even more closely by the 'Gāthā of Seven Chapters' (prose), which is actually composed in the archaic dialect of Zarathushtra's own verse Gāthās. So great is the difference in religious standpoint, that, if we omitted one line (*Ys.* xlii. 2, which offers adoration to Zarathushtra and Ahura in a breath), we might plausibly argue total ignorance of the reform. The religion resulting would be practically identical with that of the Rigveda, allowance being made for the small compass of the Gāthā. We should have to provide only for some innovations like the cult of Indra on the Vedic side, and that of Mazda and the Holy Immortals (*Amesha Spenta*, now first collectively named; see art. AMESHA SPENTAS) on the Iranian.

3. Leaving the reform of Zarathushtra and the dualism of the Magi to be described in special artt., we may delineate here the religion professed by the Iranian people when Zarathushtra arose. According to Herodotus (i. 131), the Persians sacrificed on mountain-tops to Zeus, 'calling the whole vault of the sky Zeus.' It is highly probable that the Greek traveller records the native name, **Diyauš*, identical with Vedic *Dyaus*, Ζεύς, *Dies*(*piter*).[1] ‘They sacrifice also,’ he proceeds, ‘to Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, Water, and Winds.’ All six divinities belong to the circle of the ‘heavenly ones,’ Indo-European **deivōs*, whose name declares them of the company of *Dyēus*, ‘Heaven’ or ‘Sky.’ While the name of their chief is not certainly found outside the South Indo-European tribes, the general term is universal in our speech area from India to the British Isles: the ‘heavenly ones’ disputed with the ancestor spirits the primacy in Indo-European religion. So far, accordingly, we have set down only what the Iranians still observed of a cultus common not to the Aryans alone, but to the whole of our family. We may add that they kept plentiful traces of the primitive ancestor-worship as well (see art. FRAVASHI). In Īrān the *manes* were wholly beneficent, and the darker side of the tendance of the dead separated itself entirely from association with them. Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 46) tells us of Magian libations to ‘Hades and Darkness,’ offered in a sunless place with the blood of a wolf; and Herodotus (vii. 114) records the sacrifice of Amestris, wife of Xerxes, to the god who is said to dwell beneath the earth, when she buried alive fourteen children of high rank. Out of this primitive practice arose the Mithraist offering, *DEO ARIMANIO*. From the pre-Aryan period also may have come other elements of Iranian religion, as is suggested especially by comparisons with Roman divinities and cultus.

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[1] It should be noted, however, that S. Feist (*Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*, Berlin, 1913, p. 518 ff.) is strongly inclined, in part on the evidence of the recently discovered Tocharic language, to revert to the older view and seek the original home of the race in Asia, more specifically in Russian Turkestan. This is chronicled without suggesting that the writer finds himself shaken by this novel and able argument.

4. Aryan religion has by the side of the ‘heavenly ones’ (Skr. *devās*, Av. *daēva*) another term, *asura* (Av. *ahura*), which in Veda and Avesta, as A. A. Macdonell remarks (*Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 7), ‘is applied to the highest gods, who in both are conceived as mighty kings, drawn through the air in their war chariots by swift steeds, and in character benevolent, almost entirely free from guile and immoral traits.’ The similarity of these attributes to those given in the Avesta to the Fravashis, who are largely *manes*, suggests the otherwise probable inference that, if Aryan **daiva* meant an elemental deity, **asura* originally meant a ‘hero’ in the Greek sense. This fits very well the etymological connexion traced by Schrader (*ERE* ii. 15) between *asura* and the Germanic *anses*, ‘semidei.’ From the first, then, the two divine names denoted different classes of gods, whose ultimate rivalry was assured. The rivalry started largely, we may conjecture, in conditions differing with social status. Rude elemental powers were likely to be popular deities, adored by uncultured nomads who could not understand gods of shadowy and abstract character. The latter, especially if connected closely with the *manes*, would appeal to the nobles, prone everywhere to reverence ancestors from the very fact that they knew who they were, and therein showed their superiority to the common people. In some aristocracy of Eastern Īrān, it would seem, one *Ahura*—or rather **Asura*, for the weakening of the *s* had not yet set in—was elevated above other such powers by the epithet **Mazdās*, ‘wise,’ or ‘wisdom.’ Closely linked with him were some important *Sondergötter*, abstractions of the same type as the Roman *Salus* or *Fides*, and equally primitive in origin, or presiding over departments like the sacred fire, the cattle, or the plant world. So conspicuous did this cultus become, as early perhaps as the 15th cent. B.C., that Assyrians borrowed the name as *Assara Mazāš*, which is found in a catalogue of divinities during the reign of Aššur-bani-pal, associated with the Seven Igigi. This association shows that the conceptions were thoroughly assimilated, and with the very primitive form of the name proves that the date of its annexation by the Semites was centuries earlier than the time at which it is actually found. This discovery (for which see F. Hommel in *PSBA* xxi. [1899] 132) makes it necessary to date the name *Ahura Mazdāh* long before the days of Zarathushtra. The Reformer, in the writer's opinion, was a member of the aristocratic caste which worshipped this deity as ‘god of the Aryans,’ by which title he is known in one of the Behistan Inscriptions (Elamitic version, iii. 77, 79). ‘Aryans’ here will mean simply ‘nobles.’ The religious *milieu* already sketched will account excellently for the first hints which Zarathushtra improved so as to make the system underlying the Gāthās.

5. Meanwhile the masses were worshipping the *daivās*, like their cousins who had migrated into India. Chief among them was the Light-god κατ' ἐξοχήν, Mithra. His later history, in Zoroastrianism and in Mithraism (*qq.v.*), involves us in some complex problems which may be left to the articles concerned. According to A. Meillet (*JA* X. x. [1907] 143 ff.), this Aryan deity originated in an ethical conception, that of the ‘compact’ (*miθra*, which occurs as a common noun in the Gāthās). Mithra's Vedic companion, Varuṇa, is plausibly traced to a similar origin, his name being compared with Skr. *vrata*, ‘ordinance,’ Av. *urvata*, *urvaiti*, ‘contract,’ and *urvaθa*, ‘friend.’ The present writer thinks it probable that two independent conceptions have been united, perhaps by the aid of popular etymology, in the history of Mithra. A possible connexion with the ‘waters that are above the firmament,’ explaining his later association with the non-Aryan river-genius Anāhita[1] (*q.v.*), may have been taken over at a very early date from a Semitic source during a pre-historic contact. In any case, Mithra is essentially the firmament in the early Iranian period, and his title μεσίτης (Plutarch, *loc. cit.*) suits the physical conception of that which lies between high heaven and the earth—the δῖος αἰθήρ of Æschylus. From this elemental character came the development of the purely solar divinity who is at the centre of Mithraism. The total absence of Mithra from the Gāthās suggests that Zarathushtra knew him only on this elemental side. When he returns to prominence in the Yashts, he is conspicuously ethical, the god of compacts, combining the splendour of a god of the bright sky with the functions of a *Sondergott* of human intercourse in exactly the same way as the Roman *Dius Fidius*. Probably the elemental and the ethical conceptions predominated in different parts of Īrān, and the fusion seen in the later Avesta represents a compromise.

6. The cult of the nature-powers in the list of Herodotus (above, § 3) calls for little further comment. Sun and Moon are objects of worship in the Vedas and (to a limited extent) in the later Avesta. For the popular cultus in Īrān, Herodotus's notices of what he saw in Persia are much better evidence than the Avesta. (We might cite one striking proof that the historian got his information among the people and not only in Court circles—his note [iii. 67] that the Magian usurper, pseudo-Smerdis, ‘was lamented by all in Asia except the Persians themselves.’) The worship of Earth, as spouse of the Sky, is seen in the Indian coupling of Dyaus and Pr̥thivi, and on Iranian soil among the Scythians (Herod. iv. 59). The Aryan genius *Aramati* (Vedic; Av. *Ārmaiti*, scanned as a quadrisyllable) has the Earth as her province in the Avesta from the first; and on the evidence of the commentator Sāyaṇa (on Rigveda VII. xxxvi. 8, VIII. xlii. 3) it is generally allowed that this was an Indian (and therefore proto-Aryan) association (see Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 10). Primarily, she is a *Sondergott* of piety, or proper tendance of

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[1] See Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 391 f.

[1] Cf. Moulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 238.

the gods; and her connexion with the Earth is possibly another case of popular etymology. (The detachment of later Avestan thought from the primitive Iranian in this matter may be noted in the fact that Armaiti was daughter, not spouse, of the supreme deity.) The Waters—which term, except among the probably non-Aryan Magi, did not include the Sea—received adoration in Indian and Iranian tribes alike. So did Fire, which in Aryan cultus was the messenger that called the *daivās* to come down to the sacrifice. The special sanctity of the house-fire was inherited by the Iranians from Indo-European antiquity (cf., further, art. Fire). The Indian tribes lost this naturally when they migrated into the tropics. It may be observed that the later Parsi manifestations of reverence for Earth, Fire, and Water were not Iranian, but due to the Magi. Burial certainly, cremation probably—among the Indian folk, from the earliest known period—were practised without any thought of outraging a sacred element. Indeed, Zarathushtra even connected the future resurrection with the committal of a body to the divine Earth-spirit (see Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 163 f.). For the cult of Winds, the later Avesta sufficiently endorses Herodotus. Chief among *daivās* which the Greek writer does not mention is *Haoma* (Skr. *Soma*), who is indeed even excluded by the remark (Herod. i. 132) that in worship the Persians 'used no libation.' The statement is conjecturally explained (Moulton, *op. cit.* p. 72 f.) in connexion with the change of character apparent in Haoma when he returns in the later Avesta from a very palpable exile. Zarathushtra himself both knew and banned him as an 'intoxicant' bringing 'pollution' (*Ys.* xlviii. 10); the Gāthās have his fixed epithet, though not his name (*Ys.* xxxii. 14). He was, therefore, in Gāthic times still what he was in Vedic. But the Haoma of the later Avesta has no such traits: he is a magical drink, but seemingly harmless. It may be suggested that the (unknown) plant from the juice of whose crushed stalk the Aryan 'drink of immortality' was fermented—a literal *eau de vie*—had failed the Aryan tribes in their migrations. The Haoma in the country of the later Avesta would thus be a substitute, while in Persia no substitute for the lost drink was attempted (see further, art. Haoma). Other presumable members of the primitive Iranian pantheon need not be catalogued here. The equation *vṛtraghna* (Skr.)=*vereθraghna* (later Av.), 'assault-repelling,' makes a *Sondergott* like Νίκη certain for the Aryan period. Of chthonian cult we have spoken already (§ 3); and for the two strains of ancestor-worship and external soul that meet in the *Fravashis* of the later Avesta reference may be made to the article on that subject.

7. For Iranian worship we can follow the *locus classicus* in Herodotus as closely as we followed its list of Iranian divinities. That it was strictly aniconic and without temples (in the Greek sense) is certain (cf. Schrader's account of Indo-European shrines in *ERE* ii. 44–47). The worship of the Sky upon the tops of mountains is there paralleled with Greek cults. When the Persians laid the strips of sacrificial flesh upon a 'carpet of tender grass' (Skr. *barhiṣ*), and invited the gods by an incantation to come and partake of the spiritual essence of the food, they were doing what their Indian kin did in Vedic times. Probably the Yashts and Vendīdād are quite primitive in the stress they lay on the tendance of fire. The Skr. word *hotar*, Gāthic *zaotar*, according to C. Bartholomae (*Altiran. Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1907, col. 1653), combines the ideas of two separate roots, one seen in Skr. *juhóti* (χέω), 'pour,' the other in *hávate*, 'invoke'—the latter supplying the passive participle that gives us the Germanic word 'God.' The sacred formula, which lies behind the important equation of Skr. *brahman* and Lat. *flāmen* (orig. neuter),[1] is thus included with the libation in the name of the conductor of the rite. There is no direct evidence on Iranian soil that such priests held hereditary office; but we may recall the combinations of Schrader to prove that traditional lore was handed down in certain families. The Magi succeeded to these sacerdotal functions in Persia, largely because of their influence over the non-Aryan population, which had more or less perfunctorily adopted the forms of Iranian worship and a few features of Zarathushtra's reform (on this subject see art. Magi).

Literature.—For evidence in favour of several statements briefly made above reference may be made to J. H. Moulton, 'Notes on Iranian Ethnography,' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913, to his Hibbert Lectures on *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, and in small compass to the 'Cambridge Manual' on *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, Cambridge, 1911. F. Spiegel, *Die arische Periode*, Leipzig, 1887, reconstructs features of the Aryan unity. Cf. also O. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, *passim*, and art. Aryan Religion, vol. ii. pp. 11–57; A. V. W. Jackson, 'Iran. Religion,' in *GIrP* ii. [1904] 612 ff.; H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894.

James Hope Moulton.

IRISH.—See Celts.

IROQUOIS.—The name 'Iroquois' was given by the French settlers in Canada to the great confederation of the Five Nations—Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, to which was added, after 1726, the Tuscarora, thus making the famous Six Nations. The most advanced of all American Indians in statecraft and political organization, they were the leading members of a linguistic family which ranged from the St. Lawrence River (the Saguenay on the north bank, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the south) through south Quebec and Ontario, the greater part of New York and Pennsylvania, and the north-eastern half of Ohio, with an exclave running south-west through portions of Virginia, Tennessee, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama. Excepting the exclave, they were entirely surrounded by Indians of Algonquian stock. The name 'Iroquois' is itself Algonquian—*Irinakhoiw*, 'real adders' (with the French termination *-ois*).

The chief Iroquoian tribes were the Huron (*q.v.*); the Tionontati, or Tobacco People (the 'Nation du Petun' of the *Jesuit Relations*), who lived in Grey and Simcoe counties, Ont., and who combined with the Huron to form the modern Wyandot; the Attiwendaronk, or Neutrals (so called because they took no part in the wars between the Huron and the Iroquois), living north of Lake Erie; the Conestoga, along the Susquehanna River; the Erie, or Cat Nation (in allusion to the panther or wild-cat), south of the Neutrals; the Tuscarora in North Carolina; the Nottoway in South-East Virginia; the Meherrin, along the river of that name, on the border between Virginia and North Carolina; and the Cherokee (*q.v.*).

1. **Government.** — Iroquoian government was essentially a congeries of clans, each composed of a number of gentes or families, which might, in turn, consist of several firesides. The family (Mohawk *ohwachira*) was matriarchal, its members being the male and female offspring of a woman and her female descendants in the female line, together with such persons as had been adopted into the *ohwachira*. The head of an *ohwachira* was usually its oldest woman, and each of its members possessed the right of inheritance from deceased fellow-members, and of participation in its councils. In the process of development, *ohwachiras*, either actually or theoretically akin, tended to coalesce, in which case certain

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[1] This equation is not, however, undisputed (see A. Walde, *Lat. etymolog. Wörterb.*², Heidelberg, 1910, p. 298).

ohwachiras gained the custody of the titles of chief and sub-chief, and the married women could, accordingly, take the initial steps not only in choosing, but also in deposing, a chief or sub-chief—in both cases subject to confirmation and installation (or deposition) by the tribal council. The strong matriarchate of the *ohwachira* also appears in the fact that all the land of a family was exclusively owned by women.[1] Each *ohwachira* possessed its own tutelary deities (*oyaron* or *ochinagenda*), normally in charge of certain wise women, specific songs and rites, the right to certain personal names, etc., and, of course, shared in the privileges and responsibilities inherent in membership in the tribe as a whole. The clans were to the *ohwachiras* what the latter were to the firesides (families in our sense of the term, except that they were matriarchal instead of patriarchal); and the clans were combined, in analogous fashion, into phratries, two of which normally constituted a tribe.[2] The clans composing a phratry were brothers and sisters to each other, and cousins (or progenitors) to the other phratry. Consequently, marriage within a phratry was originally forbidden, though later only the clans were exogamous.[3]

2. Family life and culture.—As would be self-evident in a matriarchal society, the power of women was in many respects paramount over men. Woman's right to land and her privilege of choosing the chiefs have already been noted. Being the source of life, she alone could independently adopt an alien (a man could do this only with the expressed or implied consent of his wife); she had the primary right to decide whether a captive should be put to death or adopted; and she might even forbid her sons to go on the warpath. Chieftainesses elected by the women provided the food for festivals, etc., watched over the treasury, and, when of extraordinary ability, might even, in case of need, act as substitute during the vacancy of a male chieftainship. The penalty for killing a woman was double that for the murder of a man (see art. BLOOD-FEUD [Primitive], vol. ii. p. 722ᵇ).

Yet, although a son belonged to his mother's clan, a husband retained his own clan, as the wife retained hers. Their offspring had, therefore, a relation to both clans; and the father's clan gave the son his tutelary (*oyaron*), supplied a prisoner or a scalp if he fell in battle or was murdered, and performed the sepulchral rites in case of death in his wife's clan.

The principle of adoption (*q.v.*) was one of prime importance in Iroquoian organization. As among the Huron (see *ERE*, vol. vi. p. 883 f.), a captive might be adopted to replace a fallen warrior, and, as Hewitt points out (*HAI* i. 15), to restore the *orenda* (on which see below) lost by the clan through the death of its member. Not only individuals, but entire tribes, might be adopted. This was notably the case when, about 1726, the Tuscarora were adopted by the Five Nations, through the successive stages of infant, boy, youth, man, assistant to the official women-cooks, warrior, and peer. The Tuscarora were Iroquoian; but Algonquins (Leni-lenape and Nanticoke) and Siouans (Saponi and Tutelo) were also adopted.

The general character of the Iroquoians has been described in art. HURON; but that their reputed savagery was not inherent in the race is shown by the gentleness of the Tuscarora, who suffered from the whites the cruellest wrongs, perhaps the least of which was the constant kidnapping of both men and women into slavery (Hewitt, *HAI* ii. 843 ff.).

The Iroquoian dwellings were the famous 'long houses,' often over 100 ft. in length, and correspondingly wide, the framework being of poles, which were covered with bark (as was also the roof), usually of the elm. Within, each fireside had its own apartment, curtained off, while through the centre ran a passage for general use (cf. *HAI* i. 555, ii. 61, 126, 128).[1] Among the Tuscarora, however, the round bark lodge was in use (*ib.* ii. 851). In war, body-armour of twined wooden rods or slats was used (W. Hough, in *Rep. U.S. Nat. Mus.* 1893, p. 648 f.), and, besides the ordinary Indian weapons, blow-guns were frequently employed, while, at least among the Erie, poisoned arrows were not unknown.

3. Religion.—The underlying concept of Iroquoian religion is *orenda*, a term which has passed into the vocabulary of comparative religion. *Orenda* is closely analogous to the Polynesian concept of *mana* (*q.v.*), and denotes

> 'the fictive force, principle, or magic power which was assumed by the inchoate reasoning of primitive man to be inherent in every body and being of nature and in every personified attribute, property, or activity, belonging to each of these and conceived to be the active cause or force, or dynamic energy, involved in every operation or phenomenon of nature, in any manner affecting or controlling the welfare of man. This hypothetic principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action, limited in function and efficiency, and not at all omnipotent, local and not omnipresent, and ever embodied or immanent in some object, although it was believed that it could be transferred, attracted, acquired, increased, suppressed, or enthralled by the orenda of occult ritualistic formulas endowed with more potency' (Hewitt, *HAI* ii. 147).

The object of sacrifice is to secure the exercise, in behalf of the sacrificer, of the *orenda* possessed by worshipful beings; and the phenomena of nature are simply contests between different *orenda*. *Orenda* may be beneficent or maleficent; the beings who use *orenda* for injurious ends are called *otkon*. The chief defence of the individual against the *otkon* is the *oyaron*, or tutelaries, which were also possessed by tribes, clans, and families. The normal mode of acquiring one's *oyaron* is detailed in art. COMMUNION WITH DEITY (American). Like the *orenda*, the *oyaron* differed in potency and in character. Those possessed of powerful and beneficent *oyaron*, and hence controlling similar *orenda*, were the wise men and beneficent magicians, whose *oyaron*-revealed knowledge enabled them to foretell the future, divine remedies for disease, interpret dreams, and, if sufficiently potent, overcome evil *orenda*, *otkon*, and *oyaron*. Those whose *oyaron* were malignant were the evil wizards, who bore the significant name *agotkon* or *hoñnatkon* ('he is an *otkon*'), whereas the benignant type was *arendiouanen* ('his *orenda* is powerful'), *saïotkatta* (Huron, 'one who examines another by seeing'), etc. The good will of the *oyaron* must be retained by feasts and sacrifices to keep it in health and strength, or it would turn against its possessor; neither could its dictates, as revealed in dreams, be denied without most serious consequences (for details see *ERE*, vol. vi. p. 885 f.). If the object manifested as the *oyaron* was an animal, its possessor's life was conditioned by that of the living creature in question; but in any case the material creature or object was not the *oyaron* itself, but merely

> 'its embodiment, the symbol or outward sign of the union subsisting between the soul and its tutelary or guardian genius, through the guidance and potency of which the soul must know and do everything' (Hewitt, *HAI* ii. 178).

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[1] As in so many other cosmologies, the earth was female to the Iroquoians.

[2] Hewitt holds (*HAI* ii. 816 f.) that the number of the phratries was based on the dualism of natural sex.

[3] When, in the middle of the 16th cent., the Cayuga of Oneniote became greatly diminished through war with the Huron, they sent to the Mohawk for men to wed their women (W. M. Beauchamp, *HAI* ii. 128; for another explanation see Hewitt, *ib.* 123).

[1] A 'council-house' of the Iroquois is preserved at Portage, N.Y., but, if genuine, is a very recent development, being simply a log-cabin. A similar dilapidated structure exists at Conesus, N.Y., and is claimed to have been the home of an Indian family at the time of Sullivan's destructive invasion in 1779.

The personal *oyaron* was carefully carried by warriors, and thus served as a fetish. A symbol or representation of it was made by the father's clan at the New Year ceremony after the dream of the youth who was to bear it had been properly interpreted. In the *oyaron*-concept lies at least one of the bases of totemism (*q.v.*).

The chief deities of the Iroquois were Teharonhiawagon and Tawiskaron. They were twins, and antagonistic to each other, one being the creator and preserver of life and the other the deadly winter god. They were not, however, gods in the usual sense of the term, but 'man-beings' (*oñgwe̒*), and their origin is inseparably connected with the cosmologic myth of the Iroquois.

According to this cosmology, there were three cosmic periods. In the first a race of man-beings—*i.e.* superior to man in every way, and uncreated and eternal, but in life and customs entirely like the men of earth—dwelt on the farther side of the visible sky. In course of time one of these man-beings died (an event hitherto unknown), and his posthumous daughter, Awĕⁿ'hā'i' ('mature [fertile] flowers *or* earth'), continuing to converse with her dead father, was sent by him to the lodge of her future husband, the chief Haoⁿ'hwĕñdjiawă'gĭ' ('he holds the earth'). After performing an impossible task, her husband directed her to return home, speaking to no one who might address her, even as she had been silent on her way to him. At the bidding of her father, she went back to her husband's lodge. On her first visit she had become pregnant from Haoⁿ'hwĕñdjiawă'gĭ''s breath, but, not knowing this, he suspected her fidelity. She gave birth to a daughter, Gaĕñde'soⁿ'k ('gusts of wind'). Later, her husband fell ill of vexation, and, as a result of his dream-feast, the great tree (the only source of light at that time) beside his lodge was uprooted, leaving a vast abyss. Through this he thrust his wife, who fell toward the world, at that time only water. Earth was brought from the bottom of the water by the musk-rat and other animals and placed on the back of the Great Turtle, and water-fowl broke the fall of Awĕⁿ'hāĭ'. Her daughter, who had been re-incorporated with her during the fall, was re-born. In like manner, Corn, Tobacco, Deer, Beaver, and other man-beings transferred their kind to earth. Gaĕñde'soⁿ'k became pregnant by a man-being, who passed two arrows (one flint-pointed) over her body, and was delivered of twins, one—Teharonhiawagon—being born in the normal way, and the other—Tawiskaron—coming through his mother's armpit and killing her. After the twins grew up, the benevolent plans of Teharonhiawagon, counselled by his father, who had recovered and had set the tree back in place, were exposed to the machinations of his grandmother, who created the sun from Gaĕñde'soⁿ'k's head, her body becoming the moon; but they were fixed in position, and began to move only through Teharonhiawagon and his allies, the motive of Awĕⁿ'hāi''s anger being Tawiskaron's false charge that Teharonhiawagon had killed his mother at his birth. Teharonhiawagon created all things for men, and each thing Tawiskaron and his grandmother sought to mar. Thus they imprisoned the beasts in a cave, and, though Teharonhiawagon released nearly all, some were re-imprisoned and became *otkon*. Only after all this did Teharonhiawagon form human beings.[1]

Among the most beneficent exploits of Teharonhiawagon for the welfare of mankind were his victory in the game of bowl and plum-pit (for which see S. Culin, *24 RBEW* [1907], p. 105 ff.), by which he won the government over all living things, and his conquest of the deformed Hadu'i', the man-being of disease and death, who, to save his life, promised to cure the diseases arising from his infection of the earth, thus giving rise to the society of Mask-faces who, at the New Year ceremony, endeavour to exorcize and expel disease and death (see W. H. Dall, in *3 RBEW* [1884], p. 144 f.).

Among the other divine man-beings were Gaĕñde's (wind), Hodoñni'ă' (Aurora Borealsi), Hadawinethă' (fire dragon of storm), Hi'noⁿ' (thunder), Daga'shwine'dă' (spring wind), etc., as well as the man-beings of living creatures of every kind. Mention must also be made of a war-god Aireskoi (Mohawk *Aregwĕⁿs'gwă'*, 'master of war'), to whom the Mohawk offered human sacrifice (cf. also *ERE*, vol. vi. p. 884 f.). Prisoners of war, after being tortured to death, were eaten, at least in part, by the Huron and other Iroquoians, and especially by the Mohawk, whose name (cognate with Narragansett *Mohowaùuck*, 'they eat [animate] things') expressly implies cannibalism, though they termed themselves *Kaniengehaga*, 'people of the flint place.'

In addition to human sacrifices, which might also be offered in honour of the dead—as when the Onondaga Aharihon sacrificed forty men to show his esteem for his brother—many other forms were practised. If war was unsuccessful, the Mohawk offered a bear to the war-god; but the most characteristic Iroquoian sacrifice was that of the white dog, which was the centre of an elaborate ritual performed at the New Year (late in January or early in February).

The object of the whole rite is to fulfil the dream-desire of Teharonhiawagon, and thus to recruit his vigour, that he may prove victorious over Tawiskaron, the god of winter.[1] Before the sacrifice proper, all old fires must be removed and the new fire must be lighted; next comes the 'asperging with ashes' (Huron *aoutaenhrohi*; cf. *ERE*, vol. vi. p. 885), when all pass through the fire to escape fevers and other maladies produced by the fire-god. After the fire-rites, which occupy three days, comes the dream-rite (mistakenly described in the *Jes. Rel.* under the name *ononharoia* [see *ERE*, vol. vi. p. 886ᵃ]), involving a number of minor rites (summarized by Hewitt, *HAI* ii. 942 f.), and also taking three days. The next rite is the strangling of a white dog (formerly partially burned and eaten), which is dressed, adorned, and painted to represent Teharonhiawagon, and, placed standing on the song bench, is addressed with prayer and sacrifice of tobacco. The man-being Teharonhiawagon accepts the victim and the tobacco, but rejects a proffered bow and arrow. Thus the dream-desire of Teharonhiawagon is satisfied. The four or five days following are taken up by the great Feather and Drum dances, the Personal clan chant, and Great Wager (ceremonial game of plum-pits).[2]

The other great Iroquoian festivals are the tapping of the maple tree, maple-gathering, maize-planting, strawberry-gathering, bean-gathering, green-maize feast, and maize-gathering. At the more important of these—White Dog, maize-planting, green-maize, and maize-gathering—confession of sins is one of the chief rites; and all festivals are accompanied by ceremonial games and dances.

Belief in immortality was strong among all Iroquoian peoples (cf. *ERE*, vol. vi. p. 886ᵇ); and they attributed to animals the same intelligence as to men, so that in hunting they killed all game that they could find, lest the survivors should warn their fellows that they were being pursued.

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LOUIS H. GRAY.

IRVING AND THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

—I. Life of Irving.—Edward Irving was born at Annan, Dumfriesshire, 4th Aug. 1792. His father, Gavin, was a tanner of moderate substance and local influence; his mother, Mary Lowther, came of a family of 'bonnet lairds' in the adjacent parish of Dornock. He was baptized in the Established Church, which in the west of Scotland was much influenced by traditions of the Covenanters. His education was received at the Academy of his native town under Adam Hope, who also became schoolmaster to Thomas Carlyle, and at Edinburgh University, where he matriculated at the age of thirteen. He gave no early promise of his subsequent career; at school his only distinction was that of an athlete. At the University he graduated M.A. in 1809, and, still undistinguished, entered the Divinity Hall. Thereafter he followed the usual course preparatory to the ministry of the Church of Scotland, supporting himself meanwhile by teaching in the Mathematical School recently established in Haddington. With this work he combined the function of private tutor to the daughter of a medical practitioner in the town, Jane Welsh, the future wife of his friend Carlyle. Two years later, while his University studies were still incomplete, he was appointed to the mastership of another new Academy at Kirkcaldy, Fifeshire. In 1815 he became a Probationer of the Church of Scotland, being licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, and for the next three years combined this new office with the work of his school. In 1818 he resigned his mastership and returned to Edinburgh, where he remained until, in the following year, he was appointed assistant to Thomas Chalmers (*q.v.*) at St. John's, Glasgow. The fame of the latter was too great, and Irving's genius was too strongly contrasted with that of his chief, to allow much scope to the younger man, and his work during the next two years, though discharged with uninterrupted loyalty and sufficient credit, was not such as to command the enthusiastic appreciation either of the minister or of the congregation of St. John's, or to attract the notice of those who could further his interests. But his position as assistant to Chalmers was prominent enough to bring him under the notice of the Caledonian Church in Hatton Garden, London, a struggling outpost of the Church of Scotland, the pastorate of which had little to commend it to an ambitious man. In 1822, Irving was appointed to this charge, and at last in his thirtieth year he received ordination from his native Presbytery at Annan.

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[1] Huron cosmology presents a general similarity. For an early account of it see J. de Brébeuf, in P. Le Jeune, *Jes. Rel.* x. 127–129.

[1] The Iroquoian man-beings were subject to destiny, and, as was the case in Egypt, the divine stood in need of human aid (J. G. Müller, *Gesch. der amerikan. Urreligionen*², Basel, 1867, p. 148 f.; Hewitt, *HAI* ii. 939 f.).

[2] The White Dog Sacrifice is of the scapegoat type (J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, pp. 209 f., 233).

In less than twelve months his popularity was assured. The incident usually associated with the sudden outburst of the new preacher upon the big world of London was the visit of Canning to the National Scots Church at the instance of his colleague, Sir James Mackintosh, and a subsequent speech in the House of Commons, in the course of which the statesman alluded to the eloquence of the sermon then heard. From this moment Irving was provided with the opportunity best suited to his genius, and his permanent congregation, as it was swelled by the numbers drawn from every religious communion, not least from the Church of England, gradually lost its peculiarly Scottish complexion and took on the characteristics of its leader's expanding thought and feeling. In 1823, Irving issued his first publications, both of which were based on his pulpit discourses, and quickly passed through several editions. The *Orations* were at once recognized as affording examples of a new type of religious address (the title itself was ambitious, though justified by the contents), and exhibit the claim and intention of the author to present divine truth to the public mind in a form alike more comprehensive and more vital than the conventional echoes of a narrow and moribund evangelicalism to which the ear of the church-goer had become accustomed. The *Argument for Judgment to come* foreshadows that prophetical teaching which, together with the exercise of spiritual gifts, constitutes the popular conception of Irvingism. This was followed in two years by *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God*, a survey of contemporary history in the light of that millennial principle of interpreting Daniel and the Revelation which had begun to be revived among Protestant Christians in the early decades of the 19th cent., and of which Irving's mind proved readily receptive. Another influence, which approached him from a different quarter, was that of S. T. Coleridge, to whom he had been personally introduced in 1823.

The year 1826 is important as that of the first of the Conferences held at Albury Park, Surrey, by invitation of Henry Drummond, M.P., under the presidency of Hugh MacNeil, rector of the parish and subsequently dean of Ripon. Drummond had already been brought into contact with Irving, and, knowing his attitude towards the study of the prophets, offered him a seat at the Conference, in which his eminence soon gave him a leading place. As will be apparent, the Albury Conferences were not the product of Irving's ministry, nor was his London congregation directly concerned in them, though Drummond, by whom they were organized, afterwards became a prominent member of the body associated with his name. The movement represented by them is still active in evangelical circles, and in Irvingism it became a formative principle. The *Morning Watch*, a periodical inaugurated by the Conference, virtually became, before its discontinuance in 1833, the organ of the new community.

In 1827 the church in Regent Square was opened to accommodate the crowds for which the small chapel in Hatton Garden was totally inadequate. The building still stands, but no longer as the National Scots Church. The congregation, which continued to use it after Irving's extrusion, became identified in 1843 with the party of the Scottish Disruption, and is now in communion with the English Presbyterians. It was about this time that Irving became acquainted with John McLeod Campbell of Row, who was beginning to re-state the doctrine of the Atonement on lines similar to those which governed his own theory of the Incarnation. This was developed in three volumes of sermons and a book on the *Last Days*, published in 1828. It would be erroneous to say that the alleged heresies for which the two men were severally deposed from the ministry had a single source in the mind of either. They are to be regarded as parallel developments of a common tendency. It is significant that the General Assembly (1831) which condemned Campbell directed that any attempt on the part of Irving to exercise his ministry in Scotland should be met by the Presbytery concerned with an inquiry into his writings on the Incarnation. It was the sermons published in 1828 that contained the statements which first brought him under the suspicion of having asserted the sinfulness of Christ's humanity. Action had actually been taken the previous year (1830) by the Presbytery of London, from the consequences of which Irving escaped only by the doubtful expedient of claiming exemption from their jurisdiction, alleging that the trust-deeds of the National Scots Church required their minister to be ordained by a Presbytery in Scotland. His position, though anarchical, was practically tenable, because he was unanimously upheld by his own Kirk Session, who in a few months were themselves to invoke the authority of the same Presbytery, when on a grave matter of Church discipline they found themselves irreconcilably opposed to the pastor whose orthodoxy they had stoutly maintained.

Meanwhile events had taken place in Scotland, destined to precipitate the crisis which in a few years severed Irving from the communion of his native Church. An old friendship existed between himself and Robert Story, minister of Roseneath, which on more than one occasion had brought him to preach on the Gareloch. Here he met Alexander Scott, who, coming to London in the first instance as Irving's assistant, received a call to the Scots congregation at Woolwich, and was in consequence involved before the London Presbytery in a charge of heretical teaching concerning our Lord's human nature. Sharing Irving's view of the Incarnation, he insisted that the exceptional gifts of the Spirit, manifested in the Apostolic Church, were a permanent endowment of the Body of Christ, restrained only by the faithlessness of later Christians. This teaching he disseminated, among other places, in his old home in the West of Scotland. At Fernicarry Farm, in Campbell's parish of Row, lived Mary Campbell, a young woman of exceptional piety and unusual personality, who in 1830, while apparently a hopeless invalid, became the subject of spiritual manifestations which her friends claimed as a reappearance of the tongues spoken of in the NT. Shortly afterwards the 'power,' as it came to be called, visited a shipbuilding family at Port Glasgow. James and Margaret Macdonald, brother and sister, spoke in an unknown tongue, and the latter was raised from sickness at the word of the former. James then proceeded to inform Mary Campbell by letter of what had occurred, exhorting her to a similar act of faith, whereupon she too rose from her bed, apparently fully restored to health. From that time she continued, like Margaret Macdonald, to speak with tongues, with which was associated what was claimed as the gift of prophecy. She married, and became a familiar figure among the friends of the new movement as Mrs. Caird. A sympathetic but not unquestioning account of these proceedings has been preserved in the *Memoirs* of Robert Story, published (Cambridge, 1862) by his son Herbert, sometime Principal of Glasgow University. Wide-spread interest in the phenomena arose throughout Scotland. They were investigated by Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, who appears to have acknowledged their genuineness. No money was made out of them, and there is no evidence of imposture. They may, perhaps, be classed and judged with similar manifestations in other parts of Christendom. Irving, predisposed alike by character and antecedents, at once accepted them as a baptism of the Holy Spirit and Fire.

In 1831 the gifts of tongues and prophecy appeared, it was believed, in answer to fervent prayer, among the members of Irving's congregation. The gift of healing was also claimed, and an attitude towards disease, strikingly allied to that which in later times has become characteristic of Christian Science, began to be assumed by 'the spiritual.' But, if disease was spoken of among them as sin, it was because the Spirit must uphold and consecrate, not negate and annihilate, the flesh. It was, however, the two former gifts that exercised a determining influence on the fortunes of Irving and his people, by being 'called into the church.' Irving claimed to have 'tried the spirits' of the prophets, in right of his ministerial commission as angel or pastor, and, finding them to be true spirits, made provision for the exercise of their function in the Scots Church. This involved scenes of excitement, which, as rumour swiftly spread and curious crowds assembled, degenerated into unseemly confusion. Remonstrance proved unavailing, and, acting on legal advice, the trustees, who as members of the Kirk Session had supported Irving in his repudiation of the London Presbytery, now appealed to it under the trust-deed of the Regent Square Church. The facts were undisputed. The case really turned upon the truth or falsity of the plenary inspiration claimed by the 'gifted,' but implicitly rejected alike by the prosecuting trustees and the Presbytery. The view of the latter was unexpectedly strengthened by the repudiation of their former testimony on the part of one or two of the prophets—notably Robert Baxter, who subsequently published his retractation in a *Narrative of Facts* (London, 1833). But Irving, supported by the majority of the prophets, women as well as men, maintained his conviction, and his defence became an arraignment of his judges. The result, however, was never really doubtful. Such evidence as they could offer was, from the point of view of the court, mere opinion; and no tribunal to which the matter could conceivably have been submitted could have decided that an offence had not been committed against the recognized order of the Church. Accordingly, by direction of the Presbytery, the doors were locked against the minister and the greater part of his miscellaneous congregation, which ultimately found shelter in Newman Street. These proceedings revived the charge of heresy which had already been levelled at Irving, and in 1833 he was formally indicted before the Presbytery of Annan, which had ordained him, and which now deposed him. Though Irving consented to defend his teaching before the Presbytery, he never appealed against the judgment, and accordingly in this year he passed out of the Church of Scotland.

2. The Catholic Apostolic Church.—Henceforward the personality of Irving ceases to be an important factor in the movement, which had already begun to crystallize into a religious society having little affinity with the Presbyterianism amid which it took its rise. Though a congregation of several hundred members or communicants, together with an indefinite number of adherents, migrated with their pastor from Regent Square, the minority that remained were the real representatives of those who had called him to London ten years before. The more influential members of what must now be called the new body were men and women collected from various quarters who had found in Irving a rallying point for association on the basis of millennial expectation and the exercise of spiritual gifts. From the moment that Irving acknowledged the utterances of the prophets as the authoritative voice of the Spirit, his function towards the society practically ceased. Making no claim to exceptional endowments on his own behalf, he became a follower rather than a leader. The new authority, which had begun to emerge in the person of two apostles, who had been appointed by prophecy, already claimed his submission. An alleged prophecy declared that, the Church of Scotland having withdrawn his commission, his position as pastor or angel of the congregation must remain in abeyance unless duly restored by the Spirit. When at length the prophetic voice proclaimed his reinstatement, he was allowed to resume his office only by ordination at the hands of the new apostolate. Soon afterwards another prophetic utterance sent him on a mission to Scotland, and, reaching Glasgow after a circuitous journey through England and Wales, he died in that city on 7th December 1834, and was buried in the crypt of its ancient cathedral.

The religious society thus brought into being still exists, but it has had little or no public history. Popularly called Irvingite, a name only partially justified by facts, it is officially styled the Catholic Apostolic Church. The name is said to be due, not to arrogant assumption on the part of its members, but to the mistake of a census clerk, who abstracted it from a return, in which a London householder had described himself as belonging to a 'congregation of the Catholic and Apostolic Church worshipping in Newman Street.' Its organization was practically completed when the college of apostles was increased from two to twelve in obedience to a prophetic message. Prophets and evangelists being already in existence, the fourfold ministry was completed by the ordination of pastors and teachers—a local priesthood—consisting, in the case of each congregation, of the bishop or angel (cf. the 'angels of the churches' in the Apocalypse), or chief pastor, with the elders and deacons. The meeting-place in Newman Street has been replaced by a fine Gothic Church in Gordon Square, and there are churches in Edinburgh and other large cities, as well as at Albury. Outside Britain and Germany its extension has been limited. Its forms of worship have been assimilated to those of ancient Christendom, and its ritual is elaborate. It possesses a liturgy constructed for the most part on Eastern models. These changes, which were speedily introduced, may be traced partly to the study of the Apocalypse, partly to the eclecticism of its members. Its ministry has never been professional, being composed for the most part of persons engaged in ordinary occupations. Many of its members were, and still are, actively engaged in public affairs, and as individuals take a prominent part in works of general utility and philanthropy. But in its corporate capacity the community has lived apart, and, except for the sensation caused by the outbreak of the 'gifts,' has neither courted nor received a place in popular consideration. This is the natural consequence of the theory of its origin, which also accounts for its apathy in respect to missionary work. It is due, not to the cooling of its early zeal, but to its expectation of a returning Lord. The appearance of the gifts was regarded as a sign of the approach of the Son of Man. The apostolate was constituted for the 'ingathering of the nations.' Evangelists were at first sent out into the highways; apostolic journeys were undertaken in Europe and elsewhere; but their object was not to propagate the gospel in the spirit and on the method of the great missionary societies, but to bear final testimony before nations and kings to the coming of the Day of the Lord. The witnesses had no zeal for the extension of the Church, but for its preparation as a bride adorned for her husband. They had no special tenets to proclaim as contrasted with the received teaching of Christendom. Their exclusiveness was due not to what they conceived as the false teaching, but to the apathy, of the churches. If they were in a peculiar sense God's people, it was only because they were aroused, expectant, waiting for the final baptism. The new Apostolic ministry, as they conceived it, belonged to the whole Church. Its establishment was not the construction of a new organ of evangelical activity, but the final ordering of the household before the return of the Master. Their testimony given, they were content to wait in spiritual readiness for the rending of the heavens. They became a church within the Church, instituting a rite of 'sealing,' or laying on of hands, by which those who received the witness of the last times were set apart against the final Day of Redemption. But 'the sealed' were not necessarily required to withdraw from the communion of other Churches, and 'Irvingites' have always been found communicating and, it is said, even ministering in other religious bodies. A special affinity with those Churches which retained the order of bishops, successors of the 'angels' who presided over the apostolic churches, has always been recognized, in spite of the fact that Irving himself had been a Presbyterian minister, and that the connexion of his people with the Church of England was only through individuals who had abandoned its ministries. The last of the apostles is now dead, and the church is in process of readjustment to the new conditions created by the lapse of the college.

Difference of opinion regarding the apostolate has led to a division of the Irvingites and to the formation of the 'New Apostolic Church.' The latter body holds that the number of the apostles may be many more than twelve, and traces its origin to Germany, where Irvingism had been introduced in Bavaria by William Caird in 1841, centres being formed at Augsburg, Berlin, Königsberg, and Hamburg. The New Apostolic Church arose from the endeavour of the prophet of the Berlin congregation, Heinrich Geyer, to have new apostles chosen. Excommunicated in 1863, he joined Schwartz, the bishop at Hamburg, and formed the new organization. As in Holland under the direction of Schwartz, so in Germany the new body has discarded much of its elaborate ritual, and lays less stress on the expectation of the speedy Second Advent. Their main centre is Brunswick, where one of their number, F. Krebs, gradually rose to be the 'father of the apostles.' His successor, H. Niehaus, terms himself the 'Stammapostel,' and it is even believed that in the 'Stammapostel' as well as in the other apostles Christ is incarnate. Since the beginning of the new century the New Apostolic Church has suffered the secession of the 'Sceptre of Judah,' which differs little except that it lays still less emphasis on eschatological hopes.

Except for the United States, no exact statistics are available for the Irvingites. They are supposed to number about 5000 in Great Britain and about 20,000 in Germany and Switzerland; the New Apostolic branch estimated their adherents at 70,000 in Europe at the end of 1909. According to the last religious census of the United States (1906), the Catholic Apostolic Church reported 11 organizations, with a membership of 2907 and 14 ministers; the New Apostolic Church, 13 organizations, with a membership of 2020 and 19 ministers. Since the last previous religious census (1890) the Catholic Apostolic Church had increased by 1 organization and 1513 members; the New Apostolic Church was not reported in America in 1890. The main strength of both bodies is in the N. Atlantic States, especially in New York, which has 7 out of the total number of 24 organizations.

3. **Criticism.**—Our estimate of Irvingism as a religious phenomenon will vary according as we view it in regard to the particular community in which its principles are embodied or to the spiritual movement of the 19th cent., to which it is vitally related. The lancet window above the great preacher's grave has been filled with a figure of John the Baptist 'crying in the wilderness,' and it is probably as a similar voice that his true character is best judged. He is an arresting rather than a constructive power, prophetic of the needs of his time rather than himself supplying them. He was able to recognize, but not to focus and apply, the influences which were destined to recover a fuller Christianity for a widening age.

The limitations of Irving's personality and the isolation of his position will to a large extent explain the abortive character of the movement which bears his name. It cannot be said that its failure to command popular sympathy and to carry with it the reason and judgment of his contemporaries is itself evidence of error, for this would be true of Christianity itself in its initial stages. But we are justified in pointing out the presumptions against a stable and progressive work which are to be found in the character of Irving's genius. His spiritual greatness varied almost in inverse proportion to his intellectual equipment. Unlike the Tractarians, he had no solid basis of learning upon which to ground his theology. He had a vision of great religious ideas rather than a comprehensive theology. This is the true criticism of his doctrine of the Incarnation. An adequate inheritance of theological thinking would have kept him from those clumsy statements of our Lord's human nature which exposed him to the assaults of a criticism equally ill-equipped. His philosophy was also at fault. While, therefore, he always maintained Christ's immunity from actual sin, he invariably insisted that the humanity which the Son of God assumed was sinful. By this he meant to assert that God became flesh under the conditions which sin had imposed, in order that He might redeem what He took. It is, therefore, the Spirit indwelling 'the creature' which lifts the Body of Christ and all its members above sin. The second proposition, which was the practical conclusion that Irving wished to reach, is genuine Nicene theology, and this a competent theological tribunal ought to have recognized. The imperfection of the first proposition, which really marked a return to a fuller doctrine of the Person of Christ than the formal evangelicalism of his contemporaries, lies in the false psychology, misled by the phrase 'sinful flesh,' which does not predicate sin solely of the will. But in so far as Irving's teaching was a strong assertion of the identification of Christ with human nature as sin has made it, not excluding its guilt, his doctrine cut deeper than that of his accusers. The further criticism, which attempts to find in Irving's error concerning the peccability of Christ's manhood the secret of his attitude towards the spiritual 'gifts,' and to discredit in consequence his whole system, is not consistent with facts. In so far as the expectation which led him to acknowledge claims disallowed by others sprang out of his theology, rather than out of his reading of the NT, it must be attributed to his strong identification of believers with Him who is their 'federal Head.' But this is no more than is involved in the statement of Athanasius, that 'God became Man in order that we might be made divine' (*de Incarn. Verbi*, liv. 3 [*PG* xxv. 192]). This language is admittedly hyperbolical, but it is intended to cover no more than the 'grace of unction,' a phrase by which Hooker, a writer with whom Irving acknowledged his own sympathy, expressed the supernatural powers which human nature received by union with the Godhead in Christ.

Again, the prophetic element in Irving's personality was allowed to dull his intellectual appreciation. He had the Johannine rather than the Pauline temper, but in the form which appears in the Apocalypse rather than in the Fourth Gospel. He was the mystic in fervent action, not in calm contemplation. The procession of events, and not the eternal silence, fascinated him. God was always coming forth out of His place rather than inhabiting eternity. His own impatience of spirit was manifested in his eager desire for speech, and in his readiness to welcome divine events from day to day. This injured his sense of proportion, and led him to give values to occurrences within his own circle which at once endowed them with significance in the march of history. This was the spirit of the ancient prophets with a difference. They saw in their immediate social experience types of God's judgments; Irving saw in the activities of Regent Square forces intimately connected with the shaking of worlds. This want of proportion in the Irvingite movement is one of the features that most readily offer themselves to the critic. If we may not deny that the Spirit manifests Himself in unexpected quarters, and pursues methods that are 'foolishness with men,' we are yet bound to judge a phenomenon in relation to its environment, and to estimate its value in some proportion to its effectiveness.

Closely connected with the foregoing must be noted Irving's lack of humour, which belongs also to the whole movement. He always takes himself very seriously. Every occasion is great, every speech an utterance. His style is stilted, often turgid, never delicate. The world is identified too readily with Babylon. There is none of that shrewd observation of the facts of society which makes the prophet caustic and the seer sympathetic. He does not really know life as he knows his Bible. It follows that he did not know men, still less women. He took every one at his own valuation, mistook cranks for persons of insight, and became the tool of minds smaller than his own. It is a mistake to charge him with conceit. The movement which revolved round him never made him its centre or took the impress of his personality. It claimed to be an outpouring of the Spirit, but never through the medium of himself. No one *e.g.*, has ever ventured to claim for him the position assigned to Montanus in the primitive schism with which Irvingism has often been compared. Irvingites resent being so named, not merely as unchristian, but as wrong in fact. The secondary position which their leader assumed without complaint after his deposition from the Scottish ministry witnesses alike to the sincerity of his aims and the humility of his character. His theology was his own, but the specific millennial expectation and the constructive work, of which the 'gifts' were the instrument, belonged to others. Drummond, Cardale, and their associates, not Irving, were the builders of the 'Catholic Apostolic Church.' Irving had no constructive genius.

His ecclesiastical isolation is another fact to which due weight must be given. In Scotland he could make no headway. With the standards of the Presbyterian Church he was not out of sympathy. On the contrary, his conception of the pastoral office and of sacramental grace conformed more closely to the ideals of the Confession than the theory and practice of most of his contemporaries. But the intellectualism of Scottish Christianity met with an imperfect response in him, and for all his fervour his undisciplined mysticism failed to impress his fellow-countrymen. London emphasized his lonely position. Such support as he might have secured from the fabric of his own national Church was withdrawn, and he was, of course, outside the life and traditions both of the English Church and of English Nonconformity. Thus he became emphatically a *vox clamantis*. What was, in any case, his true function had to be exercised outside the continuous life of an existing society. There was nothing for him to revivify and inspire. He could but make himself the rallying point for units drawn from other religious societies. In this he differed entirely from the Tractarians. Like them, he began with a complete distrust of the progressive liberalism of the 19th century. Like them, he made no attempt to capture the new forces or permeate the new society with Christian principles. But, while the Oxford men threw back their disciples upon the ancient deposit of Christian doctrine and the inherent powers of the Christian community, Irving exhorted his hearers to prepare themselves for the imminent judgment which awaited the world, and the coming glory which was to descend upon the Church For him history virtually disappeared, because past and future had alike lost their importance in view of the approaching end of the age. The eclectic Church order, worked out by the miscellaneous group which constituted his 'congregation' after the rupture with the Church of Scotland, made no pretence of continuity with the past, and did not, in one sense, claim to supersede existing ministries. They were not fashioning an instrument for the conversion of mankind; they were simply setting their house in order to wait for the coming King.

There is, however, one criticism often levelled at Irvingism which has no foundation in fact. It is accused of adding to the Christian faith, by supplementing it with a revelation of its own. This is not the case. It does not claim to add anything to the Catholic interpretation of the Person and Work of Christ. Believing themselves to be a part of the universal Church, its adherents claim that, as the Spirit spoke by prophecy in the churches of Antioch and Corinth, so He spoke in their congregation. As Barnabas and Saul were separated for the work of evangelization by the ministry of the prophets, so (they hold) a ministry was set apart for the sealing of believers in the latter day. Our attitude towards such a claim may involve rejection, but not on the ground that it adds to the deposit of faith.

Perhaps the greatest flaw in the movement was its unsympathetic attitude towards the progressive developments of the early 19th century. Its adherents had not the power of discrimination to distinguish between the true and the false elements in the liberalism of the day. They saw in it nothing but the final apostasy, a destructive effort of Satan. In the welter of change they failed to detect the operation of forces directed by the Spirit and prophetic of the Kingdom. In Glasgow, Irving had shown no sympathy with the social schemes of Chalmers, whose experiment was in full operation when he was assistant at St. John's. So far as he was a politician, it was an unbending, almost a reactionary, Toryism that commended itself to his mind and expressed itself in his personality. His leading followers in London were mainly of the same mould. There was no sense of the existence in society of problems with which Christianity was called upon to deal. The ethical, like the missionary, side of religion was insufficiently grasped. In this there is a close parallel to Tractarianism. Reaction was the characteristic of both movements; but Oxford had behind it a great, historic society, belief in which it set out to rekindle, and in consequence its limitations stood to be corrected by the work of other influences, like that of Maurice and Kingsley, and the reassertion of evangelical enthusiasms within the English Church, the whole mingling in a progressive stream, greater than any of its tributaries. Irving met the same situation not with a revival of church consciousness, but with the voice of prophecy, which, for want of the ethical element conspicuous in the Hebrew prophets, quickly degenerated into a narrow and almost mechanical apocalyptic. This may account for the air of inwardness and mystery which has always associated itself with Irvingism, its adherents living in the midst of affairs and directing their conduct according to the accepted standards of the hour, but retiring within the initiated circle to contemplate and interpret life by the aid of a method not intended for the profane eye.

The true significance of Irvingism, as a phenomenon capable of taking its place in the general history of religion, is best reached by regarding it not as a movement resulting in the formation of a little-known institution called the 'Catholic Apostolic Church,' which appears to exercise small influence upon contemporary life and to give no great promise for the future, but as part of those wider changes in religious thought which belong to the 19th century. Irving may be viewed as a pioneer of those developments in religion which were necessary to meet the requirements of the new age. Evangelicalism had become a sentiment and a survival. Its theology was formal and antiquated, its philosophy non-existent. Following on the French Revolution a fresh era of thought had begun for Europe, and Great Britain shared in the new ideas. Physical science was coming into its kingdom. Discovery and invention were introducing a world of new facts, to which men were occupied in readjusting their minds. Christianity, as then commonly understood, was not big enough to deal with the situation. The effective element in the religion of men like Chalmers, when first they went forward to meet the new conditions, was theistic rather than Christian. The reaction, which threw Irving back upon his religion, as though it were an alternative to the ideas of secular progress, was really forging the instrument by which the new synthesis was to be made. This was a larger and more vital conception of the Person of Christ, leading on to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and a more vivid apprehension of the corporate side of Christianity. Irving, who always saw great ideas 'looming through the mist,' taught this doctrine in a fragmentary and imperfect way, exposing himself to an indictment for heresy, but anticipating the work of those whose better theological equipment and securer historical position enabled them to guard and systematize their teaching. The Tractarian school, corrected by the more philosophic and liberal thought of Maurice, on the one hand, and the more scientific Biblical method of Lightfoot and Westcott, on the other, accomplished the work of which Irving's preaching was a premonitory signal. But Irving was also a witness to other sides of Christianity which have since been returning to their place in the scheme of religious thought. It need hardly be said that the formal and ecclesiastical side of the Oxford movement, with its antiquarian tendency and its rigidity of form, was absent from Irving's teaching. He was always evangelical, even if his gospel was more vital and less legal than that of his immediate predecessors. And, amid much that was fantastic in the methods of interpretation current among those millennial Christians to whose speculations Irving lent the authority of his name, he emphasized that expectation of the Second Coming which the study of apocalyptic literature among the scientific theologians and Biblical students of the 20th cent. shows to have been an integral element of apostolic and primitive Christianity, and the recognition of which as the ultimate hope of the Church is necessary to a true estimate of the task which confronts it, as the witness among all nations to a crucified, exalted, and returning Lord.

Literature.—*The Collected Writings of Edward Irving*, 5 vols., ed. G. Carlyle, London, 1864–65; *The Prophetical Works of Edward Irving*, ed. G. Carlyle, do. 1867–70; Mrs. O. W. Oliphant, *Life of Edward Irving*, do. 1862; E. A. Rossteuscher, *Aufbau der Kirche Christi auf den ursprünglichen Grundlagen*^{2}, Basel, 1886; J. N. Köhler, *Het Irvingisme*, The Hague, 1876; E. Miller, *History and Doctrine of Irvingism*, 2 vols., London, 1878; G. von Richthofen, *Die apostolischen Gemeinden*, Augsburg, 1884; K. Handtmann, *Neu-Irvingianer* ^{2}, Gütersloh, 1907; T. Carlyle, *Reminiscences*, London, 1887, ii. 1–220; T. Kolde, artt. 'Edward Irving' and 'Catholic Apostolic Church' in Schaff-Herzog, art. 'Irving' in *PRE*^{3}; T. B. Scannell, art. 'Irvingites' in *CE*; W. E. Köhler, art. 'Irving und Irvingianer' in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, iii. [1912] 695–701; **see also** *Boase Collection* in British Museum,

containing about 70 works; and a collection of newspaper cuttings relating to Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church, 1835–1905 (Brit. Mus.); *Bureau of the Census, Special Reports*, 'Religious Bodies, 1906,' Washington, 1910, ii. 179–183.

J. G. SIMPSON.

ISHTAR.—Ishtar was the Babylonian and Assyrian form of the divinity who was worshipped in Canaan as ʿAshtart (ʿAshtoreth, Astarte), in Mesopotamia as ʿAttar, in Moab as ʿAshtar, in South Arabia as ʿAthtar, and in Abyssinia as ʿAstar (see ABYSSINIA, ASHTART, ATARGATIS, SABÆANS).

I. *THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.*—The cult of Ishtar is now known from a multitude of original Bab. and Assyr. records: (1) historical inscriptions of the kings, (2) mythological texts, (3) hymns and prayers, (4) magical texts, (5) omens, (6) boundary stones, and (7) artistic representations in statues, reliefs, seals, etc. (see literature at end of art.).

II. *THE ORIGIN OF ISHTAR.*—In the art. ASHTART the reasons are given for thinking that this goddess was not a creation of the Sumerians, or of the Semitic Babylonians, but a primitive Semitic divinity. She was a personification of the force in nature that showed itself in the giving and the taking of life. As a glossator of Plautus has aptly expressed it (*Mercator*, IV. vi. 825 f.), she was 'Diva Astarte, hominum deorumque vis, vita, salus: rursus eadem quae est pernicies, mors, interitus.' This conception of her character, which is common to all the Semites, was brought into Babylonia by the first Semitic settlers, and formed the basis of the development of the goddess in that land.

III. *THE IDENTIFICATION OF ISHTAR WITH OTHER DIVINITIES.*—The Semites who entered Babylonia found on the ground a number of local goddesses of the aboriginal Sumerian population whom they proceeded to identify with their mother-goddess. These old goddesses eventually disappeared in Ishtar, leaving only their names as titles, and some of their functions as attributes. Some of these absorbed Sumerian goddesses are as follows.

1. **Innanna, or Ishtar of Erech.**—In Sumerian inscriptions of the Old Bab. period the most conspicuous goddess is the one whose name is written with an ideograph which the Assyrians sometimes reproduced as *RI* (R. Brünnow, *A Classified List of Ideographs*, Leyden, 1889, no. 2561), which, according to the syllabaries, is to be read Innanna, Inninna, Nanâ, or Ninni (P. Jensen, *KIB* iii. [1892] 1, 20). The chief seat of her worship was the temple called E-an-na at Erech (*Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*,[1] i. [1907] 1, 192 n.). For her cult in early times see *VAB* i. 1, 265, *s.v.* 'Ninni.' In bilingual texts, syllabaries, and historical inscriptions, Innanna is repeatedly equated with Ishtar (*e.g.*, *Cun. Texts*, xxiv. [1908] pl. 41, line 75; *PSBA* xxxi. [1909] 20, pl. iii. line 8; *Code of Ḫammurabi*, iv. 60–65). A large number of hymns originally addressed to Innanna are appropriated to Ishtar (*e.g.*, *PSBA* xxxi. 60). For this reason, Ishtar bears the titles 'Queen of Eanna,' 'Queen of the land of Erech' (*loc. cit.*).

2. **Ninâ, or Ishtar of Lagash and Nineveh.**—In the Old Bab. inscriptions the goddess mentioned most frequently after Innanna is the one whose name is written with the ideograph generally read Ninâ (Brünnow, 4800). This sign was used also for a district of Lagash and for the city of Ninâ, or Nineveh. Hence it is inferred that the sign for the goddess and the district of Lagash should also be read Ninâ. It is a plausible conjecture that Nineveh was founded by colonists from Lagash (cf. Gn 10^{11}), and that the patron-goddess of Nineveh was originally the same as the patron-goddess of the old city of Ninâ in Babylonia. In regard to her worship in the Old Bab. period see *VAB* i. 1, 262, *s.v.* 'Ninâ.' Eannatum (*c.* 3200 B.C.) distinguishes Innanna and Ninâ (*VAB* i. 1, 18. 5$^{30-34}$); so also Gudea (*c.* 2500 B.C. [*ib.* 104. 14$^{21-27}$]). Ḫammurabi, on the contrary, calls the goddess of Nineveh Innanna (*Code*, iv. 63), and the Assyrians always call her Ishtar. This shows that Ninâ was early identified with both Innanna and Ishtar (cf. Brünnow, 3050). The earliest Assyr. mention of Ishtar of Nineveh is in a prayer of Ashurnaṣirpal II. (*c.* 1100 B.C.; see literature). From that time onward she is frequently named in the royal inscriptions (see Barton, *Hebraica*, ix. [1892–93] 131–155). Her temple in Nineveh bore the name of E-mash-mash. Hence she is described as 'dwelling in E-mash-mash,' and Nineveh is called 'beloved of Ishtar.'

3. **Anunit, or Ishtar of Akkad.**—The chief goddess of the N. Bab. city called Agade, or Akkad, was Anunit. The name of her temple was E-ulmash. For her worship in early times see *VAB* i. 1, 242, *s.v.* 'Anunitum'; *Code of Ḫammurabi*, iii. 54, iv. 47 f. There is no record that the Assyrian kings paid her any special attention, but she was a great favourite with the Neo-Bab. king Nabonidus, who honoured her above all goddesses, and rebuilt her ruined temple at Akkad (*VAB* iv. [1912] 300, *s.v.* 'Anunit'). For her identification with Ishtar see *KIB* iii. 1, 102^{11}; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* ii. 111; *PSBA* xxxi. 67; H. Zimmern, *Beiträge*, Leipzig, 1896–1901, p. 11; Barton, *Hebraica*, x. 26; *VAB* iv. 170^{5}, 246^{48}.

4. **Nin-lil, or Ishtar of Nippur.**—The chief god of the earliest Bab. pantheon was En-lil, 'master of the wind,' the patron-deity of Nippur. His consort was Nin-lil, 'mistress of the wind' (see BAAL, vol. ii. p. 295 ff.). She had a temple in Nippur known as E-shu-ib (*VAB* i. 1, 188). Numerous votive inscriptions in her honour from ancient Bab. rulers have been discovered (*ib.* 265, *s.v.* 'Nin-lil'; H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 141).

One of the titles of Nin-lil was Nin-ḫar-sag, 'mistress of the great mountain' (see *ERE* ii. 296). Under this name she was worshipped in the temple of E-me-te-ur-sag at Kish, and in Girsu, a district of Shirpurla (*VAB* i. 1, 264, *s.v.* 'Ninḫarsag'; *Code of Ḫammurabi*, ii. 59–65).

Still another title of Nin-lil was Nin-maḫ, 'exalted mistress,' or Maḫ, 'exalted' (*VAB* i. 1, 138, 19^{21}, 237e; Brünnow, 1050, 11008). Under this name she had a temple at Babylon called E-maḫ (*KIB* iii. 1, 150^{45}; *VAB* iv., Index, *s.v.* 'Maḫ, Nin-maḫ'). For the Semitic settlers in Babylonia Nin-lil was the Nin, or 'Mistress,' *par excellence*; hence they called her Bêlit, 'Mistress,' just as they called her husband Bêl (see *ERE* ii. 296; Brünnow, 11046 ff.).

Eannatum (*c.* 3100 B.C.) carefully distinguishes Ninḫarsag, Innanna, and Ninâ (*VAB* i. 1, 18, 5^{48}); so also Ur-Bau (*c.* 2700 B.C. [*VAB* i. 1, 60, 3^{8}]); but Ḫammurabi (*c.* 1950 B.C.) calls the goddess of Kish Innanna (*Code*, ii. 59–65), and Kurigalzu I. (*c.* 1350 B.C.) gave to Nin-lil of Nippur a tablet that had originally been dedicated to Innanna, which shows that he identified the goddesses (H. V. Hilprecht, *Old Bab. Inscr.*, Philadelphia, 1893, i. 1, nos. 15, 43). The Assyr. kings frequently identify Nin-lil = Bêlit with Ishtar (Brünnow, 11046; *KIB* i. [1889] 28^{34}; Winckler, *Sargon*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 94, xiv. 84; *WAI* ii. [1866] 66, no. 2^{1}; cf. *KIB* ii. [1890] 230$^{25-27}$, 152^{1}, 220^{92}); and in one copy of a prayer of Ashurbanipal the goddess is called 'Nin-maḫ,' in another 'Ishtar of Babylon' (Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* i. 418, n. 6).

5. **Zarpanit, or Ishtar of Babylon.**—The consort of Marduk, the chief god of Babylon, was Zarpanit, whose name in Sumer. seems to mean 'silver-shining,' but was popularly interpreted by the Semites as Zer-banit, 'seed-producing,' with allusion to the reproductive function of the goddess

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[1] Hereafter cited as *VAB*.

One of her titles was Erûa, 'pregnant' (C. F. Lehmann, *Shamashshumukin*, Leipzig, 1892, ii. 36). She had a chapel called Kadugliṣug in Esagila, the great temple of Marduk (*VAB* iv. 72^{46-49}). For references to her cult see L. W. King, *Hammurabi*, London, 1898–1900, no. 101, i. 41, iii. 12; *Code of Ḫammurabi*, xli. 43, 56; *KIB* iii. 138 f.; Winckler, *Sargon*, i. 180; *KIB* iv. [1896] 307, *s.v.* 'Zarpanit.' When, through the rise of the city of Babylon, Marduk became the chief god of Babylonia, he was identified with Enlil = Bêl, the ancient chief god (*ERE* ii. 296 f.). The logical procedure was then to identify Zarpanit, the wife of Marduk, with Ninlil = Bêlit, the wife of Enlil = Bêl (*VAB* iv. 282^{39}; *KIB* ii. 220^{98}; J. A. Craig, *Rel. Texts*, Leipzig, 1895, i. pl. 1, obv. 12–25; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* i. 536). Accordingly, when in later texts we read of 'Ishtar of Babylon,' we are to understand this of Zarpanit. Herodotus (i. 199) calls Zarpanit Aphrodite.

6. Ishtar of Ashshur.—At Ashshur, the capital of the early Assyr. monarchy, an Ishtar was worshipped who was distinguished by the name Ishtar Ashshurîtu, or 'Ishtar of Ashshur' (*KIB* i. 4^{12}, 28^{36}, 38^{85}; L. W. King and E. A. W. Budge, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, London, 1902, i. 159; *KIB* 158^{65}; *Beitr. Assyr.* ii. [1894] 587, rev. 33–37). The primitive name of Ishtar of Ashshur and the peculiarities of her cult are unknown.

7. Ishtar of Arbela.—At Arbela still another Ishtar was worshipped in a temple called E-gashankalamma, 'house of the lady of the world' (*PSBA* xxxi. 68). In the inscriptions of the Assyr. kings, from Sennacherib onwards, Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar of Arbela are mentioned as though they were separate goddesses (*KIB* ii. 106^{51}, 124^{7}, 154^{16}). An oracle to Esarhaddon (*WAI* iv. 68, col. iii. 15) begins: 'I am Ishtar of Arbela.' Ashurbanipal distinguished sharply between Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar of Arbela, and paid more honour to the latter (*KIB* ii. 178^{4-10}, 200^{95-108}, 248–255, 260). Several astrological reports from her temple are known (*WAI* iii. [1870] 51, no. 5 f.). Although she is not mentioned before Sennacherib, it is probable that she was an ancient local divinity of Arbela. The name of the city Arba-ilu suggests either that four divinities were united there or else that the original god was called Arba (cf. Kirjath-Arba' in Palestine). The Sumer. name of her temple E-gashan-kalamma suggests the high antiquity of her cult. The same conclusion is demanded by the words of Ashurbanipal in connexion with the re-building of her temple: 'Whose wall from of old (*ulla*=עוֹלָם) was not built' (*KIB* ii. 260^{2}).

8. Other goddesses identified with Ishtar.—The minor goddesses of the Old Bab. pantheon came also sooner or later to be identified with Ishtar.

Antu, the consort of Anu, is called Ishtar by Sargon (Winckler, *Sargon*, i. 94^{82}), and is equated with Nin-shar and Ishtar by the lists (*Cun. Texts*, xxiv. pl. 1 and 20, lines 15 ff., 22 ff.; *PSBA* xxxi. 21). Damkina, the consort of Ea, is identified with Bêlit = Ishtar by Sargon (*loc. cit.* line 84). Nin-gal, the consort of Sin, has the attributes of Ishtar in a hymn published by Craig (*Rel. Texts*, ii. pl. 1–2) and translated by Jastrow (*Rel. Bab.* i. 547). Â, the consort of Shamash, seems to have had a similar fate, inasmuch as she early ceased to have any independent importance. Bau was first identified with Gatumdug (*ib.* i. 58–60), then with Gula, and finally with Ishtar (i. 545); and Nin-tu, an ancient goddess of Shirpurla, is equated with Bêlit = Ishtar in *WAI* ii. 55, 16*a*.

Several goddesses are distinguished from Ishtar in the Gilgamesh Epic, but these also are subsequently identified with her. One of these is Nin-sun, the mother of Gilgamesh (*KIB* vi. 145). Sin-gashid of Erech says that she dwells in Eanna, *i.e.* is the same as Nanâ (*VAB* i. 1, 220. xxi). Another such goddess is Ishḫara (*KIB* vi. 154). She is distinguished from Ishtar in the curses on the boundary stones (W. J. Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I.*, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 90 f.), but is equated with her in a number of later texts (*KAT*³, 432). This form of Ishtar appears in Egyptian inscriptions as 'A-sa-kh-ira (Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, 258). Still another goddess of the Gilgamesh Epic is Irnini (*KIB* vi. 160). She also is identified with Ishtar in the hymn published by King (*Seven Tablets of Creation*, London, 1902, ii. pl. 75–84) and translated by Jastrow (*Rel. Bab.* ii. 66, 68, 70). In his quest for Eabani, Gilgamesh meets the goddess Siduri (*KIB* vi. 210). Siduri is defined in a vocabulary (*WAI* ii. 32, 27*c d*) as 'maiden,' a title of Ishtar. In an old Bab. fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic (*MVG* vii. [1902] 8) she appears as Sabitu, which Jensen (*KIB* vi. 578 f.) connects with Mt. Sabu or Lebanon. On this hypothesis, Siduri-Sabitu will be the Phœnician 'Ashtart of Gebal. In the magical text *Shurpu*, ii. 172 (Zimmern, *Beiträge*, p. 10), she is called 'Ishtar of wisdom.'

In the period of the first dynasty, when Babylonia was occupied by the Amorites, the West Semitic 'Ashtart became known in Babylonia. In a tablet published in *PSBA* xi. [1889] 174 ff. she is said to be the 'Ishtar of the West.' Her symbol, the *ashera*, or conventional tree, was treated also as a goddess. In a dedicatory inscription for Ḫammurabi (Winckler, *Forschungen*, Leipzig, 1893, i. 198), Ashratu receives the attributes of Ishtar, and in the Amarna letters the name of the Amorite chieftain Abd-Ashirti is occasionally written with the ideogram for Ishtar (*KAT*³, 432 f.). In the time of the IIIrd dynasty Ishtar was identified with the Kassite goddess Mirizir (Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* i. 180).

Other goddesses identified with Ishtar are Gushea, a goddess of vegetation (*ib.* i. 535, ii. 67), Mama, or Mami, a mother-goddess (*KAT*³, 430), Aruru, another mother-goddess (*ib.*), Suḫ, Sherûa, and Gamlat (Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* i. 247 f.), and Shâla (*ib.* ii. 410). A number of lists have come down to us that are devoted to nothing else than the names and titles of Ishtar. Such are *Cun. Texts*, xii. pl. ii.; xxiv. pl. 1, 20, 41; and the tablet K. 2109, published by Pinches (*PSBA* xxxi. 20 ff.). One of these (*Cun. Texts*, xxiv. pl. 41) reads: 'Zanaru is Ishtar of the lands, Karadun is Ishtar of the strong, Ulsiga is Ishtar of heaven and earth, Tiruru is Ishtar of . . ., Shunnusibi is Ishtar of images, Tibanumma is Ishtar of fetters, Menuannim is Ishtar of lamentation, Labatu is Ishtar of wailing, Alakalki is Ishtar of burning, Kashaia is Ishtar of howling.' The other lists are similar, and give us many names of goddesses and temples that are otherwise unknown. The magical texts are fond of invoking Ishtar under a series of names, all of them doubtless once independent goddesses (*e.g.* Zimmern, *Beiträge*, 11). As early as the time of Ḫammurabi *ishtar* had become the equivalent of *iltu*, 'goddess.' So we read 'the gods and the ishtars,' 'his god and his ishtar,' showing how completely the minor goddesses were identified with the great mother.

9. The male Ishtar.—In some parts of the Semitic world, as society passed from the matriarchal to the patriarchal organization, 'Ashtar changed her sex (*ERE* ii. 115 f.). The beginnings of a movement in this direction are perhaps to be seen in Babylonia. In Sumer. the word for 'master' is *en* and for 'mistress' *nin*. Gods bear such names as En-lil, En-ki, En-zu, and goddesses such names as Nin-lil, Nin-maḫ, Nin-sun. Some male deities, however, are called *nin*—*e.g.*, Nin-Girsu, Nin-a-gal. This seems to indicate that in these instances primitive goddesses have been transformed into gods (*ERE* ii. 295). This tendency is seen in Nanâ, the goddess of Erech.

In an inscription of Lugaltarsi, king of Kish (*c.* 3150 B.C.), Nanâ is apparently addressed as 'king of the lands' (Barton, *JAOS* xxi. 185 ff.; for a different but less natural interpretation see *VAB* i. 1, 160. 3). One of the ancient *patesis* of Susa addresses Innana-erin, or Ishtar of the cedar forest = Irnini (see above, 8), by the title of 'king' (G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, New York and London, 1902, p. 184: *VAB* i. 1, 182a; see also A. H. Sayce, *Rel. Egypt and Bab.*, Edinburgh, 1903, p. 337). Whatever tendencies of this sort may have existed among the Sumerians, they exerted no influence upon the Semitic conception of Ishtar. For the Babylonians and Assyrians she remained exclusively feminine. The few passages in which she receives male attributes do not imply that she had changed her sex or was bisexual, but show only a sort of henotheism, in which for the moment she was regarded as the supreme divinity. Thus in the hymn published by Haupt (*Akkad. und sum. Keilschrifttexte*, 126–131; Prince, *JAOS* xxiv. [1903] 103 ff.) Ishtar says (obv. 22–24): 'I am En-lil and I am Nin-lil.' The astrological tablet (*WAI* iii. 53, col. ii.) contains the statement that 'Dilbat (the star of Ishtar) is a female at sunset and becomes a male at sunrise.' A hymn to Ishtar of Nineveh (Craig, *Rel. Texts*, i. pl. 7^{6}) reads: 'Like Ashur she is bearded with a beard.' This probably refers merely to the halo, or radiance, that surrounds her star (see Jastrow, *RA* xvii. [1911] 271–298).

IV. *THE CHARACTER OF ISHTAR.*—As a result of the syncretism that has just been described, Ishtar inherited the characteristics of many earlier goddesses; nevertheless, at the end of the process she retained all the traits of the primitive Semitic 'Ashtar.

1. Water-goddess.—In *ERE* ii. 116^{b} it is shown that the primitive 'Ashtar was closely connected with springs as the source of life in the Arabian desert. This character she retained in Babylonia

The sign for Ninâ, 'fish-house,' shows that she was originally a water-goddess; and her name Nin-â probably means 'mistress of water.' The same is indicated by the dedication of a spring to her (*VAB* i. 1, 104^{19-22}), and a boat (*ib.* 92. 4^{3}, 104. 14^{23}), and by the fact that she was the 'child of Eridu,' *i.e.* the daughter of Ea, the sea-god (*ib.* 110. 20^{16}). Offerings of fish were made to her, as also to Innanna (*PSBA* xxvii. 71–79). Ishḫara, another form of Ishtar, is often called 'Ishḫara of the sea.' Archaic representations of Ninâ, or some other form of Ishtar, on seals show fish and other sea creatures beneath her throne (Ward, p. 155). Similarly fish were sacred to Atargatis, the Syrian 'Ashtar, and sea-water was brought for libations in her temple (*ERE* ii. 166 f.). In a hymn to Ninlil (*JAOS* xxiv. 114) the goddess says: 'At the mountain spring I fill the vessel, at the mountain spring of Dilmun I wash my head.' Ishtar is brought up from Sheol by sprinkling her with the water of life (*KIB* vi. 88^{34}).

2. **Giver of vegetation.**—As the goddess of springs Ishtar was naturally connected with the verdure that they caused.

In a hymn (Reisner, *Hymnen*, no. 56, rev. 49 f.) she says: 'In the heavens I take my place and send rain, in the earth I take my place and cause the green to spring forth.' In another hymn (Craig, *Rel. Texts*, i. pl. 15–17) she is called 'Gushea who gives the growth of plants.' In a lament (Haupt, *Akkad. und sum. Keilschrifttexte*, p. 116 f., obv. 6) she is called 'the one who causes verdure to spring forth.' In the Gilgamesh Epic she says to her father Anu: 'I have heaped up grain for mankind, and I have produced fodder for the cattle; if there shall be seven years of famine, I have gathered grain for mankind and have made the fodder great for the cattle.' In this capacity she is the wife, or mother, of Tammuz, the personification of vegetation, who dies in the summer heat and comes to life again with the winter rains (see TAMMUZ). In a lament for Tammuz (*WAI* iv. 30, no. 2, lines 36–38) we read: 'He has gone, he has gone to the bosom of the earth, and the dead are numerous in the land. . . . How long shall the springing of verdure be restrained? How long shall the putting forth of leaves be held back?' To bring him back to life Ishtar descends to Sheol (*KIB* vi. 80–91). Dumu-zi, or Tammuz, appears as the husband of Innanna in the earliest Bab. inscriptions (see *VAB* i. 1, 246, *s.v.*). As the goddess of verdure Ishtar bears the title Urkittu, which is probably derived from *urḳu*, 'green,' rather than from Uruk, 'Erech' (Jastrow, i. 443, n. 6). She is also called 'queen of the dust, mistress of the field.' The *ashera*, or post, that was sacred to Ishtar seems to have been a conventional representation of a living tree. According to Hommel, the sign for Nana-Ishtar (Brünnow, 143) in its archaic form was a picture of an *ashera* (*ExpT* xi. [1900] 190). On ancient seals a seated goddess is represented holding sheaves of grain (Ward, pp. 133–137). This represents one of the forms of Ishtar, perhaps Bau-Gula.

3. **Creatress of animals.**—In an amulet published in *Mitt. der deut. Orient-Gesellsch.*, no. 9 (1901), p. 13, and translated by Jastrow (i. 335 ff.), Ishtar is called 'creatress of the creatures.' In a hymn (Haupt, *Akkad. und sum. Keilschrifttexte*, p. 116 f., obv. 8) she is termed 'creatress of all things.' This is doubtless the reason why in the park of Atargatis at Hierapolis all sorts of wild animals roamed freely (Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* 28 f., 39 ff.).

In particular, Ishtar was the giver of the increase of the flocks and the herds. She promised Gilgamesh that, if he would love her, his sheep and his cattle should bear twins (*KIB* vi. 168^{18}); cf. the Hebrew usage of calling the young of the flock *'ashtᵉrôth* (Dt 7^{13} $28^{4.\,18.\,51}$). On account of this connexion with the herds Ishtar herself received the attributes of a cow. In Old Bab. art she is frequently represented with horns. As Ninḫarsag she has the same horned head-dress as the Egyptian cow-goddess Hathor (Ward, p. 404). On the boundary stones her symbol is the cow. When the early kings say that they are 'nourished with holy milk by Ninḫarsag,' this may refer to her character as a cow-goddess not less than as a mother-goddess (Boissier, *OLZ* xi. col. 235, 551). As late as the time of Ashurbanipal, Ishtar of Arbela says to the king: 'Of the four udders that are put to thy mouth two shall suckle thee, and with two thou shalt cover thy face' (Jastrow, i. 444). With this aspect of Ishtar should be compared the Palestinian 'Ashtaroth-Ḳarnaim, or two-horned 'Ashtarts, and the horned 'Ashtarts on the plaques discovered in the mounds of Canaan (*ERE* iii. 182). A figure from the Merrill Collection in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University shows a naked woman with rays round her head and a crescent under her feet, with one foot like a fish's tail, and the other like the hoof of a cow or sheep (*BW* xvii. [1901] 447). Beneath it is the inscription in Greek: 'Divine producer of all.' It is doubtless one of the forms of the Palestinian 'Ashtart. Among birds the dove was specially sacred to her, probably on account of its erotic temperament. It is figured with her on seals (Ward, figs. 924, 926, 927). An image of a dove was also found in the temple of Ninmaḫ at Babylon (*Mitt. der deut. Or.-Gesellsch.*, no. 5 [1900], p. 3). Similarly doves were sacred to Atargatis (*ERE* ii. 166 f.), and the swallow is mentioned as a sacred bird of Ishtar (*KAT*^{3}, 431).

4. **Goddess of sexual love.**—Ishtar herself was conceived as unrestrained in her passion for her lovers. In the Gilgamesh Epic, Gilgamesh reproaches her for her fickleness. First she loved Tammuz, then a bird, then a lion, then a horse, then a shepherd, then a gardener, and finally himself (*KIB* vi. 168–171).

In a hymn she is entitled 'the glad-eyed, goddess of desire, goddess of sighing' (*PSBA* xxxi. 22). In another hymn she is called 'amorous mother-goddess at whose side no god draweth near' (S. H. Langdon, *Psalms*, Paris, 1909, p. 257). In one hymn she says of herself: 'Beside the wine when I seat myself, the woman for the devoted man am I' (*AJSL* xxii. [1906] 149). In the same context she even calls herself 'a loving courtesan' and a 'temple-harlot' (*ib.* 149, 150). In this aspect she was depicted in art as a naked woman with emphasized sexual features (Ward, pp. 161 f., 380), or as lifting her robe to disclose her charms (*ib.* pp. 296, 387). She was the awakener of sexual impulse in animals and in men. In a hymn she says: 'I turn the male to the female, I turn the female to the male; I am she who adorneth the male for the female, I am she who adorneth the female for the male' (*PSBA* xxxi. 34). She caused the union of male and female (*JAOS* xxiv. 115). When she descended to Sheol, copulation ceased in men and animals (*KIB* vi. 86 f.). For this reason prostitutes were attached to her temples. Such a woman was called *ishtaritu* after the goddess herself; or *qadishtu*, 'sacred,' the same as *qᵉdhēshā* in the OT, apparently originally a title of the goddess herself; or *ḫarimtu* from the root *ḫaram*, 'devote'; or *shamḫatu*, 'joy-maiden'; or *kizritu*, 'harlot.' One of these from the temple in Erech was sent to ensnare Eabani (*KIB* vi. 122–127). After Gilgamesh had slain the heavenly bull, Ishtar gathered the harlots, the joy-maidens, and the *hierodouloi* to lament (*KIB* vi. 177). In the Ira myth Erech is called 'the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar, the city of harlots, joy-maidens, and hierodules' (*ib.* 62). An omen is interpreted as meaning: 'The divine mistress will cause to bear her maidens who have not become pregnant' (Jastrow, ii. 387). The *Code of Ḫammurabi* contains many provisions in regard to these women (see Lyon, 'The Consecrated Women of the Hammurabi Code,' in *Studies presented to C. H. Toy*, New York, 1912, pp. 341–360). For evidence of prostitution in her cult in later times see ASHTART, vol. ii. p. 116^{a}, and HIERODOULOI (Semitic and Egyptian), vol. vi. pp. 672–676.

5. **Goddess of wedlock.**—The ideograph *nin-dingir-ra* (Brünnow, 10999), or *bêlit-ilâni*, 'mistress of the gods,' is also used for *ḫirtu*, 'wife,' which shows that Ishtar was regarded as the 'wife' *par excellence.*

In a hymn she is called 'bride of Esagila and Ezida' (Jastrow, i. 533). In another hymn she is termed 'bride of the lands whose fulness is luxuriance' (*PSBA* xxxi. 68). Ishtar is called the bride, or the wife, of nearly every god of the Bab. pantheon. Still more strangely, the early kings designate themselves her husband—*e.g.*, Eannatum (*VAB* i. 1, 18), Ur-Ninib (*ib.* 204), Pur-Sin (*ib.* 204), Gimil-Sin (*ib.* 200). As a bride Ishtar is described in poetry and represented in art as veiled (cf. Gn 24^{65}: Jeremias, *AT im Lichte des alt. Orients*^{2}, p. 108 f.; *KIB* vi. 210^{4}). In this capacity she was prayed to bless wedded love. One such prayer has come down to us (*PSBA* xxxi. 66) in which a woman entreats Ishtar that her absent husband, or lover, may return safely, that he may continue to love her, and that she may bear children.

6. **Goddess of maternity.**—As Ninḫarsag, or Ninlil, she was the 'mother of the gods' (*VAB* i. 1, 60. 3^{8}, 150. 3^{1}; and frequently in the later literature). She was also the 'mother of men.'

Gudea calls her 'mother of the children of the city' (*ib.* 66). Samsuiluna calls her 'the mother who bare me' (Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 141). A personal name of the Ḫammurabi period is Ishtar-ummiya, 'Ishtar is my mother' (Jastrow, i. 160). As Aruru, Ishtar made Eabani of clay (*KIB* vi. 121), and created all men and animals (*ib.* 40). Sargon speaks of Bêlit-ilâni = Ishtar as the one 'who increases the offspring' (Jastrow, i. 246). In the hymns she is frequently described as 'creatress of mankind, who causeth all created things to flourish.' She is identified with Erûa, the goddess of pregnancy (*ib.* i. 116). In a prayer she is called 'she who loveth reproduction' (*PSBA* xxxi. 63). In a list of titles she is termed 'opener of the loins, framer of the fœtus' (*ib.* 21). Herodotus states (i. 199) that at Babylon she was called Mylitta, *i.e.* Mu'allidtu, 'she who causes to bear.' Under the name Mama, she caused the birth of second children (*JAOS* xxxii. 22). In art, Ishtar was most frequently represented as a mother suckling a child (Jeremias, *AT im Lichte*, p. 107; Ward, pp. 152–154, 375).

As a mother Ishtar was believed to love mankind and to grieve over their sorrows. At the deluge she cried like a woman in travail over the death of the children that she had borne (*KIB* vi. 238). Several laments have been preserved in which she bewails the destruction of her city Erech by the Elamites (see literature). In a hymn she is described as 'she who loveth all men' (*PSBA* xxxi. 63). Another hymn says: 'Thou lookest mercifully upon the sinner, and thou correctest the wrong-doer daily' (Jastrow, ii. 67). Still another hymn calls her 'the mistress of heaven and earth, who hears prayers, who listens to complaints, who receives petitions, the compassionate goddess, who loves righteousness' (*ib.* ii. 112).

7. Giver of earthly blessings.—On account of her mother-love for men she bestowed life, health, prosperity, and all other blessings upon them.

Gudea speaks of her 'life-giving glance' (*VAB* i. 1, 75). Kudurmabuk says that she gave him a prosperous reign (*ib.* 220); Arad-Sin declares that she gave him long life (*ib.* 214). Sargon says that she caused the inhabitants of the land to prosper (Winckler, *Sargon*, i. 94^{82}); and Nebuchadrezzar affirms that she gives him length of days (*VAB* iv. 170^{5}). An old hymn to Nanâ that has been adapted to Ishtar says: 'She gives prosperity to the man with whom she is pleased (?), she guards his path. . . . The physician is skilful with whom she is pleased (?). Her hand is with the manservant and the maidservant. Who can do anything without her?' (Jastrow, i. 533). Another hymn calls her 'Ishtar, without whom none possesses peace and joy' (*ib.* i. 347).

She was regarded as the mistress of magical arts with which she counteracted the wiles of the demons (Zimmern, *Beiträge*, p. 33; *AJSL* xxiii. 151). Accordingly, she is constantly invoked as a helper in the magical exorcisms (Jastrow, i. 82, 290, 292, 300, 315, 321). Especially is she a helper against the demon Ti'u (*ib.* 347), and against 'the wicked seven' (*ib.* 361 ff.).

On account of her good-will and her power, prayers were addressed to her more frequently than to any other deity. Ashurbanipal prayed her for long life for himself and his brother (Lehmann, *Shamashshumukin*, pl. xxiii.–xxiv.). Nebuchadrezzar prayed Ishtar, or Ninmaḫ, for long life, posterity, victory, and success. A large number of prayers and penitential psalms to Ishtar were found in the library of Ashurbanipal (see literature; Jastrow, ch. xvii. f.). These breathe a noble ethical and religious spirit, and are among the finest products of the Bab. religion. In one of them the poet expresses the joy of serving his goddess in the words: 'Her song is sweeter than honey and wine, sweeter than sprouts and herbs, superior indeed to pure cream' (cf. Ps 19^{10}). In many of the prayers Ishtar is asked to intercede with her father Sin, or with some other god, on behalf of the suppliant.

8. Moral governor of men.—As the mother of men, who loved them and cared for their well-being, she was naturally concerned with the establishing of law and order.

She was 'queen of all dwelling-places,' 'imparting all laws, wearing the ruler's crown,' 'who executes judgment and decision,' 'leader of mankind' (King, *Seven Tablets*, i. 222 f.), 'mistress of mankind' (Jastrow, ii. 75), 'creatress of wisdom' (*KAT*^{3}, 426), 'opposed to all disorder' (Jastrow, ii. 112), 'mistress of justice' (*ib.* 201). In a hymn she says: 'In the dispute when I take part, the woman who understands *piltum* am I. In the lawsuit when I take part, the woman who understands law am I' (*AJSL* xxiii. 149). Like Shamash, she was the judge of men (Jastrow, i. 535). As the ruler of the world, she appointed kings to execute justice. The Old Bab. kings all acknowledge that she has called them to the throne (*VAB* i. 1, 10. 5^{24}, 18. 5^{50}, 20. 2^{5}, 26g. 1^{7}, 66b. 2^{11}, 146. 17a; *Code of Ḫammurabi*, v. 13). Nebuchadrezzar says that 'Anunit called his name to the sovereignty of the land, and placed in his hand the sceptre over all peoples' (*VAB* iv. 248^{25}).

9. Giver of revelations.—In her care for men, it became necessary for Ishtar at times to make special communications of her will. Gudea calls her 'the child of Eridu, who counsels what is best, queenly interpreter of the gods' (*VAB* i. 1, 90. 2^{16}). He says also that 'she directed her attention to the oracles' (*ib.* 110. 20^{16}). Rim-Sin calls her 'revealer of all decisions, who causes the oracles of the land to remain' (*ib.* 218e).

Through an association of ideas with verdure, green colour in liquids, green plants, insects, and birds were regarded as omens sent by her (Jastrow, ii. 722, 802). Many omens derived from the livers of victims were connected with her (*ib.* 236, 261, 387, 409 f.). She also inspired prophets to deliver her message. In a prayer of Ashurnaṣirpal (*ib.* 113) the king prays: 'Grant me a trustworthy oracle.' Similarly, Sennacherib asks Ishtar of Nineveh and Ishtar of Arbela for direction (*KIB* ii. 107). A series of responses of Ishtar of Arbela to Esarhaddon is known (Banks, *AJSL* xiv. [1898] 267–277), also a series of responses to Ashurbanipal (Craig, *Rel. Texts*, i. 26–27). She predicted to the latter the death of the king of Mannai (*KIB* ii. 178^{6}). She sent a dream to encourage the troops who were afraid to cross a river (*ib.* 200$^{97\text{-}101}$). She appeared in a vision to a seer promising victory over Elam (*ib.* 250$^{50\text{-}75}$). She commanded Ashurbanipal through an oracle to bring back her image from Elam (*ib.* 210$^{113\text{-}115}$). For a full discussion of this subject see Jastrow, ch. xix.

10. Destroyer of life.—In striking contrast to the life-giving beneficent character of the goddess that has been exhibited thus far stands her other aspect as a destroyer of life. From the earliest times it must have been observed that life and death were only two aspects of the same force, and that love was the frequent cause of jealousy, hatred, and strife.

For Tammuz, the lover of her youth, she appointed yearly death (*KIB* vi. 168). With him died the vegetation that she had called into life. On his account she herself had to descend into Sheol, and be afflicted there with all the diseases (*ib.* 80–91). Ḫammurabi (*Code*, ii. 26 ff.) says that he 'decked with green the sepulchre of Malkat (the queen) of Sippar.' The sufferings that she endured she also inflicted upon men. Eabani she smote with disease and death (*KIB* vi. 198). She sent the heavenly bull to destroy Gilgamesh (*ib.* 172). Men prayed to her as the cause of sickness and suffering. One lament says: 'In thy descent to the house of a man, thou art as the jackal which hath been caused to come to take the sheep, thou art the lion which constantly cometh into the midst' (*PSBA* xxxi. 59). When she was angry, she sent a wicked demon called Diḫu or Ti'u to afflict men (Jastrow, i. 341 ff.). A configuration known as 'the hand of Ishtar' in a liver denoted the death of a son of the family (*ib.* ii. 409). A class of priests endured castration in her service, 'whose manhood, in order to terrify the people, Ishtar turned to womanhood' (*KIB* vi. 62^{10}). These were evidently similar to the Galli of Atargatis (*ERE* ii. 166 f.) and to the *qedhēshîm* and *kelābhîm* of the OT.

11. Storm-goddess.—Either as a destroyer or as a sender of rain, Ishtar was occasionally described as a storm-goddess. She was 'the lofty one who causes the heavens to tremble, the earth to quake, the flaming fire, who causes the bird-like Zu (the storm cloud) to fly from the house, who casts down the mountains like dead bodies' (*AJSL* xxiii. [1907] 150 f., 164 f.). In her character as storm-goddess she waged war with the gods of the mountains (*JAOS* xxiv. 114). In art she was often represented holding a caduceus of two serpents (Ward, pp. 155, 405, 408). This is apparently a symbol of the lightning.

12. War-goddess.—The primitive Semitic mother was the leader of her clan in war, and therefore from the earliest times Ishtar was a war-goddess (*ERE* ii. 116^{b}).

She promised Gilgamesh victory over all lands (*KIB* vi. 166^{16}). She brought the Elamites upon her city of Erech (*ib.* 272). Eannatum speaks of casting the net of Ninḫarsag over the people of Gishḫu (*VAB* i. 1, 14. 17^{19}). Gudea dedicated weapon-bearers, warriors, to Innanna (*ib.* 104. 14$^{24\text{-}26}$). Ḫammurabi says that he conquered with the powerful weapon that Nanâ entrusted to him (*Code*, xl. 24). In a votive tablet for Ḫammurabi it is said: 'Ishtar has given thee conflict and battle; what more canst thou hope?' (Jastrow, i. 398). Agumkakrime calls himself 'mighty hero of Ishtar, the warrior-goddess' (*KIB* iii. 135). Nebuchadrezzar I. says that 'at the command of Ishtar and Adad, the gods of war,' he defeated the Elamites (*ib.* 166^{40}). In the inscriptions of the Assyr. kings, Ishtar appears chiefly as a war-goddess. Tiglath Pileser I. calls her 'the exalted among the gods, mistress of warfare, the arranger of battle' (*ib.* i. 16^{13}). Ashurnaṣirpal II. says that 'she set her heart upon the making of battle and war' (*ib.* i. 58^{38}). He first applies to her the title 'Queen of Kitmuru,' *i.e.* 'Queen of Conflict' (Jastrow, i. 215, 243, 249). Shalmaneser II. calls her 'the first born of heaven and earth, who is perfect in bravery, who establishes the fates, who enlarges my kingdom' (*KIB* i. 130^{13}), 'queen of fight and battle' (*ib.* 152^{3}). Sennacherib says: 'I prayed unto . . . Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the gods whom I trust, for the capture of my mighty foes.' When menaced by the united forces of the Babylonians and Elamites, he prayed 'to Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the gods whom I trust, for victory over the mighty enemy' (*ib.* ii. 106$^{50\text{-}53}$). Esarhaddon says: 'in the help of . . . Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the great goddesses, my mistresses, I ruled from the east to the west and found no rival' (*ib.* ii. 124$^{7\text{-}9}$). For Ishtar's part in Ashurbanipal's campaigns see above under 9. All her oracles were given to assist him in his wars. When she appeared to his seer, she appeared full-armed in flame (*ib.* ii. 250$^{52\text{-}55}$). Nabonidus calls her 'Anunit, the mistress of battle, who carries bow and quiver . . . who overwhelms the enemy, destroys the wicked' (*VAB* iv. 228$^{22\text{-}24}$). The warlike character of Ishtar is greatly emphasized in the hymns. One meets such titles as 'warlike daughter of Sin,' 'leader in battle,' 'mistress of battle,' 'perfect in courage,' 'goddess of heroes,' 'sharp dagger,' 'destroyer of the land,' 'mistress of countries.' In one hymn she says: 'Beside my father in battle I take my place; beside Bêl in combat and battle I stand. During battle thread I weave, with the spindle I spin. Into battle like a swallow I fly' (Reisner, *Hymnen*, no. 56, rev. 39 ff.). This reminds one of Atargatis at Hierapolis who carried a distaff (Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* 327), and also of the Greek Parcæ. At the beginning of another hymn (Craig, *Rel. Texts*, i. pl. 54–55) she is described as marching to battle accompanied by musicians, who through their songs seek to win her favour. Because of her warlike character she is often compared to a lion, a jackal, an angry wild ox, and other animals. Ishtar as a war-goddess is identified in art by the relief of Anubanini, which shows her armed with clubs, leading prisoners by a cord passed through the lips (Ward, fig. 413). In Old Bab. art she is represented seated, armed with clubs and scimitars. In Assyr. art she is depicted standing, armed with bow, arrows, and quiver (Ward, ch. xxv.). Closely akin to the war-goddess was Ishtar's function as a goddess of hunting. The inscriptions *WAI* i. 7 = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*^{3}, p. 121, represent Ashurbanipal pouring libations over dead lions, and are accompanied with an ascription of praise to Ishtar.

13. The planet Venus.—Utterly unrelated to the characteristics that have been considered thus far was the identification of Ishtar with the planet Venus. There is no trace of this among the other Semites, except in late times and under evident Bab. influence (see *ERE* ii. 116). Even in Babylonia this astral character cannot be traced back into the Old Bab. period. It is improbable, therefore, that it was primitive Semitic (against D. Nielsen, *ZDMG* lxvi. 469–472). No certain evidence of the identification of Ishtar with the planet Venus is found before the time of Ḫammurabi.

Gudea (*c.* 2500 B.C.) says that he dedicated a disk to Innanna (*VAB* i. 1, 104. 14^{27}), but it is not clear that this was a star-emblem; the usual star-emblems had rays. Kudurmabuk (*c.* 2000 B.C.) speaks of Nanâ, the mistress, who is like the sky in gleaming splendour (*ib.* 220 f.), but this also is not certainly astral. On boundary stones of the Cassite dynasty, as early as the middle of the 14th cent. B.C., the four- to eight-pointed star is the established emblem of Ishtar (Hinke, *Boundary Stone of Neb. I.*, 245). In seal-cylinders of the same period Ishtar is accompanied with a star (Ward, ch. xxv.). In one of these (Ward, fig. 412) she is represented with wings, rising above the mountains along with the sun. As early as the time of Ḫammurabi, Ishtar seems to have formed a triad with Sin, the moon, and Shamash, the sun—which implies her astral character (Jastrow, i. 153). The fact that Marduk, the chief god of Babylon, is identified with the planet Juppiter, and Nebo, the god of the adjacent Borsippa, with Mercury, indicates that the identification of the great gods with planets did not arise before the unification of Babylonia by Ḫammurabi. It was part of the system of religious syncretism by which this monarch sought to consolidate his empire. The arithmetical sign XV for Ishtar, which is connected with her astral character (the sign for Sin is XXX), makes its first appearance in the period of Ḫammurabi. As to the reason why Ishtar was identified with Venus, one can only conjecture that it may have been the beauty of the planet, or its alternation as morning and evening star, that suggested a connexion with the life-giving and destroying functions of the goddess. Possibly the fact that Ishtar was the daughter of Sin, the moon, as early as Arad-Sin, led to her identification with the planet.

The identity of Venus as morning star with Venus as evening star was known in the Assyr. period, and probably much earlier. There are numerous official reports of the astrologers that speak of Ishtar as morning and evening star (Jastrow, ii. 612). In a hymn she says: 'Ishtar, the goddess of the morning, and Ishtar, the goddess of the evening, am I' (*ib.* i. 531). Nabonidus calls her 'Anunit, who at sunrise and sunset gives me favourable signs' (*VAB* iv. 228^{26}, 229$^{38-42}$). As the morning star she was called Dilbat, and as the evening star Zib (P. C. A. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, Strassburg, 1890, p. 117 f.). The difference of names shows that in early times the two aspects of the planet were supposed to be different stars, but the list *WAI* ii. 48, line 51*ab*, asserts 'Zib = Dilbat.'

These aspects of the planet gave rise to a variety of titles and identifications. Thus the list *WAI* iii. 53, col. ii. line 36 reads: 'Dilbat at sunrise is Ishtar of Agade, Dilbat at sunset is Ishtar of Erech, Dilbat at sunrise is Ishtar of the stars, Dilbat at sunset is Mistress of the Gods' (*i.e.* Ninlil). See also the list of names of Venus published by Pinches (*PSBA* xxxi. 25). There seems to be evidence also that the synodical period of Venus of 584 days was known in Babylonia and Elam (F. Bork, *Memnon*, iv. [1910] 83–105; E. Weidner, *ib.* v. [1911] 29–39; F. Hrozny, *ib.* v. 81–102).

The claim has often been made that in the clear atmosphere of Babylonia the phases of Venus, which resemble those of the moon, could be seen with the naked eye, and that this is the reason why she is called 'daughter of Sin,' is represented with horns in art, and in certain texts bears the epithet 'horned' (*PSBA* xxxi. 22–24). This is very doubtful.

At the time of greatest brilliancy Venus has a diameter of only 40″. Two points must be about 60″ apart to be recognized as distinct by the naked eye; and at least four such points are needed to perceive a crescent. It seems, therefore, physiologically impossible for the naked eye to detect the crescent form of Venus, and we have no evidence that the Babylonians possessed lenses. The horns of Ishtar are, accordingly, to be connected with her aspect as a cow-goddess rather than as a planet, and she is called the daughter of Sin because she appears in the sky with him, and not because she has similar phases.

In astrology, Ishtar plays an important part along with Shamash and Sin. The omens that have come down to us all date from a late period. A number of these are published by C. Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie chaldéenne*, Paris, 1903–12, 'Istar,' no. 13; R. C. Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, London, 1900, ii. p. lxix f.; Jastrow, ii. 612–638. They are of the following type: 'When Venus disappears at sunrise in Nisan from the first to the thirtieth day, there will be desolation.' 'When, in the month of Nisan, Venus has a beard, the inhabitants of the land will bear boys. In that year the market-price will be low.' In the magical texts also Ishtar is invoked under the name 'Ishtar of the stars.'

The astral character of the goddess finds frequent expression in the hymns. She is called 'the light of heaven and earth,' 'flaming torch of heaven and earth,' 'glory of the whole world,' 'queen of the stars,' 'queen of heaven,' 'the perfect, mighty light,' 'brilliant Ishtar who illumines the evening.' In a hymn published by Prince (*JAOS* xxx. [1909] 96) the poet says: 'With her gracious aspect Ninâ speaketh. In her gracious rising verily she shineth forth; where she waxeth full, her procreative power is mighty of aspect.' In another hymn published by Reisner (*Hymnen*, no. 53, pp. 96–99) and translated by M. I. Hussey (*AJSL* xxiii. [1907] 172 f.), Ishtar says: 'To give portents in fulness I stand, consummate I stand. Beside my father Sin, to give portents in fulness I stand, consummate I stand. Beside my brother Shamash, to give portents in fulness I stand, consummate I stand. As for me my father Nannaru (the moon) has established me . . . in the bright heavens. . . . Amid shouts of joy I, Ishtar, the goddess, take my exalted way. Ishtar, goddess of the evening, am I; Ishtar, goddess of the morning, am I; Ishtar who opens the lock of the bright heavens, that is my glory.'

14. The star Sirius.—Less frequently Ishtar is identified with the Bow-star, or Sirius (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 52 f., 149, 151). This is probably due to the fact that the Assyrians usually depicted Ishtar armed with a bow.

15. The constellation Virgo.—It is probable that Ishtar is occasionally identified with the zodiacal constellation Virgo (Zimmern, *KAT*^{3}, 427 f.). These different identifications show that her astral character is secondary, and rests upon late priestly speculation.

From the foregoing survey it appears that Ishtar was the most important divinity of the Assyr.-Bab. pantheon. She absorbed so many other goddesses, and exercised such a variety of functions, that she came near to being the supreme divinity. Many hymns addressed to her disclose a henotheism that approximates to monotheism.

V. *THE CULT OF ISHTAR.*—In regard to the rites that were practised in the worship of Ishtar our information is less complete than in regard to the conception of her character. We know that temples were built to her in all the important cities of Babylonia and Assyria. These contained images (King, *Ḫammurabi*, no. 101, col. i. 41; *KIB* iii. 138$^{9-22}$; *ib.* ii. 209$^{107-124}$). The costume worn by the goddess may be inferred from the artistic representations and from the articles of dress that she left behind when she went down to Sheol (*KIB* vi. 82–84): tiara, earrings, necklace, pectoral, girdle, bracelets, anklets, and tunic. Agumkakrime expended four talents of gold on the robes of Marduk and Zarpanit (*KIB* iii. 140$^{28-34}$). She had a throne (*VAB* i. 1, 227), a bed (*ib.* 230^{12}), and a boat (*ib.* 92, 104, 229^{4}). Her priests are often mentioned, and the hierodouloi have been referred to above (IV. 4).

Slaves were dedicated to her temples (*OLZ* xii. 110). The ancient kings record with special frequency that they made her offerings of lapis lazuli. Sargon states that he gave her cedar, and cypress wood, and aromatic herbs (Winckler, *Sargon*, i. 126^{143}). Nebuchadrezzar gives a long list of the offerings of animals, birds, fish, vegetables, wine, and oil that he presented to Marduk and Zarpanit (*VAB* iv. 154$^{24-57}$). For the offerings made by Esarhaddon see Jastrow, ii. 170, and for those of Ashurbanipal, *ib.* ii. 107 ff. In one psalm the offerer says: 'I have given to thee thy great gift, a *salla* (=*pudendum mulicbre*) of lapis lazuli, and a *multi* (similar to the *salla*) of gold, the adornment of thy divinity' (*PSBA* xxxi. 63 f.). The hymn published by Craig (*Rel. Texts*, i. pl. 15, obv. 19 ff.) says: 'I prepared for thee a pure offering of milk, cakes, salted bread. I presented to thee a vessel for libations, hear me and be gracious. I slew for thee a pure lamb without blemish from the flock of the field. I presented a conserve for the shepherdess of the god Tammuz.' Sacrifice of infants, which was so common in the cult of 'Ashtart (*ERE* ii. 117^{b}), is not yet proved in the cult of Ishtar. For supposed evidences of it see *KAT*^{3}, 599. E. J. Banks (*Bismya*, London, 1912, p. 380 f.) reports the discovery of brick stamps mentioning a temple of Ishtar, numerous small houses containing obscene figures, and beneath one of these eight clay coffins containing infant bones. These seem similar to the jar-burials of infants in the mounds of Palestine (*ERE* iii. 187^{a}).

The fourth month, Tammuz (June–July), was celebrated by the annual wailing for Ishtar's lover, whose death coincided with the withering of vegetation in the summer heat. The fifth month, Ab (July–August), was sacred to Ishtar, and in it was celebrated her descent to Sheol to bring her lover back to life. Perhaps the heliacal rising of Sirius in this month may explain the connexion of this star with Ishtar (*KAT*^{3}, 426; Langdon, *Psalms*, xvi.). Ashurbanipal records: 'In the month of Ab, the month of the appearance of Sirius, the festival of the revered queen, the daughter of Bêl, I tarried in Arbela, her beloved city, to worship her great divinity' (*KIB* ii. 248$^{16-19}$). Ashurbanipal speaks also of the 25th of Siwan as the day of the procession of the Bêlit of Babylon, the honoured among the great gods (*KIB* ii. 220^{98}; cf. *VAB* iv. 282^{39}).

VI. *WORSHIP OUTSIDE OF BABYLONIA.*—Adherents of the Pan-Babylonian school of Winckler, Zimmern, Jensen, and Jeremias hold that the Bab. Ishtar was the original mother-goddess of western Asia, and that all the other local forms were derived from her. As remarked above, this theory is improbable; 'Ashtar must rather be regarded as a primitive Semitic divinity. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that at the time of the extension of Bab. civilization Ishtar exerted a modifying influence upon the other Semitic goddesses.

1. In Elam and Persia.—The worship of Innanna of Erech in ancient Elam is attested by the inscriptions of a number of ancient rulers of Susa (*VAB* i. 1, 178c, 180. 3, 182. 4). The Assyrian records show that it persisted down to the fall of the Assyr. Empire. After the conquest of Elam by the Indo-European Medes and Persians the old goddess was identified with Anāhita, and under this name enjoyed extensive homage (see ANĀHITA). Her ancient name, however, was not forgotten. In 2 Mac 1$^{12-16}$ we are told that Antiochus Epiphanes was killed in the temple of Nanaia in Persia.

2. In Mesopotamia.—Bab. and Assyr. influence was exerted in Mesopotamia from the earliest times, and the cult of Ishtar was established in all the important cities. The old Aramaic name 'Attar was little used except in the compound Atargatis (*ERE* ii. 165), and instead titles derived from the astral form of Ishtar were employed, such as Kokabta, 'star' (=Bab. *kakabu*), Kokabnugha, 'star of splendour,' or Nugha, 'splendour.' Even the Old Bab. name Nanai was used in Syriac for the planet Venus (*ZDMG* x. [1860] 459) along with the Sumer. name Dilbat (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 118). Astara and Bêlti were names for Venus among the Mandæans (*ib.* p. 135). For survivals of Bab. myths concerning Ishtar in Mesopotamia see Baudissin, 'Tammuz bei den Harrānern,' *ZDMG* lxvi. 172 ff.

3. In Arabia.—In the South Arabian inscriptions 'Athtar, who is masculine, is represented by a star with eight points, and forms a triad with the sun and moon. It can hardly be doubted that this is due to direct Bab. influence. In North Arabia the original name of the goddess was displaced by titles such as al-Lāt, 'the goddess,' or al-'Uzza, 'the strong' (J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*^{2}, Berlin, 1897, pp. 29–39). She was identified with the planet Venus and called al-Najm, 'the star,' *par excellence* (cf. the oath, *Qur'ān*, liii. 1: 'By the star when it setteth'; lxxxvi. 1 ff.). Isaac of Antioch (5th cent. A.D.), i. 210 (ed. G. Bickell, Giessen, 1873–77), identifies al-'Uzza with Bêltis and applies to her the Syriac name Kokabta, 'the star' (Wellhausen, pp. 40–45). This astral character of al-'Uzza is found only in late times in the regions that border on Syria and Mesopotamia; and the same names are used that are applied to Ishtar in Mesopotamia, namely, 'star,' 'star of splendour,' and 'splendour' (Nielsen, *ZDMG* lxvi. 472); it seems clear, therefore, that these traits are due to borrowing of Bab. ideas from Mesopotamia.

4. In Syria and Palestine.—In the Amarna letters the Canaanite 'Ashtart is equated with Ishtar, and Canaanite artistic representations often conform to the Bab. type (see *ERE* iii. 182^{a}, 183^{b}). There is no clear evidence of Ishtar in the early writings of the OT. The efforts of P. C. A. Jensen (*Gilgamesch-Epos*, Strassburg, 1906) and of Jeremias (*AT im Lichte des alt. Orients*) to show that Sarah, Rebekah, Tamar, Pharaoh's daughter, Jephthah's daughter, and most of the other female characters of the OT are transformed Ishtar-myths cannot be pronounced successful. The first certain trace of Ishtar in the OT is in the neo-Bab. period in Jer 7^{18} 44$^{17-19.\ 25}$, where she is called 'queen of heaven.' This is a specifically Bab. name for Ishtar in her astral aspect, and the *kawwān*, or 'cake,' that the Hebrew women baked for her is the same as the *kawânu* that was presented to Ishtar (*KAT*^{3}, 441 f.). The wailing for Tammuz mentioned in Ezk 8^{14} is closely connected with Ishtar and is specifically Babylonian. At the time of the Bab. supremacy the cult of Ishtar must have been established in Jerusalem, or even earlier under Assyr. rule (2 K 21^{3}). The name Esther is an Aramaic form of Ishtar, and the Book of Esther shows clear knowledge of Bab. Ishtar myths (see Paton, 'Esther' in *ICC*, Edinburgh, 1908, pp. 87–94). In Palmyra the Bab. Ishtar was worshipped under the name Bêlti (*ERE* ii. 294), and the rites of the Phœnician 'Ashtart at Gebal, as described by Lucian (*de Dea Syr.* 6, 8), were evidently coloured by the Bab. mourning for Tammuz. On the whole subject of the Tammuz cult in the West see Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, Leipzig, 1911.

5. Among the Greeks and Romans.—During the period of Seleucid Greek rule the religions of the East and of the West were fused with extraordinary rapidity in Syria and in Egypt, and under the early Roman emperors Bab. astrology became the dominant religion of the day. The gods of Greece and of Rome were identified with the nearest Bab. counterparts, and thus came to take on astral characteristics. The equations that resulted were: Zeus = Juppiter = Bel-Marduk = the planet Juppiter; Hermes = Mercury = Nabu = the planet Mercury; Ares = Mars = Nergal = the planet Mars; Chronos = Saturn = Ninib = the planet Saturn; Aphrodite = Venus = Ishtar = the planet Venus. To these identifications are due the names of the planets in all modern European languages. Ishtar thus took the place of Aphrodite, and the mythology of the Bab. mother-goddess was grafted on to the myths of the ancient local Aphrodites and Astartes. Even the Sumer. name Dilbat for the planet Venus became known to the Greeks; Hesychius says: *Δελέφατ· ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀστὴρ ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων* (see F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris, 1909 [Eng. tr., Chicago, 1911], ch. v., *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and the Romans*, New York, 1912).

LITERATURE.—i. On the Assyr.-Bab. religion in general and its literature see BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS.

ii. On the Astarte-Ishtar cult in general see ASHTART, ATARGATIS, BAAL, CANAANITES.

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LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

ISIS.—A nature-goddess whose cult first sprang into prominence in Egypt under the New Empire (*c.* 1700–1100 B.C.), became universal in its native land, spread throughout Oriental, Greek, and Roman territory, and became one of the chief antagonists of Christianity. According to Egyptian mythology, she was the daughter of Seb, god of the earth, and Nut, goddess of the sky, the pair which, with sex reversed, corresponded to the Greek Kronos and Rhea. Other children of the union were a daughter, Nephthys, and three sons, Horus the Elder, Osiris, and Set. Isis was the wife, as well as the sister, of Osiris, to whom she had been wedded even before their birth, and by whom she afterwards became the mother of Horus, the sun-god in whom the Greeks saw a parallel to Apollo (Eduard Meyer, in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Isis'). Horus the Elder and Horus the Child (Harpocrates) are different conceptions of the same god (*ib. s.v.* 'Horus').

The Isis-Osiris myth in its main lines is as follows: Osiris (Serapis), known and loved for his benefactions to all mankind, is treacherously slain by his brother Set, who encloses him in a chest and throws him into the Nile, which bears him towards the sea. Isis, after much wandering, persecution, and sorrow, discovers the chest, and mourns over the body of her husband, accompanied by Nephthys, her sister, who is also the wife of Set; but Set again gets possession of the body, and disperses it about Egypt in fourteen parts. Meanwhile Isis gives birth to Horus, whom she secretly rears in the marshes of the Delta. After long searching, she succeeds in recovering and interring the members of Osiris, who, restored through the magic formulæ of Thoth, becomes a judge and god of the dead, and even visits the earth to appear to his son Horus. The latter takes vengeance upon Set for the slaying of his father, sparing his life, however, at the entreaty of Isis herself, with whom he is for this reason so angered that he strikes off her head-dress (or her head), which Thoth restores as a cow's-head helmet (or cow's head). Horus and Set then appear before the court of the great gods of Egypt, where Horus, through the support of Thoth, is victorious, receives the crown and throne of his father, and unites both parts of the land under him (Plutarch, *de Is. et Osir.*; Budge, *Egyptian Religion*, ch. ii.).

Whether the Isis-Osiris myth is founded on a primitive attempt to explain the daily vicissitudes of the sun, or is the outgrowth of a local historical or religious legend which was grafted on to solar speculation, there is no doubt as to its having possessed a solar significance in the minds of those who reflected upon religion. Osiris was the Sun, born of Seb and Nut, Earth and Heaven; Set was Night; Isis, whose name signifies 'seat' or 'throne,' was a deity of the heavens, and especially of the dawn, who restored Osiris, the Sun, after his death at the hands of Night, and also gave birth to Horus, the Sun, who took vengeance on Set, the Night, and won back his father's throne; Nephthys, the Western Horizon, or Evening, sister of Isis, the Eastern Horizon, or Dawn, mourns with the latter at the bier of Osiris, and is also the mother, by him, of Anubis, god of the realm of darkness and the dead. Transferred to the realm of morals, the myth symbolized the warfare between good and evil. It also symbolized human destiny, the rebirth of man in his children; but its greatest significance in the minds of the ancients was spiritual—the immortality of the soul, the resurrection, the universal motherhood of Isis, and her other-world influence. The resurrection of Osiris through the efforts of Isis symbolized the rebirth of the soul, and it was this that made the Isis cult the greatest of Egyptian religions, though there is no evidence that it had attained to any importance, or was even in existence, before the New Empire. Through her mysteries the worshipper received the gift of immortality, which her magical powers enabled her to bestow. Her connexion with magic no doubt made her cult still more popular. In a papyrus of as early as 1553 B.C., a physician invokes her aid, beseeching her to employ in his interests the same arts by which she had healed the wounds of Set and Horus. She was called 'The Mighty in Magic.' By the time of the Saite and Greek periods (from 663 on) she had gradually developed into a universal nature-goddess, a beneficent, maternal deity whose hand was full of all manner of blessings, temporal and spiritual. She was 'The Great,' 'The Great Mother,' 'The Mother of the Gods'; local goddesses were invested with her characteristics, and she in turn took on theirs, until the distinction between them and her was little more than one of mere name. She became the great prototype of all goddesses. Her importance in the cult far overshadowed that of Osiris; she even had independent shrines, as, for example, the temple of the XXIst dynasty at Gizeh, called 'the temple of the Mistress of the Pyramids.' Her most important seats of worship in Egypt were at Memphis, and on the island of Philæ, at the southern extremity of the country, where her temple, first completed in the reign of Nectanebos (360–342), remained open until A.D. 560, when it was closed by order of Justinian (Meyer, *loc. cit.*).

Outside of Egypt, the Isis-Osiris cult rose to importance nowhere until the Hellenistic period (from 333 B.C. on), though it was known in Phœnicia in the 7th and 6th centuries before Christ, and was communicated thence to other parts of the world. Evidences of it are abundant, however, in every part of the Hellenistic and Roman world. The Greeks saw in Isis and her mysteries an analogue to Demeter and the Eleusinian mysteries, identified Osiris with Dionysus, Horus with Apollo, Seb and Nut with Kronos and Rhea. As early as 333 B.C., in spite of Greek prejudice against foreign cults, the erection of a temple at Peiræus was permitted, and under the Ptolemys the cult was received at Athens itself, and a temple erected at the foot of the Acropolis. The use of the word 'Isis' in the composition of citizens' names—Isidotos, Isidoros, etc.—and the numerous reliefs representing Greek ladies in the character of Isis afford evidence of the popularity of the cult. There were two temples in Corinth (Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, *s.v.* 'Isis, Histoire'; Drexler, in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Isis,' 373–391).

The success of the cult in the West was even more pronounced. Sardinia had received it before the Hellenistic period, probably through the Phœnicians; Malta, Sicily, and Southern Italy admitted it later. Puteoli was an important centre in Campania, while the cult was also strong at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiæ. The Pompeian temple of Isis, of which the remains are still to be seen, was founded between 200 and 80 B.C., was ruined by the earthquake of A.D. 63, and was the only temple in the city which had been restored when the final catastrophe occurred in 79 (H. Nissen, *Pompejan. Stud.*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 671, 170 ff.). First introduced into the city of Rome in the time of Sulla, though probably it found a place in Ostia and the suburbs before this, it was the object of so much distrust on the part of the conservative citizenship of Rome that in 58 B.C. its altars on the Capitoline, and its chapels (to the number of fifty-three), were destroyed by order of the Senate. In 54, 50, and 48 similar events occurred; in 43 the triumvirs decreed a temple to Isis and Serapis, and the cult seemed about to gain the permanent support of the State; but in 28 Augustus excluded the worship from inside the Pomerium, or augural limit of the city, his policy of opposition to foreign cults having been stimulated by the war with Antony and Cleopatra; in 21 Agrippa forbade the erection of chapels within a radius of seven and a half stades from the limit; and Tiberius, in A.D. 19, as a result of certain scandals in connexion with the cult, destroyed its places of worship and banished its priests. Under Caligula, however, the cult seems to have been recognized by the State, though it was not yet in possession of the right to erect temples within the Pomerium, nor supported by the public funds. It grew, nevertheless, and abundant evidence of its strength is to be seen in the art and literature of the Empire. Under Caracalla the law was made null which had kept its temples outside the Pomerium, and henceforth it enjoyed perfect equality of rights with other cults. Its altars and shrines of minor size and importance had no doubt existed in the city from the first, and it had been strong in the support of the lower classes. Besides its lesser shrines and chapels, its greatest temples were that in the sixth region erected by Caracalla, that on the Cælian, east of the Coliseum, from which the third region took its name (*Isis et Serapis*), and the great temple in the Campus Martius, east of the Pantheon, which was voted in 43 B.C., but probably not erected until about A.D. 39, burned in 80, and restored by

Domitian, Alexander Severus, and Diocletian (S. B. Platner, *Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, revised ed., Boston, 1911, pp. 62, 358). From the 2nd cent. onwards, it was one of the most bitter and effective antagonists of Christianity, and, when the final struggle occurred, numbered among its adherents many of the first families of Rome. Symmachus, Vettius Agorius Prætextatus and his wife, and Virius Nicomachus Flavianus were its ardent defenders. In the three months' revival of pagan religion at Rome in A.D. 394, when Nicomachus Flavianus espoused the cause of Eugenius against Theodosius, Isis, Mithra, and the Great Mother of the gods were in the foreground, as they were throughout the struggle with the new religion. The festival of Isis was celebrated with great pomp on this occasion (*Codex Parisinus*, 8084, lines 98–101). With the fall of Eugenius the cult passed out of history at Rome, though the worship persisted here and there in the Roman world until the middle of the 5th century (Wissowa, 'Religion und Kultus der Römer,'^{2} Müller's *Handbuch*, v. 4, p. 95 ff.; Drexler, *loc. cit.* 394–409). The fall of the famous Serapeum of Alexandria occurred in 397, but the temple at Philæ was not closed until 560, when Justinian's general, Narses, took its priests captive and forbade the worship. The vigour and long life of the religion of Isis, as well as its rise and spread to all parts of the world, are to be explained on the ground of the universality of the character of the goddess, who included in herself the virtues of all other goddesses, by the attractiveness of her ceremonies, by the fascination of her mysteries, and, above all, by the rewards which she could offer the faithful initiate—purification, forgiveness, communion, regeneration, and immortality of soul; in short, the qualities to which it owed its success were the very same which existed in a fuller and less artificial form in Christianity itself. While the antagonism between the two religions may have been bitter, and reached a violent stage in many places, it is nevertheless true that the transition to Christianity was quite as much a process of blending as a violent displacement. Isis herself was identified with the Virgin Mary, Horus with Christ, and some of the legends of the Saints are traceable to legends of the Isis cult (Drexler, 426–548; Lafaye, 'Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte,' pp. 167–170).

In art, Isis is represented as a matron, standing, draped in a long robe reaching to the ankles, mantle thrown over the shoulders and crossing the breast, where it is made into a large and very apparent knot, and often a veil, symbolic of secrecy. In her right hand is the sistrum, in her left a small ewer. Her hair is abundant, and on her forehead rises the lotus, emblem of the resurrection. Stars or crescent sometimes figured in the representation, in token of her astronomical significance; Sirius was her especial star, and she is sometimes figured sitting on the back of a dog representing it. As a deity of agriculture, like Demeter, she is figured with torches, heads of wheat and poppies, serpents, the mystic chest, or the horn of plenty. As queen of the lower world, she is represented in black marble or basalt. In her character as deity of the sea, she often appears on coins in a boat with sail raised, with symbols of the sea. As goddess of love and maternity, she is accompanied by the infant Horus, or Harpocrates, who is often clasped to her breast or being nursed. Sometimes Osiris completes the group, which forms a kind of holy family (Apuleius, *Metam.* xi. 3, 4; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Isis, Attributions et images').

The practices of the Isis-Osiris cult in Roman times may be assumed to represent with more or less accuracy those of all lands in which the religion found favour. Its main festival occurred on the last day of October and the first three days of November (for the date see Wissowa, 'Religion und Kultus der Römer,'^{2} p. 354), as follows: October 31, ***Heuresis***; Isis, in company with Nephthys and Anubis, and with manifestations of deepest grief, in which priests and mystics participate, searches for the body of Osiris; November 1–3, the celebration of the finding, or resurrection, of Osiris, with unrestrained expressions of joy, November 2 being called *Ter Novena*, perhaps from a chorus consisting of three times nine participants, and November 3, *Hilaria*, from its character, which was like that of the corresponding festival of the Great Mother. Another annual festival was that called *Isidis Navigium*, which occurred on March 5, at the opening of navigation. A ship, richly equipped, and laden with spices, was sent to sea as an offering to the goddess. Apuleius (*Metam.* xi. 7–17) describes this festival as it took place at Cenchreai near Corinth. It may have had a parallel at Rome in a ceremony at the mouth of the Tiber. Two other festivals, *Sacrum Phariæ* and *Sarapia*, mentioned in the *Menologia Rustica*, the first on April 25 and the other somewhat earlier, were of less importance. The *Pelusia*, on March 20, was a festival whose motive was in the flooding of the Nile, and was introduced at Rome at a late date. *Fasti Philocali*, and Lydus, *de Mensibus*, iv. 40, are the first evidences of it (Wissowa, 'Religion und Kultus,'^{2} p. 354 f.).

The conduct of the cult was in the hands of priests and priestesses, chosen by the cult associations for various terms. There seems to have been a high priest, *summus sacerdos*, *sacerdos maximus*, *primarius*, *præcipuus* (Apul. xi. 20, 17, 21, 22), who was perhaps the same as the *propheta primarius* (ii. 28). The *grammateus* was another priest. Each association was officered by a pater, a quæstor, or treasurer, and decurions, if the membership was large. Numerous names mentioned in inscriptions indicate that different associations performed special duties in the processions. There were the *pastophoroi*, who carried little shrines upon litters; *pausarii*, so named from their pauses at certain places along the route; *Anubiaci* and *Bubastiacæ*, who may have impersonated Anubis and Bubastis; etc. Those who fulfilled a priestly office were obliged to keep head and face clean shaven, to wear linen garments, and to abstain from certain things (Wissowa, 357 f.; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Isis, Les associations, Le sacredoce').

According to Apuleius, there were three degrees—one of Isis, another of Isis and Osiris, and a third of actual priestly functions. Accurate knowledge of the observances through which the mystic passed in his rise from one degree to another is impossible because of the comparative strictness with which ancient writers keep the rule of secrecy.

The account of Apuleius, however (*Metam.* xi.), throws general light upon both the public and the private character of the cult, in spite of the author's reserve regarding the secret part of his experience. Lucius, the hero of the tale, in whose character Apuleius is narrating his own experience, determines to devote himself to Isis. The goddess herself has so directed him in a vision (xi. 5). The procession of the following day was that of *Isidis Navigium*. First came a line of masqueraders, strikingly costumed—a soldier, a hunter, a gladiator, etc. At the head of the procession proper marched women clad in white, with flowers in their hair and hands. Others followed bearing mirrors behind them, held up to the face of the advancing goddess, so that she might see the members of the procession coming, as it were, to meet her, and were followed by still others who carried ivory combs which they employed in the pantomime of dressing the deity's hair, and others who sprinkled the streets with balsam and unguent. Next came a great number of men and women with waxen tapers and other lights, and then musicians with pipes and flutes, in whose train advanced a chorus of chosen youths clad in snowy white, chanting a hymn. More pipers followed, and heralds, after whom marched the train of mystics, men and women of all ages and conditions, luminous in pure white, the women with anointed hair covered with transparent veils, and the men with smooth-shaven shiny heads; and all were keeping up a shrill jingling with bronze, silver, and even golden sistra. Then came the chief ministers in shining linen, bearing insignia of the mightiest gods. The first carried a golden lamp; the second, models of altars; the third, a palm tree with golden leaves and a golden caduceus; the fourth, a left hand, the symbol of equity, and a golden vessel in the form of the female breast, from which he poured libations of milk on the ground; the fifth, a golden winnowing-fan with thick golden branches; and another, an amphora. The next feature of the procession was a number of men who represented various deities: Anubis, the messenger-deity, bearing in his left hand the caduceus and with his right shaking a green palm; a cow, erect, the symbol of the universal parent-goddess; etc. These were followed by one who bore a chest containing secret paraphernalia; another who bore the effigy of a great divinity which resembled neither beast nor bird, nor even man; and, finally, by a priest with sistrum and crown of roses. After the sending out of the sacred ship the mystics returned to the temple, deposited the holy symbols, were formally dismissed, and, after kissing the feet of the silver statue of the goddess on the temple steps, went home, carrying branches of olive, flowers, and herbs, and filled with joy (*ib.* 8–17). Lucius then took up his abode within the temple enclosure, and attended all the services of the priests, studying and meditating until the goddess announced in a dream that the time for his initiation was at hand. He was first bathed, or baptized, in public, then brought to the feet of the goddess to receive secret instruction, and ordered, before the world, to abstain for ten days from wine, the flesh of animals, and all abundance of food. At the end of this period the evening of his consecration arrived. Having been favoured, at sunset, with many presents from the multitude of assembled worshippers, he was left by the throng, and in the night conducted by the priest to the inner recess of the temple, where he was the recipient of revelations and the witness of sights such as he was not permitted to divulge to a greater extent than in the following suggestive description: 'I approached the confines of death, trod the threshold of Proserpina, and returned borne through all the elements; at midnight I saw the sun gleaming with bright light; the gods below and the gods above I approached face to face, and adored near by' (*ib.* 23). The next morning he appeared before the people dressed in twelve stoles, a beautifully coloured garment of linen, and a precious scarf which covered his back from neck to ankles, all of these articles being decorated with paintings of animals in various colours. With a burning taper in his hand and a chaplet of palm leaves on his head, he was suddenly revealed to the multitude by the drawing of the sanctuary curtains (*ib.* 24). He then, at the admonition of the goddess, spent a year in Rome, and at the end of that time was initiated into the mysteries of Osiris. A short time afterwards, he was for the third time directed in a vision to be further initiated. This he did, becoming also a member of the college of *Pastophoroi*, in which he held the office of Quinquennial Decurion (*ib.* 26, 30).

The regular services in a temple of Isis comprised two ceremonies each day. The first occurred at sunrise, when the priest opened the doors, 'waked the deity,' and after several moments of prayer, made the round of the altars, performing the sacred ceremonial and pouring libations at each, after which rites the worshippers loudly announced the first hour of the day (Apul. *op. cit.* 20). At the second ceremony, which took place in the afternoon, the priest held up before the worshippers a vase of consecrated water, which they venerated as the first principle of all things (Martial, x. 48. 1).

LITERATURE.—G. Lafaye, 'Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie hors de l'Égypte' (*Bibl. des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, xxxiii.), Paris, 1884, and art. 'Isis' in Daremberg-Saglio; Eduard Meyer, in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Isis'; W. Drexler, *ib.*; G. Wissowa, 'Religion und Kultus der Römer'², in Müller's *Handbuch*, v. 4, Munich, 1912, pp. 351–359; E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Religion*, London, 1900.

GRANT SHOWERMAN.

ISLĀM.—Islām is the name peculiar to the religion founded by Muhammad, and embraces all the different sects which are now found among his followers. Thus, a Shīʿite and a Sunnite are both Muslims. *Islām* is the infinitive form of *aslama*, and means 'to resign oneself,' to profess Islām. It is sometimes looked upon by European writers as expressing complete resignation to the will of God in all matters of faith and duty; but this seems to be too wide an extension of the term, for Syed Amīr ʿAli says:

> 'The word does not imply, as is commonly supposed, absolute submission to God's will, but means, on the contrary, striving after righteousness' (*Spirit of Islam*, ed. 1891, p. 226).

But what is the idea of righteousness which the term 'Islām' expresses? It is given in the verse, 'Whoso is a Muslim, he seeketh after the right way' (*Qur.* lxxii. 14). Here, again, we need a definition of the words 'Muslim' and 'right way.' Muhammadan commentators explain them thus: the former means 'one who places his neck under the order of God,' 'one who comes under the order,' 'one who sincerely accepts the dogma of the Unity of God'; the other, the *rashād*, or 'right way,' is the 'finding of the reward of good works,' the 'desire of goodness.'

The term 'Islām' occurs twice in late Meccan *sūras*, but not in the earlier ones.

> 'That man's breast will be open to Islām' (vi. 125). 'Whose breast God has opened to Islām' (xxxix. 23).

In Medīnite *sūras* it occurs in the following places:

> 'The true religion (*dīn*) with God is Islām' (iii. 17). 'Whoso desireth any other religion (*dīn*) than Islām, that religion shall not be accepted from him' (iii. 79). 'It is my pleasure that Islām be your religion' (v. 5). 'Who is more impious than he who, when called to Islām, deviseth a falsehood concerning God?' (lxi. 7). 'We profess Islām' (xlix. 14). 'They taunt thee with having embraced Islām' (xlix. 17).

Some parts of the verb express the sense of embracing Islām, but they are chiefly found in late *sūras*: xlix. 17, ix. 75, iii. 60, xii. 101, xxxiii. 35. It is very important to bear this fact in mind. In a few places a more general idea of resignation seems to be referred to, as:

> 'They who set their faces with resignation Godward (*man aslama wajhahu lillāhi*), and do that which is right, their reward is with their Lord' (ii. 106), and 'I resign myself to the Lord of the worlds' (*aslamtu lirabbi-l-ʿālamīna*) (ii. 125).

But these have to be interpreted in accordance with the meaning attached by Muslim commentators to the more definite ones.

Muhammadan theologians draw a sharp distinction between *īmān* ('faith') and Islām, and base it on the following verse:

> 'The Arabs say, "We believe." Say thou, "Ye believe not"; say rather, "We profess Islām (*aslamnā*)," for the faith (*īmān*) hath not yet found its way into your hearts' (xlix. 14).

Belief with the heart is one thing; the profession of Islām is another. It is outward obedience to certain rules, and it is only when sincerity (*taṣdīq*) is joined to it, as shown in the belief in God, angels, divine books, prophets, predestination, and the last day, that a man becomes a true believer. Shahrastānī, in the *Milal wa'n-Niḥal* (ed. London, 1846, p. 27), draws a distinction between Islām, *īmān* ('faith'), and *iḥsān* ('devotion,' 'benevolence') in the following tradition:

> Gabriel one day came in the form of an Arab and sat near the Prophet and said: 'O Messenger of God, what is Islām?' The Prophet replied: 'Islām is to believe in God and His Prophet, to say the prescribed prayers, to give alms, to observe the fast of Ramaḍān, and to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.' Gabriel replied that he had spoken truth, and then asked the Prophet what *īmān* was. He replied that it was to believe in God, angels, books, prophets, the last day, and predestination. Again, Gabriel admitted the correctness of the definition, and inquired what *iḥsān* meant. The Prophet replied: 'To worship God as if thou seest Him, for if thou seest Him not He sees thee.'

This is borne out by the meaning assigned in Persian commentaries to the term 'Muslim,' which is said to designate a man who is a *munqād* and a *ḥukmbardār*, words which mean 'submissive' or 'obedient to orders.' A Muslim, then, is one who carefully keeps the outward works of the law, but, when he adds to it *iḥsān*, or devotion, he is a *muḥsin*, a man who does good works as well as pays attention to ceremonial observances; when to these he adds sincerity of heart and exercises faith (*īmān*), he becomes a *mu'min*, or 'believer.'

> 'The true believers (*al-Mu'minūn*) are only those who believe in Allāh and His Apostle, and afterwards doubt not' (xlix. 15).

The term 'Islām' emphasizes the Rabbinical precept that it is not the 'study of the law which is most important, but the practice thereof,' and connotes the formal performance of certain outward duties. It is doubtful whether it ever had an ethical meaning attached to it. The commentators seem to be unanimous in using it in a mechanical sense. That agrees with the omission of the term in the earlier *sūras*; for it was not till Muhammad formulated his religion at Medīna that the *Arkān-ad-dīn* ('pillars of religion'), the five obligatory duties of religion, came to be a formal part therein. Earlier, the word Islām does not appear to have been in common use. Thus, Islām, when looked at from the Muhammadan standpoint, loses much of the beauty which has gathered round the ethical idea of complete submission to the will of God, and really emphasizes the external and legal side of religion.

For the religions of Islām see MUHAMMADANISM.

LITERATURE.—Syed Amīr 'Alī, *Life and Teachings of Moḥammed, or the Spirit of Islam*, London, 1891; D. B. Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, New York, 1911; F. A. Klein, *The Religion of Islâm*, London, 1906; T. P. Hughes, *DI*, London, 1895; Garcin de Tassy, *L'Islamisme*^{3}, Paris, 1874; Shahrastānī, *Al-Milal wa'n-Niḥal*, ed. W. Cureton, London, 1846; T. Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, Eng. tr., London, 1892.

EDWARD SELL.

ISOCRATES.—The place of Isocrates in the history of Greek oratory and the evolution of prose style is definitely described in Jebb's *Attic Orators* and his art. in *EBr*^{11} xiv. 877. In ethics, Isocrates interests the student of to-day chiefly as a measure of the altitude by which Plato towers above the flats of the average moral sentiment of refined and educated Greeks of the 4th cent. B.C. But to Ascham, Milton, and the educators of the Renaissance generally, he was a still edifying expositor of the great commonplaces of morality and the conduct of life. Thomas Elyot says of him:

> 'Isocrates, concerning the lesson of oratours, is euerywhere wonderfull profitable, hauynge almost as many wyse sentences as he hath wordes: and with that is so swete and delectable to rede, that, after him, almost all other seme unsauery and tedious: and in persuadynge, as well a prince, as a priuate persone, to vertue, in two very litle and compendious warkes, wherof he made the one to kynge Nicocles, the other to his frende Demonicus, wolde be perfectly kanned, and had in continual memorie' (*The Boke named The Gouernour*, London, 1883, i. 74).

The (probably genuine) 'protreptic' or parænetic discourse to Demonicus here mentioned is the earliest extant specimen of a long literary succession which in modern English literature extends from Sir Henry Sidney's Letter to his 'little Philip at school at Shrewsbury,' Polonius's advice to Laertes, and Sir Thomas Browne's *Christian Morals*, through Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son*, down to Hazlitt's *Advice to a School-boy*, Thackeray's *Mr. Brown's Letters to his Nephew*, and their numerous recent imitators. The Demonicus anticipates many famous sayings, from C. Tourneur's 'Your predecessors were your precedents' (*Atheist's Tragedy*, I. ii.) to 'How doth the little busy bee.' In its pages the appeal to the secret tribunal of conscience (i. 16) and the Golden Rule (i. 14), on which Isocrates twice stumbles elsewhere (iii. 62 and iv. 81) as a happy turn of Gorgian rhetoric, stand in naive juxtaposition with the Chesterfieldian recommendation to win the favour of men by speaking 'advantageously of them behind their backs in companies who, you have reason to believe, will tell them again' (i. 33).

The two discourses in this kind that bear the name of Nicocles contain further parænetic matter together with many special considerations concerning the duties of good kings and loyal subjects—the theme of the βασιλικὸς λόγος of post-Classical and Renaissance oratory. They also discuss the style of this kind of writing, which, Isocrates tells us, is appropriately disjointed and aphoristic, and its matter, which, he thinks, demands not so much originality as industry in the collection of the best things already said by Hesiod, Phocylides, Theognis, and other moral poets. Isocrates here (ii. 44) and elsewhere deplores the perversity of mankind, who prefer the pleasant to the useful and the fables of mythology to the profitable admonitions of the gnomic poets.

The *Areopagiticus*, which has only its title in common with Milton's famous tract, was also a favourite with Renaissance moralists because of its impressive development of the topics of the degeneracy of the age, the licence of democracy, and the need for a restoration of the salutary discipline of the good old times.

The main ethical interest of the other orations lies in their resemblance to, yet their contrast with, Plato. Isocrates' ethics is utilitarian, not in any speculative sense, but in its prevailing tone and temper. His preaching is exactly that of the excellent fathers of families whose prudential philosophy fails to satisfy Glaucon and Adimantus in the second book of Plato's *Republic*. He celebrates not the beauty, not the absolute worth and intrinsic sanctions, but the profitableness of virtue. Honesty is and ought to be spoken of as the best policy (xv. 283). Isocrates repeatedly enforces this lesson with illustrations drawn from Greek history, and more particularly from the ruinous effects of a selfish policy of imperialism on the true welfare and prosperity of Athens and Sparta (vi. 34, viii. 14, 25 ff., xiv. 40). But even this empirical coincidence of happiness and righteousness he will not affirm absolutely or undertake to demonstrate (xii. 185 f.; but cf. xiv. 25). It is true, 'for the most part,' he says in a phrase made technical by Aristotle, and the wise man will govern his conduct by probabilities and the general rule (viii. 35). To this he adds the interesting remark that the law is most certain of verification in the longer life of cities and States (viii. 120, vi. 34–38), and he maintains that we may attribute the few cases of its apparent violation to the neglect of the gods (xii. 187), an expression against which Plato would have protested. As Dryden more piously puts it:

> 'I have heard, indeed, of some virtuous persons who have ended unfortunately, but never of any virtuous nation: Providence is engaged too deeply, when the cause becomes so general' (Preface to *Annus Mirabilis*).

But, though Isocrates deprecates (xii. 118) or sneers at (x. 1, xv. 84) the subtleties and the paradoxes of absolute Platonic ethics, he seems to have been increasingly moved to emulation by the success and the moral fervour of the *Gorgias* and the *Republic* (iii. 47, 59, ii. 29, vi. 59, viii. 28). Traces of this feeling appear in the passages already mentioned on the verification of moral law in history. It is still more apparent in certain edifying digressions on the true meaning of those ambiguous words, 'advantage' and 'gain' (πλεονεξία, iii. 2, viii. 7, 17, xv. 275, xii. 240; κέρδος, iii. 50). All men desire their own advantage, he repeatedly tells us, but they mistakenly seek it in taking wrongful advantage of others. All men desire gain, but they know not in what true gain consists.

In addition to this, Isocrates has many ethical or psychological observations that recall Plato or anticipate Aristotle. Though teaching alone will not make a good man of a bad one (xiii. 21), he is confident that 'virtue' can be taught (ii. 12 f.), as even the training of animals proves (xv. 213 f.). His list of virtues includes the Platonic four (ix. 22 f.) and incidentally others, as self-control and magnificence (ii. 19). 'Great-souled' is one of his terms of praise. He emphasizes the idea of moderation and the mean, and anticipates Aristotle in the remark that the virtuous mean is more akin to deficiency than to excess (ii. 33 f.), as also in the affirmation that virtue when won is the most stable of possessions (i. 5 f.; cf. iii. 47). The three motives of human action, he says, are gain, honour, and pleasure.

His conjectured influence upon Greek politics, and the elements of political theory and terminology scattered through his writings, lie outside of our topic.

His religion is conventional and perfunctory, though he sometimes develops the Euripidean or anticipates the Platonic censure of the anthropomorphic mythology, which attributes human failings to the gods (xi. 41). References to the subject are sometimes introduced by the phrase: 'if I may properly speak of such ancient (or old-fashioned) things' (iii. 26, iv. 30). The gods, he tells us, govern mankind and apportion good and evil, not by direct intervention, but by the thoughts which they inspire in men (v. 150). In one passage he comes very near to the Ovidian 'expedit esse deos et ut expedit esse putemus' (xi. 24 f.). He alludes to the better hope of the righteous and of the initiated (ii. 20, iv. 28; cf. viii. 35), and he makes use of the conventional formula: 'if any perception remains to the dead' (xiv. 61). But the only immortality which he really expects is the subjective immortality of fame (xii. 260).

In ethics and religion, as in philosophy and eloquence, he cannot bear confrontation with his two supreme contemporaries; but, removed from the shadow of that comparison, he appears as a worthy citizen, an excellent teacher, and an estimable writer, whose works, if no longer valued for themselves, are indispensable to the understanding of the life and thought of the age of Plato and Demosthenes.

LITERATURE.—There is very little literature on the ethics of Isocrates. L. Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, Berlin, 1882, may be mentioned. The philological literature is given in *EBr*^{11} xiv. 881; R. C. Jebb, *Attic Orators*, London, 1893; F. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*^{2}, Leipzig, 1887–98; and W. Christ, *Gesch. der griech. Lit.*^{6}, ed. O. Stählin and W. Schmid, Munich, 1912 ff.

PAUL SHOREY.

ISRAEL. — 1. Introduction. — An adequate treatment of the questions suggested by the name 'Israel' would require an encyclopædia to itself. All that is attempted is to trace the religious development which has given pre-eminence to Israel among the spiritual teachers of mankind. The religion of Israel cannot be satisfactorily studied apart from the external history of the race, but account will here be taken of the latter only in so far as it serves to elucidate the former. An inquiry into the historical value of the narrative of the Pentateuch is beyond the scope of the present article. Suffice it to say that by the name 'Israel' we understand that people which, though not originally homogeneous, had been formed into a single nation in Palestine about a millennium before the Christian era.

Of this nation the strictly Israelite element was of comparatively recent introduction, the Israelites before their conquest of the Canaanites and subsequent mingling with them having occupied the oases in the wilderness to the south of Palestine, where they had entered into close relation with the Kenites and other tribes of kindred stock as well as with the Midianites further east, from whom, perhaps, they learned to reverence Horeb, the holy mountain. They regarded themselves as closely akin to the Edomites, who seem to have gained a permanent settlement in the district south of the Dead Sea at a somewhat earlier date; and somewhat less closely to the Moabites and Ammonites on the east. The belief that their ancestors had been Aramæans and had once lived in N.W. Mesopotamia may not, perhaps, be of very ancient origin, and may be due to the fusion with Aramæan settlers which took place during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. It was commonly believed among the Israelites that before the conquest of Palestine their ancestors had for some time sojourned in Egypt, where they had been compelled to do taskwork, from which they had been freed by Moses. It may be questioned whether all the tribes of Israel were ever in Egypt. The early legends which have come down to us had taken final shape at a time when stress was being laid on the national unity of Israel, and doubtless this unity has in many cases been wrongly ascribed to the past.[1]

2. Tribal division and conquest of Palestine.—The twelve tribes of which, in later times, Israel was considered to be composed fall into four groups, severally connected by descent from four women to whom they traced their ancestry. The Leah group included Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zebulun; the Rachel group, Joseph (subdivided into Ephraim and Manasseh) and Benjamin. To Zilpah, said to be Leah's handmaid (whereby some dependence upon the Leah tribes seems to be indicated), were assigned Gad and Asher; to Bilhah, Rachel's handmaid, Dan and Naphtali.[2] We need not suppose that all the tribes finally incorporated in Israel had become confederated before the Exodus or even before the conquest of Palestine. For the Egyptian sojourn of the Rachel tribes at least we have the witness of Amos (2^{10} 3^{1}); for that of the Leah tribes we have no early evidence apart from the Pentateuch; but it would be difficult to explain the prominence of Moses, a Levite, in the traditions of the Exodus, if only the Rachel tribes had come out of Egypt. The tribes which are represented as descended from the concubines were probably of mixed origin, mainly Canaanite, and were incorporated in Israel only after the conquest of Palestine. In addition to these, in Judah at least, were other tribes, such as the Calebites, which, however, remained more or less distinct for a long time after their inclusion in Judah. It is probable that these clans entered upon their inheritance from the south; but, since Reuben, not Judah, is reckoned as the first-born son of Leah, by which priority of settlement is probably to be understood, and since Moses the Levite was buried in Reubenite territory east of the Jordan,[3] the Pentateuchal tradition, according to which the land between the Arnon and the Jabbok was first won by Israel, and W. Palestine was invaded from this region, may be accepted as correct for both the Leah and the Rachel tribes, though it is unlikely that these acted together. In the section Jg 1^{1-7} Simeon is associated with Judah, but the writer to whom we owe this section in its present form has probably modified an early tradition of Simeon's first invasion of Palestine to suit the fact that in later times Simeon was incorporated with Judah. Bezek, which is reasonably identified with the modern Ibzīk, 14 miles N.E. of Shechem, seems to be beyond the sphere of Judah's operations; but a Simeonite war in this neighbourhood is perfectly consistent with the fact that in Gn 34 (cf. 49) Simeon is found with Levi in central Palestine. We do not know the extent of the area occupied by these tribes, but it is probable that, allowance being made for the many strongholds which remained in the hands of the Canaanites, the five Leah tribes west of the Jordan were originally contiguous, Judah being settled in the south, where the tribe came into contact with the friendly Calebites, and Issachar and Zebulun in the plain of Megiddo and the district to the north.

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[1] We must guard against the supposition that every statement in the Pentateuch and the historical books of the OT embodies a 'tradition.' Hebrew writers were as capable of drawing inferences as modern commentators, and in some cases they cannot have intended their statements to be taken literally. In the section Gn 25^{1-4} we have what appears to be a mere literary device to show in genealogical fashion the connexion of Israel with Midian and other tribes. It is conceivable that the section is now misplaced, and that it once followed the account of the birth of Ishmael; but it does not harmonize well with the tone of that story, and in any case the editor who gave it its present position can scarcely have failed to notice its incongruity, if taken literally, with its context. In the OT we are dealing with writings emanating from a people whose ideas of arrangement were based on oral rather than on literary methods.

[2] Although the grouping of the Leah and Rachel tribes is probably pre-Palestinian, the names Leah and Rachel may be somewhat later. On such points certainty is impossible.

[3] It is a significant fact that Gn $50^{10f.}$ evidently implies that the tomb of Israel was east of the Jordan. The burial at Machpelah belongs to the later and exclusively Judæan modification of tradition.

The permanent effect of this invasion of W. Palestine was not very great. Issachar and Zebulun were entirely dominated by the Canaanites; Simeon, which, next to Reuben, must have been originally the most important of the Leah tribes, was before long expelled from its first settlements, the survivors finding a refuge in the south;[1] at the same time Levi as a territorial tribe ceased to exist. Since, however, in view of Gn 34, 49, it can hardly be maintained that Levi was always merely a priestly caste, we may reasonably conclude that the tribe of Levi once had a settlement just where we should expect to find it, viz. between Simeon and Judah; and, if so, we may hazard the guess that Shiloh was the chief sanctuary of Levi, while the tribe still occupied territory in central Palestine.[2]

The Leah tribes' invasion was followed by a second, undertaken by the Rachel tribes under the leadership of Joshua. These crossed the Jordan near Jericho, which they took, advancing thence to Ai and Bethel, from which point they gradually extended their power over central Palestine.[3] For a long time many Canaanite fortresses remained unsubdued, but the tribes of Israel (Leah and Rachel) were able by degrees to consolidate their position and to exercise some sort of hegemony over tribes of mixed origin—the sons of the handmaids. The assignment of Gad to Leah's handmaid may be explained by the position of the tribe immediately to the north of Reuben—Asher, similarly assigned, being contiguous to Zebulun. Dan, assigned to Rachel's handmaid, lay immediately to the west of the Rachel tribes, and the similar assignment of Naphtali may perhaps be accounted for by its proximity to the northern Dan. Benjamin, which would appear to have been originally a subdivision of the Joseph tribes,[4] gained in importance sufficiently to be reckoned as a separate tribe, and colonists from Manasseh re-crossed the Jordan and settled in Bashan.

3. Union of the tribes.—It is impossible here to do more than indicate briefly the process by which the tribes of Israel were welded together. The cause of unity was the common danger which for several generations threatened the tribes, either from the original inhabitants of Canaan, whom they had sought to dispossess, or from other invaders, such as the Philistines, who, like Israel, were seeking to gain possession of the country. Thus the struggle against the king of Hazor (Jos 11, Jg 4) probably involved not only Naphtali, but also the neighbouring tribes; the power of Sisera and the fortified towns of the plains of Megiddo and Jezreel threatened both the Leah tribes, Issachar and Zebulun, and the Rachel tribes to the south of them. From time to time a military leader who had been successful in struggles of this kind would exercise authority as a king in the region which he had delivered. Thus Gideon was elected king[1] over some portion of Manasseh and Ephraim. Somewhat later, apparently towards the end of the 11th cent. B.C., the opposition of Philistine Ammonites and Amalekites demonstrated the need of concerted action, and for a time united the Rachel tribes with the Leah tribes farther south. The union was short-lived, and was broken in the reign of Rehoboam; but it gave to later ages an ideal of what Israel should be.

An exact history of the reigns of Saul and David is impossible. The longer accounts of these reigns—though they doubtless embody some true traditions—are inconsistent with the short summaries given in 1 S $14^{47f.}$ and in 2 S 8. These sections, which are certainly quite independent, show that in the circles in which they originated all that was definitely known of the reigns of Saul and David was that certain wars had been waged during this period, the exploits of the two kings not being clearly distinguished.[2]

4. Early religion of Israel.—Of the religion of the tribes of Israel proper at the time of the conquest of Palestine we have no direct information; all the stories relating to this period are written for the edification of later ages and are coloured by their circumstances. The most noteworthy passages which throw any light on the subject are Am 5^{25} and Jer 7^{22}. If in both the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. it could be asserted that Israel had not offered sacrifices and burnt-offerings during the sojourn in the wilderness, we cannot doubt that throughout the Monarchy there still existed in some circles traditions of a religion which must have been very different from what is presented to us, not only in the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, but even in the earlier documents of the Pentateuch. We need not go so far as to suppose that in the early days sacrifice was altogether unknown, but we shall scarcely do justice to the plain words of the prophets if we do not conclude that it was a comparatively infrequent rite, perhaps confined to the feast of the Passover. The statements of Amos and Jeremiah are also in harmony with the fact that the great feasts of Israel were mainly agricultural, and could not, therefore, have been celebrated by such people as the Rechabites (*q.v.*), who were loyal worshippers of the national God of Israel. It is not improbable that the Rechabites may be regarded as representative of the true Israelite, as distinct from the Canaanite, elements in Israel. Presumably before the conquest of Canaan the Israelites lived mainly on milk, as do the Bahima and the Todas in modern times, though the eating of game may also have been allowed. We may accordingly picture the primitive Israelites as a race of men cruel, fierce, and barbarous indeed, but preserved by their abstinence from agriculture from that crude nature-worship with which agriculture was connected. It may well be that the great prophetic reformers of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. were not so much innovators as champions of an ancient Israelite tradition which the most genuine Israelite families had never wholly abandoned.

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[1] Whether the expulsion of Simeon was due to the Canaanites only, or, in some measure, to the Rachel tribes, cannot be determined. It is noteworthy that in Gn 34^{30} (cf. 49^{5-8}) Israel repudiates the action of Simeon and Levi, and in Gn 42^{24} Joseph imprisons Simeon. The later settlement of Simeonites in Judah proves nothing as to their earlier home. The migration of the Danites from their original settlement furnishes an exact analogy. It is, indeed, not impossible that those Simeonites who survived the Canaanite onslaught retained their original settlement as an *enclave* in the territory of the house of Joseph as long as the N. Israelite kingdom lasted, perhaps as late as the destruction of Shiloh, mentioned in Jer 7^{12-15}. The earliest evidence for Simeon's connexion with Judah is in Jg 1^{1-7}, which in its present form is not earlier than the Exile.

[2] The history of Shiloh presents a most difficult problem. The place appears to have possessed a sanctuary of great importance, which contained the Ark. It is generally supposed that Shiloh was destroyed by the Philistines, and that the surviving priests fled to Nob; but the only ground for connecting the priesthood of Shiloh with that of Nob is the awkward statement in 1 S 14^{3}. Moreover, Jeremiah (7^{12}) implies that the sanctuary of Shiloh had continued until fairly recent times (cf. Jg 21^{19}). Its destruction perhaps took place in the catastrophe referred to in Is 7^{8}, *i.e.* about 670 B.C. If the cult at Shiloh differed in important particulars from that of other sanctuaries of the Rachel tribes, we can understand why N. Israelite writers should ignore it. It is certainly hard to believe that the Ark (*q.v.*) was connected with the early religion of the Rachel tribes, for, had this been the case, a duplicate would probably have been made.

[3] Jos 8^{30-35} is based directly on Dt 27, and cannot be regarded as a 'tradition.'

[4] Cf. 2 S 19^{20}, Am 5^{6} 6^{6}.

[1] That Gideon, or Jerubbaal (if the two are really identical), was king is evident from Jg 9^{2}. The account of Gideon's refusal of the kingship (Jg 8^{23}) evidently proceeds from the same clerical school as 1 S 8 10^{17-19} 12.

[2] Definiteness is no proof of historicity. Many of the incidents recorded may be historical, though they are not necessarily ascribed to the right persons. There is no reason to doubt that Goliath was slain by somebody, but the otherwise unknown Elhanan (2 S 21^{19}; cf. 23^{24}) was probably the hero on that occasion, his exploit being ascribed, centuries afterwards, to the better known Bethlehemite David.

The provenance of the name of the national Israelite God, Jahweh (Jehovah),[1] is as yet uncertain. Ex 3^{14} (E) represents it as revealed to Moses at Horeb, whereas according to J the name was known to the antediluvian ancestors of Israel (Gn 4^{26}). Ex 3, as is shown below, reflects the circumstances of a later age, but it is noteworthy that Joshua bears a name compounded with the Tetragrammaton, and it is possible that the tribes of Israel were united in the worship of Jahweh before the conquest of Palestine.

Yet, if they gave to the God whom they worshipped the same name, they at all events represented Him by different symbols. The tribe of Levi, and probably all the Leah tribes, venerated a seraph, or winged serpent; the Rachel tribes, a bull. They seem to have practised circumcision—though the story in Ex 4^{24-26} might suggest that the rite had not been adopted by the primitive ancestors of Israel—but it was performed, at all events normally, not in infancy but in adolescence or manhood.[2] This fact and the use of flint knives (Jos $5^{2f.}$, Ex 4^{25}) show that the rite was of a barbarous character, as among the modern Zulus and other peoples. In the earliest times Jahweh would seem to have been regarded as a God of war, and we may conclude that the tabus to which we find warriors subject (cf. 1 S $21^{4f.}$ etc.) date from primitive times.

We cannot say whether other features of Israelite religion were brought by Israel into Palestine or were there acquired. We do not even know whether the observance of the new moon and the Sabbath goes back to the earliest period. Similarly, we have no exact information regarding the ethical ideas current in Israel in pre-Palestinian days. It is probable that then, as in later times, polygamy[3] prevailed, and that, though adultery was condemned, concubinage was freely allowed. Ideas of blood vengeance may also be ascribed to the earliest period.

5. Blending of Israelite and Canaanite religious ideas and traditions.—It was not long before the Israelite conquerors, with the exception, perhaps, of some families, such as the Rechabites, became thoroughly merged with the conquered Canaanites, adopting the customs and consequently, to a great extent, the religion of the latter. Canaanite sanctuaries continued to exist as sanctuaries of the mixed race resulting from the fusion of conquerors and conquered. At these sanctuaries Israel would acquire the traditions of the patriarchal heroes associated with them. Thus we may suppose that at Bethel Israel learned the traditions of Jacob, at Ramah of Rachel, at Shechem of Joseph, and so forth; and these, being now regarded as ancestors of the united people, would have deeds assigned to them which in pre-Israelite times had not been told of them. The transparently artificial character of some features in the genealogies has already been noticed, and we have only to suppose that this free treatment of the genealogical style was possible in early times to account for much in the patriarchal stories which is otherwise inexplicable. Probably Joseph was at first revered as the ancestor of the population in the district of Shechem, where was his reputed tomb; Jacob and Rachel would be similarly honoured in the districts of Ramah and Bethel, Abraham at Hebron, and so forth. With the growing sense of the unity of the nation, traditions originally local would obtain a wider currency, and thus, in course of time, the reputed ancestors of clans would be regarded as ancestors of great tribes, or even of the whole nation.[1]

Perhaps the only sanctuary during the period of the Judges which might be regarded as genuinely Israelite was Shiloh. It is noteworthy that no theophany is related in connexion with it; no patriarch is buried there; its foundation is associated with no great name; while, on the other hand, a tradition which, though perhaps considerably modified, cannot be very late ascribes to it the possession of the Ark, and Jeremiah states that Jahweh put His name there at the first. If Shiloh was Israelite rather than Canaanite, we can understand why, as the absence of prophetic references shows, it was not popular among the mixed population. Jeremiah ($7^{12ff.}$) certainly implies that Shiloh existed as a sanctuary long after the period of the Judges, and Jg 18^{31}, which is not at all early in its present form, is in harmony with the supposition. Jeremiah may have regarded Shiloh as the sanctuary which most nearly resembled Jerusalem.[2]

That the religion of Israel should be very greatly affected by that of Canaan was inevitable. Since in primitive times agriculture was bound up with religion, so that agricultural operations might almost be reckoned as ritual observances, a pastoral people in adopting agriculture would, almost of necessity, adopt the religion of the agriculturists. Hence Canaanite feasts became Israelite (see, further, art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS [Hebrew], vol. v. pp. 863–867), and the name *Baal* (*q.v.*), by which the Canaanites denoted their god, was applied to Jahweh.

Household gods appear to have been common (1 S $19^{13ff.}$, Gn $31^{19ff.}$); here and there a chieftain or wealthy man, such as Gideon or Micah, would build a sanctuary for an idol which would be reverenced by the family or tribe.

Of the appearance of these idols we have no information. The implication that David's *teraphim* was in human form only proves that this form was common when the story took shape. It would seem that the idol at Shiloh was a bronze seraph,[3] and

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[1] There is no doubt that the pronunciation 'Jehovah' rests altogether on a misconception. At the same time the name, in this form, has so long been bound up with the religious ideas of English-speaking people that the author of this article thinks it might stand. But the form Jahweh, having been used throughout this Encyclopædia, is adopted in this article also.

[2] The proof of this assertion is to be found in the note in Jos 5^{4-7}. The writer seeks to excuse the non-circumcision of the people on their arrival at Gilgal on the ground that during the journey circumcision had been impossible. No one could have accepted such an excuse, if the circumcision of infants had been contemplated, but it might be accepted as valid in the case of adults. We may perhaps infer from the story of the vicarious circumcision of Moses that the rite was occasionally practised on infants, but we should probably infer from Jos 5 that down to the Exile the normal time was manhood (see, further, art. CIRCUMCISION [Semitic], vol. iii. p. 679 f.).

[3] On such points it is impossible to speak definitely. It cannot be maintained that polyandry is found in the OT, though some Hebrew customs may be supposed to have originated in such a state of things.

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[1] We need not suppose that all the stories of the patriarchs can be explained from incidents of which we have precise knowledge. The traditions of the nation generally have been finally shaped in the south, and incidents true with regard to Judah, or to part of it, may have been referred to N. Israel, or *vice versa.* There may have been, at least for some of the tribes, other periods of bondage besides that in Egypt. Thus Hosea (12^{12}) seems to refer to a bondage among the Aramæans, resulting in an Aramæan marriage alliance.

[2] We need not suppose that the account of the abuses at Shiloh represents a genuine tradition. The motive of the story is to exalt the priesthood of Zadok, and the abuses described are probably those against which the Zadokites protested.

[3] For the evidence of this statement see art. ARK, vol. i. pp. 791–793.

that the image made by Micah and stolen by the Danites was in the form of a bull (see, further, art. IMAGES AND IDOLS [Hebrew and Canaanite], above, p. 138 ff.).

Doubtless some cults were always merely local. In the Moloch worship which called forth the denunciation of the 7th cent. prophets we may recognize an early Canaanite cult of which, perhaps, a faint trace remains in the story of Melchizedek, in which the first-born children were sacrificed to the king as the embodiment of the god.[1] High places with altars (see artt. HIGH PLACE, vol. vi. pp. 678–681, ALTAR [Semitic], vol. i. pp. 350–354) appear to have been numerous, and there were not a few larger sanctuaries with temples and idols. Whether a priest was always necessary for a sacrifice it is difficult to say (see art. SACRIFICE [Hebrew]). The victim could, apparently, be slain by the offerer; but it is difficult to decide whether it was competent for the layman to burn the fat and to pour out the blood on the altar. All the more important sanctuaries had organized priesthoods in which the priestly office, though not necessarily hereditary, would tend to become so. The priest was the repository of religious tradition, and where there was an idol to be kept he, or a subordinate, was the custodian (see, further, art. PRIEST [Hebrew]). Most important of all, he was acquainted with the proper way of obtaining an oracle by means of the sacred lot, and possessed the necessary paraphernalia. A decision thus reached would, in matters of dispute, become a precedent for the future, and the priests would gradually become the exponents of much of the common law. How far their functions ever coincided with those of the 'sacred men' (*ḳᵉdhēshîm*) cannot be determined. Underlying the story in 1 S 2^{22} we may perhaps discern a state of things in which the priests acted as *ḳᵉdhēshîm*, but in many cases, at any rate, the office was distinct. These 'sacred men,' one of the greatest blots on the ancient religion of Israel, the existence of whom was the chief cause of the prophetic antagonism to the high places, appear to have been Canaanite in origin. They acted as the surrogates of the god in stimulating the reproductive powers of nature. It is doubtless to the ideas associated with them that we may ascribe that other great blot, the sacrifice of the first-born. Since the 'opening of the womb,' the fruitfulness of marriage, was ascribed to the union with the god acting in the person of the *ḳᵉdhēshîm*, the first-born would naturally be regarded as the property of the god (cf. also art. FIRST-BORN [Hebrew], vol. vi. p. 35 f.). The office of 'sacred women' (*ḳᵉdhēshôth*) may have been simply an extension of the principle implied in the *ḳᵉdhēshîm*, or may have been directly derived from Ashtoreth worship.[2]

In addition to the priests, who were definitely attached to certain sanctuaries, and who ascertained the divine will by casting lots in the presence of the idol with sacrifice and due formalities, there were also diviners (*ḳôsᵉmîm*), who would appear, like the priests, to have made use of some method of casting lots. They were not, however, attached to any sanctuary, and their divination required neither sanctuary nor sacrifice. The references in Is 3^{2} and Mic 3^{7} show that the diviner during the Monarchy was a prominent figure in Israelite society.[3]

Besides the priests and diviners who ascertained the divine will by mechanical means, there were some who professed to possess the same knowledge through intuition or inspiration. These fall into two main classes, represented respectively by the seer and the prophet (see, further, art. PROPHECY AND PROPHETS [Hebrew]). These were in their origin quite distinct, although they were finally regarded as identical. The function of the seer is best illustrated by the story of Saul's application to Samuel concerning his father's lost asses. The prophets, on the other hand, were originally enthusiasts banded together, whose activities appear to have been directed in early times chiefly towards the stirring up of the martial spirit in Israel. Certainly such men as Isaiah or Jeremiah would not in earlier days have been included among the prophets. But—perhaps with the coming of peace—the prophets, whose efforts had been directed originally to the setting forth of Jahweh's will in war, tended to become exponents of His will in other matters, and thus, to some extent, approximated to the seers. It would seem that the prophets proper lived in communities,[1] and were supported largely by the gifts of those to whom they prophesied. The Nazirites (*q.v.*), of whom we have a full account only in the later legislation, were merely persons who for a greater or less period were bound by certain tabus. The term seems originally to have included the consecrated warrior (cf. Am $2^{11f.}$).

Of the religious history of Israel under the Monarchy down to the middle of the 9th cent. B.C. we have little information. We hear of Saul's construction of altars (1 S 14^{35}), of David's bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem and institution of a sanctuary on Mt. Sion, of Solomon's building of the Temple, and of the adoption of Bethel and Dan as the national sanctuaries of N. Israel and as a set-off against Jerusalem. But the motive of all these stories belongs to a much later period; even the extraordinarily graphic narratives of 2 Samuel can be shown by both literary and historical criticism to have no claim to be considered contemporary history. It is only here and there, in some cases perhaps through the inadvertence of later editors, that we have glimpses of the primitive type of early Israelite religion. The hacking to pieces of Agag 'before Jahweh' (1 S $15^{32f.}$), the conception of the Ark (evidently regarded as Jahweh's actual dwelling-place), the method of its removal in a new cart drawn by horned cattle (2 S $6^{3ff.}$),[2] David's dance before it (2 S $6^{14ff.}$), and the mention of *ḳᵉdhēshîm* in the reigns of Rehoboam, Asa, and Jehoshaphat are sufficient evidence that, for a parallel to the religion of the average Israelite during this period, we must look to modern Uganda or India rather than to modern Judaism. Doubtless there were exceptions to the rule; and some families, such as the Rechabites, though they remained barbarous and uncivilized, were uncontaminated by the grosser pollutions of Canaanite religion—the true salt of Israel, which never wholly lost its savour.

6. Introduction of Baal-worship.—Israelite religious history may be said to begin about the middle of the 9th cent. B.C., when a new danger for the religion of Jahweh had been brought about by Omri's alliance with the kingdom of Tyre and the marriage of his son Ahab with Jezebel. Hitherto Jahweh, at least in name, had been accepted as the sole God of the nation.[1] But now an attempt was made to introduce the worship of the Tyrian Baal—an attempt which was the more dangerous since many elements of the Canaanite religion had already passed over into that of Israel. The new movement, which set forth with Tyrian gorgeousness the ideas which the people had inherited from their Canaanite forbears, was naturally not unpopular. In some circles, however, it was fiercely resisted. The protagonist in the struggle was a Gileadite prophet, Elijah, who left to his successor, Elisha, the task of maintaining the cause of Jahweh against Baal. It seemed for some time a forlorn hope, for Omri and Ahab were great kings; but the party of Elisha, taking advantage of the indignation against the royal family caused by the judicial murder of Naboth, at last succeeded, with the aid of the unscrupulous adventurer Jehu, in overthrowing the dynasty of Omri, and in forcing on the nation the acceptance of the principle: 'No God but Jahweh in Jahweh's land.'

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[1] Cf. J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*², London, 1907, ch. ii.

[2] For the whole subject see Frazer, *op. cit.* iv. § 5, and cf. art. HIERODOULOI (Semitic and Egyptian), vol. vi. pp. 672–676.

[3] It is impossible here to take account of classes of soothsayers such as those who interpreted natural phenomena, or dreams, or of those who professed to be inspired by a familiar spirit or some influence other than that of the god (see, further, art. DIVINATION [Jewish], vol. iv. pp. 806–814).

[1] Although there is no reason for believing that any of the canonical prophets were members of such communities or, to use the OT phrase, 'the sons of the prophets,' they certainly in many cases surrounded themselves with bands of disciples, to whom we are indebted for the preservation of their teaching. The collections of prophetic sayings have had, in many cases, an origin similar to the collections of the sayings of our Lord which we have in the Gospels.

[2] That this method of carrying the Ark was not due to clerical slovenliness is abundantly clear from the fact that the Philistines, who were particularly anxious not to outrage Jahweh's holiness, are said to have adopted a similar method (1 S $6^{7ff.}$)

It was in N. Israel that the cult of the Tyrian Baal had been most prominent; but Judah was not unaffected. We know little of the S. kingdom during this period; but it is almost certain that under Omri, and probably from the time of Baasha, Judah had been tributary to N. Israel. The absence of any direct statement to this effect is, doubtless, due to the pride of the Judæan editors to whom we owe the OT in its present form, for the facts can scarcely be interpreted in any other way. That Judah remained a separate kingdom may be explained from the common practice of ancient Asiatic conquerors, whose sole object was to obtain tribute, and who were content to leave the collection of it to native rulers.

Whether the school of Elijah attempted any reforms in the worship ostensibly paid to Jahweh we cannot say. Certainly the times were not very propitious, for Israel was engaged in a death-grapple with the Aramæans of Damascus, which lasted for more than half a century; but it is probable that the requirements of the religion of Jahweh were now formally set forth in the ancient Decalogue, which can be distinguished in both of the earliest documents of the Pentateuch, and which was probably drawn up in N. Israel, and subsequently adopted in Judah during the reign of Joash. The original draft of this Decalogue was probably engraved on two stone tablets which were preserved at Bethel, and the Judæan copy on two similar tablets which, since they vindicated Jahweh's rights against any other god, might well be deposited in the Ark, which had probably been originally the portable shrine of Jahweh's image[2] (the bronze seraph), and which perhaps still contained it. In this way we may explain how it was that the Ark came to be called 'the Ark of the Covenant.'

This early Decalogue was apparently as follows:

'(I.) I am Jahweh thy God, thou shalt worship no other god. (II.) The feast of unleavened cakes thou shalt keep: seven days thou shalt eat unleavened cakes. (III.) All that openeth the womb is mine; and all thy cattle that is male, the firstlings of ox and sheep. (IV.) My sabbaths shalt thou keep; six days shalt thou work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest. (V.) The feast of weeks thou shalt celebrate, even the first-fruits of wheat harvest. (VI.) The feast of in-gathering thou shalt celebrate at the end of the year. (VII.) Thou shalt not sacrifice my sacrificial blood upon leavened bread. (VIII.) The fat of my feast shall not remain all night until the morning. (IX.) The first of the first-fruits of thy ground thou shalt bring into the house of Jahweh thy God. (X.) Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.'[3]

It speaks volumes for the thoroughness with which the reformation was carried out in the time of Jehu that, notwithstanding the influx of Aramæans into Israel during the 9th cent., the labours of the 8th cent. prophets, Amos and Hosea, appear to be directed not so much against Aramæan cults as against superstitions which went back to pre-Aramæan days. There is no evidence that in the middle of the 8th cent. B.C. there was any danger from Aramæan cults.[1]

7. Reforming movement among 8th cent. prophets of N. Israel.—The great forward movement in the religion of Israel dates from about the middle of the 8th cent. B.C. Outwardly things looked prosperous. The horror of the long Aramæan war was now over, and Jeroboam II. had been able to rectify the frontiers greatly to the advantage of Israel. There was now no doubt that Jahweh—whatever ideas were associated with the name—was the God of Israel, and to Him were ascribed Israel's victories. The people had experienced a 'day of Jahweh' in His activity manifested against the Aramæans, and thronged His temples in the hope of inducing Him by sacrifice and offerings to give yet further proof of His love for His own people and hatred of their enemies. In this religious fervour, ethical considerations were entirely ignored. The commerce which the dynasty of Omri had laboured to develop, and which had been checked by the Aramæan wars, had begun to flourish again, and, though it had produced an increase of wealth and culture, it had brought in its train all those disadvantages which must arise when there is a sudden growth in national wealth. The perverted sense of religion was shown in the fact that the very materials of the sacrificial feasts were frequently the outcome of extortion and robbery. There were some, however, who remained loyal to the old Israelite traditions. In their eyes, that which passed as culture and progress was altogether anathema. They argued that it would have been better to continue the old life of simplicity, better never to have 'eaten of the tree of knowledge,' than to be compelled to witness the shame and horror which so-called progress had brought with it.[2]

It has been stated above that it is unlikely that sacrifice was a prominent feature in the life of Israel before the conquest of Palestine, and it may perhaps have been limited to an annual offering of firstlings (Passover). In the 8th cent., however, it was an integral part of the religion of Jahweh as it was set forth at all the high places. In the pastoral days of Israel, when the people had subsisted chiefly on milk, only a very solemn occasion would have warranted the slaughter of one of the flock, and sacrifices must accordingly have been infrequent. But in the agricultural and commercial phase of Israelite life, there was no difficulty in procuring sacrificial victims, and the wealthy could gratify their gluttony at sacrificial feasts, while at the same time they flattered themselves that they were propitiating Jahweh.

It was to a people whose religious ideas were of this type that Amos, the first of those prophets whose teaching is collected in separate books,[1] addressed himself. There is no need to question the statement that he was not brought up as a prophet, and was not attached to any school or gild of prophets. It was a common belief in ancient Israel, and gave tremendous force to much of the prophetic teaching, that calamity of any sort implied divine displeasure. The impending calamity which called forth the eloquence of Amos, and which was, strange to say, apparently unperceived by the majority of the nation, was the threatened subjugation of the Palestinian States by the growing power of Assyria. Assyria was not unknown, at least to the governing classes, for Jehu, the founder of the reigning dynasty, had sought to strengthen his position by judicious presents[2] to Shalmaneser II. Few people, however, perceived that the independence of Israel was seriously menaced, and that the crippling of the Aramæan States, while it removed one danger, must bring about another infinitely greater. By what means Amos arrived at so true a perception of the political situation it is hard to say. There is much likelihood in the suggestion that for the disposal of the wool which his flocks produced he must have attended great markets, where he would learn the news of the world. The greatness of the man is shown by the fact that, when he realized his people's danger, he gave up all,[3] that he might bring them to a sense of their position. We know that he preached in the sanctuary at Bethel, probably on more than one occasion, but we have no means of determining the length of his ministry.

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[1] The statements about Solomon's introduction of foreign worship (1 K $11^{1-8.\,33}$, 2 K 23^{13}) are not corroborated by any early document.

[2] See art. Ark.

[3] Space forbids a fuller discussion here of this most important code of laws. For a fuller account see the present writer's essay, 'History of the Jewish Church from Nebuchadnezzar to Alexander,' in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, London, 1909, pp. 95–99. The original order of the laws cannot be determined.

[1] Am 5^{26} might appear to disprove this statement, since, if it is genuine, it must be understood as referring to cults which had come in through Aramæan influence. The verse is, however, an isolated fragment having no connexion with the context; and, since the cults mentioned appear to be Assyrian rather than Aramæan, it is more likely that we have a fragment of a 7th cent. prophecy.

[2] The teaching which the writer of Gn 3 seeks to set forth by the present, doubtless greatly modified, form of the very primitive story therein contained probably expresses to a great extent the feeling of the Rechabites and the prophets of the 8th cent.; but there is no reason for supposing that the story was already current in N. Israel at this time. A very good discussion of the subject will be found in 'The Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil,' by F. C. Eiselen. in *BW* xxxvi. [1910] 101 ff.

At such a place as Bethel it was clear that, if sacrifice was what Jahweh chiefly required, there was little cause for His threatened displeasure. Amos, accordingly, regards sacrifice as a misdirection of energy. He maintains that Jahweh requires mercy and righteousness, and will have none of sacrifice. Israel's fathers worshipped without sacrifice; why, then, should it now be imagined that sacrifice is the one essential?

It is not surprising that the man who shifted the centre of gravity in religion should have developed a new religious language. In his insistence on the ethical rather than on the physical holiness of Jahweh, Amos naturally gave a fresh *nuance* to existing terms. 'The day of Jahweh,' *i.e.* the day of Jahweh's activity, which was commonly understood as referring to the divine activity against Israel's foes, was used by Amos to denote the period of Jahweh's activity manifested against all unrighteousness, and, therefore, the period of punishment.[4]

A short time after the appearance of Amos another prophet began his ministry in the N. kingdom, probably at Bethel, but possibly at Shechem or in some other district. The book of Hosea, the text of which is very corrupt, is fragmentary and disjointed, and the meaning of many passages is very uncertain; but it is evident that we have here a varying background, and it would seem that the prophet's ministry, which, like that of Amos, began before the great catastrophe, was prolonged into the time of horror which preceded the final ruin of Israel.[1] The book of Hosea, even in passages which may well be dated before the anarchy of the closing years of the Israelite Monarchy, presents to us a much darker picture of Israelite religion than is found in the book of Amos. In the latter, with the possible exception of one very doubtful clause (2^7),[2] there is, strange to say, no attack on the religious prostitution practised at many, if not all, of the sanctuaries, which, being ostensibly carried on in Jahweh's name, degraded Him to the level of Baal. Hosea, however, taught, it would seem, by the sad experiences of his own domestic life, denounced this religious prostitution as subversive of all morality. Like Amos, he is convinced of the futility of sacrifice, but he shows more clearly than Amos that the sanctuaries are in themselves a cause of degradation to Israel. Covetousness and sensuality, lust and cruelty, are rife among the people, while at the same time they profess to base their hope on Jahweh who 'will have mercy, and not sacrifice.' In spite of the difficulty caused by the mutilation and corruption of the text, the prophet Hosea stands out as perhaps the most lovable of all the goodly fellowship. He had experienced the sorrow of finding that one whom he most tenderly loved was incapable of rising above degrading superstition;[3] and, feeling that Israel had behaved towards Jahweh as Gomer had behaved towards himself, he credited Jahweh with a tenderness towards Israel such as he himself felt towards his superstitious wife. He thus became the preacher not only of Jahweh's justice, but also of His love.

Hosea's opposition to the superstitions which had originated in nature-worship may have led him also to attack the reverence for the golden bull at Bethel, since the bull is a fertility-god. The present book of Amos contains no denunciation of the worship of idols, and it is probable that Hosea was the originator of the movement which, somewhat later, brought about the introduction into the law of Israel of a prohibition of image-worship.

Hosea's influence must have been great, for Jeremiah more than a century afterwards shows how deeply he has drunk of his teaching. But the times were unpropitious for religious reform, and the leaven of Hosea's spirituality was slow in leavening the lump of Israelite superstition. It was not long, however, before the prophet's predictions were vindicated by the course of events. In Tiglath-Pileser's campaign in 734 B.C. Israel felt the heavy hand of Assyria, and in 722 the kingdom of N. Israel came to an end.

8. Continuance of the worship of Jahweh in Samaria after 722 B.C.—It has been a too common mistake to treat the land of Israel north of the kingdom of Judah as virtually a vacuum after 722; but it is to the exigencies of this district that we must look for an explanation of the subsequent development of Israelite religion. Thousands of captives were deported by Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon, and probably by Esar-haddon;[4] and Esarhaddon and his successor (Ezr $4^{2.10}$) introduced in their stead a number of colonists from N.W. Mesopotamia and other parts of the Assyrian Empire. But the worship of Jahweh was not extinguished. Indeed, it is not improbable that, on the one hand, the vindication of Hosea's teaching against idolatry by the destruction of the N. Israelite sanctuaries in 722 and the carrying off of their idols strengthened the hands of the reformers, and resulted in the enlargement of the existing Decalogue by a law forbidding the worship of images (cf. Ex $20^{23f.}$); and, on the other, the efforts on the part of the worshippers of Jahweh to win over the heathen settlers brought about a new and important development in religion.

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[1] There is no more reason for supposing that Amos himself wrote down his prophecies than there is for believing that our Lord wrote down the Sermon on the Mount. It may well be doubted whether even Jeremiah actually dictated his prophecies. The author of Jer 36 has probably made Jeremiah's command to Baruch to collect his prophecies somewhat more definite than is warranted by an analytical study of the book.

[2] It is scarcely possible that this can have been tribute in the strict sense of the term. Statements of Assyrian kings must not always be accepted at their face value.

[3] The words, 'the Lord took me from following the flock' (Am 7^{15}), imply the permanent giving up of the lucrative occupation of a sheep-farmer for the precarious livelihood of a prophet (cf. Ps 78^{70}).

[4] The book of Amos has not come down to us in the form in which it was originally written. There is more than one *hiatus* in the book as it stands, which may be due to mutilation, and considerable additions and modifications have been made, in order to bring the teaching up to date. The strange absence of any direct mention of Assyria is, perhaps, not a primitive feature.

[1] We are unable to determine how long Hosea's ministry lasted. The minimum time is fixed by the account of the birth of the prophet's three children. Since Israelite women, like the Baganda, suckled their children for three years (cf. 2 Mac 7^{27}), at least a period of some eight years must have elapsed between the birth of Jezreel (presumably at the beginning of the prophet's ministry) and that of Lo-ammi.

[2] There is no reason for understanding Am 2^{8a} as a reference to religious prostitution; 4^4, according to the more correct translation, shows that worshippers came to the sanctuary the day before the sacrifice.

[3] It is probable that the fault of Gomer was not adultery in the ordinary sense, but that, like other Israelite women of her time, she considered union with the *ḳᵉdhēshīm* a religious act. The guess may be hazarded that the slavery from which the prophet finally redeemed her was at some sanctuary; in other words, that she had become a *ḳᵉdhēshā*.

[4] The gloss in Is 7^8, apparently written by some one possessing an accurate knowledge of the history, implies that about 6

9. Reforming movement in Judah during the latter half of the 8th cent. B.C.—Of the religious history of Judah we know practically nothing from the reformation under Joash till the reign of Ahaz. It must not be forgotten that the compiler of the book of Kings makes two assumptions which are of first importance for the criticism of the history which he relates. Writing from the standpoint of Deuteronomy, he concludes that those who have been worshippers at sanctuaries other than Jerusalem are thereby to be classified among those who 'have done evil in the sight of Jahweh'; and, believing that disaster is the chief proof of wickedness, he is apt to infer that those who have suffered disaster must have been sinners above other men. Having regard, then, to the fact that, so far as we are able to form an opinion from the scanty materials available, Judah down to the middle of the 8th cent. B.C. was in no respect in advance of N. Israel, and may perhaps have been inferior, it is precarious to argue that, because a particular superstition is not mentioned before a certain date, it must have originated later. We are certainly not justified in affirming that Ahaz introduced into Judah the sacrifice of the first-born simply because he is the first king of whom such a sacrifice is recorded. It may well be that an action which in the days of the earlier kings would have attracted no attention, because it was the universal practice, is specially mentioned in the case of Ahaz, because in his time it was done in defiance of the prophetic teaching. If more of Isaiah's discourses had come down to us, we should probably be in a position to understand the verdict passed on Ahaz by the writer of the book of Kings.

Isaiah's most important contributions to the religious thought of his people are to be found in his insistence on the incompatibility of Jahweh's majesty and holiness with the images by which He was represented, and in his declaration that the Assyrian has been the scourge in the hand of Jahweh to chastise Israel, and that, this being effected, Assyrian ambition and cruelty must be punished. Isaiah's attack on idolatry, which may perhaps have been inspired to some extent by the teaching of his older contemporary Hosea, dates from the very beginning of his ministry. In the allegory of extraordinary force and majesty in which he narrates his call (Is 6) Isaiah gave expression alike to a higher conception of Jahweh and to his conviction of the coming ruin of the national life of his people. He pictured Jahweh enthroned in His temple, not as a seraph,[1] but in human form, clad in a gorgeous robe of which the train covered the whole of the temple floor, so as to leave room for no other god. As though to show Jahweh's superiority to the popular conception of Him which found expression in the bronze seraph, Isaiah represented Him as ministered to by seraphim, whose form he modified, the more clearly to bring out their inferiority, thereby implying that Jahweh was as far above the popular views of Him as the great king is above the ministers who dare not lift their eyes to his face.

The course of events which led to Isaiah's prediction of Jahweh's judgment on the Assyrian oppressors is somewhat obscure. The prediction itself and the prophet's unwavering faith in Jahweh's protection of His people in the face of Sennacherib's menace[1] gave him a temporary influence in Judah which enabled him to induce the king, Hezekiah, to carry out a drastic reform. We have, indeed, no information as to the year of Hezekiah's reign when this was done, but there are indications that Isaiah met with not a little opposition during the greater part of his ministry, and it is, therefore, probable that a reform which must have been intensely distasteful to many people was not carried out till the prophet's influence had reached its climax. At the beginning of his activity as a prophet, Isaiah had attacked the crudity of thought which could accept the bronze seraph as the representation of Jahweh. His teaching was now carried into effect, and the venerable idol was destroyed (2 K 18^4). Probably at the same time the primitive Decalogue, which had been accepted in Judah since the time of Joash, was enlarged by the insertion of a prohibition of 'molten gods' (Ex 34^{17}).

The precise extent of Hezekiah's reform is uncertain. We are told that the *ăshērāh* (on which see art. POLES [Hebrew]), in the Temple court—perhaps associated specially with the *ḳᵉdhēshîm* and *ḳᵉdhēshôth*—was cut down, and some attempt may have been made to reform the high places.[2] We may wonder that a king who so dared to wound the religious feelings of many of his subjects should have kept his throne. Yet in the last years of Hezekiah's reign the political situation was such that there was little likelihood of revolt; for, since Sennacherib had taken from Judah and had annexed to the neighbouring States no fewer than forty-six fortified cities, the population of the remaining districts, cowed by the horrors of the Assyrian wars, may have felt compelled to accept the king's action.

10. Reaction against the reformers.—There can be no doubt that the reformers had gone beyond that which commended itself to the popular conscience. There were many to whom Hezekiah's iconoclasm would appear to be a sin crying aloud for vengeance, and it is not surprising that, when his death occurred a few years later, there was a violent reaction. Not only was there a recrudescence of the ancient superstitions, but new cults were introduced by Assyrian officials and settlers; so that the cause of a pure monotheism appeared, for the time, to be lost in Judah.

It must not, however, be supposed that Israelite religion gained nothing from foreign influences during this period. Worship even at Jerusalem had been very barbarous, and contact with more highly civilized and cultured people could not fail to introduce some much needed improvements in

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years after 735 something happened to N. Israel which deprived it of any claim to be still considered a nation. It is quite likely that Egypt, for selfish ends, had induced Samaria to rebel, with the result that Esar-haddon crushed resistance once for all.

[1] It must not be forgotten that the image of Jahweh at Jerusalem at this time was a bronze seraph, *i.e.* a flying serpent (Nu 21^8, 2 K 18^4; cf. Dt 8^{15}, Is 14^{29} 30^6, and Herod. ii. 75 f.). The serpent form may already have been modified by the introduction of some human features.

[1] In the absence of any proof that the disaster to the Assyrian army happened during a later campaign, and having regard to the obscurity of certain details in Sennacherib's own account, the year 701 B.C. may still stand as the date of the great deliverance.

[2] In 2 K 18^4 there is, as J. Wellhausen has pointed out (art. 'Israel,' *EBr*^{9} xiii. 413), a combination of the general and the particular which is not very convincing. It is, needless to say, impossible to argue from 2 K 18^{22} that the reforms had preceded the Assyrian invasion. All that we can justly deduce from the speech put into the mouth of Rabshakeh is that it was written at a time when there was considerable indignation in Judah over the destruction of the high places.

this direction. It is noteworthy that the first meeting between the king of Judah and a king of Assyria resulted in an important innovation in the ritual at Jerusalem; for Ahaz, when he had been summoned to Damascus in 732, saw there a great stone altar more suitable for sacrifice on a large scale than the brazen altar which had hitherto been in use in the Temple, and had a copy of it erected (2 K 16$^{10\mathrm{ff.}}$), thereby inaugurating that increase of decency in sacrifice which made it possible for a rite so savage to continue for centuries longer the rallying-point of Israel.

11. Religion of Jahweh in Samaria during the 7th cent. B.C.—Though in Judah, with the accession of Manasseh, reform was crushed and the religion of Jahweh itself appeared to be in jeopardy, in the north the religious outlook was soon to become somewhat brighter. Since the fall of the city of Samaria, the old kingdom of N. Israel had been governed by Assyrian officials, and the name Samaria was now applied to that portion of it which lay south of the plain of Megiddo. In consequence of the deportation of Israelites and importation of colonists from other portions of the Assyrian Empire, there existed in the province of Samaria at the end of Esar-haddon's reign—perhaps earlier [1]—so large an admixture of Aramæan and other settlers that the religion of Jahweh which still survived was but one of many cults. The great sanctuary of Bethel [2] had been deprived of its priests, and for a time there seemed a possibility that not only the work of Amos and Hosea, but even that of Elijah and Elisha, might be undone. But there were still prophets in the land, and a plague of lions, doubtless occasioned by the long war and the partial depopulation of the country, gave them their opportunity. They declared the cause of the trouble to be the neglect of the cult of the God of the land, and so far convinced the new settlers that an appeal was made to the king of Assyria to allow the return of one of the Israelite priests, in order that he might teach the cult of Jahweh. The appeal was successful, and Bethel was reopened, by the express permission of a king of Assyria, as a sanctuary of Jahweh (2 K 17$^{25\mathrm{ff.}}$). It is probable that, if other sanctuaries had been closed, they were reopened at the same time; but Bethel was of particular importance, not only for its traditions, but also by reason of its proximity to the boundary between Samaria and Judah. We may well believe that some at least of the Judæan reformers who were persecuted by Manasseh would find an asylum at Bethel, and would add strength to the reforming ideas there existing. For the present, indeed, there was no thought of giving effect to the teaching of Amos and Hosea concerning sacrifice. The influx of heathen Aramæans and others had put the clock back. It would have been impossible to persuade them at the same time not only to forsake their gods, but also to worship their new God Jahweh in a way entirely strange to them, without sacrifice. The first thing to be done was to win them over to the religion of Jahweh, and, in order to do this, it was necessary, not to take away His high places and altars, but rather to encourage the building of them.[3] In one respect, indeed, Hosea's teaching had been vindicated. The golden bull of Bethel no longer existed, and worship without idols was accepted by the Bethelite priesthood,[1] who would presumably teach on the basis of the primitive Decalogue, now amplified by the insertion of a law forbidding the worship of images.

12. Codification of law for Samaria.—The newcomers in Samaria would require instruction not only in the Israelite law of worship, but in what may be described as the common law of Israel, which may perhaps in some details have been already modified by Assyrian influence. The old Decalogue was, therefore, now combined with a collection of laws relating to slavery, property, and the like, in order that the population of Samaria might be united by identity of customs.[2] This law, which, with some later modifications, is now found in Ex 20^{23}–23, was probably issued originally as a separate document.

No mere code of laws could make those whose traditions were entirely heathenish whole-hearted worshippers of the God of Israel. They required to be taught the traditions of Israel, and to learn what great things Jahweh had wrought for the ancestors of the nation in which they were now incorporated. Hence the traditions which had been current at the great sanctuaries were collected, and worked into a continuous narrative, which embraced legends of the patriarchs, the story of the deliverance from Egypt, the sojourn in the wilderness, and the giving of the Law by Moses, which was identified with the code described above. That this document, which we know as the work of the Elohist (E), was originally designed for people who had quite recently been heathen is evident not only from such a statement as that in Gn 35$^{2-4}$, but also from the fact that the proper name of the God of Israel is represented as not originally known to the nation as a whole, and as specially revealed to Moses. It may also be inferred that the story in Ex 3$^{13-15}$ was intended for people of Aramæan stock, since the Tetragrammaton is explained as being identical with the Aramaic word meaning 'He will be.'[3] How long the process of the collection and redaction of traditions lasted we do not know, but it was probably completed by the end of the 7th cent. B.C. It may have gone on at more than one centre, but we shall not be wrong in assuming that Bethel, the chief sanctuary of Samaria, was responsible for its final shape.

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[1] Is 9$^{11.12}$ may refer to the rush of Philistines and Aramæans to take possession of the land of those who had been deported from N. Israel. For 'the adversaries of Rezin' we should probably read 'his adversaries.'

[2] It may be that the priests of other N. Israelite sanctuaries were deported at the same time. There was, however, a special reason for removing the Bethelite priests, since Bethel was 'the king's sanctuary' (Am 7^{13}), and its priests would consequently be more closely connected with the royal family.

[3] The religious exigencies of Samaria at this period will explain the presence of a law enjoining the making of altars 'in every place' specially consecrated to the worship of Jahweh (Ex 20$^{24\mathrm{f.}}$). A similar motive underlies the statements in 1 S 14^{35}, 1 K 18^{30} 19$^{10.14}$.

[1] The account of Moses' destruction of the 'golden calf' (Ex 32^{20}) might be thought to be suggested by what had actually taken place in the desecration of Bethel. Idols of various sorts, however, must have remained at some sanctuaries for a considerable time, and the method of destruction ascribed to Moses may be based on what was actually done in some places.

[2] The phrase 'to come near unto God' (Ex 22$^{8\mathrm{f.}}$ 21^{6}) will naturally mean 'to come to the nearest sanctuary.' It doubtless arose when there were images, but does not necessarily presuppose them. There is no necessity to understand the term in 21^{6} to mean 'household gods.' The explanation of the rite is that, according to primitive thought, there can be no exemption from the common law (which in Israel forbade perpetual servitude) except for the gods. By being attached to the temple doorpost the slave was brought into perpetual servitude, theoretically, to Jahweh, but, since Jahweh did not claim his service, in reality to the master from whom he did not desire to be separated. An apparently contrary procedure, but based on precisely the same conception of the gods as exempted from common law, is found at Delphi and elsewhere, where a slave, in order to receive his freedom—the manumission of slaves being prohibited by the common law—was made over to the god, to whom theoretically he belonged, though he was not attached to the temple service (see Daremberg-Saglio, i. 802 ff.; C. Lécrivain in Daremberg-Saglio, iii. 1219; J. E. B. Mayor on Juv. i. 104 f.). This parallel is sufficient to disprove the argument based on Ex 21^{6} that we must ascribe the origin of these laws to a period when household gods were still recognized.

[3] The phrase 'I will be what I will be' (the translation 'I am,' in the sense of *εἰμί*, is impossible) is given in the first person, because Jahweh is represented as speaking. It is probable that in the latter part of v.^{14} 'I will be' (EV 'I am') is a mistaken correction for an original Jahweh (יהוה). The original writer evidently supposed יהוה (Jahweh, Jehovah) to be related to אֶהְיֶה (*ehyeh*), 'I will be,' as the third person to the first. It must be remembered that, owing to the weakening which took place in the pronunciation of the vowels, the third person imperfect of the verb הוה, which, according to the Massoretic pronunciation, would, if it occurred, be pronounced יֶהֱוֶה (*yehᵉwĕh*), must in earlier times have been pronounced יַהְוֶה, and must, therefore, have been nearly, if not quite, identical with the proper name of the God of Israel.

It would in itself be unlikely that the school of men who produced E would have ceased from their activity at its publication. We may suppose that, shortly afterwards, a beginning was made with the work of collecting the various traditions as to the conquest of Palestine by the tribes, and the exploits of the judges, kings, and prophets. This does not mean that E itself was continued down into the Monarchy, for it is very doubtful whether any parts of the existing books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, or Kings ever formed one document with it, but merely that the writing of E provided the stimulus for the collection of other N. Israelite traditions. It must be remembered that the collectors had a practical purpose, and were not actuated by antiquarian interests. Thus, in the story of Elijah, Jahweh's protagonist against foreign cults, we have precisely the teaching which was necessary in Samaria in the 7th cent. B.C. As Ex 20^{24} encourages the building of altars in places consecrated to Jahweh, so Elijah is represented as repairing the altar of Jahweh that is broken down, while at the same time he has friendly relations with heathen outside Jahweh's land (1 K 19^{14} 17$^{9ff.}$). Similarly in E itself it is noteworthy that Balaam comes from 'Aram . . . from the mountains of the East' (Nu 23^{7}). The story of an Aramæan prophet who was constrained to declare the superiority of Jahweh and Israel would have special force in Samaria in the 7th cent. B.C.

13. Prophetic activity under Josiah.—Meanwhile in Judah the violent reaction against reform which the accession of Manasseh had brought about was spending its force. Manasseh died about 641 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Amon, who died after a short reign of two years and was succeeded by his son Josiah, then only eight years old. We have no information about the early years of Josiah's reign, but it is evident from the subsequent course of events that the antagonism to the teaching of the school of Isaiah must have greatly moderated. For some time nothing occurred to give the necessary impetus to a popular reformation; but about the year 626 news of the havoc which the Scythians were working in the districts north of Palestine, and which menaced Judah itself, caused the prophets to preach repentance, in order that the threatened blow might be averted. Among these the most prominent, as he was undoubtedly the greatest, was Jeremiah, who for the next forty years or more exercised a profound influence on the religious development of his fellow-countrymen, though comparatively few were prepared to accept his teaching in its entirety. It is remarkable that Jeremiah shows few signs of direct dependence upon his great predecessor Isaiah, while he is evidently deeply imbued with the teaching of Hosea—a fact which may perhaps be explained on the hypothesis suggested above, viz. that during the persecution under Manasseh, Judæan reformers found an asylum in Samaria, especially at Bethel. The evils which Jeremiah believed to be calling forth the wrath of Jahweh are to a great extent those which the earlier prophets had denounced, but in addition to these there were some foreign cults of Aramæan and Assyrian origin, of which there had been an influx during the reign of Manasseh.

About five years after the beginning of Jeremiah's mission, during some building operations at the Temple[1] a book was found which, when read before the king, convinced him of the need of reform. There can be little doubt that the historian of 2 K 22 f., whose account, however, can scarcely be held to be contemporaneous with the events recorded,[2] identified this book with Deuteronomy. But this identification is beset with difficulties, even if the book read to Josiah be supposed to have included only chs. 12–26. If Deuteronomy be anterior to 621, it is hard to understand how, at a time when the province of Samaria was governed by an Assyrian official and Judah by a native king,[3] any man or school of men could have drawn up an entirely new code of law for all Israel. Men of average common sense do not legislate in the air for a situation which may conceivably arise nobody knows when, but for one which is actually present or imminent. Moreover, the ritual law of Deuteronomy with respect to the fat and the blood appears to be in substance later than that which is found in the Law of Holiness (Lv 17$^{3-6}$), and which may reasonably be supposed to represent the custom in Jerusalem at the time of the Exile (cf. Ezk 44$^{7.15}$). Further, Jeremiah's emphatic repudiation of the sacrificial law which, whenever he first uttered it, he reiterated as late as the fourth year of Jehoiakim is incompatible with the supposition that Deuteronomy became virtually canonical Scripture in 621.[4] There is, indeed, no need to call in question the main incidents of the finding of the book. It is true that, although in the Deuteronomic period the phrase, 'the book of *the* law' (*sēfer hat-tôrāh*), would naturally suggest Deuteronomy, the mere omission of the definite article would make a wider application possible. '*A* book of *tôrāh*' might be used of any collection of prophetic teaching (cf. Is 8^{16}), and the book read before Josiah may have been a roll containing sayings of Micah (cf. Jer 26^{18}), or of Isaiah, or, more probably, it may have been a collection of Hosea's prophecies which had been brought to Jerusalem from Bethel when the persecution under Manasseh had come to an end.

14. Reformation under Josiah.—It is evident that the king and his advisers felt the necessity of putting a stop to the superstitious rites practised at Judæan sanctuaries; but the accomplishment of this was by no means an easy matter, for the national welfare was popularly supposed to depend upon them. Mere legislation on the subject would have been futile, for there was no machinery to enforce such legislation. A solution of the difficulty was provided by what had hitherto appeared to be an unmitigated calamity, viz. Sennacherib's curtailment of Judæan territory eighty years before. No king, however absolute he may be in theory, can with safety shock the sensibilities of the overwhelming majority of his subjects, but, thanks to Sennacherib, the kingdom of Judah had lost most of its important towns, and Josiah reigned over a little kingdom comprising country districts with small towns and villages, Jerusalem being the only city of first-rate importance.[1] We cannot be surprised that the king and his advisers shrank from causing mortal offence to Jerusalem; they probably considered, however, that, if a measure of reform could be introduced which could be accepted by Jerusalem, the opposition of the remaining portion of the kingdom would be a negligible quantity. Moreover, the Temple at Jerusalem was an annexe of the royal palace, and Josiah doubtless supposed that he would be able to exercise over it a supervision which would be impossible in the case of the country sanctuaries. With these principles in view, the king and his advisers carried out a sweeping reform. The country sanctuaries were destroyed utterly;[2] the *ḳᵉdhēshîm*, who had quarters even in the Temple, were put to death; the foreign cults recently introduced were abolished. No change was made in regard to sacrifice, except that it could now be celebrated only at Jerusalem. Needless to say, a change so tremendous as the abolition of sanctuaries numerous enough to be described in the terms 'upon every high mountain and under every spreading tree' (Jer 2^{20} $3^{6.13}$ 17^{2}; cf. Dt 12^{2}) for a time caused many difficulties. In the first place, it was necessary to make provision for the country priests, the Levites as they were called, who were now thrown out of employment, for the reformers would scarcely have dared, had they wished to do so, to treat them as they had treated the *ḳᵉdhēshîm*. Josiah doubtless supposed that, since the number of worshippers at Jerusalem would now be increased, the Temple revenues would be able to support a more numerous priesthood, and he seems to have intended that the priests who had ministered at the country sanctuaries should now be allowed to become members of the gild of Zadok at Jerusalem. But he had not taken into account the opposition of the Zadokites to such a scheme, and in effect those country priests who managed to gain a footing in the Temple at all were placed by the Zadokites in an inferior position, so that henceforward the Jerusalem priests were of two ranks (cf. 2 K $23^{8.9}$, Ezk 44^{10-14}).

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[1] The description of the work (2 K 22$^{5f.}$) apparently implies something more than mere 'church restoration.' The Temple may have been injured in some attack on Jerusalem during the reign of Manasseh—for the account in 2 Ch 33$^{11ff.}$ may have some basis in fact—or even in the early years of Josiah. We might in this way account for the disappearance of the Ark, which could not have taken place very long before the fourth year of Jehoiakim, if, indeed, Jer 3^{16} be as early as this. But possibly the Ark was taken away at the time of Jehoiachin's captivity (cf. 2 K 24^{13}).

[2] In an age when newspapers did not exist, events would not as a rule be recorded in writing immediately after their occurrence.

[3] It is true that the section 2 K 23$^{15-20}$ (cf. 4^{b}) implies that Josiah had jurisdiction in Samaria, from which it might be inferred not only that the cities which Sennacherib had taken away had been restored, but also that the province of Samaria had been annexed to Judah. This section, however, is clearly a later insertion, for v.^{8} describes the area of the reformation as extending from 'Geba to Beersheba' (cf. 2 K 23$^{1.2.5.24}$). Moreover, both Isaiah and Jeremiah address Judah and Jerusalem; Gedaliah is governor over the cities of Judæa (Jer 40^{5}), and Zerubbabel is 'governor of Judah.'

[4] For a fuller discussion of the subject see R. H. Kennett, 'The Date of Deuteronomy.' in *JThSt* vii. [1906] 481–500.

It is manifest that the discontent caused by the king's reforms in the country districts must have been intense. Even in Jerusalem the forbidden practices went on, if not in the Temple, at all events more or less openly. The country people had good cause for discontent, for, since no change had been made in the sacrificial law, and the domestic animals could be slain only at an altar, it had become illegal to hold a feast except at Jerusalem.[3] It would seem that some inhabitants of the more distant districts, having no altar near, dispensed with one altogether, so that it now became necessary to urge upon them the requirements of the sacrificial law. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that, although the original impetus to reform had been given by prophets who repudiated sacrifice altogether, a school of prophets arose who laid stress on the necessity of performing sacrificial ordinances. Against those who, because of their distance from Jerusalem, were inclined to drop sacrificial worship altogether, or to slaughter domestic animals without due ritual, the obligation of keeping the great feasts, which were, indeed, specially mentioned in the ancient Decalogue, was insisted on (Ex $34^{23f.}$), and old stories of the building of altars and of solemn sacrifice by the patriarchs were again told.[1] The result may be seen in the Jahvistic document of the Pentateuch (J), the idea of which may have been suggested by the similar document E, which was, perhaps, still taking shape in the province of Samaria. The population of Judah was homogeneous to a much greater extent than that of Samaria, and it was, accordingly, unnecessary to introduce any social legislation into this document; but the ancient Decalogue, which had probably been somewhat amplified in the closing years of Hezekiah's reign, and was perhaps already popularly ascribed to Moses, was enlarged by hortatory additions to suit the exigencies of the present situation.

The school to which we owe this document, and which may be considered as representative among the prophets of the State religion of the period, found no favour in the eyes of Jeremiah. It is highly significant that he is not mentioned in the account of Josiah's reforms given in 2 K 22 f. He remained unshaken in his conviction that sacrifice was unnecessary and displeasing to Jahweh. He gave an unqualified denial to the assertion that Moses had commanded it (Jer 7^{22}), and declared, perhaps of the Jahvistic document itself, that 'the lying pen of scribes had wrought falsely' (8^{8}).

It is stated (2 K 23^{3}) that Josiah's reformation was inaugurated by a solemn covenant to keep the law on the part of the king and the people. That there was some solemn publication of what was henceforth to be the law at some stage of the reformation is likely enough, but it is more probable that this did not take place at the beginning of the movement, but when it had made sufficient progress to ensure the absence of any very violent opposition. The present narrative has a strongly Deuteronomic colouring, and seems to have been modified since it was first written.[2] The code now contained in Ex 34 may well represent the basis of the 'covenant' determined upon by Josiah (note particularly v.^{27}), though the hortatory introduction is probably of somewhat later date.

Notwithstanding the deep cleavage between Jeremiah and those prophets who approved of Josiah's compromise, the influence of Jeremiah must have been great. He attacked unsparingly the superstitions which all Josiah's zeal had been unable to stamp out, as well as the moral evils from which even the reformed Temple was by no means free. It was doubtless in no small measure owing to him that, at the disillusionment caused by the troubles which followed the death of Josiah, there was not a far greater recrudescence of the superstitions which that king had put down.

The false hopes raised in Judah by the defeat of Pharaoh at the battle of Carchemish again called forth Jeremiah's activity. His earlier anticipations of Judah's ruin at the hands of a foe from the north had not been realized; for, though the Scythians had come very near, there is no evidence that they ever invaded Judah. But now there was a prospect of the domination of a far more powerful nation, viz. the Chaldæans, who in Judah would not unnaturally be regarded as coming from the north. Accordingly, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (*c.* 604–603 B.C.), Jeremiah directed his disciple Baruch to write down a number of prophecies which he had composed since the beginning of his ministry in 626, with the object of showing that the judgment then threatened had been merely postponed and not averted.

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[1] The supposition that it was Isaiah's teaching that gave to Jerusalem the unique position afterwards assigned to it rests on the most flimsy basis. Scanty as are the fragments of Isaiah's teaching which have been preserved to us in their original form, it is clear that Isaiah took the same view of sacrifice as Amos, Hosea, and Jeremiah. Isaiah's contemporary, Micah, had even declared that Zion should be 'plowed as a field' (Mic 3^{12}, Jer 26^{18}).

[2] We have no knowledge of the exact limits of Josiah's kingdom. It is not improbable that some sanctuaries, which were originally Judæan, especially in the southern districts, were not at this time subject to the king of Judah, and thus temporarily escaped destruction.

[3] The words put into the mouth of Rabshakeh (2 K 18^{22}) probably reflect the discontent caused by Josiah's reforms.

[1] It is obvious that, after the limitation of sacrifice to the one altar at Jerusalem, a considerable time must have elapsed before it came to be recognized that the high places as such had always been displeasing to Jahweh.

[2] Thus, whereas according to 2 K 22 the book that is found is 'the book of the law' (*tôrāh*), in 23^{2} it suddenly becomes 'the book of the covenant' (*bᵉrîth*), though nothing has as yet been said about any covenant. In v.^{3} the English versions tacitly follow the LXX in rendering 'made a covenant,' and this probably represents the correct text, for the reading of the Massoretic text, 'made the covenant,' is scarcely possible. The words, 'to confirm the words of this covenant that were written in this book,' are probably an addition by a Deuteronomic editor, and this addition has caused the modification in the description of the newly found book in v.^{2}, and the consequent alteration of '*a* covenant' into '*the* covenant' in v.^{3}.

15. End of the kingdom of Judah.—The ill-advised revolt of Jehoiakim, three years after he had taken an oath of allegiance to Nebuchadnezzar, brought against Jerusalem an army of Chaldæans which, after some time, was joined by Nebuchadnezzar in person. Jehoiakim appears to have died during the siege. He was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin, who, three months later, surrendered to Nebuchadnezzar. Jehoiachin and many of the royal family with the aristocracy of Judah, including many, if not most, of the Zadokite priests, were carried captive to Babylon,[1] Nebuchadnezzar appointing as king of Judah Mattaniah, the brother of Jehoiakim and uncle of Jehoiachin, who now assumed the name of Zedekiah.

But the new government proved no better than the old. The Palestinian States had not yet realized the full power of the Chaldæans, while Egypt continued the policy, which she had followed for more than a century, of fomenting revolts in Palestine, in order to avert the danger which threatened herself from the great W. Asiatic empire. In spite of Jeremiah's earnest warning, Zedekiah was induced to revolt, with the inevitable result. After a long siege, Jerusalem was taken in the year 586 B.C. King Zedekiah was made prisoner, blinded, and carried to Babylon; the Temple was first rifled and then, together with the king's palace and the better houses in Jerusalem, burnt; the city walls were broken down. For the second time a great number of the inhabitants, including those priests who had been left on the former occasion, were transported to Babylon.

The OT, as is but natural from the place and period of its composition, is for the most part written from an aristocratic point of view; and, accordingly, since the upper classes were taken into exile, it is not surprising that some passages give the impression that the whole population of Judah except the very poorest were transported. But, although the whole land had suffered greatly, it was Jerusalem only that had borne the brunt of Nebuchadnezzar's wrath, and a not inconsiderable population remained in the land, whose numbers were augmented, as soon as the Chaldæan army had gone, by the return of numerous refugees, many of whom were doubtless of good family, who had sought an asylum in the neighbouring countries. Nebuchadnezzar, although even his patience was exhausted as far as the house of David was concerned, adhered to his former policy of leaving the government of the country in the hands of a native, and appointed Gedaliah the son of Ahikam governor of Judah.

How long Gedaliah's governorship lasted cannot be determined with certainty. The year is not given in Jer 41^1 ‖ 2 K 25^{25}, and an interval of less than three months seems scarcely sufficient for the events recorded in 2 K 25. Since Jer 52^{30} mentions a third transportation of Jews to Babylon five years after the second, which, although it is dated in the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, must be the same as that which is described in 2 K 25^{11}, we may perhaps suppose that Gedaliah was governor for about five years, the last transportation being the result of his murder (2 K 25^{25}, Jer 41^2), which the Chaldæans regarded as an act of rebellion. Thenceforward Judah, like Samaria, appears to have been governed by a Babylonian official.

In the certainty that the Chaldæans, after the murder of Gedaliah, would send a punitive expedition to Judah, a number of the inhabitants fled to Egypt, which had probably been for a considerable period a place of refuge for the distressed inhabitants not only of Judah, but also of Samaria. There thus arose a number of Israelite communities in Egypt, which were destined in after times to have an important influence on Israel. The refugees would naturally be representative of the medley of cults which existed in Palestine in the 7th cent. B.C.; but the religion of Jahweh flourished among them, and in the time of Cambyses—apparently there had previously been opposition on the part of the Egyptian priests, perhaps on the ground of the choice of sacrificial animals—a temple for sacrifice was built to Jahweh at Elephantine.

Of the last years and death of Jeremiah, who, after the murder of Gedaliah, was compelled by the refugees to accompany them to Egypt, we have no information. There is no evidence that his presence exercised any permanent influence upon the community in Egypt. He may have returned to Jerusalem and died there.

It had been Jeremiah's sad office 'to pluck up and to break down, and to overthrow and to destroy,' and apparently it was not till the close of his ministry that it was perceived that he had also a mission 'to build and to plant' (Jer 31^{28}). Although he never wavered in his conviction of the futility of opposition to the Chaldæans, there can be little doubt that to those who believed his preaching he turned comforter. Perhaps the individualism which was beginning to make itself heard (cf. Jer $31^{29f.}$) may partly account for this phase, but it was probably due in the main to the conviction that Jahweh, who all through Israel's sin had remembered the love of her espousal (2^2), could not wholly cast her off. The prophecy in 23^{5-8}, which appears worked up again in $33^{15f.}$, though we do not possess it in its original setting, and perhaps not quite in its original form, may be dated with considerable likelihood in the period of the ruin of the kingdom after the capture of Zedekiah. The tree of David's dynasty had been cut down, but from the root[1] there would yet spring up a shoot (wrongly rendered 'branch' in EV) which would grow again into as goodly a tree. This restored monarchy, unlike Zedekiah, who had belied his name of 'Jahweh is righteousness,' would seek its 'righteousness,' *i.e.* wellbeing, only in Jahweh, and the restored community would enjoy a 'covenant' with Jahweh which would be permanent, inasmuch as His teaching (*tôrāh*) would be written on His people's hearts ($31^{31ff.}$).[2] The prophecy of the 'Shoot' is the earliest prediction of future happiness to which we find subsequently definite reference in the OT (cf. Zec 3^{8} 6^{12}), and may be regarded as the starting-point of 'Messianic' prophecy.

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[1] The actual numbers carried off by Nebuchadnezzar are doubtful; but Jer 52^{28-30} is more trustworthy than 2 K 24, as is shown by its use of the more correct form of the name 'Nebuchadrezzar.'

[1] The term 'David' in 23^5 need not necessarily be understood to mean originally the actual family of David, but merely that Judæan royalty which had so long belonged to the dynasty of David. In 22^{30}, although, strictly interpreted, only Jehoiachin's actual descendants are excluded from reigning, Jeremiah seems to mean the royal family generally.

[2] Since the word rendered 'covenant' has a much wider range of meaning in Hebrew than the English rendering would imply, it is not quite certain what is here regarded as the former 'covenant.' The word may denote merely a state of peace such as that which exists between two parties who have entered into an agreement for mutual protection, and is so used, *e.g.*, in Hos 2^{18}, Job 5^{23}. If this sense be adopted here, the earlier covenant will be the loving relation between Jahweh and Israel described in Jer $2^{2f.}$.

16. Religion in Judah after the destruction of the Temple.—The deportation of the priests from Jerusalem and the burning of the Temple had not made sacrifice impossible, for the great stone altar originally erected by Ahaz probably remained, and in any case some sort of altar could have been continued on its site. But the absence of a priesthood must have occasioned many difficulties, for sacred and secular life were hardly distinguishable. In this respect Samaria was now better off than Judah, for Bethel[1] had been reopened by special permission of the king of Assyria, and probably Shechem and other sanctuaries were to some extent flourishing. The removal of the dynasty of David had taken away the old cause of jealousy between Samaria and Judah; and, since the similarity in their political situation would doubtless draw the two provinces together, there was now no reason why they should not combine for their mutual advantage. The priesthood at Bethel, which may reasonably be regarded as Aaronite,[2] represented in the main the ideas, not indeed of Jeremiah, but of the prophetic school which had drawn up the Jahvistic document (J); and it is probable that the proximity of Bethel to Jerusalem suggested the possibility of an arrangement by which the latter sanctuary should serve the needs of those who had hitherto worshipped at the former, Bethel for its part supplying the priesthood. That by some means, at some time, the province of Samaria was for religious purposes united with Judah is evident. The writer of Ezr 4$^{1\text{f.}}$ believed that such a union had been effected before the time of Zerubbabel, and the story of the Samaritan schism and subsequent worship at Gerizim is inexplicable unless the Samaritans had previously accepted the principle of one sanctuary only. The combination of the N. Israelite and Judæan documents E and J also presupposes some such union, which may most easily be explained on the supposition of a voluntary agreement. We need not dismiss the account given in 2 K 23$^{15-20}$ as altogether fictitious, for it is extremely unlikely that those who had worshipped at Bethel would be unanimously in favour of closing that sanctuary, and the majority may have perpetrated on the minority the horrors here described; but the writer can scarcely be correct in ascribing them to Josiah. Probably this beginning of reunion affected at first only Judah[3] and the district hitherto served by Bethel. There were, indeed, many problems to be solved before it could have a wider scope. In particular, there was the question of the law-books, or, in Hebrew phraseology, the 'covenant'-books, recognized respectively at Jerusalem and Samaria. The Elohistic document E was probably accepted not only at Bethel, but also at other sanctuaries in Samaria; while in Judah the Jahvistic document J, in spite of the opposition of Jeremiah, had probably acquired, except perhaps in Zadokite circles, a quasi-canonical acceptance. It was not to be expected that either community should abandon its Scriptures, and the difficulty was solved by the combination of J and E into JE, the code of J (Ex 34) being represented as given to replace the code of E, which had been broken up by Moses.

It must have been evident to those who cherished any nationalist aspirations that anything which tended towards centralization and union was of the greatest value, and it is not surprising that, when the compact between Bethel and Jerusalem had had time to prove its advantages, a further extension of the law of the One Sanctuary began to be mooted. But there were many difficulties in the way. The impossibility of slaughtering domestic animals except at Jerusalem had already been found a great burden in the more distant districts of Judah; it was futile to imagine that still more distant districts in N. Samaria or Galilee would tolerate such an inconvenience. Besides, even on the supposition that the rest of the country would be willing to accept Jerusalem as a place of sacrifice in lieu of other sanctuaries, there was the problem of the maintenance of the priests who had ministered at these, while a state of society in which the vendetta was recognized would naturally shrink from abolishing sanctuaries where an innocent homicide might find asylum. A further difficulty would be found in the fact that reforming ideas had in some respects made greater way in Judah. Thus, *e.g.*, whereas those who, after the introduction of heathen settlers, had laboured to maintain the religion of Jahweh as the national religion of Samaria had perhaps been compelled to content themselves with affirming Jahweh's exclusive right to worship, and, while insisting that to Him alone belonged the first-born, had apparently left the actual sacrifice of these still permissible (Ex 22^{29}),[1] Judah, perhaps in response to Jeremiah's vehement teaching on the subject, had made the sacrifice of the first-born illegal and their redemption compulsory (Ex 34^{20}).

Taught, perhaps, by the mistakes of the past, the 6th cent. reformers adopted a liberal policy. The sacrifice of the first-born was absolutely prohibited, but in connexion with the slaughter of domestic animals a bold and far-reaching innovation was accepted. The internal fat and the blood had hitherto been most holy, and it had been obligatory to burn the one and to pour out the other upon the altar. No concession was made with regard to the eating of either, but all that was now required in connexion with the blood was that it should be poured out upon the ground. This modification in ritual requirements removed the greatest obstacle to the adoption of the law of the One Sanctuary. In other respects also the reformers were equally liberal. Josiah's policy of throwing open the priesthood at the central sanctuary to the priests of the country sanctuaries, which the sons of Zadok had once successfully thwarted, was now adopted; and certain sanctuaries, although they ceased to be places of sacrifice, were allowed to keep their rights of asylum (Dt 19$^{1-13}$ 4$^{41-43}$; cf. Jos 20).

The outcome of these and other reforms and concessions was the book of Deuteronomy, of which the legal code (chs. 12–26) is evidently the

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We hear, however, of a solemn ratification of a covenant in the reign of Zedekiah (Jer 34$^{8.\ 15.\ 18-20}$), though we are not told the circumstances which led up to it, and in v.^{13} this covenant is assumed to be on the basis of an ordinance dating from the Exodus. But ch. 34, though it may embody some of Jeremiah's phrases, is not from the prophet's own hand, and cannot be held to prove that there existed in Judah at this time a law relating to the freeing of slaves which was ascribed to the period of the Exodus.

[1] It is inconceivable that the writer to whom we owe the account of Josiah's reforms in 2 K 23$^{1-14}$, if he had heard of the destruction of Bethel by Josiah, should have given the limits of the reform as 'from Geba to Beersheba' (v.^{8}). Bethel lay outside Josiah's kingdom. 2 K 23$^{15-20}$ is from the same hand as 1 K 13. It is significant that 2 K 17$^{24-41}$, which is post-Deuteronomic, and was written at least as late as the third generation from the time of Esar-haddon (cf. v.^{41} and Ezr 4^{2}), ignores this alleged destruction of Bethel and of the high places of Samaria.

[2] For a fuller discussion of this point see Kennett, 'The Origin of the Aaronite Priesthood,' in *JThSt* vi. [1905] 161–186.

[3] The exact limits of Judah at this period are not known. It is possible that, when Judah ceased to be a kingdom and was made a province governed by a Babylonian official, its old limits were restored; but some districts which, as far as their population was concerned, were Judæan may even yet have remained distinct with their old sanctuaries.

[1] The utmost that can be maintained of the teaching of Gn 22 is that the sacrifice of the first-born is not insisted on. Cf. Jer 7^{31} 19^{5}. Ezekiel (20^{26}) recognizes that the sacrifice of the first-born has been legal in the past.

nucleus. In the forefront of this code is placed the law relating to sacrifice at the one altar,[1] specially framed in view of the extension of the law to all Israel. The code also contains rules relating to the celebration of the great feasts, the maintenance of the priests, and the like, as well as a number of enactments designed to put a stop to superstitious and heathenish practices, and ordinances dealing with matters of common life. These last, which are to some extent based upon the code of the Samaritan book E, appear to be intended more especially, though not exclusively, for the instruction of the non-Judæan districts of the land. This code of law, although it is directly at variance with Jeremiah (7^{22}) in definitely requiring sacrifice—which it represents as commanded by Moses himself—indirectly did much to further Jeremiah's conception of religion. In time past the motive of sacrifice had frequently been 'to eat flesh'—a fact which had called forth the scathing sarcasm of Jeremiah (7^{21}); but now those who desired to feast could do so at home, and thus sacrifice was at least lifted above such sordid considerations.

There was, indeed, the danger that the infrequency of ritual worship might bring about a forgetfulness of religion, but this was to a great extent guarded against by the Deuteronomic reformers, who based obedience to the common law of Israel on Israel's relation to Jahweh, and subsequently prefixed to the code of laws several prefaces cast into the form of hortatory addresses by Moses. Yet the difficulty must have been felt that the old Decalogue, which was regarded as the basis of Jahweh's 'covenant' with Israel, being chiefly concerned with ritual ordinances, had been repudiated by the school of Jeremiah, and that this school, which, indeed, had greatly leavened religious thought, would never accept as the basis of a divine 'covenant' a code which required sacrifice but did not insist on justice, mercy, and truth. Accordingly, since the tradition of the laws divinely given and graven upon two tables of stone had gained firm hold of the popular mind, the bold step was taken of providing a new Decalogue (Dt 5), keeping the first commandment and that relating to the observance of the Sabbath, as well as the more recently introduced prohibition of images, but otherwise based on the ethical teaching of the great prophets, especially Jeremiah (see, *e.g.*, Jer 7^{9} 9^{1-8} etc.).

One of the last of the great Samaritan sanctuaries to fall into line in the matter of the Deuteronomic law was that of Shechem, which claimed to be the burial-place of Joseph (Jos 24^{32}), and which possessed near its altar some standing-stones supposed to have been placed there by Joshua (Dt 27^{2-4}, Jos 8^{32}). It would have been strange if the inhabitants of Shechem had been willing to destroy that which had made their city so famous, while without Shechem the unity of Israel could not have been attained. A solemn compact, legalized by an appendix to the earlier law of Deuteronomy (cf. 27), was therefore made with the Shechemites, whereby the latter agreed to accept the law of the One Sanctuary. This compact was ratified with sacrifice upon the old altar of Shechem, which was allowed to remain on condition that it should not again be used for its original purpose, while the standing-stones were purged of any heathenish or schismatic associations by being plastered over and inscribed with the provisions of the new law.[2] Advantage was taken of the gathering at Shechem to stimulate the national sentiment. Representatives of the twelve tribes were stationed, six on Ebal, on which stood the ancient sanctuary, and six on Gerizim, who responded respectively when the Levites pronounced curses on those who should transgress, and blessings on those who should obey, the new law.

The law of the One Sanctuary had thus become a rallying point for the national life of Israel,[1] Jerusalem being accepted as the only legitimate place of sacrifice by the whole land which had once formed the kingdom of David. No doubt there still remained some heathen communities in Samaria, and still more in Galilee and Gilead; but there was little cohesion between them, and such national sentiment as existed was Israelite. So greatly had the sense of Israelite unity been developed by the centralization of worship that the reformers had considered it desirable to incorporate in their new law-book legislation for a future king (Dt 17^{14-20}). The provision that such a king must be of Israelite blood may possibly be aimed at the ambitious schemes of some governor appointed by the Chaldæans to get himself recognized as king of Palestine, or may be intended merely to ensure that a king of Israel should not be a man who had only recently accepted the religion of Jahweh, but one who was thoroughly imbued with Israelite tradition, while in the warning against Egypt and against horses we may see the fruits of the teaching of the great prophets. It is impossible to give a *terminus ad quem* for the adoption of the Deuteronomic law, but it may probably be dated before the appointment of Zerubbabel.

17. Development of religion among the Babylonian exiles.—Meanwhile a religious development of the utmost importance was going on among the Jewish community settled in Babylonia. It might have been supposed that these exiles, like their brethren who had taken refuge in Egypt, would have erected one or more temples to Jahweh, and would have continued the exercise of their own religion. But, whereas the refugees in Egypt had left their native land of their own free will, the exiles in Babylonia were for the most part violently nationalist, and less inclined to settle down in a foreign country; indeed, for some time it was difficult to persuade them that their exile would be of long duration (cf. Jer 28 f.).

The most important factor in shaping the religion of the exiles in Babylonia was the presence among them of the Zadokite priests, of whom the majority had been carried off with Jehoiachin in 597 B.C. An unforeseen result of Josiah's reforms was that these priests had been placed in a unique position; for, since they had refused to accept on an equality the priests who had ministered at the country sanctuaries (Ezk $44^{10\text{ff.}}$), they were compelled to maintain not only that there must be but one sanctuary, but also that that one sanctuary must be at Jerusalem. These men, therefore, could not have acceded to a demand for a temple in Babylonia—had such a demand been made—without stultifying their previous action.

Prominent among these priests was a certain Ezekiel, son of Buzi, a man thoroughly imbued with the traditions of the reformed Zadokite priesthood as they had taken shape after 621. Ezekiel felt himself called to be a prophet in the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity, and thenceforward for twenty-two years he exercised a powerful influence on his fellow-captives. It is vain to speculate why for four years Ezekiel was silent; but it is possible that for some time he, like his fellow-captives, did not realize that the exile was likely to be of long duration.

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[1] This fact alone is sufficient to disprove the assertion that Jeremiah was acquainted with the book of Deuteronomy, and, indeed, deeply influenced by it. Sacrificial laws are at least as prominent in Deuteronomy as sacramental prayers and rubrics in the Book of Common Prayer; but who will maintain that the latter is not concerned with sacraments?

[2] Probably the story contained in Jos 22 had its origin in a similar concession with regard to some altar in the vicinity of the Jordan.

[1] Notice especially Dt 27^{9}.

Like the other great prophets, Ezekiel was convinced that the disasters which had come upon his people were due to sins, but his priestly training largely modified his conception of what those sins had been. He was alive to the social evils, but, in his opinion, Israel's chief sin in the past had consisted in idolatry and idolatrous practices in the religion of Jahweh. Unlike Jeremiah, he considered sacrifice a divine institution, and his standpoint is throughout sacerdotal rather than prophetic. Himself a man of intensely strong convictions, he makes no allowance for the fact that his code of right is of very recent origin. Thus he condemns as some of the sins which have caused Israel's ruin the taking of a father's wives by his son (Ezk 22^{10}), as well as the marriage of a half-sister on the father's side (v.^{11}), though such practices had been, and perhaps in Palestine still were, the common custom in Israel (2 S 16^{20-23} 13^{13}; cf. Gn 20^{12}).

That Ezekiel, under the circumstances in which he found himself, should have developed an individualism was but natural. It was inevitable that some of the exiles should be merged in the heathenism of Babylonia; and the desire to keep the rest faithful to Jahweh must have called forth a care for individuals which had not been required of earlier prophets, so that Ezekiel became the prototype of the Christian minister. It is true that individualism of a sort was already 'in the air'; even before the disaster of 597, men had asked why, if the fathers had eaten sour grapes, the children's teeth should be set on edge (Jer 31^{29}). To a prophet who felt himself bound to care for individual souls such a question must of necessity present a problem which could not be ignored, and Ezekiel (ch. 18) attempted to grapple with it. The thought of the age was not sufficiently advanced to render a full discussion of the problem possible, and Ezekiel was hampered by the supposed necessity of coupling together sin and suffering as cause and effect; but in his efforts to vindicate Jahweh's justice he insisted on Jahweh's relation with the individual soul, and thus prepared the way for later and fuller teaching.

Ezekiel's great achievement was the forging of the weapon by which the religion of Israel was finally enabled to withstand the attacks of heathenism. Being fully convinced of the sole right of the Zadokites to the priesthood, as well as of a return to Jerusalem, Ezekiel set himself to commit to writing the priestly traditions of the Temple ritual, freely introducing, however, in characteristic fashion, modifications and innovations which he considered would be an improvement on the old state of things, and insisting on the permanent degradation to inferior offices in the Temple of those Levites who up to Josiah's reforms had ministered at the country sanctuaries. He claimed no ancient authority for this new 'ecclesiastical polity'; but the school which he founded not unnaturally concluded, in accordance with his teaching, that what he laid down ought to have been practised all along, and this in itself would tend to produce the impression that what the priestly scholars in Babylonia agreed to be right must have been enjoined at the Exodus. It is possible that the Zadokite priests, before they left Jerusalem, knew the Jahvistic document J in its original form, though it is unlikely that they would have accepted it as what we should call canonical; or perhaps, after the combination of J and E into JE, the latter document, or an account of it, may have reached them in Babylonia, and may thus have provided them with an example of a framework in which to place their legal traditions. The codification of priestly traditions was evidently spread over a considerable time. The nucleus of the collection, which bears a strong resemblance to Ezekiel's writings, is contained in the so-called Law of Holiness (Lv 17–26), and presents the remarkable feature that, in connexion with the slaughter of domestic animals, it requires the offering of the blood and fat at the central altar, so that it must be in substance anterior to Deuteronomy.

The victories of Cyrus and the threatened conquest of Babylonia caused grave disquiet not only to the exiles themselves, but also, on their behalf, to their brethren in Palestine. The situation in Babylonia called forth the eloquence of one of the most attractive of the canonical prophets, whose compositions, however, have come down to us only in a very fragmentary form, and modified and interwoven with prophecies of a later date. In the coming overthrow of Chaldæan rule he foresaw the release of his people from captivity, and hailed Cyrus as a deliverer. Whether his anticipations were justified by the event is very doubtful. The belief that Cyrus gave free permission to the Jews to return rests only on the statement of the Chronicler, whose trustworthiness in this connexion may be gauged by the fact that he represents (Ezr 1^{7-11}) Cyrus as restoring the vessels of the Temple, which, according to the more probable statement in 2 K 24^{13} (cf. Jer 52^{19}), Nebuchadnezzar had 'cut in pieces' forty-eight years before. The Cylinder Inscription of Cyrus does not prove that all the captive population of the Babylonian Empire were allowed to return to their homes, and there is no other confirmation of the Chronicler's statement. Neither Haggai nor Zechariah refers to any such return from captivity, and neither shows the least gratitude towards Persia. Probably during the reign of Cyrus the province of Judah continued to be governed by the Babylonian official whose name appears in Ezr 1^{8} as Sheshbazzar.

18. Zerubbabel appointed governor of Judah; rebuilding of the Temple.—Though there is good reason for doubting the Chronicler's statement as regards Cyrus, there is no doubt that in the second year of Darius (520–519 B.C.) a member of the old royal family of Judah, Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, had been appointed governor of Judah. We know nothing of the fortunes of the house of David in Babylonia beyond the fact that Jehoiachin had been treated with consideration by Evil-merodach. Zerubbabel may have commended himself to Darius in some such way as is described in 1 Es 3 f., or he may have been selected for the governorship of Judah because Darius, in the troubles which beset him at the beginning of his reign, wished to conciliate the inhabitants of that province. That there was any return of exiles on a large scale at the time of Zerubbabel's appointment is unlikely; but there is little doubt that he would be accompanied by a retinue of his own people, among whom there would be, in all probability, some Zadokite priests.

Hitherto little had been done at Jerusalem in the way of restoration. Sacrifices were offered at the altar (Hag 2^{14}); but the Temple had not been rebuilt, and, apparently, its ruins had not even been cleared away; the wall of Jerusalem was still broken down, and the community generally was poverty-stricken. The poverty, however, was not universal, and a certain number of people had built themselves houses which, in the opinion of the prophet Haggai, were unnecessarily luxurious. This prophet, of whose antecedents we know nothing,[1] took advantage of the enthusiasm evoked by Zerubbabel's appointment to urge the rebuilding of the Temple. On the new-moon festival (*c.* 1st Sept. 520 B.C.) he addressed the people on this subject with such success that, three weeks later (*c.* 24th Sept.), work, probably in the clearing of the site, was actually begun. A month later (*c.* 21st Oct.), the work was so far advanced that it was possible to lay the foundation-stone with solemn ceremony.[1] Haggai now encouraged those who were despondent because of the inferior character of the building just begun, by declaring that the outcome of the shaking of the world—referring probably to the numerous revolts which had broken out against Darius in various parts of the Persian Empire—would be that the wealth of all nations would flow into the Temple. Two months later (*c.* 24th Dec.), Haggai gave expression to what was, doubtless, a general hope—that in Zerubbabel would be seen the reversal of Jeremiah's judgment on Jehoiachin (Hag 2^{23}, Jer 22^{24}).

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[1] We are not in a position to decide whether Haggai and Zechariah had returned with Zerubbabel, or whether they had always lived in Judah. Zechariah's interest centres in Judah, from which it might be inferred that he belonged to the more exclusive Jews of Babylonia. On the other hand, the province

Haggai's hopes of the dissolution of the Persian Empire proved illusory, however, and it soon became evident that Darius would hold his own. The disappointment thus caused in Judah was combated by Zechariah, who endeavoured to keep alive the enthusiasm which had been called forth by the project of rebuilding the Temple. Zechariah's prophecies, of which those that have come down to us are, for the most part, in allegorical form, are of unique interest, but only two features of his work can here be mentioned. As the work at the Temple proceeded successfully, the idea was mooted, perhaps by Zerubbabel himself, of rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem. Zechariah, although he hoped and believed that Zerubbabel would one day actually be king of Judah, was fully alive to the danger of such an enterprise, and earnestly deprecated it (2^{1-5}). The prophet seems in this instance to have been unsuccessful, and the proposed fortification of Jerusalem naturally aroused the suspicion of the Samaritans, who imagined that Zerubbabel was aiming at making himself a second Solomon, and of exacting from them forced labour (Ezr $4^{4.5}$).[2]

It was inevitable that there should be collision between those who had always been settled in Jerusalem and their brethren who had returned from the east. The chief priest at Jerusalem at this time was a certain Joshua, son of Jehozadak, whose genealogy is connected by the Chronicler (1 Ch 6^{12-14}) with the Zadokites probably by the mere combination of Jer 52^{24} with Hag $1^{1\text{ etc.}}$, but who may have been descended from the Aaronite priests who had formerly ministered at Bethel. The Zadokite priests who accompanied Zerubbabel would naturally regard this man as unqualified and at best not superior to the country Levites who had been permanently degraded to an inferior position.[3] Joshua, however, found a staunch champion in Zechariah, who declared that so long as he should be loyal to Jahweh's law he should have the government of the Temple. Zerubbabel, Zechariah maintained, should be king upon his throne, and Joshua priest at his right hand,[4] and counsel of peace should be between the two of them. By his championship of Joshua, Zechariah decided that the right of the priesthood at Jerusalem belonged to the sons of Aaron. No doubt he was perfectly willing that, in accordance with the provision of the Deuteronomic law, the sons of Zadok should also be allowed to minister as priests, but the consequence of giving the chief position at the Temple to an Aaronite would be that any Zadokites who desired to minister as priests would be compelled to enrol themselves in the gild of Aaron. Accordingly, when the news reached Babylonia that Zerubbabel, whom the Jewish exiles regarded as their legitimate ruler, had recognized the gild of Aaron as legitimate priests at Jerusalem, the students of the priestly traditions in Babylonia would be compelled to accept this recognition as final, and to merge the Zadokites in the Aaronites. In this way we can explain the otherwise inexplicable fact that, whereas in Ezekiel the clergy are divided into Zadokites and Levites, in the Priestly Code we find Aaronites and Levites.

19. Samaritan jealousy of Judah.—Zechariah's championship of Joshua involved far greater consequences than the mere decision between Aaron and Zadok. The religious reunion of Samaria and Judah was still a very recent event, and, had there been a predominance of a Babylonian (and, therefore, exclusively Judæan) party at this time, the links which united the two provinces must have snapped, and the religion and national life of Samaria would have been developed on quite distinct lines, in which case we should probably have lost all history of the northern kingdom. As it was, the cleavage between those whom we may call the Zerubbabel party (*i.e.* those who had returned with Zerubbabel from Babylonia), who would naturally be strongest in Jerusalem itself, and the rest of the population was never entirely healed. The growing jealousy between Samaria and Judah, as well as the fact that Nehemiah, whose feelings were altogether anti-Samaritan, found a following in Jerusalem, is sufficient proof of this; but the jealousy appears to have been political rather than religious, and there may have been mingled with it the rival claims of the families of Saul and David, should the Monarchy be restored.[1]

Happily, these jealousies did not interfere with the idea of the essential unity of Israel. The work of collecting the ancient traditions, which had already produced the documents J and E, was still continued. Early stories of the conquest of Palestine by the various tribes and of the subsequent history of the country were collected, arranged, and modified, in order to insist on the unity of Israel. Moreover, since the influx of heathen into the land still continued, and the religion of Jahweh was but lightly held by many who professed it, a school of prophets, who had already produced the book of Deuteronomy, laboured unceasingly to eradicate idolatry, using as the basis of their teaching the stories now current of the past.[2] The methods of the ancient prophets who had taught by hymns which could be learnt by heart were still employed to convey warnings against idolatry (*e.g.*, Dt 32), and to set forth the blessings which might be expected as the result of obedience (*e.g.*, Dt 33). A collection of Jeremiah's prophecies had been in existence for some time, and probably also collec

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of Samaria was probably in a more flourishing condition, as it had had longer time to recover from the effects of the Assyrian invasions.

[1] The date in Hag 2^{18} is a mistaken insertion from v.^{10}. The discourse in 2^{2-9} is evidently that which was delivered at the laying of the foundation-stone.

[2] The exact nature of the appeal to Darius is not stated, but it may be inferred from the subsequent appeal said to have been addressed to Artaxerxes (Ezr 4^{9-16}).

[3] That Joshua's misfortune—which Zechariah allegorically describes as an accusation by Satan (Zec $3^{1\text{ff.}}$)—was attempted deposition from the priesthood is clear from the fact that he is represented as clad in filthy garments, *i.e.* garments in which it would be impossible for a priest to minister.

[4] In Zec 6^{13} for 'on his throne' (the second time of the occurrence of the phrase) the LXX has 'at his right hand'; and, since there is a reference to two people in the following clause, it is evident that the name of Joshua has been omitted in this verse, while it has been wrongly written for that of Zerubbabel in v.^{11}.

[1] The prominence given in the existing books of Samuel to the rejection of Saul in favour of David would suggest that it was claimed by some in Samaria that a king who should reign over all Israel should not be of the house of David. There is no difficulty in the supposition that some members of Saul's family still remained at Gibeah.

[2] A good illustration of this is found in the words put into the mouth of Joshua (Jos 24). In mentioning the people who dwelt beyond the Euphrates and served other gods, the writer really has in view the immediate ancestors of many of those whom he is addressing.

tions of the sayings of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, and Habakkuk.[1]

The ideals of those whom Zechariah had endeavoured to dissuade from attempting to fortify Jerusalem continued to be cherished by many in that city. The work of rebuilding the wall was probably begun in 515 B.C., and Tattenai and Shethar-bozenai appealed against it successfully to the Persian government. According to Ezr 4^{6}, an appeal was made to Xerxes (Ahasuerus) against the Jews about the year 485 B.C., from which it may be inferred that there was then another attempt to fortify Jerusalem. The work was yet again taken in hand in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, probably between 460 and 455.[2] On this occasion the wall appears to have been almost completed when Artaxerxes, in response to an earnest appeal from Rehum and Shimshai, who appear to have been respectively governors of Samaria and some other Palestinian province, allowed these men to raise troops in the country and to stop the work. A force composed of Samaritans, Ammonites, Moabites, and others thereupon attacked Jerusalem, demolished a considerable portion of the newly built wall, burned the gates, and carried off many captives.[3] The Edomites, of whom large numbers had for more than a century been pressing northwards and had become incorporated in Judah, may have been induced by the Samaritans to take part in this attack—an act of treachery which the Jerusalem party never forgave.

20. Appointment of Nehemiah; rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem.—It was not long before the tables were turned on those who had attacked Jerusalem. In 448 B.C. the Syrian satrap Megabyzos revolted, and Samaria seems to have been involved in the rebellion. If this were so, the Jews would naturally hold aloof, and this fact might be adduced to convince Artaxerxes of their loyalty. But, whatever may be the explanation of the Persian king's change of policy, there can be no doubt that in April 445 B.C. a Jew named Nehemiah, an official at the court of Susa, who had some months previously received a report of the forlorn condition of Jerusalem, obtained leave from Artaxerxes to visit that city and to fortify it.

Upon his arrival at Jerusalem, Nehemiah, after making a secret survey of the wall, called a meeting of the citizens and communicated to them what he proposed to do. Perhaps the recent attack on Jerusalem had alienated from the Samaritans the sympathies of some who would not otherwise have been hostile to them. Nehemiah's proposal was enthusiastically adopted, and in fifty-two days the repair of the wall was completed. During this first visit to Jerusalem, however, Nehemiah appears to have accomplished little else. At every turn he must have realized how widely his own ideals, which were shared by the Jewish community in the east, differed from those of the people who in Palestine professed to be Israelite. The radical difference between the religion of the Jews in Babylonia and that of the heathen among whom they lived had made intermarriage almost an impossibility, and the Jews had remained a community apart. In Palestine, to Nehemiah's horror, there was no such sharp line of demarcation. Those who in Jerusalem were like-minded with Nehemiah were in a minority, and there seemed little likelihood of their being able, under the existing conditions, to indoctrinate their fellow-countrymen. Nehemiah came to the conclusion that the reforms which he desired could not be carried into practice unless the small minority who sympathized with him were reinforced by a mission from Babylonia. Upon his return to the east he obtained permission from Artaxerxes for the return to Jerusalem under the leadership of Ezra[1] of a number of Jews (probably carefully selected)[2] then living in the east.

21. Mission of Ezra; publication of the Law.—Upon their arrival an attempt was made to separate Jews from non-Jews, and to put a stop to mixed marriages. The attempt aroused intense opposition and little was effected. Ezra must indeed have felt himself powerless, inasmuch as among a people who possessed and reverenced Scriptures he had none to which he could appeal as authority for the work which he proposed to do. He determined, therefore, to publish in Jerusalem the law of the Zadokite lawyers in Babylonia; and, since it was impossible to expect that Palestine would give up its Scriptures, he decided to follow the precedent set when the Scriptures of Samaria and Judah had been combined into JE. Probably in order to carry out this work, Ezra returned to the east, but on this point we have no information. In 433, Nehemiah got Artaxerxes to appoint him governor of Jerusalem, and returned thither, perhaps accompanied by Ezra. As yet little had been accomplished in the matter of reform. So lax were the ideas about the sanctity of the Temple, on which Ezekiel had laid great stress, that the high priest had allowed Tobiah, the Ammonite governor, to have a room there (Neh 13$^{4ff.}$). The singers and Levites—perhaps those who had but recently returned with Ezra—had not found a livelihood at the Temple, and had left to seek a living elsewhere (Neh 13^{10}).

> 'Realizing that no reform could be permanent which did not rest on a legal basis, Nehemiah took steps to secure the recognition of the law in the shape to which the labours of Ezra and his fellow-workers had brought it. He accordingly induced the leaders of the people to enter into a solemn compact to observe the law. A legal document was drawn up, and the leaders both of clergy and laity affixed to it their seals. The law, having been formally accepted by the leaders, was then promulgated at a general assembly of the people: whether by Nehemiah only, or by Nehemiah and Ezra together, can scarcely be determined with certainty, for Nehemiah viii. shews too many signs of the hand of a later editor to allow us to attach much importance to the names there given.'[3]

The Law published by Nehemiah and Ezra was probably the whole Pentateuch, that is to say, it consisted of the documents JE, Deuteronomy (D), and the Priestly Code (P), including the Law of Holiness (H); it must not, however, be supposed that it had as yet attained to its present form. Those who worked at the codification of the Priestly Code in Babylonia could not provide for all the contingencies which would arise when the Law had been put into force in Palestine, and many an amendment and addition must have been found necessary after 433.

22. Final breach with the Samaritans.—From the first Nehemiah had shown himself uncompromising in his Judæan and Zadokite prejudices. Having grown up as a member of a race which had perforce been separate from other races for several generations, he could not bring himself to look upon people of mixed nationality as truly Israelite. Although those who accompanied Ezra seem to have been chosen as representative of the twelve tribes, Nehemiah soon showed that, in his opinion,

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[1] This must not be taken to mean that any of these collections have reached us in their original form. They have all been more or less modified to suit the exigencies of later ages.

[2] See *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 117.

[3] The rendering of the English version in Neh 1^{3}, 'the remnant that are left of the captivity,' naturally suggests to English readers the Babylonian captivity, but the Hebrew is more naturally understood of the carrying off of those who had been recently captured in war.

[1] For this view of the relation of Nehemiah and Ezra see *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 123 ff.

[2] At first there were no Levites among the returning exiles, and Ezra made a special point of procuring some (Ezr 8$^{15-20}$). It is probable that from the deportation of the Zadokites till the return of Ezra the clergy who ministered at Jerusalem had been all of one rank.

[3] *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, p. 125 f.; cf. also W. H. Kosters, art. 'Ezra-Nehemiah' in *EBi* ii. 1487, § 17 (*c*).

Judah alone was genuinely Israelite. The Samaritans he scorned and hated. Under these circumstances a breach sooner or later was inevitable, and we can scarcely wonder that, when Nehemiah dismissed the grandson of the high priest from office at the Temple on the ground that he had married the daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria (Neh 13^{28}), the last straw had been laid on the burden of Samaritan patience. Shechem still retained memories of its once famous sanctuary, and the dismissed priest, whose name, according to Josephus (*Ant.* XI. vii. 2, viii. 2, 4), was Manasseh, was soon installed there as priest in a new temple.[1] The cleavage seems to have followed political lines,[2] the boundary between the two provinces being also the boundary between the areas of the rival sanctuaries. By this schism, which was, indeed, the culmination of Nehemiah's whole policy, the Jews of Jerusalem and its vicinity became as completely separated from their neighbours in Palestine as their brethren in the east had been from the heathen population of Babylonia. The Jew became a man apart, and a century of isolation gave to the new Judaism sufficient strength to enable it to stand against the flood of new ideas which came in with Alexander the Great.

We do not know what effect the Samaritan schism had upon Galilee. The mention of Kedesh as a city of refuge (Jos 20^{7}) implies that Galilee had, at least to some extent, accepted the law of the One Sanctuary, and in Maccabæan times there were not a few loyal Jews in the district (1 Mac 5^{14-23}). It is impossible to say whether these had settled in the north since 332, or whether the Israelites of Galilee remained loyal throughout the Samaritan schism. The latter supposition is by no means impossible, for Galilee and Samaria formed different provinces, and the jealousy between Samaria and Judah was almost wholly political.

Since the deportation of Jews by Nebuchadnezzar, there had been a real danger that religion might develop on such different lines in the east and in the west as to cause a permanent cleavage in the religion of Israel. By the combination of the law of the east with that of the west, Nehemiah had averted this danger. In Egypt, however, the Israelite settlers appear to have known nothing of the development of the Law at home. It is very doubtful whether they possessed any portion of the Pentateuch. It is practically certain that they were unacquainted with Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code.

The drastic measures adopted by Nehemiah to get rid of those who would not accept the new Law, based as this was entirely on religious principles, inevitably transformed the population which did accept it into a church rather than a nation, and in such a state of things the priests were naturally all-important, and the high priest was regarded as the head of the State. It would seem, however, that the national spirit was not wholly dead, and that there were even proposals to elect a king—proposals which were vigorously opposed by the clerical aristocracy.[3]

23. Institution of synagogues and rise of the scribes.—Nehemiah's efforts to enforce the Law produced one result of inestimable advantage for the development of spiritual religion—the institution of synagogues with the consequent rise of the scribes. Since a Law so complex as that contained in the Pentateuch could not have been learnt at one hearing, it must have been necessary to provide for regular instruction in it; and the informal meetings which in the past had taken place in the prophets' houses (cf. 2 K 4^{23}) probably suggested a way in which this could be effected. Henceforth those who wished to know the will of Jahweh betook themselves, not to the prophets who had taught according to their own intuition, but to those who were duly instructed in the written Law. Professional prophets, indeed, long continued to exist, but they were men with whom prophecy was merely a livelihood. The nobler exponents of Jahweh's will found their inspiration for the most part in the Scriptures, though prophecy was by no means dead, if the word be understood not of the form, but of the substance of the message delivered.[1]

It was impossible that the Jews should live among so highly civilized a people as the Babylonians without acquiring a considerable amount of culture, and the connexion between Palestine and the east during the 6th and 5th centuries had probably brought much of this culture to Jerusalem. Doubtless a number of practices of which Ezra and Nehemiah would have disapproved lingered on or even found their way into Jewish religious life, and in some cases, such as the celebration of the Day of Atonement, were found to have taken so firm a hold upon the people that it became necessary to embody them in the Law. There can be little doubt, however, that, as a whole, the development in religion from the time of Nehemiah was in the direction of a higher spirituality. It is true that the priests whom Malachi had rebuked about the middle of the 5th cent., and who were then far from being spiritual leaders, do not appear to have been any better after Nehemiah's reforms, but happily the spirituality of Israel did not depend on the Temple.

From the Samaritan schism till the coming of Alexander the history of Judah is almost a blank. Josephus tells us (*Ant.* XI. vii. 1) of a quarrel between the high priest Johanan and his brother Jeshua, and of the murder of the latter, which was punished by Bagoas, who may reasonably be identified with the Bagohi who, according to the Elephantine papyri, was governor of Judah in 408. Perhaps the prophecy of Joel in its original form dates from the period between Nehemiah and Alexander, and doubtless the redaction of the historical books still continued.

24. Condition of Judaism, 332–198 B.C.—With the coming of Alexander the Great a new era dawned for Palestine and for Judaism. The Persians had been most unpopular rulers, and Alexander promised a large measure of freedom. But long isolation had produced, at least in the rank and file of Judaism, a shrinking from contact with heathenism, and it was perhaps for some time doubtful whether the little community of Jews in Jerusalem and the neighbouring districts of Judah would gain any advantage from the opening up of the world which had resulted from Alexander's conquests. It is probable that in the book of Jonah we have a rebuke of that contemptuous attitude towards the Gentiles which was endangering the very existence of the nation. The writer, who, like St. Paul, evidently contrasts 'Jews by nature' with 'sinners of the Gentiles,' maintains that Israel has a message for the world, and it was doubtless due to him, and to those who were like-minded, that Jews loyal to their religion now left the narrow district to which they had been restricted and settled not only further afield in Palestine, but also in more remote parts of Alexander's dominions.

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[1] Josephus puts this schism a century later, but that Sanballat was governor in the 5th cent. B.C. is proved by the Elephantine papyri.

[2] The idea that the kingdom of N. Israel was composed of ten tribes probably arose very late. Since Simeon was absorbed in Judah, and Levi was not a territorial tribe, the number ten can be obtained only by counting Benjamin. In some passages Judah seems to denote the kingdom of Judah, *e.g.* Jg 1^{10}, 1 K 12^{20}, and is described as 'one tribe,' *e.g.* in 1 K $11^{32.36}$. Later on, probably in consequence of the presence of powerful Benjamite families in the province of Judah, Judah was reckoned as two tribes, Judah and Benjamin, Simeon being ignored, and the number ten was obtained simply by subtracting two from twelve.

[3] No one can fail to be struck by the extraordinary statements put into the mouth of Samuel when the people demand a king, and by the arrogant way in which the prophet is represented as giving his orders to the king.

[1] This is doubtless the explanation of the development of the apocalyptic as distinct from the earlier prophetic style, which is especially characteristic of the 2nd cent. B.C. Prophetic methods were then discredited (Zec $13^{2ff.}$). Exhortations had long before been put into the mouth of historical characters, but now descriptions of past events and of their still future outcome were together put into the mouth of some one in the past, thus teaching a philosophy of history

It is not unlikely that the Jews had at first anticipated from the coming of Alexander greater freedom than was actually given them. They must have felt keenly their subjection to the Ptolemaic rule, although that rule was mild compared with Persian methods of government. A new trouble was, however, arising. With the advent of Hellenism the religion of Jahweh had to grapple with a more dangerous foe than it had as yet encountered. At first the danger was scarcely realized, but, as milder government made it increasingly possible for Jews to become wealthy, the attractions of Hellenism became more serious. In the book of Proverbs we have a picture of a fairly well-to-do community, and the warnings against foreign vices here given show the temptations to which the younger Jews especially were exposed.

25. Struggle between Judaism and Hellenism.—When Antiochus the Great became master of Palestine (198 B.C.), the condition of Judaism was outwardly more flourishing than had been the case for centuries. The work which Simon the son of Onias had been able to carry out at the Temple (Sir 50) about the end of the 3rd cent. is sufficient proof that there was a considerable amount of wealth among loyal Jews. Moreover, there had been a great expansion of Judaism, and Jewish communities were to be found not only in Jerusalem and the almost exclusively Jewish districts of Judæa, but also in Galilee and Gilead, as well as among the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, and Philistines. The poorer Jews, especially in the country districts, were loyal to the Law; but among the wealthier classes, particularly in Jerusalem, the social disadvantages of customs radically opposed to Hellenism were being keenly felt, and there were not a few people who were disposed to live in a way which, if it did not actually imply the abandonment of the Law, at least showed a dangerous inclination to coquette with Hellenism.

It is unnecessary to trace here in detail the widening of the breach between those who were loyal to the Law, the *Ḫăsîdîm*, as they came to be called, and those who were in favour of adopting Hellenism; or to describe the events which led to the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to make an end of Judaism. That attempt marks the greatest and most glorious development in the religion of Israel. Never before had the religion of Jahweh been subjected to so severe a trial; yet it not only stood the test, but emerged from it spiritualized and glorified. At first the resistance of the *Ḫăsîdîm* was passive; martyrdom followed martyrdom and massacre massacre. Hitherto it had been the received teaching that compensation for suffering would be given to the righteous before death, but now old theories of retribution, which had, perhaps, been quite recently attacked in the poem of Job, broke down utterly. The *Ḫăsîdîm* asked, 'Why standest thou so far off, O Jahweh?,' and from many a synagogue there went up the cry, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' Though for some time they found no answer, they were yet loyal. Hunted as they were from place to place, and treated as sheep for the slaughter, they nevertheless continued to meet, and to comfort one another. Lessons for the present distress were found in the words of the prophets whose utterances were now sometimes modified or amplified to suit the situation, sometimes imitated. Several passages in the prophetical books, especially Isaiah, as these have come down to us, show signs of having been composed or adapted during this period of storm and stress.

It is impossible here to tell the story of the Maccabæan struggle and of the successes achieved by the Jews, beginning with the re-dedication of the Temple on 25th Dec. 165 B.C. and culminating in the granting of autonomy to the Jews under Simon, who was accepted as high priest in 141. The tremendous importance of the religious development during this period has been overlooked, partly owing to preconceived ideas about the history of the Canon and the date of the Septuagint version, but largely owing to the quite correct feeling that the religion of the Psalms and the books of the Prophets is on a far higher plane than that which is found in the books of Maccabees. Yet, if it be remembered that the *Ḫăsîdîm* and the Maccabees were not identical, and that, whereas some of the latter—*e.g.* Jonathan and Simon—were, despite their personal bravery, stained with vice, of the former the Apostle writes, 'of whom the world was not worthy' (He 11[38]), objections to a Maccabæan date on this score will have little force.

Happily, the Maccabees were dependent for a time on the help of the *Ḫăsîdîm*, and to this cause we may attribute the fact that, in the work of restoration under Simon, the *Ḫăsîdîm* appear to have had considerable influence. In Jerusalem and in many synagogues the Scriptures had been burnt, defaced, or defiled, and after the struggle it would probably be necessary to edit the prophetic writings from tattered and mutilated fragments, the original Scriptures and later compositions based upon them being in many cases indistinguishable. At the same time the synagogue collections of Psalms, which had now become an integral part of the religious life of the people, would be combined for the use of the Temple, and a beginning would thus be made of the last section of the Hebrew Canon.

In the Psalms and in the books of the Prophets, as they finally appear after the Maccabæan struggle, we see how great an evolution has taken place in Israel. The crude religion of Israel, as it had existed seven hundred years before, has been enriched and purified 'by divers portions and in divers manners.' The crudities often remain, but to a great extent they fail to obtrude themselves, because they too have been made to serve the purpose of a spiritual religion, and only the student of comparative religion recognizes their original nature.

The climax of OT revelation was achieved through the sufferings of the *Ḫăsîdîm*. Those sufferings, which had once tried the faith of the best men in Israel almost to breaking, were seen in the final issue not only to have preserved the national life of Israel, but to have established a Church which attracted the best elements of other nations. At last the meaning of martyrdom was made clear, and those who in their suffering for the right had proved themselves to be the true Israel were vindicated. To this Israel, His steadfast servant who had faith to discern His utterance, Jahweh had spoken in no uncertain voice:

> 'It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth' (Is 49[6])

LITERATURE.—J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*^{5}, Berlin, 1901; J. E. Carpenter and G. Harford-Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, London, 1902; S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the OT*^{9}, Edinburgh, 1913; OT artt. in *EBi* and *HDB*.

R. H. KENNETT.

ITALY (ANCIENT).—**1. Introductory.**—The design of this article is limited to recording briefly such features in the religious belief and usage of Ancient Italy during the last six centuries B.C. as are independent, so far as can be ascertained, both of Etruscan and of Roman religion. The materials for such an account are, of course, scanty. They consist mainly of ancient inscriptions or archæological remains from the areas inhabited by tribes not speaking either Latin or Etruscan, combined with what meagre records survive, in Roman and Greek authors, of the customs of those tribes. This record is often still difficult to interpret; and there is always the danger that a particular cult in a particular district (say in the 3rd or later centuries B.C.), though wearing all the appearance of native usage, may really have been planted there by either Etruscan or Greek influence. Under these circumstances, the only useful method is to avoid general statements relating to the whole of the peninsula, and to present instead a brief outline of the salient features of each separate tribal area; so that, however limited our progress may be, there will be at least firm ground beneath our feet. By comparison of the details given here with the artt. ROMAN RELIGION and ETRUSCAN RELIGION, the reader will easily reach such general conclusions as may at present safely be drawn.

2. Chronology.—The period which is mostly represented by the statements that follow, when no more precise dates are given, is from 400–90 B.C. (or, more narrowly, from 350–150). After the latter year there were not many parts of Italy in which Latin was not commonly understood and spoken; and after 89 B.C., at the conclusion of the Social War, what remained of the local dialects rapidly died out. So soon as the conquering idiom has established itself in a locality, it becomes difficult to distinguish with certainty the surviving elements of local usage from the predominant influence of Roman custom. The beginning of the record is for most districts safely reckoned at 400 B.C., since (with the possible exception of a few Venetic inscriptions from Padua, and some interesting, but as yet mainly undeciphered and almost wholly untranslated, inscriptions from the Eastern coast, such as the inscriptions of Castrignano and Grecchio) there are no dialectal inscriptions which can be referred to any earlier date than 400 B.C., when the knowledge of the Græco-Etruscan alphabet first penetrated the mountain tribes of the centre, through their contact with the Greek colonies of the Western coast and with the Etruscans. Nevertheless, it will be found that some of the records come themselves provided with a considerable history, from the analysis of which we can glean not uninteresting particulars of the beliefs of the tribes at a period antecedent to the first Gallic invasion, though in no case earlier than the arrival of the Etruscans.

3. Tribal areas.—For a description of the geographical distribution of the different tribes of Ancient Italy, the reader must be referred to other sources—*e.g.*, the art. 'Italy' in *EBr*^{11}, sect. on 'Ancient Languages and Peoples.' It will suffice to enumerate here the following different tribes of whose religious beliefs we have some limited knowledge: (1) the Messapians in the South Eastern peninsula; (2) the Samnite tribes occupying roughly the southern half of the centre of the peninsula; (3) their kinsmen who settled in the Campanian plain between 440 and 400 B.C., over running a partly Italic and partly Etruscan population, especially in the great city of Capua, which they held until it was destroyed in 211 B.C.; (4) their kinsmen to the North—a group of hardy mountaineers, of whom the Marsians and Pælignians were the most conspicuous; (5) the Sabines, the brothers of the Roman Patricians and the ancestors of the Samnites; (6) the ancient inhabitants of Latium, probably identical with the Plebeians at Rome; (7) the Volscians, a primitive tribe who occupied the marshes on the coast and some of the hills behind them, between the Latins and the Campanians; (8) the Umbrian inhabitants of Iguvium, the authors of the famous Iguvine Tables; (9) the Veneti in the plains of the North East. This leaves out of account the Bruttii in the extreme South Western peninsula, the Ligurians in the North West (see art. LIGURIAN RELIGION), and the Picentines in the East; no very substantial record of the religion of any of these at this period has been as yet discovered. For the usages of the Celtic invaders of Trans-Alpine Gaul, see art. CELTS.

(1) *Messapians.*—In the scanty and difficult inscriptions that survive from this people (the tribe from which the Latin poet Ennius sprang) no deities have been recognized except such as are familiar on Greek soil; and the only divine name that occurs frequently enough to be identified without hesitation is that of the goddess Aphrodite in a genuine Messapian form (Aprodita), which is fairly good evidence that her worship was established in the locality, though it is probable that the goddess Damater (Attic Demeter) was also not unknown. According to Festus (p. 181 [ed. C. O. Müller, Leipzig, 1839]), the Jupiter to whom the Messapian Salentini sacrificed a horse had the epithet Menzana—a name for which there is more than one possible but no certain etymology. Even Mommsen's careful collection (*Unterital. Dialekte*, pp. 85–98) of the evidence from ancient writers contains hardly anything that is of service to students of religion.

(2) *The Samnite tribes.*—The Samnite tribes were in origin identical with the Sabines,[1] and there is little doubt that, like them, they shared many of the beliefs and usages of the Roman official religion. There is no doubt, *e.g.*, that they practised the curious institution of the *ver sacrum*, by which, under pressure of some public calamity, all the creatures, human and others, born in a particular spring were devoted to the gods, and compelled at a certain age to leave the territory of the rest of the tribe and seek a home elsewhere. Such, according to a well-attested tradition, was the origin of the distinction between the Samnites proper and the Sabines (see, *e.g.*, Festus, p. 326 f., 106 [Müller]). In the intercourse between Romans and Samnites in the Samnite Wars they appear to have well understood the fetial ceremonies practised by the Romans (see Livy, ix. 1–12), and they certainly shared the body of early Italic custom which the Romans originally denoted by the term *ius gentium*. More definite information about their beliefs is afforded by a well-preserved monument, which has hardly attracted as much notice as it deserves. It is a bronze tablet, now in the British Museum, inscribed on both sides, known as the *Tabula Agnonensis*, from the name of the modern village (Agnone) near which it was found, and which is near the site of the ancient Bovianum. This table enumerates the deities worshipped in a sacred grove or garden, and presents some details of their cult. The text of it is typical of the religion of the most powerful tribe of Italy, and worth quotation in full. A query in the translation indicates the points at which the meaning of the Oscan is still subject to doubt. It should be explained that the whole grove was sacred to a (presumably feminine) deity called Kerres, who certainly stands in some near relation to the Latin Ceres; and most of the various deities

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[1] See (5) below.

have an epithet showing their subordination to or connexion with her.

'The following deities are placed in the Garden of Kerres. A statue to the goddess of Gestation (?); to the Good-Humoured god [Mercury]; to Kerres; to the Kerrean mother; to the goddess Midwife; to the Kerrean Wet-Nurse; to the Kerrean Streams; to the inmost-forest[1]-revealing (?) goddess; to the Kerrean Rains; to the Kerrean Dawns; to Jove the Door-keeper (?); to Jove the Ruler; to the Kerrean Herculus; to the faithful goddess of Delivery; to the Divine Creatress.

On the altar for fire-sacrifice a sacred offering is decreed at every alternate festival.

At the garden the statues are dedicated to the following attendants of Flora. To the Kerrean Presentress [*i.e.* a goddess of Birth ?]; to the Kerrean Wet-Nurse; to the Kerrean Flora; to Father Good-Humour [Mercury].

The following altars belong to the garden:'

[Then follows an enumeration of the deities whose statues have been already mentioned in which Jupiter the Ruler is also called Pius, 'dutiful' (as son or father ?); then a repetition of the rule for the fire-sacrifice, and, finally, the statement that the garden 'is dedicated to the Decumanii' (deities of the sacred tithes ?).]

It would be out of place to discuss the details of this interesting list; but it will be seen at once that there could hardly be a better illustration of the half-animistic stage which Warde Fowler has traced in his *Religious Experience of the Roman People* (London, 1911), p. 117. Side by side with fairly complete persons, such as Jupiter, Hercules, and Ceres, we have a number of shadowy figures representing different natural operations of importance to the worshipper in an agricultural community, and their connexion with the supreme creative force represented by Kerres is expressed with curious faithfulness by the continual repetition of the epithet 'Kerrean.'

This town, Bovianum, was the chief centre of the Samnites; but no Samnite inscriptions have survived connected with any buildings. An interesting characteristic, however, of a large temple which has been laid bare upon the site (modern Calcatello, near Pietrabbondante) is that the hill on which it stood slopes towards the E.; and, in order that the worshipper might not have to turn his back upon the E. in addressing the statue of the god, this was placed on the N. side wall of the Cella, similar arrangements being made with the altars outside. The temple presumably belonged to Apollo. One other deity who should be mentioned was called in Samnite form Anagtia, better known under her Marso-Latin title of Angitia (see below, § 4).

(3) *The Campanians.*—The inscriptions of the prosperous towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum, which were overwhelmed in A.D. 79, include many which go back to the Oscan period, and vouch for the worship of Apollo, Flora, Venus, and Hercules, under their Oscan titles of Apellu, Fluusa, Herentas, and Hercolus. To Hercolus, for instance, was dedicated a spacious temple on the confines of Nola and Abella, whose administration formed the subject of a solemn treaty between the two communities (R. S. Conway, *Italic Dialects*, no. 95).

On the leaden curses, of which several have been preserved, having been originally put into tombs in order to be conducted by the dead man (who had no connexion with the curse) to another world, we find the deity Kerres with an epithet *arentika* (supposed to mean 'avenging'); and also a euphemistic description of some punitive deities as 'the best of maidens' (*valaimas puklum*), who with Kerres are besought to punish the victim of the curse by depriving him of all capacity to undertake any operation of life, as well as by various species of torture (see the curse of Vibia [Conway, no. 130]). Kerres apparently has a 'legion' of other spirits under her command; and the object of the curse is to secure some concession, which, if made, will free the victim from it.

The most interesting phenomenon, however, in the religious documents of ancient Campania is the unique group of inscriptions which scholars have agreed to call Jovilæ (Osc. *iovilas*). These are coats of arms (generally, though not always, containing a pair of emblems) which appear to have been dedicated either at graves or in some temple or sacred grove, though the only deity clearly mentioned is 'Jupiter *Flagius'—to write his name in Latin form (the meaning and significance of the epithet are uncertain). The object of the erection of the Jovila was to secure the performance of some regular sacrifice, presumably in honour of the ancestors or tutelar deities of the families concerned, at regular dates in the year, such as the Ides of March. They are commonly cut from stone; but the later specimens were more cheaply made of terra-cotta, and a pair of these may be seen in the British Museum. They have been discovered hitherto only at Capua and Cumæ. The inscriptions regularly mention the name of a *gens*, and very often of two, such as the Tirentii Magii. Fuller details, with the scanty record of the nearest parallels to this usage known elsewhere in ancient Italy, such as the *Stultorum Feriæ* at Rome, and the crests of families at Heraclea, may be found in Conway, p. 101 ff. The fact that they appear nowhere but in or near a city so long under Etruscan influence raises the question how far we have here a genuine Italic usage; but the evidence, on the whole, points to its having been natural to Italian soil.

(4) *North Oscan tribes of the Abruzzi.*—The Pælignian town of Corfinium, though far from completely excavated, has yielded some interesting records of the local institutions. It is clear that the local dialect remained in full use in these mountain valleys until the time of Cicero. We have several epitaphs in honour of persons bearing the epithet Kerria, *i.e.* '(priestess) of Kerres'; and one longer and interesting inscription describes a lady connected with two noble *gentes* as 'shepherdess of the sacred flock' and 'priestess of two (masculine) gods of agriculture,' the *Cerfi semones*—to Latinize their names; she is said to have been buried 'by command of Urania' (commonly interpreted as Venus; but quite possibly denoting either Demeter or Juno), and the contents of the inscription show that she had been married. The goddesses Minerva and Angitia and the 'children of Jove,' presumably Castor and Pollux, were also worshipped in this district.

One other characteristic of these tribes is the comparative frequency of dedications to geographical deities, such as the River Avernus, Lake Fucinus, and Pater Albensis, probably a deity connected with the same lake near whose shores stood the town of Alba Fucens.

A goddess Vesūna Erinia is coupled with Erinus or Ero Pater on one inscription of the Marsi; and, as Vesūna is commonly identified with Vesta, her appearing here as one of a divine couple is noteworthy. The goddesses of good health and victory (Valetudo, Victoria) show the same abstract character that is familiar in many Roman deities; but their inscriptions are hardly earlier than 150 B.C.

A famous temple and grove belonging to the goddess Angitia stood on the shore of Lake Fucinus, and she was widely worshipped in this mountain region as the goddess of healing, with skill to cure by charms and herbs the bites of the serpents which abound in its limestone rocks. The name is commonly connected with the Latin *anguis*, 'snake'; the derivation is doubtful, though in the present state of our knowledge not altogether impossible. In one inscription the name appears in the plural, so that there were apparently sister deities. The Marsian district was famous for witches in classical times, and is still counted the home of witchcraft in Modern Italy (A. de Nino, *Usi e costumi abruzzesi*, Florence, 1891, *passim*, esp. vol. vi.).

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[1] The epithet *líganakdíkei* would be in Latin form **lignācodex*, and may conceivably mean 'that indicates the proper trees to be hewn.

(5) *The Sabines.*—To discuss the religion of the Sabines would be to examine the most lofty and austere elements of the religion of the primitive Patricians at Rome, a system whose foundation tradition ascribed to the Sabine king Numa. The Roman writers (like Horace, *Odes*, III. vi. 38) habitually associate with the Sabine element in the Roman stock the ideals of a simple if somewhat stern rustic life—piety, valour, industry in both sexes, in agriculture among the men, in housewifery and spinning among the women, and domestic purity; and there can be no doubt that the difference in feeling between the two orders at Rome was largely due to this more northern strain of ethics in the Sabine stock. The *patria potestas*, with the marked sacredness of the marriage tie, and the religious form of marriage known as *confarreatio*, were associated with the Patrician religion, whereas among the people of the plain of Latium akin to the Volscians there are many traces of kinship being counted only through the mother (*e.g.* Vergil, *Æn.* xi. 340 f.); and the other less sacred types of marriage, which have been plausibly ascribed to a non-Patrician origin, were based either on the primitive custom of purchase or on *usus*, *i.e.* on the mere fact of joint life. It must suffice here to indicate this important distinction, and the sources in which further account of the evidence can be found.

The artt. 'Rome' (sect. on 'Ancient History'), 'Sabini,' and 'Volsci' in *EBr*11 give the considerable linguistic evidence. W. Ridgeway's 'Who were the Romans?' (*Proc. of the Brit. Acad.*, vol. iii. [1907]), collects the archæological data, which should be supplemented by the important criticism of Warde Fowler in his *Religious Experience* (ch. v.; and esp. pp. 112, 140), though his general standpoint (see p. 243) is not very far removed from Ridgeway's. The traces of descent through the female line in the Roman legends of the kings are collected by J. G. Frazer (*Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, London, 1905, lect. viii.). Julius Binder (*Die Plebs*, Leipzig, 1909) also maintains Schwegler's view of a racial distinction between the orders.

Beyond this there is little to say of Sabine religious cults, for the reason that they were practically amalgamated with the Romans at so early a period; the legends ascribe the fusion to the 8th cent. B.C. There have been preserved to us, however, a certain number of divine names and religious terms from the Sabine district, mainly by the Augustan scholar, Varro, who was himself a Sabine. These will be found enumerated in Conway, pp. 353–358.

To the Sabines are specifically assigned by Latin authorities the deities Juno, Quirinus, Mamers (Mars), Minerva, Vacuna, and other more shadowy figures, among which may be mentioned the picturesque name of Fērōnia, the goddess of wild creatures, who had also a great temple in Faliscan territory,[1] despoiled by Hannibal in 215 B.C.

The Faliscans, who were a half-Etruscanized Sabine community, especially worshipped the goddesses Juno and Minerva,[2] and to the Faliscans is attributed also the curious institution of fire-leaping priests (Hirpi).[3]

Mention should be made here of the sacredness of the oak-tree and its connexion in many places with the worship of Jupiter. The evidence for this is collected by A. B. Cook (*ClR* xviii. [1904] 360 ff.); and of this wide use has been made by J. G. Frazer in his *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* (especially in lect. vii.). But the criticism of Warde Fowler (*Religious Experience*, p. 143) is important.

There is no doubt that the oak had many religious associations in central Ancient Italy; but the first point to determine is whether this belief belonged to the Sabine (Patrician) or the Volscian (Latian or Plebeian) stock, or to both. This question is ignored by Frazer, who attributes it equally to the Latian centre of Aricia and to the Sabine Patricians. In one interesting passage which Cook cites (Livy, iii. 25), on Mount Algidus, on the confines of Volscian, Aequian, and Latian territory, there was a sacred oak by which oaths of great importance had to be taken, but which, it is clear from the story, was regarded with more reverence by the Roman than by the Aequian commander. The Aequians, it should be noted, belonged to the Volscian side of the tribal division. But there is no evidence in the passage that the oak was connected with any one particular god, and it is to be observed in the light of linguistic evidence which has accumulated since Cook's paper (see Ridgeway, 'Who were the Romans?' p. 43) that, if Cures and Quirinus are connected with the word meaning 'oak' (Lat. *quercus*), the names are more probably Latin rather than Sabine in origin. On Quirinus see, further, Wissowa, in Roscher.

(6) *Ancient Latium.*—To attempt to separate the religion of the Plebeian or Latian part or parts of the Roman stock is impossible within the limits of this article. The evidence for their distinction from the Sabines has been already cited; but mention should be made here of the famous cult of the Lake of Nemi near Aricia, which was an ancient centre of worship in Latium, and which in historical times was connected with Diana. Besides the Vestal Virgins by whom the worship was properly conducted, there was a curious and very ancient person called Rex Nemorensis, who is described by Strabo (V. iii. 12; see also Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 271).

> 'He was a runaway slave, who succeeded to office by slaying his predecessor, and he held it only so long as he could make good his title in single combat against all assailants. Any fugitive slave who contrived to break a branch from a certain tree in the grove had the right to fight the priest, and if he killed him he reigned in his stead' (J. G. Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 16).

There seems no reason to doubt that this is a survival of a very primitive belief belonging to, or at least at home in, the Latian stock, and Frazer's collection of the evidence of the Roman and Greek elements which came in the end to be attached to the cult is of fascinating interest, although the political deductions which he would attach to his collection still need confirmation.

(7) *The Volscian district.*—In an inscription (Conway, no. 252) from the Volscian town of Velitræ (the birthplace of Augustus), dating from about 300 B.C., whose language shows remarkable affinities to the Umbrian of Iguvium, we have directions as to what is to be done in the case of any profanation of the temple of a deity called Declunus or Decluna; among them it is notable that, in order to repair any injury, the use of iron is specifically permitted, showing that in the ordinary course that metal would be tabu, as to the Flamen of Jupiter at Rome.

(8) *The Umbrians.*—The most famous monument of ancient Italian religion outside Rome is the Iguvine Tables (sometimes erroneously called Eugubine), which were found in the town of Gubbio in the 15th cent., and are still preserved in its Town Hall. They are seven tables of bronze of varying sizes; all but two are engraved on both sides. They are all written in what is generally called the Umbrian dialect, though in different periods of the language. In the earlier Tables, i–v, the Umbrian alphabet, which is a variety of the Etruscan, is used. The two later Tables, vi and vii, with the last paragraph of Table v, are written in the Latin alphabet of about 100 B.C. All but Tables iii and iv can now be interpreted with approximate completeness, and even of iii and iv the general sense is tolerably clear. The Tables contain the liturgy of a sacred brotherhood, the *frateer atiiediur*, who in Latin shape would be called the Fratres Atiedii, together with some administrative resolutions of the same body. Tables vi and vii contain a later and greatly expanded version of the liturgical directions contained in Table i, both alike regulating the solemn lustration of the town

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[1] See Conway, pp. 353–358; and, *e.g.*, Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. 73 f.; Macrobius, I. ix. 16; Livy, XXVI. xi. 8 f.

[2] See Conway, p. 370 ff., and the authorities there cited.

[3] See Varro, quoted by Servius on *Æn.* xi. 787 and 785; also Pliny, VII. ii. 19.

of Iguvium and an assembly of the people closely connected with the *lustrum*. The curse which they pronounce on the enemies of Iguvium denounces the Etruscans but not the Gauls, and must, therefore, have been first composed well before 400 B.C., when the Gauls appear in North Italy south of the Apennines in great numbers.

The chief item in the expansion is that the prayers which are to be recited by the priests, although it is directed that they are to be recited in a whisper [*taçez*, i.e. *tacitus*], are now written out in full (see below).

Table ii, which, on the whole, seems to have been engraved at the earliest date, contains regulations for a sacrifice, including the *lustrum*, which is absent from the later liturgy; for an optional sacrifice to some infernal deity known as Hontus Jovius (or Honta Jovia); and also for the sacrificial proceedings at a six-monthly assembly of deputies (*decuriæ*) from ten towns or clans, the deity worshipped in this case being none but Jupiter the Holy. Tables iii and iv, which (though the existing copy seems later than ii) contain, on the whole, the oldest matter of all of the seven, give directions for sacrifices to be offered in a particular month to a number of deities: (1) Jupiter; (2) Pomonus, with a doubtful epithet (Pupḍike [dative]=*Pubidicus ['the decider, or creator, of sex']?), and (3) Vesūna, who is associated with Pomonus probably as consort, since offerings of a peculiarly feminine character are made to her. Three other deities also receive honour: Tursa, who seems to be a goddess of terror; and Purtupita and Hula (or Purtupitus and Hulus), who are dismissed somewhat briefly. Tursa occurs in one of the other Tables as an associate, or originally perhaps merely as a potency, of the masculine deity known as Cerfius Martius. Part of the ritual prescribed in Table iii seems to have been the carrying round of the victim in some sort of a cage, though the meaning of the lines (10–20) is by no means certain. If this view of the meaning is correct, it gives a welcome ground for assuming some historical connexion between the ritual of the Tables and the remarkable ceremony still practised in Gubbio every year on 15th May, the date of the Roman Ambarvalia. A full description of this modern and ancient rite with admirable photographs and a discussion of its connexion with the Tables will be found in H. M. Bower, *The Elevation and Procession of the Ceri at Gubbio* (=Publication xxxix. of Folk-Lore Society), London, 1897.

The following paragraph (*Tab. Iguv.* vi. b, 19–36), taken from the ceremonial to be observed at the Vehian Gates, will illustrate the style of the liturgy. The two deities invoked are (1) Grabovis, who is probably the same as the Roman Gradivus, with an epithet Vofiǫ, which probably means 'Hearer of Vows'; and (2) Tefer Jovius, the first title being presumably connected with Gr. *τέφρα*, 'ashes,' and Oscan *tefúrúm*, 'burnt-sacrifice.' [For the sake of conciseness, the rendering that follows is given in the 2nd person; but the original is in the 3rd.]

> 'Before the Vehian Gate sacrifice three bulls with white foreheads to Grabovis, the Hearer of Vows, on behalf of the Fisian hill and the city of Iguvium. Offer the inward parts (?) with the sacrificial knife [*or* upon the sacrificial dish]; make offering either with wine or vinegar; offer the corn, pray silently. Sprinkle the flat cake with salt, offer it with the round cake; then make announcement of the auguries as before the Trebulan Gate.
>
> After passing the Vehian Gate, offer three lambs (?) to Tefer, Son (?) of Jove, on behalf of the Fisian hill and the city of Iguvium. Make the offering seated, offer the meat [? *or* bury the remains]; offer the corn; offer the vinegar; pray silently. Over the severed portions present the sacred cakes of two shapes, then announce the auguries as at the Trebulan Gate. When you have made oblation of the lambs (?), then do you, the same priest, offer, at the right foot, libation and the image of a pig. Make a hollow for the sacred basin; hold it in the left hand until you have completed the libation. Set the sacred basin in its place and at the left foot offer the blood [*or* (?) the final oblation]. Then pray thus over the libation: "Thus I invoke thee, Tefer, Son of Jove, on behalf of the Fisian hill and the city of Iguvium for the folk [? *or* name] of each; foster and be kind to the hill and to the city, to the folk [?] of each. I beseech thee, holy one, trusting in thy holiness; I beseech thee, Tefer, Son of Jove, by this thine own sacred purifying image of a pig, on behalf of the Fisian hill, the city of Iguvium, and the folk of each. O Tefer, Son of Jove, by the might of this offering, whatever fire has broken out [?] in the Fisian hill, whatever solemn rites have been neglected in the city of Iguvium, count it as not having happened. O Tefer, Son of Jove, whatever part of thy sacrifice has been forgotten, let slip, spoilt, stolen, or lost, whatsoever defect there be in thy sacrifice, seen or unseen, O Tefer, Son of Jove, in so far as it be lawful, let it be made pure by this sacred purifying image of a pig. O Tefer, Son of Jove, make pure the Fisian hill and the city of Iguvium. O Tefer, Son of Jove, make pure the folk, the nobles, the sacred rites, the persons of men and cattle, and the fruits of the Fisian hill and the city of Iguvium; make them pure, foster and be kind with thy peace towards the Fisian hill and the city of Iguvium, and to the folk of each. O Tefer, Son of Jove, keep safe the Fisian hill and the city of Iguvium. O Tefer, Son of Jove, keep safe the folk, the nobles, the sacred rites, the persons of men and cattle and the fruit of the Fisian hill and the city of Iguvium. Keep them safe, foster and be kind with thy peace toward them. O Tefer, Son of Jove, thee with this thine own sacred purifying image of a pig on behalf of the Fisian hill and the city of Iguvium, for the folk of each, O Son of Jove, I beseech thee." In the middle of the prayer, dance.'

It should perhaps be mentioned here that Frazer (*op. cit.* p. 275) accepts without criticism a tradition recorded in a fragment of Nicolaus Damascenus (Stobæus, *Florileg.* x. 70 = *FHG* iii. 457) to the effect that among the Umbrians, whoever may be meant by that description, the ordeal by personal combat was regular. In view of (1) the looseness with which the name Umbrians is used by many Greek writers (see Conway, *op. cit.* p. 395), (2) the nearness of the Umbrians in North Italy to other nationalities, such as the Celts, and (3) the complete absence of any other evidence of such a practice among the Umbrians of Italy proper, the statement cannot be accepted without reserve.

(9) *The Veneti.*—Of the religion of the Veneti, a people speaking an Indo-European tongue which may be described as midway between Greek and Latin, and inhabiting the lower plain of the Po before and after the invasion of the Gauls, we learn most from the inscriptions, both Venetic and Latin, of the district. From the Latin inscriptions contained in *CIL*, vol. v., we find a god named Belenus, occasionally identified with Apollo (*e.g.*, 741). Under the Empire he is often called Augustus (*e.g.*, 2143 and 2144). He was extensively worshipped in the district, and, according to Tertullian (*Apol.* 24), he was of Norican origin (cf. G. Wissowa, *Rel. und Kultus der Römer*², p. 297). Another deity who should be mentioned is Bergimus, whose name must be connected with the modern town of Bergamo (*e.g.*, *CIL* 4200).

We find here also the same instinct as farther south, of worshipping geographical entities: an altar to Lacus Benacus [Lago di Garda] (3998); and to the *Nymphæ Augusti et Genius pagi* (3915). These remarks, of course, apply mainly to the Latin period, *i.e.* after the foundation of the Roman Colony in Aquileia in 184 B.C.

The most picturesque figure among the Venetic deities of whom we have knowledge is the goddess known as Rehtia, to whom belonged what must have been a popular temple in the ancient city of Ateste, the modern Este, where an admirable Museum contains the recently excavated traces of her cult (some account of these was given by the present writer to the British Academy, and reported in the *Times* of 25th July 1908). The name means 'goddess of straightness or rectitude'; but there can be little doubt that she enjoyed the attributes of a goddess of fortune, like the Tuscan Nortia. Among the most numerous votive objects in her temple are a number of long bronze nails of square shape, with inscriptions minutely incised along the sides. Attached to the head of some of the nails are small objects which are best explained as representing the wedges of necessity (*claui trabales*), which Horace described as borne by the goddess of Fortune (*Odes*, I. xxxv. 17). The inscriptions are all of the common votive type, and all in the Venetic language, save that the specimens in which the workmanship of the nail is degraded show also a mere make-believe inscription—a string of zig-zag lines and crosses, with an occasional letter taking the place of the old formula. Two other types of votive offering are common: (1) bronze images of race-horses, of which little is left except the heels of their hind feet embedded in the pedestal that bears the inscription, and (2) bronze alphabetic tablets, which, no doubt, served the same magical purposes as similar inscriptions found elsewhere in Greece and Italy (see ETRUSCAN RELIGION, § 28).

There is at present no complete edition of the remains of these people, though Carl Pauli in *Die Veneter* (Leipzig, 1894) gave the best account then possible of the inscriptions so far discovered. The present writer hopes to publish ere long a more complete collection.

LITERATURE.—W. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911; T. Mommsen, *Die unteritalischen Dialekte*, Leipzig, 1850; C. Pauli, *Die Veneter*, do. 1894; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*^{2}, Munich, 1912; R. S. Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, Cambridge, 1897; F. Bücheler, *Oskische Bleitafel*, Frankfort, 1878, and *Umbrica*, Bonn, 1883; H. M. Bower, *Elevation and Procession of the Ceri*, London, 1897; J. G. Frazer, *The Early History of the Kingship*, do. 1905, and the sections relating to Italy in *GB*^{3}, where the evidence of ancient Italic usage needs to be carefully distinguished from the assumptions and interpretations with which the author combines them.

R. S. CONWAY.

ITIHĀSA.—The word *itihāsa*, formed from *iti ha āsa*, 'so in truth it was,' signifies etymologically a *purāvṛtta* (cf. *Amara-kośa*, I. vi. 4), an event of the past. In the later Skr. literature it simply means 'myth,' 'legend,' 'story,' and is frequently used in conjunction with, and as a synonym of, such common equivalents for 'story' as *ākhyāna*, *ākhyāyikā*, *kathā*, etc.[1] But, if we may accept a fuller definition, viz. 'an event of olden time, conjoined with a tale and provided with a demonstration of duty, profit, love, and final emancipation [the four objects of human existence] is termed *itihāsa*,'[2] the *itihāsa* bore under its narrative guise a didactic sense, and Skr. literature affords sufficient grounds for believing that this was really the case. According to *Āśv. Gṛ. S.* (IV. vi. 6), when a person dies, the friends should sit together, reciting the histories of famous men, while the salutary *itihāsas* and *purāṇas* are recited to them.[3] Kauṭilya regards the hearing of *itihāsas* as part of the daily task by means of which the prince should perfect his education (*Arthaś.* i. 5 [10. 14 f.]), while *itivṛtta* and *purāṇa* (which, as we shall see, are elements of the *itihāsa*) are recommended to the minister as the means whereby he may bring back the misguided king into the right way (*Arthaś.* v. 6 [255. 1]).[4]

The *Mahābhārata* is described as an *itihāsa mahāpuṇyaḥ* ('an *itihāsa* of great merit'; *e.g.*, in *Mahābh.* I. lxii. 16 [2298]), and reference is frequently made to its *puṇyāḥ kathāḥ* ('meritorious tales'). In the numerous *itihāsas* which the *Mahābhārata* usually quotes with the formula *atrāpy udāharantīmam itihāsaṁ purātanam* ('right here they begin this ancient *itihāsa*'; see below), the didactic element assumes such prominence that the historical drapery all but disappears. Such passages as *Mahābh.* XII. cccxli. 14 (13020): 'This doubt, O sage, is, like a dagger, implanted in my heart; tear it out by the recital of *itihāsas*—that is my supreme desire,' may also be recalled.[5]

Kauṭilya, in the first of the two passages already cited (*Arthaś.* i. 5. [10. 15]), regards *itihāsa* as a collective term comprehending the six groups, *purāṇa*, *itivṛtta*, *ākhyāyikā*, *udāharaṇa*, *dharmaśāstra*, and *arthaśāstra*—groups regarding which, it is true, fresh difficulties arise, in so far as we do not know precisely what he means by the several categories.

The present writer is inclined to believe, however, that Sauti's question to the Ṛṣis (*Mahābh.* I. i. 16): 'What, ye twice-born, shall I tell? The meritorious tales collected in the Purāṇas, filled with precepts of duty and profit, (or) the acts (*itivṛtta*) of princes of men and great-souled seers?' indicates an analogous conception of the *itihāsa*, as it refers to the *itihāsa*, the best among the *itihāsas*, *i.e.* the *Mahābhārata* (cf., *e.g.*, I. i. 19, 49, 259, ii. 36 [306], iii. 85 [648], lx. 23 [2229], lxii. 16 [2298], xcv. 88 [3840]), which, in point of fact, contains all the component elements of the *itihāsa* specified by Kauṭilya, *dharma-* and *arthaśāstra* included.[1] To the category of the *purāṇa* may be assigned in this connexion—here the present writer agrees with Jacobi—the legendary (cf. the definition in *Mahābh.* I. v. 2 [864]); to that of the *itivṛtta*, the historical (cf. the passage cited above, *Mahābh.* I. i. 16); to that of the *ākhyāyikā*, prose narratives corresponding to the later *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā*;[2] and to that of the *udāharaṇa*, the moral instructions (cf. the *puṇyāḥ kathāḥ* [*Mahābh.* I. i. 16]), often introduced in the *Mahābhārata* with the verse already quoted, 'right here they begin,' etc. This collective sense of *itihāsa* probably also explains the variety of designations by which the same work is known, as *ākhyāna*, *upākhyāna*, etc.[3]

From what has been said it is clear that the *itihāsa* was at first but one of the various possible and actually occurring forms of literary composition. The *Mahābhārata* itself is described as the most excellent of the *itihāsas* (I. i. 266 [259], etc.). Moreover, there are positive grounds for believing that in ancient India there existed a collection of *itihāsas* under the title of *Itihāsa*, or *Itihāsaveda*.

In the *pāriplavam ākhyānam*, a ten-days' cycle of ritual belonging to the *aśvamedha* (*q.v.*), and repeated throughout the entire year in which the sacrificial horse was permitted to roam at large,[4] every day a particular class of beings, together with their king, was scenically presented, and instructed by a recital performed by the *hotṛ*.[5] On the 1st day were represented Manu Vaivasvata as the king and human beings as his subjects, and a hymn from the *Rigveda* was recited; on the 2nd day there were given, in the respective parts, Yama Vaivasvata, the *pitaras*, and a chapter of the *Yajurveda*; on the 3rd day, Varuṇa Āditya, the Gandharvas, and a *parvan* of the *Atharvāṇaḥ*; on the 4th day, Soma Vaiṣṇava, the Apsaras, and a *parvan* of the *Aṅgirasaḥ*; on the 5th day, Arbuda Kādraveya, the serpents (*sarpa*), and a *parvan* of the *Sarpavidyā* (or *Viṣavidyā*); on the 6th day, Kubera Vaiśravaṇa, the Rakṣas, and a *parvan* of the *Devajanavidyā* (or *Rakṣovidyā*, or *Piśāchavidyā*); on the 7th day, Asita Dhānva(na), the *asuras*, and a *māyā* (or *asuravidyā*); on the 8th day, Matsya Sāṁmada, aquatic beings, and an *itihāsa* of the *Itihāsaveda* (cf. Śāṅkh., the *itihāsa* only in *Śatap.* and *Śāṅkh.*; but the *Āśv.*—with the same characters—gives a *purāṇa* of the *Purāṇavidyā*, assigning the *itihāsa* to the following day); on the 9th day, Tārkṣya Vaipaśyata, the birds, and a *purāṇa* of the *Purāṇaveda* (cf. Śāṇkh., the *purāṇa* only in *Śatap.* and *Śāṅkh.*; in the *Āśv.*, as noted, an *itihāsa*); on the 10th day, Dharma Indra, the gods, and a decade of the *Sāmaveda*.

Here, accordingly, we have the following series: *Ṛcaḥ*, *Yajūṁṣi*, *Atharvāṇaḥ*, *Aṅgirasaḥ*, *Sarpavidyā* (or *Viṣavidyā*), *Devajanavidyā* (or *Rakṣovidyā*, or *Piśāchavidyā*), *Māyā* (or *Asuravidyā*), *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa* (or these two in reverse order), and *Sāmāni*. Similar lists are found elsewhere in Vedic texts[6]—*e.g.*, *Śatap.* XIV. v. 4. 10 (i.e. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II. iv. 10 = IV. i. 2), XI. v. 6; *Taitt. Ār.* ii. 9; *Āśv. Gṛ. S.* III. iii. 1; *Atharvaveda*, XV. vi. 3 f.

In these ancient lists *itihāsa* is always found side by side with *purāṇa*; sometimes, indeed, the two are joined together to form a *dvandva* (dual compound), and it is impossible, in view of the above remarks, to doubt their close relation and affinity. The present writer has, in fact, noted in Vedic texts only a single occurrence of each unaccompanied by the other, viz. *itihāsa* in *Śatap.* XI. i 6. 9, and *purāṇa* in *Atharvavéda*, XI. vii. 24. It is also of importance to note the position which the two terms occupy in the lists. It will be seen that in many cases they come immediately after the four Vedas, and it is, therefore, by no means surprising that in *Chhānd. Up.* (VII. i. 2 and 4, ii. 1, vii. 1) the *Itihāsapurāṇa* is actually spoken of as the fifth Veda (*itihāsapurāṇaḥ pañchamo vedānāṁ vedaḥ*).

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[1] Cf. E. Sieg, *Sagenstoffe des Rgveda*, Stuttgart, 1902, i. 17 ff.

[2] V. S. Apte, *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Poona, 1890, *s.v.* 'Itihāsa,' but without giving the source of the stanza.

[3] Cf. K. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart, 1881–1901, i. 290, ii. 158, note 1; also the parallel passages in H. Lüders, *ZDMG* lviii. [1904] 707 ff.

[4] Cf. H. Jacobi, 'Kultur-, Sprach- u. Literarhistorisches aus dem Kauṭilīya' in *SBAW*, 1911, p. 969.

[5] Cf. also J. Dahlmann, *Das Mahābhārata als Epos u. Rechtsbuch*, Berlin, 1895, p. 282 f.

[1] Cf. Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 969.

[2] Stories about women, perhaps; cf. Sieg, i. 32.

[3] Cf. Sieg, i. 16 f., 22. Many of these terms may, of course, mean no more than 'story,' and this may be the case, in particular, with *ākhyāna*; but with reference to the *Mahābhārata* it should be indicated that that work speaks of itself (*e.g.*, I. ii. 383 [645]) also as *arthaśāstra*, *dharmaśāstra*, and *kāmaśāstra*; in I. lxii. 16 (2298) it is called *uttamaṁ purāṇam* ('last or highest *purāṇa*').

[4] A. Weber, 'Episches im vedischen Ritual' in *SBAW*, 1891, p. 775.

[5] So at least the present writer interprets the description given in *Śatap. Br.* XIII. iv. 3. 2 ff., *Śāṅkh. Śr. S.* XVI. ii. 1 ff., and *Āśv. Śr. S.* X. vii. 1 ff.

[6] Cf. Sieg, i. 21.

To these indisputable evidences from Vedic texts, conclusively attesting the existence of a collection of *itihāsas*, or *purāṇas*, entitled *Itihāsa* or *Purāṇa* and reckoned among the Vedas, there has recently been added a most significant datum in the discovery of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, which shows that this *Itihāsaveda* was still extant about the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C.[1]

The relevant passage is i. 3 (7. 9 ff.):[2] 'The triad Sāma, Ṛg, and Yajur Vedas, the Atharvaveda, and the Itihāsaveda (are) Vedas.' In this connexion we may call attention also to a passage in the introduction of the *Mahābhāṣya*, viz. i. 9. 21 ff. [ed. F. Kielhorn, Bombay, 1892]: 'The four vedas with their ancillary literature and esoterism [*i.e.* the *Upaniṣads*], divided in many ways . . . "the dialogue," "the itihāsa," "the purāṇa," "the healing art,"—of such extent is the scope of application of word (sound)'; as also to the terms *aitihāsika* and *paurāṇika* applied respectively to those who knew or studied the *Itihāsa* or the *Purāṇa*.[3]

Curiously enough, we find that in the *Itihāsapurāṇa par excellence*, *i.e.* the *Mahābhārata*, the title of the 'fifth Veda' is given to *Ākhyāna*, while the *Mahābhārata* itself becomes the representative of this fifth Veda;[4] cf., *e.g.*, III. lviii. 9 (2247): 'all four vedas, (and) *Ākhyāna* as the fifth,' and XII. cccxl. 21 (13027): 'the Vedas . . . the *Mahābhārata* as the fifth.' Nevertheless, we also find in the *Mahābhārata* numerous references to *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* as ancient works that were studied together with the Vedas.[5]

The number of such passages, which, of course, are far from having all the same historical value—the *Mahābhārata* in its present shape having been a growth of centuries—might easily be increased;[6] but they are quite sufficient to show that the ancient *Itihāsaveda* or *Itihāsapurāṇaveda* has left distinct traces of its existence in the great epic. The *Mahābhārata*, in fact, must very gradually have come to take the place of that 'fifth Veda,' and the process may quite readily be explained on the assumption that the *Itihāsapurāṇa* literature was to a large extent incorporated by degrees in the epic. The source of these stories is often shown by the terms *itihāsa*, *purāṇa*, *itihāsapurātana*, and the like.[7]

We must now ask what connexion exists between the extensive *Purāṇa* literature still extant and the ancient *Purāṇaveda*. We must obviously assume that the ancient *Purāṇa* was the precursor of the later literary group bearing the same name, and that much of its subject-matter has been preserved in the *Purāṇas* known to us. The latter assumption will be especially valid in the case of those passages in which the *Purāṇas* agree more or less verbally with one another, or with the *Mahābhārata*, and probably also of those in which the *lakṣaṇas* (characteristics) belonging, according to ancient tradition, to the *Purāṇa* find expression in the extant *Purāṇas*. This occurs very seldom, however, for the chief characteristic of these *Purāṇas* is their sectarian spirit, which was certainly absent from the ancient *Purāṇa*.[1]

The present writer is of opinion that remains of the ancient *Itihāsapurāṇa* can be traced elsewhere in Skr. literature. Materials derived from that collection must be recognized above all in the myths and legends of the *Brāhmaṇas*, especially in such as occur in the *Arthavāda* (explanatory) parts and are distinguished by form and matter alike from the general context; but they must be recognized also in the shorter mythologico-historical additions of the *Brāhmaṇas* designed to explain them.[2]

From Yāska's *Nirukta* we learn that there was a Vedic school known as the Aitihāsikas—so named because its members made use of 'the *Itihāsa*' in expounding the *mantras*,[3] and to certain *mantras* (or *sūktas*) Yāska attaches short narrative supplements which he designates *itihāsa* or *ākhyāna*. Alike in their subject-matter and in the formulæ with which they are introduced, these remind us of the additions to the *Brāhmaṇas* just mentioned. Such *itihāsas* are found, further, in the *Bṛhaddevatā*, in the *Anukramaṇī* to the Rigveda, and in the mediæval commentaries—*e.g.*, those of Devarāja, Durga, Ṣadguruśiṣya, and especially Sāyaṇa.[4] Even these relatively modern texts may preserve, and, as the present writer believes, do really preserve, ancient traditions, for it was an established principle in the exegesis of the *mantras* that the *nidāna* (primal cause, basis)—if there was one—must be taught first in order to bring out the meaning, and that the usual verbal explanation could be entered upon only after that had been done.[5]

It is, however, quite another question whether the writers of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the exegetes of the Veda made a right use of the *itihāsas*, and whether, above all, they applied them at the proper places, in the exposition of *mantras*. The present writer is of opinion that the question can be answered only with reference to each individual case. He now holds the view that the ancient *Itihāsapurāṇa* was an independent collection of legends and stories not specially connected with any particular Veda. Even on the hypothesis that there was a general correspondence between *Itihāsa* and Veda with respect to mythological views and to mythical and legendary ideas, the sagas of the *Itihāsapurāṇa* might still differ very essentially in form from the same sagas in Vedic *mantras*, and in particular, therefore, from those in the Rigveda. In such cases the employment of an *itihāsa* in the exposition of the *mantras* could easily prove a dangerous procedure.

We may here refer, by way of illustration, to the two specially prominent cases. The story of Śunaḥśepa,[6] which the *hotṛ* had to relate to the king at the Rājasūya, is quite appropriately introduced into the *Brāhmaṇa* of the Rigveda, since it formed the *arthavāda* for the *añjaḥsava* (rapid preparation of Soma) commonly used in the Rājasūya.[7] But the *Brāhmaṇa* writer certainly erred in interweaving this saga with all the songs of the Rigveda which are ascribed to Śunaḥśepa,

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[1] Cf. Jacobi, p. 954 ff., and 'Über die Echtheit des Kauṭiliya' in *SBAW*, 1912, p. 832 ff.

[2] *Ib.* p. 968.

[3] *Vārtt.* to Pāṇini, IV. ii. 60; *Mahābhāṣya*, ed. Kielhorn, ii. [1883] 284. 8 f.; Sieg, i. 30.

[4] Sieg, i. 22.

[5] Cf. *Mahābh.* I. lx. 3 (2210), XII. ccx. 19 (7660), cccxxv. 24 f. (12210 f.), cccxlii. 6 (13134), XIII. xxii. 12 (1542), XII. cccxlii. 8 f. (13136 f.), I. cix. 20 (4355), II. v. 2 (136). Note also such groups as *Mahābh.* VIII. xxxiv. 44 ff. (1496 ff.): *atharvāṅgirasau, ṛgvedaḥ sāmavedaś cha, purāṇaṁ cha, itihāsayajurvedau.*

[6] Sieg, i. 22.

[7] Sieg, i. 24; M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Litt.*, Leipzig, 1908 ff., i. 442.

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[1] Winternitz, p. 443 f.; Sieg, i. 34.

[2] Sieg, i. 18 ff.

[3] Cf. the well-known verse in *Vāsiṣ. Dharm.* xxvii. 6, *Mahābh.* I. i. 267 (260), *Vāyu Pur.* i. 181: 'by *itihāsa* and *purāṇa* one should supplement the Veda; the Veda feareth a man with scanty [sacred] learning, lest "this may injure me"'; cf. Sieg, i. 13 ff.

[4] Sieg, i. 17 ff.

[5] Cf. Durga on *Nirukta*, i. 5 (II. 58. 21 ff.); Sieg, i. 36.

[6] *Śaunaḥśepam ākhyānam*; nevertheless a genuine *itihāsa* according to Kauṭilya's definition; cf. *Ait. Br.* vii. 13–18, *Śāṅkh. Śr. S.* xv. 17–27.

[7] At the royal inaugural sacrifice the original victim had been a man, who, however, was released from the stake by the gods themselves; and the consecration was thereafter performed without a victim or any other sacrifice, *i.e.* the *añjaḥsava* was resorted to. Cf. Sieg, i. 19, note 2. What is further said in the saga regarding the adoption of Śunaḥśepa by Viśvāmitra (a splendid example of one or more *Itihāsasūktas* with connecting prose) was in all likelihood designed merely to show what became of the liberated victim.

since the story of Śunaḥśepa's being bound to and delivered from the sacrificial stake is only very briefly alluded to in the Rigveda (I. xxiv. 12–13, v. ii. 7).

The story of Purūravas and Urvaśī[1] is quite appropriately given in the *Brāhmaṇa* (cf. *Śatap.* XI. v. 1, *Kāṭh.* I. viii. 10, *Maitr.* I. vi. 12) as the *arthavāda* for the use of special fire-sticks in the Agnimanthana,[2] but the legend fits here only if the dialogue between the lovers has a conciliatory ending. According to the version of the story in the Rigveda (x. xcv.), the dialogue ended tragically, and here the *Brāhmaṇa* writer took the proper course of utilizing the Rigveda strophes only so far as they fitted in with his *itihāsa*, and discarding the rest.[3]

It may be observed, finally, that the connexion between the Vedic *sūkta* and the *itihāsa* is still a subject of dispute in Vedic philology. E. Windisch (*Verhandl. der dreiunddreissigsten Philologenversammlung in Gera*, 1879, p. 23) has advanced the conjecture that the song of Purūravas and Urvaśī (Rigv. x. xcv.) is a poem detached from its original narrative context. This idea was further developed by H. Oldenberg,[4] who advocated the theory that a number of Rigveda hymns actually postulated a prose narrative as the connecting medium of the metrical parts, and that such must be recognized as a popular type of story in ancient India—the type in which verses were set in a prose framework in favourite passages of a work, and especially in passages containing speeches and the rejoinders to them. For the systematic transmission of such a narrative—Oldenberg calls it *ākhyāna*, on the example of the *Śaunaḥśepam ākhyānam*—it sufficed, he holds, to teach and learn the verse parts only, while the prose matrix, the language of which had never been fixed, suffered numberless changes at the hands of successive generations of narrators, or else was lost altogether.[5] In particular, the prose context which later tradition supplies for the *ākhyāna* hymns of the Rigveda is, according to Oldenberg, mere drivel—not genuine tradition at all, but at most worthless *quasi*-tradition. Oldenberg's theory of the *ākhyāna* has long enjoyed an all but universal acceptance. Pischel, Geldner, and the present writer have all expressed their agreement with it, except that, in contrast to Oldenberg, they have strongly insisted upon the value of the Indian *itihāsa* tradition for the Rigveda.

On the other hand, S. Lévi[6] asserts that the majority of the dialogue hymns in the Rigveda are so lucid in their verse that they cannot have required a story to link the single strophes together; the mere reading of them calls up some sort of dramatic scene. As a matter of fact, Max Müller had thought of a dramatic action in connexion with Rigv. i. 165.[7]

Independently of both, J. Hertel[8] has rejected the *ākhyāna* theory; he regards all the *saṁvāda* hymns of the Rigveda as dramatic responsive songs,[1] which were performed occasionally at sacrificial festivals, and he conjectures that we have in these the germs of the Indian drama. L. von Schroeder[2] takes the further step of explaining all these hymns as ritual dramas.

Winternitz[3] adopts a middle course between the two views, advocating the theory that the dialogue songs of the Rigveda are not all to be explained in the same way. Some of them, he holds, are ballads, in which everything is told in versified speeches, and for which a prose introduction was necessary only in certain cases; some are poetical fragments of narrative composed partly of verse and partly of a prose element that has not survived; while others are to be regarded as strophes belonging to ritual dramas.[4]

A. B. Keith argues that it is impossible to obtain really cogent evidence for either of the theories.[5] He says that in the ancient Vedic literature there is no trace whatever of the knowledge of such a prose-poetic *ākhyāna* as Oldenberg's theory requires,[6] but there is likewise no trace of a knowledge of dramatic responsive songs at sacrificial feasts, or of ritual dramas, though, were the hypotheses of Hertel and von Schroeder sound, both types would certainly occur in the ritual texts of the Vedas. Keith's conclusion, accordingly, is that no explanation yielding a solution in all respects satisfactory has as yet been discovered.

The last word on the subject, so far, has been spoken by K. F. Geldner,[7] who, thus coming near to Hertel's views, has tried to solve the problem by regarding the hymns in question as ballads in the wider sense in which Goethe has defined the ballad. These ballads require no connecting prose, but explain themselves, as the subject used by the poet is not a free invention, but is taken from some well-known myth. Geldner's hypothesis is most attractive, as it allows the explanation of the hymns without calling for connecting prose that, in fact, does not exist. Little, however, is changed by it as regards the chief interesting point in this connexion. For these ballads, like a great number of the Rigvedic *mantras*, are to be understood only by one who knows the old myths, *i.e.* the old *itihāsas*, from which their theme is taken.

Literature.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the course of the article.

E. Sieg.

I-TSING.—See under Yuan Chwang.

J

JACOBITES.—See Nestorians.

JAGANNĀTH, vulg. **JUGGERNAUT** (H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*[2], 466 ff.; Skr. *Jagannātha*, 'lord of the world,' an epithet of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa; the name 'is really nothing but a misapplied ancient epithet, the Pāli Lokanātha of the great thinker and reformer of India'

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[1] Cf. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, i. 243 ff.

[2] Cf. *Vājasan. Saṁh.* v. 2, etc.

[3] J. Hertel's proposal (*WZKM* xxiii. [1909] 346) to delete the strophe Rigv. x. xcv. 16 in *Śatap.* XI. v. 1. 10 as an interpolation seems to the present writer a happy solution.

[4] See 'Das altindische Ākhyāna' in *ZDMG* xxxvii. [1883] 54 ff., 'Ākhyânahymnen im Ṛgveda,' *ib.* xxxix. [1885] 52 ff.; cf. also the same writer, *Die Literatur des alten Indien*, Stuttgart, 1903, p. 44 f., and *GGA*, 1909, p. 66 ff., 1911, p. 441 ff.

[5] *GGA*, 1911, p. 441 f.

[6] *Le Théâtre indien*, Paris, 1890, p. 301 ff.

[7] *Hymns to the Maruts*, London, 1869, p. 172 f.

[8] 'Der Ursprung des indischen Dramas u. Epos' in *WZKM* xviii. [1904] 59 ff., 137 ff., 'Der Suparṇādhyāya, ein vedisches Mysterium,' *ib.* xxiii. [1909] 273 ff.

[1] Hertel believes that he can also identify dramatic monologues.

[2] *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1908; cf. also *WZKM* xxiii. [1909] 1 ff.

[3] 'Dialog, Ākhyāna und Drama in der indischen Literatur,' in *WZKM* xxiii. [1909] 102 ff.

[4] *Ib.* p. 136.

[5] 'The Vedic Ākhyāna and the Indian Drama' in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 979 ff., 'The Origin of Tragedy and the Ākhyāna,' *ib.* 1912, p. 411 ff., esp. 429 ff.

[6] But see p. 462[b], n. 7; the matter supplied by later texts for the explanation of the '*Ākhyāna* hymns' Keith is at one with Oldenberg in regarding as 'strange rubbish,' as 'bogus,' and of no real traditionary value (*JRAS*, 1911, p. 987, 1912, p. 433).

[7] 'Die indische Balladendichtung' in the *Festschrift der Universität Marburg für die Philologenversammlung, 1913*, Marburg, 1913, p. 93 ff.

[Buddha], T. W. Rhys Davids, *Origin and Growth of Rel. as illustrated by Ind. Buddhism* [*HL*, 1881], London, 1881, p. 33).—The most famous of the Indian temples and sacred places, situated in the town of Purī, in the modern provinces of Behār and Orissa, on the shores of the Bay of Bengal, lat. 19° 48′ N., long. 85° 49′ E.

The present temple was built about A.D. 1100 by Ananta Chodagaṅgā (1076–1147), the most notable king of the E. Gaṅgā dynasty of Kalinga (V. A. Smith, *Early Hist.*², Oxford, 1908, p. 428). It stands in a square enclosure, 652 ft. long by 630 ft. broad, the interior being carefully guarded from profane intrusion by a massive stone wall, 20 ft. high. Within the enclosure stand about 120 temples, including, besides those dedicated to Viṣṇu in his various forms, some 13 dedicated to Śiva, and several to his consort, thus illustrating the eclecticism of modern Hinduism. The conical tower of Jagannāth's temple rises to a height of 192 ft., and is surmounted by the mystic wheel (*chakra*) and flag (*dhvaja*) of Viṣṇu. It contains four chambers: a hall of offerings, where the bulkier oblations are made, only a small quantity of the choicest food being admitted into the inner shrine; a pillared hall for musicians and dancing-girls; a hall of audience, where pilgrims assemble to gaze upon the god; and, lastly, the sanctuary itself, which is surmounted by the tower. The image is in triple form, representing Jagannāth, beside whom sit his brother Balabhadra, or Balarāma, and his sister Subhadrā. The theory that this triple image is a perversion or adaptation of the Buddhist Triratna—Buddha, the Law (*Dharma*), and the Congregation (*Saṅgha*)—is due to A. Cunningham (*The Stūpa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, p. 112; cf. F. C. Maisey, *Sánchi and its Remains*, do. 1892, p. 26 n.). It has been connected by other authorities with the *triśūla*, or trident symbol (G. d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, Westminster, 1894, p. 254 f.). Waddell, however, remarks:

> '"*The Three Holy Ones*" are seldom, if ever, concretely represented in Tibet by Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha; nor have I found such a triad figured in Indian Buddhism, though many writers have alleged the existence of them, without, however, bringing forward any proof' (*Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 346; but see H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, do. 1880, ii. 158 ff., with a drawing of the Triratna).

The legends indicate that, under Buddhist and Hindu influences, a rude local 'fetish' has been adapted to represent Viṣṇu. One Bāsu, a fowler, a servant of Jagannāth, is said to have found the god, in the form of a blue-stone image, at the foot of a banyan tree (W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, i. 89 f.). According to another account, the god appeared in a vision to King Indradyumna, and showed him his image in a block of timber thrown up on the seashore (cf. Farnell, *CGS* v. 189; E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, 1909, vi. 129). The workmen failed to fashion the block into an image, till Viṣṇu appeared as an aged carpenter, whom the king shut up in the temple, intending to keep him there for one and twenty days. But his queen persuaded the king to open the temple doors before the appointed time, and the three images were found fashioned only from the waist upwards, and without hands or feet (W. Ward, *The Hindoos*, ii. 163). The king was much disconcerted, but prayed to Brahmā, and he promised to make the image famous in its present state—obviously an ætiological myth to explain the rudeness or incompleteness of the existing images. Another remarkable legend tells that

> 'when two new moons occur in Assur [Āsāṛh] (part of June and July), which is said to happen about once in seventeen years, a new idol is always made. A Nim tree [*Melia azadirachta*] is sought for in the forest, on which no crow or carrion bird has ever perched. It is known to the initiated by certain signs. This is prepared into a proper form by common carpenters, and is then intrusted to certain priests who are protected from all intrusion; the process is a great mystery. One man is selected to take out of the idol a small box containing the spirit, which is conveyed inside the new; and the man who does this is always removed from the world before the end of the year' (Col. Phipps, *Mission Register*, Dec. 1824, quoted by A. Sterling, *Orissa*, 122).

According to another account, a boy is selected to take out of the breast of the idol a small box containing quicksilver, said to be the spirit, which he transfers to the new image; the boy always dies within a year (Brij Kishore Ghose, *The Hist. of Pooree*, Cuttack, 1848, p. 18). In another form of the legend the relics enclosed in the image are said to be the bones of Kṛṣṇa. They were found in the forest by some pious person, who was directed by Viṣṇu to form an image of Jagannāth, and to place the bones within it.

> 'Every third year they make a new image, when a Brahman removes the original bones of Krishna from the inside of the old image to that of the new one; on this occasion he covers his eyes, lest he should be struck dead for looking on such sacred relics. The Rajah of Burdwan expended twelve lākh of rupees in a journey to Jugunat'hu, including two lākh paid as a bribe to the Brahmans to permit him to see these bones; but he died six months after for his temerity' (F. Parkes, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*, London, 1850, ii. 383 f.; cf. W. Ward, *op. cit.* ii. 163).

Needless to say, the introduction of human bones into a Vaiṣṇava image is opposed to the rules of that sect and to the usages of Brahmanical Hinduism. The stories are, in fact, a tradition from Buddhist times, when relics of the Teacher were collected in *stūpas* and other monuments.

> 'The pilgrimage, the image procession, the suspension of caste prejudices, everything in fact at Puri, is redolent of Buddhism, but of a Buddhism so degraded as hardly to be recognizable by those who know that faith only in its older and purer form' (J. Fergusson, *Ind. and East. Arch.*, London, 1899, p. 429).

'The name of Jagannáth still draws the faithful from a hundred provinces of India to the Purí sands,' says Hunter (i. 137). This is particularly the case since the abolition of the Pilgrim tax, the collection of which under the orders of a Christian Government aroused active controversy, until it was finally discontinued in A.D. 1840. Hunter gives a vivid picture of the touts who wander through the land collecting pilgrims, of the miseries of the journey before, under British rule, railways were built, sanitation was enforced, and medical treatment was provided. The same writer fully describes the twenty-four local festivals, of which the most important is the Rath Jātrā, which takes place in June or July, when the images are placed in cars and dragged to the country house of the deities. The religious suicides who flung themselves beneath the wheels of the idol chariots have made the name of Jagannāth famous in the Western world. The older narratives were distorted and exaggerated.

> 'In a closely-packed eager throng of a hundred thousand men and women, many of them unaccustomed to exposure or hard labour, and all of them tugging and straining to the utmost under the blazing tropical sun, deaths must occasionally occur. There have, doubtless, been instances of pilgrims throwing themselves under the wheels in a frenzy of religious excitement. But such instances have always been rare, and are now unknown. At one time several unhappy people were killed or injured every year, but they were almost invariably cases of accidental trampling. The few suicides that did occur were for the most part cases of diseased and miserable objects who took this means to put themselves out of pain. The official returns now place this beyond doubt. Indeed, nothing could be more opposed to the spirit of Vishnu-worship than self-immolation. Accidental death within the temple renders the whole place unclean. The ritual suddenly stops, and the polluted offerings are hurried away from the sight of the offended god' (Hunter, i. 133 f.).

Only the lowest and most impure castes are now excluded from the temple (*ib.* i. 135 f.). The customs regarding the consecrated food (*mahāprasād*) are remarkable. This is properly the food cooked for deity or dedicated to the images. The local belief as recorded in the temple annals (*Khetra mahātmya*) is that it is prepared by the goddess, Mahā Lakṣmī, who gives prosperity.

> 'He who eats it is absolved from the four cardinal sins of the Hindu faith: killing a cow, killing a brahmin, drinking spirits, and committing adultery with a female of a Guru or spiritual

pastor. So great is its virtue that it cannot be polluted by the touch of the very lowest caste, and the leavings even of a dog are to be carefully taken up and used. The most tremendous and inexpiable of all crimes is to handle and eat the mahaprasad, without a proper feeling of reverence' (A. Sterling, *Orissa*, p. 121).

Hence there is at Purī a temporary suspension of the rigid tabu which controls the use of food which is not cooked in the regular way, and all castes can eat the sacred food with impunity. Nowadays the priests impress upon the pilgrims the impropriety of dressing food within the holy limits, and provide them from the temple kitchen. This is so sacred that none can be thrown away, and it is often consumed in a state of putrefaction, with the natural result that it causes danger to the public health. It has been suggested that the licence in the use of food at Purī, Pandharpur, and other holy places is due to the spirit-scaring power of the god and his holy place; but the fact of its dedication sufficiently explains the feeling regarding it (*BG* xx. [1884] 474). Even among a tribe like the Kāndhs (*q.v.*), friendship is sworn on the holy rice from Purī (Thurston, iii. 409).

In 1880 a remarkable attempt was made by a party of fanatics from Sambalpur, known as Kumblīpatiā, so called because they wear only ropes made of the leaves (*pāt*) of the *kumblī* tree (*Cocklospermum gossypium*), to destroy the images. In the affray one of the fanatics was killed (L. L. S. O'Malley, *Sambalpur Gaz.*, Nagpur, 1909, i. 59 ff.).

LITERATURE.—The most recent and best account of the god, his temple, and worship is by W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, London, 1872, i. 81 ff.; see also A. Sterling, *Orissa; its Geography, Statistics, History, Religion, and Antiquities*, do. 1846, p. 116 ff.; *Calcutta Review*, x. [1848] 204 ff.; L. Rousselet, *India and its Native Princes*, London, 1882, p. 606 ff., with drawings of the images and their car; W. Ward, *A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*, Serampore, 1815, ii. 163 f.; Abu'l-Fadl, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1873–94, ii. 127 ff.; for the cult of Jagannāth in Benares, M. A. Sherring, *The Sacred City of the Hindus*, London, 1868, p. 120 f.; many quotations from older writers in H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*², London, 1903, p. 466 ff.

W. CROOKE.

JAHWEH.—See ISRAEL.

JAINISM.—1. **Introductory.**—Jainism is a monastic religion which, like Buddhism, denies the authority of the Veda, and is therefore regarded by the Brāhmans as heretical. The Jain church consists of the monastic order and the lay community. It is divided into two rival sections, the Śvetāmbaras, or 'White-robes,' and the Digambaras, or 'Sky-clad'; they are so called because the monks of the Śvetāmbaras wear white clothes, and those of the Digambaras originally went about stark naked, until the Muhammadans forced them to cover their privities. The dogmatic differences between the two sections are rather trivial (see art. DIGAMBARA); they differ more in conduct, as will be noticed in the course of the article.

The interest of Jainism to the student of religion consists in the fact that it goes back to a very early period, and to primitive currents of religious and metaphysical speculation, which gave rise also to the oldest Indian philosophies—Sāṅkhya and Yoga (*qq.v.*)—and to Buddhism. It shares in the theoretical pessimism of these systems, as also in their practical ideal—liberation. Life in the world, perpetuated by the transmigration of the soul, is essentially bad and painful; therefore it must be our aim to put an end to the Cycle of Births, and this end will be accomplished when we come into possession of right knowledge.[1] In this general principle Jainism agrees with Sāṅkhya, Yoga, and Buddhism; but they differ in their methods of realizing it. In metaphysics there is some general likeness between Sāṅkhya and Yoga on the one hand, and Jainism on the other. For in all these systems a dualism of matter and soul is acknowledged; the souls are principally all alike substances (monads) characterized by intelligence, their actual difference being caused by their connexion with matter; matter is, according to Jains and Sāṅkhyas, of indefinite nature, a something that may become anything. These general metaphysical principles, however, are worked out on different lines by the Sāṅkhyas and Jains,[1] the difference being still more accentuated by the different origins of these systems. For the Sāṅkhyas, owing allegiance to the Brāhmans, have adopted Brāhmanical ideas and modes of thought,[2] while the Jains, being distinctly non-Brāhmanical, have worked upon popular notions of a more primitive and cruder character, *e.g.* animistic ideas. But the metaphysical principles of Buddhism are of an entirely different character, being moulded by the fundamental principle of Buddhism, viz. that there is no absolute and permanent Being, or, in other words, that all things are transitory.[3] Notwithstanding the radical difference in their philosophical notions, Jainism and Buddhism, being originally both orders of monks outside the pale of Brāhmanism, present some resemblance in outward appearance, so that even Indian writers occasionally have confounded them. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that some European scholars who became acquainted with Jainism through inadequate samples of Jain literature easily persuaded themselves that it was an offshoot of Buddhism.[4] But it has since been proved beyond doubt that their theory is wrong, and that Jainism is at least as old as Buddhism. For the canonical books of the Buddhists frequently mention the Jains as a rival sect, under their old name Nigantha (Skr. *Nirgrantha*, common Prākrit *Niggantha*) and their leader in Buddha's time, Nātaputta (Nāta- or Nātiputta being an epithet of the last prophet of the Jains, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra), and they name the place of the latter's death Pāvā, in agreement with Jain tradition. On the other hand, the canonical books of the Jains mention as contemporaries of Mahāvīra the same kings as reigned during Buddha's career, and one of the latter's rivals. Thus it is established that Mahāvīra was a contemporary of Buddha, and probably somewhat older than the latter, who outlived his rival's decease at Pāvā.

Mahāvīra, however, unlike Buddha, was most probably not the founder of the sect which reveres him as their prophet, nor the author of their religion. According to the unanimous Buddhist tradition, Buddha had, under the Bodhi-tree, discovered by intuition the fundamental truths of his religion as it appears throughout his personal work; his first sermons are things ever to be remembered by his followers, as are the doctrines which he then preached. No such traditions are preserved in the canonical books of the Jains about Mahāvīra. His becoming a monk, and, some 12 years later, his attainment of omniscience (*kevala*), are, of course, celebrated events. But tradition is silent about his motives for renouncing the world, and about the particular truths whose discovery led to his exalted position. At any rate, Mahāvīra is not described by tradition as having first become a disciple of teachers whose doctrines afterwards failed to satisfy him, as we are told of Buddha; he seems to have had no misgivings, and to have known where truth was to be had,[1] and thus he became a Jain monk. And again, when, after many years of austerities such as are practised by other ascetics of the Jains, he reached omniscience, we are not given to understand that he found any new truth, or a new revelation, as Buddha is said to have received; nor is any particular doctrine or philosophical principle mentioned the knowledge and insight of which then occurred to him for the first time. But he is represented as gaining, at his *kevala*, perfect knowledge of what he knew before only in part and imperfectly. Thus Mahāvīra appears in the tradition of his own sect as one who, from the beginning, had followed a religion established long ago; had he been more, had he been the founder of Jainism, tradition, ever eager to extol a prophet, would not have totally repressed his claims to reverence as such. Nor do Buddhistic traditions indicate that the Niganṭhas owed their origin to Nātaputta; they simply speak of them as of a sect existing at the time of Buddha. We cannot, therefore, without doing violence to tradition, declare Mahāvīra to have been the founder of Jainism. But he is without doubt the last prophet of the Jains, the last Tīrthakara. His predecessor, Pārśva, the last Tīrthakara but one, seems to have better claims to the title of founder of Jainism. His death is placed at the reasonable interval of 250 years before that of Mahāvīra, while Pārśva's predecessor Ariṣṭanemi is stated to have died 84,000 years before Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa. Followers of Pārśva are mentioned in the canonical books; and a legend in the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* xxiii. relates a meeting between a disciple of Pārśva and a disciple of Mahāvīra which brought about the union of the old branch of the Jain church and the new one.[2] This seems to indicate that Pārśva was a historical person; but in the absence of historical documents we cannot venture to go beyond a conjecture.

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[1] It may be added that, with the exception of Yoga, all these ancient systems are strictly atheistic, *i.e.* they do not admit an absolute Supreme God; even in Yoga, the Iśvara is not the first and only cause of everything existent.

[1] The Sāṅkhyas endeavour to explain, from their dualistic principles, *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*, the development of the material world as well as that of living beings; the Jains, however, are almost exclusively concerned with the latter, and declare that the cause of the material world and of the structure of the universe is *lokasthiti*, 'primeval disposition' (*Tattvārthādhigama sūtra*, iii. 6 com.). Sāṅkhya, probably based on cosmogonic theories contained in the Upaniṣads, was intended as a philosophic system which in the course of time became the theoretical foundation of popular religion. But Jainism was, in the first place, a religion, and developed a philosophy of its own in order to make this religion a self-consistent system.

[2] *e.g.*, the Sāṅkhya principle *mahān* means *mahān ātmā*; the three *guṇas* are suggested by the *trivṛtkaraṇa* of *Chhāndogya Up.* vi. 3 f.; and *prakṛti* by the cosmical *brahmā* of the earlier Upaniṣad doctrine, wherefore in the *Gauḍapāda Bhāṣya* on *Kārikā* 22 *brahmā* is given as a synonym of *prakṛti*, etc.

[3] The fundamental theories of Jainism, *e.g.* the *syādvāda*, their division of living beings, especially the elementary lives, are not found in Buddhism.

[4] See *SBE* xlv. [1895] Introd., p. xviii ff.

2. Jain view of their origin, etc.—According to the belief of the Jains themselves, Jain religion is eternal, and it has been revealed again and again, in every one of the endless succeeding periods of the world, by innumerable Tīrthakaras. In the present *avasarpiṇī* period (see art. AGES OF THE WORLD [Indian], vol. i. p. 200 f.) the first Tīrthakara was Ṛṣabha, and the last, the 24th, was Vardhamāna. The names, signs, and colours of the 24 Tīrthakaras were as follows:

(1) Ṛṣabha (or Vṛṣabha), bull, golden; (2) Ajita, elephant, golden; (3) Śambhava, horse, golden; (4) Abhinandana, ape, golden; (5) Sumati, heron, golden; (6) Padmaprabha, lotus-flower, red; (7) Supārśva, the *svastika*, golden; (8) Chandraprabha, moon, white; (9) Suvidhi (or Puṣpadanta), dolphin, white; (10) Śītala, the *śrīvatsa*, golden; (11) Śreyāṁsa (or Śreyān), rhinoceros, golden; (12) Vāsupūjya, buffalo, red; (13) Vimala, hog, golden; (14) Ananta (or Anantajit), falcon, golden; (15) Dharma, thunderbolt, golden; (16) Śānti, antelope, golden; (17) Kunthu, goat, golden; (18) Ara, the *nandyāvarta*, golden; (19) Malli, jar, blue; (20) Suvrata (or Munisuvrata), tortoise, black; (21) Nami, blue lotus, golden; (22) Nemi (or Ariṣṭanemi), conch shell, black; (23) Pārśva, snake, blue; (24) Vardhamāna, lion, golden. All Tīrthakaras were Kṣatriyas; Munisuvrata and Nemi belonged to the Harivaṁśa, the remaining 22 to the Ikṣvāku race. Malli was a woman, according to the Śvetāmbaras; but this the Digambaras deny, as, according to them, no female can reach liberation. The interval in years between Mahāvīra and the two last Tīrthakaras has been given above. Nami died 500,000 years before Nemi, Munisuvrata 1,100,000 years before Nami; the next intervals are 6,500,000, 10,000,000, or a krore; the following intervals cannot be expressed in definite numbers of years, but are given in *palyopamas* and *sāgaropamas*, the last interval being one krore of krores of *sāgaropamās*. The length of the life and the height of the Tīrthakaras are in proportion to the length of the interval (see art. AGES OF THE WORLD [Indian]). These particulars are here given according to the Śvetāmbaras.

In connexion with these items of the mythological history of the Jains, it may be added that they relate the legends of 12 universal monarchs (Chakravartins), of 9 Vāsudevas, 9 Baladevas, and 9 Prativāsudevas who lived within the period from the first to the 22nd Tīrthakara. Together with the 24 Tīrthakaras they are the 63 great personages of Jain history; the legends of their lives form the subject of a great epic work by Hemachandra—the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākapuruṣacharita*, which is based on older sources, probably the Vāsudevahindī (edited in Bhāvnagar, 1906–09, by the Jainadharmaprasārakasabhā).

All Tīrthakaras have reached Nirvāṇa at their death. Though, being released from the world, they neither care for nor have any influence on worldly affairs, they have nevertheless become the object of worship and are regarded as the 'gods' (*deva*) by the Jains (see art. ATHEISM [Jain], vol. ii. p. 186 f.); temples are erected to them where their idols are worshipped.[1] The favourite Tīrthakaras are the first and the three last ones, but temples of the remaining ones are also met with. The worship of the idols of the Tīrthakaras is already mentioned in some canonical books, but no rules for their worship are given;[2] it was, however, already in full sway in the first centuries of our era, as evidenced by the Paümachariya, the oldest Prakrit *kāvya* of the Jains, and by the statues of Tīrthakaras found in ancient sites—*e.g.*, in the Kaṅkālī mound at Mathurā which belongs to this period.[3] Some sects, especially a rather recent section of the Śvetāmbaras, the Dhuṇḍhīā or Sthānakavāsins, reject this kind of worship altogether.[4]

It goes without saying that the Tīrthakaras, except the two last, belong to mythology rather than to history; the 22nd, Ariṣṭanemi, is connected with the legend of Kṛṣṇa as his relative. But the details of Mahāvīra's life as related in the canonical books may be regarded on the whole as historical facts.

He was a Kṣatriya of the Jñāta clan and a native of Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of the town Vaiśālī (the modern Basārh, some 27 miles north of Patna).[5] He was the second son of the Kṣatriya Siddhārtha and Triśalā, a highly connected lady. The Śvetāmbaras maintain, and thus it is stated in the *Āchārāṅga sūtra*, the *Kalpasūtra*, etc., that the soul of the Tīrthakara first descended into the womb of the Brāhmaṇī Devānandā, and was, by the order of Indra, removed thence to the womb of Triśalā.[6] But the Digambaras reject this story. His parents, who were pious Jains and worshippers of Pārśva, gave him the name Vardhamāna (Vīra or Mahāvīra is an epithet used as a name; Arhat, Bhagavat, Jina, etc., are titles common to all Tīrthakaras). He married Yaśodā and by her had a daughter Aṇojjā. His parents died when he was 30 years old, and his elder brother Nandivardhana succeeded his father in whatever position he had held. With the permission of his brother and the other authorities, he carried out a long-cherished resolve and became a monk with the usual Jain rites. Then followed 12 years of self-mortification; Mahāvīra wandered about as a mendicant friar, bearing all kinds of hardships; after the first 13 months he even discarded clothes. At the end of this period dedicated to meditation, he reached the state of omniscience (*kevala*), corresponding to the Bodhi of the Buddhists. He lived for 42 years more, preaching the law and instructing his 11 disciples (*gaṇadhara*): Indrabhūti, Agnibhūti, Vāyubhūti, Ārya Vyakta, Ārya Sudharman, Maṇḍitaputra, Mauryaputra, Akampita, Achalabhrātṛ, Metārya, and Prabhāsa. In the 72nd year of his life he died at Pāvā and reached Nirvāṇa. This event took place, as stated above, some years before Buddha's death, and may, therefore, be placed about 480 B.C. The Śvetāmbaras, however, place the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, which is the initial point of their era, 470 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era, or in 527 B.C.[1] The Digambaras place the same event 18 years later.

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[1] A. F. R. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, tr., p. 5 f., note (Calcutta, 1890), says that Mahāvīra, having been born in Kollāga, 'naturally, when he assumed the monk's vocation, retired (as related in *Kalpasutra* 115 f.) to the *cheïya* of his own clan, called Dūipalāsa and situated in the neighbourhood of Kollāga. Mahāvīra's parents (and with them probably their whole clan of Nāya Kṣattriyas) are said to have been followers of the tenets of Pārśvanātha (see *Āyāraṅga*, ii. 15, § 16). As such they would, no doubt, keep up a religious establishment (*cheïya*) for the accommodation of Pārśva, on his periodical visits, with his disciples, to Kuṇḍapura or Vesālī. Mahāvīra, on renouncing the world, would probably first join Pārśva's sect, in which, however, he soon became a reformer and chief himself.'

[2] *SBE* xlv Introd. p. xxi f.

[1] For images and idols of the Jains see J. Burgess, 'Digambara Jain Iconography,' *IA* xxxii. [1903] 459 ff.; G. Bühler, 'Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura' in *Epigraphia Indica*, ii. [1894] 311 ff.; J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *Cave Temples*, London, 1880, p. 487 ff.

[2] Some kind of worship, however, seems to be implied for the oldest times by the mention of the various *cheïya* (*chaitya*), or shrines, in the sacred books. These shrines were situated in gardens in which Mahāvīra resided during his visits to the towns to which they belonged. Cf. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, tr., p. 2, note 4.

[3] *Epigr. Ind.* ii. 311 f.

[4] See 'Notes on the non-Idolatrous Shwetambar Jains,' by 'Seeker,' 1911; and Margaret Stevenson, *Notes on Modern Jainism*, p. 13 f.

[5] Kuṇḍaggāma and Vāṇiyaggāma, both suburbs of Vesālī, have been identified by Hoernle (*loc. cit.* p. 4, note 8) with the modern villages Bāniyā and Basukuṇḍ.

[6] Cf. the transfer of the embryo of Baladeva from the womb of Rohiṇī to that of Devakī, whence he got the name Saṁkarṣaṇa, still retaining the metronymic Rauhiṇeya.

3. Canonical literature of the Śvetāmbaras.—The canonical books of the Śvetāmbaras (the Digambaras do not admit them to be genuine) are not works by Mahāvīra himself, but some of them claim to be discourses delivered by him to Indrabhūti, the Gautama, which his disciple, the *gaṇadhara* Sudhārman, related to his own disciple Jambūsvāmin.

Before entering on details about the existing canon, it must be stated that, according to the Jains, there were originally, since the time of the first Tīrthakara, two kinds of sacred books, the 14 *pūrvas* and the 11 *aṅgas*; the 14 *pūrvas* were, however, reckoned to make up a 12th *aṅga* under the name of Dṛṣṭivāda. The knowledge of the 14 *pūrvas* continued only down to Sthūlabhadra, the 8th patriarch after Mahāvīra; the next 7 patriarchs down to Vajra knew only 10 *pūrvas*, and after that time the remaining *pūrvas* were gradually lost, until, at the time when the canon was written down in books (980 A.V.), all the *pūrvas* had disappeared, and consequently the 12th *aṅga* too. Such is the Śvetāmbara tradition regarding the *pūrvas*; that of the Digambaras is similar as regards the final loss of the *pūrvas*, differing, however, in most details; but they contend that the *aṅgas* also were lost after 9 more generations.[2]

The 11 *aṅgas* are the oldest part of the canon (*siddhānta*), which at present embraces 45 texts. Besides the 11 *aṅgas*, there are 12 *upāṅgas*, 10 *païṇṇas* (*prakīrṇas*), 6 *chhedasūtras*, *Nāndī* and *Anuyogadvāra*, and 4 *mūlasūtras*. A list of these texts according to the usual enumeration follows.[3]

(1) 11 *aṅgas*: Āchāra, Sūtrakṛta, Sthāna, Samavāya, Bhagavatī, Jñātadharmakathās, Upāsakadaśās, Antakṛddaśās, Anuttaraupapātikadaśās, Praśnavyākaraṇa, Vipāka (Dṛṣṭivāda, no longer extant); (2) 12 *upāṅgas*: Aupapātika, Rājapraśnīya, Jīvābhigama, Prajñāpanā, Jambudvīpaprajñapti, Chandraprajñapti, Sūryaprajñapti, Nirayāvali [or Kalpika], Kalpāvataṁsikā, Puṣpikā, Puṣpachūlikā, Vṛṣṇidaśās; (3) 10 *païṇṇas* (*prakīrṇas*): Chatuḥśaraṇa, Saṁstāra, Āturapratyākhyānam, Bhaktāparijñā, Taṇḍulavaiyālī, Chandāvīja, Devendrastava, Gaṇivīja, Mahāpratyākhyāna, Vīrastava; (4) 6 *chhedasūtras*: Niśītha, Mahāniśītha, Vyavahāra, Daśāśrutaskandha, Bṛhatkalpa, Pañchakalpa; (5) 2 *sūtras* without a common name: Nāndī and Anuyogadvāra; (6) 4 *mūlasūtras*: Uttarādhyayana, Āvaśyaka, Daśavaikālika, and Piṇḍaniryukti. Most of the canonical books have been edited in India, some with commentaries. English translations have been published of the Āchārāṅga, Sūtrakṛtāṅga, Upāsakadaśās, Antakṛddaśās, Anuttaraupapātikadaśās, Uttarādhyayana, and two Kalpasūtras.

The redaction of the canon took place under Devarddhigaṇi in 980 after the Nirvāṇa (A.D. 454, according to the common reckoning, actually perhaps 60 years later); before that time the sacred texts were handed down without embodying them in written books. In the interval between the composition and the final redaction of the texts, and even afterwards, they have undergone many alterations—transposition of parts, additions, etc.—traces of which can still be pointed out.[1] Along with these alterations there seems to have gone on a gradual change of the language in which the texts were composed. The original language, according to the Jains, was Ardhamāgadhī, and they give that name, or Māgadhī, to the language of the present texts. But it has, most probably, been modernized during the process of oral transmission. The older parts of the canon contain many archaic forms for which in later texts distinct Māhārāṣṭrī idioms are substituted. It will be best to call the language of the sacred texts simply Jain Prākrit, and that of later works Jain Māhārāṣṭrī.

As the works belonging to the canon are of different origin and age, they differ greatly in character. Some are chiefly in prose, some in verse, some in mixed prose and verse. Frequently a work comprises distinctly disparate parts put together when the redaction of the canon took place. The older prose works are generally very diffuse and contain endless repetitions; some, however, contain succinct rules, some, besides lengthy descriptions, systematic expositions of various dogmatic questions; in others, again, the systematic tendency prevails throughout. A large literature of glosses and commentaries has grown up round the more important texts.[2] Besides the sacred literature and the commentaries belonging to it, the Jains possess separate works, in close material agreement with the former, which contain systematic expositions of their faith, or parts of it, in Prākrit and Sanskrit. These works, which generally possess the advantage of accuracy and clearness, have in their turn become the object of learned labours of commentators. One of the oldest is Umāsvāti's *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*, a Śvetāmbara work, which, however, is also claimed by the Digambaras.[3] A sort of encyclopædia of Jainism is the *Lokaprakāśa*[4] by Tejapāla's son, Vinaya vijaya (1652). On these and similar works our sketch of the Jain faith is chiefly based.

It may here be mentioned that the Jains also possess a secular literature of their own, in poetry and prose, both Sanskrit and Prākrit. Of peculiar interest are the numerous tales in Prākrit and Sanskrit with which authors used to illustrate dogmatical or moral problems. They have also attempted more extensive narratives, some in a more popular style, as Haribhadra's *Samarāichchakahā*, and Siddharṣi's great allegorical work *Upamitibhavaprapañchā kathā* (both edited in *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta, 1901–14), some in highly artificial Sanskrit, as Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka* and Dhanapāla's *Tilakamañjarī* (both published in the *Kāvyamālā*, Bombay, 1901–03, 1903). Their oldest Prākrit poem (perhaps of the 3rd cent. A.D.), the *Paümachariya*, is a Jain version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Sanskrit poems, both in *purāṇa* and in *kāvya* style, and hymns in Prākrit and Sanskrit, are very numerous with the Śvetāmbaras as well as the Digambaras; there are likewise some Jain dramas. Jain authors have also contributed many works, original treatises as well as commentaries, to the scientific literature of India in its various branches—grammar, lexicography, metrics, poetics, philosophy, etc. (cf. art. HEMACHANDRA), vol. vi. p. 591.

4. The doctrines of Jainism.—Jain doctrines may be broadly divided into (i.) philosophical and (ii.) practical. Jain philosophy contains ontology, metaphysics, and psychology. The practical doctrines are concerned with ethics and asceticism, monasticism, and the life of the laity.

i. (*a*) *Philosophy.*—The Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads had maintained, or were believed to maintain, that Being is one, permanent, without beginning, change, or end. In opposition to this view, the Jains declare that Being is not of a persistent and unalterable nature: Being, they say, 'is joined to production, continuation, and destruction.'[1] This theory they call the theory of the 'Indefiniteness of Being' (*anekāntavāda*); it comes to this: existing things are permanent only as regards their substance, but their accidents or qualities originate and perish. To explain: any material thing continues for ever to exist as matter; this matter, however, may assume any shape and quality. Thus, clay as substance may be regarded as permanent, but the form of a jar of clay, or its colour, may come into existence and perish. It is clear that the Brāhmanical speculations are concerned with transcendental Being, while the Jain view deals with Being as given in common experience.

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[1] In the Preface to his ed. of the *Pariśiṣṭa Parvan* (*Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta, 1891), p. 4 ff., the present writer criticizes the Śvetāmbara tradition, and, by combining the Jain date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne in 155 after the Nirvāṇa with the historical date of the same event in 321 or 322 B.C., arrives at 476 or 477 B.C. as the probable date of Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa.

[2] For details see A. A. Guérinot, *Répertoire d'épigraphie jaina*, Paris, 1908, p. 36.

[3] For details see Weber, 'Sacred Literature of the Jainas, which first appeared (in German) in *Indische Studien*, xvi. [1883], and xvii. [1885], and was translated in *IA* xvii. [1888]–xxi. [1892].

[1] See Weber, *loc. cit.* 8.

[2] The development of this commenting literature has been studied by E. Leumann, *ZDMG* xlvi. [1892] 585 ff.

[3] The Skr. text with a German tr. and explanation has been published by the present writer in *ZDMG* lx. [1906] 287 ff., 512 ff.; text and *bhāṣya* are contained in the *Bibl. Ind.* edition (Calcutta, 1905).

[4] Edited by Hīrālāla Haṁsarāja, 3 vols., Jāmnagar, 1910.

The doctrine of the Indefiniteness of Being is upheld by a very strange dialectical method called *Syādvāda*, to which the Jains attach so much importance that this name frequently is used as a synonym for the Jain system itself. According to this doctrine of *Syādvāda*, there are 7 forms of metaphysical propositions, and all contain the word *syāt*, e.g. *syād asti sarvaṁ, syād nāsti sarvaṁ*. *Syāt* means 'may be,' and is explained by *kathaṁchit*, which in this connexion may be translated 'somehow.' The word *syāt* here qualifies the word *asti*, and indicates the Indefiniteness of Being (or *astitvam*). For example, we say a jar is somehow, *i.e.* it exists, if we mean thereby that it exists as a jar; but it does not exist somehow if we mean that it exists as a cloth or the like. The purpose of these seeming truisms is to guard against the assumption of the Vedāntins that Being is one without a second, the same in all things. Thus we have the correlative predicates 'is' (*asti*) and 'is not' (*nāsti*). A third predicate is 'inexpressible' (*avaktavya*); for existent and non-existent (*sat* and *asat*) belong to the same thing at the same time, and such a co-existence of mutually contradictory attributes cannot be expressed by any word in the language. The three predicates variously combined make up the 7 propositions, or *sapta bhaṅgas*, of the *Syādvāda*.

Supplementary to the doctrine of the *Syādvāda*, and, in a way, the logical complement to it, is the doctrine of the *nayas*.[2] The *nayas* are ways of expressing the nature of things: all these ways of judgment, according to the Jains, are one-sided, and they contain but a part of the truth. There are 7 *nayas*, 4 referring to concepts, and 3 to words. The reason for this variety of statement is that Being is not simple, as the Vedāntins contend, but is of a complicated nature; therefore every statement and every denotation of a thing is necessarily incomplete and one-sided; and, if we follow one way only of expression or of viewing things, we are bound to go astray. Hence it is usual in explaining notions to state what the thing under discussion is with reference to substance, place, time, and state of being.

(*b*) *Metaphysics.*—All things, *i.e.* substances (*dravya*), are divided into lifeless things (*ajīvakāya*) and lives or souls (*jīva*). The former are again divided into (1) space (*ākāśa*); (2) and (3) two subtle substances called *dharma* and *adharma*, and (4) matter (*pudgala*). Space, *dharma*, and *adharma* are the necessary conditions for the subsistence of all other things, viz. souls and matter; space affords them room to subsist; *dharma* makes it possible for them to move or to be moved; and *adharma*, to rest. It will be seen that the function of space, as we conceive it, is by the Jains distributed among three different substances; this seems highly speculative, and rather hyperlogical. But the conception of the two cosmical substances *dharma* and *adharma*, which occur already, in the technical meaning just given, in canonical books, seems to be developed from a more primitive notion. For, as their names *dharma* and *adharma* indicate, they seem to have denoted, in primitive speculation, those invisible 'fluids' which by contact cause sin and merit. The Jains, using for the latter notions the terms *pāpa* and *puṇya*, were free to use the current names of those 'fluids' in a new sense not known to other Indian thinkers.

Space (*ākāśa*) is divided into that part of space which is occupied by the world of things (*lokākāśa*), and the space beyond it (*alokākāśa*), which is absolutely void and empty, an abyss of nothing. *Dharma* and *adharma* are co-extensive with the world; accordingly no soul nor any particle of matter can get beyond this world for want of the substrates of motion and rest. Time is recognized by some as a quasi-substance besides those enumerated.

Matter (*pudgala*) is eternal and consists of atoms; otherwise it is not determined in its nature, but, as is already implied by the doctrine of the Indefiniteness of Being, it is something that may become anything, as earth, water, fire, wind, etc. Two states of matter are distinguished: gross matter, of which the things which we perceive consist, and subtle matter, which is beyond the reach of our senses. Subtle matter, for instance, is that matter which is transformed into the different kinds of *karma* (see below). All material things are ultimately produced by the combination of atoms. Two atoms form a compound when the one is viscous and the other dry, or both are of different degrees either of viscousness or dryness. Such compounds combine with others, and so on. They are, however, not constant in their nature, but are subject to change or development (*pariṇāma*), which consists in the assumption of qualities (*guṇas*). In this way originate also the bodies and senses of living beings. The elements—earth, water, fire, and wind—are bodies of souls in the lowest stage of development, and are, therefore, spoken of as 'earth-bodies,' 'water-bodies,' etc. Here we meet with animistic ideas which, in this form, are peculiar to Jainism. They probably go back to a remote period, and must have prevailed in classes of Indian society which were not influenced by the more advanced ideas of the Brāhmans.

Different from matter and material things are the souls (*jīva*, lit. 'lives'). There is an infinite number of souls; the whole world is literally filled with them. The souls are substances, and as such eternal; but they are not of a definite size, since they contract or expand according to the dimensions of the body in which they are incorporated for the time being. Their characteristic mark is intelligence, which may be obscured by extrinsic causes, but never destroyed.

Souls are of two kinds: mundane (*saṁsārin*), and liberated (*mukta*). Mundane souls are the embodied souls of living beings in the world and still subject to the Cycle of Birth; liberated souls will be embodied no more; they have accomplished absolute purity; they dwell in the state of perfection at the top of the universe, and have no more to do with worldly affairs; they have reached *nirvāṇa* (*nirvṛti*, or *mukti*). Metaphysically the difference between the mundane and the liberated soul consists in this, that the former is entirely filled by subtle matter, as a bag is filled with sand, while the latter is absolutely pure and free from any material alloy.

The defilement of the soul takes place in the following way. Subtle matter ready to be transformed into *karma* pours into the soul; this is called 'influx' (*āsrava*). In the usual state of things a soul harbours passions (*kaṣāya*) which act like a viscous substance and retain the subtle matter coming into contact with the soul; the subtle matter thus caught by the soul enters, as it were, into a chemical combination with it; this is called the binding (*bandha*) (of *karma*-matter). The subtle matter 'bound' or amalgamated by the soul is transformed into the 8 kinds of *karma*, and forms a kind of subtle body (*kārmaṇaśarīra*)[1] which clings to the soul in all its migrations and future births, and determines the individual state and lot of that particular soul. For, as each particular *karma* has been caused by some action, good, bad, or indifferent, of the individual being in question, so this *karma*, in its turn, produces certain painful, or pleasant, or indifferent conditions and events which the individual in question must undergo. Now, when a particular *karma* has produced its effect in the way described, it (*i.e.* the particular *karma*-matter) is discharged or purged from the soul. This process of 'purging off' is called *nirjarā*. When this process goes on without interruption, all *karma*-matter will, in the end, be discharged from the soul; and the latter, now freed from the weight which had kept it down before the time of its liberation (for matter is heavy, and *karma* is material), goes up in a straight line to the top of the universe where the liberated souls dwell. But in the usual course of things the purging and binding processes go on simultaneously, and thereby the soul is forced to continue its mundane existence. After the death of an individual, his soul, together with its *kārmaṇaśarīra*, goes, in a few moments, to the place of its new birth and there assumes a new body, expanding or contracting in accordance with the dimensions of the latter.

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[1] See H. Jacobi, 'The Metaphysics and Ethics of the Jainas,' in *Trans. of the Congress for the Hist. of Religion*, Oxford, 1908, ii. 60.

[2] *Ib.* 61

Embodied souls are living beings, the classification of which is a subject not only of theoretical but also of great practical interest to the Jains. As their highest duty (*parama dharma*) is not to kill any living beings (*ahiṁsā*), it becomes incumbent on them to know the various forms which life may assume. The Jains divide living beings according to the number of sense-organs which they possess: the highest (*pañchendriya*) possess all five organs, viz. those of touch, taste, smell, sight, and hearing, while the lowest (*ekendriya*) have only the organ of touch, and the remaining classes each one organ more than the preceding one in the order of organs given above; *e.g.* worms, etc., possess the organs of touch and taste; ants, etc., possess, in addition, smell; bees, etc., seeing. The vertebrates possess all five organs of sense; the higher animals, men, denizens of hell, and gods possess an internal organ or mind (*manas*), and are therefore called rational (*saṁjñin*), while the lower animals have no mind (*asaṁjñin*). The notions of the Jains about beings with only one organ are, in part, peculiar to themselves and call for a more detailed notice.

It has already been stated that the four elements are animated by souls; *i.e.*, particles of earth, etc., are the body of souls, called earth-lives, etc. These we may call elementary lives; they live and die and are born again, in the same or another elementary body. These elementary lives are either gross or subtle; in the latter case they are invisible. The last class of one-organed lives are plants; of some plants each is the body of one soul only, but of other plants each is an aggregation of embodied souls which have all functions of life, as respiration and nutrition, in common. That plants possess souls is an opinion shared by other Indian philosophers. But the Jains have developed this theory in a remarkable way. Plants in which only one soul is embodied are always gross; they exist in the habitable part of the world only. But those plants of which each is a colony of plant-lives may also be subtle, *i.e.* invisible, and in that case they are distributed all over the world. These subtle plants are called *nigoda*; they are composed of an infinite number of souls forming a very small cluster, have respiration and nutrition in common, and experience the most exquisite pains. Innumerable *nigodas* form a globule, and with them the whole space of the world is closely packed, like a box filled with powder. The *nigodas* furnish the supply of souls in place of those who have reached *nirvāṇa*. But an infinitesimally small fraction of one single *nigoda* has sufficed to replace the vacancy caused in the world by the *nirvāṇa* of all the souls that have been liberated from the beginningless past down to the present. Thus it is evident that the *saṁsāra* will never be empty of living beings (see *Lokaprakāśa*, vi. 31 ff.).

From another point of view mundane beings are divided into four grades: denizens of hell, animals, men, and gods; these are the four walks of life (*gati*), in which beings are born according to their merits or demerits. For details, see artt. DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Jain), vol. iv. p. 608 ff., COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Indian), § 4, vol. iv. p. 160 f., and AGES OF THE WORLD (Indian), vol. i. p. 200.

We have seen that the cause of the soul's embodiment is the presence in it of *karma*-matter. The theory of *karma* is the key-stone of the Jain system; it is necessary, therefore, to explain this theory in more detail. The natural qualities of soul are perfect knowledge (*jñāna*), intuition or faith (*darśana*), highest bliss, and all sorts of perfections; but these inborn qualities of the soul are weakened or obscured, in mundane souls, by the presence of *karma*. From this point of view the division of *karma* will be understood. When *karma*-matter has penetrated the soul, it is transformed into 8 kinds (*prakṛti*) of *karma* singly or severally, which form the *kārmaṇaśarīra*, just as food is, by digestion, transformed into the various fluids necessary for the support and growth of the body. The 8 kinds of *karma* are as follows.

(1) *Jñānāvaraṇīya*, that which obscures the inborn right knowledge (*i.e.* omniscience) of the soul and thereby produces different degrees of knowledge and of ignorance;[1] (2) *darśanāvaraṇīya*, that which obscures right intuition, *e.g.* sleep; (3) *vedanīya*, that which obscures the bliss-nature of the soul and thereby produces pleasure and pain; (4) *mohanīya*, that which disturbs the right attitude of the soul with regard to faith, conduct, passions, and other emotions, and produces doubt, error, right or wrong conduct, passions, and various mental states. The following 4 kinds of *karma* concern more the individual status of a being: (5) *āyuṣka*, that which determines the length of life of an individual in one birth as hell-being, animal, man, or god; (6) *nāma*, that which produces the various circumstances or elements which collectively make up an individual existence, *e.g.* the peculiar body with its general and special qualities, faculties, etc.; (7) *gotra*, that which determines the nationality, caste, family, social standing, etc., of an individual; (8) *antarāya*, that which obstructs the inborn energy of the soul and thereby prevents the doing of a good action when there is a desire to do it.

Each kind of *karma* has its predestined limits in time within which it must take effect and thereby be purged off. Before we deal with the operation of *karma*, however, we must mention another doctrine which is connected with the *karma*-theory, viz. that of the six *leśyās*. The totality of *karma* amalgamated by a soul induces on it a transcendental colour, a kind of complexion, which cannot be perceived by our eyes; and this is called *leśyā*. There are six *leśyās*: black, blue, grey; yellow, red, and white. They have also, and prominently, a moral bearing; for the *leśyā* indicates the character of the individual who owns it. The first three belong to bad characters, the last three to good characters.[2]

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[1] The Jains recognize 5 bodies which an individual may possess (though not all simultaneously), one gross and 4 subtle ones. Besides the *kārmaṇaśarīra*, which is the receptacle of *karma* and has no bodily functions, there are (1) the transmutation body (*vaikriyaśarīra*), producing the wonderful appearances which gods, magicians, etc., may assume; (2) the translocation body (*āhārakaśarīra*), which certain sages may assume for a short time in order to consult a Tīrthakara at some distance; (3) the igneous body (*taijasaśarīra*), which in common beings causes the digestion of food, but in persons of merit gives effect to their curses (that they burn their objects) and to their benedictions (that they gladden as the rays of the moon), etc. This doctrine of the subtle bodies, in which, however, many details are subject to controversy, seems to be the outcome of very primitive ideas about magic, etc., which the Jains attempted to reduce to a rational theory. With the terms *vaikriya*- and *taijasaśarīra* may be compared the *vaikārika* and *taijasa ahaṁkāra* of the Sāṅkhyas.

[1] The Jains acknowledge five kinds of knowledge: (1) ordinary cognition (*mati*), (2) testimony (*śruta*), (3) supernatural cognition (*avadhi*), (4) direct knowledge of the thoughts of others (*manaḥparyaya*), (5) omniscience (*kevala*).

[2] The belief in colours of the soul seems to be very old and to go back to the time when expressions like 'a black soul,' 'a

The individual state of the soul is produced by its inborn nature and the *karma* with which it is vitiated; this is the developmental or *pāriṇāmika* state. But there are 4 other states which have reference only to the behaviour of the *karma*. In the common course of things *karma* takes effect and produces its proper results; then the soul is in the *audayika* state. By proper efforts *karma* may be prevented, for some time, from taking effect; it is neutralized (*upaśamita*), but it is still present, just like fire covered by ashes; then the soul is in the *aupaśamika* state. When *karma* is not only prevented from operating, but is annihilated altogether (*kṣapita*), then the soul is in the *kṣāyika* state, which is necessary for reaching *nirvāṇa*. There is a fourth state of the soul, *kṣāyopaśamika*, which partakes of the nature of the preceding ones; in this state some *karma* is annihilated, some is neutralized, and some is active. This is the state of ordinary good men, but the *kṣāyika* and *aupaśamika* states belong to holy men, especially the former. It will be easily understood that these distinctions have an important moral bearing; they are constantly referred to in the practical ethics of the Jains.

We shall now consider the application of the *karma*-theory to ethics. The highest goal is to get rid of all *karma* (*nirjarā*) and meanwhile to acquire no new *karma*—technically speaking, to stop the influx (*āsrava*) of *karma*, which is called *saṁvara*, or the covering of the channels through which *karma* finds entrance into the soul. All actions produce *karma*, and in the majority of cases entail on the doer continuance of worldly existence (*sāmparāyika*); but, when a man is free from passions and acts in strict compliance with the rules of right conduct, his actions produce *karma* which lasts but for a moment and is then annihilated (*īryapatha*). Therefore the whole apparatus of monastic conduct is required to prevent the formation of new *karma*; the same purpose is served by austerities (*tapas*), which, moreover, annihilate the old *karma* more speedily than would happen in the common course of things.

It is evident from the preceding remarks that the ethics and ascetics of the Jains are to be regarded as the logical consequence of the theory of *karma*. But from a historical point of view many of their ethical principles, monastic institutions, and ascetic practices have been inherited from older religious classes of Indian society, since Brāhmanical ascetics and Buddhists resemble them in many of their precepts and institutions (see *SBE* xxii. [1884] Introd., p. xxii ff.).

ii. Jain ethics has for its end the realization of *nirvāṇa*, or *mokṣa*. The necessary condition for reaching this end is the possession of right faith, right knowledge, and right conduct. These three excellences are metaphorically named the 'three jewels' (*triratna*), an expression used also by the Buddhist but in a different sense; they are not produced, but they are manifested on the removal of obstructing or obscuring species of *karma*. To effect this, the rules of conduct must be observed and corresponding virtues must be acquired. Of first importance are the five vows, the first four of which are also acknowledged by Brāhmans and Buddhists. The five vows (*vratas*) of the Jains are: (1) not to kill; (2) not to lie; (3) not to steal; (4) to abstain from sexual intercourse; (5) to renounce all interest in worldly things, especially to keep no property. These vows are to be strictly observed by monks, who take them on entering the Order, or, as it is commonly expressed, on taking *dīkṣā*. In their case the vows are called the five great vows (*mahāvrata*). Lay people, however, should observe these vows so far as their conditions admit; the five vows of the lay people are called the small vows (*aṇuvrata*). To explain: not to kill any living beings requires the greatest caution in all actions, considering that nearly everything is believed to be endowed with life. Endless rules have been laid down for monks which aim at preventing the destruction of the life of any living beings whatever. But if a layman were to observe these rules he could not go about his business; he is, therefore, obliged to refrain only from intentionally killing living beings, be it for food, pleasure, gain, or any such purpose. And so it is also with the remaining vows; their rigour is somewhat abated in the case of laymen. A layman, however, may, for a limited time, follow a more rigorous practice by taking one of the following particular vows or regulations of conduct (*śīlavrata*): (1) *digvirati*; he may limit the distance up to which he will go in this or that direction; (2) *anarthadaṇḍavirati*; he may abstain from engaging in anything that does not strictly concern him; (3) *upabhogaparibhogaparimāṇa*; he may set a measure to his food, drink, and the things he enjoys, avoiding besides gross enjoyments. (It may be mentioned in passing that certain articles of food, etc., are strictly forbidden to all, monks and laymen alike, *e.g.* roots, honey, and spirits; and likewise no food may be eaten at night.) The preceding three vows are called *guṇavrata*; the next four are the disciplinary vows (*śikṣāvrata*): (4) *deśavirata*, reducing the area in which one will move; (5) *sāmāyika*; by this vow the layman undertakes to give up, at stated times, all sinful actions by sitting down motionless and meditating on holy things; (6) *pauṣadhopavāsa*, to live as a monk on the 8th, 14th, or 15th day of the lunar fortnight, at least once a month: (7) *atithisaṁvibhāga*, lit. to give a share to guests, but it is understood in a less literal sense, viz. to provide the monks with what they want.

Most of these regulations of conduct for laymen are intended apparently to make them participate, in a measure and for some time, in the merits and benefits of monastic life without obliging them to renounce the world altogether. The rules for a voluntary death have a similar end in view (see art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Jain], vol. iv. p. 484 f.). It is evident that the lay part of the community were not regarded as outsiders, or only as friends and patrons of the Order, as seems to have been the case in early Buddhism; their position was, from the beginning, well defined by religious duties and privileges; the bond which united them to the Order of monks was an effective one. The state of a layman was one preliminary and, in many cases, preparatory to the state of a monk; in the latter respect, however, a change seems to have come about, in so far as now and for some time past the Order of monks is recruited chiefly from novices entering it at an early age, not from laymen in general. It cannot be doubted that this close union between laymen and monks brought about by the similarity of their religious duties, differing not in kind, but in degree, has enabled Jainism to avoid fundamental changes within, and to resist dangers from without for more than two thousand years, while Buddhism, being less exacting as regards the laymen, underwent the most extraordinary evolutions and finally disappeared altogether in the country of its origin.

A monk on entering the Order takes the five great vows stated above; if they are strictly kept, in the spirit of the five times five clauses, or *bhāvanās* (*SBE* xxii. 202 ff.), no new *karma* can form. But, to practise them effectually, more explicit regulations are required, and these constitute the discipline

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bright soul,' were understood in a literal sense. Traces of a similar belief have also been found elsewhere (see *Mahābhārata*, xii. 280. 33 f., 291. 4 ff ; cf. *Yogasūtra*, iv. 7).

of the monks. This discipline is described under seven heads.

(1) Since through the activity of body, speech, and mind, which is technically called *yoga* by the Jains, *karma*-matter pours into the soul (*āsrava*) and forms new *karma*, as explained above, it is necessary, in order to prevent the *āsrava* (or to effect *saṁvara*), to regulate those activities by keeping body, speech, and mind in strict control: these are the three *guptis* (*e.g.*, the *gupti* or guarding of the mind consists in not thinking or desiring anything bad; having only good thoughts, etc.). (2) Even in those actions which are inseparable from the duties of a monk, he may become guilty of sin by inadvertently transgressing the great vows (*e.g.*, killing living beings). To avoid such sins he must observe the five *samitis*, *i.e.* he must be cautious in walking, speaking, collecting alms, taking up or putting down things, and voiding the body; *e.g.*, a monk should in walking look before him for about six feet of ground to avoid killing or hurting any living being; he should, for the same reason, inspect and sweep the ground before he puts anything on it; he should be careful not to eat anything considered to possess life,[1] etc. (3) Passion being the cause of the amalgamation of *karma*-matter with the soul, the monk should acquire virtues. The 4 cardinal vices (*kaṣāya*) are anger, pride, illusion, and greed; their opposite virtues are forbearance, indulgence, straightforwardness, and purity. Adding to them the following 6 virtues, veracity, restraint, austerities, freedom from attachment to anything, poverty, and chastity, we have what is called the tenfold highest law of the monks (*uttamadharma*).[2] (4) Helpful for the realization of the sanctity of which an earnest searcher of the highest good stands in need are the 12 reflexions (*anuprekṣā* or *bhāvanā*) on the transitoriness of all things, on the helplessness of men, on the misery of the world, and similar topics, which form the subject of endless homilies inserted in their works by Jain authors. (5) Furthermore, it is necessary for a monk, in order to keep in the right path to perfection and to annihilate his *karma*, to bear cheerfully with all that may cause him trouble or annoyance. There are 22 such 'troubles' (*pariṣaha*) which a monk must endure without flinching, as hunger and thirst, cold and heat, all sorts of trying occurrences, illness, ill treatment, emotions, etc. If we consider that the conduct of the monk is regulated with the purpose of denying him every form of comfort and merely keeping him alive, without, however, the risk of hurting any living beings, it may be imagined to what practical consequences the endurance of the *pariṣahas* must lead. (6) Conduct (*chāritra*) consists in control and is of 5 degrees or phases. In the lowest phase all sinful activities are avoided, and the highest leads to the annihilation of all *karma*, preliminary to final liberation. (7) The last item is asceticism or austerities (*tapas*), which not only prevents the forming of new *karma* (*saṁvara*) but also purges off the old (*nirjarā*), provided that it be undertaken in the right way and with the right intention; for there are also the 'austerities of fools' (*bālatapas*) practised by other religious sects, through which temporary merits, such as supernatural powers, birth as a god, etc., can be accomplished but the highest good will never be attained. *Tapas* is, therefore, one of the most important institutions of Jainism. It is divided into (*a*) external and (*b*) internal *tapas*; the former comprises the austerities practised by the Jains, the latter their spiritual exercises. (*a*) Among austerities fasting is the most conspicuous; the Jains have developed it to a kind of art, and reach a remarkable proficiency in it. The usual way of fasting is to eat only one meal every second, third, fourth day, and so on down to half a year. Another form of fasting is starving oneself to death (*māraṇāntikī saṁlekhanā*; see 'Voluntary death or euthanasia' in the art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Jain]). Other kinds of abstinence are distinguished from fasting properly so called: reduction of the quantity of the daily food; restrictions as regards the kind of food selected from what one has obtained by begging (for monks and nuns must, of course, beg their daily meal and must not eat what has been specially prepared for them); rejection of all attractive food. To the category of external austerities belong also sitting in secluded spots to meditate there and the postures taken up during meditation. The latter item Jain ascetics have in common with Brāhmanical Yoga. (*b*) Internal austerities embrace all that belongs to spiritual discipline, including contemplation—*e.g.*, confessing and repenting of sins. Transgressions of the rules of conduct are daily expiated by the ceremony of *pratikramaṇa*; greater sins must be confessed to a superior (*ālochanā*) and repented of. The usual penance in less serious cases is to stand erect in a certain position for a given time (*kāyotsarga*); but for graver transgressions the superior prescribes other penances—in the worst cases a new ordination of the guilty monk. Other kinds of internal austerities consist in modest behaviour, in doing services to other members of the Order or laymen, in the duty of studying, in overcoming all temptations. But the most important of all spiritual exercises is contemplation (*dhyāna*). Contemplation consists in the concentration of the mind on one object; it cannot be persevered in for longer than one *muhūrta* (48 minutes), and is permitted only to persons of a sound constitution. According to the object on which the thoughts are concentrated and the purpose for which this is done, contemplation may be bad or good, and will lead to corresponding results. We are here concerned only with good contemplation, which is either religious (*dharma*), or pure or bright (*śukla*). The former leads to the intuitive cognition of things hidden to common mortals, especially of religious truths. Indeed, it cannot be doubted that the pretended accuracy of information on all sorts of subjects, such as cosmography, astronomy, geography, spiritual processes, etc., which the sacred books and later treatises contain is in great part due to the intuition which the 'religious contemplation' is imagined to produce. Higher than the latter is the 'pure' contemplation, which leads through four stages to final emancipation: first, single objects are meditated upon, then only one object; then there is the stage when the activities of the body, speech, and mind continue, but only in a subtle form without relapse. At this stage, when the worldly existence rapidly draws towards its end, the remaining *karma* may be suddenly consumed by a kind of explosion called *samudghāta*. Then, in the last stage of contemplation, all *karma* being annihilated and all activities having ceased, the soul leaves the body and goes up to the top of the universe, where the liberated souls stay for ever. It must, however, be remarked that 'pure contemplation' is not by itself a means of reaching liberation, but that it is the last link of a long chain of preparatory exertions. Even its first two stages can be realized only by those in whom the passions (*kaṣāya*) are either neutralized or annihilated; and only *kevalins*, *i.e.* those who have already reached omniscience, can enter into the last two stages, which lead directly to liberation. On the other hand, the *nirvāṇa* is necessarily preceded by 12 years of

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[1] The second part of the *Āchārāṅga sūtra* will give an idea of the cautions to be taken in this regard.

[2] Cf. Manu, vi. 92.

self-mortification of the flesh,[1] which should be the closing act of a monk's career, though it no longer leads to liberation, for Jambūsvāmin, the disciple of Mahāvīra's disciple Sudharman, was the last man who reached *kevala*, or omniscience, and was liberated on his death[2] (64 after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa); accordingly during the rest of the present Avasarpiṇī period nobody will be born who reaches *nirvāṇa* in the same existence. Nevertheless these speculations possess a great theoretical interest, because they afford us a deeper insight into the Jain system.

In this connexion we must notice a doctrine to which the Jains attach much importance, viz. the doctrine of the 14 *guṇasthānas*, *i.e.* the 14 steps which, by a gradual increase of good qualities and decrease of *karma*, lead from total ignorance and wrong belief to absolute purity of the soul and final liberation.

In the first stage (*mithyādṛṣṭi*) are all beings from the *nigodas* upwards to those men who do not know or do not believe in the truths revealed by the Tīrthakaras; they are swayed by the two cardinal passions, love and hate (*rāga* and *dveṣa*), and are completely tied down by *karma*. In the following stages, as one advances by degrees in true knowledge, in firmness of belief, and in the control and repression of passions, different kinds of *karma* are got rid of and their effects cease, so that the being in question becomes purer and purer in each following stage. In all stages up to the 11th (that of a *upaśāntakaṣāya-vītarāgachchhadmastha*) a relapse may take place and a man may fall even down to the first stage. But as soon as he has reached the 12th stage, in which the first four kinds of *karma* are annihilated (that of a *kṣīṇakaṣāyavītarāgachchhadmastha*), he cannot but pass through the last two stages, in which omniscience is reached; in the 13th stage (that of a *sayogikevalin*) the man still belongs to the world, and may continue in it for a long period; he retains some activities of body, speech, and mind; but, when all his activities cease, he enters on the last stage (that of an *ayogikevalin*), which leads immediately to liberation, when the last remnant of *karma* has been annihilated.

A question must now be answered which will present itself to every critical reader, viz. Is the *karma*-theory as explained above an original and integral part of the Jain system? It seems so abstruse and highly artificial that one would readily believe it a later developed metaphysical doctrine which was grafted on an originally religious system based on animistic notions and intent on sparing all living beings. But such a hypothesis would be in conflict with the fact that this *karma*-theory, if not in all details, certainly in the main outlines, is acknowledged in the oldest parts of the canon and presupposed by many expressions and technical terms occurring in them. Nor can we assume that in this regard the canonical books represent a later dogmatic development for the following reason: the terms *āsrava*, *saṁvara*, *nirjarā*, etc., can be understood only on the supposition that *karma* is a kind of subtle matter flowing or pouring into the soul (*āsrava*), that this influx can be stopped or its inlets covered (*saṁvara*), and that the *karma*-matter received into the soul is consumed or digested, as it were, by it (*nirjarā*). The Jains understand these terms in their literal meaning, and use them in explaining the way of salvation (the *saṁvara* of the *āsravas* and the *nirjarā* lead to *mokṣa*). Now these terms are as old as Jainism. For the Buddhists have borrowed from it the most significant term *āsrava*; they use it in very much the same sense as the Jains, but not in its literal meaning, since they do not regard the *karma* as subtle matter, and deny the existence of a soul into which the *karma* could have an 'influx.' Instead of *saṁvara* they say *āsavakkhaya* (*āsravakṣaya*), 'destruction of the *āsravas*,' and identify it with *magga* (*marga*, 'path'). It is obvious that with them *āsrava* has lost its literal meaning, and that, therefore, they must have borrowed this term from a sect where it had retained its original significance, or, in other words, from the Jains. The Buddhists also use the term *saṁvara*, e.g. *sīlasaṁvara*, 'restraint under the moral law,' and the participle *saṁvuta*, 'controlled,' words which are not used in this sense by Brāhmanical writers, and therefore are most probably adopted from Jainism, where in their literal sense they adequately express the idea that they denote. Thus the same argument serves to prove at the same time that the *karma*-theory of the Jains is an original and integral part of their system, and that Jainism is considerably older than the origin of Buddhism.

5. Present state of Jainism.—The Jains, both Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, number, according to the census of 1901, 1,334,140 members, *i.e.* even less than ½ per cent of the whole population of India.[1] On account of their wealth and education the Jains are of greater importance, however, than might be expected from their number. There are communities of Jains in most towns all over India. The Digambaras are found chiefly in Southern India, in Maisūr and Kannaḍa, but also in the North, in the North-Western provinces, Eastern Rājputāna, and the Panjāb. The headquarters of the Śvetāmbaras are in Gujarāt (whence Gujaratī has become the common language of the Śvetāmbaras, rather than Hindī) and Western Rājputāna, but they are to be found also all over Northern and Central India. Very much the same distribution of the Jains as at present seems, from the evidence of the inscriptions, to have prevailed ever since the 4th century.[2] Splendid temples bear testimony to the wealth and zeal of the sect, some of which rank among the architectural wonders of India, as those on the hills of Girnār and Satruñjaya, on Mount Ābū, in Ellora, and elsewhere.

The outfit of a monk is restricted to bare necessities, and these he must beg: clothes, a blanket, an almsbowl, a stick, a broom to sweep the ground, a piece of cloth to cover his mouth when speaking lest insects should enter it. The nuns' outfit is the same except that they have additional clothes. The Digambaras have a similar outfit, but keep no clothes and use peacocks' feathers instead of the broom. The monks shave the head, or remove the hair by plucking it out (*locha*). The latter method of getting rid of the hair is to be preferred and is necessary at particular times; it is peculiar to the Jains and is regarded by them as an essential rite.

Originally the monks had to lead a wandering life except during the monsoon, when they stayed in one place; compare the *vassa* of the Buddhist monks. Thus Mahāvīra in his wandering stayed for one day only in a village and five days in a town. But this habit has been somewhat changed by the introduction of convents (*upāśraya*), corresponding to the *vihāras* of the Buddhists.

The *upāśrayas* 'are separate buildings erected by each sect for their monks or nuns. An Upāśraya is a large bare hall without bath-rooms and cooking places, furnished only with wooden beds' (M. Stevenson, *Mod. Jainism*, p. 38).

The Śvetāmbaras, as a rule, go only to those places where there are such *upāśrayas*; and now they stay as long as a week in a village, in a town as long as a month. It is in the *upāśraya* that the monks preach or explain sacred texts to laymen who come to visit them. The daily duties of a monk are rather arduous if conscientiously performed; *e.g.*, he should sleep only three hours of the night. His duties consist in repenting of and expiating sins, meditating, studying, begging alms (in the afternoon), careful inspection of his clothes and other things for the removal of insects, for cleaning them, etc. (for details see lect. xxvi. of the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* [*SBE* xlv. 142 ff.]). There are various monastic degrees. First there is the novice (*śaikṣa*), who is not yet ordained. When he or any other man takes the vows (*vratādāna*), he renounces the world (*pravrajyā*) and is initiated or takes *dīkṣā*. The most important ceremony at that time is the shaving or pulling out of the hair under a tree. From a common monk he may rise to the rank of a teacher and superior called *upādhyāya*, *āchārya*, *vāchaka*, *gaṇin*, etc., according to degrees and occupations.

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[1] See Death and Disposal of the Dead (Jain), vol. iv. p. 484.

[2] *Pariśiṣṭa Parvan*, iv. 50 ff.

[1] The small number of Jains is explained by the fact that Jainism is not a religion of the uncultivated masses, but rather of the upper classes.

[2] See Guérinot, *Répertoire d'épigraphie jaina*, p. 24.

The religious duties of the laity have, to some extent, been treated above. The ideal of conduct is that of the monk, which a layman, of course, cannot realize, but which he tries to approach by taking upon himself particular vows.[1] But in practical life also, apart from asceticism, the Jains possess a body of rules composed by monks which lay out a rational course of life for laymen and tend to improve their welfare and moral standard.[2] The monks have also to provide for the religious wants of the laity by explaining sacred texts or religious treatises and delivering sermons; this is done in the *upāśrayas* where the laymen visit them; similarly the nuns are visited by, or visit, the lay women. But the most conspicuous habit of the laity is attendance in temples, and worship of the Tīrthakaras and the deities associated with them.[3]

We must now advert to a peculiarity of the Jains which has struck all observers more than any other, viz. their extreme carefulness not to destroy any living being, a principle which is carried out to its very last consequences in monastic life, and has shaped the conduct of the laity in a great measure. No layman will intentionally kill any living being, not even any insect, however troublesome; he will remove it carefully without hurting it. It goes without saying that the Jains are strict vegetarians. This principle of not hurting any living being bars them from some professions, *e.g.* agriculture, and 'has thrust them into commerce, and especially into its least elevating branch of money-lending. Most of the money-lending in Western India is in the hands of the Jains, and this accounts in a great measure both for their unpopularity and for their wealth.'[4] A remarkable institution of the Jains, due to their tender regard for animal life, is their asylums for old and diseased animals, the *panjarapolas*, where they are kept and fed till they die a natural death.

6. History of Jainism.—The history of the Jain church, in both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sections, is chiefly contained in their lists of patriarchs and teachers and in legends concerning them. The oldest list of patriarchs of the Śvetāmbaras is the *Sthavirāvalī* in the *Kalpasūtra*, which begins with Mahāvīra's disciple Sudharman and ends with the 33rd patriarch Śāṇḍilya or Skandila. Of most patriarchs only the names and the *gotra* are given; but there is also an expanded list from the 6th, Bhadrabāhu, down to the 14th, Vajrasena, which adds more details, viz. the names of the disciples of each patriarch and of the schools and branches (*gaṇa*, *kula*, and *śākhā*) founded by, or originating with, them. As some of these details are also mentioned in old Jain inscriptions of the 2nd cent. A.D. found at Mathurā,[1] this part at least of the Jain tradition is proved to be based on historical facts. Further, the more detailed list of patriarchs shows that after the 6th patriarch a great expansion of Jainism took place in the N. and N.W. of India.[2] Beyond the details mentioned, we have no historical records about the patriarchs; but such legends as were known about them down to Vajrasena have been combined in Hemachandra's *Pariśiṣṭa parvan* into a kind of continuous narrative.[3] For later times there are lists of teachers (*gurvāvali*, *paṭṭāvali*)[4] of separate schools, called *gachchha*, which give a summary account from Mahāvīra down to the founder of the *gachchha* in question, and then a more detailed one of the line of descent from the latter downward, with some particulars of subsequent heads of the *gachchha* called Śrīpūjya. The number of *gachchhas*, which usually differ only in minute details of conduct, is said to amount to 84, of which only 8 are represented in Gujarāt, the most important of them being the Kharatara Gachchha, which has split into many minor *gachchhas*, the Tapā, Añchala, and others. Separate mention is due to the Upakeśa Gachchha, whose members are known as the Oswāl Jains; they are remarkable for beginning their descent, not from Mahāvīra, but from his predecessor Pārśva. These lists of teachers seem, as a rule, to be reliable only in that part which comes after the founder of the school to which they belong; the preceding period down to about the 9th cent. A.D. is one of great uncertainty; there seems to be a chronological blank of three centuries somewhere.[5]

Records which allude to contemporaneous secular history are scant; such as we have in inscriptions and legends refer to kings who had favoured the Jains or were believed to have embraced Jainism. The first patron king of the Jains is said to have been Samprati, grandson of the great emperor Aśoka; but this is very doubtful history. A historical fact of the greatest importance for the history of Jainism was the conversion of Kumārapāla, king of Gujarāt, by Hemachandra (see art. HEMACHANDRA).

Finally, we must mention the schisms (*nihnava*) that have occurred in the Jain church. According to the Śvetāmbaras, there were eight schisms, of which the first was originated by Mahāvīra's son-in-law, Jamāli; and the eighth, occurring in 609 A.V. or A.D. 83, gave rise to the Digambara sect.[6] But the Digambaras seem to be ignorant of the earlier schisms; they say that under Bhadrabāhu rose the sect of Ardhaphālakas, which in A.D. 80 developed into the Śvetāmbara sect.[7] It is probable that the separation of the sections of the Jain church took place gradually, an individual development going on in both groups living at a great distance from one another, and that they became aware of their mutual difference about the end of the 1st cent. A.D. But the difference is small in articles of faith (see art. DIGAMBARA).

The sources for the history of the Digambaras are of a similar kind to those of the Śvetāmbaras, but later in date. The Digambara line of patriarchs is quite distinct from that of their rivals, except that they agree in the names of the first patriarch, Jambū, and the 6th, Bhadrabāhu, who, according to the Digambaras, emigrated at the head of the true monks towards the South. From Bhadrabāhu dates the gradual loss of their sacred literature, as stated above. The inscriptions furnish ample materials for a necessarily incomplete history of their ancient schools (*gaṇas*); but they do not quite agree in all details with the more modern tradition of the *paṭṭāvalis*. According to the latter, the main church (*mūla-saṅgha*) divided into four *gaṇas*, Nandi, Sena, Siṁha, and Deva, about the end of the 1st cent. A.D.

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[1] Mention should be made of the 11 *paḍimās* (Skr. *pratimā*), or standards of ascetic life, which a layman may take upon himself, especially when he intends to end his life by starving (cf. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, tr., p. 45, n. 12 f., *IA* xxxiii. [1904] 330).

[2] E. Windisch, *Yogaśāstra*, Germ. tr., *ZDMG* xxviii. [1874]; L. Suali, *Yogabindu*, Ital. tr., *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, xxi. [1908]; Warren, *Jainism*, p. 64 ff.

[3] For a description of the worship of the different sections of the Jains see Stevenson, *Mod. Jainism*, p. 85 ff., where there is also a short notice of the Jain festivals and fasts (p. 107 ff.; cf. also art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS [Jain], vol. v. p. 875 ff.).

[4] Stevenson, 41.

[1] See Bühler, *Epigr. Ind.* i. [1892] 371 ff., 393 ff.

[2] It is, however, curious that another tradition states: 'In India after the time of the Nanda kings the Law of the Jinas will become scarce' (*Paümachariya*, lxxxix. 42). Perhaps this refers more specially to Magadha and the adjoining countries, where, under the reign of the Mauryas, Buddhism soon attained the position of a popular religion, and must have become a formidable rival of Jainism.

[3] See the contents of the work given in the introduction to the text in the Bibl. Ind. edition.

[4] The oldest *gurvāvali* known is that by Munisundara, A.D. 1410, ed. Benares, 1905.

[5] A full bibliography of this subject is contained in Guérinot, *Essai de bibliographie jaina*, p. 370 ff., and *Répertoire d'épigraphie jaina*, p. 59 ff.

[6] See E. Leumann, in *Ind. Studien*, xvii. [1885] 91 ff.

[7] See *ZDMG* xxxviii. [1884] 1 ff.

LITERATURE.—Some of the more important works and treatises have been cited in the art.; a full bibliography has been given by A. Guérinot, *Essai de bibliographie jaina*, Paris, 1907, to which the reader is referred for all questions of detail. Of new monographs on the subject (besides the old one by G. Bühler, *Über die indische Secte der Jainas*, Vienna, 1887, tr. J. Burgess, London, 1903) the following will be found useful: Margaret Stevenson, *Notes on Modern Jainism*, Oxford, 1910; Herbert Warren, *Jainism, in Western Garb, as a Solution to Life's great Problems*, Madras, 1912; H. L. Jhaveri, *The First Principles of the Jain Philosophy*, London, 1910. For translations of some of the principal texts see H. Jacobi, 'Jaina Sûtras,' *SBE* xxii., xlv. [1884, 1895].

HERMANN JACOBI.

JALĀL AL-DĪN RŪMĪ.—Muḥammad Jalāl al-dīn, commonly known as Maulānā ('our Master') Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī, was born at Balkh in eastern Persia in A.D. 1207 and died in 1273 at Qōniya (Iconium) in Rūm (Asia Minor); whence the epithet 'Rūmī,' which he sometimes employs as a *takhallus*, or pen-name, in his lyrical poems. When Jalāl was only a few years old, his father, Muḥammad ibn Ḥusain al-Khaṭībī al-Bakrī, generally called Bahā al-dīn Walad, was obliged to leave Balkh in consequence of a court intrigue which aroused against him the anger of the reigning sovereign, ʿAlā al-dīn Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh. The exiled family, after long wanderings, in the course of which they visited Nīshāpūr, Baghdād, and Mecca, arrived at Malaṭya (Melitene) on the upper Euphrates, and, having stayed there four years, moved farther westward to Lāranda (now Qarāmān) in Asia Minor. Finally, seven years later, Bahā al-dīn was invited by the Seljūk prince, ʿAlā al-dīn Kaiqubād, to Qōniya. He died here in A.D. 1231. Jalāl had already married a lady named Gauhar Khātūn, daughter of Lālā Sharaf al-dīn of Samarkand, who bore him two sons. One of these, Sultān Walad, is the author of a mystical poem, the *Rabābnāma*, which, though written in Persian, contains 156 couplets in the Seljūk dialect of Turkish—the earliest important specimen of West Turkish poetry that we possess (see E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, i. 152).

After several years of study at Aleppo and Damascus, Jalāl returned to Qōniya, where he was appointed professor and gained a great reputation for learning. About this time he seems to have devoted himself to theosophy under the guidance of Burhān al-dīn of Tirmidh, one of his father's pupils; but the crisis of his spiritual life was his meeting with Shams al-dīn of Tabrīz, a wandering dervish who came to Qōniya in A.D. 1244 and vanished mysteriously—according to one legend, he was killed in a riot—in 1246. This illiterate God-intoxicated man exerted upon Jalāl an extraordinary personal influence almost amounting to possession, which was bitterly resented by his numerous disciples at Qōniya. To escape from their persecution Shams al-dīn left the city and returned only a short time before his death. During his absence Jalāl composed part of the enormous collection of mystical odes entitled *Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrīz*; the rest belongs to a later period, but nearly the whole work is written in the name of his beloved teacher and friend. Jalāl founded—in memory, it is said, of Shams al-dīn—the Maulavī order of dervishes with their peculiar dress and whirling dance; and some of these hymns, first uttered in moments of ecstatic rapture, are still chanted by the Maulavīs, whose headquarters remain at Qōniya to the present day. In the *Dīvān* Jalāl's poetical genius is not hampered by didactic motives, and he sings out of the fullness of his heart; here he very often soars on the wings of pantheistic enthusiasm to heights that few Ṣūfī poets have been able to approach.

Probably about A.D. 1260, at the instigation of his favourite pupil, Ḥasan Ḥusām al-dīn, he began to compose the most celebrated of his works and perhaps the greatest mystical poem of any age, the *Mathnavī-i Maʿnavī*, or 'Spiritual Couplets,' in six books containing altogether some 27,000 verses. The *Mathnavī* may be described as a medley of anecdotes, dialogues, allegories, and discursive-theosophical speculations. Each book, however, forms an independent whole and has an inward, though not always obvious, unity of its own. Such difficulties as occur are generally due to the abstruse nature of the subject; the narrative portions are written in a plain style, singularly free from rhetorical conceits. Prolix, disconnected, and sometimes tedious though it be, the *Mathnavī* stands unrivalled as a comprehensive and thoroughly characteristic exposition of the religious philosophy of Persia—an exposition which is inspired by intense moral feeling and illuminated by many beautiful and profound thoughts.

While no attempt can be made to describe the author's doctrines in detail, a few salient points may be noticed. Jalāl al-dīn is a pantheist in the sense that he identifies all real being with God and regards the world of phenomena as a mere image of the divine ideas reflected from the darkness of not-being: the universe in itself is nothing, and God alone really exists. Every atom of the universe reflects some attribute of God, but man is the microcosm which reflects them all. In him light and darkness meet; he is compounded of awe and mercy, hell and heaven, and in virtue of this double nature, which God offered to him as a trust (*amānat*) and which he voluntarily accepted (*Qur'ān* xxxiii. 72), he is responsible for his actions and can choose good or evil. Admitting for practical purposes the existence of evil, the poet is careful to guard himself against dualism: he holds that evil is a negation of real being, or that, in so far as it has a positive character, it tends to good. He insists repeatedly on the supreme value of love as the unitive and purifying element in religion. Those who love God will discern the soul of goodness everywhere and will realize the unity underlying all differences of creed and ritual; not only will a moral transformation be wrought in them by grace of God, but they will pass utterly away from selfhood and individuality, which are the great obstacles to absorption in the divine life. Another noteworthy doctrine is that of the evolution of the soul through ascending grades of being—mineral, vegetable, animal, human, angelic—before its final return to the source whence it sprang. Besides the *Dīvān* and the *Mathnavī*, Jalāl al-dīn is the author of a prose treatise bearing the title *Fīhi mā fīhi*, several copies of which are preserved at Constantinople.

LITERATURE.—i. *Life and doctrine.*—The most authoritative Persian biography of Jalāl al-dīn is contained in the *Manāqib al-ʿārifīn* by Aflākī, a pupil of the poet's grandson Chalabī ʿĀrif, of which J. Redhouse has translated copious extracts (see below). Further information will be found in the translations of the *Mathnavī* and *Dīvān* and also in the following works:

E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, London, 1906, ii. 515–525; H. Ethé, *Morgenländische Studien*, Leipzig, 1870, pp. 95–124, and in *GIrP* ii. (1896–1904) 287–292; E. J. W. Gibb, *History of Ottoman Poetry*, London, 1900, i. 145–163.

ii. *Mathnavī.*—The *Mathnavī* has been frequently reprinted in the East with and without commentaries in Persian or Turkish. There are English versions of bk. i. by J. Redhouse, London, 1881, with biographical introduction translated from the work of Aflākī; and of bk. ii. by C. E. Wilson, London, 1910, with a full commentary. An abstract of the whole poem, together with an excellent account of the principal doctrines by E. H. Whinfield, was published in 1887 in Trübner's Oriental Series, and a second edition appeared in 1898.

iii. *Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrīz.*—Complete edition in Persian, Lucknow, 1884; selected odes, Tabrīz, 1863, and Lucknow, 1878. Translations: A. von Rosenzweig, *Auswahl aus den Diwanen Mewlana Dschelaleddin Rumi*, Persian text with German verse tr., Vienna, 1838; R. A. Nicholson, *Selected Poems from the Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrīz*, Persian text with prose tr., introduction, and notes, Cambridge, 1898; W. Hastie, *The Festival of Spring, from the Dīvan of Jelāleddīn*, rendered in English ghazels after Rückert's versions, Glasgow, 1903.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

JĀLANDHARA.—Jālandhara (Jullunder) is the name of a town (lat. 31° 20′ N., long. 75° 35′ E.), district, and division in the Panjāb. The 'division' includes the 'districts' of Jālandhar (Jullunder), Hoshyārpur, and Kāngṛā. The ancient kingdom, called Trigarta by the Hindus and Jālandhara by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang) in the 7th cent., included, like the modern 'division,' both the hill country of Kāngṛā and the plain of Jālandhar. The latter is associated in Hindu mythology with an eponymous demon, on whose back the town is supposed to be built, and the neighbourhood is regarded as holy ground, pilgrimages to which are meritorious. The fort of Kāngṛā (Nagarkōt), formerly considered one of the strongest places in India, possesses the famous Brāhmanical temple of Mātā Devī, or Vajreśvarī Devī, thrice desecrated by the Muhammadans, and mostly destroyed by the earthquake of 1905, as well as some Jain shrines and images, but no Jains now reside there. At Juālāmukhī ('flaming mouth'), about 20 miles S.E. of Kāngṛā, a discharge of inflammable gas from a fissure at the base of a high range of hills is honoured with great veneration and much visited by pilgrims.

The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, twice visited Jālandhar in A.D. 634 and 643. The capital was then described as being 'the royal city of Northern India,' and the Rājā was specially selected by king Harṣa (Śīlāditya), the paramount sovereign, to escort the 'Master of the Law' when on his return journey to China. An earlier unnamed Rājā of uncertain date, who had become a convert to Buddhism, is said to have been given by the paramount power 'sole control of matters relating to Buddhism in all India,' and to have been vested, in his capacity of Protector of the Faith, with jurisdiction to reward and punish monks impartially without distinction of persons. The same prince was believed to have travelled all through India and to have erected *stūpas* (topes) and monasteries at the sacred sites; but no record confirming these statements of the pilgrim has been discovered. Although Buddhism was decadent in most parts of N. India during the 7th cent., it was still the dominant religion at Jālandhar, where the Buddhist monasteries, served by more than 2000 brethren, students of both 'vehicles,' exceeded fifty in number, while the Brāhmanical temples of the Śaiva sect of Paśupati were only three, with about 500 votaries. Probably the Buddhist worship survived until the Muhammadan conquest early in the 11th century. The armies of Islām could not endure the multitude of images displayed in Buddhist establishments, and made an end of monks and monasteries wherever they found them. The brethren at Jālandhar made a special study of the *Abhidharma*, or metaphysical, section of the canon, and Hiuen Tsiang studied an *Abhidharma* commentary for four months in 634 under the guidance of a teacher named Chandravarṇa. The compilation of such commentaries is recorded to have been the business of the Council assembled by the Kuṣān monarch Kaniṣka (*q.v.*), probably in or about A.D. 100. But in the opinion of the Japanese scholar, Takakusu,

> 'all arguments about the Council and its works will be valueless until the *Mahāvibhāṣā*—an encyclopædia of Buddhist philosophy—is translated into one of the European languages.' He holds that the Council was merely an assembly of the adherents of the Hīnayāna school of the Sarvāstivādins (*JRAS*, 1905, p. 415).

Hiuen Tsiang had no doubt that the Council met in Kashmīr, presumably at the capital, and his account of its proceedings forms part of his description of the valley. He tells us that king Kaniṣka proposed that the sittings should be held in the plains of Gandhāra, but that objection was taken to the heat and damp there. A suggestion to assemble at Rājagṛiha, the ancient capital of Magadha (Bihār) was also rejected, and ultimately it was decided to hold the Council in Kashmīr. The commentaries authorized by the assembly are said to have been engraved on copper-plates and deposited in a *stūpa*. It is possible that they may still exist among the now insignificant ruins of Pāndreṭhan, Aśoka's capital, which lie to the south-east of Śrīnagar, or Pravarasenapura, founded by a Rājā of Śaiva faith, perhaps during the 6th century. A rival tradition alleged that the Council was held at the Kuvana or Tamasavana monastery of Jālandhar, and the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, Tāranātha, writing in A.D. 1608, was of opinion that this tradition was supported by the weight of learned authority (Schiefner, *Tāranātha*, p. 60). But the precise testimony of Hiuen Tsiang, nearly a thousand years earlier in date, obviously is entitled to more credence, and the fact may be accepted that most of the sittings of the Council were held in Kashmīr. It is possible that the assembly may have met first in a monastery at or near Jālandhar, and may have adjourned to Kashmīr for the hot season. Paramārtha (499–569), the author of the *Life of Vasubandhu*, fully confirms the tradition that Kashmīr was the place of meeting of the Council (*JRAS*, 1905, pp. 38, 52).

LITERATURE.—A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871, *Archæol. Surv. Rep.* v. (Calcutta, 1882); Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang), *Travels*, tr. S. Beal (Boston, 1885) and T. Watters (London, 1904–05); S. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, do. 1828; *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, tr. M. A. Stein, Westminster, 1900; F. A Schiefner, *Tāranātha's Gesch.*, St. Petersburg, 1869; *JRAS*, 1905; art. 'Jullunder District' in *IGI* xiv. [1908] 221–231.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

JAMBUKESWARAM (Skr. *Jambukeśvara*, a title of Śiva, 'Lord of the *jambu*, or rose-apple tree,' under an old specimen of which, much venerated, the symbol of the god is placed).—A famous Śaiva temple in Śrīrangam Island (*q.v.*) in the Trichinopoli District of the Madras Presidency. It rivals the more famous Vaiṣṇava temple at Śrīrangam in architectural beauty, interest, and possibly in antiquity. The *liṅga* which is the object of worship is one of the five known as 'elemental,' the 'element' being in this case water, by which it is surrounded (for the other 'elemental' *liṅgas* see *Madras Manual of Administration*, iii. [1893] 429 f.). According to Fergusson,

> 'the first gateway of the outer enclosure is not large, but it leads direct to the centre of a hall containing some 400 pillars. On the right these open to a tank fed by a perpetual spring which is one of the wonders of the place. The corresponding space on the left was intended to be occupied by the 600 columns requisite to make up the 1000, but was never completed. [There are, in reality, 796 columns, or, in all, 938, if the 142 round the little tank which adjoins the hall be added.] Between the two *gopuras* (entrance gates) of the second enclosure is a very beautiful portico of cruciform shape, leading to the door of the sanctuary, which, however, makes no show externally, and access to its interior is not vouchsafed to the profane' (*Hist. of Ind. and East. Arch.*, p. 365).

He fixes the date of the building about A.D. 1600; one inscription, however, is said to be dated A.D. 1480. Formerly, when sectarian jealousy was less intense, the image of Viṣṇu used to be brought for one day in the year into a coco-nut grove within the enclosure of the rival temple, but owing to sectarian disputes this practice has now been abandoned.

Literature.—J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876, p. 365; *IGI* xxiii. [1908] 109 f.

W. Crooke.

JAMNOTRĪ (Skr. *Yamunā-avātāra-purī*, 'city of the appearance of the Jumnā').—A sacred place of the Hindus near the source of the river Jumnā; lat. 31° 1′ N.; long. 78° 28′ E.; in the State of Garhwāl, United Provinces, India. The river rises from the group of mountains known as Bandarpūñch, 'monkey's tail,' the height of which is 30,731 ft., at Jamnotrī, at an elevation of 10,549 ft. above sea level. Close to the source of the river from a glacier there is a hot spring.

'From a rock which projects from the snow a small rill descends during the day, about 3 feet wide and very shallow, being only the result of a shower of spray produced by the snow melting under the sun's rays. Below this the snow-bed is intersected with rifts and chasms, caused by the falling in of the snow as it is melted by the steam of the boiling spring beneath it. The rill finds its way through crevices formed in the snow-bed to the ground beneath, out of which gush numerous springs of water of nearly boiling heat [194·7° Fahr.]; and the steam from these melts the mass of ice and snow above them so as to form numerous excavations resembling vaulted roofs of marble, and further causes a copious shower, which affords the principal supply to the Jumna' (Atkinson, *Himalayan Gaz.* iii. 376).

The place is a resort of pilgrims, but is not so popular as Gangotrī (*q.v.*), the source of the Ganges.

Literature.—E. T. Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, Allahabad, 1882–84, iii. 376; T. Skinner, *Excursions in India*, London, 1833, i. 296 ff.; *IGI* xiv. [1908] 51.

W. Crooke.

JANSENISM.—Jansenism, a religious revival within the Church of Rome, originated in the 17th cent. and is hardly yet extinct. Although its history is connected chiefly with France, its first home was the Flemish University of Louvain; and it bears the name of its chief Flemish apostle, Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres. Jansen (1585–1638) was born of humble parents at Accoy in the province of Utrecht, and educated at Louvain, where he formed a momentous friendship with a French fellow-student, Jean du Vergier de Hauranne (1581–1643), who presently introduced his ideas to France. Jansen rose to be tutor and professor at Louvain; in 1636 he was appointed bishop of Ypres, but died within two years of his elevation. In 1640 his executors published the work of his lifetime: *Augustinus, seu doctrina S. Augustini de humanæ naturæ ægritudine, sanitate et medicina adversus Pelagianos et Massilienses.* This bulky treatise is the chief monument of a controversy that had raged at Louvain ever since its great professor Baius, otherwise Michael de Bay (1513–89), had revolted against the traditional Scholasticism of the college lecture-rooms. Mediæval theology boasted itself a *fides quærens intellectum*, making clear to reason the dogmas that faith already accepted; and reason, to the mediæval mind, meant the categories of Aristotle. With their help, it was thought that all the mysteries of religion could be translated into clear, coherent language; and, in pursuance of this end, the Schoolmen raised a gigantic monument of subtle dialectic, wherein they claimed that every article in the creed found its precise metaphysical equivalent. As time went on, however, the world grew increasingly dissatisfied with their performance. Simple souls were bewildered. They felt that faith and grace and love, when arrayed in all the pomp of logical abstraction, were woefully unlike all that they mean to the unsophisticated human heart. Accordingly they accused the Church of having over-intellectualized religion; the Flemish Huguenots told King Philip II. that it had 'brouillé la sapience humaine parmy la sapience divine.' Their protest was in some degree supported by de Bay and other moderate Catholics, who were in favour of making all reasonable concessions to the Reformation. They felt that scholasticism, in its enthusiasm for logic, had let theology drift out of touch with Christian feeling and experience. 'Divines talk of sin,' wrote de Bay (Linsenmann, *Michael Baius*, p. 75), 'as though it were a clever puzzle invented by some visionary dreamer, which must be pondered over and believed, although nobody could feel or grasp it.' Under his leadership an anti-Scholastic tradition grew up at Louvain, of which Jansen became the great exponent. In the preface to his *Augustinus* he declares that the first great enemy of God is Aristotle, the arch-logician. His *pura, puta philosophia* may be well enough suited to the investigation of physical phenomena; it is utterly out of place in a discussion of spiritual things. It engenders a blind trust in argument; and argument transforms theology into a kind of dialectical tilting-match, where everything is open to question, and nothing is held sacred or assured. 'What is held probable to-day will be considered false to-morrow, and the certainty of yesterday becomes the paradox of to-day.' Thus was theology become 'a tower of Babel for confusion, and a Cimmerian region for obscurity.'

Where find a remedy for this state of things? Jansen appealed to Augustine—raised up by God's Providence to be the eternal and victorious foe of Aristotle. To follow him was to escape from the frosty intellectualism of the Schoolmen; for Augustine, although more than a match in logic for the doughtiest Aristotelian who ever lectured in the Schools, had never hesitated to appeal to the imagination and the feelings; his works owed even more to his 'charity' than to his brain. Again, to follow Augustine was to escape for ever from the instability of the theologians. He had always taught that faith and reason have nothing to do with each other. Divine truth in no way depends on the vagaries of the human mind; it is determined solely by prescriptions and traditions flowing straight from the Fountainhead. In other words, it is given by God—not made by the hand of man. And what is true of faith is also true of works. Left to ourselves, we can neither think nor act aright. All that is good in us is the fruit of grace implanted in the individual heart by the hand of God Himself. Jansen's three volumes are an interminable elaboration of this central thesis. The changes are incessantly rung on the absolute necessity of grace, on the blindness of the human intellect and the weakness of the human will, until commonplace Catholics began to rub their eyes, and ask whether the bishop of Ypres was anything better than a Calvinist in disguise. They were wrong. Strongly as Jansen held to the Augustinian doctrine of individual sanctification by the direct personal agency of God, he held quite as strongly to the other side of the Augustinian system—to the *Civitas Dei*, or Visible Church, wherein the Redeemer becomes perpetually re-incarnate, generation after generation. Thus communion with the Visible Church—acceptance of its dogmas, participation in its sacraments—was absolutely necessary for salvation. The Church, as it were, provided the dry bones of righteousness; the inward witness of the Spirit clothed the skeleton with flesh. Hence, during their long struggle with the Roman authorities, none of Jansen's followers dreamed of casting loose from Rome.

Moreover, all their surroundings indisposed them from any sympathy with the Reformation. Jansen spent most of his life at Louvain, the frontier-citadel of Rome over against Presbyterian Holland; there he more than once crossed swords with the great Calvinist controversialist, Voetius, still remembered for his attacks on Descartes. And he probably owed his mitre to the favour with which the Spanish Viceroy at Brussels had received his *Mars Gallicus* (1635), a fiery political pamphlet attacking Louis XIII. of France for having allied himself with the heretical powers of Northern Europe during his long fight with Spain and Austria, traditional champions of the papacy. On the other hand, Jansen, like de Bay before him, may well have dreamed of beating the Protestants with their own weapons, and proving that—given a strong infusion of Augustinian doctrine—Rome could be as truly evangelical as Wittenberg or Geneva. Certainly this idea appealed much to his friend and fellow-labourer, du Vergier de Hauranne. He came of a wealthy family near Bayonne, and was educated at Louvain, where he made Jansen's acquaintance. After his ordination he spent some years as confidential secretary to the bishop of Poitiers; in 1620 the bishop made over to him the 'commendatory' (or sinecure) abbacy of Saint Cyran, a Benedictine monastery in central France. Thenceforward he was generally known as Monsieur de Saint Cyran. At Poitiers he was often brought in contact with the Huguenots; for Touraine was the centre of French Protestantism. And experience soon convinced him that their reconciliation with the Roman Church was impossible, until the Church set its affairs in order. Accordingly he settled in Paris, and there started on a vigorous campaign to bring the Church's disorders to an end.

The disorders in question were fruits of the Wars of Religion in the previous century. After thirty years' fighting about theology, most Frenchmen were sick of the very name of dogma. As the long struggle had ended with the conversion of Henry IV. to Rome, most of them were willing enough to call themselves Catholics, and 'perform the ancient ceremonies of their country with a decent moderation,' as one of their own great writers enjoins. But independent spirits were drifting away from Christianity altogether to a purely natural religion untainted by sectarian bickerings—a religion of noble self-respect and disinterested love of duty, learnt from Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus. Such minds felt no need of grace or redemption: was not the wise man sufficient unto himself? As for the frivolous many, they were frankly weary of religion altogether; and the Church's only chance of luring them back within its fold was to pitch its standard of 'decent moderation' as low as possible. This view soon dawned on the Jesuits and the more worldly-wise among the clergy. They argued that severity in pulpit and confessional only scared sinners away altogether; thereby their money and influence were lost to the Church, and their souls robbed of the priceless benefit of priestly absolution. Accordingly, through their casuists—writers of official text-books on the management of the confessional—they entered on a vigorous campaign to force priests to be lax. The kind of question that a confessor might ask was rigorously defined. He must be satisfied with the merest show of repentance. He must always lean towards the most 'benign' interpretation of the law; and for his guidance the casuists ran many an ingenious coach-and-four through inconvenient enactments. Not that they went as far as some of their Protestant critics imagined. They did not legitimate grave sins; their object was to show that the Church's minimum standard was no higher than that of the average man or woman of the world. What did it matter if this level was miserably low? The less the casuists dared ask of the sinner, the more they trusted to the miraculous efficiency of sacramental grace. By hook or by crook get him to the confessional, and the magical words of absolution would make him a new man.

On both Jesuits and Neo-Stoics Saint Cyran waged a relentless war, for he held that both were infected by the same deadly error on the subject of grace. The Stoics ignored it altogether. Their theory set before man a high ideal, and left him to carry it out by himself as best he might; and Saint Cyran's criticisms of Stoic practice forestall the famous saying of Pascal that those who set out to be angels generally end among the beasts. The Jesuits certainly did not ignore the necessity of sacramental grace. But they said that, if a man wished for it, he must take the first step himself, and merit grace by coming to confession. For grace, on their principles, never took the lead; its business was to complement and continue what human nature had begun. That being so, they argued that it was unjust to ask men for more than they were fully capable of performing; God must perforce be satisfied with whatever the casuists thought it fair and reasonable of Him to expect. Saint Cyran brought all the batteries of Jansen's theology to bear on this position. He refused to ask what a man could do simply by himself; the question was how much he could do when borne up on the wings of grace. And whether he was so upborne depended in no way on himself; God did not ask His creatures to choose whether they would accept grace or refuse it. The mass of mankind He left to perish in their sins. On the few whom He elected to save grace descended like a whirlwind—irresistibly, unfailingly, victoriously. There were 'thunder-claps and visible upsets'—a sudden, often violent, awakening. 'In every true conversion,' wrote Saint Cyran in his *Spiritual Letters*, 'God speaks at least once to the soul as distinctly as on the road to Damascus He spoke to St. Paul, model of all penitents.' There followed a long course of internal repentance and external penitential discipline, carried out under expert guidance: was not St. Paul himself 'directed' by Ananias immediately after his conversion? At last the sinner emerged a new creature, living only for religion. To all other interests he was dead. Even the most innocent—art and literature, family ties, civic and professional duties—might prove dangerous rivals to the love of God, and were therefore better away. But for such a man the cloister is the only place, and of this Saint Cyran was well aware. As his first biographer says, he strove hard 'happily to depeople earth, and give new citizens to Heaven,' by driving most of his hearers into convents.

Hence it is scarcely surprising that his first celebrated disciple should have been a nun. This was Angélique Arnauld (1591-1661), abbess of Port Royal des Champs, a Cistercian convent near Versailles. She had early revolted against the spiritual deadness around her, and embarked on various schemes of reform. But all her efforts had been tentative and uncertain, until Saint Cyran appeared to give her the precise kind of guidance that she needed. In return, she furnished his doctrine with a local habitation and a name; within a very few years Port Royal became the headquarters of the Jansenist party. Angélique enlisted in its service her large and influential family—notably her brother, Antoine (1612-94), one of the most promising young divines in France. Her convent opened in the capital a daughter-house, known as Port Royal de Paris. At the abbey gates a little group of masculine adherents formed the 'hermits of Port Royal,' who lived an austere semi-monastic life, although bound together by no vow. Under the guidance of Antoine Arnauld, they poured forth an ever-increasing flood of devotional literature remarkable for its literary style. Both nuns and hermits opened 'little schools' for the children of friends of the movement; Pascal's sister, Jacqueline, was a teacher in the one, and Racine a pupil in the other. So successful was the party that it soon excited the suspicions of Richelieu's police; in 1638 Saint Cyran was arrested as a disturber of ecclesiastical peace, and kept in prison till the Cardinal's death (December 1642). Then he was at once released; but his health had been broken by his confinement, and he died in October 1643.

The leadership of the Jansenist party at once devolved on Antoine Arnauld, who had just published (August 1643) a *Traité de la fréquente communion*, which for the first time set the Jansenist case before the general reader. The *Augustinus*, written in Latin, had been too learned; Saint Cyran's devotional works were at once too monastic and too inspirational—too full of 'thunderclaps and visible upsets.' Arnauld, scion of a family of lawyers, used the language of his country, and imported into theology all the hard-headed caution of his race. He dealt with the management of the confessional, a subject of interest to every one. And he dealt with it in a manner intelligible to every one. The casuistical party maintained that Catholics were the Chosen People—members of the One True Church—and that God showed His particular favour to them by giving them sacraments, which 'met their efforts half-way,' that is, made them holy with very little trouble on their part. Arnauld's *Traité* directly challenged this position. He denied that the mere fact of being a Catholic was any recommendation in God's sight. Religion did not consist in believing a particular opinion, or conforming to a particular mode of life; it meant conversion, becoming a new creature. But conversion was no affair of a moment; it was a slow and gradual process, involving a long course of discipline, internal and external. How absurd it was of the casuists to give absolution easily—'like footmen, rather than judges'—to all who chose to ask for it. How could a muttered absolution make a sinner a new man?

The casuistical party must needs take up so open a challenge. They could not discredit the *Traité* directly, for it had been very favourably received. So they concentrated their attacks on the weakest point in Arnauld's position, and accused the *Augustinus* of renewing the Predestinarian heresies of Calvin. The book had appeared in 1640, and was promptly censured by the Inquisition, on the ground that it was illegal to write controversial works on the subject of grace without special leave from Rome. This censure was confirmed by Urban VIII. in 1642. But various technical objections were raised to the legality of this condemnation, and a lively war of pamphlets ensued. In July 1649 seven propositions were denounced to the Sorbonne, or Divinity Faculty of Paris University. Two of these, taken from the *Fréquente communion*, were soon dropped; the other five made up what Bossuet called the soul of the *Augustinus*, though only the first proposition of the five was textually extracted from it. They run as follows:

> (1) There are commandments which good men cannot obey, however hard they try. (2) In the state of fallen nature, internal grace is never resisted. (3) To make actions in the state of fallen nature meritorious or otherwise, it is not requisite that they should be free from internal necessity, but only from external constraint. (4) The Semi-Pelagian heresy consisted in teaching that men can choose whether they will accept grace or reject it. (5) It is a Semi-Pelagian error to say that Christ died for all men.

These five Propositions gave rise to heated debates in the Sorbonne, until Arnauld's supporters, finding themselves in a minority, appealed to the law-courts on a question of privilege, and the whole question was referred to the Assembly of the Clergy meeting in the following year. But the Assembly also was divided in opinion. In April 1651, eighty-five bishops wrote to Pope Innocent X., begging him to condemn the Propositions; eleven other bishops wrote deprecating the action of their colleagues. Innocent appointed a commission forthwith to examine into the whole question, with the help of advocates on both sides. Early in 1653 the commission reported; and on the strength of its findings Innocent declared all five Propositions heretical.

At first the Jansenists made light of his judgment. In the 17th cent. few Frenchmen believed in papal infallibility. Rome was looked on as a country where diplomatic intrigue went for more than theological scholarship, and one pontificate might easily undo the work of another. The Jesuits might manage to hoodwink Innocent X.; Port Royal could afford to wait till he gave place to a pope less amenable to their influence. Accordingly Arnauld temporized. He began by denying that Jansen was touched by the censure at all. Only one of the five Propositions was a literal extract from the *Augustinus*; and that one, though liable to Calvinistic misconstruction, was also capable of being read in the orthodox Catholic sense given it by Augustine, Jansen's master. Hence, to condemn the disciple was to condemn the Doctor of grace. The bishops replied that Innocent had condemned the Propositions in the precise sense intended by Jansen; and their assertion was confirmed by Innocent's successor, Alexander VII., in October 1656. Arnauld had already been expelled from the Sorbonne, in spite of Pascal's *Provincial Letters* (Jan. 1656–March 1657), begun in an attempt to save him. Early in 1657 the Assembly of the Clergy imposed on every priest, monk, and nun in France a 'Formulary,' or declaration, that the Propositions really were in Jansen's book. For a while, however, the Formulary hung fire. Although in a small minority, the Jansenists had powerful backers among both bishops and judges. Public opinion was impressed by the *Provincial Letters*, and still more by the so-called 'miracle of the Holy Thorn' (March 24, 1656), when Pascal's little niece, Marguérite Périer, was suddenly cured of an ulcerated eye by touching a relic from the Crown of Thorns in the convent chapel at Port Royal. But the respite was short; for in 1660 a new and most powerful enemy entered the lists. Louis XIV. took the reins of government into his own hands; and this great fanatic for uniformity was the last man in the world to tolerate a handful of eccentric recluses who believed themselves to be in special touch with Heaven, and therefore might at any moment set their conscience up against the law. In 1661 he stirred up the bishops to enforce signature of the Formulary; and, when the Jansenists objected that mere bishops had no right to impose it, he got a new Formulary drafted by the pope (1664).

At last the Jansenists found themselves between two fires. Were they to sign, or were they not to sign? A few of the most consistent were for a blank refusal. Just before his death (1662) Pascal had declared that the *Augustinus* was absolutely in the right, and the pope absolutely in the wrong. Hence to sign the Formulary, without expressly excepting Jansen's name from censure of every kind, was to act in a way 'abominable before God, craven in the sight of man, and of no use whatsoever to those already marked out for destruction.' But the mass of the party followed Arnauld in his temporizing tactics. He said that the Formulary might be signed by any one who bore in mind the common distinction of law and fact. In abstract matters of dogma the Church was certainly infallible. But this infallibility ceased so soon as it approached concrete cases of fact; and it knew no more than any one else what was in a particular author's mind when he wrote a certain passage in his book. Properly speaking, it had no right to pronounce on such questions at all; if it insisted on doing so, the most that its decisions could expect was the 'respectful silence' that involves external conformity, but no inward acquiescence. Tacitly connived at by many bishops, this position was openly accepted by four—those of Alet, Angers, Beauvais, and Pamiers. The pope and Louis were furious, and there was talk of bringing the offending prelates to trial. But all sorts of legal difficulties arose as to who should try them; for the Gallican Church was exceedingly jealous of any interference from Rome. While the question was still pending, Pope Alexander died. The peacemakers at once stepped in, and persuaded the four bishops to make a very ambiguous submission to Rome. With this the new and very pacific pope, Clement IX., declared himself satisfied (1669); and Louis's ministers, who were utterly weary of the whole quarrel, induced him to take this opportunity of admitting the Jansenists generally to grace. Public opinion followed his lead. The nuns of Port Royal suddenly found themselves national heroines; and Arnauld ended twenty years of hiding by a triumphant entry into Paris.

Jansenist writers treat this 'Peace of Clement IX.' as a victory; really it was the beginning of their downfall. They had set out to reform the Church; they ended by having to fight hard for a doubtful footing within it. And under Arnauld's leadership the party itself had gone down-hill; a controversial, argumentative impulse was shouldering out the evangelical. The world admired Arnauld's talents; but, in admiring, it agreed with Bossuet, who said that Arnauld was inexcusable for having wasted his great abilities in an attempt to show that Jansen had not been condemned. Besides, Louis never forgot, and never forgave; and an incident very soon occurred that fanned his wrath to a flame. For a long while a sullen contest had smouldered between the Government and the bishops over the *régale*—the royal prerogative of enjoying the temporalities of a vacant bishopric, which the Crown lawyers had gradually extended into a most vexatious burden. The explosion came in 1673, when Louis tried to enforce it on the few dioceses which had been hitherto exempt. Loud protests were raised by the bishops of Alet and Pamiers—both well known for their Jansenist sympathies, and both strong opponents of the Formulary. Their action raised a violent storm, and led directly to Louis's quarrel with Innocent XI. and the Gallican Declaration of 1682. It also determined Louis to make an end for ever of the obnoxious sect. He stayed his hand during the life of his cousin, Madame de Longueville—once the heroine of the *Fronde*, and now the great patron of Port Royal. On her death (1679) he at once proceeded to sharp measures. The nuns of Port Royal were again subjected to persecution; and Arnauld fled from France, never to return.

Still, to strike at the leaders was one thing; to crush their followers was quite another. What was known as 'mitigated Jansenism'—a doctrine that just managed to keep within the four corners of orthodoxy—found many adherents among the clergy. And in lay homes the spirit of Port Royal was kept alive by a book, which played in the later history of Jansenism almost as large a part as the *Augustinus* itself. This was *Le Nouveau Testament en français, avec des réflexions morales sur chaque verset, pour en rendre la lecture et la méditation plus faciles à ceux qui commencent à s'y appliquer*; it was popularly known as *Les Réflexions morales*, and was from the pen of the Oratorian, Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719). In various forms and under various titles it went through a number of editions between 1668 and 1692, without incurring any official censure. Indeed, it was formally approved by Noailles, bishop of Châlons, afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, although Quesnel's opinions were well known. In 1685 he had gone to share Arnauld's exile in Brussels; and on Arnauld's death (1694) he succeeded to the leadership of the party. Meanwhile the sale of his *Réflexions morales* continued to increase, and it became the target of an ever-growing hail of Jesuit bullets. At last the more sanguine Jansenists determined to take the offensive themselves. In 1701 they consulted the Sorbonne as to whether it was not enough to receive the condemnation of Jansen in 'respectful silence.' The question stirred the fires of fifty years before; and soon ecclesiastical France was in a blaze. In 1703 Louis wrote to Clement XI., suggesting that they should take concerted action to put an end to Jansenism for ever. Clement replied with the bull *Vineam Domini*, condemning respectful silence outright (1705). The bull only whetted Louis's appetite. The older he grew, and the thicker the disasters of the War of Spanish Succession rained upon him, the more the ugly superstitious side of his character awoke. He became frenziedly anxious to propitiate his Maker, and save himself another Blenheim or Malplaquet by exterminating the enemies of the Church. As the few old ladies left at Port Royal refused to accept the *Vineam Domini*, their community was broken up (1709); their cemetery was violated, and the abbey-buildings destroyed. The king next proposed to Clement to condemn the *Réflexions morales* in the most solemn possible form. For some time Clement, a pacific diplomat, hung back; but at last he yielded, and put forth the bull *Unigenitus* (1713). This was a censure not only of all that Jansenism said, but of all that it had tried to say. Even Fénelon, although a warm admirer of the bull, admits that public opinion credited it with having condemned St. Augustine, St. Paul, and Jesus Christ Himself. It went altogether beyond the technical questions raised by the *Augustinus*—notably when it dealt a heavy blow at the practice of popular Bible-reading lately sprung up among French Catholics. Hence its appearance was the signal for a popular outcry; even about fifteen bishops supported Cardinal de Noailles in refusing to accept it. The next two years were spent by the Court in a feverish endeavour to thrust it down their throats; Noailles was saved from deposition only by the death of the king in 1715.

On the accession of the regent Orleans, bigotry at once gave place to cynical indifference. Orleans was a free-thinker, and all he cared for was to keep the clergy quiet; hence he always sided with the stronger party, in the hope of crushing out the weaker. As the bull was generally unpopular, he began by taking the side of its opponents, and appointed Noailles chief ecclesiastical adviser to the Court. But he soon found that he had underrated the strength of the *Constitutionnaires*—the thick-and-thin supporters of the bull. Besides, its opponents were divided among themselves. Some rejected the *Unigenitus* altogether; others were willing to accept it with various modifications. At last the stalwarts of the party lost patience with its trimmers. In 1717 four bishops—those of Boulogne, Mirepoix, Montpellier, and Senez—appealed from the pope to a general Council; they were supported by Noailles and a number of others. The pope replied that any one who rejected the bull thereby cut himself off from communion with the Church of Christ (1718). The Court, foreseeing serious risk of a definite breach with Rome, called in the services of a committee of moderate bishops, among them being Massillon of Clermont, the famous pulpit orator. The committee produced two documents. One—the *Corps de doctrine*—was a commentary on the bull, explaining away everything in its provisions that might stick in the gorge of an 'appellant.' The second document was a letter accepting the *Unigenitus* in the same sense as the pope—which, as the indignant Clement pointed out, was often very different from the sense laid down in the *Corps de doctrine*—and at the same time condemning some of the most extravagant utterances of the bull's extreme supporters. The two documents made up what was known as an *accommodement*, or compromise; and the Government decreed that any one who signed the compromise should be deemed to have accepted the bull, and be free from further molestation. After some wavering, Noailles and most of the appellant bishops accepted the Government's terms (1720); and Jansenism came to an end as an organized political force.

Not that it was by any means dead. The four original appellants refused the compromise, and 're-appealed' to a general Council. The tolerant Regent let them alone; but after his death (1723) power passed into the hands of Fleury, former tutor to the young king, and an ardent aspirant to a cardinal's hat. He determined to make an example of the most recalcitrant appellant, Bishop Soanen of Senez. This old man of over eighty was deposed from his bishopric, and exiled to a remote monastery in Auvergne. Noailles protested against his treatment; but shortly afterwards he died (1729), just after having made a humble submission to Rome. He was hardly in his grave before Jansenism burst out again in a new form. Persecution generally begets hysteria in its victims, more especially when they already accept a strong doctrine of conversion. Belief in material miracles goes hand in hand with belief in moral; and even in its great days Port Royal could furnish a long list of special providences and portents, like the miracle of the Holy Thorn. Now that the fortunes of the party were at their lowest ebb, these were multiplied a hundredfold. About 1728 the 'miracles of St. Médard' became the talk of Paris. These were a series of astonishing cures—mostly of nervous diseases—effected at the tomb of François de Pâris (1690–1727), a young Jansenist cleric of singularly holy life, and a perfervid opponent of the *Unigenitus*. In 1732 the Government closed the cemetery, and gave rise to the famous epigram:

> 'De par le Roi, défense à Dieu
> De faire miracle en ce lieu.'

From mere miracles it was but a step to apocalyptic prophecy and speaking with tongues. The so-called *Convulsionnaires* worked themselves up, by means of frightful self-torture, into a state of ecstasy, in which they prophesied and cured diseases. They were speedily disowned by the serious Jansenists, but they dragged on a disreputable existence for many years. In 1772 they were still important enough for Diderot to take the field against them. A curious law-suit revealed that they had a regular organization, with elective officers and a common treasury, known as the *boîte à Perrette* ('Perrette's money-box'), from the name of the old lady who was its original custodian.

Meanwhile Cardinal Fleury was having much ado to enforce the *Unigenitus* on the clergy generally. The French judges were enthusiastically Gallican; and they hated the bull, because it was a triumph of their hereditary enemies, the Jesuits and the pope. Hence they put every possible difficulty in the way of its execution. Under their fostering care, a belief sprang up that to call oneself a 'Jansenist,' and abuse the *Unigenitus*, was to show oneself a lover of civil and religious liberty. And, as the Jesuits grew more and more unpopular, the word 'Jansenist' came to mean everything that they were not; it stood for a sterling, upright character, and a manly hatred of double-dealing and shams. Thus the historian Sismondi, who was born in 1773, remembered an old gentleman who used to boast that he was an atheist, but one of the Jansenist sort. Men of this type had much to do with the eventual suppression of the Jesuits (1773), and not a little with the French Revolution. Here political Jansenism joined hands with religious in the remarkable figure of the Abbé Henri Grégoire (1750–1831), sometime constitutional bishop of Blois. For religious Jansenism was not dead. The old spirit of Port Royal still survived in many a country parsonage and convent, and led throughout the 18th cent. to chronic conflicts with authority. Often the causes of quarrel were trumpery enough; and Jansen's latter-day descendants did not always show themselves reasonable or broad-minded. Still, in their dim fashion they upheld the great principle of their school—that religion begins and ends as an inward 'touch of the Spirit,' and over the movements of that Spirit no Church has jurisdiction.

Outside France also during the 18th cent. much was heard of Jansenism, though the word was loosely used to cover a great number of different meanings. Any one who wished to reform abuses—more especially abuses profitable to the Court of Rome—was at once set down as a Jansenist. So was any priest in any country who tried to keep a strict hand over his flock. In Ireland, down to quite modern times, Jansenism meant little more than a conscientious objection to dancing on Sunday. Much the same is true of Italy, though here something of the true spirit of Port Royal inspired the efforts of Bishop Scipione de' Ricci (1741–1810), the leading spirit in the ill-fated synod of Pistoia (1786). But the most direct heir of Port Royal was Jansen's native country of Holland. Here, ever since Jansen's own day, Catholic ecclesiastical affairs had been in a great tangle. The Dutch priests clung to their ancient right of electing their own archbishop of Utrecht—or, rather, since the archbishopric had lapsed at the Reformation, they wished to choose their acting bishop, or vicar-general. Rome, on the other hand, wanted to assimilate Holland to other Protestant countries, where the chief ecclesiastical officer was a vicar-apostolic, chosen by the pope and directly under his orders. The question was all the more burning, since in Holland, as in the England of Elizabeth, there were bitter quarrels between the Jesuits and the secular parochial clergy. The Jesuits wanted a papal nominee; the seculars held tightly to their local independence. Jansen had entered the lists on behalf of the seculars, while he was still a professor at Louvain; Saint Cyran and Antoine Arnauld had followed him, and ever since Port Royal had been on the friendliest terms with Utrecht. The fact was not forgotten at Rome. In 1702 the Vicar-General Codde was deposed by the pope on a charge of Jansenism. A section of the Dutch parish priests refused to recognize his deposition, and were supported by a number of French 'appellant' refugees, who streamed into Holland after the promulgation of the *Unigenitus*. Codde himself acquiesced, under protest, in his deposition; but his supporters were not so meek as he, and eventually organized themselves into a separate community. In 1723 Cornelius Steenoven was consecrated archbishop of Utrecht by Dominique Varlet, a French missionary bishop, who had been deposed by Rome as a suspected Jansenist; and suffragan sees were afterwards founded at Haarlem and Deventer. Popularly the community has always been known as the Jansenist Church of Utrecht; officially it rejects the name of Jansenist, and calls itself the Old Roman Catholic Church—'De Oud-roomsch-katholieke Kerk.' Necessarily, however, its theology wears a strongly Jansenist complexion. It regards Arnauld's interpretation of Jansen as perfectly orthodox; and it rejects the *Unigenitus* and the infallibility of the pope. In all other respects it adheres strictly to Catholic beliefs and practices—the practices of two hundred years ago; for it is rigidly conservative, and boasts that it does not move with the times. Of late years, however, it has shaken off something of its immobility. Since 1872 it has been in communion with the Old Catholics of Germany, although it by no means approves all their departures from established Catholic usage. More recently it has established a mission in Paris—the 'Église gallicane'—and has consecrated a bishop to supervise the Old Catholics of England. And, if there is any future for free Catholic Churches in Western Europe, Utrecht will undoubtedly be their natural starting-point and centre.

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ST. CYRES.

JAPAN.—The country of Japan (exclusive of Korea [*q.v.*]) consists of more than 40 islands and a great number of islets, lying between 50° 56′ and 21° 45′ N. and 156° 32′ and 122° 6′ E., and having an area of more than 173,786 sq. miles. Of these islands Honshū is the largest, containing nearly two-fifths of the total area; and it has been, and is likely to remain, the chief seat of national life. But Kyūshū, to the south-west of Honshū, is historically of far greater importance, having been for centuries one of the main channels through which Asiatic and European influences reached Japan.

A remarkable feature of Japan is the high ratio of coast-line to land area, this being estimated at 1 : 3½, whereas in Greece and Norway, which have the longest coast-lines in Europe, the ratio is 1 : 5. The south coast of Honshū and the west coast of Kyūshū have the greatest number of bays and inlets—which explains the historical fact that the civilization of Japan first began in those islands.

I. *ETHNOLOGY.*—What racial components entered into the making of the Japanese people properly so called cannot be determined with accuracy. It seems to be clear, however, that the Manchu-Korean, the Mongol, and the Malayan types predominate. This is the view propounded by E. Baelz, who made the most exhaustive study of the question, particularly on the physiological side (*Mitt. der deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, no. 28 [1883]). It is historically evident that great numbers of Koreans constantly migrated to Japan in ancient times; and the oldest annals of Japan seem to indicate that in the pre-historic ages there was between her islands and the Asiatic continent, particularly S. China, an almost constant passing to and fro of the peoples on both sides of the water. The Manchu-Korean characteristics in the physique of the Japanese are the tall, slender figure, somewhat narrow, oval face, with no special projection of cheek bones, a straight or aquiline nose, more or less slanting eyes, and small hands with long, delicate fingers. People of this type were probably the first settlers on the north coast of Honshū, the province then known by the name of Idzumo. Mongol characteristics are a broad face, prominent cheek bones, oblique eyes, and a flat nose. The Malayans are said to have contributed the most important elements to the Japanese race. Their physical characteristics are the square-built, well-developed body, generally short in stature, and the round face with a conspicuous tendency to prognathism. They are found in S. China, in the south-western parts of Korea, and in all the islands along the eastern coasts of the Asiatic continent; and it is probable that at the dawn of Japanese history they landed in Kyūshū and thence pushed their way north until they finally conquered the Manchu-Korean settlers in Idzumo. These three types are now so blended as to make it impossible to trace any single one distinctly and exclusively in the features of particular individuals. Every Japanese is a composite, each differing from the rest only in the matter of proportion.

There is, however, a group of people in Japan who have preserved their racial distinctness until this day. They are the Ainus, the people who now inhabit the islands north of the Tsugaru Strait. It still remains an unsolved question whether they were the aborigines of Japan. Some assert that a primitive people known as the 'Koropokgul' inhabited the Japanese islands previous to the intrusion of the Ainus. In any case, it is quite evident that the latter once occupied the whole land, but were gradually driven out of Kyūshū and the main island by later intruders from the Asiatic continent or the South Sea Islands. Historical records show that the Ainus were once fierce, brave fighters, making strong opposition to the central government, and not infrequently becoming a menace to its security. There was, however, a distinct portion of the Ainus who were called the *nie-yéso*, the 'naturalized' Ainus, in contrast to the *ara-yéso*, the 'wild' Ainus. This tends to show that Ainu blood is flowing in the veins of the Japanese. The Ainu people, unlike the Manchu-Koreans or the Mongols, have a very close resemblance to some Europeans in physical characteristics. They are rather short and thickly built; they have prominent foreheads with deep-set eyes, bushy eyebrows, often overhanging the eyes, and, unlike their Manchu-Korean neighbours, wavy hair with heavy beards, and, remarkably enough, long divergent eyelashes. There is, accordingly, good reason for J. Batchelor, probably the best authority upon the Ainus, to hold that they belong to the Caucasian race. He maintains also that the 'Ainu language is Aryan, with the marks common to the languages of the six great Aryan peoples' (cf. W. E. Griffis, *The Jap. Nation in Evolution*, p. 5; see, further, art. AINUS, vol. i. p. 239 ff.). B. H. Chamberlain is opposed to this view, principally on the ground that the flattening of the shin bone differentiates the Ainus from the Aryans (*The Language, Mythology, and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan viewed in the Light of Aino Studies*, London, 1895, p. 10 f.). This involves the question whether there is an Aryan element in the physical and mental constitution of the Japanese race.

J. J. Rein declares that 'Japanese society exhibits a surprisingly large variety and mutability in feature and complexion. The latter, though, generally speaking, much darker than among Caucasians, approximates in occasional instances to even the fair, clear complexion of the Germanic peoples. Not unfrequently the symmetry and the regularity of feature are so great and so discrepant from the prevailing Mongolian type that we imagine we are in the presence of a well-formed European' (*Japan*, London, 1884, ch. on 'Ethnography'). It should, however, be added, that Rein thought the Japanese anything but beautiful.

More recently, Griffis (*op. cit.* pp. 3–47) has affirmed that he witnessed, to his surprise, many 'evidences,' including physical features and mental character istics, of the Japanese being descended from Iranian, Caucasian, or Aryan ancestry. It is a fact that in certain sections of the country—*e.g.*, in considerable portions of Kyūshū, Chūgoku, and Hokuriku—the inhabitants have at least physical excellencies both in form and strength that distinguish them from those of other parts of the empire. It is also to be noted that the Japanese, in spite of their having adopted the culture, and particularly the literature, of the Chinese, have preserved their language, which is radically different from that of their continental neighbours. On the other hand, this language is peculiarly isolated, and no congener to it has as yet been discovered.

II. *RELIGIOUS HISTORY.*—It has been rightly said that Japanese culture takes its origin from above and from abroad. The genius of the people so far has been shown not so much in original creation as in adaptation. The religious history of Japan shows no exception; it depicts a continual influx of foreign influences and the constant adjustment of them to Japanese temperament and needs.

1. Early period.—The religion of ancient Japan presents no definitely systematized forms of worship or belief. It was animistic or spiritistic. The term *kami*, which signifies 'deity,' was applied indiscriminately to any object or natural phenomenon that might arouse the feelings of wonder, awe, or reverence. Men, beasts, birds, plants, seas, mountains, rivers, winds, and storms, in which the people believed some supernatural spirit dwelt, were worshipped (see, further, art. GOD [Japanese], vol. vi. p. 294 f.). Belief in divine and demoniacal possession was common. Divination and augury of various kinds were practised. Magic and charms were employed to avert evil. The introduction of Confucianism (see art. CONFUCIAN RELIGION, vol. iv. p. 12 ff.) in A.D. 285, and of Buddhism in A.D. 538, produced no change in these primitive practices, which it only refined outwardly.

The mythological accounts contained in the *Kojiki* (*Record of Ancient Events*, compiled A.D. 712) and the *Nihongi* (*Chronicle*, compiled A.D. 720), however, seem to represent those ancient beliefs and practices in the light of an age in which a more or less definite form of ancestor-worship had been developed (see, however, art. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Japanese], vol. i. p. 455 ff.). The racial blending and political unification of the tribes inhabiting the islands, which took place at a time which cannot be precisely determined, must have brought about a type of religion which, in subsequent ages, took the name of Shintō (*q.v.*). The imperial thanksgiving festivals, such as the *Daijōé* (Great Rite of the First Rice), the *Shinjōé* (Annual Rite of the First Rice), and the *Kannamesai* (Thanksgiving Offering to the Ancestor-God), are generally regarded as having been handed down from time immemorial. All the mythological narratives contained in the ancient annals show the fundamental importance attached to the common ancestry of all the Japanese people; and this is also evident from the fact that the religious rites in which the ancestor-gods were invoked were regarded as a function of government, both rites and government having the same name, *matsurigoto*. In primitive Japan, a tax was levied to maintain those religious rites. A system of ancestor-worship implies a conviction of the immortality of the soul, and this belief was held by the ancient Japanese. Death was called 'disappearing,' 'going away,' or 'concealing one's person.' Distinction was made between the two kinds of soul existing in each distinguished person. The one was the *nigitama*, gentle, peaceful, and benevolent; the other the *aratama*, rough, strong, and brave. A medium known as *kamiko* ('child of the god') was on emergency called to discover the will of a departed ancestor. The idea of transmigration seems also to have been present. Closely connected with ancestor-worship are the rites of purification, which were of pre-eminent importance in Shintō ritual. There were two principal forms, one of which was *harai*, wind-purification (which often consisted in paying a penalty or fine), the other *misogi*, water-purification. To the mind of the ancient Japanese, cleanliness was next to godliness. Any defilement, sanitary, moral, or ritual, received the utmost care and attention. Prayers, called *norito*, are more of the nature of praise than of supplication.

2. 550–1200.—Borne on the current of the continental civilization which brought various forms of art and culture to Japan, Buddhism came through Korea to the island-empire in the second quarter of the 6th century. This was the century of great Buddhist propaganda in China (cf. art. CHINA [Buddhism in], vol. iii. p. 552 ff.). Many of her immigrants, who were coming in great numbers, seem to have been devoted missionaries. In A.D. 538, through the agency of the king of Kudara in Korea, a royal gift, consisting of a statue of Buddha, *sūtras*, and banners, was presented to the Japanese Court, accompanied with the message that the Buddhist Dharma, the most excellent of all Laws, which would bring immeasurable benefit to its believers, had been accepted in all lands lying between India and Korea. The question whether the new faith should be accepted was taken up by two hostile Court parties struggling for political supremacy. The new religion was in the meantime being continually reinforced by the importation of missionaries, magicians, artisans, *sūtras*, and objects of ritual. It first received Court sanction when Prince Umayado or Shōtōku defeated the army of the anti-Buddhistic Mononobé family, and became regent to Empress Suikō in A.D. 593. He drew up Japan's first 'Constitution,' proclaiming the 'Triune Treasure,' *i.e.* the Buddha, the Law, and the Saṅgha, to be the ultimate object of faith, and single-hearted devotion to it the fundamental factor of an upright life. At the public expense he built Buddhist temples, pagodas, seminaries, hospitals, dispensaries, and asylums for the aged and the helpless. He sent students directly to China to study Buddhist doctrines. The new faith made headway among both the higher and the lower classes. In the year 624, less than 70 years after the first introduction of the *sūtras*, the temples numbered 46, the priests 816, and the nuns 569. From this time the influence of Buddhism continued almost without interruption to the close of the Tokugawa regime (1868). During the Nara period (708–794), successive Emperors fostered the faith. It became the religion of the Court, and the security of the crown and the peace of the land were thought to be dependent upon the continuous favour of Buddha and his saints. The cenobites, as his followers, were relieved from the public service required from all others. Under the Emperor Shōmu, a Buddhist temple was built in each province, and the Tōdai temple in Nara, the metropolis of that time, was the central shrine (741), dedicated to Vairochana (the universe personalized as Buddha), whose colossal bronze image, 53 ft. in height, was cast a few years later. The beautiful consort of Shōmu, Empress Komyō, who had great influence with him, was a zealous Buddhist. Shōmu and Komyō called themselves 'servants of the Triune Treasure,' and on one occasion prostrated themselves before Buddha's image. Under such circumstances it was but natural that the religion should become an instrument in the hands of ambitious politicians. In the time of Empress Kōken (749–769), the ecclesiastical body had grown into a political power which almost overshadowed the Imperial authority

Yugé-no-Dōkyō, a notorious bonze, became Imperial abbot and prime minister, and would have usurped the Imperial throne but for the heroic opposition of Waké-no-Kiyomaro, a devoted royalist. At the same time a syncretistic movement was going on. Natural calamities and plagues, which frequently afflicted the people, disturbed their belief in Buddha's protection, and tended to drive them to the worship of the old *kami*, and the Emperors themselves had a dread that the forsaken deities might be avenging themselves. A religious compromise was arranged by the priest Gyōki, when the colossal image of Buddha, already mentioned, was cast after he had secured an oracle at the Shintō temple of Isé to the effect that Amatérasu, the ancestor-goddess, was a manifestation of Vairochana. This example of combining the worship of native deities with that of Buddha and his saints was followed in other parts of the country, to the advantage of Buddhism. This syncretistic movement was brought to completion by Kūkai, who appeared about fifty years later. Whatever may be said of the Buddhism of the Nara period, it made an unparalleled contribution to the advancement of religious arts.

The Heian period (beginning 794) is marked by the introduction of different divisions of Buddhism. The sect called *Tendai-shū* in Japan was inaugurated by Saichō (posthumously Dengyō, 767–822), a pre-eminent Buddhist of this period, who went to China and studied the doctrine of Tendai, which he rearranged and remoulded into something almost new. Saichō's doctrine is based upon the teaching known as the 'Lotus of the True Law.' Buddha, the historical revealer of truth, is here viewed as the full enlightenment. Realization of such Buddhahood in one's consciousness is the supreme object of all mysteries, virtues, and wisdom. Saichō's system combined different aspects of the Buddhist doctrine which received emphasis in different proportion at the hands of later Buddhists, and thus became the fountain-head of different branches of Japanese Buddhism. Breadth of learning and purity of character made Saichō influential with the Court, and he built a monastery on Mount Hiei (788), which was for several centuries one of the greatest centres of Buddhist learning as well as of ecclesiastical power.

Another division called *Shingon-shū* ('Sect of True Word') was introduced in the Nara period, and became a power under Kūkai (posthumously Kōbō, 774–835). He began his teaching by classifying various forms of religious life in ten grades of development, the last and highest being that of Shingon. It is the state in which full blessedness of Buddhahood is realized. According to Kūkai, the entire universe, including all spiritual existence, is made up of the six elements which again may be grouped as two, mental and material. The two are, however, inseparably blended. Matter contains mind, and mind incorporates itself in matter. The two are one, and the one is two. Every particle of matter is, therefore, pervaded by the divine presence of Buddhahood. The universe is but Buddha externalized. The Buddha within us may be called forth by practice of the 'mystery' in conduct, speech, and heart. This doctrine of Kūkai naturally lent support, especially on the theoretical side, to the syncretistic movement of Buddhism that had been inaugurated by Gyōki. The propagator of the Shingon sect thus became also the originator of Ryōbu, namely Buddhistic Shintō, proclaiming that the Imperial custom of *kami*-worship is, in reality, but disguised adoration of Buddha. Kūkai had far greater influence than any of his predecessors. His versatile genius, extending even to the work of engineering and the arts of writing and carving, his untiring energy, and his practical resourcefulness combined to make him a great power both in the Court circle and among the common people. He built a monastery on Mount Kōya, which became the headquarters of his denomination, and eventually overshadowed the influence of the hill-monastery on Hiei. We may here note a remarkable change that took place in the religious atmosphere. During the earlier part of this period, worldly blessings, such as health, good harvest, prosperity, and peace, were the reward sought in the worship of the *kami*, or Buddhist deities; and gorgeous rituals and the mystery practices pertaining to the Shingon sect made it attractive, especially in Court circles. Later, however, as the Fujiwara family declined and one civil war occurred after another, both the nobles and the common people felt the evanescence of this world; the yearning after supramundane bliss became imperative, while pessimism prevailed.

3. 1200–1600.—For half a century or more previous to Yoritomo's founding of the Bakufu (military government) at Kamakura (1192), clan struggles involved the country in constant warfare. Bloody combat, exhaustion, death, and the treachery of fortune, all of which were but common occurrences, could not fail to produce a pessimistic temperament. Elaborate rituals and theological distinctions offered no attraction. The religion which could point out a haven of security, undisturbed by the storms of life, was in urgent demand. To meet such a need Hōnen (1133–1212) and Shinran (1173–1262) appeared.

(*a*) *Jōdo and Shin sects.*—Hōnen, formerly a student of the Tendai doctrine at the monastery-school on Hiei, renounced all its philosophy as effete, and disowned the mystery practices and the discipline of conduct as useless. He preached the doctrine of Sukhāvatī, the Japanese 'Jōdo,' or the 'Western Pure Land,' according to which any man, ignorant or wise, high or low, could be saved by faith in the boundless grace of Amitābha. Saintly character, profound piety, and sincere conviction, with his doctrine of the future redemption, made Hōnen the greatest religious influence with the Court and common people, until the jealousy of his religious rivals caused him to be exiled and some of his disciples to be put to death. The faith which he once preached, however, did not cease to be a powerful influence. Hōnen had many capable followers, the most eminent of whom was Shinran, who carried his master's teaching to its logical consequence. He unhesitatingly abandoned the repeated invocation of Amitābha's name which constituted an important part in Hōnen's doctrine, proclaiming a simple, undoubting trust in the Deliverer as the sole condition of salvation. With a bold stroke of genius, he abolished the prohibition of the marriage of bonzes, practically removing the distinction between the secular and the sacred. He was married himself, and he called himself the *gutoku*, the 'tonsured ignoramus,' putting himself on the same level as common people. Thus the Shin sect was founded by Shinran, whose doctrine and influence have survived all vicissitudes of time, and are perpetuated to this day in the Hongwanji, the two greatest shrines in Japan.

(*b*) *Zen sect.*—While religious revivals were thus going on among the mass of the people, a doctrine peculiarly adapted to the military class was introduced by Eisai (1141–1215) and Dōgen (1200–53), the respective founders of the Rinzai and Sōdō divisions of the Zen sect. The doctrine of *zen*, or *dhyāna*, maintains that the state of enlightenment attained by Buddha cannot be conveyed by any external means. All doctrinal learning and rituals, therefore, are useless, and meditation or a concentrated reflexion upon one's essential nature is the only way to realize Buddhahood in one's self. A complete disregard of the letter and of ritual pageantry made the Zen doctrine exceedingly popular among military men, who prided themselves upon extreme simplicity of life. The Dhyāna doctrine also helped them to cultivate the spirit of stoical indifference to hardship and the habit of resoluteness in conduct. Many Shōguns became adherents of this doctrine.

(*c*) *Nichiren sect.*—In the meantime there arose an extreme form of bibliolatry. Nichiren (1222–82), after the teaching of Saichō, based his teaching upon the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* ('Lotus of the True Law'). His principal tenet consisted in adoration of Buddha's Truth by repeatedly uttering the title of that scripture in which alone, he held, the genuine and, indeed, the only true doctrines of Gautama are set forth. Persecuted, exiled, almost put to death, he ever grew bolder in his denunciation of the faithless age, holding to the firm conviction that he was the heaven-sent Bodhisattva (*q.v.*) whose coming in the 'latter age' had been predicted by Gautama.

The religious leaders whom we have just mentioned had in every case many able disciples, who perpetuated and developed the movements which their teachers had begun. Roughly speaking, the Tendai and Shingon sects held influence among the nobles; the Zen among the warrior class; Jōdō and Shinshū among the mass of the people. In the 15th and 16th centuries, an age again involved in wars and political disorder, these religious bodies often became militant, and interfered with politics. The Zen sect, being that of the military aristocrats, became influential through its monasteries in educational work and literary culture. It was an age of religious fermentation, and a great number of minor sects arose, finding more or less of a following.

(*d*) *Shintō.*—Shintō also awoke from the dogmatic slumber which it had enjoyed under the name of Ryōbu Shintō, and made an attempt to systematize itself. Kitabataké Chikafusa (1339) tried to show the divine descent of the Imperial sovereigns, and vindicate *kami*-worship as essential to the preservation of national order. In this teaching, he became a forerunner of the royal Shintōists of the 18th century. In the 15th cent. Yoshida Kanétomo, borrowing his method largely from the Tendai doctrine, proclaimed unitarian Shintō (Yuiitsu Shintō), which stood in contrast with Ryōbu (syncretistic Shintō). Shintō did not become a great social factor, however, until the 18th century.

(*e*) *Roman Catholics.*—In the 16th cent. the Jesuit missionaries began operations in Kyūshū and extended them to Kyōto, where their message was welcomed by Nobunaga, the ruling Shōgun, who, at their instance, opened a theological seminary at Azuchi, Ōmi, and also built a cathedral in the Imperial capital. Their propaganda, often accompanied with gifts of musical instruments, clocks, glasses, and even distribution of rice among the poor, found great success among both the populace and the feudal nobles, especially in Kyūshū and Nagato. Thirty years after the commencement of their work the number of converts is estimated to have been 300,000. Their influence began to fail after the assassination of Nobunaga (1582), and under Hidéyoshi and the Tokugawa Shōguns, patrons of Buddhism, the Roman Catholic faith was prohibited. The suppression of the insurgents at Shimabara, Kyūshū, in 1638 marks the downfall of the 'Kirischitan' as a political factor.

4. 1600–1868.—The Tokugawa government adopted a definitely centralizing policy, designed to prevent the rise of any political or social factor to unmanageable magnitude. Religions of any potency were, therefore, either paralyzed by generous patronage or put under proscription. The aggressive movement of the Roman Catholic Christians was completely checked in 1638; and the government tried to exterminate individual Christians by charging the Buddhist priests with the office of taking a religious census. The nation as a whole was compelled to be Buddhist, at least in outward form. At the same time, Buddhism under the Shōgun's patronage fell into spiritual decay, although to its credit is the fact that most of the Buddhist scriptures and literary productions were put into print. The doctrines and ecclesiastical policy of each of the Buddhist sects were systematized. Takuan († 1645), Hakuin († 1786), and Jiun († 1804) were among the most conspicuous priests of this age. The oppressive policy of the Shōgunate government caused, as we have seen, religious and spiritual lassitude on the one hand; but, on the other hand, it produced a strong reaction on the part of the adherents of those religions which the government had neglected and overlooked. Such was the case with the Shintōists. Since the time of Dengyō and Kūkai, Shintō had lost its pristine purity and preserved a merely nominal existence under the shadow of Buddhism. Now Hayashi Rasan († 1657), officially a Confucianist, made an attempt to free Shintō from the 'defilement' of Buddhism; but the Shintō taught was strongly tinged with Confucian philosophies.

It was Hirata Atsutané (1843) who claimed Shintō as the only true religion, asserting that Japan and her Imperial household, as standing in a right relation to the Creator and the Ruler of the universe, were the special objects of divine favour. All other religions he denounced as false or deteriorated. He had a large following, especially among the *samurai*, and contributed greatly to the Restoration of the Imperial government.

In the 19th cent. religious beliefs arose which claimed the name of Shintō, but which really had little connexion with the ancient system of that name. Probably the best known and most worthy leader was Kurozumi, who preached on the four themes of divine revelation, prayer, providence, and honesty. He proclaimed also that the goddess Amatérasu was the fountain-head of all life, and that man must be in constant communion with her. Many other systems, such as Konkō, Tenri, and Remmon, are but old superstitious practices under the guise of Shintō worship.

5. After 1868.—The Restoration of 1868 brought Shintō into prominence, at least temporarily, since it was regarded as representing the 'way' of the national gods or ancestors. The first act of the Jingi Jimukyoku ('Bureau of Ecclesiastical Affairs'), established in 1868, was to effect a complete separation of Shintō and Buddhism, the former of which had been practically absorbed in the latter ever since the time of Gyōgi († 822) and Kūkai († 835). Political leaders in the government, regarding Shintō as the foundation of national morality, instituted it as a sort of State religion, giving Shintō priests official rank, whereas Buddhism was subjected by them to iconoclastic measures. Buddhist images were destroyed, the temples dilapidated, and the bonzes advised to return to the 'right kind of life.' This continued until 1872, when the Kyōbushō ('Ecclesiastic Department') was established, and Buddhist and Shintō priests were equally recognized as Kyōdōshoku (official moral instructors). The Shintō revival subsided, and Buddhism continued in its inertness until Christianity quickened it into renewed activity.

Christianity, at first proscribed, and yet secretly and perseveringly working its way through all adversities since 1859, formed in the seventies several centres of influence through the agency of mission workers and teachers, of whom G. H. F. Verbeck, David Thompson, W. S. Clark, S. R. Brown, W. E. Griffis, George Cochran, James Ballagh, Captain Janes, and D. C. Greene are the best known. Of the Japanese Christian leaders, Niishima († 1890) and Honda (Bishop of the Japan Methodist Church, † 1912) exercised wide influence. The mighty current of 'Europeanization' which swept the country at the end of the eighties gave an opportunity for Christian propaganda to make rapid progress. In 1889 the Imperial constitution was promulgated, and confirmed the right of the Christians to maintain their faith. Indeed, the placards prohibiting the Christian faith had been removed in 1875, but it had continued to be a proscribed religion. Early in the nineties an extreme counter-current of Nationalism set in. The problem of Treaty Revision had aroused anti-foreign feeling, and Christianity, being regarded as an 'alien faith,' suffered. The faith was attacked as detrimental to educational interests; the doors of the Government schools were closed against it, and Christian education became an impossibility. Moreover, the European culture which had flooded the nation brought with it some ideas that apparently were hostile to Christian doctrine as it was presented at that time. Not only Bentham and Mill, but also Spencer and Darwin, were welcomed. All this, however, presented no serious difficulty to progressive Christians.

The Buddhists now started a movement which they called the 'Royalistic Buddhist Union,' and stirred up all Japanese to join their anti-Christian campaign. The Shintōists combined with them once more. The Imperial Rescript on Education was promulgated in 1889, with the purpose of setting up a national standard of morality, and this document was employed by conservatives as a basis of argument against Christianity.

The war with China in 1894–95 had two opposite effects. On the one hand, it awoke the whole nation to a consciousness of her own resources, both material and spiritual, which led some to believe that Japan required no other religion than those which she had had from olden times. On the other hand, the very gratifying of a long-cherished political aspiration led the people to feel the need of a higher and deeper nature which mere material or political glory could not satisfy. Here and there, amidst the blaze of the national exultation, a dark, cold stream of pessimism flowed. From *hanmon* ('spiritual distress') not a few young men took refuge in suicide. Christianity, now more 'naturalized' or 'Japanized' and stronger after many years of struggle, renewed her activity. At the beginning of the new century, all Protestant denominations (22 in number), except a few extremely conservative ones, joined in an evangelizing campaign which was carried on at strategic points in the Empire. Buddhism also, perceiving the spiritual crisis now pressing upon the nation, made an attempt to promote religious interests instead of wasting its energy in attacking Christianity; and a body of Buddhist scholars, mostly of the Shin sect, started a pietistic movement called 'New Buddhism.' The old conflict between Christianity and other forms of religion passed. A new alternative of choice presented itself—religion or irreligion; and the craving for a new spiritual power became intense. The Russo-Japanese war of 1904–05 marked a short period of suspense in this general tendency. The victory gave the nationalists one more opportunity to emphasize the traditional principle of morality—loyalty to the Emperor and filial dutifulness. Yet the younger generation seems to crave something deeper and more fundamental. Eucken and Bergson are now claiming their attention, and Christianity and Buddhism are expected to develop newer and more exalted aspects of power than they have hitherto revealed.

III. *ETHICAL DEVELOPMENT.* — **1. Earliest period to the 6th century.**—The history of Japanese ethics reveals a composite character in the temperament of the people. We find in it, even from ancient times, a combination of what may be called Hellenic and Hebraic tendencies, varying only in proportion in different ages. Clear sky, crystal waters, pine-clad mountains, and the blue transparent seas surrounding the whole land all tended to develop a moral conception in which ideas fundamentally ethical blended with æsthetic ideas. In ancient times, good and bad desires were expressed in terms designating optical sensations, such as *akai* (red, clear), *kuroi* (dark, black), *kiyoi* (clear, clean) and *kitanai* (turbid, impure, unclean). Even to-day these terms, used in proper context, may convey a purely spiritual signification. To the Japanese ear *sekishin*, 'red heart' (*i.e.* single-heartedness), and *haraguroi*, 'black-abdomen' (*i.e.* black-heartedness), do not sound strange. The conception of *tsumi*, 'offence,' therefore, was not purely ethical. The idea is better expressed by the term 'evil,' or, more strictly, 'foulness.' Among *amatsu-tsumi* (offences against the heavenly gods), the 'sin' of flaying a beast, or that of defiling the court set apart for religious functions, received the same treatment as certain crimes that might be committed in an agricultural community. Among *kunitsu-tsumi* (offences among the aborigines), leprosy and similar skin-diseases are mentioned side by side with incest and manslaughter. The most characteristic way of correcting any 'offence,' therefore, consisted in purificatory rites (cf. above, p. 482^{b}).

Patriarchal morality was the one dominating feature among the ancient Japanese which has, with some modifications, persisted to the present time. In early times, Japan consisted of numerous tribes, the bravest and the most intelligent of which prevailed over the rest. Trades and professions were all hereditary. The land and the people belonged to the tribal chief who happened to take possession of them. The Japanese community is simply the development and coalition of these various tribes. The national characteristics of the Japanese people, therefore, were developed through the welding of a great number of tribes or families into one united people through the pressure of political and social struggle. The account, in the *Nihongi*, of early Emperors invoking the heavenly gods on behalf of the people may be due to the influence of parallel records in Chinese history, but it is evident that there existed between the chief and his tribesmen a relationship similar to that between father and son. The spirit of loyalty, which played a great part in later ages, is but the development of filial obedience. The ritual in which the celestial gods or ancestors were invoked is the religious expression of the filial sentiment. Numerical growth frequently has a decentralizing effect, and this fact accounts for the clan struggles in later periods. Only by capable Emperors or military rulers was a national unification brought about. So far as the official record goes, the Confucian *Analects* were introduced in A.D. 285, and Prince Wakairatsuko studied the Chinese classics; but it is doubtful whether this event produced any remarkable change in the moral life of the Japanese.

2. 550–1200.—With the introduction of Buddhism in the 6th cent. Japan entered upon a new phase of culture and moral life. Prince Umayado or Shōtoku, the first to bring the new faith to prominence, drew up the celebrated 'Constitution,' consisting of 17 articles relative to the duties of rulers and officials. He included many injunctions which were Buddhistic and Confucian in spirit, and, therefore, theoretically speaking, opposed to certain moral principles which arose under the patriarchal form of society. Loyal obedience to the sovereign, for instance, is enjoined, not because he is the family head of the Japanese people, but because he is so appointed by heaven, it being presupposed that the ruler's position may be occupied by any one best fitted for it. The general welfare of the community is regarded as of the utmost importance, while loyalty to the clan receives no attention whatever. Further, the emphasis placed upon the importance of adoring the 'Triune Treasure' may be interpreted as involving Buddhistic universalism, which is essentially subversive of patriarchal morality. All this, however, may be due to the effort of the Prince to check those evils which the ever growing clannism of that period had developed. In fact, the Taikwa Reformation (A.D. 645) followed the downfall of the Soga family. The ethical history of Japan may in one sense be regarded as a struggle between the patriarchal morality (family or clan morality) indigenous to the country and the universal morality introduced from abroad, a combination of which may be found in the late development of Bushidō (the spirit of the *samurai*, *i.e.* feudal retainers). The introduction of Buddhism awakened the humanitarian sentiment, particularly among the Court nobles and members of the Imperial household, as may be seen in the establishment of asylums for the poor, in the building of dispensaries, and in the laws prohibiting the destruction of animal life. It also encouraged an ascetic disposition, inducing some to withdraw from the world. In the sphere of practical morality, the Confucian system seems to have had greater and perhaps more salutary effects than Buddhism. In the Nara period (708–794), when the culture of the Tang dynasty in China was transferred bodily to the Japanese Imperial Court, the names of men and women were placarded, after the Chinese fashion, for their dutifulness to their parents, and those who committed the 'sin' of filial disobedience were exiled to distant provinces. Believing the practice of filial obedience to be the foundation of all virtues, the Empress Kōken (749–758), earnest Buddhist though she was, ordered each household to keep a copy of *Kōkyō* ('Doctrine of Filial Dutifulness'), a Confucian classic, and to study it closely. From the beginning of the Heian period (794) to the downfall of the Fujiwara family (the middle of the 11th cent.) there was a remarkable development of literary culture, and the classical revival under the Tang dynasty in China was reproduced in Japan. The State university and other institutions of learning were established at public expense, and poets and prose-writers arose in great numbers. Yet all these seem to have contributed nothing to the ethical culture of the nation; nor did Buddhism bring any perceptibly wholesome results. The deeper and more exalted aspects of the spiritual life were left untouched. The tendency was to encourage superstitious practices such as magic and incantation, rather than to elevate the moral tone. Unrestricted admission into monasteries often turned them into institutions which menaced the peace of the community. Confucianism also seems to have done little to deliver the populace from ignorance and superstition. Teachings of the *I-King* ('Book of Change') tended to encourage a fatalistic belief, which had, no doubt, a morally paralyzing effect. In the Court circle, particularly, luxury, effeminacy, and corruption stood in striking contrast to splendid achievements in literature.

3. 1200–1600.—The rise of the military class at the close of the 12th cent. had a purifying effect somewhat similar to the occupation of Europe by the Northern barbarians in the 5th century. The splendour and corruption of the Heian period were swept away with the fall of the Fujiwara family, and the establishment by Yoritomo of the military government became an occasion for the rise of a new type of morality, Bushidō (the way of the *samurai*). It was a moral spirit or temperament, prevalent among the *samurai*, characterized by austere simplicity of life, defiant endurance of hardship, love of truthfulness, and disinterested devotion to one's lord. It was a product peculiar to an age in which fighters were the preservers of social order. It included, therefore, physical and mental, as well as moral training. Skill in military arts, adroitness of motion, capacity for endurance, quickness of perception, and mental alertness were essential parts of *samurai* education. Intellectual culture received little attention until the latter part of the Ashikaga period (the middle of the 15th cent.). Among moral virtues, valour naturally occupied the central position. It had value by itself irrespective of the results which it brought, and the verdict of cowardice was more hated than loss of life. Courage, however, had to be accompanied by a sense of propriety (*reigi*), even in the midst of fighting. Apart from the latter, valour itself was as worthless as the 'recklessness of a wild boar.' A custom was thus developed according to which hostile combatants declared their names and rank before they crossed swords. Again, truthfulness, especially fidelity to a promise, was emphasized equally with honour. 'The Bushi has no double tongue' and 'A gentleman never trifles with words' were sayings which became proverbial. The principle of 'fair play' became a maxim. The use of any base or cowardly means in war was despised and often involved destruction for its perpetrator. *Chūgi*, or the principle of loyalty, however, was the keystone in the arch of all military virtues. It was the organizing principle by which the *samurai* belonging to the same clan were united into one solid body which lived and died for the cause of its common master. As has already been observed (p. 484), Bushidō found a good ally in the Zen school of Buddhism which arose at the beginning of the period, and other branches of Buddhism also had some influence. Exposed to sudden changes of fortune in a warlike age, the *samurai* felt the need of some superhuman power upon which to rely. It became more or less a fashion among them, when they went to the front, to put a tiny Buddhist image in their tuft of hair, or a prayer-leaflet in the pocket of their armour. Their religious faith, however, sometimes differed from that of other classes in that they believed that the deities whom they worshipped favoured only the cause of the good and the righteous: 'If thy heart be upright, the gods will protect thee, though thou mayest not invoke them.' Compared with that of the Heian period, the religious faith of the *samurai* was more free from superstition. Towards the latter part of this period, Bushidō became more comprehensive, and took a form that might well serve as a moral code for the people in general. Some injunctions relative to economic and other practical lines of conduct, based upon Confucian teachings, were introduced in the written codes of certain feudal families. Popular education, so far as it existed, was in the hands of Buddhist priests. Text-books were compiled by them in which were expounded theories of filial duty and family morality, based on Confucian as well as Buddhist doctrines.

4. 1600–1868.—The Tokugawa policy of diverting the attention of the *daimyō* from political to literary pursuits introduced a period of marvellous culture. Classical scholars were elevated to the

rank of official instructors, and numerous schools and libraries were established, some of which remain to this day. In accordance with the general movement, the lord of the province of Bizen devoted one-third of his total revenue to the cause of education. Under such circumstances, Confucianism blossomed in full splendour, though Buddhism withered under the blighting shadow of the Shōgun's patronage. Philological and loyal historical interest caused a revival of Shintō. Bushidō, which drew its strength from all these systems, burst forth after some vicissitudes into a political movement which brought about the Restoration of 1868. Side by side with all this, the Shingakuha ('heart culture') movement arose for the moral instruction of the uneducated (see below, (*d*)).

(*a*) *Confucianism.*—Of the different divisions of Confucianism, that of the *Shushi School* (named after its Chinese founder, Chu-Hi) was the earliest to appear, and became the pioneer of learning in this period. Its most prominent representatives were Fujiwara Seikwa (1561–1619), Hayashi Rasan (1583–1657), Muro Kyūsō (1658–1743), Kaibara Ekiken (1630–1714), and, later, Satō Issai (1772–1859) and Rai Sanyō (1780–1832). Sanyō's historical work, *Nippon Gwaishi*, is said to have inspired the *samurai* to the political movement which resulted in the Restoration. The first two in the list became personal teachers of Iyéyasu; and of these Rasan, erudite, versatile, and scarcely equalled by his contemporaries in literary talent, took an active part in framing the legislative and administrative systems of the Shōgun's government. His office of instructor and counsellor was made hereditary, and assigned to his descendants until the close of the Shōgunate. The doctrine of the school became the orthodox and only authorized teaching. Indeed, towards the close of the 18th cent., an edict was issued prohibiting all contrary doctrines. According to this school, the *taikyoku*, infinite, eternal, and absolute Essence, is the *ri* (reason, or logos), and the source from which emanate the *in* and *yo* (passive and active, or negative and positive) principles, which together may be called the *ki* (spirit, temperament, or inclination). The manner in which the *ri* and the *ki* interact and thereby generate all things is called the *michi* (way or truth), which should be practically applied and observed. The *ri*, or reason, is the controlling and directing principle of the universe, and veritably dwells in man's original nature, from which spring the five cardinal virtues: benevolence, justice, propriety, wisdom, and truth. He who applies these virtues to his family and social relations is in accord with the 'way,' the Will of Heaven. The 'way' is not far from one, but is in the heart. This doctrine often led scholars to adopt a speculative method, yet the *Mito School*, which was founded by the lord of Mito for the purpose of compiling a political history of Japan, consisted of scholars of the Shushi School, and its influence became one of the most potent factors for the overthrow of the Shōgunate government.

In the middle of the 17th cent. there arose the *Yōmei School* (named after Wang-Yang-Ming, a Chinese scholar of the Ming dynasty), which, in opposition to the dualistic system of Chu-Hi, taught a distinctively monistic, idealistic doctrine. Its earliest Japanese exponent was Nakaé Tōju (1608–78), who declared the alleged difference between the *ri* and the *ki* to be only nominal, both being different phases of the same Being. All is One, One is All. The *ryōchi* (conscience in the broadest application of the term) is embedded in man's original nature, and is at the same time the real entity which constitutes the universe. The nature of man and the universe are at bottom one and the same, *i.e.* spiritual and personal. Here his standpoint may be called religious. Following Wang-Yang-Ming, he taught the identity of knowledge (or, more properly, moral perception) and conduct. True to the spirit of the school, he practised what he taught, and became the centre of great influence in the district where he lived. The people called him Ōmi-Seijin ('Sage of the Province of Ōmi'), and, after his death, dedicated a temple to his memory, which stands to this day. Of his pupils the most distinguished was Kumasawa Banzan, who combined a fine talent of statesmanship with scholarly genius. During his service to the lord of Bizen, he did much for the advancement of culture in that district. The celebrated scholar and revolutionist Ōshio Heihachirō (1793–1837) was also a member of this school.

In the latter half of the 17th cent. another school appeared which took the name of *Kogakuha*, or 'Classical School.' It denounced the scholars of the Shushi School as corrupting the original teaching of Confucius by introducing extraneous elements. Its central theme was the establishment of an unmediated connexion with the teaching as it came directly from Confucius. Yamaga Sokō (1622–85) was the founder of the school. Upon the publication of his *Seikyō-Yōroku* ('Compendium of Confucianism'), in which he boldly denounced the standpoint of the Shushi School, he was driven out of Yédo (Tōkyō), put under the custody of Asano, the *daimyō* of Akao in the province of Harima, and his work confiscated. But his influence with the retainers of Asano was powerful, one of the results being the celebrated deeds of loyalty on the part of the 'forty-seven *rōnins*.' His interest was practical, and he declared the principles of *jin* and *gi* (benevolence and justice) to be the essence of Confucianism. In fact, he rendered greater service in promoting the spirit of Bushidō than in any theoretical sphere. Working independently of Sokō, yet advocating essentially the same doctrine and appearing at the same time, Itō Jinsai opened a school in Kyōto. In opposition to the views of the Shushi School, he proclaimed the necessity of striving for a complete development of one's natural capacities, and for a realization of the virtue of benevolence inherent in one's original nature. His doctrine somewhat resembles that of the modern perfectionist. His exalted personality and profound learning drew some 3000 students from all over the country, and called forth expressions of praise from the lips of his theoretical opponents. Ogiū Sorai (1666–1728) is generally regarded as of the Classical School; but his interest was philological and etymological. He regarded Confucius as a sage whose virtue is entirely beyond human reach.

(*b*) *Shintō.*—This cult, which heretofore had never been an ethical factor of much influence, now appeared against a Confucian background. An expounder of the type of Shintō which was called *Suika-Ryū* was Yamasaki Ansai (1618–82), who took the doctrine of Chu-Hi almost bodily and interpreted it in Shintō terms. He held it man's supreme duty to maintain and cultivate the original purity of his nature, and to regulate his conduct in accordance with the principle of righteousness. Bodily purification, prayer, and meditation received strong emphasis in his system. Rigoristic as he was, he was criticized as narrow and exclusive; but his intense zeal and sincerity awakened among his contemporaries a patriotic, royalistic sentiment which contributed not a little to the accomplishment of the political transformation of 1868.

Shintō as a religious system, however, like its politically disinherited Imperial representative, absorbed and forgotten in prosperous Buddhism.

would never have regained its ascendancy but for the tidal wave of royalism which began to swell early in the 18th century. Kada Azumamaro (1660–1736), Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), and Hirata Atsutané (1775–1843) appeared one after another and proclaimed Shintō as the only system original and indigenous to Japan, and, therefore, naturally adapted to her people. Shintō in its purity they held to be the *kamunagara-no-michi*, the 'way' ordained by Amé-no-Minakanushi, the supreme Deity, the 'way' developed among the ancestor-gods of Japan, the only way to be reverently and unreservedly followed. According to them, Confucian teaching is exotic, mechanical, and artificial; the Emperor, as descended directly from the goddess Amatérasu, is alone worthy of absolute respect; and the laws of the Japanese State, being the embodiment of the divine will, are to be observed with the utmost devotion. Of those Shintōists Hirata Atsutané, though of broad learning, held extremely nationalistic views, which he based upon his cosmology. Japan he held to be the first created of all nations, guided by the constant presence of the spirit of the goddess Amatérasu, to be cherished and strengthened by all Japanese endowed with the divine spirit. His royalistic zeal was contagious, and greatly advanced the cause of the Restoration.

(*c*) *Bushidō.*—During the centuries of peace under the Shōgunate, the *samurai* gradually lost the rugged strength which had formerly characterized them, although, as we have seen, the *samurai* spirit, with its characteristic chivalry and its passionate devotion to personal honour and dignity, ever fearless of privation and death in any worthy cause, was cherished and nurtured by the various forms of Confucian and Shintō teaching until it burst forth in the political activity that resulted in the Restoration of the Imperial government. Interestingly enough, the requirement of periodical residence of the feudal lords and their retainers in Yédo, while it put an end to the existence of numerous *rōnins* (masterless *samurai*), occasioned, at the end of the 17th cent., the rise of a peculiar type of chivalry among the commoners resident in the metropolis, which was known by the name of *otokodaté* ('vindication of one's manhood'). There arose numerous communities consisting of these knights, who were characterized by a peculiar style of dress and coiffure, a bold, defiant attitude towards authority, and a passionate love for bravery, in which they often went too far.

(*d*) *Shingakuha.*—In the direction of extending moral culture to the masses of the people which had heretofore been excluded from that privilege, a movement called Shingakuha ('heart culture') arose in the first half of the 18th century. The leaders of the movement were Ishida Baigen and his followers. Their method was characterized by a free use of everyday language and humorous illustration, and, with a practical purpose in view, they derived their teaching from any source whatever, Confucian, Buddhist, or Shintōist, which seemed adapted to their use.

(*e*) *Buddhism.*—Reduced to a servile position under the Shōgunate, Buddhism in this period fell into slumber both in doctrine and in practice, although it did some service in carrying on popular education. Buddhists also included among their number men of eminent character and scholarship, such as Takuan, Hakuin, and Jiun. They were very practical, and showed a remarkable tendency towards compromise in their teachings. They did not hesitate to say, like some professed Confucianists, that *chu* ('loyalty') and *kō* ('filial fidelity') were the weightiest matters in life.

5. The Meiji era.—The Restoration of 1868, viewed from an ethical standpoint, was a reaffirmation in politics of the *samurai* spirit of loyalty, moved by an indomitable aspiration for a new order of things. The new era opened with the interplay of two opposing tendencies which were forced into united action by the pressure of political need, but which had to undergo radical transformation before they could be organically combined: the nationalistic, conservative, Bushidō spirit on the one hand, the progressive, Europeanizing tendency on the other. It was but natural, then, that the leading *samurai* of the Restoration, who had clamorously condemned the Shōgun's policy of opening the ports, eagerly sought, after the Restoration, to adopt European methods. The Restoration meant a revolution in the spiritual life of Japan. Under the new government Buddhism was deprived of its political prestige, and the bonzes became objects of unsparing taunt. Confucianism was consigned to the hands of classical exegetes. Shintō itself, now that it had achieved what it had long sought, was left to sink back into its old inertness. All moral doctrinists disappeared. Finally, Bushidō itself, the moving spirit of the Restoration, was rendered discorporate and temporarily effete when class-distinctions were abolished; but, charged with the best that all the past systems could impart, it continued to exert its influence, now expressed in the nationalistic movement, in co-operation with the progressive Westernizing tendency. The tendency of the time was represented by two personages entirely different in temperament and in ethical faith. One was Fukusawa Yukichi, founder of Keiō-gijiku, a pioneer importer of occidental learning. Standing upon utilitarian ground, which he adopted after serious investigation, he startled his contemporaries by pouring sarcasm upon the principle of royal fidelity. He held the establishment of one's self and the general welfare of the community to be the supreme objects to be pursued. Adopting the tenets of Rousseau, he declared that State sovereignty is simply a power delegated by the people, implicitly denying the doctrine of its divine origin. He rightly ascribed the spiritless and socially inefficient attitude of the commoners to the state of political dependence to which they had long been reduced. Thus he became a champion of democratic and individualistic principles of morality, which, he held, ought to take the place of the aristocratic and militaristic tendency of the time. Salutary as his influence was in that respect, his teaching tended to encourage the pursuit of material success at the expense of spiritual dignity.

The other was Niishima Jō. Born and bred a *samurai*, and, while in New England, thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Puritanism, he combined the essence of Bushidō and Christianity. He was no theorist; but he was an embodiment of the moral power which makes a man glad to sacrifice himself for whatsoever means spiritual progress and the enhancement of personal worth. In this he represented the general disposition of leading Christians who, while holding to no particular system-bound ethical doctrines, aimed at the moral and spiritual transformation of the community. Having embraced the religion that had been tempered by Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon individualism, the Japanese Christians were fundamentally no less revolutionary than the disciples of Rousseau or Bentham. Their persecution by the nationalists, especially among government educationists, was not altogether unreasonable, at least from the nationalist standpoint. Indirectly, but none the less effectively, the Christians brought home a truth that was bound to undermine the traditional forms of politics and society. Significantly enough, a considerable number of the leading politicians who advocated the cause of representative govern ment were Christians. Equally interesting is the fact that, in the minds of many, Christians and Socialists, or men of 'dangerous ideas,' were associated. But profounder and more subtle in its effect than any other ethical system that ever impressed the Japanese, the Christian influence was, and is, felt in the secret recesses of the heart. Its social effectiveness is being shown in all virtues resulting from faith in the value and dignity of the individual, such as sexual purity, regularity in matrimonial relations, the elevation of women, business honesty, cleanliness of habit, temperance, etc.

A conservative, nationalistic reaction set in at the close of the nineties. The cry of 'Nipponism,' with its emphasis upon the importance of the nation's coming to a consciousness of its inborn privilege and power, was raised in a somewhat extravagant fashion. The movement was not altogether unwholesome, and it gave expression to a legitimate and noble aspiration. The Imperial Rescript on education, which was issued in 1889, expressed the broadest and most ideal aspect of that movement. It was clearly the nationalistic, patriotic energy embodied in the Rescript that conducted the nation safely through the critical movements of war in 1894–95 and 1904–05. The conservative, chauvinistic aspect fast subsided at the conclusion of the later war. The beginning of the new century brought the younger generation into contact with a spiritual atmosphere which was hitherto unknown in Japan. Nietzsche and Tolstoi have each found their ardent exponents. Ibsen, Shaw, and Strindberg have gained a considerable number of admirers. Even a sceptical, rebellious, momentaristic temper has not altogether been wanting. Yet this is simply an indication of the great spiritual struggle which new Japan is undergoing. From an ethical standpoint, Buddhism is ineffectual; but it still has immeasurable resources. Christianity is as yet insignificant in numerical and material respects, but it is ever growing and achieving. Which will be the commanding authority in the spiritual and ethical realm is as yet an open question; but that there will be one seems assured.

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K. ASHIDA.

JĀṬ (fem. Jāṭni; Panjābī *Jaṭṭ*, fem. *Jaṭṭi*).—The Jāṭs are found all over N.W. India, in the Panjāb, Sind, United Provinces, and the northern parts of Rājpūtāna, especially Bhartpur, but hardly in Kashmīr or the Himālayas to the east of that State. West of the Indus they are found in the N.W. Frontier Province, especially in its southern districts, but not in Afghānistān or in Balochistān, though they appear to have once occupied the latter territory. The Balochi term for a Jāṭ is Jagdāl or Jaghdal, and one of the Baloch tribes traces its descent from 'a Jaṭṭ, a Jagdhal, a nobody,' who on account of a woman, *i.e.* by marrying a Baloch bride, became a Baloch. The Jaṭoi tribe of the Baloch may also be of Jāṭ origin.

The term cannot, with any certainty, be regarded as ethnic, nor is it easy to draw any hard and fast line between the Jāṭs and Rājpūts in the N.W. Panjāb. The traditions of many Jāṭ tribes declare that they are by origin socially debased Rājpūts, whose fathers, by marrying Jāṭ wives or espousing widows, lost their Rājpūt rank and sank to the status of Jāṭs, or yeomen. Other Jāṭ tribes are of undoubted Brāhman origin. But, while many thus claim to be of gentle (Rājpūt) extraction or priestly (Brāhman) origin, few will admit that they have risen in the social scale. Nevertheless it is possible that the Sāṁsi tribe of the Jāṭs is akin to the criminal tribe of that name, though it produced the greatest of the Jāṭs in the person of Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh, the famous Sikh ruler of the Panjāb.

The earliest mention of the Jāṭs in history occurs in Ibn Khurdādba, before A.D. 912. He describes the Zats (Jāṭs) as keeping watch over the country between Kirmān and Mansūra. The *Mujmil ut-Tawārīkh* observes that by the Arabs the Hindus are called Jāṭs; they and the Meds, a Sind tribe, are descendants of Ham. The Arabs appear to have found Jāṭs at Ghazni as well as in Sind, but the Muslims who later invaded the Panjāb cannot be said with certainty to have found them in that Province, and it is not until Tīmūr's invasion, in 1398, that we have any indubitable reference to Jāṭs as settled to the north of Delhi. While, then, it is credible that there is a Scythic element in the Jāṭs, it is impossible to regard them as identifiable with the 'wintry Getae,' the Massagetai, or the Goths.

That the Jāṭs are not a pure 'caste' or race is indeed apparent from the rules which they observe in marriage. While marriage within the caste, to use a convenient, but not a scientifically accurate or definable, term, is the rule, marriage with a woman of inferior caste is not invalid, though mixed unions are rare in a true Jāṭ country, such as that which centres round Rohtak near Delhi, and public opinion reprobates them.[1]

The popular derivation of the term Jāṭ is closely associated with its religious traditions. It is said to be derived from the hair (*jaṭ*) of the god Śiva, and the Mān, Her, and Bhullar, which are reputed to be the oldest Jāṭ tribes and to form a kind of nucleus of the caste, in particular claim this ancestry. In the S.E. Panjāb the Jāṭs are divided into two endogamous groups—one, the Śivgotri, who say that their forefather was created from the matted hair of Śiva and so named Jāṭ Budhra, and the other, the Kāsabgotra, who claim connexion with the Rājpūts and are so named after Brahmā's son Kāsab. It may be permissible to regard the Śivgotri as autochthones, Śiva being the earth-god, and the Kāsabgotri as later accretions to the caste.

The Jāṭs cannot, however, be said to have any distinctive religion or code of ethics. In the Central Panjāb they are mainly Sikhs, but to the south-east they have retained their original Hinduism, and to the west the vast majority have embraced

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[1] Risley's statement, however, that Rājpūts and Jāṭs occasionally intermarry even now, the Rājpūts taking wives from the Jāṭs but refusing to give their own maidens in return (*People of India* Calcutta, 1908, p. 48), must not be taken as meaning that there is any regular hypergamous relation between the two groups, but merely that a Rājpūt may even nowadays espouse a Jāṭ wife, though such a union would be looked down upon.

Islām, whole tribes not only professing that faith but setting up pedigrees which would make them Arabs or Sayyids by descent. Indeed, the Muhammadan Tahīms are not impossibly Anṣārī Quraish by origin and descended from Tamīn, but it is much more likely that they are the Dahīma, some of whom became Brāhmans, and worshippers of the goddess Śrī Dadhīmatī Mātājī. Tod mentions the Dahīma as an extinct Rājpūt race.

Another tribe, the Arbi, certainly appears to be Arab. But so many genealogies can be almost proved to have been invented on conversion that no reliance can be placed on etymologies corroborated by pedigrees.

The tribes of the Jāṭs probably number more than a thousand, and among the Hindus and Sikhs they are spoken of as *gots*, a corruption of the Skr. *gotra*.

Some of these tribes bear names which suggest a totemistic origin. Such are the Jūn ('louse'), Gorāya ('blue-cow'), Roja, or Rojh (same meaning), Karīr ('the wild caper,' *Capparis aphylla*), Waihri ('heifer'), Bandar ('monkey'), Gīdar ('jackal'), Pīplā (from *pīpal*, *Ficus religiosa*), Janḍia (from *janḍ*, *Prosopis spicigera*), Mor ('peacock'), Kohār ('hatchet'), and Gandāsia (from *gandāsa*, 'axe'). But no reverence is paid to any of these things. The Pankhal tribe is so called because a Jāṭ girl married to a Rājpūt fell out with him, and so he massacred all its members save those who had placed 'peacock's feathers' on their heads. The Mors' ancestor was protected by a peacock from a snake. The Jaria (from *jora*, 'twins') is said to have five branches, or apparently subsepts, all named after parts of the *ber* tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), viz. Rangi (from *raṅg*, 'bark'), Jaria (from *jar*, 'root'), Beria (from the plum or fruit), Jhāṛi ('seedling'), and Khīchar ('bud'). It is also very common to find a tribe named from some event at an ancestor's birth. Thus the Garewāl is so called because its ancestress was suddenly confined near a 'hay-stack,' and the Sibi or Siwi tribe derives its name from *siwa*, a funeral pile, because its ancestress gave birth to a son when about to commit *satī*. But such tales are told of countless tribes which are not Jāṭs, and folk-etymology is probably responsible for most of them.

Though nominally adherents of the great orthodox religions, the Jāṭs are often devotees of some sect, or devotees of a tribal or personal cult, as well. Thus in Hissār, a District near Delhi, large numbers are Bishnois, a Vaiṣṇavite sect, while in Karnāl, a District on the Jamna, many of them are Sādhs, or 'Pure' saints, belonging to a sect, founded about 200 years ago, which affects great personal cleanliness, forbids smoking, and adores only the one God under the title of Sat, or the 'True One.' Other Jāṭs do not eat or marry with them. Another cult very popular among the Jāṭs is that of the 'generous' Sakhi Sarwar, the Sulṭān, the 'giver of *lākhs*' (Lākhdāta), 'he of Nigāha' (Nigāhia), the earth-god—probably Śiva—taken over by Islām and transformed into the cult of a Muhammadan saint (and his descendants) with Paphian elements. The fertility which is the object of the worship naturally appeals to a landed peasantry.

Thus a Jāṭ may be by birth and education a Hindu or Muslim, by choice or conviction a Sikh, a Sulṭāni, or a sectary who has thrown in his lot with one of the countless sects old and new to be found in India. He can even become a Christian. But under or alongside of his religion and his sect is a mass of usage partly social, partly religious, and wholly based on custom, not on belief, to which he clings with a tenacity all the greater because it is irrational. In the northern and central Districts of the Panjāb these usages centre round the worship of forefathers (*jaṭheras*), but in the S.W. of that Province they cluster round the godling of the village (*khera*) rather than the tribal ancestor. This change in the religious system is congruous with the evolution from the tribal system of the tracts towards the N.W. frontier to the 'village community' organization of the long-civilized territories round Delhi. The *jaṭhera* is usually styled Bāwā ('master') or Siddh ('perfect') and bears some conventional name which shows that his real name has been forgotten. His tomb is sometimes called *bakhūhān* (pl.), and consists of three or four pits with pillars formed of earth dug out of them. He is usually worshipped at marriage.

A typical Jāṭ wedding according to the rites in vogue in the sub-montane districts which lie under the Himālayas in the N. Panjāb is thus described:

About five days before the wedding a lump of coarse sugar is given to the barber (in his capacity of village go-between) and he brings in return a twig of the *janḍ*.[1] This twig is placed in a heap of wheat weighing about 42 *sers* (84 lb.), and by it are put 21 *sers* of coarse sugar. A lamp is lit and placed on the ground; to it all the females of the family and the bridegroom do obeisance. The bridegroom cuts the twig with a knife or sword;[2] and the grain and sugar are divided, half going to the Brāhman and half to the *mīrāsī* (genealogist). The latter then brings a ram (*chatra*, whence the name of the rite itself), cuts its ear, and with his thumb imprints a mark (*ṭikā*) of its blood on the youth's forehead, and on those of all present.[3] He gets the ram and a rupee as his vail. The youth then bathes, and boiled wheat is distributed. He is oiled, and a red tape is tied round his forehead. Thenceforward he must keep a knife or sword in his hand till the wedding day. On that day he bathes again, breaks earthen vessels, and dons new clothes. His kinsmen offer their presents, and the menials get their dues. The bride is then brought home, and the newly-wedded pair, with all the females of the family, go to the temple of Bāwā Manga, the progenitor of the tribe, offer him a double cloth and a cake (the priest's perquisite), and bow their heads in worship. This completes the wedding ceremony among the Bājwā Jāṭs, an important Jāṭ tribe akin to the Bajū Rājpūts of the Bajwāt. Bāwā Manga's shrine is at Pasrūr, a town of some antiquity, in Siālkot.

With some modifications similar rites are observed by other Jāṭ tribes of that part.

In one tribe—the Dhārīwāl—the pair circumambulate the Siddh's temple seven times. The Randhāwa tribe employs a Brāhman to fetch the twig, the ram's blood is smeared only on the foreheads of bachelors, and after the wedding, when the Siddh's temple is visited, the bride and other females take clay out of an adjacent pond. Very often the boy cuts a twig from the *janḍ* tree himself, and a few tribes, *e.g.* the Ghummān, cut it from a *ber*, or plum, tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), and that tribe offer two lumps of sugar, one to the saint Lākhdāta, the other to his priest the drummer (Bhaṛai), who is styled Shaikh, and appear to ignore its *jaṭhera* Siddh Dulchi. The ram is frequently replaced by a he-goat and often sacrificed, its flesh being distributed in various ways. The Wirk assemble, men and women, at a *ber* tree, wash the ram, and, if it shakes its head, regard this as a token that their ancestor is pleased. The Sarāī perform the *chatra* on the first Monday of the lunar month before the wedding. This rite is, however, unknown in the south-east of the Panjāb, as it involves animal sacrifice, and in the central districts the ram is never killed, though its ear may be cut.

In the south-east, when a new village is founded, before any house is built, a mound of earth is raised near the site proposed for the village and a *janḍ* planted on it. Houses may then be built, and the first man to die in the village, whatever his caste may be, is burned or buried in this mound, and on it is built a masonry shrine named after him. He is thus deified as the Bhūmia, or Earth-god. Whatever ill befall, his shrine is the first place to which the Jāṭs resort in time of trouble. But a tribe may have a tribal Siddh as well as a Bhūmia in each village. The Bhūmia too is often called Khera, and some tribes even style their *jaṭhera* Khera-Bhūmia. Possibly the custom of deifying the first man to die in a new village is akin to the custom of killing a man and building him in when a new structure is raised (cf. FOUNDATION, vol. vi. p. 10)—he then becomes its *dwārapāla*, or 'gate-keeper.' The *jaṭhera*, however, does not appear to be thus chosen or regarded. He is often a martyr, or *shahīd*, who fell fighting with dacoits or in an affray with a neighbouring village. But he may be, it would seem, a Jogi, a Bairāgi, a Gosain, or a Nāga, though in such a case the priest regarded as the *jaṭhera* would appear to be a dim embodiment of the god Śiva or Viṣṇu. Rarely is *satī*-worship found among the Jāṭs, for the very obvious reason that they allow widow re-marriage, but the Dhindsa affect a *satī's* shrine called the *khāngāh*, or monastery, of Sataoti.

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[1] Or *janḍī*. The *Prosopis spicigera* is so called in the central Panjāb, but in Jhelum the name is applied to *Zizyphus nummularia* and in the Jullundur Doab to *Acacia leucophlœa*. Offerings are made to this tree by the relatives of Hindus suffering from smallpox.

[2] This is said to be a survival of an older rite in which the Hindu Triad, the nine planets, the four Vedas, Fire, Water, and the Pole-Star were all invoked as witnesses of the marriage-rite. The bridal pair walk four times round the *hawan*, into which leaves of the *janḍ* used to be thrown, and these had to be cut by the bridegroom and carried to the bride's house for that purpose, as the *mantra* in debased Sanskrit, which is still recited, shows. The leaves are no longer thrown into the *hawan*, or sacrificial fire, but the tree continues to be cut.

[3] The *ṭikā* is also called *tilak*, though, strictly speaking, *ṭikā* is the mark, while *tilak* appears to be the act of marking. As a *mantra* in debased Sanskrit shows, it is done in order to propitiate ancestors, and in the hope that divine recognition, help, and protection will follow from it.

LITERATURE.—D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Punjab Ethnography*, Calcutta, 1883, is the classical authority. See also Maclagan, *Punjab Census Report*, 1892, H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W. Frontier Province*, Lahore, 1911, *s.v.* '*Jât*,' and W. Crooke, *TC* iii. 25, *s.v.* 'Jât.' For the possible connexion of the Zatt or Zutt, an Arabized form of Jāṭ, with the Gypsies see Woolner, 'The Indian Origin of the Gypsies in Europe,' in *Journ. of Punjab Hist. Soc.* II. ii. (1914).

H. A. ROSE.

JĀTAKA. — 1. Meaning of the word. — A *jātaka* (in Buddhist dogmatics and literature) is a story in which the Bodhisattva (*q.v.*), *i.e.* the Buddha in one of his former births, plays some part, either that of the hero or of some other character, or sometimes only that of a looker-on. Hence the word might be translated 'Bodhisattva story,' or 'story of a Bodhisattva.' But the current rendering of *jātaka* is '(Buddhist) birth story.'

'*Jātakam*, birth, nativity; a birth or existence in the Buddhist sense; a *jātaka*, or story of one of the former births of a Buddha' (R. C. Childers, *Dictionary of the Pali Language*, London, 1875, *s.v.*). This is the generally accepted explanation, the word being derived from Skr. *jāta* in the sense of 'birth.' Another explanation of the word has been proposed by H. Kern (*Der Buddhismus*, Leipzig, 1882–84, i. 328), and adopted by J. S. Speyer (*Jātakamālā*, London, 1895 [=*SBB* i.], p. xxii), who derive the word from *jāta* in the sense of 'what has become, what has happened,' and would translate it by '*Geschichtchen*, tale, story.'

Jātaka originally means only a single 'birth story,' but it is also used as the title of the *Collection of Jātakas*, in the *Tipiṭaka*, and in the *Jātaka Commentary* (see below).

2. Origin and purpose of the jātakas.—We read in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, v. (*SBE* xxi. [1884] 120), that the Buddha, knowing the differences in faculties and energy of his numerous hearers, preaches in many different ways, 'tells many tales, amusing, agreeable, both instructive and pleasant, tales by means of which all beings not only become pleased with the law in this present life, but also after death will reach happy states'; and in the same book it is stated (ii. 44 [*SBE* xxi. 44 f.]) that the Buddha teaches both by *sūtras* and stanzas and by legends and *jātakas*. It is, indeed, likely enough that Gautama Buddha himself made use of popular tales in preaching to the people. It is certain that the Buddhist monks and preachers did so. In fact, we know that the preachers of all religious sects in India always took advantage of the Hindu passion for story-hearing and story-telling, and made extensive use of stories in preaching to the people, much in the same way as Christian preachers in the Middle Ages introduced 'examples' into their sermons to attract the attention of their hearers.[1] They sometimes invented pious legends, but more frequently they took fables, fairy tales, and amusing anecdotes from the rich storehouse of popular tales or from secular literature, altering and adapting them for the purposes of religious propaganda.[2] The Bodhisattva dogma (see art. BODHISATTVA), in connexion with the doctrines of rebirth and *karma* (*q.v.*), was an excellent expedient for turning any popular or literary tale into a Buddhist legend. In his numerous existences, before he came to be born as Śākyamuni who was to be the Buddha, the Bodhisattva had been born, according to his *karma*, sometimes as a god, sometimes as a king, or a merchant, or a nobleman, or an out-caste, or an elephant, or some other man or animal (see *ERE* ii. 743, note §). It was thus only necessary to identify the hero or any character of a story with the Bodhisattva, in order to turn any tale, however secular or even frivolous, into a *jātaka*.

Hence the *jātakas* regularly begin with such words as: 'Once upon a time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, the Bodhisatta (Skr. Bodhisattva) was reborn in the womb of his chief queen'; or 'Once upon a time, when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares, the Bodhisatta was reborn into the family of a forester'; or 'Once upon a time . . . the Bodhisatta was an ox called Mahālohita (the Big Red One)'; or 'Once upon a time . . . the Bodhisatta was reborn in the womb of a crow'; or 'Once upon a time . . . the Bodhisatta was Sakka, king of the gods,' etc. In many of his existences the Bodhisatta, according to the *jātakas*, was a god, a king, a Brāhmaṇa, a minister, an ascetic, a merchant, but he also was a gardener, a musician, a physician, a barber, a robber, a gambler, an elephant, a lion, an ape, a dog, a frog, some bird, etc. (see the list in A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 197 f.).

3. The jātakas in the Pāli Tipiṭaka.—Some of the stories which were afterwards turned into *jātakas* are told in the Suttas as simple tales, without any reference to the Bodhisatta.[1] On the other hand, there are some real *jātakas* included in the Suttas—*e.g.*, the *Kūṭadantasutta* and *Mahāsudassanasutta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the *Mahādevasutta* in the *Majjhima Nikāya*. That the *jātakas* form an essential part of the Buddhist canon is shown by the fact that they are included in the list of nine *aṅgas* (twelve *Dharmapravachanas* in the Sanskrit canon) into which the sacred books of the Buddhists were divided according to the subject-matter, as the 7th *aṅga* (the 9th *Dharmapravachana*).

The *Book of Jātakas*, however, is one of the fifteen collections of texts forming the *Khuddaka-nikāya* ('Collection of Smaller Texts') of the *Tipiṭaka*.[2] This *Jātaka Book* consists of *gāthās* or stanzas only, and is divided into 22 sections (*nipāta*), which are arranged according to the number of stanzas belonging to or forming a *jātaka*. The first section is supposed to contain 150 *jātakas*, each verse belonging to a separate story; the second, 100 *jātakas*, with two verses each; the third, 50 *jātakas*, with three verses each, and so on, each successive *nipāta* having a larger number of stanzas and a smaller number of *jātakas*. This *Book of Jātaka Gāthās* has not yet been published,[3] and MSS of it are rare. In many cases these *gāthās* are poetic tales, ballads, or epic poems; but very often, more especially in the first sections, they are quite unintelligible by themselves, and must be understood as belonging to some prose tale. Why these prose stories did not attain to canonical dignity we do not know. Probably they were supposed to be well known, and, therefore, left to the improvisation of the preachers. It is only in a more or less contaminated form that the prose parts of the *jātakas* have been preserved in the Commentary (see below) that was composed or compiled at some later period, after the final redaction of the canon.

J. Hertel (*ZDMG* lxiv. [1910] 58 ff., and *WZKM* xxiv. [1910] 121 ff.), pointing out that there are certain *Pañchatantra* and *Hitopadeśa* MSS containing only the verses, has advanced the hypothesis that the collection of *jātaka gāthās* in the *Tipiṭaka* is nothing but an extract from an older MS which contained both the verses and the prose parts of the *jātakas*. But the relation between prose and verse in works like the *Pañchatantra* is quite different from that between the *jātaka gāthās* and the prose of the *Jātaka Commentary*. Besides, the *gāthās* differ from the prose in language also, and, above all, there are many *jātakas* that do not need any prose at all.

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[1] Cf. such works as the *Gesta Romanorum*, or A. Wesselski's *Mönchslatein*, Leipzig, 1909.

[2] In the *Jātaka Commentary* (see below) every *jātaka* is put into the mouth of the Buddha as a *dhammadesanā*, *i.e.* 'religious instruction' or 'sermon.' On the *jātakas* as homilies see also F. Max Müller, *SBB* i. [1895] p. xiii, and J. S. Speyer, *ib.* p. xxiv f.

[1] Cf. *Chullavagga*, VI. vi. 3, with the *Tittirijātaka* (no. 37); or *Mahāvagga*, x. ii. 3, with the *Dīghiti-Kosalajātaka* (no. 371).

[2] It is worth mentioning that, according to the Sinhalese chronicle *Dīpavaṁsa* (v. 37), there was a school of monks, the Mahāsaṁgītikās, who rejected some portions (we are unfortunately not told which) of the *Jātaka Book* as non-canonical. The Dharmaguptas had also a *Jātaka Book* in their canon (see M. Anesaki, 'The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese,' *TASJ* xxxv. [1908] pt. iii. p. 8.

[3] It is not found in the King of Siam's edition of the *Tipiṭaka*.

R. Otto Franke (*WZKM* xx. [1906] 318) says: 'Die Masse der Jātaka-Gāthās als ganzes betrachtet ist ein persönliches Erzeugnis eines einzigen Autors, d.h. dieser Autor hat sie nicht nur zusammengestellt, sondern viele selbst gedichtet und umgedichtet oder ausgeflickt und alles in allem ihrer Gesamtheit seinen persönlichen Stempel aufgedrückt. Er hat aber auf der anderen Seite vorhandene Gāthās in sein Werk mit eingebaut.' The very opposite is the case. The bulk of *jātaka gāthās* is the work of many, chiefly non-Buddhist, authors, though one editor or compiler (not 'author') may, in recasting the whole, have altered and even added verses here and there.

4. The Jātaka Commentary.—What has become known by the edition and translations to be mentioned below is not the canonical *Book of Jātaka Gāthās*, but a huge Prose Commentary in which the *gāthās* are embedded. This commentary, or *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*, as it is called, is a recast of an older *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*. The latter had been translated into Sinhalese, only the verses being left in the original Pāli. Afterwards the Sinhalese version was retranslated, or rather recast,[1] into Pāli. In our *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* every number[2] consists of the following parts: (1) the 'story of the present' (*pachchuppanna-vatthu*), in which some incident is related that prompted the Buddha to tell the *jātaka*; (2) the 'story of the past' (*atītavatthu*), which is the real *jātaka*; (3) the *gāthās*, or stanzas, forming, as a rule, part of the 'story of the past,' but sometimes also of the 'story of the present'; (4) the grammatical and lexicographical comment (*veyyākaraṇa*) on the *gāthās*; and (5) the 'joining together' (*samodhāna*) of the two stories by identifying the characters of the 'story of the past' with their rebirths at the time of the Buddha.

With the exception of the *gāthās*, which alone can claim canonical authority, the whole Commentary, including the 'stories of the present,' the 'stories of the past,' and the 'joining together,' must be regarded as the work of one author.[3] As to when this Commentary was compiled, translated, and retranslated, or recast, we have no means of deciding. There is a tradition[4] that makes the famous Buddhaghoṣa (*q.v.*) the author of the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā*, but this is very doubtful.[5] It is just possible that the recasting of the Commentary may have taken place shortly after Buddhaghoṣa's time (5th cent.), but it may as well have been a century later. There can be no doubt, however, that, in spite of its late date, the Commentary has made use of very old materials. At any rate, it can be proved that already in the 3rd or 2nd cent. B.C. some of the *jātaka* stories were told just as we find them in our *Jātaka Commentary*. There are representations on the railings round the *stūpas* of Bhārhut and Sānchī of scenes from *jātakas*; and not only do they include scenes from the *gāthās*, but also some that are related only in the prose Commentary. And, as the titles of the *jātakas* are inscribed over some of the carvings, these famous bas-reliefs prove that these stories were in the 3rd or 2nd cent. B.C. termed '*jātakas*' and considered as sacred lore.

Up to the present 29 *jātakas* have been identified on the bas-reliefs of the *stūpa* of Bhārhut (see T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 209, and E. Hultzsch, *JRAS*, 1912, p. 406). The titles of the *jātakas* are taken from the hero of the story, from some other character, from some important incident, or from the first words of the first stanza. Hence one and the same *jātaka* may be called by different titles (see D. Andersen in *Jātaka*, ed. Fausböll, vol. vii. p. xv).

5. Place of the Jātaka Book in Indian literature.—Though it is no longer possible to say that the *Jātaka Book* (*i.e.* the *Jātaka Commentary*) 'is the oldest, most complete, and most important Collection of Folk-lore extant' (T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. iv), it remains true that it is a very old and highly important collection not only of folk-tales, but also of literary productions of the most varied kinds.

As regards 'the stories of the present,' they are of little value, being either very silly inventions of the commentator or borrowings from other texts, such as the *Vinayapiṭaka*, *Suttanipāta*, or *Apadāna*, or from other commentaries. But in the 'stories of the past' with the canonical *gāthās*, all kinds of literary productions are represented. As to their literary form, we may distinguish: (1) tales in prose in which only one or two or a few verses, containing the moral or the gist of the tale, are inserted (in these cases the Commentary has preserved good old prose traditions); (2) ballads in the form of (*a*) dialogues, or (*b*) a mixture of dialogue and narrative verses[1] (in these cases the prose of the Commentary is quite superfluous, often rather insipid, and sometimes even at variance with the *gāthās*); (3) long tales partly in prose, partly in verse[2] (here the prose Commentary is an expansion, often very diffuse, of the original prose text); (4) strings of moral maxims on some one topic; and (5) regular epics or epic fragments (in the last two cases the prose Commentary is superfluous).[3] The contents of the *jātakas* are: (1) fables, (2) *Märchen* (fairy tales, many of them tales of animals), (3) anecdotes and comic tales, (4) tales of adventure and romance, (5) moral tales, (6) moral maxims, and (7) legends. More than half of the *jātakas* are of non-Buddhist origin. Even the moral tales and legends belong partly to the general Hindu ascetic poetry, though most of them show a strong Buddhist tendency.

The *jātakas* vary also in length. We find short stories of hardly a page by the side of long romances or epic poems covering more than a hundred pages in our printed edition.

Many of the stories found in our *Jātaka Book* occur also in the *Pañchatantra*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and other Indian story books, and are important for the history of Indian fiction. Some of the tales have parallels in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and many others in Jain literature.

A great many *jātakas* have also parallels in the literatures of the West. Thus, the fable of the peacock that lost his bride through his shameless dance (*Jātaka*, no. 32, represented on the *stūpa* of Bhārhut) was known to Herodotus (vi. 130), who tells us the story of Hippokleides. The stories of the grateful animals and the ungrateful man (*Jāt.*, no. 73, also 482 and 516), of the ungrateful wife (no. 193), and many others, are widespread in Eastern and Western literatures. A version of the Judgment of Solomon is found in the *Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka* (no. 546), which is also important on account of its parallels to the stories of the wise Aḥiqār (*q.v.*). See also T. Zachariæ, *WZKM* xxvi. [1912] 418 ff., and *Ummagga Jātaka* ('The Story of the Tunnel'), tr. from Sinhalese by T. B. Yatawara, London, 1912. Many *jātakas* are well known from their parallels in Æsop's *Fables* (*e.g.*, 'The Ass in the Lion's Skin' [see art. FABLE]), in La Fontaine's *Fables*, in the *Gesta Romanorum*, in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, and elsewhere. On supposed parallels of Christian legends in the *Jātaka Book* see R. Garbe, *Contributions of Buddhism to Christianity*, Chicago, 1911, pp. 13, 30 ff., and M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, ii. (Leipzig, 1913) 282, 106. Though in many cases it is probable that these stories migrated from India to the West, it is in other cases more probable that Western motives were brought to India.

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[1] It is said in the *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka*, ed. V. Fausböll, i. 62) that other commentaries (*aṭṭhakathās*) were used for the *Jātakaṭṭhavaṇṇanā* besides the *Jātakaṭṭhakathā*.

[2] There are 546 numbers. As, however, some of these numbers include several stories, and, on the other hand, the same *jātakas* occur in different versions under several numbers, the actual number of stories may be somewhat more or less than 546. But this is by no means the complete number of *jātakas* extant. There are some *jātakas* in other Buddhist works, both Pāli and Sanskrit, which have not been included in the Pāli collection (see L. Feer in *JA* VII. v. [1875] 417 ff., vi. 244 ff.).

[3] Only the *Veyyākaraṇa* seems to be the work of a still later commentator; see R. O. Franke in *Bezzenbergers Beitr.* xxii. [1897] 289 ff.; E. Sénart in *JA* IX. xvii. [1901] 406.

[4] *Gandhavaṁsa*, ed. J. P. Minayeff, in *JPTS*, 1886, p. 59.

[5] See T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. lxiii ff.

[1] These narrative verses are called *Abhisambuddhagāthās*, *i.e.* stanzas told by Buddha (not as the Bodhisattva, but) after his enlightenment (see Sénart, *JA* IX. xvii. 385 ff.).

[2] This is a different type from the first, for here the verses are not inserted for any special purpose, but the tale itself is alternately related in prose and verse. See also art. FICTION, vol. vi. p. 2 f.

[3] Some kind of prose was, of course, always necessary to turn the ballad, etc., into a *jātaka*, and make it part of a homily.

The *Jātaka Book* is not only important for the history of Indian and, indeed, all literature, but it is also invaluable for the light which it throws on the social life and the manners and customs in ancient India.

The accounts of Indian civilization given by R. Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit*, Kiel, 1897, T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 201 ff., and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, 'Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India,' *JRAS*, 1901, p. 859 ff., are chiefly based on the *jātakas*. Valuable as these accounts are, they cannot be taken (as these scholars thought) as pictures of life in India at the time of Gautama Buddha, for it must be borne in mind that the prose stories in the Commentary are as late as the 5th or 6th cent. A.D., though they may contain much earlier traditions.

LITERATURE.—The standard edition of the *Jātaka Book* is that of V. Fausböll, *The Jātaka, together with its Commentary, being Tales of the Anterior Births of Gotama Buddha*, 7 vols. (vol. vii. containing the Index by Dines Andersen), London, 1877–97. Translations are: T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories; or Jātaka Tales*, London, 1880 (contains Jātakas 1–40 only); *The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, tr. from the Pāli by various hands, ed. E. B. Cowell, vols. i.–vii., Cambridge, 1895–1913 (the translators are R. Chalmers, W. H. D. Rouse, H. T. Francis, R. A. Neil, and Cowell himself; the last vol. contains the Index); a German tr. by Julius Dutoit, Leipzig, 1908 ff., is still in progress. Selected *jātakas* have been translated by R. Morris in *FLJ* ii. [1884] 304, 332, 370, iii. [1885] 56, 121, 242, 328, iv. [1886] 45, 168.

On the *Jātaka Book* see: Léon Feer, *JA* VII. v. [1875] 357 ff., vi. 243 ff., VII. xi. [1878] 360 ff., VIII. xx. [1892] 185 ff., IX. v. [1895] 31 ff., 189 ff., IX. ix. [1897] 288 ff.; S. d'Oldenburg, *JRAS*, 1893, p. 301 ff.; R. O. Franke, in *Bezzenbergers Beiträge*, xxii. [1897] 289 ff., and *WZKM* xx. [1906] 317 ff.; H. Lüders, *Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philol.-hist. Kl., 1897, p. 40 ff. and *ZDMG* lviii. [1904] 689 ff., lxi. [1907] 641 ff.; J. Hertel, *ZDMG* lx. [1906] 399 ff.; J. Charpentier, *ZDMG* lxii. [1908] 725 ff., lxiii. [1909] 171 ff., lxvii. [1912] 41 f., and *WZKM* xxvii. [1913] 94; A. Foucher, in *Mélanges d'indianisme offerts à M. Sylvain Lévi*, Paris, 1911, p. 231 ff.; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 189 ff., and in *Album Kern*, Leyden, 1903, p. 13 ff.; H. Oldenberg, *Literatur des alten Indien*, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1903, pp. 103–129, and *Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philol.-hist. Kl., 1911, p. 441 ff., 1912, pp. 183 ff., 214 ff.; and M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, ii. 89–127.

6. The Chariyāpiṭaka.—This is the last book in the *Khuddakanikāya* of the *Tipiṭaka*, and it is a collection of 35 *jātakas* in verse. The purpose of the work is to show in which of his former births the Bodhisattva had attained the ten *pāramitās*, or 'perfections.' The first two *pāramitās*, generosity and goodness, are illustrated by ten stories each, while fifteen stories refer to the other eight 'perfections,' viz. renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truthfulness, resolution, kindness to all beings, and equanimity. The stories are put into the mouth of Gautama himself. They have no literary merit whatever, all stress being laid on the moral, while the story itself is given in bare outline.

A different redaction of the *Chariyāpiṭaka* from that found in the *Tipiṭaka* is included and commented on in the first section of the *Nidānakathā*. J. Charpentier has tried (*WZKM* xxiv. [1910] 351 ff.) to reconstruct an 'Ur-Chariyāpiṭaka' on the basis of these two redactions, compared with the Sanskrit *Jātakamālā* (see below), but his arguments are not convincing.

LITERATURE.—The *Chariyāpiṭaka* has been edited by R. Morris, London, *PTS*, 1882; see also M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, ii. 131–134, and T. W. Rhys Davids, in *JRAS*, 1913, p. 482 f.

7. The Nidānakathā.—From the orthodox Buddhist point of view, all the *jātakas* may be regarded as autobiographical accounts of Gautama Buddha himself. It is, therefore, not surprising that an account of Gautama's career in his last existence, the *Nidānakathā*, *i.e.* 'the story of the beginnings,' forms the introduction to the *Jātaka Commentary*. As the Pāli canon contains only incidental references to the most important events in the career of the Buddha, and no connected biography, the *Nidānakathā* is the first *Life of the Buddha* in Pāli literature. It consists of three sections: (1) the story of 'the beginnings in the distant past' (*dūrenidāna*), narrating the life of the future Buddha as Sumedha in the time of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara down to his rebirth in the heaven of the Tusita gods, this section being a kind of commentary on the *Buddhavaṁsa* and the *Chariyāpiṭaka*; (2) the story of 'the beginnings in the less distant past' (*avidūrenidāna*), beginning with the descent of the Buddha from the Tusita heaven, and ending with his attainment of the Bodhi (perfect enlightenment or Buddhaship); (3) the story 'of the beginnings in the proximate epoch' (*santikenidāna*), relating the incidents from the Bodhi down to the story of Anāthapiṇḍika's great gift of the Jetavana (see art. BUDDHA, vol. ii. p. 883).

LITERATURE.—The text of the *Nidānakathā* will be found in Fausböll, *Jātaka*, i. 1–94, the translation in T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, pp. 1–133, the first two sections also in H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1896, pp. 5–83.

8. Jātakas in the non-canonical Pāli literature.—In the later books of the *Milindapañha* (which are missing in the Chinese translation, made between A.D. 317 and 420) the *jātakas* are frequently quoted. The author of bk. iv. makes no difference between the Bodhisatta of the *jātakas* and the Buddha. He, therefore, troubles himself to excuse the Bodhisatta from any transgressions that he may have committed in any of his previous births, as related in the *jātakas*; and he tries to solve all kinds of dilemmas that arise by comparing incidents in the *jātakas* with utterances of the Tathāgata in any of the canonical texts. Every word in the *jātaka gāthās*, even in mere folklore verses occurring in some fable or fairy tale, is treated as the authoritative 'word of Buddha' that as such must be true. In bk. vii. also the *jātaka gāthās* are quoted with great reverence. *Jātakas* occur also in the *Dhammapada Commentary*, a work that closely resembles the *Jātaka Commentary* and may almost be considered a supplement to it.

LITERATURE.—As to the Milindapañha see art. LITERATURE (Buddhist), and M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Litt.*, ii. 97 n., 142, 146. The author of bk. iv. differs in many points from our *Jātaka Commentary*. See T. W. Rhys Davids, *SBE* xxxv [1890] pp. xli f., 216, 241 f., 280 f., 284 ff., 293 n., 294 ff., 303 f., xxxvi. [1894] 6, 16 ff., 146, 291, 306, 310, 341, 344, 349. A dilemma of the *Sivi Jātaka* is discussed *ib.* xxxv. 179 ff.; discussions on the *Vessantara Jātaka, ib.* p. 170 ff., xxxvi. 114 ff. 'Repeaters of the Jātakas' are mentioned by the side of 'Repeaters' of other canonical texts in *Milinda*, v. 22 (*SBE* xxxvi. 231).

For the *Dhammapada Commentary* see E. W. Burlingame, 'Buddhaghosa's Dhammapada Commentary,' *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, vol. xlv. no. 20 [1910] p. 469.

9. Jātakas in Buddhist Sanskrit literature.—(*a*) Many *jātakas* occur in the *Mahāvastu* both in prose and in verse, in 'mixed Sanskrit.' Some of them are variants of the Pāli *jātakas*, others are not found in the Pāli collection.

(*b*) Closely related to the *jātakas* are the *avadānas* (see art. APADĀNA), which belong partly to the literature of the Sarvāstivādins (see art. SECTS [Buddhist]), partly to the Mahāyāna literature. *Avadānas* are edifying 'tales of glorious deeds' of saints, illustrating the law of *karma* (*q.v.*), *i.e.* showing that 'black deeds bear black fruits and white deeds white fruits.' The difference between *avadānas* and *jātakas* consists in this, that in a *jātaka* the Bodhisattva is always either the hero or one of the characters occurring in the story, while any saint may play a part in an *avadāna*. But there are many *avadānas* in which the Bodhisattva is the hero. These are called *Bodhisattvāvadānas*, and may as well be called *jātakas*. Many *jātakas* known from the Pāli collection are also found in the *Avadāna* collections (*Avadānaśataka*, *Divyāvadāna*).

(*c*) *Bodhisattvāvadānamālā*, or 'Garland of Bodhisattva tales,' is another title of the work better known as *Jātakamālā*, a Sanskrit poem of high poetical merit, composed by the poet Āryaśūra or Sūra. There have been several *Jātakamālās*, or 'Garlands of Jātakas,' *i.e.* poetical selections of *jātakas*, but Āryaśūra's work is best known. It is a florilegium of 34 *jātakas*, mostly known from the Pāli collection, but told in the flowery style of Sanskrit court poetry, elaborate prose alternating with verse. As in the *Chariyāpiṭaka* (see above), so also in the *Jātakamālā* the *jātakas* serve as illustrations of the *pāramitās*, especially those of generosity and kindness towards all creatures. Thus the first story (not occurring in the Pāli collection) is that of the Bodhisattva throwing himself before a starving tigress that is about to devour her offspring. Most stories occur also in the *Jātaka Book* and twelve in the *Chariyāpiṭaka*. Āryaśūra probably flourished in the 4th cent. A.D. Stanzas of the *Jātakamālā* are inscribed on frescoes found in the caves of Ajantā, and the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing mentions the *Jātakamālā* among the works that in his time were very popular in India.

(*d*) *Jātakas* and *avadānas* are also found in Aśvaghoṣa's *Sūtrālaṁkāra* (called *Alaṁkāra* in art. AŚVAGHOṢA), and in Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā*; and 50 *jātakas* are mentioned in the *Mahāyānasūtra Rāṣṭrapālapṛcchā*.

LITERATURE.—On (*a*) see S. d'Oldenburg, in *JRAS*, 1893, p. 335 ff.; A. Barth, in *Journal des Savants*, 1899, p. 625 ff.; J. Charpentier, *Paccekabuddhageschichten*, Upsala, 1908, pp. 2 ff., 12 ff., 25 ff., and *WZKM* xxvii. [1913] 94 f.; M. Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Litt.*, ii. 190 ff.

(*b*) See Léon Feer in the Introd. to his tr. of the *Avadānaśataka*, *AMG* xviii., Paris, 1891, and J. S. Speyer in his ed. of the same work (*Bibliotheca Buddhica*, iii., St. Petersburg, 1902–09), vol. ii., preface, p. iv ff.; also Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Litt.*, ii. 215 ff.

(*c*) The *Jātakamālā* has been edited by H. Kern (Harvard Oriental Series, i., Cambridge, Mass., 1891) and translated by J. S. Speyer, *SBB* i., London, 1895. Āryaśūra has worked on the same (or a similar) collection of *gāthās* as we have in the *Tipiṭaka*; see Speyer's Synoptical Table in his tr., pp. 337–340. See also Kern, in *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk*, Stuttgart, 1888, p. 50 f.; S. d'Oldenburg, in *JRAS*, 1893, p. 308 ff.; A. Barth, in *RHR* xxviii. [1893] 260; K. Watanabe, in *JPTS*, 1909, p. 263 ff.; I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, tr. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, p. 162 f.; H. Lüders, in *Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, philol.-hist. Kl., 1902, p. 758 ff.; F. W. Thomas, in *Album Kern*, p. 405 ff.; and Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Litt.*, ii. 212–214. As to the Chinese tr. see A. O. Ivanovski, in *RHR* xlvii. [1903] 298 ff.

(*d*) See *Sūtrālaṁkāra*, Fr. tr. from the Chinese of Kumārajīva by E. Huber, Paris, 1908; L. Finot, 'Rāṣṭrapālapṛcchā, Sūtra du Mahāyāna,' in *Bibl. Buddhica*, ii., St. Petersburg, 1901; and Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Litt.*, ii. 208 ff., 229, 246.

10. The jātakas and popular Buddhism.—The *jātakas* are highly important for the history of Buddhism, as they give us an insight into popular Buddhism. The whole system of relating *jātakas* is based on the most popular dogma of *karma*, and the ethical ideal of this religion is not the Arhat (*q.v.*) who has attained to *nirvāṇa*,[1] but the Bodhisattva who, in all his former existences, has shown one or more of the great virtues by which he prepared himself for becoming the future Buddha. However high or low he may have been born, in every *jātaka* he is either helpful, kind, and self-sacrificing, or brave, clever, and even possessing supernatural wisdom. *Jātakas* like those of King Sivi (no. 499), who gave away his eyes as a gift, or of Prince Vessantara (no. 547), who even gave away his own children as a gift to the wicked Brāhman, are standard texts for this ideal of ethics. It may easily be understood how the theory of the *pāramitās*, which has become important in the Mahāyāna Buddhism, though not mentioned in the *Jātaka Gāthās*, but only in the *Buddhavaṁsa*, *Chariyāpiṭaka*, and the *Jātaka Commentary*, was already latent in the *jātaka* theory. It is no wonder that the *jātakas* belong as much to the Mahāyāna as to the Hīnayāna Buddhism. They are indeed the common property of all Buddhist sects in all Buddhist countries. They were the chief vehicle of Buddhist propaganda, and are the chief witnesses of popular Buddhism.

As to the popularity of the *jātakas*, it is sufficient to quote the words of R. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*², London, 1880, p. 103: 'The Singhalese will listen the night through to recitations from this work, without any apparent weariness; and a great number of the Jatakas are familiar even to the women.' On their popularity in Burma see Mabel H. Bode, *Pali Literature of Burma*, London, 1909, p. 81. The *Jātaka Book* was the source from which Buddhist poets in Burma drew their inspiration for centuries (*ib.* pp. 43 f., 53).

LITERATURE.—Numerous *jātakas* (and *avadānas*) have been translated into Tibetan and Chinese. See A. Schiefner, 'Indische Erzählungen,' *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du bulletin de l'académie impériale des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, vii. and viii., 1876 and 1877, and 'Mahâkâtyâyana und König Tschaṇḍa-Pradyota, ein Zyklus buddhistischer Erzählungen' (*Mémoires de l'académie imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 1875); W. R. S. Ralston, *Tibetan Tales derived from Indian Sources*, London, 1882; W. W. Rockhill, 'Tibetan Buddhist Birth Stories, Extracts and Translations from the Kandjur,' *JAOS* xviii. [1897] 1 ff.; E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues, extraits du tripitaka chinois et traduits en français*, i.–iii., Paris, 1910–11.

11. Jātakas in Buddhist art.—The enormous popularity of the *jātakas* is also proved by the fact that representations from these stories are among the earliest productions of Indian art, and they have remained the favourite topics for sculpture and paintings through all the centuries in all Buddhist countries. In the 3rd or 2nd cent. B.C. we find them in India in Bhārhut and Sānchī (see above), in the 2nd cent. A.D. in Amarāvatī, and later on in the caves of Ajanta. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian, when visiting Ceylon in A.D. 412, saw at Abhayagiri 'representations of the 500 bodily forms which the Bodhisatta assumed during his successive births'; and Hiuen Tsiang mentions *stūpas* erected in honour of the Bodhisattvas whose deeds were related in *jātakas*. The famous temples of Boro-Budur in Java (9th cent. A.D.), of Pagan in Burma (13th cent. A.D.) and of Sukhodaya in Siam (14th cent. A.D.) are decorated with hundreds of bas-reliefs representing scenes from *jātakas*.

LITERATURE.—The bas-reliefs of Bhārhut have been described by A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bhārhut*, London, 1879 (for the inscriptions see E. Hultzsch in *ZDMG* xl. [1886] 58 ff.; *IA* xxi. [1892] 225 ff.; and *JRAS*, 1912, p. 399 ff.). For the Sānchī reliefs see the plates in F. C. Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, London, 1892. A list of all the *jātakas* represented in Bhārhut, Ajanta, and Boro-Budur is given by S. d'Oldenburg in *JRAS*, 1896, p. 623 ff., and *JAOS* xviii. [1897] 183 ff. See also A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*², Berlin, 1900, pp. 38 f., 59; A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, i., Paris, 1905, p. 270 ff., and *Bulletin de l'école française d'Extrême Orient*, ix. [1909] 1 ff.; J. Griffiths, *The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta*, London, 1896–97; C. Leemans, *Bôrô-Boudour dans l'île de Java*, Leyden, 1874; L. Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien*, pt. 2, *AMG*, Paris, 1908. The bas-reliefs of the temple of Pagan have been described by A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Studien*, i. (*Veröffentlichungen aus dem königl. Museum für Völkerkunde*, v., Berlin, 1897), who also gives translations or abstracts of 55 *jātakas*.

M. WINTERNITZ.

JAUNPUR.—A city now the headquarters of the British District of the same name in the United Provinces of India; lat. 25° 45′ N.; long. 82° 41′ E. Muhammadans derive the name from Ulugh Khān Jūnān, afterwards Muḥammad Shāh II. ibn Tughlaq, whose name is said to have been given to the place by his cousin Fīrūz Shāh, the founder; Hindus derive it from Jamadagnipura, after the saint Jamadagni, or from Yavanapura, 'city of the Ionian Greeks or foreigners.' Before the city was founded by the Muhammadans, there was a local cult of Kerārbīr, a demon slain by the demi-god Rāma. He is now represented by a shapeless stone smeared with red lead and turmeric, probably representing the blood of a sacrifice. It stands near one of the bastions of the fort; and, when this was blown up by British engineers after the Mutiny, the stone escaped uninjured, a fact which greatly increased the respect paid to it (*NINQ* ii.

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[1] This is true, though the commentator sometimes says that the Master delivered his sermon (*dhammadesanā*) in such a way as to lead up to Arhatship (*e.g.*, *Jātaka*, ed. Fausböll, i. 114, 275); but the moral taught in the *jātakas* has nothing to do with the monastic ideal.

[1892] 2; Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.* xi. 103 f.). The foundation of the present city was laid by Fīrūz Tughlaq on his return from an expedition into Bengal in A.D. 1360. Subsequently under Khwāja Jahān, who was viceroy of the Emperor Maḥmūd Tughlaq, in 1394 during the invasion of Tīmūr, it became independent; and for nearly a century the Sharqī, or eastern dynasty, continued powerful rivals of the Delhi kings, and formed one of the richest States in N. India. Finally they were overthrown by the Emperor Bahlūl Lodī in A.D. 1487. The religious buildings still in existence consist of mosques and tombs, the work of these Sharqī princes. They are the finest example of what has erroneously been called the 'Paṭhān' style, which is really Persian, but executed and modified by the native architects whom the conquerors were forced to employ. So beautiful was the city that it became known as the Shīrāz of India. The oldest of the mosques, that in the fort, dates from A.D. 1377. The three great mosques are in the city. The Aṭalā mosque, so called because it stands on the site of a temple dedicated to the Hindu goddess Aṭalā Devī, 'the permanently fixed one,' was the first erected by King Ibrāhīm Shāh (1401–40), and was finished in 1408. This is the most ornate and beautiful of the series, and Fergusson regarded the interior domes and roofs as superior to any other specimen of Muhammadan architecture of so early an age with which he was acquainted. The second, the Jāmī' Masjid, or Cathedral Mosque, of Ḥusain Shāh, is the largest in Jaunpur. It is distinguished by a majestic gate pyramid or propylon, of outline and mass almost Egyptian, supplying the place of a minaret, a feature as little known at the time in Jaunpur as it was in Delhi. It was completed in 1478. The third great city mosque, known as that of Bībī Rājī, or, as it is commonly called, Lāl Darwāzah, 'the red gate,' was founded by Bībī Rājī, queen of Maḥmūd Shāh (A.D. 1440–58).

> 'It is in the same style as the others, and its propylon displays not only the bold massiveness with which these mosques were erected, but shows also that strange mixture of Hindu and Mahomedan architecture which pervaded the style during the whole period of its continuance' (Fergusson, *Hist. of Ind. and East. Arch.*, p. 520).

With the fall of the local rulers the religious history of Jaunpur came to an end.

LITERATURE.—A. Führer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*, Calcutta, 1889, and *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-West Provinces*, Allahabad, 1891, p. 178 ff.; A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, xi. [1880] 102 ff.; J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876, p. 520 ff.

W. CROOKE.

JAVA, BALI, AND SUMATRA (Buddhism in).[1]

—The Indian name of Java, known to the geographer Ptolemy (VII. ii. 29) as Iabadiu (ὃ σημαίνει κριθῆς νῆσος), is a sufficient proof that the intercourse between India and the Indian Archipelago dates from before the 2nd cent. of our era. A passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV. xl. 30), mentioning 'Yava-dvīpa, adorned by seven kingdoms, the Gold and Silver Island, rich in gold mines,'[2] apparently points to the fact that the name had a wider application, embracing both Java proper and Sumatra, as in later times with the Arabs. It is certain that Indian civilization had made progress, at least in Java, before A.D. 400, for the Chinese Buddhist Fa-Hian, who stayed for five months in the country (A.D. 412), says that 'various forms of error and Brāhmanism are there flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of.'[3] As to Sumatra we are wholly left in the dark, and it is not until far in the 7th cent. that the writings of another Chinese traveller, I-tsing, enable us to get insight into the condition of Buddhism at Śrībhoja, the capital of the kingdom of Bhoja, or Malayu, and situated near the present city of Palembang.[1] I-tsing went twice (A.D. 671 and 688) to Śrībhoja, and stayed there some seven years (688–695), studying and translating Sanskrit sacred texts. He tells us that the king of Bhoja—whose name he does not mention—and the rulers of the neighbouring islands were adherents of Buddhism, and that the capital was a centre of learning, where more than 1000 priests investigated and studied all the subjects that were taught in India. The great majority of the Buddhists both in Bhoja and in other islands belonged to the sect of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins, though occasionally some had adopted the tenets of the Sammitīyas, whereas two other sects had newly been introduced. All these sects belonged to the great division known under the name of Hīnayāna. There were in Malayu only a few Mahāyānists.

It is a matter of evidence that Buddhism must have been introduced into Sumatra and adjacent isles long before the time of I-tsing, and that the first propagandists belonged to one or more sects of the Northern Hīnayāna. Yet we see that in his days Mahāyānists were already making their appearance in Malayu. There is a notice in Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism* that Dharmapāla, the celebrated Mahāyānist Professor in the College of Nālandā before Hiuen Tsiang was staying there, went to Suvarṇa-dvīpa in his old age.[2]

Whatever may be the exact value of I-tsing's statement about the prevalence of the Hīnayāna in his own days, it is certain that in the 8th cent. the Mahāyāna had acquired a firm footing in Java. A Sanskrit inscription found between Kalasan and Prambanan, not far from Yogyakarta, commemorates the erection of a statue and sanctuary of the goddess Āryā Tārā (the female counterpart or *śakti* of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara), together with an abode for monks versed in the rules of discipline (*Vinaya*) of the Mahāyāna. The date of the inscription is 700 Śaka (A.D. 778); the donor is a king of the Śailendra dynasty, who, as a further mark of his favour to his spiritual teacher, who had moved him to his pious work, granted to the Saṅgha the village of Kālasa.[3] It is remarkable that the inscription shows a kind of writing usual in Northern India, whereas most of the other Sanskrit inscriptions in Java are in the common Old Javanese characters which have their origin in Southern India. The inscription of 700 Śaka is, therefore, a sufficient proof that the Mahāyānists who enjoyed the king's favour came from Hindustān proper or the Western parts of Bengal. The remains of the sanctuary dedicated to Tārā have been recognized in what nowadays is known as Chaṇḍi Bening or Chaṇḍi Kalasan.[4]

All the splendid monuments of architecture and decorative art which arose in Java after the 8th cent. bear the unequivocal stamp of Mahāyānism, except, of course, those which are the works of Brāhmanists, more especially Śaivites. The Mahāyānistic character shows itself unmistakably in the images of the honoured Dhyānibuddhas or Jinas, as they are commonly called in Tibet and Java, and of the Bodhisattvas along with their *śaktis*.

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[1] For the animistic religion see art. INDONESIANS.

[2] See H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*², London, 1903, p. 455.

[3] J. Legge, *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, Oxford, 1886, p. 113.

[1] *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, tr. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, pp. xl–xlvi.

[2] Tāranātha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, tr. F. A. Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1869, p. 161; cf. Max Müller, *India*, London, 1883, p. 310. I-tsing once calls Sumatra Chin-chou, 'Gold Isle,' a literal translation of Skr. Suvarṇa-dvīpa (tr. Takakusu, p. xli).

[3] J. Brandes, 'Een Nâgarî-opschrift gevonden tusschen Kalasan en Prambanan,' *Tijdschr. voor Ind. taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxxi. [1886] 240.

[4] Explored and described by J. W. Yzerman, *Beschrijving der oudheden nabij de grens der Residenties Soerakarta en Djogdjakarta*, The Hague, 1891.

The most renowned and best explored monuments and groups of religious buildings, besides the sanctuary at Kalasan, are the so-called Chaṇḍi Sari, Chaṇḍi Sewu, and Chaṇḍi Plaosan;[1] the gorgeous sanctuary of Boro-Budur;[2] the beautiful shrine at Mendut;[3] and Chaṇḍi Jago.[4]

There were in Java down to the end of the Middle Ages two, so to speak, recognized State religions: Śaivism and Mahāyānism. At all great solemnities — the inauguration of kings, royal princes, chief commanders of the army—both religious communities were represented by their priesthood, the Śaivas and Saugatas. The relation between the two confessions was marked by a spirit of tolerance and friendliness, so much so that in course of time there sprang up a kind of mixed religion, in which the objects of worship originally belonging to either sect found their place. It is a significant fact that we find mention made of a certain sacred building at Usana, the lower part of which was devoted to the cult of Śiva, the upper part being a Buddhist shrine, the former adorned with an image of the god Śiva, the latter with a statue of the Dhyānibuddha Akṣobhya. This building had been erected by the King Kṛtanagara, who, according to the testimony of the poet Prapañcha, was a pious Buddhist when living, but after his death (Śaka 1214) was known by the posthumous name of Śiva-Buddha. In the sepulchral shrine where his remains were interred stood a Buddha image with the traits of the deceased monarch, and another statue representing Ardhanārīśvara with the traits of the same and his queen.[5] In general it may be said that the Mahāyānists of Java, far from being exclusive in their religious views, showed a tendency to syncretism. A striking illustration of it is afforded by a passage in the poem *Sutasoma* by Tantular, where it is explicitly stated that Śiva and Buddha are essentially one and the same.[6] The subject-matter of the poem is taken from the *Sutasoma Jātaka*, well known from its Sanskrit and Pāli versions, but the manner of treatment and the spirit of the whole in the Old Javanese poem are quite different. Among the works of mediæval Javanese literature which have come down to us there are comparatively few treating of subjects connected with Buddhism. Yet Buddhist authors were not lacking in activity, contributing to the store of literature by composing poems on subjects taken from Brāhmanical lore. A thoroughly Mahāyānistic production is the legend of Kuñjarakarṇa.[7] A kind of compendium of the Mahāyāna system in Old Javanese, interspersed with Sanskrit verses, is the *Kamahāyānikan*,[8] in which are treated the division of the Buddhas in past, present, and future Tathāgatas; the six Pāramitās: *dāna*, *śīla*, etc., well known from other sources; and then the four Pāramitās: *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, and *upekṣā*, the first being called the essence (*tattva*) of Lochanā, the second of Māmakī, the third of Pāṇḍaravāsinī (more commonly called Pāṇḍarā), the fourth of Tārā. The compendium further treats of the five attachments (*yogas*); the four *bhāvanās*; the four *āryasatyāni*; then follows a description of the *mudrās* (attitudes of fingers) of Śākyamuni, and an enumeration of the five *skandhas*, which are brought into connexion with the five (Dhyāni) Tathāgatas. We also find an enumeration of the *śaktis* of those Tathāgatas, and, finally, precepts on the treatment of corpses.

The worship of the five Dhyānibuddhas and their female counterparts, or *śaktis*, as taught in the *Kamahāyānikan*, must have been very popular in Java, as is attested by the numerous images of those supernatural beings discovered in or near sacred buildings.

During the whole period in which Buddhism was flourishing in Java, it found favour with kings and royal families. The earliest document bearing witness to marked favour is the inscription of Kalasan mentioned above. We know also from a copper grant, dated 861 Śaka (A.D. 949–50), that the King Mpu Siṇḍok, otherwise called by his title Śrī Īśāna Vijaya Dharmottuṅga Deva, confessed Buddhism.[1] His daughter, who reigned after him under the title of Śrī Īśāna Tuṅga Vijayā, was likewise a pious votary of Buddhism.[2] The King Kṛtanagara, who reigned from 1194 to 1214 Śaka (A.D. 1272–92), is glorified by the court poet Prapañcha as being a most devout Saugata,[3] though his posthumous name of Śiva-Buddha would seem to point to his being a latitudinarian.[4] He calls himself, however, in a Sanskrit votive inscription an *upāsaka* of the Mahāyāna. The inscription, in more than one copy, has been discovered near Chaṇḍi Jago.[5] Kṛtanagara's granddaughter, Tribhuvanattuṅgadevī, who ruled as sovereign over the whole of Java during the minority of her son, the famous Hayam Wuruk, in the middle of the 14th cent. of our era, was of the same persuasion as her grandfather; likewise her consort, the Prince Kṛtavardhana of Singhasāri, her sister, and the consort of the latter.[6] The Queen Dowager of the King Kṛtarājeśa, the founder of Majapahit, is described as an energetic woman, and so earnestly devoted to the religion of Buddha that in her old age she became a nun.

Apart from all documentary evidence in writings, the remains of splendid buildings destined for the worship or use of Buddhists cannot fail to leave the impression that those architectural monuments must have been erected by the highest classes of society. The majority of the more gorgeous Chaṇḍis on Javanese soil are undoubtedly Buddhistic, whereas out of the whole mass of literature and inscriptions on stone or copper few have any connexion with Buddhism. To explain this fact it may be assumed that the great bulk of the population were Śaivites. It is quite certain that in the Middle Ages, before the irruption of Muhammadanism, Javanese society was based upon the caste system, just as in India, and that in civil and criminal law the Code of Manu was the chief authority. The present state of things in Bali, where such Javanese as remained faithful to their religion have found a refuge after the fall of Majapahit in the beginning of the 16th cent., tends to confirm the conclusion that numerically the Śaivites, or, more generally, the Brāhmanists, had the superiority. For the great majority of the Balinese confess Śaivism, with an admixture of practices surviving from an ancient animistic religion. It appears from a notice in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*[7] that in the 14th cent. there were established two communities or sects of Buddhists in Bali, one consisting of followers of the Vinaya, *i.e.* the regular clergy, the other of the so-called Vajradharas, evidently identical with the Vajrāchāryas in Nepāl and Tibet, and consequently Tantrists. There are sufficient proofs of Tantrism having had its votaries also in Java. Nowadays the number of Buddhists of any description in Bali is insignificant.

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[1] Yzerman, *op. cit.*, and *Verslagen en Mededeelingen Kon. Ak. v. Wetenschappen*, III. iv. (1887); see for the literature R. D. M. Verbeek, *Oudheden van Java*, Batavia, 1891, pp. 177, 186.

[2] The chief work on it is by C. Leemans, *Boro-Boedoer op het eiland Java*, Leyden, 1874. A new description of the monument with a complete reproduction of the sculptures is in preparation. For the literature see Verbeek.

[3] H. Yule, *JASBe* xxxi. (1862); J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*², London, 1910; P. J. Veth, *Java*², Haarlem, 1896–1903. For literature see Verbeek.

[4] *Archæologisch Onderzoek op Java en Madura*, i. (1904).

[5] *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, cantos xliii. and lvi.

[6] *Verslagen en Mededeelingen Kon. Ak. v. Wetenschappen*, III. v. [1887] 8 ff.

[7] Published in text and translation in *Verhandelingen Kon. Ak. v. Wetenschappen*, new ser. iii. (1901).

[8] ed. J. Kats, under the title *Sanghyang Kamahāyānikan*, The Hague, 1910.

[1] *Kawi Oorkonden*, xxii. (1875).

[2] Inscr. in *Bijdragen Kon. Instituut*, IV. x. [1885] 9.

[3] See above.

[4] *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, canto xlii.

[5] J. S. Speyer, 'Eene Buddhistische inscriptie,' *Versl. en Meded. Kon. Ak.* IV. vi. [1904] 138, 253.

[6] *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, cantos iii. and iv.

[7] Canto lxxx.

As to Sumatra, there is a blank in our knowledge of the conditions of Buddhism from the days of I-tsing down to the middle of the 14th cent., the time when the King Ādityavarman was ruler of Middle Sumatra. It is known from sundry inscriptions, ranging from 1265 to 1278 Śaka (A.D. 1342–56), that Ādityavarman was a staunch Mahāyānist,[1] and that he was the donor of a statue of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in a temple in Java, the queen of which island was a relative of his.[2] An inscription on the back of a statue of the Jina Amoghapāśa, discovered at Padang Chaṇḍi in Sumatra, informs us that it was dedicated by order of the same king.[3] As Amoghapāśa is a Tantric form of Avalokiteśvara, the inscription is an indication of Tantrism having its votaries in Sumatra. In an inscription on the tombstone of Ādityavarman he is glorified as an *avatāra* of Lokeśvara.[4] It may be remarked that the Sanskrit of the Sumatran inscriptions, contrary to what we find in Java, is most barbarous.

In the days of Ādityavarman the northern part of Sumatra had already been Islāmized, and it is highly probable that a short time after his reign Muhammadanism triumphantly spread in Middle Sumatra. Besides the inscriptions of Ādityavarman, the statue of Amoghapāśa, an image of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara, and some architectural remains of a doubtful character, nothing now remains of Buddhism. Traces of Indian influence however, are not wanting: the religious notions of the Bataks and their astrological superstitions are largely tinged with Brāhmanistic or at least non-Buddhistic ideas and practices.

LITERATURE.—This is fully given in the footnotes.

H. KERN.

JEALOUSY.—See ENVY.

JEROME.—I. Life.—Jerome was born at Stridon, a town on the confines of Dalmatia and Pannonia (*de Vir. Illust.* 135). According to F. Bulič,[5] the ancient Stridon, which was demolished by the Goths in A.D. 378, may now be identified with the modern Grahovo Polje. The birth of Jerome is assigned by Prosper[6] to A.D. 331, but various statements from his own pen seem rather to point to a later date—somewhere between 340 and 350.[7] He was born of Christian parents; his father was named Eusebius, and was evidently well-to-do. He received his elementary education in his own home at Stridon, and then, together with his friend Bonosus, went to Rome in order to study grammar and the rhetorical philosophy. He became a pupil of the renowned grammarian Donatus,[8] and gained a thorough knowledge of the Latin classics, especially of Cicero and Vergil.[9] His teacher in rhetoric was not, as was formerly supposed, the veteran rhetorician C. Marius Victorinus.[1] He did not study Greek during his early residence in Rome, but presumably learned it later in Antioch.

He was baptized in his early manhood by Bishop Liberius († 366) in Rome (*Ep.* xv. 1). Notwithstanding this, he fell for a time into serious moral errors (*Ep.* iv. 2), but thereafter manifested once more an enthusiastic piety, visiting the graves of the apostles and martyrs in the Catacombs (*Comm. in Ezech.* xii. 40). From Rome he travelled, in the company of Bonosus, to Gaul, and stayed for a while in the still semi-barbaric district of the Rhine (*Ep.* iii. 5). While in Trèves he began to busy himself with theological work, copying, on behalf of his friend Rufinus, the *Commentary on the Psalms* and the *de Synodis* of Hilary of Poitiers (*Ep.* v.). He then went to Aquileia, where he connected himself with an earnest-minded group of men, including Chromatius, subsequently bishop of Aquileia, and his friend Rufinus, a native of the town. It was in Aquileia that he took a decisive step towards carrying out a resolution that he had already formed in Trèves, viz. to devote himself to the ascetic life. All at once, from reasons that we do not know, he set out with a few friends upon a journey to the East (A.D. 373). Having reached Antioch, he lingered there for some time, and attended the prelections of the celebrated Antiochene theologian Apollinaris of Laodicea (*Ep.* lxxxiv. 3). It was during this period of indecision as to whether he should become a hermit or not that he had the experience, known as his 'anti-Ciceronian vision' (*Ep.* xxii. 30), in which Christ appeared to him, asked him regarding his religious profession, and, in answer to Jerome's claim to be a Christian, said: 'Thou speakest falsely; thou art a Ciceronian, not a Christian; for where thy treasure is, there is thy heart also.' For a considerable time afterwards Jerome renounced the study of the classics (*Comm. in Gal.* iii. præf.); but at a later date, in the monastery at Bethlehem, we find him engaged in instructing youths in Vergil and Cicero (Rufinus, *contra Hieron.* i. 28). Very soon after his vision he went to live in the wilderness of Chalcis as an eremite, and there, amid severe self-castigations, he began the study of Hebrew under a converted Jew (*Ep.* cxxv. 12), while he was also involved in the dogmatic conflicts that divided the Christians of Antioch into various parties. Being, as a native of the West, quite unable to decide between the older Nicæan and the younger Orthodox groups who were here at feud with each other, he appealed to Pope Damasus for advice as to which party he should join. Subsequently he attached himself to the anti-Meletian bishop, Paulinus of Antioch, by whom he was ordained a presbyter, though on the understanding that he might still remain a monk, *i.e.* that he should not be compelled to undertake the cure of souls (*contra Joh. Hierosolym.* 41).

Jerome then went to Constantinople, where he came into close touch with the great Cappadocian, Gregory of Nazianzen, at that time bishop of the Eastern capital. Gregory drew his attention to the theology of Origen. On the invitation of Damasus, Jerome returned in 382 to Rome, where a synod, called that year, was to meet for the purpose of settling the Antiochene schism (*Ep.* cxxvii. 7). Without any clearly defined function or any distinct charge,[2] but rather in a confidential position to which no responsibility attached, he assisted the Roman bishop in the composition of official papers (*Ep.* cxxiii. 10). Moreover, during his residence at Rome (382–385) he was commissioned by Damasus to revise the Latin NT on the basis of the Greek text; and this, again, proved to be the initiative to his greatest literary achievement—his translation of the OT from the Hebrew. In Rome he gathered around him a band of women of high rank, to whom he expounded the Scriptures, and whom he inspired with enthusiasm for the ascetic ideal. The more eminent personalities in this group were Marcella and Paula, both widows, and the two daughters of the latter, Blaesilla and Eustochium. By his mordant criticisms of the Roman secular clergy he alienated the sympathies which at the outset he had won, and which, he ambitiously hoped, would secure for him at the death of Damasus (A.D. 384) the succession to the See (*Ep.* xlv. 3). In August 385 he left the ungrateful city in the company of his brother Paulinian and his friend Vincentius, in order that he might return from Babylon to Jerusalem (*Ep.* xlv. 6). Paula and her daughter Eustochium followed them shortly afterwards. In order to give no occasion for scandal, the two parties had arranged to make the journey separately, but they met again in Antioch. From this point they started on a pilgrimage through the Holy Land, visiting, first of all, Jerusalem and Bethlehem, then the South of Palestine, and, finally, the sacred sites of Galilee—Nazareth, Cana, Capernaum, and the Sea of Tiberias (*Ep.* cviii.). Somewhat later they proceeded to Egypt, and stayed a month in Alexandria, where Jerome attended the lectures of Didymus the Blind, the head of the long-renowned catechetical school (Rufinus, *contra Hieron.* ii. 12). Thence they visited also the Nitrian monastic colony—the 'city of the Lord,' as Jerome calls it—and then, in the late summer of 386, returned to Bethlehem, where they settled permanently. Here they had to be content with somewhat cramped quarters for three years—until, in fact, the monastic buildings for the lodgment of monks and nuns were quite complete. The monastic houses built at Paula's expense were four in number—one for monks, and three for nuns—while in addition to these a hospice was erected for the entertainment of pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem.

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[1] *Bijdragen Kon. Instituut*, III. vii. [1871] 289, viii. [1872] 16, IV. i. [1877] 159.

[2] *Archæologisch Onderzoek op Java en Madura*, ii. [1909] 101.

[3] *Tijdsch. Bat. Gen.* lxix. [1907] 159–170.

[4] *Bijdragen Kon. Instituut*, 1912, p. 401.

[5] 'Wo lag Stridon, die Heimat des heil. Hieronymus?' in *Festschr. für Otto Benndorf*, Vienna, 1898; the older literature is given very fully in this work.

[6] *Chronicon*, in T. Mommsen, *Chronica minora*, Berlin, 1891–98, I. ii. 451.

[7] Cf. G. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus*, i. 45–48.

[8] F. Lammert, *De Hieronymo, Donati discipulo*, Leipzig, 1912.

[9] A. Luebeck, *Hieronymus quos nouerit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit*, Leipzig, 1872; C. Paucker, *De Latinitate beati Hieronymi observationes ad nominum verborumque usum pertinentes*², Berlin, 1880, 'Beiträge zur Latinität des Hieronymus' in *Zeitschr. für die österreich. Gymnasien*, xxxi. [1880], 'De particularum quarundam in Latinitate Hieronymi usu observationes,' in *Rhein. Mus.* xxxvii. [1882]; H. Goelzer, *Étude lexicographique et grammaticale de la latinité de S. Jérôme*, Paris, 1884.

[1] Cf. Grützmacher, i. 118.

[2] It was on this ground that later tradition made Jerome a cardinal; cf. Grützmacher, i. 38 ff.

The period of Jerome's stay in the monastery at Bethlehem—the last thirty-four years of his life—was by far the most fertile in literary work. His manner of life at this time is described by Sulpicius Severus (*Dial.* i. 9) from information supplied by a monk named Postumianus, who had spent six months in Bethlehem:

> 'He is ever occupied with reading, with books; he takes no rest by day or night; he is always either reading or writing.'

Yet Jerome did not find in his cloister the peace he had come to seek. His passionate nature led him to take part in all the conflicts that were agitating the Church. In 392 his controversy with the Roman ascetic Jovinian brought him once more into touch with the capital. He was subsequently drawn into the Origenistic controversies—in conflict, first, with John, Bishop of Jerusalem, and then with his former friend, but now embittered enemy, Rufinus. Towards the close of his life we find him issuing biting pamphlets against the Spanish priest Vigilantius and the Pelagians. Among the events of the world-politics of the day, the sack of Rome at the hands of Alaric in 410 affected him profoundly (*Comm. in Jer.* vii. 2, *Ep.* cxxviii. 5). Paula had died in 404; in 410 Marcella also passed away (*Ep.* cxxvii.). In 416 the religious houses at Bethlehem were assailed by a band of Pelagians, and Jerome was able to save his life only by a hurried flight to a stronghold, his monastery being demolished (*Ep.* cxxxviii.). Then came the death of Eustochium, his most devoted adherent, and shortly afterwards, on the 30th of September 420, Jerome himself, now old, lonely, and weary of life, passed away at Bethlehem (Prosper, *Chronicon*, ed. Mommsen, *Chron. min.* i. 469).

2. Writings.—Jerome left behind him a large and varied mass of literary work, which may be classified as follows.

(1) *Letters.*—These form the most valuable source of information regarding his life.[1] They are unquestionably the most brilliant productions of his fertile brain, and furnish a richly detailed picture of contemporary life and culture. They reflect his personality in the most vivid way. They date variously from the interval between 373 (*Ep.* i.) and 420 (*Ep.* cxliv.), and their contents show a great variety, letters treating of matters of scholarship, and, in particular, of exegesis, appearing among purely personal communications. Jerome corresponded with most of the outstanding people of his time—*e.g.*, Pope Damasus (*Epp.* xv., xvi., xix., xxi., xxxvi.), Theophilus of Alexandria (*Epp.* lxiii., lxxxii., lxxxvi., lxxxviii., xcix., cxiv.), Augustine (*Epp.* cii., ciii., cv., cxii., cxv., cxxxiv., cxli.–cxliii., possibly the most interesting group of the whole series, exhibiting, as they do, the diverse characters of the two greatest Fathers of the Western Church[2]), Paulinus of Nola (*Epp.* liii., lviii.), and Pammachius, the Roman senator who became a monk (*Epp.* xlviii., xlix., lvii., lxvi.). He writes with unusual fullness when he seeks to instruct his correspondents in the rudiments of the ascetic life—*e.g.*, in *Ep.* xxii., to Eustochium, on the preservation of virgin chastity; *Ep.* xiv. to Heliodorus, on the glory of the hermit's life; *Ep.* cvii., to Laeta, on the training of her daughter; *Ep.* liv., to Furia, and cxxiii., to Ageruchia, on maintaining the condition of widowhood; *Ep.* lii., to Nepotianus, on the life of clergy and monks. Engaging portraits of his associates are given in his obituary notices of Nepotianus (*Ep.* lx.), Fabiola (lxxvii.), Paula (cviii.), and Marcella (cxxvii.).

Ep. xxxiii., to Paula, on the writings of Varro and Origen, which Vallarsi (see Lit.) was able to give only in a fragmentary form, was first published in full by F. G. Ritschl, *Die Schriftstellerei des M. Terentius Varro und die des Origenes, nach dem ungedruckten Kataloge des Hieronymus*, Bonn, 1847.[3] Quite recently D. de Bruyne published four unquestionably genuine letters of Jerome, from MSS in the Escurial, in the *Revue bénédictine*, xxvii. [1910] 1–11, viz. two to the presbyter Riparius (to whom were addressed nos. cix. and cxxxviii. of the traditional collection), one to Bishop Boniface, and one to a certain Donatus. These newly discovered letters date from 418 and 419, and all alike deal with the Pelagian controversy. Two letters included by Vallarsi, viz. cxlviii., 'ad Celantiam matronam,' and cxlix., 'de Sollemnitatibus Paschae,' are certainly spurious, while the present writer is of opinion that the authenticity of the two 'ad amicum aegrotum,'[4] and of that 'ad Praesidium de cereo paschali,'[5] has not been proved.

(2) *Theological polemics.*[6]—The earliest of these is the *Altercatio Luciferiani et Orthodoxi* (Vallarsi, ii. 171 ff.), which was formerly supposed[7] to have

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[1] On the chronology of the letters cf. Grützmacher, i. 40–100.

[2] Grützmacher, iii. 114–137.

[3] Cf. also J. B. Pitra, *Spicileg. Solesmense*, iii., Paris, 1855; E. Klostermann, *SBAW*, 1897, pp. 855–870.

[4] See C. Paucker, *Zeitschr. für die österreich. Gymnasien*, xxxi. [1880] 881–895.

[5] G. Morin, 'Un Écrit méconnu de S. Jérôme' in *Rev. bénédictine*, viii. [1891] 20–27.

[6] Cf. J. Brochet, *S. Jérôme et ses ennemis*, Paris, 1906; T. Trzcinski, *Die dogmatische Schriften des heil. Hieronymus*, Posen, 1912.

[7] So still Trzcinski, p. 33 ff.

been written in Antioch in 379, but, as the present writer thinks,[1] falls rather within the years of Jerome's stay in Rome (382–385). In this work, which is in the form of a dialogue, he assails the opinions of those who followed Lucifer of Calaris, and especially their non-recognition of heretical baptism. To 382–384 must likewise be assigned the treatise *adv. Helvidium de perpetua virginitate B. Mariæ*, in which—in opposition to Helvidius, a resident in Rome—Jerome supports the doctrine of Mary's perpetual virginity, asserting that the Lord's brethren were in fact his cousins. The *adv. Jovinianum libri II.* was composed in Bethlehem (392–393). Jovinian, the Roman ascetic, had asserted that the state of celibacy was in no way superior to that of widowhood or marriage, that the regenerate were essentially without sin, that fasting was of no peculiar merit, and that all the regenerate would attain the heavenly reward in equal degree. Jerome assailed the positions of Jovinian with great acerbity, awaking a resentment that forced him to vindicate himself in *Ep.* xlviii., the *Apologeticus ad Pammachium pro libris contra Jovinianum*, in which he somewhat modified the severity of his strictures upon marriage in the *adv. Jovinianum.* In 399, amid the controversy regarding the orthodoxy of Origen, he wrote the unfinished work *contra Johannem Hierosolymitanum* (John, bishop of Jerusalem). In 402 he composed his *Apologia adv. Rufinum* in two books, to which he added a third in the following year. These, together with the *Apology* (two books) of Rufinus against Jerome, form our most valuable authorities for the Origenistic controversy, in the course of which Jerome renounced the heresies of Origen. The short but extremely bitter pamphlet against the Spanish presbyter Vigilantius, in which Jerome defends the worship of martyrs and relics, the keeping of vigils, and the monastic life, dates from 406. Finally, in 415, he wrote the *Dialogus adv. Pelagianos* in three books—a work in masterly form, in which he seeks to controvert the views of Pelagius from the standpoint of the Catholic doctrine current in his day.

(3) *Historical works.*—The most extensive historical work from Jerome's pen is the *Chronicon omnimodæ historiæ* (*de Vir. Illust.* 135), a translation of the second part, *i.e.* the chronological tables, of the *Chronicles* of Eusebius of Cæsarea.[2] He followed the original as far as it went (A.D. 325), making additional notes, and then wrote a supplement covering the period between 325 and 378. In spite of many errors and oversights, the work is a mine of information for that period.

We have from Jerome's hand also three biographies of monks. The *Vita Pauli eremitæ* was written between 374 and 379, and its matter was in all likelihood drawn from the monastic traditions of Egypt,[3] though fancy plays a large part in its composition. The *Vita Malchi monachi captivi*, based upon information given to him by the aged Malchus himself in the wilderness of Chalcis,[4] and the *Vita Hilarionis* (the founder of monasticism in Southern Palestine)[5] date from the early years of Jerome's residence in Bethlehem (*c.* 386–391). All three are characteristic examples of the monastic literary *genre.*

The most important of Jerome's historical writings, however, is his *de Viris Illustribus.*[1] This once highly extolled work has been shown to be a gross instance of his literary methods;[2] it is virtually taken piecemeal from Eusebius, *HE.* Nevertheless, we cannot deny Jerome the distinction of having in this work made the first attempt to compose a history of Christian literature—a task in which he had many successors. The little book was translated into Greek by his friend Sophronius.[3]

(4) *Exegetical works.*—(*a*) Under this head come, first of all, three works dating from 386–391, viz. *de Situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum*—in reality a translation of the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius of Cæsarea,[4] and for modern scholars a valuable contribution to the topography of Palestine; *Interpretationes hebraicorum nominum*,[5] a work based, according to the preface, upon a now lost treatise of Philo, which Origen extended by adding the NT proper names; and *Quæstiones hebraicæ in libro Geneseos*,[6] an aphoristic commentary on Genesis, the value of which lies in the interpretations derived from the Jewish Haggādā and communicated to Jerome by the Rabbis—interpretations such as he uses also in his other OT commentaries.[7]

(*b*) *The OT commentaries.*—In 389–390 Jerome composed his commentary on Ecclesiastes; in 392 those on the Minor Prophets Nahum, Micah, Zephaniah, Haggai, and Habakkuk; in 395–396, on Jonah and Obadiah; and in 398 on the ten visions of Isaiah 13–26. During the period between 392 and 402 he wrote his *Commentarioli in Psalmos.*[8] In 406 came his exposition of Hosea, Joel, Amos, Zechariah, and Malachi; between 406 and 408, that of Daniel; 408–410, Isaiah; 410–415, Ezekiel; between 415 and his death in 420, Jeremiah. Jerome's work on the last-named book was interrupted by his death, no more than the first thirty-two chapters having been dealt with. These commentaries show a certain vacillation between the historical and allegorical methods, and are specially valuable because of the Jewish exegesis which they have brought down to us. In the exposition of Daniel, Jerome makes concessions to Porphyry.

(*c*) *The NT commentaries.*—In 386–387 Jerome wrote expositions of Philemon, Galatians, Ephesians, and Titus, in all of which he was specially indebted to the now lost commentaries of Origen. In 398 he composed his commentary on Matthew—valuable by reason of its extracts from the Gospel to the Hebrews. His translations of that Gospel into Greek and Latin are lost. We are unable to determine the date of his exposition of Revelation, which is in no sense an independent work, but an adaptation of the commentary of Victorinus of Pettau († 303), and in which the chiliastic interpretation of Victorinus is superseded by a spiritualistic one.[9]

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[1] 'Die Abfassungszeit der *Altercatio*' in *ZKG* xxii. [1901] 1–8.

[2] Ed. A. Schoene, *Eusebi chronicorum canonum quæ supersunt*, Berlin, 1867 (with the *Quæstiones Hieronymianæ* as a preface); see also the critical supplements in i.², Berlin, 1875; further, the same writer's *Die Weltchronik des Eusebius in ihrer Bearbeitung durch Hieronymus*, Berlin, 1900.

[3] Cf. C. Butler, 'The Lausiac History of Palladius' in *TS* vi. ii. (Cambridge, 1898) 231 ff.

[4] Paul van den Ven, *S. Jérôme et la vie du moine Malchus le captif*, Louvain, 1901, in opposition to J. Kunze, 'Marcus Eremita und Hieronymus' in *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, xix. [1898] 391–398.

[5] O. Zöckler, 'Hilarion von Gaza, eine Rettung der Geschichtlichkeit' in *Neue Jahrb. für deutsche Theologie*, iii. [1894] 146–178, in opposition to W. Israel, 'Die Vita S. Hilarionis des Hieronymus als Quelle für die Anfänge des Mönchtums kritisch untersucht' in *ZWT* xxiii. [1880] 129–165.

[1] Critical ed., C. A. Bernoulli, *Hieronymus und Gennadius, de viris illustribus*, Freiburg, 1895.

[2] S. von Sychowski, *Hieronymus als Litterarhistoriker*, Münster, 1894; C. A. Bernoulli, *Der Schriftstellerkatalog des Hieronymus*, Freiburg, 1895.

[3] G. Wentzel, 'Die griechische Übersetzung der viri illust. des Hieronymus,' *TU* xiii. 3 (Leipzig, 1895).

[4] Critical ed., P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica sacra*², Göttingen, 1887, pp. 117–190.

[5] Critical ed., *ib.* pp. 25–116.

[6] Critical ed., P. de Lagarde, Leipzig, 1868.

[7] Cf. M. Rahmer, *Die hebräischen Traditionen in den Werken des Hieronymus*, pt. i. (Breslau, 1861); pt. ii. in *MGWJ* xiv ff. (1865 ff.).

[8] Re-discovered in the pseudo-Hieronymian *Breviarium in Psalmos*, and published in the *Anecdota Maredsolana*, iii. 1, Maredsous, 1895, by G. Morin.

[9] J. Haussleiter, 'Die Kommentare des Victorinus, Tichonius und Hieronymus zur Apokalypse' in *ZKWL* vii. [1886]; also 'Der chiliastische Schlussabschnitt im echten Apokalypsen-

(5) *Translations.*—A number of the works mentioned above are in part mere translations. But Jerome's renderings of Origen's *Homilies*—fourteen on Jeremiah, fourteen on Ezekiel, and nine on Isaiah—are translations pure and simple, and were finished between 379 and 381.[1] Between 382 and 384 he translated two *Homilies* of Origen on the Song of Songs; between 386 and 391 the *de Spiritu Sancto* of Didymus; between 388 and 391 thirty-nine *Homilies* of Origen on Luke; and in 404 the *Monastic Rules* of Pachomius, Theodore, and Orsisius, and also their *Letters* and their *Verba mystica* designed for Paula's monasteries. Of his literal translation of Origen's chief systematic work, *de Principiis*, which he executed (399) with the intention of crushing out the very incorrect version of Rufinus, only a few fragments remain in *Ep.* cxxiv., 'ad Avitum.'[2]

Jerome's most outstanding achievement in translation, however, is his version of the Bible, to which he devoted some twenty years of intense industry, and in which—in spite of many defects—he exercised an almost unique gift as a translator. In the NT his work is merely a revision of the Old Latin text. He worked at the four Gospels from 382 to 384, at the Pauline Epistles till 385, and at the remaining books till 398.[3] In the OT he began with a revision (384) of the Old Latin Psalter from the LXX version—the so-called *Psalterium Romanum*; and between 386 and 391 he made a second revision, from the Hexaplar (Theodotion's) version of the LXX—the *Psalterium Gallicanum.* He likewise revised the Latin text of other OT books from the Hexapla, but of these only his revision of Job[4] and his prefaces to the Solomonic books (Vallarsi, x. 435) and Chronicles (*ib.* 433) survive.

Jerome began his translation of the OT from Hebrew—the *veritas Hebraica*—into Latin before 392. He translated, first of all, the two books of Samuel and the two of Kings, but issued beforehand the famous *Prologus Galeatus* (Vallarsi, ix. 453 ff.), in which he accepts the Hebrew canon, enumerating twenty-two canonical books, and excluding the Apocrypha. By 393 he had completed the sixteen Prophets (including Daniel) and the Psalms,[5] Job followed in 393, Ezra and Nehemiah before 395, Chronicles in 396, the Solomonic Books in 398, the Pentateuch in 398–404, Esther in 404, and Joshua, Judges, and Ruth in 404–5. He likewise made a most perfunctory translation of the Apocryphal Books of Judith and Tobit from the Aramaic, but we are unable to fix the date of these versions. In spite of numerous errors, Jerome's translation of the Bible is a most praiseworthy achievement, inasmuch as, taken all in all, it maintains a sort of middle course between an extreme literality on one hand and an extreme freedom on the other.[6]

(6) Finally, a number of Jerome's *discourses* on texts from the Psalms, Mark, and other books of Scripture have come down to us. They were preached between 392 and 401 to the inmates of his monastery, and were afterwards committed to writing by them.[1]

3. Significance.—Jerome was no great creative spirit, as was Augustine, but he was certainly the most learned of the Latin Fathers. Not only was he equipped with an extensive knowledge of profane and sacred literature, but he surpassed all the Fathers in his mastery of Hebrew. His significance lies in the fact that he stands supreme among those who mediated the religious heritage of Hebrew and Greek antiquity to the Latin world. His personality was not of the most attractive kind, although the strictures passed upon him in this respect—*e.g.*, by Luther—are often unduly severe. He had the natural temperament of the scholar, but his work is frequently impaired by lack of thoroughness. He was passionate and sensuous, yet he was the champion of the most rigid asceticism. Full of petty vanity and learned rivalry, he was self-assertive and unjust towards his opponents; and, though destitute of the constructive theologian's gift, he liked to pose as a pillar of orthodoxy. By his translation of the Bible he exercised an immense influence upon the development of the Church and its theology in succeeding centuries, and in that work he produced what must be numbered among the supreme achievements of the Christian mind in any age.

LITERATURE.—Books dealing with special parts or aspects of Jerome's work have been fully referred to in the course of the article. Here we note further:—

i. COMPLETE EDD. OF HIS WORKS.—D. Erasmus, 9 vols., Basel, 1516–20; Marianus Victorius, Bishop of Rieti, 9 vols., Rome, 1565–72; J. Martianay and A. Pouget, 5 vols., Paris, 1693–1706; Dominicus Vallarsi, 11 vols., Verona, 1734–42, and 11 vols., Venice, 1766–72, the latter reprinted in Migne, *PL* xxii.–xxx.; *CSEL*, Vienna, containing so far *Ep.* i.–lxx. (vol. liv.), and *Ep.* lxxi.–cxx. (vol. lv.), ed. J. Hilberg, 1910 and 1912, and *In Hieremiam prophetam libri sex* (vol. lix.), ed. S. Reiter, 1913.

ii. BIOGRAPHIES.—S. L. de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'hist. ecclés.*, xii., Paris, 1707; D. Vallarsi, *Vita Hieronymi*, in *Opera*, xi., Verona, 1742; J. Stilting, in *AS*, Sept. viii. [1865] 418–688; L. Engelstoft, *Hieronymus Stridonensis interpres, criticus, exegeta, historicus, doctor, monachus*, Copenhagen, 1797; F. Z. Collombet, *Hist. de S. Jérôme*, 2 vols., Paris, 1844; O. Zöckler, *Hieronymus, sein Leben und Wirken aus seinen Schriften dargestellt*, Gotha, 1865; A. Thierry, *S. Jérôme, la société chrétienne à Rome et l'émigration romaine en Terre-Sainte*, 2 vols., Paris, 1867, ²1875; G. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus, eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte* 3 vols., Berlin, 1901–08.

G. GRÜTZMACHER.

JESUITS.—**1. Origin.**—The Jesuits, or members of the Society of Jesus, are technically an institute of 'Clerks Regular,' men devoted especially to the cure of souls and to the works of mercy spiritual and corporal, like the Theatines, *e.g.*, or the Barnabites (*q.v.*), both of which are slightly older in date. The Society is not a sect nor even a theological school, but simply a religious Order (that is to say, a body of men living under vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience), which, though differing in many respects from the old monastic ideal, has its recognized place in the organization of the Roman Catholic Church. In accordance with this, it is obvious that the term 'Jesuitism,' which, almost as much as the word 'Jesuitry,' originated with critics who attribute to the Order a certain distinctive spirit independent of, and more or less in conflict with, the teaching of the Church to which it belongs, would be deprecated by all who bear the name of Jesuits, in so far as it implies the existence of a doctrine, system, policy, or line of conduct peculiar to them. Let it be said at the outset that it was certainly not the object of the founder to create such a spirit. Nothing would have been more abhorrent to St. Ignatius Loyola than the erection of an *imperium*

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kommentar des Bischofs Victorinus von Pettau' in *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, xvi. [1895] 193–199; cf. also Grützmacher, iii. 235–240.

[1] The authenticity of the version of the *Homilies* on Isaiah was questioned by Vallarsi, with whom O. Zöckler agrees. The present writer (i. 18) regards the translation as indubitably Jerome's.

[2] Vallarsi, i. 916–922.

[3] Critical ed., *Novum Testamentum . . . Latine secundum editionem S. Hieronymi. Ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem recensuit J. Wordsworth . . . adsumto H. J. White*, Oxford, 1889–98 (only the four Gospels published as yet).

[4] P. de Lagarde, 'Des Hieronymus Übertragung der griechischen Übersetzung des Hiob,' *Mitteilungen*, ii. [Göttingen, 1887] 189–237; C. P. Caspari, *Das Buch Hiob 1¹–38¹⁶ in Hieronymus' Übersetzung aus der alexandrinischen Version nach einer St. Gallener Handschrift sæc. viii.*, Christiania, 1893.

[5] P. de Lagarde, *Psalterium iuxta Hebræos Hieronymi*, Leipzig, 1874; H. Ehrensberger, *Psalterium vetus und die Psalterien des heil. Hieronymus*, Tauberbischofsheim, 1887.

[6] W. Nowack, *Die Bedeutung des Hieronymus für die alttest. Textkritik*, Göttingen, 1875; G. Hoberg, *De S. Hieronymi ratione interpretandi*, Bonn, 1886.

[1] These sermons were re-discovered by G. Morin and published by him in the *Anecdota Maredsolana*, iii. 2 (1897), 3 (1900).

in imperio either in the domain of external discipline or in the domain of ideas. At a crisis when many were falling away, his one aim was to provide a company of devoted priests wholly subservient to the needs of the Church, ready for any form of service, and for greater expedition made immediately dependent upon the will of the sovereign pontiff. The spirit of his Society was to be exceptional only in this, that its members, as the result of a religious training unusually protracted and severe, were to be men formed upon the model of Jesus Christ Himself, full of zeal, detachment, and self-sacrifice, and of a virtue so highly tempered that they might safely be exposed to an extraordinary strain. This was the founder's conception, and it was realized by many of his followers, especially in his own lifetime and in the first century or two after his death. To admit that with the lapse of years some relaxation of these high ideals may have taken place in the Order is only to admit that the work of Ignatius was a human work and was carried out by human means.

Ignatius Loyola (*q.v.*), converted from a careless, if not a sinful, life during the long convalescence which followed a wound received in battle (1521), determined to fit himself for an apostolic vocation by the study of theology. Passing from Alcalà to Salamanca and from Salamanca to Paris, he there (1528–35) gathered a handful of companions around him, who in 1534 took vows of poverty and chastity together, and, placing themselves shortly afterwards at the disposal of the Holy See, were formally approved as a religious Order by Pope Paul III., 27 Sept. 1540. Although it may be said that Loyola felt his way only by degrees to the complete organization of the Society which he founded, one dominant idea is discernible in all his projects. From the first, as might be expected of an old soldier, his conception was a military one. The Spanish name of the Order, Compañía de Jesus, though it may be correctly translated 'Society of Jesus,' is at least patient of a military interpretation. It probably first conveyed the idea of a 'company,' *i.e.* a band commanded by a captain. The term Jesuit (Jesuita), let us note parenthetically, was not chosen by the founder. It appears first in 1544, and was then used by opponents as a nickname (see Astrain, *Hist.* i. 183), but eventually was tacitly acquiesced in even by members of the Order. The military conception is specially emphasized in the fundamental meditations of the 'Spiritual Exercises,' that manual of ascetical training devised by Loyola and communicated to his followers, to be used first of all in securing their own progress in virtue, and afterwards for the salvation of their neighbours. The characteristic meditations known as the 'Kingdom of Christ' and the 'Two Standards' are parables of human warfare. In the first Jesus Christ is set before us as a leader appealing for volunteers in a crusade against the infidel. In view of His promise that in all hardships He will share alike with His men and that they shall share with Him the fruits of victory, the conclusion is pressed home that no right-minded Christian who possesses a spark of knightly courage can remain deaf to such a call. In the 'Two Standards' the character of the spiritual campaign is more closely studied. It is pointed out that the tactics of the enemy Satan are to enchain mankind and drag them down by love of money, worldliness, and pride. From this the conclusion is drawn that the only effective combatant on the side of Christ is the man who has bound himself to a life of actual poverty and humiliation after the example of the leader Himself. It is plain that all this makes appeal to two of the strongest instincts of human nature, instincts deeply rooted in the Spaniards of Loyola's day, viz. loyalty to the feudal chieftain, and the spirit of generous fortitude.

Now, it is this military ideal which above all supplies justification for the 'blind' obedience which Ignatius desired to be the distinctive characteristic of his followers.

> 'More easily,' he wrote in his famous letter on obedience, 'may we suffer ourselves to be surpassed by other religious Orders in fasting, watching, and other austerities of diet and clothing which they practise according to their rule, but in true and perfect obedience and the abnegation of our will and judgment, I greatly desire, most dear brethren, that those who serve God in this Society should be conspicuous.'

Insubordination is the soldier's most unforgivable crime, discipline a virtue which, so far as great bodies of men are concerned, comes even before courage. Consequently, in the military organization of his Compañía, Ignatius insisted on obedience most of all. 'Theirs not to make reply, theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die,' must be the soldierly ideal as long as the world lasts. And this was especially true of such a force as the Spanish knight had conceived, a lightly equipped force ready to take the field at a moment's notice in any forlorn hope, whatever the nature of the service required of them. The blind obedience of the Jesuits has often been made a matter of reproach, but in point of fact it was never meant by the founder to be an entirely blind obedience. It was 'caeca *quaedam* obedientia' even to him, and in almost every context when speaking of obedience he limited its scope to things which were not sinful. For example, he says (*Summarium*, cap. 31) that his disciples

> 'must endeavour to be resigned interiorly . . . conforming their will and judgment wholly to the Superior's will and judgment in all things in which no sin is perceptible' ('in omnibus ubi peccatum non cerneretur').

The charge that St. Ignatius in the very text of his *Constitutions* (lib. vi. cap. 5) empowers a superior to bind his subjects to obedience even though compliance with the order involves the commission of a grievous sin—the famous *obligatio ad peccatum*—is based on a ridiculous misinterpretation of a formula well known to the earlier canonists (see Duhr, *Jesuiten-Fabeln*, p. 515 ff., and Monod's preface to Boehmer, *Les Jésuites*). Many writers, like L. von Ranke, John Addington Symonds, J. N. Figgis, and others, who have at first made this accusation upon inadequate evidence, have afterwards withdrawn it when they have given themselves time to consider the texts at leisure. Always regarding the priests of his Order as a *corps d'élite* likely to be called upon for special service, Loyola saw the necessity of, besides perfect obedience, equipment by an extremely severe training. Instead of a single year of noviceship, as in the older Orders, two years, abounding in tests of the most varied kind, were imposed upon every candidate before he was permitted to take vows. Even then the vows were 'simple,' not solemn. The recruit was bound to the Society, but not the Society to the recruit, and the Father General might still at any time dismiss him if he proved unsuitable. Practically speaking, a state of things soon resulted in which ordination to the priesthood could not be conferred much before the age of thirty, and the public vows, which finally marked a recruit's acceptance as a 'formed' member of the body, were even then permitted only after a sort of second noviceship, known as the 'third year of probation.' Thus, apart from a few exceptional cases, the fully fledged Jesuit was and is bound to be a man well over thirty, who for at least a dozen years has been going through a process of formation under strict control, a large part of the time having been spent in study, three years in purely spiritual discipline, and, ordinarily speaking, another long period in the teaching or moral supervision of youth. Such a system seems

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well calculated in itself to produce a type of ecclesiastic fitted to cope with the difficulties and temptations of an apostolic life. It stands, at any rate, in acute contrast to the haste with which the earlier monastic and mendicant Orders often bound their members by solemn and irrevocable vows before they were well out of their teens. In its devotional aspects the training of the members of the Society is based entirely upon the book of 'Spiritual Exercises' compiled by their founder. Every year for eight days, and twice in early life for a period of a month continuously, each Jesuit, leaving all other occupations, devotes himself to 'making the Exercises,' thus to renew the memory of the principles upon which his choice of a vocation is founded. It was an extension of this practice in a modified form to select bodies of the clergy, students, sodalities, and whole parishes which first brought into vogue the system of retreats and missions which has found universal favour in the Church of Rome, and has of late years become prevalent among the more advanced type of Anglicans.

2. **Organization.**—As regards the organization of the Society of Jesus not much need be said. The *Constitutions*, by which the Order is still governed, were drawn up by Loyola himself, but tardily and with some reluctance. His first idea had been that too many rules would hamper that adaptability to every apostolic purpose which was what he most desired to see in the institute that he had founded. A brief outline of the conception and purpose of the new Order is incorporated in the first papal bull of approbation, *Regimini militantis ecclesiæ*, 27 Sept. 1540, but the *Constitutions* themselves were not compiled until towards the close of Ignatius's life, and were only approved by the General Congregation which met in 1558 after his death to elect his successor. Still, they were entirely the Saint's own work, as the facsimile edition of the Spanish text (Rome, 1908), corrected and annotated in his own handwriting, plainly shows. The story that Laynez, the second General, introduced important modifications is quite untrue. The military character of the Society appears in its very autocratic government. The bull of Gregory XIV., *Ecclesiae Catholicae*, approving the *Constitutions* in every detail, calls the government frankly 'monarchical and dependent on the will of a single superior.' The General is elected for life and his authority is supreme, though his power is in some measure controlled by an 'admonitor' and a small council of 'assistants' representing groups of 'provinces.' At present there are five assistancies—those of Italy, Spain, Germany, France, and the English-speaking countries. The organization of the whole Order in 'provinces,' each governed by a 'provincial,' is a matter of convenient administration, but every 'provincial' and 'rector,' the last being the title given to the superiors of the more important colleges and residences, is appointed by the General himself, not nominated by any intermediate official or elected by the votes of his subordinates. In a certain more strict sense only those who have taken their final public vows, viz. the 'professed fathers' and 'formed coadjutors,' are, properly speaking, members of the Order. The scholastics preparing for ordination, and also the novices, are indeed accounted as belonging to the body and share in its privileges, but their connexion with it is probationary and terminable. To the existence of these different categories (the technicalities of which, often borrowed from the older canonists, are not readily understood by the ordinary reader) is probably due the wide-spread fiction that there exist among the Jesuits various degrees of initiation like those of the Freemasons. This idea, as well as that of an organization of crypto-Jesuits and secret emissaries, has been largely fostered by romance writers of the type of Dumas *père* and still more seriously by the dissemination of the notorious *Monita Secreta*, a supposed Jesuit code of secret instructions, the apocryphal character of which is now universally recognized (on this see Duhr, *Jesuiten-Fabeln*, ch. 5; Brou, *Les Jésuites de la légende*, i. 275–301; and Monod's Introduction to Boehmer, *Les Jésuites*, pp. lxii–lxx). One circumstance which probably helped to render these and many similar fables more credible was the air of mystery which long enshrouded the *Constitutions*, the papal privileges, and even the 'Spiritual Exercises' of the Society. All such documents were duly submitted to and approved by the highest ecclesiastical authority (see, *e.g.*, the bulls *Quanto fructuosius* and *Ascendente Domino*, published by Gregory XIII. in 1583 and 1584). The text was also printed at an early date—that of the Exercises in 1548, the *Constitutions* in 1558–59 and repeatedly afterwards—but these copies were only for private use and were not sold to the public. Members of the Order were further distinctly forbidden to lend or show such documents to outsiders. Two reasons seem to have weighed with Ignatius in issuing this prohibition. First, the organization of the Society departed in many notable respects from the manner of life of the older religious Orders. He did not want uselessly to awaken attention, challenge criticism, and probably provoke jealousy by proclaiming these differences to all the world. They were, after all, of no concern to anybody but the members of the Order. Further, in many of these innovations, and particularly in the case of the 'Spiritual Exercises,' the written text, when taken apart from oral tradition, might easily be misinterpreted and misrepresented. The giving of the Exercises was held to be a special art. They formed, in fact, a spiritual pharmacopœia which, like the dispensing of bodily medicines, ought not to be committed to inexperienced hands. One thing at any rate is obvious. These same *Constitutions*, privileges, and secret instructions which the Society has been accused of guarding so jealously from profane eyes are now to be found in every public library.[1] On the many occasions when the Order has been expelled from the different cities and States of Europe, even apart from the general suppression of 1773, their books, MSS, and most secret papers have over and over again been seized. Many public collections contain hundreds of volumes of such impounded papers. The Jesuits must have been clever indeed, and their assailants the most bungling of police agents, if they always succeeded in destroying the evidence of the existence of an inner circle of initiates conspiring against the political and moral order of the world. The *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten*, published by Döllinger and Reusch in 1888–89, is a work which is almost entirely based upon papers of the Jesuits seized at the time of the suppression of the Society; but, despite the strong anti-Jesuit feeling of the editors, those who go to this work in search of startling revelations of moral depravity will surely be much disappointed.

3. **Criticisms.**—Perhaps the charge which has most seriously weighed upon the Order, and which has at any rate entailed the most serious consequences in rendering them obnoxious to anti-clerical governments, is the accusation of teaching the lawfulness of tyrannicide. That Juan Mariana († 1624) and some of the earlier moralists of the Society did, though with many safeguards and

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[1] *e.g.*, two copies of the first ed. of the *Constitutions*, 1558–59, are in the British Museum Library, as well as numerous other editions.

qualifications, admit the view may readily be granted, but in this they were simply echoing the doctrine of many highly respected mediæval moralists, beginning with John of Salisbury—a doctrine, moreover, cordially endorsed by not a few of the reformers, *e.g.* by John Ponet and John Knox. Attempts, of course, are repeatedly made to connect such outrages as the assassination of Henry III. and Henry IV. of France, of William the Silent, of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, etc., or, again, the Gunpowder Plot, with the teaching and influence of the Jesuits. The weakness of the evidence on which such charges are based cannot be adequately illustrated here, but it may be pointed out that refutations have been published on the Jesuit side in such books as the *Jesuiten-Fabeln* of Duhr and the similar French work of Brou. Nor are there wanting independent writers (see, *e.g.*, A. Marks, *Who Killed Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey?*, London, 1905) who range themselves on the Jesuit side.

The much-abused casuistry of the Jesuits stands upon precisely the same footing as their alleged advocacy of tyrannicide. To begin with, they did not create this branch of theological study. The casuists of the Society from the first based their conclusions entirely upon the similar though less methodical speculations of the mediæval doctors and canonists, such men, *e.g.*, as St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Antoninus of Florence. The same reproaches which are usually levelled against Jesuit casuistry might be directed with equal justice, or lack of justice, against the casuistry of their contemporaries who were not Jesuits, and indeed against the moral teaching of the whole Catholic Church. The Jesuits have drawn the fire of opposing critics simply because their text-books were the most widely appealed to and most commonly used. No one really conversant with the subject will maintain that the Jesuits either now form or formed in the past a school of ethics marked off from that of the Dominicans, or that of St. Sulpice, or even that of the Redemptorists, by its disedifying laxity. The famous 'Probabilism' of the Society is based upon a very simple maxim, *lex dubia non obligat*, which in ordinary life is acted upon as the dictate of simple common sense (see the book *Quos ego*, by 'Pilatus' [Viktor Naumann], a non-Catholic writer, published in 1903 in answer to the attacks of von Hoensbroech). So, again, the principle that 'the end justifies the means,' while in certain texts it may obviously bear a quite innocent meaning, has always been repudiated by the Society in its absolute and immoral signification. (This charge has also been copiously dealt with by Duhr, Brou, and many other writers.) No doubt much of the disfavour which attaches to the casuistry of the Jesuits is due to the *Lettres provinciales* of Pascal. The Jansenist champion in these brilliant satires dealt a heavier blow than he foresaw or probably intended. He himself knew enough of the Jesuits to be aware that a sort of cynical indifference to right and wrong could not be laid to their charge. He also knew that the cultured audience whom he first addressed were equally far from believing that the religious brethren of St. François Régis, and such men as Maunoir, Binet, Suffren, and before long Bourdaloue, were so many Machiavellis. But both he and his readers found it most entertaining to see them cleverly travestied in that character. The humour of the letters was at first more that of a caricature than of a satire, and it is here probably that we shall find an excuse for the truncated and unfair quotations from Jesuit moralists that the letters contain. It was only at a later stage that Pascal pledged himself to the accuracy which would be expected in serious polemics. His work, published anonymously, was primarily a *jeu d'esprit*. But, as time went on, thanks partly to the bitterness of the Jansenist controversy, and partly to the pardonable indignation and recriminations in deadly earnest of the victims themselves, the attack was understood much more seriously, and it is now quite commonly treated as if it were a protest of outraged virtue against a corruption which threatened all the moral standards. In point of fact, these technicalities and extreme positions dealt with in the folios of the casuists debating hypothetical problems from their closets have as little influence upon general conduct as such constitutional maxims as 'the King can do no wrong,' etc., have upon practical politics. If the Jesuits were the unprincipled teachers of lax morality that their opponents contend they were, the laxity might be expected to show itself first in their own lives; but even the most prejudiced admit that the standard of personal conduct in the Society has been a high one.

4. **Aims and development.**—Although the development of the Jesuit Order and the work of the Counter-Reformation went hand in hand, it would be an error to suppose that Ignatius instituted his Compañía with the definite purpose of combating Protestantism. If its best energies were expended in this service, the fact was due to influence from outside. As already indicated, Loyola's conception of a troop highly trained and lightly equipped so as to be ready for any emergency, contemplated dispassionately every form of work which was 'ad majorem Dei gloriam.' For this reason the letters A.M.D.G. may be regarded as forming in some sense the badge of the Society. But in the very earliest draft of the institute three different fields of labour were singled out as especially proper to its members. These were to teach the young, to preach to the ignorant and the heathen, and to guide Christians to perfection. The last of those ends was to be attained by hearing confessions and giving the Exercises. The second was held of such importance that the professed Fathers, the *élite* of the Society, added to the three solemn vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience a fourth vow, pledging them to start upon any mission at home or abroad when desired by the sovereign pontiff, even at the risk of life, and even if they had to beg their way to their destination. The catechetical instruction of the ignorant, or, as it was commonly called, the teaching of the 'doctrina Christiana,' was closely related to this missionary idea. The founder insisted that such employments should be recognized as not beneath the dignity, but, on the contrary, as the proper work, of even the most learned members of the Order.

In the field of missionary enterprise the achievements of the Society have been remarkable. Beginning with the wonderful career of St. Francis Xavier in India and Japan (1541–52), we might pass to the labours, partly apostolic, partly scientific, of M. Ricci, J. A. Schall von Bell, and F. Verbiest in China (1600–89), or to the heroic courage shown by the French Fathers, *e.g.* J. de Brébeuf, C. Lalemant, I. Jogues, J. Marquette, etc., between 1632 and 1685 among the American Indians. See for all this the impartial testimony of F. Parkman in his *Jesuits in North America*^{20}, London, 1885. Even more famous were the 'reductions' established among the Indians of Paraguay; nor does the splendid work accomplished here fail to make itself felt even in such lively pages as those of R. B. Cunninghame Graham's *A Vanished Arcadia*, London, 1901. But there is hardly any part of the earth's surface in which the Jesuit missionaries have not laboured. Five Fathers went to the Congo at the instance of the king of Portugal as early as 1547. Five sailed for Brazil in 1549, where the labours of Father Joseph Anchieta in particular were soon to make him known as the apostle of all that vast region. In 1559 ten Jesuits started for Abyssinia, founding a mission whose wonderful story is told in a long series of volumes now being published at the expense of the Italian government, by C. Beccari. In the same year, 1559, three other priests began to labour among the Kāfirs of South Africa, and a couple of years later two others reached Memphis in Upper Egypt. In 1568 a great missionary work was inaugurated by the arrival of Portillo and eight companions in Peru. Before fifty years had expired, the Peruvian Jesuits were divided into two separate 'provinces,' while a hardly less thriving centre had been established in Mexico, whither thirteen Jesuits sailed for the first time in 1572. In 1615, St. Peter Claver began his extraordinary apostolate among the Negro slaves of Carthagena (see M. D. Petre, *Æthiopum Servus*, London, 1895). A mission was sent to the Tatars of the Black Sea region in 1603. In 1624 A. de Rhodes opened up a new field of labour in Tongking, and in the same year Antonio de Andrade reached the heart of Tibet. But the record is endless. Of course there were many reverses. A Church which before long numbered over 300,000 converts had been founded by Xavier in Japan, but between 1600 and 1640 every missionary was killed or deported, and Christianity was exterminated by fire and sword (see M. Steichen, *The Christian Daimyos*, Tokyo, 1903). In most other countries, despite contradictions, and in particular the domestic troubles originated by the controversy over the lawfulness of the 'Chinese rites,' the missions maintained a vigorous growth until the suppression of the Society in 1773.

The third special work of the Order was the education of youth; and here also, as soon as the Jesuits began to set up colleges of their own, their success was remarkable. A more or less uniform method and arrangement of studies was contemplated from the first. But the rough draft *de Studiis Societatis Jesu*, outlined by Jerome Nadal between 1548 and 1552, reached its full development only after much discussion and experiment in the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum S.J.* of 1599. (Important collections of documents relating to the Society's educational methods and aims may be found in the four volumes contributed by G. M. Pachtler to the *Monumenta Germaniæ Pædagogica*, Berlin, 1887 ff., and in the volume of *Monumenta Pædagogica* published by the Madrid Fathers, Madrid, 1901.) Perhaps no more convincing tribute can be found to the educational success of the Jesuits than the fact that in 1605 Bacon in England could write of them as follows:

> 'Education: which excellent part of ancient discipline hath been in some sort revived of late times by the colleges of the Jesuits; of whom, although in regard of their superstition I may say *Quo meliores, eo deteriores*, yet in regard of this, and some other points concerning human learning and moral matters, I may say, as Agesilaus said to his enemy Pharnabazus, *Talis quum sis, utinam noster esses*' (*Advancement of Learning*, bk. i.).

In 1584 the Collegio Romano had 2108 students. At Rouen the attendance averaged 2000. For a great part of the 17th cent. the scholars at the college of Louis le Grand, Paris, varied from 1800 to 3000. In 1615 the Society had 373 colleges and seminaries under its direction. In 1706 the number of collegiate and university establishments had risen to 769. Schwickerath computes that, when the Order, towards the close of the 17th cent., was at the height of its educational fame, the number of students attending its classes at any one time must have amounted to a total of 200,000. As regards the growth of the Jesuit body itself we may note that, while at the death of St. Ignatius in 1556 there were 12 provinces and 1000 members of the Order all told, these numbers at the death of Laynez, the second General, nine years later, had increased to 18 provinces and 3500 Jesuits. In 1615, at the death of Acquaviva, the fifth General, there were 32 provinces and 13,112 members, and in 1770 just before the suppression 42 provinces and 23,000 members. No Jesuit has ever been elected pope, and comparatively few have been created cardinals or raised to high office in the Church, but it must be remembered that all professed Fathers take a vow to accept no ecclesiastical dignity, and from this vow they can be released only by the express command of the Holy See.

The Jesuit Order, in virtue of its monarchical government, its centralization, and its special vow of obedience to the pope, has always inclined to an extreme ultramontanism. This has constantly brought it into conflict with nationalist movements, while, on the other hand, its independence of episcopal control and its claims, whether justified or not, to figure as a *corps d'élite* have often made the secular clergy somewhat lukewarm in its defence. Add to this the bitter attacks and calumnies of its avowed enemies, the free-thinkers, Evangelicals, Jansenists, etc., and we have probably sufficient explanation, even apart from the prayer of the founder that persecution should be their lot, for the numerous decrees of banishment of which they have been the object. In the latter half of the 18th cent. the spread of infidelity and corruption of morals, especially in France, together with the political intrigues of the ministers of the Bourbon princes, led to a combined attack upon the very existence of the Society. Pretexts were naturally found in the indiscretions or alleged misconduct of some individual members of the Order—the bankruptcy of Father A. Lavalette in certain commercial transactions connected with the missions being the most serious of these. As a result the Jesuits were banished and their property was confiscated in Portugal (1759), France (1765), Spain and its dependencies (1767), and, finally, Naples (1767). A few years later the pressure brought to bear upon Pope Clement XIV. was so great that he yielded to the storm, and in 1773 published a brief suppressing the Society altogether. Strangely enough, in White Russia the autocrat Empress Catherine would not allow the decree of suppression to be promulgated, and a few Jesuits still held together. After the French Revolution, Pope Pius VII. approved their corporate existence and eventually, in 1814, restored the Society by the bull *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*. Since then the Order, though with many vicissitudes, has again established itself in all European countries, in N. and S. America, and in many of the old mission fields; it has resumed the work of education; and at present it numbers in all some 17,000 members.

LITERATURE.—The literature relating to the Jesuits is vast, and for a relatively complete bibliography the reader must be referred to some such work as that of Max Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der kathol. Kirche*^{2}, Paderborn, 1908, iii. 1–258, esp. 1–12, or to the art. 'Society of Jesus' in *CE* xiv. 81. The ten volumes of C. Sommervogel and A. de Backer, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*^{3}, Paris, 1890–1909, not only contain an enumeration of all the books and editions published by the Jesuits, but also, in vol. x., an elaborate classification of subjects—*e.g.*, on pp. 1010–1020 we have a list of apologetic works written by Jesuits in defence of the Society in reply to such assailants as Pascal and Quinet. Bibliographies compiled from a more or less antagonistic point of view may be found in *PRE*^{3} viii. 742 ff., and in G. Monod and H. Boehmer, *Les Jésuites*, Paris, 1910, pp. 295–301.

The more important MS sources for the early history of the Order are all being critically edited by the Jesuits of Madrid in the series of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*. These include a very complete edition of the letters of St. Ignatius as also of documents emanating from nearly all the companions of the founder, notably St. Francis Xavier, Laynez, Blessed Peter Faber, St. Francis Borgia, etc. Another remarkable collection is that of O. Braunsberger, *Petri Canisii epistulæ et acta*, Freiburg, 1896 ff., of which six volumes have now appeared.

Many documents connected with the history of the Jesuits in France have been published by A. Carayon, *Documents inédits concernant la Compagnie de Jésus*, 23 vols., Poitiers, 1863–86, and J. M. Prat, *Recherches historiques*, 5 vols., Lyons, 1875–79. For Great Britain, Henry Foley has edited *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 7 vols., London, 1875–83, and John Morris, *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 3 vols., do. 1872–77, as also *The Condition of Catholics under James I.*^{2}, do. 1872, and other works. Much original material concerning Scottish Jesuits may be found in W. Forbes Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, do. 1885, and *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*, 2 vols., do. 1909. With regard to the foreign missions, collections of letters from Japan, China, North America, etc., are too numerous to mention in detail, but prominence may be given to the great American undertaking of R. G. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols., Cleveland, 1896–1901, and to the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, of which the first edition, prepared by C. Le Gobien and others, appeared in 34 vols. at Paris in 1702 ff.

Of general histories of the Jesuits the best known is that of J. Crétineau-Joly, *Histoire religieuse, politique et littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus*^{3}, 6 vols., Paris, 1851. It has been translated into various languages, and an abridgment has been published in English by B. N[eave], *The Jesuits, their Foundation and History*, 2 vols., London, 1879. It is admitted by all, however, that Crétineau-Joly's work is uncritical and extravagantly eulogistic. On the other hand, most of the histories written professedly from a hostile standpoint—*e.g.*, those of T. Griesinger, *The Jesuits*^{2}, do. 1885; G. B. Nicolini, *Hist. of Jesuits*, do. 1854; W. H. Rule, *Celebrated Jesuits*, 2 vols., do. 1853, and even that published quite recently by J. McCabe (*A Candid History of the Jesuits*, do. 1913)—are mere caricatures and quite untrustworthy. More sober accounts are given by Steitz-Zöckler in *PRE*^{3} viii. 742–784, and by Monod-Boehmer, *op. cit.*; but these are, of course, only summaries. A detailed Latin chronicle, *Historiæ Societatis Jesu*, of which the first volume, by N. Orlandini, was published in 1614, was carried on by F. Sacchino, J. Jouvancy, and J. C. Cordara, down to the year 1633. It occupies six folio volumes, but is never likely to be continued. In place of this a history on much more modern and scientific lines was organized by the late General of the Society, Louis Martin. According to this scheme, each 'Assistancy' is to publish its own history in its own language, and we have at present: A. Astrain, *Hist. de la Comp. de Jésus en la asistencia de España*, Madrid, 1902 ff.—so far 3 vols.; H. Fouqueray, *Hist. de la Comp. de Jésus en France*, Paris, 1909 ff.—so far 2 vols.; B. Duhr, *Gesch. der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, Freiburg, 1907 ff.—so far 2 vols.; P. Tacchi-Venturi, *Storia della Comp. di Gesù in Italia*, Rome, 1910—so far 1 vol.; T. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America: Colonial and Federal*, London, 1908 ff.—so far 3 vols. The history of the English Assistancy, going back to the days of R. Parsons and E. Campion under Elizabeth, is being prepared by J. H. Pollen, who has already published valuable contributions in *The Month*, especially for 1902–03, and in the publications of the Catholic Record Society.

With regard to what may be called the 'Apologetic' of the Jesuits, we may number among the more serious assailants of the Order: P. von Hoensbroech, *Vierzehn Jahre Jesuit*, Leipzig, 1910 (Eng. tr. by H. Zimmern, London, 1911); J. Huber, *Der Jesuiten-Orden*, Berlin, 1873; H. Müller, *Les Origines de la Comp. de Jésus*, Paris, 1898; F. H. Reusch, *Beiträge zur Gesch. des Jesuitenordens*, Munich, 1894; J. J. I. Döllinger and F. H. Reusch, *Gesch. der Moralstreitigkeiten*, Leipzig, 1888–89; E. L. Taunton, *Hist. of the Jesuits in England, 1580–1773*, London, 1901; Walter Walsh, *The Jesuits in Great Britain*, do. 1903; E. Gothein, *Ignatius v. Loyola und die Gegenreformation*, Halle, 1895. Of works written in answer we may name among the more comprehensive: B. Duhr, *Jesuiten-Fabeln*^{4}, Freiburg, 1904; A. Brou, *Les Jésuites de la légende*, 2 vols., Paris, 1906; M. U. Maynard, *Les Provinciales et leur réfutation*, do. 1851–52; M. Reichmann, *Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel*, Freiburg, 1903; also the two books of 'Pilatus' (Viktor Naumann), *Quos ego*, Regensburg, 1904, and *Der Jesuitismus*, do. 1905, largely dealing with the attacks of von Hoensbroech. On the matter of education see R. Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education*, St. Louis, 1903; K. A. Schmid, *Gesch. der Erziehung*, vol. v. pt. ii., Stuttgart, 1901.

The official documents of the Society—Constitutions, Rules, Decrees of General Congregations, Spiritual Exercises, *Ratio Studiorum*, Bulls, etc.—will all be found collected in the various editions of the *Institutum Societatis Jesu*, especially in the last edition, Rome, 1869 ff. More critical editions of the Constitutions, Spiritual Exercises, *Ratio Studiorum*, etc., have been issued separately within the last few years.

HERBERT THURSTON.

JESUS CHRIST.

[W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE.]

I. *THE PERSONAL FOUNDERS OF RELIGION.*—

1. Introductory.—Jesus Christ is to be described in this article as the founder of Christianity. In doing this it must be remembered that Christianity is one phase of the religious history of mankind, and its founder is not the only one who has founded a religion. Whatever classification of the religions of the world we may adopt, the Christian religion must be described as positive, personal, and universal. In the possession of all three characteristics it can be compared only with Buddhism and Islām. One historic person is recognized in each of these great religions as its 'founder.' By his own experience, teaching, and deliberate policy he has formed a group of primary disciples and has established through his influence upon them its positive history, its peculiar characteristics, and its claims to universal authority. Höffding has said (*Philos. of Rel.*, Eng. tr., 1906, p. 119), in regard to the important differences which occur in the nature alike of religious faith and of religious feeling, that they are conditioned 'by differences of value and of motives of evaluation, by differences of knowledge of reality, and by differences in the energy with which value and reality are brought together and compared.' We may put the same thing in more familiar words by saying that three elements enter into the nature of every religion. The first is the sense of some human need, or the desire for some form of good, physical, moral, or spiritual; the second is the conception of some object, divine and superhuman, who satisfies this need; the third is the attitude and conduct of man, by means of which it is believed that the desire for good is met by the God who is conceived of as its possessor and dispenser. The influence of the personal founder of a religion must be measured in relation to each of these elements of the religious consciousness, if we would rightly grasp the place which he occupies in the history of religion and the place of his religion among the other religions of the world.

2. Brief comparison of three founded religions.—Any description of the nature of a founded religion must involve a statement of the work of its founder with respect to these essential elements. But it will be convenient in view of the peculiar nature of such a religion to consider the material in close relation to himself.

(1) *The human need to be satisfied or form of good to be bestowed.*—This may be viewed negatively, in relation to evil, as deliverance from suffering, sin, and death; and positively, in relation to good, as the attainment of a blessed and eternal life in union with God. Buddhism is seriously defective on both sides. It conceives of evil almost wholly in terms of suffering, and of deliverance as a process of individual moral and spiritual self-culture. The end is described as Nirvāna, which, whether it implies conscious immortality or not, is at any rate conceived of mainly in negative terms. Buddha, weary of Hindu abstractions and subtleties, was content with agnosticism in regard to the divine. Islām is also defective through an imperfect conception of sin and an unspiritual view of the realm of bliss, while its view of God as absolute, unconditioned Will, though marking a great advance upon Buddhism, prevents a joyous faith in Him as the Saviour and Friend even of His own people. Muhammad was obviously faulty in moral character and unable to proclaim a gospel of faith. Christianity even in the NT, but with great variety of expression and personal emphasis in different phases of its history, conceives of this whole matter with singular richness and fullness. Whether we call it salvation, or eternal life, or glory, or union with God and the mystical vision, this religion presents a view of sin and holiness, of deliverance and perfection, of man's present relation to nature and the life to come, which obviously surpasses the other two, correcting, supplementing, and sublimating them from point to point. It

is important to notice, what must be more fully considered later in this article in relation to the founder of Christianity, that the moral and spiritual history of each of the three personal founders threw peculiar light upon the field of need, so that his followers discovered or interpreted their needs through that history.

(2) *The special function or 'office' of the founder.*—Here three ideas must be recognized as essential. The personality must ultimately be viewed as exemplar, or prophet, or redeemer, or as a combination of two or three of these. Yet, when the central idea of each of these functions is thoroughly conceived, it will be found to involve the others. Buddhism in its first stages knew its founder primarily as exemplar of the process of enlightenment. His teaching function arose from and was based upon his personal experience of salvation. But later Buddhism showed powerful tendencies to enlarge his authority into that of a prophet and his experience into that of a redeemer. The founder of Islām was conceived of primarily as a prophet, inspired with definite and direct messages from God. As in Buddhism the prophetic, so here the exemplary, function of the founder was obscured. And yet, of course, the personal character and conduct of the Prophet has inevitably moulded the ethics of his religion. The 'imitation' of Muhammad is confined to the 'copying of external acts' (D. B. Macdonald, *Aspects of Islam*, New York, 1911, p. 103), but the influence of his spirit and personal life has gone deeper. Christianity views Jesus Christ as the perfect exemplar of the character of God the Father, as the full revealer of religious truth, and also as the redeemer, whose personal experience, interpreted as His 'work,' changed the moral relations of God and men.

(3) *The person of the founder.*—Though the Buddha himself, according to the tradition, assumed an agnostic position as to the Absolute Being, and was wholly concerned with a system of ethical culture for the attainment of deliverance, his followers in after generations came to think of him as an incarnation of the Supreme Spirit. So also some of the followers of Muhammad gradually worked out a doctrine of his person resembling the Arian doctrine of Christ, though this has not become a characteristic element of that faith. Christianity from the first viewed its founder as a superhuman being, as one who had become incarnate, who as thus an incarnate, divine personality exercised all the functions of exemplar, revealer, and redeemer, distinctly and with ideal completeness, and who met the fundamental needs of man for moral harmony with God, for victory over all evil, and for eternal life.

3. The field of practical decision.—It is obvious from this brief comparison that in certain matters a modified parallelism exists between the three great 'founded' religions. Hence their founders are often compared with one another or named together in current literature. And one result of this modern spirit is the energetic challenge as to why one should be accepted as final in preference to either of the others; *e.g.*, J. Estlin Carpenter, after comparing the 'exaltation' of Gautama with that of Jesus, addresses Christendom thus: 'In each case the belief is justified by an appeal to experience. Why is the one to be repudiated, while the other is allowed?' (in *Jesus or Christ?* London, 1909, p. 247). There can be no doubt that each of these great personalities has proved to be a most powerful dynamic in the history of man; each has contributed rich material to man's religious experience; each has exercised profound influence upon the ethical conceptions and the civilization of great masses of humanity; each personality has become more or less directly bound up with that interpretation of God and the world which on the whole is the distinguishing property of the religion and the form of civilization associated with his name. It is not the aim of this article to carry out the comparison any further. That comparison is being carried out in one way by this Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, and indeed by every scientific contribution to the history and science of religion. For every serious and extensive study of any religion raises the question whether a really universal and final religion is necessary or possible, and, if so, what that final religion may be. But the comparison is being carried out in another and still more potent way, to which indeed each scientific piece of work is subordinate, on every mission field where the heralds of the personal founders confront one another. There each system faces what is after all the final test of the final religion, namely, its adequacy to meet the deepest needs of the human soul.

II. *THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF JESUS CHRIST.*—

i. THE RISE OF THE PROBLEM.—The investigation of the life of Christ in the 19th cent. and the whole trend of modern thought have combined to set in a new light the problem of His Person. One of the most vital elements in that problem is stated in the phrase 'the consciousness of Jesus.' As soon as the epoch-making *Leben Jesu* of Strauss began to be considered, this subject came to view. The change appeared at once on the orthodox side in Neander's *Leben Jesu* (Hamburg, 1837). It was also signalized in the successive editions of Ullmann's *Die Sündlosigkeit Jesu* (Eng. tr., *The Sinlessness of Jesus*). Strauss's method of attack compelled men to think more seriously even than he did himself of that which lay behind all the separate utterances of Jesus, namely that consciousness of Himself from which His whole attitude, action, purpose, and speech arose. Hence in that work of Neander we have the first earnest dealing with His consciousness and its historical development. Parallel with the development of the sense of history and contributing to the same result was the movement of thought which sprang mainly from Schleiermacher. His very definition of religion as 'the feeling of dependence' and his penetrating analysis of the religious consciousness compelled men to apply to the founder of Christianity the same tests of reality which they were learning to apply to the whole range of religious inquiry. From the days of Strauss and Neander the volume of inquiry grew steadily. The historians like Schenkel and Keim, Hase and Weiss, and a dogmatician like Gess (*Christi Person und Werk*, vol. i.) found this to be the central question—What was the form and content and history of the self-consciousness of Jesus? In English the first use of the phrase is to be found, perhaps, in John Young's *The Christ of History* (1857), in which we have a discussion of 'His own Idea of His Public Life' (bk. ii. pt. i.) and 'The Forms of His Consciousness' (bk. iii. pt. ii.). In H. P. Liddon's Bampton Lectures, *The Divinity of our Lord*, we find the Fourth Lecture entitled 'Our Lord's Divinity as witnessed by His Consciousness.' But it was only gradually that the subject won a large place in the theology of the English-speaking world, and that mainly through the writings of three men, A. B. Bruce (*The Training of the Twelve, The Humiliation of Christ* [Lect. vi.], *The Kingdom of God*), A. M. Fairbairn (*Studies in the Life of Christ, The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*), and C. Gore (Essay in *Lux Mundi, The Incarnation of the Son of God*, and *Dissertations*). It is important to remember that for a brief period strong objections were felt to the investigation of the consciousness of our Lord. For example, W. Sanday in his article on 'Jesus Christ' (Hastings' *DB* ii. 603) said: 'On the Christian hypothesis, frankly held, any such grasp [*i.e.* 'of the consciousness to be investigated'] would seem to be excluded, and the attempt to reach it could hardly be made without irreverence.' The difference between that position and the bold speculations on this very topic by the same author in his *Christologies Ancient and Modern* marks the increasing range, confidence, and reverent courage with which this absolutely unique historical problem has been explored by English and American theologians during the last quarter of a century.

ii. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM.—There is still much uncertainty among those who discuss this subject as to the exact nature of the question before them. And the uncertainty leads to assumptions which limit the inquiry or determine its dogmatic conclusions in advance.

(1) *The Christian hypothesis.*—If Jesus is conceived of primarily and definitely as a prophet or as an abnormal religious enthusiast, or even as the sanest and deepest religious spirit in human history, the question of His consciousness will be classed wholly with the study of religious geniuses, or, at most, of inspired messengers of God. And then the phenomena of OT prophecy, of religious devotion and insight among religious leaders of various races and ages, will be relevant to the interpretation of His case. Through what stages and with what inheritance the normal human mind and will did attain such moral and spiritual pre-eminence as His will be the main matter of investigation. But on the Christian hypothesis we are here concerned with something more, something quite unique and raised beyond the level even of the highest religious experience known to history. The NT and the vast mass of Christian believers, as well as the main course of theology, present us with a new idea, namely that of a superhuman conscious will which has entered for definite moral ends into the conditions of human experience. It asserts that in Jesus Christ we have a unique type of personality. It is at once human because it is conscious will, and yet more than human because it has invaded the course of human life from a range of conscious being and life above the human. The neglect to take this matter seriously has led to such amazing confusions of thought and fact as infest, for example, so brilliant a work as that of Wernle (*Die Anfänge unserer Religion*). That author repeatedly insists that in the Messianic consciousness of Jesus we have something superhuman, and this he calls 'the mystery of the origin of Christianity.' And he then insists that this superhuman, more than prophetic, consciousness was capable of the most astounding blunders; *e.g.*, he asserts boldly that the choice by Jesus of the three titles, Messiah, Son of God, and Son of Man, 'from the first turned out to be the misfortune of the new religion' (p. 38 [2nd ed.]). A misfortune thus central to the history of the religion which He founded ought to be scarcely conceivable if we take the idea of the superhuman consciousness of Jesus seriously and thoroughly. Even Ritschl insists that 'beyond all doubt Jesus was conscious of a new and hitherto unknown relation to God, and said so to His disciples' (*Justification and Reconciliation*, Eng. tr., p. 386).

(2) *The word 'consciousness'*.—It is in the interests of sound thinking about this 'unique historic consciousness' to recall the fact that modern science and philosophy have combined to clear and also vastly to extend the use of that word 'consciousness.' We recognize now everywhere that there are various grades of consciousness. It exists in many kinds, between all of which there are definite unities as well as diversities. Thus so calm and careful a thinker as C. A. Strong (*Why the Mind has a Body*, New York, 1908) says that 'the origin of consciousness can be explained, if at all, only out of antecedent realities of the same order' (p. 268), and, again, 'consciousness has arisen out of simpler mental facts.' No one except a materialist believes that this world contains all the forms of conscious beings that exist. There may be many kinds and grades of consciousness *above*, as there are, in our own world, many *below* the human. Nor would it be quite 'modern' to hold dogmatically that the human consciousness is shut off from contact with all forms of consciousness except those that are alive at any one time upon this earth. Now the Christian hypothesis has hitherto been this, that in Jesus Christ a superhuman conscious will has taken its place in history, manifesting throughout all its ranges of expression at once its alliance with and its difference from the ordinary type of human consciousness. Upon that difference in unity the whole peculiar religious value of the history of Jesus Christ has been made to rest from the Apostolic days down to the world-wide promulgation of the Christian message in our own day.

(3) *Elements involved in the investigation.*—The investigation of the consciousness of the historic Christ must contain difficulties which are peculiar to that subject. As to its modes of action, its development, its content, its relation to the divine purpose with humanity, and its influence upon the meaning of human life and the destiny of the race, such a consciousness must present unique features to the student of history and religion. These peculiarities must have affected the course of His relations with the men about Him, their estimate of Him, their appreciation and their memory of His words and deeds. If the natural and inevitable confusion of mind is reflected in their records, if these records show that their estimate of Him varied and grew, and that their very memory of His earlier words and deeds became coloured by the fuller knowledge of later days—all this will add to the perplexity even of that historian who believes most profoundly that in Jesus Christ a more than human self manifested its conscious will, and who at the same time seeks accuracy of historical statement, and clearness in the psychological analysis of experience. And here we are facing the supreme problem. If Christ was divine and His history on earth was and is essential to the perfecting of mankind, then His consciousness in its self-manifestations was and is one of the basal facts of human existence. And consciousness has this wonderful property, that in it knowledge and being are made one. My existence is not dependent on my thought, nor my thought on my existence. The self-conscious thing exists only in being conscious and is conscious only in existing. Hence we do not merely argue from the words and acts of a human consciousness to a human being behind or above them. In those words and acts the self is revealed. The conscious will is the ultimate fact, the real and inmost nature of it.

iii. FACTORS IN THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.—*A.* THE RELIGION OF JESUS.—Any study of the consciousness of Jesus must begin with the qualities of His own religious life. And there we must take note both (1) of what He inherited and retained in mature life from His Jewish ancestry and from the religious life of His environment, and (2) of what there was of difference between His personal outlook and that of the people among whom He lived.

1. The mixed atmosphere of His day.—It is not too much to say that among the Jews of His day religion was everything. The circles that were influenced by their conquerors during the Greek and Roman occupations, and strove to ape Roman fashions or pursue Greek culture, were disowned by the great mass of the people. The relation of Israel to God and the purpose of God with Israel remained as the supreme subjects of thought and discussion. In the synagogue Jesus heard the Law read and expounded from tender years. To the Temple He was taken in due course for the performance of His inherited duties there. His own reading of the Scriptures must have been deep, since His teaching is saturated by quotations and illuminated by fresh interpretations of nearly all parts of the OT, and especially of the Psalms, Isaiah, and Daniel. Important references to the Pentateuch occur, which He used and cited without question as to authorship or historicity. For Him the OT remained as the true revelation of God Himself. God is the creator and sustainer of nature and of man, the ruler of history. God is the Father of the people (Mk 7[27], Mt 15[26]) and they are 'sons of the kingdom' (Mt 8[12]). He has promulgated His law of righteousness through Moses (Mk 7[8-10]), and has announced through the prophets the day of the Messiah when His Kingdom shall be established in the earth (Mt 5[17], Lk 4[16-22]). These things He had been taught, and He held them true. And He takes for granted that His hearers know and believe them. But, as Baldensperger has pointed out (*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*[3], p. 72 ff., 2nd ed., p. 54 ff.), there was felt at that time a deep pathetic uneasiness in regard to the Temple worship, and at the same time a strained and passionate concentration upon the application of the law to the details of daily conduct. God in His transcendent holiness seemed to have vanished from the sin-stained land. The voice of prophecy had long ceased, the Temple had been repeatedly defiled by Gentile conquerors, the holy city was under foreign rule. The sense of fellowship with Jahweh was broken. Yet His Law and promise were there in written form. In three directions relief was sought: first, by filling up the interspace between God and man with heavenly hierarchies; second, by the formation of quietist circles like the Essenes, who sought, away from the clash of the world's warfare, the lost secret of the ancient fellowship with Jahweh; and third, by the cherishing of apocalyptic dreams, in which the Day of the Lord was seen as the sheer and sudden act of God breaking in upon the course of history. Not with earthly armies but by supernatural agencies did many now look for the appearing of that hour when the ancient promises would be fulfilled, and Israel once more vindicated, justified, as the chosen and supreme people of God. In such a mixed atmosphere at once of stubborn faith and of spiritual bitterness, of national humiliation and legalistic pride, of religious fervour and moral blindness, of political defeat and apocalyptic hope, Jesus grew up. In some measure all these elements can be found in the men of His day, and in Him. But in Him appear new and distinctive characteristics.

2. Elements in the religious consciousness of Jesus.—Through what processes of experience and thought His youth and early manhood passed, we do not know. When He stands before us in the Gospels, He has already attained maturity. His self-consciousness is fully developed. All attempts to prove that after His baptism He obviously changed His mind, or received entirely new revelations of His office in the world, have as yet failed to win general consent. The utmost that has been done is to mark out more clearly the manner in which His central self-consciousness adapted itself to the conditions which were unfolded in the lives of those with whom He came in contact. His will was indeed conditioned by the wills of others in its progressive operation, and His method of dealing with them developed itself appropriately from stage to stage. Various fresh phases of His task no doubt did appear as these stages were passed through. But from first to last His own religious consciousness remained consistent and unchanged, and it implied from the beginning the fundamental elements of His work. Of His religious consciousness we shall here name four principal elements.

(*a*) *Secret of divine fellowship.*—He found the secret of fellowship with God in the condition of the heart. At one stroke He lays aside the burdens of the external law and their elaboration by tradition. Even the doctrine of righteousness, as an act and gift of grace at the advent of the Kingdom, is deeply modified. Righteousness before God, the 'blessedness' of the divine fellowship, rests on what a man *is* 'inwardly,' at the inmost sources of thought and volition. 'Out of the heart proceed' all evil things (Mk 7[21ff.]). In his 'heart' a man may commit the vilest sin, and there, before God, it is a completed deed (Mt 5[28]). It is the pure in 'heart' that shall receive the vision of God at that day. This does not mean that the outer life has no significance. No one can insist more relentlessly upon full and literal obedience to the known will of God (Mt 12[50] and ‖, Mt 7[15-27], Lk 6[39ff.]); there is no limit to the sacrifice which purity of heart demands (Mk 9[43-48]); the slightest deeds that come from the intent of faith and love have infinite meaning for God (Mt 10[42] 25[31ff.]); and the woes implied in the parables of judgment against unfaithful lives are unmitigated. For Jesus, the supreme law is love to God and love to man (Lk 10[25-27]). But, as love to man is conditioned by the circumstances of men, so love to God is conditioned by its object. It manifests itself in faith, which should know no bounds, in obedience at all costs, and in prayer, which should be frank, confident, energetic, persistent, and unostentatious. These and other important features are not new when taken singly. Parallels can be found in many quarters. But in the teaching of Jesus they acquire unique significance from three facts: first, from their being unified in the thought of one mind, as they are nowhere else; second, from the exclusion of any alloy of formalism, worldliness, superstition, or mere ceremonialism; third, from the fact that they evidently express, and find their unity and power in, His own religious experience and moral character. He is not dealing with the results of abstract speculation or with the scattered 'insights' of a moral genius. He is describing what life is to Him, as He confronts man and walks with God. The Beatitudes, even though interpreted eschatologically, describe His own working ideal, His own confidence in the result, His own actual blessedness. Men feel as they read, they must have felt as they heard, these utterances that what He commanded and promised He Himself realized in His own soul.

(*b*) *Conception of God.*—This applies in the fullest manner to that which is the centre of the religious consciousness, its conception of God. And here it is not possible to exaggerate the change which Jesus wrought in human history. He assumed that God is holy and supreme. All man's awe of God, his sense of the majesty, wisdom, and purity of Jahweh of Israel is for Him indisputably justified. But Jesus with one word transmuted the whole. He taught men to think of God as the Father. Not one attribute of reverence was cancelled, but a new meaning was, as it were, shot through the whole true picture of God, and every attribute stood in a new relation to the others and all stood in a new light for man. It is true that, founding on Ex 4[22], Dt 32[5. 11. 18. 19], Hos 11[1] etc., the Jews spoke of God as the Father of Israel, and references to Him as Father of the individual Israelite are not unknown (see G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 150 ff.); yet Jesus did make the name central and supreme in an entirely new way, while avoiding, except on rare occasions, other Jewish titles for God. He nowhere speaks of God as the Father of mankind; rather do men need to become His sons (Mt 5^{45}, Lk 6^{35}; cf. Mt. 5^{9}). The pronouns which He uses are 'my Father,' 'your Father,' 'thy Father,' and once 'our Father' (in the Lord's Prayer), and occasionally He speaks of 'the Father.' His use of the word and the promises bound up with it always presuppose faith and obedience in those addressed. But, for them, 'the Father' who is 'in heaven' is the God of nature (Mt 5^{45} $6^{26.30}$ 10^{29}), who cares for them with individual solicitude (Mt $6^{8.11}$), who demands righteousness (Mt 5^{20} $6^{1.33}$), hears prayer (Mt 6^{6}), forgives sin (Mt 6^{12}), and at last receives them to glory (Mt 13^{43}). There is then no lessening of awe or reverence before God in the use of this name. Rather it corresponds to that demand for 'inwardness' in the religious life of men. It is a searching, penetrating demand which He makes, that men shall treat God as their Father. Its correlative as He speaks of men is *βασιλεία*—the Kingship of God. The very power as well as love, the righteousness as well as mercy, of the Father combine to set up a moral standard the most searching and the most severe of which the world has heard. 'Your righteousness shall exceed'—the most exacting system of law known to history.

This teaching also came out of the inner consciousness of Jesus. As we shall see later, He knew Himself as Son of God in a unique Sonship. But its uniqueness neither removed it from analogy with that of believing men nor made the moral demand on Jesus less, but infinitely more, penetrating. His own Sonship raised questions of self-adaptation, of self-denial, demanded wisdom and grace, sympathetic insight and brooding patience, whose range and quality we can but faintly discern as we see Him training the twelve, dealing with His foes, moving to the Cross. It was out of the discipline as well as the joy, the surrender as well as the confidence, in His experience of God that His use of the word Father arose, which changed the face of God for the hearts of men.

(*c*) *The sinless conscience.*—We come to a point at which the religious consciousness of Jesus surpasses that of mankind always and everywhere in an incomparable manner. Whereas the whole religious history of the races assumes and proceeds from the sense of moral failure, that of Jesus was characterized by the continuous sense of moral harmony with the will of the Father. Put in the negative form, this means 'the sinlessness of Jesus.'

(*α*) The witness of His disciples ought not to be undervalued. Their evidence for the fact does not rest upon their inability to find and record definite moral or religious failures in His character. Their belief in the unheard of fact could arise only from two sources, viz. the impression made by His whole personal bearing, and the definite tasks which he undertook and accomplished. Hence we find that his sinlessness is not a deduction from, but a fundamental presupposition of, the essential Christian doctrines. It is as such referred to explicitly in a few passages (*e.g.*, 2 Co 5^{21}, Ro 1^{1-4}, He 4^{15} 7^{26-28}, 1 P 2^{22}, 1 Jn 2^{1} 3^{3}). But they are not needed. The whole apostolic conception of Jesus as Risen Saviour and Lord was utterly inconsistent with any thought of His own guilt and need of pardon or redemption. The Fourth Gospel is more definite on this, as on other elements of His consciousness. But even the words 'I have glorified thee,' 'I have manifested thy name' (Jn $17^{4.6}$), do not surpass in their inner meaning the saying of Mt $11^{25ff.}$ (even when abbreviated by Harnack in his search for the original form of Q [*The Sayings of Jesus*, Eng. tr. London, 1908, Excursus 1]), nor the self-defence of Lk 15, where He openly represents Himself as acting for and revealing God in that very conduct which severe and superficial moralists condemned. That chapter practically says, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father.'

(*β*) It has been the custom to discover the quality of His moral consciousness from the way in which Jesus dealt with sin. He not only exposed and rebuked it with prophetic energy, but He even went the length of pronouncing the forgiveness of sin upon individuals (Mk $2^{5.10}$, Lk 7^{40-50}), and that in a manner so authoritative that He was accused of blasphemy. Furthermore, He demands of all who would enter the Kingdom of God that they should pass through a great moral renewal (Mk $1^{14.15}$, Mt $18^{1ff.}$, Jn 3^{3}). But, on the other hand, He departs from the method of all other moral leaders in that He nowhere manifests the consciousness that He Himself had passed or needed to pass through such a change of mind and heart and faith. He seems never to have repented or *become* as a little child or pleaded for pardon. As Harnack in a powerful passage has asserted: 'There lie behind the period of the public ministry of Jesus no powerful crises and tumults, no break with his past.' He carried no 'scars of a frightful struggle' (*Das Wesen des Christentums*, p. 21). These facts, if we are to estimate their meaning aright, must be kept in close relation with what was said above about His doctrine of the nature of sin and the searching quality of His doctrine of God as Father. His penetrating and sensitive view of inward sin must have made any conscious flaw in His own moral character an intolerable agony. But His recorded agonies have a very different source.

(*γ*) But arguments like these are subordinate to those central facts which recent discussions of the eschatological element in His teaching have emphasized with fresh power. There can be no doubt now that Jesus, in calling Himself the Son of Man or the Man (see below), asserted that He was a superhuman being, and that as such He had appeared to act as King in the Kingdom of God, as the Suffering Servant (cf. Is 53) working redemption, and that He would Himself appear as Judge of the human race. These self-assertions were the result either of moral blindness or of a sinless consciousness. They were evidences either of a self-seeking spirit which His whole teaching ruthlessly rebukes or of a self-manifestation which was compatible only with frankness, humility, and utter purity of soul. It seems impossible to picture any combination of ideas under which He should be admitted to have undertaken the tasks of a personal Revealer of the Father, of a sacrificial Redeemer of men, of the real Head (*Prinzip*) of the new moral order, and yet to have carried in His bosom the sense of personal guilt. The sense of a personally needed redemption and the claim to be an atoning Redeemer or the supreme Judge of mankind are not to be conceived of as nurtured sincerely, intelligently, and piously in the same heart. The kind of vocation on which Jesus entered at His baptism presupposes the consciousness that He had 'fulfilled all righteousness,' even including that rite prescribed by fresh prophetic authority (Mt 3^{15}), and that the God whom He represented in His ministry was mirrored always in the placid, teeming depths of His own soul.

(*δ*) Objections to the doctrine of the perfect moral harmony of Jesus with the most searching will of the Father have been founded on certain incidents recorded in the Gospels:

(*a*) on His relations with human beings, alleged disobedience in boyhood (Lk 2^{41-50}), alleged unkindness to a woman (Mk $7^{27ff.}$), alleged impatience with disciples (Mk 9^{19}), alleged disloyalty to His mother (Mk 3^{31-35}; cf. Jn $2^{1ff.}$), alleged lawlessness as to the destruction of swine (Mk 5^{1-20}), alleged passionateness in the Temple (Mk 11^{15-17}), towards scribes and Pharisees, etc. (Mt 23); (*b*) on His relations with God, alleged sense of disharmony in Gethsemane (Mk 14^{32-42}), on the Cross (Mk 15^{34}), and in His famous treatment of the title 'good' (Mk $10^{17f.}$).

In all these citations, it is sufficient to say that the guilt is not proved. Without suggesting that there are two standards of righteousness, it must be insisted on that there are many varieties of duty, and that the same act can be in one man tainted and in another man absolutely pure. In all such cases, especially when dealing with a spirit at once sincere and gifted with penetrating moral insight, the appeal must be to the conscience of the man himself and to the actual circle of his relations and responsibilities. 'The real and final answer is that He stood self-vindicated; that the memory of these incidents brought Him no tremor of regret in later hours' (D. W. Forrest, *The Christ of History and of Experience*^{7}, Edinb., 1914, pp. 31 f., 37). As to the passage concerning the 'good' man, which has been used to the utmost by deniers of the sinlessness of Jesus, it is well to note the varied cautious forms of statement. Strauss (*New Life of Jesus*, Eng. tr., i. 283; cf. 273) says that He 'disclaimed the predicate of good'; Martineau (*Seat of Authority*^{3}, London, 1891, p. 651) that 'his self-judgment felt hurt by the epithet'; Wernle (*Die Anfänge*, etc., p. 113), more bluntly, that 'he did not allow himself to be called good.' The following points appear to be decisive:

(*a*) It is not well to suggest, as some have done on the conservative side, either that Jesus really claims here to be God or that 'what Jesus disclaims, rather, is *God's* perfect goodness' (H. R. Mackintosh, *The Person of Jesus Christ*, p. 37), as if the young ruler had attributed that to Him; (*b*) this inquirer, while making a most earnest and moving appeal, had used the words 'good master' in a merely conventional manner. And Jesus makes that the occasion for giving him a deeper apprehension of what 'goodness'—which is essential to eternal life—really is; (*c*) Jesus elsewhere uses the word 'good' exactly in the conventional manner which He seems here to condemn in the utterance of the young ruler (Mt 5^{45} 12^{35} [Lk 6^{45}]; cf. Mt 20^{15} 25^{21}); (*d*) Jesus goes on to teach the young man that self-satisfied legalism is not enough; it is sacrifice, humility, and complete self-devotion which alone qualify for eternal life; (*e*) His disclaimer of 'good' is not direct, but deduced from His assertion that God alone is 'good,' which really implies that goodness is from Him alone; (*f*) the saying reveals, not His sense of sin, but the measure of His personal sense of direct and complete dependence upon God for character. And that *is* goodness, as He conceives of it. If His dependence, His faith, is completely realized, His goodness must be without flaw. That He does not disclaim.

(*e*) We are left to speculation when considering how this unstained moral consciousness conditioned the growth of His Messianic consciousness. It must have influenced very early the thought of one so meditative, so clearly aware of the deeper side of God's Kingship and the deeper meanings of prophecy. Could He repeat the 51st Psalm without a sense of difference? Could He listen in the synagogue service to the 32nd Psalm, and not be aware of a felicity in His own soul quite other than that of the man 'whose transgressions are pardoned'? Could He even as a youth hear the discussions of the Messianic hope and the traditional forms of desire for a 'warrior Christ,' or the current descriptions of a Son of Man from heaven, without criticism and re-interpretation? When did He begin to think of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah in connexion with Himself? To say that as boy and youth He could not have cherished these topics without conceit is sheer nonsense. A man of honour can distinguish himself from the habitual liar without putting a speck upon his own modesty. So could Jesus feel very early that His humble and modest yet absolute dependence on God, which is the real root of meekness and lowliness of heart, was not marred, but even deepened, by seeing the difference between that and the 'little faith' of those around Him. To say that His mind faced these problems only after the Baptism is psychologically incredible. The Temptation, distinctive as it was, cannot have been unprepared for. No such complete victory as He won in the wilderness could have been sudden, and unrelated to His brooding years at Nazareth. That crisis was the natural culmination of a long history, whose deepest elements were to be found in the opening of His mind, by prayer, obedience, and faith, to the meaning of this immeasurable difference between a moral consciousness which could not doubt the inner presence of the Father, or ask from Him the forgiveness of any sin, and the religious experience of all other souls. His very great love for man was born into an active, sacrificial passion out of those crowded hours of unshadowed communion with God, before His baptism.

This, then, is the religion of Jesus. He surpasses all others in His insistence upon man's dependence on the Father for all things, temporal and spiritual, raiment for the body and goodness for the will. This penetrating insight and faith applied to Himself discovered His perfect Sonship, His qualification for being the Saviour, Lord, and Judge of the human race. It was that religious consciousness of His which, though in such unity with ours, yet created and discovered those transcendent differences which have made the Christian consciousness possible.

B. JESUS AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD.—Even though the phrase 'Kingdom of God' seldom occurs in the NT Epistles, and its use has been exaggerated in some phases of modern theology, yet no true description of the consciousness of Jesus can fail to give it a place of fundamental importance. No less constant was the word 'kingdom' than the word 'Father' upon His lips.

1. Jahweh as King.—The phrase was not unknown in Jewish circles. The OT is pervaded by the idea that Jahweh is to Israel what kings are to other peoples. Even when Saul was made king, there was a sense, preserved in one tradition, of a new departure in religious as well as in political consciousness through that event. The successive dynasties of Israel were raised up and cast down, the successive kings accepted or rejected by Jahweh. The prophets were His spokesmen, exercising at times more than kingly power, just because they represented and interpreted the will of Israel's true King. In Daniel (see ch. 4) the conception of this Kingship comes to fullest expression, and that in close connexion with the perception that God, who is Creator and Lord of all, must control the history of all kingdoms towards the day when He shall reign directly, alone and for ever. And the apocalyptists, to whom it seemed as if God's power were in abeyance, and the powers of evil in possession of this world, pictured the day when suddenly the might of God would reveal its shattering power, when the present evil order would collapse and 'a new heaven and a new earth' would vindicate the doubted righteousness of God. But Jesus lifted the phrase into new and rich significance.

2. Jesus and the imminence of the Kingdom.—(*a*) *The eschatological problem.*—With extraordinary conviction and energy, from the beginning of His public career, He affirmed the imminence of that Kingdom (Mk $1^{14f.}$). Certain of His words, uttered at great crises of His work and experience, imply, and many think that He believed, that the literal and concrete fulfilment of apocalyptic hopes and pictures would take place immediately (Mt 10^{23}, Mk 9^{1} 14^{62}). The discussion of this subject in recent days bears upon the two subjects of form and time: What did Jesus really expect the Kingdom to be? How far was His language deliberately pictorial? In what sense and measure did He expect to see it established in that generation? According to the extremists in one direction, Jesus thought of the Kingdom of God as an inward spiritual and ethical state of man's mind and heart in which, by communion with God and the development of a holy character, he shall fulfil the divine will, and embody the divine spirit in all his social relations. This ideal is being progressively approached as the spirit and teaching of Jesus win wider and deeper influence over the life of man. According to the extreme eschatologists, Jesus held the strict apocalyptic view. He expected outward miraculous and portentous physical events as the instruments of the vindication of God. The Son of Man would appear in the clouds, the order of nature would be convulsed, the rulers of this world would be overwhelmed. (J. Weiss [*Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*^{2}, Göttingen, 1900, p. 123 f.] even attributes to Him a regard for the political side in the overthrow of Roman domination.) All this must happen in that generation, might happen any day or hour, though on that point He would not commit Himself to definite prophecy. This is not the place for a detailed reckoning with the merits and demerits of these hostile views. We must try in a brief statement to do justice to both elements in His sayings that we may grasp more fully His marvellous self-consciousness.

(*b*) *The phrase 'Kingdom of God'* (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ).—This phrase does not primarily refer to the organized community over which God reigns, but to His 'Kingship' itself (Dalman, *Worte Jesu*^{2}, 75 ff.). It is the active, personal, effective reign of God over human life, displacing the present, active power of Satan, that is announced when His 'Kingship' is said to be 'at hand' or to have 'come upon' that generation (ἤγγικεν, Mt 10^{7}; ἔφθασεν, Mt 12^{28}). Jesus announces the establishment of this Kingship as an act of God. It is 'the kingdom of heaven,' probably so called by Him (for, whatever motives the other evangelists may have had for avoiding it, Matthew can hardly have used the phrase so consistently unless it had fallen from the lips of Jesus) because in heaven that Kingship is already complete, and from heaven the forces come which are to establish it on earth (Mt 6^{10}). In acts of overwhelming power and glory it shall appear and be seen of all men, for their weal or woe (Mk 9^{1}, Lk 17^{24}, Mk $13^{24ff.}$). Here Jesus uses language which echoes that of apocalypse from Daniel to 'Enoch,' though Daniel is the only one actually quoted by Him (Mk 14^{62} = Dn 7^{13}).

(*c*) *Transformation of current conceptions.*—The Jews of that day held certain eschatological ideas which Jesus did not openly attack, though the effect of His whole teaching and personal history changed them all as they passed into the Christian faith. They believed in what we may call certain 'existences': in Hades with its division into parts including Heaven and Hell, in evil spirits with Satan (apparently) in command, and in angels of various grades and functions in the service of God. They believed also in certain events: the coming of the Son of Man, the final and universal judgment and the allotment of rewards and punishments. The eschatological elements in the words of Jesus are concerned with all of these. But it is remarkable how these ideas are all rearranged and subordinated under the force of His own Person and His deeper conception of God and God's relations to the world. The difference of tone between His references to these ideas and the manner in which they are handled by others cannot be exaggerated. In the first place, His consciousness of a direct, personal, superhuman relation to all these matters changes everything. What is to be in the future is for Him very different from what it is for apocalyptic dreamers. They are dreaming of that which God may or shall do through others; He is speaking of what is being done and to be done through Himself. The 'eschatological' facts are present not merely to His pious imagination, but actually in His own effective will (cf. Lk $4^{17ff.}$ 17^{24}, Mk 1^{21-27} 4^{41} 8^{38} 14^{25}, Mt 10^{25} 11^{2-6} 12^{22-32} 20^{20-28} 25^{31} etc.). The act of God in the establishment of His Kingdom has for its fundamental and essential element the 'sending' of Jesus. In the second place, we must recognize the difficulty of separating between the pictorial and the literal elements in His words. The story of the Temptation and the references to the binding of the strong man (Mt 12^{29}–Lk $11^{21.\ 22}$) and to the lightning from heaven (Lk 10^{18}) cannot be taken literally, by any stretch of the historic imagination. These are proofs that, when He referred to the clouds of heaven (Mk 14^{62} etc.), He was again speaking pictorially and not describing what He literally expected on the physical side. That such utterances spring from an intense inward experience—which may conceivably have taken the form of a vision or physical hallucination (see J. Weiss, *Reich Gottes*^{2}, p. 92 f.)—is possible; that they are bound up inextricably both with His own religious consciousness and with the current conceptions of the universe is indubitable. But the undeniable presence of the pictorial element—so congenial to the Oriental, so confusing to the Western, mind—and the general elevation of His thought about God and the universe above all preceding conceptions make it unwise to say that the movement of His mind must be wholly confined within the 'world view' of the Jewish eschatology of His day.

(*d*) But there is also positive evidence, in spite of Schweitzer, 'that Jesus' conception of the Kingdom of God had a double character, that the eschatological and spiritual elements were equally represented in it and mutually conditioned one another' (A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, p. 234). The view that in His mind the Kingdom of God was as it were 'all or nothing,' that it could not yet be real on earth for Him or His disciples because it was not *fully* realized for all, that His Messiahship was a postponed function to be entered on only with the outward catastrophes of the 'last day' and knowing no stages of fulfilment, that this eschatological faith served for Him and His disciples as an illusion of faith to preserve confidence in His words until they should have taken permanent roots in a new soil, to spring up independently of eschatology, is a view which does violence at too many points to the method and words of Jesus. The evidence of the Synoptists proves that even for His own mind the Kingdom was not only future but present, not only imminent and rushing in but also hindered and tarrying.

(*a*) His own religious consciousness contained the sense of present fellowship with His Father. From this all His teaching flowed, and this He constantly revealed to His disciples as the supreme good. If this was not so, then the whole religious value even of His eschatological sayings disappears into mere unethical superstition. In fact it is His idea of God that must be used to discover His idea of the Kingdom of God, and not *vice versa*. His passionate call to repentance had its root not merely in a prophetic vision of doom for the impenitent, but in a vision of the present evil of sin and the present blessedness of faith and the supreme wonder of a present fellowship with the Father. His urgency about doing the will of God does not merely take the 'eschatological' form, 'as in heaven so in earth,' but a 'spiritual' form (Mk $3^{34f.}$, Mt $25^{31ff.}$). The argument against anxiety, in the Sermon on the Mount, is essentially a 'spiritual' argument, since it urges faith in the Father not as the Father at the end of time, but as the Father whose spirit and methods are seen now in nature and providence. It may be hard for certain modern types of mind to conceive of 'eschatological' ideas in unity with the 'spiritual,' but they were both present with apparently equal force and value to the consciousness of Jesus.

(*β*) Further, it is clear indeed that Jesus views the establishment of the Kingdom as an act of grace, a miraculous and overwhelming revelation of God's power and glory, most certain and most real. Yet He also sees that God's act is not arbitrary, undetermined as to form and date by anything on the human side, a predestined event which is unrelated to man's conduct. On the contrary, Jesus views the coming of the Kingdom as *conditioned* by human historical events and acts.

(*a*) It is a central idea in the parables of growth that the 'consummation of the age' (cf. W. C. Allen on Mt 13^{39}) presupposes the conditions of harvest. 'When the fruit is ripe,' the hour of the sickle has come. The meaning of the 'mustard seed' and the 'leaven' parables cannot be reasonably confined to the contrast between the small beginnings and the great result, with J. Weiss, or to 'the miraculous character of such occurrences,' with Schweitzer. When these are compared with the other parables of seed (Mt $13^{18-23.\ 24-30}$, Mk 4^{26-29}), the two elements of time and growth must be said to have occupied the mind of the Master in uttering them, as conditions of the result. (*b*) Jesus taught that the coming of the Kingdom must be preceded and conditioned by various events. Among these must be named the conquest of the powers of evil, on which He speaks rarely and with a reserve which distinguishes Him from His contemporaries. But the Kingdom's presence in the world is proved by the fact that by Himself, who has bound the strong one, the demons are cast out (cf. O. Pfleiderer, *Philos. and Development of Rel.*, Edinburgh, 1894, ii. 83–89). The establishment of that Kingdom is conditioned by the preaching of the gospel (Mt 11^{5}) even in His own ministry. There is no good reason why the passages which refer to the universal scope of this work after His death should be treated as unauthentic (Mt 8^{11}, Mk $14^{8f.}$ $13^{9f.}$). If we contrast this idea of a work which must occupy much time with the words of Mt 10^{23}, we face just that antinomy which penetrates all His teaching, and whose solution is not to be found in the annihilation of either statement, but in a conscious will for which each is essential truth because that will is directively dealing with a confused situation. (*c*) This preaching is to be accompanied by prayer, and Jesus does not look on prayer as a pious formality nor on repentance as a violent spasm, because the end is in sight (cf. J. Moffatt, *Theology of the Gospels*, London, 1912, p. 58 f.). His whole rich teaching about prayer in precept (*e.g.* Mt $9^{37f.}$, Mk $11^{24f.}$) and parable (Lk 11^{5-13} 18^{1-8}) rests on the conviction that prayer, the expression of the human will, conditions the operation of the divine will. Behind prayer lies the principle of faith, which, for the first time in the history of religion, is made primary and fundamental to man's relations with God by Jesus. Can we imagine Jesus thinking of a Kingdom established by force, without faith? (*d*) Further, when He speaks of the Judgment which is to characterize that day, there is none of the uncertainty of sheer, abstract predestinarianism which later appeared in Muhammadanism. The judgment of God is a judgment and an estimate by a will which deals with facts; and the relevant facts are to be found in human character as it is revealed in conduct. (*e*) We must here note also that in His view His own death and resurrection must precede the advent of the Kingdom—a fact which must be remembered in the interpretation of Mt 10^{23}. For, if, as we shall see later, His own death is considered by Him in the light of the Servant of Jahweh passages in Isaiah (especially Is 42 and 53), an element is introduced which must react upon the whole meaning of eschatology for His consciousness. The will that plans to redeem by vicarious suffering for humanity must view history otherwise than the apocalyptists. A moral element is introduced into history which, like a new chemical constituent, changes the whole. (*f*) In addition to the teaching which implies the immediacy of the Kingdom, there is another strain which suggests delay and urges men to be faithful in spite of it. The parable of the tares deals with the period of preparation for the Kingdom (W. C. Allen, *St. Matthew*, p. lxx); the conduct of the 'evil servant' (Mt 24^{45-51}) was based on the fact that his lord tarried longer than was expected; in the parable of the talents (Mt $25^{14ff.}$) the point is that 'after a long time' the master returned. It is therefore not merely the uncertainty of the date of that coming of the Lord, but also the apparent continued procrastination that gives meaning and vehemence to the repeated command to 'watch' (Mk 13^{28-37}). This appears very distinctly if we assume that Lk 18^{1-8} rightly follows the preceding paragraph. It is not too much to say that nowhere does the 'art' of His teaching appear more wonderful than in that fusion of the 'eschatological' and the 'progressive' which characterizes the parables of the Kingdom. (*g*) Lastly, it must be remembered that Jesus explicitly disclaimed knowledge of the time of that consummation in the well-known words: 'But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father' (Mk 13^{32}). This is not to be reconciled with the words reported in the same paragraph, 'Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, until all these things be accomplished' (Mk 13^{30}), by the idea that He meant by 'that day or that hour' the literal day and even time of day (cf. J. Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel*, p. 355 n.). It is coming to be widely accepted that the reports of the eschatological sayings of Jesus in the Synoptics (Mt 24, Mk 13, Lk 21) have been confused by the inability of His disciples to grasp their meaning. The fact is that the consciousness of Jesus (containing within it the will of the Messiah, which superhumanly acts on history) dealt with the ordinary eschatological conceptions from a point of view above that of mere prophecy, and that only gradually could the minds of His greatest disciples realize that all things, even eschatology, had been made new by His presence in the world. The conscious creator of history must speak, if he would say anything of the future, in a manner which reflects at once the successive unfoldings of His 'programme' to Himself, and His effort to make it real to those in whose unique experience it must first take effect (cf. 'Son of Man,' below, p. 516).

3. **Conclusion.**—For Jesus the Kingdom of God, which means His active, direct rule of human life, on earth as in heaven, is to be established by acts of God which Jesus does not describe in current apocalyptic terms, except in His reference to the coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven, and in the language of the discourse reported in Mk 13 (some parts of which may not be authentic). He avoids (cf. Lk $17^{20ff.}$) all attempts to involve Him in trivial disputes about the date of those events (cf. J. Weiss, *Reich Gottes*, p. 86 f.). This Kingdom is not 'spiritual' in the sense that it has nothing to do with the physical universe, nor is it 'eschatological' in the sense that it can be established merely by means of cosmic catastrophes. For His consciousness the physical and the spiritual are elements of one system, organized by the one will of God the Father, and His language describes events and processes in both elements. Hence the Kingdom appears in works of healing and the preaching of the gospel, in cosmic transactions and in moral judgments, in the conquest of Satan and in the forgiveness of sin, in warnings of the future day and in revelation of the Father for this day's faith and obedience. That gospel of the Kingdom is the declaration not merely of its imminence, but also of its nature and conditions. And for Jesus these conditions involve knowledge both of what God will do and of what man ought to do. The religious and the ethical are for Him as completely one as the physical and the spiritual. Conduct towards man and towards God is characterized by the same fundamental principles of love and trust. And yet after all it is astounding to remember that what God will do in the establishment of that Kingdom is never set forth by Him as an objective list of future acts. The future is absorbed in the consciousness of His own functions as the Messiah. In and through Himself the supreme acts of God are being performed, in which the coming of that Kingship is to be realized.

C. THE FUNCTIONS OF JESUS AS MESSIAH IN RELATION TO THE KINGDOM.

—1. **The tone of supreme authority.**—We have already seen that there is a remarkable difference between Jesus' conception of the Kingdom and that of all others before and after Him. Even His forecasts of its coming, when He echoes the language of prophets before Him, contain significant changes and carry in them a tone which the greatest of His followers could not repeat. For others He prescribes repentance, watching, service of an absent lord, waiting for a dateless event, but He never associates Himself with His disciples in these experiences and spiritual efforts. He never speaks or acts as if He were, or expected to be, a subject in that coming Kingdom, a recipient of its mercy and glory. His consciousness is of another kind and rises out of a relation of a superhuman order, which we must now consider. And for this not merely His words, but His whole bearing and indeed His influence upon those who lived in the presence of that unique will, must be taken into account. A writer in *Christus* (ed. J. Huby, Paris, 1912, p. 704) has well said, 'S'il est un trait caractéristique de la physionomie du Christ, c'est qu'il s'impose.' His authority, His consciousness of something more than knowing the truth, namely, of the right to declare and even to enforce the ultimate laws of human existence, is an ineradicable element of the gospel story. It is no less evident in the Synoptics than in the Fourth Gospel. In Mark's Gospel this pervasive tone is to be found from beginning to end. He exercises power or authority (ἐξουσία) in His teaching (1^{22}), over unclean spirits (1^{27}), to forgive sin (2^{10}), even to communicate power to His disciples (3^{15}). All great religious leaders have won a nameless spell over their followers, and their allegiance even unto death. But the range and quality of His authority are presented in the Synoptics as having peculiar elements.

2. **Messiah-King.**—He is dealing with the final fact—the Kingship of God—through which human nature is to reach its consummation. Yet it is He who has received 'Kingship' and can speak of 'my kingdom' (Lk $22^{29f.}$; cf. Mt 13^{41}, Mk 9^{1}), or accept the tribute from others (Mt 20^{21}, where for 'kingdom' Mk 10^{37} reads 'glory'—the substance is the same). In His mind and that of His followers the sovereignty of Jahweh over Israel was directed towards a great consummation, with which the prophets were much concerned. The end to which they looked forward is felt by Jesus to be attained in Himself (Mt $13^{16f.}$). But the end must surpass the stages which lead to it; hence He does not hesitate to set His mission above all the glories of the OT story and Himself over all predecessors. It would be enough to refer to the passages found in the document now known as Q which is embedded in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, to show that this feature of His consciousness profoundly impressed the minds of His disciples; *e.g.*, take 'more than' Jonah, or Solomon (Mt $12^{41f.}$ ‖ Lk $11^{31f.}$). The same idea in an even more august form appears in the saying attributed to Him by Matthew (12^{6}), 'Something greater than the temple is here.' It is now almost universally admitted that Jesus knew Himself as the Messiah, that personal representative of Jahweh for whom Israel waited and for the signs of whose appearing they searched heaven and earth. But opinions still differ widely as to the conditions under which Jesus discovered His Messiahship, interpreted the details of its task, and made it known to His disciples. The term does not occur in the OT as a personal name, but came to be used in Jewish times of that One through whom they hoped for deliverance from the foreign yoke, and imperial supremacy for the Israel of Jahweh. That He would be an invincible king and sum up in Himself the ideal qualities of royalty (cf. 2 S $7^{12ff.}$, Ps 72, etc.), that He would be the Son of David, that He would usher in the Day of Jahweh, that He would be the Christ or Anointed One of Jahweh (Lk 2^{26}), the Holy One of God (Mk 1^{24}; cf. Mk 1^{34}, Lk 4^{41})—all these ideas were found among the people who came in contact with Jesus. That the 'political' aspect was prominent is plain from the fact that, when He confessed Himself to be the 'Christ' at His trial, His enemies at once made that the basis of the accusation before Pilate that He claimed to be king, and that this title 'King of the Jews' was set upon His cross (see below). It is this fact that alone is sufficient to account for His avoidance of the title, His open acceptance of it from the disciples only after they had learned something of His transformation of its meaning. To have used that title promiscuously earlier would have been, in the atmosphere of His day, to misrepresent completely His interpretation of prophecy and His own consciousness of His functions. To have disowned it explicitly would have also been to misrepresent Himself and His mission. For He knew Himself to be the One in whom prophecy terminated, who had come to fulfil the best hopes of Israel, to establish over all mankind, 'beginning at Jerusalem,' the Kingship of God. It was His supremely delicate task to claim the substance and disown the popular form of Messiahship. Hence what we find Him doing is to fulfil the sublime functions of that office without formal announcement of His relation to it. The difficulty of His position is made plain by the misunderstandings of His disciples which are recorded with such astonishing faithfulness in the documents which are ultimately derived from themselves and their immediate friends and followers. So deeply were the old ideas engrained, so strange and superhuman was the new conception of the divine Kingship and its fundamental principles, that not even the Death and Resurrection of their accepted Messiah could at once reveal the new moral and spiritual universe to the minds of His disciples. It required the successive events described in the Acts and the appearing of Paul to interpret the Messiahship of Jesus to those disciples, as He fulfilled it.

3. **Elements in His will as Messiah.**—When we come to His own concrete interpretation and application of the idea of Messiah by Jesus, we find ourselves in the presence of a will greater than that which any prophet or saint of the OT had desired or foreseen. Their partial glimpses into human need and divine fullness are united and then surpassed in that which He essays to accomplish. His functions at once interpret and elevate, gather and reorganize, the scattered spiritual principles of OT religion.

(*a*) *Revealer of God.*—He acts as the Revealer of God. The OT had taught the Jews to hope for a full knowledge of Jahweh in the day of His appearing to judge the nations. But the nature and medium of that knowledge had been left vague. Jesus in the great passage, Mt $11^{25ff.}$, asserts this as His function, to reveal the Father. There is undoubtedly a mystical element involved in this work of revelation, but no less clearly is there a natural and concrete element which is the only security for its historical permanence and continuous development. Thus His very words about God throw welcome light upon His will and spirit, and He uses the definite and vivid name of Father to describe Him. Further, He does not shrink, as we have seen, from assuming that His own conduct is a revelation of the character and will of God (Lk 15). This is carried to the extreme in those passages in which, while citing OT Messianic sayings, He sets Himself in the place of Jahweh—*e.g.*, Mt $11^{4f.}$ = Is 35^{5} 61^{1}, Lk 4^{17} = Is $61^{1f.}$; Lk 7^{27} = Mal 3^{1}. This whole matter is fully expounded in the Fourth Gospel, but cf. especially the striking language to Thomas and Philip (Jn 14^{5-11}). (*b*) *Power over demons.*—The attitude of Jesus towards the world of evil spirits must be taken just as it is set forth, if we would understand the range of His conscious will. He has met and conquered the prince of demons (Mt 4^{1-11} 12^{27-29}), and hence has power over all lesser spirits of evil. He therefore accepts as true to fact the testimony of the evil spirits themselves (Mk $3^{11f.}$), as well as the recognition of this superhuman power by the people who saw His works. (*c*) *Miracles.*—The earlier rationalism strove to extrude from the story of Jesus all the miracles. They were either pure inventions or legendary growths arising from the desire to illustrate His teaching or defend His superhuman claims. The later rationalism draws a distinction between the miracles of healing for which analogies can be found elsewhere, and the 'nature miracles'—such as multiplying the loaves, raising the dead, walking on the sea, etc. The former, or some of them, are retained as well attested and historical; the latter are rejected. The dilemma is a peculiar one. For, on the one hand, the same records preserve both classes of works with the same simplicity, directness, and relevance; on the other hand, the supposed distinction is not grounded on objective science, but has been created for the express purpose of dealing with the gospel story. Science has not yet drawn any such line as this imaginary one, and the theological writers who advocate it use only vague and unscientific language to suggest it (cf. E. A. Abbott, *The Kernel and the Husk*, London, 1886; P. Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, do., 1899). In that central passage of Q (Mt 11^{4-6}, Lk 7^{22}) Jesus mentions the healing of lepers and the raising of the dead as works which He performed. His consciousness held Him in a relation to natural processes above that of other men. And this is necessary to the unity of that consciousness; it corresponds with other aspects of the range of that will. We must not confuse the issue by assuming that such a will is impossible. It is our simple scientific duty to discover whether such a consciousness moved in history, and whether its operation in the whole round of its life presents a consistent unity. For Jesus the distinction above referred to did not exist. He was conscious of power to direct the forces of nature as clearly as to reveal God, to announce the eternal conditions of blessedness, to conquer Satan, to forgive sins, to judge the race, and to rise from the dead. (*d*) *Lawgiver.*—While He has come to fulfil the Law and the prophets (Mt 5^{17}), He yet speaks as Himself the lawgiver of the Kingdom. The 'Sermon on the Mount' reflects this consciousness of supreme authority in the most impressive manner. For there He speaks in criticism of the noblest ethical code of antiquity, much of which He would acknowledge to have been announced by God through Moses. But, in passing behind those prescriptions to reveal the inner principles of human character, He deliberately and repeatedly uses the form 'I say unto you,' speaking as no prophet spoke, in His own name and authority. What appears formally in that place is in substance present throughout His teaching. He is everywhere laying down the laws of eternal righteousness for the citizens of the Kingdom of God. (*e*) *Administrator of law.*—He not only announces but administers those laws. It is significant that Judaism had not attained to the view that the Messiah would act as Judge (though that office is assigned to 'the Son of man' in the 'Similitudes' of Enoch), and the matter of forgiveness of sins was inevitably reserved for God Himself. Even if they could have conceived of such a judgeship, the scrutiny of conduct and the award of appropriate rewards and penalties as delegated by God to a representative, the question would still remain, 'Who can forgive sins but one, even God?' (Mk 2^{7}). But Jesus not only asserted that He would act as Judge of mankind; He even assumed the prerogative of forgiving sin (cf. C. W. Votaw, art. 'Sermon on the Mount' in *HDB*, vol. v. p. 29). This is Messianism of a type which men had not dared to fashion in their hearts. (*f*) *The will to die.*—Up to the time of Jesus, the Jews did not expect their Messiah to die. For them as for Peter (Mk $8^{32f.}$), that would have been almost a contradiction in terms. It was only in the Talmudic times that the idea was tolerated, and even then the Messiah's death was looked on as a dark and mysterious fate which He shared with His people. But with Jesus a new view has taken hold of history, viz. that His death is to be used as an instrument of salvation, a weapon of the divine Kingship. Whether He contemplated His death from the beginning of His ministry is much in dispute. Certain passages would seem to show that the will to offer Himself was in His mind from the time of the baptism. The words which He heard at the baptism, 'Thou art my Son, the Beloved, in whom I am well pleased' (Mt 3^{17}; cf. 12^{18-21}), contain phrases from Ps 2^{7} and Is 42^{1}, from which it is clear that He had in His mind the Isaianic picture of the Servant of Jahweh, and that He applied it to His own mission. The story of the Temptation shows that renunciation was from the first an essential feature of that mission. The sayings about persecution (Mt 5^{11} $10^{16.\ 21.\ 25}$) and the rejection of prophets (Mk 6^{4}, Lk 4^{24}, Mt 13^{57} 23^{37}) indicate that He expected relentless opposition which He could not avoid and others would not abate. Hence the saying about the Bridegroom is not out of keeping with His general outlook at that early period (Mt 9^{15}). Moreover, when He does speak more definitely of His death, He does not treat it as a new factor or as a surprise. It is the complete fulfilment of that service to which He stands committed from the beginning (Mk 10^{45}). He describes it as the fundamental principle of the Kingdom that a man should lose his life. Hence it would be an exaggeration to say with Baldensperger (*Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*^{3}) that, after the crisis near Cæsarea Philippi, when His death becomes clear as an inevitable event, He passes through a 'Messianic re-birth.' But undoubtedly in the latter part of the ministry the will to die became more defined in relation to gathering circumstances, and hence occupied a central place in His teaching (Mk 8^{31} ‖ 9^{12} [Mt 17^{12}] 9^{30-32}, Mk 10^{32-34} ‖ $^{39.\ 45}$ $12^{1ff.}$ 14 *passim*).

From these passages we learn: (*a*) that His death was to be inflicted, and consummate His rejection by Israel; (*b*) that it was also the will of His Father (Mk 14^{36}); (*c*) that He looked on it in the light of Is 53, and therefore could call it a 'ransom for the many' (Mk 10^{45}, Is $53^{5.\ 6.\ 12}$), and as appropriate to the Son of Man who is supreme in authority over the Kingdom; He would suffer as Messiah not merely *with*, but *for* His own; (*d*) that He deliberately and solemnly set it forth at the Last Supper as a means of redemption, as the ratifying of new relations between God and man ('blood of the Covenant'); (*e*) that He faced this death with peculiar agony of soul, but endured its approach, its accompaniments, its outer shame and inner horror, with steadfast will as the sacrifice without which He could not establish the Kingship of God over 'the many.'

(*g*) *The expectation of death.*—This is not the place to discuss either the theory of the Atonement or the detailed and successive steps through which His consciousness passed. Suffice it on the latter point to say that the phenomena of the Gospels are best explained if we keep two sets of facts before us. (i.) A great mind can hold a great purpose in view and see its general outlines without allowing itself to be prematurely concerned with all the particulars. A great mind further can foresee and yet hold off the agony of a coming sorrow. The serenity which some people see in the earlier days of His ministry is a witness not to His ignorance that only death could win that Kingship, but to the greatness and soundness, amounting in His case to majesty, of self-direction, self-estimate, and self-control. To say that He could not have preserved a calm consciousness in view of that event is to belittle Him absurdly, below the standard of many brave men and women. 'For the joy that was set before him he endured' is not a psychological blunder of the writer to the Hebrews (12^{2}). (ii.) Much must be allowed for His 'paideutic' method. Not only did His task unfold itself to His own mind in successive steps, from great principles and a supreme purpose which was already formed and firmly held when He entered on His Messianic functions, but He had also to communicate these principles and their practical issues in like (but not always parallel) steps to His disciples. The sudden clear teaching that He must suffer and die (Mk 8^{31} and ‖) is undoubtedly made possible by their confession of His Messiahship. To announce His inevitable death before that would have hindered the growth of their insight, but after that insight had reached a certain clarity and steadfastness the shock of that other revelation must be given. And their whole bearing justified His method. (*h*) *Resurrection.*—That Jesus spoke not only of His death, but also, though with significant reserve, of His resurrection, was at one time much questioned. But the frank acceptance of the eschatological elements of His teaching sets that dispute at an end. He who announced both His death and His coming in the clouds of heaven as 'Son of man' did foresee a resurrection of some kind. The Synoptics agree (with only a verbal variation [Mk 8^{31} 'after three days']) that He prophesied His resurrection as they afterwards record it, implying the idea of a physical resurrection. It may be taken as certain that Jesus carried in His consciousness something more than the human hope of a future life. It entered into His will, it modified the scope and method of His work, it qualified His whole conception both of the Kingdom as a future event and of His relation to it as its Ruler. No doubt, as Strauss saw with characteristic clearness, 'this (continuous) certainty must have been as supernatural as the event itself' (*New Life of Jesus*, Eng. tr., p. 45). But that need not trouble us nowadays. We are manifestly in the presence of a consciousness which contains elements that must be frankly conceded to be superhuman. One of these is a programme of personal influence which includes the life after death. It is not at all inappropriate to find in the Fourth Gospel this aspect of eternal life radiating from its wonderful picture of His historic consciousness. When He says to Martha, 'I am the resurrection and the life,' He utters in mystical phrase what is implied in the assertion that after death He will come in glory and receive the faithful to the rewards of the Kingdom.

4. **His demands on the disciples.**—It is a natural coefficient of all these forces in His consciousness that He as Messiah-King should make supreme demands of His subjects. (*a*) He imposes on them the law of faith, a faith in Himself which He nowhere discriminates from faith in God. It is this attitude of trust that produces His miracles of healing and His words of forgiveness. (*b*) He imposes the law of complete surrender even to death 'for my sake.' The varied Greek equivalents for ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ may go back to one Aramaic form, but the freedom of translation and tradition is a witness to the frequency and the penetrating quality of the words of Jesus in this regard. This phrase, uttered in respect of persecution and of death, throws light upon such an incident as the command to the young ruler to sell his possessions and follow Jesus, and upon the completeness of that devotion which He demanded of the twelve. (*c*) He imposes a still more searching test—a test of character—when He speaks of those who are 'worthy' of Him. To be worthy of Him (cf. Mt $10^{34\text{ff.}}$, and Harnack's searching analysis [*Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 86–90]) is tacitly assumed to prove that a man belongs to the kingdom of righteousness. The idea must not be treated superficially, as if any distinguished leader might determine who are worthy followers. It must be connected with the other ideas in which Jesus seems to be constantly revealing Himself to His disciples as an object of religious regard. The worthiness here referred to must, therefore, be compared with the whole standard of personal worth which is presented in the Gospels. That standard has various phases and elements. It demands unlimited inward purity, unlimited outward devotion to the known will of God, love for God which absorbs the whole personality, and love for one's neighbour which is equivalent to the love of one's own life; it sets up the character of God as something known, in His righteousness and His love, and demands that men shall aim at that perfection; it lifts the whole problem from local, national, external tests to those which are universal, supreme, eternal, inevitable. It is in the heart of this system of ideas, even in the course of its unfolding, that the character, will, teaching, and very Person of Jesus emerge as an unexpected and yet essential part of it. We are not concerned with the question how the historical could thus be allied with the eternal, how one person in time could determine the moral standing of all others through their deliberate valuation of Him; that is a later question. The matter before us is one of fact. It would seem that, according to the earliest tradition, Jesus did without formality of claim, but constantly, on all sides of His self-expression, in word and act, draw to Himself the faith and obedience of His disciples and present Himself to them as the standard of moral worth—in fact, became to them the object of a religious regard. The effort to prove that this worship of Christ arose only after His death and is reflected into the story of His ministry has been prolonged, painstaking, and futile. The fact is too deeply and subtly involved in the whole presentation of His personality, even in the Synoptic Gospels, to have been added and merely reflected from later and baseless enthusiasm. The vast majority of modern scholars—even including many like Wernle and Harnack, who are reckoned to the so-called 'Liberal' position—admit that there are here in the Gospels indubitable proofs that the consciousness of Jesus contained elements not invented by the apostles, yet not native to the human mind as known everywhere else in history. These elements, as we have surveyed them thus far, appeared in the kind of things He undertook to do among men, in the manner of His self-expression. They go deep into the inmost workings of His mind, into the foundations of His character, into the substance of His purpose. Conceive them as possessed by a man—a son of the race—and they become a confusion and a folly. But the Church has conceived them as the supremely natural revealings of a superhuman conscious will, and they have been lifted into harmony and divine power (see, further, under III.).

D. THE SPECIAL TITLES.—**1. The Son of God.**—The NT contains material for tracing in part the remarkable development of the meaning of this great title. In view of the arbitrariness of his critical method, we shall assume that N. Schmidt (*EBi* iv. 4690 ff., and *The Prophet of Nazareth*) occupies an impossible position when he maintains 'that Jesus never called Himself "the Son of God," and never was addressed by that title' (*EBi* iv. 4701, where the last clause, strictly taken, may be true, but is irrelevant).

(*a*) *Two termini.*—The *terminus a quo* in NT usage is reflected not only in the Synoptic Gospels, but even in the Fourth, where we find in certain passages what appears to have been the current Jewish use of the phrase. Its history goes back to Ps $2^{7\text{f.}}$, where the twin ideas of Messiahship and Sonship are brought together. The well-known Hebrew way of conceiving of Israel as God's Son by making the deliverance from Egypt the birthday of the people (Ex 4^{22}, Hos 11^{1} etc.) was followed up by an equally careful avoidance of the idea that any King of Israel was His offspring. The idea of Sonship expressed in Nathan's words (2 S 7^{14}) is quite evidently religious and ethical, and that passage may have given rise to the language of Ps 2. In the Jewish period, outside the Gospels, no certain cases are found in which the Messiah is spoken of as 'Son of God.' But in the Gospels, though the evidence is confused, signs are not wanting that occasionally the phrase was employed as a honorific title for the anointed one; cf. Mk 3^{11} 5^{7} (Mt 8^{29}), Mt 14^{33} (wanting in Mk), Mt 16^{16} (different in Mk 8^{29}, Lk 9^{20}), Mt 26^{63} (different in Mk 14^{61}, Lk $22^{63\text{ff.}}$), Mt 27^{40} (different in Lk 23^{35}, wanting in

Mk), Lk 4^{41}. In the Fourth Gospel the words of Nathanael (1^{49}) and Martha (11^{27}) sound like faithful echoes of this early period when the Messiah was spoken of as Son of God in a manner similar to Israel, Ephraim, and David, who were uniquely loved, chosen, and endowed by God. The title as so used did not, of course, involve any reference either to the pre-existence or to the mode of birth of the Messiah. The *terminus ad quem* in the NT literature is seen in the Epistle to the Hebrews quite as clearly as in the Fourth Gospel. There the Son is conceived of as a divine being (He $1^{1\text{ff.}}$) who partook of human life by a sublime act of His own gracious will (2^{14}).

(*b*) *The source of the later use.*—That which came historically between these extremes and made possible the passage from the earlier vague meaning of this title to the later exalted meaning was the consciousness and self-manifestation of Jesus. As we have seen, He spoke of God as His Father with a note which differentiated His relationship from that of all other men. He avoided the almost unavoidable phrase 'Our Father' except when He taught His disciples how they should pray. According to the Synoptics, He rather took this Sonship as a fundamental fact, not to be discussed, while the Fourth Gospel represents it as an open claim which caused much controversy between Him and the Jewish theologians and nearly brought Him to death (Jn $5^{17\text{f.}}$ 10^{29-33}). And it is of the utmost significance that John in these two passages represents this claim to a unique and divine Sonship to have been found by His enemies simply in His peculiar emphasis upon the words 'My Father.' If this is true to fact, then certain passages in the Synoptics must have conveyed the same idea to His disciples. In the Synoptics reference must be made to Mk 12^{1-12} (Mt $21^{33\text{ff.}}$, Lk $20^{9\text{ff.}}$), where He by implication describes Himself as 'Son' as compared with the prophets and others, who are 'servants,' to Mt 17^{25} (see Dalman, *Worte Jesu*^{2}, p. 231), and to Mk 13^{32}, of which H. J. Holtzmann (*Die Synoptiker*^{3}, Tübingen, 1901, p. 170) says that it is the only place in which 'The Son of God' appears to have a metaphysical value. In the light of such passages, the repeated emphasis upon 'Son of God' in the story of the Temptation—especially if that story came from His own lips—must not be referred to the popular, but to His own characteristic, understanding of the term.

(*c*) *A central passage.*—One of the central passages is Mt 11^{25-27}, Lk $10^{21\text{f.}}$ (from Q), concerning which it is clear: (i.) that He reveals a consciousness beyond that of all prophets and saints in a 'sonship' which is the basis of mutual knowledge between Himself and 'the Father'; (ii.) that He recognizes that 'all things' have been 'delivered' unto Him. Wellhausen (on Mt 11^{25-30}) points out that all doctrine and knowledge is among the Jews *παράδοσις*. But 'the *παράδοσις* of Jesus springs immediately from God, not from men.' It is very common to restrict this phrase to matters of knowledge and teaching (so Harnack, Wellhausen, Denney). And yet, if we read the passage in its Matthæan context, it would seem that 'all things' must include at least the Messianic functions to which He refers in His reply to John's messengers (Mt $11^{2\text{f.}}$), and which ought to have brought to repentance the cities where His mighty works were done (Mt 11^{20}). To some it still seems jejune and entirely untrue to the range of His consciousness and the type of His Messiahship to restrict the 'all things' to His 'doctrine' (see Harnack's argument in *Sayings of Jesus*, p. 297 ff.). The revelation to which He refers in the next clause, even though He does mention the *σοφοί*, must mean more than 'a revelation of a knowledge.' Was He not speaking with the *σοφοί* when they rejected His revelation of the Spirit of God by His works in Mt $12^{25\text{ff.}}$? Did He exclude that kind of revelation when He thought of the 'all things'? And further, if it is 'teaching' that constitutes the whole of His 'yoke' (Mt 11^{29}), wherein does that differ from the 'burdens' which He deplores? If the paragraph is not to be interpreted in this setting, the best place to put it would be after the death of sacrifice had come fully into view. Then the true meaning of 'all things have been delivered unto me' would appear clearly as a reference to the functions of the Messiahship. The words can only express the consciousness that everything necessary for establishing the Kingship of God was now committed to His will, and that, as we know, included far more than teachings.

(*d*) *The origin of this Sonship.*—The idea that the term 'Son of God' was only equivalent to the term 'Messiah' having been discredited, some scholars tried to prove that Jesus first conceived of His Messiahship and from that passed on to His unique Sonship. That theory in turn seems to be doomed. It is clear that His Messiahship arose out of a religious background, but that religious background had nothing greater than the consciousness of 'the Father' in His relation to 'the Son.' But, if this filial relationship with God is the basis of His consciousness, and if it is unique, incommunicable save in a secondary though still glorious sense (Jn 1^{12}, Ro $8^{3.\,14-16}$, where the use of *τέκνα* for *υἱοί* is significant), is it also true that we get from Himself no hint as to its origin? That it is more than merely religio-ethical is evident (see Dalman, *Worte Jesu*^{2}, p. 235). He seems to have taken for granted that men would consider it to be supra-temporal and assume that He had 'come' or 'been sent' in a higher sense than can be used of the sending or coming of a prophet. Hence it is that we find in Matthew (5^{17} $10^{34.\,40}$ 11^{25-27}) a series of aorists which seem clearly to refer to pre-temporal acts of God. To these W. C. Allen would add, as significant of the same idea of pre-existence, Mt 5^{17} 9^{13} 11^{10} 15^{24} (see his *St. Matthew*, pp. 46, 122, 123). But that eternal Sonship which seems to be behind so many of His references to His mission, and which was for others an inference from His self-revelation, naturally became in their minds a pre-condition when they came to tell the story of His Messiahship. Then they accounted for His unique Sonship either by the unique birth (Lk 1^{35}) or by His pre-existence as the Logos and His manifestation in the flesh (Jn $1^{1.\,18}$).

2. The Son of Man.—(*a*) *Origin of the term.*—Controversy has long raged around this great title. Until about twenty years ago, it was generally accepted as a historical fact that Jesus used the phrase, and ingenuity was spent upon discovering what He meant by it and why He seems to have preferred it to any other. (For full accounts of the varieties of opinion see the summaries *sub voce* of S. R. Driver in *HDB*, and of N. Schmidt in *EBi.*) A sudden change was wrought when some German scholars, especially Lietzmann, Wellhausen, and Fiebig, raised the question, on purely philological grounds, whether Jesus could have used the phrase at all. Assuming that He spoke Aramaic, it was pointed out that the Aramaic equivalent of *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* could only be Barnāsh or Barnāshā, and that this was the ordinary Aramaic word for 'a man' in the indefinite sense, and had come to be used as an indefinite personal pronoun for 'one.' The conclusion was reached by some (Wellhausen, Schmidt, etc.) that a sheer misunderstanding of certain (authentic) sayings (especially Mk $2^{1\text{ff.}\,27\text{f.}}$), where Jesus spoke of 'man,' had led early Greek translators from the Aramaic to use the unnatural Greek phrase, and that by a natural process this was extended to other authentic passages, and also to some new ones which theological conceptions of His Person led them to attribute to Jesus. The discussion of this problem must be left to the linguistic specialists. But a survey of the controversy yields the following points.

(1) Much depends on the date ascribed to the first documents in which it occurs. Now the authors of Matthew and Luke found this phrase in that document Q which gave them so many of the words of Jesus. If they independently got hold of Q in Greek, and if, as Harnack holds, it was composed before the Fall of Jerusalem, it must be dated in the lifetime of many of the first disciples of Jesus. This fact will go far to prove that 'Mark' found the phrase in his independent material, which also must have existed before A.D. 70. The double process of misunderstanding the Aramaic phrase and using it for theological ends, by which N. Schmidt accounts for its place in the Gospels, is then thrown back to the lifetime of the primary apostles. This seems incredible among people who spoke both Aramaic and Greek. (2) Those who believe that Jesus used some word to express this idea agree that He therein referred directly to Dn 7^{13}, and did so most distinctly at His trial (Mk 14^{62}). It seems difficult to believe that He could not have made this reference in that form, on the ground that, as Lietzmann insists, the title Son of Man 'did not, and for linguistic reasons could not, exist in Aramaic'—an extreme which Dalman refuses to accept (*Worte Jesu*^{2}, p. 193 f.). As a matter of fact, when the Greek Gospels were translated (in the lectionary known as the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*) into an Aramaic dialect which 'may, perhaps, bear a close resemblance to that in which Jesus spoke to His disciples' (E. Nestle, *Textual Criticism of the Greek NT*, Eng. tr., London, 1901, p. 103), two forms were used, clumsy as they were, as equivalents for the Greek for 'Son of Man' (N. Schmidt, *EBi* iv. 4714). The phrase is indeed, and admittedly, uncouth in any and every language. But its very strangeness may have lent it value for the purpose of Jesus. Those who believe with R. H. Charles that Jesus adopted the phrase from the 'Similitudes' of the Book of Enoch have less trouble, of course, with its presence in the Gospels, but throw the philological puzzle back to its origin in 'Enoch.' On the other hand, E. A. Abbott holds that Jesus derived the term from Ezekiel, where υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου appears scores of times in LXX as a translation of the Hebrew *ben 'ādhām*. As to the Aramaic translation of the latter, which would be given in the synagogues, he points out that the Targum of Jonathan (2nd cent.) calls Ezekiel *bar'ādhām*, and this may have been the phrase familiar to Jesus. If this were the phrase He used, which Abbott seems to hold as possible, the reference to Dn 7^{13} would not be excluded. His whole manner of revealing His consciousness involved the constant use of many OT ideas and passages, hitherto unharmonized or superficially interpreted. His consciousness extracted their inner unity as the reflexion of itself, and their variety as the prophetic voices of God. (3) The avoidance of the title by the authors of the Gospels, except when they attribute its use to Jesus, arose from their recognition of its strangeness, and their reverence for His purpose in its adoption. Moreover, the titles which they use are either religious or prophetic in their meaning, but 'Son of Man' does not immediately suggest a religious idea like 'the Lord,' nor link Him directly and openly with canonical prophecy like 'the Christ,' nor immediately with the Father, like 'Son of God.' It is colourless in these respects, and even in our own day is used only when men wish to emphasize one of the aspects of His Person, namely, His humanity. But that was not what the earliest disciples needed to emphasize by means of a title; and probably it was not what Jesus intended by it. Its avoidance in the Epistles is due obviously to the fact that to Gentiles it could have had no meaning at all. This makes it all the more significant that the Gentile Synoptic (Luke), who avoids so much that is peculiarly Jewish, retains it so freely in the words of Jesus, and preserves several instances of its use which are peculiar to his Gospel (see below). (4) It is not impossible that, when Jesus used the Aramaic form, His emphasis on it carried the meaning 'the Man,' but that, for reasons partially suggested by Dalman (*op. cit.*, p. 196 f.), the only Greek form free from embarrassment was not ὁ ἄνθρωπος, but ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. But it is by no means conclusively proved that Jesus could not, even in Aramaic, use a phrase, however peculiar, for which those Greek words were, in the minds of men who knew and read and wrote both languages, the best equivalent. Burkitt holds that 'the Son of Man' is a literal translation of the Aramaic for 'the human being,' 'the Man,' and that, when Jesus used it, the effect would be 'the Man—you know of whom I speak,' and that at His trial the reference to Dn 7^{13} became quite clear (*Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus*, p. 66).

(*b*) *Use of the term by Jesus.*—It must help us to understand His consciousness if we try to discover why and how He used this strange title.

(1) We must remember that the term 'Messiah' did not occur as a personal noun until Jewish times, and that the indiscriminate use of it by us as an equivalent for other terms may and does lead to inaccuracy. Some word must, indeed, be found to cover all the phenomena of the strange alluring hope which held the eyes of that race directed upon God and the future with passionate confidence; and 'Messiah' has become fixed for us in that usage. But we must not forget that many descriptions of their hope even in the OT contain no allusion to a personal Messiah. The word 'Messiah' in late Jewish literature—'mine' (or 'the') anointed one'—is used most frequently where the mind of the seer is fixed upon the clash of nations, when he thinks of dynasty succeeding dynasty and empire overthrowing empire. Then he conceives of the Anointed One, generally as the 'Son of David,' as appearing to overcome all foes. From this it becomes plain that in the days of Jesus—whether false Messiahs had already appeared or not—the word Messiah would inevitably suggest a powerful historical king, a warrior, an army, a sudden and resistless revolution. But, if we take Enoch 37–70 to be pre-Christian, another conception of the great deliverance had arisen. Developing the central idea in Dn 7^{13}, the eye of faith saw one appear, who comes down upon the plane of history from above, wholly 'supernatural,' for whom a new name must be found. (He is very rarely called 'the Anointed.') He, 'the Son of Man,' shall execute judgment on men and angels alike. His sphere is evidently other than that usually associated with the picture of the anointed king, of David's lineage.

The difference between the ideals led to a difference in the effect of the names principally associated with each. This comes out in a startling way in the trial scene. When Jesus is asked whether He is 'the Christ,' He not only assents, but immediately, as if still avoiding a misunderstanding, makes the statement that they will see 'the Son of Man' at the right hand of power and in the clouds of heaven. Now, it was no blasphemy, as has often been pointed out, for a man to claim to be Messiah; but the claim to be 'the Son of Man,' uttered in the presence of so many witnesses, was taken as a blasphemous claim at once. Yet, strange to say, according to the Synoptics, the Jewish judges did not lay before Pilate the religious (Son of Man) but the political (Messiah) charge, that He claimed 'to be king' (Mk 15^{2}). Luke tells us (22^{70}) that it was the claim to be Son of Man that led to the further question, 'Art thou then the Son of God?'—where 'Son of God' cannot be a mere repetition of the original question, 'If thou art the Christ, tell us' (v.^{67}), but suggests that the term 'Son of Man' carried to their minds higher personal implications than 'Messiah.' Exactly the same succession of ideas appears in the Fourth Gospel, where Pilate is evidently first told that Jesus claimed to be king of the Jews (Jn 18^{33}; though, strangely enough, both here and in the Synoptics the exact language of the first accusation as reported from the Jewish judges to Pilate is not preserved). When Pilate seems unimpressed by that apparently foolish idea, they then pass to a new (religious) accusation (19^{7}) based on their Law, viz. 'he made himself the Son of God.' Such facts would seem to prove that the term Messiah carried with it too much of a 'political' meaning, and for that reason Jesus avoided its use or acceptance, except among the inner circle of disciples (Mt $16^{16\text{ff.}}$) or at the final trial, whereas the term Son of Man was so instinct, for those who understood it at all, with what we call 'supernatural' connotation that it suggested the attitude of expectant waiting upon God's mighty act rather than the readiness of a subject people for revolution. He therefore could feel secure that those who grasped anything of its meaning, and they may have been few, would not be as the dangerous zealots, while those who did not understand it would inquire (Jn 12^{34}).

(2) Jesus used this title from an early period in His ministry down to the very end, and in many connexions, in relation to His functions as the

founder of the Kingdom of God on earth. Some of these correspond with the functions assigned to the Son of Man in the Book of Enoch, but many are profoundly different.

(i.) Before the critical passage describing His appearance to His disciples near Cæsarea Philippi, He had already used it, according to the three Synoptic Gospels, twice (Mk 2^{10} 2^{28} and ‖); according to Q, four times in Matthew's arrangement, and twice in Luke's arrangement (Mt 8^{20} 11^{19} $12^{32.\ 40}$ and ‖); according to Luke alone, once more (6^{22}, where Mt 5^{11} reads 'for my sake'). Of these the most significant are that the Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins and is Lord of the Sabbath. The latter is not a strange claim, as Wellhausen and others maintain, when we remember that the Sabbath was a Jewish institution, and that the saying is parallel, therefore, to His assumption of authority over other institutions, such as 'the Law' in the Sermon on the Mount, the Temple (Mt 12^{6}, cf. Mk $11^{15\text{-}18}$), and even the Covenant itself (Mk 14^{24}).

(ii.) He uses the title 'Son of Man' when He begins to teach His disciples about His death (Mk 8^{31} 9^{12}). And part of their distress and dismay must have been due to this most astonishing collocation of ideas. For, if He had already uttered the words of Mt 10^{23} 11^{19} $12^{8.\ 32}$ $13^{37.\ 41}$, He had suggested to them a personal power and authority with which death seemed utterly inconsistent. According to the Synoptics, the teaching about His death immediately followed the confession of Peter at Cæsarea. Now, it is essential to a conception of His method to see that Matthew is right in his interpretation of the meaning of our Lord's question, 'Who do men say that the Son of Man is?' (16^{13}; cf. Mk 8^{27}, Lk 9^{18}). He had already spoken of Himself as 'the Son of Man,' but that name of itself had for them no definiteness, and needed interpretation; so the problem was whether the disciples had yet 'placed' Him in their scheme of things. Hence the joy when He found that they saw in Him the Messiah. But this insight of theirs made it urgent that they should not be swept off their feet by earthly views of the Messiah. They must learn that the Son of Man is not only the Messiah of their familiar hopes, but also the 'Suffering Servant,' and must die. Hence this is the title which He uses when describing the purpose and effect of that death on the relations of man and God (Mk 10^{45} $14^{22\text{f.}}$). In and for His own consciousness, the union of 'the Son of Man' with the 'Suffering Servant of Jahweh' had already taken place. That which was incongruous for His disciples had long been central for Him. That which to them is a moral impossibility shines before Him even through lurid glory as the crown of the moral universe. In His blood the relations of God and man are re-constructed. He who serves the race unto death, if He be the Son of Man, *ipso facto* becomes the Lord of its destiny. But His Lordship is for His consciousness equivalent to the Kingship of God. Here then the new and transcendent fact is attained, first in His insight and will, and then in the experience of those upon whom the new relationship, the actual Kingship of the Father, takes effect. Not the fulfilment of the Law by the mass of the people, as their Rabbis taught, not even their repentance at the call of a prophet, like John the Baptist, not the abstract announcement by Jesus that God is the Father, nor even the exemplification of it in His treatment of the sinful and the suffering, opens the new era in the creative relations of God and man. The foundations of the world have been changed. That new era is produced by the will of the Son of Man to offer Himself as in some real sense a ransom, a sacrifice in death. But this death of the Son of Man is due ultimately to the will of God (see use of παραδίδωμι in Mk 9^{31} 10^{33} 14^{41}; cf. Jn 10^{18} $12^{27\text{f.}}$). It is intrinsic to the very nature of that process by which God is to establish the perfect Kingship of His holy love and holy will among men. This is perhaps the most startling feature of the re-interpretation (referred to above) of the functions of the deliverer, whether called Messiah or Son of Man. Historically, it is rooted in the Ebhed-Jahweh of Isaiah; actually it was present to the consciousness and will of Jesus as a living purpose; and its effect is seen in that new form of religious consciousness whose intelligible, not to say intelligent, history began when the primary apostles discovered that the Cross was the instrument of the Christ for their reconciliation with God. Almost all the NT literature finds there the secret of the Kingdom of God. It has been established in sacrifice, in a deed whose superhuman quality is seen in its transcendent moral beauty and power (1 Co $1^{18\text{ff.}}$). St. Paul it was who saw so deeply that the death of Jesus secured that vindication of the righteousness of God which some of the greatest prophets and seers had foreseen as a necessary condition in the establishment of the Kingship of God.

(iii.) The title 'Son of Man' is used also and most frequently in the eschatological, including the apocalyptic, parts of the words of Jesus. He speaks to His disciples (according to Lk $17^{22.\ 24.\ 26.\ 30}$) of 'the days of the Son of Man,' which may have reminded them of the Jewish way of speaking of 'the days of the Messiah.' (The peculiarly Jewish colouring of this phrase shows that Luke, who avoids that kind of thing when he can, found it in some document not used by Matthew and Mark.) He will appear in power and glory (Mk 8^{38} 13^{26} 14^{62}) and will then enter upon the supreme task of judgment (Mk 8^{38}=Mt 16^{27}, Mt 25^{31}). That appearing will not be confined to Judæa, but have universal effect (Lk 17^{24}=Mt 24^{27}). In these and similar passages Jesus uses language which, while reminding His hearers of passages in Daniel, yet presents in its total effect an entirely new view of the consummation. It is not true to His consciousness to say, as recent 'eschatologists' have been insisting, that He shared in the crude catastrophic view of the last things. His consciousness has wrought a revolution for His disciples which their minds only gradually realized; and their confusion is reflected in the reports of His last discourses, and indeed in the rest of the NT. He speaks of the Son of Man coming with power and 'with' or 'on' the clouds of heaven. What that means *for Him* must be set beside the fact that He has already come. We cannot understand Him by supposing, as Schweitzer does, that Jesus expected to become Messiah and Son of Man only after death. Such a violent conception of a consciousness that only lives on what it is going to be and is not yet, is incredible. The Son of Man had already come. The miracle that is foretold must be compared with the miracle already done. His consciousness even as He speaks—so 'naturally'!—embraces the human and the superhuman, the conscious will that 'came' and the conscious will that shall 'come' again. It is as untrue to the nature of His consciousness to confine it wholly within the limits of the imagination of His disciples, as they looked forward to His coming, as it would be to insist that His mind held the successive details of that future already in their actual form. The essential difference, and the key to our further understanding of Him, lies in that consciousness that He, as the Son of Man, pre-existent and superhuman, had come and therefore must and would come again. We have already seen that the pictorial element is undoubtedly present in His eschatological sayings, and that will add to the conviction that we must not attribute to Him the crude 'miraculism' that His disciples saw in the form of His sayings. On the other hand, we must not take refuge, with the timidity of the modern mind before the word 'miracle,' in the notion that He possessed and claimed no superhuman power over the forces of nature. The 'purely spiritual' view of His relation to history, whatever that may mean, was His as little as it was His disciples' view. It is the higher conception of evolution (not the naturalistic, mechanical) that gives to our day better than to His own or any other generation the means of interpreting His consciousness at these points. That view is that the history of our world has been carried upward and enriched by the appearance and operation of new factors. For it is a crude evolutionism which holds that the simple produced the complex or the lower caused the higher to exist. To say that the higher was in the lower, when there is no sign of its presence, does not enlighten us. It is best to say that, when the conditions were ready, life or thought appeared, whence we know not, and became a self-multiplying power in history. The new factors are 'from above,' they have 'come,' and they have laid hold of the material prepared for them, with a strange power and for ends whose nature the former things could not suggest. The Son of Man was conscious of being such a new factor in history, and hence of a relation to nature which was both human and more than human. He came eating and drinking, He had not where to lay His head, He had to face the conditions of human history even in temptation of the devil, in hostility and betrayal by those whom He loved, in death, because He was a son of man. But, being the Son of Man, He could do these mighty works among the forces of nature and even rise from the dead. And He would come, soon or late (His words leave room for both), with power and the clouds of heaven for a universal reign over the human race in the name of God.

(3) *In the Fourth Gospel.*—The use of the title 'Son of Man' in the Fourth Gospel, where it occurs 12 times, is characteristically different from, and yet fundamentally the same as, its use in the Synoptics. (*a*) The peculiar use of the 3rd pers. in connexion with this title is emphasized by the fact that in this Gospel He uses the 1st pers. so freely—'I am' light, bread, good shepherd, etc. Only at $9^{35f.}$ (if reading *ἀνθρώπου* for *θεοῦ*) does He seem to say, and that indirectly, 'I am the Son of Man.' (*b*) Further, we find that the title produces the same confusion in the minds of others as it does according to the Synoptics. His claim to be Messiah, and speculation whether He be the Messiah, are darkened by His deliberate association of that apocalyptic and less familiar title 'Son of Man' (if familiar at all to any but the *docti*) with death and with eating His flesh and drinking His blood (6^{53}). 'His disciples' are discouraged ($6^{60.\ 66}$) just as Peter was, according to the Synoptists. The Jews and the multitude likewise are perplexed (6^{52}), and ask, 'Who is this Son of Man?' (12^{34}). (*c*) It is in answer to a perplexed mind that in two cases Jesus uses the title in an apocalyptic connexion (3^{13} 6^{62}), where 'ascending' and 'descending' express His consciousness of superhuman relations with heaven and earth (cf. 1^{51}). (*d*) A peculiar colouring is given to the references to His death by the strange use of two words: 'lifted up' (*ὑψόω*) is here (3^{14} 8^{28} $12^{32.\ 34}$) used of physical events (crucifixion and ascension), whereas in the Synoptics it is always used in an ethical sense; and 'glorify' (*δοξάζω*) (12^{23} 13^{31}) is here used of His death in an ethical sense, whereas the idea is applied to the Son of Man in the Synoptists in a way which implies a glory apparent to the senses. (*e*) The essential identity of this consciousness with that described in the Synoptics is evident. The difference of colouring is not wholly explained by saying that with John 'the name . . . has reference not to the higher claims of Jesus, but to the fact of His manhood' (E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 184). Rather is it due to the constant effort in this Gospel to present the historic consciousness of Jesus as the perfect union of the supernatural with the natural. He who both wept at the grave and immediately raised the dead was not living in a double consciousness, now human and now divine; nor, for this author, was it primarily 'a human nature united with the divine' (*ib.* p. 186) for which the title was used. The emphasis in these passages is still on the divine which has become human, on the supernatural in the natural. Even in 5^{27}, if we translate '*a* son of man' (but cf. the anarthrous title in 10^{36} 19^{7} and Mt 14^{33}), the change from 'Son of God' in v.^{25} involves a kind of 'play' upon the words 'Son of Man,' and means that He has authority *on earth* (Mk 2^{10}) to forgive sins, as being also 'a son of man.' It is the fact of incarnation, vast in its meaning, that contains *this* power. The power alike to reveal ($3^{12f.}$), to redeem (3^{14} $12^{32.\ 34}$), to nourish with divine life (6^{53}), and to judge (5^{27}) rests upon the fact that in history, as a man, He yet stands as Son of Man. And the context of these passages shows it to be no less true that, for the Johannine interpreter of His consciousness, these functions rest upon the fact that in history, as a man, He yet stands as Son of God, the Logos who became flesh.

III. *JESUS CHRIST AS CREATOR OF THE CHURCH.*—We have in the NT the record not merely of the conscious will of the historic Jesus, but of the effect which that will produced in the experience of man, in the rise of the Christian Church. Some account of that matter is herewith given in its two principal stages.

i. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE DISCIPLES BEFORE THE CRUCIFIXION.—The attention of students of the Gospels has been fastened mainly upon two subjects, viz. the teaching of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels, and the traces of later thought in those records, such as the apologetic purpose revealed in Matthew and John, or the personal views of His Person held by each of the four evangelists. There is another somewhat neglected field of study, viz. that change which Jesus wrought in the religious life of His disciples. This is in a sense only the reverse side of the whole fact of which the obverse has been presented in the description of His conscious will. But it must also be considered if we are to realize vividly the process by which He became the founder of Christianity. The neglect of this topic is one fruitful cause of the wide-spread but superficial view that Jesus was a teacher, whose disciples *after His death* exaggerated Him into a Redeemer and a Divine Person.

1. Jesus and Israel.—The first disciples came to Jesus from those who had been arrested by the message of John the Baptist. His announcement of the approach of the Kingdom of heaven was bound up with the announcement that the King Himself would appear, through whom the Holy Spirit would enter into the life of the people (Mk 1^{2-8}, Mt 3^{1-12}, Lk 3^{1-20}, Jn 1^{19-27}). They understood, of course, that He would come to Israel and somehow assert His supreme authority over the people of God. But they did not and could not anticipate the entirely new manner in which that assertion would be made, the new type of kingship which He would establish. Even their prophets had not foreseen it (Mt 11^{1}).

(*a*) *His appeal to the Jews.*—Jesus did make His appeal steadily and unweariedly to Israel as the people of God. He preached throughout the synagogues of Galilee (Mk 1^{39}). On each visit to Jerusalem He went to the Temple and dealt directly with the responsible heads of the Jewish religious community. And not only John but the Synoptists represent Him as aware that His rejection or acceptance by them determined the question whether 'His own' had received Him or not (*e.g.*, Jn 1^{11} $6^{52.\ 64.\ 66}$ 8^{43} 9^{41}, Mt 21^{23-45} 23^{37-39}). When He sent out His disciples to preach in His name (alike the twelve and the seventy), He commanded them to address 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel' (Mt 10^{6}) or to prepare the way for His own preaching among them (Lk 10^{1}). The last great struggle culminating in His death arose from His unbroken will to bring Israel to repentance *and into submission to Himself.*

(*b*) *The disciples and this appeal.*—His disciples accompanied Him through the whole series of events. They heard, and helped to extend, His call to repentance; and they knew that this alone had not caused His death, for the rulers feared to kill one popularly known to be a prophet (Mt 21^{26}). They heard His announcement of a higher code of morals; that did not cause His death. They heard Him accused of breaking the Sabbath; that also, though more grave, did not directly enter into His final condemnation. They knew that even the desire to be a revolutionary Messiah would not have procured His formal indictment and execution; patriotism would have kept his enemies silent, if not enthusiastic. On the other hand, they had watched his passionate desire to save His people in His own way and on His own terms. They had heard his patient arguments with the scribes and Pharisees, His protests against their accusation of Him as an emissary of Satan, His warnings against their rejection of Him as leading to their own downfall, His terrific denunciations when their hatred of Him revealed them, not as ignorant or sensual, but as hypocrites. They saw His very tears over Jerusalem, when He knew her decision to be made and her doom chosen out of hatred for the real Spirit of God and for the real Kingship of God as revealed in Himself (cf. Mt 11^{20} 12^{28-30} 23^{37-39}, Mk $12^{1.\ 2}$, Lk 13^{1-9}). Burkitt explains what he calls 'the quarrel' between Jesus and the authorities by the difference between 'erudition,' on which they depended, and 'intuition,' which was the supreme quality of His Spirit (*The Gospel History and its Transmission*, p. 174). The disciples have a deeper account of the matter than that, so much deeper that the word 'quarrel' is not the adequate term for it. It was in their view a warfare between the true King of Israel and the sons of the Kingdom. The resistance to one who claims regal authority is either rebellion or patriotic rectitude. The records show that even before His death His disciples had begun to understand it as rebellion.

(*c*) *Persistence of the appeal.*—Moreover, it is not correct to say that Jesus cut Himself off from Israel. His appeals never ceased. Even in the Johannine account of His controversy this element of grace never altogether fails. His urgency, His condemnation, His denunciation, are the weapons of His mercy (*e.g.*, 6^{33-35} 8^{12-32} $10^{37f.}$), and on the cross He prays for the pardon of those who have rejected His Kingship. To the very end He is seeking the lost, manifesting the Father's grace in His own attitude and action towards them.

2. The new Israel.—'The whole Jewish thought may be summed up in this, that as surely as there is only one God, so surely is there only one sacred community (Gemeinde)' (A. Schlatter, *NT Theologie*, Calw, 1909–10, i. 175). Nowhere is the majesty of the conscious will of Jesus more apparent than in this, that, as the people reject Him, He begins to create the new community of God. The disciples preserve this fact as fully and clearly as they do His words of an eschatological character. And their understanding of His self-estimate was rooted here, and not merely in His words of prophecy. The Gospels prove on every page that Jesus deliberately set Himself to establish the Church as the manifestation of the Kingdom of God. Whether He actually used the word 'Church' (Mt 18^{17}) or not is a minor matter; and it may be even irrelevant. The fact is that, as He found individuals responsive to His call, repenting of sin, as He saw repentant men (Lk 5^{8}) ready to rise up and follow Him at all costs, waiting upon His will as upon that of a king, He saw in them the members of the new community of God. He speaks of them as 'salt of the earth,' 'light of the world' (Mt $5^{13ff.}$), and distinguishes their kind of righteousness from that of the Pharisees (5^{20}). He sees publicans and harlots, who repent and follow Him (as many of them had believed John the Baptist in his day), going into the Kingdom of God (Mt 21^{31}). He takes the faith of the centurion in Himself as the harbinger of that multitude of Gentiles who shall come from the east and the west while the sons of the Kingdom are cast out (Mt $8^{11f.}$). The idea that Jesus was primarily a teacher, and a personal revealer only so far as He went about doing good, just as He expected others to do, and for the rest pictured to Himself, and to others, certain transcendent acts of God lying yet for Him wholly in the future, through which the Kingdom would be established out of heaven, is one which leaves out the central fact in the Gospels. That central fact is that He created, consciously, deliberately, patiently, the new nation, the community in which God's Kingship was being realized. Harnack (*Neue Untersuchungen*, etc., p. 97) names it as one of the 'developments' in Matthew that Jesus is pictured as addressing a definite community ('eine geschlossene Gemeinde'). But, if we subtract a slight element of exaggeration in the phrase, the fact is not less true of Mark. In the latter His movements are affected by consideration of three groups—the multitude, the officials and their representatives, and the disciples. The last named, even when limited to the twelve (though not always so limited), form a definite community, which even in Mark is looked upon as the nucleus of the Kingdom of God ($1^{16.\ 17.\ 36-38}$ 2^{18-20} $3^{7.\ 13ff.}$ $4^{10.\ 34}$ $10^{29f.\ 43-45}$ 12^{9} $13^{20-23.\ 27}$ [*οἱ ἐκλεκτοί*]).

What is the evidence in the Gospels that His disciples experienced the force of that creative will during His earthly ministry? On the outward side the answer is easy. For it is clear that Jesus, as we have seen, gathered His followers around Him, as individuals who became a more or less definite body, through their willingness to accept His teaching, obey His behests, and put their hope in His power. We do not know how large this body was. It appears indistinctly as varying in number, intelligence, and enthusiasm. That crowds followed Him so much as to endanger His work is made very clear in Mark's Gospel, where He is represented as repeatedly eluding them and their superficial and earthly desires. All the Gospels describe Him as selecting twelve men on whom He concentrated His attention (Mk 1^{16-20} = Mt 4^{18-22}; cf. Lk 5^{1-11}, Mk 3^{13-19} = Lk 6^{12-19}, Mt 10^{2-4}, Jn 1^{35-51} $6^{67.\ 70f.}$; see E. Haupt, *Zum Verständnis des Apostolats im NT*, Halle, 1896). As Mark shows Him escaping from the multitudes, Matthew most distinctly and repeatedly emphasizes the positive work of close and intimate instruction of the twelve (cf. Mt $16^{13.\ 21}$ $17^{1.\ 9.\ 19.\ 24.\ 25}$ $18^{1.\ 21}$ $19^{10.\ 23}$ 20^{17} $24^{1-25.\ 46}$ $26^{1ff.}$).

3. The 'liberal view.'—It is usual and important to point out that Jesus, in giving to His disciples the secret of fellowship with God, did not teach them any rules or provide them with institutional machinery. He has no technique of penitence, though He demands penitence. He has no external rules of worship, though He expects them to worship. He would have men pray, but teaches only one brief and general form. He insists relentlessly on doing the will of the Father, but He has no list of commandments. He makes love to God and man a universal fundamental law that must be obeyed by all men before and above all else, but where and how they shall begin He does not say. All the helps by way of rules, ceremonies, symbols, and creeds which other religious teachers and directors have used for the guidance of their followers are absent from the story of our Lord's dealings with His disciples. These facts raise in an urgent way the question, What then did Jesus do with His disciples that was sufficient to create the Church and open the Christian era? The answer to this question which the so-called 'liberal' theology has made familiar to this generation consists mainly in this, that Jesus, first by His teaching about God as Father and about the Kingdom as the re-organization of society on the basis of righteousness and love, further by His own example in which faith in the Father and love to man were so fully exemplified, awoke in His disciples' hearts a like faith in their own sonship towards God, and that 'enthusiasm of humanity' from which all effective reforms of society must spring. His primary message was about the Father and man's direct approach to Him, not about Himself as Mediator of that Father's love, not even about Himself as exemplar of the Father's spirit. It was the admiration and gratitude of the disciples that clothed Him with the categories of Messiah and Redeemer, drawn partly from Jewish and partly from Hellenistic life and thought, and in time added the remoter conceptions of pre-existence, deity, atoning sacrifice, and universal authority.

This position is capable of many modifications. There are those who reduce the personal function of Jesus to little more than that of a superlative teacher who was also a man of deep religious experience (*e.g.*, Bousset, *Jesus*; J. Weiss, *Christus*, Halle, 1909). There are those who recognize in His exemplary power a fact of transcendent value for all time, a form of religious experience which surpasses all others, and makes Him Leader and Master of all who would know the power of faith and realize in their hearts the love of God (*e.g.*, N. Schmidt, *The Prophet of Nazareth*). But there are those whom it is hard to classify, men who seem, under the spell of 'the modern mind,' to reduce His significance, and then, under a vision of His real place in the history of the Christian consciousness, to exalt Him to superhuman rank and authority. Such an one is Wernle (*Die Anfänge unserer Religion*; very clearly also in *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*). But we may here take as our example Harnack, in whose various writings the two points of view (or the influence of these two impulses) appear repeatedly. For example, in *The Sayings of Jesus* he says that Q gives us 'that which formed the central theme of the message of our Lord—that is, the revelation of the knowledge of God, and the moral call to repent and to believe, to renounce the world and to gain heaven—this and nothing else' (p. 251). A few pages earlier, however (while dealing with the content of Q), he says, 'It is obvious that our Lord's consciousness of Sonship must have preceded in time His consciousness of Messiahship, must indeed have formed a stepping-stone to the latter' (p. 245 n.); again in an often quoted sentence in *Das Wesen des Christentums*, 'Not the Son, but only the Father is contained in the gospel as Jesus proclaimed it' (p. 91). Yet in the next paragraphs he goes on to show from the very words of Jesus that 'He leads them to God, not only through His word, but even more through that which He is and does and finally through that which He suffers,' and concludes by asserting 'that Jesus Himself became for His disciples the power of the Gospel' (p. 92). There is evidently a situation here which needs to be cleared up. It has been urged that Harnack in that sentence means to speak strictly as a historian when he says that the gospel as Jesus preached it contained only 'the Father and not the Son,' and that he does admit the right of the disciples afterwards to introduce Jesus Himself into their form of the gospel (so Schlatter). The question is partly whether Harnack is right in excluding from consideration the great passages (cited earlier in this article) in which the conscious will of Jesus is represented as determining the destiny of men. But it is not a question to be decided merely by quoting utterances which explicitly and formally put Him into the gospel as He preached it, or by refusing to accept them as authentic. The real question is whether we have proof that Jesus became to His disciples a 'religious object' during His earthly life, and whether their experience in that matter was the effect of His conscious will as He by teaching, miracle, example, and direct moulding of their life formed them into the nucleus of that community in which He intended the Kingship of God to be realized. Have we any right to limit 'His gospel' to His recorded words of formal teaching, addressed to the multitudes, if we find that the whole effect of His 'training of the twelve' was to replace their Jewish religion with a religious attitude towards God which depended upon their attitude towards Him?

4. The method of Jesus.—This, which is a purely historical as well as a vital religious inquiry, we must now deal with. It will be best to do so by considering the matter in relation to the three functions of personal founders described in the opening section of this article. The appearance of repetition, when the following statements are compared with the discussion of the consciousness of Jesus, will be lessened if it be remembered, as already explained, that we are here considering the other side of the central fact (the founding of the Christian religion), viz. the religious consciousness of the disciples of Jesus. We must see the experience through which the first disciples passed as the conscious will of Jesus took effect upon their relations with God, if we would understand the method of the founder.

(1) *The sense of need.*—Each personal founder has dealt with the human sense of need. He has interpreted it, intensified it, and sought to satisfy it. He has revealed what he saw to be the true and supreme values of human experience, glorified them, and sought to make them the actual possession of his followers. What did His disciples receive from Jesus in this way?

(*a*) They came to Him from a race for which, as a whole, the religious was the supreme view of life. Moreover, they came with minds and hearts aflame from the stern, passionate, convinced, and convincing preaching of John the Baptist. His announcement of the approaching Kingdom prepared them for the King. In Jesus they found another who, like John, was absorbed wholly in the thought of that supreme crisis, and He too announced the Kingdom. But they found many great differences in His method and outlook. These differences are not exhausted by speaking of His geniality, breadth, sympathy, social interest, and so forth. For He was also stern, definite, authoritative, exacting. His disciples found themselves involved by their discipleship in new personal relations with the living, present, and insistent will of God. Jesus did not, like the Baptist, postpone that Kingship to an outer catastrophic event. He makes them feel that they have to do with God now, as He is dealing with them now. This lies at the heart even of the Lord's Prayer, every clause of which involves the idea of God's present action in our human life, even though it may have an eschatological background. The presence of God is involved in all that He says about prayer, against anxiety, concerning the Father's love, in the call to repentance, to faith, to self-sacrifice. In spite of the eschatological element in His sayings, through which He taught them to cherish the expectation of the future acts of God, we must see in these records their memory of the awe, the humility, the confidence towards God, the sense of His actual Kingship which Jesus awoke in their souls.

(*b*) Jesus also took up the Baptist's call to repentance. But His disciples found that with Him this meant a change more profound than any prophet had ever sought to effect, for no prophet had ever learned it as they did from the Messiah Himself (cf. Mt $13^{17f.}$). This repentance was something which He wrought in them by His whole continuous treatment of them as well as by an explicit preliminary call. They learned from Him the depth and subtlety of their sin. Apart altogether from lessons about outward sin, which He rather assumed that they already knew from the Law (Mk $10^{19f.}$), they were taught to see deadliest guilt in self-righteousness and self-seeking and unbelief. On these matters they received, and have preserved in these records, the most penetrating and heart-breaking experiences. For His words created the Christian world by first making history in their own souls. The teachings gathered together in the Sermon on the Mount were addressed to them as disciples, and cannot be understood if viewed as spoken to all and sundry—a drifting, excited crowd (Mt 5^{1}). Not only was Peter first encouraged to become a permanent follower in an hour of moral agony (Lk $5^{1\text{-}11}$), but he was repeatedly compelled to deeper knowledge of the distance of his heart from the ideal of his Master (Mt 14^{31} 16^{23} 17^{20} $18^{21f.}$ $19^{25\text{-}29}$ $20^{24ff.}$ $26^{31\text{-}35}$ [cf. Lk $22^{31f.}$] $26^{37.\ 40}$). The story of continuous moral training revealed in that series of passages expressed only in part the effect which Jesus produced upon the disciples when He thus proved to them how searching is that spirit of penitence to which He summoned them. In the conversions of Levi the publican, of Zacchæus, of the woman that was a sinner, there must have been powerful emotional crises. And the disciples were witnesses of these, and learners from them. They saw and felt the extending effect of the personality of Jesus upon the moral consciousness of susceptible souls. On the positive side, we may note that He taught them to repent, and got them to repent, by demanding the attitude of a little child (Mt $18^{1ff.}$), by measuring their sin with the most terrible of all standards, the principle of absolute mercy (Mt $6^{14f.}$ $18^{15\text{-}35}$), by insisting that the essential spirit of the Kingdom in which they now began to live was that of service, unshrinking, unselfish, and complete (Mt $20^{20\text{-}28}$), which cannot be rendered except by the penitent. He confronted them with the call to love as God loves the unworthy and uncongenial (Mt $5^{43\text{-}48}$). He even taught them that this inner moral revolution must be carried in upon the deepest impulses and apparently most natural and prevalent desires of human nature (Mt $19^{10\text{-}12.\ 24\text{-}26}$). It is impossible to measure the work of Jesus in founding the new and final religion unless we see in these mere excerpts from the wealth of material in all four Gospels, not the quiet, placid teaching of a Rabbi, but the active penetrating spirit, the conscious will, of their Lord bearing the idea of repentance persistently and insistently, deeper and deeper, into the heart, conscience, and will of the disciples. And they were thus actually taught, or the world could never have heard of them or Him. They learned from Him that the fundamental need of man is not primarily a God who can give His people the outward conditions of happiness, but this—a new moral relation with the holy will of the actual and living God. And Jesus made them feel that need while He was there in the flesh, or they could not have seen or felt His meaning and power when He came to them in the Spirit.

(2) *How the need was satisfied.*—The second matter of inquiry as to a personal founder is this—What function did He exercise in meeting the need which He revealed in so intense a light? Did He actually give them the new relation with God for which penitence is at once the preparation and the passionate outcry? It is plain from the Synoptics alone that they saw in Him a superhuman Man (see above on His consciousness). He was the Son of Man, He worked miracles of healing, He overcame the power of evil spirits, and even bound the strong man, the devil himself. He spoke on things human and divine with authority unmistakable, and announced the laws of the Kingdom of God. The religious results were not what they came to be after the Resurrection, but they were in kind the same. They found Him to be a fountain of the grace of God. No doubt the idea of saving the lost (Lk 19^{10} ‖ Mt 18^{11} [uncertain text]) may have eschatological implicates, as the word 'salvation' continues to have even in Paul's Epistles. But we cannot get rid of the fact that in the parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin, and the prodigal son Jesus described His own present conduct as He pursued and received those who became His disciples. The fact that the recorded words of explicit forgiveness were addressed to strangers (Mk $2^{5.\ 9}$ and ‖, Lk $7^{48\text{-}50}$) must not obscure the underlying fact that all who became associated with Him entered into that state of forgiveness. It is true that He glowingly describes the willingness of the Father to receive, and the supreme joy in heaven over, the repentant. But His own disciples had that grace of heaven manifested to them in the will of Jesus towards them. He treated those as penitent who followed Him, and His followers He treated as under the Kingship of God, enjoying the love of the Father because they were under His own will and objects of His own love. This comes out more clearly if we recall, in its significance for their religious experience, the kind and extent of submission which He exacted and they yielded to Him. The very symbols and metaphors employed to describe their relations to Him and His functions towards them are significant. Thus He is the Shepherd and they His flock (Mt 10^{16} 25^{32}, Lk 15^{4} 12^{32}, Jn $10^{11.\ 14}$), and therein encourages them to remember the OT conception of Jahweh as Shepherd (Ps 23^{1} 80^{1}, Is 40^{11}, Ezk $34^{17.\ 20}$). He is the builder of the new temple, *i.e.* the community which shall take Israel's place (Mt 16^{18}, Jn 2^{19}), for He is 'more than the temple' (Mt 12^{6}). He is the sower, and the souls whom He gathers to Himself are the harvest of God (Mt $13^{3.\ 24}$; cf. $9^{37f.}$). In all these metaphors we must note the gulf between shepherd and sheep, builder and house, sower and grain, as if they must be made to feel that this difference lies between Him and them, and yet that it is His love, His wisdom, His powerful care and control, that is their supreme hope. He does for them what the moral insight of a true penitent would ask from God. Even more strikingly, He is the

Lord who appoints to every man his task, as a slave-owner deals with the slaves who are his property (Mt 19^{28} 24^{45-51} 25^{14}), who returns to judge them, and for whose return as the consummation of human destiny the disciples of Jesus must wait in eagerness, faithfulness, and faith. These metaphors are added to the positive fundamental assertions of Messiah-King, Son of Man, final Judge, mysterious Servant of Jahweh doomed to death, whose tremendous force is felt with increasing awe as they watch Him move along His strange and unexpected path to His death. But, while the latter group of ideas are present to their minds, now as startling enigmas and anon as more startling explanations of Jesus, the former group are those which describe His actual will as it takes effect upon their present experience. Therefore, they have given up all for His sake (Mt 19^{27}), are ready, as He assumed, to meet persecution and even death for His sake (Mt $5^{10f.}$ [cf. Gess, *Christi Person und Werk*, i. 15 f.], Mt 20^{28}). They learn to believe in Him as the Messiah-King (Mt $16^{16f.}$), and, when they reach this measure of insight, Jesus rejoices because He sees now the new community established through which the Kingdom of God is made actual on the earth. He sees in that confession of Him the work of God's grace ('my Father') in their hearts. Then it is that the deeper teaching not only about His death, but about their relation to Him, begins to find expression (Mk 8^{31-38}). (Much of the material in Mt 10 probably belongs to this later period.) Now it begins to appear that their devotion to Him is a matter of which even disciples may be tempted to be ashamed (Mk 8^{38}, Mt $10^{32f.}$ 11^{6} 26^{33}, Ro 1^{16}). Now there is a gospel which they may begin to preach even at the cost of life (Mk 8^{35}). Now Jesus begins to speak of a cross (Mk 8^{34}, Mt 16^{24}, Lk 9^{23}) which they may be called on to carry to their own execution. (It is obvious that this language cannot be reflexion from a later date, for then the minds of Christians were absorbed in another view of the cross and spoke of being 'crucified with' Christ [Gal 2^{20}], and of dying with Him, not of bearing each an independent cross.) And He is said to have spoken of His drawing the world to Himself by being 'lifted up' (Jn 12^{32}).

(3) *Their inchoate thought of His Person.*—We nowhere find in the Gospels an explicit statement regarding the personal religious experience of the disciples. All that fullness of the inner life which created the rest of the NT writings (and in a sense the Synoptic Gospels too) is absent from the story of their intercourse with Him in the days of His flesh. They have preserved the records of their unbelief, their quarrelling, their selfish ambition, their blindness to His meaning, their readiness to forsake or deny Him when the supreme stress came. But they do not speak of their joy or peace or hope. It is evident that those were transition days from the arid, hungering life of the Jewish world of that time to the exultant hearts that were later filled with the Spirit and presence of the Risen Christ and of God in Him. They do not make clear how they thought of the Father as Jesus taught them, nor what that dawn of forgiveness and peace was as they walked with eyes of trust and awe fastened upon this imperious yet tender Master of their souls. But certainly they had begun to feel a religious joy in His fellowship, a religious reverence for His mighty will displayed in deeds and words of superhuman power (Mt 11^{28-30} 12^{50} $13^{16f.}$, Lk $10^{23f.}$, Mk 9^{5}, Jn 1^{14} [cf. 1 Jn $1^{1ff.}$ 15^{12-16}]); and, as we have seen, we must assume that His continuous and ever deepening instruction in the nature of the penitent, consecrated, and faithful life did seize their wills and change their hearts. The story of Peter's contrition at the beginning and end of the record (Lk 5^{8}, Mk 14^{72}) presents one side. The words of Jesus (Mt 16^{17}) indicate that in His view the recognition of His Messiahship was a religious experience of the highest character, in which Peter had been brought into relation with the Father. It is quite certain that they entered into the new life of prayer, or we could never have received their record of His many teachings on that central matter. No less certain is it that, as they thus sought communion with the Father, the constant presence, the searching spirit, the authoritative commands (Mt 7^{24-29}), and the whole personal atmosphere of the Messiah and Son of God conditioned in the deepest way their thought of God and their endeavours after a realized fellowship with Him. The vagueness of the matter at this point is obviously natural on the orthodox view. For, if the gospel must, in Christ's own view, contain Himself as essential to it, it was inevitable that this should not become clear to His disciples, nor the form of religious experience which He alone could make possible become realized, until His relations with them had passed through all stages and reached that climax at which alone the full situation could come into view. It is those who hold that the personal religion of Jesus Himself was meant by Him to become the religion of every man, and that He did not think of entering into their religious consciousness except as an inspiring teacher and example, who cannot explain the absence from the Gospels of any proof that the disciples felt, then and there, the presence of the Kingdom, the full force of the new life and its joy. For this His martyr death was not necessary. That event could only add a glow of pathos—but why not of despair?—to a picture of perfect relations with God which life alone could reveal and death could only blot out.

ii. The experience of the disciples after the Resurrection.—This is not the place to attempt a history of the apostolic Church. Our task is to set forth as briefly as possible some of those elements, described in the apostolic literature, which constituted the Church as a community, whose existence is founded on conscious reconciliation with God, conscious possession of His Spirit, and that through faith in Jesus as the Messiah, Son of God.

1. The Resurrection faith.—It is universally admitted that the inchoate community left by Jesus at His crucifixion had no basis in their brief intercourse with Jesus for continuance as a community. They were not organized for political action. Nor was their religious experience definite and strong enough to give them a distinct consciousness or place within the system of the Jewish Church. Their later conduct towards a universal gospel proves this. As an experience it was, as we have seen, real, but bound up with and dependent upon the presence of Jesus with them, and unreleased from Jewish bonds. When He lay dead, their faith was ready to die. They allowed outsiders to bury Him (Joseph of Arimathea [Mk 15^{43}]; Jn 19^{39} adds Nicodemus). The story of two of them, according to Lk 24^{18-24}, gives a vivid and realistic picture of their attitude of mind, as persons who retained a gracious memory of Jesus without hope. The grief which all the Gospels depict, the story of Thomas, the moral perplexity of Peter, the evident preparation for a permanent burial, combine to illustrate a situation which the whole history of human experience would compel us to expect as the only natural one. Moreover, there was a particular religious view of the situation which must have stained even the inevitable despair with shame and dismay. For an ancient law which was perfectly familiar to them, and which, indeed, made all crucifixion a matter of peculiar horror to the Jewish imagination, asserted that a man who was executed, or exposed in death, on a cross was proved by that very event to have been accursed of God (Dt 21^{23}, Ac $5^{30f.}$, Gal 3^{13}; cf. 1 Co 1^{23} 'a Messiah crucified!'). These facts are named here not for an apologetic purpose, but to account for the fact that practically all scholars, from Strauss onward, have held that the Christian Church could have risen only when the disciples came to have the Resurrection faith. What produced that faith is the matter in dispute, a discussion of which would involve critical details and a philosophy of miracle too prolonged for this article. But it was this sudden conviction that God had raised Jesus from the dead that thrilled the despairing disciples with new life.

2. **The Holy Spirit.**—Another event occurred in the experience of the community which is known as the Descent of the Holy Spirit. Whether the matter is accurately described in Ac 2 or not (cf. Jn 20^{22}), something happened early in the history of the disciples which made the language of Paul about the Spirit intelligible; and the Book of Acts is pervaded by the atmosphere and psychological effects of it. The coming of the Spirit meant that the power of God had come upon them. This power was manifested in various ways, some of them now obscure. Miracles and other forms of endowment (χαρίσματα) were the result of His presence (see H. Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heil. Geistes*^{3}, Göttingen, 1909; I. F. Wood, *The Spirit of God in Bib. Lit.*, London, 1904). It was natural, and the records show it, that at first there should be much confusion of mind among the disciples on a subject so new and startling as the conscious indwelling of God in the hearts of a human community. But it rapidly became clear that this experience meant that Jesus Christ Himself was still in living contact with them. They were—to use William James's striking word—'co-conscious' with Him in this overwhelming suffusion of their hearts with a superhuman divine power.

3. **Christ of history and of experience.**—The disciples had no intellectual difficulty about the transition from 'the Christ of history to the Christ of experience,' with which modern thought has concerned itself so deeply. On the one hand, they believed that the same Jesus whom they had known in the flesh had appeared to them after His death, and that the experience of the Spirit's power was the fulfilment of His promise (Ac 1^8 2^{33}, Jn 14^{26} 16^7), and therefore the proof in their own life that they were under control of the same conscious will that dominated them in His earthly days. Even Paul, when he defends his authority as an apostle, claims to have 'seen Jesus' (1 Co 9^1; cf. 15^8). For him this conscious will (God, the spirit of God, Christ, the spirit of Christ, Ro 8^{1-11}) that rules him is the will of the historical personality whom they all knew as Jesus. But, on the other hand, they seem to have assumed that there was a continuity in the course and nature of their religious experience itself. It is a strange feature of the early addresses of Peter, and true to this view of the situation, that he does not represent the primary disciples, all of whom had been with Jesus (Ac $1^{13-15.\ 24.\ 25}$), as having now for the first time received the forgiveness of sins; and there is no record of their having been baptized at this time. Repentance, baptism, forgiveness, are proclaimed to others (Ac $2^{38f.}$ $3^{19.\ 26}$), but are presupposed as already characteristics of 'the disciples.' This can only mean that they cannot deny or ignore the past blessings which they had enjoyed in His outward presence. What was obscure has been made clear, what was inchoate is fulfilled. The Messiahship of Jesus is now openly established by transcendent acts of God on Him and in them.

It has been made a difficulty that the Kingdom of God of which Jesus spoke so much seems to disappear from their vocabulary. But the fact remains and is now reflected in their use of the term 'Lord' as applied to Jesus. His Lordship over them, so real and potent and glad, is the Kingship of God! In Paul's language the term 'salvation' takes the place of 'kingdom' (Ac 28^{28}, Ro 1^{16})—or 'grace' (Ro 5^2), or 'life,' 'eternal life' (Ro $5^{17.\ 21}$). The prevailing Johannine term is 'eternal life.' They are all used now in a presential and now in an eschatological sense.

4. **The experience of union with God.**—William James said:

> 'We have *in the fact that the conscious person is continuous with a wider self through which saving experiences come*, a positive content of religious experience which, it seems to me, *is literally and objectively true as far as it goes*' (*The Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902, p. 515).

This may be set beside the still more penetrating statement of another American thinker:

> 'That which can happen only with the consciousness of God is an act of God' (W. E. Hocking, *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*, London, 1912, p. 440).

These assertions may be held true of religion at every grade of its development. But they receive their full illustration, and, indeed, have been made possible, only by their complete fulfilment in the experience of the community founded by Christ. It is, of course, impossible to distinguish the higher from the lower types of religious experiences by the mere intensity of subjective emotional experience. It is the historical setting and moral qualities of that experience that make one religion greater than another, and the religion of Christ the supreme fact which it is. The immeasurable force of the apostles' witness in the history of the world arises from the following among other facts.

(*a*) *The greatness of it.*—The 'wider Self' with whom the believers were in contact was conceived in terms which had not been attained before and have not been surpassed. The living God, Creator, Sustainer, Father, is described in a series of magnificent statements of Paul (Ac 17^{23-28}, Ro $1^{19f.}$ 11^{33-36}, Col 1, Eph 1), and no less clearly though less elaborately by other writers (Jn $1^{1ff.}$, He $1^{1ff.}$). Throughout the apostolic literature it is assumed that He is personal, holy, and righteous, whose hatred of sin is absolute (Ro 1–3^{20}), and whose purpose with man is glorious. Those conceptions were not scientific or theological in form or origin. They were derived from the past life and thought of the Jewish people. They had been confirmed by the teaching of Jesus. But they were now driven deep into the human consciousness by the immeasurable power of the new range of experience. Every word and phrase by which they describe the new life is a witness to some new form of the divine action upon human nature, which transformed everything. Hence we hear of it as a new birth (Jn 3^3, 1 Jn 3^9), as a new creation (2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 6^{15}), as dying to the past life of sin, weakness, fear (Ro $6^{2ff.}$, Col $3^{1ff.}$, Gal 2^{20} 6^{14}), as entering into light after darkness (1 Jn 1^5 2^{11}, Eph $5^{8ff.}$), liberty after bondage (Gal $4^{3.\ 7}$ 5^1), and so on. Thus the change is often described in terms which are used for the vital and fundamental conditions of human existence. Men who are convicted of sin are yet living in the conscious fellowship and peace of the living and personal God.

(*b*) *The divine power as conditioned.*—This new form of religious consciousness can be fully understood only in and through its ethical qualities. The mystical experience is there, indeed, for nowhere in religious literature is the emotional element more intense than in the NT. It is a divine power, it is divine life, it is the divine spirit, which has come upon them and swept them into ecstasies of joy and rapture. There are signs that many of them (even Paul [2 Co $12^{1ff.}$]) were carried into abnormal psychic conditions. The scenes said to have occurred at Pentecost (Ac 2), many of the incidents connected with demons (*e.g.*, Ac $19^{13ff.}$), as well as Paul's discoursing of 'tongues' and other phenomena (1 Co 12^{14}), prove this abundantly enough. For these things many parallels can be found elsewhere in the history of religious experience. The new thing, or the excellent thing, in the NT religion is that the experience of the universal presence and power of God (the spirit of Christ, the spirit of God, Ro 8^{1-11}, Jn 14–16) is conditioned rationally, ethically, and historically. This was no mere inflow of inexplicable energy from an unknown source, no afflatus which breathes upon the soul from mystical 'caves of the winds.' Yet nothing is taken from its mystery, its seriousness, its intensity, its solemn awe. These qualities are simply relieved of their 'blindness,' their mere inscrutability, by the conditions under which the mystic union with God is realized. Mysticism is delivered from its sheer darkness and filled with real meaning. For the work of God in the soul is led up to by the word of the gospel which is addressed at once to the understanding, the conscience, and the heart. There is no demand for asceticism or for prolonged technical self-discipline, such as the mystery-religions, especially in the following century, demanded. It is assumed that all men must think, indeed, to become Christian; but the simplest man may think well enough to understand the personal relations into which a personal God is calling him. And then he will find, as Paul showed the untutored Galatians as well as the philosophers of the University of Athens, that the fundamental laws of righteousness and love, repentance and faith, are those under which the divine will deals with the human, and the human must deal with the divine. Hence we are not surprised to find that Paul speaks in Romans ($3^{21ff.}$) of the righteousness of God as an effective fact, a living force, in human experience; just as the same apostle no less than John (1 Jn $4^{7ff.}$) speaks of love—for God, who is working in us and begetting His children among us, has commended His love towards us and has proved that He is love.

(*c*) *The historic Christ as related to these conditions.*—The whole effect of that word of the gospel is to teach men that it is God who is now invading the individual life, that the divine is pressing in a new way and under purely moral conditions upon the human. The gospel is an appeal to men, not to scale the heights of God, but to submit to the influence of God's grace which is His very spirit and presence, an experienced force, in the inner depths of the soul. But this new religious attitude and experience, constituting the substance of the new religion, has been intelligible, and therefore is possible as a programme of spiritual history, because it is organically connected with the fact that in Christ the divine has invaded man's history, personally, definitely. Every phase of the gospel of divine grace is linked with His name. It is the deeds of God in Him, in His historic consciousness and experience, that form at once the revelation of the quality of God's will and the moral ground of His new and supreme appeal to man's reason, conscience, and heart. For the primary disciples this sense of union with God could be explained only by the continuance of the power of Jesus, now exalted as Christ, to exert His supreme influence upon human nature. And the Church has never been content with any other explanation.

(*d*) *Universalism and Parousia.*—The religion of Jesus Christ, being of this nature, was inherently a universal religion. It required a great struggle in the primitive Church before the full meaning of this fact was grasped and its consequences were accepted. Into that story we need not enter here. Nor is it necessary to do more than point out in a few words that the eschatological view, which expected the speedy manifestation (Parousia) of Christ, did not prevent the development of the universalistic view of the gospel. The former was a view of the future, the latter was made an experience in the present. The old antinomy, which was, as we have seen, in the consciousness of Jesus Himself, was now present to the faith of His Church. It is easy to exaggerate the religious and ethical effect of the eager waiting for the return of Christ, the coming of the Man from heaven. Potent as that hope was, it did not destroy the diligence of a man like Paul or hinder (rather it greatly helped) the rapid spread of the new religion. Yet we see in Paul's later epistles (when his own death drew near) how a world programme seemed to open before him, whose outlines could not be filled in within a brief space of time (Christ the Head of the Church, 1 Co 12, Eph, Col). And the Fourth Gospel, as well as 1 John, represents an effort not to forsake that hope, but to see it through the medium of an experience which means that Christ is here and His people already live in Him. Just as, in the Gospels, He is confessed as Messiah, and accepts the confession as springing from God, yet was not declared as Messiah in fullness of power; just as He spoke also of the Son of Man as there where He forgave sins and sought the lost, yet announced that the Son of Man would be seen coming on the clouds of heaven; just as in some parables He spoke as if the kingdom were there, and in others as if it were still to come; so did His apostles afterwards struggle with the same double view, now raised to a higher plane of experience. Having seen Him after death, declared as Messiah, and having received ample proof that He was now in the spirit, the true Lord, the actual energy of their lives (Gal 2^{20}, Eph $3^{16ff.}$), they yet still waited for His appearing (Ph 3^{20}); He was manifested and is yet to be manifested (1 Jn $1^{1ff.}$ 3^{1-6}). Perhaps this principle is the only one on which the moral and spiritual evolution of the race could proceed.

IV. *JESUS CHRIST AND THE MORAL REGENERATION OF MAN.*—**1. The Christian Church as a moral agency.**—No one can reasonably dispute the statement that Christianity has proved itself the highest ethical force in the history of man. Other religions have exercised their own measure of noble influence, but their positive contributions have been less broad and pure and elevating, and they have adopted as inherent elements certain principles which have sadly limited their moral beneficence—*e.g.*, the pessimism of *karma* as retained by Buddhism and its insistence on unlimited asceticism as essential; also the absence of an assured faith in the mercy of God, and the fatalistic element, as well as the moral insufficiency of Muhammad's personal character, in Islām. These defects are alike fundamental and fatal to those systems. The Christian Church, as an organized historical institution, has failed to prove itself an ideally perfect moral agency. It has often been ruled by the earthly mind; it has often misinterpreted its moral task in the world; its officials have often adopted the methods of Satan for promoting the Kingdom of God. Yet it has done more than any other organization in history to hold before the conscience of mankind the ideal of human character and destiny. It has carried in its memory of Christ, in its very ritual of baptism and the Lord's Supper, in its permanent forms of worship, in its great and vital principle of an appeal through Scripture to the mind of Christ as revealed to and in the apostolic consciousness, the permanent motives and standards of self-criticism, contrition, and reformation. This means that Jesus Christ remains in the life of the Church not as a far-off memory growing more dim and less effective upon the conscience of the Church and mankind, as time flows, but as a living judge and unexhausted source of moral propulsion. Let us consider Him as the supreme personal force in the moral history of man.

2. The ethical teachings of Jesus.—The first appeal is naturally made to the teachings of Jesus, which have been explored with extraordinary minuteness to discover their personal and social application. Two things have gradually become clear which modify the nature of that appeal. (1) The first is that He abolished all dependence on outward ceremony as a means of salvation. Jesus revealed the ethical nature of man's religious relations. The same principles of faith and love unite men with one another and with God. Even worship of God is a moral act, and God's readiness to answer is compared with the attitude of good parents to their children (Mt $6^{14.\ 15.\ 25.\ 30.\ 32}$ 7^{11}; cf. Lk 11^{1-13} 18^{1-8}, Jn $4^{23f.}$). (2) The second is that Jesus did not, except for illustration, deal with the concrete details of life, and that He did not announce an organized system of laws. The only matter in which He approached the method of statutory legislation was that of marriage (Mk 10^{1-12}, Mt 19^{3-9})—a fact which is of the utmost significance for the fundamental nature of that institution in His community. His teachings are occasional, fragmentary. They penetrate to the fundamental principles of conduct, rather to the inner spirit, the secret self-determinations of man. For example, take His words about love (Mt 5^{43-48}, Mk 12^{28-31}, Mt 22^{34-40}), purity of motive (Mt $5^{8.\ 27-30}$ 25^{24-27}, Mk 7^{20-23}), service (Mk 10^{42-45}, Mt 25^{31-46}), forgiveness (Mt $6^{14f.}$ 18^{15-35}), faithfulness (Mt 24^{45-51} 25^{14-30}), sacrifice (Mk 8^{34-37} 9^{42-48} 10^{17-30}), etc. He uses proverbs, parables, paradoxes, or mere simple illustrations, as well as direct commands, to state these principles, to make them distinct and impressive, to startle His hearers from the moral somnolence induced by their traditional habits of thought and evasions of severe moral issues, to show His principles at work in concrete social relations. In all this we note a certain finality which makes His principles inevitable for the human conscience of all ages and circumstances, a certain urgency which makes them impressive, solemn; and He binds them as ethical statements to religion as their final explanation, justification, and sanction. He takes the great principle of reward and punishment to the heart of all His teaching. But He makes it appear that these are not accidental, external, and confusing to the conscience. The reward and penalty come from God and are part of the history of the Kingdom and of the individual soul. The moral order of the universe is at once established and revealed through them.

3. His personal character.—In addition to the teaching of Jesus we must take account of His personal character as a moral force. It is true that the direct appeals to that character in the ordinary relations of life in apostolic literature are few (cf. Ac 10^{38}, 2 Co 10^{1}, 1 P $2^{21ff.}$). But on every page we see its searching and inexpressible influence. The picture of that holy and merciful life is ever before their eyes and is cherished in their hearts. In the Gospels it is preserved for us simply, directly, with such unity of spirit in its apparently divergent or even contradictory elements that it has won for itself a position of majesty, a strange and irresistible authority over the imagination, if not yet over the will, of the human race. He stands before the world as harmonizing in His own will with the perfection of self-mastery—for He was tempted to the utmost, yet sinless—such contrasts as these: (1) the consciousness of high and even superhuman station united with the will to obey unto death, unresisting and unafraid; (2) the nobility and dignity of a great mind and powerful will united with simplicity and lowliness of life; (3) severity of the utmost in His purity, frankness of the least compromising in His truth, united with tenderness, pity, and comprehending sympathy; (4) the clear, relentless perception, exposure, and hatred of man's sin united with the unfaltering resolution to be Himself the Saviour of man. Such a character was itself a revelation of the ideal humanity, and has since these Gospels were written ruled the hearts of men with royal supremacy.

4. His character measured by His divinity.—But there was more than His teaching and more than His character as a perfect man. It might have seemed impossible that a character formed from such a consciousness as His should be of any avail for blind, selfish, earthly-minded, impulsive men. For His superhuman consciousness and His native sinlessness would open up a gulf between His achievement of moral glory and man's continuous and dismal failure which no man could cross, the very sight of which would crush all faith and hope with the weight of personal despair. But the picture of Christ's moral quality is set before us in the light of His Incarnation and His redeeming purpose in life and in death. Passages like 2 Co 8^{9} and Ph $2^{5ff.}$ show that the pre-existence of Christ was not for the apostles what certain Ritschlians have too often represented it to be—an empty and unethical idea. On the contrary, it is the eternal will of the Son of God, His 'grace,' His 'mind, that are revealed in His self-emptying and impoverishment. It is not the limited though noble sacrifice of a man that is seen in Him by the faith of the Christian Church. It can only be measured by the movement of His will from the throne to the cross. When the Word became flesh, His glory was beheld, the glory of grace and truth (Jn 1^{14}), and, when He was seen and handled, it was the Word of life that stood revealed (1 Jn 1^{1-4}). When the author of Hebrews refers to the Incarnation (2^{11-18}), we cannot miss the effect of contemplating the Son of God as He chose to partake of the flesh and blood in which all the children share, and to become in all things like unto His brethren. When in 1 Peter we read of the lamb without blemish (1^{19}), of His patient endurance of shame and pain (2^{21-25}), of the purpose of His suffering once for all (3^{18}), we cannot but realize that the writer is thinking not of a man, but of the divine being who entered into human life in His own full and holy will of love. When in Paul's writings we read of Him 'who loved me and gave himself up for me' (Gal 2^{20}), of his own desire to know the fellowship of His sufferings (Ph 3^{10}), of Christ's love which constrained him (2 Co 5^{14}), from which no pang or shame can separate him (Ro 8^{35}), we realize all the time that this is the love of a divine being. The whole subsequent history of the Church shows that the inner secret of that spell which the name of Jesus Christ has cast upon man's heart lies in this view of His character as that of one whose eternal holiness and love became active among men and for men. Many good men have suffered for their fellow-men. Patriotism and friendship, stern devotion to duty and a certain royal self-respect, have produced their myriad martyrs of varied degrees of worth. But they are men entangled without their will in human relations, and rising worthily to their task. Here is the picture of one whose sinless life, whose love, whose will to serve and even to die, is more than human, and who is, of His own will, set into the entanglements of man's moral situation for man's deliverance. His very difference from us gives moral sublimity to His deliberate and merciful self-union with us.

5. The will of God revealed as the ultimate ground of moral ideals.—The ethical value and force of the story of Christ is not yet fully stated. Another element, the greatest and most potent of all, is involved in it.

(*a*) *A permanent problem in the history of morality.*—That we may estimate aright its true significance, let us recall one of the central problems of the higher ethical systems of different ages, which have often penetrated far into the heart of virtue and have tried to picture the perfect man. Aristotle did so, and discovered that the virtuous man is alone capable of true happiness. But he was apparently baffled by the fact that he cannot be pictured as attaining the ideal in our world because the environment proves hostile. There ought to be a relation of 'perfect virtue' and 'perfect life.' But the latter fails even the best of men, either through misfortune in life or through the close of life itself in death. The Stoics faced the same situation, and their very name means for us in English what it does because they girded themselves to meet it not merely in speculation but in practical life, by the discipline not merely of the mind but of the will. They sought their sure guide to virtue and peace in an appeal to the Reason which informs the universe as a whole. Yet, just because their vision of this Reason was won only by the severe labour of elect souls, and they had no objective ground, but only an inner and therefore indemonstrable conviction, their virtue lacked joy. It could not and did not become a social good, a wide and permanent force in history. In Kant, again, the same opposition between a very high conception of the good will and of duty and the actual situation of man appears. For he too saw—and more clearly, as the heir of Christian culture—that in the end virtue must find its justification in a universe made to harmonize with it. His solution lay in what from the metaphysician's point of view must always appear as a violent use of the idea of a *Deus ex machina*. God must be conceived of as somehow and somewhere creating the perfect environment for the good will, that the need of happiness may be enjoyed. Höffding, from a narrower vision and in the language of recent thought, puts the same problem when he says, 'the conservation of value is the characteristic axiom of religion,' and adds that, therefore, 'the religious problem also is concerned with the continuity of existence, although from a special point of view' (*Philosophy of Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1908, pp. 10, 13). The same principle or problem appears in the Hebrew Scriptures in the terms of practical religion. It created the drama of Job. It even produced the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. The Psalms ring with its passion and wail. For Israel was confronted with the fact that the man who was righteous, who was conscious of integrity before the will of Jahweh, was yet left to the mischances of life and the doom of the grave, just like the virtuous man of Aristotle. Man needs for his clear and sure grasp of the idea of goodness, and for its social fulfilment on a large scale, the assurance not only that the universe is ultimately in accord with it, but more definitely that the Will which rules history confirms and secures it finally and for ever.

(*b*) *Its solution in God's will concerning Christ.*—According to the NT and the continuous faith of the Church since then, this supreme problem was solved in the story of Jesus Christ. For the whole 'fact of Christ' is viewed steadily as an act of God (Jn 3^{16}, Gal 4^{4}, He 1$^{1-3}$). Outwardly this is depicted for us in the stories of His birth and His resurrection. Inwardly it is made certain (*a*) in His own consciousness of union with the will of God. That is not viewed either in the NT or in the faith of the Church, it was not viewed by Jesus Himself, as the product of a pure human will (Mk 10^{18}, Mt 11^{27}). It was the product in Him of the spirit of holiness, which became incarnate in Him (Ro 1$^{3f.}$), of the Logos incarnate in Him (Jn 1^{14}), of the Son of God incarnate in Him (Ro 8^{3}) by the will of God. (*b*) In His sacrifice on the Cross. For that event is distinctly and repeatedly described as the will and deed of God. Jesus Himself so regarded it when He spoke of being 'delivered up into the hands of men' (Mk 9^{31}), of the Son of Man having come—being sent—to give His life as a ransom (Mk 10^{45} 9^{37}; cf. Ac 2^{23}), of His blood being shed to establish the new covenant of God with man (Mk 14^{24}), and in the Agony (Mk 14^{36}; cf. Jn 10^{18}). The apostolic literature is full of this fact (Ro 5^{8} 8^{3}, Gal 4^{5}, 2 Co 5^{21}, Ph 2^{8}, 1 Jn 4^{10} etc.). The supreme passage is Ro 3$^{21ff.}$, where God is described as having 'set forth Jesus Christ,' *i.e.* on the Cross, as a propitiation, whereby the righteousness of God became a realized and living force in history. (*c*) In His Resurrection, which is viewed always as the seal set by God Himself, in an act of transcendent power, upon the redeeming work of Christ, and as the revelation to all men of the destiny of the sons of God (Ac 2$^{24ff.}$ 3$^{13ff.}$ 10$^{40ff.}$, Ro 1^{4}, 1 Co 15, Eph 1$^{19-23}$, Ph 3$^{10f.}$). The Risen Christ is the full revelation of the ideal man, of the predestined triumph of believing humanity (He 2$^{5.10}$, 1 Co 15$^{45-47}$). In the Book of Revelation the conception of the glory and power of Him who was dead and is alive for evermore fills the successive scenes with their apocalyptic splendour. All these events, in their meaning for Christian faith, have proved themselves to be charged with creative moral energy, and have entered deep into the ethical history of Christendom. In them the very character of the Creator of the universe stands revealed, and His will concerning man is seen in action. In all of them His holiness and what holiness means, His love and what love means, His mercy and its nature, His final purpose with man, are made known. The suggestions of nature, the premonitions of conscience, the yearnings of the spirit of man, have been insufficient guides. But the deeds of God in Christ have for a believing Church so revealed the righteousness and the love of God, *in action upon the believing man*, that the nature of righteousness and love stands clear, and the will of the Creator is proved to be concerned supremely with a realm of spiritual beings in whom these shall be completely realized. All the risks and sacrifices of the virtuous man, all his implicit faith in a moral universe, are confirmed by the work of God in Christ.

6. The moral foundations of the Church.—We have already seen that, in gathering His disciples into the nucleus of the new community of God upon earth, Jesus united them with Himself by the ethical bonds of penitence, trust, obedience, and hope. The apostolic communities grew up in various parts of the Roman Empire on the same foundation (Mt 16^{18}, 1 Co 3^{11}). These new social groups are filled with the consciousness of a divine indwelling (1 Co 3^{16}, Ac 2$^{16-36}$, Ro 8$^{1ff.}$, Col 1^{27}, Jn 14–16) which they describe under the three names of God, Christ, and Spirit. They live in new ethical relations with God, and accordingly all human relationships appear in a new light. A new form of moral consciousness has taken its place in human history. It was destined to pass through many outward phases, to wax and wane in alternate periods of clearness and confusion, of effective energy and feebleness. But, having the secret of renewal within its own nature and in its connexion with the history of its origin and type, which is God in Christ, it has proved itself an inexhaustible source of light and power for all periods of culture and all races of man. In proportion as the religious life feeds itself directly upon the deeds of God in Christ, and upon Christ's character, word, and work, as the embodiment and manifestation of those deeds, it becomes aware again of its moral ideals and becomes charged afresh with faith and passion for their fulfilment. A few words only can be used here upon the social influence of the Church as a moral organism. As a social group its outward moral influence on the State and on all other social groups and institutions is based upon the principles of its own organization. Those principles are faith, love, obedience towards God, and mutual love and service towards one another. The Church as a distinct institution is created by these. The measure of the intensity with which they are practised by the Church has always been the measure of the Church's moral influence on society. Not its mere teachings, but its actual rules of combination and co-operation have proved to be the most potent revolutionary forces. The meaning of these rules, their inner logic, has not yet been all read off into the continual flux and change even of its own life. But the humanizing of man's heart, the democratizing of his governments, the socialization of his possessions and all 'values' are the laboured, slow, and never completed effort to translate the ideals or principles which give the Church its own being into the organization of the whole world. And that process is slow and laboured, because the Church, being composed of only partially enlightened human hearts, has found it so hard to understand itself, as well as because the 'kingdoms of this world' fight for the hostile principles on which they are so widely and firmly established (Mt $20^{20ff.}$, Ro 13^{1-7}). From this aspect we can see the ethical meaning of the fight of Paul for the universality of the gospel against the Judaizers. It was a movement of the Spirit by which the will of Jesus in relation to the Kingdom, and the moral value of God's deeds in Him, were translated into human action, and into the very organization of the Church. That all races, both sexes, every grade of social life, every quality of mind, should be baptized into Christ and become one body in Him, on the same ethical terms, was necessary to make the practice of righteousness and love, as He taught them (and, in His own work, fulfilled them), possible to the whole human family. The great idea of the brotherhood of man could arise, so as to become a historic force, only in communities which had begun to practise it across all these gulfs which cut the race into unsympathetic groups. The hope of the speedy return of Christ mercifully hid from the imagination of the first Christians the length and breadth and height and depth of the task of the Church as the embodiment and promulgator of the will of God in Christ for the re-organization of society. But they did their work no less effectively. It is not the possession of any theory as to the ideal form of general society, whether politically or economically considered, that has given the Church its power. Where it has attempted to dictate such a form it has always incurred disaster. Its supreme function and power have come from the possession of those deepest principles of control by which the ambitions, passions, appetites, and convictions of men—out of these the forms of government and society grow—are themselves regulated and directed within its own life. These principles of control lie in its continuous sense of responsibility to the living Christ and its continuous dependence upon the manifestation of His will in all the transactions of his earthly life.

7. Eschatology and morals.—The attempt of some recent eschatologists to prove that the teaching of Jesus contains an *Interimsethik*—a view of conduct dictated by the expectation of the speedy establishment of the Kingdom of God in which the whole conditions of life would undergo a catastrophic change—deserves a few words. There is no teaching of Jesus which relieves men from the regular duties of life. No reasonable man so interprets the words about hating one's family (Lk 14^{26}; cf. Mt 10^{37}), or applies to all men the demand made on the rich ruler (Mk 10^{21}), or understands that the forbidding of anxiety about clothing and food (Mt $6^{25ff.}$) is the bidding of idleness, even for a season. Jesus could not have seen less clearly than Paul did that dishonour lies in the refusal to work (2 Th 3^{6-13}). The deep moral and religious principles underlying the commands about the laying up of treasure (Mt $6^{19f.}$), the deceitfulness of riches (Mt 13^{22}), are frittered away by the idea that they were based upon an excited view of the imminence of the last day. The teaching about eunuchs (Mt 19^{10-12}) is likewise misunderstood and lowered in its tone if it is taken to mean that men should not marry because the day of heaven is near when there shall be no marrying or giving in marriage. On the contrary, our Lord assumes that men will have money to use for their almsgiving (Mt 5^{42} 6^{1-4} $25^{35f.}$, Lk 16^{1-13}), while such a passage as Lk $14^{12ff.}$ (with every mark of authenticity) assumes a condition of society in which money is still possessed by those whom He would instruct. His deepest teaching about love of enemies, service as the true ground of personal distinction and the basis of divine rewards, the nature of lust, superiority to the joys of mere wealth, are not intelligible if read in relation to an unimaginable state of life following the great catastrophe, and far surpass the purview of a mere emergency legislation. They presuppose, and are relevant to, a continuation of human nature and of its social foundations, as we have them now. On the other hand, we must take account of the fact that in a certain sense all Christian ethics must be *Interimsethik*. The pilgrim spirit is the life of the Church. The final facts (τὰ ἔσχατα) are always present to its consciousness. Death and judgment, the transitoriness of this world and the ideal life of complete holiness and blessedness for the race in the unseen universe, the brief life of the individual and his eternal destiny—these facts make all the possessions and relations of society on their earthly side temporary, limited in their positive value, dangerous in their misuse, good only in their subjection to the ends of the soul and the meaning of the Kingdom of God. The antinomy that lay in the consciousness of Jesus, as we have seen, concerning the advent of the Kingdom and His own relations to the events in time is reflected also in His ethical teaching concerning the duties and the spirit of His true disciples; and it has passed into the consciousness of the Church, which also must live as if the Lord were at hand, and yet face the fact of His tarrying. It is hard to see how the matter of the moral evolution of the race could be dealt with otherwise. For that evolution is inconceivable on the assumption either that the earthly life is all and to be pursued for its own sole sake or that the 'day of the Lord' is so near and so destructive of the present constitution of man and nation that the earthly life has no value at all. The element in the teaching of Jesus which looks like *Interimsethik* is not contradictory of the doctrine of evolution, as Schweitzer and others suppose, but actually essential to its application in the moral history of man. For the evolution of a rational moral will in humanity is possible only when the reality and imminence of the eternal fills him with a sense of solemn urgency and makes the joys of earth seem by comparison meagre and incomplete, and when, on the other hand, the reality and definiteness of the holy will and the loving mercy of God, apprehended now and here, make the earthly task seem noble. Christ's own character, and even His work of redemption, was evolved from the appeal to His will of these two aspects of the human situation. And His disciples were taught by word and example, and His Church by His spirit, to cherish both the urgency and the calm, the dissatisfaction and the enthusiasm, the eager waiting for a Saviour and the determined devotion to the present opportunity, out of which the loftiest morality has arisen, and through which alone the perfect civilization can be evolved.

V. *APOSTOLIC CHRISTOLOGY*.—i. THE CHRISTOLOGY OF PAUL THE APOSTLE.—1. **His religious experience.**—All attempts to explain Paul's fundamental doctrine of the Person of Christ except through his contact with the primitive Christian community, and through his faith in the risen Christ, have utterly failed. A profound experience was the beginning of his Christology. Not merely in the Acts of the Apostles but in his own letters the evidence on this matter is as direct and conclusive as possible. Many writers from Baur onwards have treated him as primarily a speculative theologian whose opinions about Jesus have the value only of deductions from Jewish Messianism and of attempts to reconcile these with Alexandrian philosophy. But all such views fail to do justice to the central things in the self-revelation of his own letters.

(*a*) *As a Jew.*—It is abundantly proved, first, that his original and deepest interest was in practical religion. He was 'exceedingly zealous' for the traditional faith of his race (Gal $1^{13f.}$). It would seem that he had given years to the earnest study of the Jewish religious system, and that he had given himself with great energy to the practical side (Ph $3^{5f.}$). The intensity of his love for his race never abated, and proves that, while it was fired by a deeply contemplative habit of mind, it was no less active and practical in the demands which it made upon his will (2 Co $11^{21f.}$, Ro $3^{1f.}$ 9–11). His ardour for the fulfilment of the Law carried him apparently to all lengths. His contemporaries saw him 'advanced' beyond them all and 'excessive' in his zeal (Gal 1^{14}; cf. Ac 22^{3}); they found him 'blameless' (Ph 3^{6} *ἄμεμπτος*; cf. Lightfoot, *in loc.*) in the details of legal observance. According to Ac 26^{4} he could appeal before Agrippa to the reputation which he had won as a Jew for strictness in practical religion.

(*b*) *As a foe of Christianity.*—His intensely practical nature made him the bitter and most powerful enemy of the gospel. He refers to this period with shame (1 Co 15^{9}; cf. Eph 3^{7}, 1 Ti 1^{13}), in proof of his Jewish orthodoxy (Gal 1^{13}, Ph 3^{6}), and as proof also of the power of the free grace of God in Christ. The grounds of that fierce hatred of 'the Way,' and of Jesus, may be surmised to have included the usual prejudices of others, his fellow-persecutors. He led in the attack on Stephen, who was condemned for teaching the abolition of Temple-worship and the Law (Ac 6^{13}), and for blasphemy in ascribing a divine exaltation to Jesus the Crucified as 'Son of Man' (Ac $7^{55ff.}$). It would seem that Paul must have felt a peculiar horror at the idea that the crucified and accursed Jesus should have been made the Messiah and Saviour of the world (Gal 3^{13}); and he ever after realized that this constituted a peculiar obstacle to all Jews (1 Co 1^{23}). It is accepted, therefore, by most scholars who are not exploiting some private method of approach that Paul before his conversion knew what the disciples believed Him to be, and that this was the origin of his hatred of them. To make them curse Jesus was for him a religious act, a service of Jahweh which he must render with his whole soul; and that implies at least a general knowledge of their claims concerning Jesus.

(*c*) *The grace of God.*—When this man became a believer in the gospel, he attributed the change not to the processes of his own mind, but to the gracious act of God (Gal $1^{15f.}$, Eph 3^{7} etc.). The revealing act was so direct, vivid, personal, objective, that he never after had a moment's doubt that he had seen Jesus even as the other apostles (1 Co 9^{1} 15^{8}, Gal 1^{16}). His heart was changed, and all his letters pulsate with the light and joy and love and power from the very spirit of God, which henceforth filled his consciousness. It is at this point that some writers, like Percy Gardner (*The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, London, 1911), pass too hastily to a supposed preparation of the Apostle's mind in his pre-Christian days for his distinctive Christology. Gardner not only attributes to him a reasoned Jewish conception of the Messiah, and knows its outlines, but credits him with a conception already illumined and expanded by Alexandrian philosophy (pp. 26, 86). Against this must be set two facts. First, the 'hints' of Paul's familiarity with Greek speculation before his conversion are obscure and precarious. The elements in his Christology which ally themselves with the Greek world are found in his later Epistles, after he had spent years in direct missionary work and controversy in Asia Minor and Achaia. Scores of modern missionaries can parallel this experience, even as late in life as he. Secondly, it is clear that the effect of his conversion was to make him receive Jesus as the primary apostles declared Him. The differences which developed later between some of that first group and himself were never concerned with the Person of Christ, but with the contrast between the act of faith on which the Church was founded and the act of circumcision on which the Jewish system was based, or with the work of divine grace in Christ as over against the principle of legalism. There is no sign that he had any controversy with the original group in the field of Christology.

2. **Three stages in his Christology.**—It was natural and inevitable that a mind so keen and powerful should seek to interpret the Person and Work of Jesus, and on this three distinct strata of thought are discernible in his letters.

(*a*) *Data from earlier believers.*—He received from the primitive Church, as confirmed in his own experience, the fact that Jesus must be called Messiah (Christ), Son of God, and Lord (Κύριος). Of course these are not mere titles of honour. They are so closely descriptive of His very being and of His functions in the salvation of men that they are used by Paul as proper names. Moreover, as proper names they are applied to that one historical Person who is known to him as Jesus, of whom Peter, standing up with the eleven, spoke in Jerusalem, and who is described in every paragraph of the Synoptic Gospels. Hence Paul is free to use these terms, whatever *status* he is thinking of. It was 'Christ' who existed eternally in the nature of God (Ph 2^{6}); it was 'Christ' who was crucified (1 Co $1^{17.\,24}$, Gal 2^{20}), who died for our sins (1 Co 15^{3}), who was raised from the dead (1 Co 15^{12}), who is exalted and ever liveth (Ph 2^{11}, Ro 8^{34}), who is the final judge (2 Co 5^{10}). It was the 'Son of God' who was sent forth (Gal 4^{4}, Ro 8^{3}), who gave Himself up (Gal 2^{20}), whose nature as Son was definitely marked out in the Resurrection (Ro 1^{4}), in whom the universe has its origin, its order, and its meaning (Col $1^{16\text{-}18}$). It was 'the Lord' whom men must see and confess in Jesus (Ro 10^{9}), who was betrayed (1 Co 11^{23}), who is received as the Spirit (2 Co $3^{17f.}$), who controls human experience (2 Co $12^{8ff.}$). To confess Him as Lord absolutely is not, like the worship of heathen gods, to detract from, but, on the contrary, it is to manifest and magnify, the very glory of God (Ph 2^{11}). And this Lordship extends over the created universe (Ro 14^{9}, Ph 2^{11}). All three original titles are brought together by Paul into one full-hearted and glorious description of this Person when he says: 'Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ' (2 Co 1^{3}, Eph $1^{3.\,17}$).

(*b*) *Two elements from Jewish thought.*—At least two new elements appear in the Apostle's thought which indicate that he found himself compelled to consider the relations of Christ, the Redeemer from man's racial sin and the Lord of man's destiny, to mankind and to God respectively.

(*a*) *The man from heaven.*—In two passages of great difficulty Paul draws a parallel between the relation of Adam to the race and that of Christ. In Ro $5^{12ff.}$ he discusses the fact that sin and death entered into history through Adam, whereas righteousness and life have entered and shall yet 'reign' through Christ. In 1 Co $15^{21-23.\,45-49}$ a like comparison appears again, without direct reference to the fact of sin, in presence, however, of the facts of death and resurrection. Some theologians have made much of these passages. (The fullest discussion in English is that of David Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1897.) It is asserted that Paul conceived of Christ primarily and definitely as 'the heavenly man,' 'the archetype of humanity,' and that we must connect with this, as his fundamental conception, the discussion of His redemptive work, His mystical union with humanity in the Church, and even His cosmic relations. There is some exaggeration here, though there can be no doubt that the Apostle's mind did strive to institute a certain parallelism between the 'natural' and the 'spiritual' heads of the race. For him the moral dualism in human (Christian) experience (Ro $5^{12ff.}$ $7^{7ff.}$) is fully explained only when a double 'law' operating in human life is related with two separate origins, viz. Adam and 'the one man, Jesus Christ,' and with two separate destinies, viz. death and eternal life. And Christ is called 'the last Adam' because 'at his coming' (1 Co $15^{23.\,45.\,47}$) the new and final order of humanity will be established, in which righteousness shall reign (Ro 5^{19}), and whose members shall be united with Christ as the 'life-making spirit,' and bear in their own perfected nature the image of Him in His Resurrection glory. So far as Paul refers in these passages to Christ as head of a new race, his mind is moving in the eschatological field. The Man '*from* heaven' (1 Co 15^{47}) is not the pre-incarnate Logos (the opposite view is taken by J. Weiss, *Christus*, p. 37 ff.), but Jesus Christ, in whom at His coming all shall be made alive (v.^{22}; cf. Ro 5^{17}) and receive 'the victory' (v.^{57}). The recognition of the eschatological atmosphere in these passages undermines much of the speculation regarding the central, organizing value of 'the heavenly Man' conception, and it gives more probability to the thought that Paul is here indebted to the title 'Son of Man' or 'the Man' as Jesus used it at His trial, and has simply (some would say, more correctly) translated it into '*the man* from heaven' (cf. Jn 3^{13}). It is less likely that reflexion upon the origin of sin (Ro 5) led to the idea of the Spiritual Man who is to found the new order at His appearing (1 Co 15) than that reflexion upon the latter idea, as given to him in the disciples' accounts of Jesus and His words, led him to carry the parallel back to the former. J. Weiss in his *Christus*, p. 42 f., traces Paul's conception to the influence of Ps 8, Dn 7^{13}, and the 'Similitudes' of Enoch without the mediation of the words of Jesus.

(*β*) *Relation to the Spirit of God.*—In the mind of Paul the supreme term for Christ is 'Son of God,' and the greatest and most complete name which he can give to God is 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.' But the relation of Christ to God is also stated in a very different way, through the use of the term 'Spirit.' Paul identifies this Spirit as an eternal element of the very being or life of God Himself (1 Co $2^{10ff.}$), and as the form under which God enters and operates in the heart of man. And the same Spirit is also spoken of in a distinctive way, as the Spirit of Christ. It is going too far perhaps to say with some that the Spirit is the essence or basis of His personality; even Ro 1^{4} (cf. 1 Co 15^{45}) will hardly carry us so far. The famous passage in 2 Co $3^{17f.}$ does indeed seem to carry the identification through to the end —'The Lord is the Spirit,' 'even as from the Lord the Spirit.' But this must be compared with the elaborate interchange of names in Ro 8^{1-11}, where this identification is deliberately avoided. And yet a form of unity is even there implied which is supra-temporal. The Spirit of God is the Spirit of Christ, and the experienced presence of the Spirit in the believing man is at once the presence of God and of Christ.

The two main practical aspects of this conception for Paul are these:

(*a*) The Holy Spirit reproduces in men the divine relations and qualities of Christ Himself, especially sonship, holiness, and victory over death. The love of God for His Son, which is presupposed as the fountainhead of all grace (Col 1^{13}), is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit (Ro 5^{5}), and awakens in us the sense of divine sonship which He sets forth in divine majesty (Ro 8^{14-17}). It is the spirit of life in Christ Jesus that gives men freedom (Ro 8^{12}), and becomes the principle or source of their life (vv.$^{5.\,9}$; cf. Eph $3^{16f.}$) and consummates His work by reproducing in them the supreme wonder of the Resurrection of Christ (Ro $8^{11.\,17}$; cf. Ph 3^{21}). The Holy Spirit is then for the mind of Paul that principle or energy whose power in the Christian community has opened a new order of human experience (Gal 3^{2-5}). Its operation is viewed by the Apostle in the most concrete and vivid way as a living force manifested in many forms, in χαρίσματα of many kinds (1 Co 12^{1-11}).

(*b*) Here the second practical aspect appears. For the Holy Spirit, when viewed, not as a formless and unknown energy, but as the Spirit of Jesus Christ, becomes available as a true test of the soundness of those varied and sometimes dangerous workings which manifested themselves so profusely in the enthusiastic life of those days, as well as in corresponding crises in other days down to our own. The true fruit of the Spirit of God (Gal 5^{22}) is the reproduction in men of the moral qualities of Christ. All spiritual 'gifts' must be tested by the attitude of those who possess them towards Jesus (1 Co 12^{3}) and subjection of life to His Lordship. It is the Spirit which inhered in His character, as the 'Spirit of holiness' and as the miraculous energy through which He was raised from the dead, for which His disciples must pray and hope. As He cannot be fully conceived apart from the Spirit, so the Spirit cannot be experienced by us except as the manifestation of Him in our hearts. On the other hand, we must remember, this is the 'Spirit of God' no less truly essential henceforth to our conception of the Father than to that of the Son. Inherent in the very being of God, organ of the divine intelligence and power (1 Co $2^{4.\,10.\,11}$, Ro $8^{11.\,27}$), He is yet spoken of as having a distinction, or form of reality, which must not be confused with or made merely subjective to the reality of the Father and of the Son. Inherent in the life of God and of Christ, the Spirit is yet a co-ordinate name with these, and must be specially named in a full statement of the God in whom Christians believe and whom they worship (2 Co 13^{14}).

(*γ*) *Anticipations of this doctrine.*—Once more we must be careful, while allowing for the originality and power of the Apostle's mind, to recognize that in this magnificent doctrine he bases himself upon the common experience of the Christian community. For the Holy Spirit is one of the supreme revelations of Christianity. All earlier references to that divine power, even in the OT, fall far short of the sudden, definite, dazzling conception which opens upon us in the NT, where the inbreaking of the divine life upon the human, as an abiding presence and experienced energy, is attributed by all writers to the Spirit of God. As Paul did not invent the idea of the Spirit of God, so also he was not the first to connect it with the Person of Christ. The Fourth Gospel explicitly traces the main features of the Pauline doctrine to the consciousness of Jesus (Jn $1^{32f.}$ 14–16), who promised this supreme gift to His Church (cf. 20^{22}).

Even in the Synoptics we find that: (*a*) the Holy Spirit is described in the accounts of the Virgin Birth as the energy which caused the new being to live in the womb of His mother (Mt $1^{18.\ 20}$, Lk 1^{35}); (*b*) John the Baptist named the gift of the Spirit as a distinctive feature of the Messianic day (Mk 1^{8}, Mt 3^{11}, Lk 3^{16}; cf. Jn 1^{33}); (*c*) the four Gospels also name the baptism of Jesus as the hour of the coming upon Him of the Holy Spirit, for His anointing to the active work of Messiahship (Mk 1^{10}, Mt 3^{16}, Lk 3^{22}, Jn $1^{32f.}$; cf. Mt 12^{18}, Lk 4^{18}); (*d*) it is asserted in these Synoptic passages that He went to the desert to face His trial in the power of the Spirit; (*e*) Jesus claims that He does His works of wonder by the Spirit of God (Mt $12^{28.\ 31f.}$, Mk 3^{28-30}); (*f*) He asserts that His disciples will receive the Holy Spirit for their service of Him (Mk 13^{11}, Mt 10^{20}; cf. Lk 11^{13}).

The extraordinary fullness of reference to the presence and workings of the Spirit in the book of Acts can only be accounted for ultimately through some communal experience which was, in their minds, at once a manifestation of God's presence and power and also connected directly with Jesus and their past experience of Him. That whole situation is needed to explain the significant fact that Paul everywhere assumes that his readers must understand his references to the Spirit in relation to Christ and to the Church life. Here as throughout His central teachings, even as to what he calls 'my gospel,' he appeals steadily and even passionately, not to his speculative presuppositions as a theologian, but to the real and characteristic experience of every Christian community.

(*c*) *The influence of Greek thought.*—There is yet another range of Pauline thought concerning Christ, that, namely, which comes to expression in Colossians and Ephesians. There are evidences in nearly all his Epistles that Paul in his mission work strove to make sympathetic contact with the modes of thought peculiar to the people whom he taught (cf. Ac 17^{16-34}, and W. Ramsay, *Galatians*, London, 1899). Much controversy has been waged in recent years as to the extent and content of his indebtedness as a theologian to the mystery-religions, the Gnostic philosophy, and even the Stoic philosophy, which were popular at the great centres where his work lay. It has not been proved that anything essentially new was added to his Christology from any of these sources. But it has become very clear that he did set himself to make Christ intelligible to minds saturated with Gnostic interpretations of life and attractive to souls absorbed in practices of religious fervour. As it is ridiculous to argue from Ph $4^{11f.}$ (*μεμύημαι*) that he had personally passed through a form of mystic initiation or that his frequent use of the word *μυστήριον* confirms this notion, so it is an exaggeration to say that he learned to think of 'the cosmic Christ' from the Philonic doctrine of the Logos or some Asiatic reflexion of it. That he was compelled, as a missionary is often compelled nowadays, to relate the doctrine of Christ to the intellectual concepts of his field of labour, and that this led to the use of new terminologies, is obvious. But it is significant that, while the term 'Logos' occurs in the 'Pauline' Epistles about eighty times and occasionally in meanings verging on the technical philosophical use of it, there is not one occasion when he does use it in the Philonic sense. In the critical passage of this kind (Col. 1^{15-20}) he undoubtedly addresses men who have cherished some phase of what is generally known as the Logos doctrine. And the result is a setting forth of the eternal being and the pre-eminence of Christ which is more elaborate philosophically than we find in any other place, except Jn $1^{1ff.}$ and He 1^{1-4}. But the exposition is intended deliberately to exclude all comparison of Christ with other angelic beings, or heavenly powers (v.^{16}), which Gnostic philosophers described as emanations from the absolute and controllers of the world. He does not borrow their categories to add some new and unthought of quality or dignity to the glory of Christ, but to reveal to them in their own language that which He is essentially for the Christian consciousness. The result is that Christology begins to speak in the language of the Greek world that which it has already uttered in the forms of Jewish thought. Thus (*a*) it is 'the Son of his love' who is 'the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation.' In Him the attributes of God are concentrated, and He has His being before 'all creation' (v.^{16}), 'before all things' (v.^{17}). (*β*) In spite of J. Weiss's argument for adoption of the idea that the clause 'in him were all things created' means that the universe had its existence 'in Him' before its actual objective creation (*Christus*, p. 46 f.), we must hold to the more common interpretation that *ἐκτίσθη*, when used of the actual elements of the universe, refers to their definite creation as such, and not to their existence 'in idea' in Him. The statement is repeated (with the perfect tense *ἔκτισται*) that all things have been created through Him (cf. 1 Co 8^{6}, Ro 11^{36}). (*γ*) The words *ἐν αὐτῷ* mean more than *δι' αὐτοῦ*, implying that He is not a mere instrument but a continuous, abiding, conditioning cause. This is made explicit in the further statement that all things 'stand together,' receive their organic unity, through their continuous dependence upon Him. (*δ*) In addition to origin and continuity, we have here applied to Christ the third great metaphysical conception of end or final cause. 'All things have been created . . . unto Him.' The idea is repeated by describing this *τέλος* in concrete terms. He is to be supreme over all things, as the head over the body, that the divine fullness (*τὸ πλήρωμα*) may dwell in Him, that all things may be gathered back from alienation to their pristine unity (*ἀρχή*) in Him.

Lest the simplicity of faith should seem to have been betrayed in this use of philosophical categories (are they not after all very human categories, the stuff of 'common sense,' and inherent in all rational life?), the Apostle keeps the reader's mind close to the fact that he is describing—the functions of an actual personal being. He probably avoided the use of the term Logos, for the reason that the conceptions named above are not found in that philosophy alone, though brought to exceptional clarity there. They are embedded even in the OT, as in Pr 8, which cannot have been absent from his mind. He may also have instinctively avoided the obvious accusation, now levelled at him by some modern scholars, that he derived his Christology primarily from the Logos speculations and clothed with them the 'pure-human' figure of Jesus, hiding His winsome Self in a cloud of abstractions. On the contrary, he takes extraordinary pains in this very passage to avoid this reproach. He is dealing from first to last with a personal being, who has appeared in history, who has shed His blood, in the body of His flesh (vv.$^{20.\ 22}$), been raised from the dead (v.^{18}), drawn the Church by His living personal force (vv.$^{17.\ 21}$) under His control. This is not abstract idealism of the Philonic or the Hegelian type. It is 'personal idealism' which assumes that personal, conscious will is the ultimate seat of reality, fountain of history, secret of destiny.

ii. CHRISTOLOGY IN JOHN AND THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.—It is now generally agreed that the Christology of the Johannine writings and of the Epistle to the Hebrews is in substance identical with that which we have found in the Pauline Epistles.

1. Characteristics common to both.—In the two great passages Jn $1^{1ff.}$ and He 1^{1-4} a terminology is employed which is drawn from an atmosphere charged with the Logos doctrine. It must, however, be carefully noted that these writers move with individual freedom in that atmosphere. They do not directly derive their thought any more than they draw their language from Paul's writings. Rather do they reveal a common necessity felt by all prominent Christian teachers when brought face to face with the culture of the Greek world. Each writer chooses his own language to describe the fundamental facts which faith in Jesus Christ as the Son of God presents to them all (cf. the difference in language in Jn 1^{1-5}, He 1^3, Col 1^{15-19}). Further, we must note the essential and fundamental feature common to all—that the one common term in all their descriptions is 'Son of God.' Their real unity is not to be found either in their philosophical terminology, which is very different in each case, or in a common metaphysical theory, supposed to be in the background but which we have no real means of discovering. Their unity is found in this, that they are describing the eternal and cosmic relations of a concrete personality, who is identical at once with Jesus of Nazareth and with this divine Spirit which fills the Church. But the significance of the matter is not seen until we emphasize again the one point which is most generally ignored in our day—that as a mere matter of fact these writers all feel that their whole view is based originally upon the consciousness of the historic Jesus, the Son of God.

2. The Fourth Gospel.—The entire meaning of the Fourth Gospel lies here. It is an effort to show the Logos, who is thoroughly conceived of in the prologue as an eternal, living, purposive, rational being, as He appeared in flesh, as He moved a man among men. It is a profound study of the consciousness of Jesus as the consciousness of the Son of God living under the conditions of human experience. Incidents and discourses are recalled, interpreted, re-stated, and recorded, as they reveal that 'glory' which shone through the veil of flesh into His disciples' hearts, full of grace and truth (Jn 1^{14}). There can be no doubt, whether the author be John the Apostle or some other mind working upon material which must be traced back to Jerusalem and the Lord's immediate disciples, that he believes he is describing the actual consciousness of the historic Jesus. He is not inventing; nor is he using what he knows to be the inventions of a Pauline group, but what he knows or believes to be a true account of what Jesus said and did. If, as seems certain, he had at least Mark and Luke before him, then it is impossible, without impugning his honesty in the most serious manner, to doubt that he held that Jesus knew Himself to be the Son of God. This it is that accounts most reasonably for the well-known and fundamental features which distinguish his few but penetrating words about the Logos from the doctrine of Philo. He has not as an independent metaphysician discovered the defects of Philo, and then clothed the name of Jesus with the eternal attributes. Rather has he begun with a magnificent grasp of the idea of divine Sonship and read that back into the philosopher's idea of the Logos. His work is therefore as truly a criticism of the inadequacy of the Logos doctrine as Paul's exposition of the same idea of Sonship in the same philosophic atmosphere (Col 1 as above), which was intended to be at once a condemnation and transcendence of the wisdom of the Greeks.

3. The Epistle to the Hebrews.—The same facts appear in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is true that in the great opening sentence the metaphysical terminology is more closely involved with the idea of the Son of God, as a definite and personal being, than appears to be the case in Jn 1^{1-5}. In literary manner it is more akin to Paul's passage in Col 1^{15-19}. But we must remember that John in later verses ($^{9-18}$) deliberately re-states in relation to Jesus the whole of the ideas which are set forth in vv.$^{1-3}$ in relation to the Logos. It is these later verses that are the true parallel to the passages in Colossians and Hebrews. In like manner, then, for the author of Hebrews, the Son of God is a supra-temporal personal being, who in His own nature realizes and reflects the attributes and shows the eternal powers of God. Yet not even the Fourth Gospel realizes with more clearness and vigour that it is the consciousness of the Son of God that appears in the consciousness, and receives the experience of mankind in the historical form, of Jesus. It was He who tasted death and is crowned with glory and honour (2^9), was made perfect through sufferings (2^{10} 5^9), He who, having partaken of flesh and blood (2^{14}), was tempted in His sufferings (2^{18}), and that most humanly (4^{15}), who struggled with the fact of death (5^7), and, sinless (4^{15} 7^{26} 9^{14}), offered Himself up to God (7^{26} $9^{14.\,28}$) in death. But this author more fully than any other, though not more emphatically, insists that after death, in the unseen world, the same conscious will, the same heart of love and mercy, carries on a high and momentous ministry on behalf of men, in a priesthood unchangeable (7^{24} 13^8; cf. chs. 8–10, *passim*).

iii. CONCLUSION.—It is in the interest not of apologetics but of actual history that we may in presence of these facts agree with J. Moffatt:

> 'We cannot explain primitive Christianity either as the transformation of the Jesus of history into the Christ of faith, or as the evolution of a Jesus-cult out of a current series of christological doctrines' (*Theology of the Gospels*, London, 1912, p. 174n.).

But the same historical interest must prevent us from using, as wholly true to these facts, a certain form of expression which is quite popular in our day of psychological approach to every problem of history. For example, we may take the following from J. Weiss:

> 'The total impression is that early Christianity has used current, ready-made forms and conceptions in order to express in generally understood language, and yet in an absolute and supreme manner, the overwhelming impression made by the Person of Christ. Men sought out predicates wherewith to announce that the Ideal and the highest religious values are in Him' (*Christus*, p. 87).

The imperfection of such a summary appears in the succeeding paragraphs, where it appears that these ancient predicates, even that of Deity ('Gottheit'), are for us 'strange and unfamiliar' (Wernle says 'strange and bizarre'). Hence our task must be, it is urged, to go back to the Person of Jesus and win from Him for ourselves that original impression and clothe it in the predicates of our own day. This task, to which we are eloquently and earnestly summoned, must, however, take account of the nature of that original impression. The historical fact which criticism has not destroyed is this, that the 'impression' made by Jesus, which created the whole joy and energy of the Church, was not produced by the contemplation of the serene and lofty fellowship of one supreme religious genius with God. It was produced by the conscious will, the authoritative energy, the deliberate self-revelation of Jesus as Messiah, Son of God, Son of Man. He gave them the 'predicates' and the 'impression' *together*. No historian describes the historical facts accurately who ignores this, the essential element in the religion of the NT. The apostles individually and as a community viewed their experience as the reflexion of His will, and His titles as well as His commands are operations of that will. They did not labour to interpret a blind impression by predicates of their own discovery. He revealed Himself to them, and in doing that changed their conscious relations with God; and all their thought, all their predicates, started with His own words, the outflashings of His consciousness. It is for the apologist and the denier of the deity of Christ to war over the issue as to whether the will to wear these titles was madness or miracle, delusion or divinity. But these are the pre-conditions, the facts which constitute the field of battle.

VI. *CHRISTOLOGY IN THE EARLY CHURCH.*—i. INTRODUCTORY.—1. **Logic and community life.**—The necessity for a Christology lies in the nature of all human social organizations. All groups that are formed for definite ends are compelled to work out, not only those ends, but the principles of organization and methods of pursuit. This must be done actually, whether it is done formally or informally. The history of every social group in the world, from a private club to a national government, includes the working out of the logic of its inherent principles. Moreover, the group history is always more logical than the development of the individual members of it, for in the individual the emotions play upon the course of the will, confuse the logical powers, and make the individual's life an imperfect reflexion of the inner logic of the principles which he professes to have adopted. But, for the group life, private emotions are cancelled in the clash of wills and in the course of controversy as to the meaning of the ends, the principles, and the methods which inhere in the constitution of the group. For this reason it is that the history of a group, of an institution, of a government, of a political party, of a church, is often severely logical. It is the reading off into active life of the rational implicates of those principles on which it is founded. This process of unfolding the logic of its adopted rules is aided in every institution by the challenge of the environment. For each organized group lives in a world of institutions, and its own principles come into collision or co-operation with theirs. Controversy arises, and that is, in all important and continuing cases, pushed further and further, until the full inner meaning of each interpretation is revealed. Acceptance and rejection of the institution and its ends, the loosening or confirming of conviction, the desertion of an ineffective or untrue principle, the deeper unfolding of the power of the true principles, even the gradual death of an institution, are the consequences of this criticism without and this controversy within.

2. **Christ inherent in the new community.**—The theology of the Church in its technical form and including all its departments and phases of history is the natural and inevitable result of this process. As far as Christology is concerned, it is the gradual unfolding of the central fact that Jesus Christ is from the first accepted by the Church as the incarnate Son of God, the redeemer of man by the Cross, the ruler of our experience by His Spirit. The institution that was organized on that basis must work out to the very end all the implications, the inner logic, of the conviction which gave it being and power. It would be impossible to relate here the particular stages and various adventures of the human spirit in this great undertaking. We must be content to give a mere outline of the logical process by which the Church, through all natural confusions of controversy, sought to define and defend its faith and worship of Christ. For that faith and worship of Christ created the Church. It separated, not without pain and surprise and alarm, the primary disciples from the Jewish Church. It attracted by its meaning and power individuals from all classes and races as the message of redemption through Him and of control by Him was carried from place to place. The Person of Jesus Christ as revealer of God and redeemer of man was the foundation of the new community. This principle brought it at once into conflict with the monotheism of the Jews and the polytheism of the Gentiles. Among cultured classes it was confronted by the Gnostics with their confident speculations about the deity and His invisible hierarchies of creative agencies, and by the practical Agnosticism of vast numbers for whom neither idolatry, nor Gnosticism, nor mystery-religions contained any solution of life's enigma. Collision with those forces was felt from the beginning, as the NT proves. But, as time went on, the warfare became more definite and more keen, especially as the number of Christian adherents increased and varieties of culture, of intellectual equipment, of moral and spiritual insight and intensity, took their place within the growing host of the baptized.

ii. THE FIRST STAGE IN CHRISTOLOGY.—During the sub-Apostolic period, and through that of the apologists down to nearly the close of the 2nd cent., Christological inquiry had hardly begun on the Christian basis. Such cruder phases as are known by the names of Ebionism and Docetism started from conceptions of God and the world which themselves were anti-Christian. Thus Ebionism, obscure in its history and teaching, while it affirmed Jesus as Messiah, shrank from seeing in Him the actual presence of God. Jewish prejudice against believing that God could come into such close relations with the material world as are implied in the birth and crucifixion of the Son of God held that view in abhorrence. The Spirit came upon Him at baptism and made Him the supreme teacher; the death was an inscrutable horror, but He would come again in power and glory to make all things new. Docetism, on the other hand, rose from or was adopted by various phases of Gnosticism. Even Justin Martyr bears witness that many Gnostics were in the Church and must be reckoned as Christians. But the basis of their thought lay in non-Christian speculations about the nature of God and His remoteness from all contact with the evil inherent in the material universe. The best examples of this are to be found in such a mixture of dogmatic speculation on the origins of God and the universe with reverence for Jesus, as a member of the supernatural forms of existence from which the history of our universe has arisen, as was attributed to Basilides towards the middle of the 2nd cent.; and in such a union of Christian faith with purely mythological accounts of creation and salvation as proceeded from the poetic mind of Valentinus a little later. From such sources, in the main, arose the Docetic view of the Incarnation, according to which the divine element in Christ was the only real and permanent element, and it assumed, in this way or that, the *appearance* of a man, but did not partake of actual flesh and blood. (Logically it was inevitable that the Ebionite and Docetic positions should appear as barely possible, as at least conceivable, explanations of Christ, the one denying the reality of the divine, the other denying the reality of the human nature in Him. Actually these views made in their original and cruder forms less disturbance among the general mass of Christians and in the minds of the greater Christian teachers than other interpretations of His person which appeared later.) Throughout this period of the Apostolic Fathers, and the Apologists, the apostolic positions were maintained, often in their own language of concrete and positive affirmation, often by means of carefully chosen equivalents for their words and phrases. Thus Clement of Rome speaks of 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, the sceptre of the majesty of God' (*Cor.* 16). In another passage (ch. 2, whether or not with Lightfoot and Harnack we read 'God' instead of 'Christ' as subject of the clause 'His sufferings were before your eyes'), the dependence upon Christ as at once revealer of truth, redeemer from sin, and living Lord is vividly and passionately expressed. In the *Epistle of Barnabas* He is spoken of repeatedly as the Son of God and Lord of the World. As Maker of the Sun before which our eyes quail, how much more glorious must He be; His Incarnation was the veiling of His dazzling radiance. For Polycarp, in his Epistle, Christ's work as redeemer is the fascinating centre of thought. He is Lord and Saviour (chs. 1, 6), Son of God (ch. 12), and His name is associated with that of God as supreme object of faith (chs. 5, 12) and the fountain of mercy (ch. 1). Ignatius is more full and varied in his forms of expression. He uses the so-called Trinitarian formula but naming Christ first, 'in the Son and in the Father and in the Spirit,' or 'to Christ and to the Father and to the Spirit' (*ad. Magn.* xiii. 1). He speaks of Christ outright as 'our God' and 'my God,' asserts His pre-existence (*ib.* vii., *ad fin.*), and uses the striking mystical expression 'Who is his word (λόγος) proceeding forth from Silence' (Σιγή) (*ib.* viii.). Echoes of controversy with Docetism appear in his repeated use of the adverb ἀληθῶς (*ad Eph.* xvii. 2) when referring to the Incarnation and Death. But the double being of Christ is stated in terms which were possible only before the rise of the great discussions of His Person; *e.g.*, he says in one place:

> 'He is at once flesh and spirit, begotten and unbegotten, God come in the flesh, the real life, both from Mary and from God, at first passible and then impassible' (*ad Eph.* vii. 2; cf. xviii. 2, *ad Smyrn.* i. 1, iii. 1).

By these and other such writers (*e.g.*, *Epistle to Diognetus*) we are kept in the atmosphere of apostolic language. The Church is still in the glow of its first enthusiasm, eager in its missionary labours, absorbed in the joy of fellowship with God through the risen Christ, that conqueror of death and giver of the Spirit, and concerned with the continuous fight against heathen vices and the inculcation of the new law of love and kindness and meek loyalty of soul. They were building on the foundation without inquiry as to its material and mode of construction.

iii. THE SECOND STAGE IN CHRISTOLOGY.—**1. The rise of Greek Christology.**—A new race of thinkers entered into the life of the Church with Justin Martyr, the race of men who before or after their conversion were saturated with Greek culture and yet avoided the dogmatic wildness of the Gnostics, men like Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Gregory of Nyssa, and many others. But whether or not they took Justin's motto, 'Whatever is rightly said among all men belongs to us Christians,' they began the long and delicate task of determining what was 'rightly said' by tests found within the Christian system itself. Thus opened the next stage in the unfolding of the nature of Christ. Given the reality of the pre-existent Son or Logos and the reality of the man Jesus, the double being of Christ, the question arose as to what was meant by and how much was contained in those respective realities. At this point it is that a modern powerful school of thought has found the chief disaster of Christianity (see A. Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche*^{2}, Bonn, 1859; A. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*, Eng. tr., *Hist. of Dogma*, London, 1894–99; E. Hatch, *Influence of Gr. Ideas and Usages upon the Chr. Church* [*HL*, 1888], London, 1890). For such writers it appears evident that the inquiry into the divine nature of Christ and especially the use of the Logos idea, with the resulting minute discussions about the *modus* of the Incarnation, diverted faith from its true object and the Christian religion from its true and only source of inspiration. For them the gospel lies simply and directly in the experience of God's Fatherhood by the soul of Jesus and the practical teaching which flows from that (cf. W. Herrmann, *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*^{4}, Stuttgart, 1903, Eng. tr., *Communion of the Christian with God*, London, 1906; A. Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums*^{3}, Leipzig, 1900, Eng. tr., *What is Christianity?*^{2}, London, 1904). The effort to treat His Person as a metaphysical and psychological problem led inevitably to the idea that salvation depends on the right solution of that problem, and so to the substitution of an orthodox creed for a historical and personal revelation of God as the true object of saving faith. A full discussion of this subject is out of place here, but, as the centre of the controversy has been the Person of the founder of Christianity, a few facts on the other side must be briefly stated. (1) From the beginning the Christian consciousness, as we have seen, has been determined in its form and content by a definite conception of Christ as superhuman Messiah and incarnate Son of God. This conception was not invented for Him, but given forth from His own consciousness and involved in His actual power and in the new consciousness of His Church in relation to God. (2) The results of thorough inquiry into the nature of His Person could have been avoided only by a universal consent not to investigate intellectually the ultimate facts of the religious life. (3) Given the right to think, the alleged disaster, attributed to gradual definition of orthodoxy, must be compared with the effects which would have been produced upon the religious consciousness *in that age* by the general acceptance of the opposite theories, if these were treated as essential to the existence of the Christian community, or if treated as of equal value to its life with any others, or even if treated as matters of indifference. History seems to prove that any intellectual definition of the Person of Christ, and of His Messianic function, if sincerely used, produces characteristic effects in the further spiritual and social life of the community which adopts it. There can be no doubt that the prevalence of the 'Liberal' picture of Jesus in our time has put its own colour upon wide circles of religious life. (4) The real and vital problem for the Church, in preserving its true relation to its divine founder, is as to the right use of its conclusions in any controversy about His Person. The ancient Church, especially under the power of the Emperor, turned its conclusions (δόγματα) into weapons of discipline wielded by a centralized authority. This the modern Church cannot do. It was at this point, and in this way, that disaster entered.

2. The first phase: the divine nature of Christ.—Assuming that in Christ the Son of God has appeared as a man, the problem arose as to what is meant by the Son of God or Logos. How is He related to God? This question was not forced by the metaphysical, but by a very practical, interest. For the worship of Christ was the life of the Church from the beginning, and it inevitably raised the retort from heathenism that Christians themselves had two or, counting the Spirit, three Gods. It was the effort to meet this condemnation that drove men to define how Christ, a man, could become an object of worship for avowed and sincere monotheists.

(*a*) *Monarchianism.*—The first answer came from those who are called Monarchians. They were of various kinds. Some evolved an easily refuted Unitarianism not unlike Ebionism. But those who made history took a higher road. Their chief representative was one Sabellius, who lived in the first half of the 3rd century. God in Himself was said to be without distinction (ἓν ὑποκείμενον), inscrutable, unknowable. As He acts outwards upon the universe, He assumes aspects (πρόσωπα) for which various names are needed. The three names

Father, Son, Spirit, are appropriate to describe Him as Creator of the universe, Redeemer (in Christ, from Birth to Ascension), and Life of the Church. But these names should be used only in relation to that phase of the divine action to which they exclusively refer. Much ingenuity was apparently used by Sabellius to emphasize and illustrate this inviolable unity of God. Thus He may be called υἱοπάτωρ, to abolish the idea that in Him any distinction exists, though we rightly name Him Father and Son, according to that aspect of His activity which we contemplate; and He is like the sun 'having three energies in one hypostasis,' as 'light-giver, heat and the very form of a circumference.' There was not much of distinctive statement in his writings, apparently, concerning the mode of the Incarnation. But the tendency of the school was inevitably towards Docetism, and Dorner says, 'No passage can be pointed out in which the Passion of Christ is made the subject of consideration' (*Person of Christ*, div. I. vol. ii. p. 167 f.). Monarchianism was not easily overcome. Through its emphasis upon the unity of God and the difficulty of defining the nature of the eternal distinctions within that unity, it tended to reappear in unexpected quarters. Various thinkers in our own day, especially those who are of the idealistic school in metaphysics, have been accused of succumbing to its subtle influence. Wherever the pantheistic view attracts, Monarchianism is at hand.

(*b*) ***Arianism.***—At the opposite extreme from Monarchianism is the powerful movement known as Arianism. It represents in the 4th cent., and in many forms since, a reaction from the tendency to make Christ an abstract being, remote from human interest, and so to detract from the direct religious value of the human figure of Jesus. It involved, of course, a direct attack upon the contemporary theology. Monarchianism had endangered the reality of the revelation of God and made the very conception of Him vague and uncertain. Hence Arius insists strongly on what we moderns would call the Personality of God. He is the eternal, active, and rational Creator of all, for the Logos as δύναμις is immanent in Him. He became the Father in the creation of the Son, to whom He gave a share in that δύναμις. We cannot say that the Son was created in time, for He is the first of all creatures, and with Him time begins. But ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, 'there was when He was not'—in flat contradiction of Origen. Hence we must not ascribe to Him any attribute of deity itself. He is not the unbegotten as God is, nor is He a part of the unbegotten, nor did He arise from the essence of God. He is the first creature of the divine Will, only-begotten, fully divine (πλήρης θεός; cf. Jn 1^1), and the medium through whom the Creator henceforth produced and ruled His universe. But the inherent and fatal Agnosticism of Arius is revealed in the repeated statement that even the Son does not directly know God. He is known under many conceptions (ἐπίνοια), indicating His great glory. And yet 'God is ineffable to His Son,' for it is plain that it is impossible for that which hath a beginning to conceive how the *un*begun is, or to grasp the idea. The Son became incarnate in Jesus Christ in the simple and obvious sense of entering into a human body. There was no need for another human soul in that body, save the Son of God Himself. He is worthy to be worshipped both as the medium of Creation and as the glorified Christ. On the surface this view makes a fair show. It seems to avoid some dangers of Monarchianism, with its tendency to Patripassianism on the one hand and Pantheism on the other, and yet in its deepest principle Arianism is Monarchian. Over against the dominant Origenistic theology it escapes the difficult idea of 'eternal generation' and the tendency to make the earthly life of Jesus an unreal thing for imagination and faith. But Arianism as a religion was too close to heathenism and too far from the centre of Christian faith to live. In reducing mysteries it lost the supreme realities of revelation and redemption, for its God is too remote and abstract to be known or to appear in time. And, worse still, it made a distinct approximation to idolatry in its arguments for the worship of Christ as a creature whom the divine complacency summoned to divine honours. Its solution of the problem was too easy. The Christian view of Christ had always implied a closer and more mysterious relation of God Himself to the cradle and the cross. The awe and the joy of faith in Christ arose from the presence of God in Him and in His deeds of redemption. The Arian Christ, mighty as He could be depicted, was less than the Christ who was the personal manifestation of God, and in whose death the righteousness and love of God Himself were directly realized, and made effective in the actual history of man.

(*c*) *The Nicene Christology.*—The third possibility regarding the relation of the Son of God to the Father was that which won the day at Nicæa (A.D. 325). Constantine took the portentous step of summoning the Council, and, for spiritual religion, the baneful step of using the fleshly arm to enforce its conclusions. It must be remembered that these acts of Constantine introduced a new principle into the organized life of the Church, of so potent a character that it took long centuries to unfold its inner logic. Trust in the State and trust in the ruling Spirit of Christ are principles whose reconciliation is not yet achieved either at Rome or at Berlin. More than half a century of Arian strife and shameful confusions of statecraft stretched out before the unforeseeing Church after Nicæa. But in the conclave itself there were men of profound Christian conviction and powerful intellect who saw that in this controversy the apostolic faith itself was at stake, and the defensive creed which they formulated became a living force in the Church from that day to this.

(*a*) The Nicene theology, as such, really began with Origen († A.D. 254). Against Monarchianism he affirmed the Personality of God, teaching that He is the intelligent Spirit from whom all intelligences, and, for the use of tainted souls, the material universe, have arisen. He even decides that God is above substance, a position which must be considered by those who imagine that the category of substance was supreme in ancient theology (cf. W. Temple, in *Foundations*, London, 1912, p. 211 ff.). Origen platonizes very thoroughly, but seeks to preserve this conception of the living intelligent Will of God as the supreme source of all. And he lifts his conception high above Plato and Philo by insisting always on the ethical principle that this eternal Will is a Will of love. It is love in God that is the fountainhead of the created universe of souls. Further, the Son of God, who is also conceived of as a personal being, is derived from the Father. But, afraid of heathenism on the one hand, as of Monarchianism on the other, he propounds the great doctrine—ἀεὶ γεννᾷ ὁ πατὴρ τὸν υἱόν. The Son is indeed subordinate to the Father, but not as a creature, for this 'begetting' is a process in the divine nature independent of time, an act of the eternal Will—ἐκ τοῦ θελήματος τοῦ πατρός. The distinction of Father and Son is not that of separate individuals, for they partake of one essential being. And yet the Son is not an emanation of the Gnostic type. How then does He stand related to the Father? It is here that the idea of the Logos aids the imagination (well illustrated in Athan. *Orat.* iv. 1–5). For we can apprehend the unity of Logos with the pure, personal Spirit, of which it is the self-expression, better than the unity of a Son with a Father, while we can apprehend the distinct *hypostasis* of each more easily through the latter terms than through the more abstract. Each set of terms is used to describe now the unity and now the difference, but always the eternal reality, of God the Father and the Son (on the danger of deriving the Son from the Will, and not from the essence, of the Father, see Athan. *de Syn.* 35 f.).

(β) In this substance of it the theology of Origen became that of the Nicene Creed. When the Arians and many even of the sincerely orthodox desired to be content with the assertion that the Son is of 'like substance' (ὁμοιούσιος), the course of debate disclosed the ambiguity of a word which contented Athanasius and Arius alike as the crucial point of the whole problem. When the orthodox pressed their understanding of the word as implying an eternal and unbroken inherence of the Son in the essence (οὐσία) of the Godhead, the Arians, it is said through Eusebius of Nicomedia, reproached them with teaching the doctrine of ὁμοουσία, or identity of being, which, though held by Origen, had been hitherto associated mainly with Monarchianism and treated therefore as dangerous by both parties. That very word, however, from that hour, and inevitably, became the touchstone of the difference between the parties and was embodied in the Creed. The Son is 'from the essence' (οὐσία) of the Father, and hence 'of the same substance.' But the term was admitted even by Athanasius unwillingly and under stress of the controversy; and, indeed, it was afterwards used by him sparingly, except when it was the direct subject of exposition and defence. He defended its use in part by showing that the Arians had used many un-Biblical terms to state their own positions. The fear of Monarchianism which it had suggested to many minds was allayed by the fact that the approach to the term was not made from the speculative, but from the religious, side. The whole discussion, as conducted by Athanasius, was concerned with Jesus Christ, the historical and personal being, whose permanent reality was assumed as essential to the very life of faith. To affirm of such a being the ὁμοουσία with God could not abolish the difference between the Father and the Son, while it secured their eternal and essential unity. It is not an outside matter of creation or adoption, but (so to speak) an organic relation inside that nature. The Father is no more God without the Son than the Son is God without the Father (see Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*^{2}).

It is impossible to ignore the fact that both here and in later discussions of the Incarnation itself the category of substance, or rather 'essence' (οὐσία), had a powerful influence upon the course of thought. But two things must be observed in weighing the significance of that fact. In the first place, a word like 'substance' carried a varied content for the imagination and speculative thought of the ancient as well as the modern world. To pin it down to the idea of matter, or accuse them all of being ultimately materialists, is too gross a misrepresentation, though it is so common. To say even that they set it above the category of personality is not true to the facts. For, in the second place, the very discussions with which the Church was concerned drove its great minds like Origen, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Apollinaris to be concerned with the nature of spiritual beings, and to face, not the impersonal, but the personal, as the supreme element in man and God. When Gregory of Nyssa deals with human nature he can be seen struggling to say that the essence of man, though distributed throughout his body, is not something 'spatial,' as we would so naturally put it. And, when he would state the difference between the divine and the human nature, he finds it to reside ultimately not in a difference of substance, but in this, that God is the Creator and man wholly dependent on Him (*On the Making of Man*, xvi. 12). There we are in the region of volition and ethics, and religious insight. The crass view of substance is subordinate to a higher view of spiritual nature. And we have already seen that for Origen the supreme facts in the being of God are will, intelligence, and love. The reluctance with which Athanasius and others engaged in the discussions which involved the use of οὐσία, ὑπόστασις, etc., is a witness to the fact that they were fully aware of the limitations of the human mind when applied to the mystery of God's nature. These terms were used in the Nicene Creed (in the 'Anathema') only that the dogmas of Arianism and Monarchianism might be denied, and that the substance of the Christian faith, which rests in the fact that God was in Christ and that Christ is 'eternally one with God,' 'might not perish from the earth.'

3. **Second phase: the humanity of Christ.**—The official victory of Trinitarianism, the affirmation of the proper deity of Christ, led naturally to the raising of the next problem, viz. the question of His humanity. The supreme emphasis of orthodoxy on the deity of Christ seemed to endanger the reality of His appearance in the flesh. Even in NT times this tendency was felt (cf. 1 Jn 1^1 2^{1-3}, He 2^{9-18}), and the reproach of Docetism has been uttered against many writers in the 2nd and 3rd centuries who were yet counted orthodox. Indeed, Harnack goes so far as to say that down to the beginning of the 4th cent. 'no single outstanding church teacher really accepted the humanity in a perfectly unqualified way' (*Hist. of Dogma*, iv. 129). Origen used his daring genius on the problem. Believing that all souls of men have pre-existence, and become incarnate because of evil taint, he held that the one unsullied soul became united with the divine Logos and then by an act of will, and love, became incarnate as the soul of Jesus. This theory did not deeply influence the history of the subject, though Arius owes something to it. It was Apollinaris who first dealt with it in a more sober and suggestive manner. That he was true to the doctrine of redemption is evident from such words as:

> 'He is both God and man: if Christ is only man he did not save the world, and if only God, he did not save through suffering. If Christ was only man, or if only God, he was not a mediator between man and God.'

But Apollinaris was equally clear that,

> 'if a perfect God were united with a perfect man, there would be two, one by nature Son of God, and the other by adoption' (Athanasius, *c. Apoll.* i. 2).

He solved the problem partly by falling back on the Aristotelian view of man's nature as tripartite and buttressing that with 1 Th 5^{23} ('May your spirit, soul, and body be preserved entire,' etc.). He finds the essential features of human nature in distinction from God to be body and soul, while in mind or spirit (νοῦς, ψυχὴ νοερά, πνεῦμα) man is of one type with the divine Logos. Hence in Jesus Christ the union of the two natures must be found in this, that the Logos became the νοῦς (or πνεῦμα) of the man Jesus by becoming united with the body and soul in the womb of His mother. Thus we have a mind in Jesus 'unaffected by psychical and fleshly experiences, and controlling the flesh and fleshly motives in a divine fashion, sinless, therefore, and not subject to death, but conquering death' (R. Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte*, i. 199). Apollinaris appealed to the Scriptures, of course, as at Jn 1^{14}, Ro 8^3, to show that they do not speak of His becoming a man, but 'becoming flesh.' He weakened his position by his free admission that his theory presented a new kind of being, something neither God nor man; and his opponents have ever since made the most of that concession. The hostile arguments were based on the idea that this affirmed a mutilated humanity, and thus left it unredeemed at its highest point. For, while Apollinaris (Greg. Nyss. *adv. Apoll.* li.) insisted that 'the death of man does not abolish death,' the opponents answered that the death of the divine Logos (if that were possible) would not redeem the νοῦς of man. What was required for redemption was a redeeming manhood in all the content of that conception, that body might redeem body, soul redeem soul, and mind redeem mind. What was not assumed was not redeemed. It was in vain that Apollinaris urged his two strongest positions, that only the divine can redeem the human, and that, since the νοῦς is the seat of personality, to conceive of Christ as possessed of all these human elements is to conceive of Him as a true human individual, and make the Incarnation inconceivable. He was not himself released from the realistic (some would say, magical) view of redemption, and could not rebut the strong argument made against him on that basis. The very conception of personality which his own speculations were helping to clarify was still so far confused with that of substance that his vision of the incarnate was held in alien bonds. That in God there is a human element; that the divine Logos and the human mind are of a type so that the former can act for or as the latter; that the seat of personality is here; that it is fatal to faith and reason alike to see in the incarnate Christ two distinct personalities with an indefinite form of unity—these are positions of great power, which account for the fact that 'Apollinarism' reappears persistently in later ages, and in our day is more wide-spread in principle than is often imagined. But he was himself hindered, by a meagre psychology and by the remainder in his mind of the tendency to define human nature in mutually exclusive 'parts,' from doing full justice to his primary assumption. Hence Apollinarism was explicitly condemned in the first canon of the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381), at which the Nicene Creed was revised, developed, and reaffirmed. In the Decree of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) elaborate care was taken to rule it out completely. Christ is 'at once God truly and man truly of a reasonable soul and body' (ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος); He is 'of the same substance (ὁμοούσιος) with us according to his manhood.' The conclusion of the Church was therefore officially announced in the doctrine that 'perfect manhood,' in the sense of all the parts of an individual man, must be ascribed to Jesus Christ.

iv. THE THIRD STAGE IN CHRISTOLOGY.—The third stage in the development of Christology was now reached. With its insistence upon the full deity of the Logos (Son of God) and the full humanity of Jesus, the Church was driven to consider more deeply the mode of the union of the divine and human in one life. The matter had not been ignored indeed. Origen, as we have seen, confronted the problem from the speculative side; Athanasius had dealt with it in close adherence to Scripture. The latter held that the Logos in assuming human nature did not merely unite Himself with an individual man, but became the true subject of the human life of Jesus. At the same time He retained His functions as Lord of the universe. He did, indeed, as man experience growth (Lk 2), and even confessed ignorance (Mk 13), but in such aspects of His incarnate life the Logos restrained His powers. This double consciousness is the very mystery of the Incarnation. For our sakes the same subject now shows His divine glory and now veils it, in the limits of a man's mind and body. But the chief difficulty with this position is the uncertainty, the apparent discontinuity, of the subject in the self-expressions of the incarnate state. The doctrine of a continuous self-limitation was not yet attained. The Cappadocian theologians likewise, with their intense hostility to Apollinarism, while holding the unity of the Person, yet insisted very strongly also that each 'nature' was perfect; the union was effected by an indescribable 'commingling.' Apollinaris had, however, raised the question to new distinctness and importance, and these uncertain views were subjected to fresh and closer scrutiny.

(*a*) *First phase: Nestorianism.*—On the one hand arose the so-called Nestorians, who were prepared for by the famous school of Antioch among whom the name of Theodore of Mopsuestia stood out as a brilliant expounder of the Scriptures. With a keen sense of the historical, he approached the problem as one who was filled with the reality and power of the life of Jesus. But he was also a vigorous defender of the Nicene Creed and as vigorous an opponent of the Apollinarian Christology, and therefore faced the problem of the *nexus* between a complete divine nature and a complete human nature. This he found in the Will of God the Word, who, Himself begotten from the Father, united the man Jesus Christ with Himself. Hence Christ is rightly called 'Son,' because beyond all men He possessed the adoption of a Son through that union (Com. on Gal 4^5). But it was Nestorius who carried this doctrine to its full issues in the controversy which led up through the third ecumenical Council at Ephesus (A.D. 431) to the fourth Council at Chalcedon (A.D. 451). Rejecting the use of the term θεοτόκος ('Mother of God') as applied to Mary the Virgin (which was defended with great energy by Cyril of Alexandria), he also, like Theodore, set the union of the human nature of Jesus Christ with the Logos in the region of will. It was the grace of God that bound this sinless man in an ineffable oneness with Himself as Logos. The general term συνάφεια ('moral union') was used as over against the ἕνωσις φυσική ('real union') with which Cyril of Alexandria sought to express the higher view. In a series of mutual 'anathematisms' these two protagonists defined their hostile positions, which lay in a region that philosophy was only beginning to explore. Nestorius insisted that, as Jesus possessed a 'rational soul,' He was a complete human individual, while Cyril maintained the reality of the 'rational soul' but insisted that 'the Word having personally united to himself flesh animated by a rational soul,' the result was a true union in 'one Christ and one Son.' Cyril, that is to say, maintained that the Word did not unite Himself with a human individual, but united the two natures in one (εἷς). For the result, for the basis of their oneness, he could find no technical term.

Φύσις (*natura*) and ὑπόστασις (*substantia*, 'substance') were still applied as a rule to the total content of the human and divine elements in their respective and distinct reality, and Cyril's use of πρόσωπον in the so-called Creed of Union (A.D. 433) is not as yet distinct enough to define their basis of unity. But this school came near Docetism in maintaining that the Logos *appeared*, for our sakes, to be ignorant, weary, etc., but that these cannot be ascribed as real experiences to the Logos incarnate. Nevertheless, Cyril and his party, in spite of their own difficulties of construction, made it clear that the Nestorian position excluded a real Incarnation. A union which consisted only in complete sympathy, in co-operant wills, in a moral harmony, between two natures which are conceived of as distinct and complete must always appear incidental because not organic, insecure because not grounded in an objective and indissoluble fact. On the other hand, if Cyril, even in his carefully drawn anathematisms, failed, it is because in his fear of Apollinarism (of which, however, he was accused) he shrank from taking the full consequences of making the Logos the personal basis of the Incarnate One. Striving to maintain the completeness of the humanity for soteriological reasons—and this with great earnestness and insight—he yet failed to define, so as to satisfy the Nestorians, how the human can remain human if it has for its basis, not indeed the divine 'nature,' but the divine Logos. Nestorius had a curious trick in his anathematisms of describing his opponents' language about the incarnate Christ, in His unity, as if they applied it to the one 'nature' or the other as Nestorius conceived of these; *e.g.*, in the eleventh he accuses them of maintaining 'that the flesh which is united with God the Word is by the power of its own nature life-giving'—an incredible misrepresentation, and possible only because Nestorius was so possessed of his own vision of the facts that he could not read the words of others as they meant them. He could not see their vision.

(*b*) *Second phase: Eutychianism.*—From this strong insistence by the orthodox party upon the Logos as the true basis of the one Christ logical experimentation pursued its natural course. If Nestorianism failed when starting from the integrity of the human, as though that were primary in their interest, how would it be if the start were made from the integrity of the divine in the Incarnate One? Eutyches dared this task and fell over the ever-narrowing edge of definitions into another 'heresy.' For him it was clear that the Incarnate One had but one nature, as indeed Cyril insisted. But Eutyches urged that in that case the body itself must have been changed in its very substance by union with deity. The humanity is absorbed into the divinity (cf. Origen's approach to this view, *c. Cels.* iii. 4). This was condemned, of course, as docetic in its ultimate effect, and as 'confusing' (σύγχυσις) the natures.

(*c*) *The Decree of Chalcedon.*—At Chalcedon the matter was brought to a conclusion. Subsequent councils dealing with further developments of the matter (Monophysitism and Monothelitism) could only insist on rigid maintenance of the Decree of Chalcedon. Theological speculation had passed beyond the attainments of metaphysics and psychology in that age, and could only be restrained by repeating the formulæ which marked the utmost boundary of knowledge and safe reasoning. This famous Decree, which is generally held to be the high-water mark of ancient Christology, has in recent times become the object of serious criticism. Theologians pour contempt upon it as a mere assertion of logical contradictions. Historians (Harnack especially, who does less than justice to Cyril) strive to prove that its terms were a miserable compromise which, to satisfy the ambitions of the West (led by Pope Leo, author of the famous letter to Flavian known as 'Leo's Tome,' on which the Decree was founded), obscured the real issues by asserting the 'two natures in one person,' and made impossible the true development of the Athanasian Christology, which sought to assert that the result of the Incarnation was 'the One incarnate nature of the Logos.' In spite of Harnack's vehement pages, the view will probably continue to prevail that the Decree actually saved the fundamental Athanasian position. Moreover, a protest should be entered against the frequent yet absurd suggestion that the 'two-nature hypothesis' first arose at or just before Chalcedon. The very idea of an incarnation involves that of two natures somehow made into one life. The idea dates back to the NT, to the combination of 'Son of God' and 'Son of Man,' of 'existing in the form of God' and 'found in fashion as a man.' And the entire course of Christological speculation presupposed this hypothesis from the beginning. There is, however, much difference of opinion as to the real effect of the Decree at the critical point. The following are its main points for our purpose: (1) each nature, the humanity and the Godhead of 'our Lord Jesus Christ,' is 'perfect'; (2) He is consubstantial (ὁμοούσιος) with the Father and consubstantial 'with us'; (3) the 'property' (ἰδιότης=*proprietas*) of each nature is retained and concurs in one person (πρόσωπον=*persona*) and one substance (ὑπόστασις=*substantia*); (4) the famous four adverbs (without confusion, change, division, separation) condemn Eutychianism, Apollinarism, and Nestorianism. The main difficulty about the interpretation arises from the fact that the crucial clause starts with the different natures, defining each in its distinctness and completeness, and then speaks indefinitely of 'the property of each nature' as 'being preserved and concurring in one person and substance.' This is not the way of Scripture or of the Apologists or of Greek theology as a whole, which was to view the Incarnation steadily downwards, as it were, from the side of the Glory of God as a living and personal act of condescension. Hence it has led some (Dorner especially) to maintain that, according to the Decree, the 'Person or substance' is the resultant of the union of the two natures, and *not* that the Person or substance of the Son of God, having already a divine nature as the instrument of action, assumed also a human nature as a parallel and distinct means of action. Harnack seems to agree with this:

> 'In Leo's view the "Person" is no longer entirely the one subject with two "properties," but the union of two hypostatic natures' (*Hist. of Dogma*, iv. 205 f.).

But this interpretation is not borne out by Leo's Tome itself. In the very sentence of that famous letter from which this clause in the Decree is taken, the pope says: 'Lowliness was assumed by majesty,' etc. Leo even uses the Apollinaristic phrase 'which (the flesh) he (Logos) animated with the Spirit of rational life.' And again he speaks of the unity of Person in the two natures, and of the one Person of God and man.

If that clause, which has curiously absorbed attention to its method, as over against the method of earlier clauses, is read from the point of view which tends to proceed, as it were, from differences to their unity, Dorner's interpretation may result; but, if read from another point of view which moves from unity to difference, and in the light of the earlier clauses, it must be held that the *form* of the statement (in that clause), being dictated by current controversies, does not represent truly the real inner meaning of the Decree as a whole. For after all it must be not the two concurrent natures but the Logos with whom the Incarnation begins, and who, as eternal ὑπόστασις, adds to His possession of the Godhead, or divine 'nature,' a manhood or human 'nature.' There is no use of proving, as some have done, that the technical terms (esp. φύσις and ὑπόστασις) mean elsewhere something which makes nonsense of them as used here. These ancient terms were developed in these very controversies, and their occurrence here actually marks a new stage in their history. (1) A new difference is drawn between φύσις and πρόσωπον (and ὑπόστασις). (2) The last two terms are not merely interchangeable. The one (πρόσωπον) is beginning to assume the meaning of personality, and the other (ὑπόστασις) preserves the idea of indefeasible substantiality. But the imperfections of the Decree are found in the fact that it did not end controversy. Its outward form, especially in the crucial clause beginning with and insisting on the distinct and complete natures, gave power and victory to orthodoxy against the persistent teachers of Monophysitism and Monothelitism; but its inner and real meaning, that the Logos became the Ego of the human nature, encouraged persistent speculation as to how much is included in a conscious Ego (now=πρόσωπον), and in what sense human nature retains all its 'parts,' when it is said to be assumed by the Son of God. It is that question which has dominated modern Christology.

It is clear from this brief survey that Christological speculation in the early Church tended towards mere intellectualism, that the problems grew more and more remote from the field of experience, and that the great living figure of Jesus Christ, the Founder and Lord of Christianity, was in danger of being evaporated in technicalities and metaphysical abstractions. And, indeed, it is almost an offence to faith to follow the details of some of these controversies. All the more necessary is it, in trying to grasp the permanent significance of Jesus Christ for the Christian religion, to recall the fact that in the very midst of such controversies the Church was carrying on against tremendous difficulties its missionary, philanthropic, and sanctifying work. Many of the greatest Christological theologians were men of supreme devotion to His Person, profound believers in the redemption which He had brought, men of prayer and of saintly life. The ardour of their love for Him, and their profound grasp upon the idea that in Him the destiny of the individual and the race is determined, were the main forces which sustained their undying and even passionate engagement in these prolonged and laborious discussions of the mystery of His divine Person. Nevertheless, nothing is more remarkable than the fact that thus early, and still more in the Middle Ages, a split took place between the intellectual interest in the primary Christian facts and their spiritual, practical valuation and use by pious souls.

VII. *CHRISTOLOGY IN THE MODERN CHURCH.*—i. INTRODUCTORY: THE MODERN MIND.—1. **The reformation of religion.**—The history of Christology in modern times is bound up exclusively with the development of Protestantism; and here mere ecclesiasticism has played but a minor part. The broken condition of the Protestant communions has prevented anything like the calling of General Councils, the action of individual denominations having authority only for themselves. Hence such terms as 'heresiarch' are applied only by a certain limited class of historians to certain thinkers of the ancient Church. It is universally thought to be inappropriate under modern circumstances to use such a term of any modern theologian. Modern Christology is more intimately connected with the modern religious and intellectual life as a whole than with that of the ancient world, for in the civilization which we call Græco-Roman it appeared as in many respects an exotic. But modern civilization is deeply moulded by Christian principles, and its defects are to be corrected only by a fuller measure of the Christian spirit. Indeed, some of the ideas which have seemed most hostile to the Faith have been nourished and ultimately sustained by her own supreme teachings. With the Reformation came a new conception of the Christian life. Martin Luther was not so much the discoverer as the chief exemplar of this phase of religious experience. His power, and indeed that of the whole movement, is due not only to the nature of his experience, but to the fact that it can prove itself identical in its fundamental elements with that of the primitive Church as revealed in the NT. Luther discovered that the grace of God is a living force which has entered history in Christ and which lays hold of the individual directly without any essential human mediation save that of the preached word, the gospel. On the human side it is penitence and faith that apprehend the grace of God and are the means through which that grace apprehends the human soul. Luther and the other great reformers maintained that they were loyal to the Councils of the early Church. The Decree of Chalcedon stood forth for them all as the supreme Christological utterance of the Church. But this loyalty to the Councils was conditioned by the idea that the Councils simply explained Scripture, and were authoritative only in so far as Scripture supported them. The reformers completely disowned the notion that the official Church had power to develop and enforce an authoritative theology. The central fact for the reformers is that the Christian faith is a living experience, made possible by the full revelation of God in the historic Christ. Apart from Him there is no saving knowledge of God. Through varying phases this characteristic evangelical view of Christianity has persisted in the reformed Churches. In periods when emphasis was placed upon doctrinal definition rather than upon personal experience, and a new intellectual formalism arose instead of the appeal to conscience, the Protestant communions have felt an arrest upon their spiritual life and their world influence. Every fresh spiritual movement—such as that known in Germany as the Pietist movement, or the Puritan movement in England, or the Moravian and Wesleyan movements both in Europe and in America—has always arisen from a fresh insight into the fundamental nature of 'reformed' and apostolic Christianity. In the 19th cent. the extraordinary expansion of Christianity through the foreign missionary movement has borne an ampler and more impressive witness to the reality and power of the Christian faith as thus re-apprehended and proclaimed. It must be observed that in Christianity thus defined and thus operative the Person of Christ always stands forth as unique, supreme, divine, redemptive, and directive. 'Ubi Christus, ibi Ecclesia.' And no less true is it that, where Christ is, the presence of the living, eternal God is immediately realized. The historic founder is believed, and His followers insist that He is irresistibly proved, to be the invisible, spiritual, divine power or will which is directing man to his true goal.

2. **Modern thought.**—(*a*) *The trend of philosophy.*—Europe experienced an amazing revival of intellectual life in the same general period in which the rejuvenescence of Christianity took place. In part this renaissance of the mind was due to fresh contact with the literature of the ancients, but it had its roots also in the long labours and deep intellectual influences of the Christian Church. For example, even in its darkest days that Church bore in upon the mind of Europe the conception that there is but one living God, who has created the entire universe for ends worthy of His own character. This great conception consecrated nature and abolished the crude ancient dualism. Modern science has arisen from, and still depends upon, certain principles which Christianity first enforced upon the human mind, especially those of the unity and order and sanctity of the natural universe. Hence the investigation of nature must now be considered as a religious act, though the officials of the Church learned this with difficulty and dismay. Modern philosophy began, it is agreed, with Descartes. From his day onwards there has been a deepening investigation of the rich and complicated process of knowledge, and into the nature of the human consciousness, which has come to be conceived of as a living organism. Mankind began by thinking of the outer physical world as

the basis of all reality. Only gradually has this conception been transcended. But now for all heirs of Christian civilization the universe of consciousness and conscious beings has come into view as the true source and seat of reality. Through this mighty process of change certain facts have emerged which must be briefly stated. And in stating them we may assume that for Christian thought the purely mechanistic view of the universe must be held as false. First we must note the emergence of personality as the ideal centre of consciousness. In personality the conscious intelligent will is recognized as the supreme fact. As yet the human mind can conceive of nothing higher which can be named as the ultimate form of reality. If it is ultimate, it must be also fontal, and every other form of the actual must proceed from and depend upon it. Next, there is the emergence of the idea of experience as the most general term which can be applied to all that which exists for personality. The material universe seems to be undergoing, not merely through philosophical reasoning, but through scientific investigation, a complete transformation, in virtue of which all its elements are seen to be symbols and instruments of a spiritual universe. Hence ancient words like 'nature,' 'substance,' 'body,' 'essence,' even 'humanity' and 'parts of humanity,' require to be thought through afresh. Much of what they meant in the Christological controversies of the early Church has simply fallen away from them for the modern mind.

(*b*) *The spirit of science.*—Further, we must note the emergence of the modern scientific spirit. It has learned through long and painful processes of discipline that truth concerning the natural universe and the history of man can be discovered only by patient and disinterested investigation of fact. A new conscience has arisen in reference to the acquirement of knowledge and the interpretation of life. For, if nature and history be together a divine process, the seeker after truth must seek it there; and to find it there he must wait upon nature and history with a spirit of utter sincerity and patience, and with the calmness of trust in his methods of investigation and their sure result. Through the labours of science and philosophy combined there has emerged the great conception of evolution. The very idea is itself undergoing a process of development. We have seen it in two generations pass from the cruder forms promulgated in the name of science by such men as Spencer and Darwin to the more spiritual conceptions which begin to guide the thought of our day. But common to them all is the idea that there is a unity in the history of nature and of men, and that this vast unified process must be read in terms of reason and of will.

(*c*) *Certain assumptions of Christian thought.*—In the main, it may be said without much risk that the following constitute some of the fundamental elements of prevalent modern thought. (*α*) What reason can explain is rational: what is rational must be derived from reason. (*β*) What exists in relation to consciousness exists for a conscious being or beings; and what exists for conscious beings, having its *raison d'être* there, must be derived from a conscious source. (*γ*) If there is a universe of life and of conscious beings, they may or must exist in various grades as to structure, power, and meaning. (*δ*) If there is a universe of rational, conscious beings, they must be capable of mutual intercourse, and such intercourse may depend upon the existence of media through which they become aware of and act upon each other. (*ε*) These media of intercommunication constitute the world or universe of nature, which must be also conceived of as an ultimately unified system of facts. The trend of philosophy in all its chief forms to-day is controlled by the varying influences allowed by different classes of thinkers to these and such-like fundamental conceptions. With the gradual extinction of mere materialism these have emerged as in some way the common property of the main groups of thinkers. Even natural science, through its physics, biology, and psychology, is gradually approaching a statement of its actual discoveries and provisional inferences regarding material substance, life, and mind, which is bringing it into close correspondence with these general assumptions of philosophy. Over the whole field of knowledge and its processes, of philosophy and its assumptions, one can see the irresistible pressure of the fundamental and characteristic Christian doctrines concerning God as Creator and Lord of All, concerning man as primarily a moral and spiritual being, concerning the spiritual universe as at once the source, explanation, and end of human history. For the Christian Church the conviction remains that for these ideas, however reason may strive to support and illumine and systematize them, the one indefeasible guarantee of their truth, in the field of objective reality, is to be found in the historic consciousness and the permanent spiritual presence and power of Jesus Christ.

As Troeltsch has put the matter: '. . . the image of Jesus will always remain inseparable from all efficacious Christian belief in God. A Christian mysticism . . . will always remain the central point of true and genuine Christianity as long as it exists. Without this, the personalistic belief in God would itself pine away and die' (*Report of Fifth International Congress of Free Christianity*, London, 1910, p. 238 f.).

Modern Christology, with a longer history of the Church behind it and a wider if not a deeper religious experience to correct or confirm it, is the inevitable effort of the modern Christian mind to verify afresh for itself the conception of the founder of Christianity as the personal self-revelation of God, the personal interpreter of human nature, the personal director of human destiny.

ii. FIRST PHASE: ABSOLUTE IDEALISM.—Christology received its greatest modern developments in the 19th cent., and most of these arose in the midst of the unparalleled intellectual life of the German universities. There philosophy and historical research combined to produce a complete re-casting of the Christian system of doctrine by concentrating attention upon two supreme subjects—the idea of God in relation to the universe, and the place of Christ in history. The giants of philosophy from Kant to Hegel endeavoured to do justice to both features of the Christian religion. Out of that period, whether by direct derivation or by reaction against the prevalent philosophies, arose three main views of Christianity, and hence three main forms of Christology.

1. Hegel's Christology.—In the first place Absolute Idealism must be reckoned with. It has made the modern mind familiar with the theory that God is an immanent principle, generating the history of the entire universe. But, as Hegel works the subject out on his vast canvas, God must not be conceived of as above or before the process. He is the Idea realizing itself in the two successive forms of nature (object) and man (subject, spirit), and coming to consciousness only in the latter. God became personal in humanity. At some point in human history the Spirit which has struggled to free itself from the bonds of nature, and to rest in a perfected self-consciousness, must come to the full realization of that climax. That full incarnation of the Idea in the form of conscious Spirit was achieved in the Person of Christ, who is the supreme appearance 'in the sensuous form appropriate to history' of the unity of man with God. But in Christ the Spirit appeared in fullness, that from Him the whole of humanity might be set free and made conscious of itself as the dwelling-place of the divine. In spite of its vivid insight into some deeper meanings of Christianity, Hegelianism remains abstract, elusive. Its conception of God, as it has been said, appears as an ingenious apotheosis of Hegel's own dialectic. Again, in spite of its emphasis on the idea of the Trinity and many illuminating expositions of it, it gives no real grip of the facts to his Christology. For his Christ is not true to the picture in the Gospels nor to the faith of the Church. His early studies in the Life of Christ (see Günther, *Lehre von der Person Christi*, p. 97 ff.) had not brought Hegel close to the fact that Jesus knew Himself distinctively as Son of God, and that God is a Being with whom men must deal in the lofty regions of personal relationship. Sin is for him a stage in the process of man's movement towards the divine self-consciousness; and grace therefore is not the mercy that forgives, but the sense of unity with the immanent God achieved in Christ.

2. Its influence.—Nevertheless the marvellous energy of Hegel's expositions and the vast sweep of his system, its sublime confidence in the power of reason to unlock the ultimate secrets of being, and its complete subordination of the physical to the meanings of the spiritual universe have had a permanent and deep effect upon the whole course of modern theology. The exaggerated emphasis upon the doctrine of the divine immanence in more recent popular Christology in England and America is due to him. That theological phase sometimes called the 'New Theology' has appealed to natural science as teaching the unity of all things in its doctrine of evolution, and to idealism as teaching the indwelling of God in the entire process of time. From these two positions it has drawn its doctrine that in all men the divine is in some measure inherent, while in Christ manhood has been filled with the divine to its utmost capacity. These are, sometimes distant and unconscious, inheritances from Hegel. In Germany the Hegelian influence showed itself in many ways. It gave Baur his method of conceiving the development of Christian dogma amidst the conflicts of the early Church. For a time it seemed to give Strauss a resting-place for his faith after the destructive work done upon the story of the Gospels. It gave the clue by which men like Biedermann, for whom likewise the supernatural (in the old sense) had fallen from Christianity, sought to secure the permanent essence of that faith while its historical setting was discarded, as the husk of mere circumstance is removed from the kernel of truth. But everywhere it failed to satisfy the Christian consciousness. That consciousness cannot deduce history from ideas, but rather derives its ideas from history. It cannot persuade itself of man's power to see God through reason, and then prove that what it has seen independently was also discovered in the Christ of history. Hence, as Fairbairn (*The Place of Christ in Mod. Theol.*, London, 1893, p. 213 ff.) insisted with such force, Hegel's view of Christ endeavoured to translate into his own terminology what the Church has held; but the whole reality and value of the Church's faith consisted in the fact that the human mind had come to think and to believe in this way and thus found its unity with God. 'The remarkable thing is the relation of the faith to the Person rather than the Person to the faith' (p. 221). The reality of Christ's personal consciousness of union with God as the objective and real object and ground of faith is not present to his mind. This element in the Hegelian method, which is not peculiar to this stage in his system, has pervaded modern thought very deeply, as we shall see.

iii. SECOND PHASE: ROMANTICISM.—**1. The man who 'rejuvenated theology.'**—The second great movement was that which sprang from the remarkable personal gifts, the spiritual life, and the distinctive theological method of Schleiermacher. Many elements which seem to his critics, and even to his admirers, utterly inconsistent with one another had their unity for him through his deep mystical type of religious life, his poetic and daring imagination, and his great gift of analytic thought. This remarkable combination carried him in distaste away from the abstract and unreal dogmatism of Absolute Idealism. It carried him through the strong and powerful temptations of his period of surrender to the Romanticism dominant in Berlin society, without delivering him from the intellectual influence of that spirit. His vast reading made him sensitive to the realities of history and to the supreme significance of a fellowship like that of the Christian Church. He therefore set forth with convincing and almost revolutionary power the absoluteness of religion. It has its seat in experience, *i.e.* in the living, feeling consciousness of man. In that consciousness man finds himself dependent on the Infinite, on God, for his very being and for all the true meanings of his existence. Religion, which rises out of the fundamental fact of dependence, and also nourishes it as a feeling which has infinite worth, is for that reason independent of any philosophic system, and, on the other hand, must not be restrained as a mere department of social ethics. The poor starveling which Kant knew as religion, an *adjutorium legis*, is repulsive to the richer soul of Schleiermacher.

2. His idea of God.—In his conception of God, Schleiermacher, while defining Christianity as 'a teleological monotheism,' yet fails to get rid of the pantheistic trend inherent in the 'romantic' view of the universe. The sense of its unity, its vast life, its mystery, its moral beauty, made it unnatural for him to insist on the personality of God and hard to defend or define that conception. God is immediately given in the universal, persistent, and supreme feeling of our absolute dependence on the Infinite. It can be accounted for only by that which is also its very essence, viz. that it is a feeling produced by God. He and not the self is its 'Whence' ('das Woher'). Similarly the fact of sin is not to be distinguished from the consciousness of sin, and that appears in the universal experiences of failure, of incompleteness, and self-reproach. We are guilty because we feel guilty. As God is not to be proved by reasons which lie outside the God-consciousness, so sin must not be traced to any source outside the universal human feeling that 'there is something wrong.'

3. His view of Christ.—It will always seem an intellectual inconsistency that Schleiermacher, in spite of this view of God and man, affirmed with unconquerable conviction that in one historic consciousness, that of Jesus Christ, we find a new departure in human history. Christ was and is the redeemer of mankind. This fact is found by us in the continuous existence of the Church, as that body of human fellowship which, in spite of all imperfection, possesses the sense of the grace of God, the feeling that dependence on Him extends even to the moral issues and the destiny of man. The Church sprang from Christ and depends on Christ, and holds in its own spirit and life the future of man's religious history. And 'there is no other way of having part in the Christian fellowship than through faith in Jesus as Redeemer' ('Erlöser'). Schleiermacher, though he worked directly on the Gospels, did not go into a close examination of the consciousness of Christ in the construction of his theological system. It was enough for him that in Christ, through the faith of His original community in Him, we have an assurance of God's perfect union with a human life. In Him that union was a new, original act of God, inscrutable but indubitable. He is the archetype of the new life of which He is the fountainhead. But He is not to be interpreted through any doctrine of pre-existence, or miraculous birth, or even of the Resurrection. These are reflexions of that divine impression of unique and perfect union with God which He made upon His disciples, and through which He welded them into a communion animated by His own life and henceforth controlled by His Spirit, which is the Spirit of God. The conclusions of the ancient Councils he lays on one side. Their whole aim was irrelevant. The idea of two natures in one Person is illogical. God has no 'nature,' and the inherence of a divine Person in human nature must inevitably annul the essential characteristics of the latter. Yet God was uniquely in Christ, constituting Him the object of universal faith and the permanent life of His Church. In sanctification others may go far towards the heights of peace and holiness, but only and always in their confessed dependence upon Him and the nourishing qualities of the Church which He created. To lose faith in Him would mean the collapse of the Church and the return of man to the unrelieved consciousness of guilt.

4. **Criticism.**—In this brief sketch of some of the main positions of Schleiermacher, certain facts are clear in reference to the subject of this article. (*a*) Schleiermacher, by his bold appeal to experience of the heart as the seat of religion, sought to destroy the sense of dependence on either metaphysical or theological dogmas as the sources and defences of faith. His passionate appeal to the human consciousness itself in its feelings of dependence, sin, and reconciliation revealed the depth, power, and reality of that consciousness in its religious, and above all in its Christian, manifestation. Yet he failed even in his acute analysis of the process of consciousness to find the personality which is conscious. His account of experience on both the objective (Godward) and the subjective (manward) side is left as a stream with no containing banks, a system of real and beautiful clouds with no sense of solidity or guarantee of continuance. (*b*) His welcome emphasis on the uniqueness of Christ and on the fact that His image and spirit are preserved for us in the abiding faith and life of the Church, gave rise to the whole movement which in Germany blossomed at last into Ritschlianism in its various phases. It is Christ-in-His-value-for-faith, in His total impression on His followers, that constitutes Christianity. Again the problem of personality is avoided. His consciousness as a reflexion in the hearts of others, not as the seat and definite manifestation of His own will and thought about Himself, is the object of faith. (*c*) By this subtle and persuasive method of winning man to a sense of the divine power of Christ, attention was diverted from all questions about His origin and His miracles. The miracles may have helped the first disciples, but they are remote from our experience. The mystery of His being is lost where the mystery of our own disappears, not to be discovered by metaphysics, in the origin of all things.

As J. Kaftan urges, 'his formula is ambiguous ('missverständlich') since it does not clearly enough assert that it is concerned with a gift from above, and not with the outworking merely of something implanted once for all in the creation (*Dogmatik*^{4}, Tübingen, 1901, p. 450).

The breath of Pantheism (for Schleiermacher was an intense admirer of Spinoza), with its strange obliteration of the fundamental *realia*, lies over all his thought. But many of his successors and debtors have not that reason for assuming his attitude towards the metaphysical and the miraculous.

iv. THIRD PHASE: AGNOSTIC PHILOSOPHY AND POSITIVIST THEOLOGY.—1. **Ritschl's Christology.**—(*a*) *His connexions.*—Albrecht Ritschl, though not so powerful a personality as Schleiermacher, founded a school or 'movement' in theology whose members have been identified with much of the best work done in Germany during the last thirty years. Ritschl owes what is most valuable in his thought to the earlier thinker, but he set it forth in a more definite manner, and in a generation prepared by prolonged discussion of the history of early Christianity to welcome a system which made it seem possible to worship Jesus Christ while saturated with scepticism as to the supernatural on the one hand, and despair as to the historical on the other. He justified the scepticism by accepting the Kantian theory of knowledge, as it was reinterpreted by his colleague at Göttingen, Hermann Lotze. Of that which is above the phenomena of experience we can have no real knowledge. Hence it is vain to investigate the problem of the Trinity, or to attempt a Christology in the sense of the early Church. Our experience is built up of judgments of fact and judgments of value. The former deal with the material of the senses, and form the field of natural science. The latter deal with the moral and spiritual elements of experience. All religious conceptions are in their essence value judgments. They arise out of our view of the world in relation to our human, moral, spiritual interests. The conception of God had thus taken form in the mind of man through his felt need of superhuman spiritual powers to supplement his own in his unequal struggle with the natural world. The existence of God is unquestionable, 'for the activity of God becomes to us a matter of conviction through the attitude we take up to the world as religious men' (*Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Bonn, 1870–74, Eng. tr., *Justification and Reconciliation*, Edinburgh, 1900, p. 218).

(*b*) *His view of Christ.*—For the Christian Church God, thus assumed to exist, has been actually revealed in Jesus Christ. Christ founded the community in which this revelation was first realized, and through which it is perceived as the perfect form of religious conviction and life. Jesus Christ became aware of His vocation as the bearer of this revelation through His own perfect religious knowledge of the Father, which included the assurance of God's purpose to found the Kingdom of God through Him. This task He undertook with flawless devotion. He made known the Father by word and deed and by the majesty of His unshakable faith in face of sin, hostility, and death. So completely did He absorb the divine will and the end of God's governance of the world in the interest of His Kingdom, that in Him, His faith, His obedience, His love, we see the love, the grace, of God towards us. Thus Christ, in the famous phrase, has for us 'the value of God.' In the mind of God and in our faith, Christ, as the Son of God, is the founder or source of the organization of men according to God's idea of their destiny. His end with them is made known in the Person of Christ, and Christ is the type after which they are to be conformed. The doctrine of His actual Godhead is translated into this eternal purpose of God concerning man which was ever bound up with the Son 'as object of the divine Mind and Will,' and 'sharer of God's attribute as end of creation.' Concerning His actual pre-existence we can say nothing. It lies as completely beyond the range of our knowledge as His post-existence, and is unnecessary to our faith in Him. Nor can we conceive of His exaltation otherwise than as the experience of the abiding influence of His historical manifestation. Of His origin it is impossible to say anything. All we need and all we are given is the assurance that in His holy will, in His limitless love, and in His invincible faith we see the purpose of God and His love for the community which Jesus took to His heart and in whose service He died. However, 'the right appreciation of the completeness of the revelation of God through Christ is assured by the predicate of His Godhood.'

(*c*) *His influence.*—This Christology has held sway over many powerful minds. Its virtues are negative and positive. On the negative side it has seemed to give the Christian faith a position where the terrors of natural science could not assail it. Miracle is not an inherent element in this view of Christ. The supernatural is limited to the sphere of moral influences and spiritual cognitions which the categories of the scientific understanding cannot penetrate. Also, as especially with Herrmann, it has seemed to make faith independent of the results of historical criticism of the Gospels. Enough is given when we have insight into the invincible assurance of Jesus Himself concerning the love of God His Father, and His complete surrender to the divine will and the divine ends. But some have gone further even than that. They are so sure that the ideas of God's Fatherhood and His gracious promise of life eternal are confirmed in the long and deep experience of the Church that, they surmise, Christianity will survive even though Jesus fade from among the facts of history. And with them the *reductio ad absurdum* of this subjective view of reality is attained. On the positive side the Ritschlian position has gained through its valuable insistence upon the 'fact of Christ' as the essential object of any living and communal faith in God. If the doctrine of knowledge, which like all Agnosticism is in essence sceptical, leaves us in the dark as to the foundations of the phenomena of all history, yet within that history and among its undeniable influences it places Christ as supreme. This very view drove Ritschl's followers into the deeper study of the consciousness of Christ, some of whose results we have already considered above.

2. **Herrmann's Christology.**—(*a*) *Contents of the Christian consciousness.*—Like all great movements, the Ritschlian has broken into several directions. One is represented more completely by W. Herrmann than by any one else. He separates even more trenchantly than Ritschl between metaphysics and religion, and holds that in religious experience we move in a sphere which no use of the logical understanding can construct into an objective universe. Nor can we reconcile the universe which science investigates, and which metaphysics tries to interpret as 'one,' with the moral and spiritual contents of the Christian consciousness. The following points may be taken as summarizing Herrmann's view of these contents. (α) We are, as human beings, conscious of our dependence on an infinite power. (β) We are as Christians conscious of moral reconciliation with God when we understand 'the personal life of Jesus.' For it is in the historical Christ Himself that we see God revealed as Father. This positive vision of God in Christ awakens in us the moral impulse to deny self, and in that we find ourselves released from the tyranny of the world. We must not so define Christ as a mediator that we may seem to get past Him to God, or find a greater good in God than in Him. That is the way to reduce Christianity to a merely relative and perhaps vanishing form of religion. 'It is true to say that we find in God Himself nothing but Christ.' On the other hand, we know nothing of God except as He becomes revealed in Christ. (γ) Hence we must not make true faith depend on a theory of His Person, or a system of doctrines about Him and His work. True faith arises only when the individual heart faces Jesus for itself and yields itself to the vision of God in Him. Hence Herrmann has the daring to say, 'We must get past the old dogma of the Deity of Christ to a higher conception of Christ' (*Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*^{4}, Eng. tr., *Communion of the Christian with God*, p. 34). The higher conception of which he speaks is not a higher metaphysical theory, but a higher *working* conception, one which consists in realizing that there is no way of knowing God apart from, or beyond, or above the historical Christ. How Christ knew God and lived in Him is His secret. All that we can know is the redemption of Christ which brings us into right relation with God. We cannot deal with God except in Jesus. (δ) Herrmann insists further that we must not seek to image for ourselves a living Christ of to-day with whom we can 'get into personal contact.' That image will again abolish the historical Jesus and seem to make us independent of Him. The supreme secret of Christianity is this linking of the past with the present, this perennial flow of living water from the heart of the historical Jesus. When we turn our eyes away from Him to a theory of His Person, or to a picture of His present exaltation, we depart from the real faith of Christianity. It is only as we gaze upon Him in His, however far off, historical reality and see God disclosed in Him that we enter into a sense that God is here with us. Yet even in that instant recognition of His presence and power in us we dare not separate Him from the vision of Him in that historic Jesus. (ε) It is true that we must have many and great conceptions of Christ. But they do not precede faith or produce faith. They are themselves the fruits of faith ('Glaubensgedanken'). The resurrection, exaltation, and mediation of Christ are conclusions drawn from faith, and in which it delights, but they are not faith's presuppositions, and cannot create the saving attitude of trust. Herrmann discusses with unwearied care the difference, which seems to him immense, between the view that the deity of Christ must be taught in a dogmatic form in order that men may come to put their trust in Him, and so find God in Him, and the view that men must come straight to Him in history and receive from Him that overwhelming impression ('Eindruck') of the redeeming grace of God which compels them to see the very presence of God in His personality and so to confess His deity.

(*b*) *Estimate.*—There is no better witness to the intellectual perplexities of the Christian theologian to-day than the appearance of such a view as Herrmann's. His writings have from the first revealed a most earnest and most Christian spirit. There can be no doubt that in his own heart he has had an experience, intense and vital, which he has spent his life in making as real as possible to others. But our minds stubbornly demand that a man shall be placed in our intellectual map. And Herrmann seems to elude us. He seems a mystic, but denounces mysticism. He seems a subjective idealist, and argues for an objective ground of faith. He is not a romanticist, closely as he adheres to part of Schleiermacher's position, nor a pantheist, for he will utter no word that does not speak of God as a personal Father. His Christology, with its mingling of deep loyalty to the deity of Christ as given in experience, with a stern refusal to define His Person or even His work, except in passionate repetitions of the redeeming power of His historic personality, is possible only in an age when the war of philosophic systems has created in certain minds a deep 'philosophic doubt,' and when the triumphs of science have seemed for a while to imprison the imagination in a physical universe, closed and impervious, for our intellect, to the spiritual. The refuge of such minds throughout the 19th cent. was in the great fact of the religious consciousness of mankind. There we find a continuous and universal human experience which has its own rights and its unquestionable reality (see H. Schultz, *Christliche Apologetik*, Göttingen, 1894). There faith, the soul's organ for sight into the spiritual and moral universe, reigns beyond the assaults of science or metaphysics. And human faith, in the historic Jesus, reached such heights of power, such intensity of moral and spiritual illumination for other souls, that it has ever since produced faith in Him and in that grace of God which, concentrated with infinite force in Him, breaks out from Him as the very glory of God's own face upon all susceptible souls. This has proved itself to be a refuge and fortress for many individual minds. But it has not been fruitful, either practically or theologically. Its psychology is faulty when it deals with the relation of dogma to individual experience, and again when it attempts to picture the Church, living and growing, conquering and thinking, over wider horizons of human experience, without making its explanation of the objects of its faith credible, verifiable, and authoritative for its own life and in its appeals to the world.

3. **Kaftan.**—The Ritschlian movement, while carried to this extreme in so noble a way by Herrmann, has in another direction tended towards a closer affiliation with historic theology. In Kaftan (*Dogmatik*^{4}, 1901) we find a less strict use of the epistemology espoused by Ritschl. While the latter *seemed*, at any rate, to say that the religious view of the world consisted only in value-judgments, Kaftan holds that it consists much rather in judgments of facts ('Seinsurteile') which are reached through judgments of value. It is real knowledge (*e.g.*, that God is and what God is), although it does not arise from our scientific knowledge of the order of the natural world. But Kaftan, no less than Ritschl and Herrmann, carries on the magnificent emphasis of the whole movement upon the nature and royal significance of faith. He holds that the 'two-nature theory' which underlies the whole Christology of the early Church, was due to the conception of salvation which was then held. The reformed Church, and that in the life of the whole modern world, has another view of salvation, which consists neither in the magical communication of life (as in the early Church) nor in the transactional soteriology which arose with Anselm. We have in Jesus Christ, in His coming into our world, His historical character and work, His triumph and exaltation as the Risen Lord of the Church's faith, an act of God through which His forgiveness is assured to us, and we are made partakers of His Spirit and life. The Church thinks of Him first and directly as the exalted Lord, and as such the Head of the Church. But that exalted Lord cannot be conceived except by reference to the historical Jesus. It is the spiritual content of His Person on which we depend, and that is known to us only in the story of His life in the flesh, for there the central fact is that the development of His self-consciousness as a man proceeds from His consciousness of oneness with God. That unique and supreme historical self shared in the divine attribute of omnipotence in its ethical aspect. This omnipotence is no mere logical inference from abstract speculative premisses. It appears in His actual life, His independence of the world, His complete control of all things and relations ('alle Dinge und Verhältnisse') for the fulfilment of His task. But this fact of moral omnipotence proves that the human life in which it was manifested had a unique origin, arose from a special, unparalleled, and unrepeatable act of God. Kaftan agrees with Schleiermacher that God prepared human nature for the great event of His own manifestation in and through it, but refuses to consider this event only in terms of an immanential process. There is in it a definite impartation from God. Christ therefore, while wholly and truly man, is also the manifestation under human conditions of God Himself. The Church therefore will and must always consider Jesus Christ as eternal. He is more than a divine ideal (as Harnack and others before him have maintained). But Kaftan will only say 'Yes and No' to the pre-existence hypothesis. The definition of that pre-existence through such a conception as the Logos meant and means the introduction of a speculative and really unknown factor which disturbs the concrete object of Christian faith. All that we can properly assert is that 'the coming of Jesus into the world ('das Werden Jesu in der Welt') absolutely surpasses the conditions of ordinary human development. God sent and God gave Him.'

4. **Other representatives.**—Among those who are reckoned as of the Ritschlian school, Harnack must be mentioned, not as having made any remarkable contribution to Christology, but as one whose historical investigations have done so much to refresh interest in the long history of its controversies. We have seen above (p. 521) that he seems to utter inconsistent ideas concerning the place of Christ in the gospel. Perhaps the real cause of this is that within the vigour of the scientific historian he carries the spirit of the romanticist, who makes 'feeling and inner vivacity the measure of truth' (see a keen estimate of Harnack's position by J. Baumann, *Grundfrage der Religion*, Stuttgart, 1895, pp. 23–41, which is still applicable). G. Wobbermin, while serving himself heir to the Ritschlian doctrine, modifies it even further than Kaftan. He warns us that we must not confuse metaphysical realities with the metaphysical method. That we can know metaphysical realities Kaftan admits, and Ritschl ought to have admitted, for without that the whole groundwork of religion disappears in a mere succession of feelings. But we must not set these metaphysical realities before us as discoveries of the rational understanding and objects of *a priori* speculation. Our knowledge of them is limited to and by the very means and conditions through which we become certain of their existence and of some aspect of their nature (cf. G. Wobbermin, *Theologie und Metaphysik*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 26–40, and *Der christliche Gottesglaube*, do. 1902). The school of Ritschl includes a large number of the leading theologians of the past and present generation in Germany. A full account would have to include the names of Hermann Schultz, H. H. Wendt, J. Häring, W. Bornemann, and M. Reischle. None of these has made any distinctive contribution to the problem. They differ mainly in their emphasis upon the essential relation of the historical Jesus to the gospel, upon the form of the presence of God in Him, upon the distinctness with which He is to be conceived of as the exalted Lord in living relation with the Church. They are all characterized by the effort to disown any adhesion to the doctrine of His two natures, with its Trinitarian background and its permanent puzzle regarding the presence of the divine subject in the conscious life of the man Jesus. They all insist on the faith of the first disciples ('die Gemeinde') in Jesus as the Christ, as forming the original source and type of the conception which must permanently rule the mind of the Church.

v. FOURTH PHASE: THE KENOTIC CHRISTOLOGY.—1. **Its origins.**—Parallel with the movement which arose with Schleiermacher and continued through Ritschl, there ran in the 19th cent. another known as the Kenotic Christology (from the phrase *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν*, Ph 2^7). This theory avoids the pantheistic tendencies of Absolute Idealism or of such a man as Schleiermacher. On the other hand, it rejects the philosophical Agnosticism which rules the movements derived from Kant. However closely it may approach any of these, it holds true to the idea of a Personal God, and as a rule develops a definite doctrine of the Trinity. It had various roots in the thought world of Germany, connecting it with the Lutheran doctrine of the *Communicatio idiomatum* and its emphasis on the majesty of the pre-existent Christ, and with the Reformed doctrine of the exinanition with its emphasis on the reality of the human nature and experience of the incarnate Son of God. Its formulation was hastened in the ecclesiastical sphere by the efforts to bring about the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. On the side of religion it was connected with Pietism and the interest in Evangelism, which have always been most intense where the personal participation of God in human experience, for revelation and redemption, has been most vividly realized.

'It seemed as if dogma and piety, dogma and gospel, were again united more closely than ever' (Günther, *Lehre von der Person Christi*, p. 191).

Further, it was the direct fruit of the modern emphasis upon consciousness and will as the seat of reality, which has undermined the ancient conceptions of matter, substance, and nature as objective and independent realities. Accepting the 'two-nature' view of the Incarnation, on which the ancient Christology was founded, the Kenoticists have set themselves to translate its terms, and also to analyze as a living process that act by which the 'one person or substance' united with Himself the human nature and therein lived as the Gospels depict Him. Günther (*op. cit.* §§ 22–28) has traced the various stages by which the first full statement of the idea by Thomasius was prepared for.

2. Its full statement.—(*a*) *G. Thomasius.*—In this theologian the theory received its first complete and systematic exposition (*Christi Person und Werk*, Erlangen, 1853 ff.). According to Thomasius, the Incarnation is an act by which the Logos, Son of God, laid aside the so-called 'relative' attributes of omnipresence, omnipotence, and omniscience, whose exercise was inconsistent with the limits of human nature. The essential ethical attributes of love and holiness He retained in His assumption of that nature. Thus the Son of God is the only subject, the Ego, of this personal life of Jesus Christ, in whom we see human nature assumed by the Son of God, and the Son of God limiting Himself to human conditions through that very act. To say that such an act is impossible is to limit the power of God's will. Given the possibility of this act of infinite love, we see its fruits in the story of Jesus Christ. Thoroughly human in the forms of His consciousness, He yet manifests the essential qualities of God in His perfect love and sinless life. Though we must call Him 'the man who is God,' we must recognize the reality of His human consciousness. Hence He is the image of God, and as such the perfect ideal of human nature. Other theologians, like Luthardt and Ebrard, adopted the Kenotic theory with variations of their own.

(*b*) *Gess.*—But it was W. F. Gess (*Christi Person und Werk*, Basel, 1870)who made the most important stage in its development. The first volume of his work deals directly with the consciousness ('Selbstzeugniss') of Jesus, as it is set forth in the NT. In his constructive theory he shrinks from no implication of the idea of a 'self-emptying' of the Son of God. By a supreme act of will He deprived Himself even of His self-consciousness as Logos. He entered into that night of unconsciousness in which our life begins. Adopting the 'Creationist' hypothesis that each human soul is a fresh creation of God, Gess found in that an obvious way of accounting for the union of the Logos with the human body of Jesus. In the earthly life the Logos gradually attained knowledge of Himself through the ordinary principles of human development. But we may well suppose that in His unique case there would be operative a deep instinct (the 'instinct of kind') by which His mind would be guided, so that He would recognize through the teachings of the OT His own kinship with the Father. Gess allows us to suppose that at times there would be outflashes, 'uprushes,' of His true essence into the field of consciousness—a thought curiously suggestive of certain passages in W. Sanday's interesting speculation concerning the subconscious as the *locus* of the Incarnation. The recovery of His divine self-consciousness, which reached higher stages in His baptism and in the course of His active ministry, was conditioned ethically by His faith and His love. It was love that released the slumbering consciousness of superhuman power when distress and disease made their appeal to His sympathy. At and after the Resurrection the full divine self-consciousness was assumed. Gess weakened the force of his theory when, for the sake of completeness, he allowed himself to speculate regarding the change wrought by the Kenosis in the Trinity both during the Incarnation and as the result of carrying the human glorified body of the Risen Christ into the life of God.

Criticisms of the Kenotic theory as thus presented by its German expounder have covered three main points: (1) (speculative) it endangers the doctrine, held to be fundamental, of the unchangeableness of God (Dorner); (2) it is, says Ritschl, 'pure mythology' (*op. cit.* p. 411); it describes events and processes in the eternal life of God for which we have no ground or proof but the same imagination that produced all the ancient pictures of transactions among divine beings; (3) the 'Kenotic' Christ is neither the genuinely human being of the Gospels nor the frankly supernatural being of the ancient Christology. All that He says and does is to be accounted for within the limits of the humanity He has assumed. The flesh, in conditioning the Logos so completely, quenches any special significance which is attributed to it through the vague and occult inherence of an inoperative divine self.

(*c*) *Godet and some British Kenoticists.*—In the English-speaking world the Kenotic theory has had more vogue in the last twenty-five years than on the Continent. In Great Britain it was first made widely known by the important work of A. B. Bruce (*The Humiliation of Christ*, 1876), and more directly by translations of the works of H. Martensen (*Christliche Dogmatik*, Berlin, 1856, Eng. tr., *Christian Dogmatics*, Edinburgh, 1866) and F. Godet.

Godet's best account of his theory is not in his *Comm. on St. John* (Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1876–77), but in his *Biblical Studies* (Oxford 1875), where he gives a characteristically brilliant exposition. His two chief presuppositions are 'the absolute freedom of God' and 'the absolute perfectibility of man' (p. 136). 'If this miracle is not possible, God is not free' (p. 139). His account of the self-discovery of Jesus has some interesting points. 'That which he felt to be behind Him, when He searched into the profound depths of His being, was not, as it is with us, the vacuum of pre-existence, but the plenitude of Divine Life' (p. 129). That this is not mere rhetoric is clear from the manner in which that 'search' is described. Jesus recognized His moral and religious differences from other men, as He read in the OT the Messianic prophecies and faced the question of His own life-work. He could not but be forced to ask, 'Who am I?' The persistent enigmas of His consciousness are answered at His baptism, 'Thou art my Son.' Another interesting statement of the Kenotic view was given by J. B. Heard in *Old and New Theology* (London, 1884), ch. vi. 'The Person of Christ.'

But the leading champion was A. M. Fairbairn (*Place of Christ in Mod. Theol.*, London, 1893), who boldly went back to the Thomasian distinction between the external or physical attributes of God—omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence—and the internal or ethical—truth and love. The former are 'under the command of the internal.' The Son surrendered the physical attributes which are 'the less' in order to realize in human conditions 'the more Godlike qualities.' Fairbairn made the suggestive statement that the problem of the union of God with human nature is only a part or phase of the wider question how God can be related to a universe which is not identical with Himself. C. Gore (*The Incarnation of the Son of God*, London, 1891, *Dissertations*, do. 1895) deliberately leaves some of the chief difficulties as insoluble, while accepting a modified form of the Kenotic theory. He, like Fairbairn, deals directly with the historical material. It is in the Gospel records that we find both the divine and the human in one consciousness, and that manifested consciousness is characterized by such holiness and love as can only be the working of a divine Will. He finds in Augustine a recognition of God's self-limitation in the act of creating a universe under law. The Incarnation is a further step in this process of self-humiliation, and it was prompted wholly by grace. Therein both the Father and the Son made a 'real surrender.' We do not know *a priori* what of the divine attributes could be retained in exercise or abandoned; 'but the record seems to assure us that our Lord in His mortal life was not habitually living in the exercise of omniscience.' Nor can we decide anything as to how this self-emptying affected 'the cosmic functions of the Son.' Among all the British Kenoticists (D. W. Forrest, W. L. Walker, P. T. Forsyth, etc.) the same points appear with varying emphasis and thoroughness of treatment: (*a*) they see in the Incarnation a deeper form of the same divine self-limitation which was evident in the creation; (*β*) it is an act springing from the love of God for humanity—with redemption as its end; (*γ*) they all exercise a certain reserve in reference both to the metaphysical (Trinitarian) and the psychological aspects of the conception.

A singularly wise review of the movement is given by H. R. Mackintosh (*The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*, Edinburgh, 1912), who is in sympathy with it. He admits that the difficulties are 'very grave,' but adds that 'they are such as no bold construction can avoid.' There are four positions which he says are 'implicit in the completely Christian view of Jesus' (p. 469 f.).

These are: (1) 'Christ is now Divine, as being the object of faith and worship.' (2) 'In some personal sense His Divinity is eternal, not the fruit of time. . . . His pre-mundane being is real, not ideal merely.' (3) 'His life on earth was unequivocally human.' (4) 'We cannot predicate of Him two consciousnesses or two wills. . . . The unity of His personal life is axiomatic.' 'It has never yet been proved . . . that there are two streams' of consciousness in the personality of Jesus.

The effect of all this is that we must throw the ethical back more vividly into the life of God than the Agnostic position makes possible. In God's holy love the pre-conditions lie for all His cosmic relations, and these find their consummation in His complete self-relation with personal human experience in a human being. Mackintosh rejects both the division of the attributes of Thomasius and the complete self-renunciation propounded by Gess. He suggests, agreeing with Forsyth, what he calls the 'transposition of attributes,' which must result from the change of the consciousness in the sphere of its action. The intelligence that in the eternal state is 'intuitive and complete' must, if it submits to the conditions of time, become 'discursive and progressive.' So omniscience becomes in the temporal state a sure exercise of 'perfect human faculty.' Mackintosh sturdily rejects the scorn of Ritschl for the Kenotic theory, and insists that, on this theory, Jesus did not become God, nor was the significance of the divine in Him quenched by assumption of the flesh. There is all through the earthly life of Jesus a 'potentiality,' which does not mean that the divine was not in action, but that it was in subdued action. In His consciousness of the Father, and 'Spiritual omniscience' in relation to Him, we have the proof of the divine self active in Him.

Mackintosh confesses warm sympathy with the very powerful setting which this point of view has received in P. T. Forsyth's work (*The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, London, 1909). The preexistence of Christ is a necessary postulate of Christology, because it is a necessary implication of the Church's faith in its Lord, who is not only Reconciler and Redeemer, but also Sanctifier. For sanctification is creative work and possible only to a divine being. Our faith implies the eternal reality of both Father and Son—'both being equally personal and divine.' The possibility of the Kenosis is found in the 'infinitude' which some suppose to preclude it. 'If the infinite God was so constituted that He could not live also as a finite man, then He was not infinite' (p. 315). The fact of the Incarnation sprang from the holy love which is of the very essence of God, 'the object for which all God's omnipotence exists.' The limitation of His power was 'His intensest concentration' on 'His fixed purpose with the world' (p. 316). Implicit in the *kenosis*, or self-emptying, is a *plerosis*, or self-fulfilment, of Christ. The one process is the means to the other; and the second, as the fulfilment of God's ideal of self-relation with human nature, involves His winning of the humanity He has redeemed into ideal union with Him in the Spirit.

Strenuous opposition to the Kenotic theology has come mainly from Anglican theologians. The exegetical basis has been examined by E. H. Gifford. Criticism from a stubborn though intelligent adherence to the ancient creeds is given by F. J. Hall (*The Kenotic Theory*, New York, 1898), and H. C. Powell (*The Principle of the Incarnation*, London, 1896) gives a thorough examination of the theory's psychological as well as Trinitarian implications. But his own statement of the ancient position, where the ego is treated as operating within two minds, is not argued out in the light of modern psychology.

See also art. KENOSIS.

vi. THE PRESENT SITUATION.—It is possible only to say a few things, in concluding this article, regarding the principal features of the Christological problem at the present hour. The situation is full of perplexity and difficulty for all minds which lay themselves open to the forces of their own day. And no one can write without prejudice on a question which at every point is connected with the nature of the spiritual life and with the ever passionate, ever sensitive, ever varied and complex life of the Church.

1. **The 'Life of Christ' movement.**—Albrecht Schweitzer has not exaggerated when he says, and that with emphatic reiterations, in his now famous book, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (Eng. tr., *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 1910):

> ‘It is impossible to over-estimate the value of what German research upon the Life of Jesus has accomplished. It is a uniquely great expression of sincerity, one of the most significant events in the whole mental and spiritual life of humanity’ (Eng. tr., p. 397).

(*a*) *The logic of a ‘circle.’*—We have more than once referred to the logic that characterizes the course of an intelligent community life. Such a community, informal and of varying boundaries, has existed in the theologians of the German universities. They are, for good or ill, a class by themselves. Within that class more or less clearly defined circles have been formed, whose members are extremely sensitive to each other’s influence, whose eyes are mainly directed upon the work of those who are like-minded with themselves. Through the means of inter-communication which they have created, they lead a life of unsurpassed intellectual intensity (see on this J. T. Merz, *History of European Thought in the 19th Century*, Edinburgh, 1896–1912, vol. i. ch. ii.), and are conscious of spending it, though separated geographically, as in each other’s presence. Any principles which are adopted, as points of mutual understanding and common interest, in one of these circles (in science or history, philosophy or theology) must have their inner logic worked out to the end in the process of time.

(*b*) *Schweitzer’s history of it.*—In relation to the Life of Christ, Schweitzer’s book is a brilliant exposition of this process. A powerful circle has existed within the theological faculties for a hundred years, whose untiring and minute and amazingly resourceful researches into that subject have proceeded from two negative principles, viz. that the proper deity of Jesus Christ and the occurrence of miracles are impossible. With the exclusion of these two features of the NT picture of the Lord, the problem before this quasi-community of ardent intellectual life has been, on the one hand, to recover an exact picture of the actual historical Jesus, and, on the other, to measure His religious value. Schweitzer gives scant notice of the men, sometimes of equally great erudition, who have written Lives of Jesus from which the two elements named above are not violently excluded. They have not made the history of the circle which he is describing, and their names and works, for the most part, constitute a pathetic streamlet at the foot of his pages.

(*c*) *The ‘liberal’ Jesus.*—Through the process of exhaustive intellectual experimentation there gradually emerged before the circle of ‘liberal’ theologians the figure of Jesus as a prophet and reformer, who made no divine claims, whose words were confusedly preserved in tradition and recorded in successive documents out of which at last the present Gospels were fashioned. Jesus used the current Jewish religious conceptions, but shaped them to be instruments of His own clear insight into the Fatherhood of God and His strong grasp on the true moral principles which must guide men in religious and social conduct. This has come to be known as the ‘liberal conception of Jesus.’ It varies from one scholar to another in many features. Some would assign more of religious supremacy to Him than others. Some, like Wernle, would confess that He possessed a superhuman consciousness, but decline to define it further, and hold that its presence was not inconsistent with grave errors. But others, like N. Schmidt (*The Prophet of Nazareth*, and artt. ‘Son of God’ and ‘Son of Man’ in *EBi*), would know Him only as a prophet whose character of pure self-sacrifice and faith in God has proved to be the highest source of inspiration down to this day (cf. also G. B. Foster, *The Finality of the Christian Religion*, London, 1906, who writes as if J. Weiss, Wernle, Bousset, and others had said the last word on NT criticism, on whose scientific certainty all further thought must rest). It has become quite clear, however, that the Jesus whom the ‘liberals’ depict never existed. Few, says F. C. Burkitt, in his Preface to Schweitzer’s *Quest*, except professed students know what a protean and kaleidoscopic figure this ‘Jesus of History’ is. The stubborn facts remain that Jesus knew Himself as Messiah, as unique Son of God and head of the Kingdom of God, and that the Christian Church sprang from the disciples who by His own self-manifestation in these superhuman relations passed into a new range of experience in a new consciousness of the power of God.

But another conclusion has been drawn from the fact that the ‘liberal picture’ of Jesus is untrue to history. With the help of the *religionsgeschichtliche Methode* men have sought to prove that Christianity arose as a syncretistic religion (Gunkel). This again has been pushed to the extreme of maintaining that Jesus never existed as a historical person, that the gospel stories arose to illustrate and justify the faith in an ideal Christ as the revelation of God (cf. Drews and W. B. Smith). (In addition to Schweitzer’s exposé of the failure of the ‘liberal’ Lives of Jesus [*op. cit.*, ch. xiv.], see the hostile and severe but not unjust pamphlet by R. H. Grützmacher, *Ist das liberale Jesusbild modern?*, Grosslichterfelde, 1907.)

(*d*) *The eschatological Jesus.*—The reaction from the radical and destructive view has been powerfully aided by the rise of the eschatological view. It had been held inconsistent with the two primary assumptions of the learned ‘circle’ that the historical Jesus should have taught a strictly supernatural view of the Kingdom of God. What He held must have been the view that the Kingship of God the Father over human souls is to be conceived and realized wholly within the conditions of this life. If He spoke any words about a future life, He must have spoken as all human beings speak of that matter, in terms of faith and hope, without any peculiar authority arising from a superhuman consciousness. But the eschatologists (led by J. Weiss in the work often cited above) proved beyond a doubt that the eschatological sayings of Jesus are of assured authenticity. Moreover, they are not occasional utterances peculiar to ecstatic moments and really foreign to His main principles. Rather can it be proved that they underlie the whole course of His consciousness and penetrate His whole view of the Kingdom. Hence even His ethics flows from a mind which sees all human conditions and conduct in the light of eschatological events and superhuman forces (*Interimsethik*). When He conceives of Himself as Messiah and Son of Man, of the Kingdom of God as near at hand, He is thinking of a catastrophic, supernatural act of God, in which He will share as its supreme organ and controller, by which the natural life of man will be submerged and a new universe be established. The eschatologists to whom we refer do not even yet break away from their ‘circle.’ Their primary negative presuppositions hold them still eagerly experimenting with new ways of accounting for this as an illusionary element in the consciousness of Jesus, and yet as one through which a divine spirit has seized upon the course of human history and given men the assurance of God’s love. The noblest proof of the reality and sincerity with which men may give themselves to this as a compelling religious force is to be found in the fact that Schweitzer (at the behest of his Master, as he believes and says) has diverted his own career from that of a distinguished and brilliant German scholar to that of a humble medical missionary in West Africa. The radical school has put forth no higher proof that the grace of God is within reach of its view of Jesus.

2. The special influence of the sciences.—There are signs that the two great sciences which deal with the highest forms of phenomenal history, viz. biology and psychology, will yet exert powerful influence on Christology as well as on other sides of theology.

(*a*) *Biology.*—At present biology is itself embarrassed by two phases of discussion—that concerning the nature of life (energism—vitalism) and that concerning the process of evolution (mechanical, teleological). It is only as the meaning of vitalism, and of teleological evolution, becomes clear to their advocates that ethics and theology can be enriched with new aids to the interpretation of their own fields. But some earnest efforts have already been made by British theologians to use these biological discussions in Christology (*e.g.*, D. W. Simon, *Reconciliation by Incarnation*, London, 1898; W. L. Walker, *The Spirit and the Incarnation*, Edinburgh, 1901, and other works; W. D. McLaren, *Our Growing Creed*, do. 1912; A. Morris Stewart, *The Crown of Science*, London, 1902). Such writers usually adopt some phase of Kenoticism.

(*b*) *Psychology.*—Psychology has proved more fruitful of suggestion already. That science is in the full flush of early and enthusiastic manhood, and many of its fruits are most valuable, especially in relation to religious experience. Its influence on our present subject is seen, partly in the more careful and thoughtful work of the Kenoticists, partly in the firmness with which the Ritschlians describe the conditions under which they view the consciousness of Christ (cf. T. Häring, *Der christliche Glaube*, Calw and Stuttgart, 1906, Eng. tr., *The Christian Faith*, London, 1913). But chiefly its influence is seen in the 'Voluntarism' of men like R. Seeberg (*Die Grundwahrheiten der christlichen Religion*[4], Leipzig, 1906, Eng. tr., *The Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion*[4], London, 1908) and A. Schlatter (*Das christliche Dogma*, Calw and Stuttgart, 1911). W. Temple in *Foundations* may also be named here. The position of Seeberg (*op. cit.* p. 222 ff.) is stated as follows: 'The God-will that guides the history of mankind to salvation entered into history in Jesus, became man in Him, and worked after the method of human history in His words and deeds.' By this 'personal God-will,' Seeberg, who has disowned the conclusions of ancient theology, does not mean a mere operative force such as proceeds from God actively elsewhere, but the divine Person Himself. For 'a person is nothing else than conscious will.' Hence this divine Person worked in the human life of Jesus so that 'He could not look upon His thoughts otherwise than as God's thoughts. He could not will, without the consciousness that God willed.' 'His divine personal will or His divine personality was for His own consciousness the eternal Son of the Father in heaven.' Schlatter (*op. cit.* § 87, 'Die Ewigkeit Jesu') goes further in his estimate of the eternal nature of Jesus. The words of Jesus and the Epistles do not set His deity and humanity beside each other as two static objects ('ruhende Dinge'), but speak of a volitional bond ('Willensverband'). He approaches the biological point of view when he says further: 'In that the Word became flesh the humanity of Jesus was begotten ('erzeugt') through the Divine word and serves, therefore, as its seat and organ' (p. 362). Hence the Incarnation is not to be viewed merely as a process (as with Dorner in his famous exposition, *System of Christian Doctrine*, Edinburgh, 1882, vol. iii.) but as an act of God which underlay the whole process of growth. This appeal to the idea of will is not, however, completely worked out by any Christologist. The fact is that neither for ethics nor for Christology have the psychological data of our day been thoroughly explored. The whole meaning of the word 'consciousness' is undergoing a portentous change. The very question of the subconscious, a region shadowy and unexplored, to which Sanday (*Christologies Ancient and Modern*) has gone for help, is complicated by the almost terrifying phenomena of dissociated personalities (see Morton Prince, *The Dissociation of a Personality*, New York, 1906). There we have a demonstration of the most astounding kind as to the complex nature of the human consciousness. It has its various centres and its intricate interplay among these. Even though the actual phenomena and hidden processes come to light only in abnormal conditions, they prove that in the normal consciousness something has power over them to reduce them to unity and harmony. But all this is cited here not as giving us any sure clue, but to prove that, when henceforth we speak of the consciousness of Jesus as carrying with it the divine and the human, and as manifesting a range and richness of power above that of our ordinary human life, modern investigation of our consciousness encourages us to believe that we are not speaking in mere contradictions. The idea that consciousness means a stream or series of events is dead, and the other idea that a will can operate at only one 'centre of consciousness' must die too.

In view of these facts as to our confused situation, it may seem more than daring that any one should offer a direct and constructive statement on the Christological problem. But it would be inconclusive not to sum up various suggestions made in the course of this article in a brief and practical manner. The present writer believes that the 'double-aspect' theory—to use a psychological *terminus technicus*—of the Ritschlians is only an inadequate piece of homage to the perplexities of the hour. The Church has always held that its Christ is a divine being who entered the conditions of man's experience, and as the mediator between God and man. 'God was in Christ reconciling the world' is a word which cannot be excluded from the gospel. The realistic, as opposed to the Romanticist, Agnostic, or Monistic view, is the one with which Christianity arose, and by which alone, it would seem, it can move and win the world's conscience and heart to God.

vii. A POSITIVE STATEMENT.—**1. A double presupposition.**—We assume that we must conceive of God in terms of personality as self-conscious Will. We cannot believe in the possibility of an absolute personality unless we see that the finite personal nature of man contains elements which act only, even within our limits, in virtue of their capacity for, or tendency towards, an infinite content. Reason, feeling, and will have each their infinite or absolute side. It was the supreme gift of Kant to modern thought to make this clear through his three *Critiques*. It is in this fact that the speculative ground for an Incarnation must once for all be laid.

2. The historic consciousness.—(*a*) *A unique form of consciousness.*—That which we find in the Person of the historic Christ is neither a consciousness working wholly within human limits, nor a consciousness possessed of actually infinite knowledge and power (or of the sense of actual achievement and victory), nor a life in which there is a constant oscillation between the finitude of the human and the infinitude of the divine, as if they were mutually exclusive. It is a type of conscious will which is apparently consistent with itself, and able to enter into real relations with us, 'full of grace and truth,' possessed at once of human and superhuman knowledge, purity, and power. The Christian consciousness has never rested itself on His mere and complete identity with us. For mankind has had many geniuses, many saints, many prophets, and they are all dead. It is the infinite difference of Christ from us that has made an infinite difference for us. It is what is more than human in Him, even in His sympathy, that has transformed the meaning of life from despair to a glorious hope in God. But the 'more than human' is human. And this must be possible if God and man are spiritual, conscious beings.

(*b*) *The superhuman 'aspect' or 'element.'*—That which we see is a consciousness which is fundamentally of the same type as the human, and yet working in a range more than human. Human it is in that (1) He *grew* in knowledge, knew what it is to face the coming task and wrestle with actual problems of His own life; (2) He depended on God, found Himself, as all men do, resting on the invisible Controller of all; (3) He was open to all the physical experiences of mankind. Superhuman it is in that (1) He possesses direct superhuman knowlege of God, and that not by prophetic inspiration but in virtue of a Sonship relation, whatever that may be (Mt $11^{25ff.}$); (2) He is conscious of the flawless will—of perfect moral harmony with God; (3) He reveals Himself as in a unique, supreme, redemptive relation with the whole race of mankind; (4) He, in claiming Messiahship and universal Lordship, was conscious of a future relationship to mankind, *i.e.* of the continuation of his control of history after His own death, and of His supremacy over nature.

(*c*) *The problem of every human birth and this problem.*—In solving the problem of this Person it is much more important than theologians realize to remember that we have not yet explained the ordinary human individual. How does the new human individual arise? By what process is, not only the physical, but the physico-spiritual, nature constituted? Is there a universe of life distinct from the physical, as O. Lodge supposes? Is there a universe and an evolution of mental facts or natures distinct again from impersonal life as well as from the physical? Is there a unity of the universe of mental or spiritual facts such that *there* the facts which become fulfilled as human personalities are already of various grades within that unity? If, out of that non-physical universe of mental living facts, one of a unique kind, but identical in type with the human, should enter into the stream of human life, evidently the history of the resulting individual must manifest at least some of the very characteristics which we have enumerated above. If, then, the question is asked how this self-conscious fact is related to that of the parents (or parent), we must answer that no discussion of that is possible till we know how the self-conscious fact in the ordinary human babe is related to the self-conscious nature of the father and mother respectively. What is it, if anything, that enters from the mental structure of the parents into that of their child? What is evident in the case of Jesus is that through the processes of human birth an individual has arisen whose self-conscious nature manifests itself as of a new type. The basis of His being as a Man must have some difference in it, to account for the difference in His active consciousness.

(*d*) *A new kind of historic self.*—The question of the ancient Church, whether this new individual has all the 'parts' of human nature, such as body or soul or spirit, is entirely irrelevant here and for us. And we shall make no headway till we see that irrelevancy. Human nature is not composed of 'parts' peculiar to itself (in that ancient sense); *e.g.*, it shares its physical history and nature with the lower animals. It shares its mental and spiritual nature, perhaps, with innumerable orders of beings, whether below or above its own peculiar structure and capacity, which are at any rate different in their present sphere and mode of action. This individual, Jesus, is not just 'humanity,' whatever that is, *plus* some element that is not human. This is not a human personality of the ordinary type with another non-human personality tied to him by some inconceivable *nexus*, any more than it is simply a man of unusual mystical piety living close to God. This is a new type of personality which has arisen within the processes of human life. It is human, yet more than human, somewhat as man is truly animal and more than animal, yet not a 'monster.' This new type of personality manifests all the fundamental traits of human nature. Dependence and growth, instinct, intuition and reasoning, moral insight and love, are all manifested in the life of Jesus. His life employs the fundamental categories of the human understanding. Yet there is a strange quality and intensity, and a range, in his use of those powers which the Christian Church, even from the first group of disciples, always recognized as more than merely human. The absence of sin alone reveals the inhabitant of another moral universe than ours. The sense of authority over all men for time and eternity puts Him in a different relation with time and eternity. And this, we may assume now, is no mere exaggeration of human ambitions or wildness of apostolic devotion. It is the very revelation of the meaning and purpose and reality of the will of God. And yet again it is just because that which is superhuman in this new and wondrous type of personality is so human that it breaks and makes again our broken hearts. It is the vision of the capacity and tendency of our human personality as fulfilled in this unique personality that at once rebukes and inspires our conscience and our will. It is not a man raised to the degree of a Christ, but another mind and will than ours, and yet ours in type, that has entered into all the fundamental conditions and processes of our human life, for love of man and with the heart of a redeemer beating in His breast. The vice of Apollinarism was not that it sought to discover a deeper and organic basis for the unity of the divine and human in Christ, but that, after asserting the essential identity in type of the divine and human, it then set them over against one another in its analysis of human nature into three 'parts' and its subtraction of one of them to make place for the Logos.

3. Three questions.—But we must now approach the matter from the other side and ask ourselves (*a*) What or who was this self-conscious mental being or fact? (*b*) How did He enter into this new relation with human life? (*c*) What difference did this new relation make to Him?

(*a*) In answer to the first question, we must note the following facts. (*α*) Theology does not say without careful discrimination that God became man. The Johannine thought distinguishes the Logos as an element in the being of God, and the Logos is a form of conscious will, for He is the eternal Son. 'He became flesh.' The Pauline conception likewise distinguishes the Son from the Father and speaks of God 'sending His Son,' of Christ 'emptying Himself' of the 'form of God' in which He existed.

(*β*) We must never conceive of this union of God and man in Christ either so as to make it merely mechanical or, at the other extreme, so as to reduce it to a piece of human sentimental idealism. It is God through His Son, or the Logos in the name of and for the whole nature of God, entering into the conditions of human life. Hence we must carry through the fundamental idea of Apollinaris more vigorously than he did, and so escape his fatal error. For the NT and indeed the mind of the ordinary, healthy-minded, non-theological believer have always assumed that the mind and will of Jesus were more than human, just as they have always assumed that the mind and will of God are *mind* and *will*, and therefore of one type with mind and will in us. The self-conscious being, the pre-existent Christ, the Son of God, entered as an individual, vital, and mental organism into the process of physical, organic history in the womb of His earthly mother, and grew up among men as a new type of human personality. To nickname the resultant person a 'monster,' 'neither God nor man,' etc., would be in our day and in our richer and more complicated universe a mere outrage of careless thought. The principal point is that there must be some analogy between the manner of this supreme Incarnation and the manner of that other kind of incarnation which takes place in the case of every self-conscious personality that is born into our world. But we cannot identify or discuss that analogy until natural science and psychology have combined to tell us the manner in which the ordinary being is fashioned in one person out of spirit, or living mind, and flesh.

(*b*) In answer to the second question, we must make the following observations. (*a*) This is not a completely new problem for theology. In principle the same problem is presented by the very fact of creation, and of creation in all its grades, and of these grades in all the stages of their evolution or co-ordination in the process of time. How is God inwardly and actively related to anything that is not God? This is the battle-ground of pantheism and theism. How is His mind related to any other mind? That is the battle-ground of idealism and its doctrine of knowledge. How is His will related to the freedom of the human will? That is the battle-ground of determinism and the doctrine of moral responsibility. Now this great problem, how the divine and eternal One could clothe Himself with the forms and conditions of human experience, so far even as to 'taste death' Himself, is as a problem the climax of all the preceding problems. They, as it were, lead up to it. The question, How does the divine mind work in relation to any process in time and space? is simply the vestibule of this grander problem—how the divine mind, which must have its distinctive experience of time and space, clothed itself in the conditions of human, temporal, and spatial experience in the Person of Jesus Christ.

(*β*) The answer must be found in either of two forms of statement, if we once decline to rest either in the unreasoned but not unreasonable positivism of communal faith or in the reasoned positivism of the agnostic.

(1) The Son of God did by a supreme act of will as it were withdraw the range of action of His powers, and by the same act did enter through a human birth into the organic physical conditions and thus into the relations of a dependent being in the midst of human society.

(2) The Son of God did by an act of His divine will add to the relations or range of action of His will and mind the historic experience of a human being. While active ever in all other directions, He resolved in one direction, *i.e.* in His conscious relations with mankind, as it were, to bind the organic process of man's life in a new relation to Himself, *i.e.* to quicken into organic action, in the womb of Mary, the principle of life and consciousness which ripened into the man Jesus, so that through that definite and restricted, or rather definite and newly opened, channel of communication with the inner side of man's life he should receive into His eternal conscious self the very experience of a human being (this view is partially worked out by Frank Weston, *The One Christ*, London, 1907). The difficulty that this suggests two centres of consciousness in the life of the Son of God is not so heavy nowadays. The modern view of the complexity, the varied centres and elements, of our own human consciousness is making us less confident that two or more centres of consciousness are inconceivable. And Sanday's suggestion concerning the subconscious as the *locus* of the Incarnation, when more thoroughly worked out, may prove valuable to this theory.

(*c*) This has led up to the third question: For what did the Incarnation take place? Can we dare to say what difference this new relation of God and man made for God? It seems obvious that, if it has made an infinite difference for man, that result must rest upon a corresponding difference it has made for God (doctrine of Atonement). The essential thing regarding the general idea or form of that difference may be presented in this way. (*a*) The idea of the identity of original type between the divine and human natures must not make us imagine that the gulf between the Creator and the creation is abolished, or bridged, or even lessened. Still the separation of the creation from the Creator is infinite both in idea and fundamental fact. (*β*) Now there must be a meaning to that difference on each side of the gulf—which is peculiar to that side. It is quite evident that man can never come to experience the reality of that self-dependence which belongs and can belong alone to God. Man's effort to taste it is the root in each man's life of his most dismal and destructive sin. He cannot cross the gulf and feel and act as God. But does the same restriction apply to God? All else in His creation lies open perfectly to His mind and will. There is no secret in the nature or action of matter, in the insensate life of the plants, or in the blind impulse of the animal, which does not lie completely open to His mind. There is nothing there to experience. In these facts a finite content unfolds itself fully and in all its beauty to the divine mind which willed it all.

But in man is it so? Here all the reality of creaturehood is gathered up with the infinitude of a subjective, rational, moral, conscious experience; dependence—or creaturehood—is felt, thought, realized through all the range of human activity in a unique and supreme manner. There is something here that not even a divine observer possesses or realizes by observing. His sympathy is wondrous, but yet it is sympathy across the gulf. His deep, infinitely deep, observation of man's experience can never be a substitute or full equivalent for that experience. To see and understand dependence is not the same as to live by its virtue; to create, trace, and watch growth is not the same as to grow; to measure the sorrow of that other creaturely heart even to the last quiver of its subtlest and deepest thrill of pain is yet not to know it as the subject of it. Even to taste God's pain is different from tasting man's. Now the Incarnation means that there is this one final fact in His universe with which God would completely identify Himself, one fact not yet made His own which could become His own only in one way. Can He cross the gulf? Can He, the eternal divine Will, who has tasted what it is to be a Creator, and to rule, and inform, and bear the conscious burden of all the universe of dependent beings, can He yet put our own peculiar cup to His lips and taste even that human dependence itself—on the human side—in its very essence? The Babe at Bethlehem, the tired Physician in Galilee, the praying Servant of Jahweh, the Man on the Cross with the broken heart—what if all that means that *He* has tasted what it is to be a man? And, in love.

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W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE.

JESUS CHRIST IN JUDAISM.—The relations between Judaism and Christianity have seldom been friendly. The early Church soon discarded its Jewish element; and, in the centuries during which Christianity had the power to persecute, the Jewish people were thought of, not as the natural kindred of Jesus, but as those who had rejected and killed Him. There was seldom a good word for the Jews, except from those who were not Christians. Jews, on their side, had no reason to love the Christians, or to say any good of them. The coming of Christ into the world had perhaps brought blessing to the Gentiles; but to Israel it was the herald of suffering, more severe and more prolonged than any which had been endured in the earlier ages.

It would not be unreasonable to expect that the Jews, in their literature, should be most bitter against the founder of the Christian religion, as being the primary source of all their misery; yet that is not the case. The remarkable fact about the Jewish literature, whether of the Talmudic period, or of the Middle Ages, or of our own day, is the infrequency of any reference to Christ Himself. There is plenty of polemic against Christians mainly in regard to doctrine. The Jews were never at a loss to defend their religion, in all its length and breadth, against Christian attack; but they said very little about Jesus. The main reason was that they had very little to say. No doubt, the knowledge that anything that they might say about Him would be unfavourably judged made them reticent in times when persecution was to be feared. But, apart from that, they really knew very little about Him, and had no interest in knowing more. Only in recent times has there been, on the part of the Jewish writers, a real desire for fuller knowledge of the historical facts concerning Him, and a recognition that there was something to be learned which Israel would be the better for knowing.

The period covered by the Talmud includes the birth of Jesus and the rise of the Christian Church. In the Talmud, accordingly, and the cognate literature will be found whatever the Judaism of the first five centuries after Christ has to say about Him. Something is said; but the amount is extremely small, and the statements are seldom of any importance. There is enough to show that the person mentioned in the tradition of the schools under the names of Ben Pandîrā, Ben Sṭadā, and Jᵉshū-ha-Nôṣrî, was certainly the historical Jesus; but the tradition about Him is very scanty, and adds nothing to what is known from the Gospels.

When collected together, the references to Jesus in the Rabbinical literature may seem not inconsiderable in quantity and contents, and the reader may get the impression that they form a more important element in that literature than they do. It is, however, a complete mistake to suppose that in that literature there is an undercurrent of hostility to Christianity or to its founder. The Rabbis were thinking of their own religion, not of any other; and when, in a passing allusion, a chance remark here and there, they did refer to Jesus, it was only by way of a marginal note, so to speak, illustrating their argument; it was not for any intrinsic importance of the subject. There does not seem to have been, in the mind of any of the Talmudic Rabbis, a recognition of the greatness of Jesus. He was remembered, so far as He was remembered at all, as the man who had chiefly brought dissension to Israel, and the nearest approach to a defined opinion about Him in the Talmud is the statement (Bab. *Sanh.* 107*b*) that 'he practised magic and deceived and led astray Israel.' Round that statement there gradually gathered stray bits of gossip about Him, coarse allusions to His birth, reminiscences of His trial, and the like, having sufficient resemblance to the gospel narrative to show who is referred to, but not enough precision to be of any value as independent evidence. It is more likely that they were based on what was learned from intercourse with Christians than that the Rabbis themselves read the Gospels. But the point at present is that Jesus was of very small account in the range of ideas expressed in the Rabbinical literature of the first five centuries. He belonged to Christianity; and Judaism went its own way, caring nothing for Him or for the religion that He founded.

The Talmudic period was one of much hardship for Israel, but not specially on account of Christian oppression. Indeed, the Talmud does not seem to mention Christian oppression of the Jews. It does refer to the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the empire, but does not connect therewith any especial display of hostility towards Israel. In the Middle Ages, on the other hand, the Christians sought to oppress the Jews, and the attitude of the latter towards Christianity and its founder naturally underwent a change. They were put on their defence when charged with holding false doctrine, and especially with speaking blasphemy against Jesus. Converted Jews were able to tell their Christian brethren of the unseemly passages in the Talmud which referred to Him, and the Christian controversialists eagerly caught up the weapon. What use they made of it may be seen in the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymundus Martinus (13th cent.; ed. Paris, 1651). The defenders of Judaism met the attack, so far as it related to Jesus, by asserting that the person referred to in the abusive passages of the Talmud was not the Jesus who founded Christianity, but another Jesus, who had lived nearly a century earlier; and a good deal of attention was given by mediæval Jewish writers to the chronological argument by which this assertion was supported.[1]

But the attack was directed not against the Talmud alone. The book just mentioned, the *Pugio Fidei*, reproduced the whole (so far as known to the writer) of an anonymous lampoon upon Jesus, bearing the title of *Tôl^{e}dôth Y^{e}shû‘* (ed., *e.g.*, E. Bischoff, Leipzig, 1895). Traces of this book can be found as early as the 9th cent., and it was probably of German origin. It is a connected story, based on the Talmudic references to Jesus, and amplified in a manner which was, no doubt, intended to be witty, but is now very dull. The coarse allusions in the Talmud are made the most of; and the whole book is disagreeable. Editions of it are still published in our own day, but it would be unjust to say that it is representative of Jewish thought about Jesus. It represents the miserable revenge of the persecuted Jew of the baser sort for the sufferings which he endured at the hand of Christians; but it has never been acknowledged by the leaders of Judaism as anything more than an unseemly satire. Judaism has borne its martyrdom in a nobler spirit than that which produced the *Tôl^{e}dôth*; and the attitude of mediæval Jews is defined with far greater accuracy in the polemic which disclaimed any intention of discourtesy towards Him than in the petty malice which made a burlesque of Him. In other words, the Jews of the Middle Ages would have left Him alone, if they had not been compelled to speak of Him in self-defence.

Coming to modern times, we find a change in the attitude of Jews towards Jesus, not indeed shown by all Jews, but exemplified in some of their most eminent writers. Probably it is true of the great mass of Jews, whose circumstances have kept away from them the influences of modern thought, that they have no idea about Jesus at all, except as of one who did harm to Israel long ago; but, where increasing security and liberty allowed Jewish scholarship to profit by modern methods of research, there has been a breaking away from the old position of silent hostility to, or unwilling mention of, Jesus. The first to lead the way in this new direction was I. M. Jost, who wrote with warm indignation of the way in which the saint and martyr of Nazareth was treated (*Gesch. des Judentums*, Leipzig, 1857–59, i. 398–409).

The line thus opened up by Jost was followed by Graetz, whose *History of the Jews* (*Gesch. der Juden*, ed. 1863, iii. 222–252) would be memorable for its treatment of Christianity, if for nothing else. Graetz boldly expressed his admiration for Jesus, whom he regarded as an Essene, misrepresented no less by the flattery of his followers than by the malice of his enemies. The sketch of Jesus given by Graetz is no doubt open to much criticism; but the point is that it was seriously meant as a portrait, and was an attempt to do justice to Jesus from the side of Judaism. Naturally, the Jewish historian does not see in Him what most Christians see. He describes a purely human Jesus, and does not admit into his portrait by any means all that Christians would include in the humanity of Jesus. But, with all its shortcomings, Graetz's account of Jesus is far above anything that Judaism had ever said on the subject up till then.

Neither Graetz nor Jost wavered in the slightest degree in his loyalty to Judaism, but both showed themselves able to rise high above the barriers of religious difference, and to express as well as to feel a real admiration for the founder of that religion which had wrought such evil for Israel. The example of Graetz and Jost has made it impossible for Jewish writers, even of more conservative tendencies, to revert to the former attitude towards Jesus. I. H. Weiss is one of the more conservative scholars; but in his *Dor Dor we-Dorshaw* (5 vols., Vienna, 1871–91), i. 232–234, he writes of Jesus with respect, though not with enthusiasm.

The *JE* contains a long article on Jesus, besides many incidental references to Him in other articles; and in all of these, notably in that especially concerned with Him, there is a free and candid recognition of the nobility of character of Jesus. Naturally, the writers press the likeness between His teaching and that of the Rabbis of the Talmudic period, and are somewhat unwilling to admit His originality; but they frankly own that He must have been a great man, raised up by God for the work that He did. A Jew could hardly be expected to go further than that.

The extreme limit hitherto reached in Jewish appreciation of Jesus is seen in the writings of C. G. Montefiore, notably in his *Synoptic Gospels* (London, 1909). That a Jew should write such a book at all would have been thought impossible only a few years ago, and perhaps Montefiore is the only one who could do so even now. The treatment of the subject is quite different from that which a Christian would apply; there is a frankness of criticism in regard to Jesus from which most Christians would shrink, or for which they would see no necessity. But there is also a whole-hearted admiration and even reverence for Jesus which is all the more striking because it is entirely free from theological convention. Judaism can scarcely get nearer to Jesus without ceasing to be Judaism. Be that as it may, it is from the side of Judaism that there has come this latest and fullest recognition of the greatness of Jesus, as seen by other than Christian eyes. And, in giving it, Judaism has made a noble return for what has been done to her in the name and by the professed followers of Christ.

Literature.—H. Laible, *Jesus Christus im Thalmud*, Leipzig, 1891; S. Krauss, *Das Leben Jesu nach jüd. Quellen*, Berlin, 1902; R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, London, 1903; J. Jacobs, *As Others saw Him*, do. 1895; H. L. Strack, *Jesus, die Häretiker und die Christen*, Leipzig, 1910.

R. Travers Herford.

JESUS CHRIST IN MUHAMMADANISM.—See Qur'ān.

JESUS CHRIST IN ZOROASTRIANISM.

—Christianity attained to considerable importance in Sasanian Persia (cf. J. Labourt, *Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, Paris, 1904), and, though it is true that the Christians never reached a high proportional number, their religion became of sufficient significance to warrant Zoroastrian theologians in attacking it. In their polemic the figure of the founder of Christianity was not spared, especially in *Dāṭistān-i-Dīnīk*, xxxvii. 90–92, and *Šikand-gūmānīk Vijār*, xv., both documents dating from the latter half of the 9th century. The former passage, in condemning 'the compiled sayings of the Abraham of the Christians, which are the word of him who is also called their Messiah,' criticizes the declaration that Christ has died and yet is not dead.

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[1] The theory is worked out by David Gans, *Zemaḥ Dawid*, ed. 1785, pt. ii. p. 12b; Abarbanel, *Majane Jeshua*, Ferrara, 1551, p. 67a; Salman Zebi, *Jüdischer Theriak* (cited by J. A. Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, abridged ed., Dresden, 1892–93, i. 231); Abraham Perissol, *Maggen Abraham*, pt. ii. ch. 59 (cited by Eisenmenger, i. 250 f.).

The important passage is the second. This begins by assailing the doctrine of the Virgin Birth, which is declared to rest merely on the assertion of a woman 'who was known for incapacity' (a term which the Skr. version takes to mean 'misconduct'). If Christ is the Son of God, He, 'through sonship to the sacred being, is not otherwise than the meaner creatures which the sacred being produced and created'; and, if He was born, He must die like all other creatures. To the author, Martānfarux, it was incredible that, if Christ was identical with God, God would descend 'into the womb of a woman who was a Jew,' and, finally, be put to an ignominious death. The Crucifixion is attacked for two reasons: if it were to demonstrate the fact of the resurrection of the dead, it might have been proved in some other way unless the divine knowledge is finite; if it were 'accepted by him, as a yoke of a new description, through his own will,' the executioners should not have been cursed by Christ (based on a distorted reminiscence of Mt $23^{29. 34-36}$, Lk 11^{47-50}).

The doctrine of the Trinity is also assailed. Assuming the truth of the Christian statement:

> 'that the father and son and pure spirit are three names which are not separate one from the other, nor is one foremost, and this, too, that, though a son, he is not less than the father, but in every knowledge equal to the father, why now is one to call him by a different name?' (*Sik.-gūm. Vij.* xv. 46).

Again, the equality of the Persons in the Trinity is assailed, and it is alleged, on the basis of Mk $13^{4. 32}$, that the Son cannot be equal to the Father in knowledge. It is further argued that the Jews slew Christ at the will of the Father, whence, with an allusion to Mt 10^{29}, ground is sought for an attack upon the tenet of the freedom of the will; and attention is called to the fact that, whereas Christ declared that He came not to destroy, but to fulfil, the law and the prophets (Mt 5^{17}), 'all his sayings and commands were those that are dissipaters and afflictive for the rules and laws of Moses.'

Perhaps the most noteworthy philosophical argument advanced, in view of the strongly dualistic trend of later Zoroastrianism (see art. DUALISM [Iranian], vol. v. p. 111 f.), is that the author of the 'Doubt-Dispelling Explanation' assumes throughout his polemic that Christianity holds that God is the sole Creator, and, therefore, must have been the source of evil as well as of good, whereas the NT plainly shows a belief in a separate power of evil (cf. §§ 18–24, 63–70, 77–89, 97–151).

The precise source from which the polemist drew is yet to be discovered, but, as one of the proper names occurring elsewhere in the treatise betrays a Syriac origin (West, *SBE* xxiv. p. xxviii), it was probably derived from faulty reading of a Syriac version—or a translation from a Syriac text—combined with reminiscences of Christian doctrine current in Persia.

LITERATURE.—E. W. West, *SBE* xviii. [1882] 107 f., xxiv. [1885] 229–243.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

JESUS, SOCIETY OF.—See JESUITS.

JEWEL (Buddhist).—The 'jewel' (Pāli *ratana*, Skr. *ratna*, also *maṇi*) plays a prominent part in the cult and terminology of Buddhism, throughout all sections of that religion. This conspicuousness of its symbolism in practical Buddhism is, we shall show, owing to the fact, not hitherto recognized, that this symbolism incorporates the deeply rooted archaic belief in the magical efficacy of the fabulous wish-granting gem as the means of procuring long life and immortality. Our inquiry into the source of this symbolism sheds much new interesting and important light upon the question of Buddhist origins.

1. Prevalence.—The epithet of 'jewel' is applied to Buddha not only as the first member of the 'Buddhist Triad' or 'Three Jewels' (*Tri-ratna*) in whom every professing Buddhist must take his or her 'refuge' (*śaraṇam*), but also independently. For that saint is described in the earliest Pāli canon[1] as the possessor of 'the seven jewels' (*saptaratna*), which are essentially the attributes of the highest Brāhmanical deity as 'monarch of the universe' (Chakravartin [*q.v.*]; see also below), and are, we find, traceable to remote pre-Vedic antiquity. The sacred texts expressing this 'jewel' symbolism are in universal use, throughout Buddhistdom, both 'north' and 'south,' as prayers and luck-compelling magical spells.

2. Origin of the symbolism.—In attempting to trace the origin of the 'jewel' symbolism of Buddhism, we find that originally the term *ratna* in the Vedic age (*c.* 1200–400 B.C.), including Buddha's day, denoted a 'treasure' rather than a 'jewel,' such as it came to mean in post-Vedic India;[2] so that it embraced living personages as well as gems (properly *maṇi*). In two early hymns of the Rigveda (V. i. 5, and VI. lxxiv. 1 f.) the deity who is henotheistically the supreme god of the universe, in the form respectively of Agni (Fire) and Soma-Rudra,[3] is the possessor of 'the seven treasures' (*saptaratna*). He is invoked in both cases with the identical words (put into the mouth of the mythical fire-priest Atri, in the first instance):

> 'Bestow the seven treasures on every house, be a blessing to our two-footed, and a blessing to our four-footed [creatures]!'[4]

Upon the number 'seven' in this stanza Macdonell writes[5] that 'the *sapta* has probably no specific significance here; but is simply a vague expression equivalent to "all," as so often it is in the Rigveda in connection with many other words besides *ratna*.' However this may have been at the period when these hymns were composed (*c.* 1000 B.C.), it is certain that at the time of the Vedic commentary, the *Bṛhad-Devatā* (*c.* 400 B.C.),[6] the expression had become literally restricted to the number 'seven' and formed a definite category. For that commentary explains this particular verse as referring to 'the seven treasures of all Chakravartins,' and it specifies them as 'the wheel, car (*ratha*), jewel, wife (*bhāryā* = espoused wife), territory (*bhūmi*), horse, and elephant.'[7] The evidence of this early commentator is against the view that terrestrial treasure, such as gold, silver, etc., was intended.[8] This appears to be the first detailed list of the divine treasures; and it must take precedence over the list in the Buddhist Pāli canon, which, by its mythology, indicates for its compilation a date not earlier than the 1st cent. B.C.[9] The reference in the same extract to multiple

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[1] *Dīgha-Nikāya; Mahāpadhāna Suttanta*, 31, etc.

[2] A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, London, 1912, ii. 199.

[3] 'Rudra,' also called the great god, 'Mahādeva,' is in the Vedas a form of Agni (Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 75 f.).

[4] *Dame-dame sapta ratnā dadhānā*
śaṁ no bhūtaṁ dvipade śaṁ chatuṣpade

(Rigveda V. i. 5, VI. lxxiv. 2). The translation is kindly supplied by Macdonell.

[5] In a letter to the author.

[6] Macdonell, *Bṛhad-Devatā*, Cambridge, Mass., 1904, Introd. p. xxiii.

[7] *Ib.*, text, p. 59; tr. p. 198.

[8] There is a category of seven precious minerals also called *saptaratna*, though post-Vedic in date, namely gold, silver, pearl, beryl (*vaidūrya*), diamond or crystal, coral, emerald (cf. R. C. Childers, *Dict. of the Pāli Lang.*^{4}, London, 1875, p. 402; E. J. Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*^{2}, Hongkong, 1888, p. 148).

[9] L. A. Waddell, 'Evolution of the Buddhist Cult,' *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, xxxiii. [1912] 140 ff.

Chakravartins, or 'universal monarchs,' does not necessarily imply that those personages were yet considered to be human, as they become in later Buddhist and Brāhmanical literature—for the references to human Chakravartins in the *Mahābhārata* are also probably later intrusions, as they occur in the composite episodes exhibiting the characters of the *Purāṇas* and presumably of no earlier date than the latter (*c.* 1st cent. A.D.). These multiple Chakravartins are probably the subdivided forms into which the supreme creator was considered in the later Vedic period to resolve himself, the series of active creators, *Prajāpati*, or *Puruṣa.*

3. Assyrian (?) source of 'the seven treasures.'—The detailed list in the *Bṛhad-Devatā* and Buddhist texts indicates the important fact, apparently not hitherto recognized, that these seven treasures were the famous divine treasures of life and immortality won by the gods of light in their great struggle against the powers of darkness and the deep, in the contest termed by the Indians 'the churning of the ocean'[1] (an appropriate metaphor for a pastoral people whose staple food was largely obtained by churning). This conflict, forming a chief episode in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* epics, whilst incorporating a rude version of the cosmic struggle of Nature's forces in evolving the universe from chaos, marks also, in the view of the present writer, the final breaking away of the Indo-Aryans from the Assyrian gods which their Aryan ancestors had borrowed from their western neighbours when in Iran.[2] For it is the Asuras who seize the great serpent of the deep by the hood and thus stir up from the ocean the treasures of immortality. Now, the great Asura of the Rigveda is the serpent-hooded god of the sky, Varuṇa, the Ouranos of the Greeks, who is now admitted to be identical with the supreme god Ahura (*i.e.* Asura) of the Zoroastrians,[3] and further traced by the present writer to the 'Assur' of the Assyrians.[4] The epics relate that the Asuras who had gained the ambrosia and other treasures of divinity were then deprived of them by stratagem and put to flight. Thus the pre-Vedic, non-Indian, and presumably Assyrian origin of these 'Indian' and 'Buddhist' treasures is now probable.

The order in which the treasures emerged from the deep during this conflict was, according to *Mahābhārata*, i. 18 (*c.* 500–400 B.C.),[5] as follows (the corresponding number in the *Bṛhad-Devatā* is added within curved brackets and in the Buddhist list within square brackets):

1. 'The mild moon of a thousand rays' (1) [1].
2. *Śrī* (the goddess of Good Fortune) (4) [5].
3. Surā the goddess (5) [7].
4. 'The white steed fleet as thought' (6) [3].
5. 'The celestial gem *Kāustubha* which graces the breast of Nārāyaṇa' (3) [4].
6. 'The divine *Dhanvantari* (celestial physician) with the white cup of ambrosia in hand' (2) [6].
7. '*Airāvaṇa*, the great Nāga taken by the Thunderbolt-holder' (7) [2].

The next and last object to issue from the waters at this 'churning' was the world-destroying poison *Kālakūṭa*, which cannot be considered one of the 'treasures,' but rather their antitype. Here the positive identity of five out of the seven in all three lists reveals the essential unity of the tradition. Of the remaining two, namely nos. 3 and 6, '*Surā* the goddess,' and 'the divine *Dhanvantari*,' the present writer finds, for reasons which cannot be detailed here, that the former Surā is Uṣas, the Dawn, Eos of Greek mythology. Uṣas in the Rigveda 'leads [*i.e.* precedes] the white horse, the Sun' (VII. lxxvii. 3), as in the Churned treasures, where the one immediately following her is 'the white horse,' which the present writer has identified with the Sun. She is, moreover, armed with beams of light, 'wards off evil spirits' (VII. lxxv. 1), 'wakens the five tribes' (I. cxxiv. 2), 'never loses her directions' (V. lxxx. 4), and 'renders good service to the gods.' She thus represents the 'general' of the Buddhist list (no. 7), whilst no. 6, Dhanvantari, the messenger of the gods, the present writer identifies with the car-symbol.

With this Brāhmanical list may be compared the Buddhist, in the order in which the items are cited in the Pāli canon,[1] which is the usual sequence.

	Pāli.	Skr.
1. 'Wheel of a thousand rays or spokes'	*chakka-ratana*	*chakra-ratna*
2. Elephant . . .	*hatthi-ratana*	*hasti-ratna*
3. Horse	*assa-ratana*	*aśva-ratna*
4. Gem	*maṇi-ratana*	*maṇi-ratna*
5. Wife	*itthi-ratana*	*strī-ratna*
6. Household chief .	*gaha-pati-ratana*	*griha-ratna*
7. General . . .	*pari-nāyaka-ratana*	*pariṇāyaka* or *senāpati-ratna*

4. The wheel, or 'chakra,' of the Chakravartin as the moon.—On comparing these two lists, an important fact transpires. The first item in both, it will be noticed, is the luminary disk or 'wheel.' But, whilst this disk is invariably conjectured by Western writers to be the sun in the case of the Buddhist series, we find, on the other hand, that it is most explicitly stated in the Brāhmanical series to be the moon, and this is confirmed by the version of the 'churning' in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa.*[2] So also it seems to have been in early Buddhism; for in the *Mahāsudassana Suttanta* it is expressly stated that 'the heavenly treasure of the wheel with its nave, tire, and all its thousand spokes' appeared to that king 'on the day of *the full moon.*'[3] And we have seen that the seven treasures (of the Chakravartin) are in the Rigveda the attributes of Soma-Rudra, that is, the dual divinity of the moon with the storm-god of the sky.

The great significance of this discovery, that the 'wheel' of the seven treasures symbolizes the moon and not the sun, is that it postulates for those symbols an extremely remote and Western antiquity, long before the Indo-Iranian period. In giving this pre-eminence to the moon, they presumably belong to that early pre-historic period when the moon was regarded as the parent of the sun, as is found in the earliest Assyrian and Egyptian myths. In that pristine cosmic myth of the evolution of light from the darkness of chaos, the moon was conceived as the luminary most intimately associated with darkness, and as traversing not only the sky, but 'the waters of the deep under the earth'; and the daily changes in its form led to its being regarded as taking a more active part in the workings of Nature than the unaltering sun. Vestiges of this primitive myth survive also in the early Vedas, and account for the great prominence given throughout the Vedas to Soma,[1] which has the dual character of ‘ambrosial elixir’ and the ‘moon’; for in the Rigveda ‘when drunk [?eaten] by Indra-Soma . . . Soma produced the sun in the waters’ (Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 109 f.), and the conception of Soma is extended in the Rigveda to that of a being of universal dominion and ‘lord of the quarters’ (*ib.*).

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[1] E. Senart remarked that several of the Chakravartins' treasures are 'analogous or identical' with the treasures produced at the 'churning of the ocean' (*Légende de Buddha*, Paris, 1882, p. 44 f.)—an observation overlooked by subsequent writers; but he does not suggest any causal connexion between the two series.

[2] Cf. Waddell, 'Buddha's Diadem,' *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, ii. (Berlin, 1913–14).

[3] Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 20; H. Oldenberg, *JRAS*, 1909, p. 1097.

[4] Waddell, 'Buddha's Diadem,' *loc. cit.*

[5] *Mahābh.*, Calcutta ed., i. 1143 f.; cf. Roy's tr., Calcutta, 1893–96, i. 80–81; also V. Fausböll, *Ind. Mythology*, London, 1902, p. 23. In later versions, e.g. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (H. H. Wilson, London, 1864–77, i. 146 f.), the number is increased as the legend is expanded.

[1] *Dīgha-Nikāya*, xiv.; *Mahāpadhāna Sutt.* xvii. 31; *Mahāsudassana Sutt.* 10–48 (*SBB* ii. [1899] 13, 202–208; *SBE* xi. [1900] 250–259); *Dharma Saṁgraha* (K. Kasawara and M. Müller, Oxford, 1885), p. 60.

[2] J. Dowson, *Class. Dict. of Hindu Mythology*^{2}, London, 1888, p. 13.

[3] *Dīgha-Nikāya*, xvii. 7 (*SBB* iii. [1910] 202).

5. Original lord of the wheel and Chakravartin: Varuṇa.—It is to be noted that it is Varuṇa, the great Asura (‘Assur’), who alone of all the early Vedic gods is expressly the ‘universal monarch’ (*sam-rāj*; Macdonell, p. 24); and Soma is positively identified and associated with Varuṇa in several of the aspects of the latter (Rigveda, IX. lxxvii. 5, xcv. 4; cf. lxxiii. 3, 9; Macdonell, p. 110); and Soma is the only other god who, like Varuṇa, dispels sin from the heart (Macdonell, p. 109), punishes (slays) the wicked (*ib.* 110), confers the celestial world (*ib.* 114), and is sometimes called a ‘treasure’ (*rayi*; *ib.* 110). It was, on the other hand, Varuṇa who not only placed the sun in the sky, but also placed Soma on the rock; and it is ‘by Varuṇa’s ordinances [that] the moon shining brightly moves at night’ (*ib.* 25). This express association of the moon with Varuṇa does not necessarily imply, as Oldenberg thinks,[2] that, although Varuṇa was primarily the moon, he remained so, as this would entail the rejection of the identity of Varuṇa with Ouranos. For Varuṇa is the Vedic god of the entire sky, including the luminaries which traverse it; and, lord of light both by day and by night, his eye is the sun (Macdonell, pp. 25, 23). The inference seems rather to be that the moon is one of the chief, as it is also the earliest, of the treasures of this great Asura, the supreme god Varuṇa. This god is brought into relation with the owners of the seven treasures, namely, Soma-Rudra, who are invoked ‘to free from the fetters of Varuṇa’ (*ib.* 129), thus implying that they were his agents, and presuming that the seven treasures are primarily those of Varuṇa himself as the original Chakravartin of the universe. Varuṇa, indeed, in the Rigveda possesses the ‘wheel’ (*chakra*) of which the nave is *trita*, ‘the Soma-presser,’ apparently personified lightning (*ib.* 68 f.); and the present writer has shown, firstly, that in the Bhārhut sculptures of the 3rd cent. B.C. Varuṇa is figured as the ‘King of the Golden Swans’ (*i.e.* the winged sun conceived as a bird, as in the ancient Assyrian and Egyptian sculptures of the sun-god) and actually bears the inscribed title of Chakkavāka (*i.e.* Chakravāka, literally, ‘wheel-crane,’ a title of the golden goose, or ‘swan,’ as sun-bird);[3] and, secondly, that Buddha was deified in his chief modes as a god (Purusa in the Pāli canon and Amitābha in the Mahāyāna) upon the model of the god Varuṇa-Chakravāka,[4] the manifest prototype of the Chakravartin with whom Buddha was early identified.

6. The ‘maṇi’ gem symbolism.—Of the seven treasures other than the first, or ‘wheel,’ whence the Chakravartin derives his title, the most popular is the jewel proper or ‘wishing-gem,’ the *maṇiratna* (or *chintāmaṇi*). This popularity is doubtless owing to its being essentially of the nature of a primitive magical amulet of the animistic period. In the Atharvaveda (*c.* 600 B.C.) the *maṇi* is ordinarily an amulet against all kinds of evil, and many sorts are mentioned.[5] In its special hymn to the *maṇi* (viii. 5) the amulet hanging from the neck is called the ‘lucky repelling jewel’ (*ayaṁ prati-saro maṇir*). Buddha himself refers in his *Kevaddha Sutta*[1] to the use in his day of the ‘jewel-charm,’ called *maṇikā vijjā*,[2] which, he says, was used for ‘making manifest the heart and feelings, the reasonings and thought of other beings,’ enabling its possessor to say, ‘So and so is in your mind; you are thinking of so and so; thus and thus are your emotions.’

Besides its use as an amulet, the *maṇi* is identified with the thunderbolt in the Atharvaveda (VIII. v. 3), which positively says that ‘it was with the *maṇi* (jewel) that Indra struck Vṛtra, that he has vanquished the Asuras, conquered the sky, earth, the two worlds, and the four regions of the atmosphere.’[3] In this sense of thunderbolt it is employed also in the *Lalita Vistara* (*c.* 1st cent. B.C., pp. 457, 466), and, it seems to us, in the Pāli canon[4] descriptive of the birth of Buddha in the *hīramaṇe* underneath the white umbrella which miraculously appeared over the infant, *hīra*, ‘diamond,’ being an ordinary title of Indra’s thunderbolt.

On the other hand, the *maṇi* is interpreted by the commentator of the Atharvaveda as the ‘sunstone’ (*ādityamaṇi*),[5] and the probability that it represents the sun has something in its favour. It is described in the Pāli canon[6] as ‘the beryl [like ?] jewel,[7] bright, with eight facets, clear, transparent . . . its radiance penetrates a day’s march (*yojana*) on every side . . . *turning night into day.*’ The magic jewel in *Jātaka*, 531, which was given by Indra to Buddha in his former birth, was called ‘the ever-shining’ (*virochana*), an ordinary epithet of the sun; and Virochana is the title of Buddha in the *Jātaka* bearing that name (no. 143), in which Buddha was habitually saluted with ‘Shine forth in thy might, Lord’;[8] it also occurs in the longer lotus-jewel formula: ‘*Oṁ! Amogha Vairochana mahāmudra Maṇi padma jvala-pravarthtaya Hūṁ.*’[9]

7. ‘Oṁ maṇi’ formula.—The hitherto unknown origin of this famous Buddhist lotus-jewel formula *Oṁ maṇi padme Hūṁ* we shall here trace back to its Brāhmanical source. The *maṇi* is specially invoked in the Atharvaveda hymn cited above, and in the Brāhmanical invocations the incantatory *Oṁ* was extensively employed already in the earliest Rigveda, even in those hymns which are not of an obviously magical character. This syllable is stated in the early *Brāhmaṇas* (*c.* 800 B.C.) to be the divine counterpart of *tathā*,[10] *i.e.* ‘so be it,’ implying an asseveration of certainty and thus equivalent to ‘Amen’; and *Hūṁ* has a somewhat similar value—this was the early Brāhmanist explanation of these cabalistic terms, the original meaning of which, if there was any other, had already become lost in the Vedic period. It was especially addressed to Vāch (or Vāka), the goddess of speech, but also to Indra, ‘the most high’ (Parameṣṭhin, son of Prajāpati, the creator), to gods in general, and to magic personified (*brahman*).[11] In the later *Pūrva Brāhmaṇa* (*c.* 500–400 B.C.) it had come to express ‘the function and virtue of the entire Atharvaveda,’ including the potential creative power of the newly-evolved anthropomorphic Brahmā before he created the universe.[1] From the *Oṁ* the *Praṇava-Upaniṣad* (*c.* 500 B.C.)[2] derives the entire creation.

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[1] A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, Breslau, 1891–1902, i. 309; Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 113.

[2] *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 49, 190–194, 287; Hillebrandt, iii. 3–52, also maintains that Varuṇa is the moon.

[3] Waddell, ‘Evol. Budd. Cult,’ p. 139 ff.

[4] *Ib.* 158, also ‘Buddha’s Diadem,’ *loc. cit.*

[5] *Atharva-Veda Saṁhitā*, tr. W. D. Whitney (and C. R. Lanman), 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1905.

[1] *Dīgha-Nikāya* (*SBB* iii. 278).

[2] It is identified by the 5th cent. A.D. commentator Buddhaghoṣa as the ‘*Chintāmaṇi vijjā*’ (*SBB* ii. 278), which probably contained a written spell.

[3] Cf. Whitney, *op. cit.* p. 491; Senart, *op. cit.* p. 31.

[4] *Mahāpadhāna Sutt.* in *Dīgha-Nikāya*, xiv. 29. *setaṁhi chatte anu hīramaṇe.*

[5] Macdonell and Keith, ii. 119.

[6] *Dīgha-Nikāya*, xvii. 14 (*SBB* iii. 205, 14); and in almost identical words in *Lalita Vistara*, tr. Rajendralāla Mitra, Calcutta, 1881 ff., iii. 35.

[7] *Maṇi-veluriya* = Skr. *vaidūrya.*

[8] *The Jātaka*, tr. E. B. Cowell, Cambridge, 1895–1913, i. 306.

[9] Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 149.

[10] Macdonell and Keith, ii. 280.

[11] *Bṛhad-Devatā*, ii. 125, tr. Macdonell, p. 66.

The neuter personified magic, or *brahma*, creates the anthropomorphic masculine personal Brahmā upon a lotus-leaf; then this solitary monad Brahmā by means of penance perceives the syllable *Oṁ* of two letters. With the first letter, *O*, he perceives (*i.e.* creates) the waters; with the second, *ṁ*, the light and luminaries (sun, moon, stars); with the vowel triplicated, the triads—the earth (*bhūr*), atmosphere (*bhuvaḥ*), and heaven (*svaḥ*), also fire (with plants and trees), wind, and sun(-shine); with the consonants triplicated, water, moon, etc., and the rest of a cosmogony, also the ritual for the Brāhman priest who by the utterance of *Oṁ* before and after sacrifice remedies all defects in the latter. *Oṁ* is 'the oldest son of Brahmā . . . no holy text shall be chanted without it . . . *Oṁ* recited 1000 times grants all wishes.'[3]

Here we have revealed, in this Brāhmanized ritual prevalent in India about 500 B.C., the manifest origin of two out of the three elements of the famous lotus-jewel formula, whilst the third element, *maṇi*, is invoked as *Oṁ maṇi* still earlier with a similar connexion; also there is enforced therein the magical efficacy of repeated reiteration of the mystic syllable. The lotus element in this Brāhmanical symbolism of creation has probably a sexual significance, denoting the union of *prakṛti*, or productive female energy, with the masculine *puruṣa*; for already in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*c.* 800 B.C.) 'the lotus-leaf is the womb.'[4]

The Buddhist monks of the Mahāyāna school in India manifestly borrowed this Brāhmanical symbolism of Brahmā (possibly about the 2nd cent. B.C.) for their counterpart of Brahmā, namely the 'Buddha of meditation,' Amitābha, who, like Brahmā himself, was evolved, as we have seen, on the model of the ancient primordial god Varuṇa. This Amitābha-Buddha, seated, like Brahmā, impassively in abstract meditation, performed his benevolent and creative functions through the medium of his active sons, corresponding to the creator-sons (Prajāpati) of Brahmā; and the greatest of Amitābha's sons was Avalokita, to whom this lotus-jewel formula is solely addressed. On this Brāhmanical analogy, therefore, the *Oṁ* would represent Avalokita, the active proximate creator 'elder' son of Amitābha-Buddha, seated as a hermaphrodite upon the fertile lotus of his father, the remote creator latterly called Ādibuddha (*q.v.*). The *maṇi*, or jewel, as well as the lotus is an especial attribute of Avalokita, who is frequently figured in ancient Indian images as holding both the jewel[5] and the lotus, and bearing the epithet of 'holder of the jewel' (*maṇidhara*).[6] In this regard it is to be noted that the Brāhmanical homologue of Avalokita, namely Viṣṇu in his later Brāhmanized and non-Vedic form of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, several of whose attributes were borrowed by the Buddhist monks for Avalokita, is called the 'jewel-waisted' (*ratnanābha*)[7], and in his form as creator Viṣṇu is figured with the lotus of creation springing from the jewel at his waist (or navel). Here we have all the three elements of the lotus-jewel formula united in Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa as creator, that is *Oṁ*, the son of Brahmā as Viṣṇu himself, while, issuing from the jewel at his navel, the lotus gives birth to the Brāhmanical triad. The *Oṁ maṇi* formula of Avalokita, therefore, like the Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa figure in Brāhmanism, presumably symbolizes the creative cosmic action by self-generative power.

In the later Tantrik period, from about the 5th cent. A.D. onwards, when Indian Buddhism, following as hitherto the fresh developments in contemporary Brāhmanism, gave greater prominence to the cult of female energies, the symbolism was given a more decided sexual meaning. This was all the easier in view of the hermaphrodite character of Avalokita's prototype, which to some extent may explain the confusion which exists in Chinese Buddhism between the male and female forms of Avalokita. The female counterpart of Avalokita, the goddess Tārā, personifying *prakṛti*,[1] was termed the 'Lotus,' and by a mysticism she was at the same time the thunderbolt (*maṇi* ?) as well. This is expressed in the *Uṣṇīṣa Sitātapatra Dhāraṇī*, where Tārā is invoked as 'with thunderbolt-navel, a beauteous damsel is she. . . . Her outward mark of the lotus is the mark of the thunderbolt!'[2] It has been suggested[3] that *maṇi-padme*, which is considered to be one word, is a feminine vocative, and that the formula refers to Tārā; this possibility is, however, ruled out by the universal restriction of the formula in Buddhist literature and practice to Avalokita exclusively.

The literal meaning of the formula thus would be: 'So be it! O lotus-jewel! Amen!' This is essentially the form of a wishing-gem spell, a luck-compelling talisman.

The earliest reference to this formula in a Buddhist text appears to be in the *Divyāvadāna*[4] (*c.* 1st cent. A.D.), where it is ascribed to Śākyamuni. The first occurrence under its usual title of the 'six-syllabled magic-spell,' or *Ṣaḍakṣara Vidyā mantra*,[5] that we can find is in the translation made from the Sanskrit into Chinese in A.D. 317–420 in seven leaves, with an exposition of the alleged circumstances under which it was recited.[6] Its universal currency throughout Tibet at the present day is well known; it is less common in China; and in Japan it is used nowadays only by the mystic section of Buddhists called Shingon.[7] *Maṇi* is a title given to the mystical hermits (*siddhi*) who have recited this *Oṁ maṇi* spell 100,000 times or more.[8]

8. The three jewels or treasures, 'the Buddhist triad.'—This triad, the *tri-ratna*, consists of (1) the Buddha, (2) his Word or Law (*Dharma*), and (3) his Order of monks (*Saṅgha*). As it is the stereotyped conventional formula found in the earliest Pāli canon for admission into the Order and for a layman's belief in Buddhism,[9] it was doubtless coined by Buddha himself. In arriving at this nomenclature, the title of 'treasure' (*ratna*) was obviously, in view of the above facts, borrowed by Buddha from the Brāhmanical treasures of immortality of the divine Chakravartins, a form of the supreme Vedic god Varuṇa, with whose entire septad of treasures we find Buddha already clothed in the Pāli canon. The number three was a favourite in Vedic Brāhmanism, as in the still earlier faiths. There are the threefold division of the universe, the three worlds, three classes of gods,[10] the three Vedas, or revealed scriptures of Manu, and the tripartite god Trita, who is the preparer of *soma*, the draught of immortality, and the nave in the wheel of Varuṇa.[1] The latter god Varuṇa, indeed, is expressly related to several triads as well as to the 'law': 'the three heavens and the three earths are deposited within him . . . he is a great lord of the laws of nature.'[2] Here the term for 'law' is *ṛta*, or 'fixed law,' which has the same value as *dharma*, the pre-Buddhist term in Manu and elsewhere for laws and ordinances, in the same sense in which the early Buddhists used it for Buddha's word or dogma.[3] Buddha as the first member of this triad is termed the first of the treasures; but besides this he is independently referred to as a treasure-jewel (*ratnamani*) or likened to one. In the *Dīgha-Nikāya* he is likened on his incarnation to this and to the beryl-jewel,[4] and also in the *Lalita Vistara*,[5] which, further, refers to that event thus: 'the beautiful treasure (*ratna*) will shortly be manifested in the three regions,'[6] and 'the jewel-victor (*jina-ratna*) from the mine of religion will be manifested in the continent of Jambu (India).'[7] Now, the latter epithet of Buddha is at the present day the ordinary formal title of him who professes to be Buddha's representative and successor, viz. the Dalai Lama of Lhasa; his designation of *Gyal-wà-rin-po-ch'e*,[8] the literal translation of *jina-ratna* into Tibetan, is thus seen to have its origin (hitherto unknown) manifestly in this appellative of Buddha in the *Lalita Vistara*.

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[1] M. Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda* (=*GIAP* II. i. 1 B), Strassburg, 1899, p. 107.

[2] *Ib.* 108 f.

[3] *Ib.* 109.

[4] VI. iv. 1. 7 (*SBE* xli. [1894] 215).

[5] Waddell, 'Indian Buddhist Cult of Avalokita,' *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 59, 81, no. 18,

[6] *Ib.*, p. 77, no. 7.

[7] *Mahābhārata*, XII. cxlix. 98; O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, *Skr. Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg, 1855–75, vi. 250; *nābha* is literally and properly 'navel.'

[1] Cf. *ERE* ii. 259, footnote ¶.

[2] Waddell, tr. in *IA* xliii. [1914] 51 ff. The usual Sanskrit word for navel is *tunda*; the Tibetans have translated it by *mch'u*, 'beak,' evidently misreading *tunda* as *tuṇḍa*, 'beak.'

[3] By F. W. Thomas in *JRAS*, 1906, p. 464.

[4] Cf. *ERE* ii. 259, footnote ¶. Poussin considers that this is the formula referred to, though Cowell, who edited the text, expressly stated in the preface that 'there is no mention of Avalokiteśvara or the *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ.*'

[5] Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 139, 148–150, 386, where the mystic value of each syllable is described.

[6] Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Trans. of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford, 1883, no. 340; other recensions of this text are nos. 331, 341, translated A.D. 693 and 502–557 respectively. The following texts also contain the formula (see Senshō Fujii in *Hansei Zasshi*, Tokyo, 1898, pp. 64–66): nos. 782, 1477, and 1478 of Nanjio's *Catalogue*, entitled *Mahāvidyā Dhāraṇī*, translated 980–1001, 960–1127.

[7] Senshō Fujii, *loc. cit.* 64.

[8] W. Wassilieff, *Le Bouddhisme*, Fr. tr., Paris, 1865, p. 198.

[9] See art. INITIATION (Buddhist), I.

[10] Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.* 9, 130.

The central member of the triad personifying the fixed ordinances and speech of Śākyamuni was probably suggested to that saint by the personified Speech of Brāhmanism, the goddess Vāch (or Vāka), who is one of the earliest of the Vedic goddesses, and was made the wife of Brahmā about the time of Buddha, when the new eponymous god Brahmā was being invested with the functions of the supreme god Prajāpati, Puruṣa-Nārāyana, the transition form of Varuṇa (Chakravāka). Vāch in the Rigveda is called 'the queen of the gods,' and her original abode was the sea[9] (suggestive of relationship to Varuṇa and her original identity with Śrī, the wife in the seven treasures); and, while she has a triad nature (terrestrial, middle, and celestial), she especially occupies the middle region of the atmosphere,[10] and thus may have suggested the middle location for speech in the Buddhist triad. For the more closely we examine the mythology, idioms, and terminology of the Pāli canon, the more manifest is the indebtedness of Buddhism to its parent religion, Brāhmanism. The third member of the triad is the 'Order of Buddha's monks'—it is erroneous to translate this as the 'church' or 'congregation,' as is often done; for the laity, both men and women, are excluded from the *Saṅgha*.

9. The treasure as a spell.—The fact that spells have been in universal use by all sections of Buddhism from the earliest times, and even by Buddha himself, has been established by the present writer.[11] Among the southern Buddhists, of Burma, Siam, and Ceylon, one of the commonest of the protective spells, or *paritta*, is the 'Jewel (or Treasure) Sermon' (*Ratana Sutta*). This discourse, ascribed to Buddha in the Pāli canon,[1] is an invocation to demons to grant prosperity, and it is couched in the orthodox form of Buddhist spells, namely, as an 'act of asseveration' (*sachchakiriyā*; Skr. *satyakriyā*)[2] which is virtually an incantation.

> The *Ratana Sutta* begins: 'O! all ye demons who are assembled, terrestrial or celestial, may you all possess happiness! Listen attentively to the things spoken! Therefore ye demons attend! Be friendly to the race of man and unremittingly protect those who by day or night propitiate you by offerings! Whatever wealth there may be in this or in other worlds, or whatever superior gem in the heavens, these cannot be compared with Buddha. This gem-like Buddha is superlatively excellent. By this truth let there be prosperity!' and so on for the other two members of the triad, treasures, etc., in fifteen stanzas, the closing sentence of each being, 'By this truth let there be prosperity!'

This is one of a large series of demonistic and theistic texts ascribed to Buddha in the orthodox Pāli canon,[3] and belongs to a phase of Buddhism which, although usually overlooked by writers on southern Buddhism, yet forms a very conspicuous and important part of southern Buddhism as a practical religion. Its contents and form indicate that it must have been originally composed expressly for use as a luck-compelling charm, based upon the supposed magical efficacy of the prehistoric wishing-gem or amulet.

The 'jewels' and 'treasures' in Indian Buddhist symbolism and cult are thus seen to be of non-Indian, pre-Vedic, and pre-Iranian archaic origin, and possibly borrowed from Assyrian and prehistoric mythology.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the footnotes.

L. A. WADDELL.

JEWS.—See ISRAEL, JUDAISM.

JEWS IN CHINA.—See CHINA, JEWS IN.

JEWS IN COCHIN (MALABAR).—**1. History.**—The earliest known history of this community connects it with the now extinct city of Cranganore, the deserted site of which is situated some 20 miles north of the present port and town of Cochin. Spelt Kranganur, it is the more easily seen to be the Portuguese form of Koduṅgalūr, the name of a village which still exists close by. It is almost certainly to be identified with the ancient port of Mouziris (Μουζιρίς), known to Pliny,[4] Ptolemy, and the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, where, according to the Peutingerian Tables, the Romans, up to at least A.D. 226, kept a force of two cohorts to protect their spice-trade. Another name in frequent use for the same spot in the Middle Ages is Shinkali.[5]

The origin of the settlement is shrouded in obscurity. We may pass over possible deductions to be drawn as to a Palestino-Indian trade from well-known foreign words in the Biblical account of the merchandise of King Solomon, suggesting an Indian, to some a S. Indian or Dravidian, origin;[6] the traditions of the Cochin Jews themselves, embodied in a supposed record-book (*Dibre Hayamim*), represent their ancestors as arriving in Malabar immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (A.D. 70).[7] Certainty cannot, however, be attached to this document, which bears signs of interpolation, and of which more than one version exists, and which may even have been wholly rewritten from memory after destruction from various causes. The first really reliable and explicit record in relation to the Jews of Cochin presents itself in the form of an ancient royal charter (*śāsanam*), engraved on plates of copper, whereby a piece of territory, named Anjuvaṇṇam, is conveyed by Bhāskara Ravi Varma, the reigning monarch of Malabar, residing at his palace in Mūyirikodu,[1] to one Joseph Rabban, headman of the Jewish community, and to his heirs in perpetuity, with the annexation to it of various privileges of nobility and rights of revenue. The charter is attested by the signatures of six subordinate princes, whose rank Joseph Rabban may be assumed to have been called to share. Buchanan in 1806 caused a facsimile of this charter to be executed in brass, and deposited it in the Library at Cambridge. A description of it by Burnell, entitled 'The Original Settlement Deed of the Jewish Colony at Cochin,' with reproductions of the plates, may be found in *IA* iii. [1874] **333 f.** Burnell shows that this document, which is inscribed in archaic Tamil, in the Vaṭṭeluttu character, must be ascribed to some time in the 8th cent., perhaps as early as A.D. 700. It reveals the Jews in an already affluent and organized condition in Malabar, bespeaking an arrival considerably anterior to its date; and it was presumably conferred by the king in return for important State services rendered by the community. After the light afforded by this charter, obscurity again descends for upwards of a thousand years upon the history of the Jews in Malabar, covering perhaps a period generally prosperous. When it lifts, it is to disclose the setting in of a time of adversity and overthrow. About 1565 the sack of Cranganore by the Muhammadan Zamorin of Calicut, who previously had invaded the place in 1524 and massacred many, accompanied by the incoming of the Portuguese, involved the ruin of the small Jewish State, and resulted in the final desertion of Cranganore as a place of abode. Reduced in numbers, and with largely shattered fortunes, the main body of the dispossessed Jews migrated to Cochin, and built their present Jews Town in its immediate vicinity. Certain of their number, however, continued to linger in the neighbourhood of the old Cranganore, at places named Chennamangalam, North Parur, and Māla, where their successors are still to be found; and some have settled at Ernākulam, the native capital of the Cochin State, situated a few miles eastwards from Cochin, across the Malabar Backwater.

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[1] Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.* 68.

[2] *Ib.* 24.

[3] Any statement made, or supposed to have been made, by Buddha was at once accepted as a fixed and unalterable law.

[4] *Mahāpadhāna Sutt.* i. 21, 27.

[5] ed. S. Lefmann, Halle, 1902, p. 13; cf. R. L. Mitra's tr. 25.

[6] Lefmann, 108.

[7] *Ib.* 109.

[8] Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 29, 228, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London, 1905, p. 28.

[9] Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 124.

[10] *Ib.* As thunder is called 'the voice of the middle region' (*mādhyamikā vāch*), it seems to indicate a physical source for the divinity of speech.

[11] Waddell, 'Dhāraṇī Cult in Buddhism,' *Ostasiat. Zeitschr.* i. [1912–13] 157–195.

[1] *Chūlavagga*, 1st Sutta, tr. V. Fausböll, *SBE* x.^{2} [1898] ii. 36; Childers, *JRAS*, 1869, p. 314; and D. J. Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, Colombo and London, 1908, ii. 344–347.

[2] Cf. Childers, *Pali Dict.*, p. 408.

[3] See Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, ii. 327–393, for translations of several of them.

[4] 'Muziris primum emporium Indiae' (*HN* vi. xxiii. 26).

[5] See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, artt. 'Cranganore' and 'Shinkali'; J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, London, 1885, p. 51; R. Caldwell, *Dravidian Grammar*^{2}, do. 1875, quoted in McCrindle, *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, p. 13; also Burnell in *IA* iii. [1874] 333 f., as to the origin of the confusion often met with in India owing to various names for the same site.

[6] 1 K 10^{22}, 2 Ch 9^{21} (cf. Milne Rae, *Syrian Church in India*, p. 135 f.).

[7] See Buchanan, *Christian Researches*^{11}, p. 222.

2. 'White' and 'Black' Jews. — A singular feature of the Cochin Jewish community in the eyes of foreign observers has always been its division into 'White' and 'Black' Jews. As early as 1655, Manasseh Ben Israel,[2] addressing Cromwell, describes them as consisting one part 'of a white colour and three of a *tawny*.' Buchanan and a succession of later writers have not failed to call attention to the same distinction of colour. Some writers have even seen their way to discriminate a third, or Brown, section. It is probably correct to regard the so-called Black Jews as comprising two classes, characterized by themselves as *M'yukhásim* (those of lineage) and *enam-M'yukhásim* (non-*M'yukhásim*), the latter embracing *M'shukhárarim* (manumitted slaves). Regarded thus, the *M'yukhásim* among the Black Jews consider themselves to be the representatives of an original stock, older than the present White Jews, and look upon the *enam-M'yukhásim* as a class made up of the offspring of mixed unions with female slaves, afterwards manumitted, and increased by the descendants of purely Gentile slaves converted to Judaism. All religious disqualifications have, however, long ago been removed from all concerned by the reception of the prescribed rabbinical *T'bhilah* (lavation, or baptism); and a certificate to that effect was lately given by the Chief Rabbi Phanizal of Jerusalem (variously styled the Rabbi R'shon l'Zion, or the *ḥākhām bāshī*). The decision of the latter was based largely on a much older adjudication, of great interest, made by a Rabbi of Alexandria, known as Mahárikash,[1] who died in 1610. In the case as submitted to Mahárikash, the original stock of the Malabar Jews is represented as consisting of the descendants of Jewish merchants from Togarmah (Turkey), Aden, Sheiman (Teman, or Arabia), and Al-ajam (Persia), no mention being made of any from Spain or other European countries. These merchants are represented as having become the progenitors of a numerous offspring through female slaves, who, mingled with purely Indian converts to Judaism, had grown into a large mixed multitude, there being 800 houses of the latter to only 100 houses of the *M'yukhásim*, or those of pure stock; and great confusion had occurred, it not being known who of the mixed class had been ritually admitted within the circle of pure Israelites, and who had not. Mahárikash in his *responsum* provides for the treatment of the doubtful cases, and for the habilitation of all in the rights and privileges of Jews. Although the religious question may be said to have been thus set at rest, the controversy, as a social one, continues to exist, and at times has become a burning one, the White Jews, on social grounds, holding aloof from marriage with the Black Jews, and the two worshipping almost entirely apart. The present White Jews, although their ancestors may have been superinduced upon the earlier immigrant stock, entitling the present ones to be regarded to a certain extent as the legitimate successors of former foreign Jews of pure descent, cannot be regarded as the lineal descendants of the first settlers. Their ancestral names mark them as a group by themselves, largely consisting of Spanish or Portuguese Jews, mingled, however, with some from Persia, Egypt, and elsewhere. According to investigations set on foot by the Dutch Jews of Amsterdam in 1685,[2] the first Spanish Jews arrived in Cochin in 1511, and it is expressly stated that the Black Jews had preceded them. With this view there agrees a custom found to have prevailed in State revenue receipts and *sheetorams* (royal writs) of frequently styling the White Jews as *Pardesis* (foreigners), and their synagogue as the *Pardesis'* synagogue. The synagogue of the White Jews is in date the last of those in Cochin, and is built on a site specially carved out for it from the adjoining Palace garden, testifying to its being a belated suitor. Joseph Rabban, a recipient of the copperplate grant, is by common consent held to have come from Yemen in Arabia, and, according to this, he was not a White Jew. It would seem, then, that some modern writers who have accepted the ready-to-hand conclusion that the present White Jews of Cochin are the descendants of the original settlers, and that the Black Jews are an entirely mixed class, resulting from unions between the former and their Indian slaves, have been the victims of too sweeping generalizations. Wolff, having propounded such a view in 1839, promptly met with an indignant rejoinder from the Black Jews, repudiating the theory.[1] The fact, on the other hand, that the royal copper-plate charter is found at present in the keeping of the White, and not of the Black, Jews would seem to point to some position of consensual priority which the White Jews must have occupied in the bygone days of unbroken friendly intercourse between the two sections of the community. A White Jew, of the existing house of Halegua, held in old times a high position as Mudaliār, or hereditary headman of the community, recognized by the Raja—an honour now abolished.[2]

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[1] It is from the 'Mūyiri' in this name, elsewhere shown to be identical with Cranganore, that the classical name Μουζιρίς is believed to have been formed.

[2] See *Life and Labours of Manasseh Ben Israel*, in A. Löwy's *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, ii., 2nd ser. London, 1877.

[1] Mahárikash is an acrostic abbreviation for Moharur Rabbi Jacob de Castro (מה'רי'קש). The decision is to be found in a Hebrew work of his entitled אהלי יאקוב (*Tents of Jacob*), published at Leghorn in 1783. Mahárikash gave decisions, or *responsa*, on questions of ritual and casuistry propounded to him. An Eng. tr. of the passage in relation to the Cochin Jews, from the pen of 'A Cochin Jew,' may be found in the *Jewish Chronicle*, Oct. 5, 1908.

[2] The report of this Commission was published at Amsterdam in 1687, under the title of *Notisias dos Judeos de Cochim*, by Pereyra de Paiva (see *JE*, artt. 'Cochin' and 'India').

The present numbers of the Cochin Jewish community are small, and are slowly diminishing, as judged by the percentages of several past decades. By the census of 1911, the total number of Jews amounted to 1248. Of these, 73 are located in a patch of the Travancore State, which here curiously overlaps that of Cochin, and takes in the town of North Parur. Of the 1248 Jews mentioned, 1056 are Black Jews, and 192 White. Distributed according to residence in towns, there may be said to be 428 Jews at Jews Town, Cochin; 488 at Ernākulam; 147 at Chennamangalam; 110 at Māla; 73 at North Parur; and 2 at Trichūr. The so-called Black Jews are to be found in all the above places, the White Jews almost exclusively in Jews Town, or in the neighbouring European town of Cochin, about two miles north of it. Jews Town itself consists of a single narrow street, running N. and S. Its northernmost end is occupied by the synagogue of the White Jews, paved with handsome 'Dutch' (but in fact Chinese) tiles, and flanked by a conspicuous clock-tower, furnished with a Dutch clock. About the middle of the street is situated the Thekombagom synagogue, and near the southernmost end the Kadavambagom synagogue, both of the Black Jews. Eastwards, across the Backwater, at Ernākulam, the capital of the Cochin State, situated on ground granted them for a settlement by the Raja in 1711, the Black Jews possess two more synagogues, also known by the names of Thekombagom and Kadavambagom. These designations, meaning 'south-side' and 'river-side' respectively, bear no relation to the present locations of the synagogues in either place, but are derived from the positions originally occupied by the corresponding synagogues in Cranganore. Internally, the synagogues conform to the pattern of those in other parts of the world, except that peculiarities of native art enter into the structure of their fittings. Externally, after the manner of the country, the buildings are generally approached by a sort of prolonged porch or corridor. The Black Jews possess also a synagogue at each of the three places North Parur, Chennamangalam, and Māla. Disused sites and ruins of discarded synagogues are to be met with, as at Tirtur and Palur, and an old synagogue known as the 'Cochin Angadi' is situated near Jews Town.

3. Ritual.—In their synagogue ritual the Jews of Cochin do not differ appreciably from Jews in other parts of the world. They follow the Sephardi rite, like most of the Jews of the East. Immediately after the Dutch conquest, they established communications with the Jews at Amsterdam, and obtained from them printed copies of their Hebrew ritual. This was done to a certain extent by the White and Black Jews separately; and hereby is revealed another incidental token of the independence of the latter. A religious song-book published in Amsterdam in 1668 is described on its title-page as prepared for 'the several Holy Congregations of the Assembly of Jeshuran of Shingali,' while another, published in the same city for the White Jews within five or six years of the other book, describes itself, differently, as intended for the 'Kahal Kogin' (Congregation of Cochin). The two books, though to some extent alike, differ characteristically as to their contents.

4. Organization and occupations.—As to communal organization, the Black Jews formed till lately a confederation of seven synagogue communities, or *yogams*, embracing the two in Ernākulam, the two in Jews Town, and one each at North Parur, Chennamangalam, and Māla. The symmetry of this arrangement has been broken in recent years by the secession of the Kadavambagom synagogue at Jews Town to the jurisdiction of the White Jews, on account of a quarrel.

In respect of their occupations, the Cochin Jews are engaged mainly in trade and merchandise, though not to the extent prevailing in the days of their forefathers. The Black Jews deal fairly largely in rice, fish, and especially poultry, and some are handicraftsmen. Education is making way among both classes, although the recent census shows barely more than a quarter of their number to be as yet literate in the most elementary sense. A few are aspiring to clerkships in the employ of the State, and some are landholders. Hebrew is well studied by some, and the knowledge of it in the community generally is far greater than among the Bene-Israel (*q.v.*) of the Bombay Presidency, among whom some of the Black Jews are in request as synagogue-readers, but with whom they would seem to be otherwise entirely unconnected as to their antecedents and origin on Indian shores.

LITERATURE.—C. Buchanan, *Christian Researches*^{11}, London, 1819, pp. 219–235; A. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*^{2}, 2 vols., do. 1744; A. Asher, *Itinerary of R. Benjamin of Tudela*, London and Berlin, 1840; J. C. Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, 1743, tr. from the Dutch by Heber Drury, Madras, 1862; H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*^{2}, London, 1903, artt. 'Cranganore,' 'Shinkali,' etc.; 'Notices of the Jews of Cochin' in the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, x. [1839]; J. Wolff, *Travels and Adventures*, London, 1860–61, ii.; *JE*, artt. 'India,' 'Cochin,' etc.; A. C. Burnell, 'The Original Settlement Deed of the Jewish Colony at Cochin' in *IA* iii. [1874] 333 f.; J. H. Lord, *The Jews in India and the Far East*, Bombay, 1907; M. Sankara Menon, in *Cochin Census Report*, 1901, pp. 61–68; C. Achyuta Menon, *ib.*, 1891, pp. 61–63; V. Nagam Aiya, in *Travancore Census Report*, 1891, pp. 394–399; Isidore Harris, *Jewish Year Book*, vii. [1902–03] 196–198; Francis Day, *The Land of the Perumauls*, Madras, 1863; *Asiatic Journal*, new ser., vi. (with facsimiles of Jewish plates), p. 84 f.; J. H. van Linschoten, *Itinerarium*, 1583, tr. Burnell, London (Hakluyt Society), 1885, i. 70, 285 f.; W. Logan, *Manual of Malabar*, Madras, 1887 and 1906, i. 247, ii. 115 f.; G. Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, Edin. and Lond. 1892, ch. x. pp. 131–153; R. Collins, *Missionary Enterprise in the East*, London, 1873, pp. 45–55; W. T. Gidney, *Sites and Scenes*, London, 1898, pt. ii. pp. 224–232; J. Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, Edinburgh, 1847, ii. 678–682; J. J. Benjamin II., *Eight Years in Asia and Africa*, Hanover, 1859. Also the following works in Hebrew: Mahárikash, *Ahole Yakob* ('Tents of Jacob'), Leghorn, 1783; R. Jacob Saphir, *Eben Saphir*, Mentz, 1874, ii.; Solomon Reinman, *Travels of Solomon*, ed. W. Schur, Vienna, 1884; Manasseh Ben Israel, *Mikveh Israel* ('Hope of Israel'), Lemburg, 1870; R. Jacob HaCohen, *Mashbith Milhamoth* ('Assuager of Battles'), Cracow, 1889; Samuel Raffalovich, *Kadmoniyoth Hayehudim B'Malabar* ('Antiquities of the Jews in Malabar'), Jerusalem, 1901.

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[1] See the *Oriental Christian Spectator*, September, 1839. Buchanan, John Wilson, R. De Beth Hillel, and A. Asher are examples of writers who have held the view that the Black Jews are the earlier comers.

[2] While designated the 'White' and the 'Black,' it is by no means the case that the White are always fair, or that, *vice versa*, the Black are invariably dark. Especially was the present writer himself struck by the fairness of many of the Jews at North Parur, where there are only members of the Black community. Elkan Adler, a recent visitor to the Jews of Cochin, has remarked on the same fact as the result of his own observations, in artt. contributed to the *Jewish Chronicle* of May 5th and 11th, 1906.

JEWS IN INDIA.—See Bene Israel.

JEWS IN ISLĀM.—The attitude of the Muhammadans towards the Jews and the consequent position occupied by the latter in the lands of Islām must be traced ultimately to the directions regarding them promulgated by Muhammad, and especially to the ordinances of the khalīf Omar. Muhammad's attitude was at first one of sympathetic tolerance, for he hoped to range behind him, in support of the faith which he was establishing, the whole of the force of the powerful Jewish tribes of Arabia. It was not long, however, before he discovered that the absorption of Judaism into the new faith was unattainable; the Jews were thereupon denounced as enemies of the faith, and a bitter war of extermination was waged against them. The khalīf Omar, who reigned from A.D. 634 to 644, was the first to regularize and legalize the attitude of Islām towards the Jews, and, as it was under his khalīfate that Persia, Egypt, and Syria, all lands with considerable Jewish populations, first came under Arabian influence, his Ordinances had immediately a considerable influence on Jewry. By these Ordinances Jews were not allowed to build new synagogues or to restore those which were in ruins; they were to conduct their services in subdued tones, and to pay heavy and exceptional taxes; they were not to hinder their co-religionists from accepting Islām; they were debarred from holding public office or from obtaining a verdict against a Muhammadan in a court of law; they were forbidden to ride on horses or to wear signet rings—both marks of distinction; and they were compelled to wear a distinctive dress. A Muhammadan was free to enter a synagogue at any time, but no Jew was in any circumstances admitted into a mosque. Even in death Jews laboured under a disability, for they were allowed only flat tombstones as monuments. These Ordinances are still the law in all countries in which the Muhammadans hold sway, although they are not always enforced. They were not invariably acted upon even while Omar still reigned, and it is probable that, although the Ordinances all bear his name, the Code in its accepted form came into existence gradually during a period which extended beyond the date of his assassination. To Omar, however, was undoubtedly due one definite piece of persecution. Determined that Arabia should henceforth know no infidel, he ruthlessly exiled the depressed remnant of Jews who still survived in the peninsula in a state of semi-slavery.

Outside of Arabia the rule of the Muhammadans did not at first come to the Jews as a scourge. Under the later Persian kings they had suffered persecution. The advent of the conquerors was consequently welcomed, and the Jews, settled in Mesopotamia, aided materially in the conquest of that region. The Muhammadans, on their part, treated their allies with tolerance, and an era of relative happiness dawned for the Jewish communities of Babylonia. To the Jews of Syria and of Egypt also the Muhammadans came as deliverers from the yoke of oppression. In Arabia, however, the first home of Muhammadanism, the Jews have always been subject to persecution. There, if anywhere, the Ordinances of Omar have had their full effect. As late as last century, the Jews of Yemen or S. Arabia were forbidden to wear new or good clothes, to ride on an ass or a mule, or to engage in commerce. With hardly an exception they were until recent times confined to menial trades. Of late an emigration from Yemen has set in, and many of the former Jewish inhabitants are now settled in Jerusalem and in the modern Jewish settlements in Palestine, where they ply the trades which they learned in their former homes. There are at present about 25,000 Jews in Arabia.

In Persia, Jewish communities have existed since the period of the Arab conquest. The disorders which filled the centuries that immediately succeeded that event reacted unfavourably upon the fortunes of the Jewish population, whose condition from that day to this has almost always been a pitiable one. The 30,000 Jews who are to be found in Persia to-day are for the most part settled in the more important towns of Hamadān, Iṣfahān, Kirmānshāh, Shīrāz, Ṭeherān, and Mashad. They are, with few exceptions, confined to their own quarters of these towns, marked off from their neighbours by occupation, dress, and customs. As a rule they are engaged in retail trade or follow callings for which little respect is felt. Another serious disability under which they labour is the law or custom whereby a Jew converted to Islām inherits all the property of his relatives to the exclusion of the next of kin. The *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, a society founded in 1860 for the protection and improvement of the Jews in general, and now concentrating its attention on educational works in Muhammadan lands, has schools for boys and girls at Ṭeherān.

Egypt had a considerable and important Jewish population at the time of the Arab invasion, and throughout the period of Muhammadan domination, except for a few short periods, the Jews were both prosperous and contented. The khalīf al-Ḥākim (996–1020), after a period of toleration, suddenly began to enforce the Ordinances of Omar. He even exceeded their rigour. He compelled the Jews to wear bells and to carry in public the wooden image of a calf. On the pretext that they mocked him, al-Ḥākim burned the whole of the Jewish quarter. But his treatment was quite exceptional; moreover, he was not held responsible for his actions. Under other rulers individual Jews held high office in the State. Some of them —notably Maimonides, the greatest Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages—were physicians to the khalīf. Until the middle of the 16th cent. the Jewish communities in Egypt were presided over by a *nāgīd*, whose rule was co-extensive with the Egyptian dominions. He had full civil and criminal jurisdiction over his co-religionists as well as power to punish by fine and imprisonment. The appointment of Rabbis rested with him, as well as the responsibility for seeing that the civil law was observed within the limits of his jurisdiction. The *nāgīd* was appointed by the khalīf, and his installation was attended by much ceremonial. The Jewish population of Egypt is at present estimated at 50,000.

In the other districts of N. Africa the conditions were much the same. Although there were times of persecution, for the greater part of the period of Muhammadan domination the political condition of the Jews was a tolerably easy one. The pre-Muhammadan conditions of Arabia were reproduced to some extent, and Jewish semi-independent tribes roved about the interior of N. Africa for centuries after the Diaspora, and some have persisted to the present day. In Tunis, towards the end of the 8th cent., there was a persecution by the Imām Idrīs, but his reign did not last long. The accession of the Almohad dynasty led to a longer period of tribulation. The first of the Almohads, 'Abd-ul Mu'min, was responsible for forcible conversions of Jews and Christians on a wholesale scale. This policy was pursued by his successors. At length the number of converts had become so large, and, in view of the circumstances of the conversions, their sincerity was so doubtful, that a distinctive dress was allotted to them. Under the Ḥafṣite dynasty, which commenced in

1236, the condition of the Jews improved greatly. But even in the relatively comfortable period the Jews suffered from many disabilities, notably special taxation and restriction of residence. They, however, furnished the government with a succession of high officials, in particular the receiver of taxes who was also the *qā'id* of the Jews, and as such had supreme authority over them. Even in the 19th cent. there were changes of fortune. For instance, in 1855 many of the indignities imposed upon them were abolished, but they continued to suffer some persecution until the grant of a constitution by Muhammad Bey, by which their liberties were secured. Tunis has since 1881 been a dependency of France. Its Jewish population at present numbers about 66,000. In Algeria the conditions were identical with those in Tunis until the fall of the Almohads. Subsequent to that event the vicissitudes of the Jewish population were similar to those in the neighbouring State. Under the Turks in both regions the Jews, so long as they accepted with resignation the disabilities inherent in the Turkish system of government which were imposed upon them, found their condition one of relative comfort, much envied by most of their co-religionists settled in Christian lands. They were granted self-government under a *muqaddam*; they were confined in quarters set apart for them; a distinctive dress was allotted to them; they were forbidden to ride on horses or use riding saddles; and they were subjected to special taxation. To-day, after ninety years of French rule, the Jewish population of the Province numbers 65,000.

In Morocco the rule of the Muhammadans lasted until our own day and still exists nominally. In this, the westernmost of the lands of N. Africa, the history of the Jews until the severance of the country from dependence on Baghdād in 788, is the same as in the lands farther east. Idrīs, the conqueror of that year, was successful, by means of persuasion aided by force, in inducing the Jewish tribes of the west to join his standard, and with their assistance he was able to consolidate his power. In the end, however, dissensions arose between the conqueror and the Jews, in consequence of which the latter suffered many indignities. For the following two centuries and a half their condition remained one of tolerable comfort. The advent, however, of the Almohads in 1146 brought upon them, here as elsewhere, all the rigours of persecution. The rule of the Almohads meant forced conversions to Islām and the expulsion of those who objected. Even the new Muhammadans were not allowed to live in peace. To mark them out from their neighbours they were compelled to wear a distinguishing badge. When the rule of the Almohads passed, their position improved somewhat, but always remained precarious. Mulai Arshīd and his brother Mulai Ismāīl, who reigned at the end of the 17th cent., were especially severe, and the latter plundered the Jews without mercy. During the subsequent reigns the Jews very often suffered cruel persecution; but, on the other hand, there were periods of quietude. Whenever civil war broke out, as so frequently happened, the Jews in the disturbed region were among the first to suffer, both in person and in property. The Sultan, however, even during the periods of persecution, frequently had a Jewish favourite or adviser; but the elevation to power of individual Jews had little, if any, effect on the position of the Jews as a body. These periodical massacres continued practically until the day on which the French took over the protectorate of the country. They were not always engineered by the party in power. More frequently they were part of a movement against the government. To the Jew, however, whether he was murdered or plundered by a supporter of the reigning Sultan, or of one desirous of taking his place, was not a matter of consequence. The Jewish population of Morocco to-day is estimated to number about 110,000.

The tolerant conditions under which the Jews of N. Africa were living, coupled with the harsh measures of the Visigothic kings in Spain, led the Jews of the Peninsula to welcome the Moorish invasion which culminated in a permanent settlement at the beginning of the 8th century. For a long time the position of the Jews, as subjects of the Moors in Spain, was as favourable as that in the most tolerant period in N. Africa. The first persecution of the Jews of the Peninsula by the followers of Islām occurred in 1066, when 1500 families in Granada were massacred and the remainder of the race in that city driven into exile. The accession to power of the Almoravids, a couple of decades later, led to further excesses, and the position of the Jews was rendered even worse, after the lapse of a further quarter of a century, by the rise of the Almohads, whose policy towards them has been described above.

To the Jews of the Byzantine empire the conquests by the Turks came as a relief from oppression. Under Turkish rule their position was raised so much that no precedent approaching to it could be found throughout Christendom. They were allowed to live and move in the Turkish dominions with perfect freedom. In occupation and dress they were without restrictions. They were even admitted into the army. Many rose to high positions in the State, and became the trusted advisers of successive Sultans. To the Jews of the lands of oppression Turkey became the land of promise. In the 15th cent. those of Hungary and Germany were invited to settle there, and many did so. Later, at the end of the same century, the expulsion from Spain led to a considerable further Jewish immigration into Turkey. The refugees were everywhere welcomed by the Turkish government and people. The immigrants brought many valuable industries to Turkey, with great advantage to their new country as well as to themselves. They concentrated for the most part in the larger cities. In Salonica they settled in such numbers as almost to make it a Jewish city, and even to this day the Jewish is the largest element in the population of the port.

The Sultans not only granted absolute freedom to their Jewish subjects, and utilized with advantage all their services; they also, on occasions, intervened on behalf of foreign Jews who were suffering at the hands of other governments. Notable instances of such action were the representations made at Venice on behalf of Donna Gracia Mendes which led to her release, and the protests sent to the pope against the treatment of Jewish prisoners at Ancona. The office of *ḥākhām bāshī*, or chief Rabbi, was instituted in the reign of Muhammad the Conqueror (1451–81). He was, and still is, the official representative of the Jews in civil affairs. The *ḥākhām bāshī* was a member of the State council. He had considerable powers over the Jews of the empire. He arranged their taxation, appointed Rabbis, and was, in fact, under the Sultan, the ruler of the Jews of Turkey. The first *ḥākhām bāshī*, Moses Capsali, was appointed by the Sultan. His successors were appointed subject to the Sultan's approval. The Golden Age of the Jews of Turkey lasted for about two centuries. But, as in all despotic States, the conditions under which they lived had no surety of permanence. Their rights and privileges depended on the whims of the rulers, and, when a Sultan such as Murād III. arose, they found even their lives in danger. It was by this Sultan that restrictions on the dress of the Jews were introduced. In the 18th cent., which was, moreover, one of greater misfortunes for the Jews of Turkey, further restrictions were introduced. During the 19th cent. their condition improved little, if at all. The misery prevalent among them was, however, due to economic and social causes rather than to political ones. The revolution of 1908 swept away all political differences between Jews and Muhammadans, and at present their relative position is one of absolute equality. In Palestine, however, foreign Jews are in theory not permitted to settle or to acquire land.

Previous to the outbreak of the Balkan war of 1911–12, the Jewish population of Turkey in Europe was estimated at 180,000, of whom 65,000 were in Constantinople. Turkey in Asia, apart from Arabia, has about 250,000 Jews.

LITERATURE.—For the general subject H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, London, 1891-92, and artt. in *JE* which deal with the relative countries, and also those on 'Islām,' 'Mohammed,' and 'Yemen,' should be consulted. For the conditions during the last half century the successive annual reports of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and of the *Anglo-Jewish Association* give much information. For Arabia see R. Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Mohammeds*, Berlin, 1910; H. Hirschfeld, 'Essai sur l'histoire des Juifs de Médine,' in *REJ* vii. [1883] 167, and x. [1885] 10; for Persia see E. N. Adler, *Jews in many Lands*, London, 1905; for N. Africa see J. E. Budgett Meakin, 'The Jews of Morocco,' in *JQR* iv. [1892] 369; L. Addison, *The Present State of the Jews . . . in Barbary*, London, 1675; M. Wahl, *L'Algérie*², Paris, 1889; L. Reynier, *De l'Économie publique et rurale des Arabes et des Juifs*, Geneva, 1820; J. C. Frégier, *Les Juifs algériens, leur passé, leur présent, leur avenir juridique*, Paris, 1865; D. Cazès, *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de Tunisie*, do. 1889; for Turkey see M. Franco, *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de l'empire ottoman*, do. 1897; L. A. Frankl, *The Jews in the East*, London, 1859, and I. Loeb, *La Situation des Israélites en Turquie*, Paris, 1877.

A. M. HYAMSON.

JEWS IN ZOROASTRIANISM.—The account of the Jewish Exile and the fortunes of the Jews under the Achæmenian dynasty are too familiar to require recapitulation here; suffice it to say that the history of Mordecai and Esther proves that exile and Jewish birth were no bars to the attainment of high rank even at the king's court. Soon after the death of Alexander the Great the Jews began to proselytize, and the Babylonian Talmud itself was written in the Persian dominion, while such cities as Nehardea were centres of Jewish culture. The only convert of real note was the petty king of Adiabene, Izates (35–59; Jos. *Ant.* XX. ii. 3), whose name (=Avesta *Yazata*, 'angel'), like that of his father Monobazos (cf. Armenian *Manavaz*), is Iranian.

When the last Parthian monarch, Artabanos IV., fell in battle in A.D. 226, the Jews lamented his death and feared the accession of the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, Artašīr Pāpakān, who, in fact, imposed certain minor restrictions upon them and forbade them to bury their dead. On the other hand, the heads of the Jewish schools were honoured not only at the court of this very king, but also at that of Šāpūr I. (241–272). The great friend of the Jews was Yazdagird I. (399–420), who married Šōšān-dōxt, or Gāsyān-dūxt,[1] the daughter of the Jewish exilarch (ריש גלותא),[2] probably Kahana I., and who became by her the father of the famous Bahrām Gōr (420–438). This queen established colonies of her co-religionists in Šōš (Shushan), Šōštar (Shuster), and Gai (Ispahān), while Xwārizm (Khiva) is said to have been founded either by a certain 'Narses of the Jews' (who would probably be the younger brother of Bahrām Gōr) or (according to a less likely decipherment of the Pahlavi text) by 'the exilarch of the Jews.'[3] Another Jew in high favour with Yazdagird was Huna bar Nathan, who was never exilarch, as has often been supposed, but was probably a cousin of Šōšān-dōxt[1]—a fact which may account for the special affection manifested for him by the king.

Under more orthodox Zoroastrian rulers, the Jews fared worse, and persecutions are recorded during the reigns of Bahrām Gōr's son, Yazdagird II. (438–457), Pērōz (Fīrūz) (459–484), and Qubād I. (488–531), while there is some evidence that their condition was unfavourable late in the 6th cent., since they supported the rebellion of Bahrām Cūbīn against Ormazd IV. in 589 (Theophylactus, v. 7). In 343 the Jewish physicians of a Persian queen are mentioned as calumniating the Christian St. Tarbula (or Pherboutha) and her companions;[2] and, when St. Gīwargīs was martyred on 14th Jan. 615, his executioners were Jews.[3]

The literature of the Middle Persian period, which is the product of the revival of Zoroastrian orthodoxy, is distinctly hostile to Judaism. According to the *Šāyast lā-Šāyast*, vi. 7, Zandiks, Jews, and Christians are 'of a vile law,' and the *Dīnkarṭ* (ed. and tr. Peshotan Behramji Sanjana, Bombay, 1874 ff., pp. 24, 257, 310, 456) declares that Judaism, Christianity, and Manichæism are degraded in spirit and dangerous to Zoroastrianism, and that the evils of the worst age of the world are due to the 'sinful dispositions of all men, derived from the Yahudi religion,' whose laws and tenets are liable to ruin the earth. The Torah is 'the words of devils and unworthy of belief,' and the Hebrew Scriptures were composed by Azi Dahāka, the dragon who dwelt in Babylon (possibly an allusion to the Talmudic schools of Sura, Pumbeditha, and Nehardea in Babylonia), who deposited them in the 'fortress of Jerusalem,' and made mankind submit to Judaism on three separate occasions (perhaps referring to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; less probably to Abraham, Moses, and Elijah—or Enoch—as precursors of the Messiah; pp. 604 f., 372 f., 379). The same evil being was the author of ten 'universally noxious precepts':

(1) The Almighty is the injurer of the universe; (2) demons are to be worshipped as the source of all earthly prosperity; (3) injustice should be performed rather than justice; (4) unrighteousness and disgracefulness are to rule in everything; (5) greedy and selfish lives must be led; (6) children must receive no training for noble fatherhood; (7) no protection may be given to the poor; (8) goats must be killed before reaching maturity; (9) pious men must be offered to the demons; (10) men must be cruel, revengeful, and murderous.

The eighth and ninth of these 'precepts' mention the Jews, and may be based on Lv 4^{23} and on distorted reminiscences of condemnation of human sacrifice, as in 2 Ch 28^{3}, Ps $106^{37f.}$, Is 57^{5}, Jer $19^{4f.}$ 32^{35}, Ezk $16^{20f.}$ $23^{37.\,39}$.

There is a possibility that the Talmud is mentioned in the *Dīnkarṭ*, if the reading *Gyēmarā* (גמרא) in v. i. 2 f. is correct (see E. W. West, *SBE* xlvii. [1897] 119 f. and Introd. p. xiii f.), and a knowledge of the Talmud is plainly shown in the 9th cent. *Šikand-gūmānīk-Vijār*,[4] which, in its polemic against Judaism (xiii.–xiv.; tr. West, *SBE* xxiv. [1885] 208–229), also quotes from the OT (Gn $1^{2f.}$ $2^{16f.}$ $3^{9.\,11\text{-}16.\,18f.}$ 6^{6}, Ex 20^{5}, Dt 29^{4} 32^{35}, Ps 95^{10}, Is $30^{27f.}$ 42^{19}).[5]

The quotations are paraphrases rather than translations. Thus, Gn $2^{16f.}$ is rendered: 'The Lord, who is the sacred being himself, commanded Adam thus: "Eat of every tree which is in this garden, except of that tree of knowledge; because when you eat thereof you die"' in one passage (xiii. 18–20), and 'The sacred being commanded Adam thus: "Thou shalt not eat of this one tree which is in paradise. . . . When you eat of this tree you die"' (xi. 352, xiii. 143; cf. the variants of Gn 3^{11} in xiii. 33 as compared with xiii. 139). It is suggested by West (*SBE* xxiv. 225, note 4, and p. xxviii) that the Pazand form *Āsīnaa* (Skr. *Āsīnaka*), 'Isaac,' in *ŠgV* xiv. 42 is a faulty transcription of the Pahlavi characters for *Aīsōk*=Syr. *'Īs'ḥoq*, and that, accordingly, the ultimate source from which the Zoroastrian polemists drew was a Syriac version of the Bible.[1] In Gn 1^2 there is a curious variant, 'darkness was upon the face of the deep' being rendered in *ŠgV* xiii. 6 f., 'darkness and black water.' With this 'black water' we may perhaps compare the 'black water' (מיא סיאויא) which, in Mandæan cosmogony, lies at the bottom of the abyss and forms the home of all evil (A. J. H. W. Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 43, 60, 63–65, 70). This is also termed מיא תאחמיא, 'turbid water,' תאחמיא being developed by metathesis from ܬܡܗ, probably under the influence of ܬܗܘܡܐ, תְּהוֹם, 'abyss,' in Gn 1^2 (Brandt, p. 131; cf. T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, Halle, 1875, p. 66; cf. K. Kessler, *PRE*^{3} xii. [1903] 166 f., 169).

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[1] J. Darmesteter, 'La Reine Shasyân Dôkht,' in *Actes du viiime cong. internat. des orientalistes*, ii. [Leyden, 1893] 193–198.

[2] On the relations of the exilarchs with the Sasanian monarchs see F. Lazarus, *Die Häupter der Vertriebenen*, Frankfort, 1890, pp. 131–156.

[3] *Šatrōīhā-ī Ērān*, ed. and tr. E. Blochet, *RTAP* xvii. [1895] 165–176, tr. J. J. Modi, *Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân*, etc., Bombay, 1899, chs. xlvi. f., liv., x.

[1] Cf. Lazarus, p. 110 f.; M. Seligsohn, 'Huna b. Nathan,' *JE* vi. [1904] 493 f.

[2] *AS*, Apr. iii. [1866] 21 (=Sozomen, *HE* ii. 12), and p. i ff.

[3] G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 111 f.

[4] Contracted in this art. to *ŠgV*.

[5] A Persian translation of the Bible is mentioned by Theodoret (5th cent.; *Græcarum Affectionum curatio*, v. [*PG* lxxxiii. 948]); cf. also L. Blau, *Zur Einleit. in die heil. Schrift*, Strassburg, 1894, pp. 95–98; A. Kohut, *Krit. Beleuchtung der pers. Pentateuch-Uebersetz. des Jacob b. Joseph Tavus*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 6; R. Gottheil, *JE* iii. [1902] 190; W. Bacher, *ib.* vii. [1904] 317.

The influence of the Targum of the pseudo-Jonathan (7th cent.) probably affected the rendering of Ex 20^5 in *ŠgV* xiv. 4–7. When, in translating Gn 3^{14}, the *ŠgV* (xiii. 43) makes God say to the serpent, 'For thee also there shall be no feet,' this may be derived either from the same Targum or from *Bereshith Rabbah*, the oldest of the Midrashim (probably *c.* 4th cent.), which contains (xix. 1, xx. 5) the following Haggādā, known already to Josephus (*Ant.* I. i. 4):

> 'According to the opinion of Hoshaiah the Great [3rd cent.], the serpent had two feet, and stood erect, like a reed. . . . "Upon thy belly shalt thou go." At the instant God spake thus, the ministering angels descended, and took away from the serpent his hands and his feet' (A. Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Bereschit Rabba*, Leipzig, 1881, pp. 82, 89).

Talmudic stories appear four times in the *Šikand-gūmānīk-Vijār*.

In *ŠgV* xiv. 36, God is said to prepare daily, with His own hand, 90,000 worshippers, whom He dismisses, at night, 'through a fiery river, to hell.' With this is to be compared the tradition attributed to Joshua b. Ḥananiah, that no portion of the heavenly host serves God for more than a day, and that at the end of that time they are dismissed to the stream of fire from which they were created (cf. Dn 7^{10}, Ps 104^4), another company of angels taking their places.[2] According to *ŠgV* xiv. 40–50, when the Lord visited Abraham to console him in old age and affliction, His host sent Isaac to fetch wine from paradise, but God would drink it only when Abraham had convinced Him of the purity of its origin. This seems to be a confusion of Gn $18^{1\text{ff.}}$ and 27^{25}, for, according to the Targum of the pseudo-Jonathan, *ad loc.*, and Yalqut (Gen. 115), the wine which Jacob brought his father Isaac was made from grapes formed at the creation of the world, and carried from paradise to Jacob by the archangel Michael.[3] The story is told in *ŠgV* xiv. 58–70 of how a righteous man in dire poverty prayed for divine aid; but the angel who appeared told him that the sum total of joy and sorrow may not be altered. Since, however, the righteous man already had prepared for him in paradise a throne with jewelled feet, he might have the benefit of one of these on earth. After consulting with his wife, the man decided that he would not diminish celestial bliss to gain comfort in this world. This is the Jewish story of Ḥanina b. Dosa, who, under like circumstances, received a golden table-leg from paradise, but who, after his wife had had a vision in which she saw her husband feasting in heaven at a two-legged table, while all the other righteous had three-legged tables, besought that the gift might be withdrawn.[4] The last story is of less certain origin. According to *ŠgV* xiv. 75–78, God boasted of killing 'in one day an assemblage of sinners, as well as innumerable innocents. And, when the angels talked much of the unreasonable performance, He then spoke of it thus: "I am the Lord, the ruler of wills, superintending, unrivalled, and doing my own will, and no one assists or is to utter a murmur about me."' This may possibly be a distorted reminiscence of some such passage as Job $9^{22.12}$, Ezk $21^{3\text{-}5}$, or Dn 4^{35}. C. H. Toy suggests to the writer that a closer parallel is the legend of the journey of Moses with al-Khiḍr (*Qur'ān*, xviii. 64 ff.), who staves in a boat belonging to poor fishermen, slays an apparently harmless youth, and repairs the wall of persons who had refused hospitality to Moses and his companion—the reasons being that a piratical king was about to seize the boat, the young man was an infidel who would bring grief upon his pious parents, and under the wall was a treasure belonging to two orphans, who would recover their wealth on reaching maturity. The lesson is reproof of man's unseemly inquisitiveness into the ways of God. The story in the *Qur'ān* is of Jewish origin (G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, Frankfort, 1845, pp. 178–181), and recurs in the Haggadic account of the journey of Asmodæus to Solomon (L. Ginzberg, *JE* ii. [1902] 218; cf. also H. Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum*, Berlin, 1872, pp. 80, 724 f., J. C. Dunlop, *Hist. of Fiction*, ed. H. Wilson, London, 1896, ii. 263–269, and art. KHIDR).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the references already given, *Šikand-gūmānīk-Vijār*, ed. Hoshang Jamaspji Jamasp-Asana and E. W. West, Bombay, 1887, tr. E. W. West, *SBE* xxiv. [1885] 117 ff.; J. Darmesteter, 'Textes pehlvis relatifs au Judaïsme,' *REJ* xviii. [1889] 1–15, xix. [1889] 41–56; L. H. Gray, 'Pahlavi Literature, Jews in,' *JE* ix. [1905] 462–465, expanded as 'Jews in Pahlavi Literature,' *Actes du xiv*me *congr. internat. des orientalistes*, i. [Paris, 1905] 177–192; F. Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871–78, iii. 717 f.; H. Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, Eng. tr., London, 1891–92, ii. 508 ff., iii. 1 ff.; artt. 'Artaban,' 'Bahram Tshubin,' 'Chosroes,' 'Persia,' etc., in *JE*.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

JHĪNWAR, DHĪMAR, DHĪNWAR (Skr. *dhīvara*, 'fisherman').—The term applied in the Panjāb to the carrier, waterman, fisherman, and basket-maker castes of the E. districts and Kāshmīr. The caste numbered, according to the Census of 1911, 375,694, of whom 61 per cent were Hindus and the remainder Muhammadans, with a small Sikh minority. It has a low place in the Hindu caste system, and, as with the allied castes, its Hindu or Muhammadan beliefs are only a slight veneer over Animism. Its members worship chiefly the deities or spirits connected with their occupation, and the divinities of the great rivers, Ganges, Jumnā, and Indus; and they make offerings to the boats, nets, and other implements of their craft.

One remarkable rite is almost peculiar to them.

> In the Panjāb on the 8th day before the Divālī, or feast of lights, which is celebrated at the new moon of Kārttik (Oct.–Nov.), the Hoī or Hūī festival is held, at which the Jhīnwarnī, or female water-carrier, of the household is given the first place, and is petted by the ladies of the family, who act as her tire-women. After the house has been purified by being smeared with cow-dung, figures of a litter and its bearers are drawn on the wall in four or five colours, and to it offerings, accompanied by the usual worship (*pūjā*) with incense, lights, and flowers, are made, consisting of radishes, sweet potatoes, and other roots of the season. The legend tells that at the beginning of the Kaliyuga, or present evil age, death, murrain, and famine devastated the world. The Brāhmans prayed and practised austerities, but in vain. They were in despair, when a woman of the Jhīnwar tribe sat in their midst and encouraged them to further efforts, as the result of which the goddess Kālikā or Chāmuṇḍā appeared, carrying her head in her hands, and announced that the prevailing calamities were due to immorality and want of religious faith, and that, if the world was to be saved, she must in future be honoured with this annual feast and fast. The reward of the Jhīnwar woman was to be exalted to a place of honour at the solemnity. Another story tells that Hoī was a Brāhman maid who escaped defilement at the hands of the Musalmāns by taking refuge in the hut of a Jhīnwar. When her pursuers overtook her, she disappeared into the earth, and was deified by her caste and other Hindus.

It is difficult to explain the meaning of the rite, but it probably points to a primitive cult of the earth- or mother-goddess which was specialized by the Jhīnwar caste, one of their women, as we know to be the case in other Panjāb cults of Devī, impersonating the goddess (H. A. Rose, *Punjab and N.W. Frontier Province Census Rep.*, 1901, i. 126).

LITERATURE.—D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Punjab Ethnography*, Calcutta, 1883, p. 325 f.; *PNQ* ii. (1885) 148; H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W. Frontier Province*, ii. (Lahore, 1911) 381 ff.

W. CROOKE.

JINN.—See DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Muhammadan).

JĪVANMUKTA.—The word *jīvanmukta* means 'delivered while yet on earth.' By 'deliverance' we must understand the end of existence or of transmigration, either the return to Brahman or the entry into *nirvāṇa* (Buddhism). The 'delivered on earth' is the saint who has realized all the conditions of deliverance and is living his last existence. Since he has exhausted desire and illusion, which are the food of individual existence (Brahmanism), the food of existence (Buddhism), he has passed from the 'mundane' (*laukika*) plane, where thoughts and actions move, to a higher plane, 'supramundane' (*lokottara*), from which thought and action are, properly speaking, excluded. He continues to live, because the physical forces which sustain life are not yet dead, just as the potter's wheel continues to turn by the force which it has acquired; because the acts, for which this life is the payment, have not been entirely paid for. But such acts, recent or ancient, which ought to be paid for in a new rebirth, are either suppressed and 'skipped over' or 'transferred' to this life. No new act can be imputed to the *jīvanmukta*, for an act can be imputed to a person only when it is 'redolent of desire.'

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[1] Cf. the fragments of a Soghdian version of the NT, ed. F. W. K. Müller, 'Soghdische Texte, I.,' *ABAW*, 1912; it may be suggested that this Soghdian version, which is closely dependent on the Syriac, dates from the 9th or 10th cent. (L. H. Gray, *ExpT* xxv. [1913] 59–61).

[2] *Bereshith Rabbah*, lxxvii. 1 (on Gn 32^{26}); see Wünsche, 379; also *Ekah Rabbati* on La 3^{23} (A. Wünsche, *Der Midrasch Echa Rabbati*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 126); cf. W. Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*^{2}, Strassburg, 1903, i. 172; L. Blau, *JE* i. [1901] 586.

[3] See I. Lévi, cited by J. Darmesteter, *REJ* xix. [1889] 14, note 1.

[4] Lévi, 15, note 2; S. Mendelsohn, *JE* vi. 215.

The origin of this definition of sanctity is to be found, on the one hand, in the speculations concerning the ascetic, aloof from all human interest and clothed with and fed on air, in whom, as it would appear, there is no longer anything human; on the other hand, in the doctrines relating to the identity of the *ātman* and the *brahman*, and to *nirvāṇa*.

All the Indian sects have adopted the idea of the *jīvanmukta*, and they have all had to study the various complicated problems which it raises. Can the *jīvanmukta* fall from sanctity? Is he sinless? May he do whatever he pleases, since sin no longer exists for him? Is he necessarily inactive? Is he incapable of suffering? Is he exempt from mundane thoughts? We have a great deal of literature relating to these problems, especially in Buddhism (*jīvanmukta*=*arhat*). It is one of the characteristics of Hindu theologians that they have always tried, with much loyalty, sagacity, and subtlety, to 'organize' mystical ideas which cannot easily be reconciled with morality and experience.

Within the limits of this article we cannot even touch upon the problem that is here presented.

LITERATURE.—P. Oltramare, *Histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, Paris, 1906, i. 214; A. Barth, *Religions of India*, London, 1891, pp. 79, 210; artt. ARHAT, KARMA, NIRVĀṆA.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

JÑĀNA-MĀRGA.—The term *jñāna-mārga*, 'the pathway of knowledge' (to salvation, *mokṣa*, *mukti*), or *jñāna-kāṇḍa*, 'department of knowledge,' covers what are known as the 'systems of Indian philosophy.' The term is opposed to *karma-mārga* (*q.v.*), *karma-kāṇḍa*, salvation by works. The literature of the Vedic period is characterized by a joy of life which forms a striking contrast to the pessimistic attitude that dominates Indian thought throughout the later periods. The Vedas themselves are chiefly concerned with the attainment of happiness in this world and its continuance in the next by means of sacrifices and other good works (*karmāṇi*) pleasing to the gods. At an early period we find objections raised to the purely selfish character of this attitude; some of the earlier *Upaniṣads* reject works altogether as being utterly inadequate, if not useless, for the attainment of salvation, and because they aim at worldly happiness only. This opposition to Vedic ritual gradually disappears in the *Upaniṣads*, and ultimately the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* becomes the Vedānta, and the saving knowledge that they teach is called the Vedānta (end of the Veda).

1. Upaniṣads.—The general attitude of the *Upaniṣads* to works is that sacrifice and good works may procure happiness to a limited extent, but are on the whole a hindrance rather than a help in the attainment of real salvation, which is to be obtained through knowledge alone. To have any merit, works must not be performed with a view to a particular reward; if performed in a proper spirit, they contribute to originate a desire for knowledge. In order that knowledge may arise, the effects of evil works must be obliterated, and this may be effected by performing acts of piety not aiming at any immediate reward; when the mind has been purified in this way, there arises a desire for knowledge, and ignorance comes to an end. Works, however, although useless by themselves, are sometimes even said to be essential:

> 'Only he who knows both knowledge and not-knowledge (works) can be saved, because by good works he overcomes death and by knowledge he obtains the immortal.'[1]

At a very early period we find two new ideas, which were destined to influence profoundly all future Indian thought, making their appearance with striking suddenness—the doctrines of metempsychosis (*saṁsāra*) and of the influence of actions in a previous existence (*karma*). No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the origin of the former of these beliefs, on which the latter depends (see, further, art. METEMPSYCHOSIS [Hindu]). The second idea is based on the belief that no good or evil deed can go unrewarded or unpunished; happiness in this life is the reward of good deeds in a previous existence, while misery, often apparently unmerited, is readily explained as the result of evil deeds in a previous existence (see, further, art. KARMA). What is true of the previous existence must hold also of the one prior to that, and so on. The cycle of existence has no beginning, and similarly has no end; for in each existence there must be a certain balance of unrewarded good or unexpiated evil to carry the individual on to a new existence. Every action unfailingly brings its own reward or punishment; the cause of action is desire, and desire is due to ignorance, which mistakes the real nature of things (cf. art. DESIRE [Buddhist]); it is this ignorance that is the cause of the cycle of re-births (cf. art. MĀYĀ). The result of this doctrine is a firm conviction of the misery of mundane existence, which contrasts with the passionate love of life of the earliest period, and the belief that real happiness is to be obtained only by release from the *saṁsāra*. This release is to be obtained only by destroying the ignorance which is the root of the cycle of existence; the object of the various philosophies is to teach that knowledge which brings salvation from mundane existence to the happy few.

Vedic and allied knowledge, and indeed all existing knowledge, was early recognized as insufficient for the attainment of salvation.

Thus, for example, we find[2] Nārada lamenting that, though he has studied the Vedas, the epics, grammar, etc., and is learned in the scriptures, yet he is not learned in the *ātman*; and beseeching to be taught the *ātman* that overcomes sorrow, and to be led to the 'shore that lies beyond sorrow.' Similarly, Śvetaketu, having completed his education under his father Āruṇi, and failing to answer questions put to him, upbraids his father for declaring his education perfect.[3] Mere learning and book-knowledge then are not sufficient: 'The *ātman* is not attained by learning . . . and much knowledge of books.'[4]

True knowledge in the *Upaniṣads* is a knowledge of *brahman* or the *ātman* (*qq.v.*). This knowledge was recognized as being different in its nature from what is commonly understood by the term 'knowledge'; for it is possible to know all branches of human knowledge and yet be ignorant of the saving knowledge of the *ātman*; this state of ignorance of true knowledge is called *avidyā* ('not-knowledge'); this term gradually lost the meaning of simple ignorance, and came to be applied to that false knowledge which impedes a knowledge of *brahman*, by preventing us from seeing things as they really are, and is based on illusion (*māyā*) due to the limitations of the human intellect.

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[1] *Iśā Upan.* 11.

[2] *Chhānd. Upan.* vii. 10.

[3] *Bṛhad. Ār. Upan.* vi. 2.

[4] *Kaṭh. Upan.* I. ii. 23.

Ignorance, then, is the knowledge derived from the experience of the senses, while true knowledge is of *brahman* or the *ātman*.

There are two fundamental ideas in the *Upaniṣads*—*brahman* and the *ātman*, which came to be used synonymously. *Brahman* is the first principle of the universe, the Eternal One, the all-pervading power; *ātman* is first the vital principle, the Self, then the All-soul, the One, and thus comes to be identical with *brahman*. Saving knowledge consists in the recognition of the unity of *brahman* and the *ātman* of the individual soul with the world-soul, and the object of the *Upaniṣads* is to teach a knowledge of *brahman*. The doctrine of the identity of *brahman* and the *ātman* is summed up in such phrases as *tat tvam asi* ('thou art That') and *aham brahmāsmi* ('I am *brahman*'). The veil of ignorance, through which we see a plurality of objects when in reality *brahman* alone exists, is lifted when the underlying *brahman* of the object is recognized in the *ātman* of the knower. Mundane objects are not realities, and are of no value for their own sake, but exist only through the *ātman*, which alone exists and is the entire universe. Yājñavalkya compares the phenomena of the world to the notes of a lute or conch-shell: the notes cannot be seized; only when the instrument or the player is seized can they be seized; in the same way it is only when the *ātman* is known that all else is known. He who has comprehended the *ātman* knows the whole universe.[1] When it is recognized that there is only one being, the self or *ātman*, eternal and unchanging, the illusions resulting from the limitations of the intellect disappear, and release is obtained from this world of ignorance.

2. Vedānta.—The Brāhmanic speculations of the *Upaniṣads* are developed in the philosophical system usually called Vedānta, properly the Uttara-mīmāṁsā, or 'Second inquiry' (concerning *brahman*; it is also called Brahma-mīmāṁsā); the founder of the system, Bādarāyaṇa, flourished about the beginning of the Christian era, and his great expositor Śaṅkara eight centuries later. The fundamental notion in the system, which is still the most influential in India, is the identity of the *ātman*, or self, with the *brahman*. *Brahman* is the One, the Unique, the Self-existent, everlasting and unchanging, and cannot therefore be subject to division into parts. The self of each individual must therefore be identical with the self of *brahman*, instead of being a part of it; the self in each individual is therefore the whole undivided *brahman*. Nothing exists but *brahman* (*advaita-vāda*, doctrine of non-duality). The apparent objections to this, which arise out of mundane experience, are due to ignorance, which prevents the self from recognizing that all else is illusion; the phenomena of the *saṁsāra* and the material universe are illusions, just as the idea of separate souls is. The Vedānta does not inquire into the origin of this ignorance, whether due to desire, etc., or not, but teaches that it may be destroyed by the saving knowledge that all that is not soul is illusion, and that the soul is *brahman*. When this truth is known, the fetters that bind the soul to the cycle of existence are broken, and release is obtained (see, further, art. VEDĀNTA). We may here mention the Viśiṣṭādvaita ('modified monism') school of the Vedānta founded by Rāmānuja, one of the most important commentators on the *Brahmasūtras*, who flourished in the 12th cent. A.D. and belonged to the Bhāgavata sect. He expounds the Vedānta system according to the tenets of this monotheistic sect in a way which differs in important points from the outline just given; according to the Viśiṣṭādvaitas, the individual souls are not identical with *brahman* or God, but are elements of him and not separate from him; the individual souls are involved in the miseries of mundane existence, not entirely by ignorance, but by unbelief. The true means of salvation is therefore found, not in some means of cognition, but in devout love of God (*bhakti*) and belief.

3. Sāṅkhya.—The Sāṅkhya school, which has been called the oldest real system of Indian philosophy, is as much impressed by the infinite variety of the universe as the Vedānta is with its unity. The system, the traditional founder of which was Kapila, is essentially dualistic; two principles are admitted whose interworkings produce the universe—*prakṛti* (matter) and *puruṣa* (soul or spirit); the latter is not one all-pervading spirit like the *brahman* of the Vedānta, but rather an infinite number of individual spirits each independent, and thus the variety of the universe is explained. These two are entirely distinct, and have existed side by side from all eternity. Mental processes are mechanical actions of physical organs, *i.e.* of *prakṛti*; *prakṛti*, however, would remain unconscious if it were not acted upon by *puruṣa*; *puruṣa*, or soul, has no volition of its own, but the subtle body (*sūkṣmaśarīra*), the inner organs and senses which surround it, has. Through this body the soul becomes involved in the *saṁsāra*, and thus has to suffer the miseries of mundane existence. The aim of the Sāṅkhya is to teach that *puruṣa* is absolutely distinct from *prakṛti* in the most subtle organs. A knowledge that these two are absolutely distinct, and have been so from the beginning, delivers the soul from the cycle of existence; it then realizes that the connexion between soul and matter, on which the miseries of the world depend, is only an apparent one, and, when this is realized, the sufferings of *prakṛti* are no longer the sufferings of *puruṣa*, while the sufferings of the former are no longer experienced, since they are no longer 'illuminated' by *puruṣa* (see, further, art. SĀṄKHYA).

The philosophical basis of Buddhism is considerably influenced by the Sāṅkhya (for a different view see above, p. 211^{b}). It assumes that mundane existence is nothing but suffering, and that the cause of this suffering is the desire to enjoy the apparent delights of the world. The cause of this attachment is ignorance; this ignorance and all that follows it will be dissipated when attachment to the world is renounced.

4. Yoga.—The Yoga system, founded by Patañjali, who, if not identical with the celebrated grammarian of that name, likewise flourished in the 2nd cent. B.C., is closely connected with the Sāṅkhya. The philosophical basis of the Yoga is that of the Sāṅkhya with the addition of the notions of a Personal God (*īśvara*) and of the occult powers to be derived from Yoga practices. Its characteristic feature is the influence laid on asceticism and mental concentration (*yoga*=contemplation, concentration, union).

Asceticism and contemplation have always been practised in India as means of acquiring merit. Patañjali developed a formal system the methodical practice of which, in addition to giving occult powers, is regarded by him as one of the surest ways of gaining saving knowledge. The aim of Yoga was at first that of the Sāṅkhya, namely, the separation (*kaivalya*) of soul and matter; but, with the addition of the idea of a Personal God (*īśvara*) or Universal Soul, the ultimate aim comes to be union of the individual soul with God. The mind is to be deliberately and artificially withdrawn from the external world and concentrated upon itself; it is then enabled to throw off one by one the material fetters that bind it to the *saṁsāra*, and to awaken to a knowledge of truth, and the individual soul gains freedom and absorption in the World-Soul (see, further, art. YOGA).

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[1] *Bṛhad. Ār. Upan.* II. iv. 8

5. Minor systems.—Of the minor systems that teach the way of escape from the *saṁsāra* the most important is the Vaiśeṣika founded by Kaṇāda (the name, however, may be a nickname, 'atom-eater') at quite an early date. Deliverance, according to Kaṇāda, is to be obtained only by a knowledge of the real nature of soul and the unreality of matter, and this depends upon a knowledge of the 'six categories' (*padārtha*), under which everything that exists can be classed; these are substance, quality, action, generality, individuality, and inherence or inseparability. These are narrowly defined and subdivided; it is from the fifth that the system takes its name (*viśeṣa*=atomic individuality); all substances (defined in the first category as earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul [*ātman*], mind [*manas*]) consist of invisible atoms, from the combination of which all mental and physical phenomena arise. Freedom is obtained when the Vaiśeṣika doctrines have been comprehended (see, further, art. VAIŚEṢIKA).

The Nyāya system of Gautama is usually coupled with the Vaiśeṣika, from which it is developed. It is really a system of logic and the means of knowledge. Truth is to be attained by the application of sixteen categories, or logical notions, and salvation depends on a correct knowledge of their nature. It is only when the student has thoroughly mastered the system that he is capable of ascertaining truth (see, further, art. NYĀYA).

The aim of the Pūrva-mīmāṁsā ('first inquiry'), which is usually coupled with the Vedānta, is, like that of the other systems, the attainment of liberation from the world, but, as the other name (Karma-mīmāṁsā) of the system shows, the means that it teaches is the observance of orthodox rites and ceremonies, and not saving knowledge. It is particularly concerned with the study and interpretation of the Vedas (see, further, art. MĪMĀṀSĀ).

LITERATURE.—P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, I. i. (Leipzig, 1894), Eng. tr., Chicago, 1912, I. ii. (1899), Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1906; *SBE* i. (1879), viii. (1898), xv. (1900), xxxiv. (1890), xxxviii. (1896), xlviii. (1904); Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishads*^{2}, Leipzig, 1905, *Das System des Vedânta*^{2}, do. 1906; L. D. Barnett, *Brahma-Knowledge*, London, 1907; Īśvarakṛṣṇa, *The Sānkhya Kārikā*, ed. and tr. H. T. Colebrooke and H. H. Wilson, Oxford, 1838, Bombay, 1887, etc.; R. Garbe, *Die Sâṃkhya-Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1894, and *Sâṅkhya und Yoga*, Strassburg, 1896; F. Max Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*^{3}, London, 1906; Patañjali's *Yogasūtras*, ed. and tr. R. Mitra, Calcutta, 1848; *Arthasaṁgraha*, ed. and tr. G. Thibaut, Benares, 1882.

J. ALLAN.

JOACHIMITES.—As a sect in the Christian Church the Joachimites exercised a remarkable influence in the 13th cent., and, as we shall see, some of their tenets passed over into the motive-doctrines of the Reformation. The sect derived their name from Joachim of Floris, who seems to have been born in 1145 and to have died in 1202. He was, therefore, an older contemporary of Francis of Assisi (1182–1226), with whose followers the Joachimites were in vigorous sympathy. It is difficult to disentangle the personality or the work of Joachim from the mass of tradition which has gathered about his name, and it is equally difficult to discover what Joachim himself actually taught. He was certainly a creative personality, and works have been attributed to him which are really the fruit of the school which called itself by his name. In these works, more particularly the commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah, the germs of thought which are due to Joachim have been expanded and developed by the school which he founded. As to the genuineness of the works attributed to Joachim, there is not a great measure of agreement among scholars, but there is no doubt that he was one of the strongest churchmen of the 12th century. His influence on contemporaries and his place in the sect which called itself by his name entitle him to a position among the leading men of the century.

1. Life of Joachim.—The facts of his life, so far as they can be disentangled (*AS*, May 29), may be briefly stated. He was certainly a Calabrian—first, head of a Cistercian monastery at Corazzo, and afterwards abbot of a stricter sect at Floris, with which place his name is generally associated. His work at Corazzo and Floris was fostered by contemporary popes, and he appears also to have had a remarkable influence on Richard of England and Philip of France. When his writings were submitted to the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the only point condemned was his doctrine of the Trinity, in which he had parted from Peter Lombard (Denzinger^{11}, nos. 431–433). The place which Joachim held in the regard of his time may be further gathered from the reference to him in Dante (*Paradiso*, xii. 139–141).

2. His views.—If we regard the genuine works of Joachim as (*a*) *Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (Venice, 1519), (*b*) *Psalterium Decem Chordarum* (do. 1527), and (*c*) *Expositio apocalypsis* (do. 1527), then the following may be described as his views and the germs which were afterwards developed by his school of thought.

(1) Like the visionaries who preceded him, such as Hildegard and Elizabeth of Schönau, he vigorously attacked the corruptions of the Church, and particularly its secularization. He held that the spirituality of the Church and the usefulness of its work in the world were being vitiated by the secularizing atmosphere in which it was enveloped. (2) He looked for deliverance from secularization in an Age of the Spirit, operating through a purified monasticism, which in turn should foster the life of contemplation. (3) Behind all his teaching lay a philosophy of religious history which had caught the Montanistic spirit. Montanus had already taught the doctrine of Three Ages or States: first, an OT revelation; secondly, a NT revelation; thirdly, the culminating age of Montanus and his prophets who should realize a Church of the Holy Spirit (see art. MONTANISM). The disciples of Montanus were, therefore, the *spirituales*, and it must not be forgotten that of these Tertullian was one. This doctrine of the Three Ages or States was developed by Joachim. The first age was that of the Father, closing with Zacharias, father of John the Baptist; the second age was that of the Son, reaching to the year 1260; after 1260 began the third age, that of the Holy Spirit. Though these ages overlapped to some extent, they were distinct in Joachim's thinking. Each age was divided artificially; each had its special characteristic and atmosphere. Joachim's teaching dealt mainly with the third of these ages. Here he showed himself a prophet and a visionary. The third age was to be the Age of the Spirit. Men were not then to be fettered by the letter. It was to be the age of the Eternal Gospel. It was not to be an age of ecclesiastical machinery. Rather was it to be an age of pure contemplation and of a perfected monasticism. Joachim's vision, in truth, was that of the imminent Age of the Holy Spirit, which, in an artificial way, he said was to open in the year 1260. Cf. art. AGES OF THE WORLD (Christian), vol. i. p. 191^a.

3. His influence.—The views thus expressed by Joachim were eagerly caught up and developed by his followers, and the fullest expression of them is to be found in the commentaries on Isaiah and Jeremiah, which go under Joachim's name. The stricter Franciscans also found them peculiarly congenial, and the idea of a spiritual Christianity and an imminent Age of the Spirit was at once assimilated by them. Their criticism of the secularized Roman Church had been exceptionally vigorous. To them the Church of Rome was the house of the courtesan, and the Church in its alliance with the world and in its greed of gain, shown in its many and dubious methods for securing gain, had been unfaithful to its true mission, the saving of the world for Christ. The Church ought to have trusted in the strength of God, not in the sword. In allying itself with the power of the sword, it had been unfaithful. In common with the stricter Franciscans, the Joachimites looked forward to a purified Church and a spiritual Christianity. In such a Church the monks would remain as the organ of the Spiritual Gospel. Outward authority must disappear in the Age of the Spirit. The later Joachimite teaching was peculiarly stringent in its anti-Romanism. One of the fruits of this school of thought was the famous *Liber Introductorius in Evangelium æternum*, written probably in 1254 by the Franciscan, Gerardus of Borgo San Donnino. In its teaching the *Introductorius* drew largely from the writings of Joachim, whom it regarded as an inspired prophet. The book was condemned by Alexander IV. in 1255; but the apocalyptic ideas which it boldly taught lived on among the Franciscans and the followers of Joachim. From the chronicle of Salimbene of Parma, who belonged to a generation after Joachim, we can gather how influential and central was the place of Joachim in the esteem of his immediate followers, and we can see how the Joachimites were agitated by such questions as the controversy between the papacy and the monarchy, and the approaching last time.

Though much of the teaching of Joachim and his followers was highly visionary and artificial, it is apparent that there was behind it a genuine religious experience. They made their protest against the secularization of the Church and formed their vision of the future out of the fullness of this experience. So far as their distinctive teaching was concerned, parts of it had been already before the Church's mind. The doctrine of the Three Ages had been anticipated by Montanism, while the teaching of the Eternal Gospel may be found in Origen. But the religious experience of Joachim and his followers was a real contribution to the thought of the 13th century. Nor was it teaching which passed away. In one form or another the ideals of the Joachimites passed over into the thought of the Reformation, influencing more especially such early Reformers as Wyclif and Hus.

Literature.—*AS*, Mai. vii. [1866] 87–141; J. G. V. Engelhardt, *Kirchengeschichtl. Abhandlungen*, Erlangen, 1832; W. Preger, *Gesch. der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1874; H. Reuter, *Gesch. der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1877; R. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, London, 1909; P. Fournier, *Études sur Joachim de Flore et ses doctrines*, Paris, 1909; H. B. Workman, *Christian Thought to the Reformation*, London, 1911; artt. *s.v.* in *PRE*³ ix. 227, and *CE* viii. 406; *Church Histories* of Gieseler, Edinburgh, 1846–59; Neander, London, 1850–52; Robertson, do. 1875; Moeller, do. 1892–1900; Kurtz, Leipzig, 1885.

W. Beveridge.

JOSAPHAT, BARLAAM AND.—The history of Barlaam and Josaphat, as it has become known through numerous translations in the West, is derived from the Buddhist collection of stories known as the *Jātaka*, the 'Birth-Stories,' records of the words and acts of the Buddha in the course of his former existences upon earth.[1] Of the stories themselves the date and origin are various. None, however, has attained to so great popularity or passed through so many transformations and vicissitudes as that of Barlaam and Josaphat. All are of the nature of folk-lore, parable, or fable, derived from Indian sources or collections of tales, which in the first instance were for the most part non-Buddhist, but were adapted to the purposes of Buddhist propaganda and made to serve ethical and didactic ends. Gautama himself becomes in them all the protagonist, and expounds or illustrates the moral which the story is intended to enforce. In the regions of the West, however, in which not a few of these narratives have found a home and become popular, the Buddhist element thus introduced is again excluded and is replaced by Christian terminology and teaching. Interpolation and adaptation have frequently so changed the 'atmosphere' of the story and the definite point of the moral that it is only historically and by tracing the course of development that its Indian origin can be recognized.

Of the original form of the story, as it was compiled in India or adapted from more ancient existing materials, nothing is directly known. Incidents or parables contained in it have been traced in the Buddhist *Avadāna*, the *Mahābhārata*, and elsewhere. From the Buddhist original, which, it may be assumed, was composed in Māgadhī, or in an early form of some Prākrit dialect, a Pahlavi rendering was made in or about the time of the reign of Chosroes the Great of Persia (A.D. 531–579). This version also is no longer extant. There is, however, a curious and certainly not accidental resemblance between the life and history of this king and the character of Abenner, the Indian ruler and the father of Josaphat, as presented in the Buddhist story. To this Pahlavi rendering, which would seem to have been already deprived of its distinctive Buddhist features and teaching, all the numerous versions of the West owe their origin. The earliest Greek translation is derived from a Syriac version of the Pahlavi, and is attributed to the beginning of the 6th cent., partly on the ground that in an enumeration of the great religions of the world no reference is made to Muhammadanism. The Greek text is printed among the works of John of Damascus,[1] to whom it was ascribed by a mistaken identification with a 'John, Monk of the Convent of St. Saba,' to whom the work was assigned in the colophon of early Greek MSS. There are also three early Arabic versions, the original of which bore the title of *Kitāb Balauhar wa Būdāsaf*; and a mediæval Jewish translation into Hebrew, attributed to Abraham ibn Chisdai in the 13th century.[2] From these Oriental renderings all the later versions, numbering more than sixty, are ultimately descended. The first Latin translation was made from the Greek by Anastasius, the papal librarian in the latter part of the 9th cent., and became the parent of most of the modern European versions, including the English. The Greek was again independently translated into Latin a few centuries later by J. Billius, Abbot of St. Michel in Brittany;[3] and both renderings are printed among the works of John of Damascus. The earliest English version was produced by W. Caxton in A.D. 1483.[4] There are also extant four later versions or paraphrases in English, three of which are in verse. The verse renderings have been reprinted more than once,[5] but the prose version is rare.

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[1] On the *Jātaka* see M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Litt.*, Leipzig, 1908 ff., II. i. 89–127; *The Jātaka, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, tr. from the Pāli by various hands, 6 vols., Cambridge, 1895–1907; art. Jataka.

[1] *PG* xcvi. 857 ff.

[2] The Arabic text has been reprinted recently at Cairo for the benefit of the Coptic Christians, under the title of *Sutrah Barlām wa Yuāṣaf* (*Egyp. Explor. Fund Arch. Report*, 1911–12, p. 68).

[3] J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat*, p. xciii.

[4] Reprinted by J. Jacobs, London, 1895; and also as an appendix to the same author's *Barlaam and Josaphat*.

[5] *e.g.* by J. Jacobs, *op. cit.*; K. S. Macdonald, *Story of Barlaam and Josaphat*, 'The Hystorye of the Hermyte Balaam' (*sic*), from Caxton's *Golden Legend*. In an appendix Macdonald prints three variant forms of the story from as many MSS.

Essentially the legend is as follows. Variations in detail, however, are numerous in the different versions.

Antecedently to the reign of a powerful Indian ruler named Abenner, Christian teaching had found its way to the East; and many converts had been made within his dominions. The king himself, however, was strongly opposed to the foreign religion, and issued an edict against it. Among others an intimate friend and minister of the king embraced Christianity, and, renouncing the world, adopted the life of an anchorite in the desert. Having been by the direction of the king brought back to the royal court, he there delivered a brief appeal and apology, by which Abenner was further incensed against the Christians. He dismissed his former friend in anger, forbidding him ever to return to his presence.

A son is afterwards born to the king, who hitherto had been childless, of faultless form and beauty, to whom is given the name of Josaphat (in the Greek Ἰωάσαφ). At a birthday feast Chaldæan astrologers who are present prophesy of his future greatness and wisdom. In some forms of the story the horoscope of the child is represented as foretelling also that he will abandon the religion of his fathers, and will turn to the true faith. At this the father is greatly distressed, and in order to avert the fulfilment of the prophecy builds for his son a beautiful palace, where the prince is confined in the midst of all that is attractive and beautiful, that he may not come into contact with misery or death.

In the event, however, when the prince reaches man's estate, he seeks release from constraint, and with his father's reluctant consent goes forth from the palace, and gains his first experience of the external world. He encounters in succession a blind man, a leper, a man aged and infirm, and a corpse; and in answer to his troubled inquiry is told that misfortunes and miseries such as these are the common lot of men. He is deeply moved, and learns further that the secret of deliverance from these woes is known only to the holy hermits who have withdrawn from the world; and he expresses accordingly the desire to see them and to hear from their own lips the true knowledge. His wish cannot be granted, because by the decree of his father the hermits have all been expelled from the country.

Under the guise of a jewel merchant, however, an anchorite who bears a high reputation for wisdom and purity of life comes to the court, and in successive interviews with the prince convinces him of the truth, whereupon the latter expresses his determination to become the anchorite's disciple. The anchorite's name is Barlaam. To convey his teaching he employs a series of apologues or parables, which set forth the true doctrine and illustrate the vanity and fruitlessness of worldly things. In the number and arrangement of these parables the versions again present considerable variations. The king is naturally moved to grief and wrath on hearing of his son's conversion, and endeavours by threats and argument to change his purpose.

He also issues orders for the arrest of Barlaam. The hermit, however, has left the city, and the attempt fails. Arrangements are then made for the holding of a public discussion before the prince, in which a stranger, Nachor, is to play the part of advocate of the new doctrine, to present the Christian argument, and to be defeated in debate. Thus it is hoped to discredit the faith in the eyes of Josaphat, and to induce him to abandon his resolve to follow Barlaam. In a secret interview with Nachor, however, the prince threatens him with death if he does not vindicate the truth. He urges his case therefore with eloquence and success, and offers before the king a powerful and convincing apology for the faith, by which his opponents are put to silence. Nachor himself then withdraws into the wilderness. A further attempt is made to lead the prince astray by means of worldly and sensual temptations, in which the agency of Theudas, a magician, is employed. This also meets with no success; and Theudas himself is converted by means of a parable which Josaphat relates to him. Finally, the prince forsakes his home and the royal court, and, with Barlaam as his companion and friend, gives himself over to the life of an anchorite in the wilderness.

Some forms of the legend are in their details more strikingly reminiscent of the life history of Gautama Buddha than is the above, which in substance represents the Greek. Thus in an Arabic version the Bo-tree appears, with miraculous fruit. Josaphat flees on horseback from the city by night in company with his vizier, whom he sends back, together with his horse and all his possessions, when he arrives in the wilderness. After his conversion he is carried up into heaven, and on his return devotes himself with much success to preaching the doctrine. He dies, as in the Buddhist record, reclining with his head to the west, and with a final blessing on his disciple Ānanda.

The distinctively Christian features of the narrative are interpolations introduced to further a polemic interest, when the story was utilized for Christian edification and adapted to the purposes of Christian apologetic. The older Oriental versions, as the Arabic above, more evidently betray their Indian and Buddhist origin. Both Barlaam and Josaphat have a formal place on the roll of Christian saints, and special days in the calendar are set apart to their memory. In the Menology of the Greek Church, August 26 is the commemoration of St. Josaphat;[1] and, in the sister Church of Rome, Nov. 27 is dedicated to the joint service of the two saints. There are said to be relics of St. Josaphat, in the form of a bone and part of the spine, preserved in a church at Antwerp. A monastery in Thessaly bears the name of St. Barlaam; and elsewhere also churches have been consecrated in their honour.

Not the least remarkable of the many strange features of the story is that the names of the two principal characters are both ultimately derived from one and the same source, and denote the Buddha, the founder of the Buddhist faith. The characters, therefore, are really doublets of a common original. The Greek Ἰωάσαφ is a transformed and corrupted form of the title *Bodhisattva*, which through the Pahlavi found its way into Arabic as Būdāsaf, and then by a confusion of *b* and *y*, letters which differ only by the diacritical point, became Yudāsāf or Yodāsāf, and ultimately Yoasaf. Balauvar, the original form of the name which through the Syriac has become Barlaam, is the well-known title of the Buddha, *Bhagavān*, 'the Lord,' the pairs of letters *g* and *l*, *n* and *r* being similar and easily confused in the Pahlavi alphabet. Thus the great Indian religious teacher reappears in a double form in the West as a venerated Christian saint. Other names also in the story seem to be derived from the Indian legends. Thus Zardan, the nobleman entrusted with the guardianship of the young prince, has been identified with Chandaka, Gautama's charioteer and the companion of his flight from his father's palace.

The Latin version of Barlaam and Josaphat was printed as early as 1539 at Basel; but the Greek text not until three centuries later, at Paris in the year 1832. In the latter the history is described as 'a profitable story brought . . . from the further part of Ethiopia, called India, by John the Monk . . . of the Monastery of St. Saba or Sabas.' John the Monk is believed to be identical with a well-known John, a member of an early fraternity on Mt. Sinai, who lived about two centuries before John of Damascus († A.D. 756). It was not, however, until the discovery in 1889, in the monastery of St. Catherine, of the Syriac text of the *Apology of Aristides*[2] that it became evident that the defence of the faith offered by Nachor in the story was not original, but borrowed from the Christian author. According to Eusebius (*HE* iv. 3), Aristides addressed his *Apology* to the Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), but in the judgment of Rendel Harris the work belongs more probably to the early years of his successor, Antoninus Pius (138–161). It was long believed to have been lost. With the publication of the Syriac text its practical identity with the Greek which forms part of the story of Barlaam and Josaphat was at once recognized. In its Syriac form the text of the *Apology* is expanded by a number of characteristic repetitions and additions, which add considerably to its length. The Greek is believed to represent more faithfully the original. In the early Christian centuries the *Apology of Aristides* enjoyed much popularity, and was regarded as an effective and complete defence of the faith. It was adopted accordingly by the Greek translator of the

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[1] *μνήμη τοῦ ὁσίου Ἰωάσαφ υἱοῦ Ἀβενὴρ τοῦ βασιλέως* (J. Jacobs, *op. cit.* p. xvi).

[2] Published with an Eng. tr. by J. Rendel Harris in *TS* i. 1, Cambridge, 1891.

Indian legend and placed in the mouth of Nachor as the convincing exposition of the Christian faith which should refute the arguments of his heathen opponents. The attribution of the text to John of Damascus rests upon a comparatively late tradition. It will be found printed in all complete editions of his works.

In all versions of the story the means by which the conversion of the prince is effected is the narration to him by Barlaam, the anchorite disguised as jewel-merchant, of a series of tales or parables conveying moral instruction and warning. The number and order of these parables vary considerably in the different versions. More than thirty altogether are contained in the several earlier translations, but of these only nine are common to all, and sixteen find a place in only one form or version of the story.[1] The Hebrew text is remarkable for the number of parables that it records which are not found elsewhere. Two of the stories possess an individual interest. That of the Sower follows so closely the lines of the narrative in the Synoptic Gospels that its source can hardly be in doubt. It is found, moreover, in the earliest versions, Arabic and Hebrew, as well as in the Greek, and therefore must have been inserted in the legend at an early date. The details are entirely Christian. Similar moral teaching derived from the processes of ploughing and sowing is contained in an early Buddhist story, which there is no reason to believe has come under Christian influence.[2] The likeness between the two is not striking. Perhaps it justifies the suggestion that the Christian form of the parable has replaced a Buddhist original of similar import.

Stories similar to that of the three caskets in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* are distributed more widely. They are found in the Talmud as well as in Buddhist sources, and in mediæval Europe seem to have been well-known and popular. In the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat the king sets before his attendants four caskets, two of which are overlaid with gold and precious stones, and two covered with rough clay. The gold-encrusted caskets, however, contain only dry bones, the others are filled with pearls and jewels. The courtiers are then summoned before the king, and required to estimate the value of the several caskets. Their judgment is, of course, at fault; and the king enforces the moral that a fair outside often conceals an evil heart, while the clay-covered vessels he likens to the hermits in mean outward raiment, but within full of noble and elevating thoughts. Whether the English poet was familiar with the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat it is impossible to determine; but the ultimate source of the story which he has adopted and immortalized is Buddhist and Indian. That it was contained in the original form of the Indian legend is proved by the fact that it finds a place in the earliest versions.

LITERATURE.—J. Jacobs, *Barlaam and Josaphat, English Lives of Buddha*, London, 1896 (the most complete discussion of the legend and its historical relations, where also numerous references will be found to earlier works); Max Müller, 'Migration of Fables,' in *Selected Essays*, London, 1881, i. 533 ff.; K. S. Macdonald, *Story of Barlaam and Josaphat*, Calcutta, 1895; H. Zotenberg, *Notice sur le livre de Barlaam et Joasaph, accompagnée d'extraits du texte grec et des versions arabe et éthiopienne*, Paris, 1886; F. Heuckenkamp, *Die provenzalische Prosa-Redaktion des geistlichen Romans von Barlaam und Josaphat*, Halle, 1912; J. Rendel Harris, *Apology of Aristides*, Cambridge, 1891; S. d'Oldenburg, 'Persidskii izvodŭ pověsti o Varlaamě i Iosafě,' *Zapisski vostoč. otděl. imp. russ. archaeolog. obščestva*, iv. [1890] 229–265. The Greek text was published separately for the first time by J. F. Boissonade in his *Anecdota Græca*, iv., Paris, 1832. It is reprinted, *e.g.*, by J. Armitage Robinson in *TS* i. 1, Cambridge, 1891. Further bibliographical material is given by K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byzant. Lit.*^{2}, Munich, 1897, pp. 886–891.

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JOSEPHUS.—The correct form of the name of Josephus (or, according to his adopted Roman name, *Falvius Josephus*), the Jewish historian, was ’Ιώσηπος, written also ’Ιώσηππος or ’Ιώσιππος; Latin *Josepus*, *Joseppus*, or *Josippos*. The forms ’Ιώσηφος, *Josephus*, first came into use during the Middle Ages, on the analogy of the Biblical ’Ιωσήφ.[1]

1. Life.—As Josephus left behind him an autobiography, and often speaks about himself in his other writings, we possess a relatively large amount of information regarding him. He was born in the first year of the Emperor Gaius, *i.e.* A.D. 37–38, and was a scion of one of the most eminent priestly families among the Jews. His father's name was Matthias, while his mother was of princely blood, being a descendant of the Hasmonæan leader Jonathan. Being intended for the priesthood, he was introduced to the study of Jewish law and literature at an early age; and at the age of sixteen he attended successively the schools of the three leading sects of Judaism—Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes—in order to acquire the intimate knowledge of each requisite for an eventual choice among them. He afterwards attached himself to a hermit, called Banûn, who dwelt in the desert, even living for a time as an ascetic. At the age of nineteen he resolved to embrace the doctrine of the Pharisees, and began to take part in the political life of Jerusalem. He first came into public notice in A.D. 63 or 64, when he was sent, probably with others, as an ambassador to Rome, to treat for the release of certain Jews whom the procurator Felix had sent in custody to the capital. His mission was attended with complete success, and he was sent home laden with gifts (*Vit.* 16 ff.).

On his return to Palestine, Josephus found everything in a state of ferment and unrest, and the revolt of the Jews broke out shortly afterwards (Aug. A.D. 66), spreading to Galilee and the surrounding district after the defeat of Cestius Gallus near Jerusalem. Leaders were now elected in Jerusalem for the various insurgent territories, and to Josephus, associated, at the outset at least, with two assessors, of whose counsels he was bound to take cognizance (*Vit.* 29, 73, 77), fell a most important post—the chief command in the two divisions of Galilee, including Gamala (*BJ* ii. 568). He subsequently maintained that, along with others who shared his views, he had tried every possible means to prevent the outbreak, but that the course of events had forced him to embrace the popular cause; he alleges, indeed, that he accepted the Galilæan command not as a step towards war, but with a view to its prevention (*Vit.* 20 f., 28 f.). As it fell to him to sustain the first assault of the legions, he fortified the most important points, such as Tiberias, Tarichеæ, and Jotapata, and collected an army, the nucleus of which, formed of 4500 mercenaries, was supplemented by the Galilæan levy of nominally 60,000 infantry and 350 horse (*BJ* ii. 569 ff.). His mobilization was interrupted by the attacks of the imperial forces stationed at Ptolemais and the troops of Agrippa II., as also by disputes with the cities of Tiberias and Sepphoris, the latter of which, favouring the cause of Rome, was not to be relied upon. Josephus now fell into bitter personal antagonism with John of Gischala, an implacable foe of Rome, who was urging on the insurrection, and whose machinations were so far successful that the Government sent a commission to Galilee for the purpose of superseding Josephus. The latter, however, was able to maintain his authority, and to thwart the designs of his enemy, mainly because of the loyal support accorded him by the people of Galilee.

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[1] J. Jacobs, *op. cit.* p. lix.

[2] *Sutta Nipāta*, i. 4 (*SBE* x.^{2} [1898], pt. ii. pp. 11–15).

[1] In this article the works of Josephus will be cited under the following abbreviated forms: *BJ* = *Bellum Judaicum*, *AJ* = *Antiquitates Judaicæ*, *Vit.* = *Vita*, *CA* = *Contra Apionem*; and the accompanying numbers refer to the paragraphs of the present writer's edition.

We do not know the gravamen of the charge preferred against Josephus. In Galilee, John denounced him as a traitor to the national cause (*BJ* ii. 594), while in Jerusalem the same accuser contended that he had the ambitions of a tyrant, and that he ought to be dismissed from office before he became too powerful, as otherwise there was a danger of his coming to Jerusalem and setting up a despotic government (*BJ* ii. 626; *Vit.* 193)—an entirely different accusation, and one which practically means nothing. But, as Josephus is far from impartial in his narrative, it is highly probable that other and more serious grievances were brought against him. It would appear that he was no very enterprising or successful general, and showed dilatoriness in many things. He was specially at fault in allowing Sepphoris, one of his commanding positions, to fall into the hands of the enemy (*BJ* ii. 574, 646), and probably in other ways laid himself open to criticism. Whatever the truth may have been in these matters, it is clear that the dissensions with John of Gischala and others were anything but favourable to the preparations and defences being made by the Galilæans in view of the imminent attack of the Romans.

In the spring of A.D. 67, immediately after Sepphoris had been occupied and the surrounding country devastated by an advance guard of the Roman army under Placidus, Vespasian, the legate of Nero, pressed forwards from Ptolemais with a large force. Josephus fell back upon Tiberias, and from there sent couriers to Jerusalem, demanding either that effective reinforcements should be granted him or that peace should be concluded. He seems to have felt that his position in Tiberias was insecure, for, when he heard of Vespasian's advance against Jotapata, he marched thither, and gained admission before the investment was complete (8th June, A.D. 67). But he had little hope, as he says (*BJ* iii. 193 f.), of making a stand here, and accordingly made up his mind to escape from the besieged town together with some of his more eminent colleagues. The inhabitants, however, forced him to remain, so that he continued to direct the defence until the place succumbed to a night attack, 20th July, A.D. 67. While the Romans were putting all to the sword, Josephus, along with forty others, men and women, saved himself by hiding in a cavern difficult of access. This place of concealment having been discovered, Vespasian, acting through the tribune Nicanor, with whom Josephus was personally acquainted, offered him the privilege of asking mercy, and after some consideration, he consented.

His companions, however, would not hear of submitting to Rome, and gave Josephus the choice of committing suicide or dying at their hands; but at his suggestion they determined to kill one another in a certain order determined by lot, and the cast of fortune left as the last survivors Josephus and another, whom he had little difficulty in persuading to join him in accepting the Roman clemency. We may venture to assert that the transaction cannot have been quite as he describes it, for among those whom he claims to have outwitted were persons by no means so simple as his narrative implies (*BJ* iii. 342).

After this act of submission, Josephus was brought before Vespasian, who had him put in irons, with a view to his being sent to Nero at Rome. The prisoner now asked for a special interview with the commander, at which he announced to Vespasian that the imperial throne would shortly be his. Vespasian was at first inclined to deprecate such language, but, having learned that Josephus had previously shown himself something of a prophet, he took a different attitude. The captive still remained in bonds, indeed, but he was well treated, and at all events nothing more was said about his being sent to Rome.

Suetonius has a statement not unlike this, though differing in details, namely that Josephus firmly maintained, when put in durance, that Vespasian would soon liberate him again, but as the Emperor (Sueton. *Vespas.* 5; Dio Cass. lxvi. 1). The prediction of Josephus must, therefore, have been known to other historians of the period. In point of fact, premonitions and prophecies were at that time fully credited and seriously regarded among all classes, and it is by no means unlikely that Josephus in his precarious situation should have ventured to make such a prediction—hazardous though it was. He vaunts his prophetic gift, and seems to have believed that God had specially favoured him and revealed the future to him (*BJ* iii. 351 f., 405 f., *Vit.* 208). In any case, the special favour shown to him by Vespasian seems to prove that the Emperor felt in some sense indebted to him.

Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor in Alexandria on the 1st, then at Cæsarea on the 3rd, of July, A.D. 69, and Josephus was at once set free (*BJ* iv. 623 ff.). He accompanied the Emperor to Egypt, and in the spring of A.D. 70 joined Titus in his march towards Jerusalem. He was present during the whole siege, acting at the headquarters of Titus as interpreter and commissioner, knowing both the land and the language, and thus taking service with the Romans against his own countrymen (*CA* i. 48 f.). More than once, as he tells us, he unsuccessfully advised his people to abandon their futile resistance (*BJ* v. 114, 261, 361 ff., vi. 94 ff., 118 f., 365); on one occasion, indeed, a stone was hurled at him and he was severely injured (*BJ* v. 541), for the insurgents regarded him as a renegade and a traitor (*BJ* iii. 438). When the city fell, he was able to save a number of prisoners, including his own brother, and to rescue some sacred writings (*Vit.* 417 f.), and he then accompanied Titus to Rome and took part in the Jewish Triumph. Thereafter he permanently resided in the capital. Vespasian allowed him to occupy his own previous dwelling, and granted him a pension and the right of citizenship. He now took the name Flavius Josephus. This gracious treatment was continued by Titus, as also by Domitian and the Empress Domitia. Josephus likewise enjoyed the friendship of Agrippa II. and his household (*Vit.* 364), and it is probable that he kept in touch with eminent Jews in Alexandria and other places, as well as with the Adiabenian chiefs who lived in Rome (*BJ* vi. 356, vii. 447).

His wealth must have been considerable, for his depreciated lands near Jerusalem had been taken by Titus in exchange for better situated properties, and Vespasian supplemented his annual allowance by the gift of another estate in Judæa, which, again, was exempted from taxes by Domitian. He was several times married; his first wife had remained in Jerusalem, and was among the besieged (*BJ* v. 419). Vespasian subsequently gave him a girl-captive, who, however, deserted him in Egypt; thereupon he married a third wife at Alexandria, and by her had three children, one of whom, a son named Hyrcanus, was still living in A.D. 94. Josephus had this marriage annulled in Rome, and then took to wife one of his own race, a woman of good family belonging to Crete, who bore him two children, Justus and Simonides (*Vit.* 414 f., 426 f.). The latter, who had the surname Agrippa, is believed by K. Zangemeister to be the M. Flavius Agrippa mentioned in an inscription found in Cæsarea (*ZDPV* xiii. [1890] 25).

The outward circumstances of Josephus were thus fairly propitious. True, his good fortune was not altogether unbroken. He was hated, and more than once legally indicted, by his countrymen, notably by a certain Jonathan, who had raised some disturbance in Cyrene, and who, having been brought to Rome, denounced Josephus and other leading Jews as the instigators and abettors of the rebellion. Similar things occurred under Titus and Domitian (*BJ* vii. 448 f.; *Vit.* 423 f., 429). But Josephus was always able to clear himself, and retained the favour of the three Flavian Emperors to the last. Among his patrons was also the Emperor's freedman, Epaphroditus, to whom he dedicated his later writings.

The identity of this Epaphroditus is a disputed point. Some scholars, among whom is E. Schürer, identify him with the grammarian of the same name mentioned by Suidas (*s.v.* Ἐπαφρόδιτος)—an opinion with which the present writer cannot agree. Josephus eulogizes his friend as one who administered affairs of the utmost importance, and who had experienced numerous changes of fortune: ἅτε δὴ μεγάλοις μὲν αὐτὸς ὁμιλήσας πράγμασι καὶ τύχαις πολυτρόποις, ἐν ἅπασι δὲ θαυμαστὴν φύσεως ἐπιδειξάμενος ἰσχὺν καὶ προαίρεσιν ἀρετῆς ἀμετακίνητον (*AJ* i. 8)—statements which apply, not to the grammarian and scholar, but rather to the freedman, who had previously been in the service of Nero, and who, under Domitian, acted as chief of the high and powerful royal office *ab epistulis*. He was dismissed in A.D. 95, and executed shortly afterwards (Sueton. *Domit.* 14; Dio Cass. lxvii. 14). The identification of Epaphroditus is a matter of importance for the chronology of the writings of Josephus (cf. *Prosopographia Imper. Rom.*, Berlin, 1897–98, ii. 36).

We cannot say when Josephus died. For us his life comes to an end with his writings, and these do not carry us beyond the reign of Domitian. We may surmise, if we care, with H. Dodwell (*Dissertationes in Irenæum*, Oxford, 1689, p. 468), that he did not survive Domitian, and that he was involved in the fall of his patron Epaphroditus, or fell a victim to the suspicion manifested by the Emperor in his last days.

2. Works.—We have seen that Josephus spent the later portion of his life, from A.D. 71, in Rome, and it was here that presently he entered upon his literary career. His object was to give the Greeks—a term which probably also covers the educated classes among the Romans—a more thorough knowledge of his own people, and especially of their history and their religion. He accordingly wrote in Greek, which he had doubtless learned while in his native country, and, as he tells us himself (*CA* i. 50; *AJ* xx. 263), he guarded against defects in style by consulting writers of experience. It is certain that he also had some knowledge of Latin, and in one passage he quotes Livy (*AJ* xiv. 68; cf. xix. 270).

(*a*) His first work was the ***History of the Jewish War*** (*Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου*, *de Bello Judaico*)—to give the title which he himself chose, though the MSS show a preference for *περὶ ἁλώσεως* (*de Captivitate*), which also appears quite early in Christian literature, and is, indeed, used by Origen (*Selecta in Threnos*, iv. 14 [*PG* xiii. 656]). In this work Josephus tells the story of the Jewish insurrection in which he had taken part, first on the national, then on the imperial, side. The book was written after the dedication of the temple of Pax (A.D. 75), and a little before the death of Vespasian (A.D. 79) (*BJ* vii. 158 f.; *Vit.* 361; *CA* i. 50). As Josephus says in his preface, however, he was not the first to write a history of the war.

An account of it had been given immediately after its termination in connexion with the domestic wars which followed the death of Nero; it had also been the subject of more than one monograph, and it engaged the attention of historians subsequent to Josephus. One of the earlier narratives was composed by a certain Antonius Julianus, who likewise took part in the war, and was for a time procurator of Judæa (Minuc. Felix, *Octavius*, xxxiii. 4; *BJ* vi. 238). Josephus himself had previously written an Aramaic account (now lost) of the war for the use of his own people in the East, and it was only after the completion of this that he resolved to make his candid narrative accessible also to the Romans and the Greeks (*BJ* i. 1 ff.). No part of this Aramaic record has come down to us, and we are, therefore, not in a position to fix its relation to the extant Greek narrative. The latter was probably a complete recast, constructed on a more comprehensive plan. A Syriac version of bk. vi. of the *BJ* is preserved in the Peshiṭṭâ, the Syriac OT (ed. A. M. Ceriani, Milan, 1876–80). This is not, however, as some have supposed, a survival of the original Aramaic work, but rather a translation from our present Greek text, as is clearly proved by its erroneous renderings (*Fl. Josephi Opera*, ed. Niese, vi. p. xxi).

In his preface to the *BJ*, Josephus proposes, by means of a true and straightforward chronicle, to bring his readers to a better understanding of the Jewish people and of the insurrection.

He then proceeds to give a brief abstract of the work, and opens his narrative (i. 31) with an account of the Maccabæan rising. The first third of the book is entirely devoted to the period between that event and the outbreak of the revolt against Rome (A.D. 66). Then comes the revolt itself: first, its beginnings (ii. 270); then the campaigns of Vespasian in A.D. 67–69 (iii. and iv.); the investment and capture of Jerusalem (v. and vi.); and, lastly (vii.), the final passages of the conflict, down to the taking of Masada (A.D. 72), and the Jewish disturbances in Egypt and Cyrene. His tone is naturally that of a Jewish patriot; Josephus modifies or suppresses many of the sinister things laid to their charge, such as the brigandage practised in the later Hasmonæan period, from which all the neighbouring peoples suffered so much (Strabo, pp. 761, 763; Diodorus, xl. 2; Justin, XL. ii. 4).

As regards the war itself, Josephus is chiefly concerned to show that the Jewish people, and the aristocracy in particular, were in no wise to blame for it, and that its real instigators were certain fanatical zealots, who tyrannized over the people and coerced them into mutiny. Some degree of blame, no doubt, rested upon Cestius Gallus, the commissioner for Syria, who might have stamped out the rebellion at the outset had he only adopted vigorous measures and not weakly given way (ii. 533 ff.). Nevertheless, the truly guilty parties were the zealots, who remained irreconcilable to the last, and repeatedly rejected the generous terms of peace proposed by Titus. These intransigents were no longer to be counted Jews at all: they had despised the Law and outraged all righteousness; they had desecrated the Temple, with the result that God was not on their side, but vouchsafed His presence to the Roman armies, whose vengeance He permitted to be fully wreaked upon His own people (*BJ* iii. 293, v. 444, 562, vii. 327 f.).

We must conclude, from Josephus's own account, that this presentation is one-sided and unjust, for a large proportion of the Jewish people were heart and soul in favour of rebellion; we see in his perversion of the facts, however, the real explanation of his attitude and of his defection to Rome. He admires the Romans, particularly their martial virtues, their military organization, and their learning (*BJ* ii. 577 ff., iii. 70 ff., 115 ff., v. 47 ff.). His personal situation naturally leads him to accord special praise to Vespasian and his house. He tells us (*Vit.* 361) that he submitted his narrative to Titus, and that the latter impressed his seal upon it and gave orders that it should be published and placed in the public library. It would be a mistake, however, to regard the work as being on that account an official chronicle. Josephus certainly had no Government commission for his task, but wrote entirely on his own initiative. He occasionally alters or distorts his facts to suit his royal patrons. A significant instance of this appears in his narrative regarding the destruction of the Temple.

He informs us that Titus was in no way to blame for the firing of the building, as that prince had decreed in a council of war that it should be spared; but the order was forgotten amidst the exasperation and vehemence of the soldiery, and the sanctuary was given to the flames (*BJ* vi. 236 ff.). Another report, probably traceable to Tacitus, tells a very different story, viz. that Titus gave express orders that the sanctuary should be destroyed (Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* II. xxx. 6; Orosius, VII. ix. 6; cf. J. Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandl.*, Berlin, 1885, ii. 159)—a statement to which unquestionably the preference must be given. Similarly, in comparison with a still extant narrative in which Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 74 f.) tells of Vespasian's elevation to the throne, the account of the same event given by Josephus (*BJ* iv. 588 ff.) is very unsatisfactory, both from its excessive adulation of the Emperor and from its suppression of important facts.

Josephus likewise knows how to mingle self-approbation with his laudations of the Emperor and his family. In particular, he seeks to place his own martial performances in the best light.

He gives a full description of the way in which he so cleverly brought to naught the schemes of his opponents in Galilee (ii. 599 ff., 623 ff.), and of the various stratagems and means of defence which he employed against the Romans in their beleaguerment of Jotapata (iii. 171 ff.), and speaks of the high esteem and admiration which these things evoked among the Romans (*BJ* iii. 340, 348, 393).

Further, the delineation is steeped in rhetoric, in accordance with the style then in vogue in the writing of history, and decked with every ornament and artifice of eloquence. Reports in the direct oration are very copious and sometimes run to a great length: we listen to Herod (*BJ* i. 373 ff.), Annas the high priest, Jesus, Simon the Idumæan (iv. 163, 238, 271), Titus several times (*e.g.* iii. 472), Josephus himself (iii. 362, v. 362 ff., vi. 96 f.), and, finally, Eleazar, in a memorable speech in Masada (vii. 322 ff.). The longest and most finished speech of all is that of King Agrippa II., delivered in Jerusalem just before the outbreak of the revolt (ii. 345). Moreover, the historian has grafted upon his narrative tales and anecdotes of all sorts, such as the story of Judas the Essene (i. 78 f.); he also recounts various, and occasionally amazing, exploits of war, performed by individuals, both Romans and Jews; he tells of remarkable natural phenomena, such as the river Belos (ii. 189), the Sabbatic river (the Sambation of Rabbinical Judaism; see *JE* x. [1905] 681–683) that flows only every seventh day (vii. 96), and the root Baaras (vii. 180 f.); and, finally, he specifies the various omens which heralded various events (vi. 288). Considerable space is devoted to description—*e.g.*, of the land of Judæa, the Dead Sea, the city of Jerusalem, and the Temple (*BJ* iii. 35, iv. 476 ff., v. 136 ff.). He explicitly states that he has no wish to practise the restraint which in other circumstances is appropriate to the historian (*BJ* i. 11 f., v. 19 f.), and he frequently gives eloquent expression to his feelings—his sorrow over the fall of the Holy City and the Temple, his horror at the enormities of the zealots, and his sympathy with his besieged compatriots. Rhetoric of this type, moreover, readily lends itself to exaggeration, in which Josephus is quite at home. We instance his description of the famine in the besieged city (bks. v. and vi.), which reaches its climax in the well-known story of the woman who kills and eats her own child (vi. 193 ff.). Another example is found in iii. 245, where he relates that a certain Jew had his head struck off by a projectile and carried to a distance of 1800 feet. Josephus affects large numbers, and makes no claim to accuracy in regard to them. Of the numerous instances that might be given we content ourselves with the following: he puts the number of those who perished during the siege at 1,100,000 (vi. 420; cf. v. 567), while, according to Tacitus, the entire multitude of the besieged numbered 600,000 at most (*Hist.* v. 13).

As to the sources from which Josephus drew his materials, we are left to mere conjecture, as he gives us no information on the subject. For the main portion of his work, the history of the rebellion, he could draw upon his own experience, and sometimes even upon what he had actually witnessed. He may also have been, and probably was, indebted to some of the earlier accounts noted above—an inference suggested by the occasional similarity between his work and that of Tacitus (Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 6 f. ‖ *BJ* iv. 476, ii. 189; *Hist.* v. 13 ‖ *BJ* vi. 288 ff., 312 f.). As, however, these earlier accounts have almost entirely disappeared, we can say no more on the matter. Josephus afterwards states (*CA* i. 49) that he kept a record of events during the siege of Jerusalem, but this does not seem very credible. His narrative of the war has been manifestly drawn up chiefly from the Roman point of view. Of the insurgent side he knows very little; *e.g.*, his knowledge of events in Jerusalem before the siege does not go beyond what might have been learned among the Romans themselves.

It is of interest to note that the chronological references are given, not according to the Roman, but according to a Syro-Macedonian calendar, which had been adjusted to the Julian reckoning, and exactly corresponds with the calendar of Tyre known to us from the *Hemerologia*. We might perhaps infer from this that the dates given by Josephus were obtained from a Syrian Greek soldier in the Roman camp; or it is possible that he transferred them from his original Aramaic narrative.

For the first part of the *BJ*, embracing the earlier history of the Jews, he must have been dependent upon older works; but, as, apart from the books of the Maccabees, which he appears not to have used here, a native Jewish chronicle can hardly have existed, Josephus probably excerpted from works in general history such passages as related to his own nation. In this connexion the name of Nicolaus of Damascus is the first to suggest itself—the writer whose chronicle extends till about the close of Herod's reign; but, as Josephus occasionally diverges from him, he must have drawn upon other sources as well. The history of Herod in the *BJ* gives us the impression of being a special composition, and reads almost like an encomium. It was doubtless composed by Josephus himself with a view to its insertion in his work. For the following period, till the beginning of the insurrection, he must have relied mainly upon extant Roman historical works, though he made many additions of his own, such as the description of the three Jewish sects (ii. 119 ff.).

(*b*) The second outstanding work of Josephus is the *Antiquities* ('Αρχαιολογία 'Ιουδαϊκή, *Antiquitates Judaïcæ*), which embraces in its twenty books the whole history of his people from the creation of the world to the beginning of the revolt (A.D. 66), and which was completed and published in the 13th year of Domitian, *i.e.* A.D. 93–94 (*AJ* xx. 267)—a number of years after the *BJ*. He tells us that long before, while engaged with the *BJ*, he had entertained the idea of writing such a book; but this statement is belied by the preface to the *BJ*, in which it is expressly said that a work of that kind is now a superfluity, as other writers had been in the field (*AJ* i. 6; *BJ* i. 17). The project of writing the *AJ* must, therefore, have been a later inspiration.

As in the *BJ*, so in the *AJ*, the object of Josephus is to furnish the Hellenes with an accurate delineation of Israelitic and Jewish history, in place of the misrepresentations of unfriendly or malevolent chroniclers.

It must be admitted that the knowledge possessed by educated people of the day in regard to the remoter past of the Jews was as meagre as it was inaccurate (cf. T. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaïsme*, Paris, 1895). The interest of the Greeks was practically confined to Moses, the Laws, and the Temple, and at best their ideas of the history of Israel in its entirety were of the vaguest. Current tales about the Jews, some of which, such as that given by Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 6, were altogether fabulous, had mostly passed through Egyptian hands. In Egypt, as is well known, there was from an early period a large Jewish population, and it was in Egypt that investigators first began to interest themselves in the past history of the Jews, although in an altogether hostile spirit. The conflict between Jews and Greeks was not confined to Egypt, but spread to the adjacent country of Cyrene. Similarly in Syria, from Maccabæan times at least, the two peoples were constantly at feud, and this mutual hostility diffused itself through almost every region where Jew and Greek dwelt together, their respective material interests often contributing largely to the strife. The Greek antagonism to the Jews found expression also in literature, leading to vehement attacks upon both their personal characteristics and their national history. In these circumstances Josephus thought it incumbent upon him to give a faithful account of his people's history, in order to disabuse the minds of men, and especially of the Greeks, for here again it is the Greeks for whom he writes (*AJ* i. 5 f., xvi. 174, xx. 262).

Josephus was not the first Jew to undertake the task of systematizing OT history. To say nothing of the Septuagint, other works of a similar kind had already appeared in the field of Alexandrian scholarship. Some of these were known to Josephus, and of their authors he names Demetrius, Eupolemus, and the elder Philo (*CA* i. 218; cf. *BJ* i. 17).

It would appear that the Alexandrian works referred to had not met with much acceptance among the Greeks, their uninviting form being in part responsible. Moreover, none of them had gone beyond the period covered by the canonical Scriptures, while Josephus carries his narrative down to his own time—to the beginning of the rebellion, in fact. His work, accordingly, was much more complete, and harmonized with the taste of his time. The result was that it drove its predecessors from the field, so that, save for a few fragments, they have utterly perished.

He acquaints us with the purpose of his book in the preface (*AJ* i. 1 ff.). In regard to the earlier period, he proposes to relate faithfully the history of the Jews as given in the Scriptures, and these he follows stage by stage from Genesis to Esther. He was admittedly the first to note the constituent elements of the Scriptures, *i.e.* the OT canon, which, according to him, embraces twenty-two books, viz. the five books of Moses, thirteen books from the following epoch terminating with the reign of Artaxerxes I., and four books of Songs and Proverbs (*CA* i. 39 f.), Naturally, he avails himself mainly of the historical books, but he supplements these from the prophets Nahum, Jonah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. He makes explicit mention likewise of the poetical writings of David and Solomon as well as Haggai and Zechariah (*AJ* vii. 305, viii. 44, ix. 206 ff., 239, x. 32 f., 78 f., 264 ff., xi. 96). He is silent regarding Job, though it does not follow that he did not know of that work. We may assume, in fact, that his OT was, in its component parts, the same as we have it to-day.

To judge from what is said in the introduction and from other passages, he used the original Hebrew, and himself translated this into Greek, being acquainted with, and having recourse to, the Septuagint version of the Pentateuch alone; at all events he makes no mention of a Greek translation of any other portion (*AJ* i. 7 ff., x. 218; *CA* i. 55). It is an interesting but difficult problem to determine which text he used. His work is in a sense our earliest authority in this field, and is of no little value for the history of the OT text. It sometimes happens, as in *AJ* vi. 16, that he alone has preserved the genuine tradition.

It was recognized long ago, however, that Josephus in most cases follows the Septuagint rather than the Hebrew text. He resorts not only to its phraseology, but also to its explanations and interpretations. Thus, his reckoning of the time that elapsed between the Creation and the Flood, viz. 2262 years, approximates closely to that of the Greek text, but differs widely from that of the Hebrew (*AJ* i. 82); he follows the Septuagint, not the original, in computing the period of Israel's residence in Egypt at 215 years (ii. 318), though he is not always consistent on this point (i. 185); while, again, he repeats the strange mistake of the Septuagint in 1 S (1 K) 25^3, where, confusing the proper name Kālēb with Kĕlĕb, 'a dog,' it makes Nabal the Calebite a Cynic (vi. 296). He relates the history of Ezra according to the recent Greek version known as 1 Esdras, and the Esther which he used contained the additions found only in the Greek. According to the investigations of Mez (*Die Bibel des Josephus*) in regard to Judges and Samuel, the text he used was that of the so-called Lucianic recension, to which he is, therefore, the earliest witness. Nevertheless, he occasionally, as in *AJ* i. 151. 224, resorts to the Hebrew, where he adopts the place-names Ur in Chaldæa and Mount Moriah; he follows the original also throughout Joshua (*AJ* v.). All this prompts the inquiry whether Josephus really knew Hebrew, as some believe, though it is also denied. The present writer is of opinion that we have not sufficient evidence finally to decide this question, though, as Josephus plumes himself on being one of the most learned men among the Jews (*AJ* xx. 263), we need hardly hesitate to credit him with some knowledge of the ancient tongue. At the same time it should be observed that he makes no distinction between Hebrew and the Aramaic vernacular of his day, and it is at least conceivable that on occasion he read the Scriptures through the medium of an Aramaic paraphrase, *i.e.* a Targum. Special mention is also due to his readings of proper names, in which he often differs widely from the Septuagint, and sometimes approximates to the Massoretic pronunciation; *e.g.*, he writes, not Νῶε or Νώεος, but Νῶχος; not Γοθολία, but Ὀθλία; not Σεδεκίας, but Σαχχίας. It is clear that Josephus represents a pronunciation which differs materially from that generally in use.

Josephus's rendering of the Scripture narrative is, on his own showing, anything but a mere paraphrase, without supplement or abridgment. He threads his recital with the additions and explanations which had been grafted by the exegetes, and especially the Hellenistic interpreters of Alexandria, upon both the historical and the legislative portions. He has thus used the Haggādā as well as the Halākhā. The latter appears mainly in his description of the Mosaic legislation (*AJ* iv. 199 ff.), while Haggādic elements, legends, etc., occur with special frequency in bk. i., as the patriarchal tradition given there readily lent itself to such supplementary or explanatory matter.

As an instance of this we may refer to the table of nations given in Gn 10, which Josephus harmonized with the geographical ideas of his day (*AJ* i. 122 ff.). A legendary addition is found in i. 69 f., where, in conformity with Bab. traditions, he tells us that the descendants of Seth erected two memorial pillars just before the Flood, in order that the sciences and inventions of the day might remain on record for future generations. Perhaps the most remarkable insertion of all is that narrating the campaign which Moses, as an Egyptian prince, conducted against the Ethiopians, and which was brought to a close by his marriage with the daughter of the Ethiopian king (*AJ* ii. 238 ff.; for Jewish midrashim cf. *JE* ix. [1905] 48). This is really an attempt to solve the difficulty of the Cushite wife of Moses mentioned in Nu 12^1.

We cannot always identify the sources from which he drew such things, but he certainly reveals a close affinity with noted Hellenists, such as Demetrius and Eupolemus. Philo the Younger, the most celebrated of all Hellenistic writers, was likewise not unknown to Josephus, who, however, does not quote from him, but merely mentions him as the spokesman of the Jewish deputation to the Emperor Gaius (*AJ* xviii. 259). He applies, in common with Philo, the allegorical method of interpretation — *e.g.*, in his description of the Tabernacle and other institutions of the Jewish cultus (*AJ* iii. 180 ff.; cf. Philo, ed. T. Mangey, London, 1742, ii. 150); according to *AJ* i. 24, Moses himself in some cases wrote allegorically. A similar correspondence appears in the narrative of Balaam, as given in *AJ* iv. 126 ff., and Philo, ii. 127 f., respectively.

In many other matters, however, Josephus and Philo differ widely: the history of Moses, for instance, is reproduced by Josephus in a form quite unlike that given by Philo. Some would trace back the Ethiopian campaign just mentioned to Artapanus; but, while that writer does tell (*ap.* Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ix. 27) of a war waged by Moses against the Ethiopians, he has in mind a different event altogether, so that the theory of Josephus having borrowed from him is out of the question. In brief, the enlargements and importations of Josephus cannot be definitely assigned to their respective sources. In all probability he had at command a substantial quantity of exegetic materials, including oral traditions, and chose what suited his purpose. It would appear as if in many of his sources text and tradition had already been fused together.

His chronology of the Old Testament period presents considerable difficulties. He expanded the chronological references of the Scriptures into a system. Thus *BJ* contains calculations running back from the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus to the days of Abraham (vi. 268, 435 ff.), and in the *AJ* the system is recast and carried out in its several parts (i. 82 ff., 148 f., ii. 318, vii. 65, 68, viii. 61 f., ix. 280, x. 143, 147, xi. 112, xx. 230 ff.). In this he is probably following the example of Hellenistic experts, two of whom, Demetrius and Eupolemus, had won some repute as chronologists.

The details of his system are often inconsistent with each other. Such discrepancies have been explained on the theory that Josephus, using a variety of documents, followed now one and now another, without calculating for himself. Objections have been brought against this view by Destinon, who shows that Josephus obtained some, at least, of his results by computations based upon his own narrative; but, even so, his discrepancies are not all removed. Further, while we must certainly bear in mind that the MSS themselves manifest considerable variation in regard to chronology, and that many of the apparent inconsistencies may be due to copyists' errors, and may be eliminated by conjecture, this expedient should be adopted only with the greatest care, and, when all is done, difficulties still remain. On the whole it seems impossible to deduce from Josephus a consistent system of chronology, or even to show that he had one, and in this respect his work is of a somewhat careless kind.

The personal standpoint of Josephus is fixed by his religion and his position in life; he is a Jew, a priest, and a Pharisee. History teaches, in his opinion, that prosperity attends those who fear God, while the godless and the disobedient are duly punished (*AJ* i. 14, 20, xx. 48, 89). He is convinced that the world is ordered by divine providence; in a noteworthy passage (*AJ* x. 277 f.) he denounces the Epicureans, whom he puts on a level with the Sadducees, while the Pharisees correspond to the Stoics (*Vit.* 12). His views regarding God, destiny, and the human soul are in line with Pharisaic teaching, as appears also from the *BJ* (v. 376 ff., vi. 267, 310, iii. 374, vii. 341), although he occasionally dilutes his Judaism with the conceptions of Greek philosophy, even showing some inclination towards pantheism (*AJ* vi. 230, viii. 107). Nor is this to be wondered at, for Josephus is no logical theologian or philosopher, but is concerned, above all, to make Jewish history and Jewish character intelligible to the Greeks, and at the same time to present these things in the most favourable light. He accordingly takes pains to remove or to palliate the more sinister or repulsive elements, to bring the marvellous within the bounds of credibility, and to overlay the OT history with a Hellenic gloss.

Abraham appears as a reformer of religion and science, as the founder of monotheism, and even as the pioneer of astronomy and arithmetic in Egypt (*AJ* i. 154 f., 166 f.). Josephus speaks of the Psalms of King David very much as if they were the productions of a Greek lyrical poet (vii. 305). The terebinth at Mamre he hellenizes as Ὠγυγία δρῦς, the Ogygian oak (i. 186), and, similarly, the altar which Moses set up after his victory over the Amalekites is said to have been dedicated to the God of Victory, θεὸς νικαῖος (iii. 60)—an idea of which there is no trace in Ex 17^{15}. When Josephus ascribes to Moses two works, viz. *Politeia* and *Nomoi* (iv. 194, 196, 302), it is manifest that he has in his mind the two great works of Plato bearing these names—the law-giver being the precursor of the philosopher. It is likewise from Plato (*Legg.* iii. 676 ff.) that Josephus borrows the account of men's descent from the hills to the plains after the Flood (*AJ* i. 109); and the patriarchal history in bk. i. affords, on the whole, the most numerous and the clearest instances of his hellenizing and modernizing methods. He makes no mention of the worship of the golden calf; he transforms into statues the golden tumours offered by the Philistines to their idols (vi. 10; cf. 1 S [1 K] 6^4), and the 100 *præputia* of the Philistines which David was required to bring to Saul into 600 heads (vi. 201; cf. 1 S [1 K]

18^{25}), seeking in this way to modify or expunge the specifically Jewish features of the narrative. Closely connected herewith is his attempt to meet the attacks and aspersions commonly made upon the Jews, or upon Moses and his laws (i. 16, ii. 177, iii. 179, 265, vii. 116 ff. ; cf. xiv. 187).

In order to invest the Mosaic legislation with a character of extraordinary humaneness and clemency, Josephus does not scruple to supplement the traditional text with enlargements of his own (iv. 207, 234); and to win the suffrages of Hellenism he intersperses the confirmatory testimonies of secular historians. Of these the most outstanding are Herodotus (*AJ* viii. 157, 253, 260), the Annals of Tyre (viii. 144 ff., 324, ix. 283 f.), Berossus (i. 93, 107, 158, x. 20, 34, 219), the Sibylline Oracles (i. 118), Alexander Polyhistor (i. 240), and Nicolaus of Damascus (i. 94, 108, 159 ff., vii. 101 ff.), all noted and distinguished names.

With the book of Esther and the period of Artaxerxes, Josephus reaches the end of the OT narrative (xi. 296), and this marks the beginning of the second section of the *AJ*. At the very outset a lacuna occurs in the tradition, which extends to the time of the Maccabæan revolt. For this interval of three centuries, embracing the reigns of Alexander, the early Ptolemys, and the Seleucidæ, Josephus had only disconnected legends of later Alexandrian origin.

There is, first of all, the visit of Alexander to Jerusalem, with all that preceded and followed it (xi. 297 ff.), for the account of which Josephus is indebted to an apocryphal work which was of later date, at all events, than the Book of Daniel (xi. 337). For the narrative of the Seventy and their translation of the Mosaic law-books (xii. 11–118) his authority was the still extant Letter of Aristeas, while the sections which follow, embracing the semi-legendary narratives of Antiochus the Great and the Jews Josephus and Hyrcanus (xii. 137 ff., 155 ff.), appear to have had a similar source.

The beginning of a new era for the Jews is really marked by the Maccabæan rising: it was then that they took their place in universal history, and came within the range of Greek writers, so that we have firm historical ground beneath our feet. The basis of the Maccabæan history as given by Josephus is 1 Mac. (*AJ* xii. 242–xiii. 212), for the existence of which work he is our earliest authority; he is of no small importance also for its textual criticism; but his use of it extends only to the death of Jonathan, the later portion ($13^{30\text{ff.}}$) apparently being of no service to him as a source.

Various explanations of this fact may be offered. Destinon puts forward the theory that the 1 Mac. used by Josephus was different from ours, and that the final section, embracing the period of Simon, had not as yet been added. To the present writer, however, it seems more probable that Josephus discarded 1 Mac. at the point where it narrates the death of Jonathan because he now wished to work upon the basis of his own earlier account in the *BJ*; for there are facts to show that, while he did not use the concluding part of 1 Mac., he was certainly acquainted with it. Of 2 Mac. he seems to have had no knowledge; but it is, nevertheless, probable that he was indebted directly or indirectly to its source, viz. Jason of Cyrene, for some of his materials. *AJ* xii. 257 ff., *e.g.*, has no corresponding passage in 1 Mac., but it has points of contact with 2 Mac. 6^2, and, therefore, probably emanates from Jason. Another such insertion is found in xiii. 62—an account of the temple of Onias in Egypt. Further, in the narrative of 1 Mac., Josephus has made some alterations of his own: thus, to take a special instance, he asserts that Judas Maccabæus was high priest—a statement that carries other changes in its train. He has also transferred some materials from his own previous work, the *BJ*, so that, taken all in all, his divergencies from 1 Mac. are by no means inconsiderable. Finally, mention must be made of another characteristic of the *AJ*, viz. hostility to the Samaritans—a feature not found in the older writings, and first brought into relief by Josephus. This attitude is not confined to his record of the Maccabæan period, but manifests itself as far back as ix. 290 f., giving occasion for manifold enlargements of greater or less extent. The last passage of this class is xiii. 74 ff., which narrates the conflict between Jews and Samaritans in Egypt under Ptolemy Philometor. We may venture to infer from this that in the days of Josephus the antagonism between the orthodox Jews and the Samaritans was more pronounced than usual.

For the period beginning with Simon the high priest (xiii. 213), Josephus took the *BJ*, in revised and enlarged form, as his groundwork in the *AJ*. The two narratives are often quite identical, though verbal reproduction in passages of any length (with the exception of *AJ* xiv. 480 f. = *BJ* i. 352 f.) is avoided. This agreement was formerly explained on the hypothesis that both works were drawn from a common source; the present writer once shared this opinion, but now regards it as erroneous, believing that Josephus simply incorporated in his later work a revised transcript of his earlier. As a matter of fact, the *BJ* is a work of unique character, composed according to the writer's own special design, and it is scarcely conceivable that any work capable of serving as a common source was previously in existence. Corroboration of the theory that the *AJ* is an expansion of the *BJ* is provided also by the inconsistencies and dislocations found in the former, as these would naturally occur where new material was imperfectly grafted upon the pre-existing text; a palpable instance of this appears in the account of Pompey (*AJ* xiv. 37–44; cf. *BJ* i. 131).

Upon this older substructure Josephus superimposed a great deal—so much, in fact, that his additions, especially in the later books, greatly exceed the original in point of quantity. They are of many kinds; first of all may be mentioned the testimonies of various historians, such as Strabo, Timagenes, Nicolaus, Livy; and to these we may add Agatharchides and Polybius, whom he had already quoted (xii. 5 f., 135 f.). Then there are the more or less extensive enlargements upon the earlier work which appear in the last third of the *AJ*. Josephus has not divulged his authorities for these enlargements, and we must, therefore, depend upon conjectures which, in the present state of our knowledge, are most uncertain.

It is very unlikely that he directly availed himself of the Commentaries of King Herod, which he mentions once (xv. 174), and the most natural suggestion is that he relied upon the historians whom he now and again quotes—*e.g.*, Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus. There is no doubt that the latter in particular was largely drawn upon by Josephus (as was suggested above in regard to the *BJ*), more especially, though not exclusively, for the time of Herod; for Nicolaus, as is well known, was a friend of Herod, and was likewise acquainted with Jewish history from the earliest times. As, however, he is not only quoted in the *AJ*, but also criticized and corrected (xiv. 8 f., xvi. 183 f.), Josephus must have had other sources of information as well; nor must we forget his own redaction, for he was anything but a verbal plagiarist. As regards the post-Augustan period, he must have depended upon later writers. In this section he inserts several fairly long supplements, such as the account of Agrippa I. (xviii. 127 ff., xix. 292 ff.), of the Babylonian Jews (xviii. 310 ff.), and of the Adiabenian princes who had embraced Judaism (xx. 17 ff.). He would, no doubt, derive a good deal of information from his personal intercourse with the house of Agrippa, and with his own more eminent co-religionists, including the Adiabenians. Moreover, he must have availed himself of works dealing with Roman imperial history (cf. xx. 154); and from these he sometimes takes facts and incidents having little or no connexion with the Jews—*e.g.*, the embroilments with Parthia under Tiberius (xviii. 39 ff., 96 ff.). An account of the death of the Emperor Gaius, the bitter enemy of the Jews, is given with great diffuseness (xix. 1–211), and is adapted, T. Mommsen conjectures (*Hermes*, iv. [1869] 329), from the historian Cluvius Rufus, though it may quite well have come from some other source.

Besides his classical authorities, however, Josephus also made use of native Jewish traditions. From the latter come the history of the Temple, and the annals of the successive high priests from bk. xi. onwards, while the whole work is brought to a conclusion by a second historical sketch of the high priesthood (xx. 224 ff.), quite independent of the earlier, as appears from the fact that it omits—rightly—the name of Judas Maccabæus from the list. To these native contributions belong likewise the numerous, and sometimes very extraordinary, Jewish legends, a number of which reappear in the Talmudic writings—*e.g.*, what is told of Hyrcanus I., and of his relations with the Pharisees and the Sadducees (xiii. 288 ff.), and the story of Onias the Just (xiv. 21 f.); but there are many more, and their historical value is of the slightest (cf. xiv. 106 f., xv. 319 ff., 367 ff., xvi. 1 ff.).

Special notice is due to the documents and letters here and there inserted by Josephus. Some of these are simply transferred from their sources, where they already form part of the narrative, and are still to be found in Ezra and Esther, in 1 Mac. and the Letter of Aristeas. To this class in all likelihood belong also the Edicts of Antiochus III. (xii.

138–153), the genuineness of which is not unreasonably doubted.

A different judgment must be passed upon the fairly numerous Roman edicts or decrees of the Senate: the *plebiscita* enacted in favour of the Jews by Greek communities, mainly in Asia Minor; and certain official deeds dating from the reign of Claudius (xiii. 259 ff., xiv. 144 ff., 186 ff., 304 ff., xvi. 160 ff., xix. 280 ff., 303 ff., xx. 11 ff.). These have no bearing whatever upon the narrative, or practically none; thus, to give a salient instance, there is found in xiv. 186 ff. a quite promiscuous collection of records emanating from the most various periods. But their genuineness is past dispute, and is admitted by all. Most of them, and especially those massed together at xiv. 186 ff., were presumably brought together by Nicolaus of Damascus for use in the process against the cities of Asia Minor which the Jews brought before Marcus Agrippa—King Herod being also in attendance—in 16 B.C. It was Nicolaus who conducted this case for the Jews, and he seems to have inserted his speech, together with the relevant documents, into his histories, so that Josephus had but to transfer them to his own work (xii. 125 ff., xvi. 27 ff.). The deeds of later date had, of course, a different origin. The three edicts of xix. 280 ff. go hand in hand; the first two, as appears from xix. 310, were articulated with the third.

We note, finally, that from the earliest possible point, viz. the Persian period (xi.), chronological references were inserted by Josephus at the appropriate places. For this purpose he availed himself of the chronological schemes then to hand, and took the Græco-Roman reckoning as his standard, thus bringing Jewish history within the range of universal chronology. The task was not without its difficulties, and at one point, indeed, a violation of the text was necessary; the Artaxerxes who, according to 1 Es 2, reigned between Cyrus and Darius I. had to give place to Cambyses (xi. 21 f.).

In the *AJ*, as in the *BJ*, Josephus took great pains with the form of his narration. He introduces several fairly long speeches—*e.g.*, ii. 140 ff., xv. 127 ff., xvi. 31 ff., xix. 167 ff.—and he exerts himself throughout to write with vigour and elegance. Good examples of his style will be found in iv. 11 ff., vi. 327 ff., xviii. 310 ff., xix. 1 ff. In this work, however, he puts more restraint upon himself than in the *BJ*, the diction of the *AJ* showing a change in the direction of simplicity. The contrast in style is best seen in passages which are substantially the same in both works. Thus Herod's address to his soldiers as reported in *AJ* xv. 127 ff. is quite different from what appears in *BJ* i. 373 ff. In general, Josephus endeavours in the later work to fill out his earlier delineation. An example of this is provided by the section dealing with the Jewish parties, which is inserted at the same point in both narratives (*AJ* xviii. 11 ff.; *BJ* ii. 119 ff.). Great interest attaches to his relation to Thucydides, whom he specially chose as his model for the *AJ*, more particularly in bks. xvi.–xix., where he even employs forms of the old Attic dialect, as he does nowhere else, and is manifestly at pains to emulate the great historian in his form of expression, his massive sentence-construction, and his fullness of thought. Nor can it be denied, finally, that in the *AJ* Josephus has changed his views with respect to many things and persons discussed in the *BJ*, and utters a different verdict regarding them. An instance of this is found in *AJ* xx. 198 ff. (cf. *Vit.* 193 ff.), which treats of the high priest Ananos the younger, and from which we derive an entirely different impression of the man from that gained from the story, and especially the characterization, of the corresponding passage in the *BJ* (iv. 318 ff.).

(*c*) *The Autobiography of Josephus* (βίος Ἰωσήπου) forms a sequel to the *AJ*. It is appended to the latter without break or introduction, and at the close is distinctly spoken of as belonging to the larger work (*Vit.* 430; cf. *AJ* xx. 266). It is likewise dedicated to Epaphroditus, and was composed, as is indicated in the last chapter, in the reign of Domitian, being published, of course, at the same time as the *AJ*, *i.e.* A.D. 93–94.

We emphasize this point, as other writers, including E. Schürer, are of opinion that the book was written after A.D. 100, in the reign of Trajan. It is true that, according to *Vit.* 359, Agrippa II. was dead at the time of composition, and Photius, *Bibl. Cod.* 33 (p. 6^b, 31, ed. I. Bekker, Berlin, 1824–25), states that he died in the 3rd year of Trajan, *i.e.* A.D. 100. Photius, however, must have made an error here. The concluding words of the *Vita* put it absolutely beyond doubt that the work was composed while Domitian was still alive. The death of Agrippa, moreover, is actually presupposed in a passage of the *AJ* (xvii. 28), and must, accordingly, have taken place in the reign of Domitian.

In this smaller work the primary object of Josephus is to vindicate his line of action during his tenure of the chief command in Galilee, and he accordingly treats with special fullness of his relations with the cities of Tiberias and Sepphoris, as also with John of Gischala, thus providing a supplement to the *BJ*, with prelude and epilogue narrating his earlier and his later life respectively. The book was written by way of a rejoinder to the charges of his countryman, Justus of Tiberias, who likewise had played a part in the rebellion, but had latterly taken service with Agrippa II., and had, shortly before, published a history of the Jewish revolt, in which he challenged Josephus and his account of the war, arraigning him as leading instigator of the rebellion, and exhibiting his conduct, especially in his relations with the Romans and Agrippa, in a most unfavourable light. In his *Autobiography*, Josephus seeks to rebut these charges, and from his self-defence we can deduce approximately the strictures of his assailant. When he comes to discuss his relations with John of Gischala, with whom he had dealt in the *BJ*, he gives once more no very flattering picture. Josephus tries to show that it has been his own constant endeavour to maintain peace, and to protect the interests of the Romans and of Agrippa. In reading his book we must use the greatest care and vigilance—all the more so as it frequently conflicts with the *BJ*, both in substance and in the order of events, and sometimes without any assignable reason. Besides his main motive of self-justification, Josephus seems to have been influenced by a desire to compose a fresh and interesting narrative, and one that would make the most of his courage and his shrewdness.

(*d*) The last, and perhaps the most interesting, work of Josephus consists of the two books *Against Apion.*

This is the usual title of the book, but it can hardly have come from Josephus himself. It makes its first appearance in Eusebius, *HE* III. ix. 4, and is repeated by Jerome (*de Vir. Illust.* 13), thence finding its way into the editions of Josephus and into current usage. It is appropriate, however, only to the second book, as Apion is not even mentioned in the first. There are other two titles with good traditional authority in their favour, viz. (1) *Of the Antiquity of the Jews* (περὶ ἀρχαιότητος Ἰουδαίων), which, again, is pertinent only to the first book; and (2) *Against the Greeks* (πρὸς Ἕλληνας), which is somewhat too general, and can scarcely be attributed to the author. In view of these differences in the tradition, we may perhaps assume that the two books originally bore some name implying their controversial character—ἀντιρρήσεις or ἀντιρρητικοὶ λόγοι.

Like the *AJ*, the *CA* is dedicated to Epaphroditus, who died, as has already been noted, in A.D. 95, and it must, therefore, have been written some time anterior to that date, *i.e.* very shortly after the *AJ*. It is a defence of the Jews against the imputations made by Greek writers, which Josephus had, on occasion, tried to ward off in the *AJ*. But his arguments had not carried conviction; the voice of calumny was not silenced; and he felt that he must have recourse to his pen once more, in order to furnish a thoroughgoing and final refutation of the charges, which had at length, it appears, been massed together by Apion, the well-known grammarian of Alexandria. This Apion was the leader of an Alexandrian deputation to Rome in connexion with the conflicts between the Jews and his fellow-citizens which occurred in the reign of Gaius, and he took occasion at this juncture to draw up an indictment against the hated race—a theme upon which he had previously touched in his *Ægyptiaca*.

Josephus first of all impugns the assertion that the Jews were a people of recent origin—an assertion made on the ground that none of the great Hellenic historians had mentioned them. The Hellenes, he maintained, were entirely without warrant in claiming that they alone were in possession of the most ancient historical learning, when, as a matter of fact, their records were quite modern, and their early history was unreliable. The Oriental peoples generally had memorials going back to a much more remote era, while the Jews had for ages preserved their archives with the greatest care. The silence of the classical Greek historians was due simply to the geographical position of the Jews. Josephus then sets forth the testimonies of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Phœnician historians, in order to prove that the Hebrew people had a far more ancient history than the Greeks (*CA* i. 73–160); he proceeds to show that even Greek authors of considerable antiquity were acquainted with the Jews, and had spoken of them with respect (i. 161–214); and he comes at length to the tales of Manetho, Chairemon, and others regarding the exodus from Egypt, subjecting them to careful examination, and showing them to be unworthy of credit. In bk. ii. Josephus joins issue with Apion, and refutes the strictures passed by the latter upon the person of Moses, the claim of the Jews to the free citizenship of Alexandria, and the Jewish religion (ii. 1–124). Finally, by way of rebutting the accusations made against the religious practices of the Jews, Josephus once more summarizes the salient elements of the Mosaic Law, and contrasts the God-fearing character of the Jews with the religious indifference and the immoral mythology of heathendom (ii. 145–296).

The work is composed with considerable skill. The criticism of the various stories about the exodus of the Jews from Egypt is altogether to the point, their inconsistencies and other defects being most appositely exposed. Josephus himself is of opinion that the Jews were one with the Hyksos, and uses this identification to fix the date of the exodus. His arguments are not seldom defective, as, *e.g.*, in his attempt to compute the date of Solomon's reign according to the Tyrian annals (i. 116 ff.); he suppresses or distorts many things, the clearest instances of which are connected with the Jewish right of citizenship in Alexandria. The assertion that this right was granted by Alexander the Great or Ptolemy I. is unquestionably a fabrication. Among the authors cited by him, moreover, names are found which are open to suspicion or simply forged, though he has, in this connexion, preserved most valuable passages from the ancient historical literature, and especially from the annals of Egypt, Babylonia, and Tyre. Some of these had already been given in the *AJ*. It is no easy matter to identify the sources from which he drew all this lore. He may possibly have borrowed a good deal of it from Apion himself. In Rome, which was at that time a great emporium for Greek literature and scholarship, he would find no difficulty in securing the learned equipment requisite for his polemics.

A question may be raised as to the specific occasion of the booklet. This can scarcely have been the indictment framed by Apion, for at the time when Josephus wrote, *i.e.* A.D. 94 or 95, the pamphlet of Apion and the whole controversy which it had evoked were fifty years old. It is conjectured by A. von Gutschmid that the revolt of the Jews had been the means of producing a fresh crop of anti-Jewish writings, and that it was these that moved Josephus to take up the challenge once more. His own words seem to imply that the campaign of defamation had been quite recently renewed—just after the publication of the *AJ*, in fact (*CA* i. 2)—and this would bring us to the closing years of Domitian's reign. About this time several persons were by the Emperor's orders put to death on account of their leanings to Judaism—a procedure which tended to revive the old charge of atheism (Dio Cass. lxvii. 14). In many respects the pamphlet is a continuation and expansion of the *AJ*; it was written with the same object in view, it followed immediately upon the larger work, and its contents had for the most part been outlined in the *AJ* (cf. *AJ* i. 16–82, ii. 177, iii. 179, 265). Josephus must, therefore, have taken it in hand immediately after the latter.

(*e*) In addition to his extant works, Josephus had other literary projects in view, which in all probability, however, were never carried out.

Already in the *BJ* (v. 237, 247) he had announced a book which was to deal with Jerusalem, the Temple, the sacrifices, and the worship, but this must have remained an aspiration only, as otherwise he would assuredly have mentioned it, or quoted from it, in his subsequent writings. At a later period, again, he meditated a theological work of a similar kind, for at the end of the *AJ* (xx. 268) he announces four books upon God, His nature, and the grounds of the mandates and prohibitions of the Mosaic Laws, and, as he refers several times to this projected work (*e.g.*, *AJ* i. 25, 29, iii. 223, iv. 198, 302, *CA* i. 92), he must have drafted some definite plan for it. It was to be a kind of ætiology of the Laws, probably with explanations in the style of the rationalizing allegories of Philo. Whether the work was ever actually written we do not know; certainly not a single trace of it survives. Further, according to *AJ* xx. 267, Josephus intended to write another historical volume which should deal once more with the Jewish war, and follow the fortunes of the Jews till the date of writing. He more than once alludes to this forthcoming narrative (*e.g.*, *AJ* xvii. 28, xix. 366), but it must remain open to question whether it was ever given to the public.

Finally, in numerous passages of the *AJ* we meet with references (indicated by the phrase *καθὼς ἐν ἄλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν* or *δεδήλωται*) to an earlier work, which have caused much perplexity among expositors, and given rise to various conjectures. These references bear upon events in general history, and they punctuate the narrative from Philip and Alexander the Great (xi. 305) to the battle of Philippi (xiv. 301), appearing again in the passage dealing with the reign of Tiberius (xviii. 54). They suggest the thought that Josephus had produced still another historical composition.

A. von Gutschmid and H. Drüner suppose that this work was an unpublished first draft of the *AJ*; others, that it was a commentary on Daniel—for, according to Jerome *in Iesai.* 11 (ed. Vallarsi, iv. 451 [*PL* xxiv. 377]), Josephus had occupied himself with the interpretation of the year-weeks of Daniel. As Josephus himself makes no mention of any such work either in connexion with the prophecies of Daniel (*AJ* x. 269 ff.) or elsewhere, both conjectures are equally improbable. Further, Jerome cannot be speaking here from his own knowledge, but must have borrowed the annotation from Porphyry, and repeated it inaccurately. It is, therefore, conjectured by Destinon that Josephus, in mere carelessness, took over even the quotation-phrase from the source which he was using; but this also is an unlikely theory, and gives no satisfactory explanation of the facts. On the whole, therefore, the references form an unsolved riddle. They may mean nothing more than that Josephus had a liking for a well-sounding phrase; and it is to be borne in mind that similar untraceable references are found also in the *BJ* vii. 215, 244, and in the first half of the *AJ*—*e.g.*, vi. 322, vii. 89, x. 30. It is obvious that in this matter Josephus was not particularly scrupulous.

3. **Value and significance.**—Josephus was assuredly no historian of the first rank, no conscientious or unbiased inquirer, seeking truth alone, but a writer whose supreme object was to produce a certain impression. Like other historians, he is not unwilling to afford his readers pleasure as well as instruction (*AJ* i. 13, xviii. 128 f.), but the leading motive of all that he writes is that of the apologist. Though he did not overlook the needs of his countrymen (*AJ* iv. 197), yet it was pre-eminently the Greeks—the Romans being included under that term—that he had in view (*AJ* i. 5 ff., xvi. 174). It is his ambition to dissipate the prejudice against the Jews, to repel the imputations cast upon them, and to mitigate the antagonism between Jew and Greek. With such objects in view he endeavours to present the history of his nation in the most favourable light. His apologetic purpose reveals itself also in the selection of his documents, for he quotes with the intention of showing the favour in which the Jews had been held by the great monarchs, as well as by the Romans themselves (*AJ* xiv. 186, xvi. 174 ff.). Truth is sacrificed to tendency; for, though he asserts that he will set down nothing but the truth, and the whole truth (*AJ* x. 218, xiv. 1), he does not keep his promise. He omits and he adds; he very frequently quotes from his authorities in very casual fashion; and, accordingly, the Biblical narratives sometimes receive from his hands an entirely new complexion. He also availed himself of all the resources which the art of rhetoric then provided, in order that he might render his narrative forcible and attractive. In spite of these defects, however, we cannot afford to disparage him. When we remember the rarity of

literary culture and ability among the Jews of that day, and their meagre interest even in their own history (*AJ* xx. 264), we must allow that Josephus compares very favourably with his compatriots. He attained to a highly creditable standard of historical knowledge and literary proficiency, with the result that his writings are a perfect mine of most valuable historical material. He has produced a very remarkable body of work, often showing a high degree of skill; and these things we must still place to his credit even if we assume his partial dependence upon literary auxiliaries. His craftsmanship displays itself in all his writings, principally and most unmistakably in the *AJ*, and particularly in the second half, where he had to combine a great mass of materials from different sources. He was in no sense a mere copyist, stringing authorities together in mechanical fashion, but had the faculty of combining them into a genuine unity; for example, at the beginning of bk. xii. he welded Aristeas's account of the Seventy with what precedes, and filled up the lacunæ between the two passages. Sometimes, of course, he is less successful: his documents are often combined in quite a superficial way; one considerable section (*AJ* xiv. 213 ff.) is simply a disordered heap, quite unrelated to the tenor of the narrative. At the same time, we must concede that it would have taxed any historian to bring these documents into an articulate and organic unity, and we may congratulate ourselves that he preserved them at all. Our knowledge of the history of later Judaism is in the main derived from him. Beneath all his partisanship and his rhetorical language lies a goodly nucleus of important information. His defects are by no means peculiar to him, but are shared by many other historians, and they may at least serve to give us a better idea of the literary methods and style in vogue at that day. Even the speeches, though not authentic, but composed by Josephus himself, are not without value. They are of interest in relation to the technique of the art of rhetoric, and sometimes contain valuable material; *e.g.*, the great speech of Agrippa (*BJ* ii. 357 ff.) gives us a survey of the various Roman provinces, and of the distribution of the imperial forces, which is signally interesting and must have cost the writer considerable labour.

The work of Josephus at all events fell in with the taste of his readers, and won him approval and renown in after generations. It is recorded that he was honoured in Rome with a statue, and his writings were placed in the library of Rome (Eusebius, *HE* III. ix. 2; Jerome, *de Vir. Illust.* 13). He became the classical historian of the Jewish people, and it is safe to say that he was counted among the most celebrated authors of antiquity. This estimate was due not only to the substance, but also in great degree to the form, of his writings; for the rhetorical and highly embellished style of description, which so soon palls upon the modern reader, was regarded in ancient times as a merit, or even as an indispensable quality in historical composition. The style of Josephus, therefore, evoked both admiration and imitation; we need only refer to the numerous testimonies compiled by Hudson and Haverkamp in their respective editions. It was among his own countrymen that his works were read least of all. They looked upon him as a deserter and a traitor; and, their interest in history being of the slightest, he exercised no perceptible influence upon their literature. The affinities which exist between his works and the later Talmudic literature are usually, and perhaps rightly, explained by the theory of a common dependence upon oral tradition. All the more did he find readers among the Greeks, and perhaps also among the Romans. That Tacitus made use of his works, as many believe, remains very doubtful, and certainly cannot be proved. Nor does Suetonius, who mentions his name (*Vespas.* 5), seem to have read him. One of the first to quote him is the Neo-Platonist Porphyry. It was in Christian circles that his repute was highest. An author like Josephus, who stood upon the ground of the OT and the Law, and who had, nevertheless, wrought himself free from the narrow limits of Judaism as it then was, and who interpreted the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple as a penalty inflicted by God, had so much in common with Christian writers that they could look upon him almost as one of themselves. We must regard the evangelist Luke as being the first to make use of his works, not a few well-attested indications of such dependence being found alike in the third Gospel and in the Acts of the Apostles.

4. Relation to Christ.—The problem of the attitude of Josephus to Christ and Christianity is of considerable importance. We find in *AJ* xviii. 63 f., appended to an account of the administration of Pontius Pilate, a short chapter about Christ, which has a place in all our MSS, and which was quoted by Eusebius and many others after him. What is said here about Christ, however, does not take the form of a narrative, such as we should expect from a historian, but is, in the main, a eulogy, and of a kind that only a Christian could have written. But, as Josephus, alike in feeling and in utterance, is always a Jew, and, indeed, a Jewish priest, never manifesting the slightest hint of the Christian standpoint, the general consensus of investigators has long ago decided that the passage is spurious. Some regard the whole passage as an interpolation; others, such as A. von Gutschmid and T. Reinach (*REJ* xxxv. [1897] 1–18), try to rescue a portion of it, supposing that a genuine paragraph has been supplemented and re-cast from a Christian point of view, and seeking to restore it to its original form. This view appears to the present writer untenable; the whole chapter forms so obviously an indivisible unity that, if any part of it is a fabrication, the whole of it must be so, and ought to be removed from the text altogether. If objection be alleged to this conclusion on the ground that Josephus could not have completely ignored Jesus, it may be replied that he records only such events in Jewish history as attracted the attention of foreigners by disturbances or otherwise, and led to the intervention of Rome—conditions which apply neither to the work of Jesus nor to His death, so that the silence of Josephus provides no difficulty. Further, if in reality he had written some account of Jesus, this would have been found in the *BJ*, for the Jewish history found in the *AJ*, so far as it relates to Jerusalem and Judæa, is essentially a reproduction of the earlier narrative. Since, then, he makes no mention of Christ in the *BJ*, his silence regarding Him in the *AJ* is precisely what we might expect. Finally, it should be noted that Origen (*in Matth.* x. 17; *c. Cels.* i. 47 [*PG* xiii. 877, xi. 745, 748]) is not aware of the testimony of Josephus to Christ; hence the passage in dispute was probably interpolated after his time, though before the time of Eusebius.

The motive of the interpolation is no mystery: it was desirable that there should be some mention of Jesus in the works of Josephus, some note in harmony with the Christian view, and, naturally enough, this was inserted in connexion with the governorship of Pilate. But the course of the narrative is thereby deranged, and even now we can see plainly that the passage did not originally belong to the text.

An incidental reference to Jesus is found in a later passage (*AJ* xx. 200), where the James who had been beheaded is spoken of as His brother (*τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ*). This passage is altogether beyond suspicion, and we are unable to agree with the scholars who regard it likewise as an interpolation. The manner in which Jesus is here mentioned coincides exactly with what we should expect from Josephus. Thus, while Josephus had doubtless heard of Jesus, he did not deal with Him in his history, and the passage in *AJ* xviii. which we have discussed must be pronounced spurious.

The well-intentioned forgery must have helped to make Josephus still more acceptable to the Christians. They pored over his works, and from them, more particularly the two books against Apion, they borrowed a goodly portion of their equipment for their controversial writings. The earliest apologists—Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and Minucius Felix—refer to him by name and make use of him. The chronologists, in particular—Julius Africanus, Hippolytus, Eusebius, and their successors—availed themselves of his help. In another sphere Eusebius also is indebted to him, especially in the *HE* and the *Præp. Evang.*, while the later ecclesiastical writers are all acquainted with him. Throughout the entire mediæval epoch he ranks as one of the great authors, alike in East and West.

[The current view that *AJ* xviii. 63 f. is spurious has been controverted, since the death of Niese, by F. C. Burkitt (*ThT* xlvii. [1913] 135–144), A. Harnack (*Internat. Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik*, vii. [1913] 1037–68), and W. E. Barnes (*CR* cv. [1914] 57–68). It is maintained that, in view of the mention of John the Baptist and James the Just by Josephus (*AJ* xviii. 116–119, xx. 200), we should naturally expect him to refer to Christ, who, despite what has been said above, did attract the attention of foreigners, as is conclusively shown by the famous reference in Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44; cf. also Sueton. *Claudius*, xxv., *Nero*, xvi.), a reference which, as Whiston had already suggested, was probably borrowed from Josephus. Burkitt finds a note of insincerity in the passage of Josephus, as well as a 'cool and patronising' tone which a Christian would not have employed, any more than he would have spoken of the Christians as a 'tribe' (φῦλον) or used ἡδονή[1] in the way in which it occurs in the passage under consideration. Neither would a Christian, Harnack urges, have been so ignorant of the life of Christ as to say that 'He drew over to Him both many of the Jews *and many of the Greeks*,' since His activity was restricted to the non-Hellenic world. The passage 'this was [the ?] Christ' (ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν), etc., is, it is suggested, an implication that, in the opinion of Josephus, the Messiah had actually appeared and been put to death, so that the Jews would no longer be a political peril to the Romans. Even the appearance of Christ to His disciples after the Resurrection may, Burkitt thinks, have been entirely credible to Josephus (cf. *AJ* vi. 327 ff., ix. 183), and the accounts of the Resurrection would, moreover, afford a welcome Jewish parallel to the stories told concerning Apollonius of Tyana (*q.v.*) and others. Harnack says that, in describing Jesus as 'the Christ,' Josephus was in no danger of being taken for a Christian (cf. *AJ* xx. 200, 'Jesus, who was called Christ,' Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ); besides, his phraseology intentionally betrays the love of sensationalism which is frequently visible in his writings. It must also be remembered, in judging the attitude of Josephus as a whole, that, although a Jew, he was free from Zealot prejudices, and that he was further liberalized not merely by his admiration for Hellenic culture and for Roman power, but also by the influences which surrounded him. Nor must it be forgotten that he wrote under the patronage of Domitian, whose own household included the Christians Titus Flavius Clemens and his wife Domitilla. As a diplomatic historian of the Jews, writing in detail for foreigners, Josephus would have been unlikely to omit mention of an event which affected—however slightly in his day—the fortunes of his nation; it is evident, from his allusions to Christ, that he regarded Him as a sage and a noble Rabbi, and from that very fact he would not pass over in silence one of his own countrymen of whom he could say, with the patriotic pride which distinguishes him, that He was 'a teacher of men who receive true words (τἀληθῆ, not, with Whiston, 'truth') with pleasure,' so that Jews, as well as Greeks, could boast of their wise man (σοφὸς ἀνήρ);[2] thus the interests of courtier, historian, and patriot would meet in an objective and non-committal reference to Christ. From a somewhat different point of view, Barnes defends and amplifies a suggestion of Whiston, holding that the phrase 'this was [the] Christ' was added merely to identify the Jesus of whom Josephus wrote in this passage with the Jesus whom the Christians 'loved' (not, as a Christian probably would have written, 'in whom they believed'), and to differentiate Him from others of the same name, especially as He was already known to the Græco-Roman world under the name of Christ.

Barnes notes, further, that, if the passage be assumed to be a Christian interpolation, there is a strange absence of Christian terminology, as, *e.g.*, in the words ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν. The passage reads, to him, very like a non-committal report, by an orthodox Jew, of beliefs held by Christians. Respect is manifest for the character of Christ, who was 'a wise man, since it is befitting to call Him a man' (σοφὸς ἀνήρ, εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή, not, as Whiston renders, 'if it be lawful to call Him a man'). He was a 'doer of strange things' (παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής), a tribute that was paid Him by other Jews who did not believe in Him (Lk 5^{26}). The coldness of the statement that 'even until now, the tribe of the Christians named after this person (ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένον) has not become extinct (οὐκ ἐπέλιπε)'—without the slightest reference to the wide spread of early Christianity—reveals to Barnes 'again the observer from the outside who is speaking. He is interested in the continuance of a Jewish sect, but his position is detached.' Equally bald and cold is Josephus's bare statement, without comment on either side, that 'Pilate, on the information of the chief men amongst us, condemned Him to the cross'; while Harnack urges that the implied thesis of Josephus, that Christ suffered death because He claimed to be the Messiah—construed as a political figure, a 'King of the Jews'—as well as his manifest surprise that Christianity survived the crucifixion of its founder, is precisely what we should expect from the Hellenized Jewish historian. On the other hand, there is even a touch of irony in Josephus's allusion to the NT argument from prophecy, which narrated 'both these things and ten thousand other marvels (ἄλλα μύρια . . . θαυμάσια) concerning Him'; indeed, with the downfall of the Jewish State, Josephus might well feel sceptical regarding the truthfulness of any prophecy. Finally, even the context is against the theory of Christian interpolation, for the passage under consideration is immediately followed by an account of the scandalous connivance of the priests of Isis in the betrayal of a Roman matron; and at such a juxtaposition a Christian would have revolted.

Putting aside the possibility that Origen, who quotes Josephus on James the Just, referred to his 'testimony' to Christ in some work now lost (*e.g.*, in those sections *in Matth.* which are no longer extant in Greek), and the question whether—although he mentions the *AJ* a few times—he had actually read it, it is significant that what interests the modern reader in the passage may not have been what attracted the early student (cf. Origen, *c. Cels.* i. 47, with *AJ* xviii. 116–119, and the comments of Eusebius, *Demonst. Evang.* iii. 108, on *AJ* xviii. 63f.); and, had Origen quoted Josephus on Christ at all, he may have done so quite as Eusebius did, as an incidental addition to the sufficient statements of the Gospels, and, 'as it were, of superfluity' (οἷον ἐκ περιουσίας).

It may also be suggested that the fact that Christ is not mentioned in the *BJ* does not necessarily cast suspicion on the passage in *AJ*, for in the interval of from 15 to 20 years between the writing of the two works the spread of Christianity—especially in Rome—would render very explicable the incorporation of some reference to a Jewish religious leader in a general and detailed treatise on 'the Antiquities of the Jews' such as had not been necessary in the more compact and less exhaustive 'Jewish War.'

The great objections to the passage have had their basis in a failure to read it with due appreciation of the circumstances of the time and the character of its author; it has been interpreted too exclusively from the point of view of modern Christianity. When closely examined, the difficulties in the way of the hypothesis of Christian forgery are far greater than those which beset the theory that the passage is genuine. After all, as Barnes pertinently says (p. 63), 'what, indeed, does it prove? It shows that a Jewish historian, who was born and bred in Palestine, who was twenty-six years old when Felix was Governor of Judæa, was acquainted with an outline of the life of our Lord, which agrees with that accepted by Christians. Such a passage has become of serious evidential value only since Strauss started the mythical theory; it is a "Testimony" to-day only because Arthur Drews and others are again writing about the *Christus-mythus*.'

LOUIS H. GRAY.]

5. Early versions and supposititious works.—The writings of Josephus were translated into Latin at an early date.

There are two Latin versions of the *BJ*. The older of these consists of a fairly free rendering, into which portions of the *AJ* and other works have been inserted. According to the perfectly credible, and unwarrantably disputed, witness of the ancient MSS, its translator was Ambrose of Milan. It is commonly known as the work of Hegesippus or Egesippus—a name which is probably a corruption of *Josippus*. The other Latin version is a literal one, and its author is unknown; it was conjecturally, though without warrant, ascribed to

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[1] The sole parallel which Harnack is able to adduce for the use of φῦλον is the description of the Christians as 'latebrosa et lucifuga natio' by a pagan speaker in Minucius Felix (viii.); and for ἡδονή, as used in a good sense by a Christian writer, he can cite only II Clem. xv.

[2] Ἀνήρ = 'man of character or prominence,' as distinguished from the ordinary man (ἄνθρωπος); cf. the antithesis between the ἀνήρ Christ and the truth-seeking ἄνθρωποι in this passage, and also the reference to τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν = the chief priests, &c.

Jerome or Rufinus (Cassiodorus, *de Instit. Div. Litt.* 17 [*PL* lxx. 1133]).

About the middle of the 6th cent. the *AJ* (not including the *Vit.*, however) and the *CA* were, at the order of Cassiodorus, reproduced in a very inferior type of Latin (*ib.*). The 6th bk. of the *BJ*, which treats of the destruction of Jerusalem, had been previously translated into Syriac, and incorporated with the Syriac OT (Peshiṭtā) as the 5th bk. of Maccabees. Subsequently there appeared a Slavic translation or paraphrase, which is extant in several recensions, and there exists also a rendering into modern Greek (in the Barberini Library [cod. Gr. n. 228, 229], Rome), besides fragments of an Armenian version (F. C. Conybeare, *JThSt* ix. [1908] 577–583). The many translations into European languages which appeared shortly after the invention of printing all go to show how assiduously Josephus was read.

In view of this almost canonical prestige enjoyed by the writings of Josephus, we need not be surprised to find that he was credited with other works, of unknown or disputed authorship, such as the following: (1) The so-called *Fourth Book of Maccabees*, an address entitled *περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ*, *i.e.* 'the lordship of divine reason over human desire,' and illustrated by references to the seven brothers who, according to 2 Mac., suffered martyrdom under Antiochus Epiphanes. The first, so far as we know, to ascribe it to Josephus was Eusebius (*HE* III. x. 6); others, such as Jerome (*de Vir. Illust.* 13), followed suit, while many MSS name Josephus as the author. In the oldest MSS the work is anonymous, and its ascription to Josephus, as is rightly observed in the ancient scholium to the *Canon. apost.* 76 (85) (J. B. Cotelerius, *Patr. Apostol.*, Paris, 1672, i. 452), is a quite unwarranted conjecture. He had no connexion with the book; in the *AJ* he knows nothing of the seven martyred brethren; and the whole address, alike in form and contents, is alien to the manner of Josephus.

(2) The work known as *Concerning the All*, or *The Being of the All* (*περὶ τοῦ παντός*, or *περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας* or *αἰτίας*), a polemical treatise against Platonism, in two books, our knowledge of which, apart from a few sentences still in existence, is derived from a note of Photius (*Bibl. Cod.* 48, p. 11^b, 14, ed. Bekker). That Josephus was its author is a mere surmise, suggested perhaps by the fact that, like the two books against Apion, it dealt with the antiquity of the Jewish nation; it may also have borrowed from Josephus. Its ascription to Josephus was already impugned by the ancients, who attributed the work variously to the Presbyter Gaius, Justin Martyr, and Irenæus. Present-day scholarship ascribes it to Hippolytus, who was certainly credited with a work called *περὶ τοῦ παντός* and directed against Plato.

(3) A third work, still extant, bearing the name of Josephus, viz. *Ἰωσήππου ὑπομνηστικὸν βιβλίον* (see J. A. Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr. Vet. Test.*^{2}, Hamburg, 1722–23, ii.; *PG* cvi. 16 ff.), is a *liber memorialis* after the classical pattern; it is a concise résumé in tabular form of the most outstanding events in the OT and NT and in Church History. Among other things it contains a list of the various Christian sects and their respective doctrines, and also of the persecutions.

(4) *The Chronicle of Josephus Ben-Gorion*, composed in the Middle Ages, and preserved in various Hebrew and Arabic recensions. Its nucleus is the *BJ*, in the so-called Latin version of Hegesippus, and it is from this that its writer took the name 'Josephus, son of Gorion' (cf. Hegesipp. III. iii. 2, and see, further, M. Schloessinger, in *JE* vii. [1904] 259 f.).

6. Manuscript transmission and editions.—The wide circulation and popularity of the works of Josephus are indicated in the history of their transmission. The MSS were, and still are, very numerous, and the textual tradition branches out in manifold ways. Each work, again, had its own peculiar fortunes. Thus, the most comprehensive, the *AJ*, was first of all divided into four parts, then into two, and each of these, again, took its own particular path. It was only at the close of the mediæval period that the *AJ* was put together in a single volume, the *BJ* also being included; scholarly readers endeavoured to amend and elucidate the text, and not a few MSS still show traces of a thoroughgoing revision.

The works of Josephus were first printed in their Latin form: *AJ* and *BJ* by J. Schüssler (Augsburg, 1470); *CA* by P. Maufer (Verona, 1480). These impressions were subsequently often reproduced; the last serviceable complete issue of Josephus in Latin is the Basel edition of 1524. The first printed Greek text, revised by Arnold Peraxylus Arlenius, was published by Froben (Basel, 1544). This issue was several times reprinted, and formed until recently the basis of all our editions. Among the later of these special mention should be made of the meritorious but unfinished work of E. Bernard, who published the first parts of the *AJ* and the *BJ* with an exhaustive commentary (Oxford, 1687–1700); also of the edition of J. Hudson (2 vols., do. 1720), based upon Bernard's studies; and, finally, of the great edition of S. Haverkamp (2 vols., Leyden, 1726), who assimilated the labours of all his predecessors. In all these, however, little was done for the text, which remained largely as it was. It is true that E. Cardwell, in his edition of the *BJ* (2 vols., Oxford, 1837), noted the various readings of several reliable MSS, but he made no use of them in the text. Similarly the more recent editions of the text in current use, viz. those of W. Dindorf (Paris, 1845) and I. Bekker (Leipzig, 1855), provide little of any consequence, save a few conjectures, for the emendation of the very incorrect Greek tradition. An adequate groundwork for the text was supplied for the first time by the present writer's edition, now complete in seven volumes (Berlin, 1885–95); in the *BJ* (vol. vi.) he had the collaboration of J. Destinon. As supplementary to this may be regarded the writer's edition of the *Epitome* (Berlin and Marburg, 1896) and Carl Boysen's revision of the Latin version —of which only the 6th vol. has appeared (*CSEL* xxxvii. 6 [1898]). It need hardly be said that the work of textual criticism is still far from complete; it is only now, in fact, that it can really begin. S. A. Naber's revised issue of Bekker (Leipzig, 1888–96) naturally approximates more to the older text.

LITERATURE.—General.—J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca græcæ*, ed. G. C. Harless, Hamburg, 1790–1809, v. 1 ff.; E. Schürer, *GJV* i.^{3}, Leipzig, 1901, p. 74 ff.; G. H. A. v. Ewald, *GVI*, Göttingen, 1843–59, vii. 89 ff.; A. v. Gutschmid, *Klein. Schriften*, Leipzig, 1889–94, iv. 336 ff.; B. Niese, *Sybels histor. Zeitschrift*, new ser., xl. (Munich, 1876) 193 ff.; S. A. Naber, *Mnemosyne*, new ser., xiii. (Leyden, 1885) 263 ff.; M. Friedländer, *Gesch. der jüd. Apologetik*, Zürich, 1903; Paul Krüger, *Philo und Josephus als Apologeten des Judentums*, Leipzig, 1906; M. Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, Leipzig, 1894.

Sources.—H. Bloch, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus in seiner Archäologie*, Leipzig, 1879; I. G. Scharfenberg, *De Iosephi et versionis Alexandrinæ consensu*, Leipzig, 1780; J. Freudenthal, *Hellenist. Studien*, Breslau, 1875–79, i. 46, 218; A. Mez, *Die Bibel des Josephus untersucht für Buch v.–vii. des Archäol.*, Basel, 1895; B. Niese, *Hermes*, xi. [1876] 468 ff., xxxv. [1900] 513 ff.; J. Destinon, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus*, Kiel, 1882, *Untersuchungen zu Flavius Josephus*, do. 1904; H. Drüner, *Untersuchungen über Josephus* (diss.), Marburg, 1896; G. Hölscher, *Die Quellen des Josephus* (diss.), Leipzig, 1904; E. Täubler, *Die Parthernachrichten bei Josephus*, Berlin, 1904.

Theology.—C. G. Bretschneider, *Capita theologiæ Judæorum dogmaticæ e Flavii Josephi scriptis collecta*, Wittenberg, 1812.

Chronology.—Destinon, *Die Chronologie des Josephus*, Kiel, 1880; Niese, *Hermes*, xxviii. [1893] 194 ff.; G. Unger, *SMA*, philos.-philol.-histor. Classe, 1892, ii. 453.

Documents.—L. Mendelssohn, *Acta societatis philologæ Lipsiensis*, ed. F. Ritschl, v. [1875] 87 ff.; Niese, *Hermes*, xi. 466 ff.; P. Viereck, *Sermo græcus quo senatus populusque romanus*, etc., Göttingen, 1888; Unger, *op. cit.*, 1895, p. 551 ff., 1896, pp. 357–383, 1897, p. 189 ff.

Testimony to Christ.—Schürer, i.^{3} 544; A. Seitz, *Christus-Zeugnisse aus dem klass. Altertum*, Cologne, 1906; K. Linck, *De antiquissimis veterum quæ ad Jesum Nazarenum spectant testimoniis*, Giessen, 1913.

Transmission and history of the text.—*F. Josephi opera*, ed. Niese, i. iii. v. vi. præfatio; *F. Josephi Antiquitatum Judaicarum Epitoma*, ed. Niese, do. 1896, p. i ff.; *F. Josephi opera ex versione Lat. antiqua*, ed. C. Boysen (*CSEL* xxxvii. 6), Vienna, 1898.

On the Slavic translation.—A. Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristlichen Litteratur*, i. (Leipzig, 1893) 917; A. Berendts, in *TU* xxix. [1904] 3.

Additional literature is given by Fabricius and Schürer (i.^{3} 100 ff.) in the works already cited.

BENEDICTUS NIESE.

JUĀLĀMUKHĪ, JWĀLĀMUKHĪ (Skr. *jvālāmukhī*, 'flame-mouthed').—An ancient place of pilgrimage, famous as the site of a shrine dedicated to the Hindu Mother-goddess under the title of Devī Bajreśvarī (Skr. *Vajreśvarī*, 'goddess of the thunderbolt'), situated lat. 31° 52′ N., long. 77° 20′ E., in the Bhavan suburb of the town Kāngrā, Nagarkoṭ, or Koṭ Kāngrā, in the Kāngrā District of the Panjāb. It was ruined in the earthquake of 1905 (*Panjāb Census Rep.*, 1912, i. 44). It is one of the centres of Hindu fire-worship. Numerous instances of this and similar cults are collected by J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*^{3}, London, 1914, i. 188 ff. It was visited by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī and Fīrūz Tughlaq, when they attacked Nagarkoṭ or Kāngrā in A.D. 1009 and 1360. In his account of the latter campaign the historian Shams-i Sirāj Afīf, who objected to such unorthodox practices, protests against the belief that Fīrūz Tughlaq honoured the goddess:

> 'Some of the infidels have reported that Sulṭān Fīrūz went specially to see this idol and held a golden umbrella over its head . . the infidels slandered the Sulṭān, who was a religious,

god-fearing man. . . . Other infidels have said that Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh bin Tughlaq Shāh held an umbrella over the same idol; but this is a lie, and good Muhammadans should pay no heed to such statements' (H. M. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, London, 1867–77, ii. 34, 445, iii. 318).

These protests by an orthodox Muhammadan betray an uneasy suspicion that the cult was recognized even by Musalmāns, many of whom were deeply influenced by Indian animistic beliefs. Abū'l Faḍl, the historiographer of the Emperor Akbar, describes the shrine under the name of Mahāmāyā, 'great illusion':

> 'Pilgrims from distant parts visit it and obtain their desires. Strange it is that in order that their prayers may be favourably heard, they cut out their tongues: with some it grows again on the spot, with others after one or two days. Although the medical faculty allow the possibility of growth in the tongue, yet in so short a space of time it is sufficiently amazing' (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, tr. H. S. Jarrett, ii. [Calcutta, 1891] 312 ff.). On such mutilations of the tongue, which fanatics sometimes offer to Kālī, see *NINQ* iv. 312; *PNQ* iv. 65; N. Chevers, *Manual of Medical Jurisprudence for India*, Calcutta, 1870, p. 492 f.

Abū'l Faḍl also refers to the legend, traced by E. B. Cowell in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, which tells that the belief in the sanctity of the place arose from the quarrel between Śiva and his father-in-law Dakṣa, when the latter was refused admission to a sacrifice. The spouse of Śiva, the goddess Ūmā or Satī, offended at the insult, committed suicide, and Viṣṇu cut up her body, of which the tongue is said to have fallen at this place (H. H. Wilson, *Vishnu Purana*, London, 1864–77, iv. 261 f.; J. Dowson, *Classical Dict.*, do. 1879, p. 76 ff.). The account in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, that 'about the mountains of Subakṣa and Śikhiśaila is a level country about a hundred *yojanas* in extent, and that there the ground emits flames,' doubtless refers to Juālāmukhī (E. T. Atkinson, *Himalayan Gaz.*, Allahabad, 1884, ii. 295). The place, again, is connected with the story of the Sikh Guru Angad, who on arriving there reprobated the idolatrous character of the rites (M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, ii. 3).

The best modern account is that of C. Hügel (*Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, p. 42 ff.). No idol represented the goddess; but in the centre of the forecourt of the temple there is a pit with seats at either end on which he found *faqīrs* resting. A perpetual flame rose from this pit, and from two places in the smooth rock similar flames were seen bursting out to a height of about 8 inches. The worshippers, on entering the sanctuary, delivered their gifts, usually flowers, into the hands of one of the *faqīrs*, who first held them over the flame and then cast them into the temple. Close by is a shrine of the saint Gorakhnāth.

> 'On descending a good many steps I saw flames issuing from two places in the perpendicular wall; and, on examining more attentively, I perceived, where the fire was burning, little cavities in the smooth stones, with just the same appearance as when a burning-glass is made to consume wood; the flame issuing, not from any aperture, but from those minute cavities, emits a scent like alcohol, burning with an aromatic and most agreeable mixture, which I could by no means identify. Under each of these flames stood a pot of water, of the same temperature as the atmosphere; the condensed residue of the gas thus deposited takes fire on the application of a light, and burns for more than a minute. Altogether this is one of the most extraordinary phenomena I ever recollect to have witnessed; and no doubt in distant ages was one of the spots most thronged by fire-worshippers. The sight of this flame rising out of the earth, perhaps long before any building was near it, would doubtless add much to the influence of this superstition on the minds of the attendant worshippers; for this seems still to be the case, although much of the marvellous is lost by confining the flames within the walls of a temple.'

The same traveller suggests that the place was an early seat of Buddhism; and J. Wilson believes that this is the explanation of the low esteem in which the Brāhman officiants are regarded (*Indian Caste*, Bombay, 1877, ii. 133). The high-priest is known as the *bhojakī pūjārī*, that is to say, 'the officiant who eats the offerings,' the term *bhojakī* being usually applied to those degraded Brāhmans whose only function is that of being fed vicariously by pilgrims in the hope that the food thus consumed may be transmitted to the deceased ancestors of the worshipper. They are said not to be genuine Brāhmans, but descendants of a servile class of agriculturists, who from their connexion with the temples have professed to be Brāhmans (see H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1911, ii. 107 f.). The facts regarding fire-worship in N. India have been collected by Elliot, *Hist. of India*, v. (1873) 559 ff. The cult of Juālāmukhī Devī extends into Bengal and the Deccan, and the aboriginal Kharwārs have a shrine dedicated to the holy fire which they call by the same name (Risley, *TC*, 1891, ii. 204; Crooke, *TC*, 1896, ii. 247; *BG* xii. [1880] 63).

LITERATURE.—C. Hügel, *Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab*, tr. T. B. Jervis, London, 1845; A. Cunningham, *Reports Archæol. Survey*, v. (1876) 155 ff.; *IGI* xiv. [1908] 397 f.; MS notes received from H. A. Rose, Superintendent Ethnographical Survey, Panjāb.

W. CROOKE.

JUĀNG, PAṬṬUĀ (the latter name meaning 'leaf-wearers' [Hind. *paṭṭā*, Skr. *patra*, 'a leaf']).—A non-Aryan tribe found in the Kaṭak Tributary States of Dhenkānāl and Keonjhar, being most numerous in the latter. At the Census of 1911 they numbered 12,845, of whom the vast majority recorded their religion as animistic. They are interesting as being the last tribe in N. India which retained the archaic custom of wearing leaves as clothing. According to the tribal tradition, they were formerly fond of dress and were accustomed to lay it aside when doing foul work, and to wear suits of leaves. The goddess (Ṭhakurāṇī, or as some say, Sītā) reproved them for their vanity, and condemned them to wear leaves in future, threatening them that if they disobeyed they would be eaten by tigers. Similar legends are told by other leaf-wearing tribes in S. India (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, 1909, vii. 20). The classical account of the tribe is that of E. T. Dalton (*Descr. Ethnol. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 152 ff.), who gives the following summary of their beliefs:

> 'The Juāngs appear to be free from the belief in witchcraft, which is the bane of the Kols, and perniciously influences nearly all other classes in the Jungle and Tributary Mahāls. They have not, like the Kharias, the reputation of being deeply skilled in sorcery. They have in their own language no terms for "God," for "heaven," or "hell," and, so far as I can learn, no idea of a future state. They offer fowls to the sun when in distress, and to the earth to give them its fruits in due season. On these occasions an old man officiates as priest; he is called Nāgam. The even tenor of their lives is unbroken by any obligatory religious ceremonies.'

If this account, in itself improbable, be accepted, they stand in a much lower stage of religious belief than the neighbouring Dravidian tribes (see DRAVIDIANS [North India]). But Risley (*TC*, 1891, i. 353) disputes Dalton's conclusions, asserting that the tribe in Keonjhar worship a forest deity called Barām, who stands at the head of their system, and is regarded with great veneration. Next to him come Thānapatī, the patron deity of the village site, Māsimuli, Kālāpāt, Bāsulī, and Basumatī, or Mother Earth.

> 'Buffaloes, goats, fowls, milk, and sugar are offered to all of these, and are afterwards partaken of by the worshippers. No regular days seem to be set apart for sacrifice, but offerings are made at seedtime and harvest, and the forest gods are carefully propitiated when a plot of land is cleared from jungle and prepared for the plough. In addition to these elemental or animistic deities, the Hindu gods are beginning to be recognized, in a scanty and infrequent fashion, by the tribe. Brāhmans have as yet not been introduced, and all religious functions are discharged by the *dehari* or village priest. . . . Juāngs burn their dead, laying the corpse on the pyre with the head to the south. The ashes are left at the place of cremation or are cast into a running stream. A few days after death a meagre propitiatory ceremony is performed, at which the maternal uncle of the deceased officiates as priest. Offerings to departed ancestors are also made in October, when the autumn rice crop is harvested.'

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the article.

W. CROOKE.

JUBILEE.—See FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Hebrew).

JUDAISM.—I. *Definition.*—Judaism[1] may be defined as the strictest form of monotheistic belief. But it is something more than a bare mental belief. It is the effect which such a belief, with all its logical consequences, exerts on life, that is to say, on thought and conduct. It is the religion which was first preached by Abraham, and symbolized by the covenant of circumcision (cf. art. Circumcision [Semitic]), and it is still practised by his descendants. It is the oldest existing religion, the parent of two mighty faiths that have spread over the major portion of the globe. They have diffused the principles of Judaism in a modified form, but the kernel of their teaching is Jewish, in spite of accretions and losses, and Judaism does not, in consequence, repudiate these religions or class them as idolatrous and false. A formal and precise definition of Judaism is a matter of some difficulty, because it raises the question, What is the absolute and irreducible minimum of conformity? (see art. Creed [Jewish]). On the other hand, it may be said, more widely, that the foundation of Judaism rests on two principles—the unity of God and the choice of Israel. Judaism denounces idolatry and polytheism. It believes in a universal God, but it is not exclusive. It believes that this world is good, and that man is capable of perfection. He possesses free will and is responsible for his actions. Judaism rejects any Mediator and any cosmic force for evil. Man is free; he is not subject to Satan; nor are the material gifts of life inherently bad; wealth may be a blessing as well as a curse. Man is made in the image of God; therefore he is noble, like the rest of the divine works. For this reason all men are equally brothers. Just as they were united in the beginning, so will they be drawn together again at the end of time. They will be brought near to the Kingdom of Heaven by the aid of Israel. This is the function of Judaism—to spread peace and goodwill throughout the world.

> 'Judaism by its idea of a divine kingdom of truth and righteousness to be built on earth gave to mankind a hope and to history a goal for which to live and strive through the centuries. Other nations beheld in the world's process a continual decline from a golden age of happiness to an iron age of toil, until in a great catastrophe of conflagration and ruin the end of all things, of men and gods, is to be reached: Judaism points forward to a state of human perfection and bliss to be brought about by the complete unfolding of the divine in man or the revelation of God's full glory as the goal of history. And herein lies its great distinction also from Christianity. Judaism's scope lies not in the world beyond, the world of the spirit, of which man on earth can have no conception. Both the hope of resurrection and that of immortality, in some form or other familiar and indispensable to all tribes and creeds, seem evidently to have come to the Jews from without—the one from Persia or Babylonia, the other from Greece.[2] Judaism itself rests on neither. Its sole aim and purpose is to render the world that now is a divine kingdom of truth and righteousness; and this gives it its eminently rational, ethical, and practical character' (K. Kohler, in *JE* vii. [1904] 363^{b}).

This aim is pursued by the insistence on the belief in the Unity and on the practice of the Commandments. Judaism lays more stress on works than on faith, though the former are of no avail without the latter.

> 'It is not a creed or a system of beliefs upon the acceptance of which redemption or future salvation depends. It is a system of human conduct, a law of righteousness which man should follow in order to live thereby' (Kohler, 364^{a}).

Yet Judaism does not lack a doctrine of faith; it is very doubtful whether an atheist who kept the Torah, or the Jewish ideals of righteousness, could be called a Jew (cf. art. Atheism [Jewish], vol. ii. p. 187 f.). There is no doubt that he would be 'saved,' in the Christian sense, because Judaism teaches that every righteous man, irrespective of his beliefs, has a share in the world to come.[1] But, just because Judaism believes that every good man is 'saved,' it follows that to be a good Jew must include something more, and must be ethically higher, than being a good man.

While Judaism, on the one hand, opens the door to proselytes, it is inevitable, from the fact of its demanding self-sacrifice, that it must long remain the religion of a minority. The function of Judaism is to keep the great ideals, unsullied and intact, before the eyes of the world. Jews must be prepared to defend their standard at the cost of their lives, as in the past, and to sacrifice, not only their lives, but their material prosperity—often a harder task. Many a potential martyr becomes indifferent, through prosperity, to the ideals for which he would offer his life in time of persecution. The world has need of a minority of idealists. For, although Judaism recognizes the truth taught by Christianity and Islām, it believes at the same time that there are other elements contained in these faiths which are not in complete harmony with the primitive source of truth. Judaism, then, has not to compete with the more popular expositions of religion; its *raison d'être* is not to rival the successful missionary activity of its daughters, the Church and the Mosque; it claims, not to be the only form of truth, but to be the purest. While Christianity and Islām are permeating the world with their teachings, Judaism awaits the day when it will, as originally, exert its influence over both of them, and so over all mankind. How this will take place, under what guise this universal worship of the One God will be, it does not seek to define.[2] This 'despised faith,' which holds itself to be in reality the Remnant or essence of righteousness, is safeguarded from extinction or contamination by the fence of the *miṣwôth* ('Commandments'). It has developed and grown, but ever in unbroken continuity, from the simple declaration of monotheism to a complete and comprehensive scheme of life. From Abraham to the present day the story has been written, and the pen has not yet been laid aside.

II. *Growth and Development.*—**1. To the end of the Restoration period.**—The Exile marked a new stage in the religion of Israel. It was the beginning of internal consolidation and external expansion. The patriarchs, the lawgiver, and the prophets represent successive degrees of progress in religious thought: monotheism, the Law, idealism. The faith of Abraham was moulded into the religion of a people, to become, ultimately, the source of ideals for a world; monotheism, purity, righteousness, and justice had developed under the impetus of lawgiver, priest, and prophet until the time of trial arrived. Exile and persecution were to test the reality of these lessons, to show that the work of the teachers was sound and the faith of the pupils unshaken. The touchstone of misfortune clearly demonstrated this; the seed had indeed been skilfully sown on fertile soil. The teachings of Isaiah had not been in vain; the exhortations of his contemporaries and predecessors succeeded in creating a compact remnant to carry on the truth and hand it over unimpaired to posterity. The Ten Tribes were lost, while the Remnant, the southern kingdom, endured.

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[1] The present art. on Judaism is avowedly written from the orthodox standpoint. For the liberal attitude see art. Liberal Judaism; but it will be observed that, apart from the outstanding contention, viz. the principle of the Oral Law, the differences between the two presentations are but small and insignificant in comparison with the elements shared by both in common.

[2] This point is discussed below; it is doubtful whether orthodox Judaism can accept this entirely.

[1] Even Elisha ben Abuya is ultimately pardoned after the death of R. Me'ir (see Bab. *Ḥagiga*, 15*b*).

[2] The immutability of the Ceremonial Law in the coming time was a matter on which divergence of opinion prevailed; see, *e.g.*, *Niddah*, 61*b*, and Midrash Tillim, Ps. 146, לעתיד לבא הוא מתיר את כל מה שאסר, line 8, outer col., f. 57*b*, ed. Bomberg, Venice, 1546, and, on the other hand, the 9th Creed of Maimonides (S. Singer, *Authorised Daily Prayer-Book*⁹, London 1912, p. 90) (the pagination is identical in all editions).

It is a matter of no small difficulty to attempt a sketch of the religious beliefs of the exiles. Jewish tradition (which ascribes much to a Mosaic origin [*hălākhāh lᵉ Môshē mis-Sînai*]) and modern critical views differ in many points. It will be more convenient, after some preliminary remarks, to trace the career of Judaism from the Restoration, from a point when most schools of thought agree as to the prevalence of the Pentateuch. For with regard to the religion of the two kingdoms little can be said with certainty, and every statement is liable to be rejected or modified according to the views held by the reader on Biblical criticism. There are certain general facts, however, that few will deny. On the one hand, no scholar on the critical side will maintain that the Pentateuchal legislation was the complete invention of the age of Ezra and his followers; a large mass of usages and beliefs must have been in existence for generations. Whether the code in which they were embodied was the Pentateuch or not is, for present purposes, a matter of indifference. It is the beliefs and usages themselves, and their effect on the people, that have to be considered, not their external form.

The foundation of all religion rests on the supreme fact of the worship of one deity, a heritage from dim antiquity; and this great idea did not stand alone. Religion must have involved something more positive than an intellectual Credo, or the tenacity of its persistence is inexplicable. The Sabbaths and festivals, sacrifice, worship, homely ritual, pious faith, and thanksgiving for the gifts of nature must have been the chief characteristics of the simple and innocent life of the God-fearing Israelite or Judæan, sanctified by the high moral lessons which his prophets taught him. How far the beliefs, ceremonies, and observances differed in the two kingdoms, what was the nature of the difference, if any, and whether the Mosaic tradition flourished more firmly in one than in the other are questions to which it is impossible to offer a definite reply. The answer must be framed according to the attitude adopted towards criticism, and will, of necessity, be controversial. But, whatever view be taken, there must have been something more powerful than unadorned dogma, some definitely practical elements, some religious functions linked to high ideals and appealing more to the heart than to the brain, affecting the life and moulding the conviction; otherwise the religion of Judah would have been no more enduring than that of the sister kingdom. Extreme criticism would relegate too much, if not everything, to a later age, while orthodox Judaism has a tendency, perhaps, to take too little account of moral and spiritual development. On the other hand, orthodox Judaism, with full Biblical authority, admits the break in continuity and accepts the disappearance of the Law until the reign of Josiah; if this disappearance is considered in its true setting and value, many difficulties can be solved. Orthodox Judaism takes its stand on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; moderate criticism (*i.e.* that which does not reject a Mosaic tradition *in toto*) lays more emphasis on the lengthy periods of conquests, settlements, and civil conflicts. As a result of political convulsions such as these, it is easy to understand how, in a non-literary age and land, amid a people recently emerged from bondage, copies of a legal code, in any case few in number, would tend to perish. This is not entirely denied by the less extreme upholders of the orthodox view; in fact, the difference between the moderate elements of the two parties is slight, being one of degree rather than of principle. Yet, whether the code existed or not, memories, more or less vivid, must have lingered, though the extent to which popular belief and practice were influenced is hard to determine. The observance of Sabbaths and New Moons (1 S 20[18], 2 K 4[23], Is 1[14]), coupled with the neglect of the Passover all the days of the Judges until the time of Hezekiah and Josiah (2 Ḳ 23[22], but see Ḳimḥi, *in loc.*; 2 Ch 30[21. 26]), and of the Feast of Tabernacles (cf. art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS [Jewish], vol. v. pp. 879–881) since the days of Joshua (Neh 8[17]), is difficult to explain. Meanwhile the discovery of the Assuan papyri introduces much useful evidence as to the state of Judaism outside Palestine. But the problems raised by the papyri are complex. The present writer has endeavoured to show[1] that the Jews of Assuan were descendants of Israelite exiles or emigrants from the northern kingdom. It is hard to resist the conclusion that they possessed some knowledge of the Pentateuchal ideas; in any case they cannot have regarded themselves as schismatics from catholic Jewry. As Samaria fell in 721 B.C., and the publication of the Law by Josiah did not take place till 618 B.C., the northern kingdom would seem not to have been entirely unaware of the code, or at least of its traditions, unless the Assuan Jews derived their knowledge after 618, when they were already in Egypt.

During the Exile and the Restoration, perhaps even earlier, Judaism spread far beyond the confines of Palestine. Of what character was this Judaism? The belief in the one and only God had long been an inalienable possession handed dówn from the remotest ages. The periods during which the true worship was obscured by that of other deities were mere temporary interruptions that had no lasting consequences. Baal-worship, destroyed in Israel by Jehu and in Judah by Josiah, never reappeared after the Captivity. No tendency to idolatry survived the Exile. In many cases of pre-Exilic apostasy, the prophets denounce not so much the adoration of strange gods as the introduction of heathen rites and barbarous cults into the service of the God of Israel. 'Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression?' was the temptation that assailed many an Israelite who would have scorned to be known as a worshipper of Milcom or Astarte. Not only did he refuse these deities allegiance; he denied their existence. The teaching of the prophets was directed no less strongly against henotheism. Idols had no actuality; the very term *ĕlîlîm*, usually connected with a root *'all*, 'to be feeble or insufficient,' should more probably be regarded as a contemptuous diminutive of אֵל (cf. art. IMAGES AND IDOLS [Hebrew and Canaanite], above, p. 138 ff.). Although passages are cited (Ps 82, Dt 32[7-12] [reading בני האלהים for בני ישראל in v.[8]; LXX, κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ]) to show that a belief in the God of Israel was not incompatible with a recognition of the validity of other gods for other nations, yet no authoritative argument can be found in prose; theology cannot be deduced from poetical imagery, and, even if the emendation in Dt 32[8] is correct, the conclusion of v.[12] is an overwhelming denial of the henotheistic idea. There were, doubtless, in earlier times, cases where syncretism and henotheism sullied the purity of the true faith, but in the religious beliefs of the leaders, from the Patriarchs downwards, no adequate confirmation for such elements can be produced. Abraham, Moses, and Elijah were all equally zealous monotheists, and in none of their successors was there any retrogression from the highest and purest form of unitarian belief.

The polytheism prevalent in Babylon was vigorously attacked in the later chapters of Isaiah; more seductive to the Jews was the Persian dualism (see art. DUALISM [Iranian], vol. v. p. 111 f., also the 'Jewish' section of the same art., *ib.* 112–114), but it was none the less sternly reprobated by the prophet. After the Return, no more is heard of temptations or lapses in this direction. The spark kindled and fostered by the prophets had spread into a mighty flame. From the day of the Return, as far as the Jews were concerned, 'the Lord was one, and His name was one.'

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[1] *Jew. Lit. Annual*, London, 1908, pp. 146–148.

The belief, then, of the returned exiles in a supreme God, supreme not only for Israel but for the whole world, was unshaken and permanent. Linked to this belief was the corollary that God was good and His service obligatory on mankind, to each one of whom he was accessible as a father to his children. The insistence on the compassionate element of the divine being—that element which was later called the *middath hāraḥămîm*—resulted in reflexions on the nature and origin of evil, sin, and suffering. These speculations produced a repugnance to ascribe to the Deity the authorship of any actions which seemed incompatible with His attribute of a merciful Father. Hence the exiles of Babylonia were somewhat allured by the Persian dualistic theory, which seemed to offer a more satisfactory solution of the riddle of the universe. It was not a desire for idolatry, not a negation of the Unity, nor the attractions and superior status of a dominant religion that led Jews to regard the contrast of Ahura Mazda and Ahriman with approval. Their attitude arose from mistaken motives of piety, and from earnest strivings after the essential truth. Again and again Judaism has witnessed a recrudescence of the desire for a dualistic explanation of the problem of evil. Answers were not wanting from the prophets and teachers, yet new generations repeatedly felt the old difficulty in a newer and keener form. The book of Job and the Lamentations of Jeremiah declared vehemently for the Unity, and did not shrink from attributing evil to the Godhead. The unnamed prophet of the Exile states explicitly (Is 45^{7}): 'I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things'; and this clear definition of God's activity left no escape from attributing to His omnipotence that which man considered evil. Yet a later age again felt repelled by this outspoken avowal and sought to mitigate its seeming harshness.

To the present time, the Jewish liturgy, in the daily morning service (see Singer, p. 37), contains this passage as an introduction to the most important section, the *sh*^{e}*ma'* (Dt 6^{4}), but it is apparently divested of the very principle to which it owes its insertion. For the passage now runs, 'who formest light and createst darkness, who makest peace and createst *all things*.' This alteration is, of course, merely external, since 'all things' include 'evil,' yet the change is significant, and marks, no doubt, a revival of the hesitation to ascribe evil to God.

Closely allied to the problem of evil was the question of the prosperity of the wicked and the sufferings of the righteous, dealt with frequently in the later Psalms and in Job. In this, as in all the great problems, considerable fluctuation may be observed. The unity of God was a sheet anchor to which all held fast. His existence and divine providence presupposed a true solution to man's perplexities; if man could but succeed in finding the key, he would be able to unravel the mysteries. The certainty and dogmatism of later ages seem lacking during the Exile and in the two following centuries. From the Apocrypha it can clearly be seen how much the minds of men were exercised and how little they were satisfied by the answers which they possessed. The Apocrypha, taken as a whole, is at least two centuries younger than the Return, and it is only fair to assume that the earlier age evolved no solution of which the later was ignorant. While taking care, then, not to read into the former period the progress and development of the latter, we may at least infer that none of the philosophical ideas of the former escaped the notice of the later generations, and, therefore, of our own time. Our knowledge of the period immediately succeeding the Return is very scanty, but, as the centuries advance towards the period of Apocrypha, Mishna (see TALMUD), and Midrash (*q.v.*), our material becomes more abundant, and it is practically certain that no great idea, no supreme solution of any of those questions which agitate and perplex the mind of man in all ages, would have disappeared from the intellectual heritage that our ancestors bequeathed to us. From the 2nd cent. before the Christian era and onward such a supposition is almost unthinkable.

The solutions of the problems of evil and suffering ran on two lines, in a way closely allied. Man was incapable of understanding the inscrutable ways of Providence. The prosperity of the wicked was unstable or unreal even in this world; how much more in the world to come? It was only a superficial judgment that would convict the Almighty of injustice, by measuring His actions with an imperfect human norm. This line of argument, that of Job, Ps 73, etc., combines two thoughts—the insufficiency of human reason and the belief in the future world to redress the inequalities of this life. Ps 49 is difficult to interpret. On the one hand, v.^{16} [v.^{15} EV] seems a clear indication of a future life, yet the last verse seems a pessimistic summary of the fate of humanity, couched in terms of despondency almost recalling the language of Lucretius.

The corollary of the future world was not always employed.

It was sometimes argued (*e.g.* Ps 129) that the fall of the wicked and the triumph of the righteous would be manifest even in this world; or that, as God had saved His people in the past, so would He deliver them from present troubles; the appeal to history is common in the post-Exilic prophets. Coupled with this (*e.g.* Neh 9) is faith in God's mercy, which will save the Jews and frustrate their enemies, though the latter seem successful and the Jews doomed to failure.

The different treatment of the problem offered by **Ecclesiastes** will be discussed when dealing with the Apocrypha.

Closely allied to the problem of sin and suffering is the question of a future life (see, in general, art. ESCHATOLOGY, § 10, vol. v. pp. 376–381). At the early age of the Return, it is difficult to state precisely how this question was regarded. Judaism has usually refrained from defining with precision the details and circumstances of the future world, contenting itself with a belief in its reality. This belief is, however, firm and uncompromising. The difficulty felt in later times was to deduce this belief from the Pentateuch. There can be little doubt, though direct evidence as to the antiquity of the idea is not plentiful, that the post-Exilic Jews believed in a world to come; whether they believed in a resurrection of the body or of the soul is a difficult point to determine (see art. RESURRECTION [Jewish]). With the future life was bound up a belief in future reward and punishment; it is hard, in the first instance at any rate, to conceive of a future state which will not differ from the present. If this world is to be one of trial and testing, the life beyond the grave must surely bear some relation to it, depending on the success or failure achieved during the preliminary stage. The hereafter must be correlated to the present. The sin of mankind, if not expiated now, must surely be visited at a later time; and, if the sin, so also the merit.

The famous 53rd chapter of Isaiah was formerly taken as the authority for a belief in vicarious atonement. The special Christological interpretation has always been repudiated by Judaism; the general principle has scarcely, if indeed at all, been conceded (see S. R. Driver and A. D. Neubauer, *The Fifty-Third Chapter of Isaiah according to the Jewish Interpreters*, Oxford, 1877). Thus Ibn Ezra (*q.v.*; † 1167) refers the expression 'my servant' to all those God-fearing Jews who were in exile; Sa'adya (*q.v.*; 892–942) to the prophet Jeremiah. Both of these commentators reflect traditional exegesis; their views do not merely represent contemporary opinion. The suffering of the Servant was regarded by the nations as an expiation for their sin; but this opinion, put into the mouths of the Gentile kings, was erroneous, and the outcome of their amazement at the persistence of the Servant under such unparalleled persecution. The impossibility of a vicarious atonement is clearly stated by the refusal of God to allow Moses to become a substitute for the sins of Israel. 'Whosoever hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book' (Ex $32^{31\text{ff.}}$).

Similarly, although inherited punishment might be deduced from the Decalogue, the post-Exilic Jews relied on the teachings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, which maintain emphatically the doctrine of individual responsibility (Jer $31^{28\text{f.}}$, Ezk 18). The problem of free will (*q.v.*) developed more fully in later ages. In Deuteronomy the free will of man is distinctly stated, and it is not felt to be an encroachment on the divine prerogative of omnipotence (Dt $11^{26\text{ff.}}$ $30^{15\text{ff.}}$). Man is free, and God is all-powerful. The dilemma does not seem to have troubled the post-Exilic Jews.

One of the most important elements in Jewish theology was the idea of cause and effect. The books of Kings, which were compiled after, or at least at the end of, the Exile, show very clearly that the writers were prone to link together events between which there was not, of necessity, any connexion, to find some religious motive in all affairs, and to account for history by the aid of theology. Thus the disaster to the village children who were eaten by she-bears is narrated after the mocking of the prophet (2 K $2^{23\text{f.}}$). To the writer it was obvious that the former incident was directly caused by the latter: *post hoc ergo propter hoc.* The Exilic or post-Exilic Jews seem to have had no notion of secondary causes: the division of causes into material, formal, efficient, and final belongs to the later age of Aristotle. Consequently, their ideas as to divine agency were somewhat primitive, and influenced their estimates of persons and events.

Thus the compiler of the books of Chronicles, who must have lived at least in the age of Alexander, cares little for political history, which he subordinates to that of religion, and to a less extent this is true of the writer of Kings.[1] If the early theory of causation be kept in mind, many difficulties, such as Hos 1, can be satisfactorily solved. The influence of this theory on theology was great.

Both in Babylon and after the Return the Jews held tenaciously to the belief in their divine election (*q.v.*). Countless texts and teachings reminded them of the fact that God had chosen them to be His people, His witnesses, a kingdom of priests, a beacon of light and truth to the nations of the earth. However much they might have fallen short of their duty, however much they might have neglected not only to teach others, but even themselves to remain faithful to their sacred task, God had not deposed them for ever from the office to which He had appointed them and their ancestors. Although the Jews had at times misinterpreted their position to mean a freedom to sin with immunity from punishment—a view strongly opposed by the prophets (*e.g.* Am 2–3)—yet they never felt themselves to have been superseded. Their mission was not taken from them. How deeply they realized their responsibility and at what personal cost they were willing to fulfil their obligation may be seen from the great domestic sacrifice which Ezra exacted from a willing people (Ezr 9 f.).

It was no light matter to separate from beloved wives and children, yet it was obvious that, if the mission of Israel were not to end in failure, the sacrifice must be brought. The repudiation of the foreign wives has been wrongly attributed to the Jews as an act of reproach and as evidence of callousness; it was in reality an instance of their devotion and their unswerving fidelity to the idea for which they had been called to be a nation of teachers, to spread the Word of God to the uttermost ends of the earth.

At this point it becomes necessary to examine the relation in which the Jews considered themselves to be placed with regard to Gentiles. Did they regard themselves as a separate nation among other nations? This question acquires fresh importance in later and in modern[1] times, and seems to have been regarded differently at different epochs. It must be remembered that the Jews, being Semites (*q.v.*), must, in consequence, be regarded from the Semitic and not from the modern ethnological point of view. The modern idea of a unifying element is consanguinity; the Semitic bond was community of worship. From the earliest times the principle of divine selection has been religious and not racial; otherwise there is no reason why distinctions should have been made between members of the same family; *e.g.*, Abraham, not his father Terah nor his brother Haran; Isaac, not Ishmael; Jacob, not Esau. The twin brothers have the same parents and the same racial conditions, but even the primogeniture is ignored, and the spiritual heritage is given to the younger brother. A Moabite is one who worships Chemosh, an Ammonite one who worships Milcom, and an Israelite one who worships Adonai. It was not the possession of a territory, for nomads have no settled territory. It was not the ties of blood, for the descendants of Esau, though called the brothers of Israel, are yet no true sharers of Israel's Abrahamic heritage. The strife of ideals is graphically portrayed as originating in the womb (cf. Gn $25^{22\text{f.}}$, and see Rashi's remark on the allegory). The link between Semites was solely that of a common worship. At times this might acquire a racial sense, for inter-marriage with non-Jews, involving almost necessarily an abandonment of Judaism in the home and among the offspring, was prohibited. This prohibition, however, arose from a fear that religion would be affected, not from a sense of superiority of blood. The book of Ruth is an object-lesson in the consequences of pushing this tendency too far; the proselyte can be as worthy as the native, and from the Moabite woman David himself was descended. For the same reason a distinction was observed between the seven nations of Canaan, who were irreclaimably steeped in wickedness (a fact borne out by archæology), and others, who, coming to sojourn under the wings of the Shekhinah, would develop into true sons of the Covenant.

The effect of the Exile upon the Jewish community is summarized as follows by W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box (*Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*^{2}, London, 1911, p. 3 f.):

'To a large extent it denationalized religion by demonstrating that the religion of Israel could survive the dissolution of the State, and was, therefore, independent of a national centre. It is true that the elements of a national organization and life still existed in the Jewish communities, long after the Babylonian exile, and even later asserted themselves in new national forms. The connexion between race and religion, though modified, was not destroyed. Judaism, in fact, has never given up altogether its racial basis. In this, as in other respects, it has ever been inconsistent. When the ideal of a community, organized for purely religious purposes and recognizing no distinctions of race, has attempted to translate itself into action from within organized Judaism, a reaction back to the national idea has inevitably followed. And it was after every outward sign and vestige of separate nationality had been swept away by Hadrian (A.D. 135) that national feeling and sense of racial solidarity became most intense. But all the same, it remains true that ever since, the widely sundered and (in all other respects) distinct communities of Jews which are scattered over the world find their one link of continuity and unity in a common religion.

It has been pointed out, justly,[2] that, in principle, the separation between the State and the Church had already been effected in the Book of Deuteronomy. But in practice Deuteronomic principles met at the outset with serious obstacles in the way of their realization. The last of these disappeared with the destruction of the State. . . .

The first to seize and enforce the lessons of the Exile was the prophet Ezekiel, "the first dogmatist of the Old Testament." He laid the theological foundations of the structure which Ezra reared.'[1]

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[1] Cf. W. E. Barnes, *The Two Books of the Kings*, Cambridge, 1908, p. xxix.

[1] See below, p. 607.

[2] *e.g.*, by C. H. Cornill, *Der israel. Prophetismus*^{6}, Strassburg. 1906, p. 83 ff.

To translate the words *'am* and *gôi* by 'nation' is to beg the question and to presuppose an idea of 'nationality' akin to that which the word now conveys. The term *'am* implied an essentially religious kinship, because in primitive times the god was of the same kin as his servants (see W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*^{2}, London, 1894, p. 35 ff.). A separation of religion and nationality was impossible; the idea of religion included much that is implied by the latter. An Israelite worshipping Chemosh became a Moabite, *ipso facto*; an 'atheist Jew' was inconceivable. 'It was impossible for an individual to change his religion without changing his nationality' (*ib.* 37). In course of time the Semites developed many national characteristics and adopted national features of life and government. Intercourse with their neighbours tended more and more to bring into the minds of the Jews a craving for a separate national entity, for a king, for an army, for territorial expansion. All these desires are regarded by the religious teachers as a falling away from righteousness, as signs of rebellion against God. Israel is a theocracy, to be governed by judges and officers (Dt 16^{18}), by councils of elders (Ex $18^{25f.}$), deriving their authority from the priests and ultimately from the Deity. If, dissatisfied with this form of government, the Israelites clamour for a king, 'like all the nations which are round about,' the desire might be granted (Dt 17^{14}). But the king is not to collect cavalry, nor is he to set his heart on Egyptian alliances. He is to spurn all the prerogatives of nationality and monarchy, and to reign in accordance with the Word of God. Samuel (1 S 8) feels a great repugnance to the institution of a monarchy; the request for a king is a rejection of God as their sovereign (v.^{7}). Israel 'shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations' (Nu 23^9). Her safety is to be in rest and tranquillity, not in diplomatic duels with Assyria and Babylon, not in political and national alliances, not in seeking for territorial expansion or military prowess. All these are the very signs of nationality that are so sternly reprobated by Isaiah and, later, by Jeremiah. Israel's destiny is comprised in the doctrine of the 'Remnant,' the small minority of true believers, who, oblivious of the narrow and confining bonds of nationality, are to spread over the earth and make it fruitful.

The ideal of Zion is to be not an impregnable fortress, but the source of the Torah, the fountain-spring of righteousness. The people who pinned their hope on the inviolability of Jerusalem were confounded, just as those who cried out, 'The Temple of God,' and trusted in it to save them, were mistaken. The idea of a temporal nationality with strong military power and a position of influence in foreign politics was never preached by Isaiah as the destiny of Judah. But the reliance on nationality and the boastful vaunt of being 'God's invincible nation' became stronger as the king, nobles, and people grew more faithless to the Word of God, more heedless of the admonitions of the prophet. They could not conceive that Assyria should be allowed to overcome Israel, God's own nation, strengthened by alliances, falsely encouraged by lying teachers, boastful of its military prowess and efficiency. But Isaiah saw more clearly: a faithless nation would inevitably be abandoned by God, for it was not for their nationality that He chose them, not because they were better or more distinguished by inherent virtue, but because of His love (Dt 7^7) for them and in order that they should be His servants. Assyria was to be God's rod of punishment. The unthinkable would come about, and the false ideals of nationality were to be shattered by the hand of the heathen empire. The Lord of Hosts was to be supreme. His power was to sweep over the universe as waters cover the sea, sweeping away the puny artificial boundaries erected by man, 'removing the limits of nations and overwhelming the settlements like a mighty hero' (Is 10^{13}). When God had finished His work on Mount Zion and purified it from false ideals, when nations would no longer learn warfare, then would nationality be finally annihilated, and Israel would be a third with Egypt and Assyria, all equally a blessing to mankind, Egypt being 'God's people,' Assyria 'His handiwork,' and Israel 'His inheritance' (19^{25}).

This universalistic consummation was regarded by all the prophets as the purpose for which the Deity was working. This must not be taken to imply that Israel was to lose its particularization. Zion is constantly exalted to a position of spiritual leadership, and this position is contrasted with the Oriental despotic court, which the kings and nobles created. At certain times, traces of a nationalist spirit may be observed, especially in exile or in persecution. By the waters of Babylon the Jews were, so to speak, driven into nationality because they felt themselves to stand apart from the empire wherein they dwelt. But it was, in reality, the contrast between the two religions, not a sense of nationality, that sundered the Jews from their conquerors. The Northern Kingdom was essentially more nationalist in proportion as it was less religious in spirit than Judah. Destruction and expatriation fell upon both kingdoms alike; but Judah survived, Samaria perished. During the Maccabæan persecutions the contrast between Jew and Greek acquired something of a national tinge. In Babylon and after the Return, the religion alone seems to have been the essential characteristic.

The dispersal of Israel began before the Exile; it continued after the Return. Emigration, stimulated by trade and other motives, as well as exile, had removed many Jews from the land of their fathers. They were to be found in Assyria, in Egypt, in Hamath, in the coastlands of the Mediterranean, and even in remote and mysterious 'Sinim' (Is 11^{11} 49^{12}). The presence of Jews in Gentile surroundings, differing from their neighbours in so many ways, must have stimulated, on both sides, introspection. The Jews were driven back on themselves, and they studied their own religion the more carefully. They would naturally look outside their own camp as well, and contrast the forms of worship and the beliefs that existed without. At a very early stage the influence of the Jewish Diaspora, as a missionary agency, began to be felt. Judaism became more and more universalistic. Cuneiform inscriptions reveal an intense Jewish life in Mesopotamia; socially and religiously the Jews played no small part in the land of their conquerors. The other world power, Egypt, was also the home of a solid Jewish community. Doubtless many other colonies existed, for silence must not be construed as an argument. Until the appearance of the Assuan papyri, we had no evidence for Jewish life in Egypt at the time of the Return; we now, by one single discovery, are able largely to re-construct the history of the Jews of Yeb (Elephantinē). The favour of the Persian governors protected them; they prospered commercially, engaging in various trades and holding property. They seem to have had a temple of their own, at least an altar with incense. They felt themselves in spiritual communion with Palestine, corresponding with political and religious officials. Their names are mostly Biblical, and they seem to have clung to their ancestral faith. It is unfortunate that most of the documents are of a business nature; more positive details as to religious life and thought would have been welcome. Doubtless the activity of the Jews prevailed in many other places, of which, at present, we have no knowledge. We can safely assume that, wherever they settled, a centre was established whence Judaism was diffused not only from Jew to Jew, but also to Gentile. Already Jeremiah, from the womb (Jer 1^5), had been designated as a prophet to the Gentiles, to preach a belief in God and the tenets of righteousness to the wide world.

The Temple and its sacrifices (see SACRIFICE [Jewish]) filled as large a part of Judaism after the Return as before the first destruction. It is often urged that the prophets deprecated the sacrificial system and were not over-zealous for the Temple itself. This view is scarcely correct. The prophets frequently decry sacrifices, when brought in a wrong spirit or regarded as licences to sin. It is extremely doubtful whether they rejected sacrifices *qua* sacrifices. Similarly Jeremiah denounces those who make the existence of the Temple and the Ark of the Lord an excuse for sin. Jeremiah $3^{16f.}$ is definitely clear: it cannot be regarded as otherwise than a denunciation of those who felt that the Temple was inviolate, and that its inviolability would safeguard them from the effect of their wrongdoing. The prophets of the Return favour the sacrifices. Malachi, speaking not merely of the present but even of the Messianic age, looks forward to a time when the *minḥāh* of Judah and Jerusalem shall again be pleasing to the Lord as in days of old (3^4). Haggai and Zechariah, so far from deprecating the Temple idea, reproach the people for being lukewarm in the work of rebuilding. There would have been no possibility for these admonitions had the idea of Temple and sacrifices been superseded. The rebukes are directed against those who are despondent or those who are apathetic. The first Return was followed by a certain amount of disorganization. Not until the advent of Ezra was the religious life firmly established. For this reason Malachi attacks a spirit of parsimony among the tithe-payers and those who would defraud God of the sacrifices due to His Temple. There is no indication anywhere that the Temple and the sacrifices were to be relegated to the past.

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[1] Cf. the ch. referring to Ezekiel in Cornill, p. 117 ff.

The Messianic idea seems, to some extent, dormant at the beginning of the Restoration. The term 'Messiah,' of course, occurs in early passages of Scripture, but in a purely literal sense of 'anointed,' *i.e.* king, or one appointed to fill a certain office (cf. art. MESSIAH, MESSIANISM). 'The word "Messiah" (anointed one) is never used in the Old Testament in the special sense to which it has been consecrated by Jewish and Christian usage' (J. Skinner, *Book of the Prophet Isaiah, Chapters i.–xxxix.*, Cambridge, 1896, p. lviii). During the Exile the term is even applied to Cyrus, a Gentile ruler, because he has been chosen to be a divine instrument in Israel's release. What may be termed the Messianic idea is to be found under two heads: (*a*) the redemption of Israel, from the first Exile; (*b*) eschatological prophecies of a Golden Age of universal peace and brotherhood. Under the influence of the Restoration, when the people and prophets alike were animated by optimistic hopes for the present and the more immediate future, the Messianic idea was not so strongly dominant. The settlement of the people and the restitution and spread of divine worship in its former home occupied general attention. The age of the Apocrypha saw a renewal of eschatological speculation and a development and perhaps an extension of the Messianic idea.[1]

Prayer was naturally associated with the Temple ritual, and the phrase *Mô'adhê Ēl* (Ps 74^8) has been taken to denote assemblies for worship, synagogues. Set prayers are recorded in Chronicles and Ezra, and Jewish tradition assigns to this period the institution of the *'Ămîdāh* prayer (Singer, p. 44 ff.; see, further, art. PRAYER [Jewish]).[2] So little can be said definitely with regard to ceremonial and liturgy during the period succeeding the Return that it will be more satisfactory to leave the consideration of this question to a later stage.

2. The Maccabæan period.—After the Return the thoughts of the restored exiles were primarily devoted to religion, to the rebuilding of the Temple, and to the exposition of the Law. Considerable time elapsed before the idea of nationality asserted itself. At the outset the Jews were governed by Persian officials, whose autocratic power was in ratio to their distance from the Court. Such a policy of decentralization was ill-adapted to consolidate a vast and unwieldy empire. In the great political convulsions occasioned by the conquests of Alexander and the strife between the Diadochoi, the evil consequences of such a system of administration became manifest. There was neither a national idea nor an imperial spirit to foster a sense of unity or attachment. Unity would, in any case, be well-nigh unattainable in such a heterogeneous collection of subjects, although patriotism might perhaps have been aroused by a strong personality at the head of the State. The local governor, not the remote and unknown 'King of kings,' represented to the country folk their actual master; with his overlord they had no concern. The feuds of cities would often result in raiding and warfare, owing to the weakness of the central government; these internal conflicts affected the provincials, not the great battles of the Empire. The Jews felt themselves at first neither citizens of the Empire nor Palestinian nationalists. The Empire was too large and Jewish Palestine was too small.

> 'The Jewish people had not the extension which is shown us in the days of Christ. If we had gone in the fifth century B.C. through Galilee—through all those sacred places so familiar to us, Nazareth, Cana, Bethsaida, Capernaum—we should have been among heathens. The name Galilee is the short for Galilee of the Gentiles, that is, the *region* of the Gentiles; the name clung to those uplands between Gennesaret and the sea, even after they had become predominantly Jewish. We should have been not only among heathens, but among barbarians, a population in which the original basis of Syrian peasants, tillers of the soil, had been crossed with the wilder Arab blood which came in by infiltration from the desert. The people of the Jews we should have found only in Jerusalem and in the fields and villages around Jerusalem to a radius of some ten to fifteen miles' (E. R. Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High-Priests*, London, 1904, p. 11).

Nationality was produced, among the Jews, by purely political causes. The overthrow of Darius and his Empire at the hands of Alexander did not at first react on them. For nearly a century they were under the dominion of the Ptolemys, and the change in their position seems to have been slight. It was not until Palestine was transferred to the Seleucids that a new era really began. To the spread of Hellenism and to the fostering by the Seleucids of Hellenic institutions and customs the growth of Jewish nationality is due. Antioch was a much more zealous disseminator of Greek culture than Alexandria, but the Hellenic spirit of Antioch, more intense and aggressive, was correspondingly debased in quality. The Jews of Alexandria were not offended by Egyptian Hellenism, but the Syrian Hellenism of Antioch stirred up strife through the whole land.

The attempt of Antiochus IV. to suppress Judaism and substitute the worship of Olympian Zeus roused intense opposition. The Maccabees were supported with devotion by the *Ḥăsîdîm* (see art. HASIDÆANS, HASIDISM, vol. vi. p. 526), and their victory secured the permanence of Judaism. The beginning of the conflict was a fight for religious liberty; the end resolved itself into a struggle for nationality. When once the triumph of religion was assured, the Hasmonæan leaders, in continuing the struggle for the sake of national expansion, lost the support of the Ḥăsîdîm, who became their undisguised opponents. No circumstance is more instructive in the annals of Maccabæan history than the secession of the 'Pious' party, as soon as the aims of the Hasmonæan princes became material. It is not difficult to discover the cause of this divergence. The gulf between Judaism and Hellenism was great, for not only religious beliefs but social practices were involved. Judaism, like Islām and other Semitic faiths, includes under 'religion' many elements which elsewhere would fall under a different classification. This point, so important to remember, will be dealt with again in considering *Hălākhā*. The Ḥăsîdîm could not tolerate many things, harmless in themselves, which would have been allowed to pass unchecked had religion not been at stake. The Greek dress and athletics would not have inspired such detestation under other conditions. In Alexandria, Jews adopted Greek speech and, most probably, Greek costume, without being considered traitors to Judaism. In Palestine, under Antiochus Epiphanes, all contact with the heathen became impossible. Things innocent by nature became actively noxious. The gap was complete, and could not be bridged. With this utter loathing for all things Greek, there came an insistence on all things Jewish; the antagonism revealed antitheses before overlooked or non-existent. There was no national feeling before; it was this bitter religious antagonism that created it, perhaps on purpose to oppose Greek nationalism. The aim of Alexander was Hellenization, and this included a strong national feeling; Antiochus and his party, unworthy heirs of a great ideal, and boastful of their national superiority, produced by their excessive fanaticism a corresponding national feeling on the Jewish side.

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[1] For a detailed survey of this idea in its earlier forms see Skinner, p. lvi ff.

[2] ואפ ש״ע שתקנו חכמים הראשונים (*Sifrê*, § 343, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1864, f. 142b, l. 2; ed. Bomberg, Venice, 1546, col. 238). See also *Meg.* 17*b*, where ש״ע is attributed to the Great Synagogue. The kernel is probably old, but has been redacted. Ezra instituted the public reading of the Law on certain occasions.

It was not among the pious Ḥăsîdîm that this spirit was strongest; it was chiefly evident in Judas and the leaders. The Ḥăsîdîm were concerned with one object and one object only—freedom of worship. Beyond this they cared for nothing. Judas believed that there could be no security from a repetition of the persecutions unless Judaism possessed a State as well as a religion. Hence he favoured all institutions that tended to arouse national feeling. Here he parted company with the Ḥăsîdîm, hitherto his staunchest adherents. When Demetrius sent Bacchides to instal Alcimus, an opponent of the Hasmonæans, as high priest, the Ḥăsîdîm were ready to accept him, and this was the beginning of the breach. Hereafter the fight was for national and dynastic ambition (Bevan, p. 117). In exactly the same way Jonathan and John Hyrcanus lost the support of the Pharisees, the spiritual successors of the Ḥăsîdîm, because they combined the offices of high priest and king (see Pss.-Sol. 17^{5-8}). The Ḥăsîdîm and the Pharisees despised all worldly elements. They cared not who ruled them or to what nation they belonged if only they could have freedom to worship God. The tendency may be often paralleled in Semitic history. The Khawārij, in A.D. 657, deserted the cause of 'Alī, the fourth Khalīf, and made their battle-cry, 'No judgment save that of God!'

After the Restoration the government was, in the main, theocratic—that is to say, the priests and the exponents of the Law enjoyed considerable power; the book of Ezra mentions four branches of secular rulers ($10^{5.8}$)—princes, elders, rulers, and nobles.

The functions of these classes are not clear, nor is it possible to state with certainty that these different names imply different classes of officials. Among the aristocracy thus constituted—for, as Bevan remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 6), 'the Community at Jerusalem was no democracy'—the priests were included, the high priest gradually acquiring more and more power, until, in the time of Jonathan and John Hyrcanus, the high priest was the head of the State as well as of the religious community. He was the president of the Assembly later known as the Sanhedrin.[1] The Sanhedrin, composed of both Rabbis and nobles, possessed, up to the Roman period, the power of life and death. Even Herod, in the height of his career, was summoned to appear before them; and from this it will be seen that the authority and influence of the religious element were exceedingly strong in the Jewish State. The priests, in accordance with the provisions of the Pentateuch, were maintained by the people. They received the tithes and firstfruits as their salaries, and were regarded with reverence on account of their sacred calling. They and the Rabbis were treated with considerably more respect than the secular officials by all classes of the population.

On the first day of Tishri, 444 B.C., Ezra the scribe and Nehemiah brought out to the people the Law of Moses (Neh 8^1), and read its contents to the assembled multitude. From now onwards, under the influence of Ezra, priest as well as scribe, the study and observance of the Law were prosecuted with ardour. From his days the scribes, or interpreters of the Law, came into existence. The canon of the whole Bible was most probably formed later (but see, further, p. 594^b), in the time of 'Aḳiba († A.D. 135; on 'Aḳiba himself see art. AḲIBA BEN JOSEPH, vol. i. pp. 274–276). The Pentateuchal legislation permeated the people and moulded their lives. As the Torah spread, the influence of the scribes increased in proportion. Not only in Palestine, but wherever the Jews had settled, the zeal for the Law accompanied them. In Syria they made many proselytes (see Josephus, *BJ* VII. iii. 3). In Egypt by about 260 B.C. the Septuagint translators began their work, and the Bible was made accessible to the Gentiles in their own tongue. The various Aramaic versions, known as Targumim (see art. TARGUMS), are of later date and were made for Jewish use. The Septuagint seems to have been intended, according to the account of Aristeas, for non-Jews. The Samaritan community accepted Judaism and received the Pentateuch about 430 B.C. Their recension differs in certain respects from the Jewish or Massoretic text (see, further, art. SAMARITANS).

All these facts show how the knowledge of the Torah was becoming diffused. It is safe to assume that many of the other Scriptural books circulated freely, as well as the Law. For the intense devotion to the Law and to Judaism the scribes and priests, the successors of the prophets, are largely responsible. The strength of the religious spirit appeared in various guises, not always uniform. Sects began to arise. As the Jews were brought face to face with the fascinations of Greek culture, a Hellenizing party grew up. Originally, no doubt, this party desired to adopt all that was good in foreign culture while remaining steadfast in loyalty to their faith. In course of time, partly by compulsion and partly by choice, the Hellenizers succumbed to the allurements of their Greek friends and made jettison of their religion to save their material prosperity (1 Mac 1^{43}). There were not wanting, doubtless, among them those who did not prove utterly faithless, but the real resistance came from the uncompromising opponents of Hellenism. From these the party of the Ḥăsîdîm developed, men zealous for religion and for religion only. These were the mainstay of the forces led by Judas; they were pioneers of martyrdom, ready to die not merely for the broad principles of their faith, but for the absolute observance of the Law. They were, at first, prepared to suffer death rather than defend themselves if attacked on the Sabbath. After their breach with Judas, the Ḥăsîdîm pass away. The term disappeared, but the spirit survived, to reappear under the guise of the Pharisees.

After the fixing of the text of the Law, the functions of the scribes centred on the exposition of the precepts and commandments and the preservation and teaching of the traditions. These traditions, called the Oral Law (*Tôrāh shebeʿal peh*), are believed by orthodox Jews to have accompanied the Written Law (*Tôrāh shebbikhᵉthābh*), and a tradition of Mosaic authority is called *Hălākhā lᵉ Môshē mis-Sînai* (see, further, art. LAW [Jewish]). The Written Law had to be supplemented in many cases by tradition, because the prescriptions were sometimes vague and presupposed existing knowledge. The rite of circumcision and the wearing of phylacteries, *e.g.*, are ordained in the Bible, but the details are not prescribed (cf. above, vol. iii. p. 440^{a}). The object of the scribes (*q.v.*) was to teach the people how tradition required the Law to be carried out. The absence of such scribal teaching had been the cause of the neglect of the Law and of idolatry in earlier times; the work of the scribes consolidated Judaism and gave it stability and endurance through the later ages.[1] The name 'Pharisees' (*Pᵉrîshayya*, 'separatists') was adopted by or applied to those who were careful to observe the Written and the Oral Law (see, further, art. PHARISEES).

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[1] See *JE* vi. [1904] 393^a.

Attempts are frequently made to belittle the work of the scribes and Pharisees. The enormous moral and spiritual effect of their work is often overlooked, and attention is focused on their so-called 'hair-splittings.'

(1) This mistaken attitude is due to ignorance of the true perspective.

(*a*) Judaism includes many civil elements under the head of religion; consequently many discussions and prescriptions referring to civil matters had to be dealt with by the religious teachers. Similar legal arguments are to be found in every system of law worthy of the name. Every system must of necessity contain some elements of formal expediency, if it is based on logic, since principles cannot always be pushed to their logical conclusion. Moreover, a legal fiction was often designed to preserve the memory of a principle, while alleviating the strict requirements of a law, especially if the fulfilment had become too difficult for the community (*lᵉhāqēl*). It must be remembered that the scribe or Rabbi had a twofold, if not a manifold, personality; he was a civil judge as well as a religious teacher. It is not fair to confuse the two functions and ignore the different attitudes necessary for such a double position. It is sometimes not easy to draw a line of demarcation. Further, the duty of the scribe was to specify clearly what was required of the people, to secure homogeneity of practice. It is obvious that the vague prohibition of work on the Sabbath would lead to public scandal and Sabbath-breaking, if the interpretation of 'work' were left to individuals. It was by specification and precision that a spiritual rest was achieved. The Sabbath was not merely a day of 'Don'ts.' As a matter of fact, the circumscribing of activities in the material sphere impelled a high sense of rest and consecration. This statement is capable of simple proof. On the whole, in the course of time, the Sabbath laws have not been relaxed. The tendency has been in the opposite direction (*lᵉhāḥămîr*). Consequently the observance of the Sabbath must be more rigid to-day than in the days of the early scribes. But no orthodox Jew feels the Sabbath to be anything but a day of true delight, awaited with eagerness and welcomed as a 'bride.'[2] And this delight can be realized only from within. No non-Jew is competent to describe it, for this experience is one which he can never have enjoyed. The Sabbath is to the Jew a day of ecstasy and good cheer, not of restraint; it has a positive, not a negative, character. Only when the Sabbath spirit is lost does the day become irksome. When, for example, in order to indulge in some amusement or to perform some act which is modern, and, consequently, falls under no prohibition exactly specified by the codes, but which is, nevertheless, obviously out of keeping with the Sabbatical spirit, the prohibitions are circumvented and are observed in the letter and not in the spirit, then the restrictions are felt to be irksome. But the fault lies with the Sabbath evaders, not with the scribes. The result is that the breach of the letter soon follows that of the spirit, and the observance of the Sabbath is finally abandoned. Those who keep the Sabbath do not suffer a penitential gloom,[3] as is often falsely imagined: those who see only the restrictions, and not the underlying spirit, tend, in process of time, to lose the Sabbath altogether. It is therefore those who do not keep the Sabbath that find it a burden.

(*b*) Many arguments are theoretical, being of the nature of exercises in logic and dialectic in which every hypothetical possibility has to be considered. Reuben and Simeon often correspond to John Doe and Richard Roe.

(2) The work of the Pharisees and scribes is attacked by writers who desire to belittle Judaism, in order to exalt the daughter faith. There are some who, conceiving nothing positive about Christianity, would make the *raison d'être* of that religion the failure of Judaism. This tendency leads to perversions of fact, not always due to ignorance. Attention is deliberately focused on the 'mountains suspended by a hair,' and the Pharisaic Rabbis are represented as casuists and hypocrites, their vast spiritual activity being purposely concealed. According to the writers of this class, Judaism is effete. It is not enough to say that the Law is no longer obligatory on Christians because of the coming of Jesus. Judaism itself must be stamped as corrupt and therefore superseded.

The influence of the Pharisees was immense. They were men of extreme piety and devotion, and their aim was to sanctify every phase of daily life. The Jew was to think of God in every act, at every moment. Not only must the command itself be observed; it must be safeguarded by a 'fence' (*sᵉyāgh*). Naturally among so great a party there were those who fell short of the high ideal that was set them. Alexander Jannæus warned his wife to beware of the 'false' Pharisee. In the famous passages of the Talmud (Jer. *Ber.* ix. 5 [8], ed. princ., fol. 13*a*, outer col., ed. Jitomir, 1858–64, p. 119; M. Schwab, French tr., Paris, 1871, p. 171, or Eng. ed., 1886, p. 168; Bab. *Soṭa*, 22*b*; see also *Ābôth de R. Nathan*, perek xxxvii., ed. S. Schechter, Vienna, 1887, p. 109=55*a*; see note 4 of Schechter) seven classes of Pharisees are mentioned: he who accepts the Law as a burden; he who acts from interested motives; he who counter-balances; he who is sparing ostentatiously; he who asks to be shown a good action, that he may do it; he who acts through fear; and he who is inspired by love.

The apparently sweeping condemnation of the Pharisees in the Gospels is perhaps due to the fact that the rebukes were originally directed against the hypocritical Pharisees, who had disappeared in the time when the Gospels were compiled or copied. To the Christian scribe, after the destruction of the Temple, these distinctions were unknown. Discrimination was, therefore, meaningless to him, and was consequently omitted. The result has been that the special condemnation of a small minority has been made to include a large and God-fearing class of men. The presence of upright and noble Pharisees receives recognition in the NT in the account of Nicodemus, who was also 'a ruler of the Jews' (Jn $3^{1ff.}$ 7^{50-52} 19^{39}).

The greatest achievement of the Pharisees was the advance which they taught in the doctrine of the future life. On this point, as also on the question of angels, they differed from the Sadducees. The name of this party has been derived from *ṣaddîq*, 'righteous,' or, with more probability, from *Ṣādôq*, Zadok, the famous priest from whom, it is said, they claimed descent. As opposed to the Pharisees, who were largely democratic, the Sadducees were aristocratic. The Sadducees did not accept the Pharisaic *Hălākhā*. They maintained the principle of 'eye for eye' literally; the Pharisees had long commuted the penalty (see Funk, p. 47; Judah Halevi, *Kitāb al-Khazarī*, ed. Hirschfeld, pt. iii. § 46, p. 175). They interpreted 'the day after the Sabbath' (Lv 23^{11}) literally, not, as their opponents, the 'day after the festival.' Their rejection of the doctrine of immortality was based on ethical principles. The founder, Antigonus of Socho, a disciple of Simon the Just, made his motto, 'Be not as servants that serve the master for the sake of gaining a reward, but be like servants who serve not for the sake of gaining a reward, and let the fear of Heaven be upon you' (*Ābôth*, i. 3; Singer, p. 184; R. T. Herford, in R. H. Charles, *Apoc. and Pseudepigr. of OT*, Oxford, 1913, ii. 691; see, further, art. SADDUCEES).

It must be observed that, when the Rabbis contrast two ways of serving God, 'from love' (*mē'ahăbhāh*) and 'from fear' (*miyyirāh*), and extol the former, they are practically in unconscious agreement with this saying, because 'love' here implies disinterested service, performed for its own sake. According to Antigonus, there was to be no reward in a life beyond the grave. The Sadducean doctrine of doing good for its own sake is perhaps ethically higher than that of the Pharisees, but it is the doctrine for a saint and recluse, and is impracticable as a popular creed; hence, if for no other reason, the Pharisaic party and form of belief were the more popular.

The two parties, according to Josephus, differed also on the question of free will. The Pharisees held that man's freedom of action was limited. They 'ascribe all to providence and to

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[1] Of all the comprehensive verdicts on this important class, the most impartial and scientific may be found in an ordination sermon by Foakes Jackson, called 'Our Lord and the Pharisees,' published in the *Peterborough Diocesan Magazine*, Jan. 1910, with which every orthodox Jew will be in agreement. Of larger scope, and equally praiseworthy, is R. T. Herford's *Pharisaism* (London, 1912).

[2] This is well shown by Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul*, p. 82 f.

[3] See G. H. Box, *Spiritual Teaching of the Jewish Pr. Book* [*Judaism and Christianity: Short Studies*], London, 1906, p. 13.

God, and yet allow that to act as is right, or the contrary, is principally in the power of men; although fate does co-operate in every action. . . . But the Sadducees take away fate entirely and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil; and that to act as is good or as is evil is at men's own choice, and each man attaches himself to the one or the other at will' (Josephus, *BJ* II. viii. 14).

It would be wrong to imagine that the whole code of life, especially the laws of ritual purity, prescribed by the Pharisees was intended by them to be incumbent on all alike. The *'am hā'āreṣ* (*q.v.*), or multitude, was free from most of these provisions, which were observed only by the *ḥ^{a}bhērîm*, or 'associates.' This has been conclusively shown by A. Büchler (*Der galiläische 'Am-ha 'Areṣ*, Vienna, 1906). Nor was the antagonism of Pharisee and *'am hā'āreṣ* general, as is often thought. Had that been the case, the Sadducees would have been more influential and popular.

A third sect existed among the Jews, the Essenes (*q.v.*), whose name is as inexplicable as the sect itself. Josephus (*BJ* II. viii. 2 ff.) gives a long account of their manner of life and forms of belief.

They were communistic ascetics. They rejected pleasure as evil, owned property in common, and recruited their numbers more by the adoption of children and the accession of proselytes than by marriage, which, however, they did not entirely avoid. Their piety was extraordinary, and they indulged in ritual lustrations. They were noted for their fidelity; 'whatsoever they say is firmer than an oath.' They devoted themselves to researches in ancient writings and to the study of natural medicine. They believed in the corruptibility of the body and the immortality of the soul. They believed in reward and punishment as an incentive to right conduct. Many of their customs give evidence of some foreign connexion, and it has been suggested that they derived some of their ideas from Gnostic, Pythagorean, and other sources. It is clear, however, that they formed but an isolated section, and that they cannot have entered very deeply into the life of the people. Their indifference to the Temple ritual was a sufficient cause for separation, without their ascetic practices, which would not appeal to a multitude. The most important feature in connexion with the Essenes is their mysticism. For their influence on the Ḳabbālā see art. ḲABBĀLĀ.

The oldest Jewish schismatics were, of course, the Samaritans (*q.v.*). After the fall of Samaria, the king of Assyria introduced immigrants from Babylon, Cuthah, Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim to replace the deported Israelites (2 K $17^{24\text{ff.}}$).

These settlers partially adopted Judaism, serving the God of Israel, but not entirely abandoning idolatry. In 432 B.C. they were joined by Jewish exiles from Jerusalem who had quarrelled with Nehemiah (Neh 13^{28}; Josephus, *Ant.* XI. vii. 2, viii. 7). The dispute turned upon the question of intermarriage. Being excluded from worship at Jerusalem, they desired a temple of their own. One of the refugees, Manasseh, a brother of Jaddua the high priest, had married a daughter of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria. For this he was disqualified from officiating at Jerusalem, and he therefore urged his father-in-law to cause an altar to be erected in Shechem. This was done, and the existence of a rival temple on Mount Gerizim further embittered the relations between the Jews and the Samaritans. During the Maccabæan wars the Samaritans sided with Antiochus (Josephus, *Ant.* XII. v. 5). Later, John Hyrcanus destroyed their temple. They possessed the Pentateuch in a somewhat different recension, which they wrote in their own characters, resembling the ancient Semitic script, but none of the Prophets, whose inspiration they did not recognize.

In addition to the books of Daniel, Chronicles (in part), and Ecclesiastes, and the works of the historian Josephus, other sources are available for information about this period. The Apocryphal writings, in most cases contemporary, furnish abundant material, especially for a study of thought and religion.

In using evidence from the Apocrypha, it must be borne in mind that we cannot be definitely certain that we have before us an illustration of general Jewish thought. One of the reasons that prevented the reception of the Apocrypha into the canon was, no doubt, its divergence, in some cases, from orthodoxy. It does not always follow that orthodoxy changed between the compilation of the various Apocryphal writings and the formation of the canon. In some cases, books, once orthodox, have become Apocryphal, at least from the Jewish point of view, by reason of Christian or sectarian interpolations. Consequently care must be exercised in accepting statements from the Apocrypha as descriptive of Judaism generally.

In the main, however, the Apocrypha furnishes a most valuable link between the OT and the NT. The beliefs of the Pharisees are very largely inspired and reflected by it. The doctrine of immortality is strongly developed in Daniel (12^2). In Wisdom ($3^{1\text{ff.}}$) it is associated with reward and punishment after death.

'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them. In the eyes of the foolish they seemed to have died . . . but they are in peace. For even if in the sight of men they be punished, their hope is full of immortality . . . the Lord shall reign over them for evermore . . . and the faithful shall abide with him in love.' 'God created man for incorruption, and made him an image of his own everlastingness' (2^{23}).

On the other hand, Ecclesiasticus has no clear belief in immortality, but, if anything, inclines to a Sadducean rejection of the idea. Ben Sirach's philosophy was that punishment overtook the sinner in this life. If the righteous died unrewarded, his recompense lay in the good name which he left behind him (see Bevan, p. 58 ff.). The canonical book of Ecclesiastes definitely breaks with the idea, if, as is held by some scholars, the last chapter, especially v.^{7}, be an orthodox addition to obtain the inclusion of the book in the authoritative Scriptures. The writer of 2 Maccabees, who derived his history from Jason of Cyrene, is emphatic in his belief in a future life, even in the resurrection of the body as well. That the latter idea seems also to have been held by Jesus may be deduced from Mk 9^{43-48}, unless the words were intended purely metaphorically. The second book of Maccabees contains many verses which might be cited to instance the author's unshaken belief in a future life.

'Thou, miscreant, dost release us out of this present life, but the King of the world shall raise up us, who have died for his laws, unto an eternal renewal of life' (7^9). 'For these our brethren, having endured a short pain that bringeth everlasting life . . .' (v.^{36}). Perhaps the most suggestive passage in the book is 12^{44}, 'For if he were not expecting that they that had fallen would rise again, it were superfluous and idle to pray for the dead.'

The date of 2 Maccabees has been placed within the period 60–1 B.C.; slightly earlier were the so-called Psalms of Solomon (70–40 B.C.), a collection of distinctly Pharisaic poems. In these the Sadducees are attacked and seem marked out for eternal damnation, unless, indeed, repentance is considered to commute punishment. The doctrine of immortality is very strongly taught (H. E. Ryle and M. R. James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, Cambridge, 1891, p. li; see 3^{16} 13^9 14^7 15^{15}).

In Judith there is no reference to a future state; but this is probably accidental, and no argument can be drawn from this silence. Enough has been cited from the Apocryphal writings to prove that the doctrine of immortality was now firmly established in Judaism.

The question of reward and punishment is associated with the questions of immortality, evil, and free will. It has been doubted by some authorities (*e.g.*, Ryle and James, p. 1 (d)) whether the statement of Josephus, relative to the difference between the Sadducees and Pharisees on free will, is accurate. The ninth Psalm of Solomon upholds man's freedom and responsibility:

'Our works are subject to our own choice and power to do right or wrong in the works of our hands' (v. 7).

Several Apocryphal works deal with the problem of evil. There is not much advance in thought, but it must be remembered that, in the solution of this enigma, the progress of philosophy since Job has not been great. The chief source, in the Apocrypha, is 2 Esdras. To the writer it is inexplicable that Israel should have been punished for its sins, while the enemies of Israel have been allowed to go free. The answer is to be found in a combination of the existing solutions. The ways of God cannot be understood by man, and in time to come He will send retribution and recompense. Baruch and Enoch also deal with the problem. About this time the idea of original sin grew up; but, as

Judaism has never adopted this idea, care must be exercised in studying those early allusions, and in accepting their testimony as typical (but see the theory of S. Levy, *The Doctrine of Original Virtue*, London, 1907).

The existence of an active power or powers for evil also comes into prominence, especially, though not exclusively, in the Apocalyptic writings (cf. art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Jewish], vol. iv. p. 612 ff.). Not only such books as Enoch, which are full of demonology and angelology, but even Wisdom (2^{24}), contain such allusions: 'By the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and they that are of his portion make trial thereof.' Perhaps this recrudescence of demonology is due to the old repugnance to ascribe evil to the Deity. Thus, Jubilees, in describing the temptation of Abraham, makes the agent not the Deity, but an evil spirit, Mastêmâ ($17^{16ff.}$). The later *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* omit the incident entirely. Tobit also contains references to the devil (6^{17} 8^{3}) and to demons.

The pessimism of Ecclesiastes represents one trend of thought, probably Sadducean; Wisdom ($1^{13f.}$) another:

> 'God made not death; neither delighteth he when the living perish: for he created all things that they might have being: and the generative powers of the world are healthsome, and there is no poison of destruction in them: nor hath Hades royal dominion upon earth.'

The Pharisaic teaching was predominantly optimistic, and the Rabbinic writings are full of the sentiment that this world is good: the observance of the Law was a joy in itself.[1] It was good because it was the handiwork of the Creator, who saw 'that it was good.' Probably the pessimism of the Essenes, as much as anything else, contributed to their disappearance. The fatherhood of God was one of the keystones of Rabbinic teaching. 'The latter end of the righteous he calleth happy; and he vaunteth that God is his father' (Wis 2^{16}). The immanence was always upheld, and the transcendental nature of the Deity was held to correspond with, not to contradict, His nearness to man.[2] The divine fatherhood was one of the answers to the problem of suffering and a protection against the assaults of evil.

Two books of the Apocrypha, Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom, belong to the category of didactic literature, devoted to the praise of wisdom. They are the counterpart of the OT Wisdom literature. With the Rabbis wisdom was often lauded, and its great powers are often enumerated, but it is synonymous with the Torah and connotes religion, whereas in the Apocrypha 'wisdom' implies knowledge in a wider sense. While 'the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom,' general secular learning is sometimes meant. Hellenizing and perhaps Gnostic influences may be held responsible, to some extent, for the growth and spread of these ideas.

Wisdom, as in the OT, is personified. She saves Adam after the Fall, Lot from Sodom, Jacob from Esau, Joseph and Israel from Egypt; in fact, she is God's instrument (Wis $10^{1ff.}$). 'By thy wisdom thou formedst man' (9^{2}); Wisdom is 'the artificer of all things' (7^{22}). Wisdom is associated ($9^{1ff.}$) with the 'Word of God,' though the Logos theory is not developed very far.

Perhaps the personification of wisdom, which, of course, can be paralleled in Proverbs, as in 8^{22} 9^{1}, may be regarded as the first stage in the growth of angelology. Except in the definitely Apocalyptic books, angels seem to have been used as poetical images, and regarded from a figurative point of view. In Jubilees, however, and in the Ascension of Isaiah, very advanced angelology—*e.g.*, division into groups and grades—occurs. Both of these books are later in date, and the references belong to Christian rather than to Jewish Apocrypha.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature in the Psalms of Solomon is the central position occupied by eschatological and Messianic ideas. In no portion of the Apocrypha is a clearer view presented or a more spiritual hero portrayed. The title *χριστὸς* is here, perhaps for the first time, used in the sense of Messiah. Pss.-Sol. $17^{23\text{-end}}$ and 18 deal particularly with the future deliverer. The time of his coming is concealed from human knowledge; it will be heralded by great disasters. These were later known as the 'birth-pangs of the Messiah' (*ḥebhlē Māshīaḥ*). The deliverer was to be descended, but not supernaturally, from the house of David, the Davidic relation being a link with the Messiah of the prophets. He will be supreme on earth, but under God; he will be king and priest; he will destroy 'proud sinners' and break up the rule of the Gentiles, *i.e.* the Romans. He will restore the kingdom and gather in the outcasts of Israel. He will rule the nations and peoples in holiness and wisdom, and he will be known for his justice. The era of universal peace and brotherhood is not so clearly indicated as by Isaiah. There are, however, distinct allusions to it: 'There shall be no unrighteousness in his days,' nor will he reign by means of war (Pss.-Sol. $17^{36f.}$); 'Blessed shall they be that shall be in those days, in that they shall see the goodness of the Lord which He shall perform for the generation that is to come' (18^{7}). The blessings are not to be restricted to Israel; the converted Gentiles shall share them. There is no reference to judgment, resurrection, or immortality.

Ryle and James (p. lvi) quote an earlier parallel from the Alexandrine Sibylline Oracles, in the last quarter of the 2nd cent. B.C. Here (*Orac. Sibyll.* iii. 652–656) the Messiah (called 'King') is sent by God to make war to cease from the whole world, punishing and rewarding, not in virtue of his own power, but by the authority of God.

The views as to the Messiah were various and by no means uniform. Material deliverers were expected by some, spiritual by others. In such a complex situation it is difficult to get a synoptic view. In 2 Maccabees the Messianic element is meagre; in 2 Esdras, on the other hand, the length of his dominion is specified as 400 years. Enoch associates the Messiah with the future life and reward and punishment (chs. 48–51, 90, Charles, ii. 216 ff., 259 ff.), and in the later Apocryphal books the idea is developed. Ecclesiasticus, with its disbelief in a future life ($17^{27.\,30}$), has no place for a Messianic personage. The absence of this idea is a distinctive mark of Sadducean origin.

The Sadducees were probably not lacking in devotion to the Torah; their observance was perhaps less extensive, but not less fervent. They rejected the *s*^{e}*yāgh*, or fence, which the Pharisees erected. They did not insist so strongly and frequently as the Pharisees on the necessity for observing the Law, because this was taken for granted.

The Sadducees had 'their traditions as to the way the Law should be carried out in practice, but they refused to make the authority of the Scribes absolute. It is sometimes said that the Sadducees were analogous to the modern rationalists. The comparison is not a happy one . . . it would rather be to those in the eighteenth century who adhered to the church of the fashionable classes, resenting any religious claim upon them outside the routine of conventional decencies, and bitterly opposed the fantastic "enthusiasm," as they called it, of the followers of Wesley' (Bevan, p. 125).

A 'stern judgment' is threatened, 'awfully and swiftly,' upon those in 'high place' who have not kept the Law (Wis $6^{4f.}$). The aim of the book of Judith, the composition of which has been assigned either to the age of the Maccabees or to the period following Pompey's attack on Jerusalem in 63 B.C., is to extol the Law. The Sabbaths and festivals are mentioned (8^{6} 10^{2}), firstfruits and tithes (11^{13}), and circumcision (14^{10}). Tobit is similar to Judith in enjoining strict adherence to the Law; the dietary laws, firstfruits, charity, prayer, and repentance are specially emphasized. Baruch, Jubilees, and the Psalms of Solomon all 'magnify the Law and make it honourable.' In Ecclesiasticus, on the other hand, the function of the scribe is that of a philosopher rather than a religious instructor (39^1); he is an expounder of ancient lore, of sententious doctrine, rather than of statutes and ordinances. This does not mean that the Law is lightly esteemed; it was a self-evident truth that the Commandments were to be carried out; and the maxims and wisdom of Ecclesiasticus were intended, doubtless, as a complement to the more essentially practical teaching of the other books.

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[1] See C. G. Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul*, p. 28 ff.

[2] J. Abelson, *Immanence of God in Rabbinical Lit.*, Introd.

The attitude towards the Law may be paralleled by that adopted towards the Temple and sacrifices. No finer tribute to the ecclesiastical system can be found than the magnificent eulogy of Simon, the son of Onias, the great high priest, the type of the *Kôhēn Ṣedeḳ*, in Sir 50. Great as was his well-deserved popularity, one feels that some, at least, of the praises are intended for the office rather than for the personality of the occupant. Significant is his[1] motto, 'Upon three things the world is based: upon the Torah, upon the Temple service, and upon the practice of charity' (*Ābôth*, i. 2; Singer, p. 184; Charles, ii. 691). His disciple, Antigonus of Socho, the founder of the Sadducees, is hardly likely to have inculcated a dislike of Temple ritual, having been the pupil of so distinguished a high priest. Ecclesiasticus, like Ecclesiastes, makes no great point of the sacrificial system; like the Law, it was taken as a matter of course (see also Jth 16^{16}).

Finally, reference should be made to an appreciation of natural phenomena,[2] just as in the Psalms and in Job the poetical genius was impressed by the beauty of the world. It is re-echoed in such stirring passages as Sir 42 f.

Little has been said hitherto as to the domestic practices[3] and personal religion of the Jews. These subjects can be dealt with more conveniently in the next epoch.

3. To the completion of the Gemārā.—Isaiah had warned his countrymen against appeals to foreign powers for aid. The unreal glamour of such alliances scarcely concealed the silken but effective fetters of vassalage. Judah, flattered at the idea of being an equal ally of a mighty monarch, was, in point of fact, reduced to a dependent subject State. Exactly the same political error was committed by the Hasmonæans, in seeking the aid of Rome. Wherever the eagles once set foot, the country ultimately fell under Roman rule and was deprived of every vestige of independence. It may be argued that, in any case, Judæa could not have remained unnoticed, but must inevitably be drawn into contact with the great world power. This is true; but, had Judas not broken with the Ḥăsîdîm, it is possible that dissolution of the Jewish State might have been accomplished more peaceably. The pious party—whether Ḥăsîdîm or Pharisees—were supremely indifferent to the personality of their civil rulers and the political system by which they were governed. So long as freedom of worship was secured, they were ready 'to render unto Cæsar' his due. The Maccabæan princes and the Sadducees, being eager for national and political independence, could not fail to precipitate a conflict which their opponents might have avoided or at least mitigated.

The influence of Roman government on Judaism was manifest in three ways: (1) the functions of the Rabbis became more exclusively religious than civil or political; (2) the unity of the Roman Empire stimulated the growth of the Diaspora; (3) the Roman period witnessed perhaps the most fruitful epoch of internal religious expansion and constructive development in Judaism. To begin with, the civil authority of the Rabbis was diminished by curtailing the jurisdiction and sanction of the Jewish courts. The right of giving decisions in questions involving finance was abrogated in the time of R. Simon b. Sheṭaḥ, during the reign of Alexander Jannæus; the power of inflicting the death penalty was suspended forty years before the fall of the Temple (Jer. *Sanh.* 18*a*, inner col., line 24 of first pereḳ, ed. Krotoschin, 1866; Schwab's tr., Paris, 1888, p. 228; see CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Jewish), vol. iv. pp. 288–290). This limitation of the powers of the Rabbis served to intensify the ill-feeling between the Jews and the Romans, but it did not cause the disappearance of the Jewish laws in those spheres where they were no longer operative. The attention of the schools was centred on the discussion of civil and social enactments and prescriptions, even though their practical application was, at the time, impossible. The debates and decisions, being incorporated in the Gemārā, have preserved faithfully a detailed record of these laws. The tendency of the Rabbis was, henceforward, to become religious teachers rather than civil officials. In the time of the Sepphoris academies, there were bitter feuds between the Jewish civil and religious officials. This, however, must not be taken to imply the rise of a new class of professional Rabbis. A new class of Jewish civil servants arose, called Parnāsîm,[1] etc., who were often in antagonism to the Rabbis. They were tax-gatherers and administrators, and are reproached for many evil practices (see A. Büchler, *Pol. and Soc. Leaders of Jew. Comm. of Sepphoris*, London, 1909). But the Rabbis remained, as before, private individuals. In general, they were accustomed to earn their living, not by teaching, but by some occupation or handicraft.

R. Gamaliel III. (first third of 1st cent. A.D.), the son of R. Judah the Prince, said: 'All study of the Torah without work must in the end be futile and become the cause of sin' (*Ābôth* ii. 2; Singer, p. 187; Herford, in Charles, ii. 695). R. Zadok (1st cent. A.D.) used to say: 'Make not of the Torah a crown wherewith to aggrandise thyself, nor a spade wherewith to dig'; quoting Hillel's motto, 'He who makes a worldly use of the crown of the Torah shall waste away,' he deduces that 'whosoever derives a profit for himself from the words of the Torah is helping on his own destruction (*ib.* iv. 7; Singer, p. 196; Herford, p. 704).

The share of the Roman Empire in the growth of the Diaspora is almost incalculable. Jewish settlements arose in many distant lands and cities. Many causes stimulated the spirit of travel and colonization among the Jews. The peacefulness of life in a Roman province, as compared with the turbulent conditions prevailing in Palestine, must have induced many Jews to settle abroad. Commerce and deportation were other factors. Life in Palestine was considered superior to foreign residence (see Judah Halevi's *Kitāb al-Khazarī*, tr. Hirschfeld, pt. ii. §§ 22, p. 98; *Giṭṭîn*, 8*a*, etc.; *Ābôth de R. Nathan*, 2nd text, pereḳ xxxix., ed. Schechter, p. 54*a* [=107]; *Keth.* 110*b* and 111*a*; cf. *JE* ix. [1905] 503 f.), especially as many laws could be fulfilled only in the Holy Land. But the Jews outside were not forgetful of their religious duties. Of this there is abundant evidence. In earlier days, the Egyptian Jews at Syene, as may be seen from the papyri, observed the Passover, and used the Jewish formula of marriage, 'Thou shalt be my wife,' not the customary Egyptian declaration, 'Thou shalt be my husband.' Philo (*de Vita Moysis*, ii. 137 [Mangey]; ed. L. Cohn and P. Wendland, Berlin, 1902, iv. 204 f.; tr. Cohn, Breslau, 1909, i. 302) bears testimony to the strictness with which their descendants kept the Sabbath, abstaining from all manner of work, neither kindling fires nor carrying burdens, nor in any way violating the Pharisaic *sᵉyāgh*. In Syria, too, Judaism flourished and spread (see Josephus, *BJ* VII. iii. 3). From the Babylonian business documents of the great commercial house of Murashu and Sons, in which documents many Jewish names occur, Samuel Daiches has shown how great was the zeal for Judaism existing among the Jews in Mesopotamia (*The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra*, London, 1910).

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[1] There is considerable doubt whether Sir 50 refers to Simon I., son of Onias I. (310–291 B.C.), or to Simon II., son of Onias II. (190–170 B.C.), or to Simon Maccabæus (143–137 B.C.), the words 'Son of Onias' being then a gloss. See Taylor, *Sayings of the Jew. Fathers*^{2}, Cambridge, 1897, p. 12; H. T. Andrews, *The Apocryphal Books*, London, 1908, p. 33; G. H. Box and W. O. E. Oesterley, in R. H. Charles, i. 293, 507, decide in favour of Simon II.

[2] See Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul*, p. 46.

[3] See also art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Jewish), vol. v. pp. 879-881.

[1] On the functions of these officials see *JE* ix. [1905] 541 f.

Judaism had also planted itself firmly and extensively within the Roman Empire. The allusions of the classical writers are instructive. Already before the time of Pompey's conquests, Jews were to be found in the Italian cities (H. Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, Eng. tr., London, 1891–92, ii. 67). Jewish captives, brought to Rome as slaves, were freed by their co-religionists and added strength to the Jewish community. The hostile, or at all events contemptuous, attitude of Horace, Tacitus, and Juvenal was due to the inveterate Roman pride of race rather than to knowledge; it reflects a superficial popular verdict, not a judgment of matured reflexion. But such phrases as 'in qua te quaero proseucha' (Juvenal, iii. 296) are illuminating for the history of Judaism. They show that Jews brought their worship with them in their wanderings, and that their synagogues were numerous and well known. Cæsar, like Alexander and Napoleon, favoured the Jews, who greatly mourned his death (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 84). He supported and freed Aristobulus, and his influence was a valuable protection, for he allowed the Jews to perform their worship in Rome.[1] Augustus decreed the inviolability of synagogues, and exempted Jews from appearing in the law-courts on the Sabbath and on Friday after the ninth hour.[2] Judaism was indeed a missionary religion. The disgust at the hollowness of the old faith was causing many cultured Romans to waver in their allegiance to the gods of the Capitol, and a desire for the truth was making itself felt. The Jews were keen missionaries. They 'compassed sea and land' (Mt 23^{15}) to make one proselyte; they strove not to win lukewarm adherents, but to implant a fervent belief in Judaism, and to make the newcomer twice as zealous as themselves (see also Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vii. 15 [*PG* ix. 524 f.]).

Apart from religious ties and the common bond of the Hebrew language, one of the strongest links that united Jews scattered in different lands was the tax of a third of a shekel, to be applied to the Temple. This was ordained by Nehemiah ($10^{32\text{f.}}$) as a voluntary contribution, and it was loyally collected and forwarded from all parts. One of Cicero's orations, *pro Flacco*, was delivered in defence of a certain prætor of that name, who had seized two hundred pounds of gold which the Jews of Apamea, Laodicea, Adramyttium, and Pergamos had prepared to send to Jerusalem. Cicero pretends to be in fear of the Jewish members of the audience—an argument which, if not purely rhetorical, would show to what influence Jews had attained in public life. Under Severus, Judaism became a *religio licita*. Proselytes to Judaism were numerous, in high circles as well as among the populace, both in Rome and in Asia Minor. Their position was sufficiently important to require a special treatise of the Gemārā, containing laws, etc., affecting them. This treatise is *Mass. Gērîm* and belongs to the appendix of smaller *Massekhtôth*. The proselytes of the gate, *gēr hash-sha'ar* and *gēr tôshāb* (see Dt 5^{14} 14^{21}; *'Ăb. Zārā*, 64*b*), who accepted part of the Torah, that is to say, the 'Seven Noachian Precepts' (for which see *ERE* iv. 245ᵃ), are distinguished from the *gērē ṣedeḳ*, or full proselytes, for whom a blessing was added to the *'Ămîdāh* (see Singer, p. 48). The translations of the Bible into Greek, by Aquila, and into Aramaic (the Targum *Onḳelos hag-gēr*), are ascribed to proselytes. Queen Helena of Adiabene, her son Izates, and King Monobazus adopted Judaism before the time of Claudius (Josephus, *Ant.* XX. ii.); Flavius Clemens, the cousin of Domitian, died a martyr for his adopted Judaism in A.D 95, his wife and fellow-convert, Flavia Domitilla, being exiled to Pandataria (see Dio Cassius, lxvii. 14; and art. PROSELYTES).

As a rule, Rome did not persecute for religious motives, preferring to overlook nonconformity wherever possible; but with the spread of Judaism and of Christianity the refusal to sacrifice to the Emperor or to look on him as a deity was regarded as treason, and punished with death. The private and public life of Rome was so closely associated with idolatry that intercourse between Jew and Roman was very restricted. Every civic or social act or custom was allied to idolatrous worship or the pouring of libations to heathen deities. The refusal to participate caused the Jews, and the Christians too, to be regarded as atheists[1] and as unsociable haters of mankind. The problem of regulating this intercourse was serious. On the one hand, Jews had to be kept entirely free from participation in idolatry; on the other hand, the Rabbis were anxious to enable the Jews to mix with their neighbours, as far as was consistent with a strict observance of Judaism, for social and commercial purposes, so that the lot of the orthodox Jew should not be too rigorous. Hence the treatise *'Ăbôdā Zārā* and the enactments of Tertullian (see the Introd. in W. A. L. Elmslie's ed. of *Ăbôdā Zārā* in *TS* viii. 2 [1911]). Of the 316 differences between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, 18 are connected with intercourse with pagans and the use of pagan articles of food. The discussion of these differences, in the house of Ananias b. Hezekiah b. Garon, became very acrimonious, and, it is said, finally led to blows. It was afterwards regarded as a day of black misfortune to Israel, no less disastrous than the day on which the Golden Calf was set up (see *Mishna Shabb.*, i. 4 ff.; Bab. *Shabb.* 13*a*, 17*a*, etc.; Tos. *Shabb.* i. 16 = M. S. Zuckermandel, Pasewalk, 1880–82, p. 111, l. 2). This is, doubtless, a verdict of posterity on the consequences of interdicting intercourse with heathen so strictly. The Jews adopted much from the Romans. The Haggādā for Passover, or order of domestic ceremonies, with which this festival is observed, is saturated with customs copied from Roman etiquette.

The menu 'ab ovo usque ad mala' is represented by the hard-boiled eggs, eaten just before the meal, and the *ḥărôseth* (apples soaked in wine and spices); the piece of unleavened bread, *afîqômān* (ἀπὸ κώμης, κῶμον, 'after the feast,' or perhaps ἐπὶ κῶμον, 'during the meal'), takes the place of the usual dessert of apples for a special reason on this night. The method of 'leaning' at the meal is that of the *triclinium*; the prescription of four glasses, reminiscent of the *propinatio* or fixing of the number of glasses and proportion of wine by the *arbiter* or *dictatrix bibendi* (see Hor. *Odes* III. xix.; Plautus, *Pers.* v. i. 19 ff.), is most instructive; the number of glasses usually corresponded to the number of letters in the name of the chief guest. Four would obviously represent the Tetragrammaton. This and the 'mixing of the wine,' the 'dipping,' etc., are all instances which show how the ritual of Judaism has preserved innocent manners and customs borrowed from Roman dinner tables.

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[1] Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 4, x. 8; Dio Cassius, xli. 18.

[2] Jos. *Ant.* XVI. vi. 1–7.

[1] ἐπηνέχθη δὲ . . . ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἤθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γοῦν οὐσιῶν ἐστερήθησαν (Dio Cassius, xvii. 41).

In another way, too, the Diaspora was affected by the shifting of the schools. Galilee was a barbarous district before the Rabbinical academies were transferred to Usha, Sepphoris, and Tiberias. Mesopotamia, on the other hand, was a more fruitful soil and actually 'lent' learning to Palestine, so that Hillel 'brought' Babylonian wisdom to the land of Israel.[1] As in the case of Christianity, the growth of the Diaspora was not entirely a source of strength. When Judaism spread abroad, sects arose within.

A contrast has often been drawn between the Jews of Egypt and those of Mesopotamia. On the whole, the latter country was more favourable to the growth of the spirit of Judaism. Babylon is the birthplace of the larger Talmud, undying in its influence on Judaism; Egypt is the home of the Septuagint, which was superseded by Aquila's version and became the heritage of the Greek Church, as well as of Philo Judæus (*q.v.*), whose philosophy, though important in its day, cannot for a moment be compared with the teachings of the Babylonian Rabbis in its importance for Judaism. The Jewish communities of Egypt seem to have fluctuated and disappeared periodically, at all times. Thus, when the Arab general, ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, conquered the country (A.D. 640–642), no mention is made of the Jews among the religions enumerated in the treaty of peace with the Mukaukīs. The Jews of Egypt and of Mesopotamia were mostly orthodox; but sects, more or less heretical, manifested themselves in Palestine at an early date. Justin Martyr enumerates (*Dial. cum Tryph.* 80 [*PG* vi. 665]), besides the Sadducees and Pharisees, the Genistæ, Meristæ, Galilei, Helleniani, and Baptistæ.[2] Clement of Alexandria also mentions (*Strom.* vii. 15 [*PG* ix. 524]) the existence of Jewish sects.[3] Against the sectaries, or *Mînîm*—a term which at certain periods included Jewish Christians—a special commination, drawn up by Samuel the Younger (early part of 2nd cent.) at the request of Gamaliel, was added to the Eighteen Benedictions.[4] The Boethusians,[5] a Sadducean sect, were descended from Simon b. Boethus of Alexandria. The Cairo Genizah has recently furnished documents of an unknown group of sectaries. These have been edited by S. Schechter (*Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, i., Cambridge, 1910), who attributes them to a Zadokite sect at Damascus founded in Maccabæan times.

This hypothesis has been disputed, however, by many of the scholars who have devoted themselves to the book. See Israel Lévi (*REJ* lxi. [1911] 161–205); M. J. Lagrange (*RB*, new ser., ix. [1912] 213–240, 321–360); W. Bacher (*Zeitschr. für hebr. Bibl.*, vol. xv. [1911], no. 1, pp. 13–25); G. Margoliouth (*Athenæum*, 26 Nov. 1911, *Exp*, VIII. ii. [1911] 499–517, iii. [1912] 213–235), who believes that the Zadokites regarded John the Baptist as the Messiah and Jesus as the teacher of righteousness; R. H. Charles (ii. 785 ff.), who regards the book as the composition of a party (not a sect) originating among the Sadducees, but closely related to the Pharisees, and writing between 18 and 8 B.C.; and A. Büchler (*JQR*, new ser., iii. [1912–13] 429–485), who regards the book as coming from the period preceding the Ḳaraite schism. At all events, this sect agrees with the Zadokites of Ḳirḳisānī, mentioned in the *Kitāb al-Anwār* ('Book of Lights'), in opposing Rabbinic ordinances in several particulars, notably divorce and the regulation of the calendar.

Another Sadducean sect was that of the Dositheans (see art. 'Dositheus' in *JE* iv. [1903] 643 f.). The Ophites and Naasenes, serpent-worshippers, were Gnostic sects that scarcely come within the confines of Judaism (see Graetz, ii. 378, and cf. *ERE* vi. 238 f.). Within orthodox Judaism dissent was not wanting. In addition to the schisms caused by pseudo-Messiahs, such as Theudas and Judas (Ac 5$^{36f.}$), in general, there was a great gap of thought between Palestine and Galilee in particular. The North was, for a long time, ignorant and superstitious, and especially in such points as demonology differences may be seen between Palestine and Galilee (see art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Jewish], vol. iv. p. 612 f.). Further, the ill-feeling was great between the Rabbis and the Jewish ruling classes in Sepphoris during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. It was not so strong, on the other hand, between the educated classes and those known as ʿ*am hā-āreṣ*, as is often maintained (*e.g.* in art. ʿAM HA-AREṢ, vol. i. p. 385 f.).[1]

Christianity was, of course, the most important and enduring of all the sects. A general consideration of Christianity and of its relation to Judaism must be reserved till the end of the article. For the moment it will suffice to mention the circumstances that close affinity existed between the teaching of its founder and that of the Essenes; that Christianity, like Judaism, spread rapidly in the Roman Empire, chiefly where Judaism had fructified the soil by its teachings; and that Christianity, like Judaism, soon developed sects and dissensions.

The three great prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, arose at national crises when their aid was most needed. All of them preached the doctrine of the survival of the Remnant, but in none of them was this Isaianic principle so strongly marked as in their great successor, R. Joḥanan ben Zakkai. This great teacher saw, like Jeremiah, that Judaism could indeed survive the loss of a temple, that it was universal, not national, and that it could flourish as well in foreign lands as at home. He saw, like Isaiah, that the great mass of the people were irreclaimable, and that the hope of Israel lay in the survival of a loyal Remnant. For this reason he managed to escape from the siege of Jerusalem, and, presenting himself to Titus, craved a boon. This was granted, and he received permission to found a school at Jamnia (Jabne, between Jaffa and Ashdod). This school proved the salvation of Judaism. After the fall of the Temple, when despair was universal, it was from this school that new hope went forth and a new epoch developed in the history of Judaism. Now indeed Judaism became essentially a religion of a book, but it was a living book, the pages of which were loyal human hearts. As the Return from Babylon resulted in the dissemination of the Written Law, so this 'Return,' or revival, resulted in the elucidation and ultimate codification of the Oral Law; it laid the foundation of the Talmud.

The name of 'scribes' (*Sôf*ᵉ*rîm*) was given to the earlier Pharisaic Rabbis, the last of whom was Simon the Just. The Soferim formed the mysterious body known as 'the Great Synagogue' (כנסת הגדולה [*Ābôth*, i. 2]). Whether this was an actual assembly or a name given to certain Rabbis is a much disputed point.

On the one hand, S. Funk writes (*Entst. des Talmuds*, p. 38): 'Die Grosse Versammlung war zunächst eine politische Oberbehörde und als solche eine gesetzgebende Körperschaft. Da aber ein grosser Teil derselben, zunächst die Priester und Leviten, den hohen und höchsten Kultusbehörden vorstanden, ist es selbstverständlich, dass auch religiöse Anordnungen durch diese Versammlung getroffen wurden. Was die Soferim in den Schulen gelehrt, wurde durch diese zum Gesetze erhoben.' On the other hand, H. E. Ryle (*The Canon of the OT*, London, 1892, Excursus A, where all the evidence is given) says (p. 270): 'The evidence is quite insufficient to justify us in regarding the "Great Synagogue" as an institution which ever played a real part in the history of the Jews . . . it was, we believe, a dream of the Jewish Doctors' (see also Taylor, p. 110; and, for Herford's theory, his *Pharisaism*, p. 21).

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[1] See last line of *Sukka*, 44*a*, and Rashi, *in loc.*

[2] These sects were known to Eusebius (*HE* IV. xxii. 6) from the work of an older author, Hegesippus; and Epiphanius (*Hær.* xvii. [*PG* xli. 256]) mentions as a Jewish sect the Hemerobaptistæ, who are the טובלי שחרית (Bab. *Ber.* 22*a*; Jer. *Ber.* iii. 6, c), not to be confused with the Essenes.

[3] On the various patristic references cited above see S. Krauss, 'The Jews in the Works of the Church Fathers,' *JQR* v. [1892–93] 122–157, vi. [1893–94] 82–99, 225–261.

[4] See *JE* viii. [1904] 595, xi. [1905] 281.

[5] *Inter alia*, they were strict Sabbatarians and did not believe that חִבּוּט עֲרָבָה דּוֹחָה אֶת־הַשַּׁבָּת (*Sukka*, 43*b*).

[1] Cf. A. Büchler's pamphlet, cited above (p. 591ᵇ): 'The Rabbis reciprocated the feeling [of hatred], but it found expression only in burlesque exaggerations (*e.g.* those quoted in art. ʿAM HA-AREṢ) addressed to scholars, which betrayed their incapacity of doing harm, and, I think, the insincerity of their hatred' (p. 58).

The successors of the Soferim were called *Tannāîm* (from Aram. *tenā* = Heb. *shānā*, 'to repeat'). Their teaching is, in consequence, called the Mishna (on which see art. TALMUD). The Soferim formulated; the Tannaim repeated. The Tannaite period was less constructive than conservative. This teaching was naturally not uniform. It was preserved verbally, under various forms, until collected by R. Judah the Prince (150–210), who made the recension of R. Meir authoritative. Other versions were 'external' (*Boraithā*; see annotated ed. of *The Authorised Daily Prayer-Book*, by I. Abrahams, p. xxv), or 'additions' (*Tôseftā*). All legal matter was called *Hălākhā*, from הָלַךְ, 'to walk,' *i.e.* a course of conduct. Homiletical and allegorical matter was termed *Haggādā* (or *Aggādā* in Aramaic), from the hiph'îl (הִגִּיד, 'to declare, tell, relate') of נָגַד, 'to be conspicuous.' Midrash (*q.v.*), or exposition, was the Halākhic or Haggādic exposition of the Scriptures.

It was noted for the use of the parable, which, though found in the OT, was revived and popularized by Jesus, if the theory is correct which is advanced by H. P. Chajes, who maintains[1] that the word 'authority' (ἐξουσία), in the phrase 'he taught as one having authority' (Mt 7^{29}), should be 'parable,' the Heb. root משל meaning both 'rule' and 'proverb.'

After the Bar Kokhba war the schools were transferred to Galilee and, ultimately, to Babylon. In these schools the Mishna was debated by later Rabbis, known as *'Ămôrāîm*, and their discussions, in Palestine and Babylon, are called the Palestinian and Babylonian Gemārā respectively. The word *Gᵉmārā* means 'completion.' Mishna and Gemārā together are called Talmud. Neither the Mishna nor the Gemārā was written down at first. They were preserved orally.

Great care must be taken in citing these works. It must be remembered that they embody information extending over centuries, and that they frequently give individual thoughts and expressions. Evidence must be carefully weighed and used with discrimination. The date, the place, and the author must be accurately noted. Evidence for Palestine is not always applicable to Galilee or Babylon. Similarly, chronological unity must be maintained. Further, the private circumstances of a speaker and the politics of his age must be remembered. Thus, a Rabbi who lived in an age of persecution will scarcely have known the meaning of tolerance. One who lived in the midst of wicked and immoral non-Jews would hardly have recommended his pupils or his flock to mix with heathen. Haphazard citations are inaccurate and misleading.

The Talmud is a *corpus juris* rather than a code. The reduction of all the legal matter to an orderly code was the work of later generations, and the arrangement of the Talmud was calculated to help the memory by the association of ideas, by the use of mnemonic aids, and by *memoria technica*. The whole life of man is regulated, and every act of daily life is considered. Not only matters essentially religious are dealt with, but also civil matters, hygiene, archæology, folklore, medicine, science, and table etiquette; indeed, the most heterogeneous subjects occur, so that of a truth the motto of the Talmud might be 'quicquid agunt homines nostri farrago libelli.' It must be remembered that the Talmud gives verbatim reports; consequently, it must be judged not as an encyclopædia or as a code of Justinian, but as a Hansard. Many cases are hypothetical or ideal; many 'hair-splitting' arguments are, in point of fact, exercises in logic and mental analysis (see above, p. 588^{a}). Hillel, who flourished about 100 B.C., and who introduced Babylonian learning to Palestine, perfected seven measures of argument (see Tos. *Sanh.* vii. 11. = Zuckermandel, p. 427, l. 4; see also Schechter's note, no. 12, on p. 110 = 55*b* of *Ābôth de R. Nathan*, Text A, perek xxxvii., ed. Schechter), later developed by R. Ishmael to thirteen (see Singer, p. 13). Hillel was the advocate of leniency (*mēqîl*), his rival Shammai, of rigour (*maḥmir*). Hillel's example of leniency was followed by his grandson Gamaliel I., son of Simon, who 'lightened' the Law by his decisions. This Gamaliel greatly opposed violence in repressing heresy, and it was he who advocated the release of Paul (Ac 5^{34-39}). He is also known for legislation for the protection of women and his regulation of the calendar. For a detailed account of the Talmudic legislation see art. TALMUD.

It was probably due to the rise of Christianity that the Canon[1] of the Bible was formed. The famous passage in *Baba bathra*, 14*b*, etc. (which may be consulted in Ryle, *op. cit.*, Excursus B), embodies the traditions of the selection of the Scriptures. Owing to the diffusion of heretical books (*ḥîṣônîm*, a term which may indicate either secular books or prohibited heretical scriptures, and, probably, the Gospels), measures had to be taken to protect the people from ascribing inspiration to documents that had no claim to such authority.

'Apocryphal books are called 'Genūzîm, "hidden away," books preserved as ancient but not adapted for public reading . . . (books) whose canonicity was disputed . . . different, in spite of the similarity in the derivation of the word, from Apocrypha. The name denotes doubt rather than final rejection' (Ryle, p. 187).

It is said that the fiercest fight raged about the inclusion of Canticles and Ecclesiastes, the former because the allegorical interpretation was not universally adopted, the latter because of its Sadducean tendencies. The strength of 'Aḳiba was excited in their favour, and the books received the stamp of canonicity, *i.e.* they were said 'to defile the hands.' This expression is indicative of the care for books inculcated by the Rabbis. In order to ensure safety and to preserve the scrolls from careless handling, they were declared to be 'unclean' (see the Mishna, treatise *Yādayim*).

The Jews, at the fall of the Temple, may be divided into three groups, each of which may be typified by a representative hero. (1) There was the party of extreme nationalism, the party of the zealots, who utterly repudiated Rome. An example of this class was 'Aḳiba, who supported the revolt of Bar Kokhba against Hadrian. The greatness of 'Aḳiba's work as a Halākhist was nearly lost through the terrible persecutions and wholesale exterminations that followed the suppression of the revolt which he had encouraged as a nationalist. 'Aḳiba stood for nationalism, but he stood for the Halākhā as well, and in this respect he differs from the zealots and from Bar Kokhba, whose aims were almost wholly political (see, further, art. AḲIBA BEN JOSEPH, vol. i. pp. 274–276). (2) At the other extreme stood Joḥanan ben Zakkai, who represents the old Ḥasidæan idea in its purest form. He and his followers concentrated on the Halākhā, and were indifferent to politics. Joḥanan, like Jeremiah, was denounced as a traitor, because, like Jeremiah, he realized the hopelessness of resistance, and saw that hope lay only in submission and in strict attention to the Law. He was subjected to persecution as Jeremiah was, and had to escape from Jerusalem in a coffin. (3) The third party may be typified by Josephus (*q.v.*), who, though equally eager for the Law and zealous for Judaism, believed in friendship with Rome. In this, but in this alone, he is reminiscent of the Hellenizers under the Maccabæans and the Sadducees. As regards nationalism he stands at the opposite extreme to 'Aḳiba, Joḥanan being perhaps midway between the two, though nearer to Josephus. Admiration for what was laudable in Roman institutions was not confined to the Sadducees. Paul boasts with pride of his Roman citizenship, and, almost in the same breath, of being a keen Pharisee. Even if Paul be regarded as a heretic, Josephus, no less conscious of the pride of Roman citizenship, was faithful to the Law.

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[1] *Markus-Studien*, Berlin, 1899, p. 11.

[1] Quite a different view as to the origin of the Canon is taken by M. Gaster, *The Biblical Lessons*, London, 1913 (reprinted from *Jew. Rev.* iii. [1912–13] 194, 292, 427); cf. also *ERE*, vol. ii. p. 568 f.

The fall of the Temple made the Jews wanderers, with a book for their portable fatherland and a code for their nationality. But the yearning to return to Zion showed itself to be deep and real. The liturgy contains many allusions to and prayers for a restoration, but the restoration which is described as the Return to Zion and the rebuilding of Jerusalem meant something more than a merely physical return and rebuilding. It was associated with the reign of universal peace and the coming of the Messiah. Under the overpowering influence of the catastrophe, such aspirations could not have been expressed in other phraseology. In the course of time the ideas became separated. It is significant that the rebuilding and the Return are not included in the Thirteen Creeds, based on Maimonides (see Abrahams, *Annotated Prayer-Book*, p. cii; *ERE* iv. 246^a), although the coming of the Messiah is mentioned as an article of faith. Judaism has no dogmatic precision as to eschatology. The Return may be exclusively physical in form, but not necessarily so. So, too, the restoration of the sacrifices. The verse of Hosea (14^2), 'Let us make up for the sacrifices with our lips' (see Ḳimḥi and also Abrahams, p. xxiv), was taken to indicate the supersession of sacrifice by prayer. The allusions to sacrifices in the liturgy are, for the most part, reminiscences, designed to preserve alive the memory of the Temple, as is the 'Ăbôdā, or Temple service, of the high priest, in the *Mūsāf* of the Day of Atonement. The belief in the restoration of the sacrifices is not clear, and many citations could be adduced on both sides (cf. O. J. Simon, 'Authority and Dogma in Judaism,' *JQR* v. 231–243, and the counter-statement of M. Hyamson, *ib.* 469–482).

This spiritualization has its counterpart in the homilies of the Midrash and the allegorization of Philo. It was also one of the points of difference between Sadducees and Pharisees. As an instance it may be remarked that the Sadducean sect of Boethus (*Meg. Ta'anith*, iv.) rejected the old traditional interpretation of the *lex talionis*,[1] adopted by the Pharisees, in which 'the *value* of an eye' was to be given for 'an eye.' The Sadducees claimed that the apparently literal explanation was correct and upheld severity. The Pharisees, on the other hand, pointed out that the injured party did not, in fact, receive compensation by this means. In this, as in other matters, the tendency to spiritualize and allegorize had been long existent.

For the growth of angelology, see art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Jewish). The effect of Gnostic learning and the continued influence of Greek philosophy made themselves felt even on Rabbis. It is said (Tos. *Ḥagiga*, ii., ed. Zuckermandel, p. 234, l. 7) that four Rabbis entered Paradise, *i.e.* indulged in the study of speculative philosophy. Ben Zoma lost his reason; Ben Azzai died young; Elisha ben Abuya 'cut down the little plants' (corrupted young students) and became an apostate; 'Aḳiba alone emerged in safety. It was feared that many who were unfitted might be led to undertake metaphysical research, and the Rabbis accordingly ordained that certain portions (*i.e.* עריות, incest, etc.) of the Scriptures should not be taught publicly; that is to say, they might be imparted to two students but not to a greater number at one time; other portions, *e.g.* בראשית, 'cosmology, genesis,' should not be taught except to one student, in private. The most mystical of all chapters was not taught at all, but was reserved for individual study in mature age.

The chapter thus prescribed was Ezk 1, known as מעשה המרכבה, the 'work of the chariot,' on account of the speculations as to the nature of the Deity which would be aroused. For this reason, cosmology was not much encouraged (see 'Jewish' sections of artt. AGES OF THE WORLD and COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY). 'Ask,' it was cited, 'concerning the early days which were before thee, from (לְמִן) the day when God created man upon the earth, from one extremity (וּלְמִקְצֵה) of the heaven to the other' (Dt 4^{32}; note the force of the accumulated prepositions). This was explained as follows: 'Ask as to the beginning of the formation of matter (*i.e. B^{e}rēshîth*), but not about the period before, about the creation of matter' (for all this cf. the whole of Tos. *Ḥag.* ii., cited above).

During this period the development of the liturgy was marked. It is very probable that, in early times, the form of the prayers varied on each occasion. It was held that a fixed formula of prayer was mechanical, hence useless.

R. Simeon b. Nathaniel, a pupil of R. Joḥanan ben Zakkai, said: 'Be careful to read the Sh^{e}ma' and to say the 'Ămîdāh, and when thou prayest, regard not thy prayer as a fixed mechanical task (*qebha'*), but as an appeal for mercy and grace before the All-present' (*Ăbôth*, ii. 17=Singer, p. 189 f.; Charles, ii. 697). The word *qebha'* is also used in the sense of a fixed time for devotions (see *Mishna Berakhoth*, iv. 1), but in the passage cited it has a bad sense. The proper feeling was *kawwānāh*,[1] or an attuned spirit; without this feeling of attention, the prayer was nugatory (see the formula of self-dedication, before performing a commandment, which begins הִנְנִי מְכֻוָּן [Singer, pp. 14, 15, 218, 232, etc.]). The early Ḥăsîdîm used to wait an hour (שָׁעָה) before prayer, in order to induce this frame of mind. 'We do not rise for prayer unless imbued with deep seriousness' (כֹּבֶד רֹאשׁ, lit. 'heaviness of head,' opposed to קַלּוּת רֹאשׁ, 'lightness of head, levity,' [*Ăbôth*, iii. 17=Singer, 193; Charles, ii. 701]). 'Even if the king greet a man, he should not reply; even if a serpent be wound round his heel, he should not pause' (*Mishna Berakhoth*, v. 1). R. Eli'ezer says, 'Whoso maketh his prayer a fixed burden (*qebha'*), his prayers are not appeals' (*ib.* iv. 4). Similar citations could be freely adduced. Prayer was to be not merely heartfelt, but also fluent (שְׁגוּרָה בְּפִיו [*ib.* iv. 3, v. 5]).

Further, it is known that originally it was prohibited to write down a formula of blessing. 'Those who write down בְּרָכוֹת (*v.l.* הֲלָכוֹת) are like those who burn the Torah' (*Shabb.* 115*b*). It is doubtful whether this does not simply mean, as Rashi suggests, that written blessings are not to be rescued from a fire on the Sabbath. In any case, however, ברכות were not generally written down. The reader knew or received instructions as to the subjects of his prayer and the order in which they were to be arranged. Frequently certain phrases were specified, but the general framework was left to the taste and inspiration of the שְׁלִיחַ צִבּוּר, or precentor. In the course of time, owing either to ignorance on the part of officials or to a desire to ensure uniformity, the prayers were written down, but the improvisation and composition of original prayers survived in the *piyyūṭ*, or poetical hymns, of later times.

The central portion of the morning and evening service was, of course, the recital of the *sh^{e}ma'* (see Singer, p. 40; Abrahams, p. 1; cf. also Taylor, Excursus iv., p. 116) with the blessings appropriate to it. This is fully discussed in the opening chapters of *Berakhoth*. The 'Ămîdāh was formulated by R. Gamaliel, who 'introduced the usage of set prayers' (Graetz, ii. 366); the kernel of the prayer is much older, and very probably goes back to the early Soferim.

'It is well known that tradition has ascribed to Moses and Ezra many institutions, whose origin, dating back to ancient times, was already forgotten. To Ezra especially is attributed all that pertains to the reading of the Law and the arrangement of the Liturgy' (A. Büchler, *JQR* v. 423).

Many Psalms and Scriptural extracts were included in the services, and many touching prayers of the Tannaitic age have been preserved. The Lord's Prayer has been shown by Taylor[1] to be composed of phrases taken from contemporary Rabbinic prayers, some of which may be seen in Singer (p. 7, יְהִי רָצוֹן; Abrahams, p. xix; see also M. Gaster, *Book of Prayer . . . acc. to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, i. 3).

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[1] See above, p. 588.

[1] See H. G. Enelow, in *Studies in Jewish Lit. issued in Honour of K. Kohler*, pp. 82–107.

The reading of the Law and of selected prophetical passages took place on Sabbaths, festivals, and fasts; the Law alone was read on Saturday afternoons, Monday and Thursday mornings (market days), and on other occasions, such as the New Moon. The reading from the prophets was called *Hafṭārā* (from the root *pāṭar*, 'to be free or finished'); this name, as also the alternative שְׁלָמְתָּא, seems to be due to the fact of its following the *Sidrā*, or Pentateuchal lesson (see Abrahams, p. clvi). When, therefore, the *Mūsāf*, or additional service, was read after an interval, and not immediately following *shaḥărîth* (morning), the conclusion of the Hafṭārā would mark almost the end of the service. The Law was read, in Babylon, in an annual cycle of consecutive sections. In Palestine, a triennial cycle existed (see A. Büchler, *JQR* v. 420 ff., but cf. M. Gaster, i. 77). It is possible that the selection of the Hafṭārā was, to a certain extent, in the hands of the reader (Lk 4^{16}), but it was intended to have some point of contact with the Pentateuchal portion of the day. Both Sidrā and Hafṭārā were translated by the *m^{e}tūrg^{e}mān* ('interpreter'), verse by verse. In the case of the Hafṭārā, the version was more homiletical, and greater sections were rendered at a time. The Targum was greatly esteemed (see art. TARGUMS). A man was to study the Sidrā twice in Hebrew and once in the Targum. To this day the Targum is universally studied among Jews, privately, all over the world. The Yemenites also have an Arabic Targum; the Sephardim, a Spanish Targum, which is read publicly verse by verse on the ninth of Ab; the Ashkenazic Yiddish versions are not generally used in service.

The Eighteen Benedictions contain paragraphs relating to the Messiah and to the Resurrection.[2] The latter subject is introduced at the beginning, after the mention of the patriarchs; and this collocation seems, perhaps, to imply that the proof of immortality employed by Jesus ('God of Abraham . . . not the God of the dead, but of the living,' Mt 22^{32}, Mk $12^{26f.}$, Lk $20^{37f.}$) was Rabbinic. Whatever vagueness may have existed before, there can be no doubt that this age held firmly to the belief, in broad terms, in immortality and in resurrection. The expansion or philosophical analysis belongs to the early mediæval period. The belief of the Tannaitic age in immortality and in resurrection, the result of the Pharisaic victory over the Sadducees, was unshaken. The tendency of Tannaitic religious thought, in the Haggādā especially, was optimistic, and these two ideas are the outcome of optimism. The range of Haggādā extended over every sphere of daily life and tinged everything with bright and pleasant hues. The Haggādā reflects the spirit of the Halākhā, and, consequently, the conceptions of the next world, as well as of this, were given an optimistic turn. The Messianic ideal in the Haggādā is based on the prophetical reign of peace. The troubles or 'birth pangs' that were to precede the advent of the divine Saviour were naturally identified by many of the people with the hardships and persecutions connected with the Roman occupation. Hence the thought arose that the Messiah would first of all deliver Israel from the power of the heathen, and thus the 'temporal' Messiah, of the type of Judas and Theudas (Ac $5^{36f.}$) and of Bar Kokhba, gained popular support. Yet it was taught that no supernatural deliverer was to be expected, nor a successful general. 'The only difference between the present and the coming ages will be in the (absence of) Gentile domination' (see *Berakhoth* 34*b*, 12*b*, 13*a*). In the Eighteen Blessings, the paragraph dealing with the Messiah (cf. above, p. 586^{a}) is placed immediately after the prayer for the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Naturally, the ideas as to the Messiah varied according to the political circumstances, especially with regard to the relation of the Messiah to the Gentiles (see J. Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, London, 1877, p. 331). This relation was sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile, according to the morality of the non-Jews and their treatment of the Jews in the experience of the speaker.

While the Jewish attitude to the problem of evil remained unchanged, in that evil was subordinate to the Deity and controlled and created by Him, sin, according to Jewish belief, was in man's own choice, the evil inclination (*yēṣer ha-ra‘*) being parallel to the *yēṣer ṭôbh*. The doctrine of original virtue, or the hereditary grace of the patriarchs, was the Jewish counterpart to original sin (see S. Levy, *Doctrine of Original Virtue*, and 'Jewish Conceptions of Original Sin,' in *Jews' College Jubilee Volume*, London, 1906, p. 211 ff.; cf. also Porter's *Essay*, cited below, p. 607). Man was as much bound to give thanks for evil as for good (*Berakhoth*, ix. 5); and, on hearing evil tidings, God's name must be praised and a pronouncement of resignation to the divine decree must be uttered (see Singer, pp. 292 and 318 [צִדּוּק הַדִּין]; Abrahams, p. ccxxvi; cf. also the *Ḳaddîsh* [on which see *ERE* i. 459 f.], p. 75). It is difficult to trace the beginnings of a set creed, in the sense in which the term is used by the Christian Church.

Undoubtedly Isaiah 56 embodies three different codes of life or creeds, required of three different classes, viz. the ordinary Jew, the proselyte, and the eunuch. All three are enjoined to observe justice and righteousness and to believe in the redemption. (1) The first class, in addition, must keep the Sabbath and refrain from all wrong. (2) The eunuchs are to keep the Sabbath, observe the covenant, and do what is pleasing to God. (3) The proselytes, 'that join themselves to the Lord, to serve him, and to love the name of the Lord,' are to keep the Sabbath and the covenant. The 'Seven Commandments of the Sons of Noah' (on which see *ERE* iv. 245^{a}, and art. 'Laws, Noachian,' in *JE* vii. [1904] 648–650) can scarcely be regarded as a Jewish creed; they were the signs by which civilization was recognized and divided from barbarism, fundamental laws of intercourse common to civilized humanity. It has been shown that the so-called creed of Ten Articles, quoted by Aphraates, who lived about A.D. 345, is in reality an old Jewish creed converted into Christian use by the omission of one letter (ܫܕܪ for ܢܫܕܪ), which alters the future tense to the past, in the 10th art., 'and he has sent his Messiah into the world.' This theory of H. L. Pass (*JThSt* ix. [1907–08] 267–284; the creed is also conveniently given by J. Gwynn, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ser., xiii. [Oxford, 1898] 345) can be supported by a comparison with the *Ḳaddîsh* in the Sephardic form (see M. Gaster, *Book of Prayer*, i. 14, 25, 50, 55; especially the forms used on the New Year [*ib.* ii. 27], ninth of Ab, and at funerals); in the ordinary Ashkenazic version, even in that used at funerals, the Messianic clauses וְיַצְמַח פֻּרְקָנֵהּ וִיקָרֵב מְשִׁיחֵהּ are omitted (see D. Pool, *The Old Jewish-Aramaic Prayer The Kaddish*, Leipzig, 1909). Pass also quotes the confession of faith of the Jew Ananias in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (p. 272 f.), and suggests a symbolic use of Scriptural references. The number ten, used by Aphraates, suggests analogy with the Decalogue, the daily recital of which was discontinued because of the cavillings of the *Mînîm*, perhaps Christians (see Taylor, Excursus iv. 119). Undoubtedly the *sh^{e}ma‘* was the vital Jewish 'creed,' and the liturgical paragraph, אֱמֶת וְיַצִּיב, by which it is followed, seems to show that it was so intended.

4. To Maimonides.—In the period now under consideration, Jewish history has to deal far more with the history of the Jews than with Judaism. The Diaspora developed rapidly, and the Jews spread abroad to the remotest lands of East and West, to Malabar and to France. During this dispersion, in proportion as the personal history of the Jews becomes of interest, owing to their varied fortunes, the course of Judaism seems uneventful. Judaism was, in fact, recuperating after the creative energy of the preceding centuries. Evolution moves in stages, not in a path of gradual and imperceptible progress. The schools of Palestine, both in Judæa and in Galilee, had been creative; so, too, had been the Babylonian academies in their time. But the ages of the later Amoraim and Saboraim collected and formulated. The chief centres of intellectual activity in Babylon were Sura (also known as Mata Mahasya), Nehardea, Maḥuza, and Pumbeditha. Abba-Arika, known as Rabh (A.D. 175–247), was instrumental in raising the importance of the Babylonian schools.[1] He was educated at Tiberias, under Judah I., and, after his return to Babylon, he founded his school about 220 and gathered a large number of pupils. Babylonia now began to attain a higher renown than Palestine and Galilee for scholarship and Rabbinic authority. Ammi and Assi, the leaders in Judæa, acknowledged the supremacy of Rabh's successors in Babylon (*e.g.*, Bab. *Shebu'oth*, 47*a*). The growth of the schools was followed by a rise in the morality of the inhabitants of Babylon, which had hitherto been of a low standard. The fine ethical sayings of Rabh deserve special notice (see W. Bacher, *Agada der bab. Amoräer*, Strassburg, 1878, pp. 1–33). His teaching was universalistic, and inculcated love for all humanity. The influence of Rabh was especially great in restoring the old Jewish ideal of the sanctity of marriage, for decay had set in. He is said to be the author of *Mūsāf* for the New Year (see Singer, p. 245), and of אַתָּה יוֹדֵעַ רָזֵי עוֹלָם (Singer, p. 259; Abrahams, p. cci) for the Day of Atonement. He devoted much attention to the liturgy. The great opponent of Rabh was Mar Samuel (also called Ariokh [*Shabb.* 53*a*]), head of the academy of Nehardea (*c.* 165–257). The rivalry of these two teachers may, in some respects perhaps, be compared to the contests of Hillel and Shammai. Yet Rabh, though inclining to severity in his judgments, was not unlike Hillel in disposition (see Bab. *Bek.* 49*b*). Samuel inclined to the Persian sages; Rabh strenuously opposed any non-Jewish influence and teaching.

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[1] *Op. cit.* 124; see also Herford, pp. 118, 124 ff., where Weber is cited.

[2] On these see Abrahams, p. lv, and E. G. Hirsch, art. 'Shemoneh 'Esreh,' in *JE* xi. [1905] 270–282.

'Rab, entirely taken up with the affairs of his own nation, refused to allow the customs of the Persians to exert any influence on those of the Jews, and even forbade these latter to adopt any practice, however innocent, from the Magi: "He who learns a single thing of the Magi merits death." Samuel, on the other hand, learnt many things of the Persian sages . . None of his decrees, however, were possessed of such important results as the one by which he declared the law of the land to be just as binding on the Jews as their own law (דינא דמלכתא דינא) . . . Jeremiah had given to the families which were exiled to Babylon, the following urgent exhortation as to their conduct in a foreign land: "Seek the peace of the city whither ye have been carried away captives." Samuel had transformed this exhortation into a religious precept: "The law of the State is a binding law." To Jeremiah and Mar-Samuel Judaism owes the possibility of existence in a foreign country' (Graetz, ii. 526, 524, 525). Another of Samuel's claims to fame is his regulation of the calendar, based on his knowledge of astronomy, which he had acquired from Magian instructors. He said of himself that he knew his way as accurately among the paths of the heavens as in the streets of Nehardea, but that he could not explain the courses of the comets (*Ber.* 58*b*). His other name, Jarḥînāāh, was derived from his facility in fixing the calendar months (*yᵉraḥ*).

Among the later principals of Pumbeditha was R. Joseph, regarded by Hai Gaon as the author of the Targum to the Prophets (cf. *JE* xii. [1906] 61ᵇ).

He is said to have translated those portions of the Prophets which had hitherto not existed in an Aramaic version. His object was probably to supersede the Peshiṭta, just as Aquila superseded the Septuagint. Although the Peshiṭta version of the canonical books was the work of Jewish translators, certain of the Prophets—*e.g.*, Isaiah—were revised by Christians and amended from the Greek text. The NT was revised by Rabbula, bishop of Edessa (411–435), and the unrevised text still exists in the Curetonian MS and the Sinai Palimpsest. The Old Syriac version goes back probably to the 2nd cent.; as regards the OT Peshiṭta, it was certainly used by Aphraates (A.D. 345; cf. J. Parisot, in *Patrologia Syriaca*, I. i. [Paris, 1894] p. xliii), a contemporary of R. Joseph. It is, therefore, very likely that Joseph undertook a Targum in order to provide the Jews with a version of their own.

The great achievement of the schools in Mesopotamia was the Babylonian Gemārā. When the creative power of the teachers of Halākhā began to diminish, the time arrived to 'seal up tradition.' R. Ashi, the son of Simai (352–427), a teacher of the Sura school, which he rebuilt and raised to an eminent position, was one of the greatest exponents of his time, and he was known by the honorific title of Rabbānā, 'our master.' Ashi began the collection and arrangement of the Talmud, although this must not be taken to imply the production of a written text. He devoted his labours, which extended over fifty years, to the comparison of materials and placing in order of all the decisions, corollaries, and facts of Haggādā and Halākhā which had accrued through the ages. The text was preserved orally for some considerable time to come. Ashi's work[1] was continued and completed by Rabina and Sura and Jose of Pumbeditha. In 499, when Rabina died, the Talmud of Babylon was finished. The Jerusalem Talmud had been concluded, it is generally held, about a century and a half previously. Our knowledge of Judæa is so scanty for this period that nothing can be said with certainty, but it is generally assumed that the place of compilation was Tiberias. The Talmud was in no sense a popular work. It was taught and studied in the schools by the Geonim, the successors of the Saboraim. As a code it was unwieldy and could not be easily consulted by private persons. Consequently, in course of time there grew up other arrangements which were shorter and more accessible. The Talmud has, however, always remained the ultimate source of learning. Its decisions have been modified and its contents arranged and re-arranged repeatedly; but no book, after the Bible, has exerted so much influence on Judaism. Code succeeded code, commentary followed upon commentary; finally, the Talmud became a field of learning, more or less abstract, while for practical questions reference would be made, in the first instance, to the code of the day (see, further, art. TALMUD). Between the Talmud and the *Shūlḥān 'Ārūkh* of Joseph Qaro (1564–65), which is almost universally accepted to-day as the exposition of orthodox Judaism, many other codes intervene. With these the development of Judaism is vitally concerned (see S. Daiches, 'Jewish Codes and Codifiers,' *Jew. Chron.*, Jan. 1, 1909, p. 24 f., Jan. 8, p. 28 f., Jan. 15, p. 25 f., also reprinted in pamphlet form).

The first three codes emanated from Babylon. The Gaon Jehudai b. Naḥman, at Sura, is said to have written the *Hălākhôth Pᵉsûqôth*, about 770. The *Hălākhôth Gᵉdhôlôth*, or *Rîshônôth* of R. Simon Ḳayyāra, who was, according to Abraham ibn Daud, a Rabbi of Pumbeditha about 750, are thought, in reality, to be of later date, about the beginning of the 9th century. They could not have been the model for Jehudai. The Cairo Genizah has preserved part of this work, which probably existed in the form of loose letters. Gaon Aḥai wrote his *Shĕ'ēltôth*, a book of responsa, constituting a Halākhic exposition of the weekly Sidrā, or Pentateuchal lesson. As a practical hand-book, the pupils of Gaon Jehudai formulated הִלְכוֹת רְאוּ, 'Laws of "Refer!",' in which laws and questions of the day were treated.[2]

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[1] See W. Bacher, 'Abba Arika,' in *JE* i. [1901] 29 f.; and for Rabh's rival, Mar Samuel, J. Z. Lauterbach, 'Samuel Yarḥina'ah,' *ib.* xi. [1905] 29–31.

[1] See, further, W. Bacher, 'Ashi,' in *JE* ii. [1902] 187 f.

[2] See M. Schloessinger, 'Yehudai ben Naḥman,' *JE* xii. [1906] 590 f.; and 'Ḳayyara, Simeon,' *ib.* vii. [1904] 461 f.; L. Ginzberg, 'Aḥa (Aḥai) of Shabḥa,' *ib.* i. [1901] 278 f.; the differentiation of these various codes is a matter of some dispute.

The triumph of Christianity and its adoption by Constantine meant the humiliation of the Jews. Numerous repressive acts of legislation were passed against their religion, and outbursts of persecution were frequent. Jews were prohibited from entering Jerusalem, and their lives were burdened with hardships and oppressive restrictions. Prelates of the Church, such as John Chrysostom of Antioch, Ambrose of Milan, and Cyril of Alexandria, were among their bitterest persecutors, and the Emperors, when friendly, or at least not ill-disposed, to the Jews, were frequently persuaded by their priests to change their attitude. Even Jerome, who, like Ambrose, owed his knowledge of Hebrew to Jewish teachers, publicly declared his hatred of them. Yet the popes themselves and the Roman bishops were often exceptions to this rule, and they not infrequently stood forth as the champions and protectors of the Jews. The Arians, as a rule, were more tolerant than the Athanasians. The reign of Julian, who abandoned Christianity, was a brief interval of light for the Jews amid their sorrows. But on Judaism itself the domination of Christianity had little influence. In the same way, little effect was experienced from the rise of the Sasanian Dynasty (224–651), founded by Ardashīr Pāpakān, which brought into greater prominence the worship of fire. The Jews themselves suffered at first from the extreme sternness with which the profane use of fire was prevented, but by the time of the first Shāpūr (242–271) the relations between the two religions were amicably readjusted.

Mention must be made of a false Messiah (see art. MESSIAHS, PSEUDO-) who arose in Crete during the time of Ashi, *i.e.* before 427. About this time hopes of the millennium were spreading, and the long-awaited deliverer was expected. This was, to some extent, due to an ancient Sibylline oracle (see Graetz, ii. 617), which placed the advent of the Messiah in the 85th jubilee, between A.D. 440 and 470. In proportion as persecution became stronger, these hopes grew more vigorous. The *Chronicles of Jeraḥmeel*, composed, according to Gaster, during the first centuries of the common era (M. Gaster, *Chron. of Jer.*, London, 1899, p. xxxix), contain such eschatological calculations. These Messianic ideas were strongly discouraged by Ashi, and this event had no permanent influence on Judaism.

It has been mentioned that the successors to the Amoraim were called *Sabôrâîm*. The name is connected with the Aramaic and Syriac words for gospels, evangelist (*sbarthā*, *sbarānā*), etc., and probably implied a teacher or expounder. The Saboraim had little share in the redaction of the Talmud, although some small Saboraic element has been preserved; practically, it was completed by their predecessors. The age of the Saboraim is reckoned from the final redaction of the Talmud until the first of the Geonim, Mar Rab Mar, in 609. The word *Gāôn* (pl. *G^{e}ônîm*) literally signifies 'pride, majesty' (Pr 16^{18}, in a bad sense; Am 8^{7}, Is 60^{15}, in a good sense), and is said to be derived from Ps 47^{5} [EV ^{4}]. The chief of the Sura academy was the Gaon, the teachers of Pumbeditha being more frequently, though not exclusively, called Rabbanim. The Gaon of Sura usually took precedence. The Gaon was the academic and spiritual chief, the *Rēsh Gālūthā* ('Head of the Diaspora') being the civil head of the Jews, recognized, if not actually appointed, by the Persian court. It is thought that Gaon is an instance of mnemonics, for the numerical equivalent of its letters (3+1+6+50=60) is the same as the number of treatises of the Talmud. More probably, Gaon is a translation of 'clarissimus' or 'illustris,' a title employed by the Roman Emperors in writing to provincial governors. Strictly speaking, there were thirty-seven Geonim of Sura, from Mar R. Mar to Samuel b. Ḥofni, and fifty of Pumbeditha, from Mar b. R. Ḥanan to R. Ḥai, but the term has also been used, in a wider sense, for other teachers. The age of the Gaonate was about 150 years and included several great men. It is remarkable for the growth of studies that were not strictly Talmudic: history, grammar, liturgy, and letters.

Thus, Sherira Gaon, father of Ḥai, wrote a famous epistle or responsum in 987 to the Jews of Kairowan on the growth and evolution of the Talmud and Gaonate. It is the chief source of information on the subject. Amram, in 870 and Sa'adya (892–942) drew up and arranged liturgies; Ḥai is said to be the author of the earliest known Hebrew rhyme, the hymn for the Eve of Atonement שמע קולי (see Gaster, *Book of Prayer*, iii. [1904] 12). The Geonim established a *Minhāg* (or 'Use') of prayers, which was widely adopted (see Gaster, i. p. xiii). Sa'adya compiled a dictionary (*'Igrôn*), and Ṣemaḥ (about 870) a Talmudic lexicon, or *'Arūkh*. Reference has already been made to the work of the Geonim in composing Halākhic codes. Perhaps their greatest activity was expended in responsa, *i.e.* answers to practical ritual questions, addressed to them by distant congregations.[1]

With the spread of Judaism, Jewish learning had also developed in other lands. Babylon was no longer the only source of knowledge. North Africa and Southern Europe were rising in importance. From Egypt came the famous Sa'adya (*q.v.*) to be Gaon at Sura. But the most forcible influences on Judaism were Islām and Ḳaraism, the former external, the latter internal. The Ḳaraite schism was due largely, if not entirely, to political circumstances. In 761 the Exilarch Solomon died, leaving no sons. His nephew, Anan b. David, of whom very little is known, attempted to succeed his uncle, but was opposed by the Geonim Judah and Dudai, sons of Naḥman. Dissensions arose, and Anan, at first successful by the aid of the Khalīf, was finally forced to emigrate to Palestine. At what stage his hostility to the Gaonate developed into an attack on the Rabbinic position, and to what extent this opposition had already been anticipated, is unknown. Anan and his followers soon cut themselves off completely from the Talmudists, accusing them of having changed the Law by their general teaching. In ten specific points they differed from the Rabbinite Jews, in contradistinction to whom they adopted the name of *B^{e}nē Miqrā*, or 'Sons of the Scripture.' They claimed, just as the Ḥanīf party before the foundation of Islām, to return to the primitive religion.

The ten points of difference can be seen from an examination of the *Kitāb al-Faḍā'ih* ('Book of Shameful Things') by Ibn Saqawaihī, one of the earliest Ḳaraite writers. His work is divided into ten sections, but begins with a general attack on the Mishna: (1) the unity of God; the Ḳaraites leaned to the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites, who opposed divine omnipotence as a creative force, in favour of almost absolute free will; (2) the use of fire on the Sabbath; the Ḳaraites permitted neither fire nor lights on Sabbath, as they interpreted Ex 35^{3} literally;[2] (3) irrigation on the Sabbath; (4) the manner of fixing the New Moon; (5) the postponement of certain festivals by means of the calendar rule (לא אד״ו ראש; for which see *ERE* iii. 120^{b}); (6) the leap year; (7) the forbidden fat; the Ḳaraites will not eat the fat of the tail, which was allowed by the Rabbis; (8) incest; (9) *niddā*; (10) *geri* (impurity). For the differences between Rabbinites and Ḳaraites see *Khazari*, iii. § 35, tr. Hirschfeld, p. 166.

The Ḳaraites produced a large number of able writers[3] who contributed appreciably to Jewish literature: Ḳirḳisānī, author of the *Kitāb al-Anwār* ('Book of Lights'), Ibn al-Hiti, Yefeth ibn 'Ali, David al-Fasi, Sahl ibn Maṣliaḥ, Benjamin Nahawendi, Samuel b. Moses al-Maghribi, and others. The effect on Judaism was visible. Opposition stimulated learning and, by putting the Rabbinites on their defence, produced a positive statement of the orthodox position. The chief exponent of the Talmudic case was Sa'adya, or, more properly, Sa'īd ibn Yūsuf al-Fayyūmī

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[1] See, further, art. 'Gaon,' *JE* v. [1903] 567–572.

[2] Cf. Sa'adya's commentary on this verse and his refutation of the Ḳaraites; this has been recently recovered from the Genizah and published, with translation, by H. Hirschfeld in *JQR* xviii. [1905–06] 600–613. See also 'Saadyana' by Schechter and others in *JQR* xiv. [1902].

[3] Anan's *Book of Commandments* has been edited by S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, ii.

(892–942), who met the Ḳaraite attacks first of all by translating the Bible into Arabic, and secondly by replying directly to the enemy. Sa'adya's great work was the *Kitāb al-Amānātw'al I'tiqādāt* (Heb. *'Emūnôth W^edhē'ôth*, and other titles), or 'Faith and Philosophy,' which was the first attempt to bring revealed religion into harmony with Greek philosophy.

'No Jew, said Saadiah, should discard the Bible, and form his opinions solely by his own reasoning. But he might safely endeavour to prove, independently of revelation, the truths which revelation had given. Faith, said Saadiah again, is the soul's absorption of the essence of a truth, which thus becomes part of itself, and will be the motive of conduct whenever the occasion arises. Thus Saadiah identified reason with faith. He ridiculed the fear that philosophy leads to scepticism. You might as well, he argued, identify astronomy with superstition, because some deluded people believe that an eclipse of the moon is caused by a dragon's making a meal of it' (I. Abrahams, *Short Hist. of Jew. Lit.*, London, 1906, p. 56). Many lost portions of Sa'adya's anti-Ḳaraite writings have been published by H. Hirschfeld, from the Cairo Genizah, in *JQR*. Thus of his *Kitāb al-Rudd 'alī al-Mutaḥāmil* ('Refutation of the Unfair Aggressor') two leaves exist (*JQR* xviii. 113–119). In these Sa'adya maintains the Jewish tradition of *d^eḥiyyāh*, or postponement of festivals. The fragment is probably a reply to Ibn Saqawaihi. There is also one leaf of a treatise on usury (*ib.* 119 f.). In *JQR* xvii. [1904–05] 712–725 Hirschfeld has published four leaves from his treatise on forbidden marriages, and two on traditional laws. Sa'adya saw that the way in which the Ḳaraites used the Kalām in their attacks could be counteracted only by adopting the Kalām itself for the defence of the orthodox position. He thus became the first of the Jewish Mutakallimīn or, literally translated, *M^edhabb^erīm*, who sought to reconcile a belief in the divine creation with the Aristotelian theory of the eternity of matter (Hirschfeld, *Khazari*, p. 4).[1]

Judaism was not modified by Ḳaraism, except in so far as the study of philology was stimulated and the impetus to philosophy created. The latter would have inevitably followed contact with Islām. The Ḳaraites were never very numerous, and now probably do not number more than 12,000. In the eyes of the Muslims there was never much question that the Rabbinites and Ḳaraites were both equally Jews. Interesting light is thrown on this point of the controversy by the decisions of the four Imāms, recorded in B.M.MS. Or. 2538, fol. 73–83, headed 'Story of the Europeans who adopted the Laws of the Ḳaraites,' published by Hirschfeld (see *Jews' Coll. Jub. Vol.*, p. 88).[1] Yet, on account of their dietary customs and law of incest, intermarriage with Jews is very rare.

In spite of Muḥammad's treatment of the Jews of Arabia, the relations between the two faiths were intimate and not unfriendly. Islām had far more influence on Judaism than Christianity, because it was more tolerant. The theological status of Jews and Christians was recognized. They were *'Ahl al-Kitāb*, people possessing a legitimate scripture, as opposed to idolaters and to the Magi and Manichæans, whose revelation was not regarded as authentic (*man lāhu shubhatu-l-kitāb*).

It is necessary to emphasize the correct use of the phrase *'Ahl al-Kitāb*, first, because it is so frequently misinterpreted and applied to the Jews only, who are said to have been called *the* people of the book.[2] Even writers like Graetz have made this mistake (see Graetz, iii. 59; but, on the other hand, see pp. 82 and 89, where the term is correctly used). Secondly, it is a clear indication of the attitude of Islām to the sister faiths; it did not claim a monopoly of salvation. In consequence, Jews and Muslims were able to study and discuss theology and science together with far greater intimacy than was possible between Jews and Christians.

The love of learning prevalent in Muslim lands was not confined to the Muslims; it was shared by all classes of the population. Consequently, when, after and as a result of the introduction of Greek philosophy, the Arabs began to turn their attention to speculative theology, Judaism was very closely affected, and the impetus given to philosophical study created a Jewish religious philosophy.[3] Hitherto, Jewish theology had been occupied either with questions of practical Halākhā or, in refutation of Ḳaraism, with a defence of the Talmudical system of legislation. Isḥāq ibn Sulaimān, better known as Isaac Israili of Kairowan, who died about 932, was well known as a scientific philosopher and physician (see W. Engelkemper, *Religions-philosophische Lehre Saadja Gaon's*, Münster, 1903, p. 2, note 2). His title to fame rests purely on his scientific work, not on his theology. Jews took up these studies with avidity, and a series of famous writers arose who sought to harmonize Judaism with the thought of the age, and who thus developed its philosophy of religion. Baḥya b. Joseph ibn Pakudah, who lived at Saragossa at the beginning of the 11th cent., was one of the first of Jewish authors to expound a system of ethics in his Arabic *Al-Hidāya 'ila Farāid al-Qulūb* (1040) ('Guide to the Duties of the Heart'), which was translated into Hebrew by Judah ibn Tibbon under the title of *Ḥobhôth hal-l^ebhābhôth*.

Baḥya attempts to show that 'Jewish faith is a great spiritual truth founded on Reason, Revelation, and Traditions, all stress being at the same time laid on the willingness and the joyful readiness of the God-loving heart to perform life's duties.' He was largely influenced by Sa'adya and by Ibn Gabirol, and leaned to Neo-Platonic philosophy. Faith must be intellectual, not blind and unreasoning. He proves the necessity and unity of a Creator by teleological arguments. The divine attributes are twofold, negative and active. The former, but not the latter, are within the power of human knowledge. God's existence is knowable from the circumstance that non-existent beings cannot create existent beings. His Unity and Eternity are also comprehensible, since the Supreme Cause must of necessity be indivisible and permanent. The other divine attributes are anthropomorphic metaphors, an indispensable medium for thought and speech, but, in reality, symbols and not realities. From these postulates Baḥya deduced his system of ethics. He maintained that immortality was to be reserved for mature speculations; hence the comparative paucity of Biblical allusions to it. Baḥya was essentially a mystic, but at the same time practical in his system of the religious life. Asceticism, as a discipline of abstinence and self-purification, is advocated, but not for general adoption.[1]

Baḥya was a Spaniard, and one of the many Jewish scholars who arose in the Iberian peninsula during the Muslim domination. The light of Jewish learning was first kindled by Moses b. Enoch († 965), from Babylon, who founded an academy at Cordova which soon eclipsed Sura. Among the great Jews of Spain were Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut, poet, physician, and politician (915–990), Menaḥem b. Saruḳ, Dunash ibn Labraṭ, Judah Ḥayyuj, Abu-l-Walīd Merwān ibn Janāḥ, who founded and developed the science of Hebrew Grammar, and Samuel the Nāgīd (993–1055), the vizier of Ḥabus, king of Granada, who wrote an introduction to the Talmud and many liturgical hymns.

The religious philosophy of Judaism owes much to Solomon b. Judah ibn Gabirol, commonly known as Avicebron (see art. Ibn Gabirol, above, p. 69). His greatness, both as poet and as philosopher, is mirrored in his *Kether Malkhûth*, or 'Royal Crown,' the text and translation of which may be seen conveniently in Gaster (iii. 47); and his *Aşlāh al-Akhlāq*, or 'Improvement of the Moral Qualities' (ed. and tr. S. S. Wise, New York, 1901), is a summary of ethics for popular use.

In this the virtues and the vices are arranged, correlatively, in connexion with the senses on which they depend. He distinguishes the physical from the psychical perceptions. The senses are indications of the disposition of the soul, that is to say, the 'animal soul, not the divine soul within man.' His quotations are in most cases drawn from the Bible, not from Rabbinic writings, a fact which may account for his great influence and popularity among non-Jews. In his *Fons Vitæ* neither Bible nor Rabbinic authorities are cited at all. This work, written in the form of a dialogue, reduced everything that exists to three categories: (1) God, the first substance; (2) the world, matter and form; and (3) the will, as intermediary. His teaching is based on Neo-Platonism, and, owing to the growth of Aristotelianism, exercised slight influence on Jewish thought. There is a difference between the pantheistic emanations of Neo-Platonism and the Jewish conception of creation. 'Moreover, the Neoplatonic doctrine that the Godhead is unknowable naturally appealed to a Jewish rationalist, who, while positing the existence of God, studiously refrained from ascribing definite qualities or positive attributes to Him. . . . Gabirol, unlike other medieval Jewish philosophers who regarded philosophy as the "handmaid of theology," pursued his philosophical studies regardless of the claims of religion' (S. S. Wise, in *JE* vi. [1904] 528^b).

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[1] See, further, on the sect as a whole, art. Ḳaraites.

[2] The term is used of Christians as opposed to Jews in Bukhārī, ed. Cairo, A.H. 1304, p. 11, line 10 (30th Bab of the *Kitāb el Imān*).

[3] The influence was not confined to Judaism. 'Jewish scholars held an honourable place in transmitting the Arabian commentators to the schoolmen. It was amongst them, especially in Maimonides, that Aristotelianism found refuge after the light of philosophy was extinguished in Islām; and the Jewish family of the Ben-Tibbon were mainly instrumental in making Averroes known to southern France' (W. Wallace and G. W. Thatcher, in *EBr*¹¹ ii. 282).

[1] See, further, I. Broydé and K. Kohler, 'Baḥya ben Joseph,' *JE* ii. [1902] 447–454.

While Gabirol leaned towards Neo-Platonism, Judah Halevi, born in Toledo (*c.* 1085 – *c.* 1143), whose poetry, secular and sacred, furnishes some of the most inspired examples of the later Hebrew Muse, vehemently attacks the doctrine of emanation as well as the Aristotelian doctrine of the eternity of matter. As Hirschfeld says (*Khazarī*, p. 6), his doctrine, like that of the Muslim al-Ghazālī, may be summed up in one sentence as a philosophic scepticism in favour of *a priori* belief. His most famous philosophical work was the *Cosri*, or *Kuzarī*, properly *Kitāb al-Khazarī.*

In this book he sets forth Jewish belief in a popular form, under the guise of a dialogue between a Rabbi and a king of the Khazars. This king, dissatisfied with his religion, consults Muslims and Christians in turn, and, finally, a Rabbi, whose faith he adopts. The short-comings of both creeds, as well as of Ḳaraism, are discussed, and, in a more positive form, the beliefs and practices of Judaism are enumerated. The pivot of his belief in God is the fact of direct revelation and the preservation of this revelation by uninterrupted tradition (*Khazarī*, i. § 25; Hirschfeld, p. 46). Aristotle failed through the fact that 'he exerted his mind because he had no tradition from any reliable source at his disposal. He meditated on the beginning and end of the world, but found as much difficulty in the theory of a beginning as in that of eternity. Finally, the abstract speculations which made for eternity prevailed, and he found no reason to inquire into the chronology or derivation of those who lived before him. Had he lived among a people with well authenticated traditions he would . . . have established the theory of creation, however difficult, instead of eternity, which . . . is more difficult to accept' (*ib.* § 65, p. 53). The testimony of Moses is to Judah Halevi an established fact, recognized by all three religions as historical, and handed down by unbroken tradition; the Bible cannot contradict truth or reason. Truth does not depend on the Bible, but is supported by it. Thus the Creation is supported by the testimony of Moses, *i.e.* it harmonizes with the Scriptural account. Even if a believing Jew were to hold the doctrine of the eternity of matter, it would not clash with his belief, according to the Bible, in the creation of this particular world (§ 67, p. 54). The soul, being part of the divine essence, must be undying, and a belief in immortality—of the soul, not of the body—is essential to religion (§ 103, p. 73). He upheld the Ptolemaic cosmology without hesitation. He opposed the determinism of the Jabariyya (those who believe that God compels man to disobey Him, since all actions come from God, not from man) without going as far as the Mu'tazilites (who believed in free will unlimited), and he attained this end by a modification of the theory of causation. He instituted intermediary causes between the Prime Cause and the ultimate end and established six axioms: (1) recognition of the Prime Cause; (2) belief in intermediary causes; (3) God gives the best possible form to every substance; (4) there is a graduation among organic beings as well as among mankind; (5) if the hearers of reproof pause to consider, they are near repentance; (6) man has power to do or avoid evil in matters under his control. It is, however, best to refer more important events in life to direct intervention of God (p. 21). The vindication (iii. §§ 25–27, p. 164) of the Massoretic text, in the cases where manuscripts differ, is interesting as being a germ of critical Biblical research, not so far developed as by Ibn Ezra. An enumeration of Ḳaraite differences serves to prove the essential nature of the Rabbinic element in Judaism, and demonstrates the logical impossibility of interpreting the Bible and observing the Commandments without its aid. The influence of the *Kitāb al-Khazarī* was great at the time. Two Hebrew translations soon appeared and were widely circulated. To a large extent it was superseded by the *Guide* of Maimonides, chiefly owing to the fact that the latter work was Aristotelian, that is to say, it reconciled Aristotelianism and Judaism. Yet the *Khazarī* has in many ways survived the *Guide*, because it is read for its own sake, and not as an antidote. Throughout the Middle Ages it was studied; indeed many modern thinkers, such as Herder, have found in it a source of inspiration. The style is concise and clear, and the dialogue is so vigorous and real that it lacks the air of artificiality frequent in fictitious conversations. The *Khazarī* covers so much ground in relatively such small compass that it was bound to achieve popularity, merely by reason of convenience, even apart from superior intrinsic claims (see, further, art. HALEVI, vol. vi. pp. 478–480).

Mention must also be made of the Ibn Ezra family (see art. IBN EZRA, above, p. 67 f.). Moses ibn Ezra (*c.* 1070–1138), a prolific writer of *S^{e}lîḥôth* ('penitential prayers'), was famous for his versatility. He was a philosopher and a linguist as well as a poet of very considerable gifts. His chief philosophical work, *'Ărûghath hab-Bōsem*, as it was called in the Hebrew version, only a portion of which is extant, was not, however, very popular, being eclipsed by his poems, the *Tarshîsh* and the *Dîwân*. In this book Ibn Ezra discusses the unity of God, the inapplicability of attributes and definitions of God, motion, nature, and intellect. The greatness of Moses ibn Ezra as a poet prevented posterity from according him due recognition as a philosopher. His relative, Abraham ibn Ezra (*c.* 1092–1167), was equally active in various branches of learning, notably as a Bible exegete, grammarian, and mathematician. He also entered the domain of philosophy, and compiled, in 1158, a book on the Commandments, called *Y^{e}sôdh Môrā*. He was to some extent a follower of the Neo-Platonist School, and Moses ibn Ezra calls him a Mutakallim.

His works were originally written in Hebrew, not in Arabic, though his contemporaries usually preferred the latter tongue. This is due in a degree to Ibn Ezra's subject-matter, which was intended more for Jews than for Muslims. His Bible Commentaries have been used by Christian students for many generations. He is noteworthy also for being, in a way, the father of Biblical criticism. Thus he hints, as plainly as he feels able to do, at the Deutero-Isaiah, and mentions as critical difficulties such verses as Gn 12^6 (see A. T. Chapman, *Introd. to Pent.*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 26). The solutions which he suggests are veiled under the phrase *ham-maskîl yāvîn*, 'the intelligent will perceive.'

From the great families of Ibn Ezra and Ḳimḥi, Jewish philosophy, grammar, and science received valuable support. Their contributions to learning were incalculable. France and Germany were the home of Talmudic and Biblical exegesis, Spain being more strongly devoted to philosophy.

The outstanding figure among Jewish mediæval scholars is Moses Maimonides, also known as Rambam (1135–1204), of whom it was said, 'From Moses unto Moses there arose not one like Moses.' His fame rests on several foundations, but for the present it must suffice to refer to the great influence which he exercised on Judaism, first as a philosopher, then as an exponent of Halākhā. His famous *Guide* was intended for

'religious persons who, adhering to the Torah, have studied philosophy and are embarrassed by the contradictions between the teachings of philosophy and the literal sense of the Torah.'

He taught the harmony of reason and revealed truths. He believed in a lost oral tradition of a philosophical nature, going back to the Prophets; and it was owing to the loss of this tradition and the lack of due understanding that the seeming opposition between religion and philosophy had arisen. Misinterpretation of anthropomorphisms had given rise to much perplexity and error. Maimonides went further in his attitude towards anthropomorphic terms than his predecessors, who had regarded them as metaphors. He devoted much more attention to explaining them one by one, and laid far greater stress on the incorporeality of God. Further, he subjected the divine attributes to a searching analysis. He rejected the teaching of the Mutakallimīn, and based his philosophy entirely on Aristotle, for whom he had a profound admiration.

He adduces twenty-six propositions to prove the existence, unity, and incorporeality of God (*Guide*, pt. ii. ch. i., tr. M. Friedländer, London, 1910, p. 145). His proofs of the existence of God are based on the theory of motion. Motion requires an agent to produce it, the number of intermediate causes being finite. Some things receive motion and impart it; others receive but do not impart; consequently, there must be a primitive agency of motion that impels other objects, being itself unaffected. The unity of God is demonstrated in two ways: '(1) Two gods can not be assumed, for they would necessarily have one element in common by virtue of which they would be gods, and another element by which they would be distinguished from each other; further, neither of them could have an independent existence, but both would themselves have to be created. (2) The whole existing world is "one" organic body, the parts of which are interdependent. The sublunary world is dependent upon the forces proceeding from the spheres, so that the whole universe is a macrocosm, and thus the effect must be due to one cause' (pt. ii. ch. i., tr., p. 158; cited from *JE* ix. [1905] 76).

The chief point in which Maimonides differed from Aristotle was the eternity of matter, although he maintained that the Greek philosopher was fully aware that he had not established his thesis. Maimonides believed in the *creatio ex nihilo*, and he held that this was in harmony with the teaching of Aristotle. The spheres and intelligences were not, as Aristotle taught, co-existent with the Prime Cause, but created by it. Evil does not proceed from God, because, being negative, it has no actuality. It is a negation, the absence of a capacity for good. He asserts human free will, somewhat at the expense of divine omniscience. This omniscience is incomprehensible to man, with his limited knowledge, but it is, none the less, supreme. The fact of God's foreknowing which of several possibilities will occur does not abrogate the freedom of choice. God foresees the result of a choice, having conceded full liberty of action at the outset.

Maimonides was entirely optimistic in his outlook. The ultimate aim of existence is happiness, and the object of the Commandments is to secure this end. He was the exponent of pure reason, and maintained the unassailed supremacy of the intellect. It is most typical of him that he did not believe in the *creatio ex nihilo* because of the Bible. He declared that, had his reason prompted him to adopt the Aristotelian eternity of matter, he would have had no difficulty in reconciling it with the Scriptures. Maimonides has been styled the first pragmatist. His breadth of mind and his attitude towards other faiths are remarkable. He recognized the validity, to a certain extent, of Islām and Christianity, and maintained that the adherents of these religions must not be regarded as idolaters. Salvation is not confined to Jews. 'The righteous of all nations have a share in the world to come' (*Hil. Tesh.* iii. § 11; see also references in I. Abrahams and D. Yellin, *Maimonides*, London, 1903, p. 94, etc.).

Maimonides, in his famous commentary on the *Mishna Ḥeleḳ*, regards immortality as intellectual. The wise man—*i.e.* the truly virtuous—will pursue good for its own sake. The child has to be encouraged to study by the offer of prizes. As man grows, his desires become greater, and the prizes have to be increased. So too, in mental and spiritual development, the hope of reward is the inducement to the masses to live virtuous lives. The saint requires no inducement. His reward is in the raising of his soul to the level of the divine essence. His motto must be, like that of Antigonus of Socho, to serve the Master not for the sake of a reward. In the Thirteen Articles of Faith which are formulated in the 10th pereḳ of Ḥeleḳ (which is quoted, in part, in Singer, p. 184, before ch. i.; see also *ERE* iv. 246ᵃ), Maimonides includes a belief in the Resurrection.

As a codifier, not less than as a philosopher, Maimonides exerted great influence on Judaism. Mention has already been made of the growth of codification, a necessary consequence to the nature and method of the Talmud. It was found desirable to compile more convenient hand-books or large digests, in which the laws could be more readily consulted; some of these were for the learned, others for the people. Laws had to be interpreted in accordance with the needs of the day and of local conditions, occasioned by the scattering of the Jews.

R. Isaac b. Jacob of Fez (1013–1103), called Alfāsī, a pupil of R. Nissim and of R. Ḥananeel of Kairowan, wrote a Compendium, which is practically the Babylonian—sometimes the Jerusalem—Talmud denuded of Haggādā and of all opinions which were not regarded as authoritative. Where the Ġeonim had modified the Talmud, their modification was adopted by Alfāsī. Isaac ibn Ghayyat (1030–1089) and Isaac b. Reuben (1043–1103) compiled books of laws, the former concerning festivals and fasts, the latter about oaths.[1]

All these were eclipsed, however, by the brilliance of the *Mishneh Torah*, or 'second Torah,' of Maimonides, which contains more than the Mishna, because it 'includes the fundamental doctrines of the Jewish religion . . . it represents a system of the whole of Judaism, ethical and ceremonial' (S. Daiches, 'Jewish Codes and Codifiers,' *Jew. Chron.*, Jan. 1909, pp. 1, 8, 15, 22). Maimonides did not, like the other codifiers, follow the order of the Talmud, but introduced new divisions and groupings. His style is concise and he cites no authorities—a practice for which he was blamed by his foes.

The Mishna Torah, also called *Yād hā-Ḥăzāqā* ('Strong Hand'), was written in Hebrew, because it was for general use. The *Guide*, being intended for students of Arabic philosophy, was composed in that language. Maimonides, in his letter to his pupil Aḳnin, states that he did not intend the *Hand* to supersede the Talmud as a study, but to provide a convenient work of reference, and to prevent students from going astray in practical laws.

By reason of his originality, and, especially, of his free attitude towards faith and reason, Maimonides was vehemently attacked, Abraham b. David of Posquières being a keen though sincere opponent.[2] His works were even committed to the flames, and the controversy was not softened for some considerable time; it continued long after his death. Maimonides omitted from his code anything of the nature of superstition or demonology which had crept into the Talmud. His description of the liturgy is very important for the reconstruction of the rite of Egypt and for a study of the development of the Prayer Book.

The influence of Maimonides is too great to be estimated briefly. He saved Judaism from being controlled by Aristotelianism, and, in consequence, from collapsing with the fall of that system. He vindicated the claims of reason while strengthening the right of authority. He brought harmony and unity into law and practice. Through his influence Judaism was delivered from the grasp of mysticism, which was already beginning to assert itself. He taught tolerance to those without, and breadth of mind to those within. His intellect shrank from no investigation, and yet his loyalty to Judaism was unswerving. Great men have the faculty of reacting even on their opponents, and in the case of Maimonides this was especially true. His Jewish adversaries were unconsciously affected by him. The influence of Maimonides continues to exert itself over Judaism to-day, and he is perhaps more frequently cited now than in the last few centuries. His fame must inevitably be bound up with that of Judaism for all time, and with him the mediæval period of Judaism closes.

5. To the present day.—Maimonides had arisen in Judaism as the exponent of pure reason and the defender of Aristotelianism. Shortly after his death, during, and, to some degree, in consequence of, the controversy which attached itself to his system, the mystic movement gained great foothold in Judaism. It is not altogether easy to trace its growth or its connexion with earlier and kindred manifestations (see artt. MYSTICISM [Jewish] and ḲABBĀLĀ). The mysticism of the Gnostics was re-echoed in the Haggādā; it slumbered while the minds of men were occupied with Ḳaraism, the Kalām, Aristotelianism, and Neo-Platonism. It must be remembered that the Jews of Germany were almost entirely limited to the Talmud in their studies. In Spain, where persecution had not restricted intellectual liberty as well as personal freedom, the Jews were allowed to devote themselves to science. Their natural inclination and

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[1] On these three scholars see *JE* i. [1901] 375–377, vi. [1904] 533, 629.

[2] Cf. L. Ginzberg, *JE* i. 103–105.

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aptitude for learning needed no encouragement; as soon as hindrances were removed, they applied themselves zealously to liberal culture. Many of their co-religionists in other lands, however, being prevented from enjoying these advantages, did not entirely appreciate the work of the Spanish Rabbis. They were rather repelled by the cold reason of Maimonides, and they also disagreed with his Halākhā. Hence a mystic reaction had every chance of success. Several distinguished scholars were attracted by the cult of the mysterious and lent it support. This new teaching, which was called *Ḳabbālā*, or tradition, spread from Gerona all over Spain, and also northwards. It was a revolt against logic, and sought to unite the divine element in man with the world spirit (*shekhel hap-pō'ēl*), by striving to attain perfection and self-purification. It inculcated the recognition of a harmony in all things. The microcosm is a counterpart of the macrocosm. The doctrine of the *Sᵉfîrôth* ('spheres'), the agencies of the *En-Sôf* ('Infinite'), and the emanations and revelations of the Creator, the grades and functions of spirits and angels, and the relation between the material and the ideal were all worked out with mathematical precision (see, further, art. ḲABBĀLĀ). Metempsychosis[1] had already been taught by Isaac b. Abraham of Posquières, the Blind (fl. 1190–1210).[2] Life was surrounded with countless customs and acts having a mystical origin. In every secular deed, in every word of prayer, in every *miṣwāh*, man was to be brought to think of a new connexion with the spiritual world, and thus to induce the desired communion with it. The divine name was a mystery which overshadowed and influenced everything, and the letters of the name had a mystical power (see, further, art. TETRAGRAMMATON).

All kinds of devices were invented or employed to interpret the Scriptures in accordance with Ḳabbalistic notions. Examples of such ingenuities were *ṣērūf*, *nôṭārîḳôn*, and *gēmaṭriā*, or permutations, the use of letters according to their numerical value and transposition. Various systems of substitution prevailed—e.g., *atbash* (. . . בש, את), in which the first letter of the alphabet was equated to the last, the second to the last but one, and so on (see, further, art. NUMBERS [Jewish]).

The Abulafias, Isaac ibn Laṭif, Joseph Jiḳatilla, and Moses de Leon, the pioneers of Ḳabbālā,[3] were Spaniards. The most distinguished adherent was Moses b. Naḥman (Naḥmanides or Ramban), 1195–1270, who was known at an early age for his saintliness and learning.

His influence on Judaism was very great, because he was regarded rather as an orthodox Rabbi tinged with mysticism than as an absolute Ḳabbalist, for he believed in a *creatio ex nihilo*. If Maimonides be selected as the exponent of reason, Naḥmanides was the defender of authority. The former adopted a rationalistic attitude towards the Biblical miracles, ignoring those of the Talmud. To the latter the Biblical miracles were the object of veneration and implicit belief. Although his respect for authority was not limited to the Talmud, but extended to the Geonim and rendered sacred in his eyes even the utterances of his contemporaries, Naḥmanides did not hesitate to declare, at the great disputation of 1263, that a belief in Haggādā is not incumbent on the Jew. Naḥmanides' chief activity lay in the Talmud. His philosophical theories, though based on logic, in reality rest on authority. He made miracles the foundation of his system, rejecting Maimonides and Aristotle. 'For Nachmani, on the other hand, the belief in miracles was the foundation of Judaism, on which the three pillars of his structure rested: the creation from nothing, the omniscience of God, and the divine providence. . . . Maimuni assumed, with the philosophers, that the sensual instincts are a disgrace to man, since he is destined to a spiritual life. Nachmani was a strenuous opponent of this view. Since God, who is perfect, has created the earthly world, . . . nothing in it should be regarded as . . . hateful. . . . If Judaism was for Maimuni a cult of the intellect, for Nachmani it was a religion of the feelings' (Graetz, iii. 550 f.). Thus Maimonides insisted on the power of the intellect to solve the mysteries of religion, while Naḥmanides regarded the divine secrets as a sanctuary not to be profaned by any attempt at penetration. Demons and angels were rejected as heathenish by Maimonides; they are part of the system of Naḥmanides. The Ḳabbālā, laying great emphasis on miracles and authority, fitted admirably with his view of life, and the approval of so famous a Rabbi was of great value to Ḳabbalism.

The Ḳabbalistic scriptures achieved their fame very largely by the fact that they were pseudepigrapha. The most famous book was the *Zôhar* (*q.v.*), composed by Moses b. Shem Ṭob de Leon (1250–1305) after 1285. This work he attributed to Simon b. Johai; it was written in Aramaic, and its preservation was accounted for in a miraculous way. Its aim was to show that the Bible was never intended to be understood in a literal sense. In spite of its extravagances, the book exercised enormous influence for a long time. The *Bāhîr* was composed by Azriel, one of the pupils of Isaac the Blind, and was attributed to Neḥunya b. hak-Ḳana.[1] Contemporary Rabbis, however, refused to acknowledge it, and Meir b. Simon of Narbonne (second half of 13th cent.) ordered it to be burned.

The Ḳabbalistic controversy lasted for many years. Its failure to capture Judaism completely was largely due to the firm bulwark in defence of reason erected by Maimonides; yet it saved Judaism from being reduced to a mere system of logic. It produced many saints, even though it created some fantastic enthusiasts. In the persecuted it stimulated hope and encouraged piety, and by emphasizing the inner underlying ideas it prevented observances from losing their spiritual meaning. The fault of Ḳabbālā lay in the fact that it was unfitted for the populace. In the case of a scholar or recluse, mysticism produced devotion and ecstasy; in ignorant minds it generated superstition. Gradually the Ḳabbalists drifted to Palestine. Safed became a centre where its devotees gathered, and Joseph Qaro, Isaac ben Solomon Luria, and Alḳabeṣ settled in the Holy Land. Their saintly lives are fine examples of the higher side of the movement.[2] So strong was its influence that the *Zôhar* was studied by many Christian scholars, who attempted to find in it proofs for the Trinity and Christianity. The famous Pico della Mirandola, the disciple of Elias Delmedigo, translated several Ḳabbalistic works into Latin, and introduced the Ḳabbālā to the notice of the Medicis in Tuscany. Pope Sixtus IV. (pope from 1471 to 1484) procured translations, and ordered them to be disseminated as evidences of Christianity (Graetz, iv. 314).

The influence of the Ḳabbālā on Christianity was not wide or permanent, and, similarly, Judaism was to no great extent influenced by Christianity during the Middle Ages. It was as persecutors and as slaughterers that Jews had knowledge of the Gentiles among whom they dwelt.[3] It is scarcely a source of wonder, therefore, that Judaism was so little affected by contact with Christianity. The followers of either religion knew and cared nothing for the thoughts and beliefs of the other. In the disputations between champions of the two faiths—*e.g.*, Paris (1240), Barcelona (1263), Burgos and Avila (1375), and Tortosa (1413)—the Christians desired simply to convert the Jews, and the Jews, who had no desire for controversy, were forced to argue. The attacks on the Talmud, the persecutions incidental to the Crusades, the Black Death, the charges of poisoning wells, the blood accusation, the wholesale massacre of entire communities, the tortures of the Inquisition, the *auto da fé*, and the expulsions and sequestrations all combined to stigmatize Christianity in the eyes of the Jews as a religion of hate and blood. Consequently their own religion was unaffected by any attempt at contrast. Marranos and others, forced to change their creed often, seized the earliest opportunity of recanting their feigned conversion, even if their abjuration meant death.

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[1] Adopted by the Muslims from Pythagoras, the conception of metempsychosis was borrowed by the Ḳaraites and denounced by Sa'adya, Abraham ibn Daud, and Ḥasdai Crescas. Rabbinic Judaism was unaffected by Ḳaraism in this respect, and the idea remained unknown till introduced by the Ḳabbalists. See art. METEMPSYCHOSIS (Jewish).

[2] Baḥya b. Asher calls him 'the father of the Ḳabbālā,' and this opinion is also that of Joseph Jiḳatilla, Recanati, and others (see *JE* vi. [1904] 620).

[3] See *JE* i. 141–144, vi. 536, v. 665 f., viii. 7.

[1] It is now believed, however, to have been the work of Isaac himself. On the book see I. Broydé in *JE* ii. [1902] 442 f.; on Azriel and Neḥunya see *ib.* ii. 373 f., ix. 212.

[2] For Luria and Alḳabeṣ see *JE* viii. 210–212, i. 401 f., and Schechter's essay on Safed in *Studies in Judaism*, 2nd ser.

[3] See I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896, ch. xxiii.

The Renaissance and the Reformation brought some amelioration. Erasmus and Reuchlin were champions of freedom in thought, far in advance of their age. Luther, at first favourable to tolerance, ultimately changed his views. His pamphlet 'Concerning the Jews and their Lies' was full of bitterness; he detested the Jews themselves as much as he hated their religion, and his invective against both was boundless. The study of Hebrew by Christians was too strictly confined to a few learned men to influence the masses or even the ruling classes. Only in the case of Reuchlin did Hebrew learning among Christians prove of advantage to Jews, and it is not certain that even Reuchlin would have championed the cause of the Talmud had his hand not been forced by his Dominican opponents. Perhaps the most important event in which the influence of Christianity on Judaism may be observed is the expulsion from Spain, in 1492, by which the Jews were dispersed. Learning was spread abroad generally; in particular, a nucleus was formed in the East.

Towards the end of the 13th cent. a controversy arose in Judaism as to the study of science. The period when the *Zôhar* began to circulate was intellectually poor. There were no outstanding personalities who could have suppressed the extravagant fancies of Ḳabbalism and restored a due sense of proportion. Men had lost their feeling for the simple and were involved in intricacies. Biblical exegesis and preaching became tinged with obscurity, allegorization, and pseudo-philosophy. Their activity was frequently devoted not to thoughts and ideas, but to outward signs and the twisting of words. The chief of this school, Levi b. Abraham of Villefranche, near Perpignan (1240–1315), a follower of Maimonides, became the leader of the friends of science. Perpignan itself was the seat of this sort of false learning; the allegorization, *e.g.*, by Levi, of Biblical characters (thus, Abraham and Sarah were regarded by him as types of matter and intellect) provoked the antagonism of the orthodox and of those who favoured the literal exegesis. A conflict arose in 1303 which resolved itself into the question, Is the study of science opposed to Judaism, and should it be suppressed? The leader of the obscurantists was Abba Mari b. Moses of Montpellier, who, from the outset, opposed Levi of Villefranche, who stood for freedom of thought. The Rabbi of Perpignan, Don Vidal Menahem b. Solomon Me'īrī (1249–1306), was a very different type of scholar from his contemporaries. Of unimpeachable orthodoxy, he loved science and philosophy, and refused to be captured by Abba Mari; he became a champion of science, but declared that it ought to be studied only after the Talmud was thoroughly mastered. Abba Mari, however, managed to involve the Rabbi of Barcelona, Solomon Ben Adrat, in the quarrel, and secured his support. The lovers of science were led by Jacob b. Makhir Tibbon, a mathematician and astronomer, and the famous Tibbon family were naturally all on the liberal side, gaining many adherents to their cause by accusing their adversaries of being anti-Maimonists. While the strife was raging, there came from the Rhineland, where he had been driven by persecution, the distinguished Asher b. Jeḥiel (1250–1327),[1] a pupil of the famous Meir of Rothenburg. Asher wandered from his native country to escape the massacres of Rindfleisch, which were destroying whole communities, and, in 1305, he was made Rabbi of Toledo. He was a great Talmudist and the compiler of a famous abstract of the Talmud, but he was a bitter enemy of secular scholarship. Naturally he joined the side of Abba Mari and proposed to convoke a synod in which science was to be condemned and utterly banished from the Jewish curriculum. Finally, on 26th July 1305, a solemn ban, to remain valid for fifty years, was pronounced against all secular study and also against the works of Maimonides. Any person under the age of twenty-five reading a scientific work was to be excommunicated. The organization of the Jewish communities was such that the ban affected only the town under the jurisdiction of the particular Rabbi who issued it—in this case Barcelona. Attempts were made to have the decree recognized elsewhere, but meanwhile the other side were not idle, and issued a counter-ban from Montpellier by which excommunication was pronounced against all who should prevent their sons or other persons from studying science, in whatsoever language the text-book was written, against those who abused Maimonides, and against those who attacked religious teachers because of their scientific or philosophical thoughts. The cause of the enlightened party prospered and gained much from the famous circular letter (*'iggereth hithnaṣṣelūth*) which Jedaya Bedaresi (on whom see *JE* ii. 625–627) wrote in 1306 to Ben Adrat and his party in defence of science and Maimonides. After the French expulsions, partisans of the two parties settled in Perpignan, and the controversy continued; but the liberal views gained the day in the end, and Judaism as a whole asserted itself in favour of science.

Perpignan had been the centre of the obscurantists, but scholarship was not killed there. From this town came forth a worthy successor of Maimonides, who went even further than that scholar himself in his daring attitude towards reason and learning. This great man was Levi b. Gershon (*q.v.*), called Gersonides, Ralbag (from his initials), Leon de Bagnols (from his birthplace), or Magister Leo Hebræus (1288–1344). The ban against science had no effect on his education. Before his thirtieth year he began his famous philosophical work, *Milḥămôth 'Ădhônāi* ('Wars of the Lord'). Of his numerous other works, his Talmudic knowledge, and his scientific and medical attainments it is impossible to write here; his influence on Judaism can be measured by his philosophic attitude in the work mentioned above.

He stood forth as a convinced Aristotelian, to a much greater degree than Maimonides, so that he sometimes does not scruple to follow Aristotle when he disagrees with Jewish doctrine, even where Maimonides threw the Greek philosopher over. He denied that the Torah required blind faith or belief in anything opposed to truth and reason. The 'Wars' deals with the six questions on which Maimonides deserted Aristotle or to which he gave no clear reply, these points being: (1) immortality; (2) prophecy; (3) divine omniscience; (4) divine providence; (5) the nature of the spheres; and (6) the eternity of matter. Ralbag defines the intellect born in man as a faculty which is operated by the universal intellect; man cannot think apart from the object of his thought. He derives immortality from the doctrine of the realists. He maintains the freedom of the human will in spite of the divine omniscience. He differs from Maimonides on the position assigned to the function of the imagination in prophecy, Maimonides holding that it should be encouraged, Ralbag that it should be subordinated to reason. Further, 'for Maimonides the special will of God is the sine qua non for prophecy; for Levi moral and intellectual perfections are quite sufficient' (I. Broydé, in *JE* viii. 30^a). Ralbag demonstrated that this world had a beginning and was not the outcome of a previous world, but that it has no end. The *tôhu wā-bhôhu* (Gn 1^2) existed from all time, but was formed by God at the

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[1] On these scholars see *JE* viii. 22–24, 441, i. 33 f., 212 f., vi 544, ii. 182 f.

Creation. As regards miracles he was extremely rationalistic, and he formulated three conditions by which they were to be judged: (1) miracles are transitory; their effect does not endure; (2) they are not self-contradictory; nothing can be black and white simultaneously; (3) they cannot take place in the celestial spheres. Miracles are not supernatural, but are natural results—though rare—of laws governing the universe. In Jos 10^{12}, the miracle was not the standing still of the sun, but the rapidity with which the Israelite victory was achieved. So also in the case of Hezekiah (2 K 20$^{9-11}$), it was the shadow, not the sun, that went backwards.

Naturally the theories of Ralbag did not pass unchallenged. His ideas were not popular with the masses, but retained their hold over learned minds for generations. Pope Clement VI. ordered his astronomical works to be translated into Latin, and Spinoza adopted Ralbag's treatment of miracles (see Graetz, iv. 101). A contemporary of Ralbag was Moses b. Joshua of Narbonne (Vidal Narboni), who was born at Perpignan. He died after 1362. In his case, too, the ban was ineffectual, for he began the study of philosophy at the age of thirteen.

He was a follower of Maimonides and Ibn Rushd (Averroes; see art. AVERROES, AVERROISM, vol. ii. pp. 262–266). In spite of a chequered life, he was a productive author, and his works exerted considerable influence. He 'conceived Judaism as a disciplined guide which led to the attainment of the highest degree of theoretical moral truths: the Torah had a double meaning, the one simple, made easy for the thoughtless mob, and the other of a deeper metaphysical nature for the class of thinkers. This was a common opinion in those times, from which Gersonides alone demurred. Narboni also gave expression to heretical views, that is, such as were contrary to the ordinarily accepted understanding of Judaism, but not with the freedom and openness of Levi ben Gerson. He also rejected the belief in miracles, and attempted to explain them away altogether. He defended man's freedom of will by philosophical arguments' (Graetz, iv. 102).[1]

Ralbag was a staunch Aristotelian, but the Jewish philosophers were not confined to this school of thought. Ḥasdai b. Abraham Crescas (1340–1410), born in Barcelona, sought to free Judaism completely from Aristotelianism, and was thus at variance both with Ralbag and with Rambam. His second work was a *Tratado* written in Spanish in 1398, a refutation of Christianity, designed less as an apologetic for Judaism than as an attack on the apostates. His third work, *Ôr 'Ădhônāi*, is a masterpiece of reasoning and style.

Crescas declared that the teachings of Ralbag and Rambam were contrary to orthodoxy, mainly because they were based on Aristotle, but he differed from the other opponents of these teachers in that he came forward with argument, not with appeals to authority or threats of excommunication. Maimonides had accepted the twenty-six propositions of Aristotle. Crescas rejected them. He held that philosophy was inadequate to demonstrate the unity of God. Although philosophy might show that the First Cause was simple and not compound, yet there might still be deities subservient to the Supreme God. Therefore revelation and religion are necessary. God's essence was not knowledge, but love. Crescas also admitted attributes. He rejected the thirteen articles of the creed of Maimonides as being either too few or too many, and based Judaism on six essentials: God's omniscience, providence, and omnipotence; prophecy, free will; and the belief that the world was created for a purpose. Man's will is free because he feels it to be free; though in reality God's omnipotence predetermines, yet man's will is sufficiently free to admit reward and punishment. The world was created, and would pass away, while the heavens would endure. The purpose of the world was human happiness, to be brought about by love, both here and in the hereafter. Knowledge is apart from the soul.

It will thus be seen that the gulf between Crescas and his predecessors was very great. Crescas, when not actually attacked, was strangely ignored by his contemporaries. His teaching was diffused largely by the works of his pupil Joseph Albo, chiefly through the *Iqqārîm* ('Roots'), in which there is little originality, the matter being almost entirely derived from Crescas.[2]

The appearance of David Reubeni (*c.* 1490–1535) and Solomon Molko (*c.* 1500–32) kindled great hopes in the hearts of the Jews and Marranos. Their extraordinary adventures gained them many followers, and the honour with which they were received in Rome and Portugal deluded many into the belief that their Messianic claims were valid. Their failure caused bitter disappointment, though the heroic constancy of Molko at his martyrdom (1532) encouraged many who were doomed to a similar fate. Their importance to Judaism lies in the fact that the failure of one pseudo-Messiah did not prevent his successor from receiving credence.[1] Only 130 years later, Judaism was rent by the schism produced by another claimant, Shabbethai Zebi, whose followers were numbered by thousands (see below, p. 605^{b}).[2] Ḳabbalism was largely responsible for these eschatological ideas. Already in 1284, Abraham Abulafia declared himself to be the Messiah, and fixed the millennium for 1290. Two of his disciples, Joseph Jiḳatilla and Samuel, from Medina Celi, alleged themselves to be prophets and harbingers of the Messiah, and Messianic hopes were largely predominant in the minds of the later Ḳabbalists at Safed.

It has already been pointed out that Christian persecution was driving the Jews into Muslim countries. Little by little, Turkey and Palestine were receiving a large Jewish population; Safed, in particular, became the home of many distinguished Rabbis. Among these Rabbis there grew up the desire to re-establish the old Rabbinic supremacy of Palestine. They desired to institute once more the *sᵉmîkhāh*, or ordination, and thus ordain a Sanhedrin which would be recognized throughout the world. In 1538, Jacob Berab[3] began to ordain in Safed; but his plans were frustrated by Levi b. Jacob Ḥabib, the chief Rabbi of Jerusalem, and his colleague, Moses de Castro. Berab failed and was forced to emigrate, but before doing so he ordained four disciples, one of whom was Joseph Qaro. Had Berab succeeded, a great step in the direction of Jewish ecclesiastical unity would have been accomplished. It is significant that he failed. Judaism has never liked centralization of authority, certainly not since the Diaspora, and it has flourished perhaps by reason of its local autonomy in religious spheres. Had a single authority been able to control Jewish thought and belief during such controversies as raged over Ḳaraism, Maimonides, the study of science, and the Arab and Greek philosophy, the result would have been the growth of sects, from which Judaism is so remarkably free. Had the central authority, during any of these conflicts, taken sides, Judaism would have been crippled. Freedom of thought, the result of local autonomy and independence, alone has preserved it from disintegration.

The convocation of synods, however, is not an unknown event in post-Talmudic Judaism, but the feature of these synods has usually been their temporary character and their convocation for a particular purpose. Thus, the *'ăsîfôth*, or assemblies, of R. Tam, in the middle of the 12th cent., met at Troyes and Rheims to determine many cases, generally those arising out of the intercourse of Jews and Christians. Perhaps the most famous synod was that summoned about 1000 by R. Gershom (960–1040), which (1) prohibited polygamy, (2) maintained the principle of mutual consent in divorce, (3) ordained leniency for forced converts, and (4) prohibited the opening of other persons' letters. Assemblies were also held at Mainz (1223 and 1381), of the Spanish Jews (1354), and at Bologna (1416), Forli (1418), Jerusalem (1552), and Lublin (1650), while Napoleon (1806) and Alexander I. (1804) summoned synods. In 1903 a synod of 50 Rabbis was held at Cracow, under the leadership of R. Elijahu Ḥazzan, chief Rabbi of Alexandria, which repudiated the blood accusation and denounced Nihilism. In America and Germany synods have frequently been summoned in modern times, chiefly by the Reform party. The synod of Lublin, in 1650, was of a permanent character, and the famous *Waʿadh ʾarbaʿ ʾărāṣôth*, or 'Council of the Four Countries' (usually Great Poland, Little Poland, Polish Russia, and Volhynia), sat regularly during two centuries. But all these synods were, in effect, local. They did not pretend to legislate beyond their own jurisdiction, though their rulings were, in many cases, voluntarily accepted elsewhere. The theory of the Rabbis has always been mutual equality; there has been no official *primus inter pares*. At the present day in England, various Sefardic and Ashkenazic communities exist side by side, in friendship and mutual recognition; their position may be compared to adjacent dioceses of the same Church, without a primate.

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[1] See, further, I. Broydé, 'Moses ben Joshua of Narbonne,' in *JE* ix. 71 f.

[2] See, further, E. G. Hirsch, *JE* iv. 350–353.

[1] See, further, J. Jacobs, 'Reubeni, David,' in *JE* x. 388 f., and P. Bloch, 'Molko, Solomon,' *ib.* viii. 651.

[2] Also the followers of David Alroy (*c.* 1160) formed a sect called the Menaḥemists (cf. M. Adler, in *JE* i. 454 f.).

[3] See L. Ginzberg, 'Berab, Jacob,' in *JE* iii. 45–47.

Judaism maintains the individual freedom of every Rabbi, and his right to give ordination (*sᵉmikhāh*) to suitable disciples. The validity of this ordination must be recognized by all Jewry, though no Rabbi may exercise his functions within the jurisdiction of another. In practice, the Ḥakham of Bevis Marks and the chief Rabbi of Duke's Place are the highest court of appeal for the Sefardim and Ashkenazim not only of the Empire, but often, it would almost be safe to add, of the world. On the Continent local Rabbinic supremacy is well-nigh universal.

The great Halākhic work of Maimonides did not check the compilation of codes. Many teachers devoted themselves to the task, either for popular use or for the elucidation of the principles of Halākhā. Eliʿezer b. Nathan of Mainz (Raban) was the author of the *ʾEbhen hā-ʿĒzer*. Moses of Coucy wrote the *Semag*, or *Sēfer Miṣwôth Gādhôl*, and Isaac of Corbeil composed the *Semaḳ*, or *Sēfer Miṣwôth Ḳāṭôn*, a smaller work. Elʿazar of Worms (1176–1238), a prolific and vigorous writer, was the author of ritual and Ḳabbalistic works. His fame rests chiefly on the *Rôḳēaḥ*, an ethical-Halākhic work in 497 paragraphs. His Ḳabbalism tinged his views very deeply, but the *Rôḳēaḥ* is a valuable contribution to Judaism. Solomon b. Adrat of Barcelona wrote a comprehensive scheme of laws, covering all the practical needs of Jewish life. In distinction to Maimonides, he gives in this work, *Tôrath hab-bayith*, the sources and proofs of his rulings. Perhaps the most famous of the post-Maimonidian codes was the *ʾArbaʿ Ṭûrîm* of Jacob b. Asher (1280–1340), a son of Asher b. Jeḥiēl.[1] Its influence on Judaism was greater than that of any other code, and it became a household word. Joseph Qaro, when he thought it necessary to compose the *Shulḥan ʿArūkh*, practically revised and brought up to date the work of Jacob b. Asher. Qaro was a mystic and devoted to Ḳabbālā. His life and those of the Safed Ḳabbalists have been well portrayed by S. Schechter in his *Studies in Judaism* (London, 1896). Their influence pervaded Jewish life and ceremonial, and many a touch of spirituality, a high association, an ethical hint, is due to their teaching. They introduced a spirit of consecration, a sanctification of religious practice, devotion, and self-sacrifice.

Excess of their teaching would have made Judaism unreal and superficial; in due proportion it gave life and light. Protected and fortified by Maimonides and the philosophers, Judaism was safe from the dangers of an exaggerated mysticism. On the other hand, the entire absence of the mystic element would have reduced it to a collection of intellectual dogmas, lacking warmth and vitality. Its stability is due to the heterogeneous nature of its component elements and to the proportion and moderation with which each one had fulfilled its appointed function.

Poland was pre-eminently the home of Talmudic study. The Polish synods had given an impetus to this learning, and the practical jurisdiction of the Rabbinical tribunals forced judges as well as litigants to master the code by which judgment would be given. Fast as the printing presses worked, the output of copies of the Talmud was speedily sold out. In forty years, three large editions were exhausted (Cracow, 1602–05, 1616–20; Lublin, 1617–39). So great was the devotion and so numerous were the Rabbis and pupils that the supremacy of Poland was everywhere recognized. The dispersion of the Polish Jews, due to the terrible atrocities in 1648 of Chmielnicki (1595–1675), had scarcely any effect on their attachment to the Talmud. They carried their love with them into exile and clung to it more firmly in distress. This enthusiasm carried with it one great disadvantage, for every other study, Jewish and secular, was abandoned, and the Polish Jews immured themselves in an intellectual ghetto, the confines of which were as narrow and crushing as those of the physical pale. There began a period of darkness and ignorance, which was ended only by the light of the Mendelssohnian movement. It is incorrect to attribute this misfortune to the nature of the Talmud. It was not concentration on the Talmud, but the exclusion of everything else, that was responsible for this retrogade tendency. The devotion of the Polish Jews to the Talmud is largely maintained to-day, but other influences are at work, and, while they no longer shut out general knowledge from their curriculum, their zeal for Halākhā is not abated.

In the 17th cent. three different influences exerted themselves upon Judaism. The Talmudic influence, alluded to above, became more powerful with the diffusion of the Polish Jews over Europe. Secondly, a strong wave of Ḳabbālā infected Jewish communities in every land, East and West. This naturally was followed, in reaction, by a strong spirit of opposition. This phase of Ḳabbālā had nothing in its favour. The earlier sublimity of the mystic idea was gone; it degenerated into senseless tricks and juggling. Isaac Luria and his pupils, in spite of their piety, were the teachers of an unworthy superstition. They claimed to work miracles, and deluded the ignorant by their visions and alleged wonders. They preached metempsychosis, the union and redemption of souls, and practical magic, often by means of the ineffable name. Ḥayyim Vital Calabrese, his brother Moses, and his son Samuel lived in Palestine (Jerusalem, Safed, and Damascus being strongholds of Ḳabbalism); Israel Saruk,[1] a pupil of Luria, and Menaḥem Azaria da Fano, in Italy. The teaching of these men and their numerous followers prepared the way for the pseudo-Messiah Shabbethai Zebi.

This wonderful impostor succeeded in winning over thousands; not merely the ignorant multitude but learned and earnest Rabbis followed him. All over the world preparations were made for the Messianic Age, which he fixed for the Annus Mirabilis, 1666. London and Amsterdam vied with Smyrna in eagerness, and few kept their heads during this convulsion. So strong was his personality that, in spite of his ludicrous failure, multitudes believed in him. A rumour arose about Shabbethai similar to the Docetic theory of the Crucifixion, which maintained that a substitute had intervened and saved Jesus from the Cross. It was said that another had apostatized, and that the real Shabbethai had withdrawn for a while and would reappear in glory. The belief in him has remained to the present day, and a separate sect of Turkish Jews, called the *Dönmeh* (on whom see R. J. H. Gottheil, *JE* iv. 639), await his second coming. When the majority of his misguided admirers recovered their senses, every reminiscence of the false prophet was banned. Thus it is said that the *Maʿărābîth* for the second day of Pentecost (אל אהים דבר by Raban) is omitted from the usual Ashkenazic *Maḥzôr* because of some supposed association with Shabbethai. The Messianic spirit had in earlier times made itself felt in Holland. It was re-echoed by the English Puritans, and to no small extent facilitated the return of the Jews to England.

The excesses of Talmudism and Ḳabbalism produced an intellectual revolt, the last of the three tendencies to which allusion has been made. For the first time Judaism had to deal with calculated and philosophical scepticism. This new trend of thought was first manifested in three contemporaries, Uriel da Costa (1590–1647; see art. ACOSTA, vol. i. p. 74 f.), Leo of Modena (1571–1648), and Joseph Delmedigo (1591–1655).[1] There were many points of difference between the triad. Da Costa was a Marrano who, dissatisfied with Roman Catholicism, renounced it for his ancestral faith. He was, however, disappointed with Judaism. He made no secret of his views, and was twice excommunicated for heresy. After doing penance and being reconciled, he shot himself.

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[1] For sketches of these writers see *JE* v. 118 f., ix. 68–70, vi. 623, v. 100 f., i. 212 f., vii. 27 f.

[1] For these see *JE* viii. 210–212, xii. 448 f., xi. 64.

Da Costa maintained that the Talmud had intervened between the Bible and Judaism. He was a deist, and believed in a religion of nature to be found in every human conscience, an ethical form of creed in which Judaism as well as other faiths had a share in common, and from which all had, in various degrees, deviated. It is doubtful whether he considered himself to have abandoned Judaism. Certain it is that he was regarded by his contemporaries as an apostate; but the point at issue was precisely this, whether the Judaism of the day was the faith in its true form or whether Talmudism had been substituted for it. The Jews who had settled in Holland had suffered so severely for their religion that they would not bear any attacks on that for which they had jeopardized their lives. Persecution had made them intolerant, yet they must not be blamed too sharply, for the age was not ready for unrestrained freedom of thought. Absolute liberty would most probably have degenerated into a decay of all moral and ethical bonds.

Leo of Modena remained a Rabbi to the day of his death. His intellectual powers were of a higher order than those of Da Costa, while his frame of mind affords a curious psychological study.

Although his teaching was in favour of religion, he was himself assailed by doubt. He could attack Judaism and defend it with equal sincerity and conviction. His vacillation was due, on the one hand, to instability of character; on the other, to bitter misfortune, both in his family life and financially. In his *Bēth Yehūdāh* he upholds the legal right of the Rabbis to modify Talmudic legislation, and he regards the Haggādā unfavourably. In his *Ḳôl Sākhāl* (or *Beḥinath haḳ-Ḳabbala*; J. A. Benjacob, *Ozar Ha-Sepharim, Bibliog. der hebr. Lit.*, Wilna, 1880, p. 69, no. 233) he attacked traditional Judaism;[2] in his *Sha'ăgath 'Aryēh*, he defended it. The *'Ărī Nôhēm* refutes Ḳabbālā and proves the late origin of the *Zôhar*. Yet he believed in astrology. His literary activity was great. On account of his official position, his influence was far greater than that of Da Costa, but he did not go to the same length, and he remained orthodox in practice. In a way, Leo was the father of the modern Reform movement, but through his inconsistency and his avoidance of conflict he achieved no practical result.

Joseph Delmedigo differed from Leo of Modena and from Da Costa in that he cannot be acquitted of insincerity. He had a wide education in liberal culture and science as well as in Jewish subjects.

He was active as a writer, and in spite of his wandering life he managed to compose a number of works. He had intimate associations with the Ḳaraites, and one of his best known books, *Ēlîm* (in allusion to Ex 15[27]), is a reply to twelve questions addressed to him by Zeraḥ b. Nathan, a Ḳaraite. Delmedigo officiated for a time as Rabbi in Hamburg. He never ventured to proclaim his real views, but covered them with a veneer of orthodoxy. On this account he was highly esteemed by many, who did not see him in his true light, or who regarded merely his erudition. As a sceptic his influence on Judaism was small; he merely illustrates, as another type, the growth of the movement.

Of a different character was Baruch Spinoza (*q.v.*) (1632–1677). He could not conform, either through fear or from motives of personal advantage, to what he believed to be untrue. Delmedigo might become a Rabbi, Descartes, whose teaching Spinoza followed, might vow a pilgrimage to Loreto, but to Spinoza external adherence was impossible.

He believed that Judaism was bound up with the Jewish State and ought to have ended with the destruction of the first Temple. For this reason, he regarded opposition to the State religion as unjustifiable, and resistance to the Inquisition as futile. Owing to his excommunication and persecution, he regarded Christianity more favourably than Judaism, but he had no serious thoughts of adopting it. It is a question whether his conception of the universe as a part of God, of the Deity as a self-producing Creator of all things, and of man as entirely controlled by causes reaching far back into universal natural laws could ever have been reconciled to Judaism, for Spinoza definitely rejected a personal God, Providence, and immortality. Yet, in his day, Maimonides was equally zealous in his search for truth and did not leave the fold. The influence of Spinoza on Judaism came later; his influence extended to individual Jews rather than to corporate Jewish belief.

Far more important to Jewish development was Moses Mendelssohn (*q.v.*) (1729–86). No less brilliant than Spinoza, no less erudite, and similarly endowed with a capacity for philosophy, he was a tower of strength to Judaism. To him is due the great revival which aroused thought, stimulated culture, and once more brought Judaism into contact with external learning. Without Mendelssohn it would have sunk more deeply into the clutches of ignorance and remained an easy prey to the attacks of atheism.

Mendelssohn had to contend with opposition on account of his translation of and commentary on the Bible, but his teaching was enormously diffused and gave vast numbers of young men an insight into modern thought, without destroying their faith. Like Maimonides, he was one of those intellectual giants that give another turn to the wheel of Jewish ethics and intellect. His effect was all the more potent since it almost coincided with the break up of the ghetto. The Jews emerged into more intimate contact with their surroundings and, dazzled by the sudden light, found help in his guidance. His preference for German over jargon was in itself epoch-making. He taught fidelity to Judaism and respect for the belief of others. His friendship with Lessing helped to make the cause of Judaism known outside and may be counted as a stage in the progress of Jewish emancipation.

Mendelssohn and Naphtali Hirz Wessely were the founders of a Jewish Renaissance, and their work was continued by Naḥman Krochmal (1785–1840) and Samuel David Luzzatto (1800–65).[1] The large array of Jewish scholars of the 19th cent. all owed their inspiration ultimately—in whatever branch they were engaged—to the Mendelssohn revival.

Wessely, in his *Dibhrē Shālôm we-Emeth* (Germ. tr. by D. Friedländer, *Worte der Wahrheit und des Friedens*, Berlin, 1798), had outlined a scheme of education in which science and Talmud should both find a place; nevertheless, he was not regarded with cordiality by many Polish Rabbis, some of whom were genuinely frightened at the combination, though not hostile to it, while others were merely obscurantist. The result of the rejuvenescence was, it is true, that a certain number became estranged, but many were fortified in their belief. At the same time a curious development had arisen in Poland, a revival of Essenism and mysticism, the followers of which called themselves by the old name Ḥăsîdîm. The founders of the new movement were Israel b. Eliezer, called Ba'al Shem-Ṭob (Beshṭ) (1698–1759), and Baer of Meseritz (1710–72).[2] The extraordinary piety of these men was re-echoed in their followers. Prayer was a vital force, and was the means of union and fusion with the Godhead. In spite of the attempts at miracles and predicting the future, and of a few unworthy practices, the sect was, and remains to the present day, a band of devotional enthusiasts, giving themselves entirely to introspection and prayer. The quaint religious exercises of the Ḥăsîdîm and their partial antagonism to the Talmud brought them into conflict with the Rabbis, and they were denounced by Elijah Wilna (1720–97),[3] while in 1781 they were declared to be heretics. Their antagonists, the *Mithnagedim* ('opponents'), rightly perceived that Judaism has no liking for extremes. The excesses of the Ḥăsîdîm were becoming intolerable; and, as their numbers grew, their eccentricities developed. It is estimated that at one time they numbered 100,000, although this is perhaps too large a figure. With the political emancipation of the Jews, a new era in Judaism began, although this emancipation is still incomplete in many lands. The effects can scarcely yet be estimated. Russia, the home of the greater number of the Jews, is still pursuing a policy of repression which affects not only the Russian Jews, but those of other countries to which fugitives go. Emancipation brings many problems in its train; for, so soon as a community begins to solve some of the difficulties and readjust itself to new conditions, an influx of Russians renews the process. Education is in many respects the solution. A proper curriculum, in which religious and secular knowledge shall each have a proper place, is being gradually and variously evolved. In Russia, the Haskalah movement has usually been sterile, because the tendency of the Maskilim and their children is almost invariably towards assimilation.[1] This is in reality due to economic conditions. The oppressive restrictions imposed by the Government on schools and learning prevent the rise of a carefully planned scheme of education. Thus modern knowledge must be acquired, almost entirely, either surreptitiously or from anti-religious sources. For the Zionistic movement in modern Judaism see art. ZIONISM.

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[1] See *JE* viii. 5–7, iv. 508 f.

[2] See 2nd treatise, ch. iv. = p. 28, ed. Isaac Reggio, Göritz, 1852, and also 3rd treatise. He urged very sweeping changes and modifications.

[1] On these three see *JE* xii. 506 f., vii. 576 f., viii. 224–226.

[2] For the difference between the teachings of Luria and Beshṭ, *i.e.* Kabbālā and Ḥasidism, see *JE*, *s.v.* 'Ba'al Shem-Ṭob, Israel b. Eliezer' and 'Baer (Dob) of Meseritz,' ii. 383–386, 430–433.

[3] See M. Seligsohn, 'Elijah ben Solomon,' in *JE* v. 133–135.

III. *JUDAISM AT THE PRESENT DAY.*—The future of orthodox Judaism and its relations with Christianity, on the one hand, and Zionism and liberal Judaism on the other, may be briefly summarized. It is unnecessary to dwell on the origin of Christianity. Graetz (ii. ch. xiv.) has traced the steps by which the breach between the two faiths was finally consummated. Judaism does not admit that Jesus was the promised Messiah. It cannot accept such distinctively Christian doctrines as the miraculous birth of Jesus, His divinity and relation to the Father, the Trinity, the Atonement, the Resurrection, the idea of mediation, the conception of sin.[2] Further, Judaism differs from Christianity with regard to the Law, neither admitting the possibility of its abrogation nor regarding it as burdensome. The Commandments are given to man 'that he may do them and live by them' (Lv 18^5). Judaism has a more optimistic view of life than Christianity; it does not hold the Essene doctrine that wealth is a bad thing under all circumstances (Lk 6^{24} $18^{24.25}$, Ja 1^{10}, Mt 19^{23}) and that marriage is evil. No Rabbi may be a celibate. Marriage is the first commandment of the Bible (Gn 1^{28}). The *Yēṣerhā-ra'* is from God (see F. C. Porter, *Yale Bicentenary Bib. and Sem. Studies*, London, 1901, p. 122); it is called טוב מאד (*Gen. Rab.* p. 71 foot, of Theodor's ed., Berlin, 1903; see his note), and God instituted it 'for his glory' (see second blessing of Jewish Marriage Service, Singer, p. 299; cf. Book of Common Prayer, The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony: 'Matrimony, which is an honourable estate instituted of God . . .'; but ct. 'It was ordained for a remedy against sin and to avoid fornication'). Judaism does not regard family ties as an impediment to man's whole-hearted service of God (ct. 1 K 19^{20} with Lk 14^{26}; see also Mt 10^{35}, and Rashi on Lv 19^3), nor does it approve of asceticism.[3] The Nazirite had to bring a sin-offering (see *Bab. Taanith*, 11*a* = Goldschmidt, iii. 441, כל היושב בתענית נקרא חוטא; in Babylon only the ninth of Ab was observed). Finally, Judaism does not declare that belief in any dogma is necessary to salvation. It teaches that 'the righteous of all nations have a share in the world to come' (Maimonides, *Hilkhôth Teshūbhā*, iii. § ii.), that 'the teachings of him of Nazareth and of the man of Ishmael . . . serve to bring to perfection all mankind, so that they may serve God . . .' (Maimonides, ed. D. Yellin and I. Abrahams, London, 1903, p. 94 ff.), that 'the good actions of any man, to whichever people he may belong, will be rewarded by God. But the priority belongs to people who are near God during their life, and we estimate the rank they occupy near God after death accordingly' (*Khazarī*, i. § 111 = Hirschfeld, p. 78; see also *Exodus Rabba*, p. 49, and, for other references, D. Wasserzug, *The Messianic Idea*, p. 22). The function of Judaism is to fulfil the Isaianic ideal of a missionary 'Remnant.' Though it recognizes the general truths of Christianity and Islām, and the religious validity of these systems, it cannot concede that its own destiny is accomplished, as long as the differences outlined above remain in existence. While rejecting ecclesiasticism, Judaism can fully appreciate the life of the founder of Christianity; and, in estimating the practical value of that faith, it pays regard to the noble lives fostered by its ideals rather than to the persecutors that have proved false to its teaching.

Judaism is to be the religion of a Remnant; from the material sacrifices demanded of its adherents, resulting from an environment preponderatingly non-Jewish, it is inevitable that Judaism, under present conditions, must be limited to a minority. This circumstance constitutes its strength. It must never be forgotten that the minority influences the majority, not *vice versa*, for good. All great movements spring from the few; when they have permeated to the many, it is more often a sign that they have failed, and that there is need for a new growth, than that they have accomplished their purpose. Nearly every ideal degenerates with popularity. When the masses are stronger than their leaders, chaos results.

> 'In a great population animated by democratic notions, recognizing no external authority in matters of faith or taste, with a growing passion for equality and a greedy desire to handle the good things of this world, as recommended by the modes and methods of life of the wealthy and luxurious, it would be irrational to expect to discover any general refinement or delicacy of thought or feeling. . . . To expect too much of the human race is the ancient error of moralists and the sin of the satirist. In his lecture on "Numbers," delivered in the United States, Mr. Matthew Arnold illustrated by quotations from Plato and Isaiah the truth *that it is always the remnant that saves a nation or a race*, and the advantage of a big country and a great population is that the remnant has at least a chance of being a good large one' (Augustine Birrell, 'Modern Conditions of Literary Production,' *EBr*^{10} xxx. [1902] p. ix).

The losses sustained by Judaism through perversion and by the oppression of the Jews in Russia and Rumania, together with the more subtle but no less severe persecution prevalent in some other countries, have produced Zionism, for the Zionists regard a minority as doomed to failure. Originally this movement was purely economic and philanthropic in scope; Herzl's Zionism was bound up in the Basel programme, 'to secure a *legally assured* home in Syria and Palestine' for persecuted Jews. The words 'legally assured' differentiated Zionism from the other colonizing enterprises. Since the death of Herzl, who said, 'Der Weg zum Judenlande führt durch das Judentum,' Zionism has developed into nationalism, which asserts a Jewish nationality independent of religion. The division of certain sentiments into 'national' and 'religious' is arbitrary; it is a Latin or European conception, as the language of the terms indicates.[1] The antithesis is not Semitic; for, while religion to a Semite—Jew or Muslim—includes, as has been shown (above, p. 584 ff.), much more than is now ordinarily understood by the word, a kinship on the basis of blood or language or any other but a religious tie is conceivable neither to the prophets of old nor to the Semitic ethnologist or historian of to-day. Monotheism, not some physiological inheritance, is the *raison d'être* of Judaism (see C. G. Montefiore, 'Nation or Religious Community?,' *JQR* xii. [1899–1900] 177–194; see also *ib.* xvii. [1904–05] 1–25, 397–425; *Jewish Chronicle Correspondence*, 1909, Jan. 1, 15, March 12, April 9, 16, 23, 30, May 21, June 25; on the question of a Jewish race see R. N. Salamon, in *Journal of Genetics*, i. [1910–11] 273 ff., where a complete bibliography is given).

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[1] See, further, artt. 'Haskalah,' 'Maskil,' in *JE* vi. 256–258, viii. 364.

[2] See 'Sin as Rebellion,' etc., in S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabb. Theol.*, p. 219 ff.

[3] See 'Law of the Nazirite,' in *Jew. Chron.*, June 5, 1914, p. 17 f.

[1] See what has been said above on nationality, p. 584 ff.

Every recrudescence of nationalism has brought misfortune to the Jews and to Judaism. It was the cause of the catastrophe of 587 B.C., of the fall of the Maccabees, of the decay of the Sadducees, of the destruction by Titus, and of the desolation of Judæa in 136. In every case the disasters caused by the nationalists have been mitigated by their opponents. Joḥanan b. Zakkai built up what the zealots overthrew, and the breaches resulting from Bar Kokhba's declaration of nationality were healed by the Rabbis. A Jewish centre is not an essential to enable the genius of Judaism to assert itself. There was neither a physical nor a spiritual ghetto in Spain, yet the Spanish period is perhaps the brightest in the history of Judaism. Nor is the circumstance that the Jewish liturgy prays for a 'return' an argument for Zionism; the 'return' to which Judaism looks forward is always associated with religion. 'And let our eyes behold *Thy* return in mercy to Zion, and there we will worship Thee in awe as in the days of old' (Adler and Davis, *Service of Syn.* [*Tabernacles*], p. 140). The true character of Zionism, as an alternative to religion, may be seen from such pronouncements as those of J. Hochman (*Jewish Review*, iv. [1913] 217–242), who regards it as a salvation for those 'who do not share the faith of the orthodox universalist in the divine origin of the Law . . . who do not find a satisfactory sphere of activity in the life of Mitzwoth . . . to-day we have no one centre of Jewish loyalty, and the life of Mitzwoth is losing its hold.' Such Zionism would save the Jews at the cost of Judaism.

Finally, liberal Judaism has arisen as a missionary movement in order to rescue those Jews who have become indifferent to their faith. Liberal Judaism stands much nearer to orthodox Judaism than Zionism does. The differences between the two forms are internal and small in comparison with their points of contact; to the outside world both are united, although there may be a great gulf between individuals on both sides.

For membership of a liberal synagogue does not necessarily imply the repudiation of something not definitely taught from its pulpit. Liberal Judaism denies the necessity of certain practices, but it does not require their abandonment. It is thus in nature not Ḳaraitic, but it asserts the continuation of Rabbinic tradition as a living force. Refusing to regard the *Shulḥan 'Arūkh* as the sealing up of Halākhā, liberal Judaism maintains that its religious teachers and individual members to-day have the power to bind and loose as of old. In this respect it is something positive, not a mere negation of orthodoxy. The latter, on the other hand, cannot accept any development unless sanctioned by a Rabbi with *Hattārath Hōrā'ā* (*facultas docendi*), and permits a synod to decree changes only if its authority is recognized as equal to that of its predecessors. Liberal Judaism seeks to win back the lapsed, even at the cost of modifications; orthodoxy, however, maintains that the preservation of the ideal is more important than the salvation of the individual, for Judaism must be handed down unimpaired, even though by a minority. In theory the two bodies are in agreement; no one would impute to liberal Judaism a sacrificing of its ideals; it is on the definition of the essential principles that the controversy turns. Orthodox Judaism foresees a danger of liberal Judaism, by not laying sufficient stress on the Law and on ceremonial, drifting into a colourless belief of universalist monotheism.

Since 1842, when the controversy reached an acute stage in England, orthodox Judaism has changed its attitude to the Reformers. Already in 1864 the Sefardim removed the ban which had been imposed, and to-day, while acknowledging that there are differences between the two points of view, the orthodox co-operate with the liberals in harmony and tolerance. Judaism has always striven to secure union and avoid sectarianism. To the credit of Zionism it must be urged that it has brought back many outcasts to the fold; that, even if nationalism, at best, is a mere modification of Judaism, the children of the nationalists may become orthodox Jews (כל המקים נפש אחת משראל כאילו קים עולם מלא).

In the case of liberal Judaism, many Jews, previously lacking all feelings of spirituality and loyalty, have been taught to love God, to keep His commandments, to attend worship, and to observe the festivals. Their methods are not entirely those of orthodox Judaism, but of the sincerity of their purpose there can be no doubt. How much more then can there be applied to them the saying, 'Always let a man busy himself with a Miṣwā, even though it be not for the purpose of the Miṣwā, for by practice he will come to do the Miṣwā for the proper purpose' (Bab. *Pes.* 50*b*); since the purpose of liberal Judaism is to promote the sanctification of God and rouse the apathetic to a sense of duty, the choice of method, unpleasing though it be to the orthodox, must be left to the conscience and judgment of the liberals themselves. Hence Judaism, orthodox and reformed, and Zionism can look forward with confidence to a future, one and indivisible.

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JUDAIZING.—1. Derivation and scope of the term.—The use of this term and its cognate forms 'Judaize,' 'Judaizer,' 'Judaist,' and, sometimes, 'Judaism' may be traced to Est 8^{17} 'many became Jews' (מִתְיַהֲדִים, LXX *περιετέμοντο καὶ Ἰουδάϊζον*). A wider currency for the word arises from Gal 2^{14} 'I [Paul] said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews (*ἰουδαΐζειν*)?'

In English usage the scope of the term varies. It may describe a tendency or type of mind, as when a 'prophetic' is contrasted with a 'Judaic' spirit. It describes habits—*e.g.*, 'Usurers . . . doe Judaize' (Bacon, *Essays*, London, 1891, 'On Usury,' p. 75); or the verb may be transitive—*e.g.*, 'Error . . . had miserably judaiz'd the Church' (Milton, 'Hirelings,' in *Prose Works*, London, 1848, iii. 15; cf. *OED*, *s.v.*).

The early Church had certain members who desired to maintain the permanent obligation of the Mosaic Law. There were two views about this obligation: the one held that only Christians who were of Jewish descent required to keep the Law; the other, that Gentile converts were equally liable. This section of the Church membership was called the Judaizers. Their origin, activity, and disappearance are here the subject of inquiry.

2. The Judaism which Judaizers could not leave.—Pharisaic Judaism, from which the Judaizers were but half-hearted seceders, was firmly established at the advent of the gospel. The sacrificial worship of the Temple, as prescribed by the Priests' Code in the Pentateuch, was carried on daily with glad devotion. The services were beautiful and significant; men felt that they were ordained by the express command of God. Race, religion, and patriotism were concerned in the honour and dignity of the Temple; the Roman eagle or the statue of Claudius could not be tolerated near it; Saul was ready to hale men and women from Damascus for doubting its sacred claims; in the last siege men would starve rather than stint the daily sacrifice. As Mecca has been sacred and inviolate for Islām, so were the Temple and its cult for Judaism at home and abroad. Any change would seem unthinkable.

Throughout the Diaspora the synagogue had been for some two centuries the refuge of Jewish communities. Prayer and instruction based on the Law and the Prophets were its chief purpose. The formation of a liturgy (*Shemoneh 'Esreh*), the interpretation of Hebrew Scripture in Aramaic or in Greek, the use of the Psalms, the hearing of visitors (Lk 4^{16}, Ac 13^{15}), and the observance of Sabbath and Festivals made the synagogue the focus of Jewish thought and life. Gentiles were attracted and admitted, evidently in considerable numbers (Mt 23^{15}; Horace, *Sat.* I. iv. 142 f.; Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 40). Contact with Gentiles made Jews more hospitable to new ideas; but contempt and ill-treatment attached them more closely to their own laws and customs.

'No Jew can go so far from his own country, nor be so affrighted at the severest despot, as not to be more affrighted at the Law than at him' (Jos. *c. Apion.* ii. 39).

The Judaism from which Christianity arose had a theism which Jews could not easily abandon; it had its code of 613 rules and regulations for a correct life; it held its members with a firm grasp through Temple and synagogue; it was displacing decadent Gentile creeds, and was not a system to be lightly forsaken.

3. The Christianity they could not adopt.—The teaching of Jesus offended Pharisaic Judaism by its unanswerable criticism of the traditions of the elders (the Oral Law), by its want of deference to the hierarchy, and by exalting the end of religion (love to God and man) and consequently depreciating the current estimate of Temple, sacrifice, Sabbath, dietary rules, and 'the hedge about the Law' generally. Moreover, He claimed an authority which shocked the scribes. Not by vision, or by dreams, or by prophetic inspiration, not by writing a Pseudepigraphon, but in His own name He re-stated the Mosaic Law; He spoke as the Judge of the whole religious past of the nation, and prescribed for the future a mission of world-wide benevolence. He had kindled a new spirit in a few disciples; and this religion of the spirit would seek to save that which Judaism considered to be lost. He thus claimed the Messianic rank; and the hierarchy induced Pilate to consent to the Crucifixion.

The company of disciples, animated by the spirit of the Risen Christ, 'continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers' (Ac 2^{42}). They were conscious of being called to preach the gospel, and they chose Matthias in place of Judas. They showed no hatred to the 'chief priests and scribes' who had procured the death of Jesus; what had happened was part of a divine purpose foretold by the prophets. As yet the disciples were not cast out from Temple or synagogue, nor did they consider Pharisees as ineligible to the incipient Church. The believers continued to frequent the Temple (Ac 2^{46} 3^{1} $5^{12.\ 20.\ 42}$); they increased rapidly in numbers and were joined by 'a great company of the priests.' A new interpretation of Israel's history and mission was proclaimed by Stephen, which seemed to the authorities to be 'blasphemous words against Moses and against God' (Ac 6^{11}). The stoning of Stephen and the active measures of Saul mark the end of toleration for the followers of Christ—the Galilæans, or Nazarenes, or Mînîm, as the Jewish authorities began to call them.

4. Appearance of 'Judaizers.'—Persecuted in Jerusalem, the Church made converts among the Samaritans, who did not profess the Oral Law. The Good Samaritan of the parable was not forbidden, like the priest and the Levite under the Oral Law, to help a wounded stranger. The apostles Peter and John had no hesitation in accepting Samaritan converts (Ac 8^{17}). Philip admits the Ethiopian, who could not have been more than a גֵּר תּוֹשָׁב (Dt 23^{1}). Other converts are admitted, in Damascus (Ac 9^{19}), Lydda (9^{32}), and Joppa (9^{42}); but the mission is directed to Jews only, or to proselytes attached to the synagogue (11^{19}), at Salamis (13^{5}), at Antioch in Pisidia (13^{14}), at Iconium (14^{1}), at Thessalonica (17^{1}), at Berea (17^{10}), at Ephesus (18^{19} 19^{8}; cf. 19^{9}), and at Rome (28^{17}). Thus for some fifteen years after the Crucifixion the Church included only Jews or Gentiles who had become proselytes to Judaism. The admission of the Roman Cornelius was felt to be an innovation requiring the highest sanction; and St. Peter, on returning to Jerusalem, did not escape criticism, the opposition to his act marking the first appearance of the 'Judaizers.'

At Antioch Greeks were admitted to the Church by the missionaries; and the name 'Christians' was first applied to the new brotherhood. The Church at Jerusalem at once sent Barnabas to inquire into this proceeding; and, after getting Paul to assist him for a year in Antioch, Barnabas with his new companion returned to Jerusalem, bringing gifts for the relief of the brethren in Judæa during a famine. From Antioch, Paul and

Barnabas set forth on their missionary journeys. While in the Pisidian Antioch, they definitely announced their intention of appealing to the Gentiles, and on their return to Antioch they rehearsed their work and the reception of the Gentiles. Certain Judaizers from Jerusalem maintained that 'it was needful to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the Law of Moses' (15^{5}), and this led to the Council of the apostles in Jerusalem, which gave the most important decision on the subject of Judaizing.

5. The Council of Jerusalem.—The accuracy of the account in Ac 15 has been questioned; but, if we take A.D. 62 as the date of St. Luke's composition of the Acts and *c.* A.D. 50 for the Council, the time limit is against serious error. One MS (D, Codex Bezæ) omits *καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ*, and is followed by Irenæus, Cyprian, Tertullian, and Jerome. The Decree thus prohibits the use of flesh offered to idols, murder, and fornication — being 'a summary of Jewish ethical catechetics' (Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 250). The Textus Receptus reads, 'That they abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood' (Ac 15^{20}). Despite the argument of Harnack, reinforced by E. H. Eckel and S. A. Devan (*Expositor*, 8th ser., vi. [1913] 66–82), it may be held that the TR is preferable. Idolatry and fornication are specified because they were considered venial among Gentiles. Lambs or bullocks killed by a non-Jewish butcher could not be eaten by a Jew by birth; it is fairly certain that St. Paul, for all the freedom that he claimed, would never relish swine's flesh or unbled mutton. Unless this regulation were observed, there could be no common social banquets between Jewish and Gentile Christians. Higher hygienic reasons may have been instinctively present; the motive for instituting abstinence from blood in Gn 9^{4} was to diminish the ferocity that had filled the earth with violence. It would cause little trouble to teach the Gentile Christians the method of slaughter. 'For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath day' (Ac 15^{21}). In every such place there was a *shoḥet*, and the use of his services might help the Christians to go forth 'as lambs among wolves.' It may seem strange that the universal religion should include the menu of a Palestinian party; yet the matter of eating and drinking was regarded with concern. The Paternoster asks for 'daily bread'; Islām commands abstinence from wine. St. Paul felt the incongruity when he wrote: 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost' (Ro 14^{17}). The Apostolic Decree assumed that Gentile Christians honoured the Sacraments, and had received the Holy Spirit and the evangelic temperament; it would be insulting to ask them to abstain from murder, as this interpretation of Codex Bezæ proposes to do. The intention of the Council was that Christendom should use *kosher* meat; but St. Paul's theoretical abolition of law, Jewish and Gentile, resulted in the survival of custom, Jewish and Gentile, in the preparation of animal food.

It is worthy of note that the Decree does not require Gentiles to abstain from eating 'of the sinew which shrank, which is upon the hollow of the thigh' (Gn 32^{32}), although this regulation is assumed as binding in the Mishna (*Ḥullin*, 7). When strictly enforced, it meant that the hind-quarters of sheep and oxen were disallowed to Jews, and had to be sold at any price to neighbours. The practice is still continued among Oriental Jews, though it entails loss for no visible gain.

> 'The hind quarter (like blood and fat) is avoided as food on account of the narrative in Genesis' (Rosenau, *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs*, p. 185, speaking for America).

The long-lost Jews in China had forgotten the Hebrew language and the Law, but retained this strange abstinence, and were known among the Chinese as 'the people of the sinew.' The *τὸ πνικτόν* could hardly refer to the sinew; it is a special class of foods referred to as with *αἷμα*, and would denote such things as chickens, geese, or game killed in the Gentile manner. The idea that bloodshed was forbidden, in the sense that a Christian could not become a soldier, is excluded by the case of Cornelius.

6. Judaizing opposition to St. Paul. — The Apostolic Decree thus established a rule of guidance for Jewish and Gentile Christians. Many matters required regulation. Were Jewish Christians to circumcise their boys on the eighth day? Were they to keep the Sabbath, or the first day of the week? Were Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles to be kept with the old associations? Was the pilgrimage to Jerusalem obligatory? Were they to intermarry with Gentiles, to maintain the dietary rules, to eat unleavened bread for a week in spring-time, to wear phylacteries, to repeat the prayers of the Jewish liturgy, and to read the Law and the Prophets with the same uncritical deference? Heathen converts such as Trophimus (Ac 21^{29}) or Epaphras (Col 4^{12}) would easily accept the Decree; proselytes—of the gate or of righteousness—would also welcome it; the liberal Hebrew Christians who carried the Decree might continue the old customs, while refusing to impose them upon Gentiles; but the minority of Judaizers refused all laxity, and hampered the work of St. Paul in most of his mission field.

The activity of the Judaizers is indicated in the account of the work and correspondence of St. Paul, and has to be kept distinct from the open antagonism of unconverted Hebrews. The Judaizers had sought to persuade the Galatian Church to observe days and months and times and years, and to require circumcision. They questioned Paul's authority, and may have cited the example of Peter. Paul's defence is to point to the presence and the fruits of the Spirit. If observance of Law is sufficient to give life, then the advent of Christ is a negligible accident. Peter's desire to conform to Jewish scruples is condemned as dissimulation; and Paul's acceptance of Titus, a Greek, without circumcision is mentioned as sanctioned by the Church at Jerusalem. Again, at Colossæ the Christians seemed likely to be spoiled by 'a shew of wisdom in will-worship, and humility, and severity to the body' (Col 2^{23}). Here the legalism was tinged with theosophy, which interfered with 'meat or drink, or a feast day, or a new moon, or a Sabbath day' (Col 2^{16}). The Epistle shows the danger of losing freedom and universalism, and insists on the need of conscious communion with a living Spirit. The Christian is under a Spirit whose voice was the true law. At Corinth the Church consisted mainly of Gentiles who had not passed through the synagogue (1 Co 12^{2}), but included Jews (1 Co 7^{18}); and it may be inferred from 2 Co 3 that teaching of a Judaistic type had been addressed to the Corinthians. To the Philippians, Paul has to write 'Beware of the concision. For we are the circumcision, which worship God in the Spirit' (Ph 3$^{2f.}$). The Epistle to the Romans warns that Church against 'them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned' (16^{17}). These were probably Judaizers; the argument of the Epistle is St. Paul's greatest effort to answer them. All old laws and customs, Jewish and Gentile, have ceased to be important because 'the love of

God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us' (Ro 5[5]). Paul's exposition of righteousness through faith, of freedom, and of universalism has served to overshadow his important reservation for Israel according to the flesh. The Jew in Paul yielded to the Judaizer in these particulars:

> 'In allowing that Israel *κατὰ σάρκα*, because of the promises, held a privileged position within the Israel *κατὰ πνεῦμα*; that only Christians who were Jews by birth were the good olive tree, while the Gentile Christians were only grafts from the wild olive tree; that thus the whole Hope is the Hope of Israel; that the Gentile Christians have material obligations towards the Jewish Christians; and that the Jewish Christians should, and indeed must, still observe the Law of Moses, though it is now abolished!' (Harnack, *Date of the Acts*, p. 60, footnote).

If we except the imperative 'must' in the last sentence, this summary fairly describes the attitude of St. Paul, and this attitude explains his conduct as described by St. Luke. He has Timothy circumcised (Ac 16[3]); he has his own head shorn in Cenchreæ, for he had a vow (18[18]); at his last visit to Jerusalem he is ready to show his conformity to the Law by purifying himself with the four men who had a vow on them (21[24]). It explains his words (1 Co 9[20]), 'unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews.' The contribution from the Gentile Church to the poor at Jerusalem may have been considered as a kind of tribute. It thus appears that St. Paul as well as St. Peter found it difficult to transcend the limits of Judaism; and that the universal element in Christianity is really due to Jesus, who knew the best that was in the past, and rose above it, and appointed the whole world as the field for the good seed.

The power of the Judaizers is seen at its greatest during St. Paul's last visit to Jerusalem. They numbered many thousands of Jews, who were believers and all zealous for the Law (Ac 21[20]). They were indignant with St. Paul, maintaining that he taught all the Jews who were among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, 'saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs' (21[21]). No doubt this was the effect though not the intention of St. Paul's teaching and example, but the antagonism of the real Jews saved the Judaizers from further trouble in prosecuting the Apostle.

7. Later references to Judaizers.—(*a*) *In Christian records.*—After the death of St. Paul, the Church moved away from Judaizing tenets. The Epistle to the Hebrews demonstrates the right of Christians to abandon sacrifice, and the destruction of the Temple confirmed the argument. In the Fourth Gospel, Judaism within the Church has ceased to be of any account; the antithesis is the Jews. Christians are to follow a Light, but they have a new law in Christ's commandments. The religion of the Spirit, as proclaimed by St. Paul, has permeated the evangelic tradition in the Synoptists. The convert has much to learn, and his teacher is the Church. Christ is his Lawgiver, and has entrusted a power of legislation to the Church.

The Judaizers, who kept themselves distinct from Gentile Christianity, appear later as Ebionites and Nazarenes. The Ebionites admitted only a Gospel according to St. Matthew, rejected St. Paul as an apostate, and denied the divinity of Christ. The Nazarenes acknowledged the obligation of the whole Mosaic Law for Christians of Jewish descent, but allowed Gentile Christians, as proselytes of the gate, to omit these observances. See artt. EBIONISM, ELKESAITES.

(*b*) *In Jewish records.*—Rabbinical literature has few and obscure references to the Judaizers, for Judaism was firmly resolved to ignore the Christianity which had come into being. It set itself after the Fall of Jerusalem to define the canon of Holy Scripture, rejecting the Apocrypha and apocalyptic Pseudepigrapha, which seemed to give prophetic colour to the new religion, and expurgating the Greek Bible by the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Within its own fold discipline became more stern.

> 'A Noahite who has become a proselyte, and been circumcised and baptized, and afterwards wishes to return from after the Lord, and to be only a sojourning proselyte as he was before, is not to be listened to—on the contrary, either let him be as Israelite in everything, or let him be put to death' (*Hilchoth Melachim*, ch. x. 3, tr. in A. MacCaul, *Old Paths*, London, 1846, vi. 58).

By the end of the first Christian century the standard Jewish prayer included a formula, 'May there be no hope for the sectaries' (מִינִין, afterwards changed to מלשׁינים, 'the slanderers'). One of the signs of Messiah's coming will be that the Kingdom (the Roman Empire) will be turned to the heresy of the Mînîm (Mish. *Soṭah*, ix. 15). The growth of Christianity in the Roman Empire and the indignation of Jews at the claim of Christians to inherit the promises of the OT are seen in Jerus. *Nedar.* 38a:

> 'Esau the wicked will put on his ṭallith and sit with the righteous in Paradise in time to come; and the Holy One will drag him and cast him forth from thence.'

By the 4th cent. Judaism regards the Mînîm with disdain rather than fear. Tosefta *Sanh.* xiii. 4. 5 imposes grave punishment on 'the Mînîm (Jewish Christians), the M^{e}shūmmādhîm (apostates), M^{e}sôrôth (informers), and Ăpīqôrsîn (free-thinkers),' and a Jewish comment on Ex 19[4] says that circumcision will not avail to save the Mînîm from Gehinnom (*Shemoth Rabba*, 36*a*). This implies that Jewish Christians in Palestine still practised circumcision in the 4th century. Talmud and Midrash confirm Jerome in considering the Nazarenes (Mînîm, Jewish Christians) an insignificant body.

> 'They had no share in the vitality either of Judaism or Christianity' (Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, p. 394).

Jerome's words in a letter to Augustine (*Ep.* lxxxix. 13 [*PL* xxii. 924]) are:

> 'To this day in all the synagogues of the East there is among the Jews a sect called Minæi (Mînîm), which is condemned by the Pharisees. They are commonly spoken of as Nazarenes, and believe in Christ the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary, the same who, they say, suffered under Pontius Pilate and rose again. In Whom we, too, believe; but while this sect desires to be both Jews and Christians, they are neither the one nor the other.'

8. Recrudescent forms.—About 1725 John Glas, minister of Tealing, founded a small sect, which refrained from things strangled and from blood, and his son-in-law Sandeman gave his name to the adherents in England (see art. GLASITES). The Seventh Day Adventists and Seventh Day Baptists Judaize in their observance of Saturday.

[A Judaizing sect arose in Russia about the middle of the 15th cent., their chief centres being Novgorod and Pleskau, whence they spread to Moscow and other cities. They denied the Trinity and the Sonship and Messiahship of Christ, and rejected the invocation of the Virgin and the saints, the veneration of icons, the doctrines of original sin and redemption, the Church, and the Sacraments, while they gave greater honour to the Old than to the New Testament. 'Sabbatarians' are mentioned in the early 18th cent., and Uklein, the founder of the sect of Molokani, adopted for himself certain Jewish dietary laws, while his pupil, Sundukov, regarded Christ as infinitely inferior to Moses, observed the Jewish Sabbath, and finally submitted to the Mosaic rite. Sundukov established the modern sect of Subbotniki ('Sabbatarians'), who are scarcely distinguishable from real Jews. They are divided into a number of sub-sects, the most important being: (*a*) Gers (Heb. גֵּר), who worship in Hebrew under the leadership of regular Jewish Rabbis and are practically

Talmudic Jews; (*b*) Subbotniki proper, differing from the less numerous Gers only in the use of Russian Bibles and Prayer Books and in the abrogation of some of the Talmudic rules for the Sabbath and food; (*c*) Ḳaraimites or Ḳarimi ('Ḳaraitizers'), who, like the Ḳaraites (*q.v.*), recognize only the Pentateuch and reject the Talmud, but who do not observe all the Pentateuchal laws, *e.g.* that regarding circumcision; and (*d*) the waning Transcaucasian Naziræans, who deny the resurrection of the dead. Mention may likewise be made of the 'Jehovists,' founded by Nikolai Ilyin in 1846, in an effort to establish an OT Christianity or NT Judaism, although the rather fantastic sect was only short-lived.

Two minor American sects may also be classed as Judaizing. The first of these is the Christian Israelite, founded by John Wroe at Ashton, England, in 1822, to gather the twelve tribes of Israel, the doctrinal basis being the re-establishment of the Mosaic Law, and the condition of membership subscription to 'the four books of Moses and the four books of the Gospel.' Members do not cut their hair or beard (cf. Lv 19^{27}), and object to all images and pictures (cf. Ex 20^{4}, Dt 5^{8}). Both the Jewish and the Christian Sabbaths are observed. The second of these sects is the negro Church of God and Saints of Christ, established by William Crowdy in 1896. Believing that the negroes are the descendants of the lost Ten Tribes, this sect observes the Jewish calendar and festivals, especially the Sabbath, but insists on baptism by immersion, confession of faith in Christ, the Lord's Supper, and feet-washing. LOUIS H. GRAY.]

LITERATURE.—R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, London, 1903; C. Bigg, *The Origins of Christianity*, do. 1909; W. Rosenau, *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs*, Baltimore, 1903; A. Harnack, *The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels*, Eng. tr., London, 1911, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. tr., do. 1909; E. Schürer, *Hist. of the Jewish People*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1886–90; J. Hamburger, *Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, i., Neustrelitz, 1870; F. J. Foakes Jackson, *The Parting of the Roads*, London, 1912; *Exp.*, 8th ser., vi. [1913]; K. K. Grass, 'Russische Sekten,' § 7, in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, v. [1913–14] 80 f.; L. Zscharnack, 'Sabbatharier,' *ib.* 118 f.; H. Rosenthal, 'Judaizing Heresy' in *JE* vii. [1904] 369 f.; S. Hurwitz, 'Subbotniki,' *ib.* xi. [1905] 577 f.; *Bureau of the Census, Special Reports*, 'Religious Bodies, 1906,' ii. [Washington, 1910] 187 f., 202 f.

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JUDGMENT (Logical).—1. Introductory.—'The only use which the understanding can make of concepts is to form judgments by them,' while 'the understanding may be defined as the faculty of judging' (Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, Eng. tr., London, 1881, pt. ii. bk. i. ch. i. § 1). Concepts are the predicates of possible judgments. Inference is the derivation of new judgments out of old. Method is the disposition of concepts and judgments in a system. Thus judgment becomes a centre of reference for the defining of the other logical entities, and, if the task of definition is to be undertaken philosophically, it involves all the considerations which contribute to mark out the logical consciousness in general; the labour of precision in the use of such conceptions as idea, belief, truth, reality, fact; and studied limits between the levels of abstraction proper to psychological, metaphysical, and logical science respectively.

It would not serve the specific motives of logical doctrine if we followed exclusively either of the alternatives prescribed by Mill: 'an enquiry into the nature of propositions must have one of two objects: to analyse the state of mind called Belief, or to analyse what is believed' (*A System of Logic*^{8}, London, 1872, bk. i. ch. v. § 1); or, indeed, if we followed too precisely a combination of the two. He himself in his *Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy*^{5} (London, 1878) relies chiefly on the reference to belief, while in his *Logic* he insists that 'intelligent assertion refers to external facts,' and that the import of propositions consists in connexion between facts. In pursuing the latter analysis, after resolving facts, with metaphysical precision, into states of consciousness and relations between them, he allows himself in his substantive doctrine to replace these ultimate references by more popular conceptions such as 'things,' 'phenomena,' and 'attributes.' Similarly Ueberweg defines judgment as 'the consciousness of the objective validity of a subjective union of conceptions,' without definitely undertaking to resolve the contrast or mediate the correspondence between the two worlds; a mere 'reference to existence' gives the judgment 'its character as a logical function' (*System of Logic and History of Logical Doctrines*, Eng. tr., London, 1871, § 67).

A more scrupulous orientation of logical consciousness with regard to the psychological and the objective is attempted in some doctrines now current. The judgment is defined as identifying the content of ideas with reality, and the nature and possibility of such an achievement are explained by resolving reality into a system of tendencies sustained by judgment itself. Each single act of identification enters constitutively into an ever-expanding structure which in its totality is self-sufficient and all-controlling.

> 'Our knowledge, or our world in knowledge, exists for us as a judgment, that is, as an affirmation in which our present perception is amplified by an ideal interpretation which is identified with it. This interpretation or enlargement claims necessity or universality, and is therefore objective as our world, *i.e.* is what we are *obliged* to think, and what we are *all* obliged to think. The whole system in process of construction, viz. our present perception as extended by interpretation, is what we mean by reality, only with a reservation in favour of forms of experience which are not intellectual at all' (B. Bosanquet, *The Essentials of Logic*, London, 1895, p. 32).

If we might assume as already understood and approved a definite epistemology such as Kant's, we might escape both uncritical references to psychology and popular physics and the intricacies of a metaphysical analysis. Kant himself defines judgment as 'the conception of the unity of the consciousness of different representations, or of their relation so far as they make up one notion' (*Logic*, § 17), while in the background of this description lies his more definite epistemological characterization, 'the way to bring given cognitions to the objective unity of the apperception' (Ueberweg, *Logic*, Eng. tr., London, 1871, § 67). By the objective unity, Ueberweg explains, is meant 'the mutual connexion of cognitions according to those categories which the Ego evolves from itself by its own spontaneity'; and it carries with it throughout its applications the implied subjectivity of which he complains as peculiar to the whole Kantian philosophy.

Yet, unless we throw back upon the doctrine of the concept the burden that it carried under the older conceptualism, of taking the initiative in orientating the logical consciousness generally, we can give precision to a definition of judgment only on the basis of an epistemology. The motives of logical doctrine do not, however, imperatively call for this formal precision. It is sufficient that, by suggestions borrowed from psychology, popular physics, or discriminative reflexion on our spiritual nature as a whole, our specifically logical consciousness may be aroused apart from either introspective or external observation; and a clue to the recognition of the act of judgment may then be supplied from the detail of its conscious functions and specific ideals, over and above the ideals of the concept. In the plan of our spiritual nature there must be a faculty which commits the detailed activities of intelligence to a resultant imposed by external nature and history, while the concept provides bounds for each commitment amid the measureless possibilities. The faculty of judgment, consequently, follows special constitutive ideals, which may be entitled, with some technical adaptation and departure from the common usage of the words, necessity, universality, and synthetic unity.

2. Constitutive ideals.—(*a*) *Necessity.*—Necessity is akin to the inevitableness of fact and the absoluteness of natural law. It is described by Sigwart thus:

> 'Besides the necessity of psychological causality, there is another which springs entirely from the *content* and *object* of Thought itself, which is therefore grounded, not upon the variable subjective states of the individual, but upon the nature of the object thought of, and which may so far be called objective' (*Logic*, Eng. tr., London, 1895, § i. 6).

It is an ultimate constraint upon intellectual spontaneity, and finds incidental expression in such phrases as 'I am obliged to think,' 'I cannot but believe' (Bosanquet, *Essentials*, p. 24). It is recognized in current psychology as 'objective control of ideational processes' (G. F. Stout, *Manual of Psychology*^{3}, London, 1913, bk. iv. ch. viii. § 1). It is described with varieties of logical suggestion, such as the 'inherence of truth or falsehood' (Aristotle), the 'truth-value of a relation between ideas' (Windelband), the 'claim to be true' (Bosanquet). It may be contrasted with the freedom of the concept, which Mill considers a 'mere creation of the mind' (*Exam. of Hamilton*^{5}, p. 419), and which is certainly differently related to personality.

Following a general, though ill-defined, logical tradition, we may distinguish three modes in which necessity confronts our ideas. It may be conveyed by the contents of the concepts which we employ independently of their origin. If we choose to conceive a three-sided figure, we must believe it to have three angles and these equal to two right angles. If we think of an organism in growth and decay, we must expect it to die; if we think of a perfect nature, we must, according to Descartes, predicate existence. The necessity may, however, be conveyed through the activity of other faculties than the conceptual—perception, introspection, memory, feeling, even respect for authority: 'Some swans are white'; 'Napoleon died at St. Helena'; 'I am of all men most miserable.' And a necessity, though conveyed neither through concepts alone nor through the more directly presentative faculties alone, may yet through the union and co-operation of these media commit our ideational activities to at least an anticipation of a final surrender to concepts or to perceptions: 'Rain may fall to-morrow'; 'Cancer may be incurable.' A judgment which is fringed with the consciousness of the medium of its own necessity may be entitled a 'modal' judgment: 'It must be so; it is so; it may be so.' Kant defines modality as a relation of the judgment to our complete faculty of cognition, or as the value of a judgment for our thought in general, and distinguishes it as apodeictic, assertoric, or problematic (*Critique*, pt. ii. bk. i. ch. i. § 4).

(*b*) *Universality.*—Constraint on the spontaneity of our personality is common to the world of persons; what *we* are obliged to think is what we are *all* obliged to think (Bosanquet, *Essentials*, p. 32), conditionally, of course, on our being subjected to the same medium of necessity. It has already been noted (see art. CONCEPT [Logical]) that it is because of a logical solicitude for universal validity as the hall-mark of necessity that the freedom of the concept ought, by means of conventions in the use of language, to be deliberately harmonized with the intellectual outlook of mankind in general. Through common concepts we reach common media of necessity in judgment, and can then share, and co-operate in creating, a common 'inheritance of science and civilization.'

But the harmonization of concepts is ultimately dependent on a common identification of particular things. And a logical system which, like the Aristotelian, has specially in view to promote co-operative thought, must give fundamental significance to differences in the extent to which judgments presume the common identification of things. Judgment may be defined as the identification of a denotation, along with discrimination as to connotations or conceptual intensions (cf. E. E. C. Jones, *New Law of Thought*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 1 ff.). And, for purposes of common discourse or debate, judgments must be classified according to 'quantity'—as singular or general, where one thing or a collection of things is identifiable by all thinkers; or as particular, where the identity is only so far open to all that for each person it lies within the limits of a common totality of identifiable things: 'Alexander died'; 'All men die'; 'Some men die willingly.'

(*c*) *Synthetic unity.*—All the authoritative descriptions of the act of judgment, while varying much in their suggestiveness as to the sources of constraint and the significance of universality, agree in requiring that synthesis, combination, or construction shall be shown in the product. It is owing to this uniform achievement of judgment that in psychical sequence concepts originate with it, and that in much recent logic the function assigned to judgment largely absorbs that more proper to the concept. Judgment is an enunciation after a complex manner (Aristotle), discloses a relation between two things (Avicenna), connects together or separates from each other two notions (Wolff), connects many possible cognitions into one (Kant), connects the attributes connoted by terms (Mill), connects subject and predicate in definite form (Lotze).

Obviously a function of our spiritual nature which adjusts its reactions to the complexities of the world must be connective. In each act of judgment the constraint from reality and the stress of intellectual responsibility fall where they can meet with two conditions: a definite interest has selected a delimitation within the immeasurable area of possible truth, and again a definite concept is available for reaction on it.

> 'Although the ultimate subject [*i.e.* reality in general] extends beyond the content of the judgment, yet in every judgment there is a starting-point or point of contact with the ultimate subject; and the starting-point or point of contact with reality is present in a rudimentary form in the simplest perceptive judgment, as it is explicitly in the later and more elaborate types' (Bosanquet, *Logic*, Oxford, 1888, bk. i. ch. i. p. 82).

Thus the synthesis special to each pulsation of the faculty links a predicate with a subject. And, although the whole construct becomes a unity and feels a necessity and universality dominant throughout, and the attendant psychical complex may present to introspection either simultaneity or a variable sequence, yet functionally judgment, following its own principle, duality, 'divides no less than it binds together ideas that are mutually associated,' in order that it may 'connect subject and predicate in definite form' (Lotze, *Microcosmus*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1885, ii. 4, § 4, and *Outlines of Logic*, Boston, 1892, § 21).

Our logical consciousness must find synthesis in denial as well as in affirmation, notwithstanding such an antithesis between them as is in the description of judgment quoted above from Wolff, and notwithstanding that affirmation introduces character, while negation introduces only contrast, into the expanding system of timeless truth.

3. Grades of synthetic relation.—The delimitation of interest, or the point of contact with reality, may be given either in presentation, or by the conceptual faculty, or through reflexion on determinations of complete judgment itself.

(*a*) *Presentational.* — There are 'impersonal' judgments, in which the selection of subject is as indefinite as is possible in view of a proposed predicate—*e.g.*, 'It rains'; and 'demonstrative' judgments, where only the position in space or time is definite—'This is the forest primeval.' Aristotle spoke of 'terms' which can neither be predicated of a subject nor inhere in a subject, but can only *be* a subject (*Categories*, v. 10); and this implies that the synthetic relation is between thing merely presented and concept.

(*b*) *Conceptual.* — The presentational faculties may receive aid from the concept in various ways and degrees: 'The first man was a living soul,' a 'singular' judgment; 'Our fathers have told us,' an 'enumerative' judgment; 'Man is few of days,' a 'concrete general' judgment; 'Love is the fulfilling of the law,' an 'abstract' judgment. There is now a synthetic relation between two concepts, superadded to that between thing and concept.

(*c*) *Reflective.*—The starting-point of a judgment may be given directly neither by presentation nor by conception, but by the faculty of reflecting on judgments, actual or possible, whose starting-point is so given: 'If I had standing ground, I could move the world'; 'If we are sons, then heirs'; 'Either there is a resurrection or mankind is irrational.' Mill describes such a judgment as dealing with the logical inferability of propositions: 'That we are heirs is inferable from our being sons'; other writers, as the relating of 'condition' to 'consequent': 'Sonship is the condition of heirship.' They are entitled hypothetical, and the specially composite form in which 'condition' and 'consequent' are found by negating any one of the members is entitled disjunctive: 'If there is not a resurrection, mankind is irrational,' while, 'If mankind is not irrational, there is a resurrection.'

LITERATURE.—See the various systems of Logic; and especially, in addition to the authorities quoted above, the recent ones mentioned as representative under art. CONCEPT (Logical), or as important or frequently referred to on the nature of inference under art. INFERENCE. There are numerous monographs, especially on the psychological and epistemological implications of judgment, and among the more recent and relevant to logic may be mentioned A. Wolf, *Studies in Logic*, Cambridge, 1905; P. Janet and G. Séailles, *Hist. de la philosophie*, Paris, 1887, pt. i. problem 3, ch. iv.; F. Hillebrand, *Die neuen Theorien der kategor. Schlüsse*, Vienna, 1891; W. Jerusalem, *Die Urtheilsfunction*, do. 1895; A. Meinong, *Über Annahmen*^{2}, Leipzig, 1910; J. M. Baldwin, *Thought and Things*, ii., London, 1908.

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JUGGERNAUT.—See JAGANNĀTH.

JUMNĀ (Skr. Yamunā personified as Yamī, twin sister of Yama, the god of death).—One of the great rivers of N. India, rising in the Himālaya near Jamnotrī (*q.v.*), and finally joining the Ganges at Prayāga, 'the place of sacrifice' *par excellence*, now known as Allāhābād (*q.v.*). In the Rigveda it occupies a position lower even than that of the Ganges, the Aryans having reached its banks only at a later period when they migrated eastward from their original settlements in the Panjāb. When it is addressed it is only in connexion with other rivers, Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī, Śutudrī, Paruṣṇī, and others, twenty-one in all (*Rigveda*, x. lxxv. 5; cf. v. lii. 17, VII. xviii. 19, and see J. Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, ii.^{3} [1874] 346 f.; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 86). In the later literature the geographical outlook widens, and it is called 'the great river Yamunā,' and is described as one of the three children of the Sun by Sanjñā, daughter of Viśvakarman, architect of the universe (*Vishṇu Purāṇa*, tr. H. H. Wilson, London, 1864–77, iii 20, v. 82). Another legend describes the river as both sister and wife of Yama, god of death; and the story of their incest curiously resembles a tale which Plutarch (*de Fluv.* iv.), doubtless from Indian sources, attributes to the Ganges. Naturally, as the river flows past Mathurā, the scene of the Kṛṣṇa cultus, it has been included in this complex series of myths. Balarāma, in a state of intoxication, ordered the river to approach him, as he desired to bathe.

> 'The river, disregarding the words of a drunken man, came not (at his bidding). On which, Rāma, in a rage, took up his ploughshare, which he plunged into her bank, and dragged her to him, calling out: "Will you not come, you jade? Will you not come? Now go where you please (if you can)." Thus saying, he compelled the dark river to quit its ordinary course, and follow him whithersoever he wandered through the wood. Assuming a mortal figure, the Yamunā, with distracted looks, approached Balabhadra, and entreated him to pardon her, and let her go. But he replied: "I will drag you with my ploughshare, in a thousand directions, since you contemn my prowess and strength." At last, however, appeased by her reiterated prayers, he let her go, after she had watered all the country' (*Vishṇu Purāṇa*, v. 67 f.).

Wilson interprets this legend as referring to the excavation of ancient irrigation channels from the river; but F. S. Growse (*Mathura*^{3}, Allāhābād, 1883, p. 184 f.) holds that there are no signs of ancient canals in the neighbourhood, and that the existing involution of the river sufficiently explains the myth. When the classical writers gained knowledge of the river, it was known by Ptolemy (VII. i. 29, 42) under the name Diamouna (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, London, 1885, p. 98 ff.), by Arrian (*Indika*, viii.) as Jobares, by Pliny (*HN* vi. 19) as Jomanes.

The legend of incest connected with the Jumnā, the fact that it is supposed never to have been cleansed by the marriage ceremony, the only rite of purification in which the Hindu woman shares, and the supposed resultant indigestibility of the water are some of the causes which have contributed to render it a less sacred river than the Ganges. Its source at Jamnotrī is much less frequented by pilgrims than Gaṅgotrī (*q.v.*). Though it flows through a country sanctified in the upper part of its course by many legends of gods and heroes (E. T. Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, Allāhābād, 1882–84 ii. ch. iii. *passim*), thence past Delhī (*q.v.*), the ancient Indraprastha, an early Indo-Aryan settlement, Mathurā, the seat of the Kṛṣṇa cultus, and Agra (*q.v.*), the Mughal capital, still, except Mathurā (*q.v.*) and in a less degree Baṭesar (*q.v.*), there is no great place of pilgrimage on its banks, and it does not acquire full sanctity until it unites with the Ganges at the holy place known as Triveṇī, or 'the triple braid,' where the Ganges and Jumnā are supposed to receive by means of an underground channel the waters of the Sarasvatī. Here the stream of the Jumnā is clear and blue, in striking contrast to the mud-laden waters of the Ganges.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the article. For the geography see *IGI* xiv. [1908] 232 f.

W. CROOKE.

JUNNAR (said to be a corruption of *Junānagara*, 'old city,' and wrongly identified with the *Tagara* of Greek writers and Hindu tradition, which is really *Ter* in the Nizām's Dominions [*JRAS*, 1901, p. 537 ff.]).—A town in the Poona District of the Bombay Presidency; lat. 19° 12′ N.; long. 73° 53′ E. Its importance depends on its command of the Nānā pass, which leads to the W. coast. The town is surrounded by hills containing Buddhist caves nearly equally distributed in five different localities, including fifty-seven separate excavations. These caves are devoid of figure ornament or imagery, in this respect strongly contrasting with those of later date, such as Ellora (*q.v.*) and Ajanta (*q.v.*).

> 'Although none of these caves can compare either in magnificence or interest with the Chaityas of Bhājā or Kārlē, or the Vihāras of Nāsik, their forms are still full of instruction to the student of cave architecture. The group comprises specimens of almost every variety of rock-cut temples, and several forms not found elsewhere, and though plainer than

> most of those executed afterwards, are still not devoid of ornament. They form, in fact, an intermediate step between the puritanical plainness of the Kāthiāwār groups and those of the age which succeeded them' (Fergusson-Burgess, *Cave Temples*, p. 249).

They certainly belong to the first great division of Buddhist caves. Some of the earliest may be dated 100 or 150 B.C.; and between this and A.D. 100 or 150 the whole series may be placed. The place was successively occupied by Hindus and Muhammadans, and the latter have left one important building known as Saudāgar Gumbaz, 'The Merchant's Dome.'

LITERATURE.—J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880, p. 248 ff.; Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, in *BG* xviii. (1885) pt. iii. 163 ff. The place was visited by J. Fryer in 1675; see his *New Account of East India and Persia* (Hakluyt Society), London, 1909, i. 323 ff. W. CROOKE.

JUSTICE.—See RIGHTEOUSNESS, LAW.

JUSTIFICATION.—The verb *δικαιόω*, which 'justify' represents, means 'account righteous.' It is used both in the LXX and in the NT, and is juridical in idea, though forensic associations are not necessarily present to the mind of the writer, whenever the word occurs. It implies an acquittal or declaration of righteousness, whether the facts of the case correspond with the pronouncement or not. The situation to which it refers is the result of past action, not the cause of future activities. It describes the acquirement of a status, not the production of a state. It has reference to personal relations, not to psychological conditions. The only instance in the LXX that might seem to contradict this statement, Ps 72 (AV 73)[13]—*ἄρα ματαίως ἐδικαίωσα τὴν καρδίαν μου*—not improbably implies an act of self-justification before God rather than a process of self-cleansing. In every other case when the word occurs, it is proof of righteousness that is implied. In view of Ro 4[5] the words of Ex 23[7]—*οὐ δικαιώσεις τὸν ἀσεβῆ*—should be noted (cf. Is 5[23]). Thus the verb becomes equivalent to 'absolve'—*e.g.*, Sir 26[29] etc. In the NT the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican shows the word as involving the sense both of self-justification and of absolution (Lk 18[14]; cf. 10[29] 16[15]). The Epistle of James, in the spirit of Christ's words in Mt 12[37], regards Abraham's obedience and Rahab's loyalty as 'justifying' them, because their actions are stamped by the OT as winning the Divine approval (2[14-26]). It shows no sign of appreciating the deeper ethical sense which attaches to the word in the parable cited above.

But it is from St. Paul's use of the verb in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians that the term 'justification' has achieved its permanent place in Christian theology. The idea first appears in connexion with the controversy between Paul and Cephas at Antioch (Gal 2[11-21]), when the latter, having lived 'as do the Gentiles,' separated himself together with other Hebrew Christians, fearing 'certain *who* came from James.' St. Paul represents himself as having contended that the recognition of Jesus as Messiah meant an acknowledgment that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but 'through faith in Jesus Christ' (v.[16]). The old antithesis between those who were 'Jews by nature' and 'sinners of the Gentiles' (v.[15]) had become little more than a convention. Justification was applied to a human being as such (v.[16] *ἄνθρωπος*), that henceforth living whether 'as do the Jews' or 'as do the Gentiles' (v.[14]) he might 'live unto God' (v.[19]). This was the life 'in Christ,' which in its relation to God is spoken of as 'justification in Christ' (v.[17]). On its Godward side it depended upon the death of Christ, which was 'gratuitous' (v.[21] *δωρεάν*), if righteousness were attained 'through the law,' *i.e.* by outward compliance with its ordinances, and not 'in faith of the Son of God' (v.[20]). In the following chapter the idea is still further expanded. St. Paul appeals to the bestowal of 'the Spirit' (3[2]), which was an actual experience of the Galatian converts. As a result of 'hearing the gospel' (*ib.*) an effect had actually taken place which was in itself the witness of a right relation between God and the members of the Christian community. The delivery of the message had been met by, or, rather, had produced, 'faith' in those who heard (see Ro 10[17]; cf. He 4[2]). They had been enabled to trust God and so become recipients of His grace. This leads the Apostle to introduce two pivot passages from the OT, one from the Law and the other from the Prophets, which express the principles that reach their consummation in Christ. 'Abraham believed God and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness' (Gn 15[6], cited v.[6]). 'The righteous shall live as a result of faith' (Hab 2[4], cited v.[11]). The book of Genesis presents as an initial act what Habakkuk represents as a continuing condition. The purpose of salvation begins with Abraham, though the promise reaches its fruition in Christ. His surrender to this purpose was an act of faith which the OT had rightly described as 'reckoned for righteousness' because it enabled God to establish those relations with him which, viewed from the manward side, constitute 'righteousness.' And it can be carried forward to its consummation in the full 'vision' (Hab 2[3]) or revelation only if the attitude of faith is permanently maintained.

The real scope of St. Paul's argument cannot be understood unless it is seen that he undercuts the whole controversy in which he had been involved. 'Neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision' (Gal 5[6] 6[15]; cf. 1 Co 7[19]). The self-condemned action of Peter in separating himself from the Gentiles (2[11]) and the subsequent defection of the Galatian Church under stress of the demand that they should submit to circumcision and its practical implications (4[10] 6[12]) had emphasized those precepts of the Mosaic system which were occupied with ceremonial rather than with conduct. It was, in fact, ceremonial observance, and not the keeping of the Moral Law, that was endangering the freedom of the gospel. This fact, though even in Galatians the conception of law is not wholly confined to these provisions, enabled St. Paul to perceive that moral actions have only the value of ritual acts if regarded simply as conformity with law. Law, therefore, is a system of regulations and has the value of discipline (3[24] *παιδαγωγός*). That particular form of it which was immediately in question, viz. the Mosaic Code, could only have been meant to prepare those whose faith had already responded to the promise for the fuller response which its fulfilment in Christ would demand. The Law was until Christ (*ib.* *εἰς Χριστόν*). Those who are living under the Law (*ἐν νόμῳ*), if they are justified at all, are justified, as Abraham was, by trusting in God. Their obedience would be a 'fruit of the Spirit' (5[22]) in so far as the life unto God was granted in anticipation of the fulfilment of the promise in Christ. All this is implied, if not implicitly stated, in the argument concerning the faith of Abraham (3[6-29]). In principle, God's dealings with mankind have always been the same. His purpose has always been to draw men into those relations with Himself which confer the status of sonship, the gift of the Spirit, and the possession of life, in Christ. The historical work of Jesus is only the sending forth of the Son in the fullness of the time (4[4]), *i.e.* at the appropriate moment in the education of the human race. The gospel was preached beforehand to Abraham, who received the promise (3[8]), as afterwards to Christian disciples, who have received 'the promise of the Spirit through faith' (v.[14]). The Cross of Christ stands in living relation to both. All alike were loved by the Son of God, who gave Himself for them (2[20]). All alike must acknowledge, at least implicitly, that the life that they now live in the flesh they live through faith in Him (*ib.*).

It must be observed that St. Paul uses the phrase 'justified in Christ' (2[17]). Here he combines in one sentence two lines of teaching, which many modern interpreters have found it difficult to correlate. It has been asserted that the deepest and most vital thought of the Apostle is expressed in the phrase 'in Christ,' and that the whole argument concerning justification by faith is only a controversial device to account for the apparent paradox of abandoning the Jewish system while acknowledging Jesus as the fulfiller of the Messianic expectation. The Epistle to the Galatians is too obviously a vehement attempt to express the personal experience manifested in its autobiographic passages to make such a conclusion probable, and the fuller elaboration of the soteriological doctrine in Romans, which has no immediate reference to controversy, renders it practically impossible. The personal history of St. Paul himself, if any other point of contact were wanting, would in itself be sufficient to hold together justification by faith and the life in Christ as representing two equally important aspects of the one Christian experience. But at the very outset the Apostle has himself welded them together in this conception of justification in Christ, which may in turn be interpreted by the phrase used in Ro 5[18]—'justification of life.' Condemnation, not a formal sentence but an attitude of God towards transgressors, rests upon all those who 'in Adam' sin (Ro 5[16]). So justification, *i.e.* the act of God whereby He accepts mankind for the sake of what Christ has done, of which the issue is life, rests upon all those who as a consequence live in Christ. What we have to recognize is that to the mind of the Apostle justification is a Divine act, and only figuratively a declaration. The metaphor is forensic, but the fact is such only so far as all forgiveness may be said to partake of this quality. Being the act of the living God, it is dynamic, and as such necessarily involves the infusion of the Spirit. Consequently it brings with it love, joy, peace, etc., which are the fruit of the Spirit, and the presence of which is part of the essential experience of the life in Christ. But (1) inasmuch as by baptism we 'put on Christ' (Gal 3[27]), it is manifest that active faith is involved in the complex result. It is, therefore, all one whether we say that we live the new life 'in Christ' or 'through faith in Christ.' St. Paul's doctrine is not one of a mystical union *ex opere operato*. It is reached through a conscious act of appropriation. And (2) the sending forth into our hearts of the Spirit of the Son (4[6]), though it issues in the reproduction of Christ in us (v.[19]), an ethical as well as spiritual transformation, is primarily the medium through which we are enabled to call upon God as Father (v.[6]). This involves a dogmatic, which is not given in experience, but to which experience testifies, viz. that we are no longer bondservants but sons and heirs of God (*ib.*). The fundamental fact, therefore, lies in the realm of absolute, theological truth. To recognize Christ as Redeemer is to acknowledge Him as the Messiah, in whom the Kingdom is established, in which a new status is conferred on every disciple expressed under the figure of 'adoption' (v.[5]). Compare the Epistle to the Ephesians, which takes up the language of the earlier Epistles—'by grace have ye been saved through faith' (Eph 2[8])—and interprets it to mean the translation of sinners, through forgiveness by the blood of the Cross, into the predetermined Kingdom of Christ (Eph. *passim*). It is clear that St. Paul accepted in general outline the dogmatic belief of the primitive community concerning the Kingdom of the righteous, which had been brought in by the exaltation of Jesus, which was already present to faith in the life of the ecclesia, and whose final revelation was anticipated in the sacraments. 'We through the Spirit by faith wait for the hope of righteousness' (Gal 5[5]), being delivered by Him who gave Himself for our sins out of this present evil world (1[4]). There is, therefore, an eschatological element in the idea of justification. It is initial to the Christian life in the sense of inaugurating those relations with God which issue in the experience of the Spirit. It is final in so far as it is only ultimately reached with that judgment which at the end will establish the Kingdom. What St. Paul criticized in the Pharisaism of his contemporaries was not the passion for ethical righteousness, which he shared, but the spiritual blindness which did not perceive the need of a new creation, of the uplifting of human life, whether Jewish or Gentile, on to a new level, the 'Jerusalem that is above' (4[26]), into which men must be reborn by a Divine act. This act is forgiveness (3[6]; cf. Ro 4[6]), to which justification is therefore equivalent.

The Epistle to the Romans presents the teaching of justification in a less controversial and more philosophic spirit. First of all, it affirms the ethical proposition that 'not the hearers of a law are just before God, but the doers of a law shall be justified' (2[13]). This principle is universal in its application, and holds good of Gentiles who, not having a law divinely expressed in a revealed code, yet 'shew the work of the law written in their hearts' (v.[15]), *i.e.* in so far as they are obedient to the dictates of conscience. Here it is clear that ceremonial observance passes into the background. Law means a moral ideal, as expressed, *e.g.*, in the Ten Words. But it is precisely here that the difficulty arises. The condition of the world generally makes it abundantly clear that mankind at large are under 'the wrath of God' (1[18-27]) manifestly revealed in abominable lusts and passions, to which they are enslaved. The experience of those who have endeavoured 'to establish their own righteousness' (10[3]) by attempting to make their actions correspond to a known standard of righteousness, such as the ethical code of the Hebrews, only serves to convict them of innumerable transgressions, and of falling short of the glory of God (3[23]). Ideally the commandment which is holy, righteous, and good is ordained unto life, because it is a measure of just conduct, but in effect it is 'found to be unto death' (7[10.12]), because, as the measure of our own shortcomings, it brings 'the knowledge of sin' (3[20]). St. Paul is here universalizing his own experience, which is the ultimate basis of his argument. He has been made aware of 'a law in the members' warring against 'the law of the mind,' the standard which reason and conscience approve, and bringing him into captivity under the law, or rule of sin, which has provoked a cry for deliverance (7[23.24]). As in Galatians, there is a dogmatic world-view lying behind the testimony of experience, which is the pledge of an 'eschatological' condemnation 'in the day when God shall judge the secrets of men, according to my gospel, by Jesus Christ' (2[16]). This dogmatic governs the form of statement. The desire to escape the stings of conscience is the immediate, to stand as 'righteous' in the day of judgment the ultimate, yearning of the sinner. The greater includes the less.

The sad experience of the Apostle drives him to the conclusion that the law is weak (8[3]), because it cannot effect what it demands. But against it he is able to set his experience as a Christian. 'I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord' (7[25]). So from the outset he proclaims his gospel as 'the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth' (1^{16}). To accept this message, to obey this gospel, to be 'in Christ Jesus' (see above) is 'to walk after the spirit' (8^4) and to escape from sin in present experience, and so to have the assurance that there is 'no condemnation' (v.^{1}) here or hereafter. The 'righteousness of God,' a living, active force disclosed in Christ, is contrasted with a man's 'own righteousness,' which the revealed law shows to have no existence in fact. This Divine righteousness is 'by faith unto faith' (1^{17}). Faith contemplates the manifestation of that righteousness in the Person and Work of Christ ($1^{1\text{-}4.16.17}$), the trustful acceptance of which as the gift of God leads to that faith by which, abandoning self-sufficiency, we become obedient, surrender ourselves, to it. First of all there is the experience of 'newness of life' (6^4), an identification with Christ so complete that St. Paul can use the expressions 'buried with Christ in baptism,' 'crucified with Christ,' 'risen with him' ($6^{1\text{-}6}$). In proportion as this faith is active in us, we henceforth cease to serve sin (v.^{6}), we are liberated from 'the law of sin and death' (8^2), and no longer find sin reigning in our mortal bodies (6^{12}). 'The first-fruits of the Spirit' (8^{23}) become manifest in the mortifying of the deeds of the body. The love of Christ—the love of God in Christ—became, as the Apostle had himself proved, an influence so powerful that he could speak of Christ, or the Spirit of Christ (the two expressions are practically indistinguishable [$8^{9.10}$]), inhabiting his personality, the source of holiness and of good works. But, as in Galatians, this is clearly no *unio mystica*, transforming the character *ex opere operato*, but a conscious fellowship based upon loyalty and trust. As it is expressed in Ephesians, he had yielded himself to the Redeemer, that Christ might dwell in his heart by faith (Eph $3^{17\text{-}19}$).

But, if this were all, the Death and Resurrection of Christ would remain unexplained; the relation of these facts to the reproduction of the life of Christ in the believer would be undefined. Once again, therefore, the ethical result is taken as the pledge of that altered relationship to God which was dogmatically expressed in the theology of the primitive community as the covering effect of the work of Christ on our behalf. 'The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God' (Ro 8^{16}). The actual, realized effects wrought in those who were admitted to the fellowship of disciples, the fulfilling of the ordinances of the law in those who were walking not after the flesh but after the spirit, are the immediate and subjective pledge of an ultimate and objective relationship between the members of the community reconciled in Christ on the one hand and Him who is God and Father on the other. Viewed from the side of God's action, which is all along spontaneous, paramount, and free, this condition is brought about by grace or free favour. On man's side it results from faith, which is not a meritorious and independent act, but is itself a Divine gift, the reflex in human experience of free grace.

That the Pauline doctrine is forensic in form rather than in fact should be clear from the following considerations. The Apostle necessarily contrasted the freedom and joy of his experience as a Christian, and the altered relationship to God, to which it testified, with his former experience as a Pharisee. He had believed that as a circumcised Hebrew he had been admitted to a community in which the strenuous observance of the Mosaic Law both on the ceremonial and on the moral side afforded a meritorious ground for the final sentence of the Divine Lawgiver and would procure his acceptance. What he had once hoped to attain by a process of legal compliance had now been reached by the establishment of relations which were not legal at all, viz. by the free exercise of God's fatherly love towards him in Christ, which had awakened a responsive trust. This is the essential Christian experience, however it be expressed. Its note is the restoration through forgiveness of personal relations with a Father, not the satisfaction of the claim of a Lawgiver. Thus the term 'justification,' as used to express what the NT elsewhere calls 'salvation,' is forensic in what it denies rather than in what it affirms. But, inasmuch as Pharisaism arises out of that stage in the education of man in which he learns to recognize the holy love of God through the disciplinary revelation of His character in the precepts of a formal law, the conception of salvation is not adequately expressed unless it is seen in relation to what 'the law could not do in that it was weak.' Nor must we fail to perceive that faith is not an antecedent condition, but is involved in the idea of justification, so that the method cannot be separated from the fact. What the gospel means by 'thy faith hath saved thee' St. Paul expresses by saying that we are justified through faith. The correlatives which together are the keynote of justification are grace and faith, the former being the activity of God's personality towards man as realized and expressed in the historical work of Christ, the latter being the activity of man's personality towards God who thus manifests Himself as Redeemer. They are indeed two ways of expressing the same relation viewed from opposite sides. It is logic, not experience, that separates them, and that requires a third term like justification to express the resultant of both. But it is faith that is the norm of the Pauline theology. And justification must always be interpreted in the light of the experience implicit in the Apostle's obedience to the heavenly vision (Ac 26^{19}), and summed up in the declaration: 'The life that I now live in the flesh I live in faith, faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me' (Gal 2^{20}).

The connexion between justification and baptism, though St. Paul does not himself explicitly adjust the terms, arises out of the fact that 'we are justified in Christ'; *i.e.* Christ is the sphere in which justification takes place. The Son of God is revealed not merely to, but in, the believer (Gal 1^{16}), and this because he is 'created in Christ Jesus' (Eph 2^{10}). The purpose of God was 'to sum up all things in Christ' (1^{10}). The mystery of the Divine will was 'the one body,' in which all believers are reconciled to the Father through the Cross ($2^{15\text{-}18}$). Thus 'we are members one of another,' which for St. Paul is the reason and motive of the ethical life (4^{25} Ro 12^5, 1 Co 12^{27}). St. Paul's doctrine of the body of Christ, or the *ecclesia*, is the counterpart in his theology of the Kingdom to which in the Gospels the forgiveness of sins stands in a constant relation. Similarly, to be 'justified in Christ' is *ipso facto* to be placed in relation to the body in which is realized the fellowship of the one Spirit. And baptism is the act of initiation into the Christian fellowship (1 Co 12^{13}), wherein justifying faith perfects itself and thus becomes the starting-point of the new life in Christ. In this rite the believer washes away his sins (Ac 22^{16}) and puts on Christ (Gal 3^{27}), not because he cannot achieve these results by faith, but because he can 'appropriate the forgiveness of sins by faith only when he unites in his faith at once trust in God and Christ, and the intention to connect himself with the community of believers' (Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, iii. § 20, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1900, p. 111). In view of recent theories, according to which St. Paul is declared to have held that baptism confers the Spirit *ex opere operato* (see, *e.g.*, Kirsopp Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, London, 1911, pp. 233n., 383–391, and A. Schweitzer, *Geschichte der paulin. Forschung*, Tübingen, 1911, Eng. tr., *Paul and His Interpreters*, London, 1912, p. 213, etc.), it is important to bring out the essential unity between the doctrine of justification by faith and the Pauline conception of the Christian community. Baptism consummates the Divine grace and completes the act of faith. It is the guarantee of the common and corporate character of justification, not the operation of a second and different principle of salvation.

If the term 'justification' is used to express reconciliation between God and the sinner, it is clear that it implies a personal status or relationship, and not a subjective experience. But it is equally clear that for St. Paul the recognition of it implied and depended upon an experience, which ought to repeat itself in all believers. That experience was the assurance of a salvation already attained (Ro 5^1 15^{13}; cf. Eph 2^{18} 3^{12}), which stood in marked contrast to the fear and uncertainty which had accompanied the effort to attain it by legal righteousness, the peace and joy in the Holy Spirit which succeeded to the doubt and restlessness which had preceded the revelation of Jesus as Redeemer. This must not be confounded with an assurance which supersedes further effort. St. Paul was fully aware that he had not yet attained (1 Co 9^{27}, Ph 3^{12}). But it was only lapse of faith that would render the final issue doubtful. It is faith in which Christians stand (Ro 11^{20}, 1 Co 15^1, 2 Co 1^{24}). The only fear is lest they fall from a grace (Gal 5^4) already fully theirs, not lest, continuing in faith, they should fail finally to attain it.

While the doctrine of justification is in its formal outline peculiar to St. Paul, there is no opposition in principle between it and other NT methods of expressing the meaning of salvation. The Petrine teaching, though in the later development of the First Epistle it is influenced by the Pauline theology, remains less technical and less fully formulated. The disagreement at an earlier stage between the two Apostles, so far as it was determined by intellectual causes, may be traced to this fact, and not to any fundamental contradiction, like that which determined the attitude of St. Paul's Judaistic antagonists, who failed to recognize in Jesus the Messiah a spiritual, and therefore a Divine, Redeemer. The Johannine conception of salvation, though not ignoring faith (Jn 3^{18} 5^{24}, *εἰς κρίσιν οὐκ ἔρχεται*), is expressed in other categories, and the early rise of Gnosticism, with its imperfect attempt to explain how God became man, tended to fix the interest of religious thinkers upon the doctrine of the Person of Christ as the fundamental problem of Christian theology. Though the greatest fathers of the Church (*e.g.*, Athanasius) perceived that Christology must ultimately be determined by the satisfaction which Jesus gives to the religious need of redemption, the exigencies of repeated controversies tended to supplant the idea of faith, which sees in it an attitude of trustful self-committal to the reconciling will of God expressed in Jesus Christ, by another and a narrower conception, which represents it as assent, whether intelligent or not, to the doctrine of the Person of Christ as formulated in creeds and their corollaries. The growth of the Church system, reinforced by the natural tendency of the majority of mankind to be content with conformity to established and traditional institutions as a sufficient discharge of the Divine claims upon them, converted organized Christianity into a 'New Law.' When the hunger for salvation, which the Mosaic system had failed to allay in the case of St. Paul, began to reassert itself in the Western Church, St. Augustine partially reaffirmed the Pauline position, but without rising to its characteristic and essential principle. Interpreting justification by a false appeal to its etymology (=*justum facere*), he recovered the conception of salvation as a free gift of God (*gratia* is that which is bestowed *gratis*), but failed adequately to realize that it involved the re-establishment of personal relations with the Father through Christ. Grace was represented as a supernatural life infused into human nature through sacramental channels and gradually built up into a righteousness which was not meritorious only because it was imparted rather than achieved. Thus his teaching was a more or less materialized form of the Pauline doctrine of sanctification, *i.e.* the process by which God transforms into the image of Christ those whom He has already accepted for His children through faith in Jesus. The initial action, which alone is covered by the NT view of justification, was entirely omitted by Augustinianism, which became the accepted mould of the mediæval theology, the standard expression of which is found in the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas. Thus in *Summ. Theol.* ii. 1, qu. 100, he asserts that *gratia justificans* is *quiddam reale et positivum* in the soul, a supernatural quality, infused like the virtues—faith, hope, and love—of which it is the cause. In conformity with this view is his doctrine of faith. Though involving the obedience of the will, at least when formed by love (*fides formata per caritatem*), it is primarily intellectual assent and has reference to symbols or creeds rather than to the redemptive personality of God, and is a preliminary condition of justification rather than its channel. In its imperfect stage (*fides informis*) it is scarcely distinguished from the forced assent to truth which is wrung even from devils, who 'believe and tremble' (*Summ. Theol.* ii. 2, qu. 1–10). These ideas were stereotyped by the Council of Trent, after being disputed by Humanists and Reformers, in the 'Decr. de Justificatione,' which published an anathema against those who declare that men are justified either by imputation of Christ's righteousness alone, or by remission of sins alone, excluding the grace which becomes inherent in them, or who say that the grace by which we are justified is only the favour of God (*Conc. Trid.*, sess. vi., 'Decr. de Justif.' can. xi.). The point of this position is not the objection offered to the phrase 'imputation of Christ's righteousness,' which is admittedly not scriptural, but the identification of grace with an imparted gift and the consequent description of justification as a gradually realized psychological condition. This, as we have seen, is the point where St. Augustine's system parted company with Paulinism, and opened the way to the re-establishment of salvation by merit, which was characteristic of the formal teaching of the mediæval Church. For a supernatural gift, if it be transmuted through use of the prescribed sacramental means into virtues inherent in human character, becomes the achievement of the possessor, precisely as the results of labour, though not obtained without the employment of material, are acquired by the worker. Thus Aquinas, in opposition to the spirit of St. Paul, allows that *fides est meritorium*. It is easy, therefore, to see how a compromise was effected with the party that had most keenly opposed the Augustinian view of grace to produce that combination of sacramental mysticism and ecclesiastical legalism which represents the view of salvation current in the Middle Ages. Emphasis was laid, on the one hand, upon the hierarchical machinery, which culminated in the system of indulgences, and, on the other, upon the mediation through sacraments of Divine influences. The personal, ethical relation to God, of which faith, as expounded in the Pauline Epistles, is the pledge, and justification, as similarly set forth, the expression, had no place in official theology

The 16th cent. saw the rediscovery of the NT doctrine of justification. This was rendered possible in the first instance by the Revival of Learning, which threw men back upon the original Greek, promoted textual exegesis, and prepared the way for Biblical as distinguished from scholastic theology. But the renewed knowledge of Greek was not the only key to a living interpretation of the NT. The awakening of personality, the meaning of which had been only imperfectly understood whether by the classical, the patristic, or the mediæval mind, quickened those religious needs which only an experience akin to that which produced the Pauline theology could adequately satisfy. The story of Luther, laboriously climbing the Santa Scala at Rome, till the words of Habakkuk twice cited by St. Paul in his crucial arguments —'the just shall live by faith'—sent him incontinently down the steps with a revolution in his soul, is typical of the Reformation. For Luther, as for St. Paul, the vision of God in Christ brought trust in His fatherly love as manifested in the Person and Work of the Redeemer, with the consequent assurance of free forgiveness and a personal share in the purpose of salvation. This is the essential Christian experience, and though, as Hooker affirms in his sermon on 'Justification,' there have doubtless been in all ages thousands who have been the subjects of it (*Serm.* ii. § 8 f.), it is difficult to find room for it in the official theology of mediæval Catholicism. Confidence in God became the mark alike of Luther's own teaching and of Reformation theology, and confidence is nothing else but faith aware of itself. It is the subjective aspect of the restored personal relations, or reconciliation with God, by which it is inspired, and which constitute what Protestants have always meant by justification.

Neither the general outlines of the teaching of the Reformation nor the particular theories of individual writers correspond in every detail with the Pauline statement. These last do not, of course, agree one with another, either in terminology, in scope, or in adjustment to other balancing principles. Further, it must be borne in mind not only that the phraseology of St. Paul is to be interpreted in relation to the NT generally, but also that his Epistles do not present us with systematic theology. The upheaval of religious thought in the 16th cent. followed upon a long dogmatic history, in relation to which its theology was re-constructed. While, therefore, St. Paul speaks of faith being reckoned for righteousness, Protestant divines used 'the imputation of righteousness' as a technical term defined in respect to a general body of doctrine, and justification by faith becomes justification by faith only. The deviation in the latter case is due not to an exaggeration of St. Paul's teaching, but to the conditions of the later controversy. The Reformers did not deny that hope and love no less than faith were necessarily present in those who are justified. What they saw was that to connect those virtues with justification itself was to shift the meaning of the term from the Biblical to the mediæval sense. Whether 'imputation of righteousness' is to be regarded as a Biblical idea depends upon whether such a phrase as 'the righteousness which is of God' (Ph 3^9) has a positive content, and means, *e.g.*, the merits of Christ, or whether it is simply equivalent to the status of those to whom faith is reckoned for righteousness. But what is really involved here is not so much the meaning of justification as the validity of certain theories of the Atonement. This is true also of Ritschl's contention, that the community of believers is primarily the object of justification (*op. cit.* iii. § 20, etc.). For the question really is whether the Church is part of the revelation of God in Christ or not, and justification is still equivalent to the forgiveness of sins in either case. Whether the Cross is a satisfaction for sin, whether the work of Christ possesses a substitutionary character, whether the sacramental Church is part of the Divine scheme of redemption, are questions affecting the revelation of God in Christ rather than the status of those who through faith become the objects of reconciliation. The parting of the ways in respect of justification depends on the relation which exists between forgiveness and the infusion of holiness. The latter is not denied by Protestants. But it is conceived as resulting from the communication of the Spirit, which necessarily springs from the Divine act of pardon and acceptance. Roman theology, on the other hand, regards forgiveness as consequent upon the transmission of holiness, which it calls righteousness, the normal channels of this process being the sacraments. The distinction is not merely a matter of terms, but has an important bearing upon the Christian character. The provision of aids, however powerful, for the attainment of justification must have an entirely different effect upon the daily life of the believer from the assurance of a reconciliation already fully won.

LITERATURE.—It is difficult to make a selection from the abundant literature dealing with St. Paul and Paulinism. But the student may consult art. 'Justification' in *HDB* ii. 826 (D. W. Simon), and in *DCG* i. 917 (R. S. Franks), and A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*^{3}, Freiburg, 1894, Eng. tr. *History of Dogma*, 7 vols., London, 1894–99. To these should be added A Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Bonn, 1874; Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*; H. Martensen, *Die christliche Dogmatik*, Berlin, 1856, Eng. tr. *Christian Dogmatics*, Edinburgh, 1866, §§ 228–231; J. H. Newman, *Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification*^{3}, London, 1874; and the Commentaries of J. B. Lightfoot on *Galatians*, and Sanday-Headlam on *Romans*.

J. G. SIMPSON.

JUVENILE CRIMINALS.—By 'criminals' we mean those offenders of whom the criminal law of the particular State takes cognizance by way of punishment, not those wrongdoers, against the wrongdoer's family or others, whom the State refuses to prosecute and punish. By 'juvenile,' in the expression 'juvenile criminals,' we primarily mean offenders who have reached the minimum age at which the State prosecutes for crime, but who are under the age at which full legal responsibility is held to begin. In a secondary sense, we include as juvenile criminals those young persons who, although they have not actually committed crime, are in imminent danger of becoming criminals. It is, in many cases, an accident whether a boy or a girl is in the one class or the other. State or voluntary action to prevent the manufacture of criminals may be as necessary in the one case as in the other.

This delimitation of our subject is convenient; but it does not in all cases square with the facts. There are exceptional children, under the age of possible prosecution, who might be held responsible for their wrongful acts, because they are as conscious of the nature, probable results, wrongful character, and legal consequences of these acts as those who are above that age. On the other hand, there are many adult criminals—some authorities say twenty-five, others seventy-five, per cent—whose mental and moral development is so stunted that they are not fully conscious, when they commit crime, of the conditions inferring legal responsibility.

Although the modern State will not prosecute and punish persons below the age at which it considers legal responsibility to begin, it holds itself entitled, in certain circumstances, to interfere with the liberty of these persons, and with the natural rights of their parents, and to take such steps as it thinks fit to prevent their becoming criminals.

This is the principle of 'prevention better than cure,' on which the Industrial School and, to a lesser extent, the Reformatory School of the United Kingdom, and similar institutions in other countries, are founded.

In theory, the law of all countries used to treat juveniles (above the age at which the particular State held full legal responsibility to begin) and adults as equally liable to punishment, although, in practice, the obvious distinctions between the two cases were more or less acted upon, at least by the more humane administrators of the law. Children were sentenced to be transported or hanged; but these sentences were modified in their case more frequently than in the case of adults.

In modern times, by criminologists of all countries, increasing stress has been laid on the view suggested by the words: 'Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord' (Ro 12[19]). Torture, mutilation, branding, starvation, and transportation had each their sturdy advocates, who honestly believed that, on their abolition, discipline inside the prison and the safety of the lieges outside would become impossible. Yet these worse than useless horrors have all disappeared with the pillory and the stocks, the treadmill and the crank, never to return; and flogging and lengthened solitary confinement have been reduced to a minimum, and, with the silent system, will, for similar reasons, soon be things of the past. It has been sharply questioned whether, except as an incident of the reformation of the individual or in order to secure the safety of the community, the State, as such, has any right to punish offenders, whether by fine, imprisonment, or death. But it is generally agreed that, whether the idea of punishment pure and simple is or is not admissible in the case of adults, it has no place (except in very exceptional circumstances, as an adjunct of reformation) in dealing with juveniles. It was only in 1908, by clauses 102 and 103 of The Children Act of that year, that it was made impossible in the United Kingdom to send to penal servitude, or to hang, a boy or girl under 16. The efficacy of rewards rather than punishments, the power of sympathy rather than coercion, in the interests both of discipline and of reformation, are not yet fully recognized in prisons, in schools, or in families.

Modern methods of dealing with juvenile criminals have proceeded on similar lines in Great Britain and its Colonies, the United States, and the Continent of Europe. They have been based on two considerations: (1) the conviction that the crimes of juveniles, and the risks of their falling into crime, are in most cases the result, not of their own wilful wrongdoing or deliberate choice, but of heredity polluted by want, drink, and disease, of physical hardships (due in large measure to the periodic unemployment and the insufficient wages of parents), of defective religious and secular education, of want of parental supervision and control, and of vicious associations; and (2) the general agreement, founded on experience, that juveniles, when withdrawn from their vicious surroundings (the earlier the better), will respond to firm, kindly, intelligent reformative influences more readily and more permanently than adults.

The movement in Europe, the United States, and the British Colonies for a radical change in the treatment of potential and actual juvenile criminals was the result of a quickened sense in the State, and in the Church, of the supreme value of the rising generation as the hope of the nation, and of national as well as parental responsibility for all the children in the community, whether they are normal or defective physically, mentally, or morally. In Great Britain it was, like many other movements for the welfare of children, partly at least the consequence of the Ragged School movement, begun by John Pounds, the Portsmouth cobbler, early in the 19th cent., and subsequently extended all over Great Britain and Ireland, under the inspiration of such men and women as Shaftesbury and Mary Carpenter in England, and Thomas Guthrie and Sheriff Watson in Scotland. It was not till Ragged School methods had been proved, in Britain and elsewhere, to be successful in arresting the flow of juvenile crime that the State in Great Britain took any share in the work, which results in benefit to the whole community, and is, therefore, suitable for State recognition and support. In later years, the State's action in Great Britain has been accelerated by the success of similar preservative and regenerative institutions in the United States and in the British Colonies, and by the splendid volunteer work done by such agencies, independent of State aid, as those of the Ragged School Union and Barnardo and Müller in England, Quarrier in Scotland, and the Salvation Army in different parts of the world.

Modern legislation dealing with juvenile crime has been mainly directed (1) to exclude juveniles from prison; (2) to provide institutions for the preservation of those who are in danger of falling into crime, and for the reform of those who have been convicted of crime; and (3) to secure for any who may be in prison such treatment, in confinement and on release, as will at least make it possible for them to redeem their past, and live honest and useful lives, keeping in view the saddening statement, or, rather, understatement, made by the Departmental Committee of 1895: 'Few inmates leave prison better than when they came in.' It is not possible in a short article to exhaust the application of these views in different countries. The matter may be illustrated by stating the position in the United Kingdom, where the law relating to juvenile crime is to be found in parts iv. and v. of The Children Act, 1908 (8 Edward VII., ch. 67), entitled 'An act to consolidate and amend the law relating to the protection of children and young persons, Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and Juvenile Offenders, and otherwise to amend the law with respect to children and young persons.' The First Offenders Act, 1887, The Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1904, and The Probation of Offenders Act, 1907, should be read along with The Children Act, 1908.

By section 58, magistrates may send to Industrial Schools (1) children who are found begging, (2) children found wandering, and without visible means of subsistence, (3) destitute children, and those whose parents (or surviving parent) are in prison, (4) children of criminal or drunken parents, unfit to have the care of them, (5) children living in grossly immoral surroundings, (6) children who are refractory and beyond the control of parents or guardians, or, if in a workhouse, of the managers, and (7), in exceptional circumstances, children not older than 13 charged with crime. All boys and girls sent to Reformatories (with the exception of refractory children sent from Industrial Schools) must have been convicted of crime.

The body of legislation which culminated in The Children Act, 1908, has, in conjunction with voluntary effort, resulted in the establishment, in different parts of the United Kingdom, of two institutions designed to preserve children from that prison brand which, once affixed, is rarely effaced, and to fit them, convicted or unconvicted, for a new career: (1) Certified Industrial Schools for children not older, at entry, than 14, who are in imminent danger, from their destitute and neglected condition, from their immoral surroundings, or from their refractory habits, of falling into crime, or who have been convicted of minor offences; they may be committed for any period, but cannot remain in an Industrial School beyond 16; (2) Reformatory Schools for children over 12 years and under 16 at entry, who have committed more serious offences, or who may be beyond the Industrial School age of 14; they are committed for not less than three, and not more than five, years, but cannot remain in a Reformatory School beyond the age of 19.

(1) *Industrial Schools certified and subsidized by Government.*—The State has interfered in favour of Industrial Schools in four ways: (1) by certifying those of whose management and methods it approves as fit places for the detention of the boys and girls for whose benefit the Acts already mentioned were passed; (2) by conferring powers on magistrates to send boys and girls to these schools under detention orders for a fixed period; (3) by paying a proportion of the cost of the boys and girls so committed under magistrates' orders; and (4) by providing Government inspection of certified Industrial Schools.

Government recognition and subsidy were not obtained for Industrial Schools without opposition. It was said that these schools were merely doing the work which the parents ought to do; that to support them was to pauperize both parents and children, and to set free the children's money to feed the vicious indulgences of the parents. If there were parents, who, although able, were not willing to do their duty by their children, why did not the criminal law compel them? These arguments, although specious, were inapplicable to orphans, deserted children, and children of long sentence prisoners. Even where they had a basis in fact—*e.g.*, the common case of parents spending on drink what truly belonged to their children—it was proved that it would be of advantage to the State to save the children from joining the criminal ranks, even at the cost in some cases of pauperizing the parents and feeding their vices.

The opponents of Government interference relied on another great principle, viz. the inalienable rights of parents in their children. But, while this principle could have no application in the case of orphan children, it had only a technical application even in the case of those deserted or neglected children who, although one or both parents might be alive, were worse than orphans.

(2) *Reformatory Schools.*—As in the case of Industrial Schools, voluntary effort had proved the success of Reformatory Schools for youthful offenders before the system was adopted by Government. In the preamble of the first Reformatory Statute (passed in 1854, 7 and 8 Victoria, ch. 86) there is a recital of the establishment, by voluntary contributions, of Reformatory Schools in various parts of Great Britain.

Dealing with both Reformatory and Industrial Schools, the 1908 Act makes careful provision, in the choice of a school, for respect being paid to the religion in which the child has been brought up. It also provides for the parents of the children, wherever possible, being compelled to contribute to the cost of their maintenance and education. In the case of Industrial Schools, the children may, when the managers of the school think the case a suitable one, be boarded out instead of being kept in the school; and they may be licensed out, from both Industrial and Reformatory Schools, before the expiry of the period for which they were sent to the school. The statute does not contain any provision for emigration; but it is the practice, especially when the home is an exceptionally bad one, to send a certain number to the Colonies. There is no difficulty in finding employment for the children, the girls as domestic servants, and the boys in all kinds of skilled trades and in the army and navy. After leaving school, the children remain under the supervision of the managers—Industrial School children till 18, Reformatory School children till 19. The cost of these schools is not met entirely by the Treasury or by local authorities. Voluntary contributions cover a proportion of the cost; but, as in all cases when Government aid is available, the directors of these institutions find it increasingly difficult to maintain voluntary subscriptions. Government has wisely left the administration of the schools to voluntary committees of non-official men and women specially interested and specially skilled.

Naturally, looking to the ages and careers of the inmates, the discipline in Reformatories is more severe than in Industrial Schools, and, for the same reason, the percentage who do well after their time is up may not be so high. But, whatever differences of opinion there may be as to the best methods of dealing with juvenile crime or as to the precise percentage of satisfactory cases, it is universally admitted that the State has got many times more than full value for all the public money spent on Reformatories and Industrial Schools.

(3) *The Borstal system.*—In addition to Certified Industrial Schools and Reformatories, there are State institutions in England and Scotland on what is known as the Borstal system, for offenders, from 16 to 21, too old for Reformatories, but whose habits have not yet matured beyond redemption, although they may have been convicted several times. The success already achieved in these institutions—the first was founded in 1902—makes it certain that the test of age will be abandoned, and that, sooner or later, all prisoners will be treated as capable of reformation, save only those professional criminals who have shown by a lengthened career in crime that, for the safety of the community, they must be confined for life. See, further, art. CRIMINOLOGY.

(4) *Truant Schools.*—The position of Day Industrial Schools in Scotland, established under the Day Industrial Schools (Scotland) Act, 1893, in relation to Certified Industrial Schools appears from clause 83 of The Children Act, 1908. In the United States remarkable results have been achieved in an establishment called 'The George Junior Republic,' founded in 1895, in which the inmates are put upon their honour and trusted with administration and discipline to an extent unknown until 1913 in any institution, public or private, for similar purposes in Great Britain. An institution on similar lines, called 'The Little Commonwealth,' was started in 1913 in Dorsetshire, the success or failure of which may have important results on the whole method of dealing with juvenile criminals. Mention must also be made of the work carried on by the Ragged School Union and other associations, which prefer to work without State aid that they may be independent of State control.

The tendency is increasing to eliminate both the appearance and the reality of prison life from the institutions mentioned above. This does not proceed from any pseudo-humanitarianism, but from experience that thereby the children are better braced for the battle of life when they leave school. The Reformatory Act of 1854 enacted that every young person sent to a Reformatory must first be imprisoned for not less than 14 days, and it was not till 1899, 45 years thereafter, that this most objectionable condition was abolished. Experience proved that even this short experience was sufficient in many cases to rob the prison of its terrors, and to affix an indelible prison-brand. The discipline is firm, and temporary causes and difficulties may make it, at times, severe. Few, if any, boys or girls go voluntarily into Reformatories or even Industrial Schools; and few, if any, remain of their own free choice. The food, although ample, is plain. The children, consistently with the preservation of robust health, work hard, both in the school-room and at industrial work. Yet every school has abundant testimony from former pupils, many of them occupying positions of trust at home and abroad, that they owe everything to these institutions.

There is another provision in The Children Act (first put into practice in the United States in 1869) which cannot be passed over, viz. that for the establishment of Children's Courts, separate from the ordinary Police Courts, and to which none but those directly interested, including the Press, are admitted. Reference may also be made to clause 62 (2), in which it is contemplated that Industrial Schools will provide a department for children suffering from mental or physical defect. It is a sad feature of almost all effort, State and voluntary, in connexion with juvenile criminals, actual or anticipated, that the institutions for their benefit are open only to children mentally and physically normal, or nearly normal, and that no effort is made to segregate the defective, who are thus allowed, by the production of children, weak physically, morally, and mentally, to maintain the supply of the criminal class. The Mental Deficiency Act of 1913 is, however, evidence that this aspect of the question is at last to be seriously faced.

The 1908 Act recognizes by clause 60, dealing with probation of offenders (a system, like so many others, adopted from successful experience in the United States), how essential it is that the child, when he or she leaves the Industrial or Reformatory School, shall be provided with a suitable situation, and shall be supervised in his or her earlier years of freedom. In reference to juvenile criminals who have been sent to prison, we may merely mention the noble work done for them, during confinement and on release, by Prison Visitors, Discharged Prisoners Aid Societies, the Churches, and the Salvation Army, working in conjunction with the Prison Commissioners and the prison officials.

The advocates and managers of the great reformative institutions and agencies above described have always been keenly alive to the drawbacks and deficiencies of all such establishments, however well managed, compared with home life as it ought to be. While doing what we can to safeguard the tempted and to reform the fallen in our own generation, we must look forward to the day when the conditions of life of the working classes —their religious, moral, and intellectual opportunities, the regularity of their employment, their wages, their housing, their means of innocent and health-giving recreation, and their resultant law-abiding character—will be such that there will be no need for any of these institutions, and when the subject of juvenile criminals will have only an historical and antiquarian interest.

LITERATURE.—C. E. B. Russell and L. M. Rigby, *The Making of the Criminal*, London, 1906; M. G. Barnett, *Young Delinquents*, do., 1913; the monthly *Seeking and Saving* and *Certified Schools Gazette*, published by the Reformatory and Refuge Union, and by the Society of Superintendents of Reformatory and Industrial Schools respectively, and pamphlets issued by the former society.

CHARLES J. GUTHRIE.

K

KA.—See DOUBLES, EGYPTIAN RELIGION.

KA'BA.—See MECCA.

ḲABBĀLĀ.—**I. History.**—Ḳabbālā (קַבָּלָה, from קִבֵּל, 'he received') was a term used originally to denote the Prophets and Hagiographa as opposed to the Pentateuch, *e.g.*, T. B. *Rōsh hash-shāna*, 19*a* (see C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2}, Cambridge, 1897, p. 114). The prophetical teaching was 'received' or 'traditional.' In the course of time, however, the meaning of Ḳabbālā underwent a change; it was applied to hidden and mysterious doctrines, dealing with the nature of the Deity and His relation to the world. This secret mysticism was no late growth. Difficult though it is to prove the date and origin of this system of philosophy and the influences and causes which produced it, we can be fairly certain that its roots stretch back very far, and that the mediæval and Geonic Ḳabbālā was the culmination and not the inception of Jewish esoteric mysticism.

Already in the days of the Mishna, it was felt that speculations concerning the origin of the world (see art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Jewish]) should be restricted to those of mature intellect, and the same tractate (*Ḥagiga*, ii. 1 and T. B. *Ḥagiga*, 13*a*; see A. W. Streane, *Chagigah*, Cambridge, 1891, p. 55) associates theosophy (מַעֲשֵׂה מֶרְכָּבָה [Ezk 1]) with cosmology (מַעֲשֵׂה בְרֵאשִׁית [Gn 1]). These two sciences are subject to the same restrictions and are regarded as interdependent. The famous admonition of Sirach, not to seek 'that which is too wonderful for thee' (Sir $3^{21\mathrm{f.}}$; see Taylor, 'The Wisdom of Ben Sira,' *JQR* xv. [1902–03] 442), repeated in *Bereshith Rabba* (viii., ed. J. Theodor, Berlin, 1903, p. 58) and in *Ḥagiga*, 13*a*, shows not only that these speculations were rife in the 2nd cent. B.C., but that in pursuing them caution was deemed necessary. It is superfluous to cite further evidence, since this statement is now generally accepted.

One of the etymologies of the name Essene (Ἐσσαῖος; cf. ESSENES, vol. v. p. 400$^{\text{b}}$) is 'secret' (Heb. חשאי). This is based on Josephus (*BJ* II. viii. 5), who says of the sect *τοῖς ἔξωθεν ὡς μυστήριόν τι φρικτὸν ἡ τῶν ἔνδον σιωπὴ καταφαίνεται.* This would seem to imply a tendency to esoteric doctrines on the part of the Essenes (see Taylor, *Sayings*, p. 79, note). The name of the Elkesaites, a Gnostic sect (A.D. 100–400), would furnish a parallel to this etymology, according to the derivation given by Epiphanius (see ELKESAITES, vol. v. p. 262), viz. חל כסיא, 'hidden strength.'

The Apocryphal writings, especially Enoch and Jubilees, mark a considerable development in the history of Ḳabbālā. Gnosticism and dualism played a great part in influencing its growth, and contributed towards the body of ideas that found expression in the *Sēfer Yᵉṣîra* and the later *Zôhar.* Ḳabbalism denies the *creatio ex nihilo* and the possibility of knowing God. Hence it taught the doctrine of negative attributes, by which expedient the Godhead might be described. Ḳabbalism, further, represents the insistence on the divine immanence; it is a reaction against excessive emphasis on the transcendence. It has often been held that Judaism is a purely formal religion, in which the warmth of mysticism has no place. Such an opinion, in any case erroneous, is entirely untenable if attention be paid to the history of the Ḳabbālā. For centuries it has coursed through the veins of Judaism in a fiery flood, raising man to God and bringing God to man, cheering him with hopes of a speedy Messianic advent, and comforting him in times of persecution, by the aid of an eschatology which draws the remote future, with its promise of peace, into the immediate present with its clouds and sorrows. It has filled the lives of the poor and humble with the overpowering nearness of God, and with the assurance of His interest in their daily concerns, and has made them feel at every moment that they should and could 'imitate' Him. There is no lack in the Ḳabbālā of the fantastic, the childish, or the grotesque, or sometimes even the blasphemous, but the proportion of the dross to the gold is insignificant, though not infrequently misrepresented and exaggerated. Nor is it altogether correct to regard the Ḳabbālā as the antithesis of the ceremonial Law. There have been mystics, notably among the later Russian Ḥasîdîm, who laid more stress on study of the Torah and on abstract principles than on the Talmud and Codes, but, on the other hand, many have striven to combine mysticism with the inviolate observance of the Dîn. The very author of the *Shulḥān 'Ārūkh* was a Ḳabbalist.[1] Every act and every prayer in the life of the Ḳabbalist has been surrounded with a mystic halo, given a new vigour and meaning, and preceded by a formula of self-consecration. Thus the tendency of Ḳabbalism, in general, has been largely to strengthen the ceremonial Law, not to destroy it.

From the time of Graetz it has been the fashion to decry Ḳabbālā and to regard it as a later incrustation, as something of which Judaism had reason to be ashamed. In reality this judgment goes back much further; it rests ultimately on the authority of Moses Maimonides, to whom reason was the foundation of Judaism, and the imaginative faculty abhorrent. The weight of his influence was sufficient to prejudice the majority of scholars against the Ḳabbālā. Further, the Ḳabbalists claimed extreme antiquity for their doctrines. The *Zôhar*, *e.g.*, was attributed to Simeon bar Joḥai, a Galilæan Rabbi of the 2nd cent.; it is, in point of fact, a Spanish work, more than eleven hundred years later. In consequence of the critical analysis to which modern historians have subjected the Ḳabbālā and by means of which falsities, such as the traditional date of the *Zôhar*, have been exposed, reaction has pushed too far to the other extreme. The recent tendency requires adjustment. The Ḳabbālā, though later in form than is claimed by its adherents, is far older in material than is allowed by its detractors. It is not entirely a collection of fantasy; it is poetry, spirituality, and idealism as well. Nor has the excess of imagery and anthropomorphism been suffered to spread too far. Simeon bar Joḥai, a pillar of mysticism, declared a ban on those who expounded Gn $6^{1\text{-}4}$ as a personification of the Deity which would have been unseemly (*Bereshith Rabba*, xxvi., Theodor, p. 247). Ḳabbalism is a complement to mediæval Rabbinic Judaism, not an excrescence. It has contributed to the formation of modern Judaism, for, without the influence of the Ḳabbālā, Judaism to-day might have been one-sided, lacking in warmth and imagination. Indeed, so deeply has it penetrated into the body of the faith that many ideas and prayers are now immovably rooted in the general body of orthodox doctrine and practice. This element has not only become incorporated, but it has fixed its hold on the affections of the Jew and cannot be eradicated. Consequently it is false to regard the Ḳabbālā as something apart from Judaism. Its extremists and some of its exaggerations are outside, but a large proportion is within, and the extent of its permeation must be adequately recognized.

From the earliest times mystic ideas were at work in Judaism. Externally assisted by Zoroastrianism, Gnosticism, Neo-Platonism, and other movements, these ideas grew and developed, drawing internal support as well. Hellenistic no less than Rabbinic Judaism had its share of mysticism. In Philo as well as in the Midrash it may be seen, not spasmodically or vaguely, but as a firm and well-constituted element of religion. Alexandria, the intellectual mart and meeting-ground of East and West, by bringing together all the most different and distant elements, fostered mysticism. (For the 'Hermes Books' [ספרי הירמס, not הסירום, 'Homeros'] and the Greek Gnostic poems [זמר יוני] see K. Kohler in *JQR* v. [1893] 415 and *JE* iii. 459; the mysticism of Philo's Logos conception is treated by J. Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, London, 1913, ch. iii.) Philo's angelology and cosmology are, in the main, Platonic and Stoic teachings brought into line with Rabbinic modes of Biblical interpretation. Regarding matter as evil, he evolved the Logoi as divine agencies between the world and an external God (Abelson, p. 54 f.). Both in Egypt and in Babylonia the mystic movement grew on parallel lines, which, however, were by no means completely independent of each other. The gap in our knowledge of the history of the Jews of Egypt between the Alexandrian and Muslim epochs prevents any definite line of continuity from being traced. But it is certain that the Jews of Egypt, in the Arab period, preserved a strong partiality for mysticism. Sa'adya (892–942), the great philosopher and Bible translator of the Fayyūm, did not think it beneath him to compose a commentary on the *Sēfer Yᵉṣîra*. It was about this time that the Ḳabbālā spread to Europe. According to Eleazar of Worms, Aaron b. Samuel brought it from Babylonia to Italy. A. Neubauer, in his edition of the *Chronicle of Ahimaaz* (see *JQR* iv. [1891–92] 615 and *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles* [Anecdota Oxoniensia], Oxford, 1895), a work composed in 1054, has proved the historicity of Aaron—a fact previously contested. From this source it appears that Aaron was the son of an Ab Beth Din in Babylonia, and that he travelled to Italy. He lived in Benevento and Oria, and his activity in Italy lasted at least till 870. Whether he returned to Babylon is doubtful. His influence was very great. To him are ascribed, not altogether with certainty, two Ḳabbalistic works, called *Niḳḳūd* and *Pardēs*. He is said to have worked miracles by the use of the Divine Name. The doctrines which he taught found ready acceptance, and through him the seed soon bore fruit in Europe. But at this time little was written down. Mysticism was transmitted by word of mouth, so that it is not easy to say exactly what was taught and believed by those who first spread the Ḳabbālā through Italy into other countries. Angelology and permutation of the alphabet are of frequent occurrence in the Geonic writings, which are probably responsible for the French, German, and Spanish Ḳabbālā. The German Ḳabbālā, brought from Italy by the Kalonymides, centres in Judah ben Samuel (surnamed the Pious), who died in 1217, his pupil Eleazar of Worms, and Abraham Abulafia. Judah, whose ancestors were noted Ḳabbalists of Oriental origin, founded the great seminary at Regensburg. He gathered round him a band of famous disciples, and his influence was great. Miracles are attributed to him, and his teaching was largely mystic in character. His fame was not confined to Jewish circles, but he was respected and consulted by the bishop of Salzburg and other Church dignitaries. The authenticity of much of his written work is doubtful because he wrote down but little, his disciples being the repositories of his teaching. If the *Songs of Unity* and *Song of Glory* are, in fact, his composition, his mystic leanings can be clearly judged. At any rate, whether composed by Judah, by his father Samuel, or by any of his contemporaries, they reflect the current mysticism. In these mystic songs, which may be conveniently seen in any volume of the *Service of the Synagogue* (A. H. Davis and H. M. Adler, London, 1909, etc.), or, in part, in the *Authorised Daily Prayer-Book* of S. Singer (London, 1890, etc., pp. 78, 171; see annotated ed., p. xc), many Ḳabbalistic and philosophical ideas occur; they deal, in general, with the divine nature, either from the transcendental or from the immanent side.

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[1] On the opposition to this work see *JE* iii. [1902] 586.

> ‘Thou encompassest all and fillest all; and since Thou art the All, Thou art in all. . . .
> Colour and shape cannot be applied to Thy Oneness, nor body to the essence of Thy Unity. . . .
> Neither is anything separate from Thee in the midst: nor is the smallest place void of Thee.
> Accident and change do not exist in Thee, nor time, nor discord, nor any imperfection’
> (‘Hymn for the Third Day’).

> ‘We may not class Him with matter or substance, or ascribe to Him accident or attribute.
>
> All things that are seen or conceived or known are included in the ten categories; there are seven kinds of quantity and six kinds of motion, three modes of predication, three times, and three dimensions. Lo! in the Creator not one of them exists, for He created them all together’ (‘Fifth Day’).

> ‘I have not seen Thee, yet I tell Thy praise,
> Nor known Thee, yet I image forth Thy ways.
> For by Thy seers’ and servants’ mystic speech
> Thou didst Thy sov’ran splendour darkly teach.
> And from the grandeur of Thy work they drew
> The measure of Thy inner greatness, too.
> They told of Thee, but not as Thou must be,
> Since from Thy work they tried to body Thee’
> (*Hymn of Glory*).

In addition to other liturgical works, Judah’s mysticism was expounded in a commentary to the Pentateuch and in an ethical will, but chiefly in the *Sēfer Ḥăsîdîm*, a collection of mystical and ethical sentences. Probably Judah had no more than a share in the last-named work. His fame, however, rests not on his personal writings, but on the impetus which he gave to the German Ḳabbālā. This impetus will best be measured not by his books, but by the number of pupils and associates who carried his ideas and influence far and wide. Of his disciples Eleazar [ben Judah ben Kalonymus] of Worms (1176-1238) was the most distinguished both as a Ḳabbalist and as a writer of ethics. Though his title to fame rests chiefly on the *Rôḳēaḥ*, which is devoted to ethics and Halākhā, his mystic writings were numerous and important. Eleazar was given to asceticism.

> ‘In his cabalistic works he developed and gave a new impulse to the mysticism associated with the letters of the alphabet. The philosophical Cabala of the school of Isaac the Blind is replaced by arithmetical speculations. By the gemaṭria and noṭariḳon systems of interpretation found in the Talmud, Eleazar invented new combinations by which miracles could be performed. The haggadic anthropomorphism which he had combated in his earlier works (“Ha-Roḳeaḥ,” “Sha‘are ha-Sod weha-Yiḥud) occupied later the foremost place in his cabalistic writings’ (I. Broydé, *JE* v. 101).

The Ḳabbālā of the Arabic-speaking Jews was in the meantime undergoing modification. The Arabs and Jews were growing more and more familiar with Greek philosophy, and their own was thereby affected. The influence of the ‘Brothers of Purity’ in Baṣra, whose writings were directed to the promotion of an ethical revival, was felt in Jewry; notably Baḥya ibn Paḳuda shows traces of their movement. In the treatise *Men and Animals* their philosophy is expounded with special reference to cosmogony, angelology, the soul, the Godhead, and the relation of man to God. It was chiefly their theory of emanation (see F. Dieterici, *Thier und Mensch vor dem König der Genien*^{2}, Leipzig, 1881, p. 60, line 1, etc. = *Der Streit zwischen Mensch und Thier*, Berlin, 1858, p. 97, foot, etc.; see also p. 169 for the disquisition about angels) and of the nine numbers that found favour with and adaptation by the Jewish Ḳabbalists. Already in the 13th cent. signs begin to appear of an opposition between Talmud and mysticism. Prayer and the study of the Halākhā tended to become antitheses in Germany, while the German and Spanish Ḳabbālā differed in many important points. The Spanish school tended to become more purely mystic and visionary, while Germany devoted more thought to speculative Ḳabbālā and to permutations. The details of the spread of the Ḳabbālā into Provence are obscure. Isaac the Blind cannot be the founder of the movement here, as was formerly held. In him Ḳabbālā is already so far developed as to make it certain that he must have had predecessors. The advent of philosophy to Provence produced a mystic reaction, and thus Ḳabbālā, which had hitherto remained obscure, came forward as a protest against the coldness of rationalism.

A new stage in the growth of the Ḳabbālā was marked by the appearance of the *Zôhar* (see below), which became the mystic Bible. This pseudepigraphical work probably dates from the 14th century. It paved the way for the last stage of mysticism, which has continued till the present day. This stage is associated with Isaac Luria (1533-72), known as Ari, and Ḥayyim Vital. They and their followers combined spirituality and permutations. Their piety was of an extremely high order, but coupled with it was their use of charms and amulets. In the Orient, Galicia, and Poland their influence is strong; their precepts have sometimes been misunderstood and, in ignorant hands, have degenerated into superstition. In Russia the Ḥasîdîm have incorporated the Ḳabbālā, laying special emphasis on prayer and mysticism. But the lower elements have not been wanting; hence the Ḥasidic movement has met with strenuous opposition on the part of the Rabbis.

2. Chief theories and doctrines of Ḳabbālā.—The complete Ḳabbalistic system consists of two main subdivisions — theoretical, *‘Iyyūnîth*, and practical, *Ma‘ăsîth*. It is impossible to deal exhaustively with the individual points in each branch, and it is difficult to make a rigid line of division between them. It will be convenient to consider briefly the chief ideas and principles.

(*a*) *The use of numbers and letters.*—The permutations and combinations of numbers and letters are not entirely of Pythagorean origin. Hebrew has no numerical symbols, and the use of the alphabet for numerals goes back to Maccabæan times. This practice is, no doubt, responsible for the later *gemaṭria* or *grammateia*, by which the numerical equivalents of letters and words were made a means of interpretation. An interesting example is cited in art. EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT (Jewish), vol. v. p. 662, § 3. Unlucky numbers are known in the Talmud (T. B. *Pesaḥim*, 110*a*: שׁוֹתֶה כְּפָלִים דָּמוֹ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ, ‘even numbers are to be avoided in drinking’). Owing to the principle of association by ideas, things were often grouped by number. Many examples can be seen in the *Ethics of the Fathers* (*e.g.*, ch. v.; Taylor, *Sayings*, p. 78 ff.). From this passive observation of seeing a connexion between groups already existing, it was felt that a more active employment of numbers might be possible, and that he who held the secret of the mystic chain might force nature and attain fuller power. In earlier times seven, and in later times ten, was regarded as the important number. The permutation of letters and numbers is called צירוף. As perfected in the *Sēfer Yᵉṣîra*, which is arranged according to the letters of the alphabet, it is doubtless Pythagorean, but the Jews cannot have borrowed it altogether; the knowledge of the science was ascribed to Bezalel (T. B. *Berakhoth*, 55*a*).

(*b*) *Classes of angels and demiurges.*—The belief in the transcendence of the Deity produced a reaction in favour of mediating powers, and of this reaction Gnosticism may be regarded as the origin to no small extent. There is, of course, much angelology in the Apocrypha, and the heavenly beings are arranged in orders and ranks. While in the Prophets angels are merely figurative and poetic ideals, they are frequently found, both in the Apocrypha and in the Talmud, as intercessors and active agents. But they had no share in the work of creation. *Bereshith Rabba* (iii., Theodor, p. 24) strongly repudiates such an idea; it was certainly heretical, and probably Gnostic. The Midrash shows that the order and method of creation are expressly devised to show the falsity of the belief in a divine assistant. This mediator is usually known as Meṭaṭron (*μετὰ θρόνον*, or *metator*, 'guide,' or *μητάτωρ*, 'the measurer' of the heavens; cf. *ib.* v., Theodor, p. 37, קולו של הקב״ה נעשה מטטרון על המים; A. Kohut [*Aruch*, Vienna, 1878–92, *s.v.*] suggests that the name is to be derived from Mithra). Elisha b. Abuya, who became a heretic, believed in Meṭaṭron as one of the two creative powers (T. B. *Ḥagiga*, 15*a*, ed. Goldschmidt, Berlin, 1899, p. 834, see note; *Sanhedrin*, 38*b*). Meṭaṭron appears in a praiseworthy capacity in his relations with Moses. Thus Moses asks for Meṭaṭron's intercession with God to avert his death (Tanḥ, ואתחנן, 6, ed. S. Buber, Wilna, 1885, p. 13, § 53); Meṭaṭron shows the promised land (*Sifrē*, האזינו, *Pisḳ*, 338, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1864, p. 141), and, with other angels, buried Moses (so Targ. Onḳ. to Dt 34⁶). Michael and Meṭaṭron are sometimes interchanged. On the whole it seems that the belief in a Meṭaṭron became popular until checked by such direct repudiations as in *Bereshith Rabba* (for the main references to Meṭaṭron see A. Jellinek, *Beth-Hamidrash*, Leipzig, 1853–78; see also T. B. *Ḥullin*, 60*a*, and J. Abelson, *The Immanence of God*, London, 1912, p. 172).

The function of all these angelic beings was to facilitate man's access to the Deity. The multiplication of these agents led to their differentiation; some became good, others evil. Hence the connexion of the Ḳabbālā with other systems is clear.

Man being made in the image of God, it was possible to conceive of the divine nature by analogy. Hence the Deity and the demiurge or Meṭaṭron are pictured in anthropomorphisms which are sometimes highly fantastic and even indelicate. Thus the *Shi'ūr Ḳômā*, a Ḳabbalistic work of early date, attempts to give the dimensions of the Deity and to describe His members. But such hyperbole is repudiated in no uncertain language.

(*c*) *The ḳᵉlīphôth, 'scales' or 'shells,'* belong to the dualistic system which assigns to the universe a 'right side' and a 'left side,' with which light or purity and darkness or impurity are associated respectively. The *ḳᵉlīphôth* are also closely associated with emanations.

(*d*) *The syzygies, or pairs* (סוֹד הַלִּוּג), are a variation of dualism, and imply the harmony of nature. Everything possesses a mate. This idea is known in the Talmud and Midrash; it is used to demonstrate the perfection of the universe.

(*e*) *The 'chariot'* (מֶרְכָּבָה) of Ezk 1 was the vehicle on which the pious ('riders on the chariot') could ascend to God. The goal of the chariot was the 'Halls' (הֵיכָלוֹת). By mysteries, prayers, the help of angels, magic, permutation, and sometimes by asceticism, this end could be attained, and the human soul could be so uplifted as to effect union with the divine world-soul. Just as the angels ride on the chariot in the Apocalypses, so can man, if pure, find a place with them. He must overcome his temptation, which will appear as malevolent spirits, striving to dislodge him. These he can vanquish by formulas and prayers.

(*f*) *The emanations* (הַשְׁפָּעָה and אצילות [either אַצִּילוֹת, on the analogy of Jer 38¹², 'arm-joints,' or, more probably, אֲצִילוּת; cf. Ex 24¹¹, Is 41⁹]; see Nu 11¹⁷) are a link between the Godhead and the world. By means of them the pious can even react on the Deity. The doctrine of emanation is, of course, pantheistic. God was said to be in all, and nothing existed apart from Him. By outpourings from the Godhead all created beings were formed. They are, therefore, directly connected with it. The Arabic philosophers gave this Neo-Platonic theory to the Jews, by whom it was first accepted (*e.g.*, by Baḥya) and then rejected (by Judah Halevi and Maimonides). Already in the 4th cent. the emanation theory existed in a modified form. In Midr. *Ex. Rabb.* xv. (see A. Epstein in *REJ* xxix. [1894] 77), three primal elements, water, air, and fire, produce three others, darkness, light, and wisdom; these six combine to produce the world. Light is, however, often regarded as an emanation direct from the Deity, God's garment, on the basis of Ps 104², being called 'Light.' When Jewish philosophers repudiated emanation, it was adopted by the Ḳabbalists. The *Massekheth Aṣīlūth*, according to general opinion, dates from the 12th cent., and it holds to the emanation doctrine. The Ḳabbalists found that emanation suited the theory of the *sᵉfîrôth*, and for this reason they favoured it. Emanation, being a voluntary act on the part of God, permits the possibility of His creating the world without any change in His personality resulting from the act; it surmounts the difficulty of a *creatio ex nihilo*, and also the difficulty of attributing a finite creation to an infinite Creator.

(*g*) *Limitation* (צִמְצוּם) or concentration, is the act of God's self-withdrawal in order that the universe might be created, and is explained in *Genesis Rabba* (iv., Theodor, p. 27) by an illustration of the power of concave and convex mirrors to transform the outward appearance of an unchanged object. This theory precludes the identification of the substance with the Creator, who is the 'Endless' or 'Infinite.'

(*h*) *The 'Endless,' or 'Infinite'* (אֵין סוֹף).—This negative attribute is applied by Azriel b. Menahem to the Deity because He is unknowable, and positive attributes are inapplicable. He is immutable, and the act of creation would imply a change. Hence the doctrine of limitation is necessary, and the first concentration leads to others, which result in the ten *sᵉfîrôth*.

(*i*) *The ten sᵉfîrôth, or spheres.*—Three etymologies are given for this term: (1) from the root *sāfar*, 'to count,' (2) from *sappîr*, 'bright,' 'brilliance,' and (3) from *σφαῖρα*; the last is considered to be the most probable. The doctrine of the *sᵉfîrôth* is a development of emanation. It reconciles a belief in the *creatio ex nihilo* with the exclusion of the Creator from thought and action in creating, which exclusion was maintained by the Neo-Platonists. The Ḳabbalists, in adopting the emanations, made the *sᵉfîrôth*, or qualities, stand for the Neo-Platonic grades of wisdom. The *Ên Sôf*, or infinite light or 'point' (נְקוּדָה), produced three groups of *sᵉfîrôth*, intellectual, spiritual, and material, each containing three members. The *sᵉfîrôth* thus number ten (for pictures and charts see *JE* iii. 474 ff.).

From the *Ên Sôf* came, in the following order: (1) the Crown (כֶּתֶר), the 'principle of principles' and the first emanation after the Ên Sôf. It is the first contact of the infinite with the finite, and is known by many designations. (2) Wisdom (חָכְמָה) and (3) Intelligence (בִּינָה) are derived from the Crown. They form a syzygy, being regarded as Father (Wisdom) and Mother (Intelligence). Hence they are parallel, and their product is Reason (דַּעַת), but this is not a separate emanation. These constitute the first group. The second consists of (4) Mercy (חֶסֶד), a father, and (5) Justice (דִּין), a mother, which produce (6) Beauty (תִּפְאֶרֶת). Mercy and Justice are both qualities of the divine nature which check one another and produce a harmonious mean. The third group consists of (7) Victory (נֶצַח), (8) Glory (הוֹד), and (9) Foundation (יְסוֹד). Victory and Glory, again, are regarded as parents that produce Foundation as their offspring. The last of the *sᵉfîrôth*, (10) Sovereignty (מַלְכוּת), has no clear connexion with the rest.

The *sᵉfîrôth* are often known by different names—*e.g.*, גְּדוּלָּה=חֶסֶד and גְּבוּרָה=דִּין, or פַּחַד. Abelson's chapter on the *sᵉfîrôth* (*Jewish Mysticism*, p. 136) should be carefully studied. According to some Ḳabbalists, the *sᵉfîrôth* bear a direct relation to the corporeal members of Ādām Ḳadmôn.

(*j*) *Ādām Ḳadmôn, or primordial man.*—This idea, originally held by the Gnostics, of an incorruptible primitive man, fashioned in the image of God, is also known to Philo and the Midrash. This being is sexless or bisexual (see *Genesis Rabba*, viii., Theodor, p. 55). St. Paul's idea of a heavenly and an earthly Adam (1 Co 15⁴⁵⁻⁵⁰) is, no doubt, based on the Midrash. The various portions of the body of Ādām Ḳadmôn are correlated to the *sᵉfîrôth* (see *JE* i. 181 and xi. 155). From the heavenly man the earthly man is sprung. The Ādām Ḳadmôn is held by some to occupy a position between the *Ên Sôf* and the *sᵉfîrôth*.

(*k*) *Metempsychosis* (גִּלְגּוּלִים) was rejected with uncompromising severity by Jewish philosophers, but was adopted by the Ḳabbalists. It is taught in the *Zôhar* (ii. 99*b*, tr. Jean de Pauly, Paris, 1908, iii. 400), and was regarded as an answer of the problem of the prosperity of the wicked. Luria believed that all souls were created at the same time as the different parts of Adam's body; hence the quality of the souls varies according to the particular member of Adam's body to which they are related. His successors taught that souls could wander on earth to fulfil duties neglected by a man in his lifetime or to assist others to perform their duties. The term דִּבּוּק was used to express the act of junction of a soul with a living man.

(*l*) *Evil.*—According to the Ḳabbalists, evil is essentially finite, as opposed to the divine good. It is the left side in the syzygy. Evil is an appearance, not a substance, and man's sin consists of his separation from the Divine Being. This separation, or 'Fall,' gave man the potentiality of sin, which he previously lacked. By penitence and asceticism man can join the 'Riders of the Merkābhā' and attain union with perfection.

(*m*) *The idea of the microcosm*, or a comparison of man's frame and members with the parts of the universe (macrocosm) and nature, came from the Greek philosophers to the Jews through Neo-Platonism. It was much favoured by the Ḳabbalists, and is mentioned in the *Zôhar*. Of the many Ḳabbalistic devices and practices, notice must here be limited to three.

(*n*) *Amulets* (קְמִיעוֹת, also סְגוּלוֹת or רְפוּאוֹת), private charms and prophylactic devices, were much in vogue. In spite of the fact that Maimonides and other teachers emphatically opposed the use of amulets and denied their efficacy, the Ḳabbalists were not strong enough to resist the attractions of this superstition. Amulets were regarded as potent charms to ward off sickness and evil, to help women in labour, and generally to assist the wearer to attain his desire. The charms were usually written on parchment or engraved on a precious metal. The so-called shield of David, the open hand, and the circle were popular forms. The word שַׁדַּי usually figured, in addition to permutations of the Divine Name or the *sᵉfîrôth*. Very frequently the prayer attributed to Nehunya hak-Ḳāna (1st cent. A.D.) was used, or its initials (for the prayer cf. Singer, p. 273, last par.). The initials of the first line (אב"ג ית"ץ) and of the second line (which form the words קְרַע שָׂטָן, 'Rend Satan') occur in most amulets. (Reference should be made to M. Gaster, *Sword of Moses*, London, 1896, where many amulets are cited and explained; a Moroccan charm against scorpions is reproduced in *JE* ix. 24; cf. also art. CHARMS AND AMULETS [Jewish].) It must be remembered that in many cases people who used amulets did so from spiritual and not material motives. The constant recitation of Scriptural verses and prayers was intended to relieve the mind and calm the soul, not directly to act on the body; hence not all amulets were put to superstitious use.

(*o*) *The casting of lots*, an old Biblical and Talmudic custom, for which many motives may be traced, was also adopted by Ḳabbalists and practised in various forms, chiefly as a means of divination. Methods similar to the *sortes vergilianæ* were in vogue.

(*p*) *Change of name* (שִׁנּוּי הַשֵּׁם) was a Ḳabbalistic device, no doubt based on the ideas of penitence and regeneration, employed in case of serious illness as a life-saving expedient (see M. Gaster, *Book of Prayer*, i. 195). Frequently the new name chosen was Ḥayyim, 'Life,' or some variant, such as Vital.

3. The chief Ḳabbalists and their works.—The following lists are by no means exhaustive, but they contain the principal exponents of Ḳabbalist doctrines and the most important books on which the Ḳabbālā is based, and are intended to serve the reader as a guide for further investigation.

(*a*) *Ḳabbalists.*—(1) *Aaron b. Samuel* († after 870) is important as having carried the Ḳabbālā to Europe from Babylon. He lived in Italy. Until modern times he was regarded as a mythical personage, but his historicity has been proved by Neubauer (see above, p. 623).

(2) *Solomon ibn Gabirol* (1021–58), a Spanish philosopher, though scarcely to be included among the ranks of the Ḳabbalists, must be noted in relation to the Ḳabbālā, because he introduced Neo-Platonism among the Jews. He is, therefore, responsible for the theory of emanations. See, further, art. IBN GABIROL.

(3) *Judah b. Samuel* of Regensburg (the Pious, הֶחָסִיד, † 1217) was the founder of a school of noted Ḳabbalists (see above, p. 623).

(4) *Eleazar b. Judah b. Ḳalonymus* of Worms (1176–1238) was a pupil of Judah the Pious. He was not only a Ḳabbalist, but a famous Talmudical scholar and a scientist. His most important work is the *Rôḳeaḥ*. In his *Sha'ărê has-Sôdh* he opposed anthropomorphism.

(5) *Moses b. Naḥman* (Naḥmanides, Ramban), the famous Spanish Rabbi (1194–1270), though hardly a Ḳabbalist, since he repudiated several fundamental doctrines (*e.g.*, he held a *creatio ex nihilo*), supported Ḳabbalistic teaching in many ways. In his Pentateuchal commentary the influence of the Ḳabbālā is marked.

(6) *Abraham b. Samuel Abulafia* (born 1240 at Saragossa, † after 1291) was one of the founders of Spanish Ḳabbālā. He was an ascetic and practised all kinds of permutations, but did not attempt to work miracles. He travelled in Palestine and made a special journey to Rome in order to convert the pope (1280). In Sicily he gave himself out to be the Messiah, but was discredited by Solomon b. Adret. He was a voluminous writer, but was responsible for much unworthy juggling and *gematria*. This influenced the later Ḳabbālā. Perhaps the most important feature of his teaching was his desire to convert Islām and Christianity to his views. In this desire to unite the three faiths he was, in a way, the forerunner of Elie

Benamozegh, Rabbi of Leghorn, whose life work was directed to the same end (see E. Benamozegh, *Israël et l'humanité*).

(7) *Joseph b. Abraham Jiḳatilla* (1248–1305), a Spanish Ḳabbalist, was, unlike his teacher Abraham Abulafia, a thaumaturgist. He tried to reconcile philosophy and Ḳabbālā. He belonged to the mystic school, but made a large use of *gemaṭria*. His works were many, chief among them being *Ginnath' Ĕgôz* and *Sha'ărē Ṣedeḳ*. His commentary on the Haggādā for Passover, צפנת פענח, was very popular.

(8) *Isaac ibn Laṭif*, a Spanish physician († 1290), attempted to combine philosophy and Ḳabbālā. Much Ḳabbalistic terminology is due to his efforts to secure precision in reasoning and the exact use of names and qualities.

(9) *Azriel b. Menaḥem* was also known as Ezra; in fact, the two names gave rise to the belief that Ezra and Azriel were brothers. Azriel, the author of several works (born in Gerona in 1160, † in 1238), was a pupil of Isaac the Blind. He taught the theory of negative attributes, emanations, and the *sᵉfîrôth*, on which he wrote a commentary, and denied the *creatio ex nihilo*. He was greatly influenced by Gabirol.

(10) *Isaac the Blind* of Posquières was regarded as the link between the mysticism of the Geonim and the Ḳabbalists; but, as he is said to have lived in the 13th cent., this is unlikely. Yet the Ḳabbalists held him in high esteem. Parts of the *Bāhîr* may be attributed to him.

(11) *Baḥya b. Asher* of Saragossa († 1340) must be noted as one of the first Bible exegetes to employ Ḳabbalistic methods for Bible interpretation. Himself a literalist and rationalist, he uses Ḳabbālā with care and judgment. Among his other works, his *Discourses* (*Kad haḳ-Ḳemaḥ*) is the most important.

(12) *Isaac b. Moses Arama* (1420–94) was more of a philosopher than a Ḳabbalist. He belongs to the Spanish school, but can scarcely be said to have added much to Ḳabbālā.

(13) *Menaḥem b. Benjamin Recanati* was a prominent Italian Ḳabbalist of the late 13th century. He is noteworthy for his mystic commentaries on the Bible, one of which was translated into Latin by Pico di Mirandola.

(14) *Isaac* (*b. Solomon Ashkenazi*) *Luria* (Ari) (1534–72) was the most important of the later Ḳabbalists. He lived in Palestine, and to him the whole of the modern Ḳabbālā may be traced. He was a hermit for some time, and had ecstatic visions. His chief disciples were Cordovero, el-Ḳabiz, Joseph Qaro, Ḥagiz, and Vital. The system and practices which he founded are still operative in the East. Most of his teaching was written down by his disciples, chiefly by Ḥayyim Vital. His system is far too wide to be summarized, but he is most important for (1) his teaching of metempsychosis or 'impregnation,' and (2) his introduction of the Ḳabbālā into daily life. Every Oriental Prayer Book bears traces of his ordinances and recommendations. He even promulgated a new code, *Shulḥān 'Ārūkh Shel 'Ārî*, which his followers adopted and diffused. So great was the esteem in which he was held that his followers almost 'canonized' him. His teaching called forth opposition from the anti-Ḳabbalists, but his piety and holiness were his most effectual answer to attack.

(15) *Ḥayyim Vital* (1543–1620) was a pupil of Luria, to whose position he succeeded. He was a visionary and an alchemist; he also believed himself to be the Messiah for some time. Vital is important because he edited most of Luria's works, which the latter rarely committed to writing; but he also wrote works of his own.

(16) *Israel Saruḳ*, a pupil of Luria, is noteworthy for having spread in Italy and Germany the new Ḳabbalistic teaching of Luria. He had great influence with Menaḥem Azarya of Fano, who became an adherent of Luria's school and spent large sums on buying his MSS.

(17) *Leo of Modena* (1571–1648; see art. JUDAISM, p. 606[a]), whose curious anomalies make him one of the most perplexing characters in Jewish history, attacked the Ḳabbālā in his *'Ărî Nôhēm*. He shows that as a system it is unscientific and that the *Zôhar* is a late work. For this he is important in the history of Ḳabbālā.

(18) *Ḥayyim Joseph David Azulai* (1724–1807), author of the *Shēm hag-Gᵉdhôlîm*, a most prolific and versatile writer, carried the Ḳabbālā of Luria to extremes. His credulity and superstition are all the more remarkable when his scholarship is examined. His works are full of numerical permutations, etc.

(19) *Israel b. Eliezer, Ba'al Shem Ṭob* (Beshṭ) (1700–1760), was the founder of the Ḥasîdîm, a sect which marks the latest stage in the history of Ḳabbālā and which developed from the school of Luria, to which it was finally in opposition. Beshṭ, though poor, exercised unbounded influence in Poland and Galicia. Little is known of his life, and his doctrines can be studied only from his followers, for he wrote no books. Beshṭ was a pantheist and rejected emanation. Further, he preached joy and ecstasy as opposed to asceticism. He raised the position of the Ṣaddiḳ to a very high level of authority. The breach between Talmudism and Ḥasidism did not take place till after his death.

(20) *Baer* (*Dob*) of Meseritz (1710–72) was one of the earliest and most important teachers of the Ḥasidic movement. He was an ascetic and an enthusiastic adherent of the school of Luria until he became acquainted with Beshṭ, whom he succeeded as leader of the Ḥasîdîm. Baer fought their battle against the Talmudists until his death. Like his master, he left no written works.

(*b*) *Works*.—(1) The *Sēfer Yᵉṣîrā* is the oldest Ḳabbalistic book. It was attributed to Abraham and also to 'Aḳiba, but belongs in all probability to the 6th century. It deals with permutations of numbers and letters, and is the first source of the emanations and *sᵉfîrôth*. The *Yᵉṣîrā* was so widely read that Sa'adya wrote a commentary to it. It is the basis of the *Zôhar*, and hence perhaps the most important of all works for the study of the Ḳabbālā (see Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, p. 98, etc.).

(2) *Sēfer hab-Bāhîr*, a mystic commentary on the first chapters of Genesis, was originally attributed to Neḥunya haḳ-Ḳāna. It is now regarded as the work of Isaac the Blind, with later additions. The *Bāhîr* believes in the eternity of matter; it knows the *sᵉfîrôth*. It is important as a precursor and type of the *Zôhar*.

(3) The *Hēkhālôth* (or 'Halls'), Greater and Less, are Geonic mystic writings, bearing relation to the book of Enoch. They are attributed to Solomon b. Elisha. The works deal with the Merkābhā, and, finally, with the seven heavenly 'Halls.' The *Hēkhālôth* influenced the liturgy, chiefly the Ḳᵉdhushshāh.

(4) The *Zôhar* is the most important of all Ḳabbalistic works. It was circulated by Moses b. Shem Ṭob de Leon and attributed by him to Simeon b. Joḥai; the forgery was discovered after his death. Many Ḳabbalists still continued to believe in its authenticity, which was finally disproved by Elijah Delmedigo and also by Leo of Modena. It is now agreed that the *Zôhar* was not composed by one person. It is written in Aramaic and contains various appendices. In form it is a mystic and allegorical commentary on the Pentateuch. No book, except the Bible and the Talmud, has

been so widely read by Jews. It is the centre of the Ḳabbālā, and innumerable works and commentaries have been written round it. Christians as well as Jews have studied it (see art. ZOHAR).

(5) *The Book of Raziel*, said to have been taught to Adam by the angel Raziel, and also to Noah, is a compilation, probably by various writers. It has affinities to the *Shîʿūr Ḳômā* and *Sword of Moses*. According to Zunz, *Raziel* was the work of Eleazar of Worms. It describes the celestial organization, and gives directions for the preparation of amulets.

(6) *Shîʿūr Ḳômā* deals with the dimensions and members of the Deity. It is usually included in *Raziel*. The book was known to Solomon b. Jeroḥam (b. 886). Gaster (*Monatsschrift*, xxxvii. [1893] 224 ff.) shows that it goes back as far as the last pre-Christian century.

(7) *Gilgūlîm* is the name given to lists of transmigrations of souls. Many of these works were composed by the school of Luria.

LITERATURE.—*GENERAL.*—The art. 'Cabala' in *JE* iii. 456 ff. (with the subsidiary artt.) should be carefully read, with its bibliography. See also J. Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, London, 1913; A. E. Waite, *The Doctrine and Literature of the Ḳabalah*, do. 1902, *Secret Doctrine in Israel*, do. 1913; A. Franck, *La Kabbale*², Paris, 1889; I. Abrahams, *A Short History of Jewish Literature*, London, 1906, ch. xvii.; C. D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, do. 1865; H. Sperling, 'Jewish Mysticism,' *Aspects of the Hebrew Genius*, ed. L. Simon, do. 1910, pp. 145–176; Isaac Myer, *The Qabbalah*, Philadelphia, 1888.

SHEKHINAH.—J. Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, London, 1912.

THE YESIRA.—The text, with commentary of Dunash b. Tamim, has recently been published by M. Grossberg, London, 1902; parts are translated by W. W. Westcott, do. 1893.

THE ZOHAR.—A French tr. by Jean de Pauly has been published by 'Eliphas Lévi' (pseudonym), *Le Livre des splendeurs*, Paris, 1894; S. L. MacGregor Mathers, *The Kabbala Unveiled*, London, 1887, contains parts of the *Zôhar* translated (both of these books must be used with caution); see also A. Jounet, *La Clef du Zohar*, Paris, 1909.

EMANATION AND SEFIROTH.—M. Ehrenpreis, *Die Entwicklung der Emanationslehre in der Kabbala des xiii. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfort, 1895. Many references to the *sᵉfîrôth* will be found in the Sephardic *Hoshaʿanōth for Hoshaʿana Rabba*; this service may be conveniently seen, with tr., in M. Gaster, *Book of Prayer*, London, 1901 ff.; L. Tritel, 'Die alexandrinische Lehre von den Mittelwesen,' *Judaica* (*Cohen's Festschrift*), Berlin, 1912, pp. 177–185.

NEO-PLATONISM.—F. Dieterici's tr. of *Man and Beast* cited above (p. 624). In connexion with this, reference should be made to Baḥya b. Paḳuda, whose *Guide* has been edited by A. S. Yahuda, Leyden, 1912; C. Elsee, *Neoplatonism in Relation to Christianity*, Cambridge, 1908.

LATER HISTORY OF KABBALA.—E. Benamozegh, *Israël et l'humanité*, Paris, 1914; S. Schechter, *The Chassidim*, London, 1887, first essay in *Studies in Judaism*, do. 1896, pp. 1–55, the essays on 'Saints' and 'Safed' in the 2nd ser. of *Studies in Judaism*, do. 1908, pp. 148–181 and 202–285; see also his 'God and the World' (pp. 21–45) and other essays in *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, do. 1909, and 'Asceticism, the Law of the Nazirite,' in *Jew. Chron.*, 5th June 1914, p. 17.

H. LOEWE.

KABEIROI.—The elucidation of the Kabeiroi-mysteries is one of the most perplexing problems of old Mediterranean religion; nor can it yet be said that modern research has thrown full light upon them. The literary record is partly Greek and partly Latin; but the Latin is derived mainly from Greek sources. It does not begin before the 5th cent. B.C., by which time the mysteries had long been in vogue and had already spread from Samothrace to other centres, such as Lemnos and Thebes; it cannot therefore speak with authority concerning the earliest period. Even the 5th cent. writers are vague and confused, and the later writers contradict each other at several important points. The record is sufficient, however, to establish two facts: that the original home of the mysteries was Samothrace, and that they were the institution of a non-Hellenic people. As regards the latter point, the statement of Diodorus Siculus is of interest and importance that the aboriginal natives of Samothrace 'possessed an ancient dialect of their own, much of which is still preserved down to the present day in their religious rites.'[1] He is not likely to be speaking at random here. The word 'Kabeiroi' itself has never been satisfactorily explained on any theory of Hellenic derivation;[2] and the personal names of the Samothracian divinities that have been recorded by Mnaseas of Patrai[3]—Axieros, Axiokersos, and Axiokersa—though the forms have been semi-Hellenized, betray an alien speech.

Now nearly every writer starts with the fact, and constructs on it a theory of the origin of the cult, that the word Kabeiroi must be equated with the Semitic כַּבִּרִים, meaning 'the mighty ones'; the almost exact equivalence of the two sounds could hardly have been accidental, especially in view of the term *θεοὶ μεγάλοι*, the constant Hellenic synonym of the Kabeiroi. It appears also that every one who accepts this origin of the word has regarded as inevitable the corollary that the Kabeiroi-mysteries were an importation from Phœnicia, the nearest or most likely centre whence Semitic influence could reach Samothrace. Hence certain scholars have been led to interpret them in the light of the knowledge that can be gathered of Phœnician and Semitic religion.[4] But upon reflexion the necessity of that corollary is by no means obvious. Phœnician traders may have found an aboriginal mystery-cult in this remote and inaccessible island; they may have attached their own descriptive title 'Kabeirim,' 'the mighty ones,' to the divinities that they found in the island, because this corresponded to some local divine appellative that the later Greeks translated by the phrase *οἱ μεγάλοι θεοί*; then, through the spread of Phœnician trade, the Semitic name for the island-deities acquired permanent vogue.

This hypothesis avoids the difficulties that beset the theory of the Phœnician origin of the rites, which is attested by no ancient writer of any authority, for Herodotus definitely pronounces them Pelasgic,[5] while other writers of the 5th cent. and later periods trace them to Phrygia or Crete.[6] The names attached to the Samothracian deities by Mnaseas are non-Semitic. Nor is there anything in what is revealed to us of the ritual or the divine personalities that points clearly to Phœnicia. Finally, there is no evidence yet forthcoming that the Phœnicians ever attached the appellative 'Kabeirim' to any group of their own divinities.

The legends, beginning in the 5th cent., that associate the rites with Crete and Phrygia may be of some value for religious history, but contribute nothing to the question of ultimate origin. Certain general considerations and certain coincidences seem rather to point to Thrace as their source. The Thracian coast lies nearest to Samothrace, and the aboriginal settlers in the island could most easily have come over thence. We have fair evidence that the ministers of the mysteries were called 'Saoi' or 'Saioi,' and Strabo mentions a Thracian tribe of that name, while the name Saon is applied by Lykophron to some settlement of the Korybantes located by the scholiast in Thrace.[7] Also, when we look closely at the evidence we may discern certain features in the Samothracian religion which would accord with the theory of its Thracian origin.

We must begin with certain monumental evidence which is earlier than the literary. The explorations conducted in the island by A. Conze[1] in 1873 revealed the foundations of the original shrine that was constructed in the 6th cent. B.C.; and a central point in these was a deep sacrificial pit into which offerings were let down. The same nether chamber has been found in the Kabeirion near Thebes, which also belonged to the 6th cent. and to which more particular reference will be made below. We discern the architectural provision for a chthonian cult; and we discover something more definite and certain than all that the later literature can teach us concerning the nature of the divinities worshipped: that they were powers of the under world, having fructifying functions, no doubt, and probably associated with the ideas of birth and death and with the world of ghosts. For this reason alone the cult would be fenced with a mystery, as chthonian ritual would be too dangerous to be openly approached.[2] It is to be surmised that these Samothracian powers might originally have been spirits rather than definite and individualized *θεοί*, and that something of the vagueness and indefiniteness of the ghost-world might attach to them; this would account for the vague collective name applied to them, 'the mighty ones,' and also for the bewilderment of the later Greeks concerning the equation of them to their own clear-shaped divinities.

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[1] v. 47.

[2] See, e.g., D. M. Robinson's attempts in *Amer. Journ. Archæol.* xvii. [1913] 363.

[3] *FHG* iii. 154, frag. 27.

[4] See esp. T. Friedrich, *Kabiren und Keilinschriften*, Leipzig, 1894.

[5] ii. 51.

[6] See Strabo, p. 472.

[7] Serv. ad Verg. *Æn.* ii. 325; Strabo, p. 457; Festus, p. 474; Lyk. *Kass.* 78, schol. *ib.* (the sacerdotal title Σαοί might be connected with the Phrygo-Thracian Σάβοι).

Other archæological evidence of importance is forthcoming from the excavations undertaken by Dörpfeld and the German School of Archæology on the site of the Kabeirion near Thebes in 1887. The architectural remains pointed to three periods of the shrine, the earliest building being assigned by Dörpfeld to the 6th or 5th cent. B.C., which would accord with a record in Pausanias[3] that the shrine was violated in the time of the Persian invasion; and some of the objects of religious art found within or near the precincts, bronze-dedications and fragments of vases, are dated to the earlier half of the 5th century.[4] We must suppose, then, a migration of the cult from Samothrace or Lemnos into Bœotia in the 6th cent. B.C. or even earlier;[5] and we cannot assign its introduction to any known fact in the history of colonization and tribal movements. What concerns us chiefly is the question how much light is thrown on the original Samothracian religion by the discoveries on the site of the Theban Kabeirion. In one point at least the ritual of the transplanted cult remained true to the tradition of its home; behind the cellar was dug a double sacrificial pit into which offerings were thrown, the chthonian ritual proper to the powers of the lower world.[6] As regards the personality and form of the divinities, we must turn to the inscriptions and the works of art. Among the latter the most important and striking is a broken vase of the 4th cent., on which appears a group with five inscribed figures;[7] on the right reclines a stately bearded person, half-clad in *ἱμάτιον* and holding out a cup, his name 'Kabiros' appearing above his head; in front of him stands a boy inscribed Παῖς, turning his back on the elder god and drawing wine from a *κρατήρ*; before him, also fronting to the left, is an ugly little dwarf figure clasping his hands below his chin, and preserved only as far as the middle of the body; he bears the singular name of Πρατόλαος, as if he stood for the earliest generation of men on the earth; he is gazing in excited wonder on a group that forms the left extremity of the scene, a male and female personage—only the upper parts of the body are preserved—in loving union and converse, she designated as Κρατεία, he by the enigmatical name Μῖτος. All these are ideal beings of the Kabeiros-circle, not represented, however, directly as objects of worship; on the contrary, the spirit of caricature is marked in the last three. But we might imagine that the vase-painter would keep in touch with the popular belief and the tradition of the rites. His chief figure is Kabeiros *par excellence*, whom he closely assimilates to Dionysos; this would be natural at Thebes; and all the more inevitable if there was lingering a tradition of a Thracian origin of the Samothracian mysteries. The Παῖς represents the boy-minister, the young god whom Mnaseas calls Κάσμιλος, and who was an important and essential figure in the cult, though here he appears in a trivial character; for the numerous inscriptions that have been found, in which the individual worshippers commemorated their association with the shrine, contain the mention of no other divinities save those of Kabeiros and 'the Son.'[1] This evidence outweighs all other; we must assume that in the Bœotian Kabeirion these, the elder and the younger god, were the predominating personages of the religion; and, as no local reason can be discovered for this, we must suppose it to be part of the Samothracian tradition, which we shall find preserved also in the later literary records. But the vase-painter has added two other figures that have the air of divinities, 'Krateia' and 'Mitos.' Naming the goddess 'the mighty one,' he probably intended her for the female counterpart of Kabeiros, the earth-goddess who in Greek lands was individualized and idealized as Demeter-Kore; her figure has something in it of the Kore-type, and her name Krateia reminds us of Πασικράτεια, 'the almighty one,' a *sobriquet* of Kore at Selinus.[2] As to 'Mitos,' the only clue to his name and significance has been found in a passage of Clement of Alexandria, who on good authority mentions *μῖτος* as a hieratic word of the Orphic sacred books, meaning 'seed.'[3] We are tempted, then, to interpret this mysterious figure as the divine nourisher of all life, possibly the procreative god of the earth; but we should be embarrassed in fixing his true relation to the other elder god Kabeiros. As the vase-painter appears to have been a frivolous person with a smattering of Orphic lore, he is not a trusty exponent of genuine Samothracian religion. But his quaint little figure, 'Pratolaos,' may have been suggested by real Kabeiric legend, since, according to a passage in Hippolytus,[4] part of which may be derived from a lost ode of Pindar, it was claimed in both Samothrace and Lemnos that Kabeiros was 'the first man Adam'; it is therefore not unlikely that the mystery teaching included some dogma concerning the origin of man.

Turning now to the literary record, we find it confusing and often contradictory, as we should expect from writers trying to define and Hellenize what was indefinite and alien. For certain historic reasons, especially owing to the relations of Athens to Lemnos, the Lemnian Kabeiroi-rites appear earlier in literature than the Samothracian, having attracted the attention of Æschylus, Pherekydes, and Akousilaos. As the chief god of Lemnos was Hephaistos, we find, as we should expect, that the two last-mentioned historians make much of Hephaistos in their genealogical account of the

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[1] *Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, i. 20, ii. 21.

[2] It has been pointed out that Greek mysteries generally are consecrated to 'chthonian' divinities; cf. *CGS* iii. 132 f.

[3] IX. xxv. 6.

[4] *Athen. Mitth.* xii. [1887] 270.

[5] Pausanias, in his perverse account of the Kabeirion of Thebes, carries it back to pre-historic days (IX. xxv. 7 f.).

[6] *Athen. Mitth.* xiii. [1888] 91, 95.

[7] Figured in *Athen. Mitth.* xiii. [1888], Taf. ix., and Roscher, ii. 2538. See specially O. Kern's art. 'Die boiotischen Kabiren,' in *Hermes*, xxiii. [1890] 1–16.

[1] *CIG* (*Sept.*) i. 2458, 2467, etc.

[2] Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, ii.^{2}, Leipzig, 1901, p. 784 (cf. *CGS* iii. 126).

[3] *Strom.* v. 244 B (E. Abel, *Orphica*, Leipzig, 1885, frag. 253).

[4] *Philosoph.* v. 7, 8 (*PG* xvi. 3127, 3142).

Kabeiroi,[1] and their authority may have influenced Herodotus's view[2] and some later genealogical fictions. Yet, outside Lemnos, the Hellenic smith-god had no affinity with this divine group, though in the later art the Kabeiroi may have borrowed their hammer from him. We cannot, therefore, deduce anything concerning their aboriginal nature from their local *rapprochement* to the Lemnian god. From the literary tangle one fact of some importance for our view of these divine personalities emerges: the more trustworthy records present the Kabeiroi not as a vague plurality like the Korybantes, but either as a trinity or as a duality. The latter view of them is in accord with the evidence of the inscriptions from the Theban Kabeirion, with the later identification of them with the Dioskouroi, and with the statement of Hippolytus[3]—mainly confirmed by Varro—concerning the two ithyphallic statues that stood in the Samothracian shrine uplifting their hands towards heaven; and the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, who summarizes Hellenistic learning on the subject, mentions a current view that the Kabeiroi were originally a group of two—an elder and a younger god whom the learned Hellenist might call Zeus and Dionysos.[4] We may believe that this aspect of them is original; it could not have been a later Hellenic fiction, for it clashed with the prevalent craving to identify them with the Hellenic Twin-brethren, a youthful and coeval couple. The old earth-deities of Samothrace must have been so far clothed with individual personality before entering on their Hellenic career. But those older and later authorities who attest a Samothracian trinity were probably justified; for it is most probable that the earth-power there as in all other Ægean lands had developed a female personality; and the Hellenes, who would in any case have imposed a goddess, probably found one, at least in embryo, already there in the island mystery-cult when they came to know it. We cannot lightly reject the statement of Mnaseas of Patrai (or Patara), an antiquarian of the latter part of the 3rd cent. B.C., merely because this writer appears to have been usually reckless and futile; for, maintaining that the Kabeiroi were a trinity, he actually gives us their names, as above mentioned—Axieros, Axiokersos, and Axiokersa—the last being evidently feminine, the other two being appellatives of the elder and younger god.[5] He would have had no reasonable motive for forging this statement, nor is it likely that he would have forged so well. These names ring genuine, belonging not to Hellenic speech but to some language akin to it, such as Thracian. Another Samothracian cult-name, applied like Axieros or Axiokersos to the young god of the trio, was Κάδμιλος or Κάσμιλος, meaning apparently 'the minister'; and this name alone is sufficient to explain how the story of the wandering Kadmos and Harmonia came to be engrafted on the hieratic legend of the island.

But, if the existence of the female earth-spirit, conceived as earth-mother or earth-bride, within the original Samothracian trio can be accepted as proved, she would seem to have been subordinate to the male principle of divinity. The later historians and antiquarians may have tried to assign to the Phrygian Rhea-Cybele or the Hellenic Demeter a prominent place in the mysteries;[6] but there is no sign that these alien goddesses were able to unseat the old 'mighty ones' who were predominantly male, and who were therefore capable, on this ground at least, of being fused with the Dioskouroi. This comparative subordination of the female power is of importance for our judgment concerning the ethnic origin of the religion. It makes against any theory that would regard this religion as aboriginally Ægean, or derived from pre-Aryan Phrygia or Crete.

The history of the mysteries is part of the secular history of the Mediterranean. We do not know at what early period they had spread offshoots of themselves in Lemnos, Imbros, and the Troad.[1] Towards the close of the maritime empire of Athens, it was becoming not unusual for Athenians to be initiated.[2] Macedonia, perhaps owing to its enthusiasm for Dionysiac worship, was deeply interested in them; and the establishment of Macedonian supremacy gave them a leading position in the Mediterranean. Their connexion with the Troad brought them into relation with the Korybantes and the Phrygian mother at least as early as the 5th cent. B.C.,[3] and, later, evoked the interest and devotion of Rome; the learning of Pergamon, Rome's ally and from of old a 'Kabeiric' region,[4] may have helped to propagate the fiction that the Roman Penates were deities taken originally from Samothrace to Troy by Dardanos and from Troy to Rome. With such patronage the mysteries were able to survive and even flourish throughout the latter days of paganism, and in the 4th cent. A.D. Libanios refers to them as still existing.[5] In the course of so long a period, how much they absorbed of alien elements, what transformation of ritual and what contamination of divine legend they experienced, we cannot determine with detailed precision. At the time of their chief expansion in the 4th cent. B.C., we may be sure that they borrowed much in the way of organization and even of doctrine from the greater mysteries of Eleusis; and it was probably due to Eleusinian influences that the female divinity of the Kabeiroi-group was frequently interpreted as Demeter, who was specially termed Kabeiria in Bœotia.[6]

Less natural and appropriate was the Hellenization of the two male Kabeiroi as the Dioskouroi, an interpretation which ignored the important difference of age between the elder and the younger Samothracian god, and in no way harmonized with their aboriginal chthonian character. There is no proof that it came into vogue before the 3rd cent. B.C.;[7] and it probably arose from the coincidence that the Hellenic Dioskouroi were also called Σωτῆρες in their own right, and from the fact that the ancient visitors to Samothrace, who would be often thankful enough to effect a safe landing on that harbourless island, had come to regard the Kabeiroi no longer as chthonian deities of vegetation, but pre-eminently as saviours from the perils of sea; and this was exactly the function of the Dioskouroi. The 'Samothracian saviours' was a name of divine power for the Ægean mariner;[8] but the later writers of the Roman learned world tended to identify the Kabeiroi-trinity with Jupiter, Minerva, and Mercury;[9] and, in accord with a later trend of philosophic-religious exegesis, to interpret the chief male and female deities as Cœlum and Terra, 'Heaven' and 'Earth.'[10]

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[1] *FHG* i. 71 (Pherekydes, frag. 6).

[2] iii. 37.

[3] *Philosoph.* v. 8 (*PG* xvi. 3142); cf. Serv. ad Verg. *Æn.* iii. 12: 'Varro et alii complures Magnos deos adfirmant simulacra duo virilia, Castoris et Pollucis in Samothracia ante portum sita.'

[4] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 917.

[5] Frag. 27 (*FHG* iii. 154); schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 917.

[6] Dion. Hal. i. 61; Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* xv.; Strabo, p. 198; *CGS* iii. 367, 384

[1] Strabo, p. 473.

[2] Aristoph. *Pax*, 278.

[3] *e.g.*, Pherekydes, frag. 6.

[4] Paus. I. iv. 6: ἣν νέμονται οἱ Περγαμηνοί, Καβείρων ἱερὰν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον; cf. Aristides, ii. p. 709 (Dindorf).

[5] *Pro Aristoph.* (R. Foerster, Leipzig, 1903, ii. 110).

[6] Paus. IX. xxv. 5.

[7] The earliest evidence is the coin-types of Hephaistia and Syros.

[8] We find a κοινὸν Σαμοθρακιαστῶν Σωτηριαστῶν in Rhodes (*Athen. Mitth.* xviii. [1893] 389).

[9] Serv. ad Verg. *Æn.* iii. 264.

[10] *Ib.* iii. 12.

The indefiniteness of the Kabeiroi-trinity opened the way to this confusion in the interpretation and exposed them to the caprices of the later fashion of the *θεοκρασία*.

It remains to be seen what we can gather concerning the purport and ritual of the mysteries. To consider the latter first—the inscriptions and the architectural remains in Samothrace and the vicinity of Thebes supplement the meagre literary evidence. The sacrifice must have been an essential, if not the central, part of the whole rite. And, as has been pointed out, the sacrifice was chthonian; the victim's head may have been held over the pit and its blood shed into it where the powers of the earth would receive it; or the animal may have been thrown alive into the pit; both these forms of service being Hellenic and not specially Kabeiric. As regards the animal chosen, we find on a vase-fragment from the Theban Kabeirion a bull standing near the reclining Kabeiros with worshippers approaching;[1] but this animal might have been suggested by the fusion of Kabeiros with the Theban Dionysos to whom it properly belongs. In the great mysteries of Andania consecrated to Demeter and Kore, where the Kabeiroi under the name of *μεγάλοι θεοί* had gained a footing, young sows were offered to the latter.[2] Finally, a ram-sacrifice of a peculiar and mystic type may have been part of the Samothracian tradition.[3] But we do not know that the idea of the god's incarnation in the victim, which might transform the sacrificial meal into a sacramental communion, was vividly present in the Samothracian ritual. Nor can we discover there any clear indication of that other idea, sometimes linked with the sacramental and so momentous in the mystery-cults of the Mediterranean area, of the periodic death and resurrection of the deity. Lenormant has indeed drawn this conclusion from certain late and doubtful records and still more doubtful monuments.[4] Clement of Alexandria[5] narrates the legend of the murder of one of the Korybantes by his brethren, and seems to assert that this story was transferred to the Kabeiroi, which is not improbable in view of the general confusion in later literature between Kabeiroi, Korybantes, and Kouretes (see art. KOURETES AND KORYBANTES); but Clement does not clearly state that it ever entered as a motive into the sacred drama of the Καβειρικὴ τελετή. The other authority is Firmicus Maternus,[6] who also narrates the murder of Korybas, and then adds: 'This is the Kabeiros to whom the men of Thessalonike used to offer prayers with blood-stained hands.' If there is anything real behind this, we may surmise that the worship of Kabeiros, which we know was prevalent in this Macedonian State, had attracted to itself the actual legend of the murdered and dismembered Dionysos, which was rife in those regions. It would be hazardous to assert that this was an original Kabeiric myth; the old Samothracian religion, being less personal and anthropomorphic than the Hellenic, may not have evolved any mythology of its own.

But the sacramental idea might have been expressed in the Samothracian ritual in other forms than communion with the blood of the divinity. In the Eleusinian mystery the administration of the *κυκεών*—the cereal drink sanctified by the goddess herself and offered by the priest to each of the *μύσται*—may be called a sacrament; and the Eleusinian service must have influenced the later Samothracian at many points. An inscription in Bucharest referring to the Kabeiroi-mysteries, if we accept an attractive restoration, may indicate the mystic ritual of the administration of holy bread and drink to the *μύσται* by the priest; enough at least is preserved to reveal the importance of the sacramental cup.[1]

Such rites of power always enhance the mystic *éclat* of the priesthood; and it is not improbable that the priests themselves took the names of the 'great gods' and were called Kabeiroi; for this would explain the inconsequent opinion that prevailed in some learned circles of later antiquity that the Kabeiroi, although the name obviously designated high gods, were only *πρόπολοι*, the ministers of these, like the Korybantes or the Kouretes.[2] One of the most important functions of the priest was the scrutiny of the catechumens, so as to decide if they were ceremonially 'pure' and therefore suitable for admission. In the ancient ritual-code the gravest impurity was bloodshed; and we hear of a Kabeiric official called *Κοίης* or *Κόης*, whose function was the purification of homicides.[3] A text of Livy[4] reveals to us a temple-council or synod, in which the chief magistrate was called *βασιλεύς*, who tried cases of homicide to decide whether the pollution was too great for the temple to offer them asylum; for the rights of asylum were rigidly respected in Samothrace and might be abused. The powers of the lower world, to whom the *μύσται* were consecrated by wearing a purple band round their waists[5]—purple being a 'chthonian' colour—were specially sensitive about bloodshed.

A special form of purification, unrecorded elsewhere in the ancient Mediterranean world but in vogue in Samothrace, is the confessional; and the record that attests it contains also the first reprobation of it by the spirit of Protestantism: the haughty Lysander refused to confess to mortal man, when the priest of the Kabeiroi asked him what was the greatest sin that he had committed.[6]

As regards the actual *δρώμενα*, or sacred action whereby the initiation was consummated, we have less evidence about the Samothracian than we have concerning the Eleusinian mysteries. There was a distinction here, as at Eleusis, between the catechumens and the fully initiate, the latter being called *μύσται εὐσεβεῖς*, as possessing a peculiar piety, or, as at Eleusis, *ἐπόπται*,[7] and this term implies that the central act of the mystery was the revelation of certain sacred things or shows to their eyes. The show might have included a solemn dance; for we have a literary reference to the religious dancing of the 'pious Samothracians,'[8] and a relief found by Conze near the sanctuary showed a dance of nymphs.[9] The dancing may have been dramatic or mimetic; if so, it is useless to try to guess at its purport; we have no records that the most credulous could believe, nor can we point to any hieratic legend that is genuinely Samothracian; we know far less about Samothrace, which was perhaps never wholly Hellenized, than about Eleusis, and it is merely futile to recount the various legends, Cretan, Phrygian, Theban, that the later learning of the Hellenistic world tried to implant on this mysterious island. Only one record deserves some passing attention. The scholiast on Euripides, quoting from Ephoros, after giving the useless story that Kadmos carried off Harmonia from Samothrace, adds words of greater importance: 'and even now in their festivals (ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς) in Samothrace they make search for Harmonia.'[1] We know that the quest for the vanished deity of vegetation was part of an agrarian ritual in Greece; and Ephoros might have been referring to some purely country-pageant of the island, whether Hellenic or autochthonous. But, if we regard it as more probable that his vague phrases refer to the sacred drama of the mysteries themselves—the probability being strong *a priori* that they had one—then we can draw some interesting conclusions: Harmonia was a Hellenic divine name attracted to Samothrace, because she was attached to Kadmos, and Kadmos was attracted there because Thebes had ancient communication with the island, and the native Kasmilos or Kadmilos was identified with their Kadmos. Now, if Kasmilos in the mysteries carried off the earth-goddess, if there was the semblance of an abduction followed by a sorrowful search for the lost one, the Greek μύσται, misled by the name Kadmilos, would interpret the Samothracian earth-bride as Harmonia, and the story of Kadmos carrying off his bride from Samothrace would be explained. If all this were certain, we should not feel convinced that this holy drama was autochthonous Samothracian; it is so like to what happened and was performed at Eleusis that we might naturally ascribe it to the reorganization under Eleusinian influences that the Kabeiroi-mysteries underwent at the time when they were becoming pan-Hellenic.

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[1] *Athen. Mitth.* xiii. [1888] 421.

[2] *CGS* iii. 208, ref. 246.

[3] The evidence consists of certain monuments of which the religious interpretation is doubtful (cf. G. Rodenwaldt, *Jahrb. des arch. Inst.* xxviii. [1913] 327), and a Pergamene inscription mentioning a *κριοβολία*, which may have some connexion with the initiation of the *ἔφηβοι* in the mysteries of the *μεγάλοι θεοὶ Κάβειροι* mentioned earlier in the inscription (*Athen. Mitth.* xxix. [1904] 152).

[4] Daremberg-Saglio, i. 770 f.

[5] *Protrept.* ii. (*PG* viii. 81).

[6] *de Errore*, 11.

[1] *Arch. Ep. Mitth.* vi. [1882] 8, no. 14: [Ἀπατου]ρεῶνος ἑβδόμῃ *παρ[έξει τὸ πέμμ]α σχίξας καὶ ἐγχέει [τὸ ποτὸν ταῖ]ς μύσταις]* (Hirschfeld's restoration).

[2] Strabo, p. 472 f.

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* Κοίης: *ἱερεὺς Καβείρων, ὁ καθαίρων φονέας.* Robinson (*Arch. Inst. Amer.* xvii. [1913] 363) compares the *καύεις*, the priestess mentioned in the newly discovered inscription of Sardis.

[4] xlv. 5.

[5] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 917.

[6] Plut. *Apophtheg. Lacon.*, p. 229 D–E.

[7] Kern, in *Athen. Mitth.* xviii. [1893] 363–365; Conze, *Untersuchungen*, Taf. lxxi.

[8] Statius, *Achill.* I. ii. 157.

[9] *Op. cit.* xii. 1, 2.

On the same analogies we must suppose that besides a sacred drama there was some ἱερὸς λόγος in them, some exegesis, accompanied probably with exhortation. And on *a priori* grounds we should believe that this would be connected with the doctrine of a future life and the promise of future happiness; for we could hardly understand how the Samothracian could compete so successfully throughout the later period of paganism with the other influential mystery-initiations, such as the Eleusinian, the Bacchic, the Phrygian, and the Egyptian, if it proffered to its μύσται no such message of posthumous salvation as the others proclaimed. Moreover, the Kabeiroi, like the Eleusinian deities, were powers of the shadowy world, the ghost-realm; and the Greek mind would be sure to conclude that mystic communion with them would affect the lot of the departed spirit. Hence we may explain the growth of the legend that it was Demeter herself, the goddess who held the key of the Eleusinian Paradise, who instituted the Kabeiric rites. The belief in posthumous rewards and punishments may have a moralizing effect on conduct; and it is specially attested of the Samothracian mysteries, and of these alone, that 'those who had partaken in these mysteries became more pious and more just, and in every respect better than their past selves.'[2]

A more intimate and more certain knowledge about these rites and the genuine Samothracian religion will perhaps never be attained. The evidence which has been used above is mainly indirect, incomplete, and vague. The Greeks themselves were confused in their view of these divinities, who for the meagreness of their legend and the dimness of their personality resemble more the Roman *numina*, such as the Penates, than the clear Olympian figures of Hellas.

LITERATURE.—C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, 1829, ii. 1109–1348 (collection and criticism of literary records); Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Cabiri' (F. Lenormant, often untrustworthy); L. Bloch, art. 'Megaloi Theoi,' in Roscher, ii. 2522 ff.; O. Rubensohn, *Die Mysterienheiligtümer in Eleusis und Samothrace*, Berlin, 1892; A. Conze, *Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Vienna, 1875; L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 847–864.

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

KABĪR, KABĪRPANTHĪS.—**1. Life of Kabīr.**—Kabīr, an Indian teacher and religious reformer, flourished in N. India about A.D. 1440 to 1518. His origin is uncertain, and is the subject of various legends current among his followers. According to one account, his mother was a virgin widow, the daughter of a Brāhman. She accompanied her father, who was a follower of Rāmānand, the great teacher of S. India, on a visit to the spiritual guide. Rāmānand, while blessing her, offered her the usual wish that she might conceive a son, not knowing her state of widowhood. The sequel is variously reported. It was impossible to recall the blessing; but, while one version states that the mother abandoned the child to escape disgrace, another relates that Rāmānand contrived that the child should be miraculously born from his mother's hand. All stories agree that the child was brought up by a weaver named Nīrū and his wife Nīmā. The Kabīrpanthīs, or followers of Kabīr, assert that the infant was an incarnation found by Nīmā floating on a lotus in a tank near Benares. Similar legends are current regarding Kabīr's wife (Loi), son (Kamāl), and daughter (Kamāliya), all of whom are said to have had a miraculous birth. Throughout his life Kabīr preached and worked as a weaver in the neighbourhood of Benares. Owing to his teachings he was an object of dislike both to Hindus and to Muhammadans, and it is said that he was denounced to Sikandar Lodī, king of Delhi, as laying claim to divine attributes, but escaped by his ready tongue. The Brāhmans decried him as an associate with a woman of ill-fame and with Rae Dās, another religious teacher who was a Chamār, or leather-worker, despised for his low position. Kabīr died at Maghar near Gorakhpur, and a dispute at once arose as to the disposal of his remains, which were claimed by both Hindus and Muhammadans, the former desiring to cremate and the latter to bury them. While they wrangled, Kabīr himself appeared and bade them raise the cloth which covered the corpse. When this was done, it was found that the body had vanished, but a heap of flowers occupied its place. Half of these were burnt after the Hindu custom at a spot now known as Kabīr Chaura in Benares, and the rest were buried at Maghar, which became the headquarters of the Muhammadan portion of the sect. A tomb was built there which was subsequently repaired about 1567 by a Muhammadan officer of the Mughal army.

2. Influence and doctrine.—In the religious history of India, Kabīr occupies a place of great importance. He was almost certainly a disciple of Rāmānand, and thus belongs to the Vaiṣṇava school of thought. His teaching was the first important introduction of these tenets in N. India. But he was also conspicuous as the earliest thinker who tried to affect both Hindus and Muhammadans. And, while his followers are still numerous,[1] the effects of his teaching are rendered still more important by the fact that it was one of the main sources drawn on by Nānak Shāh, the founder of the Sikh religion. In explanation of Kabīr's constant references to Islām, J. Malcolm (*Asiat. Researches*, xi. [1810] 267) described him as a Muhammadan and a Ṣūfī—statements which were hotly contested by H. H. Wilson (*Religious Sects*

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[1] *Phœniss.* 7.

[2] Diod. Sic. v. 49.

[1] At the census of 1901 the number returned was 843,171 in the Central Provinces, United Provinces, Central India, and Bombay. The number is certainly understated.

of the Hindus, London, 1861, p. 69, note). G. H. Westcott of Lucknow, the most recent writer on the sect, is of opinion that Kabīr was certainly a Muhammadan, and that he had at least some knowledge of Ṣūfī teaching (*Kabir and the Kabir Panth*, p. 37). Kabīr rejected entirely all the outward signs of Hinduism, as has been done in so many movements of reform. He acknowledged no caste distinctions, saw no virtue in asceticism, fasting, and almsgiving, and despised the six schools of Hindu philosophy. As an unlettered man of low origin, he probably had no deep acquaintance with the last. The Hindu theogony was ruthlessly condemned. Belief in a Supreme Being is the foundation of the teaching; but, although the name of Rām is used, it is clear throughout that the incarnation of Viṣṇu is not meant. Salvation is to be gained, not by acquisition of knowledge or by good works, but by faith (*bhakti* [cf. art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA]).

In its essence the teaching is thus another instance of the revolt of simple minds against the deadening weight of ritual, mystery, and confusing complications of thought with which Brāhmanism and Islām are overlaid. If God had desired circumcision, He would have sent men circumcised into the world. If by circumcision a man becomes a Muhammadan, what is to happen to women? Of what benefit is cleaning your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablution, and bowing in temples, when, while you mutter your prayers, or journey to Mecca and Medina, deceitfulness is in your heart? If by wearing a sacred thread a man becomes a Brāhman, what do women wear? The God of all religions is the same. To 'Alī and Rām we owe our existence, and should therefore show similar tenderness to all that live. The city of Hara (another name of Rām) is to the east, and that of 'Alī to the west; but explore your own hearts, for there are both Rām and Karīm (a name of God). The worship of many gods is wrong. *Māyā* ('delusion'; see art. MĀYĀ) created them, and, as they have sprung from sin, so are they the cause of sin in others. In the search for God a guide is necessary, who has himself learned to know God. And a teacher should not be accepted, as the Brāhman is by the Hindu, without being tested. When the master is blind, what is to become of the scholar? When the blind leads the blind, both will fall into the well. Yet the master is helpless when the scholar is unapt. It is blowing through a bamboo to teach wisdom to the dull. The scriptures are of value, but must not be rated too highly.

Most important in the positive doctrines of Kabīr is that of *Śabda*, the Word, and this teaching is one of the most striking of the many parallels between Christianity and the preaching of Kabīr. In orthodox Hindu thought knowledge can be attained by perception and inference. The Vaiṣṇava teachers added *Śabda*, which includes both divine inspiration and the word of the teacher. There are many words, and there is a great difference between them. Accept the true Word. If man wishes to know the truth, let him investigate the Word. Without finding the gateway of the Word, man will ever be astray. Without the Word the *Śāstras* are blind. There are many words, but take the pith of them. Kabīr says, 'I am a lover of the Word which has shown me the unseen (God).' It would appear probable that Kabīr did not recognize a distinct heaven and hell, but regarded these names as symbolic of happiness and misery in this world. Transmigration was certainly a feature in his doctrine. Modern Kabīrpanthīs, however, believe that the soul enters heaven or hell between successive periods of re-birth.

Kabīr's teaching was purely oral, and throughout N. India thousands of rhyming couplets are current which are ascribed to him. In addition, he and his successors are responsible for a large number of hymns, odes, and doctrinal or argumentative poems. These have been collected, and a few have been published. Wilson gives a list of 20 works included in the *Khās Grantha*, or Book *par excellence*, at Kabīr Chaura, but Westcott has obtained references to 82 in addition to eight of those mentioned by Wilson. The great majority are still in manuscript only. It is probable that the first collection of Kabīr's sayings was not compiled earlier than 50 years after his death. Of most authority is the *Bījak* (literally 'invoice- or account-book'), which has been printed with commentaries. It was compiled by Bhago Dās, one of Kabīr's immediate disciples, and contains specimens of the various classes of poems referred to above. A number of sayings attributed to Kabīr are included in the *Adi Granth* of the Sikhs (tr. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vi. 142–316).

3. The Kabīrpanthīs.—The community has not escaped sectarian division. As already mentioned, Maghar is the headquarters of the Muhammadan followers of Kabīr, who keep aloof from the Hindus. The latter recognize two main divisions. The Hindu shrine at Maghar is only a branch of the main establishment at Benares, and one version dates the appointment of the first Hindu *mahant* ('religious superior') at Maghar in 1764. But a second establishment exists in Chattīsgarh in the Central Provinces, founded by Dharm Dās, a Bania who is said to have been rebuked for idolatry by Kabīr himself. As in the case of so many reforming movements in Hinduism, there is a tendency to relapse into ritualism and exclusiveness. Though Kabīr preached against caste, the modern Kabīrpanthīs prefer that members of the unclean castes should join other sects, and should not wear the rosary of wooden beads which marks their own members. Members of the twice-born castes in addition wear the *janeo*, or sacred thread, of the Hindus. A woman may also wear the rosary, but not before marriage, and she may not become a disciple of her husband's spiritual guide, for disciples of the same teacher are regarded as brother and sister. An elaborate ceremony of initiation is performed, which includes the consumption of water used for washing the feet of the head *mahant*, representing the master, and a betel leaf. On the latter the secret name of God is inscribed with dew. It is called the *parwāṇa*, or passport, and is said to represent the body of Kabīr. An important feature in the ceremony is the communication of a secret *mantra*, or text. In the Dharm Dās section there are several *mantras*, and the ceremonies of initiation differ in a number of details. Every Sunday and on the last day of the lunar month a fast is observed, followed in the evening by a religious meal, at which a service is read, and an address delivered by a *mahant*, while hymns are also sung. A later ceremony follows, of even greater solemnity, and resembling the Communion service in Christianity. When *in extremis*, the dying receive the holy water and betel leaf described in connexion with initiations. Monastic life is encouraged, and women may be admitted to the order, if found qualified, after a probation of two years. They are usually widows or the wives of men who have joined the order. Branches of the community are ministered to by *mahants* who receive authority from the head *mahant*. As a rule, at present the *mahants* are not men of great learning, though some are acquainted with Tulasi Dās's *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavad-gītā*.

Literature.—The best account of the sect is contained in G. H. Westcott, *Kabir and the Kabir Panth*, Cawnpore, 1907, which includes a bibliography. A curious comparison between the teaching of Kabīr and Christianity was made by Pandit Wālji Bechar, a pastor of the Irish Presbyterian Church in the Kaira district, Gujarāt. His conclusions were published in a book called *Kabīr Charitra* (Gujarāti), Surat, 1881. Reference must also be made to H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, i. 68–98, and especially to M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, vi. 122–316. For a brief summary, see also R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism*, etc. (*GIAP* iii. 6), Strassburg, 1913, pp. 67–73.

R. Burn.

KACHARIS.—See Bodos.

KĀCHHĪ.—An important agricultural tribe in N. India, an offshoot of the Kurmī. At the Census of 1911 they numbered 1,304.296, the majority of whom are found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Central India, and the Central Provinces. Their name is usually derived from Skr. *kakṣa*, 'flank,' 'enclosure,' or *karṣa*, 'furrow'; but they claim connexion with the Kachhwāhā sept of Rājputs, who assert totemic association with the tortoise (*kachchhapa*). The Kāchhī are among the best agriculturists in N. India, specially devoting themselves to the growth of the more valuable crops, such as vegetables, sugar-cane, and opium. Practically all are Hindus; and, if they can be said to belong to any sect, they prefer the Sākta, and worship the goddess Durgā Devī, more especially in her form as Sītalā, the smallpox goddess, whom they propitiate in March–April and June–July with offerings of cakes, sweetmeats, and money, which are received by the *kumhār*, or potter-priest, who attends her shrine. Except when they make pilgrimages to the shrines of the greater gods, they pay little regard to the orthodox deities of the Hindu pantheon, and devote themselves to the cult of the group of minor local gods, who are supposed to protect them from trouble and cause the increase of their crops. Such in the United Provinces are Nāgarsen, one of the deities controlling disease; Chāmar, who, if he be not propitiated with gifts of sweetmeats, incense, and red lead at the Holī and Divālī festivals, stops the milk of cows and buffaloes; Lāl Maṇi, 'red jewel,' the household god, to whom cakes and sweetmeats are dedicated and subsequently eaten by the worshipper and his family; and Bhūmiyā, god of the soil, who is patron of the village and its people, the male partner of Dhartī Mātā, Mother Earth. The malevolent deity most feared is Bisārī, 'the poisonous one' (Skr. *viṣa*, 'poison'), who brings ophthalmia on those who neglect her worship. It is believed that her priest can bring this disease on sinners by lighting a fire and throwing hot coals on her image. When a person is afflicted in this way, he lays aside seven cowrie-shells, a piece of turmeric, and some charcoal, as a mark of his vow to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of the goddess at Sankisa in the Farrukhābād District, United Provinces. The presentation of a silver coin here ensures immunity from the disease. People who are too poor to undertake this journey endeavour to appease the angry goddess by going a mile or so in the direction of her temple, and making an offering in a field which must be beyond the boundary of the village in which they live. With this cult of the minor gods is combined that of local Muhammadan saints like Madār Sāhib of Makanpur, or that at the tomb of some martyr of the faith, as Shahīd or Sayyid Mard. Among the Kāchhī of the Deccan there are indications of a form of totemism in the regard paid at marriages to the guardian (*devak*) of the union, which usually consists of an axe and leaves of four species of the sacred fig-tree and mango, which are tied to a post in the marriage halls at the houses of both bride and bridegroom.

Literature.—For the United Provinces: W. Crooke, *TC*, 1896, iii. 81; for the Devak of the Deccan: *BG* xviii. (1885) pt. i. p. 283; J. M. Campbell, *Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom*, Bombay, 1885, p. 8 ff.; J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, ii. 276 ff.

W. Crooke.

KACHINS.—See Burma.

KAFIRS.—See Bantu.

KĀFIRISTĀN.—Kāfiristān, or 'the land of the infidel,' almost certainly is no longer correctly described by that epithet. Since it was visited by the present writer, who left the country in 1891, the Amir of Kabul is believed effectually to have conquered every one of its numerous tribes who were continuously engaged in internecine fighting. No doubt among the old people the ancient gods are worshipped secretly still; but the former picturesque ceremonial, the dancing, the feasting, the oratorical invocation of favourite deities, must have given place now to the austere rites of the religion of Islām, the self-righteousness, and the dignified authority of its priests. Fanaticism will be prevalent among the younger men, taken away, many of them, as boys to Kabul and returned as zealots of the new faith, and also among the ordinary rank and file of the converts, for naturally it is among the most recent recruits of any religion that, on the average, the highest enthusiasm prevails. There is little probability that the Kāfirs will ever lapse back to paganism. Muhammadanism has a singular attraction for Orientals, and, once accepted by a people, it rarely seems to lose its hold upon their consciences or its insistent influence upon their outlook upon life, their manners, and their ways of thought.

This country, Kāfiristān, is pressed in between Afghanistān and Chitrāl, Badakhshan and the Kunar Valley. More exactly it is situated between latitude 34° 30′ and latitude 36°, and from about longitude 70° to longitude 71° 30′. It is one of the most difficult and intricate mountain places of the world, harsh, inhospitable, and full of peril, both from the physical dangers of crag, precipice, and howling torrent, and because of its superfluity of lurking-places for robbers and assassins, in the great sombre forests or the menacing defiles; every big rock, wall, bush, and ruin has to be watched suspiciously by the traveller and approached with wariness. The total extent of this isolated country, for long centuries an impregnable island of paganism, washed on all sides by an implacable sea of Muhammadanism, is probably not more than 5000 square miles. Nothing authoritatively definite is known about the history of the inhabitants. Obviously they are the descendants of many broken peoples. Probably the upper and better featured classes represent, in the main, certain ancient colonists of Eastern Afghanistān, tinctured very likely with Greek blood, who, refusing to accept Islām in the 10th cent., were hurtled out by the fervid missionary swordsmen from pleasant cultivated lands into the blank and hopeless mountain country, where they fell upon more or less aboriginal folk, still represented, it would seem, in at least one desolate high valley, whom they conquered and slew or enslaved.

Qualitative analysis of the Kāfir tribes, especially of those of the border valleys, is out of the question; fine-shaped heads, fair skins, wise brows, are found almost exclusively among the chief and most powerful families of sept or tribe, but often even here there are to be found also the sloping forehead, the restless eye, the coarse features, the dark colouring of the slave, or, again, the strange bird-like profile of the wild and fierce nondescript degenerate. Sometimes in the same family in the

Bashgul Valley one perceives the oddest differences between the children—a result no doubt of the indifferent selection of polygamous wives and the prevailing moral sexual laxity. The slow and heavy-featured clansmen of a remote valley, particularly difficult of access, seem curiously like one another in form and feature; that, however, may be merely the common illusion of a hurried traveller, who is apt to identify the type while ignoring its variations. Usually the chief men and the priests are Aryan-looking, sometimes remarkably so; and it may be added, with something approaching to certainty, that such a type never reveals itself among the poorer tribesmen or among the artisan, the field, or the domestic slaves. Difficult as it is to generalize concerning a congeries of peoples such as constitute the Kāfirs of to-day, especially those living near the Eastern borders of the country, it may be stated broadly that in character they all display a curious lack of simplicity. With remarkable powers of secrecy and tenacity, they can persevere remorselessly in an intrigue or a plot decided upon many years previously. Possibly their most prominent general peculiarities are an inordinate cupidity, an easily aroused fierceness of jealousy, and a capacity for bitter, suicidal, inter-tribal hatred. They are ever ready to starve themselves for the sake of hoarding. Blackmailing they look upon as a virtue: it shows ability and forcefulness. A belief in the value of vague or pointed threats is deeply engrained in their nature. A head-man, whose little son lay very ill, once declared with a menacing gesture against heaven that, if the child died, he would turn Musalmān. No one dreamt of accusing him of blasphemy; he was applauded for his wisdom and energy. Kāfirs are untruthful. A plausible lie passes as the proof of a sagacious intellectual man. Obviously they hold the belief, common to so many wild people, that the truth merely because it is the truth must be harmful to a man. They are boastful and fond of admiration, which, added to a justifiable fear of the physical power of majorities, gives a remarkable sanction to public opinion. Kāfirs have no fear of dying, although they cannot comprehend anyone committing suicide. Melancholy is unknown. They have a really wonderful sense of personal dignity; at all the religious festivals and sacrifices they strike the observer as equally cheerful and self-respecting. In his own way a Kāfir is a model of politeness. At once and gracefully he yields precedence to a superior and unaffectedly takes his own proper position. In spite of his avarice, which at times amounts almost to a disease, he is very hospitable. However grudgingly he may be so, he dare not disobey the unalterable laws on this subject. Family affection is not very strong. Some of the tribes are in the habit of selling little girls, sometimes even children nearly related to them, but as a rule it is the female offspring of their slaves that they dispose of in this way. Boys are rarely, if ever, thus treated. Nevertheless, Kāfirs are kindly in family relationship. A man is fond of his old parents; his delight in a son is remarkable. They are never rough or cruel to animals. There is no special fondness shown for dogs, which are employed mainly for hunting and as house-guards. Goats are treated as domestic pets; but no reluctance is ever shown to kill them for food. Bulls and cows, accustomed to be handled gently, do not require to be bound when sacrificed. One man takes the animal by the horns, gently depressing the head, while a second, with the stroke of an axe, divides the cervical spine. Kāfirs are wonderfully brave. In little parties of two or three they penetrate stealthily into hostile villages many miles beyond their own frontier. They stab the victims right and left as they sleep, and cut off ears as trophies and as certificates of actual deeds; then they race back to their own deep forests with a hue and cry of the whole countryside after them. They are splendidly loyal to one another, and habitually perform high acts of self-sacrifice for comrades in war. They are intensely quarrelsome among themselves. It is a sign of virility to take up a quarrel at the instant. But, if quarrelling is a manly virtue, peace-making is very sacred. Men, boys, and even dogs are separated at the first indication of a probable fight. Any one who will not help in stopping a village row at any moment is looked upon as unworthy. Nothing resembling religious intolerance exists. The men are extremely sociable, many possessing a sense of quiet humour. Their badinage with women is, of course, obscene to our way of thinking, and their jokes have much of the same nature, but they are highly amused at ironical remarks, and also at even the mildest attempt at repartee. It is as natural for a Kāfir to thieve as it is for him to watch his flocks and herds. It is, in short, the business of his life. Little children are trained and encouraged to steal. The killing of an individual, merely as a human being, is looked upon as a trivial affair except as the basis for boasting and vainglory, unless indeed the slain man happened to belong to the slayer's tribe, when grave trouble, heavy compensation, or even the driving out of the murderer into an outcasts' village of refuge would certainly follow. In the case also of the victim being a member of a neighbouring tribe, friendly at the time, serious complications and difficulties would follow. In the opinion of an average tribesman, a fine, manly character, essentially a 'good' man, must be a successful homicide. He must also be an active hill climber, one always ready to take up a quarrel, and known to be of an amorous disposition. If, besides possessing these popular qualities, he is an agile and untiring dancer at religious festivals, a sure shot with bow and arrows or with the matchlock, and a sound quoit player, he combines most of the characteristics of a really admirable person; but even with all these advantages he will possess no real influence in his tribe unless he either is wealthy himself or belongs to a family rich in flocks or herds.

The Kāfir religion is a debased form of idolatry, with a certain admixture of ancestor-worship and perhaps traces of fire-worship also. Gods and goddesses are many in number, and in different villages and among different tribes hold varying positions in local estimation. Imra, the Creator, Moni (commonly spoken of as 'the Prophet'), Gish (the war-god), Bagisht, Dizane, Krumai, and Nirmali are highly esteemed and popular everywhere. It is nearly certain that the same god, goddess, or inferior deity is called by a different name by different tribes, but, even allowing for this, there are many of the godlings who must be entirely disregarded except in particular villages. The difficulty in getting information from the Kāfirs about their beliefs is extreme, although they are more inclined to open their hearts on such subjects to a Christian than to a Muhammadan, for they consider that a Christian is in some sense a relation because he also is always called opprobriously a Kāfir by the Musalmān priests. A further difficulty is this—the people know seemingly little with anything like precision about their own theology. An inquirer is constantly referred from one old man to another without final benefit. When it does not bore him, cross-examination, if at all prolonged or minute, puts a Kāfir to sleep, or he jumps up and not infrequently rushes from his questioner. Probably as a result of mixing on the frontiers of their country with their Musalmān neighbours, when at peace, and hearing their religion scorned, the Kāfirs, at any rate the younger portion, are inclined to treat it cynically and with scepticism. Frequently two or three waggish youths will burlesque the ceremonies of their faith. But everywhere the war-god Gīsh is popular and respected, and in his worship at least there is remarkable sincerity, even among the light-hearted younger men. The older people, though undoubtedly devout, seem to abandon their faith without very poignant regret. In the inner valleys of Presungel the atmosphere is more distinctly religious. Devils' villages are continually met with. Old water-courses, long fallen to ruin, are universally believed to have been constructed by god or goddess. Deep imprints of divine or dæmonic hands are shown on many a rock face. There, jealously guarded, is an iron pillar thrust in the ground by Imra himself, and likewise a sacred hole to look down which is certain death. Fertile lands consecrated to the Creator lie untouched by the plough, and the most famous temple in Kāfiristān, also dedicated to Imra, is to be found in this valley.

In Kāfir theology there is both a heaven and a hell. The universe is divided into Urdesh, the upper world, the abode of the gods, Michdesh, the earth, and Yurdesh, the region under the earth; but both heaven and hell are in Yurdesh, which is reached through a great pit guarded at its mouth by Maramalik, a custodian created for that purpose by Imra. Once passed into Yurdesh, no one ever returns to the upper world. At death a man's breath, his soul—the word *shon* has the double meaning—enters and becomes at once a vague shadowy form, such as we see in dreams. The elect wander about as shades in a paradise in Yurdesh termed Bisht, while the wicked are always burning in fire. Worship consists in behaving in a dignified and cheerful manner at the sacrifices of animals, looked upon obviously as an entertainment, in dancing, in the singing of hymns, and in invocations to the gods. Fairies as well as deities have to be propitiated by offerings. The most common form of profane swearing is 'May the curse of Imra strike you!' Besides gods and goddesses and inferior godlings, one hears much of demons, the chief of whom is Yūsh. The high priest of one of the Eastern tribes gave the present writer the following information:

Imra is the Creator of all things in heaven and earth. By the breath of his mouth he endowed with life his 'prophets' Moni, Gīsh, Sataram, and the rest; but Dizane (a goddess) sprang into existence from his right breast. Bagisht alone among them all was born after the manner of men. In addition, Imra also created seven daughters whose special province it is to watch over agriculture. As the time for sowing approaches goats are sacrificed in their honour. The fairies and the demons were created by Imra, but the latter gave so much trouble to the whole world that Moni with divine permission nearly exterminated them.

Most of the religious stories, told by this high authority and others, were bald, lengthy, and inconsequential, and of interest merely as showing the mental position at which the Kāfirs had arrived—horses with swords concealed in their ears, women created out of golden goatskin churns, the removal of the sun and the moon from the sky and their concealment for a time in the interior of a mountain, and so on. There were narratives of a sacred tree whose branches were seven families of brothers, each seven in number, while the trunk was Dizane and the roots Nirmali, another goddess. And there were narratives of Bābā Ādam and his wife, who with their forty children once upon a time in Kashmir were all sleeping in pairs, and when they awoke in the morning no single couple understood the language of any other couple. Imra then ordered them to set forth and populate the whole world. With unfeigned reluctance, since everybody loves the country of Kashmir, they obeyed the divine order. Monstrous snakes, it seems, once existed: they were attacked and slain by a mighty god; the blood of one of these fabulous reptiles forms a tarn pointed out to the traveller to the present day. Imra is sacrificed to frequently, but not more so than several other gods. At the religious festivals and funeral dances he receives three rounds of stamping and shuffling by the quaintly dressed performers, but without any of the enthusiasm which is infused into the exercises in honour of Gīsh, or the comicality of step and posturing which is necessary to please the goddess Krumai. Every village has its temples. These are also to be found on the roadside far away from any dwelling-houses. Usually these temples or shrines are small, mostly about 5 ft. square, and perhaps 6 ft. high. The lower two-thirds consist of rubble masonry built between frames of axe-squared timbers. The top is almost entirely of wood with small windows in front, through which the idol or sacred stone can be seen. They are very often ornamented with poles at the corners, upon which are hung fragments of iron resembling tongueless bells, iron scull-pieces, and other trophies placed there in memory of some successful raid. Occasionally a shrine is elaborately and prettily carved. Gīsh, the war-god, is the most devoutly admired of all the pantheon. To liken a Kāfir to Gīsh is to pay him the highest possible compliment, while nothing can be in better taste than to call a woman 'Gīsh Istri,' *i.e.* 'the wife of Gīsh.' Gīsh killed fabulous numbers of enemies—Hazrat 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, in short, every famous Musalmān the Kāfirs ever heard of. Some Kāfirs even say that Gīsh's earthly name was Yazīd. The most popular of the goddesses is Dizane. Any one having a son born to him in the preceding year offers a goat in sacrifice on the goddess's annual festival day. Dizane protects the growing wheat crop; Nirmali, the Kāfir Lucina, takes care of lying-in women and watches over children. The special retreats for women are under her peculiar protection. Krumai is a popular goddess; she lives high up on the great snow mountains, but is chiefly remarkable by reason of the comical dance in her honour, which invariably ends the performances at the regular ceremonies after each of the chief gods has been danced to in turn.

LITERATURE.—H. W. Bellew, *Afghanistan and the Afghans*, London, 1879; A. H. MacMahon, *The Southern Borders of Afghanistan*, do. 1897; G. S. Robertson, *The Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush*, do. 1896; C. E. Tate, *Northern Afghanistan*, Edinburgh, 1888.

GEORGE SCOTT ROBERTSON.

KAHĀR (Skr. *skandhakāra*, 'one who carries loads on his shoulders').—A tribe of litter-bearers, cultivators, and labourers. At the Census of 1911 they numbered 1,838,698. In Bengal those who profess to be orthodox Hindus generally worship Siva and the *śakti*, or female element, the proportion of Vaiṣṇavas being very small.

'Members of the Rawáni sub-caste observe a peculiar worship in honour of Ganesa on the seventh day of the waxing moon of Kártik (October–November), when, accompanied by Brahmans, they proceed to a wood and make offerings of vegetables, fruits, and sweetmeats under an *ámlá* tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*), but never sacrifice any animal. A feast is then given to the Brahmans, after which the Kahárs dine and drink spirits to excess. The entertainment of Brahmans on this day is accounted as meritorious as the gift of five cows on any other occasion. In addition to Dák, Kartá, Bandi, Goraiya, Dharam Ráj, Sokhá, Sambhunáth, and Rám Thákur, whose worship is common throughout Behar, the caste pay special reverence to a deified Kahár called Dámubir, before whose effigy, rudely daubed in red and black paint, goats are sacrificed and betel leaves, sweetmeats, and various kinds of cakes offered at marriages, during harvest time and when illness or disaster threatens the household. As a rule these rites are performed only by the members of the family, who share the offerings among themselves. In Bhagalpur, however, the Maithil or Kanaujiá Brahmans, who serve the caste as priests of the greater gods, are called in to sacrifice to Dámubir, and receive half of the offerings as their perquisite. Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays are the days set apart for the worship of Dámubir' (Risley, *TC*, i. 372).

In the United Provinces they are generally orthodox Hindus, but are seldom initiated into any special sect. They offer to Bhairon, an impersonation of the male partner of the Earth-goddess, a goat, pulse cakes, and spirits; to Mahābīr or Hanumān, the monkey-god, clothes, Brāhmanical cords, and garlands of flowers; to the Pāñchoṅ Pīr (see PACHPIRIYAS) the offering is a kid and spirits. In Jhansi there is a curious combination of Hindu and Musalmān usage. When a person worships Devī, a Muhammadan and a butcher accompany him to the shrine. The Muhammadan pronounces the invocation (*kalima*), and plunges the knife into the throat of the victim, and the butcher cleans the carcass, which the worshipper and his friends cook and eat. They cultivate the water nut (*Trapa bispinosa*) and melons. When planting the former, they worship a local deity Siloman Bābā and his brother Mādho Bābā; when sowing melons, they add to these a third godling, Ghaṭauriyā Bābā. All these deities have platforms erected on the banks of rivers and tanks, and are supposed to protect crops sown near such places. When they go out fishing or start carrying a litter, they invoke Kālū Kahār, a deceased worthy of the tribe. In the Deccan they are known as Bhoī and in Madras as Besthā.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Risley, *TC*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 370 ff.; W. Crooke, *TC*, do. 1896, iii. 92 ff.; *NINQ* ii. 85, 87; *BG* xvii. [1884] 153 ff.; E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, Madras, 1909, i. 218 ff.

W. CROOKE.

KAILĀS, KAILĀSA (the name is probably of Tibetan origin).—A mountain in Tibet, lying N. of the sacred lake Mānasarowar, and rising to an altitude of 21,830 ft.—less than that of Gurlā Mandhātā (25,860 ft.), the peak which flanks the lake region on the south. It is generally identified by Hindus with Mount Meru, which by others is supposed to be one of the group of mountains N. and W. of Kaśmīr. The legends connected with this world-mountain cannot be given in detail.

'On the summit of Meru,' according to Atkinson (*Himalayan Gazetteer*, ii. [1884] 291 f., quoting the Purāṇas), 'is the city of Brahmā, and, like filaments from the root of the lotus, numerous mountains project from its base. Within, Meru is adorned with the self-moving cars of the gods, like heaven; in its petals, I say, they dwell with their consorts. There resides Brahmā, god of gods, with four faces; the greatest of those who know the Vedas; the greatest of the great gods, also of the inferior ones. There is the court of Brahmā, consisting of the whole earth, of all those who grant the object of one's wishes; thousands of great gods are in this beautiful court; there also dwell the Brahmaṛiṣis.'

Kailāsa is especially the abode of Śiva and his consort. Its shape is roughly like that of a Hindu temple, with a part of the conical summit removed; this, with its resemblance to the phallic symbol (*liṅga*), possibly was the cause of its sanctity. It is a famous place of Hindu pilgrimage, the route of which is prescribed in the Hindu scriptures (Sherring, *Western Tibet*, p. 49 f.). Hitherto the difficulty of the journey has prevented the assembly of large bodies of pilgrims; but, now that under the treaty of Lhāsa western Tibet is being opened up to the people of India, it will probably be more largely frequented (*ib.* p. 144). It is equally sacred to Buddhists. Followers of both religions march solemnly round it, the length of the actual circuit being about 25 miles and the journey occupying on an average three days. At one point is the Gaurī-kuṇḍ, the lake sacred to Gaurī, 'the yellow, brilliant one,' the consort of Śiva. This remains perpetually frozen.

'As some persons measure their length on the ground for the entire distance, and others are aged and accompanied by women, and others again linger on the road, either for contemplation or to bathe in the icy waters of the Gaurī-kuṇḍ (though the ordinary pilgrim merely breaks the ice and puts a little of the water on his head), it is easy to see that the time occupied by the journey varies very greatly. One and all condemn the record-breaker, who hurries round in as short a time as possible, and they apply to him the opprobrious epithet of *khi-kor*, the man who runs round like a dog' (*ib.* p. 279 f.).

LITERATURE.—The most recent account, with photographs, is that of C. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, London, 1906. For the Hindu legends of Meru see E. T. Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, ii. (Allahabad, 1884) 284, 289 ff., 806. The Tibetan Buddhist version is given by L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 77 ff

W. CROOKE.

KALĀM.—*Kalām* (lit. 'conversation') is apparently a translation of the Greek διαλεκτική, used by Plato in a sense approaching that in which 'metaphysics' is ordinarily used, and contrasted with ἐριστική, of which the Arabic rendering is *jadal*, occasionally employed as a synonym of *kalām*. The two are sometimes coupled with *falsafah*, the Arabized form of the Greek φιλοσοφία. The *kalām* is sometimes paraphrased as 'Fundamentals of Religion' (*uṣūl al-dīn*), *i.e.* the study of the ultimate concepts which religion involves. That study, according to a manual of general information compiled in the 4th Islāmic cent. (*Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*), deals with seven subjects: metaphysical technicalities; the founders and dogmas of Islāmic sects; Christian technicalities and sects; Jewish technicalities and sects; the opinions of the philosophic schools; paganism; and the list of metaphysical questions. It is clear from this statement that the matter included in the *kalām* is mainly theological controversy—between Muslims and members of other religious communities, philosophers and atheists, but also between Muslims of different sects.

Before the end of the Prophet's life he had discovered that religious controversies could be best settled by the sword; but during the Meccan period and the first years of the migration he had to argue with opponents, and certain fundamental questions had been posed. One of these concerned the freedom of the will, to which he could give only an evasive answer (*Qur'ān*, vi. 149). According to the tradition, he discouraged inquiries on such subjects among his followers, and the Qur'ān deprecates controversy with unbelievers. The arrangement, however, whereby he permitted the maintenance of certain non-Muslim cults rendered a certain amount of controversy unavoidable, though in the treaties with tolerated communities a clause was inserted forbidding their members to say anything against the Muslim faith. On the other hand, sectarianism in Islām was an inevitable consequence of the civil wars which broke out a quarter of a century after the Prophet's death: when persons of acknowledged sanctity took opposing sides in these campaigns and compassed each other's death, the relation between faith and works was forced to the front, and inquiry into this matter brought with it closer scrutiny of the import to be assigned to other religious notions. Thus, before the end of the 1st cent. A.H. the Muslims had split into a number of mutually hostile sects.

For the first century and a half of Islām the *kalām* actually took the form of public controversy, theories being put forward by lecturers who formed circles in the mosques, where they were compelled to answer objectors; at times the public debate may have been supplemented by controversial correspondence, of which we have what may be a genuine example in the letters of Najdah and Nāfi', leaders of Khārijite sects, preserved in the *Kāmil* of Mubarrad. The public discussion continued long after the practice of composing books had become popular; so we read of the historian Ṭabarī (towards the end of the 3rd cent.) publicly disputing with the founder of the Ẓāhirite school, and taking to the pen only because of the personalities in which his opponent indulged. Reports of such discussions have, in one or two cases, reached us—*e.g.*, in the treatise *Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* (Cairo, 1326) of Ibn Qutaibah († 276 A.H.). This author complains of the tenacity with which disputants adhered to their opinions, even when they had been decidedly nonplussed, excusing themselves on the ground that, if they allowed themselves to be convinced, they would have to be changing their views many times a day. As early as 125 A.H. we hear of a heresiarch being summoned to defend his theses in the presence of the Umayyad Khalīf Hishām; he was nonplussed by the theologian employed to oppose him, and barbarously executed by the Khalīf's order.

According to some authorities, the standard author on *kalām*, who had provided the material for all later writers, was Abu'l-Hudhail al-'Allāf of Baṣra († 226 A.H.; see Yāqūt, *Dictionary of Learned Men*, London, 1913, vi. 74). His chief work was called 'The Five Fundamentals,' and dealt with justice, monotheism, the promise, the threat, and the intermediate state; the first refers to the freedom of the will, without which the punishment of unbelievers, etc., would be unjust; the second, to the creation of the Qur'ān and of the divine attributes, since, if these were uncreate, there would be more than one God; the third and fourth, to the doctrine that the ultimate fate earned by man cannot be altered; the fifth, to a theory that the Muslim criminal was something between a believer and an unbeliever. These doctrines certainly embraced most of the matter in controversy between Muslims, since, if a man earned his fate, there would be no intercession, and the Judgment Day, etc., would become superfluous. Though those who accepted these views or modifications of them (the Mu'tazilites) were only spasmodically in the ascendant, they had the reputation of being the ablest controversialists. Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī († *c.* 324 A.H.), who is supposed to have won the case for orthodoxy, commenced as a Mu'tazilite, but (according to his biographer) was miraculously converted, and told to use the controversial ability which he had acquired to refute the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites, whom the orthodox had been allowing to gain the victory through unwillingness to debate or even 'share a carpet' with them (see art. AL-ASH'ARĪ, vol. ii. p. 111 f.).

The list of subjects treated by Abu'l-Hudhail keeps clear of politics, and indeed the name *Mu'tazil* means 'neutral,' possibly with this reference; but most of the Islāmic sects were political, whence the discussion of the lawful sovereignty could not easily be avoided; hence the question, 'Who is the best of mankind after Muḥammad?' usually figures in the lists of *kalām* questions. Moreover, fresh theories on this subject were constantly being formulated, and in consequence new chapters of *kalām* introduced. Although it was rarely safe under Islāmic rule for any member of the dominant community to question such fundamental notions as the two which form the Islāmic creed and the infallibility of the Qur'ān, there were sects which, unless misrepresented by our informants, went a long way in this direction. It was, therefore, desirable that there should be some recognized method of meeting those who suggested doubts on these subjects. Further, though paganism had been extinguished in Arabia, the spread of Muslim conquest brought the followers of the Prophet into fresh contact with it, and in India it was even found necessary to grant it the toleration which the code elsewhere excluded. Conditions both internal and external thus combined to keep religious controversy alive, and encouraged speculation on those very subjects from which the Prophet and his chief companions are likely to have kept clear.

Of controversies with Jews, Christians, and Magians we have echoes rather than reports in the *Zoology* of Jāḥiẓ († 255 A.H.) and other works. For the reason mentioned above such controversy was not unaccompanied with danger, and the 'unorthodox' appear to have been no more open-minded in these debates than the orthodox.

A story is told of Abu'l-Hudhail which illustrates this. He heard that a Jew of Baṣra had defeated the Muslim controversialists by getting them, on the authority of the Qur'ān, to admit the mission of Moses, and then by virtue of this admission refuting the pretensions of Muḥammad. Abu'l-Hudhail evaded this argument by accepting the mission of Moses only so far as he confirmed the claims of Muḥammad. The Jew (according to the story) endeavoured to provoke Abu'l-Hudhail into a personal assault, in order to win the sympathy of the audience; we may well believe that he was actually assaulted by the audience and compelled to leave Baṣra (Abū'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzī [† 597 A.H.], *Kitāb al-Adhkiyā*, Cairo, 1306, p. 98).

Nevertheless, the possibility of such controversy caused many Muslim theologians to study, at any rate to a slight extent, the theology of the other communities, whence in the lists of works by leading Mutakallimūn ('Dialecticians') we find 'Refutations' of Christians, Jews, and pagans, or accounts of these systems. Thus among the works of Abū Zaid of Balkh († 322 A.H.) there was a treatise on 'Religious Codes,' and a 'Refutation of the Worshippers of Idols.' Jāḥiẓ of Baṣra, sometimes called the Chief of the Dialecticians, composed a 'Book of Idols' and a 'Refutation of the Christians.' Much of his *Zoology* is occupied with refutation of the Magians.

The same lists ordinarily contain works dealing with the tenets of various Islāmic sects; among the works of Jāḥiẓ we find a 'Refutation of the Anthropomorphists,' accounts of the dogmas of the various branches of the Zaidīs, 'Refutation of the 'Othmānīs,' and a treatise on the difference between the Zaidīs and the Rāfiḍah; some of these treatises seem to have been objective in character. The familiar treatise by Shahrastānī († 548 A.H.) on 'Sects and Religious Opinions' gives an almost entirely objective account of the opinions ascribed to the chief sects and philosophers known to the author, whose statements have to be received with great caution. The treatise on the same subject by Ibn Ḥazm, about a century earlier, is, on the other hand, vehemently controversial.

In the manual of the 4th cent. to which reference has been made there is a list of *kalām* questions, which the author declares exhaustive, so far as the main subjects are concerned; other questions are merely subsidiary or derivative. It runs as follows:

(1) Proof that bodies had a beginning, and refutation of the atheists, who maintain the eternity of the world. (2) Proof that the world has a creator, viz. Almighty God, and refutation of those who deny the divine attributes; and that He is eternal, knowing, able, living, and that He is one; refutation of the Magians and Zindiks, who maintain two powers, and of the Christians, who maintain a Trinity, and of others who assert a plurality of creators; proof that He does not resemble things, with refutation of the Jews and other anthropomorphists; proof that He is not a body, as some of the Muslim anthropomorphists assert; proof that He is essentially knowing, able, living. (3) Question whether God will or will not be seen. (4) Question whether His will is eternal or produced. (5) Question whether His word is create or uncreate. (6) Question whether the actions of men are created, *i.e.* produced by God or by themselves. (7) Question whether capability is prior to action or simultaneous with it. (8) Question whether God wills immorality or not. (9) Question whether the unrepentant criminal is to remain in hell for ever, or whether he may be pitied and pardoned and taken to paradise. (10) Proof of the reality of prophecy, against the Brāhmans and others who deny it. (11) Proof of the mission of Muḥammad. (12) Theory of the sovereignty, and to whom it properly belongs.

In the unpublished treatise of Shahrastānī called *Nihāyat al-Iqdām fī 'ilm al-Kalām* a list is given of twenty subjects which form the material of the *kalām*:

(1) Proof that the world had a beginning. (2) Proof that al things that exist had a beginning. (3) The unity of God. (4)

Refutation of anthropomorphism. (5) Refutation of those who deny the divine attributes. (6) On states (*i.e.* conditions of things). (7) Question whether the non-existent is or is not 'a thing'; on matter, and refutation of those who assert the existence of matter without form. (8) Proof that the propositions connected with the divine attributes can be known. (9) Proof of the same with regard to the eternal attributes. (10) On the eternal knowledge in particular. (11) On the divine will. (12) Proof that the Creator speaks with an eternal speech. (13) Proof that the speech of the Creator is one. (14) Reality of human speech and psychic utterance. (15) Proof that the Creator is 'hearing seeing.' (16) Proof of the intellectual admissibility and the scriptural attestation of the visibility of the Creator. (17) Meaning of the terms 'commendable' and 'culpable'; proof that the reason makes nothing incumbent on the Creator or on man before the revelation of a code. (18) Proof that the acts of the Creator are without purpose or cause; refutation of the doctrine of utility (as applied to those acts); meaning of various terms, such as 'divine guidance,' 'favour,' etc. (19) Proof of the reality of the prophetic office, of the genuineness of miracles, and the infallibility of prophets. (20) Proof of the mission of Muhammad.

It will be found that these two lists cover nearly, though not quite, the same ground. Some of the questions were suggested by the civil wars (as we have seen) and their bearing on the interpretation of the Qur'ān. Others may have arisen in the course of studying the Qur'ān and endeavouring to reconcile its various utterances. It is noticeable that the chief sects of Islām arose before the end of the 1st cent. and so before the philosophy of Aristotle can have had much direct influence on Islāmic speculation; since, however, much of the thought of the philosopher had long before become the common property of the educated world, his indirect influence may have been considerable. Indeed, where in the Qur'ān itself (vii. 10 f., xv. 26–33, xxxviii. 71–77) Iblīs (Satan) declines to bow down to Adam because Adam had been created of clay, whereas he (Iblīs) had been created of fire, the underlying proposition that fire is more honourable than earth is drawn from the Aristotelian hierarchy of the elements, though by no means directly from the *de Cœlo*. There is, however, no doubt that, when under the early Abbāsids the works of the philosopher began to be translated into Arabic, they found many earnest readers; and Ibn Qutaibah charges one sectarian, Muhammad b. al-Jahm al-Barmakī, with making Aristotle's *de Generatione et Corruptione* serve as his Qur'ān. Jāḥiẓ, a contemporary of this personage, refers to the 'author of the Logic' as a well-known writer, and speaks of persons who rely on the *Meteorology*, though he warns them against mistranslations and corruption of the text. The probability is that the decidedly Aristotelian clothing of some of the questions (*e.g.* (7) in Shahrastānī's list) is due to their having been suggested to the Muslim thinkers by the study of the philosopher's works; and, as those works became better known, the scope of the *kalām* had a tendency to enlarge, while ever increasing subtlety was displayed by the disputants. In some treatises most of the subjects dealt with in the Aristotelian *Physics* and *Metaphysics* are treated as *kalām* (*e.g.*, the theories of time, space, and motion), and some even define the word *kalām*, in the style of the *Metaphysics*, as 'the science of Being *qua* Being.'

The extent to which the Muslim *kalām* was influenced by Christian theological speculation cannot be easily determined. One question which at one time provided the shibboleth for the chief sects, whether the Qur'ān was or was not created, appears most easily explicable as an echo of the Christian controversy about the Spirit 'neither made nor created nor begotten, but proceeding'; and, since the teachers of Greek philosophy were chiefly Christians, it is probable that Islām owes Christianity both the general idea of basing itself on the philosophy of Aristotle and some of the applications of that philosophy. It is, however, clear from the epitomes which have come down to us of the Islāmic heresies that original speculation was carried on with considerable hardihood. Very few dialecticians ventured to abandon the Qur'ān altogether; but almost any doctrine could be read into it.

The attitude adopted towards these studies by Islāmic rulers varied very greatly. The early Abbāsids, especially Hārūn al-Rashīd and Ma'mūn, encouraged them both by organizing translations of philosophical works into Arabic and by inviting to their court persons who had acquired fame as theologians. But in 279 A.H., after the Islāmic world had been rent by the controversy between the orthodox and the Mu'tazilites, the Khalīf Mu'tamid forbade the sale in Baghdad of works dealing with *kalām*, eristic, or philosophy. Since it was impossible to refute a heresy without stating it in some form and repeating the arguments whereby it was defended, probably this was the surest mode of preventing the spread of heresy; and this motive was dominant when Maḥmūd of Ghaznah († 421 A.H.) ordered all works dealing with *kalām* in the library at Rai to be burned. An author of the same period complains that his library (containing works on *kalām*) had been burned by a prince who was not ashamed to keep the works of Aristotle in his own (Yāqūt, ii. 296, 315). The historians notice other holocausts of this sort; in 555 a philosophical library was burned in Baghdad by public order; it contained among other works the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā* and the *Shifā* of Avicenna, both of them authorities on metaphysical theology. On the other hand, some eminent rulers held 'eristic assemblies' (*majālis jadal*), wherein theological questions were freely discussed.

LITERATURE.—The wilful destruction to which allusion has been made accounts for the disappearance of much of this literature, which at one time existed in vast masses. Thus Abu'l-Ḥuṣain Rāwandī († 245 A.H.) composed 114 works, and other Mutakallimūn were little less voluminous. Probably the earliest work extant directly bearing on the subject is the *Ibānah* of Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (Hyderabad, 1321), which is mainly refutation of the Mu'tazilites. Though the views of this author ultimately won the day, they experienced some setbacks, and for a time in the 5th cent. of Islām his name was publicly cursed from the pulpits. Some contributions to metaphysical theology continued to be made even by persons who in the main accepted his opinions; the names of Abū Ḥāmid Asfarā'inī († 406 A.H.) and 'Abd al-Malik al-Juwainī († 478 A.H.), called 'the Imam of the two sanctuaries,' often meet us in works on this subject, which it became the fashion for Muslim jurists to epitomize. Al-Ghazālī († 505 A.H.) prefixes to his *Arba'ūn* (Cairo, 1328) a very brief epitome of the subject, which he had treated in a book of 115 pages called *al-Iqtiṣād fī'l-I'tiqād* (printed in Cairo *c.* A.D. 1910); this is about the length also of the *Baḥr al-Kalām* ('Sea of Kalām,' Cairo, 1329) by Abu'l-Mu'īn al-Nasafī († 508 A.H.). A far better summary is the treatise of Shahrastānī mentioned above. Another unpublished work, the *Arba'ūn* of Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī († 606), is also highly instructive; this author has a great name as a Muslim theologian (see I. Goldziher, 'Die Theologie des Fakhr al-dīn al-Rāzī' in *Der Islām*, iii. [1912] 212–247). Great popularity was acquired by the *Ṭawāli' al-Anwār* of Baiḍāwī († 690), famous as a commentator on the Qur'ān; and still more by the *Mawāqif* of 'Aḍud al-dīn al-Ījī († 756), which may be regarded as the standard treatise. The *Muqaddamāt* of Sanūsī († 895 A.H.), translated into French by J. D. Luciani (Algiers, 1908), forms a good introduction to the subject. A more modern work, the *'Alam Shāmikh* of Ṣāliḥ b. Mahdī al-Muqbalī († 1108), is noticeable as attacking all the Mutakallimūn of former times with impartiality; the positive parts of the work (published Cairo, 1328) seem far less felicitous than the negative. The fullest account of the *kalām* in a modern language is to be found in M. Horten, *Spekulative und positive Theologie des Islam nach Rāzī (1209 †) und ihre Kritik durch Tūsī (1273 †)*, Leipzig, 1912.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

KALEVALA.—The *Kalevala*, the national epic of Finland, is unique in literature. It is a poem in fifty runes or cantos, averaging nearly 500 lines each, compiled from popular songs by an industrious patriot. He pieced his acquisitions together to the best of his judgment, without any essential alterations or padding, and with such success that Max Müller and many others have placed the *Kalevala* among the half-dozen great world-epics.

There is practically no suggestion that the poem is the work of one author. Its component parts were produced by various singers at different periods; but sporadic traces of apparent Christian influence help us to limit its youth if not its age. These bards were all inspired with a passionate love for their nation and with sympathy for the popular traditions, and they reflected the character and natural bent of the people as peaceable yet patriotic, practical yet superstitious, simple-minded yet romantic.

[**1. Original materials.**—The materials of the *Kalevala* consist not only of epic, but also of lyric and magic folk-poems. The fusion of the various types and themes—a process which, in many cases, had already been effected among the people themselves—was possible because the whole mass was of a single metrical form, the octosyllabic trochaic.

i. *THE EPIC POEMS.*—These were composed partly among the Finns and partly among the Esthonians, although it was among the Karelians of Ingria (in the Government of St. Petersburg) in East Finland, and in districts lying beyond the borders of Finland (the Governments of Olonetz and Archangel) that the epics were moulded and linked together in such a way that they could be combined into an epic whole. These epic poems may be classified as (*a*) songs of heroes, (*b*) legends, (*c*) ballads of chivalry, (*d*) imaginative songs, and (*e*) songs of everyday life.

(*a*) *Songs of heroes.*—These date from a period anterior to the official adoption of Christianity in the latter half of the 12th century. The names of the various heroes have in certain cases been connected with those of Scandinavian heroes, as, *e.g.*, Kaleva (cf. Caelic weold Finnum in Wídsíð) with Kylfing Skilfing; Vetra (Vetrikka, from which comes *veitikka*, 'rogue,' in the *Kalevala*) or Utra (from which perhaps Untamo) with Vederas, Vedergéatas in *Beowulf*; Osmus or Osmo with Osmund, Aśmundr; Rego or Riiko with *ríkr*; Hermandroinen with Hermanarik. Vuojolainen means 'the Gothlander.' The name Ahti or Ahvo, which, as denoting the 'water-dweller,' has been derived from *ahva*, 'water,' is likewise a human name, to which are attached epithets signifying dignity and strength. Even Väinämöinen, 'dweller in the narrow sea,' is to be interpreted, not as a divine name (as the present writer assumed in art. FINNS [Ancient], vol. vi. p. 24^{b}), but as a hero-name. The name of the smith, Ilmarinen, as connected with the sky-god Ilmarinen, was formed from that of a smith called Ismaro (from Osmaro). To this group of songs belong also those of Joukamoinen 'the mighty' (?), Lemminkäinen 'the beloved' (?), and Kaukamoinen.

These heroes are represented as beautiful and strong, with long curling hair. They wear mantles of red or blue material, and always have a sword by their side. They travel on horseback or by boat. They are rich in lands and gold, and possess slaves. They drink home-brewed intoxicating ale, and seduce maidens, yet they are less eager for gold, ale, or women than for feats of warlike prowess.[1]

The heroes, however, are also capable workers in field and meadow, and they are skilled blacksmiths. Moreover, they are poets, singers, and musicians. As experts in magic and healing they know how to fashion the magic runes. They are designated kings, holy ones, and gods. In popular usage some of their names still survive as designations of individuals belonging to a former race of heroes, and also as names of stars (cf. K. Krohn, 'Kaleva und seine Sippe' in *Journal Soc. Finno-ougr.* xxx. [1914] 35).

(*b*) *Legendary poems.*—These consist mainly of stories about Christ, and from them the Russo-Karelian popular poets in the Government of Archangel had compiled a legendary epic, 'The Cycle of the Creator' (J. and K. Krohn, *Kantelettaren tutkimuksia* ['Investigations of Kanteletar'], Helsingfors, 1900–01, iii.). An important element in the Sampo myth of the *Kalevala* is the beautiful legend narrating the deliverance of the sun, which was brought by the Saviour from Pohjola, 'realm of the North' (*i.e.* hell), and set in a tree of gold—first of all among the lower branches, whence he shone only upon the rich and the wise, and then among the higher branches, from which he gave light to all without distinction. The song of Lemminkäinen's death is the same version of Christ's death which is reproduced in the Icelandic myth of Balder (*Finn.-ugr. Forsch.* v. [1905] 83–138). Part of the account of Väinämöinen's voyage belonged originally to a legend telling of the storm on the Lake of Gennesaret—a legend which also underlies the story of Thor and the Midgard serpent (*ib.* vii. [1907] 167–180). The dreadful rush of blood from the wound in Väinämöinen's knee is taken from the narrative of the blood which flowed from Christ upon the Cross, and Väinämöinen's journey to Tuonela is simply a transcript of Christ's descent to Hades. The story of Henry of England, the apostle of Finland, is, however, of purely Finnish origin.

(*c*) *Ballads of chivalry.*—These date from mediæval times, and are mainly of Scandinavian origin. To this class belongs the song of Kullervo's (originally Turo's) sister in the *Kalevala* (Grundtvig, no. 338, Hr. Truelses Dötre; Child, no. 14, Babylon). The song of Iivana Kojosenpoika was composed in Ingria on the model of a Russian *bylin* by Ivan Godinovič; and to it corresponds the story of the second wooing of Ilmarinen in the *Kalevala*. 'Elina's Death,' the greatest Finnish ballad of real dramatic power, is, however, a genuinely Finnish folk-poem.

(*d*) *Imaginative poems.*—This class consists of poems ostensibly but not really mythical, such as those telling of the process of creation from birds' eggs, of the giant oak, of the huge ox, and of the courtship of the heavenly bodies. The genuinely mythical song of Sämpsä Pellervoinen (cf. art. FINNS [Ancient], vol. vi. p. 25^{a}) is a ritual poem.

(*e*) *Narrative poems of everyday life.*—These are chiefly about wives and maidens.

ii. *LYRIC POEMS.*—This class is now represented in West Finland only by lullabies, nursery rhymes, and pastoral songs. These songs, as yet only slightly investigated, arose mainly in Esthonia, thence finding their way through Ingria to Finnish and Russian Karelia, though it is probable enough that some of them took shape among the Eastern Finns themselves. The most important sub-group is that of the marriage-songs.

iii. *MAGIC POEMS.*—These were versified in West Finland from the Christian spells of the Scandinavians, and in East Finland were further elaborated and embellished with additions from the epic poems. The Christian appellations of the characters involved are in some cases retained; in others they are superseded by heathen designations, and in still larger numbers are transformed into names apparently heathen. The later Finnish mythology is dealt with in *Suomensuvun uskonnot*, i. *Suomalaisten runojen uskonto* ('The Religions of the Finnish Race,' i. 'The Religion of the

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[1] Cf. the words of Lemminkäinen in *Kalevala*, xii. 74–106:

'But for home-brewed ale I care not,
Rather would I drink stream-water
From the end of tarry rudder.
Nought I care for home-stored treasures;
One mark won by far is better.'

Cf. also (xxx. 1–106) the fine lament of his ship of war, and his comrade's eager readiness to follow him, though that comrade had but recently married a young wife.

Finnish Poems'), the first part of which has just appeared (Borgo, 1914). Of these originally Christian names occurring in the *Kalevala*, a few may be mentioned as examples:

Mielikki, the goddess of the forest, is formed from *mieluisa*, pleasant,' an epithet of St. Anne (Annikki); her other name, Mimerkki, is a corruption of Immerkki, Himmerki (Swed. *Himmelrike*, 'kingdom of heaven'); Kuippana (also Kuihtana, Kuitua, and Huitua), the name of the forest-god, is a folk-etymological derivative from Hubertus, the tutelary saint of the hunter. Ilmatar, 'the air maiden,' Luonnotar, 'the nature maiden,' and Suvetar or Etelätär, 'the daughter of the South,' are all epithets of the Virgin Mary, as is also Kivutar, 'maiden of sorrows,' on the Kipumäki, 'the mount of sorrows' (*i.e.* Golgotha).

K. KROHN.]

2. Name and subject.—The word *Kalevala* (*Kālĕvālā*) is derived from Kaleva, the progenitor of the Finnish heroes, and means 'the land of the heroes.' Kaleva himself does not appear in the epic; but Kalevatar, his daughter, and Kalevaläinen, his descendant, are mentioned. In the poem there are five main characters: Väinämöinen, the patriotic minstrel; Ilmarinen, the magic smith; Lemminkäinen, the reckless adventurer; Kullervo, a morose and violent slave; and Louhi, the mistress of Pohjola, a crafty witch.

Pohjola, the North country, is in the poem understood to be Lapland, or a dismal land to the north thereof; and Kalevala, of course, is Finland. Throughout the epic there is a continual conflict between the Finns and the Lapps, representing the constant opposition between light and darkness, good and evil. The hero is always able to overcome an evil power if he can chant the origin of it, implying probably that we could exterminate evil if we only knew how or whence it came. The conflict is carried on by means of magic arts, which generally presuppose toil of some kind, thus suggesting that the best magic consists in industry, skill, and perseverance. It is interesting to note how frequently humble instruments are enlisted for the attainment of great ends, and how high a moral tone pervades the epic from beginning to end.

3. Origin.—The *Kalevala* is unique in being the only example of a national epic compiled from songs actually existing among the people, independent of a larger national poem. The compiler, Elias Lönnrot, visited the most remote districts of his beloved land, industriously and carefully reaping and gleaning from aged singers and reciters such songs or fragments as they knew. His harvest was rich, and it has a literary charm absolutely unknown in compilations, and only to be found in a work proceeding from one, and that a more than usually gifted, author.

Finnish literature proper is not ancient in the sense of having come down in parchment or print from former centuries. It is traditional, and was handed on from sire to son until about a century ago. Nearly all the traditional poetry is anonymous and composed in unrhymed lines of eight syllables, in the versification with which Longfellow has made us familiar in *Hiawatha*, the idea of which was derived from the *Kalevala*. At first the versification of the translation seems cramped, but the reader is quickly undeceived; for the vigour and grace of the poetry compel his admiration. One of the distinctive features of this versification is parallelism, such as we find in some of the OT Psalms, the second line repeating the sense of the first, either in different words or giving a new shade of meaning. Many of the songs are rich in imagery and choice of language through this poetic form. The other features of this poetry are more common in other literatures; alliteration and assonance, for example, are freely employed.

Lönnrot has issued two collections in addition to the *Kalevala*. These are *Loitsurunoja*, 'The Magic Songs of the Finnish People' (Helsingfors, 1880), consisting of some 900 incantations, invocations, and other religious formulas, which help us to understand the superstitions and magic of the Finns; and *Kanteletar*, 'The Daughter of the Harp' (1st ed., Helsingfors, 1840 [with variants], 3rd ed., 1887), consisting of lyrics and ballad poetry which reveal the customs, habits, and life of the people in all their phases.

As these traditional songs were collated, the students of literature noticed the frequency with which certain names and characters appeared; and it gradually dawned on them that these fragmentary incidents might belong to some complete tale. Efforts were, therefore, made to gather in from every quarter every song or verse in the Finnish tongue, and eventually, in 1835, Lönnrot published a collection of the episodes and verses that seemed to belong to an original epic, and to this compilation he gave the name *Kalevala*. He divided the work into 32 cantos or runes, the whole amounting to some 12,000 lines. But he was not satisfied; and he continued to gather material until, in 1849, he issued the *Kalevala* as we now have it, in 50 cantos, containing, in all, 22,793 lines. Lönnrot alone is responsible for the selection and arrangement of the material. As the original fragments and songs, culled from many sources, have been carefully preserved, often in many variants, it is known that the compiler made only such trivial additions and alterations as were absolutely necessary to weld the fragments into a connected whole. Universal praise has been accorded to him for his self-restraint, his literary skill, and his loyalty to the unknown poets whose songs had survived until he rescued them from possible oblivion.

4. Scheme of the epic.—The great defect of the *Kalevala* as a work of art is its lack of unity and continuity. Much might be left out, and additional verses or even runes might be inserted, without attracting the attention or decreasing or increasing the interest. For this reason it is difficult to indicate in few words what the subject of the *Kalevala* really is. In the poem there are at least four main cycles of songs; and, in addition, seven separate romances are woven into the epic. The four cycles are: (*a*) the Sampo Songs, in which, *inter alia*, we find the Finnish conception of the Creation; (*b*) the Väinämöinen songs, *i.e.* songs relating to the national hero, apart from the Sampo cycle; (*c*) the Lemminkäinen songs; and (*d*) the Kullervo cycle. Probably it would be right to say that the Sampo is the key to the *Kalevala*. For the story of the Sampo and its possession by the Finnish people—the origin, the hiding, the quest, the rape, and the loss of the Sampo—is the central fact that makes the poem an epic; and Lönnrot himself says that, without the Sampo, the *Kalevala* would fall into a number of independent cycles having very little connexion with each other.

5. The Sampo cycle.—

Ilmatar, the daughter of the Air, tired of lofty solitude, descended to the surface of the waters, and was embraced by the boisterous waves. She was tossed about for 700 years before she shaped the earth and could bring forth her son Väinämöinen. In due time this son cleared the land and sowed barley and other plants. He wooed a Lapland girl, Aino, but she would not marry him, and was drowned in escaping from his ardour. His mother advised him to seek a bride in Pohjola, the North country; and, as he was riding over the water on his magic steed, Aino's brother shot at him and killed the horse. Väinämöinen, however, was conveyed by an eagle to the castle of Pohjola, whose mistress, Louhi, offered to give him her beautiful daughter if he would forge for her the Sampo, a magic mill, which could produce, on demand, either grain or salt or gold, the symbols of prosperity. Väinämöinen himself could not make the mill, but he sent his younger brother Ilmarinen, by whose magic the task was accomplished and the Sampo given to Louhi. Väinämöinen, Ilmarinen, and Lemminkäinen in turn made love to Louhi's daughter, but she chose the handsome smith, Ilmarinen, who made the Sampo. So long as the magic mill remained in Pohjola, the country prospered exceedingly. Kullervo, having been ill-treated by Louhi's daughter, Ilmarinen's wife, killed her. Thereafter the three wooers set out on an expedition to Pohjola to recover the Sampo which Louhi had hidden under a mountain and protected most cunningly. Eventually they overcame every difficulty, seized the Sampo, and escaped with it. But Louhi followed them, and in the struggle for supremacy the Sampo fell into the sea and was broken into fragments, some of which were cast upon the shore. Väinämöinen regained enough to ensure the prosperity of Kalevala; but Louhi secured only a fragment, so small that it was of no benefit to her or Pohjola.

This is the natural close to the epic; but the last canto of 620 lines has an interest of its own.

6. The Finnish Virgin Mary myth.—The fiftieth and final canto of the *Kalevala* gives us the story of Marjatta.

She was a damsel who was rarely beautiful,
'And was always pure and holy,
And was ever very modest.'

One day on the mountains she swallowed a cranberry and so conceived. She was discarded by her kindred and compelled to take refuge in the stable of Hiisi, the Evil One; and there, warmed by the vapours of the fire-breathing steed, she found comfort;

'And a little boy was born her,
And a sinless child was given,
On the hay in horses' stable,
On the hay in horses' manger.'

The child was spirited away whilst Marjatta slept. In her distress she sought him far and wide. The stars and the moon refused to reveal the hiding-place; but the sun directed the mother to the spot where he was concealed. The child grew in beauty, increasing in strength and in wisdom and in favour with men, so that 'All Suomi [Finland] saw and wondered.' Marjatta sent for a priest to baptize him; but he desired proof that the boy was no son of some black wizard. Väinämöinen, being appealed to, inquired into the matter, and suggested that, as the boy had sprung from a berry, he ought to be exposed on the mountains. But the fortnight-old child spoke up for himself and reproved Väinämöinen for his unrighteous judgment. The priest immediately took the side of the boy, crossed him, and

'Quick baptized the child with water,
As the king of all Karelia
And the lord of all the mighty.'

Greatly offended,

'Then the aged Väinämöinen
Went upon his journey singing,

. . . . . .

Sailed away to loftier regions,
To the land beneath the heavens,'

leaving behind his harp and his songs as a parting gift to his people.

7. Other cycles and separate romances.—In the course of the epic there are many songs and episodes in which Väinämöinen, the Finnish national hero, appears, and in which national customs and habits are delineated with minuteness and vigour.

The Lemminkäinen songs set forth the misadventures of this reckless adventurer. Time after time he escapes disaster or death by his own magic skill or that of his mother, to whom he is devotedly attached.

The Kullervo cycle has hardly any connexion with the main subject of the *Kalevala*; and these songs, with one peculiarly sad episode, are introduced because Kullervo killed Ilmarinen's wife.

The separate romances include the strange and moving tale of Aino, the fishing for the Maiden of Vellamo, the wooing of the Virgin of the Air, the Golden Maiden, the Son of Kojonen's wooing, the deliverance of the sun and moon, and the story of Marjatta, already described.

LITERATURE.—A full bibliography up to the year 1910 is given in the last Finnish ed. of the *Kalevala*, published at Helsingfors in that year. Unfortunately most of the best books on the *Kalevala* are to be had only in Finnish, a language which is but little known by scholars of other lands; but translations of some of these are promised in more common tongues. The most important of these works are: E. Aspelin, *Kalevalan tutkimuksia* ('Researches on the Kalevala'), i. (Helsingfors, 1882); J. Krohn, *Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden historia* ('History of Finnish Literature'), i. 'Kalevala,' Helsingfors, 1883–85 (Swedish tr., 1891); A. Ahlqvist, *Kalevalan karjalaisuns* ('Karelian Origin of the Kalevala'), do. 1887; K. Krohn, *Kalevalam runojen historia* ('History of the Kalevala Songs'), do. 1903–10; F. Ohrt, *Kalevala som Folkedigtning och Nationalepos*, Copenhagen, 1907 (contains a trustworthy summary of the most recent Finnish research). Translations of the *Kalevala* have appeared in Swedish by M. A. Castren, Helsingfors, 1844, and K. Collan, do. 1864–68, in French by L. Le Duc, Paris, 1845 and 1868, in German by A. Schiefner, Helsingfors, 1852, and H. Paul, do. 1885–86, in Hungarian by F. Barna, Pesth, 1871, and B. Vikár, do. 1909, in Russian by L. P. Bjelskij, St. Petersburg, 1889, in Italian by T. Cocchi, Citta di Castella, 1909, P. E. Pavolini, Milan, 1910, and F. di Silvestre-Falconieri, do. 1910, in Esthonian by M. I. Eisen, Dorpat, 1891 and 1898, in Bohemian by J. Holeček, Prague, 1894–95, and in English by J. M. Crawford, New York, 1888, and W. F. Kirby, London, 1907. C. J. Billson, *The Popular Poetry of the Finns*, London, 1900, is a brief and excellent introduction to the epic. The best known (but already out of date) work on the subject is Domenico Comparetti, *Der Kalewala*, Halle, 1892, Eng. tr. by I. M. Anderton, *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns*, London, 1898 (with introduction by A. Lang).

J. BEVERIDGE.

KĀLĪGHĀṬ.—Kālīghāṭ (*Kālī*, a form of Durgā [*q.v.*], and *ghāṭ*, Skr. *ghaṭṭa*, Beng. Hind. *ghāṭ*, 'a flight of steps for bathing and other purposes on a river bank'), where the most sacred temple of the Indian goddess Kālī is situated, is now a southern suburb of Calcutta. Tolly's Nullah, earlier Gaṅgāsāgar Nullah, the tidal water-course from the Hūgli upon which the temple stands, represents the ancient course of the sacred river Ganges. It is still termed the Ganges, and revered as such by the pilgrims and worshippers at Kālīghāṭ. The modern name Tolly's Nullah merely commemorates a Colonel Tolly who, in 1775, was at the expense of deepening the *nullah*, or water-course. The old course of the Ganges was disappearing, but now lives again as a cross-country canal. The name Kālīghāṭ itself signifies the *ghāṭ*, or steps, of Kālī by which the worshippers from the temple descended to the stream for their ablutions.

The original temple of Kālī stood within what is now the city of Calcutta, not in the suburb of Kālīghāṭ, three miles farther south. The mythological legend of its sanctity is now, however, quite rooted in the popular mind in connexion with the latter, not the former, place.

Dakṣa, father of Satī (a title of Durgā or Kālī, wife of the god Mahādeva or Śiva), omits to invite Mahādeva to a great sacrificial gathering at his house, to which all the other gods are invited. Satī asks an explanation of the indignity, and her father adds insult to injury by calling her husband Mahādeva names. Unable to bear the humiliation, Satī causes her soul to leave her body. Then Mahādeva, furious at the news of Satī's death, sweeps down upon the scene, picks up Satī's dead body from the ground, and dances madly about with it, threatening destruction to the whole world. Through Brahmā the Creator, the gods succeed in inducing Viṣṇu, the Preserver, to save creation from the wrath of the terrible destroyer Mahādeva, mad with grief and drunk with loss. Viṣṇu flings his discus at the body of Satī in Mahādeva's hands and breaks the body into fifty-one pieces, which fall to earth in various places. Every spot where a fragment falls becomes from that moment a holy spot full of the divine spirit of Satī. Calcutta is one of the fifty-one spots so consecrated, for the little toe of the right foot of Satī fell upon its site (*Census of India*, 1901, VII. i. [Calcutta] 5).

Such is the mythological explanation of the sanctity and repute of the place known at first as Kālīkṣetra, or the place of Kālī, and subsequently as Calcutta. Kālīkṣetra is mentioned in the Piṭhāmālā of the Nigamakalpa, which may take us as far back as the 12th century.

Other forms of the legend are given by C. R. Wilson (*Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, i. 129, note) and by W. W. Hunter (*Statistical Account of Bengal*, vol. i.). Wilson also gives a different derivation for Calcutta, and Hunter would derive the name from Kālīghāṭ itself.

When and how the Kālī temple in Calcutta was superseded by that at Kālīghāṭ is not known, but by the year A.D. 1495 a Kālīghāṭ was in existence separate from Calcutta, and as a place of worship, which apparently Calcutta had ceased to be (see Bipro-dās, a Bengali poet, quoted by Wilson, *op. cit.*; see also W. Ward, *Hindoos*^{2}, Madras, 1815, ii. 125 ff.).

According to tradition, it was during an earthquake in the 15th cent. that the Calcutta temple disappeared. Kālī's shrine was thereupon raised at the Kālīghāṭ in the neighbourhood of her husband's shrine in the adjoining suburb of Bhawānīpur. To Kālīghāṭ also, as has been said, the mythological account of the sanctity of the Calcutta shrine has now been transferred, with further local particulars added. In these additions we seem to see a ray of light cast upon the beginnings of the southern shrine.

In the neighbourhood where the temple now stands, so the Kālīghāṭ legend runs, somewhere about the 15th cent. lived an ascetic, by name Jaṅgal Gir ['tenant of the jungle'?]. To him one night Kālī herself revealed that one of the portions of her body had descended to earth there. Next day Jaṅgal Gir dug down at the spot, found 'the petrified toes,' and set them up for worship in a small wooden house (Wilson, i. 180).

Jaṅgal Gir, a jungle devotee, the traditional founder of Kālīghāṭ about the 15th cent., was himself probably, as a historical fact, the first attraction to draw worshippers thither. The reverence for holy men is an attractive feature of Hinduism.

Two centuries later than Bipro-dās, in 1676, when Streynsham Master visited the Hūgli on behalf of the East India Co., he referred in his description of the river to the shrine at Kālīghāṭ, and made no reference whatever to Calcutta, whose secular era had not yet dawned (Wilson, i. 54). Finally, by the middle of the 18th cent. the repute of Kālīghāṭ is apparent. Leading past the town of Calcutta, upon the east, lay a great pilgrim thoroughfare to Kālīghāṭ, known as 'the Broad Road,' now Bentinck St. and Chowringhi Road. The *Gaṅgā Bhakti Taraṅgiṇī* of about A.D. 1740 speaks of Kālīghāṭ as a wonderful place, where the worship 'is celebrated with much pomp and sacrifice' (*Census of India*, 1901, VII. i. 8 and 11, note). The author of the *Census Report* of 1901 gives good grounds for believing that the shrine and the Tāntric rites associated with Kālī-worship began to rise into prominence at the end of the 16th cent., when the well-known Hindu general Mān-singh ruled Bengal for the Muhammadan Emperor.

The buildings within the temple enclosure are not in themselves in any way distinctive or of architectural note. The features of Kālīghāṭ are the packed crowds of worshippers and the great slaughter of young goats on the days of the annual celebrations of the Durgā Pūjā and the Kālī Pūjā (*pūjā* = 'worship'). Between seven and eight hundred goats are said to be sacrificed during the three days of the Durgā Pūjā. The decapitation taking place within the temple enclosure, it becomes at such times a veritable shambles, muddy with trodden earth and blood. From the place of decapitation the heads are carried to be piled up before the idol, and become thereafter temple perquisites, the worshipper carrying away the body with him to furnish the family feast.

'In this [sacrificing] there is no idea of effacing guilt or making a vicarious offering for sin' (M. Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*^{4}, London, 1891, p. 25).

The great mass of the crowd, too poor to offer a goat, press eagerly into the passage before the eastern door of the shrine to enjoy the opportunity of saluting the goddess as they pass and of casting their copper coin at her feet.

Kālīghāṭ is of special interest to the student of religions as the chief scene of bloody sacrifices within India, probably in the whole world. Such sacrifices are associated with the worship of certain goddesses—Kālī, the *mātas*, or Mothers, of Western, and the *ammans*, or Mothers, of Southern India, and others. At Kālīghāṭ, probably upon an aboriginal basis, they illustrate the later Śākta and Tāntric aspects of Hinduism.

The Durgā Pūjā, supposed to be a festival of the autumnal equinox, falls within the sixth Bengali month, Āśvin, beginning on the first day of the second quarter of the moon (the eighth day of the new moon between 15th Sept. and 15th Oct.). Of the three days, the second is the chief day at Kālīghāṭ. The date of the Kālī Pūjā (*kāla* = black) is fixed by the darkest night, the night of no moon, of the seventh Bengali month, Kārtik (the night of no moon between 15th Oct. and 15th Nov.).

LITERATURE. — *Calcutta Review*, vols. iii., xviii., xxxv.; *Indian Census Reports*, 1901, *Bengal* and *Calcutta*; W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, i. (London, 1875); *IA* ii. (1873); W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*^{2}, Calcutta, 1900; C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, i. (London, 1895).

JOHN MORRISON.

KALMUKS.—See MONGOLS.

KALWĀR (Skr. *kalyapāla*, 'a distiller,' *kalya*, 'spirituous liquor').—The tribe of distillers, liquor-sellers, and traders, the great majority claiming to be Hindus by religion, found in all parts of India, but most numerous in Bihar and Orissa and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. At the Census of 1911 they numbered 954,241. Like most of the trading classes of India, the Kalwārs, though probably including some non-Aryan elements, wish to rise in the social scale, and pose as orthodox Hindus, favouring in Bengal the Vaiṣṇava cultus, which is usually adopted by the mercantile castes. But in Bengal they are still on their promotion, and, though they employ Brāhmans for their religious and social rites, these are deemed to be of inferior rank in the priestly order. In the same province with the cultus of the orthodox gods they combine the worship of various minor deities. Thus one sub-caste offers rice and milk to Sokhā on Mondays during the light half of Śrāvan (July–August); goats and sweetmeats to Kālī and Bandē on Wednesdays and Thursdays; sucking pigs and spirits to Goraiyā on Tuesdays. Another sub-caste during the same period presents cakes and sweetmeats to the Pāñchoṅ Pīr (see PACHPIRIYA); and another offers similar gifts to Barham Deo in August–September and January–February. All these offerings are eaten by members of the worshipper's family, except the sucking pigs, which, being lawful food only to the menial castes, are buried after dedication. In the United Provinces the Kalwārs seem to occupy a somewhat higher position than in Bengal, the Brāhmans who serve them being received on an equality by their brethren. Here they combine the cult of the Mother-goddess Durgā in the form of Kālikā with that of lower deities like the Pāñchoṅ Pīr, Phūlmatī, and the hero of cholera, Hardaur Lālā. Madain, the god of spirituous liquor, though worshipped by the Kalwārs when distillation is going on, is more generally reverenced by the lower castes, like the Chamārs or curriers, who are addicted to drinking. These people regard an oath by Madain as more likely, if violated, to attract retribution than that by any other god in the pantheon. The Kalwārs specially venerate the *amlā* tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*) by feeding Brāhmans and performing a fire sacrifice (*homa*) at its foot. They also revere the *nīm* tree (*Melia azidirachta*) and the *pīpal* (*Ficus religiosa*), the former being regarded as the abode of the goddess Devī, to which women bow as they pass; the latter as the home of Vasudeva (Kṛṣṇa) and other gods. They fast on Sundays in honour of Sūraj Nārāyaṅ, the sun-god, and pour spirits on the ground in honour of Sāirī or Sāyarī, who seems to be a form of the earth-goddess. Each house has a family shrine at which the household deities are worshipped. This rite is specially performed at childbirth, and the deity thus revered is usually Ghāzī Miyāṅ, one of the Pāñchoṅ Pīr, whose symbol, an iron spear, is kept near his shrine. In the Central Provinces the Kalārs, who are identical with the Kalwārs, worship the deified bridegroom, Dulhā Deo, who is said to have perished in a tragical way during his wedding rites (Crooke, *PR*², 1896, i. 119 ff.), and a goddess called Rātmā, who is represented by a flat plate of gold or silver. Some, however, have advanced so far in the direction of monotheism that they worship Bhagvān, 'the glorious, prosperous one,' who is recognized as the Supreme Being. They also practise the cult of deceased ancestors by worshipping at the Holī, or spring festival, Bahādur Kalariyā and his son Susan Chābārī, who were said to be successful distillers, and the ruins of their factories are still pointed out. The assertion that the Halbās of Central India worship a pantheon of glorified distillers lacks confirmation.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Risley, *TC*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 386; W. Crooke, *TC*, do. 1896, iii. 111 ff.; for the Central Provinces, *The Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, introd. cxxi; *JASB* lviii. pt. i. 292, 297.

W. CROOKE.

KANAKAMUNI.—Kanakamuni (Pāli Koṇāgamana), according to the tradition, was the second of the four Buddhas of the present age, his predecessor being Krakuchchhanda (Pāli Kakusandha), and his successors Kāśyapa (Pāli Kassapa) and Sākyamuni himself. Of these the first three are said to have been born in the neighbourhood of Kapilavastu (*q.v.*), the birthplace of Gautama, in the Nepalese *tarāi*. In the Bhadrakalpa, the time of Kanakamuni, men lived to the age of 40,000 years. Interest attaches to him, more than to the other predecessors of Gautama Buddha, on account of the discovery in the year 1899, in the course of a tour of archæological exploration undertaken on the border country of India and Nepāl, of the pillar erected by the Emperor Aśoka in honour of Kanakamuni and in commemoration of his visit to the place where the sage was believed to have been born.

The Chinese pilgrims Fā-Hian and Hiuen Tsiang both in turn visited the birthplace of Kanakamuni, and have recorded in a few words their journey thither and the condition of the buildings and site. Fā-Hian states that the town where Kanakamuni was born was less than a *yojana* north of the birthplace of his predecessor Krakuchchhanda, the latter place being twelve *yojanas* south-east of Śrāvastī. There was a *stūpa*, but no mention is made of the pillar.[1] The narrative of Hiuen Tsiang is as follows:

> 'To the north-east of the town of Krakuchchhanda Buddha, going about 30 *li*, we come to an old capital (*or*, great city) in which there is a *stûpa*. This is to commemorate the spot where . . . Kanakamuni Buddha was born.
>
> To the north-east of the city, not far, is a *stûpa*; it was here, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father.
>
> Farther north there is a *stûpa* containing the relics of his bequeathed body; in front of it is a stone pillar with a lion on the top, and about 20 feet high; on this is inscribed a record of the events connected with his *Nirvāṇa*; this was built by Aśôka-raja.'[2]

The 'old town' where Krakuchchhanda was born is stated to have been about fifty *li* south of Kapilavastu. In his time human life was prolonged to 60,000 years.

Of the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni, with relics seen by the Chinese monks, no trace apparently exists. The broken parts of the pillar were found lying on the western bank of a large tank, the Niglīva Sāgar, south of and about a mile from the village of Niglīva, not far from the spot where the pillar erected by Aśoka in commemoration of his visit to Gautama's birthplace was discovered. The tank is now almost dry. The pillar is broken, but the total length of the two fragments still in existence is stated to be about 25 feet. The capital also has disappeared, and with it the lion surmounting the pillar, to which Hiuen Tsiang refers. There is, moreover, no trace of the inscription of which the pilgrim speaks, but four short lines of Tibetan script record a date and the so-called Buddhist creed *Om maṇi padme hūm*. The more ancient inscription of Aśoka is imperfect; the pillar itself also has been removed from its original position, and now lies at the top and bottom of the high embankment of the tank.

The inscription is in four lines on the lower broken part of the pillar, which together cover 15 or 16 inches in the height of the stone. The rendering is as follows:

> 'His Majesty King Piyadasi [*i.e.* Aśoka] in the fifteenth year of his reign enlarged for the second time the *stūpa* of Buddha Konākamana, and (in the twenty-first year) of his reign, having come in person, he did reverence, and set up (a stone pillar).'[1]

The approximate position of the pillar is lat. 27° 40′ N., long. 82° 10′ E.[2]

Of the numerous Buddhas whose names are recorded in the Buddhist books as predecessors of Gautama it would seem therefore historically probable that a real basis of fact underlies the name and personality of Kanakamuni; and also of his successor Kāśyapa. Nothing more, however, is known of him.

LITERATURE.—The available authorities are cited in the footnotes.

A. S. GEDEN.

KANAUJ (Skr. *kanyā-kubja*, 'the crooked maiden,' in allusion to a legend of the hundred daughters of Kuśanābha, king of the city, who were rendered deformed by the ascetic Vāyu because they refused to comply with his licentious desires [*Rāmāyaṇa*, i. 32]).—A famous ancient city in the Farrukhābād District of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; lat. 27° 3′ N.; long. 79° 56′ E. It has been identified with the Kanogiza of Ptolemy, but this is disputed (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Calcutta, 1885, pp. 134, 227 f.; V. A. Smith, *JRAS*, 1908, p. 766). It was an important seat of Buddhism, as appears from the account by the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, London, 1906, i. 206 ff.); but later, under the Gupta dynasty, it became a centre of Brāhmanical Hinduism. Its last king, Jai Chand, was defeated by Muhammad Ghorī, A.D. 1194 (Smith, *loc. cit.* 765 ff., *Early Hist. of India*³, Oxford, 1914, p. 385 ff.). As the capital of the great monarch Harṣa (A.D. 606–645), and a centre of the two chief religions of N. India, it must have contained numerous religious buildings; but of these nothing now remains above the surface. Out of the materials of some of them the fine Jāmiʿ Masjid, or cathedral mosque, was built in A.D. 1406 by Ibrahīm Shāh of Jaunpur; but the site is still called Sītā-kī Rasoī, 'the kitchen of Sītā,' the heroine of the *Rāmāyaṇa* epic. There are many tombs of Muhammadan saints, the most important being those of Makhdūm Jahāniya, Makhdūm Akhai Jamshīd, and Bālā Pīr and his son Shaikh Mahdī, famous religious teachers who flourished in the reigns of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb. Other names for the city were Kuśasthala, Kauśa, Gādhipura, and Mahodaya (C. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, i.² [Leipzig, 1867] 157 f.).

LITERATURE.—Besides authorities quoted in the art. see *IGI* xiv. [1908] 370 ff.; A. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions, N.W. Prov. and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1891, p. 78 ff.

W. CROOKE.

KĀÑCHĪPURAM (Conjeeveram).—A city in the Chingleput District, lying about 45 miles W.S.W. of Madras.

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[1] Fā-Hian, *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, ch. xxi. (tr. J. Legge, Oxford, 1886, p. 64).

[2] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1906, ii. 19.

[1] V. A. Smith, *Asoka*, Oxford, 1901, p. 146.

[2] P. C. Mukherji, *Report on a Tour of Exploration of the Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, the Region of Kapilavastu, during February and March 1899*, Calcutta, 1901, pp. 30, 56, and pl. xvi.

1. **Name.**—In Tamil literature the most usual form of the name is Kachchi, with or without a suffix signifying 'place,' and this is probably the original name. Regarding its derivation nothing is known. The name Kāñchī is probably a Sanskritized form of the Tamil name, the form Kañchī, which is also found, being perhaps a connecting link between the two. The attempt to connect it with *kāñch* ('to shine') is fanciful. To Kāñchī the suffix *puram* ('place') came to be added. Among Europeans this was corrupted into Conjeveram or Conjeeveram. The older forms, however, are still used by the people and by Indian historical writers.

2. **Significance.**—Kāñchī is included by Saivas and Vaiṣṇavas alike among the seven cities in all India which are regarded as most sacred. How it first came to be so regarded we cannot tell, but that its fame as a sacred city goes back to ancient times is certain. The oldest buildings date from the 7th cent. of our era, but the place was famous at least eight hundred years earlier. As a home of learning its name has been known for nearly two thousand years. The city is of special interest to the student of architecture. In the oldest temples we can study to great advantage the transition from Buddhist to Hindu architecture, and mark the beginning of the Dravidian style (see ARCHITECTURE AND ART [Hindu]), while in some of the temples we can trace the slow evolution of that style through the centuries, until it culminates in the huge structures that astonish the visitor. To the student of religion, too, the city gives a unique opportunity. Almost every religious movement that has affected the South for two thousand years and more has been connected in some way with Kāñchī and has left visible traces of its influence. One has the feeling that, if its story could be fully unravelled, much would be added to our knowledge of the history of South Indian religion. The epigraphical records are unusually numerous, and much valuable work has been done, especially during the last thirty years. But much remains to be done, and many problems remain unsolved. All that is possible in the following sketch is to give the outline of the story, so far as it has been made out with tolerable certainty, with the proviso that further research may lead to some modification in detail.

3. **History.**—(1) *Early period* (*to 4th cent.* A.D.).—The earliest mention of Kāñchī occurs in Patañjali's Commentary on the Grammar of Pāṇini; and Patañjali lived not later than the 2nd cent. B.C. The fact that the name occurs in the Sanskrit form leads to the inference that the place had already been colonized by the Aryans. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the place *c.* A.D. 640, states that 'Tathâgata [Buddha] in olden days, when living in the world, frequented this country much; he preached the law here and converted men' (*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, tr. S. Beal, ii. 229). It is possible that an Aryan migration took place as early as Buddha's day, but that Buddha himself came so far south is extremely improbable. When, however, Hiuen Tsiang goes on to say, 'And therefore Aśôka-râja built *stûpas* over all the sacred spots where these traces exist,' we may accept the substance of the statement as probable, for the *Mahāvaṁsa*—a Buddhist chronicle composed in Ceylon about the 3rd cent. A.D. (T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 276 ff.)—mentions places not far from Kāñchī as among those to which Aśoka sent missionaries. The fact that no trace remains of Buddhist buildings of any kind is not a fatal objection to this view, since such buildings, when Buddhism disappeared, would form valuable quarries for Hindus or Jains, and the buildings which existed in Hiuen Tsiang's day have also disappeared. Regarding the date of the appearance of Jainism in the South nothing is known; but that it had obtained a footing before the end of this period may be taken for granted, since Hiuen Tsiang's testimony shows its prevalence in the succeeding period. If we could be sure that the Tamil epic, the *Maṇimēkhalai*, belonged to the 2nd cent. A.D. (see DRAVIDIANS [South India]), we would have in it an interesting glimpse of Kāñchī during this period, and testimony to the fact that in those early days the votaries of the Brāhmanical religion (doubtless considerably modified by contact with the Animism of the Dravidians) dwelt in a condition of mutual toleration, if not of actual harmony, with Buddhists and Jains; but regarding the date of this work there is considerable doubt, some recent writers putting it as late as the 8th century.

(2) *Pallava period* (*4th to 9th cent.*).—During the greater part of the early period Kāñchī belonged to the Chola empire. Before the end of the period a new power had arisen before which the Chola dominion waned. The Pallavas, of whose origin nothing can be affirmed with certainty, had established themselves in the Āndhra country to the north of Kāñchī about the 2nd cent. A.D., and by the middle of the 4th, if not earlier, they had made Kāñchī their capital. From the 5th cent. to the 8th they were the dominant power in the South, though at times, more especially towards the end of this period, they had to defend themselves against the Chālukyas and Rāṣṭrakūṭas on the North-West, and the reviving Chola power on the South. To this period belongs the visit of Hiuen Tsiang already mentioned. He describes the city, which he calls Kin-chi-pu-lo, as about 30 *li* (5 miles) round.

> 'The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth, and highly esteem learning; in respect of their language and written characters, they differ but little from those of Mid-India. There are some hundred of *saṅghârâmas* and 10,000 priests. They all study the teaching of the Sthavira (*Chang-tso-pu*) school belonging to the Great Vehicle. There are some eighty Dêva temples, and many heretics called Nirgranthas' (*loc. cit.*).

Thus at the time of his visit (A.D. 640) Kāñchī was still a stronghold of the Buddhists. Hiuen Tsiang mentions Dharmapāla, a renowned Buddhist teacher who is said to have flourished shortly before the time of his visit (H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896, pp. 9, 130), as a native of Kāñchī. The Jains (Nirgranthas) apparently lived side by side with the Buddhists. Under the head of 'Dêva temples' he doubtless included the Saiva and Vaiṣṇava temples, and probably the temples of the *ammans*, or Mothers, whom the Dravidians worshipped before the advent of the Aryans. Thus several different forms of Hinduism were already strong; but just about this time began a remarkable revival of Hinduism, before which first Buddhism and then Jainism began to wane. Epigraphical evidence shows that the central shrine of the Kailāsanātha temple was erected by the Pallava king Rājasiṁha (otherwise known as Narasiṁhavarman II.) about A.D. 670, and the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāl temple a few years later by his son Parameśvaravarman II. (Venkayya, *The Pallavas*, p. 17 f.). Several other temples are so similar in style that they may be placed about the same period, and the resemblance to the rock temples of Māmallapuram (the Seven Pagodas) is very striking. Apart from simple excavations, these temples are the oldest in South India which are known to us. Fergusson has shown that they are copied from Buddhist models, being imitations either of the *chaitya*, or hall for common worship, or of the *vihāra*, or monastery. The *vimāna*, or central tower, of the Kailāsanātha temple, for instance, is in the shape of a *vihāra*, and consists of several storeys built up of imitation *chaityas*.

The *gopuram*, or gate-tower (later), is in the form of a *chaitya*, and from such simple beginnings the evolution of the great *gopurams*, which are such a notable feature of the Dravidian style, may be traced (Fergusson, *Hist. of Ind. and East. Arch.*^{2} i. 170–175, 302–362).

But the zeal of the Pallava kings, which showed itself in the building of these temples, was not the only factor in the triumph of Hinduism over its rivals. In Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism alike, during the Pallava period, remarkable groups of poets arose, whose songs in praise of the gods did much to win the people over from Buddhism and Jainism. Appar and Tirujñānasambandhar in the 7th cent., and Sundaramūrti in the 8th or 9th, were the authors of the hymns in praise of Śiva known as the *Dēvāram*. The songs of the twelve Ālvārs, or Vaiṣṇava saints, who are placed in the 6th and three following centuries, are gathered up in the *Nālāyiraprabandham*. How many of these poets actually lived in Kāñchī we cannot say with certainty. Poygai Alvār is said to have been born there (time uncertain), and definite traditions connect Tirujñānasambandhar and Tirumaṅgai Ālvār (9th cent.), among others, with the place. Be this as it may, the shrines of Kāñchī were well known to many of these singers, five Śaiva shrines being mentioned in the *Dēvāram*, and fourteen Vaiṣṇava shrines in the *Nālāyiraprabandham*. These all remain to the present day, though only in cases where the literary evidence is confirmed by the archæological can we be sure that the actual buildings which now exist can be traced so far back (K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, in *Madras Chr. Coll. Mag.*, new ser., xiii. [1913] 244–247). Before the end of the Pallava period still another force was at work. The great Śaṅkara is said to have visited Kāñchī; and, if the usually accepted dates of his life are correct, the visit must have taken place early in the 9th century (*ib.*). Thus alongside of the Śaiva Siddhānta of the *Dēvāram* poets, and the Vaiṣṇavism of the Ālvārs, the *Advaita* (*q.v.*) system came to be taught.

An image of Śaṅkara stands in the temple of Kāmākṣī (a name for the wife of Śiva), and it is said that the goddess cannot stir beyond the temple precincts without getting permission from Śaṅkara. This prohibition is said to originate from Śaṅkara's victory over the goddess, the local tradition being that in Śaṅkara's day Kāmākṣī was a ferocious goddess who could be satisfied only with human blood, and that Śaṅkara brought such pressure to bear on her as to lead her to abandon her evil ways. The legend is only one out of the innumerable stories which cluster round the temples of Kāñchī, and may be of no more historical value than any other. Yet it may be an attempt to depict the victory—only partial—of the philosophic ideas of Śaṅkara over the worship already mentioned, in which evil goddesses are propitiated by bloody offerings, and may even demand human sacrifices. It is interesting to note that to this day the *archakas* (priests) of Kāmākṣī's temple are Nambūdri Brāhmans, who claim to be the descendants of those whom Śaṅkara brought with him from Malabar.

According to local tradition, Śaṅkara conducted a vigorous controversy with the Jains. The fact that nothing is said of the Buddhists in this connexion may be an indication that, so far as Kāñchī was concerned, their day was past. In the 8th and 9th centuries Jainism still flourished, and two of its protagonists, Samantabhadra and Akalaṅka, are associated with Kāñchī. On the whole, however, Hinduism was gaining ground. Of definite persecution of Buddhists and Jains there is little decisive proof, but the combination of royal favour with the efforts of poets and sages led to the disappearance of the followers of these religions, mainly by their gradual absorption into the Hindu community.

(3) *Chola period* (*9th to 14th cent.*).—During this period Kāñchī passed many times from hand to hand, but throughout the greater part of it the Cholas were in undisturbed possession, and for a time made it one of their capitals. In many inscriptions found in Kāñchī and the neighbourhood their victories are celebrated, and much interesting light is thrown on their administration (Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, ch. vi.). In the Chola period Kāñchī became more distinctively than before a Hindu city. The Jains, indeed, retained a considerable measure of influence under the early Chola rulers. There is a strong local tradition that some temples which are now Hindu were once Jain, but the only Jain temple now remaining is just outside the modern city, in the village of Tirupparuttikunram. It is assigned by Fergusson to the 11th cent. (*op. cit.* p. 362), and contains a number of inscriptions of this and the following period (Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, i. 176–187). The legend in the Madura *Sthala Purāṇa* (*Gazetteer of the Madura District*, i. [1906] 254 f.) of the magical efforts made by the Jains of Kāñchī to convert the Śaivas of Madura may be regarded as testimony to the influence which the former were believed to be capable of exerting. But the movements in favour of Hinduism which were in progress in the previous period continued in this. The Chola kings went on with the work of temple-building, as many inscriptions testify (Sewell, *loc. cit.*). New temples were erected and old temples added to, and to old and new alike grants of land were made. Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples shared in this royal favour; but by the 11th cent. Vaiṣṇavism was gaining ground, mainly through the influence of Rāmānujāchārya.

This remarkable teacher was born in Śriperumbūdūr, about 20 miles E. of Kāñchī. Though belonging to a Vaiṣṇava family, he was placed under an Advaita teacher in a village near Kāñchi, but soon rejected the teaching of his master, and became the pupil of a Vaiṣṇava teacher in Kāñchī who is usually known as Kāñchīpūrṇa. Attaching himself to the service of the god Varadarāja (Viṣṇu), he remained in Kāñchī till he was over thirty years of age, when he was called to Śrīraṅgam to succeed Yāmunāchārya as head of the Vaiṣṇava community. He became the developer and exponent of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy, in association with the Vaiṣṇava religion, Viṣṇu being regarded as the Supreme Being. Throughout his long life he was a controversialist, and we read of controversies with Buddhists, Jains, Advaitīs, Śaivas, and Śāktas. On Kāñchī he left an impression which remains to this day. The Śrīvaiṣṇavas, as his followers are called, have for about seven centuries been divided into rival sects—the Teṅkalais, or southern sect, and the Vaḍakalais, or northern sect. The founder of the latter was Vedāntadeśika, who was born at Kāñchī about the middle of the 13th cent., and taught there for several years before being called to Śrīraṅgam (Rajagopalachariar, *Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, pp. 97–125). The Chola period, as we see from this outline, was a period of controversy and sometimes of persecution, Rāmānuja himself in his later years being persecuted by the Chola king Kulottuṅga I. (Govindāchārya, *Life of Rāmānujāchārya*).

(4) *Vijayanagar period* (*14th to 17th cent.*).—After a time of confusion Kāñchī became a part of the great Vijayanagar empire. Though no longer the capital of a kingdom, it was still regarded as the capital of the province of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, and was the seat of a viceroy. Its sacredness was recognized by the Vijayanagar kings. Some of them frequently visited it, and at least one of them had his coronation ceremony performed there. It was in this period that the great temples attained their present huge dimensions, older buildings being added to and adorned, and in some cases surrounded by great courtyards with high walls and lofty *gopurams*. The work of many of the kings can be definitely traced through the inscriptions on the temples, from which we learn that the temples were enriched with many royal gifts. Although the Vijayanagar empire received a severe shock in A.D. 1565, it lingered on as a small kingdom till 1646, when its temporary capital, Chandragiri, was captured by the king of Golkonda. With this Kāñchī passed from Hindu to Muhammadan rule (Sewell, *loc. cit.*; Subrahmanya Aiyar, *Madras Chr. Coll. Mag.*, new ser., xiii. [1914]; for the Vijayanagar rule in general see Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*).

(5) *Modern period* (*middle of 17th cent. to the*

present day).—During the first century of this period Muhammadan rulers were in occupation of the place. This was not indeed their first appearance, for in A.D. 1310 Kāñchī was captured and plundered by Malik Kāfūr, a general of 'Alā-ud-dīn of Delhi. A similar disaster befel it in 1481, when it was sacked by Muḥammad Shāh of Bījāpur.

According to Firishtah, this conqueror was incited to the attack by what he had heard of the wealth of one of the temples, 'the walls and roof of which were plated with gold, ornamented with precious stones' (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 101). Another writer says that the victors 'levelled the city and its temples with the ground, and overthrew all symbols of infidelity, and such a quantity of jewels, valuable pearls, slaves and lovely maidens and all kinds of rarities fell into their hands that they were beyond computation' (quoted by Subrahmanya Aiyar, *loc. cit.*).

This statement must be regarded as an exaggeration. That great booty was carried off is probable, but, though some temples may have been plundered, others escaped with little damage, and survive to this day. Local tradition says that some of the 'symbols of infidelity' were saved by being buried. Such occupation was only temporary, but from 1646 to 1751, when it was captured by the French, Kāñchī was almost continuously under Muhammadan rule, first as part of the kingdom of Golkonda, then conquered by generals of Aurangzīb, and finally included in the dominions of the Nawāb of the Carnatic. During the Carnatic and Mysore wars it changed hands many times, the great temples being used as fortresses. Much damage was done, especially by Haidar 'Alī, who occupied the place in 1768 and again in 1780. In his time the terror of the Hindus was so great that many of the idols were removed to Tanjore and other places, and not till 1799 was confidence sufficiently restored to allow of their return. Meanwhile the district had been granted by the Nawāb to the East India Company in 1759, and, apart from Haidar's occupation, it has remained British territory since that date. During the Muhammadan occupation there was much friction between Muhammadans and Hindus. A number of mosques were erected, and one of the largest was originally a Hindu *maṇḍapam* ('pillared hall'), the pillars of which remain, though any Hindu figures that may have been carved on them have been removed. This mosque bears the date A.H. 1106 (=A.D. 1700), and is said to have been the work of Razafar 'Alī Khān, who came to take vengeance on the Hindus for an outrage to the person of a Muhammadan who had dared to wash his hands in a sacred tank. The same general is credited with the completion of the largest of the mosques, which commemorates a Muhammadan sage, Shāh 'Amīd 'Auliah, regarding whom and his contests with the representatives of Kāmākṣī and other deities many wonderful stories are related (for this period see Crole, *Manual of the Chingleput District*, pp. 141–200).

4. **Present condition.** — Kāñchī now measures nearly 4 miles from N.W. to S.E., with a maximum breadth of about a mile and a half. According to the census of 1911, the population was 53,864. Of these 1746 were returned as Muhammadans, and 139 as Christians. Only a few families of Jains are left, and the only Jain temple is that already referred to as standing outside the city. A small Sikh monastery where the Granth is worshipped forms a rallying place for Sikh pilgrims from the North, who, though not allowed by their creed to worship idols, have a remarkable fondness for visiting Hindu shrines. But, while other religions have retained, or are gaining, a foothold, the city remains essentially Hindu. The visitor is astonished at the number and size of the temples. He finds, too, that almost everything that comes under the title 'Hinduism' is represented in the place. The old Dravidian worship has survived the impact of all the other forces that have been at work, and the *ammans* are still worshipped, sometimes by themselves, sometimes in connexion with the Hindu pantheon. For instance, an obscure goddess called 'Elāgōli amman' is regarded as the mother of Pārvatī, and the latter repairs to her abode every year when her marriage is to be celebrated. In one of the smaller temples, where, among others, the five Pāṇḍavas are worshipped, the principal deity, Reṇukā, the mother of Paraśurāma, is identified with Māri, the Dravidian goddess of smallpox. The majority of the gods, however, are either the great gods of the pantheon under special aspects or deified men.

The principal divisions of the city are known as Śiva Kāñchī and Viṣṇu Kāñchī, but the nomenclature is not strictly accurate, for a number of ancient and important Vaiṣṇava shrines are in Śiva Kāñchī. The greater temples of this section, however, are connected with the worship of Śiva. In the largest of all, Śiva is worshipped as Ekāmranātha. Begun in the Pallava times, celebrated in the *Dēvāram*, and associated with Śaṅkara, this temple has been added to by succeeding dynasties till it now stands as one of the largest in India. Its great tower is 188 ft. in height, and the area enclosed within its outer wall is about 25 acres. Near the central shrine is a mango tree, under which Pārvatī is said to have done penance for putting her hands over Śiva's eyes. The principal object of worship is the *pṛthvī* ('earth') *liṅga*. Among the other objects now worshipped are the sixty-three Śaiva saints. During the last twenty years over £100,000 has been spent on the renovation of the temple by a few wealthy members of Nāṭṭukoṭṭai Cheṭṭi caste. Second in size among the Śaiva temples comes that of Kāmākṣī, already mentioned more than once. Śiva Kāñchī contains seven tanks of special sanctity, each being specially sacred on one day of the week. The largest is the Sarvatīrtham, in which all the Indian rivers are believed to have gathered to witness the penance of Pārvatī. The temples which are shown by architectural evidence to belong to the Pallava period are all in Śiva Kāñchī, and all except one are Śaiva temples.

In Viṣṇu Kāñchī the greatest temple is that of Viṣṇu under the name of Varadarāja (*i.e.*, the kingly giver of boons). It contains many inscriptions of the Chola and Vijayanagar periods (Sewell, *Antiquities*, where it is called the Arulāla Perumāl temple). Although it cannot be distinctly traced further back, it was already famous when Rāmānuja attached himself to it early in the 11th century. It measures about 1200 ft. in length and 800 in breadth, being unsurpassed in size in the whole city except by the Ekāmranātha temple. Its hall of 100 pillars is an excellent specimen of the carving of the Vijayanagar period. Although the temple is said to have been plundered by Haidar, it still has great wealth. It is said that a Brāhman devotee vowed that he would not eat on any day till he had collected Rs.10, and that he collected in all Rs.24,000, with which valuable ornaments were purchased. Rāmānuja and other great Āchāryas (or Vaiṣṇava teachers), and several of the Ālvārs, are worshipped within the precincts. The comprehensive nature of Hinduism is illustrated by the fact that at one end of the temple the lofty philosophy of Rāmānuja is taught in a Sanskrit college, while near the other offerings are presented to a living cobra. The great festival of this temple is by far the most important of all that are connected with the city. It takes place in the month of Vaikāśi (May–June), and lasts nominally for ten days; but, as the car festival counts as one day, and seldom occupies less than three, the festival usually continues at least twelve days. Except on the seventh day, when the idol is drawn in a huge car which takes about a thousand people to pull, the image, adorned with the temple jewels, is carried out morning and evening on different vehicles. The procession, after passing along the narrow main street of Viṣṇu Kāñchī, enters the broad street of Śiva Kāñchī (said to date from Chola times); and, after going round that portion of the city, it returns, the total distance traversed being about six miles. According to the local legends, Viṣṇu and Śiva are brothers-in-law, and the Vaiṣṇava deity on the sixth day of the festival rests for a time in a *maṇḍapam* in front of Śiva's great temple. A strange relic of the Muhammadan domination is found in the fact that, when the daily procession reaches a *maṇḍapam* near the tomb of Shāh 'Amīd 'Auliah, a representative of that sage receives tribute in the shape of two small cakes of different kinds, one in the morning, and the other in the evening. On the third day of the festival, when the image is carried on the *garuḍa*, or mythical kite, which is Viṣṇu's special vehicle, it has to submit to the doubtful compliment of receiving a garland from the representatives of a small shrine belonging to the Pariahs. During these days large crowds, including many of the rich and educated, assemble from far and near, and men of wealth vie with one another in meeting the expense of the fireworks and other means of popular enjoyment. At all times, and especially during the festival, the authorities have to be on their guard to prevent rioting between the two sects of the Vaiṣṇavas, the Teṅkalais and the Vaḍakalais. The old feuds between Hindus and Muhammadans are at an end, and Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism no longer manifest the rivalry of an earlier day. The controversy is now between these two sects into which Rāmānuja's followers are divided, and, while the great majority of the sectarians know little or nothing of the points of difference,[1] feeling always runs high, and law-suits dealing with the position of the two sects in connexion with the temple worship go up from court to court, occasionally even reaching the Privy Council. While the festival of Varadarāja far surpasses all others, there are probably not many days in the year when some temple or other is not *en fête*; and quite apart from special festivals a stream of pilgrims from the most distant parts of India pours unceasingly through the place. For their entertainment many *choultries* ('rest-houses') have been built and endowed.

As a seat of learning, Kāñchī retains something of its ancient glory. In addition to the Viśiṣṭādvaita College, there are several Sanskrit schools, and some of the *gurus* who instruct pupils privately have a wide reputation. The Tamil scriptures are also extensively studied. Education on modern lines is now becoming popular, and is represented chiefly by two large high schools; the older of these dates from 1839, and is carried on by the United Free Church of Scotland, while the other is supported by an endowment left by a wealthy native of the place.

LITERATURE.—R. Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, 2 vols., Madras, 1882–84, *A Forgotten Empire*, London, 1900; *South Indian Inscriptions*, ed. E. Hultzsch, Madras, i. (1890), iii. pt. 2 (1903); numerous references in *Epigraphia Indica*, esp. viii. [Calcutta, 1905–06], ed. E. Hultzsch; Hiuen Tsiang, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, tr. S. Beal, London, 1906, ii.; C. S. Crole, *Manual of the Chingleput District*, Madras, 1879 (superseded as far as periods (1)–(4) in § 3 are concerned); V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, do. 1904; J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*², ed. J. Burgess, i., London, 1910; V. Venkayya, *The Pallavas*, Madras, 1907; A. Rea, 'Pallava Architecture,' *Archæological Survey*, new imperial series, xxxiv., Madras, 1909 (somewhat unreliable, but containing many valuable plates); K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar, 'The Ancient History of Conjeeveram,' *Madras Christian College Magazine*, new ser., xiii. (1913–14), 'The Origin of Buddhism and Jainism in Southern India,' *IA* xl. (1911); V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*³, Oxford, 1914; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, with introd. by V. A. Smith, London and Madras, 1911; A. Govindāchārya, *The Holy Lives of the Āzhwārs*, Mysore, 1902, *The Life of Rāmānujāchārya*, Madras, 1906; C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyar, *Sri Sankaracharya*, do., n.d.; T. Rajagopalachariar, *The Vaishnavite Reformers of India*, do. 1909. The present writer is much indebted to Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Superintendent of Archæology to the Maharaja of Travancore, for valuable information and guidance.

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KĀÑCHULIYĀS.—A class of Indian Śāktas (*q.v.*). The name is derived from the Skr. *kañchulī*, 'a bodice.' They are found in Southern India (*Madras Manual of Administration*, i., Madras, 1886), where they are called Kāñjuliyās (from *kañjuli*, the Tamil corruption of *kañchulī*), and have also been noted in Bombay. They are adherents of the most extreme left-handed Śākta doctrines, their chief ceremony culminating in the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes. This ceremony is called *ghaṭa-kañchulī*, or 'jar and bodice.' The number of male and female celebrants must be equal. A jar is placed in the centre of the place of worship, into which each woman throws her bodice, leaving the upper part of her body exposed. An orgy of eating and drinking is followed by each man taking at random a bodice from the jar and pairing with its owner, however near in kin to him she may be, for the rest of the night.

LITERATURE.—For a general account of these orgies see J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, ed. H. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906, p. 286 ff., and H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, i. 257 ff. W. Ward's *View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos*³, do. 1817, i. 247 ff., may also be consulted. For the ghaṭa-kañchulī worship see Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 263, and (for Bombay) K. Raghunāthjī, in *IA* x. [1881] 73, 287. Cf. also the Uchchhiṣṭa-Gāṇapatyas, in art. GĀṆAPATYAS.

G. A. GRIERSON.

KANDH, KHOND (the derivation of the name is uncertain; G. Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa*, 1893, p. 144, connects their title Koī, Kuī, with *ko*, *ku*, 'a mountain'; Risley, *TC* i. 398, connects it with *khāṇḍā*, 'a sword,' said to be the distinguishing mark of the tribe).—A tribe found in Bengal and Madras, the bulk of those formerly residing in the Central Provinces having passed into Bengal on the transfer to that province of the States of Kālāhandī and Patnā and the Sambalpur District. According to the Census of 1911, they number 673,346, of whom 355,137 are found in Madras, 302,883 in Bihar and Orissa, and the remainder in Bengal, the Central Provinces and Berar, and Assam. The tribe has for a long time attracted the attention of anthropologists owing to their custom of human sacrifice, known as *Meriah*. But, owing to their isolation, the information regarding them is still incomplete.

'Much has been written about them; but from reports received it seems clear that observers have in some cases been too ready to attribute to the whole of the tribe customs which are in reality only locally observed. A people which is split up, as they are, by hill and jungle into communities which cannot easily communicate with one another naturally develop a considerable diversity in their ways' (*Madras Census Report*, 1901, i. 161).

1. The tribe in Bengal.—The earliest and most generally accepted account of their beliefs is that of S. C. Macpherson (*Memorials of Service in India*, ch. vi. p. 84 ff.).

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[1] The distinction is mainly connected with ritual, the Vaḍakalais using extracts from the Veda (Skr.), while the Teṅkalais use the *Nālāyiraprabandham* (Tamil). Doctrinally, it is analogous to that between Arminianism and Calvinism. The Vaḍakalais hold the 'monkey' doctrine, that the soul must cling to God as a monkey cub to its mother; the Teṅkalais maintain the 'cat' doctrine, that God takes hold of the soul as a cat does of her kitten. Further, the Vaḍakalais observe caste-restrictions far more closely than the Teṅkalais (see Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*⁴, London, 1891, pp. 124–127.

He represented them as believing in 'One Supreme Being, self-existing, the source of good, and Creator of the universe, of the inferior gods, and of man. This divinity is called, in some districts, Boora Pennu, or the God of Light; in others, Bella Pennu, or the Sun God; and the sun and the place from which it rises beyond the sea are the chief seats of his presence. Boora Pennu, in the beginning, created for himself a consort, who became Tari Pennu, or the Earth goddess, and the source of evil.' Finding her wanting in wifely complaisance, he determined to create from the earth a new being, man, who should render to him the most assiduous and devoted service, and to form from it also every variety of animal and vegetable life necessary to man's existence. 'The creation was perfectly free from moral and physical evil. Men enjoyed free intercourse with the Creator. They lived without labour upon the spontaneous abundance of the earth; they enjoyed everything in common, and lived in perfect harmony and peace. They went unclothed. They had power to move not only on the earth, but through the air and the sea. The lower animals were all perfectly innocuous' (p. 84 ff.). This paradise was destroyed by the intrigues of Tari Pennu, who 'instilled into the heart of man every variety of moral evil . . . and at the same time introduced every species of physical evil into the material creation. . . . Boora Pennu, by the application of antidotes, arrested and held in abeyance the elements of physical evil; but he left man perfectly free to receive or reject moral evil.' Those who remained sinless he raised to the rank of immortal gods. 'Upon the corrupted mass of mankind Boora Pennu inflicted high moral penalties by the withdrawal of the antidotes which had arrested them. He entirely withdrew his face and his immediate guardianship from mankind. He made all who had fallen subject to death; and he further ordained that, in future, every one who should commit sin should suffer death as its consequence. Universal discord and war prevailed, so that all social and even family ties were broken up.' Some, he goes on to say, believe that Boora 'proved triumphant in the contest, and, as an abiding sign of the discomfiture of Tari, imposed the cares of childbirth upon her sex.' Others, however, hold 'that she remained unconquered, and still maintains the struggle with various success' (p. 86 f.). 'Boora Pennu, say his sect, resolved that, for his own honour, his work should not be lost, but that man should be enabled to attain to a state of moderate enjoyment upon earth, and to rise after death, through the practice of virtue, to a state of beatitude and partial restoration to communion with his Maker' (p. 88). Six deities 'were created to meet the primary wants of man on earth after the introduction of evil, namely: 1. Pidzu Pennu, the god of rain. 2. Boorbi Pennu, the goddess of new vegetation and firstfruits. 3. Pitterri Pennu, the god of increase, and of gain in every shape. 4. Klambo Pennu, the god of the chase. 5. Loha Pennu, the god of war (literally the iron god). 6. Sundi Pennu, the god of boundaries. To which is to be added, as an inferior god of the first class, 7. Dinga Pennu, the judge of the dead' (p. 89 f.). 'Next in rank to this class of inferior gods is the class of deified sinless men of the first age. . . . The third class of inferior deities are sprung from the gods of the first two classes. . . . The following are the chief of this class of gods: 1. Nadzu Pennu, the village god; 2. Soro Pennu, the hill god; 3. Jori Pennu, the god of streams; 4. Idzu Pennu, the family or house god; 5. Moonda Pennu, the tank god; 6. Sooga Pennu, the god of fountains; 7. Gossa Pennu, the forest god; 8. Kootti Pennu, the god of ravines; 9. Bhora Pennu, the god of new fruits produced on tree or shrubs' (p. 90 f.). 'Men are endowed with four souls. First, there is a soul which is capable of beatification and restoration to communion with Boora. Secondly, there is a soul which is attached to some tribe upon earth and reborn for ever in that tribe, so that upon the birth of every child the priest declares, after inquiry, which of the members of the tribe has returned. Thirdly, there is a soul which endures the sufferings inflicted as the punishment of sin, and performs the transmigrations imposed on that account. This soul, moreover, has the power of temporarily quitting the body at the will of a god, leaving it weakened, languid, sleepy, and out of order. Thus, when a man becomes a priest, this soul always leaves his body for a time to hold an interview with, and receive instructions from, the god who has appointed him his minister; and when, by the aid of a god, a man becomes a tiger, . . . this, I believe, is the soul which animates the bestial form. Fourthly, there is a soul which dies on the dissolution of the body' (p. 91 f.). Dinga Pennu, judge of the dead, administers justice to departed souls. 'The chief sins are: 1. To refuse hospitality, or to abandon a guest; 2. to break an oath or promise, or to deny a gift; 3. to speak falsely, except to save a guest; 4. to break a solemn pledge of friendship; 5. to break an old law or custom; 6. to commit incest; 7. to contract debts, the payment of which is ruinous to a man's tribe, which is responsible for the engagements of all its members; 8. to skulk in time of war; 9. to betray a public secret' (p. 92 ff.).

This elaborate system of mythology and ethics naturally gave rise to criticism. J. Campbell (*Thirteen Years' Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan*) disputed the statements made by Macpherson.

He calls the Kandhs 'a degenerate race, with all the ignorance and superstition of savages' (p. 15); 'just what I expected barbarians to be—sunk in the depths of ignorance, superstition, and sensuality' (p. 108). He protests against Lord Elphinstone's assertion that 'in their religion we find traces of the primitive elemental worship of the Vedas before it was overlaid by the superstructure which now almost conceals it from our eyes, as well as from those of the generality of Hindoos themselves' (p. 39). He expresses wonder that such a pantheon as Macpherson described could be asserted to exist among such an ignorant people, 'and in the course of my long inquiries and researches, I found nothing in the hill districts resembling the array of deities referred to in this report' (p. 163). 'Sacred images of the most barbarous type are to be found in most villages, and of these the priests, as ignorant as the rest of the people, can give no intelligible account. Indeed, save at the time of sacrifice, when wrath is to be averted, and their malignant deity propitiated by the offering of human blood, the Khonds are a most irreligious people' (p. 163 f.). They have no idols more artistic than 'a log of wood, sometimes rudely fashioned after the manner of some animal's head, and only used on the occasion of the immolation of a human victim'; and he denies the existence of a priesthood corresponding to 'the elaborate system of idolatry provided for this semi-barbarous people' (p. 165). Campbell, it is true, was, for official reasons, hostile to Macpherson. But there seems little reason to distrust his general conclusion that Macpherson, who knew little of the tribal dialects, was misled by his interpreters and native subordinates. The whole story illustrates the danger of such methods of inquiry. At the same time, Būṛhā Deo, the consort of the earth-goddess, is a deity worshipped by the Goṇḍs and kindred tribes. In fact, Dalton, though his acquaintance with the Kandhs was limited, is inclined to believe that, while Macpherson's system of mythology and ethics is 'more profound than one would expect to find amongst so ignorant a people,' and that it is 'a melange of Genesis, the several Hindu systems, and primitive paganism. . . . it is quite possible that such a system may have been gradually built up for them by Bráhmans, Gosáins, and other Hindus, who not only lived amongst them, but joined in their sacrifices, supplemented by notions gleaned from Missionary teaching or books' (*Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 296). Risley (*TC*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 403) regards Macpherson's account as 'quite out of keeping with their primitive social organization, and one is inclined to suspect that the persons from whom he derived his information must have described to him rather their ideal view of what the religion of the tribe ought to be than what it actually was. . . . The Kandhs of the Kandhmals recognise three principal gods—Dharma Pennu, Sáru Pennu, and Táru Pennu. The functions of Dharma Pennu appear to be of a somewhat more general character than those assigned to the other two. No regular times or seasons are fixed for his worship, and he is appealed to only in cases of illness or at the birth of a first child. His worship is performed by a *guru* who may be of any caste, but is usually either a Kandh or a Pán. The *gurus* usually have the power of throwing themselves or feigning to throw themselves into a state of hypnotic trance, and are supposed to be able to cure diseases by touching people, tying them up with bits of thread, and similar mummery. Sáru Pennu is the god of the hills, a divinity apparently of much the same type as the Marang Buru of the Santáls and Mundas. He is a jealous god, and does not like people to trespass on his domain, and the chief object of the worship which is performed in his honour in April and May is to induce him to protect from the attacks of wild animals people whose business takes them among the forest-clad hills of the Kandhmals, and also to secure a full yield of the jungle products which the Kandhs, like most similar tribes, use so largely for food. The priests of Sáru Pennu are called *dehuri*, and the appropriate offerings are a goat and a fowl with rice and strong drink. The offerings are partaken of by the worshippers. Táru Pennu, the earth god, takes the place among these Kandhs of Tári Pennu, the earth *goddess*, familiar to students of the voluminous official literature which treats of the suppression of human sacrifice among the Kandhs. He is believed to be very vindictive, and to wreak his anger upon those who neglect his worship, afflicting them with various diseases, destroying their crops, and causing them to be devoured by tigers and leopards. In order to avoid these evils the Kandhs offer buffaloes and goats to the god at irregular intervals, apparently whenever they think that he stands in need of being appeased. His priests are called *jhankar*, and the person who actually sacrifices the animals is known as *jani*. The functions of the *dehuri*, the *jhankar*, and the *jani* are hereditary.'

2. Human sacrifice.—The chief interest in the religion of the Kandhs rests in their system of human sacrifice, which has now, under the pressure of the British Government, been discontinued. A full account of these rites, based on the authorities already quoted — Macpherson, Campbell, Dalton, Risley—is given by J. G. Frazer in his *GB*^{8}, pt. v. vol. i. (London, 1912) p. 245 ff. As Frazer's account is generally accessible, only a bare summary is required. The *Meriahs* (Oriya *mĕrĭā*, from Kandh *meroi*, *mervi*, or *mrivi*, 'a human victim'; see *Man*, xi. [1911] 38) were sacrificed to Tārī Pennu, the earth-goddess, in order to ensure good crops and immunity from disease and accidents. It was necessary that they should be bought for a price, and they were procured through the agency of the menial Pān tribe from the plains of Bengal. The victim was well treated before the sacrifice, which was preceded by several days of revelry and debauchery. He was anointed with oil, butter, and turmeric. There was a struggle to secure relics of his person while he was tied to the sacrificial post. This post was often in the form of a peacock or elephant. The only surviving example is preserved in the Madras Museum (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, iii. 371, with photograph, p. 377). Before sacrifice the victim was sometimes led in procession, and he was finally killed by being either strangled or squeezed to death. The flesh was divided among the participants in the rite, who buried it in their fields. Frazer disputes the theory suggested in the contemporary accounts of the rite, that the victims were offered to propitiate the earth-goddess. The custom, he thinks, cannot be explained merely as a propitiatory sacrifice. Part of the flesh was certainly offered to the goddess; but the rest was buried in the fields, or the ashes were scattered over them; some was laid in the form of paste in the granaries, or mixed with the new corn.

> 'These latter customs imply that to the body of the Meriah there was ascribed a direct or intrinsic power of making the crops to grow, quite independent of the indirect efficacy which it might have as an offering to secure the good-will of the deity. In other words, the flesh and ashes of the victim were believed to be endowed with a magical or physical power of fertilising the land. The same intrinsic power was ascribed to the blood and tears of the Meriah, his blood causing the redness of the turmeric and his tears producing rain; for it can hardly be doubted that, originally at least, the tears were supposed to bring down the rain, not merely to prognosticate it. Similarly the custom of pouring water on the buried flesh of the Meriah was no doubt a rain-charm. Again, magical power as an attribute of the Meriah appears in the sovereign virtue believed to reside in anything that came from his person, as his hair or spittle. The ascription of such power to the Meriah indicates that he was much more than a mere man sacrificed to propitiate a deity. Once more, the extreme reverence paid him points to the same conclusion. . . . In short, the Meriah seems to have been regarded as divine. As such, he may originally have represented the Earth Goddess or, perhaps, a deity of vegetation; though in later times he came to be regarded rather as a victim offered to a deity than as himself an incarnate god' (*GB^3*, pt. v. vol. i. p. 250).

The Kandh prayers are discussed by Tylor (*PC^2*, London, 1873, ii. 268 f.) and by Farnell (*The Evolution of Rel.*, do. 1905, p. 183).

3. Beliefs in the Central Provinces.—The following account refers to the tribe before its transfer to Bengal. The belief in a future state is indicated by the death customs. A rupee or copper coin is tied in the shroud, so that the deceased may not go penniless to the other world. Sometimes his clothes and bows and arrows are buried with him. On the tenth day the soul is brought back to his family. Outside the village, where two roads meet, rice is offered to a cock, and if it eats it is a sign that the soul has come. The soul is then asked to ride on a bow-stick covered with cloth, and this is brought to the house and placed in a corner with those of other relatives. The souls are fed annually with rice at the harvest and *Dasahrā* festivals. In Sambalpur a ball of powdered rice is placed under a tree with a lighted lamp near it, and the first insect that settles on the ball is supposed to be the soul, and it is brought home and revered. The souls of infants who die before the umbilical cord has dropped off are not brought back, because they are considered scarcely to have come into existence. One cause of female infanticide among the tribe was the belief that the souls of girl children would not be born again. The souls of women who die during pregnancy, or after a miscarriage, or during the monthly period of impurity, are not brought back, no doubt because they are held to be malignant spirits (*Ethnographical Survey Central Provinces*, pt. vii. [1911] p. 55).

The *Semī-jātrā*, or bean festival, is held in November when that crop is ripe; some offerings are made to the earth-god to obviate the risk of consuming the firstfruits. A similar festival in March, called the *Mahūl-jātrā*, solemnizes the ripening of the *mahuā* (*Bassia latifolia*), as the *Dasahrā* in September marks the rice harvest, when new rice is offered to the earth-god. Before these festivals it is dangerous to eat these kinds of food (*ib.* 58 f.).

The pantheon includes eighty-four gods, of whom Dharnī Deotā, the earth-godling, is chief. He is supposed to have replaced the female deity, Tārī Pennu or Berā Pennu. Such change of sex is not unusual; in Chhattīsgaṛh the earth-deity is either a male, Ṭhākur Deo, or a female, Ṭhakurānī Māī. The earth-god is usually accompanied by Bhātbarsī Deotā, godling of hunting. Dharnī Deotā is represented by a triangular wooden peg driven into the ground, and Bhātbarsī has a place at his feet in the shape of a piece of conglomerate stone with circular granules. Once in four or five years a buffalo is offered to the earth-godling in lieu of the human sacrifice which is now prohibited, as in Madras a monkey is sometimes substituted for the *Meriah* (E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of S. India*, London, 1912, p. 207). The animal is predestined for sacrifice from its birth, and is allowed to wander loose and graze on the crops at will. The stone representing Bhātbarsī is examined periodically, and when the granules on it appear to have increased it is decided that the time has come for sacrifice. In Kālāhaṇḍī a lamb is sacrificed every year, and strips of the flesh are distributed to all the villagers, who bury them in their fields as a divine means of fertilization, as the flesh of the human victim was formerly buried. The Kandh worships his bow and arrows before he goes out hunting. He believes that every hill and valley has its own deity, who must be propitiated with the promise of a sacrifice before his territory is entered; if this is not done, he will hide the animals within it from the hunter, or will help them to escape when wounded. These deities are closely related to each other, and it is important when arranging an expedition to know the connexion between them. This information can be obtained from any one on whom the divine afflatus periodically descends (*ib.* 59 f.).

4. Beliefs in Madras.—Various accounts of the beliefs of the tribe in Madras are on record. At Chollapadam in the Vizagapatam District, worship is offered to Koṇḍā Deotā, the nameless mountain spirits, who dwell in a hill cave; to Jākarā, the tribal deity, of whom a Kandh is priest; to Polamma, a village deity imported from the Telugu country, whose priest is a Jātapū, or civilized Kandh; and to Kāṣīviśveṣvara, 'lord of the universe,' Śiva at Kāṣī or Benares, at whose shrine a Jaṅgam Liṅgayat (*q.v.*) officiates, the chief festival being held at the Śivarātri, or 'night of Śiva' (W. Francis, *Vizagapatam Gaz.*, 1907, i. 75). In the Ganjam District the soul is believed to survive the death of the body, and on the day after death a little cooked rice is laid on the spot where the cremation took place, and the priest delivers an incantation asking the spirit to eat the food, to enjoy itself, and not to change into an evil spirit, or a tiger, and worry the relatives. Purification follows a death; and, when a man is killed by a tiger, a pig is sacrificed and the body of the animal is passed between the feet of the villagers; it is a bad omen for any one if it happens to touch his legs (Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, iii. 395). Another sacrifice intended to save the cattle from injury consists in burying the head of a chicken near the post of the cowshed, and in front of it a rotten egg. When the cattle come home in the evening, the women, who have fasted all day, are obliged to eat; drinking and dancing follow for two days, during which time the manure is not removed from the shed. On the third day a lump of manure is brought out by each owner and thrown in a heap, over which the priest pours spirituous liquor and rice (*ib.* iii. 406 f.). Oaths are taken before a basket containing a blood-sucker (lizard), a bit of tiger's skin, a peacock's feather, earth from an ant-hill, rice mixed with fowl's blood, and a lighted lamp. Witchcraft is common, and various forms of ordeal are used, such as holding the hand of the suspected person in boiling water; if the hand is scalded, the accused is condemned and has to pay a fine to the tribe (*ib.* iii. 408 f.). From a still more recent account it appears that the Hindu belief in *karma* and reincarnation is not found, except in a vague way, among those who have come in contact with the people of the plains. They certainly believe in the survival of the spirit after death, and in its possible temporary transference during life, it being commonly supposed that the spirit of a man killed by a tiger guides the animal in its search for other victims. But it is very difficult to distinguish their beliefs from those of the Hinduized peasantry in their neighbourhood. Their gods are Bura Penu, who with his wife Piteri (probably the S. Indian Pidari) is worshipped as Creator of mankind, who controls a host of minor gods; Dondo Penu, god of hunting, who lives in sacred trees which no one dares to cut; Loha Penu, god of iron, who directs the arrows of his votaries against the enemy and averts their counter-shafts; Odu Penu, god of the outside, who is the village guardian, in which duty he is assisted by Dandere Penu, the door-keeper, who watches the back of the village, Darni Penu, who watches the inside from beneath a heap of stones, beside which a rotten egg is buried, Teki Penu, god of vessels, who guards the house goods, and Goheli Penu, god of the stable, who protects the animals from tigers. Besides these are Murdo and Rugo, deities of smallpox and cholera; another god whose activity is chiefly shown by his demanding tobacco; a god of precipices and a hot spring at which worship is offered. If there is no actual ancestor-worship, tales are told of hero and giant forefathers (*Madras Census Report*, 1911, i. 62 ff.).

5. Totemism.—Among the branch of the tribe in Madras there are three totemistic septs named after a peacock's egg, a small bird, and a dung-worm, which are nominally exogamous, though the strictness of this prohibition has now become weakened. How far each sept reveres its totem is a matter of uncertainty (*Madras Census Report*, 1911, i. 65). Among the northern branch of the tribe more precise information has been collected by J. E. Friend-Pereira (*JASB* lxxiii. pt. iii. [1905] p. 40 ff.), fully analyzed by J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, ii. 305 ff.

LITERATURE For the Bengal branch of the tribe: S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, London, 1865; J. Campbell, *Thirteen Years' Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan*, do. 1864; E. T. Dalton, *Descrip. Ethnol. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872; H. H. Risley, *TC*, Calcutta, 1891; W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, London, 1872. For the Madras branch: E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes* (with a detailed bibliography), Madras, 1909, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, do. 1906; *Census Reports Madras*, 1901, 1911; *District Manuals* (*Ganjam*, by T. J. Maltby and G. D. Leman, 1882; *Vizagapatam*, by D. F. Carmichael, Madras, 1869, W. Francis, 1907); G. Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa*, Westminster, 1893.

W. CROOKE.

KANDY.—Kandy is a small modern town in Ceylon, beautifully situated on the border of a lake in a plain about 1718 ft. above sea level, and about 75 miles nearly N.W. of Colombo. The mountains, 2000 to 4000 ft. higher, rise around it; and in the Sinhalese time the town was difficult to approach, being surrounded by thick jungle. It was the residence of the kings of Ceylon from 1592 to 1798. During this period the kingdom of Ceylon had reached the lowest depth of disorder and decay. Half its territory was lost; and the half still remaining was harassed by frequent civil wars between rival claimants to the throne; and, when one or other of these claimants succeeded in gaining the upper hand over his rivals, there were recurring struggles against outside enemies—Tamils, Portuguese, Dutch, and, finally, English. These rival claimants to the throne were not Sinhalese but South Indians by blood, and by religion, though nominally Buddhist, were at heart Hindus. They built four *devālas*, Hindu temples, in the town.

Knox unfortunately gives no description of Kandy. But we have a good one by John Pybus, who was there in 1762. It is preserved in *Account of Mr. Pybus's Mission to the King of Kandy*, reprinted from the Madras Government records by the Government printer in Ceylon in 1862. We read there (p. 35) that the town then consisted of two main streets (the one running north and south being about a mile long) and several cross streets. Only a few of the houses were tiled. The streets were not lit; but about 8 o'clock a bell was rung along them, and after that no one was allowed abroad unless he carried a large light in his hand. The Palace was a rambling pile to the south of these streets with a large garden in front of it. This is confirmed by J. Forbes,[1] but in his time the lake which Pybus does not mention had been constructed 'by the late king' Rāja Siñha in 1807. J. E. Tennent, writing about 30 years later,[2] describes the modern European town, and the wonderful road to it up the Kadugannāwa Pass. It is now a prosperous little place of about 25,000 inhabitants, with a busy railway station, and many villas on the slopes of the surrounding hills.

The English name, Kandy, is a corruption of the old name, not of the town, but of the county or province in which it was situated. This was Kanda-uda ('Up in the Hills'). The Sinhalese name of the town was Senkada-gala-nuwara.

Besides the four Hindu temples there are two small *vihāras*, or residences for members of the Buddhist Order, named respectively Asgiriya and Malwatte Vihāra. No one, according to a regulation issued, in defiance of the old *Vinaya* (the Rules of the Order), by the Sinhalese court, can be received into the Order except at a chapter held at one or other of these *vihāras*.[3] There is also the well-known Daladā Maligāwa, a pretty little building containing the supposed tooth of the Buddha—really not a human tooth at all, but possibly the tooth of some pre-historic animal. The history of this supposed relic is long and complicated, and has been the subject of various writings. In the 13th cent. Dhamma-kitti wrote a Pāli poem about it based on an older Sinhalese work in prose.[4] According to the tradition preserved in this poem, the tooth was brought to Ceylon in the 4th cent. of our era, and had remained there up to the time when the poem, the *Dāṭhā Vaṁsa*, was written. According to Portuguese accounts quoted by Tennent (*loc. cit.*), the Portuguese captured the tooth, ground it to powder, and threw the powder into the harbour at Goa. The Sinhalese say that the tooth thus destroyed was a Hindu relic seized by the Portuguese in the Tamil country at Jaffna, and that the Buddhist relic now in Kandy is identical with the one whose history was written by Dhamma-kitti.

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[1] *Eleven Years in Ceylon*^{2} [1827–38], London, 1841, i. 299–301.

[2] *Ceylon*^{2}, London, 1859, ii. 194–221.

[3] See Forbes, *op. cit.* i. 299.

[4] Edited by the present writer in Roman characters in *JPTS*, 1884.

Kandy was taken by the English in 1815, and the king of Kandy was deported to Vellore in S. India, where he subsequently died.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are given in the article.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

KAṆHERĪ (Skr. *Kṛṣṇagiri*, 'hill of Kṛṣṇa').—One of the most important of the Buddhist cave temples in the island of Salsette, about 16 miles N. of Bombay; lat. 19° 13′ N.; long. 72° 59′ E.

The site, lonely, picturesque, and close to the great trading marts of the W. coast, combines the three leading characteristics of the chief groups of W. India temples. 'But Kanheri is the only rock-cut monastery in W. India that has the feeling of having been, and of being ready again to be, a pleasant and popular dwelling-place. The rows of cells, water-cisterns, dining-halls, lecture-halls, and temples joined by worn flights of rock-cut steps, and the crowded burial gallery show what a huge brotherhood must have once lived in Kanheri' (*BG* xiv. [1882] 123). The caves were excavated at various periods, the great Chaitya cave bearing an inscription of Yajña Śrī Gautamīputra Siriyaṇa Sātakarṇi, a king of the Āndhra dynasty (A.D. 173–202) (V. A. Smith, *Early Hist.*^{3}, Oxford, 1914, p. 211). Not far off is the Darbār Cave, which 'is not a *vihāra* in the ordinary sense of the term, though it has some cells, but a *Dharmaśāla* or place of assembly, and is the only cave now known that enables us to realize the arrangements of the great hall erected by Ajāta Śatru in front of the Sattapanni cave at Rājāgriha, to accommodate the first convocation held immediately after the death of Buddha' (Fergusson-Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880, p. 353).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works quoted in the art., see J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Arch.*, ed. London, 1910, i. 162 ff.; *BG* xiv. [1882] 121 ff.; L. Rousselet, *India and its Native Princes*, London, 1882, p. 49; *IGI* xiv. [1908] 399.

W. CROOKE.

KANIṢKA.—Kaniṣka was an Indo-Scythian king of N. India and Afghānistān, who plays the part of a second Aśoka in the traditions of the Buddhist schools of N. India, Tibet, China, and Mongolia, especially as the convener of a council held in Kashmīr, or, according to certain authorities, at Jālandhar (see COUNCILS [Buddhist]). His name is sometimes spelt *Kāniṣka* in inscriptions. It appears on coins in Greek script as *Kanērki*, or in the genitive *Kanērkou*, which some scholars read as *Kanēshki* and *Kanēshkou* respectively. Kashmīr tradition gives the variant *Kaniṣṭha*, which becomes *Kanit'a* in Chinese.

He was a member of the Kushān (Kuṣana, Guṣana, or, according to von Holstein, Kuṣa) section of the great Yuechi nation of Central Asian nomads, and is mentioned in numerous Indian inscriptions bearing dates ranging from 3 to 41. Prolonged controversy has ranged round the interpretation of these dates, and general agreement has not yet been attained. In the opinion of the present writer, it is certain that Kaniṣka was the immediate successor of Kadphises II. (Wima, etc., of coins and inscriptions, Yen-kao-ching, etc., of Chinese), and almost certain that his accession (or possibly coronation) coincides with A.D. 78, the epoch of the Śaka era. That era appears to have been established by Kaniṣka.

Kaniṣka, who is often described as king of Gandhāra, had his capital at Puruṣapura (Peshāwar), and was a powerful monarch, whose influence, as Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang) testifies, extended to distant regions, even into the basin of the Tārīm beyond the Pāmīrs. He held all the countries now included in the kingdom of Afghānistān, at least as far as the Oxus, and was the lord paramount of the whole of N.W. India. His arms are said to have penetrated to Pāṭaliputra, and his dominions included Sind. His viceroys, called 'satraps' after the Persian fashion, ruled W. India from Nāsik and Ujjain. He warred against the Parthians, and in his later years seems to have conquered from China the regions now known as Chinese Turkestan. It is said that he was murdered by discontented officers while he was engaged in a trans-Himālayan campaign. Vāsiṣka and Huviṣka (Huṣka), probably his sons, appear to have ruled the Indian provinces on his behalf, while he was absent on his distant wars. Vāsiṣka apparently predeceased him. Huviṣka certainly succeeded him in the rule of the entire empire, probably about A.D. 123. The father of Kaniṣka was Vajheṣka (? Vajheṣpa), presumably a near relation of Kadphises II.

During the long reign of Kaniṣka his Indian subjects divided their allegiance among the three great indigenous religions—Buddhism in its various forms, Brāhmanical Hinduism, and Jainism. Kadphises II. had favoured the Śaiva form of Hinduism, but there is no evidence that Kaniṣka took any interest in the doctrines of the Brāhmans. The occurrence of numerous Persian deities on his coinage suggests that in early life he may have been a Zoroastrian, and that many of his subjects must have been adherents of the creed of Zoroaster. Late in his life the king became an active patron of Buddhism. He placed the image of Buddha on his coins, summoned a council of Buddhist theologians to prepare commentaries on the scriptures, and erected magnificent sacred buildings, notably the lofty *stūpa* of Peshāwar, the foundations of which have recently been excavated. The explorers found a relic casket engraved with the names of Kaniṣka and his Greek superintending engineer, Agesilaus, and adorned with images of the king. An inscribed portrait statue of him, unfortunately headless, has been discovered near Mathurā.

Tradition associates Kaniṣka with Aśvaghoṣa (*q.v.*), who was a pupil of Pārśva, by whom the council was summoned, according to some authorities. The president is said to have been Vasumitra, Aśvaghoṣa being content with the vice-presidency. The date of the council may be stated as ± A.D. 100, but, of course, it depends on the view taken of the chronology of the reign.

The powerful patronage of Kaniṣka undoubtedly promoted the cause of Buddhism in both India and Chinese Turkestan.

LITERATURE.—V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*^{3}, Oxford, 1914, which gives abundant references.

V. A. SMITH.

KANJAR.—One of the nomadic, gypsy-like tribes of N. India. At the Census of 1911 they numbered 23,983.

They are found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the Panjāb, with smaller groups in other parts of N. India. They wander about in gangs, supporting themselves by the usual gypsy industries, but more especially by theft and highway robbery. According to J. C. Nesfield (*Calcutta Review*, lxxvii. [1883] 368 ff.), they possess no idols, temples, or priesthood. They are in constant dread of evil spirits, the souls of the malignant dead. To these they attribute all deaths, except those obviously due to old age. Hence they bury the dead in deep graves to prevent the ghost from 'walking'; and they believe that such spirits are under the control of an exorcist (*nyotiyā*), who by means of shamanistic rites is supposed to be able to transport a goblin into the body of some living person, and make that person his mouthpiece for declaring its will. Their principal deity is a man-god, Mānā, believed to be one of the ancient worthies of the tribe. He is worshipped chiefly in the rainy season, when the tribe is less migratory than at other times. No altar is erected, no image is worshipped; but his votaries collect under a tree, where they sacrifice a pig, goat, sheep, or fowl, and make an offering of roasted flesh and spirituous liquor. Formerly, it is said, they used to sacrifice a child, having first made it insensible by draughts of fermented palm-juice. At the feast which follows most of the worshippers get drunk, and occasionally one of them declares himself to be possessed by the tribal god, and delivers oracles. Meanwhile the others dance round the tree and sing songs commemorating the wisdom and valour of Mānā. Marī, the goddess of death or epidemics, known also as the 'Queen goddess' (Mahārāṇī Devī), is supreme, and seems to be worshipped as the animating and sustaining force of nature. Parbhā or Prabhā, goddess of light, controls health, and more particularly the welfare of cattle. With her is worshipped Bhuiyān or Bhavānī, the earth-goddess. In other parts of the United Provinces they are specially devoted to the worship of deceased ancestors, who are regarded as more kindly than among other inferior castes, and are satisfied if at marriages and other festive occasions platters of food are laid on their graves. The chief deified worthies are Dhāmin Devā, or Mānā, and Pahlwān, or the wrestler. To their graves they make pilgrimages, sacrifice a pig, and pour spirits on the ground. The offering of meat is eaten in secrecy and silence by the males of the tribe, no woman being allowed to be present or to share in the meal. When they have become more Hinduized they worship Vindhyavāsinī Devī, the guardian goddess of the Vindhyan hills, and the Pāñchoṅ Pīr (see PACHPIRIYA) with the sacrifice of a cock. They also revere many of the local gods of the villages through which they wander, and one clan is specially devoted to the cult of Nānak, the *guru* of the Sikhs, to whom they make a special prayer: 'Praise be to thee, who hast preserved us in safety for a year! We hope for the same favour in the future!' They are much devoted to demonology, and a special medicine-man, known as 'the wise one' (*syānā*), is appointed to propitiate those spirits which are believed to be responsible for the evils which beset the tribe. When a person is attacked by some disease which indicates spirit possession, the *syānā* makes an offering of treacle, butter, cloves, incense, and red lead to the tribal Devī, by throwing these things into the fire. The Devī enters the *syānā*, who names the evil spirit which is afflicting the patient. He then places a cup of spirits on the sick man's head, and waves it round him. This causes the spirit to enter the cup, which the *syānā* drinks, thus taking upon himself the dangerous influence which has caused the disease. In more serious cases an offering is placed on the spot where four roads meet (cf. Westermarck, *MI* ii. 256, n. 2). The friends of the sick man sing and beat a brass tray over his head to scare the evil spirit, which is believed to enter the offering and thence be transferred to any passer-by who may accidentally touch it (cf. *PR^2* i. 164 ff.). The *churel*, or ghost of a woman dying in a state of impurity, is much dreaded. The ghosts of young children take the form of *masān*, the evil spirit which haunts graveyards. Any one dying by snakebite or in some other abnormal way becomes an *āūt*, *i.e.* one for whom there is none to make the water oblation which causes the repose of the soul. The tribal beliefs are thus a combination of the primitive Animism with a veneer of Hindu belief and usage. There are some indications of totemism, but this is closely connected with tree-worship, the tamarind being regarded as the special abode of spirits, and a kind of reed grass and the leaves of the mango being fixed upon the marriage shed.

LITERATURE.—W. Crooke, *TC*, Calcutta, 1896, iii. 186 ff.; H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W. Frontier Province*, Lahore, 1911, ii. 47 f.

W. CROOKE.

KANPHATA.—See YOGIS.

KANT.—1. Life and principal works.—Immanuel Kant was born on 22nd April 1724 at Königsberg, in the province of Eastern Prussia. His father was a harness-maker in poor circumstances. Kant believed that his grandfather was a Scottish immigrant, and that the original form of the name had been Cant, the initial having been changed to avoid the pronunciation Tsant; but there seems to be no documentary proof of this. He entered the University of Königsberg in 1740, registering himself as a student of theology; but the subjects of the preparatory ('philosophical') course, especially natural science and philosophy proper, soon claimed his interest. After completing his course he acted as a private tutor in several families in the neighbourhood. In 1755 he took his degree with an essay *de Igne*, and habilitated as privatdozent with a dissertation entitled *Principiorum primorum cognitionis metaphysicæ nova dilucidatio* (Königsberg, 1755). He remained in the position of a *magister legens* for fifteen years; but in 1764 he had declined the offer of a chair in Poetic Art in Berlin, and in 1766 was made sub-librarian in his own University at a salary of about £10. Then in 1770 he was promoted to a full professorship in philosophy. Apart from these changes, his life was quite uneventful; with study, teaching, and writing books, one year was like another. He never travelled beyond the borders of his native province; he never married; and he reduced the details of life to a clock-work regularity. Towards the close of his working days he was officially reprimanded for the breadth of his theological views, but he made his peace with the government. In personal character he was simple and reserved, generous and pious, and the reputation that ultimately came to him left him quite unspoiled. He ceased lecturing in 1796, and his increasing weakness of body and mind ended with his death on 12th Feb. 1804.

The development of Kant's thought is a very complex subject. Taken broadly, it consisted of two great periods, the pre-critical and the critical, with an interval between them of about ten years, when he was feeling his way to the position that was to prove so epoch-making. In the pre-critical period itself we can trace shorter stages. His dozent's thesis and his earlier works are mainly in the Leibnizo-Wolffian manner. He afterwards came under the influence of English empiricism, and this influence appears in *Der einzig mögliche Beweisgrund zu einer Demonstration des Daseins Gottes* (Königsberg, 1762), *Untersuchung über die Deutlichkeit der Grundsätze der natürlichen Theologie und Moral* (1762, pub. Berlin, 1764), and *Versuch den Begriff der negativen Grössen in die Weltweisheit einzuführen* (Königsberg, 1763), to which may be added *Träume eines Geistersehers, erläutert durch Träume der Metaphysik* (do. 1766). In his inaugural lecture as professor, *De mundi sensibilis atque intelligibilis forma et principiis* (do. 1770), he is feeling his way towards a unifying point of view between, or rather above, dogmatism and scepticism; but, as already indicated, his thought had to ferment for another decade till he reached at length the 'critical' solution, and gave the first instalment of its exposition in the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (Riga, 1781; 2nd ed., with important changes, do. 1787; the two edd. combined, with notes, by E. Adickes, Berlin, 1889, also in tr. of Max Müller, 1881). The great works of the critical period are named below; to them may be added *Prolegomena zu einer jeden künftigen Metaphysik die als Wissenschaft wird auftreten können* (Riga, 1783), *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten* (do. 1785), and *Metaphysik der Sitten* (Königsberg, 1796–97), dealing with law and the virtues. His interest in the problems and principles of natural science can be traced all through his life, as, *e.g.*, in his early work, *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels* (Königsberg, 1755), and *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Naturwissenschaft* (Riga, 1786).

2. The place of Kant in the history of philosophy.—(*a*) *His direct relation to Leibniz.*—Kantianism is the characteristically German philosophy, just as the philosophy of France is to this day more or less determined by Cartesianism, and English philosophy is essentially characterized by the thought of Bacon, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume. The Germans lagged behind the other European peoples in taking a place in the movement of modern philosophy, but at length they secured in Leibniz (*q.v.*) a thinker who combined the new conceptions of modern philosophy in one grand system, from which, again, in virtue of a profound transformation, sprang the philosophy of Kant. The Kantian teaching is certainly a radical metamorphosis of the Leibnizian system as far as regards the method by which *a priori* knowledge is discovered, established, and de-limited, and yet it is at the same time an essentially unchanged continuation of Leibniz's views regarding the nature and meaning of reality. Even as regards method, indeed, Kant's advance upon his predecessor must not be exaggerated. The system of Leibniz belongs to the rationalistic, Platonizing type of speculative philosophy, or, in other words, it is an *a priori* doctrine of ideas, and this holds good also of the system of Kant. The only real difference is that in the latter the *a priori* forms of knowledge are deduced, and applied, and have their limits assigned, in a different way. In order to understand the system of Kant we must, therefore, first of all make a rapid survey of that of Leibniz.

(*b*) *The system of Leibniz.*—Leibniz, like the other pioneers of modern philosophy, started from the empirico-inductive and mathematico-mechanical science of nature, and, in point of fact, from physics, the only natural science that had at that time attained any adequate development. Having adopted the doctrine that nature is built up of infinitesimal elementary bodies, he followed up the idea of force, as that which must be assumed for the inter-action and orderly inter-relations of these. This force he regarded as something immaterial, and this immaterial constituent, again, he described as a thinking, perceptive, or quasi-conscious power, thus applying to it the only term that was then available to connote a non-material reality. In this way he made the transition from a materialistic and mechanical to a spiritualistic and dynamic mode of thought. If the element of force be taken as in reality a thinking substance, however, its activities in relation to the other elements of force, as also the latter themselves, will appear as ideas or percepts of the element of force. Such an element thus becomes the monad, which perceives itself and its orderly relations to the other monads. Now it would be irrational to speak of this monad and its congeries of perceptions as the sole existing object. There must be a plurality of monads, existing *realiter* side by side. This hypothesis, however, is possible only on the ground of two presuppositions, viz. (1) that the co-existing monads have each the same ordered and logically articulated content of perceptions—a condition which is explained by the pre-established harmony of the monads with one another, and (2) that each single monad virtually holds within itself the whole universe, though it may bring only a part of it to clear consciousness—a position elucidated by Leibniz's theory of the unconscious, or of the conscious in an infinitely small degree. We are thus brought to a thoroughly spiritualistic system, in which, by an *a priori* necessity of reason, the individual monads severally perceive themselves and the universe contained in them as organic wholes, and, notwithstanding their absolute isolation, are in harmony with one another in virtue of the aggregate perceived and articulated by them. The various monads are endowed in very different degrees with the consciousness of the self-perceptive power, but are nevertheless connected and unified through the identity of the content variously known to each. Thus knowledge—in cases where the monads really have knowledge—may be interpreted as a process of discerning the content of consciousness according to the *a priori* laws immanent therein. From the condition of the non-conscious, or the pre-conscious, Leibniz disengages the rationally necessary laws and concepts in order that he may by means of them construct the system of the world as a complete whole. The ultimate pre-condition of all, indeed, is a self-identical, perfectly and logically conceived cosmic content, *i.e.* God, and the self-transformation of the divine universal substance into the infinite multiplicity of different monads, each of which contains in its own individual way the divine world-substance, and, in the measure of its individual capacity of becoming conscious, brings that content to a logically ordered comprehension. Philosophy is thus simply the measure of completeness and clearness to which the human monad can attain in its perception of the world.

(*c*) *Kant's reconsideration of Leibniz under the stimulus of Hume.*—Kant adhered to the views of Leibniz for about twenty years of his mature life, making modifications of them only in detail, more especially on the physical, mathematical, and astronomical sides. To the starting-point of the monadology in general, however—its analysis of consciousness and of the content of consciousness—as well as to its idea of the *a priori* validity of the rational laws that regulate that content, Kant remained permanently faithful, and we shall never understand his position unless we make full allowance for this survival in time of the Leibnizian point of view and tendency. He was at no time the pure phenomenalist, who acknowledges only subjective phenomena within what might be called the closed space of consciousness. Rather, he always dealt with the thinking subject as a central force working towards the logical unification of the manifold, and rejected the idealism or phenomenalism of Berkeley—what German philosophers now call 'psychological idealism.' Moreover, he never denied the apriority of the logical laws, or their being evolved from their pre-conscious self-activity. He was never a sceptic or an agnostic, never a pragmatist or a relativist. The point which marks his departure from the philosophy of Leibniz and from which he proceeded to construct his own system was one quite apart from such considerations. It was simply this: he could not permanently remain blind to the fact that, while a theory like that of Leibniz might logically articulate the reality immanent in consciousness, it was essentially incapable of passing beyond that sphere or of predicating anything whatever regarding the real which transcends consciousness. Leibniz's conception of God, his doctrine of the pre-established harmony, and of the individuation of the deity into countless monads varying in their capacity of thought, at length seemed to Kant, as already to other disciples of Leibniz, to be mere philosophical myths—figments of the imagination

From this standpoint Kant began to suspect all forms of metaphysical theory, as they did not permit of strict demonstration and showed no unanimity in their conclusions. Although he continued to attach the utmost significance to the practical or moral convictions of the mind, he now came to doubt the possibility of developing and establishing them as realities of a transcendent metaphysics.

If, however, the Leibnizian mode of reaching the reality beyond consciousness from the content of consciousness itself and from the reflexion guided by *a priori* laws was thus invalid, philosophy was thrown back upon what is immanent in consciousness. But, if this were so, of what avail were the *a priori* laws which enable us to articulate in thought our conscious experience? They never carry us into the sphere beyond consciousness; can we, therefore, cognize anything at all by means of them? Are they not, with their *a priori* necessity, restricted exclusively to formal logic and the mere explication of concepts? Is not their necessary truth thus of a purely analytic kind, *i.e.* do they not merely analyze a given thought into the consequences already contained and implied in it? Is it not possible, therefore, that, in particular, mathematics itself, the chief instrument of natural science, may be no more than an analytic elucidation of thoughts already virtually contained in definite numerical and spatial magnitudes? It was at this stage that Kant became acquainted with the views of Hume—views which had been developed upon an entirely different foundation. Hume, working from the standpoint of pure phenomenalism, had divided knowledge into two departments: first, an *a priori* formal logic (including mathematics) entirely without content and purely self-interpretative; and, secondly, a real knowledge, empirical and substantial, but having no logical necessity or *a priori* character. For Hume, knowledge of reality was constituted only by the principle of custom—by our becoming accustomed to certain associations of perceptions—and by the practical verification of such customary associations, and thus our reference of perceptions and their relations to a reality lying beyond consciousness has no real ground to rest upon, but is at most the object of an absolutely indispensable belief. Hume's reasonings affected Kant in the most profound way, as they appeared to undermine the whole structure of *a priori* rationalism, and, in fact, to bring all philosophy of the Platonic type to an end. All that remained of rationalism seemed to be 'analytic judgments *a priori*,' *i.e.* the analysis of the logical content of certain propositions in formal logic and mathematics—a purely logical play of reason, but not a real knowledge of things by means of reason. Hume had apparently rendered it impossible, not only to pass beyond experience, but even to articulate experience itself by logically necessary principles; he seemed to have shown the futility of all *a priori* synthesis of the real, and, therefore, also of rational science of nature and rational ethics. Thus, if Kant found in Leibniz his positive foundation, he was on the negative side decisively influenced by Hume, both as a stimulus to his thought and as an antagonist to be overcome.

(*d*) *Kant's discovery of the critical solution.*—The arguments of Hume, as has been said, wrought upon Kant with profound effect, not, however, in the sense of drawing him into the sphere of the Scottish thinker's ideas, but rather in the sense of forcing him to provide fresh foundations for, and set new limits to, the essentially Platonic doctrine which he had inherited from Leibniz. Hume's influence, in short, was not such as to convert Kant to phenomenalism. The idea of an experience limited to consciousness he had taken over from Leibniz, and all thoughts of transcending that experience by metaphysical constructions based upon it he had at length abandoned in view of the contradictions in which alone such attempts result. Hume certainly confirmed him in this position, but it was not Hume who brought him to it. The influence of Hume lay rather in clarifying his mind with reference to the problem of elucidating and systematizing the contents of consciousness with a view to attaining a logically demonstrable and, therefore, necessary knowledge of the real. Kant formulates this problem very simply in the question whether we have only analytic judgments *a priori*, or also synthetic judgments *a priori*, as instruments for reducing the contents of consciousness, or of experience, to form and order. Or, to give the question a more direct expression: Is there a logically necessary connexion in the real—an inherently necessary conception of nature which imposes a logical order upon the concrete? The 'real' that Kant seeks is attained not by reaching out towards a realm transcending consciousness, but by a synthetic articulation of an actually given content of consciousness or experience. He entirely ignores the question how this experience comes to be; it is simply given, and that is sufficient for us. As a matter of fact, he finds the real in the results of the logical elaboration of experience. By means of that process he distinguishes logically classified and abstractly necessary relations of phenomena from the chaotic state of the manifold prior to such elaboration, as also from relations wrongly imposed upon the facts; and for him the former is the real. In short, the real arises out of the valid and correct elaboration and elucidation of conscious experience, as contrasted with invalid, erroneous, or confused determinations of it and an uncritical linking together of phenomena. The problem before him was the possibility of a natural science which is at once empirical and rational, enabling the mind to unify the empirical data of consciousness by rational and *a priori* principles, and thus to transform the naive and confused representation of things into a representation that is scientifically clear and valid. Kant's aim was to establish a rationalism of pure experience, upon which might be constructed a conception of nature at once scientifically valid and embracing all experience.

This is the fundamental position from which we must interpret Kant's thought—his presupposition of the ego as the focus to which all thinking is related, of the content of experience as given to the mind in order that it may be brought to a fully realized clearness and completeness, of the *a priori* logical activity of the mind as moulding and combining the matter given to all according to the laws which cohere in the logical subject itself, and which come into consciousness and unfold themselves in the actual operation of thought. With these, again, is connected his refusal to recognize a supposed metaphysic which would urge *a priori* thought beyond its task of moulding and arranging the data of experience, since the *a priori* forms have to do with such data alone, and, if employed apart from and beyond them, remain altogether empty—a use of them which results in a futile metaphysical hypostasis, such as was fabricated by Plato and, in a more cautious and covert way, by Leibniz. Kant's presuppositions and his surrender of a transcendent metaphysic determined for him the only possible aim of knowledge or philosophy, viz. the safeguarding of the *a priori* and ideal character of our knowledge of nature by confining it to experience within consciousness.

This line of thought, which in the first resort related only to the conception of nature, Kant subsequently extended to ethics, the philosophy of religion, teleology, and æsthetics, his method of dealing with all of these being essentially determined by his principles of intellectual cognition. As treated by him, these other spheres of rational activity were all designed to supply, not metaphysical knowledge of realities lying beyond consciousness, but the proofs of a valid mode of reflexion which issues from the nature of consciousness itself, and as such is to be applied to the criticism of experience. None of them passes beyond valid and necessary modes of thought and interpretation. The proof of their subjective necessity supplies the measure of all the objective knowledge which they can attain. A philosophy of this kind is in reality reason's knowledge of itself, and is indirectly a knowledge of facts only in so far as it reveals the necessary activities of reason, and arranges and interprets the data of consciousness by means of them. It sets out as a theory of the presuppositions, possibilities, and limits of science, and then proceeds by analogy to comprehend the other great activities of the mind, which likewise present merely the knowledge and interpretation of experience by means of reason.

(*e*) *The meaning of the various designations of Kant's philosophy.*—From this point of view, again, we are able to see the purport of the various designations applied to the philosophy of Kant by himself or by others. It is Idealism—in a double sense, indeed, as it regards the mind not only as that which possesses experience, but also as the active subject of the necessary forms of thought through which alone experience gains order and meaning; in other words, it is a system which arranges and interprets experience within the limits of consciousness by means of ideas, and is thus directly opposed to materialism and sceptical relativism of every type. It is also criticism, since, in fixing by a critical investigation of principles the limits of the realm of formal ideas, it prevents these from transcending experience, and disengages the separate activities of that realm from its naive and prescientific state of nebulosity. The system is transcendentalism, because it recognizes the *a priori* validity of the ideas and asserts that they contain an element superior to experience, while, however, it uses the ideas, not as a means of reaching beyond experience, but simply as a means of moulding, classifying, and interpreting it. The word 'transcendental' is here meant to imply that the ideas have no validity with reference to what lies beyond consciousness, and are accordingly not 'transcendent.' They are, in fact, immanent in experience, but are nevertheless truly *a priori*, are not derived from experience, and are only to that extent above or beyond experience. Such is the implication of Kant's original and noteworthy use of the term 'transcendental'—in contrast to 'transcendent'—as meaning 'making experience possible by means of ideas.' Kantianism has also been called a formal intra-experiential rationalism. Some, again, describe it simply as an epistemology—a designation which, however, must be received with circumspection, and which has given rise to much misconception. Since the days of the Sophists and Plato nearly all systems of philosophy have had an epistemology; this, however, was merely the pre-condition of, or the preparation for, the system proper, which might vindicate or deny the metaphysical knowledge of things. In Kantianism, however, the epistemology is actually the system itself, since for it valid truth or reality lies in the necessary character which it proves to be inherent in the activities of thought. The subjective necessity of the functions of arrangement and interpretation yields the only objective knowledge attainable by man—a knowledge which, in virtue of its being grounded in that necessity, is indeed genuinely objective. For similar reasons Kant's teaching has been known since Fichte's day as a *Wissenschaftslehre*, *i.e.* a gnosology or doctrine of science, since its aim is to determine the possibilities and limitations of science—the knowledge of the real. So understood, it would be the theory of cognition upon which is based the systematic development of knowledge in the special sciences. But, in view of Kant's extension of the *a priori* from the field of science proper to ethics, teleology, and æsthetics, the designation is undoubtedly too narrow. In point of fact, Kantianism is a theory of reason in all the aspects of its *a priori* functions; it is a Platonism without Plato's metaphysics.

3. The structure of the system.—Except in its most general features, the actual structure of Kant's philosophy could not be inferred from the foregoing account of it as a whole. It is the fruit of earnest and persevering reflexion, and its most important sections are those devoted to the solution of intricate special problems. These cannot be dealt with here. Of peculiar importance are the movements by which Kant proceeds from his original interest in the scientific conception of nature to the consideration of ethics, religion, and æsthetics. He grapples with these various subjects one after another, and deals with them according to the procedure applied in his primary field of interest, viz. the conception of nature. But, as might be expected, the changes of the subject-matter involved also certain amplifications and modifications of the method itself.

(*a*) *The theoretic philosophy.*—The first product of his mature and critical period was *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* ('Critique of Pure Reason')—the work in which he determines the significance of *a priori* ideas for the formation of a conception of nature embracing the totality of things. At the very outset (and this is of decisive importance for all his subsequent work) he shows that even experience of the most elementary kind—sense-impressions as apprehended and ordered in time and space—contains an *a priori* element, *i.e.* an element which does not emanate from experience, but rather creates it and makes it possible. Time and space are transcendental conditions of experience, already involved, no doubt, even in our naive and preconscious state, but recognizable by consciousness as such conditions in the self-analysis of reason. This signifies, as against Hume's doctrine of the purely analytic character of mathematics, the synthetic nature of the spatial and numerical judgments of mathematics. It also signifies, of course, that space and time exist only in their application to possible sensuous experience, and that they have no function whatever outside such experience—a view in conformity with which the possibility of a supra-experiential metaphysics is at the very outset greatly attenuated, since a space-less and time-less reality is for us absolutely unimaginable and inconceivable. To his doctrine of time and space Kant gives the name 'transcendental æsthetic,' the word 'æsthetic' meaning here, of course, not a critique of art, but the science of the laws of sense-perception. From this significant opening Kant then proceeds to his second great theme, the 'transcendental analytic,' the theory of the categories. Here he shows that, just as sensibility involves *a priori* forms of perception, so the so-called empirical investigation of nature contains *a priori* principles of combination and relation, and, above all, the conceptions of substantiality and causality. These principles, already naively and unsystematically used in the most ordinary thinking, are simply disengaged in a pure form by the all-embracing mathematico-mechanical science of nature, and so developed into the conception of the rational articulation of nature as a whole. To the conception of nature, according to Kant, belong also psychical phenomena, the relations of which to physical facts and to one another must likewise be dealt with by the principles of this conception of nature. The consequence of such a view is, of course, determinism. Then, as with psychical phenomena, so with the process of history, this too being incorporated in the conception of nature, though it must be admitted that Kant did not here give any further consideration either to psychology or to history. Another and very important consequence of his argument is that the categories have validity only when applied to experience within consciousness, and that they fall into sheer vacuity whenever we attempt to carry them beyond that field. Their function is confined to the relation of form and matter, and, where there are no data of experience for them to encompass, they become void. This brings us to the most significant result of all—positively, to a conception of nature as partly conditioned by *a priori* forms of reason, and, therefore, also to the comprehension of the entire manifold of experience under rational laws; and, negatively, to the rejection of every attempt to apply these forms and categories to anything that may lie beyond, anterior to, or behind experience—in other words, to the impossibility of all rational metaphysics.

Nevertheless, the need for such a metaphysic constantly re-asserts itself, and with this Kant deals in the third great division of his *Critique*, viz. the 'transcendental dialectic.' Here he shows that, while the need of a rational metaphysic is perfectly warranted, and belongs, in fact, to the *a priori* function of reason, yet it cannot be satisfied by means of a rational investigation, as the conceptions employed for the purpose by ordinary metaphysics are simply the categories of substantiality and causality used without application to experience, and so working in a mere void. That need, for which the theoretical reason can accordingly make no provision, can be satisfied only by the convictions of the moral will. Only in the sphere which we are compelled to think of as lying behind the moral will do we find that which the need for metaphysics has a right to demand. The theoretical reason can lend support to these moral convictions only indirectly—only in so far as its intra-experiential rationalism posits the unknown behind all experience and behind the thinking subject, and because, by restricting the conception of nature to experience, it nullifies every attempt to find matter for the conception of nature in the transcendent sphere. Kant could accordingly say that he had abolished (metaphysical) knowledge in order that he might make room for (moral) faith.

(*b*) *The ethical and religious philosophy.*—This subject—the moral judgment and the metaphysic of faith based upon it—is dealt with in Kant's second great work, *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* ('Critique of Practical Reason'). In this he extends his peculiar and original method of deducing the *a priori* in experience to ethical judgments. These are, in the first instance, elicited psychologically, and, in view of their peculiar nature, characterized as imperatives, *i.e.* judgments regarding what ought to be—imperatives, in fact, of absolute authority, the nature of which appears in the fact that reason affirms them unconditionally, and regards them as universally binding, and that they appeal to the dignity of man which is to be attained in obedience to their 'ought.' They thus present themselves, like the *a priori* forms and categories of the theoretical reason, as purely formal judgments. Their function, however, is not to apprehend the matter of experience, but to determine the motives of the will. They must all be brought under the Categorical Imperative, *i.e.* the moral judgment which is distinguished from all others by its being formally unconditional. Man's recognition of an unconditional 'ought' constitutes his true dignity and his true personality, and forms also the link that binds human beings together as persons. It is true that, so far, we have here only a moulding of the countless empirical motives of the will by a judgment that issues *a priori* from the soul—a judgment which bids us act unconditionally upon the personal conviction of conscience. We are not yet, it would seem, within the domain of metaphysics at all. But, as a matter of fact, we are; for the Categorical Imperative, unlike the logical category, does not govern its matter wholly by its own might, but is conditioned by the resolve of a will which thereby rejects other possible alternatives. Here, indeed, we come into touch with the fact of freedom—the power of submitting or surrendering ourselves to a law felt to be of unconditional authority. The realm of theoretical reason contains nothing analogous to this. In the fact of freedom, therefore, Kant sees the gleam and manifestation of an altogether different realm—the supersensuous, metaphysical, intelligible world which is not subject to the conception of nature, but is of a character all its own and beyond the grasp of all theoretical reason.

It cannot certainly be asserted that Kant succeeded in reconciling the anti-rational metaphysical freedom here discovered with his conception of nature and the deterministic psychology which it involves. All the more important to him, therefore, was the manifestation, thus authenticated, of a realm distinct from nature, a world which vindicates its existence to man as a moral agent, and which Kant usually calls the intelligible world. Having thus posited a metaphysic based upon practical, ethical grounds, he proceeds to set forth its further implications. From it issues the idea of an intelligible realm of spirits, with the Moral Law as its focus, which may also be represented as Deity. The question as to the relation of this intelligible realm of the good to the physical and natural world carries him to the postulates of a divine universal order that keeps both realms in harmony, and of an immortality in which the antinomies of earthly experience may be reconciled. These two postulates, again, lead us once more to the idea of God. Such is the way in which the metaphysic of the religious postulates involved in his ethics and actually deduced from the fact of freedom is developed by Kant as his philosophy of religion, and this he sets forth more distinctly in his *Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* ('Religion within the Limits of mere Reason'). The religious implications of these postulates he regards as constituting the kernel of Christianity in the only form in which it can now be maintained.

(*c*) *The æsthetic and teleological philosophy.*—There remains still another function of pure reason, viz. that which finds expression in the teleological conception of reality as subservient to the ends of spirit. As reality, in relation to the beholder, is felt to have meaning and purpose also in art and in æsthetic satisfaction, Kant deals with both the teleological and the æsthetic judgment in his third great work, *Kritik der Urtheilskraft* ('Critique of the Faculty of Judgment'). In this work, following the method of his earlier *Critiques*, he shows that in our teleological conceptions likewise there is an *a priori* mode of judgment that emanates from the very nature of reason. The design, or purposive character (*Zweckmässigkeit*), of the world cannot be metaphysically demonstrated, but it asserts itself in an *a priori* type of judgment or interpretation as an irresistible conviction. We cannot fail to see how far apart this *a priori* lies from that of theoretical science, as also from that of the ethico-religious sphere. It implies no theoretical and logical certainty, no ethically imperative obligation, but a process of interpretation that plays freely upon things, making as if these subserved a kingdom of spiritual ends. The teleological interpretation is thus closely related to the artistic. In the latter, however, 'end' has a peculiar meaning: the æsthetic end of the beautiful is a disinterested end; it is that inner harmony of the contemplated object in which the necessity of nature and the freedom of the spirit seem to coincide, and in this apparent coincidence lies the end that gives us pleasure. The beautiful is, in fact, the harmony of the real, which is otherwise always in discord with itself, and it exists only in the contemplating and formative subject; but, as in contemplating it we simultaneously feel an *a priori* necessity, it is of more than merely individual or transitory validity. The beautiful is thus the symbol of the inner unity of the real—a unity which cannot be demonstrated by theoretic metaphysics. As such a symbol it has an essential function in the domain of reason, since it guarantees from the side of the subject that conception of reality which could otherwise be fabricated only by a teleological metaphysic, though, of course, never really attained by it.

(*d*) *Defects of the system.*—With the *Critique of Judgment* Kant completed his discussion of the series of great philosophic problems which lay within his view. As was indicated above, his survey lacks a systematic psychology, while at the same time a psychological basis is presupposed in the tripartite division of his critical work as well as in his exposition of the functions of reason to which he devotes his several *Critiques*; and this ambiguous attitude towards psychology has been much criticized. The system likewise lacks a properly developed logic—a want which is all the more felt because Kant carefully distinguishes his own transcendental logic from the formal logic of the Aristotelian type. He used the latter as the starting-point and guiding thread of his philosophy; the former, as a theory of an intra-experiential rationalism, constitutes the actual content of his system. He nowhere definitely explains the relation between the two, and yet that relation is felt to be of the utmost importance whenever we ask upon what theory of knowledge his distinctively epistemological system is constructed. Nor did Kant give any special consideration to history; all that he provides in this field is a few short studies in which certain principles for an estimate of history are deduced from his ethical philosophy of religion.

4. The further development of the Kantian philosophy.—For a time the system of Kant in its original form seemed to German thinkers the only possible philosophy—philosophy, indeed, in its absolute and final expression. After the lapse of a decade or two, however, this attitude was abandoned, and the system has since been amended, supplemented, or transformed from many points of view. It has nevertheless maintained its position as the nucleus of German philosophy, and even to the present day all the great systems either emanate directly from it or define their position by critical reference to it. The later modifications arose partly from the system itself, in which lay the seeds of various germinative ideas and various possibilities of development, partly also from the influence of certain general movements of contemporary thought which assimilated it or mingled with it. We may distinguish three main lines of development.

(*a*) *The metaphysical development.*—In its view of consciousness and the *a priori*, the Kantian theory undoubtedly contains metaphysical elements which it took over from Leibniz, but did not recognize or define as metaphysical. If, however, we follow up Kant's idea of consciousness—if we ask, as Leibniz had asked, why individual minds agree with one another, how consciousness is related to the data of experience, and what is the source of the *a priori* in consciousness—we are brought once more to metaphysical problems akin to those of Leibniz, and, in particular, to the idea of the absolute consciousness, or God, and the task is then to find a way back to the individual reason. A metaphysic of this kind—partly influenced, no doubt, by the ethical and literary tendencies of the time—was evolved from Kantianism by Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer; and, just as such metaphysic sprang directly from Kant himself, so it is still drawn by many thinkers of to-day from the neo-Kantianism of recent times.

(*b*) *The psychological development.*—It was possible to proceed in a directly opposite way, and to emphasize and further develop the anti-metaphysical aspects of Kantianism. Those who took this course proposed to regard the *a priori* as assigning the final limits to specifically human knowledge, and to dissolve in it all relations to a 'consciousness in general.' Instead of a conception of things still inherently metaphysical, there thus emerges an anthropological conception which sees in the *a priori* our only organ of experience, and in its limits our essential limitation. Such is the teaching of J. F. Fries (1773–1843), who regarded himself, in contradistinction to the metaphysicians, as the true continuator of Kant. Once the *a priori* had come to be interpreted in a manner essentially anthropological, however, it was impossible to evade endeavours to derive and explain it; and, if such procedure could not look for support to metaphysics, the *a priori* necessarily became the object of psychology, its apparently absolute objectivity being explained by social psychology and the emotion of reverence. Thus transcendentalism was resolved into relativism, psychology, and even pragmatism. An instance of the first is the philosophy of Simmel; of the second, that of Vaihinger.

(*c*) *The epistemological development.*—Finally, it may be regarded as Kant's great design to keep clear of both metaphysics and psychology, and to safeguard those presuppositions of all logic and all science which form the groundwork of correct thinking. Philosophy in that case is exclusively a doctrine of the *a priori* conditions of science, and of its vindication as an entirely independent and inwardly necessary activity in which the autonomous and ideal nature of the spirit finds expression. This view of the *a priori* is one that adheres rigidly to the *Critique of Pure Reason*, and altogether disregards the *a priori* of the other *Critiques*, which certainly cannot be brought under the conception of purely scientific theory. Philosophy is thus transformed into epistemology and logic. This is the theory held by Cohen, Natorp, Liebmann, Riehl, Windelband, Rickert, and Husserl—thinkers who, no doubt, differ from one another in much, but are all at one in resolving criticism into logic and the theory of knowledge. Philosophy, they hold, does not cognize realities, but takes account only of the laws of reason, through which alone the real is brought within the sphere of the scientific consciousness. The methods of philosophy produce and guarantee real objects by subjecting them to thought. The critical and logical analysis of consciousness must be much more rigidly separated from the psychological and genetic analysis than was done by Kant himself. The proper subject-matter of philosophy is logic; metaphysic is abolished, or ranked with practical convictions; psychology is a science of consciousness lying side by side with, but quite independent of, philosophy in the proper sense. We need not wonder that a theory of this kind should be met with ever renewed criticism at the hands of both metaphysicians and psychologists.

LITERATURE.—Kant's works are collected in the ed. of G. Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1867–69. A new complete ed. is being issued by the Berlin Academy of Sciences. From the enormous mass of literature relating to Kant we may select the following works: K. Fischer, *Immanuel Kant und seine Lehre*^{5}, Heidelberg, 1909 (=*Geschichte der neuern Philosophie*, iv. and v.); Alois Riehl, *Der philosophische Kritizismus*^{2}, Leipzig, 1908; H. Cohen, *Kants Theorie der Erfahrung*^{2}, Berlin, 1885; J. Volkelt, *Immanuel Kant's Erkenntnisstheorie nach ihren Grundprincipien analysirt*, Leipzig, 1879; G. Simmel, *Kant*, do. 1904; F. Paulsen, *Immanuel Kant: Leben und Lehre*, Stuttgart, 1898, Eng. tr., London, 1902; H. Vaihinger, *Die Philosophie des Als Ob*^{2}, Berlin, 1913; O. Liebmann, *Kant und die Epigonen*, Stuttgart, 1865, *Zur Analysis der Wirklichkeit*^{4}, Strassburg, 1911; H. Rickert, *Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung*^{2}, Tübingen, 1913; W. Windelband, *Präludien*, do. 1911; Paul Natorp, *Platos Ideenlehre*, Leipzig, 1903; E. Troeltsch, *Das Historische in Kants Religionsphilosophie*, Berlin, 1904; E. Caird, *The Critical Philosophy of Kant*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1889.

Translations: *Critique of Pure Reason*, by J. M. D. Meiklejohn, London, 1897, F. Max Müller, London, 1881; *The Metaphysic of Ethics*, by J. W. Semple^{3}, Edinburgh, 1871; *Critique of Practical Reason, and other Works on the Theory of Ethics*^{3}, by T. K. Abbot, London, 1879. A copious bibliography is given in *DPhP* iii. [1905] 286–320.

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KAPĀLA-KRIYĀ.—*Kapāla-kriyā* (Skr. 'skull-rite') is the Indian ceremony of breaking the skull of the corpse, performed at the cremation or at the burial of a member of an ascetic Order.

> 'We are told in the Garuḍa-purāṇa that when a man [who, from his evil deeds during life or from some defect in the proper ceremonies at his decease, becomes subject to Yama's penalties] dies his spirit takes a downward course through the intestines and emerges in the same manner as the excreta; whereas . . . the spirit of a good man finds its way through the tenth aperture of the body, which is a suture at the top of the skull, called the Brahma-randhram, "Brahma's crevice"' (M. Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*^{4}, London, 1891, p. 291).

This orifice is also known as the *suṣumṇanāḍī*, 'blessed channel.' It is further believed that Sannyāsī or Yogī ascetics, whose spirits pass through the crown of the head, go straight to heaven. Such a man, it is said, by the force of his austerities, has the power of concentrating his soul in the crown of his head and of dying at will, when the soul leaves the body through the *brahmarandhram* (*BG* xv. i. [1883] 150 n.).[1] The corpse of such a teacher is placed in the grave in a sitting posture, and his successor in office, to effect the release of the spirit, strikes a coco-nut or a conch-shell on the skull, and in the opening thus formed lays the sacred ammonite, the *śālagrāma*. The Chuvashes of E. Russia similarly believe that the soul leaves the body through the back of the head (J. G. Frazer, *JAI* xv. [1886] 83 n.). It is remarkable that in the Neolithic Age and among some modern savages it was the custom, in cases of epilepsy or similar maladies believed to be the work of evil spirits, to trepan the skull of the patient so as to give exit to the evil spirit (A. W. Buckland, *JAI* xi. [1882] 7 ff.; W. Johnson, *Byways in British Archæology*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 321). Among the Buddhists of Sikhim,

> 'after advising the spirit to quit its body and its old associations and attachment to property, the Lāma seizes with the forefinger and thumb a few hairs of the crown of deceased's head, and plucking it forcibly is supposed to give vent to the spirit through the roots of these hairs; and it is generally believed that if the *h*phobo [Lāma] is, as he should be, a Lāma of exceptional virtue, an actual perforation of the skull occurs at this instant through which passes the liberated spirit' (L. A. Waddell, in *Gazetteer of Sikhim*, Calcutta, 1895, p. 379; cf. his *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 489).

Hence arises the belief that the cutting of a lock of hair from the top of the head facilitates the departure of the soul (Frazer, *loc. cit.*). In India the rite of smashing the skull is generally performed when the corpse is half burnt, the chief mourner using a piece of sacred wood or a bamboo for the purpose.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities quoted, see *BG* IX. i. [1901] 49; J. A. Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*^{2}, Madras, 1908, p. 214; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, tr. H. K. Beauchamp^{3}, Oxford, 1906, p. 539; E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909, ii. 299.

W. CROOKE.

KAPILA.—The name of the founder of the Sāṅkhya system (see SĀṄKHYA). Since all Indian tradition is unanimous in recognizing under this name the author of the Sāṅkhya school, we are unquestionably bound to see in Kapila a historical person, who, as is proved by the dependence of Buddhism on his teaching, must have lived before the middle of the 6th cent. B.C. All the accounts, however, which have been preserved in the literature of the Brāhmans relating to the life of Kapila are so full of legends and contradictions that we are unable to attribute to them any historical value. The information given by the Buddhist authorities with regard to him deserves more serious consideration, since they connect Kapila with the name of the city of Kapilavastu, the birthplace of the Buddha, and ascribe to him, therefore, a sphere of activity the geographical site of which agrees well with the internal relations which subsist between Buddhism and the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

No work by Kapila has been preserved. For that the *Sāṅkhya-sūtras* are an entirely modern work, and have no claim to bear his famous name, has long been an established conclusion. We have no real ground for supposing that any compositions at all are due to his authorship.

LITERATURE.—R. Garbe, *Die Sâṃkhya-Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1894, p. 25 f.; F. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899, p. 287 ff.

R. GARBE.

KAPILAVASTU.—Kapilavastu (-vatthu, -nagara, -pura), interpreted either as 'tawny town' or as 'the town of Kapila' (a mythical sage), according as the first element of the word is taken to be an adjective or a proper name, is the name of the town famous in legend as the ancestral home of Gautama Śākyamuni, the Buddha, commonly called Buddha. The four great holy places of Buddhism from very early times were Kapilavastu, Gayā, Benares, and Kuśinagara, associated respectively with the birth, enlightenment, ministry, and death of the Master (see art. BUDDHA). The myths descriptive of the foundation of Kapilavastu, which assume diverse forms, all equally unhistorical, are summarized as follows by Watters ('Kapilavastu in the Buddhist Books,' *JRAS*, 1898, p. 535):

> 'This city, according to the mythical accounts of the Buddha's royal ancestors, had been founded by the sons of an Ikṣvāku king of the Solar race. The king who reigned at Potalaka, according to some, or at Sāket, according to others, yielding to the entreaties of his wife or concubine, drove his four sons into exile. These princes, accompanied by their sisters and a large retinue, went northwards, and after a long journey halted at a pleasant suitable site near the hermitage of a rishi [sage] named Kapila. The rishi welcomed the exiles, and with solemn rite gave over to them a piece of ground on which to settle and build their city. When the city was laid out and occupied, the settlers called it in gratitude Kapilavastu or Kapilanagara, from the name of their kind patron. This happened in a period of remote antiquity. The city of Kapilavastu thus founded was, according to the generally received accounts, situated near, or at the southern slopes of the Himavat [Himālaya] mountains and in the kingdom of Kosala. . . . It must be noticed, however, that in some of the Chinese texts the site of Kapilavastu is placed in a district to the north of the Himavat, the royal exiles being represented as having crossed this range and settled on the south side of a mountain beyond. . . . But the majority of the texts is in favour of the supposition that the city was situated on or near the southern slope' of the Himālaya.

This position, which is indicated by the earliest Indian texts, must be accepted as the correct one, because the town, notwithstanding the mythical tales of its origin, had a real existence to the south of the mountains. Its site continued to be visited by a series of Chinese pilgrims for several centuries after A.D. 400, and even now, in spite of obscurities in detail, can be identified to a certain extent with ruins situated in the plain not many miles distant from the outermost Himālayan range.

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[1] On the importance which is attached to the openings of the body in magico-religion see W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination*, London, 1913, p. 175.

The *Lalitavistara* and other works which profess to tell the story of Buddha's infancy and early life are full of glowing descriptions of the material glories of Kapilavastu, and of the magnificence of the royal court supposed to have been held there by Rājā Suddhodana, father of Gautama Buddha. But these tales are purely works of imagination without any basis of solid fact. The real life-story of Buddha is almost completely lost, and the romance which does duty in the books for his biography will not bear criticism. There is no sound reason for believing that either he or his father ever enjoyed the position of regal magnificence ascribed to them by the pious imagination of later ages. Even some of the Buddhist treatises, as Watters points out, describe Kapilavastu as 'a small unimportant town without any attractions,' too small for the accommodation of the growing families of the legendary Ikṣvāku princes. The real Kapilavastu, although raised to a certain degree of ecclesiastical grandeur by the erection of monasteries and other religious buildings after the time of Aśoka, never can have been a large and wealthy city.

Tradition placed the actual scene of the nativity, not at Kapilavastu itself, but at a grove or garden called Lumbinī, some miles to the eastward. There the holy infant was fabled to have sprung from his mother's right side as she stood under a tree, to have been caught in the arms of the gods, and forthwith to have taken seven steps, and proclaimed himself Lord of the World. The legend of these and other supposed incidents of the nativity was well established by the beginning of the Christian era, and supplied subjects for long mythological narratives and numerous works of art. Writers and sculptors found equally welcome material in the many miracles with which the imagination of the faithful adorned the early life of the founder of their religion. All these marvels were closely associated with Kapilavastu. A specially favourite topic was the story of the departure of the young prince from the gate of his father's palace, as he started on his journey into the wilderness in order to assume the mendicant's robe and to live the hard life of a begging friar. Certain bas-reliefs described by A. Foucher (*L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, Paris, 1905, p. 360) exhibit the figure of a personification of Kapilavastu in the conventional garb and pose of a Greek city-goddess lamenting the loss of her youthful lord. After he had obtained full enlightenment under the Bodhi-tree at Gayā (*q.v.*), Gautama was believed to have paid two visits to his Śākya relatives at Kapilavastu. The wondrous words and deeds attributed to him on those occasions will be found detailed in all the works dealing with the legendary history of Buddhism. His final visit to his ancestral town is associated with the legend of its destruction by King Viḍūḍabha (*alias* Virūḍhaka, etc.). Like the connected fairy tales, this story is told in more ways than one, but all the narratives agree that Viḍūḍabha either expelled or massacred almost all the inhabitants. Gautama sighed over the desolation of the place, which he had tried in vain to prevent, and departed, vowing that he would never return. From that time Kapilavastu passed almost out of existence, and it is certain that the first authentic record of the site at the beginning of the 5th cent. A.D. represents the town and its neighbourhood as a wilderness nearly uninhabited.

A curious group of seventeen small *stūpas* discovered at Sāgarwā, two miles north of Tilaura Kōṭ, in Jan. 1898, by A. Führer, and destroyed by his excavations, may possibly mark the traditional scene of the massacre of the Śākyas by Viḍūḍabha. At the level of the foundations of each of these structures the lowest layer consisted of nine, seven, or five bricks, the central brick of each being carved with the design of a full-blown lotus, under which the relic-caskets were placed embedded in the soil. The other bricks of the layer had figures of maces, tridents, axes, and other ancient weapons stamped upon them, which indicate that the monuments were erected in memory of a band of warriors regarded as sacred persons. If the massacre of the Śākyas by Viḍūḍabha really occurred, it must be dated about 500 B.C., or a little earlier, the date of the death of Buddha being taken as *c.* 487 B.C.

In those legendary days the territory of Kapilavastu seems to have been a dependency of the kingdom of Kosala, which was equivalent approximately to the modern province of Oudh. The books enumerate a considerable number of towns and villages as situated within the borders of the Kapilavastu country, but none of them can be identified, and at the date of our first authentic and detailed account of the region all those towns and villages had decayed. There is little reason to expect that the sites of most of the various settlements mentioned in the Buddhist treatises will ever be determined. A city designated variously by the names of Koli, Devadaha, and Vyāghrapura, which lay to the east, some miles beyond the Lumbinī garden, was intimately associated with Kapilavastu by tradition, and there are some grounds for thinking that its position may be ascertained by local investigation. The introduction to the *Kuṇāla Jātaka* (no. 536 in tr. by H. T. Francis and E. B. Cowell, vol. v., Cambridge, 1905) narrates a curious story about a threatened fight between the inhabitants of Devadaha and those of Kapilavastu concerning disputed claims to water for irrigation.

About 249 B.C. the emperor Aśoka (*q.v.*), under the guidance of his preceptor, Upagupta, performed a pilgrimage in state to the spots sanctified by the sojourn of Buddha. The first place visited is said to have been the Lumbinī garden, the scene of the nativity. The fact that Aśoka actually came to that spot is placed beyond doubt by the inscribed pillar at Rummin-dēī, which was erected by the emperor in the twenty-first year after his coronation, to commemorate his visit. Thence Aśoka proceeded to Kapilavastu, and the inclusion in his tour of that locality, only a few miles distant from the Lumbinī garden, is attested by another inscribed pillar now lying by the side of the Nigālī tank, but not exactly in its original position. The inscription, however, does not mention the name of Kapilavastu. The literary tradition (*Aśokāvadāna*), which professes to give the details of the imperial pilgrimage, locates at Kapilavastu a number of legends, which probably were not invented until after Aśoka's time.

The earliest definite description of the town of Kapilavastu and the surrounding country is that given by the first of the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hian (Fa-hsien), who was shown round the reputed holy places at the beginning of the 5th cent. A.D., about six hundred and fifty years subsequent to the pilgrimage of Aśoka. In or about A.D. 636, Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang), the most learned and eminent of the Chinese pilgrims, followed his predecessor's example, and, under the guidance of local monks, minutely examined and carefully recorded the positions of the numerous localities at or near Kapilavastu associated by tradition with the legend of Buddha. All modern attempts to identify existing ruins with Kapilavastu necessarily have for their basis the descriptions recorded by the two pilgrims named, which are the only extant ancient detailed accounts of the town. The topographical and archæological problems suggested by the pilgrims' narratives are far too complicated for discussion here, but a brief notice of the travellers' observations is indispensable.

The visit of Fa-hian to Kapilavastu may be dated with approximate accuracy in A.D. 403. He found there 'neither king nor people.' The site of the city was marked only by desolate ruined mounds, and was uninhabited save for a few monks and a score or two of the common people. The surrounding country was equally deserted, the inhabitants being few and far between, and the roads infested with wild elephants and lions. The monks who clung to the dreary ruins and acted as guides to pilgrims were not embarrassed by philosophic doubts, and had no hesitation in pointing out the exact spots where Gautama sat under a tree, met his father, and so forth. Fa-hian, too, was easy of belief, and found no difficulty in accepting as gospel truth all that was told him by his guides. Hiuen Tsiang, notwithstanding his erudition, was equally credulous, and was shown even more 'sights' than his predecessor. The country continued to be in much the same state as in Fa-hian's time, the city of Kapilavastu being so utterly ruined that its limits could not be ascertained. But the solid brick foundations of the central 'palace city' were still visible, and were estimated to measure nearly three miles in circuit. This walled town is not mentioned by Fa-hian, who places Kapilavastu about nine miles to the westward of the Lumbinī garden. Hiuen Tsiang locates his Kapilavastu some fifteen or sixteen miles from the same point. Now the site of the Lumbinī garden is determined beyond the possibility of doubt, as already observed, by the Aśoka inscription, which, it may be added, is supported by other cogent proofs. The discrepancies between the two pilgrims in the matter of the distance from the fixed point, and in sundry other particulars, show that different places must have been pointed out to them as being Kapilavastu.

Local investigation, in which the present writer took a share, makes it clear that the 'palace city' of Hiuen Tsiang is represented by the ruined walled town now known as Tilaura Kōṭ, while the Kapilavastu of Fa-hian must be identified with the group of ruins near the village of Piprāwā, about ten miles S.S.E. from Tilaura Kōṭ. This conclusion, although in reality inevitable from the premisses, has been criticized as being incredible, but a little consideration diminishes the apparent improbability. The town, according to tradition, had been utterly destroyed more than 900 years before the visit of the earlier pilgrim, and more than 1100 years before that of his successor, and both the pilgrims found the region in a state of utter desolation. It is obvious that, if there is any truth in the tale of the destruction of the place by Viḍūḍabha, genuine knowledge in detail of the particular holy spots so glibly pointed out by the local guides could not possibly have survived, and that their identifications must have been fanciful. As Watters observes (*JRAS*, 1898, p. 543), they failed to show the Śākyas' assembly-hall and other objects frequently mentioned in the books, the reason apparently being that the guides either did not know where to place them or had never read the books in which they are described. The same inference may be drawn from their silence respecting the now famous Piprāwā *stūpa*, the most interesting building in the whole region, which is not mentioned by either pilgrim. Evidently it had been completely forgotten. The whole of the 'identifications' recorded in detail by the pilgrims have a fictitious and unverifiable aspect. The walled town of Tilaura Kōṭ was much better suited than the Piprāwā ruins to fit in with the legend of the regal splendour of Kapilavastu, and it does not seem incredible that the site associated with the legend should have been moved in the course of more than two centuries. Whatever may be the correct explanation of the ascertained facts, the present writer adheres to the opinion published by him in 1901, that the Piprāwā group of ruins represents the Kapilavastu of Fa-hian, while Tilaura Kōṭ and the neighbouring remains represent the Kapilavastu of Hiuen Tsiang. The known position of the Lumbinī garden and the local conditions limit the possible alternatives to these only.

The Piprāwā *stūpa*, alluded to above, when opened by W. C. Peppé in Jan. 1898, proved to have been built for the purpose of preserving a great sandstone coffer, in which were placed five vessels, one being of rock-crystal and four of steatite. Sundry minute fragments of bone distributed among the vessels were accompanied by more than a thousand gold stars and minute jewels, mostly of exquisite workmanship. The bits of bone evidently were the relics in honour of which the jewels were deposited and the *stūpa* erected. An inscription scratched round the lid of one of the vases in very ancient Brāhmī script, probably earlier than that of the Aśoka period, is interpreted by Barth, Bühler, Rhys Davids, and Pischel as meaning that bodily relics of the Blessed Buddha were deposited by his brethren the Śākyas with their sisters, sons, and wives. Fleet disputed the accuracy of this rendering, proposing to read the inscription as recording the deposit of relics of Buddha's relatives and not those of Buddha himself. The knowledge of the most ancient Prākrit is not yet sufficiently advanced to warrant a final solution of the linguistic problem presented by the inscription, but it may be said that Fleet's view is open to grave objections, and that the current interpretation probably will prove to be substantially correct. If this should be the case, the opinion of Rhys Davids that the Piprāwā *stūpa* is that erected by the Śākyas over their share of the relics from Buddha's funeral pyre may be defended with good reason, and the present writer's theory that Piprāwā represents the Kapilavastu of Fa-hian will receive strong support. The numerous archæological problems suggested by the imperfectly known remains in the Nepālese *tarāi* and adjacent districts of British India—Bahraich, Bastī, Gorakhpur, and Champāran—are so closely interwoven with the history of Buddhism that the solution of them would be a matter of world-wide interest. But they cannot be solved without patient and scientific exploration, conducted for an adequate time by competent persons, equipped with sufficient funds and appliances, and heartily supported by the governments of both India and Nepāl. Unfortunately there is little reason to suppose that these conditions will be soon satisfied; and in all probability the mystery of Kapilavastu will continue for many years to be the sport of unverified conjecture.

The following indications will enable the reader to trace on any large-scale map of India the approximate positions of the places named in this article. The Lumbinī garden is represented by the mound now known as Rummin-dēī, *i.e.* 'goddess of Rummin.' In the ancient Māgadhī dialect, in which the inscription on the pillar was written, initial *R* is replaced by *L*, so that *Lumbinī* or *Lumminī* is identical with *Rummin*. The mound is situated in the Nepālese *tarāi*, about six miles north-east of Dulhā in the British District of Bastī, and is in Tappa Rummin-dēī, about two miles north of Bhagwānpur, the headquarters of the Nepālese *tahsīl*, or subdivision, and one mile north of the village called Paḍariā or Paṛariā. The Tilār river, the 'river of oil' of Hiuen Tsiang (*tel*='oil'), flows a short distance to the east of the mound. The nearest railway station is Uskā, on a branch of the B. and N. W. Railway. The position of the mound approximately is 27° 29′ N., and 83° 20′ E., about 50 miles in a direction slightly west of north from Gorakhpur (26° 45′ N., 83° 22′ E.). The village and Buddhist ruins of Piprāwā stand on the Birdpur estate of W. C. Peppé, near boundary pillar no. 44, and just inside the border of the Bastī District. The direct distance from Rummin-dēī, in a direction south of west, is barely 9 miles. Tilaura Kōṭ, in Nepālese territory, is about 10 miles N.N.W. of Piprāwā, and 14 or 15 miles from Rummin-dēī in a north-westerly direction as measured on the map. The ruins to the S.S.W. and east of Tilaura Kōṭ extend for two or three miles. The outermost range of hills is about 12 or 15 miles to the north of the Kōṭ.

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P. C. Mukherji and V. A. Smith, 'Antiquities in the Tarāi, Nepāl, the Region of Kapilavastu' (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Imp. ser., vol. xxvi. pt. i., Calcutta, 1901); various writers in *JRAS*, 1898, 1899, 1905, 1906; *ZDMG* lvi. (1902); and *Bull. Académie des Inscriptions*, 4th ser., vol. xxvi. (1898).

VINCENT A. SMITH.

KARAITES.—The Ḳaraites are a Jewish sect which took its rise in Babylon during the latter half of the 8th cent. A.D. Their Hebrew name is *Ḳarāim* (קראים), 'adherents,' or *Bᵉnê miḳrā* (בני מקרא), meaning 'sons of the writing,' the watchword of the sect being 'Back to Scripture from Tradition,' *i.e.* from 'Talmud.' The watchword, however, came to be a purely theoretical one, as the Ḳaraites developed a tradition of their own, the only difference being that it was called, not 'tradition,' but 'the yoke of inheritance' (סבל הירושה), and that they held as binding the doctrines and usages which, while not taught in the Bible, were recognized as obligatory by all (the קבוץ, or עדה, corresponding to the Muslim *ijmāʿ*, *i.e.* 'consensus'), and of which a large number had come down from those who returned from the Exile, *i.e.* from 'the good figs,' as they are designated, with an allusion to Jer 24^5.

The designation 'Ḳaraites,' however, was not applied to the sect until the 9th cent. A.D. Originally they were known as ʿAnānites, from the name of their founder, ʿAnān b. David, of Baghdād. Our sources of information regarding ʿAnān and the motives that prompted him to initiate the new movement are meagre and shrouded in obscurity; moreover, they are not altogether reliable, as, in the first place, the oldest of them are not of earlier date than the first half of the 10th cent.; and, secondly, they all show considerable bias, as emanating either from his adherents or from his opponents, the Rabbinists. They agree only in two points, viz. that ʿAnān was descended from the exilarchs, *i.e.* that he was of the lineage of David, and that he was deeply versed in Rabbinic and Talmudic lore. The Ḳaraites will not admit, however, that they are a sect of late origin, or that they separated from the integral organism of Judaism. On the contrary, according to the earliest extant Ḳaraite account, viz. that of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Ḳirḳisānī (or Ḳarḳasānī), as given in his *Kitāb al-'Anwār w'al-Marāḳib*,[1] written in A.D. 937, the first Jewish schism took place in the reign of Jeroboam; thereafter arose the first sect—the Samaritans—and then, at the foundation of the Second Temple, the Rabbinists, whose leader was Simeon the Just, and who simply continued the evil work of Jeroboam. These, in turn, were opposed by the party of the Sadducees, which arose under the leadership of Zadok and Boëthos. Zadok discovered a portion of the truth, but the finding of the whole truth was the achievement of the exilarch ʿAnān, who lived in the reign of the Khalīf al-Manṣūr (754–775). The Rabbinists tried to compass the death of ʿAnān, but God saved him from their hands. This reading of history appears in all the Ḳaraite chroniclers, and at length, in the later of them—Mordecai b. Nisan, Solomon b. Aaron Troki, Simḥah Isaac Luzki, and Abraham Firkovitch—it assumes the most fantastic forms.[2] But it is quite unhistorical, and, besides, it fails to explain the origin of the Ḳaraite teaching. The reports of the Arabic writers all show the influence of the Ḳaraite sources.[3] According to the Rabbinical records, again, the earliest of which is that of Saʿadya Gāôn (892–942), the motive of ʿAnān's revolt was injured pride. In the election of the exilarch by the Geônîm, who did not believe in his orthodoxy, he was set aside, and his younger brother, Ḥananiah, a man of inferior learning but more staunch in the faith, chosen instead. ʿAnān refused to accept this decision, proclaimed himself exilarch, and was in consequence thrown into prison. Here he made the acquaintance of a comrade in persecution—none other than the celebrated Abū Ḥanīfa, the alleged founder of the Ḥanifite School,[1] who is said to have advised him to appeal to the Khalīf as the champion of another religion. In this way ʿAnān was induced to take the path that led to schism.

That personal motives played a part in the action of ʿAnān may well be the case, but in the light of religious history it is quite impossible to suppose that personal motives alone could have created a movement which maintained a vigorous life for centuries. The truth is that in the 7th and 8th centuries the foundations of Judaism in the East were most insecure. The rise of Islām and the religious conflicts within its pale, the influx of general knowledge, and other factors of the kind acted with revolutionary effect upon the Jewish mind, and gave rise to various sects, as, *e.g.*, that led by Abū ʿĪsā al-Isfahānī (end of the 7th cent.), who was partly a pseudo-Messiah and partly a sectary, and who acknowledged the prophetic character of both Jesus and Muḥammad; that of his pupil Yudghān, and others. It is possible, moreover, that Sadduceeism had not wholly died out, and in some form or another made itself felt as an underlying force in religious life. But the Sadducees and the Ḳaraites were at one, above all, in their adherence to the written Word and their rejection of oral tradition; and then, secondly, in their acceptance of certain tenets which have been handed down as expressly Sadducean, as, *e.g.*, the literal application of the *ius talionis* (Ex 21^{24}), the interpretation of ממחרת השבת (Lv 23^{15}) as meaning the Sabbath, so that the Feast of Weeks should always fall on the first day of the week, etc. The first to draw attention to this relationship was A. Geiger,[2] according to whom there was, in addition to the common Halākhā that was ultimately deposited in the Talmud, an older Halākhā, which is dimly traceable in the earlier Talmudic writings, and was common to the Samaritans, the Sadducees, and, subsequently, the Ḳaraites. Other indications of the relationship are found in the statements of Ḳirḳisānī already referred to, in the writings of the many Rabbinists (Saʿadya, Abraham b. Da'ūd, Judah Halevi, Abraham ibn Ezra, Maimonides, etc.) who simply identify the Ḳaraites and the Sadducees, and, finally, in the fact that not only Saʿadya, but also Ḳaraite writers of the 10th cent., had 'Sadducean writings' in their hands.[3] It was with these various elements, to which others were subsequently added, that ʿAnān instituted his movement.

ʿAnān is said to have expressed his distinctive tenet in the bipartite formula quoted in connexion with his name by Japheth b. ʿĀlī (end of 10th cent.): 'Search thoroughly in the Scripture, and do not rely upon my opinion.'[4] The primary article of his confession is accordingly the searching of the Scripture, and it signifies that Scripture is of itself sufficient, and requires no supplement of tradition. By Scripture is meant here, not merely the legislative portion of the Pentateuch, but the whole Bible; even the narrative parts must be drawn upon for the deduction of legal ordinances. In point of fact, however, ʽAnān adopted all the methods of the Talmudists, who were likewise at pains to base their oral teachings, *i.e.* tradition, upon the written Word, and he made extensive use of the thirteen canons of Rabbi Ishmael. He availed himself, above all, of the canon of analogy (היקש, Arab. *ḳiyās*), perhaps under the influence of Abū Ḥanīfa, but his great aim was to read the laws always in the sense carrying the heaviest obligation. This rigour he applied very specially to the laws of the Sabbath and of marriage. With reference to the former, he extended the idea of forbidden work to such processes as, being begun on a Friday, would automatically continue on the Sabbath; thus it was unlawful to light on a Friday a candle that would keep burning till next day—Ex 35^{3} being interpreted in that sense—whence he enjoined his adherents to sit in darkness on Friday evenings; and similarly, reading Ex 16^{29} literally and as binding for all time, he forbade them to leave their homes on the Sabbath, except to attend the worship of God. The marriage law he made more rigorous in two ways: interpreting Gn 2^{24} literally, he maintained that husband and wife were really one flesh, so that, *e.g.*, the wife's brother was to be regarded not as the husband's brother-in-law, but as his brother; while, again, applying the method of analogy here too, he extended the forbidden degrees to all collateral lines, whether ascending or descending.[1] This so-called *rikkūb* ordinance (רכוב) put great obstacles in the way of intermarriage among the Ḳaraites. Of ʽAnān's other innovations special mention may be made of his reconstruction of the calendar: he bade his followers determine the months according to the earlier method, *i.e.* observation of the new moon, and fix the intercalary month in view of the condition of the crops (cf. art. CALENDAR [Jewish], vol. iii. p. 118 f.). In this matter, too, he brought his adherents to a state of mischievous confusion, as in different localities they celebrated the festivals on different days,[2] and evil results followed also from his discarding the prayers hitherto in use, and substituting for them the recitation of psalms and verses from Scripture. Other regulations introduced by him relate to details of the laws about food and ceremonial purity, of feasts and fasts, of circumcision, and many other things. His injunctions, moreover, are pervaded by a strain of gloom. He forbade the Jews of the Diaspora to eat flesh, as, according to his interpretation of Dt 12^{21}, the use of such food was dependent upon the existence of a sanctuary and a sacrificial ritual. It should also be noted that, notwithstanding his adherence to the literal meaning of Scripture, he interpreted many of the Biblical laws in an allegorical sense.[3]

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[1] ed. A. Harkavy, *Zap. Vost. Otdel. Imp. Russ. Archeolog. Obščestva*, viii. [1894] 247 ff.

[2] Cf. Poznanski, *REJ* xliv. 161 ff.

[3] The Arabic authors who give more or less inaccurate information about ʿAnān and the Ḳaraites are: Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī (pseudo-Balḫī), ed. C. Huart, Paris, 1899–1907, iv. 34; al-Bīrūnī, ed. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 58 f.; al-Shahrastānī, ed. Cureton, London, 1842–46, i. 167; and Maḳrīzī, in S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*², Paris, 1826, i. 91. That they are all dependent upon Ḳaraite writings is shown by the fact that they all speak of ʿAnān as an exilarch (راس الجالوت).

[1] Cf. *REJ* xliv. 167, note 2.

[2] See esp. *Das Judenthum und seine Geschichte*, Breslau, 1864–65, ii. 55 ff., and cf. Poznanski, in *Abraham Geiger's Leben und Lebenswerk*, Berlin, 1910, p. 382 ff.

[3] Cf. *REJ* xliv. 176; S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Cambridge, 1910, i. p. xviii ff.

[4] Cf. *REJ* xliv. 180.

ʽAnān set forth his views in an Aramaic writing entitled *Sēfer ha-Miṣwôth* ('Book of Commandments'), of which, however, only fragments[4] survive. He also wrote a kind of compendium of that work, which is referred to by its Arabic title of *Fadhālika* (פדלכה), and survives only in a few quotations.[1] There is no dogmatic theology in either of these works, but, according to Ḳirḳisānī, their author believed in metempsychosis, and composed a work treating of it;[2] and he is further said to have held, on the authority of Lv 17^{11}, that the essential nature of the soul consists in blood.[3] Moreover, his 'Book of Commandments' is free from all controversy with the Rabbinists, nor does it contain a single opprobrious reference to them. According to Moses Taḳū,[4] a writer of the 13th cent., ʽAnān expressed a wish to have all the Jewish (*i.e.* Rabbinical) scholars inside him, and then to have a sword thrust through him, so that he and they might die together. But the witticism comes from a period later than ʽAnān's.

The second clause of ʽAnān's formula—'Do not rely on my opinion'—operated with disastrous effect among his early followers, who took each his own way, so that Ḳirḳisānī (ed. Harkavy, p. 285_{23}) complains that it was hard to find two Ḳaraites who agreed in all things. There also arose in consequence various parties and groups, which, however, were all at one in rejecting tradition. The ʽAnānites, the adherents of ʽAnān in the narrower sense, formed a distinct sect, which survived as such till the 10th cent.; his followers in general, however, called themselves Ḳaraites.

The history of their outward and inward development may be divided into five periods: (1) the earliest (9th cent.), (2) the Arabic (10th and 11th centuries), (3) the Byzantio-Turkish (12th–16th cent.), (4) the Taurido-Lithuanian (17th and 18th centuries), and (5) the modern (19th cent. and after). To recount this varied development is, however, no easy task, the reasons being, first, that only a fraction of the Ḳaraite literature is accessible in printed form, secondly, that the Ḳaraites are deficient in the historical sense, and have left behind them scarcely any historical works at all, and, thirdly, that they mix and confound periods and persons, partly because of their defective sense of history, and partly for the express purpose of glorifying their sect, the result being that the student of their literature often feels as if he were groping about in a dark wood.[5]

1. The early period (9th century).—The movement initiated by ʽAnān found the environment responsive, especially in Persia, where, owing to the variety of religions (Parsiism, Judaism, Christianity, Islām) strongly represented in the country, syncretistic and sectarian tendencies were widely prevalent; and, indeed, the majority of the Muslim sects and heresies, as also the earliest Jewish sects (ʽĪsāwites, Yudghānites), originated there. In Babylonia, his native region, however, his teaching seems to have evoked less response, and this explains why the official representatives of the Jews resident there, the Geônîm, take no notice of Ḳaraism, and why, *e.g.*, the Gāôn Naṭronai b. Hillai (A.D. 853, *i.e.* almost a century after ʽAnān) knows of the 'Book of Commandments' only by hearsay.[6] According to the later Ḳaraite writers, ʽAnān migrated from Babylonia to Palestine, and founded the still surviving Ḳaraite synagogue in Jerusalem. These statements, however, have no historical foundation;[7] in point of fact, his descendants, who were nearly all honoured with the title of 'exilarch' or 'prince,' are found in Egypt. Of these descendants his immediate successors are said to have been his son Saul and his grandson Josiah, of whom we know hardly more than their names.[1] Josiah is said to have been the teacher of Benjamin b. Moses Nahawandī (*i.e.* of Nahawand in Persia), who flourished *c.* 830, and with whom began a new era in the history of the sect; in fact, the Arabs speak of the Ḳaraites as 'the companions of ʿAnān and Benjamin' (اصحاب عانان وبنيامين),[2] and one Arabic writer makes Benjamin the head of a distinct sect, the Benyaminya.[3] Benjamin is the first of extant authors to speak of the Ḳaraites as *Bᵉnê miḳrā* (see p. 662^{a}); and, while ʿAnān wrote in Aramaic, he used Hebrew. While he followed the Rabbinists in regard to many precepts of the Law, his method, especially with reference to the deduction of the Law from the Scripture, was more consistent and systematic than theirs. He laid greater stress than ʿAnān upon the necessity of independent investigation of Scripture.[4] He applied himself also to dogmatics, and affirmed, *inter alia*, that the personage who created the world, sent the prophets, performed all the miracles, revealed the law, etc., was not God Himself, but an angel whom He had created—a view which he based upon various passages of Scripture, especially Ex 3^{2-6}, where the angel who appeared to Moses says: 'I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.' In reality, however, we have here the Logos-doctrine of Philo, whose writings, translated into some Oriental language, circulated in the East, and may quite well have been known to Benjamin.[5] Another of the latter's doctrines, founded upon Ezk 32^{27}, was that divine penalties fall upon the bones of men.[6] He read an allegorical sense into many passages of Scripture.[7] He enjoined that the months of Nisan and Tishri alone should be determined by observation of the moon; the others, as was the practice among the Rabbinists for all months, by computation. He frequently differed from ʿAnān in his applications of the Law. Of his writings only the 'Book of Laws' (*Sēfer Dīnīm*, published under the title משאת בנימן, Eupatoria, 1836) has been preserved. He also wrote a 'Book of Commandments' (*Sēfer ha-Miṣwôth*) and Biblical commentaries, of which, however, nothing is known beyond a few quotations by other writers.[8]

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[1] Cf. Poznanski, *Kaufmann-Gedenkbuch*, Breslau, 1900, p. 178.

[2] According to the narrative of Saʽadya already cited, ʽAnān specially urged upon the Khalīf that his rejection of the fixed calendar was the distinctive mark of a new religion. Generally, the calendar plays a great part in the history of Jewish sectarianism.

[3] Cf. Poznanski, in *Studies in Jewish Literature issued in Honour of K. Kohler*, Berlin, 1913, p. 240 ff.

[4] ed. Poznanski, in *REJ* lxv. [1902] 54 ff.; Harkavy, *Studien und Mitteilungen aus der St. Petersb. Bibliothek*, viii., St. Petersburg, 1903, and Schechter, *op. cit.* ii.

[1] Cf. *REJ* lxv. 184 ff.

[2] Poznanski, in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Kohut*, p. 437 ff.

[3] Saʽadya, *Kitāb al-Amanāt*, ed. S. Landauer, Leyden, 1881, p. 190.

[4] Cf. *REJ* lxv. 201.

[5] Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen*, p. 948.

[6] *Siddūr R. ʽAmram*, fol. 38*a*; cf. *REJ* xliv. 192.

[7] Cf. Poznanski, in *Jerusalem*, ed. A. M. Luncz, x. [1913] 85 ff.

Daniel b. Moses al-Ḳūmisi, or al-Dāmaghānī, is spoken of as a pupil of Benjamin. As his surname indicates, he was a native of Dāmaghān, in the province of Ḳūmis (Ṭābaristān); he flourished towards the end of the 9th century. A point of special interest is his attitude to ʿAnān, whom at first he designated 'the head of the wise' (ראש המשכילים), and afterwards 'the head of the fools' (ראש הכסילים).[9] In contrast to Benjamin, he was hostile to secular knowledge, and rejected reason as a means of deciding questions of religious law; and his opposition to his teacher is seen also in his denial of the existence of angels. The 'angels' mentioned in the Bible, as appears from Ps 78^{49} 104^{4}, were nothing but natural forces. He was also entirely opposed to the allegorical interpretation of the Commandments, since 'God did not ordain his commandments in allegorical form.'[1] In his interpretations of the religious law he tends to favour the more severe alternative. Daniel likewise composed a 'Book of Commandments,' preserved only in a few quotations,[2] and Biblical commentaries, of which only two small fragments (on Leviticus) survive;[3] he is also referred to as the author of a work on the law of inheritance.[4]

2. The Arabic period (10th and 11th centuries).—This period is so named because most of the Ḳaraite works dating from the centuries indicated were written in Arabic. It is the most brilliant age of Ḳaraite literature—an age in which the sect produced theologians, grammarians, lexicographers, exegetes, teachers of the Law, controversialists, etc., some of them writers of great and lasting importance. This illustrious advance was due in part to the influence of the Rabbinists and of their now active bent towards secular science and their desire to provide a scientific foundation for Judaism; while, in turn, the Ḳaraites influenced the Rabbinists, and, in particular, constrained them to engage more profoundly in the investigation of the Hebrew language and the rational exegesis of Scripture. Modern Jewish historians (Pinsker, Graetz, Fürst), indeed, would characterize all the earlier Jewish grammarians, Massoretes, and Biblical theologians as Ḳaraites; but, while this view has been completely refuted by criticism,[5] there can be no doubt that the Ḳaraites, whose very *raison d'être* was their literal view of the Bible, devoted themselves in a special degree to the branches of knowledge in question, and often gave the initiative to the Rabbinists. Another effective factor in the movement was polemics. The passive attitude of the Geônîm had to give way before the impetus and the recruiting power of Ḳaraism; and now there arose the Gāôn Saʿadya, who as a youth of twenty-three had attacked ʿAnān in a polemical work in the Arabic language (*Kitāb al-ridd ʿalā ʿAnān*), and who made it one of the great tasks of his life to fight against Ḳaraism. His challenge brought the Ḳaraites into the field, and the contention inspired them with new life. While the struggle was of a purely literary character, it was sometimes conducted in no very becoming way on either side, and not infrequently with a biased deviation from truth.[6] The Ḳaraites were not slow to retaliate upon their assailants, and directed their pointed but not always well-aimed shafts mainly against the anthropomorphic Haggādā of the Talmud, as also against the mystical writings of a like kind that emanated in part from the schools of the Geônîm.

The literary activity of the Ḳaraites during the period under notice asserted itself in nearly all the more important Muslim lands, *i.e.*, besides Babylonia and Persia—the cradle and the nursery of Ḳaraism—in Egypt, N. Africa, and especially Palestine. In the last-named country an eager intellectual interest also prevailed among the Rabbinists during the 10th and 11th centuries; here arose, as a counterpart to the official school of Geônîm in Babylon, a distinctively Palestinian Gāônate, and here the Ḳaraites likewise conducted a zealous propaganda about the same time.

The most eminent representative of Ḳaraism in this period was undoubtedly the already mentioned Abū Yūsuf Yaʻḳūb al-Ḳirḳisānī, or al-Ḳarḳasānī (*i.e.* of Circesium on the Euphrates, or of Ḳarḳasān, near Baghdād). As appears from his writings, he travelled widely, visited Persia and India, observed the customs of the heathen living there, was in personal touch with the representatives of various Jewish sects, and argued with Muslim theologians on various questions relating to their religion, of which he had a thorough knowledge. So far as we can estimate from his writings, he was a widely cultured and thoughtful man, 'who adhered loyally to his ancestral faith, but neither assumed an uncritical position towards the weaknesses of his own religious community, nor set himself against the adherents of other religions' (T. Friedländer, *ZA* xxvi. [1912] 94). In 937 he composed the first Ḳaraite book of laws in the Arabic language; it is entitled *Kitāb al-'Anwār w'al-Marāḳib* ('Book of Luminaries and Outlook Towers'), and is divided into thirteen sections. It differs from all works of its class in the fact that its first four sections are devoted to items of historical information and questions of dogmatic theology. The most important section is the first, which contains a survey of all the Jewish sects down to the writer's own day.[1] Ḳirḳisānī gathered his information partly from his own observation and his conversations with others, partly from the writings of his predecessors, and, above all, from those of David b. Merwān al-Muḳammaṣ, and from the *Kitāb al-Maḳālāt* of Abū ʻĪsā al-Warrāḳ. The book is invaluable as a storehouse of information provided by no other source, as, *e.g.*, regarding the Sadducees, who, it states, forbade divorce, and reckoned by solar months of thirty days;[2] regarding the sect of the Maghāriya, *i.e.* 'cave-dwellers,' who are perhaps identical with the Essenes;[3] regarding the remnants of the ʻĪsāwites, Oḳbarites, and ʻAnānites still surviving in his day, etc. It is interesting to find that he includes the Christians among the Jewish sects. In the opinion of many Ḳaraites, Jesus was a righteous and devout man, but Pauline Christianity was sheer heresy and a denial of God.[4] The subjects of the second section are the necessity of investigation and speculation with reference to the injunctions of the Torah, and the vindication of the proof *ex ratione et analogia*. In the third section Ḳirḳisānī refutes the views of the sectaries, and in the fourth indicates the paths that lead to the knowledge of the Law. He was likewise the first to direct a searching criticism upon the anthropomorphism of the Haggādā, and to formulate a canon to determine when the requirements of the Law were to be interpreted according to the inner, *i.e.* the figurative, sense. His position in these matters was influenced by his contemporary Saʻadya, whose opinions he also cites and refutes in other writings.[5] In his views of the religious Law his attitude is one of independence.

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[1] Cf. Harkavy, *Istoričeskiye Očerki Karaimstva*, ii. 1 f.

[2] *Jechurun*, ed. J. Kobak, ix. 35.

[3] *REJ* xxix. 207.

[4] Poznanski, *REJ* xliv. 184a; Harkavy, *Studien und Mitteilungen*, viii. 176.

[5] Cf. Poznanski, *REJ* l. 10 ff.

[6] Saʿadya, *Kitāb al-Amanāt*, ed. Landauer, p. 201; Harkavy, *Ḥadashim gam yeshanim*, vii. 20.

[7] *Studies in Jewish Literature*, p. 247.

[8] Cf. Poznanski, in *Oṣar Yisrael*, iii. 126.

[9] Ḳirḳisānī, ed. Harkavy, p. 280, line 17.

[1] Hadassi, *Eshkôl ha-Kôfer*, Eupatoria, 1836, § 240 ר; cf. *Studies in Jewish Literature*, pp. 243, 248.

[2] Collected in Harkavy, *Studien und Mitteilungen*, viii. 1, 187–192.

[3] *Ha-Ḥoḳer*, ed. I. S. Fuchs, i. [1891] 169–173, and *Saadyana*, ed. S. Schechter, Cambridge, 1903, no. lv.

[4] Cf. *Saadyana*, no. xii.; also Poznanski, in *Yevreyskaya Enzyklopedya*, *s.v.* 'Daniel b. Moses,' vi. 945.

[5] Cf. esp. Steinschneider, *Magazin für die Wissensch. des Judenthums*, xx. 236.

[6] Cf. Poznanski, 'The Anti-Karaite Writings of Saadiah Gaon,' *JQR* x. [1897–98] 238–276, and *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon*, London, 1908.

MSS of the *Kitāb al-Anwār* are found in St. Petersburg and the British Museum. In addition to the first section, various chapters from the other sections have been edited by H. Hirschfeld (*Arabic Chrestomathy in Hebrew Characters*, London, 1892, pp. 116–121), and more fully by Poznanski (in various publications). Friedländer (*op. cit.*) edits the chapter against Islām (iii. 18), which reveals an intimate knowledge of its subject. Ḳirḳisānī regarded the *Kitāb al-Anwār*, his greatest work, as only an introduction to his commentary on the Pentateuch (*Kitāb al-Riyāḍ w'al-Ḥadā'iḳ*, 'The Book of Flower-beds and Gardens'), portions of which survive in MS. He refers also to the following writings as from his pen: a commentary on Job and Ḳoheleth, and treatises on the unity of God, on translations of the Bible, and against the prophetic character of Muḥammad.

A number of other eminent Ḳaraite men of learning may be named here. David b. Boaz, a descendant of ʻAnān in the fifth generation (*i.e.* *c.* 910, though Ibn al-Hītī brings his date down to *c.* 993; cf. Poznanski, *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon*, p. 18), is always designated 'prince,' and enjoyed a position of great authority. His principal works were Biblical commentaries in Arabic, still partly extant in MS; and a treatise on the fundamental doctrines of religion (*Kitāb al-Uṣūl*) is also ascribed to him. His place of residence is unknown. The letter said to have been written by him from Jerusalem in 1009 is a forgery.[1] David b. Abraham al-Fāsī (*i.e.* of Fez, in Morocco), belonging to the latter half of the 10th cent., wrote in Arabic a magnificently planned Hebrew lexicon, entitled *Kitāb Jāmiʻ al-Alfāṭ*,[2] which contains numerous contributions to Biblical exegesis and the comparative philology of the Semitic languages. Attempts to assign the work to the 12th cent. have proved futile. Sahl b. Faḍl (Heb. Jāshār b. Ḥesed) of Tustar, in Khūzistān, Persia, lived in the first half of the 11th cent., and among other works wrote a critical adaptation of Aristotle's *Physics*.[3] Nissi b. Noah was long regarded as a pupil of ʻAnān, but, according to recent research, he lived in the 11th cent., and resided in Persia. He composed what might be called a commentary on the Decalogue, in which he made use of Hebrew philosophical terms. The most prolific Ḳaraite exegete of the period was Japheth b. ʻĀlī of Baṣra (end of 10th cent.), who translated the whole OT into Arabic, and also wrote a very full commentary to it in that language.[4] He was well-affected towards secular knowledge,[5] and composed, among other things, a polemical work against Saʻadya and his pupil, Jacob b. Samuel. Levi, a son of the foregoing, wrote in Arabic a 'Book of Commandments' (1007), which survives only in a Hebrew translation, and also Biblical commentaries. In the field of sacred jurisprudence he was one of those who prefer the less exacting interpretation; thus, *e.g.*, he inveighed against ʻAnān's requirement that no light should be allowed to burn on the eve of the Sabbath. 'Reason ordains that in honour of the Sabbath there should be light in the house, for thus it is said (in Is 24^{15}): "with lights glorify the Eternal" (Bashyazi, *Adderet Ēlīyāhū*, Eupatoria, 1835, fol. 31^b). Thus sound common sense came at length to triumph over a rigid adherence to the letter.

About this period, however, Ḳaraite learning had, as was said above, a special centre in Jerusalem, where the Ḳaraites seem for a time to have been a stronger party than the Rabbinists. Jerusalem was perhaps the home (*c.* A.D. 940–960) of Solomon b. Jeroham, the most zealous and fiercest anti-Rabbinic controversialist among the Ḳaraites. He was opposed to philosophy and secular knowledge; he declaimed against the learning of foreign languages—though he himself sometimes used Arabic—and the reading of secular literature; he was even a foe to Euclid and the Hebrew grammar. He wrote in

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[1] ed. Harkavy, St. Petersburg, 1894 (cf. W. Bacher, *JQR* vii. [1894–95] 687 ff.).

[2] Cf. Schechter, *Documents of the Jewish Sectaries*, i. p. xviii. ff.

[3] Poznanski, *REJ* l. 14 ff.

[4] The Ḳaraites were inclined to coquet with Christianity and Islām, although they sometimes assailed them vehemently, and, *e.g.*, like other Jewish writers, they stigmatize Muḥammad as a פסול (*pasūl*, a sarcastic play upon the word *rasūl*). The Muslim powers are said to have been at first favourably disposed towards the Ḳaraites (cf. *REJ* xliv. 165).

[5] Cf. Poznanski, *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon*, p. 8 ff., *Studies in Jewish Literature*, p. 249.

[1] P. F. Frankl, *MGWJ* xxv. [1876] 56 ff.

[2] MSS in St. Petersburg and Oxford. Extracts have been published by A. Neubauer, *Notice sur la lexicographie hébraïque* (*Extrait du Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1861), pp. 27–155, and in the appendix to Abū'l Walīd Merwān ibn Janāḥ, *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, Oxford, 1875, coll. 773–808.

[3] Cf. Steinschneider, *Die arab. Literatur der Juden*, § 69, and G. Margoliouth, *REJ* lvii. 314.

[4] Of this the Song of Solomon and Daniel have been published in full; certain other books only in part.

[5] Cf. *JQR* xiii. [1900–01] 340.

Hebrew a bitter and vulgar rhymed epistle against oral doctrine in general, and Sa'adya in particular; to this a pupil of Sa'adya—perhaps Jacob b. Samuel—composed a rejoinder in Arabic (cf. Poznanski, *Zeitschr. für hebr. Bibliog.* x. [1906] 47). Solomon was also a writer of Biblical commentaries in Arabic, of which only a specimen portion of his Lamentations has been printed.[1] Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ (end of the 10th cent.) was a man of kindred mould with Solomon, but superior to him in many respects. He too wrote Biblical commentaries in Arabic,[2] and likewise composed a violent epistle against Jacob b. Samuel; but his horizon was wider than Solomon's, and he was a wonderful master of diction. In his epistle we find interesting data regarding the Ḳaraites of Jerusalem, their ascetic manner of life, and their successful propaganda among the Rabbinists. These data he repeats in his Hebrew introduction to a 'Book of Commandments' which he wrote in Arabic;[3] in that work he urges his co-religionists to settle in the Holy City. He was likewise the first Ḳaraite to propound canons for the determination of religious law. They are four in number: (1) reason or speculation (חכמת הרעת), (2) the actual words of Scripture (משמה), (3) analogy (היקש = Arab. قياس [see above]), and (4) the *consensus* of the community (ערה [see above]; cited by Hadassi, *Eshkôl ha-Kôfer*, § 168 ב). Joseph b. Noah (*c.* 1002) seems to have played a great rôle among the Ḳaraite scholars of Jerusalem. According to Ibn al-Hītī,[4] his seminary was always attended by seventy learned men—doubtless an ideal figure, assimilated to the membership of the ancient Sanhedrim. Of Sahl's four canons Joseph rejected the third, analogy, and he had a controversy with Sahl regarding the question of fixing leap-year by the coming of spring (Abīb). He wrote a commentary to the Pentateuch, which his pupil Abū'l Faraj Hārūn b. al-Faraj recast in an abbreviated form;[5] and also a work on grammar, which is quoted by the same pupil. This Abū'l Faraj was himself a distinguished grammarian, lexicographer, and Biblical exegete, and is referred to by Rabbinist writers as 'the grammarian of Jerusalem.'[6] He was the author of a grammatical treatise, *Kitāb al-Mushtamil* (completed in August 1026), in eight books, of which the 7th and 8th are of special interest, the former being of the nature of a lexicon, giving the various meanings of each triliteral root, and the fresh significations it acquires by the transposition of its radicals,[7] while the latter deals with Biblical Aramaic and its affinity to Hebrew.[8] He also wrote, in Arabic, *Kitāb al-Kāfī*, a grammatical work, *Sharḥ al-Alfāẓ*, a book giving definitions of Biblical words, and a commentary to the Pentateuch.

A still more important scholar of the period was Joseph b. Abraham al-Baṣīr (Heb. *ha-Rôeh*, euphemism for 'the Blind'), another pupil of Joseph b. Noah, and at once the first and the most renowned philosophical theologian among the Ḳaraites. Even at an early date he was confounded with Ḳirḳisānī, or else regarded as anterior to him; but it is now certain that he flourished in the first half of the 11th cent., and died probably *c.* 1040.[9] As a philosopher, al-Baṣīr was dominated by the influence of the Mu'tazilite *kalām*, as was indeed the case with almost all the Ḳaraite philosophers;[1] hence the Ḳaraites as a sect are usually referred to by Arabic writers as *ahl al-'adl w'at-tawḥīd* (اهل العدل والتوحيد), *i.e.* 'the people of the righteousness [or equity] and the unity [of God].' Thus he too enunciates five principles of the confession of the divine unity: (1) the necessary assumption of atoms and accidents, (2) the necessary assumption of a creator, (3) the necessary assumption of divine attributes, (4) the necessary rejection of attributes falsely ascribed to God, and (5) the assumption of His unity notwithstanding the plurality of His attributes—the attributes being elements of His nature, and not entities that exist outside of Him. Al-Baṣīr was a believer in free will (*ḳadr*), and an opponent of 'Anān's doctrine of metempsychosis—though he upholds it as true in the case of the 'Abdiya—repudiating an idea current in many Mu'tazilite groups, viz. that God's dealings with the children and animals to which He allots suffering are justified by that doctrine. He was likewise opposed to the theory of Benjamin al-Nahawandī (see above). He expounded his philosophical views in two Arabic treatises. His chief work is the *Kitāb al-Muḥtawī*,[2] 'the one surviving pattern of a work on the Mu'tazilite *kalām* that might quite as well have been composed by a Muslim'[3]—just as in the introduction he maintains that revelation by the prophets must necessarily be supplemented by speculative knowledge. For centuries the treatise was known only in the Hebrew translation by Tobiah b. Moses (below, 667^{b}), bearing the title *Sēfer ha-Nᵉ'îmôth* (ספר הנעימות), and it is only recently that certain chapters, both of the original and of the translation, have seen the light in the form of graduation theses.[4] A compendium of the *al-Muḥtawī* is found in the *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, or *al-Manṣūrī*,[5] translated into Hebrew by Tobiah b. Moses as *Maḥkîmath Pethî* (מחכימת פתי).[6] An analysis of both works has been published by P. F. Frankl.[7] The *al-Muḥtawī* exercised a vast influence upon the scholars of the age, and even the last Ḳaraite philosophical theologian, the Aaron b. Elijah to be dealt with below (1364), owes everything to it. Al-Baṣīr was likewise the author of other philosophical treatises,[8] for the most part now lost. He occupied an influential position as a teacher of the Law. He was the first to protest against the rigorous Ḳaraite regulations concerning marriage, the so-called *rikkūb* theory (above, p. 663^{a}). In A.H. 428 (A.D. 1036–37) he wrote in Arabic a 'Book of Commandments', entitled *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, sections of which, treating of legacies and ceremonial purity, are found in MS in the British Museum. It was no doubt from this work that his successors drew their numerous references to his views of religious law.

Joshua b. Judah (Arab. Abū'l Faraj Furḳān ibn Asad) was a pupil of al-Baṣīr, and, like his teacher, a philosopher and a teacher of the Law, while he was also an exegete. He executed an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch, and composed two commentaries on it, one of which (1050) was an exhaustive work, the other (begun 1054) an epitome.[9] His work as an exegete was greatly esteemed by Abraham ibn Ezra. As a philosophical theologian, he wrote philosophical homilies on Genesis and numerous dogmatic treatises, which survive, however, only in Hebrew translations. His philosophical position is exactly that of his master, and, like the latter, he was an adherent of the Mu'tazilite *kalām*. The only extant memorial of his activity as a teacher of the Law is a treatise on incest in a Hebrew translation, *Sēfer ha-'Ărāyôth* (ed. I. Markon, St. Petersburg, 1908), in which he delivered a more decisive blow to the *rikkūb* theory than even his teacher had done, with the result that it was completely discredited. The outstanding achievement of Joshua, however, consists in his having trained a group of pupils who carried the Ḳaraite teaching to European countries.

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[1] ed. S. Feuerstein, Cracow, 1898; cf. Poznanski, *JQR* xiii. 336 ff.

[2] There is a MS fragment of his *Deuteronomy* in St. Petersburg.

[3] ed. Harkavy, in *Ha-Meliṣ*, 1879, p. 639; cf. Poznanski, *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon*, p. 33, and *Jerusalem*, ed. Luncz, x. 97.

[4] *JQR* ix. [1896–97] 433; cf. *Zeitschr. für hebr. Bibl.* ii. [1897] 79.

[5] MS in St. Petersburg; cf. Harkavy, *ZATW* i. 156.

[6] Cf. Bacher, *REJ* xxx. 232–256, and Poznanski, *ib.* xxxiii. 24–39, 197–219, lvi. 42–69.

[7] Cf. Poznanski, *REJ* xxxiii. 24 ff., 197 ff.

[8] ed. Hirschfeld, in *Arabic Chrestomathy*, pp. 54–60.

[9] Cf. Poznanski, 'Nouveaux renseignements sur Abou-l-Faradj ben al-Faradj' in *REJ* lvi. 48 ff.

[1] Cf. Maimonides, *Dalālat*, i. ch. 71.

[2] MS in Budapest.

[3] Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen*, p. 455

[4] Budapest, 1905–1913, containing chs. 15, 19, 23, 25–30, 34, and portions of 3, 22, 24.

[5] MS in the British Museum.

[6] In several MSS.

[7] *Ein mu'tazilitischer Kalâm*, etc., Vienna, 1873; cf. also his *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte der Karäer*, Berlin, 1887.

[8] Enumerated in Steinschneider, *Die arab. Literatur der Juden*, § 50.

[9] Cf. G. Margoliouth, *JQR* xi. [1898–99] 187 ff.

Joshua was the last representative of Ḳaraite learning in Palestine, and after his day, *i.e.* from the last third of the 11th cent., the intellectual activity of Ḳaraism disappears from the Holy Land, while the period of spontaneous and creative vigour comes likewise to an end. This collapse was probably due to political occurrences, viz. the capture of Jerusalem by the Seljuks in A.D. 1071, and by the Crusaders in A.D. 1099.[1] It is recorded that a large number of the Ḳaraites — or all of them—were, together with the Rabbinists, driven into a synagogue by the army of the Crusaders, and there burned to death.[2] In 1642 the Ḳaraite traveller, Samuel b. David, found in Jerusalem only twenty-seven Ḳaraites, occupying fifteen houses,[3] while it is said that in 1749 there was not a single adherent of the sect in the Holy City.[4] In 1912 the Ḳaraites in Jerusalem numbered eighteen persons (five males and thirteen females), belonging to five families and living in three houses (in one of which was the synagogue).[5] The centre of Ḳaraite life was now transferred to Eastern Europe, and this brings us to the beginning of a new period.

3. The Byzantio-Turkish period (12th-16th cent.).—This may be divided into three shorter stages, viz. (*a*) a time during which the Ḳaraites, by translating the works of the Arabic period into Hebrew and gathering up the results of the past, simply maintained and consolidated what had already been attained (close of the 11th cent. and the 12th cent.); (*b*) a time of advance and quasi-renaissance (13th-15th cent.); and (*c*) a time of complete decadence (16th cent.).

The outstanding feature of the first of these three sub-periods was its activity in the work of translation. Young men came in large numbers from Byzantium to study under Joshua at Jerusalem, and there learned Arabic. They then returned home, mainly to Constantinople, where in a relatively short time they translated all the more important Ḳaraite works that had been written in Arabic—a feat which Frankl[6] characterizes as 'an achievement so great in respect of mere mass that we cannot wonder if its quality should be poor.' Its defects of quality were due to the translators' inadequate grasp of the Arabic language. The translators were mostly of Byzantine origin, and were familiar with Byzantine culture; and in their translations, besides Arabic words which were taken over unchanged, we find large numbers of Greek words, and these, again, as we might expect, were subjected to great corruption by the copyists. The influence of the translations was nevertheless very great, as they alone, and not the originals, were studied. The greatest and most eminent of the translators was Tobiah b. Moses, who is sometimes indeed called Ha-Ma'atiḳ ('the translator'). Being in a manner a pioneer, he had to construct a terminology, and this is harsh and often ill-devised. His principal translations are those of the writings of al-Baṣīr and his teacher Joshua, and, while he sometimes added to the matter of these works, he also now and then condensed it. Of Tobiah's own works the best known is his very full commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled *Ôṣār Neḥmād*, which, however, is for the most part a compilation from David b. Boaz and Japheth b. 'Ālī.[1] He also enjoyed a considerable reputation as a teacher of the Law, and reference is often made to his dictum that every tradition accepted by the Ḳaraites is suggested in Holy Scripture, and that it was mere lack of understanding to assert that there were Ḳaraite traditions which had not the support of Scripture.[2] Another greatly valued translator was Jacob b. Simeon; the names of the rest are unknown. Other noteworthy Ḳaraite scholars of Byzantium in this epoch are Aaron b. Judah Ḳūsdimi (*i.e.* of Constantinople), who devoted himself specially to the study of the marriage law, and Jacob b. Reuben, author of a commentary on the Bible entitled *Sēfer ha-'Ôsher*, and drawn mainly from his predecessors, especially from Japheth b. 'Ālī.

This sub-period closes with the publication of one of the most notable productions of Ḳaraite literature, the *Eshkôl ha-Kôfer*, written by Judah b. Elijah Hadassi in 1148.[3] Jost[4] compares it to a sea into which flow all the streams of Ḳaraite learning. Even on its formal side the work is remarkable. It consists of 379 sections, written in a rhymed prose, and all its strophes, which, with few exceptions, are acrostically arranged under the Hebrew alphabet in the direct and inverse order (*i.e.* אבגר״ and תשרק״), end in ךְ. This—to say nothing of the affected language and the cumbrous diction—gives the work a character of tedious monotony. Moreover, Hadassi tabulates all the injunctions of the Law and his other data under the Ten Commandments of the Decalogue; and here, too, he has to resort to all manner of artifice. He claims to be no more than a compiler, and frequently emphasizes the fact (see especially the end of the twenty-third repetition of the alphabet), and, in point of fact, the *Eshkôl ha-Kôfer* takes the form of an encyclopædia in which are accumulated the results of all previous Ḳaraite learning. In his attitude towards the Rabbinists he is most spiteful and savage, and may in this respect be matched with Solomon b. Jeroham and Sahl b. Maṣliaḥ. He fastens, above all, upon the first, second, and ninth Commandments of the Decalogue, and he reproaches the Talmudists for having in their grossly sensuous Haggādā obscured the unity of God, conjoined Him with other beings, and made false representations of the Biblical personages.[5] He was also well versed in secular science, philosophy, and dogmatic theology. His views are dominated by Mu'tazilite influence;[6]

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[1] These two events also caused irreparable damage to the Palestinian Gāônate already referred to. The Seljuk conquest forced it to abandon Jerusalem. It settled in Trabulus, and, when that city was itself taken by the Crusaders on the 12th of July 1109 (cf. R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, Innsbruck, 1898, p. 81), the Gāônate no longer existed in the Holy Land (cf. *REJ* xlviii. 170).

[2] Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, vi.³ 95.

[3] J. H. Gurland, *Ginze Israel*, Lyck and St. Petersburg, 1865-67, i. 12.

[4] Cf. *Jerusalem*, ed. Luncz, vi. 240.

[5] Cf. the monthly periodical, *Karaimskaya Zhizn*, for 1912, p. 50.

[6] *Beiträge*, p. 11.

[1] *REJ* xxxiv. 181.

[2] Cf. Aaron b. Elijah, *Gan Eden*, Eupatoria, 1866, fol. 8*b*, etc.

[3] ed. Eupatoria, 1836.

[4] *Geschichte des Judentums*, ii. 352.

[5] Cf. esp. alphabets 105-124 and 358 *f.* Hadassi, nevertheless, does not scruple to make copious use of Rabbinical writers, nor does he always acknowledge his sources. This is particularly true of his work in the field of Hebrew philology. Thus he plagiarizes from the *Môznayim* of his younger contemporary, Abraham ibn Ezra, in a manner that amounts to sheer fraud (cf. Bacher, in *MGWJ* xl. 73, 126).

[6] Cf. M. Schreiner, *Der Kalâm in der jüdischen Literatur* Berlin, 1895, p. 33.

but his information in the sphere of secular science is drawn in part from Byzantine sources, as appears from the numerous Greek glosses to his work, which, however, are sometimes omitted and sometimes distorted in the published edition.[1] Hadassi was likewise the first Ḳaraite writer who formulated articles of faith. These are ten in number—to correspond, no doubt, with the Ten Commandments—and are as follows: (1) creation from nothing; (2) the creator is God; (3) God is one, formless, and different from all other beings; (4) God sent Moses and the Prophets; (5) through Moses, God revealed the Torah, which in its wording is of itself sufficient, and does not require to be supplemented by oral teaching (the specifically Ḳaraite article); (6) the Torah must be learned by every Israelite in the original Hebrew; (7) God appointed a sanctuary; (8) the resurrection of the dead; (9) reward and punishment in the future life; and (10) the redemption of Israel by a Messiah of the posterity of David. These articles were set forth in a work which, as a later writer, Aaron b. Elijah,[2] proudly affirms, was composed twenty-nine years before the *Sēfer ha-Madda'* of Maimonides.

About this time, as we read, there were Ḳaraites also in the extreme west of Europe, in Spain. A certain al-Taras had migrated from Castile to Jerusalem, where he embraced Ḳaraism and became a pupil of Joshua b. Judah, and then returned to his native place as a propagandist of his new faith. After his death his work was taken up by his wife, designated Mu'allima ('the teacher') by their adherents, who seem to have been fairly numerous. By the intervention of Rabbinist dignitaries at the Castilian court, however, the Ḳaraites in Spain were subjected to persecution, and it is stated that from 1178 they were completely lost sight of. There is evidence to show, nevertheless, that there were Ḳaraites in Castile as late as the 13th century.[3] In other West European countries the sect was known only by repute,[4] although an occasional Rabbinist scholar, as, *e.g.*, Meshullam b. Kalonymus,[5] thought it necessary to deal critically with its teachings.

In the East, and especially in Egypt, the Ḳaraites at this time occupied a position of great respect, and perhaps used it domineeringly. In Egypt they numbered amongst them many physicians of eminence, as, *e.g.*, Abū'l Bayyān al-Mudawwar and Sadīd al-Dīn Abū'l Faḍl Dā'ūd b. Sulaimān (perhaps a son of the foregoing).[6] It was in Egypt also that their 'princes,' the descendants of 'Anān, resided, and about the period under notice their prince was Solomon b. David (Arab. al-Ra'is Abū'l Faḍl), the author of several works. Here, too, lived the earliest and the only outstanding Ḳaraite poet, Moses b. Abraham Dar'ī, whom their uncritical historians assigned to the 11th cent. and regarded as the model of all the greater Hebrew poets, Gabirol, the two Ibn Ezras, and Judah Halevi, while, as a matter of fact, the relation was exactly the reverse.[7]

As time went on, the Ḳaraites came to be more and more affected by the influence of Rabbinism and the Rabbinical literature, and their power gradually waned. The Rabbinical intellectual giants of Spain carried Judaism to heights which the Ḳaraites were quite unable to scale. In Egypt their prestige was shattered by the advent of Maimonides. The latter certainly dealt most gently with them, but he saw to it that Ḳaraite usages and Ḳaraite interpretations of the Law which had crept into Rabbinistic communities were rooted out.[1] From the end of the 12th cent. the vitality of Ḳaraism was all but completely spent. Attempts were made to revive it; strong personalities arose within its pale; there were conciliatory approaches to the Rabbinists; but the sect was no longer truly alive. Its unyielding insistence upon adherence to the past shut it off from the vitalizing springs of progress and doomed it to a fatal atrophy, and from this point onwards its fortunes require but brief narration.

At the beginning of the second portion of the Byzantio-Turkish period, *i.e.* in the opening years of the 13th cent., we hear with growing frequency of Ḳaraites living in the land of Kedar (*i.e.* of the Tatars)—the Crimea. Why they came there, and whence they came, are questions not easily answered. At a later day an attempt was made to show that they had migrated thither, as one might say, in pre-historic times; but this is a mere falsification of history (see below, § 5). It is possible that the Chazars who had been converted to Judaism had intermingled with the Ḳaraites, and that this might explain the presence in the Crimea of a body of people exhibiting a somewhat impure Jewish type of religion. Our earliest information regarding this body is provided by the traveller Pethaḥya of Regensburg (end of 12th cent.). He states that there were heretics in the land of Kedar who did not follow tradition—of which, indeed, they had never heard—who were accustomed to sit in the dark on Friday evenings, whose prayers consisted only of psalms, etc. Further, Sulchat in the Crimea was the native place of the Aaron b. Joseph or Aaron the First (*c.* 1260–1320) who removed to Constantinople—one of the most sympathetic minds that the Ḳaraites ever produced. He was a doctor by profession, but he wrote (in 1294) a commentary on the Bible entitled *Sēfer Mibḥār*,[2] a very remarkable piece of work. His fair-mindedness towards Rabbinist adversaries, with whom he often agrees, is particularly worthy of note. 'Truth and error,' he says, 'are not what they are in virtue of the person who utters them, but are so entirely on their own account.' At a later date he was actually regarded as a pupil of Naḥmanides. His views in theology and the philosophy of religion, like those of his predecessors generally, are based upon the Mu'tazilite *kalām*, but he also shows leanings to Aristotelianism.[3] He rendered his party a more effective service, however, in the sphere of religious worship, as the order of prayer universally adopted among the Ḳaraites from his day was due to him, and he also enriched the ritual of the synagogue with about eighty sacred poems;[4] he was, in fact, the most prolific and distinguished of Ḳaraite liturgical poets. It may be remarked here that the Ḳaraites adopted many of their synagogue songs from the Rabbinists, and that in other parts of their liturgy as well they could not evade the influence of the latter. Moreover, in different countries they instituted different ritual forms.[1]

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[1] Cf. Frankl, in *MGWJ* xxxiii. [1884] 449 ff.

[2] *'Ēṣ ha-Ḥayīm*, ch. 18.

[3] Cf. Loeb, *REJ* xix. 206–209.

[4] But cf. Epstein, in E. Günzig's *Ha-Eshkol*, vii. 221.

[5] Cf. Freimann, *Judaica* (*Cohen's Festschrift*), Berlin, 1912, p. 569 ff.

[6] Cf. Ibn Abī 'Uṣaibi'a, ed. A. Müller, Königsberg, 1884, ii. 115–118; Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, § 153 f.

[7] On Moses cf., most recently, Poznanski, in *Yevreyskaya Enzyklopedya*, *s.v.* (vii. 18 f.), and the literature cited there. It is possible that Elijah b. Abraham's valuable little work on the separation of the Ḳaraites from the Rabbinists (חלוק הקראים והרבנים, ed. in Pinsker, *Liḳḳuṭe Ḳadmoniot*, pp. 99-106, on which cf. Poznanski, *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadiah Gaon*, p. 73) was also written about this time. Samuel ibn 'Abbās, who became a Muslim convert in 1163, says that most of the Oriental Ḳaraites of his day had embraced Islām, and that all of them were prepared to do so (cf. *MGWJ* xlii. 260); but it is a question whether we can believe him.

[1] Cf. Bacher, *Die Bibelexegese Moses Maimûnis*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 174; Neumann, in the Hungarian *Bloch-Jubelschrift*, Budapest, 1905, pp. 164–170; Friedländer, in *MGWJ* liii. 469 ff.

[2] The greater part of it was printed at Eupatoria in 1835.

[3] Schreiner, *op. cit.* p. 57.

[4] In addition to the writings mentioned, he composed a small grammatical treatise entitled *Kᵉlīl Yôfī*, which, however, he left unfinished; it was completed in the 16th cent. by Isaac Tishbī (Constantinople, 1581; Eupatoria, 1847). It was in the time of Aaron that Shemariah Iḳriṭī of Negropont (fl. *c.* 1290–1320) made his attempt to adjust the differences between the Ḳaraites and the Rabbinists (cf. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, vii.[2] 300 f.).

A still more versatile, more fertile, and more learned writer was Aaron b. Elijah or Aaron the Second (born Nicomedia, *c.* 1300; †Constantinople, 1369), who was at once a philosophical theologian, a teacher of the Law, and an exegete, and is designated by his co-religionists 'the Ḳaraite Maimonides.' He expounded his philosophical and theological views in his *'Ēṣ ha-Ḥayîm*,[2] in which he is chiefly concerned to guard the Mu'tazilite *kalām* against the Aristotelian teachings which had found their way into Judaism largely through the writings of Maimonides. A more significant work is his exposition of the religious law, the *Gan Ēden*,[3] in which he lays down the principle that belief in the unity and the other attributes of God, as also in His government of the world, is the final aim of the Law. In his commentary to the Pentateuch, *Keter Tôrāh*,[4] the influence of Ibn Ezra is clearly traceable.

In the early years of the Turkish domination the Ḳaraites were frequently persecuted by the government; but, as an offset, their relations with the Rabbinists became quite friendly. Mutual forbearance and tolerance helped to bring about this result. Elijah Mizraḥi of Constantinople (*c.* 1455–1525), one of the greatest Rabbinical scholars in Turkey—in opposition to Moses Ḳapsali, the chief Rabbi of Turkey—allowed the Ḳaraites to be instructed even in oral tradition. Many Ḳaraites sat as scholars at the feet of Enoch Ṣaporta and his pupil Mordecai Komtino, a man of universal culture (middle of the 15th cent.), and received instruction in the Talmud, decisions, and general science.[5] Don Gedaliah, who had come to Constantinople from Lisbon († before 1487), tried, with the acquiescence of the Ḳaraites, to bring about a re-union with the Rabbinists. One of the pupils of Komtino was Elijah b. Moses Bashyazi, the most eminent Ḳaraite scholar of the day, who resided first in Adrianople and then in Constantinople, and whom the Ḳaraites call 'the last Decisor' (הפוסק האחרון). His most important work is his treatise on the Law, *Adderet Elīyāhū*, a monument of clear expression and arrangement. He favours, on the whole, the less rigorous application of the Law, and he asserts that the divine commandments require to be fulfilled only in accordance with human capacity. He was a man of the most varied culture, and was, *e.g.*, an eager student of mathematics. He owed much to the writings of Maimonides. He died in 1490, leaving his *Adderet* unfinished; it was continued—though still left incomplete—by his brother-in-law and pupil, Caleb Afendopolo (born 1455; †after 1509). He was a polymath, and his writings embrace treatises on jurisprudence, philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, to say nothing of his poems, both secular and liturgical—over twenty works in all.[6]

The other Ḳaraite writers of Turkey during this and the following division of the period under consideration (15th–17th cent.) are generally of little importance, being almost wholly wanting in creative power, and they merit no particular notice. An exception should perhaps be made of Moses Bashyazi, a great-grandson of Elijah, and regarded as a youthful prodigy. He knew Arabic, Greek, and Spanish; he travelled widely in the East, where he became acquainted with the writings of the earlier Ḳaraites; he had a leaning towards historical investigation, and wrote a number of works, of which only one, a treatise on incest, has been printed.[1] He died, probably in 1555, at the age of twenty.

The East was at this time the nursery of many other Ḳaraite writers, but for the development of the sect as a whole it had no further significance. We are told that, through the efforts of Abraham Maimūnī II., a great-grandson of Maimonides, a fairly large Ḳaraite community in Egypt was converted to Rabbinist teaching.[2] Cairo was the centre of nearly all the more eminent Ḳaraite writers of the period, viz. Japheth al-Barḳamānī (probably *c.* the middle of the 13th cent.), author of a medical work in Arabic and a refutation of the Rabbinists;[3] Israel ha-Ma'arabī (first half of 14th cent.), the writer of numerous works in Arabic and Hebrew, including one (originally in Arabic, but translated into Hebrew) treating of regulations for the slaughter of animals (1306; printed, Vienna, 1830), as also of many hymns for use in the synagogue; he was regarded as an authority in marriage law, and was the first to assert that the intercalary cycle of nineteen years was instituted by those who returned from the Exile ('the good figs,' see above);[4] Japheth b. Sagīr, a pupil of Israel, and author of a 'Book of Commandments' in Arabic, most of which is extant in MS; Samuel b. Moses al-Maghribī, a physician, and the writer of another 'Book of Commandments' entitled *Kitāb al-Murshid*, which is a model of perspicuity but shows no independence.[5] Of writers not resident in Cairo mention may be made of Ibn al-Hītī (first half of 15th cent.), who wrote a valuable chronicle of Ḳaraite scholars.[6]

4. The Taurido-Lithuanian period (17th and 18th centuries).—Reference was made above to the presence of Ḳaraites in the south of Russia, especially in Taurida (the Crimea), as early as the last third of the 12th century. They increased in number during the 13th century. Towards the close of the 14th cent. the Grand Duke Witold of Lithuania carried away from the Crimea, among other Tatar captives, a number of Ḳaraites, and settled them in Troki, near Wilna, whence they spread to other towns—in Lithuania, Volhynia, and Podolia (now Galicia). The Ḳaraites of the Crimea and Lithuania show at first not a symptom of intellectual life, and the writers whom they are said to have produced at that time are mere fabrications. Towards the end of the 15th cent., however, we hear of a correspondence between the Ḳaraites in Lutsk and Troki and Elijah Bashyazi in Constantinople, who recommended them to send him two pupils.[7] In the Crimea, where under the Tatar sway there was no intellectual life, the Ḳaraites, too, failed to develop one; but in Lithuania, where the Rabbinists founded strong Talmudic schools in the latter half of the 16th cent., they exerted themselves to cultivate the higher interests. Here about this time arose one very distinguished and interesting writer, viz. Isaac b. Abraham of Troki (1533–94), the author of an unfinished anti-Christian work called *Ḥizzūḳ Emūnā* ('The Confirmation of Faith').[1] The book reveals a wide knowledge of Christian literature; but its author had also engaged in oral discussions with the heads of the Christian Reformers, who were at that time very numerous in Poland. It shows no distinctively Ḳaraite colouring, and the religious beliefs of its writer had to be elicited by literary criticism. Its erudition and its intellectual acumen astounded even Voltaire. It was completed by one of Isaac's pupils, Joseph b. Mordecai Malinovski, himself the author of several works. A brother of this Joseph, Zephaniah by name, wrote, among other works, a treatise on the breadth of the new moon and on the calendar. A contemporary of the brothers was Zerah b. Nathan, who also resided in Troki. The Rabbinic polymath, Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, a native of Candia, was then living in Lithuania as the private physician of Prince Radziwill, and to him the said Zerah appealed for information—first of all in 1620, when he proposed seventy questions, mainly of a mathematical and astronomical nature. Delmedigo responded, to begin with, in an epistle entitled *Iggeret Āḥūz*,[2] which contains also a sketch of the history of Hebrew literature; and subsequently in a series of mathematical writings. Zerah was likewise the author of a long list of liturgical poems.

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[1] Cf. L. Zunz, *Die Ritus des synagogalen Gottesdienstes*, Berlin, 1859, pp. 156–162; Jost, *op. cit.* pp. 307–325; G. Margoliouth, *JQR* xviii. [1905–06] 505 ff.; N. Porges, *Zeitschr. für hebr. Bibl.* xi. [1907] 60 ff.; Poznanski, *Die kar. Literatur der letzten dreissig Jahre*, p. 13 ff.

[2] 'The Tree of Life,' written in 1346; ed. F. Delitzsch, Leipzig, 1841, and with a commentary (*Ôr hā-Ḥayîm*), Simḥa Isaac Lutski, Eupatoria, 1847.

[3] Eupatoria, 1866.

[4] Eupatoria, 1866–67.

[5] Cf. Gurland, *Ginze Israel*, pt. iii.

[6] Enumerated by Poznanski, in *Oṣar Yisrael*, *s.v.* (ii. 172); cf. also Steinschneider, in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*, *s.v.* (ii. 32, 118), and in *MGWJ* xxxviii. 76.

[1] ed. Markon, in *Ha-Ḳedem*, iii. [1912] 57–78.

[2] Estori Farḥi, *Kaftor u-Feraḥ*, ed. Berlin, 1849, ch. 5; cf. Graetz, vii.2 305.

[3] Steinschneider, *Die arab. Lit. der Juden*, § 172.

[4] Poznanski, in *Oṣar Yisrael*, *s.v.* (v. 247).

[5] Many of its sections have appeared in print; cf. Poznanski, *JQR* xvi. [1903–04] 405, xvii. [1904–05] 594, xviii. 560, xx. [1907–08] 631, new ser., ii. [1911–12] 445.

[6] ed. Margoliouth, London, 1897 (cf. Poznanski, *Zeitschr. für hebr. Bibl.* ii. 78).

[7] Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek*, p. 60; Harkavy, *Ḥadashim gam yeshanim*, ii. 15.

The dreadful massacres of the Jews at the hands of the Cossacks in 1648–49, and the commotions which followed in Poland, affected the Ḳaraites also, whose destinies here, as generally elsewhere, were closely bound up with those of the Rabbinists. Moreover, the two religious groups were now, as a rule, on good terms with each other. At one of the so-called Synods of the Four Lands endeavours were made to unite the two groups, but were rendered vain by a capricious Rabbi who appealed to a Talmudic calembour.[3]

The example of the Lithuanian Ḳaraites acted as an incentive to those of the Crimea, who sustained a constant intercourse with the former, and, indeed, had already a link of connexion with them in the Tatar language used colloquially by both. The Crimean Khans varied in their attitude towards them; they were often quite friendly, and they entrusted to them the coining of their money. But the Crimean Ḳaraites produced little that could stand beside the intellectual achievements of their northern brethren. In this period their only writer deserving of notice was Elijah b. Baruch Yerushalmī[4] (latter half of 17th cent.; originally from Constantinople), the author of various works; he also transcribed certain writings of the earlier Ḳaraite scholars, principally such as were of an anti-Rabbinic tendency, to which he added bitter invectives of his own. Three Ḳaraites who travelled from the Crimea to Palestine wrote interesting reports of their observations (1641–42, 1654–55, 1785–86), in which they give a varied mass of statistical data.[5] A notable and original writer appears in Abraham b. Josiah Yerushalmī, of Chufut-Kale, whose productions include one entitled *Emūnā Ômēn*, dating from 1712 (ed. Eupatoria, 1846), and remarkable for its breadth of outlook, its extensive knowledge of Rabbinical literature, its lenient attitude towards the Rabbinists, and its veneration for Maimonides.

The Ḳaraites of the Crimea, however, poor as are their achievements in this period, are certainly superior to those of the Orient. Of the latter, mention should perhaps be made of Jacob Iskandarānī, the Ḥakam of the Ḳaraites in Cairo, who met the above-named Delmedigo there in 1616; and of the family of Fīrūz in Damascus, of whom the most eminent was the physician, Daniel b. Moses (fl. 1665–1700).

From the middle of the 17th cent. Christian scholars began to take an interest in the Ḳaraites. Some of them made visits to the centres of the sect, and especially to Troki, and opened a correspondence with its members. Of these Christian scholars we may name Johann Rittangel, who visited Troki in 1641, and Gustav Peringer, a professor in Upsala, who, at the instance of Charles XI. of Sweden, travelled to Lithuania in 1690, and in the following year addressed to Ludolf his *Epistola de Karaitorum rebus in Lithuania.* Reference should also be made to Johann Puffendorf of Riga, Lewin Warner, and his valuable collection of Ḳaraite MSS in Leyden, Jacob Trigland, of Leyden, and his *Diatribe de secta Karæorum* (Delft, 1703), and Johann C. Wolf, of Hamburg, and his *Notitia Karæorum* (Hamburg, 1721). These scholars were instrumental in arousing the historical sense among the Polish Ḳaraites, though it must be confessed that the Ḳaraite historians frequently tamper with the facts, sometimes in ignorance but sometimes of set purpose, and that they represent their sect as being the genuine Jews, and the Rabbinists as the seceders, while they also do great violence to the chronology. The earliest of these Ḳaraite historians were Solomon b. Aaron, of Troki (fl. 1680–1715), and his relative, Mordecai b. Nisan, of Kokizov, near Lemberg (1699). Solomon, in addition to several other works, and numerous liturgical songs in the Hebrew and Tatar languages, wrote, at Puffendorf's request, his *Appiryôn ʿāśā lō*, a short treatise on the severance of the Ḳaraites from the Rabbinists, and the main legal differences between the two parties.[1] Mordecai wrote, in answer to the questions put by Trigland, his *Dôd Mŏrdᶜkai*,[2] and also, in response to the inquiry of Charles XII., a short work called *Lᶜbūsh Malkūt.*[3] In the composition of his *Dôd Mŏrdᶜkai* he had the assistance of his relative, Joseph b. Samuel, known as Joseph ha-Mashbīr, who had been a pupil of his father. This Joseph was a native of Lithuania, but removed about 1700 to Halicz in Galicia, and did much for the revival of an intellectual life among the Ḳaraites there, who had been living outside the range of general culture. Of his many works, one in particular, *Pôrāt Yôsēf*, treating of grammar, is highly praised. His descendants were all leading figures among the Ḳaraites of Halicz till well on in the following period.

The most prolific writer of the Taurido-Lithuanian period is Simḥa Isaac b. Moses. He belonged originally to Lutsk, but removed *c.* 1750 to Chufut-Kale in the Crimea, where he died in 1766. He was well versed in the writings of the Rabbinists, and held the Ḳabbālā in high honour. He wrote in all twenty-four works, of which only two have appeared in print,[4] viz. the *Ôr hā-Ḥayîm*, already mentioned as a commentary on the philosophical work of Aaron b. Elijah, and a historical treatise entitled *Ôraḥ Ṣaddîḳîm*, in which he gives the Ḳaraite conception of the origin and historical development of Ḳaraism in its most extreme form.

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[1] First edited in J. C. Wagenseil, *Tela Ignea Satanæ*, Altdorf, 1681; it was translated into Yiddish, Spanish, German, English, and Hungarian.

[2] ed. in Isaac b. Solomon's *Iggeret Pinnat Yiḳrat*, Eupatoria, 1834, and in A. Geiger's *Melo Ḥofnayim*, Breslau, 1840.

[3] הקראים אינם מתאחים לעולם; cf. *Mo'ed Ḳaṭon*, 26*a*, at the top.

[4] 'Yerushalmī' denotes a Ḳaraite who had made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and is an imitation of the Arab. Ḥajji.

[5] ed. Gurland, *Ginze Israel*, pt. i.

[1] ed. Neubauer, as an appendix to his *Aus der Petersburge Bibliothek.*

[2] Finished on the 18th of July 1699; ed., with Latin tr., by Wolf in his *Notitia Karæorum*; also Vienna, 1830.

[3] ed. Neubauer, *loc. cit.*

[4] See Poznanski, in *Oṣar Yisrael*, *s.v.* (x. 164).

This work also contains the first bibliography of the sect. Simḥa Isaac's migration to the Crimea was no mere passing event. The Crimea now became the centre of Ḳaraite life, and there, in Chufut-Kale, the first Ḳaraite printing-press was established in 1734. Then came the two political occurrences which served at once to draw the Ḳaraites out of their isolation and to link them together by a common bond, viz. the annexation by Russia of the two districts in which they were most numerous—the Crimea in 1783 and Lithuania in 1792. With these two events begins the final period of Ḳaraite history.

5. The modern period (19th cent.–the present day).—From the outset the Russian Government treated the Ḳaraites with good-will. With this attitude there was associated, no doubt, a tendency to play them off against the Rabbinists, the adherents of the Talmud. The last representative of the Ḳaraites at the court of the Khan in the Crimea, Benjamin b. Samuel Aga († 1824), continued to hold the position under Russian rule, though not officially. In 1795, Catherine II. had relieved them of the double tax imposed upon Jews, and in 1827 they were exempted from military service by Nicholas I. They now enjoy the full rights of Russian citizenship. In 1840 they secured what might be called an internal constitution, according to which a non-spiritual official called the Ḥakam—who represents them publicly—presides over them with the assistance of a supreme spiritual board, controlling the Ḳaraites of the Crimea and the South of Russia. This board has its headquarters in Eupatoria; the first Ḥakam was the influential and energetic Simḥa Bobovitch (1790–1855).

The more eminent Ḳaraite scholars of the first half of the 19th cent. were the following: Isaac b. Solomon (1755–1826), of Chufut-Kale, was the reformer of the Ḳaraite calendar (cf. art. CALENDAR [Jewish], vol. iii. p. 120), his views on that subject being set forth in his *Ôr ha-Lᵉbāna* (printed at Zhitomir, 1872); he was also the author of a work on the ten Ḳaraite articles of faith, entitled *Iggeret Pinnat Yiḳrat* (Eupatoria, 1834; Zhitomir, 1872), numerous songs for use in the synagogue, etc. Joseph Solomon b. Moses Lutski, surnamed יש״ר (1770–1844), was a native of Kokizov, and lived for a time in Lutsk, whence he removed in 1802 to Eupatoria; his most outstanding work is his supplementary commentary to the *Mibḥār* of Aaron b. Joseph, issued as *Ṭîrat Kāsef* (Eupatoria, 1835). David b. Mordecai Kokizov (1777–1855), a great-grandson of Mordecai b. Nisan, was an opponent of the foregoing, and among other works wrote a theological treatise called *Ṣemaḥ Dawid* (St. Petersburg, 1897). Mordecai b. Joseph Sultanski (fl. 1850–70), who had a reflective cast of mind, was the author of various grammatical, historical, and theological works. One of his pupils was the kindly-natured Solomon b. Abraham Beim (b. 1817; † before 1860), Ḥakam in Chufut-Kale and afterwards in Odessa, who was the first to introduce secular subjects into Ḳaraite schools; he wrote a little book on the antiquities of Chufut-Kale (*i.e.* 'the Jewish refuge,' as the place formerly known as Kala'a came to be called).

All these writers, however, were eclipsed by Abraham b. Samuel Firkovitch (b. Lutsk, 1786; † Chufut-Kale, 1874), with whom begins a new epoch not only in Ḳaraite historiography, but also in the investigation of Hebrew history and literature. Firkovitch's literary career began with the composition of supplementary commentaries and additions to Aaron b. Joseph's commentary to the Pentateuch (Eupatoria, 1836),[1] and of a vigorous anti-Rabbinical work named *Massā ū-Mᵉrîbāh* (do. 1838), which is written in rhyme and arranged in the order of the Ten Commandments, after the manner of the *Eshkôl ha-Kôfer* of Hadassi described above. At the instance of the above-mentioned Ḥakam, Bobovitch, he made repeated journeys, from 1839 onwards, to Caucasia, Egypt, Palestine, and other countries, with the object of discovering archæological materials which might serve to demonstrate the early origin of the Ḳaraites. It seemed at first sight as if he had perfectly succeeded in his purpose. Both in the Crimea and elsewhere he discovered epigraphs in Torah rolls and other writings, tombstones, and the like, in which the most remarkable data were treasured up. These memorials included the famous inscription of Judah b. Moses ha-Naḳdān, dating from A.D. 604, and that of Abraham b. Simḥa, from A.D. 906; the tombstones of Isaac Sangari, who is said to have converted the king of the Chazars to Judaism, and Shabbathai Donnolo, a Jewish scholar of Southern Italy in the 10th cent., etc. Firkovitch contended that these various discoveries sufficed to prove that there were Jews in the Crimea as early as the 6th cent. B.C., having migrated thither in the reign of Cambyses, king of Persia; that the Ḳaraites had persuaded the Chazars to embrace Judaism, and were the founders of the Massora, of Hebrew grammar, of the Biblical sciences, etc. Incredible as some of these inferences must appear, they were nevertheless believed, and were even incorporated in histories of the Jews. Firkovitch's results were accepted, in particular, by a number of eminent Jewish scholars—Pinsker, Fürst, Graetz, and Chwolson. Literary criticism, however, soon entered its protest, and pointed to various clumsy forgeries; we need only recall the strictures of Rapoport, Schorr, Steinschneider, Geiger (who vacillated, however), Neubauer, Strack, P. F. Frankl, and, above all, Harkavy, who showed that the above-mentioned data could not possibly serve as historical evidence. Firkovitch, two years before his death, summed up the result of his discoveries in a work entitled *Abne Zikkārôn* (Wilna, 1872), in which the epigraphs in question are reproduced. His finds were often assailed by mere hypercriticism, and facts and dates were rejected which in many cases proved to be quite reliable, as was the case, *e.g.*, with regard to the existence of many ancient Ḳaraite scholars and their works. An attempt to defend the genuineness of the suspected tombstones was recently made by a living Ḳaraite writer;[1] and the final solution of many of the problems involved must be left to the future.[2] When all is said, however, the work done by Firkovitch was of an eminently serviceable kind. On his journeys, besides the inscriptions referred to, he discovered, and thus restored to science, numerous Rabbinical and Ḳaraite books that had been regarded as lost. He was also instrumental in creating an interest in the scientific investigation of Ḳaraism, and to some extent supplied the materials for it.

The death of Firkovitch ushers in a period of complete decadence among the Ḳaraites. Since that time they have produced not one single scholar of repute, but at best a few litterateurs, as, *e.g.*, Samuel Pigit (1849–1911), Ḥakam in Ekaterinoslav, who published a volume of sermons, etc., bearing the title *Iggeret Nidḥē Shᵉmū'ēl* (St. Petersburg, 1894), and a collection of Tatar popular tales, *Dabār Dabūr* (Warsaw, 1904); Elijah Kazaz (1832–1912), a man of wide and varied culture, who, *inter alia*, translated the works of several French popular philosophers into Hebrew;[1] and the Judah Kokizov just mentioned, who, however, usually writes in Russian. Among the Ḳaraites, indeed, the Russian language has gradually dispossessed the Tataric.

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[1] In the thirties of last century there was formed in the Crimea an association for the publication of earlier Ḳaraite works that still remained unprinted or had become rare, and Firkovitch was one of the most zealous supporters of its efforts. To this society we owe a considerable number of valuable printed edd. of Ḳaraite works (cf. Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, xi. 144 ff.).

[1] Judah Kokizov, *44 grobnych nadpisiey*, St. Petersburg, 1910.

[2] Cf. Dubnow, in *Yevreyskaya Starina* for 1914, p. 1 ff.

In 1911 a number of Ḳaraite students at the University of Moscow tried to initiate what might be termed a Neo-Ḳaraite movement, and founded a Ḳaraite monthly in the Russian language and bearing the title *Karaimskaya Zhizn*, which, though it displayed great vigour, did not survive its first year.[2] A further evidence of the spiritual impoverishment of the Ḳaraites is the fact that since the death of their last Ḥakam, Samuel Pampulo († 31st Dec. 1911), they have failed to find an eligible successor, and are thus in a most critical situation.[3] In 1897 the Ḳaraites in Russia numbered 12,894—6372 males and 6522 females (cf. the same periodical, June 1911, p. 30); and it seems unlikely that during the last seventeen years this total has appreciably increased, if indeed it has increased at all, as in 1909 there were but seven additions (*ib.* March–April 1912), and in 1910 only four (*ib.* June 1911, p. 39). Outside Russia, the sect may perhaps number some 2000 souls in all, living in Halicz (in Galicia), Constantinople, Cairo, Jerusalem, and Hit on the Euphrates; its one community of any size is that of Cairo. The future of Ḳaraism—the only Jewish sect in the proper sense of the term—is thus a rather gloomy one. Its vital element all through was polemics, and this was finally exhausted by the death of its last great champion, Abraham Firkovitch.

LITERATURE.—i. *HISTORICAL AND GENERAL.*—The first really scientific account of the Ḳaraites is I. M. Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten*, Leipzig, 1857–59, ii. 294–381; materials for a history of the sect are given by S. Pinsker, *Liḳḳuṭe Ḳadmoniot*, Vienna, 1860, in which, however, the writer too uncritically follows Firkovitch (cf. the notes and remarks of J. H. Schorr, *He-Ḥaluṣ*, vi. 56–85, M. Steinschneider, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, iv. ff., Leipzig, 1859, and A. Geiger, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* [Heb.], ed. S. Poznanski, pp. 340–373); as H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig, 1853–70, v. ff. (see the indexes, *s.v.* 'Karäer'), and J. Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1862–69, likewise follow Firkovitch, they are of little use, and the latter especially must be read with the utmost caution; of a more critical stamp are A. B. Gottlober, *Biḳḳoret le-Toledot ha-Ḳara'im* (Heb.), Wilna, 1865; A. Neubauer, *Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 1866, and I. H. Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition* (Heb.), iv., Vienna, 1887, pp. 46–110. The work of the Ḳaraite Isaac Sinānī, *Istoriya vozniknovisheniya i razaitiya Karaimisma* (Russ.), 2 vols., 1888–89, is written from the Ḳaraite point of view, but quite unserviceable. The artt. *s.v.* by P. F. Frankl, in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Leipzig, 1818 ff.; A. Harkavy, in *JE*; Harkavy, Balaban, and Hessen, in *Yevreyskaya Enzyklopedya* (Russ.), 16 vols., St. Petersburg, 1908–14, and Revel, in *Oṣar Yisrael* (Heb.), 10 vols., New York, 1907–13, are comprehensive and are written in view of modern scientific requirements; B. Ryssel, in *PRE*³, is less reliable.

ii. *MSS.*—The richest collections of Ḳaraite MSS are found in Leyden, St. Petersburg, and the British Museum. An account of the Leyden MSS is given by Steinschneider, *Catalogus Codicum Hebræorum Bibliothecæ Academiæ Lugduno-Batavæ*, Leyden, 1858 (includes also a repertorium of the history of Ḳaraite literature); those in St. Petersburg have not as yet been catalogued; on the Brit. Mus. group see R. Hoerning, *Descriptions and Collation of Six Karaite MSS* (British Museum), London, 1889, and G. Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan MSS in the British Museum*, i. [do. 1899] 189–271, ii. [1905] 172–196, 450–478 (notice by Poznanski, *REJ* xli. 305, li. 155). Certain less extensive collections are described by J. Bardach, *Mazkir libne Reshef* (Heb.), Vienna, 1869; E. N. Adler, *About Hebrew MSS*, London, 1905, pp. 17–33 (cf. Poznanski, *ZDMG* lx. [1906] 698), and P. Kokowzow, *Notitia Codicum Hebraicorum*, etc., St. Petersburg, 1905 (cf. Poznanski, *Zeitschr. für hebr. Bibl.* x. [1906] 25).

iii. *'ANĀN AND THE GENESIS OF THE MOVEMENT.*—Harkavy, *Istoričeskiye Očerki Karaimstva* (Russ.), 2 pts., 1897–1902, 'Zur Entstehung des Karaismus,' in Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, v.⁴, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 472–489, 'Anan,' in *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, ii. [Berlin, 1899] 107–122, 'Anan ben David,' in *JE* i. 553 ff.; Poznanski, 'Anan et ses écrits,' *REJ* xliv. 161–187, xlv. 50–69, 176–203.

iv. *WORKS DEALING WITH OTHER EMINENT ḲARAITES.*—These have in most cases been cited in the course of the article; cf., further, the relevant artt. by Poznanski in the Heb. Encyclopædia, *Oṣar Yisrael* (אוצר ישראל), and in the Judæo-Russian Encyclopædia, *Yevreyskaya Enzyklopedya*. On the Ḳaraites who wrote in Arabic see the corresponding artt. in Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfort a. M., 1902 (cf. Poznanski, *Zur jüdisch-arabische Litteratur*, Berlin, 1904). On Ḳirḳisānī see Poznanski, in *Steinschneider's Festschrift*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 195–218, and *Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. A. Kohut*, ed. G. A. Kohut, Berlin, 1897, p. 435 ff.; on Joshua b. Judah, M. Schreiner, 'Studien über Jeschua b. Jehuda,' in *Bericht der Lehranstalt für die Wiss. des Judentums zu Berlin*, xviii. [1900]; on Hadassi, Frankl, in *MGWJ* xxxi. [1882] 1 ff., W. Bacher, *ib.* xl. [1891] 14 ff., and *JQR* viii. [1895–96] 431 ff.; on Isaac b. Abraham of Troki, Geiger, *Isaak Troki*, Breslau, 1853; on Fīrūz, Poznanski, *Die karaitische Familie Firuz*, 1913; on Abraham b. Josiah of Chufut-Kale, Poznanski, הקראי אברהם בן יאשיהו ירושל מי; on the Ḳaraite philosophers, S. Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, Paris, 1857–59, p. 474 ff. (obsolete), and Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1893, p. 449 ff.; on the poets of the Ḳaraite synagogue, Luzzatto, in A. Berliner and D. Hoffmann, *Oṣar Ṭob*, 1883, pp. 27–32, 1884, pp. 3–6; on the Greek writings of the Ḳaraites, Danon, in *Actes du xviᵉ Congrès international des Orientalistes*, 1912, p. 170; on their Tatar language, K. Foy, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für orientalische Sprachen*, i. [Berlin, 1898]; and J. Grzegorzewski, *Ein türktatarischer Dialekt in Galizien*, Vienna, 1903; on their Tatar literature, Poznanski, in *Keleti Szemele* (*Revue Orientale*), xiii. 37–47, 360, xiv. 223 f.; on the Ḳaraites in Galicia, Balaban, in *Yevreyskaya Starina*, iv. [1911] 117–121, and Fahn, in *Ha-Ḳedem*, iii. [1912] 160–173. The special privileges granted to the sect in Russia are tabulated in Z. Firkovitch, *Sbornik*, etc. (Russ.), St. Petersburg, 1890.

v. *FIRKOVITCH.*—There is a voluminous literature on Firkovitch and his discoveries. Only a selection can be given: S. L. Rapoport, in *Kerem Ḥemed*, v. 197 ff., and in *Ha-Meliṣ*, i. [1860] 227, 256; D. Chwolson, *Achtzehn hebräische Grabschriften aus der Krim*, St. Petersburg, 1865; Geiger, in *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, xi. [1875] 142–157; A. Jellinek, *Abraham Firkowitsch*, Vienna, 1875; Harkavy and H. L. Strack, *Catalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften . . . in Petersburg*, St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1875 (cf. Riehm, in *ZDMG* xxx. [1876] 336–343, and Frankl, in *MGWJ* xxv. [1876] 418 ff.); Strack, *A. Firkowitsch und seine Entdeckungen*, Leipzig, 1876; Harkavy, *Altjüdische Denkmäler aus der Krim*, St. Petersburg, 1876; Frankl, 'Karäische Studien,' *MGWJ* xxv. 54 ff., and in *Ha-Shaḥar*, ed. Smolensky, vii., viii.; Deinard, תולדות אבן רשיף, Warsaw, 1875, and משא קרים, do. 1878 (written with considerable bias).

vi. *RECENT LITERATURE AND PUBLISHED TEXTS.*—On Ḳaraite literature since Firkovitch's time see Poznanski, *Die karäische Literatur der letzten dreissig Jahre* (1878–1908), Frankfort a. M., 1910. Ḳaraite texts have been edited by Bacher, Bargés, J. Gurland, Harkavy, H. Hirschfeld, D. S. Margoliouth, G. Margoliouth, Markon, Neubauer, Pinsker, Poznanski, Schreiner, and many others.

SAMUEL POZNANSKI.

KAṚĀ-LIṄGĪS.—A class of wandering Indian ascetics. The name is derived from Skr. *kaṭaka*, 'a ring,' and *liṅga*, the male organ. They claim to be worshippers of Śiva, and are also called Sewaras (possibly a corruption of the Skr. *śabara*, the name of a wild mountain tribe, also used as a title of Śiva). They generally go about in troops, with matted hair and red-ochre-coloured garments, but are sometimes solitary and stark naked. To mark their triumph over sensual desires, they affix an iron ring and chain to the male organ, which they also mutilate. They extort money by pretended miracles, such as wringing Ganges water out of their dry matted hair. Khewaras, a subvariety of Sewaras, carry skulls. One of their tricks is to turn spirituous liquor into milk, and then to drink it; another is to rub their hands together till wheat or other grain issues from them. The name is a fanciful one, derived from 'Sewara.' The writer once met a Kaṛā-liṅgī in Lower Bengal who had his private parts locked up in a kind of cage. This could never be opened, except with the consent of the head of his order, who kept the key.

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[1] Cf. Poznanski, *REJ* lviii. 315.

[2] An earlier Ḳaraite journal was *al-Tahdīb*, a bi-weekly in Arabic, published in Cairo; it lived from the 12th of August 1901 to 1905 (cf. R. J. H. Gottheil, in *Harkavy Festschrift*, St. Petersburg, 1908, p. 120).

[3] Another typical indication of the present condition of the sect appears in the fact that, when a Ḳaraite synod in Eupatoria adopted a mitigation of the marriage law in November 1910, protests against it were at once forwarded from Troki, Constantinople, and Cairo (cf. Poznanski, *JQR*, new ser., ii. 449, note 3).

LITERATURE.—H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, p. 236; G. A. Grierson, tr. of the *Padumāwati of Malik Muḥammad Jāisī*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 17.

G. A. GRIERSON.

KARAMNĀSĀ, KARMNĀŚA (Skr. *Karmanāśa*, 'that which destroys the merit of works').—The accursed river of Hindu mythology, which rises in the Kaimūr hills, Bengal; lat. 24° 32′ N., long. 83° 26′ E.; forming in part of its course the boundary between the provinces of Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and finally, after a course of about 146 miles, joining the Ganges. It has been identified with the Κομμεράσης of Megasthenes (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Calcutta, 1877, p. 186 ff.). On the borders of the District of Mirzapur it hurls itself over a sandstone precipice, forming, under the name of Chhānpatthar, 'the stone-sifter,' one of the finest waterfalls in India.

In Hindu mythology the stream is connected with the legend of Satyavrata or Triśaṅku, a prince of the solar race and king of Ayodhyā. He aspired to perform a sacrifice by which, in his mortal body, he might ascend to heaven. He requested the sage Vasiṣṭha to officiate for him in this rite. On his appeal being refused, he invoked the aid of the hundred sons of the sage, by whom he was cursed and degraded to the status of a Chāṇḍāla, or out-caste. In this extremity he had recourse to a rival sage, Viśvāmitra, who undertook the sacrifice, and invited the presence of all the gods. They refused to appear, and Viśvāmitra, by his own magic-working powers, transported Triśaṅku to the skies, whence, on his arrival, he was hurled down head-foremost to earth by the enraged deities. But Viśvāmitra arrested his downward course, and he remained suspended between heaven and earth, and formed a constellation in the S. hemisphere. Another tale describes him as a wicked prince, guilty of the three heinous sins (*tri-śaṅku*); and in its modern form the story states that the river is formed by the saliva which drops from his lips as he hangs suspended in the air. The tale seems to represent some ancient conflict of rival cults, represented by the contest between the sages Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra (J. Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, pt. i.², 1872, p. 371 ff.). It may have been attached to this river because, as in other parts of India, the stream may have formed an ethnical or endogamous boundary. It may have marked at an early period the furthest point of the eastern advance of the Aryan-speaking races, as in later days it formed the boundary of the kingdom of Magadha.

Whatever may be the origin of the legend, the river maintains its evil reputation to the present day. Though its water flows clear as crystal, no orthodox Hindu dares to bathe in it or drink from it. In olden days, pilgrims employed the services of men of low caste, who supposed themselves safe from contamination, to convey them on their backs across the ill-omened water. Even the ferrymen, when the river was in flood during the rainy season, were implored by their passengers not to splash up the water with their oars. To obviate the risks to which pilgrims were thus exposed, the famous Rānī Ahalyā Bāī of Indor attempted to bridge it; but she failed, and the work was finally accomplished by a wealthy banker of Benares, Rājā Patnī Mal. This bridge and another on the E. Indian Railway now secure safe transit for orthodox Hindus.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Wilson, *Vishṅu Purāṅa*, London, 1864–77, iii. 284–287; F. Buchanan, in M. Martin, *Eastern India*, do. 1838, i. 399 ff.; J. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, do. 1879, p. 288 ff.; Bholanauth Chunder, *Travels of a Hindoo*, do. 1869, i. 234 f.; *Memoirs of Baber*, tr. J. Leyden and W. Erskine, do. 1826, p. 408; *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1873–94, ii. 151; *IGI* xv. [1908] 21.

W. CROOKE.

KARĀRĪS.—A sect of Indian Śāktas (*q.v.*). The origin of the name is unknown. It may be an Indianized form of the Persian *qarārī*, 'firm,' 'established,' in the sense of 'stanch,' or a derivative of the Skr. *karāla*, 'terrific,' the Karārīs being worshippers of Devī in her terrific form. According to Wilson, they are the modern representatives of the Aghoraghaṇṭas and Kāpālikas, who in former times sacrificed human beings to Kālī, Chāmuṇḍa, Chhinnamastakā, and other hideous personifications of the *śakti* of Siva. The modern Karārīs inflict upon themselves bodily tortures, piercing the flesh with hooks or spits, running sharp-pointed instruments through the tongue and cheeks, gashing themselves with knives, or lying upon beds with sharp-pointed spikes. This is usually done to extort money rather than for devotion.

LITERATURE.—For the general question of this self-inflicted torture see J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, ed. H. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906, p. 597 ff. For the Karārīs see H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, i. 264, and K. Raghunāthji, in *IA* x. [1881] 73.

G. A. GRIERSON.

KARENS.—See BURMA.

KĀRLĒ, KĀRLĪ (also known as Vihārgānv, 'temple-village').—A place on the road from Bombay to Poona; lat. 18° 45′ N., long. 73° 29′ E.; famous as the site of important Buddhist caves, excavated a little before the Christian era.

'It is the largest as well as the most complete *chaitya* cave hitherto discovered in India, and was excavated at a time when the style was in its greatest purity. In it all the architectural defects of the previous examples are removed; the pillars of the nave are quite perpendicular. The screen is ornamented with sculpture—its first appearance apparently in such a position—and the style had reached a perfection never afterwards surpassed' (J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Arch.*², i. 142).

The building resembles, to a very great extent, an early Christian church in its arrangement, consisting of a nave and side-aisles, terminating in an apse or semi-dome, round which the aisle is carried. Its arrangement and dimensions are similar to those of the choir of Norwich Cathedral, or of the Abbaye aux Hommes at Caen, omitting the outer aisles in the latter building.

'Of the interior we can judge perfectly, and it certainly is as solemn and grand as any interior can well be, and the mode of lighting the most perfect—one undivided volume of light coming through a single opening overhead at a very favourable angle, and falling directly on the *dāgaba* or principal object in the building, leaving the rest in comparative obscurity. The effect is considerably heightened by the closely-set thick columns that divide the three aisles from one another, as they suffice to prevent the boundary walls from ever being seen; and as there are no openings in the walls, the view between the pillars is practically unlimited' (*ib.* i. 147 f.).

Immediately under the semi-dome of the apse is a great *dāgaba*, or relic-shrine, which originally was probably painted and decorated, or adorned with hangings. This is surmounted by a *tee* (Burmese *h'ti*) with the remains of a wooden umbrella which originally overhung it. The cave is entered from three doorways under a gallery like our roodlofts, forming one great window through which light is admitted to the interior. Near the great cave is a Hindu shrine dedicated to Ekvīrā, the goddess of the Kolī tribe, which is probably older than the Buddhist excavations.

LITERATURE.—J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Arch.*², London, 1910; Fergusson-Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, do. 1880; L. Rousselet, *India and its Native Princes*, do. 1882, p. 64 ff., with illustrations; *BG* xviii. [1885] pt. iii. p. 454 ff.; *IGI* xv. [1908] 44 ff.

W. CROOKE.

KARMA.—**1. Importance of doctrine.**—The Indian solution of the great riddle of the origin of suffering and the diversity of human conditions is to be found in the word *karma*, which, through the theosophists, has become familiar to European ears. Hindus believe that souls have been transmigrating from the beginning; they practically hold that the wellbeing or the suffering of everybody is only the result of former acts (*karma*). This solution of the great riddle is not altogether satisfactory, as we get no answer concerning the 'very beginning'; but it is a happy one, eminently moral, and to a large extent a true one.

The doctrine of *karma*, *i.e.* acts and their retribution, is of great antiquity in India. It gradually broke away from Vedic naturalism, mysticism, and piety.

> ‘Karma struck hard against the old belief in sacrifice, penance, and repentance as destroyers of sin’ (E. W. Hopkins, *JRAS*, 1906, p. 583).

It became formulated at an early stage in definite terms:

> ‘As a man himself sows, so he himself reaps; no man inherits the good or evil act of another man. The fruit is of the same quality with the action, and, good or bad, there is no destruction of the action’ (*ib.* p. 581).

This doctrine might be called the essential element, not only of all moral theories in India, but also of popular belief. If a person is born deformed or unhealthy, it must be—so people say—because of sins committed in his former life. It is in Buddhism, however, that the doctrine of *karma* reaches its climax and assumes a unique character. Elsewhere it meets with correctives; there are counteractions to human acts; but in Buddhism it may be said that *karma* explains everything, or ought to.

2. Ego and karma.—Other Indian philosophies admit the existence of a self-existent soul or an ego. In Buddhist philosophy the ego is merely a collection of various elements constantly renewed, which are combined into a pseudo-personality only as the result of action. It has, therefore, been asserted that Buddhism does not admit transmigration: when a being dies, a new being is born and inherits his *karma*; what transmigrates is not a person, but his *karma*. This explanation is justified by some texts;[1] but it would be more exact to put the matter in a different way: an existence is a section of the existence of a certain soul—or, to use Buddhist terms, of a ‘series’ composed of thoughts, sensations, volition, and material elements. This series never had a beginning. It has to ‘eat’ the fruits of a certain number of acts under certain conditions, and the experience of these acts constitutes an existence (see DEATH [Buddhist]). When this existence comes to an end, there are still some acts to be ‘eaten,’ both new and old. The series, therefore, passes into another existence, and lives a new section of life, under new conditions. It cannot be said that acts are the sole material cause of this re-incarnation; for the physical elements of the new being, blood and seed, are not intelligent; *karma* (the possibilities of retribution called *karma*) is not intelligent; while the new being is intelligent from the embryo. It is the ‘series’ as a whole, with all its moral and material elements, that is incarnated. If the series does not dissolve at death, if it becomes re-incarnate, it is because its acts must entail retribution. The new being is what its acts have made it: all the pleasant and unpleasant experiences to which it will have to submit are simply the retribution of acts. In fact, there is no agent (*kartar*); there is nothing but the act and its fruit; organs, thoughts, and external things are all the fruit of acts, in the same way as pleasant and unpleasant sensations.

3. Karma and destiny.—Over and above human energy and free will Brāhmanism placed destiny (*daiva*, from *deva*, ‘god’). To Buddhists destiny is merely ‘past acts.’ The earlier Indian belief was that the world was re-created by Brahmā at the end of each period of chaos. Buddhists hold that the whole universe, with all its variety, is the work of acts. But by ‘acts’ we must here understand the combined mass of the acts of all beings; *e.g.*, at the beginning of the re-creation of the world there rise in the vast void of the universe ‘winds born of acts,’ which heap up the clouds from which the creative rain will pour, and so on (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]).

4. Nature of karma.—‘Act’ was variously interpreted by the Indian philosophers. The early thinkers attributed an importance to liturgical action and penance which Buddhists contest or even deny. For them an act is essentially action that can be morally qualified. It is (1) volition (*chetanā*), mental or spiritual act (*mānasa*), and (2) what is born of volition, what is done by volition, what a person does after having willed, *i.e.* bodily or vocal act. Mental acts are acts *par excellence*, inasmuch as there is no act without mental action. We are what we think; we are what we will.[1] No act is imputable, or, in Buddhist terminology, accumulated (*upachita*), put in reserve for future retribution, unless it is intentional, deliberate, accomplished, and free from regret and antidote (remorse, confession, etc.). *Chetanā*, being mental, leaves traces (*vāsanās*) in the ‘series of thoughts’ (*vijñānasantāna*); this is the explanation of retribution. In certain cases the act of thought is the most potent act; the anger of a *ṛṣi*, *e.g.*, can depopulate a whole region. But the mental act is not the only act; and, as a rule, ‘what one does after having willed’ is more important than the willing. To kill an enemy is more efficacious and more serious than to wish to kill him. Hence the importance of physical and spoken acts. Physical and spoken acts make something known (*vijñapayati*), for speech and gesture are significant; they are, therefore, named *vijñapti*; but the Buddhist school admits that they create *avijñapti*. By *avijñapti* we must understand a thing of particular nature, derived from the four great material elements, earth, water, etc., but subtle. Once produced by a conscious and voluntary vocal or bodily act, it exists and develops of its own accord, without the agency of thought, unconsciously, whether a man is sleeping, waking, or absorbed in contemplation. It is part of the series that takes the place of the soul in Buddhism.

5. Saṁvara and asaṁvara.—Here we must notice the important tenet of *saṁvara*, moral restraint, and its opposite, *asaṁvara*. The man who, in accordance with the established rules of the community, undertakes to keep the Buddhist vows, or simply the five rules ‘not to kill,’ ‘not to steal,’ etc., creates by this solemn declaration (*vijñapti*) an *avijñapti* of particular virtue. This *avijñapti* constitutes what might be compared—roughly, of course—to the merit attaching to religious vows in Christian theology. The merit of the man who has declared (*vijñapayati*) his intention of keeping the vows goes on increasing. Every abstention from murder, theft, etc., is reckoned a merit to him, though, as a rule, it is no special merit to the ordinary man to abstain from those crimes. The *saṁvara* constituted by the acceptance of rules continues to exist until the rules are categorically renounced—until an act is committed which is in direct opposition to them.

The man who, on the other hand, devotes himself professionally to a certain sin—the murderer, butcher, judge, or king—lives in *asaṁvara*, and is vowed to perdition.

6. Pure and impure karma.—There are two kinds of acts: acts free from *āsravas*, or pure acts, and acts accompanied by *āsravas*, or impure acts. The meaning of *āsrava* is not quite certain (‘deadly floods’ [according to Rhys Davids]; ‘discharge, matter, pus’ [Childers]), but it is right to say that it has something to do with desire and ignorance: ‘pure’ means free from passion (*kleśa*). Being free from desire and ignorance, pure acts have no retribution; they do not contribute to existence; they are, by their nature, the destroyer of existence; they prepare the way to *nirvāṇa*. Such are the ‘volitions’ by which one gets rid of human and transitory interests to contemplate and meditate upon the four 'noble truths' by which one enters into the path of Arhatship.

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[1] The present writer has recently found one text with this meaning, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, iii. 24; but see *ib.* iii. 11 f.

[1] In this the Buddhists differ from the Jains, who do not recognize mental acts.

All other acts are impure, and are further distinguished as good or bad, merit or demerit. The principle of distinction seems to be retribution: the act with pleasant retribution is good; that with unpleasant retribution is bad. It may also be said that acts performed with a view to happiness in this world are bad; acts performed with a view to happiness in the world beyond are good. We sometimes meet with the noteworthy statement that good and bad actions (*sucharita* and *duścharita*) are characterized by their intention for the good or harm of others.

7. Roots of karma.—The good act (*kuśala*) has three roots: the absence of lust (*alobha*), of hatred (*adveṣa*), and of error (*amoha*). All bad acts are in contradiction to good acts; but false doctrine alone (*mithyādṛṣṭi*)—'denial of good and bad, of fruit, of salvation'—cuts the 'roots of the good act.' It must, however, be strong-strong (there are nine categories: weak-weak, weak-medium, weak-strong, etc.). Only men can cut the root; gods cannot, because they know the retribution of acts; women cannot, according to some teachers, owing to their instability of mind. In order to cut the root, a man must be an 'intellectual' (*dṛṣṭicharita*), a being capable of a strong determination to sin; this excludes 'passionate men' (*tṛṣṇācharita*), eunuchs, the damned, and animals. The roots are restored by doubt as to the existence of good and evil, and by recovery of belief in good and evil.

8. Classifications of karma.—Acts are distinguished as of three kinds: good (*kuśala*), bad (*akuśala*), and indifferent (*avyākṛta*), *i.e.* beneficial, pernicious, and neither the one nor the other; *i.e.* acts protecting from suffering either temporarily (by assuring a happy lot) or finally (leading to *nirvāṇa*), acts followed by unpleasant retribution, and acts different from both of these—not to be 'enjoyed' pleasantly or painfully.

Acts may also be classified as meritorious (*puṇya*), demeritorious (*apuṇya*), and fixed (*āniñjya*). The good act of the sphere of desire, *i.e.* bearing fruits which will be well rewarded in the sphere of desire (*Kāmadhātu*; see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]), is called meritorious; when it attaches itself to a higher sphere, it is called 'fixed.' As a matter of fact, the retribution of a good act in the sphere of desire is not absolutely determined: an action which ought to have a retribution of force, beauty, and so on, may in fact be enjoyed in a divine, human, or animal birth. This is not the case with the good act to be rewarded in the higher spheres; here an act never gets retribution in one stage instead of in another. The demeritorious act is the bad act. The act which is a final protection from suffering, *i.e.* which leads to *nirvāṇa*, is good (*kuśala*), since it is 'pure,' but not meritorious (*puṇya*).

9. Retribution (*vipāka*).—The fruit of retribution of acts includes not only the sensation, but also everything that determines the sensation—organs, etc. The three kinds of acts produce agreeable sensation (*sukhavedanīya*), disagreeable sensation, and indifferent sensation. The first two are easily understood; the proper sphere of retribution for the third is the fourth ecstasy; but it is also believed that the indifferent act produces the vital organ, etc., and other data hedonistically neutral. It is regarded as good, but not intense.

Acts may be (*a*) determinate (*niyata*), and (*b*) indeterminate (*aniyata*)—*i.e.*, they involve or do not involve a necessary retribution.

(*a*) Five kinds of acts are called *ānantaryas*, 'immediate,' because their retribution (hell) cannot be interrupted by an act allowing of fruit in another existence: matricide, patricide, murder of an Arhat, schism, and malicious wounding of a Buddha. Mother and father are benefactors in an eminent degree; the Arhat, the community, and the Buddha are 'fields of qualities.' To kill one's father in the endeavour to kill flies is not *ānantarya*; but to kill an Arhat without knowing that he is an Arhat is *ānantarya*, because the intent to murder is determined: 'I shall kill some one.'

Acts said to be 'similar to *ānantaryas*,' and necessarily entailing hell, are violation of a mother who is an Arhatī, murder of a Bodhisattva, murder of a saint of the *śaikṣa* class, theft from the community, and destruction of a *stūpa*.

(*b*) The retribution of all other acts may be arrested (1) by the acquisition of the spiritual stage called 'patience' (*kṣānti*), which brings one past the stage of retribution of acts leading to evil destiny, just as a man may escape his creditors by emigrating; (2) by the acquisition of the quality of the saint 'who never returns' (*anāgāmin*); one passes beyond the sphere of desire; only those acts bear fruit which must bear fruit in this present existence; (3) by the acquisition of Arhatship; all *karma* is destroyed, with the reservation already noted. When, by so-called 'worldly' perfection (*laukika*), *i.e.* not properly Buddhist, a man obtains birth into the higher spheres and detachment from all affection for the sphere of desire, the retribution of acts to be rewarded in the sphere of desire is suspended, since the lower sphere cannot be finally abandoned except by the 'noble path.'

Good acts of the body, voice, and thought are purification; they arrest, either temporarily or finally, soiling by the passions of bad acts.

A distinction is also drawn between (1) the act felt in the same life in which it is accomplished; (2) the act felt in the following life; and (3) the act felt later.

10. Projection of karma.—An existence is 'projected,' or caused, by an act; but a number of acts combine to condition an existence, and hence the variety of human fortune. Here the theory of the white-black act applies.

Every bad act is black; the act that is good in relation to the higher spheres is white; the act that is good in relation to the sphere of desire is white-black, because, being always weak, it is always mixed with evil. It is good in itself, but co-exists in the 'series' (soul) along with bad acts.

A human existence cannot be projected except by a good act. But, supposing this existence follows an infernal existence, the latter has been projected, in the course of the existence preceding it, by a bad act 'to be punished in a following existence'; the former has been projected, in the course of the same preceding existence, by a good act 'to be rewarded in an existence following the following.' In a human existence following upon an infernal existence, a man may have a short life, or may suffer scarcity of food and property, or may wed an unfaithful wife, etc. All these misfortunes are the fruit of the stream (*niṣyanda*) of murder, theft, adultery, etc., which have had infernal existence as their fruit of retribution (*vipāka*).

A man causes suffering to the living being whom he kills, therefore he must suffer in hell (*vipāka*); he makes him die, therefore he must himself die soon (*niṣyanda*).

Acts have also a fruit of a general kind. Towards the end of the little cosmic period (*antarakalpa*; see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]), plants etiolate, are crushed by stones and rain, and bear little fruit; this is the result of a superabundance of murder, theft, etc.—the fruit of *karma* as sovereign (*adhipati*). The creation of the universe is the result of the acts of all beings together; the hells are created by the acts that require to be punished in hell, and so on.

11. Paths of karma.—Among good and bad acts ten paths of acts (*karmapatha*) are distinguished because of their gravity: (*a*) for the body: murder, theft, and forbidden love; (*b*) for the voice: lying, slander, insolence, and 'unprofitable conversation' (stultiloquium, etc.); (*c*) for the spirit: covetousness, malice, and false doctrine. Their opposites are abstention from murder, etc.

False doctrine (*mithyādṛṣṭi*) is the denial of good and evil, of retribution and salvation. It is bad because it is the principle of the will to hurt others.

The first seven, from murder to 'stultiloquium,' are physical and spoken acts (*karma*), and paths of acts (*karmapatha*), *i.e.* paths of mental action, *i.e.* volition (*chetanā*); the last three, covetousness, malice, and false doctrine, are not acts, but simply paths of volition. Confusion of passions (*kleśas*) with acts must be avoided.

We must further distinguish in an act the preparation, the act proper, and the 'back' (*pṛṣṭha*)—*e.g.*, all the preparation for the murder of an animal by the butcher (the going to the market to buy the beast, etc.), the actual death-dealing blow, and the cutting up and selling of the meat. The act proper alone constitutes the 'path of act'; and hence important consequences arise from the point of view of responsibility.

It is also to be noted that the 'path of act' presupposes accurate knowledge of what one is doing, and is incompatible with a mistake in the person. When one is in doubt whether the thing which he hits is alive or not, he is thinking of destruction, but not of murder. The Jains hold that the man who commits a murder without intent is none the less guilty, just as a man who touches fire is burned.

This, however, would lead to palpable absurdities. The Jain himself would be culpable for preaching terrible austerities; the embryo and the mother would be culpable for making each other suffer; the murdered being himself would be culpable, since he is the origin of the action of murder. Further, a man would not be guilty of murder if he got another person to commit it; for we are not burned if we touch fire by means of another.

All this is very well worked out, but in other things the school is not so wise.

If a man has intercourse with another man's wife, thinking that she is his own, he is not guilty of adultery. If he has intercourse with another's wife while thinking that she is the wife of a third man, opinions differ as to his guilt. Some hold him guilty of adultery, for the wife of another man is the object of the preparation and the object of the indulgence. Others say that there is no adultery, for the object of the preparation and the object of the indulgence are different persons.

The somewhat mechanical and very scholastic character of the Buddhist theory of retribution may be illustrated by the subjective and objective elements in giving.

For a thorough valuation of the merit of giving, or charity (*dāna*), we must take into account (1) the qualities of the giver (faith, morality, learning, etc.), and the manner of giving (with respect, with the right hand, at the opportune moment, etc.); (2) the qualities of the object given (excellence in colour, smell, etc.); and (3) the qualities of the person who receives: (*a*) excellence in relation to his lot in life; a gift made to an immoral man has 100 times the value of one made to an animal; (*b*) excellence due to suffering; a gift to an invalid, a person who is cold, etc.; (*c*) excellence due to services received (parents, preacher of the True Law, etc.); and (*d*) excellence due to qualities (morality, knowledge, etc.).

There is a hierarchy among acts—*e.g.*, whether one's destiny is human, or infernal, etc., is determined by morality (*śīla*, abstention from murder, etc.). Gifts are only a sort of extra, to assure riches and other enjoyments.

LITERATURE.—*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, ch. iv. (tr. in *Muséon*, Louvain, 1914), gives a complete résumé of the doctrine of *karma* in Buddhism; R. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*^{2}, London, 1880, p. 461 f.; 'Birth Stories' (*Jātakas*) and *Avadānas* contain many details on the retribution of *karma*; see, *e.g.*, E. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka*, Paris, 1911. Every work on the philosophies and religions of India contains some exposition of the doctrine of *karma*—*e.g.*, E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, London, 1896, pp. 199, 231, etc.; A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, do. 1882, pp. 77, 110; P. Oltramare, *Hist. des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, i. (Paris, 1906) 99, 196; H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1896, Index, *s.v.* 'Karma'; R. C. Childers, *Dict. of the Pali Language*, London, 1875, pp. 178 f., 198. Special mention may be made of the articles by E. W. Hopkins on 'Modifications of the Karma Doctrine' in *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 581-593, 1907, pp. 665-672, which give a clear view of the contradictions and evolution of the doctrine. For the theory of the Jains, who regard action as a subtle matter, see the texts translated by H. Jacobi in *SBE* xxii. [1884] and xlv. [1895], and cf. art. JAINISM.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

KARMA-MĀRGA.—Of the three ways of salvation as commonly conceived in orthodox Hinduism, *karma-mārga*, *jñāna-mārga*, and *bhakti-mārga*, the first, though least considered by the philosophers, has probably been most followed by the vast bulk of the people. These three ways—though not necessarily inconsistent with each other (in this resembling the respective Gospels of the Apostles James, John, and Paul, with their peculiar stress laid upon the necessity for works, knowledge, and faith), and combined, as in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, into one consistent system—have usually been placed to some extent in mutual opposition, and may well be treated separately here. In particular, we shall find a certain opposition between works and knowledge; the idea of *bhakti*, loving faith, is of considerably later origin. The doctrine of salvation according to works will best be treated by considering the relative importance attached to it in the different phases of religious development in India, taken in the following order: Rigveda, Brāhmaṇas, the philosophical Brāhmanic development, the Dharmaśāstras as reflecting popular Brāhmanism, and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. But it must always be borne in mind that no real line of demarcation can be drawn between these periods; each merges insensibly into, or exists contemporaneously with, the other.[1]

(1) In the *Rigveda* the gods are concrete, active, anthropomorphic beings; therefore man's attitude towards them must also be something concrete and active. They are not mere abstractions to be apprehended only by the intellect, or by some process of mystical cognition; but they are beings, whose works can be perceived by the ordinary senses, and who must, therefore, be propitiated and appeased by concrete actions. Hence sacrifice, though not as yet grown to unwieldy proportions, is a necessary means to obtaining the favour of the gods, and a share in that after life which, though still misty and undetermined, is the aim of all. Some have seen in the hymns only a simple nature-poetry, others only the accompaniment of an elaborate sacrificial ritual. The truth probably lies in the middle way, that, while many are simple outbursts of devotional feeling, some undoubtedly possess a strictly ritualistic setting.[2] But sacrifice alone was not sufficient; for to find favour with heaven a man must also be piously minded towards gods and *manes*, liberal towards priests, courageous, and truthful; while in the last book we see the first beginnings of the demand for those ascetic austerities that attained to such a monstrous growth in later times.[3]

(2) Coming to the *Brāhmaṇas*, we find a complete change. The sacrifice, now called *karma*, or work *par excellence*, is all-important. It overshadows the whole of life; every action must be regulated with regard to it; and without it nothing can be obtained or hoped for. By its means alone can a man expect to attain salvation, still for the most part looked upon as a material heaven.[4] Not only men but the gods also are subject to its influence,

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[1] Von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, p. 291; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 7.

[2] Cf. Hopkins, p. 13 ff., and literature there quoted.

[3] *Rigveda*, x. cliv. 2, cix. 4; Hopkins, p. 148.

[4] Hopkins, p. 204 ff.

and by it have obtained their present position.[1] Henceforward *karma*, as a way of salvation, always carries with it the connotation of sacrifice and ritual. The intention that accompanies the deed is of no importance, only the deed itself.[2] At the same time the power of good actions is recognized. In the Brāhmanas we meet with the phrase 'man's debts.' These debts are, to the gods, sacrifice; to the seers, study of the Veda; to the *manes*, offspring; to fellow-men, hospitality. Whoever pays them has discharged all his duties, and by him all is obtained, all is won.[3]

(3) Meanwhile *philosophic speculation* had advanced. The universe was no longer an aggregation of separate material entities. Behind all was one uniform self-existent cause.[4] Individual souls owe their self-consciousness to the action of ignorance on the primal non-conscious cause, Brahman; the whole material world is the result of illusion. Self-consciousness will continue as long as actions which lead to re-birth (*saṁsāra*) continue.[5] The aim of religion or philosophy is to free the individual from re-birth and the continuation of self-consciousness. This result can be attained only by knowledge, *jñāna*, a recognition of the essential unity of the seeming individual with Brahman. This is the *jñāna-mārga*, as opposed to the *karma-mārga*, or path of works, which can lead only to re-birth, in accordance with the truth that every action must be followed by its reaction. But, despite this necessity for desisting from action, the Vedāntist recognizes that such a course, at least at first, is not altogether possible. By a right series of actions the searcher after salvation may fit himself to proceed to the higher knowledge: the *karma-mārga* leads into the *jñāna-mārga*, by which alone the goal is to be reached. Rāmāṇuja, in his commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra*, says:

> 'For the fact is that the enquiry into Brahman—the fruit of which enquiry is infinite in nature and permanent—follows immediately in the case of him who, having read the Veda together with its auxiliary disciplines [*i.e.* that part of religious literature dealing with actions, the *karma-kāṇḍa*], has reached the knowledge that the fruit of mere works is limited and non-permanent, and hence has conceived the desire of final release.'[6]

But, since actions may lead to the higher path of knowledge, where is to be found the authority to decide the kind of actions necessary? This is the Veda. Speaking of the authority of the Veda, Śaṅkara says:

> 'Here others raise the following objection:—Although the Veda is the means of gaining a right knowledge of Brahman, yet it intimates Brahman only as the object of certain injunctions. . . . Why so? Because the Veda has the purport of either instigating to action or restraining from it.'[7]

But to make the Veda the final authority by no means solves all difficulties. The great bulk of the *karma* prescribed by the Veda consists of sacrifice. To begin with, there can be little doubt that before and during the time of the composition of the Brāhmaṇas, among Brāhmans belonging to different schools and different localities, different sacrificial customs had arisen, but that, after the Brāhmanas had been composed and had acquired some sort of general authority, it was felt necessary to reconcile these outside sacrificial practices with those prescribed by the Brāhmaṇas. Further, even within the Veda itself was to be found a mass of bewildering inconsistencies—a fact not surprising, when we consider the great differences in time, authorship, and purpose. The difficulties thus arising were many. A few of the more typical may be mentioned. It sometimes happened that the Brāhmana-passage describing the action of a certain sacrifice was not always in harmony with the *mantra* to be recited during the performance.

> 'The Brāhmaṇa-passage maintains that from out a series of sacrificial acts a certain one is to be performed in the sixth place, while in the section that contains the mantras accompanying the series of acts the mantra referring to the particular act occupies the tenth place.'[1]

Again, it may not be made quite clear who it is that must perform the sacrifice, or how exactly any one of the numerous modifications of the typical sacrifices, which the Veda describes in full detail, is to be performed. The necessity for clearing up all such obscure points led to the formation of a set of rules, in accordance with which it was possible to settle disputed points without impugning in any way the authority of the Veda.

> 'So for instance . . . it is laid down that, whenever the place of the mantras accompanying a certain action and the place assigned to the action by a Brāhmaṇa-passage are in conflict, the mantra is to have greater weight than the Brāhmaṇa, because the former, being actually recited during the sacrifice, is connected with it more intimately than the latter, which is not directly used during the performance.'[2]

These rules, and the principles lying behind them, are collected in the *sūtras* of Jaimini, which form the ground of the *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā*, or 'Preliminary Investigation,' as opposed to the *Uttara-mīmāṁsā*, or 'Secondary Investigation' (*i.e.* into the nature of Brahman); for the necessity of works comes before the necessity of knowledge. The *Pūrva-mīmāṁsaka* devoted considerable attention to the criteria of knowledge. They are five in number: sense-perception, inference, comparison, presumption, and verbal information, with sometimes a sixth—non-existence. But of only one do they make considerable use—*śabda*, or verbal information, *i.e.* Scripture. For duty cannot rest on human authority, which is fallible, but must rest on some infallible authority, and this is found only in the Veda. Hence there follows the necessity of proving the infallibility and superhuman origin (*apauruṣeyatva*) of the Veda (for a discussion of the proof see Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 270 ff.). For the rest the *Mīmāṁsā* is occupied with the explanation and conciliation, in accordance with those principles of interpretation and authority, of apparently conflicting instructions and statements contained in the Veda.

(4) We have now reached a point at which we can consider how these two different religious attitudes—salvation according to works and salvation according to knowledge—were combined into one consistent system for the practical purposes of everyday life. This is seen in the precepts of the *Dharmaśāstras*—books dealing with religious and social duties. In this respect their prescriptions concern only the three upper—or Āryan—castes; neither with the *karma-mārga* nor with the *jñāna-mārga* has the Śūdra anything to do. For the Āryan it was necessary as a boy to study the Veda; as a householder to perform sacrifices; and, finally, there was an ever-growing desire to spend the last few years of life in the quiet shelter of the forest, or as a beggar, wandering from village to village, ever in search of that knowledge of his own unity with the universal Brahman which alone could bring final release from the cycle of birth and death. In this way, with the passing of time the life of an Āryan came to be divided into four definite stages, called *āśramas*. At a certain age, which varied with the caste to which the boy belonged (for the Brāhman the eighth to the tenth year), the young Āryan was sent to the house of a Brāhman, there to live and be taught the Veda. For a period which might vary from twelve to forty-eight years,[3] the student must remain with his teacher, whom it was

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[1] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. i. 4. 8, IV. iii. 2. 5; *Aitareya Br.* II. i. 1.

[2] *Śat. Br.* I. vi. 3. 8.

[3] *Ib.* I. vii. 2. 1 ff.; Hopkins, p. 202 f.

[4] See artt. VEDĀNTA and SĀṄKHYA.

[5] See art. KARMA.

[6] *SBE* xlviii. [1904] 3 f.

[7] *SBE* xxxiv. [1890] 23 f.; cf. also the Bhāṣya on *Jaimini-sūtra*, I. i. 2. 5, quoted by Śaṅkara.

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[1] Thibaut, *Arthasaṁgraha*, p. iv.

[2] *Ib.* p. v.

[3] *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra*, I. i. 2. 12–16.

his constant duty to help and care for. In return for this the teacher, called the *guru*, instructed the student, or *brahmachārin*, in the knowledge of the Veda. At the end of his time of study the *brahmachārin* left the house of his *guru*, and with the title of *snātaka*, 'one who has bathed,' entered into the *āśrama* of a *gṛhastha*, 'householder.' Now, in addition to the duties which he owed his family, he had to engage in a definite series of sacrifices addressed to the gods and the spirits of his ancestors. But, when his sons were grown up and could themselves found families, his duties were finished; the end of the way of works was already in sight. With or without his wife he might now take refuge in the forest as a *vānaprastha*; freed from almost all duties and sacred rites, he was at liberty to spend his days in meditation. Last of all, renouncing every remaining duty, he was ready to enter the final stage of a *sannyāsin*, and to leave behind him for ever the *karma-mārga*, free to travel along the path of knowledge, wandering from village to village, until death removed the last barrier that prevented his absorption into the universal Brahman. In this way the journey, taken by not a few, began upon the path of works and ended upon the path of knowledge.

(5) Lastly, we have to consider the doctrine of works as it appears in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. Hitherto the works that have been included under the designation of *karma* have been chiefly the sacrifices and general religious duties laid down in the Brāhmaṇas and the law-books, and they have been performed entirely for the sake of the performer. In the *Bhagavad-Gītā* we meet with a completely different conception. Knowledge is no longer the only way that leads to salvation; that may be reached also through *bhakti* (loving faith), or by works. But works, to be efficacious for salvation, must be disinterested. The *karma-yoga*, as this rule of works is called, has two phases. In the first the follower of the rule must discharge all his religious and social duties in utter indifference and unattachment to their fruits. He makes a sacrifice to the Lord of all his works, so that they no longer bind his soul to existence. Thus detached from all desires, he gains final redemption. The following verse is typical:

'This world is fettered by works, save in the work that has for its end the sacrifice. Work to this end do thou fulfil, O son of Kuntī, free from attachment'[1]—in the words of the Christian: 'Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.'[2] For a fuller discussion of this see art. BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ.

The attitude of Buddhism differs little in this respect. In fact, one may reasonably surmise that the author of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* was influenced by Buddhist doctrines. Selfishness is the one thing that the Buddhist must avoid; acts performed with reference to self only bind the doer more firmly to the wheel of existence; but works of unselfish love are without effect, except in so far as they bring the worker nearer that absolute detachment which alone can open the gates of *nirvāṇa*.

> 'Our mind shall not waver. No evil speech will we utter. Tender and compassionate will we abide, loving in heart, void of malice within . . . and with that feeling [love] as a basis, we will ever be suffusing the whole world with thought of love, far-reaching, grown great, beyond measure, void of anger and ill-will.'[3]

To-day in India we may still find the old contrast between the path of knowledge and the path of works. There is the philosopher, who sits meditating on the infinite and awaiting the moment of final salvation; and there is the peasant, sacrificing his goats to Siva or to Kālī, and punctiliously performing the multifarious round of prescribed duties in his journey along the *karma-mārga*, by which he hopes in the next birth to obtain a better position on the wheel of life.

LITERATURE.—Cf. artt. ĀŚRAMA, BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ, BHAKTI-MĀRGA, BUDDHISM, JÑĀNA-MĀRGA, KARMA, MĪMĀṀSĀ, and NYĀYA. For Rigveda and Brāhmaṇas: E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, London, 1896, pp. 3–23, 147 ff., 199–207; *SBE* xxix. [1886] and xxx. [1892] *passim*, for a minute description of sacrificial ritual. For *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā*: Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899, ch. v.; G. Thibaut, *Arthasaṁgraha*, Benares, 1882 (Introd. and text); *SBE* xxxviii. [1896], Introd., *passim*; E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, *Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha*, London, 1882, ch. xii. For the Four Āśramas: *SBE* xxv. [1886] chs. ii.–vi.; L. von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 202 ff. For Karma-yoga: R. Garbe, *Die Bhagavadgītā*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 49–54; L. D. Barnett, *Bhagavadgītā*, London, 1905, pp. 64–71.

R. L. TURNER.

KARMATIANS.—See CARMAṬIANS.

KARNAPRAYĀG (Skr. *Karṇaprayāga*, 'the sacred river junction of Karṇa').—A place in the British Himālayan province of Gaṛhwāl in N. India, situated at the junction of the Alaknandā (*q.v.*) and the Pindar rivers; lat. 30° 16′ N., long. 79° 15′ E., at an elevation of 2300 ft. above sea-level. It is an important place of pilgrimage on the upper sources of the Ganges.

As its name denotes, it is connected with the legend of Karṇa, half-brother of the Pāṇḍava heroes of the *Mahābhārata* epic. He was the son of Kuntī by Sūrya, the sun-god, and was born fully equipped with arms and armour. He was exposed by his mother, and reared by Nandana or Adhiratha, charioteer of the warrior Dhṛtarāshṭra. Indra, in the disguise of a Brāhman, induced him to surrender his divine cuirass, and gave him in return a magical javelin charged with certain death to the enemy. Karṇa fought in the great war, and was finally slain by a crescent-shaped arrow discharged by Arjuna. The region from which the streams which form the Ganges rise is closely associated with the story of the Pāṇḍavas, and many places, like this, are supposed to gain their sanctity from them and their companions. The temple dedicated to the hero and some other remains are of no architectural importance.

LITERATURE.—E. T. Atkinson, *Himalayan Gaz.* iii. [Allahabad, 1886] 394 f.; A. Führer, *Mon. Antiq. and Inscr. N.W.P. and Oudh*, do. 1891, p. 45; *IGI* xv. [1908] 60. For the legend of Karṇa see J. Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, London, 1879, p. 150 f.

W. CROOKE.

KATABANIANS.—See SABÆANS.

KATĀS (according to Cunningham, from Skr. *kaṭākṣa*, 'sidelong glance').—One of the famous places of pilgrimage in N. Panjāb, a holy pool in the Jhīlam District; lat. 32° 43′ N., long. 71° 59′ E. The name is derived, according to the Brāhmanical legend, from the fact that Siva was so inconsolable at the loss of his wife, Satī, that the tears falling from his eyes formed the sacred lake Puṣkara, or Pokhar, and the Kaṭākṣa pool. The place has been identified with the Śang-ho-pu-lo, or Siṇhapura, of Hiuen Tsiang (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1906, i. 143 f.); but the question of distances renders this improbable.

> 'The Sat-ghara, or "seven temples," are attributed to the Pāṇḍus, who are said to have lived at Katās during a portion of their twelve years' wanderings. On examining the place carefully I found the remains of no less than twelve temples, which are clustered together in the north-east corner of the old fort. Their general style is similar to that of the Kashmir temples, of which the chief characteristics are dentils, trefoil arches, fluted pillars, and pointed roofs, all of which are found in the temples of Katās and of other places in the Salt Range. Unfortunately these temples are so much ruined that it is impossible to make out their details with any accuracy; but enough is left to show that they belong to the later style of Kashmirian architecture which prevailed under the Karkota and Varman dynasties from A.D. 625 to 939' (A. Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Reports*, ii. [1871] 189).

LITERATURE.—Besides Cunningham's *Report* quoted above, see *Gaz. Jhilam District*, Lahore, 1883–84, p. 36 ff.; *IGI* xv [1908] 150 f.

W. CROOKE.

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[1] *Bhagavad-Gītā*, tr. Barnett, iii. 9.

[2] 1 Co 10^{31}.

[3] *Majjhima-nikāya*, i. 129, tr. Rhys Davids.

KĀṬMĀṆḌŪ, KĀṬHMĀṆḌŪ (Hindī *kāṭh*, Skr. *kāṣṭha*, ‘wood’; *maṇḍuā*, ‘a hut or shed’).—The capital of the kingdom of Nepāl; lat. 27° 42′ N., long. 85° 12′ E., towards the W. side of the valley, at the junction of the Bāghmatī and Viṣṇumatī rivers. It has been known by many names—the earliest Mañju Pātan, ‘city of Mañju,’ after Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva; Yindesī; Kāntipur; and Kāṭhmāṇḍū or Kāṭhmādū; the last said to be derived from an ancient building, originally made of wood, which stands in the heart of the city, near the Darbār palace. According to Brown (*Picturesque Nepal*, p. 65), a building still exists which is said to have been made from the wood of one monster tree. The city is oblong in form, and, according to the Buddhist Newār tradition, it was built in the shape of the sword of its founder, Mañjuśrī, while the Hindus profess that it resembles the scimitar of their goddess.

Kirkpatrick (*Account*, p. 159), who visited the city in 1793, suggests that the name of the place is derived from ‘its numerous wooden temples, which are, indeed, among the most striking objects it offers to the eye. . . . Besides these, Khatmandu contains several other temples on a large scale, and constructed of brick, with two, three, and four sloping roofs, diminishing gradually as they ascend, and terminating pretty generally in pinnacles, which, as well as some of the superior roofs, are splendidly gilt and produce a very picturesque effect’ (for a discussion of the Nepāl style of architecture see J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Arch.*^{2}, i. 277 ff.).

A notable feature of some of these temples is the profusion of indecent carvings, the intention being to scare evil spirits (Crooke, *PR*^{2} i. 68 f.). One of the most important Hindu temples is that dedicated to Talejū, or Tallijū, the local form of Tulsī Bhavānī, the goddess of the holy basil plant (*Ocymum sanctum*), who, with the saint Gorakhnāth, is the guardian deity of the royal family.

‘In front of several of the temples are tall monoliths, some surmounted by figures of old Rājās, others by the winged figure of Garur [Garuḍa]. The figures are often in a kneeling posture, facing a temple, and are generally overhung by a brazen snake, on whose head is perched a little bird. Not far from the palace, and close to one of the temples, is an enormous bell, suspended to two stone pillars; and in another building are two huge drums, about eight feet in diameter. . . . Here, too, are several huge and hideous figures of Hindu gods and goddesses’ (Wright, *Hist. of Nepāl*, p. 10). During his residence in Nepāl, Wright twice heard of persons having committed suicide before these figures. ‘The suicide always takes place at night, and the body is found in the morning with its throat cut from ear to ear, and its limbs decorously arranged, lying on one of the steps,’ the inference being that these were cases of human sacrifice (*ib.* 10 ff.).

The temple known as Mahenkal [Mahākālā], of great antiquity, is the most popular ‘chapel-of-ease’ in the valley. Hindus regard it as dedicated to Śiva, while Buddhists maintain that the sacred figure represents Padmapāṇi or Avalokita, and assert that this is proved by the little stone figure rising from the forehead of the idol, which is believed to represent Amitābha (Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, i. 110). However this may be, this temple has become a sort of neutral ground at which Hindus and Buddhists meet to pray before one common god, the Śiva of the former, the Padmapāṇi of the latter. Besides these the city abounds in temples of many kinds.

‘Many of them present a most repulsive appearance, being dabbled over with the blood of cocks, ducks, goats, and buffaloes, which are sacrificed before them’ (Wright, p. 11).

Of the more modern temples, the chief are that erected by Sir Jang Bahādur in 1852 on the foundation laid by Bhīm Sen, and dedicated to Jagannāth; that to Viṣṇu in the form of Nārāyaṇa; and several at the sacred junction of the rivers Bāghmatī and Viṣṇumatī. While the Hindu temples are generally placed near some of the main thoroughfares, all the chief Buddhist shrines are hidden away in squares or quadrangles in the parts of the city exclusively inhabited by the Buddhist Newārs. The chief of these are the temple of Ādibuddha, known also as Buddhmaṇḍal, the older part of which is now enclosed within the roots of a sacred fig-tree. Nothing is known of its history prior to its restoration in A.D. 1579 (Oldfield, ii. 256 ff.). The most important Buddhist monument, however, is that known as Sambhunāth (Skr. *svayambhu*, ‘self-existent’), which is a very fine specimen of a Buddhist *chaitya*, or mound-temple.

‘It consists of a solid hemisphere of earth and brick, about sixty feet in diameter and thirty feet in height, supporting a lofty conical spire, the top of which is crowned by a richly-carved pinnacle of copper gilt’ (Oldfield, ii. 224).

The same writer (ii. 219) gives a full account of this interesting edifice, which is one of the few existing great Buddhist ecclesiastical buildings of which only the ruins survive in India. It is traditionally attributed to a Rājā of Nepāl named Goradeo, who is said to have flourished between 2000 and 3000 years ago; but there are no trustworthy records of it until its restoration in A.D. 1593. On the whole, Kāṭhmāṇḍū offers a most promising field for archæological investigation; but excavation and surveys of the existing buildings will be impossible so long as the native Government maintains its present policy of jealous seclusion.

LITERATURE.—D. Wright, *History of Nepāl*, Cambridge, 1877; H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, London, 1880; R. Temple, *Journals in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal*, do. 1887; L. Oliphant, *A Journey to Katmandu*, do. 1852; P. Brown, *Picturesque Nepal*, do. 1912. Older accounts are those of F. Hamilton (formerly Buchanan), *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, Edinburgh, 1819; W. Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul*, do. 1811. For the architecture see J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*^{2}, London, 1910; Sylvain Lévi, *Le Nepal: Étude historique d'un royaume hindou*, Paris, 1905.

W. CROOKE.

KĀYASTH, KĀYASTHA (said to be derived either from Skr. *kāyesaṃsthita*, ‘staying at home’ [H. T. Colebrooke, *Essays*, London, 1858, p. 273 n.], or from *kāya-stha*, ‘situated in the body, incorporate,’ being sprung from the body of Brahmā).—The writer class of Hindustān, numbering, at the Census of 1911, 2,178,390, of whom the great majority are found in Bengal and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Practically all of them are Hindu by religion.

In Bengal, Risley classes them in two divisions: those of Bengal proper and those of Bihār. Like all the literary and trading castes, the Kāyasths, since the British occupation of the country, have tried to assert a social status not admitted under native rule. One mark of their promotion is that they usually affect extreme orthodoxy and are liberal in support of Brāhmans, by whom they are barely tolerated. It is singular, as Risley remarks, that, while the teaching of Chaitanya has united almost all the artisan and agricultural castes of Bengal proper in a common Vaiṣṇava faith, the three highest and most intelligent classes adhere to the Śākta ritual, or the worship of the female principle. In E. Bengal all Kulin Kāyasths, and something like three-fourths of the other sections, are believed to practise Śāktism, and it is asserted that a large proportion of these follow the cult in its grosser development, known as the Vāmāchāra, or ‘left-hand,’ ritual of the Tāntras. Every Kulin family has a domestic chapel in which the *liṅga* of Śiva is daily worshipped by the head of the household. All Kāyasths, in addition, observe the Śrī Pañchamī, or ‘sacred fifth,’ the festival which occurs on the fifth day of the waxing moon in the month of Māgh (Jan.-Feb.), known also as the Dawāt Pūjā, or ‘worship of the inkstand,’ in honour of Sarasvatī, goddess of learning and eloquence, whom they regard as their patron deity.

‘On this day the courts and all offices are closed, as no Hindu penman will use pen and ink, or any writing instrument, except a pencil, on that day. When work is resumed a new inkstand and pen must be used, and the penman must write nothing until he has several times transcribed the name of the goddess Durgā, with which all letters should begin' (J. Wise, *Notes on the Races, Castes, and Trades of E. Bengal*, p. 315).

On this day also the Kāyasth must eat a *hilsā* fish (*clupea alosa*), whatever its price may be, while from the Srī Pañchamī festival in January to the Vijaya Dasamī in September-October fish must be eaten daily; but from the last to the first month it must not be touched—a tabu probably founded on some hygienic consideration. The Kāyasths of Bihār follow one or other of the main Hindu sects: Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Śākta, Kabīrpanthī, Nānakshāhī, and the like. The worship of Durgā and the Śakti is the most popular. Chitragupta, the mythical ancestor of the caste, is honoured once a year on the 17th day of the month Kārttik (Oct.–Nov.), at the feast of the Dawāt Pūjā, with offerings of sweetmeats and money, and the worship of the pen and ink, the implements of the trade. For religious and domestic rites the caste employs Brāhmans, who are received on equal terms by other members of the priestly body. In the United Provinces they also follow the orthodox Hindu sects, of which the Śaiva, Śākta, and Ārya Samāj are most important. But the fact of belonging to different sects does not bar association and inter-marriage; and, if a man who is a Vaiṣṇava marries a Śākta girl, the former may remain a vegetarian and abstain from meat and spirits, while his wife continues to indulge in these luxuries. The worship of the progenitor Chitragupta and of the Kula Devata, or family gods, is carried on side by side with the cultus of the greater orthodox deities. While the domestic worship is generally conducted by the head of the household, the orthodox ritual is performed by Brāhmans, who do not suffer any social discredit by officiating for Kāyasths. In the Deccan the allied caste, known as Kāyasth-Prabhū, are generally followers of Viṣṇu, while children are known as Devīputra, 'sons of Devī,' because they worship the Devī or local Mother-goddess rather than the orthodox gods.

LITERATURE.—J. Wise, *Notes on the Races, Castes, and Trades of E. Bengal*, London, 1883; H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891; W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N.W. Provinces and Oudh*, do. 1896; A. Baines, *Ethnography* [=*GIAP* ii. 5], Strassburg, 1912, p. 38 f. For the branch in Bombay see *BG* IX. i. [1901].

W. CROOKE.

KEDĀRNĀTH (Skr. *Kedāranātha*, 'lord of Kedār,' a title of Śiva, the derivation of which is unknown; it has been suggested by E. T. Atkinson, *Himalayan Gaz.* ii. [1884] 796, that Kedār is an ancient title of Śiva).—A famous temple and place of pilgrimage in the Garhwāl District of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, lat. 30° 44′ N., long. 79° E. The twin peaks of Badarīnāth (*q.v.*) and Kedārnāth rise at a distance of ten miles apart, and between these, at a height of more than 11,000 ft. above sea-level, the temple is situated. The sanctity of the Śiva *liṅga* is extolled in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*.

According to the local legend, Pārvatī asks: 'What is Kedār? What are the fruits of visiting its sacred places and bathing in its waters?' Śiva replies: 'The place that you have spoken of, O goddess! is so dear to me that I shall never forsake it. When I or Brahmā created the universe, Kedār so pleased me that it shall ever remain sacred to me. Brahmā and the other gods are there; whoever dies there becomes one with Śiva.' The title of the deity is Sadāśiva, 'always happy,' and he seems to be the successor of an older god, Paśupati, 'lord of animals.'

The temple ranks among the twelve famous *liṅga* shrines of India. The Pāṇḍavas, it is said, came to the Himālaya, and arrived at the river Mandākinī to worship Śiva. In their eagerness they desired to touch the god, but he avoided them and plunged into the earth, offering to his votaries only the sight of the lower part of his body. The upper part is said to have come to the surface at Mukhār Bind in Nepāl, where it is worshipped as Paśupatinātha. The Pāṇḍavas were cleansed of their sins and built five temples in honour of the god. In Buddhist times the place became a centre of the Bauddhamārgī cultus, which was overthrown about the beginning of the 8th cent. A.D. by the Śaiva reformer, Śaṅkarāchārya, who died here at the age of 32. As is the case at Badarīnāth, the shrine is served by Nambūtiri Brāhman priests from S. India who were introduced by the great Śaiva missionary. The sanctity of the place has been explained by the fact that pilgrims are overpowered by the strong scent of the roses and syringa bushes close to the border of the eternal snow. This, combined with the rarity of the air, produces a sense of faintness, which is naturally attributed to spirit agency, while the strange sounds produced by falling avalanches and rendings of the ice and snow doubtless contribute to the same belief. The existing buildings are of no architectural importance. Sacred places abound in the neighbourhood, the most important of which is Mahāpanth, where there is the famous cliff, known as Bhairava Jhāmp, from which pilgrims were accustomed to precipitate themselves as an offering to Śiva; as in other parts of the Himālaya, a human scapegoat slides down a rope—a rite which has its parallels in other places—the object being apparently to secure the fertility of the crops (J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, pp. 196 f., 254, *Pausanias*, do. 1898, v. 401). A second form of immolation, of which instances are believed still to occur among fanatics, is to wander up the snowy slopes and court death by exposure.

LITERATURE.—E. T. Atkinson, *Himalayan Gazetteer*, ii. [Allahabad, 1884]. Two early papers are worth reading: H. T. Colebrooke, 'The Sources of the Ganges in the Himādri or Emodus,' and F. V. Raper, 'A Survey for the Purpose of discovering the Sources of the Ganges,' both in *Asiatic Researches*, xi. [1812]; see also J. B. Fraser, *Journal of a Tour through part of the Himālā Mountains, and to the Sources of the Rivers Jumna and Ganges*, London, 1820; E. S. Oakley, *Holy Himalaya*, Edinburgh, 1905; C. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet*, London, 1906; J. Muir, *Notes of a Trip to Kedarnath*, Edinburgh, 1855.

W. CROOKE.

KEDESHAH.—See HIERODOULOI (Semitic and Egyptian).

KENOSIS.—**I. The scriptural references.**—The word 'Kenosis' is applied in Christian theology to that attitude or action of Jesus Christ, or the Logos, referred to by St. Paul in Ph $2^{6f.}$, where he says of Jesus Christ: *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν* **ἐκένωσε** *μορφὴν δούλου λαβών*. This is practically all that can be said with certainty on the subject. We cannot even say definitely what the Apostle intended to convey by the words quoted. No other passage in his writings casts any light upon them. There is certainly no doubt that by the phrase *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε* he was expressing the same idea as he had in his mind when speaking of 'Jesus Christ' in 2 Co 8^9: *δι' ὑμᾶς ἐπτώχευσε πλούσιος ὤν*. This passage, however, is no less ambiguous than the former. In both alike the grammatical connexion of the statement with the antecedent designation 'Jesus Christ' seems to indicate that the Apostle had in his mind an action of the historical Jesus. But, on the other hand, the *μορφὴ θεοῦ* and the *μορφὴ δούλου* of the first passage, and the 'being rich' and the 'becoming poor' of the second, are in each case so pointedly antithetic as to suggest that St. Paul was thinking of a surrender of the one for the other, and that accordingly he is speaking here of an action effected by the pre-existent Christ at His incarnation.

In 2 Co 8 the context does not help us, while in Ph 2, though the parenetic aim of the passage seems at first sight to point to the historical Jesus, the context in reality presents several possibilities of interpretation. This would not be the case, indeed, if we could accept the hypothesis of A. Resch,[1] viz. that in Ph $2^{6ff.}$ St. Paul, on the ground of a primitive gospel which, according to Resch, has left traces in the baptismal liturgy of the Severians, was speaking of a *κένωσις* that began with the baptism of Jesus. Resch had every confidence in his theory, believing that he was justified even in saying (p. 81):

> 'In place of the life-like impression which Ph $2^{5ff.}$ gives of the historical Christ and His first public appearance at the baptism in the Jordan, unfortunately an unsound theory of Kenosis has been built up upon an ungrammatical foisting in of the λόγος ἄσαρκος as the subject of the passage, and in this way a dogmatizing exegesis has moved further and further away from the original sense.'

But Resch fails to show even the probability—let alone the certainty—of the underlying assumption of his verdict, viz. the use of a primitive gospel by the Apostle.

The exegesis of the passage is thus thrown back upon the actual words. Nor, again, does the clause *οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ* enable us to decide whether St. Paul was referring to the historical or the pre-existent Christ. Even the so-called 'active' sense of *ἁρπαγμός* ('robbery,' 'usurpation,' 'opportunity for robbery' or 'for self-enrichment') has been made to fit in with either alternative, though the present writer is of opinion that its compatibility with the theory of the pre-existent Christ is far from obvious. The tenability of both interpretations is much less questionable if, with most modern scholars, we decide for the 'passive,' or rather the 'concrete,' sense of *ἁρπαγμός* (*præda*, 'prize'). The translation in that case would be: 'He regarded the *εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ* not *as a prize to be held fast*,' or '*as a prize that he might or must obtain*,' and the former rendering at least is quite in keeping with either interpretation. This may also be said of the *εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*. If we take the phrase as equivalent to *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ εἶναι*, then it has no direct bearing upon the question as to the subject of *ἡγήσατο*; if we feel it necessary, however, to make a distinction in meaning between the two phrases, the former accords very well with the theory that the whole passage refers to the historical Christ, while it harmonizes with the reference to the pre-existent Christ only if we assume—an assumption widely held, but, the present writer thinks, untenable—that St. Paul regarded the pre-existent Christ as the 'heavenly man.'

Nor can we decide with confidence between the exegetical alternatives presented by Ph 2^{6} even by an appeal to the only non-Pauline passage of the NT that perhaps rests on the same underlying ideas, viz. that verse of the high-priestly prayer which Origen (*de Princ.* III. v. 6) applied in the same way: *καὶ νῦν δόξασόν με σύ, πάτερ, παρὰ σεαυτῷ τῇ δόξῃ ᾗ εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί* (Jn 17^{5}). Not that we would contend that St. Paul should not be interpreted by St. John; as a matter of fact, if the Johannine writings contained an unambiguous passage which exactly agreed with any one of the possible interpretations of Ph 2^{6}, it would certainly lend a sanction to that interpretation. But is Jn 17^{5} unambiguous? Even if, in view of other passages in the Fourth Gospel ($1^{27. 30}$ $6^{33. 38}$ 8^{58}), we reject the interpretation of *εἶχον* as implying a possession in the *destinatio divina*—an interpretation endorsed by the Socinians, the Rationalists, and Schleiermacher, and defended with new arguments by H. Wendt—we cannot venture to call it so, for the view that Jn 17^{5} refers to a glory regarded as having been surrendered in the act of incarnation cannot be maintained in face of Jn 1^{14} 2^{11} $11^{4. 40}$. If Jn 17^{5}, accordingly, can be taken only as referring to a complete and plenary re-entrance upon a glory which was in some sense veiled during the earthly life of Jesus, it also fails to help us in determining the sense of the Pauline *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε*. On that interpretation we may certainly regard Jn 17^{5} as implying an action of the *λόγος ἄσαρκος* upon which rested the *possibility* of such veiling, but we may equally well see in the passage an attitude of the *λόγος ἔνσαρκος* of which His being veiled was the result. Moreover, the exegesis of Jn 17^{5} is rendered difficult by the fact that we cannot definitely say whether an appeal to the Logos-idea is here justified at all, or whether the truth lies with those who hold that St. John, in conformity with Jewish thought, usually associates the pre-existence of Christ with His entire person, and that his restricting it to Christ's pneumatic existence, as contrasted with His flesh, is found only in the Prologue.

In the circumstances it is but natural that exegetes should still be at issue as to the interpretation of Ph $2^{6ff.}$. In point of fact they are at present even more divided than they were about thirty years ago, as it seemed for a time that the interpretation which found the subject of *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε* and *ἤγησατο* in the pre-existent Christ held the field in scientific exegesis, so far at least as this was not under the influence of confessional Lutheranism. Of late, however—and not from the Lutheran side only—the position has been challenged by quite a number of interpreters.[1]

2. The exegesis of Ph $2^{6ff.}$ in the early Church.—Even in the early Church exegetes were less agreed with regard to Ph $2^{6ff.}$ than has sometimes been assumed. Here we meet with three types of interpretation that at first sight seem to be quite distinct.

(*a*) *The interpretation which identified the subject of the Kenosis with the λόγος ἄσαρκος.*—The earliest traceable view is that which saw in the phrase *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε* a reference to the act of the *λόγος ἄσαρκος* in His becoming incarnate. We find it already in the Valentinian Gnostic Theodotus, as, *e.g.*, when he says:

> ἑαυτὸν κενώσας, τουτέστιν ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὅρου γενόμενος . . . . ὡς ἀπὸ Πληρώματος προελθών (Clem. Alex. *Excerpta*, 35).

This interpretation is found also in the Christian Gnosis of the Alexandrians—Clement (*Pædag.* III. i. 2, *Protrept.* i. 8) and Origen:

> ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν καταβαίνων ἐνταῦθα, καὶ κενώσας ἑαυτὸν, ἐλάμβανε πάλιν ταῦτα ἀφ' ὧν ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν (*in Jerem. Hom.* i. 7; cf. also, *e.g.*, *de Princ.*, præf. 4, and III. v. 6, *in Joann.* vi. 10);

and it is supported even by Tertullian:

> 'Et Sermo enim Deus, qui in effigie Dei constitutus, non rapinam existimavit pariari Deo' (*de Carnis Resurr.* 6).

In the East, indeed, it came to be the prevailing view. Not only do we find it in Eusebius (*e.g.*, *de Eccles. Theol.* I. xx. 10) and Apollinaris,[2] but we can trace it also in the line of the orthodox Fathers, from Methodius (*Conviv.* iii. 8), through Athanasius (*e.g.*, *Orat. contra Arianos*, i. 40) and the Young Nicæans,[3] to Cyril of Alexandria and the later orthodox theology. As a matter of fact, the interpretation in question received in some sense an official sanction, as it found expression in Cyril's *Epistula ad Orientales*, which was recognized as a standard of doctrine by the Council of Chalcedon:

> ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφοιτήσας ὁ θεὸς λόγος κεκένωκεν ἑαυτὸν, μορφὴν δούλου λαβών (*Ep.* 39 [*PG* lxxvii. 180 A]).

(*b*) *The Pelagian exegesis.*—A diametrically opposite interpretation of the passage is met with *c.* 400 in the West, viz. in the Commentary of Pelagius on St. Paul's Epistles. Pelagius finds the subject of the expressions ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, ἡγήσατο, and ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτόν in the human being in whom the Logos became incarnate: 'Quia se assumptus homo humiliare dignatus est, divinitas quae humiliari non potest eum qui humiliatus fuerat exaltavit' (*PL* xxx. 884 C). Even 'secundum hominem' Christ was, according to Pelagius, 'in forma Dei,' *i.e.* 'in imagine Dei,' because He 'absque peccato erat,' and because He was the one 'in quo Deus erat,' *i.e.* 'plenitudo deitatis' (*loc. cit.*; cf. pseudo-Primasius, *PL* lxviii. 630); although 'quod erat, humilitate celavit, dans nobis exemplum ne in his gloriemur quae forsitan non habemus' (*PL* xxx. 884 BC).

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[1] 'Agrapha'^{2}, *TU* xxx. 3 and 4 (Leipzig, 1906), p. 79 ff.

[1] Cf. W. Lütgert, *Die Vollkommenen im Philipperbrief*, Gütersloh, 1909, p. 39 ff.; W. Warren, *JThSt* xii. (1911) 461 ff.; G. Kittel, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Gotha, 1912, p. 376 ff.

[2] Cf. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, Göttingen, 1904, frag. 124, p. 237, and frag. 71, p. 221.

[3] Cf. Gregory Naz. *Or.* xxxviii. 18: ὁ πλήρης κενοῦται· κενοῦται γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δόξης ἐπὶ μικρόν.

The text of Pelagius—at this point probably not completely traceable in pseudo-Hieronymus—does not provide a particular exposition of ἐκένωσε or οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο, κτλ., nor can pseudo-Primasius be used here as supplementing it, since he has manifestly interpolated something of his own; still, the exegesis of Pelagius can be made out distinctly enough. In view of Col 2^9—a passage which he undoubtedly had in his mind—the phrase ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε is adequately explained by the words 'quod erat, humilitate celavit,' while the words 'dans nobis exemplum ne in his gloriemur quae forsitan non habemus' suggest the following explanation of οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο, κτλ.: 'non gloriatus est in his quae habebat' (*i.e.* τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ = τὸ εἶναι ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ). The latter interpretation, again, is further explained by what Pelagius says with reference to 'formam servi accipiens': 'ita ut pedes lavaret discipulorum; celavit quod erat, Adam vero et antiquus hostis usurparunt superbia quod non erant' (*PL* xxx. 884; H. Zimmer, *Pelagius in Irland*, Berlin, 1901, p. 377).

Thus, in dealing with Ph 2^6, Pelagius, like the recent expositors Lütgert (*op. cit.*) and J. Weiss,[1] has been reminded of Gn $3^{5ff.}$, and under the influence of this reminiscence applies the entire passage in Ph. to Christ as the second Adam. It would seem that this interpretation was suggested to him by earlier tradition, as his older contemporary, Phœbadius of Aginnum, is also reminded by Ph $2^{6f.}$ of the fact that the Logos 'induerat quod servire, quod mori posset: hominem scilicet . . . ut [printed 'et'] secundus Adam per obedientiam restitueret quod primus transgressione perdiderat' (*contra Arianos*, 21 [*PL* xx. 29 A]).

(*c*) *The Antiochene-Occidental interpretation.*—The third interpretation of Ph $2^{6ff.}$ takes a middle course between the two discussed above. It was known to Pelagius, who, however, rejected it in the interests of anti-Arianism:

> 'Aliqui hunc locum ita intelligunt quod secundum divinitatem se humiliaverit Christus, secundum formam scilicet Dei, secundum quam aequalitatem Dei non rapinam usurpaverit quam naturaliter possidebat, et exinaniverit se, non substantiam evacuans, sed honorem declinans, formam servi, hoc est naturam hominis, induendo, et per omnia ut homo tantummodo apparendo atque humili obedientia nec crucis mortem recusando' (*PL* xxx. 884 A; cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.* p. 377, and pseudo-Primasius).

This interpretation was at that period widely current in the West. It was adopted by Ambrosiaster (*PL* xvii. 409)—though with some points of resemblance to the view of Pelagius, as, *e.g.*, with regard to the 'forma Dei'—and also by Phœbadius (*ib.* xx. 29 A) and his contemporary Gregory of Elvira;[2] while, as regards Ambrose,[3] Augustine,[4] and even Hilary,[5] it is obvious that they too favoured this interpretation, though with certain modifications due to Greek influence, *i.e.* to the view indicated under (*a*) above. Apart from these modifications, this current Western interpretation agrees with the Pelagian in three important particulars. (1) It takes Ph $2^{6ff.}$ as referring to the historical Jesus Christ, though—diverging here from Pelagius—to Christ 'secundum divinitatem,' *i.e.* to the λόγος ἔνσαρκος. Ambrosiaster is quite aware of his divergence at this point from the view noted in (*a*), and explicitly says:

> 'Non enim mihi sicut quibusdam videtur, sic formam servi accepisse dum homo natus est; vide enim quid dicat: Hoc sentite in vobis quod et in Christo Iesu, id est, Deo et homine' (*PL* xvii. 432 A).

But, on the other hand, Phœbadius, Gregory of Elvira, and, above all, the Græcizing Fathers (Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine) include in the Kenosis also the 'incarnatio' of the Logos, as the decisive inception of the process expressed by the words ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε and wrought out in the life of the historical Christ. (2) The current Western interpretation and that of Pelagius have in common the idea of the *co-existence* of the 'forma Dei' and the 'forma servi'—an idea very prominent also in Hilary, Ambrose, and Augustine (cf. Reuter, *loc. cit.*). (3) In connexion with that view, they agree also in regarding the κένωσις as a κρύψις ('celavit quod erat').

In all these three points, again, the current Western interpretation coincides with the common Antiochene, though the latter, like the Græcizing Western Fathers, often ingrafts the ἐνανθρώπησις into the conception of the κένωσις. The correspondence is clearest in the case of Nestorius. While Nestorius recognizes the ἐνανθρώπησις as the essential starting-point of the κένωσις,[1] he expressly says with reference to Ph $2^{5ff.}$: οὐκ εἶπε (*sc.* ὁ Παῦλος)· τοῦτο φρονείσθω ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ καὶ ἐν τῷ θεῷ λόγῳ (*Nestoriana*, p. 254).

Moreover, the co-existence of the μορφὴ θεοῦ and the μορφὴ δούλου which we already find in the Fragments of Nestorius[2] is shown by his *Liber Heraclidis* to have been one of his leading ideas, inasmuch as he identifies μορφή and πρόσωπον,[3] and the exchange of the πρόσωπα is the decisive factor in his conception of the 'unio personalis' of the two natures.[4] Lastly, it has long been recognized that Nestorius attached great importance to the Christological κρύψις; thus, to take but a single instance, we quote here what he says regarding the self-restraint of Jesus Christ at the Temptation: οὐκ ἐκκαλύπτει τὸν κεκρυμμένον θεόν . . . ἀλλ' ὡς ἄνθρωπος ψιλὸς ἀντιφθέγγεται (*Nestoriana*, p. 343).

Like Nestorius, Eutherius of Tyana, a writer of kindred views, emphatically asserts that Ph $2^{6ff.}$ ought not to be read as referring to the Logos; in opposition to the words of Cyril quoted above (*a*), he writes:

> 'Sequere apostolum Paulum . . . ; non ait, Ipse de coelo descendens Deus Verbum exinanivit semetipsum . . . sed quid dicit? Hoc sentiatur in vobis quod et in Christo Jesu' (J. D. Mansi, *SS. Concilia Coll.*, Venice, 1759–98, v. 983 B–C; cf. G. Ficker, *Eutherius von Tyana*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 49 f.).

The views maintained by Nestorius and Eutherius in connexion with Ph $2^{6ff.}$ were, however, not distinctively Nestorian; they were rather in the line of the common Antiochene tradition. In fact, notwithstanding the fragmentary form in which the writings of the earlier Antiochians survive, it seems certain that the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia regarding the πρόσωπα of the two natures in Christ must have been very similar to that of Nestorius, and the former's exposition of Ph $2^{6\text{ff.}}$ shows that he too regarded the historical Christ (or the λόγος ἔνσαρκος) as the subject of ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε and interpreted the κένωσις as a κρύψις:

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[1] In *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, i. (Tübingen, 1909) 1726.

[2] *de Fide*, 8 (*PL* xx. 47 f.); *Tractatus Origenis*, ed. P. Batiffol, Paris, 1900, vii. 83; cf. A. Wilmart, *BLE*, Oct.–Nov. 1906, p. 233 ff., and G. Krüger, in *PRE*^{3} xxiii. 593 f.

[3] Cf. H. Reuter, *Augustinische Studien*, Gotha, 1887, p. 210 f.

[4] *Ib.* p. 198 f.; O. Scheel, *Die Anschauung Augustins über Christi Person und Werk*, Tübingen, 1901, p. 218 ff.

[5] Cf. I. A. Dorner, *Entwickelungsgesch. der Lehre von der Person Christi*^{2}, p. 1048 ff.; *PRE*^{3} x. 258 f.

[1] *Nestoriana*, ed. F. Loofs, Halle, 1905, p. 175.

[2] *Ib.* p. 253.

[3] *Liber Heraclidis*, tr. F. Nau, Paris, 1910, p. 147: 'La forme est le prosôpon; de sorte qu'il est l'un par l'essence et l'autre par l'union au point de vue de l'humiliation et de l'exaltation.'

[4] Cf. Loofs, *Nestorius and his Place in the History of Christian Doctrine*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 83 ff.

> τὸ οὖν 'ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε' ἀντὶ τοῦ 'οὐκ ἔδειξεν ἑαυτόν.' μορφὴ γὰρ δούλου λαβὼν τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκείνην ἀπέκρυψε, τοῦτο τοῖς ὁρῶσι εἶναι νομιζόμενος ὅπερ ἐφαίνετο (*Theodori episcopi Mopsuesteni in epistulas B. Pauli commentarii*, ed. H. B. Swete, Cambridge, 1882, i. 216 f.).

(*d*) *The question as to the priority of the various exegetical traditions; Novatian.*—Which of these three types of exegesis has the longer tradition behind it is a question not to be answered by a mere reference to the fact that Theodotus, Clement, Tertullian, and Origen were of earlier date than Pelagius and the Antiochians. For the circumstance that what is common to the Pelagian and the current Western interpretation appears also among the Antiochians lends probability to the supposition that here too[1] the Antiochene and the Western expositors were dependent upon a common tradition; and this tradition may well have been in existence prior to the period of the Apologists. This possibility is so far borne out by a conjecture which, as the present writer thinks, is urged upon us by a detailed examination of both the Pelagian and the ancient Western-Antiochene view—namely, that the exegesis associated with each of these goes back to a single earlier interpretation, according to which the subject of ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε was the integral personality of the historical Jesus Christ. An objective argument in favour of the hypothesis in question is provided by the interpretation of Ph $2^{6\text{ff.}}$ given by Novatian (*de Trin.* 22 [17] [*PL* iii. 957 f.]). The interpretation is not indeed homogeneous. For the most part it centres in the historical Christ, thus:

> 'Quamvis ex Deo Patre Deum esse meminisset, nunquam se Deo Patri aut comparavit aut contulit (p. 958 A); exinanivit se, dum ad iniurias contumeliasque descendit, dum audit infanda, experitur indigna' (p. 958 C).

But Novatian, in another passage (p. 959 B), includes also the 'nasci' and the 'humanam conditionis fragilitatem suscipere' in the *exinanitio*, and actually finds (p. 958 C) the κένωσις in the circumstance that the

> 'auctoritas divini Verbi, ad suscipiendum hominem interim conquiescens, nec se suis viribus exercens, deiicit se ad tempus atque deponit, dum hominem fert quem suscipit.'

Even in the last two passages, however, the 'self-emptying' of the Logos is not an action of the λόγος ἄσαρκος, but an attitude of the λόγος ἔνσαρκος—a self-restraint which Novatian ascribes to the historical Christ. Then as regards Ph 2^{9}, Novatian refers it—in the first instance without making any distinction between the 'homo Christi' and the Logos—to the historical Saviour in His undivided personality, while subsequently he says of the historical Christ that He was man because He had humbled Himself, but was God and Lord because He had received the 'nomen Dei.' Have we not here the common root of the later Pelagian and the current Western view? And does not the interpretation of Novatian, precisely because of its lack of unity, point back to a view of the Philippian passage according to which the subject of ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε was more clearly and consistently identified with the historical Christ?

3. Theories of the Kenosis current in the early Church.—While the early Church thus provides three several interpretations of Ph $2^{6\text{ff.}}$, it was, nevertheless, more unanimous in its conception of the Kenosis than that fact might lead us to suppose. The truth is that no theologian of any standing in the early Church ever adopted such a theory of the κένωσις of the Logos as would involve an actual supersession of His divine form of existence by the human—a real '*becoming*-man,' *i.e.* a transformation on the part of the Logos.

(*a*) *Popular conceptions.*—Among the masses, no doubt, views of the kind just indicated were widely current at an early period, and, indeed, have always been so. As a matter of fact, they rest upon a legitimate basis, *i.e.* they cohere with a view which is eminently intelligible to a living Christian faith. The genuinely Christian conviction of the perfect revelation of God in the person of the historical Jesus Christ found expression at an early period in the doctrine that the invisible, incomprehensible, and impassible God had become visible, comprehensible, and passible in the historical Jesus (Ignatius, *ad Polyc.* iii. 2); and this type of formulation, which, though it has a 'modalistic' complexion, was not put forward in a modalistic sense, and might be described as 'religious-modalistic,' or 'naive-modalistic,' was especially popular in the theological tradition of Asia Minor.[1] The sense in which such formulations were understood by the 'simplices' may be seen in the so-called modalistic Monarchianism. To that school of doctrine there was nothing objectionable in the idea that God had transformed Himself in the manner indicated, and it could be said of Him:

> Τοῦτον εἶναι ἀόρατον ὅτε μὴ ὁρᾶται, ὁρατὸν δὲ ὅτε ὁρᾶται· ἀγέννητον δὲ ὅτε μὴ γεννᾶται, γεννητὸν δὲ ὅταν γεννᾶται ἐκ Παρθένου· ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἀθάνατον ὅτε μὴ πάσχῃ μήτε θνήσκῃ, ἐπὰν δὲ πάθη προσέλθῃ, πάσχειν καὶ θνήσκειν (Hippolytus, *Philosoph.* x. 27; cf. Loofs, *Dogmengesch.* § 27, 3*b*, p. 185).

That in quarters where the subject of the Incarnation was found in the Logos as distinguished from the θεὸς πατήρ such conceptions should be transferred to the Logos by simple minds is not to be wondered at, and the fact of such transference is capable of proof. Basil the Great is acquainted with and argues against those who interpret the incarnation of the Logos in the sense that πᾶσα ἡ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς φύσις ἐτράπη (*Ep.* ccliii. 2), while in Hilary (*de Trin.* x. 57; cf. 50) and in Cyril of Alexandria (*adv. Anthropomorph.* 19 and 18; cf. *PRE*³ x. 250. 20 ff.) we have a polemic on the same lines. Thus, when at an earlier stage we find Celsus making sport of the notion that the θεὸς λόγος forsook His throne and suffered a μεταβολὴ ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ εἰς κακόν (Origen, *c. Celsum*, iv. 5 and 14), we need not imagine that he is maliciously indulging his wit in forced interpretations; it is likely enough that he had already encountered that conception of the ἐνανθρώπησις τοῦ λόγου which we can trace in the 4th century. And, indeed, does not the καταβαίνειν in Jn 3^{13} $6^{33.38}$ point back to such popular conceptions? At all events it must soon have suggested them; and, alike under the influence of the Johannine passages and apart from them, analogous ideas have been current among the masses in all periods. It may well be that they were not associated with the academic concept κένωσις, but so far as the notion was popularly understood it would derive its connotation from the ideas in question. Popular preaching and poetic language frequently adapted themselves to such views. Even to-day, in the evangelical songs of the Church, we are often told, *e.g.*, how the Son of God 'left His throne of glory,' and the like. In all periods, too, there have been theologians whose 'system' was cast in the mould of popular doctrine, or was at least largely indebted to it.

(*b*) *The Apologetic and Arian conceptions of the mutability of the Logos.*—In the early days of Christian theology, among certain of the 2nd cent. Apologists, there appears a train of thought which agreed to some extent with the popular conceptions just noticed, but differed from them widely in origin. Justin (*Dial.* cxxvii.), Theophilus of Antioch (*ad Autol.* ii. 22), and Tertullian, in conformity with the subordinationism of their philosophical doctrine of the Logos, and with a view to preserving both the philosophical idea of God as abstractly supramundane and the reality of the Biblical theophanies, resolved the ideas of God's becoming visible in Christ indicated above (*a*) into the idea that the Logos [who had appeared in Christ] was a *δεύτερος θεός* who was not equal to the *ἄρρητος πατήρ* in the plenitude of the Divine majesty, and was capable of becoming visible. This idea finds its most uncompromising form of expression in Tertullian—although in a manner that repeatedly betrays its original reference to the historical Christ:

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[1] Cf. Loofs, *Nestorius*, pp. 107–125.

[1] Cf. Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*⁴, Halle, 1906, § 21, 2*b*, p. 142.

> 'Constat eum semper visum esse ab initio qui visus fuerit in fine, et eum nec in fine visum qui nec ab initio fuit visus [cf. 1 Ti 6^{16}]; et ita duos esse, visum et invisum' (*adv. Prax.* xv.); 'quaecumque exigitis Deo digna habebuntur in Patre invisibili incongressibilique et placido et, ut ita dixerim, philosophorum Deo; quaecumque autem ut indigna reprehenditis deputabuntur in Filio et viso et audito et congresso' (*adv. Marc.* ii. 27).

That this idea was associated with the doctrine of the Kenosis by any of the Apologists can certainly not be proved; it is, in fact, hardly probable; for, so long as the 'Incarnation' could in some sense be brought into line with the theophanies of the OT, or with the operation of the Logos in philosophers (Justin, *Apol.* i. 5) and prophets, it was not an event of the kind that forced one to think of a self-limitation of the *θεὸς λόγος*: the *λόγος* had appeared *ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ* even to Joshua (Justin, *Dial.* lxi.); and Clement of Alexandria, who shared the Logos-conception of the Apologists, could actually say that the Logos also *διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐνεργήσας* **σὰρξ ἐγένετο** (*Excerpta*, xix.). But these notions of a 'Deus visibilis' existing side by side with the 'philosophorum Deus invisibilis' would have a very different effect among the people generally. Nor is there the slightest doubt that the Arian views of the *per se* mutable Son of God, who Himself became the subject of all the experiences of the historical Jesus, including His growth and His experience of hunger and pain, were connected by tradition with the Logos-doctrine of the Apologists, and it is probable that the Arians too made use of Ph 2^6 in the service of their Christology.

(*c*) *The orthodox doctrine of the immutability of the Logos.*—In the further development of the orthodox theology, if we are to judge by such utterances as are not designed merely for popular edification, the idea that the Logos *per se* could have relinquished invisibility for visibility, impassibility for passibility, and the Divine omnipresence for finite human existence was repudiated in the most positive terms. In Clement of Alexandria we may still trace an echo of his broad conception of incarnation indicated in (*b*) above, when he thus speaks:

> οὐ γὰρ ἐξίσταταί ποτε τῆς αὑτοῦ περιωπῆς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐ μεριζόμενος, οὐκ ἀποτεμνόμενος, οὐ μεταβαίνων ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον, πάντη δὲ ὢν πάντοτε καὶ μηδαμῇ περιεχόμενος (*Strom.* VII. ii. 5. 5).

All the later orthodox writers, when speaking in terms of theological science, express themselves in similar fashion. Origen makes use of the same ideas in order to parry the satire of Celsus referred to above. Celsus, he says, does not realize the power of God, nor does he realize that the Spirit of God fills the earth; God has descended in virtue of His *δύναμις*; the Logos, in becoming man, has neither passed from one locality to another nor undergone any other change; God changes not (Mal 3^6), *μένων γὰρ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἄτρεπτος συγκαταβαίνει τῇ προνοίᾳ καὶ τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασιν* (*c. Cels.* iv. 5 and 14; cf. v. 12). During the earthly life of Jesus, accordingly, the Logos was not confined 'intra brevissimi corporis claustra,' but rather 'et in corpore et ubique totus aderat Dei Filius' (*de Princ.* iv. 3 [30]).

This idea, viz. that during the earthly life of Jesus the Logos still continued to rule over all things, and that therefore He was not only wholly in Christ, but also wholly 'extra carnem'—a view which, as held also by the Calvinists, was spoken of by the orthodox Lutherans as the 'Extra Calvinisticum'—represents the settled belief of all the theologians of the early Church. Testimonies to its currency might be adduced alike from the East and from the West. To the theologians of the early Church it was, in view of the immutability of God, as obvious as it was unquestionable. Further, the Nicene Creed, in its anathemas, formulates as a dogma the thesis that the Logos is *ἄτρεπτος* and *ἀναλλοίωτος*. Of the theory that the Logos, in consequence of a mutation in His essential being, confined Himself to an existence in the historical Jesus, Basil the Great writes thus:

> τοῦτο οὐδένα ἡγοῦμαι νοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ κεκτημένον πάσχειν τὸ ἀρρώστημα (*Ep.* cclxii. 2).

(*d*) *The common doctrine of the Kenosis in the early Church.*—On the assumption that the ideas discussed above were valid, there remained only one theologically intelligible view of *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε* as implying an act of the Logos—the view, namely, to which Irenæus had given expression, though not in connexion with Ph 2^6:[1]

> συνενηπίαζεν <ὁ> υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, τέλειος ὤν, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, οὐ δι' ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νήπιον οὕτω χωρούμενος, ὡς ἄνθρωπος αὐτὸν χωρεῖν ἠδύνατο (IV. xxxviii. 2; cf. 1).

This view was adopted by Novatian (cf. **2** (*d*) above), and also by Origen:

> 'Per ipsam sui exinanitionem studet nobis deitatis plenitudinem demonstrare' (*de Princ.* I. ii. 8).

Origen explains it by a figure, and his idea may be concisely expressed as follows:

> Imagine a statue of such size as to fill the whole world—its very magnitude would preclude its being seen; a small copy of it in the same material, however, would give us some idea of it. Similarly, as we could not have beheld the splendour of the pure light flowing from the Divine majesty of the Logos, by His Kenosis He made it possible for us to look into His divine light; 'brevissimae insertus humani corporis formae ex operum virtutisque similitudine Dei Patris in se immensam atque invisibilem magnitudinem designabat' (*loc. cit.*).

Here the Kenosis is that self-limitation of the Logos which was involved in His manifestation in a human form, though at the same time He is not in any way limited as to His cosmic position. This conception of the Kenosis may be regarded as the recognized view of the early Church. It is the view alike of the theologians who refer the *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε* to the *λόγος ἄσαρκος*, and so identify *κένωσις* with *ἐνανθρώπησις* (**2** (*a*)), and of those who find the subject of *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε* in the *λόγος ἔνσαρκος*. For the theologians who identify *κένωσις* and *ἐνανθρώπησις* firmly believe, like the other group, that the Logos, notwithstanding His incarnation, remained *ἀναλλοίωτος*, and, as regards His divine place in the universe, unconditioned—*ἀκένωτος* (as Apollinaris himself puts it; cf. **4** (*b*) below). In the view of all these theologians, moreover, the two *μορφαί* are in reality co-existent, inasmuch as the *πρὸς θεὸν ἰσότης*—even according to Apollinaris (cf. **4** (*b*))—was still retained by the *λόγος ἔνσαρκος*. Both groups were alike convinced that the 'flesh,' *i.e.* the human vehicle of the manifestation, stood in the way of a complete revelation, or—what is the same thing, *κένωσις* and *κρύψις* being here identical—made it impossible for the Deity to reveal His majesty fully within the limitations involved. Thus the two interpretations given respectively in **2** (*a*) and **2** (*c*) above might frequently merge in each other. Nor, indeed, does the Pelagian exegesis (**2** (*b*) above), to which that of the Antiochians frequently approximates,[2] rest upon any other conception of the Kenosis. The idea that the Logos in assuming human nature surrendered the universal operation of His deity certainly seems very far removed from the idea that He became incarnate in a man who veiled the indwelling *πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος*, humbled Himself, etc. Yet, so long as the 'Extra Calvinisticum' (cf. (*c*) above) is adhered to, the Kenosis is taken in a sense essentially the same in both cases.

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[1] Cf., however, IV. xxiv. 2 [Massuet].

[2] Cf. also Justinian, *adv. Nonnullos*, etc. (*PG* lxxxvi. 1, col. 1063 A).

4. Diverse aspects of the early Church theories.—It is nevertheless undeniable that the theories regarding ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε propounded by the early theologians seem to differ very greatly from one another. The extreme poles of the variation are found in Apollinaris and Pelagius. But the differences do not arise out of any essential disparity of view regarding the Kenosis; they are due rather to the various degrees in which theological theory is mingled with popular doctrine.

(*a*) *The influence of popular doctrine upon the orthodox theologians.*—Although Clement of Alexandria held, as already noted, that a μεταβαίνειν ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον could not possibly be ascribed to the Logos, we nevertheless find him saying: αὐτὸς κατῆλθε (*Quis dives*, xxxvii. 2). Origen often expresses himself in similar fashion, and, indeed, no theologian of the following period ever quite discarded the formulæ and symbols of the popular conception of the ἐνανθρώπησις. Even the Nicene Creed, immediately before its anathema upon the ἀλλοιωτὸν λέγοντας εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, speaks of τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς κατελθόντα. Frequently, too, the old 'religious-modalistic' view of the person of Jesus, or the plethora of rhetorical language that to some extent adopted its terms, made its influence felt. Gregory of Nazianzen, *e.g.*, writes thus:

> μεταβαίνει τόπον ἐκ τόπου ὁ μηδενὶ τόπῳ χωρούμενος, ὁ ἄχρονος, ὁ ἀσώματος, ὁ ἀπερίληπτος (*Orat.* xxxvii. 2);

and yet he not only accepts, as is shown by these words, the 'Extra Calvinisticum,' but still adheres to the essentially 'Nestorian' view of Origen, viz. that the Incarnation was effected 'substantia animae inter Deum carnemque mediante':

> ὁ ἀχώρητος χωρεῖται διὰ μέσης ψυχῆς νοερᾶς μεσιτευούσης θεότητι καὶ σαρκὸς παχύτητι (*Orat.* xxxviii. 13).

(*b*) *Apollinaris of Laodicea.*—Of all the theologians of the early Church it was Apollinaris of Laodicea who accommodated his views most fully to popular dogmatics. His doctrine of the Incarnation, according to which the Logos is the νοῦς of the μία φύσις σύνθετος of Christ, might even be described as a materially and formally ingenious attempt to mould the popular views of the ἐνανθρώπησις into a theological theory. In Apollinaris, indeed, we find statements that seem to indicate a type of Kenosis implying a real change in the λόγος:

> σάρκωσις κένωσις (Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, frag. 124, p. 237); εἰ μὴ νοῦς ἔνσαρκος γέγονεν ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ σοφία ἦν ἐν τῷ νῷ, οὐ κατέβη ὁ κύριος οὐδὲ ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν (*ib.* frag. 71, p. 221, 14 f.). Yet he also says: κενώσας μὲν ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τὴν μόρφωσιν <δούλου>, ἀκένωτος δὲ καὶ ἀναλλοίωτος κατὰ τὴν θείαν οὐσίαν (οὐδεμία γὰρ ἀλλοίωσις περὶ τὴν θείαν φύσιν) οὐδὲ ἐλαττοῦται οὐδὲ αὐξάνεται (*de Unione*, 6, Lietzmann, p. 188, 1); οὐκ ἄρα μετέπεσεν ἡ πρὸς θεὸν ἰσότης, ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτος ἡ θεότης ἔμεινεν ἐν ταυτότητι (*ib.* 15, p. 192, 2 f.).

Even in Apollinaris, therefore, notwithstanding his affinity to the popular doctrine, there is no place for a theory of the Kenosis which diverges from the general tradition of the early Church (cf. 3 (*d*) above).

(*c*) *The Antiochians.*—It is true that the Christology which is furthest removed from Apollinarianism, *i.e.* that of Nestorius, and that of Pelagius (which coincides with the latter in many of its formulæ), does not merely 'seem to differ.' In so far as, in the divergence referred to, the question regarding the agent in the person of Christ was brought to discussion in the theorizings of the early theologians, the differences are profound. The Nestorian doctrine of the Kenosis (cf. Loofs, *Nestorius*, p. 82 ff.) is a lucid development of the Kenotic views to which Irenæus and Novatian had already given expression, and which were never really discarded by the theology of the early Church—a development which had disengaged itself as far as possible from popular dogmatics. The Apollinarian doctrine, on the other hand, tends unquestionably to pass beyond the earlier views and to advance towards a conception of the Kenosis more akin to the popular idea. This tendency also appears, though to a slighter degree, in Cyril's theory of a ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν of the two natures in Christ which is not clearly distinguished from a ἕνωσις φυσική, and also in the orthodox Chalcedonian doctrine of the ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν, although that doctrine was put forward as an 'unio personalis.' In the early Church, however—even in the hands of Apollinaris and the Monophysites—the tendency never attained its final development. This would have been secured only if the idea of the μία φύσις σύνθετος with which Apollinaris had at least attempted to deal in a serious fashion,[1] the idea of the ἕνωσις φυσική, to which Cyril sometimes attaches the same meaning,[2] and that of the ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν had been fully wrought out in Greek theological thought. But the Apollinarian theory of the μία φύσις σύνθετος and the allied idea of a ἕνωσις φυσική conflicted with that ἀναλλοίωτον εἶναι of the Logos which was likewise maintained, and also with the accredited doctrine that the Logos had not forfeited His πρὸς θεὸν ἰσότης, while, in the orthodox tradition, the theory of the ἕνωσις καθ' ὑπόστασιν broke down in face of Theopaschitism, since even the idea that εἷς τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος πέπονθε σαρκί adds nothing to the theologically unserviceable paradox of Athanasius: αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ πάσχων καὶ μὴ πάσχων (*Ep. ad Epict.* 6). Nothing but an earnest and resolute handling of the ἕνωσις φυσική in an unreserved Theopaschitism could have yielded a real Kenosis of the Logos. But could the Monophysite theologians, who attached great importance to the Trisagion in its monophysitically expanded form, unreservedly maintain the idea expressed in the words ἀθάνατος . . . σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς?

5. The Kenosis in the Middle Ages, and in the Roman Catholic Church.—Mediæval theology, so far as it was concerned at all with the idea of the Kenosis—the idea certainly never stands out prominently—continued to adhere to the consensus of the early Church in its Western form. The same may be said of Roman Catholic dogma at the present day. Thus, according to Wetzer and Welte (*Kirchen-Lexikon*, iii.^{2} [1884] 271) 'semet ipsum exinanivit' (Ph 2^7) is affirmed of Christ's assumption of human nature, 'and not, as pseudo-mystics and many Protestant theologians believe, of His divine nature and person *per se.*' The *Kirchen-Lexikon* (xii.^{2} [1901] 179) can speak of the neo-Protestant theory (see below, 8) thus summarily dismissed only in the most caustic terms:

> 'Even the overt denial of the hypostatic union is hardly a more mischievous attack upon the deity of Christ than this "Kenosis," which subverts the essential nature of God Himself; not unjustly has Biedermann characterized this doctrine as "a complete kenosis of the understanding."'

6. The Kenosis in the Reformed theology.—The Kenosis was insisted upon more strongly by the so-called Reformed theology, which found the subject of ἐκένωσε in the Logos—whether ἄσαρκος, as becoming man, or ἔνσαρκος—and connected the idea with its doctrine of the 'states' of Christ. In the earlier theologians of the Reformed Church, in fact, we occasionally find assertions which readily explain why certain Lutherans spoke of a special 'Reformed doctrine of the Kenosis':

> 'Christus in assumpta forma servi sese evacuavit omni sua gloria divina, maiestate, omnipotentia, omnipræsentia' (H. Zanchi, in A. Schweizer, *Die Glaubenslehre der evangel.-reformierten Kirche*, ii., Zürich, 1847, p. 297).

The sense in which such utterances are to be understood, however, is made clear by Zanchi himself in his interpretation of ἐκένωσε as an action of the Logos:

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[1] Cf. Lietzmann, frag. 113, p. 234: μεσότης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐν Χριστῷ· οὐκ ἄρα οὔτε ἄνθρωπος ὅλος οὔτε θεός, ἀλλὰ θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπου μίξις.

[2] *De recta Fide*, xl. [*PG* lxxvi. 1198 B]: Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς . . . εἰς ἕν τι τὸ μεταξὺ συγκείμενος.

> 'Gloriam illam et maiestatem in qua erat apud patrem, ita abdiderit in forma servi, ut ea penitus evacuasse visus sit, quia nimirum illa gloria in carne non fulgebat, ut ab omnibus conspici possit' (in H. Schultz, *Die Lehre von der Gottheit Christi*, Gotha, 1881, p. 178).

Thus the Reformed theology, even in assertions that seem to go beyond the early Church tradition, does not really break away from the latter. It retained the 'Extra Calvinisticum' in all its precision:

> 'Cum divinitas comprehendi non queat et omni loco praesens sit, necessario consequitur, esse eam quidem extra naturam humanam quam assumpsit, sed nihilo minus tamen esse in eadem eique personaliter unitam permanere' (*Catechismus Palat.*, quæst. 78). 'Sic λόγος naturam humanam sibi univit ut totus eam inhabitet et totus, quippe immensus et infinitus, extra eam sit' (S. Maresius, in M. Schneckenburger, *Zur kirchlichen Christologie*, Pforzheim, 1847, p. 9, note 2).

And, where the Reformed theology connects the exaltation with *both* natures, this is to be understood in the sense that the 'divina natura exaltata est κατά τι, patefactione maiestatis quae in statu exinanitionis tanquam sub velo sese occultaverat' (J. H. Alstedt, in Schweizer, *op. cit.* ii. 345).

7. The Kenosis in orthodox Lutheran doctrine.—The Lutherans and the 'Kenoticists' of the 19th cent. were in their respective ways the first to strike out upon really fresh lines. Luther, who, at an early stage (A.D. 1518; Weimar ed., 1883 ff., i. 268 f.), and, as always (cf. *PRE*^{3} x. 259), in dependence upon Erasmus (Letter of Feb. 1519, in E. L. Enders, *Briefwechsel Luthers*, Calw and Stuttgart, 1903, i. 439. 65) and in conscious opposition to the Fathers who Ph 2$^{\text{ff.}}$ 'ad divinitatem torserunt' (Enders, p. 440. 93), had referred the ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε to the historical Christ, and to Him 'secundum humanitatem' (*ib.* p. 93), was led, in consequence of the sacramentarian controversy, to give definite expression to his conviction that Christ was 'Deus revelatus,' precisely in His humanity, in the genuinely scholastic theologoumenon of his doctrine of Christ's omnipresence:

> 'Where you set God before me, there you must set before me the Humanity likewise: they cannot be separated . . . it has become one person' (*Bekenntnis*, Erlangen ed., 1826–57, xxx. 212).

As regards Luther himself, we may doubt (cf. *PRE*^{3} x. 259) whether, apart from his theory regarding the presence of Christ's body in the Supper, he ever seriously grappled with the idea that the humanity of Christ had in a real 'communicatio' received the divine attributes at the inception of the 'unio personalis' in the Virgin's womb; but, as regards the Formula of Concord (1577), there can be no question that this idea was endorsed in all seriousness:

> 'Quod ad maiestatem attinet ad quam Christus secundum humanitatem suam exaltatus est, non eam tum demum accepit, cum a mortuis resurrexit et ad coelos ascendit, sed tum cum in utero matris conciperetur' (*Sol. decl.* viii. 13).

Here the question how, on this assumption, the 'status exinanitionis' is distinguished from the 'status exaltationis' still remained outside the sphere of living interest, and thus received no distinct answer. Even the idea that the Kenosis, which, in agreement with Luther and all the later orthodox Lutherans, was ascribed to the 'humanitas Christi,' presupposed a κτῆσις ('possessio') of the 'idiomata divina' on the part of Christ's human nature in His 'status exinanitionis' was not rigorously adhered to; and still less was the question debated whether, the κτῆσις being assumed, the Kenosis should be regarded only as a κρύψις χρήσεως ('usurpationis') or as a κένωσις χρήσεως; art. viii. 64 seems to assume no more than a κρύψις χρήσεως, while in art. viii. 26 it is asserted that Christ 'secundum assumptam naturam, ad plenam *possessionem* et divinae maiestatis *usurpationem* evectus est' only in virtue of His exaltation.

It was the controversy between the Tübingen and the Giessen theologians (1616–27)—who were at one in their view of the κτῆσις—that first brought this Lutheran problem regarding the Kenosis into the field of serious debate. The Tübingen group, who thought of the κένωσις only as a κρύψις χρήσεως, thereby fell into manifest absurdities and a concealed Docetism. Of the Giessen group, Balthasar Mentzer († 1627) tried to establish the theory that the Kenosis was a κένωσις χρήσεως by arguments[1] which must be regarded as an attempt to supplant the idea of a substance with permanently—even if only potentially—inherent properties (an idea prevalent in the doctrine of the Natures, as also in the doctrine of God) by the idea of the living actuality. Mentzer's formulation triumphed over the Tübingen theologians, but the profounder thoughts by which he tried to establish it were soon forgotten.

8. The modern 'Kenoticists.'—Views forming a complete contrast to those of orthodox Lutheranism—views, indeed, which the Formula of Concord bans with an anathema (*Epitome*, viii. 39)—are found among the modern 'Kenotic' theologians, who regard the κένωσις as a real surrender of the 'forma Dei' for the 'forma servi,' and thus assume that the Logos, in order to become man, actually renounced, either wholly or in part, His divine attributes. Such ideas, which recall the popular dogmatics of earlier and later times (cf. 3 (*a*) above), soon emerged sporadically in Protestant theology. They crop out in Menno Simons († 1559);[2] N. L. Zinzendorf († 1760) developed them with all the self-confidence of a lay theologian,[3] and, following the fresh line taken by F. C. Oetinger († 1782), P. M. Hahn († 1790), and other Pietists, the Pietistic physician Samuel Collenbusch († 1803) published lengthy disquisitions on the same side.[4] In the confessional theology of Neo-Lutheranism the first to advocate kindred views was E. W. Sartorius (1831 and 1832). It is possible that popular views supplied the incentive to some of these pioneers of the modern doctrine of the Kenosis. But the present writer thinks that this does not apply to the modern doctrine itself, which originated rather in the endeavour at once to maintain the Trinitarian doctrine of the early Church and to do justice to the true humanity of Jesus Christ and the unity of His person. The writer who gave the doctrine its scientific foundation was G. Thomasius († 1875);[5] and, in Germany, his views, with more or less modification, were adopted by many Lutherans—C. T. A. Liebner († 1871), C. K. Hofmann († 1877), W. F. Gess († 1891), C. F. A. Kahnis († 1888), Franz Delitzsch († 1890), F. Frank († 1894), C. E. Luthardt († 1902), and others—and by a few Reformed theologians, *e.g.* J. P. Lange († 1884) and J. H. A. Ebrard († 1888). In French Switzerland the new doctrine found an early adherent in F. Godet († 1900). It first gained a footing in Britain about 1889,[6] by which date fresh tendencies were already asserting themselves in Germany. As recently as 1903, Sweden had a convinced champion of the doctrine in O. Bensow (see literature at end of art.). The views of these writers vary greatly in detail—appearing now in a purely Biblical (Godet) and now in a speculative (Liebner, Hofmann, Frank) form, here showing great restraint, there venturing upon the most daring conclusions (Gess)—and cannot be set forth here; we must simply refer the reader to Bensow's historical introduction (pp. 42–127) and to the works of Dorner, Schultz, and Günther cited below.

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[1] Cf. E. Weber, *Der Einfluss der protest. Schulphilosophie auf die orthodox-lutherische Dogmatik*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 163 ff.

[2] 'Van der Menschwerdinge,' *Opera Omnia Theologica*, Amsterdam, 1681, p. 361*a*.

[3] Cf. B. Becker, *Zinzendorf*, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 387–392.

[4] Cf. *PRE*^{3} iv. 238.

[5] *Beiträge zur kirchlichen Christologie*, Nuremberg, 1845. *Christi Person und Werk*, 3 vols., Erlangen, 1853–61,^{3} Leipzig, 1886–88.

[6] Cf. W. Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, Oxford, 1910, p. 74 ff.

One brief observation, however, should be made. The modern theory of the Kenosis is consistent only on condition that it surrenders everything in the nature of an 'Extra Calvinisticum.' Thomasius, in fact, actually ventures to say in his *Beiträge* (p. 236):

> 'The Logos reserved to Himself neither a special existence nor a special knowledge outside His humanity. He truly became man.'

Such a view certainly secures the true humanity of Jesus and the unity of His person. But as certainly it traverses the immutability of God, and it is fraught with conclusions most incongruous with the conception of the Trinity. If, again, the 'Extra Calvinisticum' be in any degree retained—as it always is when, say, the 'immanent' and the 'relative' attributes of God are distinguished in such a way that the latter alone are regarded as having been relinquished by the Logos—then (to say nothing of the logical difficulties) the theory does not secure what it aimed at securing, viz. the unity of the person of Jesus. If, however, in order to obviate the logical difficulties, the Kenoticists, in their statements regarding the divine nature and its 'idiomata,' seek to bring the ancient doctrine of substance more or less into conformity with that of the living reality, the result is a blurring of the distinction between their own theory and the Christology most repugnant to them, *i.e.* 'Nestorianism.' Moreover, the modern theory of the Kenosis, in all its forms, still carries an air of presumption, inasmuch as it ventures upon constructions which would have a meaning only if God's relation to the world, or, let us say, the relation of the Logos to God, and His divine and divine-human self-consciousness, could be grasped—and analyzed—by the finite mind of man.

9. Estimate and conclusion.—Does the foregoing discussion throw any light upon the κένωσις in Ph $2^{6\text{ff.}}$? The present writer ventures to think that it does. The early Church exegesis of the passage and the early Church theory of the Kenosis would seem to throw us back upon an interpretation of St. Paul's words that starts from the integral personality of the historical Jesus. In the Jesus Christ of history there dwelt πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος. Can we not therefore also say that He was ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ? This question, more especially in consideration of Gn 1^{26} (ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν), 2 Co 4^{4} (Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ), and 2 Co 3^{18} (τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μεταμορφούμεθα; cf. Ro 12^{2} μεταμορφοῦσθε τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοός), is, as we think, to be answered in the affirmative. Adam desired to grasp at equality with God (Gn $3^{5\text{ff.}}$); but He in whom dwelt τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος, οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε, κτλ. No exegete of the early Church ever hazarded the mythological idea that the Logos surrendered the μορφὴ θεοῦ for the μορφὴ ἀνθρώπου. What, then, is there to justify our ascribing the idea to the Apostle? His words refer to the historical Christ. The theory of Irenæus, that the Incarnation, the self-manifestation of God in a human life, necessarily entailed a self-limitation of God or of the Logos—οὕτω χωρούμενος, ὡς ἄνθρωπος αὐτὸν χωρεῖν ἠδύνατο (cf. 3 (*a*) above)—cannot certainly be finally set aside, since as human beings we must perforce think and speak of divine operations in human terms. But it is hardly likely that in Ph $2^{6\text{ff.}}$ St. Paul had any such thought. And apart from the (as the present writer believes) erroneous application of Ph 2^{6} to the Logos, it is improbable that any theologian would ever have spoken of such a self-limitation as a 'Kenosis.'

Literature.—In addition to Histories of Dogma, text-books of Dogmatics and Biblical Theology, and Commentaries on Philippians, see M. Schneckenburger, *Zur kirchlichen Christologie*, Pforzheim, 1847; I. A. Dorner, *Entwickelungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi*², 2 vols., Stuttgart and Berlin, 1845–53 (Eng. tr., 5 vols., Edinburgh, 1861–63); A. Tholuck, *Disputatio Christologica de loco Pauli Ep. ad Phil. ii. 6–9*, Halle, 1848; I. A. Dorner, 'Über die richtige Fassung des dogmatischen Begriffs der Unveränderlichkeit Gottes,' in *JDTh* i.–iii. [1856–58]; G. Thomasius, *Christi Person und Werk*, ii.², Erlangen, 1857; E. H. Gifford, *The Incarnation: A Study of Philippians ii. 5–11*, London, 1897; F. Loofs, art. 'Kenosis' in *PRE*³ x. [1901] 246–263; O. Bensow, *Die Lehre von der Kenose*, Leipzig, 1903; W. Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, Oxford, 1910; H. Schultz, *Lehre von der Gottheit Christi*, Gotha, 1881; E. Günther, *Die Entwicklung der Lehre von der Person Christi im 19ten Jahrhundert*, Tübingen, 1911; H. Cremer, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der neutestamentl. Gräzität*¹⁰, ed. J. Kögel, pts. 1–6, Gotha, 1911–13.

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KĒRES (Κήρ, Κῆρες).—In singular or plural form the word occurs countless times in Greek literature of all periods; it is 'perhaps the most untranslatable of all Greek words' (J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*², p. 212), ranging from a vivid sense of personal vital energy to mere metaphor out of which all literal meaning has faded.[1]

Kēres are primarily sprites or spiritual beings (δαίμονες), invisible yet very real agents, not mere impersonations; the conception is wider and more vital than that of ghosts. Kēres are evil, or at least generally associated with evil for human bodies and souls, and, indeed, all earthly things.

> 'There are many fair things in human life, but in most of them are, as it were, adherent Kēres which pollute and spoil them'—οἷον κῆρες ἐπιπεφύκασιν, αἳ καταμιαίνουσιν αὐτά (Plato, *Laws*, xi. 937 D)—'like a sort of personified bacilli' (J. E. Harrison, p. 166). Cf. Clemens Alex. *Strom.* vi. ii. 21 (p. 749): Θεόπομπος γράφει· 'εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸν κίνδυνον τὸν παρόντα διαφυγόντας ἀδεῶς διάγειν τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον, οὐκ ἂν ἦν θαυμαστὸν φιλοψυχεῖν, νῦν δὲ τοσαῦται κῆρες τῷ βίῳ παραπεφύκασιν ὥστε τὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις θάνατον αἱρετώτερον εἶναι δοκεῖν.'

All diseases are caused by, or rather are, these spirits, which find entrance to body and mind despite all precautions:

> νοῦσοι δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ ἠδ' ἐπὶ νυκτὶ | αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι, κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι | σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητιέτα Ζεύς (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 102 ff.).

Originally these evil sprites, all the manifold ills of man, were shut fast in the great jar (πίθος), but in an evil hour Pandora lifted the lid, and they all flew out (*ib.* 90 ff.).[2] Since that day a swarm (Æsch. *Suppl.* 684: νούσων δ' ἑσμὸς . . . ἀτερπής) as of noxious insects hovers unseen in wait for man, spirits of calamity, disease, madness, old age, and death, from which he cannot hide or escape:

> Κῆρες ἐφεστᾶσιν θανάτοιο | μυρίαι, ἃς οὐκ ἔστι φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ' ὑπαλύξαι (Hom. *Il.* xii. 326 f.);

they are so closely packed that the spike of a blade of corn cannot pass between them:

> ὅτι 'πλείη μὲν γαῖα κακῶν πλείη δὲ θάλασσα', καὶ 'τοιάδε θνητοῖσι κακὰ | κακῶν ἀμφί τε κῆρες εἰλεῦνται, | κενὴ δ' εἴσδυσις οὐδ' ἀθέρι'[3] (fr. in Plut. *Consol. ad Apoll.* 26).

Even Hope (Ἐλπίς), just like other human passions, is often an evil Kēr:

> ἁ γὰρ δὴ πολύπλαγκτος Ἐλπὶς | πολλοῖς μὲν ὄνασις ἀνδρῶν, | πολλοῖς δ' Ἀπάτα κουφονόων ἐρώτων (Soph. *Ant.* 615 ff.)—'to many is a Delusion that wings the dreams of desire'—an external agent luring men to ruin.[4]

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[1] The collection of passages in Roscher extends to eleven closely packed pages. The word is connected with Skr. *śar*, 'tear asunder, injure, destroy,' O. Ir. *ir-chre*, 'destruction,' etc. (E. Boisacq, *Dict. étymol. de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg, 1907 ff., pp. 450, 435).

[2] πρὶν μὲν γὰρ ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων | νόσφιν ἄτερ τε κακῶν, καὶ ἄτερ χαλεποῖο πόνοιο, | νούσων τ' ἀργαλέων, αἵτ' ἀνδράσι κῆρας ἔδωκαν. For the last words ('grievous diseases which give Kēres to men') J. E. Harrison (art. 'Pandora's Box' in *JHS* xx. [1900] 103) proposes ἅστ' ἀνδράσι Κῆρες ἔδωκαν ('which Kēres give to men'). This is probably right.

[3] ἀθέρι is G. Murray's correction of the MS αἰθέρι. Cf. καὶ ὡς ἔφη τις τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σοφῶν κενὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὅσον ἀθέρα καὶ τρίχα βαλεῖν, in the dialogue *Theophrastus* (p. 399 E) by Æneas of Gaza.

[4] Cf. Thuc. v. 103 (the Melian dialogue), where, 'in a style of labyrinthine contortion' (Dion. Hal. *Thucyd.* 40), he makes

So Demokritos calls Jealousy, Envy, and Hatred Κῆρες:

οὐκ ὀλίγας κῆρας ἐν τῷ βίῳ διώσεαι, φθόνον καὶ ζῆλον καὶ δυσμενίην (fr. 191 = Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*³, Berlin, 1912, ii. 101; cf. fr. 285: γινώσκειν χρεὼν ἀνθρωπίνην βιοτὴν ἀφαυρήν τε ἐοῦσαν καὶ ὀλιγοχρόνιον, πολλῇσιν δὲ κηρσὶ συμπεφυρμένην καὶ ἀμηχανίῃσιν).

Theophrastos, in his *de Caus. plant.* v. x. 4, says that each locality has its own peculiar Kēres dangerous to plants, some coming from the soil, others from the air—the naive explanation of men facing the bewildering mutability of Nature before her 'laws' were discovered.

From the swarm of minor ills, two emerge and impress the Greek mind as most relentless and most to be dreaded—Old Age and Death:

Κῆρες δὲ παρεστήκασι μέλαιναι· | ἡ μὲν ἔχουσα τέλος γήραος ἀργαλέου, | ἡ δ' ἑτέρη θανάτοιο (Mimnerm. ii. 5 ff.; cf. Theognis, 765 f., where the prayer τηλοῦ δὲ κακὰς ἀπὸ κῆρας ἀμῦναι, | γῆράς τ' οὐλόμενον, καὶ θανάτοιο τέλος strongly expresses the sense of the personal reality of Kēres; just as in 835—Δισσαί τοι πόσιος κῆρες—the Kēres of Thirst and Drunkenness lurk in the wine-cup, not in a mere metaphorical sense).

The combination 'Kēres of Death' tended to be narrowed in meaning to that of Death simply and the fate of Death; this is the familiar Homeric semi-abstract use in the oft-recurring phrase κὴρ θανάτοιο (generally, but not everywhere, correctly rendered 'fate of death'). In Hom. *Od.* xii. 157, ἤ κεν ἀλευάμενοι θάνατον καὶ κῆρα φύγοιμεν, we seem to 'catch the word at a moment of transition' (J. E. Harrison, p. 174). In one passage only in the *Iliad* (xviii. 535—the Shield of Achilles) is a Kēr materialized, as it were, and exhibited as a demon of slaughter raging on the battle-field; but that is in a work of plastic art. This is further developed in Hesiod (*Shield of Hercules*, 249 f.: a crowd of 'blue-black Kēres' [κῆρες κυάνεαι]; cf. Paus. v. xix. 6: description of a female figure inscribed Kēr on the chest of Kypselos at Olympia).

The conception of Kēres of blessings, and especially of a Kēr within a man as in some sort a Genius, or δαίμων, on which his life depends for good or evil, is almost completely overlaid by the more baneful aspect (cf. the διχθάδιαι κῆρες of Achilles in Hom. *Il.* ix. 411; Hes. *Theog.* 217). Probably this idea lies at the root of the curious Hesiodic epithet κηριτρεφής (*Works and Days*, 416), not 'nourished for death,' but 'Kēr-nourished'[1]—the word bearing witness to a 'primitive doubleness of functions when the Kēres were demons of all work' (J. E. Harrison, p. 185), analogous to the Moirai which control human weal and woe. This conception was never developed to any precision, and remains, even in Homer, incoherent and self-contradictory (see B. Niese, *Entwickelung der hom. Poesie*, Berlin, 1882, p. 34, note 1).

Something of what the Athenians thought about Kēres is discoverable from the customs connected with the Anthesteria, or Feast of All Souls—a festival overlaid in classical times with Dionysiac elements originally foreign and of more recent date.[2] Its real meaning is indicated by the ritual command spoken apparently on the last day, called Chytroi—'Out of the house, ye Kēres! 'tis no longer Anthesteria' (θύραζε κῆρες, οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀνθεστήρια—ὡς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Ἀνθεστηρίοις τῶν ψυχῶν περιερχομένων, Suid. *s.v.* θύραζε).[3] The festival was a great placation of ancestral ghosts, who had been summoned from the tomb on the first day, the Pithoigia (πίθος, 'burial-urn' or 'jar'), which came to be misunderstood as a festival of the opening of the wine-jar and first tasting of the new wine, when the three days of the Anthesteria became a revel of Dionysos (cf. G. Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, New York, 1912, p. 30; and Phot. *s.v.* μιαρὰ ἡμέρα: ἐν τοῖς Χουσὶν Ἀνθεστεριῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾧ δοκοῦσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν τελευτησάντων ἀνιέναι).[1]

Kēres, therefore, were also souls of the dead, and on vases they appear as gnat-like figures, winged, but in other respects human, flitting about the grave-mound, or enclosed within it (reff. in Roscher). As ghosts (εἴδωλα) they are powerful for good, but more specially for evil, and quick to take offence (cf. schol. in Aristoph. *Av.* 1490: ἥρωες δυσόργητοι καὶ χαλεποὶ τοῖς ἐμπελάζουσι γίγνονται—quoted in Rohde, *Psyche*⁴, p. 246, note 4). They become ministers of death, and actually hale off living souls[2] (cf. Hom. *Od.* xiv. 207; Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* iv. 1665 ff.: 'Medeia invoked the Death-spirits, devourers of life, the swift hounds of Hades, who, hovering through all the air, swoop down upon the living' [R. C. Seaton, in *Loeb Class. Libr.*, London, 1912]).

Most potent for evil is the vengeful ghost of a murdered man, which has gone to join the great company of maleficent 'elementals':

ὦ μεγάλαυχοι καὶ φθερσιγενεῖς | Κῆρες Ἐρινύες, αἵτ' Οἰδιπόδα | γένος ὠλέσατε πρύμνοθεν οὕτως (Æsch. *Sept.* 1054 ff.).

The word Erinys in this combination Κῆρες Ἐρινύες was originally simply a descriptive epithet meaning 'angry ones,' just as Eumenides is 'kindly ones.'[3] So 'the idea of Erinys as distinct from Kēr is developed out of a human relation intensely felt' (J. E. Harrison, p. 214)—as Plato probably recognized (*Laws*, ix. 865). Already in Homer, however, the Erinyes are no longer human souls, but avengers of souls upon the living (see *Il.* ix. 571: τῆς δ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινὺς ἔκλυεν—when summoned by Althaia to avenge her *two* brothers). Abstraction being pushed still further, the Erinyes become avengers of offences against all moral law, or even the laws of physical Nature:

τῷ δ' ἄλγεα κάλλιπ' ὀπίσσω | πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα τε μητρὸς ἐρινύες ἐκτελέουσιν (Hom. *Od.* xi. 279 f.)—compared with *Od.* ii. 135 f.: ἐπεὶ μήτηρ στυγερὰς ἀρήσετ' ἐρινῦς, | οἴκου ἀπερχομένη. See also *Il.* ix. 454 and xix. 259, 418.[4]

Formless in Homer, they were first differentiated from Kēres and analogous mythological figures, and portrayed in visible shape in drama, by Æschylus (*Eumen.* 46 ff.). The more primitive view of them reappears later in literature at intervals, as, *e.g.*, in Sophocles (*Œd. Tyr.* 471 and 481), as embodied Dooms (cf. Eur. *Elek.* 1252). It would be hard to prove that the primitive conception ever died out completely.

LITERATURE.—A long art. by O. Crusius, in Roscher, ii. (1890–1897), gives the fullest collection of passages, chronologically arranged; see also O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, ii., Munich, 1906 (in I. von Müller, *Handb. der klass. Altertumswiss.*). The fullest general treatment, apart from mere accumulation of references, is J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*², Cambridge, 1908.

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the Athenians speak of Hope as turning out for evil for mankind. Eros retained to the last his resemblance to Kēres in being represented with wings.

[1] O. Crusius aptly brings the epithet κηριτρεφής into connexion with the words of Hippokrates (Περὶ ἐνυπνίων, 2, p. 14 K): ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀποθανόντων αἱ τροφαὶ καὶ αὐξήσεις καὶ σπέρματα γίγνονται. See E. Rohde, *Psyche*⁴, Tübingen, 1907, p. 247, note 1.

[2] For the name see A. W. Verrall's art. 'The Name Anthesteria' in *JHS* xx. [1900] 115 ff. (cf. J. E. Harrison, p. 32 f.). It is derived from ἀναθέσσασθαι, and is a Feast of Revocation of the dead.

[3] Suidas gives as a usual form θύραζε Κᾶρες, κτλ. This has a certain plausibility, as we know that the household servants were admitted to the festivities and licence of the Pithoigia. 'Probably in classical days κῆρες had already become an old-fashioned word for souls, and the formulary may have been easily misunderstood' (J. E. Harrison, p. 35, note 1). A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 386, will not accept this. But cf. the Lemuria at Rome (W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, p. 106).

[1] These ideas and practices of the Athenians were probably a survival from the pre-Hellenic stratum of race and religion.

[2] Cf. the beautiful vase fragment published in *JHS* xii. (1891) 340, where a Κὴρ θανάτοιο, a small winged figure, hovers over the head of a dying warrior, and is in the act of taking the breath of life from his lips—according to the probable interpretation.

[3] See Paus. VIII. xxv. 4: τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι καλοῦσιν ἐρινύειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, and cf. the story told in Paus. I. xliii. 7 about Koroibos, who slew the fiend Poine, the avenging ghost of the child of Psamathe; cf. *Anthol. Pal.* vii. 154: εἰμὶ δὲ Κὴρ τυμβοῦχος, ὁ δὲ κτείνας με Κόροιβος.

[4] So even an injured dog was said to have his Erinys.

KESHAB CHANDRA SEN.—See BRĀHMA SAMĀJ.

KEYS.—See LOCKS AND KEYS.

KEYS (Power).—See BINDING AND LOOSING.

KHĀKĪS.—A Rāmaite Vaiṣṇava sect of N. India, said to have been founded by Kīlh, a disciple of Kṛṣṇa-Dāsa Paya-ahārī, the disciple of Anantānanda, the disciple of Rāmānanda.[1] He therefore flourished at the end of the 16th century. The name of the sect is derived from the Persian *ḫāk*, 'ashes,' and, in spite of its traditional foundation by Kīlh, it claims to have existed from the time of the banishment of Rāma-Chandra from Ayodhyā, as described in the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rāma's brother, Lakṣmaṇa, is said, in his grief, to have smeared his body with ashes. Hence he was called 'Khākī,' and his admiring followers bear that name to the present day.[2] Their principal seat is accordingly at Ayodhyā, in the present Faizābād District of the United Provinces, where they have an *akhāṛhā*, or cloister, founded by one Dayā Rām from Chitrakoṭ in Bundelkhaṇḍ—another locality hallowed by the Rāma story—in the days of Shujāu-'d-daula, the Nawāb Vizier of Oudh (1754–75). In 1905 the Order numbered 180 persons, of whom 50 were resident and the rest itinerant. The then head was eleventh in succession from the founder. At the temple of Hanumāngaṛhī[3] in the same city, dedicated to the monkey-god Hanumān, the friend and helper of Rāma, the priesthood consists of these Khākī ascetics.[4]

Another cloister of the sect, of some local celebrity, exists at Luṇāvāḍā, in the Rewakantha State, lying between Gujarāt and Rājputānā, with an important branch at Ahmadābād.[5] This, together with the fact recorded by Nābhā-Dāsa (*loc. cit.*) that Kīlh himself belonged to a Gujarāt family, lends countenance to the hearsay statement of H. H. Wilson[6] that the *samādh*, or spiritual throne of the founder, is in Jaipur in Rājputānā.

Our knowledge of the customs and doctrines of the Khākīs is confined to what is said by Wilson (*op. cit.*). Although Vaiṣṇavas, and worshippers of Rāma, Sītā, and, especially, Hanumān, in accordance with the Indian tendency to syncretism they have adopted several Śaiva customs, such as the use of ash-smearing, dressing the hair in the fashion of the Śiva *jaṭā*, going about almost naked, and the use of the term *samādh* for the throne of their founder. Those who reside in fixed establishments generally dress like other Vaiṣṇavas, but those who lead a wandering life go either naked or nearly so, often with only a thick black cord round their loins,[7] and always with their bodies smeared with the pale grey mixture of ashes and earth.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the footnotes. A summary of Wilson's notice will be found in E. Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*³, ii., London, 1885, *s.v.* 'Khaki.'

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KHALSA.—See SIKHS.

KHARWĀR, KHAIRWĀR (the former title derived from Hindī *khar*, Skr. *khaṭa*, 'thatching grass,' said to be the tribal totem; the latter from Hindī *khair*, Skr. *khadira*, the tree *Acacia catechu*, the preparation of which is one of their industries).—A non-Aryan tribe found in Bengal, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and the Central Provinces, numbering, at the Census of 1911, 147,231. As is the case with many similar tribes, they fall into two groups—the one primitive and isolated, retaining animistic forms of belief, the other influenced by the Hindus in whose vicinity they live.

According to E. T. Dalton, the Cheros and Kharwārs both 'observe, like the Kols, triennial sacrifices. Every three years a buffalo and other animals are offered in the sacred grove, "sarna," or on a rock near the village. They also have, like some of the Kols, a priest for each village, called páhn. He is always one of the impure tribes—a Bhúiya, or Kharwár, or a Parheya, and is also called baiga [see BAIGĀ, vol. ii. p. 333], and he only can offer this great sacrifice. No Brahmanical priests are allowed on these occasions to interfere. The deity honored is the tutelary god of the village, sometimes called Duár Pahár, sometimes Dharti, sometimes Purgahaili or Daknai, a female, or Dura, a sylvan god, the same perhaps as the Darhá of the Kols' (*Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 129).

In one village of Kharwārs the same writer found that the Baigā priest was offering, in the name of the village, biennial sacrifices to Chindol, a male spirit, to Chanda, a female spirit, and to Parvin.

'Buffaloes, sheep, and goats are offered to these promiscuously. They do not associate Chanda with Káli, and make no prayers to any Hindu gods; but when they are in great affliction, they appeal to the sun. They have no particular name for the luminary, calling it "súraj" [Skr. *sūrya*], and any place on which he shines may be the altar. The other gods have shady retreats. These villagers honored their ancestors by a yearly offering of a wether goat; this is strictly a family affair. The animal is killed and eaten at home' (*ib.* p. 130). According to H. H. Risley, 'the main body of the tribe, and particularly those who belong to the landholding class, profess the Hindu religion, and employ Sákadwipi Brahmans as priests. Mahadeo and Sitaram are the popular deities; Gauri and Ganesh being worshipped during marriages. In addition to these, the miscellaneous host of spirits feared by the Mundas and Oraons are still held in more or less reverence by the Kharwárs, and in Palámau members of the tribe sometimes perform the duties of páhan or village priest' (*TC*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 476).

In the United Provinces they call themselves Hindus, but they do not regularly worship any of the orthodox gods, except Sūraj, the sun, to whom they appeal in time of trouble. Their chief goddess is a local Juālāmukhī (*q.v.*) Devī, who must not be confounded with the Panjāb goddess of the same name. They also worship a local deity called Rājā Lākhan or Laḳhaṇa Deva, who is one of their deified Hindu conquerors, son of the famous Rājā Jai Chand of Kanauj, who fell at Benares under the sword of Shihāb-ad-dīn, the Musalmān invader, and became a popular hero (V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*², Oxford, 1908, p. 356). He is annually worshipped at the platform where the tribal dead are propitiated. As in Bengal, they also worship Rājā Chandol, and Dhartī, or Mother Earth, while those under Hindu influence employ Brāhmans to worship Śiva on their behalf. Dūlhā Deo, said to be a deified bridegroom who died under tragical circumstances, is their marriage god. Darapāt Deo and his spouse, Aṅgārmatī, are the tribal gods of war.

The most remarkable cult practised by the branch of the tribe in Chotā Nāgpur, however, is that of Mūchak Rānī, who is said to belong to the Chamār caste (see CHAMĀRS). Every three years a sacrifice in her honour is made at the village threshing-floor, and her marriage is performed with much ceremony.

The people, accompanied by musicians, ascend the hill where she is supposed to live. One of the party acts as the marriage priest, and marches in front of the procession, shouting and dancing until he works himself into a state of frenzy. They halt at the mouth of her cave, into which the priest enters, and brings out the Rānī, who is represented by a small, oblong, smooth stone, daubed all over with red lead. This is draped with silk and cotton robes, slung in a bamboo, and carried away like a bride. The procession halts for a time under a tree, and then proceeds to another hill, where her consort, who is believed to belong to the Agariā (*q.v.*) tribe, is said to live. Offerings are made to the bride, and she is then flung into the cave of her bridegroom, which is believed to be of immense depth. As she falls the people eagerly listen to the crash of the stone as it strikes the sides of the abyss. When the sound ceases, they return and end the rite with dancing. These two caves are supposed to be connected by an underground passage; and every third year the Rānī is believed to return, in the form of the same stone, to her parents' home.

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[1] See art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA, vol. ii. p. 546. For an account of Kīlh see Nābhā-Dāsa, *Bhakta-Mālā* (17th cent.), 40 f. and comm.

[2] *Gazetteer of Oude*, Lucknow, 1877, i. 5; *Gazetteer of Fyzabad*, Allahabad, 1905, p. 62.

[3] See *Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.* i. [1871] 322.

[4] W. Crooke, *PR*², Westminster, 1896, i. 88.

[5] *Bombay Gazetteer*, vi. [1880] 25.

[6] *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, i. 98 f. Wilson mentions another Khākī cloister at Farrukhābād, on the Ganges, but there is no reference to this in modern Gazetteers.

[7] M. A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, iii. (Calcutta, 1881) 60.

Formerly, it is said, the rite was performed annually; but on one occasion the Rānī caused a scandal by appearing at the house of the Baigā priest on the morning after the rite. This conduct being deemed improper, she was punished by the cessation of the annual marriage rite, which is now performed every three years. This seems to be a rite of sympathetic magic intended to promote the fertility of the members of the tribe and of their crops, like the ἱερὸς γάμος of Zeus and Hera (*Il.* xiv. 346 ff.) and similar rites in many other parts of the world (J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 98 f.; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 482).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the accounts by Risley and Dalton quoted above, see W. Crooke, *TC*, Calcutta, 1896, iii. 247 ff., and A. Baines, *Ethnography* [=*GIAP* ii. 5], Strassburg, 1912, p. 116 f. For the marriage-rite of Mūchak Rānī see L. R. Forbes, *Settlement Report of Palamau*, Calcutta, 1875, reprinted in *NINQ* iii. [1893] 23 f., 167. The Khairwārs of the Central Provinces are described in *Reports of the Ethnographic Survey*, pt. v., Allahabad, 1911, p. 45 ff.

W. CROOKE.

KHĀSIS.—The Khāsis are a hill tribe inhabiting the Khāsi and Jaintiā Hills District of Assam, which is situated between 25° 1′ and 26° 5′ N. lat., and between 90° 47′ and 92° 52′ E. longitude. The District contains an area of 6157 sq. miles, and is mountainous. About half of it, including the country around the capital, Shillong, is outside the limits of British India. It consists of a collection of small States in political relations, regulated by treaty, with the Government of India, but enjoying almost complete autonomy in the management of their local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintiā Hills, the indigenous system of administration through officers called *dolois* has been maintained. The population of the Khāsis resident in the Khāsi and Jaintiā Hills consisted of 161,865 at the last Census, exclusive of 28,245 Christians, the greater portion of whom are Khāsis belonging to the Welsh Calvinistic mission. The Khāsis are linguistically allied to the Mon-Khmer family of Further India, and by their appearance are sharply differentiated from the Mongoloid tribes which surround them in Assam, the Khāsi skull being mesocephalic, the eyes horizontal and not oblique, with openings round and broad and not like narrow slits, the base of the nose wide, the skin varying from dark to a light yellowish brown, according to locality (fairer in the upland than in the lowland), the hair black and straight, the stature short, and the males very muscular. These physical characteristics closely correspond with those of all speakers of Austro-Asiatic languages (as reported by Schmidt), of which the Mon-Khmer form an integral part.[1] The calves are very highly developed—which is due probably to the Khāsis, both males and females, being accustomed to carry very heavy burdens up and down hills. The females, when young, are comely and of a buxom type. The people are cheerful in disposition, good-tempered as a rule, and fairly industrious, especially the females. An interesting trait is their fondness for music, the hymn tunes which are taught them by the Welsh missionaries being rapidly learned and retained without difficulty. The most important and probably the most interesting characteristic of the Khāsis is the observance of the matriarchate.

> 'Their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes to his own matriarchal stock, and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin' (C. J. Lyall, in P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, p. xxiii f.).

1. Origin and affinities.—The origin of the Khāsis is a difficult question. In the opinion of the present writer,[1] they are an offshoot of the Mon people of Further India; but as to their ultimate source, apart from their fairly close approximation to the Malay type, all that we can guess now is that we are on the right track, originally pointed out by J. R. Logan as regards India and Further India, and it is to be hoped that the researches of scholars such as W. H. R. Rivers, in Melanesia, will help us very greatly (see Gurdon, pp. 12–18).

The use by the Khāsis of a very peculiarly shaped spade (*mokhiw*), which may perhaps be regarded as the prototype of the 'singular shoulder-headed celts' found in the Malay Peninsula and Chotā Nāgpur and figured in the *JASB* of 1875, may be mentioned. These shoulder-headed celts are, according to E. Aymonier (*Le Cambodge*, Paris, 1900–04, iii.), neolithic.

> 'Ces celtes, dits épaulés, parcequ'ils possèdent un talon d'une forme particulière, paraissent appartenir en propre à l'Indo-Chine et à la presqu'île dekkhanique. Ils fourniraient donc un premier indice, non négligeable, d'une communauté d'origine des populations primitives des deux péninsules, cis- et trans-gangétiques.'

Here, again, we may hope for some important discoveries, during the researches of Rivers in Melanesia, as to the relative affinities of peoples which belong to the Austronesian family.

It should be clearly understood that the Khāsis are not Indian as regards appearance, proclivities, or language, and that we must look more to Further India and possibly beyond, among the peoples of the Pacific, for tribes exhibiting like peculiarities.

2. Domestic life.—The greater number of the population subsist by agriculture, but a considerable proportion earn their livelihood as porters, carrying potatoes to the *hāts*, or markets, and various commodities to their homes therefrom. There is also a fair demand for Khāsi domestic servants, both among the Europeans and among the Bengali and Assamese clerks who are employed at the headquarters of the administration at Shillong. The manufacture of country spirit gives employment to a considerable number of persons, most of whom are females. The Khāsis, although in some villages acquainted with the art of weaving, do not seek this form of employment on a large scale, but import most of their cloths from the Plains Districts. In the Wār country they both keep bees themselves and collect the wild honey. The honey is exceptionally good, but little organized export of it exists, the trade being mostly local. There is probably an opening for a productive business in the export of honey from the Khāsi Hills. The houses of the people in the interior are, as a rule, substantial thatched cottages with plank or stone walls, and raised on a plinth some 2 to 3 ft. from the ground. The only window is a small opening on one side of the house. The fire is always burning on an earthen or stone hearth in the centre, and the smoke hangs in a dense cloud about the room, as there is no chimney. Above the hearth is a swinging shelf upon which the firewood is placed to dry. In Shillong, Cherrapunji, and Jowai, houses built after the European style have largely displaced the Khāsi thatched cottages. The Khāsis build their villages a little below the tops of the hills, and seldom change their sites. The villages have been situated in their present positions for many years, as is evidenced by the large number of memorial-stones and cromlechs which are to be seen near them. The Khāsi chief, or Siem, lives in the village, in the midst of his people. There is little furniture in the houses in the interior, although the more up-to-date Khāsis use furniture of European patterns. In every house are to be seen the *ki knūp*, or rain shields, which are made of basket-work, and also the baskets, *ki khoh*, of different sizes for carrying on the back. The Khāsis possess very few musical instruments, and those which they do have are of the Assamese or Bengali patterns. They are hard-working cultivators, and achieve very fair results, considering the unproductive nature of the hill-sides on the uplands. There is a considerable amount of wet paddy cultivation among the Syntengs of the Jowai subdivision. The most important crop in the uplands is the potato, the tuber having been introduced into the country by the British. The cultivation of oranges in the Southern portion of the district is of equal importance with that of the potato in the Northern. Oranges grow best in the warm valleys lying on the Sylhet side of the hills. The Khāsi orange has always been famous for its excellence. According to *Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, i. (London, 1896), it was exported many years ago to Europe with the oranges of Garhwāl and Sikkim.

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[1] See review by G. A. Grierson of W. Schmidt's *Die Mon-Khmer Völker*, in *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 187–191.

[1] *Khasis*, p. 10.

Khāsis use bows and arrows for hunting, and spears for both casting and thrusting. Fishing is largely resorted to, the method employed being to poison the streams. The Khāsis eat practically all flesh, except that of the dog, which they consider to be 'the friend of man.' In this respect they differ from the Nāgā, Gāro, and Kuki tribes of Assam, all of whom eat the dog. The Khāsis, except some of the Christian community and some of the people of Mawkhar in Shillong, do not use milk or its compounds, following in this respect the Kāchāris and Rābhās of the plains or the Gāros of the hills. The Mongolian race in its millions, as a rule, does not use milk for food; but the Tibetans and some of the Turkoman tribes are exceptions. The Khāsis are heavy drinkers of both rice-beer and rice-spirit. Archery may be said to be the national game. Manufactures are few in number, and do not tend to increase. The iron industry in former days was an important one, but has now died out completely.

3. **Tribal organization.**—The people of the Khāsi and Jaintiā Hills may be divided into Khāsi, Synteng, Wār, Bhoi, and Lynngām. These sections are subdivided, the Khāsis into the inhabitants of the central high plateau, Cherra and Nongstoin, Māhārām, Mariaw, Nongkhlaw, and the neighbouring Siemships; the Syntengs into Syntengs proper, Nongtungs, and Khyrwangs; the Wārs into Wār proper, and Wār Pnar; the Bhois into Jinthongs, Mynris, Rynkhongs, and the Khāsi-Bhois, *i.e.* Khāsis who inhabit the low country to the north of the district which is called generally the 'Bhoi.' The Lynngāms are a separate division, being half Khāsi and half Gāro. These tribes and sub-tribes are neither strictly endogamous nor strictly exogamous, but they are more endogamous than exogamous; *e.g.*, Syntengs more often marry Syntengs than Khāsis, and *vice versa*, and it would usually be considered derogatory for a Khāsi of the uplands to marry a Bhoi or Wār woman, and a disgrace to marry a Lynngām.

These divisions are subdivided into a number of septs, taking Risley's definition of 'sept' as the largest exogamous division of the tribe, and these septs may be called 'clans' for the purpose of this article. Many of the clans trace their descent from ancestresses, or *kiaw* (grandmothers), who are greatly revered, indeed almost deified, and in some of the clans the names of the ancestresses survive, *e.g.* the Mylliem-ngap and the Mylliem-pdah clans. The descendants of one ancestress of the clan, *ka Iawbei Tynrai*, are called *shi kur*, or one clan. Next comes the division called the *kpoh*, or sub-clan, all the descendants of one great-grandmother (*ka Iawbei Tymmen*) being styled *shi kpoh*. Then comes the *iing* (lit. 'house'), or family. The grandmother, styled *ka Iawbei Khynraw*, or the young grandmother, to distinguish her from the two other grandmothers already mentioned, is the head of the *iing*, or family.[1] A prominent characteristic of the Khāsi clan is the common clan sepulchre; another is strict exogamy: a Khāsi can commit no greater sin than to marry within his own clan, the women of which are *sang*, or tabu, to him. Some of the clans bear the names of animals, or, as in the case of the Diengdoh clan, a tree name; but the clan members apparently do not regard the animals or trees as totems, since they do not abstain from killing, eating, or otherwise utilizing them.

4. **State organization.**—The Khāsi States may be said to have been formed by the voluntary association of villages or groups of villages, their heads being the Siems, or chiefs. These chiefs possess little authority except that derived from the Durbar, or State assembly; indeed, Khāsi States are limited monarchies, being constituted on distinctly democratic lines. A fact of universal application is that succession to the Siemship is through the female line, the sons of the eldest uterine sister inheriting in order of priority of birth; here it should be noted that this rule of succession differs from the ordinary rule of succession to real property, which passes to the youngest daughter of the deceased's mother, and after her to her youngest daughter (for a more detailed description of the rules of inheritance see Gurdon, pp. 68–75).

5. **Marriage and divorce.**—The most remarkable feature of Khāsi marriage is that it is usual for the husband to live with his wife in his mother-in-law's house and not to take the bride to his own home, as in other communities. As long as the wife lives in her mother's house, all her earnings go to her mother, who expends them on the maintenance of the family. Among the Syntengs, however, and the people of Maoshai, if the husband does not live in the mother-in-law's house, he visits his wife there only after dark, and does not take his meals in the house. Divorce is common and may occur for a variety of reasons, such as adultery, barrenness, incompatibility of temperament, etc. The essential act in divorce is the giving or exchange of five cowries or pice. The wife gives her five cowries or pice to her husband, who places them with his own and returns the ten pieces to his wife, who again returns them to him. The husband then throws the cowries or coins on the ground, and the divorce is complete.

6. **Inheritance.**—The Khāsi saying is *long jaid na ka kynthei* ('from the woman sprang the clan'). When reckoning descent, they count from the mother only; the man is nobody. If he is a brother, *u kur*, he will be lost to the family or clan when he marries; if he is a husband, he is regarded merely as *u shong kha*, 'a begetter' (for further details see Gurdon, pp. 82–85).

7. **Head-hunting.**—The Khāsis are not head-hunters, like the Nāgās of Assam, nor do they appear to have practised such a custom in former times; since the period of the Jaintiā rebellion they have settled down into a nation of peaceful cultivators. There is little crime among them, but many murders have been caused by a curious superstition called *u thlen*. The *thlen* is believed to be a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased periodically with human victims (Gurdon, pp. 98–104).

8. **Religion.**—The main religion of the Khāsis is the cult of ancestors, although the propitiation of spirits of evil by means of offerings is also al-

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[1] For an explanation of how the Khāsi clan developed from the Khāsi family see Gurdon, p. 68 f.

most universal. The propitiation of ancestors was formerly thought to be effected by offering food to them on the flat table stones, or *maw-kynthei*, so much in evidence in the Khāsi and Jaintiā Hills, and this practice still obtains in the villages in the interior of the hills. The more popular practice, however, at the present time is to make the offerings in the house, either annually or at times when it is thought necessary to invoke the aid of the departed. As is the case in other countries, and among other people, it is possible that some of the Khāsi gods of to-day are merely the supposed spirits of deceased ancestors (for a comparison between the Khāsi ancestor-worship and that of the Shinto cult of Japan see Gurdon, pp. 109–111).

Of the deceased ancestors the Khāsis revere *ka Iawbei* the most. *Ka Iawbei* is the ancestress of their clan; a large number of the flat table stones to be seen in front of the Khāsi menhirs are erected in her honour. In former times it was the custom to offer food to her on those stones. In cases of family quarrels or dissensions among the members of the same clan, which it is desired to bring to a peaceful settlement, it is customary to perform a sacrifice to *ka Iawbei*, the first mother, but before sacrificing it is necessary to take an augury by breaking eggs.[1] The next ancestor in importance is *U Suid-Nia*, or *U Kni Rangbah*, the first maternal uncle, *i.e.* the elder brother of *ka Iawbei*. The great central menhir in the Khāsi line of stones is erected in his honour. The offering of food to placate the spirits of Khāsi ancestors may be compared with the practices of some of the tribes in the Malay Archipelago (*GB*² ii. 462 f.). The Khāsis, like other rude tribes, propitiate also the spirits of fall and fell, especially at times of ill news or other misfortune, when the name of the particular malignant being must be ascertained by the breaking of eggs. They possess priests called *lyngdohs*, who perform sacrifices either for the good of the State or for private purposes. The *lyngdoh* must be assisted at these sacrifices by a priestess, and merely acts as her deputy when sacrificing. This priestess is probably a survival of the time when females took a more important part in public religious life than they do at present.

9. Disposal of the dead.—The bodies of the dead are burned, the ashes and uncalcined bones being collected and placed in small *kistvaens* on the hill-sides to await collection to the great ossuaries of the clans. Such collections are made often after very long intervals, and are carried out under an elaborate ritual, part of which is the erection of memorial stones. The main object of the collection in the ossuaries is to confine the spirits of the dead and to prevent them from haunting the living. The bodies of deceased Siems are disposed of with the greatest formality, the remains of U Ram Singh, Siem of Cherra, having been cremated recently before several thousand spectators. The corpse of this Siem has been preserved in a dwelling-house of the Siem family for more than 30 years by the peculiar Khāsi system of embalming.

10. Memorial stones.—This is a subject on which much could be written. Those who are interested in observing a custom which may possibly have accounted for some megalithic remains in other parts of the world may be referred to Gurdon, pp. 144–155. A striking feature of the Khāsi stones is the flat table stone, or dolmen, in front of a line of menhirs, the menhirs being almost invariably of uneven numbers, *e.g.* 3, 5, 7, 9, or even 11 stones. Here it may be noted that the unevenness in number is also a special feature of the Belgaum stones. The largest existing Khāsi menhir is that of Nartiang in the Jaintiā Hills, which is 27 ft. high and 2½ ft. thick, and the largest table stone is that at Laitlyngkot in the Jaintiā Hills, which is 28½ ft. by 13¾ ft. and 1 ft. 8 in. thick. There are some table stones in the Khāsi and Jaintiā Hills which may have been for sacrificing human victims (cf. the great table stones at Jaintiāpur and the stone at Ieu Ksih near the Kapili river).

11. Folklore.—The Khāsis possess a considerable amount of folklore which shows very few signs of Indian or Aryan influence. The story of the *thlen*, or fabulous snake, has already been referred to (for a detailed account see Gurdon, p. 98 ff.). This tale or superstition may possess counterparts in Cambodia or in the Mon country or among the Palaungs.

12. Language.—Khāsi has been placed by Grierson in the Mon-Khmer group. As far back as 1853 the connexion of Khāsi with the other languages of the Mon-Khmer family was recognized, when Logan in his paper on the 'General Characters of the Burma-Tibetan, Gangeitic, and Dravirian Languages' in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, spoke of it as a

> 'solitary record that the Mon-Kambojan formation once extended much further to the North-West than it now does.'

It was not, however, till 1889 that E. Kuhn showed conclusively the true affinity of this language. W. Schmidt of Vienna not only confirms Kuhn's conclusions, but goes a step further and includes Khāsi in the Austro-Asiatic family of languages, a western branch of a still larger family of languages stretching from the Panjāb in the West through Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, right across the Pacific to Easter Island in the East; from the Himālaya in the North to New Zealand in the South, which Schmidt names the 'Austric' field of languages.

> 'We must confess that it is the most widely spread speech family of which the existence has yet been proved' (Grierson, *loc. cit.*).

Schmidt's theory has thus been accepted by Grierson, our greatest living authority on Indian languages. For a description of the Khāsi language, see the chapter on language in Gurdon, which is based chiefly on C. J. Lyall's skeleton grammar contained in *Linguistic Survey of India*, ii.; cf. also the treatises of Kuhn and Schmidt.

LITERATURE.—W. J. Allen, *Report on the Administration of the Cossyah Jynteah Hill Territory*, Calcutta, 1858; H. S. Bivar, *Administration Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District*, 1876; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872; E. A. Gait, 'Human Sacrifices in Ancient Assam,' in *JASBe* lxvii. [1898] pt. iii. pp. 56–65; P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London, 1907; J. D. Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, do. 1854; W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Assam*, do. 1879; E. Kuhn, *Ueber Herkunft und Sprache der transgangetischen Völker*, Munich, 1883, *Beiträge zur Sprachenkunde Hinterindiens*, do. 1889; A. W. C. Lindsay, *Lives of the Lindsays*³, London, 1849; J. R. Logan, a series of papers on the ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands which appeared in the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, Singapore, 1850–57; A. Mackenzie, *History of the Relations of the Government with the Hill Tribes of the North-Eastern Frontier of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1884; A. J. M. Mills, *Report on the Khasi and Jaintia Hills*, 1853; H. Roberts, *Sub-Himalayan: a Grammar of Khassi*, London, 1891; W. Schmidt, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker: ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens*, Brunswick, 1906; H. Yule, 'Notes on the Khasi Hills and People,' in *JASBe*, xiii. [1844] 612 ff.

P. R. T. GURDON.

KHAWĀRIJ.—*Khawārij*, plural of *kḥārij*, 'a rebel,' is used as the name of a group of Muslim sects, of which apparently only the Ibāḍīs (*q.v.*) now survive. They are first heard of in connexion with the murder of the third Khalīf Uthmān—an event which, owing to the want of contemporary documents, is somewhat obscure. Of the offences with which this personage was charged the most serious appears to have been his ordering the destruction of all existing copies of the Qur'ān, in order that the recension which he introduced should be unchallenged; but, since this order was effectively carried out, the Muslim historians are compelled to express approval of the act, as otherwise they would be throwing doubt on the authenticity of the only surviving copy. It would appear that ʿAlī obtained the Khalīfate by the support of the insurgents who had killed Uthmān, but afterwards was compelled to express abhorrence of that act; and, by accepting arbitration in the dispute which afterwards arose between himself and Muʿāwiya (founder of the Umayyad dynasty), he incurred the enmity of those who had organized the plot against Uthmān. He defeated them in the bloody battle of Nahrawān (37 or 38 A.H.), but was soon assassinated by one of the survivors in revenge. Their shibboleth for some time appears to have been a declaration that Uthmān had deserved his death, and their formula was 'None but God is judge,' with reference to the arbitration to which ʿAlī had consented. They are sometimes known by the name *shurāt*, said to mean 'those who buy God's favour with their lives.'

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[1] For divination by egg-breaking see Gurdon, App. C, p. 221.

During the whole of the Umayyad period, persons who employed these names and formulæ gave the government trouble, sometimes being able to carry on protracted civil war, at times only able to organize ephemeral revolts. The greatest success which they attained was under the command of one Shabīb, who, in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, repeatedly occupied the important city Kūfa. The wars of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra with the Khārijite Qaṭarī are recorded at length in the *Kāmil* of the grammarian Mubarrad († 285 A.H. = A.D. 998).

In the chronicles and popular literature the Khārijites are represented as Puritans, driven to take up arms against a government which failed to satisfy their ideals of piety and asceticism. Familiarity with the Qur'ān is claimed for their women (*Rauḍat al-ʿUqalā*, Cairo, 1328, p. 35; Yāqūt, *Dictionary of Learned Men*, London, 1913, vi. 94), one of whom declares that the ignorance of the sacred volume displayed by the ruling powers was what forced them to rebel. One of their revolts was occasioned, it is said, by a magistrate's failing to give redress to a Muslim who had been given wine in lieu of vinegar at a shop. Those who organized the risings are described as devotees and students of the Qur'ān, and indeed the name *qurrāʾ*, literally 'readers,' but often used for 'devotees,' is sometimes given them. Besides these qualities they had a reputation for fanatical courage. This they retained in the 3rd cent. of Islām, when, under ʿAbbāsid rule, they played a less important part than under the Umayyads. Towards non-Muslims they are represented as scrupulous in their dealings; but towards Muslims who disagreed with them they were inordinately savage; they slaughtered women and children, though some of their number disapproved of this practice.

The author of *Al-Farq bain al-Firaq* ('The Distinction between the Sects'; † 429 A.H. = A.D. 1037) divides the Khawārij into twenty branches. The doctrine common to them all was the obligation to resist an unjust sovereign; besides this they all applied the name *kāfir* ('unbeliever') to Uthmān, ʿAlī, the two arbiters, all who approved of the Arbitration, and all who had taken part in the first Civil War (the Battle of the Camel). Some made their characteristic doctrine the application of this name to all who committed capital offences. It would appear, however, that their most important doctrine was that any Muslim of good character might be sovereign, whence they were in permanent opposition to the supporters of the hereditary dynasties.

It is not easy to fit the number 20 to the list of sects given by the author quoted; the main divisions come far below that number, whereas the subdivisions far exceed it. An artificial classification with the view of obtaining the number 20 was afterwards made by Shahrastānī (*Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, tr. T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850–51, i. 128 ff.). ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī († 561 A.H. = A.D. 1166) reduces it to 15 divisions. One of the names meets us frequently in Arabic literature, viz. the Ṣufriyya; references to the Ibāḍiyya also occur. The differences between them were largely on the same doctrinal questions as divided the other communities—*e.g.*, predestination, the relation of capacity to conduct, whether infants are Muslims, etc. But there were also differences which emanated from their own special doctrines—*e.g.*, whether an evildoer was to be called *mushrik* ('pagan') or only *kāfir* ('denier'), and whether the latter word could be interpreted 'ungrateful' as well as 'unbelieving.' Certain other differences belonged to the details of Islāmic jurisprudence—*e.g.*, the minimum theft whereby the punishment of handcutting was incurred, the amount of alms to be paid on the produce of land watered by rivers and springs, etc.

Although some of these sects were able to maintain themselves in various Islāmic provinces for a time, and the Ibāḍīs have done so permanently, it is probable that the historians of the sects have in many cases overrated their importance, and represented the followers of some particular insurgent as continuing in existence long after the movement had been defeated. As might be expected in the case of such warlike communities, their literature was rich in ballad-poetry, which the archæologists collected. Of their controversial and juristic treatises little has as yet come to light.

LITERATURE.—J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin, 1901.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

KHIḌR.—Khiḍr (pronounced by the Persians and Turks as Khisr),[1] 'the green one,' is the name or, rather, the title of a Muhammadan saint who, according to the popular conception in Islām, is still alive to-day. The origin of the name is obscure, although different attempts have been made to explain it (see below). Whatever the origin of the name, it is certain that the figure of Khiḍr as conceived in Islām is not derived from one definite source, but is rather the composite of a large number of legends and myths of widely divergent origin and character, which were current in the lands of Islām prior to the Muhammadan occupation. It has been justly said that Khiḍr is the product of Muhammadan syncretism (K. Vollers, *ARW* xii. [1909] 238), implying thereby that the whole Khiḍr figure, while a prominent feature of the religion of the Muhammadan masses, is yet entirely made up of non-Muhammadan elements, and owes to Islām only the amalgamation of all these heterogeneous elements into one whole. It is impossible here to enter into a discussion of the extremely complicated problem of the Khiḍr legend. We shall limit ourselves to a brief indication of the principal sources upon which it has drawn and of the salient features now attributed to Khiḍr and originally derived from those sources.

Frequently in Muhammadan literature and innumerable times in Persian poetry Khiḍr is mentioned as one (or rather the only one) who has gained life immortal by drinking from the Fountain of Life. According to a more definite statement quoted by early Muhammadan historians, Khiḍr was the vizier of Dhū-l-ḳarnain, 'the two-horned' (the Syro-Arabic title of Alexander the Great), who discovered the Fountain of Life which his royal master had failed to find. This leads us unmistakably to the famous story of the Fountain of Life recorded in the Greek Alexander romance which goes under the name of pseudo-Callisthenes, a work of a very complex literary character, which was finally completed about A.D. 300.

According to this account, which is recorded in several varying recensions, Alexander went out to search for the Fountain of Life in order to attain to life everlasting. By the merest chance his cook, who in some of the recensions is called Andreas, discovered the fountain. He was cleaning a salted

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[1] With a different vocalization the name is also pronounced Khaḍir and Khuḍr.

(or dried) fish in the fountain in preparation for a meal, when the fish came to life again and disappeared in the water. The cook partook of the life-giving liquid and became immortal. Alexander, who could not find his way back to the fountain, decided in his jealousy and disappointment to kill the cook; but, as death had no power over him, Alexander threw him with a millstone round his neck into the sea, where he became a sea-demon.

This story, which originally formed a separate legend and was transmitted as such long before and long after pseudo-Callisthenes, came in this shape to the Syrians, and through them into Arabia. A reflexion of it is found in the Qur'ān (xviii. 59–63), in which, like so many other legends, it has been mutilated almost beyond recognition. It is obvious, and indeed is expressly and circumstantially related in later Muhammadan sources, that Khiḍr is identical with Alexander's cook who discovered the Fountain of Life by means of the salted fish. According to a conjecture put forward by several scholars and upheld by the present writer, Khiḍr, 'the green one,' is the original designation of the sea-demon into which the cook Andreas was transformed when thrown into the sea.[1]

A far more important prototype of Khiḍr is the prophet Elijah. The Tishbite is, no doubt, the most prominent and the most popular figure in the legendary world of post-Biblical Judaism. The most striking attributes of this post-Biblical hero are eternal life and omnipresence. He attends every circumcision ceremony performed in a Jewish family, and it is still customary to keep a special seat, the so-called 'chair of Elijah,' ready for his reception; and he visits every Jewish home on Passover eve, when a special cup of wine is set aside for him. In contrast to his vehement Biblical prototype, the post-Biblical Elijah figures essentially in the amiable rôle of an adviser and helper. He reveals himself to scholars, whom he enlightens on the 'secrets of heaven' and on different points of Jewish law. He is particularly to be met with on the road and in deserted places. The ḳabbalists, or Jewish mystics of a later age, laid particular stress on this popular belief of *gīllūy Ēlīyāhū* ('revelation of Elijah'), and many of them claimed to have derived their mystical ideas, and even whole books, from their personal association with the prophet.

One such Elijah story quoted by a Jewish authority of the 11th cent., but undoubtedly of much older origin, must be singled out from among the rest. In this story Elijah accompanies a famous Rabbi of the 3rd cent. on his travels, and shows him several incidents which, on the surface, seem to militate against God's justice, but, when interpreted by the prophet, are revealed as wonderful instances of the wisdom and justice of Divine Providence.

This story, or rather some earlier variant of it, has found its way into the Qur'ān (xviii. 64–81). The place of the Talmudic Rabbi is taken by Moses, while Elijah is designated anonymously as 'one of our servants.' This fact alone suffices to prove what is to be assumed *a priori*, that this most striking figure of post-Biblical Jewish legend was known in Arabia in the time of Muḥammad. Since Khiḍr's salient attribute was everlasting life, just like that of Elijah, it was natural to identify the two figures. Hence the exegetes and theologians of Islām declare with remarkable unanimity that the servant in the Qur'ān (xviii. 64) is no one but Khiḍr. This is the first express reference to the name of Khiḍr in literature. As a result of this combination, the story of the Fountain of Life in the Qur'ān (xviii. 59–63), on the one hand, and the Elijah legend (64–81), on the other, which originally had nothing to do with one another and are easily distinguishable by their different rhymes, were subsequently made to follow one another, and were in a most artificial and clumsy manner welded into one continuous narrative, which has been accepted as a unit not only by all Muhammadan theologians, but also, in spite of the obviousness of the underlying facts, by many European scholars. The combination has had the additional result that it has suppressed the further development of the original, undeniably pagan, conception of Khiḍr as sea-demon in Islām, and transformed him into a sacred figure, who is classed by various Muhammadan theologians either as a prophet or as a saint (*walī*), and by some even as an angel. Whatever of the original Khiḍr myth was still known (and a great deal of it *was* still known) to the legend-collectors and story-tellers in Islām was forced into a new channel. Khiḍr, the cook of Alexander, was raised to the rank of general and vizier, and in this capacity was made the leading figure in the Muhammadan Alexander romance, completely overshadowing his heathen master.

There can be no doubt that originally the Muhammadans themselves were conscious of the identity of the legendary character of Khiḍr with that of Elijah, for they declare—and the view is generally accepted within Islām—that the real name of Khiḍr is Iliya (afterwards corrupted into Balya), the Jewish form of Elijah. The Jews living in Muhammadan countries took the same combination for granted, for those whose name was Elijah called themselves Khiḍr, and the Turks still imply the same combination by calling our prophet Khiḍrlās (Khiḍr = Ilyās). What is of far greater importance, the prevalent conception of Khiḍr is an exact reproduction of the Elijah figure, to a degree which is truly astonishing. Khiḍr, like Elijah, is the eternal prophet who is omnipresent, 'who appears when his name is called.' He is helper and adviser in the time of need; he reveals himself to those worthy of his companionship, to whom he transmits divine secrets; he appears, according to a story recorded in the canonical Muhammadan tradition (the so-called *Ḥadīth*), at the death of Muhammad to offer his condolence to the bereaved companions of the founder of Islām. Like the ḳabbalists in Judaism, the Ṣūfīs, or mystics, of Islām lay particular claim to intimate companionship with Khiḍr. Innumerable stories are told of the opinions, doctrines, and prayers entrusted by the prophet to particularly favoured Ṣūfīs, and many works are declared by their authors to be the direct product of his personal instruction. The remarkable closeness between the Jewish Elijah legend and the Muhammadan Khiḍr belief may be gauged from the fact that, just as Elijah in Jewish sources is identified with Phinehas, so is Khiḍr in Muhammadan writings, and that, just as Elijah in the Talmud, so does Khiḍr in the Muhammadan legend appear occasionally in the disguise of a Bedawī. Numerous details of a similar kind which can be easily supplied testify to the same relationship.

Owing to the fact that the prophet Elijah is mentioned in the Qur'ān by name (in the Græco-Syrian form Ilyās), and is described in Biblical rather than in post-Biblical colours, the Muhammadan theologians saw themselves subsequently compelled to make of Khiḍr = Iliya, on the one hand, and of Ilyās, on the other, two distinct personages. The primitive relationship, however, shows itself in the attempt to identify Khiḍr with Elisha, the disciple of Elijah, and in the countless legends in which Elijah (or, more correctly, Ilyās) and Khiḍr appear as inseparable twins. The original distinctive function of both Elijah and Khiḍr is clearly revealed in the belief, commonly accepted by Muhammadans and illustrated by innumerable stories, that, while both prophets are entrusted with the task of protecting the travellers on their journeys, Elijah is *mukallaf fi'l-barr*, 'the guardian of the dry land,' particularly of deserted places, while Khiḍr is *mukallaf fi'l baḥr*, 'the guardian of the sea.' The maritime character of Khiḍr, which the Muhammadans accept as an unalterable fact without being able to explain it, is preserved throughout the whole field of Muhammadan folklore. Down to this day Khiḍr is essentially the *Khawwāḍ al-buḥūr*, 'the one who traverses the seas'; he is the patron of sailors, who invoke his aid in time of need; a sacrifice is offered to him when a boat is launched (S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, Germ. ed., Leipzig, 1903, p. xvi f. and p. 111). This conception and the rites reflecting it are still current throughout the whole of Syria, and can even be traced as far as Northern India.

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[1] Since the story of the Fountain of Life bears a striking resemblance to the Glaukos myth, it has been suggested, and is believed by the present writer, that Khiḍr and Γλαῦκος, which are identical in meaning, are also ultimately identical in origin, although the literary medium cannot as yet be definitely ascertained. Others explain the name as the genius of vegetation, or as a mutilation of Khāsisatra, the ancestor of Gilgamesh in the famous Babylonian epic.

The combined figure of the sea-demon Khiḍr and the prophet Elijah followed in the wake of the Muhammadan arms. It is now generally recognized that the conquered nations who were converted to Islām managed to carry with them into the new religion many of their former doctrines. In a similar way Khiḍr became the depository of all kinds of ancient myths and popular rites current in the lands occupied by Islām. The data on this aspect of the Khiḍr figure are not yet complete. As far as Syria is concerned, extremely valuable material has been collected by Curtiss (in the volume referred to above), and, in part prior to him, by C. Clermont-Ganneau (*Horus et Saint-Georges*, Paris, 1877). From this material it is evident that Khiḍr, as now revered, indeed one may say worshipped, in Syria, embodies many conceptions of primitive Semitic religion, perhaps also including the ancient Babylonian Tammuz cult. The whole coast of Syria is dotted with Khiḍr sanctuaries in which sacrifices and the first-born of animals are still offered to him. In the crude vagueness of the popular religion Khiḍr has become a divine being. As an unsophisticated Muhammadan innocently put it to Curtiss, 'Khiḍr is near, but God is far' (*op. cit.* p. 111). Through the identification with St. George (*Mār Jirjis*), whose origin lay in the same country, new relations have been created which made our versatile prophet acceptable to the Christians, as he is also popular among the Jews.

The official theologians of Islām are, and always have been, averse to these excesses of the popular Khiḍr belief. Many of them have insisted—and, indeed, have made Muhammad himself declare—that Khiḍr, who, as they were compelled to admit (largely because of the canonical account of his appearance at the death of Muhammad), was a contemporary of the Prophet, died shortly after him. This attempt, however, which was directed against the extravagant Khiḍr cult, particularly as cherished by the Ṣūfīs, remained unsuccessful. On the other hand, the theologians had no hesitation in making Khiḍr a favourite object of their scholarly speculations. Muhammadan literature records a bewildering number of conjectures which identify Khiḍr with various figures of Biblical and Apocryphal legend. Of these conjectures, which are purely the product of unfettered speculative fancy, the identifications with the following personages may be mentioned: Melchizedek, Seth, Enoch, Jonah, Jeremiah, Lot, and the Messiah.[1] Finally, it may be mentioned as a possibility that another striking attribute of Khiḍr, his incessant wandering—'to wander like Khiḍr' is a current Arabic phrase—is responsible for the name of the Wandering Jew. Ahasuerus may be an adaptation of Khiḍr in its Persian-Turkish pronunciation as Khisr.

LITERATURE.—The literature on the subject is extensive and extremely scattered. The relations between the Khiḍr legend and the Alexander romance are treated in detail by I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1913 (full bibliography on pp. xviii-xxiii). For the sake of completeness, G. Zart's essay, 'Chidher in Sage und Dichtung,' in *Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge*, new series, vol. xxxii. (Hamburg, 1897), no. 280, may be added. Cf. also T. Nöldeke's note in *ARW* xiii. [1910] 474 f. Meijer de Hond, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Elḫiḍrlegende und von Korân, Sure 18, 59 ff.*, Leyden, 1914, merely confuses the issue.

I. FRIEDLAENDER.

KHŌS.—A race inhabiting the Chitrāl Valley and adjoining country south of the Pāmirs, on the N.W. frontier of British India. To the E. lie Yasin and Gilgit, where the language is Shinā; to the W. is Kāfiristān, where various Indian Kāfir dialects are spoken; to the N., across the Hindū Kush, lie the Pāmirs, where the language is Iranian; and to the S. lie a number of small tribes, mainly of Shiṇ origin, but partly also Paṭhān, separating them from India proper. The Khōs (properly *Ḥōs*), together with the Shiṇs of Gilgit and the Kāfirs of Kāfiristān, are often classed together as 'Dards'; but this name is properly applied only to the Shiṇs. The present writer looks upon all three as representing the ancient *Piśāchas*. The habits and customs of the Khōs much resemble those of the true Dards, and in the present article attention will chiefly be drawn to those particulars in which they differ from the latter (see DARDS, vol. iv. p. 399).

The Khōs are not the ruling class of Chitrāl. These call them contemptuously *Fakīr Mushkin*, or 'poor beggars' (quasi-Arab. *Faqīr Miskīn*). A superior grade, who are paid servants of the Mehtar, or ruling chief, of Chitrāl, are known as *Erbābzādas* ('sons of possessors'). The two grades intermarry. Above them are the later conquerors of the country—the *Ādamzādas* ('sons of men').[1] The origin of these last is uncertain, but some of them at least came from the north, across the Pāmirs, in the 16th cent. A.D. The Khōs have imposed their language upon them.

According to tradition, the whole Chitrāl Valley was once occupied by Kāfirs, and some Kāfir tribes, *e.g.* the Kalāshās, still inhabit it. This tradition is borne out by the fact that the Kāfir dialects are much more nearly related to the Shinā dialects of Gilgit than either of the two groups is to Khō-wār,[2] the language of the Khōs. The last, although undoubtedly belonging to the same linguistic group, differs from the other two in some essential particulars, such, even, as the forms of the pronouns, in regard to which they agree rather with the Iranian Ghalchah languages of the Pāmirs.[3] It looks as if the whole tract composing the present Kāfiristān, Chitrāl, and Gilgit was once occupied by one homogeneous race, which was subsequently split into two divisions by a wedge of Khō invasion, representing members of a different, but related, tribe coming from the north (cf. Biddulph, p. 158 f., for a slightly different explanation).

According to Biddulph (p. 73), the Khōs show certain physical peculiarities not shared by their Dard relations. In personal appearance they may be called Aryans of a high type, not unlike the Dards, but more handsome, with oval faces, finely cut features, and large beautiful eyes, so that they would compare favourably with the highest type of beauty in Europe. They are famous for their long hair, of which they are inordinately proud, and in this they differ from their Kāfir neighbours, whom they style 'bald' (p. 65). The women were formerly sought out for their beauty in the slave-markets of Kābul, Peshāwar, and Badakhshān.

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[1] It can be shown that all these personages were believed, either in Rabbinical or in Christian legend, to be immortal.

[1] O'Brien, *Gram. and Vocab. of the Khowâr Dialect*, p. vi.

[2] Called by Leitner (*Languages and Races of Dardistan*) 'Arnyia,' a name based on the Shiṇ word *Arinah*, employed to designate a portion of Yasin where Khō-wār is spoken.

[3] Cf. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 155.

The men wear caps bound round with a scanty turban, a cotton shirt, loose drawers tucked into coloured knitted stockings, and soft leather boots. The women wear a white silk embroidered skull cap, a loose chemise of coarse coloured cotton stuff, fastening at the throat and reaching to the knees, and wide drawers. They wear boots and stockings like men, but, as a rule, only when travelling (Biddulph, p. 73 f.; O'Brien, p. vi). It is a common practice (O'Brien, p. ix) for young women and girls to blacken their faces with burnt powdered horn, which is supposed to soften the skin and to prevent sunburn.

Great stress is laid upon customary rules of politeness. Friends embrace on meeting. An inferior always dismounts on meeting a superior, and kisses his hand. The other then kisses him on the cheek (Biddulph, p. 75; O'Brien, p. viii). Excitable creatures of impulse, the Khōs have been well described by G. S. Robertson (*Chitrál*, London, 1898, p. 6 f.):

> 'Sensuality of the grossest kind, and murder, abominable cruelty, treachery or violent death, are never long absent from the thoughts of a people than whom none in the world are more delightful companions, or of simpler, gentler appearance. So happy seems everyone,—the women are mostly secluded,—so lovely are the little children, so much natural politeness is met everywhere, that if it were not for the occasional glimpses of famished slaves living on fruit or dying of starvation when past their first youth, a hurried traveller might almost imagine himself in a smiling dreamland.'

Polo-playing (*ghal*) is the national game, and is played with great dash. It is slightly different from the polo of Gilgit. The ground is long and narrow, with low walls at each side, off which the ball rebounds in play. A couple of large stones at each end mark the goal. The sticks in use are very short, and the players, going at full speed, reach almost to the ground. The losers have to do what the winners order—usually dance. Every village has its polo-ground, called *janāli* (Biddulph, p. 84; O'Brien, p. xi). Shooting at a popinjay from horseback is also a favourite pastime, and, considering the clumsiness of the weapons used, the marksmanship is sometimes wonderfully good (Biddulph, p. 85; O'Brien, p. xi). Other national amusements are music and dancing. Feast-day, birthday, wedding, or any occasion for a gathering serves as an excuse for the latter. Music is always played at the polo-matches, a goal being the signal for a wild flourish and beat of drums. Some of their airs are very taking (Biddulph, p. 85; O'Brien, p. xii f.).

In former times the religion of the country was Buddhism.[1] A Buddhist rock-cut figure, bearing a Sanskrit or Pāli inscription which is not older than the 3rd cent. A.D., and is probably later, has been found about 20 miles north of the town of Chitrāl (Biddulph, p. 149). The Khōs are now Musalmāns, mostly Sunnīs, but in the northern valleys, as in northern Gilgit, they are generally members of the Maulā'ī sect.[2] Islām was introduced about the 14th cent., and the present Musalmān dynasty came from Khorāsān in the 16th (*ib.* 117, 150). The Khōs differ from the Dards in not hating the cow and in not worshipping the *chilī*, or juniper tree (*ib.* 113, 116; *ERE* iv. 401). As regards festivals, the Dard *Nōs*, in honour of the winter solstice, is called *Dashti*, and is celebrated without bonfires (Biddulph, p. 101). The Dard *Bazono*, or spring festival, is not held, but the *Ganoni*, or festival of the wheat harvest, is observed under the name of *Phindik* (*ib.* 103). The *Jastandikaik*, or 'devil-driving,' in honour of the completion of the harvest, corresponding to the Dard *Domenika*, is celebrated by the firing of guns and shooting at a sheep's head set up as a mark (*ib.* 103). Corresponding to the Dard *Chilī*, or festival of the beginning of wheat-sowing, is the Khō *Binisik* (*ib.* 105).

When a child is born, the mother is unclean, and no one will eat from her hand for seven days. North of the Hindū Kush the same rule obtains, but the period is extended to forty days, and even the infant may not suck its mother's breast for seven days. In some of the higher Chitrāl clans there is a custom that every infant is suckled in turn by every nursing mother of the clan, so that each becomes its foster-mother. There is thus a constant interchange of infants going on among the mothers, for the purpose of strengthening tribal unity (*ib.* 81, 83). Marriage ceremonies are conducted much as among the neighbouring tribes, but the following customs are peculiar to Chitrāl.

After the Mullāh has read the marriage service, the bride is led out by her mother, who hands her over to the bridegroom, receiving a present in exchange. He starts at once for home, but, after leading her out, returns alone and deposits a present of a sword or a gun on the hearth. On the other hand, north of the Hindū Kush he is taken to the bride, and does not go off with her till the next day. In Gilgit the custom is again different, as there is a formal ratification of the marriage on the third day (*ib.* 79 f.). Polygamy is practised, and the custom of the levirate is also common, although it is not compulsory on the widow. In Gilgit, on the other hand, it is compulsory (*ib.* 76). Marital infidelity is extremely common, and the men show little jealousy of their wives. In the neighbouring States of Hunza-Nagar, where old traditions still prevail, infidelity is not regarded as an offence, and custom requires that a man should place his wife at the disposal of his guest. The *droit de seigneur* was also in force down to a comparatively late time, and even now a man considers himself as highly honoured if his wife has attracted the attention of the Thum, or tribal chief, of either of these two States. At the same time, in Chitrāl, a husband has the right to slay the erring couple when he finds them together; but, should he kill one and not the other, he is held guilty of murder (*ib.* 77).

The common form of Musalmān interment is now used. A piece of flat stone or slate, three or four feet long, is placed at each end of the grave, which is neatly plastered over (*ib.* 82). Superstitions are much as in Dardistān. There is a general belief in fairies (cf. *ERE* iv. 401). Tirich Mīr, the highest peak (25,426 ft.) in the country, is said to swarm with them, and to them the Khōs attribute the sounds coming from its glaciers (O'Brien, p. x; cf. Biddulph, p. 59).

LITERATURE.—Almost the only source of information regarding the Khōs as a people is J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta, 1880, which contains a full description of the people and a grammar and vocabulary of their language. D. J. T. O'Brien, *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Khowār Dialect*, Lahore, 1895, gives a brief account of Chitrāl and its inhabitants in the Introduction. These two works have been freely utilized in the foregoing account. A vocabulary mixed up with much grammatical information is contained in G. W. Leitner, *The Languages and Races of Dardistan*, Lahore, 1877.

G. A. GRIERSON.

KHONDS.—See KANDHS.

KIERKEGAARD.—**I. Relation to his father.**—Sören Aabye Kierkegaard was born at Copenhagen on the 5th of May 1813. He was the youngest child of Michael P. Kierkegaard, a retired woollen draper in good circumstances, another of whose sons, P. C. Kierkegaard (1805–88), rose to eminence as bishop of Aalborg. The life of Sören Kierkegaard has but few points of contact with the external world; but there were, in particular, three occurrences—a broken engagement, an attack by a comic paper, and the use of a word by H. L. Martensen—which must be referred to as having wrought with extraordinary effect upon his peculiarly sensitive and high-strung nature. The intensity of his inner life, again—which finds expression in his published works, and even more directly in his notebooks and diaries (also published)—cannot be properly understood without some reference to his father.

The latter came from a peasant home near Ringköbing in Western Jutland, and, as it would seem, was, while yet a mere child, deeply influenced by a Pietistic movement in the district. It is probably to be read as a manifestation of his sincere and earnest temperament, that once, while tending sheep on the moors, the boy Michael, overcome with hunger and cold and a sense of loneliness, mounted a hillock and solemnly cursed God as the dispenser of so wretched a lot. Shortly afterwards he went to a situation in Copenhagen, where he soon began to prosper; but, with his natural tendency to morbid introspection, strengthened by stern religious feeling, he interpreted his later success as a sign that he had with his boyish curse committed the sin against the Holy Ghost; the turn of the tide showed at once that he had been presumptuous in denying God's care of him, and that the sin was too great to be punished (as a less grave sin might have been, *e.g.* by adversity) in this world. This idea still further suffused his religious views and his religious life with gloom and melancholy, and these, again, descended, partly by inheritance and partly by training, upon both of his distinguished sons.

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[1] Cf. S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884, i. 119; T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, do. 1904, i. 226.

[2] See *ERE* iv. 400. For the Maulā'īs see Biddulph, p. 119.

Sören, the child of his old age, came, even as a youth, to surmise that there was some dark secret gnawing at his father's heart, and at length, shortly before his father's death, learned the true facts about the curse. The discovery shook him, as he says, like an earthquake. He made a note of the circumstance, and put it among his private papers, where it was found a considerable time after his death; and, when H. P. Barfod, the first editor of his posthumous papers, showed the note to Bishop Kierkegaard, the latter burst into tears with the cry: 'That is our father's history and ours also.' It should be added that the father was a man of remarkable intellectual gifts, and that, with all his severity, he won the devoted affection of his sons.

2. His personality.—The fundamental and decisive element in Sören Kierkegaard's personality is found by George Brandes in his combined reverence and scorn; by H. Höffding (more in accordance with the fact that he was his father's son) in his melancholy; by O. P. Monrad, his latest biographer, in emotion or passion. Certainly the emotional factor—as it forms the decisive element in personal character generally—best suggests the distinctive feature of Kierkegaard's personality. In his published writings and in his journals we are in touch with a nature of unwonted intensity, with an inner life at white heat. This is seen in his abnormal sensitiveness; he was touched to the quick by things that others might have ignored or easily forgotten. Again, while he was admittedly the most original mind that Denmark ever produced, his thought seldom operated in cool dialectic, but was in its nature 'existential,' expressive of his whole personality; with amazing imaginative fertility he constructs, not chains of reasoning, but 'experiments in psychology,' *i.e.* persons and situations depicting a real, living experience. Similarly, religion was for him, not a group of doctrines requiring merely to be believed, defended, or systematized, but a fact making a tremendous demand upon life; the joy of salvation was to be won in the most intense appropriation of the truth and the most impassioned submission to its claim. His natural melancholy was, as already said, partly an inheritance, strengthened by his early training, and doubtless also by the sickly and infirm body with which his impetuous spirit was united; but it was deepened by his sense of the awful imperative of Christianity and his failure to realize it. His perfervid nature appears also in the iron resolution with which he wrought out his, as he thought, divinely appointed task; for he might claim, as few others, that in all his work he had striven for but one thing; and in prosecuting it he lost friends, means, health, was mocked by the crowd and denounced by the religious, but held on, if not serene, yet undismayed, to the end.

3. His purpose and method.—What, then, was the 'one thing' that he willed? As he makes clear in *Om min Forfatter-Virksomhed* ('My Literary Activity,' 1851), it was religion; or, more definitely, his one aim was to teach his age what it is 'to become a Christian.' When he was about twenty-five years of age—after a period of irresponsible life—the discovery of his father's secret, and his father's death, constrained him to live more earnestly, and he passed his examination for orders and took his degree. About this time, too, he became engaged, but adhered to the engagement for little over a year, being convinced that his melancholy (and perhaps something else) unfitted him for married life. This was, in fact, one of the turning-points of his career. The broken engagement has left its tragic mark on the writings of his earlier period, but this was simply because it had brought him to see that he was not as others, and to realize his true vocation, viz. to hold up the ideal Christian life before his contemporaries. How was this to be done? We shall never understand the real Kierkegaard, never even comprehend rightly any of his books, until we first of all grasp his proposed method—a method not fully understood by himself at first, but gradually revealed to him in the course of events.

His starting-point was the conviction that once more in Denmark the times were out of joint; his fellow-men were so far astray that they could not profit by a direct Christian message. They were all 'Christians'—Christians by birth, just as Jews are Jews by birth—but their life was lived on the plane of sense (the 'æsthetic'), or, at best, on the plane of customary morality. Moreover, Christianity had been appropriated by philosophy, had become part of the 'system' (Hegelianism) which reduces existence to thought, and sees unity and harmony everywhere. The Church itself had forgotten the ideal, and the necessity of personal choice; it preached peace without the sword. The situation seemed to Kierkegaard like that of Greece in the age of the Sophists; and, just as Socrates (who had been the central figure in his graduation theses on *Irony*) sought by his 'irony' to bring his hearers to a sense of their own ignorance, and by his 'maieutic' to help them to bring forth truth, so Kierkegaard proposed by the method of 'indirect communication' to arouse his age from its self-content, and lead it—not in the mass, indeed, but as individuals—to realize what it is to live, and, above all, what it is to live the Christian life. Where the prevailing mode of thought made all easy, he would 'make difficulties.' And his method would be to take his stand, as did Socrates, beside those whom he wished to instruct. He would fabricate characters representative of various aspects of contemporary life, letting each work out his own views. Hence Kierkegaard's most characteristic works are pseudonymous; he is not to be considered as their author, and, indeed, it is only when, in the elaboration of his plan, his fabricated personalities approximate to his own standpoint that he puts his name, as editor, on the title-page.

4. His works.—(*a*) *The 'indirect message.'*—The first phase of the 'indirect message' appears in *Enten—Eller* ('Either—Or,' Feb. 1843), a work in two parts, A's Papers and B's Papers, with Victor Eremita as the ostensible editor. A's Papers are eight in number (including 'The Seducer's Diary,' which is not by A, *i.e.*, it is still further removed from Kierkegaard's own position), and depict various aspects of the 'æsthetic' life—the life of sensuous enjoyment in its most refined form. B's Papers are letters to A, and show how the ethico-religious man, in fitting himself into the ordinary human relations, such as marriage, from a sense of duty, really attains to a higher æsthetic condition than the æsthetic man himself, whose only hope is to realize his state as one of despair, and so 'choose himself,' *i.e.* become a personality. B closes with a sermon which sets forth the true religious attitude as one of continued penitence—'that we are always in the wrong in relation to God'—and ends with the undogmatic dogma that 'only the truth that edifies is truth for thee.' The necessity of decision, of choosing one's personality, of coming to oneself (what one actually decides for is not so important)—such was the message of *Enten—Eller*.

For the moment Kierkegaard thought that his task was done. But in writing B's Papers he had personally attained to a deeper grasp of Christianity, and had come to feel that there was a stage of life higher than the ethico-religious standpoint of B. It was now, probably, that he became more fully cognizant of his plan, and of what was necessary to its development. The higher and more distinctively Christian form of religion is set forth in *Frygt og Bæven* ('Fear and Trembling,' Oct. 1843), the message of which is illustrated by the fact that Abraham was commanded to do what was ethically wrong, *i.e.*, to kill Isaac, and obeyed in virtue of a personal relation to God; he had faith—he staked the earthly, and yet believed that he should possess it still. Such faith is no common or easy thing, but is a relation to the Absolute which baffles reason, and can be won and held only in an infinite passion. In *Gjentagelsen* ('Repetition,' Oct. 1843), Kierkegaard sketches an abortive transition to the religious sphere. 'Repetition' is one of his characteristic ideas; it signifies persistence in, and faithfulness to, a chosen course of life, and is thus opposed to the æsthetic standpoint, with constancy only in change. But Kierkegaard also gives the word a more special meaning—that rather of 'resumption' (*Gjentagelse*, 'taking again')—implying that each higher stage of life carries with it the lower in a transfigured form. *Gjentagelsen* tells of a young man who seeks to pass from the æsthetic to the religious sphere, but for want of a true penitence becomes merely a romanticist; *i.e.*, he simply resumes his old self; and his case is contrasted with that of Job, who humbled himself utterly before God, and at last regained all that he had lost, and more—the true 'repetition."

In *Philosophiske Smuler* ('Philosophical Bits,' June 1844, by 'Johannes Climacus,' with Kierkegaard as editor) he comes closer to his real problem, 'How to become a Christian,' but so far discusses only the general question, 'How can an eternal salvation be based upon a historical event?' As an 'experiment in thought' his pseudonym argues that an appearance of God in time-relations must be a 'paradox' for human reason. Thought must find such an appearance a stumbling-block, and may seek either to reject it or to explain it—both equally in vain. The true procedure of the intellect is to abase itself before the 'paradox,' which can be grasped only in the passion of faith. Such is the condition of salvation, in regard to which, accordingly, the earliest and latest generations are essentially on the same ground. The next step was to indicate what is at once the presupposition of and the obstacle to the great work of faith. This is done in *Begrebet Angest* ('The Idea of Dread,' June 1844), a psychological investigation of the Fall, and so of sin in general. Sin is not to be explained scientifically; psychologically it is preceded by a vague apprehension (*Angest*) of something that both attracts and repels, but this does not bring us to sin itself, which, as an act of the human personality, comes by a 'spring.' In *Stadier paa Livets Vei* ('Stages on the Way of Life,' April 1845) is given a kind of résumé of the foregoing books. This work exhibits the three spheres of life—the æsthetic, the ethical, the religious—and thus supplements *Enten—Eller*, developing the ideas of *Frygt og Bæven* and *Gjentagelsen*. The most important section is the third, entitled 'Guilty—Not Guilty' (based, as are also in part *Frygt og Bæven* and *Gjentagelsen*, upon his personal experiences in connexion with his engagement), a narrative of suffering—suffering resulting from the break with the natural life and from the sense of guilt, which drive the subject of the narrative towards religion in its highest form. Isolated from man, isolated before God, he does not reach peace, for he represents only the approximation to religion. The full statement of what is involved in becoming a Christian is given in the *Afsluttende uvidenskabelig Efterskrift* ('Concluding Unscientific Postscript,' *i.e.* to 'Philosophical Bits,' Feb. 1846, by the same pseudonym and editor). The starting-point of the book is the individual's passionate desire for his own salvation, and its problem is not 'Is Christianity true?', but 'How am I to become a Christian?' The passionate desire rejects the proofs from Biblical theology, from the existence of the Church, and from the philosophy which, in identifying being and thought, distorts Christianity and subverts individuality. Man may construct a logical system; a system of existence is for God alone. The essential truth of Christianity, viz. that the Absolute has entered into time-relations, is a paradox for thought, and can be appropriated only by an impassioned faith. Subjectivity is truth; the essential thing is not *what*, but *how*, we believe.

These works were produced within about four years; but in addition to, and concomitantly with, the pseudonymous books Kierkegaard had issued a series of *Opbyggelige Taler* ('Edifying Discourses') designed for the 'individual' whom his other works might have awakened. By these, moreover, he intended not only to indicate his own religious position, but also to show that—should it ever be questioned—he was a religious writer from the outset. These 'discourses' are marked by the finest spiritual discernment.

(*b*) *The portrayal of ideal Christianity.*—Once more Kierkegaard believed that his special task was finished, and actually thought of seeking a rural charge. But now came the second event that deeply influenced his life and thought. In the early forties the *Korsar*, a satirical journal edited by M. A. Goldschmidt, a friend of Kierkegaard, while holding up to ridicule everybody else of note in Copenhagen, always spoke with something like veneration of Kierkegaard's works. In 1846, Kierkegaard invited the paper to attack him too, and the challenge was accepted. The *Korsar* satirized him—his person, his clothes, his pseudonyms—with pen and pencil. The better class left him in the lurch; the crowd grinned. All this struck Kierkegaard to the heart; he saw in it a proof of the awful depth to which a 'Christian' people had sunk. His scorn for the multitude grew apace, and the political ferments of the time at home and abroad only served to intensify it. But in this bitter experience he won, as he believed, a deeper comprehension of Christianity. He began to work at a series of distinctively Christian writings, mainly in the form of discourses, and published under his own name. Pre-eminent among these are: *Opbyggelige Taler i forskjellig Aand* ('Edifying Discourses in various Spirits'), *Kjerlighedens Gjerninger* ('The Deeds of Love'), and *Christelige Taler* ('Christian Discourses')—all of them 'direct messages.' The first develops the idea that the Christian life necessarily involves suffering; the second sets forth the absolute demand of Christianity ('Thou *shalt* love')—the inevitable suffering must not provoke to hate or scorn; in the *Christelige Taler*, composed of four series of discourses (the third of which bears a motto asserting that Christianity does not call for defence, its function being to attack), Kierkegaard depicts the

Christian life as in its hope, its suffering, its earnestness, entirely unconformable to the world; and in this work we hear, in fact, the first clear note of the coming open challenge to conventional Christianity. Thereafter he wrote *Sygdommen til Döden* ('The Sickness unto Death') and *Indövelse i Christendom* ('Practice in Christianity'), but delayed their publication for various reasons—his respect for J. P. Mynster, primate of Denmark ('my father's priest'), his sympathies with simple-minded people, and his desire not to arrogate to himself a higher Christian standing than he really had. In the meantime he published *Tvende ethisk-religieuse Smaa-Afhandlinger* ('Two Short Ethico-religious Treatises,' 1849); one of them arguing that none but an apostle has a right to let himself be martyred for the truth, the other setting forth the distinction between a genius and an apostle. Then at length followed *Sygdommen til Döden* (1849) and *Indövelse i Christendom* (1850)—by 'Anticlimacus' (indicating that they exhibit an ideal of Christianity which Kierkegaard himself, who is merely the 'editor,' had not attained)—his most powerful works. In the former he analyzes sin as a state of conscious or unconscious despair, as the fatal disease which true Christianity alone can cure; in the latter he depicts reconciliation with Christ, but only through a personal appropriation of Him in His humiliation and suffering, *i.e.* by becoming contemporary with Him in spirit; He who said, 'Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden,' was in the form of a servant—a poor, despised man; and faith is precisely the resolve, produced by a consciousness of sin as the one bane of human life, to follow Him in suffering and humiliation. In *Til Selvprövelse* ('For Self-examination,' 1851) he sums up his conception of Christianity in a popular form. The general conclusion of these works was that Christendom, existing Christianity, the Church, was in reality a travesty of true Christianity. Kierkegaard hoped—and from conversations with Bishop Mynster he believed that he had good grounds for hoping—that the primate would publicly and officially concede this; then would he gladly point the way of grace. But Mynster, on the contrary, was bitterly offended by the works, and kept silence. Kierkegaard still waited, however; and that he too kept silence—for three years—must be regarded as a proof of the absolute sincerity of his hope.

(*c*) *The direct attack upon the Church.*—The final act in Kierkegaard's life-drama—the dark and stormy close—turned upon a word used by H. L. Martensen. Bishop Mynster died in January 1854, and Martensen, in the funeral sermon, spoke of him as a 'witness for the truth' (*Sandhedsvidne*)—as a link in 'the chain of witnesses that extends from the apostles' days to our own.' Kierkegaard had a profound respect for Mynster, but had latterly come to feel that the primate embodied in his own person that travesty of Christian thought and life which the whole series of books from *Enten—Eller* to *Indövelse i Christendom* had been designed to expose and impeach. That Mynster should now be designated a 'witness for the truth' demanded, therefore, a strong protest. Kierkegaard at once drafted an article in which he asserted that Mynster, far from being a *Sandhedsvidne*, had, in fact, completely failed, alike in life and in word, to present the Christianity of the NT, one distinctive note of which is 'suffering.' This article, however, was held over until Martensen was appointed to the vacant see, and was eventually published in *Fædrelandet* in December. It made a great sensation. Martensen replied, and Kierkegaard followed with one philippic after another, evoking rejoinders from many hands, and kindling a controversy of such fierceness that Danish writers compare it with Pascal's conflict with the Jesuits. Kierkegaard then issued successively the nine numbers of *Öieblikket* ('The Moment'), in which the master of irony set forth his indictment of existing Christianity in language that none could mistake. His standing thesis here was that the Christianity of the NT was now simply non-existent. His claim was, not that he was a Christian, but that he understood what Christianity was. His demand was 'honesty'—a frank avowal on the Church's part that it was not Christian, and he called upon every honest man to sever himself from it till that avowal was made.

The strain was too much for Kierkegaard's sickly frame. The bitterness and ruthlessness of his language in these last days were doubtless partly due to the pain and weakness which now oppressed him. In September 1855 he fainted in the street and was taken to a public hospital. Here he was occasionally visited by Pastor Emil Boesen, a friend from childhood's days, who found him very low, but looking for death with humble trust. On one occasion Boesen asked him if he would take the sacrament, and Kierkegaard, resolute to the last, answered, 'Yes, but not from a clergyman.' He died on 11th November 1855.

5. His achievement.—Kierkegaard had in an extraordinary measure the gifts of poetic passion and keen dialectic power. Either alone might have sufficed to give him a place among the great figures of European literature or philosophy. In combination they produced the 'indirect communication' and the arraignment of the Church. The indirect message pulsates with emotion, but is rendered obscure by its dialectic structure; the attack upon the Church moves on logical lines, but was virtually a failure by reason of its violence. Kierkegaard's critics have drawn attention to the fundamental antinomy in his literary production as a whole—his earlier insistence upon the subjectivity of truth, and his later demand for unconditional submission to an objective Christianity. Formally, no doubt, the contradiction is glaring; yet one may ask whether it is not inherent in Christianity itself. For the Apostle Paul, too, everything turns on the objective fact that God has become man, and yet all depends upon the subjective appropriation of that fact. It must certainly be admitted that the peculiar manner in which Kierkegaard developed the two sides of the antithesis has served to keep his distinctive views outside the main current of European thought, though in substance—identified, it may be, with other names—they have found their own place; we must remember, moreover, that what Kierkegaard had in view from first to last was not the universal idea, but the individual soul. Be this as it may, there remain in Kierkegaard's achievement the keen psychological analysis with which he struck at the roots of the 'system'; the searching presentation of the Christian life as the ideal in the light of which the existing Church shrivels to a mere travesty; the often tender and always impressive appeal of his 'discourses'; and the profound suggestiveness of his doctrines of subjectivity, the paradox, repetition, the spring, and the necessity of our becoming contemporary with Jesus Christ—to say nothing of the brilliant style and the lyrical profusion which he brings to their expression. There remains also the pathos of his lonely life—that of a great sympathetic soul, like Isaiah or Dante—seeking the response that never came; and, last—perhaps greatest—of all, the absolute self-consecration and singleness of purpose with which, in bodily and mental suffering, and in 'the loss of all things,' he strove, both in his personal life and in his work, to realize the ideal.

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ii. *MONOGRAPHS.*—A. Bärthold, *Sören Kierkegaard: eine Verfasser-Existenz eigner Art*, Halberstadt, 1873; G. Brandes, *Sören Kierkegaard*, Copenhagen, 1877; F. Petersen, *Sören Kierkegaard's Kristendomsforkyndelse*, Christiania, 1877; W. Rudin, *Sören Kierkegaards person och författarskap*, i. (Stockholm, 1880); H. Höffding, *Sören Kierkegaard som Filosof*, Copenhagen, 1892, Germ. tr.^{2}, Stuttgart, 1902; P. A. Rosenberg, *Sören Kierkegaard*, Copenhagen, 1898; C. Jensen, *Sören Kierkegaards religiöse Udvikling*, Aarhus, 1898; R. Hoffmann, *Kierkegaard et la certitude religieuse*, Geneva, 1907; O. P. Monrad, *Sören Kierkegaard, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Jena, 1909; see also K. Kromann, in *Dansk biografisk Lexikon*, ix. [1895] 152 ff.; for Kierkegaard's youth, family, etc., V. Ammundsen, *Sören Kierkegaards Ungdom hans Slægt og hans religiöse Udvikling*, Copenhagen, 1912; and, for his engagement, *Kierkegaardske Papirer: Forlovelsen*, ed. R. Meyer, do. 1904. Kierkegaard's *Synspunktet for min Forfatter-Virksomhed*, giving a full explanation of his 'indirect method,' was issued under the supervision of P. C. Kierkegaard at Copenhagen in 1859, as was also *Dömmer selv!*, a sequel to *Til Selvprövelse*, do. 1876.

A. GRIEVE.

KIN, KINSHIP.—I. *INTRODUCTORY.*—1. Use of term.—At the present time the word 'kinship' is used in different senses by writers on human society. In one of these senses, which corresponds with the ordinary usage of the English language, the word applies to the relationship set up by consanguinity, and is dependent ultimately on the institution of the family, this term being used for the social group consisting of a man, his wife, and their children. When used in this way, the term may include cases in which the relationship depends on some kind of social convention, such as adoption. By many writers on sociology, on the other hand, the meaning of the word has been extended so as to include, or even apply primarily to, the relationship set up by common membership of a clan or other similar social group. In this sense, the meaning of the word is not dependent on the institution of the family, but it is applied to persons with whom there is no tie of consanguinity, or of the equivalent conventional relationship. Every member of an American or African clan or of an Australian or Melanesian moiety stands in a social relation to every other member of his clan or moiety, a relation which involves definite social duties; and some sociologists use the words 'kin' and 'kinship' explicitly for this relationship, while still more use the words loosely so that they apply both to this group-relationship and to that set up by consanguinity or conventional membership of the family. The use of the terms in these widely different senses is a potent source of confusion, and it is therefore necessary to limit the use of 'kinship' to one or other of the two senses. In this article both kinds of relationship are dealt with, but the first of the two senses will be implied when the words 'kin' and 'kinship' are used in the body of the article.

2. Definition.—The fact of kinship can be determined and defined in several different ways: by consanguinity, genealogy, terminology, or function.

(1) The least satisfactory is *consanguinity*. Among ourselves such a relationship as that which exists between parent and child, or between brother and sister, can also come into existence by social conventions such as adoption (*q.v.*), but among many peoples this formation of relationships by social processes may be the habitual practice. A consanguineous relationship may count for little or nothing unless it has been ratified by some kind of social process, or a social process may result in the formation of a relationship between persons wholly devoid of any consanguineous tie. Thus, in the Banks Islands in Melanesia the relationship of parent does not come into existence by the facts of procreation and parturition, but it is such acts as the payment of the midwife, the first feeding of the child, or the planting of a tree on the occasion of a birth that determine who are to be the parents of the child for all social purposes. Similarly, among a polyandrous people like the Todas, it may be the performance of a ceremony during pregnancy that determines which of the husbands of the mother is to be regarded for all social purposes as the father of the child. Indeed, the fact of fatherhood is so strictly determined by this ceremony that a male who performs it becomes the 'father' of the child even if he be only a few years of age or have never seen the mother before he is called upon to take part in the ceremony. Kinship cannot be determined and defined by consanguinity even among ourselves, still less among other peoples.

(2) *Genealogy.*—Nearly all, if not all, peoples of the world preserve, either in writing or in their memories, a record of those with whom they are related by consanguinity or by those social conventions which, as we have seen, serve the same social purpose. Among many peoples, and especially among those of rude culture, the knowledge of relationship thus genealogically determined is far more extensive than among ourselves. Pedigrees preserved in the memories of a rude tribe of cannibals may rival, if not surpass, anything which even the most enthusiastic genealogist is capable of carrying in his mind. Among such peoples it is the facts recorded in the pedigree of a person that largely determine his use of terms of relationship and regulate all the social functions which those terms connote.

(3) If the use of terms of relationship is determined by pedigrees, it follows that the definition of kinship by the *terminology* of relationship must be less satisfactory than by genealogy; but this third mode of defining kinship is even less valuable for another reason: the terms used for relatives as determined genealogically are precisely the same as those used for the relationships set up by membership of the clan or other social group, and therefore it is impossible by their means to define the tie of kinship in the strict sense.

(4) *Function.*—Two persons may be regarded as kin if their duties and privileges in relation to one another are of the kind usually associated with ties of kinship. Thus, a number of social functions and psychological ties belong to the relationship of parent and child, and it has been held[1] that those functions and ties can be used as a means of defining kinship. It is evident that such a mode of definition could be of no practical utility even in the case of near relatives, and it would break down absolutely in the case of more distant relationships. Any description of kinship must take into account the social functions and psychological ties which exist between kin, but they cannot be used as a means of definition.

The genealogical mode, therefore, is that which furnishes the most exact and convenient method of defining kinship. Kinship may be defined as relationship which can be determined and described by means of genealogies. As thus defined, kinship will be both narrower and wider than the relationship set up by membership of the clan or other similar social group. If, as is now customary,[2] the term 'clan' is used for an exogamous social group, it would be only members of the father's or mother's clan, according as descent is patrilineal or matrilineal, who would be kin if the term were used for membership of the social group. To take a specific instance: if kinship were used exclusively for the clan-relationship, the father would not be kin where there is matrilineal descent, nor would the mother's brother be kin where descent is patrilineal. If, on the other hand, kinship is used for relationship determined genealogically, both father and mother's brother will be kin, whatever the mode of descent, but members of the father's or mother's clan so remote that no genealogical connexion can be traced will not be kin.

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[1] B. Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*, London, 1913, p. 172 f.

[2] See *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, London, 1912, p. 156.

The definition of kinship as genealogical relationship will also exclude the metaphorical sense in which terms of relationship are often used by peoples at all stages of culture. This article deals especially with kinship as thus defined, but the relationships set up by common membership of the social group are also considered, especially in so far as those relationships are connected with kinship proper.

II. *THE TERMINOLOGY OF RELATIONSHIP.*—The collection of terms denoting relationship used among a people is usually spoken of as the system of relationship of that people. Such systems comprise a definite body of social facts which can be described, classified, and compared with one another. Such comparison shows that the systems used by different peoples vary greatly, and these variations are found to depend on the application of different principles of classification of relationships. For instance, while we class together the father's brother and the mother's brother under the common denomination of 'uncle,' most peoples of the world assign these two relatives to social classes so distinct and with such different functions that their social systems would be reduced to chaos if they were driven to adopt our mode of classification. On the other hand, two relatives whom we distinguish definitely, as the father and the father's brother are by nearly all peoples of rude culture put into one social category, and the social life of these peoples is such that this mode of classification leads to no confusion, but the common nomenclature carries with it an organized system of common social functions.

Two chief varieties of system of relationship are usually distinguished, which, following Lewis Morgan, are called the classificatory and the descriptive. This distinction is not a happy one; for all systems are classificatory in that they class together certain relatives, while the term 'descriptive' is unsatisfactory, as many of the systems to which it is usually applied, such as our own, are not in any way descriptive, while descriptive terms are often prominent in the systems called classificatory. The classificatory principle is, however, so pronounced and shows itself so conspicuously in a large group of systems used by peoples of rude culture that it is a fairly appropriate term and will probably long continue to be used.

The use of Morgan's other term cannot be so readily justified. His 'descriptive' systems include many which are wholly devoid of a descriptive character. Thus, if our own system were truly descriptive, we should not speak of a grandfather or uncle, but should always distinguish between the father's father and the mother's father, and between the father's brother, the mother's brother, the husband of the father's sister, and the husband of the mother's sister. Such descriptive nomenclature occurs in many European and in some African systems of relationship, and Morgan justified his inclusion of systems like our own in the descriptive category by the assumption that they had formerly possessed a truly descriptive character.

1. The classificatory system.—As already indicated, the special feature of this system is the application of its terms to large groups of persons so that in its most complete form no single term can be used as the means of distinguishing an individual. Thus, the term 'brother' is not only used for sons of the same father and mother, but is also applied to all the sons of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, the terms 'brother' and 'sister' in these latter cases being used in a similar wide sense. In other varieties of the classificatory system, the term is used even more widely for all the sons of the father's sisters and of the mother's brothers, 'brother' and 'sister' being used in a similar wide sense. Similarly, the term applied to the father is also used of all the brothers of the father and of all the husbands of the mother's sister, 'brother' and 'sister' being again used in the classificatory sense. One result of this usage—one which is a potent source of misunderstanding and perplexity—is that the language of a people who follow the classificatory system possesses no equivalents for our European terms of relationship, so that an accurate translation of those terms is impossible. Similarly, European languages have no equivalents for the terms of a classificatory system. It is, therefore, necessary to state at the outset that, when an English term of relationship is used in this article, it is to be taken in its usual English meaning except when definitely stated to be used in a classificatory sense.

There are several classes of terms of relationship. In the case of certain relatives, and especially the father and mother, it is often the case that one term is used when addressing such a relative, and another term when speaking of him or her to others. The terms used in address correspond to our familiar terms, such as 'Papa' or 'Daddy,' but the distinction between the two kinds of term in classificatory systems is much more rigorous than we are accustomed to.

Another variant is found in some places where terms of relationship are used in a collective or reciprocal sense. Thus, a Fijian highlander will address his father's father as *tai*, but, when speaking of himself and his father as a social group, he will say that they are *veitumbuni*, using a word *tumbu*, which in other parts of Fiji is a term by which a grandfather is addressed.

A feature very widely present in classificatory systems is a peculiar reciprocity in the use of terms of relationship, which suggests that they denote relationships rather than relatives. This reciprocal usage, which among ourselves is limited to relatives of the same generation, such as brother, sister, and cousin, occurs between persons of different generations in the classificatory system, so that a man and his mother's brother or a man and his grandchild may use only one term between them; there may be only one term for the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son, or for that between father's father and son's son. A similar usage occurs between husband and wife so that there is only one in place of our two terms. It is as if the word 'spouse' were the only term in the English language for the partners in a marriage.

It is probably a variation of this principle of reciprocity that is seen in a very peculiar and characteristic mode of terminology for brothers and sisters. In most classificatory systems, two brothers use one term, two sisters the same or another often closely related term, while a brother and sister use a wholly different term. A similar custom is general in the nomenclature for brothers- and sisters-in-law: two men use one term, two sisters the same or a different term, while a man and woman use still another term or other terms. This feature also characterizes the nomenclature for cross-cousins in some Fijian systems. Looked at from another point of view, this character-

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istic of classificatory systems means that the use of a term of relationship does not depend merely, as it does with us, on the sex of the person addressed, but also on that of the speaker. Thus a man may use one term for his sister and a woman another; similarly, a man may use one term for his sister's son and a woman a quite different term for hers, and men and women may use different terms for their grandchildren. In some cases, even, a father and mother may use different terms for their child.

Another feature which is very general in classificatory systems is the use of different terms for certain relatives according to age. This is especially frequent in the case of the relationships between brothers and between sisters, while frequently the brothers of the father, and less frequently the sisters of the mother, are denoted differently according as they are older or younger than the father or mother. This practice occurs only very rarely, if at all, in the case of the relationship between brother and sister, and is very exceptional in the case of the mother's brothers or the father's sisters. Thus, systems are very frequent in which there is a term for elder brother (man speaking) and elder sister (woman speaking); another for younger brother (man speaking) and younger sister (woman speaking), but only one reciprocal term is used both for brother (woman speaking) and for sister (man speaking), irrespective of age.

Two varieties of this practice occur: in some cases the usage is determined by the relative ages of those who use the terms, while in other cases it is determined by the ages of the children of some more or less distant ancestor. In the latter case, a man will address a relative as elder if the latter belongs to an elder branch of his pedigree, even if he (the speaker) is the older in years. These usages may be distinguished as dependent on age and seniority respectively.

Still another feature very general in classificatory systems is the presence of a rigorous distinction between relatives through father and mother. This is especially frequent in the case of those whom we call uncles and aunts, and less frequently applies also to grandparents and grandchildren.

One result of these various peculiarities of the classificatory system is that it usually possesses a far richer terminology than exists among ourselves or other European peoples. Thus, even without distinctions according to age, it is theoretically possible to have sixteen different terms for the different varieties of the grandparent-grandchild relationship; two each for father's father, father's mother, mother's father, and mother's mother, one term of each pair being used by the grandson and the other by the granddaughter; and, similarly, two terms each for son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, and daughter's daughter, one term of each pair being used by the grandfather and the other by the grandmother. There is no known system of relationship in which all these sixteen possible terms are present, but in some Fijian systems as many as eight of them are in use, the absent terms being those which depend on the difference in sex of the grandchildren.

The richness of terminology of classificatory systems may also be increased by the presence of terms for relationships for which we have no special designation. Thus it is common to find special terms used beween men who have married sisters or between women who have married brothers, and special terms may also be used between the parents, or even between the grandparents, of a married couple, marriage between two persons thus setting up a relationship between their parents or their grandparents which is of sufficient social importance to lead to the use of a special term.

If the principle of reciprocity is in full action, so that two persons of different generations use only one term for each other, the number of terms will be diminished; but, even so, most classificatory systems are very rich in terminology.

It is also common in the classificatory system to find relatives classed together whom we distinguish. Some of these classifications, such as the father's brother with the father or the mother's sister with the mother, are due to the working of the classificatory principle, and are found in nearly all classificatory systems, but there are others which occur only here and there. Thus, the mother's brother is frequently denoted by the same term as the father-in-law and the father's sister's husband, or the father's father may be classed with an elder brother, or the father's sister's son with the father. Most of these correspondences in nomenclature can be shown to be due to special forms of marriage, and will be considered more fully in the various sections of art. MARRIAGE; all that need be noted here is that features of this kind introduce an element of complexity into classificatory systems of relationship which combines with their variations in richness of nomenclature to give these systems an immensely greater variety than is found in European systems. This variety is so great, and there are so many gradations, that any systematic grouping of classificatory systems is far from easy; but certain main distinctions are possible.

2. Varieties of the classificatory system.—In his great work on the *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Morgan considered three main varieties of the classificatory system—the Ganowanian system found in N. America, the Turanian in Asia and some parts of Oceania, and the Malayan in Polynesia—but the Ganowanian and Turanian systems were found to be so similar that he regarded them as forming one variety, the Malayan forming another. Though the name was badly chosen, the Malayan system has much right to be regarded as a special variety. Morgan drew his chief example from the Hawaiian Islands, and hence we may call it the Hawaiian system. It occurs also among the Maoris of New Zealand and probably in other parts of Polynesia. It is a very simple system, in which the classificatory principle is carried to an extreme degree, so that all relatives of the same generation are classed with brothers or sisters, all of the previous generation with the father and mother, and of the generation before that with the grandparents, so that in the Hawaiian Islands, excluding relatives by marriage, there are only fifteen terms of relationship altogether.

There is, however, no hard and fast line between this system and the more usual forms of the classificatory system. Thus the system of Eddystone Island in the British Solomons differs only in the fact that, while all relatives of the generation older than the speaker are classed with the father or mother, one relative in the generation following the speaker, viz. the sister's son, is distinguished from the rest.

A more definite principle of classification can be based upon the special features derived from different forms of marriage. Thus, the cross-cousin marriage (see MARRIAGE) produces a number of special features which enable the system of a place where this marriage is practised to be recognized at a glance. Similarly, other special forms of system dependent on forms of marriage can be distinguished, though numerous gradations are possible owing to the fact that the special features dependent upon a form of marriage often persist after the marriage has ceased to be practised, and their disappearance may be so gradual that no line can be drawn between a system dependent on a given form of marriage and one in which the evidence for such dependence is definitely absent. Again, systems of relationship may depend on more than one form of marriage, such systems being, as a rule, very complex.

If special varieties of the classificatory system are thus dependent on social institutions such as marriage, the question arises whether its general character has not been determined by some form of social organization, and there can be little doubt that it has been derived from the clan. Wherever the clan exists, classificatory terms of relationship are used, and they are not only applied to persons with whom definite genealogical relationship can be traced, but they are also used to denote membership of the clan. Thus, all the men of the clan of the speaker and of his own generation are classed in terminology with his brothers. If the clan is patrilineal, all men of the previous generation of his clan are classed with his father, and all of the succeeding generation with his sons. Similarly, all the men of his mother's clan and of her generation are classed with his mother's brother, and all the men of the succeeding generation with his mother's brother's children.

Moreover, most forms of the classificatory system possess certain features which suggest that they may have arisen out of that special form of the clan system which may be called the dual organization, in which a tribe or other community consists of two exogamous moieties. The children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters are classed with brothers and sisters, while the children of mother's brothers and of father's sisters are classed together, but distinguished from brothers and sisters; this is a mode of classification which would be the natural result of the dual organization. If the term 'classificatory' is regarded as unsatisfactory, one would be justified in speaking of the group of systems to which this name is usually applied as 'clan systems.'

3. Morgan's descriptive system.—The systems classed together by Morgan as descriptive show a number of varieties characterized by the different degrees in which the descriptive principle is in action. A fully descriptive system would contain a number of terms denoting single persons or very small groups of persons, and all other relatives would be named by combinations of these primary denotative terms. The Celtic and Esthonian systems appear to be examples of this descriptive usage, in which many relatives, including the grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins, are described by their relation to the father and mother.

At the other end of the scale come such languages as English, which are completely devoid of any descriptive character, but consist exclusively of denotative and classificatory terms.

An intermediate variety is found among the peoples who speak Arabic, in which there are simple denotative terms for the grandparents and for the brothers and sisters of father and mother, while the wives and children of the latter are indicated by descriptive terms; thus, the mother's brother being *khāl*, the mother's brother's wife is *marat khāl*, his son *ibn khāl*, and his daughter *bint khāl*.

Morgan classed such systems as our own with the descriptive variety, because he inferred that they had once had this character. It is, however, far from satisfactory to class together systems which differ so widely from one another. In spite of the objection that all terms of relationship are in one sense denotative, such systems as our own might be classed together as 'denotative,' while the term 'descriptive' might be reserved for those systems in which description is prominent. These different systems might also be named by means of the forms of social structure from which they are derived. Our own system and those of most Teutonic and Romance languages contain a number of terms which can be used of one person and of one person only, and the persons thus definitely indicated are the members of the family (a social group consisting of a man, his wife, and their children). The more remote from the family the relationship is, the less definite becomes the nomenclature. Such systems are clearly founded on the social institution of the family. It is only for those persons who form part of the family that an exact system of nomenclature is necessary. Such systems might appropriately be called 'family' systems.

Such a system as that of the Arabic language, on the other hand, shows the past or present existence of a state of society in which some special motive exists for the clear distinction of brothers and sisters of the father and mother as well as of their wives and children. Such social motives are to be found in some form of the kindred or extended family, and it has been suggested[1] that these systems might be called 'kindred' systems.

It is an interesting illustration of the neglect of the subject of relationship by sociologists that only recently has any attempt been made to use European systems of relationships as instruments for the study of social organization. When the lesson taught by the study of the classificatory system has been learnt, much light will be thrown on the nature of Indogermanic and Semitic social organization by means of the terminology of relationship.

4. Geographical distribution of relationship-systems.—(1) *Europe.*—Most of the Romance and Teutonic languages possess systems of relationship in which denotative terms are prominent and from which descriptive terms are absent. The systems of these peoples are of a simple character, possessing relatively few terms; only in French is there any sign of distinctions according to age. In the past, however, European languages were richer in nomenclature, Anglo-Saxon, Middle High German, and Latin distinguishing the brothers and sisters of the father from those of the mother—relatives now classed together. The Latin system was an extremely definite example of a denotative or family system, but it is possible that it was largely a legal product, and that a less strictly scientific nomenclature was in use among the people. The Celtic languages present high development of the descriptive principle, and this principle also shows itself to some extent in the Scandinavian languages.

Slavic systems of relationship are in the main denotative, but some of them present features of a classificatory kind. Thus, in Bulgaria the father's brother's son is called *otchicha brat*, or 'brother through the paternal uncle,' being thus classed with, and at the same time distinguished from, a brother. Similarly, in Poland cousins are classed with brothers or sisters, but distinguished by terms referring to their relationship through an uncle or aunt. In Poland also the grandfather's brothers may be classed with the grandfather, and the terms used for the father's and mother's brothers are also applied to the cousins of the father or mother. These features suggest that Slavic systems are not very far removed from a classificatory form, that they are classificatory systems in which special denotative terms have come into use for the brothers and sisters of father or mother, but their children still show by their nomenclature that they were once definitely classed with brothers and sisters. In this connexion it is interesting that some Slavic systems, such as the Bulgarian, show the distinction between elder and younger brothers which is so characteristic of the classificatory system; thus, in Bulgaria there are special terms for the younger brother and younger sister of the husband.

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[1] Rivers, *Kinship and Social Organisation*, p. 80

The Magyar system has many features which distinguish it in a striking manner from other European systems, and shows many points of similarity with certain systems of N. America, and possibly also with those of northern Asia. Especially striking in this respect is the presence of definite terms for elder and younger brother and for elder and younger sister, and the classification of uncles and aunts with elder brothers and sisters. Another feature of interest is the wide use of a term *unoko*[1] in the designation of cousins and uncles, which seems to show the existence of a mode of social grouping in which descendants of a grandparent are classed together.

The Finnish system differs much less from Indogermanic systems, and the linguistic character of some of the terms suggests that this is the result of modification produced through the present environment of the people. According to the list furnished to Morgan, the Esthonian system is characterized by a very high degree of development of the descriptive principle.

The Turkish system resembles the Magyar to some extent, the differences being probably due to Arabic influences.

The Basque language preserves the use of a single reciprocal term between brother and sister, a feature so characteristic of the classificatory system as to suggest that the whole system must once have had this character.

(2) *Africa.*—Most of the peoples of the northern part of this continent have been influenced by the Arabic system, the special features of which have already been described. Closely similar systems are found among the Shilluks, Dinkas, and other Nilotic peoples. These systems are likewise characterized by the use of special distinctions for half-brothers and sisters, arising out of the practice of polygyny. This feature is also present in the systems of the Bantu peoples, which differ, however, from the Nilotic systems in being definite examples of the classificatory principle with complexities dependent on certain forms of marriage.[2] In W. Africa, on the other hand, the available evidence points to the absence of the classificatory system, its mode of nomenclature being largely descriptive.[3]

(3) *Asia.*—Some of the peoples of Asiatic Turkey appear to use systems of relationship of the same kind as the Turks and Magyars, with decided traces of Arabic influence, while the Armenian system is descriptive.

The systems of northern Asia are definitely of a classificatory kind, approaching the Hawaiian type in the north-eastern part of the continent. The system of the Tungus classes the elder brothers of a man with his father's younger brothers—a feature similar to those characteristic of the Magyar system.

The Persian system is largely descriptive, and the use of terms borrowed from Arabic for uncles and aunts suggests that these relatives had originally no distinctive terms; but this would leave open the question whether the previous nomenclature was classificatory or descriptive.

All the Dravidian languages, and probably most of the other languages spoken in India at the present time, use the classificatory system, but this appears to have been absent from Sanskrit, which had to some extent a descriptive character.

The systems of the Burmese and Karens are not only definitely classificatory, but they show an extreme development of the classificatory principle which brings them very near to the Hawaiian form.

The Chinese system resembles those of Burma in its highly developed classificatory character, but with the important difference that in any one class, such as 'brother,' a number of distinctions are made according to the line of descent to which a relative belongs. The Chinese system has carried out the method of classification on special lines, and may be regarded as a highly specialized variety of the Hawaiian form of classificatory system. The Japanese use a classificatory system approaching the Hawaiian type, but, in place of the further development of the classificatory character which has taken place among the Chinese, there appears to be a movement in the denotative direction. Little is known of the nomenclature of relationship of the Malays or of other peoples of the Malay Archipelago.

(4) *Oceania.*—In New Guinea and Melanesia the classificatory principle is universal. Their systems show very great variety, due partly to different degrees of simplification in the direction of the Hawaiian form, partly to the influence of numerous peculiar forms of marriage.

Most Polynesian systems are of the Hawaiian type; but some, such as the systems of Tonga and Tukopia, show forms intermediate between the Hawaiian and the more usual forms of the classificatory system.

(5) *Australia.*—The systems of this continent are classificatory, and are characterized by great richness of nomenclature, but by few of the complexities which are so general in Melanesia. The relationship of Australia is closely connected with the elaborate system of social groups known as matrimonial classes, which seem to be only systematizations of the classificatory system. They seem to form a highly specialized mode of putting the classificatory principle into action in the regulation of marriage.[1]

(6) *America.*—Chiefly through the work of Morgan we have a larger collection of material from N. America than from any other part of the world, and with one exception all the recorded systems are definitely classificatory, with all the main features, including the distinction of age, well developed. These systems are subject to much variation, depending partly on the occurrence of changes in the direction of the Hawaiian system, partly on the classing together of certain relatives, probably as the result of certain ancient forms of marriage. At present, however, this subject has received so little attention that these features may be found to depend on social conditions different from those which have determined similar features elsewhere. There seems to be a tendency in N. America to class together relatives of different generations if of one clan, and it is possible that this may explain certain features which elsewhere depend on forms of marriage.

The single exception to the subjection to the classificatory principle is formed by the Eskimos, whose system is chiefly denotative and descriptive. The brothers and sisters of the grandparents are classed with the grandparents, and the children of cousins with nephews and nieces, and on those grounds Morgan assigned the Eskimo system to the classificatory category; but it is less classificatory than such European systems as the Bulgarian and Magyar, which it resembles in the use of distinctions for age. Like these systems, it has classificatory features which point to its having once been a classificatory system which has now been greatly modified in the denotative and descriptive directions.

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[1] The present writer is indebted for his knowledge of this term to Mrs. Singer and Mr. L. K. Kiss. It is remarkable that none of the terms in which this word occurs were included by Paul Hunfalvy in the list which he drew up for Morgan.

[2] See esp. J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 128; and H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1912-13, i. 217.

[3] N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Edo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, London, 1910, pt. i. p. 112, and *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, do. 1913, pt. i. p. 72.

[1] A. R. Brown, *JRAI* xliii. [1913] 143 ff.

At present we have no exact knowledge of the system of relationship of any S. American people.

III. *SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELATIONSHIP.*—These may be grouped under three heads: duties, privileges, and restrictions. An examination of the social functions of relationship shows that a given relative may be subject to an obligation to perform certain social actions, or may be allowed to perform certain actions which are not permitted to others, or may not be permitted to perform actions which are allowed to others.

The very important place which these functions of relationship take in the culture of many peoples may be illustrated by contrasting them with similar functions found among ourselves. In our own society it is the duty of a father to provide for his child up to a certain age, but it is very difficult to state in any exact way the social actions which are included under the term 'provide.' The duties of a father may be put under two heads: his legal obligations, and those which devolve upon him by custom, the latter differing greatly in different ranks of society. The duties of a child towards his father are even less definite and obligatory, and, when we pass to more distant relatives, their social functions become so indefinite that they can hardly be said to exist. Many may regard it as a duty to help all those related to themselves by the exercise of social interest, if not in a more material way, but such duties are in no way obligatory, and are not even sufficiently habitual among all classes to allow them to be described and classified. If we study the past of our own society, however, we find that the social duties of relatives have been much more definite, the best known of these duties being that of assisting in the payment of *wergeld*, or blood-money, the proportions of this payment due from relatives of different kinds being very strictly regulated.

In other European countries the duties of relatives are more definite and more strictly regulated than in England, one such function in France, for instance, being that of taking part in a family council.

Among such peoples as the Hindus and Chinese the social functions associated with relationship are very definite and strictly regulated, this regulation being especially obvious in those cases in which social institutions, such as marriage, are associated with much ceremonial.

It is, however, when we pass to peoples of ruder culture that the social functions of relationship reach their highest degree of definiteness and strictness of regulation, and among these peoples definite duties, privileges, and restrictions are not limited to the parents or other near relatives, but are present, and may even be more numerous and definite, in the case of other relatives, such as the husband of the father's sister or the son of the mother's brother. Sometimes the duties and privileges associated with relationship seem to have become the basis of important social institutions.[1]

Before considering these social functions in detail, we may point out the definite relation between the presence of social functions and the terminology of relationship. In such a region as Oceania, there is a definite correlation between the presence of special terms for relatives and social functions. It is only when such a relative as the mother's brother or the father of the son's wife has definite social functions that a special term is applied to him, distinguishing him from other relatives. There is reason to believe that one relative is distinguished from another in nomenclature only if his social functions produce a need for this distinction. At present we have little information about the social functions of relationship in other parts of the world, but the rule which holds good of Oceania will probably be found to be of general application.

1. Parents and children.—In general, we have little definite knowledge concerning the social regulations connected with parent and child. Among peoples who use the classificatory system these relatives do not appear to be subject to such clear-cut regulations as occur with other relationships. It is possible, however, that this may be due only to lack of interest in this relationship on the part of the collector of ethnographical data. The presence of special regulations connected with such relatives as the mother's brother or the mother-in-law is apt to attract the attention of the investigator and lead him to neglect the more homely relationship of parent and child. Nevertheless, there is a certain amount of evidence derived from the comparison of the duties of parents with those of other relatives. In general, it would seem that the relations between parents and children associated with the classificatory system are much like those which exist among ourselves. The father and mother provide for the child, feed, clothe, and train him, while the child obeys his parents and assists them in their occupations. There are, however, definite exceptions. Thus, among many peoples, while the duty of obedience to the father may exist, it is nevertheless a matter of explicit social regulation that this duty is less obligatory than in the case of other relatives, such as the mother's brother. Disobedience to the father is explicitly recognized as a privilege, and may perhaps even be an obligation. Similarly, there may be definite restrictions on the conduct of father and child, as in the Banks Islands, where a father and son should not eat together. The social functions of the mother must also be judged chiefly by the exceptions. In some societies the duty of suckling is not confined to the mother, but other women have a right to share in this function, and cases are known in which a child is definitely removed from all social contact with the mother at a certain age, sometimes as early as three years. In general, however, it would seem that the social relations existing between parents and children among peoples who use the classificatory system differ but little from those customary among ourselves.

2. Brother and sister.—Here, as in the case of parents and children, we have little knowledge concerning social functions except in those cases where there are definite restrictions. In some societies the restrictions between brother and sister are of the most rigorous kind, being examples of the custom usually known as 'avoidance' (see below). In several parts of Melanesia a brother and sister are not allowed to speak to one another or even see one another, and this avoidance may be so strict that it continues after death, a man not being allowed to enter a house in which his dead sister is lying. Avoidance between brothers is not known to occur in any pronounced form, but in Lepers' Island in the New Hebrides a man may not laugh in the presence of his brother, and this practice is probably to be associated with the custom of avoidance.

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[1] See A. M. Hocart, *JRAI* xliii. 101 ff., 109 ff.

3. **Mother's brother and sister's son.**—Special customs associated with this relationship are very frequent among those who use the classificatory system, and the importance of the distinction of the mother's brother from the father's brother is shown by the fact that such special functions are quite unknown in connexion with the latter relative.

Among many peoples who use the classificatory system the mother's brother is definitely responsible for the welfare of the child, for his upbringing and training for adult life. He may take the chief place, or at any rate a more important place than the father, in the ceremonies which accompany social events, such as naming, the assumption of the first clothing, circumcision, initiation, and marriage. The duty of obedience to the mother's brother may be so strict that a boy will at once respond to any command, however contrary to his own wishes. A man and his sister's son often share their property in common, and there is little doubt, even if the practice no longer occurs, that in Melanesia they once had their wives in common.

In other cases a man's sister's son has the right to use, or even to take for his own use, any of the possessions of his uncle. This right has reached its highest development in Fiji, where the rights of the sister's son, or *vasu*, of a chief over the property of his uncle extend to the property of all the subjects of his uncle, so that the *vasu* of a chief is able to take for his own use any of the property, as well as the women, of the district over which his uncle rules.

The close relation between a man and his mother's brother is natural in a state of mother-right, in which these persons necessarily belong to the same social group. The relation is often found, however, in combination with patrilineal institutions, in which cases it is probably a survival of an older matrilineal condition (see MOTHER-RIGHT). In other cases the special position of the mother's brother may be the result of other social institutions (see MARRIAGE).

4. **Mother's brother's wife.**—Sometimes there are definite privileges or restrictions on conduct in connexion with this relative, but these are usually the result of her position as a potential wife (see MARRIAGE).

5. **Father's sister.**—Special privileges in connexion with this relative have been recorded only in Melanesia, Polynesia, and India, but probably occur elsewhere. In Melanesia this relative is especially honoured, but with this honour rules of avoidance are sometimes associated, while the relationship resembles that between a man and his mother's brother in that to some extent a woman and her brother's child have their property in common. In India this relative is important chiefly in marriage ceremonial (see MARRIAGE).

6. **Father's sister's husband.**—Special conduct towards this relative has been recorded only from Melanesia, where it forms an extreme example of the joking relation (see below), a man being the natural butt for the wit and practical jokes of his wife's brother's son.

7. **Cousins.**—Rules of conduct between cousins are best known in the case of those, often called cross-cousins, who are the children of brother and sister. Where special rules of conduct exist between those of different sex, they are usually the outcome of the potential relationship of husband and wife.

8. **Grandparents and grandchildren.**—Sometimes the grandfather has a special position of authority, while in other cases definite ceremonial duties in connexion with his grandchild may be assigned to him.

For relatives by marriage see MARRIAGE.

9. **Avoidance.**—Many of the restrictions on the conduct of relatives have in common the feature that relatives avoid one another or avoid certain modes of conduct, and these restrictions are often grouped together as customs of avoidance. These customs have attracted especial attention from anthropologists in the case of relatives by marriage, and will be again considered in the art. MARRIAGE, but their general character may be discussed here.

They are very various in kind. In the most extreme cases relatives must never be in the presence of one another. The avoidance may be so strict that a person who has to avoid a relative will not even enter a village where this relative is living, and in the extreme case of Lepers' Island in Melanesia the avoidance between brother and sister persists after death. In other cases the avoidance is less absolute. A person may leave a house into which a relative enters, or, if relatives who should avoid one another meet, they may get out of each other's way sufficiently to ensure that they do not touch one another, or they may pass with averted eyes.

Sometimes avoidance includes the total prohibition of speech, or relatives may speak to one another only so long as they do not see one another. In other cases, relatives may speak to one another at a distance, or conversation may be limited to strict matters of business, and it is only familiar conversation that is disallowed. Another manifestation of avoidance is that relatives may not use certain words or expressions when speaking to one another.

A custom which seems to be related to these customs of avoidance is the prohibition of the personal name, not only when relatives speak to one another, but when one speaks of the other in his absence. This prohibition applies not only to relatives who avoid one another, but often to a much wider circle of relatives. In other cases, the avoidance may apply only to special acts, *e.g.*, touching the head, taking a load from another, or approaching a relative when he is sitting.

Customs of avoidance are more frequent, and usually more strict and elaborate, between persons of different sex than between those of the same sex, and it is certain that they are often associated with the idea that sexual relations between those who avoid one another are liable to take place. In some parts of Melanesia certain relatives of different sex will practise avoidance only so long as sexual relations have not taken place between them, and the practice of, or failure to practise, avoidance will be a sign to all of the nature of the relations existing between the persons in question. This association of avoidance with the possibility of sexual relations seems to be especially definite in the case of relatives by marriage, but there is little doubt that the association is also present in connexion with the avoidance between brother and sister, and that, where this avoidance is present, sexual relations between brother and sister are recognized as liable to occur. It would seem as if one of the functions of customs of avoidance is to ensure that sexual relations shall not occur between certain relatives. The presence of these regulations in connexion with certain relatives and not with others shows that a tendency towards sexual relations is present in the one case and not in the other. They suggest that the relations now so strictly forbidden that the persons concerned are not even allowed to see or speak to one another must once have occurred frequently, if not habitually and as an organized practice, between those who now avoid one another. The fact that similar avoidances exist between persons of the same sex shows, however, that the prohibition of sexual relations is not the only factor in the production and maintenance of these customs. In Melanesia the avoidance between male relatives is less pronounced than between relatives of different sex, and usually applies only to such actions as one approaching when the other is sitting down, or one taking a load from the shoulder of the other. There is much reason to believe that these customs are the result of social relations arising out of the interaction and fusion of peoples.

10. Privileged familiarity.—In Melanesia customs exist which seem to be the converse of those of avoidance. Customs of avoidance prohibit any kind of familiarity between certain relatives, while the customs now to be considered enjoin such familiarity and make it a regular and habitual feature of conduct. In the Banks Islands, for instance, the relation of the custom to avoidance seems to be shown by the fact that one of the most frequent forms which avoidance takes is the prohibition of the custom of joking. In these islands the highest development of such joking occurs in the case of the husband of the father's sister. Whenever a person meets this relative, it is not merely his privilege, but it would seem almost his duty, to jeer at, insult, or play practical jokes upon him. In the cases of other relatives, this mode of behaviour seems to be less habitual. It is possible in these islands to arrange relationships in a series, from the husband of the father's sister at one end to the wife's mother at the other, in which there is a gradual transition from a condition in which joking is habitual to one in which not only is it absolutely forbidden, but the social relations are of a kind which remove all opportunity for its occurrence.

The only other people among whom this organized system of joking has been recorded are the Crow and Hidatsa Indians of N. America,[1] but in their case it would appear that the privileged joking is practised between members of certain clans rather than between certain relatives. It is persons whose fathers belong to the same clan who are allowed to play practical jokes upon one another.

See also INHERITANCE (Hebrew) and INHERITANCE (Teutonic).

LITERATURE.—Lewis H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, xvii., Washington, 1871), *Ancient Society*, London, 1877; J. Kohler, *Zur Urgeschichte der Ehe*, Stuttgart, 1897; A. L. Kroeber, *JRAI* xxxix. [1909] 77 ff.; J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, *Psyche's Task*², do. 1913 (for avoidance); W. H. R. Rivers, *Kinship and Social Organisation*, do. 1914, *History of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

KINDNESS.—1. Etymology and usage.—The etymology of the word 'kindness' (connected with A.S. *cynde* or *cunde*, 'natural' or 'in-born,' O.E. *ȝecyndnys*, 'generation,' 'nation'; cf. Lat. *genus*) indicates the original meaning of the word as equivalent to 'kinship,' 'near-relationship' (see *OED*, *s.v.*), or the natural right or title derived from birth. Afterwards it came to be used of natural aptitude or inclination; and, finally, of (1) the quality of being kind, and (2) kind feeling or affection, *e.g.*, S. Johnson, *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. G. B. Hill, Oxford, 1905, i. 89 ('Milton'): 'He left the university with no kindness for its institution' (quoted in *OED*). The objective use of an act prompted by kind feeling (*e.g.*, 'a kindness' or 'kindnesses') easily followed from the above usages. In general, kindness, whether viewed as a subjective quality or as manifested objectively in outward behaviour, word, or act, carries with it varying shades of goodwill, which may be expressed in such terms as friendliness, mercifulness, generosity, thoughtfulness, and the like. It is opposed to the spirit of harshness, unrelenting anger, or *hauteur*, vengeance, callousness, etc.

2. Ethics.—As a manifestation under special conditions of a fully developed justice, or benevolence (*q.v.*), or love (*q.v.*), the virtue of kindness occupies a high place in the ethical teaching of both OT and NT (see *HDB*, art. 'Kindness'). It is associated with the character of God in such passages as 1 S 20^{14}, 2 S 2^{6} 9^{3}, Neh 9^{17}, Ps 31^{21}, and Is $54^{8.10}$, where חָסֶד, often used with the suggestion of hospitality, is applied to the dealings of God with men. Further, as connected with the Christian doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, it finds expression in Lk 15^{20}, Mt 5^{45}, Ac 14^{17}. In the teaching of our Lord the spirit of kindness is inculcated in various directions—*e.g.*, as one with the forgiving disposition (Mt 18^{15}), as the love of enemies or persecutors (Mt 5^{44}), as an exhibition of the law of mercy overriding legal enactment (Lk 13^{15} 14^{1-5} [in relation to the Sabbath]), as a tenderness towards little children or babes (*βρέφη*, Lk 18^{15}), and in the 'golden rule' (Mt 7^{12}) as defining our general treatment of humanity. Such parables as the Prodigal Son, the Good Samaritan, the Two Debtors, or Dives and Lazarus illustrate kindness in action. Similarly, it finds expression in apostolic ethics—*e.g.*, Ro 12^{10}, 1 Co 13^{4}—and elsewhere, while it calls forth a whole group of beautiful words, like *χρηστότης* (Ro 3^{12}, Gal 5^{22}, 2 Co 6^{6}, Col 3^{12}, Eph 2^{7}, Tit 3^{4}), *φιλανθρωπία* (Ac 28^{2}, Tit 3^{4}), *φιλαδελφία* (Ro 12^{10}, 1 Th 4^{9}, He 13^{1}, 1 P 1^{22}, 2 P 1^{7}), *ἀγαθωσύνη* (Ro 15^{14}, Gal 5^{22}, Eph 5^{9}, 2 Th 1^{11}), the last of which differs from its synonym *χρηστότης* in expressing a more active type of goodwill, *bonitas* as compared with *benignitas* (R. C. Trench, *Syn. of the NT*⁹, London, 1880, p. 231 f., who quotes Lightfoot on Gal 5^{22} to that effect). We may add to the above list *φιλοξενία* (Ro 12^{13}) and *φιλόξενος* (1 Ti 3^{2}, Tit 1^{8}, 1 P 4^{9}) as indicating a form of kindness—hospitality to strangers—commended by the apostles to the early Church.

The doctrine of the divine Fatherhood may lead, as has frequently been noted, to a one-sided conception of God's nature. God's *φιλανθρωπία* is a kindness that coexists with 'wrath,' the eternal hostility of perfect Holiness to evil. It is not to be interpreted as 'softness and sentimentalism.'

'The mere amiability of "le bon Dieu" of much modern opinion is but one step removed from the moral indifference of Omar Khayyám's "Good Fellow"' (W. H. Moberly, in *Foundations*, London, 1912, p. 279, referring to the *Rubáiyát*, lxiv.: 'He's a Good Fellow, and 'twill all be well').

The Christian conception of kindness marks a great advance on Greek ethics. Perhaps the highest conception of benevolence is to be found in Aristotle's portraiture of the *ἐλευθέριος*, or liberal-minded man, in *Nic. Eth.* IV. i. 16 f., where nevertheless 'we do not find a word about benevolence or love to others as prompting acts of liberality' (A. Grant, *The Ethics of Aristotle*³, London, 1866, ii. 60). The claims of others do not enter into the activity of Aristotle's virtuous man, for whom 'the first requisite to nobleness seems to be self-respect' (*ib.* 59). Kindness, like *caritas*, begins at home—*i.e.*, as a virtue of kinship. In general, 'one touch of nature makes the whole world kin' (Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, III. iii. 175); but it is in the family that the virtue of kindness finds its earliest sphere of influence. The love of the mother for her child is the original ethical source of the law of kindness in human life.

'Love for children is always a prior and stronger thing than love between father and mother' (Drummond, *Ascent of Man*, London, 1894, p. 392).

Drummond finds in the struggle for the life of others the ethical principle which many observers eliminate from the cosmic process. The emergence of affection or kindness from the circle of the home is due to the advance in ethical conception which accompanied the moral progress of mankind. It was seen that kindness narrowed to a circle might readily become a vice.

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[1] R. H. Lowie, *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, ix. [1912] 204.

> 'Mollis illa educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes et mentis et corporis frangit' (Quintilian, *Inst.* I. ii. 6).

It may rightly be argued, as J. H. Muirhead has done (*Elements of Ethics*^{2}, London, 1904, p. 199), that 'love of humanity is the best guarantee against the exclusiveness which turns family affection into a vice.' It is the function of 'justice touched with emotion' to extend the relationships of human beings from those of mere contract to actual friendship or love. As a disposition of the character or as a practical outcome of the humanitarian spirit, kindness of temper, of speech, and of act is a potent civilizer of human intercourse. To it belong the ideas of courtesy, cheerfulness, good humour, and hospitality, the desire to make the best of all, irrespective of social status, to behave so as to cause people to feel at home in the society to which they belong or have been introduced, to diffuse the spirit of radiant goodwill and sympathy, and to practise all 'the chivalries of the Christian gentleman.' The full ethical history of kindness would deal with the various motives and sanctions by which a primitive sentiment developed into a duty which embraced the realm of human and animal life. In Christian ethics 'the cup of cold water' (Mt 10^{42}) is the symbol of the everyday habit of charitableness, which is expressed with striking emphasis in contradistinction to the old law of revenge in the precept 'Give to him that asketh thee' (Mt 5^{38-41}; see C. Gore, *Sermon on the Mount*, London, 1896, ch. v.). Even quixotic kindness may on occasion be justified as a Christian duty: the classic example is the bishop's treatment of Jean Valjean in *Les Misérables*. 'Indiscriminate charity' (see art. CHARITY), on the other hand, is not Christian, inasmuch as it is a mere 'indulgence of our feelings of compassion with little trouble to ourselves and at the expense of society' (Gore, *loc. cit.*). Furthermore, the higher ethic demands a certain delicacy of method and manner in the doing of a kindness.

> The truly kind man 'knows for how much the manner, because the heart itself, counts, in doing a kindness. He goes beyond most people in his care for all weakly creatures; judging, instinctively, that to be but sentient is to possess rights' (W. H. Pater, *Marius the Epicurean*^{4}, London, 1898, ii. 7).

If the kindness of the Christian ideal founds a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, it will likewise support a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and protest against unnecessary inhumanity in vivisection. Indeed, the rights of all dumb creatures to kind treatment, as passages quoted above show, is an integral feature of Christ's teaching, besides being a certain corollary of His broad humanity. Browning is but expressing the Christian standpoint in this matter when he says:

> 'God made all the creatures and gave them our love and our fear,
> To give sign, we and they are his children, one family here'
> (*Saul*, vi.).

3. Psychology.—To the psychologist kindness is a subjective emotion owing its development and practical manifestations to the nature of the object or stimulus which acts on it. There is a difference of opinion among experts as to whether tender emotion is primary or otherwise; but the former opinion is now more generally held. The maternal instinct which compels a mother to protect and cherish her child is common to the higher ranges of animal life, and was probably transferred to members of the other sex. Infanticide among savages might seem to negative this theory; but, in replying to this objection, W. MacDougall (*Introduction to Social Psychology*^{5}, London, 1912, p. 69) writes:

> 'There is no feature of savage life more nearly universal than the kindness and tenderness of savages, even of savage fathers, for their little children. All observers are agreed upon this point. I have many a time watched with interest a bloodthirsty head-hunter of Borneo spending a day at home tenderly nursing his infant in his arms. And it is a rule, to which there are few exceptions among savage peoples, that an infant is only killed during the first few hours of its life. If the child is allowed to survive but a few days, then its life is safe; the tender emotion has been called out in fuller strength, and has begun to be organized into a sentiment of parental love that is too strong to be overcome by prudential or purely selfish considerations.'

The same writer combats Bain's view that tender feeling is as purely self-seeking as any other pleasure, and pronounces it to be 'a gross libel on human nature.' The extensions of this primary impulse from the relationship of a mother and her child are almost endless. It has a marked association with the emotion of pity on the one hand and moral indignation on the other, especially in relation to the sight of helpless suffering, the sounds or cries of pain or distress, and, imaginatively, to the woes depicted in some moving romance. Here disgust or aversion caused by the sight of blood or wounds is overcome by the impulse of kindness, as in the case of the Good Samaritan. With the priest and Levite of the story, neither pity nor disgust ripens into the impulse to succour. Kindness is an element 'of the system of emotional dispositions that constitutes the sentiment of love' (MacDougall, *op. cit.*, p. 123). In its active manifestations it is really a complex emotional state. The germ is tender emotion, but tender emotion tinged with pity, moral indignation, or sympathetically induced pain or pleasure, as the case may be. That such emotions appear to be innate in some people is a matter of experience. Cf. the Scots proverb, 'Kindness comes o' will: it canna be coft' (bought). On the other hand, it is also a psychological law that reciprocation intensifies sentiment. Some instincts die for want of satisfaction; 'the milk of human kindness' tends to foster a corresponding impulse in those to whom it is imparted; cf. Sophocles, *Aj.* 522:

> χάρις χάριν γάρ ἐστιν ἡ τίκτουσ' ἀεί.

And 'kindness, nobler ever than revenge' (Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, IV. iii. 130), is one of those altruistic impulses which bind the human family together and ennoble the social order.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities quoted above, the following may be consulted: H. Sidgwick, *Methods of Ethics*^{6}, London, 1901, bk. iii. chs. iv., viii.; J. R. Seeley, *Ecce Homo*^{13}, do. 1876, chs. xix., xx.; F. G. Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, New York, 1901; J. Butler, *Sermons*, ed. J. H. Bernard, London, 1900, xi., xii. 'Upon the Love of our Neighbour.'

R. MARTIN POPE.

KING.

Introductory (A. E. CRAWLEY), p. 708.
Egyptian (G. FOUCART), p. 711.
Greek and Roman (A. C. PEARSON), p. 715.
Indian (L. H. GRAY), p. 720.
Iranian (L. C. CASARTELLI), p. 721.
Muslim (C. DE VAUX), p. 723.
Semitic (A. S. TRITTON), p. 725.
Teutonic and Litu-Slavic (O. SCHRADER), p. 728.

KING (Introductory).—The title 'king' is difficult to define, except in rather broad terms. The history of the institution of 'kingship' is similarly complex; various lines of social evolution have produced it at different times and in different ways. The following definition may be accepted as applying to modern times: 'king' is 'the usual title of the male sovereign ruler of an independent State, whose position is either purely hereditary, or hereditary under certain legal conditions, or, if elective, is considered to give to the elected the same attributes and rank as those of a (purely or partly) hereditary ruler.'[1] In English history the term 'king' first appeared as the name of chiefs of the Anglo-Saxon kins. The O.E. *cyning*, *cyng*, or *cing* seems to imply the 'representative' of the *cynn*. Each tribe elected its *cyning* from a 'royal' *cynn*. When Wessex rose to predominance in the 10th cent., these tribal kings disappeared, and the Wessex king was the representative of the Angel-cynn.

The Greek *βασιλεύς*, the Latin *rex*, the Persian *shāh*, and the Hebrew *melek* present other aspects of the institution. The early Greek *ἄναξ* is an ethical rather than a political term. In *βασιλεύς* and *rex* there are proofs of priestly office and survivals of magical duties. The reasons for the abolition of the monarchy by the Romans remain somewhat obscure. It is a remarkable fact that the term *rex* was practically a tabued word ever afterwards. To avoid it, the emperors adopted such designations as *imperator* and *princeps*. The Oriental ideas of a divine king, as exemplified by Persia, China, and Japan, hardly suffice to explain the horror of the Roman attitude. The religious aspect of kingship is to be seen in the Hebrew *melek*.

1. Origins.—Anthropological research has lately revolutionized opinion as to the origin of kingly office. Without excluding the elements of leadership, organization, and generalship in war, J. G. Frazer has established by a long array of facts the theory that among primitive peoples it was the medicine-man, the shaman, or public magician who laid the foundations, at least in part, of the kingly office.

> 'Beginning as little more than a simple conjurer, the medicine-man or magician tends to blossom out into a full-blown god and king in one.'[2]

R. H. Codrington observes of the Melanesian political system:

> 'The power of chiefs has hitherto rested upon the belief in their supernatural power derived from the spirits or ghosts with which they had intercourse. As this belief has failed, in the Banks' Islands for example some time ago, the position of a chief has tended to become obscure; and as this belief is now being generally undermined a new kind of chief must needs arise, unless a time of anarchy is to begin.'[3]

Here the spiritual and temporal powers are combined in one person. In other cases there is a convergence of the two.

> Thus, in New Guinea, 'chiefs have not necessarily supernatural powers, but a sorcerer is looked upon as a chief';[4] and in Matabele land the power of the witch doctors was as great as, if not greater than, the king's.[5]

It is true, in a logical sense, that the dual rule of the pope and the emperor in mediæval Europe is a case of division; historically it was a case of accidental competition, the spiritual power aiming at political ascendancy. This result had been anticipated in lower cultures. Centuries later in date, but ages earlier in evolution, the Pelew Islanders provide an instructive example.

> 'In some of the islands the god [a man possessed by a divinity] is political sovereign of the land; and . . . is raised to the same high rank, and rules, as god and king, over all the other chiefs.'[6]

Two psychological tendencies may be traced in these elemental ideas about the divine king or human god: a veneration for authority and a belief in magic. The intense feeling of loyalty shown by the Jacobites is a modern instance of the former tendency; popular beliefs about the supernatural power of the pope and even the priest among Roman Catholic peasants are an instance of the latter.

The Siamese language has no word 'by which any creature of higher rank or greater dignity than a monarch can be described; and the missionaries, when they speak of God, are forced to use the native word for 'king.'[1] 'In India every king is regarded as little short of a present god.'[2] Among the Battak of Sumatra there rules a king who is held to be a god.[3] The Sultan of Menangkabau was worshipped similarly.[4] In the South Sea region the same ideas prevailed. The king of Tahiti was identified with the gods of the land.[5]

Frazer's view has its most luminous illustration in the Malay beliefs collected by W. W. Skeat.

> 'The theory,' he concludes, 'of the real divinity of a king is said to be held strongly in the Malay region. Not only is the king's person considered sacred, but the sanctity of his body is supposed to communicate itself to his regalia and to slay those who break the royal taboos. Thus it is firmly believed that any-one who seriously offends the royal person, who imitates or touches even for a moment the chief objects of the regalia, or who wrongfully makes use of the insignia or privileges of royalty, will be *kĕna daulat*, that is, struck dead by a sort of electric discharge of that divine power which the Malays suppose to reside in the king's person and to which they give the name of *daulat* or sanctity. The regalia of every petty Malay state are believed to be endowed with supernatural powers; and we are told that "the extraordinary strength of the Malay belief in the supernatural powers of the regalia of their sovereigns can only be thoroughly realised after a study of their romances, in which their kings are credited with all the attributes of inferior gods, whose birth, as indeed every subsequent act of their after-life, is attended by the most amazing prodigies." Now it is highly significant that the Malay magician owns certain insignia which are said to be exactly analogous to the regalia of the divine king, and even bear the very same name. . . . It seems, therefore, to be a probable inference that in the Malay region the regalia of kings are only the conjuring apparatus of their predecessors the magicians.'[6]

2. The supernatural aspect of kingship.—Turning to special aspects of the curious personal influence which is the prototype of the divinity that 'doth hedge a king,' and to some extent of his political power, we find the primitive king (or tribal or clan chief) to be very often not so much a representative of his people as a puppet responsible for their welfare and the course of nature determining it.

> 'At Rome and in other cities of Latium there was a priest called the Sacrificial King or King of the Sacred Rites, and his wife bore the title of Queen of the Sacred Rites. In republican Athens the second annual magistrate of the state was called the King, and his wife the Queen; the functions of both were religious. . . . Many other Greek democracies had titular kings, whose duties, so far as they are known, seem to have been priestly.'[7]

> Again, Asia Minor in historical times was 'the seat of various great religious capitals peopled by thousands of sacred slaves, and ruled by pontiffs who wielded at once temporal and spiritual authority, like the popes of mediæval Rome. Such priest-ridden cities were Zela and Pessinus. Teutonic kings, again, in the old heathen days seem to have stood in the position, and to have exercised the powers, of high priests. The Emperors of China offer public sacrifices, the details of which are regulated by the ritual books. The King of Madagascar was high-priest of the realm.'[8]

Such cases are complete prototypes of priestly rule as it has occurred in Hebrew and European society, but they derive from the exactly analogous authority of the savage sorcerer, who establishes an unofficial, but imperative, influence over native credulity. The fact is interesting that, where the ruler, either in primitive or in modern times, has not combined religious duties with political office, the credulous public have often treated him as a priest or a god. The fact indicates a more or less permanent association between authority and supernatural power in the popular mind.

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[1] *OED*, *s.v.*

[2] J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 375.

[3] *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 46.

[4] J. Chalmers, in *JAI* xxvii. [1897–98] 334.

[5] L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, London, 1898, p. 154.

[6] Frazer, *Magic Art*, i. 389, quoting J. Kubary, 'Die Religion der Pelauer' in A. Bastian, *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, Berlin, 1888, i. 30 ff.

[1] E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, London, 1898, p. 142.

[2] M. Monier-Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, London, 1883, p. 259.

[3] *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, iii. [1870] 289.

[4] W. Marsden, *Sumatra* 3, London, 1811, p. 376 f.

[5] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* 2, London, 1832–36, iii. 108.

[6] Frazer, *Magic Art*, i. 398, 362.

[7] *Ib.* i. 44 f.

[8] *Ib.* i. 47 f.

The primitive sorcerer and the primitive 'king,' his successor, were associated with the regulation of natural forces and the course of the seasons. Terms equivalent to 'god' or 'king' are regularly applied to the sorcerer of the seasons, just as his powers are demanded of the political ruler. Responsibility for the social welfare is balanced by social veneration.

'The king of Loango is honoured by his people "as though he were a god. . . . They believe that he can let them have rain when he likes; and once a year, in December, which is the time they want rain, the people come to beg of him to grant it to them."'[1] Among the Wanyoro of Central Africa, 'the great dispenser, he who has absolute and uncontrollable power over the rain, is the king; but he can divide his power with other persons, so that the benefit may be distributed over various parts of the kingdom.' The Barotse on the Zambesi believe 'that a chief is a demigod, and in heavy thunderstorms the Barotse flock to the chief's yard for protection from the lightning. I have been greatly distressed at seeing them fall on their knees before the chief, entreating him to open the water-pots of heaven and send rain upon their gardens. . . . The king's servants declare themselves to be invincible, because they are the servants of God (meaning *the king*).'[2] Rajah Brooke, the English ruler and benefactor of Sarawak, was regarded by his subjects as possessing magical powers for social welfare. 'Once when a European remarked that the rice-crops of the Samban tribe were thin, the chief immediately replied that they could not be otherwise, since Rajah Brooke had never visited them, and he begged that Mr. Brooke might be induced to visit his tribe, and remove the sterility of their land.'[3] To come nearer home, 'it was the belief among the ancient Irish that when their kings acted in conformity with the institutions of their ancestors, the seasons were favourable, and that the earth yielded its fruit in abundance; but when they violated these laws, that plague, famine, and inclemency of weather were the result.'[4]

The last case, among others, indicates that a social inertia has its effect in producing such dependence upon responsible persons. It is so in the relations of people and priest, and of labour and capital. When science is yet unborn, results meteorological are believed to be in the control of human rulers, on the same lines as are social happenings.

The power of the people against the 'king' is very early exemplified. Primitive folk dealing with a defaulting magic-king are not unlike the Commonwealth dealing with Charles I. The difference is one of education.

In W. Africa, 'when prayers and offerings presented to the king have failed to procure rain, his subjects bind him with ropes and take him by force to the grave of his forefathers, that he may obtain from them the needed rain.'[5] If harvest fails in Loango, the king is deposed.[6] 'Fetish kings' are common in Africa; they afford remarkable instances of the combination of religious and civil power. On the Grain Coast there was one who was regarded as 'responsible for the health of the community, the fertility of the earth, and the abundance of fish in the sea and rivers; and if the country suffers in any of these respects [he] the Bodio is deposed from his office.'[7]

Put into modern terms, this is merely dissatisfaction with the government, whose permanent, and in many cases nominal, head is a king.

Popular resentment for failure to fulfil responsible functions has gone further.

'In the time of the Swedish king Domalde a mighty famine broke out, which lasted several years, and could be stayed by the blood neither of beasts nor of men. Therefore, in a great popular assembly held at Upsala, the chiefs decided that King Domalde himself was the cause of the scarcity and must be sacrificed for good seasons. So they slew him and smeared with his blood the altars of the gods.'[8] When the Chukchi suffered from a pestilence, the shamans persuaded the people that the chief must be slain.[9]

3. Departmental kings.—The association of sacred or magical functions 'occurs,' says Frazer, 'frequently outside the limits of classical antiquity, and is a common feature of societies at all stages from barbarism to civilisation. Further, it appears that the royal priest is often a king not only in name but in fact, swaying the sceptre as well as the crosier.'[1] It appears that specialization was as familiar to primitive society as it is to us. Kings of rain, of fire, and of water are described by Frazer.

The natives of the Upper Nile acknowledge as 'kings' only 'the Kings of the Rain, *Mata Kodou*, who are credited with the power of giving rain at the proper time, that is, in the rainy season. . . . Each householder betakes himself to the King of the Rain and offers him a cow that he may make the blessed waters of heaven to drip on the brown and withered pastures. If no shower falls, the people assemble and demand that the king shall give them rain; and if the sky still continues cloudless, they rip up his belly, in which he is believed to keep the storms.'[2]

Two famous instances of 'departmental' kings of nature are the Cambodian king of the fire and king of the water.[3] These men have no political authority; 'they are simple peasants, living by the sweat of their brow and the offerings of the faithful.' Accounts vary, however; one avers that they are members of royal families, that is to say, their families are 'royal.' The offices are hereditary—another interesting point. There is a political king of Cambodia who interchanges gifts with those two mysterious personages. They are clearly survivals, and the term 'king' as applied to them is significant.

4. Royal tabus.—Where royal tabus are connected with a ruler's daily life and action, the same magical or supernatural functions are to be inferred as existing or surviving. The tabus are intended to preserve not so much the life of the king as his mystic power and communion with the forces of nature—his 'virtue,' or *mana*. In the case of a special language employed when speaking to or of the king, it is not clear whether we have to deal with a mere ceremonial respect for royalty or a real tabu.

The sacred language devoted to the king of Siam includes special terms for his head, feet, and even his breath. Particular verbs are used for sleeping, eating, and other actions.[4] The smallest detail of the life of a king in Loango was regulated by tabus.[5] For the kings of Egypt 'everything was fixed . . . by law, not only their official duties, but even the details of their daily life. . . . The hours, both of day and night, were arranged at which the king had to do, not what he pleased, but what was prescribed for him.'[6]

A widely spread tabu is that the king may not be seen when eating or drinking. Again, the king is confined to his palace, and his face is veiled.[7] The case of the Mikado was an extraordinary instance of tabu.[8] The practice of killing the king is explained by Frazer as due to a desire to prevent his mystic power from decaying,[9] but the subject is still obscure.

The continuity in European civilization of these ideas with the later aspects of kingship is shown by the case of the Athenian βασιλεύς, the Roman *rex*, and others.[10] In England and France the belief that the touch of the king cured scrofula lasted till comparatively modern times.[11]

The theory of the divine right of kings was a recrudescence of the same tendency, but not a survival. It was a legal theory, chiefly due to Hobbes, and then exaggerated by Filmer.[1]

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[1] Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 396, quoting authorities.

[2] F. S. Arnot, *Garenganze*, London [1889], p. 78.

[3] H. Low, *Sarawak*, London, 1848, p. 259.

[4] J. O'Donovan, *The Book of Rights*, Dublin, 1847, p. 8 n.

[5] J. B. Labat, *Relation historique de l'Ethiopie occidentale*, Paris, 1732, ii. 172 f.

[6] A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, Jena, 1874, i. 354.

[7] J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, London, 1856, p. 129.

[8] Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 366 f., quoting S. Sturlason, *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, tr. S. Laing, London, 1844, saga i., chs. 18, 47.

[9] F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 15.

[1] Frazer, *op. cit.* ii. 1.

[2] 'Excursion de M. Brun-Rollet dans la région supérieure du Nil,' *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, ii. [1852] 421.

[3] Frazer, *op. cit.* ii. 3 ff.

[4] Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, p. 142.

[5] Bastian, *op. cit.* i. 355.

[6] Diodorus Siculus, i. 70.

[7] Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911 p. 117 ff.

[8] *Ib.* 2 ff.

[9] Frazer, *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 9 ff.

[10] Frazer suggests that the Roman *rex* was considered to be an incarnation of Jupiter (*Magic Art*, ii. 174 ff.).

[11] T. J. Pettigrew, *Superstitions connected with the History and Practice of Medicine and Surgery*, London, 1844, p. 117 ff. see, further, art. KING'S EVIL.

5. Division of political and religious kingship.—The process and causes of the gradual separation of the civil and religious functions of the king have been described by Frazer:

> 'The burdensome observances attached to the royal or priestly office produced their natural effect. Either men refused to accept the office, which hence tended to fall into abeyance; or, accepting it, they sank under its weight into spiritless creatures, cloistered recluses, from whose nerveless fingers the reins of government slipped into the firmer grasp of men who were often content to wield the reality of sovereignty without its name. In some countries this rift in the supreme power deepened into a total and permanent separation of the spiritual and temporal powers, the old royal house retaining their purely religious functions, while the civil government passed into the hands of a younger and more vigorous race.'[2]

Typical examples are those of Japan, Mexico, and Athens.[3] The W. African practice of having a 'fetish,' or religious, king and a political king seems not to be due to the causes cited above.

6. Evolutionary importance of the king.—An interesting aspect of the early evolution of the kingship is its social importance. It has been argued that the rise of monarchy was essential to the emergence of the race from savagery.[4] The development proceeds from the chief of a clan or tribe to the king, generally *primus inter pares*, and not autocratic, of various tribes federated or consolidated into a nation. The case of Wessex is typical. In the Roman world 'king' was a superior title to 'emperor'; mediævalism reversed the precedence. In mediæval times also the nation was often in contrast with the kingdom, the latter being rather the domain of a lord.

Apart from the advantages of organization under one sovereign, various social privileges follow from the institution. Thus the king serves as a general asylum and refuge for the poor, the weak, and the wronged. The appeal to Cæsar and the Haro of the Channel Islands are two cases out of many. The king protects strangers and fatherless children. He is a focus of patriotic feeling.

7. Intellectual aspect of the early kingship.—With regard to the primitive religious or fetish king, Frazer observes that such men must have been the ablest. They were not mere fighting men, but medicine-men, dealing with the crude elements of science and art. Carpenter has pointed out that the savage sorcerer, shaman, and medicine-man are very frequently of a type intermediate between the two sexes, and that such types are often credited, and justly, with unusual insight. But for the power exerted by these types, he thinks that social functions would never have broadened out, but that men would have remained hunters and fighters, and women agricultural labourers and managers of the house.[5]

8. The modern attitude to kingship.—Since the 17th cent. there has been a tendency to regard kingship as a survival, unsuitable to a democratic political society. America and France have substituted a president of the republic. This involves once more the question of terminology. The president with a veto or casting vote is a king in effect; the king who may only advise is not a king in effect.

9. Dramatic and mock kings.—The imitation of kingship in folk-drama and ritual may be a survival from the old religious office and its duties, or merely an assimilation. The extraordinary prevalence of this is illustrated by Mannhardt and Frazer abundantly. It includes the May King, King Hop, King of the Bean, and others. The mock kings, suffering death as substitutes for the real, form a curious problem.[1]

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article. For the legal status of primitive kings see A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1894–95, i. 387–417.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

KING (Egyptian).—A vast subject like kingship in Egypt demands delimitations and eliminations. The Pharaoh, in the Nile valley, was, in a sense, an epitome of the whole life of the nation, and the Egyptian monuments and texts are full of his names and symbols. We need not discuss the historical or administrative aspect of the monarchic institution, or the material life of the king, but shall confine ourselves to a treatment of the kingship of classical Egypt in its religious and ethical bearings.

1. The religious character of Egyptian kingship.—From the very first the most striking characteristic revealed by the examination of the titles, names, and prerogatives of the king in Egypt has been the exclusively religious—or rather divine—origin of the various elements involved in the Egyptian definition of monarchy. Even the references to functions or prerogatives of a feudal or military character are, in reality, simple deductions from the divine functions or nature of the monarch. This is true even of things which might at first sight seem to be survivals or reminiscences of historical or political events. Investigation shows that here also the reminiscences are purely mythological in character (*e.g.*, the alleged protohistoric wars from which the king derives some of his titles, or whose anniversaries he celebrates). In fact, there is nothing in any of the attributes or denominations of the kingship (titles, costume, functions, etc.) which might be a survival or indication of the historic modes of formation or of the origins of the monarchy. Some material signs (such as the sceptre [*hikū*] of the shepherd people, or the plaited lock, worn exclusively by gods and their royal heirs) enable archæology to outline hypothetical theories regarding the possible origin of the masters who imposed their rule upon the Nile valley; but the texts and monuments yield no information whatever regarding these beginnings; and, as far back as we can go, we find ourselves in the presence of a conception of monarchy which is composed of purely theological elements and based solely upon the assimilation of the king to the gods who are the makers of the world and the mythical founders of Egyptian society. This explains the importance attached by the Egyptians to the power and to the exact utterance of the different names by which they designated the king. These names, taken together, form a kind of *abrégé* of the nature of the Pharaoh, and of the royal attributes.

2. The divine lineage of the king.—The various names of the king prove, by all their elements, that the divine filiation of the master of Egypt is as ancient as Egyptian society. The earliest form of Egyptian religion which we can reach by the Pyramid texts and the funerary literature belongs to a period remotely pre-historic. We find here the old 'sky-god,' source of life and death, of rain and heavenly fire. Among his names, that of Horū (symbolized conventionally by the hawk) has given rise to the so-called 'hawk names,' which appear among the most ancient forms of royal names with which we are acquainted—viz. the series of names from the monuments belonging to the Thinite period (Ist and IInd dynasties). These show, when set in order, that the reigning king is a form or emanation upon this earth of the Supreme Being—or, more exactly, one of the 'souls' of that Being. The 'hawk name,' probably the most ancient of all those that have been borne by the sovereigns of the Nile valley, persisted to the very end of the nation's history, preserved by the subtlety of successive theologies at the periods when the original 'sky-god' had been replaced by the 'sun-god' as creator of the world. How this has taken place cannot be explained here; it must suffice to say that that ancient name had become, in historic times, what is still called in Egyptian archæology the 'Horus name,' or sometimes (very inaccurately, through the perpetuation of an old error) the 'standard-name' (see below).

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[1] W. A. Phillips, art. 'King,' in *EBr*¹¹; J. N. Figgis, *The Theory of the Divine Right of Kings*, Cambridge, 1896; art. DIVINE RIGHT.

[2] Frazer, *Taboo*, p. 17.

[3] *Ib.* p. 21 f.

[4] Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, London, 1905, p. 82.

[5] E. Carpenter, *Intermediate Types*, London, 1914, p. 171.

[1] Frazer, *Magic Art*, i. 11, ii. 84 f., 378 f., *The Dying God*, pp. 149 f., 205 ff., *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, pp. 218 ff., 307 ff., 313 ff.

The primitive conceptions of the pre-historic Egyptian religions later than the sky-god are found in the titles and epithets given to the king in the very ancient liturgies, and in the protocol of the Thinite monuments. There, where he is called, *e.g.*, 'the two Horū,' or the 'Horū-Siti,' we see a reminiscence of the system which divided the world into two halves, each with its Supreme God, in heaven and on earth. Similarly, the religion of the sky-goddess Nuit, who was believed to have produced the world, first by her own activity, and later by union with the earth-god Sibū, gave the king the name of 'son of Nuit' or 'eldest son of Sibū.' This prepared the way for the assimilation of the Pharaoh to Rā, then to Osiris, according as the successive theologies, reversing the order of the first cosmogonies, have made Rā the son of Nuit, or, on the other hand, the father of Sibū and Nuit, and the grandfather of Osiris. In the last form, the Pharaoh is the successor of Osiris, as the direct descendant of Horus, son of the pair Isis-Osiris. These various assimilations have been justified by an examination of hundreds of Egyptian texts, and may be accepted here. The point which it is essential to keep in mind is that at all periods, and throughout all the cosmogonic religions of Egypt, the outstanding characteristic of the king has always been that he was either an incarnation of the god who made the world or his son (in the literal sense of the word, not symbolically, or by a mystic adoption, but by real filiation). The king of Egypt has thus never been merely a representative or interpreter of the Supreme God, or his 'vicar'; either he is the god himself, manifest upon the earth in a human body in which is incarnate one of the souls of the god, or he is the god's own son.

The form of this affirmation best known to us is the title of Sē Rā, 'son of the sun,' which was inaugurated as early as the middle of the Vth dynasty, under the influence of the priesthood of Heliopolis, and persisted as long as the Pharaonic protocol was in existence (see below).

This divine descent was, as a rule, proved by the ordinary genealogy. From ancestor to ancestor, the reigning king was able to trace back his lineage to the fabulous Menēs, or Mini, the legendary founder of the first human Egyptian dynasty, and from him he went back through the mythical reigns of the Menēs as far as Horus, son of Isis, and son and avenger of his father Osiris, the first king-god of the valley of the Nile. But in certain exceptional cases (of which we possess three or four historical examples), in order to establish his legitimacy indisputably, the Pharaoh seems to have claimed the testimony of a more direct and recent intervention of the Supreme God. Thus (1) in the temple of Luxor for Amenhotep III., (2) in the temple of Deir-el-Bahri for Hatchopsitū, and (3) at Erment for Cæsarion, the bas-reliefs tell how the god himself descended to the earth in order to have union with the queen and himself beget the little prince who should one day reign over Egypt. They also show the birth of the divine scion, the magic charms which accompanied him, and the benediction of the god upon the new-born child when it was presented to him.

To the priesthood of the Nile valley, however, such a conception of the king appeared inadequate. They felt that the kingship must be the final result of all that legendary Egypt had known of divine domination; or, rather, that it meant the total heritage of all that the world contained of the forces belonging to the beneficent gods. Hence the walls of the temples show the king as heir and adopted son of all the great deities of the national pantheon in succession—the great feudal gods of the Nile valley and the chief elementary or stellar gods.

In the case of gods, the king is styled 'well-beloved son,' and he addresses all the gods by the name 'Father.' In the case of goddesses, they make the young king their veritable son by giving him milk from their breast in token of adoption (*q.v.*). Even this accumulation of divinity seemed insufficient to the Egyptians to constitute their god-king completely. The true Pharaoh does not exist, theologically speaking, until he has received, at Heliopolis, all the magico-religious consecrations which transform him into a living incarnation of Rā, the sun-god, creator of the world. The elaborate series of ceremonies employed to accomplish that transformation is well known to us today through: (1) the historical inscriptions, such as that of the celebrated Ethiopian conqueror Piankhi, (2) the ritual published in the Pyramid texts, (3) the bas-reliefs and special enactments of the solar temples of Abūsir, (4) the extracts from anointing and coronation scenes sculptured in the great temples, chiefly at Thebes, (5) the statues and statuettes commemorating coronations (notably at Karnak), and (6) the descriptive scenes telling of the 'jubile' feasts of *habsadū* (see below). Finally, the Thinite monuments discovered at Abydos provide evidence that the whole of this ceremonial was already established, in its essential elements, at the Thinite period. Even under the Ist dynasty there appeared scenes of that distant epoch similar to those found in the Greek period upon the walls of the temple of Edfū or other sanctuaries built in Egypt by the Ptolemys.

3. The royal titles.—The king, then, is a being constituted by all that, in this world, religion could know of divine forces, governing powers, magic resources, and super-terrestrial science. The enumeration of the many virtues and heritages of the king naturally resulted in the redaction of a long protocol, which was practically an *abrégé* of all the historical and pre-historical sources that had contributed to form such a personage. A king of Egypt had at least five names in the classical period: (1) 'birth-name,' which is his human name, expressing the relation of the reigning dynasty to one or another of the great provincial gods of Egypt (*e.g.*, Thōthmes='Thōth has fashioned him'; Amenhotep='he is united to Amen'); this is the name which is preceded by the epithet 'son of the sun' (Sē Rā) in the inscriptions; (2) the coronation name, preceded by the affirmation of kingship over the world of the north and world of the south by the heraldic figuration of the Reed and the Bee;[1] this name (chosen by the astrological colleges of priests according to horoscopic indications) materialized, somehow or other, the aspect and attributes of the particular solar soul that came to transform the young prince into a god on the day of his anointing; it was sometimes a long motto expressing the rôle or the energies of Rā in this world (*e.g.*, 'Rā is the lord of the cosmos,' 'Great are the successive becomings of Rā'); (3) the hawk name (*i.e.* sky-god name [see above]); this was enclosed in a kind of panel or rectangle representing a façade of a palace, and surmounted by the hawk, divine Horū; (4) a name called in archæology 'name of the vulture and of Uræus,' intended to express the king's authority, which reached to the extreme frontiers of Egypt, from El Kab to Būlo; (5) a name, often incorrectly called 'golden hawk name,' which, preceded by the figure of a hawk perched on a sign of gold (*nūb*), declares in reality that the king is the heir to the stellar powers who share the two astrological halves of the universe.

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[1] This figuration of the king as heir of the crown of the north and crown of the south is of purely sacerdotal origin, and not historical, resting upon an astrological conception of the division of the world and its forces. It was regarded as figuring a state of things which had actually existed in Egypt, and it has given rise to the idea that at the period anterior to history there had really been two kingdoms in Egypt, one of the north and one of the south, and that they were united under Menēs I. Most scholars seem to have adopted that view, unconsciously instigated, perhaps, by the opinion of the first Egyptologists

To this list, absolutely necessary for the complete title of a reigning king, etiquette usually added a number of almost imperative epithets intended to express aspects or important attributes of the king-god. Sometimes, as heir of the warlike gods, he was called 'Powerful Bull,' sometimes 'the master who can do everything' (Nib iri khitū), or 'Resplendent in his glorious appearings' (Nib khaū). Some of these names expressing the virtues or forces of the kingship bear a curious resemblance to those which describe (or designate) the kings of certain monarchies in black Africa (*e.g.*, the sovereigns of Dahomey or of Benin), and it would be worth while to draw up a list of the possible comparisons. None of these epithets should be regarded (as they too often are) as arising from vanity or grandiloquence, for each corresponds theologically to a very precise definition of a function or force belonging to one or other of the great gods of Egypt.

One of the most characteristic epithets, which, moreover, has not yet been found in any other African religion, is the epithet 'Good God' (Notir Nofirū); it is of constant occurrence, and is one of the most manifest signs of the rôle which the earthly kingship filled in the ideas of the Egyptians (see below).

The laudatory titles and titles of etiquette imagined by the protocol (*e.g.*, 'Double Palace,' 'Sublime Gate,' 'Sun of the two Earths') are too numerous to detail here. One of the secondary epithets of this official phraseology has had a singular fortune. It designates the king by the veiled expression 'Great Dwelling' (=the Royal Residence), the equivalent of which is found in the royal title-list of certain black monarchies of W. Africa. The Egyptian term *pir-aō* has become the word 'Pharaoh,' which served throughout the classical world to designate the king of Egypt.

4. The earthly counterpart of the gods.—The sovereign is thus a singularly complex person, whose body contains even more souls (*biū*), doubles (*kaū*), and 'shadows' (*ḫaibit*) than that of ordinary men (see BODY [Egyptian]). These are frequently figured being formed by the gods in heaven, or being suckled at birth by the fairies, or accompanying the king (but distinct from him) in coronation and procession scenes.

As the king of Egypt is a living epitome of all that is divine in the Nile valley, the explanation of his functions is clear. First, he is in every function an earthly image of the various gods, and performs their legendary activity on the earth. In his justice he is Thōth, in his power he is Rā; like the first divine masters of the divine valley, he destroys the enemies of the work done by the ancient gods when they assisted Rā in the conflict against darkness and in the organization of the κόσμος. This view, the very beginning of dualism (*q.v.*), originated in the primitive cosmogony, and was later transformed by the Osirian legend into the myth of the conflict between the partisans of Horus and the bad spirits who were the friends of Set. The Pharaoh is thus heir to the powers and qualities of the good gods, whose powers are symbolized by, and materialized in, the various pieces of the royal costume (sceptres, crowns, necklaces, bracelets, pectorals, girdles, talismans, amulets, precious stones, magic jewels, etc.). These symbolical ornaments probably originated in the same way as the magical disguise worn by heathen fetish-chiefs; they were neither purely priestly tradition nor simply magical in character. The organized theologies ascribed to the royal person a thousand different rôles, implying a thousand traditional moral duties and magical powers. Some of these duties concern war, and perhaps may seem somewhat brutal for our taste; others are as noble as modern thought could desire. Scenes and texts display the king 'as a bull young, ardent, and resistless, which tramples down under its hoofs the enemies of Egypt' (*Hymn of Thothmes III.*), the 'rebels,' the 'accursed,' the 'children of ruin'; as a 'devouring lion'; as a Sūdan leopard; or as a hawk which tears and rends the foreign nations with beak and claws (cf. the Thinite palettes). To each of these representations there is attached a rôle formerly played by the national gods, which the king assumed when he ascended the throne of Horus. The lion, the griffin, the bull, the hawk, and the sphinx are repetitions in painting and sculpture of statements made by hundreds of texts. The king 'treading the nine bows under his feet,' and 'placing his sandals on the head of his foes,' represents an essential side of the perpetual duty of the divine monarch—as essential as the side represented by the expression 'Lord of all order and truth,' or by the figuration, under his throne, of the Nile gods gathering into sheaves the heraldic flowers of the Lotus of the North and the Red Lily of the South. Rā and his friends, the gods, organized the world; their final purpose was the reign of order and the triumph of good. Egypt and its people were the land and people chosen and beloved by the gods; it was, therefore, essential that the son of the gods should be able to bring the work to a successful issue, and this enterprise demanded that strangers, the ungodly, the enemies of Egypt, and all that was hostile to the ultimate triumph of the good should be destroyed or subdued.

That obligation presupposed that in the practice of those virtues by which the conflict for the good is maintained the king should be the pattern for his subjects. The Pharaoh was thus the living image and continuation of that 'Good Being,' called Osiris, who was the first god reigning on the earth in human form. He must maintain order in his kingdom, for administrative regularity is the first condition of material prosperity. He must ensure equal justice for all, protect the feeble, abhor iniquity, and be like a father to his children (as he himself communes with the god 'as a son talks to his father'). He must be Notir Nofirū, the 'Good God.' That in practice the kings of Egypt were not adequate for so noble a task is of secondary importance, and the objection that the reality was remote from the official ideal has little philosophic value. The fact of real importance is

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who were more or less influenced themselves by some fugitive connexions with Biblical history. Things took place probably in a less simple manner, and the collection of kingdoms or of pre-historic principalities of which Egypt was formed must rather have passed through phases similar to those of the formation of the modern kingdom of the 'King of Kings' of Ethiopia.

the rise of a human society able at such an early date to express in these outlines the origins and obligations of royal power.

The moral ideal of the nation was consequently, at every step of the social scale, the imitation of the type of perfection incarnate theoretically in the Pharaoh, the son of Osiris. Baillet (see Literature) has shown the importance of that ideal in the evolution of Egyptian ethics and the influence which the moral character of the kingship exercised in the codification of obligations.

5. Practical results of the kingly ideal.—This ideal of kingship moulded all the manifestations of religious and public life in Egypt. As son and successor of all the divinities (national or local) of the kingdom, the Pharaoh is by right the chief servitor of the Supreme God (*honūf*) and the chief pontiff of all the priesthoods. In the bas-reliefs of the temples he is figured as the chief officiating priest, and everywhere he is represented in the dwellings of his divine fathers, celebrating sacrifice, offering incense or libations, or consecrating the offering, opening the tabernacle, adoring the divine image, and going in front of his retinue.

He is also the necessary mediator between the gods and men; to him the divine will speaks in divination (*q.v.*) or in dreams (*q.v.*). And he is the depositary of and the surety for the private endowments for the worship of the dead; it is he who explains the invariable title of the *proscynèmes* of the tombs: *sūton dū hotpū* (=royal constitution of the offering).

For the living and the dead the assurance of the royal approval is the supreme recompense. The episode of a dignitary commanded to the palace, arriving at the royal audience, and receiving the eulogy, or honorific distinctions (such as the 'collar of gold') from the divine monarch, is the culminating point of his whole career, and the crowning moment which he wished to have depicted on the walls of his 'eternal abode.' When he appears before the tribunal of Him who is the ancestor of Pharaoh, that will be the decisive proof of his merit for worthy service of the gods. To his children it will be his last message, at once an example and a claim upon the Pharaoh's goodwill. The highest reward which the dead can attain is to receive from the king, in recognition of their services, materials for the rich parts of the tomb (the stela, the sarcophagus, and rare stones to be sculptured into figures of the 'double' of the deceased). The Theban frescoes of Gurneh and Amarna, stelæ, as those of Ouni or Ahmes, tales like the romance of Sinūhit, and the laudatory biographies of every period prove that such ideas existed at the earliest period known to us, and that they persisted throughout the whole duration of Egyptian society.

Finally, the ideal of the Pharaonic kingship explains how, in public law, the god-king is regarded as the only master or possessor of the earth, and the only person who can give valid investiture in any office, fief, or dignity (see INHERITANCE [Egyptian]).

6. The royal life.—Since so many divine principles are incarnate in the Pharaoh, the consequences are apparent in his life. He is at once god and man, and thus combines two groups of 'personalities,' which are curiously separated in certain religious circumstances where the man-king worships the god-king—himself. He builds and consecrates sanctuaries in his lifetime to his own 'statues of millions of years' (see, *e.g.*, that of Thothmes III. at Karnak and the relative inscriptions at the temple of Ptah at Thebes); as king he publicly worships his own consecrated images in the temples of his fathers; and he is even seen (*e.g.*, at the Nubian temple of Soleb) coming in great pomp to inaugurate the edifice erected for the worship of his 'souls' (*biū*); the living king, as a mortal prince, renders worship to the immortal fraction of divinity which became incarnate in him on his coronation day, or perhaps even to particles of a solar soul deposited in the human embryo on the very day of its conception in his mother's womb. In the present state of our knowledge this theological distinction is offered with great reserve.

This duality suggests a solution of the very difficult problem of the Egyptian *habsadū*, usually translated by the term 'jubile,' which is only a provisional approximation. Few problems of Egyptology have been so much discussed as the problem of the exact significance of these great solemn feasts. They are mentioned in thousands of temple formulæ, and representations of them exist, more or less abridged, from the earliest Thinite monuments down to the Ptolemaic inscriptions. It is certain that the feast is an anniversary and a repetition of coronation scenes; but, although these ceremonies were the most important of the sovereign's life, there is no precise knowledge of their religious purpose or of the chronological conditions required for their celebration. The Greek term *τριακονταετηρίς* has suggested the idea of a jubile every thirty years, but that is contradicted by repeated celebrations of the *habsadū* sometimes at very short intervals by the same Pharaoh. A recent theory finds in the *habsadū* an 'osirification' of the king, viz. a fictitious death of the sovereign, who returns through a fictitious resurrection for a new reign. That would be the substitution of a simulacrum for a pre-historic ceremony in which the king was really put to death at the end of a certain number of years, because he had gradually lost the divine forces which made him the natural chief of the nation. No positive confirmation of such a practice has been found in any Egyptian text or scene. Egyptologists who are influenced by the examples collected by J. G. Frazer in his *Golden Bough* seem to believe that they have found an explanation of the ideal of kingship in the Nile valley in the practices of the non-civilized races; but the opinion of the present writer is that the *habsadū* was rather a feast whose variable dates were indicated by astrology, and whose purpose was to infuse into the royal person a new particle of divinity, and that the sovereign was not at any time put to death either in fact or in symbol.

7. Death.—The destinies of the king, *post mortem*, were equally varied. His human principle received the usual worship offered to ordinary dead men; his tomb, statues, funerary furnishings (at least in part), and sacrifices corresponded to the hypogees and *mastabas* of his subjects. Like the 'doubles' of other men, the 'double' of the king's human principle goes to dwell in the fields of the Osirian paradise, there to work and harvest (see, *e.g.*, the scenes of the temple of Ramses III. at Medinet Habū). His divine principles go in other directions. The solar soul which formed part of his secret essence returns to Rā, the star from which it emanated. The *biū* return to the sky, where they are mingled with the sun, and perhaps accompany the sun in its course across the world and in its conflicts during the twelve hours of its nocturnal journey through the inferna (see, *e.g.*, the frescoes of the royal hypogees of the Biban-el Molūk). Here we see the adaptation to the solar theologies of more ancient conceptions, according to which the souls of the kings were one by one assimilated to the various stellar gods, as well as to the sun, moon, and planets. In spite of efforts towards unification made by the priests of Heliopolis, the Pyramid texts retain evident traces of the beliefs which are so characteristic of the primitive religions of Egypt. Another divine principle survived on earth, in the temples, where it was worshipped as one of the living forms, or *khopirrū*, of Osiris which had occupied the throne of Egypt.

Finally, as a divine son of Rā (or, later, of Amon-Rā), the dead king became, in the funerary temples raised for his worship, a patron deity, theologically distinct from the ancestor-god, though one of his manifestations. Ignoring these difficult dogmatic subtleties, popular superstition sometimes took possession of these royal funerary cults, and transformed the dead king into a kind of tutelary god, who was an oracle, a healer of sickness, and a protector of the unfortunate. Such has been the case at the sanctuary of Montūhotep

(XIth dynasty) at Deir-el-Bahri and in the celebrated cult of the Statue of the Theban king Ahmes I. (XVIIIth dynasty).

LITERATURE.—The subject is treated throughout the whole expanse of Egyptological literature. The following may more specially be consulted: J. Baillet, *Le Régime pharaonique dans ses rapports avec l'évolution de la morale en Egypte*, Paris, 1913; E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Kings of Egypt*, London, 1908, Introduction, pp. xii–lix, *History of Egypt*, do. 1902, vol. i. ch. 2 f., pp. 112–171; A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, tr. H. M. Tirard, do. 1894, pp. 53, 78; G. Foucart, *Histoire des religions et méthode comparative*^{3}, Paris, 1912, pp. 177–216; G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, do. 1895, i. 259–287; A. Moret, *Du Caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, do. 1902; E. Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis*, London, 1892; W. M. F. Petrie, *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II.)*, do. 1909, pp. 5–10, and pls. ii.–ix.; A. E. P. Weigall, *The Life and Times of Akhnaton*, Edinburgh, 1910, pp. 7, 18.

G. FOUCART.

KING (Greek and Roman).—I. *GREEK.*—**1. Evolution of the conception.**—The Greeks themselves did not fail to observe the wide prevalence of monarchy during the early history of their race, or to speculate on its origin as an institution. Aristotle (*Pol.* iii. 14, 1285^b 6), speaking of the monarchies of the heroic age, makes the suggestion that the founders of a dynasty won their thrones by services performed for the people, either by their eminence in the arts of peace or by their achievements in war; and that the office became hereditary after their death. The view that success in war was the principal avenue to the throne has met with some approval (*e.g.*, A. H. J. Greenidge, *Greek Constitutional History*, London, 1896, p. 14); but, while no inference can be drawn concerning the office from the name *βασιλεύς*, the derivation of which is unknown,[1] the elevation of a chieftain on account of his warlike prowess implies the existence of an organization to which the royal dignity was already familiar, and the functions performed by the kings of the heroic age indicate that their authority was the result of a more complex development. In another passage (*Pol.* i. 12, 1259^b 10), Aristotle draws a comparison between the position of a king in relation to his subjects and that of a father to his children, without attempting to conclude therefrom that the former was a historical product of the latter. The comparison is sound and valuable. The heroic king actually exercised in a wider sphere prerogatives similar in character to the authority which the father of the family wielded over the members of his household. It should be observed, in particular, that the king in his priestly character was associated with the common hearth of the State in the Prytaneum (Æsch. *Suppl.* 376, etc.), which has been identified with the primitive residence of the royal family (J. G. Frazer, in *JPh* xiv. [1885] 145 ff.). Although we cannot trace the process in history, it seems a reasonable inference that, when the separately organized families coalesced into the larger unity of the tribe, the chieftain took over from the patriarch the duties performed and the privileges enjoyed by the latter within his narrower circle; and that the same absorption was repeated on a larger scale when the tribal system in its turn grew into a commonwealth. In *Pol.* i. 2, 1252^b 19, Aristotle declares that such was the case, and that the reason why States (*πόλεις*) were at first governed by kings was that they were aggregates of households which were accustomed to this kind of rule. Further, it seems natural to regard an institution so developed as essentially hereditary, and such was in fact the character of the office in the Homeric age. But recent investigations into the history of the family (see art. FAMILY [Greek]) have shown that the patriarchal system was by no means primitive, and traces of an earlier prevalence of mother-right have been discovered in Greek tradition (W. Ridgeway, in *Cambridge Prælections*, 1906, p. 148). Again, it is certain that the regular succession of the eldest son to his father's kingdom was not distinctive of early Aryan civilization (F. Susemihl and R. D. Hicks, on Arist. *Pol.* iii. 4, 1285^a 16 [London, 1894]). It follows, therefore, that the evolution of the kingly office did not proceed from a realized type of household organization, but rather that the development of the monarchy and of the family advanced on parallel lines. The conclusion is fortified by the discovery in Greek custom and legend of another type of monarchy than the heroic, betraying a conception of the royal functions much more primitive and remote. That is the conception of the medicine-man as king, because he possesses magical powers which are employed in due season to maintain the well-being of the community; as one whose period of office is not for life, but for a fixed term, or until his powers decay; as one who ultimately must be put to death, in order that by his death the welfare of his people may pass into the keeping of his more vigorous successor. The classic instance is the priesthood of the *Rex nemorensis* at lake Nemi near Aricia, which has been exhaustively investigated by J. G. Frazer in his *Golden Bough.* Less familiar examples of temporary kingship may be found in the recurring sacrifice at Halus of the eldest son of the Athamantidæ (Herod. vii. 197); in the sovereignty for nine seasons of the divine Minos in Crete (G. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, Oxford, 1907, p. 127); and in legends like those of Codrus and Menœceus, where one of the royal house is bidden by an oracle to slay himself for the safety of the people. Similarly, reasons have been given for believing that the Dorian kings of Sparta were formerly deposed at intervals of eight years (J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 58 f.); or, if not at fixed periods, the king might be punished by deposition, imprisonment, or death, if the crops failed or were spoilt by drought or floods (Frazer, *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 366 f.; cf. GB^2 i. 157). In all such cases the king is merely the representative of the vital force of the tribe, and is distinguished from his fellows because in him is concentrated the common heritage of magical power which is available for the control of nature. But, when a higher level of culture is reached in the supersession of magic by the maturer conceptions of law and government, the medicine-man of the savage is succeeded by the legitimate monarch. For the development see Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, pp. 35, 81, etc. The manner in which the idea of the king as we know him gradually emerged from the clan-consciousness, as the embodiment in his various aspects of law, of religion, and of individuality, is clearly sketched by F. M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy*, London, 1912, p. 102 ff.

2. Varieties in the kingly office.—The various kinds of monarchy with which he was familiar were thus classified by Aristotle (*Pol.* iii. 14, 1285^a 1 ff.): (1) generalship for life, typified in the authority of the Spartan kings; (2) the absolute monarchy of the barbarian type, distinguished from 'tyranny' by the permanence of its establishment; (3) 'elective tyranny' (*αἰσυμνητεία*), exemplified by the rule of Pittacus at Mytilene; (4) the monarchies of the heroic age; (5) an absolute monarchy (*παμβασιλεία*) after the pattern of domestic economy, in which the ruler is as supreme as the head of a household in his family. The last is Aristotle's designation of the ideal type of kingship, and need not be considered further; nor is it necessary to discuss in detail the *αἰσυμ-*

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[1] For the chief attempts at explanation, with literature, see E. Boisacq, *Dict. étymol. de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg, 1907 ff., p. 115 f.

νητεία, which was an occasional office somewhat similar to the Roman dictatorship.

3. Heroic monarchy.—Thucydides (i. 13), when speaking of the establishment of tyrannies, contrasts them with the earlier monarchies, which he describes as hereditary and as enjoying fixed privileges; and Aristotle uses language of an exactly similar character (*Pol.* iii. 14, 1285^b 22). The hereditary element implies a divine ancestor (cf. *διοτρεφής*, etc.), and may be taken to be a later expression of the traditional divinity of primitive kings (Frazer, *The Magic Art*, i. 387 f.). The sceptre passed from father to son as the symbol of office, and was originally the gift of Zeus (*Il.* ii. 101 ff.). Agamemnon is described as 'most kingly' (*βασιλεύτατος*, *Il.* ix. 69); but neither this nor the title 'king of men' (*ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν*), which is given most frequently to him, though not to him alone, signifies that he was other than *primus inter pares* as commander of the whole confederacy. On the other hand, the existence of thirteen kings in Phæacia (*Od.* viii. 390 f.) and the protest against the evils of divided sway in *Il.* ii. 204 f. have been referred to a time when the growing power of the feudal nobility was ousting the earlier supremacy of the overlord (v. Schoeffer, in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 56). The Homeric king was at once general, priest, and judge (Arist. *Pol.* iii. 14, 1285^b 9). In the first capacity he exercised the power of compelling a levy (*Il.* xxiii. 297), of marshalling his army (ii. 362), and of maintaining discipline to the extent, if necessary, of imposing the penalty of death upon the disobedient (ii. 391 f., xv. 248). As priest the king performed on behalf of his people all such sacrifices as were not specially reserved for members of the priestly caste (Arist. *Pol.* iii. 14, 1285^b 9), and these functions would doubtless be found even more important, if it were possible to trace them still further back. Temples are seldom mentioned in the Homeric poems (P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*^{2}, Leipzig, 1909, p. 296 ff.), but it has been held (v. Schoeffer, *loc. cit.* 58) that the *τέμενος* was a plot of land assigned to the king (*Il.* vi. 194, etc.) in order to compensate him for the expenses incurred in his religious duties, and that this is indicated by the later universal application of the word to sacred property as well as by the close connexion of the king's house with the oldest sanctuaries (*Od.* vii. 81). Another view (W. Ridgeway, in *JHS* vi. [1885] 335 ff.), however, regards the king's *τέμενος* as the sole instance of private property in a land-system otherwise organized on the basis of the common field. His duties as judge were the most important of his civil functions. In virtue of these he was the guardian of the 'dooms' (*θέμιστες*, *Il.* i. 238, ix. 99), a body of common-law precedents, inherited as a privileged possession of the royal house. But his jurisdiction was scarcely wider than that of an arbitrator in private disputes submitted for his decision, and the enforcement of the award seems to have been dependent upon the terms of the submission, if it has been rightly inferred that the two talents mentioned in *Il.* xviii. 507 were a deposit to be paid out to the successful litigant (J. H. Lipsius, *Das attische Recht*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 4). There is no trace of a magisterial control directed to the punishment of crime; vengeance for the wrongs of its members was exacted by the clan (see art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS [Greek]). It was customary to make presents to the king in his capacity of judge (*Il.* ix. 155), and this custom, exercised in favour of unworthy recipients, became a fruitful source of oppression and corruption (Hes. *Op.* 39). Similar privileges in the partition of booty (*Il.* i. 163) or of the sacrificial meal (*Il.* viii. 161 ff.) were awarded to the general and the chief priest. The power of the monarch rested more upon custom and personal character than upon his material resources. The influence of the assembly of the commons does not seem to have been great, except in war, when it was necessary to obtain its assent; at other times it was rarely convoked (*Od.* ii. 26). On the other hand, the support of the nobles was essential, whether in the field or in the council-chamber; and it would be easy to collect from the poems instances of their independent or hostile action (*e.g.*, *Il.* ix. 32 ff.). It is thought that the age of the Epics was characterized by a steady growth in the power of the subordinate chieftains (v. Schoeffer, 65), and the opinion is certainly confirmed by the downfall of the monarchies in the succeeding period.

4. Decay of monarchy.—Although there are traces of the earlier existence of the kingly power in almost every part of the Hellenic world, in Argos, Corinth, Elis, Arcadia, Messenia, Thebes, and Athens, as well as in the Ionian and Dorian colonies of Asia Minor and the islands, all these monarchies decayed and disappeared in the course of the period extending from the beginning of the 8th to the end of the 6th century. Sparta stood alone in the retention of her kings, but the importance of the exception is, as we shall see, diminished by its special circumstances. The cause assigned by the Greeks themselves for this remarkable revolution in government was that the occupants of the throne became enervated by luxury or were guilty of wanton violence towards their subjects (Plat. *Legg.* 690 D; Polyb. VI. vii. 6–9). The explanation is clearly superficial, and it is hardly more satisfactory to suppose that the kings everywhere sought to extend their power beyond its legitimate limits (A. Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, Eng. tr., London, 1894–98, i. 256). Grote remarked (*Hist. of Greece*, iii. 7) that the need for a single ruler as a bond of union between outlying territories ceased to be felt owing to the smallness of the various Hellenic societies—which also explains why the monarchy continued to exist in the wider areas of Epirus and Macedonia. But Grote's suggestion may be supplemented and extended. The heroic monarchies had flourished in a period of national unrest. After the cessation of the migrations, an era of comparative quiet followed; and the nobles, with their attention concentrated on the local interests of their community, were able to extend their authority against the weakly-supported prerogatives of the king. The same period was marked by the change to city life, perhaps the deepest cause of all those which undermined the power of the monarchies (J. B. Bury, *Hist. of Greece*^{2}, London, 1902, i. 73). The course of events was naturally various; but the result was usually not the expulsion of the royal family, but the limitation of the royal power, and particularly its restriction to the sacerdotal sphere, as in the case of the *βασιλεύς* at Athens. The immediate occasion for the change of government was often afforded by rivalries within the royal house, or by the minority or incapacity of the legitimate heir. The change itself was gradually effected. Thus the royal clan of Bacchiadæ at Corinth supplied the annual *πρύτανις* for at least a century (Paus. II. iv. 4); and the Medontidæ at Athens alone enjoyed the decennial archonship (*Paroem.* i. 214). A similar history may be assigned to the rule of the Basilidæ at Erythræ (Arist. *Pol.* v. 6, 1305^b 18) and of the Penthelidæ at Mytilene (*ib.* v. 10, 1311^b 25).

5. The Spartan kingship.—This was distinguished from all others by the duplication of its tenure. The two kings belonging to the rival clans of Agidæ and Eurypontidæ, of which the former was accounted the more honourable in virtue of its seniority, both claimed an Achæan as distinguished from a Dorian origin. There was a curious provision respecting the royal inheritance, according to which the eldest son was not necessarily the heir unless he was also born while his father occupied the throne; otherwise he was excluded in favour of the eldest of his brothers so born (Herod. vii. 3). The traditional account of the double kingship starts with a legend concerning the birth of twins in the royal family (*ib.* vi. 52); but modern scholars are inclined to reject it in favour of the theory that the double kingship arose from the fusion of two separate communities (Busolt, *Gr. Gesch.* i.^{2} 546, n. 4; Gilbert, *Gr. Staatsalt.*, i.^{2} 4). However this may be, the duality probably contributed to the shrinkage of the royal power which is discernible in the historic as compared with the heroic age. The statement of Aristotle, that the Spartan kings were not much more than hereditary commanders-in-chief of the army during their lives (*Pol.* iii. 14, 1285^b 27), is a sufficiently accurate definition of their office, so far as we are acquainted with it from the 6th cent. onwards. Even this power tended to be restricted. Originally capable of declaring war or concluding peace without interference, and possessed of absolute authority in the conduct of a campaign and in the maintenance of discipline (Herod. vi. 56; Thuc. v. 66, etc.), they were afterwards accompanied on all their expeditions by two ephors appointed to act as overseers of their conduct (Xen. *Rep. Lac.* xiii. 5), and from 418 a board of advisers was chosen to control the king's initiative (Thuc. v. 63). There are sufficient indications in their surviving privileges that the authority of the kings had been formerly more extensive than it afterwards became. Apart from complimentary precedence and other rights enjoyed at banquets, sacrifices, and games (Herod. vi. 56 f.), and extraordinary honours paid to them after death (*ib.* 58), the kings possessed extensive domains in the occupation of the *περίοικοι*, from which they drew the revenues, so that they were accounted the richest individuals in the Greek world ([Plat.] *Alcib. I.* 123 A). The priestly functions of the king were of considerable importance, especially during war, when he conducted the sacrifice on every critical occasion (Xen. *Rep. Lac.* xiii. 2). He also possessed the sole right of consulting the Delphian oracle and of receiving its replies, and was accordingly invested with the power of appointing two delegates called *Pythii*, who became the channel of communication (Herod. vi. 57). The greater share of the civil jurisdiction at Sparta belonged to the ephors, while criminal trials were conducted before the council of elders, of which the king was president. He had, however, sole jurisdiction in claims for the hand of an heiress, and probably in other cases of inheritance. Further, he was competent to deal with disputes concerning the public roads, that is to say, to decide questions of boundaries and rights of way (Herod. vi. 57). The political influence of the kings was largely diminished by the transference of executive authority to the ephors. The king had a seat and vote in the council of elders, with the proviso that if he was absent his vote should be given by the elder most nearly related to him by blood (Herod. vi. 57; Thuc. i. 20). But, in spite of all the restrictions to which his office was subject, a king who possessed military ability was in a position to add to his venerable privileges the exercise of predominant political power.

6. Various titular kingships.—In many other Greek States we find the kingly title assigned to priestly or judicial officers, who appear to be the representatives of the former ruling dynasty. For the present purpose the facts may be briefly stated. In most cases we have merely the record of the title, sometimes an indication of the character of the office, but only at Ephesus an express statement that the descendants of Androclus, the founder, continued to bear the title of king with such privileges as the presidency of the games and the right to wear the royal purple (Strabo, 633). The other evidence, which is largely derived from inscriptions, may be divided into two classes according as it refers to a college of kings or to a single official. The former occurs only in connexion with States which had an aristocratic—or originally aristocratic—constitution, so that the 'kings' are the later representatives of the old heroic nobility. The States in question are Elis, Cyme, Mytilene, and Cyzicus. On the other hand, a single 'king' appears as a municipal officer in States where the government of the nobles had been overthrown—a category which comprises Argos, Megara, Chios, Miletus, Olbia, and Siphnos (for the details see Gilbert, *Gr. Staatsalt.*, ii. 272, 323).

7. The sovereignty at Athens.—The history of the sovereignty at Athens is obscure. The traditional lists of the Attic kings bear the signs of various influences, and are clearly untrustworthy. This much alone is certain, that the powers of the king were gradually curtailed, until he became a member of the annually appointed college of nine archons, with definite sacerdotal and judicial functions assigned to him. For the tradition which identified the king-archon with the early ruler of the State is scarcely to be doubted. The earliest settlement, known as that of Ion, recognized the division into four tribes, each represented by its tribal king. These tribal kings (*φυλοβασιλεῖς*) were perhaps an advisory body to the sovereign; in later times we find them still associated with the king-archon as judges in the court of the Prytaneum (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* lvii. 3). The name of Theseus is connected not merely with the unification of the whole of Attica and the centralization of its government under a single king (*συνοικισμός*, Thuc. ii. 15), but also with a limitation of despotic power which earned for him the title of founder of the democracy (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* xli. 2; Paus. I. iii. 3). The early chapters of Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* are unfortunately lost, and we have no means of estimating the nature of these reforms, which, though referred to an individual, may have been actually spread over a long period. The royal power was reduced by the participation of others in its functions and by its limitation in point of time. The first change, traditionally ascribed to the feebleness of some of the kings, was the appointment of a war-chief (*πολέμαρχος*), and the first holder of the new office was Ion, when he took part in the war against Eleusis (Paus. I. xxxi. 3; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* iii. 2). At a later date, variously assigned to the reigns of Medon and Acastus, the office of chief archon (*ἐπώνυμος*, as giving his name to the current year) was introduced. The reason for his appointment is unknown; Aristotle merely states that his administration was confined to additional (*ἐπίθετα*) as distinguished from established (*πάτρια*) functions, and that the subsequent dignity of the office was due to the increasing importance of the former (*Ath. Pol.* iii. 3). The archonships were held at first for life, and subsequently for ten years (*ib.* iii. 1); at a later date (683 B.C.) they became annual. The king-archon was entrusted chiefly with religious duties, especially those of old inherited usage (*πάτρια*). As a survival from primitive times may be mentioned the mystic marriage of his wife (*βασίλιννα*) with the god Dionysus, which was celebrated during the festival of the Anthesteria in the *βουκολεῖον*, the precinct of the god worshipped in bull-form (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* iii. 5; [Dem.] lix. 74 ff.). It should be added that the βουκολεῖον, which was also the residence of the king-archon, was in the immediate neighbourhood of the Prytaneum. The functions of the king-archon may be classed as administrative or judicial. The former comprised the general superintendence of the State religion, and in particular the supervision of priestly appointments, the organization of important festivals such as the Eleusinian mysteries and the Lenæa, and the management, subject to various limitations, of sacred property. The chief of his judicial functions was the presidency of the court in all cases of homicide. It should be observed that this duty is an addition to those assigned to the heroic king; but it is clear that the responsibility must have been imposed before the abolition of the kingship, on the ground that the king was particularly concerned, as representative of the commonwealth, in removing the pernicious consequences of the blood-feud, and, as religious head of the State, in purifying it from the taint of homicide. For a more particular account of the judicial duties of the king-archon see CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Greek).

8. Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia.—It has already been remarked that monarchy continued to exist for a much longer time among the half-Hellenized States on the northern boundaries of Greece. Thus, the kings of the Molossi, who claimed descent from Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, and before 400 B.C. had extended their sway over the whole of Epirus, maintained their power until the latter part of the 3rd century. Aristotle attributes the survival of the Molossian kingdom to the limitation of the royal authority, and compares it in that respect with the Lacedæmonian (*Pol.* v. 11, 1313^{a} 23). We have hardly any means of verifying his statement, but we know that king and people annually exchanged oaths, of submission to the laws on the one hand, and of loyalty on the other (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 5). Shortly before its final overthrow, the king's power was temporarily increased by Pyrrhus, who owed the enlargement of his authority to his popularity with the army. Thessaly never formed a united monarchy, although there is some evidence that in comparatively late times a chieftain was elected as general (ταγός) to represent the whole people. Such was the position occupied by Jason of Pheræ (Xen. *Hell.* VI. iv. 28), and possibly by Aleuas and Scopas at an earlier date. But Jason's ascendancy was short-lived, and as a rule the Thessalian tetrarchies were distracted with rival jealousies, especially those of the Aleuads of Larisa and the Scopads of Crannon. The kings of Macedon traced their descent to Temenus the Heraclid. Their constitutional position, so far as it can be ascertained, was analogous to that of the Homeric king, when allowance has been made for the change of circumstances. The king received all taxes and tribute together with the rents of the domain lands, but his power depended upon custom only and upon the strength of his individual character. The nobility were always ready to put themselves in opposition, if the king failed to conciliate or to overawe them; and to this cause must be ascribed the constant struggles for the throne, and the risings of pretenders supported by a party of the nobility against a legitimate heir, if weak and unprotected (see also J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*^{2}, London, 1896, p. 23 ff.).

9. Later Greek monarchies.—The career of Alexander opened a new chapter in the history of Greek monarchy. Alexander made himself the successor of the Persian king, whose sovereignty was that of an absolute owner over his chattels (Arist. *Pol.* iii. 14, 1285^{a} 18). On this model were founded the kingdoms which established themselves after the wars of the Diadochi—those of Egypt, Syria, Pergamus, and Macedonia. Of these the Syrian Seleucids came nearest to the pattern of an Oriental monarchy, from which their rule was distinguished only by its dependence upon Greek resources. The Ptolemys in Egypt were less despotic, partly because they relied upon Macedonian troops for their support, and partly because their government was based upon the semi-Greek city of Alexandria. The Attalids at Pergamus, while retaining the chief power in their own hands, made a show of submitting to the forms of a democracy. The condition of Macedonia remained much as it had been in former days, except that the power of the nobles, many of whom were dispersed in foreign lands, was less adequate for resistance to the encroachments of an ambitious monarch. The Macedonians were a race of soldiers, no less backward in culture than untrained in civil government; and they were always ready to follow a capable leader who understood how to humour them (Mahaffy, p. 231 f.).

II. *ROMAN*.—**1. Nature of kingship.**—The traditional history of early Rome begins with a period of monarchical government; and, although the details partake largely of a legendary character, there is no reason to doubt its general truth. In addition to *a priori* considerations, tradition is confirmed by the survival into republican times of traces of an earlier monarchy, such as the use of the *regia*, or king's house, as the office of the *pontifex maximus*, and the continuance of the titles *interrex* and *rex sacrorum*. We must not, however, add the festival *regifugium*, although this was traditionally explained as a festival held in celebration of the banishment of the kings (Ov. *Fasti*, ii. 685 f.); for it has now been brought into connexion with other sacerdotal flights on the occasion of a sacrifice, which, whatever their real nature, were certainly not the mimic representations of historical events (W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, p. 327 ff.; Frazer, *The Magic Art*, ii. 308–310, and *Lectures on Kingship*, p. 264). On the other hand, it is unreasonable to doubt that the peculiar odium which attached to the title *rex* was inspired by a deep-rooted prejudice, springing from the recollection of the overthrow of a hateful tyranny. The charge of aiming at the throne was the most heinous form of treason, and was as fatal to Sp. Cassius and Sp. Mælius in early times as to Tib. Gracchus and Julius Cæsar in the days of the later Republic.

It will be remembered that the tyrant against whom Brutus conspired was the representative of a foreign dynasty which aspired to establish hereditary power. The native Roman kingship was of a different character. Its patriarchal and primitive origin is attested by the proximity of the king's residence to the hearth of the State—the perennial fire in the temple of Vesta—and to the store-houses under the protection of the Penates (*di penates publici p. R. Q.*), who were housed under the same roof (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 41). Some modern scholars have concluded that the Vestals and Flamens were in the first instance the daughters and sons of the king, who by his direction undertook the duties of kindling and maintaining the sacred fire (Warde Fowler, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 288). But the king was more than the head of the clan. The genius of the Roman people asserted itself at an early date in the discovery that legal limitations might be imposed upon the exercise of an authority otherwise uncontrolled (*imperium legitimum*, Sall. *Cat.* vi. 6). The king was during his life the sole repository of powers derived from the people, which he exercised subject to the condition that he must act, not like a slave-owner, but as the mandatory of his free fellow-citizens. Thus the king, while free to follow the inclination of his will, was checked by the conviction that he must act not contrary to, but in accordance with, the law. The people were the source of the law, which could not be altered without their sanction. Thus, as Mommsen has suggested, the constitution of Rome resembled, in some measure, constitutional monarchy inverted.

'In the Roman constitution the community of the people exercised very much the same functions as belong to the king in England: the right of pardon, which in England is the prerogative of the crown, was in Rome the prerogative of the community; while the ordinary operations of government devolved entirely on the crown' (*Hist. of Rome*, Eng. tr., i. 84).

This conception was undoubtedly the outcome of a period of growth, the various stages of which are lost to our view. Our evidence respecting the regal constitution comes from writers who relied entirely upon a tradition incapable of verification; and it is scarcely possible that their accounts have not been coloured by the introduction of features characteristic of a later age.

Our authorities agree in denying that the kingship was hereditary (Cic. *Rep.* ii. 24), and also in the assertion that the king was elected by the people on the proposal of the *interrex*, and with the previously expressed approval of the senate (Livy, i. 17; Cic. *Rep.* ii. 31). The existence of the office of *interrex*, on the one hand, shows that the demise of the crown was not necessarily and immediately followed by the succession of the heir; but, on the other, the nomination of the *rex sacrorum* and of the dictator in later times suggests that free election was not so primitive an institution as the authorities affirm. The view of Mommsen (*Röm. Staatsrecht*, ii. 7, and *Hist. of Rome*, i. 68) is now generally adopted that the king was entitled, if not required, to nominate his successor; and that, if he failed to do so, the duty fell upon an *interrex* chosen from the senate. In either case, however, the approval of the senate was normally, if not necessarily, obtained; and the new king immediately submitted himself to the people, by himself proposing the adoption of a *lex curiata* as the ratification of his assumption of the supreme power (cf. Livy, i. 41). The entrance into office was incomplete until the assent of the gods had been obtained by a formal inauguration, in which the auspices were taken by a member of the priesthood other than the king himself (*ib.* i. 18).

2. Insignia.—In virtue of his pre-eminent authority, the king was invested with various insignia of office. Thus, whenever he appeared in public, he was preceded by twelve lictors (Cic. *Rep.* ii. 30), bearing rods and axes as a mark of his continuous right to command (*imperium*) during peace as well as in war. He wore a purple robe known as *trabea* (Verg. *Æn.* vii. 612; Juv. viii. 259), so called because crossed by belts of scarlet (Mayor, on Juv. x. 35); but in general his official dress varied in accordance with the succession of his duties. He wielded the ivory sceptre surmounted by an eagle, wore a crown of oak-leaves fashioned with gold, and occupied an ivory throne (Dion. Hal. iii. 61). He alone rode in a State-chariot within the city walls; and from this custom the *sella curulis* of the republican magistrates was said to be derived (Fest. p. 49). He was endowed with ample domain lands, which were occupied on sufferance (*precario*) and kept in cultivation by the royal *clientela* (Cic. *Rep.* v. 3).

3. Functions.—(*a*) The king was the representative of the community in all its relations, including the superintendence of the State religion. For the first organization of the priesthood and the distribution of its duties Numa was traditionally responsible (Livy, i. 20). Accordingly, he is represented as having instituted the appointments of the three chief Flamens (those of Juppiter, Mars, and Quirinus), of the college of Salii, and of the Pontifex, while retaining for himself the administration of the chief religious ceremonies (Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 15). After the expulsion of the Tarquins, the *rex sacrorum* was appointed to take over the sacred functions personally exercised by the monarch, while the *pontifex maximus* succeeded to the general presidency over the ecclesiastical bodies, which the king had held as chief of the State (for the difficulties in details see Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 51 f.).

(*b*) In secular as distinguished from religious functions the king was at once the highest civil authority and the supreme military commander. He had no colleague who could interpose a veto; he might, if he chose, delegate his powers, and subsequently resume them at will. The limitations of his authority were established by custom and precedent, followed or created by the holders of the office themselves (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 26). Thus, though the king completely controlled the division of booty and the disposition of conquered land (Cic. *Rep.* ii. 26), he was accustomed to consult the senate, whenever it was practicable, on all matters of foreign policy (Livy, i. 32). An exception would be the making of a treaty which closed a war; for on a foreign campaign it was impossible to postpone a decision until a reference was made to the authorities at home. On the question of a declaration of war it was even usual to obtain the ratification of the people (Dion. Hal. ii. 14).

4. Delegates.—Since it was impracticable for the king to perform in person all the duties required of his office, it was usual for him to appoint delegates to represent him, who exercised their functions during the king's pleasure. Chief of these was the *præfectus urbi*, who was left behind in Rome to take over the government during the king's absence in the field. The chief subordinate commands in war were those of the generals of infantry and cavalry (*tribuni militum* and *celerum*). With respect to criminal jurisdiction, we are informed that the more important cases were heard by the king in person, and the less important transferred to judges chosen from the senate (Dion. Hal. ii. 12). Further, it was made a charge against Tarquinius Superbus that he tried cases of serious importance without employing a panel of advisers to assist him (Livy, i. 49). Some scholars hold that such a *consilium* is to be found in the *duoviri perduellionis* (commissioners of high treason), who were appointed by Tullus Hostilius to try the case of Horatius (Livy, i. 26). These, again, have been identified with the *quæstores parricidii*, who are supposed to have existed in the time of the kings (Tac. *Ann.* xi. 22), although Mommsen (*Hist. of Rome*, i. 159) regards the latter as police officers, whose primary duty was to search for and arrest murderers. It has been inferred from the brief account of the trial of Horatius that, though the king might allow an appeal to the people (*provocatio*), he was not bound to do so. According to a statement of Dionysius (iv. 25), the king tried public causes himself, but remitted to others the adjudication of private suits, and in the latter case prescribed the formula by which the competence of the *iudex* was limited. This is the basis of the later distinction between proceedings *in iure* and *in iudicio*, when the prætor had succeeded to the office formerly occupied by the king. The power of legislation was theoretically vested in the people, who were the sole source of law (Dion. Hal. ii. 14); but the initiative was confined to the king, who alone possessed the right of consulting the assembly.

LITERATURE.—J. G. Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, London, 1905, esp. pp. 81–88; T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age*, New York, 1907, pp. 78–97; G. Grote, *History of Greece*, London, 1869, pt. i. ch. 20; G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*^{2}, Gotha, 1893–1904, i. 505–509, 544–550, ii. 104 ff.; G. Gilbert, *Handbuch der gr. Staatsalterthümer*, i.^{2}, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 46–51, 121 ff.; V. v. Schoeffer, art. 'Basileus' in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. 55 ff.; A. H. Cooke, art. 'Rex (Greek)' in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*^{3} ii. 546; T. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*^{3}, Leipzig, 1887, ii. 1–17, and *History of Rome*, Eng. tr., London, 1877, i. 66–70; E. Herzog, *Geschichte und System der römischen Staatsverfassung*, Leipzig, 1884–91, i. 52–82; L. Lange, *Römische Alterthümer*, Berlin, 1856–71, i. 284–389, and *Das römische Königthum*, Leipzig, 1881; F. Bernhöft, *Staat und Recht der römischen Königszeit*, Stuttgart, 1882; H. Schiller, in Iwan v. Müller's *Handbuch*, iv.^{2} ii. 1 (Munich, 1893), pp. 51–53; A. H. J. Greenidge, art. 'Rex (Roman)' in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*^{3} ii. 549, and *Roman Public Life*, London, 1901, pp. 42–65.

A. C. PEARSON.

KING (Indian).—The Indian kingship is peculiar in that the king belongs to the second—the Kṣatriya, or warrior—of the four great castes, the first and most powerful being the Brāhman caste. Throughout orthodox Sanskrit literature, therefore, a strict distinction is drawn between the priest and the king; anything even approximating to a priest-king is unknown in Aryan India. The king is inferior in position to the priest, who, as has frequently happened in modern times (*e.g.*, in the case of the Peshwas of the Mahratta dynasty), often became practically the real ruler, though nominally only chief counsellor of State.

The essentially administrative character of the Indian king is borne out by his name, *rājan*, 'the director,'[1] cognate with Lat. *rex* and O. Ir. *rí*, 'king' (from the Celtic group is probably borrowed Goth. *reiks*, 'ἄρχων,' and the Germanic group represented by Eng. *rich*), as well as with dialectic Turfān *paṭ-raśṭū*, 'ordered, arranged,' Skr. *rāji*, 'line, row,' Gr. *ὀρέγω*, 'I stretch out,' Lat. *rego*, 'I keep straight, guide, rule,' *rectus*, 'right,' O. Ir. *rigim*, 'I stretch out,' *recht*, 'law,' Germ. *richten*, 'to direct,' etc.

Among other synonyms for 'king' are 'lord of men' (*narapati*), 'lord of earth' (*bhūpati*), 'protector of earth' (*bhūpāla*), 'sustainer of earth' (*kṣitibhṛt*), etc. As Indra is the king of the gods, so the king is the 'Indra of men' (*narendra*, *manujendra*, etc.; cf. Böhtlingk-Roth, i. 803), and, although the 'god on earth' (*bhūdeva*) is, properly speaking, the Brāhman, the king is occasionally termed a 'god' (*deva*) or a 'god of earth' (*kṣitideva*; Böhtlingk-Roth, iii. 738). This does not, however, imply any divinity of the king, but merely that he is as much superior to the lower castes—Vaiśyas and Śūdras—as the gods are superior to mankind.

The king, says Manu, 'is a great deity in human form' (vii. 8: *mahatī devatā hy eṣā nararūpeṇa tiṣṭhati*), and, according to *Nārada Dharmaśāstra*, xviii. 54 f., there are eight sacred objects which must be reverenced, worshipped, and circumambulated sun-wise: a Brāhman, a cow, fire, gold, *ghī* (clarified butter), the sun, the waters, 'and a king as the eighth.'

When Brahman created the king, we are told (Manu, vii. 3–7; cf. v. 96) that he took

'eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama [the god of justice and of the dead], of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuṇa, of the Moon, and of Kubera [the god of wealth].' This passage receives its explanation in ix. 303–311: the king must shower benefits upon his realm as Indra [the rain-god] sends rain upon the earth; he must be as omnipresent as the wind; he must control all his subjects as does Yama; he must draw revenues from his kingdom as the sun draws water from the earth; he must be brilliant and of blazing anger against crime like the radiance of the fire; he must bind criminals as the fetters of Varuṇa enchain the wicked; he must be as beautiful in the sight of his subjects as is the moon in the eyes of mankind; like the earth—which in this list replaces the earth-godling Kubera—he must support all his subjects. A similar list, omitting Wind, Sun, and Varuṇa, is given in *Nārada DŚ*, xviii. 26–31.

The object of all this is, however, very explicitly stated to have been 'for the protection of this whole [creation]' (Manu, vii. 3), and it is for this reason that kings are always pure, 'lest their business be impeded' (*Gautama DŚ*, xiv. 45), at least 'while engaged in the discharge of their duties' (*Viṣṇu DŚ*, xxii. 48), for

'as fire is not polluted even though it always burns the creatures of this world, even so a king is not polluted by inflicting punishment on those who deserve it' (*Nārada DŚ*, xviii. 18); and, moreover, he 'is seated on the throne of Indra . . . for the protection of his subjects' (Manu, v. 93 f.).

Another point of resemblance between the king and a god is that 'through his word an offender may become innocent, and an innocent man an offender in due course' (*Nārada DŚ*, xviii. 52); and the king is named in connexion with the gods in the requirement that a non-Brāhman must take his oath 'in the presence of the gods, of the king, and of Brāhmans' (*Gautama DŚ*, xiii. 13), as well as in the prohibition that a *snātaka* 'shall not speak evil of the gods or of the king' (*Āpastamba DŚ*, I. xi. 31. 5).

The death of a king or an accident to him interrupts the study of the Veda (*Gautama DŚ*, xvi. 32; *Baudhāyana DŚ*, I. xi. 21. 4; *Viṣṇu DŚ*, xxx. 23); and a *snātaka* may not step on a king's shadow (Manu, iv. 130).

The transfer of guilt in case of royal pardon is a rather striking feature of the Indian kingship. If a thief or other criminal is pardoned by the king, the guilt of the original crime devolves on the monarch (*Āpastamba DŚ*, I. vi. 19. 15 [quoting from an earlier text-book], ix. 25, II. xi. 28. 13; *Gautama DŚ*, xii. 45; Manu, viii. 316), because, if he kills the criminal, 'he destroys sin in accordance with the sacred law' (*Vasiṣṭha DŚ*, xix. 46, quoting from an earlier text-book). If the king grants such a pardon, he must fast a day and a night; if he punishes an innocent man, the length of the fast must be tripled (*ib.* xix. 40, 43).

The association of the king with Indra, already noted, appears again in the statement that the king in whose realm are no criminals 'attains the world of Indra' (*Viṣṇu DŚ*, v. 196; cf. *Bṛhaspati DŚ*, ii. 38); and we may also note that Soma is the 'lord of kings' and Varuṇa 'lord of universal sovereigns' (*chakravartin* [*q.v.*], *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI. iv. 3. 9 f.).

There were, however, in India kings who by no means fulfilled the royal ideal. It is very bluntly declared that wicked kings go to hell (*Quotations from Nārada*, v. 10), and a *snātaka* must not accept gifts from a king who is wicked or a non-Kṣatriya, or, indeed, any king (Manu, iv. 87 ff., 84, 91); yet such was the reverence for the royal office that an attack upon even a wicked ruler was deemed one hundred times worse than the extremely heinous offence of murdering a Brāhman (*Nārada DŚ*, xv., xvi. 31).

Specifically royal tabus were rare in India, practically the only instances being that a king might never stand bare-footed on the ground and might not shave his head for a year after his inauguration (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, v. v. 3. 1 f., 6 f.).

The ceremony of inaugurating a king (Rājasūya) was very elaborate (cf. especially A. Weber, 'Ueber die Königsweihe,' *ABAW*, 1893; A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litt.* [=*GIAP* iii. 2, Strassburg, 1897], pp. 143–147); but in this, as in the Vājapeya (on which see Weber, 'Ueber den Vājapeya,' *SBAW*, 1892, pp. 765–813; Hillebrandt, 141–143; both the Rājasūya and the Vājapeya are also discussed in art. ABHIṢEKA) and the Aśvamedha (*q.v.*), while the king was regarded as the sacrificer, the actual celebrant was his Brāhmanical representative, his *purohita*, or 'house-priest' (cf. H. Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 377–379). The Brāhmans were also entrusted with magic charms for the welfare of the king, specimens of these being such hymns of the Atharvaveda as iii. 3 f., iv. 8, 22, and vi. 98 (cf. the series translated by M. Bloomfield, *SBE* xlii. [1897] 111–133).

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[1] One of the terms for emperor, *rājarāj(a)*, 'king of kings,' is interesting as paralleling the O. Pers. *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*, Modern Pers. *shāhān shāh*, 'supreme king' (cf. O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterb.*, St. Petersburg, 1855–75, vi. 222).

Although the early Indian kingship was usually hereditary, there are clear indications that election to royal office was not unknown (Rigveda, X. cxxiv. 8: 'as subjects choosing for themselves a king,' *rājānaṁ vṛṇānā*; cf. VI. viii. 4); and with this may be connected an incident not uncommon in modern Indian folk-tales, and repeated in the Indian stratum of *The Thousand Nights and One Night* (tr. R. Burton, *Supplementary Nights*, London, n.d., i. 323), where the hero, wandering to a city whose king has just died, is singled out by one of the royal elephants, whose choice is regarded as a divine indication that the stranger is to be the next monarch.

In view of the inability of the Indian king to sacrifice or to take any other active part in religious rites, it is very significant to observe the rôle which is ascribed to him, particularly by the Upaniṣads, in the development of philosophy. Thus King Aśvapati Kaikeya instructs five learned Brāhmans concerning the nature of the Ātman Vaiśvānara after their fellow casteman Uddālaka Āruṇi had been unable to solve their perplexities (*Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*, v. 11–24; cf. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, x. vi. 1); Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, prince of Pañchāla, teaches two Brāhmans the nature of Ākāśa (*ib.* i. 8 f.) and also explains to Śvetaketu, Uddālaka's son, the nature of metempsychosis (*ib.* v. 3–10, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upan.* vi. 2; cf. also *Kauṣītaki Upan.* i.); and the great Vedic scholar Gārgya Bālāki, after repeatedly failing to elucidate the nature of Brahman, receives the solution from King Ajātaśatru of Kāśī (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upan.* ii. 1, *Kauṣītaki Upan.* iv.). Considering this, it may well be that, as P. Deussen maintains (*Philosophy of the Upanishads*, tr. A. S. Geden, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 19 f.; cf. also R. Garbe's little essay on the origin of Indian monism in his *Philosophy of Ancient India*, Chicago, 1897),

> 'the doctrine of the âtman, standing as it did in such sharp contrast to all the principles of the Vedic ritual, though the original conception may have been due to Brâhmans, was taken up and cultivated primarily not in Brâhman but in Kshatriya circles, and was first adopted by the former in later times'; and that this teaching 'was fostered and progressively developed by the Kshatriyas in opposition to the principles of the Brâhmanical ritual.'

We must also remember, in this connexion, that the two great heterodoxies of India—Buddhism and Jainism—proceeded from the Kṣatriya caste, and that Buddha was himself an heir apparent (*yuvarāja*), being the son of Suddhodana, king of the Śākya clan in Kapilavastu.

LITERATURE.—The chief references are given by M. Winternitz, *s.v.* 'King (*a*) in India,' *SBE* l. [1910] 322–324; cf. also H. Zimmer, *Altind. Leben*, Berlin, 1879, pp. 162–168; W. Foy, *Die königliche Gewalt nach den altind. Rechtsbüchern*, Leipzig, 1895.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

KING (Iranian).—The kingly office has always played a most important part in Iranian history and religion from the earliest times, both in the ancient Persian Empires and in the Mazdean religion. Indeed, to the Greeks the Persian monarch was known simply as *βασιλεύς*, or *ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς*, as constantly in Herodotus, Æschylus, and other classical writers. 'The Great Kings' styled themselves *khshāyaθiyā khshāyaθiyānām* ('King of Kings')—a title which has been perpetuated through the centuries to the present day, when the non-Iranian Persian sovereign still boasts the proud, though empty, title of *Shāhān Shāh*, which is merely the modernized form of the ancient title. Nowhere has royal power ever been more exalted or more absolute than in successive monarchies of both ancient and modern Irān. It is a curious fact, therefore, that, in strong contrast with so many of the ancient religions, there is no certain trace of 'king-worship' or of divine genealogies in any of the ancient Iranian dynasties, whether historical or legendary[1] (on 'king-worship' see C. Lattey, *Ancient King-Worship*, London, 1910; also E. Kornemann, *Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte*, Leipzig, 1901). This is a necessary result of the practical monotheism of the Mazdean religion, in all its various forms. We have just indicated the distinction between the 'historical' and the 'legendary' dynasties in ancient Irān. By the former is meant, of course, the well-known great Persian Achæmenid monarchy of Cyrus, Darius, and their successors, familiar to us from the Greek historians and, in modern times, from their own famous rock inscriptions, which have thrown a flood of light upon both the political history of their reigns and the form of Mazdeism which they professed (see art. BEHISTŪN). Small and monotonous as is this 'literature,' it is distinguished by the deeply religious note that rings throughout, incessantly repeating the declaration of a burning faith, in which we have evidence of a sincere piety shown towards 'the great God,' the one God of the king and of his people. No question can be raised as to the religion professed by these kings, at least Darius and his successors, for we find that Darius, in the great Behistān inscription, adopts, with a sense of the deepest satisfaction, the title of 'Auramazdean'—proudly declaring:

> 'As an Auramazdean I swear (? or proclaim) that this is true' (*Dar. Bh.*, col. 4, § 57).

There is no mistaking the attitude of these old Persian kings; there is no claim to divine ancestry, as in the case of the Egyptian monarchs or Alexander the Great, nor to any apotheosis after death, as in that of the Roman Emperors, but the pious expression of the most absolute dependence upon Auramazdā, the one God. By his will or divine grace kings are allowed to reign ('per me reges regnant'); thus Darius exclaims:

> 'By the will of Auramazdā I am king' (*ib.*, col. 1, §§ 5, 6).

By the same will the nations are made subject to him:

> 'By the will of Auramazdā, these nations have become my slaves and my tributaries' (*ib.*, § 7).

It is Auramazdā who gives to kings all their power:

> 'Auramazdā has invested me with sovereign power' (*ib.*, § 5).

A true Lord of hosts, it is he that gives the victory in battle:

> 'By the will of Auramazdā I put to flight the army of Nidintu-Bel. . . . I took possession of Babylon. . . . I defeated the armed bands of the rebels,' etc. (*ib.*, §§ 18–20; col. 2, § 26, etc.).

In a word, everything depends absolutely on the divine will:

> 'Everything that I have done, I have done, without exception, by the will of Auramazdā' (*ib.*, col. 4, § 62).

In another place, referring to his conquests, the king says:

> 'That which has been done, I did it all by the will of Auramazdā' (*Naqsh-i Rustam*, a, § 5).

It is a remarkable fact that, when we turn to that form of Mazdeism which is preserved in the Avesta, the sacred book knows nothing of the great Persian monarchs, Cyrus, Darius, Artaxerxes, and the others of the Achæmenid dynasty, whose names are so familiar in history. It knows, on the contrary, other great dynasties—the Pēshdādian and the Kayanian—utterly unknown outside of the Avestan literature and the folk-legends preserved in the poetry of later Persia, especially Firdausī. The legends of those dynasties are, of course, largely mythical. The first royal house, whose date, as usual, is thrown back to a fabulous antiquity, began with Haoshyanga (the later Hōshang), said to have ruled over the *daēvas*, or demons (probably the non-Iranian tribes), under whose reign metals were first discovered and worked. His successor, with the very totemistic name Takhma Urupa ('strong fox,' the later Tahmūraf), taught his subjects how to use skins for clothing, to hunt, and to tame domestic animals, and caused them to be taught by the 'demons' the art of writing, but fell away into idolatry, and was slain by the evil spirit Ahriman. His successor was the great hero Yima Khshaēta (the later Jamshīd, familiar to readers of Omar Khayyām), who plays in the Avesta the part of both an Adam and a Noah, and is connected with the 'Great Winter' that so strikingly corresponds with the Noachian Deluge. He was overthrown by the demoniacal monster Azhi Dahāka, the later Zohāk. After the latter's usurpation, the national revival took place under the most celebrated of these ancient heroes, Thraētaona (the later Farīdūn), who is spoken of as 'king of the earth,' and whose successor was Manushchithra, the later Minochihr. A later dynasty, that of the Kayanians—perhaps a Bactrian dynasty—derived their name and descent from Kai Kobādh (Av. Kavi Kavāta), followed by Kai Kāūs (Av. Kava Usa), Siyāvash (Av. Syāvarshan), Kai Khosru (Av. Husrava), Lohrāsp (Av. Aurvaṭ-aspa), and, finally, Gushtāsp (Av. Vishtāspa), in whose reign appeared the great Prophet Zarathushtra, who converted the king and his court.

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[1] But see Spiegel's view in Literature, below. There is, however, reason to believe that the Iranian kings were sometimes put on a plane with the gods, as in *AS*, Aug., i. [1867] 333; see also A. Rapp, *ZDMG* xx. [1866] 118 f.; E. Wilhelm, *ib.* xl. [1886] 108.

Although these kings are no doubt largely legendary, and although the accounts of their reigns contain much that is mythological—indeed some of the names suggest Vedic or, rather, Indo-Iranian prototypes—still it is not improbable that some degree of historical truth underlies many of their legends. It may very well be that some of these dynasties, whose names and exploits are preserved either in the Avesta or in popular tradition, were the ruling families of different Iranian tribes, whether in Media, Bactria, or other regions outside of Persia proper; or that some of them may have been contemporaneous with one another, if not with the Achæmenid Empire. It is a remarkable fact that the Avesta itself knows nothing of the last-mentioned great dynasty. The great national Persian poet, Firdausī, in his epic, the *Shāh-nāmah*, ingeniously co-ordinates all these various dynasties from the earliest legendary hero-kings right through the historical Achæmenid era down to Alexander the Great. This skilful manipulation of legend, folklore, and sober history was necessary for the unity of his epic, but, of course, cannot be regarded as corresponding to historical facts.

Although no divine character was attributed to Iranian royalty, still there is one peculiar attribute of a supernatural character with which the Avesta endowed its kings, and also its prophets. This was the so-called *khvarenō*, which was regarded as a kind of effulgence or bright glory that attached to the kings, but could be forfeited by moral evil.

> 'It was a mythical talisman which belonged essentially to the royal house of Iran, though it vanished with Yima's sin, flying away in its three successive manifestations in the form of a bird. . . . The Glory can be seized by no sinner' (J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* [*HL*], London, 1913, p. 276; we need not enter here into the author's discussion of the relation of the *khvarenō* with the *fravashi*).

Under the Old Persian form *farnah*, the word occurs in several well-known proper names, and even in Media, more than a century before Cyrus. The prophet Zarathushtra was also endowed with this *quasi*-divine splendour, and at the end of the world it is also to be the attribute of the Saviour Saoshyant.[1]

After the conversion of the monarch and the royal house to the Zoroastrian reform, the king of Irān was regarded in the religious system of the Avesta and the later Mazdean literature—in accordance with the favourite 'dualism' that all through has characterized Iranian thought (see DUALISM [Iranian])—as supreme head of the material or civil world, whilst the prophet Zarathushtra (and his successors, who enjoyed as a title the curiously formed superlative 'Zarathushtrōtema') was the corresponding supreme head in spiritual things. This is expressly laid down in the *Dīnkarṭ*, where it is said that the 'spiritual medicine' which depends upon 'the Good Law' (*i.e.* the Mazdean religion) is 'rendered more excellent by the rule of Master of the Worlds, the King, and of the Spiritual Director of the worlds, the Zarathushtrōtema' (*Dīnk.*, ed. P. B. Peshotan, Bombay, 1874 ff., vol. iv. ch. 157, § 4, tr. Casartelli, Louvain, 1886). This is of a piece with the frequent distinction between *ahu* and *ratu*, when meaning respectively 'prince' (or temporal ruler) and 'spiritual guide' or 'priest' (though at times the terms have other significations). It also corresponds exactly with the positions assigned respectively to *pāṭōkhshāyīh* (sovereignty) and *dīno* (religion), the one on the 'material' (*stihīk*) and the other on the 'spiritual' (*mīnōīk*) side of the curious table of the *Dīnk.* (vol. iv. ch. 137), cited in the art. DUALISM (Iranian). The Pahlavi translator of *Yasht* i. deduces from § 8 of the hymn that 'a man is not fit to be a king unless he possesses twelve virtues' (quoted by J. Darmesteter, *SBE* xxiii. [1883] 25).[1] As to the relations of the subjects to their king, J. J. Modi has lately published an interesting little volume (*Moral Extracts from Zoroastrian Books*, Bombay, 1914), in which he has a section (pp. 8–10) on 'Obedience to the King' as one of the chief virtues inculcated by Zoroastrianism.

> Referring to Herodotus (i. 132, on the duty of prayer for the king, and viii. 118, for an instance of heroic loyalty), he quotes a striking prayer for the king[2] from *Āfrīngān*, i. 8–12; and of later authorities he cites: 'Be always truthful and obedient to your Kings' (*Paivand-nāmah*); 'O almighty God, give a long life, a happy life, and a healthy life to the ruler of our land' (*Tan-darustī*); 'Commit no fault against Kings and chiefs'; and again, 'Speak no evil against the rulers of the land, for they are the guardians of the land and through them prosperity flows upon earthly beings' (*Pand-nāmak-i Āṭūrpāt-i Māraspandān*, §§ 66, 103, following de Harlez's version in *Muséon*, vi. [1887] 66–77).

All this is quite in accordance with the ethics of the Achæmenid inscriptions, for in them the chief of all evils that are stigmatized is 'falsehood' (*drauga*, 'the lie,' whether personified, as Moulton surmises [*op. cit.* p. 1], and so equivalent to the Avestan name of the evil spirit, or merely an abstract noun); and it is to this evil that rebellion against the king is attributed.

> Darius tells us that during Cambyses' absence in Egypt 'the people became hostile, and lying became widespread in the land' (*Dar. Bh.*, col. 1, § 10). In another place the same king, relating how a rebellion had taken place in many of the provinces of his vast empire, states that 'these provinces had broken into rebellion; it was lying that had made them rebellious' (*ib.*, col. 4, § 54).

Every time that a usurper rises up against the lawful sovereign it is said, 'He is one that lies' (*adurujiya*, from the root *duruj*, *druj*)—a phrase that constantly recurs. On the other hand, despotism and cruelty on the part of the sovereign are also considered as great crimes. Thus does Darius break forth with pride and say:

> 'Auramazdā has brought me help . . . for I have been neither a liar nor a tyrant' (*Dar. Bh.*, col. 4, § 63 f.).

In spite of such grandiloquent professions, however, the gruesome cruelties inflicted by the Iranian monarchs throughout the ages are only too well known, and it has been surmised, not without good reason, that the shockingly barbarous punishments detailed in the *Inferno* of Ārṭā-ī Vīrāf, the 'Persian Dante,' are but too faithful a picture of those practised at the Persian court (see Casartelli, 'The Persian Dante,' in *Jamaspji Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1914).

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[1] On *khvarenō* see E. Wilhelm, 'Hvarenō,' in *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1914.

[1] Darmesteter's translation of *Sīrōzah*, i. 9, making Nairyōsanga, the divine messenger of Ahura Mazda, to 'reside in the navel of the King,' seems quite untenable (see C. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*², Paris, 1881, ii. 597 n.).

[2] Other translators, *e.g.* F. Wolff, Strassburg, 1910, take the supplication as being in favour of the speaker himself.

Anyhow the Avesta itself draws a sharp distinction between good and bad kings.

> 'May good Kings rule over us, not bad Kings, O Armaiti' (*Ys.* xlviii. 5).

Especially those rulers who were hostile to the Prophet and his reform are denounced and condemned to eternal perdition; amongst them is mentioned by name one Grēhma (*Ys.* xlvi. 11, xlix. 11, xxxii. 12–14).

A word must here be said of the relations between the royal dynasties and the national religion. As we have seen, there is no doubt about the religious convictions of the great Achæmenid kings—at least after Cyrus, for his religious position is still doubtful. They were professedly and devoutly Mazdeans—though the present writer is by no means yet convinced that they were Zoroastrians in any sense (see his *The Religion of the Great Kings*, London, 1910; *per contra*, the very striking arguments of Moulton, *op. cit.*, especially p. 40 ff., are deserving of careful consideration). The Avestan legend represents the Vishtāspa of the Kayanian dynasty and all his royal house as converts of the Prophet, the king playing the part of a Constantine or an Ethelbert. Coming back again to later and historical times, the relations of the Arsacid or Parthian dynasty (250 B.C.–A.D. 225) to the faith are unknown or obscure. The Sasanian kings (A.D. 226–651), however, were so fully and completely Zoroastrian that they made the Avestan system, in the greatly modified form in which it then existed, the State religion, and did not shrink from religious persecution in its defence or interests. It was under Shāhpūr II. (A.D. 350–438) that, according to the tradition, our present Avesta, *i.e.* whatever was left of the original scriptures after Alexander the Great's destruction of the greater part, was collected, revised, and corrected by the efforts of his great prime minister Āṭūrpāt-ī Māraspandān, whilst under his successor, Yazdagird II., the edict of his minister, Mihr Narseh (A.D. 440), played an important part in the religious life of the country. In the *Dīnkarṭ* (vol. i. ch. 28) we find the categorical assertion that 'the law of Irān is the Mazdean religion' (*Aīrāno dāṭo dīno Mazdayasno*), which, together with other indications, has always seemed to the present writer to point to the *Dīnkarṭ* as essentially of the Sasanid era.

LITERATURE.—In addition to writers quoted in text, W. Geiger, *Ostīrānische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882, p. 425 ff.; F. Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871–78, esp. iii. 596 ff., where he endeavours at some length to prove that the ancient Iranian kings *did* claim divine parentage, probably from Mithra; E. Wilhelm, 'Königthum und Priesterthum im alten Erân,' *ZDMG* xl. [1886] 102–110.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

KING (Muslim).—1. **Sovereignty.**—Originally in Islām the conception of sovereignty was directly theocratic. There was no doubt on this point. Muhammad ruled in the religious order, the military order, and the judicial order; and in each of them his authority was accepted without dispute. Neither he nor any of his adherents seems to have thought of analyzing or dissecting sovereignty. They regarded it as divine in its source; Muhammad possessed it not as elected by men, but as a prophet sent by God. Originating thus, it was both integral and absolute.

This conception continued during the period immediately after Muhammad, which is called 'the perfect Khalīfate.' The first successors of the Prophet did not, indeed, regard themselves as real sovereigns, that position belonging to the Prophet alone. They called themselves 'lieutenants,' which is the meaning of the word *khalīf.*[1] In practice they preserved their sovereignty in the military order; but in the religious and judicial orders the Qur'ān, which is regarded as perfect, had fixed the law, at least in its most important points. The Khalīf had nothing to add, and sovereignty in these matters passed into the hands of specialists, whose duty it was to criticize the texts, and to develop and apply the principles.

After the Arab conquest the Muslim Empire was immense; and, as it included regions and cities of advanced civilization, administration became complicated and difficult, and the Khalīf had to delegate a large part of his sovereignty to ministers. These were known at first by the modest title of 'vizīrs' (*chargés d'affaires*). They were of considerable importance in the Empire; it might even be said that some of them were the real sovereigns, until the day when they were crushed by a caprice of their master. Vizīrs played an equally important rôle in the Osman Empire after the Turkish conquest.

Towards the end of the history of the Arab Khalīfate, during its decline, the general state of the Empire was very unsettled, and the military element assumed predominance over the administrative. The Khalīf, his power gone, was confined in his palace, and the actual authority was exercised by the chief guards, generally Turks and sometimes eunuchs.

In the feudal period authority was divided and subdivided just as in the West, but in a less systematic manner. The Khalīf had now only a theoretical power; princes of various races formed kingdoms for themselves out of the dismembered Empire, and arrogated to themselves a sovereignty *de facto*, which was no longer of a theocratic character, but was based on strength of arms. The dynasties which they founded have been of comparatively short duration. The Osman Sultans constituted a stronger unity in Islām than that which existed under the Arab Khalīfs. Their power was absolute, except that they were required to respect the law of the Qur'ān and its interpreters (*muftī*, *'ulamā*, etc.), and were dependent on the fidelity of the troops. This despotic regime has lasted even to our day.

In Turkey at the present time the sovereignty resides in the Parliament, and the Sultan is only a constitutional monarch—a system which brings the Ottoman Empire into line with the other States of Europe, but which it is difficult to reconcile with the principles and the spirit of Islām.

2. **Legitimacy.**—The legitimacy of the Khalīf does not exactly depend on the manner of his election or on a law of succession; it is derived from the proclamation of the people. This proclamation consists in naming the sovereign in the Friday sermon (*khuṭba*) in the mosques, and in praying for him. When mention of a Khalīf has thus been made, without arousing protests, in the cathedral mosque of the capital of the Empire, this Khalīf is regarded as legitimate.[2]

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[1] The title *khalīf* was borne by the first four successors of Muhammad, by the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid dynasties, and, among the Shī'ites, by the Fāṭimids. The title *imām*, denoting 'president,' was in use among the sects which recognized the right of the descendants of 'Alī. The title *amīr al-mu'minīn*, 'commander of the faithful,' was given to the Arab Khalīfs; it had been used, even during the life of the Prophet, by one of his lieutenants in the year 2 A.H. As for the title 'Sultan,' it was in use among such secondary dynasties of the Middle Ages as the Ḥamdānids, the Būyids, the Ṭūlūnids, and the Ghaznavids from the end of the 9th century. It was the title of the celebrated Saladin (Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn), of the Ayyūbid dynasty.

[2] The ceremony of proclamation is called *bī'at*. Among the Osmans it is renewed every year in the festivals of the Bairām, under the name of *muayad*. The *shaikh al-islām*, in these ceremonies, kisses the front of the Sultan's robe, and, raising his eyes towards heaven, prays for the prosperity of the Empire, and for the preservation of his Highness. The Sultan

A legitimate sovereign might be deposed. Among the Osmans deposition is regarded as just when it has been authorized by a *fatwā*, *i.e.* by a decision of the *shaikh al-islām.*[1]

The mode of succession of Muslim sovereigns varied. Muhammad had given no rule. Abū Bakr, his first successor, was chosen by the most influential party in the Muhammadan community; ʽOmar was designated by Abū Bakr; Othmān, by electors whom ʽOmar had named; the election of ʽAlī was contested, and led to civil war; with Muʽāwiya the dynastic rule was established, first in the family of the Umayyads. Even within the dynasties the order of succession was not always constant. Sometimes the Khalīf chose one of his sons as his heir apparent; *e.g.*, the famous Hārūn al-Rashīd designated three of his sons with entail. The first of the three, Amīm, wished to oust the second, Ma'mūn; but the latter revolted and Amīm was beaten and killed. Among the Osman Sultans it is rather the brother who succeeds; and it has often happened that a Sultan, on his accession, has put his brothers and nephews to death. Formerly the Empire was divided among the brothers, especially in the Middle Ages. This was the case with the Būyids in Persia.

In principle the Khalīf, who was the president of the entire Muhammadan community, had to be of the Quraish race; but that was not the case with the Osman Sultans. In order to legitimatize them, it was admitted that they had inherited rights from the ancient Arab Khalīfs when, in the time of Salīm I., they conquered the sacred cities Mecca and Medina.

Among the Shīʽites the idea of legitimacy presents a rather peculiar religious character. Founding their belief on certain traditions, they hold that Muhammad had designated ʽAlī as his successor, and in their eyes all the Khalīfs except ʽAlī and his descendants are illegitimate. This belief has given rise to many troubles in the history of Islām. Secret societies have been formed and have long worked for the succession of the ʽAlī dynasties; they succeeded in establishing the famous Fāṭimid dynasty in N. Africa and Egypt, thus named from Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet and the wife of ʽAlī, from whom it claimed to descend.

The Mahdist idea is developed in the sects which maintain the rights of ʽAlī. The Mahdī, a sort of king-prophet and expected Messiah, who is to perfect religion and to begin in the world an era of happiness, is to be of the family of ʽAlī. The so-called sect of the Imāmites had a curious idea about him: they believed that the Mahdī, also named *imām*, was to be the twelfth descendant of ʽAlī. The latter being dead, having disappeared at an early age, this sect professes that he continued to live a mysterious and endless life, from which he will return with glory when his hour is come. The time during which the Mahdī is to remain hidden is called the period of 'occultation' (cf. Carra de Vaux, *Le Mahométisme*, Paris, 1898, p. 134).

3. **The status of the sovereign.**—The power of the Khalīf is absolute within the limits of the religious law. Theoretically, he might dispose of the land and revenues of his Empire. The principle is that the soil belongs to God, and consequently to the Sultan, who is His mandatory. The Sultans, however, had a private estate, which was always of a considerable size. Thus under Sulaimān the Magnificent the private estate of the Sultan produced a revenue of five million ducats, while the general revenues of the Empire were only a little more than nine million ducats. This Sultan reserved to himself the right of granting the great fiefs; and, as a result of the same principle, confiscations were easy and remain so to this day.

As regards taxes, some are prescribed by the Qur'ān; such are the tithe for Muhammadans and the poll-tax for non-Muhammadans. Others are administrative taxes, which long ago acquired a certain regularity, and are therefore called *ḳānūnī*, *i.e.* 'regular'; such are taxes on marriages, law dues, transit and warehouse dues, and stamps. Besides these two kinds of taxes, the Sultan, under the old regime, reserved the right to impose as many as he pleased. Under Sulaimān the Magnificent imperial offices were sold, but not military offices.

Until 1877 the Sultan drew as he pleased on the Treasury for the needs of his ḥarīm. At this time, of eight million Turkish pounds that the budget produced, two-thirds passed to the palace. The Sultan published budget estimates, but he began by deducting his share of the receipts. He had, however, a civil list, which had been established since 1855; at first it was £1,200,000, but was reduced afterwards to £800,000. The property left to the mosques, as pious foundations, called *waqf* property, escapes the sovereignty of the Sultan, and is inalienable.[1] It forms an important part of the imperial territory.

Until the recent revolution, which made him a constitutional monarch, the Sultan naturally had the right of declaring peace or war. He has always preserved the right of commander-in-chief of his armies. He had the right of life and death even over the greatest personages in his Empire. When one of his old favourites who had fallen into disgrace received the noose with which he had to strangle himself, he accepted it as an order legitimately given, and as one which his conscience commanded him to obey. The Sultan was recognized to have the right to make subjects 'disappear,' to dispose of the life of his wives within his palace, and even to order massacres. The religious system of Muhammadanism does not condemn the massacres either of the Janissaries or of the Armenians.

Islām has a special law for the sovereign regarding wives. According to the Qur'ān (xxxiii. 52), he might have nine legitimate wives, all other Muhammadans having only four.

4. **The ethics of the sovereigns.**—There exist in Muhammadan literature several important treatises on the ethics of kings. One of the greatest philosophers of Islām, Fārābī († 950), wrote a treatise on the 'Model City,' in which he represents the princes as wise men, whose principal thought must be to prepare their subjects for the happiness of the other life. This theory, devoid of any practical character, is only an adaptation of the Platonic doctrines (cf Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne*, Paris, 1900, p. 104). Another very well known author who studied this question is

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in the meantime places his hands on the shaikh's shoulders, and bends his head to kiss him (M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris, 1787–1820, iv. 503, 550).

[1] *e.g.*, the *fatwā* which was given for the deposition of the Sultan ʽAbd al-ʽAzīz by the Grand Muftī Ḥasān Khair Allah (the *shaikh al-islām* is the Grand Mufti of Constantinople): 'If the Commander of the Faithful pursues a foolish course of conduct, or if he has not the political knowledge necessary for governing; if his personal expenses are such that the empire cannot support them; if his continuing on the throne will have disastrous consequences, must he be deposed?' Reply: 'The law (the *sharīʽah*) says, Yes.'

[1] The institution of the *waqf* furnished a means by which a testator might save his fortune from confiscation. The Sultans very often confiscated the property of prominent persons and public officials. The *waqfs* might be bequeathed to the mosques or set aside for some charitable purpose. The founder designated the person who should act as administrator. This was often the chief minister of a mosque or an inferior officer. But sometimes the choice of the administrator was left to the inspector general of the *waqfs* (d'Ohsson, ii. 524). Several Grand Vizirs—*e.g.*, Keuprulu, Rāghib, and Baraiktar—tried to secularize the *waqf*. An irade of 1873 and the law of August 23, 1875, imposed on them a fixed law of transmission and an annual tax, regulated according to the estate (A. de la Jonquière, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Paris, 1881, p. 617).

Māwardī († 1058). He wrote a treatise entitled *Kitāb al-aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* (i.e. *Constitutiones politicæ*), a work edited by R. Enger at Bonn in 1853, and recently translated into French by Léon Ostrorog. It contains the theory of the Khalīfate, a description of the qualities necessary for a Khalīf, a study of the different methods of election, and a definition of the power of the vizīrs and provincial governors, with an indication of its limits. This treatise has been highly valued in Islām. The same author has also left a collection of 'Counsels to Kings,' a work on the rules which ministers must follow, and still another on politics and government, entitled 'The Means of facilitating Reflexion and of hastening Victory' (*Tashīl al-Naẓar wa-taʿjīl al-Ẓafar*; see C. Huart, *Littérature arabe*, Paris, 1902, p. 242, Eng. tr., London, 1903, p. 243 f.).

A celebrated Seljūk vizīr, Niẓām al-Mulk, the founder of the academies of Baghdād, Nīshapūr, and Baṣra († 1092), wrote on the art of government, which he himself practised in a very superior manner. His book, entitled *Siassat Nāmah*, 'A Treatise on Government,' and dedicated to the Sultan Malik Shāh, has been edited and translated into French by C. Schefer (Paris, 1891–93). Although this vizīr admits that kings are 'chosen by the most high God,' he allows them attributes which are not specially moral. They must, according to him, respect the learned doctors, must love a pure religion, and have a strong faith; but it is not their domain to govern religion. Their duty is rather to occupy themselves with economic interests: to drain the land, to build bridges, to found villages, to attend to the cultivation of the soil, to build strongholds, caravanserais, and beautiful monuments. These works will gain for a prince the gratitude of his people, an eternal recompense. Niẓām al-Mulk recommends kings to guard against the influence of women, and to have scant trust in ministers of another religion. We know that from the time of the Arab conquest, Christians have been employed by the Khalīfs in their administration, and have rendered them great service. This custom was followed also by the Osmans, and continues to this day (cf. Carra de Vaux, *Gazali*, Paris, 1902, p. 140).

To the great Persian poet Saʿdī († 1264) we owe some very fine pages on the ethics of kings. The whole of the first chapter of his *Būstān* (translated into French by C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1880) is devoted to the duties of kings and good government. Nūshīrwān exhorts his son Ormazd thus:

> 'Be the defender of the weak, and sacrifice your rest to work for them, to the alleviation of poverty and misfortune. A king owes the crown to his subjects; . . . avoid grieving the heart of your people; that would be to thoroughly destroy your own power.' 'The people,' the poet says further, 'is a fruit tree which must be cared for if its fruits are to be enjoyed.'

He has recommendations for labourers:

> 'The labourer works with more energy when he can count upon peace and prosperity.'

He has also some for merchants:

> 'The king who oppresses the merchants closes to the people and to the army the sources of wealth.'

He also recommends that 'men of war' and 'men of advice' should be befriended and soldiers well paid. Yet this great kindness which the poet wishes to find in the sovereign must be accompanied by mistrust and craft; he evidently prefers the latter to strength.

> 'While clever negotiations may assure the success of a transaction, gentleness is preferable to the use of force. Instead of traps, sow gold under your steps; your benefactions will blunt the sharpened teeth of the enemy. The empire of the world belongs to cleverness and craft; kiss the hand that you cannot bite; lavish caresses on your enemy as you would on your friend, while waiting for an opportunity to flay him alive. Dread the blows of the most humble of your adversaries; it is the drops of water that make the torrents.'

LITERATURE.—See the works cited throughout the article and in the notes.

B. CARRA DE VAUX.

KING (Semitic).—In Semitic languages the usual word for 'king' comes from the root *m l k*. In Babylonian the meaning is 'to advise'; this is common in Aramaic, and occurs in Hebrew. In Arabic and Ethiopic it means 'to possess,' 'have power over.' The king then would be the decider of conduct, the source of wisdom for his people. It is best to take the subject in three divisions: Syriac (chiefly Hebrew), Babylonian, and Arabian.

I. Hebrew.—It is very seldom that a true kingdom develops among nomads, and the Hebrews are no exception. Indeed it was not till after many years of settled life (tradition says four hundred) that the government crystallized into kingship. This development was gradual—through the judges, men of mark who by force of character and religious enthusiasm supplanted the tribal chiefs and, for a time at least, usurped their authority. In the case of Abimelech this authority became hereditary in the second generation, but this was largely due to the fusion of Israelites with the old settled population, the Canaanites. When the government was finally settled in the person of a king, it was in direct imitation of the nations round about (1 S 8^5)—recognition of the advantages of a fixed central authority. The older tradition believed that this change had the approval of God and was carried through by His instrument, the prophet Samuel. (Later tradition saw in this imitation of the Gentiles apostasy from God.) As in the case of the judges, Saul first proved his powers at the rescue of Jabesh-Gilead, and then the people ratified the position that he had won for himself. Possibly Samuel had looked to Benjamin for a king in the hope of thus avoiding the jealousy of the North and South. Saul the soldier, however, proved unequal as a politician to cope with the Philistines; and David, the idol of the South, was shown by events to be necessary to the Hebrew nation, and as such was acclaimed king by all parties. But even his genius and personal attractiveness failed to create a national feeling. The kingdom which he had created by his resistance to the Philistines was kept together by the fear of a hostile neighbour, and split along the natural line of cleavage as soon as that fear was removed.

These early kings were little more than the tribal chiefs of nomad days. The main differences were their recognition by the whole people and their possession of a bodyguard, consisting largely of foreigners, which was more serviceable than the tribal militia. At first there was very little organization. The vagueness of history suggests that Saul had no fixed capital. The king was judge (2 S $14^{6ff.}$), general, and priest, the officers set apart for these duties being only his deputies. There is no clear statement of the king being the chief priest, but there are many indications that he sometimes exercised priestly functions. In Phœnicia, Tabnit styles himself 'priest of Astarte, king of the Sidonians,' like his father. His son Eshmunazar calls his mother (she was his father's sister) 'priestess of Astarte' and 'queen,' though he himself does not bear the priestly title. The story of Agag shows that Saul saw nothing wrong in offering sacrifice (1 S 15). At the coming of the ark to Jerusalem David wore a linen ephod (2 S 6^{14}), a priestly garment such as Samuel wore (1 S 2^{18}; cf. also Ex 28^4). Both David and Solomon blessed the people (2 S 6^{18} and 1 K 8^{14}; cf. Nu 6^{23}). The priests were the servants of the king, to be deposed or appointed at pleasure (1 K $2^{27.\ 35}$), while David's sons were priests, as if this were a prerogative of the royal family. Jeroboam I. probably acted as priest (1 K 12^{33}).

The army was a militia, and campaigns seem to have been confined to the summer. But a point was given to this army by the institution of the royal bodyguard of mercenaries. Under David the captain was apparently a Philistine, and loyalty to their master was stronger than other motives. It was the fidelity of these hirelings that prevented Absalom from sweeping the country at the outset of his rebellion.

We have no certain information about the revenue of the early kings. As tradition insists on the lowly origin of both Saul and David, we must suppose that from the first they had a regular revenue from taxation apart from the booty that they might win in war. Jg 9[4] makes it probable that in those times taxes were not unknown, and that each State had its treasury. 1 S 17[25] assumes that taxes were the regular thing in the days of Saul. It is significant that in the second list of David's officials (2 S 20[24]) an addition is made to the earlier (2 S 8[16ff.])—the overseer of the tribute. The later version of Saul's appointment assumes a tax of 10 per cent. It is assumed on the strength of 1 S 16[20] and a few other verses that the kings were frequently the recipients of presents; but probably these were, like gratitude, in expectation of favours to come. In Solomon's reign an elaborate system of tax-collectors was set up—a system which was intended further to break down the tribal divisions still existing among the people. The king also possessed certain agricultural privileges (Am 7[1]), and in later times financial emergencies were met by special taxation (2 K 15[20] 23[35]). Solomon is credited with a large income from taxation apart from the profits of trade and foreign tribute. In addition he employed the *corvée* (cf. 1 S 8[12]). David's kingdom illustrates Ibn Khaldūn's theory that a dynasty lasts only three generations: one of comparative barbarism, one of organized government and developed luxury, and then the crash. Solomon asked too much from his subjects; the splendour of the court was bought by the impoverishment of the countryside, and, as the tribes had not had time to degenerate into serfs, they broke away from the government that pillaged instead of protecting them. The Phœnician kings were at first absolute, but later their power was limited by the nobles, and the government became an oligarchy. David's successors were not equal to the task which almost crushed him—that of welding Judah and Joseph into one nation. While in the North the throne was a prize for any adventurer, in Judah all revolutions left David's family the crown—a tribute to the power of the king of all Israel.

As a general rule the crown was hereditary, descending to the eldest son—the chief exception being Solomon. In this case a palace clique abused the prestige of the dying king and the authority of religion in favour of its nominee. The king was a sacred person appointed by God (1 S 24[17] and 2 K 9[6]), and in him centred the hopes of the prophets. It is probable that anointing referred specially to the priestly side of the king's character.

2. Babylonian and Assyrian.—Though the Babylonian rulers of whom we hear first were Sumerians, yet the later forms of kingship are developments or modifications of Semitic ideas. In the earliest period of which anything is known the machinery of government was already well developed. We cannot trace the beginnings of any element of social life. The land was split up into a number of city-States, each under its own ruler, called either 'king' or 'patesi,' 'king' being the secular and 'patesi' the more religious title, signifying vicar of God. There is no clear distinction between the two titles, though a little later 'patesi' is used for a vassal king. Thus Eannatum of Lagash (*c.* 2900) calls himself both patesi and king, while Enannatum I., who reigned a little later, uses only the title patesi. The early rulers of Assyria (*c.* 1800) call themselves Ishakku (=priest-king). Whatever his title, the king ruled by divine right. Many inscriptions have been found in which a king boasts that his god had appointed him king of his land and shepherd of his people. 'Thou hast created me and intrusted me with dominion over men' (Nebuchadrezzar [Rawlinson, 1[53], col. 1, line 55 f.]). In theory at least the king was an autocrat, however much his power may have been limited in practice.

The king is the agent of his country's god; in the treaty between the cities of Lagash and Umma (before 3000) the patesis of the towns are not mentioned at all, but only the gods. They contended for their cities. 'Patesi' included the idea of priest, and it sometimes happened that one who assumed the style of king kept the older form, even putting the priestly rank first of his titles. It is not a very big step from regarding the sovereign as agent or representative of the god to considering him the manifestation of deity or as himself the god. This change took place very early. Perhaps it was helped by the rulers' habit of putting statues of themselves in the temples which they built, to keep themselves fresh in the memory of the gods. Then offerings were made, not to the statues, but for the persons whom they represented. It is specially noted that the offerings for the statue of Ur-nina (king of Lagash *c.* 3000) were continued during the reign of Lugal-anda, perhaps a hundred and fifty years later. The first kings to receive divine honours were the Semitic rulers of Akkad, northern Babylonia (*c.* 2600); Shar-gani-sharri is called the god of his land, and Narâm-Sin's name always has the determinative for 'god.' Thence the custom spread to the Sumerian rulers of S. Babylonia; and Gudea, patesi of Lagash *c.* 2450, was deified after his death. About fifty years later, Dungi, the second king of the dynasty of Ur, always describes himself as god, and a temple is built in his honour. In later times Ashurbanipal calls himself offspring of Ashur and Belit. The suggestion that the deification of the king is due to Egyptian influence has not found favour.

At first the ruler was supreme in both the secular and the religious sides of life, but in time the priesthood developed till its help was needed for all religious actions. Yet the king remained priest in theory. God still spoke to him directly; Ishtar visited him in dreams to give him her commands. Lugal-zuggisi is proud to be called 'prophet of Nidaba.' He was the manifestation of the god, but also the representative of his people. This was never forgotten. The kings of Erech and Lagash are priests of Anu; another boasts himself 'keeper of the temple of Bel' at Nippur, and down to the latest times the Assyrian kings are priests of Ashur, sometimes giving the religious title the precedence. A son of Narâm-Sin became a priest, and his daughter a priestess. The priests were always under the control of their chief, the king; their subservience appears in the attempts of the oracle priests to find in omens that were obviously unfavourable meanings pleasing to the king.

Another aspect of this is the national significance of the king's person: a calamity to him is a national disaster; hence the elaborate rules that fence his conduct. All ill omens must be kept far from him. Thus the ceremonies for the purification of a king are much longer and more complicated than in the case of a private person; royalty is so dangerous that the king has become the slave of the priesthood. On five days in the month he must not touch animal food, nor change his garments, neither dare he bring an offering to the gods. Thus the question whether certain of the penitential psalms are individual or national is beside the point; it is the king, the people's representative, who speaks for the nation. The law tells the same tale. The court sits in a temple, and the oath is taken in the name of a god or gods, and sometimes in the king's name also; yet he is the final court of appeal (cf. the Hebrew oaths 'by the life of Jahweh' and 'by the life of the king,' also the association of Tiglath-pileser and a god in Barrekub's inscription from Zenjirli). As lawgiver he is guided by social and political expediency, but his decrees are published under divine auspices. The series of omens founded on the exploits (whether real or imaginary is immaterial) of Sargon I. can hardly be explained on the ground of the political importance of these exploits. It was the deeds of a hero peculiarly under divine protection that became normative for future ages.

Naturally the king was absolute, but he was the 'shepherd of his people,' and the government was always rather patriarchal. The people had their rights, which the monarch could not outrage. The splendid title 'king of righteousness' was not borne altogether in vain. In the South we have a witness in the reforms of Urukaginu of Lagash (*c.* 2800) and the Code of Ḥammurabi, while in Assyria, even in the days of its greatest power, any person could make a written appeal to the king. Though the Assyrians are unpleasantly notorious for bloodthirsty cruelty, they devoted great care to the internal economy of their own land. Not only was Assyria plentifully supplied with cattle of all sorts, the booty of innumerable wars, but the kings introduced new trees, and in other ways encouraged agriculture. The system of irrigation was, of course, their constant care. From the first the throne was hereditary, though we do not know whether primogeniture was the rule. In Assyria it is claimed that for fifteen hundred years the crown descended from father to son. The king's material power rested on the army. The idea that the king owned his domain had long since died out, yet part of the soil belonged specially to the State, being held on feudal tenure. The occupier was bound to military service, in payment for which he held his fief. This could not be alienated, and in default of heirs returned to the State. If the owner were summoned for service and had no one to leave in charge of his land, the State appointed a bailiff, who was charged to pay one-third of the produce to the owner's family. In addition, the feudatories had certain privileges, were, to some extent, outside the jurisdiction of ordinary officials, and were not liable to the *corvée*. The Assyrian government appears to have lived often on the tribute of vassal States.

3. Arabian.—It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that no settled government has evolved among the nomads of Arabia. The dynasties of Ḥīra and Ghassān are only apparent exceptions. All Arabian States have had their centre in the cities that lie on the borders of the country, open to foreign influence by land or sea. Among the nomads the tribal chief is the leader in war, but at other times he has only advisory authority and the weight of personal influence. Even among the settled tribes in the hinterland of Aden it is often impossible to put a criminal to death; for by so doing the chief (he calls himself 'Sultan') would expose himself to the dangers of a blood-feud.

Among the fertile valleys of Yemen it was different, and at an early date settled States came into being. Unfortunately, the materials for a study of this period are scanty and largely inaccessible. No agreement has yet been reached as to the date of many of the inscriptions, the two schools of interpretation differing by some six hundred years. The chief States were (1) the Yemen, ruled by two dynasties having their capitals at Ṣirwāḥ and Maʾrib, and later by the Ḥimyarite kings of Saba and Dhū Raidān known to Arabic tradition as Tubbaʿs; (2) Maʿīn or Maʿān in the Jauf; (3) Qatabān; and (4) Ḥadramaut. The date of the kings of Maʿān is uncertain. In Yemen the earliest rulers were the *m k r b*, probably Mukarribs, the priest-kings of Ṣirwāḥ. We have the names of thirteen princes who ruled between the 9th and the 6th cent. B.C., but their functions and powers are unknown. The title seems to mean 'he who makes offerings.' Their rule probably extended well to the east, for Sargon (715 B.C.) mentions one Ithʿamara the Sabæan, presumably one of the dynasty. The name occurs on the monuments.

Next followed a line of kings ruling at Maʾrib, coming to an end about 115 B.C. and followed by the Ḥimyarite kings, whose kingdom was finally destroyed by the Abyssinians in A.D. 525. It is probable that the kings of Maʿān were contemporary with the earlier rulers of Yemen (Saba), though Hommel and Glaser would put the first of them about 1500 B.C.

The royal title was not restricted to the head of the State, but was shared by his sons. In one inscription a father and two sons bear the title, just as in a State of that description to-day all members of the ruling house are called Sultan. Elsewhere Alhan Nahfan, king of Saba, does not give himself that rank, though he gives it to his sons (*CIS* iv. 308). Besides kings we read of lords, and it is probable that the people were divided into classes or castes; and the lords in their inaccessible castles may well have been as independent as the feudal barons in Europe. According to one tradition, the downfall of Dhū Nuwās, the last king of Yemen, was largely due to his lack of control over his barons. Women held an honourable position in the land; two together appear as 'lords,' and, like the king, receive the commands of their god through an oracle (*CIS* iv. 387). Occasionally the kings seem to be invoked along with the gods, though in a secondary place (*CIS* iv. 374)—reminding one of Babylonia.

Two other States rose in early Arabia, Ḥīra and Ghassān, though they were native in part only, being due to outside influence. Rome and Persia were continually annoyed by the incursions of the Bedawīn into the settled lands of Syria and Mesopotamia, so one protective measure was to make friends with the nearest Arabs. Ḥīra was a vassal of Persia, and in very close touch with its overlord; Arabs filled responsible posts at court, and Bahrām Gur, who afterwards became king, was educated at Ḥīra. These States closely resemble the rule of the Rashīds at Hail in the last century; the Sultan's power rested on the Bedawīn, who were held to their allegiance by tribal honour and presents from the taxes contributed by towns and trade. History has preserved the memory of the mixed population at Ḥīra—the tent-dwelling Arabs, the Christians of the town, and the allies—a mixed population which for various reasons settled under the government. There is no explicit evidence, but conditions must have been very similar in Ghassān, where the government remained migratory and Roman gold helped to uphold the loyalty of the Arabs. Ṭabarī tells us that Gadhīma, the founder of the dynasty of Ḥīra, was a prophet and soothsayer, suggesting that authority there was religious in its origin.

Muhammad founded a State where divine revelation was the supreme law, and after his time religion has played the greatest part in most States formed and ruled by Arabs. Ibn Khaldūn's observation remains true, that religion alone will not make a

State; the feeling of nationality must also be present (*Prolegomena*, Beirut ed., p. 159). The Umayyad Khalīfs claimed to be the successors of the Prophet, and made this the chief prop of their authority; yet their power depended on the solidarity of their supporters, and, when the old strife of Qais and Kalb, Mudar and Yemen, broke out afresh, their kingdom collapsed; till then they had made head against all religious revolts of 'Ālids and Khawārij (*q.v.*). The Carmatians (*q.v.*) can hardly be called a kingdom; yet the Imāms of Oman claimed first spiritual authority, as did the Wahhābīs. Leadership might be hereditary or elective, but religion gave power and opportunity to the strength latent in a tribe or group of tribes. All these States are small copies of Muhammad's great example. There is one exception, the dynasty of the Rasūlids in Yemen; but that was founded by a foreigner, and it had to fight continually against leaders whose authority was spiritual, the descendants of the Prophet. After the fall of the Rasūlids the native authority was exercised by a spiritual head, the Imām. See, further, 'Muslim' section, above.

LITERATURE.—Hebrew: the Bible dictionaries. There is no special literature for the other countries. Phœnicia: R. Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, Berlin, 1889. Babylonia: L. W. King, *Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, and *Chronicles concerning early Babylonian Kings*, do. 1907; M. Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1905 ff. Arabia: C. Huart, *Hist. des Arabes*, Paris, 1912; R. A. Nicholson, *Lit. Hist. of the Arabs*, London, 1907; *CIS*, pt. iv.; scattered notices in native authors.

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KING (Teutonic and Litu-Slavic).—1. Sources relating to the Litu-Slavs.—In seeking to trace the early historical development of kingship in Northern Europe, it will be well to deal first of all with the facts relating to the Litu-Slavic peoples, as these provide a basis also for a knowledge of the early Teutonic conditions. We begin, therefore, by quoting from the oldest available authorities a number of references to modes of government among the Litu-Slavs of Eastern Europe.

(*a*) The *Chronicle of Nestor* (ed. F. Miklosich, Vienna, 1860, ch. vi.): 'They lived each with his family and in his own locality [*i.e.* separate from one another], each ruling over his own family.'

(*b*) Procopius, *de Bell. Goth.* iii. 14: τὰ γὰρ ἔθνη ταῦτα Σκλαβηνοί τε καὶ Ἄνται οὐκ ἄρχονται πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἑνὸς, ἀλλ' ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιοτεύουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀεὶ τά τε σύμφορα καὶ δύσκολα ἐς κοινὸν ('assembly of the people') ἄγεται.

(*c*) Mauritius, *Strategicum*, ix. 5 (ed. J. Scheffer, Upsala, 1664, p. 218): τὰ ἔθνη τῶν Σκλάβων καὶ Ἄντων ὁμοδίαιτά τε καὶ ὁμότροπά τέ εἰσι καὶ ἐλεύθερα μηδαμῶς δουλοῦσθαι ἢ ἄρχεσθαι πειθόμενα . . . πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων ῥηγῶν καὶ ἀσυμφόνως ἐχόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐκ ἄτοπον τινὰς αὐτῶν μεταχειρίζεσθαι ἢ λόγοις ἢ δώροις καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐγγυτέρω τῶν μεθορίων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπέρχεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς πάντας ἔχθρα ἕνωσιν ἢ μοναρχίαν ποιήσῃ ('. . . it will be well by means of conversations or gifts to win some of them, and especially those nearer the frontiers, to our side, and then fall upon the rest, so that a common hatred may not bring about a union or a monarchical government').

(*d*) Pseudo-Cæsarius of Nazianzus, in his theological tractate dating from the beginning of the 6th cent. A.D. (*PG* xxxviii. 985, dialogue 110, quoted in *Archiv für slav. Philologie*, xxxi. [1909] 579): Σκλαυηνοὶ . . . ὑπάρχουσιν αὐθάδεις, αὐτόνομοι, ἀνηγεμόνευτοι, συνεχῶς ἀναιροῦντες, συνεσθιόμενοι ἢ συνοδεύοντες, τὸν σφῶν ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἄρχοντα.

(*e*) Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, *de Administrando Imperio*, ed. Bonn, 1840, p. 128: ἄρχοντας δὲ, ὥς φασι, ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη μὴ ἔχει πλὴν ζουπάνους [*zupan*; see below] γέροντας, καθὼς καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ Σκλαβίνιαι ἔχουσι τόπον.

(*f*) Thietmar of Merseburg, vi. 18 (*MGH*, 'Script.' iii. [1839] 812), writing of the Wilzi: 'his autem omnibus qui communiter Liutici vocantur dominus specialiter non presidet ullus; unanimi consilio ad placitum suimet necessaria discucientes, in rebus efficiendis omnes concordant. Si quis vero ex comprovincialibus in placito contradicit, fustibus verberatur, et si forinsecus palam resistit, aut omnia incendio et continua depredatione perdit, aut in eorum presencia pro qualitate sua pecuniae persolvit quantitatem debitæ.'

(*g*) The *Chronicle of Boguchwal*, ch. i. (A. Bielowski, *Monumenta Poloniæ historica*, Lemberg, 1864–72, ii. 473; quoted by H. Schreuer, *Untersuchungen zur Verfassungsgeschichte der böhmischen Sagenzeit*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 73, note 24): 'Lechitae, qui nullum regem seu principem inter se, tanquam fratres et ab uno patre ortum habentes, habere consueverant, sed tantum duodecim discretiores et locupletiores ex se eligebant, qui quaestiones inter se emergentes diffiniebant et rem publicam gubernabant, nulla tributa seu invita servitia ab aliquo exigentes. Gallorum impetum formidantes quendam virum strenuissimum nomine Crak, cuius mansio protunc circa fluvium Wislam fuerat, sorte sibi divinitus inter fratres suos Lechitas tributa, in eorum capitaneum seu ducem exercitus, ut verius dicam, nam iuxta Polonicam interpretationem dux exercitus woyewoda appellatur, unanimiter elegerunt. Iste Crak, qui latine Corvus dicitur, victor effectus, per Lechitas est in regem assumptus.'

(*h*) Adam of Bremen, iv. 18: '[the Prussians] nullum inter se dominum pati volunt.'

(*i*) Alfred the Great's tr. of Orosius (see F. Kluge, *Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*³, Halle, 1902, p. 36): 'þæt Éastland [*i.e.* the Prussian country] is swyðe mycel, and þær bíð swyðe manig burh, and on ælcere byrig bíð cyningc. And þær bíð swyðe mycel hunig and fiscnað; and se cyning and þá ricostan men drincað myran meolc (mare's milk), and þá unspédigan and þá þéowan drincað medo.'

(*j*) Peter of Dusburg, *Chronica*, iii. 228: 'De latrunculis, qui LXX regulos terre Lethowie occiderunt.'

(*k*) Privilegium of the city of Bartenstein, in C. Hartknoch, *De republica veterum Borussorum* (quoted by O. Hein, 'Altpreussische Wirtschaftsgeschichte bis zur Ordenszeit,' in *ZE* xxii. [1890] 162): 'reges, nobiles et communis populus.'

(*l*) *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*, Riga, 1846–53, i. 587. Here we read that, in a general rising of the Samlanders for the purpose of demolishing the Memel fortress, there was, first of all, an assembly of the 'wisest' by themselves, whose decision was then to be submitted to the public assembly.

(*m*) The *Olivær Chronicle* (*Scriptores rer. Pruss.*, Leipzig, 1861–74, i. 680; quoted in O. Hein, *op. cit.* p. 155): 'Illo in tempore erat in Warmia una *generatio* ['clan,' 'tribe'] valde potens, quae dicebatur Bogatini, qui simul congregati aedificaverunt Schrando.'

(*n*) The Arabian traveller, Ibn Rustah, writing of the 'Russians' (as regards whom, however, we do not know whether in the writer's day [10th cent.] they were Slavs or Scandinavian Varangians), says: 'When any of the Russians has a matter against another, he takes him to law before the Czar. Here they argue their case with each other; and when the Czar gives his judgment, what he commands is done. But if both parties are dissatisfied with the Czar's judgment, the final arbitrament must, by order of the Czar, be left to the sword' (quoted by L. K. Goetz, *Das russische Recht*, Stuttgart, 1910, i. 191).

2. General development among the Litu-Slavs.—While these fragments of what is at best a very meagre literary tradition show considerable differences in date and place of origin, we shall nevertheless not err very greatly in drawing from them the following general impression of the early conditions of government in Litu-Slavic Europe. We must necessarily take as our starting-point the family union (*a*, *g*, *m*), which formed a local community, and was governed by one (*a*) or more (*g*) of its members. The verb used of this type of rule is Old Slav. *vlasti* (cf. Lith. *wāldyti*, Goth. *waldan*). The rulers themselves are referred to by writers using Greek and Latin as ῥῆγες (*c*) and *reguli* (*j*), and in A.S. as 'kings' (*i*); and within a particular province or district they might be very numerous (*e.g.*, in Lithuania, seventy; cf. *j*). In their own language they are called simply *staroste* (Czech *coz mi starosta dá*; cf. Schreuer, *op. cit.* p. 59, line 49), *i.e.* γέροντες (*e*), 'elders,' and this term is found also in the Prussian district (cf. Hein, *op. cit.* p. 162). Another designation in current use was *zupan*, from *zupa*, 'county,' 'district' (ζουπάνους; cf. *e*), as regards which we cannot say whether it is a native Slavic word cognate with Skr. *gôpā*, 'oxherd' (lit. 'cattle reservation'), or a loan-word from the Turco-Tatar family of languages (cf. *Archiv für slav. Philologie*, xxxi. [1909] 587, note 3). Besides the ῥῆγες, *reguli*, 'kings' of the Prussian region, who are said to have lived in strongholds and drunk mare's milk—the ordinary man having to be content with mead (*i*)—we hear also of a kind of aristocracy, viz. 'discretiores et locupletiores' (*g*), A.S. 'ricostan men' (*i*), *nobiles* (*k*), the 'wisest' (*l*), who take the place of the 'kings' and are sometimes hardly to be distinguished from them. In times of danger, again, these men of rank choose from among themselves a *voyevoda* (*g*), 'duke.' This term, which means literally 'army-leader' (cf. O. Russ. *voy*, 'army,' *voditi*, 'to lead,' and is already found in the Greek of Constantinus Porphyrogenetus as βοεβόδος, can be traced in the Old Polish and South Slavic dialects (see below), and may, therefore, be safely regarded as a primitive Slavic word. When such a *voyevoda* had led his forces to victory, he might become a *rex* (*g*). The position of these clans or family chieftains —*voyevode, reguli, staroste*, etc.—in relation to their people was by no means a secure or permanent one. If their rule came to be unsatisfactory to their subjects, they were assassinated at a meal or on the march (*d*). In particular, their authority was everywhere subordinate to that of the tribal assembly (*b, f, l*), the primitive Slavic name for which probably appears in O. Russ. *veče*, Czech *vesce*, Pol. *wiece* (? connected with Skr. *vāc*, Gr. *Ϝέπος*, 'discourse'); for the uniform and characteristic feature that manifests itself amid great diversity throughout all Eastern Europe is the democratic type of social order in which, with their intolerance of rule in the proper sense, the Slavs and Litu-Prussians lived (*b, c, d, f, h*). In some cases the affairs to be resolved upon by the popular assembly, where disorder and violence might prevail (*f*), were decided beforehand by the 'wisest' (*l*). We have very little information as to the rights and duties of these chiefs. They had no power to impose 'tributa seu invita servitia' (*g*). The first, in fact, to introduce regular imposts (*obroki*) among the Russians was Oleg (879–912), as we learn from other sources. In time of war, or, at least, in the more important campaigns, the command was assigned to the *voyevoda*, or 'duke.' We learn from Peter of Dusburg that this was also the practice among the Prussians (cf. Hein, *op. cit.* p. 162). The reference to the king among the Russians, as having a power of arbitration, perhaps applies to Scandinavians, and not to Slavs at all (*n*). Among the latter, in fact, the universal practice seems to have been the blood-feud in its most ruthless form (cf. BLOOD-FEUD [Slav.], vol. ii. p. 733 ff.; also Peter of Dusburg, in Hein, *op. cit.* p. 166: 'nulla compositio potest intervenire, nisi prius homicida vel propinqui eius occidantur'). One important duty and prerogative of the clan-chieftain, however, was to decide as to the territory which his people were to occupy—a task which would frequently fall to him in the numerous migrations of the age. Such an assignment is mentioned in the Bohemian legend related by Cosmas:

> 'Senior, quem alii quasi dominum comitabantur, inter cetera suos sequaces sic affatur, o socii . . . sistite gradum . . . haec est illa terra quam saepe me vobis promisisse memini' (i. 2; cf. Schreuer, *op. cit.* p. 77).

Finally, it should be mentioned that the several clans or family-unions lived in a state of constant mutual warfare, that they were all essentially alike in their social structure, and that they could be most easily subjugated by the policy expressed in the maxim 'divide et impera' (*c*).

We have been thus far unable to point to any fundamental difference between the Slavs and the Litu-Prussians in regard to their forms of government. But there is one remarkable feature, not as yet satisfactorily explained, peculiar to the Litu-Prussians, viz. the existence among them of a chief priest possessing an almost supreme authority. Of this personage Peter of Dusburg writes:

> 'Fuit autem in medio nationis huius perversae, scilicet in Nadrowia, locus quidam dictus Romow, trahens nomen suum a Roma, in quo habitabat quidam dictus Criwe, quem colebant pro papa, quia sicut dominus papa regit universalem ecclesiam fidelium, ita ad istius nutum seu mandatum non solum gentes praedictae sed et Lethowini et aliae nationes Lyvoniae terrae regebantur. Tantae fuit auctoritatis, quod non solum ipse vel aliquis de sanguine suo verum etiam nuntius cum baculo suo vel alio signo noto transiens terminos infidelium praedictorum *a regibus et nobilibus et communi populo* in magna reverentia haberetur' (*Script. rer. Pruss.* i. 53).

3. Points of resemblance among the Southern Slavs.—Apart from this figure among the Litu-Prussians, the general sketch of the Litu-Slavic mode of government given above holds good to a remarkable extent also of the Southern Slavs, more particularly in Montenegro and Herzegovina, almost to the present day, as we learn from the accounts of F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, Vienna, 1885, pp. 24 ff., 58 ff. etc., and P. A. Rovinsky, 'Geographical and ethnographical Description of Montenegro' (Russ.), in *Collection of the Royal Academy of Sciences*, lxiii. (1897), esp. p. 158 ff. From the modern system of government among the Southern Slavs we may, accordingly, glean a wider and more precise knowledge of the state of matters among the ancient Slavs and Litu-Prussians. In Montenegro and Herzegovina likewise our starting-point must be the conception of the tribe or clan (*pleme*) based upon, or at least regarded as based upon, agnatic kinship, such clan or tribe, again, being subdivided into a number of brotherhoods (*bratstva*) and villages (*sela*). Those who were chosen by their people to stand at the head of these *plemena* are designated in various ways, *e.g.* as 'chiefs' (*glavari*), 'elders' (*stareyšine*), *zupani*, and, most commonly, as 'dukes' (*voyevode*); certain other terms applied to them are clearly borrowed from foreign usage, as, *e.g.*, *guvernadur* (Ital. *governatore*), *sirdar* (from Perso-Turkish; Mod. Pers. *sardār*, Pahl. *sālār*, O. Pers. **sara-dāra*; cf. Mod. Pers. *sar*, Avest. *sarah*—'head'), *knez* (from Teutonic; see below), *ban* (*βοεάνος* in the Greek of Constantinus Porphyrogenetus, from Turk. *bayan*, 'rich'). A number of these titles are applied specially to the heads of the smaller groups.

The position of these chiefs of the *pleme*, if we may take that of the *voyevoda* as generally representative of the others, may be described as follows. The *voyevoda* was, above all, the leader of an army, and would, of course, be chosen for the post as one who had specially distinguished himself in war. His appointment was for life, although he might be deposed if he failed to justify his people's choice —if, *e.g.*, he fell short in heroic qualities or judicial ability. He could bequeath his position to his sons, though not without the consent of the people, who might, if they regarded the nominated son as incapable of leading them, choose instead a nephew or some other relative; the right of succession, in fact, pertained rather to the *bratstvo* to which the former *voyevoda* belonged, or, at least, the *bratstvo* retained the privilege as long as it had power to defend it. From time immemorial certain eminent families had possessed the right, not indeed *de iure*, but *de facto*, of appointing one of their own number to the leadership of the *pleme*. Among the Southern Slavs, accordingly, the families of the *zupani*, *bani*, and *voyevode* now represent what we should call the oldest nobility. But the main consideration in the choice of a leader was always personal character. The *voyevoda* was at first a herdsman like the rest, and it was only gradually, and mainly as a result of his military achievements, that he attained the position in which at length he controlled all the external and internal affairs of his *pleme*. Various honours were then accorded to him; in particular, he was assigned the place of honour at the top of the table. The present writer is unable to give any information regarding the revenues of the *voyevoda* (as regards the *zupan*, cf. Krauss, *op. cit.* p. 27). It was only the stronger *plemena*, however, that had their own *voyevoda*; the weaker ones put themselves under the power of the stronger.

The power of the *voyevoda* was thus in some cases very great; nevertheless, the real authority was in the hands of the people, who exercised it through their representatives in the public assembly (*sbor*, *skupština*). Each *pleme*, accordingly, had certain favourite places—a shady grove, a full-flowing spring—at which it held its assembly. The assemblies did not meet regularly, but were convened only on occasions of importance, as, *e.g.*, for the purpose of electing a *voyevoda*, of settling a long-standing feud, of adjusting a legal dispute that threatened the public peace, of conducting negotiations with hostile peoples, etc. The several *bratstva*, villages, and families also held assemblies. The separate *plemena* united only in times of great danger, and, as a rule, like the ancient Slavic family-societies already considered, lived in a state of savage warfare with one another.

4. Corresponding general features among the Teutons.—From the Litu-Slavs we turn to the Teutons, not so much, however, with the intention of giving a detailed and complete account of their forms of government—this has frequently been done already (most capably by H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i.^{2}, Leipzig, 1906, and R. Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*^{5}, do. 1907)—as with a view to showing, in connexion with what has been said above, that the same (or at all events a very similar) mode of government must have once obtained among the Teutons as among the Slavs, and that, moreover, in the earliest historic, partly indeed in pre-historic, times, that mode of government had attained to a more advanced constitutional stage under Western, *i.e.* Celtic, influences.

The most comprehensive political term used by Cæsar and Tacitus in connexion with the Germans is *civitas*, 'a nationality,' 'a State,' Goth. *þiuda*, O. Norse *þjóð*, A.S. *þéod*, O.H.G. *diota*, cognate with O. Irish *túath*, 'people,' Oscan τωϝτο, '*civitas*,' Umbr. *tota*, '*urbs*,' Lett. *táuta*, 'community,' 'people,' O. Pruss. *tauto*, 'land,' originally 'the whole' (cf. Lat. *totus*). The name given by the Romans to a subdivision of the *civitas* was *pagus*. The meaning of *pagus*, or at least its original meaning, as applied by Cæsar and Tacitus to the German institution, may be inferred from the primary signification of the Teutonic word which was rendered by the Lat. *pagus*, viz. Goth. *gawi*, O.H.G. *gewi* (Germ. *Gau*), 'canton,' 'shire.' The present writer was the first to suggest the theory (cf. *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 799)—now accepted also by F. Kauffmann (*Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Munich, 1913, i. 79; questioned by Rietschl in J. Hoops, *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1911–13, ii. *s.v.* 'Gau')—that Goth. *gawi* comes from **ga-aw-ya-m*, that it is cognate with Gr. οἴη, 'village,' ᾠγή (= ὠϝή), οὐαί (= φυλαί· Κύπριοι) and thus means 'local union of village septs,' *i.e.* of clans united in villages. These clans are doubtless what Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 22) speaks of as 'gentes cognationesque hominum qui una coierint,' and to which their 'magistratus ac principes quantum et quo loco visum est agri attribuunt' (on the assignment of territory by the chieftains of family-societies see above). They are also to be identified with the consanguineous communities which in grave emergencies could send some thousand warriors into the field; the *pagus*, in short, was the 'thousand' (cf. Eng. 'hundred,' as the division of a shire, in which, however, the reference is to families, not soldiers), at the head of which stood the *þūsundi-faþs*. The Teutonic *pagi*, which, as we have seen, were, in the Roman period, subdivisions of the *civitas*, must certainly have been relatively independent in earlier times; and, indeed, as late as the war with Arminius, the Cheruscan *pagus* of Inguiomer, the uncle of Arminius, was still in a position to maintain its independence (cf. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i. 115). Thus all our available data combine to show that the Teutonic *gau*—what the Romans called *pagus*—corresponds generally to the *pleme*, 'tribe,' 'clan,' which, as we saw, existed among the Slavs.

Of the development of kingly rule among Teutons as well as Slavs, accordingly, we are now in a position to form some such general impression as follows. Already in the remote primitive Aryan period, as appears from the linguistic group Goth. *þiuda*, Irish *túath*, Osc. τωϝτο, etc., noted above, certain clans combined at the call of special circumstances; and, just as among the Slavs such combinations were placed under the leadership of a *voyevoda*, so among the Teutons they were directed by an 'army-leader' (O. Norse *hertogi*, A.S. *heretoga*, O.H.G. *herizogo*)—a fact distinctly attested by early writers; thus Cæsar writes:

> 'Cum bellum civitas aut illatum defendit aut infert, magistratus, qui ei bello praesint, ut vitae necisque habeant potestatem, deliguntur. In pace nullus communis est magistratus; sed principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt controversiasque minuunt' (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 23);

and Bede, speaking of the Saxons, says:

> 'Non enim habent regem iidem antiqui Saxones, sed satrapas [A.S. *aldorman*, in Beowulf *alder*—precisely like the Slav. *starosta*] plurimos suae genti praepositos, qui ingruente belli articulo mittunt aequaliter sortes, et quemcunque sors ostenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes sequuntur, huic obtemperant; peracto autem bello, rursum aequalis potentiae omnes fiunt satrapae' (*HE* v. 10).

But, while among the Slavs such combinations, formed for a special purpose, soon dissolved again into their component parts (the *plemena*, or clans) when that purpose had been effected, they must, among the Germans, have been of a more incorporate and more permanent kind; and, in point of fact, this important advance towards the formation of a political State (in place of the primitive family, or clan-State, which was longest maintained among the Slavs) must have been the result of influences emanating from Western Europe, *i.e.* from the Celts, as the primitive Teutonic word denoting the domain of the *þiuda* (*civitas*), viz. Goth. *reiki*, A.S. *rīce*, O.H.G. *rîhhi*, primitive Teut. **rîk-yo-m*, 'realm,' 'kingdom' (Germ. *Reich*), is on indisputable linguistic grounds (cf. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, p. 451) a derivative of the O. Irish *ríge* (**rêg-yo-m*, **rîg-yo-m*), and this, again, is derived from the Celtic term for 'king,' O. Irish *rí*, acc. *ríg* (cf. Orgeto-rîx, Dumno-rîx).

As regards the form of government, the *civitates*, as they were called by the Romans, fell into two classes, viz. those which were governed by a single *rex*, and those which were governed by a number of *principes* from the several *pagi*. The Teut. term for the king of a nationality (i.e. *rex civitatis*) appears in the series Goth. *þiudans*, O.N. *þjóðann*, A.S. *þéoden*, all connected with the *þiuda* discussed above. The chiefs of the several *pagi* ('clan-rulers,' or whatever we may call them) were, no doubt, originally called 'kings' (O.N. *konungr*, A.S. *cyning*, O.H.G. *chuning*). This word is related to Goth. *kuni*, 'kin,' 'tribe'; it means, however, not, as was formerly supposed, one belonging to a family (*i.e.* a family of rank), but rather something like 'king's son,' 'prince,' being derived, in fact, by the addition of the patronymic suffix *-inga* (cf. Wulfing, Atheling, etc.), from a simple form **kuni-s*, 'king,' which is found in such compounds as O.H.G. *kuni-rîchi*, 'kingdom,' A.S. *cynehelm*, 'king's helmet.' This **kuni-s*, or **kunyo-s*, differs from *kuni*, **kunyo-m*, 'tribe,' O.H.G. *chunni*, 'people,' only as regards gender, the relation of the two being exactly the same as between A.S. *léod* (masc.), '*princeps*,' and *léod* (fem.), '*gens*,' or between Salian Frank. *theod*, '*dominus*,' and O.H.G. *diot*, 'people' (cf. also Goth. *kindins*, 'ἡγεμών,' connected etymologically with Lat. *gens*, *gentis*). The **kunyo-s*, one might say, was the **kunyo-m* personified, and thus, since *kuni*, being etymologically identical with Gr. γένος, Lat. *genus*, denotes a tribe formed, or regarded as formed, upon a basis of kinship, the philological evidence, too, brings us to the result that the *pagus* (the Goth. *gawi*; cf. the 'gentes cognationesque hominum' of Cæsar), which was governed by the *chuning* (*princeps*), must have been a group closely resembling in structure the Slavic *pleme.* Now the more frequently the *chuninga* (*principes pagorum*), by first gaining the leadership in war (the *hertog-* or *voyevoda*-ship), raised himself to the position of the king of a nationality, the more generally would the term *chuning* come to bear the fuller signification of the latter, so that at length the distinction between *piudans* and *chuning* became quite indefinite—the more so, indeed, as the constitutional position of the *reges* [*civitatum*] and the *principes* [*pagorum*] among the Teutons was in principle the same as, and in its main features virtually identical with, what it was among the Slavs and Litu-Prussians. As among the latter peoples, so among the Teutons, the *reges* and *principes* were elected by the people:

> 'reges ex nobilitate . . . sumunt' (Tac. *Germ.* vii.); 'eliguntur in isdem conciliis et principes' (*ib.* xii.).

Among the Teutons likewise the kingship was to some extent hereditary—in so far, namely, as in the several States there were *regiæ stirpes*, *i.e.* powerful families of rank, or, as it might be put with reference to the Slavs, powerful *bratstva*, who were able to procure the election of one of themselves (*e.g.*, the son or other relative of the previous *rex* or *princeps*). As among the Slavs, moreover, the tribe, to whom the king or prince owed his election, might also depose, expel, or kill him—*e.g.*, when under his rule it suffered a failure of crops or a disaster in war, or found him acting contrary to its will:

> 'Apud hos [Burgundios] . . . rex appellatur Hendinos [*i.e.* "the first," connected with Irish *cét*, "primus," O. Gaul. Cintugnâtus; cf. O.H.G. *furisto*, "prince," lit. "the first"], et ritu veteri potestate deposita removetur, si sub eo fortuna titubaverit belli vel segetum copiam negaverit terra' (Amm. Marc. XXVIII. v. 14).

Among the Germans, as among the Litu-Slavs, the *rex* or *princeps* had a very limited power in relation to his people:

> 'Nec regibus infinita aut libera potestas' (Tac. *Germ.* vii.); they were obeyed 'non precario iure parendi' (*ib.* xliv.); 'Verrito et Malorige, qui nationem eam [Frisiorum] regebant, in quantum Germani regnantur' (*Ann.* xiii. 54).

In the royal as in the princely states of both races under discussion, the real power was in the hands of the people, and its organ was the public assembly (Goth. *mapl*, O.N. *mál*, A.S. *mæðel*, O.H.G. *mahal*), in which the *rex* or the *princeps*, or whoever else happened to speak, effected his will, not by the influence of his position, but by the personal prestige which he enjoyed:

> 'Mox rex vel princeps, prout aetas cuique, prout nobilitas, prout decus bellorum, prout facundia est, audiuntur auctoritate suadendi magis quam iubendi potestate' (Tac. *Germ.* xi.).

Finally, the Teutons seem to have resembled the Slavs in providing no fixed revenues for their *reges* or *principes*; as regards the Germans, at all events, we have the express statement of Tacitus:

> 'Mos est civitatibus ultro ac viritim conferre principibus vel armentorum vel frugum: quod pro honore acceptum etiam necessitatibus subvenit' (*ib.* xv.).

5. Features peculiar to the Teutons.—There were several points of difference between the Teutons and the Slavs with regard to the position of their rulers. Among the Teutons a very prominent part of the duties that fell to the king or prince was his share in the administration of the law. So far as the *rex* is concerned, this may be inferred from the fact that he could claim a portion of the compensation paid by an offender (cf. Tac. *Germ.* xii., 'pars multae regi'). Of the *principes* Cæsar writes:

> 'Principes regionum atque pagorum inter suos ius dicunt controversiasque minuunt' (vi. 23);

and Tacitus says:

> 'Eliguntur in isdem conciliis et principes, qui iura per pagos vicosque reddunt' (*Germ.* xii.).

With this may be compared what was said regarding the Slavs with reference to the extract (*n*) (p. 728^{b}), though it was there observed that what the Arabian writer says of the function of arbitration that belonged to the king (Czar) may not refer to real Slavs at all. It is true that, according to the Chronicle of the year 862, the Slavs, in appealing to the Varangians, use the words: 'Permit us to seek a prince who will rule over us and judge according to law' (*sudilŭ po pravu*); but in the first redaction of the Russian *Pravda* (i. 19) it is still a communal court of twelve members (*starci*, 'elders') that decides legal cases (on these questions cf. L. K. Goetz, *op. cit.* i. *passim*).

Another feature characteristic of the Teutonic kingship, even in primitive times, was its relation to the gods, which is clearly brought out by Tacitus in his description of the German practice of divination:

> 'Proprium gentis equorum quoque praesagia ac monitus experiri: publice aluntur isdem nemoribus ac lucis, candidi et nullo mortali opere contacti: quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos ac rex vel princeps [N.B. a single prince] civitatis comitantur hinnitusque ac fremitus observant' (*Germ.* x.).

Here, again, the present writer is unable to adduce any clear analogy from the Litu-Slavic world.

Thus, on the whole, we may say that alike on Teutonic and on Slavic soil the position of the king or prince was in a political sense a distinctly weak one, and it is only among the Northern and Eastern Teutons that Tacitus finds a more vigorous grasp of royal power:

> 'Trans Lygios Gothones regnantur paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes; nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii; omniumque harum gentium insigne . . . erga reges obsequium' (*Germ.* xliii.). 'Suionum [Swedes] hinc civitates . . . est apud illos et opibus honos; eoque unus imperitat . . .' (*ib.* xliv.).

It is perhaps no mere coincidence that the Celtic term for 'king' survived only in the Eastern Teutonic dialect (Goth. *reiks*, from Irish *rí*[*g*]), while other derivatives from *rí*[*g*] denoting 'kingdom' (Goth. *reiki*) and 'powerful' (*reikeis*) are found in all branches of the Teutonic family of languages.

6. General features of the Teutonic development.—We are now in a position to summarize the development of kingly rule among the Teutons. Our first datum here, as among Slavs, Lithuanians, and Prussians, is the existence of agnatic family-groups, which survive in the *pagi* of the Roman writers (Teut. **ga-aw-ya-m*, 'village community of blood-relations,' Goth. *gawi*; and **kunyo-m*, 'family,' 'clan,' Goth. *kuni*). At the head of such a group stood the clan-chieftain, the **kunyo-s* (O.H.G. *chuning*; cf. *kuni-rîchi* above), but the actual seat of communal authority was the public assembly (**maplam*, Goth. *mapl*). From the earliest times these family-groups had combined with one another for common action under a chosen leader (**haritugên*, O.H.G. *herizogo*), so forming groups (**peuðá*, Goth. *piuda*), which, once their object had been attained, were as a rule soon broken up into their component parts. Such temporary combinations, however, tended more and more to follow the Celtic model and to become permanent, even in times of peace, and at length resulted in the political structure which Roman writers call a *civitas*. The domain of a *civitas*, again, was designated **rîk-yo-m* (Goth. *reiki*), a Celtic loan-word, while the title of its chief might either be the Celtic term **rîks* (Goth. *reiks*), or the Teut. **peuðana-s* (Goth. *piudans*), or, again, **kunyo-s* (O.H.G. *chuning*), the name applied originally to the head of the family-group. Frequently, however, the *civitas* itself had a plurality of heads; but, whether it had one or more, the real power was vested in the public assembly, and the government was, at least originally, of an essentially democratic form. Now this Teutonic phase of kingly rule exerted an influence in very early times upon the East of Europe—upon Lithuanians, Prussians, and Slavs. This is shown in the clearest way by the evidence of language. From the Teutonic sphere come the O. Pruss. *rīks*, 'kingdom,' *rikaut*, 'to rule,' and *rickaūsnan*, 'government,' while a term traceable in all the Slavic tongues—O. Bulg. *kŭnedzĭ*, Russ. *knyazĭ*, Czech *knez*, Pol. *ksiadz*, etc.—was borrowed in primitive times from the Teut. * *kuningas*. These derivatives seem to indicate that among the Litu-Slavs likewise royal authority was here and there being more effectively established, and that there were movements tending to pass away from the old family-State. When the Slavic chroniclers wish to convey the idea of real authority, of actual government in a political State, as contrasted with a mere management of affairs in a district, they have to resort to the borrowed words *knyazenië*, *knyaziti*, in place of the native *vlasti*, *vladeti* (see above, p. 728^{b}). It was as *knyae* that the Scandinavian Varangians were invited by the Slavs:

> 'Our land,' said the latter, 'is large, good, and blessed with all things, but there is no order in it; come to be *knyae* among us, and to rule over us' (*kŭneziti ĭ vladeti nami*; cf. A. A. Šachmatov, *Story of the Invitation of the Varangians* [Russian], St. Petersburg, 1904, *passim*).

It is to be assumed, though we cannot follow up the subject here, that in an early epoch true *civitates* were formed upon the Teutonic pattern both in the East and in the West of the Slavic area—among Russians, Czechs, and Poles, and doubtless also in Prussia and Lithuania. Among the Southern Slavs, however, the primitive family-State, as was indicated above, survived until the political reconstructions of the 18th and 19th centuries. It is interesting to note that in the early Middle Ages the Slavs adopted a new term for 'king' from the proper name of Charlemagne, who came into hostile contact with them both in the East and in the South. This relatively modern importation appears in O. Slav. *kralĭ*, Russ. *korolĭ*, Czech *král*, etc. Here, accordingly, we have a phenomenon analogous to what had taken place about a century earlier among the Teutons, who adopted the term *Kaiser* (Goth. *kaisar*, A.S. *cásere*, O.H.G. *keisar*) from the name of the great Cæsar, used as a title of the Emperors of Rome.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article. There is as yet no special work in which ancient Teutonic and ancient Slavic modes of government are considered in their mutual relations.

O. SCHRADER.

KINGDOM OF GOD.—I. *IN THE OT.*—

1. Introduction.—Behind the ideal Kingdom of God, which appears in the prophets and psalmists, there had doubtless been, as the author of 1 S 8^{7} assumes, the conception that Jahweh was Israel's King. This is found in the ancient song of Balaam (Nu 32^{21}); it is perhaps reflected in the name Malchishua, given to Saul's third son; and the manner in which the term 'King' is applied to Jahweh by the earliest literary prophets (*e.g.*, Is 6^{5}, Hos 10^{3}) indicates that it was an old practice. It was not peculiar to Israel; the Ammonites, *e.g.*, called their supreme god Moloch ('King') (1 K 11^{7}). The Kingship of Jahweh was not thought to be lowered by the rise of an earthly kingship in Israel; at least such a feeling did not long persist. For the worship of Jahweh was manifestly promoted by the centralization of the government under the kings, and the prophets of the 8th and 7th centuries thought of the government of Israel in the great future as vested in kings. If, then, there had ever been a feeling that the adoption of a kingly form of government was equal to the rejection of Jahweh's rule, as the editor of Judges and Samuel supposed (Jg 8^{23}, 1 S 8^{7} 12^{17}), it must soon have been overcome. The presence of two thrones in Jerusalem, that of Jahweh in the Holy of Holies and that of David, was regarded as normal for Israel. But Jahweh had not been long enthroned on Zion before the earthly kingdom was divided, and the period of decline began which was to end in exile and foreign domination. It was in this period and against this dark background that visions of an ideal kingdom arose in Israel.

2. The data.—Glimpses of the coming Kingdom of God, more or less vivid and detailed, are found from Amos onward, in the Psalms also, and to some extent in the historical writings, even those which deal with the remote past. Of these data none can claim to be much older than the age of the first literary prophets; some may be younger than the book of Daniel; the larger part, however, belongs to the period between Jeremiah and the Maccabees. The section of this long period which seems to have been most fruitful in visions of the ideal Kingdom is that of the Babylonian Exile, and the most barren section the first century after the rebuilding of the Temple (516 B.C.), unless, with some scholars, we assign the last eleven chapters of Isaiah to the period of Ezra-Nehemiah. The three events that occasioned the most clearly defined groups of data regarding the ideal Kingdom were the approach of the Assyrian power (722–701 B.C.), the fall of Jerusalem (586), and, the destruction of the Babylonian kingdom by Cyrus (538). In view of the first of these events, Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, spoke of a great future beyond the approaching day of evil; in view of the second, Jeremiah wrote; and, in view of the last, a part at least of Is 40–66 was composed. The Psalms which contain general features of an ideal future seem to presuppose such an acquaintance with the nations and with suffering as came to Israel with the Exile, and those Psalms that may concern an individual king of the Davidic line, as 2, 18, 21, 45, 61, 72, 89, and 110, are most easily understood as written after the fall of Jerusalem.

3. Jahweh and the ideal Kingdom.—The invariable and supreme factor in the great future is Jahweh. On this all prophetic writings are at one. Whatever agents assume prominence now and again, it is always Jahweh who is the efficient cause of the new and more perfect age. It is Jahweh who brings back the dispersed of His people (Am $9^{14f.}$, Hos $11^{10f.}$, Is $11^{11f.}$, Mic 2^{12}, Jer 3^{14}, Ezk 11^{17-19} etc.); Jahweh who gives material prosperity in the land of Israel (Hos 14^{5}, Jer 30^{19}, Ezk 34^{25}, Is 27^{2-6}, Jer 31^{4}, Ps 69^{35}, Is 66^{12}); Jahweh who makes a new people for His new land, washing away the filth of the daughters of Zion (Is 4^{4}), making a new covenant with His people (Jer 31^{31-34}), giving them a new heart (Ezk 36^{26}), and putting His spirit upon them for ever (Is 59^{21}); Jahweh who judges the nations (Am 1^{2} etc.), brings foreigners to His temple (Is 56^{7}), and sends blessings on all flesh (Is 2^{3} 55^{5}). The ideal future presents itself as a time when Jahweh reigns in Zion over His people (Is 24^{23}, Mic 4^{7}), and teaches His ways to all nations (Is 25^{6}). This relation of Jahweh to Israel's ideal future is rooted in Israel's past. It is not something quite new, but a glorification of the old. The Mt. Zion of the ideal future is but the ancient mount made higher (Is 2^{2}), and the new people are people of a new covenant with Jahweh, more inward than the old (Jer 31^{31-34}). Thus at all points the ideal Kingdom is an idealization of the greatest facts of Israel's past.

4. Davidic rule and the ideal Kingdom.—A common but not constant feature of Israel's ideal future, important but never supreme, is the element of a Davidic rule. Davidic 'rule,' or house, we must say rather than Davidic 'king,' because it is relatively seldom that attention is fixed on a particular individual, and even in these exceptional cases it may be doubted whether the prophetic vision ever rested on an individual who was thought of as having no successor. Again, Davidic rule is to be preferred to the term 'Messiah,' which, as W. H. Bennett says (*Religion of the Post-Exilic Prophets*, Edinburgh, 1907, p. 348), is 'inconvenient and misleading.'

Davidic rule, it was said above, is a common but not a constant feature of Israel's ideal future. We find it in Amos (unless 9[11f.] be regarded as post-Exilic), Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah, perhaps in Ps 2 and Ps 18, but there is only a shadow of it (Is 55[4]) in that section of the OT which is so rich in visions of the future Kingdom (Is 40–66); it is not found in the Minor Prophets (except in those mentioned above), in Is 24–27, or in Daniel. This element of Davidic rule, where found, is of very unequal significance. Thus, *e.g.*, in Hosea it is almost lost in the glory of Jahweh's presence (3[5]). In Ezekiel it is obscured by the ideal temple; the Davidic representative is a 'prince,' with princely rather than kingly functions (Ezk 45[7] 46[2. 16] etc.). In the Psalter it is represented vaguely at times (Ps 21 and 61 [?]), and again with authority (Ps 110). It stands out most conspicuously in Is 9[6f.] and 11[1-10]. This fluctuation in the value of the Davidic rule may have been due to changes in the political environment or to individual peculiarities of the various writers. In the prophetic outlook on an ideal future the Davidic house, as has been said, is more commonly mentioned than an individual Davidic king. In Amos and Hosea it is only the line of David that comes into view; in Jeremiah and Ezekiel an individual is indeed mentioned (Jer 23[5f.], Ezk 34[23], and possibly a different individual in Ezk 21[27]), but their common references are to a royal house (Jer 33[22], Ezk 37[25]); in the later visions of the book of Zechariah it is again the Davidic house that is considered (12[7. 8. 10. 12.] 13[1]); in the Psalms both the house and an individual king appear (Ps 45, 72, 2, 110); in 2 S 7[12-16] the divine promise concerns the royal succession down to the end; in Isaiah and Micah, Haggai and Zechariah (1–8), we confront primarily an individual. In view of the prevailing prophetic usage, in view also of the fact that Jeremiah and Ezekiel speak of an individual king and at the same time of a royal house that is to exist indefinitely, it seems doubtful whether, in the relatively small number of passages which contemplate an individual king, we are to suppose that the author, in any case, thought that this individual was to be without a successor. This would amount to attributing everlasting existence to him, which the texts nowhere seem to warrant. If claimed for Is 9[6f.] and Ps 110, then these passages are not to be reconciled with Jeremiah and Ezekiel, for an individual and a succession of individuals are different conceptions. But Is 9[6f.] may be concerned rather with a quality of government than with its agents. It is hardly possible to hold any other view if Isaiah had the young Hezekiah in mind as the man through whom Jahweh was about to introduce a new era for Israel. As to Ps 110[4] more can hardly be said with confidence than this, that, if there was in the OT the conception of a Davidic king who should reign for ever, this word of the Psalm would seem to confirm it. Alone, it is not sufficient to form a basis for such a doctrine.

It remains to sketch the character and limits of the Davidic rule in the ideal future. This rule is conceived in general as an improved copy of the historic rule of David. The name 'David,' not 'son of David,' is often given to the ideal ruler, as though he were thought of much as a re-incarnation of the heroic king who was a man after God's own heart. Special stress is laid on the ethical character of the ideal ruler and line, and the picture in this respect surpasses all that was ever realized in the founder of the royal house. The spirit of Jahweh rests upon him (Is 11[2]); he is beautiful and glorious (Is 4[2]); his righteousness is so perfect that it is likened to the righteousness of Jahweh (Jer 23[6]); he loves peace, and makes it, not only in Israel but among the nations (Is 9[6] 11[6-9], Zec 9[9f.], Ps 72[3. 7]). In the attitude of the ideal house towards the wicked and the Gentiles the language of physical force and a tone of severity are employed. Thus the Davidic ruler slays the wicked with the breath of his mouth (Is 11[1-10]) or with swords and arrows (Ps 45), and, unless the Gentiles do homage to him, he will dash them in pieces as a potter's vessel (Ps 2). In the time of Isaiah it was thought that the nations would flock to his standard (Is 11[11]), but in the time of Ps 110 the outlook on the nations is one of judgment. This function of judging is habitually attributed to Jahweh, but the execution of judgment is sometimes given to the king (*e.g.*, Ps 2, 45, 110). Thus the king of the ideal future is an ideal man, and in his rule he is an idealized David. The picture varies with the times, for it reflects what the leading spirits of different generations held most dear in a ruling house. The question of natural or supernatural cannot be raised in connexion with the king or the royal line of the ideal future (Is 7[14] 9[6], Mic 5[2], historically interpreted, do not transcend natural limits).

5. The material side of the ideal Kingdom.—The ideal future of Israel is invariably bound up with the land which Jahweh gave to the fathers. It is a future on the earth and on the hither side of the grave. With Amos, the shepherd-prophet, the material side of the ideal future is naturally set forth in rural imagery (9[13]), which is variously enriched by subsequent writers (Is 32[15] 29[17], Jer 31[12], Ezk 34[13-16] 36[25] 47[1-12], Is 30[25] 51[3], Jl 3[18], Zec 14[8]). To the material blessings of Israel's ideal future Hosea added a covenant of peace between Jahweh and wild beasts (2[18])—an image elaborated by Isaiah (11[6-9]) and the unknown prophet of the Exile (Is 65[25]). Ezekiel puts extermination in place of the covenant of peace (34[25]), a circumstance illustrative of the freedom with which the prophets handled the details of the ideal future. With Isaiah, the city-prophet, a glorified Jerusalem comes into the foreground of the vision of an ideal future (4[5] 30[19] 33[20]). Later prophets dwell on this feature (Jer 33[9] Is 62[3f.] 60[13] 66[24]). The inhabitants of this ideal city and land are multiplied until the places are too strait for them (Jer 30[19], Ezk 36[10f.] 37[26], Zec 10[10]); they blossom as the lily, and cast forth their roots as Lebanon (Hos 14[5f.]); a little one becomes a thousand and a small one a strong nation (Is 60[22]); no one says, 'I am sick,' and the days of the life of a man are as the life of a tree (Is 33[24] 65[22]). Once, indeed, the prophetic language rises to the assertion that death is swallowed up for ever (Is 25[8]), which is probably to be regarded as affirming no more than is affirmed in Is 65[20], that the child shall die a hundred years old. Very long life shall be the lot of those who inherit the ideal Kingdom.

6. The spiritual side of the ideal Kingdom.—In the prophetic view of the ideal future the spiritual side, though resting on the real past, departs from that past more widely than does the material side. The present paragraph will set forth what is implied in the statement already made, that the supreme factor in the ideal Kingdom is Jahweh. In the first place, the people who are to constitute the community at the beginning of the ideal future are a 'remnant' (Is 4[3] and often). They are the good 'kernels' that Jahweh does not suffer to fall and be lost (Am 9[9]), the chosen ones who are left when

Jahweh makes a 'full end' of judgment in the land (Is $10^{22f.}$). Thus the beginning of society in the ideal future was thought of somewhat as the new planting of the race after the Flood. The new stock is not sinless, but it is purified and ennobled. Even Jeremiah thinks of men in the ideal future as needing priestly intervention with offerings and sacrifices, though the covenant with Jahweh is then written on the heart (Jer $33^{18.22}$). With Ezekiel the need of a temple and priesthood is conspicuous (40–48), though he thought of the people as having experienced a profound change (37^{12}).

Nor did Isaiah, while declaring that every one who was left in Zion should be called holy (4^{3}), think of a sinless race of men. Like the post-Exilic Malachi (3^{1-4}), he thought rather of a people who were morally and spiritually quickened and exalted, but yet capable of sin (Is 33^{24}). The hopeful prophet of the Exile, though seeing by faith a city and land in which Jahweh would take delight (Is 62^{5}), a Zion whose children were all to be taught of God (54^{13}), and all righteous (61^{3}), nevertheless believed that this new Zion would have a temple (44^{28}), and seems to admit the existence of sin when he says that the 'sinner' being a hundred years old shall be accursed (65^{20}). Thus, while neither the little company with whom the ideal future society begins nor their descendants are thought of as sinless, their moral and spiritual state is indeed exalted. The prophets are fond of setting this forth in two closely related terms, that of knowing Jahweh and that of intimate association with Him. The new Israel shall address Jahweh as Îshî, 'my husband' (Hos 2^{16}), and Jahweh shall rejoice over His people as a bridegroom over his bride (Is 62^{5}, Zeph 3^{17}). Much more frequently the happy state of the redeemed in the great future is summed up as 'knowing Jahweh.' That is the key to Isaiah's vision of peace (11^{9}), the fruit of Jeremiah's new covenant in the heart (31^{34}), and it is promised to all the children of the tempest-tossed Zion (Is 54^{13}). Of the depth and vital character of this knowledge we have indications in Hosea's sorrowful word, 'My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge' (4^{6}), in Jeremiah's connecting it with the new inward covenant (31^{33-34}), as well as in his thought that the shepherds who shall teach the new Israel will be according to Jahweh's heart (3^{15}), and clearly in the statement of the Exilic prophet that Jahweh Himself will be the teacher (Is 54^{13}). This is a knowledge that permeates the entire man, the will and the heart no less than the understanding. In Ezekiel and certain post-Exilic writings the moral and spiritual state of restored Israel is conceived less profoundly. Ezekiel's New Jerusalem is dominated by ritual. He speaks indeed of a new heart, but it is to be manifested in keeping the old statutes and ordinances ($36^{26f.}$). In Joel and Zechariah the holiness of redeemed Israel seems to be thought of as physical separation from everything that is ceremonially unclean. No stranger shall pass through Jerusalem, no Canaanite come into Jahweh's temple (Jl 3^{17}, Zec 14^{21}).

Such were the prophets' thoughts of the individual member of the ideal Kingdom. Other features of that Kingdom remain to be mentioned. Judah and Israel, which had been separated for three hundred years when Jeremiah wrote, are again to walk together (Jer 3^{18}, Ezk 37^{15-17}). Justice and righteousness are to prevail everywhere, in the wilderness as well as in the fruitful field (Is 32^{16}). Moreover, the new knowledge of Jahweh bears fruit not only in right relations between man and man, but also in great joy and abiding peace. The redeemed shall not sorrow any more (Jer 31^{12}), but shall have a wreath of everlasting joy upon their heads (Is 35^{10}). Jahweh will create Jerusalem a rejoicing and her people a joy (Is 65^{19}). Such statements, since sin and death are still to exist in the ideal future, must be understood in a relative sense; not less so the announcement that a deep, universal, and abiding peace will characterize the new Israel (Is 2^{4} 11^{9} 32^{15} 54^{13}, Zec 9^{10}).

To the spiritual side of the ideal Kingdom belongs its religious relation to the nations. This is variously conceived by different prophets. It is not touched by Amos or Hosea. According to Is $2^{2f.}$ all the nations flow unto Jahweh's house in Jerusalem, apparently by a spontaneous movement. Jahweh's house is exalted so high that they see it and are attracted. They have confidence that Jahweh will teach them, and they come with a purpose to walk in His ways. Since peoples do not readily change their gods, this conception of Isaiah that *all* nations would be drawn to Jahweh's house implies that, in his view, the religion of the new Israel would be far more powerful in the lives of men than religion had ever been in the past. There is no suggestion of missionary work on the part of Israel in the conversion of Egypt (Is 19). Jahweh sends a deliverer to Egypt in a time of crisis, and in consequence Egypt worships Jahweh. Not only so, but the prophet appears to teach that the Assyrians become worshippers of Jahweh through the influence of Egypt. This outlook of Isaiah has no parallel for a century and a half, but in the latter part of the Exile and in the post-Exilic age we hear again of Israel's religious relation to the Gentiles in the ideal future. In Deutero-Isaiah, exclusive of the Songs of the Servant, and in Ps 2 and Ps 72, the religious influence of Israel is associated with the idea of its political dominion, and owes to this fact a certain tone of severity (Is 45^{14} 60^{12}). In one of the late visions attributed to Zechariah (14^{16-19}), the remnants of the nations are to go up to worship Jahweh and to keep the Feast of Tabernacles; if they do not, they are to be punished. Far different is the conception of Jahweh's purpose in Is 25, which may be later than the return from Babylon: Jahweh is to give a great banquet in Zion to all nations, and is there to destroy the 'veil that is spread over all nations.' There is no hint of political subjection to Israel. The nations come into the spiritual light and joy which Jahweh gives.

Still more significant is the conception of Israel's ideal religious service to the Gentiles which is found in the Songs of the Servant. It is not now in Zion, but afar, in their respective homes, that they receive Jahweh's salvation (Is 49^{6}). It is not at a banquet given by Jahweh, but through the efforts of His faithful people, that the nations have the 'veil' removed. It is not here through the largess of the King that the Gentiles are blessed, but through the quiet and patient testimony (Is $42^{2f.}$), through the bitter suffering and martyrdom, of the Servant (Is 52^{13} 53^{12}; cf. 61^{6}). With this profound view of Israel's ideal relation to the spiritual welfare of the Gentiles we may associate the prayer of the psalmist (67), that God would bless Israel *to the end* that His salvation might be made known to all nations, and also those Psalms in which the faithful people seem to be Jahweh's 'anointed,' to serve Him among the Gentiles (Ps $68^{20.24.28.35}$ $22^{27f.}$; cf. 84^{9}). This view of Israel's spiritual relation to the world is the deepest ethical thought of the OT on the subject.

7. Realization of the ideal Kingdom.—To judge intelligently of the prophets' visions, we must, of course, assume the prophets' point of view. When we do this, and look out upon Israel's ideal future, we see that what the prophets anticipated did not come to pass. The great pacific king of Isaiah's vision did not come, nor did the event which was to have immediately preceded it, that is, the breaking of Assyria's power; the mountain of Jahweh's house was not exalted above the hills, and the nations did not flow unto it; Egypt was not brought to Jahweh; nor did Egypt lead Assyria to worship the God of Israel. The ideal future of which Jeremiah spoke did not dawn after seventy years (29^{10}), nor did the Davidic deliverer of Ezk 29^{13-21} arise at the close of the forty years' desolation and captivity of Egypt. The hope associated with the return of the exiles whom Cyrus released (Is $41^{1ff.}$ $45^{1ff.}$ 60) was not fulfilled; nor was Zerubbabel the Davidic king who was to bring in the long-expected day (Hag 2^{23}, Zec 6^{12} 4^{9}). As with these hopes which contained an element of time, so with the others. The vision of Jahweh's glory in restored Israel and Zion—a city most splendid, a temple surpassing Solomon's, and the Shekinah rendering sun and moon unnecessary—did not find an embodiment when Jahweh brought back the captives; nor did the reign of peace among the nations and peace in Nature begin. The restored people were not multiplied until they overflowed into Gilead and Lebanon, the land was not more fertile nor the hills and mountains more plentifully supplied with water, life was not prolonged so that a child died a hundred years old, nor was prosperity secure from one generation to another. Judah and Israel were not re-united on the return from Babylon; indeed, Israel never returned.

As for the people who came back to Jerusalem, they were not the men of the ideal future of whom Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah had spoken. They were doubtless a chosen remnant in respect of their loyalty to Jahweh and their patriotic devotion to Zion, but the literature that deals with post-Exilic history plainly shows that they were not a people in whom Jeremiah's new covenant was realized, not a people taught of Jahweh in a unique manner and established in righteousness. The one conspicuous event of the prophetic outlook that was accomplished was a return from captivity. This does not appear to have been on a scale commensurate with the prophetic expectation, or to have been carried out with the glory with which it had been depicted; nevertheless it was an event of such surpassing importance for the development of religion in the earth that it justified the promise of those prophets who had sought to kindle Israel's hope and faith by their words of a better future.

Another fact is to be noted in this connexion. The prophets themselves were well aware that prophetic expectations had been disappointed, and yet they did not cease to speak with confidence of God's purposes for Zion. In 734 B.C. Isaiah expected, within a little while, the Davidic prince who, the Assyrian power having been broken, would inaugurate the ideal Kingdom; and then, a generation later, in 702 B.C., though his earlier expectation had not been accomplished, he spoke again, with equal assurance, of the turning back of the invader and the dawn of a new age (Is 30). Sennacherib's army was, indeed, turned back, but the hoped-for age was not therewith inaugurated. A century later, in the new crisis that had arisen with the approach of the Babylonians, the prophet Jeremiah put the new future, which Isaiah had looked for in his own day, beyond an exile of long duration. Deutero-Isaiah foresaw Israel's return in connexion with the overthrow of Babylon as an event of the near future, and associated the ideal Kingdom with that return; and, though this hope was not realized, Zechariah, in those very days, declared that Jahweh had returned to Zion, and that He would gather His dispersed into the midst of Jerusalem and would do good to His people (8). Later, perhaps much later, we hear an unknown prophet foretelling that after the distress which was to befall Jerusalem the new age would dawn, when Jahweh's name would be one in all the earth (Zec 14^{9}). Thus the vision of an ideal future which had arisen with Amos and Hosea did not fade into the light of common day, though its realization was again and again vainly though confidently expected. As time passed it underwent modifications more or less important; but the succession of the prophets, undeterred by its failure to become embodied on earth, and bating no jot of heart or hope, looked for its realization in a future not too remote.

This persistence of hope, taken together with the fact of a considerable element of change in the visions of the ideal future, seems to show that the prophets were not greatly concerned with the particular details of their pictures, but were established in certain great principles of Jahweh's character and will. Their thoughts of times and seasons, of agents and methods of fulfilment, of fit material and political accompaniments of the coming ideal State, might vary one from another, and might all be very imperfect or quite wrong; they still held to an ideal perfecting of Jahweh's gracious will in a glorious Kingdom for His chosen people. Whether the vision of the prophets in its essential elements found its fulfilment in Jesus and His work, or is yet to find it there, is a question that lies beyond the limits of this article.

II. *In the NT.*—**1. Introductory note.**—For the study of the Kingdom of God in the NT two points are of fundamental importance: (1) the use of the term by Jesus, and (2) the word 'Church' as used by the early disciples. The present article is limited to the former. In determining the content of the term 'Kingdom of God' in the thought of Jesus, the hope of progress lies in a more careful analysis and valuation of the various sources of His teaching.

The apocalyptic literature, beginning with Dn $7^{13.\ 14}$, influenced the form rather than the content of Jesus' teaching on 'the Kingdom of God,' or, in particular, on the consummation of that Kingdom. Even this influence is often exaggerated. The *Logia* contain very little that presupposes an influence of apocalyptic literature (as Mt 19^{28} $24^{26-28.\ 37-42}$), and Mk 13 cannot all be ascribed to Jesus. The thought of the nearness of the Kingdom of God sprang out of Jesus' consciousness of God's presence with Him, and was not at all due to the apocalypses. Moreover, what is most characteristic of Jesus, His supreme emphasis on the ethical-religious life, is hostile to the spirit of much of the apocalyptic literature, for the authors of that literature lived in visions of the consummation.

2. The data.—It is significant that the term 'Kingdom of God' (or 'Kingdom of heaven') occurs in the material which is peculiar to Matthew about three-quarters as many times as in the *Logia*, the oldest Gospel, and the matter peculiar to Luke taken together (*Logia* eight, oldest Gospel eleven, matter peculiar to Luke three, matter peculiar to Matthew seventeen). We infer that it was a favourite term with the editor of the First Gospel—an inference that receives support from the fact that he has sometimes prefixed the term to parables where its use appears to be extremely vague (*e.g.*, Mt 25^{1}). If, however, the term was a favourite one with this editor, we should form our judgment regarding the prominence of the conception in the teaching of Jesus, not from his usage, but from the *Logia* and the oldest Gospel. Having regard to these sources, we must say that the term does not seem to have been employed by Jesus with great frequency. The *Logia* may count slightly less than 200 verses, and the words of Jesus in the oldest Gospel a few more than that, and, as was said above, the former source contains the term in question but eight times and the latter only eleven. The matter peculiar to Luke contains approximately 164 verses which are words of Jesus, and in these the term 'Kingdom of God' occurs but three times, while in Matthew's peculiar material, which contains about 187 verses which are words of Jesus, the term is found seventeen times. Further, it may be noted here that no one is reported to have asked Jesus what He meant by 'Kingdom of God,' and that He never felt called upon to declare in what sense He used the term. His thought on the subject, like His thought on Messiahship, was left by Him to be inferred by those who had seeing eyes and understanding hearts. His handful of disciples occupied Jesus' thought far more than did the 'coming of the Son of man with the clouds of heaven,' and the least detail of their spiritual life was more important in His sight than all the computations of the apocalyptists regarding the day and hour of the 'end,' or how the 'end' was to be ushered in.

3. Content of the term 'Kingdom of God' as used by Jesus.—(*a*) *His agreement with the Prophets.*—The word of the oldest Gospel (Mk 1^{15}) that, when Jesus came into Galilee, He preached, saying, 'The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand,' shows clearly His consciousness of being in the prophetic line, a continuator of the prophetic hope of a divine Kingdom. But, when we hear what He said of the Kingdom at different times, it becomes plain that He was not a continuator of the prophetic hope in its entirety, and that His thought moved in line with what the great prophets had said of the spiritual side of the ideal Kingdom. He said nothing of the restoration of the Davidic throne, and nothing of the glory and riches of Palestine in the day of fulfilment. The only kingship that He contemplated was the Kingship of God (Mt 13^{41} is regarded as unauthentic). That this rule of God was regarded by Him as a teaching of the OT appears, *e.g.*, in the manner in which it is introduced into the model for prayer which He gave His disciples. They are taught to pray 'Thy kingdom come' (Lk 11^2), and it is taken for granted that they will understand this term. The petition is, indeed, a petition for the fulfilment of such OT words as Is 24^{23} and Mic 4^7.

(*b*) *Personal elements in His usage.*—(1) Jesus' thought of the Kingdom of God is not altogether identical with the spiritual side of that Kingdom as seen by the prophets. It is more inward and personal. Thus we read in the *Logia* that the Kingdom of God is like unto leaven (Lk 13^{21}), and in the oldest Gospel it is compared with the earth which, once the seed is deposited in it, carries forward its development until the corn is full (Mk 4^{26-29}). In both cases the Kingdom is a force working from within. It is self-propagating in the parable of the Leaven, and in that of the Automatic Earth it is a seed that the heart mysteriously germinates and matures. These parables go further than the prophets in their implications regarding the nature of man and his relation to God.

(2) Again, it is peculiar to Jesus, in distinction from the prophets, that He thought of the Kingdom of God as having a lowly beginning. The heart of a child is the most favourable soil for it (Mk 10^{14}). The mustard seed is the fittest symbol of it, both in smallness and in the size of the plant which it produces (Mk 4^{30}).

(3) The usage of Jesus differs from that of the prophets, further, in that He speaks of a Kingdom of God as existing on both sides of the grave, or in two spheres, an earthly and a heavenly. No difference between the earthly and the heavenly Kingdom of God is clearly marked in His words (Mt 6^{10} is probably a Christian expansion of the last clause of Lk 11^2). The *Logia* have one saying, possibly two, in which the Kingdom of God is equivalent to heaven (Mt 8^{11} = Lk 13^{28}, Lk 6^{20} = Mt 5^3), and the oldest Gospel has one such saying, possibly more (Mk 9^{47}; cf. 10^{14} 10^{23-25} 14^{25}).

(4) Finally, the usage of Jesus differs most widely from that of the prophets in that His thought of the Kingdom as having actually begun with Him and His disciples. In an important sense it was still future, but it was also present. This is clearly implied in a saying of the *Logia*, though it does not contain the term in question. Jesus said to His disciples (Lk $10^{23f.}$), 'Blessed are the eyes which see the things that ye see: for I say unto you, that many prophets and kings desired to see the things which ye see, and saw them not; and to hear the things which ye hear, and heard them not.' This reference to the OT hope determines the meaning of the words 'what ye see' and 'what ye hear'; it is the fulfilment of the prophetic vision of a better future. Again, in the oldest Gospel there are at least two sayings of Jesus that belong here. He said to His disciples: 'Unto you is given the mystery of the Kingdom of God' (Mk 4^{11}). The 'mystery' was something to be revealed and known, and the disciples were learning it in that very hour. Secondly, to a scribe who answered discreetly, Jesus said: 'Thou art not far from the kingdom of God' (Mk 12^{34}). It would seem a necessary inference from this word that His own disciples were regarded by Him as *in* the Kingdom of God. Quite in accord with this is the saying preserved in Lk $17^{20f.}$, 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo, here! or, There! for lo, the kingdom of God is within you.' The new age had begun; therefore that of the Law and the prophets had come to an end. On the other hand, it is equally clear in the oldest sources that Jesus looked for the coming of the Kingdom of God in some future day. He taught His disciples to pray for it (Lk 11^2), and He assured them that it would come with power within a generation (Mk 9^1). The reconciliation of these apparently discrepant views lies in the nature of the Kingdom of God as Jesus conceived of it. Neither view can be ignored by the historical student. Both are contained in the conception of the Kingdom as a seed that develops and matures for the time of harvest (see, further, art. JESUS CHRIST, iii. *B.–C.* 2, above, pp. 510–513).

LITERATURE.—A. Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, London, 1901; H. B. Sharman, *The Teaching of Jesus about the Future*, Chicago and London, 1909; E. F. Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah*, Edinburgh, 1911; J. Moffatt, *The Theology of the Gospels*, London, 1912, pp. 41–84; P. Feine, *Theologie des NT*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 91–119; P. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, Tübingen, 1903; E. von Dobschütz, *The Eschatology of the Gospels*, London, 1910; H. Weinel, *Biblische Theologie des NT*, Tübingen, 1911.

G. H. GILBERT.

KING'S EVIL.—This is the name given to scrofula, a disease which was supposed to be cured by the touch of the king of England. The same belief was held regarding the king of France. The Lat. *regius morbus* originally denoted jaundice, but, with *conincsevel* (Mid. Dutch) and *le mal le roy* (Old Fr.), was applied to scrofulous affections, and especially glandular swellings of the neck and face (see *OED*, *s.v.*). Doubtless other ailments were at times popularly included in the phrase 'the Evil' or 'the King's Evil.' There was a belief that the seventh son could cure the malady (H. Crooke, *Body of Man*, London, 1615, p. 340). This is sometimes extended to the seventh son of a seventh son, and even to the ninth son of a ninth son. This belief also was common to England and France. The method was by stroking. Fantastic medicines were prescribed for the curing of the Evil, such as goose dung, viper's flesh, and lion's blood (Gulielmus vanden Bossche, *Historia Medica*, Brussels, 1639, Index, *s.v.* 'Scrophulis remedia').

Edward the Confessor is said to have been the first to cure by touch those suffering from ulcers. William of Malmesbury states that some of these miracles happened in Normandy before he came to the throne (*Gesta Regum*, London, 1840, ii. 222). It is, however, remarkable that Caxton's *Golden Legend*—a 15th cent. unhistorical view of the canonized king—whilst presenting an idyllic picture of England in his day and recording several of his miracles, does not mention any by touch. Shakespeare (*Macbeth*, IV. iii. 146) expresses the view of a later age when he makes Malcolm say:

> 'Tis call'd the evil:
> A most miraculous work in this good king;
> Which often, since my here-remain in England,
> I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven,
> Himself best knows: but strangely-visited people,
> All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
> The mere despair of surgery, he cures;
> Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
> Put on with holy prayers: and 'tis spoken,
> To the succeeding royalty he leaves
> The healing benediction.'

The touch is not mentioned among the reasons for Edward's canonization in the bull of Alexander III. About 1180 Peter of Blois (*Ep.* 150 [*PL* ccvii. 440]) mentions this kingly power as well known. There is no evidence of the rite under the Norman monarchs, but it appears to have been fairly continuous from Henry II. to Queen Anne.

There is a curious passage in Sir John Fortescue's tract on the title of the House of York that is not mentioned in the recantation which he was forced to make in 1471 as a condition of his restoration. Arguing that a queen regnant is not allowed by the Constitution, he says: 'And sithen the Kinges of England ben enoynted in theyre hands, and by vertue and meane thereof God commonlie healeth sicknes, by putting to and touching the maladie, by thenontinge hands; and also gould and silver handled by them, and so offered on Good Friday have ben the meane and cause of great cures, as it is knowne, and therefore such gold and silver is desired in all the world. Which good things must needs cease for all the time that a woman were so Queene of that land because that a woman may not be enoynted in her hands' (first printed in T. F. Clermont, *Life, Works, and Family History of Sir John Fortescue*, London, 1869, i. 498). In the corresponding Latin of the *Defensio Juris Domus Lancastriæ* the name of the malady is given—*regius morbus* (*ib.* p. 508). Fortescue's doctrine was not accepted either as to the throne or as to the power of healing.

Edward I. gave money as alms, but Henry VII. was the first to bestow the small gold medal, which Shakespeare assigns to the generosity of the Confessor. There are cases in which it was alleged that the Evil had been cured by wearing the touch-piece originally given to another sufferer.

The healings were performed mostly in London (by Charles II. at the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall), but the ceremony was possible wherever the Court might be; and Langley, Newmarket, Chester, Bath, Salisbury, and Oxford are known to have witnessed such functions. Easter, Whitsuntide, and Michaelmas were the usual seasons, and the hot weather was avoided.

The first separate treatise on the King's Evil is *Charisma* (London, 1597), by William Tooker, who declares that Queen Elizabeth cured many thousands. In 1602 William Clowes, a famous surgeon of his day, published *A right frutefull and profitable treatise for the artificial cure of the malady called in Latin Struma, and in English the Evill cured by kinges and queenes of England.* He professed firm belief in the healing power. Thomas Fuller, who when young had seen James I. touch in Salisbury Cathedral, also professes unwavering faith.

'If any doubt of the truth thereof, they may be remitted to their own eyes for further confirmation.' He further asks: Shall we be so narrow-hearted as not to conceive it possible that Christian men, the noblest of corporeal creatures, kings, the most eminent of all Christian men, kings of Britain, the first-fruits of all Christian kings; should receive the peculiar privilege and sanative power, whereof daily instances are presented unto us?' (*Church History*, ed. J. S. Brewer, Oxford, 1845, i. 387-390).

As the finances of Charles I. contracted, he substituted silver for gold in the touch-pieces, and many received only the imposition of the royal hands. The monarch regarding whose healings we have the fullest information was Charles II., who touched 90,798 persons. Evelyn, in his *Diary*, ed. W. Bray, London, 1890 (6th July 1660), gives a detailed account of one, and also notes that on 28th March 1684 there was so great a concourse of people, with their children, that six or seven were killed in the crush at the office where the tickets had to be obtained. Each applicant had to bring a certificate from the clergyman of his parish, and signatures of the churchwardens also were required by a proclamation issued in 1683. The parishes were expected to keep a register of the certificates they issued. At the public healings the king sat in his chair uncovered and surrounded by members of his court. One of the chaplains read the Gospel from Mk 16, and at the latter part of v.[18], 'they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover,' the chief surgeon brought up the sick persons in order. The words from v.[18] were repeated for each person. The king stroked the face or neck, where the disease was evident, with both hands, and a second surgeon then took charge of the patient. The reading from Mark was finished after all the patients had been touched; and a second Gospel from the first chapter of John was commenced. At v.[8] the surgeons presented each patient a second time. The Clerk of the Closet, kneeling, presented to the king the gold medal on a white silk ribbon, which he then placed round the neck of the patient as the chaplain read v.[9]; the Gospel was continued to v.[14], and followed by prayers. At the close the Lord Chamberlain and two other noblemen brought linen, basin, and ewer for the king to wash his hands, and with this the ceremony ended. Such was the procedure under Charles II. The office for the healing appears to have been drawn up in the time of Henry VII. in Latin, and was in part a modification of the blessing for sore eyes, and the exorcism against evil spirits. This was sometimes modified. Elizabeth used the sign of the cross, which was omitted by her successors, but restored by James II., by whose authority the office was printed in English in 1686. It was reprinted along with the *Office for consecrating cramp rings* from a MS belonging to Dr. A. C. Ducarel, by F. G. Waldron (*Literary Miscellany*, 1789). The final modification was in the reign of Queen Anne, and was included in the Prayer Book, incorporating that of 1724, although George I. never performed the ceremony—a fact duly noted by his disaffected Jacobite subjects. The forms used by James II. and Queen Anne are given in the third and fourth editions of Hamon L'Estrange's *Alliances of Divine Offices* (1699, 1846). Occasionally there were private healings, when the ceremonial was less elaborate.

Patients were occasionally sent from various parts of the country at the partial cost of the places to which they belonged. In 1682 the Corporation of Preston paid 10s. for a bricklayer's son to go to London 'in order to the procuring of His Majesty's touch.' In 1687 5s. each was paid for two girls to be sent to Chester, where James II. then was (J. Harland and T. T. Wilkinson, *Lancashire Folklore*, London, 1867, p. 77). Similar payments from Ecclesfield, York, and Kirkham have been printed (W. Andrews, *The Doctor*, London, 1895, p. 19; H. Fishwick, *History of the Parish of Kirkham*, London, 1874, pp. 98, 106).

The Stuart pretenders as well as the Stuart kings claimed the healing power, and one of the charges in the trial of the Duke of Monmouth was that he had touched children for the Evil. The last recorded instance of the rite occurred in the Jacobite rising of 1745, when Prince Charles Edward touched a scrofulous child at Holyrood Palace. 'Touch-pieces' were struck for James III. and Henry IX., *i.e.* the Old Pretender and Cardinal York. Thomas Carte, in the first volume of his *History of England* (London, 1747), in arguing that the healing power of the kings was not due to anointing, recited the case of Christopher Lovel, who went abroad to be touched by 'the eldest lineal descendant of a race of kings' who had not been crowned or anointed. This obvious reference to the Old Pretender led to a controversy, and the Corporation of London withdrew their subscription from the *History* (see J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century*, London, 1812–15, ii. 495, where many details are given).

The power of healing the King's Evil was also claimed by the kings of France, and was said to have been given to Clovis at his anointment. Another account states that Philip I. was the first to touch, and that he was deprived of the power on account of his dissolute life. The ritual was settled by St. Louis. After coronation at Rheims, the king went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Marcoul, who died in 658, and who was so successful in curing scrofula that it was called St. Marcoul's Evil after him. The sick were ranged in the church, or, when the number was too large, in the cloisters or in the park, where they were touched by the king and received a gift from the Grand Almoner. Healings are recorded by Charles VII. (1422), Louis XI. (1461), and Charles VIII. (1483). Cardinal Wolsey was present in 1527 when Francis I. touched 200 people. When Henry IV. was crowned at Chartres in 1594, as many as 1500 were present at a healing. His physician Laurentius asserts that 50 per cent were cured within a few days after being touched. Peter Lowe (*Discourse of the Whole Art of Chyrurgerie*^{2}, London, 1612) mentions the touch as used in France:

> 'The diseased first is viewed by the Chyrurgions, who findes it to be the kirnells or King's Evil, then the diseased is set on his knees, and presented to the king, who maketh a crosse on his forehead with his hand, saying: *Le roy te touche, Dieu te guerrie*, which is to say, the King doth touch thee, God make thee whole' (J. Finlayson, *Account of the Life and Works of Maister Peter Lowe*, 1889, p. 8).

Louis XIV. is said to have touched 2600 persons two days after his coronation, and 1600 on the Easter Sunday of 1686. Every French patient received 15 sous, every foreigner 30 sous. When Louis XV. was crowned, the shrine of St. Marcoul was brought to Rheims, and over 2000 persons were touched. The custom continued until 1776, and the authorized programme of the coronation of Charles X. included the healing ceremonial.

R. J. Dunglison (*History of Medicine*, Philadelphia, 1872, p. 209) asserts that the healing touch was not restricted to the kings of England and France; 'it appears to have been not unfrequently employed in Scandinavia.' He conjectures that it arose from Druidic practices—a theory for which there appears to be no evidence. The kings of Hungary were credited with the power of curing jaundice, to which the name of *morbus regius* was formerly also applied. The *Salutators* in Spain and the Netherlands claimed to cure sores by the touch, white linen, and prayers; but their efforts were prohibited. Valentine Greatrakes, an Irish gentleman, in 1662 conceived the idea that he could cure the King's Evil, and from that time until 1666 'stroked' a great number of people for scrofula, ague, rheumatism, and other diseases, with varying success. He accompanied his operations by prayer.

It may be noticed that in all these cures, whether by kings, seventh sons, or healers, the common feature is that of stroking with the hands. That many patients were apparently benefited by the touch need not be doubted. The change of air involved in a journey to the Royal Court, religious solemnity, the expectant attention, even the belief in the touch-piece as an amulet, would all tend to help the natural curative process. The history of the royal healing suggests that it is a fragmentary survival from a time when priesthood and kingship sometimes centred in the same person, and when, as disease was regarded mainly as demonic possession and medicine as exorcism and magic, the priest had often to exercise the function of the physician. It is noteworthy that in England the healings were most numerous in the reign of Charles II., when the 'patriarchal theory' of the origin of monarchy was held by the Royalists in an extreme form. But the materials at command are scarcely sufficient to warrant any broad generalization.

LITERATURE.—Most of the historical references are given in an art. 'On the Cure of Scrofulous Diseases attributed to the Royal Touch' by Edward Law Hussey, *Archæol. Journal*, x. [1853] 187 ff. (with engravings of touch-pieces). See, further, William Tooker, *Charisma*, London, 1597; William Clowes, *Treatise on Struma*, do. 1602; John Browne, *Charisma Basilicon*, do. 1684; William Becket, *Inquiry into Antiquity and Efficacy of Touching for the King's Evil*, do. 1722; John Douglas, *Criterion*, do. 1754; Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, do. 1844 (with engravings of touch-pieces); *Cérémonies et prières du sacre des rois de France*, Paris, 1825; Hamon L'Estrange, *Alliances of Divine Offices* (Oxford ed., 1846); N. Menin, *Traité hist. et chronolog. du sacre et couronnement des rois et des reines de France*, Paris, 1723; William Andrews, *The Doctor in History, Literature, and Folklore*, London, 1895; J. G. Frazer, *Hist. of the Kingship*, do. 1905, p. 126 f., and *The Magic Art*, do. 1911, i. 368–371.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

ḲISMET.—Ḳismet is an Arabic word, meaning 'lot,' 'distribution,' 'fate.' It is not found in the Qur'ān in this philosophical sense, the idea of fate being there expressed by comparison with a bird: 'Every man's augury (lit. bird) have we fastened on his neck' (xvii. 14); 'your augury (bird) is in God's hands' (xxvii. 48). Zamakhsharī interprets thus: 'The source of good and evil is in God; and this is your destiny (*ḳadar*) or your fate (*ḳismet*). If God wishes, He gives you; if He wishes, He denies you.' In Qur'ān xxxvi. 18 we read: 'Your augury (bird) is with you,' *i.e.* 'Your evil destiny accompanies you.' The origin of this comparison is unknown.

The idea expressed by the word *ḳismet* relates to events of the earthly life; it is the share of good luck or of accidents, of fortune or of misery, which falls to each. The term is not used in a theological sense like the words *ḳadā* and *ḳadar*, which refer to man's good or bad deeds and to his destiny in the hereafter (see art. FATE [Muslim]).

The belief that each one's fate is settled beforehand by God, and that, whatever one may do, one can scarcely modify it, is popular in Muslim countries, and is often to be found in Muslim literature, especially among the poets and story-tellers. In the rich collection entitled *Al-Mustaṭraf* (Fr. tr. by G. Rat, Paris, 1899) there are several chapters on fate and destiny, on fortune and its vicissitudes.

> A man said one day to the philosopher Buzurgmihr: 'I have seen an ignorant person enjoying the favours of heaven, and a wise man being excluded from them; hence I have understood that man has not in his hands the disposition of his fate' (*al-Mustaṭraf*, i. 711). A poet has written: 'I know very well that it is only God who can be helpful or hurtful' (*ib.* 713).

Saʿdī, in his *Būstān* (tr. C. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1880, ch. v.), groups several anecdotes in which he explains the idea of fate and the duty of resignation.

> 'Happiness,' he says, 'is a gift of the divine justice' (it would be more exact to say 'of the divine arbitrariness,' adding, however, that man has never the right to regard this arbitrariness as unjust). A clever archer can usually pierce an iron target with his arrow, but, when fate deserts him, he cannot

even make a hole in a piece of felt or silk. A poor man loses a penny and searches for it in vain; an indifferent passer-by comes along and finds the penny immediately. 'What is the use then,' concludes the poet, 'of struggling against the force of destiny?'

The following quatrain is from Abū Sa'īd or from Khayyām:

> 'If your situation is good, it is not the result of your clever measures; neither is it your fault if it is unhappy. . . . Live resigned and content, since the good and evil of this world do not depend upon you' (Hoceyne-Azad, *La Roseraie du savoir*, Paris, 1906, tr., p. 303).

In the story entitled 'The Story of the Sheik with the generous Palm,' in the *Thousand and One Nights*, a rich man twice gives a purse to a poor rope-maker to help him to free himself from his poverty; but scarcely has he received it than he loses it. Some one then gives him a worthless piece of lead, and this lead becomes the source of his fortune (tr. J. C. Mardrus, Paris, 1899–1904, xiv. 64 ff.; R. Burton, *Supplemental Nights*, London, n.d., iv. 341–365).

This doctrine of chance, which conduces to idleness and indifference, is one of the causes which hinder the progress of Muslim peoples in matters of economics. It is, however, only a popular belief, and is not accepted in theology, as has already been indicated in the art. FATE (Muslim).

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

B. CARRA DE VAUX.

KISSING.—Kissing is a universal expression (in the social life of the higher civilizations) of the feelings of affection, love (sexual, parental, and filial), and veneration. In its general use it is more or less symbolic, but in maternal and in sexual love it has an essential value of its own as a focus of physical emotion, which it not only expresses but stimulates.

1. General description.—A refinement of general bodily contact (the instinct to which is irreducible), kissing supplies a case, in the higher levels of physiological psychology, of the meeting and interaction of the two complementary primal impulses, hunger and love. It is remarkable that, though the act in its civilized form is very rare among the lower and semi-civilized races, it is fully established as instinctive in the higher societies. This is a case of an acquired character or of some corresponding process. Equally remarkable is the fact that a line can be drawn between the higher civilizations; thus, the kiss seems to have been unknown to ancient Egypt; in early Greece and Assyria it was firmly established, and probably its development in India was as early as the 'Aryan' age.

Touch is 'the mother of the senses,' and the kiss may be referred generally to a tactile basis, as a specialized form of contact. Animal life provides numerous analogies; the billing of birds, the cataglottism of pigeons, and the antennal play of some insects are typical cases. Among the higher animals, such as the bear and the dog, there is a development which seems to lead up to those forms of the act most prevalent among the lower races of man and also characteristic of the peoples of Eastern Asia. Far more similar, however, to the civilized human kiss and the non-olfactory forms of the savage kiss is the habit attested for cats of pressing or squeezing one another's nose.[1]

2. Forms of the kiss.—The lower types are incorrectly grouped by travellers under the term 'rubbing noses,' and various forms are often confused. The olfactory form occasionally includes mutual contact with the nose, as among the Maoris, Society and Sandwich Islanders, the Tongans, the Eskimos, and most of the Malayan races. The rubbing of noses, often styled 'the Malay kiss,' is described by Darwin thus: the giver of the kiss places his nose at right angles on the nose of the other, and then rubs it; the process occupies no longer time than a handshake among Europeans. Cook and others describe the South Sea Islands form as a vigorous mutual rubbing with the end of the nose, omitting the olfactory element.[1] Elsewhere, as among the Australians, general contact of the face occurs—'face-rubbing.'[2] In many lower races mothers lick their infants. But the typical primitive kiss is contact of nose and cheek; the Khyoungtha, for instance, apply mouth and nose to the cheek, and then inhale.[3] Among the Chinese, Yakuts, and various Mongolian peoples, and even the Lapps of Europe, this method is characteristic, and is thus described by d'Enjoy: the nose is pressed on the cheek, a nasal inspiration follows, during which the eyelids are lowered; lastly, there is a smacking of the lips. The three phases are clearly distinguished.[4] It is remarkable that this Eastern Asiatic method, typically primitive, should be retained by Chinese civilization. The Japanese have no word for kiss, and the act is known only between mother and child.

The European kiss consists essentially in the application of the lips to some part of the face, head, or body, or to the lips of the other person. Normally there is no olfactory element, and any tactile use of the nose is absolutely unknown. It is thus a distinct species, and to describe it as having been evolved from the savage form is erroneous. As a 'racial' habit, it distinguishes the European peoples, and their cultural or racial ancestry, the Teutons, the Græco-Romans, and the Semites, but it appears to have been unknown to the Celts.

As for its physiological derivation, we have excluded certain elements. Nyrop refers it to taste and smell; Tylor describes it as a 'salute by tasting,' d'Enjoy as 'a bite and a suction.'[5] Each of these definitions is untenable. Though popular metaphor inevitably speaks of taste, and even eating and drinking, there is nothing gustatory in the kiss.[6] Such suction as may be ascribed to it is merely the mechanical closing of the lips,[7] as in speaking and eating. This may be described as a refinement of biting, but it would be misleading. Similarly in abnormal forms some use of the tongue occurs. But no connexion with the bite can be maintained, except in the sense to be explained below. It is true that playful biting with the teeth is practised by savage mothers, and among various peoples by passionate lovers, but there is no derivative connexion between this and the kiss proper. The suggestion has been made that the kiss is practically a mode of speech. Emphasis is here laid on the weak or loud sound which often accompanies the 'sucking movement' (*sic*) of the muscles of the lips; this 'inspiratory bilabial sound' is compared to the lip-click of many barbarous languages.[8] The suggestion does not go far; the element of truth is the fact that the kiss, like language, is a refinement of the nutritive processes of the mouth.

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[1] H. Gaidoz, quoted by C. Nyrop, *The Kiss and its History*, p. 180.

[1] E. B. Tylor, art. 'Salutations' in *EBr*^{11} xxiv. 94; H. Ling Roth, 'On Salutations' in *JAI* xix. [1890] 166; G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, p. 179; C. Nyrop, p. 180.

[2] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, Melbourne, 1886, iii. 176.

[3] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, p. 118.

[4] H. Ellis, *Sexual Selection in Man*, p. 220, quoting d'Enjoy.

[5] Ellis, p. 66; Nyrop, p. 185. As regards smell, the incident of Isaac proves no connexion.

[6] W. W. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, London, 1898, *s.v.*, traces the word to a Teutonic base, connected with Latin *gustus*, Gothic *kustus*='test,' and 'kiss' is a doublet of 'choice.' This is, however, very doubtful. The word may be connected with the Lat. (loan-word?) *basium*, 'kiss' (cf. A. Walde, *Lat. etymolog. Wörterb.*^{2}, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 84 f.), and is frequently compared with Gr. *κυνέω* (for **κυ-νε-σω*, cf. aor. *ἔκυσσα*), 'kiss' (so most recently P. Persson, *Beitr. zur indogerm. Wortforschung*, Upsala, 1912, p. 260, note 2), appearing with a different 'root-extensor' in Goth. *kukjan*, 'kiss.' O. Irish and Welsh have no Celtic word for 'kiss'; *póc* and *póg* are borrowed forms of Lat. *pax*.

[7] The *OED* defines kissing thus: 'to press or touch with the lips (at the same time compressing and then separating them).'

[8] Nyrop, p. 6.

The kiss is a special case of tactile sensory pleasure. In it the lips (whose skin is the very sensitive variety between the ordinary cuticle and the mucous membrane) are alone concerned. The movement made is the initial movement of the process of eating. There is, no doubt, a true psychological nexus between affection and hunger, which is no less truly expressed in the mechanism of the kiss. The act is a secondary habit of the lips, just as speech is a secondary habit of the whole oral mechanism. The intimate connexion between the development of language and the masticatory processes of man has been drawn out by E. J. Payne.[1] The kiss, therefore, is not to be referred to the bite, or even to gustation, much less to mastication, suction, or olfactory processes. The primary movement of the lips is simply transferred to a metaphorical use, so to say, and their sensitiveness is applied to a secondary object, whose stimulus is not hunger, but the analogous emotions of love, affection, and veneration.

Lombroso has argued that the kiss of lovers is derived from the maternal kiss.[2] It is true that the latter is sometimes found among peoples who do not practise the former. The Japanese, for instance, are ignorant of the kiss, except as applied by a mother to her infant.[3] In Africa and other uncivilized regions it is a common observation of travellers that husbands and wives, and lovers, do not kiss. But all mothers seem to caress and fondle their babes. Winwood Reade has described the horror shown by a young African girl when he kissed her in the European fashion.[4] The argument, however, of Lombroso is of the same order as that which derives sexual love from maternal, and in neither case can there be any derivation, precisely because the subject during adolescence comes into a new physical and psychological environment, which itself is sufficient to explain a new reaction.

Some variation in the kiss proper (which we identify with the European) may here be noted. The kiss of North American Indian women is described as consisting in laying the lips softly on the cheek, no sound or motion being made.[5] This would not come under the Chinese criticism of the European kiss as being 'voracious.'[6] When Australian or negro women are mentioned as employing the kiss,[7] we may assume that it is of the olfactory variety. The former people (recently argued to be relatively high in the scale of human development) have one branch, the North Queensland tribes, where the kiss is well developed. It is used between mother and child, and husband and wife. In contrast with many early languages, the Pitta-Pitta dialect has a word for kissing.[8] As for distinctions in the civilized Western kiss, that of the ancient Romans still applies, though modern languages do not employ three terms for the three forms. In Latin, *osculum* was the kiss on the face or cheeks, as used between friends; *basium* was the kiss of affection, made with and on the lips; *suavium* (or *savium*) was the kiss between the lips, confined to lovers alone. The modern French retain, and other continental peoples (to some extent the English also) follow them, the distinction between the kiss on the cheek and the kiss on the mouth, the latter being reserved for lovers. Both in social custom and in literature the erotic symbolism of the lovers' kiss has assumed a remarkable importance among the French, who regard a kiss on the mouth, except in cases of love, as a real social sin.

It is interesting to note that Græco-Roman, Hebrew, and early Christian civilization have combined to form the modern European habit.

3. **Social history.**—Though kissing is said to be unknown in any form among the Japanese, prior to European influence, among the Indians of Guiana, the ancient Celtic peoples, and the ancient Egyptians, each statement is probably too dogmatic. The general conclusion is that the habit in some form or another has been prevalent since primitive times, and has received its chief development in Western culture.

Among the Greeks and Latins, parents kissed their children, lovers and married persons kissed one another, and so did friends of the same or different sexes.[1] The kiss was used in various ceremonial and religious acts. Very similar was the Hebrew practice,[2] with the exception that kissing between persons of different sex was discountenanced, though a male cousin might kiss a female cousin. The Rabbis advised that all such kisses should be avoided, as leading to lewdness, and restricted the kiss to greeting, farewell, and respect.[3] In Semitic life also there was more use of the ceremonial kiss than among the Greeks and Romans.

The early Christian habit of promiscuous kissing as a symbol of fellowship was an application of pagan social practice, and there are grounds for supposing that it offended the Hebrew element as it certainly shocked the Jewish Church.[4] This is St. Peter's 'kiss of love'; and St. Paul frequently writes: 'Salute one another with an holy kiss.' It possessed a sacramental value.

> 'The primitive usage was for the "holy kiss" to be given promiscuously, without any restriction as to sexes or ranks, among those who were all one in Christ Jesus.'[5]

Later, owing to scandals, or rather to such feeling as Tertullian mentions,[6] the practice was limited, and it was ordered that men of the laity should salute men, and women women, separately.[7]

The classical practice, rendered slightly more free by the early Christian extension, prevailed throughout the Middle Ages, with the curious detail that English women had more liberty than continental in kissing male friends. Erasmus in a famous passage describes the freedom possessed in this matter by English girls.[8] In Catholic ritual the kiss dwindled to more or less of a survival. In court ceremonial it persisted with other details of etiquette; and the same was the case with certain ecclesiastical and legal formalities. Knights after being dubbed, persons elected to office, and brides on marriage were kissed.[9] After the Renaissance a change appeared in England, and kissing became more and more restricted to parental and sexual relations. Thus, W. Congreve, at the end of the 17th cent., writes:

> 'In the country, where great lubberly brothers slabber and kiss one another when they meet; . . . 'Tis not the fashion here.'[10]

At the same time the practice of kissing between friends of different sex, other than lovers and relatives by birth or marriage, fell out of use. It had done so in France a century earlier, and the restriction was copied by English society.[11] Increasing moral refinement, or perhaps the increase of restrictions necessitated by an extension of individualism, may be assigned as a cause.

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[1] *History of the New World called America*, ii. (Oxford, 1899) 144.

[2] Quoted by Ellis, p. 216.

[3] Lafcadio Hearn, *Out of the East*, London, 1895, p. 108.

[4] *Savage Africa*, London, 1863, p. 193.

[5] Ling Roth, p. 170.

[6] Ellis, p. 221.

[7] Curr, i. 343; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among N.-W.-Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane, 1897, p. 184.

[8] W. E. Roth, *loc. cit.*

[1] Tylor, *loc. cit.*; Ellis, p. 7. Under the early Empire the practice assumed remarkable forms in social intercourse; it was fashionable, for instance, to perfume the mouth.

[2] A. Grieve, 'Kiss' in *HDB* iii. 5.

[3] J. Jacobs, 'Kiss and Kissing' in *JE* vii. 516; Nyrop, p. 90.

[4] T. K. Cheyne, 'Salutations' in *EBi* iv. 4254.

[5] E. Venables, 'Kiss' in *DCA* ii. 902.

[6] *Ad Uxor.* ii. 4 (a pagan husband was reluctant that his Christian wife should greet one of the brethren with a kiss).

[7] *Apost. Const.* ii. 57, viii. 11.

[8] F. M. Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, London, 1901, p. 203 f.

[9] Nyrop, p. 168 f.

[10] *Way of the World*, Act iii.

[11] Ellis, p. 7.

In modern social life the kiss is confined to lovers, members of the family, and women-friends. Between fathers and sons, and between brothers it does not survive adolescence. In continental countries it still persists, especially in France, between male friends, and this fashion is preserved between sovereigns. The courtly use of kissing a lady's hand as a mark of respect came from the court life of Renaissance times. It is obsolete in common life, but clings to the etiquette of great personages. As already stated, the distinction is carefully preserved among continental peoples between the kiss of affection and the kiss of affianced love.

4. Social and religious usages.—(1) In the etiquette, natural or artificial, of salutation, the kiss is a central point, where the relations involve tenderness or veneration, or where these emotions are supposed. Its importance is illustrated by various facts of language. The 'embrace' and the 'salute' are synonymous with it. Where the act is obsolete, language preserves its memory. The Spaniard says 'I kiss your hands'; the Austrian describes an ordinary salutation by the phrase *Küss d'Hand*.[1]

According to Rabbi Akiba, the Medes kissed the hand only.[2] Odysseus, on his return, was kissed by his friends on the head, hands, and shoulders.[3] In Greece generally inferiors kissed the hand, breast, or knees of superiors.[4] In Persia equals in rank kissed each other on the mouth, and those slightly unequal on the cheek, while one much inferior in rank prostrated himself.[5] Esau 'fell on the neck' of Jacob and kissed him.[6] Among the Hebrews the cheek, forehead, beard, hands, and feet were kissed; some deny the practice of kissing on the lips. The phrase in the Song of Songs does not prove its existence, but there is no *a priori* reason against it in the case of the lover's kiss.[7] The customary kiss in modern Palestine is thus described:

> 'Each in turn places his head, face downwards, upon the other's left shoulder ["falling on the neck"], and afterwards kisses him upon the right cheek, and then reverses the action, by placing his head similarly upon the other's right shoulder, and kissing him upon the left cheek. . . . A man will place his right hand on his friend's left shoulder, and kiss his right cheek, and then lay his left hand on his right shoulder, and kiss his left cheek.' This is a second form. A third consists in the following process—the giver of the kiss lays his right hand under the head of his friend and supports it while he kisses it.[8] The last appears to be referred to in Joab's assassination of Amasa.[9] It has been suggested that, when Absalom to gain popularity kissed the people, he employed the second form.[10]

Equals saluted one another on the cheek or head; so Samuel saluted Saul. Inferiors kissed the hands of superiors. If, in the betrayal of Jesus, Judas kissed his Master on the face, it was an act of presumption.[11] The fact that the kiss was passed over without remark seems to show that it was, as it should have been from disciple to master, a kiss on the hand. The Prodigal Son would kiss his father's hands before being embraced and kissed.[12] Inferiors also kissed the feet (the woman 'who was a sinner,' and would-be borrowers),[13] or, again, the 'hem of the garment.' Vassals, in the Assyrian inscriptions, show submission by kissing the monarch's feet. Similar homage may be assigned to the phrase of Ps 2^{12}, 'kiss the Son.' As an act of piety, the Pharisees practised kissing the feet, as did the pious generally.[1] The humiliation of the symbolic act of Christ in kissing the disciples' feet has been preserved till recent times by some religious orders, and even by European monarchs. The foot of the pope is kissed in ceremonial audiences. By the year A.D. 847 it was said to be an ancient usage. There are grounds for supposing it to be derived from a usage in the Emperor-worship of Rome.[2] Prostration is an instinctive expression of fear, awe, or adoration; to clasp the knees, as was the custom with Greek suppliants, is equally instinctive. The act of kissing the feet is a refinement of these. The OT phrase 'licking the dust' is doubtfully referred to the kiss upon the feet. In ancient India it was a familiar salutation of respect.[3] The feudalistic aspect of the little court held by the old Roman *patronus* is illustrated by Martial's epigram, which complains of the burdensome civility of the kisses of clients.[4] In the court ceremonial of mediæval and modern Europe, the kiss on the cheek obtains between sovereigns; subjects kiss the sovereign's hand. In mediæval Europe the vassal thus saluted the lord, while it was not unusual to kiss a bishop's hand.[5] In modern Europe a kiss conveying blessing or reverence is usually on the forehead. 'In Morocco equals salute each other by joining their hands with a quick motion, separating them immediately, and kissing each his own hand.'[6] The Turk kisses his own hand, and then places it on his forehead. The Arab kisses his hand to the storm.[7] Such is the gesture of adoration to sun and moon referred to in the OT, and also used by the Greeks to the sun.[8] It was the Greek and Roman method of adoration. In explanation of the gesture, Oriental folklore agrees with European in identifying life or soul with the breath. More exactly, the thrown kiss is a symbolical act, transferring to an object at a distance merely the essence of the kiss.

The kiss in its legal aspect is a natural application of the ideas which produced hand-shaking and similar modes of contact. Mediæval knights kissed, as modern boxers shake hands, before the encounter. Reconciled foes kiss as a sign of peace.[9] It was specially in connexion with marriage that the kiss, *osclum*, *oscle*, was prominent. *Osclum* was a synonym generally for *pactum; osculata pax* was a peace confirmed by a kiss; *osclare* meant 'dotare'; and *osculum interveniens* was a term applied to gifts between engaged persons. If one of them died before marriage, the presents were returned should no kiss have been given at the betrothal.[10] It is significant that the kiss was symbolical of marriage as 'initium consummationis nuptiarum.' In old French and mediæval law generally the term *oscle* was applied to the principle that a married woman kissing or being kissed by another man than her husband was guilty of adultery.[11]

(2) Besides the permanent objects of the kiss, in family and analogous relations, the relations of superior and inferior, lord and vassal, sovereign and subject, there are many others which, with more or less permanence, have claimed the kiss as a religious service. It is very significant of the affectionate element in religion that the kiss should have played so large a part in its ritual. The meeting-point between the social and the religious

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[1] Tylor, *loc. cit.*
[2] *Ber.* 8*b*.
[3] *Odyssey*, xxi. 224.
[4] Tylor, *loc. cit.*
[5] Herod. i. 134.
[6] Gn 33^4; see 45^{14}.
[7] Cheyne denies the kiss on the mouth in Gn 41^{40}, Pr 24^{26} (*loc. cit.*).
[8] J. Neil, *Kissing*, p. 37.
[9] 2 S 20^9.
[10] Neil, *loc. cit.*
[11] G. M. Mackie, 'Kiss' in *DCG* i. 935; Cheyne, *loc. cit.*; Lk $22^{47f.}$
[12] Lk 15^{20}.
[13] Lk 7^{45}, Sir 29^5.

[1] *Baba bathra*, 16*a*; Jer. *Ḳid.* i. 61*c*.
[2] H. Thurston, 'Kiss' in *CE* viii. 665 (said to have been instituted by Diocletian).
[3] *SBE* ii. [1897] 190.
[4] Martial, xii. 59.
[5] J. Bingham, *Ant. of the Chr. Church*, London, 1843–45, i. 128 f.
[6] Westermarck, *MI* ii. 151.
[7] C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1886, ii. 67.
[8] Job 31^{26-28}; Lucian, *de Salt.* 17.
[9] Nyrop, p. 107 f.
[10] Bingham, vii. 321 f.
[11] C. Dufresne du Cange, *Glossarium* Paris, 1733–36, *s.v.* 'Osculum,' vi. 72 ff.

aspect of the kiss is perhaps to be found in the application of the salute to saints and religious heroes. Thus, Joseph kissed Jacob, and his disciples kissed Paul.[1] Joseph kissed his dead father, and the custom is retained in our civilization of imprinting a farewell kiss on dead relatives. To suggest, however, that the act of Joseph proves the worship of Jacob as a divine being is against psychology.[2] All that can be said is that so fine a human sentiment is on the border-line between social and religious feeling. In mediæval Europe there was a similar feeling about the kiss of state. This is shown by the instances of Henry II. and St. Thomas of Canterbury, and of Richard I. and St. Hugh.[3] Similarly in social life generally; it is said that among the Welsh the kiss was used only on special occasions, and a husband could put away his wife for kissing another man, however innocently.[4] The early Christians exploited the social value of the kiss. Though in strong contrast to the Welsh custom, this is equally sacramental. It has been argued that the ritualistic 'kiss of peace' alone obtained among the Christians, and that the social salute was not practised. But the evidence is strong enough to prove the latter custom.[5] For St. Ambrose this was 'pietatis et caritatis pignus.'[6] The custom involved a peculiar sentiment, if we consider it in connexion with the Christian ideal and practice of love, in which passion was encouraged, though chastity was enforced (see art. CHASTITY [Christian]).

In the early Church the baptized were kissed by the celebrant and the congregation after the ceremony.[7] Roman Catholic ritual still includes the kiss bestowed on the newly ordained by the bishop. The bishop on consecration and the king when crowned received the kiss.[8] The kiss bestowed on penitents after absolution was connected with the kiss received by the Prodigal Son. The practice of giving a farewell kiss to the dead is probably connected with the old Italian rite of receiving the soul of the dying in his last breath. In the 6th cent. the Council of Auxerre (A.D. 578) prohibited the kissing of the dead.[9] Penitents were enjoined to kiss sacred objects.[10]

5. The kiss of peace.—First mentioned in the 2nd cent. by Justin,[11] the kiss of peace was one of the most distinctive elements in the Christian ritual. To Clement of Alexandria it was a 'mystery.'[12] The εἰρήνη was a preliminary rite in the primitive mass. Conybeare has suggested that it was derived from an institution of the synagogue.[13] Philo speaks of a 'kiss of harmony' like that between the elements; the Word of God brings hostile things together in concord and the kiss of love.[14] However that may be, the *pax* became a feature of both Western and Eastern ritual, more conspicuously in the former. St. Cyril writes:

> 'This kiss is the sign that our souls are united, and that we banish all remembrance of injury.'[15]

This kiss seems to have been given at the beginning of the offertory, between the washing of hands and the *sursum corda*. But, later, the kiss was in close connexion with the Communion. It has therefore been conjectured that the *pax* was twice given.[16] In the modern Roman ritual it is given only at High Mass, and rarely to any of the congregation. The celebrant kisses the corporal, and presents his left cheek to the deacon, with the formula *pax tecum*, answered by *et cum spiritu tuo*. The deacon conveys the kiss to the subdeacon, and he to the other clergy. In the Greek liturgy the celebrant says, 'Peace be to all,' and kisses the gifts, while the deacon kisses his own stole.[1] On Easter Sunday in the same church the congregation kiss one another.[2]

The fact that the Christians of the time of the younger Pliny were called upon, when arrested, to 'adore' the effigy of the Emperor was sufficient to emphasize the ritual importance of the kiss. *Adoratio* ('the act of carrying to the mouth'), the Roman form of homage and worship, consisted in raising the right hand to the lips, kissing it, and then waving it in the direction of the adored object,[3] after which the worshipper turned his body to the right.[4] During the ceremony the head was covered, except when Saturn or Hercules was adored. Plutarch suggests fantastic reasons for exceptional uses in which the worshipper turned from right to left.[5]

But both Greeks and Romans employed the kiss direct in worship. Cicero observes that the lips and beard of the statue of Heracles at Agrigentum were almost worn away by the kisses of the devout.[6] The kiss indirect, or the kiss at a distance, may be described as a natural extension of the direct, capable of development by any people independently. But it is a curious fact that it can be traced from Græco-Roman civilization to that of modern Europe, where, however, it appears to be instinctive in children.

The adoration of the Roman Emperors was influenced by Oriental ceremonial. It consisted in bowing or kneeling, touching the robe, and putting the hand to the lips, or kissing the robe; a variation was the kissing of the feet or knees.[7] It does not seem to have become the fashion before Diocletian.

The kiss of homage in the Middle Ages was so important a part of the ceremony that *osculum* became a synonym for *homagium*.[8] The vassal kissed the lord's feet (rarely his thigh).[9] Afterwards he offered a present for the privilege, a *baise-main*, a term which shows the connexion or confusion with the equally prevalent fashion of kissing the hand of the sovereign. It is said that Rolf the Ganger, the first Duke of Normandy, when receiving the province as a fief from Charles the Simple, kissed the monarch's feet by lifting them to his mouth as he stood erect.[10] When homage was paid in the lord's absence, the vassal kissed the door, lock, or bolt of his castle; this was *baiser l'huis* or *le verrouil*.[11] Mediæval charters make pretence of kissing the king's feet.

6. Death by kissing.—Rabbinical lore includes a unique fancy, explanatory of the death of the righteous. According to this, the death of a favourite of God is the result of a kiss from God (*bi-nᵉshîḳāh*). Such a death was the easiest of all modes, and was reserved for the most pious. Thus died Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Aaron, Moses, and Miriam.[12] There is a legend that, as St. Monica lay dying, a child kissed her on the breast, and the saint at once passed away. Italian folklore preserves the Hebrew idea in one of its phrases for death: 'addormentarsi nel bacio del Signore.'[13]

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[1] Gn 50^1, Ac 20^{37}.
[2] Jacobs, *loc. cit.*
[3] Thurston, *loc. cit.*
[4] Ellis, p. 217.
[5] See Thurston, *loc. cit.*
[6] *Hexaem.* VI. ix. 68.
[7] Cyprian, *ad Fid. Epp.* lxiv. (lviii.) 4. Similarly in lower stages of culture, a girl after 'initiation' is kissed by her female kin (*JAI* xx. 118).
[8] Thurston, *loc. cit.*
[9] *Ib.*
[10] Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Adoratio horarum,' i. 89.
[11] *Apol.* i. 65.
[12] Among the terms used are εἰρήνη, *pax*, *osculum pacis*, *osculum sanctum*, φίλημα ἅγιον, φίλημα ἀγάπης; the last three, together with ἀσπασμός, *salutatio*, show its general identity with the Christian social kiss.
[13] *Exp*, 4th ser., ix. [1894] 461.
[14] Thurston, *loc. cit.*
[15] *Catech.* xxiii. 3.
[16] Thurston, *loc. cit.*

[1] Thurston, *loc. cit.*
[2] Nyrop, p. 106.
[3] Apuleius, *Metam.* iv. 28.
[4] Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 25; *CIG* 5980.
[5] *Numa*, 14.
[6] *In Verrem actio secunda*, IV. xliii. 94.
[7] W. Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*, *s.v.* 'Adoratio.'
[8] Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Osculum.'
[9] Nyrop, p. 124.
[10] Nyrop, p. 122 f.
[11] *Ib.* 125.
[12] Jacobs, *loc. cit.*; *Ber.* 8*a*; *Baba bathra*, 17*a*; *Deut. R.* xi.
[13] Nyrop, p. 96; 'to fall asleep in the Lord's kiss.' The kiss of a ghost (in other folklore) produces death (*ib.* 171).

7. Kissing sacred objects.—Kissing the image of a god was a recognized rite of adoration among both Greeks and Romans. The early Arabs had the same rite. On leaving and entering the house they kissed the house-gods.[1] In the Eleusinian Mysteries the sacred objects were kissed.[2] The toe of St. Peter's statue is kissed by Roman Catholics. The Muslim kissed the Ka'ba at Mecca. In the wall there is a black stone believed by Muslims to be one of the stones of paradise. It was once white, but has been blackened by the kisses of sinful but believing lips.[3] The Hebrews often lapsed into the idolatrous practice; Hosea speaks of 'kissing calves'; the image of Baal was kissed.[4] Together with kneeling (*q.v.*), the kiss comprises belief and homage. The Hebrews kissed the floor of the Temple,[5] and to this day, in the Hebrew ritual, it is the practice to kiss the *ṣîṣîth* of the *ṭallîth* when putting it on, the *mᵉzūzāh* at the door when entering or leaving, and the Scroll of the Law when about to read or to bless it.[6] It is even customary among Jews, though not obligatory, when a Hebrew book is dropped, to kiss it. *Kissing the Book* is a case, surviving (as a real living ceremony) in the highest civilization, of primitive conceptions of the oath. These were expressed in various forms.[7]

> One method of 'charging an oath with supernatural energy is to touch, or to establish some kind of contact with, a holy object on the occasion when the oath is taken.'[8]

The view of Westermarck, that *mana* or *baraka* is thus imparted to the oath, is further developed when the name of a supernatural being is introduced; thus the modern English ceremony retains the words, 'So help me God.' A complementary aspect is supplied by forms whose object is to prevent perjury.

> The Angami Nāgas 'place the barrel of a gun, or a spear, between their teeth, signifying by this ceremony that, if they do not act up to their agreement, they are prepared to fall by either of the two weapons.'[9] In Tibetan law-courts 'the great oath' is taken 'by the person placing a holy scripture on his head, and sitting on the reeking hide of an ox and eating a part of the ox's heart.'[10] 'Hindus swear on a copy of the Sanskrit *haribans* [*Harivaṁśa*].'[11]

The European ceremony of kissing the book of the New Testament after taking the oath in a law-court connects in its material form rather with the kiss of reverence, as instanced in the kissing of relics and sacred objects generally. But in essence there is still some of the primitive sense of responsibility by contact, rendered stronger by the invocation of the name of the deity. Derived indirectly from the Græco-Roman ritual kissing of sacred objects and the Hebrew reverence for the Scroll of the Law, it was early developed by the Christians into their characteristic ceremony of oath-taking. Chrysostom writes:

> 'But do thou, if nothing else, at least reverence the very book thou holdest out to be sworn by, open the gospel thou takest in thy hands to administer the oath, and, hearing what Christ therein saith of oaths, tremble and desist.'[12]

Ingeltrude is represented repeating the words:

> 'These four Evangelists of Christ our God which I hold in my own hands and kiss with my mouth.'[13]

In the former quotation the act of kissing can only be inferred from the word 'reverence.' The holding of the book is less definite than the Hebrew rite of placing the hands on the scroll when swearing. Even in the Middle Ages an oath was often taken merely by laying the hand on the Missal.[1] The Lombards swore lesser oaths by consecrated weapons, the greater on the Gospels, but it is not certain whether they kissed the book.[2] An oath ratified by contact with a sacred object was a 'corporal oath'; the object was the *halidome*, the equivalent of the Greek *ὅρκος*, oath and object being identified. No doubt contact by means of the lips was at an early date regarded as more efficacious than contact by means of the hand, and thus the more primitive notion was superimposed upon that of adoration. In Islām the rite is that usual in adoration and does not include the kiss.[3] In modern England a detail to be noted is that the hand holding the book must be ungloved. The book varies according to the creed; a Jew is sworn on the OT; a Roman Catholic on the Douai Testament. The term 'book,' employed with special reference to the oath upon the NT, has been regular in England since the 14th cent. at least.[4]

Among Anglican clergy it is customary to kiss the cross of the stole before putting it on. The Catholic Church enjoins the duty of kissing relics, the Gospels, the Cross, consecrated candles and palms, the hands of the clergy, and the vestments and utensils of the liturgy. It was formerly part of the Western use that the celebrant should kiss the host. He now kisses the corporal. The altar is regarded as typical of Christ, and as such is kissed by the celebrant.[5] In the Greek Church relics are kissed.

The 'kiss of peace' was in mediæval times the subject of a curious simplification of ritual, by which it became, as it were, a material object. In the 12th or 13th cent., for reasons of convenience, the *instrumentum pacis*, or *osculatorium*, was introduced.[6] This was a plaque of metal, ivory, or wood, carved with various designs, and fitted with a handle. It was brought to the altar for the celebrant to kiss, and then to each of the congregation at the rails. This is the pax-board or pax-brede of the museums.[7]

8. Metaphor and myth.—The metaphorical applications of the idea of the kiss are not numerous. In some phrases it expresses a light touch. Generally it implies close contact or absolute reconciliation or acquiescence;[8] to kiss the dust is to be overthrown; to kiss the rod is to submit to chastisement;[9] to kiss the cup is to drink. Philostratus inspired Ben Jonson's image of the loved one leaving a kiss in the cup.[10] A 'butterfly kiss' is a light one.

Folklore developed in interesting ways the connexion between the emotional gesture and the ideas of magic and charms. Relics were kissed to regain health. Conversely, the kiss of a sacred person, a specialized form of his touch, cures the leper, as in the case of St. Martin.[11] Some similar association of thought may attach to the nursery practice of 'kissing the place to make it well'; gamesters used to kiss the cards in order to secure luck with them; an Alpine peasant kisses his hand before receiving a present. Pages in the French Court kissed any article which they were given to carry.[12] A famous instance of symbolism is the kiss bestowed by Brutus on his mother-earth—an application of the kiss of greeting. But in German folklore to kiss the ground is a synonym for to die.[1] The privilege in English folk-custom known as 'kissing under the mistletoe' is a Christmas festal practice connected by Frazer with the licence of the Saturnalia. It may have originated independently as an expression of festivity. Greek, Latin, and Teutonic mythology employed the motive of unbinding a spell by a kiss—*le fier baiser* of Arthurian romances, which changes a dragon into the maiden who had been enchanted.[2] The Sleeping Beauty awakened by the kiss of the lover is a widely-distributed motive. An analogy, without actual derivation, is to be found in many primitive cases of cancelling a tabu. Thus in Australian ceremony bodily contact, analogous to the kiss, in various forms, removes the tabu between two persons, such as the celebrant and the subject of a rite. An analogy may be seen between Teutonic and early Christian ritual in the connexion drawn out by Grimm between minne-drinking and the kiss. He finds this both in sorcery and in sacrificial rites.[3] Closely parallel to the magical power of the kiss in breaking tabu and restoring to consciousness is the myth-motive in which a kiss produces both forgetfulness and remembrance. This capacity is evidently based on human experience, and is significant in connexion with the practice of the kiss in religion. It brings to one focus the kiss of love and the kiss of adoration. In the psychology of adolescence the kiss produces a forgetfulness of old conditions and awakens the subject to a new life. The kiss appears to have no symbol in art. European children and adolescents express it in writing by a cross, perhaps merely an accidental choice. The Slavic Jews style an insincere kiss as a 'kiss with dots.' Some Rabbis explain that Esau's kiss was insincere (Gn 33⁴), and every letter of the word וישקהו is dotted by the Massoretes.[4]

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[1] J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentumes*, Berlin, 1887, p. 105.

[2] C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, 1829, p. 135.

[3] *SBE* vi. (1900) p. xiii.

[4] Hos 13^2, 1 K 19^{18}.

[5] *Suk.* 53*a*.

[6] Jacobs, *loc. cit.*

[7] See *MI* ii. 118 ff.

[8] *Ib.* 119.

[9] *Ib.*, quoting J. Butler, *Travels and Adventures in Assam*, London, 1855, p. 154.

[10] L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 569, note 7.

[11] *MI* ii. 120.

[12] *Ad pop. Antiochenum homil.* xv. 5 (*PG* xlix. 160).

[13] Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Juramentum,' iv. 451.

[1] Nyrop, p. 119.

[2] Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Juramentum.'

[3] The right hand is placed on the Qur'ān, and the head is brought down touching the book.

[4] *OED*, *s.v.* 'Book,' quoting document of 1389: 'Eche of hem had sworen on þe bok.'

[5] Thurston, *loc. cit.*

[6] Nyrop, p. 120.

[7] Thurston, *loc. cit.*

[8] Cf. Ps. 85^{10}.

[9] Similarly in slang, to kiss the stocks, the clink, the counter; to kiss the hare's foot = be late.

[10] Derived from the Greek and Roman method of drinking a health.

[11] Nyrop, pp. 121, 90.

[12] *Ib.* 168. 136 ff.

LITERATURE.—E. B. Tylor, 'Salutations' in *EBr*¹¹; H. Ling Roth, in *JAI* xix. [1890]; H. Thurston, in *CE*, *s.v.*; J. Jacobs, in *JE*, *s.v.*; H. Havelock Ellis, 'The Origins of the Kiss' in *Sexual Selection in Man*, Philadelphia, 1905; C. Lombroso, in *Nouvelle Revue*, xxi. [1897]; C. Nyrop, *The Kiss and its History*, tr. W. F. Harvey, London, 1901; J. Neil, *Kissing: its Curious Bible Mentions*, London, 1885; E. W. Hopkins, 'The Sniff-kiss in ancient India,' *JAOS* xxviii. [1907] 120–134. For an elaborate schematization of the love-kiss in India see R. Schmidt, *Beitr. zur ind. Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 453–477.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

KISTNA (Skr. *Kṛṣṇa*, 'the dark one').—One of the great rivers of S. India, which, like the Godāvarī (*q.v.*) and Kāverī, to which it is inferior in sanctity, flows nearly across the entire peninsula from W. to E. It rises in the Mahābaleśwar plateau of the W. Ghāṭs, only 40 miles from the Arabian Sea.

At its source is an ancient temple of Śiva, inside which the infant stream pours out of a stone formed in the shape of a cow's mouth (*gaumukhi*). This place, known as Kṛṣṇabāī, 'the lady Kṛṣṇa,' is a favourite resort of pilgrims. Fifteen miles down stream is the old Buddhist town of Wāī, one of the most sacred places in its course, with a group of cave-temples and several later Hindu shrines (*BG* xix. [1885] 610 ff.). Farther on it passes close by the town of Sātāra, Karād, or Karhād, at the junction with the Koyna and Māhulī, where it is joined by the Yennā. In the Bijāpur District, Sangam, at its junction with the Mahāprabhā, possesses a temple of some sanctity, dedicated to Śiva under the title of Saṅgameśvara, 'lord of the sacred meeting of the waters,' the site of an annual religious fair. Thence passing through the dominions of the Nizām of Haidarābād, it reaches the Bay of Bengal in the British Kistna District. Here Bezwāda contains some rock-caves of the Buddhist period and a few ancient Hindu temples.

LITERATURE.—*BG* xix. [1885] 13 f., 472, 516, 610, xxi. [1884] 10, xxiii. [1884] 7, 675, xxiv. [1886] 8 f. For the Bezwāda caves, J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880, p. 95 ff.; S. H. Bilgrami and C. Willmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions*, Bombay, 1883, i. 11 f.

W. CROOKE.

KIZIL BASH.—Kizil Bash, 'Red Heads,' is the name by which are denoted the members of a sect distributed throughout the whole of Asia Minor. They call themselves 'Alevis; their nickname, which in Persia and Afghanistan was and is given to other peoples also, originates doubtless from the colour of their head-dress. Their total number is estimated at more than a million; they form an important section of the population of the vilayets of Sivas (about 305,000), Erzerum (107,000), Angora, and Mamurete ul-Aziz (Kharput), and in certain districts constitute even the majority. Their language is Turkish or Kurdish. Though reckoned officially as Musalmān Sunnites, in reality they are not such; they practise Islāmism only in a formal way to avoid persecution. When they think they are in safety, they do not attend the mosques, read the Qur'ān, say the prayers, or perform the Muhammadan ablutions. Except in the presence of a Sunnite, their women are not veiled. They drink wine, they do not observe Ramaḍān, and some of them do not practise circumcision or shave the head and other parts of the body as the Turks do. Moreover, they cherish a profound aversion to the Turks, and regard them as unclean; when they are obliged to entertain them, they even go so far as to pollute the dishes with which they serve them. On the other hand, they show great goodwill in their villages towards the Christians. They have secret beliefs and practices which they reveal only with extreme reluctance, and no one has hitherto been able to penetrate, except very imperfectly, the mystery with which they are surrounded.

Their sect, like some Christian Churches, has a hierarchical organization. They have priests called *dédéhs*, whose dignity is hereditary from father to son, and who are the necessary intermediaries between God and the rest of the community. This sacerdotal caste is subject to a species of bishops. These themselves render obedience to two patriarchs, who are regarded as descendants of 'Alī, and who are invested with a sacrosanct authority. One of these is the Shaikh of Khubyār (about 34 miles to the N.W. of Sivas), a popular place of pilgrimage. It is certain that the Kizil Bash possess a sacred book, probably liturgic in character, but as yet no part of it has been made public.

Three superimposed stratifications in the religion of the Kizil Bash may be distinguished.

(1) There is an old *pagan foundation* going back to the ancient Anatolian beliefs, tinged with Persian Mazdæism, which were practised in the country before its conversion to Christianity. The Kizil Bash regard certain heights or certain rocks as sacred, *e.g.* near Kara Hissar (Taylor, *Journal Royal Geogr. Society*, xxxviii. [1868] 297), and on holidays they sacrifice sheep and fowls on these summits. The trees which grow there—usually pines—are surrounded with superstitious regard, and no one is allowed to carry an axe near them (cf. F. and E. Cumont, *Voyage dans le Pont*, Brussels, 1906, p. 172 ff.). The Kizil Bash, like the ancient Mazdæans, worship streams and especially springs. They also venerate fire; when they build a house, they light a fire with great ceremony, and this must be kept burning as long as the house remains standing. The place of honour is near the hearth, and to spit there is sacrilege. A fire-

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[1] Nyrop, p. 130.

[2] *Ib.* 94.

[3] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, p. 1102.

[4] Jacobs, *loc. cit.*

altar hewn out in the rock is still the object of devotion at Manasgerd (C. Wilson, *Handbook of Asia Minor*, London, 1895, p. 250). They worship the sun at its rising and setting, and a day in which it does not appear is for them a day of mourning. They also worship the moon.

Everybody in the East accuses the Kizil Bash of giving themselves up to orgies in their nocturnal ceremonies (cf. below), when, the lights out, each man has commerce with a woman taken by chance. That is why the Turks call them, in derision, *terah sonderan*, 'extinguishers of the light.' It is difficult to know what degree of truth there is in this imputation. But it is remarkable that the same promiscuity was, during their feast of 1st January, laid to the reproach of the Paulicians in the 9th cent., who were distributed throughout the same regions as the Kizil Bash of to-day (Manichæan formula of abjuration, in *PG* i. 1469: *μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἑσπερινὴν μέθην ἀποσβεννύουσι τὰ φῶτα, σαρκικῶς τε ἀλλήλοις ἐνασελγαίνουσι, καὶ μεδεμιᾶς ὅλως φειδομένοις φύσεως ἢ συγγενίας ἢ ἡλικίας*). It is possible that those supposed acts of debauchery may be an inheritance from the sacred prostitution of the worship of Mā and Anaïtis. This would also be true of the custom, if it were well attested, of offering a young girl every year to the *dédéhs*, whose son, they say, if one is born, becomes a priest, or whose daughter must remain a virgin and set herself apart for the cult (C^te de Cholet, *Arménie, Kurdistan et Mésopotamie*, Paris, 1892, p. 96).

(2) The influence of *Christianity* is evident both in the beliefs and in the rites of the sect. The Kizil Bash teach that God is One in Three Persons, and that the principal incarnation of God, before 'Ālī, is Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, who intercedes with God for humanity. They are devoted to Mary, who is, they believe, the Mother of God, and who conceived without ceasing to be a virgin. At the same time, they acknowledge the existence of five powers, lower than the Trinity, mediators between the Supreme Being and man, analogous to the *yatīm* of the Nosairis, a kind of archangels which are perhaps derived from the Iranian Amesha Spentas (*q.v.*). Moreover, they assume the existence of twelve ministers of God, who correspond to the twelve apostles and the twelve *naqībs* of the Nosairis. Unlike the Yezidis, they offer no worship to Satan, whom they regard as the irreconcilable adversary of God. Like the Nosairis, they believe that at the end of the ages the spirit of evil will come to fight a final battle against the last incarnation of Jesus. Mazdæan dualism is here combined with Christian ideas.

The Kizil Bash have a ceremony which they celebrate by night on certain holidays—the 10th of the month of Muḥarram was mentioned to the present writer—and also at irregular intervals, when a *dédéh* visits their villages.

> 'Accompanying himself with a musical instrument, the priest who officiates sings prayers in honour of 'Ālī, Jesus, Moses, and David. . . . The priest has a willow cane which suggests the *barsom* [*q.v.*] of the Avesta. He dips it in water while he says the prayers. The water thus consecrated is afterwards distributed throughout the houses. In the course of the ceremony those who take part make public confession of their sins, after the manner of the early Christians. The priest prescribes various penances, frequently in the form of a fine, in money or in kind. Then they put out the lights and engage in lamentations over the faults of which they have been guilty. When the lights are re-kindled, the priest pronounces the absolution; then he takes some slices of bread and a cup of wine or some analogous liquid, consecrates them solemnly, dips the bread in the wine, and distributes it to those of the company who have obtained absolution. . . . Among the Kurd Kizil Bash a sheep is sacrificed according to a certain rite after the public confession, and portions of it are distributed by the priest along with the bread and the wine. . . . The Kizil Bash celebrate Easter on the same Sunday as the Armenians, and they pay homage to several Christian saints, as, for instance, St. Sergius' (Grenard, in *JA* x. iii. 516).

(3) What the Kizil Bash have borrowed from *Islāmism* affiliates them with the Shī'ites rather than with the Sunnites. They have adopted the legend of 'Ālī, whom they regard as an incarnation of God the Father, while Jesus is an incarnation of the Son. Like the Shī'ites, they fast during the first twelve days of Muḥarram, and bewail the death of Ḥasan and Ḥusain. Some say that they regard Muhammad as the hypostasis of the Spirit, the Paraclete, but the veneration which they show towards the prophet is only formal; in reality they refuse to credit him with any divine inspiration.

To sum up: the religion of the Kizil Bash is in many respects a survival of the ancient paganism of Anatolia, which in the east of the peninsula was deeply marked by the die of Mazdæism (cf. F. Cumont, *Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*², Paris, 1909, p. 213 ff., Eng. tr., Chicago, 1911, p. 143 ff.). The country population of these regions was imperfectly and slowly converted to Christianity, and we know that colonies of Magi dwelt there until at least the end of the 5th cent. (cf. F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1895–99, i. 10), and perhaps until the Musalmān conquest. Further, in the 12th cent., Nerses Shnorhali gives interesting details regarding the 'Sons of the Sun,' who worshipped the stars, and who venerated, among trees, the poplar (F. C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth*, Oxford, 1898, p. 159). In the 8th and 9th centuries it was in the countries inhabited by the Kizil Bash that the dualistic Paulicians (*q.v.*) found their most numerous adherents, and even after their extermination by the Byzantine emperors their teaching probably did not cease to exert an influence there. Finally, the relations of the Kizil Bash with Shī'ism are probably explained by their forced conversion to Islām under the Seljuks, at a time when the Persian influence was powerful, perhaps also by the transportation of Shī'ites of Turkish origin into Kurdistan in the time of the Sulṭāns Salīm I. and Sulaimān I. (16th cent.). It is much to be desired that a copy of the sacred book of the sect should be obtained, or that a transcription should be made at least of the hymns of its service. It would then be possible to clear up the mysteries surrounding this very curious religion which retains numerous disciples even in our own times.

LITERATURE.—R. Oberhummer and H. Zimmerer, *Durch Syrien und Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1899, p. 393 ff., where citations will be found from the more ancient authors; F. Grenard (Consul of France at Sivas) has collected some new and accurate information in *JA* x. iii. [1904] 511–522. The writer of this article has added here some facts gathered by himself among the Kizil Bash of the region of Amazia in 1900.

FRANZ CUMONT.

KNEELING.—Kneeling may be described as a natural reaction to the emotions of self-abasement and supplication. As such, it has been observed among unsophisticated peoples. In a less degree only than prostration, it symbolizes inferiority and dependence, by the abandonment of the erect posture of human active life. According to Tylor,[1] kneeling as a ceremonial posture prevails in the 'middle stages of culture.' The same limitation, however, applies to prostration as still practised in Islām and Hinduism. Both in the middle and in the higher stages kneeling is more or less constantly associated with a third gesture—bowing, a symbolic expression of respect or reverence. It would be quite erroneous to 'derive' ceremonial kneeling from prostration, or bowing from kneeling. But certain forms of the bow, surviving in modern etiquette, include some bending of one or both knees: such are the curtsey, still made by ladies at court, and the bow of ceremony in which one foot is moved backward while the knee of the other leg is bent.

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[1] Art. 'Salutations' in *EBr*¹¹ xxiv. 94.

Primitive peoples hardly developed kneeling as a ceremonial posture in either of the two spheres in which it obtains—social etiquette and religious ritual. What generally corresponds to kneeling in the latter sphere is squatting on the heels, still the Muslim mode of kneeling and certainly a primitive posture, though originally expressing attention rather than reverence. It is employed largely by the Australian natives in their ceremonies.[1] As the stages of the higher barbarism are reached, kneeling appears, developed from the natural supplicatory posture. In Central Africa it is a tribute paid to rank. When a chief passes, the native drops on his knees and bows his head.

> 'When two grandees meet, the junior leans forward, bends his knees, and places the palms of his hands on the ground.'[2]

At higher stages prostration is usual among Oriental peoples, except the Chinese, who bow, or kneel and bow, according to the rank. To kings they kneel.[3] It is chiefly in Semitic and Græco-Roman culture that kneeling has been prevalent as a ceremonial posture.

In Greek and Roman civilization much prominence was given to the suppliant and the act of supplication, just as was the case in the Middle Ages with the practice of sanctuary. In both ceremonial customs kneeling, the natural posture of earnest entreaty and self-abandonment, was the constant attitude. Such phrases as 'nixæ genibus' (Plaut. *Rud.* III. iii. 33) and 'genibus minor' (Horace, *Ep.* I. xii. 28) are common in metaphor. It seems that in the Assyrian States not only subjection to kings but worship of gods was expressed by kneeling.[4] In the latter case it may be assumed as certain that the attitude has no essential connexion with prayer, as in the Christian use; the king and the god alike were, it appears, pre-eminently despotic, and court and temple ceremonial had similar forms expressing similar ideas, the chief of which was submission.

Among organized religions Christianity alone has given special significance to the posture of kneeling. During half its history the posture signified penitence; during the rest it signified prayer. At the change (marked by the Reformation) it was, by a curious association of ideas, identified with adoration or idolatry.

The process by which Christianity adopted kneeling as a ceremonial posture is somewhat uncertain in detail. The Hebrews, deriving many elements of their worship from Mesopotamian cults, may be supposed to have adopted kneeling from that source, and as a posture of humility it is found in the OT.[5] The Talmud speaks of bending the knee with the face touching the ground—a still more Oriental gesture,[6] almost identical with prostration. Elijah on Carmel 'put his face between his knees'[7]—a similar posture. Kneeling to Baal[8] may have been a form of prostration. Kneeling in prayer is mentioned in the cases of Solomon, Ezra, and Daniel. At the dedication of the Temple Solomon knelt on his knees with his hands spread up to heaven. Ezra fell upon his knees and spread out his hands unto the Lord. Daniel knelt upon his knees and prayed.[9] The posture in those three cases seems identical with the Christian.

The Jews usually prayed standing, but knelt in prayer on special occasions of solemnity or distress.[1] Hannah stood and prayed.[2] It was the same in the time of Christ; He said, 'When ye stand praying.' In the parable both Pharisee and publican stood to pray.[3] The posture of supplication or homage referred to in Mk 10^{17} and Lk 5^{8} (προσκύνησις) seems to be complete prostration. Kneeling in prayer occurs once only in the Gospels, when Christ Himself knelt during the Agony.[4]

The first Christians may be assumed to have, like the Founder, usually stood in prayer, following the practice which was common to both Hebrew and Græco-Roman ritual. The catacomb frescoes represent the *orantes* standing with outstretched arms.[5] But earlier than this, at the period represented by the Acts, kneeling appears to have become a characteristic posture. When Stephen knelt just before his death, after the stoning, no posture of prayer can be assumed.[6] It seems as if the posture were so regular a feature of the faith that it was applied indiscriminately on every occasion by the chroniclers. But there is no doubt that the attitude was a feature of the faith at this time. Peter knelt down and prayed; Paul knelt and prayed with them all; 'we kneeled down on the shore and prayed.'[7] For St. Paul kneeling and praying are synonymous.[8] In view of the catacomb evidence and of that of the next stage, it is clear that there is some prejudice in the evidence of Acts. But clearly there is a presumption in favour of the early adoption of kneeling for some aspect of Christian worship. The facts may perhaps be reconciled in this way: the pioneers of the faith probably emphasized the penitent and suppliant posture (which was familiar both to Jews and to Greeks and Romans) on all possible occasions;[9] but, when the faith attained a secure position, the posture was relegated to its traditional use. The case would thus be a microcosm of the change of attitude shown by Christianity itself as a whole.

By the time of the *Shepherd* of Hermas (the middle of the 2nd cent.) kneeling had become familiar in Christian prayer and worship.[10] The position has been summed up thus for the ante-Nicene period:

> 'The recognized attitude for prayer, liturgically speaking, was standing, but kneeling was early introduced for penitential, and perhaps ordinary ferial, seasons, and was frequently, though not necessarily always, adopted in private prayer.'[11]

The strange thing is that in neither the pre- nor the post-Pentecostal period has kneeling a penitential aspect. This may possibly have been a special development of the Hebrew solemn use of the posture, as in mourning, or of the Græco-Roman and Mesopotamian use in supplication or homage. However that may be, kneeling has ever since in Roman Catholicism retained a primary connexion with penitence. In private prayer it is still, as it has been since the 2nd cent., usual but not obligatory. In public adoration it is regular, though prostration may be used.

But as the posture for public prayer kneeling has never been regular except in Protestantism. The subject requires some detail. Origen in the 3rd cent. is one of the earliest writers to emphasize the penitential meaning; if forgiveness is required, he says, kneeling is essential.[12] St. Ambrose, in the 4th cent., writes:

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[1] See Spencer-Gillen, *passim*.

[2] J. Thomson, *Central African Lakes*, London, 1881, p. 318; V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, do. 1877, i. 226.

[3] S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, New York, 1883, i. 801.

[4] L. Ginzberg, in *JE*, *s.v.* 'Adoration.'

[5] 2 K 1^{13}.

[6] *Ber.* 30*b*.

[7] 1 K 18^{42}.

[8] 1 K 19^{18}.

[9] 1 K 8^{54}, Ezr 9^{5}, Dn 6^{10}. Joining the hands (contrary to the Jewish, Græco-Roman, and early Christian gesture of outstretched arms, retained by the celebrant in the Consecration) seems derived from the mediæval practice of homage

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[1] See F. T. Bergh, in *CE*, *s.v.* 'Genuflexion.'

[2] 1 S 1^{26}.

[3] Mk 11^{25}, Lk $18^{11.13}$, Mt 6^{5}.

[4] Lk 22^{41}.

[5] Bergh, *loc. cit.* The fact may indicate a difference of ritual between the Italian and the Levantine Christians.

[6] Ac 7^{60}.

[7] Ac 9^{40} 20^{36} 21^{5}.

[8] Eph 3^{14}, Ph 2^{10}.

[9] F. S. Ranken (*DCG*, *s.v.* 'Kneeling') ascribes the Christian development of kneeling to Hellenistic influence.

[10] Hermas, *Past.* i. 1; Tertullian, *ad Scap.* iv.

[11] F. E. Warren, *Liturgy of the Ante-Nicene Church*, London, 1897, p. 145.

[12] *de Orat.* 31 (*PG* xi 552).

> 'The knee is made flexible, by which the offence of the Lord is mitigated, wrath appeased, grace called forth.'[1]

Pseudo-Alcuin has the general explanation:

> 'By such posture of the body we show forth our humbleness of heart.'[2]

As early as Tertullian's time a distinction was marked; he observes that on Sundays and during Pentecost prayer was not to be said kneeling.[3] The implication that a divergence of use existed is proved by the ruling of the Council of Nicæa, more than a century later:

> 'Because there are some who kneel on the Lord's Day and on the days of Pentecost, that all things may be uniformly performed in every parish or diocese, it seems good to the Holy Synod that the prayers be by all made to God, standing.'

Standing was the attitude of praise and thanksgiving. Hence standing was obligatory during the psalms, hymns, and Eucharistic prayer. For a similar reason, perhaps, St. Benedict uttered his dying prayer standing, 'erectis in cœlum manibus.'[4] In his lifetime he had instructed his monks to kneel during private prayer, not to stand as when in choir.[5] There was, it is to be assumed, an inner meaning of penitence attaching to private prayer, and some importance here seems to have been given to the Gospel account of Christ's kneeling in solitary prayer. Naturally, public penance made use of the attitude of kneeling. The custom of the early Church is clearly marked by St. Basil, who describes kneeling as the lesser penance (*μετάνοια μικρά*) and prostration as the greater (*μετάνοια μεγάλη*).[6] A posture with such associations was a favourite one for anchorites and ascetics. Some such associations of thought may have inspired Eusebius's observation that the knees of James, 'the Lord's brother,' became callous like a camel's, from continual kneeling.[7]

The Canon Law emphasized still further the distinction between standing and kneeling. The latter was forbidden in public prayer at all the principal festivals. To be degraded into the class of *genuflectentes* or *prostrati*, who were obliged to kneel during public service even on Sundays and in paschal (or pentecostal) time, was a severe punishment.[8] A gradation of posture appears in the two terms quoted, which still obtains in Roman Catholic adoration.

That kneeling is a posture characteristic of prayer, as such, is a principle developed by the Reformation Churches, adoration, on the one hand, and penance, on the other, being disregarded. The 'Declaration on Kneeling' during the Lord's Supper illustrates the avoidance of Roman Catholic adoration. The Presbyterians sat to receive the Communion. The originally threefold use of the attitude was perhaps assisted towards its Protestant simplification or reduction into one for prayer alone by the negative emphasis which it received from contrast with the Roman Catholic idea.

It is also remarkable that the practices of kneeling and genuflexion, or bending of the knee, are relatively modern in their application to ideas of reverence or adoration.[9] Here, no doubt, religious and social ritual reacted upon one another. Genuflexion with one knee was developed in the Middle Ages, clearly showing a connexion with homage. The Carthusians are noteworthy for a traditional objection to kneeling in worship; they bend the knee without touching the ground.[10]

In Roman Catholic ritual the rules governing kneeling are precise. The congregation kneel throughout a Low Mass, except during the reading of the Gospel. At High Mass they kneel or prostrate themselves at the words 'et incarnatus est' and 'verbum caro factum est'—a modern development. When adoring the Blessed Sacrament unveiled, the faithful genuflect with both knees, but with the right knee only when revering it in the tabernacle. In the old bidding prayers, as in the diaconal litanies of the Greek Church, the officiating priest, asking the congregation to pray for some special 'intention,' said, 'Flectamus genua.'[1] In penance and confirmation, and at the coronation of a king or queen, the blessing of a new knight, reconciliation, etc., kneeling is prescribed. The celebrant in the Roman, Greek, and Anglican Churches kneels in adoration, but communicates standing. The Lutheran Church and the Church of England have always prescribed reception of the sacrament kneeling. The Lutherans, however, stand at prayer. The Presbyterians stood at prayer, but in recent times they have adopted kneeling.

In European history the social uses of kneeling are confined to court ceremonial, when subjects salute the monarch, the ritual of homage in mediæval feudalism, and various courtly symbolic fashions, as between gentleman and lady. In feudal times the rule was kneeling on one knee in homage, on two in worship. Social friction has been produced in recent times by insistence on the kneeling attitude in connexion either with religious prejudice or with ideas of military discipline.[2]

The differences in the form of the posture of kneeling are simple. The only uncertainty is with the early Christian forms. Most probably there was in these an element of prostration, as was usual in Oriental forms then and is now, being characteristic also of Islām. The Muslim kneels by sitting on his feet, and in that position can make various grades of prostration of body and head.[3] The words of Seneca, 'inflexo genu adorare,'[4] refer to an Oriental, not Græco-Roman, posture of reverence. The classical *adoratio* was performed standing. The fashion of venerating the Roman Emperor in a posture of prostration, complete or from the knees, was of Persian origin, and its introduction is ascribed to Diocletian. It still obtains in Asiatic courts. Prostration in a more natural form was usual in Greek times for suppliants. Its incomplete form was kneeling. Here Augustine illustrates the natural evolution of the posture, and suggests at the same time the lines of its introduction into Christianity, by identifying kneeling with the suppliant attitude:

> 'They fix their knees, stretch forth their hands (a gesture of prayer), or even prostrate themselves on the ground.'[5]

LITERATURE.—This is fully given in the article.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

KNOTS.—The symbolical use of the knot and the ceremony of tying and untying are practices of great antiquity and of world-wide distribution. Knots have, among practically all primitive races, a special mystical signification, namely, that as amulets they possess the power of hindering or impeding specific conditions. Generally speaking, the ultimate reason for this is not abstruse: the act of tying a knot implies something 'bound,' and hence the action becomes a spell towards hindering or impeding the actions of other persons or things. Similarly, the act of loosing a knot implies the removal of the impediment caused by the knot, and from this belief are derived the various customs of unloosing knots, unlocking and opening doors and cupboards, setting free captive animals, etc., at periods when undesirable hindrance of any event is feared. Such customs are instances of imitative or homœopathic magic, and the same principle underlies cases in which the tying of knots has a beneficent influence; a person suffering from disease, *e.g.*, may rid himself of it by tying knots in some object, such as a string or twig. The examples here given from the vast number which exist in literature may best be grouped according to their principal uses.

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[1] *Hexaem.* vi. 9 [74].

[2] *de Divin. officiis*, xviii. (*PL* ci. 1210).

[3] *de Cor. Mil.* 3; it is *nefas*.

[4] Gregory, *Dial.* ii. 37.

[5] Bergh, *loc. cit.* Eusebius says that kneeling was the regular attitude of Christians in private prayer (*Vita Const.* iv. 22).

[6] Bergh, *loc. cit.*

[7] *HE* ii. 23.

[8] Bergh, *loc. cit.*

[9] *Ib.*

[10] *Ib.*

[1] Bergh, *loc. cit.*

[2] The 'kneeling controversy' in Bavaria (1838–45) arose from the King's Roman Catholic preferences (see E. Dorn, in *PRE*^{3} x. [1901] 590–594). The British Army has seen in the use of 'on the knee' an excess of discipline.

[3] T. P. Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, London, 1895, *s.v.* 'Prayer,' has a series of elaborate drawings of the Muslim prayer-attitudes.

[4] *Herc. Fur.* 410.

[5] *de Cura*, 5.

1. General.—The theory of knots from a scientific point of view was first discussed by J. B. Listing,[1] and later, more exhaustively, by P. G. Tait, who analyzed knots in their various forms according to the number of their crossings.[2] The expression 'knot' enters into several phrases of an obscure nature: thus 'nuts of May' is a corruption of 'knots of May,' from the custom of gathering knots of flowers on May-day. The 'Gordian knot' refers to the famous tradition that Gordius, a peasant called to the throne of Phrygia, in obedience to an oracle of Jupiter, dedicated to that deity his waggon, the yoke of which was tied to the draught pole so that it could not be unloosed; another oracle declared that he who unloosed the knot would become ruler of Asia, and Alexander the Great accomplished the task by cutting the knot with his sword.[3] Among the Romans the augur's wand, or *lituus*, which was used to mark out the sacred region (*templum*) for the observation of birds, had to be made from wood containing no knot.[4] In China the earliest means of communication, other than oral, is stated to have been by knotted cords.[5] Similar to this are the *quipus* of ancient Peru.

> 'The *quipu* was a cord about two feet long, composed of different-coloured threads tightly twisted together, from which a quantity of smaller threads were suspended in the manner of a fringe. The threads were of different colours, and were tied into knots.' The signification of the cords depended on their colour, their order, the number of knots, and their distance from the main string.[6]

Similar contrivances are found in Hawaii and among various African tribes, as well as in eastern Asia and the Pacific Islands.[7] Among some of the tribes of the southern United States, if a definite time was set for a certain event, count was kept by untying one knot each day; by this means the Pueblo Indians were enabled to make simultaneous revolt against the Spaniards in 1680.[8] The nautical 'knot' is another case in point.

2. Knots in religious ceremony.—In the religious systems of the East the importance of the knot in various ceremonies is well recognized. At the initiation ceremony the sacred girdle with which the Brāhman was invested was wound round the waist three times from left to right and tied with one, three, or five knots;[9] at a later stage in the ceremony the initiator made a threefold knot in the girdle on the north side of the navel and drew this to the south side of it.[10] Girdles with three knots are also worn by the Dervishes in S.W. Asia.[11] In the *naōjot*, or initiation ceremony, of Zoroastrianism, the sacred *kustī*, or girdle, is wound round the waist three times and fastened with two knots, one in front and the other at the back, these knots symbolizing certain religious thoughts (see INITIATION [Parsi]).[12]

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[1] 'Vorstudien zur Topologie,' *Göttinger Studien*, 1847.

[2] *Trans. Roy. Soc. Edin.* xxviii. [1879] 145.

[3] Arrian, *Anabasis*, ii. 3; Quintus Curtius, iii. 1; Justin, xi. 7.

[4] Livy, I. xviii. 7.

[5] *EBr*[11] vi. 218.

[6] W. H. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, London, 1847, p. 51; L. Locke, 'The Ancient Quipu,' *Amer. Anthropologist*, new series, xiv. [1912] 325–332.

[7] E. C. Richardson, *Beginnings of Libraries*, Princeton, N.J., 1914, p. 92 f.

[8] J. Adair, *Hist. of the Amer. Indians*, London, 1775, p. 75; *HAI* i. [1907] 719.

[9] *SBE* xxix. [1886] 61 f.

[10] *Ib.* xxx. [1892] 67, 143.

[11] J. O'Neill, *The Night of the Gods*, London, 1893–97, i. 127.

[12] *Sad-dar*, ch. x.; J. J. Modi, *The Naojote Ceremony of the Pârsis*, Bombay, 1909, p. 16; cf. West, *SBE* xviii. [1882] 122, note.

In the religious ceremonies of the Assyrians the god Marduk is directed to soothe the last moments of a dying man by knotting a woman's kerchief with seven knots and tying it on his head, hands, and feet. The gods will then receive his dying spirit.[1] Similar ideas may underlie the origin of the phylacteries of the Jews and their practice of binding holy texts round the limbs.[2] The Jewish phylacteries, or 'frontlets,' are small leather boxes in which are strips of parchment with passages from Hebrew Scripture. They are fixed on the forehead and on the back of the right hand. That on the head is attached by having its strap tied at the back of the head into a knot of the shape of a 'daleth.' The strap attached to the hand is formed into a noose by means of a knot of the shape of a 'yod.' These knots, together with the letter 'shin' of the head phylactery, make up the letters of the sacred name 'Shaddai' ('Almighty').[3] In Roman religious ceremonials the Flamen Dialis, the priest of Jupiter, was not allowed to have any knots in his clothing, the ring on his finger was broken, and any one coming to his house in chains had instantly to be loosed.[4] Muslim pilgrims on the journey to Mecca also avoid having knots about their person when in a state of sanctity.[5] The Qur'ān contains a reference (cxiii. 4) to 'those who puff into knots,' and these words are believed to refer to women who tie knots in cords and blow and spit on them for magical purposes. It is even recorded that a Jew once bewitched the prophet Muhammad by tying nine knots on a string; Muhammad fell ill and recovered only when the baleful thing was found and its knots undone by the recitation of certain charms.[6] In Biblical literature there are many references to the ceremony of 'binding,' the signification of the term being similar to that of tying a knot.

3. Knots in relation to love and the marriage ceremony.—The magic of knots and the ceremony of binding and loosing had a particular reference in earlier times to women; in classical times, *e.g.*, the unloosing of the girdle (*q.v.*) was symbolical of the loss of virginity,[7] and by tying three knots on three strings of different colours a maid might seek to draw her lover to her side.[8] Among the Arabs a girl, in order to attract the object of her affections, would tie knots in his whip.[9] The true-love-knot is a symbol of plighted affection; the direct origin of its symbolism is uncertain, but from its form and signification it is possible that Thomas Browne's suggestion[10] of its derivation from the *nodus Herculaneus* and the *caduceus* is correct.

The symbolical use of the knot in the marriage ceremony is widely distributed and dates back to extremely ancient times. Among the Brāhmans, towards the end of the marriage ceremony, the husband advances towards his young wife, who is seated facing the east, and, while reciting *mantras*, he fastens the *tali*—a little gold ornament which all married women wear—round her neck, securing it with three knots; before these knots are tied the father of the bride may refuse his consent, but after they are tied the marriage is indissoluble.[11] A cord is also tied round the bride's waist,[1] and, when she departs from the house, the verse 'I loosen thee' is said.[2] In the Parsi marriage ceremony, a curtain is held up to screen the bride and groom from each other; under this they grasp each other's right hand, after which another piece of cloth is placed round them so as to encircle them, and the ends of the cloth are tied together by a double knot. In the same way, raw twist is taken and wound round the pair seven times. It is then tied seven times over the joined hands of the couple as well as round the double knot of the ends of the cloth around them.[3] The Bhandāris tie the hands of the wedded pair together with a wisp of *kuśa* grass.[4] The Karans of Bengal believe the essential part of the marriage ceremony to be the laying of the bride's right hand in that of the bridegroom and the tying of their two hands together with a piece of thread spun in a special way.[5] In upper India the clothes of the bride and bridegroom are knotted together as they revolve round the sacred fire.[6]

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[1] Tablet K. 3169, 4R3 (Brit. Mus.); H. F. Talbot, *TSBA* ii. [1873] 54.

[2] W. R. Smith, *JPh* xiii. [1885] 286; Talbot, p. 55.

[3] *HDB* iii. 870.

[4] Aulus Gellius, x. xv. 6. 9; H. Nettleship and J. E. Sandys, *Dict. of Class. Ant.*, London, 1899, p. 238.

[5] E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris, 1909, p. 87 f.

[6] Al-Baiḍāwī's *Comment. on the Qur'ān, ad loc.*; J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 302.

[7] W. J. Dilling, *Caledon. Med. Journ.* ix. [1913–14] 337, 403.

[8] Vergil, *Ecl.* viii. 77–79.

[9] J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentumes*², Berlin, 1897, p. 163.

[10] 'Vulgar Errors' in *Works*, ed. C. Sayle, London, 1904, ii. ch. xxii. § 5, p. 266.

[11] J. A. Dubois and H. K. Beauchamp, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*³, Oxford, 1906, pp. 224, 226.

The greatest development of the symbolism was in classical times. At the Roman marriage ceremony the bride's garments were bound with a girdle made of sheep's wool and tied with a Herculean knot; after the marriage the bride, on proceeding to her husband's house, tied the door-posts with woollen fillets,[7] and later, in the bridal chamber, the Herculean knot was untied by her husband and the girdle removed; over this loosening ceremony Juno Cinxia presided.[8] Further details of the ceremony are given by Festus,[9] who states that the application of the girdle symbolized the binding character of the marriage oath, while its unloosing was for a good omen, so that they might be as fortunate in rearing children as was Hercules, who had seventy offspring. On the other hand, Macrobius,[10] in his description of the *caduceus*, states that this represents the union of a male and female serpent as an offering to Mercury, and that they are united by a Herculean knot, which symbolizes necessity; Athenagoras[11] says that the wand of Mercury is a symbol of the union of Jupiter and Rhea, whom Jupiter, disguised as a dragon, bound to him in the form of a Herculean knot. A. Rossbach[12] suggested that the Herculean knot was associated originally with the god Sancus, and that the latter, as god of light, protected men from illness and witchcraft—apotropæic powers which the knot possessed, as being his symbol. In the opinion of the present writer, the symbolism of its tying was that of the binding character of the ceremony, and its loosing represented the loss of virginity. From a physical standpoint the Herculean knot was difficult to unloose.[13]

A somewhat similar custom prevails among the natives of the East Indian island of Rotti. A cord is fastened round the waist of the bride, and nine knots are tied in it and smeared with wax in order to increase the difficulty of unloosing them; the bride and bridegroom are then secluded, and the latter has to untie the knots with the thumb and forefinger of his left hand. Not until this has been done may the man possess the woman as his wife. Frazer, in recording this case, suggests that the nine knots may refer to the months of pregnancy.[1] Before the wedding procession a Macedonian bride has a girdle tied round her waist with three knots by one of her brothers;[2] and among the Russians, during a marriage ceremony, a net, 'from its affluence of knots,' is thrown over the bride or the bridegroom, and the attendants are girt with pieces of net or girdles, 'for before a wizard can begin to injure them he must undo all the knots in the net, or take off the girdles.'[3]

Not only was the knot important in the consummation of marriage and in the protection of the married couple from witchcraft; it was also a powerful amulet in the hands of a third person in preventing the wedding ceremony or the union of the parties concerned. Thus in the Middle Ages a person could prevent a marriage by tying a knot in a cord or fastening a lock. The cord or lock had then to be thrown into water, and, until the charm was recovered and undone, no real marriage could take place.[4] Such practices were punishable, and in 1705 two persons were condemned to death in Scotland for stealing charmed knots which had been made, with intent to mar the wedded bliss of Spalding of Ashintilly.[5] The tying of these knots was known in Germany as *Nestel knüpfen* and in France as *nouer l'aiguillette*. Those who made or used such spells were, as early as 1208, directed to be excommunicated,[6] and the *Ritual* of Paris of 1630 contains the statement:

> 'Nous dénonçons pour excommuniés tous magiciens et magiciennes, sorciers et sorcières, devineurs et devineresses, noueurs d'aiguillettes et autres qui par ligatures et sortiléges empêchent l'usage et consummation du saint Mariage.'[7]

There are innumerable examples of this superstition in mediæval literature, and the same idea seems to have been prevalent among the Northern Semites in A.D. 700, since mention is made of persons 'who bend a needle and insert the head in the eye, or set seals on locks and throw them into a deep well or hide them in the ground that a man may be kept away from his wife.'[8]

In Perthshire, in 1793, knots were also tabued at the marriage ceremonies, as is illustrated by the following custom, recorded by the minister of Logierait:

> 'Immediately before the celebration of the marriage ceremony every knot about the bride and bridegroom (garters, shoe-strings, strings of petticoats, etc.) is carefully loosened. After leaving the church, the whole company walk round it, keeping the church walls always upon the right hand. The bridegroom, however, first retires one way with some young men to tie the knots that were loosened about him, while the young married woman in the same manner retires somewhere else to adjust the disorder of her dress.'[9]

For a similar reason it was a common practice for the bride and bridegroom to have one or both shoes untied during the marriage ceremony.[10] In Syria the bridegroom must have no knots or buttons fastened in his wedding garments; otherwise their magic will deprive him of his marriage rights.[11] Similar beliefs exist among the North African races.[12] A curious belief connected with marriage is that prevalent among the Pidhireanes, a Ruthenian people on the hem of the Carpathians, where a widow who wishes to remarry unties the knots on her dead husband's grave-clothes;[1] here again the magic is imitative and symbolizes her freedom from her bond.

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[1] *SBE* xxix. 33.
[2] *Ib.* xxix. 39; Rigveda, x. lxxxv. 24.
[3] D. F. Karaka, *Hist. of the Parsis*, London, 1884, i. 179.
[4] H. H. Risley, *TC*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 92.
[5] Risley, i. 425; W. Crooke, *PR*, London, 1896, ii. 46.
[6] Crooke, *PR* ii. 46 f.
[7] Pliny, *HN* xxix. 9.
[8] Festus, *de Verborum significatione*, iii., *s.v.* 'Cinxiae Junonis'; Arnobius, *adv. Nationes*, iii. 21, 23, 25.
[9] *s.v.* 'Cingulo'; cf. Nonius Marcellus, *de Proprietate sermonum*, *s.v.* 'Cingulum'; Catullus, lxi. 50 f., lxviii. 26.
[10] *Saturnalia*, I. xix. 16–18.
[11] *Legatio ad Imp. Antoninos*, xx. (*PG* vi. 932).
[12] *Die römische Ehe*, Stuttgart, 1853, p. 279.
[13] For full evidence see Dilling, *Caledon. Med. Journ.* ix. 351–354.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 301.
[2] G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 167 f.
[3] W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, London, 1872, p. 390; Abbott, p. 170.
[4] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*^{4}, Berlin, 1876–78, ii. 897, 983; J. Brand, *Pop. Ant.*, London, 1900, p. 742.
[5] J. G. Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1835, pp. 302, 306 f.
[6] J. B. Thiers, *Traité des superstitions*, 4 vols., Avignon, 1777, iv. 510.
[7] *Ib.* p. 514; the whole subject is treated on pp. 503–526.
[8] P. A. de Lagarde, *Reliquiæ juris ecclesiast. antiquiss. Syr.*, Leipzig, 1856, p. 133; W. R. Smith, *JPh* xiv. [1885] 116, note.
[9] J. Sinclair, *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1791–99, v. 83.
[10] J. Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, London, 1808–14, iii. 91, 325, 382; C. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1884-86, iii. 232.
[11] Eijūb Abēla, *ZDPV* vii. [1884] 91 f.
[12] Doutté, pp. 288–292.

4. Knots at child-birth.—The symbolism of the knot at birth is obvious, and its use is probably the most widely distributed of all such beliefs. Birth is associated in all countries with the idea of unloosing, and various peoples adopt different charms of a homœopathic character to facilitate delivery. Hence arise such customs as opening doors and windows, undoing hair, girdles, and all knots in the clothing, preventing the husband and other persons from sitting with the legs crossed, setting free captive animals and even school children, etc. A few examples of these customs must suffice.

In ancient India it was a custom to unloose all knots at the time of child-birth,[2] and among the Romans and Greeks such beliefs were common. Thus Ovid states that the pregnant woman is to unbind her hair before praying to the goddess of child-birth,[3] and she must also avoid having knots in her clothing.[4] At the delivery of Alcmene, Eileithyia is represented as having sat cross-legged before the house in order to delay matters.[5] The same superstition as that mentioned by Ovid occurs in Bilāspur, where the woman's hair is never allowed to remain knotted while the child is being born,[6] and unmarried Jewish girls undo their hair if a difficult labour occurs in the house.[7] The prospective mother, among the Kayans of Borneo, must refrain from tying knots;[8] and in Persia, when a birth was imminent, the schoolmasters were asked to give liberty to the boys, whilst birds in cages were allowed to escape.[9] In Denmark knots had to be undone when a birth was about to occur; and in Smaaland, to render future parturition easy, the bride should untie the straps of her horse's saddle when returning from the church. Here also the bride did not tie her shoe-laces before the wedding, in order that 'she might bear children as easily as she could remove her shoes,' and she would have toothache at the birth of her child if anything were tied over her bridal crown.[10] Among the Hos of Togoland, when a difficult confinement occurs, a magician is called, who declares: 'The child is bound in the womb, that is why she cannot be delivered.' To loose the bonds he binds the hands and feet of the patient with a tough creeper and then, after calling the woman's name, he cuts through the creeper with a knife, saying, 'I cut through to-day thy bonds and thy child's bonds.' The creeper is then cut up into small pieces and put in water, with which the woman is bathed.[11]

Similar superstitious beliefs and customs may be traced in the folklore of ancient and modern India, Java, Sumatra, the Sea and Land Dayaks, Cochin China, Central Australia, Mecklenburg, Voigtland, Transylvania, and even to the present day in Scotland.[12]

5. Knots in the cure of diseases.—Knots were largely employed by the Assyrians in their spells for removing illness; thus, for headache, the head of the sick person must be bound with a bundle of twigs, accompanied by the recitation of magic words, and at eventide the twigs are to be cut off and thrown into the street 'that the sickness of his head may be assuaged.'[1] Another text recommends the use of the hair of a virgin kid, spun and bound with twice seven knots to the head, neck, and limbs of the sufferer.[2] As a charm for ophthalmia, black and white threads or hairs are woven together, with seven and seven knots therein, and during the knotting an incantation is said; the thread of black hair is then to be fastened to the sick eye, and the white one to the sound eye.[3] The Babylonian witches could strangle their victims or seal their mouths, etc., by tying knots in a cord, and by undoing these knots the sufferer could be relieved.[4] Similar customs have been found among the Persians[5] and Arabs[6] in modern times. Pliny, referring to wounds, remarks:

> 'It is quite surprising how much more speedily wounds will heal if they are bound up and tied with a Hercules' knot; indeed, it is said that, if the girdle which we wear every day is tied with a knot of this description, it will be productive of certain beneficial effects, Hercules having been the first to discover this fact.'[7]

He also states that inguinal tumours could be cured by taking a thread from a web, tying seven or nine knots on it, and then fastening it to the patient's groin, although it was also necessary to name some widow as each knot was tied.[8] Again, to cure swelling of the groins due to ulcers, the patient is directed to insert in the sores three horse hairs tied with as many knots.[9] In 1718 the Parliament of Bordeaux sentenced an individual to be buried alive for spreading desolation through a family by means of knotted cords;[10] and in Scotland,[11] Denmark, and Sweden[12] knotted cords are still in use to protect both men and beasts from illness, the number of knots being usually three or nine. In Russia a skein of red wool is wound about the arms and legs to protect the wearer from fever, and nine skeins tied round a child's neck protect it from scarlatina.[13] One of the most common of such beliefs is that warts may be cured by tying as many knots in a string as one has warts, and to obtain the ultimate cure either the knots are unloosed or the string is thrown away or placed under a stone, when the first person to tread on the stone or pick up the string acquires the warts;[14] or each wart is to be touched by one of the knots.[15] In the days when the belief in the possibility of transferring diseases to inanimate objects was prevalent, knots were made in the branches or twigs of trees; the ceremony, being accompanied by spells, transferred the disease to the tree.[16] For protection against disease the Hos of Togoland tie strings round the different parts of the body.[17] Knots are even believed to be a protection against death itself, and the soul cannot leave the body till they are loosed.[18]

6. Other beliefs in knots as amulets.—Among the Assyrians the knot was used to prevent the spirits of the dead from annoying the living. To attain this end, the following directions are given:

> 'Spin a variegated and a scarlet thread together, and tie seven knots in it; thou shalt mix together oil of cedar, spittle of the

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[1] R. F. Kaindl, *Globus*, lxxiii. [1898] 251.
[2] W. Caland, *Altind. Zauberritual*, Amsterdam, 1900, p. 108.
[3] *Fasti*, iii. 257 f.
[4] Servius on Vergil, *Æn*. iii. 518.
[5] Brand, p. 721; Ovid, *Metam*. ix. 285; Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 17; cf. Pausanias, IX. xi. 3.
[6] E. M. Gordon, *Indian Folk Tales*, London, 1908, p. 39.
[7] *JE* xi. 600.
[8] *Customs of the World*, ed. W. Hutchinson, London, 1912, p. 201.
[9] J. C. Lettsom, *Hist. of the Origin of Medicine*, London, 1778, p. 48, note.
[10] K. R. v. Wikman, *Öfvertryck ur Hembygden*, Helsingfors, 1912, nos. 5, 6.
[11] J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, Berlin, 1906, p. 692.
[12] Frazer, pp. 293–313.

[1] R. Campbell Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908, p. 166.
[2] *Ib.*
[3] H. C. Rawlinson, *WAI* iv. [1875] 29*, 4, c. i. 15.
[4] M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, pp. 268, 270.
[5] E. O'Donovan, *Merv*, London, 1883, p. 290 f.
[6] Thompson, p. 168 f.
[7] *HN* xxviii. 17.
[8] *Ib.* 12.
[9] *Ib.* 61.
[10] Dalyell, pp. 302, 306 f.
[11] R. C. Maclagan, *FL* vi. [1895] 154 ff.
[12] Wikman, *loc. cit.*
[13] Ralston, p. 388.
[14] J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, p. 48.
[15] Wikman, *loc. cit.*
[16] Cf. Frazer, p. 56.
[17] Spieth, p. 531.
[18] Dalyell, p. 307; T. F. Thiselton-Dyer, *English Folk-lore*, London, 1878, p. 229 f

man, the leavened dough, earth from an old grave, a tortoise's (?) mouth (?), a thorn (?), earth from the roots of the caper, earth of ants; thou shalt sprinkle the knots with this. While thou tiest them, thou shalt repeat this incantation [(and) bind it] on the temples [of the man]. Thus shalt thou tighten it, until the darkening of the white part of the face and the whitening of the dark-coloured part of the face takes place.'[1]

To remove a tabu from a man, directions are given to bind his limbs with a double cord of black and white threads which has been twisted on a spindle; the cord then appears to be cut by the hands of Marduk, who also releases the man from the tabu.[2] Evidently a witch could cast a tabu on a man by tying knots and chanting a spell, for we are told that 'her knot is loosed, her sorcery is brought to naught, and all her charms fill the desert.'[3] The ancient Hindus believed that knots tied in the garments of a traveller would protect him on a dangerous journey;[4] and in classical times spells were removed by knots, for Petronius mentions that, in removing a spell from Encolpius, 'she then took from her bosom a web of twisted threads of various colours and bound it on my neck.'[5] Charms of many coloured threads were tied on the necks of infants to protect them from fascination.[6] The same idea explains the wearing of the sacred thread, or *janeū*, by high-caste Hindus. The knots on it, known as *Brahma-granthi*, or 'the knots of the Creator,' repel evil influences, and Muhammadans on their birthdays tie knots in a cord, which is known as the *sālgirah*, or 'year knot.'[7] To drive away rain, the Mirzāpur natives name twenty-one men blind of an eye (and, therefore, ill-omened), and make twenty-one knots in a cord, and tie it under the eaves of the house.[8] The tying of knots in a string and subsequently unloosing them to raise wind for sailing is a custom common to many fishing people—*e.g.*, Finlanders, Laplanders, Shetlanders, and natives of the Hebrides and Isle of Man.[9] South African natives before starting on a journey will knot a few blades of grass so that the journey may be prosperous,[10] and the knotting of grass in a forest is supposed by Laos hunters to prevent others from being successful there in the pursuit of game.[11] Russians have the belief that knots act as a protective against violent death from weapons, which, as it were, are 'tied' by the knots; and knots also prevent the death of cattle and people by 'binding up' the mouths of wolves and other ravenous animals—a belief which is also current in Bulgaria[12] and Armenia.[13]

LITERATURE.—References are given in the footnotes. Many other examples are cited in J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, pp. 293–313; and also under artt. CHARMS AND AMULETS. For Egyptian knotted cords (use unknown) see W. M. F. Petrie, *Amulets illustrated by the Egyp. Collection in Univ. Coll., London*, London, 1914, p. 29, and plates xvii.–xix.

WALTER J. DILLING.

KNOWLEDGE.—See EPISTEMOLOGY.

KNOX.—1. Birth and early life.—Neither the place nor the date of John Knox's birth is certain; but Giffordgate, a hamlet contiguous with Haddington, is the site for which most and against which least can be said; and a date between 24 Nov. 1513 and 24 Nov. 1514 (not 1505, as, until recently, was usually supposed) is most probable.

Local tradition in favour of Giffordgate was old in 1785 (G. Barclay, in *Trans. Soc. of Antiq.* i. 69; publ. 1852), and is accepted by D. Laing (*Works of Knox*, Edinburgh, 1864, vi. xviii.), A. F. Mitchell (*Scottish Reformation*, do. 1900, p. 79), and D. Hay Fleming (*Original Secession Mag.*, 1889). The ancient *Registre* of Geneva and Knox's contemporary, Archibald Hamilton (*de Confusione Calvinianæ sectæ*, Paris, 1577, p. 64), describe him as a native of Haddington. His designation by Beza (*Icones*, 1580) as 'Giffordiensis,' and the statement by J. Spottiswoode (*Hist. of the Church of Scotland* [published 1655], ed. 1850, ii. 180) that he was born in Gifford, are consistent with the above (Giffordgate being on the Gifford Estate), but are believed by T. McCrie (*Life of John Knox*^{6}, Edinburgh, 1839) and by S. Kerr of Yester (*Where was Knox born?*) to indicate Gifford village, 4 miles from Haddington, as the real birthplace—a village, however, which appears in no map older than the 17th century. D. Louden (*History of Morham*, London, 1889, pp. 34–51) advocates Morham, within Haddington Constabulary; and it is favoured by P. Hume Brown (*John Knox: A Biography*, London, 1895). In the 14th cent. this parish passed by marriage to the Giffords, and in Knox's time was owned by the Bothwells—which would account best (it is held) for Knox's acknowledgment (Laing, *Works of Knox*, ii. 323) of feudal obligation to that family. But, against this view, the name Morham was never superseded by Gifford.

The two earliest authorities for Knox's birth-year are Peter Young, of Edinburgh, and Theodore Beza, of Geneva—both personal friends of the Reformer. Beza states (*Icones*) that Knox died after reaching the age of 57; but Young's testimony that he died in his 59th year is to be preferred as being contained in a letter (recently recovered) written from Edinburgh expressly in answer to Beza's inquiry. The date 1505 (formerly accepted) rests on Spottiswoode's authority (*Hist. of Church of Scotland*, ii. 180), followed by D. Buchanan (*Life and Death of Knox*, published 1644), who had access to Spottiswoode's then unpublished MS. McCrie found confirmation (perhaps the basis) of Spottiswoode's statement in the recorded entrance of *a* John Knox into Glasgow University in 1522; but eight John Knoxes were students there in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Knox is stated by Beza to have been a student at St. Andrews under John Major, who was settled there in 1531. His student life must have begun not very long after Patrick Hamilton's martyrdom at St. Andrews in 1528, and the words in Knox's *History* (i. 36), 'when those cruel wolves had devoured their prey, there was none within St. Andrews who began not to enquire wherefore was Patrick Hamilton burnt?' sound like a personal reminiscence. At any rate Knox was probably affected by the martyrdom; and this, along with the teaching of Gavin Logie, who fled from St. Andrews about 1534 on account of Reformed views, and also the oath which graduates had to take against 'Lollardism,' may have led to Knox's non-graduation as *Magister Artium*. On the other hand, Major's influence and Knox's keenly patriotic spirit may have kept him from identifying himself with a cause which, in its earlier stages, came, justly or unjustly, under suspicion of being associated with unpatriotic subservience to England. Knox entered the priesthood at some date prior to 1540; and, up to 1545, there is no evidence of his public support of the Reform cause. In 1543, however, he had received a lively impression of the truth from Friar Thomas William, one of the Regent Arran's evangelical chaplains (D. Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, i. 155 f.); and the seed fructified under the ministry of George Wishart, who came to East Lothian in 1545. Knox, then tutor in Hugh Douglas's family at Longniddry, 'waited on Wishart from the time he came to Lothian,' and attended him in Haddington on the evening before Wishart's midnight arrest. Henceforth Knox was a recognized adherent of the Reformation.

2. Call and ministry at St. Andrews.—The assassination of Beaton in May 1546 was condoned by Knox as a 'godly fact,' justified by the failure of the civil authority to punish the Cardinal's illegal oppression. He had no scruple, therefore, about taking refuge from peril in the Castle of St. Andrews held by the conspirators and other opponents of the Roman Catholic religion. From the Castle congregation, led by John Rough, an evangelical preacher, he accepted a solemn call to the Reformed ministry. From the pulpit of the Parish Church he declared that the evil lives of the clergy (from popes downward), corrupt Roman doctrine, unscriptural enactments, and blasphemous papal pretensions proved that the Church of Rome was 'not the body of Christ, but the whore of Babylon.' 'A great number openly professed' Reformed doctrine at St. Andrews; and Holy Communion was celebrated for the first time publicly in Scotland according to a Reformed ritual. What had hitherto been only a Protestant movement thus grew into a Reformed Church. Meanwhile, however, partly as a divine judgment (so Knox declared) on account of the evil doings of a portion of the Castle community, the garrison were constrained, in the autumn of 1547, to surrender to the French fleet, and Knox, along with other prisoners, was consigned to the 'torment' of the galleys.

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[1] Thompson, p. 33 f.

[2] *Ib.* p. 165.

[3] Rawlinson, iv. 49, 34^a.

[4] *SBE* xxix. 432, xxx. 127.

[5] *Sat.* cxxxi.

[6] Persius, *Sat.* ii. 31.

[7] *PR*^{2}, ii. 47.

[8] *Ib.* i. 77.

[9] Brand, p. 589.

[10] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, London, 1857, p. 217 f.

[11] E. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos*, Saigon, 1885, p. 23 f.

[12] Ralston, p. 388 ff.

[13] M. Abeghian, *Armen. Volksglaube*, Jena, 1899, p. 115.

3. **Ministry in England.**—After eighteen months of toil and tribulation as a galley bondsman, Knox was released through the English Government's intervention. Gratitude to his liberators and the impracticability, then, of effective ministry in Scotland induced him to settle in England, where Archbishop Cranmer and Protector Somerset were accomplishing, under Edward VI., a more real Reformation than that of Henry VIII. In Berwick (1549–51) Knox ministered to a congregation consisting of garrison and citizens, using a Puritan form of service. The Communion office was largely borrowed from Swiss sources, and the practice of kneeling was discontinued as a symbolical endorsement of the Adoration of the Host. During this Berwick ministry he publicly testified against the 'idolatry' of the Mass before the ecclesiastical 'Council of the North,' and vindicated the Puritan position that 'all worshipping invented by the brain of man, without God's express command, is idolatry.' Such action and testimony justify Carlyle's designation of Knox as 'the Chief Priest and Founder' of English Puritanism (*Heroes and Hero-worship*, London, 1872, p. 132). In 1551 he was promoted to Newcastle, and in 1552 he became one of six royal chaplains, who also itinerated on behalf of the Reform cause. He declined the bishopric of Rochester, not owing to any objection to episcopacy in itself, but because he disapproved of 'your prowde prelates' great dominions and charge (impossible by one man to be discharged)' (Laing, v. 518). As a patriotic Scot, moreover, he would be reluctant to undertake responsibilities which might debar him from eventual service to his native land. Partly through Knox's influence, sitting at Communion was favoured by many; and in Edward's Second Prayer Book, while kneeling was retained, the existing rubric was inserted at Knox's instigation (J. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vi. 510; P. Lorimer, *John Knox and the Church of England*, London, 1875, pp. 99–107), declaring that by kneeling no adoration is intended either of the sacramental elements or of Christ's 'natural flesh and blood.' At Edward's death Knox not only took no part in the plot to enthrone Lady Jane Grey, but, as Royal Chaplain, prayed publicly for 'our Sovereign Lady Queen Mary,' and besought God to 'repress the pride of them that would rebel.' When the Queen's policy of persecution, however, became assured, Knox crossed over to Dieppe early in 1554. 'My prayer,' he writes, 'is that I may be restoirit to the battell again' (Laing, iii. 154 f.).

4. **Leader and pastor of Protestant exiles on the Continent (1554–59).**—Knox's exile was no period of inactivity. He not only accomplished much literary work,[1] and kept himself in constant touch, through correspondence, with reforming friends in Scotland and England, but he also ministered to congregations of fellow-exiles. In Frankfort he became pastor, in March 1554, to an English community of Puritan tendency, using a Service-book of his own based on Calvin's Liturgy. The subsequent arrival, however, of other exiles, who desired the use of Edward VI.'s Second Prayer Book, led to conflicts which issued in Knox's withdrawal and in his settlement, early in 1555, at Geneva, as one of two pastors chosen by the British exiles there. Knox's Genevan ministry continued until Jan. 1559, with two breaks—viz. a nine months' visit to Scotland in 1555–56, and a ten weeks' sojourn, in the winter of 1557–58, at Dieppe, where he organized a French Protestant community of 800 members. His stay at Geneva was the most peaceful and perhaps the happiest period of his ministry. 'The Church of Geneva,' he writes in 1556, 'is the most perfect school of life since the days of the Apostles.' Fellowship with Calvin was a joy and a strength, an education and an incentive. To Geneva, in Sept. 1556, he brought his wife, Marjory Bowes, whom Calvin describes as 'suavissima'; her mother had been a devoted member of Knox's Berwick flock. Mrs. Knox died in Dec. 1560. In Geneva were born his sons Nathanael and Eleazar, who entered Cambridge University after their father's death; the latter became vicar of Clacton Magna in 1587. Among notable members of Knox's Geneva congregation were Miles Coverdale, William Whittingham, and two future prelates, Bentham and Pilkington (afterwards bishops respectively of Lichfield and Durham).

5. **First return to Scotland.**—The anxiety of the Regent Mary of Guise to secure the marriage of her daughter, Mary Stuart, to the Dauphin of France led her to court the favour of Scottish Protestant nobles, and to adopt a tolerant religious policy which encouraged Knox to visit Scotland in Sept. 1555. In districts where influential laymen gave him support, particularly West Lothian and Midlothian, Forfarshire, Ayrshire, and Strathclyde, he propagated Reformed doctrine and persuaded Protestant leaders to abstain from Mass and to celebrate Holy Communion with a Reformed ritual. Scottish Protestants thus acquired courage and consolidation. Knox even made a bold attempt to win the Regent by a conciliatory letter in which he praises her 'moderation and clemency.' In vain; she treated his elaborate address as a 'pasquil.' The Bishops cited him to trial for heresy at Edinburgh in May 1556, and Knox arrived to meet his accusers; but they received no support from the Regent, and departed from the charge on the ground of some alleged informality. On the very day appointed for his trial Knox preached to a larger congregation than ever before had listened to him. An appeal, however, in midsummer, from his Geneva flock, and the conviction that the Reform cause, strengthened by his visit, might now be better served by his withdrawal for a time to prevent the resumption of persecution, led to his return to Geneva.

6. **Final return to Scotland and accomplishment of the Reformation (1559–60).**—In Dec. 1557 there was drawn up at Edinburgh, largely through the absent Reformer's stimulating influence, the first Scottish 'Covenant,' an organized Protestant league for defence against religious despotism and for the advancement of the Reform cause. This movement, along with Mary Stuart's marriage to the Dauphin in 1558, and the consequent removal of the Regent's motive for toleration, led to renewed persecution; and the Scottish Reformers, realizing their need of Knox, invited him to return. He arrived at an opportune moment, on 2nd May 1559. Four notable preachers—

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[1] This included his *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment* [i.e. *Rule*] *of Women*, his *Appellation against the Scottish Hierarchy*, a *Brief Exhortation to England*, and a *magnum opus* on *Predestination*.

Harlaw, Willock, Christison, and Methven—had been cited to Stirling on 10th May to answer the charge of unauthorized and heretical ministrations, in rebellious defiance of the Privy Council's prohibition. For non-appearance they were declared to be outlaws, and the raising of an army of 8000 (partly French) by the Regent provoked the gathering of a Protestant host. A trifling incident precipitated the conflict. On 11th May Knox preached in St. John's Church, Perth, against the 'idolatry' of the Mass. While the congregation were dispersing, a priest began the celebration of what Knox had been denouncing. A lad protested loudly, was struck by the irritated celebrant, and retaliated by throwing a stone which broke an image. It was as if a lighted match had been applied to a heap of combustibles. Wide-spread 'purging' of churches and demolition of monasteries ensued. After temporary truces and fruitless attempts at compromise, the Regent, supported by France, and the Reformers, by England, carried on civil war which terminated only with the Regent's death in June 1560. Knox took a leading part in the conflict as preacher and counsellor. A significant sermon at St. Andrews on the 'Cleansing of the Temple'; another in St. Giles vindicating the Reformers' aim as being not any alteration of authority, but the reformation of religion and suppression of idolatry; an extensive itinerancy for the enlightenment of the people and the establishment of a Reformed ministry in chief centres; an important share in the negotiations which issued in the alliance between the Scottish Reformers and the English Government; a signal service at Stirling after a defeat by the French army, when the depressed spirits of the Reformers were 'wondrously re-erected' by Knox's inspiring assurance that their cause *must* and shall prevail because 'it is the eternal truth of the eternal God'—these are some of the Reformer's contributions to the Reform movement during that critical time (Laing, i. 348, 365, 471, vi. 30, 56, 78). The Regent's dying counsel to both sides was to procure the withdrawal of both the English and the French armies. This was effected; and the settlement of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs was left to the Estates of the realm. The issue was the establishment of Protestantism as the national religion by the Convention (a virtual parliament) of Aug. 1560, so far at least as this was constitutionally possible in the absence of monarch and regent.

To Knox and five colleagues was entrusted the composition of a Confession of Faith; the outcome was the 'Scots Confession,' which held the field until it was superseded by that of Westminster. Inferior in logical precision to its successor, the older Confession is superior in theological breadth and spiritual warmth (see art. CONFESSIONS, vol. iii. p. 872). Knox and his associates drew up a Church polity embodied in the *First Book of Discipline*. It recognizes five classes of office-bearers—superintendent, minister, elder, deacon, and reader. The first office was apparently a tentative arrangement, whose continuance or discontinuance might depend on its effectiveness or otherwise; gradually it disappeared; the readers were a temporary institution until sufficient ministers became available. The Church courts were the Kirk Session, Synod, and General Assembly; the Presbytery was developed after Knox's death. Worship was regulated by his *Book of Common Order*. A school as well as a church was to be established in every parish, and a 'college' in every 'notable town,' at which preparation was to be provided for the University. The *Book of Discipline* anticipated modern legislation by advocating compulsory education. The patrimony of the Church, which, prior to the Reformation, included nearly half the property of the realm, was to be expended on the maintenance of the ministry, the education of the young, and the relief of the poor; but unfortunately, notwithstanding Knox's indignant protest, the Scottish landowners 'greadelie gripped to the possessionis of the Kirk' (Laing, ii. 128), which had to be content with a sixth of her ancient patrimony.

7. Knox and Queen Mary.—The young Queen's return in 1561 and the permission of the otherwise interdicted Mass in the private chapel at Holyrood filled Knox with anxiety. He declared from the pulpit that 'one Messe was more fearful to him then gif ten thousand armed enemyes war . . . in the Realme' (*ib.* 276). His first interview with Mary deepened his solicitude. The chief subject of conversation was the right of subjects to resist their princes, particularly in the religious sphere. 'God commandis subjectis to obey thair Princes,' said Mary; 'think ye that subjectis having power may resist thair Princes?' Knox, long before, had learned from John Major the principle of constitutional monarchy, and he replied: 'Yf Princes exceed thair boundis, and do against that whairfoir they should be obeyed, . . . thei may be resisted.' 'I perceave that my subjectis shall obey you, and not me,' said the Queen. 'My travell,' responded Knox, 'is, that boyth princes and subjectis obey God.' He closed the interview with the loyal prayer that Mary might be 'as blessed within the Commoun-wealth of Scotland as ever Debora was in the Commoun-wealth of Israell'; but he stated to friends his conviction, 'yf thair be not in hir a proud mynd, a crafty witt, and ane indurat hearte against God and his treuth, my judgment faileth me' (*ib.* 277–286). This first encounter fairly exemplifies their relations. Knox in his bearing towards the Queen united on the whole the courtesy of a gentleman with the firm and sometimes stern maintenance of his right as a 'profitable member within the commonwealth' publicly to criticize his sovereign's doings, especially in religious concerns. At their last recorded meeting, in Dec. 1563, when Knox appeared before the Queen and her Council to answer the charge of 'convoking the lieges' without her authority, he uttered the memorable manifesto: 'I am in the place quhair I am demandit of conscience to speik the treuth; and thairfoir I speik. The treuth I speik impung it quhoso list' (*ib.* 408).

8. Knox and the Protestant statesmen.—Amid general agreement between Knox and lay Reformers on the vital question of dethroning the Roman Catholic and establishing a Protestant Church, there was serious disagreement as to important details. The difference consisted chiefly in the familiar divergence between principle and expediency. While Knox was against the toleration of the Mass even in the Queen's private chapel, Moray and Maitland thought this a cheap price to pay for Mary's acquiescence in Protestant supremacy. Knox emphasized the necessity of free Assemblies: 'Take from us the freedom of Assemblies, and you take from us the Evangel.' The Protestant statesmen, especially Maitland, saw in the freedom of convocation and enactment a perilous *imperium in imperio*. Knox demanded the legalizing of the *Book of Discipline* by royal and parliamentary endorsement; the lay leaders of the Reformation resisted the claim alike as an occasion of rupture between Church and landowners and as a dangerous aggrandizement of ecclesiastical wealth and power. There was never much love to lose between Knox and Maitland, but the temporary estrangement between Knox and Moray (1563–65), the immediate occasion of which was the latter's unwillingness to press the Queen formally to recognize the Reformed as the National Church, caused a painful breach between two men who had regarded each other with esteem and affection. The breach was closed about the time of the Queen's marriage to Darnley, when the statesman (who opposed it) became an exile, and the Reformer the leader of a depressed Church. Common misfortune helped to heal discord.

When Mary's mad marriage with her husband's murderer alienated the national sentiment and led to her enforced abdication, Knox and the Regent Moray co-operated loyally in securing the full establishment of Protestantism, a guarantee against the accession of any non-reformed sovereign, and more adequate maintenance of a Protestant ministry. To Knox Moray's tragic death was not only a great public calamity, but a heavy personal bereavement; and his funeral sermon, from the significant text, 'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord,' moved a vast congregation to tears (Calderwood, *Hist.* ii. 526).

9. Last years and death.—The eventide of Knox's life was clouded with trouble. Moray's removal strengthened the party which favoured Mary's restoration; and some influential men now seceded to it, including Maitland and Kirkcaldy of Grange. On the other hand, the Regent's party, to which Knox loyally adhered, strained the fidelity of the Reformer and others by 'merciless devouring' of the Church's patrimony and oppressive interference with her liberty. When to these troubles was added in 1570 a stroke of apoplexy, Knox was persuaded to leave Edinburgh for the quieter environment of St. Andrews, where he remained for half a year. He describes himself as there 'lying half-dead,' but he did not cease from preaching.

> He had to be 'lifted to the pulpit,' writes James Melville, an eye-witness (*Memoirs*, p. 75), 'where he behoved to lean at his first entry; but ere he had done, he was like to ding that pulpit in blads and flee out of it.'

During his residence in St. Andrews took place that introduction of a modified episcopate into the Reformed Scottish Church which became the fruitful source of discord, despotism, and rebellion. Knox did not protest against episcopacy in itself; but he warned the Church of the abuses to which it might lead, and suggested safeguards against the appointment of unqualified persons and the simoniacal alienation of ecclesiastical property to secular use. In autumn he returned to Edinburgh—to die; but two notable functions he lived to discharge: his sermon after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, when he denounced 'that murderer the king of France' in the white heat of righteous indignation, and his last pulpit service on 9th November, when James Lawson was inducted as his successor, and when Knox with 'weak voice' but fervent heart 'prayed that any gift which *he* had possessed' might be bestowed on his successor '1000 fold' (R. Bannatyne, *Memoriales*, p. 281). A 'last good night' to the elders and deacons of St. Giles; a solemn and affectionate Godspeed to his colleague; farewell interviews and messages, in particular a meeting with Morton whom he supported but did not love, and an assurance of divine mercy to Kirkcaldy whom he loved but opposed; a dying prayer for 'the troubled Kirk'; a dying vision of the 'Delectable Land'; and a last request to his devoted young wife[1] to read the 15th chapter of 1st Corinthians, 'where,' he said, 'I first cast anchor'—these are some of the chief incidents of the Reformer's latest hours (*ib.* p. 288 f.). He was buried in what was then the churchyard of St. Giles, at or near the spot afterwards indicated by his initials between the church and Parliament House. As the remains were laid in the grave, Morton uttered his disinterested witness: 'Here lyeth a man who in his life never feared the face of man' (J. Melville, *Memoirs*, p. 60). This panegyric indicates what in Knox's character most impressed his contemporaries. But beneath this fearlessness towards men was his steadfast faith in God, and in his own call to be God's servant. Knox was intolerant towards Romanists as well as Romanism; but we must remember the great difference between the Roman Church of Scotland in the 16th cent. and in the 20th. He was a stern man when conscience demanded severity; but there was in him a vein of tenderness and sympathy of which life-long conflict did not deprive him. We catch a glimpse of this side of his character in the almost intolerable pain which (as he told the Queen) he felt when constrained to punish his children; in the yearnings of a wounded yet affectionate spirit which are revealed in his letter to Moray at the time of their quarrel; and in the solicitude which he manifested on his deathbed for the salvation of Kirkcaldy, his antagonist but former friend. Knox's unreserved self-dedication—at once patriotic and devout—to the Scottish Reformation contrasts well with the defective patriotism and ignoble self-seeking of some of his fellow-labourers, who reaped spoil from the Church's heritage. His incessant and devoted labours after his final return to Scotland, notwithstanding 'a weak and fragile body,' his courageous maintenance of divine truth, by voice and pen, before high and low, and his heroic faith through which the faith of others was sustained, in the eventual triumph of Protestantism, justify the historian Froude's judgment that 'no grander figure can be found, in the entire history of the Reformation in this island, than that of Knox' (*History of England*, London, 1856–70, x. 455).

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KODAS.—See MUṆḌĀS.

KOL, KOLARIAN.—'Kol' and 'Kolarian' are terms applied to a race and a group of languages spoken by people found on the Vindhyan-Kaimūr hill range, which flanks the Ganges valley to the South in N. India. The origin of these names presents many difficult questions. Skr. *kola* means 'a hog,' and, according to some authorities, the tribal designation is a term of contempt applied by the early Hindus to the dark-skinned aborigines. According to Jellinghaus (*ZE* iii. [1871] 326), the word means 'pig-killer'; but it is more probably, like Orāon (*q.v.*), a variant of *horo*, the Muṇḍā term for 'man' (H. H. Risley, *TC*, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 101; E. T. Dalton, *Descript. Ethnology of Bengal*, do. 1872, p. 178). The term Kola used in the *Harivaṁśa* and other Purāṇas (J. Muir, *Orig.*

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[1] Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, to whom Knox was married in 1564. The youngest of their three daughters, Elizabeth, became the wife of the celebrated John Welch, minister of Ayr.

Skr. Texts, ii.^{3} [1874] 422; H. H. Wilson, *Vishṅu Puráṅa*, London, 1864–77, iii. 293) is supposed to be applied to the Karṇāṭa or Kanarese people; but it seems more probable that it refers to the N. tribe (R. Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*^{2}, London, 1875, Introd. p. 18). The origin of the term Kolarian is more remarkable. F. Wilford tried to show (*Asiatic Researches*, ix. [1809] 92) that 'Colar' was the oldest name of India, this hypothesis being based on a passage in pseudo-Plutarch (*de Fluviis*, iv. 1) which speaks of a nymph Kalauria in connexion with the origin of the Ganges. The use of the term Kolarian to designate this people and their language is due to G. Campbell (*JASBe* xxxv. pt. ii. [1866], supplement, p. 27 f.), and was adopted by Dalton and other ethnologists, but was repudiated by Risley on anthropometric grounds:

'Another theory of the origin of the Dravidians was adopted by Sir William Hunter in the account of the non-Aryan races of India given by him in *The Indian Empire*. According to this view there are two branches of the Dravidians—the Kolarians, speaking dialects allied to Mundāri, and the Dravidians proper, whose languages belong to the Tamil family. The former entered India from the North-East and occupied the northern portion of the Vindhya table-land. There they were conquered and split into fragments by the main body of Dravidians who found their way into the Punjab through the North-Western passes and pressed forward towards the South of India. The basis of this theory is obscure. Its account of the Dravidians seems to rest upon a supposed affinity between the Brāhui dialect of Baluchistan and the languages of Southern India; while the hypothesis of the North-Eastern origin of the Kolarians depends on the fancied recognition of Mongolian characteristics among the people of Chota Nagpur. But in the first place the distinction between Kolarians and Dravidians is purely linguistic, and does not correspond to any differences of physical type. Secondly, it is extremely improbable that a large body of very black and conspicuously long-headed types should have come from the one region of the earth which is peopled exclusively by races with broad heads and yellow complexions. With this we may dismiss the theory which assigns a trans-Himalayan origin to the Dravidians' (*Census Report of India*, 1901, i. 508, *The People of India*, Calcutta, 1905, p. 46 f.).

The question has assumed another form as the result of linguistic researches. The original substratum of the type of languages now known as Mōn-Khmēr is found to have

'covered a wide area, larger than the area covered by many families of languages in India at the present day. Languages with this common substratum are now spoken, not only in the modern Province of Assam, in Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Annam, but also over the whole of Central India as far west as the Berars. It is a far cry from Cochin China to Nimar, and yet, even at the present day, the coincidences between the language of the Kōrkūs [see Kūrkūs] of the latter District and the Annamese of Cochin China are strikingly obvious to any student of language who turns his attention to them' (G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, ii. [Calcutta, 1904] p. 2, iv. [1906] 'Muṇḍā and Dravidian Languages,' p. 2 ff.).

Further, many ethnologists are not prepared to admit Risley's doctrine of the uniformity of the brachycephalic type in trans-Himalaya (*JRAI* xlii. [1912] 450 ff.); and the origin of the Muṇḍā-speaking races is now attributed to the arrival of the first of three great invasions of Further India from the eastern uplands of Central Asia. It is improbable that the wide distribution in N. India of languages of the Mōn-Khmēr type could have occurred in any other way than by an emigration of these people from Further India. The identity of physical type between the Kolarians and the Dravidians may be the result of contact metamorphosis and the control of a common environment. The latest authority, A. Baines (*Ethnography* [=*GIAP* ii. 5], Strassburg, 1912, p. 3), thus sums up the question:

'The other race, to which the title of Kōl or Muṇḍā is generally attached, is not known south of the forest Belt, in which it is at the present time concentrated under its distinctive tribal appellations. Formerly, however, it was spread over the whole of the great plains of Upper India, and, according to recent philological discoveries, it is akin, at least in language, to communities now settled on the borders of Assam, and far to the east of the Bay of Bengal. Some investigators, indeed, spread its former habitat over a still wider area. In the east and north-east of India, however, its identity has been obscured, if not obliterated, by the successive immigrations of people of Mongoloidic race from eastern Tibet and the head waters of the great Chinese rivers, whose main streams of migration have sought the sea by the valleys of the Irāwadi, Salwīn, and Mekhong. In the Gangetic plain the type is traceable throughout the population, slightly, indeed, along the Jamnā, but more distinctly as the east is approached, and almost everywhere more prevalent as the social position is lower. This graduation is due to miscegenation between the Kōl, who, as far as ethnography is concerned, may be considered the autochthonous inhabitants of these tracts, and a taller and fairer race, which entered India by the passes of the north-west or the plains of Balūchistān.'

See also artt. Muṇḍās and Orāons.

Literature.—In addition to the authorities quoted in the article, see G. Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa or India*, Westminster, 1893, p. 121 ff.; W. Crooke, *TC*, do. 1896, iii. 294 ff. On the Mōn-Khmēr question, W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. 439 ff.; *Census Reports*, 1911, Assam, i. 96, Burma, i. 207 f., 261 ff.

W. Crooke.

KORAN.—See Qur'ān.

KOREA.

KOREA.—The Korean Peninsula, very mountainous and well watered, projects from the continent towards Japan. On the north it adjoins the wooded mountains of Manchuria, and the plain of Lyao, which has always been a cause of contention to the Chinese, the hunters of the north-east, the shepherds of the north-west (the Manchus), and the Mongols (or their predecessors); on the south-west side it stretches well into the vicinity of Shantung and Central China; the southern extremity comes close to Tsushima; but the north-eastern coast, on the Sea of Japan, is somewhat inhospitable.

1. History.—The history of Korea may be extracted from the above remarks: its neighbours, when more advanced or stronger, have prevailed over it by virtue of their civilization, and have often brought it into subjection by force of arms; at some rare intervals it has lived its own life. Its unity was brought about with difficulty. Its entrance into history was about the time when it was invaded first by Chinese and then by Japanese, while the natives settled down as independent kingdoms, Kokurye in the north-west, Paikchei in the south-west, Sillā in the south-east, Kārāk between the two latter—to say nothing of the tribes of the Yei on the Sea of Japan, and the kingdom of Puye situated in the country which is now Manchuria. At last, through the assistance of China, a union was accomplished in the interest of Sillā (668) and in opposition to Japan. To that southern kingdom succeeded the kingdom of Korye (918), and then that of Chosen (1392); the latter was absorbed by Japan in the year 1910.

2. Nature-worship.—Numerous facts indicate that earlier than the Korye dynasty there was a nature-religion whose traces are still visible to-day. Sacrifices to heaven were offered by the kings or the people in Sillā, Paikchei, Kokurye, and Puye, and among the Yei. Under the dynasty of Korye the worship of heaven was celebrated by the king, although he was a vassal of the Emperor; the rites had probably become Chinese, and the place of the ceremony was, as in China, a round knoll. The first sovereigns of the Chosen dynasty kept up these old rites. As early as the reign of Thāi-chong, in 1410, 1411, and 1414, debate had arisen regarding the right of the king of Korea to celebrate a sacrifice which the Chinese rituals reserved for the Emperor. Suppressed, then re-established, the sacrifice to heaven does not reappear after 1457 until 1897, when Korea was independent and known as the Empire of Tāi-hān.

Worship of the sun, moon, and stars existed in Sillā and in Kokurye, and is found again during the Korye dynasty. In the last-mentioned period, and also in that of Chosen, mention is made of altars dedicated to the stars; at these altars offerings and prayers were burned. In the middle of the 15th cent. these ceremonies, Taoist in character, were suppressed; like the sacrifices to heaven, they did not conform to the strict orthodoxy of Confucianism.

In the kingdom of Sillā, at a period when the Chinese civilization had already penetrated, the sacrifices in connexion with agriculture kept their national character; they took place three times a year—in spring, summer, and autumn.

One of the most important points in the ancient religion was the worship of mountains, rivers, and seas. The *Sām kuk sa keui* gives a list of the holy places of the kingdom of Sillā, classified into three groups, according to their importance. Under the dynasty of Chosen, sacrifices were regularly offered, sometimes at the places consecrated by tradition, sometimes at a mountain- or river-altar (after 1405 the altars had official guardians). The regulations of 1866 include ritual rules along with a kind of sacred geography. In spite of the intolerance of the Confucianists, who have gradually effaced so many traces of the ancient beliefs, this worship has survived. It is very deep-rooted among the people; there is hardly a sacred mountain where some sanctuary is not to be found, dedicated to the spirit of the place or to a Buddha as its substitute. At every important or difficult pass there is a sacred tree, at the foot of which each passer-by lays a pebble; some travellers tear strips from their garments and tie them to the branches; the devout present rice. Similar offerings are made at the fords and at the eddies of the rivers. The great trees, the *miryek* (gigantic statues, perhaps Buddhist in origin, which occur in fairly large numbers), and the posts painted red, with the tops roughly representing a human head, are the objects of a similar devotion.

A last mark of the ancient religion has reference to ritual purity. At the beginning of each year there were general sacrifices of propitiation and purification; these were offered also in time of war; and at such times all rejoicings were forbidden. Practices analogous to that great annual purification may be found in the feudal China of the Cheu and in ancient Japan. In the modern Chinese worship, fasting and the washing of hands which precedes every sacrifice have not so general a significance. The use of purifications and of public prayers on the occasion of calamities, fires, and invasions is often noted even during the period of Korye, under names which recall the Japanese *Ohobarahi.* The people observed a custom of the same nature; each year, on the 15th day of the 6th moon, they went to wash their hair at the river in order to remove all misfortunes; then they gathered together to drink and make merry.

3. Ancestor-worship.—The *Sām kuk sa keui* assigns a remote origin to the worship of the royal ancestors of Sillā.

'Under the king Nām-hai, the second reign, the 3rd year (A.D. 6) in spring, they set up for the first time the temple of Si-cho Hyekkesei; at the four seasons they offered sacrifices to him. His own younger sister, Āro, presided at the sacrifices. King Chi-cheung (500–514), 22nd reign, at Nāi-eul, birthplace of Si-cho, founded a temple in order to offer sacrifice to him. Coming to the 36th reign, king Hyei-kong (765–780) for the first time determined the five temples; he chose king Michu (262–284) as the first ancestor of the Kim family; kings Thāi-chong (654–661) and Mun-mu (661–681), who had pacified Paikchei and Kokurye, and had great merits, were each of them ancestors whose [worship] the successive generations [might] not abolish: with these were grouped his two nearest temples, that made five temples.'

The place of a woman in the ceremonies makes us think of the Imperial Japanese priestesses of Ise and Kamo; and, as in Japan, the guardians of the royal tombs seem to have formed a hereditary class of the population in Sillā and in Kokurye. The worship of dead kings in Kokurye is thus attested:

'The 3rd year of king Tāi-mu-sin (A.D. 20), the temple of the first ancestor, king Tong-myeng (37–19 B.C.), was built.' The Chinese historians confirm the existence of this worship: 'They have two temples for the spirits; one is called the spirit of Puye, represented by a carved wooden image of a woman; the other is called the spirit of Ko-teung (or, rather, the spirit which rose to the heights); they say he is Si-cho, son of the spirit of Puye. For each temple they have established officials, and send men to guard them. These would be the daughter of the god of the river and Chumong.'

The last phrase, added by the author of the *Sām kuk sa keui,* indicates very precisely that Kokurye adored their first king and his mother; the legend of these two personages, recorded in the *Sām kuk sa keui* and in the inscription of 414 of Kokurye, testifies that Si-cho (Chumong, the king Tong-myeng) and his mother were born in Puye; Si-cho did not die a natural death, but disappeared, rising up to heaven, whence the name Ko-teung.

The worship of the founder of the dynasty is likewise observed in Paikchei and in Kārāk.

Since the 10th cent., at least, the worship of the royal ancestors has been Chinese as regards formulæ and rites; and since the year 988 the Korean rituals have been directly inspired by Chinese rituals. The formalities of ancestor-worship have been extended, in accordance with Chinese principles, to the worship of all spirits. Generally a wooden tablet is inscribed with the name of the spirit; the tablet represents him or acts as a support for him; for the ceremony it is set up on a throne. The name of the sacrifice varies: *chei* and *sa* are applied to the worship of the spirits of nature, the first term referring to the earthly, and the second to the heavenly, spirits; *hyāng* is reserved for the manes; *keui* is a requisition or a proclamation made to the spirits; in the worship of Confucius the expressions *hyāng* and *sek tyen* are found. Some of the sacrifices are offered at a fixed time—*e.g.*, at new moon and full moon, at each season, or in spring and in autumn, according to the diversity of spirits; others take place when special events call for them. The king is sacrificer by right, and officiates in person or by his representatives. The principal sacrificer is assisted by various acolytes, masters of ceremonies, invocators, and others; these are merely assistants, not priests. There is no specially constituted priesthood.

The essential elements of the sacrifice are the offering of incense, cloth, wine, and different kinds of food, and the reading of a prayer; at the great sacrifices, musicians chant hymns and dancers perform evolutions at different points in the ceremony. A consecrated cup is handed to the principal sacrificer, who empties it; a part of the consecrated food is then handed to him, which he receives, and, after the ceremony, consumes. The rest of the offering, along with the text of the prayer, is interred in a trench dug for the purpose. The text of the prayer, and the quantity and nature of the offering, vary according to circumstances.

The offerings placed before each tablet for the sacrifice of the proclamation to the gods of the harvests were: two bamboo baskets, covered (dried stag-flesh, chestnuts); two wooden bowls, covered (salted stag-flesh, pickled vegetables); two copper plates, rectangular, covered (rice, sorghum); two wooden plates, round, covered (two kinds of millet); a wooden tray (pork fat); a bamboo basket, covered (cloth); two wax tapers, one perfume-burner, one cup for libations; two bowls of plain wood (pure water, sweet wine); and two pitchers of carved wood (pure water, clarified wine).

Of the places where the official worship is celebrated, some—*myo, tyen, sa*—are covered buildings, separated by courts, and contained within an enclosing wall; and these buildings, more or less extensive and sumptuous, are consecrated to the worship of the manes. The others, *tān,* are altars in the open air, formed of a levelled surface which is raised above the surrounding ground and is reached by steps; these are encompassed by one or two enclosing walls, square or rectangular in form, often rather low, and built of stone; the altar and the walls are orientated. In the middle of each of the walls is an opening which serves as a passage; it is adorned with the Korean wooden gate, called *hong sāl mun*. The altars are employed for the most part for the worship of the spirits of nature. Several other temples, called *kung* or *myo*, are dedicated to different members of the royal family, heirs to the throne, wives of the second rank, and so on. At death-anniversaries and at several feasts, worship is celebrated at the tombs of the kings and other members of the royal family. The tombs of the kings and queens, *sān reung*, 47 or 48 in number, are situated mostly in the neighbourhood of Se-ul; the tombs of the second and third class, *uen* and *mo*, number more than 10. There are also temples consecrated to Confucius and to various celebrated men and benefactors of the country.

Principal temples and altars.—Chong myo, at Se-ul, temple of the royal ancestors of Chosen; *Yeng-heui tyen*, at Se-ul, where the portraits of several kings are honoured; *Kyeng-mo kung*, at Se-ul, built in 1764 for the manes of the crown-prince Chāng-hen (Sa-to); *Hām-heung pon kung*, at Hām-heung, an ancient habitation of Thāi-cho, who founded the Chosen dynasty; *Sung-in tyen*, at Phyeng-yāng, in honour of the legendary Keui-cha, founder (A.D. 1122) of the second kingdom of Chosen; *Sung-tek tyen*, at Kyeng-chu, dedicated to the first king of Sillā; *Mun-sen oāng myo*, temple of Confucius at Se-ul; *Koān oāng myo*, at Se-ul, temples of the god of war who fought with the Korean army against the Japanese in 1592 and 1597; *Sen-mu sa*, at Se-ul, in honour of two Chinese generals who fought for Korea in that war; *Mu-ryel sa*, at Phyeng-yāng, dedicated to several Chinese mandarins who took part in the war against the Japanese (1592–98); *Chhung-min sa*, at Sun-thyen, where Ri Sun-sin is honoured, the great Korean admiral who so often conquered the Japanese; *Tāi-po tān*, at Se-ul, an altar dedicated to three Ming Emperors—Thai-tsu, Shen-tsung, who rescued Korea in 1592–98, and Yi-tsung, the last of the dynasty; and *Sā-chik tān*, at Se-ul, altar of the gods of the harvests.

In theory ancestor-worship exists in every family, just as in the royal family: the eldest son inherits the sacrifices and presents offerings to his father, his grandfather, and great-grandfather, as well as to their wives, *i.e.* to one, two, or three generations of ancestors in the male line; the more remote ancestors have neither tablets nor special offerings. The ceremonies take place at the same periods and in connexion with the same events as those of the worship of the royal ancestors, and may be performed in the principal room of the house, in a room or chapel set apart for this purpose, or near the tombs.

For the sacrifice presented by a man of the people (*i.e.* not an official) to his father and mother, the offerings are by right the following: a bowl of vegetables, a plate of fruits, a bowl of dried meat and of salted meat, a bowl of roasted liver, two bowls of cooked rice, two bowls of broth, a spoon and chopsticks for two persons, and six cups (of wine).

In practice the aristocracy of the *ryāng-pān* and the demi-aristocracy of the *chung-in* seem to be the only people who celebrate this private worship. It is regulated by the ritual of Chu Hi and by many Korean commentaries, but it is not mentioned, even in a native form, earlier than 1015.

There are many buildings, more or less important, bearing the name of *sa*, *se-uen*, or *myo*, which belong neither to the official nor to the domestic worship. They are dedicated to celebrated men, Korean or Chinese, philosophers, officials, and soldiers, distinguished by their loyalty, their virtues, and the loftiness of their teaching. The little work entitled *Cho tu rok* mentions no fewer than 383 outside of Se-ul—*i.e.*, on an average, more than one for each district. In some of the chapels not more than one personage is adored, in others half a dozen or more; some men receive sacrifices only in one locality, while the names of others are found in all the provinces, or in several districts of each province. If the terms were taken in their exact sense, the *sa* and the *myo* would be essentially the places of worship; in the *se-uen*, the principal part would be the *kāng tāng*, where the disciples gather together to read and comment upon the works of their master, and to discuss and expound his teaching; as a matter of fact, the three expressions are not kept distinct. These chapels, built by the piety of descendants, disciples, and adorers in order to honour the memory of a respected master, received from their founders gifts of rice-plantations and slaves; and often the king bestowed similar benefits on them, exempted them from taxation, or gave them a tablet bearing characters written by his hand.

There is no doubt that the new international conditions of Korea will modify the religious customs.

4. Buddhism.—The formalities of Buddhism in Korea do not differ essentially from those in China, whence it has penetrated into the peninsula. The bonze Sun-to, carrying images and sacred texts, was sent to Kokurye by the king of Tshin in A.D. 372; in 384 the bonze Marananda coming from Tsin went to Paikchei; fifty years later some bonzes from Kokurye entered Sillā, which practised the Buddhist precepts in 528. Before long it was forbidden in that kingdom to kill any living thing; many people became monks and gave their goods to the monasteries; some kings took the bonze's robe; and in 551 the dignity of patriarch of the kingdom was created. Under the Korye dynasty Buddhism shone with incomparable radiance; the *kouk sa*, preceptor of the kingdom, was often possessed of great power, while the bonzes, fortified in their monasteries, and owners of numerous slaves and extensive domains, intrigued, plotted, and strove by force of arms against the ministers who displeased them. The dynasty of Chosen, however, treated the monks mainly with distrust; the *chong*, Buddhist Orders or sects, were, by decree, reduced to the number of two (1419), and then abolished (1512). The monastic profession was surrounded by many hindrances (1469); the monasteries of Se-ul were destroyed, and it was forbidden to build others; the bonzes were prohibited from entering the capital and were ranked among the lowest castes. These persecuting laws have been suppressed since the Japanese domination.

5. Confucianism.—The accession of the dynasty of Chosen had been, in fact, a reaction against the bonzes and against the Mongols. In opposition to that twofold tyranny, the nobles had become Confucian *literati*. In spite of the encouragement given by several of the first kings of Korye, the teaching of the Chinese sage, scarcely approved of in Sillā, had failed to find more adherents later on, and in the middle of the 13th cent. Ān Yu complained that he saw the temple of Confucius in ruins and the Great School without pupils. After the fall of the Sung in China, many Confucian books were introduced, and *literati* came into the country. This was the beginning of a Confucian renaissance, of which the great names are those of Ri Saik and Cheng Mong-chu (second half of the 14th cent.). The triumph of the *literati* in Korea followed the fall of the Mongols and the accession of the Ming at Peking. The first kings of Chosen, in particular Thāi-chong (1400–1418) and Sei-chong (1418–1450), organized their kingdom according to the principles of the School, revived the competitive examinations and the rules for the conferment of offices, and surrounded themselves with *literati*, whom, however, they knew how to keep in subjection. In the following century, however, the Confucianists grouped in the official provincial schools, the temples, and colleges around renowned masters, communicating from town to town, and represented at Se-ul by the *literati* of the temple of Confucius and often by the highest officials, spoke out to the court and to the kings. Two princes resisted and were deposed; the others had usually to submit to a strict puritanism founded upon the classics, and to take part in the persecution of all dissenters, Buddhist and others. It was the reign of Chinese rituals; but the *literati* were not of one mind about the interpretation of the texts. They split up into parties, and fought for power; hence arose exiles, massacres, and violation of tombs; all parties at certain times showed equal ferocity, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, before and after the invasion of the Japanese and that of the Manchus. Among the great sages of that period mention must be made of Ri Theū-kyei, Seng U-kyei, and Ri Ryul-kok, who kept themselves apart from the factions, and He Mok and Song Si-ryel, whose partisans stained the land with blood. Since the 18th cent. the Confucian philosophy has continued to be studied, and the rites have been practised, with milder feelings.

6. Christianity.—Christianity was introduced from Peking in 1784 by some members of the annual embassy; the priests were at first Chinese. The first European missionary who made his way into Korea (1836) was M. Maubant. In 1866 there were in Se-ul and in the provinces twelve missionaries and ten thousand converts, but the massacres decreed in that year almost annihilated the Korean Church. Since 1883, in consequence of the treaties with the European powers, it has been possible to establish all the religious missions openly in the land.

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MAURICE COURANT.

KORKUS.—See KŪRKŪS.

KORWAS.—See MUṆḌĀS.

KORYBANTES.—See KOURETES AND KORYBANTES.

KOURETES AND KORYBANTES.—**I. Kouretes.**—The nature and functions of the Kouretes are in great part deducible from a right understanding of their name. We must, in all probability, distinguish between κούρητες and κουρῆτες, which apparently come from entirely different bases.

Κούρης, 'young man, warrior' (*e.g.*, *Il.* xix. 193, 248), is probably to be connected with Homeric κοῦρος, κούρη, 'youth, maiden,' Doric κῶρος, κώρᾱ, which, as shown by the Arcadian form κόρϝᾱ, 'maiden,' are for **kor-vos*, **kor-vā*, and are to be connected with the base **kere-*, 'to grow,' which appears, among many other words, in Lat. *creo*, 'I create' (H. Osthoff, *Etymolog. Parerga*, Leipzig, 1901, i. 37; E. Boisacq, *Dict. étymol. de la langue grecque*, Heidelberg, 1907 ff., p. 497). It means properly 'adolescent.' Κουρῆτες (Cretan κωρήτας), on the other hand, the subject of the present art., may represent an original **qor-s-ētes*, and thus be connected with Gr. κουρά, 'shearing, tonsure,' and with κείρω (**qer-s-yō*), 'I shear, cut.' The Greek lexicographers confused the two bases, and connected κοῦρος, κούρη with κουρά, as in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, *s.v.* κουρόσυνα: κοῦρος . . . λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ ξυρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ γέναιον; *Etymologicum Gudianum*, *s.v.* κούρη: κόρη καὶ Ἰωνικῶς κούρη . . . ἡ κειρομένη ἔτι. On the other hand, both lexicons, as well as Hesychius, rightly distinguish between κούρητες and κουρῆτες.

The κουρῆτες, then, may be regarded as meaning those who had undergone some form of tonsure, and this tonsure was one of, and perhaps among the Greeks the most important among, the rites of puberty-initiation. Hair among most primitive people is sacred because regarded as a source and vehicle of life (cf. art. HAIR AND NAILS, vol. vi. pp. 474–477). The sprouting of the beard is a mark of virility attained; and, as puberty both for man and for woman has significance only in relation to marriage, Greek custom enacted that a young man should offer his beard and a maiden her locks before entering on marriage. Our earliest definite evidence for hair-shearing as a rite preliminary to marriage is in the *Hippolytos* of Euripides (1425 ff.). Artemis says to Hippolytos:

> Τιμὰς μεγίστας ἐν πόλει Τροζηνίᾳ
> δώσω· κόραι γὰρ ἄζυγες γάμων πάρος
> κόμας κέρουνταί σοι.

And Lucian (*de Syr. Dea*, 60), quoting the custom of Troezen, says that it was the same at Hierapolis in Syria.

'The young men offer the firstfruits of their beards (τῶν γενείων ἀπάρχονται), and they then let down the locks of the maidens, which have been sacred from their birth. They then cut these off in the sanctuary and place them in vessels, some of silver, and many of gold.' Lucian notes that the name of the dedicator was often inscribed, and adds: 'I did this myself when I was still a youth, and my lock of hair and my name still remain in the sanctuary.'

The Kouretes, then, we may conjecture, were the mythological projection of youths who had undergone puberty-initiation. The custom of hair-shearing survived in the ceremony of κουρεῶτις, which gave its name to the third day of the Apatouria at Athens, on which the youths and maidens were enrolled on the phratry-lists, and the children's hair was shorn and dedicated to Artemis.

Strabo devotes most of the 10th book of his *Geography* to the discussion of the Kouretes. What puzzled him was that he knew of two sorts of Kouretes—one sort real young men living and giving their name to tribes living in Eubœa, Ætolia, and Acarnania; the other sort a kind of magical priest, a semi-mythical person attendant on the gods, and akin, according to him, to other mythical ministrants—like Satyrs, Seilenoi, and Tityroi—to Korybantes, Kabeiroi, Idæan Daktyls, and Telchines. The confusion that seems hopeless to Strabo is cleared up for us by comparative anthropology. Two principles necessarily hidden from Strabo serve to unravel the tangle. First, we know now that social institutions tend to 'project' mythological figures. Actual men dancing in animal skins for ritual purposes beget the notion of mythical figures half-men, half-animal, *e.g.* Satyrs. Actual young initiates, or *kouretes*, tend to project mythological idealized Kouretes. The process is marked by the capital letter. The second principle is even more important. Tribal initiation ceremonies, once their purport is obscured, tend to become the mysteries of secret societies. Privileges once open to all at puberty are confined to the few willing to purchase them either by actual payment to already existing members or by submission to particular tests. The initiate, the *koures*, develops into the professional medicine-man.

All over Greece in primitive days there were presumably Kouretes, warriors who had shorn their hair at puberty, but in Krete only do we find the Kouretes as a special sect of medicine-men or embryo priests. The chorus in the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides (frag. iii. 24) tell how Europa landed on holy Krete, rearer of Zeus, 'nurse of the Kouretes,' and the Bacchants sing (Eur. *Bach.* 119):

> ὦ θαλάμευμα Κουρή-
> των ζαθέου τε Κρήτας
> Διογενέτορες ἔναυλοι.

In Krete, it would seem, was not only the sacred birth-place of Zeus, but the marriage-chamber of the Kouretes. Here, though the Kouretes are half-mythologized, their primary function as marriageable initiates is still remembered, and in the light of this function we can understand the characteristic myth in which they appear as attendants of the Mother (Rhea) and rearers and protectors of the holy child (Zeus), as *παιδοτρόφοι* and *φύλακες*.

> 'In the Kretan discourses the Kouretes are called the nurses and guardians of Zeus' (Strabo, x. 468).

Krete, then, was by common consent the birthplace of the Kouretes, and, wherever Kretan civilization spread, the specialized Kouretes are apt to be found. Their particular geographical distribution is matter of the general history of the spread of Kretan civilization, and does not here concern us.

The great central worship of Krete was the worship of the Mother-goddess. In the bridal-chamber (*θαλάμευμα*) of Krete the young men, before they might win their earthly brides, were initiated to the Mountain-Mother, and became symbolically her consorts or husbands; by this ceremony her fertility was promoted and theirs safeguarded. In natural sequence these potential fathers became the guardians of the Mother's child, re-born each year, on whose re-birth the fertility of nature and man alike depended. This marriage of the initiate with the Queen or Mother underlies all the Kretan and Asia Minor mysteries. On an Orphic gold tablet the mystic avows *Δεσποίνας δὲ ὑπὸ κόλπου ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας*, and one formulary of the mysteries of Dea was *ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν*, where the *παστός* corresponds exactly to the marriage-chamber (*θαλάμευμα*) of the Kretan Kouretes.

The functions of the *koures* in the secondary and derivative sense as medicine-man, a member of a secret society, were not confined, any more than were those of the young tribal initiate, to that of marriage. It was the multiplicity of these functions that puzzled Strabo. He finds that the Kouretes are magicians, prophets, and armed dancers, as well as child-rearers, and always half-dæmonic. These manifold functions are natural enough if we regard the Kouretes as a blend of medicine-man and culture-hero. The medicine-man is always half-dæmonic, and often dressed up as a bogey; he is always a seer and a healer, always charged with magical power, and it is interesting to find that Epimenides, the great magician-healer of Krete who was summoned to Athens to purify the city, was hailed as the 'New Koures' (Κουρῆς, not Κοῦρος, as in the printed edd.). He was a man of Phaistos, according to Plutarch (*Vita Sol.* xii.), 'an adept in religious matters dealing with the lore of orgiastic and initiatory rites,' and his life, with its magical sleep in the Diktæan cave and its dream-taught lore, reads like the tale of the initiation of a savage medicine-man.

Diodorus brings the Kouretes before us as culture-heroes, as the projections, half-historical, half-mythological, of man's primitive energies and discoveries. They dwelt, he tells us, on mountains and in wooded places and glens where there was natural shelter. They were distinguished by their ingenuity in inventing things for the common good. They first taught men to collect four-footed beasts in flocks, to tame wild animals, the art of bee-keeping, how to hunt and shoot, and they

> 'taught men how to live together in societies, and were the originators of harmony and a certain good order. They also discovered swords and helmets and armed dances, and by means of those they made a great din and deceived Kronos' (v. 65).

Following Diodorus, modern mythologists have always explained the characteristic clashing of arms by the Kouretes as part of the tendance of the holy child. As such it appears in the reliefs and on the various coins where the birth is represented. The Mother and child, or sometimes the child only, are figured in the centre, and above them the Kouretes clash their shields. Rendel Harris has shown that the shield- or, rather, cymbal-clashing was connected with the child's sacred *food*, as much as or more than with the child. 'Butter and honey shall he eat.' His nursing mothers (*τροφοί*) are Amalthea ('she of the milk') and Melissa, the honey-bee. It was 'a rude music meant to call the swarming bees to a new hive' (*Boanerges*, p. 350). It finds its counterpart in the 'noise of tin pans and kettles which may be heard in the neighbourhood of any cottage in the country when the bees are swarming.' Virgil remembers the connexion between bees and the cymbals of the Mother. When the bees swarm, he says, strew bruised balm-leaves and honey-wort,

> 'Tinnitusque cie, et Matris quate cymbala circum' (*Georg.* iv. 64),

and a little later he definitely connects the bees and the Kouretes, speaking of the bees as

> 'Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae' (*ib.* 151).

It is important to note that on our earliest monument representing the Kouretes—one of the votive bronze shields, found actually in the sacred cave on Mt. Ida and dating about the 8th cent. B.C.—the Kouretes are clashing not shields but cymbals or a sort of gong.

Though their aspect as culture-heroes was of great importance, the central function of the Kouretes remained that of husbands and potential fathers. On the symbolic performance in ritual of this function depended the fertility and, in general, the luck or fate of the whole community. Of this, happily, we are certain, owing to the discovery of a priceless monument, the Hymn of the Kouretes, recently found at Palaikastro in Eastern Krete. The Hymn dates from about the 4th cent. A.D., but it embodies a much older original. It opens with an invocation to the 'Kouros most great,' the mythical projection of the band of *kouroi*. He is addressed as 'Kronian,' as 'Lord of all that is wet and gleaming' (*παγκρατὲς γάνους*), *i.e.* lord of moisture and of life begotten and nurtured by moisture. Moreover—an all-important point—he is bidden to come to Dikte 'for the year' (*ἐς ἐνιαυτόν*). The birth and nurture of the holy child are then recounted—a birth which implied to the ears of the initiated a sacred ritual marriage. The Hymn then passes to the consequences of the holy birth. Because the child is annually born, the Seasons (Horæ) began to be fruitful year by year; the cause of the Seasons, their order and way (Dikē), is inaugurated, never again to be disturbed, and in virtue of this birth there results fertility for man and beast, for flocks and herds and bee-hives, for cities and seafaring ships, and finally, by virtue of this goodly rite (*θέμιν*) of initiation, fertility for the newly initiated citizens (*κὲς ν[εοὺς πολ]είτας*). For all this the worshippers and their god are bidden in primitive fashion to 'leap' (*θόρε*). The Kouretes stand then as salient examples of two fundamental principles in primitive Greek religions. (1) Mythological figures are the projection of (*a*) social structure, and (*b*) human activities. The Kouretes reflect the matrilinear social structure, which centres in the Mother and Child, with accessory consort or consorts. Their religion was obscured and all but effaced by the later patriarchal system in which the Father dominates the Mother, and in which tribal initiation at puberty has ceased to be prominent; the human energies expressed by the Kouretes are those of fighting and fatherhood combined with early food-producing activities—the tending of flocks and herds and bees. (2) Primitive ritual is always magical in character; *i.e.*, the worshipper *does* what he wants done, his rites are those of magical induction; he marries that the land may be fertile, he tends symbolically a holy child that his own children may be nurtured

Then, as the religious instinct develops, he projects a dæmon leader—a Greatest Kouros, to whom he hands over the functions which he himself performed.

2. Korybantes.—The Korybantes are but a specialized form of one function of the Kouretes; they are the embodiments or projections of the orgiastic ritual-dance. Their name is of interest; it means 'peak.' Thus the Macedonian form of *koryphe*, 'mountain-peak,' is *korybe*, and is probably akin to *kurbasia*, a peaked head-dress worn by, *e.g.*, the Persian king and the Roman Salii, figures near akin to the Kouretes. The Korybantes, like the Kouretes, had initiation-mysteries which seem to have emphasized death and burial rather than marriage and birth; but it must be borne in mind that death and burial rites, followed by resurrection, are equally effective 'medicine' for fertility with rites of marriage and birth. The Peak-Men were naturally, like the Kouretes, satellites of the Mountain-Mother, and in her honour celebrated wild mountain dances (ὀρειβάσια). Some said that they were the first men sprung from the Earth in the form of bees. Their worship was confused with that of the Kabeiroi, and they were at home in Phrygia rather than in Krete. To Plato the Korybantic dances are the stock instance of orgiastic κάθαρσις (*Legg.* 790 D: τὰ τῶν Κορυβάντων ἰάματα). This κάθαρσις by dancing included for the ancient Kouretes and Korybantes, as for the modern savage, two elements apparently contrasted, but in reality closely inter-connected—the expulsion of evil, *i.e.* barrenness, sickness, madness, and the induction of good, *i.e.* fertility, health, growth, and sanity. To-day in French Guinea, while some of the natives sow seed, a man armed with a musket dances, and the intent of this is explained as twofold: for exorcizing the spirits and causing the grain to sprout; and in West Africa at sowing time half of the people go out armed for battle, the other half carry only farm tools.

LITERATURE.—For literary and monumental evidence see Roscher, *s.v.* 'Kureten,' Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Curetes,' and O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, Index, *s.v.* 'Kureten' and 'Kŏrybantes.' For the Palaikastro Hymn of the Kouretes see three artt. in *BSA* xv. [1908–09] 309–365, by R. C. Bosanquet, Gilbert Murray, and J. E. Harrison, discussing respectively the finding of the Hymn, the editing of the text, and its religious significance. For the Kouretes as initiates and culture-heroes see J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 6 ff., 51 ff.; for their relation to matrilinear culture, *ib.* p. 492 ff. For the Kouretes as consorts of the Mother see A. B. Cook, *Zeus, the Indo-European Sky-God*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 650, and *ib.* pp. 23, 24, note 6, for the interpretation of the Kouretes as those of the shorn hair. For the Korybantes as Peak-Men, *ib.* p. 107. For the cymbal-clashers as bee-keepers see J. Rendel Harris, *Boanerges*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 348–357. For prophylactic and inductive functions of armed dancing priests see J. G. Frazer, *GB*³, pt. vi., 'The Scape-goat,' London, 1913, p. 231 ff. For bronze shields of the Idæan cave see F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 74–82.

J. E. HARRISON.

KRISHNA.—See INCARNATION (Indian).

KSHATRIYAS.—See CASTE.

KURDS.—See SUNNIS, KIZIL BASH.

KŪRKŪS.—**1. Race, habitat, and census.**—The Kūrkūs belong to the Muṇḍā family of India, and are closely akin to the Kols of Chotā Nāgpur and the Santāls of the Santāl Parganas.[1] They inhabit the Sātpurā hills and the contiguous plains in the Central Provinces, especially the Districts of Hoshangābād, Nimār, Betūl, and the Melghāt Tāluq of Ellichpur. Their total number, as given in the Census of 1911, was 152,363, which marks an increase of 27 per cent on the returns of 1901, whereas the latter showed a decrease of 8 per cent on those of the previous decade, due to the famine years from 1897 onward.

2. Tribal organization.—The Kūrkūs are also known by the name Muāsī; but this, again, is used as a subdivisional name along with three other terms, viz. Bāwariā, Rūma, and Bondoyā. Thus the Kūrkūs are divided into four sub-tribes, mainly on a territorial basis, but also with a marked traditional cleavage approximating to caste distinction. The sub-tribes are further divided into totemic septs, named, for the most part, after trees, plants, animals, and other natural objects, animate or inanimate—*e.g.*, Chilātī (*Cæsalpinia sepiaria*), Jāmbū (*Eugenia jambolana*), Bētē (*Gmelina arborea*, Roxb.), Tākhēr (cucumber), Sākōm (leaf), Mūrirānā (peafowl), Dhāprī (ass), Ākhandī (mountain), Kāsā (earth), and Āthoā (wooden ladle). Accounts vary as to the correct number of these septs. According to one version, each sub-tribe has 36 septs. The writer of this article has been assured by Kūrkūs that the number is properly 12½, which is also the figure given by Driver;[1] but the sept names in actual use are found to exceed these limits, so that the statement is probably due to Goṇḍ—and ultimately to Hindu—influence. The origin of these sept divisions is naturally hidden in obscurity, though various stories are current which purport to give the explanation. The art. 'Korku' in the *Ethnographic Survey of the Central Provinces* (iii. 'Draft Articles on Forest Tribes' [1907] 54) records a tradition that

> 'the names are derived from trees and other articles in or behind which the ancestors of each sept took refuge after being defeated in a great battle.'

A variant of this was told to the present writer to the effect that the names were given by Bhagwān on an occasion when he called the ancestors of the tribe into his presence and inquired whence they had come, and, as each one indicated the locality by reference to some special object, Bhagwān named him accordingly. Perhaps this version looks more in the direction of J. G. Frazer's theory that the ultimate explanation of totemistic names is to be sought in connexion with primitive ignorance regarding the processes of procreation, though it would be precarious to lay particular stress on any special interpretation of such unstable traditions. With the predominance of the totemic sept, there is a corresponding weakness in the development of the clan principle. But, while the latter fails to affect the general organization of the tribe, various degrees of relationship are distinguished with great particularity, as among the Hindus; and what Frazer (*Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, iii. 21) notes as characteristic where the 'classificatory system' prevails holds good among the Kūrkūs, viz. that the language

> 'has separate terms for elder brother [*dādā* or *dādū*] and younger brother [*bōkō*], for elder sister [*bāī* or *jījī*] and younger sister [*bōkōjē*], but no term for brother in general or for sister in general.'

The Kūrkūs, like some sections of the Goṇḍ tribe, occasionally seek to establish a Rājput ancestry, and various tales are current with this intent. The element of truth here seems to be that some measure of intercourse has taken place, resulting in the loss of caste on the part of individual Rājputs and their identification with the Kūrkū people. The term Rāj Kūrkū is, however, regarded as an honourable distinction and is usually reserved for the wealthier and more powerful members of the tribe.

3. Social and religious practices.—The Kūrkūs are animists, but their animism is modified by a considerable admixture of Hindu beliefs and practices. This is reflected in the 1911 Census, which gives figures showing more than half the Kūrkū people as Hinduized. But the figures cannot be relied on as an exact index of the change. The process is too gradual and imperceptible to admit of mathematical treatment, especially at the hands of unskilled enumerators. The influence of Hinduism is distinctly noticeable in the current folklore of the Kūrkūs, the simpler substrata of which are now largely overlaid with names and notions foreign to the tribal tradition. Thus the horse, which to the Kūrkū is the agent of malevolent spiritual powers—a notion which perhaps echoes some old-time terror aroused by the incursions of a warlike foe—has become associated with Indra; the crow, which fulfils a traditional function reminiscent of Noah's raven and dove, is transformed into Kāgeśwar; and the spiritual powers, which, according to the limitations of the Kūrkū language and the genius of their primitive animism, were expressed, in highest terms, by the names for the sun and the moon, are now resolved into a council of gods in which not only Bhagwān but also Mahādeo, Indra, and other deities and demi-gods find a place. But the more original elements can usually be distinguished and the crude fabric of a naive cosmology pieced together. They have their own story of creation, in which man is fashioned from red earth; stories to account for the origin of vegetation and of death; a story of a lost revelation in which a dog, the agent of the beneficent spiritual powers and the enemy of the horse, appears with the message written in the venation of a leaf of the Kēndē Nāngan creeper —the signs are still there, but are no longer legible! While the Kūrkūs are coming gradually to recognize Hindu deities and to observe some of the Hindu festivals, much of their religion is still peculiarly their own. Their everyday beliefs and practices are of the aboriginal order, their normal hopes and fears continuing to find common expression by means of animistic symbols and rites. Their more familiar objects of worship—Mūtūā Gōmōij (the village god), Dōngōr Gōmōij (the jungle god), and Hardūlī Gōmōij (the cholera god) —come under this category. They usually consist of mere heaps of stones, frequently with a lump of quartz crystal on top. *Gōmōij* is the Kūrkū word for the sun, which, according to Kūrkū conceptions, is the supreme power in the universe. The Kūrkūs have their own priests (*bhūmkās*), and are in no way dependent on Brāhmanical direction. The customs observed at the birth of a child, and at marriage and funeral ceremonies, are, in the main, likewise peculiar to the people, though in the case of marriage customs in particular there is a tendency to copy their Hindu neighbours.

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[1] For an account of the distribution of this family, and a discussion as to the propriety of the various terms by which it has been dominated, see *Linguistic Survey of India*, iv. [1906] 2 ff.; and cf. *Census of India*, 1901, i. 278.

[1] *JASBe* lxi. pt. i. [1893] 128 ff.

On the birth of a child, the father is excluded from the house for five days, and compelled to rest content with the shelter of a cattle-shed or similar building not used as an ordinary human habitation. Child-marriage is the exception among the Kūrkūs, though it is said to be increasing under Hindu influence. The septs are exogamous; the sub-tribes normally endogamous. Usually a marriage is arranged through the mediation of friends of the prospective bridegroom's family. These wait upon the parents of the girl, who, as a matter of etiquette, reject the proposals and maintain their opposition thereto for a period which may extend from a few months to two years. But at last their consent is gained and the bride-price is agreed on—usually about sixty rupees. One peculiar custom observed at a Kūrkū wedding may be noticed here, because of its probable relation to earlier polygamous practices: the bridegroom and his elder brother's wife are made to stand on a blanket and embrace seven times. Sometimes the father of the girl insists on the would-be husband working for a period of years in lieu of the payment of the bride-price, but not infrequently this leads to a runaway marriage on the part of the couple concerned, in which case an indemnity may be demanded of the boy's parents. Polygamy is permitted, the main restriction being the practical one which arises from the very frequent absence of means to support a large household. The women-folk are well-treated, but there is no trace of the matriarchate with regard to sept-genealogy or inheritance: children belong to the sept of the father, and the property is divided among the widow and the unmarried sons Kūrkūs may either burn or bury their dead. The latter is the more common method. The spirit of the deceased is set at rest at a subsequent ceremony called *shidūlī*, in connexion with which elaborate rites are performed, extending over three days, and consummated by the erection of a memorial post rudely carved with representations of the sun and the moon, facing the east, and other figures of men on horseback, dancers, apes, peacocks, fowls, crabs, spiders, trees, etc.

The Kūrkūs have many practices which give evidence of their belief in imitative and sympathetic magic.

LITERATURE.—*Ethnographic Survey of the Central Provinces*, iii. (Allāhābād, 1907) 49 ff.; C. A. Elliott, *Settlement Report Hoshangabad District*, do. 1867; S. Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, Nāgpur, 1866, p. 26; *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, do. 1870, p. 49.

JOHN DRAKE.

KURUKH.—See ORĀONS.

KUŚINAGARA (**Kuśanagara**, or **Kusinārā** [Pāli]).—The most ancient name is said to have been Kuśāvatī, which is connected in *Jātaka* 531 with a legendary king Kusa, son of Okkāka (Ikṣvāku). Well-authenticated and credible tradition affirms that Gautama Buddha, Śākyamuni, died and was cremated close to Kusinārā, which consequently became one of the four most holy places of Buddhism, and one of the most frequented pilgrim shrines.

At the time of Buddha's death (*c.* 487 B.C., or, as others prefer, 483), Kusinārā was described as 'this sorry little town, this rough little town in the jungle, this little suburban town' (Introd. to *Jātaka* 95, tr. E. B. Cowell and R. Chalmers, i. 231), and evidently was a place of no intrinsic importance. But its association with the last scene of the Buddha's life made it famous throughout the Buddhist world, and drew such multitudes of pilgrims that the petty town became the centre of important religious establishments and grew in population and size. It was visited at the beginning of the 5th cent. after Christ by Fa-Hian (Fa-Hsien), the first Chinese pilgrim, who writes briefly as follows:

'East from here [Rāmagrāma] four [three, Beal and Giles] *yojanas*, there is the place where the heir apparent [Gautama Buddha] sent back Chaṇḍaka with his white horse, and there also a tope was erected. Four *yojanas* to the east from this (the travellers) came to the Charcoal tope, where there is also a monastery. Going on twelve *yojanas*, still to the east, they came to the city of Kuśanagara, on the north of which between two trees, on the bank of the Nairañjanā river [Hiraṇyavatī, Beal; Hsi-lien, Giles], is the place where the World-honoured one, with his head to the north, attained *parinirvāṇa* (and died)' (*Travels*, ch. xxiv., Legge's version). The pilgrim mentions several topes [*stūpas*] and monasteries as still existing, and proceeds: 'In the city the inhabitants are few and far between, comprising only the families belonging to the (different) societies of monks.' He then traces the road in a south-easterly and easterly direction for 17 *yojanas* [12+5, the 5 being 10 in Legge] to Vaiśālī, the modern Basāṛh (about 25° 58′ N., 85° 11′ E.), which lies about 27 miles a little west of north from Patna.

The earlier Pāli account in the *Parinibbāna Sutta* gives the names of several villages lying between Vaiśālī and Kuśinagara (Kusinārā) which would settle the position of the place, if they could be identified, but, unfortunately, there is no clue to their identification. The next and only other detailed description of Kuśinagara after that of Fa-Hian is that recorded by Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang), about A.D. 637. He enters into much detail concerning both the geographical position of the town and its topographical features. At first sight it would seem that his account should preclude all doubts, and yet, when it is critically considered, doubts remain as to the identification of the site. The publications enumerated in the Literature below examine the question in all its bearings.

The later pilgrim agrees substantially with the earlier in the statement of the distance and direction of the Ashes (=Embers=Charcoal) *stūpa* from the fixed point of the Lumbinī garden

(Rummindēī), the distance according to Fa-Hian being 12 *yojanas*, and according to Hiuen Tsiang about 480 or 490 *li*, at the rate of 40 *li* to the *yojana*. In direction the only difference is that Fa-Hian gives an easterly bearing for all the stages, whereas Hiuen Tsiang places the Ashes *stūpa* to the S.E. of the next preceding stage, namely, the *stūpa* of Chaṇḍaka's return. He is habitually more precise in the indication of direction than his predecessor. Fa-Hian states that Kuśinagara lay 12 *yojanas* (about 90 miles marching distance) to the east of the Ashes *stūpa*. Hiuen Tsiang does not give the distance, but places Kuśinagara to the N.E. of that *stūpa*, and notes that the road was a narrow and dangerous path, infested with wild oxen, wild elephants, and murderous robbers who haunted the great forest.

From those elements, combined with the statement that Kuśinagara was close to the river Airāvatī (*al.* Ajitavatī, *al.* Hiraṇyavatī), the present writer deduced the conclusion that the site of Kuśinagara must be sought in Nepāl beyond the passes, close to the Little Rāptī or Airāvatī, somewhere about 84° 51′ E., 27° 32′ N. General H.H. Prince Khadga Sumsher Jung Rana Bahadur, sometime Governor of West Nepāl, in a letter to the *Pioneer Mail*, dated Feb. 26, 1904, declared that the spot where Gautama Buddha attained *nirvāṇa* 'was at the confluence of the Hiraṇyavatī and Achīravatī, near Bhavasār Ghāṭ,' *i.e.* the confluence of the Little Rāptī with the Gaṇḍak. That site seems best to satisfy the terms of both the pilgrims' itineraries as traced from the Lumbinī garden, but the identification has not been verified by local examination. So far, the result of the investigation seems to be satisfactory enough; but, when we come to discuss the bearings of Kuśinagara in relation to two other fixed points, Benares and Vaiśālī, fresh difficulties arise. Fa-Hian makes Vaiśālī lie in a south-easterly direction from Kuśinagara, at a distance of 17 *yojanas* (=about 127 miles), and those details do not at all suit the site indicated in Nepāl, while they suit the rival site near Kasiā. Hiuen Tsiang reckons about 700 *li* (say 130 miles marching distance) from Kuśinagara to the kingdom of Benares, in a south-westerly direction. If he meant to reckon the distance to the city of Benares, the actual distance from the supposed Nepālese site is much greater; but, if we assume that the distance was reckoned to the river Ghāgrā (Gogra), the pilgrim's estimate might be accepted. These remarks are enough to indicate the nature of the difficulties which exist in interpreting the detailed itineraries recorded by the Chinese pilgrims in the 5th and 7th centuries. Full statement and discussion of those difficulties is impossible in this place.

Kuśinagara has usually been identified with the remarkable group of Buddhist ruins lying near Kasiā (about 26° 45′ N., 83° 55′ E.), 35 miles due east from Gorakhpur city and in the Gorakhpur District. The principal remains, which lie in the lands of Biṣanpur, to the west of Kasiā, were formerly enclosed within a boundary wall surrounding a space of about 36 acres. They comprise many structures, including a great *stūpa* and a temple containing a colossal recumbent image of the Dying Buddha, almost unique in India, and executed in the 5th cent. A.D. Excavation has proved that the site was regarded as one of the highest sanctity continuously from the time of Aśoka to the end of the 12th cent.—during some fourteen or fifteen centuries. Several great monasteries of various dates have been revealed, besides other buildings and crowds of votive *stūpas*. The site unquestionably was one of the most venerated spots in the world for Buddhist pilgrims, and the colossal image of the Dying Buddha agrees well with Hiuen Tsiang's description of a similar image at Kuśinagara. But in other respects the remains do not agree with the pilgrim's detailed account. He saw the remains of a walled town.

> 'The city walls,' he observes, 'were in ruins, and the towns and villages were deserted. The brick foundations of the "old city" (that is, the city which had been the capital) were above ten *li* [2 miles] in circuit; there were very few inhabitants, the interior of the city being a wild waste' (Watters, ii. 25).

It is difficult to believe that all trace of the old walls should have disappeared, but it is admitted that now there is no sign of them, although plenty of extremely ancient fortifications remain at numerous sites in the Gorakhpur District. In the neighbourhood of Kasiā there is no considerable town, and the demand for bricks has never been large. Moreover, the pilgrim places the Ajitavatī (*al.* Airāvatī, *al.* Hiraṇyavatī) river to the N.W. of the town, but there is no river near Kasiā. He also states that in his time the great *stūpa*, although ruinous, was still above 200 ft. high. The existing great *stūpa*, re-constructed or repaired apparently in the 5th cent., prior to the pilgrim's visit, never can have been more than half that height. These facts led the present writer in 1896 to reject decisively the identification of the remains near Kasiā with Kuśinagara. His finding to that effect was generally accepted for some years.

The later explorations of the Archæological Survey, however, have produced fresh evidence complicating the problem. Many hundreds of seals belonging to the Mahāparinirvāṇa monastery have been discovered, besides others belonging to the Makuṭabandha or Bandhana ('Diadem') monastery. Both those institutions undoubtedly were at Kuśinagara. The fact that most of the seals were broken, as if torn from letters and parcels, seems to indicate that the sealed packets were sent from Kuśinagara to the dependent institution near Kasiā. The people at the latter place cannot have addressed letters to themselves. The inference thus deduced is confirmed by the discovery of one seal-die belonging to the Veṭhadīpa or Viṣṇudvīpa monastery, which stood at one of the eight places among which the relics of Buddha were originally divided. So far as the seals go, they lead to the conclusion that the ruins near Kasiā mark the site of Veṭhadīpa or Viṣṇudvīpa.

A still later discovery, however, throws doubt on that conclusion. The Survey found enshrined in the relic chamber of the *stūpa* adjoining the colossal recumbent image a copper plate distinctly inscribed as having been deposited 'in the [*Parini*]*rvāṇa chaitya*.' We know that a building called the *Parinirvāṇa* temple ('temple du Pan-nie-p'an') existed at Kuśinagara (travels of Ta-ch'êng-têng in Chavannes, *Voyages de pèlerins bouddhistes*, p. 73). That discovery of the copper plate, consequently, seems to indicate that the remains near Kasiā must be those of Kuśinagara. The only other conceivable explanation is that the shrine at Viṣṇudvīpa also may have been called a *Parinirvāṇa chaitya*. The remark must be added that the bearings from Kuśinagara to both Vaiśālī and Benares as given by both pilgrims agree much better with the Kasiā site than with the Nepāl site. On the other hand, it has been shown that the detailed itineraries from the Lumbinī garden, an absolutely certain fixed point, cannot be reconciled with the position of the Kasiā site, which, moreover, has no river and no walled town.

On the whole, the present writer is of opinion that the remains near Kasiā most probably are those of Veṭhadīpa or Viṣṇudvīpa, that the site of Kuśinagara is to be sought in Nepāl, and that it is most likely to be found at the confluence of the Little Rāptī with the Gaṇḍak. But positive certainty is not attainable at present. Almost conclusive evidence against the Kasiā site is afforded by the testimony of the pilgrims that in or about A.D. 405 and 637 Kuśinagara and its vicinity lay desolate and in ruins, whereas we know that at the Kasiā site building was in active progress during the 5th cent., and that it continued for some seven centuries later. Moreover, it is not credible that the road from Kasiā to Benares can ever have been the narrow and difficult path, infested by wild beasts and robbers, described by Hiuen Tsiang. His account suits well if applied to the passes of the Somēsar range.

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II. *CHINESE.*—Fa-Hian (Fa-Hsien), *Travels*, ch. xxiv. in any of the versions; Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan-Chwang), *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, bk. vi., in any of the versions (the remarks of T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, 1905, ii. 25–45, are specially valuable and cite other Chinese works); I-Tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, tr. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, p. xxxiii; *Voyages des pèlerins bouddhistes*, Fr. tr. E. Chavannes, Paris, 1894, p. 73 (the travels of Ta-ch'êng-têng).

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V. A. SMITH.

KWAN-YIN.—Kwan-yin or Kwan-shi-yin (Kwan-non or Kwan-je-on in Japanese) is the Chinese name for Avalokiteśvara, and means 'one who looks (*kuan*) towards a (supplicatory) sound (*yin*) of the world (*shi*).'

1. History.—(*a*) *China.*—The oldest Chinese name was Kuang-shi-yin, 'shining over the sound of the world,'[1] and the original name appears at about the same time in a vague transcription, 'A-ha-Lou-huan,' in a Sukhāvatīvyūha text translated into Chinese A.D. 147–186.[2] The worship of Kwan-yin, however, does not seem to have been very popular until Kumārajīva translated the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (the 'Lotus of the Good Law'), A.D. 402–412, in which he introduced the name Kwan-shi-yin, of which Kwan-yin is a curtailed form. The section on the *Samantamukha* (25th in Chin. and 24th in Skr.) of the text in question specially relates to the Bodhisattva, and has been widely read in China.[3]

The popularity of the belief was further increased when the famous Chi-i, the founder of the Tien-t'ai school in China, wrote several treatises on the *Samantamukha* section (589–618),[4] and since that time practically all the schools of Chinese Buddhism seem to have adopted the worship.

The pilgrims who witnessed the worship of the saint in India also contributed much to the propagation of the belief at home. Fa-Hian (399–414) says that all the followers of the Mahāyāna in India honour the saint, and, when his home-bound ship is in danger during a gale, he hastens to pray to him. Hiuen Tsiang (629–645), who introduced a new translation of the name, viz. Kuan-ts'u-ts'ai, 'Self-existent who gazes' or 'Gazing Lord,' records the presence of images of the saint almost everywhere in India, and mentions a *pūjā* to him by King Śilāditya of Kanauj during the festival. I-Tsing (671–695) distinguishes the Mahāyāna from the Hīnayāna by the worship of Bodhisattvas, which is peculiar to the former. These facts are fully borne out by the discovery of the sculptured images of the saint from the valley of Gandhāra to the caves of Ellora for a period of about eight or nine centuries.

With the introduction into China of the *mantra* school of Buddhism during the T'ang and the Sung dynasties (*c.* A.D. 700–900), the cult of Kwan-yin seems to have become exceedingly powerful, its climax being reached in the reign of Wen-tsung, who, in 828, ordered that an image of Kwan-yin should be set up and worshipped in all monasteries of the Empire, which then numbered about 44,600.[1] We do not know its fate after the decline of the mystic school in China.

(*b*) *Japan.*—The worship of Kwan-non in Japan is almost as old as the introduction of Buddhism (A.D. 552). In the reign of the Empress Sui-ko (593–628) the saint found an able devotee in the Crown Prince Shōtoku, who built a special hall for him called Yume-dono, 'Hall of Dreams,' in the Hōriuji monastery. Here he used to sit and meditate every morning before he attended to State affairs. He himself wrote a commentary on the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, including the *Samantamukha* section. The subsequent development of Japanese Buddhism centres in the text of the 'Lotus,' the two powerful sects of Tendai and Hokké being founded on the doctrine of the text. The twelve sects of Japanese Buddhism all honour or worship the saint directly or indirectly; there is, in fact, no other deity so popular as Kwan-non. He is the principal figure in art, both pictorial and plastic, in general literature, and in the religious life of the Japanese. A religious reform movement started lately, basing its foundation solely on the doctrine of Avalokiteśvara, and it is fairly successful.

2. General character.—Kwan-yin is a bodily healer as well as a saviour. His relation to Amitābha is like that of Maitreya to Śākyamuni, and the boundless mercy of Amitābha is made known only through his efforts. Until all beings have been saved he himself will not become Buddha. He would, it is said, ever remain in midstream with his boat ready to carry beings across. There are more than 60 books in the Chinese Tripiṭaka which profess to teach the mercy of the saint.

The principal exposition, however, will be found in the *Samantamukha* section already mentioned. The devotees make this a separate text, calling it the 'Avalokiteśvara sūtra,' and recite it every day. The expedients (*upāya*) with which he approaches the world are minutely described in the text, and are literally believed by the people.

3. Incarnations.—Thirty-three manifestations in which Kwan-yin has approached the people are given in Kumārajīva's translation of the 'Lotus,' whereas in the Sanskrit text only sixteen are mentioned. But the number thirty-three has become so sacred and peculiar to the saint in China and Japan that a simple mention of thirty-three *avatārs* implies him. While instructing the people he would assume any form of incarnation that was necessary, such as a Buddha, *Pratyekabuddha*, *śrāvaka* ('disciple'), Brahmā, Indra, Īśvara, Maheśvara (Śiva), the heavenly general (*Senāpati*), Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera), a Rāja, a merchant, a female merchant, a retired man, a retired woman, a minister, a minister's wife, a Brāhman, a female

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[1] Bunyiu Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka*, Oxford, 1883, no. 282 (A.D. 148–170).

[2] *Ib.* no. 25.

[3] J. Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion . . . by I-Tsing*, Oxford, 1896, p. 162.

[4] Nanjio, *Cat.*, nos. 1555, 1557, 1562.

[1] See E. H. Parker, *China and Religion*, London, 1905, p. 135.

Brāhman, a mendicant, a female mendicant, an *upāsaka* (layman), an *upāsikā* (laywoman), a boy, a girl, a *deva*, a *nāga*, a *yakṣa* (demon), a *gandharva* (heavenly musician), an *asura*, a *garuḍa*, a *kinnara*, a *mahoraga* (great serpent), or *vajra-pāṇi*. That the number thirty-three was not originally intended, however, is obvious from the fact that the names enumerated often differ from one another. Actually thirty-three forms of Kwan-yin have been created and often represented in art. In Japan there are thirty-three sacred places of pilgrimage where some one of the seven Kwan-nons given below is enshrined and worshipped. The thirty-three shrines of the Western region (Saikoku) are the most famous, while those of the Eastern region (Ban-tō) and those of Chichibu are also renowned. Besides, there is in Kyoto a great hall of Kwan-non called the 'Thirty-three partitioned Hall' (San-jū-san-gen-dō), which contains 1,000 images of the saint. There are smaller heads on the foreheads and haloes, or held in the hands of these images, altogether making up the number 33,333.

4. Activities.—Seven cases of distress are generally specified in which Kwan-yin is ready to extend his hand of mercy. These are generally selected from the thirteen cases of distress of the *Samantamukha* section; they are dangers caused by a sword, fetters or chains, fire, water, demons (*rākṣasa*), goblins (*bhūta*), and an enemy. Sometimes danger by storm is added to these to make four pairs complete, and facilitate pictorial representation.

In the so-called Buddhist litany represented in some sculptured reliefs of Ajanta (no. 4), Ellora (no. 3), Aurangābād (no. 7), and Kānheri (no. 4), we can trace several scenes of dangers more or less akin to the above seven. In the cave of Ajanta (no. 4) we see a representation of dangers from an elephant, a lion, an enemy with a sword, and a young man against a woman, on one row, and those from a fire, a snake, a flood, and a female against a male, on the other, while a standing figure of Kwan-yin is represented at the centre. In Ellora (no. 3), fire, sword, and flood are noticeable, while the rest are quite indistinct. In one of the eastern caves, Aurangābād (no. 7), we have a very good representation of the litany. The eight scenes are specified by a fire, a sword, a thief, and a shipwreck on the right, and a lion, a snake, an elephant, and a man with a woman on the left. Kwan-yin is flying towards the centre to their rescue. Further, in one of the 108 caves of Kānheri (no. 4) the scenes are ten instead of eight: (1) a girl with a man; (2) a man in a striking attitude before a snake-king; (3) a man brandishing a sword against a female with a child; (4) a man with a stick before another who is prostrating himself; (5) a man squatting and one side invisible; (6) an elephant; (7) a lion; (8) a serpent; (9) a man lifting both hands over his head, his body invisible, probably drowning; (10) a man with his hands raised, probably in a pushing attitude. Thus almost all the thirteen cases mentioned in the 'Lotus' are to be found represented in these caves, which are probably excavations of the 7th or 8th cent. and are certainly Mahāyānistic.

We can safely conclude from these facts, and from the records of eye-witnesses of the same period, that the text of the *Samantamukha* section of the 'Lotus,' or at any rate the belief in Kwan-yin as the saviour of the distressed world, was in vogue and very popular among Buddhists during the same period as it was in China and Japan.

5. Kwan-yins adopted into the mystical school of Buddhism.—Six or seven Kwan-yins are enumerated and often represented in art in China and Japan, especially in the latter.

(1) Āryāvalokiteśvara (Shō-Kwan-non, 'Holy'), otherwise called Mahākāruṇika ('Great Compassionate'). This is the original Bodhisattva and the most Buddhistic of all Kwan-yins. He is always shown with a lotus-flower in the left hand, with his right hand held up to his breast, and with or without an image of Amitābha over his head.

(2) Sahasrabhuja (Sen-ju, 'Thousand-armed'), otherwise called Sahasranetra (Sen-gen, 'Thousand-eyed'), or Mahāpadmarāja ('Great Lotus King'). This Kwan-yin, as he has the names common to Viṣṇu, Indra, and Durgā, seems to have been borrowed from the Brāhmanical deities. He is generally represented with three eyes (*trilochana*) and forty or thirty-eight arms, the palm of each hand being marked with an eye. Among the things which he carries are a sword, an arrow, a halberd, an axe, a *vajra*, a hook, a rope, or a skull-banner, mostly peculiar to Durgā. He is far the most popular of all Kwan-yins, at least in Japan, fifteen of the thirty-three shrines having him as the chief object of worship against three in the case of (1).

(3) Hayagrīva (Ba-to, 'Horse-headed'), otherwise called Siṁhābhaya (Shishi-mui, 'Lion-fearless'). He is depicted as horse-headed, two-tusked, and with eight arms, two of which hold a *vajra* and a lotus. He is a *daitya* (demon), hostile to Viṣṇu in the Hindu pantheon, probably converted into a Tantra deity by mystic Buddhists. Only one of the thirty-three temples gives the place of honour to him.

(4) Ekādaśamukha (Jū-ichi-men, 'Eleven-faced'). He has eleven faces, of which the three front are compassionate, the three left wrathful, and the three right admonishing, while the one at the top and the proper face show equanimity. He has four arms, which carry a rosary, a lotus, a waterpot, and a mark of *abhayanda* ('bestowing security'), *i.e.* a raised hand with its palm outward. Ekādaśottama, 'chief of the eleven (Rudras),' is an epithet of Śiva, and so is Chaturbāhu ('Four-armed'). Thus this Kwan-yin too seems to have originated from the Hindu deity. Five places of worship are accorded him.

(5) Chaṇḍī (according to Nanjio, Chuṇḍī), otherwise called Saptakoṭibuddhamātṛ ('Mother of seven Koṭis of Buddhas'). Different from the rest of the Kwan-yins, this is from the beginning a female deity, and her name is never translated, being always Chun-t'i in Chinese and Jun-iei in Japanese. She is represented with three eyes (*trilochana*) and eighteen arms (*aṣṭādaśabhuja*), and is no other than Chaṇḍī Mahā-devī Durgā, also called 'the Goddess of eighteen arms,' who destroyed the *asura* Mahiṣa. An auspicious pot (*bhadrakumbha*), a mark of security (*abhayandamudrā*), a rope, a lotus, a *vajra*, etc., are among the articles carried by her. Only one place honours her.

(6) Chakravartīchintāmani, or sometimes Chintāmaṇichakra (Nyo-i-rin, 'Wishing wheel'). He is generally two-armed, rarely six-armed, and is represented in a meditative attitude with his right hand against his cheek, his head slightly turned to the right, and his left hand on his left knee. When he is six-armed, he carries a wishing gem (*chintāmaṇi*), a wheel (*chakra*), a rosary, and a lotus. He occupies six places of worship.

(7) Amoghapāśa (Fu-kū-ken-saku, 'Unfailing rope'), or sometimes simply Amogha ('Unerring'). The common feature of this Kwan-yin is that he has three faces and eight arms, and a rope in his hand. As Amogha is the name of Śiva and a rope is often carried by Durgā, this deity also is probably imported from the Hindu pantheon. One of the thirty-three shrines is sacred to him.

6. Kwan-yins known among Buddhists generally.—We shall name only five here, which are important for their artistic representations.

(1) Byaku-e (Pauṇḍravāsinī, 'White-robed'), the goddess with a white veil and robe, is the chief favourite among artists. Two other Kwan-yins, Byaku-shin (Śvetabhagavatī, 'White-bodied deity') and Yō-i (Palāśāvali, 'Leaf-streaked'),[1] are closely allied with this deity.

(2) Yō-riu ('Willow-tree'). The peculiarity of this deity is a willow leaf either held in the hand or placed in a pot beside her. The origin of this emblem is doubtful, though an off-hand explanation is not wanting among Buddhists. It may have originated from an olive tree or a palm-leaf, seeing that the goddesses Athene and Victory have been sculptured in Gandhāra. It is, however, just possible that it may be of purely Chinese origin, for we do not know how far this form of Kwan-yin carries us back.

(3) Gyo-ran ('Fish-basket') is another very popular deity who carries a basket with a fish in it. He is probably a counterpart of the fish *avatār* of Viṣṇu, or a representation of Matsyendra or Mīnanātha, who is sometimes worshipped in India and Nepāl.

(4) Koyasu ('Easy-child-birth') is a female Kwan-yin like Tārā, and is often represented with a child in her arm or below her. Properly speaking, she is not a separate Kwan-yin, for any Kwan-yin who is celebrated as answering prayers for easy labour can be called Koyasu. It was under this name that the Madonna of the Christian Church found her way among the worshippers of the Virgin, during the period of persecution in Japan under the Shōgunate government (1603–1867).

(5) Shōgyō (Nīlakaṇṭhaiśvara, 'Blue-necked lord') seems to be another imported from the Hindu pantheon, for Nīlakaṇṭha is the name of a form of Śiva in his capacity of churning the ocean. He is white and three-faced, with a lion's face on the right and a boar's on the left. The Buddha Amitābha is found on his proper head. He has four arms, which hold a stick, a lotus, a wheel, and a conch-shell.

7. The sacred resort of Kwan-yin. — As this article is in a way a continuation of that on Avalokiteśvara (*q.v.*), all the characteristics of the saint found there are omitted here. Only one thing not found there has to be supplied here. That is Potala, Potalaka, or Potaraka,[1] the name of a place sacred to the Bodhisattva, and never separated from the worship. It is sometimes said to be an island in the sea or sometimes a rocky hill. We have Potala (=Πατάλα), a harbour at the mouth of the Indus in an island called Patale,[2] and the river here is said to begin to form a Delta like the Nile. If this name can be identified with Patara, now Patera, the capital of Lycia in Asia Minor on the eastern side of the mouth of the river Zanthus, we can further identify Avalokita or Apalokita (in Pāli) of Potalaka with Apollo Patareus, both being in this case patron deities of mariners. This conjecture was once proposed by the present writer to solve the riddle of the strange name 'Avalokita,' though there are some philological difficulties in the identifications. Be this as it may, the name Potala is always transferred with the worship of the saint. In the 7th cent. we find Potalaka as the resort of Kwan-yin in the eastern side of the Malaya range near the extreme corner of the south coast of India.[3] The island Pu-t'o-lo (Potala), in the Chusan group off Ningpo, is the centre of the worship of Kwan-yin in China. This shrine was founded by a Japanese priest, Ye-gaku by name, who was sent by an Imperial order to China as a Buddhist student, but remained there as the founder of the famous Pu-t'o-lo (Potala) monastery (A.D. 858).

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[1] Nanjio, no. 973; Parṇasavari seems to be an error

We are familiar with the existence of the Potala palace in the heart of Tibet as the residence of an incarnated Kwan-yin, viz. the Dalai Lāma; and in Japan we can trace two or three places which bear the Buddhistic name Fu-da-la-ku as shrines of Kwan-non.

8. **The formula of invocation.**—The famous six-syllable formula, *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ*, was once Indian, for it is often mentioned in the texts of the Chinese Tripiṭaka translated from Sanskrit (see art. JEWEL [Buddhist]). At present, however, this formula is exclusively Tibetan or at least Lāmaistic. The non-Lāmaistic Buddhists use the old formula *Namo 'valokiteśvarāya Bodhisattvāya* (*Namu-Kwan-je-on-Bosatsu*), 'Hail to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.'

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J. TAKAKUSU.

L

LABOUR.—See EMPLOYMENT, ECONOMICS.

LAISSEZ-FAIRE.—So great a part has this celebrated phrase played in economic and sociological, and even in religious, discussion during the past century that a whole book was published at Berne in 1886 upon the maxim—A. Oncken's *Die Maxime Laissez faire et laissez passer*. The occasion of its origin is perhaps best understood by a comparison of the policies of two great French Ministers of Finance—Colbert (1619–83) and Turgot (1727–81). The former, towards the end of the 17th cent., brought industry and commerce under a system of extreme regulation and coercion; his ideals were those of the Mercantilists—protection, subsidy, and privilege. A century later, we see a complete reversal of this policy in the financial administration of Turgot, who worked on the principle of commercial freedom. Between these two men stand the founders of scientific economics in France, whose school is usually known under the name of the Physiocrats. It is said, indeed, that the first authentic use of the phrase *laissez-faire* was a retort made by a merchant to Colbert himself.

The names which are of chief importance are those of Gournay (1712–59) and Quesnay (1694–1774). Gournay was an administrator rather than an economist, but he had great influence on Turgot, who accompanied him on some of his official journeys. It is through Turgot that we know of his principles. In his *Éloge* of Gournay, Turgot attributes to him maxims of trade and welfare, based on the utmost liberty of personal competition, and on the view that private interest and general welfare were coincident, if this kind of freedom were given. The complete phrase *laissezfaire, laissez passer* is first attributed to him. Quesnay was the real head of the Physiocrats, and holds a place in French economic science similar to that of Adam Smith in Great Britain. Competition and self-interest were the bonds out of which a compact system of industrial life could alone be created. Though he does not use the phrase *laissez-faire*, he is obviously in line with the movement.

In view of the expressions of Adam Smith, it is of importance to note that the identification of *laissez-faire* with the 'natural system' had taken place in France in the writings of the economist Boisguillebert (1646–1714). It was left to Smith to introduce into the system a still further idea—that of religious guarantee.

Free competition as the advantageous, as the natural, and as the divinely ordered basis of industry—these are the steps of the development. The evil aspects of the phrase are usually charged to Adam Smith's account, and it is, therefore, of interest to understand his statement of the case. Smith was not only an economist, but a moral philosopher, and a Scottish one at that. The classical passages of the *Wealth of Nations* (1776) are in bk. iv. ch. ii. They sum up and extend the whole preceding statement of *laissez-faire*, without, however, using the phrase itself. What is of advantage to the individual is 'advantageous' to the society; this is so 'naturally, or rather necessarily'; and, if we ask the reason of the coincidence, that is because the individual, in seeking his own gain, is 'led by an invisible hand' to promote the social good, although this was no part of his intention. Now, if we turn to Smith's earlier work on the *Moral Sentiments* (1759), we find some remarkable passages, showing that the basis of his ideas in this respect was ethical or religious rather than economic. In the section on 'Utility' (pt. iv. sect. i.)—to quote only one extract—there is a remarkable vindication of the luxury of the rich and the inequality of wealth.

> 'The rich only select from the heap what is most precious and agreeable. They consume little more than the poor, and in

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[1] Potalagāma occurs in the *Buddhacharita* (Chinese), and Potala and Potalaka are the names of two demons living there (see *SBE* xix. [1883] 244).

[2] See Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1872, *s.v.* 'Potala'; Ptolemy, vii. i. 59; Pomponius Mela, iii. 7; see also C. Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, i.² [Leipzig, 1867] 125, ii.² [1874] 191 f., and especially V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*², Oxford, 1908, pp. 99–102.

[3] S. Julien, *Mémoires de Hiouen-Thsang*, Paris, 1857–58, x. 123.

> spite of their natural selfishness and rapacity, though they mean only their own conveniency, they divide with the poor the produce of all their improvements. They are *led by an invisible hand* to make nearly the same distribution . . . as if the earth had been divided into equal portions among all its inhabitants.'

It is no wonder that, after the miseries of the Industrial Revolution, teaching of this kind brought some odium upon economic science; and it was overlooked that Smith had established his objections to existing forms of regulation by inductive, far more than by deductive, reasoning.

Smith's views must be judged in the light of two general facts: (1) that he was leading a reaction against excessive regulation; and (2) that the *form* of industry in his time was itself so individualistic. It was still the day of the individual manufacturer and the small unit; to ask for freedom at that time was practically to ask for independent competition. It does not follow that, when the form of industry had changed, Smith would have construed freedom in the same way. With the larger unit created by the Factory System for both labour and capital, it must have become apparent that to combine was a free act, and that economic freedom could no longer mean independent or individualized competition.

Some hidden fallacies in the early statement of *laissez-faire* are exposed by D. G. Ritchie in his *Natural Rights* (London, 1895). Especially dangerous was the introduction of the word 'natural.' For the natural is taken to mean the ideal, or the original, or the non-human. As soon as we say that a certain system is a 'natural' system, we first idealize it, and then, by a transition to another meaning of the word, we identify it with what is not of human device or with what is prior to human institution. Thus we slip into the position that a non-regulated system is an ideal one. But, in fact, nature in its broadest sense includes human life; and 'is made better by no means, but nature makes that means.'

Competition without control has not actually been taught by any English economist; but phrases have been seized on and misapplied. In spite of the opposition created to the idea of competition by stressing the words of early writers, an analysis of recent thought shows a desire not to suppress, but only to reorganize, this force. The claims of democracy are often, indeed, for greater freedom of competition; it is sought to remove privileges and monopolies, to extend education, to make it possible for any one with ability to challenge any position in the State. And the greatest social bitterness is not between those who compete most with each other, as workman with workman, or employer with employer, but between classes who do not compete, such as employer and employed, and often simply on the ground that effective competition is so limited across that line. The real objection that is summed up in the bitter use of the phrase *laissez-faire* is to the defects of a *certain organization* of industrial competition.

We may indeed say that, properly understood, *laissez-faire* is a maxim quite in keeping with the extension of State control, if the form of industry so changes as to require this. What is the object of the verb? In Smith's time it was the individual who was the economic agent; then, said Smith, leave him free. In Mill's time it was the group; then let the group be free to work. In our time, for many purposes which only economic evolution could have revealed, it is the municipality or the State; then let the State be free to do its proper work. The object of the verb can be the individual, the group, or the public authority; for we cannot fix the form of industry, or force on modern conditions the meaning which any maxim had a hundred and thirty years ago. The law of the land should not suppress, or refuse to give scope for, any kind of social agency or force; but, in the changing conditions of industrial life, it must guard the rights and watch the limits of each force and agency.

LITERATURE.—A. Oncken, *Die Maxime Laissez faire et laissez passer*, Berne, 1886; H. Higgs, *The Physiocrats*, London, 1897; F. Quesnay, *Tableau économique*, reprint by the British Economic Society, do. 1895; D. G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights*, do. 1895; Adam Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, London and Edinburgh, 1759, esp. pp. 284, 289–293, 348–352, and *Wealth of Nations*, London, 1776, esp. bk. iv. ch. ii. init.; C. H. Cooley, *Personal Competition*, New York, 1899; D. H. Macgregor, *The Evolution of Industry*, London, 1911, ch. vii.

D. H. MACGREGOR.

LAITY, LAYMEN.—This article is not concerned, unless indirectly, with the origin, development, and nature of the Christian ministry. It deals only with the position, rights, and duties of those Christians who are not of the official ministry, and the latter will be referred to only negatively, or in connexion with elections by the laity or similar matters. A large controversy will, therefore, be left entirely on one side. We have to consider what the laity were called by the older Christian writers, and what position they held in the divine society, especially with reference to appointments, to worship and the sacraments, to councils, and to Church work generally.

1. Names of the laity.—In the Bible ὁ λαός is used of the Jewish people, as distinguished from their priests and rulers, in Mt 26^{5}, Ac 5^{26} etc., and especially as distinguished from the high priest and the priests in He 5^{3} $7^{5.27}$; so, in the OT, in Ex 19^{24}, 2 Ch 24^{10}. Similarly, ὁ λαός is frequently used in the Greek liturgies to denote the congregation as distinguished from the officiating priest; for an early example see *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 12 (at end): 'Let all the people say, Amen.' The Latin liturgies have *populus* in a similar place, and the Syriac liturgies have the Syriac equivalent *'amā* (*e.g.*, *Testament of our Lord*, i. 21, which we possess only in a Syriac translation by Jacob of Edessa, *c.* A.D. 700). Elsewhere in Latin writings *plebs* is used for the laity, as ordinarily in Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine, and in can. 77 of the Council of Elvira (*c.* A.D. 305).

From λαός is derived λαϊκός (*laicus*), which, however, is not found in the NT or LXX. In Clement of Rome (*Cor.* i. 40, a passage which describes the relation of the layman to the clergy) a step is taken (*c.* A.D. 95) towards the somewhat later use of λαϊκός as a technical substantive, 'a layman'; but it is there used only as an epithet. The 'lay-man' (ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος) is bound by the lay ordinances (τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασιν). At the end of the 2nd cent. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 12, near end) uses λαϊκός as a substantive, 'a layman,' in contrast to 'presbyter' and 'deacon,' with reference to marriage, clerical and lay; but he also uses it as an adjective, and speaks of λαϊκὴ ἀπιστία in *Strom.* v. 6, *i.e.* 'the unbelief of the people.' Tertullian also uses *laicus* for 'a layman' (*de Bapt.* 17, *de Exhort. Cast.* 7), as do the Roman clergy in a letter to Cyprian (Cypr. *Ep.* xxx. 5). The substantive λαϊκός is found in the *Answers to the Orthodox* (Ἀποκρίσεις πρὸς ὀρθοδόξους, § 97), which at one time was assigned to Justin Martyr, but is certainly of a somewhat later date; and often in the 4th cent., as in the *Clementine Homilies* (now usually assigned in their present form to that date): see the *Ep. of Clement to James*, § 5; in the Sacramentary of Sarapion (*JThSt* i. [1899–1900] 101), where a prayer is called χειροθεσία λαϊκῶν ('blessing of the laymen'); and in the *Apost. Const.* (*e.g.*, viii. 11 and 28, where λαϊκοί are opposed to 'the clergy' [οἱ τοῦ κλήρου or κληρικοί]); it is also found frequently in the *Apostolic Canons*. In Syriac we find as a rendering of λαϊκός the words *'ālmāyā* and *'ālmānāyā*, lit. 'one of the world,' as in the *Test. of our Lord*, i. 35, in the litany which has a suffrage for 'the faithful laymen'; see other instances in R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, ii. (Oxford, 1901) 2900 f.

Another, but less common, word for 'layman' is ἰδιώτης, which has sadly degenerated in meaning, having become in English 'idiot.' But in classical Greek it means simply 'private person.' Philo (*de Vit. Mos.* iii. 29, ed. Mangey, ii. 169) uses it to denote a Jew who is not a priest. In 1 Co $14^{16.23f.}$ it probably means 'one who has not the charisma of tongues' (RVm; see notes by A. Robertson and A. Plummer *in loco* [*ICC* '1 Cor.,' Edinburgh, 1911, pp. 313 f., 318 f.]). In Ac 4^{13} it means 'unlearned' or 'uneducated'; here Tyndale and Coverdale render it by 'laye people,' a translation which may be compared with our use of the word 'layman' to denote one who is not versed by training in the particular matter in hand, a sense in which ἰδιώτης was also used in classical Greek (see Liddell and Scott, *s.v.*). The word is similarly used in 2 Co 11^{6}. In 1 Co 14^{16} the 'place of the ἰδιώτης' can hardly refer to the special seats occupied by laymen in the Christian assembly (below, § 6). In an interpolation in Pr 6^{8} cited in the *Apost. Const.* (ii. 63), ἰδιῶται is opposed to βασιλεῖς, and means 'the king's subjects'; the corresponding passage of the older *Didascalia*, which the *Constitutions* incorporate, here has 'rich and poor' (see F. X. Funk, *Didasc. et Const. Apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1905, i. 180). Isidore of Seville, early in the 7th cent., uses *privatus* (as well as *laicus*) in the sense of 'layman' ('nec privatis nec clericis,' *de Eccl. Off.* ii. 25).

Another name of the laity is 'the brethren' (οἱ ἀδελφοί). In the *Apost. Const.* ii. 57 (near the beginning) they are so called in contrast to the bishop and deacons (not in the parallel *Didascalia*); cf. 1 Ti 4^{6}, where 'the brethren' means 'the whole community.' It is a little curious to note in this connexion that in Ac $15^{4.22}$ the expressions 'the church,' 'the whole church,' are used in contrast to 'the apostles and elders.'

2. Who is a layman?—Hitherto 'the laity' have been spoken of negatively, as being those Christians who are not ministers. But, owing to modern conditions, and especially owing to the divisions of Christendom, some further definition is necessary. For instance, in England, it has been maintained that every Englishman there resident is in the eye of the law a layman of the Church of England, unless he is a bishop, priest, or deacon. Apart, however, from legal rights, every Christian community is bound to ask itself who are its laymen, not only from a negative, but also from a positive point of view. The first step in the definition has usually been to affirm that he must be a baptized person, or at least a catechumen; with regard to the latter qualification we may note—and this has a bearing on the practice of missionary Churches of the present day—that the *Canons of Hippolytus* style catechumens 'Christians' (can. x.; ed. H. Achelis, in *TU*, new ser., Leipzig, 1891, § 63). But the question whether a baptized person is a layman belonging to a particular Christian community is not so easy to answer. A positive definition of 'laity' may perhaps be found in some such phrase as 'those who (not being ministers) from baptism or after baptism have been attached to' that community, and 'who have not by any overt act declared their dissent from its communion.' This does not raise the question of 'full membership,' by which is often meant the status of a communicant.

3. The priesthood of the laity.—This, which seems at first sight to be a contradiction in terms, is nevertheless asserted of Christians in 1 P $2^{5.9}$ and Rev 1^{6}. They are a 'holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices . . . a royal priesthood, a holy nation.' Christ 'made us [all Christians] to be a kingdom, to be priests unto his God and Father.' The same thing had been asserted with equal emphasis of the Jews in Ex 19^{6}: 'Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation.' The NT asserts in the first place the priesthood of our Lord (*e.g.*, in Hebrews, *passim*), and then, as derived therefrom, the priesthood of His people. In the highest sense of the word, Christianity is a sacerdotal system. But this must not be misunderstood. It does not mean that the Christian ministry is vicarious, and that its ministers take the place of the people in approaching God. When, therefore, J. B. Lightfoot says, perhaps rather hastily (Essay on 'The Christian Ministry,' *Philippians*, ed. London, 1903, pp. 181, 185), that Christianity 'has no sacerdotal system,' he means, as he himself most truly explains (*ib.*), that 'it interposes no sacrificial tribe or class between God and man, by whose intervention alone God is reconciled and man forgiven. Each individual member holds personal communion with the Divine Head. To Him immediately he is responsible, and from Him directly he obtains pardon and draws strength. . . . As individuals, all Christians are priests alike.' For the same view of the priesthood of the laity see C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*^{4}, p. 76 ff.

Let us consider one practical result of this NT doctrine. It follows, as the ancient liturgies so often assert, that the laity offer the Christian sacrifice of prayer and praise equally with the officiating minister, though he is or may be the instrument by which they offer it, for it would ordinarily be inconvenient if all people spoke at once in Christian worship. This fact is the rationale of the 'Amen' or 'So be it' by which the laity audibly 'seal' the prayers and praises. Jerome compares the Amen of the people at Rome to a thunder-clap, so loud and hearty was it:

> 'Ubi sic ad similitudinem caelestis tonitrui *Amen* reboat, et vacua idolorum templa quatiuntur?' (*Com. on Galatians*, Procœm. in lib. ii.).

The same may be said of the 'prayers in common' of which Justin (*Apol.* i. 65) and Augustine ('communis oratio,' *Ep.* lv. 34 Ben. [cxix.] *ad Inquis. Januarii*) speak, and which must have involved some audible partaking by the laity in the supplication (see INTERCESSION [Liturgical]). Such also are the litanies and hymns (especially the Sanctus) which became common at least from the 4th cent. onwards. In the *Test. of our Lord* the whole people are bidden to repeat with the bishop part of the central act of the Eucharist (i. 21), a direction with which we may compare the old custom of 'concelebration' (priests audibly celebrating the Eucharist along with the bishop). All this is evidence of the universality of the doctrine that every Christian layman possesses a priesthood.

The same teaching is much emphasized by the Fathers. In the middle of the 2nd cent. Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 116 f.), quoting Mal 1^{11}, dwells on the fact that all Christians 'are the true high-priestly race of God,' and that the Eucharist is offered by 'Christians in all places throughout the world.' He speaks similarly, addressing Jews, of the Jewish sacrifices being offered 'by you and by those priests of yours.' So, at the end of the century, Irenæus (*Hær.* IV. viii. 3, V. xxxiv. 3) says that 'all the righteous possess the sacerdotal rank' and that 'all the disciples of the Lord are Levites and priests'; and, a little later, Tertullian (*de Exhort. Cast.* 7) asks, 'Are not even we laics priests?' (this work was written after his secession to Montanism). In the 3rd cent. Origen (*Hom. 9 in Lev.* § 1) says to the layman in general:

> 'Dost thou not know that the priesthood (*sacerdotium*) is given to thee also, that is, to all the church of God and the people of believers? [he quotes 1 P 2^{9}]. Thou hast, therefore, the priesthood because thou art a priestly (*sacerdotalis*) race [cf. Justin above], and so thou oughtest to offer to God the sacrifice (*hostiam*) of praise, of prayer, of pity, of modesty, of justice, of holiness.'

In the 4th cent. Jerome declares (*c. Lucif.* 4) that the priesthood of the layman is his baptism ('sacerdotium laici, id est, baptisma'); he uses the word 'baptism' in the full sense of the complete rite.[1] So Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, XVII. v. 5) says, 'He gives the name priesthood to the very people whose priest is the mediator of God and man, the man Christ Jesus' (he quotes 1 P 2^{9}). Many other such passages might be cited. The teaching was common to all ages.

The doctrine that all Christian people are priests does not, it need hardly be said, mean that there is no such thing as a ministerial priesthood. The whole nation of Israel were priests, and yet Aaron and his sons had a special or ministerial priesthood. And so, without discussing controverted questions, we may conclude that there is at least no contradiction involved in the assertion of the same characteristic in Christianity. The confusion of minister and layman as to function is such ἀταξία (‘want of order’) as the author of the *Apost. Const.* so eloquently protests against (viii. 31, 46). Clement of Rome (*c.* A.D. 95) says that the Christian ministers are ‘rulers’ and ‘presbyters’ (ἡγούμενοι, προηγούμενοι, πρεσβύτεροι), to whom the laity are to be subject (ὑποτασσόμενοι) and to give reverence (*Cor.* i. 1, 21). Hermas, a little later, calls the clergy ‘the rulers’ (προηγούμενοι, *Vis.* ii. 2, iii. 9). The same nomenclature is found in He $13^{7.17.24}$, and also in 1 Th 5^{12}, where the ministers are ‘they that are over you’ (προϊσταμένους ὑμῶν). See, further, § 5.

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[1] It has often been held that the priesthood of the laity is given to the baptized, not at the immersion, but at the laying on of hands or confirmation (A. J. Mason, *Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*, London, 1891, p. 462 f.). But it seems unnecessary to distinguish thus sharply between different parts of what was originally one rite.

4. Election of bishops and clergy by laity.—Under this head we have to consider a very important part in the Church played by laymen. We note that in Ac $6^{3.5}$ the people choose, but the apostles appoint (ct. ἐπισκέψασθε and ἐξελέξαντο with καταστήσομεν). The laity elected the Seven and placed them before the apostles, who laid hands on them with prayer. And this was the ancient method of appointment, though the details might vary. In the *Didache* (§ 15, *c.* A.D. 120?) the writer bids the people to elect (χειροτονήσατε) for themselves bishops and deacons, *i.e.* the local ministry; nothing is said of the appointment of the itinerant ‘apostles and prophets.’ It must here be remembered that χειροτονεῖν does not necessarily carry with it the idea of ordination by the persons electing (see below). Early in the 4th cent. popular election is much insisted on by Athanasius. He quotes (*Apol. c. Arian.* 6) a letter of the Egyptian bishops which says that he was elected (A.D. 326) ‘by a majority of our body [the bishops] in the sight and with the acclamation of all the people,’ in order to refute a calumny of the Arians that he was clandestinely consecrated by six or seven bishops unknown to the laity. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* xxi. 8) says that Athanasius was elected ‘by the vote of the whole people, not in the evil fashion which has since prevailed, nor by means of bloodshed and oppression; but in an apostolic and spiritual manner, he is led up to the throne of St. Mark.’ He means, no doubt, that this was the ancient method of election. The same practice is seen in the Church Orders—*e.g.*, in the *Test. of our Lord* (i. 20), which speaks very emphatically about the election of bishops (‘being chosen by all the people according to the will of the Holy Ghost’), and somewhat less so about presbyters (‘testified to by all the people,’ i. 29) and deacons (‘chosen as has been said above,’ i. 33). The other Church Orders make similar provisions (*Canons of Hippolytus*, can. ii. [ed. Achelis, § 7], *Verona Latin Fragments of Didascalia*, etc., ed. E. Hauler, Leipzig, 1900, p. 103, *Egyptian Church Order*, § 31 [ed. H. Tattam, *The Apostolical Constitutions*, London, 1848, p. 32], *Ethiopic Church Order*, § 21, *Apost. Const.* viii. 4). We find the same regulations in the Gallican code known as the *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua*, perhaps made by Cæsarius of Arles, *c.* A.D. 500 (formerly cited as the canons of a supposed Fourth Council of Carthage, A.D. 398). In can. 22 it is directed that a bishop is not to ordain any one without the advice of his clergy, and that he is bound to seek the assent (*conniventiam*) and testimony of the citizens—a phrase which has a bearing on a well-known dictum of St. Cyprian (see below, § 8; for a translation of the *Statuta* see C. J. Hefele, *Councils*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1871–96, ii. 410 ff.).

On the other hand, the people were at an early date deprived of this right. The Council of Laodicea (*c.* A.D. 380) says that ‘the choice of those to be appointed to the priesthood shall not rest with the multitude’ (can. 13). This movement may have been due in part to the encroachments of the State and its officials after the time of Constantine, and it may have also been due to the interpretation placed in the East on the 4th canon of Nicæa (A.D. 325), which says that the bishop is to be appointed (καθίστασθαι) by the comprovincial bishops, three of whom at least shall meet. The first of the *Apostolic Canons*, a collection made *c.* A.D. 400, though some of them are doubtless older, has a similar provision, but with χειροτονείσθω.[1] The Nicene rule was understood by the second Council of Nicæa, the ‘7th Ecumenical’ (A.D. 787, can. 3), as meaning that only the bishops could *elect*, and it forbids, with reference to *Apost. Canon* 31, the election of a bishop, priest, or deacon proceeding from a secular prince; but the Latins at first interpreted the Nicene canon to refer to the confirmation of election and consecration to the episcopate by the comprovincial bishops (Hefele, *op. cit.* i.^{2} [1894] 385 f.). And this is probably the real meaning. A bishop, before being consecrated, must be approved by the people (and clergy) whom he is to serve, and also by the bishops of the province. This is the true reason (one can hardly doubt) of the ancient rule about the three bishops consecrating the elect. At a later date it was suggested that this was to remove all fear of invalidity in the position of any one of the consecrators; but this could hardly have been a consideration at so early a date. Three bishops, or, as *Apost. Canon* 1 says, ‘two or three,’ must come together to the election that they may signify the assent of the comprovincials.

In Western Europe, from the time of Charlemagne onwards, the election by the laity to bishoprics was represented by the sovereign's nomination, or in England in Anglo-Saxon times by that of the Witenagemot. But patronage of benefices by laymen became very common. This was exercised (*a*) by an individual, who originally, in many cases, was, or represented, the founder of the church; or (*b*) by a corporation external to the benefice, for the same reason; or (*c*) by the persons to be ministered to, either as a whole body—rarely in the Anglican, but normally at the present day in the Presbyterian, polity—or through representatives chosen by them. The system of the Church of Ireland is a variation of the last method. When a benefice is vacant, a nomination to it is made by a patronage committee, consisting of the bishop of the diocese, three persons nominated by the diocese, and three persons appointed by the parish where the vacancy had occurred. In all Episcopal bodies the bishop has, at least in theory, a power of veto on elections to parishes, though there is usually an appeal to the metropolitan or to the comprovincial bishops if he refuse to institute; but in the Church of England this veto can be exercised only with considerable difficulty.

The share of the laity in appointing bishops, etc., in the present day may be seen from the following conspectus.

(*a*) *Anglican Communion* (see further details in art. ‘Diocesan Bishop,’ by E. A. Welch in the *Prayer Book Dictionary*, London, 1912, p. 279 ff.).—In *England and Wales* the sovereign issues a *congé d'élire*, and on the advice of the Prime Minister nominates a person to the dean and chapter of the cathedral, who elect, and the election is confirmed by the metropolitan; if there is no dean and chapter, the sovereign nominates directly. In *India* the sovereign acts on the advice of the Secretary of State for India. In *Scotland* a bishop is elected by a special body chosen *ad hoc*, consisting of two chambers of presbyters and laity of the diocese, and for his election a simple majority in either chamber is necessary; the assent of a majority of the comprovincial bishops is required to confirm the election, and, unless it be thus confirmed, proceedings must begin again. In *Ireland* the system is similar (except in the case of the diocese of Armagh, where an abnormal procedure takes place), but the majority must be one of two-thirds; in some cases the choice, or the selection from certain names, is left to the bishops (see the *Constitution of the Church of Ireland*, Dublin, 1909, vi. 5). In *Canada*, *New Zealand*, *Australia*, and *S. Africa* the system is similar, with some variations of detail, especially as to the majority required in the different orders; in S. Africa the electing body is a special one, called the 'Elective Assembly'; the clergy elect, and the laity assent. In the *United States of America* a like practice is in vogue for the ordinary diocesan bishoprics, but to the 'missionary bishoprics' the House of Bishops appoints. Each diocesan 'convention' (synod) makes its own rules for election. In all the non-established branches of the Anglican federation the assent of the laity is required to an episcopal election.

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[1] This word, which often means ‘elect,’ apparently in these canons means ‘ordain,’ as the 2nd canon says that a presbyter and deacon and the other clergy (κληρικοί) are to be ‘ordained’ (χειροτονείσθω) by one bishop.

(*b*) *Roman Communion.*—The laity appear to have no official share in the election of bishops, but in countries where a concordat with the pope is in force, as was the case till recently in France, the sovereign or the State nominates.

(*c*) *Eastern Orthodox Communion.*—Here the laity usually have a voice in electing bishops, though the practice differs in different countries; for a detailed account see M. G. Dampier, *The Organization of the Orthodox Eastern Churches*, London, 1910 (which, however, does not give information about the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; these seem to follow Constantinople closely). In the patriarchate of *Constantinople* the bishops of the Holy Synod and the laity elect the patriarch; the whole assembly selects three names, and the bishops choose one of them. A mixed council of bishops and laymen attend to the temporal affairs of the patriarchate. A diocesan bishop is appointed by the Holy Synod, which consists of bishops only. The laity must be consulted before the bishop appoints a parish priest, or the parish priest appoints a deacon; and each parish has a lay committee for parochial affairs. In *Russia* the Holy Synod—which here consists of bishops, a few archimandrites (heads of monasteries), two representatives of the parish clergy, and the Tsar's procurator (a layman who has no vote in doctrinal matters, but is the connecting link between Church and State)—submits three names for bishoprics to the Tsar, who selects one. The parish priests are appointed by the bishop, and the clergy and laymen of each parish appoint a layman to administer the finances. In *Cyprus* the clergy and laity elect the bishops. The Synod consists of bishops only, for managing all ecclesiastical affairs. In *Mount Sinai* the archbishop is elected by the monks. In *Greece* the Holy Synod (consisting of bishops only) submits three names for bishoprics to the king, who selects one. Priests and deacons are appointed by the bishop after consulting their laymen. The king appoints a commissioner (ἐπίτροπος) to attend the Holy Synod, but he has no vote. In *Rumania* the bishops are elected by the other bishops and by (lay) members of Parliament. In *Servia* they are elected by the synod of bishops, but the metropolitan of Belgrade is elected by the bishops and the chief clergy and lay officials of the country. In *Montenegro* the metropolitan is nominated by the king; priests are appointed by the metropolitan. There are no other bishops besides the metropolitan. In *Bulgaria* the laity have a share in the election of the exarch and of the other bishops, and also of the parish priests. In *Austria-Hungary* practice varies. The metropolitan of Karlowitz is appointed by a mixed body, but the bishops of the metropolitanate appoint to the other bishoprics; while in Hermannstadt both metropolitan and bishops are elected by a mixed body. The metropolitan and bishops in Dalmatia are nominated by the Crown.

(*d*) *Armenian Communion.*—For details see M. Ormanian, *Church of Armenia*, ch. xxxi. (Eng. tr., London, 1912, p. 151 ff.). In most countries the Armenian parish priests are elected by the parishioners in the first instance, but the laity have no voice in the selection of priests ordained in monasteries. The 'catholici' of Sis and Aghthamar, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem (patriarchs are of inferior rank to the catholici among the Armenians), and the diocesan bishops are elected by mixed councils of laymen and clergy, the former largely preponderating. In Russia the influence of the laity is much less. 'The government permits the existence of lay councils (ephorates) [of parishes], but it has done away with the diocesan councils, whose prerogatives have been transferred to a synod and to consistories made up of ecclesiastics' (Ormanian, p. 153).

(*e*) *East Syrian or Nestorian Communion.*—The laity have an indirect share in clerical appointments. The bishops are supposed to ordain a parish priest only when the parishioners elect him, and, as a matter of fact, they generally consult their wishes; but ordinations without 'titles' or cures of souls assigned are somewhat frequent. In the case of bishoprics, a vacancy is usually filled from the late bishop's nephews or cousins, as the office can be held only by those who have been brought up as 'Nazirites'; of these there are sometimes more than one, and the laity are supposed to choose from them a successor. See A. J. Maclean and W. H. Browne, *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, London, 1892, pp. 186 ff., 205 f.

From what has been said it will be seen that the ancient share of the laity in electing to ministerial offices has remained, though more or less altered, in a large part of Christendom till the present time.

5. The laity and the sacraments.—(*a*) *The Eucharist.*—No real instance has been found, except in some heretical or separated bodies, of a layman being allowed to celebrate the Eucharist, even in cases of emergency. In connexion with this it is perhaps necessary to repeat the caution that εὐχαριστεῖν is sometimes used in Christian antiquity in the sense of 'saying grace' or 'asking a blessing' at a meal, and that it does not always mean 'to celebrate the Eucharist.'

The 18th canon of Nicæa (A.D. 325) asserts that even deacons have not the power of 'offering,' *i.e.* of celebrating, the Eucharist[1] (τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν), while presbyters are expressly called 'those who offer' (τοῖς προσφέρουσι). The same thing is found in the Church Orders, where the bishop and the presbyter are expressly recognized as being capable of celebrating the Eucharist (for the presbyter, cf. *Apost. Const.* iii. 20, vii. 26, *Ethiopic Didascalia*, § 16, *Test. of our Lord*, i. 31), while the deacon is explicitly forbidden to do so (*Apost. Const.* viii. 46); cf. the repeated statement that a deacon is not ordained to the priesthood—which would have been meaningless if the deacons had not been pushing their claims (*Test. of our Lord*, i. 38; *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua*, § 4; *Egyp. Ch. Order*, § 33; *Ethiop. Ch. Order*, § 24; *Verona Fragments of Didascalia*, ed. Hauler, p. 109). But, if a deacon could not celebrate the Eucharist, *a fortiori* a layman could not do so.

Nor was this a prohibition invented in the 4th century. Not only is there no evidence of a layman inside the Church celebrating the Eucharist in ante-Nicene times, but Tertullian, in a work written before his secession (*de Præscr. adv. Hær.* 41), by implication strongly repudiates such a theory. He condemns the heretical sects because they confused the functions of laity and ministry.

> 'To-day one man is their bishop, to-morrow another; to-day he is a deacon who to-morrow is a reader; to-day he is a presbyter who to-morrow is a layman. For even on laymen do they impose the functions of priesthood.'

With this it is instructive to compare the same writer's language after his secession. In *de Exhort. Cast.* 7, after saying that all laymen are priests (see above, § 3), he continues:

> 'It is the authority of the Church, and the honour which has acquired sanctity through the joint session (*consessus*) of the Order, which has established the difference between the Order and the laity. Accordingly, where there is no joint session of the ecclesiastical Order, you offer [see above], and baptize (*tinguis*), and are priest, alone for yourself. . . . You have the right of a priest in your own person, in cases of necessity.'

Here Tertullian, writing in his later days, claims for a layman, if necessity urges, the right *inter alia* to celebrate Holy Communion.

It might be suggested that in this respect Montanism was conservative of an old custom which had elsewhere died out, owing to the supposed increase of 'sacerdotal' feeling in the Church. But, whatever Montanism was, it was not, and did not profess to be, conservative. Such, indeed, is not the characteristic of any movement which magnifies 'charismatic' powers. Montanism professed to have received a new inspiration by the Holy Ghost, and rather despised than honoured old existing customs. See, further, a long investigation in Gore, *op. cit.* pp. 184–196, and Appended Note H on Montanism (pp. 355–359).

(*b*) *Baptism.*—Had we no history to guide us, we might have imagined that, if the laity could not celebrate the Eucharist, neither could they baptize. And yet, though Christian opinion has not been unanimous on the subject, the great majority have held that, in cases of necessity, a layman, and even a laywoman, may rightly baptize.

It is not quite conclusive that the apostles did not, as a rule, themselves baptize, though they laid on hands after baptism. St. Paul says that it was not his usual custom to baptize (1 Co 1$^{14ff.}$); St. Peter *commanded* Cornelius and his company to be baptized (Ac 10^{48}). It is also not quite certain, though it is probable, that the apostles did not themselves baptize all the three thousand converts in Ac 2^{41}; if they did not do so, lay brethren must have baptized, since there was as yet no ministry other than the Twelve. But, though the NT evidence is not quite conclusive, opinion from early times favoured lay baptism. Tertullian (*de Bapt.* 17) allows it to deacons and laymen, but not to women; in *de Virg. Vel.* 9 also he forbids women to baptize. But we may note that his argument in the former passage, that 'what is equally received can be equally given,' if valid, should refer to women no less than to men. The older *Didascalia* (3rd cent.; iii. 12; Funk, i. 210) allows it to deacons, but (iii. 9; Funk, i. 198) forbids it to women; the permission to deacons is not found in the parallel *Apost. Const.*, which here incorporate the *Didascalia*. The Spanish Council of Elvira (*c.* A.D. 305) says that a catechumen on a sea voyage or in a place where there is no church near can be baptized in great illness by a layman who has not apostatized or been a bigamist (can. 38), and similarly allows a deacon on some occasions to 'rule' a congregation—apparently in a country district—and to baptize (can. 77); but in all these cases confirmation by the bishop is to follow unless the baptized person dies. The *Test. of our Lord* (*c.* A.D. 350?) allows deacons to baptize (ii. 10). Jerome (*c. Lucif.* 9) says that, 'if necessity so be, even laymen may, and frequently do, baptize.' Augustine (*c. Ep. Parmen.* II. xiii. [29]) says that baptism by a layman, 'if necessity urges, is either no sin or a venial one.' But he appears to be a little doubtful about the matter. The *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua* (can. 100), by saying that 'a woman may not baptize,' probably imply that a man, even if a layman, can do so. Isidore of Seville very grudgingly says that lay baptism is for the most part allowed, but only when a person is *in extremis* (*de Eccl. Off.* ii. 25).

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[1] For this meaning of προσφέρειν or ἀναφέρειν see the present writer's *The Ancient Church Orders* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 48 f. These words sometimes mean 'to bring the oblation to the bishop' (*ib.* and Ancyra [A.D. 314], can. 2; but the latter has 'to offer the bread and the cup').

A striking case, which brings in other considerations of importance, occurred in the 4th century. The famous Athanasius is said, when a boy, to have administered baptism in play. This was observed by Alexander, the bishop of the diocese (Alexandria), who, on hearing that the proper words had been used, forbade re-baptism, but administered confirmation. For this story see Sozomen (*HE* ii. 17) and Rufinus (*HE* i. 14); Socrates (*HE* i. 15) alludes to it without mentioning Alexander's action. Whether the story is historic or not, it is instructive as showing that the historians treated lay baptism as an actual and not unusual fact. On the other question, that of 'intention,' Alexander's decision is much more doubtful.

We find that a contrary opinion as to lay baptism was not unknown in the 4th century. Even a deacon is forbidden to baptize in the *Apost. Const.* viii. 28, 46, and so are the laity and minor orders in iii. 10 f., and women in iii. 9; of baptism by women it is said that 'there is no small peril to those who undertake it, for it is dangerous, or, rather, wicked and impious.' The *Ethiopic Didascalia* (§ 13 f.) also negatives lay baptism; this manual is largely derived from the *Constitutions*.

We may notice opinion on this question in later times. In the mediæval West lay baptism was fully and officially recognized and, in cases of necessity, encouraged. Midwives were instructed how to baptize infants when in danger of death. This is the present attitude of the Roman Communion. It was also the attitude of the Church of England in the Middle Ages and down to 1604. Lay baptism was extremely common. The Sarum manual provided for it, as did the English Prayer Books of 1549, 1552, and 1559. The rubrics before the Office of Private Baptism in these three books say that baptism is to be administered by laymen only when 'great need shall compel,' but that, if so, they 'that be present' are to 'call upon God for his grace, and say the Lord's prayer, if the time will suffer. And then one of them shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying,' etc. After the Hampton Court Conference, however, as a concession to Puritan feeling, a change was made in the Prayer Book, and since 1604 only an official minister has been explicitly recognized therein. Yet we notice that in the questions directed in the Prayer Book to be asked at private baptism there is a distinction. First they that bring the child are asked by whom he was baptized, and who was present; then 'because some things essential to this Sacrament may happen to be omitted,' the persons are asked with what matter and words the child was baptized. The implication would seem to be that the status of the baptizer is not one of the 'things essential.' Lay baptism has never been forbidden in England, and has been a continuous custom. Hooker has defended its validity, even if administered by women (*Eccles. Polity*, v. 61 f.; this book was first published in 1597); and his great influence has prevailed, though not quite universally, to this day. The English law-courts (in 1809, Kemp *v.* Wickes, and in 1841, Mastin *v.* Escott; see J. H. Blunt and W. G. F. Phillimore, *Book of Church Law*^{8}, London, 1899) have upheld the same view.

To the Eastern mind the matter has presented itself in a different way. A Western can distinguish between what is irregular and what is invalid, and is accustomed to the saying 'fieri non debet, factum valet.' But an Eastern makes no such distinction; to him 'irregular' and 'invalid' mean the same thing. Quite irrespectively of the validity of the Western Orders, the question has arisen in the East whether Western baptisms are irregular, and therefore (to the Eastern) invalid. To this question the Russian Church has replied No, and has admitted Western, including Lutheran and Calvinist, baptisms since 1718; but the Constantinople Church has replied Yes. On this very complicated subject see W. J. Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, London, 1895, p. 63 n.

6. The laity in the Church services: churchwardens.—From the earliest times, as it would appear, the laity had a place of their own in the Christian synaxis, or assembly. Putting aside Justin Martyr's description (*Apol.* i. 65–67), which does not help us here, the first account of the arrangements of the synaxis is in the older *Didascalia* (3rd cent.). In this description the presbyters sat on either side of the bishop, the laymen behind the presbyters, and the women behind them, all apparently facing east (ii. 57; Funk, i. 158, 160). In the corresponding passage of *Apost. Const.* (ii. 57; Funk, 159 ff.), the description is somewhat confused, but it would seem that the bishop and his presbyters here sat (at least at the beginning of the Eucharistic service) behind the altar, facing the west. In this account also the laity sat by themselves, the men in one place and the women in another; the young people and the older people sat separately, the younger women, the mothers, the widows, the virgins, and the elder women all having distinct places. In this work the assembly is likened to a ship, the bishop being the commander, the deacons the mariners, the 'brethren' (the laity, see above, § 1) the passengers—a metaphor still carried out in the word 'nave' for the part of the church where the congregation worship. In the *Test. of our Lord* (i. 19), and also in the derived chapters of the *Arabic Didascalia* (§ 35; Funk, ii. 124), the laymen and the laywomen sit in separate places. For a somewhat later period see W. E. Scudamore, in *DCA* ii. 915^b.

Now, in the Church Orders (*e.g.*, *Didascalia* and *Apost. Const.*, *locc. citt.*; *Test. of our Lord*, i. 34) the deacons are represented as moving about rather than as having seats, and, in the case of several of them, as keeping order in the assembly, watching the doors, and assigning seats to the different classes. But, as time went on, deacons, who, as the Church Orders show, were constantly pressing their claims (Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 69), devolved their duties on sub-deacons and members of the minor orders. At a somewhat later date—though it is not easy to say when—lay officials took over these duties of deacons, and received the name of 'church-wardens.' But their duties were not and are not confined to keeping order in church. They are in the present day charged with the supervision of the church fabrics and churchyards, with seating the people, with parochial church finance, and with the relief of the poor. In Lyndwoode's *Provinciale* (15th cent.) they are called *guardiani ecclesiæ*. The English canons of 1603 call them also 'quest men.' Their assistants are called 'sidesmen' (see below, § 8). In England there are ordinarily two church-wardens in each parish, one usually nominated by the rector or vicar, and one by the parishioners, and these are admitted to office by the archdeacon. For a full account see P. V. Smith in the *Prayer Book Dictionary*, p. 205 f.

7. Lay preaching.—It was often discussed in the early ages of the Christian era how far a layman might be allowed to teach or preach in church. The case of the learned Origen (3rd cent.), who was, when still a layman, allowed to do so, caused some misgivings in certain quarters; and J. B. Lightfoot (*Apost. Fathers*, pt. i. 'Clement of Rome,' ii. [1890] 195 n.) remarks that the objections raised in his case show that the practice was rare. Eusebius (*HE* vi. 19), to whom we are indebted for the information, evidently approved of the invitation given to Origen. At the end of the 4th cent. the *Apost. Const.* (viii. 32, near the end) speak approvingly of lay teachers, but the reference is perhaps not to public teaching in church. The *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua* (can. 98) say that a layman may not teach in the presence of the clergy except at their command. The Quinisext or Trullan Council (A.D. 692) decrees that the laity are to be excluded from preaching publicly in religious services (can. 64).

We should gather from the gospel story that among the Jews any layman who had the capacity to give instruction in the synagogue might do so. From the Jewish point of view, our Lord, when He taught in the synagogue service, was a 'lay preacher' (Lk 4^{16-32}). So Paul and Barnabas were invited by the Jewish authorities to speak in the synagogue at Pisidian Antioch (Ac 13^{15}) and elsewhere. And in the early ages of the Church, when charismatic gifts were common, it is probable that the same liberty was frequently allowed. These charismata included 'the word of wisdom,' 'the word of knowledge,' 'prophecy,' and 'interpretation of tongues' (1 Co 12^{8-10}). See, further, J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, London, 1901, pp. 163–166.

There was, however, except among the Montanists and some other sects, a great objection to women preaching. Tertullian, even after he became a Montanist, disliked it; he says:

> 'It is not permitted to a woman to speak in the church, nor yet to teach' (*de Virg. Vel.* 9).

Even the *Test. of our Lord*, which enthusiastically advances the claims of the order of widows, and admits them within the sanctuary in the Eucharistic Service, will not allow them to speak in church (i. 40: 'in the church let her be silent'), though it bids them teach women in private. So the *Apost. Const.* (iii. 6) strongly forbid them to 'teach in church,' and bid them 'pray and listen to the teachers.' The prohibition of St. Paul (1 Co 14^{34}; cf. 1 Ti 2^{12}) was considered conclusive.

8. The laity in councils.—There is a considerable contrast between ancient and modern practice with regard to the position of laymen in ecclesiastical synods or councils. With the growth of the parliamentary conception in the civil State has arisen the organization of corresponding Church Parliaments in which the various orders give a vote on the questions decided, and each has a veto on the decisions of the others. It will be of interest to watch the growth of this conception. In the NT we have the description of two 'councils,' one of which may be called the prototype of the general or ecumenical synods of later days, and the other of the diocesan synods. In Ac 15 we read of a meeting called to discuss a difficult question which had arisen in the Church, whether the Gentile converts to Christianity must keep the Law of Moses—whether, in fact, the only entrance to Christianity was through Judaism. Delegates, including Paul and Barnabas, were sent up to Jerusalem to discuss the question with the 'apostles and elders' (v.^{2}), who came together to consider the matter (v.^{6}). But others than the apostles and elders were present. The delegates were received not only by them but by 'the church' (v.^{4}; see above, § 1), who heard them declare the progress of the gospel. And, when the meeting for discussion took place, 'the multitude' were present (v.^{12}). It is not clear what part these 'laymen' took in the proceedings. There was much 'questioning' (*ζήτησις*) before Peter spoke, and they may have had their share in this. When Paul and Barnabas began to describe the wonderful progress made among the Gentiles, 'all the multitude kept silence' (*ἐσίγησε*, v.^{12}). The aorist would imply that before that they had not kept silence; but whether they had contributed to the debate by speeches or by acclamation does not appear. After Paul and Barnabas had spoken, James, the Lord's brother, who presided over the local church at Jerusalem, summed up the discussion and gave as the finding of the meeting what was clearly the mind of those assembled. Then 'the apostles and the elders, with the whole church,' determined to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas (v.^{22}); but the letter which these 'chosen men' carried ran in the name of 'the apostles and elder brethren' only (v.^{23} RV; the AV has a faulty text here). We thus see that laymen (but local laymen, not representatives of other Churches) were certainly present at the Apostolic Council, and perhaps spoke at it, and yet that there was a difference between their position at the meeting and that of the 'apostles and elders' in whose name the decree ran. In Ac 21^{18} we have an assembly more closely resembling a diocesan synod of succeeding ages, which was a meeting for discussion between a bishop and his presbyters—though the term 'diocesan synod' is now often used in a different sense. Paul and his companions (including Luke) came to Jerusalem and conferred with James and his 'elders' on further aspects of the question which had been discussed at the Apostolic Council. It seems that on this occasion no laymen were present.

The impression which one receives from Ac 15 is that the apostles determined to carry with them not only the official ministry, but also the whole Christian community. A similar deduction may be made from Cyprian's famous dictum that from the beginning of his episcopate he had proposed to act only after taking the advice (*consilium*) of the clergy, and the concurring feeling (*consensus*) of the laity (*Ep.* xiv. [v.] 4, 'To the presbyters and deacons'). But modern ideas have been read into this saying. It has been interpreted as meaning that Cyprian disclaimed the power to take any action unless the laity gave their consent. The Latin word *consensus*, however, has not the same sharply defined meaning as our 'consent'; it conveys no idea of voting or of vetoing. Cyprian very rightly determined to carry his people with him in his episcopal rule, and this is the meaning of his expression *consensus*. That this view is just may be inferred from the fact that, if the dictum meant that the laity had the right to veto the bishop's actions, they would have had a higher position than that of the clergy, who had only the right to give advice (*consilium*).

In the provincial councils of the earlier centuries the bishops were the constituent members. But the essence of conciliar action is publicity, and both clergy and laity were present, often in considerable numbers, not only for their own information, that they might learn from the deliberations of the bishops, but in order that they might give information. Those who were qualified to do so, whether clergy or laymen, were brought or invited to the councils. Athanasius was present at Nicæa, in attendance on Bishop Alexander, though only a deacon (Socrates, *HE* i. 8). Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* iii. 8) says that the bishops brought in their train an immense number of presbyters, deacons, acolytes, and other attendants. Yet there is no record in ancient times of either clergy or laity exercising a veto on the bishops' decisions. Their influence was often great, but it was an indirect influence, one wielded not as an exercise of right by a class or an order, but from the qualification of knowledge and experience. They were called in, *e.g.*, to give advice about the lapsed in Cyprian's day (*Ep.* xvii. [xi.] 3, 'To the people'). See, further, art. COUNCILS AND SYNODS (Christian), vol. iv. p. 186 f.; and A. W. Haddan, in *DCA*, art. 'Council' (i. 481 f.).

The opinion of the latter writer is that, while 'bishops were the proper, ordinary, and essential members of a provincial council,' the presbyters 'as a body were consulted, as of right, down to certainly the 3rd century, and not only continued to be present, but were admitted to subscribe in several instances in later centuries.' But he doubts if 'they ever actually voted in a division'; while deacons and laity were often present and sometimes subscribed decrees, 'no proof at all exists that the laity, and no sufficient proof that the deacons, ever voted individually in actual divisions.'

We may notice here a saying of Hooker. He maintains (*Eccl. Pol.* viii. 451) that 'in all societies, companies, and corporations, what severally each shall be bound unto, it must be with all their assents ratified.' But whatever force such an opinion may have as regards the laws of a voluntary society, in matters of religion it is of very doubtful application; even to the laws of a State it can be applied only by somewhat unsatisfactory explanations. In this case it would appear that Hooker is less 'judicious' than usual.

A difficulty in the relation of laymen to synods arises from the fact that synods have so often had to deal with Christian doctrine. To legislate on doctrine is to exercise the office of teaching, and the laity have not, as a class, been commissioned, as the clergy have been commissioned, to teach, even though individual laymen may have been so commissioned (see § 7 above). Had the synods had to deal only with practical questions of Church organization, no doubt laymen would much sooner have been admitted to take a more active share in them.

An early step towards the more modern idea of a Church Parliament was the organization of the English Convocations (also called synods), in which the clerical representatives of the Lower House have a vote or veto on the decisions of the bishops in the Upper House;[1] for, without the concurrence of both Houses, no decision is an Act of Convocation. It is true that the Convocations were first thus fully organized (in the 13th cent.) for fiscal purposes; but, whatever the purpose, the result has been as stated. The addition of Lay Houses of Convocation, as consultative only, is a quite recent experiment.

Since the Reformation there has been a great movement in the West towards giving the laity an equal voice with the clergy in ecclesiastical synods. In Ireland and the British Colonies the Anglican communities have, as a rule, done this. This is also the case in the Presbyterian Communion, in which ministers and 'elders' are admitted to the General Assemblies on equal terms. It has, indeed, been discussed whether these 'elders' are or are not properly laymen, inasmuch as they have received a certain ordination or commission by laying on of hands. Neither the Church of England nor the Episcopal Church in Scotland has gone so far. The position of the laity in the former has been described above. In the latter the provincial synods are composed of the bishops and representatives of the clergy only, the clergy having a veto on the findings of the bishops, and the bishops on those of the clergy; but no legislation can take place without the representatives of the laity having an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon it, and all matters of business organization are dealt with by the Representative Church Council, in which laymen have at least an equal voice with clergymen. In this system a clergyman accused of an ecclesiastical offence can be tried only by his bishop as advised by his fellow-presbyters in diocesan synod—a sort of jury system; and he has an appeal to the 'Episcopal Synod,' which consists of the whole body of bishops.

In the Roman Catholic Communion the laity have no part, as of right, in synods, though they have sometimes been called in to give advice. In the Eastern Orthodox bodies, as will have been seen from what is stated above (§ 4), laymen have often a very considerable share in ecclesiastical councils of some kinds; but questions of doctrine are reserved for the bishops. In this connexion it may be observed that the difficulty, which has so often been felt in the West, of distinguishing questions which are doctrinal from those which are not doctrinal—for so many fall into both categories, according to the aspect in which they are viewed—does not seem to have troubled the more subtle but less logical East.

In connexion with the summoning of laymen to give evidence before synods, mention may be made of the interesting relic in England and Ireland of 'sidesmen' (in the 1603 canons 'sydemen' or 'sidemen'). It was the custom in the Middle Ages for the bishop to summon to his diocesan synod laymen as *testes synodales*, to bear witness to the moral condition of their parishes. The name 'synodsmen' is thought to have been corrupted into 'sidesmen.' Since the Reformation, however, these lay officials have been merely assistants to the church-wardens, and help to keep order in the church (English canon 90).

LITERATURE.—On the general relation of laity to clergy see J. B. Lightfoot, essay on 'The Christian Ministry' in *Philippians*^{4}, London, 1878, and many later editions (since reprinted in a volume of essays); C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*^{4}, do. 1900; A. Barry, *The Position of the Laity in the Church*, do. 1903; and W. E. Scudamore, art. 'Laity' in *DCA*. On lay baptism see R. Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, new ed., Oxford, 1843 ff.; J. Bingham, *Scholastical History of Lay Baptism*, London, 1712 (these two writers are in favour of the practice); W. Elwin, *The Minister of Baptism*, do. 1889; D. Waterland, *Letters on Lay-Baptism*, new ed. by F. N. Oxenham, do. 1892 (these two writers deny or doubt the validity of lay baptism); and T. Thompson, *The Offices of Baptism and Confirmation*, Cambridge, 1914, pt. ii. ch. iii. On the laity in councils see E. B. Pusey, *The Councils of the Church*, Oxford, 1857; A. W. Haddan, art. 'Council' in *DCA* (an exhaustive treatise on the subject); and A. Barry, *op. cit.*

A. J. MACLEAN.

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[1] For a possible precedent at Rome see COUNCILS AND SYNODS (Christian), vol. iv. p. 186^b.

LAKE-DWELLINGS.—The term 'lake-dwellings' (Fr. *habitations lacustres*; Germ. *Pfahlbauten*; Ital. *palafitte*) is a generic expression to designate those singular habitations which certain peoples were formerly in the habit of constructing, chiefly on fresh-water lakes, and the remains of which are at the present time not infrequently disinterred from ancient lacustrine deposits, either along the shallow margins of existing lakes or on the sites of some of the smaller lake-basins which, in the course of time, have been obliterated by the growth of peat. It is only in comparatively recent times that even the existence of such structures has come to the knowledge of archæologists, but practical researches have already abundantly shown that they were at one time common in many parts of the world, especially in Central Europe and in the British Isles. Herodotus (4th cent. B.C.) describes (v. 16) a lake-dwelling community in Lake Prasias, in Thrace, who lived in huts placed on a wooden platform, supported on tall piles, and connected with the shore by a wooden gangway. Each habitation had a trap-door which gave access to the water beneath; and the lake so abounded with fish that a man had only to open his trap-door and let down a basket by a rope into the water, and, on drawing it up in a short time, he would find it full of fish. But this, and a few other historical notices suggestive of the custom of constructing lake-habitations, failed to disclose the archæological treasures which have lain buried for so many centuries in the ancient lacustrine deposits of nearly all the lake-basins of Central Europe. Now the antiquarian materials collected on lake-dwelling sites are so vast and varied that they hold a prominent position in the principal archæological museums of Europe. To have rescued the evidence of so remarkable a phase of human civilization from oblivion is justly regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of pre-historic archæology. In 1890 the present writer described the *terremare* of the Po valley, the *terpen* of Holland and other analogous structures in Hungary and elsewhere, as mere variants of the lacustrine system of habitation, and, as some remarkable discoveries have since been made in these somewhat obscure fields of research, it is desirable to include a brief notice of them in this article as separate sections.

1. Lacustrine researches.—Although the discovery of the remains of pile-structures in Lake Zürich during the winter of 1853–54 is generally regarded as the starting-point of lacustrine archæology, we are not without valid evidence to show that analogous structures, though not so ancient, were known in Ireland fifteen years earlier. It seems that in 1839 curiosity was roused at the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy by the frequency of the visits of a local dealer offering for sale objects of a miscellaneous character, many of which were of rare antiquarian value. These objects were said to have been found in a peat-bog in County Meath, and their assortment in such a place seemed so strange to the Museum authorities that G. Petrie and W. R. Wilde determined to visit the locality. On this expedition they were conducted to the peat-bog of Lagore, near the village of Dunshaughlin, where, within the boundaries of a drained lake and under a thick covering of peat, was an artificial mound then partially exposed by peat-cutters. It seems that this mound had been well known to bone collectors for upwards of ten years; during that time they had dug out and exported to a factory of bone-manure in Scotland no fewer than 150 cart-loads of bones.

> The mound was 520 feet in circumference and along its margin were 'upright posts of black oak, measuring from 6 to 8 feet in height; these were mortised into beams of a similar material laid flat upon the marl and sand beneath the bog, and nearly 16 feet below the present surface. The upright posts were held together by connecting crossbeams, and (said to be) fastened by large iron nails.'

An abstract of a paper by Wilde on the Lagore 'find,' from which the above extract is taken, was published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* for 1840, and its contents were so suggestive to local antiquaries that almost immediately several other sites were recognized as island-forts, or *crannogs* (the name given to such structures in the Irish annals). Moreover, during the workings of the Commission of the Arterial Drainage and Inland Navigation of Ireland, no fewer than 22 *crannogs* were brought to light throughout the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Cavan, and Monaghan. Reports of these discoveries by the engineers of the Board of Works, with plans, maps, sections, and a large assortment of relics, were deposited at the time in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

The fortuitous circumstances which led to the discovery of the pile-structures (*Pfahlbauten*) of Switzerland are so well known that it is hardly necessary to dwell on them here. It appears that, owing to the lowness of the water [illegible] Lake Zürich during the winter of 1853–54, two of the inhabitants of Ober-Meilen, whose vineyards in ordinary times came close to the water in the lake, b[illegible] to extend their limits by enclosing portions of the exposed shore with a stone wall and filling the space with the adjacent mud. In course of [illegible] operations they came upon the decayed stumps of wooden piles, stone axes, flint implements, and various worked objects of horn and bone, which excited some curiosity among the workmen. J. Staub (*Die Pfahlbauten in den Schweizer-Seen*, Fluntern, 1864, p. 8) informs us that the village schoolmaster, Herr Aeppli, having seen some of the objects with his pupils, went to inspect the locality, and was so impressed with the importance of the find that he sent a brief statement of the facts to the Antiquarian Society at Zürich. Within four hours of the dispatch of his epistle three representatives of the Society arrived at Ober-Meilen, among them being the president, Ferdinand Keller. After careful consideration of the facts, Keller came to the conclusion that originally the piles had supported a platform upon which huts had been erected; that these huts had been inhabited by an industrious population, who were the owners of the stone axes and the other primitive relics disinterred from the mud; and that the lacustrine village had come to an untimely end by a conflagration which destroyed the entire structures down to the water edge.

News of the discoveries at Ober-Meilen spread rapidly among the Swiss people, with the result that an army of explorers immediately began to search for similar remains in other lakes. Guided partly by traditional stories of submerged cities long current among the fishing community, and partly by the knowledge of local fishermen, who, from practical experience of disasters to their nets, could at once point to numberless fields of submerged woodwork, the efforts of these pioneer *lacustreurs* were speedily crowned with success. Keller's first report on the Swiss lake-dwellings, which appeared towards the close of 1854 under the title of 'Die keltischen Pfahlbauten in den Schweizerseen,' at once brought this singular mode of human habitation prominently before the scientific world.

To dredge the bed of a lake with hand-worked appliances in a small boat was a slow process, always expensive, and often unproductive. Yet such was the enthusiasm with which that kind of work was carried on year after year by the Swiss antiquaries that there is scarcely a Cantonal

Museum in the country but contains a valuable collection of lacustrine relics secured in this way. In the course of time, these prosaic methods were powerfully supplemented by the prosecution of various kinds of public works, such as drainage operations, the deepening of harbours, the construction of railways, jetties, etc. Of exceptional importance among such incidental works was the completion of the gigantic operation known as the 'Correction des Eaux du Jura,' which embraced the deepening of the entire waterway of the Jura valley, from the junction of the Thièle with the Aar to the outlet of the Bro[illegible] at Lake Morat, the result of which was to lower the surface of the lakes of Bienne, Neuchâtel, [illegible] Morat from 6 to 8 feet. The permanent effect [illegible] these works on the Jura lakes, especially Lake Neuchâtel, was very marked—harbours, jetties and extensive tracts of shoreland being left [illegible] and dry by the subsiding waters. This was [illegible] harvest time of archæology. Many of the sites of lacustrine villages became dry land and were visited by crowds of eager relic-hunters; even fishermen forsook their normal avocation, finding it more profitable to fish for pre-historic antiquities.

Another illustration of how public works were utilized for the advancement of archæology was the construction of the splendid bridge which now [illegible] the Limmat at its outlet from Lake Zürich, [illegible] the laying out of the adjacent promenades, gardens, and ornamental quays, which occupy what was formerly part of the lake. The filling up of this large area necessitated the use of dredgers, by means of which gravel and mud were raised from the most convenient shallows along the shore and transported as required. Among the localities selected for these operations were the 'Grosser Hafner' and the outskirts of the Bauschanze. The rich loamy deposits of the 'Haumessergrund' at Wollishofen were found to be a suitable soil for the floral gardens. All these localities turned out to be the sites of lake-villages, and yielded an enormous amount of industrial remains of all ages. Indeed, the collection of Bronze Age relics from Wollishofen now deposited in the Antiquarian Museum at Zürich is one of the most valuable hitherto brought to light through lake-dwelling researches.

It is not necessary to notice the successive investigations which have been made throughout Europe in consequence of the publicity given to these discoveries in Switzerland. Suffice it to say that systematic explorations on an extensive scale have conclusively shown that lake-villages, generally in the form of pile-structures, had been prevalent during the Stone and Bronze Ages in the sheltered bays of nearly all the lakes of France, Switzerland, S. Germany, Austria, and N. Italy. More recently the area of their distribution has been extended to Bosnia, Greece, Asia Minor, and probably other localities.

The remarkable development of lake-dwellings during the pre-historic ages in Central Europe seems to have come to a sudden end in the early Iron Age, and so completely had the system fallen into desuetude that scarcely a trace of it has survived in the local traditions of the districts in which such dwellings were most numerous. The habit of constructing houses built on platforms supported on piles is not, however, absolutely confined to pre-historic times, for we find from various books of travel that such habitations are still prevalent in various parts of the world—*e.g.*, in the Gulf of Maracaibo, the mouths of the Orinoco and Amazon, on the Coasts of New Guinea and Borneo, at Singapore, along the creeks and harbours running into the Straits of Malacca, etc. V. L. Cameron (*Across Africa*, London, 1877, ii. 63) describes three villages in Lake Mohrya, in Central Africa, with drawings of their picturesque appearance as seen from the shore. A. Goering (in *Illustrated Travels*, London, 1869–75, ii. 19–21) gives an account of a visit which he paid to the pile-dwellers of a tribe of Goajiro Indians in the neighbourhood of the town of Maracaibo, from which the following extracts may be interesting:

'In this way we reached the Goajiro village. Here a lively scene presented itself. The houses, with low sloping roofs, were like so many little cock-lofts perched on high over the shallow waters, and they were connected with each other by means of bridges, made of narrow planks, the split stems of palm trees. . . . Each house, or cock-loft, consisted of two parts, the pent-roof shelter being partitioned off in the middle; the front apartment served the double purpose of entrance-hall and kitchen, the rear apartment as a reception and dwelling chamber, and I was not a little surprised to observe how clean it was kept. The floor was formed of split stems of trees, set close together and covered with mats. Weapons and utensils were placed in order in the corners.'

Access was got to these villages from the shore by dug-out canoes, the inhabitants mounting to their 'cock-lofts' by a notched tree-trunk, which served as a ladder. Goering states that such villages are numerous along the shores of the great 'Lake,' or Gulf, of Maracaibo. 'The piles on which they rest are driven deep into the oozy bottom, and so firmly do they hold that there is no shakiness of the loftily-perched dwelling perceptible, even when crowded with people.'

Pile-structures are still more numerous in the east Indian islands. J. S. C. Dumont d'Urville (*Voyage de découvertes autour du monde*, Paris, 1836) describes the inhabitants of the bay of Dorei as living on four groups of pile-villages, each containing from eight to fifteen houses entirely constructed of timbers. Some of these houses have a double row of cells or cabins, separated by a passage which runs from end to end, and give accommodation to several families.

As early as 1860, F. Troyon (*Habitations lacustres*) quotes from the books of a number of travellers recording the existence of pile-structures in nearly all parts of the world; but little further information is to be derived from this class of evidence.

The discovery of an older lacustrine civilization in Switzerland was hailed by Irish antiquaries with the greatest enthusiasm, for it was only then that the significance of their own *crannogs* came to be fully realized; and henceforth *crannog*-hunting was pursued with renewed vigour. The Irish annals were now carefully searched for references to *crannogs*, and many of the localities thus indicated were identified and partly explored. In 1857 Wilde published the first part of his well-known catalogue of the antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, in which he gave an excellent account of the *crannogs*. In it he states that 46 were known up to date, and predicts that many more would come to light as the drainage of the country advanced—a prediction which has been amply verified, as every succeeding year has seen an increase to their number. Now the total number of Irish *crannogs* known and more or less explored is upwards of 200.

In 1857 Joseph Robertson read a paper on Scottish *crannogs* at the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The chief facts adduced by him consisted of historic references to island-forts, and submerged wooden structures exposed in the course of the drainage of lochs and marshes during the last two centuries. The first great discovery, however, which brought the subject on the field of practical research in Scotland, was made in the Loch of Dowalton, Wigtownshire, upwards of fifty years ago. In order to drain the extensive meadows occupying the western portion of the Dowalton valley the proprietor, William Maxwell, conceived and successfully carried out a project of draining the loch by cutting a new outlet through a narrow lip of rock which separated its waters from the lower grounds beyond. This excavation was completed during the summer of 1863, and, as the waters subsided, a group of five or six artificial islands gradually emerged from the bosom of the lake. The antiquarian remains collected on these islands ultimately disclosed a picture of early Scottish civilization hitherto unknown.

A descriptive account of the Dowalton *crannogs* was read by the Duke of Northumberland (then

Lord Lovaine) at the meeting of the British Association held at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1863.

Two years later J. Stuart, secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, visited Dowalton, and, owing to the more complete drainage of the loch, was enabled to examine the islands under more favourable conditions. The result of his labours was an elaborate paper to the Society (1866), in which he gave a detailed account of their structure and of the relics found on them.

The discovery and excavation of the Lochlee *crannog* (1878–79) was the beginning of a series of explorations, conducted under the auspices of the Ayr and Galloway Archæological Association, which culminated within a few years in the excavation of about half a dozen typical *crannog* sites throughout the counties of Ayr and Wigtown. The assortment of relics recovered from their débris indicates the range of their occupancy to have extended from the Romano-British period down to mediæval times. Since the publication of the reports on these excavations three other typical *crannogs* have been investigated in Scotland, viz. one in Lochan Dughaill, Argyllshire, one at Hyndford, near Lanark, and one in Ashgrove Loch, near Stevenston, Ayrshire. The Hyndford *crannog* is of special interest on account of the number of objects belonging to Roman civilization which were among its relics.

Until the discovery of the Glastonbury lake-village, in the spring of 1892, by Arthur Bulleid, the recorded indications of lake-dwellings south of the Scottish border are too meagre and fragmentary to call for any notice in this sketch. The excavation of the Glastonbury settlement has been in progress since its discovery, and is now completed. Its site occupies some 3 or 4 acres of flat meadow-land, within the boundaries of what is justly supposed to have been formerly a marshy lake. Before excavations were begun, all that the eye could discern was a group of low mounds huddled in the corner of a field. These mounds turned out to be the sites and débris of dwelling-huts resting on a foundation of layers of brushwood and the stems of small trees. These under-structures were sometimes bound together with transverse mortised beams, precisely similar to those so commonly met with in the Scottish and Irish *crannogs*. A thick palisading of piles and brushwood surrounded and protected the village. Its marginal boundary was very irregular, probably owing to the fact that enlargement of the original area of the village had been subsequently made by the addition of huts projecting from its sides. The huts were circular or slightly oval, and varied in size from 20 to 35 ft. in diameter. Each hut contained a central hearth, sometimes neatly made of flat stones embedded in the clay flooring which existed in all of them; and, as subsidence, due to the compression and decay of the under-structures, progressed, the occupants superadded new clay floorings, which on section showed a well-marked stratified appearance. Several hearths, five or six not being an unknown number, were thus observed to have been superimposed one above the other—precisely as was the case on the Lochlee *crannog*.

The relics collected on the site of this remarkable lacustrine village are so numerous and varied that they illustrate, with rare and singular completeness, the life-history of the community who inhabited it. They exhibit the special characteristics of 'Late Celtic' art, as it existed prior to the spread of Roman civilization in that part of Britain; and it is this fact that gives the Glastonbury collection an exceptional importance among the antiquarian remains hitherto discovered within the British Isles.[1]

2. Structure of lake-dwellings.—It will be understood from the foregoing remarks that the structural details of lake-dwellings have to be gathered more or less from different, and sometimes widely separated, settlements, and re-constructed on the principles of comparative archæology. As regards the pile-structures of the Stone and Bronze Ages, everything—huts, platforms, and even the submerged piles, except their lower ends—has disappeared ages ago, either from natural decay or by conflagrations. The complete destruction of a lake-village by fire was by no means a rare catastrophe, and, strange to say, it was, from an archæological point of view, the most fortunate termination that could have happened to it. During the bustle and scrimmage consequent on the conflagration of such combustible materials not only did many articles of value drop into the water beneath, but some of the most perishable commodities, such as grain, fruits, bread, cloth, portions of the clay mouldings which covered the cottage walls, etc., were more or less charred before being deposited in the lake-silt—a condition which rendered them less liable to decomposition. It is by collecting, assorting, and comparing such fragmentary materials that archæologists are enabled to form some idea of the appearance and internal structure of these lacustrine villages, as well as of the culture, civilization, and domestic economy of their inhabitants.

The preliminary problem which had to be solved before habitable huts of any kind could be erected was the construction of a level platform, sufficiently elevated above the surface of the water to place the dwelling-huts beyond the action of the waves and floods. The methods adopted to secure this end may be briefly described.

(*a*) One method was by driving long piles of wood into the bed of the lake, leaving their tops projecting at a uniform height above the water, and then placing over them transverse beams with mortised holes, into which the tops of the piles were fitted—thus forming a platform capable of supporting human habitations, and, of course, varying in size according to the requirements of the community. That the earliest lake-dwellers had the requisite skill to accomplish such work is established beyond doubt by the discovery among the débris of nearly all the stations of mortised beams, tenons, portions of wood containing both round and square holes, together with a various assortment of wooden implements, vessels, etc. A common method of steadying the piles was to throw around them after being placed in position large quantities of stones. The stones were transported from the adjacent shore in canoes, one of which, still containing its load, was actually observed buried in the mud off the Ile de St. Pierre, in Lake Bienne, where it had evidently been swamped. These extensive collections of stones formed here and there a kind of submerged mound, which from time immemorial was locally known as a *Steinberg*. One or more of these *Steinbergs* have been found on almost all the sites of the pile-villages of the Stone Age. The long straggling settlement at Schaffis contained three, the largest measuring 217 ft. in length by 65 ft. in breadth. The fishermen, in order to prevent injury to their nets, were in the habit of pulling up these piles; and so abundant were they in the three great lakes known as the 'Jura waters' that they had become the source of a small industry among cabinet-makers, who had long recognized the valuable properties of the black oak for the manufacture of ornamental articles. A more striking appearance has rarely been seen than that which the stations of Möringen and Lattringen presented shortly after Lake Bienne became affected by the operations of the 'Correction des Eaux du Jura.' Photographs then taken show quite a forest of black stumps rising a few feet above the muddy bottom which then, for the first time, became exposed to view.

It is estimated that the actual number of piles used in the construction of some of the larger settlements was not far short of 100,000. One of the stations at Morges, in the lake of Geneva, was 1200 ft. long and 150 ft. broad; and the whole of this area was thickly studded with the stumps of the piles which formerly supported the village. E. von Fellenberg calculated, by counting the number of piles in one or two selected localities, that the entire number requisite for the Bronze Age settlement at Möringen could not have been less than 10,000.

In the construction of the earlier villages the piles were simply round stems of trees, but latterly, apparently for the purpose of economizing the wood, they were split into two and sometimes into four portions—a structural feature said to be characteristic of the Bronze Age. It may also be noted that, when a Stone Age site continued in occupation during the Bronze Age, the débris of the latter settlement lay invariably on the outside of the former, showing that with the use of metal tools their constructors were enabled to plant the piles in deeper water. During the Stone Age the woodwork had been manipulated by stone implements—a fact which was clearly demonstrated by Keller on the occasion of the first discovery of the kind at Ober-Meilen. Here some of the piles, on being freshly pulled up, were observed to have their tips pointed by blunt implements, and it was experimentally ascertained that the cuts on them could be closely imitated by using the stone axes which were picked out of the surrounding mud.

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[1] Within the last few years another lacustrine village has been discovered at a place called Meare, about two miles from Glastonbury, and is now in the course of being excavated during each summer. So far, both the structural and cultural relics disclosed at this new site are precisely similar to those of the Glastonbury village.

(*b*) A second method by means of which lake-dwellers secured an adequate basis for their huts was to construct a series of rectangular basements of wood a few feet apart, each basement having its sides formed by a succession of horizontal beams lying one above the other, like the logs in a Swiss châlet. The ends of the beams overlapped for a few feet, and at the four crossings a few uprights were placed, apparently for the purpose of steadying the structure. These compartments varied in size from a few feet in diameter to as many yards. The lowest beams rested on the bed of the lake, and, when the requisite height above the water was reached, transverse beams to form the habitable platform were laid across, thus covering up the empty spaces underneath. This plan, which was probably selected for the purpose of saving the structural materials, may be regarded as analogous to the vaulted foundations of modern houses. Examples of such structures have been found in Lake Paladru in France (Merovingian period) and in the lakes of Persanzig, Arys, Daber, and in a few other sporadic lake-dwellings of the Iron Age in N. Germany.

(*c*) Contemporary with the pre-historic pile-structures already noticed, there existed throughout the same regions of Central Europe certain lake-dwellings which, instead of platforms supported on piles, had solid sub-structures composed of closely set timbers arranged in horizontal layers and often alternating with beds of clay. Such structures were commonly erected in the smaller lakes, and their remains are now generally embedded in peat. Characteristic specimens of this class belonging to the Stone Age have been investigated at Wauwyl, Niederwyl, Schussenried, and a few other localities. An artificial island in the lake of Inkwyl, near Soleure, was shown by C. A. Morlot to have been originally a pile-structure which at a later period had become consolidated into an island by the gradual accumulation of the débris of a lengthy habitation. Another in Lake Nussbaumen is, according to Morlot, surrounded by a circle of piles, after the manner of the Scottish and Irish *crannogs*. It has also been proved that the prettily wooded Isola Virginia in Lake Varese, though now about three acres in extent, was originally a pile-structure. At present it contains several buildings, one of which is a valuable archæological museum erected by the proprietor, Ettore Ponti.

It was, however, within the British Isles that the artificial islands, or *crannogs*, acquired their greatest development. Precise information as regards their structure has been supplied by an exhaustive investigation of a few Scottish specimens, notably those at Lochlee and Buston, in the county of Ayr, the result of which may be briefly summarized as follows.

A suitable locality having been selected—the topographical requirements seem to have been a small mossy lake with its margin overgrown with water-plants—the next consideration was the selection of materials for constructing the island. In a lake bed composed of many feet of decayed vegetable matter it is manifest that heavy substances, such as stones and earth, would be inadmissible, owing to their weight, so that solid logs of wood in the form of trunks of trees would be the best material that could be used. The plan adopted seems to have been to make in the first place a floating raft of tree-stems, brushwood, heather, bracken, etc., with which were mingled stones and earth. On this basis they continued to add similar materials until the mass grounded. It was then surrounded with a stockade in the form of one or more circles of piles united by intertwining branches, or, in the more elaborately constructed specimens, by horizontal beams with mortised holes to receive the ends of the piles. These horizontal beams were arranged in two ways. One set ran along the circumference and bound together all the uprights in the same circle, while others took a radial direction and connected each circle together, some of these radial beams being long enough to bind the uprights in three circles together. The mechanical skill displayed in the construction of these stockades was specially directed to give stability to the island, and to prevent superincumbent pressure from causing the general mass to bulge out laterally.

The internal structure of the Lochlee island was carefully ascertained by cutting a large rectangular hole near its centre down to the original silt of the lake—a depth of some 10 ft. from the lowest floor of the dwelling-house, or about 16 ft. from the original surface of the mound. The result of this was to show that nearly the entire mass was composed of the unbarked stems of various kinds of trees, from 6 to 12 ins. in diameter, laid in transverse layers one above the other. Interspersed here and there among the woodwork were some long slender oak planks, which appear to have formed a binding framework between the central parts of the island and its margin. One such beam, on having its attachments traced out, was found to have its inner end pinned by a long wooden peg to an adjacent large tree-stem, while its outer end was pinned to another slender oak plank which extended outwards and was similarly attached to the marginal structures.

Some of these *crannog* islands in Scotland and Ireland had been constructed of stones with or without a wooden foundation. According to G. H. Kinahan, the largest and most typical example of the stone *crannog* in Ireland is Hag's Castle, Lough Mask, Co. Mayo. As a Scottish example may be cited a mound on the margin of the White Loch of Ravenstone, Wigtownshire, explored a few years ago by Lord Borthwick and the present writer. It turned out to be a mass of stones, presenting a level surface of about 80 ft. in diameter and 6 or 7 ft. thick, resting on a foundation of large beams. On the surface of this mound were the foundations of stone buildings divided into five compartments.[1]

Most of the pile-structures of Central Europe had been connected with the shore by one or more gangways, supported on a double row of piles, with dimensions varying according to the requirements of each village. E. von Fellenberg informs us (Keller, *Lake-Dwellings*, p. 181 f.) that the bridge leading from the shore to the Bronze Age settlement of Möringen was about 200 yards in length, and nearly 20 ft. in width, while that to the Stone Age settlement in the same locality was considerably shorter, and only 5 to 8 ft. wide. The area occupied by piles at Robenhausen extended to about 3 acres, and the nearest point of the old lake shore was some 2000 paces distant; but yet, from traces of piles found in the peat, it would appear that a wooden bridge traversed the whole of this distance. Remains of similar approaches have occasionally been discovered in connexion with the later dwellings of the Iron Age, both in N. Germany and in the British Isles. Some of the Scottish and Irish *crannogs* were also accessible by a submerged stone causeway, the existence of which had become known in some instances only upon the drainage of the lake. It has been conjectured that such submerged approaches might have been intentionally constructed so as to supply to the initiated a secret means of escape in emergencies—an idea strengthened by the zig-zag direction presented by some of them, such as a stone causeway in the Loch of Sanquhar. Other *crannogs*, however, appear to have been completely insulated and accessible only by boats. The frequency with which canoes have been disinterred from the débris of lake-dwellings of all ages shows how prevalent and widely distributed was their use as a means of communication with the shore. These primitive boats, whether emanating from a Swiss *Pfahlbau* or from a mediæval *crannog* of the British Isles, were almost invariably dug-outs, and presented no special feature either in form or in structure by which their age or provenance could be determined.

The evidential data, on which our knowledge of the structure of the actual habitations of the lake-dwellers is founded, consist of portions of burnt clay mouldings, the position of hearths and culinary implements, traces of walls and partitions, the disposition of food refuse, etc. The inference from the clay castings is that the timbers which formed the walls of the huts had been placed close together in an upright position, and then plastered over with puddled clay. Burnt clay impressions found at Robenhausen indicated timbers about an inch and a half in diameter, but other fragments indicated merely a kind of wicker-work. It may be noted that clay mouldings found in Lake Bourget, supposed to have been portions of the ceiling of a room, were ornamented with concentric circles and parallel lines. Other burnt fragments from the same locality were portions of the funnel of a small furnace or stove.

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[1] During the last few years a preliminary survey of the artificial islands in the Highland lochs, preparatory to excavating the more promising sites, has been completed by F. Odo Blundell of St. Benedict's Monastery, Fort Augustus, under the auspices of a Committee of the British Association. Several interesting reports have already been published by the Association, as well as in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. For the year 1914 a small grant has been obtained from the Carnegie Research Fund towards the expense of investigating the artificial island in the Loch of Kinellan, Ross-shire.

As to the form of the huts archæologists are divided in opinion, some, in their ideal restorations, figuring them as circular, and others as rectangular. F. Troyon, judging from some clay casts found at Wangen, came to the conclusion that they were circular, and, accordingly, figures them as such in his *Habitations lacustres*. On the other hand, E. Frank, the investigator of Schussenried, came upon the foundations and portions of the walls of a cottage embedded in peat. The structure was rectangular, measuring 33 ft. in length and 23 ft. in breadth, and was divided into two compartments by a partition. The walls and partitions were constructed of split stems of trees set upright, and plastered over with clay. On the south side there was a door, a little over 3 ft. wide, which opened into one of the chambers. The flooring of both these chambers was composed of four layers of closely laid timbers separated by as many layers of clay. These repeated floorings may have been necessitated by the gradual rise of the surrounding peat, which ultimately compelled the inhabitants to abandon the dwelling altogether.

The diameter of the circular area enclosed by the stockades at Lochlee was about 60 ft., and in its central portion there was a space, measuring 39 ft. square, paved with closely laid beams like railway sleepers, and along each of its sides were the stumps of posts, apparently the remains of a wooden wall. A row of similar stumps divided the paved area into two compartments. Five or six superimposed hearths occupied the middle of the northern compartment, and the doorway, clearly defined by portions of two stout posts, was situated on the south side, while facing it on the left was an immense refuse heap, beyond which were the remains of a gangway connecting the island with the shore. On the other hand, the structural remains on the Buston *crannog* indicated one large circular dwelling-house, a form of habitation which was also disclosed by the excavation of the *crannog* in Lochan Dughaill. We have already seen that the huts of the Glastonbury lake-village were more or less circular. It may, therefore, be inferred that both forms were indiscriminately used by the lake-dwellers not only during the prehistoric period, but also during the subsequent ages in which such structures were in vogue.

On the pile-structures proper the hut floor was made of clay mixed with rushes, and over this was placed the hearth, which consisted of a few flat stones embedded in clay. From discoveries made at Niederwyl, Jacob Messikommer (Keller, *Lake-Dwellings*, p. 73) concluded that the roofs of the huts in that settlement were thatched with straw and rushes. That thatch of some kind was used in Western Europe in proto-historic times finds some corroboration in the writings of classical authors.

3. Culture and civilization of the lake-dwellers of Europe.

—There is no class of antiquities which gives greater support to the general accuracy of the chronological sequence of the so-called three ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron than the various collections of lake-dwelling remains which are to be seen in the archæological museums of Europe. Founded in the Stone Age, these pile-structures continued to flourish during the whole of the Bronze Age, and even overlapped into the early Iron Age, so that the period of their duration entirely covers the introduction and development of bronze into Middle and Western Europe. It is beyond doubt that from the very start the lake-dwellers were acquainted with, and sedulously practised, various arts and industries, that they reared most of the ordinary domestic animals, and that they cultivated the growth of flax, fruits, and various kinds of cereals.

Several varieties of cloth, fringes, nets, cords, and ropes were brought to light by Messikommer from the very lowest relic-bed at the Stone Age station of Robenhausen; and even specimens of embroidery were found at the adjoining station of Irgenhausen. Remains of linen cloth, thread, nets, basket-work, etc., have also been found on many other stations, as at Vinelz, Locras, Schaffis, Lagozza, Laibach, etc. The absence of such fragile relics from other stations is not to be taken as evidence that their inhabitants were unacquainted with such industries; for it is only when fabrics are carbonized, or deposited in circumstances exceptionally favourable to their preservation, that they resist for a prolonged period the process of natural decay. Thus, at Schussenried, though there was no actual specimen of cloth found, the impression of a well-woven fabric was clearly visible on a consolidated mass of wheat—probably that of the sack in which the grain had been stored. At Laibach, a similar impression was observed on a fragment of pottery. In the museum at Freiburg (Switzerland) there is a carbonized spindle from Lake Morat, which shows fine threads still coiled round it; and Gross figures a similar object from Locras.

One of the stations at Moosseedorf-See, which was carefully investigated by the experienced archæologists Jahn, Morlot, and Uhlmann, yielded a large assortment of the osseous remains of animals, among which the following were supposed to have been in a state of domestication: dog, sheep, goat, pig, and various kinds of oxen. A few bones and teeth of the horse were also found, but these might have belonged to the wild species, as it is not agreed that this animal was domesticated till the Bronze Age. The cultivated plants recorded from this station were barley, two kinds of wheat, pea, poppy, and flax. At Wangen two varieties of wheat and the two-rowed barley were distinctly recognized both in whole ears and as detached grain—the latter in quantities that could be measured in bushels.

That the ceramic art was well known to, and practised by, the early lake-dwellers is amply proved by the quantity of pottery, mostly fragmentary, indicating bowls, plates, cups, jugs, spoons, and large vessels, now stored among lacustrine relics in the various museums throughout Europe. These vessels were made without a knowledge of the potter's wheel, and the paste frequently contained coarse sand or small pebbles; but a finer kind was also used for the manufacture of smaller vessels. Generally speaking, they were coarsely made in the earlier stations, having perforated knobs instead of handles; yet examples are occasionally found which show that handles

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Thus, Strabo (iv. iv. 3) writes that the Belgæ lived in 'great houses, arched, constructed of planks and wicker-work, and covered with a heavy thatched roof'—a description which correctly applies to many of the Scottish *crannogs*.

were not unknown. The ornamentation consisted of finger- and string-marks, irregular scratchings with a pointed tool, raised knobs, and perforations round the rim, together with dots and lines variously combined.

For the prosecution of the ordinary avocations of social life the lake-dwellers were in possession of a varied assortment of tools and implements, the precise function of some of them being, however, difficult to determine. They used axes, knives, saws, scrapers, borers, etc., of flint and other hard stones. Cutting instruments, pointers, chisels, etc., were also made of horn, bone, and the tusks of the wild boar. With such tools they constructed wooden houses, scooped out canoes, and shaped wood into various kinds of dishes, clubs, and handles.

The food supply derived from agriculture and the rearing of domestic animals was supplemented by the produce of hunting, fishing, and gathering such seeds and fruits as nature produced in the vicinity. The weapons and tools used in these pursuits are abundantly met with. Arrow- and spear-points of flint, and sometimes of rock-crystal and jade, or other mineral, and of bone, are common among lake-dwelling remains; and even a few of the bows made of yew wood, notwithstanding their liability to decay, have come to light—two from Robenhausen, and one from each of the stations of Vinelz, Sutz, and Clairvaux.

The introduction of cutting implements of bronze into general use among the lake-dwellers gave a great impulse to the advancement of all the industries and ordinary affairs of life. In lieu of the primitive weapons and tools previously in use, we now meet with a splendid array of swords, daggers, lances, axes, knives, razors, chisels, gouges, sickles, etc., all made of the new material. The simple dagger of bone or flint, which could be used only by a thrusting blow, not only became more effective, but developed into a new weapon—the double-edged sword. Indeed, all weapons, implements, and ornaments underwent more or less evolutionary improvements, the various stages of which can be readily traced by a comparison of extant specimens. Thus, the primitive stone axe at first retained the same form in bronze, and, as such, had a wide distribution throughout Europe; but it gradually succumbed to the flanged type, with or without a loop, till finally all forms gave way to the socketed implement, which appears to have been regarded as the best form of axe prevalent in the Bronze Age. It was only when iron superseded bronze in the manufacture of cutting implements that the modern type of axe, *i.e.* with a transverse socket, came into general use.

In the category of ornaments and articles of the toilet there falls to be considered a large assortment of new and fanciful forms, such as bracelets, pendants, necklaces, fibulæ, pins, combs, belt-clasps, finger-rings, buttons, studs, ear-rings, chains, and a few trinkets of gold, amber, and glass.

That the horse was in a state of domestication among the lake-dwellers during the Bronze Age we have very circumstantial evidence, in the discovery of bridle-bits and various ornaments for harness, as well as a wheel and other mountings of a carriage.

These progressive innovations in domestic and public life could hardly fail to influence the art of the potter. Accordingly, we meet with a better quality of paste, greater variety and elegance in the style and form of vessels, and some approach to systematic decoration. Ultimately colouring materials were utilized, which considerably enhanced the effect of the geometric style of ornamentation. Besides patterns of recurring figures, formed by impressions in the soft clay, we occasionally find similar patterns traced on the surface of vessels in thin strips of tin-foil made to adhere to the dish by means of a kind of gum or asphalt. Such vessels were made of fine black paste, with a smooth surface, and were extremely elegant in shape.

Lacustrine archæology does not supply the materials requisite for a review of the culture and civilization prevalent in the early Iron Age, as no lake-dwellings have been discovered showing a transition in the manufacture of bronze and iron objects. Iron appears in a few instances, towards the close of the Bronze Age, as in ornamental bands encrusted on a few swords and bracelets, but there are no tools or weapons of the transition stage, such as was the case at Hallstatt, where iron is seen, as it were, competing with bronze in the manufacture of all kinds of objects. On the contrary, the few objects of iron found on the sites of one or two of the Swiss lake-dwellings are mostly La Tène types, which, of course, are very different, not only in material, but in form and technique, from those of the previous age. On these stations not only were iron objects of La Tène forms found, but also Roman tiles, pottery, and coins. The introduction of iron into general use in Europe seems, therefore, to have been the work of an alien people who subjugated the lake-dwellers and destroyed their villages. On the other hand, the sporadic lake-dwellings found outside the area of these earlier habitations belong almost exclusively to the Iron Age, and their respective inhabitants had no common bonds of affinity. The vast majority of the Scottish and Irish *crannogs* flourished from the Romano-British period down to the 17th cent.—a statement which, according to R. von Virchow ('Die Pfahlbauten des nördlichen Deutschlands,' *ZE* i. [Berlin, 1869]), is applicable to their analogues in N. Germany.

The well-known station of La Tène, regarded by the earlier *lacustreurs* as a true lake-dwelling of the Iron Age, is now shown to have been an *oppidum*, or fort, of the Helvetians, erected at the outlet of the lake when its waters stood at a lower level than they did immediately before the 'Correction des Eaux du Jura.' The remarkable assortment of weapons, implements, and ornaments collected from this site gives a striking picture of the metallurgical skill to which their owners had attained prior to the influence of Roman civilization in Gaul. The style of art disclosed by them seems to be closely allied to that known in Britain as 'Late Celtic,' as represented, *e.g.*, by the relics found on the Glastonbury lake-villages; and so important is this group considered by archæologists that the name 'La Tène' has become a generic expression for those well-defined Marnian remains which are Celtic in origin, and are not to be confounded with those classified as Greek, Roman, Etruscan, or Phœnician.

4. **Terremare.**—Shortly after the middle of the 18th cent. certain artificial mounds of an earthy substance found scattered here and there over some of the eastern provinces of the Po valley became known to agriculturists as possessing great fertilizing power—a property which was henceforth turned to account by using their contents as a field manure. To such an extent has this practice been carried on that, out of about 100 sites then known, few now remain. On the removal of a few feet of surface soil the fertilizing materials come to view in the form of stratified deposits of clay, sand, ashes, etc., of various colours—yellow, brown, green, and black—shown conspicuously on section as parallel bands running across the mound. The finer materials, procured by riddling, are sold to the farmers under the name *marna* or *merne*;

and hence these mounds are now known in scientific literature as *terremare*. In course of these annual excavations a number of antiquarian objects were encountered by the workmen, such as fragments of pottery, Roman coins and tiles, implements of bronze, bone, and horn, the bones of domestic and wild animals, and occasionally those of men. These discoveries for a long time failed to lead to any scientific investigation, and, when the mysterious mounds happened to be noticed by the early writers of last century, each had a theory of his own to account for them. The celebrated naturalist G. Venturi (1822) assigned them partly to the Boii, a Celtic race who here cremated their dead warriors and ceremonially threw their weapons and animals taken in war into the burning pile, and partly to the Romans who subsequently inhabited the country and selected these mounds as burial-places. Others supposed them to have been the sacred and traditional cemeteries of successive races, and hence their contents were called cemetery-earth (*terra cimeteriale*); and it is a curious fact that many of these truncated mounds are to this day crowned by a modern church or convent, around which the Christians have been in the habit of burying their dead. B. Gastaldi thought the stratification of the deposits could be accounted for only by the intervention of floods and inundations, such as the annual overflowings of the Po and the bursting of the numerous torrents which descend from the Apennines.

These and similar theories, based on the supposition that the *terramara* mounds were the abodes of the dead, were not, however, in harmony with the domestic character of the pottery and industrial implements which were turned up. The starting-point of a long series of researches which ultimately solved the problem was the announcement, in 1861, of P. Strobel that the remains of a *palafitte*, analogous to those found in lakes and peat-bogs, were to be seen below the true *terramara* beds at the station of Castione dei Marchesi, near Borgo San Donnino, in the province of Parma. This discovery aroused much speculative interest, especially when correlated with the researches initiated by B. Gastaldi regarding pile-dwellings in lakes and marshes, the existence of which, in Italy, had just then been proved by the discovery of their remains in the peat-bog of Mercurago and in Lake Garda.

Reflecting on these novel revelations, Strobel and Luigi Pigorini, both then residing at Parma, began a series of investigations regarding the *terremare* in their own vicinity, the outcome of which was a joint report, first published in 1862 as part of Gastaldi's well-known work, *Nuovi cenni sugli oggetti di alta antichità trovati nelle torbiere e nelle marniere dell' Italia.*[1]

Interest in the whole subject now rapidly increased, and extended to agriculturists and local observers. Yearly excavations were carefully scanned for antiquities, and special excavations in the interests of science were even undertaken by the State. The outcome of these elaborate researches has been to show that a typical *terramara* settlement was virtually a land *palafitte*, trapezoidal in shape (with two sides always parallel), and orientated—the degree of orientation being dependent on the direction of the sunrise when the settlement was founded. In their construction one uniform plan was adopted.

Having selected a site suitable in size to the requirements of the community, the constructors proceeded to surround it with a moat, the excavated materials being thrown up in the form of a dike or rampart on the inner bank. The inside edge of this dike was then lined with a series of small rectangular enclosures made of horizontal beams laid one above the other, as in a Swiss châlet. The beams, which were roughly hewn and partially mortised at the points of crossing, projected irregularly beyond the enclosed spaces, some extending as far as the adjacent compartments. The interior of these log-houses was then filled with rubbish—clay, gravel, pottery, bits of wood, etc. From special investigations conducted at Castione, Pigorini came to the conclusion that the purpose of this curious structure was to support the inner side of the earthen dike (*contrafforte dell' argine*), and so give it a perpendicular facing. The area thus enclosed was then thickly planted with stakes, the tops being brought to a common level, and over them a wooden platform was laid. On this platform, huts, made of light timbers and plastered over with clay, were erected. Thus, in a very simple manner, was constructed a fortified village, access to which was secured by a wooden bridge spanning the surrounding moat. The vacant space beneath the common platform became a convenient receptacle for all sorts of refuse, including lost and worn-out objects of industry. When, in the course of time, the space became filled up, the *terramaricoli*, in order to avoid the labour of removing the débris which would have accumulated around them, adopted the ingenious plan of constructing a brand-new platform above the former. It seems that, in some instances, a preliminary step to the carrying out of this project was to set fire to the entire village, thus at one coup getting rid of all sanitary difficulties as well as of a number of uninvited guests. Having started *de novo* with a clean bill of health, they elevated the surrounding dike to the requisite height, and planted stakes, as formerly, over the habitable area for the support of the new platform. This mode of procedure appears to have been repeated over and over again, until in the course of time the successive deposits accumulated to a height of 15 or 20 feet.

Of subsequent discoveries the most remarkable were the result of systematic excavations on the *terramara* of Castellazzo di Fontanellato, in the province of Parma, conducted by Pigorini at suitable intervals during the summers of 1888 to 1896.

In this station the surrounding moat was 30 metres wide and 3½ deep below the original level of the plain. It was kept supplied with water from a neighbouring stream by an artificial canal, and in another part there was an overflow canal only half a metre in depth, so that water always remained in the moat to a depth of 3 metres. Along the inside of the moat there was a rampart, 15 metres broad at the base, having its outer side sloping and its inner side vertical—being kept in this position by a *contrafforte*. Although the woodwork of this structure had almost entirely decayed, there was no difficulty in recognizing that it was similar to that of Castione, already described. The only access to the interior was by a wooden bridge, from which the main street, 15 metres wide, extended midway between the two parallel sides of the fort. Along the middle of the east rampart and a little to its inside, there was a raised mound of earth, 100 metres long and 50 broad, surrounded by a moat and a *contrafforte*, and crossed by three bridges. This was the citadel of the village, and within it was an open trench, at the bottom of which were five rectangular pits in a row, each of which had been covered with a wooden lid. These receptacles are supposed to have been for ritual purposes, and are regarded by Pigorini as the prototypes of analogous pits found in Roman camps, such as those described by M. Jacobi of Homburg as occurring in the *Limes Germanicus*. Facing the middle bridge of the citadel, another street, but only half the breadth of the former, ran across the settlement, at right angles to the main street. Pigorini has also pointed out that these two intersecting streets are virtually the same as in a Roman camp, with its *cardo maximus* and *decumanus maximus*. Other streets ran parallel to the two main roadways, and thus divided the whole habitable area into rectangular divisions of equal size. All the spaces formed by the intersection of the streets contained traces of the piles which had supported the wooden platforms on which the huts had been erected.

Among the more important results of the investigations at Castellazzo was the discovery of two cremation cemeteries containing vases with calcined bones. One, situated near the south-east corner of the village, was of a square shape, each side measuring 165 metres. On being examined, this necropolis turned out to be a veritable pile-structure, having rows of cinerary urns placed close together, not, however, on the ground, but on a wooden platform. It was surrounded by a moat, 10 metres broad and 1·60 metres in depth, from which it would appear that the houses of the dead were constructed on the same plan as those of the living.

The station of Castellazzo was by no means a newly discovered site when Pigorini began his investigations, as its fertilizing earths were excavated by the peasants from time immemorial. The relics found on it from time to time had not been carefully collected, but nevertheless a goodly number had been sent to the museums of Parma and Rome. They are similar to the ordinary relics characteristic of the *terremare*, such as pottery (including the famous *ansa lunata*), loom weights, terra-cotta figurines of animals, and various objects of deer-horn, together with an assortment of Bronze Age implements, weapons, and ornaments.

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[1] This work was translated into English by C. H. Chambers under the title of *Lake Habitations and Pre-historic Remains in the Turbaries and Marl-beds of Northern and Central Italy*, and published in 1865 by the Anthropological Society of London.

The opinion of Pigorini and other Italian authorities is that the original lake-dwellers came into Italy from the great highway of the Danube by way of Croatia, Carinthia, and Venetia. On reaching the Po valley, they founded settlements in the lakes of Garda, Fimon, Arquà, and others during the transition period between the Stone and Bronze Ages. In the lake of Garda the settlements were numerous, and some of them continued to flourish down to the early Iron Age. In moving westwards these immigrants followed the left bank of the Po, founding settlements in the intermediate lakes, until they reached the lakes of Varese and Maggiore, which henceforth became their headquarters in the western part of the valley. Meanwhile the early settlers who remained in the eastern district began to found lake-dwellings (*palafitte*) on swampy ground, the lakes here being too few to afford suitable accommodation for their increasing agricultural and pastoral pursuits. Subsequently they crossed to the south side of the Po, where, the land being low-lying and subject to inundations, they continued their inherited system of habitations with the addition of having them fortified by a moat and a rampart. The crossing of the Po, which doubtless was a great military achievement, is supposed to have taken place at Viadana, and it is worthy of note that the great camp of Castellazzo was in the vicinity, on the frontier of the territories of the Ibero-Liguri, the original inhabitants of the country—a fact which seems to the present writer to have been the *raison d'être* for the exceptional defences of the *terramara* villages of Western Emilia. On the east side, towards Bologna, the hut-constructors of the Stone Age were conquered and subjugated by the *terramaricoli*, who then installed themselves in their hut villages—thus accounting for the remains of the two civilizations being met with in the stations and habitable caves all along the coast of the Adriatic. Gradually these *terramara* folk moved southwards, and, according to Pigorini, became the actual founders of Rome. At any rate, a typical *terramara* station has been discovered as far south as Taranto.

5. **Terpen.**—We now proceed to inquire if structures analogous to the *terremare* are found elsewhere in Europe. It is a remarkable fact that, notwithstanding the striking appearance which the Swiss lake-villages must have presented to strangers, classical writers are absolutely silent about them. Such reticence does not, however, apply to the class of remains now about to be described. Before the construction of the great sea-dikes of Holland, the whole of West Friesland would have been in that hybrid condition described by Pliny (*HN* xvi. 1), in which it was difficult to say whether it belonged to sea or land:

> 'Here a wretched race is found, inhabiting either the more elevated spots of land, or else eminences artificially constructed, and of a height to which they know by experience that the highest tides will never reach. Here they pitch their cabins; and, when the waves cover the surrounding country far and wide, like so many mariners on board ship are they,' etc.

At the present time this region is studded with certain low mounds called *terpen*. From a map of their geographical distribution recently issued by the Friesch Genootschap, it appears that their number in Friesland alone amounts to 500, of which 200 have already been excavated. Of the remaining 300 many are not available for either agricultural or archæological purposes, being occupied by villages, churches, cemeteries, etc. Like the *terremare*, these *terp*-mounds have for a long time been excavated on account of their rich ammoniacal deposits, which are used by agriculturists as guano; but, until they accidentally attracted the attention of archæologists, nobody seemed to have given a thought to their origin. As their excavation is prosecuted solely in the interests of agriculture, little attention is paid to the position of the archæological treasures which they contain. Either a canal or a railway siding is conducted to the perpendicular facing of the excavation, and from it the transporting boats or waggons are filled. Most of the larger antiquarian objects are thus secured, but many of the smaller articles, such as beads and ornaments, escape observation. From the relics thus collected the curator of the Leeuwarden Museum has the privilege of selecting any that he thinks necessary for the national collection, but the rest may be sold or disposed of privately.

As to the origin of the *terpen*, they are now proved to have been originally constructed as pile-dwellings, at least as regards some parts of their interior; and some of them are probably the actual mounds described by Pliny. The *modus operandi* was, in the first place, to raise a circular ring-mound of mud during ebb-tide. When this mound was sufficiently elevated to keep the waves outside, wooden platforms supported on short stakes were erected in the interior, and on these huts were placed. As the rubbish accumulated the process was repeated until the interior became a solid mound, precisely like what took place in the *terremare*. The towns of Leeuwarden and Leyden are said to be built over one or two *terp*-mounds. The industrial remains collected in the course of the excavations of the *terpen*, and carefully preserved in the museum of the Friesch Genootschap at Leeuwarden, give a vivid picture of the culture and civilization of their inhabitants from pre-Roman times down to the 12th century.

Among the relics the following may be noted: egg-shells (hen and goose), some of which were unbroken; a flute made of the shank bone of an animal; Anglo-Saxon, Byzantine, and Roman coins; wooden spades; large casks for storing water; canoes; bone skates; clay loom weights; toilet and weaving combs; beads of amber and glass; quantities of the débris of flax; mittens with one stall for the thumb; cock-spurs, etc. Latterly fibulæ of La Tène types, Roman tiles and pottery (*terra sigillata*)—some specimens of the latter having makers' marks on them — bridle-bits of iron, bronze pots, and Merovingian brooches have come to light; but no objects characteristic of the Bronze Age.

During the year 1905 a number of urns and human skeletons were found in a localized spot within a *terp* near Leeuwarden. Some of the skeletons were enclosed in coffins made of the hollowed trunks of trees and some in wooden boxes. The cinerary urns were hand-made, and are regarded as of Saxon origin, dating from the 5th or 6th cent. A.D. There were, however, a few wheel-made urns, which are considered to be the work of the Franks, as the wheel was not used in Friesland, either by the Saxons or Frisians, till the 10th or 11th century.

Osseous remains representing the following animals are abundantly met with: horse, ox (several varieties), cat, dog, sheep, wild boar, deer, roe, and fallow-deer. Among the skulls of these animals are one or two of the four-horned sheep. It may be of interest to note that the bones of this animal were among those identified by W. R. Wilde as coming from the *crannog* of Lagore in Ireland.

Analogous structures, under the names 'Warfen' and 'Wurfen,' have been described in the low-lying regions of East Friesland, the fen district of Holland, the embouchure of the Elbe, and, indeed, in nearly all the marshes along this part of the North Sea coast (see *Munro Lectures* for 1912, p. 445 f.).

6. Pile-structures in rivers.—Habitations erected over the margins of rivers, though possessing features common to both lake-dwellings and *terremare* proper, yet differ in other respects so much that they must be treated as a separate group.

(*a*) *Butmir* (Bosnia).—The fertile plain of Ilidze, occupying the centre of a wide basin, about 11 kilometres long by 7 broad, has been formed by sedimentary materials imported by numerous streams from the surrounding hills, which, by their junction here, give rise to the river Bosna. In earlier times this basin was more or less a lake, and, indeed, in winter parts of it are still submerged. Almost in its centre there is a portion of land covering several acres, which, on careful inspection, is seen to be a little more elevated than the part of the plain in its immediate proximity. This elevation was selected by the Government as the site of offices for a model farm; and, when, in 1893, excavations for the foundations of these buildings were begun, it was discovered that all this raised area was composed of the refuse of early human occupancy. This pre-historic settlement, or workshop, as some suppose it to have been, is now known under the name of 'the neolithic station of Butmir.' Part of the area is now occupied by a large dairy and other buildings, and the rest of it has been excavated for scientific purposes. A perpendicular section, specially prepared to show the position and nature of the materials of which the elevation was composed, disclosed the following deposits in successive strata from above downwards.

On the surface were 12 to 16 inches of clayey soil; then a blackish streaky mixture of clay mould, charcoal, etc., arranged in wavy and more or less parallel strata. The depth of this heterogeneous mass was from 3 to 5 feet, and it was in it, dispersed apparently throughout its entire contents regardless of depth, that all the relics were found. Beneath this again was a natural deposit of fine yellowish clay, very adhesive and well adapted for the manufacture of pottery. The discovery of hollows, extremely variable both in size and in form, in this underlying virgin clay, suggested to W. Radimsky, the superintendent of the excavations, the idea that they were the foundations of the original huts of the inhabitants. The subsequent discovery of a number of round holes in these hollows, which were readily recognized as having been formed by wooden posts, because, although the wood had entirely decayed, the spaces had become filled up with débris, gave rise to the theory that the settlement was really a pile-structure—an opinion which the present writer has supported on the following grounds: (1) the extreme irregularity in form and size of the so-called hut-foundations; (2) the occasional presence of pieces of charcoal, pottery, and other débris on the surface layer of the virgin clay, thus showing that the deposition of the latter had not entirely ceased when the settlement was founded; (3) the presence of some of the idols and other relics among the stuff which lay in these hollows, together with the entire absence of hearths or evidence of fire in any of them; (4) the general horizontality of the strata which, in section, were seen to run across the margin of the hollows without any break in continuity; (5) at various levels throughout the débris were to be seen portions of burnt and beaten clay platforms, as well as clay casts of the timbers which formed the walls of the huts.

A peculiarity of the Butmir station was the scarcity of organic materials; not even a bone or wooden handle remained, although, from the abundance of perforated stone implements, such objects must have been largely used—all having apparently disappeared by natural decomposition. Quantities of charred corn were found in different places throughout the débris. That grain and seeds were largely used as food is inferred from the fact that no fewer than 900 stone grinders, including fragments, were found throughout the station. The industrial remains consist of about 70 fragments of idols, mostly in human form, quantities of broken pottery, including some with beautiful spiral ornamentation, and a large assortment of polished stone implements—knives, saws, scrapers, borers, chisels, hammers, axes, and adzes—but no metal object is among the collection.

(*b*) *Ripać.*—The village of Ripać lies on the east bank of the river Una, a tributary of the Save. Here the stream widens into a kind of lake in which are two small islands accessible by wooden bridges supported on piles. Like other Bosnian rivers, the water of the Una holds in solution a large amount of calcareous matters which, on exposure to the atmosphere, are deposited, causing in some localities barriers across the stream. The miniature falls and currents by which the waters escape over these barriers are often utilized as the motive-power of corn-mills. At Ripać there is such an obstruction stretching from the larger island to both shores, and along it may be seen a row of these little mills, in the form of wooden cabins planted on tall piles. In course of removing some obstructive materials to the free escape of the water from the small water-wheels, the workmen encountered the stumps of thickly-set piles in a blackish relic-bed containing fragments of pottery, clay weights, broken bones, etc. This discovery was recognized to be of so much importance that the Government gave orders to have the locality investigated under W. Radimsky, the chief inspector of mines. Exploratory operations were carried on during the summers of 1893 and 1894, and it was then ascertained that a pre-historic pile-structure not only occupied the whole space between the islands, but also embraced a considerable portion of the larger island and the bank of the river. The upper deposits contained only Roman and later remains, but in the true culture-bed underneath were found burnt beams, organic materials, portions of platforms and huts, and a large assortment of relics of the pre-historic period. The piles were mostly made of oak stems, sometimes split and perforated, but of these only the stumps remained; and there were two sets of them, a lower and an upper, which suggest an earlier and a later structure. There was also evidence that the settlement, or at least a portion of it, had been destroyed by a conflagration; but this catastrophe did not bring it to an end.

The objects collected were made of iron, copper, bronze, silver, lead, stone, clay, glass, bone, wood, and vegetable fibre. Among the relics were numerous articles characteristic, not only of the Stone and Bronze Ages, but of the well-defined periods of Hallstatt and La Tène, thus proving that the habitation was occupied continuously from the end of the Neolithic Age till taken possession of by the Romans. During the Middle Ages the larger island became a fortified castle.

Radimsky states that indications of similar pile-structures are to be seen at several other localities on the river Una, viz. at Golubic, Ribić, Kralje, and Brekovica.

(*c*) *Donja Dolina* (Bosnia).—The site of this pile-structure is on the south bank of the river Save, a tributary of the Danube. Here an oval-shaped terrace, some 500 paces in length and half this in breadth, presents a steep front to the river, but elsewhere falls away, except at the west end, where the escarpment turns abruptly inland, forming the bank of what was formerly a bay in the river. The surface of this terrace is 3 or 4 metres higher than that of the surrounding land, and is almost the only spot in the neighbourhood that is not submerged during the periodical floodings of the Save. It is called 'Gradina,' *i.e.* 'fort,' by the peasants; and here, during heavy floods, they find shelter for themselves and their cattle; and for the same reason it contains two village cemeteries—one for the Catholics and one for the Orthodox Protestants.

For several years, articles of antiquarian value from the vicinity of Donja Dolina were now and again presented to the Landesmuseum at Sarajevo—a fact which at last induced Ciro Truhelka, head of the archæological department, to visit the locality. On walking along the river, at the foot of the 'Gradina,' he observed the tops of oak piles protruding through the river mud, while scattered around them were fragments of pottery, spindle-whorls, prism-like objects of burnt clay, worked portions of deer-horn, etc., from which he concluded that before him lay the débris of a pre-historic pile-structure. Excavations were begun in the following year (1900), and continued for several successive seasons when the water-level of the Save was favourable. The results are of great archæological importance from the wealth and variety of the relics discovered, and the ability with which they are recorded in two magnificently illustrated reports by Truhelka (*Wissensch. Mitt. aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina*, ix. [Vienna, 1904] and xi. [do. 1909]).

From the very beginning of the excavations it became evident that the structural details of this settlement deviated, in many respects, from the ordinary *Pfahlbauten* as hitherto known in Europe. The first interesting discovery was a row of piles running parallel to the river, which proved to have been the under portion of a palisade against the current, as the piles were bound together by intertwining willow thongs. In continuing the excavations inwards, the excavators brought to light the remains of several houses supported on wooden posts. These posts were thickly set, no fewer than 978 having been counted over an area of 1160 square metres—nearly one for every square metre. Many of them, however, belonged to a later period, and were inserted to strengthen old timbers for the support of new houses. They were for the most part made of oak tree-stems, seldom split or squared, and well pointed with sharp metal tools. A little back from the river palisade there was a raised promenade from which a sloping gangway gave access to the underground vaults containing the supporting piles, as well as to the platforms on which the houses had been erected. Little of the structural details of the dwelling-houses remained, except the foundations of the partition walls and some loose spars and boards, which crumbled into dust as soon as they were exposed to daylight. During the excavations the sites of eleven houses were exposed, all of different dimensions, one measuring 4·5 metres by 6 metres, and another 6 by 9 metres. By comparing the more perfect remains from different sites, a fairly correct idea of their plan and internal arrangement was obtained. Each consisted of a large room and one or two smaller compartments. The former was regarded as the kitchen, with a fire-place, a hearth, and an oven made of well-burnt clay.

It is difficult to determine the former extent of this singular settlement. Strong stumps of piles were met with over a large area of the adjacent river-bed. It has also been ascertained that during the digging of graves in the Catholic cemetery the same class of relics were often thrown up. From these and other suggestive facts, it has been conjectured that the whole of the 'Gradina Hügel' consists of the débris of pile-dwellings—an area approximately amounting to 25,000 square metres.

That the underground vaults were sometimes utilized as cattle-pens was made evident by the large amount of animal dung that had accumulated in some of them. But this was not the only use to which they were put, as in several instances cinerary urns and wooden coffins (the latter containing human remains) were found. One coffin, that of a child, had the skeleton below the pelvis pierced by a supporting pile, showing that this burial was older than the reconstruction of the superincumbent dwelling-house. The urns contained the incinerated remains of bodies, charcoal, ashes, and an extraordinary wealth of grave-goods; but, unfortunately, the latter had been greatly damaged by the fire. It would appear, from the valuable nature of some of these offerings, that the cremated persons were of greater social distinction than those buried by inhumation. The objects consisted of fibulæ and spiral bracelets of bronze, beads of glass, amber, and enamel, and other ornamental relics characteristic of the Hallstatt period. Of special interest was one urn, which contained a necklet composed of several hundred beads of amber, enamel, and coloured glass, seven cowrie shells, two perforated teeth, and a large clay bead without any ornamentation. Among the relics which supply a clue to the latest date of the settlement were five coins, one of bronze and the others of potin—all 'barbarous imitations of the tetradrachms of Philip of Macedon' (356–336 B.C.).

A discovery which materially helped to define the chronological horizon of the pile-dwellings was the identification of the cemetery in which their inhabitants were buried. It was located on some ridges, not subject to submergence, at a distance of some 600 paces to the south-west of the *Pfahlbau*, and 200 from the present bed of the river. This necropolis contained both burnt and unburnt interments, and yielded an immense assortment of relics which, from the standpoint of archæology, were recognized to be precisely similar to those disinterred from the excavations in the 'Gradina.'

(*d*) *Pile-structures in Hungary.*—On the right bank of the Theiss, a few miles from the railway station of Szolnok, near the village of Tószeg, there is an artificial mound to which, since the meeting of the International Congress of Pre-historic Archæology at Budapest, in 1876, much importance has been attached, on account of the opinion expressed by L. Pigorini that it is identical in structure with the *terramara*-deposits of Northern Italy. The mound, though considerably undermined by the river Theiss during the great floods of 1876, is still of considerable extent, measuring 360 metres in length and 100 in breadth, and rising to a maximum height of 8 metres above the surrounding plain. It is only in times of flood that the waters reach the mound, its usual bed being a mile and a half distant. When the artificial nature of the mound became known in consequence of the section exposed by the floods, some extensive excavations were made to ascertain the archæological character of its contents. An assortment of the objects collected during these researches was exhibited at the Congress, among which were the following:

Perforated hammers of stag-horn, various pointed implements of bone and horn, perforated teeth and the leg-bone of a horse pierced in two places, probably a skate, polished stone celts (some perforated), four flint flakes (one of obsidian), corn grinders, and various worked stones; a fragment of a bronze pin, a bronze knife, and a small ingot of this metal; pottery, in the form of a variety of dishes, some with handles; various objects of burnt clay—a whistle, buttons, spoons, and eighteen pyramidal and perforated clay weights; a considerable amount of food-refuse, such as bones of animals, scales of fish, land shells, charred grain, etc.

During the meeting of the Congress, L. Pigorini, R. von Virchow, and Miss J. Mestorf visited the Tószeg excavations and made some further researches which enabled them to agree on the correctness of the following propositions, which were published in separate reports after their return home:

(1) The existence of piles and wooden beams was satisfactorily proved at three different levels; (2) the materials which contained the débris of human occupancy were distinctly stratified, and formed undulating layers amounting to a total thickness of 4 metres; (3) the antiquities collected belonged to the three pre-historic ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron.

F. Romer gave an account of his excavations at Tószeg and other localities to the members of the Congress in an article entitled 'Les Terramares en Hongrie.' It is worthy of note that in one of the stations, viz. Ascott-halom, he mentions that rotten piles were observed in its lowest stratum before Pigorini called attention to their significance. The author concludes his article by stating that *terramara* deposits are by no means confined to the valley of the Theiss, as they have already been observed in various other low-lying localities in the Danubian valley, both above and below Budapest. But the task of excavating such huge masses goes beyond the means at the disposal of ordinary archæological societies.[1]

7. General remarks.—Notwithstanding the discovery of various portions of human skeletons at several stations, and their subjection to the examination of anatomical experts, anthropologists are not agreed that the data thus ascertained prove that the constructors of the pre-historic pile-structures belonged to one race with definite physical characteristics. T. Studer (*ZE* xvii. [1885] 548) advocates the theory of Troyon, viz. that with the introduction of bronze there came a new race of people; and this opinion he bases on the fact that at Sutz and Vinelz two kinds of human skulls were found, viz. brachycephalic and dolichocephalic, whereas in the pure Stone Age stations only the former were, according to him, met with. Virchow's conclusions on lacustrine craniology are as follows (*ib.*, p. 300):

> (1) In the stations of the pure Stone Age brachycephalic skulls only are known to a certainty to have existed. (2) In the transition period both brachycephalic and dolichocephalic skulls are known. (3) In the full Bronze Age there is a slight preponderance of dolichocephalic skulls.

On these grounds Virchow thought that during the Bronze Age a new people joined the original lake-dwellers by degrees, but not as conquerors subverting the previous order of things—an opinion which seems to be strengthened by the undoubted continuity of the same social organizations in both these periods. Bronze was gradually introduced, and it took some time to supersede the cutting implements previously in use. Nor was there any violent disturbance of the previous conditions of social life. The original system of constructing lake-villages was continued, and the only changes detected in their structure were such as can be accounted for by the use of better implements.

Although trepanning was practised in Central Europe as far back as the Stone Age, it does not appear that this custom was prevalent to a great extent among the lake-dwellers. Segments of the upper portions of human crania, supposed to have been used as drinking-cups, were found at Gerlafingen, Sutz, Schaffis, and Locras; and from the last-named there was also a skull having a circular portion cut out, as if *post mortem* trepanning had been performed. Roundlets cut out of skulls are supposed to have been used as charms, and such relics are frequently found in the graves of the period. From lake-dwellings only two of these objects have been recorded; one from Concise has two small perforations, and another, figured by Gross, has one hole. On the Trajan column a Dacian village is represented as having human skulls set on poles before the walls. The finding of skulls of different races in the lake-villages might, therefore, be accounted for on the supposition that they were trophies of their enemies, and not the skulls of their actual inhabitants.

In eastern Switzerland and the Danubian valley the number of settlements greatly decreased during the Bronze Age, while in the Lake of Geneva they increased, and in Lake Bourget its eight stations flourished almost exclusively in the Bronze period.

In instituting a comparison between the ordinary lake-dwellings and the *terremare* of Italy, it may be observed that the latter term was originally applied only to the fertilizing materials, and not, as at present, to the *tout ensemble* of a settlement. From this point of view any organic refuse from an inhabited site containing a sufficiently large amount of ammoniacal products to be used as fertilizers (as was the case with the contents of the Barma Grande cave at Mentone) might be not inappropriately so designated. If, on the other hand, the special features of Castellazzo—moat, dike, *contrafforte*, canals, roadways, citadel, ritual pits, trapezoidal shape—must be regarded as essential characteristics of *terramara* stations in general, then it must be admitted that there are few such structures outside Western Emilia. If, however, the few known examples of the Castellazzo type be excluded on the ground that they were military forts, we can find in the Po valley parallels to all the settlements which we have described elsewhere in Europe. In pile-structures on the sea-shore, and on marshy ground liable to flooding, dikes were indispensable. The Butmir station belonged to the Stone Age, and it did not appear that a dike was necessary either for defence against enemies or to prevent flooding, as it was constructed over water.

Much significance has been assigned to the pottery known as *ansa lunata* or *cornuta*. Formerly the manufacture of this handle was supposed to be a monopoly of the *terramara* folk of Emilia, but now it has been shown to have a wider distribution, extending southwards along the coast of the Adriatic as far as Taranto and other localities in S. Italy. It is found in the lake-dwellings of the eastern district of the Po valley, but—what is very remarkable—it is entirely absent from those of Piedmont and Western Lombardy. Outside Italy it is common in the early Iron stations of Bosnia, as at Ripać and Donja Dolina, as well as in Bohemia, Lower Austria, Hungary, Styria (*Bullettino di Palet. Ital.* xv. [1889] 65). Before the brachycephalic lake-dwellers swarmed into Europe, its neolithic inhabitants were dolichocephalic, and disposed of their dead by inhumation. It appears that they freely associated with the newcomers, as was the case with the Ibero-Liguri in N. Italy, where remains of the two civilizations were found on the same stations, that of the Stone Age being in the lower strata. There is evidence to show that burial by cremation was practised by the *terramara* folk, and by both the eastern and western lake-dwellers towards the end of the Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron Age; but whether the latter were cremationists on their first appearance in Italy is a problem that has not yet been solved. Singularly enough, the same uncertainty has been experienced with regard to the burial customs of the lake-dwellers of Central Europe. Some archæologists are inclined to exaggerate the importance of this question, on the plea that the manner of disposing of the dead is hereditarily so rooted in the human constitution that it would not be readily changed. But, as a matter of fact, the contrary is the case. Cremation, being the outcome of religious ideas, powerfully influenced humanity in those early days, and spread like wild-fire throughout the whole of Europe, so that the change from inhumation to incineration might have been accomplished in a short space of time.

The cause of the almost sudden discontinuance of the *palafitte* system of habitation all over Europe at the end of the Bronze Age is not known. We may, however, surmise that it was deeply-seated, and partly due to the law of the survival of the fittest, or rather the destruction of the unfittest. In the smaller lakes the growth of peat would make lacustrine habitations useless as a means of defence. Of the settlements in the Po valley the lake-dwellings of Lake Garda were the last to be abandoned, but the *terremare* ceased to be occupied at an earlier period, apparently having been found inadequate to supply the social comforts prevalent among the races who subsequently dominated the Italian peninsula.

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[1] For an elaborate and highly illustrated account of the *terremare* and analogous remains in Europe, readers may consult the present writer's recent book, *Palæolithic Man and Terramara Settlements in Europe.*

In conclusion, we are justified, from a consideration of the archæological phenomena hitherto disclosed by lacustrine research, in formulating the hypothesis that the primary founders of the lake-dwellings of Europe were brachycephalic immigrants, in the neolithic stage of culture, who, in successive hordes, moved westwards by way of the Danubian valley, but occasionally diverged from the main route into the numerous affluents of the Danube. The goal of all these shepherd farmers was the rich and well-watered pasture-lands along the lakes, brooks, and springs of the Alpine regions, which constitute the primary sources of the great rivers of Central Europe and their tributaries. The Scottish and Irish *crannogs*, the Glastonbury lake-village, and other lacustrine habitations of the Iron Age were but sporadic remnants of the more ancient system, which, like every dying art, passed through a stage of degeneration before final extinction.

LITERATURE.—For an exhaustive list of the literature on lake-dwellings up to 1890, see 'Bibliography of Lake-dwelling Researches in Europe' appended to R. Munro's *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, in which over 500 books, monographs, and special articles on the subject are chronologically arranged. We shall therefore here note only a few of the more general works on lake-dwellings, classifying them in chronological sequence: F. Keller, 'Die keltischen Pfahlbauten in den Schweizerseen,' *Mitt. der antiquar. Gesellsch. in Zürich*, ix. (1854), being the first report on the Swiss lake-dwellings (since then other 8 reports have appeared in the *Proceedings* of the same Society, the 9th by J. Heierli in 1888); W. R. Wilde, 'On Crannogs,' in *Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, 1857; W. M. Wyllie, 'On Lake-Dwellings of the early Periods,' *Archæologia*, xxxviii. (1859); F. Troyon, *Habitations lacustres des temps anciens et modernes*, Lausanne, 1860; L. Rütimeyer, *Die Fauna der Pfahlbauten in der Schweiz*, Basel, 1861; J. Lubbock, 'On the Ancient Lake-Habitations in Switzerland,' *Nat. Hist. Review*, 1862, and *Prehistoric Times*, London, 1865, ^{7}1918; F. Keller, *The Lake-Dwellings of Switzerland and other Parts of Europe*, Eng. tr., J. E. Lee, London, 1866, ^{2}1878; E. Desor and L. Favre, *Le Bel Âge du bronze lacustre en Suisse*, Neuchâtel, 1874; R. Munro, *Ancient Scottish Lake-Dwellings or Crannogs*, Edinburgh, 1882; V. Gross, *Les Protohelvètes*, Paris, 1883; E. Vouga, *Les Helvètes à la Tène*, Neuchâtel, 1885; W. G. Wood-Martin, *The Lake-Dwellings of Ireland*, Dublin, 1886; R. Munro, *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, London, 1890; T. E. Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, Oxford, 1909; R. Munro, *Palæolithic Man and Terramara Settlements in Europe*, Edinburgh, 1912. A monograph on the Glastonbury lake-village in two volumes is now being published by the Antiquarian Society of Glastonbury (1911–14).

ROBERT MUNRO.

LALANGS.—See BODOS.

LĀMAISM.—The term 'Lāmaism' is now employed by many Europeans to designate the Buddhism of Tibet, and is intended to identify with that religion the Tibetan Buddhist monks, who are generally known as Lāmas, 'the superior ones.' It first appears to have been used by Köppen (and presumably coined by him) in his *Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*, 1859, which, as a pioneer work, gave some currency to the term, although it was employed by him only a few times and merely incidentally. It was not, however, adopted, though mentioned, by Emil Schlagintweit in 1863, who was the first authoritative systematic writer on the subject, setting aside the ponderous compilation by A. Giorgi of the 18th cent. (*Alphabetum Tibetanum*, Rome, 1762), which was little more than a literary curiosity. Altogether unknown to the Tibetans themselves, who designate their creed 'Buddha's religion' (*Sangs-rgyas-kyi ch'ös*) or 'the orthodox religion' (*nang-ch'ös*), this term is in many ways misleading, inappropriate, and undesirable. It conveys the implication that Tibetan Buddhism differs essentially from all other forms of that faith—which is not a fact, for its differences from mediæval Indian Buddhism are relatively trifling and mainly external.

The political ascendancy by which one sect of the Lāmas has achieved temporal power in modern times is in nowise an inherent part of the Buddhism professed by the Lāmas, nor is it shared by the older sects. It is not usual to designate religions by the generic name of their clergy; the epithet 'Brāhmanism' presents no real analogy, as that title is eponymic for the Supreme Creator in that faith, as well as descriptive of his ministers. Phonetically, also, the word is anomalous; for on the analogy of 'Buddhism' from Buddha, it should be 'Lāmism.' Altogether, therefore, 'Lāmaism' is an undesirable designation for the Buddhism of Tibet, and is rightly dropping out of use.

As the Buddhism of Tibet is intrinsically identical with, and derived from, Indian Buddhism of the Mahāyāna, the following account will indicate chiefly those features in which the Tibetan differs from the Indian Mahāyāna (*q.v.* for the general Buddhist doctrine and practices).

1. Introduction of Buddhism into Tibet.—The indigenous religion of Tibet was the Bon, a primitive animistic cult (see TIBET). According to all the vernacular histories, especially the most authoritative, the 'Chronicle of the Kings' (*Rgyal rabs*, and the somewhat apocryphal *Maṇi-bkah-hbum*), Buddhism was first introduced into Tibet in the reign of King Srong-btsan Gam-po, who died A.D. 650. But in the Lhāsa lithic edicts of 783, published by the present writer (*JRAS*, 1909, p. 931), the introduction of 'the orthodox religion,' *i.e.* Buddhism, is stated in general terms to have taken place several generations before Srong-btsan's epoch. This, however, may merely refer to the current legend that five generations before the advent of the latter, in the reign of a king named Lha Tho-tho-ri, certain Buddhist tracts and some relics fell from heaven upon the top of the king's palace, but that up till Srong-btsan's reign no one was able to decipher the writing. There seems to be no doubt that the indigenous histories are strictly correct in stating that before Srong-btsan's time Buddhism had not yet penetrated Tibet, and that that country was without a knowledge of the written character which is now called 'Tibetan,' which is merely a slightly modified form of the Indian alphabet as current in N. India (and in Khotan) in the middle of the 7th cent. A.D. It was certainly Srong-btsan who introduced this character, and along with it Buddhism in the form then most popular in India, the Mahāyāna.

The credit for the latter achievement is given in the *Maṇi-bkah-hbum* (the authorship of which is ascribed to Srong-btsan) to the two chief wives of the king, one the daughter of the king of Nepāl and the other an imperial Chinese princess. Though it is probable that these ladies may have contributed to the introduction of the new religion, as both of them certainly were Buddhists, it appears possible that Srong-btsan himself took the initiative, as he procured his Indian letters and early Buddhist texts from remote Kashmīr, and not from the more accessible Buddhist country of Nepāl, from which he would presumably have obtained them, had he been then married to his Nepālese wife; and his Chinese marriage was still later (in A.D. 641). The first booklet translated into Tibetan in the new letters was a hymn to Avalokita on the *Oṁ maṇi* formula—which formula, it is recorded, he engraved on stone. As the first patron of Buddhism in Tibet, Srong-btsan was canonized, as were also his wives, by the grateful monks in later days.

But Srong-btsan was not the saintly person he is pictured in the religious histories, for he is seen in the contemporary Chinese chronicles to have been engaged all his life in bloody wars (see his invasion of Central India in A.D. 647 as described by the present writer in *Asiatic Quart. Rev.*, vol. xxxii.

[1911]). He certainly did little, if anything, in the way of Buddhist propaganda. He built a few temples to enshrine the images brought to him in dower by his Buddhist wives. One of these was the nucleus of the present great cathedral-temple at Lhāsa, 'the house of the lord' (Jo-k'ang; cf. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 23, 28, 300, and *Lhasa and Its Mysteries*, pp. 341, 361 f.). He built no monasteries, and, according to the vernacular histories, no order of monks was established till over a century later.

2. Establishment of the monastic Order.—After Srong-btsan's death (A.D. 650), Buddhism made little headway against the indigenous Bon cult, and was resisted by the people until the accession of Khri-Srong De-btsan, the fifth in succession after Srong-btsan. The son of an imperial Chinese princess, he was an ardent Buddhist and proselytizer. Desirous of establishing an Order of Buddhist monks among his people, on the advice of his family Buddhist priest, Sāntirakṣita, an Indian, he sent to India for the kinsman of the latter. This was Padmākara or Padmasambhava, of the then popular ritualistic and mystical Yoga school at Nālandā college, and skilled in Buddhist spells (*dhāraṇī*). He was a native of Udayāna (latterly known as Swāt and Kāfiristān) on the Peshāwar frontier of N. India, and he arrived in Tibet in A.D. 747, with several other Indian monks, who were induced to settle in the country. Padmākara established the first monastery at Sam-yās in A.D. 749 on the left bank of the Brahmaputra river about thirty miles to the south-east of Lhāsa, and installed Sāntirakṣita as its abbot, with seven Tibetan novices as the nucleus of the Order. Of these novices three were elderly; and the first of them, Dpal-bangs, who succeeded thirteen years later to the abbotship, may be said to be the first 'Lāma.' He appears to have studied in India also, and to be the same as Ska-ba-bha-po Dpal-brtsegs, who was one of the chief early translators of the Sanskrit Buddhist canon into the Tibetan language.

'Lāma' is a Tibetan word meaning 'supreme one,' and is strictly applicable only to Tibetan abbots (*q.v.*) and the most learned among the ordained monks. By courtesy, however, it is generally extended in popular conversation to ordained monks in general.

3. Founder of the monastic Order.—Padmākara, the founder of the Order of Buddhist monks in Tibet, is commonly known as Padmasambhava, 'the lotus-born' (in Tibetan Pad-ma Byung-gnas), or as 'the teacher treasure' (Guru Rin-po-ch'e), and also as 'Lô-pön' (*slob-dpon*), the Tibetan equivalent of the Indian *guru*, 'teacher.' It is not easy now to discover with certainty the details of his teaching, but from the remarkably high literary standard of the monks associated with him, as shown by their scholarly translations from the Sanskrit canon, it is difficult to believe that he was the quasi-shamanistic priest that he is represented to have been by the old unreformed sects. There is no doubt that he was a believer in Tantrik mysticism with its prayers to various Buddhist gods and goddesses; but so were the great Indian Buddhist patriarchs, the metaphysicists Vasubandhu and Asanga, before his day. No canonical translations are found ascribed to him; but he is the reputed author of several manuals of worship (*sādhanas*)[1] for compelling the good services of certain deities by means of the repetition of spells (*dhāraṇī*) after the style of the Brāhmanical *mantras*—a class of literature which was prevalent in Indian Buddhism at that period.

4. Translation of the Indian Buddhist canon.—Under the zealous patronage of King Khri-Srong De-btsan, Padmākara initiated an era of great literary activity and scholarship for the translation of the Buddhist canon from the Indian Sanskrit. Several of the most intellectual youths were sent to India to learn Sanskrit and Buddhist philosophy in its home in mid-India, and some of the most learned monks of India were induced to proceed to Tibet and settle there for this evangelizing work. In a letter embedded in the great commentary, the *Tan-gyur* (xciv. 387 ff.), addressed to this king by the Indian monk Buddhaguhya, we read:

> 'Thou didst dispatch to India Vairotchana, Ska-ba-dpal brtsegs, Kluyi rgyal mts'an, Ye-shes sde, Armandju, and others, to whom thou didst intrust much wealth of gold and silver, to get the Dharma, increase the little religion that was in thy realm, and open the window which would let in the light on the darkness of Bod [Tibet], and bring in its midst the life-giving waters.'[1]

This indicates clearly that in the middle of the 8th cent. A.D. Tibet was scarcely recognized as a Buddhist country at all. The young Tibetans named therein are some of the best known translators of the Tibetan scriptures.

5. Authenticity and historical value of Tibetan canon.—These Tibetan translations of the Sanskrit Buddhist canon are now of great historical importance, as they preserve with remarkable accuracy the Indian texts, of which most of the originals have been lost in India. The Tibetan translations of these texts, as tested by the few surviving Sanskrit fragments and by isolated texts preserved in Nepāl, display such scrupulous literary accuracy, even down to the smallest etymological detail, as to excite the admiration of all modern scholars who have examined them. Thus their authoritativeness is placed beyond dispute.

These canonical texts thus afford, along with the less precise Chinese and Japanese translations of the same originals, invaluable means for controlling, supplementing, and correcting the less detailed Pāli versions of the early scriptures, and explaining ambiguous terms in the latter, thereby enabling us to gain a more correct knowledge of Buddha and his doctrine than has been forthcoming from purely Ceylonese sources. On this account the study of Tibetan has become indispensable to students of Buddhist Sanskrit and of Buddhism in general. The excellent Tibeto-Sanskrit dictionaries date from this literary epoch, and the formation of the classical Tibetan style. The divisions of the Tibetan Buddhist canon will be indicated below.

6. Growth of the Order and popular adoption of Buddhism.—The institution of the indigenous Order on these Indian lines was opposed by Chinese Buddhists, under a Mahāyāna monk named Hwa-shang (the Chinese term for a Buddhist monk corresponding to the Sanskrit *upādhyāya*, or 'master'). These Chinese, who appear to have been itinerant priests, were defeated in argument by the Indian Kamalaśīla, and expelled from the country, leaving the Indian system to be developed unmolested. Many monasteries and Buddhist temples were established all over the country, and Buddhism became the State religion of the land.

A second development of literary activity and Buddhist propaganda occurred in the reign of Ral-pa-Chan, the grandson of Khri-Srong De-btsan, in the latter half of the 9th cent. A.D., when the work of translation of the Great Commentaries by Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Vasubandhu, etc., was actively prosecuted, and most of the remaining canonical books completed. Among the Indian translators employed by Ral-pa-Chan were the monks Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi, Surendrabodhi, Prajñāvarman, Dānaśīla, and Bodhimitra, assisted by the Tibetan translators (or *lo-tsa-va*) Pal-brtsegs

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[1] See list of *sādhanas* by F. W. Thomas in *Muséon*, xxii. [1903] 41.

[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 221.

Ye-shessde and Ch'os-kyi-gyal-ts'an. At least half of the two great Tibetan collections, canon and commentaries, is the work of their hands.

Ral-pa-Chan endowed most of the monasteries with State lands and the right to collect tithes and taxes. His ardent devotion to Buddhism, indeed, led to his assassination and the downfall of the monarchy, which event paved the way for the eventual rise of a hierarchy. The murderer of Ral-pa-Chan was his brother Lang-darma, who was at the head of a Bon faction, on which some authentic light is thrown by the Lhāsa edict pillar inscription of A.D. 842, published by the writer (*JRAS*, 1909, p. 1267); on ascending the throne he actively persecuted the Buddhists, and did his utmost to uproot that religion. He desecrated and destroyed many temples and monasteries, burned the sacred books, and forced many of the monks to become butchers. He was in turn assassinated within three years by a Buddhist monk disguised as a Black Hat Bon devil-dancer, and this incident is now a favourite episode in the popular sacred plays.

7. Rise of the hierarchy.—Although on the downfall of the dynasty Tibet became subdivided into several principalities, Buddhism continued to grow steadily in popularity, and the priests became more and more influential, till eventually, in the 13th cent., a hierarchy was established with temporal sway. This was effected by the great Mongol Emperor Kublai Khān, whose grandfather Jenghiz Khān had conquered Tibet. Converted to Buddhism by the Tibetan abbot of the Sas-kya monastery in Western Tibet near the Nepālese frontier, Kublai created the Sas-kya abbot official head of the Buddhist Church in Tibet in return for the favour of formally crowning him as Emperor of China. He also conferred upon the learned Sas-kya Lāma—or 'Sas-kya Paṇḍita,' as he is usually called—the temporal rulership of Western Tibet.

This first of the Tibetan hierarchs thus specially patronized by the Mongols achieved with a staff of his scholars the gigantic task of translating the bulky Tibetan canon into Mongolian, after revision and collation with Chinese texts, the Mongolian character being a form of Syriac introduced into Central Asia by Nestorian Christian missionaries.

The Sas-kya primacy maintained much of its political supremacy for several generations, and used its power to oppress its less-favoured rival sects. It burned the great Kar-gyu monastery of Dikung about A.D. 1320. But on the accession of the Ming dynasty in 1368 the Chinese Emperor deemed it politic, whilst conciliating the monks as a body, by gifts and titles, to strike at the Sas-kya power by raising the heads of two other monasteries to equal rank with it (Dikung of the Kar-gyu sect and Ts'al of the Kā-dam sect), and encouraged strife against it.

8. Rise of the priest-kings of Lhāsa.—At the beginning of the 15th cent. A.D., a Lāma named Tsong-Kha-pa or Je-Rin-po-ch'e re-organized the reformed Kā-dam sect which had been instituted by the Indian monk Atīṣa in 1038, and altered its title to 'The Virtuous Order,' or Ge-lug-pa. This sect, which arose at Gah-ldan monastery near Lhāsa, wore as a distinctive badge a yellow cap, and hence was known as the 'Yellow Hat' Order. It soon eclipsed all the others, and in five generations achieved the priest-kingship of the whole of Tibet, which it retains to this day.

Its first Grand Lāma was Tsong-Kha-pa's nephew, Geden-dub, with his succession based on the idea of his perpetual re-incarnation. In 1640 the Yellow Hats leapt into temporal power under the fifth series of Grand Lāmas, the crafty prelate Lob-zang Gya-mts'o, also known as 'the fifth Jina' [a title of Buddha], Gyal-ba-Na-pa. At his request a Mongol prince, Gusri Khān, conquered Tibet and made a present of it to him, and in 1650 he was confirmed in the sovereignty by the Manchū Chinese Emperor, and also in the title of *Ta-lai*, usually written by Europeans *Dalai*, which is merely the Mongolian word for *Gya-mts'o* (or 'Ocean'), the surname of himself and his three predecessors.

This resourceful Dalai Lāma consolidated and extended his rule by inventing divine legends about himself, and by forcibly appropriating many of the monasteries of the older sects. He also built for himself the famous palace-monastery on the red hill at Lhāsa, the name of which he changed to 'Potala,' after the mythic Indian residence of the most popular of all Buddhist divinities, Avalokita, or Lord of Mercy, of whom he posed as the incarnation, and whose special spell was the famous *Oṁ maṇi padme Hūṁ* formula.

9. Origin of the succession by re-incarnation.—The idea of re-incarnation, which is a fundamental element of belief in Buddhism, derived from its parent Brāhmanism, does not appear to have been definitely utilized for the regulation of the hierarchical succession in India, although many cases are cited by Tāranātha, from the Indian histories, of Indian Buddhist patriarchs and saints having been re-incarnated in other saints some generations afterwards.

The succession of the Sas-kya hierarchs was clearly not based upon this system, but was by nomination of relatives. The Yellow Hat succession, however, indisputably shows by the dates of birth and death of the respective incumbents that the succession to the Grand Lāmaship was based upon the theory of direct re-incarnation. The spirit of the first abbot was supposed on his death to be re-incarnated in the world immediately as a new-born infant, and thus was re-born again and again for the good of his monastery and particular sect of Yellow Hats. This theory has latterly been adopted as a basis for succession to the leadership of several other sects as well.

Enlarging this theory, the fifth Grand Lāma introduced the fiction of a divine origin for himself and his predecessors. He declared that both he himself and the first Yellow Hat abbot were re-incarnations of the most powerful and popular of all the kings of Tibet, namely Srong-btsan Gampo; and, further, that the latter in his turn was the earthly incarnation of the Compassionate Spirit of the mountains who had given the early Tibetans the magical food which transformed them from monkeys into men. This Compassionate Spirit was identified with the Buddhist 'god of mercy' Avalokita (see AVALOKITEŚVARA), known in Tibetan as Chăn-ră-zi,' 'the all-seeing Lord' (lit. 'clad with eyes'). Avalokita is especially the god who regulates transmigration, and who can procure ready entrance to paradise and escape from hell. His favour can be won by the repeated utterance of his mystic spell, the *Oṁ maṇi* (see JEWEL [Buddhist]) of Indian Buddhism; hence the extreme popularity of this formula in Tibet, and the divine honours paid to the Dalai Lāma, who is believed to be the incarnation of this most powerful of all divinities.

10. Dual Grand-Lāmaship.—The only person whom this Grand Lāma of Lhāsa permitted to share to some extent his divine honours was the abbot of the large monastery at Tashi-lhunpo, the Western capital of Tibet, belonging to his own Yellow Hat sect, and his own tutor. He raised this abbot to the dignity of a Grand Lāma, and gave him the divine pedigree of descent from the Buddha-god Amitābha, the 'Buddha of Infinite

Light,' whose blissful paradise in the west is the popular heaven which was the goal of the majority of Indian Buddhists from the beginning of the Christian era, as it is to-day in Tibet, as well as in China and Japan. This pontiff is generally known to Europeans, after his residence, as the 'Tashi Lāma,' in contradistinction to the 'Dalai Lāma' of Lhāsa. To Tibetans, however, the former of these is usually known as 'the great treasure of learning,' Pan-ch'en Rin-po-ch'e, and the latter as 'the protector-treasure,' Kyab-gon Rin-po-ch'e, or 'the victor Jina,' a title of Buddha himself.

Latterly, a third and a fourth Grand Lāma of the dominant Yellow Hats were instituted for the two kingdoms outside Tibet, to which Tibetan Buddhism extended, namely Mongolia and China. The former of these at Urgya is known as Je-btsun Dam-pa, and possesses temporal sovereignty over Outer Mongolia, like the Dalai Lāma in Tibet; but, although posing as the head of the celibate monkhood, he is not himself celibate. The fourth was appointed by the Emperor Kang-Hsi about 1700, especially for Inner Mongolia, and has his special residence at Peking and Jehol. He is known to Tibetans as Chang-skya-Hu-thuk-thu, and is considered to be an incarnation of Rol-paī Dorje; and his succession, as well as that of the Urgya Grand Lāma, is arranged by the Dalai Lāma.

The spiritual jurisdiction of the Dalai Lāma is not acknowledged outside Tibet and Mongolia, including the land of the Buriats (*q.v.*) bordering Lake Baikal in Siberia, the tracts in Western China which formerly belonged to Tibet, the isolated Tibetan monasteries in N. China, and the Himālayan States of Bhutān, Sikkim, and Ladākh. Neither the Dalai nor the Tashi Lāma exercises any ecclesiastical authority in Tibet over the other and older sects, the Red Hats, whose relative laxity in Buddhist discipline, especially in the matter of uncelibacy, they despise.

11. Sects in Tibetan Buddhism.—No sects appear to have existed prior to Lang-darma's persecution in the 9th cent., nor till more than a century and a half later. The sectarial movement seems to date from the visit to Tibet of the great Indian Buddhist monk Atīṣa in 1038. Atīṣa, while clinging to Yoga and theistic Tantrism, at once started a reformation on the lines of the higher Indian Mahāyāna system, enforcing celibacy and high morality, and deprecating the Bon rites which had crept into some of the priestly practices of the Buddhist monks. The time was ripe for such a reform, as the monks in Tibet had become a very large and influential body, and possessed a fairly full and scholarly translation of the bulky Mahāyāna canon and commentaries.

The first of the reformed sects, and the one with which Atīṣa most intimately identified himself was the Kā-dam, or 'those bound by the Orders'; and it was this sect that ultimately, three and a half centuries later, in Tsong-Kha-pa's hands became less ascetic and more highly ritualistic under the title of Ge-lug, or 'Virtuous Order,' the 'Yellow Hats,' now the dominant established sect in Tibet.

Atīṣa, or 'the Lord' (Jo-bo-rje), was the sole profound reformer of Tibetan Buddhism; for we find that the other parallel early reformations were initiated by his pupils. These were the Kar-gyu and Sas-kya sects, which were directly based in great measure upon Atīṣa's teaching. These two sects may be regarded as semi-reformations adapted for those individuals who found Atīṣa's high standard of morality and discipline too irksome.

The residue, who remained wholly unreformed and weakened by the loss of their best and most intellectual members, were now called the 'Old,' or Nying-ma, as they adhered to the old corrupt practices. To legitimize some of their unorthodox practices borrowed from the indigenous Bon faith, the Nying-ma Lāmas began to discover hidden 'revelations' (*ter-ma*), or fictitious gospels, ascribed to Guru Padmākara, authorizing these practices, just as, it is related, the Indian monk Nāgārjuna, to secure an orthodox reception for his new doctrine, alleged that Śākyamuni had entrusted the developed gospels to Nāga demigods until men were sufficiently enlightened to comprehend the doctrine. Each of these 'finders' of the new revelations claimed to have been in a former birth one or other of the twenty-five traditional disciples of the *guru*. The 'revelations' treat mainly of Bon rites which are permissible in Buddhist practice; and they prescribe forms of worship mostly on the Buddhist model. These apocryphal gospels formed the starting-point for further subdivision of the semi-reformed and the old unreformed sects, which differ from each other chiefly by the particular *ter-ma*-book that they have adopted as sanctioning the worship of a particular Bon deity.

12. Sectarian distinctions.—The distinctions between the various sects are partly theistic and creedal, and partly ritualistic, and are also usually expressed by some external difference in dress and symbolism. None of them relate to the personality or doctrine of the historical Buddha as expressed in the canon, as this is accepted intact by all. These differences may be classed as: (1) personality and title of the primordial deity or Ādibuddha (cf. ĀDIBUDDHA); (2) special source of divine inspiration; (3) transmitters of this special inspiration; (4) meditative system of mystical insight (*darśana*, Tib. *lta-wa*); (5) special *tantra*-revelation; (6) personal tutelary (*yi-dam*) or Śaivite Indian protective demon; and (7) guardian demon (*dharmapāla*, Tib. *ch'os-skyong*), sometimes of Tibetan type.

The Ge-lug, or dominant Yellow Hats, have as their primordial deity Vajradhāra ('holder of the thunderbolt'), and they derive their divine inspiration mainly, not from the dead Śākyamuni, but from the living Buddhist 'Messiah' Maitreya, the next coming Buddha, as revealed through the succession of Indian saints from Asaṅga down to Atīṣa, and through the Tibetan saints from Atīṣa's disciple Bromton downwards to Tsong-Kha-pa. The Ge-lug mystical insight is in the *Lam-rim*, or 'graded path,' on which a commentary was written by Tsong-Kha-pa, and their special *Tantra*, or theistic manual, is *Rgya-ch'en-spyod*. Their tutelary Indian demon (*yi-dam*) is 'the fearful thunderbolt' Vajrabhairava (Tib. Dorje-jig-je), supported by Samvara (Saṃbara, Tib. Dem-chog) and Guhyakāla (Tib. Sang-'dus); and their 'guardian' demon (*dharmapāla*) is 'the six-armed lord' (Gon-po) or 'the horse-necked' (Hayagrīva, Tib. Tam-ch'en), both of them Indian, not Tibetan.

In organizing the Ge-lug sect Tsong-Kha-pa collected the scattered members of the Kā-dam from their ascetic retreats and housed them in monasteries, together with his new followers, under rigid discipline, setting them to keep the 253 Vinaya rules of primitive Buddhism, including strict celibacy, and hence obtaining for them the title of 'Vinaya-keepers' (Dulba-Lāma). He also made them carry a begging-bowl and wear patched robes of a yellow colour after the fashion of the Indian Buddhist mendicant. The bowl, however, soon dropped out of use, as daily begging was not adapted to the sparse population of Tibet. He attracted followers also by instituting a highly ritualistic service, in part borrowed, perhaps, from the Nestorian Christian missionaries who were undoubtedly settled at that time in Tsong-Kha, the locality of his early boyhood in W. China. He gave his monks the yellow hat which distinguished them from all the other sects, who wore red hats, in contradistinction to the black caps of the Bon priests.

The Kar-gyu, the next great sect after the Ge-lug, was founded in the latter half of the 11th cent. by the Tibetan monk Mar-pa, who had visited India. The name means 'follower of the successive Orders,' expressive of the belief that the rulings of the later Buddhist sages were inspired. Its distinctive features are its hermit practices—meditation in caves and other retired places—and the following peculiarities: its primordial Buddha is also Vajradhara, and its tutelary Śamvara; but its mystical insight is Mahāmudrā (*p'yag-rgya-ch'en*) of the 'Middle path,' its Tantra Sum-kar bsduds, its guardian 'the lord of the black cloak' (Bar-nag); its hat has a frontal badge like a St. Andrew's cross (X), to symbolize that meditation with crossed knees is its special feature; with these is associated a stricter observance of the Indian monastic rules. One of its most famous monks was the hermit poet Milā-raspa.

The hermit feature of this sect rendered it so unattractive that several sub-sects arose out of it which dispensed with the necessity for hermitages. These were the Karma, Dikung-pa, To-lung-pa, and Dug-pa (the form dominant in Bhutān), which differ from each other in having adopted a different 'revelation' (*ter-ma*) to allow of worship of an aboriginal spirit. An important image in their temples is that of the founder of their particular sect or sub-sect. In Ge-lug temples Tsong-Kha-pa's image is prominent and receives worship as a canonized saint.

The third great reformed sect is the Sas-kya, or Sa-kya, taking its name from the monastery of that place, founded in A.D. 1072. As we have seen, it became under imperial Chinese patronage the first great hierarchy in Tibet, and in 1251 attained for a time the temporal sovereignty, until eclipsed by its later rival, the Ge-lug sect. Its special source of inspiration is the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, through the Indian saints from Nāgārjuna to Vasuputra (Vasubandhu?). Its mystic insight is 'the deep path' (*gambhīra darśana*), its tutelary Vajra-phurpa, and its 'guardians' are 'the tent-lord' and 'the presence-lord' (Gon-po zhab).

Now, however, except in a few externals, it is practically undistinguishable from the unreformed Nying-ma, and celibacy is exceptional. From the Sas-kya two reforming sub-sects issued, the Ngor-pa and Jo-nang, which differ merely in the founders. To the latter sect belonged the famous Tibetan historiographer Tāranātha.

The wholly unreformed sect of Tibetan Buddhists are not numerous in Tibet. They are priests rather than monks, and are freely tinged with quasi-Bon cults. They are found chiefly in the more remote districts. They too have sub-sects, Urgyen-pa, Kartok-pa, and Lhat-sun-pa. The monasteries in Sikkim chiefly belong to the last sect. The Bhutānese lamaseries are not Nying-ma, as is usually asserted by Dug-pa, a sub-sect of the Kar-gyu above noted.

13. Special features of Tibetan Buddhism.—Contrary to Western belief, there is nothing in the Buddhism professed by the monastic Order in Tibet which differs greatly from the type of the Indian Buddhism of the Mahāyāna. The differences in discipline and clothing are mainly those enforced by different climatic conditions. In doctrinal beliefs and practice the Ge-lug monks, who form the great majority of the Order, differ little from the Indian Buddhist monks in the early centuries of our era. The use of sacred sentences as protective charms or spells has been shown by the present writer to have been a feature of Buddhism in India from its commencement, and on the evidence of the Pāli canon to have been practised even by Buddha himself (cf. JEWEL [Buddhist]), and the mechanical repetition of such spells (*dhāraṇī* or *paritta*) was extensively practised about the 5th cent. A.D. by Asaṅga and his brother Vasubandhu according to the circumstantial records quoted by Tāranātha,[1] and supported by an early *sādhana* bearing Asaṅga's name. The grosser priestly theistic and demonistic rites, the practice of which is restricted almost entirely to the unreformed sects which form a minority, are also largely of Indian Śaivite origin. Those which are borrowed from the indigenous Bon will be indicated in art. TIBET. The self-immolation by entombment is an extreme and revolting instance of asceticism, having its parallel in the self-torture of Indian *yogīs*, but it is of altogether exceptional occurrence[2] and never practised by orthodox monks.

14. Grades in the Order.—The monks are of two chief grades—the novice and the ordained, as in Indian Buddhism; to these may be added at the lower end the neophyte and at the top the abbot, or head of the monastery.

(1) The *neophyte*, or probationer-pupil, usually a child of about eight years of age, is called *ge-ñen*, *i.e.* the equivalent of the Indian *upāsaka*, or 'virtuous follower,' the ordinary title of a lay devotee. He receives instruction as in a school under a tutor, and is called *ḍā-pa* (*grva-pa*), 'pupil.' (2) The *novice*, or *ge-ts'ul*, is a formally admitted candidate for the Order. He has gone through the ceremony of 'going forth from home' (*pravrajyāvrata*), of having his head formally shaved, and vowing to keep thirty-six of the precepts. He is now permitted to join in the religious services in the monastery. The great majority of the monks, even the old ones, never rise above this grade to full initiation. (3) The fully ordained monk is called *ge-long* (*dge-slong*), the equivalent of the Indian *bhikṣu*, or 'virtuous mendicant.' He is usually over twenty-five years, and comparatively few ever reach this high stage. He now has to vow to keep the 253 precepts. (4) The *abbot* is called *k'an-po* (cf. ABBOT [Tibetan]).

Nuns are given corresponding titles. They are not numerous, are very illiterate, as a rule, and are allotted an inferior position, scarcely higher than the ordinary lay devotee.

15. Excessive numbers of the monks.—In Tibet we see Buddhism at the extreme limit of its inevitable development when unfettered. For the monastic state is an essential condition for the attainment of Buddhist salvation; and in Tibet this condition has been realized more fully than in any other Buddhist country in the world. Indeed, nowhere else in the world does monasticism appear ever to have reached such vast proportions. This has been the result of the exceptionally favourable circumstances for its unchecked growth and development, under the fostering care of a temporal government which for several centuries has been entirely in the hands of the monks themselves.

As a consequence, there have arisen swarming armies of State-supported celibate monks who live parasitically upon the people and decimate them. Since Buddhism was introduced as the State-religion in the 8th cent. A.D., the Tibetan nation, which formerly was one of the most virile in Eastern Asia, and overran and even conquered China more than once, has steadily declined in power and numbers until it now has not a tenth part of its former population. The only general census of the population hitherto taken appears to be one made by the Chinese, so long ago as 1737; but the proportion probably still holds good, though the total number has greatly declined through the population having died off, presumably in the main as a result of the wide-spread monasticism, for polyandry is far from common.

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[1] F. A. Schiefner, *Gesch. des Buddhismus in Indien*, St. Petersburg, 1869, pp. 103 f., 121, 123, 146; L. A. Waddell, 'Dhāraṇi Cult in Buddhism,' *Ostasiat. Zeitschr.* i. [1912] 178.

[2] Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, p. 236.

	No. of Lāmas.	No. of Laity (at 5 per family).
Central Province (Dbus) .	802,500	602,190
Western „ (Tsang) .	13,700	33,760
	316,200	635,950

This gives one monk for every three of the entire lay community, including the women and children.

The shrinking of the population is evident everywhere in Central and Western Tibet, where one sees numerous abandoned tracts of former cultivation and the ruins of former villages and homesteads. The population is, presumably as a consequence of over-monasticism, steadily drifting towards extinction.

16. Excessive monasticism an inevitable result of Buddhism.—Yet this wide-spread devastation worked by unfettered monasticism must inevitably be the outcome everywhere of Buddhism when that religion is free to develop without restraint. Buddhism, with its inveterate note of pessimism, repressing the wholesome instinct for living and for the development and enjoyment of nature's resources, is itself in direct antagonism to all worldly progress, whilst it restricts its goal of Nirvāṇa expressly to those who have entered its celibate monastic Order. This is clearly the teaching everywhere of Buddha himself, and of all orthodox professing Buddhists of all sections of Buddhism, both North and South, *pace* the modernizing theories of popular Western writers. No prospect whatever of attaining salvation or Nirvāṇa in this life is held out by Buddhism to any one except those who actually enter its celibate Order of monks.

This is manifestly the reason, in the opinion of the present writer, why heaven and not Nirvāṇa is the popular goal of lay Buddhists—Indra's heaven in the company of 'the coming Buddha' Maitreya, according to the 'Southern' Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam; or Amitābha's paradise in the West in the company of Avalokita, according to the Mahāyānist Buddhists. It is obviously because, in the first place, these respective heavens are the old traditional paradises of the layman's ancestors, and, in the second place, and chiefly, because there is no other goal of bliss open to him on his death; for, being a layman and forced to work for his living, or bound by family ties, he cannot afford to enter the monastic Order, which is the sole avenue to Nirvāna.

17. Tibetan Buddhist scriptures.—The scriptures of the Tibetan Buddhists are translations from the Sanskrit texts of Indian Buddhism by the most scholarly monks of mediæval India, assisted by learned Lāmas. A few books in the last volume of the *sūtras* were translated from the Pāli, and a very few from the Chinese. The whole forms a series of over three hundred volumes, each of which with its wooden covers makes a package about 26 ins. long, 8 ins. broad, 8 ins. deep, and weighing about 10 pounds. The volumes generally are in the form of xylographs, or prints from carved wooden blocks, as with the ancient Chinese books, no movable type having been employed; occasionally MS sets of the entire canon are to be found—as, *e.g.*, the set obtained by the present writer and now in the British Museum, MSS no. Oriental 672 ff.

The sacred texts consist of two great collections: (*a*) the canon, and (*b*) the commentaries.

The canon, or *Ka-gyur* (vulgarly *Kanjur*), 'translated word,' forms a series of one hundred, or, in some editions, one hundred and eight, volumes, and comprises 1083 distinct books. It is divided into seven great sections, as compared with the three divisions of the Pāli canonical scriptures, or *Tripiṭaka*. This difference in number is due to a subdivision of the *sūtras* (asterisked in the subjoined list), and the addition of the mystical Śaivite *sūtras* or *tantras*. The divisions are as follows (the constituent volumes being indicated by the letters of the alphabet, in the order of the Sanskrit alphabet):

1. Discipline, *Dul-ba* (Skr. *Vinaya*), in 12 volumes (K–P).
2. Metaphysics and transcendental wisdom, *Ser-p'yin* (Skr. *Prajñāpāramitā*), corresponding generally to the *Abhidhamma* of the Pāli, in the following recensions: (*a*) in 100,000 verses, *'Bum* (Skr. *Śatasāhasrikā*), 10 volumes (K–N); (*b*) in 25,000 verses, *Nyi-k'ri* (Skr. *Pañchaviṁśatasāhasrikā*), 3 volumes (K–G); (*c*) in 18,000 verses, *K'ri-brgyad* (Skr. *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*), 3 volumes (K–G); (*d*) in 10,000 verses, *K'ri* (Skr. *Daśasāhasrikā*), 1 volume (K); (*e*) in 8000 verses, *br Gyad-stong* (Skr. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*), 1 volume (K); (*f*) various abridged abstracts, *Na-ts'ogs* (Skr. *Viśva*), 18 tracts in 1 volume.
3. Buddhist Congregation, *P'al-ch'en* (Skr. *Buddhāvatasaṅgha*), 6 volumes (K–Ch).
4. Perfection of the Buddha—ethical and metaphysical doctrine entitled 'The Jewel-heap,' *dKon-brtsegs* (Skr. *Ratnakūṭa*), 5 volumes (K–Ch).

*5. Sermons [of Buddha], *mDo-sde* (Skr. *Sūtrānta*), 30 volumes (K–A).

6. *Parinirvāṇa*, or 'Deliverance from Misery,' *Myang-'das*, 2 volumes (K–Kh).
7. Mystical theosophy, *rGyud* (Skr. *Tantra*), 21 volumes (K–Zh).

To these are added:

8. Prayers, *sMon-lam* (Skr. *Praṇidhāna*), 3 leaves.
9. Index, *dKar-chag* (Skr. *Sūchilipi*), 1 volume.

The commentary *Tan-gyur* (vulgarly *Tanjur*) is a great encyclopædic library of ancient Indian lore on metaphysics, logic, composition, arts, alchemy, etc., including the commentaries of ancient Indian Buddhist writers, Nāgārjuna and others, also some texts by Tsong-Kha-pa and other Tibetan saints. Its contents have not yet been fully examined.

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L. A. WADDELL.

LANDMARKS AND BOUNDARIES.—

1. Introduction.—A frequent subject of dispute is the boundary-line—between nations, that of their respective territories, between tribes, that of their hunting or fishing grounds, between individuals, that of their holdings. An excellent example of this is found in Gn 13$^{6f.}$ It is true that in some instances land disputes are rare because there is a large area available for the needs of all,[1] but in general this is not the case; hence the need of the boundaries being carefully defined by landmarks. We must here distinguish between natural and artificial landmarks. The former mainly mark the bounds of public territories; the latter mainly those of private lands. On the other hand, sometimes carved pillars are set up on the boundaries of States, while natural landmarks—trees, boulders, and the like—may mark the limits of individual holdings. In early times nations and tribes often sought that the boundary of their territories should effectually prevent the encroachment of neighbouring peoples. Such an end was attainable where the sea, a region of ice, a range of mountains, an impenetrable forest, a river, or a waste and desert region existed on a frontier. Hence these natural boundaries are themselves a kind of landmark. Cæsar says of the Teutons:

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[1] Cf. C. A. Soppitt, *Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes*, Shillong, 1887, p. 23; E. Nordenskiöld, *Indianerleben: El Gran Chaco*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 36.

> 'It is their greatest glory to have around them as extensive deserts as possible, with their confines laid waste.'[1]

Such boundaries or tracts of waste land formed neutral ground, which at once removed the fear of a sudden incursion,[2] and offered a zone where arrangements—political, commercial, and the like—might be effected.

As an example may be taken that primitive form of commerce called the 'silent trade' (*l'échange à la muette*), in which members of a distant tribe or foreign merchants lay out their goods at a certain place and retire. The natives then come and take them, leaving the equivalent value of their own products. This is frequently done at the boundaries, or on the seashore, itself a frontier-line. Such places being regarded as neutral ground, in course of time regular markets or fairs are held there. It was for this reason that Hermes, whose images (ἑρμαῖ) stood on boundaries, became the god of merchants, just as certain markets held on the frontiers of some Greek States were protected by θεοὶ ἀγοραῖοι.[3]

To such waste territory forming a boundary the name 'mark' was given, and an officer was charged with its defence—the lord of the mark, the marquis—while the dwellers by the frontier were the *marcomanni*.

That the boundary was often a forest is shown in the connexion between the words for 'boundary' and 'wood.' Cf. Old Norse *mörk*, 'wood,' *mark*, 'boundary,' Old Pruss. *median*, 'wood,' O. Ch. Slav. *meżda*, 'boundary.' The words for 'wood' easily took on the meaning of 'boundary.' This was also the case with words denoting fen- or marsh-land.[4]

As will be seen later, stones with or without inscriptions were often set up on the frontier-line of States, on mountains, water-sheds, the sea-coast, etc. Private lands were marked by hewn or unhewn stones, posts, or trees, the last sometimes having ownership marks cut upon them.

2. Boundaries and landmarks in the lower culture.—The Australians have well-defined areas with well-known boundaries, over which each tribe wanders, and from which strangers are expelled.[5] This was also true of the Tasmanians, who seldom moved beyond their boundaries. The tracks through the thicket were marked by small branches of bushes, broken and left hanging.[6] Among the Torres Straits people natural objects constituted landmarks, or such objects as a felled tree, a branch thrown down, and the like.[7] In New Britain the territorial divisions were those of the respective villages, and the boundaries of these were the customary fighting places when any dispute between districts occurred. The boundaries of the lands of which each family was possessed were well known.[8] In Banks' Island the exact limits of property are known. Each piece of land is divided by boundaries drawn from tree to tree.[9] In Fiji the boundaries were apt to contract or expand with the strength of the tribe. Where two tribes were nearly equal, disputes regarding boundaries were submitted to a kind of arbitration. To appropriate a patch of forest was a paltry offence, but to claim another man's plantation was a crime. Hence, where the council of a tribe wished to claim a boundary enclosing a piece of debatable land, men were sent to plant it with gardens. Thus it became theirs and their heirs'.[1] In Samoa the boundary-marks were pathways, rivers, trenches, and stones. At the boundary-line between two villages stood two stones representing two youths who, after a fight, had been changed to stone. Any quarrel had to be settled at these stones.[2] In Tahiti there were well-known landmarks at the boundary-lines, usually taking the form of carved images, or *tiis*. To remove these landmarks was a grave offence.[3] In New Zealand the *kumara* and *taro* grounds were contiguous and divided into portions, carefully marked by stones over which incantations had been said. This rendered them so sacred that to move one brought death to the remover. Streams, trees, rocks, or posts marked the bounds of the hunting area, which was held in common.[4] In New Zealand and elsewhere in Polynesia fields were protected by hedges, walls of unhewn stones, or fences, the making and repairing of which occupied much time.[5]

In Africa great care is taken to define the boundaries of provinces or of private possessions. Thus in the province of Oran there are heaps of stones at the frontiers of several tribes, where oaths are taken by parties in cases of litigation.[6] R. H. Nassau, writing of W. African tribes, says that, when a family settles on land, the place is marked out by trees and stones as boundary-lines.[7] Among the Washambala, Banaka, etc., pathways, trees, rivers, rocks, etc., are the landmarks of parcels of land and plantations; though in some cases the boundary-lines are imaginary, they are usually respected.[8] Among the Wadshagga, sacrifices are made at the boundaries when war threatens, and also at other times where a road leaves the territory, to prevent the entrance of an enemy.[9] Among the Yoruba the boundaries of farms are marked by heaps of earth in which certain trees are planted. One of these, the *akoko*, is a common boundary-mark, and is sacred to the god Ogun. Kola trees growing in the forest often mark the site of old farms and afford proof of ownership.[10] R. E. Dennett says that mounds of earth and leaves in the woods mark the frontiers of two provinces. Natives add to the heap, so that they may not be accused of bringing anything evil into the next chief's country.[11] The Asi of Equatorial Africa indicate the boundaries of property by planting trees in line, by hedges, or by stones sunk deep out of sight. The *nijama*, or executive power, decides in disputes as to boundaries. Village boundaries of trees and stones throughout this region are sacred.[12] In S. Africa with the Basuto the bounds of fields were carefully marked, and disputes were settled by the chief. Among the Baronga, rivers, trees, and other natural objects mark the boundaries of different clans. To define those of gardens, a ditch a foot deep is dug all round the field, and it can be traced years after even when the field has become fallow.[1] In general, trespass is resented and is a crime or the cause of frequent quarrels and bloodshed, but among the Kafirs it was permitted because, all having gardens and cattle, all were liable to it.[2]

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[1] *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 23; cf. 25 for the great Hercynian forest as a boundary, and iv. 3: 'They consider it their highest glory as a nation that the lands on their borders lie waste to the widest extent.'

[2] *Ib.* vi. 25.

[3] For examples of the effect of the silent trade and of markets on boundaries see P. J. Hamilton-Grierson, *The Silent Trade*, Edinburgh, 1903, pp. 44, 56 f.; J. A. Dulaure, *Des Cultes qui ont précédé et amené l'idolatrie*, Paris, 1805, p. 346 f.; and, for the silent trade generally, L. J.-B. Bérenger-Féraud, *Superstitions et survivances*, do. 1896, ii. 489 ff.; C. Letourneau, *Bull. de la Soc. d'Anthrop.*, do. 1895. Cf. also GIFTS (Primitive and Savage), vol. vi. p. 204 ff.

[4] See H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, Strassburg, 1905–07, pp. 390, 671; O. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, do. 1901, p. 307; S. Feist, *Kultur . . . der Indogermanen*, Berlin, 1913, p. 195 f.; J. Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, ii. (Berlin, 1865) 30 ff.; J. A. Dulaure, *op. cit.* p. 110 ff.; J. Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*^{6}, London, 1902, p. 318.

[5] Spencer-Gillen^a, p. 8; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, Melbourne, 1886–87, ii. 232 ff.; L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, do. 1880, p. 232.

[6] J. Bonwick, *Daily Life and Origin of the Tasmanians*, London, 1870, p. 83; H. Ling Roth, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*^{2}, do. 1899, pp. 73, 104 f.

[7] A. C. Haddon, *JAI* xix. [1889–90] 386.

[8] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, p. 271.

[9] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 65.

[1] B. Thomson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, p. 360.

[2] Brown, p. 339; G. Turner, *Samoa*, do. 1884, p. 45.

[3] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*^{2}, do. 1832, iii. 116.

[4] R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*^{2}, do. 1870, p. 356.

[5] C. Letourneau, *Property*, do., 1892, p. 66; T. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1859–72, v. ii. 79, vi. 63; Ellis, i. 138.

[6] E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1908, p. 424.

[7] *Fetichism in W. Africa*, London, 1904, p. 23.

[8] S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, Berlin, 1903, pp. 53, 197, 262 f., 389.

[9] B. Gutmann, *ARW* xii. [1909] 98.

[10] H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, Halifax, 1903, p. 187, App. xxiv.

[11] 'Bavili Notes,' *FL* xvi. [1905] 396.

[12] W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, London, 1910, pp. 6, 204; H. M. Stanley, *The Congo*, do. 1885, i. 315.

Among the N. American Indians disputes regarding boundaries were also a constant source of quarrel. W. H. Dall says of the Indians and the Innuit that they were jealous of their boundary-lines—usually the summit of a watershed. Any one found on the wrong side was liable to be shot.[3] Tribal boundaries were rivers, lakes, mountain ranges, trees, stones, and other natural features. A boulder marked the limit of the Shevwits' land; a deep spring was the most prominent natural object on the line between the Onondagas and Oneidas.[4] The Iroquois ran straight lines as boundaries, marked here and there by well-known objects. Occasionally, as among the Californian Indians, Pueblos, Haidas, and other north-west tribes, artificial boundaries—posts and stones—were set up to mark the hunting and fishing grounds. Among the Serrano Indians the patches of land belonging to an individual or, more likely, the *gens* were indicated by trees with marks corresponding to those painted on the owner's face, so that they could be instantly recognized. Among the Wyandots the women of the tribe distinctly marked the household tracts after they were partitioned among the householders, out of the common land of the *gens*.[5] In modern treaties with Indians the bounds of their lands are carefully noted and described.[6] In S. America it is said of the Indians of Guiana that, while they have no clear tribal boundaries, yet each tribe lives in a separate district and allows therein no interloper from another tribe.[7] In Brazil the boundaries of each tribe were marked by trees, streams, and rocks, and also by artificial landmarks. The *pajés* took an active part in defining these, with much magical ritual, etc. Bark strips, rags, and baskets were sometimes attached to these landmarks. The trespasser was killed on the spot when caught.[8]

Among the aboriginal tribes of India the Todas mark the boundaries of their villages by stones.[9] Among the village peoples of N.W. India the arbitrator who walks the boundary does so with a raw cowskin on his head—the cow being sacred—and is under a solemn oath to decide correctly. He holds five sticks in his hand to show that he is the representative of the Pañchāyat. Boundaries and cattle paths are religiously preserved, and the curse is uttered: 'May the man who destroys a boundary, a cowpath, or a ditch have his lands sown by others, or may they lie waste.' A method of ordeal for fixing boundaries consisted in the arbitrator walking the bounds with a red-hot ball on his palm, protected by pipal leaves. If he was not burned, his decision was accepted.[10] In Mysore disputes as to boundaries were settled by the *holeya kuluvādi*, who held a ball of earth in his hand as he walked. If he diverged even accidentally from the true line, the ball went to pieces, and it was believed that he would die in fifteen days. In Jeypore the arbitrator had to eat earth. If he died within six months, this proved that his decision was wrong, and that the earth-goddess had punished him.[1] In some parts of India a goat is led along a disputed boundary, and the place where it shivers is the true limit.[2] Among the Abors the boundaries of clearings are marked by upright stones, and property thus defined is respected. The Bhils surround their fields with fences of boughs and bamboo.[3] Among the Kandhs boundary-lines, when determined by the public tribunals, are marked by stones set up in presence of the *abbayas*, or patriarchs. They are sacred to Sundi Pennu, god of boundaries.

A prayer to him asks that disease be kept from the boundaries, that hostile gods and tigers may not cross them, that waters from the higher lands may be attracted to them, that cattle may not stray beyond them, etc. A fowl or goat is sacrificed by the priest at a point on the boundary fixed by ancient usage. The god is common to two parties whose lands join, and is supposed to help the one whose cause is just when a fight takes place between them.

The flesh of human sacrifices to the boundary-god as well as to the sun- and war-gods is strewn along the boundary-line. A boundary-god also exists among the Gonds.[4]

The Veddas had well-defined boundaries to the hunting grounds of each group in the jungle, and these were seldom trespassed on. Where it was not possible for natural features—stream or hill—to mark the boundary, definite marks were made on the trees along the line.[5]

3. Landmarks in the higher culture.—(*a*) Among the *Semites* the landmark was of supreme importance both for the State and for the individual owner. The Babylonians called boundary-stones *kudurru*, though the name was also applied to the land within the boundary. They were sacred to certain divinities, but not themselves representatives of divinity like the Greek Hermæ, though the divinity exercised power, the power of the curse, through them. Among gods to whom boundaries and landmarks were peculiarly sacred were Nabu ('Nabu preserves the limits of the fields'), Papu ('lord of the boundary,' period of Ḫammurabi), Ninib and Nusku ('the name of this stone is Ninib and Nusku establish the bounds'), and Šamaš ('Šamaš hates those who falsify boundaries and weights'). The importance of the just boundary is also seen in the incantation texts used by the exorcizer as he tries to discover what evil has been done by the sufferer. 'Has he fixed a false boundary, Not fixed a just boundary, Has he removed a boundary, a limit, a territory?'

The *kudurru*, which probably had some phallic significance, varies in height from one to several feet. The inscription begins with the name of the stone—*e.g.*, 'Ninib and Nusku establish the bounds.' Then follow the measurements of the field and a description of the occasion of the gift of it by a king to its owner. To this succeeds the appeal to the gods—*e.g.*, 'Whoever overthrows the grant of this field or causes it to be seized, may Anu overthrow him.' Other gods—Enlil, Ea, Sin, Šamaš, Ramman—are asked to do him various evils: 'Ninib, lord of boundaries and boundary-stones, tear out his boundary-stone. 'Whoever removes this stone, in the dust hides it, burns it with fire, casts it into water, shuts it up in an enclosure, causes a fool, a deaf man, an idiot, to take it, places it in an invisible place; may the great gods who upon this stone are mentioned by their names curse him with an evil curse, tear out his foundation, and destroy his seed.' Then follow the names of the witnesses present at the sealing of the tablet.[6] On the *kudurru* are usually representations of serpents, scorpions, and monsters. These may represent the demons to whom the soil belongs, and who would presumably resent trespass or removal of the landmark after the owner had duly propitiated them. Others have seen in them representations of the signs of the zodiac—a theory which receives support from the representation of heavenly bodies and shrines (? houses of the heavens) on the *kudurru*. They would then have reference to the time at which the grant was made.[1]

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[1] E. Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, Paris, 1859, p. 167; H. A. Junod, *The Life of a S. African Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1913, p. 9.

[2] D. Macdonald, *Africana*, London, 1882, i. 185; G. A. S. Northcote, 'The Nilotic Kavirondo,' *JAI* xxxvii. [1907] 60; J. Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, Mount Coke, 1858, p. 113.

[3] *Alaska*, London, 1870, p. 144.

[4] F. S. Dellenbaugh, *N. Americans of Yesterday*, New York, 1901, p. 410 f.; *7 RBEW* [1891], p. 42; *8 RBEW* [1891], p. 28.

[5] *4 RBEW* [1886], p. 182; *1 RBEW* [1881], p. 65.

[6] *7 RBEW*, p. 44; *19 RBEW*, pt. i. [1900] p. 138.

[7] E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, pp. 171, 418.

[8] C. F. P. von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, Munich, 1832, p. 34 f.

[9] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 439.

[10] H. M. Elliot, *Memoirs on the Hist. of the Races of N.W. Provinces of India*, do. 1869, pp. 239, 257.

[1] E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, Madras, 1906, pp. 321, 371.

[2] Crooke, *PR*² ii. 224.

[3] H. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, London, 1882, pp. 35, 158.

[4] S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, do. 1865, pp. 57, 67, 83 f., 90, 366; E. W. Hopkins, *Rel. of India*, Boston, 1895. p. 528 f.; see also DRAVIDIANS (North India), vol. v. p. 11b.

[5] C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 106, 112 f., with fig.; R. Knox, *An Historical Relation of the Island of Ceylon*, London, 1681, p. 63.

[6] See R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the OT*, New York, 1912, p. 387 and pl. 46.

Stones were also set up at the frontiers by kings who had extended their territories or restored the boundaries of earlier times. Such landmarks are still found *in situ*. The well-known 'stele of the vultures' delimited the respective territories of two city-States.[2]

Among the **Hebrews**, as among other Semitic peoples, stones, whether monoliths, circles, or cairns, were sacred, and were used to mark places where certain events had taken place, burial-sites, and sacred places. Whatever the origin of the *maṣṣēbāh*, or upright stone, may have been, boundary-stones were included under this title, though a heap of stones might also form a boundary-mark. In Gn 31$^{45\text{ff.}}$ E's narrative shows that a *maṣṣēbāh* was erected as a witness of the covenant between Jacob and Laban on the Aramæan frontier, but J speaks of a heap of stones. Both had the same purpose (v.^{52}), as a reminder that there was to be no transgression beyond the limit thus marked out (cf. Jos 22$^{10\text{ff.}}$). Boundary-stones were also used to mark private property in land, and were not to be removed (Dt 19^{14}, Pr 22^{28} 23^{10}). The sacredness of landmarks was enforced by a curse on the remover of them (Dt 27^{17}), and such removal was regarded as a peculiarly wicked action (Hos 5^{10}, Job 24^{2}). Such landmarks are still common in the East to-day, and are regarded as sacred.[3]

(*b*) In *India*, besides the instances from present-day tribes already cited, the evidence from the older law-books is suggestive. The sections regarding landmarks and boundary disputes are full of detail. Such disputes were to be settled by neighbours, by people from neighbouring villages, by the elders, by men of a variety of occupations, or by the king. Witnesses were called and duly sworn. They were to have earth on their head and to wear chaplets. False witnesses were punished by a fine. The boundary-line was to be marked by trees of specified kinds, ant-hills, artificial mounds, hills, thickets, gardens, roads, dikes, tanks, wells, cisterns, temples, etc. In the ground were buried objects which would not decay —potsherds, charcoal, bones, stones, bricks, enclosed in vessels. These were pointed out to youths and children, who were to show them to their children in after years. The destroyer of a boundary-mark was to be punished by mutilation.[4]

(*c*) In *Egypt*, where the encroachments of the Nile caused the effacing of boundaries, there were continual government surveys of territories, and careful records were kept in each district. Herodotus, Plato, Strabo, and others ascribe the origin of geometry to this need of adjusting the measurements of the land after each inundation. Boundary-stones were set up along the limits of estates, and were inscribed with the name of the tenant at the date of their erection, and other details—*e.g.*, the nature of the soil, the situation, etc., or the name of the reigning Pharaoh. Such stones also received a name, which, once given, never altered for all time. Boundary-stones with inscriptions also marked the frontiers of the land, and were set up by the kings after each new conquest. One of these says that all who maintain the boundaries will be called 'my son.' Temples occasionally stood on the frontier line. The Negative Confession in the *Book of the Dead* says nothing of removing landmarks, but the equivalent, 'I have not falsified the cubit of land,' occurs.[1]

(*d*) In early *Greece* heaps of stones (ἑρμαῖος λόφος, ἕρμαιον) or erect stones (phallic), or both together, represented Hermes, god of commerce, of merchants, of travellers, etc., and were placed to mark paths, as well as frontier-limits and bounds of private lands. These gave place in many cases to quadrangular stones, surmounted by the head of Hermes and with an erect φαλλός, which were set up at street-corners, before houses, etc.[2] Pausanias describes the territorial boundary-stones, or ἑρμαῖ, marking the frontiers on Mt. Parnon.[3] Plutarch records how Theseus set up a pillar between Peloponnesos and Attica, on one side of which were the words: 'This is not Peloponnesos but Ionia,' on the other: 'This is Peloponnesos, not Ionia.'[4] Boundary-heaps may still be seen on the frontiers of Laconia.[5] Altars or grave-mounds occasionally marked boundary-lines.[6] Boundary-stones also separated public from private lands, marked off roads, temple-precincts, burial-places, as well as private lands.[7] They were under the protection not only of Hermes (Ἑρμῆς Ἐπιτέρμιος), but also of Ζεὺς Ὅριος, or, as among the Dorians, Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεύς, protector of streets and roads,[8] and in Greece, as elsewhere, it was dangerous to remove a landmark. Plato says that 'one should be more willing to move the largest rock which is not a landmark than the least stone which is the sworn mark of friendship and hatred between neighbours.' The consequences will be doubly fatal—a penalty coming from the gods and one coming from the law.[9]

(*e*) Among the *Romans* the poets looked back to a golden age when there was no private property in land and hence no boundary-stones.[10] To Numa was ascribed the first law regarding landmarks (*cippi terminales*). Stones sacred to Jupiter Terminalis or Terminus were to mark the limits of property, and yearly sacrifices were to be offered to them at the Terminalia. Any one removing such stones might be slain without any guilt being incurred by the slayer. He, as well as his cattle, was devoted to the god who guarded or cursed boundaries.[11] The earliest form of the boundary-mark was a post or stone; later the Greek form of the Hermæ was adopted. This landmark represented Terminus, god of boundaries, and, as Ovid says, possessed divinity.[12]

When it was set up, a trench was dug and the blood of a sacrificial victim poured into it. Then the body of the victim, along with incense, honey, wine, corn, etc., was consumed by fire in the trench, and on the ashes the stone was placed.[1] On the Terminalia the possessors of adjacent lands sacrificed a lamb at an altar set up by the boundary-stone, and sprinkled the stone with its blood. The stone or image was garlanded by each on his own side.[2] Public sacrifices were also made at a boundary-stone by the sixth milestone on the Via Laurentina.[3] Curses were sometimes inscribed on landmarks against those who removed them.[4]

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[1] See C. W. Belser, *Beitr. zur Assyr.*, Leipzig, 1894, ii. 111 ff.; *Guide to Bab. and Assyr. Ant.* (Br. Mus.), 1900, p. 85 ff.; M. Jastrow, *The Rel. of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, pp. 174, 181 f.; H. Zimmern, *Beitr. zur Kenntnis der bab. Rel.*, Leipzig, 1896–1901, p. 3 ff.; M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*², Paris, 1905, p. 198; A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altor. Geisteskultur*, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 24, 115, 117.

[2] *KB* i. 63, and *passim*; L. W. King, *A Hist. of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, p. 143.

[3] See Lagrange, *op. cit.* p. 197; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, i. 56 f.

[4] *Laws of Manu*, viii. 245 ff., ix. 291 (*SBE* xxv. [1886] 298, 394); *Nārada*, xi. 1 ff., *Bṛhaspati*, xix. (*SBE* xxxiii. [1889] 155 ff., 351 ff.); J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* (=*GIAP* ii. 8), Strassburg, 1896, p. 94 f.

[1] G. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 328 f.; J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, ed. London, 1878, i. 323, ii. 364; Strabo, xvii. 3; H. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, London, 1891, i. 81, 182, ii. 78, 81; *ERE* iii. 828ᵃ, v. 478ᵇ.

[2] See Hesychius, *s.v.* ἑρμαῖος λόφος; Suidas, *s.v.* ἕρμαιον; Paus. IV. xxxiii. 3; Plato, *Hipparchos*, p. 229 A.

[3] II. xxxviii. 7; for other instances see IV. xxxiii. 3, VIII. xxxiv. 6, xxxv. 2.

[4] *Thes.* 25.

[5] L. Ross, *Reise und Reiserouten durch Griechenland*, Berlin, 1841, i. 18, 174.

[6] Paus. VIII. xi. 1, xxvi. 3.

[7] See inscriptions, etc., in I. von Müller, *Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, i.² (Munich, 1892) 622 f.

[8] K. O. Müller, *Hist. of the Doric Race*, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1830, i. 322.

[9] *Laws*, viii. 842 f.; see also K. F. Hermann, *Disputatio de terminis eorumque religione apud Græcos*, Göttingen, 1846.

[10] Virg. *Georg.* i. 125 ff.; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 135 ff.; Tibullus, *Eleg.* i. 3.

[11] Plut. *Numa*, xvi. 1; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 74.

[12] *Fasti*. ii. 640.

Besides marking private lands, boundary-stones also marked the limits of territories, public lands, etc.[5] In later times the removing of landmarks was punished by a fine of 5000 sesterces, and any one could lay the accusation. Hadrian enacted banishment for persons of higher degree, and for those of lower degree forced labour for two or three years.[6] Fearful curses had already been pronounced by the Etruscans against the remover of landmarks. The gods punished him by wasting disease, ruined crops, extinction of his family, etc.[7]

(*f*) Among the *Teutons* in the earliest times, according to Cæsar, a tract of waste or forest land was preferred as a territorial boundary.[8] Other natural features served as boundaries, and artificial landmarks were also used:

> 'Terminales lapides Alamannorum et Burgundiorum confinia distinguebant.'[9]

As to private property, Tacitus[10] and Cæsar[11] say that holdings were re-partitioned out to all once a year. This communal arable land divided into separate fields belonging to different owners was called the 'mark,' and in later times was surrounded by a fence or ditch, its limits being also shown by stones, posts, or trees, planted with great ceremony. In the case of the lands of the free-lord, he with his neighbours made a circuit of his domain, and marked the limits by cutting marks on trees, by stones, or by mounds of earth. The boundary-marks on trees and stones (often a cross) are frequently referred to in old documents. Both stones and trees forming landmarks were sacred. Even to break a twig off the latter was not permissible, and right down through the Middle Ages very severe and cruel punishments were meted out to those who removed a landmark. In folk-belief, ghosts wandering through the fields or the Jack o' Lantern were thought to be the spirits of those who had committed this crime or who had made false measurements of land. Certain divinities were guardians of boundaries—Thorr, Frea, and Holda—and in folk-sagas there are tales of boundary-ditches having been marked out by the spindle of a goddess. Holy fire was carried round boundaries, and the *Indiculus Superstitionum* (23) speaks of the custom of ploughing a furrow round the bounds of villages.[12]

(*g*) Among the ancient *Celts* in Gaul some of the many *simulacra* which Cæsar[13] describes as representing a Celtic Mercury, and which were probably menhirs or heaps of stones, may have been used as boundary-marks, as they were in later times (§ 7).

The Irish Celts are said in the *Leabhar na hUidhre* to have had no divisions of land, and therefore no boundaries, until the time of Aed Slane (A.D. 651–694), when they were introduced because of the increasing population. The Brehon Laws define a large variety of boundary-marks—*e.g.*, stones of worship, memorial stones, trees, stakes, mounds, ditches, rivers, lakes, wells, and roads—and give details of the fines for unlawful possession of lands.[1] In Wales the laws speak of the three 'stays of boundaries'—privilege, proprietary title, and prior occupancy — but elsewhere principal waters, a lawful *randir*, and a dwelling.[2] Three things preserve a memorial of lands and stand as witness—a fireback stone, stones of a kiln, and a mounting stone, because the mark of the kindred remains on them. An action for theft arises against the man who removes these, a forfeit of life attaching to all who destroy a strong testimony.[3] Trees, stones, ditches, and rivers are also mentioned as marks.[4] A fine is levied against any one who ploughs up a ditch or removes a stone cross, or timber, or anything else preserving a boundary, and he must restore it to its former state.[5] In disputes the church fixes the boundary to the court, the court to the country, and, in cases of lands belonging to those co-equal in privilege, the oldest men are to assign the boundary after inquiry of witnesses. The judge and the king in such cases receive fees.[6]

(*h*) In ancient *Mexico* each domain was carefully measured out, marked, and its limits shown on a register kept by an officer in each district. Separate fields were enclosed with hedges or walls. Those who changed the limits of private lands or removed landmarks were put to death.[7] Similarly in *Peru* the lands were carefully divided and marked out, and the remover of a landmark was punished severely.[8]

4. Landmarks and the curse.—As many examples cited above have shown, a curse is invoked on the remover of the landmark, and, as in the Babylonian instances, the gods are desired to bring it about. The gods are, in fact, frequently associated with boundary-marks, and protect the owners of land against those who would take some of it.

In the Finnish *Kalevala*, Väinämöinen himself divides the land into arable patches. The boundary-stones between Sweden and Russia were believed to have been hewn by a wood-spirit.[9]

It is probable, however, that in earlier times the curse was not brought about by a god, but was inherent in the landmark itself and worked through it upon the trespasser. Thus among many savage tribes not only articles of property, but fruit-trees, growing crops, etc., are protected by charms, fetishes, and the like, placed on or among them. These are recognized as tabu signs; but, if any one disregarded them, some terrible result would follow. In effect, a curse is inherent in them and works automatically. In many instances the charm is hung from a pole, post, or fence, or the fence itself is tabu. These are then a species of primitive landmarks, to disregard which produces an automatic curse, as in New Britain, where a spell said over a fence produces serious trouble to a thief.

Among the natives of the Congo, rows of stakes are set round fields, and on them the medicine-man ties bundles of herbs, which cause death to the trespasser or thief.[10] The Ewe fasten amulets to long sticks, placed in a conspicuous position among the crops.[1] Among the Bangala such sticks with charms attached mark the boundary between separate owners' fields, and the charms are protective.[2] Among the Koita of British New Guinea a *tora*, or tabu sign, set up on a path or in a garden with the consent of the older men has no magical power, but it is 'native law,' and, if violated, would bring the full force of public opinion against the offender. Gardens are tabued by planting sticks with a length of creeper between, to which is attached a tabu sign with a certain amount of magical force.[3] In Fijian gardens reeds were thrust into the earth, their tops brought together, and set in a banana or a nut. These would produce boils on the thief.[4] In Samoa the 'cross stick tabu'—a stick fastened horizontally to a tree—indicated the wish of the owner that the thief might incur disease.[5] In New Zealand *kumara* grounds and crops were made *tapu*; or a chief would tie one of his garments to a pole to make a place tabu.[6] In Madagascar poles with a bundle of herbs are placed on roads, fields, etc., to indicate that these are tabu.[7] Among the Cumanas, and also the Juris of S. America, a gap in a hedge round a field was merely protected by a thread tied across it. The trespasser who disregarded it would die.[8] In S. India stones called the Five Pāndhus are set up in fields and regarded as guardians of the crops.[9]

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[1] Sic. Flacc. 141.

[2] *Fasti*, ii. 639 ff.

[3] *Ib.* 679 ff.; for the Terminus stone in the Capitoline temple, possibly an old boundary-stone, see W. W. Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, p. 326 f.

[4] Dulaure, *op. cit.* p. 136.

[5] For the inscriptions on boundary-stones see Müller, *op. cit.* 697 f.

[6] See details in T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 822; W. A. Hunter, *Roman Law*⁵, London, 1897, p. 249 f.

[7] Westermarck, *MI* ii. 68 f.

[8] *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 23; cf. iv. 3.

[9] Amm. Marc. XVIII. ii. 15.

[10] *Germ.* 26.

[11] *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 22.

[12] See J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*³, Göttingen, 1881, pp. 541–548; Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, ii. 30 ff., 'Deutsche Grenzalterthümer'; H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1887, i. 115; K. Simrock, *Handbuch der deutsch. Myth.*², Bonn, 1864, p. 406 f.; D. W. Ross, *Early Hist. of Land-Holding among the Germans*, London, 1883, p. 12 f.; Schrader, p. 307; E. de Laveleye, *Primitive Property*, Eng. tr., London, 1878, pp. 110, 119, 224, 284; G. W. Dasent, *Story of Burnt Njal*, Edinburgh, 1861, i. pp. xxxvii, xlii; B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, London, 1851, ii. 97, 202, 211.

[13] *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 17.

[1] *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, Dublin, 1865–1901, iv. 143 f.; cf. iii. 149, vi. 102.

[2] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, ed. A. Owen. London, 1841, ii. 41, 403; cf. 148 ff.

[3] i. 455, ii. 523.

[4] i. 554, ii. 96, 523.

[5] i. 765.

[6] i. 166, 455, 528, ii. 77.

[7] *NR* ii. 224–226, 468; H. Beuchat, *Manuel d'arch. américaine*, Paris, 1912, p. 311; Letourneau, *Property*, p. 181 f.

[8] W. H. Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, ed. London, 1890, p. 21 f

[9] Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, ii. 54.

[10] J. Merolla da Sorrenta, in J. Pinkerton, *Voyages*, London, 1808–14, xvi. 238.

When gods of boundaries were evolved, the curse was visited by them directly, not through the stones, etc., which were now merely regarded as sacred to them.

5. Beating the bounds.—The custom of riding the marches, or beating the bounds,[10] is of ancient origin. Its purpose was to make sure that the bounds and marks were not tampered with, to restore them when displaced, and also to establish them in the memory of the folk. It occurred annually, or every seven years, and in Christian times usually at Rogation-tide or Whitsuntide, Easter, or May-day. Probably the older processions of divine images for the fertility of the land were connected with these, if the procession went round the boundaries (see CROSS-ROADS, § 3). Though going round the bounds had a religious character—in mediæval times the clergy accompanied it with cross, banners, and bells, and gospels or passages from the lives of saints were read at halting-places, *e.g.* where a cross stood, or an altar was erected near a boundary-stone and mass was said and prayer made for the fruits of the earth—there was also a good deal of merriment, eating, and drinking, and there were numerous customs observed in each place. That of striking some of the younger folk against the landmarks, whipping them, throwing them into a boundary-stream, etc., is well known, and had the intention of fixing the parish or manorial boundaries in their minds. The custom is still in existence in Russia and in many parts of Germany, and has been revived in England in many parishes. In Scotland it occurs at Lanark ('riding the marches'), and at Hawick and Selkirk ('common-riding').[11] In England, after the Reformation, while much of the mediæval ceremonial was dropped, the religious character of the procession was not lost. According to the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, at the stopping-places the curate had to admonish the people to give God thanks, the 104th Psalm was said, and the passages regarding the removal of landmarks were read (Dt 19^{14} etc.). These customs are referred to in contemporary writings.[1] They correspond to the processions round the fields and lands on the Roman Ambarvalia in May for the averting of disease and blight, an object doubtless also sought in beating the bounds, as it still is in the processions round the fields in Italy in Rogation-week.[2] The boundaries were also renewed at the Ambarvalia, and there may have been a beating of the bounds of each *curia* at the Fornacalia.[3]

6. Superstitions regarding landmarks.—Besides the general belief that to remove a landmark is dangerous, other superstitions are sporadically connected with them. In Teutonic and Scandinavian lands the Jack o' Lantern is the ghost of a former remover of landmarks who now haunts them and the boundary-lines. In popular Hindu belief the ghost of a former proprietor will not allow people of another village to encroach with impunity on a boundary. *Bhūts* also haunt boundaries, and a stream of liquor is poured round these by the priest.[4] In S. India sorceresses are believed to ride round boundaries of seven villages by night on a tiger.[5] In the Isle of Man witches were believed to practise their evil deeds at the meetings of three boundaries or at cross-roads.[6] In the Hebrides blight could be removed from cattle by bringing the carcass of one of them near a boundary-stream; and water from such a stream was used with silver to remove the curse of the evil eye.[7]

Myths or folk-tales are often told regarding existing landmarks or boundaries and their origin. Where megalithic blocks have been utilized as landmarks, they are thought to have been placed there by a saint or by conquerors of the land.[8] There are legends regarding the assigning of specific boundaries in cases of former disputes, as at Uri and Glaris in Switzerland, and in Brittany.[9] The Mikirs have a myth relating how the gods marked the limits of their creative work by setting up four posts to be the boundaries of the world.[10]

7. Landmarks other than boundary-marks.—In different parts of the world heaps of stones, unconnected with boundaries, form a kind of landmark where specific acts are performed by the passer-by, most usually that of adding a stone to the heap.

(*a*) The *ἑρμαῖος λόφος* in Greece, connected with the cult of Hermes, was a heap of stones marking roads, and to it each wayfarer added a stone. Later myth found its origin in the heap of stones formed when Hermes was stoned.

Such heaps are found among many savage peoples, as well as the custom of adding a stone, or saying a prayer, or making an offering at them.[11] Strabo describes such heaps of stones on roads in Egypt.[12] They are common in Tibet on the tops of passes, where they have been erected by devotees, and each passer-by adds a stone for good fortune.[13] They are found among the Kirghiz in similar positions and where a Muhammadan saint has been buried, but also elsewhere, and offerings of all kinds are made at them.[1] In the Himālaya region they are venerated by Hindus, Buddhists, and Muhammadans, and offerings are made at them.[2] Heaps of stones were known among the Hebrews (Pr 26^8 RV), and were also used to mark burial-places (Jos 7^{26} 8^{29}, 2 S 18^{17})—a custom common elsewhere.[3] They are well known all over the Semitic region. In N. Africa they are found on passes, often where the tomb of a saint is first seen, or they are regarded as the tomb. Others are commemorative, or mark routes. To the former, and to those which mark where a man has been killed, the passer-by adds a stone.[4] In the W. Highlands a cairn is erected where a suicide or sudden death has taken place out-of-doors, but in earlier times the cairn was erected as a burial-mound, and each passer-by added a stone. Hence the saying: 'I will add a stone to your cairn.'[5]

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[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, London, 1890, p. 91 f.

[2] J. H. Weeks, *JRAI* xxxix. [1909] 129; for similar customs among the Washambala see Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 263.

[3] C. G. Seligmann, *Melanesians of Brit. New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 136 ff.; cf. 576 f.; for similar tabu signs among the Banks' Islanders see Codrington, *op. cit.* pp. 77, 82, 216.

[4] T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1858, i. 249.

[5] G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, do. 1861, p. 295.

[6] Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, pp. 165–169.

[7] A. van Gennep, *Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar*, Paris, 1904, p. 184 f.

[8] F. L. de Gomara, in *Bibl. de autores españoles*, Madrid, 1852, xxii. 206; C. F. P. von Martius, *op. cit.* p. 37 f.

[9] S. Hislop, cited in Tylor, *PC*^{3}, London, 1891, ii. 164; for many other examples, as also of the tabu as curse, see J. G. Frazer, *Psyche's Task*, London, 1909, p. 17 ff.; *MI* ii. 62 ff.

[10] Gr. *περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν*; M. Lat. *circumducere terminos, circuire fines* or *marcham, cavallicare marcham*; Germanic and Anglo-Sax. *lantleita, marchgang, markleita, grenzbegang, ymbgang*; O. Norse *merkja ganga*; Danish *markegang, gjerdegang.*

[11] For the last see A. and J. Lang, *Highways and Byways on the Scottish Border*, London, 1913, p. 270.

[1] *e.g.*, E. Grindal, *Remains*, Cambridge, 1843, pp. 141, 241; J. Whitgift, *Works* (Parker Soc.), do. 1851–53, iii. 277 f.; G. Herbert, *Country Parson*, London, 1652, p. 157; I. Walton, *Lives of Hooker*, etc., Oxford, 1805.

[2] Fowler, *op. cit.* pp. 114, 126, 304; Pliny, *HN* xviii. 8.

[3] For the custom in Germany see Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, ii. 61 ff.; W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*^{2}, Berlin, 1904, p. 397 f.; Laveleye, *op. cit.* p. 119 f.; in Russia, D. Mackenzie Wallace, *Russia*, London, 1877, p. 366 f.; in England, J. Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, do. 1870, i. 110 ff.; R. Chambers, *Book of Days*, do. 1863, i. 582 ff.; *FLJ* v. [1887] 30 f.

[4] *PR*^{2} ii. 182, 290 f.

[5] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* p. 322.

[6] J. Rhŷs, *FL* ii. [1891] 292.

[7] A. Goodrich-Freer, *FL* x. [1899] 278.

[8] P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de France*, iv. (Paris, 1907) 15.

[9] Laveleye, p. 75; Sébillot, i. [1904] 371.

[10] E. Stack, *The Mikirs*, London, 1908, p. 70.

[11] G. M. Theal, *Kaffir Folk-lore*, do. 1882, p. 19 (stone added for good fortune); E. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos*, Paris, 1885, p. 198 (prayer offered); other instances in *GB*^{2} iii. 11 ff., and in Frazer's tr. of Pausanias, London, 1898, iv. 227.

[12] xvii. (p. 818).

[13] A. H. S. Landor, *In the Forbidden Land*, London, 1898, i. 185.

Although the added stone is an offering or for good luck and the like, it is not improbable that its primary intention, whatever the origin of the cairn may have been, was that of a rite of riddance of danger or the contagion of evil.[6]

(*b*) In many parts of the world stone circles serve a variety of purposes, and must form conspicuous landmarks. The circles dating from pre-historic times and found in large numbers in Great Britain and elsewhere—*e.g.*, N. Africa, Syria, India, etc.—are generally burial-sites.[7] In the Cross River district circles of stones carved in human form occur, and are said to be deities.[8] Among the S. Massim stone circles mark the places where the men of the village meet for talk, and circles called *gahana* were used for cannibal feasts.[9] Circles also occur in Gambia[10] and in Melanesia.[11]

(*c*) In many cases stones represent divinities, or a regular cult is paid to sacred stones.[12] These stones are landmarks in the sense of being rallying-places for worship.

(*d*) The great megalithic monuments (apart from circles) which are found in Europe, Asia, and Africa—menhirs, alignments, dolmens, etc., set up as memorials of events, as marking burial-places, or the scene of a slaying (*e.g.*, among the Garos and the Todas)[13]—whether the work of one or of many races,[14] must have been noticeable landmarks through the ages, and many curious superstitions show the reverence in which they were held.

(*e*) Burial mounds (*e.g.*, the tumuli of prehistoric times, Babylonian burial-mounds, the Hindu *dāgoba* or *stūpa*), tombs (*e.g.*, the pyramids), monuments of all kinds, temples, churches, and the like, standing out conspicuously from the surrounding landscape, often form landmarks or guides to travellers.

(*f*) Among lower races rocks, trees, and the like often mark the scene of traditional or mythic events—*e.g.*, among the Arunta, where they mark events of the Alcheringa (*q.v.*) period,[15] or in Guiana, where engravings on conspicuous rock faces may commemorate striking events.[16] Such engraved rocks are also common over the Semitic area, and act as landmarks.

LITERATURE.—This is given throughout the article.

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[1] Sven Hedin, *Through Asia*, London, 1898, i. 278.

[2] *42nd Rep. of Brit. Assoc.*, do. 1873, p. 194 f.

[3] See Bérenger-Féraud, *op. cit.* ii. 126 ff., for several instances; Ellis, *op. cit.* i. 859; cf. the burial cairns surviving from prehistoric times.

[4] Doutté, *op. cit.* p. 420 ff.

[5] Cf. *FLJ* vi. [1888] 63 (Ireland); see also F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 267 ff.; R. Andree, *Ethnograph. Parallelen und Vergleiche*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 46 f.

[6] See Frazer and Doutté, *locc. citt.*, and cf. § 2 for the custom among the Bavili.

[7] T. E. Peet, *Rough Stone Monuments and their Builders*, London, 1912; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, *passim*.

[8] C. Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, London, 1905, p. 268 ff.

[9] Seligmann, *Melanesians*, pp. 464, 556.

[10] *Man*, 1903, no. 93.

[11] Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 181.

[12] See STONES; J. Lubbock, *Origin of Civilisation*^{6}, p. 320 ff.; Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 182; A. Playfair, *The Garos*, London, 1909, p. 96 (sacrificial stones at the entrance to every village).

[13] Playfair, p. 97; Rivers, p. 439.

[14] On this question see Peet, *op. cit.* p. 143 ff., and the papers by him and G. Elliot Smith in *Rep. of Brit. Assoc.*, 1913.

[15] Spencer-Gillen^a, pp. 391, 427.

[16] E. F. im Thurn, *op. cit.* p. 406 f.

LAOS.—1. Introductory.—French Laos, which embraces only about a third of Laos proper (Muong Lao), was constituted by the treaty concluded between France and Siam in 1893. It is bounded on the N. by China, on the E. by Tongking, on the S. by Cambodia, and on the W. by the Mekong, which separates it from the Shan and Burman States occupied by Britain, and from Siamese Laos. French Laos is inhabited by the Thai race, the most important group of whom are called Laotians; and by the half-civilized tribes called Mois by the Annamese, Phnôngs by the Cambodians, and Khās by the Laotians (for these tribes see art. INDO-CHINA).

The Laotians are akin to the Thais of S. Tongking and the Siamese. Their origin and history are very obscure. Their royal chronicles, the data of which are often not above suspicion, mention a first king of Laos who came from India, another who came from Cambodia, then four Khā kings, and, finally, the intrusion and decisive seizure by the Laotians, who claimed to have come from the valley of Nam-hou. These immigrants, or conquerors, acquired several independent principalities, the two greatest of which seem to have been the kingdoms of Vien-chang and Luang-Prabang. Constantly at war, and attacked at the same time by Siam and Cambodia, they led a troubled and precarious life. In the 19th cent. the Siamese destroyed the kingdom of Vien-chang in order to annex it, and left only a nominal independence to the kingdom of Luang-Prabang, which, continuing in the same status under the French, is to-day the centre of the Laotian race.

2. Habitat.—The Laotians settled by preference along the river-banks and in the neighbourhood of rice-plains. They built huts on piles 5 to 6 ft. high, the huts measuring 20 to 40 ft. by 12 to 20 ft. The door, which nearly always faces the east, and to which they mount by a ladder, has a sort of balcony-verandah in front of it. The roof is made of palm-leaves, straw, or bamboo tiles. The furniture consists of kitchen utensils, tables, mattresses, mats, and chests for keeping clothes. Under the house are the weaving-loom, the domestic animals, and the poultry-yard; a little shelter at the side serves as a kitchen; the rice-granary is quite close, and always built on piles for fear of rodents.

3. Appearance and character.—The Laotians are well endowed as regards physical type; they have well-proportioned figures, and frank, open faces; and the young women especially have a graceful, supple carriage. They are of a lively and often refined intellect, with a certain aptitude for poetry; they are extremely pleasant and sociable, gay and happy-go-lucky, but extraordinarily indolent and sensual. The Laotian's indolence is a matter both of principle and of temperament: once he has got the means of living and amusing himself, he considers every kind of exertion not only useless but blameworthy. It is no use to look to him for the economic and intellectual transformation of Indo-China. He is a good builder, but a mediocre agriculturalist, often depending on hired labourers or slaves to work his rice-plantations; it is from trade and hawking principally that he makes his living. He is the usual intermediary between the 'savages' and the more civilized races. For six months out of twelve the Laotian does nothing—he does not even hunt or fish. The women work much harder: it is they who sow, prick, reprick, and harvest the rice, weave clothing, fetch water and wood, pound the rice, and, in addition to the multitudinous cares of housekeeping, manage the farm-yard.

4. Religious beliefs.—The Laotians, like the Cambodians, profess Sinhalese Buddhism. Although their pagodas are well supported and their bonzes well paid, their worship seems less fervent, and the morals of their clergy much less pure, than is the case in Cambodia. The bonzes mix freely with the laity in the festivals, eat and joke with them, smoke in public, breathe with impunity the flowers that abound in all Laotian solemnities, sometimes drink fermented liquors, accept objects directly from the hands of women, and even go to cut wood with them. They are shown less respect and are also granted more indulgence in their failings: for fornication, they are expelled from the pagoda, sentenced to pay a fine, and can then marry their accomplice. In Cambodia, the same offence would entail death or penal servitude for life.

The Laotians are Buddhists by tradition; but their most devoted worship is given to the good or bad spirits (*phi*), who animate all objects and beings, and preside over all the actions of human life. Hence spring innumerable beliefs and rites which have nothing in common with Buddhism.

When a man is building a house in Laos, he must fasten flowers, banana-shoots, and sugar-canes to the pillars bounding the part that is to be the sleeping-apartment, and also put a spinning-wheel and some threads of cotton at the pillars beside the foot of the bed, and a reel and some threads of silk at those beside its head. Before settling down in his house the proprietor invokes the deities with offerings and scented sticks. When a Laotian is going to work a rice-plantation, before he traces the first furrow and after he has his buffaloes yoked, he makes libations of lustral water, and offers a hen's egg, a tray of sweetmeats, and two betel-pellets to the spirits protecting the soil.

At the transplanting of the rice, he erects a little trestle in the middle of his field to serve as an altar; this remains until the close of the harvest. On this trestle he lays a boiled chicken, some cakes, and four betel-pellets, and plants seven stems in front of it; then, after a libation of alcohol, he invokes the deities as follows: 'On this propitious day I transplant my rice. Make it grow in abundance and full of grain, let it not be dried up, let it not wither away as it stands.' When the rice is matured, he decorticates a little of it to offer to the deities in order that they may protect the harvest from rodents. When the harvest is gathered and the rice put in stacks, the Laotian sets up a pole at the top of the stacks, fastening on the end of the pole the seven stems that had been planted in front of the trestle. A sacrifice is also made to the threshing-floor on which the rice has been trodden. Another more solemn sacrifice is made before storing the rice in the granary: the *phi* receive an offering of alcohol, rice, various dishes, and cakes, which the invited relatives and friends consume afterwards, tying their wrists together with cotton threads.

Like the Cambodians, the Laotians believe in the existence of a water-spirit Nöok (cf. Annamese, *nu'ớ'c*, 'water'), a huge water-dragon, with a human head according to some, a cock's or ox's head according to others, which watches for all who cross the water, makes them fall, paralyzes their movements, and, after sucking their blood, throws them up on the shore some days after, bloodless and lifeless. Even elephants cannot resist it unless the elephant-driver himself gives them a wound, the blood of which appeases the dragon. Before any dangerous voyage, the Laotians sacrifice a live hen or goat to Nöok. They also sacrifice 'to the boat-heads,' or spirits of the junks (*ya néang*). Laotian sailors preserve a strict silence in presence of a cataract or waterfall: any cry, crack, gunshot, or sound of an instrument would offend the spirit by appearing to rival its voice.

In the regions of *bo*, or salt-wells, the business of extracting the salt is preceded every year by a ceremony which brings all the salt-makers of the *bo* together to get permission from the tutelary deity to descend into the wells. They sacrifice a prescribed animal—a pig, a tortoise, or a buffalo, according to the year. Besides this, the workers are bound to certain abstinences: they must wear no head-dress, must not put on a head-band, must not protect themselves beneath parasol or umbrella; they must avoid all sexual relations; and, although they may move about and work in the *bo*, they are forbidden, as, indeed, is everybody, to 'cut' the *bo*, *i.e.* to cross it on foot, in a carriage, or on horseback. Any infringement of these rules is punished by a fine of a flask of brandy and an animal of the kind sacrificed at the beginning of the year. These offerings are given to a woman of the next village who has declared herself, according to certain regulations, possessed by the spirit of the *bo*, and who is the incarnation of its divinity. In certain districts, if a stranger dressed in red or black visits the *bo*, the spirit of the well is deeply offended, and would stop the flow of water if it was not appeased by a certain stated sacrifice. Because of an analogous belief the metal-workers make an annual offering at the beginning of their smelting operations to Phraḥ Bisnukar (=Skr. Viśvakarman), patron of artisans, of a woman's *langūti*, a hair kerchief, a comb, a bracelet, a boiled chicken, some alcohol, candles, and scented sticks.

Hunters sacrifice to their nooses and their nets. As a rule, if they want to be successful they must avoid talking among themselves, borrowing from each other, holding a pot, or walking over their weapons.

The Laotians not only believe in the spirits of natural forces, but they dread ghosts and reckon among the worst of evil spirits women who have died in child-birth, still-born children, and individuals who have died a violent death—who have been drowned, burned, assassinated, have committed suicide, or have been accidentally killed or devoured by wild animals.

5. **Magic and sorcery.**—Like all Indo-Chinese, the Laotians believe in magic and sorcerers. These sorcerers may be male (*phi kaḥ*) or female (*phi pop*). Their power comes to them by the direct or hereditary possession of a spirit, or else by initiation into magic. They also believe in tigress-women (the *smĕr* of the Cambodians [see CAMBODIA, vol. iii. p. 158^{a}]), in spells and love-charms (lip-salve with wax, red jasmine flower), in incantations and amulets. In spite of the wonderful gentleness of the race, sorcerers who, voluntarily or involuntarily, have incurred the charge of witchcraft are sometimes put to death by the terrified people. They combine magic and medicine, like nearly all the Indo-Chinese, and, except for certain harmless and well-known ailments which alone are put into the hands of the doctor, and cholera and small-pox, which are too well known to be attributed to the ill-will of an individual, all serious or puzzling illnesses are the work of witchcraft, and the one thing that they require is the intervention of a witch-doctor.

6. **Festivals.**—The Laotians are even fonder of festivals than of idleness, and they bring to these rejoicings the sensual gaiety which is their characteristic. The profusion of flowers, sky-rockets, and kites is remarkable. We find in Laos all the great Buddhist solemnities of Cambodia and Siam: New-Year festivals which last seven days; hill-festivals; festivals for the opening and closing of the ecclesiastical retreat, or *vosa*; festivals for reunion with ancestors; a festival with great regattas at the end of the rainy season; the festival of flowers which a village offers to the pagodas of another village; the great annual festival of the offering of presents to the bonzes; and the occasional festivals at the ordination of bonzes.

7. **Marriage customs.**—The relations of the sexes before marriage are perhaps the most characteristic peculiarity of this sensual race. Boys and girls associate with absolute freedom; they walk together, and provoke each other to poetical combat, the foundation of which is a vivacity which is witty and licentious rather than sentimental. On moonlight nights, along the banks of the river, a band of women walk about in the evening singing improvised couplets to which a band of men, following at a respectful distance, reply. The Laotian girl is not responsible to any one for an account of her virginity. Her parents and public opinion seem to require no account from her, but she is protected by the *peng huhön*, 'sale, conviction for the advantage of the house,' a domestic law which requires a settled fine for every attempt against her person of which the girl complains. In spite of their loose customs, the Laotian girls usually marry between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. As in Cambodia, marriage consists in the request made by intermediaries on the part of the youth to the girl's parents; the regulation betrothal presents; an examination of the horoscopes of the future bride and bridegroom to see that the projected union is not unfavourable; the official betrothal, which cannot be wilfully broken without the penalty of the law; the dowry, or 'bride-price,' provided by the bridegroom; and the wedding with the expenses all paid by him. The dowry varies, of course, with the station and charms of the bride and the means of the suitor, but it is not honourable for a man to marry without offering a dowry for the woman of his choice. A marriage often costs the man who contracts it from 1200 to 1500 francs. The names

and ages of the couple, those of their parents, and the money and presents given on the occasion of the wedding are put in writing, and this constitutes a sort of marriage contract. The marriage-ceremony includes a rich banquet, with oblations to ancestors, the passing of cotton threads over the left wrist of the bridegroom and the right wrist of the bride, and the drinking of a mouthful of alcohol by both of them from the same cup. Next day it is repeated identically at the house of the bridegroom's parents. At Luang-Prabang the question of dowry and presents is discussed directly by the girl and the young man. The new couple usually live near the girl's parents, sometimes with them; in the latter case, the dowry to be given by the youth is reduced because of the work that the young couple will do.

Polygamy exists in Laos, but is practised only by the wealthy. Divorce is common and easy; it takes place almost always by mutual consent, the wife claiming her own personal belongings and the share of the acquisitions after marriage which comes to her by right, and the husband not interfering unless she unlawfully carries off everything. The woman has full right to divorce if her husband leaves her for three years without news of him.

Adultery, which is rare, is punished by death in theory, in practice by a fine paid by the wife and her lover to the husband.

8. Disposal of the dead.—The Laotians generally burn their dead; only the poor bury them. Before the French occupation women dying in child-birth and persons dying a violent death or from an internal complaint used to be abandoned on a current of water; but to-day only a pretence of this performance is gone through, and they are buried. Cremation takes place some days, or some months, or even a whole year after the death, according to the means of the heirs. In cases of a long interval, the corpse is often buried until the appointed ceremony; among the rich, it is put in a coffin hermetically sealed except for a small opening through which a long bamboo tube carries the putrid vapours beyond the roof; this coffin is placed under a special canopy on a rich catafalque, and the bonzes stand round it to pray in turn. During the whole time that the coffin is exposed there are friends and relatives in abundance at the house of the deceased, in holiday garb and provided with musical instruments. Lengthy banquets take place, with dances, songs, games, dramatic performances, etc. The guests must, in fact, cheer the spirit of the dead man as much as possible and prevent his heirs from abandoning themselves to a grief both useless and dangerous. This accounts for the very joyous character of Laotian funerals. The placing on the pyre and the cremation are performed as in Cambodia (see CAMBODIA, 9 (5)). When it is the cremation of an important personage, the fire for lighting the pile, which used to be provided by the court of Bangkok in the form of a tinder-box, comes to-day from Hanoï from the French Governor-General of Indo-China, under the form of an electric spark.

9. Political and administrative organization.—Laos was once divided into independent principalities, the most important of which were the kingdom of Vien-chang (now demolished) and the kingdom of Luang-Prabang. France has preserved these divisions as provinces, each under the control of one of her envoys. Each principality, or *muong*, was administered by a *chao*, or king, under whom came an *upahat*, then a *latsabong* and a *latsabut*. The title of king has been preserved by the French Government only in the single case of the king of Luang-Prabang, but the *upahats*, *latsabong*, and *latsabuts* have been retained. These dignified offices are the privilege of a hereditary nobility, who make recruits by election under the control of the protecting Power. These functions generally pass from father to son. All the other offices may be filled by the common people. As in Cambodia, the Laotian functionaries 'drink the oath water' before entering on the exercise of their duties. When a mandarin sends a delegate to another province, he generally gives him a cane with an ivory or copper handle, which serves him as a passport. Judgment in serious affairs is administered in the capital of the *muong*, or provinces; the decisions may be revised by the *chao*. Laos is regulated by the codes and customs of Vien-chang as much as by those of Luang-Prabang. This code of laws is clear and well-arranged, and evidently related to the laws of Cambodia. It is among the most lenient of Asiatic codes. The death penalty is rare, extenuating circumstances being admitted; *e.g.*, theft of food or fruit in case of dire necessity is sometimes, according to the necessity, even pardoned. The French Power has made only slight modifications in the code in order to further the progress of Laos and foster peace in its borders.

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LAPPS.

LAPPS.—The religious conceptions of the Lapps come down to us from various periods. As in the religions of other Arctic hunting peoples, the primitive belief was a worship of the dead and the allied bear-worship.

1. Worship of the dead.—The Lapps worshipped their deceased relatives as guardian spirits. They believed that those spirits stood in the closest relation to their surviving kindred and protected them and their children from calamities, assisted them on their hunting and fishing expeditions, and watched over their reindeer in the forests. Moreover, if for any reason the dead were dissatisfied, they could injure their kinsmen—*e.g.*, by afflicting them with sickness. Alongside of the primitive worship of the dead there might also be found a more developed ancestor-worship, evident traces of which appear in sacrifices made by a certain family or clan in their special holy place. As a result of the different conditions under which the Lapps lived, the sacrificial places of the family or clan were situated on high mountains or on the shores or islands of lakes rich in fish. Such holy places (*passe*) were recognized by figures in stone or wood (*seide*). We know little about the shape of the wooden figures; but the stone figures, many examples of which have been preserved until the present day, are either natural rocks or strangely shaped blocks, often in the form of a bird. The sagas tell us that the figures had life, and originally were men turned into stone. In the Lapp districts of Pite and Lule, these figures are called by a special Swedish name, *storjunkare* ('grand younkers').

In the religion of the Lapps, even in its most primitive forms, an element of foreign influence can be traced. The belief of the Scandinavian Lapps, that the dead took up their quarters in the mountains, where they had the same occupations and lived under the same kind of conditions as in their previous life, recalls the conception of the Norsemen, that the dead continued their post-mortem life within the mountains; and the belief that the dead roamed about at Yule (*joulo-gadze* = 'Yule train') under the guidance of *Struotta-galles* ('the man of Yule') or *Joulo-herra* ('the

Lord of Yule') is Scandinavian. To the spirits roaming about at Yule the Lapps offered food in a boat-shaped birch-bark basket which was placed on a tree. The word *saivo* may also be foreign. In the language of the more southerly Lapps it means both a sacred mountain and a subterranean spirit living in it. In the latter sense they spoke also of *Saivo-olmai* ('the *saivo* man') and of *Saivo-neida* ('the *saivo* maid'). The later conception, that the dead dwelt together in one subterranean abode, *jabme-aibmo* ('the world of the dead') or *mubbe-aibmo* ('the other world'), under the authority of *Jabmi-akko* ('the old woman of the dead'), corresponds to the Scandinavian conception of Hel, in the sense both of the kingdom of the dead and of a being ruling there. During the Roman Catholic period *jabme-aibmo* was transformed into an intermediate state, from which the dead, according to their deeds, proceeded either to *radien-aibmo* ('the ruler's world'), which corresponded to heaven in the Christian sense, or to *Ruto-aibmo* ('the world of Ruto'), where the dreaded blue-robed Ruto reigned and plagued men and beasts with sickness. He was sometimes called *Fuodno* ('the Evil One'). As an offering to him it was usual to bury a horse, on which he could ride away, and by the side of the horse the wooden image of a man. Some scholars believe that in Ruto they can recognize Odin, the Scandinavian god of death, who was likewise clad in blue and mounted on a horse. In any case the horse, as a victim of sacrifice, proves that such an offering cannot be of Lapp origin. The *kekri* or *keyri* ('spectre,' 'ghost') of the Finns has passed over to the *kovrre* or *kevrre* of the Russian Lapps.

2. **Bear-worship.**—Of all the ceremonies of the Lapps perhaps the most interesting is bear-worship, which comes down from the early hunting stage. To the Lapps, as to many other nature-folk, the object of their hunting was in a certain degree sacred. Both in hunting and in fishing the men alone took part, and the booty had to be carried into the *kåta* (the everyday tent) by a private door (*possjo*) at the back of the tent. In general they had to see that the bones were kept and buried, in order that the slain animal might come to life again. Nothing was of more importance than the careful observance of this rule in the case of the largest of the forest animals, the bear. Women might not be present at the bear-feast; but they were permitted to eat bear flesh in the *kåta*, only with a splinter of wood, and through a brass ring which was held in front of the mouth. The men alone might consume the heart of the animal (*bise bierga*, 'the sacred flesh'). There were all kinds of magical hunting usages associated with the bear ceremonies. It was the custom, *e.g.*, when the hunters came back from the forest, for the wives to salute their husbands by spitting the juice of chewed alder-bark in their faces, and for a certain period after a successful hunt a man was not permitted to have intercourse with his wife. It is worth mention that a woman might not drive a reindeer that had drawn a bear home from the forest, nor might the bear be taken home on a path which any woman had trodden. Of the utmost importance, too, was the burial of the bear; all its bones were carefully collected and arranged in their natural position in the grave.

3. **Tutelary spirits.**—There is some doubt as to whether the tutelary spirits of the Lapps were originally Lappish. The forest-spirit among the Norse Lapps, to whom attention should first be directed, was *Leib-olmai* ('the alder-man'), who ruled over all wild animals; but he was especially the tutelary spirit of the bear. To him, among other things, offerings of bows and arrows were made. This being was known only in a very restricted region, and he appears occasionally depicted on the Lapp drum in the shape of a bear—from which one may conclude that his origin may be assigned to the bear-worship itself. The name also points to this conclusion; for the juice of the alder-bark played an important part in the bear-hunting ceremonies. *Gidne* reminds us of the Scandinavian forest-maiden, a charmingly beautiful creature, who could be recognized by her long tail. From the neighbouring lands spring also *Gufittar* (Scandinavian *Go*(*d*)*vetter*, 'good being') and *Ulda* (Huldra) of the western Lapps. We can compare *Virku-akka* (*virka* = 'trap') of the Finnish Lapps with *Virankannos* of the Finns, and the Russian Lapps' *Tavaj* with *Tapio* of the Finns. There is also mention of a female, *Tava-ajk* (*tava* = 'mother'). The Russian Lapps had a spirit, *Miehts-chozjin* ('the master of the wood'), who shrieked and misled people in the forest; he seems to have come over from the Russians. A similar woodland spirit was *Vare-jielle* ('the one who lives in the woods'). A female divinity among the eastern Lapps was *Luot-chozjik* ('the reindeer guardian'), who looked after the reindeer while they roamed the forests untended during the summer. She did not, however, protect them from men. *Pots-chozjin* ('the reindeer master') had the same task of caring for the reindeer.

The water-spirit of the southern Lapps was *Tshatse-olmai* ('the water man'), to whom offerings were made in order that he might not cause any damage when men were journeying by water, or that he might drive fish into the nets of the fishers. A corresponding spirit among the Russian Lapps was *Tshadze-jielle* ('the one who lives in the water'), the sight of whom predicted disaster. A female deity in the western Lapp district was *Tshatse-neida* ('the water nymph'), who corresponded to the Scandinavian *Sjöjungfru* ('Lady of the Sea'); and *Tshadze-ienne* ('the water mother') of the eastern district, who was usually seen sitting on a rock, combing her hair, and who enticed people to come to her, seems to be identical with the Russian *rusalka*. In the sea lived *Akkruva* or *Avfruvva* (Scandinavian *Haffru*, 'mermaid'), who up to the hips had the body of a fish and above that the body of a girl, and there were water-spirits who predicted misfortune, such as *Nekke* ('nixie') and *Ravgga* (Norwegian *draug*) or *Tshatse-ravgga* ('water-spirit'), the spirit of a drowned person. The water giant *Vessedursses* was borrowed from the Finns. The Lapps called the tutelary spirits connected with certain districts by a common designation, *haldde*, borrowed from the Finnish *haltia* ('ruling').

The home also had a *haldde*. The Russian Lapps gave this spirit the names *Kyöde-jielle* ('the one who lives in the *kåta*') and *Pört-chozjin* ('the master of the kiln'); the latter, who corresponded to the Russian *domovoy*, lived in the house by the hearth, and not, like the original Finno-Ugrian domestic deities, in the back part of the *kåta*; this part was also deemed sacred by the Lapps, and no woman set foot on it. They spoke of a deity living there, *Possjo-akka* ('the old woman of Possjo'). The Scandinavian Lapps had, in addition, some borrowed domestic deities, such as *Tonto* ('the site') and *Smiera-gatto* ('the butter cat,' corresponding to the Scandinavian *Bära*, which stole butter for its master).

4. **Nature-gods.**—In addition to the dead and the spirits derived from the deceased, the Lapps had powerful nature-gods whom they worshipped. On the drums of the southern type the sun (*Beive*) occupies a very prominent place. But sun-worship was not originally Lappish, as is very evident from the oblations made by the Lapps. Like the Scandinavians, they offered white animals to the sun.

The symbol of the sun for sacrificial purposes was a ring. Scandinavian influence can also be traced in the mid-summer offering of the Lapps, viz. porridge set out in honour of the sun. A personification of the sun was *Beive-neida* ('the sun maiden'), and the moon (*Manno*), which in winter is an important light-giver in Lapland, seems also to have been worshipped. The Yule moon, *bisse-manno* ('the holy moon'), was specially dangerous, possibly because the dead were then free to roam. When the new moon appeared, people had to avoid all noise; the women were not even allowed to spin in the *kâta*. A brass ring was placed in the chimney for the moon. Attention was also paid to *kuova-manno* (the joy month, February), a borrowing from a Scandinavian source. The Northern lights—*aurora borealis*—were regarded as living beings; and these lights were not to be irritated by noises. Among the Russian Lapps there is a tradition that the Northern lights are the evil spirits of dead men. The thunder was thought to be a living being, *Diermes* or *Tiermes*; but it is uncertain whether the Lapps made offerings to him before they came in contact with tillers of the soil. At a later period the thunder-god was represented exactly like Thor and was called by his name, *Toragalles* ('old man Thor') or *Torat-uros* ('champion Thor'). He was supposed to be an old man (*Aija*) who killed goblins with a hammer; and his sacrificial symbol was a hammer held in his hand. From foreign sources also was derived the thunder-god's wife, *Akko* ('the old woman'), or, as she is sometimes called, *Ravdna* (*Rauni* of the Finns), to whom the rowan-tree was sacred; indeed, in her name may be recognized the Icelandic *reynir*, 'rowan.'

By the side of the thunder-god on the Lapp drum may also be seen depicted another Scandinavian deity, viz. the god of fertility, whom the Lapps called *Väralden-olmai* ('the world man'). He is pictured with a mattock in his hand, which proves, better than anything else, his southern origin. When the Lapps made offerings to him, they fastened to his sacrificial symbol a reindeer stag's genitals, to induce him to increase the reindeer herd. In addition to animal sacrifices, they offered in his honour agricultural implements, mattocks, and spades. All these features of the cult point to the Scandinavian Freyr, who was also called *Veraldar-goð* ('the god of the world'). At the sacrificial altars of Väralden-olmai, a 'world's pillar,' blood-besprinkled, was set up, a pillar with which he was to support the world. This was another borrowing from the Scandinavians, and it is seen in their sacred high-seat pillars, and in the sacred pillar (*irminsul*) of the early Saxons.

There was a third important Scandinavian nature-god whom the Lapps worshipped, viz. *Biegga-galles* ('the old man of the wind'), or *Bjegg-olmai* ('the wind man'), who drove out the wind with a club, and scooped it in again with a shovel when it had stormed enough. To this deity, who was also known in Finnish Lappmark, they offered, among other things, small boats. In the north he had a name, *Ilmaris*, borrowed from the Finnish *Ilmarinen*, one of the heroes of the *Kalevala*. Like the Ilmarinen of the Finns, Bjegg-olmai showed features which were most certainly derived from the Scandinavian *Njorðr*. In like manner the Lapp method of conjuring forth wind and storm, by undoing three magic knots, is of Scandinavian origin. From their agricultural neighbours the southern Lapps may have acquired *Jisen-olmai* ('the hoar-frost man') and *Rana-neida* (significance of *Rana* unknown), the former being a frost spirit and the latter a goddess of verdure or growth, who ruled over the mountains that become green earliest in the spring. It is probable that *Raz-ajk* ('the grass mother') of the Russian Lapps is of later origin, for grass is comparatively unimportant in the keeping of reindeer.

5. Other deities and mediators.—The goddess of birth was *Mader-akka* ('the old woman of the earth'); and her three daughters were *Sar-akka* or *Sar-edne* (from *sarrat*, which, according to K. B. Viklund, means 'to cleave sinews asunder for threads'; cf. the spinning of the Norns), *Juks-akka* ('the old woman of the bow'), who was identical with *Stäuk-edne* ('the gun mother'); and *Uks-akka* ('the door woman'). Sar-akka was most favoured, for she gave needed aid at childbirth and calving. The task of Juks-akka was to protect the child from falling and hurting itself; and with her Uks-akka, who lived under the door and changed girl children into boys in the mother's womb, was often confounded. All three lived under the *kâta*. The goddesses of birth, who were unknown to the eastern Lapps and to whom they offered spinning-wheels and alien sacrificial animals, corresponded to the Scandinavian Norns, just as the Lapps' porridge feast, which had to be eaten by women in child-bed in honour of the goddess, corresponded to the Faroe *nornagreytur*. During the Roman Catholic period Sar-akka was confounded with the Virgin Mary, who was frequently called *Sergve-edne* (significance unknown). Two strange ceremonies dated from the same period, viz. Sar-akka baptism and Sar-akka eucharist, which were simply imitations of the Christian sacraments. Roman Catholic tenets can also be recognized in the trinity of the Lapps—*Radien-attshe* ('the ruler's father'), *Radien-akka* ('the ruler's wife'), and *Radien-bardne* ('the ruler's child'), who are all depicted on the Lapp drum of the later periods. It was the duty of *Ailekes-olmai* ('the holiday man') to see that the week-end days, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, were properly observed; and *Fasto-olmai* ('the fast-man') had to see that the fasts were observed. *Aileke-olmai* also furthered prayers presented to the god whom the Lapps called *Jubmel* or *Ibmel*—a name borrowed from the Finnish *Jumala*.

The mediators between mankind and the spiritual world were *noide*, *noite*, *noaide* (Finnish *noita*), shamans of the same kind as those of the Samoyeds and the northern Asiatic folk. Usually they were extremely nervous individuals whose characteristic troubles passed down from generation to generation. Yet the natural skill and dexterity had to be cultivated by means of an old shaman. The *noaide* could enter into touch with the spirit world when in an ecstatic state, a trance, during which his soul went to the kingdom of death in order to ask the advice of the dead about such things as the cause of the sickness of men or animals, the prospects of hunting, and so on. For the purpose of assisting him, the *noaide* had one or more tutelary spirits (*suoje*, originally 'shadow,' 'phantom'), which he could inherit, or buy, or obtain as a marriage portion. Often the spirit placed itself at the disposal of the *noaide*. This spirit company was called *noaide-gaddse* ('shaman retinue')—a name which is often given to certain animals who helped the shaman during his spirit journey. From the close connexion in which such animals stood to their masters, it is probable that it was the shaman's own soul that, severed from the body, could put on different shapes: as a reindeer (*saivo-sarva*) it hastened over the hills; as a bird (*saivo-lodde*) it flew through space; as a fish (*saivo-guölle*) it plunged through the subterranean waters; and as a snake (*saivo-guarms*) it undulated on the earth.

6. The Lapp drum.—As a means of producing an ecstatic trance *noaide* employed yelling, wild dances, and unnatural food and drink, but above all an instrument of exaltation, the so-called Lapp drum (*geure* in the south, *kobdes* in the north). There were two distinct types of Lapp drums. The riddle-drum had a narrow or broad wooden frame bent in a circle, with a tanned reindeer skin stretched taut on it. The upper side of the drum was provided with a handle. The other type, the shell-drum, had a frame resembling an oblong shell, with a couple of holes in the bottom by which to grasp it. The latter was not nearly so large as the former. In order to get the drum to sound as loudly as possible, the shaman warmed its surface at the fire before he began to beat it with the drum-stick—a hammer-shaped implement elegantly carved from a horn. In order still further to increase the sound, the drum was often provided with various kinds of rattling objects; and in order to liven up the shaman's fantasy the Lapps painted figures and signs with blood or alder-bark juice on the drum-skin. In the later days these figures were multiplied and became a perfect microcosmos, representing the whole range of ideas of the Lapps. It is uncertain whether it was the increase of the figures or a new art of divination that had come from the south with a riddle that had the effect of changing the use of the Lapp drum so that it was employed more as a means of divination than of exaltation. A bunch of rings was kept hopping about on the drum-skin as the drum-stick rose and fell; and from the movement of the rings on and off the different signs the shaman predicted good or ill. If the bunch of rings stopped at any symbol of a deity, it might be concluded that the god desired a gift. The Lapp drum was quite common as an implement of divination, and it survived in secret in certain districts almost down to our own day.

7. Sacrifices and offerings.—Sacrifices were offered by the head of the family or by the shaman. In certain districts in the south of Lappmark the sacrificial priest wore a special dress: on his back a white linen robe, on the left arm a brass ring, and on the breast a badge resembling the riband of an order. When he sacrificed to the female divinities, he wore a white linen cap. He was often bedecked with flowers, while a garland was placed on the forehead of the victim. This sacrificial custom points to Southern lands. The images of the gods, which were set up on special pedestals or altars, undoubtedly indicated a Scandinavian influence. The Lapps anointed their gods with blood and grease; and the wood for the sacrifice, which was set up by the door, was called *luotte-muorra* ('sacrifice wood'). A fence, made of horns (*tjorvegardi*), was placed round the image. Besides reindeer, which were the proper sacrificial animals, the Lapps, on occasion, when they made sacrifices to gods belonging to alien religions, offered horses, cattle, sheep, poultry, etc., which they bought from the natives. In the custom of the Lapps that the bones of the victim should not be broken, except to be placed at the disposal of the god with pieces of all the more important limbs, we find an ancient idea which was common among the Finno-Ugrian peoples. A primitive Finnish sacrificial usage had also been adopted by the Lapps, viz. the custom of strewing green twigs under the *seide*, or image of the god—spruce in winter, and birch in summer. When the shaman lifted the stone, he perceived from its weight whether the god was favourable or not. This also was the way in which the Samoyed determined the disposition of his *hahe*. Finally, the caution with which women made their way past sacred places, and the absence of women from all sacrificial feasts, can be traced far back into the childhood of the human race.

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LATIN CHURCH.—See WESTERN CHURCH.

LATTER-DAY SAINTS.—See MORMONISM.

LAUD.—William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and chief minister of Charles I., was born, according to his diary (*Works*, iii. [1853] 131), on the 7th of October 1573, in the town of Reading. His father was a clothier by trade, and in later days his Puritan opponents did not allow him to forget the fact that he had not 'the good fortune to be born a gentleman.' Indeed, his unexalted origin was made the foundation of many malicious and exaggerated libels, which sound strangely in our ears in these democratic times. Had Laud lived under happier auspices, the ability and persistent energy with which he fought his way step by step to high position would doubtless have won their due meed of praise. As it was, he experienced to the full the disadvantages which belong to the lot of the *novus homo*, and to this circumstance some of the harshnesses and defects of his character may be traced.

Laud went to school at Reading, where he won the appreciation of 'a very severe schoolmaster,' who predicted that one day he would be a great man. In 1589, at the age of sixteen, he entered St. John's College, Oxford, and the following year became a Scholar. In 1593 he was admitted Fellow of St. John's, and a year later he became a Bachelor of Arts; his M.A. degree followed in 1598. In his diary he records various 'great sicknesses' which befell him both in infancy and during his University career. Indeed, throughout his life he was seldom free from ill-health for any long period, and in his arduous public life we can see an instance of the triumph of an indomitable will over a weakly constitution.

At the time that Laud entered Oxford, and for many years afterwards, Calvinism reigned supreme within its walls. The tide of extreme Puritanism which had set in after the reign of Queen Mary was running deep and strong. If the Puritans were in a minority in the country, they were very resolute in holding to their ideals, and for those ideals they desired not toleration but mastery. They wished to see Episcopacy supplanted by the Presbyterian system, and for that end they steadily worked within the Church itself. Their objections to ceremonies, surplices, and liturgy were only steps towards the hoped for institution of the Genevan form of discipline as the Anglican standard. For the time being, it is true, this particular hope was in abeyance, and it was mainly as a doctrinal system that Calvinism now showed its strength. The leaders of the movement were in the ranks of the clergy, and the Universities were its strongholds.

To this system Laud soon showed himself a strong and dangerous opponent. He belonged to the school of Richard Hooker and Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, and the pious aspirations of men like George Herbert and Nicholas Ferrar were very precious in his sight. His ideal for the Church of England was that which in modern times is called Anglican. He saw in the English Church a great mediating communion, neither Roman on the one side nor Genevan on the other, primitive, Scriptural, and Catholic, purged from superstition yet reverencing antiquity, loyal to the truth once delivered and yet large-hearted in its welcome to new knowledge and fresh thought. Whatever grievous mistakes he made in furtherance of this ideal, it was to it that he devoted his life; and, after everything is said against Laud that can be said, the truth remains that his conception has been justified in the subsequent history of the English Church. To him in a large degree is due the settling of the character of that Church's system.

In setting himself against the Calvinism of Oxford, however, Laud entered upon a long and one-sided conflict with authority. In an academical exercise delivered soon after his ordination he gave great offence to Abbot, Master of University College and Vice-Chancellor and afterwards Archbishop, by tracing the authority of the Church, through the Roman Catholic hierarchy, up to the Apostles and the Primitive Church, and an outcry was raised later in 1604 when, in his exercises for the B.D. degree, he maintained the necessity of Episcopacy and the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Two years later Laud was attacked by the Vice-Chancellor, Henry Airy, for publishing 'popish opinions' in a sermon delivered in the pulpit of St. Mary's. A trial followed in the Vice-Chancellor's Court, from which Laud emerged scot-free. Amidst these and similar attacks Laud's coolness, courage, and ability served him in good stead. For a time he seemed to stand almost alone. In his own words, 'it was almost made a heresy for any one to be seen in his company, and a misprision of heresy to give him a civil salutation as he walked the streets' (Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicus*, p. 54). On one occasion he sat in St. Mary's and heard himself abused for almost an hour together, being pointed at as he sat (*ib.* p. 66). The preacher on this occasion was Abbot, brother of the Archbishop, and Divinity Professor, who certainly castigated in trenchant style the supposed papistical leanings of this unruly member of the University.

Yet Laud was not without friends who sympathized with him in his baptism of fire. Bishop Young of Rochester, who ordained him as deacon in 1600 and priest in 1601, praised his study of the Fathers, Councils, and the ecclesiastical historians, and declared that, if he lived, he would be 'an instrument of restoring the Church from the narrow and private principles of modern times' (Mozley, *Hist. and Theol. Essays*^{2}, i. 116). Rapid preferment fell to his lot. He became chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire in 1603, and in 1607 he was made Vicar of Stanford in Northamptonshire. The following year the advowson of N. Kilworth in Leicestershire was given to him, and he took his degree of D.D., and became chaplain to Bishop Neile of Rochester. His first sermon before King James was preached in 1609, and shortly afterwards he was appointed to the charge of West Tilbury in Essex. Cuxton in Kent next fell to his care in 1610, but a few months later he left it to take charge of Norton. The same year the Presidentship of St. John's College became vacant, and Laud became a candidate. Naturally the whole strength of the Puritan party was put forth to prevent his appointment, Abbot, the Archbishop-Elect, and Lord Chancellor Ellesmere being indefatigable in their efforts. Yet, although Laud was disabled by sickness, and unable personally to take part in the contest, he was elected. An appeal was made to the Crown, which James in person disposed of by declaring Laud President of St. John's.

As head of a College, Laud was in his proper element, and his rule seems to have been a happy and beneficent one. In dealing with those Fellows of the College who had worked against him he showed a proper spirit of conciliation. As a patron of literature and sound learning he was wholly admirable, and his love of order and discipline found congenial scope in dealing with academic life and affairs. When he became Chancellor of the University in 1630, his opportunities for usefulness in this direction were much widened, and he used them to the full. The reforms which he instituted resulted in a large increase of students and in greater efficiency of teaching, and their effect remained long after Laud was dead.

It may be convenient here to summarize in anticipation the valuable results of Laud's connexion with Oxford. The codification of the University Statutes was perhaps his most important work, and his code still remains as the basis of the Statute-book of the University. Among its provisions were the institution of public examinations for University degrees, the revival of the College system with its moral and religious discipline and the academical dress, and an improved method of electing proctors. Laud's benefactions to the University were many and important. He founded the Laudian Professorship of Arabic, increased the endowment of the Hebrew Chair, and similarly augmented the emoluments of the Public Orator. He befriended foreign scholars like Gerhard Vossius, and helped to promote native men of learning like Jeremy Taylor, Selden, Lindsell, and Bedell. In 1633 Laud procured a royal patent for the foundation of the University Press—an institution in which he took the greatest interest. His munificence towards the then recently founded Bodleian Library was also great. He presented to this institution over 1300 MSS in various languages, besides a collection of coins, and built an extra wing to accommodate his gifts. His claim that no Chancellor had ever loved the University as he is well borne out by the record of his services and his gifts, and, when it is remembered that his educational work was carried out in the intervals of his ecclesiastical and political labours as Archbishop and Prime Minister, it seems all the more remarkable. Mention should also be made of the fact that, as Chancellor of Dublin University, Laud provided a Charter and Code for Trinity College, one of the features of the latter being the provision that the fellowships, originally of seven years' duration, should be tenable for life. The Colleges of Eton and Winchester also came within the Archbishop's care as visitor, and we find him

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LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

providing statutes for the Cathedral School of Canterbury. To the town of Reading and to the grammar-school where his instruction began he was a generous benefactor, and to his own College of St. John's he gave a new quadrangle and valuable presents of books.

One turns with less satisfaction to the record of Laud's career in the larger field of politics and ecclesiastical statesmanship. The problems of a kingdom cannot be handled in the same way as those of a College or a University, and Laud had all the defects of a purely academic character. He was lacking in that instinctive sympathy which enables the true statesman to grasp the conditions, unfavourable as well as favourable, under which his work has to be done. He did not realize the enormous power which prejudice plays in public opinion, and his bent was to treat men as a schoolmaster treats children. He was often hasty and severe. Harassed by his own love for details, he often failed to distinguish between the important and the trivial. His prodigious activity outran his strength, and, as he grew older, his temper became more uncertain and his attitude more arbitrary. As a Church ruler he presented himself more in the light of an official than of a Father-in-God, and as a statesman he was more inclined to rely upon force than upon influence. In holding high secular office in the State, and in promoting Juxon in England and Spottiswoode in Scotland to similar preferment, he ran counter to the public feeling of the country since the Reformation; and in becoming an agent of the despotic Government of Charles I. he involved the Church in a struggle with the growing power in the nation, and to all intents and purposes made the Church a department of the State.

Yet, with all his faults and mistakes, Laud has been hardly dealt with in the past. The picture of the monster drawn by Macaulay and the perpetrators of the great Whig legend does not correspond with the ascertained facts. S. R. Gardiner in his *History of England* has shown how to treat the man and his times in an impartial manner. And no one can read Laud's *Devotions*, with their unfailing note of penitence and of personal piety, without realizing that their writer was a man who strove conscientiously according to his light to serve his Church and his country. His diary, too, with its record of anxiety and disappointment, and its curious revelation of the writer's belief in dreams and omens, throws a very human light upon his brilliant but hazardous public career.

Laud's progress at Court was slow but sure. He became King's Chaplain soon after his election to the Presidency of St. John's, and, as time went on, further ecclesiastical preferments fell to his lot. In 1614 he received the prebend of Bugden, in 1615 he became Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and the year after Dean of Gloucester. At Gloucester he soon showed what his views were as to the externals of Church worship. Among other things he removed the Communion table from the centre of the choir to its old position at the east end. The Bishop of the Diocese was greatly offended at the innovation, and is said never to have entered the Cathedral again. In 1616 Laud was in the King's train during his visit to Scotland, and gave offence to Scottish susceptibilities by wearing a surplice at a funeral. Three years later King James offered Laud the Bishopric of St. David's, stipulating that he might continue to hold the Presidentship of St. John's. To this condition, however, Laud would not consent, and he resigned the headship of the College on the day before his consecration as Bishop. In 1622 there took place, at the command of the King, the famous controversy with the Jesuit Percy or Fisher, who had influenced, among others, the Countess of Buckingham, mother of George Villiers, the King's favourite. In the earlier stages of the conference, Francis White, afterwards Bishop of Ely, was the English champion, but after two meetings Laud was called in. Although he had not 'the full time of four and twenty hours to bethink himself' (J. Dowden, *Paddock Lectures*, p. 115), his learning and acuteness stood him in good stead. Denying that there is Scriptural or primitive warrant for an infallible pope, he proceeded to deal with Roman errors. Yet he conceded that Rome with its errors is a true Church, but not *the* true Church. Against the exclusive claims of Rome he appealed to the authority of a general Council, and to the witness of Scripture. The English Church as reformed, he declared, is also a true Church, holding the Catholic doctrines of Baptism and the Eucharist. In the Eucharist Laud saw a threefold sacrifice: (1) the memorial of the sacrifice of Calvary, (2) the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, (3) the sacrifice of ourselves, our souls and bodies.

One result of this controversy was the beginning of a close friendship and intimacy between Laud and Buckingham. Whatever may be said as to the strangeness of such an alliance, its sincerity was unquestionable. Laud became the confessor of the Court favourite, and undoubtedly exercised a real religious influence over him. In matters political also he was Buckingham's devoted ally, helping him with his advice and influence in times of trouble, and working to maintain his influence at Court. In 1625 King James died, and a new era of influence opened up for Laud. Charles gave him a fullness of confidence which his father had withheld. A schedule of the clergy was prepared by him at Buckingham's request, and laid before the King. Each name was marked O or P, the orthodox being listed for promotion, while the Puritans were to be left out in the cold. We find him defending Richard Montague against the Parliament's wrath incurred by his pamphlet against Calvinism, assisting Buckingham in his defence, and preaching up the King's prerogative before Charles's second Parliament. In 1626 he became Bishop of Bath and Wells, and two years later, shortly before the assassination of Buckingham, he became Bishop of London. Buckingham's death opened the way still further to Laud's promotion, and he became the chief adviser of the king. In 1633 he was translated to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and became, under Charles, all-powerful in Church and State. In his diary (*Works*, iii. 219) he relates that the month before he became Archbishop he was twice approached by an emissary of Rome with the offer of a Cardinal's hat. Whatever may be thought of the sincerity of this offer, it had no effect upon Laud, who was thoroughly convinced of the strength of the Anglican position.

The character of Laud's administration in Church and State has already been briefly described. In matters ecclesiastical he put the care of outward things in the forefront, both because he believed that worship is the best form of teaching, and because he desired that Rome should not point the finger at Anglican slovenliness. He enforced uniformity of practice, and yet was willing to allow large liberty of thought. As a statesman he has incurred the odium of the severities practised by the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission. But it must at least be remembered that the humanitarian sentiments of the present day did not exist in Laud's time, and that the cruelties of the Commonwealth far exceeded anything that can justly be laid to his charge. He was not revengeful, and often treated his fallen enemies with private kindness. He was kind to the poor, and strove in various ways for social betterment.

Laud's connexion with Scotland was a fateful one. He had accompanied King James in his visit to that country as Dean of Gloucester, and again in 1633, as Bishop of London, he was one of the companions of Charles I. in a visit that produced an unfavourable impression among the Scots. The climax came in 1637, when the attempt to introduce the Prayer Book known as 'Laud's Liturgy' led to ecclesiastical and political revolution in both countries. In spite of its name, however, the Prayer Book was in the main the work of two Scottish Bishops, Maxwell of Ross and Wedderburn of Dunblane, Laud's share being confined to preliminary suggestion and subsequent revision. Both Charles and Laud, indeed, had wished the English book then in use to be adopted in Scotland, but gave way in the face of the patriotic representations of the Scottish Bishops. The real offence of the book lay in the arbitrary method of its introduction, regarded as the culmination of a series of despotic acts.

Laud met his fall with pathetic dignity, and bore his long imprisonment with all its trials very patiently. On 18th December 1640 he was impeached by Parliament, and the following March he was imprisoned in the Tower. His friend and colleague Strafford was executed on 12th May, and the Archbishop fainted at the window of his cell when attempting to give him his blessing on the way to the scaffold. In May 1643 Prynne was commissioned to rifle his papers, and to seize his diary, a mutilated edition of which was shortly afterwards published. His trial for high treason began on 12th March 1644. Laud showed the same coolness and ability in defending himself that he had exhibited many years ago in the Court of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and the prosecution failed. But his enemies were not to be baulked of their prey, and a special bill of attainder was passed by Parliament. On 10th January 1645 the Archbishop paid for his policy and his mistakes with his life. He was executed on Tower Hill in the presence of a large multitude, declaring that he had always belonged, in heart and soul, to the Church of England, and that he had never endeavoured the subversion either of law or of religion. His body was deposited in the chancel of the neighbouring Church of All Hallows, Barking, whence it was removed in 1663 to St. John's College, Oxford.

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A. Mitchell.

LAUGHTER.—When we seek to assign to laughter a place and a function in social life, it is clear that we have in view the laughter of embodied persons. Even when 'the joyful roar to the benefit of the lungs' has undergone repression and refinement under the touch of civilization, there remains a more chastened expression which may be seen if not heard, and without which a fellowship in feeling is incommunicable. There is, indeed, when refinement and repression have reached their limit, a hidden and silent laughter of the mind which might be enjoyed by a disembodied spirit—though even here for embodied mortals there are, no doubt, more subtle physiological effects which, by purely inward reverberation, give heightened tone to the enjoyment. But such silent and unexpressed laughter has, on one side at least, lost touch with social life. Apart from some form of telepathic influence, it can call forth no echo in others. It may bring to the individual an access of glee—a touch of 'sudden glory'; it remains, however, unshared; there can be none of that beneficent contagiousness which, through the interaction of suggestion, imitation, and sympathy, gives one form of social value to laughter—a real value, though in its more primitive stages it may as yet afford little evidence of that progress in the art of good manners which, according to Bergson, it is its function to promote.

On its physical and expressive side, then, laughter is, among other things, a means of intercommunication, though it may not be consciously employed to that end. Like other such means, it implies as a basis a common mode of expression, inherited or acquired; and, in large measure in co-operation with language, it affords to others an index of the presence of a specific and probably indefinable mode of affective tone which accompanies man's outlook on his fellows. For amid much divergence of opinion as to the essential characteristics of that which is provocative of laughter, there seems to be fairly general agreement that it is the situations of, or in close relation to, human life that afford the natural objective of laughter when it comes to maturity. On the one hand, therefore, there is the physical laugh which invites others to join in the social chorus; on the other hand, the laughable, which is a property of some sort that characterizes a social situation; and between them stands laughter, in the sense in which the word will here be used, as that which subtly yet distinctively qualifies some one's consciousness.

Of the laugh and the smile as bodily expressions little need be said. It is probable that for both there are hereditary foundations, and that the behaviour involved is, in the narrower and biological sense, instinctive. But whether the smile is, in the infant, an expression of satiety, and whether the laugh is at the outset the reflex outcome of physical tickling; how far they are quite independent modes of response, or how far they have common factors; whether they have in themselves some element of survival value, or whether the muscles concerned are, from the habits of our race, the readiest and therefore the first to receive an overflow of 'nervous energy'; how the facial, vocal, and respiratory co-ordinations are brought about, and why they should come to be an expression of specific and somewhat varying mental states—these are matters beyond our present concern. They are questions of genetic origin which we can afford to pass by. It is to laughter and the laughable that we must restrict our attention, merely noting that the nervous laugh, the irritable laugh, the laugh of bitter scorn, though the same organic mechanism of response is employed, do not seem to express the sunny laughter of the mind. The laughter of the Bible is nearly always an expression of scorn and not of mirth (see, however, Ps 126^2 and Job 8^{21}). Genial laughter and the laughable are in correlative relationship; at all events the laughable inevitably implies some one who does or might laugh thereat. If we add that laughter also implies something which is laughed at (which will exclude the laugh as an expression of pure joy and lightness of heart), the symmetry of the correlation will be preserved. But a good deal depends upon whether the laugher is regarded as a relatively detached and disinterested spectator or is looked upon as eminently self-centred in his outlook. Schopenhauer's doctrine of the incongruous involves the assumption of the former attitude;

Hobbes's 'sudden glory' shows an emphasis on the latter.

> Men experience the passion of sudden glory 'either by some sudden act of their own, that pleaseth them; or by the apprehension of some deformed thing in another, by comparison whereof they suddenly applaud themselves. And it is incident most to them, that are conscious of the fewest abilities in themselves; who are forced to keep themselves in their own favour, by observing the imperfections of other men' (*Leviathan*, pt. i. ch. vi.).

The stress in Hobbes is on the sudden conception of some eminency in ourselves by comparison with the inferiority of others or with our own formerly. So self-centred is this form of laughter that the correlative laughable almost fades out of view, though the inferiority of others is presumably in some degree ridiculous. As a factor in a particular type of laughter, this exultation over others and the accompanying self-exaltation may be accepted; as a comprehensive theory of laughter, it can hardly pass muster. Not all exultation over inferiors is of the order of laughter; not all laughter is of the order of self-exaltation.

In Schopenhauer's doctrine of the incongruous the self-centred attitude is relatively unimportant. His is predominantly a doctrine of the laughable, though this must, of course, be apprehended as such.

> 'The cause of laughter in every case is simply the sudden perception of the incongruity between a concept and the real objects which have been thought through it in some relation' (*The World as Will and Idea*, tr. Haldane and Kemp, i. 76).

There is an element of the unexpected or of expectation baulked. A situation, presented or described, diverges from the course of its customary development, or we are swiftly transferred into the midst of a somewhat different situation. But not all incongruity is laughable. The situations of social life teem with incongruities; and many of them are provocative of sighs and tears rather than laughter and smiles. Spencer, therefore, distinguished between ascending and descending incongruity.

> 'Laughter naturally results only when consciousness is unawares transferred from great things to small—only when there is what we call a *descending* incongruity' ('Physiology of Laughter,' *Essays*, i. 206).

In accordance with his physiological interpretation, the prior condition involves a volume of brain-excitement which, on the sudden descent, is too great for the occasion, and overflows, through habitual channels, into the smaller muscles of the smile or the larger muscles of the hearty laugh. But, unless, in line with the well-known thesis of W. James and C. Lange, the bodily laugh begets the laughter of the mind, the mental affection itself is not thus explained. The descending incongruity is translated into physiological terms; but we are left with that as determining the laughter and the laugh. No doubt it is applicable in many cases; but whether descent is in all cases necessary is, to say the least of it, doubtful. A man's hat on a child's head, and a child's hat on a man's head, may both make us laugh. Is this because in the one case we come down from the noble hat to the ridiculous child, and in the other from the dignity of the man to his absurd headgear? Or is there in each case a descent from the normal to the abnormal (cf. J. Sully, *Essay on Laughter*, p. 9 f.)?

Bergson reduces all forms of descending incongruity to one, and traces the genesis of laughter to the perception of some intrusion of a mechanical mode of action or gesture into a situation which should develop on the higher vital plane. For him there can be no descent more serious than that from life to mechanism. One would suppose that so fatal a fall would move Bergson to tears. But he suppresses these deeper emotions, and even insists that 'absence of feeling' is the usual accompaniment of laughter. One must look upon life as a disinterested spectator. To produce the whole of its effect, the comic demands something like a momentary anæsthesia of the heart. Its appeal is to intelligence pure and simple. Indifference is its natural environment, for laughter has no greater foe than emotion. Under these conditions the attitudes, gestures, and movements of the human body are laughable in exact proportion as that body reminds us of a mere machine. What is essentially laughable is that which is done automatically. Rigidity, automatism, absent-mindedness, and unsociability are all inextricably entwined; and all serve as ingredients to the making up of the comic in character. Such is his main thesis (H. Bergson, *Laughter*, Eng. tr., pp. 4, 5, 29, 139, 147). But, whereas for the most part serious discussions of the comic are dull enough, save for the welcome jokes and anecdotes which one enjoys all the more if one forgets all about the principles which they are supposed to illustrate, Bergson's book on *Laughter* is worthy to be placed on the same shelf as Meredith's *Essay on Comedy*. In both there is real distinction in matter and style. In both the sympathy of the artist is combined with philosophic insight. In both one is perhaps impressed by the inadequacy of any scientific formulation to hold in the bondage of clearly defined concepts the elusive spirit of laughter. One cannot but feel that Bergson's wide outlook on the laughable in life and in comedy overleaps the constraints of his theory.

He tells us that laughter is begotten of real life and akin to art. It is in the selective products of art that the thoughtful laughter of the mind reaches its fullest development. If, as he urges, there may be comic elements alike in situations, in words, and in character, the business of the artistic creator of the laughable is to combine all these elements into one synthesis which shall be provocative of laughter at its highest pitch of refinement. Witty dialogue, good in itself, must afford also a revelation of the comic in character, and must be organic to laughable situations presented. But how many and varied are the factors; how subtle is the harmonious synthesis! Here one sees portrayed the sudden glory of exultation, but it is not the sympathetic sharing of that alone that produces the thoughtful laugh. Or one may see cases of Kant's tense expectation evaporating in the void; but that does not cover the whole ground. There is, no doubt, much incongruity, not always descending; but episodic incongruity is subject to underlying congruity. We pass lightly from one universe of regard to another; but they are related, and each illuminates the other. This is seen in detail, and gives piquancy to the play upon words. If the after-dinner orator explains his success as due to his adoption of the principle that, if he does not strike oil in three minutes, he stops *boring*, two universes of discourse are related, and a sudden laughter-span bridges the interval between them. The incongruous implies some measure of separation, and there must be the subtle integration of some perceived congruity to produce the synthetic whole which the artistry of the comic seeks to attain. There is often, no doubt, some element of the mechanical, in a rather strained interpretation; but, notwithstanding Bergson's brilliant advocacy of a theory dictated by his philosophy, one feels that it is the free life of comedy rather than its occasional lapse into constrained mechanism that enshrines the true spirit of laughter. How many and varied are the constitutive factors of the laughable the sympathetic artist probably realizes better than the analytic man of science. And it is questionable whether the total exclusion of emotion (by which we must understand that which is in affective antithesis to the laughing mood) is characteristic of the best comedy. If, as is generally held, humour is a blend of the playful and the serious, owing its timbre to overtones of something akin to pity, then, so far as humour is an ingredient of comedy, emotion is present. We have ‘the richer laugh of heart and mind in one.’ Meredith says that the humorist of high order has an embrace of contrasts beyond the reach of the comic poet. But this very contrast serves to enhance the richness of laughter, and characterizes the higher comedy as distinguished from farce; for ‘the test of true comedy is that it shall awaken thoughtful laughter’ (G. Meredith, *Essay on Comedy*, pp. 83, 85).

It is not the primary business of comedy to correct men's manners. That is one of the functions of laughter in social life; but it is introduced into comedy only as an ideal representation of that life. This disciplinary function of laughter is regarded by Bergson as the mark of its social utility (*op. cit.* pp. 17, 170, 197 f.). Laughter is above all a corrective. By laughter, which would fail in its object if it bore the stamp of sympathy or kindness, society avenges itself for the liberties taken with it. Its function is to intimidate by humiliating. Ridicule, we may say, is the whip with which society corrects the smaller faults of its children, and satire is the lash which is applied to corporate abuses when they have been stripped bare of their fine garments. In both there is something of self-centred superiority, even when it is felt to be the superiority of society embodied in the smiter. But, though the derisive smile or the scornful laugh may be there, it is not an expression of the true spirit of laughter, which is happy and genial. It is rather the lineal descendant of the exultant laugh of the savage over his vanquished foe. And it not infrequently fails in attaining its end, while the kindly good-humoured laugh has far greater efficacy in correcting the manners of boys and men.

It is questionable, however, whether this form of social utility is that which has given to laughter its chief evolutionary value in social life. This is rather a secondary utility like that of the insect's sting, which is derived from an organ of different ancestral value. There is a more genial form of utility. According to W. McDougall, laughter has been evolved in man as an antidote to sympathy with suffering (*Brit. Assoc.*, 1913, reported in *Nature*, xcii. [1914]). He contends that laughter arises only in situations which are mildly unpleasant except in so far as they are redeemed by laughter itself; or in presence of those things which would excite a feeble degree of sympathetic pain if we did not actually laugh at them. But are these conditions universal? Is the comic situation, or the joke, at which we laugh, always in some degree painful? Should we not substitute ‘sometimes’ for ‘always’? There is, however, probably an element of truth (if not the whole truth) in the view that laughter is a protective reaction which shields us from the depressing influence of the shortcomings of our fellow-men—even when they jest. As pity softens the primitive callousness of laughter, so does laughter in turn relieve us from the depression which stupidity, for example, engenders. And it may have a wider influence.

> ‘How many men in our highly civilized communities to-day may have learned to keep their heads above water by the practice of gentle laughter, no one knows’ (Sully, *Essay on Laughter*, p. 408).

In any case, ‘he who produces a laugh of pure gladness brightens the world for those who hear him’ (Sully, *op. cit.* p. 417). Laughter is a tonic which braces both body and mind, and thus benefits both the individual and society.

LITERATURE.—Thomas Hobbes, *Human Nature*, London, 1650, *The Leviathan*, do. 1651; A. Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, Leipzig, 1819, tr. R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp, London, 1883–86; H. Spencer, ‘The Physiology of Laughter,’ *Macmillan's Magazine*, March, 1860, reprinted in *Essays*, i. (London, 1883); George Meredith, ‘An Essay on Comedy,’ *New Quarterly Magazine*, April, 1877, reprinted in book form; H. Bergson, *Le Rire*, Paris, 1900, tr. C. Brereton and F. Rothwell, London, 1911; James Sully, *An Essay on Laughter*, do. 1902, and references to literature there.

C. LLOYD MORGAN.

LAW.

Natural (R. EUCKEN), p. 805.
Primitive (E. S. HARTLAND), p. 807.
American (L. H. GRAY), p. 814.
Babylonian (C. H. W. JOHNS), p. 817.
Biblical—
  Old Testament (C. F. KENT), p. 823.
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Christian—
  Eastern (A. FORTESCUE), p. 838.
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Iranian (L. C. CASARTELLI), p. 853.
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Muhammadan (TH. W. JUYNBOLL), p. 858.
Roman (G. WISSOWA), p. 883.
Teutonic and Slavic (O. SCHRADER), p. 887.

LAW (Natural).—The idea of ‘law’ has a long and varied history. It has passed through important changes, and has occasioned manifold disputes. It took its rise as something relating to human society, and was then extended to external nature and the universe, whence, after undergoing a peculiar metamorphosis, it was brought back to the sphere of its origin, in order to shed light upon human life and action.

1. The development of the idea of natural law.—The development of the concept began in the ancient world, but it was not until the modern epoch that ‘law’ came to occupy a central position in all scientific procedure. The expression ‘law of nature,’[1] which formed a theme of great interest in the classical age of Greece, was originally used with reference, not to the external world, but to human nature itself. It denoted the unwritten as contrasted with the written law. This unwritten law, however, was at first simply equivalent to traditional usage and custom, and it was only later that it came to be taken in the sense of a law written by the deity in the human heart. The term ‘law of nature,’ in its modern acceptation, is seldom used by Plato and Aristotle;[1] it was especially among the Stoics that it took a more prominent place, and here the idea of divine laws led to that of natural laws. The expression 'natural law' was first brought into general usage by the Romans, and from them again it passed to mediæval writers. As yet, however, the expression was used without real precision; it denoted merely a certain regularity of events, so that the Church Fathers, and in particular Augustine, could regard natural laws as no more than the customary modes of divine action—modes of action which might quite well be departed from in exceptional circumstances. Thus the belief in natural laws in no way conflicted with the belief in miracles. The conception first acquired a more precise signification in modern times, especially since the time of Descartes, and in close connexion with the whole character of modern investigation. The great object of modern scientific inquiry is to analyze an existent state of things into its simple elements, and to interpret the whole by means of the parts. The laws of nature thus came to be regarded as but the simplest forms of motion among the elements. The discovery of these laws seemed to give man the power of interpreting nature intellectually, and at the same time of controlling it by practical and technical application of the laws. This fitted in with the whole tendency of modern thought, *i.e.* to regard nature not as the work of a Higher Power, but as something to be interpreted by its own concatenations. It was felt, however, that, if the laws of nature were to have a precise content, a mathematical formulation of them was indispensable; and in this way an ancient problem found at last a happy solution. The Pythagoreans had taught that nature could be resolved into mathematical forms, and this theory had all along been maintained by a relatively small group of thinkers. But it was found impossible to formulate definite laws, and even as late as the 15th cent. Nicholas of Cusa had declared the task to be beyond human capacity. The first to construct mathematical laws of nature was Kepler, in his famous three laws of planetary motion, which thus marked a profound revolution in the investigation of nature. Thereafter Newton proposed the idea of reducing all the phenomena of nature to mathematical laws,[2] and Kant even ventured to say that 'in every special science of nature there can be only as much real knowledge as there is mathematics.'[3]

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[1] The historical origin of the phrase ‘law of nature’ is discussed by E. Zeller, ‘Über Begriff und Begründung der sittlichen Gesetze,’ reprint from *ABAW*, 1883, and with signal caution and thoroughness by R. Hirzel, ‘Ἄγραφος Νόμος,’ in *ASG*, philol.-histor. Klasse, xx. [1900]. According to Hirzel, *ἄγραφος νόμος* primarily meant traditional usage and custom, and retained this sense throughout the ancient period; from the time of Thucydides, however, it came to bear another meaning as well, viz. that of the divine law written in the heart. Cf. also Hirzel's still more exhaustive work, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 386–411.

Side by side with this precise modern formulation of natural law, however, the ancient and more indefinite conception still survives; and even at the present day the discovery of a mere order in phenomena is often hailed as a law. This is especially the case in modern biology, in which, *e.g.*, a peculiarly intricate complex of facts, if it only recurs, is often summarily designated a law, so that what purports to be a solution is, in point of fact, simply a problem. In other ways also the term law has been the cause of much confusion. Laws are often discussed as if they were living forces, and even revered as if they were divine powers. It has frequently been forgotten that they are merely the forms of natural processes, and that they in no sense explain the processes themselves. A further source of ambiguity is that law is not seldom thought of as an entity lying beyond and controlling the concrete facts. Thus even within the sphere of nature itself the employment of the idea of law is attended with grave difficulties and dangers, and the dangers are greatly increased when the idea is applied outside that sphere, and used as a means of transferring the methods of natural science to other provinces of human interest.

2. The application of 'natural law' to other provinces.—This extension of the idea of law to extra-natural data began as early as the 17th cent., when, in particular, the idea was employed in psychology. The procedure was continued in the 18th cent., being now applied to the fields of politics and history, but it was in the course of the 19th cent. that the tendency reached its highest development, and the idea of law became the subject of numerous disputes regarding method.

(*a*) *Psychology.*—The application of natural law to the soul was carried out in a most imposing manner by Spinoza. For him the entire inward life of man was but a texture of single and particular occurrences, which work and interlink exactly like external things. Psychological laws in the stricter sense—*e.g.*, the laws of Association—were set forth in particular by English thinkers. In Germany, Leibniz had spoken of the ethico-logical laws of the soul, and Wolff made further advances on the same lines, while Herbart, again, sought to carry mathematical formulæ into the inmost life of the soul. Modern psychophysics has attempted with no small success to give a mathematical formulation to the relation between bodily and psychical processes, and especially between stimulus and sensation. Greater difficulties were encountered in the endeavour to interpret not merely the fundamental forms, but also the spiritual content, of psychical life on the analogy of natural laws. A special theme of controversy here was the relation between natural and moral law, some thinkers endeavouring to bring the two into the closest possible relation, while others insisted upon the unmistakable difference between ethical principles and the laws of nature.[1] The pre-eminent representative of the latter position was Kant, who regarded the moral law, with its imperative of duty, as something spontaneous, unique, and superior to all experience, and who uncompromisingly opposed the freedom which it involves to the necessity of nature. Schleiermacher, on the other hand, contended for a close connexion between natural law and moral law,[2] but in trying to universalize the scope of morality he incurred the danger of attenuating its distinctive character. The problem is not yet solved, and is still being ceaselessly discussed.[3]

(*b*) *Sociology.*—In a somewhat different sphere a fruitful theme of discussion was introduced by the attempt of modern sociology to reduce the social life of man to simple laws. The main factor in this movement was the known fact that by taking sufficiently large numbers of human beings the fortuitous element of the individual phenomenon may be eliminated, and relatively constant averages ascertained, and that thereby the phenomena of the social sphere are found to be much more regular than appears at first sight.[4] By thus surveying mankind in large numbers modern statistical science has discovered a mass of interesting facts. It is no doubt true that here certain uniformities have been rather prematurely resolved into laws, and that intricate congeries of facts have not always been sufficiently broken up into their simple elements; but, when all is said, the movement has opened fresh avenues of knowledge, and given effective incentives to inquiry.

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[1] The only passages, indeed, are Plato, *Timæus*, 83 E, and Arist. *de Cœlo*, 268 A, 10 ff. The word more frequently used for 'laws of nature' in the classical writers, as, *e.g.*, in medical works, in Democritus, Xenophon, Plato, and Aristotle, is ἀνάγκαι. Among the Greeks, the conception of a natural law was probably first definitely applied in the spheres of astronomy and medicine.

[2] Cf. the beginning of his *Philosophiæ naturalis principia mathematica*: 'Missis formis substantialibus et qualitatibus occultis phenomena naturae ad leges mathematicas revocare.'

[3] *Werke*, ed. G. Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1867–69, iv. 360.

[1] Of more recent works W. Windelband's essay on 'Normen und Naturgesetze' in his *Präludien*^{4}, Tübingen, 1911, is specially worthy of notice in this connexion.

[2] Cf. his *Werke zur Philosophie*, Berlin, 1834–64, ii. 397–417.

[3] *e.g.*, by H. Siebeck, 'Über das Verhältniss von Naturgesetz und Sittengesetz,' in *Philosophische Monatshefte*, xx. [1884] 321 ff.

[4] The pioneer in this field was the Belgian statistician L. A. J. Quetelet (1796–1874), especially in his *Sur l'Homme et le développement de ses facultés, ou Essai de physique sociale*, Paris, 1835, 2nd ed., Brussels, 1869.

(*c*) *Economics.*—The movement assumed a more intense and incisive phase upon the narrower field of economics proper. Here we find two modes of interpretation and investigation in conflict with each other. The advocates of the one mode sought to resolve the economic process into a mere tissue of self-regulating elementary movements, and so to explain them in accordance with natural laws, and they repudiated all interference in the political and social order as a derangement of natural processes.[1] The most prominent representative of this view is Adam Smith. It was maintained on the other side that, if the economic life of mankind was not to degenerate into a ruthless struggle of each against all, it must be ethically regulated. As representing this position the name of Thomas Carlyle will suffice. It is indisputable that in recent times this ethical view of economics has asserted itself more and more effectively in opposition to the purely scientific interpretation, and that, accordingly, the State has interfered more and more actively with economic conditions. Modern industry, with its huge manufactories, has been the main factor in this development.

(*d*) *History.*—There has been in recent times a considerable amount of discussion regarding the problem of historical laws. The abandonment of a religious reading of history has given rise to an endeavour to interpret the historical process by its own movement, and this again has led thinkers to construct a philosophy of history,[2] and to search for the laws that control the process. In the 19th cent. attempts to understand the movement of history as an ordered and articulate process were made—from opposite points of view, indeed, though not without a certain correspondence in results—by Hegel and Comte. Hegel regarded history as a self-evolution of the Spirit, which advances by means of antithesis, while Comte, by way of the 'three stages' in ceaseless progress, arrived finally at an intellectual interpretation of phenomena which provides a rational comprehension of human life as a whole.

In Germany, within recent years, a subject of much discussion and controversy has been the relation between history and natural science. Certain writers insist strongly upon the profound difference between the two, emphasizing the individual or particular character of historical processes, and seeing in these the pre-eminently valuable element of history. Windelband[3] and Rickert[4] are prominent champions of this view, and they are supported by the majority of German historians. A leading representative of the other school is Lamprecht, who puts forward the hypothesis of socio-psychical stages of development proceeding in a determinate order.[1]

3. Conclusion.—Thus the idea of 'law' provides an interesting example of the manner in which a general tendency works its way into all the various fields of human experience, and is used to mould them into conformity with the process of nature. But we also see here how the distinctive character of the several fields forms an obstacle to the tendency, and how this distinctive character is clearly revealed in the attempt to bring the various fields into correspondence with the laws of nature. It may be said, in general, that, if we are to speak of laws in the spiritual sphere at all, the conception of law must have quite a different meaning from that which it bears in the realm of nature. It is in particular the ideas of freedom and individuality that prohibit a simple extension of the laws of nature to other provinces.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited in the text of the art. cf. R. Eucken, *Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart*⁴, Leipzig, 1909, Eng. tr. *Main Currents of Modern Thought*, London, 1912, p. 195 ff.; E. Boutroux, *De l'Idée de la loi naturelle dans la science et la philosophie*, Paris, 1895; W. Köhler, *Geist und Freiheit: allgemeine Kritik des Gesetzesbegriffes*, Tübingen, 1913.

R. EUCKEN.

LAW (Primitive).—The definition of law, like that of religion, is by no means so easy as it looks. That framed by the great jurist, John Austin, so long dominant in English political philosophy, was derived from Hobbes, who in the 17th cent. elaborated the theory of paternal government. So high did he place the authority of the ruler that he made the king the arbiter, not merely of political and social conduct, but even of religion and morals. Austin, of course, did not go so far as this. When he formulated his theory, the controversy concerning the Divine Right of Kings was dead, theological and political passion on the question had cooled down, and the British Constitution, as settled at the Revolution, had been accepted by all parties. It was, therefore, necessary only to posit a supreme political authority, without theorizing as to its origin or dogmatizing on its proper form. According to Austin, positive law (as distinguished from the divine law, the moral law, the laws of nature, and other laws so called by way of analogy, and in his sense not really laws at all) is a rule of conduct prescribed by a sovereign, whether an individual or a definite body of men, to a member or members of the independent political society wherein its author is supreme (*Lectures on Jurisprudence*², London, 1861, i. 316). Laws are a species of command addressed by a political superior to those on whom he has the power and the will to inflict evil if his desire expressed in the command be disregarded. A sanction, or penalty for disobedience, is, therefore, annexed to, or implied in, every command of the sovereign—that is to say, in this connexion, every law.

> 'Command, duty, and sanction are inseparably connected terms. . . . Each embraces the same ideas as the others, though each denotes those ideas in a peculiar order or series' (*ib.* pp. 5 f., 9).

This definition has the merit of avoiding all antiquarian questions and all theological dogma and philosophical speculation as to the origin of the supreme authority. It takes the facts as they are in modern civilized States, and as they were in imperial Rome, and frames a formula to express them. Nothing else was possible to that generation. Archæological inquiry into origins had hardly begun in 1832, when Austin's work was first published; or, if it had, it did not interest him; while the science of anthropology had not yet come to the birth. But during the last eighty or ninety years the extension and necessities of the Indian Empire, and the colonial, missionary, commercial, and scientific enterprises of every civilized nation have brought us into more and more intimate contact with peoples in every grade of culture and every variety of political, economic, and social constitution. To all thoughtful persons and to most civilized governments it has become obvious that the first requisite for good administration, as well as for missionary and commercial activity, is a right comprehension of the ideas and social order of nations thus brought under the sway, or at least the influence, of the white man. The scientific interest of the study has been quickened by these practical considerations, and has resulted in the accumulation of a vast amount of material unknown to our grandfathers. It has become clear that the social and political relations of a people, however wild or however backward in culture, cannot, and in fact do not, subsist without governing rules, and that such rules are equivalent to what on a higher plane is called law.

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[1] On the history of the question see I. Neumann, *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 3rd ser., Jena, 1899, who (p. 152 ff.) writes: 'Even in antiquity men sought for economic and social laws, and next, more especially from the latter half of the 17th century, from the days of Locke and Hobbes, they applied the term "law" to the facts of the former [*i.e.* economics], while the physiocrats themselves, in following these precedents, cannot be altogether exonerated from the charge of having been so influenced by the then all-powerful ideas of Natural Right that they were unable to keep such laws of events sufficiently distinct from those of the "ought," or ethical laws.' Cf. also his 'Naturgesetz und Wirtschaftsgesetz,' in *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, iii. [1892], and F. Eulenburg, 'Naturgesetze und soziale Gesetze,' in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, xxxi.–xxxii. [1910–11].

[2] The expression 'philosophie de l'histoire' was first used by Voltaire, though not in a technical sense.

[3] W. Windelband, 'Geschichte und Naturwissenschaft' (*Strassburger Rektoratsrede*), 1894 (now also in *Präludien*⁴).

[4] H. Rickert, *Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung*², Tübingen, 1913.

[1] The controversy as to the existence of laws in history is analyzed and explained by E. Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie*⁶, Leipzig, 1908; cf. also F. Eulenburg, 'Über Gesetzmässigkeiten in der Geschichte ("historische Gesetze")', in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, xxxv. [1912], and art. HISTORIOGRAPHY.

Moreover, the researches carried on simultaneously with these into the early history of the various European nations have emphasized the similarity of their original condition to that of many barbarous tribes in the present day. They have shown not only that the formation of codes of written law was gradual, but also that, side by side with them, a great body of unwritten but binding customs continued for ages, and possessed a validity and authority of its own. That authority antedated any formal prescription by a discoverable sovereign. It was recognized and enforced from time to time, but not created, by the sovereign's courts. In short, the customs were to all intents and purposes law equally with the written codes. Jurists have thus been compelled to reconsider the conception of law, and to take into account its historical origins. They could no longer content themselves with the *a priori* dogmatism that satisfied Hobbes and Austin. The problem how the conception of law may be so widened that its definition shall include the rules obeyed by all societies of men, whether savage or civilized, in their social and political intercourse became pressing in the latter part of the 19th century. Various solutions have been attempted, of which it will be necessary here to consider only two of the most recent.

P. Vinogradoff (*Common Sense in Law*, London, 1914, p. 33 ff.) argues that the notions of sovereignty and command are not necessary to the conception of law, that the term 'law' cannot be confined to a rule of conduct prescribed by the head of an independent political society, but extends to the rules to which the members of any society as such are required to conform, and, finally, that law does not rest ultimately on the physical sanction of force, but on recognition or agreement.

> 'Sooner or later we come to a point where law is obeyed not on account of material compulsion, but for other reasons—in consequence of reasonable acceptance or instinctive conformity, or habit, or absence of organized resistance. . . . It is not the material possibility of coercion so much as the mental habit of recognizing rules imposed by social authority that is decisive in regard to the existence of laws' (*ib.* p. 52).

Thus every part of Austin's definition is traversed; his elaborate argument for confining the term 'law' to the command of a political superior is set aside; and the sanction to which he attached so much importance is abandoned as a test of law, so far at least as it is an appeal to force.

> Direct coercion 'is not absolutely necessary to constitute a legal rule.' It may be 'the most convenient means for enforcing law'; but it cannot be regarded as 'the essence of legal relations' (*ib.* p. 42).

A sanction of some kind must indeed be implied, but it need not be of a material kind, like death, imprisonment, or the forfeiture of goods. It need not be inflicted by any definite tribunal. It may be nothing more than the hostility of public opinion, or the contempt of all honourable men. Beyond this, law is often obeyed for reasons indicated above, quite apart from even such vague external sanctions.

Vinogradoff's own definition is 'a set of rules imposed and enforced by a society with regard to the attribution and exercise of power over persons and things' (*ib.* p. 59). The only point here calling for any further observation is the object and purpose of the rules. Put in another way, laws may be said to be aimed at the delimitation of wills. No society could hold together unless the wills of the individual members were limited and restrained; without this it would be a mere struggling mob; it would be chaos. It is by means of the limitation and direction of wills that it becomes an organized community. The rules effecting such limitation and direction are the laws of the society. But every limitation of one human will gives power to other human wills. It defines the scope within which they have free play, and the conditions which they must observe to give effect to the intentions either of the individual or of the society, alike as regards persons and things. Within that scope and subject to those conditions, it facilitates the exercise of power.

B. Malinowski in his recent work on *The Family among the Australian Aborigines* (London, 1913, pp. 10–15), applying the concept of law to a very archaic type of society, reverts to the test of sanction.

> 'All social organization,' he argues, 'implies a series of norms, which extend over the whole social life and regulate more or less strictly all the social relations.' These norms are of different kinds and enforced by different forms of social sanction. He enumerates three. The first kind owes its validity 'to the evil results which are intrinsically connected with their violation.' The norms included under the second head are observed 'because any departure from them would bring general contempt and ridicule upon the culprit: a form of chastisement to which the [Australian] natives are said to be extremely sensitive.' It is only to the third kind, 'sanctioned by a more direct collective action,' that he applies the term 'law,' because such norms 'enjoy an organized, more or less regulated and active social sanction,' involving violent or magical proceedings for the purpose of corporal coercion or punishment.

Let us examine this classification. The first kind of norm includes the Arunta prohibition against eating meat which has been killed or even seen by certain relatives: 'The food would disagree with him [who infringes the rule], and he would sicken and suffer severely' (Spencer-Gillen^a, p. 469).

Similar rules enforced by similar sanctions prevent boys after initiation from partaking of certain food before their wounds have healed, and women from eating meat during pregnancy (*ib.* 471). So among the Jajaurung, 'whenever a female child was promised in marriage to any man, from that very hour neither he nor the child's mother were permitted to look upon or hear each other speak, nor hear their names mentioned by others; for if they did, they would immediately grow prematurely old and die' (R. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, London, 1878, ii. 156).

Such penalties are what we call supernatural. But they are not the only supernatural penalties known to the Australian natives.

> If a man among the Arunta, during the early stages of his wife's pregnancy, attempts to throw a spear or boomerang at any animal, the spirit of the unborn child, which follows him about, 'will cause the weapon to take a crooked course, and the man will know that he has lost his skill in the chase and that the child is angry with him.' Persistence, despite this warning, will largely increase the sickness and sufferings of the prospective mother (Spencer-Gillen^a, p. 471). Custom requires that on a death certain female relatives of the deceased must utter frenzied and reiterated lamentations, and must inflict serious wounds on themselves or one another, as if in an agony of

grief. Omission of these rites results in harm from the spirit of the deceased (*ib.* p. 510). Young members of the tribes about the junction of the Thomson and Barcoo rivers in Queensland are prohibited even from breaking an emu's egg. The prohibition is enforced by the threat that 'the offended spirits will shortly raise a storm of thunder and lightning, in which the unlucky culprit will probably be struck down' (E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, Melbourne, 1886–87, ii. 377). Among the tribes on the north-eastern coast of Queensland an infringement of the marriage-rules, the omission to wear the mourning necklace for the prescribed period, or the eating of forbidden food is said to bring on the offender the anger of a supernatural being called Kohin, and sooner or later death in consequence (A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, London, 1904, p. 498).

Thus supernatural penalties are not, even among the Blackfellows, simply evil results 'intrinsically connected with' the violation of the norm, if by that phrase be meant an automatic operation of the sanction. They are often attributed to the action of ghosts and other imaginary or superhuman beings. On higher planes of culture we are familiar with offences against the gods, and innumerable tales are told of the vengeance of an outraged divinity. In this class of trespass we have to do with violations of a social rule that are so alien from ordinary conduct that they entail religious horror, expressed in the fear of a special kind of punishment. It is this horror that makes a supernatural penalty a social sanction. When the misfortune looked upon as the penalty overtakes a man, it is regarded as evidence of the trespass. The horror then fastens upon the guilty person and segregates him from his fellows. On the other hand, the consciousness of guilt often operates with overwhelming effect on the mind: men have been known to die from sheer terror when they have recognized their offence, though committed unintentionally.

Maori chiefs were fenced about with a very strict tabu. Not merely their persons, but everything which had come into contact with them, everything that had once belonged to them, was sacred. If an inferior made use of any such object, the tabu would kill him. Tannui, a high chief, once lost his tinder-box. Several persons who were so unfortunate as to find it and light their pipes from it, without knowing that it belonged to him, actually died from fright when they learned who the owner was (R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui: New Zealand and its Inhabitants*^{2}, London, 1870, p. 164).

Thus the supernatural sanction becomes itself an agent to preserve the norm recognized by society, apart from any penalty directly inflicted by the organized action of the community. But, while this is so, and while the operation of the community is indirect, acting through the conscience of the guilty man, the punishment is none the less of social origin. It is, therefore, not easy to see how a norm thus guarded can be distinguished from a law. But society is by no means always satisfied with this indirect penalty. The religious horror entailed by the trespass takes an active form, treats the offender with general contempt and ridicule, or with loathing, and drives him away, or even puts him to death—perhaps with all his family—and destroys all his possessions.

A familiar example is that of Achan, who, for appropriating a small portion of the spoil of Jericho which had been banned by Jahweh, was with his sons and daughters stoned to death, while all his property was burned, together with the corpses (Jos 7$^{25f.}$). When King Uzziah trenched upon the prerogative of the priesthood by presuming to burn incense in the Temple at Jerusalem, the supernatural sanction immediately took effect: he was smitten with leprosy. Now, leprosy involved exclusion from religious rites and segregation from society. Uzziah, therefore, was cut off from the house of the Lord, and from the exercise of his royal office; he was shut up in a separate dwelling for the rest of his life, and Jotham his son was made regent (2 Ch 26$^{16ff.}$, Lv 13$^{45f.}$). Orestes, after putting his mother to death, was seized with madness and pursued by her Erinyes. He fled not merely from them, but from the vengeance of the Argives. When he came to Troezen, no one would admit him to his house. He was kept in a state of tabu until he was purified and cleansed from the guilt of matricide (Pausanias, ii. 31).

These events represent the consequences that flowed in law and practice from offences primarily punishable by the supernatural powers. Such offences were visited with the whole weight of social indignation.

It is, in fact, impossible, if we have regard to the test of sanction only, to draw a strict line between the three categories into which Malinowski divides the social norms as known in Australia. One form of sanction frequently implies, or results in, another. It is not only in comparatively higher forms of civilization that the first class of norms (roughly corresponding to what in Roman law was called *fas*) is enforced by a sanction beyond the supernatural penalty. The painful manifestations already mentioned of mourning for a death among the Arunta are a norm prescribed by society, and society does not leave retribution for non-compliance entirely to the ghost; it inflicts on the offender the contempt and ridicule of his fellows. Obviously a similar penalty must also follow the infraction of other norms of the same class, though not expressly mentioned by our authorities. Indeed, so strongly do the aborigines feel on some of them (the marriage-rules, for instance) that no doubt can be entertained of punishment by violent measures, independent of the supernatural sanction.

Nor can these consequences be confined to cases where the religious horror is aroused by violation of the norm, as in the illustrations already given. To take a single example outside the Australian area—

Among the Dakotas of N. America certain relatives are forbidden to address one another by name. Offenders against this rule, both men and women, have been known to be punished by having their clothes cut off their backs and thrown away (J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, iii. 112).

Clearly the destruction of the clothing was only part of the retribution; it must have involved also the contempt of the community.

Punishment, when directly inflicted by society, is the expression of society's reprobation; and its severity roughly corresponds to the intensity of the feeling aroused by the offence. The mildest form in which public opinion thus declares itself against the offender is ridicule and contempt. These are a very real sanction—most of all in relatively primitive societies, where numbers are small and the individual members are brought into close contact, for escape is difficult, if not impossible. When active measures are taken, it is because the feeling aroused by the trespass is more intense, amounting to indignation, abhorrence, or fear. But, where active measures are appropriate, they are not always taken by the community as a whole; they may be left to the group more directly aggrieved. When a man is slain, an offence is committed against the community at large; but over and above this his kin is the sufferer by the loss of a member, and by the injury to its prestige, so that it devolves on the kindred to obtain reparation by slaying in turn the criminal or some member of his clan. The avengers are supported in such a case by public opinion. They are in effect the instruments of society; and the knowledge that they are thus acting in accordance with the *mos majorum* and the tacit concurrence of the community strengthens their hands, and tends to be a powerful deterrent from wanton violation of the peace. When, however, death is imputed to witchcraft, active concurrence of the community in retaliation is apt to occur. Witchcraft—hostile magic—is forbidden by all relatively primitive societies. It is a secret treason from which no one feels safe, a subtle danger threatening all alike. It therefore arouses an agony of apprehension, fury, and abhorrence, and everybody joins in the hue and cry after the suspected criminal.

This is true even among a people so peaceful and little disposed to violence as the Eskimos. Nor do they limit public interference to cases of witchcraft; for, when a man has rendered himself generally obnoxious, either by witchcraft or in any other way, some one is deputed to put him to death

(D. Crantz, *Hist. of Greenland*, London, 1767, i. 194; F. Boas, *Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xv. [New York, 1901–07] 117, 467). The weak point here, as a more recent writer on the Eskimos remarks, is that the death of the man, however intolerable he may have made himself, even to his kindred, may start a blood-feud between the kindred and those who have been the instruments of society in punishing him with death. The power of public opinion is, however, so strong that 'the mere knowledge of having displeased the community would be severe punishment in itself,' and, therefore, likely to restrain an ill-disposed person from carrying his evil or reckless propensities to an extremity (V. Stefánsson, *My Life with the Eskimo*, London, 1913, p. 365). On the other hand, so far from implacable are the Eskimos that a serious fault—even one that may imperil the entire community by the violation of a quasi-religious tabu—may often be redeemed by public confession.

But to fix attention on the sanction—and that a penal sanction—as the test of law in a community relatively primitive is to limit the definition of law to that which concerns what we call crimes. It is to ignore whole provinces of law. The religious side of life, so far as it is enforced by sanctions not involving the organized and regulated action of the community, is entirely omitted from consideration. No one who knows how profoundly what we in our contempt are apt to call 'superstition' dominates savage life can fail to appreciate the seriousness of the omission. So slowly and reluctantly, indeed, is religion separated from law that even to-day the ecclesiastical law is part of the law of the land in some highly civilized countries. In the oaths daily exacted in our courts we have a perpetual witness to the large share formerly taken by religion in the administration of the law. Oaths are an appeal to the divinity to attest the truth of the evidence. They are a relic of the ordeals once held conclusively to determine on which side justice lay. Such ordeals are still in use in the lower culture. Courts of law are there often held, as they were in classic times, in the temples of the gods and under the presidency of priests and medicine-men; nor had such practices ceased in Europe until the Middle Ages came to a close.

Equally, no account is taken of the class of rights enforcible by civil procedure, which has attained so remarkable a development among the black races of Africa. Among those rights the rights to property, directly or indirectly, occupy an important place. Private property is but feebly represented in the social institutions of the Australian natives; and the complaints that come before the tribal elders savour much more of the criminal than of what we should call the civil jurisdiction. Hence it may not have been necessary for Malinowski to take into account this class of rights. When, however, we come to inquire whether his definition can be applied to social conditions elsewhere, we cannot overlook them.

No less serious is the omission of constitutional law. Low as they are in the scale of civilization, the Australian savages are not quite ignorant of constitutional law. The population is composed of a number of tribes, each of which occupies exclusively a tract of country. The boundaries of this tract are recognized by the adjacent tribes. The members of the tribe are bound together by a common language and common institutions, differing more or less from those of their neighbours, and by a feeling of solidarity, if not a definite alliance. Each tribe is divided into local groups. There is no chief of a whole tribe; but each local group, speaking generally, has its headman, whose authority, in most cases, is real but vague, depending largely on his personal qualities. He is assisted by a council of the elders, which deals with the internal affairs of the group and its external relations, and whose decision is the supreme authority. The office of headman is sometimes hereditary, though even then it is frequently conditioned by ability. The local group is made up of families, each of them ruled by the husband and father, with large powers over his wife and children, and often his grandchildren. Local groups are independent of one another, but frequently unite for the purposes of war and of religious rites and festivals. The tribe is, moreover, with rare exceptions, divided into exogamous totemic clans, descendible sometimes only through females, in other cases only through males. In the latter case the clan tends to be coincident with the local group, for the wife usually goes to reside at the husband's camp. The Australian organization is thus rudimentary; it is none the less real on that account. That of the Andaman islanders is in most respects even more rudimentary, except that they recognize the authority, though very limited, of a chief of the tribe over the various local groups.

A type of constitution, very interesting because it clearly shows how the social and political relations of a people are dependent upon economic conditions, is that of the Yakuts. They inhabit the steppes of north-eastern Siberia. In former times they were almost entirely dependent on their herds of horses, which found pasturage on the steppe and supplied their owners with food and the material for clothing and shelter. The minimum drove on which a family of four persons could live consisted of ten head, that is to say, five mares, one stallion, one two-year-old, one one-year-old, and two suckling colts. This would hardly keep such a family from distress. A maximum, on the other hand, of from three hundred to five hundred head would allow a community of fifty persons to live in comparative ease. This community, whether large or small, would be composed of individuals who seem to have regarded one another as related, and may be referred to as the kindred, or *sib*. Between the members of the *sib* there was community of goods. Kindred seems formerly to have been traced exclusively in the female, but is now traced in the male, line. The number of persons comprised in the *sib* is thus dependent upon the number of a herd that can be pastured at any given station and the number of persons who can be found to manage and be maintained by it. Every *sib* belongs to some tribe, called *ulus*, and sub-tribe, or *nasleg*. The land of each tribe is apportioned, and from time to time re-apportioned, between the sub-tribes, and that of the sub-tribe is still more frequently re-apportioned between the *aga-ussa*, or kindreds. Every kindred chooses a deputy for this purpose, and every *nasleg* an officer to supervise the deputies. But these officials do not appear to have any other authority. The *sib* (and, so far as can be gathered, the *nasleg*) is governed by a mass-meeting or general assembly of the *sib* (or *nasleg*), at which the common affairs are settled by the oldest and most influential members, but subject to the general opinion. The *sib* was frequently subdivided, for the convenience of tending the herds, into smaller families. Of such a family the father was the head. It held together so long as his influence was paramount, or until the necessity to divide the herd arose. In the family the younger members were subjected to the elder, these to the head, and the women to the men. War, when it took place, generally arose, if the traditions are to be trusted, from the stealing of women or cattle. The feeling of solidarity between members of the *sib* was very strong. A blood-feud was the consequence of murder; but meetings with ceremonies for reconciliation were an institution. It hardly needs to be said that the spread of civilization, and the consequent introduction of new means of livelihood, new luxuries, and new ideas of property, have greatly modified the ancient customs, which in the more southerly and fertile districts are now to a great extent broken up, and even on the open steppes of the north are in decay (W. G. Sumner, *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 65 ff.).

On the whole, in a wide but poor and thinly peopled land the life of the Yakuts, occupied with the care of their herds and the occasional diversions of hunting and fishing, was externally one of peace. That of the Maoris of New Zealand, in utterly different conditions, was one of continual warfare. Every winter a raid was planned on some neighbouring tribe, and every summer it was executed with cannibalism and other circumstances of barbarity. For such a life a different organization was needed.

The people dwelt in strongly stockaded *pas*, or fortresses, and militarism developed a hereditary aristocracy. They were divided into tribes, occupying separate districts, at the head of each of which was a chief, who was by virtue of his descent enveloped in a sanctity called *tapu* (whence our word 'tabu'), which varied in intensity with his rank. The tribe was subdivided into *gentes*, each distinguished by its own patronymic and governed by its own chief; and the lowest unit was the family. The religion of the Maoris was practically the worship of ancestors. The prestige of the chiefs was largely that of their ancestry. The *tapu* that encircled them was derived not merely from their own personal power, but from the divine forefathers of whom they were both children and priests. A curious consequence of the value thus attached to heredity was that the eldest son of a chief was deemed higher in rank than his father. On the birth of a son the prestige of the father, or at least some portion of it, was automatically transferred to the child. He was a step upwards in the ancestral ladder, with a longer array of forefathers. Within the family the paternal authority was nearly absolute. Slavery was common; and the head of the family could put his slaves to death with impunity. If he ventured, however, to go the length of taking the life of wives or children, he would in the former case be liable to a claim for compensation or to vengeance at the hands of the kindred of the murdered wife; in the latter case he would be called to account by the tribe. The power of a chief also was nominally absolute within his *gens* or tribe, as the case might be. Both domestic and foreign affairs, however, were debated by the principal chiefs in open assembly, at which the warriors, women, and even children were allowed to speak. The chiefs were thus made amenable to public opinion, though the final decision apparently rested with them. 'Public quarrels between chiefs are referred to the *rangátira nui*, or head of the tribe, and his fiat is generally conclusive. His authority is much respected; yet subordination is scarcely known, as, provided a chief is satisfied with his people, they may be insolent to any other party, independent of his authority; the people supporting their chief, who in turn winks at their exactions and ill conduct.' Such a state of things, it is obvious, would give abundant pretext for the wars to which the people were addicted. The head of the tribe was not necessarily the leader in war; the war-chief was elected (J. S. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, London, 1840, i. 60 ff., ii. 23 ff., 34 ff.; Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 350 ff.; E. Tregear, *JAI* xix. [1889] 112).

The Bantu and Negro populations of Africa are also all more or less warlike. Without going into details, which would be tedious as well as unnecessary in view of the different types of society already presented, it may be said that among them a still higher organization has been developed, culminating in kingdoms ruled by hereditary monarchs surrounded by hosts of officials, maintaining an elaborate ceremonial, having a standing army, and whose subjects are graded into classes, each with its own occupation, rights, and duties; the whole edifice resting, it may be, on the slavery of a conquered tribe.

Constitutional law, in truth, is the very framework of society. It is the foundation-norm. Without it there can be no regulated limitation of wills; society falls into anarchy; it ceases to exist. The possibility of this result is not within the contemplation of any community. Consequently constitutional law rarely or never has any definite penal sanction attached to its observance, even in the highest civilization. But this does not entitle us to deny it the name of law.

Again, international law must be recognized wherever there is contiguity or intercourse between two or more independent tribes or peoples. It certainly exists in Australia. Strict formality governs the relations between tribe and tribe. There is a way of accrediting messengers which renders their persons sacred; there are rules concerning meetings for barter, for the celebration of religious and other rites, for mutual conference and the settling of intertribal differences, for intertribal hospitality, and even for the prosecution of war. Such rules are also found on other planes of culture, though some of them may be disregarded where a warlike and arrogant people comes into contact with a feebler one, or where passions are greatly excited. On the whole, however, it is true to say that, while the conventions of international relations are very seldom provided with a formal sanction, they are habitually observed, and their breach is liable to be seriously resented.

For these reasons we cannot regard the test of sanction as satisfactory; we are driven back upon that of recognition. Where a rule is generally recognized, it may be said to be imposed and enforced by society, whether or not a definite external sanction be annexed to it. For public opinion and the individual conscience will co-operate to ensure its observance. We may then define law as *a set of rules imposed and enforced by a society, for the conduct of social and political relations.*

To a large extent morality and law cover the same ground. The law of every community is an index to its morals; and especially is it so with relatively primitive peoples. Among them the standard of the collective conscience is external; the idea of motive as affecting the value of an act has not yet been fully evolved. To such peoples, for instance, the unconscious violation of a tabu entails the same guilt as the most deliberate; it is equally heinous to slay a man by accident and with malice aforethought. The distinction drawn by our morality between the different classes of homicide, and adopted by our law, matters nothing to them; bloodshed even in self-defence demands atonement. Until the individual conscience has been cultivated by the reflexion of generations on the social norms and their adaptation to the changing environment, and until the emotions have been disciplined and directed with some conscious effort, if not to the general wellbeing, at all events to the maintenance of the existing customs and constitution of society, morality cannot emerge as distinct from law. The process commences early. It is indispensable to the growth of civilization. It is one of the most important dynamic forces contributory to that growth. But its operation is slow.

On the other side, law is concerned with procedure. Actively to enforce compliance with the rules governing a society, or to punish non-compliance, certain steps have to be taken, and certain forms observed; otherwise the enforcement is lawless violence or individual caprice; it has not the consent and the power of the collectivity behind it. These forms are frequently, in the early stages of culture, crude enough; but they are forms recognized as the proper means of obtaining reparation for wrong. The sentence of death passed by a band of Eskimos on an obnoxious person, though passed in his absence and without his knowledge, is the sentence of the community, given in a manner more or less formal. In Australia such a decision would be arrived at by consultations of the governing elders. In either case it would carry the weight of the community. When the duty of retaliation for the death or injury of a man is left to his kin, it is because this is the recognized means of restraining lawless aggression. Stigma and contempt would follow their neglect of vengeance; but for others to interfere would be to commit a new offence, to arouse a new blood-feud; it would be outside their duty; it would not be in pursuance of the law. The feuds resulting from this method of enforcing the norm against bloodshed within the community are, however, in time perceived to lead to new dangers. To obviate these more than one method is available. The rule of a life for a life is commuted for a pecuniary compensation, agreed on between the parties or assessed by a recognized tribunal. With the advance of culture this is often, as among the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles, both Celtic and Teutonic, elaborated into a regular scale of payments in accordance with the rank of the victim, and is applied to other injuries—to those against property as well as against the person. The beginnings of the practice of referring outrages for redress to a recognized tribunal appear very low down in culture.

Among the tribes of south-western Victoria 'persons accused of wrong-doing get one month's notice to appear before the assembled tribes'—probably the tribe of the complainant and that of the defendant—'and be tried, on pain of being outlawed and killed' (J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, Melbourne, 1881, p. 76). 'In the Narrinyeri tribe offenders were brought before the *Tendi* (council of old men) for trial. For instance.

if a member of one clan had been in time of peace killed by one of another clan, the clansmen of the latter would send to the friends of the murderer, and invite them to bring him for trial before the united Tendis. If, after trial, he were found guilty of committing the crime, he would be punished according to his guilt' (Howitt, 341). It is a very wide-spread practice of the Negro and Bantu peoples, equally in cases of what we should call a civil dispute and of crime, to have recourse to a *palaver*—which is, in effect, an action at law. The accused is summoned before a properly constituted court, a trial takes place, witnesses are examined, advocates are heard, and sentence is given. Only then can punitive measures be taken against the offender or the person liable on the claim. In certain cases, such as an accusation of witchcraft, the matter is decided by means of an ordeal, under which the accused may die. Such is the confidence felt in the *palaver* that the blood-feud has receded more and more into the background. Indeed, in at least one tribe in the Congo basin, recent scientific explorers have been unable to discover a trace of it (E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, *Les Bushongo*, Brussels, 1910, p. 76).

With procedure morals have little directly to do. It is sufficient that its rules are part of the law, and as such must be observed. How far any modification of those rules has in relatively primitive communities arisen out of moral considerations is a question to determine which the data do not at present exist.

The question must be answered: Whence does a law derive that recognition which determines its validity as a rule imposed and enforced by society? Even in highly organized and civilized communities the answer given by Austin is incomplete and unsatisfactory. For, though the written law expressed by a specific act of legislation is a rule definitely formulated and prescribed by the sovereign power, we are still left without any account of the source of that large body of rules equally binding on the community and known as the 'unwritten law,' in England called the 'common law.' In many modern States the law is wholly contained in a code supplemented and amended by subsequent legislation. Where there is no code, legislation presupposes, and is ultimately founded on, the unwritten law. This unwritten law is found expressed in judicial decisions given upon the cases brought before the courts from time to time. This was a process well known in ancient Roman jurisprudence. Decisions merely profess to declare the pre-existing law, and apply it to the relations of the parties in litigation. They may, in effect, formulate and make binding a new rule. If so, this is done by adopting and applying some principle already held by the community to be morally binding. When the result is generally accepted, the decision becomes law; and, though not formally an act of legislation, it has the same consequences. Otherwise it is overruled by a subsequent decision, or by the sovereign power.

In a relatively primitive society there is not always an authority capable of formulating a legislative act. All laws are unwritten. They depend for their validity, like the decisions of English judges, on acceptance and recognition. To a large extent they come down from remote and unrecorded antiquity; and on that plane of culture the forces of conservatism, influential as they are with us, wield immensely greater power. The custom of the fathers acquires a religious sanction beyond and apart from its appropriateness to the circumstances and condition of the people. The feeling was accurately if not completely expressed by the Bœotian who told an inquisitive and supercilious foreigner that he knew only one thing, namely, that it was right to maintain the customs of one's ancestors, and that it was not right to apologize for them to foreigners. The answer was incomplete because it did not give adequate expression to the awe, the religious fear, the devotion—in short, the complex of emotions—that guard and preserve the institutions of savage society.

The cannibal Fang, we are informed, are not only 'not quick to adopt reforms or to introduce new methods; they are more or less the slaves of custom, and have a superstitious dread of departing from ancestral habits'—and this in 'all the proceedings of life' (*JAI* xxix. [1899] 80). The inhabitants of the island of Serang, one of the Moluccas, are reported to have an aversion to novelties, and to be very superstitious and much attached to their ancient usages. 'Custom is for them the law, and not to follow it is in their eyes not merely an outrage on it, but also an insult to the forefathers from whom the old customs have descended' (J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 97). The same tale is told almost everywhere. To such lengths did a Bechuana chief carry his objection to change that, when one of his tribesmen had obtained some maize and planted it, although he allowed him to reap and eat of it, he would not allow him to plant it a second time, because it was a plant 'unknown to the fathers' (T. Arbousset and F. Daumas, *Exploratory Tour*, Cape Town, 1846, p. 172). Innovations are indeed often punished as a crime. Among the Arunta 'any infringement of custom, within certain limitations, is visited with sure and often severe punishment' (Spencer-Gillen^{a}, p. 11 f.); while among the Bangala on the Upper Congo adherence to custom is secured by the fear of being charged with witchcraft; in other words, that is the penalty imposed by society on him who departs from it (J. H. Weeks, *JAI* xxxix. [1909] 108).

The circumstances and condition of a people, however, are never quite steadfast; they are always changing, although slowly and insensibly, with everything else in the world. Appropriate customs arise gradually and unmarked, and are adapted from time to time to these slow changes with the same gradual and imperceptible progression. Hence to the members of such a society their customs frequently appear to be unchanged from the beginning, the unaltering bequest of the wisdom of the primeval ancestors, or a necessary part of the scheme of things without which they cannot conceive of the existence of society. Yet it is evident that both the original customs themselves and the changes that they undergo, however gradually and imperceptibly, must have been initiated by individuals. The collective opinion and the collective will are merely the concurrence of individual opinions and individual wills. Perception of this individual action is indicated in the traditions of many peoples; and, though the tradition of individual legislation may not in any specific case be trustworthy as history, it assuredly points to a consciousness of the fact of change and of change by individual initiation. Sometimes, no doubt, a Lycurgus might arise, and by force of his personality and genius impress his countrymen with his opinions and will to the extent of legislation. More usually a change, when recognized as such, is the result of long and repeated discussions among the leaders of the tribe. Spencer and Gillen give sound reasons for thinking that this is a course from time to time adopted by the aborigines of Central Australia (*op. cit.*, p. 12). If they are right, the conclusion cannot be limited to the tribes described by them. Such a change would not be ventured upon unless the elders were satisfied that the tribe was ripe for it. When announced, it would have to run the gauntlet of criticism by the whole tribe, and its validity would ultimately rest on general acceptance. In the lapse of time the superseded law might sink out of memory; the new law would then be regarded as of primeval authority.

At a somewhat later stage in civilization the lawgiver invokes the authority of the gods for his legislation. The Mosaic Law is ascribed to Jahweh; Hammurabi receives his famous code from Shamash; Minos is instructed by Zeus. In this way the general acceptance and permanence of the law would be secured by investing it with the sanctity of religion. The same intention is visible in the legislation of King Alfred the Great, who, in collecting and adapting the laws of his predecessors, placed at the head of the compilation the divinely inspired Decalogue and other Mosaic precepts. Acceptance is facilitated by the indistinction still characteristic of the institutions of such a society. We may analyze them under the heads of law, religion, medicine, morals, and so forth; we may distinguish between different kinds of law; we may sever religion from medicine and medicine from magic; the members of the community itself do none of these things; no such analysis is possible to them. All their institutions are for them bound together into one equally authoritative and homogeneous whole. Each is part of all the rest, and cannot be severed from them. They see nothing extravagant in publishing a code in the name of a god, nothing incongruous in combining in the same code ritual, moral, agricultural, and medical with what we understand by strictly juridical prescriptions, prohibitions of homicide, rape, theft, and fraud with meticulous directions as to food—what must be avoided, what may be eaten, and how it must be prepared—the treatment of disease, the method of tillage, and the garb in mourning. The same code in the same divine name and with equal authority may make regulations for the conduct of commercial transactions and of the most intimate conjugal relations, as well as for a complex and splendid ceremonial of divine worship. All these are part of the national institutions, equally carrying the sense of obligation, and all actively fostering the sense of solidarity; therefore no impropriety can be felt in ascribing them to the same source.

The indistinction thus found has always been one of the chief hindrances to missionary enterprise. To break with one custom is to break with all; to renounce the religious ideas of the ancestors is to renounce the entire scheme of culture with which they are bound up. The same indistinction has retarded scientific inquiry into the jurisprudence of the lower culture. Observers have been apt to record practices, not law. Striking and superficial differences between savage culture and ours have riveted the attention, to the neglect of the principles underlying all social organization. Consequently the meaning of those differences has too frequently been missed, and their place in the development of civilization has been misunderstood.

Thus in a scientific periodical we are told by a writer who has lived and laboured among the tribe: 'The Fang have no system of law, no judge or tribunal for punishment of crime.' Yet he immediately goes on to say: 'Theft, murder, offences against the person are all settled according to native custom'; and he describes the procedure for the purpose (*JAI* xxix. 78).

A definite procedure for the purpose of settling claims that else will blossom into open warfare may not be literally a system of law; it is at all events a long step in the evolution of jurisprudence. But the observation quoted shows that what the writer has in mind is a highly civilized judicial system, such as he has been familiar with in his native land. He must be aware that the Fang, like all other tribes, have a body of customs having the force of law. They are the rules generally recognized and habitually observed, by means of which Fang society is held together. The particular procedure which he describes, if it discloses the want of a functionary armed with judicial authority, is not a picturesque but haphazard practice without sanction or recognition; it is a real juridical process. The author exhibits it by means of an example, thus:

> 'A Fang of the Esisis clan steals goods or a woman from a Fang of the Nge clan. The Nge who has been wronged does not go to the offender for settlement, he goes to another near town and shoots the first goat he sees in the street, or, if very angry, he may shoot a woman. The owner of the goat or woman demands of the Nge his reason for doing so. The Nge replies, "An Esisis" (giving the man's name) "has wronged me; I put the palaver (his offence) on you." The third party then goes to the Esisis and says, "An Nge" (giving the man's name) "has shot my goat (or woman) because you have made trouble with him; he has put your palaver (trouble) on me. You must pay me!" The original offender is now responsible and liable to two parties.'

These steps are thus the formal and regular preliminary to a palaver, and are as well understood over a considerable area of the continent of Africa as the king's writ or a police-court summons in Great Britain. So far from starting with an explosion of random rage, they are ingeniously calculated to enlist the active interference of a third party, and to render the wrong-doer liable in a double penalty—to the person injured by himself in respect of the original wrong, and to the third party in respect of the loss suffered by him at the hands of the latter. The palaver is publicly 'talked' by the representatives of the respective parties before the representatives of their respective clans. Though it does not appear that these have any direct power to impose a fine or order payment of the claims, such a discussion must in most cases tend to compose the differences, for it informs the public fully on the merits of the dispute. And the aggressor knows that, if he fails to 'cut' the palaver, by paying a reasonable compensation to the satisfaction of the aggrieved parties and their clans, he and his clan will have to run the certain risk of hostilities by two clans with public opinion behind them. The process, therefore, offers powerful incentives to peace, doubtless actively assisted by the representatives of the clans involved.

It is, of course, perfectly true that the laws of the Fang, and of all other relatively primitive societies, extend (as has been pointed out above to many subjects that in the progress of civilization have dropped out of legislation. The use of the term 'law' in common parlance limits it to acts of the legislature and such other rules as are recognized by the courts of justice. It obscures for us the fact that many of the rules which we observe in daily life, though they are not amenable to the king's courts, are laws which have their own sanction, and breach of which will subject us to penalties tending to exclude us from the society of our fellows and make life burdensome in other ways. By virtue of the indistinction which we have already noted, savage mentality, though admitting a difference in the penalties, heaps all these rules together as customs. As such they are sacred. All alike they rest on a traditional basis; together they constitute the ethos of the society, which is not likely to be infringed. The variance of our point of view from that of the savage, the indifference or the comparative leniency with which we regard some acts or omissions that seem highly important to him, and the emphasis which we lay on other acts or omissions that he treats as trivial are a measure of the distance of our civilization from his, and should not blind us to the fact that what we call the customs of a tribe are as much a body of laws as the *Code Napoléon*.

LITERATURE.—The substance of the laws of peoples in the lower culture is mostly to be gathered from the general accounts of travellers, missionaries, and scientific explorers; and its collection and comparison is as laborious a process as any other branch of anthropological inquiry. In some instances, however, European rulers have for purposes of government found it necessary to collect and in some measure codify the laws of their subject-peoples, notably on the continent of Africa. Among such collections may be mentioned *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, compiled by direction of J. Maclean, Cape Town, 1866; *Report and Proceedings with Appendices of the Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs*, published by the Government of the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Town, 1883 (a very valuable collection); *Les Coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, by F. J. Clozel and R. Villamur, Paris, 1902 (a comprehensive juridical work giving the laws of the various tribes separately); *Fanti Customary Laws, a brief Introduction to the Principles of the Native Laws and Customs of the Fanti and Akan Sections of the Gold Coast, with a Selection of Cases thereon decided in the Law Courts*, by John Mensah Sarbah, London, 1897 (the author was a Negro barrister practising in the Courts; comparison of this with the last-mentioned work affords an admirable example of the difference between the French and English methods and views of jurisprudence). A collection of the laws of the Dinkas in the Egyptian Sūdan was made by Hugh O'Sullivan for practical purposes, when in charge of the Dinka divisions of the Upper Nile Province. It was published in *JRAI* xl. (1910) 171. Collections of the laws of the Herero, a very interesting tribe in German S.W. Africa, have been published by Eduard Dannert (*Zum Rechte der Herero*, Berlin, 1906). As might be expected, these compilations, from their practical purpose, contain little beyond the native laws so far as they are administered by the Courts. Felix Meyer's *Wirtschaft und Recht der Herero* (Berlin, 1905) comprises somewhat more. A more general work, written in a scientific spirit, is *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz: Ethnologisch-juristische Beiträge zur Kenntniss der einheimischen Rechte Afrikas*, by A. H. Post, 2 vols., Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1887. The best compendium of the whole subject, with abundant bibliographical references, is the same author's *Grundriss der ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, do. 1894–95, to which may be added S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, Berlin, 1903.

In various periodicals devoted to jurisprudence, articles on the subject are occasionally found. Such articles are frequent in the *ZVRW*, Stuttgart, 1887 to date. One of the editors, Josef Kohler, devotes special attention to it.

Accessible works on the general subject are those of Henry J. Sumner Maine, esp. his *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions*, London, 1875. But it must be borne in mind in reading them that a generation of further research has resulted in conclusions widely differing from his on several important points.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

LAW (American).—In so vast a culture-area as the two Americas, with their wide range of stages of civilization, from the savage tribes of S. California or the Amazonians to the highly organized Aztecs and Peruvians, the concept and the scope of law necessarily present extreme divergencies; and the difficulty of the task of preparing a *Corpus juris Americani*—a work urgently needed by all students of comparative ethnological jurisprudence—is enhanced by the scantiness of the records which have been preserved of extinct or obsolescent American Indian stocks, as well as by our almost utter ignorance of many living stocks, particularly in S. America, while scarcely any of the earlier observers studied from a juristic point of view the tribes with whom they came in contact.

Yet it would be wrong to conclude that the American Indian, even of the most undeveloped stock, is a lawless being. In a very real sense he may be essentially more law-abiding than those who are commonly regarded as highly civilized; for to him law is well-nigh synonymous with custom (*q.v.*); it is not something imposed from without, or supported by pleas of 'the greatest good of the greatest number,' or exercised by a class who may be regarded with antipathy by many members of the community, or a bondage ingeniously and sophistically to be eluded or circumvented by clever legal illegality, or a purely human convention to be flouted and broken by any lawless individual of sufficient strength to do so.

1. North America.—The general basis of N. American Indian government was the family—on a totemistic foundation—which formed a part of the gens, and this, in turn, of the tribe. Matriarchy was the rule, and the women possessed much influence in the election of the chiefs, of whom there might be more than one, so that separate chiefs presided over military and civil affairs among Iroquois, Muskhogeans, Chippewa, Dakota, and Pomo, and sometimes, as among the Caribs, there were chiefs only in time of war. The position and source of the chieftainship varied among the different stocks, and the general problem here is connected with that of the origin of the kingship (see the series of artt. on KING). Among many tribes, such as the Iroquois, Caddo, Omaha, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche, the Plains Indians generally, Maidu, Yurok, Miwok, Kutchin, Tlingit, and Kaniagmiut, the chieftainship was elective, depending on the women or the shaman, often practically restricted to certain families, but conditioned in great part by wealth, and still more by personal ability. Elsewhere the office was hereditary, unless grave obstacles forbade, as among the Natchez, the Carolina tribes, Pawnee, Pomo, Gallinomero, Gualala, Nutka, and, under certain conditions, the Dakota; and among still other tribes both systems were in simultaneous use, as among the Abenaki, with whom the *sachem*, or supreme ruler of a number of tribes, held office by hereditary right, while the individual tribal heads, or *sagamores*, were elected.

The power of the American Indian chief is restricted, sometimes by more or less elaborate tribal councils, as among the Comanche, sometimes—and more effectually—by public opinion. Only rarely, as among the Natchez and the Santee, did he have power which might become tyrannical. Frequently he is little more than *primus inter pares*, this being especially the case in the less organized forms of government, such as the Maidu, Karok, and Californians generally. Much, however, depended on a chief's personal ability, notable instances of wielders of wide power being the Wampanoag Massassoit and the Powhatan Wahunsonacock.

The territorial scope of the chief's power also varies widely. In a few regions in N. America—most notably the Iroquois (*q.v.*)—real states and confederacies were established, but elsewhere—as on the west coast and among the Apache, Comanche, Shoshoni, and Eskimos—each chief was head only of a village. The Iroquois had developed the elements of international law, having a regular system of sending envoys, whose persons were sacred, to declare war or to make peace; and tribes less advanced politically possess the rudiments of similar institutions.

In very few instances the chieftainship is traced back to a divine origin, the most notable example being the Natchez chief, who was descended from the sun, although occasionally, as among the Nutka, the chief is at the same time a 'medicine-man,' or, as among the Calusa, he was believed to possess supernatural power, and was deposed or killed if he did not use this for the welfare of his people.

Among the Iroquois an insolvent debtor was tied to a tree and flogged, but among the Oregon tribes he became a slave. Death usually cancelled debt, as among the Eskimos. As regards contracts, the same general rules held as among ourselves, although the Tlingit and, with some reservations, the Eskimos expressly provided that either party might withdraw from a contract upon which he had agreed. For the American Indian laws regarding property see art. PROPERTY.

American Indian criminal law is concerned mainly with murder and theft. The penalties for murder have been considered in art. BLOOD-FEUD (Primitive). The normal punishment for witchcraft was death, which was also the penalty for incest among some of the Carolina tribes, for robbing a grave, as among the Chinook, for cowardice, as among the Kansa, and for desertion by an adopted prisoner of war, as among the Missouri tribes, this being regarded as treason to his new tribe. As regards theft, the thief was generally bound to make simple restitution; but the Huron required double restitution; and among some of the N. Carolina tribes, as also among the Tlingit, the thief, if unable to make the restitution required, became a quasi-slave. Among the Comanche, murder, adultery, theft, and failure to cure the sick were punished by death. As a rule, however, even the gravest crimes might be commuted by fines (cf. art. BLOOD-FEUD [Primitive]).

Legal procedure naturally varied according to the stage of civilization attained by each tribe. In the most primitive strata the punishment for non-capital offences was public contempt; in case of capital crime the persons injured—or their kin—themselves acted as executioners. Anything approximating a formal court was, however, extremely rare; the tribal councils normally took cognizance only of peace, war, and other matters affecting the tribe as a whole. Nevertheless, totem and tribal courts were found among the Huron, which acted especially on charges of murder, treason, and witchcraft. Any error in the form of procedure before these courts quashed the whole case. Certain Missouri tribes had courts of arbitration, whose decisions it was an obligation of honour to fulfil, while elsewhere considerable influence is exercised by the tribal councils, as among the Hopi and Iroquois.

2. Mexico and Central America.—The Aztec sovereign was regarded as the earthly representative of the gods, whence implicit obedience was due him, and his power was absolute. Like the Peruvian Inca, he was assisted by many officials, and there seems to have been a special department of justice, while in each large city there was a viceroy (*cihuacohuatl*) controlling both the general administration and justice, and constituting the final court of appeal in criminal cases. The rules as to the succession of the Mexican kingship differed in various times and places. In Tezcuco, Tlacopan, Michoacan, and Tlascala, as well as among the Miztec and Zapotec, the eldest son was normally the heir to the throne; but in Mexico it was usually the eldest brother or the eldest brother's eldest son who succeeded, though there seems to have been no rigid rule of succession, ability and character being more potent in the eyes of the electors than mere kinship to a deceased ruler. Over the Zapotec city of Yopaa a hereditary priest-king ruled.

In the smaller cities there were judges who decided minor cases, referring others to the higher courts, *e.g.*, to those consisting of three judges, who sat under the control of each *cihuacohuatl*. Both Mexico and Tezcuco seem to have been divided into six circuits, each represented at the capital by two judges, who formed the lower court for important cases, the court of last resort consisting of twelve or thirteen judges appointed by the sovereign, apparently for life, and required to assemble, under the presidency of the king or his representative, for ten or twelve days every four months (80 days). Any bribery, negligence, or partiality exposed them to reproof, and, if repeated, to degradation or even death; and the entire court system was worked in minute detail. Besides the regular courts, there were special courts for markets and for military affairs.

The Mexican laws, which recognized circumstantial evidence, seem to have been codified, and were administered strictly, though some leniency was shown to first offenders. The stern impartiality with which the judges acted was most admirable, and high rank or kinship to the king was of no avail to the criminal; indeed, Netzahualpilli put his own wife to death for immorality, and Netzahualcoyotl had his only legitimate son executed for high treason.

The best known portions of Mexican law are those relating to criminal procedure. Here the evidence of witnesses was requisite, although the oath of the defendant was accepted as evidence. Formal complaint was not always essential to begin prosecution, common reputation, as in cases of adultery, sometimes forming sufficient ground for legal proceedings. All grave crimes were punished by death, the mode of death varying according to circumstances, rank, etc. The death penalty was prescribed for murder (even of a slave), kidnapping, adultery, incest, rape, unnatural vice, pandering, witchcraft, altering landmarks, appropriation of another's property or of the royal insignia, selling land already sold, selling stolen goods, falsifying weights, slander, drunkenness or other excesses of priests and royal retainers, military insubordination, flight from the enemy, permitting an enemy to escape, selling or releasing a prisoner of war, treason (involving slavery or banishment for kinsmen to the fourth degree, and in Tlaxcala the death of kindred to the seventh degree), false accusation before the king, false guardianship, striking or insulting a parent, squandering patrimony, challenge to a duel, perjury, harbouring an enemy of the State, and, according to some authorities, abortion and wearing the garments of the opposite sex. A thief must not only make restitution, but also pay a fine to the treasury; under aggravating circumstances (as in the market-place) or for repetition of the offence, he suffered death, but in Cuzco he was blinded. Slavery was often a punishment for crime—*e.g.*, for theft (apparently when the thief was unable to make the reparation demanded) and stealing another's child, as well as for delicts arising from negligence, if the delinquent was unable to make compensation otherwise, failure to lodge information of high treason, unauthorized sale of property, obtaining goods on false credit, embezzlement, failure to pay taxes, etc.; mutilation also occurred, as when the lips of a calumniator were pierced or partly cut off; and degrading punishments were inflicted in Anahuac for pandering. Drunkenness was an especial object of legislation, the drunkard's head being shaved, his house torn down, and all public office denied him; in some instances he even suffered the death penalty. Imprisonment as a punishment was rare, the usual use of the prison being restricted to those condemned to death or sacrifice. The *particeps criminis* in abortion was as severely punished as the principal, but received a milder penalty in cases of theft. Pardon might, however, be granted by the monarch, and certain festivals carried amnesty with them, while forgiveness by the injured party or his kinsman might mitigate a penalty.

All possible provision was made for the poor from the State treasury; and the laws of Tezcuco sought to protect the forests as well as agriculture, besides forbidding undue luxury—*e.g.*, gold and silver vessels for the wealthy nobles. There was also among the Aztec a law of contracts which must be made under oath; and gambling debts were valid so far as they came within the law of contracts. Another form of contract was farming on shares. Interest on loans was unknown, but commissions on sale and deposits in pledge were common.

The Mayan sovereignty was hereditary in the male line, and the power of the king was absolute, though he was constantly advised by his nobles; among the Quiche the king seems to have been succeeded by his brother, the heir-presumptive being the king's eldest son. Among the Lacandones and Nicaraguans the chieftainship was elective, and among the latter the chief was practically subject to the council; in Darien and among the Mosquito, on the other hand, hereditary chiefs ruled; while in Chichen (in Yucatan) a priest-king held power, in which connexion it should be noted that all the semi-mythical founders of Maya civilization, such as Votan, Zamná, and Kukulcan, were both priests and kings.

The system of courts was elaborate, and it is noteworthy that both here and among the Aztec advocates (though probably not with a special legal training) were appointed to aid both the judges and the parties to the case. Inspectors seem to have traversed the country to see that justice was properly administered, but there appears to have been no power of appeal after a decision had once been rendered. In cases of grave crime, torture is said to have been employed at Vera Paz to elicit testimony. The Maya punishments were death, enslavement, and fine; imprisonment, except for detention, was rare, though inflicted at Coban for non-payment of taxes. The death penalty usually involved confiscation of property and enslavement of the criminal's family; it was inflicted for murder (although in Yucatan and Nicaragua, in a case of extreme provocation or other extenuating circumstances only a fine was inflicted, while, if a man killed another's slave, he was required to pay damages), incorrigible thieving, stealing large amounts (San Salvador—all theft in Darien) or from a temple, adultery (Darien, Yucatan, Itza, and Guatemala), rape (Guatemala), incest and seduction (Yucatan), sodomy (Nicaragua), treason, desertion, interference with payment of tribute to the king, kidnapping, killing the quetzal bird (Guatemala), disrespect for religion, lying in time of war (Pipile), sorcery, sexual relations with a foreigner (Carib), false testimony (Darien), and fornication between slaves (Vera Paz). Sometimes the choice between death and fine lay with the injured party, as for fornication and for poaching.

Enslavement was the penalty for murder by a minor (Yucatan), theft (if the thief was unable to make restitution and also pay a fine to the royal treasury) or attempted robbery, continued unchastity by a woman, unsuccessful rape, and obtaining goods on false credit (Guatemala), repeated adultery (Vera Paz), cohabitation with another's female slave (Pipile). Small thefts and improper advances to a woman were punished by banishment in San Salvador, as was bigamy in Nicaragua, but thieving was penalized by mutilation in Darien; a degrading punishment was flogging for falsehood (Pipile), theft by a noble (Yucatan), and adultery (Honduras and Nicaragua). All but the most heinous offences could, however, be commuted by fines. Strict fulfilment of contracts was required, and they were made valid by the parties drinking in the presence of witnesses.

3. **South America.**—The general level of civilization is far lower in S. America than in the northern continent; indeed, the conditions are, broadly speaking, very little superior to those of the Californian tribes. The usual centre of government in S. America is the village, each village having its own chief. Succession to the chieftainship seems generally to be by inheritance, as among the Bororo, Uaupe, western Tupi, Araucanians, and the tribes along the Xingu; but sometimes, as among the Caribs, Chiquito, Guahibo, Cren, Coroado, and Paraguayans, each chief is elected, though among some tribes, as the Tupinambaza, only from a special family. Only rarely does he claim divine power, as when a chief near Coro asserted that he was creator and lord of earth. Unlike N. America, which is matriarchal, both matriarchy and patriarchy are found in S. America; hence succession is sometimes matriarchal, as in British Guiana and among the Warrau, and sometimes patriarchal, as among the Uaupe, Araucanians, and the tribes along the upper Xingu, although among the latter, in default of a son, a sister's son becomes chief.

In time of peace the functions of the S. American chief are mainly conditioned by his personal ability, though in any event he is a counsellor rather than a ruler. He controls, in great measure, agricultural operations, organizes the expeditions for hunting and fishing, determines on places of settlement, and, at least sometimes, settles disputes that may arise. Among the Karaya he protects orphans and illegitimate children, and among the Macusi he convenes the village assemblies. One other function of importance he enjoys which is strikingly alien to his N. American fellow—his control of barter with neighbouring tribes and his duties as representative of his own village and as host to guests from other villages. Barter is much more important in S. than in N. America, and commercial relations between different stocks lead to a greater development of the rudiments of international law than is the case in the northern continent. So far is this carried that, among the Karaya, skill in conducting mercantile transactions is a more important qualification for chieftainship than ability in war, and even adopted prisoners of war may become chiefs if their business capacity is sufficient. In time of war the powers of the chief are greatly increased, as among the Caribs, Araucanians, Molucho, and Puelcho. If a chief is absent, he may be represented by a vice-chief, *e.g.* his sister; and if he dies, a kinsman, *e.g.* his widow's brother, may act until another chief assumes formal office. Among the Pampas tribes, on the contrary, the chief is authoritative only in time of peace.

Village councils deliberate on affairs of general importance; and sometimes, as among the Araucanians, sale of any part of the settlement is dependent on their approval, or, as among the Macusi, contesting parties submit to their decision, while among the Pampas tribes matters of religion come within their purview.

A further point of difference between S. and N. American government is the greater power of the 'medicine-man' (*paje*) in the former, particularly in matters that fringe upon the sphere of religion, *e.g.* in making war to revenge a murdered tribesman. However great the influence of the 'medicine-man' in N. America, he does not limit or circumscribe the power of the chief as he does in S. America.

The execution of justice usually depends upon the wronged individual or his friends or kin, although the functions of the Macusi council, just mentioned, form an exception to this general rule. Where a crime affects the whole community, as in cases of witchcraft, all seek to punish the offence. Death, often at the instance of the *paje*, is the penalty for sorcery and treason, as among the Araucanians, or for a woman who is unlawfully present at dances or in the men's house, as among the Chambira and some of the tribes along the upper Xingu, as well as among the Amazonians. Minor punishments are flogging or blinding, as for theft among the Brazilians. Among the Araucanians, torture may be used to extort a confession of guilt.

Occasionally legal responsibility is highly developed, as among the Goajiro, where one who lends an animal is responsible for any damage which it may do, and he who sells intoxicants for any mishap that may result. The Brazilians are acquainted with a system of deposits in pledge.

4. **Peru and the Chibchas.**—The culture of Peru stands quite isolated in S. America, where a high degree of civilization has been secured by no other people except the Chibchas (*q.v.*). The Peruvian government was essentially a socialistic despotism. Like the N. American Natchez, the Peruvians believed that their Inca was descended from the sun, whence he united within himself all civil and religious power, and was regarded as perfect. He was aided by a host of officials, themselves under strict inspectors, and everything was regulated to the minutest detail; in the giving of tribute, for instance, the natives of Pasto, being deemed stupid and dirty, were required to contribute at least some quota in the form of a levy of vermin. Poverty and idleness were as impossible as avarice; but, on the other hand, the socialism of the Inca's State stifled all initiative and all personal endeavour, placing everything on one dead, though relatively lofty, level. Land, for instance, was

apportioned by the State to the individual in proportion to the size of his family, and the allotment was changed annually according to the change of his circumstances—a usage which also appears elsewhere, as among the Brazilians and Huron. Labour was required of all—even children of five had their appointed tasks—and this labour was as meticulously regulated as were clothing, food, the care of strangers, the sick, the poor, and orphans and widows. The succession to the Incaship, as well as to the principal offices of State, was in general—though there were exceptions, and the authorities are not altogether in agreement—by inheritance in the male line.

Obedience to law was a marked characteristic of the Peruvians, particularly as law was of divine origin, and violation of it was believed to bring the wrath of the gods upon the land. The judges, who were supervised by inspectors and obliged to give an account of their administration, were bound by definite laws, and from their decisions there was no appeal, although the more important cases were tried before the higher officials, *e.g.* provincial governors. The severity of punishment was mitigated by alleviating circumstances, such as a first offence, provoked murder, or theft because of necessity; parents shared in punishment for offences committed by their children, and sometimes the superior was made a co-defendant with his inferior. On the other hand, men of rank were punished more severely than the ordinary citizen; *e.g.*, if one of the Inca's retinue committed the smallest theft, he suffered death.

The death penalty was freely inflicted, as for abortion, immorality, adultery, murder, ordinary theft, sorcery (the sorcerer's entire family being extirpated), fornication by a vestal of the sun (her lover and her whole kindred suffering with her), blasphemy of the sun, cursing the Inca, bridge-burning, etc.; lesser offences were punished with imprisonment; idlers were flogged; and even lying and slovenly housekeeping were visited with legal penalties.

The Chibcha ruler possessed despotic power. Succession passed first to the sister's son, or, in default of him, to the deceased ruler's brother. The laws were severe, and are remarkable for the number of fines which they levied, hereby enriching the royal treasury. Death was the penalty for murder, rape (if the culprit was married, his wife might be exposed to double the outrage which he had committed), incest, sodomy, and cowardice in war (in the latter event the coward might instead be forced to wear women's clothing). The thief was blinded; and other forms of mutilation are also mentioned as penalties. The nobles usually suffered degrading punishments, such as shearing off of the hair or flogging by their wives.

LITERATURE.—A complete survey of American law could be gained only by study of all the material thus far accessible on the peoples dwelling in the Americas. The chief summaries—by no means exhaustive—are the following: C. F. P. von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, Munich, 1832; J. Kohler, *Recht der Azteken*, Stuttgart, 1892, 'Ueber das Recht der Goajiroindianer,' *ZVRW* vii. [1887] 381–384, 'Die Rechte der Urvölker Nordamerikas,' *ib.* xii. [1895] 354–416; M. Schmidt, 'Über das Recht der tropischen Naturvölker Südamerikas,' *ib.* xiii. [1899] 280–318; T. Waitz, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker*, iv. [Leipzig, 1864] 404–417 (for Peru); H. H. Bancroft, *NR*, San Francisco, 1882–83, ii. 133 ff., 433–472 (for Mexico), 630–660 (for Central America). Much material, with references, is scattered throughout A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1894–95.

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LAW (Babylonian).—Babylonian law naturally was based upon ancient custom. The origin of such custom, however, is often hidden from us in the mists of antiquity. We may legitimately argue back from historic conditions to the prehistoric implications, but the methods usually adopted are guesses in the dark. The invention of writing and the use of clay as the writing material have combined to preserve documentary evidence of the nature of the old consuetudinary law of Babylonia to a very remarkable degree. The disputes which arose among the ancient Babylonians were settled by a court consisting of judges and a group of assessors, the elders of the city. In the times of a settled monarchy the judges were recognized, if not appointed, by the king, and ultimate appeal was made to him. Their decisions, if not revoked on appeal, carried the weight of his authority as viceregent of the god—just as in earlier times human judges had declared the decision of the divine judge of men. Ultimately, therefore, judicial decision and royal enactment were a divine law; Babylonian law ran in the name of God.

The population of Babylonia was in all but the very earliest times a mixture of races. Racial customs must in early times have been diverse and conflicting. The earliest people whose monuments have reached us are known as Sumerians (see art. BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS). They were early in contact with, and influenced by, Semitic folk. When invasion and conquest by successive waves of immigration had blended these races, they were subjected to further inroads by the Hittites, Kassites, Assyrians, Aramæans, Chaldæans, Persians, and even Greeks. For the most part, however, the life of the people had assumed a very stable form, and neither law nor custom suffered much change. This conservatism was largely due to the high degree of justice and the exact suitability to local conditions which the law had reached by the time of the Ist dynasty of Babylon, whose sixth monarch, the celebrated conqueror and lawgiver, Ḫammurabi, promulgated a code of laws known by his name as the Code of Ḫammurabi.[1]

Certain customs which had grown up under the oppressive rulers in Sumerian times were abrogated in favour of easier and fairer regulations by a series of enactments which are sometimes called the Code of Urukagina, after the monarch who claimed thereby to have relieved his people of the exactions of the royal tax-gatherers and priests. The rulers themselves and a host of their officials had ground down the people by fees and fines for legal matters such as divorce, marriage, or burial. To a considerable extent this was a legal reform; but, *e.g.*, while Urukagina abolished the fee demanded for divorce in former times, he has left us no statement of the conditions on which divorce was to be obtained in future. His reformation did away with abuses and restored the laws of God, but his record of it affords little information as to what those laws had been.

As it is probable that the Sumerians, over whom Urukagina ruled in the South of Babylonia, regained after his reforms their own native customs, uninfluenced by the Semitic peoples soon (about 20 years later) to rise to empire in the North under Sargon of Akkad, we must deplore the fact that we cannot treat the Code of Urukagina with adequate fullness as an authority for Sumerian law. When Sargon conquered the South, we may assume that great changes took place there, but we have evidence that the Sumerian law was adopted, in a great measure unchanged, by the Semitic invaders. Their very law-terms were taken over. Even when the bulk of the legal document was written in Semitic, Sumerian words and phrases were adopted unchanged, and 800 years later appear even in the Code of Ḫammurabi. The use of Sumerian as a language for legal documents in Southern cities such as Nippur survived the Ist dynasty of Babylon.

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[1] This we shall usually quote as 'the Code.'

We must therefore bear in mind that Babylonian law has its roots in Sumerian soil; and, while Semitic customs were retained where race prejudices or religious needs demanded, the laws which regulated the settled civilization of the community were due to economic necessity rather than to racial characteristics. They had been elaborated by Sumerians, but Semites assimilated them as too valuable to alter or discard. The Code of Ḫammurabi embodies the judgments of a long series of judges acquainted with an already formulated system of law which had considered most of the points involved in their decisions. Perhaps the need for any further enactments arose from the conflict between ancient law as found in the land and a recent custom due to the modifications introduced by the new race. For the dynasty to which Ḫammurabi belonged rose to power as the result of a fresh immigration of a Semitic folk called 'Amorites.' The Semitic speech already in use in Babylonia was known as Akkadian, but that of the new-comers showed marked differences from it and affinities with the Western dialects. We may assume that customs marked by similar affinities came in with it.

Hence we cannot claim even racial purity for Babylonian law. It is the product of the interplay of many peoples. It would be a task outside our limits to attempt to unravel the threads which are easily discernible in its texture—even if the materials for judging of their composition were available.

Curiously enough, the Semitic scribes who adopted the Sumerian methods of writing compiled extensive lists of words and phrases, such as would occur in legal documents, and attached Semitic renderings. These lists have naturally proved of great assistance in reading the Sumerian portions of the many thousands of legal documents, such as conveyances, deeds of sale, leases, bonds, marriage settlements, receipts, and other memoranda, which have come down to us. They were obviously drawn up to assist young lawyers, who were to become notaries. By a happy accident one scribe has preserved what looks like an extract from a code and has been called the 'Sumerian Family Laws' (see *ERE* iv. 257, v. 447).

The great Code of Ḫammurabi was often copied even at the time when promulgated, and copies were made for the library of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria (668–626 B.C.), which reproduce its decrees with marvellous fidelity 1200 years later. Copies, made in Babylonia, of even later times, exist. They were divided into books, or chapters, and read and commented upon almost to the end of Babylonian power. But copies of other later laws also exist, which show marked changes. The legal documents of the Chaldæan period of Nebuchadrezzar and his successors also show changes. We may, for want of a more precise term, call this Neo-Babylonian law.

With the details of a citizen's rights and obligations we are not well acquainted. Much is assumed in the Code as well known which we would gladly be told explicitly. The Code recognizes the *amêlu*, a free-born person of high birth and standing, the *mushkênu*, free, but of lower rank, and the *wardu*, slave. These three great classes were separately treated. A slave could be sold or pledged, and had no wage for his services. If injured by a third person, his injury was assessed and the offender fined, but the fine went to his master. The master seems to have had the power to punish him, but not to kill him, though he might brand him. The master clothed and fed him, and he had a right to three days' cessation from labour a month, at any rate in some cases. He might acquire property and even marry a free woman. He could buy his freedom and sometimes was freed by adoption. The slave girl often bore children to her master, but acquired rights thereby, so that she could not be sold outright, and even when insolent to her mistress could only be reduced to slave rank again, and was free in any case on her master's death. The slave went freely about the city and district, but was strictly guarded against flight. Any one who captured a runaway slave and restored him to his master was entitled to a fixed reward. To harbour a slave or connive at his flight was severely punished. To obliterate the slave-brand was treated as theft.

Some slaves, possibly captives in war, were owned subject to a fixed period of State service, extending to four or five yearly terms, either for war or for public works.

The status of a *mushkênu* was that of a plebeian. It may well have embraced the whole population, not of noble birth, who yet were free. The legal documents rarely refer to such members of the community except to name the quarter of the city where they dwelt. Injury done to them was punished more severely than injury done to a slave, but less severely than injury to an *amêlu*. But the *mushkênu* had less to pay for his crimes than a noble would, just as his offering was less in the temple. In all other respects he was free, and in many laws he is included among the *amêlu*, being named solely when treated as distinct.

The *amêlu* was properly a man of family, his genealogy being enrolled, his birth, marriage, and death being subjects of registration, and he was by strict interpretation an aristocrat—a title borne by the king himself. His status covered not only the rich proprietors, but also the military, priestly, and professional classes. Gilds of artificers existed, and had special quarters in which they usually dwelt. They were inter-connected by family relations, but admitted as apprentices both slaves and freemen. Nevertheless, they ranked as *amêlu*.

The king was in theory a benevolent despot and the prosperity of his land depended to an extraordinary degree on his powers of hard work and organization. He took cognizance of all sorts of affairs throughout his kingdom—oppression, distress, neglect of officials, building, sheep-shearings, and movements of supplies, as well as military measures. Above all, he was the source of justice and the fount of honour. He had long ceased to be owner of all land, though conquest made him owner of much territory, especially the land of those killed in battle. He had his own estates as a private person as well as entailed endowments, as also had the great officers of State. But he had to buy like a private individual if he wished for more, or at any rate compensate at market price those whom he displaced. In most cities there was a palace which was usually occupied by his viceroy, or by a local magnate. Thus the *rabiânu*, or city mayor, had his palace. It was a hereditary office subject to royal approval.

Under the Ist dynasty a great many military or feudal retainers were settled in the land. To each was assigned a definite holding of field, house, and garden, together with some stock, for which he owed service. The service was 'the king's errand,' whether for war, garrison duty, postal duty, or command of troops or of gangs of workmen on the *corvée*. The holding was inalienable, but refusal to go on the king's errand forfeited it and life together. It was carefully protected from oppression or the encroachments of higher officials, and was reserved for its holder if he returned from foreign service within three years. If he had a son able to manage it in his father's absence, it was entrusted to him; if not, the duty was delegated to a *locum tenens*, one-third being reserved to the holder's family. Neglect on his own part to manage it forfeited the holding. If such a feudal tenant was taken captive abroad, he was ransomed at his own expense, but, in default of means to ransom himself, his city was bound to ransom him, and, if that failed, the State did so.

Such feudal tenants were captains, or at least sergeants, in the army and taskmasters on the *corvée*. All able-bodied men were liable to serve on both accounts, with the exception of temple servants, shepherds, stewards on estates, palace servants, and those whose service was essential at home. In the course of time military service was commuted for payment, or a group of families was called upon to provide and maintain a soldier, while the State found him arms. As early as the 8th cent. B.C. a definite area of land was required to furnish a bowman and his attendant pikeman, and was known as a 'bow' of land. These were grouped in tens and hundreds. Later, a horseman with his equipment was due from certain estates.

Closely allied with this military tenure was that of a *shukha*, whose office is not entirely clear. He was a 'catcher,' but whether of fish or men is not certain. If the former, fisheries were State property; if the latter, he was a sort of policeman. Subject to his service, whatever it was, he held lands on the same terms from the king. Other lands were held on condition of paying rent or tribute. The latter was due from holders of conquered lands. The king often rewarded his faithful subjects by grants of lands, and might further exempt such estates from State obligations.

Riparian owners had liabilities to furnish work to keep open or repair the canals, bridges, quays, etc. These public works were carried out at the expense of a king, a temple, or some public benefactor, but the beneficiaries were responsible for their upkeep.

The State claimed also fixed rates of all crops, stock, etc. Every city had its own octroi, customs, ferry dues, and highway and water rates, levied on all but its own citizens. Each city claimed some special rights; thus a burgher of Nippur could not be pressed for the army; Asshur was exempt from the *corvée*; and every citizen of Babylon had the right to trial even if caught at burglary. We happen to know of these facts accidentally, but probably most cities preserved laws distinct from the Code.

The king's messengers in peace, and a general or levy-master in time of war, could commandeer horses, fodder, cattle, grain, vehicles, etc., giving a receipt to the victim which ensured their return or compensation. Apparently the temple treasuries, which received a share of the spoil taken in war, were called upon to furnish means for war, the king borrowing of them and sometimes returning the loan. Later we find the palace acting as treasury and arsenal also.

The temple was a most important factor in Babylonian city life. The god, in theory, owned all the land, and every holder paid a tribute or rent to the city-god. The holders were, of course, members of the clan or association of people who had settled the city and built the temple. These and their descendants also had the right to furnish its priests, who inherited shares of the right to minister in the temple; and profit by its revenues became a valuable species of property, freely sold or leased, but entailed to certain lines of succession. The tribute to the temple from those who held its lands was early commuted to a tithe of all produce of the lands. But many holders had inherited the right to share this revenue. Private ownership of land may have arisen from the fact that a man inherited land on which he paid tithe ultimately to himself. Conquest and commercial arrangements gradually dissolved old obligations, and estates were freed by charter; but, while much land became private property, much was always entailed, or subject to redemption by next of kin. The temple also always retained much in its own possession, and acted as a large land-owner. It owned great herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats; it made up raw stuff, especially into garments; and it lent freely to those in necessity and on security, both with and without interest. Naturally the temple grew rich and employed large numbers of servants. The convents or cloisters of vowed women made the same progress, till the temples and allied institutions became much like the monasteries in mediæval towns.

Doubtless the concentration of power in the hands of the monarch and consequent centralization, coupled with incessant intercourse, gradually tended to break down local and city custom and make for uniformity. But there were other important factors.

A principle which had established itself through ages of commercial activity was that of contract. If parties could agree, they made a contract. Their deed of agreement was drawn up by a notary public, confirmed by an oath taken in the temple, and duly sealed by the parties in the presence of witnesses, who often affixed their own seals also. These witnesses were usually neighbours or collaterally interested parties. The manner in which such a contract was executed excluded as a rule any illegality or impiety. A clause was often appended, by which the parties bound themselves, in case of breach of contract, to abide by the decision of the king. The Code constituted such a decision in all the cases with which it dealt.

In case of a breach of contract, the injured party brought a suit before a court consisting of one or more judges, together with the elders of the city as assessors. A most important feature of procedure was the production of the contract and the witnesses to it. The contract was usually executed in duplicate, each party taking a copy, while the notary often held a further draft or third copy. To secure the deed from being tampered with, it was usually enclosed in a cover or envelope, also of clay. The envelope was inscribed with a copy of the document and fully sealed. While it would have been easy to falsify either deed or envelope, both being often of unburnt but sun-dried clay, it was impossible to reproduce both with their seals. The envelope might be tampered with, but the interior could not be. The judges in delivering judgment declared that they had seen and inspected the contract, and only rarely set it aside, and then only on grounds of mistake in fact. In some cases, suit was made to certify a fresh copy where the original had been lost, in which case the original was declared invalid, and ordered to be destroyed if found. After the contract was fulfilled, as when a loan was repaid, both copies were destroyed; and if, for any cause, one was not producible, an order was issued and recorded that whenever found it was to be destroyed.

The Code recognizes this practically universal habit of contract and the use of writing to embody agreements. It even insists on it, as when it declares that without marriage bonds a woman is no wife, or that no money or goods can be brought into account for which written receipt had not been given and was now produced. It was seldom that a contract was repudiated on the ground that it had been originally illegal.

On the other hand, the Code lays down that a man who is in debt shall not hand over his land and crops to his creditor unconditionally, even if the creditor is willing to speculate on the future yield, but must himself husband the crop and pay off his debt from the produce. This was intended to check the ruinous habit of borrowing on security of future crops, by which the debtor might pay dear for temporary accommodation or a lender lose his money through a failure in crop.

Consequently, it must not be assumed that the Code merely embodied contemporary custom or old-established precedents. It constituted a standard appeal. It did not prevent contracts (many of which have come down to us), which were voluntarily entered upon, from being sustained by the court and carried out. It did set up a standard which subsequent practice gradually accepted. Even its criminal clauses were not at once enforced. In many cases they really define a maximum penalty or minimum wage, but the judges used their discretion as to its exaction.

The Code recognized the power of the oath, especially in cases where guilt turned on intention. A man who struck a fatal blow could purge himself of murderous intent by oath. In a deeply religious community fear of divine wrath constituted a strong security against the violation of an oath. The witnesses as well as the parties were put on oath. In many cases it was left to this 'fear of God' or 'conscience' to secure justice between men; but the written specification of the form which justice should take was a great step in advance.

In early times an oath 'by the king' alone is quite frequent. In all cases the oath by the local god is usual. When Babylon became the metropolis, Marduk, the city-god of Babylon, was usually associated with the local god and the king in oaths. The form of the oath is usually 'he, or they, singly or both together, swore by (lit. took the name of) such and such god or king.' Rarely is the purport of the oath given. It was 'not to repudiate the contract,' whether by default or by raising a plea on its terms. What form the divine vengeance on the faithless would take is not clear, but it is 'the god's evil.' When kings called down the curses of the gods on the malefactor who should contravene their orders, or deface their monuments, they were extraordinarily explicit and exhaustive as to the evil consequences to follow; but this was to deter from wrong any who should purpose its commission. The oath was a personal acceptance of obligation, not a fulmination against unknown wrong-doers. The agent who was robbed was put on oath as to his loss. The buyer of a slave abroad had to take oath as to his price.

Crimes and their punishments are dealt with in a separate article by T. G. Pinches (vol. iv. pp. 257–260), to which reference should be made. Very little evidence of crime beyond breach of contract can be expected from the deeds or bonds, but a number of legal decisions, laid down in special cases, have been preserved. For the most part, these do not state the nature of the suit, only the result and verdict of the court. The plaintiff seems always to have brought his complaint, 'captured' his defendant, and found judges, and each then conducted his own case. Written pleas and answers were put in, but advocates are not mentioned. We find orders given to defendants to appear and answer the charge. As the decisions are drawn, the plaintiff usually wins. But this is deceptive, for both parties were regarded as plaintiffs; each party brought the other into court. The decision as stated thus makes the winner appear to have been plaintiff. The parties could demand the venue to be changed so that the case should be tried in their own city. In any case we hear of many local courts. The unsuccessful suitor was often degraded to slave status, but, except that he had lied or borne false witness, no ground for this punishment is stated, and he paid damages also.

In the Code no punishment is assigned to murder. We may assume that this was left to the avenger of blood, but can only argue from silence. We are also left in doubt as to the agency for the execution of judgment. As, however, a man was to be scourged 'in the assembly,' we may assume a general responsibility on the part of the local assembly for execution. In two cases the Code specifies that the punishment shall be executed on the scene of the crime: a thief at a fire shall be thrown into it, and a burglar is to be gibbeted opposite the breach that he made in the house which he broke into.

The power of the king to over-ride the decision of the local court is implied by the Letters of Ḫammurabi summoning certain cases, including the judges and witnesses, as well as the parties, to his judgment-seat. But the Code mentions the royal pardon only in the one case of an adulterer when the injured husband has already condoned the offence by pardoning his wife.

Corporate responsibility is seen in the fine inflicted on a burgh or parish for murder or robbery within its confines, and as compensation to the sufferer or his family. This was imposed in cases where the malefactor was not produced.

Private property in land was the rule, but subject to the State dues and obligations. There were usually a number of consents and pre-emptions to be considered on a proposal to transfer ownership. Not all obligations went with the land; a sale might transfer the estate to another official's sphere and so be a detriment to the previous overlord. Hence a State official, the city, the county, or parish, so to speak, the levy-master or recruiting sergeant, all might have claims. Sometimes governors of a district enforced its transfer to a different land-group, or alienated land from a temple, or included it in their own subdivision. This was usually regarded as a wrong, and the king was appealed to for reversal of the transfer. A new owner was usually bound to take up the State obligation. Royal charters in granting an estate as reward for signal services to the State often gave exemption in perpetuity from State obligations.

A very interesting form of property was the right to income for the receipts at a certain door of the temple, or to exercise certain functions in the temple itself. The right was entailed, and so often came into possession of a woman or other person who could hold but not exercise it, or merely did not see fit to do so. The right was then pledged, or sold, to others, but reverted to legal heirs on the death of the beneficiary.

The Code recognizes many ways of disposal of property: sale, barter, gift, dedication, lease, loan, pledge, deposit, and testamentary disposition, all of which were primarily matters of contract. Sale was the delivery of the purchase in exchange for the price agreed upon. In the case of real estate, delivery was symbolized by handing over a staff, or the key of a house, or later the deed of conveyance. Estates were often exchanged, the difference in value, if any, being paid in money. Money payments might be made in silver, or its equivalent in corn or other natural produce. Credit was given for the remainder of a price not paid in full, but was treated as a loan from the seller to the purchaser, who gave a bond for it. The Code allows no claim unsubstantiated by a duly executed deed. The buyer had to convince himself of the seller's title. He might demand guarantees against State obligations or against a creditor who had lent money on the estate. The Code insists that he should himself discharge the State liabilities. Certain feudal holdings could not be sold or exchanged, and, if a purchaser claimed to have acquired such, he had to return the estate, and in addition forfeit the consideration which he had given for it. The next of kin might exercise his right of redemption, if it came under the head of *bît abišu*, lit. 'his father's house,' *i.e.* if the seller had inherited the property. If a man bought or received on pledge or deposit from a slave or a minor without written power of attorney to dispose of the property, it was by the Code fraudulent possession; he was accounted a thief, and was obliged not only to restore and forfeit the consideration given, but also to lose his life. Attempts to upset a sale were rarely successful, but their occurrence shows that a buyer needed to exercise caution.

In the case of goods, exchange of receipts was the rule. The buyer of a slave usually exacted a guarantee that he would not develop disease, especially the dreaded *bennu*—a disease not yet clearly identified, but having a long period of incubation, possibly of 100 days. The seller also stipulated for a fixed period of rest or abstinence from labour for his slave, three days a month in some cases. He might guarantee against the slave being recalcitrant, against desertion, obligation to State service, and other depreciations in value. These all came under the head of *sartu*, lit. 'blame' or 'fine,' and were matters of contract, and the buyer probably could not repudiate his purchase on their account unless guarded by contract. But the Code expressly annuls his purchase for him if the slave develops *bennu* within a month, and awards him return of the price paid. On the other hand, it makes the seller responsible for any claim made on the slave after sale. If slaves were bought abroad and, when delivered to the buyer in Babylonia, turned out to be the lost or fugitive property of a Babylonian, they were, if native Babylonians, to be set free. If they were foreigners, they were to be given over to their former owners for the same price as paid for them abroad, as to which the buyer's oath was to be accepted. Properly a native Babylonian could not be enslaved except as a punishment for crime. But slaves born in the house might be sold abroad, or freemen captured by the enemy might be enslaved by the enemy and bought in the foreign market to sell in Babylonia. They had to be set free and their sale was illegal.

In the case of all goods, the seller might have fraudulently appropriated them, and the buyer be at the mercy of the real owner, who might recognize and claim them. The claimant had, of course, to establish his previous ownership of his lost goods or be adjudged a would-be thief. If he did establish his right, the buyer would be adjudged a thief unless he could prove a *bona fide* purchase. He had to produce the seller and the witnesses to the sale. If these were not on the spot, he was allowed six months to produce them. If he could not prove purchase, he lost his life. If the fraudulent seller was produced, he suffered death, and the wronged purchaser could recover from his estate, if any. If the seller had died, the purchaser could recover five-fold. So far the Code itself. The seller, however, usually guarded against all claim to repudiate purchase by a clause in the sale contract that the buyer was satisfied and took his oath not to enter any claim against him. In return he guaranteed the buyer against defect in title.

In the great majority of cases an owner cultivated his own land, but the principle of hire was well understood and clearly worked out.

Lease of fields, gardens, or houses was made for a term of years, usually one or two, rarely longer. The date of entrance upon possession was often stated, and sometimes the date of expiry of lease. The rent was usually stated, and a portion, often a half or a third, paid at once in advance. The rent taken was often a share of the produce, a half or a third. In practice it is often specified as so much per acre. The case of share-rent raised difficulties which this avoided. If the landlord, *e.g.*, was to receive half and was paid in advance, a storm might ruin the tenant's share, but the Code ruled that he must stand the loss. If the storm came before payment was made, both shared equally in the loss.

In many cases, along with a field in full yield another area was leased to reclaim. This appears usually to have been part of the pasture land, or open field, which lay outside the ring of irrigated land or water meadows surrounding the city. Perhaps it was a recognized right that land so reclaimed to full cultivation became the private property of whoever reclaimed it. Some such convention must have obviated the gradual restriction of grazing land. Sometimes it appears that the land had simply gone out of cultivation. In all these cases the area to be reclaimed was allotted free of rent, on condition that at expiry of the term it should, usually in the third year, pay an average rent. Meanwhile the already cultivated land went with it at average rent, so ensuring the maintenance of both landlord and tenant, the latter making what he could out of the reclaimed land.

In a slightly different case, a plot of land might be let to make into a garden, orchard, or palm plantation, the tenant paying no rent for a period fixed according to the nature of the crop and the time it needed to become productive. The Code set an average term of four years, and in the fifth year tenant and owner divided the crop. After that it was the owner's. If he let it, he let it as a garden. If the gardener left any part unplanted, it went into his share. The division was one of area, not of produce. The owner took first choice. Another system has been called *métayer*. It was specially common with temple lands. Here the landlord found seed, oxen to plough and to harvest, agricultural implements, and in some cases even labour. The tenant was a sort of bailiff or steward. The Code lays down regulations of a more stringent character than those usual in the few contracts concerned with this system. For theft of the seed, of fodder supplied for the oxen, or rations for the labourers, the tenant had his fingers cut off. For stealing the implements or overworking the oxen he was fined, a still heavier penalty being levied for sub-letting the oxen or for entire neglect to cultivate. As he was likely to be poor, it was laid down that, if unable to pay his fines, he should be torn limb from limb by the oxen on the field.

The Code allows sub-letting as long as the landlord suffers no damage. But the contract, whatever its terms, must be kept. From accident or circumstances over which he had no control the cultivator might get no crop. A flood might carry away the produce, or a drought impoverish the crop or utterly destroy it. The Code rules that in such cases the tenant may carry over and pay the year following. The phrase is peculiar: 'to wet his tablet' may refer to an obvious custom of damping the sun-dried clay of the contract and so altering its terms. One thinks at once of the Unjust Steward in Lk 16. His lord's debtors 'moistened their tablets' and altered not the date, but the amount, of their debts. If a gardener failed to make a garden, he had a double debt to pay. He had kept the owner out of five years' produce of the land and disappointed his hope of a garden. He had therefore to pay five years' average corn-land yield and make the garden after all. The tenant of land was bound to cultivate it, not only because it might become foul and so not readily let to a new tenant, but because the rent was usually a share. If the tenant were neglectful, he could not get off with the stipulated share of the actual produce; but the Code fixed the rent at half an average crop for the locality. He had, further, to complete all the operations on the land as he would have done after a good crop if himself continuing the tenancy. He had to plough it, break it up with hoes and picks, gather out and burn the weeds, and generally leave it in good order. The fields do not appear to have been manured, and the rich alluvial soil might not have needed it; but gardens, orchards, and palm-groves were dunged with oxen manure.

Houses were usually let by contract, which stated the size and situation of the house. The term of lease was also stated—usually one year—and the amount of yearly rent. A clause often occurs to the effect that the house is in good repair. The doors, door-frames, and some other woodwork were removable, and the tenant might bring in his own. If let with the house, they were inventoried. The tenant covenanted for all repairs, the nature of which might be specified. In the rainy climate, houses of sunburnt brick required constant and immediate attention. The accessaries of the house are often mentioned, such as a court, a barn, a shop, a cellar, a well, but we have little exact information as to the usual accommodation in old Babylonian houses. They rarely exceeded one storey in height.

The Code enacted that, if the landlord wished to recover possession before the end of the lease, a fair proportion of the rent should be remitted. The tenant had full possession and could pledge the house.

A common plan was to lease a piece of land to a man to build upon. After a somewhat longer lease than usual the house came into possession of the landlord. The Code fixed the cost of building a house per area.

Boundary or common walls were often the cause of dispute, usually as to which neighbour should repair, or as to the right to fix beams. The condition that one might build it if the other might fix beams in it, *e.g.*, was matter of contract. Most of the sections relating to houses have disappeared from our copies of the Code.

Labourers were often specifically hired, the most common cases being to get in the harvest, for building, and to transport goods by road or canal. The wage was a matter of contract, but the Code fixed minimum rates. Cattle for ploughing, carting, and working the irrigation machines, etc., and the associated agricultural machines, chariots for journeys, and ships for voyages as well as for freight, were often hired.

The pastoral pursuits were highly developed. The kings and many rich land-owners, and, above all, the temples, owned large flocks and herds. As a rule, these were committed to shepherds, who gave a receipt for the animals entrusted to their care, and were bound to return the flock or herd undiminished and with proper increase after breeding, or to answer for them. A shepherd had to make good all loss due to his neglect. He was frequently a foreigner, belonging to one or other of the nomad races who roamed the deserts or open pasture.

Questions of currency arose. The standard by which the precious metals were weighed varied from city to city, and there is often a clause specifying the standard in which money should be repaid. The Code enacted that this could not be enforced. Payment in kind was to be accepted, and a creditor was bound to accept even goods at fair value.

Debt was secured on the person of the debtor, and in default of means must be worked off. But the father of a family could name a substitute—wife, child, or slave—to work off his debt. To mitigate the hardships of this custom, the Code protected the hostage for debt from ill treatment, and fixed the term of servitude at three years as a maximum, whatever the debt. If the hostage died a natural death, the creditor had no further claim; but, if he contributed by cruelty, he had to restore son for son or pay for the slave. He could sell the slave hostage, but not if it was a slave-girl who had borne children to her master. She had to be redeemed by her owner, *i.e.* replaced by a different pledge.

Pledges were often taken as security for debt, but could not be sold without consent of the real owner. Frequently, when profitable, as a slave or cattle might be, their value was taken by the creditor in lieu of interest. Pledges were often left with the debtor and served merely as security. Personal guarantee on the part of friends that the debtor would pay at the proper time was often given, and the debtor sometimes had to pay for this assistance.

Trade was thriving, and Babylonian merchants carried on a considerable overland commerce to distant lands. The foreign products in their markets were numerous and brought from afar. Palestine, Cappadocia, Elam, and the lands beyond these countries were conspicuous sources. Many who stayed at home took shares in enterprises conducted by travellers. Merchants received money or goods to be traded away. The Code regularized this practice, enacting that the parties should exchange receipts, and that demands should be based on documentary evidence. The agent had to deposit an inventory and receipt for what was entrusted him, and no claim could be substantiated except by such receipt. Profits were good; the agent must pay 100 per cent, whatever his own gains. He was not responsible if he was robbed on his travels, but had to be put on oath as to the extent of his loss. Profits were usually divided equally by contract on the termination of the business.

These trade journeys afforded the opportunity for transport. A considerable amount of forwarding was done. Debts were paid abroad by travelling merchants and purchases executed at a distance. The Code enacts that a merchant shall give a receipt for the consignment, take all responsibility, and exact a receipt on delivery. If he should default in any respect, he was penalized five-fold. Deposit was a common transaction, especially the warehousing of grain. The Code fixed a statutable rate of one-sixtieth for warehousing. The warehouseman took all risks, and paid double for all shortage, but only if he had given a proper receipt. If the goods were stolen from him, he had to recover as best he could; but he had no relief against the depositor.

The network of canals supported a vast amount of water traffic. Ships, whose tonnage was estimated by the amount of corn that they could carry, were incessantly plying for hire between the great cities. The contract specified the goods and their destinations, and named the charges. These were for carriage solely, but, when a whole ship was employed, the rations for the crew were charged specifically. The Code fixes the price for building, navigating, etc., and insists on a year's guarantee with a new boat. The captain was responsible for ship and freight, and bore all risks. If he sank a ship, he was fined half its value, even if he refloated it. In the case of collision the boat under way was responsible for damage to a boat at anchor.

The Code regulated traffic in liquor, fixing a fair price for beer, and severely punishing a tavern-keeper for allowing disorderly conduct or treasonable assembly. The hostess was to hale offenders to the court—which seems to imply efficient and accessible police officers, or perhaps the command of able-bodied slaves.

Payment through a banker, or by written draft against account, was usual. Bonds to pay were treated as negotiable. A man could usually borrow without interest from the temple treasury of his city, for a fixed term, but paid interest if his debt were left overdue. It is not quite clear, however, whether this privilege did not imply some relationship to the temple, possibly only full citizenship. Merchants, and temples in other cases, charged interest at varying rates, usually high, commonly 20 to 30 per cent, but for short terms. Long loans were rare, if known at all. A feature which seems to us somewhat irrelevant is that the money or corn appearing in a loan or other transaction is often specified as to origin and purpose; *e.g.*, so much silver, part of the rent of a house, is lent to hire reapers; so much corn produce of a peculiar field is lent to buy oil, or to pay a tax. The exact purpose of such specification is not clear, and, so long as the loan was punctually repaid, there seems no reason to restrict its use. No penalty is named for using the accommodation for a different purpose from that for which it was taken. Possibly there lurks in this specification an analogy to our 'for value received,' or it was an acknowledgment of the moral claim of the borrower on the lender for accommodation.

LITERATURE.—For laws relating to marriage, inheritance, etc., see 'Semitic' sections of artt. MARRIAGE, ADOPTION, ADULTERY, FAMILY (Assyro-Babylonian), and INHERITANCE (Babylonian). The peculiar situation of vestals and vowed women comes under HIERODOULOI (Semitic), HOLINESS (Semitic). For details cf. C. H. W. Johns, artt. 'Babylonian Law' in *EBr*^{11} iii. 115, 'The Code of Hammurabi' in *HDB*, v. 584, as well as *Babylonian und Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters*, Edinburgh, 1904. The most important addition to the bibliography there given is J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Leipzig, 1909, which gives full transcription, complete vocabulary, juristic excursus, and about 1400 transcribed and translated legal documents of the Ḫammurabi period, to be followed by a large selection from the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. This body of material affords an almost complete text-book for the study of Babylonian law.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

LAW (Biblical, Old Testament). — Ancient peoples, almost without exception, regarded their laws as of divine origin. At the top of the front side of the stele containing the famous code of Ḫammurabi, the sun-god Shamash is pictured in a bas-relief seated on his throne and presenting to the king the laws which follow. In ancient Egypt, law was attributed to the gods (J. H. Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*, London, 1906, p. 242). Ex 34^{1-28} (J) represents Jahweh as dictating the primitive decalogue to Moses, who acts as His amanuensis, and the later tradition of Ex 24^{12} states that Jahweh Himself 'wrote down the Ten Words' (cf. Ex 31^{18}). Dt 6^{1} implies that all the commands contained in that law-book were given directly to Moses by Jahweh. The late priestly tradition (*c.* 400 B.C.) of Ex 25^{1} and 35^{1} states that all the laws found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers were a direct revelation from God through Moses. Demosthenes asserted that 'every law is a discovery and gift of God' (*Aristogeit.* A, 16, ed. F. Blass, Leipzig, 1888). Even Cicero declared: 'Lex nihil aliud nisi recta et a numine deorum tracta ratio' (*Phil.* xi. 12). The belief that underlying all man-made laws was a perfect law, emanating from divine mind, was the foundation of Roman law. It is reaffirmed by W. Blackstone, who says:

> 'This law of nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God Himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times: no human laws are of any validity, if contrary to this; and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this origin' (*Commentaries*, ed. London, 1857, i. 27).

Thus it is that each age has expressed the conviction that law is not a mere human convention, but is conditioned by the eternal nature of things, and that behind nature is Intelligence and Will.

A more careful study of the ancient sources and the contributions of anthropology and sociology have shed new light upon the origin and growth of law. The ancients were not wholly ignorant of man's part in its development. In the epilogue to his great code Ḫammurabi declares: 'If a man heed my words which I have written upon my monument, do not efface my words, do not alter my monument, so may Shamash prolong his reign.' Recent discoveries have brought to light some of the older Sumerian laws which he incorporated (cf. *OLZ* xiii. [Leipzig, 1914]). Egyptian kings, like Horemheb of the XIXth dynasty, freely enacted new laws and gave them equal authority with the older laws which tradition ascribed to the gods (Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 242).

Notwithstanding the late traditions, which represent all Israel's laws as being directly dictated by Jahweh, the OT contains some of the best existing illustrations of the different stages by which law evolved. The custom of blood-revenge is a survival of the primitive stage of self-help, when, in the absence of an organized government, the individual or the clan undertook to redress all grievances (see, further, art. BLOOD-FEUD). It is typical of customs that were inherited from the pre-historic past and represented the crude beginnings of law. Some of them were based on wide observation and experience, and were beneficial to society; others were but the result of savage ignorance and superstition. Law began to take definite form when men began to refer their cases to an arbiter or judge. Ex 18^{13-27} contains a vivid illustration of this important stage in the evolution of law. It represents the people of Israel in the wilderness bringing their cases of dispute to Moses for his judgment. The decisions which he rendered were called *tôrôth*. The singular of this word, *tôrāh*, is the common Hebrew designation of 'law,' and comes from a root which means 'to throw out' (the lot), then 'to direct,' 'to teach.' It corresponds closely to the two terms used in Homer for 'law': *δίκη*, which means a way pointed out, a course prescribed by precedent, and *θέμις*, that which is laid down. In 1 S 30^{21-25} is found a clear example of the way in which such a decision grew into a judicial precedent possessing all the validity of the law. After David's followers overtook and vanquished the plunder-laden Amalekites, he decided, as the chief of his clan, that,

> 'As is the share of him who goeth into battle,
> So is the share of him who remaineth with the baggage,
> They shall all share alike.'

The historian adds significantly, 'And from that time he made it a statute and a precedent for Israel to this day.'

Usually the *tôrôth*, or decisions, were rendered by the priest, the representative of Jahweh, by the use of the sacred lot. Mal $2^{6f.}$ states that 'the *tôrāh* of truth was in the mouth of the priest . . . and the people were wont to seek the *tôrāh* at his mouth.' It is evident that in the mind of the people these decisions enjoyed from the first the divine sanction. This fact represents the germ of the later Hebrew theory of the divine origin of law. Until the days of Nehemiah the oral decision of the priests was apparently ascribed equal authority with the written law.

The other common Hebrew word for law, *mishpāṭ*, is equally suggestive. It originally meant a specific judgment or decision. In Ex 21^{1} it is used in the plural as a title for the decisions or judgments which embodied the fundamental principles of early Israelitish law and custom. At first it apparently referred only to civil law, but in Lv (*e.g.* $18^{4.5.26}$) it is extended to include ceremonial laws. The authority attributed to the decision (*tôrāh* or *mishpāṭ*) rendered by the priest, or tribal chief, or king, or civil judge gave ample opportunity for the development of custom and law. Ordinary cases were decided according to older precedents. When new cases arose, this flexible system made it possible for the judges to decide them, and, in so doing, to establish new precedents which, if just, soon gained the authority of definite laws. The passage already quoted from Ex 18 plainly illustrates the process. When the cases referred to Moses became so many that he did not have time to pass judgment upon them all, he appointed judges to decide all the questions that were analogous to those covered by *tôrôth* already rendered by him (v.^{20}). 'They judged the people at all times, but the difficult cases they brought to Moses' (v.^{26}). The principles which he thus concretely promulgated represent the historical foundation of the later tradition that he was the author of all Israel's laws.

Among the Hebrews, as among most primitive peoples, the customs and the oral laws, which grew up on the basis of those decisions, long sufficed. The OT contains some interesting illustrations of the gradual transition from oral to written and definitely codified law. The nine (at first probably ten) groups of ten words or decalogues, found in

Ex 21^{1}–23^{19}, are the result of an attempt to embody the important principles of Israel's early law and customs in systematic, compact form (cf. C. F. Kent, *The Founders and Rulers of United Israel* [=*Historical Bible*, ii.], London, 1909, pp. 209–219). Each decalogue deals with a distinct subject and is divided into two pentads, indicating that they were first intended to be committed to memory—each law being associated with a finger or thumb of the two hands—rather than to writing. Thus, *e.g.*, the decalogue in Ex 21$^{2-11}$ deals with the rights of slaves: the first pentad (21$^{2-6}$) with male slaves, the second (21$^{7-11}$) with female slaves. The first five decalogues contain civil laws and are very explicit. They clearly represent earlier customs and precedents—*e.g.*, 'If a man strike another so that he die, the manslayer shall be put to death' (21^{12}). The remaining decalogues consist of moral and ceremonial laws, and are simply mandatory or hortatory—*e.g.*, 'Thou shalt not wrong nor oppress a resident alien, for ye were resident aliens in the land of Egypt' (22^{21}).

In time these primitive Hebrew decalogues were committed to writing. They may at first have been inscribed on tablets and set up in the Israelite sanctuaries. They represent the same stage in the development of Hebrew law as the more elaborate Code of Ḥammurabi, which was inscribed on stone and originally set up in order that (as is definitely stated) the oppressed who had a suit to prosecute might read and understand these laws and learn how to secure justice (C. H. W. Johns, *Babylonian and Assyrian Laws*, Edinburgh, 1904, p. 393). Typical western analogies are the Code of Gortyn, set up in the market-place of that ancient Cretan town, and the Twelve Tables of the Romans.

The next step in the development of law was the modification, expansion, and codification of the earlier codes to meet the needs of a more advanced civilization and to embody the higher ideals of the later age. Again the OT contains excellent illustrations of this process. The Hebrews and most Oriental nations failed to develop an authoritative, legislative body. Even the Romans for centuries kept alive the legal fiction that the Twelve Tables were the sole foundation of all Roman law. During the latter half of the 7th cent. B.C. it became evident to the enlightened priests and prophets of Judah that the primitive laws of Ex 21^{1}–23^{19} (which were probably formulated as early as the 9th cent.) were inadequate. Many questions not contemplated by these earlier laws had arisen. Under the preaching of the great ethical and social prophets of the 8th cent., many new moral and religious principles had been proclaimed and accepted by the leaders of the nation. The spirit of reform that was at work called for a definite programme, if it was to bear permanent fruits. A detailed comparison of the primitive codes and of the laws embodied in Deuteronomy reveals the methods, as well as the work, of these self-appointed lawgivers. Three-fourths of the older laws are represented in the later code: some are simply reaffirmed, others are abrogated, the majority are modified or expanded in accordance with the principles of justice, humanity, and loyalty to Jahweh enumerated by Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. The result is a remarkably complete code, well adapted to the needs of the Judæan kingdom about 625 B.C., and yet put in the mouth of Moses, whose early precedents it incorporates. 2 K 22^{1}–23^{25} contains a remarkably clear account of how this privately-prepared code was promulgated. Evidently it had the sympathetic support of the ruling party and of an able group of reformers. At the opportune time it was brought from the temple, formally presented to the king, read before him and the assembled people, and then solemnly accepted by him in behalf of his nation. The final step was its rigorous enforcement by Josiah.

Interpreted in the light of the earliest records, Israel's legal history illustrates the five closely related stages in the growth of law. The first is the period of relative lawlessness, when the individual or the clan is the only recognized authority and human relations are determined by customs, most of which originated in the pre-historic past. The second stage is when questions of dispute are referred to tribal chieftains, priests, or judges, and their decisions are held to be binding not only in specific, but also in analogous, cases. The third stage marks the development of a definite oral law, based on earlier customs and precedents, and transmitted in the form of decalogues or concrete typical formulas. The fourth stage is when the primitive oral laws are committed to writing. The last stage is when the primitive laws are modified, expanded, and codified, and new laws are constantly being promulgated to meet the needs of a developing civilization.

LITERATURE.—H. J. S. Maine, *Early History of Institutions*, London, 1875, *Ancient Law*, do. 1888; S. R. Driver, art. 'Law (in Old Testament)' in *HDB* iii. 64; C. F. Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents* (*Student's OT*), London, 1907.

C. F. KENT.

LAW (Biblical, New Testament).—1. **Fading of the Law in the NT.**—In the Synoptic Gospels the Jewish Law forms a large part of the background of the narrative; but from that point forward less and less is heard of it, until it disappears entirely, and another standard of conduct takes its place. This change was due in the main to the action of the two great persons who were the founders, the one of Christianity and the other of Gentile Christianity. Both were too great to remain under the yoke of the Law as the Jews understood it; but, while the first never had any open conflict with the Law, the second waged a war upon it which began early and continued long.

2. **Jesus and the Law.**—Jesus was brought up in a pious home, in the religion of the Law which to the ordinary Jew in Palestine was no burden (Lk 1^{6}). 'He never learned,' we read in Jn 7^{15}; *i.e.*, He did not follow a life of learning nor place Himself under a scribe. His sympathies did not incline Him to men of that class. On the other hand, He lived in full sight of Gentile life, witnessing the social and religious usages of the heathens, and He had no aversion to people who were not Jews, and we never find Him boasting, as does the Jew of Ro 2$^{17-20}$, of the superiority which the possession of the Law gave to the Jews. Yet He regarded the Law with profound respect; He considered it to be the way of life that God had given to His people, and He experienced little reaction against it. He regarded it chiefly as a moral code; as a system of ritual, He was less impressed by it, and the tradition which the scribes had built up around it He must from early times have regarded with indifference, as being apart from the way of life that God had given to His people, and in some points inconsistent with it. He regarded the Law as containing, so far as it went, all God's will and all man's duty, though those who sought for perfection had some aims which transcended its precepts; and He was able to say (Lk 16^{17}, Mt 5^{18}) that it was easier for heaven and earth to pass than for one tittle of the Law to fail. The passage, Mt 5$^{21-45}$, in which Jesus appears as definitely superseding commandments of the Law by more ethical commandments of His own, belongs certainly in its arrangement, and also in much of its detail, to a later state of things; the Law is made ruder than it was as then practised, in order to act as a foil to the more elevated injunctions set over

against it, and some of the sayings (*e.g.*, vv.$^{39-48}$) reflect the controversy of the Church of Palestine with the synagogue. Jesus Himself upheld the religious system of His country, and encouraged others to do the same.

He did not, however, treat all the commandments of the Law as being on the same level. To the question, a common one in His day, 'Which is the greatest commandment of the Law?' He replies by citing two precepts of the Pentateuch, the first requiring love to God with all one's powers, the second love to one's neighbour (Mt 22^{34-40}). The Golden Rule (*q.v.*), stated by Him in the positive form that one must do to others what one desires that they should do to oneself, is said to be the cardinal injunction on which hang all the Law and the prophets (Mt 7^{12}). The comparison of the weighty matters of the Law with those less weighty is certainly authentic (Mt 23^{23}), and shows Jesus to have occupied the same position as the prophet Micah (6^{8}). The words of the prophet Hosea, who declares that God requires mercy and not sacrifice, are twice put in His mouth in the First Gospel (Mt 9^{13} 12^{7} = Hos 6^{6}).

We find, accordingly, that Jesus was never accused, as were Stephen and St. Paul, of any attack on the Law. On several points He pleads for an elastic view of the Law. He is not rigorous as to the Sabbath or in the matter of fasting; but on these points general opinion seems to have upheld His views. The only instance of His deliberately setting aside a law of the Pentateuch is in connexion with divorce, for which Moses provided, but which Jesus held to be quite inadmissible (Mk 10^{2-12}). Divorce, He held, was allowed to the Israelites when they were in a backward state, and unable to support the whole of God's will as seen in the original constitution of human nature, which made marriage indissoluble. It may be doubted if Jesus used the words 'except for fornication'—that would of itself bring marriage to an end.

The example of Jesus could thus be appealed to by those of His followers who held the Law in honour and practised it. But He also prepared the way for those of them who sat loose to it and regarded it as a code of morals and scarcely more. He taught no ritual, and stood somewhat aloof from the great ritual system of His country. He was impatient of the minute and burdensome tradition which the scribes had built up around the Law and which the Pharisees regarded as being itself the Law and diligently practised. He formally broke with that vast system which sought to provide rules for every case that could occur in human life, and to bring under strict regulation the whole of conduct and action. In Mk 7^{1-23} He repudiates the authority of the tradition, as being made by man, not given by God, and in many cases opposed to the law of God. And the Law itself was a very different thing from the law with the tradition added to it. The ignorant could keep it; the Gentiles could accept it.

Jesus was opposed with His whole soul to the pedantic rigour of the system of the scribes because their multiplied rules depressed rather than elevated the people, and drove away from the true religion rather than attracted to it. The tradition, as they applied it, was a merciless institution, binding heavy burdens on men's shoulders, shutting them out of the kingdom of heaven, losing sight of the weightier matters of the Law, mercy and justice and faith, in the strict attention paid to the small matters, mint, anise, and cummin (Mt $23^{4. 13. 23. 25}$; all these verses are in Q). In Mk 6^{34} He regards with compassion the multitude which has prevented the repose that He sought to give His disciples, because they are harassed and scattered like sheep without a shepherd, and He begins diligently to teach them. He taught them doubtless of a lighter yoke, of more practicable duties than had generally been asked of them. He taught them that the Law was not their only link with God, that He was their Father, and that they had access to Him at all times, and could learn for themselves, by meditation and prayer, what He asked of them. By His teaching He brought the question of the Law to the position in which the Church took it up; appeal could be made to Him both for continuing to practise the Law (for He Himself had done so) and for a spiritual attitude in which the Law parts imperceptibly with its authority.

3. Attitude of the Jews in Palestine.—In Palestine the followers of Jesus continued after His removal to be good Jews. They frequented the Temple, gave alms, attended to their prayers, and even—if Mt $5^{23f.}$ is not to be taken figuratively—offered sacrifice (see Ac 21^{23-26}). They observed the Levitical laws as to clean and unclean in food and other matters. Circumcised Jews would see no reason in their attachment to Christ for throwing away the advantages of their position. To their piety as Jews they added another piety as followers of Jesus; they kept His commandments in addition to those of Moses, and began to collect them into a code, as we see in Mt 5^{21-48}, as well as in collections like Q and in the *Didache*.

When the gospel spread to Gentile soil, new questions arose. Those who named the name of Christ naturally sought to meet together and to practise their common worship in the form of common meals. From this sprang the first great controversy of the Church as to the terms on which Jewish and Gentile Christians could live together. The strict Jewish Christians held that Gentile believers must become Jews and keep the whole Law; and in this they only upheld the practice which obtained in the Jewish missions to the Gentiles. But Jewish missions had been great failures for this very reason; and easier terms had to be sought for the Gentile converts. In Ac 15 the Church at Jerusalem draws up an easy rule: Gentiles are to be admitted to the Church on agreeing to adopt the Jewish standard as to sexual intercourse, to have their meat for table prepared in the Jewish fashion, and to abstain from meat offered to idols. (It seems scarcely possible that the addition to these outward abstentions of the far-reaching ethical rule added in Cod. D, 'and not to do to others what they would not have done to themselves,' can be original.) Of this compact little is heard afterwards. The claim, moreover, made in Ac 10 for Peter, that he was the first to be led by Providence to see that the barrier which kept Gentiles outside the Church ought no longer to prevail, can scarcely stand against the evidence of Ac 15 and Gal 2 that Paul and Barnabas went to Jerusalem to get the question settled as to the terms on which Gentiles should be received, and that Peter afterwards broke through the adjustment then made. If the story of Peter and Cornelius has a historical kernel, it probably belongs to a later period than that in which Acts places it. The question may have arisen in more parts of the world than one, and have been settled in various ways. In some of the Pauline churches we know that it occasioned acute controversy and that the solution which Paul aimed at and no doubt attained was that the Gentile Christians were recognized as children of Abraham without coming under any obligation at all to the Jewish Law, and that it was recognized that the difference between Jew and Gentile had ceased to be regarded; they were all one in Jesus Christ.

4. St. Paul and the Law.—The question of the attitude of Christian missions to the Law must have occupied Paul's mind as soon as he became convinced of his own call to carry the gospel to the Gentiles, *i.e.*, if we are to accept his own statement in Gal 1^{16}, from the time of his conversion. Ro 7, with its incisive definition of the character of the Law and its relation to those wearing human nature, shows how impossible it was for him to demand of the Gentiles obedience to a Law which brought so little comfort to himself. In that chapter he arrives at a different conclusion as to the Law from that of his own upbringing. It is idealized as Jesus idealized it, and regarded as a searching standard of entire perfection, dealing not with acts but with motives and springs of conduct, and holding up to man all that he ought to be. It is holy and just and good; to keep it would be to find the promises fulfilled that one should live by it (Gal 3^{21}). But, alas! it is too good for man to live at peace with it. The Law is spiritual, but man is carnal and cannot love the standard of ineffable goodness. It acts as an irritant on him and brings to the surface his innate weakness and recalcitrancy, and so, while his reason approves of it, he cannot keep it, and is driven by it to despair.

The view of the Law which is here set forth as a matter of personal experience, and a truth of psychology, is set forth again and again in the Pauline Epistles as a general doctrine. So the Law acts, so it was intended to act, on those who are placed under it; it is by God's decree and counsel that it does so. The Law is the strength of sin (1 Co 15^{56}), which is the sting of death; it came in to multiply transgression (Ro 5^{20}), for where there is no law there is no transgression (4^{15}); the Law, therefore, works wrath. Every one who does not keep it in every point is under a curse (Gal 3^{10}). The ministry by which it was introduced into the world was a ministry of death (2 Co 3^{7}).

The Apostle was confirmed in this view of the nature and effects of the Law, to which his own experience had brought him, by his missionary practice and experience. He saw that the Gentiles were being saved quite apart from the Law. The Law was not proposed to them as in any way a condition of salvation; only Christ crucified was declared to them, and, on their believing in Christ crucified, the Spirit at once took possession of them, and they began to exercise the gifts of the Spirit (Gal 3^{1-6}). From this he inferred that God was, as a matter of fact, justifying the Gentiles by faith (Gal 3^{8}), and from this he drew the broad conclusion that the method of salvation by keeping the Law was now discontinued by God in favour of the new method—that of salvation by faith in Christ alone—and that this method now alone availed (Ro 3^{21-28}).

Holding this very radical doctrine about the Law, the Apostle could no longer follow up his career as a Jewish Rabbi (Ph 3^{7-9}); and he became the object of the bitter hatred of the Jews wherever he went, and also of many Jewish converts to Christianity, who represented him (Ac $21^{21.\,28}$) as teaching that the Jews living among the Gentiles should renounce their allegiance to Moses, and should give up circumcising their children and the observance of Jewish customs. That this was a gross exaggeration there can be no doubt; he himself adhered to many a Jewish custom, and he did not interfere with such practices on the part of other Jews (1 Co 9^{20}). But to Gentiles he made it quite clear that the Law was no condition of salvation for them; and to Jew and Gentile alike he proclaimed that salvation did not come through the Law, but only through faith in Jesus Christ (Gal $2^{15\mathrm{ff.}}$). To those who sought to make his Gentile converts Judaize, practise circumcision, and observe Jewish festivals and Jewish restrictions in diet, he offered, as the champion of the liberty of these converts, an uncompromising opposition.

5. Position of the OT in Pauline churches.—Something must be said of the place of the OT in the churches of Pauline foundation. The converts were supposed to be familiar with the history and the words of the OT; it was the revelation of which the gospel of Christ was the consummation and flower; it was full of Christian things; the promises recorded in it were now being fulfilled to believers in Christ (1 Co 10^{11}, Ro $1^{1\mathrm{f.}}$); its types were coming to reality in their experience. The Law and the Prophets were Christian books, and the discerning could find Christ in them in most unlikely places. The moral standard of the OT, an object of envy to the Gentiles, was from the first that of the Church; the heathen converts were at once lifted up to it, though they accepted its requirements not from the dead code but from the living spirit of Christ, and were taught, as He had taught, that love was the fulfilling of the Law. The provisions of the Law were not quoted either in setting up the standard of Christian conduct or in correcting the lapses which took place from it. Nor was any appeal made to the OT in arranging the internal affairs of the Church; in these the mind of Christ is the supreme authority, where the Apostle's own authority does not suffice (1 Co 7^{10} etc.). When disputes break out among believers, the Apostle advises that recourse should not be had to the heathen courts, but that an arbiter should be found among their own number. The OT Law has completely disappeared as law for the Gentile converts.

The arguments by which Paul sought to account for the Law, which in his missionary practice he had deprived of all authority, are of various kinds. Some consist of bold speculations on the divine economy of salvation, some are Rabbinical devices, bringing a new meaning out of a text of the OT. Of the former kind the most powerful and impressive is that of Gal 3^{23}–4^{7}, where he speaks of the Law as the tutor placed over the growing heir to check his freedom till the day arrives when he attains his majority. This had been the case with mankind when Christ came, and in Him the spirit of adoption took possession of the human race now entering on its inheritance, so that the guardian is no longer needed. The Law is treated in this chapter as being on a level with those constraining influences, or spirits of the world, under which the Gentiles also were confined, to be prepared for Christ. A great thought also is contained in the argument that the promise was antecedent to the Law, which could not set it aside, and that the promise to Abraham, made to him before circumcision was instituted, is fulfilled directly to the Gentiles who, like him, take faith and not works for their guiding principle and, therefore, are Abraham's true children (Gal 3^{14-22}, Ro 4). Of another calibre are the arguments that the seed, in the singular, to whom, with Abraham, the promise was addressed, must indicate an individual person, and that Christ is that person, faith in whom now saves (Gal $3^{16\mathrm{f.}}$), and the argument that the radiance on the face of Moses when he came down from Mount Sinai was fading away, and that he put on a veil to hide that circumstance from the Israelites, who think that the radiance still rests on the Law, though it is quite outshone by the exceeding radiance of Christ (2 Co 3^{7-18}).

6. Conclusion.—The controversy about the Law subsided in Paul's life-time. In Galatians it is acute; in Romans the argument is free from passion; in the Corinthian Epistles there is little of it; in the later Epistles only a few phrases are found to show that he still stands where he stood (Ph 3^{6-9}, Col 2^{14-17}). On the other hand, the commandments of Christ are valid wherever they apply. This is the case in every part of the Church. The eternal validity claimed by Christ for the old Law (Lk 16^{17}) is attached to the words of Christ Himself (Mk 13^{31}), and the law of love is spoken of both by Paul and in many of the later books of the NT as the sum of Christian duty (Gal 6^{2}, Ro 13$^{8-10}$, Ac 20^{35}, Ja 1^{27} 2^{8}, He 13$^{1.16}$, Jn 13$^{34f.}$). In the Fourth Gospel the Law of Moses is spoken of as 'their law' (Jn 15^{25}), as if Christ had not acknowledged it and His followers had nothing to do with it.

LITERATURE.—The Commentaries and Bible Dictionary articles, especially J. Denney, 'Law (in NT)' in *HDB*. On the recent discussion on the Apostolic Decree and the relation of Acts to Paul, see K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, London, 1911; A. Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, Eng. tr., do. 1907, *The Acts of the Apostles*, do. 1909, *The Date of the Acts*, do. 1911; W. Sanday, 'The Text of the Apostolic Decree,' in *Exp*, 8th ser., vi. [1913]; B. W. Bacon, 'The Apostolic Decree against πορνεία,' *ib.*, 8th ser., vii. [1914].

A. MENZIES.

LAW (Buddhist).—In the strict sense of the word there is no Buddhist law; there is only an influence exercised by Buddhist ethics on changes that have taken place in customs. No Buddhist authority, whether local or central, whether lay or clerical, has ever enacted or promulgated any law. Such law as has been administered in countries ruled over by monarchs nominally Buddhist has been custom rather than law; and the custom has been in the main pre-Buddhistic, fixed and established before the people became Buddhist. There have been changes in custom. But the changes have not been the result of any enactment from above. They have been brought about by change of opinion among the people themselves. And in order to ascertain whether such change of opinion was, or was not, due to the influence of Buddhism it would be necessary, in each case, to ascertain what the custom had been before the introduction of Buddhism, in what degree or manner it had changed, and what had been the probable cause of the difference shown. Unfortunately our knowledge of the history of social conditions in Eastern Asia, whether before or after the 6th cent. B.C., is at present much too meagre to enable us to deal with the subject in so thorough a manner. Nothing has yet been written on the subject, and only a slight beginning may yet be made.

The Buddhists, for instance, had from the beginning what we term their canon law, what they called *Vinaya*, *i.e.* 'Guidance.'[1] It consists of 227 rules to regulate the conduct of the members in outward affairs, and some supplementary chapters on special subjects. These 'articles of association' are quite apart from the Buddhist religion, and indeed have little or nothing that is specifically either Buddhist or religious. No religious community could avoid quarrels and disruption without the assistance of rules of the kind. Now, just before the rise of Buddhism there were quite a number of such Orders. The names of ten of them are preserved in the *Aṅguttara*.[2] Unfortunately, the records of nine out of the ten have perished. They had no writing; and, as each Order died out, both its doctrine and its canon law, kept alive only in the memory of its members, died out also. Only one of these pre-Buddhistic communities has survived—that of the Jains, and the internal regulations of the Jain Order have not yet been published. It was inevitable that the early Buddhists should have adopted in many details the customs already followed by these other wanderers. But in the main, no doubt, the rules were Indian in origin, the common inheritance of all the schools.

There is nothing in the 227 rules of the *Vinaya* which would be included under the English term 'law' in its modern sense. In the explanations and applications, however, of the rules, as interpreted in the chapters of the Order when a particular case came up for decision, there is a good deal of what we should now call case law. For example, Rule No. 3 is as follows:[1]

> 'Whatsoever Bhikkhu shall knowingly deprive of life a human being, or shall seek out an assassin against a human being, or shall utter the praises of death, or incite another to self-destruction, saying, "Ho! my friend! what good do you get from this sinful, wretched life? death is better to you than life!"—if, so thinking, and with such an aim, he, by various argument, utter the praises of death or incite another to self-destruction—he, too, is fallen into defeat, he is no longer in communion.'

In the elucidation and discussion[2] of this rule a very large number of all possible cases of alleged infringement of it are given. The cases are not real ones that actually happened, but hypothetical. The offences, or alleged offences, are sorted into grades, which are distinguished one from another as modern English law-books distinguish between assault, aggravated assault, manslaughter, and murder. The penalty for the gravest kind is exclusion from the Order; that for the lesser kind is suspension in varying degrees, and for varying duration.

For instance, a man digs a pit; that is no offence. He digs it in the hope that X will fall into it; that is a *dukkaṭa* ('evil act'). The man (X) falls into it; that is another *dukkaṭa*. He is badly hurt; the man who dug the pit is guilty of a 'grave offence' (*thullachchaya*). The man falling is killed, then the digger of the pit is guilty of 'defeat' (*pārājika*), involving expulsion.[3]

This is not criminal law. It is intended only to keep the Order pure; and the penalties are very mild. But it is interesting to find in these discussions the doctrine of malice aforethought, or accessory before (or after) the fact, used much as a modern jurist would use it, and leading up to decisions which are very much what a modern jurist would give.

H. Oldenberg, in his introduction to his edition of the text, has carefully considered the manner in which these documents enshrining the Buddhist *Vinaya* were gradually built up, and their approximate date. He concludes that the whole text, as we now have it, was in existence within a century of the Buddha's death; and that much of it—for instance, the 227 rules referred to above—is older, and may go back to the generation in which Buddhism arose. It will be seen at once that this is quite modern compared with the Ḥammurabi Code of customary law. Such value as these Buddhist documents have in the history of law depends upon their being the oldest legal texts which apply the principles of equity to the problems to be solved. They do not pretend to put forward any code of law. They belong to a stage beyond that, and only attempt to utilize for the practical requirements of an association of co-workers the results of previous thought on legal points. We shall probably never know how far these results may have been modified or softened by the Buddhists for the purpose of application to the new problems to be met.

The administration of this law (if law it can be called) was very simple. The decision lay with the Chapter, which was composed of all members of the Order resident within a certain boundary. The boundary, also fixed by the Chapter, was so arranged as to secure the possible attendance of from a dozen to a score of members. All the members were equal, and the senior member presided. If the matter came to a vote—which seldom happened—the voting was by ticket. Complicated matters were referred to a special committee for report, and the decisions in most cases were unanimous. The Chapters had no authority to settle any matters not included in the *Vinaya*, or to deal with property not the property of the Order. All such matters were the province of the State, to be settled according to the customs of each locality. They were regarded as secular, not religious. Thus customs as to marriage and divorce, the inheritance and division of real or personal estate, the law of contract and criminal law, were all purely secular matters to be determined by the sense of the lay community. This continued to be the attitude of mind of the Buddhists throughout their long and varied history.

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[1] Ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879–83.

[2] See T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Oxford, 1899–1910, i. 220–222.

[1] *Vinaya Texts*, i. 4 (*SBE* xiii. [1881] 4).

[2] *Vinaya*, iii. 68–86; not yet translated.

[3] *Ib.* iii. 76.

The expression 'Buddhist law' as used of law administered in English courts in Ceylon and Burma has a very different meaning. When the English had taken the whole of Ceylon, they introduced English law except on certain matters, which, they imagined, would or might offend the religious feelings of some of the inhabitants. Thus, with regard to marriage and inheritance, they granted to the Dutch the Roman-Dutch law on these points, and to the Hindus and Muhammadans the Hindu and Muhammadan law respectively. Taking for granted, in their ignorance of Buddhism, that the relation between law and religion on these points must be the same for the Buddhists as for these others, they decided to incorporate into the law of the Island the customs prevalent there among the majority, the Buddhists, on the same points. For this purpose they made inquiries as to what those customs were, and finally recognized two different groups of custom as valid, the one for the low-country Sinhalese, the other for the Kandians in the hills. By so doing they made customs current at the beginning of the 19th cent. valid for ever, and deprived the lay community of any power of change or adjustment which they possessed. On the other hand, they soon began, and have continued, to change the customs by two methods, one of interpretation by judicial decisions, the other by legislative enactment. By the latter they have introduced the registration of marriages, and conferred upon the laity the power of making wills.

The original report on Kandian customs has been recently discovered and a translation of it published by C. J. R. Le Mesurier and T. B. Pānabokkē, under the title *Nīti Nigaṇḍuva* (Colombo, 1880). The course of events in Burma, since it was taken over, has been very similar. But, whereas we know nothing or next to nothing of Sinhalese law before the conquest, we have for Burma a most valuable summary of the gradual growth of the customary law in E. Forchhammer's *Jardine Prize Essay* (Rangoon, 1885). He shows how the customary law, originally introduced there from S. India in the 10th cent. A.D., has been constantly but slowly modified by the influence of the Buddhist laity. He mentions also the numerous codes in which such alterations have been incorporated. D. Richardson has translated one of the latest of these codes under the title *The Damathat, or Laws of Menoo*, Rangoon, 1906.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are given in the course of the article.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

LAW (Celtic).—**I. Law.**—Of the legal institutions of the ancient Celts we have no knowledge beyond the evidence of philology and the statements of Cæsar with regard to Gaul. Both the Goidelic and the Brythonic branches of the Celtic languages contain a term for law cognate with the Latin *rectus* (Ir. *recht*; Welsh, *rhaith*), while the words for judgment (Ir. *bráth*; Welsh, *brawd*) also correspond in these branches. Similarly, we have in both branches the same word for 'duty' or 'responsibility,' namely Ir. *dliged*; Welsh, *dyled*. Throughout the Celtic world, too, the organization of society had a tribal basis, and the legal institutions of the Celts were, consequently, in their origin tribal in character. This tribal character, though in a greater or less degree modified, survived unmistakably in Irish and Welsh law, as we know it in historic times. The evidence of Cæsar as to Celtic law (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 13) relates to the druids, of whom he says that they decided practically all public and private disputes and assessed the fines and penalties in the case of any crime, as, for instance, homicide, while it was they also who gave their decision in the case of any dispute regarding inheritance or boundaries. In the case of refusal to abide by their judgment they had recourse to excommunication from religious ceremonies—a punishment which, in practice, involved the loss of all civil rights, and which survived as outlawry in Irish and Welsh law. The druids, according to Cæsar, formed an organized community, at whose head was a chief druid. It is, however, from the surviving Irish and Welsh legal literature that we derive most information concerning actual Celtic law. In Breton and Cornish there are no legal documents in existence, but we may surmise that ancient Breton and Cornish law was substantially the same as that of Wales, while the clan-system of the Gaels of Scotland, which was introduced by the Dalriad Scots, had, as its legal counterpart, institutions of the same essential character as those of Ireland. From a study of the Irish legal treatises, which reflect the older tribal system better than do the Welsh laws, we find that legal decisions were not given by judges appointed by the king, but by men of legal learning, who were of two grades: (1) the *brethem* (gen. *brethemon*, whence 'Brehon'), a term usually translated 'judge,' but more correctly 'advocate,' and (2) the *ollamh*, or law-agent. It is not impossible that, originally, recourse was had to the judgment of men of known probity, without regard to legal training, but, though the judicial powers of non-professional magistrates and noblemen survived in Ireland for certain purposes, it is clear that for all the more important cases a trained judge was necessary. Each district appears to have had a Brehon, and some more than one, while the king and the great magnates had Brehons of their own. Where there were more than one Brehon in a district, a litigant had a choice. In Welsh law there are plain indications of the earlier tribal basis as in Ireland, but there are also clear signs of the growth of the influence of the royal power upon law, and of the beginnings of a police system in a rudimentary form. In Ireland the policing of the law was practically in the hands of the tribal community, who, in the last resort, in the case of contumacy, could outlaw the offender. Side by side with the growth of the central power (possibly through the influence of England) we find much more prominence given in Wales than in Ireland to severe punishments, such as hanging and mutilation, and later to such a mode of trial as ordeal. It is interesting to find that, both in Ireland and in Wales, there were legal variations in different localities, and, in Ireland, this variation led to the broad division of *Cáin*-law, or law of general application, and *Urradhus*-law, which varied with the locality. The trial of cases arising under the latter type of law was open to noblemen and local magistrates, but cases under the former type could be tried only by trained judges. There is no clear evidence of any personal or collective legislation in ancient Ireland, but it would appear that portions at any rate of written custom were recited at some of the great annual gatherings, such as that of Tara, for which the Irish had so marked a predilection. It is sometimes stated that Irish legal practice did not distinguish between crimes and torts. This is true so far as the existence of a pecuniary method of compensation was concerned, but motive nevertheless entered in, for in the case of homicide, *e.g.*, malice doubled the penalty (see (Crimes and Punishments [Celtic]).

It might be thought that the position of arbiter in Ireland was one which placed the community at his mercy. In practice, however, the Brehon had to exercise his judgment with great care, for, if on appeal his judgments were reversed, he was liable to lose his practice, to pay damages, and to lose any free land which might be in his possession. It was also generally believed that blotches would arise on the face of a judge who gave false judgment. The main function of the judge was to assess damages and compensation correctly, and the Irish legal treatises contain minute rules for this purpose. The task of obtaining the damages from the defendant lay with the plaintiff and his kin, and, when the defendant was obstinate, recourse was had to the process of distraint—a process which occupies a very large place in the extant legal treatises of Ireland. The scope and the nature of Celtic law, as it has come down to us, can best be estimated from a survey of extant Celtic law-books.

2. The law-books of Ireland.—A number of the legal treatises of Ireland were published in the Rolls Series, in five volumes, together with a glossary forming the sixth volume, at various dates between 1865 and 1901, under the direction of the Commissioners for publishing the Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland. These volumes contain not only the texts of the various legal treatises, but also translations of them, together with introductions which vary considerably in value. The MSS of these treatises contain, along with each text, a commentary to each section of it. Sometimes the commentary throws light upon the text, but frequently the commentary merely embodies the practice of a later age. Vols. i. and ii. and part of vol. iii. of the Irish Laws are occupied by the most important Irish legal treatise, namely, the *Senchus Mór* (or 'Great Collection'). Vol. i. and the first part of vol. ii. are occupied by one of the most elaborate portions of Irish law, namely, that of 'distress.' The two chief varieties named are 'distress without delay,' and 'distress with delay,' but possibly the most interesting type of distress mentioned is that initiated by 'fasting against' a person—a form of distress resorted to when an inferior pressed for payment from a superior. This form of distress had a powerful social sanction, since, when the inferior threatened to die of hunger at the door of the superior, the guilt of his death was regarded as falling on the superior's head (cf. A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg, 1894–95, ii. 562). The remainder of vol. ii. contains a brief treatise on 'The Law of Services of Hostage-sureties.' Hostage-sureties played a large part in the social life both of Ireland and of Wales. This treatise is followed by 'The Law of Fosterage,' which deals with an institution which held a prominent place in Irish and Welsh life (see Children [Celtic], Fosterage). Land tenure, too, receives its share of attention in this volume, and we have first the 'Law of Free (or *Sáer*) tenure,' and then the *Cáin Aigillne*, or 'Law of *Dáer*-stock tenure,' *i.e.* the less honourable tenure by *giallna-* (or pledge-) security. This section also contains an interesting account of the Irish law of contract. The remainder of vol. ii. deals with the '*Cáin*-law of social connexions.'

> The social connexions here meant are, according to the text of this treatise, those of 'the chief with his *aigillne*-tenants; the Church with her tenants of ecclesiastical lands; the father with his daughter; a daughter with her brother; a son with his mother; a foster-son with his foster-mother; a tutor with his pupil; a man with a woman.'

This part of the *Senchus Mór* is of interest as containing an account of the conditions of marriage among the ancient Irish. Vol. iii. contains a valuable introduction on the general principles of Irish jurisprudence, and completes the *Senchus Mór* with a treatise called *Córus Bescna*, or 'The Customary Law.' This treatise also deals with contracts, and lays stress on the importance of keeping oral contracts. These discussions of contract show the advance which the Irish had made on the way described by Maine as from 'status to contract.' We have here a discussion of a wide range of topics, including the regulation of banquets, gifts to the Church, and the like. Throughout the *Senchus Mór* the Church is treated with the highest respect. The next treatise in vol. iii. is the 'Book of Aicill,' said to have been so named after Aicill near Tara, and attributed to Cormac, the author of the well-known glossary. It deals very largely with what we should now call criminal law, and it is interesting to note that one of its dicta is 'Fines are doubled by malice aforethought.' In this treatise the commentary is remarkably long as compared with the text. Other dicta are:

> 'Every judge is punishable for his neglect'; 'every king is entitled to compensation for injury to his road'; 'what is cast ashore is the property of the owner of the shore'; 'thou shalt not kill a captive, unless he be thine.'

Numerous topics are touched upon, and the wrongs and injuries discussed are not confined to crimes, while one of its most interesting features is the discussion of responsibility. Vol. iv. contains first a treatise entitled 'Of taking Legal Possession,' and treats of the symbolic ceremonial that was necessary in Ireland (as in other ancient countries) for the institution of an action for the recovery of land. One part of the treatise is called 'The Beginning of Customary Law,' and deals with matters other than the main topic of the treatise. The treatise which follows is called 'Judgments of Co-tenancy,' and discusses important problems arising from this aspect of Irish life. It deals with the partition of lands, fences, trespasses by cattle, bees, hens, or dogs, and gives rules as to the relations between landlord and tenant. Herein we see clearly the growth in Ireland of the individual ownership of land. This treatise even considers the trespasses of pet herons and pet hens, pet deer and pet wolves, pet old birds and pet foxes. Another treatise which throws light on older conditions of life is that called *Bech bretha*, or 'Bee-judgments,' which deals with various contingencies arising from the keeping of bees, a very important phase of country life at the time when mead was drunk and sugar was unknown. The next treatise, *Coibhius Uisci*, or 'The Right of Water,' deals, among other subjects, with the right to construct water-courses and mills. The next treatise, called *Maighne* ('Precincts'), deals with such topics as the violation of precincts, the position of fugitives, and the like. In this document is to be found a very interesting account of sanctuary among the Irish. The treatises which follow are, 'Of the Judgment of every Crime,' 'Division of Land' (a mere fragment), 'Of the Divisions of the Tribe of a Territory' (containing a valuable account of the Irish tribal system), and the document called *Crith Gabhlach*, giving mainly an account of the rights and emoluments of the higher classes of Ireland. This treatise, however, frequently describes an ideal rather than an actual state of things. To this treatise is appended a sequel to *Crith Gabhlach*, and also a fragment on 'Succession.' The treatises given in vol. v. are of a miscellaneous character. The first and second are called respectively 'Small Primer' and 'Heptads,' and they were evidently intended as manuals to be used in the law-schools of Ireland. The former shows some trace of the influence of the Civil Law, and of an attempt on the part of the writer to show his familiarity with Latin. The substance of the work, however, deals with Irish custom, notably in connexion with the *Sáer-* and *Dáer-*grades, and gives a summary of the Irish legal system. The Heptads arrange the different legal maxims in groups of seven, as may be seen from the following example:

> 'There are with the *Féini* (*i.e.* the free Irishmen) seven reboundings that shed blood, which incur not debts nor sick-maintenance: the rebounding of a chip from the chipping of firewood or of carpentry; the rebounding of a piece from a flesh fork; the rebounding of a branch backwards; the rebounding of a flail from the ground; the rebounding from horses' shoes; the rebounding in a forge; the rebounding of a stone off another.'

Then follows a treatise called 'Judgments on Pledge-Interests,' in which the various pledges given by men and women are dealt with in detail. The next treatise, 'On the Confirmation of Right and Law,' consists in its earlier part of triads on various topics, while the latter part is of a miscellaneous character. This series of legal documents ends with a brief tract called 'On the Removal of Covenants,' which deals with the rights of property.

3. The law-books of Wales.—The law-books of Wales are not legal treatises like those of Ireland, but consist of a code attributed to Hywel Dda (Howel the Good), a Welsh prince of the 9th cent., together with one or two amendments attributed to other princes, and a series of mediæval legal maxims. The code in question is found in Latin and in Welsh MSS, and the Welsh MSS fall into three main groups called *Venedotian* (that of N.W. Wales), *Dimetian* (that of S.W. Wales), and *Gwentian* (that of S.E. Wales) respectively. The propriety of the term 'Gwentian' has been disputed, and some at any rate of the MSS of this group may belong to Powys (East Central Wales). Howel ruled over a large part of Wales, and was in touch with the English Court, and it is not improbable that he signalized his reign by means of a code after the manner of other kings of his epoch. Tradition, as embodied in the introduction to the Dimetian code, regards Whitland, in Carmarthenshire, called in Welsh *Y Ty Gwyn ar Daf* ('The White House on the Tâf'), as the place where the code was drawn up at an assembly consisting of the leading men in Church and State, the bishops being present in order to prevent any collision with the law of the Church. A perusal of the laws themselves, however, brings to view much that is not Christian and that must have been derived from pre-Christian usage in Wales, and, ethnologically, this pre-Christian matter is of great value. Still, to distinguish ancient tribal usage from positive enactment in the Welsh laws is no easy task. The oldest known copy of the Welsh Laws is in Latin, and dates from the last quarter of the 12th century. The next MS in point of age is a Welsh one, giving the Venedotian version of the code, which bears the name *Llyfr Du'r Weun* ('The Black Book of Chirk'), now in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. This MS was written about A.D. 1200 and was probably copied from a pre-Norman archetype. The oldest MS of the Dimetian version of the code was written about A.D. 1282, and there are in existence several other MSS of Howel's Laws. These Laws deal with various topics, such as the royal household and the officers of the king and queen, the ætheling or heir apparent, the king's majesty, the king as the fountain of justice, criminal law, with fines, accomplices, blood-feud, and life-price, together with the Welsh penal system; the law of property and succession, touching upon inheritance to personal property, succession by testament, and the succession of women; the execution of justice and the surety-system. Further, there are important laws relating to women, to trespass, to the values of animals, tame and wild, and of buildings, trees, utensils, etc. The Welsh Laws show clearly the advance of a territorial system represented by the *arglwydd* (lord), as the king's viceroy in each district, as compared with the earlier tribal system, wherein the *pencenedl* (chief of the tribe) was supreme in each tribe. In addition to the mediæval legal triads, which are given in the MSS, there are published in the *Myvyrian Archaiology* certain triads called the 'Triads of Dyfnwal Moelmud' (an imaginary Welsh lawgiver), which were first brought to view (and probably invented) by a certain Tomas ab Ifan of Glamorgan in 1685. In the Laws of Howel reference is sometimes made in a conventional way to the 'Law of Howel,' as evidence for a given legal doctrine; but, in spite of the unhistorical character of these references, the very prominence of the royal court in the code makes it highly probable that it had a royal origin. The two Welsh princes whose amendments of the law are quoted, in addition to Howel, are Bleddyn ab Cynfyn (1063–75) and Rhys ab Gruffudd (1155–97). The Welsh Laws in their several versions, like those of Ireland, deserve close study, especially in connexion with the history of the gradual advance in Celtic countries from a tribal to a territorial system, and the consequent legal evolution.

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E. ANWYL.

LAW (Chinese).—The first mention of Chinese law in the classics is the institution of the Five Punishments by Emperor Yao twenty-four centuries before the Christian era. In the next reign, that of Shun, the Five Punishments could be commuted into transportation and deportation, and even, if there were extenuating circumstances, into fines. Mistake and misadventure were pardoned, while aggravated crime and recidivism found no mercy. In cases of doubt, the accused was given the benefit of the doubt. These institutions and principles, couched in quaint language, are to be found in the *Shu King* ('Book of Records'), the oldest book extant in Chinese literature. Embodying, as they do, some of the principles underlying the most enlightened of modern legal systems, they testify to the progress already achieved by Chinese jurisprudence at that remote period. Mercifulness in administration and brevity in legislation were the aims which ancient Chinese statesmen and jurists always had in view.

Codification was attempted about the time of Confucius, the laws being inscribed in bamboo or in metal, reminding one of the nearly contemporaneous Twelve Tables of that other legal system which, after moulding Western jurisprudence, is destined to influence profoundly the Chinese also. Unfortunately, practically nothing is now known of those early codes. During the period of the 'Warring States' (7th cent. B.C.), a code was compiled by Li Kwei which remains the basis of Chinese jurisprudence. The laws of Ts'in (249–210 B.C.) were severe and complex, and were one of the causes of the early downfall of the dynasty. When Liu Pang, the founder of the

Han dynasty, captured the Ts'in capital, he abolished all the harsh laws and substituted for them the famous Three Articles, undoubtedly the shortest and simplest code in history, punishing murder, wounding, and robbery. Of course, this abbreviated code could not serve the needs of the Empire, and another code was enacted later, based mainly on that of Li Kwei, with the addition of three books. Hereafter each dynasty had its code or codes, until we come to the late Tsing dynasty with its *Ta Tsing Lu Li*, which, founded on those of the previous dynasties, in particular that of the Mings, was published in 1647, three years after the Manchu dynasty was established in China. This body of laws, together with the subsequent amendments, held sway until the latter days of the dynasty, when, under pressure of circumstances and influenced by Western ideas, the Emperor established a bureau for the revision of laws, which had among its members many who had knowledge of Western laws, particularly Japanese law. It had also Japanese advisers who exercised considerable influence. It drafted several codes—criminal law, civil law, criminal procedure, and civil procedure, besides other laws, some of which have been enacted, including a temporary criminal code which takes the place of the *Ta Tsing Lu Li* and is still actually in force under the Republic. While the draftsmen of the new laws displayed considerable knowledge of comparative law, Japanese ideas were, naturally, predominant. The Japanese modelled their legal system upon that of the Germans, who in turn inherited from the Romans. Thus the two systems of law, which were each inscribed in bronze at about the same time, are, after the lapse of nearly thirty centuries and through the intermediary of more than one nation, finally brought together.

As the laws of China are at present in a transitional state, and will in future be largely influenced by exotic notions, to get some idea of them in their greatest purity one should go back to the discarded *Ta Tsing Lu Li*. It is well arranged under seven heads: the first may be described as the 'general' part, and the remaining six are named after the former six ministries of the government—civil, fiscal, ritual, military, criminal, and public works. The language is clear and concise, comparing favourably with the productions of modern Western legislation. It has been said that China has only criminal law, and that the *Ta Tsing Lu Li* is only a penal code, what in foreign countries would be civil law being left to local and trade customs and usages. In a sense this is true, because everything in the code is punishable as a crime, but there are many things in it which would be described in other countries as civil law.

(1) The first part deals with general definitions and principles, in some cases with great minuteness and precision. There are also descriptions of the Five Punishments (different from and lighter than the Five Punishments of the ancients), definitions of the ten heinous crimes, statement of the eight privileges, lists of crimes which are not pardonable by a general amnesty, etc. (2) The civil part deals with the conduct of officials, and corresponds to a certain extent with the *droit administratif* of the continental countries of Europe. (3) The fiscal part contains largely what would be civil law. Among its topics are registration of census, real property, marriage, public granaries and treasuries, smuggling, usury, treasure-trove, and weights and measures. The family law is strikingly like that of the Romans, though rather after it had been tempered by Prætorian edicts and Imperial constitutions than at the time of its primitive severity The notion of what constitutes a family is similar in both laws. Agnatic relationship is more important than cognatic; hence 'Mulier est finis familiae' is to a certain extent applicable to China. *Patria potestas* there is, but the power of life and death possessed by the Roman *paterfamilias* is lacking. It is also tempered by paternal love and filial piety, for which the Chinese are justly noted. Marriage is an all-important institution for the continuation of the family. Divorce is regulated by the code, though rarely carried into practice. If polygamy, or rather polygyny, means marriage with more than one wife at the same time, then Chinese law does not permit it; in fact, the code punishes bigamy. One and only one wife is permitted. However, as Mencius teaches, 'there are three things which are unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them'; to ensure against this calamity it is permitted to have concubines, who are in no sense wives. They are frequently chosen by the wife, and occupy a subordinate position, while their children are considered the children of the wife. (4) The ritual part deals with sacrificial, court, and official rites and ceremonies. (5) The military part is not altogether a code of military law, since it contains, *inter alia*, provisions for the guarding of palaces, guarding of passes and fords, keeping of official cattle, injuries inflicted by animals to person and property (cattle 'damage feasant'), and carrying of dispatches by couriers. The articles more particularly applicable to the army provide for mobilization of troops, divulging military secrets, substitution of recruits, lack of discipline, etc. (6) The criminal part is the criminal code *par excellence*. The aphorism 'Actus non facit reum nisi mens sit rea' is religiously observed throughout the articles: a man is not punished for a criminal act unless his intent be also criminal. In homicide, *e.g.*, no fewer than six different degrees are distinguished, varying from culpable to excusable. Most of the crimes found in Western law are also in the code. The use of abusive language is a crime; likewise adultery, which, though in England only a cause for divorce and action for damages, is a crime in France, Germany, and other European countries, as well as in some of the States of the American Union. Gambling is another offence; and so is causing a fire in one's house, which is culpable because of the element of carelessness and the dangerous consequences to the neighbourhood. (7) The part relating to public works deals with such subjects as the maintenance and repair of granaries, dikes, and bridges, and encroachment on public highways.

From this hasty survey of Chinese law, one characteristic may be noted—a characteristic which can be observed not only in law, but in the whole fabric of government itself. Writers on and admirers of English law and institutions have noted a distinguishing feature which they call the rule or supremacy of law. The characteristic of Chinese law is what may by analogy be called the rule of morality. Confucius says:

> 'If the people be led by law, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame. If they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and, moreover, will become good.'[1]

Before and since Confucius, this has been the maxim of Chinese rulers and the first principle of government. Law occupies but a secondary place; morality comes first. Law is intended to reach only where morality is ineffective. In other words, law is supplementary to morality. It may be said that this is true of every civilized society, and that no society can live with only law to guide it. But the difference between China and other civilized societies is that in China this is a principle of government, a maxim recognized by law itself. From this arise some curious results. Peculiarities in Chinese law for which foreigners seek an explanation in vain become quite clear once this principle is grasped.

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[1] *Confucian Analects*, tr. J. Legge, Hong-kong, 1861

As pointed out above, China has, in one sense, no civil law. There is no civil code governing rights of contracts and of property, a breach or violation of which entitles the aggrieved to an action in court whereby he may claim damages. Nevertheless, in China these things are also governed by rules. Some of these rules are local, customary, or professional. Some of them are to be found in the code, which, however, instead of giving the complainant monetary compensation, punishes the defendant with the ordinary criminal punishments. While the distinction between criminal and civil law, a crime and a tort, is a fruitful source of difference among jurists, seeing that even in Western law many acts are at the same time both a crime and a tort, yet the fact remains that China treats everything under one law and one sanction, the reason being that the legislators have upheld the doctrine of the rule of morality. Western legislators say that a breach of promise of marriage is only an infringement of a private right, giving rise to an action for damages, whereas bigamy is so serious that it is considered something more than that; it is a matter which concerns the community at large, and should be punished as a crime. The Chinese lawgiver, on the other hand, not only punishes bigamy, but also punishes the father who has broken his promise to give his daughter in marriage (the nearest Chinese equivalent to a breach of promise of marriage in a Western sense). He considers that the father has broken the moral code, and therefore deserves punishment as a criminal. Chinese officials and judges encourage arbitration and private settlement in every way; but, when the parties refer their differences to the court, unless there has been *bona fide* mistake, the man who breaks a promise is as much a criminal as a murderer, though, of course, the penalty and the consequences are very different. To those who disagree with the Chinese view, and in view of the impending radical changes to be made in Chinese law in this respect, it will be interesting to quote the words of T. E. Holland:

> 'The far-reaching consequences of acts become more and more visible with the advance of civilisation, and the State tends more and more to recognise as offences against the community acts which it formerly only saw to be injuries to individuals.'[1]

There is in Chinese law the doctrine of vicarious responsibility. When a particularly heinous offence is committed—*e.g.*, high treason—not only is the criminal punished, but relatives up to a certain degree are also punished. While doubtless deterrence is the principal motive for this provision, as it is not otherwise easy in such a large country and with inadequate police supervision to prevent the commission of crime, yet, in theory at least, these relatives are responsible because they have not exercised a moral and benign influence on the culprit—an influence which the law presumes they are, on account of their relationship and intimacy, in a position to exercise. Similarly, when parricide has been committed—a crime particularly egregious in the eyes of the filial Chinese—the officials of the jurisdiction, from the district magistrate up to the Governor and Viceroy, all receive more or less punishment. The theory is the same; these officials have charge, among other things, of the morality of the people within their jurisdiction; and, when such a horrible crime as the murder of a person's parents is permitted to come to pass, there has been a breach of duty on the part of the officials. In no other way can the doctrine of vicarious responsibility in Chinese law be explained than by the principle of the rule of morality. Considerations of policy doubtless have their influence, but in theory and origin it is because the Chinese government is essentially a government by morality.

As already stated, the code is no longer in force, and another penal code has taken its place. Drafts of other codes and laws were in course of preparation even before the fall of the Manchus. The legal revolution preceded the political revolution. In the admiration for Western laws, there is danger of a slavish imitation without ascertaining whether the new tree is suited to this ancient soil. This danger is particularly evident in the law of persons. As J. Bryce has pointed out,[1] the law of persons in all countries is the most difficult and the last to change, since it touches most nearly the question of status, the family relations, the very foundation of the social structure of the community. The drafts prepared in the last days of the Manchus are to be submitted to another body of select men for consideration. It is, therefore, premature and unprofitable to prophesy as to the future. That Japanese, and hence German, influence will largely be felt there is no doubt. Anglo-Saxon legal principles also have admirers, so that they too will probably be adopted to a certain extent. But Chinese law and custom should form the foundation of the new structure, so that the Chinese law of the future may still be an institution which is the product of the genius of the people, and that, while useful and suitable principles may be borrowed from the West, there may be no apish imitation of others; that, in a word, the law may still be Chinese law.

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CHAO-CHU WU.

LAW (Christian, Western).—I. *INTRODUCTION.*—There are, first of all, certain distinctions to be made. The first distinction is between *ius* and *lex*. *Lex* (*loi*, *Gesetz*, *νόμος*) is a precept[2] made by right authority, which the subject of that authority is morally bound to obey. This is our 'law' in one sense. *Ius* (*droit*, *Recht*, *δίκη* or *δίκαιον*) may be understood either subjectively or objectively. Subjectively, it is defined as 'the moral power of doing, omitting, or demanding anything, so that another be obliged to do or omit something.' It includes much of what we call 'right' or 'authority.' 'Ius habeo' may be rendered 'I have the right.' Objectively, in the sense in which it is studied by jurists, it is 'the complex of norms by which the actions of individual members of a society are regulated in regard to other members or to the whole society, so that the society may be preserved and may attain its end.' The English word 'law' is used in this sense too; thus we speak of State law, Church law, and canon law, as distinct from a particular law (*lex*). Starting from the idea that all *ius* comes ultimately from the will of God, canonists distinguish the following kinds. *Ius naturale* is the eternal law of God, imprinted in our conscience by Him naturally, so that all men know, or may know, what is essentially right or wrong, by the light of their own conscience. This is the sense in which St. Paul says the Gentiles, who have not the Law (*sc.* of Moses), do by nature the things of the law (the natural law of God; Ro

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[1] *Jurisprudence*^{10}, London, 1906, p. 320.

[1] *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1901.

[2] We may prescind here from the difference between a public *lex* and a private *præceptum*.

2^{14}). This natural law is promulgated by God in making human nature. No power can abrogate it or dispense from it. Different from this is *ius positiuum*, that is, law made by a legislator about things not in themselves necessary, which become necessary as the result of his legislation. Things forbidden by natural law are 'prohibita quia mala'; those forbidden by positive law are 'mala quia prohibita.'

Positive law may be divine or human. Divine positive law is that promulgated by God Himself, as the Law of Moses, or laws made by Christ in the NT. This is not the same as natural law. Many commands of the old Jewish Law are about things in themselves indifferent. It differs also in binding only the subjects to whom it is given (as does all positive law), whereas natural law binds all men. No man can abrogate or dispense from divine positive law. Human positive law is that promulgated by a human authority. Indirectly this too comes from God (or it would not be binding law at all), but only in the sense that God has delegated authority to him who makes it. Positive human law can be abrogated, modified, or dispensed by the authority that laid it down. It is divided into civil law and ecclesiastical law. The *ius ecclesiasticum* is called also by other names. It is *ius sacrum*, as opposed to *ius profanum* (civil law); in old days it was often called *ius pontificium*, as opposed to the civil *ius cæsareum*; and, opposed to *ius ciuile*, it is not infrequently called *ius canonicum*, though there is a more accurate sense in which *ius canonicum* is a part of ecclesiastical law. Another distinction which crosses this, and so may lead to confusion, is between *ius diuinum*, in the sense of all Church law, whether promulgated immediately by Christ or by the authority of the Church, and *ius humanum*, meaning all secular law. This distinction is better avoided. The distinctions of ecclesiastical law are *ius generale* and *ius speciale*. *Ius generale* is a law which applies to all cases in which the circumstances for which it provides are found; *ius speciale* is a law made for a particular case, which does not apply to another case, even if the circumstances are the same. From Roman civil law the Church has taken the distinction between *ius commune* and *ius singulare*. *Ius commune* is that which flows from general principles and so applies normally to all subjects; *ius singulare* is law made for a particular class of persons. This distinction has much in common with that of *ius generale* and *ius speciale*, but is not quite the same. From the point of view of the legislating authority we distinguish *ius uniuersale* and *ius particulare*. Universal law is that which is made by the universal authority of the whole Church; particular law is made by limited authority, as by a bishop for his own diocese. So we have the principle that *ius particulare* may enforce and add to the universal law, but may never contradict it. Lastly comes the much discussed distinction between *ius publicum* and *ius priuatum*. This regards the matter of the law. *Ius publicum* contains laws for the whole Church and for its public authorities; *ius priuatum* is concerned with the rights and duties of private members of the Church. Several modern canonists of the German school (*e.g.*, Phillips) reject this distinction as absurd. It is defended by most others (cf. C. Tarquini, *Iuris eccl. publici institutiones*, Rome, 1896, p. 1 f.). *Ius publicum* is either *externum*, if it regards the relation of the Church to other societies (*e.g.*, the State), or *internum*, if it regards the internal affairs of the Church.

'Canon' is the Greek κανών, a rule or measure. Already in the 4th cent. Church synods began to call the rules laid down by them canons (so the Synod of Ancyra in A.D. 314, the Nicene Synod in 325, etc.). From this time 'canon' begins to be used exclusively in the sense of an ecclesiastical law laid down by public Church authority. It is contrasted with civil law, which is *lex* (νόμος). Gratian defines the word in this sense:

> 'Ecclesiastica constitutio canonis nomine censetur' (ad D. 3, § 1); 'porro canonum alii sunt decreta pontificum, alii statuta conciliorum' (*ib.* ad c. 2).

Since about the 8th cent. collections of such canons were made under the titles *Liber canonum*, *Corpus canonum*, etc. So arose the term *ius canonicum*, the law made by canons, in this sense. But, since the typical collection of canons, the *Corpus iuris canonici*, was closed in 1317, it has been common to use the term *ius canonicum* only for what is contained therein and in the 'Extrauagantes' which form its supplement (to the 15th cent.). In this sense it does not cover later Church law; on the other hand, it includes much contained in the *Corpus iuris canonici* which is really civil law.

Although so far these definitions are taken from Western canonists, and so represent Roman Catholic principles, they are general ones, which are accepted on all sides. We shall here describe Roman Catholic canon law; for that of the Eastern Churches see the following article.

II. *ROMAN CATHOLIC CANON LAW*.—**1. Written and unwritten law.**—Roman Catholic canon law distinguishes first between two sources of law, *ius scriptum* and *ius non scriptum*. The *ius scriptum* consists of laws which are formally laid down by authority in an authentic document; *ius non scriptum* is the law which arises from practical application on the part of the community, without any such formal promulgation. It does not cease to be *ius non scriptum* when it is written down, but only when it is promulgated anew by authority under the conditions which make a written law.

(*a*) The *fontes iuris canonici scripti* are: (1) The NT. The OT is not considered a source of Christian law at all, but at most an *adminiculum*. The positive old Law was abolished by the preaching of the gospel, and its moral precepts are contained in natural law. So the OT, as such, does not occur as a *fons iuris* at all. On the other hand, the NT and the laws therein contained constitute the foundation of Church positive law. From the NT we have three principles—the power of legislation given by Christ to His Church, the constitution of the Church as an organism with a hierarchy, and the social character of Christianity, from which we conclude that the Church is a perfect society, having the rights of such. These are the foundation of all positive Church law. (2) The decrees of synods. Before the Council of Trent decrees about faith were called dogmas, and those about positive law were called canons. The Council of Trent changed these terms, calling its decrees about faith *canones*, and its disciplinary laws *decreta*. The Vatican Council followed this new terminology. Only the decrees of ecumenical councils have force for all Catholics; those of particular councils oblige only those for whom they are promulgated, over whom the council has jurisdiction. But many decrees of particular synods have since become universal by virtue of a new promulgation of universal authority extending them. Disciplinary decrees of ecumenical councils oblige until they are repealed by universal authority. The Church has the power of abrogating or modifying her own positive laws. (3) Constitutions of popes. The pope, by virtue of his universal jurisdiction, has the power of making laws for the whole Church. He does this in two forms—in a more solemn form by bulls (*bullæ*) and less solemnly by briefs (*breues*). There is no difference in the binding force of bulls and briefs; the greater or less solemnity concerns only the importance of the matter. Bulls are regularly issued from the papal Chancellery; before Leo XIII. they were written in Gothic characters and had attached a leaden seal tied to the parchment by silk threads. Leo XIII., in 1878, ordered that in future bulls should be written in Roman letters and sealed with a red seal representing St. Peter and St. Paul and bearing the name of the pope. Only in bulls of special importance is the old leaden seal to be retained. Bulls always begin with the name of the pope and the title 'Seruus Seruorum Dei' only; briefs begin with a fuller title and are sealed in red with the seal of the Fisherman. They are prepared at the Secretariate of Briefs. The use of bulls or briefs is not easy to account for. Frequently matters of great importance are determined not by bulls but by briefs (see, further, art. BULLS AND BRIEFS). According to the matter and the force of obligation, papal constitutions are variously distinguished. General laws for the whole Church are called by the generic name *constitutiones*, and *decreta* are those which are issued 'motu proprio'; *literæ decretales* generally come from a consultation and are answers to questions. Encyclicals are addressed to the bishops of the whole Church or to those of some province. With regard to the extension of their binding force, we distinguish between *constitutiones generales* for all and *rescripta* for special cases, to which alone normally they apply. All Roman Catholics are bound by general constitutions, and also by *epistolæ decretales* if they are expressly extended to all. Otherwise, they do not constitute a general law, from defect of promulgation. Immediately they bind only those to whom they are addressed. But to others they have the force of authentic interpretations of law, and are often published with the purpose of constituting a precedent. Rescripts have no legal force except for those to whom they are addressed. Rescripts may be *iustitiæ*, containing an obligation, or *gratiæ*, conferring a favour, or *mixtæ*.

So far we have considered the *fontes iuris generalis*. *Ius particulare* is made by the decrees of provincial councils, diocesan laws, or statutes of corporations, such as chapters for their own body. It is obvious that a particular authority can bind only those who are subject to it. Many civil laws are included as particular canon law; not that the Church recognizes the right of a civic authority to legislate in ecclesiastical matters, but either because they are the civil sanction of already existing Church laws or because Church authority has given them the force of canon law. Connected with civil law are concordats. These began in the Middle Ages, *e.g.*, the 'Concordatum Calixtinum' of 1122, between Pope Calixtus II. and the Emperor Henry V., which put an end to the dispute about investitures (see art. INVESTITURE CONTROVERSY). A concordat is defined as 'a treaty between Ecclesiastical and Civil authorities, by which the connexion between both societies concerning mixed affairs is regulated.'[1] According to modern principles, only the pope makes the concordat on the side of the Church. For the State its governing authority acts. The matters treated in concordats are all the 'mixed' questions in which both Church and State have an interest, such as questions of property, marriage, presentations to benefices, and so on. Concordats are now generally said by Roman Catholic canonists to be true bilateral contracts, which oblige both sides in justice, being binding on the subjects of both powers as particular Church law and civil law (see, further, art. CONCORDAT).

(*b*) The *fontes iuris canonici non scripti* are: (1) Natural law as the origin of all positive law. The basis of positive law is the principles of natural law; nor can positive authority make any law which contradicts that of nature. (2) Tradition, which affects principles of discipline as well as those of faith. So we distinguish divine, apostolic, and ecclesiastical traditions in matters which bind conduct. (3) Custom (*consuetudo*). This plays a great part in Catholic canon law. It is defined as: 'A law introduced by the repetition of similar actions on the part of the community, with the consent of the legislator.'[1] The difference between *consuetudo* and *traditio* is that in the case of a law coming through tradition it is presumed that it was originally formally promulgated by authority, although knowledge of that promulgation is to be had only through tradition. In the case of custom there is no promulgation at the beginning; the law gradually acquires its force through repeated acts. Custom is, in fact, the same principle as prescription, except that prescription usually connotes a right, and *consuetudo* a duty. It may be universal for the whole Church, special in the case of a particular though perfect society in its own order (as a chapter or religious order), or *specialissima*, if it affects an imperfect society, such as a family or parish.

Custom may be according to law, in which case it only makes the force of the law more clear, and perhaps interprets it (hence the proverb, 'Consuetudo est optima legum interpres'); or it may be beside the law ('præter legem'), adding to, but not contradicting, the *lex scripta*; or it may be against the law ('contra legem'), which abrogates or abolishes a law. This is the most important case. It is called *desuetudo* when custom simply abolishes a law by continual non-observance, *consuetudo contraria* when by repeated acts a new law is introduced which abrogates a former one.

There are many precautions in canon law against the too easy admittance of custom. First, it must be introduced by a perfect community, *i.e.*, by one which has the power of making or receiving a true law, as distinct from a particular precept. Hence one man can never obtain a right for himself by repeated acts. The custom must be introduced by repeated, free, and public acts on the part of the greater part of the community. Most canonists require that these acts should not be made through an erroneous opinion (*e.g.*, ignorance that the law exists); they must certainly be free, in the sense of not being made through force or fear. Nor is a new law introduced by custom when the people who practise the custom do so with the deliberate consciousness that they are merely performing a free work of piety. There must be, at least eventually, some signs of an intention (not necessarily explicit) to prescribe a custom 'præter legem.' The object of a *consuetudo* may be anything which is not opposed to natural law, or opposed to right reason, or an immediate occasion of sin, or injurious in itself to the whole system of Church discipline. The only general and certain principle that can be laid down with regard to the time required for a custom to obtain the force of law is that there must be a sufficiently repeated number of acts, extending over a sufficient time, for a reasonable person to be able to say that the custom is already in firm possession. Generally canonists apply to *consuetudo* the same principles as are required by civil law for the prescription of a right. For customs 'præter legem' some demand ten years, for customs 'contra legem' forty years. Others think ten years sufficient in this case too, at least when it is a case of law which has never been observed by the community, against which custom began as soon as the law was promulgated. The last condition for a *consuetudo*, and the most important, is the consent of the legislator. This really does away with all that otherwise would be anomalous in the principle of *consuetudo*, and makes it consistent with the normal principles of canon law. For in this case also the rule obtains that ultimately the only source of law is the act of the legislator in some form. The consent of the legislator may be expressed, or tacit, or merely legal, when he is ignorant of the custom, but intends in general to apply always the canonical principles affecting custom. In such a case he has an implicit intention with regard to each particular custom, even if he does not know of it. In this case, too, the real source of the obligation of the *consuetudo* is the will of the legislator. When the legislator knows of the custom and could put a stop to it but does not do so, we have a case of tacit consent. Custom may be abolished by abrogation, which simply puts an end to the one which now exists, but in no way prevents a new custom of the same kind from arising; or by prohibition, which not only ends the custom but forbids a new one to arise; and, finally, by reprobation, which declares the custom to be in itself pernicious and incapable of ever obtaining the force of law. But the formulas which are often appended to positive laws (such as 'non obstante quacumque consuetudine') do not always mean as much as they would seem to mean. Often such formulas are intended only to make the beginning of a *consuetudo contraria* more difficult. A new positive law is always supposed to abrogate general customs contrary to it, but not local customs, unless a clause to this effect is added. A custom may be abolished by a new custom opposed to it, or by simple *desuetudo*.

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[1] S. Aichner, *Compendium juris eccl.*[9], Brixen, 1900, p. 26.

[1] Aichner, *op. cit.* p. 31.

Other *fontes iuris canonici non scripti* are enumerated in the text-books. There are the opinions of learned canonists. These are not strictly a source of law; but the *responsa prudentum*, as in Roman civil law, so also in canon law, are considered a safe guide as to the meaning of laws whose form is ambiguous; they furnish a precedent according to which authentic declarations are made; as in moral theology, the consent of a number of canonists of repute constitutes a probability which may be followed safely. In much the same way the Fathers of the Church, though each one has no more authority than the reason he gives, form a witness of tradition which is often of great importance. Moreover, many sayings and decisions of Fathers have afterwards been incorporated into authentic collections of laws, and from this incorporation receive the force of law in the strict sense. In matters concerning which there is yet no positive law, it is probable that the judgment of illustrious Fathers will be considered when a law is framed. Many early text-books of canon law include answers of Fathers and their sentences in test cases. The *usus forensis* also occurs in connexion with *ius non scriptum*. Thus a repeated number of decisions in special cases, which all show agreement with the same general principle, form a precedent which may be of great importance for general law. Here it is probable that, if a new law be drawn up, it will be in accordance with the precedent set by the *usus forensis*. Meanwhile this use gives a greater or less probability as to the correct interpretation of laws. Among the Roman tribunals which make the *usus forensis* the Rota Romana is of chief importance. Formerly disputed cases from all parts of the world were sent to the Rota for judgment. Its jurisdiction is now limited by that of other tribunals; but it still remains the most important one.

The *stylus curiæ* also occurs among the *fontes non scripti*. This means the use of certain conventional or technical terms and methods of procedure, which the student of canon law should understand, since they affect the meaning of the decisions.

2. History of the sources of canon law.—Canonists distinguish three main periods of canon law—the *ius antiquum* from the foundation of the Church to the publication of Gratian's *Decretum*, *ius nouum* from Gratian to the Council of Trent, and *ius nouissimum* from the Council of Trent to our own time.

(1) *Ius antiquum*.—After the NT there is but little canon law extant down to the Council of Nicæa (325). The modern canonist in practice does not refer much to this time, but in theory the same rules apply to it as to later times. A law made during the first three centuries by proper authority binds the subjects of that authority till it be repealed or fall into desuetude. But there are hardly any such documents now extant. There are a few papal letters, letters of other bishops, such as St. Cyprian, and the decrees of one or two councils, such as the two held at Carthage in 256. Moreover, since later legislation has covered almost the whole field of possible Church law, it is unlikely that any law of the first three centuries would be cited. It will have been either re-enacted or abrogated at a later period. After the Council of Nicæa we have a large collection of canons, chiefly pseudo-apostolic, such as the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the various Church Orders, etc. The most important of these are the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions* and *Canons*. When it was believed that these were the work of the apostles, naturally they seemed of enormous importance. The Quinisextum Synod ('in Trullo,' at Constantinople, 692) recognized the 85 *Apostolic Canons* as an authentic source of canon law, whereas in the West a Roman synod under Pope Gelasius I. rejected them as spurious as early as 495. Eventually fifty of these canons, by their reception in the *Corpus iuris*, obtained a certain recognition, though not technically authority, in the West. Now that every one knows that they are spurious, they have only an archæological interest. Some of them, however, are really repetitions of authentic canons of Nicæa and the Synod of Antioch in 341. From the Council of Nicæa (325) there are decrees of ecumenical synods, which have the full force of law for the whole Church, and those of particular synods, which are authentic sources for the provinces concerned. The other source of the *ius antiquum* consists of papal letters and decrees. There are *literæ synodicæ* (treating chiefly of matters of faith) and papal decrees in various forms from the time of Damasus I. (366–384). These are collected in *Regesta*, and still have full force, unless they have been repealed by later legislation.

Long before the famous *Decretum Gratiani* attempts had been made to collect and arrange the growing mass of sources of canon law. The first collection of this kind is the so-called *Versio Hispanica*, long supposed to be the work of St. Isidore of Seville. Really it is a Greek collection, to which a Latin translation was added in Italy. Its first edition, composed and translated not long after the 4th cent., contained only the decrees of Nicæa; to these the Latin version added those of Sardica, then supposed in the West to be Nicene. Later the decrees of Ancyra, Neo-Cæsarea, and Gangra were added. Such a collection would naturally constantly be brought up to date, and new canons would be added by copyists. Finally, in Spanish and Gallican texts, the canons of Chalcedon were added. From the 5th to the 9th centuries there are a number of such collections. The so-called *Versio prisca* is an Italian translation of a Greek collection made in the early 5th century. In Gaul a great but disordered collection of canons of councils, and of papal and episcopal letters, was made in the beginning of the 6th century. This was published by Pasquier Quesnel,[1] who thought it to be the oldest official Roman collection. F. Maassen counts thirteen other early Gallican collections of the kind.[2] In Italy Dionysius Exiguus (536) made two large collections, one of canons and one of decretals (papal letters) down to Anastasius II. (496–498). These were then joined together, and became the official Roman text-book, practically displacing all others. Later canons were added to the collection. Pope Adrian I. in 774 sent a copy of this to Charles the Great (with additions down to his own time). This became the official *Codex Canonum* of the Church of Gaul. It was made State law in Charles's empire in 802. In Africa the chief collections are the *Breuiatio Canonum* of Fulgentius Ferrandus in the first half of the 6th cent., and the *Concordia Canonum* of Crescentius about the year 690. Spain had a number of such collections. In the end of the 6th cent., Martin, Bishop of Braga, made a *Collectio Canonum* (also known as *Liber Capitulorum*). About the same time appeared an *Epitome* from Martin of Braga and other sources; from this further *Epitomes* were made. It was also at the end of the 6th cent. that the great *Hispana Collectio* was composed. The preface of this is taken for the chief part from the *Etymologies* of St. Isidore of Seville († 636). This is the main source of pseudo-Isidore. In the 9th cent. it was increased by a great number of forged decretals and was ascribed by the forger to St. Isidore. Ireland had a collection of canons, chiefly taken from Dionysius, about the end of the 7th century. In the 9th cent. appeared three collections in the Frankish kingdom which consisted largely of forged documents. These are the *Collection of Capitularies* of Benedict Levita, the famous forged *Decretals* (pseudo-Isidore), and the *Capitula Angilramni.* The forged *Decretals* especially had a disastrous effect on later canon law. They contain so great a mass of documents, touching all kinds of matter, that for centuries canonists took their material from them. It is now generally admitted that the forged *Decretals* were compiled between the years 847 and 853, in Gaul. They were probably begun at Mainz and completed at Rheims. The compiler calls himself Isidorus Mercator (in other copies, Isidorus Peccator or Mercatus). Various persons have been suggested as the compiler (Benedict Levita, Rothad of Soissons, etc.). The forgeries consist for the most part in ascribing authentic documents of a later age to an earlier one. In the 15th cent. Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa and John Turrecremata first doubted their authenticity. Since then this has been so established that no one any longer quotes them. Other collections are those of Regino of Prum (*c.* 906), Burchard of Worms († 1025), Anselm of Lucca († 1086), Cardinal Deusdedit (1086–87), and the *Decretum* and *Pannormia* of Ivo of Chartres († 1117).

(2) *Ius nouum.*—The *ius nouum* begins with the *Decretum* of Gratian, which superseded all earlier ones and became the universally accepted collection of the Middle Ages in the West.

Gratian (Magister Gratianus) was a Benedictine monk at Bologna. He lectured on canon law, and, feeling the need of a text-book, he composed his *Decretum* about the year 1150. He intended this to be not so much a collection of canons as a text-book in which he lays down theses and proves them by quotations. In each case he first states a thesis (these statements are the 'dicta Gratiani,' which come first); then, as proof, he quotes documents, canons of synods, papal decrees, and even civil laws. His idea was also to harmonize apparently discordant canons; hence the name, given either by himself or soon after, *Discordantium canonum concordia.* Gratian's book was, in comparison with all that had gone before it, so well arranged, and contained so much matter, that it soon became the universal text-book in the West. No other canonical work approaches it in importance. Soon it began to be commented. An immediate disciple of Gratian, Paucapalea, made the divisions of the first and third parts as we have them now. He also added notes which have become incorporated into the work, each under the special heading 'Palea' (for Paucapalea); then the notes of other commentators were added with the same heading, so that 'Palea' became a general title for notes at the end of Gratian's 'Distinctiones.' A mass of longer commentaries and glosses gathered around the text. The 'Glossa ordinaria' printed at the foot of modern editions is by Iohannes Teutonicus (Johann Zemeke), Canon of Halberstadt († 1245), and Bartholomew of Brescia († 1258). After the work had passed through innumerable hands and had received all manner of additional notes and corruptions of the text, Pope Pius IV. appointed a special commission of cardinals to revise it. They continued their work under Pius V. These are the 'Correctores Romani' whose corrections are added beneath the text. Finally, Gregory XIII. in 1852 issued an authentic printed edition of the *Decretum.*

It consists of three parts. Part i. (sometimes called 'Tractatus ordinandorum') treats of the sources of canon law and of ecclesiastical persons and offices. It has 101 Distinctiones, each of which begins with a dictum headed 'Gratianus.' This is his thesis. It is then proved by a number of canons. At the end often comes the Palea. Originally these Distinctiones and canons were not numbered, and were quoted by their first words. The edition of Charles Dumoulin (Paris, 1547) is the first to number them. Le Conte (Paris, 1556) numbered the Paleæ also. Part ii. contains solutions of disputed questions. It is divided into 36 Causæ. Each begins with a statement of the case by Gratian, followed by a number of 'Quaestiones,' each having a proposition by Gratian, which is then proved by a number of canons. Among these is one quæstio which amounts to a complete treatise or excursus by itself. This is the third quæstio of Causa xxxiii. It bears the special title 'Tractatus de Poenitentia' and is divided into seven Distinctiones and these again into canons. 'De Poenitentia' is quoted as a separate treatise. Part iii. is headed 'de Consecratione.' It treats of liturgical matters, especially of the Mass. This part has five Distinctiones, each beginning with a 'dictum Gratiani,' which is proved by a series of canons. The second and third parts also have Paleæ.

There is a recognized manner of quoting the *Decretum Gratiani* which should be noted. Since each part is arranged differently, it is not necessary to begin by saying which part one quotes; this is shown by the quotation itself. From the first part we quote by canon and Distinctio (c. and D.); thus 'c. 3, D. xcv.' means the third canon of the ninety-fifth Distinctio of the first part. In quoting the second part three numbers occur, those of the canon, Causa, and quæstio (in that order); *e.g.* 'c. 6, C. vii. q. 4.' The treatise 'de Poenitentia' is known by the addition of those words (or in a shortened form, 'de Poen.,' or even 'D.P.'), then (either before or after this) come the canon and the Distinctio—*e.g.*, 'c. 3, D. 5, D.P.' In quoting the third part the words 'de Consecr.' are always added; otherwise the quotation by canon and Distinctio is the same as in the first part—*e.g.*, 'c. 123, D. iv., de Consecr.'

Gratian's *Decretum* then became the nucleus of the *Corpus iuris canonici*, of which it is still the first (about half in length). To this gradually four other parts were added. Gratian had used canons down to Innocent II.; the latest quoted by him is of 1139. As time went on, and further material accumulated, it became necessary to add to these. Notably the third and fourth Lateran councils (1179 and 1215) added considerably to the material of canon law in the West. During this period, when the papacy reached its greatest power in civil life, a great number of papal decrees were issued. After Gratian about seventeen different compilations of this new material were made, when Pope Gregory IX. thought of publishing an authentic addition to the *Decretum Gratiani.* This was prepared by St. Raymund of Pennafort, the pope's penitentiary. Gregory published this collection in 1234 by the bull *Rex pacificus*, sent it to the Universities of Paris and Bologna, and ordered that it should be accepted as authentic. This is the *Decretals of Gregory IX.*

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[1] In the *Opera Leonis Magni*, ii. (Paris, 1675).

[2] *Gesch. der Quellen und der Lit. des can. Rechts*, pp. 821–873.

The work is divided into five books, treating of the matters described in the verse 'Iudex, iudicium, clerus, connubia, crimen,' namely of ecclesiastical officials and judges, of procedure in canon law, of the rights, duties, and property of clerks, of laws about marriage, of criminal cases and their process. Each book is divided further into 'Tituli,' and these into 'Capitula.' This division already existed in the compilation of Bernard of Pavia (Papiensis), about 1191, which is the basis of that of Gregory IX.

The sign by which a quotation from this part of the *Corpus iuris canonici* may be known is the word 'extra' or the letter x, meaning that it is outside the *Decretum Gratiani*. Thus: 'c. 1, x, de clericis non resid. (III. 3)' means the first chapter of the Titulus 3 (which is about clerks who do not reside) of book III., extra, namely, in the *Decretals of Gregory IX.* The addition of the heading of the Titulus is now no longer necessary, since in later editions they are numbered.

The work has been enlarged since it was first published. Raymund, with the idea of maintaining brevity, did not write out the statement of the case, but only the solution. Nor did he quote the whole *Decretal*, but only fragments of it. The result of this was that it was often impossible to understand his text unless one went to the original source. To remedy this Le Conte in his edition (Paris, 1556) added what Raymund had omitted. These additions are the 'partes decisæ,' printed in italics in modern editions. The decretals are arranged in chronological order; in some cases Raymund, when the matter did not seem sufficiently clear, obtained from the pope a special decree made to be inserted here. These are put at the end of the Tituli. There is a 'Glossa ordinaria' made by Bernardus de Bottone of Parma (1263).

The third part of the *Corpus iuris canonici* consists of the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*, added by Boniface VIII. It is the sixth book after the five of Gregory IX. This became necessary in the same way as those of Gregory IX. In 1245 and 1274 the first and second Councils of Lyons had been held. From the decrees of these, of popes since Gregory IX., and of his own, Boniface VIII. in 1298 published his *Liber Sextus*, by the bull *Sacrosanctæ*. In this he expressly forbids any decrees to be accepted as valid except those contained in this collection. John Andreæ made the 'Glossa ordinaria' to this part of the *Corpus*. At the end the pope added 88 'Regulae iuris,' short maxims about procedure. The *Liber Sextus* is divided in the same way as the *Decretals* of Gregory IX. Although the whole is the *Liber Sextus*, it has itself five books, divided into Tituli and chapters. It is quoted as in Gregory IX., except that, instead of x, we write 'in vi.'

The fourth part of the *Corpus iuris canonici* is the *Constitutiones Clementinæ*. In 1314, Clement V. published a collection of his own Constitutions, including those of the Council of Vienne (1311–12); but he died before his work had been received by the Universities of Orleans and Paris, to whom it was addressed. His successor, John XXII., in 1317 sent the collection to the University of Bologna with the bull *Quoniam nulla*, ordering its use by schools of canon law and in courts. Clement meant to call his collection the Seventh Book of Decretals; but, since it contains only his own, not all those which had been issued since Boniface VIII., the commentators refused to give it this title and called it the *Constitutiones Clementinæ*.

It is divided, like the *Decretals* of Gregory IX., into five books, and these into Tituli and chapters. It is quoted in the same way, with the special rubric 'Clem.' instead of 'x.' It has a Glossa by John Andreæ (1326), improved by Francis Zarabella (1417).

These collections, those of Gratian, Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., and Clement V., constitute the *Corpus iuris canonici clausum*, a name which begins with a misunderstanding of a phrase in the acts of the Council of Basel.[1] The *Corpus iuris canonici*, however, received yet two appendices. Decrees made later, and, therefore, not in the *Corpus*, were called 'Extrauagantes,' as being outside the official book. Then they began to be added to copies of the *Corpus* as an appendix. Finally, John Chappuis in his edition (Paris, 1500) printed two such appendices of 'Extrauagantes' which, although collected only by his private authority, are now always added. These are the 20 'Extrauagantes' of Pope John XXII. (1316–34), which had already been edited with a Glossa by Zenzelinus de Cassanis in 1325. They are distributed in 14 Tituli. The other appendix contains 'Extrauagantes communes,' decrees of various popes from Boniface VIII. (1294–1303) to Sixtus IV. (1471–84). Chappuis published seventy of these; later (in 1503) five more were added. These are arranged in five books on the same principle as those of Gregory IX. But the fourth book ('Connubia') is wanting, because there had been no new decrees about marriage. The whole work is considered one *Corpus*, including the 'Extrauagantes.' Matthew of Lyons in 1590 published a so-called 'Liber Septimus' containing constitutions of popes from Sixtus IV. to Sixtus V. (1585–90); and Paul Lancelloti in 1563 wrote a compendium of canon law which he called *Institutiones iuris canonici*. These also, with the approval of Paul V., have been added to the *Corpus* since 1605. They can hardly be considered in any sense part of it, though they are authentic collections which may be used in canonical processes.

This is the end of the *Corpus iuris canonici*. Its historical importance is enormous. For centuries it has been the one official collection of the Roman Catholic Church; it is the most important book of canon law ever published. But, in spite of the reverence with which it is still regarded, it has ceased to have more than a historical interest. There has been far-reaching legislation since, notably by the Councils of Trent and the Vatican. Moreover, the *Corpus* has many errors of various kinds. Gratian's decree, its nucleus, is not on the level of modern erudition. He quotes a number of spurious papal decrees, including many from pseudo-Isidore. It is not likely that any further additions will be made to a work which would need rather complete re-casting. At the Vatican Council one of the Postulata was for a new *Corpus*, to be made by a special commission. Meanwhile the modern canonist refers rather to a modern work.

The *Corpus iuris canonici* has not the same authority throughout. Although it is an official collection, this does not mean that everything in it must be accepted as authentic. The *Decretum Gratiani* has never been made a 'codex legalis' in the strict sense. Therefore it remains, in itself, a private collection, which confers no new force on the decrees which it quotes. Each of these has no more value than it had before Gratian quoted it. His Dicta and the Paleæ have no juridic value. But the *Decretals* of Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., and Clement V. were published as a 'codex legalis.' This means that the publication, apart from their origin, was promulgation of a new law. All that is in them thereby obtained the value of common law, even when the original decree was addressed to some particular person only. But this law is subject to the usual conditions. It may be abrogated, prescribed against, etc., as may all common law. According to the opinion of canonists, the constitutions among the 'Extrauagantes' do not receive any new authority from their insertion here.

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[1] The Council speaks of papal reservations 'which are included in the *Corpus*' ('in corpore iuris expresse clausis') (sess. xxiii. 6 [Mansi, xxix., col. 120, E]). From this phrase originated the idea of a 'Corpus iuris canonici clausum,' afterwards adopted in many documents, *e.g.* Benedict XIV. in the const. *Iam fere*, etc

(3) *Ius nouissimum.*—The *ius nouissimum* begins with the Council of Trent (1545–63). Of the twenty-five sessions of the Council, thirteen made decrees affecting law. These decrees were to have force as soon as they were promulgated. This was done by the bull *Benedictus Deus* of Pius v. in 1564. The pope fixed 1st May of that year as the date from which the decrees should be in force. The question occurs whether it be possible lawfully for a custom to abrogate any Tridentine decree. The possibility of this has often been denied, so that there is an axiom often quoted: 'Contra concilium Tridentinum non ualet consuetudo.' This axiom has no authority behind it. It is true that the Council of Trent has the gravest authority; but there is no reason to suppose an exception to the common principle about *consuetudo* in this case either. In fact, a number of customs have arisen against its decrees in various parts of the Church, which, supposing the usual conditions, are admitted as lawful. In order that there might be a permanent body capable of giving authentic interpretations of the Tridentine decrees, Pius iv. founded the 'Congregatio concilii Tridentini interpres' (commonly called the 'Sacra congregatio concilii,' 'S.C.C.'). This congregation still exists; it has acquired extended functions regarding other matters also.

Since the Council of Trent there has been a considerable increase in the sources of canon law. The immense number of papal constitutions is edited in the *Bullarium Romanum*, of which several editions have appeared, the most important being the *Magnum Bullarium Romanum* of Luxemburg (1726–58) and Rome (1733–56). There is also a *Bullarii Romani Continuatio* (Rome, 1835–57), bringing it down to Gregory xvi. (1831–46). These are in themselves only private collections. But Benedict xiv. (1740–58) published a collection of his own bulls (1754–58). The publication of this work is considered equivalent to a new promulgation; so that Benedict xiv.'s *Bullarium* has the same authority, as a collection, as the *Decretals* of Gregory ix., etc., in the *Corpus iuris canonici*. The disciplinary decrees of the Vatican Council (1870) form a *fons iuris* of great importance. The laws of Pius ix. (1846–78), including the Syllabus of 1864,[1] and of Leo xiii. (1878–1903)[2] are published in special collections. Since the Peace of Westphalia (1648) there have been concordats with various States, and provincial synods. During the late pontificate there has been considerable legislation. The Holy See functions through the Roman Congregations.

According to the reform of Pius x. (*Sapienti consilio*, 1908), there are now twelve Congregations of Cardinals: (1) 'S. Cong. Sancti Officii' (the Inquisition), which looks after matters of faith and morals, indulgences, matters affecting the theology of the sacraments, and certain marriage cases; (2) 'S. Cong. Consistorialis,' which has to do with consistories, and with the affairs of dioceses not under propaganda; (3) 'S. Cong. de disciplina Sacramentorum,' for disciplinary matters affecting sacraments; (4) 'S. Cong. Concilii' (*sc.* Tridentini), mentioned above; (5) 'S. Cong. de Religiosis,' for affairs of religious Orders; (6) 'S. Cong. de Propaganda fide,' for missions, with two divisions, one for the Roman rite and one for Eastern rites; (7) 'S. Cong. Indicis,' which forbids dangerous books; (8) 'S. Cong. sacrorum rituum,' for rites and ceremonies; (9) 'S. Cong. Cærimoniarum,' for non-liturgical ceremonies, especially those of the papal court; (10) 'S. Cong. pro negotiis eccl. extraordinariis,' for concordats and other affairs of special importance; (11) 'S. Cong. studiorum,' for schools, seminaries, and universities; (12) 'S. Cong. renouandæ fabricæ S. Petri,' which looks after the property and building of St. Peter's at Rome.

There are three Roman 'Officia': the 'Cancelleria apostolica,' which prepares and sends bulls concerning the erection of new dioceses, chapters, and other important matters; the 'Dataria apostolica,' which has to do chiefly with minor benefices; and the 'Camera apostolica,' which looks after the property of the Holy See, especially 'sede uacante,' and gives jurisdiction to the Camerlengo for that time. There are three Tribunals: the 'S. Poenitentiaria,' which has to do with matters of confession and others 'in foro interno' only; the 'S. Romana Rota,' the highest tribunal for all canonical cases; and the 'Signatura apostolica,' which is the court of appeal that may reverse the judgment of the Rota or of the congregations. Among the commissions instituted by Pius x. the most important for our purpose is the 'Commissio pro codificatione iuris canonici.' This has undertaken the enormous task of revising, simplifying, and codifying the whole body of Roman Catholic canon law.

The position of the Uniates (Christians of Eastern rites in union with Rome) has nothing abnormal in principle, though practically they have many points of canon law special to themselves. They are bound, as are all Catholics, by ecumenical laws, but not by all papal constitutions, since many of these are intended only for Latins. The sources of canon law for Uniates are the canons of synods held before the great schism of the 9th cent., except such as have been abrogated since; their liturgical books approved by the Holy See; and their local synods approved in the same way. There have been several of these, some of great importance, *e.g.* the Ruthenian Synod of Zamoisk in 1720,[1] the Maronite Synod of Mount Lebanon, held at the monastery of Deir Luwaise in 1736,[2] and the Armenian synod held at Rome in 1911.[3] They are bound by special papal constitutions for Eastern Churches and by decrees of propaganda addressed to them. In 1631 Urban viii. declared that Uniates are bound by general papal decrees in three cases only: when the decree concerns a matter of faith, when they are expressly named, and when something is decreed which implicitly affects them. The local law of one Uniate church does not affect the others, unless it be explicitly extended to them; nor has the authority of one jurisdiction over the others, unless it is received by delegation from the Holy See.

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Adrian Fortescue.

LAW (Christian, Eastern).—**I. Canon law in the Orthodox Church.**—In general principles the Orthodox Church agrees with the Church of Rome as to canon law. She too recognizes the NT, tradition (*παράδοσις*), custom (*ἔθος*), and positive ecclesiastical legislation (*ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ νομοθεσία*) as the sources of canon law. But she takes a different attitude towards civil law. As the result of the long Byzantine period, during which emperors made laws for the Church which were accepted by Eastern bishops, the Orthodox Church gives more importance to the State in Church matters than does the Church of the West. Orthodox canonists explain this. They urge that, as the Christian State accepted canon law in its province, and confirmed Church law by civil proclamation and civil sanctions, so the Church accepts all State law, even that of heathen emperors, as hers, so long as this does not contradict the canons. By this acceptance the Church 'canonizes' State law and gives it promulgation from herself. John Scholasticus (6th cent.), in his collection of canons, includes as an appendix a number of the *Nouellæ* of Justinian I. which affect Church matters. The *Nomocanon* contains the rule: 'In cases where the canons contain no decision, we must follow the laws of the State.'[1] Theodore Balsamon (13th cent.), however, ascribes greater authority to the canons than to civil laws. In a case of conflict the canons, not the laws, must be obeyed. The Orthodox Church also ascribes canonical authority to the *responsa prudentum* (*ἀποκρίσεις τῶν σοφῶν*), *i.e.* the opinions of learned canonists given in the form of answers to questions or as statements. In this, like the Latin Church, she follows a principle of Roman civil law.

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[1] *Acta Pii IX.*, 3 vols., Rome, 1848–75.

[2] *Leonis XIII. encyclicæ, constitutiones et epistolæ*, 2 vols., Milan. 1887.

[1] *Syn. prou. Ruthenorum hab. in ciuitate Zamosciæ*, Rome, 1838.

[2] *Syn. prou. a R.D. Patr. Antiocheno . . . nationis Syrorum Maronitarum . . . in Monte Libano celebrata*. Rome, 1820.

[3] Encyclical *Quanta animi*, 22 Dec. 1911

With regard to positive Church law (*κανών* in the strict sense) the Orthodox admit, as binding the whole Church, the 85 *Canons of the Apostles* (to which they still give apostolic and ecumenical authority, as containing principles derived from the Apostles, and as being confirmed by the Trullan Synod of 692) and the decrees of ecumenical synods. Of these they acknowledge seven, including the second of Nicæa (787) as the last. Although they hold their Church to be the whole Church of Christ on earth (so that she should have the same power of convoking an ecumenical synod as had the Church before the great schism), as a matter of fact they have held no synod claiming to be ecumenical since that schism. These are in theory the only authorities that can legislate for the whole Church, though the decrees of many particular synods and even canons of individual Fathers are considered to have acquired ecumenical authority by the later acceptance of the whole (Orthodox) Church. A Patriarch can legislate for his Patriarchate only; since the formation of permanent synods to govern national Churches, they give to these the same authority as a Patriarch has. In neither case can the particular authority legislate against the universal canons. In theory each bishop has the right to legislate for his own Eparchy, within the bounds of general law. He can summon diocesan synods, and promulgate laws for his people in the form of pastoral letters. In practice, however, this right is now much circumscribed. Each national Orthodox Church is considerably centralized under its Patriarch or Holy Synod. The independence of each national Church is balanced by a very complete dependence of each bishop within it. In the Orthodox States the government has much to say in the matter of the legislation of ecclesiastical authority.

The source of universal canon law for all Orthodox Churches is the *Nomocanon* compiled in the year 883. This is divided into fourteen titles. It contains the *Canons of the Apostles*, those of the seven ecumenical synods, those of ten particular synods, namely Ancyra (314), Neo-Cæsarea (between 314 and 325), Gangra (*c.* 340), Antioch (341), Laodicea (*c.* 343), Sardica (343), Constantinople (394), Carthage (419), Constantinople (861), and Constantinople (879). The *Nomocanon* adds so-called canons of thirteen Fathers, namely Dionysius of Alexandria, Gregory of Neo-Cæsarea, Peter of Antioch, Athanasius, Basil, Timothy of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus, Amphilochius of Iconium, Gregory of Nyssa, Theophilus of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Gennadius of Constantinople, and Tarasius of Constantinople. These constitute the fundamental law of the Church. In the *Athenian Syntagma* (G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles, Athens, 1852–59), after these sources are added rules taken from St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, St. Anastasius of Sinai, the synodical letter of Nicholas of Constantinople (895–925), and the *Canons* of Nicephorus Confessor and of John the Faster of Constantinople (582–595). After these (which are comprised under the heading *διαφορά*) comes the rubric *τέλος τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων*. As these have been received by the various national Churches, they are considered now to have ecumenical authority.

The chief collections of canons are the *Nomocanon* of Photius (*c.* 883), who, however, only revised a former one, and that of John Zonaras (*c.* 1120), who used a different source from that of Photius. Theodore Balsamon, Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch residing at Constantinople, made a collection of canons after the order of Zonaras and dependent on his, and a commentary on Photius's *Nomocanon*. Already in the 5th cent. there was an *Epitome of Canons* (*κανοικὴ σύνοψις*) made by a certain Stephanus of Ephesus. To this, in course of time, other canons were added. About the year 1160, Alexius Aristenus, Nomophylax of Constantinople, wrote a commentary on this *Epitome*, and Simeon the Logothete edited the same *Epitome* in another arrangement, similar to that of Zonaras and Balsamon. The Emperors Leo III. (717–741) and Constantine V. (741–775) published an *Extract of Laws* (*ἐκλογὴ τῶν νόμων*) from Justinian. This and the following collections of civil law contain much canonical matter. In 1255 Arsenius, monk of Athos, composed a new *Synopsis of Canon Law*. In 1562 Manuel Malaxes published a *Nomocanon*. In 1335 Matthew Blastares made an alphabetical arrangement of laws (*σύνταγμα*). The most important modern printed collection of Canons is the *Pedalion* (*πηδάλιον*).[1] This was compiled in the first case by two monks of Athos, Agapios and Nikodemos, and was published by authority of the ecumenical Patriarch Neophytos VIII. at Leipzig in 1800. Theodoretos (*ἱερομόναχος*), who controlled the printing, added a number of passages which were opposed to the law of the Orthodox Church; but in 1802 the Patriarch sent out an Encyclical ordering all possessors of the book to erase these additions. A second edition, without them, appeared at Athens in 1841, and a third, revised by Sergios Rhaphthanes, at Zakynthos in 1864. This third edition contains the *Canons of the Apostles*, the Canons of ecumenical and particular synods, and those of the Fathers. To the text, commentaries (*ἑρμηνεῖαι*) and solutions of difficulties (*συμφωνίαι*), in modern Greek, are added. In 1852, two Greek lawyers, George A. Rhalles and Michael Potles, invited by the Athenian Holy Synod, began a new collection of sources of canon law. The work was completed in six volumes by 1859 and published at Athens. This is the *Athenian Syntagma* (*Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων κ.τ.λ.*).

Vol. i. contains Photius's *Nomocanon*, with Balsamon's commentary and other dissertations by older canonists; vol. ii.

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[1] *Syntagma* (Athenian ed.), iii. 68 (*Nomocanon*, tit. i. cap. 28).

[1] In 1672 William Beveridge (afterwards bishop of St. Asaph's) published an important collection of Greek laws: *Synodicon siue Pandectæ canonum ss. Apostolorum et Conciliorum ab Eccl. Græca receptorum*, 2 vols., London. Nearly all later Orthodox collections are based on this.

gives the *Canons of the Apostles* and those of the ecumenical synods, with the interpretations of Zonaras and Balsamon; iii. the particular synods with commentaries; iv. the canons of the Fathers; v. synodical decrees of ecumenical Patriarchs, laws of Emperors which affect Church matters, *responsa prudentum*, and a number of disquisitions by various canonists; lists of sees and of the offices of the Great Church (the Byzantine Patriarchate), the Greek civil laws of 1852 regulating the organization of the Church of Greece and the Holy Synod which governs it; and vi. the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares and an alphabetical index of the whole work.

The *Athenian Syntagma* is the most complete collection of Orthodox canon law. It has been officially recognized, as an authentic codex, by the ecumenical Patriarchate and by most of the national Churches. For this reason N. Milasch judges that all canons contained in it must be regarded as having ecumenical authority.[1]

The Slav and Rumanian Churches have for the most part translations of Greek collections, with additions and commentaries.[2]

In modern times laws are made for each Church by its central authority. The tendency is now strongly in favour of synods and councils of various kinds, instead of the old rule of one Patriarch or Primate. Even the Patriarchs now have their synods, mixed councils, and so on. The later national Churches are governed by Holy Synods, formed after the model of the Russian one (formed in 1721). These synods, under considerable influence from the governments, make laws regulating all the affairs of their Churches.[3]

2. The lesser Eastern Churches.—Each of the Nestorian and Monophysite Churches has its own system of canon law, evolved from the general principles of Eastern Church law with the necessary special modifications. They do not seem to have a clear concept of the difference between ecumenical and local law. As each is an *Œkumene* to itself, the two concepts naturally are confused. They admit in their canon law the decrees of certain early councils, which they recognize, and have then their own rules, made by their special synods and Patriarchs. In the Middle Ages these Churches evolved schools of canon law of some importance. They have great canonists among their writers. In modern times, at least among the Nestorians and Jacobites, there is a tendency to replace the old canons by new decisions made for each case by the Patriarch, in agreement with the other bishops or notables.

Nestorian canon law is derived from three main sources. First come the 'Western Synods,' *i.e.* such synods held in the Empire before their schism as they recognize. These include many particular synods, such as those of Antioch (341) and Ancyra (358). There is a collection of these made by Mârûthâ of Maiferkat in 410, to which the disciplinary canons of Chalcedon (451) were added later. The second source is the 'Eastern Synods,' namely, those held by Nestorian Katholikoi down to the 8th century. The old rule was that each Katholikos should hold a synod as soon as he was appointed. An unknown Nestorian collected these in the *Book of the Sunhâdaus* between 775 and 790. The *Sunhâdaus* begins with the Synod of Mar Isaac in 410 and ends with that of Mar Ḥnânyeshu' II. in 775; an appendix adds the Synod of Mar Timothy I. in 790. The *Sunhâdaus* also contains a selection of canons of Western synods. This is the chief Nestorian canonical authority.[4] The third source consists of all laws made since the 8th century. These have not been completely codified. In the 13th cent. 'Ebedyeshu' Bar Barîkâ, Metropolitan of Nisibis, made a codex from those three sources. This is the *Nomocanon of Ebedjesus*, the most complete collection of their laws.

The chief sources of *Coptic* canon law are the 31 canons of the Patriarch Christodulos (1047–77), the 30 canons of Gabriel II. (1131–46), and the canons of Cyril III. (1235–43). Gabriel III. not only made canons himself, but ordered that a complete collection of all those existing should be drawn up. The *Abyssinian* Church recognizes and obeys Coptic canon law.

The *Jacobite* Church once had a considerable school of canonists. Bar-Hebræus, their greatest theologian, was also one of the most important of all Eastern canonists. His *Nomocanon* (*Ktâbâ dHuddâye*) remains their classical collection.

The *Armenian* Church recognizes the first three General Councils, but even before she was separated from the rest of Christendom she began to have her own canon laws. The most famous particular Armenian canons of antiquity are the 21 canons of the Katholikos Isaac issued about the year 406.[1] Then from the time of the Synod of Tovin (Duin), about the year 554, which condemned Chalcedon, the Armenians have had a long series of national synods, each of which added to their canon law. The acts of these synods have been collected and translated by Angelo Mai.[2] In modern times Russian laws affecting the supreme Katholikos of Etchmiadzin, the virtual separation of Armenia in Turkey from his jurisdiction, and the formation of the National Assembly and diocesan councils have completely modified the old law. The Katholikos of Etchmiadzin has a theoretic authority over the whole Armenian Church, which he exercises in conjunction with his permanent synod of seven auxiliary bishops. In affairs of the greatest importance he would, no doubt, take the lead in forming a new law; otherwise he has little real authority beyond his own Patriarchate. The practical head of the Armenian Church in Turkey is its Patriarch of Constantinople. He is assisted by a National Assembly, composed for the most part of laymen. With these he rules and makes laws. In each diocese there is also a council of laymen, and in each parish a body of lay administrators, who look after the property and have much to say in all Church affairs. The modern Armenian Church is ruled practically by the decisions of these assemblies.

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ADRIAN FORTESCUE.

LAW (Christian, Anglican).—**I. Nature of the present Anglican Church law.**—The Anglican Communion is a federation of more or less autonomous Churches; hence its ecclesiastical law varies in different countries. It consists partly of the written law which is now universally acknowledged to be in force, and partly of custom, depending in a large degree on the ancient and mediæval canon law of Western Christendom. In England and Wales (also in Man, Berwick-on-Tweed, and the Channel Islands) complications arise owing to the close connexion between Church and State, which involves the result that the Church's law cannot become binding unless the State assents to it. This is the case also in India, where the relations of Church and State are very close. But in most of the other branches of the Anglican Federation the Church is free to make its own laws, which become binding on the basis of a voluntary contract (see below, § 6).

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[1] *Kirchenrecht der morgenl. Kirche*, p. 80.

[2] For these see Milasch, *op. cit.* pp. 137–157, 191–199; F. H. Vering, *Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts*, Freiburg i. Br., 1893, pp. 58–63.

[3] The best account of the constitution of each national Orthodox Church is Silbernagl's *Verfassung* (see literature).

[4] Germ. tr. by O. Braun, *Das Buch der Synhados*, Stuttgart, 1900; Syr. text and Fr. version by J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, Paris, 1902 (from a MS written at Rabban Hurmizd, now no. 332 in the Bibliothèque nationale).

[1] These will be found in H. F. Tournebize, *Hist. pol. et rel. de l'Arménie*, Paris, n.d., p. 354 f.

[2] In his *Veterum Scriptorum noua collectio*, Rome, 1825–38, vol. x. p. ii.

(*a*) In *England* the present written ecclesiastical law is mainly found in the 'Book of Common Prayer' and the 'Ordinal' of 1662 (these are the popular titles only), in the Thirty-nine Articles of 1562, and in the canons of 1603 (1604), as slightly amended in later years. The Prayer Book and the Ordinal, after being agreed upon by the Convocations, were enacted as part of the statutory law of the realm by being inserted as a schedule in an Act of Parliament known as the Act of Uniformity of 1662. We need not here enter into the vexed question of later Acts of Parliament affecting the Church, in which the Church as such had no part. The Thirty-nine Articles have also the authority both of Church and of State. Thus the Prayer Book and Articles are certainly binding on both clergy and laity. The canons of 1603, as also those of 1640, 1865, 1888, which added to or amended them, were agreed upon by the Convocations and published by the sovereign's authority under the Great Seal (Blunt-Phillimore, *Church Law*, pp. 17 f., 371 ff.; in the latter place they are given in full as amended).

There was an irregularity in that the Royal Letters Patent were given for the 1603 canons before the York Convocation had discussed them, though after the Canterbury Convocation had passed them. The York Convocation, however, obtained the king's licence to discuss them afterwards, and then passed them (J. H. Overton, *The Church in England*, London, 1897, ii. 11). The validity of the 1640 canons, which were passed before the fall of Laud, was disputed (see Overton, ii. 77 f., 88). The predecessors of the 1603 canons, those of 1571, held good only in Elizabeth's reign. They are given in English and Latin by W. E. Collins in the Church Historical Society's publications, no. xl. (London, 1899).

The canons of 1603 as amended undoubtedly bind the clergy, but it is uncertain (seeing that they have not been sanctioned by Parliament) how far they bind the laity.

Lord Hardwicke (in Middleton *v.* Croft [Blunt-Phillimore, p. 23]) was of opinion that they do not '*proprio vigore* bind the laity, but only the clergy,' adding: 'I say *proprio vigore*, by their own force and authority, for there are many provisions contained in these canons which are declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the Church of England received and allowed here, which in that respect and by virtue of such ancient allowance will bind the laity.'

The Prayer Book and canons as at present in force have been somewhat influenced by Royal and Episcopal Injunctions from the Reformation onwards.

Besides the laws mentioned above, the great canonists of the 18th cent., such as Gibson, mention numerous Acts of Parliament which deal with crimes against the moral law, and with marriage and other matters which affect the Church. With these we are not here concerned.

(*b*) *Church of Ireland.*—The present written law is founded on a 'Constitution' agreed upon in 1870 by the archbishops, bishops, and representatives of clergy and laity in a General Convention assembled in Dublin, and of 'constitutions and canons ecclesiastical' decreed by General Synods in 1871, 1877, and 1889. The Constitution of 1870 and the 'constitutions and canons ecclesiastical' have since 1909 been consolidated in a single Constitution, the 'constitutions and canons ecclesiastical' being ch. ix. thereof. The written law also includes the Thirty-nine Articles and the (revised) Book of Common Prayer and the Ordinal, approved in the Constitution. We must here notice the difference between the ancient and modern use of the word 'constitution.' Originally a 'constitution' was much the same as a 'canon,' and so it is in the titles of the English and Irish codes of canons. But the word 'constitution' as now used often means a more fundamental document than the canons, one governing the organization of the Church (see below (*d*)).

(*c*) *Episcopal Church in Scotland.*—The constitution here is contained in the canons, and is not a separate document. The written law consists of a code of canons passed in 1911, built up on the basis of codes of previous Provincial Synods in 1743, 1811, 1828–29, 1838, 1863–64, 1875–76, 1890, and 1905. The present code authorizes the services of the Prayer Book, with certain modifications, and also of the 'Scottish Liturgy or Communion Office,' and forbids departure from them 'in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments or in the performance of the other Services,' except as the code provides. In this branch of the Federation the word 'constitution' is used for a document subsidiary to the canons. Each incumbency must have such a 'constitution' regulating matters not dealt with in the canons, especially with the patronage of that charge. Such a constitution is an agreement between the bishop of the diocese and the clergy and laymen of that congregation. The constitutions of different incumbencies vary considerably.

(*d*) *United States of America.*—The 'Protestant Episcopal Church' revised the Prayer Book in 1790, soon after the War of Independence, and again in 1892. A Constitution was adopted at Philadelphia in 1789, and since modified; canons have been passed at various dates.

In Scotland the canons, and in Ireland and the United States the constitution and canons, are primary, and the Prayer Book has authority only because these documents prescribe it.

(*e*) *British colonies.*—In the Colonial Churches of the Anglican Federation the process seems to have been as a rule different from that which has just been described. The Prayer Book has descended to them, being daughters of the Church of England, as a primary authority, and in some cases they have bound themselves to make no alterations in it until the mother Church takes action, or have limited themselves in some degree in this direction. Most or all of them, however, have also made canons to regulate their internal affairs, and these have validity because of contract (see above; and, for further details, cf. § 4). In some branches of the Federation, as in S. Africa, dioceses are also permitted to make canons for themselves on purely local matters, in submission, however, to the provincial canons. This is not allowed in Scotland or in Ireland, where the resolutions of diocesan synods have not the nature of canons, and have no binding power as such.

2. The legislative bodies of the Anglican Churches.—In *England* there are two provinces, of Canterbury and York, and each has two Houses of Convocation, the Upper House consisting of the diocesan bishops, and the Lower House of the deans, the archdeacons, and the proctors (or representatives) of the clergy. Two consultative Houses of Laymen are also appointed—one to assist each Convocation; but this is a voluntary and modern arrangement, having no recognition in law. The Convocations can, under Royal licence, discuss and pass canons; but these have no effect until they receive the sovereign's assent. In practice, the Convocations very rarely pass canons; and, owing to the connexion with the State, no other laws can receive validity until they have passed the Civil Legislature as Acts of Parliament

In the non-established branches of the Anglican Federation there are General (or Provincial) Synods—called Conventions in America—for the purpose of legislating. In the *Episcopal Church in Scotland,* which now has one province only (the metropolitan powers being held in commission by the seven bishops), the Provincial Synod consists of two chambers, the first of the bishops, and the second of the deans of the seven dioceses, about 35 representatives of the clergy, and one or two clerical officials. Each chamber must assent by a simple majority to any change in the canons before it can take effect. The Synod meets only when legislation is required; but, before any changes provisionally made by the Synod have been confirmed at a subsequent meeting of Synod, such proposed alterations must be submitted to a mixed Consultative Council, consisting of the bishops, about 40 clergy, and the same number of laymen, who meet all together (but may, if desired, vote or debate by orders), and may, if they think fit, express any opinion on the changes, or suggest other alterations. The Consultative Council may also suggest legislation in the first instance, and this was the course adopted in 1911, when it carefully discussed the whole code and noted the changes which it desired.

In the *Church of Ireland,* where there are two provinces (of Armagh and Dublin), there is a single General Synod which legislates, consisting of two Houses, the one of bishops, and the other of representatives of clergy and laity, who normally sit all together. According to the present Constitution, the representatives of the clergy number 208, and those of the laity 416. Voting by orders is provided for. Unless in certain exceptional cases, each House must assent to any change, and, if the laymen and the clergy vote by orders, also each order.

In the *United States* the General Convention consists of two Houses, the one of the bishops, the other of 'deputies' or representatives, not more than four presbyters and four laymen from each diocese. Both Houses must agree to any change in the law before it becomes valid. A vote by dioceses and by orders is provided for if desired, under the regulation that the dioceses are in that case equalized by only one clerical vote and only one lay vote being allowed for each; and a majority of dioceses and of each order is then required for legislation. The General Convention meets once every three years.

In most of the *Colonial Churches* of the Federation, legislation (which, however, as we have seen, is somewhat limited) is effected by synods consisting of bishops, and clerical and lay representatives. It is usually enacted that voting and debating may be by orders, and, if so, that a majority of each order is necessary for carrying any alteration.

3. The older canon law and customary law.—(*a*) *Origin and growth.*—The written law—except the law of God, or the Moral Law, which has been universally regarded as unalterable—has gradually grown up, coming from decisions of 'individual great bishops, but later on in the shape, usually, of canons of councils' (Collins, *Nature and Force of the Canon Law,* p. 13). Such councils were either ecumenical (general) or local (see art. COUNCILS AND SYNODS [Christian]). As time went on, their regulations increased greatly in number, and collections of canons were made. Among these may be mentioned those of Dionysius Exiguus (*c.* A.D. 500), Isidore of Seville (early 7th cent.), whose work was supplemented in the 9th cent. by 'pseudo-Isidore,' the compiler of the great collection which contained the 'Forged Decretals,' and Gratian (12th cent.), whose *Decretum* was the corner-stone of mediæval canon law, and is sometimes called the *Corpus iuris canonici* (Collins, p. 19; see, further, above, p. 835 f.). The mediæval system of canon law was not at first meant to be more than something to be aimed at, and it was never fully carried out, any more than the liturgical regulations which set forth the elaborate ceremonial possible in the great cathedral of Salisbury were thought to be practicable in every little parish church of England. In this respect the older canon law differs from civil law, especially from modern civil law, which is much more rigid, though not so logically complete or so fully systematized. This fact has a great bearing on the binding nature of the canon law in later times (see below (*d*)). In the Middle Ages the more rigid view of law gradually grew up, and, at least since the Reformation, an ecclesiastical canon is as much and as literally obligatory on those who are bound by it as any civil law.

(*b*) *How far it was accepted in England in mediæval times.*—On this point there has been some controversy. According to one view, it was held to be valid in England only when accepted by Act of Parliament or by custom. This is the opinion of Gibson (*Codex,* ii. 945–947), who quotes Acts of Parliament of the time of Henry VIII., asserting that the old canons were accepted only if not contrary to the laws (of England) and the royal prerogative. Only those laws which were made by the realm or were acknowledged by common assent or established custom were received. Gibson illustrates this by citing the proposal to legitimate in England children born before marriage. Pope Alexander III. had published a canon to provide for this, but it was against the law and custom of the kingdom, and, when the bishops tried to introduce it, the Lords (in the Parliament of Merton, A.D. 1236) declared that they would not have the law of England altered ('nolumus leges Angliae mutari'). Gibson also gives other instances. With regard to this legitimation question it is noteworthy that Scotland did accept the papal canon, while England did not, and that, therefore, to this day the laws of the two countries differ in this respect. On the general subject Ayliffe (*Parergon,* p. xxxiii) expresses a similiar view. On the other hand, F. W. Maitland, a high authority, has maintained that, at any rate according to the canonists of the 14th and 15th centuries, the canon law as a whole *did* run in England then (*English Historical Review,* July and Oct. 1896, Oct. 1897). He is here followed by Eves (*Prayer Book Dictionary,* p. 128) and, apparently with some hesitation, by Collins (*op. cit.* p. 35 f.). There is perhaps not really any great difference between these two views. Everything depends on what is meant by 'accepted.' The one view holds that the 'canonists'—ecclesiastical writers who compiled codes of canons—considered that the complete Western canon law (with some local reservations) was accepted, but that the State would not allow parts of it to be put in force. On the other hand, much of the old canon law had, as a matter of fact, no practical effect in England. And, if we bear in mind the difference between canon and civil law (below (*d*)), this is all that practically concerns us.

(*c*) *Collections of English ecclesiastical laws.*—A very early collection of English 'constitutions' was made by William Lyndwood or Linwood (who in 1442 became bishop of St. David's), under the name of *Provinciale*; he gives 14 constitutions by Archbishops of Canterbury from Stephen Langton (1207–29) to Chichele, which bring us down to the middle of the 15th century. But the greatest activity in this respect is found in the 18th century. John Ayliffe's *Parergon* (new edition published in 1734) was, as its second title states, a 'commentary by way of supplement to the canons and constitutions of the Church of England.' John Johnson (the famous vicar of Cranbrook) published in 1720 his (English) *Laws and Canons* (up to the Reformation), arranged chronologically as a history. David Wilkins' *Concilia*, first published in 1737, carries the collection down to 1717; and Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, 1723–48, whose famous *Codex* was brought out in a second and considerably enlarged edition in 1761, gives the canons and the Acts of Parliament which relate to the Church, arranged according to subject instead of chronologically.

No one in the older days did for Scotland what Lyndwood did for England; but in our own time Joseph Robertson has collected the Scottish provincial constitutions under the title of *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*.

(*d*) *How far the older canon law is now binding.*—The opinion has been expressed that the whole of the *Corpus iuris canonici* is now binding, unless explicitly repealed by an authority equal to or higher than that which enacted it. It has been maintained that a council of inferior status cannot repeal the canons of one of higher status, or a local council those of a larger one. The result would be that the Anglican Church of to-day would be bound by a number of ancient regulations which have little or no relation to the needs of the time. Such a view, however, looks at canon law from the point of view of the civil law. In the case of an Act of Parliament, laws remain in force (at any rate in England) till repealed by a later law. But this was not meant to be the case with canon law, in which desuetude could repeal. A contrary custom invalidated it, and canonists have debated how long the custom must have existed to do so—in some cases ten years, in others forty years being fixed on (see above, p. 834 f.). This was also a principle of the Roman civil law (Collins, pp. 25–30; see also Eves, in *Pr. Bk. Dict.*, p. 126). It is stated, indeed, by E. G. Wood (*Regal Power of the Church*, p. 84) that 'the question whether any particular law has been abrogated by desuetude is one far from being easy of solution. It is one requiring the application of a highly technical set of rules, maxims, and limitations, by an expert possessed of considerable skill and canonico-legal instinct. It is, moreover, only within a very limited area that desuetude can effect abrogation of common law.' But, as Collins remarks (p. 32), this allows the principle in words but denies it in application.

It is instructive to turn to one or two instances of repeal of canons or other regulations by desuetude; and we may take the most difficult case, the abrogation of those enacted by an ecumenical council. The 15th canon of Nicæa forbade the translation of a bishop, priest, or deacon from one city to another, but almost immediately the canon fell into desuetude; a partial revival of its spirit is seen in the American branch of the Anglican Communion, for that body greatly dislikes the translation of bishops. Again, the decree of Nicæa about the keeping of Easter has been modified. That ecumenical council decided that the Church was to follow the existing Roman computation (see the encyclical letter of the council, and also Constantine's letters, given by Socrates in *HE* i. 9). But Pope Gregory XIII., in 1582, modified the regulation, being followed by other countries at an interval—by England in 1752 (the Græco-Russian Church has not yet done so). Those, therefore, who hold the Anglican position that a pope is not above an ecumenical council must take this as an instance of the canons of such a council being repealable by custom or by an inferior authority. Another example is the 20th canon of Nicæa, which decrees that all are to offer prayer to God standing and not kneeling on the Lord's day, and 'in the days of Pentecost,' *i.e.* in Eastertide (see art. KNEELING). But this has long been obsolete in the West. And, if we go into the canons of the older councils, ecumenical or otherwise, we shall be struck by the fact that a very large number are now obsolete. It has been calculated that the majority of the canons of Nicæa have thus been abrogated in the West, and to a large extent in the East (Collins, p. 25).

These and similar considerations make it difficult to maintain that a local Western Church cannot alter, for its own organization, regulations which were once (*ex hypothesi*) in force in the whole of the West. As a matter of fact, the alteration of mediæval canon law did not take place at any one time in England. A 'Reformatio Legum' was, indeed, attempted in the disturbed times of the 16th cent., but it came to nothing. The process was a gradual one. But the effect of the older canon law has been that there is, as there always was to a certain extent, a *customary law*, which is largely the outcome of old written enactments; and so far the older canon law has frequently been appealed to in ecclesiastical suits. (On the whole question see the learned essays by W. E. Collins and E. G. Wood cited above; these writers hold different views on the subject.)

It may be noted that, in the Episcopal Church in Scotland, the canon on interpretation in the 1863 and 1876 codes enacted that the general principles of canon law should alone be deemed applicable thereto. This was modified in 1890 by the enactment that the canons are in all cases to be construed in accordance with the principles of the civil law of Scotland, but that any generally recognized principles of canon law may be appealed to in cases of dispute and difficulty. These provisions have all disappeared from the present code (1911). In S. Africa (can. 30, code of 1883) the same provision is made as in the Scottish canons of 1863.

It may be of interest to give one or two instances of customary law in the (local)-Church of England at the present day. Since 1604 lay baptism comes under this head (see LAITY). The irremovability of beneficed clergy is a matter of custom; as also is the consecration of churches and churchyards, the reading of the lessons at Matins and Evensong by laymen, and the saying (as is done in some cathedral and collegiate churches) of the first part of the litany by lay clerks.

4. Contents of the canons, etc.—(*a*) *English canons of 1603 as since amended.*—These deal (1, 2) with the king's supremacy, and (3–12) with the assertion of the Church of England as a true Church. Canons 13–30 deal with the due celebration of divine worship, the keeping of Sundays and Holy Days, and the use of the litany, with rules for the service of Holy Communion and for the vestures to be used thereat, with the reception of that sacrament, and the repelling of persons therefrom, and with baptism, sponsors, and the sign of the cross. Canons 31–76 deal with the ministry, and give rules about ordinations, subscriptions of assent, institution to benefices, simony, plurality, residence of clergy, strange preachers, the 'bidding prayer' before sermons, vestures, catechizing, confirmation, marriages, visiting the sick, burials, private conventicles, sober apparel and life, etc. Canons 77–79 deal with schoolmasters, canons 80–88 with churches and their furniture, glebe-lands, etc., canons 89–91 with church-wardens and their assistants, and with parish clerks. Canons 92–138 deal with ecclesiastical courts, both those of an archbishop (including matters of marriage and divorce) and those of a bishop, and give rules as to ecclesiastical judges, surrogates, proctors, registrars, and apparitors. Canons 139–141 deal with synods.

(*b*) *Church of Ireland.*—The 'constitution' of 1909 is divided into fifteen chapters. The first five give the functions and organization of general and diocesan synods, and deal with parochial machinery and the appointment to cures of souls; the 6th with the election of archbishops and bishops; the 7th with cathedrals; the 8th with ecclesiastical tribunals and offences; the 9th contains the canons; the 10th and 11th deal with the representative body which holds Church property and with certain funds; the 12th and 13th with burial-grounds, glebes, and parochial buildings; the 14th and 15th with provision for widows and orphans of clergy and with superannuation. The canons have in the main the same antiquated appearance as the English canons, being the older code with some quite modern additions. They regulate (1–6) divine service, (7–16) preaching, catechizing, baptisms, burials, marriages, confirmation, private communions, etc.; and deal with (17) archdeacons, (18–22) ordinands, (23–25) institution to and patronage of benefices and simony, (26–33) the work and life of ministers and their assistants, (34–40) the furniture and ornaments of churches, Holy Communion, and other services, (41) the consecration of churches, (42–43) duties of church-wardens and 'select vestries,' (44–46) repair and furnishing of churches, etc., (47, 51) appeals, (48) the General Synod, and (49, 50, 52–54) repelling from and readmission to Holy Communion.

(*c*) *The Episcopal Church in Scotland* has gradually built up its canons since 1811, and the code has a more modern appearance. It is now arranged as follows: canons 1–10 deal with the Primus (the presiding bishop), and diocesan and coadjutor bishops, and their appointment and jurisdiction, and with cathedral churches; canons 11–20 with the ordination and licensing and duties of presbyters and deacons, subscriptions of assent and institution to benefices, and with lay readers; canons 21–29 with the services of the Church; canon 30 f. with vestures, and with the structure and ornaments of churches; canons 32–38 with congregational organization; canons 39–45 with diocesan and provincial officials; canons 46–50 with synods and councils; and canons 51–53 with judicial proceedings and disputes, notices, and interpretation. A bulky set of appendices not only give the forms of deeds, but also, gathered together in one place, the list of additions to and deviations from the Book of Common Prayer, as canonically sanctioned.

(*d*) *United States.*—The 'constitution' is divided into eleven heads dealing with (1) the General Convention, (2) the election of bishops, (3) bishops for foreign lands, (4) standing committees in each diocese as the bishop's advisory council, (5, 6) admission of new dioceses and missionary districts, (7) provinces, (8) ordination and admission of strangers, (9) trials, (10) authorization of the Prayer Book, and arrangements for revising the same, and (11) alterations in the constitution. The canons (1902) are much more detailed, and are of great length. They are divided into four 'titles,' each with many subdivisions. The first deals with the ministry and church services, the second with discipline (including marriage and divorce), the third with organized bodies and officers of the Church, the fourth with the enactment and repeal of canons.

(*e*) *South Africa.*—This province has one or two peculiarities. Its constitution, as made in 1870 and 1876, accepts the doctrinal standards and Prayer Book of the Church of England, and disclaims any right of altering them *proprio motu*, but with the proviso that the province is not bound by the interpretations of them by any ecclesiastical or other tribunal except its own (this famous proviso has since been altered). The constitution makes the provincial synod the legislative body, and says that it can adapt, abridge, and add to the Church Services if such alterations are consistent with the spirit and teaching of the Prayer Book. It can also review and revise any diocesan canons, (above, § I), and can alter its own constitution and its canons. The canons of this province have been frequently amended. Besides legislating, the provincial synod frequently passes 'resolutions.' It is understood that these are only expressions of opinion, and are not legally binding on members of the Church.

(*f*) It is not necessary to do more than refer to two other examples of the law of the colonial branches of the Anglican Federation, as having originated in somewhat different circumstances. The branch in *Canada* has a constitution as well as canons. The former was made under the authority of an Act of the Provincial Legislature in 1857 (19–20 Vict. ch. 121), which sanctioned the meeting of bishops, clergy, and laity in the province to make a constitution and regulations, and the meeting of those in each diocese to make diocesan regulations. Another Act of 1858 explained some details. The Anglican Church in *New Zealand* has a constitution first made in 1857 as a 'voluntary compact' between the members of the Church in the colony; it has the same limitation of powers as the province of S. Africa has in the matter of altering formularies. The whole question of the *nexus* between the daughter and the mother Church is being keenly discussed in this colony, as is also the case in Australia, especially since all the dioceses of that continent have been federated in one organization.

5. Church law and State law when divergent.—When a voluntary club or society makes laws which are consistent with the laws of the State, and the latter afterwards alters its laws so as to be inconsistent with those of the club or society, the laws of the club or society in the ordinary course must go by the board. When, however, the society is a religious community, the question of moral obligation may arise, and the individual has then to ask himself whether he ought to obey the law of his Church and break the law of the State, taking the consequences of such action. Whether he is morally justified in doing so must depend on circumstances. If a heathen State commands one of its Christian subjects to sacrifice to a heathen god and his Church forbids him to do so, he must necessarily choose between the two, and few at the present day would fail to think him justified in determining to break the State law, even though he had to face martyrdom. Such contradictions between Church law and State law are less likely to arise in times and in States which tolerate diverse religions, and which have determined more clearly than in older days what is the province of each in legislating. But divergences may often arise. It is proper to observe, however, that this means merely that the State allows what the Church as a whole, or a part of the Church in particular, forbids. To take an example from recent legislation: in Great Britain and in some other countries a man is now allowed by the State to marry his deceased wife's sister. But this does not mean that every Church[1] must allow its own members to do so; each Church has the right, if it sees fit, to say that any of its members who use the liberty given by the State shall not be married by one of its ministers or in its buildings, or shall not be considered any longer a member, or shall be repelled from Holy Communion for a longer or a shorter time. There is no real *contradiction* here between the Church law and the State law; it is not as if the State had enacted that every widower *must* marry his sister-in-law, if he has one. This has been taken as an example only. The general principle is that a particular society may limit for its own members a liberty allowed or not forbidden by the State.

6. Interpretation of ecclesiastical law.—In the Church of England a great controversy has gone on for more than a generation as to the validity of the courts which interpret the ecclesiastical law. Into this controversy we cannot enter here, except to say that it turns on the question whether the State can erect ecclesiastical courts (the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and that of the judge under the Public Worship Regulation Act) without the assent of the Church. The controversy appears to be no nearer a solution now than it was when it arose; and it has practically paralyzed the actions of the ecclesiastical courts with regard to questions of worship. Various solutions have been proposed, but the difficulties have been great, and are enhanced by the close connexion between the Church and the State. It may be said, however, that the controversy does not turn on the question who the judges, the interpreters of the law, are—whether bishops or laymen—but on the question by whom their court has been appointed, and whether an ecclesiastical or quasi-ecclesiastical court is bound by the decisions of a superior court (the Judicial Committee) which does not profess to be anything but a State court.

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[1] For simplicity we may put aside the case of an established Church and deal only with one that is not established.

It may be useful to consider how the Church law is interpreted in the non-established branches of the Anglican Federation. In these each Church has set up its own courts, and there is no dispute as to their validity. They may give an erroneous or foolish decision, but their power of deciding has not been questioned; it is explicitly acknowledged by those who make the subscriptions required of them before receiving an office. In the Church of Ireland the supreme court consists of three bishops and four lay judges, and, though the latter are in a majority, the spiritual character of the court has never been questioned. In the Episcopal Church in Scotland the supreme court (which is the court of appeal from the bishop in synod, and the court of first instance in the trial of a bishop) consists of all the diocesan bishops only, though they may (and, as a matter of fact, always do) have a lay assessor learned in the law to advise them, without being bound to follow his advice. The American and Colonial branches have each set up their own court, variously constituted, but on more or less similar lines.

But the question arises, What is the relation of such voluntary ecclesiastical courts to the State courts? The former can command obedience to their interpretation of the law only by virtue of the contract entered into by those who come before them. Every clergyman, before being ordained or receiving any office, makes a subscription, not only of doctrinal agreement with the Church, but promising obedience to its canons and tribunals. It is, therefore, instructive to see what view the State would take of the decisions of such Church courts. We may take the position of the Episcopal Church in Scotland as a good example of this attitude, since two or three cases in which that Church has been concerned (one of primary importance) have arisen to illustrate it.

In the case of Forbes *v.* Eden and others (*Leading Ecclesiastical Cases decided in the Court of Session, 1849–1874*, Edinburgh, 1878, p. 388 ff.), the Rev. G. Forbes, an incumbent at Burntisland (well known for his liturgiological eminence), disapproving of certain canons made in the General or Provincial Synod of 1862–63, and maintaining that he was not bound by them, as he had promised obedience at his ordination to the code previously in force, sued all the members of this synod to have, *inter alia*, the new canons declared null and void. The case was given against him by the unanimous decisions of the Court of Session in 1865 and of the House of Lords in 1867, on the ground that the code of canons which he had subscribed provided for alterations being made, and that the said synod had fulfilled all necessary requirements for making alterations. The new canons then enacted were, therefore, binding on all. In the Inner House—the Court of Appeal—Lord Cowan said that it was the province of the civil courts to redress civil wrongs. It was not their province, and it had not been their practice, to interfere as a court of review with the theological dogma or the internal regulations on discipline of religious sects or denominations. In the House of Lords the Lord Chancellor said that no civil court could take cognizance of the rules of a voluntary religious society made for the regulation of its own affairs, except so far as they related to collateral questions affecting the disposal of property. This judgment, then, makes it clear that an autonomous Church can alter its laws, if its code contains provisions to that effect.

In a more recent case, which was taken to the House of Lords (*Scottish Guardian*, Edinburgh, 1893, pp. 148, 504), it was remarked in the Inner House by Lord Young that the civil courts could not entertain an action concerning merely the government of the Church unless it involved a breach of contract; and this principle was affirmed in the House of Lords, which gave an additional ground of action before the civil courts, namely, if the managers of a congregation had in trust some funds of which the pursuer was in whole or in part beneficiary, and if they refused to pay him. To this extent would the civil courts investigate and decide on the Church documents.

The civil courts might be called in if a clergyman deprived or suspended by the Church courts declined to recognize their sentence. The Church, having no power in itself to enforce its decrees, must invoke the help of the civil courts, if necessary, to ensure the carrying out of the contracts made. This might happen if the clergyman in question refused to give up his parsonage or church; or, if costs were given in the ecclesiastical courts against a certain party, and payment was refused, the civil court might be called in. In such cases the State tribunal would treat the case purely as a matter of contract, and they would investigate whether the procedure in the Church court had been regular and in accordance with the current canons. In the Forbes case (see above), where Forbes sued for damages because he was refused an assistant curate, Lord Benholme remarked that 'this exercise of ecclesiastical discipline on the part of the bishop under the superintendence and review of the ecclesiastical court of appeal' could not be made the subject of a civil claim for damages in the Court of Session (*Leading Eccles. Cases*, p. 426).

From what has been said it would appear that, if a clergyman deposed for heresy by the Church courts appealed to the civil courts, the latter would not determine whether or not the doctrine in question was in accordance with the formularies of the Church, but would ask whether the Church courts to which the clergyman had promised obedience had proceeded regularly. In the discussions it is quite possible that doctrinal questions might be touched on, as, in fact, was done in Forbes *v.* Eden, when the Eucharistic Controversy was referred to, and (as might be expected when men go outside their own line of study) some curious *obiter dicta* in theology and ecclesiastical history were uttered. But this would happen only incidentally.

An important question of Church law was touched on in Forbes *v.* Eden, which illustrates the recent case of the Free Church of Scotland. In the latter case, as the present writer understands it, it was ruled by the House of Lords that the Free Church had not in its constitution explicit powers of complete alteration, but was subject to the limitation that certain things were unalterable. Something of this sort was the case in the Episcopal Church in Scotland from 1838 to 1890, when the codes of canons limited the alterations to those which were 'in conformity with the recognized constitution of the Church' (until 1863 also with its 'acknowledged practice'). In the Forbes case in 1865 the Lord Ordinary observed that the 'civil courts do not undertake to protect Churches or individual members of Churches from the influx of new doctrines. They only interfere to prevent the uses of property being perverted through its being retained by a majority who only keep the name while they have abandoned the principles of the Church to which it was devoted' (*Leading Eccles. Cases*, p. 401 n.). In the Inner House Lord Inglis said that a majority may be restrained on the application of a minority from carrying an alteration of a fundamental article of the constitution, and as an illustration said that a proposal to abolish the Thirty-nine Articles and to substitute Knox's Confession of Faith of 1567 would require unanimity in the Episcopal Church (*ib.* p. 404). In the Provincial Synod of 1890 the limitation on the power of alteration contained in the vague phrase 'recognized constitution' was removed.

Experience, then, tends to show that a non-established Church may make, interpret, and administer its law, in the existing civil conditions of this country, without any undue interference from the State. But it must be careful to see that its autonomous powers are clearly laid down in the documents that govern it.

LITERATURE.—i. *OLDER BOOKS.*—R. Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, Oxford, 1843, etc., bk. viii. ; W. Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, new ed., do. 1679 ; D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*, 4 vols., London, 1737 ; J. Johnson, *Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England*, do. 1720, new ed. (by J. Baron), Oxford, 1851 ; J. Ayliffe, *Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani*^{2}, London, 1734 ; E. Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*^{2}, Oxford, 1761.

ii. *MODERN BOOKS* (a small selection).—J. H. Blunt [and W. G. F. Phillimore and G. E. Jones], *The Book of Church Law*, London, 1899 ; P. A. Lemprière, *A Compendium of the Canon Law*, Edinburgh, 1903 (has special reference to the Episcopal Church in Scotland) ; R. S. Eves, art. 'Canon Law,' and G. Harford, art. 'Ritual Law,' in the *Prayer Book Dictionary*, London, 1912 ; J. W. Joyce, *The Civil Power in its Relations to the Church* ('The Sword and the Keys'), do. 1869, and *Handbook of Convocations*, do. 1887 ; E. G. Wood, *The Regal Power of the Church*, Cambridge, 1888 ; W. E. Collins, *The Nature and Force of the Canon Law* (Church Historical Society, no. xxxiv.), London, 1898 ; J. Robertson, *Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, Edinburgh, 1866.

iii. The constitutions and canons of the Anglican Churches have been published and may be seen as follows : those of England in Blunt-Phillimore as above, and (unrevised) bound up with the older Prayer Books ; those of Ireland in *The Constitution of the Church of Ireland*, Dublin, 1909, and the canons are bound up with the Irish Prayer Books ; the present canons of the Episcopal Church in Scotland were published in Edinburgh in 1911 ; for the United States see *Digest of the Canons . . . together with the Constitution, Printed for the Convention*, 1902 [no place mentioned] ; the S. African constitution and canons were published at Capetown in 1887. These and the other branches of the Anglican Federation have published their laws locally after each revision of them. The Irish *Constitution* is reprinted every ten years, when the changes made in the interval since the last reprinting are incorporated.

A. J. MACLEAN.

LAW (Egyptian).—No body of Egyptian laws has come down to us, but some kind of written code is probably to be recognized in 'the forty leather rolls' laid before the *wazīr's* judgment-seat in the XVIIIth dynasty (J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1905–07, ii. §§ 675, 712). We have to depend for our knowledge of Egyptian law and its procedure almost entirely on the few royal decrees, business documents, or the like, that happen to have survived on stone or papyrus to represent the varying practices of several thousands of years. It is impossible to give even a meagre sketch of Egyptian law from these materials ; a brief enumeration of the documents or groups of documents in order of date may be of service.

1. Old Kingdom.—For the Old Kingdom there is an interesting series of royal decrees conferring immunity from taxation and services of different kinds on particular temples, their personnel, lands, serfs, etc. (K. Sethe, in *GGA*, 1912, p. 705). In the tombs we find concise records of the conditions under which the tomb endowments are entrusted to the *ka*-priests (cf. Breasted, i. §§ 201, 232, etc.). There exists also a papyrus which briefly states a claim made in regard to the property of a deceased man involving guardianship and its denial by the opposing party, together with directions as to how the question should be settled (A. Erman and F. Krebs, *Aus den Papyrus der königlichen Museen*, Berlin, 1899, p. 83). A stele records the sale of a house in the presence of witnesses for goods the value of which is reckoned by a fixed standard (H. Sottas, *Étude critique sur un acte de vente immobilière*, Paris, 1913).

2. Middle Kingdom.—From the Middle Kingdom comes a remarkable record of a tomb endowment in the shape of ten contracts made with the priests and necropolis officials of Siut for the benefit of the nomarch's tomb, and the directions given to the single well-endowed *ka*-priest to whom the whole care of the tomb and its services was confided (Breasted, i. § 535). It shows that the Old Kingdom system of appointing an entire staff of hereditary tomb priests had failed. A group of papyri from house ruins give two examples of testamentary dispositions (*amt-per*), census-lists (*uput*) of two households, a *sunt*, or record, of the hire of services and payment to be made, and a statement of a claim before the courts (F. Ll. Griffith, *Kahun Papyri*, London, 1899), and a memorandum in support of the claim to an inheritance (*PSBA* xiv. [1892] 328). The inscription of Chnemhotp (Breasted, i. § 619) shows the king regulating the boundaries of and succession to a nomarch's province. A royal decree (*ib.* § 773) deposes a nomarch for sheltering an enemy, and excludes his descendants from the office for ever.

3. New Kingdom (dynasties XVIII.–XX.).—From the XVIIIth dynasty we have the difficult and fragmentary inscriptions of the duties of the *wazīr* already referred to (Breasted, ii. § 663) ; the latest treatment of one of the texts, the royal charge to the *wazīr*, is by K. Sethe (*Die Einsetzung des Veziers unter der 18. Dynastie*, Leipzig, 1909). There is also the brief proclamation of a king's accession (Breasted, ii. § 54), the dedication of the city Akhetaton to the Sun-god by the heretic king Akhenaton (*ib.* § 949), a royal gift of lands to an official (*ib.* § 1042), and the edict of Horemheb, being a series of enactments to punish the unjust impositions of tax-gatherers and royal officers (*ib.* iii. § 45). Of documents on papyrus we have group of two *sunt* (hirings of female slaves) and two other documents connecting these with a law-suit (A. H. Gardiner, in *ZÄ* xliii. [1907] 27). Ostraca record a dispute about an inheritance (W. Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches der Dynast. XVIII.–XXI.*, Hanover, 1892, p. 16), and a few other memoranda of law-suits.

From the XIXth dynasty we have the long record of a dispute between cousins regarding the title to some land (A. H. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes*, Leipzig, 1905), and the settlement of another dispute about land (Erman and Krebs, *Aus den Papyrus*, p. 84). The international treaty with the Hittite king (Breasted, iii. § 367) must be looked upon as belonging properly to Hittite rather than to Egyptian legal phenomena.

The XXth dynasty has given us a notable series of papyrus records of criminal prosecutions concerning (1) a conspiracy in the royal *ḥarīm* (Breasted, iv. § 416), and (2) the robberies in the Theban necropolis, and especially of the royal tombs (*ib.* § 499) ; also memoranda of criminal charges against a ship-master (Spiegelberg, in *ZÄ* xxix. [1891] 73). A fragment remains of a royal decree like that of Horemheb (Spiegelberg, *Rechtswesen*, p. 95), and there are some ostraca with records of the division of property to heirs (*ib.* 29, 92).

4. Deltaic dynasties.—(1) *Dynasties XXI. XXIV.*—At Thebes the virtual will of a high priest of Ammon in favour of his son was cast into the form of a decree of the god himself (Erman, in *ZÄ* xxxv. [1897] 19). A dispute about the ownership of a well in the Oasis of Dakhel was settled by reference to the local god Seth (Breasted, iii. § 725 ; Spiegelberg, in *RTr* xxi. [1899] 12). A case supposed by Erman to be of summary jurisdiction is now shown to be rather of assassination of persons who knew too much of a State secret (Gardiner, *Journ. of Manchester Egyp. Soc.*, 1912–13, p. 57).

(2) *Dynasties XXV.–XXX.*—With the Ethiopian conquest begins a period when the writing down of contracts appears to have been more and more insisted on. Our collections henceforward furnish a thin stream of legal papyri ; and, though it is interrupted at periods of national disaster and disturbance, it tends to increase down to the time when the Egyptian language for such purposes ceased in the 1st cent. A.D. Religion was not so obtrusive in settling legal matters as it had been in the last period, but it was the age of oracles ; oaths by the local deity in his temple always played a large part in both criminal and civil cases ; and to the end of the reign of Psammeticus I.,

in the early contract papyri, an oath by the king and Ammon was customarily recorded.

All documents of this time which had been published or were accessible to him in original or photograph are enumerated by the present writer in his *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1909, vol. iii., where the papyri of that collection are also fully translated. They comprise sales of land, houses, temples, priesthoods, funerary offices, and cattle; leases of farms; also contracts of marriage and divorce, of son-ship (adoption), and of servitude. A large and complete papyrus in the Rylands Collection contains an elaborate petition presented to the *wazīr* by a much-injured priest seeking redress and restoration of hereditary rights.

5. Ptolemaic period.—After the Macedonian conquest sales of lands and houses and of mummies with their funerary services, mortgages, leases, loans, marriage-contracts, and exculpatory oaths are common, but contracts of divorce, adoption, and servitude are not to be found, nor wills in any form. The native forms are modelled on those that preceded them, and are quite distinct from the flood of Greek contracts being produced in Egypt at the same time (see the above-mentioned *Rylands Catalogue* and numerous publications of papyri by Spiegelberg). The great priestly decrees of Canopus and of Memphis (the Rosetta stone) may also be mentioned here.

6. Roman period.—The native legal documents are practically confined to house-sales and mortgages in the Fayyūm of the 1st cent. A.D. See also ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 12.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works specified above, the most recent and therefore best publications of documents include W. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Verträge der Papyri Hauswaldt mit einem rechtsgeschichtlichen Beitrag von Josef Partsch*, Leipzig, 1913; O. Gradenwitz, F. Preisigke, and W. Spiegelberg, *Ein Erbstreit aus dem ptolemäischen Ägypten*, Strassburg, 1912. The numerous works of E. Revillout on Egyptian law are too fanciful to be recommended.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

LAW (Greek).—I. *UNITY OF GREEK LAW.*—Although the Greek world was made up of a great number of commonwealths, each possessing independent laws of its own, and although every allowance must be made for local peculiarities, the leading conceptions of Greek law as a whole may still be considered as a unity. Most of our material, of course, comes from Athens, but Athens, as 'the school of Hellas,' is in a great measure representative of Greece. The Greeks felt very strongly that their customs and laws were peculiar to themselves as a nation, and presented a marked contrast to those of other people (Eur. *Androm.* 174 ff., and Dem. *in Lacritum*, 45).

II. *PERIODS.*—The history of Greek law falls into three principal periods, which may be called the archaic, the classical, and the Hellenistic. In the first, the rules of Greek legal lore are one of the varieties of Aryan tribal customs, which must be studied by the methods of comparative jurisprudence in close connexion with Indian, Italic, Celtic, Germanic, and Slavic law. The second covers roughly the 6th, 5th, and 4th centuries B.C., and is concerned chiefly with the laws and institutions of the autonomous city-States. The third corresponds to the time when Greek conceptions were acting as a kind of leaven in the vast tracts of the East—Asia Minor, Pontus, Syria, and Egypt—through which the Greek population had been dispersed by emigration and the Macedonian conquests.

1. The archaic period.—The States of the earliest periods were federations of the clans. Thus in Athens the commonwealth of the Eupatrids was subdivided into four tribes (φυλή), each of which consisted of three phratries (φρατρία), while each phratry was supposed to consist of thirty kindreds (γένος). The chief contribution of this period to Greek law consists in the principles of family law and succession. The community of family interests is symbolized by the hearth (ἑστία) as the centre of the household; the estate, which forms the basis of the material subsistence of the household, is the κλῆρος, and even in Athens of classical times certain rights and duties were considered as peculiarly attached to this estate (see, *e.g.*, Dem. *in Macart.* 1069 ff., as to the duties of criminal prosecution, corresponding to rights of succession to the κλῆρος). For this reason the practice of adoption was as well developed in Athens as in Rome (see art. ADOPTION [Greek]). A special case arose when a person died leaving a daughter to succeed him. She was emphatically 'joined to the estate' (ἐπίκληρος), and destined to marry the nearest agnate in order to preserve it. Instances from Athenian practice are quite common, but the custom is also well illustrated by examples from Sparta and Crete (Herod. vi. 57; Code of Gortyn, as to the πατρωιῶκος, i. 50 ff.; Dareste, *Rec. des inscr. jur. gr.*, i. 379 ff.; see, further, art. INHERITANCE [Greek]). The wider kindreds were constituted on the agnatic principle, as units organized under a chief (ἄρχων τοῦ γένους); but in many respects relationship through females was also recognized. The ἀγχιστεία, as the narrower circle of kindred, included all relatives down to the degree of first cousins once removed. The admission of relatives through females by the side of agnates may be explained to some extent by tradition from a period of matrilinear organization, which, according to a popular legend, existed in Athens at the time of Kekrops (Athenæus, xiii. 2 [555]); but it is also connected with alliances between clans (*e.g.*, the case of Kleisthenes the Alkmæonid). The influence of kinship on legal rules is well exemplified by the extensive rights of kinsmen in regard to criminal prosecutions. In cases of homicide, an action (δίκη φόνου) had to be brought by relatives of the deceased, and, if the offence amounted to manslaughter, it might be condoned by the relatives (αἴδεσις) (Law of Drakon; Dareste, *Inscr. jur. gr.*, ii. 1) and compensation given by the slayer to the kindred. The family authority of the father over the children and of the husband over the wife appears in Greek as well as in other Aryan laws; but it is not so drastically expressed as in the Roman system. The father is not the absolute ruler of the household, but, as it were, a party to an implied compact, providing protection and education for his children, and entitled to support from them in return (γηροβοσκία).

2. The classical period.—(*a*) *General characteristics.*—In this period we must be careful to distinguish between oligarchic and democratic political principles. Aristotle (*e.g.*, *Pol.* vii. [v.] 1309*a*) often calls attention to the fact that the laws assumed a different aspect according to the system of government which was in force. The ideal of oligarchy is government by a small number of equals (ὁμοῖοι), though in practice many inequalities may arise (*Pol.* ii. 9. 1270*a*); the tendency of democracy, on the other hand, is to give freer scope to individual liberty of judgment and action (*Pol.* viii. 1317*b*, 3; cf. the funeral speech of Perikles [Thuc. ii. 39]). In Athens, we are dealing with a system which, more than any other, embodied these democratic principles.

(*b*) *The Athenian system.*—Athenian law of the classical period was essentially a popular, not a technical, body of rules. It represents the most striking experiment in history to administer law according to the standards of the 'average man' as to equity and justice. The commissions of heliasts, the sworn judges of the courts (δικαστήρια), numbered some 200, 500, or 1000 citizens, who had to decide by vote after hearing the pleadings, but without previous debate among themselves. In these circumstances, no doubt the action of the tribunals was often extremely capricious and swayed by merely emotional considerations (*e.g.*, Lykurgus, *in Leocharem*; cf. Wyse's *Isæus*, *passim*). But the real wonder is not that these defects existed, but that in spite of them the administration of justice was of such a kind as to produce not only fine oratory, but remarkable juridical ideas.

(*c*) *Nature of law.*—The Greeks set a very high ideal to the State; its aim was not merely negative—to provide order and security for its members—but positive—to ensure the welfare of the individual. The policy might be called a cultural socialism—*οὐ μόνον τοῦ ζῆν ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ εὖ ζῆν* (cf. Plato, *Legg.* xi. 923 A). Thus the State was regarded as being primarily an educational and cultural institution. To the attainment of its ideal, the laws were the chief instrument: they provided a *παιδείαν πρὸς τὸ κοινόν* (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* v. ii. 11). Their object was to embody the eternal justice (*δικαιοσύνη*); and it is characteristic of the Greek conception that there is no term in the language equivalent to the Latin *ius*, the expression *τὸ δίκαιον* meaning not only 'the lawful' but 'the just.' Hence the archaic conception of law was that it was essentially sacred in its origin, being the gift of the gods to men (see passage from Dem. *adv. Aristogeitonem*, quoted *Dig.* I. iii. 2), the concrete expression of a universal and immutable *δικαιοσύνη* (cf. Herakleitos, fr. 114; H. Diels, *Herakleitos von Ephesus*^{2}, Berlin, 1909, p. 44); and hence the view, which frequently recurs in the orators, that the most ancient law is the best (*e.g.*, Isok. Περὶ τῆς Ἀντιδόσεως, 82). In the classical period, however, this ancient idealistic view was subjected to searching criticism. The 5th cent. was a time of great fermentation, when, as Thucydides says, 'men believed nothing but that nothing was secure' (iii. 83); a growing acquaintance with new countries and peoples impressed the Greeks vividly with the diversity of national ideas and customs (Herod. iii. 38); the great catastrophes of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars produced a distrust of settled institutions; and, lastly, the development of philosophical theories led to a marked assertion of individualism. The general result was an acute realization of the relativity of all human affairs, which in practical life acted as a powerful social dissolvent. It became a common contention that law was merely the product of force, or an arbitrary and artificial arrangement which superior persons were entitled to disregard (Thrasymachos and Glaukon in the *Republic*, Kallikles in the *Gorgias*). In the domain of jurisprudence the great problem was to determine how far the fundamental laws could be considered as ingrained in the nature of man, and how far they were merely subjective and factitious. It was the Sophists who chiefly canvassed this question, but the inquiry did not by any means originate with them; it appears as early as Demokritos, who first sets up the antithesis between *φύσις*, or that which exists by nature, and *νόμος*, or that which exists by convention (fr. 1; cf. Archelaus, *ap.* Diog. Laert. ii. 4, and Hippolytus, *ap.* H. Diels, *Doxographi Græci*, Berlin, 1879, p. 564). This principle of relativism runs throughout all the speculation of the Sophists, and, as is well known, reached its highest point in Protagoras. But a justification had to be provided for positive law; even the Sophists had to recognize the fact that society and law continue to exist in spite of the divergent tendencies of individualism. This was to be explained, they said, by the social instinct: man is led by nature to evaluate his own actions—hence the feeling of shame (*αἰδώς*)—and at the same time to strike a balance between conflicting rights—hence justice (*δίκη*) (Plato, *Protag.* 322 B). How was this to be reconciled with relativism? According to Plato, Protagoras held that the laws were the result of conventions imposed by each city according to its own particular standards (*Theæt.* 172 A, B). It was useless to dispute concerning the truth of these different views of law; but the event would show which of them was useful and which not. In this system, therefore, individualism is supplanted by pragmatism. The doctrine of the *δόξα τῆς πόλεως*, fully developed by Protagoras, remains one of the corner-stones of Sokrates' teaching. The citizen who has been nurtured by the *πόλις*, and chooses to remain in it, must abide by its decrees; at the same time, freedom must be allowed to individual thought, and Sokrates was optimistic as to the ultimate triumph of right knowledge in politics and jurisprudence as well as in science; his standard for the examination of laws is a logical standard, and his method necessarily dialectical. Plato follows upon much the same lines as Sokrates. The *δόξα τῆς πόλεως*, in his view, means that the State, not the individual, is to set the standard of morals and law; justice is 'writ small in the individual and writ large in the State' (*Rep.* ii. 368 ff.). Its essence is the distribution of rights and duties on the principle of not meddling with the concerns of others (*Rep.* iv. 433 A). The privileges of each class of the community—thinkers, fighters, and workers—must be strictly proportionate to its responsibilities. It is, unhappily, not any existing State, but only an ideal commonwealth, that is equal to the task of setting and maintaining the standard of justice (*Rep.* vii. 519). Aristotle sums up the preceding theories concerning the justification of positive law, and gives the famous classification which divides the subject under the heads of 'justice in general' (*τὸ δίκαιον καθ' ὅλου*) and 'justice in particular' (*τὸ δίκαιον ἐν μέρει*). The latter is further subdivided into justice which is distributive (*διανεμητικόν*) and legal redress (*διορθωτικόν*). Justice in general deals with moral precepts brought under the cognizance of the State by its laws (*τὸ νόμιμον*), while justice in particular deals more especially with equality (*τὸ ἴσον*). As to the distribution of rights and duties, it has to find its standard, not in absolute equality, but in proportion (*κατ' ἀναλογίαν*), which is taken as geometrical proportion. Men must claim rights in accordance with their standing and their duties. Legal redress is directed to determining rights which may be in dispute, and giving compensation for material and moral injuries. Besides giving these categories of justice, Aristotle dwells on the necessity of correcting general rules according to the circumstances of particular cases; this forms the sphere of *ἐπιείκεια* (see below) (*Eth. Nic.* v. ii. 8, 10, iii. 7, iv. 2 f., v. 1).

(*d*) *Sources of law.*—Let us now consider how these jurisprudential principles were embodied in the practice of law. (1) *Enacted law.*—The most important source was written or formulated enactment. The sovereign people did not care to entrust the administration of justice to the independent judgment of magistrates and officers: the 'rule of law' was fully recognized by Athenian democracy (*e.g.*, Isok. *Panath.* § 138). As soon as the authority of *νόμος* was usurped by popular decree (*ψήφισμα*), democracy, said Aristotle, was undermined (*Pol.* vi. 4. 1292*a*, 27 f.). Elaborate precautions against hasty legislation were taken by means of the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, oaths and penalties (Hyperides, *Philipp.* §§ 4, 6; Dem. *adv. Aristoc.*

86). (2) *Customary law.*—Nevertheless, there was also a vast body of customary law, which was mainly passed on to democracy by the preceding period, since only a few of the rules as to procedure and substantive law were actually promulgated as *θεσμοί* (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* iii. 4). Sacral law in general remained uncodified; ancestral customs (*τὰ πάτρια*) were recognized as a definite and sacred source of legal rules, and as such were interpreted by the exegetæ (Dem. *in Euergum*, p. 1160, § 68 f.). The ancient jurisdiction of the archons, and that of the Areopagus, until the reforms of Perikles and Ephialtes, were also largely concerned with traditional usages. (3) *Precedent.*—Precedent was never regarded as binding on the Athenian courts, but various kinds of non-litigious custom—*e.g.*, in dowry, commercial practice, maritime law, and forms of pleading and conveyancing employed by the professional scribes (*γραμματεῖς*) of the courts together with various forms of executory agreements (cf. Dareste, *Inscr. jur. gr.*, i. 318)—tended to establish precedents; and, in general, existing decisions had at least a symptomatic value, as showing the prevailing views and tendencies of popular courts (cf. Dem. *in Dionys.* 48). (4) *Natural law.*—Though in the orators and philosophers there are many indications of an 'unwritten law' (*νόμος ἄγραφος*) which is founded on instincts of human nature (Arist. *Rhet.* I. x. 3), the theory of a transcendent law of nature was not erected into a positive juridical doctrine. It appears most forcibly in the poets (*e.g.*, Soph. *Antig.* 454), though it was sometimes appealed to in actual litigation (Lysias, *in Eratosthenem*, § 2). (5) *Equity.* — A conscious juristic theory of the law of nature was rendered unnecessary by the conception of *ἐπιείκεια*, which gives a peculiar colouring to the whole system of Greek law. It amounted in practice to a liberal interpretation and application of legal rules. Although the oath of the heliasts enjoined them to frame their decisions according to their consciousness of justice (*γνώμῃ καὶ δικαιοτάτῃ*) only where there was no definite law to go by, in practice popular tribunals took great liberties in the application of existing laws. To some extent this was made necessary by the archaic origin and obscure expression of many fundamental laws (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* ix.). Wills and contracts provided fruitful material for such discretionary justice.

(e) Distributive justice.—The principle of the distribution of rights and duties, so characteristic of the Greek legal system, was by no means confined to theory, but was very definitely asserted in practice. Privileges and burdens were dispensed according to what the individual did and could contribute to the common stock. Military service, taxation, and the liturgies—*i.e.* public services such as the fitting out of ships, providing choruses for dramatic performances, etc.—were all regulated upon this basis. Those who considered themselves unfairly burdened by the very heavy requirements of the liturgies might resort to the *ἀντίδοσις*. A citizen who had been called upon to perform a liturgy might claim that another was better able to undertake it than himself, and demand that he should either do so or exchange properties (Dem. *in Phœn.*; Isok. Περὶ τῆς Ἀντιδόσεως). Similarly, if a citizen had been exempted from public burdens or granted a subsidy, he might be called upon to defend his privileges (Lysias, *Or.* xxiv. § 6 f.). The law of property in Athens never developed on such rigid lines as in Rome. There was no theory of absolute ownership. The *κλῆρος* was primarily the thing which was 'allotted' to the individual, but a kind of 'eminent domain' was reserved to the commonwealth. Therefore the typical action for the recovery of property was the *διαδικασία*, which was not a claim for absolute title, but only for guaranteed possession. Expropriation and interference with contracts were practised with a disregard for private right which is startling to modern notions (*e.g.*, legislation in Ephesus at the time of the Mithridatic war [Dareste, *Inscr. jur. gr.*, i. 22]).

(f) Wrong and crime.—We distinguish in the Greek theory of wrong and crime three elements which call for juridical treatment. (1) The first is that of redress. 'Damages,' in Aristotle's scheme, are not merely compensation, as in modern theory, but an equation of the loss to the party wronged (*ζημία*) and the gain to the wrongdoer (*κέρδος*). All wrongs are considered chiefly from the personal point of view. There is no sharp cleavage between the private action (*δίκη*) and the public action (*γραφή*); as a transitional form, the *δίκη κατά τινος*, a private action for crime, is distinguished from the *δίκη πρός τινα*, a purely private suit. As for the assessment of damages, the contending parties presented rival valuations between which the court had to decide. (2) The element of public reprobation assumes a religious form. Bloodshed, *e.g.*, was a pollution which excited the wrath of the Erinyes and the Olympian gods, and must be cleansed by religious purification. Hence even in classical times all actions of homicide were tried in temples, and even an inanimate object which caused the death of a human being was solemnly judged and sentenced before the hearth of the government (Prytaneum). Hence also the importance which was attached to orthodoxy: impiety, which was taken to include professions of free thought, was indictable by the *γραφὴ ἀσεβείας* (*e.g.*, the case of Sokrates). (3) How far was it recognized that in every crime there is a revolt of the individual will against the supreme will of the community? There are many indications that the Greeks were conscious of this element in crime, *e.g.*, Isok. *c. Lochitem*, § 7). They were not concerned with problems of individual free will in the theory of punishment. In view of the predominance of the commonwealth over the individual, punishment itself often took the terroristic form of actual extermination and intimidation. Demokritos puts the criminal on the same plane as a wild beast (frags. *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* xliv. 16, 18, 19), and Plato unequivocally states the necessity of removing obnoxious members of the body politic by means of capital punishment (*Legg.* 862). The social effect of intimidation was one of the leading principles of Protagoras's theory of law, and Plato fully endorses the view of the great Sophist that the object of punishment is not revenge for what, after all, cannot be undone, but the prevention of similar offences in the future (*Protag.* 324B).

3. The Hellenistic period.—It is impossible to enter in detail upon the discoveries which the recent researches of papyrologists and epigraphists have made in the Greek law of this period, especially that which prevailed in Egypt. One of its most remarkable features was the personification of the State in the king (the Pharaoh; cf. art. KING [Egyptian]), and the subjection of all juridical relations to the fiscal point of view. Under the rule of the Ptolemys, *dominium* was vested in the monarch, and private property in land amounted only to a species of leasehold (*γῆ ἐν ἀφέσει*), while the cultivation of State domains (*γῆ βασιλική*), and, later on, of all taxed land, was ensured by every means, including a compulsory distribution of plots (*ἐπιβολή*) among peasant farmers. In the ascription of the peasantry (*δημόσιοι γεωργοί*) to the crown lands we find the germs of the doctrine of local origin which played such a large part in the later Roman Empire. In Asia Minor, under the Seleucidæ, there was even a class of tenants, called λαοὶ βασιλικοί, whose status may be described as 'ascription to the glebe' (Rostowzew, *Gesch. des röm. Kolonates*, p. 256 ff.).

LITERATURE.—Some of the original texts of Greek law have been preserved for us in inscriptions—*e.g.*, the laws of Gortyn in Crete, and Drakon's law as to homicide in a copy made in 409–408 B.C. A selection of texts and of legal instruments of different kinds, with an excellent commentary, is presented in the *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques*, ed. R. Dareste, B. Haussoulier, and T. Reinach, Paris, 1892–95. Other collections are W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1898; *CIG*, Berlin, 1873, etc.; H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, *Die griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1888 ff.; P. Cauer, *Delectus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, Leipzig, 1883; E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, Cambridge, 1887–1905. As to laws and acts preserved in papyri, see L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, Juristischer Teil, Leipzig and Berlin, 1912. A rather antiquated collection of the principal notices as to Athenian law is that of J. B. Télfy, *Corpus Juris Attici*, Budapest and Leipzig, 1868. The speeches of Attic orators pleading before the Courts afford, of course, a copious source of information; see especially the speeches of Demosthenes, and also the translations, with instructive notes and appendices, by C. R. Kennedy, of orations against Leptines, Meidias, etc. (London, 1877), orations against Timokrates, Aristogeiton, etc. (do. 1871), and Select Speeches (Cambridge, 1841); R. Dareste, *Les Plaidoyers civils de Démosthènes*, 2 vols., Paris, 1875; *The Speeches of Isæus*, ed. William Wyse, Cambridge, 1904, with a commentary remarkable for its learning and acumen as well as for its exaggerated criticisms of Athenian legal practice; R. Dareste and B. Haussoulier, *Les Plaidoyers d'Isée*, Paris, 1898; and the speeches of Antiphon, Andokides, Lysias, Isokrates, Deinarchus, Lykurgus, Æschines, and Hyperides. The lexicographers—Harpokration, Hesychios, Pollux, etc.—have preserved many fragments of Greek laws. In the writings of the philosophers there is much information about Greek doctrines of jurisprudence; see especially Xenophon, *Memorabilia*; Plato, *Republic*, *Laws*, *Protagoras*, *Gorgias*, *Theætetus*; Aristotle, *Ethics* (particularly bk. v.), *Politics*, *Rhetoric*, *The Constitution of Athens*, and other fragments of the work on *Constitutions* (πολιτεῖαι). Theophrastos's treatise on laws has been lost, with the exception of one or two fragments.

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Procedure and judicial organization: M. H. E. Meier, G. F. Schömann, and J. H. Lipsius, *Der attische Process*, Berlin, 1881; G. Gilbert, *Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgesch. des griech. Gerichtsverfahrens und des griech. Rechtes*, Leipzig, 1896.

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Private law: L. Beauchet, *Histoire du droit privé de la république athénienne*, Paris, 1896; J. Partsch, *Griech. Bürgschaftsrecht*, Leipzig, 1909; E. Caillemer, *Le Droit de succession légitime à Athènes*, Paris and Caen, 1879, and several important articles on sale, lease, etc.

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The law of the Hellenistic period: there are many notes on particular questions in the various editions of Egyptian papyri —*e.g.*, J. P. Mahaffy and B. P. Grenfell, *The Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Oxford, 1896; B. P. Grenfell, *Oxyrynchus Papyri*, London, 1907; B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri*, do. 1907; M. Rostowzew, *Studien zur Gesch. des röm. Kolonates*, Leipzig, 1910; S. Waszynski, *Die Bodenpacht*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1905; L. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht*, Leipzig, 1891; Mitteis and Wilcken, *Grundzüge der Papyruskunde*, Juristischer Teil, Leipzig and Berlin, 1912; *Dikaiomata*, ed. Græca Halensis, Berlin, 1913.

Most valuable contributions on various questions of law are to be found in the great Encyclopædias of Pauly-Wissowa and Daremberg-Saglio; cf. W. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*^{3}, London, 1890–91.

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LAW (Hindu).—Law in India is closely connected with religion. Thus the so-called Code of Manu contains a great deal more about *āchāra*, 'established practices,' *i.e.* observances of caste, domestic ceremonies, funeral rites, oblations to the *manes* and to the gods, rules of diet, and other religious questions, including purely religious and philosophical discussions, than on the subject of secular laws (see CUSTOM [Hindu]). Hence, after an exordium in the first book on the creation of the world, the four stages in the life of a Brāhman form the principal if not the only subject treated in the 2nd to the 6th book. The 7th book contains the rules of government, including the art of war. The 8th book—the longest of all, it is true—and the 9th are the only ones which deal with law in the proper sense of the word (*vyavahāra*). The last three books (10–12) treat of the duties of the various castes, of penances, and of transmigration. The legal portion of the Code does not amount to more than one-fourth of the whole. Nor do the other law-books (*Dharmaśāstras*) differ from Manu in this respect; most of the Codes do not deal at all with positive law, but confine their attention to penances, purification, and other religious topics. Forensic law is arranged under 18 heads in the Code of Manu (viii. 4–7), viz. non-payment of debt, deposit and pledge, sale without ownership, concerns among partners, resumption of gifts, non-payment of wages, non-performance of agreements, rescission of sale and purchase, disputes between the owner of cattle and his servants, disputes regarding boundaries, assault, defamation, robbery and violence, adultery, duties of man and wife, partition of inheritance, gambling and betting. The *Dharmaśāstra* of Nārada divides the 18 titles into 132 branches. Thus, *e.g.*, the first title, the law of debt, is said to consist of the following 25 divisions: (1) which debts have to be paid, and which not; (2) debts; (3) property; (4) subsistence of a Brāhman in times of distress; (5) modes of proof; (6) lending money at interest; (7) usurers; (8) sureties; (9) pledges; (10) documents; (11) incompetent witnesses; (12) witnesses for the plaintiff; (13) witnesses for the defendant; (14) where no witnesses are required; (15) validity of testimony; (16) false witnesses; (17) exhorting the witnesses; (18) valid evidence; (19) invalid evidence; (20) proceedings on failure of both documents and witnesses; (21) ordeal by balance; (22) ordeal by fire; (23) ordeal by water; (24) ordeal by poison; (25) ordeal by sacred libation. It appears that the law of evidence and judicial procedure, including ordeals, in general is here mixed up with the law of debt, pointing thus to the special importance of debt which may be considered the principal reason for going to law in a primitive state of society. A creditor is, however, allowed to recover a debt from his debtor privately, by force or by fraud. The rate of interest is extremely high; it is generally paid in kind.

As regards deposits, we can understand that the insecurity of property led to the entrusting of valuable articles for safety to the keeping of others. The habit of concealing such articles somewhere accounts for the prominence of the subject of treasure-trove in the Indian law-books (see TREASURE-TROVE [Hindu]). All purchases and sales are to be effected in open market, secrecy being considered a sign of dishonesty. The public fixing of market rates and the enforcement of them correspond to modern practice. When a man repents of a bargain, he is at liberty to annul it within ten days. The rules regarding concerns among partners refer, particularly, to societies of priests; and by 'gifts' are meant, in the first place, religious gifts to Brāhmans (see GIFTS [Hindu]). A herdsman is to receive a tenth part of the milk of his cows in place of wages. The detailed rules regarding the boundaries of fields show that the arable land was already held in severalty.

In the family laws, the institution of marriage is improved by prohibiting purchase of a wife, and declaring a contract of marriage, if once concluded, to be irrevocable. Nevertheless, the position of women is one of absolute inferiority to the male sex. Thus a wife is liable to be chastised by her husband; and, even when he is unfaithful to her, she must worship him like a god. A woman is declared to be never fit for independence, and has to live under the perpetual tutelage of her father, husband, and sons. Polygamy is allowed, and seems to have been very common in rich and noble families. Infant-marriage is recommended, and the re-marriage of widows prohibited or discouraged. As regards proprietary right (*strīdhana*), women are said to be incapable of holding any property (except their *strīdhana*, or peculiar property); nor can they inherit, under the early law of succession at least, which was subsequently modified so as to let the widow in as an heir, with certain restrictions, on failure of male posterity. All family property is supposed to be held in common by a sort of joint ownership (joint family), the father or manager being regarded as a head partner. The family members are kept together by the sacred oblations offered in common by its living head to its deceased members (see INHERITANCE [Hindu]). After the father's death the sons divide his property equally, or with a specific deduction for the eldest son; or the eldest succeeds to the whole estate, the others living under him as under their father. Twelve different kinds of sonship are recognized, each of the secondary sons succeeding in default of his superior in rank, whilst the real legitimate son excludes them all from inheriting. The passages in the law-books extolling the possession of a son for spiritual purposes, as saving his father from hell, generally relate to the real legitimate son. The gross usages relating to the affiliation of the subsidiary sons were discouraged by the legal writers, and no doubt the existence of these usages throws an unfavourable light on the constitution of the family in ancient India. Thus there is the *kṣetraja*, or son begotten by levirate (*niyoga*); the *gūḍhaja*, or secretly born son of an adulterous wife; the *sahoḍha*, or son of the pregnant bride; the *kānīna*, or unmarried damsel's son; the *krīta*, or purchased son; the *apaviddha*, or deserted son. The more recent writers do not acknowledge as legitimate in the present age of sin (*Kaliyuga*) any but the true son, procreated in lawful marriage (*aurasa*), and the adopted son (*dattaka*) (see ADOPTION [Hindu]). There is diversity of opinion as to whether a widow may be allowed to adopt, with the assent of her husband given shortly before his death, this being the only case in which a sort of testamentary power of the owner of property is recognized. A father may, indeed, distribute his property among his sons during his lifetime; but, in doing so, he can exercise discretion only as to his self-acquired property, the ancestral property being held by father and sons in common, according to the joint-family principle.

Passing to criminal law, we find the suppression of crime recognized as a sovereign and a sacred function. There are hardly any survivals left of the right of private war and of the *wergild* (see BLOOD-FEUD [Hindu]). The removal of thorny weeds (*kaṇṭakaśodhana*), *i.e.* the suppression of criminals, is regarded as one of the principal duties of a ruler. Legal offences are also moral sins, and kings, by punishing the wicked and protecting the virtuous, obtain their own absolution. Punishment is personified as a god (see CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS [Hindu]). A king in whose dominions there are no thieves, adulterers, calumniators, robbers, murderers, (after death) attains the world of Indra. Abuse, assault, theft, violence, including manslaughter and robbery, and sexual crimes, such as adultery, rape, seduction, and forbidden intercourse, are regarded as the five principal crimes. Theft and robbery seem to obtain special attention. A thief appearing before the king with flying hair, holding a club in his hand, and proclaiming his deed, is purified of his guilt, whether he be slain or pardoned; but, if the king does not strike, the guilt falls on him. Cattle-lifting appears to have been specially common, and the village to which the robbers were tracked was made answerable. The principle thus laid down has remained an effective part of the law down to our day, and elaborate rules are still in force in Kāthiāwār for following up the track from village to village, the Talukdar of the last being held primarily responsible. Stolen property in general must be restored by a king to its owner, according to Manu; and a ruler is even bound to make good the loss occasioned by his negligence. The king is required to cause taverns, shops, festive assemblies, old gardens, forests, and other places of retreat to be guarded by companies of soldiers, in order to keep away thieves, and to find out thieves with the aid of clever reformed thieves, and destroy them. The notion of theft and robbery is extended very far, so as to include cheating of every sort, forgery, bribery, jugglery, dishonest dealing in judicial proceedings, false gambling, etc. To steal gold belonging to a Brāhman is regarded as particularly punishable; but it is in the law of abuse and assault, of homicide, and of adultery, that the gradation of punishments according to the caste of the offender and of the offended comes out most clearly. Thus a low-caste man must suffer death for an intrigue with a guarded Brāhman woman, as a safeguard of caste purity, whereas adultery with a woman of inferior caste is punishable only with a fine. Fines are inflicted equally on Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas who defame one of a higher caste, while the Śūdra offender incurs corporal punishment. Fines are the most common form of punishment, but there are many other forms (see CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS [Hindu]). Barbarous cruelty, the prevalence of the *lex talionis*, and want of system characterize the Indian as well as other primitive codes. Death is prescribed by Manu for aggravated theft, for harbouring robbers, swindling, and kidnapping, for certain cases of adultery and insult—in short, for a great many more crimes than under more balanced systems. Death by torture was the punishment of a dishonest goldsmith, and mutilation that of the destroyer of a boundary-mark—which shows how great was the alarm at their offences. When we find that a red-hot iron spike ten fingers long is to be thrust into the mouth of a low-born wretch for reviling a Brāhman, we are reminded that the composers of these law-books were Brāhmans. Although the judges, like the jurists, were generally Brāhmans, it appears doubtful whether the privileges claimed by the sacerdotal class and incorporated with legal rules were actually accorded to them. Many of their rules belong to the moral sphere, and go beyond what we recognize as the proper province of the penal law. Excessive drinking is punished as a crime in itself, not only as a breach of public order. Gambling is viewed in the same light. There are rules for securing chastity and sexual purity. Hospitality is considered a duty to be enforced by law in certain cases. The practice of magic rites and incantations meant to destroy life is punishable by a fine. Every one must be strictly kept to the employment of his own caste. Matrimonial duties and family relations are elaborately regulated. The proper province of moral obligations and delinquencies, however, is the ecclesiastical law, with its long lists of offences and religious penances and austerities (see EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT [Hindu]). Punishment and penance may be combined, as when the slayer of a milch-cow or of a bull (these being sacred animals) has to pay a fine first and do penance afterwards, or when, in cases of sexual criminality, the king inflicts punishment and the sin committed is expiated by a penance. Should an offender fail to perform the penance prescribed for his offence, he is at once expelled from his caste by the ceremony of *ghaṭasphoṭa*, 'the breaking of the water-pot'—a ceremony which is performed down to the present day in such cases. Punishment by itself is also supposed to have a purifying effect, as in the above-mentioned case of a thief who appears before the king of his own accord and is struck down by him.

Judicial procedure is simple and patriarchal. It presents the open court method of investigating accusations for crime, the king, attended by learned Brāhmans, entering his court of justice every morning, and there, after having seated himself on the judgment-seat and having worshipped the gods, undertaking the trial of the causes brought before him. The king has to fast for one whole day if a criminal deserving punishment is allowed to go free, and for three days if an innocent man is punished. The more recent law-books mention a number of other members of a court of justice besides the king—the king's domestic priest, his chief judge, who may also represent him if absent, his ministers of State, the assessors of the court, who are required to state their opinion of the case unreservedly and in accordance with the dictates of justice, the accountant, the scribe, the beadle. Gold and fire are used in the administration of oaths and ordeals, and water for refreshment. In giving a decision, the king must attend to local usage, written law, and the practice of the virtuous, if not opposed to local, family, or caste usages. Villages, tribes, and castes have also tribunals of their own, corresponding to the modern Pañchāyats; but from these an appeal to the king is possible. There is no essential difference between the trial of civil and criminal suits, except perhaps that the character and other qualifications of a reliable witness are not examined so strictly in criminal cases as in civil ones, and that the defendant in a criminal case cannot be represented by a substitute. The litigants must always be heard in person, and the king or the judge watches their countenances and their conduct carefully. Witnesses are watched in the same way, the depositions of witnesses being regarded as the most important part of the evidence. Certain persons are not admissible as witnesses on account of their personal relations with the litigant parties, or on account of age, dignity, sex, devotion to religion, moral or personal defects. There are also some provisions as to the number of witnesses, as that there shall not be less than three. In the event of a conflict of testimony, that of the majority generally prevails. The witnesses are solemnly adjured to speak the truth; and, if they should happen to meet with a calamity within seven days after making their deposition, this is held to prove its falsehood. Perjured witnesses are severely punished, and have to endure fearful pangs in a future existence, and destroy their own relatives through their wickedness. Perjury, however, is tolerated where an accused person may be saved from death by it.

The later law-books give special prominence to documents, and make written prevail over oral evidence, the plaint and the answer of the defendant having, likewise, to be stated in writing. The trial is to be conducted discreetly and skilfully, for liars may have the appearance of veracious men and veracious men may resemble liars, or documents may be forged. If human proof should fail, divine test is to be resorted to, of which there are many kinds, such as the water and fire ordeals, the ordeal by poison, the ordeal by hot metal (a gold coin has to be taken out of a vessel filled with boiling oil and butter), the ordeal by drawing lots, and the ordeal by sacred libation. The deities are invoked to supervise these proceedings, and are believed to establish the innocence or guilt of the accused. In less important cases, oaths are to be administered, the accused swearing by the head or feet of a Brāhman, or of his wife or son, or of an idol, and his innocence being established if within a certain period he should not meet with an extraordinary calamity, such as an illness, or the loss of a son or of his fortune. The custom of performing ordeals has survived down to very modern times; and oaths by an idol, a Brāhman, etc., are even now in vogue, an accident happening to the person afterwards being considered to prove his guilt. The decision of the judge in a suit is to be stated in writing, and a copy of it is to be handed to the victorious party. 'When lawsuits are decided properly, the members of the court are cleared from guilt. But where justice, wounded by injustice, approaches, and the judges do not extract the dart, then they also are wounded by that dart of injustice' (Nārada, p. 17; Manu, viii. 12).

The sources of the sacred law, according to Manu (ii. 6, 12), consist of the whole Veda, the *Smṛti*, or tradition, the customs of holy men, and self-satisfaction (where there is no other guide). The four Vedas, together with auxiliary literature, all of which is believed to be eternal and inspired, are confined to the consideration of religious rites, and contain very little about secular law, though they are considered the fountainhead of the whole law. *Dharmaśāstras* or *Smṛtis* are the real sources of law from a legal point of view. The term *Smṛti* means literally 'recollection,' and is used to denote a work or the whole body of Sanskrit works in which the sages of antiquity set down their recollections of the divine precepts regarding the duty of man. In reality, the earliest law-books were composed in and for the Brāhmanical schools studying the various parts of the Veda, and have been preserved as portions of the manuals of Vedic lore used in those schools, or as independent works. Such compositions are the *Dharmaśāstras* or *Dharmasūtras* of Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, Viṣṇu, and some others. They are composed in the aphoristic Sūtra style, either entirely in prose or, more usually, in mixed prose and verse. Some of these works are supposed to have been written in the 5th or 6th cent. B.C., or even earlier, but they may have undergone many changes since then. Their contents are mainly religious, but the positive law is also treated in them, and they are very useful for tracing the gradual development of legal institutions in India.

From these aphoristic treatises we pass to the versified works, composed in the *śloka* metre, such as the celebrated Code of Manu, the Magna Charta of Brāhmanism; the Code of Yājñavalkya, distinguished for its concise and systematic treatment of the whole law, in three books, on *āchāra*, *i.e.* religious rites and duties, *vyavahāra*, *i.e.* jurisprudence, and *prāyaśchitta*, *i.e.* sins and their atonement; and the Code of Nārada, unique in its being confined to jurisprudence alone, which it treats with great fullness of detail. The opening verses of the Code of Manu narrate how Manu, the descendant of Brahmā, gave the great sages an account of the creation, and afterwards transferred the task of expounding the Institutes of the Sacred Law, which he had learned from Brahmā, to Bhṛgu, one of his ten mind-born sons. There is an ancient proverb that 'all Manu said is medicine,' and another maxim stating that 'a *smṛti* or rule of law that is opposed to the sense of Manu's Institutes is not approved.' The great number of learned Commentaries composed on the Code of Manu, from the 8th or 9th cent. downwards, also testifies to the very particular authority early assigned to this codification of the religious and secular law, which may have originated in the first centuries A.D., if not earlier. There are also many *Smṛtis* which have not been preserved in a separate and complete form, and are known to us only from the passages of law cited in the Sanskrit Commentaries and Digests; but the authenticity of these texts is somewhat doubtful. The mythological poems called *Purāṇas* are also cited a great deal, particularly on the subject of vows, gifts, and other parts of the religious law, though they are said to be inferior in authority to the *Smṛtis*. The Commentaries and systematic works on law, being posterior in time to the *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas*, have gradually come to supersede them in authority, especially the celebrated *Mitākṣarā*, a Commentary on the *Smṛti* of Yājñavalkya composed by the ascetic Vijñāneśvara, *c.* A.D. 1100, at Kalyāṇapura, in the Deccan. The *Smṛtichandrikā* of Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa, the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* of king Rudradeva, the *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitramiśra, the *Mayūkhas* of Nīlakaṇṭha, and other learned compositions are used concurrently with the *Mitākṣarā* in the several provinces; in Bengal alone the *Dāyabhāga* of Jīmūtavāhana has superseded the *Mitākṣarā* as far as the law of inheritance is concerned. Customs which are, like written codes, considered a source of law have to a certain extent been embodied in the codes. Recent collections of customs were instituted by the British Government—*e.g.*, A. Steele, *The Law and Customs of Hindu Castes*, London, 1868; C. L. Tupper, *Punjab Customary Law*, Calcutta, 1881; C. Boulnois and W. H. Rattigan, *Notes on Customary Law as administered in the Courts of the Punjab*, Lahore, 1876.

LITERATURE.—W. Stokes, *Hindu Law Books*, Madras, 1865; G. Bühler and J. Jolly, translations of Sanskrit law-books in *SBE*, vols. ii. vii. xiv. xxv. xxxiii.; M. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*^{3}, London, 1876; R. West and G. Bühler, *A Digest of the Hindu Law*^{3}, Bombay, 1884; J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*^{6}, Madras, 1900; G. Sarkar, *Hindu Law*^{2}, Calcutta, 1903; V. N. Mandlik, *Hindu Law*, Bombay, 1880; J. C. Ghose, *The Principles of Hindu Law*, Calcutta, 1903; J. Jolly, *History of the Hindu Law*, Calcutta, 1895, and *Recht und Sitte* (=*GIAP* ii. 8), Strassburg, 1896.

J. JOLLY.

LAW (Iranian).—The term *daēna*, the later *dīn*, which is commonly and conveniently translated 'law,' is perhaps the most characteristic and best known term in the Avestic system. It also indicates the religion itself; in fact, in accord with the entire mentality of the ancient Iranians, as of so many other Eastern peoples, there was no distinction between religious and civil law. Another term which may be translated 'law' is *dāta*, and in the Pahlavi treatise, the *Dīnkarṭ*, we read the assertion, *Aīrāno dāṭo dīno Māzdayasno* (*Dīnkarṭ*, ed. Peshotan B. Sanjana, Bombay, 1874ff., ch. 28), which we may render, 'the Mazdean religion is the law of Irān.' As Geiger remarks, it is highly probable that with the ancient Iranians, as with other Indo-European peoples, the early form of judicial process was the simple one of a village council of elders. His surmise, that in the word *vīcira* (the origin of the modern Persian *vazīr*, or, as we say, 'vizier') we have a Gāthic term for 'judge,' does not seem to be tenable, although *vīcira* certainly bears the meaning of 'deciding.' In the later Avesta the term *ṭkaēsha*, sometimes with the qualificative *dātōrāza*, 'giving or administrating law' (*Ys.* ix. 10), certainly indicates the judge. In the passage just quoted it is especially applied to Urvākhshaya, the son of Thrita, who is considered apparently as a kind of Iranian Numa. According to Geiger's view, the priestly code, which we know as the *Vendīdād*, represents only that portion of legislation 'in which the priesthood reserved for themselves jurisdiction, or else added ecclesiastical penalties to those of the secular tribunal.' There are distinct traces in the Avesta of blood *vendetta*, and, still more, of *wergild*; indeed, the prescriptions for the latter are fairly full (see *Vend.* iv. 44). Such usages were no doubt pre-Zoroastrian. The legislation contained in the *Vendīdād*, agreeably with the underlying principles of the system, does not make any real distinction between what we should call civil jurisprudence and religious or ritual law. If we accept J. H. Moulton's theory of the Magian element in later Zoroastrianism (*Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, lectures vi., vii.), then the whole ritual legislation must be attributed to this, as he maintains, non-Aryan race. In the code, however, moral, ritual, and civic, even hygienic, crimes and their respective punishments are mingled together. As we should expect from the fundamental and traditional love of truth and hatred of falsehood which, even by the testimony of their Greek foes, always characterized the ancient Iranian people, the highest value is attached to the observance of contracts (*mithra*), and breach of contract is severely condemned, even when towards unbelievers. Contracts are said to be confirmed in six ways—by word of mouth, by handgrasp, or by the pledging of a sheep, an ox, a man, or a piece of land, respectively (*Vend.* iv. 2 ff.). Crimes of personal violence are carefully graduated according to the seriousness of the injuries done and the number of times committed, the penalties being fixed on a sliding scale of (apparently) scourgings. Capital punishment, curiously enough, is prescribed, not for taking life, but for performing irregularly and without sufficient knowledge certain priestly functions. The ordinary unit, so to speak, of corporal chastisement for all kinds of crimes is *upāzana*, which is generally translated 'stroke' or 'blow' with a horsewhip or scourge. A difficulty arises from the enormous number of these units which are prescribed for certain crimes, rising to hundreds and even thousands, which it would be quite impossible for any human being to bear. As, however, there was apparently a scale of monetary equivalents for corporal chastisements, it may be that these impossible numbers are simply meant as a guide to fix the amount of such wergild. As a matter of fact, far more serious punishments are assigned to what we should consider slight ritual or ceremonial transgression than to crimes of violence. In the opinion of Spiegel and Geiger, these *upāzana* may possibly mean simply blows with an instrument for the slaying of noxious insects and other creatures of the Evil Spirit, whose destruction was supposed to atone for a certain degree of crime.

As the *Vendīdād* was exclusively a priestly code of the Magians, 'it is self-evident why transgressions of religious precepts are most severely punished. If the penalty consisted only in the delivery of slain *khrafstras*, it might of course reach very high sums. It is probable that, quite early, persons could be relieved of their obligation by the payment of money compensation to the priest. The scourge could never have assumed such dimensions without provoking opposition' (Geiger, *Ostīrān. Kultur*, p. 459).

Be this as it may, the system of an equivalent fine in money for successive degrees of corporal punishment seems to have subsisted down to Sasanian times, inasmuch as in the Pahlavi treatise, *Shāyast lā-Shāyast* (lit. 'licet non-licet'), which is the standard text of later Mazdean casuistry, in its comment on the above-quoted 4th Fargard of the *Vendīdād*, the scale of lashes for various degrees of violence, rising from five to two hundred, is given with equivalents in *dirhams* and *stīrs* (Gr. δραχμή, στατήρ), which originally were said mythically to represent the weights in the golden scales of Rashnū, the Spirit who weighed the deeds of the dead, but which later on were translated into real monetary values (see E. W. West, *SBE* v. [1880] 239–242; C. de Harlez, *Introduction à l'Avesta*, Paris, 1881, pp. ccxxviii, ccxxix). In the case of one crime mentioned in the vision of Arṭā-ī Vīrāf, the penalty would appear to amount to about £2000.

The fact that in the Avesta and the subsequent Pahlavi literature practically no distinction is made between moral sins and legal crimes, between ecclesiastical and civil jurisprudence, accounts for the fact that we have really no civil code in the Sacred Book, and in spite of its name the Pahlavi *Dāṭistān-ī Dīnīk* ('law-code of religion') is purely a treatise of moral theology. Fragments of what may be called civil legal codes exist in one or two Pahlavi treatises mentioned by West. Thus what he styles 'the Social Code of the Parsis in Sāsānian times' contains information about slaves, partners, and joint proprietors, 'decisions of the leaders of professions and agreement and disagreement with their decisions,' the laws of property, the income of wives, annuities, mortgage, care and adoption of children, 'infallibility of officials,' etc. One provision regarding a man with two wives may be quoted:

> 'Each wife separately is joint proprietor with the husband, but the wives are separate proprietors as regards one another; and it is not allowable for a wife to alter that joint proprietorship, but it is for the husband' (*GIrP* ii. [1904] 117).

There can be no doubt whatever that civil codes, tribunals, and judges must have existed under all the successive Iranian dynasties, under the supreme authority of the king. It will be remembered that twice in the OT the 'laws of the Medes and Persians' are specially referred to in identical terms. In Dn 6^{15} it is said to be 'the law of the Medes and Persians' that no decree made by the king may be altered; and in Est 1^{19} there is mention of 'the law of the Medes and Persians,' which may not be altered, apparently even by the king himself. As regards the punishment of crime, it is well known that throughout history, and even to the present day, penalties of gruesome cruelty have been characteristic of Persian rulers and magistrates. It has been remarked by more than one writer that the horrible punishments detailed in the *Inferno* of Arṭā-ī Vīrāf are almost certainly reproductions of the dreadful tortures inflicted in the Sasanian courts and tribunals, and a further suggestion has been ventured that some echo of the same may not improbably be found in the grim punishments of Dante's *Inferno*.

LITERATURE.—W. Geiger, *Ostīrānische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882, bk. iii. ch. vii. § 46, 'Das Recht,' also Eng. tr. by Dārāb Peshotan, 2 vols., London, 1885; other authorities as quoted in the text.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

LAW (Japanese).—1. The laws of ancient Japan, as of all ancient peoples, were those of custom. Though their details have been lost, it is evident that the two fundamental principles—of Imperial sovereignty, and of the family system—were firmly established even in early days. The Imperial House considered itself the head of the whole race, and governed accordingly, while each clan, under its own head, called *omi* or *muraji*, was represented at the court, holding its office by inheritance from generation to generation. Within each clan the law of custom was followed, the clansmen seeming to have rendered unquestioning obedience to their chief. This period of authority derived from custom extended from pre-historic times to about A.D. 600, and may be regarded as a time uninfluenced by foreign ideas, in which were laid the foundations of those later laws most uniquely Japanese.

2. The oldest code mentioned in Japanese history is the constitution formed by the regent, Prince Umayado (Shotoku Taishi), in the 12th year of Empress Suiko (A.D. 604). This consisted of seventeen articles, and is commonly known as *The Seventeen Article Constitution.* Whether, however, this constitution should be called a positive law or merely a political principle is a question discussed but not settled by Japanese historians, since it was issued in the name of the Prince and not of the Empress.

In the tenth year of Emperor Tenchi (A.D. 671) a code of laws, said to have consisted of twenty-two volumes, was formed; but the entire code was lost, and its contents are unknown. In the fourth year of Emperor Mommu, Prince Osakabe and Fujiwara Fuhito were charged with the duty of codification; and in the following year, the first of Taiho (701), the work was completed. This entire code, consisting of eleven volumes of general law concerning government organization, administration, and private relations, and six volumes of criminal laws, was promulgated and enforced the same year, and is known as the *Taiho Code.* It also has been lost.

In the second year of Yoro, in the reign of Emperor Gensho (718), Fujiwara Fuhito and others were again ordered to revise the statutes. The revision consisted of ten volumes of general law and an equal number devoted to criminal law. Though called by the name 'Yoro,' this was nothing more than a revision and supplement of the Taiho Code, and is, therefore, commonly known by the latter name. The part of this code on general law has been perfectly preserved, but the part on criminal laws has been lost, with the exception of four chapters. This is the oldest law-book in Japan.

These laws were marked by Chinese influence—not that Chinese law was adopted as a whole, but the best Chinese principles were added to Japanese laws already existing. The Taiho laws, with many revisions and supplements, governed the nation for about five hundred years, until 1190. There are many commentaries, chief among them being *Ryo-no-Gige*, *Ryo-no-Shuge*, and *Ryo-Sho*. The first of these was officially edited in the tenth year of Tencho in the reign of Emperor Ninna (833), and is recognized as of the highest authority.

3. With the establishment of the feudal system, the individual Shoguns issued laws for the government of their vassals; and, as the authority of the Shoguns increased, the territory within which the Taiho laws were enforced decreased until, with the establishment of the Shogunate government at Kamakura under Minamoto Yoritomo (middle of 12th cent.), it was limited to places directly under the control of the court. A remarkably simple code of feudal laws consisting of only fifty-one articles was formed by Hojo, the executive head of the Shogunate, on the 8th of August, in the first year of Teiei, in the reign of Emperor Gohorikawa. It is known as the *Teiei-Shikimoku*, and accorded so well with the spirit of feudalism that it remained effective until the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1867).

The characteristic of this code is its rejection of Chinese influence and its adaptation to the maintenance and development of a unique Japanese feudalism. In the days of the Taiho laws, the whole country was under direct government supervision; but during the feudal period only a little territory remained under such control, by far the larger part being held as arrière-fiefs. In the earlier period, the children of a family shared equally in the inheritance of property, but under feudalism the eldest son took precedence.

4. With the fall of the Kamakura Shogunate

(1334) its successor, the Ashikaga, continued to enforce the principles of the Teiei-Shikimoku; but the laws were revised from time to time until the articles numbered two hundred and ten. The *Kenbu-Shikimoku*, of seventeen articles, was issued during the time of the Ashikaga Shogunate; but the affairs of the country became disorderly, and neither the law of the court nor the will of the Shogunate was executed. Many feudal lords declared their independence; and some among them issued their own regulations or family laws, of which those of the Shingen, Ouchi, Chosokabe, Hojo, and Asakura families remain intact. For two hundred years, until the establishment of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603), the country passed through what is known as the dark ages, and no new laws of permanent value were enacted.

5. In the eighth year of Keicho in the reign of Emperor Goyozei (1603), Tokugawa Iyeyasu pacified the whole country and established his government as Shogun in Yedo (now Tokyo). Two hundred and sixty-five years of peace followed. The Tokugawa family tried to govern the country according to already existing customs, and, as far as possible, avoided the making of written laws. But, as time passed, the number of simple statutes increased, and they were codified in what is known as the *Kwajo-Ruiten*. This code was divided into two parts, the first dealing with laws of ceremony, of administration, and of personal relations, while the second contained the criminal laws. As the criminal law comprised a hundred articles, the people of the time termed it *Tokugawa's Code of the Hundred*. Secrecy was a governing principle of the Tokugawa Shogunate; these articles, therefore, were not published, but privately distributed among feudal officers for information and guidance. As a result, these laws, though of comparatively recent date, are not in all points clearly understood.

6. The uncertainty concerning these laws of the Shogunate is increased by the fact that at the time of the Restoration in 1867, when the authority which had been exercised by the Shogunate was restored to the Imperial House, they were entirely inapplicable, being in reality family and not national in their nature, and they were, accordingly, completely set aside. During a period of some seven hundred years the Imperial House had had no real voice in the government, and possessed no laws which could at once be enforced. As a temporary measure, certain Chinese laws were revived and articles from the Taiho Code were revised. Contact with Western nations and a study of their civilization showed the necessity of laws in harmony with the modern world; and in the fifteenth year of Meiji (1882) the criminal code was promulgated. This was followed, in the twenty-second year (1889), by the proclamation of the Constitution, and, in the thirty-third year, (1900), by the civil code. Auxiliary laws of procedure have been issued on the models of Western nations; but all these, together with the standard codes, recognize and enforce the two fundamental principles which from the first have characterized Japanese law: the sovereignty of the Imperial House and the family system.

LITERATURE.—N. Hozumi, *The New Japanese Civil Code*, London, 1904; R. Masujima, 'Modern Japanese Legal Institutions,' in *TASJ* xviii. [1890]; V. Pappafava, *Das Notariat in Japan*, Germ. tr., Innsbruck, 1905; J. H. Wigmore, 'Materials for Study of Private Law in Old Japan,' in *TASJ* xx. [1892].

TAMAKICHI NAKAJIMA.

LAW (Jewish).—The important signification which Judaism from earliest times has attached to the law is outwardly indicated by the fact that the religious vocabulary of the Jews presents no fewer than seven synonyms for this conception: *ḥôq* (also *ḥuqqāh*), the most comprehensive expression for law, the laws of nature being also indicated by it, *mishpāṭ*, *'êdûth*, *miṣvāh*, *piqqûd*, *tôrāh*, and the term *dāth*, which is borrowed from Persian.

The legal portions of the Pentateuch are: Ex 12 f., 20–23, 25–31, 34 f.; Lv 1–8, 11–25, 27; Nu 5–10, 18 f., 27^{7-11}, 28–30, 35 f.; Dt 4–27.

The usual division of the laws into legal, ritual, and moral is not supported by the sources; such a distinction is nowhere expressed, nor can such a division be made with regard to their contents. On the contrary, one and the same law is often both legal and moral—*e.g.*, the numerous social laws; and just as often the basis adduced for the legal and ritual laws elevates them to moral laws.

An outward distinction is impossible because all laws without distinction are regarded as divine commands. All commands are of divine origin, since God represents law and morality in idea. This conception is the constant element in Jewish religion at all stages of its evolution, which we can still partly trace in the original documents. However much law may have varied in its connotation at different times, it was always regarded as an expression of the divine will; and he who professed to belong to the Jewish community must not only acknowledge the one God, but also conform to all His laws unconditionally. Disobedience to the commands of God was equal to heresy, just like idolatry and superstition, and was described as 'profanation of the divine name.' Judaism was from the beginning more a religion of doing than of believing, and, therefore, it has laid the main emphasis on the legal rather than on the mystical element. The constitution of Judaism, accordingly, is not a number of articles of belief, but ten commandments; and the revelation at Sinai is represented not as a communication of secret doctrines, but as a proclamation of the divine will; Moses is not a metaphysician, but a lawgiver.

The Pentateuch, as we have it to-day, does not present one uniform system of legislation, but a composite body of laws from several sources of very different times; and, in spite of all their work, critics have not entirely succeeded in assigning the single laws to a particular source or even to a particular time. The oldest laws (esp. Ex 21–23) exhibit a considerable degree of harmony with the old Babylonian Code of Ḥammurabi, but a dependence of the one on the other must not be assumed. In comparing the two systems of law, apart from the great progress in single laws, we are struck by a difference in principle, viz. the intimate union of law and morality which characterizes Jewish legislation (cf. *e.g.* Ex 22^{20-26} $23^{9.12}$ and esp. Dt, *e.g.* 5^{15} 10^{17-19} 15^{9-11} 24^{15}).

The discourses of the prophets from the middle of the 8th cent. onwards already presuppose a law, which they recognize as binding and whose non-fulfilment they censure. Frequently, however, they polemize against the law; they declare the whole system of worship worthless and even hated of God, when the nation does not practise justice and morality. But the elevated moral exhortation of the prophets was little understood and still less followed. It was too abstract to exercise a decisive influence on the life of the people. It had first to be made practicable in a social legislation, adapted to different cases and circumstances, and transformed into a rule of conduct for the individual. In this way Deuteronomy took its rise; it is a product of the prophetic teaching, and places social justice at the heart of religion, while it restricts the sphere of worship to a great extent, and, in particular, recognizes only one place of worship. After the return from the Exile and the building of the second Temple, the order of worship in all its details was appointed in the 'Priests' Code,' although its constituent parts are, it is true, of an earlier date. The different law-books were now combined into one book along with the traditions of primeval history and the history of the nation which also originated at different periods (up to the death of Moses). Moses was regarded as the author of this book, every word of which was supposed to be inspired, and was designated by the name *tôrāh*, 'teaching.' Belief in its divine origin and recognition of its whole contents became the basis of Judaism under Ezra. This book was by no means a law-book; half of its contents were of the nature of narrative, so that it appealed to the understanding and imagination as much as to the will; and it was those narrative portions that had the greatest influence on the religious education of the people. The LXX made a great and most momentous error when, for want of an exactly corresponding Greek expression, they translated *tôrāh* by *νόμος* ('law'), giving rise to an utterly false conception of the nature of Judaism, and making possible, at a later date, the historically important attack of the Pauline letters upon the Law. The fact that the Jews regarded the book as 'teaching' is indicated by the Aramaic translation *'ôraithā*, which can mean only 'teaching' and never 'law.' This is especially shown by the wide-spread demand of learning and teaching of the Torah, and by the fact that the occupation of the intellect with it was regarded as the loftiest and most delightful of tasks. A classical proof of this is afforded in Ps 119, which, following the succession of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, presents in 22 times 8 verses an endless variation on the same theme: the Torah is the chief good, chief happiness, pleasure, entertainment, and comfort. The law was only the framework upon which the pure monotheism, which forms the substance of the Jewish teaching, could establish itself, work itself up, and become the religion of the people.

Simultaneously with the elevation of the Torah to be the religious book of the community, the synagogue was established with the reading, translation, and explanation of the Torah as its first object. As soon as it was introduced, the Torah, like every other law-book, required explanation by experts, and the *sôf^{e}rîm*, 'scribes' (from *sēfer*, 'book'), became the religious authorities in Judaism from that time onwards. The expositions of the Torah laid down in their lectures soon became quite as binding as the written teaching; and thus there was developed an oral teaching, which did not, however, interfere with the validity of the Torah, being at first only an application of it. But it soon went beyond the written teaching, and, in particular, it was supposed to create a 'hedge round the teaching,' on the one hand to preserve the essentials of the religion from corruption and evaporation, and on the other hand to secure the observance of the religious laws by means of provisions, sometimes lightening, sometimes increasing, their burden. The oral teaching varied with the custom and common law of each period, adapted the written word to the changed outward circumstances and new views, and even directly created new provisions, which could not possibly have been foreseen in the Torah. Thus, for instance, the whole synagogue service with its order of prayer was gradually introduced by the scribes, and at a later date, in the Hellenistic period, feasts like Pûrîm and Ḥănukkā were introduced and made religiously binding. The collision of Judaism with Greek civilization raised a very difficult problem for the scribes; and, if the victorious elevation of the Hasmonæans saved Judaism from the danger of the moment, the newly founded Jewish State nevertheless had, from the necessity of the case, to come forward in opposition to the scribes, who wished to regard Judaism as merely a religious community. Thus arose the parties of the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The former, led by the scribes, were the representatives of the religious principle and emphasized the value and necessity of the oral teaching in addition to the Torah. The latter, worldly-minded throughout, wished to recognize the Torah alone. The Sadducees, accordingly, lukewarm in their attitude towards religious matters, exerted their influence towards petrifying religion, while the pious Pharisees sought its progress and development. Under the compulsion of this contest, the Pharisees extended the oral teaching more and more and had to find a basis for it, and, in particular, to prove its agreement with the Torah. About the last century before Christ an attempt was made by Hillel and Shammai to fix the oral teaching in writing; this had previously been avoided, partly to preserve intact the authority of the Torah as the only valid religious document, and partly to leave the tradition free and flowing. Here, too, it is incorrect and one-sided to speak of an oral 'law.' For from the very beginning the oral no less than the written teaching contained narrative, instructive, and edifying portions as well as the legal elements; the legal portion was designated Hălākhā, the narrative Haggādā. Jewish thought, feelings, and hopes were laid down in the proverbs, parables, and stories of the Haggādā, which for this reason is just as important a source for the customs and religious views of the Jews as the Hălākhā. The Hălākhā, *i.e.* the religious norm, was in the different schools subjected to great differences of opinion, which the scribes sought to clear up in public discussions. A definite system of logical and exegetical principles gradually formed, according to which the Hălākhā was derived from the written text. The wider the circle within which the life of the Jews moved, and the wider their circle of knowledge and opinions became, the more the sphere of the Hălākhā had to be extended. It embraces temple rites and synagogue worship, land laws, civil and criminal law, poor laws, laws regarding marriage, laws about foods, and laws of health.

The oral law, which now gradually became written law, also recognized the existence and necessity of an unwritten law, controlling matters left to the moral feeling of the individual—the finer demands of morality which did not admit of formulation and classification. The unwritten law was designated *dābhār ham-māsūr lal-lēbh*, 'something which is left to the heart.' This conception was a healthy counterpoise to the ever-increasing tendency to determine beforehand the proper course of action in all circumstances by means of a law. On the other hand, it filled up the deficiencies and gaps that are a necessary feature of every written law. It is thus entirely misleading to speak of the Jewish religion as purely legal in character. The designation *dîn*, 'law,' for the individual provisions applies exclusively to those religious duties which deal with definite actions that can be judicially formulated—what is prohibited or allowed. The *dîn* demands nothing but obedience; the *dābhār ham-māsūr lal-lēbh*, on the other hand, appeals to the moral feeling, and thus recognizes morality as a necessary supplement to the law. The Hălākhā gives numerous instances in which the individual cannot be punished according to law, but is guilty in the eyes of the law of God.

In the midst of the work of recording the oral law there took place the great catastrophe which in A.D. 70 destroyed the State and the Temple of the Jews. The result of the dispersion of the Jews was that, since its external unity had ceased, Judaism anxiously sought to preserve its inner unity in law and custom. While up to this time the object of all additions to and burdens on the law was to preserve the teaching of Judaism intact, the law now had the further task of preserving the very existence of the Jews as a people at all. The study of the law was now regarded as the highest religious duty and an equally valuable, in fact a more valuable, substitute for the earlier sacrifice. If the traditions of the Haggādā played an important part in the consciousness of the people, the Hălākhā was the chief occupation of the high schools in Palestine. They carefully sought not only to fix all the single provisions, but in particular to preserve all those laws and customs which by force of circumstances had for a time—they hoped only for a time—fallen into disuse. 'Aḳîbā ben Joseph (*q.v.*), who died as a martyr after the fatal issue of the rising of Bar Kokhba (A.D. 134), brought the recording of the oral teaching to a temporary end. He sought to arrange the immense amount of material from two points of view: according to the matter in the form of a book of law (*Mishnā*) and according to Bible verses in the form of a running commentary to the legal books of the Torah (*Midrāsh*). After his death his pupils tried with all possible speed to close the record finally, so that the tradition might not be lost by the violent death of other scholars. 'Aḳîbā's Mishnā formed the basis on which his pupil R. Mê'ir further improved, and after his death R. Yehûdā, the patriarch († *c.* 200), closed, the record, and created the Mishnā as a generally received book of law. Soon after, the Midrāshîm, which in their main contents went back to 'Aḳîbā and his contemporaries, were completed.

Their names (with the exception of a few which are preserved only in fragments) are *Mᵉkhiltā* (on Exodus), *Sifrā* (on Leviticus), and *Sifrê* (on Numbers and Deuteronomy). These Midrāshîm have not, however, been any more officially recognized than the collection of traditions which has been preserved to us under the name of *Tôseftā*. In attitude and aim the Tôseftā is similar to the Mishnā, but it originated in other schools and had accepted many traditions which are wanting or rejected in the latter. It is, therefore, a priceless source for the scientific investigation of the Hălākhā. The Mishnā and the Tôseftā are divided into six portions: (1) synagogue worship and agriculture; (2) sabbath and feast days; (3) law of marriage; (4) civil and criminal law; (5) temple rites; and (6) laws of purity.

The completed Mishnā, which was composed in the Hebrew language, was taken by Rābh and Samuel to Babylon, and taught and explained in the institutions of learning founded by them there. The Palestinian schools also sought to explain the Mishnā, which, owing to its condensed method of expression, was often difficult to understand. These explanations in the Aramaic tongue, which are called *Gᵉmārā*, and which have been written down and collected, furnish more than a bare commentary to the Mishnā. In their outward form they are records of the discussions which took place in the schools during three centuries, and they preserve these in all their original vividness. In their contents, particularly in the Haggādic portions, they are a repertory of everything that the most distinguished representatives of Judaism during the period spoke, thought, felt, experienced, and knew. While the explanation of the Mishnā was not finished in Palestine, the Babylonian Gᵉmārā was completed about A.D. 500. The Mishnā and the Gᵉmārā together were called the *Talmud*. Of the two Talmuds, the Babylonian became in practice the only authoritative one; the Palestinian (incorrectly called the Jerusalem Talmud) was not recognized, and was always much less studied.

The Talmud as a whole is not, strictly speaking, a law-book like the Mishnā; it places the opposite opinions with their reasons beside each other and often leaves the debated question undecided. In spite of that, it brought Jewish law to a fixed system, and thus lent to Judaism the necessary inner unity. By means of it Judaism was remoulded into the homogeneous mass which it presented during the whole of the Middle Ages. The Talmud allows a sphere of action to the freedom of thought altogether out of proportion to that which is granted to the freedom of will or action. It does not demand blind obedience to the law, but would recognize as valid only what is rationally deduced from the word of Scripture, and asks time and again in regard even to Biblical commands: Why has the Torah so ordered? It then adduces a logical or moral reason. Only in the case of very few laws, for which a rational explanation could not be found (*e.g.*, the red heifer [Nu 19]), is the authoritative command of God adduced as the ground of obligation.

The Jewish law, as it found its final expression in the Talmud, has often been represented as an unbearable yoke. This designation, however, which is played upon as early as Sirach, indicates only the impression which the law made on non-Jews, and not the emotions with which the people themselves regarded it. The Jew ever found joy and satisfaction in the fulfilment of it, and coined for it the special expression *śimḥāh śel miṣvāh*, 'joy in the commandment.'

The recognized benediction on occasions of fulfilling all the more important religious provisions ran as follows: 'Praised be thou, O God, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments'; and in the daily evening prayer they said: 'We rejoice in the words of thy teaching and the words of thy commandments now and evermore, for they are our life and the length of our days.'

It was not freedom from the law, but freedom in the law, that was the religious ideal of the Jews. They felt themselves morally free simply through the fact that they subjected themselves joyfully to the law, and recognized that it must be obeyed even when it was not there. The patriarchs they regarded as especially virtuous because they had kept the law even before it was given. It was not Kant, therefore, who was the first to teach the autonomy of morality. In one place we are told that he who keeps the commandments stands as high in God's sight as if he had produced them out of himself (cf. F. Perles, 'Die Autonomie der Sittlichkeit im jüd. Schrifttum,' in *Festschrift für Hermann Cohen*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 103-108).

It is true that the frequent use of petty casuistry, and especially the forced exegesis of the Talmud, repels us, but the Talmud ought not to be judged in this light alone. Emphasis should be laid on the fact that the morality of the Jews did not degenerate under its control, but rather became more rigorous. For the casuistry had almost always the tendency to make the law more exacting, and did not, as a rule, deal with moral so much as with legal and ritual questions, while morality was often appealed to as a supplement to the law. On the other hand, it was important that certain moral requirements, such as care for the poor, the sick, and unburied dead, and even kindness to animals, were made laws in the Talmud. It is often alleged that all the laws aim at the well-being of the individual and of society, but it is quite as frequently emphasized that only the unselfish fulfilment of the law has moral value, and that the ennobling of humanity is the highest aim. Specially peculiar to the Judaism of the Talmud is the conception of the *qiddūsh hash-shêm*, 'hallowing of the divine name,' according to which every Jew ought to witness for God by an exemplary life, and contribute towards His recognition among men.

In spite of the fact that the divine legislation as a whole was regarded as eternal and unchangeable, in individual cases the temporary suspension and even the annulling of a law was recognized as justifiable and necessary. Sufficient ground for putting aside even Biblical commands was found by the lawyers not only in danger to life or impossibility of carrying out the law owing to a *vis major*, but also in intolerable inconvenience to the community, danger to the existence or repute of the religion, and collision with the laws of the State. The 'dignity of man' is also repeatedly given as a reason for temporary suspension of a law.

When it was completed, the Talmud was adopted as the only authority in matters of religious law, and became, like the Mishnā 300 years previously, the subject of study and exposition. Since it was not, of course, a law-book in the strict sense of the term, definite rules had to be laid down for judging in cases where the Talmud presented undissolved differences of opinion. The need of codifying the extensive contents of the Talmud came more and more to the front. When the Ḳaraites (*q.v.*) rejected the whole Talmud, and, in fact, the oral teaching altogether, and recognized the Torah alone as binding in matters of religious law, a code had to be formed which set forth plainly what was to be regarded as law in the Talmud and what only as individual opinion. Hence arose, from the 8th to the 9th cent., the so-called *Hălākhôth Gᵉdôlôth*, compendium of the Talmud, which in outward form follows the Mishnā, but attempts to make a better arrangement of the material according to subjects. This work, which originated from the Gᵉônîm, the heads of the Babylonian schools of the time, did not obtain such an extensive circulation as the *Hălākhôth* of Isaac al-Fāsī, which was composed two centuries later. Al-Fāsī makes use of the Palestinian Talmud also to decide questions of religious law, and is much more independent than the Gᵉônîm in laying down general rules, as well as in using them to obtain concrete results from the discussions of the Talmud. The most original and important code of Rabbinic Judaism is the *Mishnêh Tôrāh* of Moses Maimonides. Absolutely abandoning the dialectics and the order of the materials of the Talmud, he gives a strictly systematic exposition of the laws and the teaching of Judaism in fourteen books. In opposition to all his predecessors, he specifies neither his sources nor opposed opinions, and gives no reasons for his own decisions. On this account his work was very sharply attacked from many sides, although his opponents could not free themselves from his influence. After him the first work to obtain far-reaching influence was the *Ṭūr* of Jacob ben Asher of the 14th cent., who, in fact, used Maimonides as his model, but produced a new and unique book of law, stating and discussing the contradictory opinions of the authorities after the Talmud. This work remained the undisputed authority for more than two centuries. It was only after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal that the need for a new code more suited to the changed conditions made itself felt. To meet this need Joseph Qaro produced the *Shulḥān 'Ārūkh*, basing his work on the *Ṭūr*, but also consulting the rest of its predecessors. Joseph Qaro often proceeds very independently in his code, and his work on this account met with energetic opposition before it was generally accepted. The Polish Talmudists especially opposed it, one of whom, Moses Isserles, provided it with continuous glosses, which were then printed along with the work. A century later, however, the *Shulḥān 'Ārūkh* was the only authoritative code of Rabbinic Judaism, and it has remained so among the orthodox Jews to the present day. It had, in fact, contributed largely to the consolidation of Judaism, and was at the time of its production, when the Jewish communion threatened to break up, a historical necessity. Gradually, however, it became more and more a hindrance to free religious development, and, on the whole, its influence upon the culture, particularly of the Jews of eastern Europe, has been unfavourable. The efforts of the last century, therefore, towards the culture and reform of Judaism have aimed at destroying the unrivalled authority of this work.

LITERATURE.—*JE*, artt. 'Abrogation of Laws,' i. 131; 'Accommodation of the Law,' i. 161; 'Authority, Rabbinical,' ii. 337; 'Conflict of Laws,' iv. 224; 'Law, Civil,' vii. 633; 'Law, Codification of,' vii. 635; 'Oral Law,' ix. 423; 'Talmudic Law,' xii. 33; E. Schürer, *GJV*⁴ ii. 545–579, 'Life under the Law,' and against him I. Abrahams, in *JQR* xi. [1898–99] 626–642; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im NT Zeitalter*², Berlin, 1906, pp. 136–163, and against him F. Perles, *Bousset's Religion des Judentums . . . kritisch untersucht*, do. 1903, *passim*; R. T. Herford, *Pharisaism, its Aim and its Method*, London, 1912, *passim*; S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, do. 1909, p. 116 ff.

FELIX PERLES.

LAW (Muhammadan).—I. *INTRODUCTION.*—

1. Muslim canon law (sharī'ah or shar') and the sacred texts: Qur'ān and tradition.—A Muslim is bound by religious regulations not only in the performance of his daily ritual prayers, the fast, the pilgrimage to Mecca, and other religious acts, but also in the contraction and dissolution of his marriage, in commercial contracts, and, indeed, in all events of any importance in his domestic and social life. All these religious regulations form together a code of law which in Arabic is called the *sharī'ah* or *shar'*, lit. 'the way' (viz. that which faithful Muslims must follow according to Allāh's will). Muslims believe that the regulations of this code depend not on human judgment, but entirely on Allāh's inscrutable will. Originally the only sources from which the knowledge of Allāh's law could be gained were the Qur'ān and the *sunnah*.

The Qur'ān contains few regulations of a legislative character. It is true that in certain verses instructions are given as to how a Muslim must generally distinguish himself from an unbeliever, as to his chief duties, and some sins which he must especially avoid; but these regulations do not form a complete system. From the beginning Muhammad's *sunnah*[1] was an indispensable supplement to the regulations of the Qur'ān. In the Qur'ān, *e.g.*, it is enjoined that a Muslim must perform his *ṣalāt* (*i.e.* the daily ritual prayer, which consists principally of praise of Allāh, prostration, etc.), but not how he must fulfil this religious duty. In such a case Muhammad's *sunnah* gave an explanation of the Qur'ān. All Muslims have always performed the *ṣalāt* in the same way as the Prophet had done before them, for Muhammad's position as a preacher of the new religion and as the head of the Muslim community entailed that his followers should observe not only the regulations which he gave as Allāh's will in the form of the Qur'ān, but also his personal commands and example.

After the death of Muhammad the traditions concerning the deeds and sayings of the Prophet and his companions, as well as the Qur'ān, were held in great respect; and the *sunnah* of these was an example worthy of following for the later Muslims, at least in so far as the Prophet had approved either implicitly or expressly of their acts or sayings. A tradition is called in Arabic *ḥadīth*, which commonly means 'story,' 'communication'; in a special sense 'the *ḥadīth*' means the whole sacred tradition.

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[1] The word *sunnah* is often wrongly taken to mean 'tradition' (viz. regarding the deeds and sayings of the Prophet), but it really means the method of behaviour which is generally followed: the *sunnah* of a person means the ordinary line of conduct of the person, and the *sunnah* of a people means the manners and customs of the people. Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Le Droit musulman,' in *RHR* xxxvii. [1898] 6 ff.; I. Goldziher, *Muham. Studien*, Halle, 1889–90, ii. 1 ff., 11 ff.

Originally the oral traditions were handed on from one generation to another. Many undertook long journeys in order to visit celebrated teachers of tradition in different lands and places, and to hear them relate their traditions. Besides the text (*matn*) of a tradition, the names of the persons who had handed it on, from the latest narrator to the Prophet, were accurately learned by heart. The trustworthiness of these teachers was the guarantee for the correctness of their narrative, and therefore the portion of the tradition containing the names of the teachers was called the *isnād* or *sanad*, *i.e.* 'the support' (viz. for the credibility of the traditions). Still, many of the Muslim traditions concerning Muhammad's *sunnah* are deliberately invented; on this point a historical and critical examination leaves no possibility of doubt. Decisions were ascribed to the Prophet on questions of all kinds which did not become important to Muslims till long after his death. Moreover, there are in currency numerous contradictory traditions. Apparently each party attributed to the Prophet just what they held to be the true conception. In the first century of Islām there was serious controversy as to the trustworthiness of many traditions. Every one knew that there were many true and untrue traditions as to the *sunnah* of the Prophet, and the opposing teachers of tradition accused each other of lying. But, when the ritual, the doctrine, and the most important social and political institutions had become definitely fixed, agreement was reached in wide-spread circles as to the trustworthiness of most traditions. When a tradition could not be brought into harmony with the generally current conceptions, it was regarded as false. Moreover, many successful attempts were made to harmonize contradictory traditions with the prevailing conceptions, by means of ingeniously discovered explanations.

Although there is no official and exclusively authoritative collection of Muslim traditions, there are six collections commonly recognized in the orthodox world, viz. the 'six books' or the 'six *ṣaḥīḥs*,' *i.e.* the six 'sound' or 'authentic' collections. Two of these—the collection of traditions of al-Bukhārī († A.H. 256 = A.D. 870) and that of Muslim († A.H. 261 = A.D. 875)—are held in great honour by orthodox Muslims. The other four are those of Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā'ī, and Ibn Mājah.

The Shī'ites do not reject the authority of Muhammad's *sunnah*, but differ in opinion from the orthodox Muslims as to the trustworthiness of many traditions relating to it. They have their own collections of traditions.[1]

2. The fiqh and the fiqh-schools.—By the *'ilm al-fiqh* ('science of the *fiqh*') is meant the science of the regulations contained in the sacred texts. It was not enough to know only the literal contents of the Qur'ān and the traditions; it was also necessary to know in what sense these texts were to be understood, and how the commands and prohibitions which they contained were to be applied in different circumstances. The scholars who occupied themselves with this study of the *fiqh* (the *faqīhs*) have given an extraordinary extension to the original meaning of the regulations of the Qur'ān and of the traditions. They could find answers in the sacred texts to all possible questions of the law, and in this way the study of the *fiqh* has produced a vast system of legal casuistry worked out in every detail.

Since the opinions of scholars as regards the rules to be deduced from the Qur'ān and the traditions disagreed in many respects, there grew up in a short time different *fiqh*-schools, each having its own views as to questions of detail. Such a school was called *madhhab* ('party'). There were at first a great many of these schools; each *faqīh* of any importance had his own *madhhab*.

The rise, development, and ultimate fate of the different *madhhabs* were dependent to a great extent on accidental circumstances; and the favour of the Government often had a special influence on their reputation. If the judges and magistrates in a Muslim land were chosen by preference from among the followers of a particular *madhhab*, many people joined that *fiqh*-school, until change in the Government exercised fresh influence in an opposite direction. In the course of time most of the old schools lost their significance, until they finally had no followers at all. Only the four schools of Abū Ḥanīfah († A.H. 150 = A.D. 767), Mālik ibn Anas († A.H. 179 = A.D. 795), al-Shāfi'ī († A.H. 204 = A.D. 820), and Ibn Ḥanbal († A.H. 241 = A.D. 855) have retained adherents in the orthodox Muslim world down to the present day.

One of the extinct schools is that of Dāwūd ibn 'Alī († A.H. 270 = A.D. 883), the *Ẓāhirīyah*, *i.e.* the party which prided itself on holding to the 'outward sense' (*ẓāhir*) of the text.[1] Nawawī, an Arabic writer of the 7th cent. A.H., mentions six *fiqh*-schools held in repute in his time,[2] two of which were the *Ẓāhirīyah* and the school of Sufyān al-Thawrī († A.H. 161 = A.D. 777); but the formerly famous school of al-Awzā'ī († A.H. 157 = A.D. 773) in Syria was by that time extinct. It is true that the value of the system of al-Awzā'ī was not less than that of other *madhhabs*, but, since its adherents lived in more or less remote places, far from the great caravan roads and from the route of the pilgrims going to Mecca, their opinions on the *fiqh* gradually passed out of consideration.[3] The *madhhab* of Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (the *Jarīrīyah*), more famous as a chronicler († A.H. 310 = A.D. 922), had at that time also disappeared.

As to the *fiqh*-schools which still exist the following points may be noted.

(1) The school of Abū Ḥanīfah owed its great influence in later centuries especially to the Turkish Osman Sultans, who in the 16th cent. obtained authority over so important a part of the orthodox Muslims. From the beginning this dynasty showed exceptional preference for the Ḥanifitic system, and this *madhhab* is still dominant in Turkey and in all lands in which Turkish influence is felt. It has also spread in Central Asia (Turkestan, Bukhara, Samarkand) and in Hindustan, so far as the population there has accepted Islām as the result of the former Muslim invasions.

(2) The school of al-Shāfi'ī was based specially on the authority and influence of the 'Abbāsid Khalīfs. The Shāfi'ites had obtained a considerable supremacy in the centre of the Muslim lands in the Middle Ages, and their reputation still continued to increase until, in the 16th cent., the Ḥanifitic school came to the front under Turkish influence. Even after this time the Shāfi'itic school continued to possess many adherents, even in Syria, Egypt, and West Arabia, in which lands the Ḥanifitic school only was accepted as the official one in public matters; *e.g.*, the judges and ruling personages who were sent from Turkey to these lands were all Ḥanifitic, but the original population still continued to order its religious and domestic life according to the regulations of the Shāfi'itic school, and the study of the Shāfi'itic *fiqh*-books continued to flourish. The Shāfi'itic school is also dominant in the Straits Settlements, the Malay border districts of Siam, and the whole Indian Archipelago, as well as in the coast districts of Hindustan (Malabar and Coromandel), on the Persian Gulf, and in South Arabia (especially in Ḥaḍramaut). In German East Africa it is the most important; only a minority of the Muslim population there belong to the heretical Ibāḍites. Followers of the Shāfi'itic school are also to be found in Daghestan, and in some parts of Central Asia.[4]

(3) The school of Mālik ibn Anas flourished originally at Medīna. Later on, it spread over the whole of the west of Islām, not only in the north-west of Africa (Tunis, Algiers, Morocco, formerly also in Spain), but over the whole of Africa, so far as it gradually accepted Islām. Even in Egypt the Mālikitic school has many adherents. It has the same position in Upper Egypt as the Shāfi'itic has in Lower Egypt.

(4) The school of Ibn Ḥanbal has always been the least important; it has never had many adherents, and will probably completely disappear in time, like so many other *fiqh*-schools. At present Ḥanbalites are found in Central Arabia, in the interior of Oman, and on the Persian Gulf. Besides this, the followers of this school are found sporadically in Baghdād, in some towns of Central Asia, and in some districts (among others, in Syria) which do not lie on the great trade-routes. It is worthy of notice that the Wahhābites, who are generally considered heretics, prefer to be taken for Ḥanbalites; they often appeal to Ibn Taimiyah in order to defend their particular conceptions, which are in conflict with the requirements of modern life generally obtaining in the orthodox Muslim world. This scholar, though in many respects quite independent, belonged to the Ḥanbalite school.[5]

The differences of opinion between the *fiqh*-schools did not turn on fundamental points. It has been alleged, indeed, that Abū Ḥanīfah tried by preference to establish the rules of the *fiqh* in agreement with his own opinions on morality and justice, while other *faqīhs* (especially Dāwūd ibn 'Alī and Ibn Ḥanbal) kept strictly to the letter of the sacred texts. An unprejudiced comparison of the various systems of *fiqh* shows, however, that this view is exaggerated, and that in general all Muslim scholars followed very much the same methods of establishing the *fiqh*-rules. Difference of opinion existed only on questions of detail.

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[1] See further I. Goldziher, 'Über die Entwicklung des Ḥadīth,' in *Muḥam. Stud.* ii. 1–274, also 'Neue Materialen zur Litteratur des Überlieferungswesens bei den Muhammedanern,' in *ZDMG* l. [1896] 465–506, and 'Beiträge zur Litteraturgesch. der Shī'a und der sunnitischen Polemik,' in *SWAW*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1874; W. Marçais, *Le Taqrīb de En-Nawawī traduit et annoté*, Paris, 1901; E. Salisbury, 'Contributions from Original Sources to the Knowledge of Muslim Traditions,' in *JAOS*, 1862, pp. 60–142; A. Sprenger, 'Über das Traditionswesen bei den Arabern,' in *ZDMG* x. [1856] 1–17; art. 'Ḥadīth' in *EI* ii.

[1] For this school cf. I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1884.

[2] Cf. *Biographical Dictionary of Illustrious Men, by el-Nawawī*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1842–47, p. 288.

[3] Cf. *Muqaddasī*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1876, p. 144.

[4] As to Shāfi'itic Muslims in South Africa see, among others, C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, The Hague, 1888–89, ii. 296 ff.

[5] Cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG* lii. [1898] 155–160; and D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory*, London, 1903, p. 273 ff.

Even the controversy between the earlier scholars on the question whether the *qiyās* was permissible raised no serious deep-seated difference of opinion. *Qiyās* means literally 'measuring off.' What was intended was reasoning by analogy—the application to similar cases of regulations which in the Qur'ān or in the tradition were given only with reference to special circumstances.

An example of *qiyās* is the following. A Muslim is forbidden in the Qur'ān (ii. 276–279, iii. 125, iv. 159, xxx. 38), as well as in tradition, to make himself indebted for *ribā*, *i.e.* not only usury, but every demand of interest. In the traditions in which the prohibition of the Qur'ān is explained in more detail, *ribā* is forbidden only if a Muslim carries on a business with gold, silver, and some kinds of merchandise which were formerly the usual objects of trade in Arabia. Some *faqīhs* thought that it was right to hold strictly to the letter of these traditions: '*ribā*,' they said, 'is forbidden only to any one engaged in the trades expressly mentioned in these sacred texts; for, if the demanding of interest was not permitted in other cases as well, this would have been clearly expressed.' Others thought that here the *qiyās* (analogy) must be applied, and that *ribā* must be regarded as equally forbidden in other cases of the same nature.[1]

Those who rejected the *qiyās* accused their opponents of misrepresenting and derogating from the laws of Allāh by following their own fallible human 'insight' (*ra'y*). The enemies of Abū Ḥanīfah, *e.g.*, charged him and his followers with establishing the *fiqh*-rules solely on the basis of *ra'y* and *qiyās*, and with neglecting the study of the tradition. 'Iblīs' (Satan), they said, 'was the first who had been guilty of such arbitrary arguments.' An appeal was made even to the Prophet, and it was maintained that he himself had already expressly forbidden the *qiyās* and all such kinds of reasoning. Still, the *qiyās* was in the end generally recognized by all orthodox *faqīhs* as permissible. As a matter of fact, it had never been possible to exclude analogy, and even those who had most prided themselves on keeping exclusively to the literal sense of the texts, such as the Ẓāhirites, had been themselves compelled in many cases to draw conclusions from the holy texts by means of argument (they then used to maintain that their conclusion was already 'included' [*mafhūm*] in the text, and, therefore, had not to be deduced from it by means of argument).[2]

There are some special methods of argument which have not found general favour among orthodox *faqīhs*, viz. the *istiḥsān* (*i.e.* to reckon something *ḥasan*, 'good'), which was used by Abū Ḥanīfah and his school, and a similar method of reasoning of Mālik ibn Anas, the *istiṣlāḥ* (*i.e.* judgment that something is for general good). Both methods had apparently as their object the establishment of *fiqh*-rules by the abandonment of analogy, thus departing from the regulations of the holy texts. Both Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik thought this sometimes necessary, if holding fast to the letter of the law gave rise in exceptional cases to injustice, or was even quite impossible. But most *faqīhs* rejected these *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ*, and thought none qualified to depart in so arbitrary a manner from the usual rules, even though it might appear to be for the general good. Another method which was not generally favoured was the *istiṣḥāb* (lit. 'seek connexion with'), which was especially practised by al-Shāfiʿī, and with certain restrictions also by Abū Ḥanīfah. This *istiṣḥāb* meant that a doubtful situation was connected with a previous position of circumstances, and that the regulations which held good in the latter case were regarded as applicable in the former also. Such a position of doubt may arise if any one remains absent so long that his existence becomes uncertain. The Ḥanifites apply the *istiṣḥāb* only when the question arises of the retention of rights which have been already obtained. The Shāfiʿites do so even with regard to the acquirement of new rights. If, *e.g.*, any one dies after the existence of his blood-relation has become uncertain, then, according to the Ḥanifites, the latter has no right to his estate; but the Shāfiʿites do not recognize this limitation, and, according to them, the usual rules of inheritance obtain in such a case, just as if the existence of the absent party was certain.[3]

Fundamental departures from the doctrine of the four *fiqh*-schools are not found even among the Shīʿites and other heretical sects. Although each of these sects has its own doctrine in matters of *fiqh*, and this differs in many points from the opinions of the orthodox schools, the points of difference are generally limited to the same kind of details as those on which even the four orthodox *fiqh*-schools differ. The controversy which produced the heretical parties in Islām was not concerned with the *fiqh*, but rather with questions of the faith (*kalām* [*q.v.*]) and with the political question who should be the head of the Muslim community as the direct successor of the Prophet.

Orginally each *faqīh* of any importance could consider himself qualified to deduce the *fiqh* from the Qur'ān and tradition, but after the rise of the *fiqh*-schools independent criticism of the sacred texts gradually ceased, and it became more and more usual to join the *madhhab* which was locally recognized as authoritative.

Nevertheless, for a long time some very learned *faqīhs* maintained their own judgment on matters of *fiqh*. In the 3rd cent. there arose some more or less independent *madhhabs*; and several scholars, though they associated themselves in general with the opinions of an already established school, still considered themselves qualified to depart in some points of secondary importance from the views of its founder. Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Shaibānī, *e.g.*, who belonged to the followers of Abū Ḥanīfah, had in many cases different conceptions from those of their master. Even al-Ṭabarī and Dāwūd ibn ʿAlī might be regarded as followers of the Shāfiʿitic school, though they had generally a wholly independent conception of the *fiqh*.

Later it became the general conviction in the orthodox Muslim world that scholars as well as laymen were bound to *taqlīd* (lit. 'to invest with authority,' *i.e.* to acknowledge that the rules of the *fiqh* had already been established in an authoritative manner). Such a person, for whom the rules of a *fiqh*-school had binding authority, was called *muqallid* (*i.e.* one who held others in authority). The earlier scholars, on the contrary, who had themselves deduced the *fiqh* from the holy texts, were afterwards called *mujtahids* (lit. 'people who had toiled strenuously'), and the search for the true sense of the sources to which they had applied themselves was called *ijtihād* (*i.e.* lit. 'to be zealous and take trouble,' here in the special sense of 'exerting themselves in order to determine the rules of the *fiqh*').

Muslim writers generally distinguish three kinds of *mujtahids*, because they think that not every one has been equally capable of independent judgment on matters of the *fiqh*: (1) 'Till the third century after the *hijrah*,' they say, 'there were general or unlimited *mujtahids*, who were so learned and acute that they could deduce the *fiqh* from the sources quite independently. To these belong the founders of the *fiqh*-schools, and some of their contemporaries. (2) After this time there were still *mujtahids*, but these were independent only within certain limits. Though they established new rules for *fiqh*-questions, which were not yet sufficiently settled, they apparently considered themselves bound by the principles of their school, and thus only built on the foundations laid by the master.' This second class of *mujtahids* were called '*mujtahids* of *madhhabs*'. (3) Later, when no more new rules were established, the necessity still remained, for some time, for a certain kind of *ijtihād*, for in each *fiqh*-school there was much diversity of opinion on questions of subordinate importance between the scholars of the *madhhab*, and contradictory traditions concerning the opinions of the founder of the school had often been brought into circulation. Scholars, such as Nawawī, who had settled which of these different opinions in the *madhhab* deserved the preference, were thus regarded by later Muslims as also in a certain sense *mujtahids*; they had 'weighed up' the contradictory decisions, and settled which of them must be regarded as the 'heaviest' (*al-rājiḥ*), *i.e.* the best. They were *mujtahids* of the third class.[1]

All later *faqīhs* are, according to the general conviction of orthodox Muslims, only *muqallids*, who are in all respects bound by the utterances of the former *mujtahids*. Those who hold a different opinion on this point, such as the Wahhābites, are regarded as heretics. The Wahhābites condemn the *taqlīd*; their scholars consider themselves still constantly bound by the duty of independent study of the sacred texts. Among the Shī'ites also *mujtahids* are still found who are qualified to judge in matters of religion on their own authority.

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[1] Cf. I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, p. 41 f.

[2] Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje's review of Goldziher's *Die Ẓâhiriten* in *LOPh* i. [1884] 421–425.

[3] For *istiḥsān*, *istiṣlāḥ*, and *istiṣḥāb* cf. I. Goldziher, 'Das Prinzip des istiṣḥāb in der muham. Gesetzwissenschaft,' in *WZKM* i. [1887] 228–236.

[1] Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje's review of Sachau's *Muham. Recht*, in *ZDMG* liii. [1899] 140 ff.

Every orthodox Muslim is, therefore, bound by the regulations of his *fiqh*-school, and the *fiqh*-books have become the law-books for later generations. The Qur'ān and the collections of tradition are, it is true, always held in high honour as holy texts, but it is not possible to know what doctrine may be deduced from these sacred sources except by means of the *fiqh*-books. The *fiqh*-books are still studied in all Muslim lands. In later times Mecca has, in a special degree, become the centre of the study of the *fiqh*, and in the great mosque of Mecca instruction in the *fiqh*, according to the method of the Middle Ages, is given almost uninterruptedly by various scholars.[1]

The great majority of Muslims cannot consult the *fiqh*-books for themselves, and must, therefore, use the explanation of a *faqīh*, who is qualified to give a *fatwā*, when they wish to know what the law prescribes in cases which are not of daily occurrence. A *fatwā* is a professional opinion on *fiqh*-matters, generally couched in the form of question and answer. A scholar who gives such *fatwās* is in consequence called *muftī*, and any one who is recognized as a competent *faqīh*, so that his legal advice is asked when occasion arises, may be regarded as a *muftī*. Besides this, there are in Muslim lands official *muftīs* paid by the Government to advise the public, and, when necessary, also the Government itself, as to the law. In some places, where adherents of different *fiqh*-schools are constantly found, the Government even appoints a separate *muftī* for each *madhhab*. The contents of the *fatwās* are obtained from the *fiqh*-books, since the *muftīs*, like all other scholars, are only *muqallids*. Sometimes, among the questions submitted to a *muftī*, are found situations which are new in Muslim society, and subjects which have become important for the Muslims only under the later influence of Western civilization; in such cases the *muftīs* must decide how the old rules are to be applied in the changed circumstances. In the *fiqh*-books of later date consideration is given, so far as is necessary, to the *fatwās* which relate to new situations.[2]

The general conviction of orthodox Muslims nowadays is that the doctrine of each of the four *fiqh*-schools represents a correct view of the canon law. At first the scholars disputed hotly on the *fiqh*, and their adherents often showed signs of great intolerance. For a long time bitter animosity existed between the teachers in the holy towns in Arabia and the *faqīhs* in the conquered territory (especially in 'Irāq). Those who lived at Mecca and Medīna would have liked to keep the monopoly of the sacred science in their own hands. They tried in every possible way to throw ridicule and suspicion on their rivals, who were frequently not even of pure Arabian descent (Abū Ḥanīfah, *e.g.*, was of Persian blood). Both parties deluged each other with a flood of abusive names. Although the majority of the people were not entirely acquainted with the details of the problems of scholarship, nevertheless, in places where the followers of different schools came into contact with each other, collisions often took place which gave rise to street fights and mutual persecution.

In spite of this, the controversial questions concerning the *fiqh* did not cause permanent divisions in Islām. On the contrary, the conviction gradually arose in orthodox circles that the difference of opinion between the *fiqh*-schools must be regarded not as a misfortune, but rather as a situation willed by God Himself. It is, they thought, apparently possible and permissible to hold different opinions as to various *fiqh*-rules of secondary importance. Thus, if one school cherished a less rigorous opinion concerning a command or prohibition than the other schools, it was proper for the faithful to regard this as in some degree a blessing, since the less rigorous opinion could apparently also be defended with good reason. A tradition says that the Prophet himself declared: 'The difference of opinion in my community is a proof of God's mercy.'

Each Muslim has to give the preference to the observance of the regulations of his own *fiqh*-school, and only under exceptional circumstances is an appeal made to the divergent doctrine of another *madhhab*. This appeal is also called *taqlīd* (in this case the recognition that the rules of another school are authoritative on a special point), and is held permissible under certain conditions for laymen.

The following is an example. According to the Shāfi'ites, children under age can be given in marriage only by their father or grandfather. In Acheh, where the Shāfi'itic *madhhab* is usually followed, it was the ancient national custom not to allow children to remain unmarried until their majority. Now, if it happens that the father and the grandfather of children under age are dead, the difficulty is solved by means of *taqlīd*, appealing to the Ḥanifites, who declare that even distant blood-relations are also competent to give children in marriage during their minority.[1]

Passing from one *madhhab* to another is not always approved of. There are Turkish scholars who permit those who follow the Shāfi'itic or another *madhhab* to become Ḥanifites, but forbid Ḥanifites to go over to another *fiqh*-school. Such transference to another *madhhab* is scarcely ever found except when there is some exceptional reason for it—*e.g.*, when any one leaves his native country and goes to live in a land where the majority of the inhabitants belong to another *fiqh*-school. In places such as Mecca, where the adherents of the different *fiqh*-schools constantly come in contact with each other, transference to another *madhhab* is found, if, *e.g.*, a man and woman who belong to different *fiqh*-schools wish to marry.

3. The 'uṣūl al-fiqh' (i.e., the sources or foundations of the fiqh).—The *fiqh* is based on four infallible foundations: (1) Allāh's word—the Qur'ān; (2) the words and deeds of the Prophet—*sunnat al-nabī*; (3) the general agreement of feeling among orthodox scholars—*ijmā'*; and (4) the analogy—*qiyās*. Each of these foundations supplies a guarantee that the doctrine of the *fiqh*-schools is really in agreement with the will of Allāh. They are called the *uṣūl al-fiqh* (lit. 'roots of the *fiqh*'). The name *furū'* ('branches') is used to designate the rules of the *fiqh* based on these *uṣūl*.

(1) *The Qur'ān.*—As has been stated above, the *qiyās* originally was not generally recognized as a permissible method of establishing the *fiqh*, nor has the infallibility of *sunnah* and *ijmā'* been recognized from the beginning. But none could contest the authority of the Qur'ān, which, accord-

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[1] Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 232 ff., and *The Achehnese*, Eng. tr., Leyden, 1906, ii. 1 ff.; P. Arminjon, *L'Enseignement, la doctrine et la vie dans les universités musulmanes d'Égypte*, Paris, 1907.

[2] For the *fatwās* and their contents, which are often important, see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 238, 240, also 'Ein arab. Beleg zum heutigen Sklavenhandel in Singapore,' in *ZDMG* xlv. [1891] 395–402, 'Iets over verjaring in het Moehamm. recht,' in *Tijdschr. Bataviaasch Genootsch.* xxxix. [1897] 431–457, and 'Islam und Phonograph,' *ib.* xlii. [1900] 393–427; I. Goldziher, 'Über eine Formel in der jüd. Responsenlitteratur und in den muham. Fetwâs,' in *ZDMG* liii. [1899] 645-652.

[1] For further particulars cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 344 ff., and see also § 5 (*a*), below.

ing to Muslim opinion, contained Allāh's own words, nor was there later any doubt that Muhammad had accurately delivered God's word.

According to tradition, the Prophet had, with the help of the angel Gabriel, repeatedly collated the sacred text with the original preserved in heaven, and the Qur'ān must thus be regarded as a completely trustworthy source of Allāh's will. It is true that some of the verses contradict each other, but it generally appeared possible to give an interpretation of the contradictory texts which brought them into harmony; and, if this was not possible, it was assumed that the one verse of the Qur'ān was cancelled by the other.

(2) *The sunnah.*—From the very beginning the *sunnah* of the Prophet passed in general as a guide for all Muslims. But Muhammad was not regarded by his contemporaries as infallible. He was often subjected to severe opposition, even from his most loyal adherents, and, indeed, did not himself make any claim to infallibility. On the contrary, he often took pains to declare expressly that he was only a fallible man like every one else; he could achieve only one miracle which none else could accomplish—the communication of Allāh's revelation.

After the death of the Prophet, also, it occasionally happened that customs which he had expressly permitted to his followers, or of which he had himself given the example, were rejected and regarded as contrary to the true spirit of Islām.

The *mut'ah*-marriage is an example. According to several traditions, the Prophet had permitted some Muslims to contract temporary marriages—*e.g.*, on the occasion of expeditions. For this purpose a sum of money or other goods was given to a woman, and a marriage was contracted with her for a definite period, after the expiration of which the marriage was again dissolved. This kind of marriage is known as *mut'ah* ('to make use of'). The second Khalīf, 'Umar, forbade these temporary marriages; he apparently regarded them as practically fornication: 'Let no one be brought to me who has married a wife for a limited period,' he said, 'for, if so, I will have him stoned.' According to a later tradition, the Prophet himself withdrew his permission. Orthodox Muslims regard *mut'ah*-marriages as forbidden; the Shī'ites still continue to regard them as permissible.[1]

But later Muslims began to idealize the Prophet. They could not admit that he had been subject to mistakes and weaknesses just like other men, and they could not allow that any doubt existed on this point. It was necessary to have full security that men were not following an erroneous line when they accepted the *sunnah* of the Prophet. An attempt was made to find proofs for the infallibility (*'iṣmah*) of the Prophet, and it was thought that this could be discovered in many verses of the Qur'ān—*e.g.*, in those in which God enjoins obedience not only to Himself, but also to Muhammad, His representative. There was also a tradition which made the Prophet declare expressly: 'My community shall not err when they hold fast in everything to Allāh's book and to my *sunnah*.'

According to Muslim theory, the *sunnah* of the Prophet consists of three elements: (1) his *qawl* (decisions); (2) his *fi'l* (manner of conduct); and (3) his *sukūt* or *taqrīr* (tacit approbation of the deeds and words of others).

Generally behaviour according to the *sunnah* of the Prophet is as indispensable a duty for a Muslim as obedience to the regulations of the Qur'ān. The only exception to the general rule is formed by those cases in which God had permitted exceptional freedom to His messenger; *e.g.*, Muhammad had more than the number of wives permitted by the law, and in such special cases it is naturally regarded as forbidden to follow the example of the Prophet. Some European writers have erroneously imagined that what the *sunnah* prescribes has not a binding power in the same degree as a command in the Qur'ān. On the contrary, Muslim scholars even assume that some regulations of the Qur'ān are altered or cancelled by later decisions or acts of the Prophet which contradict them. In Qur'ān, ii. 176, *e.g.*, it is ordained that legacies may always be left to parents and near blood-relations; but this rule is regarded as cancelled, because, later on, according to tradition, after the regulation of inheritance *ab intestato*, Muhammad said: 'No will may be made for the benefit of heirs whose share in the estate is fixed.' Although the Qur'ān, xxiv. 2, prescribes only scourging as the punishment for fornication, adulterers must, according to the canon law, be in some cases stoned to death. This last punishment is based exclusively on the *sunnah* of the Prophet, which in this case has altered the regulation of the Qur'ān.

(3) *The ijmā'.*—By the time that a firm conviction had been formed in the schools as to the main rules of the *fiqh*, this general feeling began to be regarded as a new argument for the validity of the doctrine. It was declared to be impossible that rules as to which all *faqīhs* had the same opinion could be based on error, and thus the *ijmā'* ('general agreement of opinion') of the scholars must be an incontrovertible proof of the correctness of their views. There could, so men thought, no longer be any doubt, even as to subjects on which there was originally a difference of opinion, so soon as all scholars were agreed on them. Their unanimous opinion must for the future be reverenced by every one as the truth.

The doctrine of the infallibility of the *ijmā'* at first met with much opposition. Many refused to concede binding authority in religious matters to the opinions of fallible men, even when they were agreed in their judgment. Nevertheless a tradition arose later, according to which the Prophet himself had declared: 'My people shall never be unanimous in error.' It was also thought possible to find arguments for this opinion in some verses of the Qur'ān. In iv. 115, *e.g.*, punishment is threatened on those 'who separate themselves from the Prophet' and 'do not follow the way of the faithful,' and this 'way of the faithful,' it was said, was obviously nothing else than that for which unanimity had been already obtained in Islām.

The earlier Muslims had already attached great importance to the *ijmā'* of 'the companions of the Prophet' (*ṣaḥābah*). It was thought that those who belonged to the generation which had been so extraordinarily favoured by the blessing of personal acquaintance with Muhammad must have been completely permeated by the true spirit of Islām, and it was thus impossible that they could have been unanimous in error. Later on, Mālik ibn Anas laid special emphasis on the general agreement of opinion of the scholars of Medīna. In that holy city, he thought, the *sunnah* of Islām must have undoubtedly been preserved in its purest form. Thus, when all the scholars in the city of the Prophet were agreed in their opinion, this could not be erroneous. Others applied the same reasoning to the *ijmā'* of the scholars in both the holy towns—Medīna and Mecca. In the end, however, consideration had to be given also to the *faqīhs* in other places. There was no sufficient reason for limiting the authority of the *ijmā'* exclusively to the opinion of the *ṣaḥābah* and the scholars in the holy cities. Thus the *ijmā'* came to mean in Islām the agreement of all scholars who could be regarded as competent to judge in matters of religion.

The *ijmā'* must be regarded as the most important of the *uṣūl*. It became in the end the infallible basis for the whole doctrine of Islam.[1] It gave Muslims security also that the *fiqh* was correctly deduced from the sacred texts. It is true that, with regard to many details of the canon law, there remained a difference of opinion between the four *fiqh*-schools; but, as has already been noticed, all orthodox Muslims came later to recognize that as to these questions different opinions were possible. It was agreed that the doctrine of each of the four *madhhabs* gave a correct view of the canon law, and, in consequence, it was possible to say that the *ijmā'* itself had sanctioned even those regulations as to which the four *fiqh*-schools cherished different opinions. Moreover, everything which afterwards, under changed circumstances, became a rule was held to be justified when all were agreed about it. Customs and doctrines cannot be heresies for the true Muslim, provided that all orthodox *faqīhs* sanction them, even if they are not based on the Qur'ān or the *sunnah*. Those who do not honour customs sanctioned by the *ijmā'*, such as the Wahhābites, are regarded by the orthodox Muslim as heretics.

(4) *The qiyās.*—Of the different methods of argument according to which some rules of the *fiqh* were established only the *qiyās* was recognized as a fourth infallible foundation for the *fiqh*. The other methods, such as *istiḥsān*, *istiṣlāḥ*, and *istiṣḥāb*, were not approved by the majority of Muslim scholars.

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[1] On the so-called *mut'ah* see G. A. Wilken, *Das Matriarchat (das Mutterrecht) bei den alten Arabern*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 9–16; and J. Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern,' in *GGN*, 1893, p. 464 ff.

[1] See especially C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Le Droit musulman,' in *RHR* xxxvii. [1898] 15 ff.; I. Goldziher, 'Die Religion des Islams,' in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1916, I. iii., 1st half-vol., pp. 105–107.

To prove that the *fiqh* might really be based on analogy, an appeal was made to various texts of the Qur'ān and tradition. According to some traditions, the Prophet had instructed Mu'ādh, his governor of Yaman, to keep in general to the Qur'ān and the *sunnah*, but, in cases in which this was not possible, to behave according to the analogy of these sacred texts. Since, later on, all orthodox scholars were agreed that the *qiyās* was permissible, no further doubt on the point was possible. Thus, for later generations in the orthodox Muslim world, the doctrine that the *qiyās* is a fourth infallible foundation of the *fiqh* is based on *ijmā'*.

Some orthodox scholars were of opinion that the general custom (*'urf*) should also be regarded as a basis for the *fiqh*. As a matter of fact, many *faqīhs*, from ancient times, had been careful, in establishing the regulations of the *fiqh*, to take into consideration the general customs of Muslims; but it has never become a rule to regard the *'urf* as a fifth infallible foundation of the *fiqh*.[1]

Muslim writers have written extensive works about the *uṣūl al-fiqh*, which treat of the different methods by means of which the rules of the *fiqh* may be established. Most *faqīhs* make no special study of this science, but content themselves with the condensed statements as to the *uṣūl* which may be found in the *fiqh*-books.

4. Summary of the contents of Muslim canon law.—The chief regulations of Muslim canon law may be divided into two classes: (1) those regarding religious worship and ritual duties; and (2) those regarding civil, penal, and public law.

The regulations belonging to the first class deal in the first place with the five *'ibādāt*, *i.e.* the ritual actions by which Allāh is to be worshipped. They are (i.) the *ṣalāt* (the ritual prayer, mainly consisting of prostration, praises of the Creator, etc.); (ii.) the *ṭahārah* (the ritual purification, which must be specially gone through before the *ṣalāt* is performed, but which is also required in other cases in which a believer must be in a ritually pure condition); (iii.) the *zakāt* (originally almsgiving, which was afterwards fixed by definite rules and became a kind of religious tax); (iv.) the *ṣawm* (fasting, especially in the month of Ramaḍān); and (v.) the *ḥajj* (the annual pilgrimage to Mecca).

These five *'ibādāt* are always treated in the first five chapters of the *fiqh*-books, according to the usual division of these works which has obtained since ancient times. They belong at the same time to the 'pillars' of Islām, *i.e.* to the principal duties of a Muslim. Originally also the *jihād* (the 'sacred war' against unbelievers) was regarded by many Muslims as a 'pillar' of Islām. This opinion is still held by the Khārijites, who are, however, regarded as heretics. According to orthodox Muslims there are only five 'pillars' of Islām. One of these is the *ṣalāt*, including the *ṭahārah* connected with it. The *zakāt*, the *ḥajj*, and fasting belong also to them, and the fifth 'pillar' is the confession (*shahādah*), consisting of the well-known 'two words': 'I confess that there is no God but Allāh, and that Muhammad is the messenger of Allāh.' For it is reported in tradition that the Prophet said: 'Islām is built on five [*sc.* foundations]: on the *shahādah*, the *ṣalāt*, the *zakāt*, the *ḥajj*, and fasting in the month of Ramaḍān.'

The subjects connected with the belief in Allāh were so numerous, and the controverting of manifold heresies on this point came in time to extend so far, that the doctrine regarding the first 'pillar' (the *shahādah*) developed into a separate branch of science, the *'ilm al-tawḥīd* or *'ilm al-kalām* ('knowledge of the unity of God' or 'doctrine of faith'). In the *fiqh*-books only the four other pillars are discussed. In connexion with the daily *ṣalāt*, the *fiqh*-books also deal with the whole worship in the mosque, the service on Friday and on the two *'īds* (*i.e.* feasts: the 'great' feast on the tenth of the last month, *Dhū'l-ḥijja*, and the 'small' feast on the first of the 10th month, *Shauwāl*); further, they deal with various special *ṣalāts*—*e.g.*, the *ṣalāt al-istisqā'* (the *ṣalāt* by which Allāh is asked for rain in times of great drought), and the *ṣalāt* at the eclipses of the sun and moon.

Besides these chief duties, a Muslim must observe numerous other religious prescriptions, and abstain from many actions which are regarded by canon law as blameworthy, or even strictly forbidden. These prescriptions may be found in nearly all the chapters of the *fiqh*-books. They treat chiefly of: (i.) the religious ceremonies on various occasions in Muslim domestic life—*e.g.*, child-birth, circumcision, marriage, and death; (ii.) the ritual purity of persons and objects, the ritual slaughter, the lawful food and drink, etc. These regulations are followed by various others—*e.g.*, concerning the prohibition of images of living beings, of superfluous luxury (the use of gold and silver dishes, the wearing of silk clothes by men, etc.), of various games and pleasures, and concerning permissible and forbidden music. The *fiqh*-books specially deal with some of those regulations in the chapter on the *walīmah* (the religious meal at the marriage-feast and on other occasions); for, if any of the rules mentioned in the *fiqh*-books are infringed, the religious character of this meal is lost.

The regulations of the second division chiefly concern marriage, divorce, relationship and the rights and duties connected with it, guardianship, inheritance, and slaves and freedmen; also contracts (sale, hire, partnership, commission, etc.), warrants, the obtaining of property and other rights, the prohibition of taking interest (Muslim law regards this as 'usury'); oaths and vows and all connected with them; testamentary dispositions and the *waqfs* (dispositions by which certain goods are withdrawn from trade in order to be reserved for definite religious aims or for a special number of persons); furthermore, the right of retaliation and the redemption of it by payment of a ransom; legal procedure, and the law of evidence; finally, the duty of believers to take part in the *jihād*, the rights and duties of unbelievers living in Muslim lands, and the appointment of an *imām* (chief of the Muslim community), his rights and his duties.

It is not the aim of all the regulations of the law to give absolute commands or prohibitions; in many cases it is only suggested that it is advisable from a religious point of view to perform or to omit some action. Five classes of regulations may be distinguished; they are called *al-aḥkām al-khamsah*, *i.e.* 'the five legal categories.' (i.) A deed may be obligatory (*wājib*, 'necessary,' or *farḍ*, 'prescribed'). Only the Ḥanifites recognize a difference between *wājib* and *farḍ*. They apply the term *farḍ* to all that is prescribed by the Qu'rān or by the tradition, if the meaning is beyond doubt; and *wājib* to that which, in case of doubt, is obligatory only according to the most probable view. Duties to be observed by every Muslim individually are called *farḍ al-'ain* (or *farḍ 'ala 'l-'ain*); duties to be observed only by a certain number of Muslims collectively are called *farḍ al-kifāyah* (or *farḍ 'ala' l-kifāyah*)—*e g.*, the daily *ṣalāt* in the mosque and the sacred war against 'unbelievers.' (ii.) A deed may be commendable or meritorious (*sunnah*). A Muslim will be rewarded if he observes these regulations, but he will not be punished if he neglects them.

It has been supposed by some scholars that the actions belonging to this class were called *sunnah* as being derived from the *sunnah* of the Prophet. But this is incorrect. It is indifferent for what reason an action is recommended in canon law. Muslim jurists of one *fiqh*-school sometimes call a deed *sunnah*, in order not to disagree wholly with the doctrine of another *madhhab*, which calls the same deed obligatory. A deed may also be *sunnah* because it was recommended in a verse of the Qur'ān; on the other hand, the imitation of a deed of the Prophet is often 'obligatory.' Other words that are used in the same sense as *sunnah* are *mustaḥabb* ('desirable'), and *mandūb* ('recommended').

(iii.) A deed may be permissible (*mubāḥ* or *jā'iz*) or (iv.) objectionable (*makrūh*); the latter actions are better avoided, but a Muslim is not punished if he commits them. (v.) A deed may be forbidden (*ḥarām*); the committing of this action is punished. The action which is forbidden may at the same time be 'valid' (*ṣaḥīḥ*)—*e.g.*, if one steals water and with it fulfils the ritual purification; this action is 'valid,' although stealing is forbidden. An 'invalid' action is called *bāṭil*.

Notwithstanding the great lack of knowledge and the negligence of most Muslims, in all Muhammadan lands that part of the canon law which deals with religious duties and ritual is more or less faithfully observed. According to the popular conscience, some actions are even regarded as obligatory which have not so important a place in canon law. On the other hand, most Muslims neglect without scruple many duties that are really prescribed as 'obligatory.'[1] In general, the whole Muslim world is especially faithful to certain food-laws (*e.g.*, abstinence from pork), to circumcision, and to other religious customs by which a Muslim is externally distinguished from the followers of other religions. In the canon law these are not regarded as 'chief duties,' but in practice they play the part, to a certain extent, of the real 'pillars' of Islām. Other duties are neglected by most people, particularly those which are to be daily observed—*e.g.*, the *ṣalāt.* One country, however, is stricter than another.

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[1] Cf. I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓāhiriten*, p. 204.

The regulations regarding civil, penal, and public law generally proved to be only ideals that were practically unattainable. It is true that, according to the theory of the law-books, these regulations are in all respects of equal value with the prescriptions concerning religious duties, and every Muslim is bound to regard them as obligatory, but in practice it is impossible to observe them, particularly those which concern commercial and other contracts. Everywhere the demands and customs of the commercial intercourse and local manners and customs prevent even the most pious Muslim from observing these regulations; very often the observance of them is hindered by the arbitrary behaviour and tyranny of the local authorities. Pious Muslims often ask the advice of able lawyers as to the religious rules concerning matters of commerce, but in practice they find themselves compelled to act contrary to this advice.[2] Only the regulations concerning marriage and family life are faithfully observed by most Muslims as far as it is made possible by the different circumstances in each land.[3] Hence a twofold law usually obtains in Muslim countries. Alongside of canon law the local customary law (*ʿādah*), and regulations of the local government, have in practice very great influence. Consequently there are usually two kinds of procedure. Besides the *qāḍī*, *i.e.* the judge, who judges according to the regulations of the *sharīʿah*, we find everywhere other magistrates, who inflict punishment and give decisions according to local manner and customs and local regulations. The influence of these magistrates is generally the more important. The *qāḍī* decides only those questions which are generally admitted to be immediately connected with religion, and which for this reason have to be decided according to the *sharīʿah*. These questions are specially matters concerning family life, marriage, inheritance, and donations and endowments for religious purposes.

In the following pages the regulations of Muslim canon law regarding civil and public law are dealt with only so far as they are really of practical importance for the Muslim (cf. also the 'Muhammadan' sections of artt. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, ADULTERY, APOSTASY, etc., to which reference is made below).

The doctrine of the Shāfiʿitic *madhhab* will form the general basis of our description of the religious regulations of the Muslim canon law; only in dealing with matters of particular importance we shall refer also to the divergent opinions of other *fiqh*-schools (esp. those of the Ḥanifites and the Mālikites).[4]

II. *MARRIAGE, KINSHIP, LAW OF INHERITANCE, SLAVES.*—5. **Marriage.**—(*a*) *The marriage contract.*—In ancient times in Arabia the husband used to buy his wife from her nearest kinsman (*walī*, 'nearest'). He could give her in marriage to whom he liked, and he received the dowry, which was regarded as a sale price. By paying this sale price the bridegroom became the owner of the bride. In some Arabic Bedawīn tribes we find these customs even at the present time, with very little modification.[1]

In some parts of Arabia, however, the original form of marriage by sale and the patriarchal family customs connected with it were already so far modified in the time of Muhammad that it was customary to pay the dowry to the bride herself; and it was regarded as objectionable if her *walī* desired to keep this gift wholly or partly for himself. So, according to the Qur'ān (*e.g.* iv. 28), the Muslims had to regard the dowry as a 'reward for the wife,' and no one was allowed to withhold it. It seems, however, that the nearest kinsman in Muhammad's days was entitled to give a girl in marriage to whom he liked, even against her will. As several women complained of this to the Prophet, he is said to have issued a command that in future in ordinary cases every *walī* must ask the agreement of the bride to her marriage.

No marriage is valid without being preceded by the making of a proper marriage contract (*ʿaqd al-nikāḥ*). Even at the present day, the *walī* usually is the only person entitled to make this marriage contract with the bridegroom.

The Ḥanifites allow a woman to make the marriage contract herself, or to appoint a proper person to do so in her name, if she is of age and is not under guardianship. The Shāfiʿites, on the other hand, hold that neither a minor woman nor even a woman of full age is entitled to do this; only her *walī* has the right to marry her to any one; but he is at the same time generally bound to give his co-operation if she desires it of him. Mālikites, like the Ḥanifites, consider that the woman who is of age is entitled to make her own marriage contract, unless she belongs to a distinguished family, or, in consequence of her beauty or other qualities, is an exceptionally desirable match; in the latter case she may be united in marriage only through her *walī*. The only case in which the *walī* has the right to oppose a marriage is when the woman desires to marry a man who is not her 'equal' (Abū Ḥanīfah also allowed him this right if the bridegroom was unable or unwilling to pay a suitable dowry, but this opinion was rejected by his two pupils, Abū Yūsuf and Muhammad); for the *walī* has to protect the honour of the family. The 'equal' of a woman is called her *kufʾ*.

The theories of the various *fiqh*-schools about the equality (*kafāʾah*) disagree. The Shāfiʿites and Ḥanifites pay special attention to (1) *birth*: an Arab is considered of greater distinction than any non-Arab, and among the Arabs the tribesmen of Muhammad—the Quraishites—rank highest, the relatives of the Prophet being the most distinguished; (2) *profession*: the *fiqh*-books contain numerous regulations on this subject. The profession of *faqīh* is regarded as specially distinguished; if the profession of the bridegroom is inferior to that of the father of the bride, the former is no *kufʾ* of the bride. No emancipated slave can be considered as the *kufʾ* of a freewoman, any more than a *fāsiq* is that of a woman who is *ʿadl.*[2] On the other hand, it is wholly indifferent for this purpose whether the bridegroom is equal in wealth to the father of the bride or not. In matters of *kafā'ah* the Mālikites do not judge according to the origin or profession of the bridegroom, but exclusively by his conduct and faith. As a rule, the various regulations of canon law concerning the *kafā'ah* are of no practical importance for the present-day Muslims. Marriages which would be considered *mésalliances* according to the theory of the law very often are considered by the wife and her *walī* as honourable. An exception to this rule is made by the *sayyids* or *sharīfs*, the descendants of the Prophet. In some countries (*e.g.*, the Dutch Indies) they refuse to marry their daughters to men who are not related to them, because of their distinguished origin.

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[1] Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii. 273 ff., 303 ff.

[2] *Ib.* ii. 270–277.

[3] Cf. *ib.* ii. 269 ff., 303 ff.; I. Goldziher, 'Muham. Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit,' in *ZVRW* viii. [1889] 406–423.

[4] See, further, for the development of the *fiqh* and *uṣūl al-fiqh* and for the practical importance of Muslim canon law, C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Le Droit musulman,' in *RHR* xxxvii. [1898] 2 ff., 174 ff., *Mekka*, ii. 200 ff., *The Achehnese*, ii. 269 ff., and 'L'Arabie et les Indes néerlandaises,' in *RHR* lix. [1908] 60–90; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 35–39, *Die Ẓāhiriten*, and the art. 'Fiḳh' in *EI* ii.; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory.*

[1] J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, London, 1831, i. 263, 272; A. Musil, *Arabia Petræa*, Vienna, 1908, iii. 180, 184.

[2] Everybody that is not *ʿadl* is called *fāsiq*. When a person is *ʿadl*, it means that no great sin has been committed by him, and that he does not usually infringe the less important regulations of canon law. Even although he has infringed these less important regulations, a person still may be *ʿadl* if he fulfils the greater part of his other religious duties devoutly. This atones

The various *fiqh*-schools differ as to the cases in which the *walī* has still in Islām the right of making a marriage contract without the permission of the bride.

The Shāfi'ites hold that the *walī* as a rule has no right to give the bride in marriage without her permission. A minor girl, therefore, cannot be given in marriage by her *walī*, for she is not able to give a valid permission. According to the Shāfi'ites, only the father or, failing him, the paternal grandfather is entitled to compel his daughter (or granddaughter) to a marriage, if she is still a virgin, whether she be a minor or of age. For this reason they call the father and the grandfather *walī mujbir* (*i.e.* 'compelling' *walī*). Nevertheless the doctrine even of the Shāfi'ites always regarded it as commendable (*sunnah*) that the *walī mujbir* should ask the permission of the bride before giving her in marriage. Further, he is not entitled to compel her to marry if she declares that she is not a virgin—this declaration is accepted as true without further proof—or if there is enmity either between himself and the girl or between the girl and the man with whom he wishes her to join in marriage. The *walī mujbir* is not entitled to give the bride in marriage to anybody who is not her 'equal' (*kuf'*), or who is not able to pay a 'sufficient' dowry (*mahr al-mithl*).

According to the Ḥanifites and Mālikites, women under age may be given in marriage without their permission; this may be done by their father or, failing him, by a more distant kinsman on the paternal side. In the latter case the Ḥanifites permit them to demand dissolution (*faskh*) of their marriage when they come of age.

According to the Ḥanifites, women of full age cannot be compelled to a marriage by any one; and, according to the Mālikites, they may be compelled only by their father (not by the grandfather) so long as they are still virgin. Only the father is thus, according to the Mālikite system, *walī mujbir*.

The *walī* must be not only the 'nearest' kinsman,[1] but also an adult and a free Muslim in full possession of his intellectual powers and (at least according to the Shāfi'itic school) not a *fāsiq*. If he does not satisfy these conditions, his right passes to the next kinsman. If none of the persons just mentioned is qualified to become *walī*, or if there is no kinsman, or the kinsman unlawfully refuses to be *walī*, the magistrate (*ḥākim*) is regarded as the *walī* of the bride. According to tradition, the Prophet said: 'The magistrate is *walī* of her who has no *walī*.' The *fiqh*-books do not indicate which of the magistrates is then the competent *walī*; in many Muslim countries in this case the marriage contract is made by the *qāḍī*. If there is no magistrate living in the place where the marriage is to be contracted, the bride and bridegroom are allowed to hand over this function to some proper person. Such a man is called *ḥakam* (which is also the title of an arbiter in a lawsuit). Parties are entitled to choose another person as *ḥakam* even if a competent magistrate is living in the place, but in this case the *ḥakam* who is chosen is allowed to act as a substitute for the real magistrate only if he satisfies the conditions of a *qāḍī* in every respect.

The bridegroom is not generally represented by a *walī* in the making of a marriage contract—he does it himself. The contract is made by his *walī* only if he lives under guardianship as a minor. According to the Shāfi'ites, boys under age can be married only by their *walī mujbir* (their father or paternal grandfather), for they are supposed to be unfit to give their permission for the marriage. The Ḥanifites and Mālikites, however, allow other relatives also to do this.

If the bridegroom lives under guardianship for other reasons (*e.g.*, bankruptcy), he can be married only by the mediation of his guardian.

By the marriage contract the *walī* or other representative of the bride declares her to be given in marriage to the bridegroom (this declaration is called *ijāb*, 'the offer'); and the bridegroom declares that he takes her as his wife (this declaration is called *qabūl*, 'acceptance'), and that he will pay her a certain sum as dowry. *Ijāb* and *qabūl* must follow each other immediately, as in all other contracts.

According to the Shāfi'ites, in the making of the contract parties are not allowed to modify the legal rights and duties of married couples. Either husband or wife, indeed, is allowed to renounce later on the rights to which they are entitled by the law, but it is not permitted to bind oneself to this beforehand; *e.g.*, if the man bound himself beforehand not to marry a second wife, or if the wife renounced her right of being supported by her husband, then these conditions would be null and void. In this case the marriage contract remains valid, unless conditions were made which would be contrary to the aim of a marriage (*i.e.* not to have children); in that case both the condition and the marriage are considered void. In other *fiqh*-schools these questions are partly decided in another way.

For the *walī* of the bride it is *sunnah* to make a speech (*khuṭbah*) when the marriage contract takes place. If possible, this speech is made in Arabic, and must glorify God, bless His Prophet, give pious admonition, and recommend marriage. According to the Shāfi'ites and the Ḥanifites, the contract must be made in the presence of trustworthy witnesses, who must satisfy certain demands of the law. The Mālikites, however, only demand that the marriage shall not be kept secret.

Assistance of a clergyman is not required in Islām for the making of a marriage contract, but usually the aid of a person who has a special knowledge of the regulations concerning marriage is invoked. Only in this way do Muslims feel that the marriage is guaranteed not to be null and void. Thus we find in nearly all Muslim countries persons who make a profession of assisting at the marriage contracts. In different countries these men are called by various names (*e.g.*, *mumlik* in Mecca).[1] Sometimes such a person dictates to the parties the words that are to be pronounced by them, but in most cases he appears exclusively as a representative (*wakīl*) of the *walī* of the bride. Then he need only dictate to the bridegroom the required formulæ. If the bridegroom and the *walī* of the bride possess a sufficient knowledge of the regulations of the canon law, they may make the marriage contract themselves without the assistance of a professional officiator.

In the art. WORSHIP (Muslim) the religious ceremonies connected with marriage will be dealt with, such as the *walīmat al-'urs* (*i.e.* the marriage feast, which originally was probably a sacrificial meal).

It remains to mention only that bride and bridegroom are not allowed to contract a marriage if they are in the state of *iḥrām*, *i.e.* the state of religious consecration and abstinence which the law makes obligatory for those joining in the yearly pilgrimage (*ḥajj*).

(*b*) *The dowry.*—The dowry given by the bridegroom to the bride has still its old Arabic name *mahr* (cf. Heb. *môhar*). By this word was originally meant the price which was paid to the *walī* of the bride. Another name for the dowry is *ṣadāq*. Because of the general meaning of the Arab. verb *ṣadaqa* and its derivatives, we may assume that the *ṣadāq* was originally the amount deposited by the bridegroom as a guarantee of his trustworthiness, and held by the *walī* of the bride if the bridegroom broke his promise. Later on no distinction was made between *mahr* and *ṣadāq*, and Muslim scholars generally regard these words as synonymous in every respect.

The amount to be paid by the bridegroom as dowry depends on the conditions upon which parties agree when the marriage contract is made. There are three possible cases. (1) There is no condition between parties as to the amount of the *mahr*. (2) It is expressly stated that the fixing of the amount of the present to the bride is left to the

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for his small sins. But, if he confesses heretic opinions, he ceases to be *'adl*.

[1] The opinions of the different *fiqh*-schools disagree as to the order in which the kinsmen of the bride are entitled to be regarded as her nearest kinsman (cf. § 7 (*b*)).

[1] Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 161. *Mumlik* is literally the person who 'makes' the bridegroom 'owner' of the bride.

pleasure of the bridegroom. (3) A fixed sum is mentioned. In the first case a bridegroom is obliged to give his bride a *mahr al-mithl*, *i.e.* a dowry suitable to her position and also dependent on the social position, descent, age, intelligence, beauty, and other qualities of the bride, for which she may be reckoned as a more or less desirable match. The agreement by which the *mahr* is expressly left to the pleasure of the bridegroom is called *tafwīḍ* ('to leave over to somebody'). The *walī* of the bride can leave the fixing of the amount of the dowry to the bridegroom only if the bride has expressly empowered him to do so, and she may do this only if she is of age and has the free disposal of her fortune. In the third case the amount of the dowry is precisely stated in the contract. Then the dowry is called *mahr musammā*.

According to the Shāfi'ites, it is *sunnah* to fix the amount of the dowry in this way, the parties not being bound by legal regulations concerning the amount, except that it is necessary that the amount of dowry desired by the *walī mujbir* of the bride be at least equal to a *mahr al-mithl*. The Ḥanifites and Mālikites hold that the dowry must always represent a certain minimum value. They disagree, however, as to the exact amount of this minimum. The Ḥanifites say that it is not allowed to give less than a golden *dīnār* or 10 silver *dirhāms*. The Mālikites hold that the minimum is one quarter of a golden *dīnār* or 3 silver *dirhāms* (cf. the same difference between these two *fiqh*-schools where the minimum value of stolen property is concerned, as discussed in art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS [Muhammadan], § 5 (3)).

It is not necessary to pay the dowry at the time when the marriage contract is made. Usually only a portion (*e.g.*, the half) of the *mahr* is paid before the marriage; but the customs vary in different lands. The remainder is paid later in case of divorce or of the death of one of the couple. According to the Shāfi'ites, it is usual to pay to the bride before the marriage two-thirds or at least half of the dowry.

This custom of paying only a part of the dowry before the marriage probably dates back to the pre-Islāmic period. We may assume that the original purpose was to prevent the loss of all connexion between the wife and her family. In many countries in which the custom of buying a wife exists, if she is ill-treated by her husband, the relatives of the wife do not lose the right to protect her until the full dowry is paid.[1]

The bridegroom has to pay half the dowry to the bride as damages if he breaks the marriage contract by afterwards refusing to take her as his wife. If the amount of the dowry was expressly left to the pleasure of the bridegroom by means of *tafwīḍ*, he is obliged, according to the Shāfi'ites and the Ḥanifites, to give a 'present' as compensation to the rejected bride. This present is called *mut'ah* because of the name given to this compensation in Qur'ān, ii. 237–238. The Mālikites also hold that this 'present' of the bridegroom is not obligatory, but they regard it as *sunnah* for the bridegroom.

(*c*) *The lawful obstacles to marriage.*—The principal circumstances which can prevent the contraction of a marriage are the following five.

(1) An already existing marriage. A free Muslim may not contract a new marriage so long as he has already four wives; a woman may be married to only one man at once. Polygamy is permitted in Islām only within these limits; it existed in Arabia from antiquity and was not done away with by the Prophet. In Qur'ān, iv. 3, in which believers who had embezzled the property of orphans entrusted to them were enjoined to live in a simple manner, the following words are found:

> 'If ye fear that ye will be unable to give the orphans what is theirs, marry so many wives as is good for you—two, three, or four; and if ye still fear (in spite of this) that ye will be unable to act suitably, marry only one wife or take slaves: that is better, that ye be not inclined to evil.'

These words were interpreted by the later Muslim *faqīhs* in the sense that no Muslim may possess more than four wives at once. And there was a tradition that the Prophet had expressly authorized this interpretation. It was, indeed, known from tradition that Muhammad himself had more than four wives at once, but men explained this later as one of the special privileges which God had given only to His messenger.

(2) Too close relationship. A Muslim is forbidden to marry his female relatives in the direct line (ascending and descending), his sisters and the female descendants of his brothers and sisters, and his aunts and great-aunts on both the paternal and maternal sides. A relative (man or woman) whom it is forbidden to marry is called *maḥram*; *e.g.*, a man is his daughter's *maḥram*. Relationship-in-law (the relation between a married person and the relatives of his or her consort in consequence of marriage) is an obstacle to marriage. A Muslim may not marry his female relations-in-law in the direct (ascending and descending) line—*e.g.*, his mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, step-daughter, etc.—nor can he have two sisters or an aunt and niece as wives at the same time. In the fourth place, foster-relationship is also a hindrance to marriage, on the ground of Qur'ān, iv. 27.

No one may marry either a woman who has suckled him or his foster sisters (*i.e.* women who have been suckled by the same woman as suckled him). Foster-relationship is held to exist between a man and all his descendants on the one side and the woman who has suckled him, all her relations (either blood-kin or foster-kin), her husband, and all his relations (both blood-kin and foster-kin) on the other side. This foster-relationship, on the ground of a decision of the Prophet, is an obstacle to marriage within the same degree of relationship as with blood-relations. On the other hand, there is no foster-relationship (*a*) between the woman who suckled the child and the ancestors or side-relations of that child; or (*b*) between the child and the ancestors or side-relations of children who were suckled by the same woman.

These regulations concerning the obstacles to marriage caused by kinship are in general deduced from Qur'ān, iv. 26–27 (cf. also xxxiii. 49 and xxiv. 30–31). The ordinances made in these two verses of the Qur'ān were at least partly new to the Muslims, as may be seen from the words found at the end of Qur'ān, iv. 27, in which permission is expressly given to regard as lawful the marriages which had been previously contracted contrary to these restrictions.

(3) Difference of religion. In Qur'ān, ii. 220–221, it is forbidden for Muslims to contract a marriage with unbelievers. To that prohibition there were originally no exceptions:

> 'Marry no heathen women before they have become believers; a believing slave is better than an unbelieving free woman, even though she please you. Give also your female relations in marriage to no unbelievers before they have become believers; a believing slave is better than an unbelieving free man, even though he please you. They (the unbelievers) take you to hell, but God takes you to paradise and forgiveness.'

Later on, one exception was admitted, and Muslim men were allowed to marry women who belonged to a so-called people 'of the book' (*ahl al-kitāb*). By the *ahl al-kitāb* must be understood people, such as Jews and Christians, to whom, according to Muhammad's view, the same religion had previously been announced as he made known to his own people, the Arabians.

See Qur'ān, v. 7: 'Now are all free women permitted to you, both among the Muslims and among those who have received sacred books before you.'

In distinction from the other *fiqh*-schools, the Shāfi'ites regard marriage of women of the *ahl al-kitāb* as permitted only if these *ahl al-kitāb* had accepted their religion before the Qur'ān was revealed, and also had not corrupted it. So, according to the Shāfi'ites, a Muslim may not marry an English woman, because the English, though they belong to the *ahl al-kitāb*, accepted Christianity after Muhammad's time.

(4) A man and woman who are separated from each other cannot as a rule contract a new marriage with each other if the former marriage was dissolved either because the man had three times repudiated his wife, or because he had accused her of adultery by means of the *li'ān* (the swearing of a solemn oath). As to these two cases see § 6 (*a*) and (*b*), in which the exceptions to the general rule are also discussed.

(5) Women may not contract a new marriage

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[1] The following example shows that this view was not entirely unknown even to the Muslim scholars: if a man leaves his native town and goes elsewhere, according to Abū Ḥanifah he may take his wife with him only if he has paid her the whole of the *mahr*.

within a certain period after the dissolution of a former one. This period is called *'iddah*, *i.e.* properly 'the number' (viz. the number of days). If the marriage was dissolved by the decease of the husband, according to Qur'ān, ii. 234, the wife must wait four months and ten days. A similar period of mourning after the death of the husband existed among the Arabians in the heathen period; but it was then customary, at least in some Arabian tribes, for the widow to seclude herself in a small tent for a full year after the death of her husband; during this time she might not purify herself.[1] The *'iddah* after divorce was, on the other hand, probably first introduced by Muhammad. According to Qur'ān, lxv. 4, the wife may not marry again within the limit of three *qurū'*, if her marriage was dissolved by divorce. According to Abū Ḥanīfah, *qurū'* must be taken to mean menstruation; according to the Shāfi'ites, Mālikites, and others, it is the period of a woman's cleanness between the periods of menstruation. If the woman has no menstruation, the *'iddah* is reckoned at three months. When a woman is pregnant at the dissolution of her marriage, she may in no case marry again before her confinement.

Difference in position is, as a rule, no obstacle to the contraction of a marriage, since it is in no case regarded as scandalous for the bridegroom to marry a woman of lower rank; and even a woman may contract a valid marriage with a man who is not her *kuf'*, if neither her *walī* nor she herself has any objection.

Youth is usually no hindrance according to Muslim law. Child-marriages were not forbidden in Muhammad's day, and even the Prophet married 'Ā'ishah, the daughter of Abū Bakr, when she was only six years old. But, according to the Shāfi'ites, only the *walī mujbir* (the father, or, failing him, the paternal grandfather) is qualified to give his children (or grandchildren) in marriage before their majority. According to the other *fiqh*-schools, more distant relations have the same right if the ancestors of the children under age are deceased. Children under age, therefore, cannot marry, according to the Shāfi'ites, if they have no father or grandfather. See, however, § 2 (at the end) as to the *taqlīd* which is applied in such a case.

(*d*) *Mutual rights and duties of married people during marriage; īlā' and ẓihār.*—No community of goods between the married couple is brought into existence by marriage. Each keeps the ownership of that which was possessed at marriage, and of that obtained during marriage by labour, endowment, inheritance, or in any other way. The wife keeps the right, during her married life, of disposing of her possessions and of making contracts. She does not in that respect come under the guardianship of her husband. The husband is obliged to support his wife according to her position, and to give her food as well as clothing, residence, and service consistently with the appropriate customs. This legal and obligatory support is called *nafaqah*. If the husband is not able to give the legal support to his wife, she is entitled to demand divorce (*faskh*), but in that case she has to prove that her husband is really not able to give her *nafaqah*. If the husband is able to support her, but refuses to do so, the judge must try to induce the husband to fulfil his duty, if the wife requires him to do so.

A husband who is married to more than one wife must not spend more time in the rooms of one wife than in those of another. The husband is also particularly forbidden in the law-books to swear an oath to abstain from sexual intercourse. The taking of such a vow of abstinence was called *īlā'* ('to swear'). In the pre-Islāmic period the Arabs regarded this *īlā'* as a kind of divorce, by which, however, the marriage was not fully dissolved. Although the woman was thus neglected, she could not contract a new marriage before her husband had definitely repudiated her, and this he generally refused to do before he had been paid a certain sum as ransom.

This *īlā'* was forbidden in Qur'ān, ii. 226 f. Any one who had taken such a vow of abstinence was for the future obliged to repudiate his wife after the expiration of four months, if he was then still unreconciled to her. According to the Ḥanifites, after the expiration of four months the marriage is *ipso facto* legally dissolved if no reconciliation has taken place; but, according to the Shāfi'ites and Mālikites, it must in this case be dissolved by the *ḥākim* if the man refuses to repudiate his wife of his own accord. If the husband desires to be reconciled again with his wife, he is, according to the unanimous opinion of Muslim scholars, obliged to make a 'guilt-offering' (*kaffārah*, lit. 'that which covers the sin') because he has broken his vow. The legal regulations concerning the *īlā'* are applicable only if the husband has vowed to abstain from conjugal relations with his wife for longer than four months.

Another vow of abstinence was the *ẓihār* (from *ẓahr*, 'back'). In this case the husband declared that 'his wife should be to him even (untouched) as the back of his mother.' This was apparently a customary vow of abstinence by the heathen Arabs, which, according to tradition, was also taken by some Muslims in the month of fasting, when they proposed to abstain from conjugal relations with their wives. This vow was expressly condemned in Qur'ān, lviii. 1–5.

Apparently the original meaning of this revelation was that every Muslim who 'turned again' to this heathen custom should have to pay a heavy penalty (*kaffārah*), consisting of the emancipation of a Muslim slave, fasting for two successive months, or the feeding of sixty poor persons, before he was again permitted to have intercourse with his wife. The Muslim *faqīhs*, however, have explained these verses of the Qur'ān in another sense.[1] According to the Shāfi'ites, the husband is legally bound to this *kaffārah* unless he repudiates his wife immediately after pronouncing the *ẓihār*. 'If he does not do this at once,' they say, 'then he "turns back,"' *i.e.* breaks his vow of abstinence, and must thus give the *kaffārah*. According to the other *fiqh*-schools, he breaks his promise only if he actually behaves contrary to his vow, and is only then obliged to give the *kaffārah*. Thus these also explain 'turn back' in the sense of changing opinion and breaking the vow of abstinence.

Both the *īlā'* and the *ẓihār* soon became obsolete in Islām.

If the husband fulfils his duties, he has the right to demand obedience from his wife, and is even entitled to chastise her if she is unwilling (*nāshiz*); in this case she loses her right to *nafaqah*.

Husband and wife, according to the Shāfi'ites, can make no change in their mutual rights and duties as established in canon law. Any agreement of that nature which they may make in the marriage contract has no binding power. Nevertheless, it is usual, in some Muslim lands, even among the Shāfi'ites, for the husband to undertake certain exceptional obligations with regard to his wife, to which he is not bound by the law. He promises, *e.g.*, not to take a second wife, though he has the right to do so. In order to give a binding force to such promises the bridegroom, immediately after the conclusion of the marriage contract, pronounces a repudiation of his wife conditional on the nonfulfilment of his vows. He declares, after making the marriage contract: 'If I take a second wife [or 'if I neglect my wife and give her no *nafaqah*,' etc.], then is she repudiated by me.' This custom is called *ta'līq* (lit. 'to hang up' the divorce to a condition).

By this *ta'līq* various rights may be guaranteed to the wife which the law does not give her, and she may gain in this way a much better position. If she is ill-treated or neglected by her husband, or if he acts in other respects contrary to his promises, the marriage is *ipso facto* dissolved, and the wife may, if she wishes, marry another husband. This *ta'līq* is customary especially in the Dutch Indies. Only when the bridegroom is of high distinction or a pious man, so that it is impossible to imagine that he will treat his wife otherwise than well, is the *ta'līq* not applied.[1]

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[1] Cf. J. Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern,' in *GGN*, 1893, pp. 454–456.

[1] Cf. I. Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, pp. 52–54.

6. **Divorce.**—(*a*) *Repudiation* (*ṭalāq*).—According to Muslim canon law, marriage may be dissolved by divorce in four ways, besides by the death of one of the parties or their apostasy from Islām. The common form of divorce is the repudiation (*ṭalāq*) pronounced by the husband. Among the old Arabians the husband thus renounced his rights over his wife, who could return to her relatives and contract a new marriage with another husband. Her marriage was immediately dissolved by the *ṭalāq*, the effect of which was the same as that of the *'atāq*, or emancipation of slaves. But, according to the new law of Islām, the wife might not marry again during a certain period (*'iddah*; cf. § 5 (*c*) (5)) after the repudiation. During the *'iddah* it had to be seen whether she was pregnant, in which case her former husband would have the right of claiming the child. Further, the husband gained the right of reconciling himself with his wife during the *'iddah*, and of revoking the *ṭalāq*. The revocation of the repudiation is called *rujū'* (also *rij'ah* or *raj'ah*).

According to Muslim tradition, this new right of the revocation of the *ṭalāq* was at first abused. It was evidently given to the husband in order to put him in a position to retrieve his fault if he had repudiated his wife in a fit of passion; but a wife complained to the Prophet of her husband, who repeatedly repudiated her and as often revoked his repudiation before the expiration of the *'iddah*. By this means the woman was practically repudiated, but could not contract a new marriage with another husband. Obviously her husband was trying in this way to compel her to ransom herself by paying back the dowry that she had formerly received from him. The Prophet forbade this practice in Qur'ān, ii. 231:

> 'When you have repudiated your wife and she has waited her time, keep her with you and treat her well, otherwise let her go free, but do not take her back with evil intent. He who does that sins. Yet do not mock the words of Allāh.'

Moreover, the right of revoking the *ṭalāq* was now limited in Qur'an, ii. 229 f.:

> 'If the *ṭalāq* has twice (taken place, then it may only) be revoked with good intentions, or you must let go (your wife) with kindness, (for) it is not permissible to take back from her that which you have (formerly) given her . . . but if the husband repudiates his wife (once more), then she is no longer lawful for him.'

On the ground of these verses of the Qur'ān, a husband may repudiate his wife only three times. After each *ṭalāq* an *'iddah*-period begins, during which the wife may not marry again. During the *'iddah* after the first and second repudiations the marriage is not yet dissolved. If, *e.g.*, the husband is married to four wives and repudiates one of them, he may not during the period of *'iddah* marry another woman; but, if either the husband or wife dies during this period, the survivor shares in the inheritance. Moreover, the husband is entitled to revoke his repudiation during this period. If he allows the term to expire, the marriage is then dissolved. The divorced parties may contract a new marriage with each other if they both wish it; but in this case a new marriage contract must be made and a dowry again paid by the husband.

After the third *ṭalāq*, however, the marriage is immediately dissolved. An *'iddah*-period also follows the third repudiation, during which the wife may not marry again; but the man has no further right to revoke his repudiation, and the divorced pair cannot ever contract a new marriage with each other.

> To the last rule there is one exception based on the Qur'ān itself. A woman at Medīna who was three times repudiated by her husband and afterwards married to another man wished afterwards to marry her first husband again. When she explained her wish to the Prophet, he declared that this was impossible, even if she were repudiated by her second husband; later on, however, he took pity on her, and altered the regulation quoted above from Qur'ān, ii. 229 f. After the words 'after the third *ṭalāq* the woman is no longer permitted to him,' the following regulation was added: 'Unless the woman afterwards married another husband and was also repudiated by him; in such a case it is no sin for them both (*sc.* the wife and her first husband) to return to each other, if they think that they will in future be able to observe the commandments of Allāh.'

On the ground of this regulation, the law allows married people to contract a new marriage with each other even after the third *ṭalāq*, if the wife has in the meantime married another husband and been repudiated by him. In Muslim countries repudiation is very often pronounced three times for insignificant reasons, and the divorced persons often desire to be joined together again. In order to make this possible, the wife contrives to contract a mock-marriage with another husband, who is ready to repudiate her immediately after the marriage. He who declares himself willing to do this is called ***muḥallil*** (because he makes the wife by this mock-marriage once more *ḥalāl*, *i.e.* permissible for her first husband). Such a mock-marriage may be employed only twice, for, if the husband has three times pronounced the thrice-repeated *ṭalāq*, he cannot again contract a new marriage with his repudiated wife.

(*b*) *Other forms of divorce.*—Besides *ṭalāq* there are three other ways in which marriage may be dissolved: *khul'*, *faskh*, and *li'ān*. After each of these, a period of *'iddah* begins for the woman in which she may not marry again. During this time she is entitled to *nafaqah*, if she has not neglected her duties towards her husband.

(1) *Khul'* was customary in ancient times among the Arabs. Generally speaking, it consisted in the ransom of the wife by her relatives, usually for a sum of money proportionate to that which they had received from the bridegroom as *mahr* at the time of the marriage. In consideration of this sum, the husband was induced to renounce his wife and leave her free to marry another husband. *Khul'* means literally 'to put off.' The use of *khul'* in this context is derived from the symbolic act (the throwing away of a cloak, a shoe, or a similar piece of clothing) by which the husband shows that he renounced his claim on his wife.[1]

As has already been mentioned, the Prophet originally forbade the husband to receive back his wife's dowry at the dissolution of marriage, as this custom often gave rise to the deliberate neglect and otherwise vexatious treatment of the wife (see the words of Qur'ān, ii. 229, quoted above; cf. also iv. 24–25). But later on the ancient custom of *khul'* was again permitted.

> The reason of this was the request of a woman at Medīna, who declared that she had such an aversion to her husband that she no longer wished to stay with him. She asked permission to buy her freedom in order to be released from her husband, and the following addition was then made to the words of Qur'ān, ii. 229: 'It is not lawful for you to take back anything which you have given to your wives, except if you are afraid that you will transgress the laws of Allāh; when you are afraid of this, then is (the ransom) with which the wife redeems herself no sin for either (of the married couple), that is the law of Allāh,' etc.

On the authority of these words the *khul'* remained even in Islām a legal method of divorce. The wife by this means buys her repudiation; her husband can never revoke it. If the husband and wife both wish it, they may again join in marriage.

(2) *Faskh* is the annulment of marriage with the co-operation of the magistrates. According to the Ḥanifites, a minor who has been given in marriage, not by her father or grandfather, but by a more distant relative, may demand dissolution of this

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[1] Cf. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 348 ff.

[1] Cf. Ru $47^{f.}$, and J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, i. 113.

marriage on the attainment of her majority (see § 5 (*a*)). Other reasons for the *faskh* may be found in certain diseases or bodily infirmities mentioned in the *fiqh*-books. This method of divorce is possible also when, after the completion of the marriage, it appears that the bride or bridegroom does not fulfil certain qualifications (*e.g.*, with regard to birth, position, virginity, etc.) which had been expressly insisted on as conditions at the making of the marriage contract. According to the Shāfiʿites, a wife may also demand *faskh* if she proves that her husband is not able to give her lawful maintenance (*nafaqah*). In these cases the sentence of dissolution of marriage is pronounced by the magistrate at the request of the parties.

(3) The dissolution of marriage by means of *liʿān* ('imprecation') is based on Qur'ān, xxiv. 6–9. As a rule, any one who accuses a free Muslim woman of fornication, without being able to prove his accusation, is punished by scourging. If, however, a husband suspects his own wife of infidelity, the law allows him to accuse her of adultery without any further proof, and to contest the legitimacy of her child, but he must do so by means of the *liʿān*, invoking Allāh in the manner prescribed in Qur'ān, xxiv. 6–9:

> 'Those who accuse their wives of infidelity and have no other witnesses than themselves must invoke Allāh four times as a witness that they have spoken the truth, and a fifth time, calling down His curse on themselves if they have lied. The wife may avert the punishment (for adultery) if she swears by Allāh four times that her husband has lied, and a fifth time, declaring that God's wrath may fall upon her if her husband has spoken the truth.'

If a husband, after accusing his wife of adultery, refuses to pronounce the *liʿān*, he must be scourged for slander if he cannot produce witnesses; but the Ḥanifites consider that the husband ought to be imprisoned until he pronounces the *liʿān* or admits that he has lied. According to the Shāfiʿites and the Mālikites, not only is the marriage legally dissolved by the *liʿān*, but the married couple may never marry each other again. According to the Ḥanifites, even after the *liʿān* the marriage must still be dissolved by a decision of the magistrate, and the reunion of the parties is permitted if the husband has afterwards revoked his accusation and been scourged for his slanderous imputation.

7. Relationship, and the rights and duties based on it.—(*a*) *The relation between a child and his parents.*—In ancient Arabia, on account of the nature of the marriage by sale, the husband (*baʿal*, lit. 'master,' of the woman) was regarded as the father of all children borne by his wife during the marriage, even if he did not beget them. Thus he was also regarded as the father of the children borne by his wife if he had married a pregnant woman, or if he had given up his wife for a certain time to another man in order to raise up noble children from her.[1]

In Islām this rule was altered. According to Muslim canon law, only the man who has begotten the children in a legal marriage is regarded as their father; a woman must wait for the expiration of the *ʿiddah*-period, if she wishes to marry another husband after the dissolution of her marriage, in order that it may be seen whether she is pregnant. If she is, she may marry again only after her confinement, and the first husband is regarded as the father of the children born during the *ʿiddah*. Thus in Islām the first and second husbands cannot quarrel about the children born after the dissolution of the marriage; such quarrels were very common in the pre-Islāmic period.[2]

Muslim canon law generally recognizes a child born in wedlock as begotten by the husband and thus as legitimate when the birth takes place not earlier than six months after the consummation of marriage. A child born within a certain period after the dissolution of marriage (whether by divorce or through the death of the husband) is also regarded as legitimate. According to the Ḥanifites, it must be assumed that pregnancy may last two years if it appears that the mother had no menstruation during that time. According to the Shāfiʿites and the Mālikites, pregnancy may even last much longer (four or seven years), and thus a child born so long after the dissolution of the marriage may still pass as legitimate. Further, the children which the master begets from his slaves are regarded as legitimate offspring, and are placed on a complete equality with those begotten in lawful marriage (see § 9 (*a*)). When it appears that a marriage is invalid, or that any one has been wrong in thinking that he was the owner of a slave, the children are, nevertheless, regarded as legitimate, provided the parents acted mistakenly in good faith, so that there can be no question of *zinā'* ('fornication').

All other children are illegitimate (*walad zinā'*, 'begotten in fornication'). There is no relationship between such illegitimate children and their father, even though the father expressly recognizes that they were begotten by him. From such an acknowledgment no claim to relationship can follow either for the child or for the father (neither right of inheritance, nor guardianship, nor duty of maintenance). The Shāfiʿites even allow a father to marry the daughter whom he begets in fornication, though they regard it as blameworthy (*makrūh*). The Ḥanifites forbid this. On the other hand, the relationship between the mother and her illegitimate children is legally precisely the same as that between her and her legitimate children. She is not allowed to marry her illegitimate son, and she inherits from him, etc. A child is also illegitimate if the husband, by means of *liʿān* accuses his wife of adultery (see § 6 (*b*) (3)), and declares that the child borne by her is not his. If, on the other hand, it is uncertain whether a child was really begotten by the husband during wedlock (or by the master, during the time that he was the owner of the slave), it is then regarded as legitimate without further proof, if the father recognizes it as his. Such an acknowledgment is called *iqrār*.

Adoption is forbidden, and has no legal force (see ADOPTION [Muhammadan]).

Blood-relations in the direct line are obliged to support each other (by means of *nafaqah*) in case of necessity; according to the Ḥanifites, this duty rests on all blood-relations that are not allowed to marry each other (thus on all *maḥrams*; see § 5 (*c*) (2)).

(*b*) *Other kinds of relationship.*—Another result of marriage by sale among the ancient Arabians was that after marriage the wife ceased to belong to her family, so that there was family-relationship only between the child and the family of its father, and not between it and the family of the mother. It is true that for philological reasons it may be assumed that even in Arabia the patriarchal family-system was preceded by the matriarchal, but in historical times no clear traces of the latter system can be found.[1]

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[1] For further particulars about this so-called *nikāḥ al-istibḍā'* cf. W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, London, 1885, p. 110 [² do. 1903, p. 132].

[2] *Ib.*

[1] On this subject see the works of the following writers, whose views differ as to many details: I. Goldziher, 'Endogamy and Polygamy among the Arabs,' in *The Academy*, xviii. [1880] 26; G. A. Wilken, *Das Matriarchat (das Mutterrecht) bei den alten Arabern*, Leipzig, 1884; J. W. Redhouse, 'Notes on Prof. E. B. Tylor's Arabian Matriarchate,' in *JRAS* xvii. [1885] 275-292; W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (new ed. with additional notes by the author and by I. Goldziher, London, 1903); cf. Th. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG* xl. [1886] 148 ff.; J. Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern,' in *GGN*, 1893, p. 460 ff.; and Th. W. Juynboll, *Over het verband tusschen de Moham. bruidsgave en het rechtskarakter van het oud-Arabische huwelijk*, Leyden, 1894.

As already pointed out, even before Muhammad marriage ceased to be generally regarded as a purchase. So also it was customary in Arabia before Islām not to limit relationship entirely to the family or tribe of the father, but in many cases to take into consideration the relatives on the mother's side, although the maternal relatives are never placed on an equality with the paternal by the Muslim scholars. It is also true that maternal relationship is an obstacle to marriage according to Qur'ān, iv. 26 f. (the maternal aunt is a *mahram*, just as is the paternal aunt, and the *ḥaḍānah* [*i.e.* the care of children] is in certain cases equally a right of maternal relatives), but, in general, attention is paid only to the rights and duties of the ʿ*aṣabāt*, *i.e.* the male relatives on the paternal side.

Rights which are based on relationship (*nasab*) and which are usually conceded to the ʿ*aṣabāt* are: (1) the right of giving female relatives in marriage or of opposing the marriage of female relatives who wish to marry below their rank; (2) the right of inheritance; (3) the right of managing the property of blood-relations who are under age or insane; (4) the right of retaliation or of demanding the price of blood if a blood-relation has been killed; and (5) the right to succeed a blood-relation who has set free a slave in his rights and duties with regard to the freedman. According to the majority of Muslim *faqīhs*, if a blood-relation has unintentionally killed any one, the duty of paying the satisfaction money also falls entirely on the ʿ*aṣabāt*.

In order to indicate the nearest relative among any one's ʿ*aṣabāt*, Muslim scholars divide the male relatives on the paternal side into classes. The first class consists of the descendants, the second of the ancestors; the third class is formed by the descendants of the father, and the fourth class by the descendants of the paternal grandfather. Among the descendants the son is the next of kin, then the son's son, etc.; among the ancestors the father is the next of kin, next to him his father, etc.; the next of kin in the third class is the brother, then follows his son, etc.; the next of kin in the fourth class is the paternal uncle, then follows his son, afterwards his son's son, etc. He who is related to any one both on the paternal and on the maternal side precedes a blood-relation of the same rank who is related to him only on the paternal side; so, *e.g.*, in the third class the full brother takes precedence of the half-brother on the paternal side, the son of the full brother precedes the son of the paternal half-brother, etc.

Thus, as a rule, not only the son but also the grandson, etc., has precedence over the father, and the grandfather on the paternal side ranks above the brother. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. (1) The nearest ʿ*aṣabāt* of a woman who have the right to give her in marriage are, according to the Shāfiʿites, not her descendants but her ancestors, and after them her relatives in the lateral line; but, according to the Ḥanifites and Mālikites, the ordinary rules obtain in this case also, and the descendants have the right in the first place to be *walī al-nikāḥ*. (2) The brothers of a deceased man inherit equally with his paternal grandfather, and are thus not excluded by him; but the grandfather has always the right to at least a third of their common share, so that, if he inherits together with one or two brothers, each obtains an equal part; but, if he inherits with three or more brothers, the latter divide two-thirds of the whole among themselves in equal parts, while the grandfather has one-third. (3) The rights which can be exercised over a freed slave pass by the death of his emancipator to the nearest of the ʿ*aṣabāt* of the emancipator, but in this case the brothers take precedence of the grandfather. (4) According to the Shāfiʿites, the obligation of the nearest ʿ*aṣabāt* to pay the ʿ*aql* (the atonement money), when one of their blood-relations has committed unintentional manslaughter, falls only on the lateral relations and not on the ʿ*aṣabāt* in the direct (ascending and descending) line (cf. art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS [Muhammadan], vol. iv. p. 292).

The blood-relations on the maternal side and those on the father's side, so far as they do not belong to the ʿ*aṣabāt*, are called *dhawu'l-arḥām*. They have in general no rights and duties based on relationship. According to the Ḥanifites, however, they take the place of the ʿ*aṣabāt*, if these do not exist. In such a case the right to be *walī* and to give the bride in marriage passes to the mother and to her next of kin; and the inheritance also passes to the next relatives among the *dhawu'l-arḥām*. According to the Shāfiʿites and Mālikites, on the other hand, the ʿ*aṣabāt* in such a case are not succeeded by the *dhawu'l-arḥām* but by the Muslim community; thus, if there are no ʿ*aṣabāt*, the treasury (*bait al-māl*) inherits; and the *ḥākim*, *i.e.* the magistrate, must take the place of the *walī* of the bride.

(*c*) *Guardianship.*—Minors are legally under the guardianship of their parents or nearest blood-relations. They are not qualified to make independent contracts, or to undertake other legal transactions. Minority ceases generally, according to Muslim law, when the children are really adult and the signs of puberty can be observed. According to the Shāfiʿites, minority ends in any case after the completion of the fifteenth year; according to the Ḥanifites, only after the eighteenth year. Besides the so-called *wilāyat al-nikāḥ* (*i.e.* the guardianship which gives the guardian the right to give a female relative in marriage, or to prevent her marrying below her rank), which has already been discussed in § 5 (*a*), Muslim lawyers distinguish two other kinds of guardianship, namely, the *ḥaḍānah* and the *wilāyat al-māl*.

(1) The purpose of the *ḥaḍānah* is to care for the physical well-being of the minors and also for their education and training for a profession. During the married life of the parents the children are subjected to the parental authority; in case of separation of the parents, the mother has the right to retain the children so long as they have need of her help, *i.e.*, according to the Shāfiʿites, until they are about seven years old; after this, the child may entrust itself to the care of the father, if it prefers to do so; according to the Ḥanifites, a boy always comes at that age under the guardianship of the father, but a girl remains under the guardianship of her mother, while, according to the Mālikites, both boys and girls remain under the guardianship of the mother until they are of full age (girls even until they marry).

If the mother contracts a fresh marriage, she loses the *ḥaḍānah*, unless her new husband is at the same time one of the blood-relations of the children. In this case she keeps the guardianship, according to the Shāfiʿites, if the husband belongs to the ʿ*aṣabāt* of the children; according to the Ḥanifites, if he is a *maḥram* of them; and, according to the Mālikites, if he is either a *maḥram* of them or a relative who would himself have the right to be guardian over the children if he were not excluded by nearer relatives.

If, after the divorce, one of the parents removes to another place, the child remains as a rule with the parent who does not leave the former dwelling-place, in order to avoid the dangers of travel. If, however, the father establishes himself permanently in another place, he has the right to take his children there with him; but the rules of the different *fiqh*-schools with regard to this subject vary in details.

If the mother is dead, Muslim lawyers generally consider the female relatives the most suitable for the *ḥaḍānah*. According to the Ḥanifites, the father and the other *ʿaṣabāt* of minors have a right to the *ḥaḍānah* only when there are no female relatives.

The rules which the *fiqh*-schools follow with regard to the order in which the male and female relatives enjoy a right to the *ḥaḍānah* differ from each other in many details; *e.g.*, according to the Mālikites, the maternal aunt has a preference above all other female relations. They base this opinion on the tradition that, when Ḥamzah and his wife were dead, three of his *ʿaṣabāt* quarrelled over the question which of them had the best right to look after Ḥamzah's young daughter. One of them said to the Prophet: 'She is not only the daughter of my uncle, but my wife is, moreover, her maternal aunt.' On this Muhammad decided that the child must be entrusted to this man and his wife, saying, 'The maternal aunt is as good as the mother.'

According to the Shāfiʿites, if the mother dies or is not qualified for the *ḥaḍānah*, she is succeeded by her mother, or, if necessary, by the mother of her mother. Only after them the father, and, after him, his mother, or, if necessary, his maternal grandmother, has a claim to the *ḥaḍānah*. If the father and his female ancestors (and, after them, the grandfather and his female ancestors) are dead or disqualified, the nearest of the male or female relatives in the collateral line has the right to the *ḥaḍānah*. In this case by the female relatives are meant all, both on the maternal and on the paternal side, but by the male relatives only the *ʿaṣabāt*. If several male and female relatives are equally related to the child, the female ones have the preference. If the child has reached the age of about seven years, it may choose for itself whether it will be entrusted to the next of kin of its male or of its female relatives.

(2) The *wilāyat al-māl* is the guardianship which has for its purpose the management of the property of minors. According to the Shāfiʿites, only the father (and, failing him, the paternal grandfather) can be legally *walī al-māl*. The father (or, if necessary, the grandfather) has, however, the right to appoint by testamentary disposition a guardian over his children (or grandchildren) who are under age. A guardian thus apppointed is called *waṣī*. Even women can in this way be entrusted with the care of the property of a child under age, and the mother is in the first place taken into consideration for this purpose, although she has no legal claim to the position. Failing both the father and grandfather, or a guardian appointed by them, the magistrate (*ḥākim*), or a person appointed by the magistrate, must take the place of guardian. The Mālikites recognize the qualification of the father only (not that of the paternal grandfather) to set up a legal claim to be guardian and to appoint a *waṣī*.

The guardian manages the property of the minor, and makes any necessary agreements for him, etc. When it is near the child's coming of age, the guardian has to inquire whether his ward is *rashīd*, *i.e.* able to manage his property for himself. This regulation is based on Qurʾān, iv. 5:

> 'Examine the minors, and put them in possession of their property, when you find that they are *rashīd*.'

If it appears that the ward, though of age, is not yet capable of managing his own property, the guardianship continues. The opinion of Abū Ḥanīfah, that the guardianship in any case ceased as soon as the ward was twenty-five years old,[1] has found no favour with other Muslim scholars.

The *ḥaḍānah* of the insane, and the care of their property, must be entrusted as a rule to the same blood-relations as guardianship over minors. The wife of an insane person has, however, the first claim to the *ḥaḍānah*, and his daughter has in this respect the preference above all other female relatives with the exception of the mother.

8. Law of inheritance.—(*a*) *Introduction.*—Muslim canon law distinguishes various groups of heirs. The first group consists of persons to whom the Qurʾān allots a definite share (½, ¼, ⅛, ⅔, ⅓, or ⅙) in the estate. Such a share is called *farīḍah*, and the heirs belonging to this group are therefore called the *dhawu'l-farāʾiḍ*, *i.e.* those who have a right to such definite shares.

When the heirs of this first group have received their share, the residue of the estate falls to the share of the male relatives of the deceased in the male line (the so-called *ʿaṣabāt*). These *ʿaṣabāt*, who in Islām thus form a second group of heirs, were in Arabia in pre-Islāmic times the only relatives who had a right to the estate. When, however, in the battles at Badr and Uḥud and on other occasions, many Muslims had perished, quarrels arose among the members of their families as to the division of the estates which they left. Some examples of this are reported in Muslim tradition. The widow of ʿAws ibn Thābit seems to have complained to the Prophet that the male relatives of her dead husband had taken possession of his estate, while she and her children had obtained nothing of it. Other women came with similar complaints to Muhammad. This gave him occasion to decide that for the future the widow and some of the nearest female relatives of the deceased should have a right to a certain share in his estate. These regulations are to be found in Qurʾān, iv. 8, 12–15, and 175. It is not quite clear on what principles Muhammad based his regulations. It is, however, certain that he did not mean to abolish the right of inheritance of the *ʿaṣabāt*. This continued to form the foundation also of the Muslim law of inheritance; and the new regulations, according to which some of the nearest relatives of the deceased obtained a right to a fixed share (*farīḍah*) of his estate, were, therefore, only supplementary to the old Arabian law of inheritance.

If there are no *ʿaṣabāt*, and there still remains something over from the estate after the *dhawu'l-farāʾiḍ* have received their shares, then, according to the Ḥanifites, the residue must also be shared among the *dhawu'l-farāʾiḍ* proportionately to their shares. According to the Shāfiʿites and Mālikites, this residue falls to the lot of the treasury (*bait al-māl*), and it is handed over to the *dhawu'l-farāʾiḍ* only if the treasury is not managed according to the rules of the law.

The blood-relations of the deceased who do not belong to the *ʿaṣabāt* and to whom no *farīḍah* is assigned in the Qurʾān—the so-called *dhawu'l-arḥām*—form, as has already been noted in § 7 (*b*), according to the Ḥanifites, a third group of heirs who have a claim to the estate in the case of the failure of the *ʿaṣabāt* and the *dhawu'l-farāʾiḍ*. According to the Shāfiʿites and the Mālikites, the *dhawu'l-arḥām* are not heirs unless the *ʿaṣabāt* and *dhawu'l-farāʾiḍ* fail and the treasury is not managed according to the rules of the law. In the opposite case the whole estate falls, according to them, on the failure of heirs of the first and second group, to the share of the treasury.[1]

(*b*) *The law of inheritance of the ʿaṣabāt.*—As has been stated above (in § 7 (*b*)), the *ʿaṣabāt* are divided into classes, and the descendants of the deceased take precedence over his ancestors, the latter over the descendants of his father, these again over the descendants of his grandfather, and in each class only the next of kin inherits. But, as has already been noted, the grandfather does not exclude the brothers of the deceased; he inherits together with them, and has a right to at least ⅓ of their common share. If there are at the same time *dhawu'l-farāʾiḍ* among the heirs, the grandfather has, moreover, a claim to at least ⅙ of the estate. He may then choose which is most advantageous for him: ⅙ of the estate, ⅓ of the residue of the estate after the *dhawu'l-farāʾiḍ* have received their share, or a share equal to that inherited by a brother of the deceased.

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[1] See, among others, A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna 1875–76, i. 517, 532.

[1] Cf. E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte*, Paris, 1837–41, II. i. 133.

If the deceased is a freed slave and dies without leaving *ʿaṣabāt*, the person (man or woman) who has given him his freedom (the so-called *mawlā*) takes the place of the *ʿaṣabāt*, and this person is succeeded by the nearest of his *ʿaṣabāt* if he has predeceased the freed man.

In consequence of the regulation in Qur'ān, iv. 12–15 and 175, that women have a right to the half of what men in the same grade of blood-relationship inherit, some female blood-relations on the father's side are regarded in the Muslim law of inheritance as *ʿaṣabāt* in addition to the male relations. If, *e.g.*, the deceased has left both sons and daughters, they inherit together, and the daughters also count as *ʿaṣabāt*; but a daughter receives only half the share of a son. In such a case the daughter is called *ʿaṣabāt bi'l-ghairi*, i.e. *ʿaṣabāt* through another—she is *ʿaṣabāt* because the son (her brother) inherits. In this case the son himself is described as *ʿaṣabāt bi-nafsihi* (i.e. *ʿaṣabāt* by himself). The same rule and nomenclature also obtain for the daughter of a son of the deceased who inherits together with the son of a son of the deceased; also for the full sister of the deceased who inherits together with his full brother; and for the half-sister on the paternal side who inherits together with a half-brother on the paternal side. The grandfather on the paternal side also makes *ʿaṣabāt bi'l-ghairi* of both the full sister and the half-sister on the paternal side.

The full sister and the half-sister on the paternal side are called *ʿaṣabāt* when they inherit together with a daughter of the deceased or of his son; *i.e.*, they have in that case, like the male *ʿaṣabāt*, a claim to the residue of the inheritance after the *dhawu'l-farā'iḍ* have received their share. In such a case, therefore, they are called *ʿaṣabāt maʿa'l-ghairi*, i.e. *ʿaṣabāt* because they inherited 'together with' another.

(c) *The law of inheritance of the dhawu'l-farā'iḍ.*—The regulations concerning the shares to which the heirs belonging to this group have a claim are based upon a literal explanation of the so-called 'inheritance verses' in Qur'ān, iv. 12–15:

> 'Allāh commands you to give to your children: to a male child as much as to two female; if there are only female children (two or) more than two, then these receive two-thirds of the estate, and, if there is only one female child, then she receives the half. The parents (of the deceased) each receive one-sixth, if he leaves a child; if, however, there are no children and the parents inherit, the mother receives a third, except when there are surviving brothers of the deceased, for then the mother receives only a sixth. You (men) receive the half of the estate of your wives if they leave no children, otherwise you receive only a fourth. They (the widows) receive a fourth of your estate if you leave no children, otherwise (they receive only) an eighth. If a person dies without leaving blood-relations in the direct line, and there is a brother or sister of him, then these each receive a sixth; if there are more, then they receive together one-third.'

A supplement to these 'inheritance verses' is given in Qur'ān, iv. 175:

> 'They ask you for a decision,—say: "Allāh decides for you concerning the case in which a man dies without leaving blood-relations in the direct line as follows: If a man die without leaving children and there is a sister of him, then she receives the half of his estate . . . if there are two sisters, then they receive two-thirds between them; if, however, they inherit together with their brothers, one brother receives as much as two sisters."'

Thus in these verses fixed shares are assigned to the daughter, the two parents, the husband (and wife), and the brothers and sisters of the deceased. But, according to the Muslim lawyers, Qur'ān, iv. 15, refers only to half-brothers and half-sisters on the maternal side; iv. 175, on the other hand, to full sisters or half-sisters on the paternal side. Moreover, according to their explanation of the text, the rules for the daughter of the deceased equally apply to the daughter of his son; and the rules for his parents also apply to his grandparents. The heirs who have a claim to a fixed share of the inheritance can thus be reduced to the following twelve classes: (*a*) *in the descending line*: the daughter of the deceased, and the daughter of his son; (*β*) *in the rising line*: the father, the mother, the grandfather, and the grandmother; (*γ*) *in the side line*: the full sister, the half-sister on the father's side, and the half-sister and half-brother on the mother's side; (*δ*) the widow and the widower.

The shares to which these twelve classes of heirs have a claim are the following:

(1) The daughter receives ½, two or more daughters together ⅔ of the estate; if sons also inherit, the daughter does not receive a fixed share, but then becomes *ʿaṣabāt bi'l-ghairi*, and receives ½ of the share of a son.

(2) The same rules obtain for the daughter of a son. She receives ½, two or more daughters of a son together ⅔ of the estate; if the daughter of a son inherits together with the son of a son, she receives ½ of his share. She is excluded by the son of the deceased if he inherits, but not by the daughter of the deceased. If, *e.g.*, there is one daughter of the deceased, she receives ½, and the son's daughters receive ⅙, since ⅔ of the estate is allotted to the daughters and son's daughters together. But, if there are two or more daughters, there then remains no further residue of the *farīḍah* for the son's daughters; they may, however, still inherit if there is a son's son, for he makes them *ʿaṣabāt bi'l-ghairi*, and in this case he is, therefore, called the 'blessed' son's son.

(3) The father has a claim to ⅙ of the estate; besides this, he inherits as an *ʿaṣabāt* if there are no offspring of the deceased.

(4) The paternal grandfather has also a claim to ⅙ of the estate, if the father of the deceased is no longer alive; besides this, he inherits as an *ʿaṣabāt* if the deceased has left neither father nor offspring. If there are surviving brothers of the deceased, the grandfather inherits together with them (see § 8 (*b*)).

(5) The mother inherits ⅓ of the estate; if, however, there survive either, in the first place, children or son's children or, in the second, two or more brothers or sisters of the deceased, she inherits only ⅙.

(6) The grandmother inherits ⅙ of the estate. According to the Mālikites, the maternal grandmother has this right as well as the paternal grandmother of the deceased, together with her female ancestors in the female line. According to the Shāfi'ites and Ḥanifites, the same applies also to the mother of the paternal grandfather of the deceased; *i.e.*, by grandmother they understand every female ancestor of the deceased with the exception of those who are related to him by means of a grandfather who does not belong to his *ʿaṣabāt*.

(7) A full sister receives ½; two or more full sisters inherit ⅔ of the estate; they have, however, this right only when the deceased has not survived descendants or ancestors. If, however, a daughter of the deceased or of his son survives, the full sister becomes *ʿaṣabāt maʿa'l-ghairi* (see § 8 (*b*)); and, if the grandfather on the paternal side shares the inheritance, then she becomes *ʿaṣabāt bi'l-ghairi*; similarly, if a full brother of the deceased shares the inheritance.

(8) Practically the same rules obtain for a half-sister on the father's side. If there is one half-sister, she receives ½; if there are two or more, they receive ⅔ of the estate; if there is a half-brother on the father's side, the half-sister on the father's side becomes *ʿaṣabah bi'l-ghairi* and receives ½ of her brother's share. Like the full sister, she loses her claim to a *farīḍah* if there are offspring or male ancestors of the deceased, or if his full brother survives. Inheriting together with the grandfather, she becomes *ʿaṣabāt bi'l-ghairi*; if, on the other hand, she inherits with the daughter or son's daughter, she becomes *ʿaṣabāt maʿa'l-ghairi*. If there are two or more full sisters of the deceased, they receive together ⅔ of the estate, and there remains no residue of the *farīḍah* for the half-sister on the father's side; if, however, the latter inherits together with one full sister of the deceased, the two have together a claim on ⅔ of the estate; the full sister then receives ½, and the half-sister ⅙. This is the same rule as in the case of the inheritance of daughters together with son's daughters; the ⅙ is in both cases called by Muslim lawyers *takmilah*, *i.e.* the 'filling up' (*sc.* of the ½ which the daughter or a full sister receives).

(9) The half-brother on the mother's side follows the rules of the next case.

(10) The half-sister on the mother's side has a claim to ⅙ of the estate. Two or more half-brothers or half-sisters receive together ⅓. They have, however, a claim to a *farīḍah* only if the deceased died without surviving offspring or male ancestors.

(11) The widower receives ½ of the estate of his wife. If, however, she has left children or son's children, he receives only ¼, whether the children are his own offspring or those of another husband.

(12) The widow receives ¼ of the estate of her husband; if, however, he has left children or son's children, she receives only ⅛, both when they are her offspring and when they are those of another wife of the deceased. If there are several widows, they must divide their *farīḍah* equally.

It may happen that, when the various *dhawu'l-*

farā'iḍ inherit together, the sum of the fixed shares to which they have a claim is more than the whole estate. In such a case the share of each must be proportionately diminished.

For example, if there are no sons, two daughters have a claim to $\frac{2}{3}$ of the estate, the father and mother to $\frac{1}{6}$ each. If the deceased has also left a widow, she has in this case a claim to $\frac{1}{8}$ and the sum of the *farā'iḍ* is $\frac{2}{3}+\frac{1}{6}+\frac{1}{6}+\frac{1}{8}=\frac{16}{24}+\frac{4}{24}+\frac{4}{24}+\frac{3}{24}=\frac{27}{24}$. In this case the estate must be divided into twenty-seven equal shares instead of twenty-four; of these the daughters receive sixteen, the parents four each, and the widow three. This diminution of the amount of the shares of the inheritance is called *'awl*. The case here indicated is known as the *minbarīyah*, because this problem was proposed for decision to the Khalīf 'Alī while he stood in the pulpit (*minbar*).

(*d*) *Special cases.*—There are still some special cases—the so-called *masā'il mulaqqabah* (*i.e.* cases which are known under special names)—in which, owing to the simultaneous inheritance of various blood-relations, a departure from the general rules is regarded as necessary in order to prevent relatives who usually receive more than others from receiving in a special instance less than them. It is impossible here to enumerate all these cases; the following are examples of them.

If a woman is deceased and her estate has to be shared between her two parents and her husband, the latter has a claim to $\frac{1}{2}$ and the mother to $\frac{1}{3}$ of the estate, so that there would remain over for the father only $\frac{1}{6}$—exactly $\frac{1}{2}$ of the mother's share. To prevent this, after the widower has received the half, the residue is so divided between the two parents that the father receives $\frac{2}{3}$ of it and the mother $\frac{1}{3}$. The same rule obtains when a husband is deceased and his estate has to be divided between his two parents and his widow. The widow receives $\frac{1}{4}$, and of the remaining $\frac{3}{4}$ the father receives $\frac{2}{4}$ and the mother $\frac{1}{4}$. These two cases are called the two 'brilliant,' or the 'decided by Umar,' cases.

Another case is the *akdarīyah*. The origin of this name is not certain. According to some Muslim writers, Akdar was the name of a *faqīh* whom Khalīf 'Abd-al-Malik consulted about the following problem. When a woman is deceased and her heirs consist of (1) her husband, (2) her mother, (3) her paternal grandfather, (4) her sister (whether her full sister or her paternal half-sister), then these have together a claim to $\frac{9}{6}$ of the estate (the widower to $\frac{3}{6}$, the mother to $\frac{2}{6}$, the sister to $\frac{3}{6}$, and the grandfather to $\frac{1}{6}$). According to the rule mentioned above (the so-called *'awl*), the estate must, therefore, be divided into nine shares, so that the widower would receive three shares, the mother two, the grandfather one, and the sister three. To prevent the sister from inheriting three times as much as the grandfather, the $\frac{4}{9}$ share of the inheritance must in this case be so divided that the grandfather receives $\frac{2}{3}$ of it and the sister $\frac{1}{3}$. Thus the grandfather inherits $\frac{8}{27}$ and the sister $\frac{4}{27}$. According to the Ḥanifites, however, the widower inherits $\frac{3}{6}$, the mother $\frac{2}{6}$, and the grandfather $\frac{1}{6}$, while the sister is excluded by the grandfather.

As to the division of the estate among the *dhawu'l-arḥām*, if they inherit, there are two theories.

According to some lawyers, the right of these persons to inherit depends on the principle that only he who is next of kin to the deceased inherits, and that he excludes the more distant relatives. Others think that the *dhawu'l-arḥām* take the place of those blood-relations of the first and second group through whose intermediacy they are related to the deceased. Thus, if the estate must be divided between two persons A and B, of whom A is the daughter of the daughter of the deceased, and B the daughter of the daughter of his son, then, according to the first theory, B would be excluded by A, who is more closely related to the deceased; but, according to the second theory, A would take the place of the daughter of the deceased and thus inherit $\frac{1}{2}$, and B would take the place of the daughter of the son and thus inherit $\frac{1}{6}$ (see § 8 (*c*)). Moreover, according to the second theory, the residue of the estate also must be divided in the same proportion between the *dhawu'l-arḥām*, so that in this case A inherits $\frac{3}{4}$, and B only $\frac{1}{4}$. The latter theory is preferred by the Shāfi'ites, the former by the Ḥanifites.

He who deliberately and illegally has compassed the death of the deceased is unworthy to inherit, like the *murtadd* (*i.e.* he who is an apostate from Islām). The estate of the *murtadd* passes, according to the Shāfi'ites and Mālikites, to the treasury; according to the Ḥanifite scholars Abū Yūsuf and Muhammad ibn Ḥasan, on the other hand, the heirs of the *murtadd* have a right to his estate. Otherwise, according to the unanimous opinion of the *fiqh*-schools, there is no difference in general between believers and unbelievers in the law of inheritance.

No one can be regarded as an heir if it is not certain that he was still alive at the moment when the deceased died. If, therefore, various persons lose their lives by flood, conflagration, or other disasters without its appearing which perished first, there can be no inheritance between those persons. With regard to the case in which an heir is so long absent that his existence is doubtful, see § 2, p. 860^a. An exception to the general rule is found in the case of a child who was not born at the moment of the death of his father; as soon as such a child comes into the world alive, it is regarded as an heir of its deceased father.[1]

9. Slaves and freedmen.—(*a*) *The rights and duties of slaves.*—In Muhammad's time there were many slaves in Arabia. It would have been impossible for him to abolish slavery. Islām, however, so far changed the position of affairs that for the future no Muslim might make a slave of a fellow-believer. According to Muslim canon law, slavery can arise only (1) through captivity, if a non-Muslim prisoner be taken by a Muslim; or (2) by birth, if the mother is a married slave.

Slaves are the property of their master (*saiyid*). He can dispose of them as of the rest of his possessions. He can, for instance, part with them by sale, gift, or testamentary disposition, hire them out, lend them, mortgage them, etc. A child, however, may not be separated from the mother so long as it is still in need of a mother's care (*i.e.* till about seven years old). The master may not make his slave work beyond his power, and must give him the necessary rest after his work. Slaves have also a right to *nafaqah* (maintenance, *i.e.* food, clothing, housing). The legal punishments for the misdemeanours of slaves are, generally speaking, less severe than for those of free persons.

Slaves have no right of property, nor can they, as a rule, make contracts or bind themselves by them. All that they acquire becomes the property of their master. When, however, he wishes to use the service of his slave for commercial purposes, the master may give him authority to carry out the necessary legal transactions (sale and purchase, etc.). The contracts which the slave then makes are binding and valid, so far as he remains within the limits of the power given him, and the goods which the master has entrusted to him to carry on the business serve as guarantee for the engagements made by the slave. If, on the other hand, the slave goes beyond his powers, he is himself alone responsible; and the creditors can obtain satisfaction from him after he has been set free. If slaves injure any one by a punishable act, the *saiyid* is liable to make good the damage, but he can free himself from this liability by giving up the guilty slave to the injured person.

The master has the right to live in concubinage with all his unmarried female slaves, if they confess Islām or belong to the so-called 'people of the book'—in the last case, however, according to the Shāfi'ites, only if the slaves belong to the true *ahl al-kitāb* (see § 5 (*c*) (3)). If any one has become an owner of the female slave of another person by means of sale, donation, or otherwise, he is not permitted immediately to live with her in concubinage, but must wait a definite period to see if she is not already pregnant.

Children born from the concubinage of the owner with his female slave are free (see § 7 (*a*)), and are in all respects equal with children born from marriage with a free wife. Among the Old Arabians a different rule obtained in this case: no children of female slaves were regarded as free. The female slave who has given her master a child is called *umm walad* (lit. 'mother of children,' viz. mother of one or more children of her master). After the death of her master she becomes legally free, and, therefore, after her confinement, may no longer be alienated or mortgaged.

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[1] See, further, W. Jones, *Al-Sirdjiyyah, with a Commentary*, Calcutta, 1792; A. Rumsey, *Al Serajiyyah or the Mohammedan Law of Inheritance, with Notes and Appendix*, London, 1880, ^{2}1890; N. B. E. Baillie, *The Moohummudan Law of Inheritance according to Aboo Ḥuneefa and his Followers*, do. 1874; J. D. Luciani, *Traité des successions musulmanes (ab intestat)*, Paris, 1890; L. Hirsch, *Abdul Kadir Muhammed: der überfliessende Strom in der Wissenschaft des Erbrechts der Hanefites und Schafeites übersetzt und erläutert*, Leipzig, 1891; E. Sachau, 'Muham. Erbrecht nach der Lehre der ibaditischen Araber von Zanzibar und Ostafrika,' in *SBAW*, 1894, pp. 159–210.

Slaves male and female may contract a legal marriage with both free and unfree persons, so long as the former are not at the same time their owners; for, according to Muslim law, the master may marry only a female slave of another owner and not one of his own; and the same rule applies also to mistresses.

According to the Mālikites, slaves may even have four wives (free or not free); but, according to the other *fiqh*-schools, only two. A female slave is given in marriage by her master, who then acts as owner, not as *walī*, and need not ask her consent for the marriage. He also has the right to refuse to give her in marriage, though she ask him to do so. But, according to the Shāfi'ites, the master has not the right of forcing his male slave to a marriage; he is empowered only to refuse consent to a marriage; whereas, according to the Ḥanifites and Mālikites, the master has the right of giving even his male slaves in marriage against their will.

Just like a free man, the slave is obliged to give his wife a dowry, and must work for this purpose if his master does not pay the *mahr* for him. The dowry which a female slave receives becomes the property of her *saiyid*. A slave has the right of rejecting his wife twice, and the second *ṭalāq* has the same consequence in law for the slave as the third *ṭalāq* for a free man (cf. p. 868). The *'iddah* after the dissolution of marriage by death or divorce is also prescribed for female slaves, and lasts a shorter time than the *'iddah* of a free woman. Instead of the *'iddah* of four months and ten days, the female slave has one of two months and five days; the *'iddah* of three *qurū'* is replaced by one of two *qurū'*, and that of three months by one of a month and a half; in case of pregnancy the *'iddah* of a female slave does not end before her confinement.

Children born of marriages in which one or both of the parents are not free take the rank of the mother. Children of a married female slave are thus always slaves, and become the property of the master of their mother, independently of the question whether their father is a free man or a slave. Since it is regarded as undesirable for the children of a free man to become the slaves of another, the law condemns marriage between a free man and a female slave of another, except under the four following conditions: (1) that he has not sufficient means to pay the dowry of a free woman, (2) that he is not in a position to have conjugal intercourse with a free woman, (3) that the female slave whom he desires is a believer in Islām, and (4) that there is a risk that he will fall into immorality, so that the proposed marriage with a slave is, as it were, the last means of preserving him from that sin (cf. Qur'ān, iv. 29–30). The Ḥanifites, however, regard it as permissible for a free man to marry a female slave of another, without the first three conditions, provided she belongs to the *ahl al-kitāb* (cf. § 5 (*c*)).

(*b*) *Emancipation* (*'itq*) *of slaves.*—The setting free of slaves is regarded as a highly meritorious act for Muslims and well-pleasing to God. Muhammad said, according to a tradition: 'The setting free of a believing slave shall preserve the liberator from hell at the day of resurrection.' It is also one of the means by which a believer who has transgressed Allāh's law can in some cases make a reparation for his fault.

Every one who has the right of disposing of his property has also the right to set free his slaves, unless, *e.g.*, he has mortgaged them. If a slave belongs to various owners, and his freedom is given him by one of them, he becomes free if the liberator has at the same time made good to his partners the value of their share; otherwise, the liberation is valid only for the share of the liberator, and the slave becomes a *muba''aḍ* (*i.e.* partly free and partly not free).

The *umm walad* is legally free after the death of her master; if she has been formerly married and has children of that marriage, these children follow the rank of their mother, and become equally free at the death of the owner of their mother. A male or female slave who becomes the property of a blood-relation obtains a legal freedom *ipso facto*. According to the Shāfi'ites, this rule obtains only when the owner is one of those in the direct line of ascent or descent of the slave; but, according to the Mālikites, also if the slave becomes the property of his own brother or sister; and, according to the Ḥanifites, even if the owner is a *maḥram* of the slave, *i.e.* one who is related to him within the limits of kin which form an obstacle to marriage.

The master may also limit the liberation by certain conditions—*e.g.*, by the *tadbīr* and the *kitābah*.

(1) The *tadbīr* is a liberation by which the master declares that at his death his slave shall be free. So long as the *saiyid* lives, such a slave (*mudabbar*) is not different from others. According to the Shāfi'ites, the master even retains the right of parting with him and thus revoking his liberation; according to the Mālikites and Ḥanifites, such a slave may not be parted with, and the master may not revoke his *tadbīr*. The *tadbīr*, according to the unanimous opinion of Muslim lawyers, must be classed with a testamentary disposition. Since the heirs of one who dies intestate have a claim to at least ⅔ of his estate, the *tadbīr* is valid only if the value of a *mudabbar* is not more than ⅓ of the estate. If the value of the slave is greater, he becomes only partially free, unless the heirs sanction the disposition of the deceased.

(2) The *kitābah* (or *mukātabah*) is a liberation by virtue of an agreement with a slave. The name seems to be derived from the document (*kitāb*) in which the conditions of the contract were originally set out. This kind of liberation was customary among the Arabs before Muhammad. At that time slaves who were not ransomed by their relations sometimes obtained the permission of their master to earn their ransom by work. In Qur'ān, xxiv. 33, Muslims were recommended, if their slaves asked to redeem themselves in this way, to grant their request and to help them in its furtherance—*e.g.*, by giving them money or omitting part of the ransom. Some of the earlier *faqīhs* even regarded the master as obliged to do this.

The *mukātab* (*i.e.* the slave who makes this contract of liberation with his master) must bind himself to pay a definite sum of money to his master (the *mukātib*) as ransom (according to the Shāfi'ites, in at least two or more instalments). By the *kitābah* he obtains the right for the future of acquiring property for himself and of making contracts even without the express permission of his master. In other respects the *mukātab* remains in the same position as other slaves; his master, however, may no longer mortgage him or part with him, and, when he has paid his ransom, he is free.

The master may make another contract of liberation with his slave (the *'aqd al-'atāqah*, *i.e.* the liberation contract). This consists of the purchase of the slave by himself; he becomes free immediately, but is obliged to pay the ransom to the liberator as quickly as possible, or within a period agreed upon.

Between the liberator and his freed slave there continues to exist a certain relationship (*walā'*, *i.e.* patronage). The liberator becomes the *mawlā* (i.e. *patronus*) of the freed slave, and, if the latter has no *'aṣabāt*, the *mawlā* takes their place. The liberator then obtains the rights which usually depend on blood-relationship, such as the right of inheritance, the right to give in marriage his liberated female slaves, the right of retaliation, and others.

The *walā’* exists not only between the liberator and his freed slave personally, but also between the liberator and the descendants (and even the freed slaves) of the freed slave. After the death of the liberator the patronage passes to the next of kin of his *aṣabāt* (cf. § 7 (*b*)). The same rules are also applied to a woman who has liberated a slave (*mawlāt*, *i.e.* liberatrix).[1]

III. *CONTRACTS, WILLS, ‘WAQFS.’*—**10. General rules.** — The *fiqh*-books contain many special regulations for various contracts, but scarcely any general principles as to the responsibility of the parties, the establishment and annulment of rights and obligations, etc. They expressly forbid only agreements which are not precise or which depend upon accidental chances (*e.g.*, all assurance contracts), and these they declare invalid because of the possibility that one of the parties thereby binds himself to something which he cannot see in advance. The Muslim jurists call such an undesirable chance *gharar*.

No definite form for the making of a contract (*‘aqd*) is prescribed. In consequence of Qur’ān, ii. 282, many of the earlier *faqīhs* thought that, when an agreement has not to be immediately fulfilled on either side, since the parties have agreed on certain terms of delay, the contract must be in writing, and concluded in the presence of witnesses. This was considered necessary, *e.g.*, for the so-called *salam* or *salaf*; this contract meant that a future harvest was bought and the price paid in advance. But this did not become the general opinion. The law-books insist only that the parties who make an agreement must make their intentions plain to each other. The legal form of an agreement is called its *ṣīghah*. The mutual declarations of the parties are called *ījāb* (offer) and *qabūl* (acceptance). Only exceptionally is it permitted to make contracts without such an *ījāb* and *qabūl* in matters of very little importance.

When two parties transfer to each other rights or claims, these must refer to matters which, according to the *sharī‘ah*, have a real value for Muslims. Thus, regarded from a legal standpoint, all contracts are invalid which refer to forbidden musical instruments, to books which treat of philosophy, astrology, and other forbidden sciences, to grapes, which must serve for the preparation of wine, to dogs, pigs, and other ritually unclean things, etc. If such affairs are treated, it is not strictly a change of real ownership (*tamlīk*), according to the Muslim law-books, but rather a method of obtaining a *de facto* possession (*istīlā’*).

The *fiqh*-books contain numerous precise regulations concerning the most common contracts and transactions, such as purchase, sale, hire, mortgage, gift, deposit, partnership, security and loan, etc. These transactions have the general name of *mu‘āmalāt*. But this part of the law has only a theoretical and no practical value for the Muslim (see above, § 4). Principles different from those of the *sharī‘ah* generally obtain in commercial life; and it is usually impossible even for the most pious Muslims to regulate their lives in this matter precisely according to the law-books. Therefore no further discussion in detail need be given here.

The remarkable regulation of the Muslim law which forbids the charging of interest in trade must, however, not remain unnoticed. Not only usury in the strict sense, but the charging of interest at all is regarded as a great sin (*kabīrah*); and, although this prohibition has always been transgressed by numbers of Muslims, the pious try as far as possible to avoid direct offence against it.[1]

11. The prohibition against charging interest (ribā). — (*a*) *Introduction.* — In Muhammad's surroundings the practice of usury seems to have taken the form especially of a contract of exchange. The money-lender gave money or articles of commerce (*e.g.*, dates or barley) on condition that after a certain period a larger sum of money or a greater quantity of the articles received should be returned. If the debtor could not fulfil his obligation on the day when it fell due, the creditor gave him a postponement of payment, but doubled the amount of his debt. Such contracts of exchange were regarded as a sort of sale and purchase (*bai‘*), and the postponement of payment was called *nasī’ah*. This usurious trade is strictly forbidden in various verses of the Qur’ān; see, *e.g.*, ii. 276:

> ‘They say that there is no difference between *bai‘* and *ribā*, but Allāh permits *bai‘* and forbids *ribā*! . . . They who in future are guilty of *ribā* are destined for hell; they shall remain there for ever.’ Cf. also ii. 276–279, iv. 159, and xxx. 38.

Thus no Muslim could doubt that usury was strictly forbidden in Islām, but in the earliest times there were many, and among them well-known companions of the Prophet, such as Ibn ‘Abbās, who maintained that Islām prohibited only the abuse of the poverty of the debtor by constantly doubling his debt and ruining him. They regarded usury as forbidden only in a restricted sense; the *nasī’ah* was particularly deprecated. Others thought that by *ribā* (lit. ‘multiplication’) the Prophet had meant not only usury, but all charging of interest. Later on this opinion became general. Thus, if a Muslim wishes to lend money or articles of commerce to any one, he can do so only on condition that the debtor, after the expiration of a certain period, shall pay him back the same sum of money or the same quantity of articles lent him. No profit may be made out of him; the value which the creditor receives must be the same as that which he has given. If the purpose is not to give a temporary convenience to the other party, but only to exchange goods, this is permitted only if both parties receive goods of the same value and at the same time. One who does not observe these rules is guilty of *ribā*. It is, therefore, necessary to distinguish two kinds of *ribā*: (1) *ribā* by contract of exchange, (2) *ribā* by loan (*mutuum*).

(*b*) *Ribā by contract of exchange.*—The regulations of the law-books concerning the first kind of *ribā* are based on traditions, according to which the Prophet had expressly declared that it was prohibited to a Muslim to exchange gold for gold, silver for silver, dates for dates, etc., unless both parties simultaneously made the same payment to each other. These words of the Prophet are handed down in various recensions, in which gold, silver, barley, wheat, and dates (sometimes also raisins and salt) are specially mentioned as the objects of the forbidden contracts of exchange.

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[1] See, further, Syed Ameer Ali, *The Personal Law of the Mohammedans according to all the Schools, together with a comparative Sketch of the Law of Inheritance among the Sunnis and the Shiahs*, London, 1880; E. Clavel, *Droit musulman; du statut personnel et des successions d'après les différentes rites et plus particulièrement d'après le rite hanafite*, Paris, 1895; F. de Nauphal, *Études orientales: système législatif musulman*, St. Petersburg, 1893; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i. 295–371; R. Roberts, ‘Das Familien-, Sklaven- und Erbrecht im Qorân,’ *LSSt* ii. 6 [1908]; Sidi Khalil, *Mariage et répudiation*, tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers, 1909; Mahmoud Fathy, *La Doctrine musulmane de l'abus des droits* (with introduction by E. Lambert), Lyons, 1913; art. ‘‘Abd,’ in *EI* i.

[1] See, further, for contracts in general, R. Grasshoff, *Die allgemeinen Lehren des Obligationenrechts sowie die Lehre von den Realkontrakten nach der Rechtsschule des Imâm Esch-Schâfi‘î: ein Abschnitt aus dem Kitâb el-bujû des Abû Ishâk Esch-Schîrâzî übers. und comm.*, Königsberg, 1895; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, ii. 319–321; S. Grove Grady, *A Manual of the Mohammedan Law of Inheritance and Contract: comprising the Doctrine of the Soonee and Sheea Schools*, London, 1869; L. W. C. van den Berg, *de Contractu ‘do ut des’ jure Mohammedano*, Leyden, 1868; F. Peltier, *Le Livre des ventes du Çahîh d'El-Bokhârî, trad. avec éclairc. et comm.*, Paris, 1910, and *Le Livre des ventes du Mouwatta de Mālik ben Anas trad. avec éclairc.*, Algiers, 1911; D. Gatteschi, *Real Property, Mortgage, and Waqf according to Ottoman Law* (tr. A. van Dyck), London, 1884.

Some scholars, and especially the Ẓāhirites, thought that they must keep strictly to the words of these traditions; they regarded the *qiyās* as forbidden only in these cases (see § 2), and considered that the regulations concerning *ribā* could refer only to the exchange of articles expressly named in these traditions. The majority of jurists, however, could not agree to such a limitation of the *ribā*. They thought that gold, silver, and other articles were mentioned in the tradition only as examples. The Ḥanifites considered that the rule which in the tradition was expressly given for dates, barley, etc., could be applied to all other articles of sale which were measured by weight; the Mālikites thought that dates, barley, and wheat ought to be regarded as examples of articles which were kept in shops to be used as food; the Shāfi'ites regarded the prohibition of *ribā* as applicable to the exchange of all articles of value (*athmān*) and all forms of food.

Articles which are regarded as subject to the prohibition of *ribā* are called *māl ribawī*. If it is desired to exchange such articles, two courses are possible. (1) When two articles not of the same kind are concerned (*e.g.*, gold and silver, or dates and barley), delivery must take place on both sides at once, but the parties are not bound to give each other the same quantity. (2) If, on the other hand, two articles of the same kind are exchanged (*e.g.*, gold for gold, and silver for silver), the parties must immediately hand over to each other the same quantity. It is, therefore, possible by the exchange to be guilty of *ribā* in three ways: (*a*) if one of the parties receives more than the other, this is *riba'l-fadl* (*i.e.* usury because of the greater payment); (β) if the two parties do not receive the payment due to them at the same time, they are guilty of *riba'l-yad* (*i.e.* usury with regard to the possession); (γ) if they expressly make a condition of postponement, this must be regarded as *riba'l-nasā'* (*i.e.* usury with regard to the conditional postponement). The purpose of these regulations of Muslim law was apparently to prevent men from making themselves guilty of usury by means of the exchanges customary in Muhammad's time, by which the debtor, after the expiration of the period agreed upon, had to pay back a greater amount of money or of articles of sale than he had received.

(*c*) *Ribā by loan.*—When it is not a matter of contract of exchange but of loan (*mutuum*), Muslim law forbids the creditor to make a condition of interest or of other advantage on any pretence whatever. The prohibition of *ribā* is in this case not limited to gold, silver, food, etc., but is applicable to everything that can be lent.

When a Muslim lends money to a co-religionist, this may be merely a kindness exclusively for the benefit of the debtor, and is recommended for this reason. If the debtor wishes to show his gratitude to his creditor for the support he has received, and to return more than he received, this is permissible, but the creditor may not make it a condition beforehand.

As may easily be understood, Muslims have from the beginning endeavoured to escape this prohibition. Means were often found of demanding high interest without openly coming into conflict with the words of the law.

One of these means was the following. Two fictitious contracts of sale were made; the creditor sold an article to the debtor, on condition that he would later on pay the sale price agreed upon; hereupon the creditor bought the same article back again from the debtor, but for a lower price, which he paid at once. By this means the debtor actually obtained a certain sum of money, and was obliged after a fixed time to pay back a much greater sum as purchase money. This double contract of sale was well known in Europe in the Middle Ages. It was called *mohatra*, apparently a corrupted pronunciation of the Arab. word *mukhāṭarah*.[1] This Arabic name proves that the custom did not arise in Europe, but was taken over from the Muslims.[2]

12. Obligations arising from oaths and vows.—Oaths and vows have always played a great part in the various Muslim lands. The obligations which spring from them have a religious character in the eyes of Muslims. The ancient Arabians were accustomed to enforce by oaths not only their alliances and other important agreements, but even every sort of promise and statement in ordinary life;[1] and vows of abstinence were made as a preparation for the holding of religious ceremonies, the prosecution of blood-feuds, and other important acts. No one lightly decided to break the oath or vow which he had once made, for he feared to be punished for such a sin by the wrath of God.

The Prophet himself often strengthened his words, according to the custom of the time, by oaths and vows. He did not, however, consider himself as unconditionally bound by them, but thought that it was in some cases better to appease God's wrath for the breaking of an oath by means of an atoning sacrifice (*kaffārah*) than to hold obstinately to the oath. 'When I have sworn an oath that I will do something, but later on perceive that it is better to act differently, I offer an atoning sacrifice and break my oath,' was Muhammad's customary statement, according to tradition.

In Qur'ān, v. 91, the regulations are given as to the religious acts by which a Muslim who acts contrary to his oath can turn aside God's wrath. The penance (*kaffārah*) must then consist in feeding or clothing ten poor persons, in manumitting a slave, or, in the case of a person who has no means, in fasting for three days (cf. also lxvi. 2). The jurists have worked out these rules in still fuller details—*e.g.*, fixing the minimum of food or clothing which must be given; they differ in their opinions as to the particulars; according to the Shāfi'ites, the manumitting of a slave can serve for *kaffārah* only if the slave is a believer.

An oath is called *yamīn* and a vow *nadhr*. The rules concerning oaths and vows differ in various points. A vow is binding only when a Muslim who is qualified according to the legal regulations to make an independent agreement has voluntarily taken upon himself to carry out an act which is meritorious, regarded from a religious standpoint, and to which he was not bound apart from his vow. In this way it is possible to be bound by a vow to set free slaves, to give alms to the poor, to make a pilgrimage, and so on. He who has bound himself by a vow remains permanently obliged to fulfil it, and cannot free himself from it by a *kaffārah*. If, however, the vow has been made dependent on a condition (*e.g.*, 'If I recover from my illness, I will fast for a certain number of days'), he is bound to fulfil his oath only when the condition has really been fulfilled. A vow to do something which is forbidden or to omit something which is obligatory may not be regarded as binding. Muslim jurists also consider that no one can bind himself by a vow to do or to omit what is merely permitted but not meritorious (or forbidden)—*e.g.*, to drink water. In such cases there is no obligation to a *kaffārah* even if the vow be not fulfilled.

Oaths, on the other hand, are subjected to another rule; for he who has sworn by an oath to do or not to do anything is always bound to a

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[1] Cf. R. Dozy and W. H. Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leyden, 1869, p. 316; du Cange, *Glossar. ad Scrip. med. et inf. Latinitatis*, s.v. 'Mohatra'; for the *mohatra*-contract see also J. Kohler, *Moderne Rechtsfragen bei islam. Juristen*, Würzburg, 1885, p. 5 ff.

[2] See, further, E. John, *Der Wucher (Ribā) in Qor'ân, Chadith und Fiqh*, Heidelberg, 1903; F. Arin, *Recherches historiques sur les opérations usuraires et aléatoires en droit musulman*, Paris, 1909; Benali Fékar, *L'Usure en droit musulman et ses conséquences pratiques*, Lyons, 1908.

[1] There are two kinds of oaths: (1) the oath by which it is sworn that a statement or testimony contains the truth; this oath refers to that which has already happened (see below, § 16 (*b*)); (2) the oath by which one swears to act or not to act in a certain way; this oath refers to a future event, and is discussed here.

kaffārah if he breaks his oath, even though he had pledged himself to do something which is forbidden, or to omit something which is obligatory.

Moreover, Muslim jurists deal at length with various special oaths and vows and the questions connected with them; even in very short *fiqh*-books there are usually full details as to this subject. The following cases, *e.g.*, are mentioned in particular. When a man has declared, 'If such and such is done, I will apostatize from Islām,' if the conditions are fulfilled, he may not, it is true, give up his faith, but must nevertheless, according to the Ḥanifites, offer a *kaffārah*. On the other hand, if a man has declared, 'If I do such and such, or if such and such happens, my wife is repudiated, or my slave is set free,' he is actually bound by his words, and, on the fulfilling of the conditions, his wife must be regarded as repudiated and his slave as free.

An oath is valid only when it has been taken either in the name of Allāh (or in that of one of His attributes) or by the Qur'ān. Other oaths, *e.g.*, by calling on the Prophet, are not binding.

13. Wills.—Muslim law only partially recognizes the right to make a will. When the debts of the deceased have been paid, his legal heirs (see § 8) have a claim to ⅔ of the residue of the estate. The testator may dispose by will (*waṣīyah*) of only the remaining ⅓ of the estate. If he has disposed of more than ⅓, his arrangements and legacies are valid only if, and so far as, they are sanctioned by his heirs.

As to this rule, there is no difference of opinion among the *fiqh*-schools. It is based on the following tradition.

Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, one of the contemporaries of the Prophet, had decided to devote the whole of his property after his death to pious purposes. Once, when he lay dangerously ill, he explained his plan to the Prophet, who, he thought, would value his pious deed. This was, however, not the case; on the contrary, Muhammad forbade him to disinherit his heirs. 'It is better to leave them rich,' said he, 'than to force them to beg after your death.' Finally, the Prophet consented to Sa'd's petition to dispose of ⅓ of his estate.

From this tradition the Muslim jurists have deduced another principle. Every Muslim may dispose of his property as he wishes during his life, and thus may even give everything away if he wishes; but this right ceases if he is seriously ill. In that case only ⅓ of the property may be disposed of by gift, the manumitting of slaves, etc. The property of a seriously sick person is thus treated as in some degree similar to an estate to which the heirs have a claim.

This rule is also applicable to persons who in other ways are in danger of their lives—*e.g.*, to any one who is taking part in a battle, to a woman during childbirth, to the inhabitants of a district which is suffering severely from plague, etc. If, during a serious illness, or while he was in other respects in danger of his life, a person has given away more than ⅓ of his property, his arrangements are valid only if his heirs offer no opposition to them, or if he has recovered from his illness or escaped the danger in which he was.

Further, the legality of a *waṣīyah* depends principally on (1) the right of the person who makes the will (*al-mūṣī*), (2) the right of the one who benefits by the will (*al-mūṣā-lahu*), (3) the property which is disposed of (*al-mūṣā-bihi*), and (4) the form of the will. The law-books contain the following regulations as to these four subjects. (1) Only those who have the power of independent disposition over their property have the right to make a will; minors are not qualified. Moreover, the *waṣīyah* is valid only if the testator had the right to dispose of what he left, and if he acted without compulsion. The testator remains qualified to revoke his will up to the time of his death. (2) The beneficiary under a will must at the moment at which the will is made be qualified and in a position to become the owner of what is left him. A will made in favour of an unborn child is valid, however, if the child be born within the next six months. Those who already inherit by the enactment of the law have no right to receive further legacies by will. According to tradition, the Prophet forbade the alteration, by means of testamentary disposition, of the shares fixed for them by law (see above, p. 862^a); if the will is not made in favour of a definite person, but for a hospital, a mosque, or similar institution, then the purpose must be one which is permitted by law; *e.g.*, a will in favour of a Christian church or a Jewish synagogue is invalid. (3) The objects which are left to any one in the will must be accurately described, and of such a nature that it is possible to take possession of them. The testator may not, for instance, leave any forbidden musical instruments or dogs to any one; or a copy of the Qur'ān, or a Muslim slave, to a Christian or other unbeliever. (4) No special form of will is prescribed; the law directs only that the testator should make his will clearly known in the presence of persons who can bear witness that he has really made such a testament. It need not be reduced to writing. Besides the allotment of property, the will may contain certain other dispositions—*e.g.*, the appointment of an executor who is charged with the care of the payment of debts, and of the division of the estate; further, the nomination of a guardian for the children of the testator who are under age, etc.

The beneficiary of the will first receives possession of the property left him when he has accepted the arrangements of the testator (by means of *qabūl*; see § 10). If he should predecease the testator, his heirs are qualified to accept the will in his favour.[1]

14. Regulations concerning the waqfs.—By a *waqf* Muslim law means something which is withdrawn from commerce, in order to reserve it for religious purposes or for the benefit of definite persons. To the question whether such a disposition is lawful in Islām Muslim scholars originally gave various answers. Some considered that the rights of the heir were injured by such dispositions. Others declared that the heirs had no claims on any man's property so long as he still lived, and, therefore, a man might withdraw his goods from commerce, just as he had the right to contract debts, to set free slaves, and to give away property, to the injury of his heirs. According to Abū Ḥanīfah, a *waqf* was not irrevocably binding; 'he who has made a *waqf* of anything,' said he, 'remains the owner of it, and can always revoke his disposition if he will.' The majority of Muslim lawyers, however—and among them Abū Yūsuf and Muhammad, the two pupils of Abū Ḥanīfah—considered that the disposition by which anything was made a *waqf* was irrevocably binding. By making such a disposition, they said, the owner loses his right of ownership; only Allāh remains the owner of that which is *waqf*. Others held that the ownership of a *waqf* passed to those who benefited by it.

Those who regarded the *waqfs* as allowable appealed for support to the traditions according to which various comrades of the Prophet had made such dispositions with his approbation. The best-known tradition is the following. 'Umar, the second Khalīf (or, according to others, his son 'Abd-Allāh), had a piece of land at Khaibar which he valued greatly. He decided to devote it to religious purposes. With the approbation of the Prophet, he made a *waqf* of it, and enacted that it might for the future be neither sold nor given away, and that the income should be devoted exclusively to the poor and to religious purposes.

Waqf properly means the transaction itself, *i.e.* the devotion of property to religious purposes; other words used in the same sense are *tasbīl*, *i.e.* devote to the 'way of God' (*sabīl Allāh*); *taḥrīm*, *i.e.* the declaration that something is *ḥarām* ('forbidden,' 'inalienable'); and *ḥabs*, *i.e.* to make fast (in other words, to make inalienable). Both *waqf* and *ḥabs* are also used to indicate that which is withdrawn from commerce; in the latter sense the plurals of *waqf* and *ḥabs* are *wuqūf* and *ḥubūs*.

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[1] See, further, F. Peltier, *Le Livre des testaments du Çaḥîḥ d'El-Bokhârî*, Algiers, 1909.

The Muslim law-books contain the following regulations concerning *waqf*. (1) *The wāqif*, i.e. *the person who makes a waqf of anything.*—No one is qualified to make such a disposition unless he has the independent right of alienating his property. He who withdraws anything from commerce must at the same time be the owner of it; otherwise his disposition is invalid. Unbelievers have the right of making their property a *waqf* if the purpose of it is not contrary to Islām; *e.g.*, a Christian in a Muslim land is forbidden to make his dwelling a *waqf* in order to have it turned into a church.

(2) *The mawqūf, or waqf*, i.e. *that which is made a waqf.*—According to the Shāfiʿites, it is permissible to make a *waqf* of moveable as well as of immoveable property, at least so far as the moveables are not immediately destroyed by use (*e.g.*, food, or wax candles which are designed for the illumination of a mosque). Forbidden instruments, books whose contents give signs of unbelief, and similar articles cannot in any case be made *waqf*. Many other Muslim scholars regard the regulations concerning *waqf* as applicable only to immoveable property, and recognize only a few exceptions to this rule. According to the Ḥanifites, beasts of burden and weapons may be designated *waqf*. Books are also often withdrawn from commerce in all Muslim lands, and especially devoted to an appointed library or mosque.

(3) *The mawqūf ʿalaihi*, i.e. *he who receives benefit from the waqf.*—This person must be qualified to make use of the property; *e.g.*, it would not be permissible to make a copy of the Qurʾān *waqf*, and a believing slave could not make a *waqf* in favour of unbelievers. As to the question whether the person who derived benefit from a *waqf* must be so indicated that the institution may remain for ever, a difference of opinion exists. Some think that it is necessary for the *waqif* to indicate an unending series of persons for whom the *waqf* is destined; others hold that a *waqf* has a permanently valid continuation even if this is not specially indicated by the founder; 'if there are no surviving persons who, according to the disposition of the *wāqif*, have a claim to the income of a *waqf*,' they say, 'then the income is intended for the poor.'

Waqfs need not be exclusively intended for religious or philanthropic purposes; according to the majority of Muslim lawyers, it is sufficient if the purpose of a *waqf* is merely permissible. In the Shāfiʿitic law-books it is expressly stated that a *waqf* may even extend to the advantage of the rich. Many *waqfs*, such as mosques, cemeteries, and water supplies, are intended for the rich as well as for the poor. The law-books especially recognize the validity of a *waqf* in favour of some one's family. In this case, if any one has decided that property belonging to him shall be a *waqf* for his children and further descendants, and these become extinct, then, according to the majority of Muslim lawyers, his further relatives have a right to the income of the *waqf*, and after them the poor.

(4) The *ṣīghah*, *i.e.* the form in which the *wāqif* makes his will known, is not generally subjected to special regulations. It is sufficient if the founder makes his meaning plain by pointing out what property shall be *waqf*, and to what purpose it must be given. It is, however, not permissible to make the existence of a *waqf* dependent on a condition or a period of time. Therefore a *waqf* is invalid if the *wāqif*, for instance, declared, 'If I get a son, then is my house a *waqf*,' or if he made his property a *waqf* 'for ten years.' According to many Muslim writers, one may, however, distinguish between *waqfs* which have a general purpose (*e.g.*, for philanthropic purposes) and those which are intended only for definite persons (*e.g.*, for the descendants of the founder). In the first case the disposition of the *wāqif* must be preserved as far as possible, and thus only the conditions or designation of a period must be declared invalid, and not the institution itself; in the latter case there is no opening for this, and the *waqf* itself is invalid.

An exception to this rule is that the *wāqif* may make the existence of a *waqf* dependent on his own death. He may decide that property shall become a *waqf* after his death. Such a disposition is, however, subject to the general regulations concerning wills, and may be withdrawn by the owner up to his death; moreover, only ⅓ of the estate may thus be made a *waqf*, since the heirs have a right to the other ⅔.[1]

IV. *PUBLIC LAW.*—15. The imām.—(*a*) *The election of an imām.*—According to the legal theory, the Muslim community must be guided by an *imām*, who is to be regarded as the *khalīfah* (*i.e.* substitute) of the Prophet.[2] The quarrels as to the *imāmat* in the first centuries after Muhammad divided the Muslims into various religious-political parties, which partially continue to the present day. To them belong especially the Shīʿites and Khārijites, who are regarded as heretics by orthodox Muslims. The opinions of these parties differ in many respects—as to political questions, as to who must be regarded as the legitimate *imām*, and as to the requirements which he must fulfil.[3] We must at present limit ourselves to a sketch of the regulations which obtain in this matter among the orthodox.

All questions regarding the *imām* must be decided according to the position of affairs during the first thirty years after Muhammad. That period, in which the Muslim community was led by Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī—the so-called 'rightly guided khalīfahs' (*al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn*)—with the help and co-operation of the most faithful comrades of the Prophet, is regarded among orthodox Muslims as the 'Golden Age' of Islām; and, according to them, the principles followed at that time must be regarded as the only correct ones.

The *imām*, therefore, like the four immediate successors of the Prophet, must belong to his tribe, and thus be a Quraishite. The Shīʿite doctrine that the *imām* must be also a descendant of the Prophet is rejected by the orthodox. Moreover, (1) the *imām* must be a free, male Muslim of full age, recognized as ʿ*adl* (see p. 864ᵇ); (2) he must be competent to manage the business of the State, and, above all, have the spirit and courage to fight against the unbelievers and to protect Muslim territory. (3) The *imām* ought also, properly speaking, to be a *mujtahid* (see p. 860ᵇ), competent, if necessary, to settle difficult religious situations on his own authority, just as the immediate successors of Muhammad were held to have been perfect scholars. Since, however, such *ijtihād* was regarded as beyond the reach of later generations, such learning can no longer be demanded even of an *imām*. (4) An *imām* may have no physical infirmity, or defect of intellect; serious defects, such as blindness, deafness, or insanity, disqualify a candidate for the *imāmat*. Consequently, a *khalīf* was often made blind after his deposition, in order to prevent him from attempting to recover his position.

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[1] See, further, J. Kresmárik, 'Das Waḳfrecht vom Standpunkte des Šarīʿatrechtes nach der ḥanefitischen Schule,' in *ZDMG* xlv. [1891] 511–576; E. Clavel, *Droit musulman: le waqf, ou habous, d'après la doctrine et la jurisprudence* (*Rites hanafite et malékite*), Cairo, 1896.

[2] In most Muslim countries the popular view was that the *imām* was the substitute of Allāh Himself. Accordingly, many *imāms* were called *khalīfat Allāh* (*i.e.* substitute of God), but many Muslim scholars disapprove of this title. See I. Goldziher, 'Du Sens propre des expressions "Ombre de Dieu, Khalife de Dieu" pour désigner les chefs dans l'Islam,' in *RHR* xxxv [1897] 331–338.

[3] See D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, pp. 7–63; J. Wellhausen, 'Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam,' in *AGG*, phil.-hist. Kl., new ser., no. 2 [1903]; I. Friedländer, 'The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Ḥazm,' in *JAOS* xxviii. [1907] 1–80, xxix. [1909] 1–183; I. Goldziher, 'Beiträge zur Litteraturgesch. der Shīʿa und der sunnit. Polemik,' in *SWAW* lxxviii. [1874] 439–524; R. E. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leyden, 1884.

At the election of an *imām* it is necessary to follow the principles which obtained in the 'Golden Age.' Inheritance, according to the law, gives no claim to the *imāmat*. Each *khalīf* must be elected, and his election is valid only if (1) he, like the first *khalīf* Abū Bakr, receives the homage of a certain number of Muslims of high rank ('those who are qualified to bind and loose'); or if, (2) like the second *khalīf* 'Umar, he is appointed by the former *imām* as his successor. 'Those who are qualified to bind and loose' and have the right of electing an *imām* consist of Muslims of full age, of the male sex, free men who are recognized as *'adl*, and can judge what persons have the necessary qualifications to be elected as *imām*, and which among those who come under consideration is the most suitable for the position under existing circumstances.

The election of an *imām* is a *farḍ al-kifāyah*; *i.e.*, as soon as this task is fulfilled by some qualified person, all others are relieved from the duty (see p. 863^b). 'The election of an *imām*,' say the Muslim scholars, 'it is true, is usually carried out by the leading circles in the capital, and is acquiesced in in the other parts of the land (as at the election of Abū Bakr), but the electors in the capital have no right of preference above those in other places.' If different persons are elected as *imām* in different places, a new election must be held between these candidates. The *faqīhs* are not agreed as to the number of electors which must be demanded for a valid election. Some of them require at least five electors, and in support of this opinion appeal to the election of the third *khalīf* 'Uthmān, but others regard the election by even one elector as valid if he is a universally respected and influential man.

If the *imām* himself nominates his successor, the choice is binding on all Muslims, if the chosen person has the qualities necessary for an *imām* and expressly accepts his nomination. In appointing his successor the *imām* need not consult the electors; he may also indicate several persons to succeed him in a definite order one after the other. But Muslim lawyers consider that a father has no right to appoint his son as his successor, since they regard no one as capable of forming an unprejudiced judgment as to whether his son is fitted for this high dignity.

(*b*) *The rights and duties of the imām.*—The *imām* is not only the spiritual head of the Muslims, as has been often incorrectly assumed in Europe; he is at the same time the highest secular authority in Islām. There is no idea among Muslims of a separation between spiritual and temporal power. In this respect the position of the first thirty years after Muhammad is copied. The *imām* must, like the four 'rightly led' *khalīfs*, wage war against unbelievers, see to the contribution of the *zakāh*, resolve differences of opinion in the community, take care that the regulations of the *sharī'ah* are respected and that transgressions against it are punished, take action against heresies, try to bring the erring back to the right way, etc. If it appears that the *imām* is incompetent to fulfil his office, or that he abuses his power, then 'those who can bind and loose' must depose him and choose a new *imām*.

Every Muslim is bound in loyalty and obedience not only to the legitimate *imām*, but also to any one who has made himself *de facto* master of the highest authority, even though he has not the requisite qualities (*e.g.*, a woman, a person who is under age, ignorant, not an Arabian, or a sinner), and even if he has not been appointed as *imām* in a legal manner. Such a potentate, who in the *fiqh*-books is usually called 'the holder of power' (*dhū'l-shawkah*), is not a legitimate *imām*, but orthodox Muslims nevertheless regard it as necessary for believers to recognize his authority, at least when he does not force them to sin against the law.

This opinion apparently arose as early as the first century after Muhammad. During the incessant strife of the Umayyads against the religious rebels, who would not recognize their authority, the opinion became established, among the majority of the people and among the leading scholars, that it was better, for the prevention of greater disasters, not to resist the tyrant even though he did not fulfil the theoretical ideals. Traditions arose that the Prophet himself had foretold this state of affairs, and had enunciated the doctrine that it was a duty for all Muslims to submit to the ruling princes. 'Thirty years long,' the Prophet is reported to have said, 'shall you be happy under the government of my successors, but after this the dominion shall pass to tyrannous princes.' The companions of Muhammad asked, 'Must we not contend against such godless potentates?' 'No,' he answered, 'so long as they do not interfere with the *ṣalāt*.' According to another saying of the Prophet, 'a Muslim must be obedient both in matters which he approves and in those of which he disapproves, so long as no acts are enjoined on him by which he would transgress the laws of God. In the latter case he need neither listen nor obey.'

On the ground of this theory the later Muslim princes and *khalīfs* had a claim on the obedience of their subjects, even though they were not appointed according to the regulations of the *sharī'ah* and did not possess the legally required qualities. Opposition to princes who are not of Quraishite (or even of Arabian) origin, such as the Turkish Sulṭāns, and who have, therefore, theoretically no right to the Khalifate, is from a religious standpoint not permitted for Muslims, unless the prince has to be deposed because of his bad government.

16. Legal procedure.—(*a*) *Regulations concerning the qāḍī and trials.*—A very important duty of the *imām* is to appoint a sufficient number of judges. Acting as judge is regarded by Muslim scholars as a *farḍ al-kifāyah* (see p. 863^b). Thus no one is obliged to accept the office of judge when the duty can be fulfilled satisfactorily by others; when this, however, is not the case, to act as judge becomes a personal duty (*farḍ al-'ain*); under such circumstances every one who is able to give a decision according to the regulations of the law is obliged to be a judge.

A *qāḍī* (judge) generally must be a free male Muslim of full age, who is recognized as *'adl* (see p. 864^b), and is fully acquainted with the regulations of the canon law. In theory the judge must even be a *mujtahid* (see p. 860^b), and be able, in passing a sentence, to deduce independently from the sacred sources the rules to be applied. But, as has already been stated, among the later Muslims no one was any longer regarded as qualified to give an independent judgment in *fiqh*-matters; therefore even a judge can at present be only a *muqallid*, and must keep in every respect to what is prescribed in the authoritative *fiqh*-books of his *madhhab*.

In order to secure the independence of the judge, the law forbids the *qāḍī* to accept presents, except from his relatives in the direct line (because, according to the law, he can never give a decision in their favour). For the same reason, according to all except the Ḥanifites, judges are forbidden to engage in commerce, because it would be possible to give them exceptional advantages in trade, in order to obtain their favour.

The judge controls the trial, and is not generally bound by legal regulations for this purpose. He is obliged only to give sufficient opportunity both to plaintiff and to defendant (*al-mudda'ī* and *al-mudda'ā 'alaihi*) to present their declaration and arguments. He must treat both parties equally, provided they are both believers; he must also refrain from exercising influence on the witnesses. He is permitted to endeavour to bring about friendly relations between the parties, and to recommend the cause of one party to the good will of the other.

If the defendant admits that the plaintiff is right, the latter is not obliged to prove his contention. Such an *iqrār* ('acknowledgment') may, however, be regarded as valid only if it has been made before the judge by a defendant of full age, in full possession of his intellectual faculties, without any compulsion. If the contention concerns the payment of a debt or other questions concerning property, he who makes the acknowledgment must also be *rashīd* (see p. 871^{a}).

If, on the other hand, the defendant contests the contention of the plaintiff, he cannot lose his case until the plaintiff has proved his claim by evidence. If, however, the matter in hand is so accurately known to the judge that he can himself give evidence, he may, according to the Shāfi'ites and Ḥanifites, give sentence without further proof on the sole ground of his personal knowledge; according to the Mālikites, he has not this right. All Muslim schools are agreed that the judge is never obliged to give sentence on the ground of formally valid proof, against his better knowledge.

(*b*) *Legal theory regarding evidence.*—Written documents cannot be regarded as valid evidence, unless their contents are confirmed by trustworthy witnesses; the force of the proof, however, is then no longer in the document, but in the oral evidence. An exception is formed to this rule by documents sent from one judge to another. In practice it is frequently necessary to recognize exceptions to this rule.

Legally recognized evidence consists principally in (1) proof borne by witnesses, and (2) the sworn testimony of the parties before the judge.

(1) Testimony (*shahādah*) has the force of proof only if it is borne by a Muslim of full age, who is not under guardianship, and is recognized as *'adl* (see p. 864^{b}). If the judge knows a witness personally, he need not inquire whether he is *'adl*; otherwise, according to the Shāfi'ites and Mālikites, he may give no credence to the testimony till two trustworthy male witnesses have assured him that the witness is *'adl*, even though the other party in the case make no objection to his credibility; according to the Ḥanifites, such an inquiry is called for only in the case of *ḥadd* and *qiṣāṣ* (see art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS [Muhammadan], §§ 2, 5), and if the other party throws doubt on the credibility of the witness.

Inquiry into the credibility of the witnesses is usually handed over by the judge to two of his officers who bear the title of *muzakkī*, *i.e.* one who declares the witness to be *zakī* ('without sin,' 'pure'). In many Muslim lands there are also persons with the title of *'adl* or *shahīd*, who fill much the same rôle as a notary. They are appointed by the *qāḍī*. If two parties wish to make an important contract or sale, or to set on foot other transactions, they may go to such an *'adl* that he may witness the contract. If, later on, there is litigation between the parties with reference to this transaction, the *'adl* may be heard by the judge as a trustworthy witness.

When it is established that a witness is *'adl*, his evidence is held to be worthy of belief, without his having to swear on oath that he will speak the truth. Only in a few cases may the judge attach to the evidence of an *'adl* no value as proof—*e.g.*, when the witness is related in the direct line to one of the parties and testifies in his favour, or if he is an enemy of one of the parties and testifies against him. According to the Ḥanifites and Mālikites, husband and wife cannot give valid evidence against each other, though the Shāfi'ites allow this.

Since only a few Muslims live so strictly according to the regulations of the canon law that they may really be regarded as *'adl*, the judges in Muslim lands must very often content themselves with the declarations of witnesses who do not fulfil the legal requirements. In such cases their declarations are not legal testimony in the strict sense.

The testimony of Christians, Jews, and other unbelievers must be regarded as worthless; the judge may attach no credence to the declarations of persons who deny the most important truths in the sphere of Muhammadanism.

The number of witnesses by whom either of the parties can prove a declaration depends on the subject in hand. If the parties are disputing as to debt or property, then, according to Qur'ān, ii. 282, the evidence of at least two men, or of one man and two women, is required; according to the Shāfi'ites and Mālikites, one male witness is in such a case sufficient, if the party who calls him takes an oath that he (himself) has spoken the truth (and, according to the Mālikites, even two women in this case may take the place of the male witness).

If the case is not concerned with money, the law demands (*α*) the witness of two men, if they must testify as to subjects which are generally known only to men—*e.g.*, retaliation and the price of blood; (*β*) the testimony of a definite number of women, if points have to be proved which are usually known only to women—*e.g.*, the physical infirmities of women, foster-relationship, childbirth, etc. As to the number of female witnesses required in the latter case, the opinions of the *fiqh*-schools differ; the Shāfi'ites demand four women or two women and one man, the Mālikites two women, and the Ḥanifites one only. If the case concerns a *ḥadd*, the witness of women must be regarded as worthless; in this case proof can usually be given only by two male witnesses, and in cases of adultery only by four male witnesses.

(2) The oath (*yamīn*), according to the Shāfi'ites and Mālikites, may be administered by the judge to one of the parties in order to make the evidence of one male witness or of two female witnesses a sufficient proof. The defendant is obliged to take an oath that the plaintiff is in the wrong, if the latter cannot prove his claims legally. If the defendant refuses to take this oath, the plaintiff, according to the Shāfi'ites, must be given the verdict if he is ready to swear to the truth of his contention; according to the Ḥanifites, this oath of the plaintiff is not necessary, and the judge must immediately condemn the defendant if he refuses to swear that the plaintiff was in the wrong; according to the Mālikites, the oath of the plaintiff is required only in some special cases.

The expiration of a long time is not properly recognized in Muslim law as a means of acquiring property or gaining freedom from debt, but, when it appears that a plaintiff has neglected to institute a suit for an exceptionally long time without good reason, this must be regarded as a proof that he knew himself that he had no case. As to the length of this term of limitation the opinions of Muslim scholars differ. In practice an ordinance of the Turkish Sulṭāns is usually followed, who decreed (towards the end of the 16th cent.) that the judges might not grant a suit if it appeared that the plaintiff had without good reason neglected to bring forward his case for fifteen years (see C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'Iets over verjaring in het Moeham. recht,' in *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap*, xlii. [1900] 393–427).

17. The holy war (jihād).—(*a*) *The duty of believers to take part in the holy war (jihād).*—

Another important religious duty of the *imām* and the Muslim community is the holy war against unbelievers—the *jihād* (*i.e.* 'to take trouble,' 'exert oneself,' striving 'on the way of Allāh' [*fī sabīl Allāh*])—in order violently to convert the heathen to the true faith, or at least to subject them to the yoke of Islām.

In the earliest period of Islām, Muslims were forbidden to take measures against the unbelieving inhabitants of Mecca who persecuted and ill-treated them, but after the *Hijrah* the position was altered. In Qur'ān, xxii. 39–42, Allāh declared that in future Muslims should be permitted to defend themselves if they were attacked, and that in so doing they could count on God's support.

'When they strive against their persecutors,' it is stated in these verses of the Qur'ān, 'it is permissible: Allāh is powerful enough to help those who are driven out of their homes unrighteously, merely because they said, "Allāh is our Lord." If God did not help men against each other, hermitages, churches, synagogues, and all places of prayer where God's name is often glorified would be rendered desolate,' etc.

This permission to offer defence against attacks was soon afterwards changed into a command actually to attack the unbelievers, and, since the various expeditions for robbery and pillage on both sides brought about a state of perpetual war between the inhabitants of Mecca and the Muslims at Medīna, the *jihād* gradually became one of the most important religious duties of Muhammad's adherents.

Cf. Qur'ān, ii. 212–213: 'The strife is prescribed for you; you have, it is true, an antipathy to it, but it is possible that you have an antipathy to that which nevertheless is good for you.'

Those who could not personally take part in the campaign must at least assist in the *jihād* by payments of money according to their means.

Even after Mecca was taken, and the inhabitants had been converted to Islām, the *jihād* against unbelievers remained a religious duty. Though the Prophet at that time did not persecute the heathen for their unbelief alone, the *jihād* against many tribes of the heathen Arabs was necessary because they frequently broke their treaty and otherwise showed signs of their untrustworthy and dangerous disposition. The doctrine that all heathen must be subjected to Islām 'because of their unbelief' first arose in the time of the Great Conquests, after the death of the Prophet, when the Muslim armies succeeded in conquering an extensive territory outside Arabia, and in making tributaries of many unbelievers. At that time the Prophet is said to have declared: 'I am commanded to fight against men until they bear witness that there is no God but Allāh, and that Muhammad is God's messenger; only by pronouncing these words can they make their property and blood secure from me.'

The *jihād* is a duty for every male Muslim who is free, of full age, and not only in the full possession of his intellectual powers, but also physically fit for service and able to obtain the necessary weapons. A son, however, may not go to war without the permission of his parents (if they are Muslims), or a debtor without the permission of his creditors. According to the Shāfiʻites and Ḥanifites, no one is bound to the *jihād* unless he has a mount to cover the distance between his dwelling and the scene of war, and also the necessary sustenance for himself and for those for whose sustenance he is responsible; according to the Mālikites, the duty of taking part in the war is independent of these conditions.

The *jihād* is generally a *farḍ al-kifāyah*, and, when a sufficient number of Muslims take part in the war, the others are permitted to give themselves up to the study of the law and to the practice of the various callings by which the sustenance of believers must be maintained. Only in case of an attack by unbelievers and the invasion of a Muslim land is participation in the *jihād* an individual duty (*farḍ al-ʻain*) both for the inhabitants of the threatened districts and for all believers living in the neighbourhood. If the land is conquered by unbelievers, according to the *fatwās* of the later scholars, every Muslim who is in a position to leave the land is then obliged to do so as quickly as possible, at least if he is hindered in the practice of his religious duties.

All lands not belonging to 'the territory of Islām' (*dār al-islām*) must gradually be conquered by the Muslims, and are therefore called 'territory of the war' (*dār al-ḥarb*). The *imām* has to settle when the attack shall be begun. According to theory, one campaign at least must be undertaken against the unbelievers every year; but this became impossible in the later periods, and, according to several Muslim scholars, at present it may be regarded as sufficient if the *imām* keeps the army in good condition and trains it for carrying on the *jihād*.

The many regulations concerning the ways in which Muslims must wage the *jihād* cannot be treated in detail here; they have no practical importance for the later generations. Generally speaking, the war must be carried on as humanely as possible, the helpless must not be killed, and the property of the enemy must not be needlessly destroyed. Before the *imām* invades territory inhabited by unbelievers, he must urge the inhabitants to be converted to Islām. If he neglects this, according to the Shāfiʻites (but not the other *fiqh*-schools), the *diyah* must be paid for every believer who is killed.

(*b*) *Regulations concerning booty.*—The sharing of booty (*ghanīmah*) among those who have a claim to it is carefully regulated in the *fiqh*-books. The regulations on this subject depend on Qur'ān, viii. 42. This verse was revealed when the Muslims had obtained great booty in the battle of Badr, and it was necessary to establish rules for its division. Among the ancient Arabians the head of the tribe usually received a fixed proportion (*e.g.*, a quarter) of the booty, while the rest was divided among the fighting men of the tribe. The head of the tribe received the largest share, but was bound to heavy expenditure in the interests of the tribe. He had, above all, to uphold the honour of the tribe, by hospitality and kindness not only to his relations but to all who had need of help, such as the old, widows, orphans, the poor, and the guests of the tribe. In agreement with this old Arabian custom, Qur'ān, viii. 42, regulated the division of the *ghanīmah* in the following words: 'Know that of that which you make booty a fifth part belongs to Allāh—to His messenger, his family, the orphans, the poor, and travellers—if you believe in Allāh,' etc. Thus the head of the Muslim community, *i.e.* Allāh or His messenger, for the future took the place of the former head of the tribe, and had to use the fifth part of the booty for the same purposes as the Arabian heads of the tribes had formerly been accustomed to use it.

According to Muslim law, $\frac{4}{5}$ of the booty of war must be divided among the troops which have taken part in the battle. If a Muslim kills an unbeliever in battle, according to the Shāfiʻites, he has a right to his weapons (*salab*); but, according to the Ḥanifites and Mālikites, only if he had expressly made this condition with the *imām* beforehand. The remaining fifth part (*khums*), according to the Shāfiʻitic system, based on the words of Qur'ān, viii. 42, must be divided into five equal parts. One of these parts (namely, that which was formerly designed for the Prophet) must after his death be used for the common good of the general Muslim community, and the four remaining parts are to be given respectively to (1) the relatives of the Prophet, (2) the orphans, (3) the poor, and (4) travellers, at least so far as they have need of help. According to the Ḥanifites, the share of the Prophet has lapsed since his death, and so also has that of his family, so that the *khums* must be divided into three equal parts and paid out to the three remaining parties. According to the Mālikites, the *imām* has the right to decide according to his own judgment how the *khums* shall be used in the general interest of Muslims.

To the booty belong not only the weapons and mounts which have been captured in battle, but all moveable property of the enemy; on the other hand, the land and all immoveable property in conquered territory is not divided as booty (see below, § 18 (*a*)). Prisoners are also part of the booty. If unbelievers are converted to Islām before they fall into the hands of the conquerors, they and their children must be regarded by the Muslims as fellow-believers, and they also keep their property. In the opposite case they become slaves (the men as well as the women and children) and are divided among the persons who have a right to a share in the booty. The *imām* is entitled to put prisoners of war to death; according to the Shāfiʽites and Mālikites, he may spare them and set them free, either in exchange for ransom or for Muslim prisoners of war, or even without compensation.

18. Rights and duties of unbelievers in Muslim lands.—(*a*) *Tribute.*—The population of the lands conquered by Muslims after Muhammad's death originally retained their old faith. They were allowed to remain in their old dwellings, both in the towns and in the country; but they had to pay tribute to their conquerors. The tribute consisted chiefly of payment of part of the harvest. Villages and sometimes whole districts were commanded by the magistrates to deliver definite quantities of crops, which were afterwards converted into money by the Muslim officials. The forms of government existing in the ancient times in the different districts were preserved in many respects.[1]

The tribute is called both *jizyah* and *kharāj*; both names have originally the same meaning. The word *jizyah* is taken from Qur'ān, ix. 29: 'Strive against the "people of the Book" who do not believe in Allāh and the Last Day, and do not regard as forbidden what Allāh and His messenger forbid, until they pay you *jizyah* in abasement.' Muslim writers are accustomed to explain *jizyah* as that which is paid 'as compensation' by the 'people of the Book' because the Muslims allow them to keep both their faith and their life and give them protection. *Kharāj*, on the other hand, is borrowed from the language of the conquered, especially in Irāq, where the word is used in the general sense of taxation.[2] Later on, however, a difference was made between the two words, *kharāj* being taken to mean—probably because it was originally understood in the sense of produce of the field—taxation connected with the occupation of land, in distinction from *jizyah*, which came to be used exclusively in the sense of poll-tax.

The land in the conquered territories was declared by Muhammad's successors to be a national domain, in agreement with the opinions of the companions of the Prophet. They would not divide the land among the troops, but kept it as a permanent source of income for all future generations of Muslims. The conquered population were allowed to cultivate the land as they had formerly done, but they had to pay part of the produce as tribute (*kharāj*).

The Prophet himself had acted in some respects in the same way at the conquest of certain districts inhabited by Jews to the north of Medina. When these places fell into the hands of Muslims without much fighting, the Prophet commanded that the captured land should not be divided among the Muslim troops, but, like the *khums* of the *ghanīmah*, should be left to his personal disposition. See Qur'ān, lix. 7: 'What God allows to fall to His messenger as *fai'*[1] belongs to God—to His messenger, his family, the orphans, the poor, and travellers; accept what God's messenger gives you, but refrain from that which he forbids you; fear God, for His punishments are fearful.' Apparently the intention was that property which could not be regarded as booty should be managed by the Prophet, in order that the income might be used in the same way as the fifth part of the booty.

The land which was declared to belong to the State dominion in conquered countries was also called *fai'*, and to secure the use of the income of the *fai'*-land to the Muslim community it was arranged that *kharāj* should be for ever attached to the possession of that land. Even if the population which cultivated the land went over to Islām, they must continue to pay the *kharāj*. This rule has proved unworkable in practice, since the payment of the *kharāj* was regarded as an act of subjection to which only unbelievers could submit.[2] The new converts rejected this obligation, in spite of all measures taken by the magistrate. After their conversion they refused to pay more than the tithe which the Arabian Muslims were also obliged to pay from the product of their harvests.

In the second century after the *Hijrah* several separate works were written by Muslim scholars about the *kharāj*. Among these is the well-known book written by Abū Yūsuf at the instance of the 'Abbāsid Khalīf Al-Manṣūr.[3] In these works it is accurately established which lands belonged to the *fai'*-territory and were thus the State's dominion, and how much their inhabitants must pay as tribute. But, after the whole population had gradually accepted the faith of the Arabian conquerors, and the sharp distinction between them and the latter was becoming less and less marked, the payment of the *kharāj* passed completely out of use. Both the Arabs who had settled on the State domain and the new converts refused to submit to such a tribute, and in the end the land was no longer regarded as *fai'*-land.

(*b*) *Poll-tax, and other obligations of the dhimmīs.*—In the later law-books there is usually no longer an exhaustive discussion of the *kharāj*, but only of the *jizyah*. By this was understood in later times, as has already been noted, a fixed sum of money which was to be paid per head by unbelievers as tribute (on the ground of Qur'ān, ix. 29). According to the Shāfiʽites, only the *ahl al-kitāb*, *i.e.* possessors of a revelation (esp. Christians and Jews who already confessed their faith before Muhammad had preached Islām [see above, p. 866^b]), are allowed to submit to the Muslims on condition that they shall pay the *jizyah*. Other believers must, according to them, be fought against until they have accepted Islām. According to the other *fiqh*-schools, the regulations concerning the *jizyah* are applicable also to all other unbelievers, and the latter may be permitted to submit to the Muslims and at the same time to retain their faith. According to the Ḥanifites, the heathen Arabians were the only exception to this rule; and, according to the Mālikites, the heathen Quraishites, so that only these had to choose between death and conversion to Islām.

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[1] See C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, i. (Heidelberg, 1906) 37 ff.

[2] Cf. T. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden, 1879, p. 241; M. von Berchem, *La Propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier*, Geneva, 1886, p. 20; C. H. Becker, p. 39. Another name, originally a Byzantine term, was *ṭasq* (Gr. *τάξις*); cf. Nöldeke, *ZA* xxiii. [1909–10] 145–148.

[1] Lit. 'what God *makes return* (Arab. *afā'a*) to His messenger.' All the possessions of the unbelievers must 'return' to the Muslims. From this peculiar expression of Qur'an, lix. 7, the name *fai'* originated. By this name Muslim law understands all goods returning to the Muslims, without being booty in the proper sense of the word. The tribute paid by unbelievers also belongs to the *fai'*.

[2] Hence the earlier Muslim *faqīhs* used to forbid Arab conquerors to own land, at least in countries in which the land belonged to the State domain (*fai'*). There was no objection, however, to Arabs possessing land in countries in which the land did not belong to the *fai'*, and where, therefore, no *kharāj* was to be paid.

[3] On the Arabic books about the *kharāj* see I. Goldziher *Deutsche Lit.-Zeitung*, xvii. [1896] 1514 f.

The submission of unbelievers must take the form of a statement by which the rights and duties of both parties are accurately described. The unbelievers must bind themselves to pay the *jizyah*, and to fulfil the other duties that Islām enjoins on them. The Muslims in exchange for this must bind themselves for the future not only to leave them in peace, but also to protect them. The subjugated unbelievers who are thus under the protection (*dhimmah*, *i.e.* responsibility) of the Muslims are therefore called *dhimmīs* in the law-books.

Only those *dhimmīs* who are of full age, free, male, and in full possession of their intellectual faculties are obliged to pay *jizyah*. According to the Shāfiʿites, the amount of this payment depends on the agreement made at the drawing-up of the act of submission; the *imām* or his deputy must demand at least one *dīnār* per head, but, if it is possible, preferably more; according to the Mālikites, the *imām* has the right to act in the interests of the Muslims according to his own judgment; according to the Ḥanifites, he has no choice, but must demand from every poor *dhimmī* one *dīnār*, from each who is well-to-do two *dīnārs*, and from each who is rich four *dīnārs*. According to the conviction of Muslims, however, at the 'end of the days' Jesus will once more come back to the earth and show to Christians as well as to Jews that Islām is the only true religion. In the ideal period, which will begin at His coming, all unbelievers must be converted, and the *jizyah* can no longer be accepted from any one.

Like other taxes which unbelievers have to pay (*e.g.*, the customs which they must pay for their goods if they trade in Muslim lands), the *jizyah* belongs to the *fai'*. As to the question how the *imām* must use the money belonging to the *fai'* there is a difference of opinion among the *fiqh*-schools.

According to the Shāfiʿites, the rules concerning the division of the *khums* of the booty (see above, p. 881 f.) are also applicable to the *fai'*; thus ⅕ of the *fai'* must be divided between the same five categories of persons who have also a right to the *khums* of the booty, while the remaining ⅘ are destined for the general interests of Muslims. According to the Ḥanifites and Mālikites, the rules concerning the distribution of the booty are not applicable to the *fai'*, but the whole *fai'* must be used in the interests of all Muslims (*e.g.*, for the payment of judges, troops, and officials, for the building of forts, roads, bridges, mosques, etc.).

Unbelievers in Muslim lands not only have to pay tribute, but are also subjected to other regulations which involve indignities; *e.g.*, they have to fasten a coloured piece of cloth (*ghiyār*) on their clothes, and wear a special kind of girdle (*zunnār*), in order that they may readily be distinguishable from Muslims. Christians must preferably wear a blue, Jews a yellow *ghiyār*. They may not ride on horseback, their houses may not be as high as, or higher than, those of their Muhammadan neighbours, and they may carry no weapons. They must not give offence to Muslims—*e.g.*, by ringing their church-bells, or by openly slighting Islām, the Prophet, or the Qur'ān, by drinking wine, or eating pork, etc. On the other hand, they may practise their own religious observances. In the towns in which at the conquest of the land there were no churches or synagogues, they may not be built later; Christians and Jews may restore these buildings only if they are in danger of ruin; according to Abū Ḥanīfah, even this was permitted only in those lands which had not been conquered but had voluntarily submitted at the approach of the Muslim army. As a matter of fact, however, in the first centuries of Islām the Muslims conceded to Christians much greater freedom as to the building of churches (cf. I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG* xxxviii. [1884] 674). Otherwise the *dhimmīs* are in many respects on an equality with their Muslim fellow-citizens: they may acquire property in the lands of Islām and carry on trade; this last is under certain conditions permitted even to unbelievers who have not submitted.

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ḤANIFITE LAW.—N. B. E. Baillie, *A Digest of Moohummudan Law*, i. (on the subjects to which it is usually applied by British Courts of Justice in India), London, 1865, ^{2}1875; W. H. Macnaghten, *Principles and Precedents of Hindu and Mohammadan Law*, Calcutta, 1825; C. Hamilton, *The Hedayá, or Guide; a Commentary on the Mussulman Laws*, London, 1791, 2nd ed., with preface by S. Grove Grady, do. 1870; J. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris, 1787–1820.

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MĀLIKITE LAW.—M. A. Perron, *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane selon le rite malékite par Khalîl ibn Ishâk* ^{2} (=*Explor. scient. de l'Algérie*, x.–xv., Paris, 1848–51), Paris, 1877; N. Seignette, *Code musulman de Khalil*, Constantine, 1878; O. Houdas and F. Martel, *Traité de droit musulman: La Tohfat d'Ebn Acem*, Algiers, 1893.

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LAW (Roman).—**1. Fas and ius.**—Law, according to Roman ideas, had a double foundation, being based partly upon divine revelation and partly upon human ordinance. Here we have the root of the distinction between *fas* and *ius*, and this again corresponds to the division of law into *ius divinum* and *ius humanum*:

'Fas et iura sinunt id est divina humanaque iura permittunt; nam ad religionem fas, ad homines iura pertinent' (Serv. *Georg.* i. 269; the explanatory clause, however, fails to hit the mark, as the distinctive character of the *fas* lay, not in its relation to religious things—there were also secular laws 'de religione'—but in its divine origin [cf. Isid. *Orig.* v. ii. 2, 'fas lex divina est, ius lex humana']); Cic. *de Harusp. Resp.* 34, 'oratores contra ius fasque interfectos . . . ius legatorum cum hominum praesidio munitum sit, tum etiam divino iure esse vallatum'; Livy, XXVII. xvii. 13, 'ubi ius ac fas crederent coli . . .'; *ib.* 16, 'ubi nec divini quicquam nec humani sanctum esset.'

On the other hand, the later threefold division of the law into *ius sacrum*, *ius publicum*, and *ius privatum*[1]—a division unknown in professional jurisprudence[2]—does not rest upon diversity of origin, but is based upon the division of affairs into *res sacræ*, *res publicæ*, and *res privatæ*, of which groups the *res sacræ* (and *res religiosæ*) come under *ius divinum*, and the other two under *ius humanum*.[3] The fact that the term *fas* is neuter and indeclinable shows that the corresponding concept was a pure abstraction; the attempts to personify it were of relatively late date, and never quite succeeded, for the prayer which Livy (I. xxxii. 6) puts into the mouth of the *Pater patratus* of the *Fetiales* at the *Clarigatio*, and which begins with the invocation, 'audi Juppiter, audite Fines, audiat Fas' (cf. VIII. v. 8, 'audite Ius Fasque'), shows traces of extensive adulteration by annalistic tradition, while the deity whom later poets designate Fas (Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 658; Valer. Flacc. i. 796) is in reality the Greek Themis.[1] This view of *fas* never found admission into the cultus, while, on the other hand, the divine personification of *ius*—*i.e.* Iustitia—was in the Augustan Age not merely represented by the poets as the counterpart of the Greek Dike,[2] but even honoured by the erection of a special temple.[3]

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[1] Quintil. *Inst. Or.* II. iv. 33; Auson. *Griph. tern. num.* 61.

[2] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*^{3}, ii. 52.

[3] Gaius, *Inst.* ii. 2, 'Summa itaque rerum divisio in duos articulos diducitur; nam aliae sunt divini iuris, aliae humani. Divini iuris sunt veluti res sacrae et religiosae . . .'; 10, 'hae autem quae humani iuris sunt, aut publicae sunt aut privatae' (cf. Mommsen, *loc. cit.*).

To the Romans *fas* was by no means simply an eternal and universal law, a justice equally valid for all peoples and for all times, natural and therefore traceable to a divine source—a *ius naturæ* or *κατὰ φύσιν δίκαιον*—although in the later period and under the influence of Greek philosophy it was certainly attenuated to an indefinite abstraction of this kind,[4] for, in the sense of a natural or customary law,[5] even without written formulation, *fas* was conjoined with the *mos maiorum*,[6] or with *fides*,[7] and the classical jurists sometimes criticized current law by an appeal to *fas* as of higher authority;[8] it was from this point of view, in fact, that the phrase 'contra fas' was often simply a rather severe characterization of the illegality of an action,[9] and the frequent expression 'fas est' came to signify nothing more than 'par est,' 'licet,' 'fieri potest.'[10] Originally, however, the scope of the *fas* did not extend beyond the Roman people. Nor had the *fas* existed from eternity: it was believed that the founders of the Roman State had made a compact with certain deities, who thereupon became the national gods, and, while this compact secured for the Roman people the protection and favour of these gods, and therefore also all good fortune and prosperity, it likewise required from them the strict fulfilment of certain clearly defined duties and commandments.[11]

These divine laws were all included under the one term *fas*, which, accordingly, was not confined to the demands of natural justice, as, *e.g.*, those referring to the relation of children to parents, etc., but comprehended also the extensive and intricate ritual law in its entirety. We have the clearest evidence for this in the earliest extant document which makes mention of *fas* and its opposite *nefas*, viz. the Roman Calendar of festivals. That the abbreviations Q·R·C·F and Q·ST·D·F found there are to read as 'quando rex comitiavit fas' and 'quando stercus delatum fas' respectively is proved on adequate grounds; moreover, the symbols F and N attached to the majority of the days in the calendar meant originally, not *fastus* and *nefastus*, as was supposed at a later period, but *fas* and *nefas*, as is shown by the symbol N·F·P, subsequently contracted to NP, and signifying 'nefas feriae publicae.'[1] In these phrases *fas* can be construed grammatically only as the predicative noun of a clause which in full would run: 'hoc die lege agere fas est';[2] 'fas est' signifies 'is in accordance with *fas*,' just as 'ius est' was employed in an analogous sense.[3] Thus the distinctively Roman practice of dividing the days of the year into the two classes of 'holy days' and 'working days,' belonging respectively to the gods and to men, comes under the *fas*.[4] As bearing a like sense, and with express reference to the ordinances of sacred law, the word *fas* is frequently used not only in the technical phraseology of sacred things,[5] but also in the literature generally, as, *e.g.*, with reference to dedication (Cic. *de Domo sua*, 138), the legal position of 'loca sacra' (Paul. *Dig.* XXXIX. iii. 17. 3), questions of marriage law (Ulpian, *Dig.* III. ii. 13. 4), and adoption (Cic. *de Domo sua*, 35); similarly, in Cic. *Verr.* v. 34 ('contra fas, contra auspicia, contra omnes divinas et humanas religiones') and Marcian, *Dig.* XLVIII. xviii. 5 ('incestum, quia cognatam violavit contra fas'), the phrase 'contra fas' still bears the pregnant sense of a violation of divine law, and passages of like tenor are of frequent occurrence down to the later literary period.

It is a widely prevalent view that the *ius* was disengaged from the *fas* in relatively late times, and was indeed developed from it, and that in a broad sense the whole public and private law of the Romans rested upon the basis of the religious law.[6] This theory, however, requires considerable qualification, as has recently been most efficiently shown by L. Mitteis (*op. cit.* p. 22 f.). Mitteis (p. 26) rightly emphasizes the circumstance that there is hardly a single significant trace of the influence of the *fas* in the law of property as relating to living persons, while the occasional occurrence of *fas* and *ius* in family law and the law of inheritance is explained by the fact that marriage was regarded as a 'divini humanique iuris communicatio' (Modestinus, *Dig.* XXIII. ii. 1), and all the questions relating to the *sacra* of family and clan came as decisively within the province of the *fas* as questions relating purely to property within that of the *ius*. In criminal jurisprudence a religious penal law of earlier origin maintained a place beside a later secular one, and the provisions of each are clearly distinguished by the form of the punishment imposed (*sanctio*); thus, while the secular law relegates the execution of the penalty to the authorities, and attaches definite penalties in person or property to particular crimes, the religious law knows nothing whatever of penalties inflicted by human means, but either declares that the trespass against a sacred ordinance can be made good by the proper expiatory offerings (*piacula*) or else, by pro-

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[1] Auson. *Technop. de dis*, 44, 'sunt et caelicolum monosyllaba: prima deum Fas, quae Themis est Grais'; G. Goetz, *Thesaur. gloss. emendat.*, Leipzig, 1899–1903, i. 436; cf. K. Lehrs, *Populäre Aufsätze aus dem Altertum* 2, Leipzig, 1875, p. 98.

[2] Verg. *Georg.* ii. 474; Ov. *Fast.* i. 249, both with reference to Arat. *Phæn.* 133.

[3] Ov. *Epist. ex Ponto*, III. vi. 23 ff.; cf. H. L. Axtell, *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions*, Chicago, 1907, p. 36 f.; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* 2, Munich, 1912, p. 333.

[4] Cic. *pro Milone*, 43, 'quod aut per naturam fas esset aut per leges liceret'; Pers. v. 98, 'publica lex hominum naturaque; continet hoc fas.'

[5] On both of these conceptions cf. R. Hirzel, '"Αγραφος Νόμος,' in *ASG*, phil.-histor. Klasse, xx. 1 [1900].

[6] Flor. I. xxxv. 7, 'contra fas deum moresque maiorum'; *Cod. Justin.* ix. 38, 'praeter fas praeterque morem antiquitatis.'

[7] Livy I. ix. 13, 'per fas ac fidem'; Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 15, 'neque fas neque fidem pensi habere'; cf. also *Hist.* iii. 5, 'ius fasque exuere,' with *Ann.* i. 35, 'fidem exuere,' and *Hist.* iv. 67, 'fasque ac foedera respicere.'

[8] Instances in L. Mitteis, *Römisches Privatrecht*, i. 23 f., note 3.

[9] *e.g.* *CIL* viii. 10570, ii. 3, '(praevaricationem) . . . contra fas atq[ue] in perniciem rationum tuarum sine modo exercuit.'

[10] Cf. R. Hirzel, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 51.

[11] As is distinctly expressed in Cic. *pro Sest.* 91, 'tum res ad communem utilitatem, quas publicas appellamus, tum conventicula hominum, quae postea civitates nominatae sunt, tum domicilia coniuncta, quas urbes dicimus, invento et divino iure et humano, moenibus saepserunt'; similarly it is said, *e.g.* in *CIL* vi. 1302, 'is preimus ius fetiale paravit,' although the Fetial Law was undoubtedly regarded as a part of the *fas*.

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[1] Cf. W. Soltau, in A. Fleckeisen's *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, cxxxvii. [1888] 836; Wissowa, *op. cit.* p. 438.

[2] The present writer is at a loss to understand the view of W. W. Fowler (*The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 487 f.), viz. that *fas* is here an adverb.

[3] *e.g.* Plaut. *Persa*, 105, 'pernam quidem ius est adponi frigidam postridie.'

[4] Hence Verg. *Georg.* i. 268 f., 'quippe etiam festis quaedam exercere diebus fas et iura sinunt.'

[5] *e.g.* *CIL* vi. 576, 'extra hoc limen aliquid de sacro Silvam efferre fas non est'; Fest. p. 318, 'neque fas est eum immolari.'

[6] Of recent writers cf. especially E. Lambert, *La Fonction du droit civil comparé*, i. (Paris, 1903) 632 ff.

nouncing the formula 'sacer esto,' devotes the offender to the deity for such punishment as the latter may decree. The *leges sacratæ* with which the inviolability of the plebeian magistracy was guaranteed at its institution were simply laws which pronounced the sentence (*sanctio*) 'sacer esto,'[1] just as, in fact, the penalty imposed upon one who violated the privileges of the *plebs* was, according to the literary tradition, 'ut . . . eius caput Iovi sacrum esset, familia ad ædem Cereris, Liberi, Liberaeque venum iret.'[2] What we have here, accordingly, is not a secular ordinance in the forms of public law, but a contract under the protection of the *fas*. The person declared to be *sacer* was a proscribed outlaw, and any one had the right to execute the divine sentence under which he lay, and might kill him with impunity.[3] The same consequences were incurred by one who committed an act of violence upon a tribune of the people,[4] though at a later period the State itself saw to the due infliction of the penalty by secular law, viz. by bringing the crime before the magistrates in the form of a process of perduellion.[5] A similar reinforcement of the sentence 'sacer esto' by a secular penalty is authorized also by the Law of the XII Tables as given by Pliny, *HN* xviii. 12:

> 'Frugem . . . aratro quaesitam noctu pavisse ac secuisse puberi XII tabulis capital erat suspensumque Cereri necari iubebant, . . . impubem praetoris arbitratu verberari noxiamve duplionemve decerni,'

where the reference to Ceres indicates that the original formula of the *sanctio* was 'Cereri sacer esto,' and that the penalty of crucifixion (or, in the case of those under age, scourging) was a later addition. It is possible that in other cases as well the sanction of secular law was added to or substituted for that of sacred law, and, as the former was naturally more certain in its operation than the latter, *fas* gradually lost its practical significance, and came to be regarded more as an ideal ratification and reinforcement of a secular law that was in itself perfectly competent to administer the penalty. Only so can we explain the circumstance that the often[6] purely conventional phrase, 'ius et fas' or 'ius fasque,'[7] is found, almost without exception, with its terms in that order,[8] even in passages where the reverse order might seem the more natural, as, *e.g.*, Livy, XXXIII. xxxiii. 7, 'ius fas lex,' and Cic. *de Harusp. Resp.* 43, 'deos hominesque, pudorem, pudicitiam, senatus auctoritatem, ius, fas, leges, iudicia violavit' (where 'deos hominesque' would lead us to expect 'fas iusque'). The same sequence occurs also in the technical language of religion, as in the Lex aræ Narbonensis, *CIL* xii. 4333, ii. 14, 'Si quis tergere ornare reficere volet, quod beneficii causa fiat, ius fasque esto,' in accordance with which the corresponding passage in the law of the temple at Furfo (*CIL* ix. 3513. 7) should probably be restored thus: 'utei tangere sarcire tegere . . . [ius] fasque esto.' This also explains why the *fas* should be specially appealed to in matters which the arm of the civil law did not reach, as, *e.g.*, affairs of international law, which regulated the relations of war and peace among the nations; thus Tacitus speaks of the 'fas gentium'[1] and the 'fas armorum et ius hostium.'[2]

2. Codification.—It is only natural to expect that there could be no complete or public codification of the ordinances of the *ius divinum*, as, although the latter was traced back to a definite compact with the gods, it was in reality the result of a gradual development. The duty of preserving this sacred law was committed to the State priests, who had, as required, to give their professional opinions for the enlightenment and instruction both of the authorities and of private individuals. There was, however—apart from the penal authority of the Pontifex Maximus in relation to his subordinate priests—no official administration of sacred law, and no official infliction of its penalties. In general, offences against the *fas* were regarded as falling under the maxim 'deorum iniuriae dis curae' (Tac. *Ann.* i. 73), and the *piacula* assigned to particular ritual misdeeds were not penalties, but were designed simply to show the delinquent how he might propitiate the offended deity. A person who did not avail himself of this opportunity, and who refused to offer the required *piaculum*, or one who violated the *fas* in so gross a fashion that expiation was deemed impossible, was *impius*, was excluded from the *pax deorum*, even if neither the sacred nor the secular authorities took proceedings against him;[3] the only thing that could affect such an offender, indeed, was the reprimand of the Censor. Those who violated the ordinance regarding holy days, or did not fulfil a vow that they had made, or broke an oath made by appealing to the gods, did not thereby become liable to human retribution at all, whether of priests or of magistrates; and even with regard to those provisions of the sacred law which, by means of the formula 'sacer esto,' committed the defender to the divine retribution, the intervention of the State in the infliction of punishment was, as noted above, a later development. Likewise, in cases which did not relate to penal offences at all, but involved civil matters falling within the scope of the *fas*, as, *e.g.*, the mode and extent of the required fulfilment of a vow, the inheritance of the *sacra familiaria*, etc., the priests did not deliver a judgment that could be enforced by law, but merely gave an opinion regarding the legal position, though it is true that this opinion was almost always accepted by the parties concerned.

Corresponding to the respective spheres of the several colleges of priests, the codification of the *ius divinum* is found in three distinct forms, viz. the *ius pontificium*, the *ius augurale*, and the *ius fetiale*. The *ius fetiale* contained the articles relating to matters of international law which could not be consummated without religious ceremonies, and also the form of such ritual; the vital element in the *ius augurale* was the widely ramified and imposing doctrine of the *auspicia*; the *ius pontificium* embraced not only the ritual ordinances designed for the guidance of the priests, *i.e.* the ceremonial law in the proper sense, but also all the essential principles of the legal and other relations between the Roman citizen or the Roman nation and the State gods; and in a State whose citizens, alike as individuals and as a people, attached the utmost significance to the maintenance of the *pax deum*, and as 'religiosissimi mortales' (Sallust, *Cat.* xii. 3) applied themselves to their religious concerns with the most painful conscientiousness, this pontifical law bore upon every phase of private and public life, so that the Pontifex Maximus was actually designated as 'index atque arbiter rerum divinarum humanarumque' (Festus, p. 185). This certainly does not in the slightest alter the fact that the jurisdiction of the Pontifices, as of all other priests, was wholly confined to the province of the *ius divinum*;[1] nevertheless those invested with the priestly office, just because they expounded and administered the *fas*, had, on the one hand, the opportunity of acquiring great experience in the application and interpretation of law, and thus also great acuteness in juridical thinking and reasoning; while, on the other hand, in view of the numerous points at which the *fas* came into touch with questions of secular life and secular law, they required to have a thorough knowledge of the *ius civile* also,[2] so that the Pontifices were the earliest jurists of Rome, and in virtue of their *responsa* exercised no small influence upon the development of the civil law as well. It should be noted, however, that these *responsa*, so far as they transcended the proper sphere of the *ius divinum*, were not official deliverances, and thus were never given by the *collegium* as a whole, but were pronounced by individual Pontifices, who in such things had no higher authority than a private person learned in the law. From the circumstance that the body of consulting lawyers was largely recruited from among the Pontifices the ancient reading of the history, to which modern scholars have attached too much importance, wrongly assumed that the Pontifical College as such was officially concerned in the preservation and application of the civil law, and asserted that the form of words necessary to the institution of a suit (the *legis actiones*) was officially communicated to the parties by a member of the Pontifical College annually appointed for the purpose,[3] and even that the knowledge of the civil law as a whole was confined to the Pontifices.[4] As a matter of fact, the official function of the Pontifical College was restricted to the administration of the sacred law, and a similar limitation must be assigned to the juristic writings *de iure pontificio*, which drew their materials from the pontifical archives, the *libri* (or *commentarii*) *pontificum*, and of which, with an older work by Q. Fabius Pictor, the comprehensive treatises of M. Antistius Labeo and C. Ateius Capito may be singled out for special mention.

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[1] Hence the term 'sacrosanctus,' the implications of which A. Rosenberg (*Hermes*, xlviii. [1913] 359 ff.), whose arguments so frequently carry conviction, has failed to grasp with sufficient clearness.

[2] Livy, III. lv. 7; cf. Dion. Hal. VI. lxxxix. 3, x. xlii. 3 f.

[3] Fest. p. 318; Macr. *Sat.* III. vii. 5; Dion. Hal. II. x. 3; cf. also W. W. Fowler, *Journal of Roman Studies*, i. [1911] 57 ff.

[4] Cic. *pro Tullio*, 47, 'legem antiquam de legibus sacratis, quae iubent impune occidi eum, qui tribunum plebis pulsaverit'; cf. Livy, III. lvi. 5; Dion. Hal. VI. lxxxix. 3.

[5] Mommsen, *Röm. Strafrecht*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 581.

[6] First in Plautus, *Cist.* 20; Terence, *Hecyra*, 387.

[7] Cf. R. Hirzel, *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes*, p. 161.

[8] The sequence in Verg. *Georg.* i. 269 ('fas et iura sinunt') and Amm. Marc. XIV. i. 5 ('velut fas iusque perpensum') is due no doubt to the writers' conscious purpose; in Livy, VII. xxxi. 3 ('sicut fas iusque est') E. Wölfflin, in view of his author's regular usage, has substituted 'ius fasque' for the traditional reading.

[1] *Ann.* i. 42, 'hostium quoque ius et sacra legationum et fas gentium rupistis.'

[2] *Hist.* iv. 58; cf. *Ann.* i. 19, 'contra fas disciplinae'; Justin, XXXIX. iii. 8, 'praeter commune bellantium fas.'

[3] Mommsen. *Strafrecht*, p. 36 f.

An important step in the publication of the sacred law was taken when the register of court-days and holy days, the *Fasti*, was made accessible to the public—an event brought about, as Mommsen[5] rightly infers from Cic. *ad Att.* VI. i. 8, by the promulgation of the Code of the XII Tables; while the well-known disclosure of Cn. Flavius, the protégé of the revolutionary Appius Claudius, Censor in 312 B.C., marks the earliest issue of the calendar in a codified form. Another extensive collection of articles from the sacred law, the publication of which cannot be precisely dated, was current among the jurists of the later period under the title of *Ius Papirianum*,[1] and was annotated by Granius Flaccus, a contemporary of Cæsar.[2] The meaning of the name 'Papirianum' had been forgotten by the ancients themselves, but was believed to go back to an editor called Papirius (the *prænomen* is variously given), said to have been the first Pontifex Maximus after the expulsion of the kings,[3] while a rather unconvincing modern theory[4] would assign the compilation to Sextus Papirius, a jurist of Cicero's time, who is mentioned as a pupil of Q. Mucius Scævola.[5] While the collection as a whole may be of fairly late date,[6] there can be no doubt that its individual statutes go back to a very remote period and were drawn from the writings of the Pontifices. They are called *Leges Regiæ*,[7] and were arranged in the order of the kings to whom—somewhat arbitrarily, it is clear—they were ascribed.[8] As regards their matter, they lie wholly within the range of the *ius divinum*, and, in cases where they prohibit something, the penalties imposed are exclusively of a religious kind—the offering of a *piaculum* for less serious offences,[9] and, for more serious, condemnation by the formula 'sacer esto.'[10] Moreover, many of the provisions bear directly upon the ceremonial of sacrifice,[11] and of other proceedings regulated by religious law, as, *e.g.*, the interment of the dead,[12] so that we can quite easily understand the reference of Servius (*Æn.* xii. 836) to the 'lex Papiria *de ritu sacrorum*' (cf. also Macr. *Sat.* III. xi. 5). In all cases where the code seems to encroach upon the sphere of secular law, it deals with matters which originally were regulated by the *fas* alone, but were subsequently brought within the scope of the ordinary criminal law, as appears to have been the case even with *paricidium*.[13] The ordinances of the *fas* formulated in the *Leges Regiæ* bore with special frequency upon matters in which private law was palpably defective,[14] as, *e.g.*, the unintentional slaying of a human being,[15] and many questions of family law: thus we find ordinances concerning the punishment of children who ill-treat their parents,[16] the exposure of children,[17] the repudiation and selling of wives,[18] the period of a widow's mourning and her re-marriage,[19] etc.; the protection of clients[20] and landmarks[21] also fell within the scope of the sacred law. When the extreme penalty of 'sacer esto' is imposed, the deities to whom the criminal is delivered are always those of the earliest Roman cultus, and above all Juppiter,[22] Vediovis,[23] and the *divi parentum* or

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[1] Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 47, 'quid enim ad pontificem de iure parietum et aquarum aut ullo omnino nisi eo quod cum religione coniunctum est?'

[2] *Ib.* 'pontificem bonum neminem esse nisi qui ius civile bene nosset.'

[3] Pompon. *Dig.* I. ii. 2. 6, 'omnium tamen harum interpretandi scientia et actiones apud collegium pontificum erant, ex quibus constituebatur quis quoquo anno praeesset privatis'—a statement which Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*^{3}, ii. 46) justly characterizes as confused and incredible, while R. Maschke (in *Festschrift zum 50-jähr. Doktorjubil. L. Friedländers*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 322 ff.) makes it the basis of far-reaching inferences.

[4] Livy, IX. xlvi. 5, 'civile ius repositum in penetralibus pontificum evulgavit,' and, following this statement, Valer. Max. II. v. 2, 'ius civile per multa saecula inter sacra caerimoniasque deorum immortalium abditum solisque pontificibus notum Cn. Flavius . . . vulgavit.'

[5] *Römische Chronologie*^{2}, Berlin, 1859, p. 31, note 35*a*.

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[1] Macr. *Sat.* III. xi. 5; Paul. *Dig.* L. xvi. 144; in Pompon. *Dig.* I. ii. 2. 2, it is wrongly designated 'ius civile Papirianum'; in Serv. *Æn.* xii. 836, it is called 'lex Papiria.'

[2] Paul. *Dig.*, *loc. cit.*

[3] Dion. Hal. III. xxxvi. 4; cf. further A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte*, Halle, 1876, i. 24.

[4] F. P. Bremer, *Jurisprudentiæ antehadrianæ quæ supersunt*, Leipzig, 1896–1901, i. 132 f.

[5] Pompon. *Dig.* I. ii. 2. 42.

[6] Cf. esp. O. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften*, Berlin, 1913, p. 239 ff.

[7] Pompon. *Dig.* I. ii. 2. 36; Livy, VI. i. 10.

[8] This appears from Fest. p. 230, 'in regis Romuli et Tatii legibus . . . in Servii Tullii haec est . . .'

[9] *e.g.* 'Paelex aram Iunonis ne tangito; si tangit, Iunoni crinibus demissis agnam feminam caedito' (Paul. p. 222; cf. Aul. Gell. IV. iii. 3).

[10] *e.g.* 'si quisquam aliuta faxit, ipsos Iovi sacer esto' (Paul. p. 6).

[11] As, *e.g.*, in the presentation of the *spolia opima* (Fest. p. 189).

[12] Cf. Pliny, *HN* xiv. 88, 'vino rogum ne respargito.'

[13] 'Si qui hominem liberum dolo sciens morti duit, paricidas esto' (Paul. p. 221).

[14] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*^{3}, ii. 42.

[15] 'Ut si quis imprudens occidisset hominem, pro capite occisi agnatis eius in contione offerret arietem' (Serv. *Ecl.* iv. 43; cf. *Georg.* iii. 387).

[16] 'Si parentem puer verberit, ast ille plorassit, puer divis parentum sacer esto' (Fest. p. 230).

[17] Dion. Hal. II. xv. 2.

[18] Plut. *Romulus*, 22.

[19] Plut. *Numa*, 12.

[20] Dion. Hal. II. x. 3.

[21] *Ib.* II. lxxiv. 3.

[22] Paul. p. 6; Dion. Hal. II. lxxiv. 3.

[23] Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος (Dion. Hal. II. x. 3).

ancestral spirits.[1] The *Δημήτηρ* to whom one half of the husband's property was assigned when he unjustly repudiated his wife[2] must undoubtedly have been the ancient Roman goddess Tellus, of whom we read as the goddess of marriage;[3] and to her also belonged the oblation of a cow in calf ('forda bos'), which, according to Plut. *Numa*, 12, was demanded from a widow who married again during her period of mourning. The Ceres to whom the spoiler of crops was delivered was without doubt the ancient Roman goddess of vegetation,[4] and not the Greek Demeter; it was the latter, however, to whom, as Ceres Liber and Ceres Libera, the statutes of the *Leges Sacratæ* (a reproduction of the *Leges Regiæ*) assigned the property of one who infringed the privileges of the *plebs*.[5]

As the sentence of 'sacer esto' was attached only to the statutes derived from the sphere of the ancient *fas*, we must not, with Mommsen (*Strafrecht*, p. 900 ff.), regard the formula as equivalent to the capital penalty of the secular law; in reality it simply handed the offender over to divine retribution, nor did it ever signify more than this except in so far as the State supplemented the religious penalty by a civil one. The youth who beat his father, and thereby became 'divis parentum sacer' was not called to account by the civil magistrates, though in legislating for certain other offences the State fixed definite penalties and so undertook to enforce them. As we saw above (p. 885^{a}), the peculiar form of the penalty imposed by the XII Tables upon the injurer of crops ('suspensum Cereri necari' [Pliny, *HN* xviii. 12]) clearly implies that the secular penalty of crucifixion was an addition to the older religious penalty of 'Cereri sacer esto.' The like holds good with regard to another offence: if a patron wilfully injured his client, he was, by a *lex regia* ascribed to Romulus, delivered, as *sacer*, to Vediovis (Dion. Hal. II. x. 3), and the XII Tables formulated this ordinance as 'patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto' (Serv. *Æn.* vi. 609); the fact that the deity's name is omitted in the latter formulation shows that the phrase 'sacer esto' had lost its original meaning, for it was necessary that the sentence of *sacratio* should always specify a particular deity.[6] That the whole procedure of *consecratio capitis et bonorum*[7] lay outside the sphere of secular justice, and belonged exclusively to that of religious law,[8] to which all formal judicial procedure was alien, appears from the fact that the *consecratio bonorum*, which was still inflicted in historical times, and manifestly on the grounds of the *Leges Sacratæ*, by the tribunes of the people upon those who resisted them,[9] was carried out in purely religious forms, and neither required a forensic process nor permitted of an appeal.

As the *ius divinum* was believed to have come into being at the foundation of the city, it could of course be developed indirectly by the expositions of the priests, but could not be added to by the creation of fresh laws. From the institution of the Republic, accordingly, there was no specific sacred legislation, and the *ius sacrum* was a division of the *ius publicum*,[10] as finds clear expression in the formula with which the magistrate rejected private claims to property, 'aut sacrum aut publicum esse,'[1] *i.e.* 'the property of the gods and that of the State are one in relation to private property.' In the so-called *Lex de imperio Vespasiani*[2] the two great divisions of *divinæ humanæ res* and *publicæ privatæque res* (the *publicæ res* embracing also the *sacræ res*) are not conjoined in such a way as to imply that the latter pair is a subdivision of the *humanæ res*; and Ulpian's definition of (secular) jurisprudence as 'divinarum atque humanarum rerum notitia, iusti atque iniusti scientia' (*Dig.* I. i. 10. 2) no longer recognizes any distinction between sacred and secular law.

LITERATURE.—M. Voigt, 'Die römische Klassification von ius divinum und humanum,' in *Berichte der sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften*, liv. [1902] 185 ff.; T. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*^{3}, Leipzig, 1887, ii. 36 ff.; W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, pp. 109 ff., 270 ff., 486 ff.; L. Mitteis, *Röm. Privatrecht*, Leipzig, 1912, i. 22 ff. For the *Leges Regiæ*: M. Voigt, 'Über die leges regiae,' *ASG*, phil.-hist. Klasse, vii. [1876]; P. Krüger, *Gesch. der Quellen und Litteratur des röm. Rechts*^{2}, Munich and Leipzig, 1912, p. 3 ff.; fragments in C. G. Bruns and O. Gradenwitz, *Fontes iuris rom. antiqui*^{7}, Tübingen, 1909, i. 1 ff.

G. WISSOWA.

LAW (Teutonic and Slavic).—I. Terms denoting 'law.'—As the conceptions of justice and law are everywhere of higher antiquity than the knowledge and use of writing, we may assume that among the Teutons and the Slavs there were at one time only *ἄγραφοι νόμοι*, 'unwritten laws.' The nature of such unwritten laws can be discovered only by an analysis of the general terms used to designate them. Among the Slavs one of the most typical terms for the idea of law is *zakonŭ*, a word found in all the Slavic tongues, and the word *pokonŭ* was employed in the same sense. As both of these words are etymologically akin to the O. Slav. *za-čina*, Czech *po-čnu*, 'I begin,' they must originally have meant something like 'beginning,' *i.e.* that which existed or was in force from the first. This is the fundamental sense also of the O. Russ. *pošlina*, 'law,' lit. 'the past,' and *starina*, 'law,' lit. 'antiquity'; cf. such phrases as *po staroj pošline Novgorodčkoj*, 'by ancient Novgorod law,' *dirzati vŭ starine*, 'to observe the laws,' *na vsej starine*, 'in retention of all previous law.' An essentially similar idea lies at the root of the term for 'law' common to the West Teutonic dialects, O.H.G. *êwa*, O.S. *êo*, A.S. *æ*, *æw*. It is true that some philologists regard this Teutonic word as cognate with the Lat. *æquum*, so that it would mean originally 'fairness,' 'equity,' and this is certainly possible by phonetic laws (O.H.G. *êwa* from * *aihva* = Lat. *æquum* from * *aiquo*); but the Slavic data just noted seem to make it much more probable that O.H.G. *êwa* is related to Lat. *ævum*, 'eternity,' Gr. *αἰών*, 'long space of time,' *αἰεί*, 'ever,' and thus, like the Slavic *zakonŭ*, *pošlina*, *starina*, will mean 'the law which has been in force from eternity, from the beginning, from of old.'

A second concept connoting 'law' and 'equity,' and common to both Teutons and Slavs—though found also in other branches of the Indogermanic stock—is that of 'straightness' as contrasted with 'crookedness.' Thus Goth. *raihts*, O. Norse *réttr*, A.S. *riht*, O. Sax. *reht* (cf. also O. Irish *recht*, 'law,' 'justice'), are philologically equivalent to Lat. *rectus*, 'straight,' 'right,' Avest. *rāšta*, 'straight,' 'right,' 'correct'; and similarly the Slav. *pravĭda*, *pravo*, 'law,' 'justice,' is derived from *pravŭ*, 'straight.' We cannot doubt that this 'straight' signifies 'running in the same line with something else,' *i.e.* 'in accordance with it.' This, however, raises the question as to what that 'something else' was. According to R. Löning (*Über Wurzel und*

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[1] Fest. p. 230; Plut. *Romulus*, 22.

[2] *Ib.*

[3] Serv. *Æn.* iv. 166

[4] Pliny, *HN* xviii. 12; see below.

[5] Livy, III. lv.–lvi.; cf. Dion. Hal. VI. lxxxix. 3, x. xlii. 4.

[6] Fest. p. 318, 'sacratae leges sunt, quibus sanctum est, qui quid adversus eas fecerit, sacer alicui deorum sit sicut familia pecuniaque'; cf. Dion. Hal. II. x. 3.

[7] The abundant literature on this subject is given in J. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, iii.^{2}, Leipzig, 1885, p. 276.

[8] Cf. Macr. *Sat.* III. vii. 4, 'sacrationis vocabulo observantiam divini iuris implevit.'

[9] Instances in Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 49.

[10] Ulpian, *Dig.* I. i. 1. 2, 'publicum ius est quod ad statum rei Romanae spectat, privatum quod ad singulorum utilitatem . . . publicum ius in sacris, in sacerdotibus, in magistratibus.'

[1] *CIL* ix. 439, 440; cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 1044; Livy, xxv. i. 12, XL. li. 8.

[2] *CIL* vi. 930, line 17, 'quaecunque ex usu reipublicae maiestateque divinarum humanarum, publicarum privatarumque rerum esse censebit.'

Wesen des Rechts, Jena, 1907, *vassim*), the norm was a sense of justice inherent in man. In view of the above interpretations of Slav. *zakonŭ*, *pošlina*, *starina*, and O.H.G. *ēwa* (Lat. *ævum*), however, the present writer thinks it more natural and more in keeping with primitive thought to explain Germ. *Recht*, Slav. *pravo*, as signifying that which agrees with the usages of the earliest times.

Other two Teutonic groups of terms denoting ‘law’ are derivatives of roots originally signifying ‘statute,’ ‘something fixed.’ One of these is Eastern Teutonic, the O. Norse *lög* (from which A.S. *lagu* and hence ‘law’ itself are derived), Goth. (as in Jordanes, 11) *bel(l)agines*, ‘laws’ = * *bi-lagineis*, connected with *lagjan*, ‘to lay,’ and, if cognate with Lat. *lex*, going back to the primitive Indogermanic language. The other group, which is represented in all the Teutonic dialects, and tends rather to assume the sense of ‘judgment on grounds of law,’ includes the Goth. *dôms*, in *dômjan*, O. Norse *dómr*, A.S. *dóm* (the regular term for ‘law,’ as in *dómbók*, ‘law-book’), O. Fris. *dōm*, O. Sax. *dôm*, O.H.G. *tuom*—all cognate with Gr. *τίθημι*, ‘set,’ ‘place,’ ‘lay,’ and Skr. *dhāman*, ‘seat,’ ‘law,’ ‘order.’ As we can hardly suppose that the reference here is to statutes of the primitive gods, whose sphere of authority lay as yet ‘beyond good and evil’ (cf. art. ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 50^{b}), any more than to the statutes of kings, who in primitive times had no independent authority to make laws (cf. art. KING [Teut. and Litu-Slav.], above, p. 728), we must regard O. Norse *lög* and Goth. *dôms* as denoting the statutes of those tribal assemblies, presided over by kings, which can be traced back to the Indogermanic epoch, such statutes being then carried in the memory of the people and so handed down from one generation to another (cf. O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, *s.v.* ‘Volksversammlung’).

Reference must be made, finally, to a very peculiar term for ‘law’ found in all the Teutonic languages, viz. Goth. *witôþ* (‘*νόμος*’), O. Norse *vitaδ*, O.H.G. *wizzôd*, etc. It is formed from the Goth. *witan*, ‘to know,’ and is manifestly to be understood in the sense of the late M.H.G. *wîstuom* (Eng. ‘wisdom’), ‘legal precedent,’ ‘instruction in law,’ but lit. ‘learning,’ *i.e.* the learning that consists in the knowledge and application of legal views and usages.

2. Law as oral tradition.—If we want a concise characterization of the legal side of primitive life among the Teutons and Slavs, we cannot do better than take the words of Nestor's *Chronicle*, ch. x.: ‘they had the customs and the law of their fathers and traditions; each [tribe] its own usage.’ As writing was not yet in use, this ancient law of custom (Slav. *zakonŭ*, O.H.G. *ēwa*) could, of course, be preserved from age to age only by oral tradition. How this was done in remote antiquity we have no direct or definite means of knowing, but we may gain some idea of the method by observing the corresponding state of matters found among peoples who still remained without legal documents till far on in historical times. Among Teutonic peoples this was the case with the Scandinavians.

> ‘The highest civic position was that of “the man of law” (*lögmaδr*, *lögsögumaδr*). He was the living code and the custodian of the law for the province and the diet; he was the director of the Thing, he announced its decisions to the public, and in cases of doubt expounded the law. It was his duty to keep a knowledge of law alive among the people, and, as is prescribed by the Icelandic *graugans* and recommended by the Scandinavian statutes, he had every three years to stand upon the “cliff of the law” and recite intelligibly to all the whole civil law, and once a year the procedure of the law-courts (*þingsköp*)’ (K. Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, Berlin, 1856, p. 400).

Such ‘men of law,’ as official guardians and preservers of primitive legal tradition, who in Scandinavia were preferably resorted to even when at length movements were made towards reducing the laws to writing, must have played a part also among the other Teutonic peoples from remote times. In references to the documentary formulation of ancient popular laws, we often hear of *sapientes*, *i.e.* ‘the learned’ (cf. Goth. *witôþ*, ‘law,’ ‘legal decision’), as those to whom the work was committed. Thus Charlemagne (*Capit.* ann. 789, cap. 62) says: ‘lex a sapientibus populo composita.’ From a prologue to a collection of ancient popular laws we learn that Theodoric, king of the Franks, when at Chalons, selected a number of men learned in the laws (‘viros sapientes qui in regno suo legibus antiquis eruditi erant’) with a view to recording the usages of the Franks, Alamans, and Bavarians. The law of the Frisians contains supplements by the *sapientes* Wlemarus and Saxomundus, and that of the Thuringians by the former. With reference to the ordinance of the *Lex Salica*, a prologue dating from the 6th cent. states that in the days when the people were still heathens four men selected by the ‘rectores’ of the people had expounded the Salic law in three assemblies (cf. O. Stobbe, *Gesch. der deutschen Rechtsquellen*, Brunswick, 1860–64, i. 16 f.; H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgesch.* i.^{2}, Leipzig, 1906, p. 298). These *sapientes*, whose legal formulæ are referred to in the sources as *iudicia* (‘decisions,’ ‘opinions’), may be compared to the Scandinavian ‘men of law,’ and we may safely assume that among the Teutons there had existed from time immemorial a class of ‘erudite men’ who carried in their minds the ancient law of custom in fixed formulæ, and publicly recited it on given occasions. From traces still found in Scandinavia (cf. K. von Amira, *Grundriss des german. Rechts*^{2}, Strassburg, 1901, p. 50 ff.), it may be inferred that these fixed forms were at first metrical; and with this we may compare what Aristotle says of the Agathyrsians, a Transylvanian people, viz. that before they had a knowledge of writing they expressed their laws in song, so that they might not forget them.[1]

3. The beginnings of codification.—Whether, like the Teutons, the Slavs had among them in pre-historic times a special class of learned men who carried in their memories the ancient law of use and wont, and on given occasions communicated it to the people, we have no definite means of knowing. The two races, however, are certainly so far alike that their first attempts to reduce their laws to writing (and it is only with such beginnings that the present article can deal) were due to their contact with the civilized peoples of the South, and to the need of having their relations with these regulated by law, the movement, in the case of the Teutons, being a result of their coming into touch with the Romans, while the Slavs (Russians) were similarly influenced by their intercourse with Byzantium. In the Romanic area arose the *Lex Salica* and the *Lex Ribuaria*; the two West Gothic law-books and the Edict of Theodoric, king of the Eastern Goths; the two Burgundian codes and the Edicts of the Longobards. These, as well as the *Lex Alamannorum*, the *Lex Baiwariorum*, and the three sets of popular laws (Thuringian, Frisian, Saxon) reduced to writing at the instance of Charlemagne, were all in Latin, while the Anglo-Saxon code, which is closely connected with the *Lex Saxonum*, was the only one of the West Teutonic law-books which used the native language.[2]

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[1] *ἢ ὅτι πρὶν ἐπίστασθαι γράμματα, ᾖδον τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως μὴ ἐπιλάθωνται, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀγαθύρσοις ἔτι εἰώθασι* (*Problem.* xix. 28).

[2] Further details are given fully in O. Stobbe, *op. cit.*; H. Brunner, *op. cit.*; R. Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgesch.*^{5}, i., Leipzig, 1907; R. Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*^{2}, Leipzig, 1858; F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle, 1903.

On Slavic soil, again, it was the relations between the Russians and the Greeks that gave occasion to the earliest written formulations of legal enactments. These were the treaties of peace (*dogovory*) between Prince Oleg and the Greeks (A.D. 912), and between Prince Igor and the same people (A.D. 945).[1] The investigations of Ewers[2] seem to show that Oleg's document is the main treaty, and that Igor's contains later supplements. The purpose of each was to bring the relations between Russians and Greeks under legal regulations; cf., *e.g.*, § 3 of Oleg's treaty, referring to homicide:

> 'If a Russian kills a Christian, or a Christian a Russian, he shall die at the place where he committed the homicide. If, however, he who committed the homicide flees, then, if he possesses property, the nearest kinsman of the slain man shall take his portion *according to the law* (*po zakonŭ*), but the wife of the slayer shall take as much as falls to her *according to the law*,' etc.

As may be inferred from this extract, the treaty makes frequent reference to the Russian law (*zakonŭ*), which, in view of what has already been said, would be no more than an unwritten law of custom, and of which we have the earliest written deposit in the treaties of Oleg and Igor designed to regulate the intercourse of Greeks and Russians. As was shown above, similar considerations, *mutatis mutandis*, underlie the various *leges Barbarorum*. The earliest codification of the Russian law of custom, or of part of it, for the Russians themselves, will then be found in the first form of the *Russkaja Pravda*,[3] which, according to tradition, Jaroslav (A.D. 1019–54) presented as a gift to his allies, the Novgorodians, '. . . and gave them a law (*pravdu*), and caused a statute to be written, saying, "Walk according to this document."' As Ewers remarks, 'So arose the earliest legal document of the Russians, intended primarily for Novgorod, but it must soon have become operative throughout Russia, as there was no other written law in its way.'

It ought to be noted, however, that L. K. Goetz[4] takes quite a different view from the foregoing. He is of opinion (p. 238) that the references to 'Russian law' found in the treaties of Oleg and Igor really presuppose the existence of a *document*—the *Pravda* in its original form (as in Goetz, pp. 6–11; Jireček, iii. 1–17; Ewers, pp. 264–270)—since, as he believes, that earliest formulation of the Russian law of custom was free from all extraneous (Greek or Teutonic) influence, and dates from a time anterior to Vladimir—from the first half of the 9th, if not indeed from the 8th century. He certainly admits that it was in no sense an official document, and supposes that it was written for purely private purposes by, say, a judge of the local law-court (see KING [Teut. and Litu-Slav.]), who 'made these notes to serve as a guide in cases where he might have to pronounce a legal decision regarding the amount of compensation' (p. 230). It is hardly possible to arrive at certain conclusions regarding these matters, although the theory that the *Russkaja Pravda* had a private origin such as Goetz conjectures does not appear to the present writer to be very probable.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the course of the article.

O. SCHRADER.

LEAVEN.—Leaven is that which produces fermentation in a mass of dough. The Hebrew word *sᵉ'ôr* was the designation of the piece of dough already infected by the leaven which was put into the flour to communicate the leaven to the entire mass before it was baked. Dough that had risen through the influence of this leaven was called *ḥāmēṣ*. Leaven might either be communicated by contagion, by mixing yeast with water, or spring up spontaneously, especially in a warm climate like Palestine. Bread that was entirely free from leaven was called *maṣṣāh*, 'unleavened bread.' Ordinarily in the warm climate of Syria twenty-four hours was sufficient for a mass of dough to become thoroughly leavened. Pliny (*HN* xviii. 26) states that the best yeast was made among the Romans by kneading millet or a fine brand of wheat with must at vintage time. The early Hebrews, however, appear to have depended entirely upon the *sᵉ'ôr*, or leavened piece of dough, to preserve and transmit the leaven. The later Jews probably used the lees of wine as yeast.

Leaven, like all striking forms of germ growth, made a profound impression upon the thought and institutions of the Hebrews. Ignorant as they were of its real nature, they interpreted it as it appealed to their senses. The fact that it soured the dough in which it was placed led them to classify it as a type of corruption. Therefore everything infected with leaven was in time regarded as unfit for use in certain parts of the sacrificial ritual. Plutarch has most clearly voiced this widely held belief:

> 'Now leaven is itself the offspring of corruption and corrupts the mass of dough with which it has been mixed' (*Quaest. Rom.* 109).

Am 4^{5} indicates, however, that leaven offerings, either in principle or in practice, were not wholly forbidden in the ritual of northern Israel. Lv 7^{13} and 23^{17} also provide that the bread eaten by the priest might contain leaven, and indicate that leavened cakes were presented in connexion with the Feast of Weeks. Here the early use of wine (Lv 23^{18}; cf. also Ex 29^{40}, Nu 15^{5} 28^{7-14}), which must in many cases have been fermented, in connexion with sacrifices presents a suggestive analogy and indicates that the provision against that which contained evidence of corruption was not primitive or absolute. W. Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*^{2}, London, 1894, p. 221) has suggested that in its earliest form the legal prohibition of leaven applied only to the Passover, and in the oldest code (J) of Ex 34^{25} and 23^{18} the prohibition is thus limited. The extension of the prohibition to the shewbread and then to all cereal offerings (Lv $2^{4.\,11}$ 7^{12} 8^{2}, Nu 6^{15}) evidently represents a later stage of development, under the influence of the popular idea that leaven represented corruption, and from the desire (so manifest in the Holiness Code and Ezekiel) absolutely to exclude from the ritual everything inconsistent with the idea of Jahweh's perfect holiness. The original reason for the use of unleavened bread in connexion with the Passover meal appears to have been simpler. In primitive times, and still among the Arabs on a low stage of civilization, bread was made and cooked at once. The Passover, in its latest Jewish form, evidently represented a blending of the older nomadic spring festival and the first of the three great Canaanite harvest festivals. After the Hebrews passed over to the agricultural stage, it marked the time when the sickle was first put in the standing grain and the people brought to the Deity the first sheaves gathered from their fields (cf. C. F. Kent, *Israel's Laws and Leg. Precedents*, London, 1907, p. 258 f.). During this busy first week of harvest the people had no time to wait for the slow working of the leaven, but gladly ate the bread made hastily from the unleavened dough. Thus the custom grew into an institution confirmed by the earliest Hebrew laws. In later times it presented such a marked contrast to existing usage that the Passover itself was frequently designated as the Feast of Unleavened Bread. The tendency to regard leaven as a type of putrefaction doubtless fortified this earlier custom and explains the tendency, already noted, to extend the prohibition to all cereal offerings. It is paralleled by the extension of a similar prohibition so as to include all fermented liquors.

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[1] Texts in H. Jireček, *Svod Zákonuv Slovanskych*, Prague, 1880, p. 1 ff., tr. in J. P. G. Ewers, *Das älteste Recht der Russen*, Dorpat, 1826, p. 132 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 123.

[3] Text in Jireček, nos. iii. and iv.; tr. in Ewers, p. 264 ff.

[4] *Das russische Recht* (*Russkaja Pravda*), i., 'Die älteste Redaction des russischen Rechts,' Stuttgart, 1910.

Because of its peculiar characteristics leaven was used figuratively in early literature in two very different senses. In Mt 13^{33} and its parallel, Lk $13^{20f.}$, it is used by Jesus as a symbol of the quiet, pervasive, and rapid extension of the principles of the rule or kingdom of God in human society. Its more common use is illustrated by Mt 16^{6-12} (cf. Mk 8^{15}, Lk 12^{1}), where Jesus warns His disciples against the leaven of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Herodians. It is a pregnant, concrete figure, which well describes the secret, persistent, corrupting influence of Jesus' foes, who were seeking in an underhand way to pervert the loyalty even of His immediate followers. The Rabbinical writers also used leaven as a symbol of sin and corruption. St. Paul, in 1 Co 5^{6} and Gal 5^{9}, evidently quotes a familiar proverb which graphically reflects this current idea: 'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.' In 1 Co $5^{6f.}$ he goes on to develop a figure based on the well-known Jewish custom of thoroughly cleansing their houses of all leaven in preparation for the joyous Passover feast: 'Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump? Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, even as ye are unleavened. For our passover also hath been sacrificed, even Christ: wherefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.'

The Roman Flamen Dialis was forbidden to touch 'farinam fermento imbutam' (Aul. Gell. x. xv. 19). In other ethnic religions leaven plays little part.

LITERATURE.—There is no literature beyond what is cited in the article. C. F. KENT.

LEGALISM.—See NOMISM.

LEIBNIZ.—1. Life.—Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, or Leibnitz, was born at Leipzig on 1st July 1646. His father, a professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of the same town, died in 1652, leaving his son under the care of his young widow (his third wife), who appears to have discharged her duties with admirable skill. The family was well-connected, of the official class, with considerable means, and the mother, a religious woman, impressed on her children the importance of maintaining the good name of their ancestors. Leibniz became in great measure his own teacher, and even in his earliest days his love of study was extraordinary. He learned Latin by himself at the age of eight, and at ten, by the advice of a neighbour, his father's library was to his great joy opened to him, with the words, 'Tolle, lege.' One study succeeded another in the case of this extraordinary boy, who, after mastering Latin and Greek, devoted himself to the learning of the Schools. At the age of fifteen, in 1661, he became a student at the University of Leipzig. But the teaching there was not such as to satisfy him, and it was through his private study that he became acquainted with the philosophy of Descartes. He also read Francis Bacon, Cardan, Campanella, Kepler, and Galileo, and he soon realized the distinction between the new and the old methods of science. The summer of 1663 was spent at Jena under Weigel, a mathematician as well as a philosopher, and his interest in mathematics developed from this time, though it was not until later in life that he reached the deeper study of the science. The years 1663–66 were occupied in legal studies, and in the last of those years he obtained his doctorate of law at Altdorf (not having already received it at his own University of Leipzig), and the brilliancy of his dissertation procured him the offer of a professorial chair. This, however, he declined, having, as he said, different ends in view. His mother died in 1664, and he never visited his native town again except in passing. Although not yet twenty-one, he had already written several remarkable essays, which showed the trend of his later work. One of them dealt with the importance of the historical method in law. Nüremberg was Leibniz's next place of abode, and there he became (like his great predecessor, Descartes) acquainted with the Order of the Rosicrucians, of which he became, indeed, a member. What was more important, he also became acquainted there with J. C. von Boineburg, who had been first minister to the Elector of Mainz, and by whose advice he both printed his *Nova Methodus* in 1667 and dedicated and presented it to the Elector. This act determined the young man's future life, for he entered the Elector's service in consequence of the acquaintance then made. Leibniz now took to political writing; he defended (unsuccessfully) the claims of the German candidate to the crown of Poland in 1669, and in 1670, in his *Thoughts on Public Safety*, he advocated a new league ('Rheinbund') for the protection of Germany. He also brought forward the proposal that the French king, Louis XIV., instead of marching on Holland (a step then imminent), should make an expedition to Egypt. Letters referring to this scheme were sent to Louis by Boineburg, and in 1672 Leibniz, as the author of the memorial, was requested to go to Paris. This he did, but he was never granted the interview which he desired. The history of the scheme was hidden in the archives of the Hanoverian Library until Napoleon learnt of it on taking possession of Hanover in 1803.

In Paris Leibniz became acquainted with Descartes's successors Arnauld and Malebranche, and also with physicists such as Christian Huygens, and he was soon immersed in the study of the philosophical and scientific questions on which he proceeded to write. As early as 1671 he had written *Hypothesis physica nova*, an essay on physics, and more especially on the subject of gravitation, so that he was already known in the scientific world. His tour was extended to London, where he became acquainted with Boyle, Oldenburg, and Newton. A calculating machine (an improvement on that of Pascal), which was one of his many scientific inventions, was exhibited at the Royal Society of London, and he was elected a Fellow in 1673. It is from this period that his studies in higher mathematics date, and he now entered upon the series of investigations which culminated in his discovery of the differential and integral calculus. This gave rise to a long controversy with Newton as to which of them first invented the mathematical method of the calculus. This famous controversy resulted in the conclusion that, though Newton was in possession of a similar method as early as 1665, in all probability it was not known to Leibniz. Each discovered the method independently. Leibniz published his account of the method in 1684; Newton's was first published in 1693.

In 1673 Leibniz entered the employment of Duke Frederick of Brunswick-Lüneburg as librarian and private councillor, and in 1676 he removed to Hanover, visiting Spinoza in Holland on his way. At Hanover he passed the rest of his life. He supported by his pen the claims of the dukedom in various ways, and also wrote a history of the Brunswick-Lüneburg family, for which work he had to travel in Germany, Austria, and Italy. At Rome he was offered the custodianship of the

Vatican Library by the pope, but one of the conditions was that he should become a Roman Catholic, and to this Leibniz would not consent. He was, however, interested in a scheme which was then being mooted for the reunion of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, and it was in connexion with this discussion that he wrote, in 1686, *Systema theologicum*, in which he tried to find some common standing-ground between the two religions. The letters to Leibniz from Bossuet and others show that the writers hoped to convert him to Roman Catholicism; and, when it was clear that they would not succeed, the letters ceased. He later attempted to reconcile the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, also without success. In addition to his literary pursuits, Leibniz interested himself in the mining operations carried on in the Harz Mountains and in the coining of silver found there.

In 1690 Leibniz was appointed librarian at Wolfenbüttel, and some years later he formed a friendship with the Electress Sophia Charlotte of Brandenburg and her mother Princess Sophia of Hanover. It was through this friendship that his connexion with Berlin arose, and he was invited thither in 1700. In this year the Academy which he planned was founded by Frederick I. of Prussia with Leibniz as President for life. He proceeded to suggest the establishment of similar societies in St. Petersburg, Dresden, and Vienna, with various degrees of success. In recognition of this work Leibniz was made privy councillor of justice by the Elector of Brandenburg; the same honour was given him by the Elector of Hanover and by Peter the Great of Russia. He likewise had the distinction of being granted an imperial privy councillorship when on a visit to Vienna in 1712, while he was also made a baron of the Empire (Reichsfreiherr). While in Berlin he had much pleasant intercourse at Charlottenburg with his royal pupil the Electress Sophia Charlotte, and her death in 1705 was a severe blow to him. Indeed subsequently to that event his visits to Berlin became less frequent, and that which took place in 1711 was the last. After the visit to Vienna in 1712 he returned to Hanover in 1714, but the Elector George had by that time gone to England to assume the crown, and Leibniz was disappointed at not being asked to accompany him, since he had supported his father's claims to the Elector's hat. He was directed instead to remain in Hanover and finish his history of Brunswick. This was the last work of his life. He died on November 14th, 1716, and his last years were far from happy. He was ill, neglected after his royal friend's death by those who should have helped him, and embittered by many controversies; and, when the end came, hardly any notice was taken of it either in Berlin or in London, whither his sovereign had gone. His only mourner in Hanover was Eckhart, his secretary, and not till 1787 was a monument erected to his memory. To the last he showed a marvellous power of work in very many directions; indeed his attainments were those of an almost universal kind, and such as have seldom been equalled. As he was naturally ambitious, the neglect from which he suffered pained him greatly.

It is matter for regret that Leibniz's teaching has to be derived in great measure from isolated papers, sketches, and letters. In 1703–04 he worked out his criticisms on Locke's *Essay*, but the author's death prevented their publication. In 1710 appeared his most important philosophical work, the *Essais de théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme, et l'origine du mal.* In 1714 he wrote *La Monadologie,* and in that year there also appeared the *Principes de la nature et de la grâce.* During his latter years he corresponded (by the desire of the Queen of England) with Samuel Clarke 'sur Dieu, l'âme, l'espace, la durée.'

2. Philosophy.—Leibniz's philosophical doctrines are mainly concerned with the mode in which substance is to be conceived. They represent a distinct advance on the Cartesian view, which took for granted that there were *two* substances, connected only, if indeed they were connected at all, by the power of God. Thus Cartesianism showed itself to be a dualism which successive philosophers have in different ways done their best to solve. Spinoza, of course, endeavoured to absorb them into one Divine Substance. For him 'determination is negation,' and so far did he carry this doctrine that in his case unity is preserved only at the expense of the reality of the parts; the Substance, that is to say, is self-existent and unconditional, requiring no other thing from which it is formed, or part which may determine it. This development of the Cartesian doctrine is, no doubt, a consistent one, and one which carried the principle to its logical conclusion, but it ends in something which much resembles the Oriental theory of absolute self-identity. Leibniz, on the other hand, accepts the multiplicity of substance (the ultimate reality), which he terms monads (an expression originally perhaps adopted from the Pythagoreans, but more directly from Giordano Bruno), and these monads he proceeds to determine. Assuming that substance can be conceived only as force, he states that the metaphysical view of monads is that they are simple substances without parts, and, as there are no parts, there can be 'neither extension, form, nor divisibility.' No dissolution of these elements need be feared, and there is no conceivable way in which they can be destroyed by natural means. Nor can they by these means come into being. Thus a monad can become existent or come to an end only all at once, *i.e.* by creation in the one instance or annihilation in the other.

These monads are therefore, so to speak, centres of force, as distinguished from manifestations of world-force. They are not to be confused with the atoms of Democritus or the materialists, inasmuch as they have within them the power of action; indeed it is their nature to act, and they also have what might be called a spiritual nature. In his *Monadology*, Leibniz states that the monad likewise has 'perception and appetition.' The perception is, however, not necessarily conscious perception, since conscious perception represents another stage, which he calls 'apperception.' In perception we have a unity which has a multiplicity of relations, and is thus variously modified. Likewise the appetition is not necessarily conscious desire or will; it represents change within the identity of a simple substance. Hence we must conceive the monad as possessed of spontaneity and as capable of evolving its nature and experience from itself. It is not inert and passive, but is a microcosm, 'the universe in little'; indeed Leibniz goes so far as to make use of the Aristotelian term, and say that the monads are entelechies because they have a

> 'certain perfection which makes them the sources of their internal activities, so to speak, incorporeal automata' (§ 18).

They are not, however, pure entelechies, as is shown by the differences among themselves.

> 'Each monad must be different from every other. For in nature there are never two beings which are perfectly alike' (§ 9).

He considers that the Cartesian view of perception is wrong, because it treats as non-existent those perceptions of which we are not commonly aware, and he believes that this causes a failure to distinguish between a prolonged unconsciousness and death; this error has even 'confirmed ill-balanced minds in the opinion that souls are mortal' (§ 14).

Leibniz does not give the name 'soul' to everything that has perception and desires; for such, he says, the general name monads or entelechies should suffice.

> The name of 'souls,' he considers, should be reserved for those 'in whom perception is more distinct, and is accompanied by memory' (§ 19). 'Memory provides the soul with a kind of consecutiveness which copies [*imite*] reason, but which is to be distinguished from it' (§ 26). 'It is the knowledge of necessary and eternal truths that distinguishes us from the mere animal and gives us Reason and the Sciences, raising us to the knowledge of ourselves and of God. And it is this in us that is called the rational soul or mind [*esprit*]' (§ 29).

This knowledge makes us conscious of ourselves, of substance, and of God; it teaches us that what is limited in us is in Him without limits.

Reasoning is founded by Leibniz on two great principles: (1) that of Contradiction, by which we judge that to be false which involves a contradiction and that true which is contradictory to the false; and (2) that of Sufficient Reason, whereby we hold that there can be no fact, real or existent, 'unless there is a sufficient reason why it should be so and not otherwise, even although these reasons usually cannot be known to us.' There are also two kinds of truths, those of reasoning and fact.

> 'Truths of reasoning are necessary, and their opposite is impossible; truths of fact are contingent, and their opposite is possible' (§ 33).

Then, again, the organic body of each living thing is a kind of divine machine or natural automaton,

> 'which infinitely surpasses all artificial automata. . . . For a machine made by the skill of man is not a machine in each of its parts. . . . But the machines of nature, namely living bodies, are still machines in their smallest parts *ad infinitum*' (§ 64).

Each portion of matter is not only infinitely divisible but also actually subdivided without end. The smallest particle of matter has in it a world of creatures—living beings, animals, entelechies, souls—and nothing is sterile, or fallow, or dead, or confused save in appearance. Each living body has a dominant entelechy (in the animal the soul), but the members of this body are full of other living beings, plants, and animals, each of which has its dominant entelechy or soul.

There is never absolute birth (*génération*) nor complete death consisting in the separation of soul from body.

> 'What we call *births* are developments, growths, while what we call *deaths* are envelopments and diminutions' (§ 73).

Organic bodies do not really proceed from chaos, but always from seeds in which there was some pre-formation.

> 'The organic body was already there before conception, but also a soul in this body, and in short the animal itself' (§ 74).

The animal is merely prepared for the great transformation of becoming another kind of animal.

The fact that the soul and the animal itself are alike indestructible makes it easier for Leibniz to explain his theory of the union of or material agreement between soul and organic body. Both soul and body follow their own laws, and

> 'they agree with each other in virtue of the pre-established harmony between all substances, since they are all representatives of one and the same universe' (§ 78).

Souls and bodies, the two realms of efficient causes and final causes, are in harmony with one another. This is the famous doctrine of pre-established harmony, which is often misrepresented, since it is said to be arbitrarily dependent on the will of God, whereas in reality it proceeds from the very nature of the monads themselves as percipient, spontaneous beings. Leibniz believes that Descartes was not far off from his doctrine, and that he would have arrived at it had he known that there was a

> 'law of nature affirming the conservation of the same total direction in matters' (§ 80).

The Leibnizian and Cartesian theories of mechanical physics were the subject of much controversy. For Descartes's theory of the constancy of the quantity of motion in the world, Leibniz substitutes the principle of the conservation of *vis viva*, but the long controversy was probably due in great measure to the ambiguity of the terms employed. It really concerns the conservation of momentum as compared with the conservation of energy, which is what Leibniz maintains. For Leibniz, motion is simply a change of position. It is not a positive quality belonging to the moving of a body, but a relative one, and rest itself is merely an infinitely small degree of motion.

Leibniz illustrates his theory of pre-established harmony by the well-known example of the two clocks. There are three alternative methods by which they may be made to keep perfect time with one another: (1) the machinery of the one may actually move the other, being connected, *e.g.*, by a piece of wood, which represents Locke's theory of mutual influence; (2) whenever one moves the mechanism, a similar alteration may be made in the other by a skilled workman, which is the doctrine of the Occasionalists; or (3) the clocks may have been so perfectly constructed at the first as to continue to correspond at every instant without any further influence or assistance, which is Leibniz's view of a pre-established harmony. Another simile that he uses is, however, a more adequate one: he compares the monads to two independent bands of musicians playing in perfect harmony.

As regards our knowledge, it is all developed by the soul's own activity, and sensuous perception is but a confused sort of knowledge. Locke had denied that there were any innate ideas, and held that all our knowledge must reach us from outside, and through the senses. Descartes believed that it came from pure thought and independently of the senses. Leibniz held that his theory harmonized the two. The soul of man as monad is an active spontaneous force, and its ideas are innate, but they are not clear and distinct, as Descartes would have us believe. To begin with, they are confused and imperfect, and it is only by means of a developing force that they reach clearness and self-evidence. Locke's sensation is really confused perception, and it is made clear only by the result of an internal experience. Human knowledge is both *a priori* and *a posteriori*.

> 'As there is a perfect harmony between the two realms in nature, one of efficient and the other of final causes, there is another harmony between the physical realm of nature and the moral realm of grace, *i.e.* between God, as Architect of the mechanism [*machine*] of the universe, and God considered as Monarch of the Divine City of spirits [*esprits*]' (§ 87).

Thus Leibniz justifies the ways of God to man, the punishment of some, and the reward of others, as being in accordance with the divine harmony. Could we sufficiently understand the order of the universe, we should find that it is impossible to make it better than it is. Leibniz therefore makes God the necessary postulate of morality, and in his *Théodicée* he works out his theology and defends his view of the universe as the best possible world, and shows how faith and reason may be found to coincide and harmonize. God must either exist as a self-existent Being or be impossible. The will is an effort towards that which one finds good, and is free only in the sense of being exempt from external control, and, as it has a sufficient reason for its action, determined by what seems good to it. Freedom consists in following reason, while servitude comes from following the passions which proceed from confused perceptions.

Probably few philosophers have suffered more than Leibniz from misrepresentation of their systems. We have Voltaire's stinging satire of the doctrine of the 'best possible world' in his *Candide*, but that was a satire more than a misrepresentation. The doctrine of the pre-established harmony, however, lent itself to easy caricature, as did that of the living monads. Few of Leibniz's writings were published during his lifetime, and he left masses of MSS in detached papers and little treatises, difficult to sort out. His two principles of contradiction and sufficient reason were never clearly related to one another, and existed, so to speak, side by side in independence. Newton's physics did not altogether accord with Leibniz's metaphysics, and Newton's triumph meant corresponding discredit to Leibniz. His successor, Christian Wolf, though he systematized his philosophy, was not a true follower, or at least he followed him in a pedantic way. Perhaps Kant understood his position better, although he advanced far beyond it. Hegel terms it an 'artificial system,' but he appreciates its worth as showing forth the principle of individuality. Goethe adopted the Leibnizian conception of monads and souls. Later on Lotze re-constructed the philosophy of Leibniz on his revolt as a man of science against the idealism of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, though he was influenced by Kantian doctrines and rejected much of Leibniz's teaching.

[3. **Mathematics.**—Leibniz was a pioneer in the science of comparative philology, and compared and collected various remote languages; this was but one of his very numerous studies outside philosophy. It was to mathematics, however, that he specially devoted his attention. Leibniz's mathematical studies were carried beyond what was usual at the time under Weigel at Jena in 1663. The *de Arte Combinatoria*, which he wrote in 1666, is of logical rather than mathematical interest. In 1673, when in London, he told Pell that he had obtained the summation of infinite series by differences, but in this he had been anticipated. After this he studied under Huygens in Paris. Among other results at this period, he obtained the important series $\frac{\pi}{4}=1-\frac{1}{3}+\frac{1}{5}-\frac{1}{7}+\frac{1}{9}-\ldots$

He now began his great work on the infinitesimal calculus. He started with the conception, previously employed by Barrow, Newton's teacher, of a 'triangulum characteristicum' at any point on the curve. This consists of the chord joining two adjacent points, together with parallels to the axes of co-ordinates drawn through these points. In the limit when these points come to coincide with the given point, the chord becomes the tangent at it. With the aid of this conception he attacked problems of tangency, showing that the so-called 'inverse problems of tangents' could be reduced to quadratures, or, in modern terminology, integrations. He regarded integration as a summation of infinitesimals. His original notation for $\int y dx$ was '*omn.y*,' *omn.* standing for *omnia.* Later he introduced the symbols $\int$, standing for *S*, or *Summa*, and *d*, for *differentia*, which are still used in the calculus. By 1676 he had applied the new methods to the 'direct problems of tangents' and to solid geometry, and in the following year he gave correct rules for the differentiation of sums, products, powers, and other functions.

In 1684 he published his first paper on the differential calculus in the Leipzig *Acta Eruditorum.* Besides tangency, maxima and minima and refraction are treated; *dy* and *dx* are still apparently taken as finite, though small.

Two years later he gave a sketch of the integral calculus in the same journal. Here *dy* and *dx* are regarded as quantities, though infinitely small. His final position appears to have been that they are 'quantitates assignabiles' which spring from 'quantitates inassignabiles' by the law of continuity, but on the whole question he showed considerable vacillation. His view of the calculus, though more general, and perhaps more fruitful, than Newton's, was on the whole less consistent and logical. Thus he always seems to have regarded a curve as a polygon with infinitesimal sides, whilst Newton usually considered it as generated by the continuous motion of a point. In the minds of both, however, there was probably enough confusion to justify Berkeley's attack in *The Analyst.*

Some idea of the variety and magnitude of Leibniz's mathematical achievements can be gathered from the fact that, besides the notation of the calculus, we owe to him the words 'co-ordinate' and 'axis of co-ordinates' in analytical geometry, the beginnings of the theories of determinants, osculation, and envelopes, and the method of partial fractions. 'Leibniz's theorem' deals with the repeated differentiation of a product. In mechanics his work, though fruitful, contains many errors. He regarded *vis viva*, which varies as the square of the velocity, as the proper measure of the force in a moving body, whilst Descartes had used momentum, varying directly as the velocity, for this purpose. Though the attack on Descartes was unjustified, yet this view ultimately led to the fundamental modern conception of energy.—J. B. S. HALDANE.]

LITERATURE.—None of the many editions of Leibniz's works is complete. There is, first of all, the *Opera Omnia*, by L. Dutens, Geneva, 1768, which was held to be complete when published. In 1843 G. H. Pertz began an edition of his works (1st ser. 'History,' 4 vols., Hanover, 1843–47, 2nd ser. 'Philosophical,' 1 vol., incomplete, Berlin, 1846). The only complete edition of his mathematical works is the third of the same series, 'Leibnizens mathematische Schriften,' ed. C. J. Gerhardt, 7 vols. and supplementary vol., Halle and Berlin, 1850–63. The most important edition of his philosophical works is by C. J. Gerhardt, *Die philosophischen Schriften von G. W. Leibniz*, 7 vols., Berlin, 1875–90. There are also Leibniz's *Deutsche Schriften*, ed. G. E. Guhrauer, 2 vols., Berlin, 1838–40; A. Foucher de Careil, *Œuvres de Leibnitz*, 7 vols. (planned in 20 vols.), Paris, 1859–75; Onno Klopp, *Die Werke von Leibnitz*, 10 vols., Hanover, London, and Paris, 1864–77, containing the historical and political works; and A. Jacques, *Œuvres de Leibnitz*, 2 vols., Paris, 1847. There is an edition (not complete) of his philosophical works by J. E. Erdmann, Berlin, 1839–40, and one by P. Janet, 2 vols., Paris, 1866.

For the life and teaching of Leibniz we have Robert Latta, *The Monadology and other Philosophical Writings*, Oxford, 1898 (gives a translation of the *Monadology* and other philosophical works); J. T. Merz, *Leibnitz*, in Blackwood's Philosophical Classics, Edinburgh, 1884; W. R. Sorley, art. 'Leibnitz,' in *EBr*^{11}; E. Boutroux, *La Monadologie: accompagnée d'eclaircissements*, Paris, 1881; cf. also Le Bovier de Fontenelle, *Eloge* (=vol. i. of the *Opera Omnia*, Geneva, 1768 [see above]), in the *Acta Eruditorum*, and L. Grote, *Leibniz und seine Zeit*, Hanover, 1869; E. Pfleiderer, *Leibnitz als Patriot, Staatsmann und Bildungsträger*, Leipzig, 1870; F. Kirchner, *G. W. Leibniz: sein Leben und Denken*, Köthen, 1876. There are countless monographs on Leibniz, besides good accounts of him by Kuno Fischer, 'G. W. Leibniz, Leben, Werke, und Lehre' in *Gesch. der neueren Philosophie*, Heidelberg, 1902; E. Zeller, *Gesch. der deutschen Philosophie*, Munich, 1873. Among the critical works may be mentioned Bertrand Russell, *Critical Exposition of the Philosophy of Leibnitz*, Cambridge, 1900. Further literature is cited in *DPhP* iii. [1905] 330–338.

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LEPROSY.—See DISEASE AND MEDICINE.

LESSING.—**1. Life and times.**—It is easy for us to see in retrospect that the achievement of Lessing lay in preparing the way for the complex creative movement associated with the names of Goethe and Schiller; Lessing himself, however, looked forward to a future only dimly illumined by rays of hope, and he went out perforce 'not knowing whither he went.' The century following the close of the Hundred Years' War had seen a very slow and partial recovery of the German national life from the utter barbarism, the degeneration of morals, of manners, and of educational and political institutions which resulted from that devastating war. But at the middle of the 18th cent., when Lessing's literary career began, a new life was stirring; universities were being founded, and the latent national genius was re-asserting itself in the varied interests that we should comprise under the term 'culture.'

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing was born at Kamenz, in the Saxon province of Upper Lusatia, on 22nd Jan. 1729, the second child and eldest son of a family of twelve born to a Lutheran clergyman, afterwards head-pastor of the town, and his worthy but not remarkable wife. The boy was brought up in simple circumstances and in a very orthodox family circle. In 1741 he was sent to the Klosterschule of St. Afra at Meissen, in which the monastic spirit was associated with a thorough classical education, a strict discipline, and a healthy intermixture of boys from different social strata. In his spare hours he supplemented his vigorously pursued studies by extensive reading in his favourite authors—Theophrastus, Plautus, and Terence—and, when he left in June 1746, in consequence of the disturbed condition of the town after the battle of Kesselsdorf, it was with a thorough mastery of Latin and Greek, some knowledge of modern languages, and well-developed mathematical powers. His farewell oration was on 'Mathematics among the Ancients.' He next entered Leipzig University, where he came under the influence of J. A. Ernesti and J. F. Christ in classics and of A. G. Kästner in mathematics. Fearful lest keen study should make him a dry pedant, he entered society and acquired the accomplishments suited to a man of the world. Introduced into dramatic circles, he completed his first play, which he had commenced at school, and it was performed at Frau Neuber's theatre. His new interests gave his good father much anxiety, for the young student had been destined for the Church; and he had to promise to study medicine before his parents' confidence was restored.

Leaving Leipzig in consequence of debts which he had contracted by standing security for some actor-friends, he went for a time to Wittenberg, but in 1749 he found himself in Berlin, earning a living by translating, and at the same time making a literary venture with his friend Christlob Mylius, in the shape of a *Quarterly Review* intended to form a history of dramatic poetry and to contain translations of classical and foreign dramatic works. The *Review* ceased to appear in the following year, since Mylius had made a statement in it with which Lessing refused to be associated. Another periodical appearing in parts from 1754 to 1758 showed Lessing's determination to devote himself to the reform of the stage.

He published at this time in the *Vossische Zeitung* a series of criticisms which attracted much attention. On returning to Wittenberg for a few months, he was engaged in theological studies, and wrote the well-known *Rettungen* (the defence of certain little-known and much-maligned authors of the past). At the same time he made a special study of Horace and Martial, and entered into a controversy with a certain pastor, S. G. Lange, utterly destroying the latter's claims to be 'the German Horace,' and securing a respectful hearing for any critiques which he might care to publish. Once again in Berlin, Lessing became the friend of the learned Moses Mendelssohn and the publisher C. F. Nicolai.

His literary activity was now great, and, apart from his translations of important foreign books, he published from 1753 to 1755 six volumes of collected works, containing songs, odes, epigrams, letters, critiques, fables, and his tragedy, *Miss Sara Sampson*. For a second period he resided in Leipzig, and then started an abortive grand tour as travelling companion to a rich young man. Back again in Leipzig, he developed an intimate friendship with the soldier-poet E. C. von Kleist (destined to be cut short after two years by von Kleist's untimely death), and then, disappointed by his failure to obtain an official post in Prussia, he returned to Berlin (1758).

Lessing's next production was the *Letters upon Current Literature*; these were epoch-making in German literature. Saddened by the loss of his friend von Kleist, and lonely in his conscious superiority to the literary circles of Berlin, he went for a time to Breslau, acting as secretary to the governor, General Tauentzien, developing a strange love of the gaming-table, collecting a large and valuable library, working at his *Laocoon*, and sketching out his play *Minna von Barnhelm*. After an illness due to overwork, he gave up his post in 1765, and, refusing a professorship which involved certain duties uncongenial to an independent man, returned to Berlin. He was unable to obtain the post of librarian to Frederick the Great, and turned to finish the *Literaturbriefe*, the *Laocoon*, and *Minna von Barnhelm*. We next find Lessing at Hamburg, acting as 'critic of the plays and actors' in connexion with a newly founded National Theatre, issuing the criticisms which are preserved under the title *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* ('Hamburg Dramatic Writings'), and engaging in violent single-handed controversy with C. A. Klotz (professor of rhetoric at Halle), whom he ultimately laid low by his *Antiquarische Briefe* ('Letters upon Archæology'). In 1770 he accepted the post of librarian of the Wolfenbüttel Library under a Brunswick prince, but his life at Wolfenbüttel was dull in the extreme. He was importuned by his family for financial help, and cut off from intercourse with congenial companions. He was betrothed in 1771 to Eva König, but was unable to marry her till five years later. In the meantime he published his *Emilia Galotti* and afterwards some 'fragments' by his friend H. S. Reimarus, which aroused another controversy. He then went to Austria, and, when just about to marry, felt compelled to accept an invitation to accompany Prince Leopold of Brunswick on a journey to Italy. The journey lasted nine months, but involved Lessing in uncongenial ceremonies, and left him few opportunities of studying Italian works of art. In 1776 he was married, and he had a happy life with his cultured and refined wife; but their joy was short-lived, for in 1778 a son died after only a few hours of life, and his wife died a fortnight later. *Nathan the Wise*, *The Education of the Human Race*, and *Dialogues for Freemasons* mark the remaining years of his life, which ended at Brunswick suddenly after a brief illness on 15th Feb. 1781, when he was only fifty-two years of age.

Perhaps the greatest service which Lessing rendered to his age lay in his devotion to truth even more than in his influence in changing the direction of creative literary work, in revolutionizing the principles of criticism, and in stimulating theological study. 'In his person,' said D. F. Strauss, 'allegiance to truth and love of truth personified guard the portals of our literature' (*Lessing's Nathan der Weise*^{2}, Berlin, 1866). It was righteous indignation rather than cynical irony that gave point to his most acute criticisms. Sham and the worship of mere appearances were hateful in his eyes.

> 'Not the truth which a man possesses or believes himself to possess, but the sincere attempt which he has made to reach the truth, constitutes his worth. For not through the possession of truth, but through inquiry after truth, are developed those powers in which his ever-increasing perfection consists. Possession makes the mind stagnant, inactive, proud. If God held in His right hand all truth, and in His left only the ever-active impulse to search for truth, even with the condition that I must for ever err, and said to me, "Choose!" I should humbly bow before His left hand and say, "Father, give! Pure truth belongs to Thee alone!"' (*Sämmtliche Schriften*, ed. Lachmann and Maltzahn, xi. (2) 401).

Though Lessing's mind sought creative expression, its bent was in the long run predominantly critical. While he could not create without stimulating his own critical faculty, and could not arrive at critical conclusions without desiring to apply them, we owe more to his insight as a critic than to his genius as a creative artist. And our debt has found striking expression in words which give an illuminating estimate of the critic as well as a testimony to his influence on subsequent authors.

Macaulay once said that the reading of Lessing's *Laocoon* formed an epoch in his mental history, and that he had learned more from it than he had ever learned elsewhere (G. H. Lewes, *Life of Goethe*^{2}, London, 1864, p. 57). Carlyle said in his 'Essay on the State of German Literature' (*Works of T. Carlyle*, London, 1857, ii. 36): 'It is to Lessing that an Englishman would turn with readiest affection. . . . As a poet, as a critic, philosopher, or controversialist, his style will be found precisely such as we of England are accustomed to admire most; brief, nervous, vivid; yet quiet, without glitter or antithesis; idiomatic, pure without purism, transparent yet full of character and reflex hues of meaning.'

2. Contributions to æsthetics.—Æsthetics has always occupied an important place in modern German philosophy, but it is questionable whether Kant or Schelling, Hegel or Schopenhauer, exercised so potent or so far-reaching an influence as Lessing, whose *Laocoon* (written between 1760 and 1765 and published in 1766) gathered together in a suggestive form the results of previous critical theory and handed them on to a dawning new age along with an arresting presentation of several new problems. The book deals only by way of illustration with the sculptured group which gives it its title. Its theme is the dissimilarity of poetry on the one hand and painting and plastic art on the other; it attacks the current but uncritically held view summed up in Plutarch's quotation from Simonides referring to poetry as a speaking picture and painting as a dumb poem. Lessing shows that peculiar laws govern these different arts, and, in particular, that the choice of a 'pregnant moment,' essential to the artist, is not the task of the poet. The artist must select a moment at which the object of his art is so acting that the representation of it shall be most suggestive to the imagination—suggestive both of past and of prospective action; the poet, however, is able to prepare the imagination of his hearer or reader beforehand and even to influence it subsequently;

in other words, he is able to lead up to his critical moment and to tone down the effects of his treatment of it. Virgil could for this reason represent Laocoon as screaming with anguish; but the sculptor shows him to us as emitting deep sighs.

'That choice which allows free play to the imagination is alone a happy one. The more we gaze, the more must our imagination add; and the more our imagination adds, the more we must believe that we see. Now in the whole course of an emotion there is no moment which offers this to so little advantage as its climax. There is nothing higher beyond this, and to present the extreme to the eye is to clip the wings of fancy and to compel her, since she cannot get beyond the impression of the senses, to seek lower and weaker images wherewith to occupy herself, shunning, as her limit, the visible fulness of expression. Thus, if the Laocoon sighs, the imagination can hear him shriek. But if he shrieks, it can neither rise a step above, nor descend a step below this representation, without beholding him in a more endurable and consequently less interesting condition. It either hears him merely moaning or sees him already dead' (*Laocoon*, ch. iii.).

With some of the exaggeration of an advocate, Lessing inveighs against descriptive poetry; action in the widest sense of the word, we might say 'the dramatic,' that which changes, moves, and progresses (including feeling), is to him the primary object of poetry. So far as poetry represents things co-existing in time, it must do so by representation of things in succession. A fruitful illustration of this, as of so many of his theses, is drawn from Homer.

'Now a shield, at any rate, it will be said, is a single material object, and consequently a description of it, according to its parts in juxtaposition, would not form a suitable subject for poetic representation. And yet this very shield [that of Achilles] has been described by Homer, in over a hundred magnificent lines, with such minuteness and exactitude as regards its material, its form, and all the figures which filled its vast surface, that modern artists have experienced little difficulty in producing a drawing corresponding with it in every detail. My reply to this particular objection is that I have already replied to it. What Homer does is not to describe the shield as it is when finished and complete, but as it is being wrought. Here again, therefore, he has availed himself of that admirable device of transforming what is co-existent in his subject into what is consecutive, thus giving us a vivid picture of an action instead of a tedious painting of a material object. We do not see the shield, but the divine craftsman in the act of making it. He steps, with hammer and tongs, before his anvil, and, after the plates have been forged out of the raw material, the figures destined by him to adorn the shield rise from the bronze one by one before our eyes, beneath the finer strokes of his hammer. We do not lose sight of *him* until *the work* is completed. At length it is finished, and we marvel at it with the confident astonishment of an eye-witness who has beheld the actual operation' (*ib.* ch. xviii.).

Incidentally Lessing discusses a number of special topics of interest to the student of art from the comparative point of view. The book, as we have it, is but a fragment of Lessing's projected work, but its charm lies in the skill with which the main themes are relieved, and at the same time illustrated, by digressions which stimulate the imagination instead of wearying the critical faculties.

'We are plunged at once into the midst of his argument; then he draws back, alternately approaches and recedes from his goal, taking occasionally a side-glance at objects he meets on his way. We see him in the very act of conquering the truths he intends to expound, witness his hesitancy while they are still uncertain, share his pleasure as they burst upon him in their full significance. . . . If we except the best of Plato's dialogues, it would be difficult to name any book which gives opportunity for so much of the most valuable kind of mental gymnastic' (J. Sime, *Lessing*, i. 251 f.).

3. Dramatic writings.—Lessing's dramatic works interest us here only in so far as they reflect his social and religious ideals. *Miss Sara Sampson*, the scene of which is laid in England, is a tragedy of middle-class life, interesting as a hint of the new day about to dawn on the German drama. *Minna von Barnhelm* is a charming study in human character, full of local colour and contemporary feeling, and presents its characters before a background of political significance.

The Seven Years' War ended for political reasons, and harmony of national sentiment did not immediately take the place of the bitterness which accompanied the conflict. *Minna von Barnhelm* made for true peace, whether Goethe was right or wrong in saying that it was the design of the play to effect by art a result which could not be achieved by diplomacy. 'The Saxon felt most painfully the wounds inflicted upon him by the proud Prussian.' In this play 'the grace and amiability of the Saxon ladies subdue the stolid character, the dignity, the obstinacy of the Prussians' (*Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1837, pt. ii. bk. 7). The play was of great importance, since its originality, and the breach which it made with contemporary imitation of French and English drama, stimulated the national consciousness and genius.

Nathan the Wise, a dramatic poem rather than a drama, secured Lessing's European fame. It saw the light first in 1779, but had long been planned. While Lessing declined to admit that his play contained allusions to the controversies in which he had been engaged with a Hamburg pastor, J. M. Götze, he declared that he would have nothing to say against the surmise that his purpose was to show how in olden time and in many lands, as among modern peoples, there have lived individuals who, though holding aloof from the religious systems of their age, were yet respectable and good; or against the conclusion that he intended to present such persons in a less repulsive light than that in which they had hitherto been regarded in Christian communities.

We cannot here detail the plot, but the idea of the play—and there is more idea than action—centres in the story of three rings in the possession of three sons of a dead man, one of them being the true heirloom, the others fraudulent imitations. The central characters of the play are a Christian, a Jew, and a Muslim. Nathan, the Jew, teaches what Lessing admitted was his own conviction, not, as some have supposed, that of the three religions one is true and the others false, the true to be discovered by observation of the results of each in the lives of its adherents, but rather the deep truth that, so long as Christians, Muslims, and Jews quarrel about their systems, the truth of religion (present in each) can never be discovered. When the power of the true ring has shown itself acting from within its owner, there will be nothing left to quarrel about. Creeds are accidents of birth and circumstances, but true religion is seen in character and action and must be the achievement of those who profess it.

Nathan the Wise was played in Berlin in 1783, but by indifferent actors. Only when Goethe and Schiller produced it at Weimar in 1801 did it take the place that it holds to-day in the repertory of the best German theatres. In it Lessing still teaches his lessons of toleration and broad-minded sympathy.

4. Literary and dramatic criticism.—In literary and dramatic criticism Lessing occupied an original standpoint and maintained it with brilliance and learning. His various contributions to periodicals and his *Literaturbriefe* ('Letters upon Current Literature') carried him into the arena already occupied, on the one side, by J. C. Gottsched, who blindly imitated the stilted masterpieces of the French, and therefore gave supremacy to formal standards, and, on the other, by the Swiss writers J. J. Bodmer and J. J. Breitinger, who insisted on the supreme importance of creative imagination. Lessing took up an independent position, criticizing both schools, though championing the main thesis of the anti-French school. From the frankest criticism of Gottsched, a renowned Leipzig professor, the young critic proceeded to the still more daring venture of criticizing Rousseau and Voltaire. In his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (published while he was 'critic' at the Hamburg Theatre and collected in 1769) he urged that the Greek dramatists and Shakespeare should be regarded as models, and he succeeded in severing the tie between German literature and the classic French school. In a brief but striking essay on 'How the Ancients represented Death' (*Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet*, 1769), Lessing maintained in reply to Klotz, who had criticized a remark in *Laocoon*, that the ancients represented the god of Death, not by the symbol of a skeleton, but by that of a boy, twin-brother of Sleep. He argued that skeletons represented the departed souls of evil men.

'It must presumably be our religion which has banished the ancient cheerful image of Death out of the realm of art. Since, however, this religion did not wish to reveal this terrible truth [that even natural death is the wages and fruit of sin] to drive us to despair, since it too assures us that the death of the righteous cannot be other than gentle and restoring, I do not see what should prevent our artists from banishing the terrible skeletons, and again taking possession of that other better image. . . . Only misunderstood religion can estrange us from beauty, and it is a token that religion is true and rightly understood, if it everywhere leads us back to the beautiful' (*Lessing's Prose Works*, Bohn's Library, 1879, p. 225 f.).

5. Theological opinions.—Lessing was always most powerful in the expression of his opinions when he was compelled to defend them against the traditionalist, whether of the literary or of the theological world. In addition to early Essays, 'The Origin of Revealed Religion' and 'Contributions to History and Literature' (containing essays on the theories of Leibniz), controversies in which he was engaged led to the publication of the following tracts: 'The Demonstration of the Spirit and of Power,' 'The Testament of John,' 'A Rejoinder' (*Ein Duplik*), and 'The Religion of Christ.' His chief theological controversy arose over papers that he published anonymously which were the work of H. S. Reimarus, who died at Hamburg while Lessing was there. These papers, which were transcripts from an essay left by Reimarus entitled 'An Apology for Rational Worshippers of God,' dealt with the questions of revelation, immortality in the OT, and the inconsistencies in the accounts of Christ's Resurrection. That they did not reflect adequately his personal views may be judged by his own words:

'What has the Christian to do with the hypotheses, the explanations, the proofs, of the theologian? The letter is not the spirit, and the Bible is not religion' (*Sämmtliche Schriften*, x. 14).

The foremost critic of these papers was Götze, head-pastor of Hamburg, whose utterances were the occasion of some of Lessing's most brilliant controversial writings. Lessing strenuously upheld the right of the intellect to discuss with perfect freedom all subjects, whatever their nature, which are of deep concern to mankind.

'If you could bring it about that our Lutheran pastors should become our popes; that they should have power to prescribe to us where we must cease to investigate Scripture, to put limits to our investigation and to our right of publishing the results; I should be the first to exchange the popelings for the pope' (*ib.* p. 161).

Lessing insisted on the distinction between Christianity and the religion of Christ:

'that which He Himself as a man recognised and practised, which every man may have in common with Him, which every man must wish to have in common with Him in proportion as the character ascribed to Christ simply as a man is sublime and lovely' (*ib.* xi. (2) 243).

In the dialogue entitled 'The Testament of John,' Lessing asks, 'Are not Christian love and the Christian religion the same thing?' (*ib.* x. 46). In his treatment of Biblical questions Lessing was very frank. He left it to others to write appreciations of the Bible, taking their results for granted. He himself set out to show that the Bible is not the only sustenance for man's spiritual life, and the suggestions which he threw out in the course of these controversial writings (which belong chiefly to the year 1778) led to those inquiries and researches which were only much later recognized as the legitimate studies of NT Canon and Early Christian History. Indeed, it was Lessing who first among the Moderns drew attention to the essential difference between the first three and the fourth Gospels (see the fragment, 'New Hypothesis concerning the Evangelists,' *Sämmtliche Schriften*, xi.).

Lessing's contributions to theological study were vividly summarized in a work consisting of a hundred propositions and entitled 'The Education of the Human Race' (*Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*, 1780). Humanity is represented as passing through three stages of education. The first is that reflected in its school-book, the OT. We see there the gradual development from the worship of a patriarchal and local deity to that of one God, and the transition from the ethics of a virtue which is dependent on rewards and punishments in this life to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, to learn which the Hebrew people had been 'sent abroad' to Babylon. The second is that in which Christ taught the eternal sanctions of righteousness in place of immediate retribution, and the NT is the school-book of this stage. Before the third stage is reached, revealed truths are to be transformed into truths of reason.

'It will come, the time of consummation, when man, however firmly his mind is convinced of an ever better future, will yet have no need to borrow motives for his conduct from that future. For he will do what is right because it is right, and not because arbitrary rewards are attached to it, which were merely intended to attract and strengthen his wandering attention, so that he might recognise its inward and better rewards. It will certainly come, the time of this *new eternal Gospel*, which is promised us already in the elementary books of the New Covenant' (Proposition 85 f.).

After remarking that each individual human being must first traverse the ground along which the race advances towards its perfection, he meets the objection that in one and the same lifetime a man cannot pass through all the stages, making the interesting, and at that time novel, suggestion of pre-existence (see Propositions 93–100). This little treatise is closely related to *Nathan the Wise* in its teaching of the relative worth of different religions, and in its insistence that each is fitted for a particular race and epoch and that none can claim supremacy over all the others.

6. Political opinions.—In *Ernst and Falk, Dialogues for Freemasons* (*Gespräche für Freymäuer*), published without his permission in 1780, Lessing expresses his views of society, devoting but little space to freemasonry, which should, he says, overcome all distinctions of caste and fortune, of nationality and religion. He admits a preference for natural life as opposed to the social state.

Speaking of ants, he says: 'What activity and yet what order! Everyone carries, drags, and pushes, and not one is a hindrance to the rest. See, they even help one another; . . . they have no member that holds them together and rules them; . . . each individual is able to govern himself' (*Sämmtliche Schriften*, x. 257).

But at the same time he recognizes that the good of individuals depends at present on a certain degree of organization. With no uncertain courage, considering the circumstances of the age, Lessing insists on the basis of social life in the needs and satisfactions of individual life.

'States unite men that through and in this union every individual man may the better and more surely enjoy his share of welfare. The total of the welfare of all its members is the welfare of the state; besides this there is none. Every other kind of welfare of the state, whereby individuals suffer and must suffer, is a cloak for tyranny. . . . As if nature could have intended the welfare of an abstract idea, State, Fatherland, and the like rather than that of each individual' (*ib.* x. 258).

LITERATURE.—i. Works.—*Sämmtliche Schriften*, ed. K. Lachmann, 13 vols., Berlin, 1825–28; re-edited W. von Maltzahn, Leipzig, 1853–57; and re-edited F. Muncker, 21 vols., Stuttgart, 1886–90; *Gesammelte Werke*, 6 vols., Leipzig, 1912.

ii. Translations.—*Selected Prose Works of G. E. Lessing* (*Laocoon*, *How the Ancients represented Death*, and *Dramatic Notes*), tr. E. C. Beasley and H. Zimmern, London, 1879; *Lessing's Laocoon*, tr. E. C. Beasley, do. 1887; *Laocoon and Other Prose Writings*, tr. and ed. W. B. Rönnfeldt, do. 1895; *Laocoon*, tr. with introd. R. Phillimore, do. 1905; *Lessing's Dramatic Works*, ed. E. Bell, 2 vols., do. 1879; *Plays of Lessing* (*Nathan the Wise*, *Minna von Barnhelm*), tr. R. D. Boylan, ed. E. Bell, do. 1888; *Nathan the Wise*, tr. with introd. R. Willis, do. 1867; *Nathan the Wise*, tr. E. Frothingham, New York, 1868; *Cambridge Free Thoughts and Letters on Bibliolatry*, tr. from German of G. E. Lessing by H. H. Bernard, London, 1862; *The Education of the Human Race*^{4}, tr. F. W. Robertson, do. 1896.

iii. Biographies and Essays.—C. G. Lessing, *Lessing's Leben*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1793–95; T. W. Danzel and G. E. Guhrauer, *Lessings Leben*, ed. W. von Maltzahn and R. Boxberger, 2 vols., do. 1880–81; H. Düntzer, *Lessings Leben*, Leipzig, 1882; E. Schmidt, *Lessing, Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Schriften*^{3}, Berlin, 1910; J. Sime, *Lessing*, 2 vols., London, 1877; Helen Zimmern, *G. E. Lessing, his Life and his Works*.

do. 1878; T. W. Rolleston, *Lessing*, do. 1889; K. Fischer, *Lessing als Reformator der deutschen Literatur dargestellt*², 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1888; H. W. C. Schwarz, *Lessing als Theologe*, Halle, 1854; T. Carlyle, 'Essay on the State of German Literature,' in *Works*, ed. London, 1857; D. F. Strauss, *Lessings Nathan der Weise*, Berlin, 1864, new ed. Frankfort, 1908; K. Fischer, *Lessings Nathan der Weise, Idee und Charactere der Dichtung*, Stuttgart, 1864 (condensed in E. Frothingham's tr.; see above); H. Düntzer, *Lessings Nathan der Weise erläutert*², Leipzig, 1873.

HAROLD E. B. SPEIGHT.

LETTERS CELESTIAL AND INFERNAL.—With the development of writing the belief arose that the gods themselves kept records of their proceedings, and thus among the Egyptians Thoth was the scribe of the gods (A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the anc. Egyptians*, London, 1897, pp. 227 f., 248), while the Indians believed Brahmā to be a writer god (cf. *Vāsavadattā*, tr. L. H. Gray, New York, 1913, p. 115), particularly the deity who writes the fate of each mortal on the individual's forehead (*brahmarekhā*).

As a natural corollary it was thought that the gods could communicate their will to man by written as well as by spoken words.

In the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, the rubric of ch. xxx. b. states that 'this chapter was found in the city of Khemennu [Hermopolis Magna] under the feet of [the statue of] this god. [It was inscribed] upon a slab of iron of the south, in the writing of the god himself, in the time of . . . Men-kau-Rā [of the IVth dynasty] . . . by the royal son Ḥeru-ṭā-ṭā-f'' [son of Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid] (*Book of the Dead*, tr. E. A. W. Budge, London, 1901, p. 151; cf. 221 f., 418).

In some forms of revelation the document is written in heaven by the deity. This is notably the case with the Decalogue (Ex 24^{12} 31^{18} $32^{15f.}$ $34^{1. 28}$, Dt 5^{22} 9^{10} $10^{2. 4}$), and the archetype of the Qur'ān is written 'on the preserved table' (*fī lauḥⁱⁿ maḥfūṭⁱⁿ*, lxxxv. 22; cf. also xiii. 39, xcvii. 1), the word for 'table' (*lauḥ*) being the one employed also in reference to the tables of the Ten Commandments (vii. 142, 149, 153; cf. the equivalent Heb. לֻחַ, Ex 24^{12} etc.). Mention is likewise made in the Bible of books sent down from heaven and eaten by Ezekiel and St. John the Divine, who then prophesied the contents of the volumes (Ezk $2^{9ff.}$ Rev $10^{8ff.}$). Similarly, in the Book of Mormon an angel gives Lehi a book foretelling the Babylonian Captivity (1 Nephi $1^{11ff.}$). According to the *Zôhar*, Adam, while yet in Eden, received from God a book containing, in 670 writings, the 72 sorts of wisdom, and giving the 1500 keys of knowledge—matters which were unknown even to the angels. Adam consulted this book daily till he was driven from the Garden, when it flew away from him. In pity for his grief, God caused it to be restored to him, and it was in the possession of his descendants until Abraham (J. E. Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, Königsberg, 1711, i. 375 f., ii. 675).

The sacred book of the Elkesaites was believed to have fallen from heaven (Eus. *HE* vi. 38), or, according to another version, to have been brought from heaven to Elkesai by a gigantic angel (Hippol. *Refut.* ix. 8; see *ERE* v. 263ᵃ).

The belief may, however, be traced much farther back. Towards the end of the 3rd or during the 2nd cent. B.C. Menippus, a Syrian from Gadara, inaugurated the *genre* of the 'Menippean satire.' Among his productions were ἐπιστολαὶ κεκομψευμέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν θεῶν προσώπου (Diog. Laert. VI. viii. 101), and Dieterich (*Kleine Schriften*, p. 244) suggests that the non-Greek phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν θεῶν προσώπου may be a reminiscence of a Heb. מִפְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים. It may have been these compositions that gave another Semite, Lucian of Samosata, the inspiration for his 'Letters of the Gods.' Servius (*ad Æn.* vi. 532) mentions a certain Tiberianus who 'inducit epistolam vento allatam ab antipodibus, quae habet superi inferis salutem,' and Pausanias (X. xxxviii. 7) records that Æsculapius sent the poetess Anyte to Naupactus, bearing a sealed tablet given her by the god, to heal Phalysius, who was well-nigh blind, but who, obeying the divine command to read the tablet, received full vision again. Other instances of more doubtful interpretation might be cited, as, *e.g.*, Juvenal's phrase (xi. 27), 'e caelo descendit γνῶθι σεαυτόν,' although here the most obvious meaning is that Chilon was divinely inspired with the maxim, not that a missive inscribed 'γνῶθι σεαυτόν' was wafted to him from the sky.

Within Christianity one of the earliest mentions of a celestial letter occurs in the 23rd Ode of Solomon (tr. J. H. Bernard, *TS* VIII. iii. [1912] 97 f.; probably second half of the 2nd cent. A.D.), in which the decree of the Most High descends in a letter 'like an arrow which is violently shot from the bow.' It was 'a great Tablet, which was wholly written by the Finger of God.' The contents of this letter were apparently Mt 28^{19}. In the Ethiopic Acts of Peter the apostle receives from Christ books 'written with His own hand . . . wherein were written the mysteries which the tongues of the children of men are neither able to utter nor to understand with their hearts, except those whose hearts are arrayed in the strength of the gracious gift of baptism' (tr. E. A. W. Budge, *Contendings of the Apostles*, London, 1899–1901, ii. 469–471). In the 4th cent. Georgian Life of St. Nino (tr. M. and J. O. Wardrop, *Stud. Bib. et Eccles.* v. 1 [1900]) the saint receives, in vision, a book from a divine visitor, its contents being Mt 26^{13}, Gal 3^{28}, Mt 28^{19}, Lk 2^{32}, Mk 16^{15}, Mt $10^{40. 28}$, Jn 20^{17}, and two other sentences—all apparently being selected to promote Montanistic teachings.

To the category of celestial letters belongs the very interesting 'letter for hallowing Sunday,' whose history may be traced at least to the 6th cent., and which has spread, despite many efforts to check it, throughout both Western and Eastern Christendom. Although much study has already been devoted to this letter, its history is by no means clear. Its general character is thus summarized by Delehaye (*op. cit. infra*, p. 174):

> 'La lettre est écrite par le Christ lui-même, en lettres d'or ou avec son sang. Elle est portée sur la terre par l'archange Michel, ou bien elle tombe du ciel, à Rome sur le tombeau de saint Pierre, à Jérusalem, à Bethléem ou en d'autres lieux célèbres, suivant l'occurrence. Son objet principal est d'enculquer l'observation du dimanche. Subsidiairement, d'autres préceptes y sont recommandés. Vient ensuite une série de menaces terribles contre ceux qui mépriseront ces ordres, et assez souvent une vive protestation destinée à rassurer les chrétiens qui concevraient des doutes sur l'authenticité du document. Ordinairement, le texte du message divin est encadré d'un prologue racontant les circonstances de la promulgation, et d'un court épilogue.'

The principal specimens of this letter are as follows:

(*a*) Latin: J. A. Fabricius, *Codex apocr. Novi Testamenti*², Hamburg, 1719, i. 308–314; J. P. Migne, *Dict. des apocryphes*, Paris, 1856–58, ii. 367–369; Delehaye, 179–185.

(*b*) Anglo-Saxon: Four homilies are edited by A. S. Napier in *Wulfstan*, Berlin, 1883, a fifth by him in *Eng. Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall*, Oxford, 1901, pp. 355–362, and a sixth has been published by R. Priebsch in *Otia Merseiana*, i. (Liverpool, 1899) 129 ff.

(*c*) Middle English: John Audelay's poem is edited by R. Priebsch in *Eng. Miscellany*, 397–407.

(*d*) German: Delehaye, 191–193; Dieterich, 234–237, 248 f.; A. Wuttke, *Deut. Volksaberglaube*³, Berlin, 1900, p. 178 f.; L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg*, Oldenburg, 1868, i. 59 ff.; K. Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg*, Vienna, 1879–80, ii. 341 ff.; U. Jahn, *Hexenwesen und Zauberei in Pommern*, Breslau, 1887, p. 40 ff.; F. Closener, *Strassburgische Chronik*, Stuttgart, 1842, pp. 89–95; *Chroniken der oberrhein. Städte*, Strassburg, i. (Leipzig, 1870) 111–116; M. Haupt, *Altdeut. Blätter*, ii. (do 1840) 241–264.

(*e*) Icelandic: J. Arnason, *Íslenzkar þjóðsögur og æfintyri*, Leipzig, 1861–64, ii. 53–55.

(*f*) French: Delehaye, 194–196; an unedited O. Fr. text is mentioned by Priebsch, *Eng. Miscellany*, 397.

(*g*) Celtic: E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS Material of anc. Irish Hist.*, Dublin, 1861, p. 663 (referring to *Leabhar Lecain*, do. 1896, col. 217); P. W. Joyce, *Soc. Hist. of anc. Ireland*.

London, 1903, i. 386 f. (referring to *Leabhar Breac*, Dublin, 1876, pp. 202–204); Welsh 'Ebostul y Sul,' in *Y Cymmrodr*, viii. [1887] 162 f.

(*h*) Slavic: Vesselovsky, *Journ. Ministry of Public Instruction*, clxxxiv. [1876] 50–116 (Russ.).

(*i*) Greek: A. Vassiliev, *Analecta Græco-Byzantina*, Moscow, 1893, pp. 23–32, xiv–xx.

(*j*) Ethiopic: F. Praetorius, *Mazhafa Tomar, das äthiop. Briefbuch*, Leipzig, 1869; R. Basset, *Apocryphes éthiop. tr. en français*, ii., Paris, 1893.

(*k*) Oriental in general (Greek, Armenian, Syriac, Karshuni, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Hebrew): M. Bittner, 'Der vom Himmel gefallene Brief Christi in seinen morgenl. Versionen und Rezensionen,' *DWAW*, 1905.

The earliest known mention of the 'Sunday letter' is its condemnation, as a diabolical forgery (*diaboli figmentum*), by Licinianus, bishop of Carthage, towards the end of the 6th cent.[1] (*Ep. ad Vincentium* [*PL* lxxii. 699 f.])—a condemnation which was repeated at the Lateran Council of 745 (J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum . . . Collectio*, xii. [Florence, 1766] 384 *p*). Originally the letter emphasized the keeping of Sunday, but later it came to insist on other duties as well. It often concluded with maledictions on the disobedient and unbelieving, but some specimens also contain a benediction on those who do its bidding (Delehaye, 185; *Eng. Miscellany*, 362, 404, 406 f.). Peter the Hermit carried with him a 'chartulam de caelo lapsam,' and the Flagellants of the 14th cent. also claimed to possess 'letters from heaven' (Delehaye, 187, 189), some of these alleging that 'the Lord God deprived the Roman Pope, all bishops, prelates, and priests of all authorities.

With the addition of a blessing for obeying the commands of the heavenly letter the way was opened for what is to-day the most important function of the epistle—its use as an amulet to ward off all harm. The origin of the apotropæic aspect of the 'heaven letter' is obvious, but cannot be supported at present by documentary evidence. A Swiss letter of, at latest, the early 16th cent. (Dieterich, 248 f.), purporting to be that which 'bapst leo kunig karolo von himmel sant,' promises to gain honour and prosperity for its bearer and to protect him against enemies, death by water or fire, and false witnesses, to bring a travailing woman to happy delivery, and to keep the whole house from injury. This particular text does not mention the Sunday law, but in another, of 1604 (Delehaye, 191 f.), the mandatory and apotropæic functions are combined. The letter is still a favourite amulet among the German soldiery, and is also used for general protection of person and house (Dieterich, 240, 249 f.). It is also found among the Slavs (E. Kozac, *JPTh* xviii. [1892] 155).

The origin of the wide-spread 'Sunday letter' is, as Delehaye has conclusively shown (207 ff.), the West, not the East, and, in all probability, Africa or Spain (the latter country being the more likely, since Vincentius, to whom Licinianus wrote, was bishop of Iviza, in the Balearic Islands).

The counterpart to the 'heaven letter' is the 'hell letter.' Apart from a cursory mention by T. Trede (*Wunderglaube im Heidentum und in der alten Kirche*, Gotha, 1901, p. 257) of a letter written by Satan and preserved in Girgenti, however, no instance of an infernal epistle seems to be recorded. On the other hand, letters to the infernal gods are known from classic times (Dieterich, 251). In the 14th and 15th centuries a number of epistles were ascribed to Satan, but these were solely satirical in purpose (see W. Wattenbach, 'Über erfundene Briefe in Handschriften des Mittelalters,' *SBAW*, 1892, pp. 91–123, and for an admirable specimen *ib.* 104–122).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned in the art. see I. F. Knorrnn, *Diss. . . . de libris et epistolis cælo et inferno delatis*, Helmstedt, 1725; H. Delehaye, *Bull. de la classe des lettres . . . académ. roy. de Belgique*, III. xxxvii. [1899] 171–213; A. Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 234–251; K. Abt, 'Von den Himmelsbriefen,' *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, viii. [1909]; T. O. Radlach, 'Zur Lit. und Gesch. der Himmelsbriefe,' *Zeitschr. des Vereins für Kirchengesch. in der Provinz Sachsen*, v. [1908] 238–248; R. Priebsch, *Diu vróne botschaft ze der christenheit*, Graz, 1895; V. G. Kirchner, *Wider die Himmelsbriefe*, Leipzig, 1908; W. Köhler, 'Himmels- und Teufelsbriefe,' *Religion in Gesch. und Gegenwart*, iii. (Tübingen, 1912) 29–35. Many German specimens are given in such periodicals as *Schweiz. Archiv für Volkskunde*, *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, etc.; see also above, p. 761ᵃ.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

LETTS.—See LITHUANIANS AND LETTS.

LEUCIPPUS.—See DEMOCRITUS.

LEVI BEN GERSHON.—**1. Life and influence.**—Levi ben Gershon, familiarly known in Hebrew literature as Ralbag, from the initials of his name, called also Gersonides, Leon de Bagnols, Magister Leo de Bannolis, and Magister Leo Hebræus, Jewish philosopher, exegete, mathematician, and astronomer, was born in Bagnols (S. France) in 1288, and died on April 20th, 1344. Levi lived at Orange and at Avignon, where it is supposed that he practised as a physician. His life fell in a period when discussion raged furiously between the followers of tradition and those who read their philosophical conceptions into the text of Scripture. Levi belonged to the latter class, and, though under the influence of the great Stagyrite and his Arabic interpreter, Averroes, he was not afraid to criticize them—just as he was sufficiently open-minded to differ from Ptolemy in matters of astronomy.

He was, like most of the great scholars in the Middle Ages, a polyhistor; but his interest in Jewish theology, as well as his studies in metaphysics, accentuated his occupation with many of the exact sciences. Just as Aristotelian theories regarding the spheres and the stars as the virtual intermedium between the Deity and man made a study of astronomy necessary, so did occupation with questions concerning the Jewish calendar necessitate a knowledge of both mathematics and astronomy. Of Levi's life we know very little; but its end must have been darkened by the clouds that hung over his people and led him to compute the Year of Redemption to be 1358, and to write horoscopes for the years 1343 and 1344.

In Hebrew literature Levi's chief influence was as a philosopher and Bible commentator. He was the first after Maimonides to present to his fellow Jews a complete system of philosophy; and, while he found many followers, his comparative freedom from the fetters of tradition evoked strong opposition. Ḥasdai b. Abraham Crescas († 1410) severely criticized his philosophical deductions; and he was decried as unorthodox by such writers as Isaac b. Sheshet († 1408), Abravanel (1450), Shem Ṭob b. Shem Ṭob (1461), Messer Leon (1475), Elias Delmedigo († 1497), and Manasseh b. Israel (1627). Indeed, in 1546 it was dangerous to print his chief work on philosophy. But the opposition which he aroused is proof that he was widely read. His influence extended outside his own circle. Spinoza adopted his theories regarding miracles; Pico de Mirandola praised his astronomical treatise, part of which Pope Clement VI. (1342) ordered to be translated into Latin; and he is mentioned by Reuchlin and Keppler. Further, he was the real discoverer of the *baculus*, or 'Jacob's Staff,' an instrument for measuring angles and distances on the earth and in the spheres—a discovery which has been attributed to Regiomontanus. He also invented the *camera obscura*, in order to be able to find out the relation of the radii of the sun and the moon to the radius of a circle, to measure the size of the eclipse of these two bodies, and to ascertain the relation of the diameter of the whole body to that of the part obscured. He laid down these results in his *Luḥôth ha-t^{e}kunnāh* ('Astronomical Tables'), incorporated in the fifth part of the *Milḥămôth*. This was 200 years before Leonardo da Vinci and Porta.

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[1] This date may be carried back to the early 4th cent., and to the East, if the Coptic exhortation to Sunday-hallowing by Peter of Alexandria († 311) be genuine. Even so, however, the origin of the 'Sunday letter' seems, from internal evidence, to be Occidental, not Oriental. On this letter of Peter see C. Schmidt, 'Fragmente einer Schrift des Märtyrerbischofs Petrus von Alexandrien,' *TU* II. v. 4b [1901]), and Delehaye's review in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xx. [1900] 101–103. It may be remarked, moreover, that the association with Peter the Apostle, as in the letter of Licinianus, would naturally be the oldest, and that from him the transfer to Peter of Gaza, Antioch, or Nîmes was made later.

2. **Philosophy.**—Levi's philosophical system is contained in his *Milḥămôth Adhônai* ('Wars of the Lord,' Riva di Trenta, 1560, Leipzig, 1856). His controversy with Maimonides centred about the creation of matter and the immortality of the soul. In order to posit God's interference in natural phenomena and to form a basis for the existence of miracles, Maimonides had denied the eternity of matter, while he had not proved the possibility of individual immortality. Levi held opposite views; but, in order to justify his standpoint, he found it necessary to explain the physical and metaphysical theories upon which his idea of the co-eternity of matter with God was based. The *Milḥămôth*, which is in six parts, covers the whole ground of natural philosophy, metaphysics, and theology in the following order: theory of the soul; prophecy; God's omniscience; providence; astronomy, physics, and metaphysics; Creation and miracles.

According to Levi, the basis of human intellect is in reality the imaginative soul, something akin to the animal soul. This human intellect is moved to action by the universal intellect; when joined to the acquired ideas and conceptions, it becomes the acquired intellect. This acquired intellect is made up of universals; and Levi holds, with the realists, that such universals have a real existence. It is therefore possible that the acquired intellect may continue to exist after death, thus affording us a philosophical basis for the theological doctrine of the immortality of man. In a similar manner he lays the foundation for the belief in prophecy by connecting the rational faculty in man, which then comes into play, with the universal intellect. Prophecy is thus differentiated from divination, in which the imaginative power in man is, so to speak, the receiving instrument, and to whose workings no certainty can be attached. Maimonides had based his theory upon the imaginative side of the human mind and upon the will of God, without attempting to explain the psychological process. Levi, on the other hand, demands moral as well as intellectual perfection in the prophet.

There are three grades of superhuman forces—the planetary intelligences, the active intellect, and the primary cause of all, God. God's existence is proved by the phenomena of creation; and His oneness is deducible from the evident hierarchy in the forces that move the universe. The planetary intelligences are made up of the spirits of the stars, which are to be thought of as immaterial bodies swinging in recurring periods in the world harmony. There are forty-eight such sphere intelligences and eight astral ones, corresponding to the forty-eight spheres and the eight planets. No one of the sphere intelligences can be—as Averroes supposed—the primary cause, since they affect a part of the universe and not the whole. In contradistinction to Aristotle, Levi holds that the world had a beginning, since neither matter nor motion is infinite; but, like the heavenly bodies, it has no end. At creation, matter was inert and undetermined. Form and various attributes were given to it by God, but the diverse separate intelligences proceeded directly from the Divine Being. Miracles do not proceed from the Deity, but from the active intellect. Natural laws are of two kinds: those governing the heavens, upon which sublunary phenomena are dependent, and those governing the active intellect. Miracles are natural events, and are meant to act as a counterpoise to the inflexibility of the celestial bodies. According to Levi, there is a definite analogy between the knowledge of God and that of man; but there is a clear distinction to be made between them. God's knowledge extends over all the cosmic laws of the universe, and over the influence exercised upon sublunary things by the celestial bodies; but He does not know the details of what happens in the sublunary world. This explains the possibility of the freedom of the will, which does not in any way derogate from God's omniscience or imply any imperfection in Him, as He knows all that is essential.

God's providence does not extend to every individual, as Maimonides had supposed; nor does it deal only with mankind as a whole—the theory of Aristotle. Levi strikes a middle course, and holds that some human beings are under a general providence, others under a special, and that the quantity of special providence meted out to any individual is in direct relation to the scale in creation which he has reached—*i.e.*, to the degree of nearness to the active intellect attained by him. The solicitude of this special providence, appreciated only by beings of the highest perfection, manifests itself in a warning to avoid evil influences emanating from the celestial bodies, all of which are regulated by eternal laws known to the Deity.

These philosophical and metaphysical doctrines are found again in Levi's commentaries on various books of the Bible, written between the years 1326 and 1338—notably in those on the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets—and they have even been excerpted and published in separate form under the title of *Tô'ălīyôth* (Riva di Trenta, 1550–64). In addition to these he wrote comments on Job, Daniel, Proverbs, Canticles, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Ruth. Levi's explanations are quite consciously two-faced. He is perfectly well aware of the literal meaning of the text, which he explains with lucidity and clearness, following in many cases Ibn Ezra; even miracles, *e.g.*, he explains in a natural sense. But behind this literal meaning he sees a philosophical and historic sense, which he deduces out of the text with great skill. He also finds his scientific principles rooted in the Bible—on the theory that all knowledge is one, the separate parts of which cannot contradict each other.

This philosophic bent of mind is likewise seen in his works on pure science. He believed himself to be an absolute rationalist, and held that no problem was insoluble to man. He even dared to explain geometric axioms. His work on arithmetic (*Ma'ăsēh Ḥôshēbh*) differs from that of Ibn Ezra, which may be said to be dogmatic and mechanical, in that it attempts to build up a theoretic system founded upon an algebraic basis taken from the elements of Euclid. The same spirit is shown in his tract *de Numeris harmonicis*, dealing with a question in algebra put to him by Philip of Vitry, Bishop of Meaux. Levi was also one of the first writers in Europe to study trigonometry, and he worked out a commentary on the first five books of Euclid.

His views on astronomy are, of course, the integral part of his general system of philosophy, and are largely contained in the fifth section of his *Milhămôth*. Here again he shows his freedom of judgment. He is not afraid to criticize both Alpetragius (al-Bitruji) and Ptolemy. He takes into consideration a system akin to that of Copernicus, but only to reject it as quite impossible. According to Levi, the various movements of a star depend upon more than one sphere, so that the number of the heaven-circles equals the number of all these movements. Each planet also belongs to several spheres—which accounts for the complicated courses of the stars. Yet he is not satisfied with so simple a statement, the current mysticism of his day leading him to seek a deeper meaning in these movements. The object of the stars, he says, is to exercise an influence here on earth in order to make good the evident incompleteness of earthly things. This influence, however, is not plenary; man's freedom of will can break through the causal nexus of the dominance of stars, and the higher a man ascends in the scale of humanity the greater is his power to overcome this influence. Levi is thus a firm believer in astrology, the existence of which, he says, 'no one can doubt.' The light of the sun warms the earth because there is some secret connexion between the sun and the element of fire which is not possessed by the other heavenly lights.

3. **Appreciation.**—Levi's method is, in all cases, first to state the opinions of his predecessors, to criticize these opinions, and then to state his own view. It is significant that the first work that he wrote was one on logic, in which he reviews Averroes' interpretation of the *Analytics* of Aristotle. His general position can be stated best in his own words:

> 'If thought carried us to a conclusion which does not seem to result from the simple wording of Holy Writ, we would still have no scruple to speak the truth; for to do this would not run counter to Biblical ethics, which cannot ask us to believe that which is false.'

He must not in any way be considered as a sceptic; he found means to harmonize the truth, as he saw it, with received tradition. Nor did he in any way care for the applause of the multitude, though he did believe that some subjects were not fit for discussion. Indeed, he says on one occasion:

> 'By God, it is the intention of the author to hide his words from the crowd, in order to be understood only of the few, and to do no harm to others.'

In view of this, it seems impossible to hold, as some have done, including Curtze, Cantor, and Günther, that, very late in life, Levi became a convert to Christianity. The basis for this view is found in some expressions in the dedication (in 1342 to Pope Clement VI.) of the Latin translation of a part of the chapters on astronomy contained in his *Milhămôth*. But there was no need to adopt such a course in Avignon, where the Jews were treated by the popes with conspicuous kindness. All Levi's writings exhibit a strong Jewish feeling, and none of his literary and philosophic opponents mentions the charge. Carlebach suggests rightly that this dedication must have been composed for him by some one else, who wrote what he pleased, as Levi was unacquainted with Latin.

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RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

LIBERAL JUDAISM.—The changes in thought which marked the close of the 18th cent. and so powerfully affected the course of the 19th did not pass without influencing Judaism. Moreover, the external barriers between the Jews and the rest of the world were broken down by the changes which preceded and followed the French Revolution, and the problem arose as to the harmonization of the new social life with the old religious institutions. These two causes, the intellectual and the social, have not always had the same relative importance; sometimes the one, sometimes the other, has predominated. But they have not been isolated, because the two are essentially related. The social changes in the position of the Jews were bound up with the modification of the European intellectual outlook. Those who have led the liberal Jewish cause have mostly been the intellectually and socially 'emancipated'—those, in short, who have most deeply felt the consequences of the altered attitude of men in general towards the problems of thought and of intercourse.

There has been nothing in the nature of schism, because, on the one hand, there has been no established synagogue (see HERESY [Jewish]), and, on the other, the leaders of the new movements have invariably been animated with a strong loyalty to the common cause of Judaism. But from time to time these new movements have been distinctly marked off from the older Judaism by less reliance on tradition. The earlier Reform in Judaism was an attempt to re-state Judaism in the light of the new Jewish learning, which did so much to promote the 'higher criticism' of the Talmud. It was seen that the Rabbinic Codes were the result of growth, that they had a history which, while it made them more interesting as expressions of the progressive life of Jewry, necessarily undermined their authority as unalterable norms. The older Rabbinic Judaism had made far fewer claims to the permanent validity of traditional forms than did the conservative Judaism of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. In the Jewish life of the 18th cent. there were many customs—ritualistic and social—which, in the light of historical criticism, were seen to be of very various date and significance. Reform, accepting this criticism, busied itself with the valuation of traditions, establishing or accepting the validity of some and not of all. More and more, too, the conception became firmly formed—though there are at the present day some 'liberals' who are also 'Zionists'—that the Jews were not a nation but a religious community, and that, while the maintenance of the synagogue as an independent organization was absolutely essential for the vitality and continued existence of Judaism, yet it was imperative to find as a basis for the maintenance of independence other means than the retention of separative customs.

The course of Reform in Judaism thus became in part a matter of detail. Some of these details were of small significance, such as the question whether to pray with covered or uncovered heads. But others were of greater importance. One of these was the position of women. Woman always occupied a high position in Jewish esteem (see I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896, ch. v.). But the Reform movement tended to express this esteem of woman by admitting her more fully to congregational equality with men. Another detail was the question of language. The first effective Reform movement occurred in Germany; Moses Mendelssohn—who, however, belongs to the history of Reform only in a special sense—wrote three sermons in German in 1757 on the occasion of the victories of Frederick the Great. Vernacular sermons had been in regular vogue much earlier (L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der*

*Juden*², Berlin, 1892, pp. 424–496). But, in the centuries preceding the age of Reform, sermons were rare in synagogues, being usual only twice a year, and then the language employed by the preacher was either some form of Hebrew or a dialect, such as Yiddish. The establishment of regular sermons in the pure vernacular and the fuller organization of religious education for the young, especially as regards girls, are among the most important changes which the modern conservative synagogue owes to the liberals. Again, the introduction of the organ and the employment of vernacular prayers and hymns were further stages in the Reform movement (1810), which, on the whole, sought to 'æstheticize,' or, as some have ineptly expressed it, to 'de-orientalize,' the synagogue services.

But there was a deeper principle at work, and, as time went on, the Reform movement, attaching itself to such views as that of Maimonides that the Pentateuchal sacrificial system was a concession to the weakness of early Israel, sought to remove the liturgical prayers for the restoration of the sacrifices and also for the physical resurrection and return to Palestine, without, however, surrendering the belief in immortality and in the Messianic Age. Liberal Judaism has always tended to a firm grasp of Messianism, in the form of a belief in the perfectibility of human nature, of a steady advance towards that end, and of the ultimate conversion of the world to monotheism, and the establishment of the universal Kingdom of God.

Much anxiety was presented by the Saturday Sabbath, and since the beginnings of Reform the problem has grown in difficulty. Economic pressure among the working and professional classes, as well as laxity and assimilation among the more wealthy and leisured circles, has led to a weakening of the seventh day sabbatical rule among conservatives as well as among liberals. No real solution has been found, for, while Sunday services have been established in some liberal Jewish congregations of Germany and America, there has been very little desire or attempt to transfer the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday.

Reform in Judaism entered on a new and more fertile phase under the inspiration of Abraham Geiger (1810–74). He was one of the leading representatives of the new learning—of the 'science' of Judaism, to use the phrase often applied to it. His writings were of great significance; indeed, his *Urschrift* (Breslau, 1857) is a work which is becoming more and more appreciated as a contribution to Biblical and historical criticism. But, though Geiger was possessed of a 'historical temper'—to use E. G. Hirsch's phrase—he did not, as the 'Breslau' school of Jewish thought tended to do, separate his criticism from his creed. Just because he conceived of Judaism not as a given quantity but as a process (*JE* v. 586), Geiger recognized the necessity of making that process harmonious. His whole struggle for Reform was based on his sense that thought and religion must be syncretized, not put into separate compartments. Some very sincere and very great Jews of the Breslau School were able to discriminate between intellectual and practical freedom, but Geiger could not arrive at critical results in his study and go on with religious conformity as though nothing had happened to compromise the sanctions on which conformity was based. The same attitude towards sanctions and their influence on life is at the root of the liberal Judaism of our own time.

Parallel with this was the conviction among certain Reformers that it was necessary to return to the Bible in order to purge Judaism from Rabbinism. This tendency was shown in the discussions of the French Sanhedrin, summoned by Napoleon in 1806. So, too, when the first Reform synagogue was opened in England (1842), the authority of the 'Oral Law' was repudiated, while, as D. W. Marks, the minister of the new congregation, put it, in his sermon published on the occasion, 'for Israelites there is but one immutable law, the sacred volume of the scriptures, commanded by God to be written down for the unerring guidance of his people until the end of time.' Similarly, Isaac M. Wise (1819–1900), the great organizer of Jewish Reform in the United States of America, and the founder of the famous Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati, strenuously maintained the older view of Biblical inspiration; to the end of his life he upheld the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, as in his *Pronaos to Holy Writ* (Cincinnati, 1891). But this easy discrimination between 'Mosaism' and 'Rabbinism' was not tenable when the newer Biblical criticism affected the synagogue. Geiger had been a 'higher critic' not only of Rabbinism but also of Mosaism. Similarly, Zunz (1794–1886) was not only a pioneer in the criticism of the Midrash; he was also a leader in the criticism of the Biblical text which the Midrash expounded. For some time, however, a half-way house was built by those who, while firmly holding by the authority of the Bible, denied the authority of tradition. But the house constructed with so much care proved an ephemeral lodging for the new Judaism. And this for two reasons. Whereas the older confident view as to Biblical authority was undermined, the newer repudiation of tradition was equally felt to be ill-founded. Mystical theories, not always consciously recognized as mystical, have invaded all forms of religion, and Judaism at present is much infected by mystical conceptions. Liberal Judaism, feeling itself bound to assert that not all the Bible is of God, became equally assured that not all the tradition is of man. It believes in a spiritual continuity of the ages, and regards the whole of the Jewish revelation as a spiritual experience, which links together all generations of Jews, including the present generation. It is not, however, necessary to insist on this way of describing what has happened. It can be expressed rationally by the assertion that criticism has tended to prove that, just as documents grew up from traditions, so traditions may have the validity of documents. Hence it is becoming usual now to speak of 'liberal Judaism,' whereas in former generations the favoured term was 'Reform Judaism.' Liberal Judaism in a real sense bases itself on the Scriptures. It may be described in general terms as a direct resumption of the prophetical Judaism. But it regards the Talmud as often a real advance in religious and ethical teaching, and therefore has the warmest affection for the Talmud as the expression of certain important aspects of the Jewish genius. Thus liberal Judaism, though necessarily denying the validity of any book whatever as a final authority in religion, is strongly placed by its very power of eclecticism. It has not yet formulated a precise theory as to its relation to the idea of Law. But it is coming to accept the theory of progressive revelation in a manner which must eventually become interpretable in objective, communal, and therefore more or less legalistic, terms.

It is unnecessary to discuss more fully the tenets of liberal Judaism, because in most fundamental principles it is at one with conservative opinion. Liberal Judaism shares the belief in the absolute unity of God, in the revelation of God to man, in human responsibility, in immortality, in the call of Israel to teach the universal Fatherhood of God, in the pragmatic sufficiency of righteousness for salvation to all men despite differences of creed.

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and in the ultimate triumph of right throughout the world. Liberal Judaism, however, more consciously upholds the universalistic character of the religion, and lays more stress on the fundamental principles than on their expression in ceremony and institution. It allies itself specifically to the teaching, or rather to the spirit, of the Hebrew prophets, who made their appeal to the great truths of religion and morality, and who held that these truths can be brought to bear directly on the life of humanity. But liberal Judaism maintains, as strongly as does the older Judaism, that spirit and letter, prophet and priest, are not antithetic. Hence, although some individual liberal Jews are now expressing appreciation of parts of the NT, liberal Judaism does not acquiesce in any general condemnation of Pharisaism apart from the abuses to which every organized system is liable. On its part, while reducing considerably the number and details of ceremonial observances, and while leaving even such important ritual as the dietary laws a matter for individual choice, liberal Judaism accepts and maintains the idea of ceremony as valuable for enforcing the religious life in the synagogue and for sanctifying the home. Hence the Sabbath, and great festivals, and a number of other public and family rites are lovingly retained. The very fact that this can be done without the ritual precision marking the observance of the same rites in the older Judaism is tending to revive many beautiful customs, full of significance for the historical continuity of religious experience, and possessed of spiritual value, which modern conditions of life were weakening or destroying. It may be said, in conclusion, that liberal Judaism applies to ceremonies the test of present values. It believes in the retention of whatever of the past has vital value in the present or promises a renewal of value in the future.

LITERATURE.—D. Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism*, New York, 1907 (a complete history of the movement with many quotations, and full references to the earlier literature on the subject); C. G. Montefiore, *Liberal Judaism*, London, 1903, *Outlines of Liberal Judaism*, do. 1912; *Richtlinien zu einem Programm für das liberale Judentum*, Frankfort, 1912 (an important series of declarations which are the basis of the liberal revival in Germany now in progress); volumes of the annual *Year Books* of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (the meeting in Detroit in 1914 was the 25th of the series); *Jewish Addresses*, London, 1904, and other publications of the Jewish Religious Union, London.

I. ABRAHAMS.

LIBERTARIANISM AND NECESSITARIANISM.

—I. *THE CONTROVERSY AND ITS METHODOLOGY.*

—Libertarianism[1] is misrepresented by necessitarians; necessitarianism is misunderstood by libertarians. So we find it urged by writers on either side of this discussion, and even a moderate acquaintance with the relevant literature substantiates both these charges. This is not due to wilfulness, but arises partly from the ambiguity of language which is unequal to the subtlety of nature, though mainly, as we shall see, from the intrinsic difficulty of the problem itself.

'Both parties commit themselves to a confusion which arises from language, and which is due to the fact that language is not meant to convey all the delicate shades of inner states' (Bergson, *Time and Free Will*, p. 160). 'Facts must be described in some way and therefore words must be used,' as B. Jowett reminds us (*Interpretation of Scripture and other Essays*, London Library Series, n.d., p. 526), but 'always in philosophy with a latent consciousness of their inadequacy and imperfection.'

It is therefore necessary to analyze terms like 'cause,' 'motive,' 'character,' which play such an important rôle in this discussion; for we must make sure that the question is not a logomachy, but a real one.

Thus the term 'causality' is allowed by custom, 'the arbiter of language,' to embrace many meanings. The scientist means by it uniformity of sequence, and objects to any other meaning. Now it is clear that, if this is a full account of causation, libertarianism in any sense is meaningless. For to seek the cause of a moral action in the past is to desert the moral standpoint, and is vetoed by the moral consciousness. Moreover, causality as uniform sequence seems to be full of contradictions. There are uniform sequences which are not causally connected, as the conjunction of night and day. Again, uniform sequence lands us in an infinite regress. The intellect which meant to satisfy itself by going one step back is urged to go back for ever. When we come to man, however, we find, or seem to find, a 'cause' which is intelligible in itself. We know *why* we act in some cases; it is because we have purposes which we wish to realize, ideals by which we guide our actions. It may not be possible to explain *how* we act, because activity is an ultimate element in our experience, just as we cannot say how we think, but *cogito ergo sum*. Man, then, appears to himself the principle of his own movements; here the cause is immanent and efficient. And he guides himself by ideas; here the cause is final. At first men applied 'cause' in this full sense to the world of nature, as we still do in ordinary speech.

'Savages wherever they see motion which they cannot account for there they suppose a soul' (G. T. F. Raynal, quoted by T. Reid, *Essays on the Powers of the Human Mind*, 3 vols., London, 1822, iii. 269).

As time went on, this rich view of causality as applied to nature became eviscerated. Final causes were fruitless, efficient cause was useless, the regularity of sequences sufficed. No one can deny that this was a gain, that superstition and magic thus received a death-blow, and that nature was examined with greater impartiality and rewarded the patient student. It is, however, questionable whether this view is rightly termed causality at all, for what is it but an attempt to understand a change without beginning or end, an attempt which succeeds only because it has the instinct to stop somewhere and to take just as much of the change as it pleases? A change, however, can never explain itself, and it certainly cannot explain the subject who is conscious of it or the moral agent who thinks—rightly or wrongly—that he can direct it in accordance with his aims. In discussing freedom we must ask which view of causation is the most satisfactory. It will not do to foreclose the question off-hand by a bigoted adherence to uniformity of sequence as alone possible or exhaustive. If we remember this looseness in the use of the term 'cause,' we are saved from initial confusion and from the arrogance of gratuitous assumptions. To say that a human action is 'caused' does not in any way inform us as to the kind of causation implied. The rashest libertarian may use the term without committing himself to determinism.

'The circulation of the blood is not the cause of life in the same sense that a blow with the hammer may be the cause of death, nor is virtue the cause of happiness in precisely the same sense that the circulation of the blood is the cause of life. Everywhere as we ascend in the scale of creation from mechanics to chemistry, from chemistry to physiology and human action, the relative notion is more difficult and subtle, the cause becoming inextricably involved with the effect and the effect with the cause, every means being an end and every end a means. Hence no one who examines our ideas of cause and effect will believe that they impose any limit on the will. They are an imperfect mode in which the mind imagines the sequence of natural or moral actions; being no generalization from experience but a play of words only. The chain which we are weaving is loose, and when shaken will drop off. External circumstances are not the cause of which the will is the effect, neither is the will the cause of which circumstances are the effect. But the phenomenon intended to be described by the words "cause and effect" is itself the will whose motions are analysed in language borrowed from physical nature' (Jowett *op. cit.* p. 526).

Occam's razor[1] is no doubt a useful instrument for certain purposes, but it can be abused, and it is abused when causality is shorn till nothing is left but uniform sequence.

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[1] The term, according to Thomas Reid, was introduced into hpilosophy by Alexander Crombie (1760–1842).

[1] 'Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem,'

Further, in our use of the term 'motive,' we ought to remember that motives do not act on a person as forces act on a body. While it is true that in deliberation, which is mainly intellectual, we have something metaphorically similar to the placing of weights in a balance, yet this is a metaphorical resemblance only, and in real action the decisive elements are preference and value, and these emerge from the living person himself. Motives are movements of the subject as well as movements on the subject. The subject acts on its own affections.

> 'We must reject also the idea that our motives are fixed and given quantities which operate within the soul like weights on a pair of scales, thus effecting a decision. Must all conduct result from given motives—cannot new motives arise from inner transformations of life? And, moreover, must not the soul continually assign fresh values to the motives?' (Eucken, *Main Currents of Modern Thought*, p. 439, footnote).

If moral activity is real, then we cannot speak as if a decision was a resultant compounded of many different forces acting on one centre; we find rather that one course of action is preferred by a person and acted on. The rejected proposals do not enter into the action as in the case of mechanical resultants. In fact they may even strengthen the preferred activity—by rousing the subject to greater effort. It is often said that the strongest motive always prevails, but, if this means that the motive which prevails is always strongest, we have an identical, and so a useless, proposition. If it means, as most ordinary people take it to mean, that our reason always obeys our passions, that, in Bentham's phrase, 'nature has placed man under the empire of pleasure and pain' (*Principles of Morals and Legislation*, London, 1789, ch. i.), then it is not true. While men act largely from passion, they need not do so; and, indeed, to most people, as Lecky points out, 'the reality of all moral freedom ultimately depends' on the distinction between our will and our desires, on what Reid in his able discussion on this point calls our animal and our rational natures (W. E. H. Lecky, *Eur. Morals*^{8}, London, 1888, ii. 123; Reid, *Essays*, iv. ch. 4). It is just because a mechanical view of motives is tacitly assumed as true that so much confusion arises. J. S. Mill failed to distinguish properly between desire and will for this reason (see A. C. Pigou, *The Problem of Theism*, London, 1908, p. 79); and, when T. H. Green says: 'but he being what he is, and the circumstances being what they are at any particular conjuncture, the determination of the will is already given, just as an effect is given in the sum of its conditions' (*Works*, London, 1906, ii. 318; cf. *Prolegomena*, Oxford, 1883, p. 126), we feel that in the last clause he has given up his own standpoint and descended into another genus of thought. No one has done more to explain the real nature of motives than Green, and perhaps this is an unfortunate lapsus. Libertarians have probably fastened on this and the corresponding sentence in the *Prolegomena* with too great avidity. Green not only recognized, but enforced and carried through all his moral reasonings, the difference between motives and the solicitations of desire. While we admit, then, that moral action depends on motives, we do not by this admission decide the question of freedom either one way or another. We have still to ask what the nature of this relation is.

Again, no term is more abused in this discussion than 'character' (see Eucken, *op. cit.* p. 422 ff., and art CHARACTER, vol. iii. p. 364 f., for the various meanings of this term). While the determinist tends to look on 'character' as fixed at each stage, its growth depending on the interaction between it and circumstances also fixed, the indeterminist sometimes speaks of the will as acting independently of the character; and so in the former case we have character explained as mechanical, and actions looked on without regard to any real activity of the subject, while in the latter case we have a subject with no content. But, in reality, what we have is a subject possessing a character which has to be conserved or bettered in the midst of circumstances. We have a subject conditioned by its object but relatively independent of it. This 'character' is not fixed at any point, nor are these circumstances unalterable. Circumstances and character are not indifferent to the subject, nor does the subject act otherwise than through them. But, if the subject could not act teleologically on them and through them, there would be no moral life at all. There is a seeming paradox in all self-control or self-denial, as Plato saw, but it is a paradox explicable only on the ground that personality is a potential infinite under self-imposed moral government.

If 'character' be used in a sense which gives no future to man, which forgets that man does not grow simply as a plant grows, but that he draws on the future also for his spiritual sustenance, then Martineau and others are justified in drawing some distinction between the 'self' and the 'character.' In fact, some such distinction is used in every philosophical system which recognizes that man can obey ideals and an 'ought' which is higher than 'is.'

> 'With regard to moral laws, experience is (unfortunately) the mother of pretence, and it is in the highest degree reprehensible to allow laws relating to what I ought to do to be determined or limited by what is done' (Kant, *Works*, ed. G. Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1867–68, iii. 26).

In regard even to the past there is a very true sense in which a spiritual being like man can be said to create it. He selects from it, and reacts upon it. If the self is treated as fixed, *i.e.* if its future determinations are calculable, if any dubiety on this head is held to be owing to our imperfect knowledge, then we are unconsciously falling back on a biological view of the self. This may be done in the interests of our ideal freedom, as by certain Hegelians; but there is the danger that by so doing we are destroying the very possibility of this ideal freedom itself. In discussing the question of freedom, the phrase 'self-determination' or 'determination by character' may be used in a way that ignores the very possibility of freedom. We do not solve the question by the phrase 'self-determination' or 'self-realization.' We need to examine what this self is, and what is the nature of the determination.

We are thus led to the conclusion that the misunderstanding between the two parties is deeper than language, that it is inherent in the problem itself. The question of freedom is but a specific way in which different theories of life conflict. The controversy is like a combat between two representative champions, on the issue of which the fate of armies depends. That is what gives the problem its perennial interest and importance, and makes it so difficult of solution. It is true, as Eucken points out, that in recent times more than in the past the solution of the problem is attempted through an analysis of experience (*op. cit.* p. 433), but the problem cannot be solved on that arena alone; it is mainly a philosophical and theological question. The wider issues emerge sooner or later on whatever plane we attempt a solution. Freedom may be taken as the touchstone of every philosophical system. To explicate a theory from this standpoint is to come face to face with its real implications.

> 'If there be anything obscure and difficult in philosophy we are sure to find it in that part which treats of Elections and

> Liberty' (W. King, *Origin of Evil*^{4}, Cambridge, 1758, ch. v. sect. i.).

This is the reason why in actual discussions we find the battle raging, not round a single point, but over a wide area of consequences, and herein is the danger that we may attribute to thinkers consequences which they repudiate, because we think these consequences follow from admitted premisses. We can accuse men of bad logic; we must not falsely report them.

For example, necessitarianism is often identified with fatalism.

> 'It is supposed to imply the existence of a Fate which forces people, whether they like it or not, to commit so many murders in proportion to their population, or forces a sober person to take to drink because his grandfather was a drunkard' (Leslie Stephen, *Hobbes*, London, 1904, p. 157 f.).

J. S. Mill protested against this identification, and distinguished between his own view and such a view as that of Robert Owen, according to whom our characters were made for us and not in any sense by us. We must allow the distinction. It is not necessary to start with the conviction that determinism in every form destroys morality and paralyzes conduct. Many determinists, even of what William James calls the 'hard' school, endeavour to show that morality is impossible save on their theory. Probably the ordinary man will always associate determinism with fatalism; probably his instinctive logic is right in so doing; in discussion, however, it is necessary to distinguish them, unless the force of argument compels us to identify them.

Again, the libertarian view is identified with caprice, with a liberty of equilibrium according to which the power of the will is not influenced in any way by education, experience, or training. The objections to this view, however, are so many and so obvious, and have been so often pointed out by libertarians themselves, that it is surely frivolous on the part of determinists to attack this view of liberty. What A. S. Pringle-Pattison says of J. M. E. McTaggart is true of many more.

> 'He attacks a "freedom of indetermination" for which I do not think any champion would enter the lists. What upholder of freedom, for example, would accept the statement that "according to the indeterminist theory our choice between motives is not determined by anything at all"?' (*Phil. Radicals*, London, 1907, p. 205 f.).

The problem will not be solved, but rather shelved, if libertarianism is identified with an exploded myth, or determinism answered by the story of Buridan's ass dying between two equally attractive bundles of hay. Conforming, then, to the proper method of carrying on this discussion, it is necessary for us to examine the various types of necessitarian doctrine, leaving out the theological aspects of the problem, which more properly fall under the title PREDESTINATION.

II. *DIFFERENT TYPES.*—When we try to classify various theories of necessity and freedom, we are tempted to neglect the historical elements, to eliminate epochal and personal peculiarities, and so to identify views that differ widely in their ultimate assumptions and aims. To do this is to do violence to facts and to confuse the problem itself. No one can justly treat Augustine and Hobbes as if they spoke in unison on this matter. Yet it is possible and desirable to examine certain typical ways in which this problem has been discussed.

1. The common man's position.—Perhaps the most prevalent view is to regard freedom and necessity as both true although apparently contradictory. We do not refer to the high-idealistic way of identifying opposites, but to what may be called the common man's position. W. Hamilton, *e.g.*, accepts both as facts of consciousness: to use either exclusively is to land oneself in confusion; but, while each alone is false, both together are true. Hamilton's position, however, is so dependent on his peculiar theory of knowledge and ignorance that it has now only an historical interest. It is clear that he and Mill held practically the same views on freedom when their admissions and cautions are taken into account. The fundamental assumptions of their systems are, however, very different.

Theologians often take up this position. They speak of predestination and free will as concentric circles; to us they appear inconsistent, but in reality they are compatible with each other. It may be the case that for practical purposes it is best to regard the problem as on a par with Zeno's famous paradoxes and to say: 'Solvitur ambulando.' The value of this view seems to lie in its recognition of facts and its faithfulness to experience. Its weakness consists in its theoretic helplessness. For we find too often that freedom is confined to a realm which is swiftly being conquered by necessity, or else that it is raised to a pro-temporal or supra-temporal region while experience as we know it is rigidly determined. Or, again, freedom is viewed simply as a datum of consciousness which is not in any way brought into line with the rest of experience. Human life is thus divided into two spheres which contradict each other—on one side freedom, on the other necessity.

It is very doubtful, however, if the problem can be thus solved. There are distinctions in experience, but they are not meant to be contradictories, nor are the limitations of our knowledge to be used to discredit knowledge itself. It is a gain to recognize that both freedom and necessity have a meaning, and that both are implicitly taken for granted in all systems. The most rigid determinists surreptitiously admit freedom.

> 'Moreover, determinism has never been completely and logically carried out at any period. When the Stoic philosophers converted the whole cosmos into a causal structure and placed the destinies of men entirely within its framework, man's power of personal decision still remained; . . . The possibility of such decision (the very core of Stoic morality) is obviously in direct opposition to the determinist doctrine. . . . And in Spinoza's case, although he so strongly maintained that man is situated entirely within a flawless network of cosmic connections, the fact remains that man has to be won over to a recognition of his position, and this recognition imparts quite a new complexion to the whole of life' (Eucken, *op. cit.* p. 435).
>
> 'Naturam expellas furca tamen usque recurret' (Horace, *Ep.* I. x. 24).

So also theologians like Augustine, Calvin, and Chalmers, in the interests of morality, appeal to the conscience and the power of choice. The Stoic admitted the possibility of sudden conversion. Can, then, determinism alone or freedom alone be taken as true or must both be recognized? Attempts have been made to carry necessity all through reality—with some show of plausibility.

2. Physical determinism.—Huxley, for instance, revived the view of Descartes that animals were simply automata, and man was explained in a similar fashion. Consciousness had no more efficient relation to the movements of a creature than the steam-whistle has to the movements of a railway train. Few, if any, biologists would agree with this theory in detail, but Huxley's assumptions and aims are still widely accepted and implicitly acted on by scientific philosophers (not necessarily scientists). His purpose was to guard physics and biology from the moralist, who worked with teleological concepts whose introduction into physics produced chaos and confusion. The scientist feels at home in dealing with the movements of matter. He can describe, predict, and to some extent control, them. He has thus enriched society, discovered new media of communication and means of comfort. The results here are so great and beneficial that one can appreciate the desire to apply the same methods to all reality. Hence the theory of the conservation of energy is held to explain everything, and the scientific categories of cause and effect are, it is taken for granted, operative everywhere just as in physics. All apparent differences are levelled down under this theory. So consciousness arises, it is said, out of molecular motions, and accompanies them like the phosphorescent line which results from the rubbing of a match. No efficiency can originate in consciousness; otherwise there would be the intolerable fact that something came from nothing. The amount of the existing energy is so fixed that we could accurately predict the future if we knew the state of things at any moment. We do not, of course, have accurate knowledge at any time; but, if we had, then the future would be open and naked to us. This is not the divine foreknowledge of which theologians speak, for many of them admit the greatest freedom (as King in his famous sermon on Predestination, published with notes by R. Whately in his *Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Religion*, London, 1822) as consistent with the divine foreknowledge. It is really our ordinary physical knowledge infinitely enlarged. Now this view, conveniently known as naturalism, has no place for freedom in any shape. It has no place for anything ultimately but matter and motion. This determinism is totally different from theological determinism, and should not be identified with it, as it so often is.

The libertarian can leave to the biologist the refutation of this view. He can leave it even to the physicist himself. It may be pointed out that the advance of science does not depend on extending these assumptions to cover all reality. Indeed, to do so is to make science itself chaotic and indeterminate, for the value of the principle of the conservation of energy depends on its limitation to those fields where the amount of energy is calculable. It does not in the least show how the energy whose working is calculable is related to all the energy in existence. If it tried to do so, it would be useless. Its strict delimitation is the very condition of its success. Nor does it allow for different kinds of energy; it must confine itself to quantitative relations. Hence the pretence of foretelling the future is simply a logical conclusion from the principle itself.

The fact is that biology needs new categories. The lowliest organism possessing spontaneity must not be factorized into general conditions, far less reduced to a single principle. It is doubtful if anything that can be called a 'thing' can be so explained. One golf-ball is not another, and a living being has an even more obtrusive individuality. Was this the reason why even Epicurus attributed to each atom an 'exiguum clinamen' peculiar to itself? In the higher animals at least, consciousness is a real factor whose presence helps towards preservation and propagation; it would otherwise be unintelligible. When, again, we come to explain man, we must recognize the existence of a new problem. Are we to regard history and civilization, ideals and achievements, as shadows of matter? The unsatisfactoriness of this theory is perhaps best shown by its own advocates. For they forget their own assumptions in dealing with knowledge, morality, and social life. They make morality to consist in warfare with the cosmic process (as Huxley). They regard consciousness as flowing alongside of neurotic processes, but related to them in no way: they are both manifestations of an unknown energy. Some of them (Clifford, Haeckel, etc.) make matter conscious. Further, they seem to make all reality to be somehow in consciousness, and so in the realm of shadows. The prevalence of naturalism is due to two causes. In the first place, every theory must recognize the enormous influence which the physical organism has on the inner life, the intimate relationship between the higher phases of spiritual existence and material conditions. This naturalism does, and it is therefore valuable. Again, there is a close connexion between this view and the results of science. No theory that scorns scientific results can nowadays prevail, but these results are not dependent on naturalistic assumptions. The weakness of this view is revealed when it tries to explain itself; then it either forgets itself or contradicts itself, or, as is almost always the case, it admits consciousness as a reality and tries to explain it on deterministic grounds. It leads thus to psychological determinism.

3. Psychological determinism.—The basis of this determinism is the theory of association. Consciousness is recognized as 'sui generis,' but any existing phase of it is said to be caused by the preceding. Great stress is laid also on physiological processes, often in such a way as to suggest that these are the ultimate causes. Now there is always a relation between states of consciousness even when these are qualitatively different, but to explain this relation is just the problem. The cause of this relation is not always evident to the subject experiencing it. Even the simplest case of memory is tinged with personal qualities that raise it above a mere association of ideas, and, as Bergson points out (*op. cit.* p. 156), many of our so-called associations are *ex post facto* attempts to unify experience. The main objection to this theory is its defective view of the 'self.' What we find is a bundle of impressions not one of which or all of them together make the self. A. Bain, following Hume, says: 'I cannot light upon anything of the sort [*i.e.* a self]' (*The Emotions and the Will*^{3}, London, 1875, p. 492). But the fact is that the self thus banished is tacitly assumed in every statement, although sensation, knowledge, and volition are all explained as if there were no subject to which they belonged. The personal equation is forgotten in each case. We are dealing all through with given quantities which arrange and rearrange themselves evidently *in vacuo*, or, rather, as Bergson insists, in space. Consciousness is a stream, or a display in a theatre at which no one is looking. What we have here pictured for us is a conflict of motives acting nowhere—a fight without fighters. When the self is recognized, it is only as a desire or aversion or a point in which motives meet, but it has neither position nor magnitude.

'To talk of motives conflicting of themselves is as absurd as to talk of commodities competing in the absence of traders' (Ward, *Realm of Ends*, p. 290). 'The associationist reduces the self to an aggregate of conscious states: sensations, feelings, and ideas. But if he sees in these various states no more than is expressed in their name, if he retains only their impersonal aspect, he may set them side by side for ever without getting anything but a phantom self, the shadow of the ego projecting itself into space' (Bergson, p. 165).

No one in Great Britain has done more than Green to discredit the associationist view of experience. He saw clearly that states of consciousness could never account for consciousness of states. It is true that he explicated this truth mainly in regard to the cognitive element, but it is equally true in regard to feeling, and even more in regard to volition. Sensations are determined by interest; attention depends on the subject as well as on the object. Experience is always seen from the inside, and in the nature of the case can never be seen directly from the outside. It is personal and individual. To deny this is to deny the very possibility of freedom, in fact, to make freedom meaningless; to admit it is to get a platform on which the question of necessity and freedom can be intelligently discussed.

4. Self-determination.—Can we then regard the reality of freedom as a common platform for every system that admits an activity of the subject which issues from itself, and which cannot be reduced wholly to the influence of conditions? There is a sense in which this is true of all things—of chemical reaction, of biological growth, and of human activity. Everything—man included—has its own nature, and freedom is simply the acting out of this nature according to its own laws. Is this a sufficient account of freedom? If it is, freedom means freedom from compulsion, and it could be applied, metaphorically at least, to everything. The planets are thus free as the immortal gods; the flower that grows without being trampled on, the lion in the jungle, the man out of fetters, are all free in this negative sense. Or it might mean that man was able to fulfil the distinctive laws of his being without internal interruption, *i.e.* interruption arising from the man himself as distinct from external compulsion.

Schopenhauer understood Kant's view of freedom in this sense as the working out of the 'esse' according to its own character, conditions giving the occasions to this nature to reveal itself in time and space. Freedom here means the evolution in acts of the inner nature of the subject. The subject is free, but the acts are rigidly determined. Whether this be a true representation of Kant we do not need to inquire. At any rate freedom here seems to be the bare knowledge that we act as we act. Curiously enough, Schopenhauer admitted conversion as Kant and the Stoics did, but only as a mystery. It is now generally acknowledged that this is determinism of a very 'hard' type.

But, leaving aside Schopenhauer's clumsy apparatus of a noumenal ego and phenomenal acts, it may still be held that freedom is simply determination by oneself.

'To be free means that one is determined by nothing but oneself' (J. S. Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*^{4}, London, 1900, p. 94).

Every one holding the activity of the self as a fact agrees with what this statement excludes, viz. mechanical causation or compulsion. In this respect the statement is immaculate, but what does it include? We may see this from the context.

'A vicious man in a sense can, and in a sense cannot, do a good action. He cannot, in the sense that a good action does not issue from such a character as his. A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit. But he can do the action, in the sense that there is nothing to prevent him *except his character*—*i.e.* except himself. Now a man cannot stand outside of himself, and regard a defect in his own character as something by which his action is hindered. If he can, *but for himself*, he *can* in the only sense that is required for morality' (*ib.* p. 93 f.).

This view, it is held, combines the truth of necessity and freedom because it gives uniformity and spontaneity a place; but since it was set forth in 1900 a very influential school has maintained the opposite. Surely the real question is: Can the tree itself be made good? not Can grapes grow on thorns? If any libertarian holds that good fruit can come from a bad tree without changing the tree itself first, then libertarianism is indeed a lingering chimera. But, if libertarianism holds to the possibility of changing the bad character itself, then it seems worth contending for, and recent investigation into changes of character seems to substantiate its truth. The authority who tells us that a bad tree cannot bear good fruit also exhorts us to make the tree itself good, and, on the Kantian dictum that every 'ought' implies a 'can,' which Mackenzie accepts, this is possible. Is the difficulty here not due to the fact that a static and spatial view of 'character' is unconsciously adopted? The living self is as it were photographed, and this snapshot is taken as fixed and true. Yet the same writer goes on to speak of at least three different selves, one of which he places above the 'character,' and he makes real freedom obedience to this self. We are grateful to the Hegelians for emphasizing the value of this real freedom which the theologians always recognized, the freedom of a *non posse peccare* such as we imagine in a perfect being. There need be no dispute about such freedom and its desirability. But how can we attain to this freedom itself if the 'character,' the man himself, prevents its ever being sought after? It seems absurd to talk of progress here, or of degrees of freedom, if the very road towards it is barred. Fortunately, however, those holding such views are so much alive to the interests of morality that they forget their own theories, as the rigid predestinarian also does. It is sought sometimes to explain this view of freedom by the analogy of knowledge. In logical reasoning we have necessity and free activity also; that we cannot think otherwise is no restraint on thought. But does knowledge itself not advance through experiment and error? This theory, then, would do very well for a perfect world, and consciously or unconsciously it is this idea that reality is perfect that animates it, but the freedom we need is not first the freedom of absolute perfection, but one that can open a door of hope to men who err in thought and practice. We need a freedom that will help us to get the perfect freedom which none of us has as yet. When we start with a theoretic bias in favour of a perfect reality, either of two things happens.

'This system of exclusively immanent reason, with its pantheism, suffers shipwreck more particularly upon the fact of the manifold unreason in human and natural life. For, from this point of view, there are two alternatives only; either the unreason must be minimised, removed as far as possible from sight or explained away, or it must be recognised as a basic element in reality and hence held to be unassailable. Thus we have either a tendency towards optimism, which involves shallowness, or towards pessimism, which means negation and finally despair' (Eucken, p. 468 f.).

It will not do to project the activity of the subject either into a perfect absolute or into social customs. For, while a perfect absolute would explain perfect freedom, it does not explain sin and error, which are the roots of all our difficulties, nor does society give us any relief, because we find all the perplexing difficulties of our life repeated in it.

Conclusion.—The freedom which we desiderate is a moral power that can make the world better. While knowledge may be content to unfold its object and works, as Bergson says, 'in the circle of the given,' in morality we make the object. 'Action breaks the circle' (*Creative Evolution*, London, 1912, p. 203). But, if we admit this freedom to make things better and indeed to create, then we must admit also with it, as its correlative, freedom to make things worse and to destroy. Is not this what we actually find in experience? We have in man a spiritual being rising above nature to the heights of ideals, but also falling into nature, disobeying ideals, and refusing to realize them. We find new individuals appearing who were never there before, a fact which no bare singularism can ever explain. If reality were suddenly frozen into a static whole, then absolute thought would have the happy task of quiet contemplation; but reality is always active, and so living thought and living action are never satisfied with the past, nor is morality ever satisfied with the present. Bergson tries to show that it is the neglect of this dynamic nature of life that makes the whole difficulty of freedom; and for philosophy and theology the greatest task at present is to outline a theory of reality and of God that, starting from this fact, can give us some reasonable view of nature below us and God above us. Our freedom is conditioned by both of these, though in different ways; the one supplies the media, the other the norm, for the activity of spiritual beings. We are not mere cogs in the machine of nature, nor mere points through which God irresistibly acts. May it not be the case that nature itself is more friendly to us than we imagine, that its stability is a training-ground for growing men to learn their powers, and carry out their purposes, and God Himself our very life whose unchangeable nature gives independence to our dependence, and whose perfect freedom and moral relations to us alone supply the transition by offering us the power by which we can be freed from our self-delusion and our moral thraldom? The great objection to this view is that we get something 'de novo.' But is that not just the whole claim of morality, that the present be not simply projected into the future, but that a new and a better world be created? For Christianity, at any rate, the possibility of new creatures and of a new world is basal. What a moral law, an 'ought' above the 'is' of character, implies is that this requirement is morally more reasonable than a mere re-arrangement of the existent. We need not be afraid of those who cry 'chance.' For there is so much unreason and absurdity, so much cruelty and evil, in the world that we welcome even 'chance' if it opens a door to their abolition. That this could be possible without the dangerous gift of free power we cannot conceive. But so imperative is the need of betterment that even this dangerous method is welcome. Nor need we be concerned that thus the peace of the absolute is destroyed. The only Absolute for which Christian men care has, if certain tales be true, sacrificed His own peace and more to make it possible for men to obey their conscience and be fellow-workers with God.

LITERATURE.—The literature on this subject is well-nigh unlimited; see the selection given in *DPhP*. Recent discussions are found in J. Ward, *Realm of Ends*, Cambridge, 1911; H. Bergson, *Time and Free Will*, Eng. tr., London, 1912; R. Eucken, *Main Currents of Modern Thought*, Eng. tr., do. 1912; F. C. S. Schiller, 'Freedom and Responsibility,' in *Oxford and Cambridge Review*, 1907, p. 41 ff.; Andrew Seth, *Two Lectures on Theism*, Edinburgh, 1897; Norman Pearson, *Some Problems of Existence*, London, 1907; Bertrand Russell, *Philosophical Essays*, do. 1910; Borden P. Bowne, *Personalism*, do. 1908; C. B. Upton, *The Bases of Religious Belief* (*HL*, 1893), do. 1894, *Dr. Martineau's Philosophy* (with Introductory Essay), do. 1905; Oliver Lodge, *Man and the Universe*, do. 1910; James Lindsay, *Recent Advances in Theistic Philosophy of Religion*, do. 1897, ch. xiii.; G. F. Barbour, *A Philosophical Study of Christian Ethics*, do. 1911, ch. x.; see also art. FREE WILL.

DONALD MACKENZIE.

LIBERTY (Christian).—In this article no attempt is made to deal with the philosophical problems of free will and determinism, nor with the relation of free will to predestination or causality; the reader is referred to the artt. specifically treating of free will under its metaphysical and speculative aspects (see artt. FREE WILL, LIBERTARIANISM AND NECESSITARIANISM, PREDESTINATION). Of recent writers on Christian ethics Haering, *Ethics of the Christian Life* (see pp. 76–95), may be consulted for a discussion of the free will as a presupposition of Christian morality, and in particular in its relation to conscience as viewed from the Christian standpoint.

By the Biblical writers the fact of human free will is assumed, like the existence of God. Free will in its absolute sense belongs alone to the unconditioned being of the Deity, but on the moral side man is at once free and responsible. In Ezk 18^{1-4} the idea of irresponsibility as a deduction from heredity is vigorously combated: 'the soul that sinneth it shall die.' Man, who is created in the Divine image, is a partaker of the Divine nature, and his freedom is the reflex of God's. When we pass into the atmosphere of the NT, we discover that personal free will is an axiom in the teaching of our Lord and His apostles. We may therefore fitly consider the following aspects of the subject.

1. Christian liberty as a religious experience.—The religious life in our Lord's interpretation is a filial relationship with a Heavenly Father, and therefore a life of liberty. It consists in love to God and to man. When hatred, rancour, and resentment, on the one side (Mt $5^{44f.}$), and needless anxiety in relation to material things, on the other (Mt 6^{31-34}), have been expelled from the soul, we are then truly the sons of our Father. The submission of children to the Father above is not a surrender of liberty, but its noblest prerogative; in fact, freedom in the Christian sense is simply obedience to that which we most truly and deeply love and venerate. Freedom is attained by self-conquest, by victory over unrighteousness, of which the penalty is self-contempt and unrest. 'Come unto me . . . and ye shall find rest unto your souls' (Mt 11^{28-30}) is a promise of freedom. Self-denial, therefore, to Jesus is a privilege, not a loss; the taking up of the cross (Mt 10^{38} 16^{24}, Mk 8^{34}, Lk 14^{27}), which looks like the loss of liberty, issues in moral emancipation.

This general view of religion explains our Lord's attitude towards the Mosaic Law, which is a conspicuous feature of His teaching alike in the Synoptic and Johannine narratives. He does not, of course, countenance an antinomian contempt of moral restriction, nor does He proclaim exemption from the Moral Law. In so far as the Mosaic Law enshrines the eternal principles of morality, it is worthy of all reverence; it is not superseded, but only consummated, by the 'New Commandment' of our Lord's teaching. On the other hand, in the course of time the Law had been marred by accretions of interpretation which tended to lay the emphasis on vexatious minutiæ of custom and usage, and elevated practices of cleanliness and health to an unnecessary prominence, with the result that trivial and secondary regulations were deemed as sacred as the original enactments. The letter of the Law was punctiliously observed by the pious Jew in the hope of propitiating God. Obedience to the outward regulation tended to cloud the finer powers of the inner life and to produce a distorted sense of the relative value of given acts. Hence our Lord's pronouncements on the unwashen hands of the disciples (Mt 15^{20}, Mk 7^{2}) and on the proper view of the Sabbath as 'made for man' (Mk 2^{27}) are to be regarded as examples of His method of interpreting the nature of Christian freedom. He substituted great principles of action for minute and arbitrary regulations supposed to be binding at all times and under all circumstances. He superseded definitions of duty—*e.g.*, our duty to our neighbour in the parable of the good Samaritan—by a commandment 'exceeding broad,' namely, the law of love.

It is obvious that this view of liberty receives its crowning illustration and its binding force from His own manhood. If we take such statements as Jn 4^{34} 5^{30} 6^{38} as summing up the character of His own religious experience, we discover that self-will in His judgment is no freedom; the true freedom for Him was 'to do the will' of His Father. Moreover, His sinlessness is the supreme argument for His conception of freedom and the reality of His power to liberate humanity from the power of sin. These ideas are clearly expressed in His discourse to 'those Jews which had believed Him' (see Jn 8^{31-36}). Professing, as 'the seed of Abraham,' that they had never suffered the extreme penalty of domination by their conquerors—a proud boast and substantially true in so far as the preservation of their racial identity was concerned—they had overlooked the true principle of freedom, which was in effect freedom from the bondage of sin. Moral emancipation was the *real* freedom (free 'essentially,' ὄντως [8^{36}]) in our Lord's view. 'The truth' which is to set men free is 'perfect conformity to the absolute, that which is' (see B. F. Westcott, *Gospel according to St. John*, London, 1908, on Jn 8^{32}, and the relation of this conception to Socratic, Stoic, and Jewish ethics). Again, in Jn 15$^{14f.}$ our Lord speaks as the true imparter of freedom; He communicates to others what is His own (παρὰ τοῦ πατρός μου); and this self-communication is the basis of a friendship between Himself and His disciples in which the doing of His will is not a service but a joy.

These conceptions of Christian liberty as a religious experience find further illustration in the writings of St. Paul, to whom ἐλευθερία is a vivid and real characteristic of the Christian life; this word, with its connected epithet and verb, 'free' and 'set free,' occurs 11 times in Gal., 7 in Rom., 8 in the Corinthian Epistles, and twice in other letters (see W. M. Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, London, 1907, p. 36 ff., who argues that this is one of the ideas which became familiar to St. Paul from his Hellenic environment in Tarsus and elsewhere). In the Galatian Epistle in particular he enunciates with great emphasis the freedom which the gospel confers 'in Christ Jesus' (see Gal 2^{4}). The Christian ἐλευθερία destroys distinctions of sex, social status, and race (3^{28}; cf. also Col 3^{11}, Eph 6^{8}). By an allegory which recalls our Lord's words in Jn 8^{35} he differentiates (4$^{22-30}$) between the children 'of a handmaid' and those 'of a free woman,' indicating that the real freedom is that of the spirit imparted to us by Christ (5^{1}), which involves a complete abrogation of the outward enactments of the law as a means of personal and universal salvation. He protests against submission to the rite of circumcision, which, while it had a religious significance to the Jew, had none to the Gentile, ending with 'the impatient, perhaps half-humorous wish that the Judaizers who want to circumcise the Galatians might be subjected to a severer operation themselves' (W. R. Inge, 'St. Paul,' *Quarterly Review*, no. 438 [1914], p. 53). But, while glorying in the liberty to which the Christian has been called, he is careful to avoid any misunderstanding as to its nature: liberty is not licence (5^{13}).

But to St. Paul Christian liberty has an even deeper religious significance: it involves a real emancipation from sin (Ro 6$^{18-22}$ 8$^{2-21}$, 2 Co 3^{17}); and herein he carries on the teaching of our Lord. His own personal experience is: 'the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and of death' (Ro 8^{2}). This constitutes the true Christian sonship (Gal 4^{7}), 'the liberty of the glory of the children of God' (Ro 8^{21}); and we note that 'glory' here is an aspect of our present earthly existence. Sin, which is a bondage and carries with it a sense of guilt and condemnation, has been defeated by Christ, who is thus qualified to be the liberator of the soul (Gal 5^{1}). To early Christian writers the promise of freedom (2 P 2^{19}) from any other source is an illusion. It is from this experience of inward liberty that the fruits of the spirit—joy, peace, and hope—are developed. 'To be spiritually-minded is *life and peace*' (Ro 8^{6}) is a saying which recalls the serene and gentle teaching of the author of the Sermon on the Mount, and may be illustrated by the testimony of Christian experience in all ages.

St. Paul is indeed the great apostle of liberty. He regards the Christian life as one of unrestricted access to God, and lays much emphasis on the Christian duty of παῤῥησία, or boldness of utterance, in proclaiming the principles of the gospel (see art. 'Boldness of Speech,' *ExpT* xxi. [1909–10] 236 ff., for an elucidation of this duty). His opposition to the narrower ideal of St. Peter saved Christianity (Gal 2^{11}) and made it a world-faith. He was the advocate of liberty of thought, action, and judgment. His pronounced views on original sin and the eternal, supreme power and grace of God never weakened his sense of human accountability (Ro 1^{18} 2^{6}).

As J. Weiss (*Paul and Jesus*, Eng. tr., London, 1909, p. 113) remarks, 'the ethical sense of responsibility, the energy for struggle and the discipline of will was not paralysed or absorbed in Paul's case by his consciousness of redemption and his profound spiritual experiences.'

He believed in Divine election, pre-knowledge, and predestination, and, without attempting to resolve the antithesis, places human determination side by side with these. Man co-operates with Divine grace, which is a power 'appropriated by man's moral nature and conditioned by his free action' (Alexander, *The Ethics of St. Paul*, p. 144, who quotes Ph 1^{6} 2^{13}, 2 Co 1^{12}, 1 Th 5^{23}, and the statement of Weiss just cited).

It may also be noted that St. James's royal 'law of freedom' (2$^{8.\ 12}$) is practically identical with St. Paul's 'law of the Spirit,' consisting, as Haering (*op. cit.* p. 162) remarks, in 'freedom from the multiplicity of single precepts,' while the epithet 'royal' appears to imply that 'Christ's law is not addressed to slaves, who must obey whether they will or not, but to the heirs of the kingdom (2^{5}) who voluntarily embrace the law as their guide; cf. the Stoic paradox in Hor. *Ep.* I. i. 106' (see note in J. B. Mayor's commentary *ad loc.*).

2. Christian liberty in relation to the problems of ethical and social life.—It is clear from what has already been said that Christian liberty as an experience of the inner life has a direct relationship with outward practice, and has created ethical problems in the conduct of life. This is seen in the conflict of duties arising within the early Christian Church as the result of the accession of converts from paganism to its ranks. For example, St. Paul was faced at Corinth with a difference of opinion regarding the practice of eating 'things offered to idols.' Evidently the peril lay in a one-sided and over-emphasized interpretation of Christian liberty, which offended the conscience of the more cautious and self-restrained Christians. There were, in fact, two opposing tendencies represented by those who strained their new-found Christian liberty to the breaking-point—'the strong' of 1 Cor. (see ch. 8, *passim*) and Christians of a narrower type, who were more concerned about preserving personal sanctity than about exercising their Christian privileges. The claim that 'all things are lawful to me' (1 Co 6^{12} 10^{23})—the watchword of 'the strong,' quoted out of their mouth by the Apostle—had been abused not only to the extent of participation in heathen sacrificial feasts, but to the extent of advocating grave licence and immorality in sexual relationships. As E. von Dobschütz points out, such Christians were self-deceived, mistaking outward freedom for the inner freedom proclaimed by the gospel.

'The slave, instead of joying in the freedom which Christ gave him, hankered after outward liberty. The Jew, instead of gratefully recognising his freedom from the constraint of law, exerted himself to secure release from circumcision: others sought also and found the freedom only in things which were unbecoming Christianity and morally impermissible' (*Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., London, 1904, p. 66).

The strong must therefore take on their shoulders the infirmities of the weak (Ro 15^{1}); they must spare sensitive minds the pain of witnessing practices which appear to them to be wrong; as Christians, they are to refrain where the exercise of liberty is a stumblingblock to the weak (1 Co 8^{9}). Finally, the strong might lead others into sin by encouraging them to eat against conscience for mere self-gratification, and thus sin not only against their brethren but against Christ (8$^{12f.}$). Such was the ruling of the Apostle. On the other hand, the moral revulsion from paganism produced an exaggerated asceticism which in some sections of the Church resulted in the advocacy of celibacy, in aversion to mixed marriages (1 Co $7^{1ff.}$), and even in hostility to such spiritual manifestations as 'speaking with tongues,' which recalled the excitements of pagan cults. In holding the balance between such opposing tendencies, neither of which did justice to the gospel as a whole, St. Paul had a difficult task. He sympathized with the moral vigour of the one and the moral earnestness of the other, and resolved the antinomy by the proclamation of Christian love as the supreme law of conduct and the sovereign *charisma* (1 Co 13). Christian liberty is always to be humanized, corrected in its exercise even where legitimate, and modified in the doing of what is morally indifferent by the spirit of love, which teaches the Christian not so much to stand upon his rights as to consider the interest of others. Such ἐπιείκεια (Ph 4^{5}), or 'sweet reasonableness,' is not a weak concession to human infirmity, but a virile demonstration of tenderness and charity. It was in this sense that the Apostle himself 'became all things to all men' (1 Co 9^{22}) that he might save some. He was ready to sacrifice liberty to the claims of brotherhood; and this was the new contribution which Christianity made to the ethics of the ancient world: it superseded or (perhaps it would be more correct to say) consummated the ethics of self-realization by the ethics of self-sacrifice.

Christianity therefore condemned libertinism as an offence against the common life of humanity. The 'liberty of indifference'—of doing what one likes—is rejected by the Christian ethic as an illustration of that ἀνομία which is sin (1 Jn 3^{4}). Undoubtedly the interpretation of liberty against which St. Paul and later teachers protested (cf. Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* I. vi. 3, quoted by von Dobschütz, p. 270, for an account of the practices of Valentinians, curiously parallel to those of the Corinthian Church) was a mark of immaturity in the early Christian communities, due to an exultant sense of a new unrestricted life; but the influence of Gnosticism, with its dualistic separation of spirit and matter, must also be taken into account as explanatory of the repeated appearances of libertinism in the primitive Church. On the other hand, the antagonism between flesh and spirit is inherent in human nature; even when sublimated into the convenient distinction of Hebraism and Hellenism, the one standing for righteousness, the other for freedom, the two tendencies represent a fixed duality in the moral and intellectual evolution of the race. Now one element and now the other holds the sway in the life of the individual and of the community; and no one who reads the history of the Church can be blind to the fact that in given periods one of the two has exercised the greater influence and created the type of religious witness which is associated with particular epochs. After the dark ages the Renaissance represents the revival of Hellenism; and to mediæval laxity in religious and social life succeeds the Reformation, which is the triumph of Hebraism. The swing of the pendulum from Puritanism to the excesses of the Restoration in England illustrates the fact that there are recurring reactions in national life which inevitably affect the ethical standard alike of Church and society. It is clear also that the conception of Christian liberty, always subject to the expansions of a virile intellectual or rationalistic consciousness, is bound to suffer restriction and limitation during a reaction to Puritanism of life and morals; and, when the Puritan wave has spent itself, human nature re-asserts itself in a desire to regain its lost or curtailed liberty of action. Thus in all ages of the Church the question of accommodation to the habits, customs, and recreations of secular society has to be faced by the individual Christian, and in the solution of the difficulty two opposite tendencies, parallel with those in the Corinthian Church, have always made themselves felt: we should now call them the broad and the narrow view. In the present age, when we have reached a pitch of civilization in which the resources of the natural universe are placed at the disposal of mankind to an extraordinary extent and the facilities of intercommunication, luxury, and amusement are multiplied for all sections of society, Christianity is still represented by the double ideal—the one proclaiming the width of the Christian freedom, the other its self-restraint and self-limitation. Take, *e.g.*, the attitude of the modern Christian to the theatre. This is but a repetition, under another set of conditions, of the problem which the early teacher of Christianity had to face. With all our advance in moral insight, our larger views of life and destiny, we have not yet superseded the ethical principles which served as a guide to St. Paul. The individual conscience still has to weigh over against the undoubted fact of Christian liberty the influence of the personal support of certain customs or institutions not wholly moralized, and, under certain circumstances, actually immoral, still has to take into account the effect of the exercise of liberty, in matters morally indifferent, upon others not so clear in their moral vision nor sufficiently strong to meet the demands of a new temptation, as well as upon those belonging to the same community whose conscience is sensitive. At the same time, it is clear that a policy of self-isolation on the part of the Christian in regard to the defective and degrading tendencies of given recreations leaves the latter as they are; and to many Christians who interpret liberty in the wider sense consideration of the public good is paramount in determining their attitude in the matter of supporting the drama or otherwise. The law of love is not less binding to-day than in the earlier ages of the Church. It may even be argued that the developed sense of human solidarity and brotherhood, in itself the offspring of Christianity, is educating the Christian conscience to solve all such questions of conscience by a reference to the good of the community as a whole. Yet even the love of humanity, which is but another aspect of the love of God, is determined in practice by our ethical conception of the *summum bonum* for humanity; and here the Christian ideal, more especially in relation to art, differs *toto orbe* from the cult of realism popular in many quarters to-day, which is based on the theory of 'art for art's sake,' regardless of the effect on public morality. Art enriches the common life only when regarded as 'a revelation of a deeper truth in things.'

> 'If it is taken merely *as* art, merely as a beautiful dream, it sinks into play, becomes a mere refined amusement, and loses all its real power over the human spirit. There could hardly be any worse sign of an age than that it regards art as a mere amusement, as a mere escape from the graver problems of life' (J. S. Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*^{4}, London, 1900, p. 443).

'All things are yours' (1 Co 3^{21}) is indeed the noblest charter of Christian freedom, but only when interpreted in the light of the succeeding words, 'ye are Christ's.' The possession of worldly treasure—literary, scientific, commercial, territorial—involves for the Christian in personal union with a Divine life a clear perception of the eternal amid the transitory, the unseen amid the temporal: his citizenship is in heaven; his real life lies in that ideal world which gives meaning, beauty, and power to the world of phenomena. Hence 'liberty' in the Christian sense is always limited by the sanctions of 'the mind of Christ'; in other words, by a reference to the ethical ideal for which Christ stands.

Less need be said as to the relation of Christian freedom to the institutions of the State, the laws of the State, and the established regulations and customs of organized communities, as this has been treated in the art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Christian), vol. v. p. 474. It is well known that neither Christ nor the apostles encouraged revolt against the State, even when, as in the case of slavery, a national institution contradicted the essential teaching of the gospel, being content to lay down universal principles rather than directions for particular nations and phases of social evolution (cf. Mt 22^{21}, Mk 12^{17}, Lk 20^{25}, Ro 13^{1-7}, 1 P 2^{17}). St. Paul, in dealing with the mutual obligations of masters and servants, bases their relationship on the fact that both are slaves of a heavenly Master (Eph 6^{5-9}, Col 3^{22}–4^{1}). But the Christian ideas of human equality and brotherhood carried with them a revolutionary force which inevitably tended in the course of ages to modify social custom, legislation, and practice. As an ideal, brotherhood has yet to be realized, and the process of realization involves a perpetual conflict of interests. The rights of conscience are imperative, 'are inherent in Christian faith, and cannot be ignored in the interests either of despotism or of democracy' (see art. ETHICS AND MORALITY [Christian], *loc. cit.*). The pages of Christian history are crowded with the records of attempts to assert these rights in the face of persecution, State-edicts, and repressive measures, and the annals of religious liberty are glorious with heroisms and martyrdoms cheerfully endured for conscience' sake. How far passive resistance to State legislation, when the latter conflicts with conscience, may be justified is a subtle ethical problem which is settled variously according as the casuist exalts the sacredness of a particular issue above regard to the general well-being of society as a whole, or *vice versa*. On the other hand, the Church exists to moralize State legislation and to enlighten national institutions; it guards the great ideal of human brotherhood, which involves an equal opportunity for all, and it advocates and supports all effort to alleviate human misery and to remedy imperfect social conditions, and to defeat social injustices. In the ideal of liberty, equality, and fraternity the last stands first in the order of Christian thought (cf. Murray, *Handbook of Christian Ethics*, p. 31 f.). Equality flows from brotherhood—the Christian conception of a common family and one eternal Father.

> 'And this equality can have no meaning except as an equal right for all; nor can there be an equal right for all, which does not allow every individual liberty to act as he pleases. But every individual can enjoy this freedom in reality only when each is restricted from interfering with the freedom of the rest' (*ib.* p. 32).

Co-operation in industrial struggles such as those which the present generation is witnessing between capital and labour imposes restrictions upon liberty. Trade unions break down when the principle of Christian liberty is ignored and the will of the individual is not subordinated to a common purpose. And, as legislative restrictions tend more and more to curtail the liberty of the individual, in other words, as the laws of the State become more socialized, the obligations of Christian liberty 'to seek not its own, but the things of others' are proportionately more binding.

3. **Christian liberty in relation to the intellect.**—Over against the authority of the State, with which the individual conscience has often found itself in opposition, there is the authority of the Church, to which the individual member is supposed to subordinate his will and judgment. Limits of space prevent a full treatment of the subject of authority in relation to the individual judgment in matters of faith. Suffice it to say that the opponents of Christianity are in the habit of urging from a review of Church history that Christian freedom of thought has never been received with anything but stern measures of repression, that the heretic has frequently been treated as an immoral person, and that on the whole Catholicism has been the foe of human enlightenment and progress (see J. B. Bury, *History of Freedom of Thought*, London, 1914, for a clear, if prejudiced, statement of this point of view). No fair-minded person can deny the general reasonableness of this charge. The necessity of exercising rigid discipline within the system of the Church in the interests of internal order and unity, the exaction of obedience on the part of the hierarchy from each unit as an exercise in self-renunciation not without real spiritual benefit, and the safeguarding of the deposit of faith amid a worldly and corrupt society may be adduced as grounds of self-defence against the common charge; but the fact remains that the Church has often transgressed the spirit and example of its founder in its hostility to new thought and in the repression of rationalism, forgetting that orthodoxy and Christianity are not synonymous terms. Christ's general attitude towards heterodoxy was that of tolerance; this is shown by His reproof of Jewish exclusiveness more by implication than by actual condemnation in such references as we find to the Samaritans in St. Luke's Gospel (10^{33} 17^{16} 9^{51-56}; the reading 'Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of' in the last passage is without strong critical authority, but the fact of His rebuke is recorded in v.^{55}), by His outspoken rejection of narrowness in the passage Lk 9^{50}, 'Forbid him not: for he that is not against you is for you,' and by His emphasis on the ethical rather than the intellectual side of the Christian witness in Jn 7^{17}. To Him 'faith' was not assent to an intellectual proposition or formula, but the spirit of receptiveness in relation to Himself and His teaching.

The convenient distinction between a religion of authority and a religion of the spirit tends to break down in practice. The Society of Friends, without a ministry and without sacraments, yet becomes an organized fellowship with recognized principles ethical and spiritual, which are binding on its members. Authority runs into every sphere of thought as well as into religion. The infallible church of Catholicism is superseded by the infallible book of Protestantism; but, when both forms of authority are discredited, it does not follow that pure subjectivity is the only possible issue. In Christianity there must be a synthesis of the principle of inspiration with that of authority. The day of inspiration, so long as we believe in a Spirit that guides into all truth, is never at an end, while at the same time the corporate witness of the Christian Church in all epochs of its history cannot be ignored. The progress of Christianity depends, therefore, on an adequate recognition of both these factors—the *consensus sanctorum* and the openness of the reason to the light that lighteth every man. In a striking essay on 'The Principle of Authority' by A. E. J. Rawlinson (*Foundations*, London, 1912) it is stated that there are three stages in the life of the educated Christian: (*a*) bondage to authority—the stage proper to childhood; (*b*) the stage of 'abstract freedom,' *i.e.* the assertion of the right to criticize and, if necessary, to deny; leading on to (*c*) the stage of 'concrete freedom,' which is defined as voluntary assent on grounds of reason to what was formerly believed on authority. Many Christians never pass beyond the first stage; intellectually they remain unenlightened, but their religious experience is unaffected. The second stage is that in which Christian liberty comes into play as a factor in our moral and intellectual development. To repress the spirit of inquiry is to let 'that capability and godlike reason fust in us unused' (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, IV. iv. 38 f.), to imperil our moral and spiritual health, and to foreclose the possibility of a larger equipment for Christian influence. If the issue on the intellectual side is rejection of the doctrines hitherto accepted on authority, there still remain the witness of life and the experience of the saints. It is no doubt true that Christian experience is bound up with a conviction of the truth of certain doctrines, such as the existence of God, immortality, the divinity of our Lord, and the persistent activity of His spirit; but its moral earnestness and beauty remain as a perpetual challenge to those who reject doctrinal Christianity and thereupon feel justified in belittling its contribution to the ethical progress of humanity. On the one hand, it is possible to combine intellectual suspense and even scepticism with a high-minded allegiance to the moral teaching of Christ, and such inquirers after truth are not to be excluded from the fellowship either of individual Christians or of the organized Christian community in its various forms. On the other hand, the Church may legitimately demand from those to whom it does not refuse the right of private judgment that such judgment shall be exercised with becoming humility.

> 'He who would teach a new truth or reject an old (and to do so is a vocation to which in every generation some men are called) must both expect to meet in practice with the persecutions by which true prophets are assailed, and must also face the *prima facie* likelihood that his own prophecy may turn out false' (*ib.* p. 380).

Hence in actual practice within the limits of the Christian fellowship liberty of thought is restricted by the collective witness of the saints, by consideration of human fallibility, by the avoidance of arrogance, intolerance, and impatience, and by respect for simple faith which moves on traditional lines. If one may adapt a saying of T. H. Green (*Prolegomena to Ethics*, Oxford, 1884, p. 292), the Church is 'a society of which the members owe reciprocal services to each other,' simply as Christian to Christian. There must be no attempt to frown on the mind that is open to the newer light when ethically and intellectually equipped for the re-interpretation of ancient doctrine, nor is it to be forgotten that those who have been affected in spiritual outlook by the critical spirit which has modified the value of time-honoured creeds and formularies may yet be qualified to bring out of the treasury of their wisdom and devotion 'things both new and old.' It is a function of Christian liberty to harmonize *nova et vetera*, as giving their respective witness to the realization in humanity of the ever-developing Christian ideal. But, if the modernist as a reverent seeker after truth is tolerated, he in turn must exercise the grace of patience towards the traditionalist. Christian liberty is a great gift, but Christian charity is a greater.

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LIFE AND DEATH (Biological).—The characteristic quality, common to plants, animals, and man, which distinguishes them from all other things, is what we call 'life.' It cannot be defined in terms of anything else, but what the concept implies may be illustrated; and that is the aim of this article. The word 'life' is often used to denote the living creature's complete sequence of activities and experiences throughout the period during which it is alive; as when we say that an eagle has a very long, busy, and free life. It is also used as a short word for what is almost always going on in connexion with living creatures—their acting upon their environment and reacting to it; and it is, of course, quite clear and useful to say that life consists of action and reaction between organism and environment. We must, indeed, be careful never to lose sight of the fact that life is a relation. But what we wish to discern is the characteristic quality of organisms, one term in the relation. It may also be noted that 'life' is a distinctively biological concept, and that there is always a risk in transferring it to other fields. No harm is done, perhaps, in speaking of mental, moral, social, and spiritual life; but one may beg important questions in speaking of the life of crystals. By death we mean here the cessation of an organism's individual life, a fatal disruption of the unity of the organism. There is no confusion in using the same word for the end of the individual as such, and for the apparently irreversible process which leads to the end.

1. General characteristics of living organisms.—Many biologists have sought to sum up the characteristics of living organisms, but no formulation has won general acceptance. This doubtless means that the insignia of life have not yet been discerned either wholly or in their proper perspective. One of the clearest statements is given by Roux (*VII Internat. Zoological Congress Boston*, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1912, p. 436), who recognizes five 'elementary functions': (1) self-dissimilation; (2) self-preservation, including assimilation, growth, movement, etc.; (3) self-multiplication; (4) self-development; and (5) self-regulation in the exercise of all functions, including self-differentiation, self-adjustment, self-adaptation, and, in many organisms, distinctly recognizable psychical functions. The persistent use of the prefix self, on the part of the founder of *Entwicklungsmechanik*, is very interesting. Przibram (*Experimentelle Zoologie*, iv.) arranges 'the criteria of life' in three groups—morphological, chemical, and physiological. The morphological characteristic is some measure of differentiation or heterogeneity of structure, which distinguishes even the simplest organism from a crystal. The chemical characteristic is the invariable presence of albuminoid substances in a colloid state. The physiological characteristic is to be found in growth and in the movement of parts. Another way of stating the general characteristics of organisms will now be expounded—under three heads.

(1) *Persistence of complex specific metabolism and of specific organization.*—We place in the forefront the fact that the organism is typically in continual flux and yet retains its integrity. Chemical change is the rule of the world, but the

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peculiarities in the case of organisms are (*a*) that many of the changes are very complex, having in part to do with proteids; (*b*) that they are specific for each kind of creature; and (*c*) that they are correlated in such a way that they continue and the associated structure persists. Each of these peculiarities requires some exposition. (*a*) Many chemical changes occur in the living organism, and some of them are relatively simple, but the essential changes appear to be concerned with proteid or albuminoid substances, which are always present. These compounds are peculiarly intricate, with a large number of atoms or atom-groups in their molecules; they diffuse very slowly and do not readily pass through membranes; they occur in a colloid state, and, although some are crystallizable, *e.g.* hæmoglobin, they are not known in a crystalloid state in the living organism; they are relatively stable bodies, yet they are continually breaking down and being built up again in the living body, partly under the direct influence of ferments or enzymes. The constructive, synthetic, up-building, winding-up processes are summed up in the term 'anabolism'; the disruptive, analytic, down-breaking, running-down processes are summed up in the term 'katabolism,' both sets of processes being included in the term 'metabolism,' for which we have, unfortunately, no English equivalent like the fine German word *Stoffwechsel*, 'change of stuff.'

(*b*) It is a noteworthy fact that each kind of organism, so far as we know, has its specific metabolism, its own chemical individuality. This is often well illustrated by the difference in the analogous chemical products of related species. There is chemical specificity in the milk of nearly related animals and in the grapes of nearly related vines. It has become possible of recent years to make absolutely sure, within given limits, of the kind of animal to which a blood-stain is due—*e.g.*, whether horse or ass. The familiar fact that there are people who cannot eat certain kinds of food—*e.g.*, eggs, milk, oysters, crabs—without more or less serious symptoms is an illustration of specificity which is actually individual. It looks as if a man is individual not only to his finger-prints, but to his chemical molecules. We come back to what was said of old: 'All flesh is not the same flesh: but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds' (1 Co 15^{39}).

(*c*) In the ordinary chemical changes of the inorganic world, as in the weathering of rocks into soil, one substance changes into another. The same sort of thing goes on in the living body, but the characteristic feature is a balancing of accounts so that the specific activity continues. We lay emphasis on this characteristic since it seems fundamental—the capacity of continuing in spite of change, of continuing, indeed, through change. An organism was not worthy of the name until it showed, for a short time at least, not merely activity, but persistent activity. The organism is like a clock, inasmuch as it is always running down and always being wound up; but, unlike a clock, it can wind itself up, if it gets food and rest. The chemical processes are so correlated that up-building makes further down-breaking possible; the pluses balance the minuses; and the creature lives on. We are familiar with the self-preservative activities of higher animals, but not less important is the continual maintenance of the specific chemical activity of each cell and of the correlated invisible structure or organization. It is an extraordinary fact that a particular functional activity in a nervous system may be restored after the destruction of the nerve-cells and fibres on which the activity previously depended—a fact all the more remarkable since in higher animals there is no regeneration of nerve-cells. But not less important is the manner in which a unicellular organism can spend its substance and yet, as it were, have it, because of the fundamental capacity for self-renewal.

To what has just been said several saving clauses must be added to prevent misunderstanding. (α) The organism is no exception to the law of the conservation of energy. In doing work and even in mere living it expends energy and suffers wear and tear. It cannot continue active unless it captures more energy and has time for rest and repairs. But its chemical activities are so correlated that it remains for a considerable time a going concern. Fatigue, senescence, and death show that its fundamental capacity for self-maintenance is not perfect. (β) A particular chemical reaction that takes place in an organism may sometimes be repeated in artificial isolation, and, when this can be done, it is plain that there is nothing characteristically vital about it. It is the same in the eagle as in the test-tube. But in the living organism it is a link in a concatenated series which makes for self-repair and continuance. The riddle of life is that of the burning bush—'nec tamen consumebatur.' (γ) If a living organism were to be minced up quickly, no change of chemical composition would necessarily occur for some little time. But what exhibition would there be of the alleged fundamental characteristic of self repair? It may be answered that the minced-up organism would be dead, whereas we are dealing at present with living organisms. Or it may be more shrewdly pointed out that the living units of the body are adapted to chemical self-repair in particular conditions—*e.g.*, an environment of other cells, which have been abolished by the mincing. But perhaps the most instructive answer is the experimental one, that, if a sponge be minced up and forced through a cloth filter, little drops of the débris, placed in appropriate environment, will at once proceed to build themselves up into new sponges. (δ) It has to be admitted that the criterion of life to which we are giving prominence is relative. Some organisms can keep going for a hundred years, and some for only a hundred days, and some for only a hundred hours—the question rises as to the limit. Among the primeval organisms may there not have been some which lived only for a hundred seconds? How then would these hypothetical creatures have differed from the pill of potassium which flares itself out, rushing over the surface of the basin of water on which it has been thrown? The answer must be that an organism did not begin to be until alongside of disruptive processes associated with proteid substances there were also correlated constructive processes, making for repair and self-maintenance.

(2) *Growth, reproduction, and development.*—When an inorganic thing is affected by an external influence inducing chemical change, the result is apt to be destructive. It changes into something else—the bar of iron into rust, and the barrel of gunpowder mostly into gas. The organism's responses to stimuli—in most cases a more accurate phrasing than 'reactions to external forces'—also involve disruptions, but these are not destructive. As we have seen, they are correlated with self-maintaining processes. Now we can conceive of an organism which balanced its accounts from hour to hour, but never had much margin. There are such organisms which live, to use a homely expression, from hand to mouth. They are viable, going concerns, but they are trading on a very restricted basis of capital. It is plain that organisms could not have gone very far on such dangerous lines They could not have survived any crisis. There is

obvious advantage, therefore, in storing energy in potential form, and this accumulation of reserves is fundamentally characteristic of organisms—especially of plants. As regards income and output of energy, an organism is far and away more efficient than any engine that man has yet invented. The organism can make its income go farther. It allows a smaller proportion of energy to sink into unavailable form. It can turn potential energy into useful form in a way that engines cannot do without enormous waste. More than this, however, there is a power of laying by what can be used later on. J. Joly ('The Abundance of Life,' *Scient. Proc. Roy. Soc. Dublin*, vii. [1891] 55–90) expressed the dynamic contrast long ago when he said that, whereas the transfer of energy into an inanimate material system was attended with effects conducive to dissipation and retardative to further transfer, the transfer of energy into an animate material system is attended with effects retardative of dissipation and conducive to further transfer. This seems to lead on to the criterion of growth. A surplus of income over expenditure is the primal condition of organic growth, and in this respect plants are pre-eminent, since they accumulate such rich reserves (potential energy of chemical substances) and are so very economical in the getting of them. It must not be forgotten that it is the existence of the plant world that has made it possible for animals to dispense, relatively speaking, with intra-organismal stores. In the art. GROWTH it has been pointed out that the growth of living creatures, as contrasted with that of crystals, is at the expense of materials different from those which compose the organism; that it implies active assimilation, not passive accretion; and that it is, in quite a new sense, a regulated process. An organism does not grow like a snowball rolling down a hill. To sum up, the power of sustained metabolism—of balancing accounts with some margin to go on with—makes growth possible.

But growth naturally leads on to multiplication or reproduction. As Haeckel clearly pointed out in his *Generelle Morphologie* (Berlin, 1866), reproduction is discontinuous growth. It seems impossible to draw any hard-and-fast line between a fragmentation which separates off overgrowths and the more specialized modes of reproduction. We seem to be looking back to near the beginning of organic life when we see the breakage of a protoplasmic mass which has grown too large to be a unity. It was long ago pointed out by Herbert Spencer and others that a living unit would tend to divide when the increase of volume outran—as it soon must if it continues—the increase of surface. In a sphere, for instance, the volume must increase as the cube, and the surface only as the square, of the radius. Thus, if it grew beyond a certain size, a spherical organism would get into serious functional difficulties, the volume of material to be kept alive having increased out of proportion to the surface by which it is kept alive. By division into two units, the disproportion is counteracted. It has also been suggested that there is a certain normal proportion between the nucleus and the cell-substance or cytoplasm, which is disturbed if the cytoplasm increases beyond a certain limit. A non-nucleated piece of cytoplasm cut off from a large protozoon can move about for a time, but it can neither feed nor grow. There are facts which indicate that the nucleus is a trophic and respiratory centre of the cell. It may be then that the division of a cell is a means of restoring the balance between volume and surface and between cytoplasm and nucleoplasm. The balance may also be restored by the emission of processes from the surface of the cell, as in rhizopod protozoa (Amœbæ, Foraminifera, Radiolaria, etc.); or by a multiplication of nuclei, as often happens. But what has been suggested is a theory of the advantage of cell-division, not of the immediate physiological reason for its occurrence. As to this, it has been mooted that a period of growth is followed automatically by a process of 'autokatalysis,' but precise data are wanting. It cannot be gainsaid that the division of a cell remains one of the deep problems of biology. W. Bateson writes:

> 'I know nothing which to a man well trained in scientific knowledge and method brings so vivid a realisation of our ignorance of the nature of life as the mystery of cell-division. . . . The greatest advance I can conceive in biology would be the discovery of the nature of the instability which leads to the continual division of the cell. When I look at a dividing cell I feel as an astronomer might do if he beheld the formation of a double star: that an original act of creation is taking place before me' (*Problems of Genetics*, p. 39).

In most cases a cell divides into two precisely similar daughter cells; this is associated with an exceedingly complicated division of the nucleus, which secures that each of the two daughter cells gets a very accurate half of each part of the original nucleus. But the difficulty of the problem is increased by the fact that a cell may also divide into two dissimilar halves, one with and another without one or more of the constituent parts of the original nucleus. In some cases among higher animals and in many unicellular organisms the cell-division may be apparently less complicated than in the usual 'indirect' method. The cell constricts in a dumb-bell-like fashion, and the nucleus likewise. In some unicellular organisms there is fragmentation of the unit. It is probable that the complicated methods of cell-division which are now the rule are the results of a long process of evolution, and that the fundamental characteristic is simply division. In any case there is no doubt that the power of spontaneous division is one of the most distinctive features of living units.

A consideration of effective activity led us to the idea of self-repair and the accumulation of reserves; this led us to the fact of growth; and this to multiplication, which takes place by division. It is characteristic of organisms to multiply, and, since what is separated off is in many cases a fragment, a group of cells, or a single cell, we are brought face to face with development—the power that a part has of growing and differentiating until it has literally reproduced the whole. Development is the expression of the latent possibilities of an imperfect organism in an appropriate environment. It is the making visible of the intrinsic manifoldness of some primordium—a bud, a fragment, a sample, or a germ-cell—and, as it appears to us, it should be thought of as a continuation (under special circumstances and with a special result, namely, a new individual) of the restitution and regrowth which goes on always to make good the body's wear and tear. Every gradation between the two may be illustrated by the phenomena of regeneration, which is exhibited when a lost part is replaced. It is a noteworthy fact that a starfish, which practises autotomy or self-mutilation in the spasms of capture and finds safety in its reflex device (for it often escapes and can regrow at leisure what it has lost), may also (e.g., *Linckia guildingii*) habitually multiply in this rather expensive fashion.

> Bateson quotes Sir Michael Foster's definition: 'A living thing is a vortex of chemical and molecular change,' and points out that 'the living "vortex" differs from all others in the fact that it can divide and throw off other "vortices," through which again matter continually swirls. We may perhaps take the parallel a stage further. A simple vortex, like a smoke-ring, if projected in a suitable way will twist and form two rings. If each loop as it is formed could grow and then twist again to form more loops, we should have a model representing several of the essential features of living things' (*op. cit.* p. 40).

It has to be added, as we have seen, that the living 'vortex' is the seat of complex and specific chemical changes which are correlated in such a way that the creature *lasts*. But more has to be added still.

(3) *Effective behaviour, registration of experience, and variability.*—The common idea in this grouping is self-expression. (*a*) Life is a kind of activity, reaching a climax in behaviour, *i.e.* in an organically determined, correlated series of acts which make towards a definite result. Behaviour concerns the organism as a whole, as in locomotion, or a considerable part of an organism, and differs from a reflex action in being a concatenation. It has different modes (tropisms, taxisms, instinctive behaviour, intelligent behaviour), but there is the common feature of correlation, of purposiveness (not necessarily purposefulness), and, usually, of individuality. When an amœba appears to go on the hunt, follows another, catches it, loses it, re-captures it, we must say either 'behaviour' or 'magic.' We need not suppose that the amœba knows what it is about, but it is very difficult not to say that its awareness is accompanied by some analogue of 'will.' In the case of instinctive behaviour there is often an extraordinary adherence to routine, and this may defeat itself, but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred what is done is effective, and the individuality probably finds expression in ways that escape us. (*b*) The effectiveness which characterizes the behaviour of organisms (*i.e.* of those that show behaviour enough to be studied) seems to depend on profiting by experience in the individual lifetime, or on the results of successful ancestral experiments, or, usually, on both. It appears to us to be one of the insignia of life that the organism registers its experiments or the results of its experiences. We must here include under the term 'organism' the germ-cell, which is an organism implicit or *in potentia*, and may be said to make experiments in internal organization just as much as, in reality far more than, a protozoon which makes experiments in its skeletal architecture or in its behaviour. As W. K. Clifford said,

> 'It is the peculiarity of living things not merely that they change under the influence of surrounding circumstances, but that any change which takes place in them is not lost, but retained, and as it were built into the organism to serve as the foundation for future actions' (*Lectures and Essays*, London, 1879, i. 83).

As Bergson puts it,

> 'Its past, in its entirety, is prolonged into its present, and abides there, actual and acting' (*Creative Evolution*, p. 16).

As Jennings says, from the physiological point of view, in discussing the behaviour of the starfish,

> 'The precise way each part shall act under the influence of the stimulus must be determined by the past history of that part; by the stimuli that have acted upon it, by the reactions which it has given, by the results which these reactions have produced (as well as by the present relations of this part to other parts, and by the immediate effects of its present action). . . . We know as solidly as we know anything in physiology that the history of an organism does modify it and its actions—in ways not yet thoroughly understood, doubtless, yet none the less real' ('Behavior of the Starfish,' *University of California Publications in Zoology*, iv. [1907] 177).

(*c*) The organism's variability or power of producing some distinctively new character must, in the present state of science, be taken as 'given.' The only capacity like it that we know of is our own power of mental experiment—the secret of the artist, the musician, the thinker, or the inventor. It may be noted that 'modifications' wrought on the body by some peculiarity of nurture, environment, or habit are to be distinguished from germinal variations. They are important individually, but they are not known to affect the progeny in any representative fashion. We may also distinguish those negative variations which are due to the loss of an ancestral character, like horns or a tail, for there are various opportunities in the history of the germ-cells for the dropping out of an hereditary item. Similarly, in regard to those variations which are plainly interpretable as new arrangements of previously expressed ancestral characters, there is no theoretical difficulty. What is baffling, however, is the origin of something definitely novel, especially when there is reason to believe that it originates brusquely. We can hardly do more at present than assume that the organism is essentially creative. Just as the intact organism, from amœba to elephant, tries experiments, so the germ-cell, which is no ordinary cell but an implicit organism, a condensed individuality, may perhaps make experiments in self-expression, which we call variations or mutations. This completes our statement of the general characteristics of organisms.

2. Death.—It is convenient to distinguish, from a biological point of view, three different kinds of death. (1) There is *violent* death, when some external influence shatters, or dissolves, or benumbs the organization. A wound, a sudden change of temperature, or being swallowed by another organism may involve the irrecoverable cessation of bodily life. For many animals in open nature the end seems to be always violent. (2) There is *microbic* death, when some intruding micro-organism, establishing itself in the body, multiplies exceedingly and produces fatal effects. The intruders cause lesions, or destroy important elements, or produce fatal toxins, and so on. In wild nature there is little microbic death except when man effects disarrangements in distribution, so that organisms are exposed to the attack of new microbes. (3) There is *natural* death, which results from some breakdown in the correlation of vital processes. Hard-worked organs, such as the heart, may suffer from the imperfect recuperation of their wear and tear. The highly specialized cells of the nervous system tend to lose early in life their power of dividing and therefore of replacement; thus in higher animals there is not after birth any increase in the number of nerve-cells. In various ways there arises within the body an accumulation of physiological arrears which eventually implies physiological insolvency. Especially does the process of reproduction strain the resources of the organism.

In spite of criticisms, Weismann's doctrine of the immortality of the protozoa remains acceptable. Not that these unicellular organisms live any charmed life; they are continually being killed by accidents, vicissitudes, and enemies; some of them are occasionally consumed by microbes; but it seems to be the case that in their normal conditions (when waste-products do not accumulate in the surrounding medium and when there is opportunity for conjugation) many of them at least are not subject to natural death in the same degree as higher animals are. Some of them, indeed, may be exempt from natural death altogether. The reasons for this immunity are to be found in the relative simplicity of structure, for unicellular organisms can continuously and completely make good their wear and tear, and in the relatively simple modes of multiplication, which do not involve the nemesis so frequent in higher organisms. Though it is not improbable that very simple multicellular organisms, such as the freshwater hydra, may enjoy some measure of immunity from natural death, there is doubtless general truth in the epigram that, in the course of evolution, natural death was the price paid for a body. The relative immunity of unicellular organisms strongly suggests that natural death is not to be regarded simply as an intrinsic necessity—the fate of all life.

Life was described by Bichât as 'the sum of the functions which resist death,' but this is a one-sided emphasis. For, while it is characteristic of organisms that they are continually at work in securing the persistence of their specific organization, it is equally characteristic that they spend themselves in securing the continuance of their kind. Instead of seeking to avoid death, to speak metaphorically, they often rather invite it, sacrificing themselves in producing and providing for the next generation. Their reproductive activities put an end to their self-preservation. Natural death is not to be thought of as like the running down of a clock. It is more than an individual physiological problem; it is adjusted in reference to the welfare of the species. As has been noted in art. AGE, there is good reason for regarding the occurrence of death at a particular time as adaptive. Constitutions which lose their correlation at the end of a year have been selected in certain conditions; constitutions which lose their correlation at the end of ten years have been selected in others. It is certain, as Weismann says, that 'worn-out individuals are not only valueless to the species, but they are even harmful' (*Essays upon Heredity*, etc. i. 24). As Goethe put it, 'Death is Nature's expert contrivance to get plenty of life' ('Aphorisms on Nature,' tr. Huxley, in *Nature*, i. [1869] 1).

3. Organism and mechanism.—The task of mechanics, as G. Kirchhoff said, is 'to describe completely and in the simplest manner the motions which take place in nature' (*Vorlesungen über mathematische Physik*, Leipzig, 1876, i. 1). A mechanical description is satisfactory as such when it enables us to formulate a process as a continuous series of necessarily concatenated mechanical operations like those of an automatic machine or of a volcano. We shall use the term 'mechanical' throughout as meaning a matter-and-motion description, and as equivalent to physico-chemical, for chemical and physical descriptions are (ideally at least) reducible to mechanical terms. The question before us is how far mechanical description can be usefully employed in the study of organisms. The question is twofold: (1) how far we can describe characteristically vital events in terms of those concepts and formulæ which certainly serve us well when we study the tides or eclipses, the fashioning of a dewdrop, or the making of a star; and (2) how far a mechanical description answers the distinctly biological questions as to the correlation of an organism's activities, its behaviour, its growth and reproduction, its development and evolution.

There is no doubt that chemical and physical laws apply to living creatures—to what has been called their inorganic aspect. Chemically regarded, living involves a complex of reactions in or associated with the material which we call 'protoplasm,' and some of these can be reproduced apart from the organism altogether. Some vital processes illustrate J. H. van't Hoff's rule of chemical reactions, for they increase in rapidity as the temperature increases. This may serve as an instance of the solidarity of the organism's chemical processes with those that occur in things in general, but it must be carefully noticed that we cannot assert that the movements of molecules in a living protoplasmic system are the same as those in an inorganic system. In his posthumously published *Prinzipien der Mechanik* (Leipzig, 1894) H. Hertz emphasized the need of caution.

> 'It is certainly a justified caution with which we confine the realm of mechanics expressly to inanimate nature and leave the question open how far its laws can be extended beyond. In truth, the matter stands thus, that we can neither maintain that the internal phenomena of animated beings obey the same laws nor that they follow other laws' (quoted by J. T. Merz, *History of European Thought*, iii. [Edinburgh and London, 1912] 584).

It is plain that many physical processes occur in the body which are comparable to those observable in the inorganic domain—processes of diffusion, capillarity, surface-tension, and so on. And, just as the living body illustrates conservation of matter, so is it with the conservation of energy. One mode may change into another mode, but no energy ceases or is lost in the transformation. Careful experiments with a calorimeter show that it is possible to square accounts of the energy-income and energy-expenditure of an organism, the slight discrepancy that is sometimes observed being reasonably explained as due to the inevitable imperfections of instruments and observations. It should be noticed, however, that, according to some physicists, the second Law of Thermodynamics does not apply to living creatures. While no fact securely established in regard to organisms has been shown to be inconsistent with the generalizations of chemistry and physics, and while many results of importance, both theoretically and practically, have rewarded the application of chemico-physical methods to living creatures, we believe it to be quite inaccurate to say that mechanical concepts and formulæ suffice for more than a partial and abstract description of the life of organisms. We shall proceed to test this.

(*a*) *Everyday functions.*—As things stand at present, there is not forthcoming any physico-chemical description of any total vital operation, even of everyday functions such as the interchange of gases in the lungs, the passage of digested food from the alimentary canal into the blood-vessels, or the filtering processes that go on in the kidneys. The co-ordination involved in the discharge of a function and the correlation of one function with another are characteristic physiological facts which are not made clearer when the chemistry or physics of an artificially isolated corner is worked out.

> Even in such a familiar occurrence as a response to a stimulus 'there is in reality no experimental evidence whatsoever that the process can be understood as one of physical and chemical causation. . . . In the case of physiological stimulus and response no real quantitative relation can be traced between the supposed physical or chemical cause, and its effect. When we attempt to trace a connection we are lost in an indefinite maze of complex conditions, out of which the response emerges' (J. S. Haldane, *Mechanism, Life, and Personality*, p. 34).

A very familiar fact is that the same stimulus applied to two apparently similar animals, or to the same animal at different times, evokes different answers. We can indeed give reasons for this, but the reasons are not mechanical reasons.

(*b*) *Behaviour.*—When we think of a collie dog controlling a flock of sheep according to instructions, or of a swallow returning from its winter in the South to the place of its birth, or of the spider spinning a typical web without experience or model, or of the larval freshwater mussels fastening themselves to minnows, or of the larval liver-fluke responding to the contact of the water-snail by which alone it can successfully continue its life, or of the amœba capturing its prey, losing it, following it, re-capturing it, and so on, we are face to face with animal behaviour which transcends mechanical description. The behaviour is made up of a succession of acts which are correlated in a particular sequence. This is true even in instances where we know nothing of the associated mentality. It goes without saying that the behaviour implies chemical and physical events, but the bond of union eludes the chemist and physicist. There are elements of spontaneity, plasticity, adaptiveness, and purposiveness that are foreign to mechanical reasoning. We can make nothing of behaviour without new concepts, notably that of the organism as an historical being that trades with time.

(*c*) *Development.*—The condensation of the inheritance into microscopic germ-cells, the combination of two inheritances in fertilization, the subsequent division of the inheritance involved in the segmentation of the ovum, the process of differentiation wherein from the apparently simple the obviously complex emerges, the embryo's power of righting itself when the building materials of its edifice are artificially disarranged, the way in which different parts are correlated and, as it were, conspire together towards some future result—these and many other facts lead towards a convincing impression that development far transcends mechanism.

In his *Science and Philosophy of the Organism* (1908), Driesch has with unexampled thoroughness and subtlety tested the possibilities of mechanical description with particular reference to the facts of development, and reached a conclusion of the first importance.

> 'No kind of causality based upon the constellations of single physical and chemical acts can account for organic individual development; this development is not to be explained by any hypothesis about configuration of physical and chemical agents. . . . Life, at least morphogenesis, is not a specialised arrangement of inorganic events; biology, therefore, is not applied physics and chemistry; life is something apart, and biology is an independent science' (i. 142).

But, if the description of development is beyond mechanics, what, it may be asked, is the rôle of the young and vigorous science of 'developmental mechanics' (*Entwicklungsmechanik*) so well represented by the work of Roux? It may be answered that the developing embryo, as a material system, does of course exhibit chemical and physical processes which may be analyzed apart and treated singly; that development shows a continuous action and reaction between an implicit organism and the environing conditions; and that developmental mechanics so-called is in great part concerned with discovering the correlation between steps in development and their appropriate external stimulation and nurture. But a further answer is this, that the term 'mechanical' or 'mechanistic' is often, unfortunately, applied to a systematic or connected description which displays a series of events in causal coherence without any intervention of mentality. Given certain properties of organisms in general and of nerve-cells in particular, we may give a more or less connected and complete account of a reflex action without implying any psychical agency. But this should not be called a mechanical or mechanistic description; it is simply what it pretends to be, a physiological or biological description, and it implies various non-mechanical concepts. Similarly, given the organism's power of registration and of persistently reproducing its specific organization, given the cell's mysterious power of dividing—of dividing now into similar and again into dissimilar halves—given the power of utilizing nurtural stimuli to educe the inherent manifoldness, and so on, we can begin to discover the connectedness of the successive stages in development. But this should not be called mechanical description.

(*d*) *Evolution.*—The adequacy of mechanical description may also be tested in reference to evolution. There is apt to be fallacy in speaking of organic evolution as a continuation of 'evolution' in the inorganic domain. For it is more accurate, probably, to speak of the development than of the evolution of the solar system, since it is the differentiation of one mass into explicit manifoldness. The originative nebula, if such it was, is comparable to a great world-egg which developed into several embryos, as eggs sometimes do, but there was no struggle between the various planets, or between them and their environmental limitations, no sifting process which eliminated some and left others surviving. There were no alternatives, no trial and error methods. There was nothing comparable to that staking of individual lives and losing of them which is so characteristic of that sublime adventure which we call organic evolution. The theory of organic evolution starts with the mystery of variability, which is more like experimenting in self-expression than anything in the inorganic world, though it is not without its analogies even there. In natural selection the organism is often anything but a passive pawn. It does not simply submit to the apparently inevitable. It often evades its fate by a change of habit or of environment; it compromises, it experiments, it is full of device and endeavour. It not only adapts itself to its environment, it adapts its environment. The evolving organism is an historical being, a genuine agent which trades with its talents. Such mechanical description as is possible leaves the essential features undescribed.

4. The uniqueness of life.—The negative conclusion has been arrived at that mechanical or physico-chemical concepts do not suffice for answering biological questions. This is because organisms show a certain apartness or uniqueness, the various theories of which may be roughly designated vitalistic. Before considering these, however, we must refer, practically rather than philosophically, to three preliminary points. (*a*) It is maintained by some that mechanical formulation, legitimate and useful for certain purposes, apparently adequate for things as they are in certain cases, such as the tides, is not the ideal formulation even within the domain of the not-living. But, if it is not adequate there, it will be still less adequate within the realm of organisms. Practically, however, it may be answered that this is not a biologist's business. All will admit that mechanical formulæ work very usefully within the inorganic domain; but the biologist finds that they do not help him to answer his particular questions. He therefore seeks for formulæ of his own. (*b*) It is often pointed out that, although we cannot at present translate vital happenings, such as growth and division, into terms of any known mechanics, we may be able to do so in the course of time. It may be, for instance, that the concepts of chemistry and physics will undergo profound modification in centuries to come, and no one can say that they have not changed in the past. The practical answer to this question is that we can speak only of the chemistry and physics that we know. (*c*) It is held by some that it is consciousness, or mind, that gives organisms their apartness or uniqueness. But, without entering into a discussion of this, we may again give a practical answer, that the problem 'vitalism or mechanism' is the same for plants as for animals, and that we do not know anything about the mind or consciousness of plants.

There are three well-known positions in regard to the apartness of living creatures, which may be roughly described as the three grades of vitalism. (1) The first finds the differentia of organisms in the greater complexity in the configurations of elementary particles; protoplasmic metabolism is extremely intricate. New concepts are not required, but the activities of organisms cannot be predicted from a formulation of what occurs in the inorganic domain. Biology may be allowed a laboratory of its own, but it should be called biochemical. The main objection to this view is simply a matter of fact—that no headway has been made in giving mechanical answers to characteristically biological questions. (2) The second view is that there is a peculiar kind of physical energy operative in living creatures and nowhere else. Organisms have a monopoly of some power in the same series as, say, electricity. This theory is a lineal descendant of one form of the old theory of 'vital force,' but it has been brought up to date. It has been suggested that there may be a specific intra-organismal form of energy evolved by and peculiar to the complex nature of the molecule of protoplasm or of protoplasms, which exhibits an unceasing alternation of unipolar and bipolar states, the latter resulting in cell-division.

> 'The attraction and repulsion observed between cell and cell are certain of the manifestations of this supposed form of energy—but probably not by any means all; just as attraction and repulsion are manifestations of electrical energy under certain conditions, but are not by any means the only manifestations. In nerve impulses we may, for instance, really be experiencing manifestations in another way of the same form of energy which under other conditions produces the attractions and repulsions and the figures of strain in the dividing cells, and the actual cell-division. . . . By this supposed form of energy, I do not mean a mysterious metaphysical influence, but a form of energy comparable to gravity, electricity, or magnetism—in some respects similar to these but in other respects differing from each, and a form which could be investigated by the ordinary methods of mensuration and computation available to the mathematician' (Assheton, *Archiv für Entwicklungsmechanik*, xxix. 68 f.).

(3) The third view is thoroughgoing vitalism, best represented by the work of Driesch. Its postulate is a non-perceptual vital agency or entelechy, which does not occur in not-living things, but is associated with organisms, where it operates in certain cases, directing the chemico-physical processes so that their results are different from what they would have been apart from its intervention. The postulated entelechy is not the outcome of more complex physical conditions, 'not a new elemental consequence of some constellation'; it intervenes only at certain steps, introducing an occasional indeterminism; it is supposed to be a genuine agent, counting for something, 'at work,' as Driesch says. On this view, there is a deep-lying distinction—a difference in principle—between the flight of a bird and the movement of a comet, and biology is by hypothesis autonomous. We cannot enter into a discussion of Driesch's ingenious and consistently-worked-out theory of entelechy, or of the three proofs which he gives of the autonomy of life. The first is based on a study of morphogenesis, *i.e.* of the way in which an organism realizes in development its specific form and structure; the second is based on a study of inheritance; the third is based on a study of the movements of organisms. That they show the impossibility of 'a machine-theory of life' will be admitted by many who are not disposed to postulate an organismal entity. According to Driesch, entelechy is 'an autonomous agent,' 'of a non-spatial nature,' without a seat or localization. It is immaterial and it is not energy; it is not inconsistent in its agency with the laws of energy; its function is to suspend and to set free, in a regulatory manner, pre-existing faculties of inorganic interaction.

> 'There is something in the organism's behaviour—in the widest sense of the word—which is opposed to an inorganic resolution of the same, and which shows that the living organism is more than a sum or an aggregate of its parts. . . . This something we call entelechy' (*op. cit.* ii. 338).

In illustration of the criticisms of Driesch's position, reference may be made to three points. (*a*) It is argued that, if entelechy is effective, it implies a breach in the fundamental law of the conservation of energy. But it is like begging the question to press this difficulty, and Poynting has suggested, in discussing the analogous case of the operation of our will, that a merely deflecting force does no work, though it changes configuration. The will may introduce a constraint which guides molecules to glide past one another instead of clashing—a slight change of spin which may be compensated for by a slight opposite spin put on the rest of the body.

> 'The will may act as a guiding power changing the direction of motion of the atoms and molecules in the brain, and we can imagine such a guiding power without having to modify our ideas of the constancy of matter or the constancy of motion, or even the constancy of energy' (*HJ* i. 745).

The same may apply to the action of entelechy, and attention must be directed to the care that Driesch has taken to state his doctrine so that it does not violate the principle of the conservation of energy. He supposes entelechy to suspend reactions which are possible 'with such compounds as are present, and which would happen without entelechy. And entelechy may regulate this suspending of reactions now in one direction and now in another, suspending and permitting possible becoming whenever required for its purposes' (*op. cit.* ii. 180). Entelechy stops a movement, and the energy of the latter becomes potential. Later on the movement may continue, the potential energy being reconverted into kinetic. Thus no violence is done to the principle.

(*b*) A recurrent argument in Driesch's exposition of his doctrine of vitalism is that no machine-like arrangement can possibly account for the facts of development, inheritance, or behaviour. A machine is defined as 'a given specific combination of specific chemical and physical agents,' and Driesch seeks to reduce to absurdity the theory that any machine could do what is required. His argument is very convincing, and of course we can argue only about machines that we know and imaginative combinations or improvements of these, but it seems open to the critic to reply that no one knows all possible machines, and to urge that proving the untenability of a machine-theory does not prove the necessity of postulating an entelechy. Concerning the ingenious machines invented by man, it may not be needless to remind ourselves that their introduction into the present argument is apt to be fallacious. For they, like the wonderful achievements of the synthetic chemists, are the fruits of intelligence, not fair samples of the inorganic world. An ingenious machine, like a type-writing or a calculating machine, is an elaborated tool, an extended hand, and has inside of it, so to speak, a human thought. It is because of these qualities that it is a little like an organism. Practically, however, most of those who have a near acquaintance with living creatures will agree with Driesch that their behaviour is not very like the working of machines. For certain purposes it is useful to think of the organism as an engine, but we must recognize that it is a self-stoking, self-repairing, self-preserving, self-adjusting, self-increasing, self-reproducing engine.

(*c*) Another objection is stated by J. S. Haldane:

> 'In order to "guide" effectually the excessively complex physical and chemical phenomena occurring in living material, and at many different parts of a complex organism, the vital principle would apparently require to possess a superhuman knowledge of these processes. Yet the vital principle is assumed to act unconsciously. The very nature of the vitalistic assumption is thus totally unintelligible' (*op. cit.* p. 28).

Similarly Jennings urges the difficulty of understanding how entelechy gets its power of coordinating and individualizing:

> 'To accept the Entelechy unanalysed and unexplained is merely to give up the problem as insoluble'; and, if we try to work out a development of entelechies, 'then surely we are merely transferring our problem from the complex that we actually find in time and space to a sort of manufactured copy of this problem, presenting the same difficulties, with the additional one that it is impalpable and cannot be directly dealt with at all. The entelechy simply adds to our difficulties' ('Behavior of the Starfish,' *loc. cit.* p. 180).

Jennings also points out that, according to Driesch, two living systems absolutely identical in every physico-chemical respect may behave differently under absolutely identical conditions, this depending upon whether, and how, the entelechy takes part in the process. This leads to a very serious admission of experimental indeterminism, which for some minds is enough to condemn the theory. It should be stated that Driesch has replied vigorously to the criticisms brought against his position, and that he never for a moment pretended that we could understand 'even in the slightest degree' how entelechy is able to discharge its function as regulator and guide.

Differing from Driesch's position, according to which entelechy is not identical with the psychical, is the animism so ably expounded by McDougall in his *Body and Mind* (1911). The panpsychism of Paulsen and the very distinctive position of Bergson should also be considered.

According to McDougall, 'not only conscious thinking, but also morphogenesis, heredity, and evolution are psycho-physical processes. All alike are conditioned and governed by psychical dispositions that have been built up in the course of the experience of the race' (p. 379).

5. Provisional conclusion.—Looking backwards, we cannot admit that the study of animal behaviour, for instance, is no more than the study of very subtle problems in chemistry and physics; we do not find evidence to justify the view that organisms exhibit a new kind of physical energy in a line with electricity and the like; and we do not share the opinion of many recognized authorities that the facts cannot be met except by a theory of entelechy. What then is our position? It is that of 'descriptive' or 'methodological' vitalism.

Making no pronouncement whatsoever in regard to the essence of the difference between organisms and things in general, we hold to what we believe to be a fact, that mechanical formulæ do not begin to answer the distinctively biological questions. Bio-chemistry and bio-physics added together do not give us one biological answer. We need new concepts, such as that of the organism as an historic being, a genuine agent, a concrete individuality, which has traded with time and has enregistered within itself past experiences and experiments, and which has its conative bow ever bent towards the future. We need new concepts because there are new facts to describe, which we cannot analyze away into simpler processes. In the present state of knowledge we cannot tell in what the newness or apartness essentially consists, and this appears to us to be a quite legitimate, though provisional, stopping-place, without pressing on to any positive vitalistic theory, which must be, from the nature of the case, metaphysical.

If we go beyond science in the endeavour to form some connected reconstruction, we should say that those constellations of 'matter' and 'energy' called organisms afford opportunity for the expression of aspects of reality which are not patent in the inorganic domain. We must not think of 'matter' and 'energy' as the exclusive stones and mortar of the ever-growing cosmic edifice; they are abstract concepts, defined by certain methods, which serve well in the description of the physical universe. They certainly represent reality, for we safely make prophecies and risk our lives on the strength of this. But it is quite another thing to say that they are exhaustive. An aspect of reality which may safely be neglected in astronomy and navigation, in chemistry and engineering, becomes patent in the realm of organisms, and we call it 'life.' It is neither a product of 'matter' and 'energy' nor an outcome of the increasing complexity of constellations; it is an expression of the reality of which atoms and their movements are also but conceptual aspects. It may be regarded as that aspect of reality which is clearly manifested only in protoplasmic systems—and in normal conditions in all of them. May it not be that the qualities which render the postulation of entelechy or vital impetus necessary to some minds have been in kind present throughout the history of the Nature that we know? We say 'in kind,' since it is plain that we share in a movement which is not the unrolling of something originally given, but a creative evolution in which time counts. Instead of supposing the intervention of a non-material agency which controls chemical and physical processes in organisms, we suppose that a new aspect of reality is revealed in organisms—that capacity for correlation, persistence, and individuality, for growing, multiplying, and developing, for behaviour, experience, and experiment, which we call 'life,' which can nowise be explained in terms of anything simpler than itself.

To the biologist the actualities are organisms and their doings, and life is a generalized concept denoting their peculiar quality. What life in essence or principle is he does not know. Taking life in the abstract, therefore, as 'given,' we have had to be content in this article with stating the general characteristics of living creatures. It is plain, however, that analytical and formal discussion falls far short of giving any adequate idea of life in its concrete fullness. For that requires a synthesis, and that, again, is impossible without sympathy. We must use our everyday experience of livingness in ourselves and in other organisms, not for knowledge alone, but as a source of sympathy wherewith to enliven the larger data of biology; and we need not be afraid of exaggerating the wonder of life. Sympathetically and imaginatively, therefore, as well as with precision, we must seek to envisage the variety of life—hundreds of thousands of distinct individualities or species; the abundance of life—like a river always tending to overflow its banks; the diffusion of life—exploring and exploiting every corner of land and sea; the insurgence of life—self-assertive, persistent, defiant, continually achieving the apparently impossible; the cyclical development of life—ever passing from birth, through love, to death; the intricacy of life—every cell a microcosm; the subtlety of life—every drop of blood an index of idiosyncrasies; the inter-relatedness of life—with myriad threads woven into a patterned web; the drama of life—plot within plot, age after age, with every conceivable illustration of the twin motives of hunger and love; the flux of life—even under our short-lived eyes; the progress of life—slowly creeping upwards through unthinkable time, expressing itself in ever nobler forms; the beauty of life—every finished organism an artistic harmony; the morality of life—spending itself to the death for other than individual ends; the mentality of life—sometimes quietly dreaming, sometimes sleep-walking, sometimes wide awake; and the victory of life—subduing material things to its will and in its highest reaches controlling itself towards an increasing purpose.

See, further, ABIOGENESIS, AGE, BIOLOGY, DEVELOPMENT, GROWTH, HEREDITY.

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J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

LIFE AND DEATH (Primitive).—In primitive thought, so far as we can analyze it, life and death are not the balanced opposites which civilized contemplation has made them. To early man life is the normal condition, death an abnormal catastrophe, unnatural, miraculous, and terrible. An exception is to be made when a man kills his quarry or his foe; here the satisfaction of an end achieved inhibits the feelings aroused by the non-violent death of a tribesman. According to Australian philosophy, men would live on indefinitely, except for the result of actual physical violence or of sorcery, a refined form of it.[1] This is the usual view of the savage, though it is hardly a reasoned opinion. The savage, like the majority of civilized men, lives in the present; this fact involves a certain inertia of thought as to the contrast between life and death, and it is true of both stages of culture that 'the fear of death is as nothing.'[2] The primitive mind, when it exercised itself on the subject of life, was concerned with the acquisition of physical strength and moral influence rather than with the problem of the nature of vitality; but the constant rage and terror which characterized its attitude towards death involved a permanent concern with the supposed causes of an event which, though inevitable, remained a mystery and a violation of natural law.

1. The nature of life.—The distinction between life and soul is in some cases confused, and in others not drawn. Again, the latter concept includes several ideas. We have, however, to deal with a 'life-principle' whenever there is a clear connexion between a concept and facts of life. For the earliest stage of thought the chief datum is the difference observed between the dead body and the living and moving body. It is inferred that something has departed from the body when dead; the something is a concrete object or substance, ideated vaguely at first, later with some precision, as a special entity, or identified with one or other part of the living organism.

Certain Australians speak of 'something,' a *yowee*, not described, which never leaves the body of the living man; it grows as he grows, and decays as he decays.[3] This illustrates well the primary stage. Put in another form, the inference is that the 'soul' does not finally leave the body until decomposition is well advanced.[4] Such cases indicate that the inference of life from observed movement is not in itself primary. Many peoples regard inanimate objects as 'alive,' but the meaning of this is clearly shown by the Tongan and West African notion that these objects 'die' when they are broken or destroyed.[5] The view that so vaguely ideated a content is concrete is supported by the fact that any haphazard identification serves as 'life'; examples will be found below. But the primal concept is, as the first Australian instance shows, very near to a result in which a man's 'life' is himself in replica.

This perhaps is to be regarded as the second stage of analysis. The Hervey Islanders considered that fat men had fat souls, thin men thin souls.[1] According to the Karo Battak of Sumatra, a man's *tendi* disappears at death. It is a 'copy' of the owner, his 'other self.'[2] According to the Karens, that which 'personates the varied phenomena of life' is the *kelah* or *là*, which 'is not the soul,' but 'is distinct from the body and its absence from the body is death.' It is also the individuality of the animated being.[3] 'It merely gives life,' and 'cannot be distinguished from the person himself.'[4] The Iroquois conceived of 'an exceedingly subtle and refined image, . . . possessing the form of the body, with a head, teeth, arms, legs,' etc.[5]

The next stage is characteristic of Papuan and Malayan belief.

> 'The Dayak idea of life is this, that in mankind there is a living principle called *sĕmangat* or *semungi*; that sickness is caused by the temporary absence and death by the total departure of this principle from the body.'[6]

But this 'principle' is a replica of the individual, and a miniature replica. This is the *tanoana*, or 'little man,' of the Torajas of Celebes.[7] The *sĕmangat* of the wild Malayan tribes is a 'shape,' exactly like the man himself, but no bigger than a grain of maize.[8] The *sĕmangat* of the Malays is a 'thumbling,' and corresponds exactly in shape, proportion, and complexion to its embodiment or casing (*sarong*), *i.e.* the body. It is the cause of life; it is itself an individual person, as it were, and is separable from the body in sleep, sickness, and death.[9] A similar conception is found in S. Africa,[10] America,[11] and other localities sporadically, but is general enough to be regarded as typical.

The problem of its origin is not clear. J. G. Frazer thus describes the conception:

> 'As the savage commonly explains the processes of inanimate nature by supposing that they are produced by living beings working in or behind the phenomena, so he explains the phenomena of life itself. If an animal lives and moves, it can only be, he thinks, because there is a little animal inside which moves it: if a man lives and moves, it can only be because he has a little man or animal inside who moves him.'[12]

The argument agrees with the fact that the miniature replica is usually supposed to be the cause of life, but it is difficult to understand how the idea of an inner being, whether in inanimate things or in living men, could have arisen in the first instance. Only the contrast between the dead and the living body seems adequate to produce it; later, the idea could be applied to all natural objects. As for the miniature size of the replica, this is probably a refinement of an earlier conception, in which such qualities were distinguished, and it would be naturally deduced from the fact that the man's body is still present, without any reduction; that which has departed, therefore, must be infinitesimally small. The same result is necessitated by the idea that the life must take its departure by some one of the orifices of the body, and it is possible also that certain characteristics of the memory-image may have exercised an influence.[1]

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[1] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane, 1897, p. 161; cf. art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Introductory), vol. iv. p. 412 f.

[2] Roth, p. 161.

[3] K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, London, 1905, p. 35.

[4] L. Fison, *JAI* x. [1880–81] 141.

[5] W. Mariner, *The Tonga Islands*², London, 1818, ii. 130; M. H. Kingsley, *FL* viii. [1897] 145.

[1] W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, London, 1876, p. 171.

[2] J. H. Neumann, *Mededeelingen van wege het nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap*, xlvi. [1902] 127 f.

[3] E. B. Cross, *JAOS* iv. [1854] 309 ff.

[4] F. Mason, *JASBe* xxxiv. [1865] 195.

[5] J. N. B. Hewitt, *JAFL* viii. [1895] 107.

[6] S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*², London, 1863, i. 177 ff.

[7] A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den ind. Archipel*, The Hague, 1906, p. 12.

[8] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. 1, 194.

[9] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 47 ff.

[10] J. Macdonald, *Religion and Myth*, London, 1893, p. 38.

[11] J. G. Swan, *Smithsonian Contributions*, xvi. [1870] 84.

[12] *GB*³, pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 26.

In these early stages the life-principle is, though 'refined,' always material; the conception of insubstantiality is quite a late achievement of thought.[2] But certain natural confusions occur. Thus, the *sĕmangat* of the wild Malays differs from the conception held by other races in the same regions, for that which gives life is the *jiwa*. The Pataui Malays also believe in a 'life breath,' *nyawa*; the *sĕmangat*, in their view, is not the vital principle, but is possessed by every object in the universe.[3]

In his study of the animism of the Moluccas and neighbouring districts, A. C. Kruijt finds a permanent distinction between the soul of a living man and the soul of a dead man. The former he considers to be impersonal, though in many cases it is certainly itself a person, and always is a miniature replica of the owner; it gives him life. Its material is fine, ethereal substance; it has various seats in the body where its action is most conspicuous, such as the pulses. It dies when the man dies. The other soul is a continuation of the individual after life and does not appear till death. In the latter conception we seem to have a combined result of the memory-image and the hallucinational ghost.

A later detail, which involves the idea that all things in nature either are animate or possess 'souls,' is also attached to the theory of the *sĕmangat*, though it is chiefly things concerning or interesting man that possess the miniature replica.[4]

The *sĕmangat* of the Eastern Semang is red like blood, or is in the blood.[5] Life is usually regarded as being closely connected with the blood—a natural inference from observation of wounds or of death by loss of blood. Life and blood are identified.[6] A vaguer identification is frequently found with various parts or states of the living organism. To some, as the Iroquois, life is the flesh[7]—a concept which probably originated from experience of nutrition. The heart is a seat of life; in some cases it, like blood, has a 'soul' of its own.[8] The Australians regard the kidney-fat as an important seat of life,[9] and the caul-fat and omentum are so regarded.[10]

The absence of breath in the case of the dead is a fact naturally assisting a belief that the breath is the life, or that the life is in the breath. In the Marquesas it was the custom to hold the nose and lips of dying persons, in order to prevent death.[11] In primitive thought there is no explicit inconsistency in the identification of life with various things; the early books of the OT hold, now the breath,[12] now the blood, to be the 'life.' Primitive biology, in its secondary stages, has a larger list.[13]

In this is to be included the shadow of a man, which is (like everything connected with personality) 'a vital part,'[14] and a man's reflexion is also closely akin to, if not identified with, his life.

In Melanesia is a pool 'into which if any one looks he dies; the malignant spirit takes hold upon his life by means of his reflection on the water.'[15]

The lore of shadow, mirror-image, and portrait becomes prominent, however, only in the third stage of culture—that of the higher barbarism. The Chinese place the dying man's picture upon his body, in the hope of saving his life.[16] In Siam, 'when a copy of the face of a person is made and taken away from him, a portion of his life goes with the picture.'[1] The comparison of the life-essence with fire is the best known of many metaphorical analogies, and occupies a prominent place in myth—*e.g.*, the fire of life infused by Prometheus into the clay figures which became men—and in metaphysical theology.

Until modern times, speculation has concerned itself with the source of life rather than with its origin. In early mythology conceptions like that of the Hervey Islanders, who regard a 'point'[2] as the beginning of existence, are rare. Rare also are such pseudo-biological ideas as the Maori concept that the life of a man is contained in the catamenia,[3] but the usual conclusion is that the 'soul' is the source of life or is itself life.

2. The life of nature.—Life in the vegetable kingdom has probably always been recognized, and primitive thought doubtless distinguished it as being different in character from that of animals. The same may have been the case with its attitude to inanimate things, unless it merely 'personalized' them.

The view of Tylor, that in primitive animism there is 'a belief in the animation of all nature,' and that 'man recognizes in every detail of his world the operation of personal life and will,'[4] can be applied only to certain developments of the higher barbaric stage.

'It is not likely that at one stage man regarded everything as alive, and at a later stage gradually discriminated between animate and inanimate. The fact is, that he began by regarding everything as neutral, merely as given. Yet though he never thought about the matter at all, in his acts . . . he distinguished as well as we do between animate and inanimate.'[5] 'Whatever power and importance he [primitive man] may have ascribed to inanimate objects, he drew the strongest of lines between such objects and what was endowed with life.'[6]

An excellent observer remarks of the Kafirs of S. Africa, in regard to the question whether they 'imagine everything in nature to be alive,' that they very rarely think of the matter at all. When questioned on the subject of the animation of stones, they laughed, and said, 'It would never enter a Kafir's head to think stones felt in that sort of way.'[7]

Throughout the fluid and ill-defined psychology of primitive man we may distinguish a tendency to mark off the concept of things as living from the concept of them as ideas, whether in life or after death. The latter aspect is ideational, the former perceptual. An excellent illustration of the distinction is the Indonesian view, expounded by Kruijt, that the life-soul of creatures is never confused or compounded with the after-death soul. In later psychologies, on the other hand, Tylor's hypothesis, that eventually the 'life' of a thing and its 'phantom' are combined, holds good. Language has probably had much to do with the combination. The view of Kruijt, however, that the Indonesian 'life-soul' is but a part of the world-soul, applies only to the higher developments of animism.[8] Here we have a parallel with the pantheistic theories of the world.

3. Regard for life.—Another parallel with these is the regard for life generally, a regard which develops with culture but is more pronounced in Oriental than in Western morality. At first this feeling is a vague altruism, but later it is fused with metaphysical estimates of the intrinsic value of life, as such.

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[1] A. E. Crawley, *The Idea of the Soul*, London, 1909, p. 200 ff.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 57, 209; the Kinjin Dayak term is in point, *urip-ok* = 'fine ethereal life' (p. 110).

[3] Skeat-Blagden, ii. 194; N. Annandale, *Man*, iii. [1903] 27.

[4] Crawley, p. 132.

[5] Skeat-Blagden, *loc. cit.*

[6] Gn 9^4, Lv 17^{11-14}; Crawley, p. 112; Frazer, p. 240.

[7] Hewitt, *loc. cit.*

[8] Crawley, pp. 120, 136.

[9] See references in Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 101 ff.

[10] W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*^{2}, London, 1894, p. 379.

[11] Frazer, p. 31.

[12] Gn 27.

[13] Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, p. 238.

[14] Frazer, p. 77 ff.

[15] R. H. Codrington, in *JAI* x. 313.

[16] Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, p. 225.

[1] E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, London, 1898, p. 140.

[2] Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, p. 93, quoting Gill.

[3] *Ib.* p. 90.

[4] *PC*^{3} i. 285 ff., 424 ff.

[5] Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, p. 20.

[6] E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, Oxford, 1892–99, ii. 265.

[7] D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, London, 1906, p. 145 f.

[8] See Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, p. 262. In Semitic thought living water is running water, living flesh raw flesh (W. R. Smith, pp. 190, 339). These phrases are probably metaphorical only.

'In Buddhism, Jainism, and Taouism the respect for animal life is extreme.'[1] 'A disciple of Buddha may not knowingly deprive any creature of life, not even a worm or an ant. He may not drink water in which animal life of any kind whatever is contained, and must not even pour it out on grass or clay.'[2] 'The Jain is stricter still in his regard for animal life. He sweeps the ground before him as he goes, lest animate things be destroyed; he walks veiled, lest he inhale a living organism; he considers that the evening and night are not times for eating, since one might then swallow a live thing by mistake; and he rejects not only meat but even honey, together with various fruits that are supposed to contain worms, not because of his distaste for worms, but because of his regard for life.'[3] Throughout Japan, 'the life of animals has always been held more or less sacred.'[4] In China it is regarded as 'meritorious to save animals from death—even insects if the number mounts to a hundred. . . . to set at liberty animals intended to be slaughtered.' 'To kill ten insects . . . without great reason to kill . . . animals for food . . . "to be foremost to encourage the slaughter of animals"' are regarded as errors 'of the same magnitude as the crime of devising a person's death or of drowning or murdering a child.'[5] The Burmese 'laugh at the suggestion made by Europeans, that Buddhists abstain from taking life because they believe in the transmigration of souls, having never heard of it before.'[6] The same position may be assumed with regard to the Brāhman doctrine of *ahiṁsā*, which includes the sanctity of all life. On the other hand, 'no creed in Christendom teaches kindness to animals as a dogma of religion.' 'The Manichæans prohibited all killing of animals, but Manichæism did not originate on Christian ground.'[7]

4. The life deposit.—A remarkable belief is that of the 'life-index' or 'external soul,' which is found with some regularity in all the stages of the lower civilizations. An early example is the sex totems of Australia.

The Wotjobaluk tribe of South-Eastern Australia 'held that "the life of Ngŭnŭngŭnŭt (the Bat) is the life of a man and the life of Yártatgŭrk (the Nightjar) is the life of a woman," and that when either of these creatures is killed the life of some man or of some woman is shortened. In such a case every man or every woman in the camp feared that he or she might be the victim, and from this cause great fights arose in this tribe.'[8]

In later folk-lore the idea is crystallized into the talisman, but previously a host of objects are regarded as eligible for the safe-deposit of the individual life. It is noteworthy that the subject is more frequent in mythology than in practical life. The fact that, according to the common-sense view, the more 'deposits' of life a man has, the more is he liable to death, may explain this natural difference. A remarkable aspect of the belief is connected with the growth of children and the growth of plants. The inception of this idea can hardly be attributed to any other influence than the observation of the facts of growth. It is therefore probably not originated by the notion of life.

But the sympathetic relation soon develops into a life-interest.

'In folk-tales the life of a person is sometimes so bound up with the life of a plant that the withering of the plant will immediately follow or be followed by the death of the person.'[9] 'Among the M'Bengas in Western Africa, about the Gaboon, when two children are born on the same day, the people plant two trees of the same kind and dance round them. The life of each of the children is believed to be bound up with the life of one of the trees: and if the tree dies or is thrown down, they are sure that the child will soon die. In Sierra Leone also it is customary at the birth of a child to plant a shoot of a *malep*-tree, and they think that the tree will grow with the child and be its god. If a tree which has been thus planted withers away, the people consult a sorcerer on the subject. . . . Some of the Papuans unite the life of a new-born child sympathetically with that of a tree by driving a pebble into the bark of the tree. This is supposed to give them complete mastery over the child's life; if the tree is cut down, the child will die. . . . In Bali a coco-palm is planted at the birth of a child. It is believed to grow up equally with the child, and is called its "life-plant."'[10] Similar customs are still frequent in Europe, and 'life-trees,' as Frazer styles them, have always been a prominent feature of European folk-lore. 'The life of Simeon, prince of Bulgaria, was bound up with a certain column in Constantinople, so that if the capital of the column were removed, Simeon would immediately die. The emperor took the hint and removed the capital, and at the same hour . . . Simeon died of heart-disease in Bulgaria.'[1]

The conclusion of these ideas supplies a constant motive in fairy-tales and the mythology which is their basis.

Thus, 'Koshchei the Deathless is killed by a blow from the egg or the stone in which his life or death is secreted; . . . the magician dies when the stone in which his life or death is contained is put under his pillow; and the Tartar hero is warned that he may be killed by the golden arrow or golden sword in which his soul has been stowed away.'[2] A remarkable instance occurs in the myth of the god Balder. His life was bound up in the mistletoe. The apparent inconsistency that he was slain by a blow from the plant is explained by Frazer: 'When a person's life is conceived as embodied in a particular object, with the existence of which his own existence is inseparably bound up, and the destruction of which involves his own, the object in question may be regarded and spoken of indifferently as his life or his death. . . . Hence if a man's death is in an object, it is perfectly natural that he should be killed by a blow from it.'[3]

The idea that the mistletoe itself is the life of the tree on which it grows is of the same order as the Malay and Chinese idea with regard to the knobs and excrescences on tree trunks.[4] Two converse ideas may be noted. A person whose life is magically isolated has one weak spot, *e.g.* the heel of Achilles. Death, no less than life, may be 'deposited,' as in the stories where it is kept in a bottle. See, further, art. LIFE-TOKEN.

5. Life magic.—When the conception of life as a magical essence is established, the formula is applied all round the social and religious spheres. The elementary facts of nutrition thus become the basis of an elaborate vitalistic philosophy. In its more primitive forms this appears as a practical science of life insurance. 'Food . . . during thousands of years occupied the largest space in man's mental area of vision.'[5] This consideration helps to explain the existence of so large a body of superstitions concerning food. And into these enter the magical and, later, the vitalistic theory. Particular creatures are eaten because of their particular vital force.[6] The slayer eats part of his foe in order to assimilate his life and strength (see, further, art. CANNIBALISM, §§ 3–7). In order to procure longevity the Zulus ate the flesh of long-lived animals.[7] Medea injected into the veins of Æson an infusion of the long-lived deer and crow.[8] In the lower culture special virtue is assigned to human flesh.[9] Besides the eating of flesh and the drinking of blood, there are various methods of acquiring the 'life essence.' The Caribs transfer the life of an animal to a boy by rubbing its juices into his body.[10] Anointing with *amṛta* oil and with gold-grease are methods of procuring life found in Indian and Chinese folk-lore respectively.[11] The Tibetan Buddhist acquires 'life' by drinking the 'ambrosia' from the 'Vase of Life'[12] (see, further, artt. FOOD and EATING THE GOD).

Long life is often the subject of charms. The Chinese wear a longevity garment on birthdays.[13] The Hindus ascribed long life to continence.[14] Most religions include prayers for long life. After

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[1] Westermarck, *MI* ii. 497.

[2] *Ib.* quoting H. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, Berlin, 1881, pp. 290, 351.

[3] *Ib.* p. 498 f., quoting E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, London, 1896, p. 288.

[4] E. J. Reed, *Japan*, London, 1880, i. 61.

[5] *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, iii. [1821] 164, 205 f., quoted by Westermarck, *loc. cit.*

[6] H. F. Hall, *The Soul of a People*, London, 1902, p. 282 f.

[7] *MI* ii. 506.

[8] A. W. Howitt, *JAI* xiv. [1883–84] 145, xviii. [1887–88] 58.

[9] Frazer, *GB*³, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 19[illegible], ii. 159, 102, 105, 110, 117 f., 185 f.

[10] *Ib.* ii. 160–164.

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[1] Frazer, *Balder*, ii. 156 f.

[2] *Ib.* p. 279.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 194; Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, p. 164, quoting de Groot.

[5] Payne, i. 279.

[6] Frazer, *GB*³, pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, ii. 138 ff.

[7] H. Callaway, *Nursery Tales of the Zulus*, London, 1868, p. 175.

[8] Ovid, *Metam.* vii. 271 ff.

[9] Parker, p. 88.

[10] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism*, London, 1910, i. 42.

[11] *The Bower MS*, ed. A. F. R. Hoernle, Calcutta, 1893–97, ii. 107; J. J. M. de Groot, *The Rel. System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., iv. 331.

[12] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 447.

[13] De Groot, i. 60 ff.

[14] *Bower MS*, ii. 142.

a death, magic is employed to prolong the life of the survivors.[1]

Magical persons, and later the gods, are regarded as both possessing a richer store of life and being able to impart it to others; the savage medicine-man is able to infuse life into an inanimate fetish. Breathing upon the object gives it the breath of life (as in Ezekiel's apologue of the dead bones); smearing it with blood gives it the life of the blood.[2] According to the Tantras, a king may slay his enemy by infusing life into his foe's effigy and then destroying it.[3] Divine persons naturally tend to become long-lived or immortal.

But, though divine persons throughout bear a more or less 'charmed life,' absolute immortality is a late conception. The gods of the Homeric pantheon maintained their life by eating ambrosia, the 'food of deathlessness,' and by drinking nectar;[4] and similar ideas were connected with the Persian *haoma* and the Hindu *soma*. In Scandinavian myth the apples of Iðunn are eaten by the gods in order to perpetuate their life.[5] The Egyptian gods were mortal.[6] The tendency to immortality, however, is carried out in the higher religions, probably in connexion with the natural attribution to the gods of a general power over life and a control of creation. In the end the gods assume in themselves the ultimate hopes and fears of men, and they become 'lords and givers of life.'

6. Renewal of life.—A crude form of the ideas connected with a renewed earthly life after death, or resurrection, may be seen among the Australian aborigines, who speak of the ghost returning at times to the grave and contemplating its mortal remains.[7] Similarly, on the W. Coast of Africa 'it is the man himself in a shadowy or ghostly form that continues his existence after death.'[8] The belief in the revivification of a dead person does not appear until the thaumaturgic stages of barbarous religion, when it becomes a favourite miracle, performed by a word of power or by the life-giving touch or contact with the body of the divine person. But the belief in a second life, or, rather, a series of lives, is a remarkable and regular feature of primitive thought. It takes the form of reincarnation; the dead are born again in their descendants, the idea being a natural inference from the resemblance of children to their parents and grandparents.[9] The Central Australians have developed it into an elaborate theory of heredity, in which the 'life' is a germ-plasm.[10] Other Australians evolved the notion that white men were blackfellows returned to life; 'tumble down blackfellow, jump up whitefellow' is a familiar phrase. The whiteness of the native corpse after cremation has been suggested as the basis of the notion.[11]

The idea of reincarnation refers also to living parents. Thus an old blackfellow of Australia cries to his son, 'There you stand with my body!' The son is recognized as 'the actual re-incarnation of the father.'[12] This frequent belief has been suggested as an explanation of certain customs of which killing the first-born is a culmination—the child is supposed to have robbed the father of a portion of his life (cf. *ERE* vi. 33^{a}).

7. The nature of death.—Primitive thought has no definition of the nature of death, but the usual attitude towards it, as may be inferred from mourning customs, is a mystic terror. The catastrophic nature of the event is perhaps the fundamental reason for this attitude, but various emotions and ideas are superimposed. Grief and sympathy occur among the lowest races, and they develop with culture. Another emotion is fear of the corpse as a mysterious personality; a parallel fear is that of the departed 'something,' ghost or spirit. Like other tabu states and social crises, death has not only its *rites de passage*, such as mourning, but a mysterious power of pollution. This is partly connected with a fear that the survivors may also become victims, a fear which develops into an avoidance of infection.[1] These ideas reach their climax in the Zoroastrian conception of the absolute impurity of death, a type of all uncleanness.[2] In others of the higher religions, particularly Christianity, the material notions of the state of death give way to spiritual. The departed soul has less connexion with the body, although even here a physiological fact has kept up the idea of 'the odour of sanctity.'

Fear of dying has no connexion with the primitive fear of death.[3] Suicide for trivial reasons is very common among the lower races.

> 'Many savages meet death with much indifference, or regard it as no great evil, but merely as a change to a life very similar to this. But it is a fact often noticed among ourselves, that a person on the verge of death may resign himself to his fate with the greatest calmness, although he has been afraid to die throughout his life. Moreover, the fear of death may be disguised by thoughtlessness, checked by excitement, or mitigated by dying in company. There are peoples who are conspicuous for their bravery, and yet have a great dread of death. Nobody is entirely free from this feeling, though it varies greatly in strength among different races and in different individuals. In many savages it is so strongly developed that they cannot bear to hear death mentioned.'[4] The last objection, however, may often be due to mystical notions.

Christianity esteems death as the passage to a better life, and the higher religions, generally, mitigate the inevitable lot.

Speculation on the origin of death is considerable in early thought, and myths innumerable have been invented to explain it (cf. art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Introductory], vol. iv. p. 411 f.). A common motive of these is a misunderstanding or a trick. At a higher stage death is attributed to the malevolence of demons, often supposed to eat the life of men and so produce death.[5] Otherwise, the separation of the life-giving soul from the body as a fact, not as a theory of origin, is usually explained as the result of sorcery, except in cases of obvious violence or accident.[6] By various means the human sorcerer, like the supernatural demon, destroys or abstracts the life.

In the higher barbarism death appears as a punishment for breaking tabu or other supernatural injunctions. The greater religions connect its origin with sin, Christianity with the primal sin of disobedience.[7] Throughout, humanity is instinctively agreed that death *is* unnatural, and the conception of a second life is a protest against it.

8. Mythological and ethical applications.—Apart from myths in explanation of the origin of death and the less frequent fancies of a mystical or magical life-source, primitive thought makes little use of the concepts of life and death as motives of story. Their deification is rarer still. In some stories one or more remarkable personages are brought into close connexion with the facts of life and death. Thus, the Maoris tell how men would have been deathless if Maui, the culture-hero, had succeeded in passing through the body of Night. In Scandinavian story Líf and Lífþrasir ('life' and 'desiring life') survive the destruction of the world.[1] The usual result is that some great deity possesses control over life, as in Hebraism, Christianity, and Islām. There is a tendency also to connect vitality with the sun-god; the Rigveda speaks of the sun in the character of Savitar, the Vivifier.[2] In Hindu theology Yama, the first of mortal men, became 'King of the Dead.'[3] In Christian theology a contrast is drawn between the old Adam, by whom death entered the world, and the new, who re-introduced 'life' on a higher plane. A less refined moral is drawn in the Babylonian epic; the conclusion is that Gilgamesh must die and cannot escape the universal lot.

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[1] Rājendralāla Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Calcutta, 1881, ii. 145.

[2] Cf. A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, London, 1887, p. 101 f.; J. G. Müller, *Gesch. der amer. Urreligionen*, Basel, 1855, p. 606; W. R. Smith, pp. 339, 344.

[3] R. Mitra, ii. 110.

[4] *Il.* v. 339 f., *Od.* v. 199.

[5] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr., London, 1882–88, p. 318 f.

[6] A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, Eng. tr., London, 1897, p. 178; cf. Frazer, *GB*^{3}, pt. iii., *The Dying God*, do. 1911, p. 1 ff.

[7] Howitt, *JAI* xiii. [1883–84] 188.

[8] Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, p. 175, quoting A. B. Ellis.

[9] J. Parkinson, *JAI* xxxvi. [1906] 312 ff. (Africa); Kruijt, p. 175; Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, pp. 101, 110, 161 (S. America, Melanesia, Indonesia).

[10] Crawley, *Idea of the Soul*, p. 88.

[11] L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, Melbourne, 1880, p. 248; Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, London, 1904, p. 442.

[12] Howitt, *JAI* xiv. 145; Manu, ix. 8.

[1] Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 95 ff.; *MI* ii. 587.

[2] *SBE* iv. [1895] p. lxxv f.

[3] For the contrary view see *MI* ii. 585 f.

[4] *MI* ii. 535.

[5] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 271.

[6] *MI* i. 24, 29, ii. 534, 651.

[7] Gn 2 and 3; cf. Manu, v. 4.

> 'Let him hope for and, if possible, provide for proper burial. . . . He will then, at least, not suffer the pangs of hunger in the world of spirits.'[4]

The Scandinavian figures, Líf and Lífþrasir, are among the rare cases where life is personified. Death is more frequently deified. Old Slavic myth seems to have had a goddess Smrt,[5] and the Baganda are said to have a god of death, Walumbe.[6] The Etruscan figure of Charun may be similar to the last, the conception being derived from human executioners, and the god being a slayer rather than a god of death. The Thanatos of Greek poetry, the brother of Sleep, is hardly a religious personification. The Sheol of the OT and the Hel of the Eddas are originally places which receive the dead. As a rule, the figure later described as Death is either a messenger of the gods or a god whose office is indirectly connected with the death of men. So Yama has his messengers, and the Tatars believe in an 'angel' of death. The latter is the type of Christian ideas. The Greeks had both Charon and Hermes Psychopompos, but in modern Greek folk-lore Charon has become a figure of terror, Death himself.[7] Death with his scythe seems to be a transference from a personification of Time.

A certain control over life is assumed in primitive ritual drama, as in the pretended death and revivification of youths at initiation, and of candidates for the priesthood.[8] Ideas of a magical vitality grew up out of sacred meals; at the same time there appears the connexion of sin and death, and the consequent aspiration towards a purging of sin accompanied by a renewal of life. Out of these elements arises the ethical view of the renewal, but still undivorced from a mystical idea of a spiritual prolongation of existence. 'Salvation' in the life after death was promised by the Greek mysteries.[9] In its lowest terms the salvation resulting from belief in Christ was eternal life. Faith and morality meet when eternal life is the reward for a good life on earth. Life is identified with goodness.

The fear of retribution in a future existence has been impressed by several of the great religions, notably by Christianity. But there is no justification for connecting the origins of religion with either this fear (long posterior to the inception of religious ideas, and a late and special ethical development) or the worship of death or the dead. The dead are more or less feared in early thought; the infection of death is carefully avoided; the ghosts of the dead are intensely dreaded, and therefore carefully propitiated. Many ghosts, it is true, have been developed into gods, but there are many keys which fit the doors of religion.

LITERATURE.—This is cited in the article, but the whole of E. B. Tylor's exposition of animism in his *Primitive Culture*^{3}, London, 1891, applies to the subject.

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[1] P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religion of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, p. 352.

[2] M. Monier-Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, London, 1883, p. 17; A. A. Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 34.

[3] Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 128.

[4] M. Jastrow, *Religions of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 512.

[5] Grimm, iv. 1560.

[6] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 315.

[7] J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Anc. Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 98 ff.

[8] Cf. Spencer-Gillen^a, p. 523 f.; J. Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, Mt. Coke, 1858, p. 79; art. INITIATION (Introductory and Primitive), 4 (1), (2).

[9] Pindar, frag. 102; Cicero, *Legg.* ii. 14.

LIFE AND DEATH (American).

—The beliefs of the aborigines of America agree in the main with those of other peoples at the same stages of development; but there are a few interesting features of an individual character.

With regard to ideas of the life which informs the organism, the Eskimos identify it or its action with the 'life-warmth.'[1] So the Navahos regarded the warmth of the body as the living soul; the 'shade' or 'double,' a distinct concept, was supposed to wander away when a man was sick or dying.[2] The Sauk identified the soul with 'vitality,' and supposed it to exist after death.[3] The Toltec explained that it was 'something within them which made them live: . . . which caused death when it quitted them.'[4] Identifying breath or air with the vital principle, the Acagchemems are represented as crediting the atmosphere with a mortiferous quality.[5]

> 'In many American languages the Great Spirit and the Great Wind are one and the same both in word and signification.'[6]

The Aztec word *ehecatl*, e.g., means 'wind, air, life, soul, shadow.' A phrase attributed to an Indian orator is: 'The fire in your huts and the life in your bodies are one and the same thing.' Spirits and human magicians, such as the shamans, devour men's souls; the result is death.[7] Death is 'infectious'; a dead man's belongings decay quickly. Such is the ancient opinion among the Irish also, who hold that a dead man's clothes wear out more quickly than those of a living man.[8] The belief in the reincarnation of the dead in children is widely spread and firmly held. The Haida refine upon it by saying that after five such reincarnations the individual 'soul' is annihilated.[9]

A special feature of American religious theory, on which practically the whole ritual of the central nations was founded, was developed from the usual primitive idea that divine persons are subject to senility, death, and decay. Alone among the Mexican gods Tezcatlipoca 'is credited with perpetual juvenility.'[10] The principle was developed that the gods, in particular the sun, would die if deprived of food. Hence the perpetual round of human sacrifices offered on Maya and Nahua altars. This daily 'feast of flowers,' as it was euphemistically termed, kept the gods alive. A serious result was the equally perpetual carrying on of warfare for the sole purpose of obtaining captives to serve as victims. The heart, as the symbol of life, was the choicest portion.[11]

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[1] E. W. Nelson, *18 RBEW*, pt. i. [1899], p. 422.

[2] A. G. Morice, *Proc. Can. Inst.*, vii. [Toronto, 1888–89] 158 f.

[3] W. H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, etc., Philadelphia, 1824, i. 229, 232, ii. 154.

[4] E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, Oxford, 1892–99, i. 468, quoting Oviedo.

[5] *NR* iii. 525.

[6] *Ib.* iii. 117.

[7] J. Jetté, *JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 161, 176.

[8] F. Boas, *JAFL* vi. [1893] 40; *ib.* viii. [1895] 110.

[9] G. M. Dawson, 'The Haida Indians,' in *Geol. Survey of Canada*, Toronto, 1880, p. 121 f.

[10] Payne, i. 429.

[11] *Ib.* i. 523; cf. L. Spence, *The Myths of Mexico and Peru*, London, 1913, pp. 74, 98.

It is natural that an old chronicler should say:

> 'The Maya have an immoderate fear of death, and they seem to have given it a figure peculiarly repulsive.'[1] 'In the Dresden and other codices god A is represented as a figure with exposed vertebræ and skull-like countenance, with the marks of corruption on his body, and displaying every sign of mortality. On his head he wears a snail-symbol, the Aztec sign of birth, perhaps to typify the connection between birth and death. He also wears a pair of cross-bones. The hieroglyph which accompanies his figure represents a corpse's head with closed eyes, a skull, and a sacrificial knife. His symbol is that for the calendar day Cimi, which means death. He presides over the west, the home of the dead, the region towards which they invariably depart with the setting sun. That he is a death-god there can be no doubt, but of his name we are ignorant. He is probably identical with the Aztec god of death and hell, Mictlan, and is perhaps one of those Lords of Death and Hell who invite the heroes to the celebrated game of ball in the Kiche *Popol Vuh*, and hold them prisoners in their gloomy realm.'[2]

Like Hel and Hades, Mictlan seems to have developed from a place into a person. He is a 'grisly monster with capacious mouth,' like the mediæval European identification of the whale and hell. Mediæval Europe evolved also, but by poetical rather than religious imagination, a figure akin to that of the American god A. For similar reasons the Sinaloa are said to have devoted most of their worship to Cocohuame, who is Death.[3]

Another detail of the human sacrifice is this:

> 'The idea that the god thus slain in the person of his representative comes to life again immediately, was graphically represented in the Mexican ritual by skinning the slain man-god and clothing in his skin a living man, who thus became the new representative of the godhead.'[4]

This principle, probable enough, is, however, a secondary development; the revivification of the god was the primary meaning of the sacrifice.

In Mexican theology the supreme deity Tloque-Nahuaque (of Molina) is 'he upon whom depends the existence of all things.' As is the case elsewhere, the sun is connected with vitality, 'animating and keeping alive all creatures.' An interesting point is the connexion of Mexican food-goddesses with the idea of life and its bestowal.[5]

The aboriginal creation of a Great Spirit has been discredited. Equally unreliable are such forms as the Master of Life (of Lafitau), and Master of Breath, though such phrases may have been applied sporadically by the Northern Indians to some 'great medicine.'

A feature of the eschatology[6] is the other-world paradise for the brave, comparable only with the belief of Islâm, although European chivalry shares the aversion from dying in bed.

> The 'happy hunting-grounds,' which have become a proverb, are typified in the Comanche belief—here is 'the orthodox American paradise, in its full glory. In the direction of the setting sun lie the happy prairies, where the buffalo lead the hunter in the glorious chase, and where the horse of the pale-face aids those who have excelled in scalping and horse-stealing, to attain supreme felicity.'[7]

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited in the text cf. D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, New York, 1868; de Nadaillac (J. F. A. du Pouget), *Prehistoric America*, do. 1884.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

LIFE AND DEATH (Chinese).—**1. Popular ideas.**—Life and death are more intimately associated in the Chinese mind than in the Western. The curtain separating life and death is thinner. The future life to the average Chinese, taught as he is by popular Buddhism and Taoism, is largely a replica of this life on a different plane of existence, but death is no theme of beauty. After passing through the Judgment Halls of the Ten Judges of Hades (a hell with many furies), the victims are supposed to require food, clothing, houses, servants, means of travelling both on land and on water, and money. All these are sent to them by their friends and relatives by means of burning paper models and imitations.

2. Ancient beliefs.—The ancient Chinese were unable to distinguish between death, sleep, and a swoon. They therefore tried to resuscitate the dead by calling them by name to return,[1] etc., by providing food for them, by keeping their bodies in the dress that they wore, and, at first, by tightly covering the corpse.[2] Many customs now in vogue in China are due to this belief. Death was a prolonged sleep (or due to suspended animation); and, as the sleeper will wake, so the corpse may do the same, should the soul return to its habitation.[3] Articles which were believed to promote vitality, such as jade, gold, silver, pearls, and cowries, were stuffed into the mouths of the dead.[4] No methods of disposing of the dead were employed which would quickly destroy the body, and coffins were made of such materials as pine and cypress, for they 'were intended to preserve human bodies from putrefaction and to facilitate their resurrection by enveloping them thus air-tight in a material which, being possessed of vital energy, was considered capable of transmitting life once more into the clay.'[5]

The ancient Chinese were most scrupulous in washing and dressing the dead, so that the body might be ready at any time for the soul to return to its fleshly dwelling-place.[6]

The strong Chinese reprobation of the mutilation of the body had its origin in these ancient ideas, for mutilation prevents the body from being in a fit state for the soul to return to it, or to appear in the next world. Hence criminals were beheaded as a severe punishment, and strangling was considered a lesser one.[7] The mode since the revolution seems to be that of shooting.

In the belief of the Chinese life 'remains after the soul has left the body.'[8] There is thus a belief in a life in death itself, or, as de Groot graphically describes it, a cohabitation of the soul and the body after death.[9] In accordance with this idea, there is not a complete separation of soul and body. In the popular ideas of the people, one of the three souls is in the grave. Thus death dominates life, and life lives in death and is not extinguished by it. One of the other souls is believed to inhabit the ancestral tablet, while the third passes to the other world.[10]

3. Classical ideas.—If we turn now to the ancient classics, which throw a light on the early life of the Chinese, we find, besides the views already expressed, higher conceptions as well, or, at all events, less gross ones. Amidst all the ceremonial and ritual, the belief in immortality is clearly seen.[11] Ancestor-worship alone is enough to prove this. Even before the days of Taoism and Buddhism, the souls of the ancestors were believed to be in heaven.[12] Confucianism 'teaches the existence of the soul after death,' but nothing regarding the character of that existence.[13] The knowledge of a future life was hazy and indefinite in the old religion of China.[14]

> 'Thus they looked up to heaven (whither the spirit was gone), and buried (the body) in the earth,'[15] for, it is added, 'the body and animal soul go downward; the intelligent spirit is on high.'[16]

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[1] Payne, i. 172, 97.
[2] *Ib.* p. 172 f.
[3] *NR* iii. 180.
[4] J. G. Frazer, *GB*², London, 1900, iii. 136.
[5] *NR* iii. 195, 423; J. Dunn, *Hist. of the Oregon Territory*, London, 1844, p. 284.
[6] On the ideas of a future life see *NR* iii. 530 ff.
[7] *NR* iii. 528.

[1] J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1861–72; *SBE* xxvii. [1885] 108, 112, 129, 157, etc.
[2] J. J. M. de Groot, *Religious System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., i. 243 ff., 29 f., 356 ff., 46 ff.; Legge, *SBE* xxvii. 368 f.
[3] De Groot, i. 243 ff.
[4] *Ib.* p. 269 ff.
[5] *Ib.* p. 293 ff.
[6] *Ib.* p. 331 ff.
[7] *Ib.* p. 342 ff.
[8] *Ib.* p. 348 ff.
[9] *Ib.*
[10] *Ib.* iv. 74.
[11] Cf. J. Legge, *Religions of China*, London, 1880, p. 13 f.
[12] J. Dyer Ball, *The Religious Aspect in China*, Hongkong 1906, p. 49.
[13] *Ib.* p. 50.
[14] Cf. Legge, *Religions of China*, p. 117.
[15] Legge, *SBE* xxvii. 368; see also p. 444.
[16] Legge, *Religions of China*, p. 119.

The attitude of Confucius towards death was that of an agnostic.

He virtually avoided a direct answer to the question asked him by one of his disciples about death, his reply being, 'While we do not know life, how can we know about death?'[1] The older commentators say that the master gave 'no answer, because spirits and death are obscure and unprofitable subjects to talk about.' Some of the modern Confucian writers agree with this opinion, but the majority say that the answer was profound, and showed the proper order in which such inquiries should be prosecuted, for 'death is only the natural termination of life.'[2] To the ordinary reader, however, it would appear that this reply was only an exemplification of a passage in the *Doctrine of the Mean* (xii. 2), 'There is that which even the Sage does not know.'[3]

The followers of Confucius have not risen above the agnostic position which he took, and here it was that Buddhism came to satisfy the longings of the ignorant as to the future with its scheme of rewards and punishments, its firm beliefs and precise statements, its apparent knowledge of futurity, and its assurance of lives to come and the influence of this life on them.

The duration of life and its early or late ending were believed by most of the Confucian school to be dependent on man's proper use of life, and this is a very general belief among the Chinese.

'Heaven does not cut short men's lives—they bring them to an end in the midst themselves.'[4] 'A man of great virtue is sure to have long life.'[5] A concrete example of this is the Great Shun (*c.* 2300 B.C.), whose filial piety was so great that he attained the age of 100.[6]

Length of days, therefore, was regarded by the Chinese as the reward of virtue, and longevity is one of the five blessings earnestly desired. Over many a door is pasted a piece of red paper, renewed at the New Year, bearing the wish, 'May the five blessings descend on this door.'

Though what is stated above is the general opinion, all have not subscribed to it.

The materialistic Wang Ch'ung (*c.* A.D. 97) says, 'Worthies are taken ill and die early, and wicked people may be strong and robust and become very old.' 'Human diseases and death are not a retribution for evil doing.' 'When a man expires, his fate is fulfilled. After his death he does not live again.' 'Human life and death depend on the length of the span [of life], not on good or bad actions.'[7]

The Chinese temperament is one which enjoys life to the full. The people are generally contented and happy, and the deep hidden meanings of life are largely wanting.

4. Taoism.—In the 3rd and 4th centuries B.C. Chinese philosophy was in its golden period. It critically examined life and its connotations, and evolved original conceptions of the nature, motives, and mysteries of existence. This 'pursuit of truth and wisdom' claimed not a few noted men among its adherents. Later, Confucianism, with its love of rites and ceremonies and its reverence for former sages, had the effect of turning men's minds from the inquiries which a philosophical spirit delights to make, and Taoism, under whose ægis such inquiries had arisen, to a large extent changed to a system of rites and idolatry.[8]

Primitive Taoism—that shown to us as developed through the sayings and mind of its founder, Lao-tsŭ (b. 604 B.C.), and its earlier writers—knew little more than Confucianism as to the great subjects of life and death.

Licius (Lieh-tzŭ, 4th cent. B.C.) says: 'The living and the dead . . . know nothing of each other's state.'[9] 'We all have an end, but whither the end leads us is unknown.'[10] Chuancius (Chuang-tzŭ, 3rd and 4th cent. B.C.) asks: 'What should the dead know of the living or the living know of the dead? You and I may be in a dream from which we have not yet awaked.'[1] 'To him who can penetrate the mystery of life, all things are revealed.'[2]

The prolongation of life and the cheating of death of its due, or, rather, the raising of mortal life above death by the transforming of life into a higher existence,[3] has been one of the aims of Taoism, to be attained 'by quietism and dispassionativism, by regulating one's breath and using medicines.'[4]

Lao-tzŭ is stated to have said that, to a perfect man, 'life and death . . . are but as night and day, and cannot destroy his peace.'[5] In Licius we find (as the statement of one almost a sage) that life and death were looked upon in the same light. Licius says that 'the source of life is death.'[6] 'There is no such thing as absolute life or death';[7] *i.e.*, 'from the standpoint of the Absolute, since there is no such principle as life in itself, it follows there can be no such thing as death.'[8] On the other hand, we have such statements as 'Great indeed is death! . . . It gives rest to the noble-hearted and causes the base to cower.'[9] The sage looks upon life and death 'merely as waking and sleeping.'[10]

In the idealistic and mystical writings of Chuancius (Chuang-tzŭ), one of the great Taoist philosophers, who lived about two centuries after the founder Lao-tzŭ, there are some striking statements.

He says that for the sage 'life means death to all that men think life, the life of *seeming* or reputation, of *doing* or action, of *being* or individual selfhood.'[11] 'He who clearly apprehends the scheme of existence does not rejoice over life, nor repine at death; if he knows that terms are not final.' In other words, 'life and death are but links in an endless chain.'[12] Life is inevitable, for it 'comes and cannot be declined. It goes and cannot be stopped.'[13] The quick passage of life is thus expressed: 'Man passes through this sublunary life as a white horse passes a crack. Here one moment, gone the next.'[14] 'The life of man is but as a stoppage at an inn.'[15] 'The living are men on a journey.'[16] 'Life is a loan.'[17]

Taoism borrowed largely from Buddhism, and developed its scheme of life and death, amplifying its descriptions of renewed lives, which are to succeed death itself.[18]

In the Epicurean Yang Chu's philosophy (*c.* 300 B.C.) life is to be lived for the possessor's own self and to be an expression of his individuality. There is to be a disregard of life and death; life is of importance only to him who lives it, and that solely during his brief existence.[19] The Chinese have not followed this philosopher.

Wang Ch'ung, who holds a mid position between Confucianism and Taoism, was of the opinion that the dead do not become ghosts, and are unconscious,[20] and that 'sleep, a trance, and death are essentially the same.'[21]

He also says that 'human death is like the extinction of fire. . . . To assert that a person after death is still conscious is like saying that an extinguished light shines again. . . . The soul of a dead man cannot become a body again.'[22]

5. Buddhism.—For the general attitude of Buddhism as regards life and death see artt. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Buddhist) and KARMA. It is, however, more than questionable whether esoteric Buddhism, with its metaphysical aspect towards the world of senses, has much or any hold on the mass of the people.[23] Accordingly, many of its votaries in the Northern branch of that religion believe in the glorious Paradise of the West, to which the souls of the believers in Amida (Amitābha) Buddha can ascend and escape the long catena of lives and deaths supposed to be the lot of the aspirant to Nirvāṇa on his weary road thither.

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[1] Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i. 104 (*Confucian Analects*, xi. 11).
[2] *Ib.* i. 104 f., note.
[3] *Ib.* i. 256.
[4] *Ib.* iii. 264 ff. (*Shu King Book of Shang*, xi. 11).
[5] J. H. S. Lockhart, *A Manual of Chinese Quotations*, Hongkong, 1893, p. 150.
[6] Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i. 262 f. and note (*Doct. of Mean*, xvii. 1).
[7] A. Forke, *Lun Heng*, pt. ii. (Berlin, 1911) p. 162.
[8] See A. Forke, *Yang Chu's Garden of Pleasure*, London, 1912, Introd. p. 7 f.
[9] L. Giles, *Taoist Teachings*, London, 1912, p. 32.
[10] *Ib.* p. 23.

[1] H. A. Giles, *Chuang Tzŭ*, London, 1889, p. 36.
[2] *Ib.* p. 433.
[3] L. Wieger, *Taoisme*, Paris, 1911, i., Introd. p. 12 f.; Legge, *Texts of Tâoism* (*SBE* xxxix. [1891], Introd. p. 23 f.).
[4] See refutation of such ideas by Wang Ch'ung in A. Forke, *Lun Hêng*, pt. i. (London, 1911) p. 346 ff.
[5] H. A. Giles, *Chuang Tzŭ*, p. 267; cf. Legge, *SBE* xxxix. 22.
[6] L. Giles, *Taoist Teachings*, p. 21.
[7] *Ib.* p. 22.
[8] *Ib.* p. 23.
[9] *Ib.* p. 27.
[10] *Ib.* p. 29.
[11] H. A. Giles, *Chuang Tzŭ*, Introd. p. xx.
[12] *Ib.* p. 208; see also p. 223 ff.
[13] *Ib.* p. 229.
[14] *Ib.* p. 285.
[15] *Ib.* p. 293.
[16] L. Giles, *Taoist Teachings*, p. 28.
[17] H. A. Giles, *Chuang Tzŭ*, p. 224; cf. Legge, *SBE* xxxix., Introd. p. 22, *SBE* xl. [1891] 6.
[18] See Legge, *Religions of China*, p. 189 ff.
[19] A. Forke, *Yang Chu's Garden of Pleasure*, p. 25; see also pp. 26 f., 35, 39 ff.
[20] See A. Forke, *Lun Hêng*, pt. i. p. 191 ff., pt. ii. 309 ff.
[21] *Ib.* i. 195.
[22] *Ib.* i. 196.
[23] For Chinese Buddhism see art. CHINA (Buddhism in) and the lit. there cited, to which may be added E. J. Eitel, *Three Lectures on Buddhism*³, Hongkong, 1873; J. Edkins, *Religion in China*³, London, 1878; J. Dyer Ball, *Religious Aspect in China*.

To vie with its sister religion, Taoism evolved in its turn a nine-storeyed heaven with the Dragon King as ruler to await the arrival of pious souls.

6. Conclusion. — Thus, with the multiplicity of lives to which Buddhism has accustomed the Chinese mind, death looms largely in the purview of life, not only to the Buddhist, but also to the Taoist and even the Confucianist; for Buddhism has entered into the religious life of the whole people and tinctured their ideas and thoughts. The Chinese is practical in his outlook on life. He finds himself in the midst of it, he has to accept it, and his thoughts turn more naturally to what its outcome is to be than to its source and origin. More fantastic than his visions of his future are those of his past. With no inkling, for the most part, as to whence he came, he has given full play to his fancy to conjure up the origin of the human race.[1] One of the fairy-like tales of his mythology is that the vermin on the body of a colossal giant, who brought order out of chaos, were the progenitors of mankind;[2] while in another account the mountains produced the lowest of the lower creation, and these, in turn, developed higher forms, culminating in man, who was evolved from the ape.[3]

We find higher ideas in the ancient classics; for, though covering but limited ground, the rudimentary knowledge of the Supreme Being possessed by the ancient Chinese embraced the idea that He gave 'birth to the multitudes of the people,'[4] so that in the State worship by the Emperors He has been addressed as the maker of heaven, earth, man, and all animate beings.[5]

LITERATURE.—Authorities are cited in the footnotes.

J. DYER BALL.

LIFE AND DEATH (Christian).—In passing from the OT view to that of the NT there is no abrupt or startling gap, although a delicate tact is conscious of a difference of atmosphere, and becomes aware that the elements common to both are not in the same proportion, and appear to have been subjected to some organic change in the later form. In the OT words denoting 'life' occur in 166 passages, and in the Apocrypha in 24; words denoting 'death' occur in 354 passages, and in the Apocrypha in 33; on the other hand, in the NT words denoting 'life' occur in 135 passages, and words denoting 'death' in 128. In this quantitative analysis the striking fact is that death occupied the OT mind more predominantly than life. Qualitatively taken, however, a striking difference at once appears. Life in the OT for the most part refers to existence here in the flesh, and comparatively rarely rises above it, being summed up in the LXX phrase in Sir 37^{25}: 'the life of man is in the number of his days.' Instances occur, of course, especially in the later Psalms and Wisdom literature, of life being regarded as independent of bodily conditions, but these are to be treated as indications of a transition in thought to a higher plane, as a *præparatio evangelica*.

The significant feature of the NT allusions to life (and death) is their want of any real interest in mere earthly living, and this feature is plain even where the necessities of experience compel reference to the fact of physical death. Thus, but of the 135 passages where 'life' (ζωή) occurs, not more than seven can be referred to physical life. In one (Lk 1^{75}) the text varies, and the life referred to might be heavenly. In Lk 16^{25} the life of Dives is sharply contrasted with the life of Lazarus. Ac 8^{33} is a quotation from the LXX; Ac 17^{25} is inspired by Stoic thought. In Ro 8^{38}, 1 Co 3^{22}, and Ph 1^{21}, where life and death are conjoined as correlative powers, the reference may be to earthly life and death, but the probability is that in each case the meaning is that spiritual life and spiritual death face us. In the first passage it is invisible powers personified that are declared incapable of sundering the Christian from Christ; in the second passage the words are equally patient of either meaning; and in the third, if Theophylact may be followed,[1] the spiritual meaning prevails. Besides these seven passages, the word 'life' in the NT does not seem to be used anywhere in the lower sense.

The case is different with the term 'death' (*θάνατος*), for in something less than a score of passages in the Gospels, and in eight passages of Acts, the death of Jesus is referred to; in nine passages of Heb. physical death, especially that of Jesus, is the subject; and in Rev. 'death' is personified in conjunction with Hades, or is described as being followed by a second death, or is regarded as the term of this life. On the other hand, St. Paul and St. John, with hardly an exception, when they refer to death at all, mean spiritual death, not physical. Our task is to examine the passages where the terms ζωή and *θάνατος*, or their cognates, occur in the NT, in order to ascertain their precise meaning.

1. Life.—(*a*) The first mode of expression for the 'life' which Christ gives is to be found in the use of the definite article. Examples of this are Mt 7^{14}, 'straitened is the way that leadeth unto the life'; $18^{8f.}$, Mk $9^{43.45}$, 'to enter into the life maimed,' 'to enter into the life with one eye'; Mt 19^{17}, 'thou wouldst enter into the life'; Jn 5^{24} (cf. Jn 3^{15}), 'hath passed out of the death into the life'; 6^{48}, 'the bread of the life'; 8^{12}, 'shall have the light of the life'; 11^{25} 14^{6}, 'I am the life'; Ac 3^{15}, 'the prince of the life'; Ro 8^{2}, 'the law of the spirit of the life'; 2 Co 4^{12}, 'the life worketh in you'; 5^{4}, 'the mortal may be swallowed up by the life'; 1 Ti 6^{12}, 'lay hold of the aeonian life'; 1 Jn 1^{1}, 'the word of the life'; 5^{12}, 'he that hath the Son hath the life'; Rev $2^{7.10}$ 3^{5} 13^{8}, 'the tree,' 'the crown,' 'the book of the life'; 21^{6}, 'the water of the life.'

In all these cases the article is used in what grammarians call the anaphoric sense, by which the substantive is pointed to as referring to an object already definitely known. Thus, in the instances given the implication is that the life mentioned is that with which the readers were already familiar as the subject of Evangelic preaching, and an object of their own religious experience. It is also implicitly contrasted with another and a lower kind of life—that of the natural man, of the man of this world (cf. F. W. Blass, *Grammar of NT Greek*², London 1905, p. 146).

(*b*) Life which is unreal and fleeting is set aside in favour of the life which is real and abiding: 1 Ti 4^{8}, 'life that is now and life which is to come'; 6^{19}, 'the life that really is.'

(*c*) It is assigned a heavenly nature by a predicative clause: Ro 5^{10}, 'we shall be saved by his [the Son's] life'; 2 Co $4^{10f.}$, 'the life of Jesus'; Eph 4^{18}, 'the life of God'; 2 Ti 1^{1}, 'life that is in Christ Jesus'; 1 Jn 5^{11}, 'the life in his Son.'

(*d*) The characteristic NT expression qualifying life, however, is 'æonian,' rendered in AV 'everlasting' 24 times, and 'eternal' 42 times, but both terms are misleading, as giving a quantitative instead of a qualitative category. ‘Æonian’ as an adjective occurs in all 71 times in the NT, and in 43 of these it qualifies ‘life.’ These passages (in addition to 17 in the Fourth Gospel) are Mt $19^{16.29}$ 25^{46}, Mk $10^{17.30}$, Lk 10^{25} $18^{18.30}$, Ac $13^{46.48}$, Ro 2^{7} 5^{21} $6^{22f.}$, Gal 6^{8}, 1 Ti 1^{16} 6^{12}, Tit 1^{2} 3^{7}, 1 Jn 1^{2} 2^{25} 3^{15} $5^{11.13.20}$, Jude ^{21}. In all these passages it is not the duration of the life that is in question, but its nature and its source. Hence, though the rendering ‘eternal’ may be permissible, that of ‘everlasting’ is erroneous, and even ‘eternal’ can be allowed only where eternity is understood as by Boethius:

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[1] For the philosophical theory see art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Chinese).

[2] Cf. J. Dyer Ball, *Scraps from Chinese Mythology*, annotated in *China Review*, Hongkong, 1872–1901, xi. 76 ff.

[3] A. M. Fielde, *A Corner of Cathay*, New York, 1894, p. 158 ff.

[4] Legge, *Religions of China*, p. 28.

[5] *Ib.* p. 47 ff.

[1] 'A kind of new life I live, and Christ is all things to me, breath and life and light' (see M. R. Vincent, 'Philippians and Philemon,' *ICC*, 1897, *in loco*).

> ‘Whatsoever, therefore, comprehendeth and possesseth the whole plenitude of unlimited life at once, to which nought of the future is wanting, and from which nought of the past hath flowed away, this may rightly be deemed eternal’ (*Phil. Consol.*, v. prosa 6 [*PL* lxiii. 859]; cf. Dante, *Parad.* xxii. 61–69).

It is in the prominence given to this view of life that we are to find the superiority of the NT teaching on it over that of the OT.

The transition from the sense of ‘æonian’ in the LXX (where it [or its cognates] is used about 330 times) to its sense in the NT is of the nature of an evolution. The NT sense of ‘spiritual,’ or ‘divine,’ is not wanting in the OT,[1] yet the more usual sense of the term is that of duration. Out of this lower sense there gradually unfolds, at first tentatively, but at length surely and fully, the ground on which duration rests, viz. the possession of an essence which is superior to the category of time. What endures is that of which time is but the changing expression, and the great gift of Christ is seen to consist in the power which He confers of escaping from the jurisdiction of ‘the prince of the power of the air’ into the higher realm where the ‘æon’ or the ‘æonian’ king rules.

The use of the term ‘æon’ in the NT is important for our present purpose; for, in addition to the passages in which the temporal meaning of the term is required, there are a number which are ambiguous, and also a further number where ‘æon’ is certainly used in a personal sense. Different ages, or different regions of the universe, are placed by God under the control of rulers to whom the name of ‘æon’ is given. In Ac 15^{18} the rendering should in all probability be ‘God maketh these things known from æon.’ So in Ac 3^{21} and Lk 1^{70} the prophets are said to receive their inspiration ‘from æon.’ The sense of Jn 9^{32} is best reached by paraphrasing it: ‘From the realm of the æon the news has not been heard of anybody opening the eyes of a man born blind.’ In Eph 2^{2} no question can be raised, for the ‘æon of this world’ there is clearly a personal being, since he is given as a sub-title ‘the prince of the power of the air.’ In 1 Ti 1^{17} God is distinguished as the ‘King of the æons.’ In Col 1^{26} the revelation given to the saints is exalted above that given to the æons. The latter knew nothing of the mystery of the indwelling Christ, the hope of glory. The knowledge of this was the prerogative of the saints. In 2 P 3^{18} the ‘day of æon’ can be nothing but the ‘day of the Lord,’ and hence the æon here is Jesus (cf. also He 1^{2}, 1 Co 10^{11}, Gal 1^{4}, and the appendix to Mk in the Freer-logion).

When we remember that Christianity grew up in a Gnostic environment, that among the Gnostics the doctrine of personal æons was universal, and that 1 Clem. 35, Origen (*c. Celsum*, vi. 31), Ignatius (*Eph.* 19), Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* iv. 13), Irenæus (*Hær.* i. 17), and Hippolytus (*Ref.* vi. 26) all refer to the doctrine explicitly as worthy of note and demanding correction, we shall not be surprised if echoes of it are found within the Canon. Further, the same fluidity of meaning which attaches to the use of the term outside the Canon attaches to it also within the Canon. Omitting temporal significance as too general to need exemplification, it is enough to say that the word ‘æon’ may stand for a superhuman being who is good or evil, supreme or subordinate. Hippolytus (*Ref.* iv. 2) mentions speculators who ‘speak of a sedition of æons and of a revolt of good powers to evil, and of a concord of good and wicked æons.’ Irenæus (*Hær.* i. 1) relates that the Valentinians taught the existence of ‘a certain perfect, pre-existent æon whom they call Proarche, Propator, and Bythos.’ So Epictetus (ii. 5) says: ‘I am not God (*æon*) but man,’ and, therefore, mortal; and pseudo-Dionysius (*de Div. Nom.* v. 4) says: ‘God is called Arche and Measure of Æons and Essence of Times and Æon of things that are . . . for He is the æon of æons, He that is before all æons.’ The Valentinians further taught, according to Irenæus, that the supreme Æon emanated eight æons, the ogdoad, and these ten others, after which twelve more were produced, making thirty in all; they also saw in the visit of Jesus to the Temple when He was twelve years old, and in His baptism when He was thirty, a cryptic reference to the system of æons. R. Reitzenstein (*Poimandres*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 270) quotes a Hermetic hymn addressed to Isis as the moon-goddess in which it is said: ‘Thou art the beginning and the end, and thou rulest over all, for of thee are all things and to (thee as) *æon* do they run as to their end.’ So in the Hermetic tractate *Mind unto Hermes*, 2, it is said: ‘God makes æon, the æon makes the world, the world makes time, time makes generation.’ Here ‘æon’ is the name of the ideal principle which ultimately takes form in the world of becoming. Similarly, Plato (*Tim.* 37) says: ‘When the father and creator saw the creature which he had made moving and living, the created image of the eternal gods (*τῶν ἀϊδίων θεῶν*), he rejoiced, and in his joy determined to make the copy still more like the original; and, as this was eternal (*ἀΐδιον*), he sought to make the universe eternal, so far as might be.’ In this passage, where Plato wants to express the idea of everlastingness, he has the word *ἀΐδιος* ready to his hand. But, when he goes on to express a different idea, he uses a different term (*αἰώνιος*): ‘Now the nature of the ideal being was æonian (*αἰώνιος*), but to bestow this attribute in its fullness on a creature was impossible. Wherefore he resolved to make a moving image of the æon (*αἰῶνος*), and, setting in order at the same time the heaven, he made this æonian image of the æon abiding in unity (*μένοντος αἰῶνος*) [an image that in itself was æonian] to move in accordance with number; and this image we call time.’ In the latter passage, as is obvious, Plato is dealing with the *quality* of the archetypal order, and, therefore, he uses the word *αἰώνιος*. In the former passage he was dealing with a category of *quantity*, and, accordingly, he employed the word *ἀΐδιος*, ‘everlasting.’ J. Adam (*Vitality of Platonism*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 35 f.) translates *αἰῶνος* in Pindar (fr. 131, ed. Bergk) as the ‘living man,’ and says that it never means ‘eternity’ in Pindar. The passage is *ζῷον δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἴδωλον· τὸ γάρ ἐστι μόνον ἐκ θεῶν* (cf. *Il.* xix. 27). Plato's antithesis of æon and time reappears in Philo (ed. T. Mangey, London, 1742, i. 496), who makes the three first days of creation, before sun and moon were created, an image of ‘æon’ and the last three of time, ‘for He set the three days before the sun for the æon, and the three after the sun for time, which is a copy of æon.’ Similarly, he says (i. 619) that ‘the life of the intelligible world is called æon, as that of the sensible is called time.’

The question whether ‘æon’ and ‘æonian’ are to be rendered qualitatively or quantitatively is not identical with the question whether a Jewish or Greek conception is the determinant, for the Hellenization of Christianity was active, even if not in its acute form, from the earliest NT days. Greek thought had penetrated Jewish before NT times (W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutest. Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1903, p. 493; cf. ‘æonian torment,’ in 4 Mac 9^{9}; ‘æonian life’ in Enoch 10^{10}; ‘judgment of the æon of æons,’ 10^{12}; ‘the King of the æon,’ 27^{3}), and is embedded in the NT itself. Moreover, the Rabbinical antithesis of ‘this world’ and ‘that world’ lay on the border-line of Greek thought, and might pass easily into it. The witness of Philo must be added to that of the Synoptic Gospels (with their many isolated sayings redolent of Greek thought and their record of the teaching of a mystery-religion), the Fourth Gospel as a whole, Eph. and Col., and the constant tendency of the Greek in St. Paul to burst its Jewish fetters. We conclude, therefore, that ‘æonian life’ in the NT is life that belongs to a higher order than animal or ordinary human life; it is from above, and the recipient of it is lifted, by possessing it, into a higher state of consciousness. It is not this present life indefinitely or infinitely prolonged, nor is it life beyond the grave distinguished as such from life on this side of the grave.

It is not possible here to do more than allude to the central place which the fact and truth of regeneration (*q.v.*) occupy in the religion of Jesus Christ. All that is required is a reminder of the close connexion of regeneration with the æonian life which forms the theme of the NT. To be born from above (ἄνωθεν, Jn 3^{3}); to be turned and to become as little children (Mt 18^{3}); to come out into the resurrection of life (Jn 5^{29}); to put on Christ (Gal 3^{27}); to be quickened together with Christ (Eph 2^{5}); to be in Christ (2 Co 5^{17}); to put on the new man (Eph 4^{24}); to be a new creature (Gal 6^{15})—these and many similar passages describe that dynamic process of which the result is æonian life, or salvation, or the Kingdom of God, or blessedness.

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[1] *e.g.*, in Ec 3^{11} we are told that God has placed the æon in the heart of man, *i.e.*, has given him a seed of a higher order of being.

2. Death.—Christian theology has been at once oppressed and confused by its failure to note that in the NT it is not physical life cleared of its experienced ills that is called life, and that it is not physical death as such that is connected with sin. (1) Reflexion would assure us that, when life is used in a super-physical sense, it is at least probable that the death referred to is always something more than the death which dissolves the connexion between the self and its physical vehicle. If one be of the transcendental order, so must the other be. (2) It has never been easy to maintain a causal nexus between sin as a wrong act of will and death as an event of the natural order. Modern science has convinced itself that death has reigned not only since Adam's transgression, but from the first appearance of life. Death indeed, apart from sin, is a process of nature and not a super-natural punishment for sin. (3) Christianity is admittedly a religion whose home is in the spiritual order, and its interest, therefore, in the physical, though real, is only indirect. From its superior standpoint it may have something to say as to the origin and meaning of physical death, but, if it speaks of death as intimately bound up with its own life, that death will not be of the physical order. (4) The law of analogy points in the same direction. A principle which is operative on one level repeats itself analogously at other levels. Just as gravity may be described without straining as love embryonic in matter, or, conversely, as love in the spiritual world exercises an attraction which binds spiritual beings as surely as gravity binds together atoms, so death as physical is a reflexion of a similar principle in the world where life is life indeed. (5) All philosophy assures us of the existence of an infinite principle or truth in the finite event or fact, of the existence of a universal in the particular. But a physical death is a fact in the world of space and time; hence it conceals what is more than a fact—a truth or idea, or a fragment of reality presented under the guise of the actual. If, therefore, a religion which proclaims itself as having the real for its object speaks of death, or attributes to death any place in its world, it cannot be supposed to limit its reference to the death which is merely physical.

It will be found on examination that the conclusion thus reached *a priori* is confirmed by a careful scrutiny of the evidence. (*a*) We may conveniently begin with passages in which death is obviously treated as acting in the spiritual sphere. The following passages in the Fourth Gospel may be cited: 'He hath passed out of the death into the life' (5^{24}; cf. 1 Jn 3^{14}); 'If a man keep my word, he shall never see death' ($8^{51f.}$); in ch. 11 the difficulty caused by the apparent indifference of Jesus in the beginning, by the reference to sleep, and by the affirmation that the believer should never die can be fairly met only by the hypothesis that the story in form moves on the physical plane, but that in substance it is the story of the resurrection of the soul from spiritual death; the reference to the manner of death in 12^{33} is contained in what is certainly a gloss. In 1 Jn we have similar references to spiritual death: 'He that loveth not abideth in the death' (3^{14}), where the death is clearly on the same plane of being as love; in 5^{16} the sin unto death (or not unto death) is also clearly a sin which is followed by death of the same order, viz. in the world of free will, for it is said in explanation that God will give life for them that sin not unto death—a sentence which is meaningless if physical life is meant, since that is *ex hypothesi* there already. In Rev. the second death, which is spiritual, is distinguished from the first death, which is physical (2^{11} $20^{6.\ 14}$ 21^{8}).

In the Epp. also many passages occur in which death must be interpreted as spiritual. In Ro 1^{32} St. Paul, speaking not as a jurist but as a preacher (cf. W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *Romans*^{5}, Edinburgh, 1903, *ad loc.*), sets up an ideal standard with ideal consequences for violation of it. Those who outrage the plainly expressed mind of God as to what righteousness is do so with the full knowledge that they deserve death ('und meint damit den ewigen Tod' [H. A. W. Meyer, *Der Brief an die Römer*, ed. B. Weiss^{9}, Göttingen, 1899, *ad loc.*]). In the striking passage Ro 5^{12-21}, unless St. Paul is guilty of inexcusable logical confusion, the death which in vv.$^{17.\ 21}$ is obviously spiritual must be of the same kind in vv.$^{12.\ 14}$. The current exegesis which assumes such looseness of thought in St. Paul is itself responsible for the confusion. The meaning is simple, plain, and consistent throughout: Adam was guilty of a sin which was spiritual in its character, being a misuse of free will; therefore he brought on himself spiritual death, and this death has afflicted mankind ever since. But now at last the Christ of God, by Himself entering into vital union with a race self-deprived of the higher life, that is, by sharing in some sense their loss, has restored what they had lost; He has, that is, obeyed the law that only through death do we enter into life. The death He has undone is that which consists in the absence of spiritual life; and the death He has borne is that which consists in the process of taming the lower nature, in the process of the mystic crucifixion. The one lost æonian life by self-will; the other gained it by obedience, and gave it through love.

Similarly, the linking of baptism with Christ's death and life in Ro 6 is explicable only if it is æonian life and æonian death that are in question, and the best proof of this view is to be found in the difficulties into which exegesis has long been implicated through its mistaken assumption that the life and death referred to are physical. Hence it has to say that St. Paul's 'thought glides backwards and forwards from the different senses of "life" and "death" almost imperceptibly' (Sanday-Headlam on 6^{8}). But, from the facts that Christ's death was transacted in the spiritual order, that baptism in its genuine meaning was a moment in a dynamic process, that the life which Christ truly lived was an æonian life, it follows that, the life being the same both in the Lord and in His disciples, they both were united in the mystic Vine, since one and the same life was in it and in its branches. Therefore, St. Paul concludes, since it is now æonian life that rules in both Christ and His members, death is automatically excluded. While 'the seed abideth' in the believer, he not only does not sin, but he cannot sin; or, if he sins, the sin is proof that the life is not yet dominant.

The argument in Ro 7 is similar. Using the image of marriage being valid for life, St. Paul says that the natural man has law for a husband and sin for his child, and sin in turn begets death, *i.e.* spiritual death (v.^{9}). This spiritual death is in turn undone by the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus (8^{2}). We are given even an exact definition of death as being identical with the mind of the flesh, and of life as being spiritual-mindedness (8^{6}).

Even the famous passage in 1 Co 15 is given a coherent meaning only when the thought of spiritual life and spiritual death is kept in the foreground. It is true that here the thought is less pure, and that the physical death of Christ and His resurrection from physical death are made the proofs of the reality of the heavenly order. But, even so, it is not the physical resurrection that is the vital point, but the spiritual, of which the physical is but an expression. The argument is as follows. To be still in your sins is death; faith, however, when it comes, annuls this (spiritual) death, for it is essentially life. This living faith (the life of God in the soul) is what filled Christ, and constituted His title to the higher state of being, as is proved by the fact that He overcame (spiritual) death; the proof that He did so overcome spiritual death is to be seen in the fact that He could not be holden by physical death. Hence death in both senses is abolished, or is in the process of being abolished, but the death which is *the* enemy is spiritual, and, if physical death comes into question at all, it is incidental only or by way of illustration. That this is the true interpretation becomes clear when we observe that the remainder of the chapter (vv.$^{35-38}$) is concerned only with affirming that this higher spiritual, or risen, life will require a cognate spiritual body, and that as God gave the life so He will give the suitable body.

(*b*) There are, however, unquestionably many passages in the NT which seem, on the surface at all events, to refer exclusively to a physical death. They are those which in the Gospels (12 times) and the Acts (8 times) deal with the death of Jesus Christ. But even here a sound exegesis will compel us to distinguish between what is said and what is signified. What is said is that Jesus suffered physical death at the hands of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of His day. What is signified is that His sufferings as witnessed had a hidden counterpart and a universal validity because, He being a heavenly subject, what He experienced in strong crying and tears affects all who are united to Him as a transcendental subject by being made sharers of His life, partakers of His divine nature. What is signified is that His crucifixion is a mystic process before it takes shape in the moment of a physical death, and that this process of crucifixion, therefore, goes on necessarily in all those who are made one with His life (Gal 5^{24} 6^{14}). What is signified is that the physical death and burial of Christ are a reflexion of a spiritual death and burial which He underwent in order that He might be a radiating centre of heavenly life to all men. The real death and burial are to be found in the æonian world; the death and burial that fall under history are shadows of the real.

The Epistle to the Hebrews also refers explicitly to the physical death and sufferings, but here we must allow for the exigencies of the line of argument adopted. This compelled the author to place the physical death of the man Christ Jesus over against the physical death of the animals slain in OT sacrifices. Yet, even so, the force of the argument depends on the superior worth of the former. His sacrifice was all-compelling, partly because it was voluntary (7^{27} 9$^{11f.}$ 10^{9}), still more because of its transcendent worth, it being the offering of One whose life was divine, and made in accordance with the power of an indissoluble life (7^{16}) and through an æonian spirit (9^{14}). The life, we may say, that even here is dealt with is essentially spiritual, and is physical only in a secondary and subordinate sense.

(*c*) A third and small class of passages alone remains where death is of an ambiguous appearance. In Rev 1^{18} 6^{8} 9^{6} 20$^{13f.}$ Death is personified and joined with Hades, and both may attack man on his physical or on his spiritual side. In Mt 4^{16} and Lk 1^{79} the shadow of death falls across the heathen world, where spiritual death is surely meant. In Mt 16^{28}, Mk 9^{1}, and Lk 9^{27} contemporaries of Jesus, it is said, should not taste of death till they saw the Kingdom of God. It is impossible to say what was the original context of this triplicated passage, but it is improbable that the passage itself is to be regarded as a falsified prophecy of a historical fact. The 'Kingdom of God' and the 'Son of Man' are terms which express inner realities, and it is at least likely, then, that 'death' is also æonian. In this case the meaning of the passage is that there were some (a 'remnant,' the few who were 'chosen') who would not taste the bitterness of spiritual death, because to them would be vouchsafed the mystic vision of the King in His beauty, of the land that to most men remains far off.

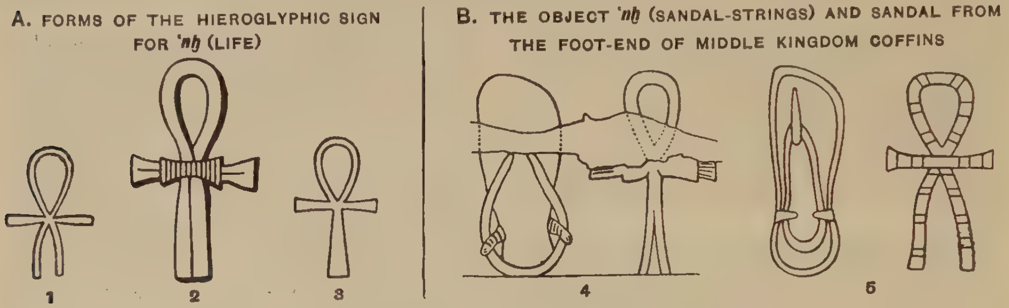
It will be clear, from what has been said, that the NT and Christian antithesis is not that of the OT and Judaism, between this world and the next, but between two kinds of life both here and there. It is a qualitative and not a quantitative difference. On one side is the life of sense, of intellect, of static forms, of fixed perceptions and well-defined conceptions—the life, in short, whose boundaries are set by the practical needs of the empirical Ego. On the other side is the life which creates the very power by which sense and intellect discharge their limited functions, which is in itself defiant of forms, is only partially grasped by perceptions, and for the most part remains outside conceptions—the life, in short, which Jesus came to reveal and to give, which is called æonian, or spiritual, or heavenly, or divine, and is that ever-flowing stream from the life of God of which all expressions of life are at all levels fragmentary flashes. We pass from the fragment towards the complete and perfect in exact proportion to our surrender of our lower and separated self to the life of the whole, which is God. It is this enhanced life and expanded consciousness that the religion of Jesus Christ and His Church is primarily concerned with. Its interest in eschatology, in theories about resurrection, in hypotheses such as that of universalism, of conditional immortality, of the nature of the ultimate union of soul and body, or of reincarnation, though real, is subordinate only. It is concerned with a higher life experienced here and now, and to grow hereafter more and more towards the perfect day. It is interested in theories about that life, but its interest in them is not vital.

LITERATURE.—Boethius, *Philosophiæ Consolatio*; Augustine, *Confessions*, esp. bks. x., xi., xiii.; Aquinas, *Sum.* i. qu. x. artt. 4–6; Philo, *Quod Deus sit immut.*, esp. § 6 (Mangey, p. 277); D. Petavius, *de Deo Deique propr.* iii. 3, 4, and esp. notes to pp. 258–260, ed. L. Guérin, Bar-le-Duc, vol. i., 1864; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* 38; John Damascene, *de Fide orthod.*, bk. ii. ch. i.; Alcuin, *Ep.* 162, in *PL*, c. 419; F. D. E. Schleiermacher, *Reden* (1799), Göttingen, 1906; C. v. Orelli, *Die heb. Syn. der Zeit und Ewigkeit*, Leipzig, 1871; W. W. Harvey, *S. Irenæi adv. Hær.*, Cambridge, 1857, esp. his 'Preliminary Observations'; F. von Hügel, *Eternal Life*, Edinburgh, 1912; W. R. Alger, *Crit. Hist. of the Doctrine of a Future Life*^{10}, New York, 1878, with copious bibliography.

W. F. COBB.

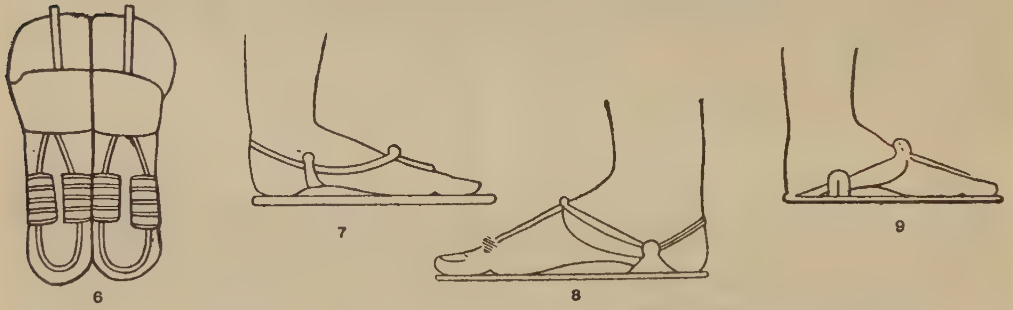
LIFE AND DEATH (Egyptian).—The Egyptian conceptions of life and death seem at first sight to be full of inexplicable contradictions. No wonder is felt when these states are found to be alternately praised and execrated, for in such praise and execration personal preferences are involved, and these may vary. But it is more perplexing to find diametrically opposite views expressed or implied with regard to questions of fact or belief, as when the same being is described almost in one breath both as alive and as dead, or when men who fear the dead are seen to have used magical means to kill their enemies, thinking thus to be rid of them. Such inconsistencies arise from the blending of the simple distinction between physical life and death with the extremely ancient and almost universal belief in immortality—a belief that is rooted partly in the passionate abhorrence which death inspires as an indignity inflicted upon the living,[1] and partly in the fact that death is known to us only through observation of the external world, and not by conscious inner experience.

Life and death are facts, since they are ever being forced upon our notice; death is a falsehood, however, because we have never known it to be true of ourselves, and, furthermore, because we will not admit that it can be true of ourselves. But, if after the physical death we are not dead, then we must be alive. The words 'life' and 'death' thus both acquire a double meaning, and a wide field for speculation opens out; the achievements of the Egyptians within this field have here to be considered.


A. FORMS OF THE HIEROGLYPHIC SIGN FOR *ʿnḫ* (LIFE)

B. THE OBJECT *ʿnḫ* (SANDAL-STRINGS) AND SANDAL FROM THE FOOT-END OF MIDDLE KINGDOM COFFINS

C. SOME SANDALS AS SHOWN ON OLD KINGDOM MONUMENTS



1. From an ivory tablet of King Den (W. M. F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, London, 1900, i. pl. 14).
2. Elaborate form of hieroglyph in Old Kingdom inscriptions (Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, London, 1905, pl. 11, fig. 86).
3. Simplified form of hieroglyph (Petrie, *Medum*, London, 1892, pl. 14).
4. J. Garstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1907, pl. 6, opposite p. 168; over the sandal-strings the original has the superscription, 'the two *ʿnḫ* (sandal-strings) under his feet.'
5. H. Schäfer, *Priestergräber vom Totentempel des Ne-user-rê*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 54.
6. From the slate-palette of Nar-mer, Ist dyn. (J. E. Quibell, *Hierakonpolis*, i., London, 1900, pl. 29).
7. N. de G. Davies, *Deir el Gebrâwi*, London, 1902, i. pl. 11, completed from ii. pl. 6.
8. F. W. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, Berlin, 1905, i. pl. 16.
9. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London, 1901, i. pl. 15.

1. Philological.—Whereas the Egyptian word for 'to die,' *mwt*, Coptic ⲙⲟⲩ (infinitive), ⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ (qualitative), is shared with all the Semitic languages, the verb for 'to live,' *ʿnḫ*, Coptic ⲱⲛϩ, ⲱⲛϩ̄, is of doubtful affinities. Several derivatives from the same stem, such as *ʿnḫ*, 'sandal-string,' *ʿnḫ*, 'goat,' *ʿnḫ*, 'ear,' fail to suggest any earlier or more concrete meaning for it, while other words having the same radical letters, such as *ʿnḫ*, 'oath' (Coptic ⲁⲛⲁϣ), or *ʿnḫ*, 'mirror,' clearly derive their meaning from *ʿnḫ*, 'to live.' Closely related in sense are the verbs *wnn*, 'to exist,' and *ḫpr* (Coptic ϣⲱⲡⲉ), 'to become,' 'come into existence.' For 'death' there are various euphemistic expressions, such as *ḥpyt* or *swḏꜣ*, 'passing away,' *mini*, 'reaching port'; 'my dying day' is once expressed by *hrw nfr-ni im*, 'the day on which it went well with me' (*Sphinx*, iv. [1901] 16); the phrase *sbt r imꜣḫ*, 'to attain to beatitude,' is ambiguous, sometimes referring to honoured old age and sometimes to death. The dead are described as *ntiw im*, 'those who are yonder,' or as *bꜣgy nnyw*, 'the weary ones.' Theological is the phrase *s n kꜣ-f*, 'to go to one's *ka*, or double'; so, too, are the words *iꜣḫ*, 'glorified being,' *sꜣḥ*, 'noble,' and *ḥsy*, 'blessed,' applied to the illustrious dead. Two epithets that from the early Middle Kingdom onwards are appended to the names of dead persons reflect, the one the identification of the dead with Osiris, and the other the belief in immortality; these are *mꜣʿ-ḫrw*, 'the justified,'[1] and *whm ʿnḫ*, 'who repeats life,' respectively. The deceased Pharaoh was called 'the great God,' like his great prototype Osiris, while the living king is 'the good god.'

2. Writing and figured representation.—(*a*) The symbol of life, which is also the hieroglyph used for writing the words 'life' and 'live,' is the so-called *crux ansata*, ☥, popularly known as the *ʿankh* (*ʿnḫ*), or 'key of life.' Its origin has been much discussed, most scholars agreeing that the sign represents a tie or knot of some kind, though in V. Loret's opinion (*Sphinx*, v. [1902] 138) it depicts a mirror. The true explanation, hinted at but immediately rejected by G. Daressy (*RTAP*

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[1] See particularly R. Hertz, 'La Représentation collective de la mort,' in *ASoc* x. [1905–06] 124.

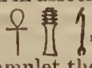
[1] See art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 7.

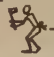
xxvi. [1904] 130), was first enunciated by Battiscombe Gunn, who proves the symbol to depict the strings or straps of the sandal.

No demonstration of Gunn's discovery (acknowledged by A. Erman in his *Agyptische Grammatik*^{3}, Berlin, 1911, p. viii) has yet found its way into print: the crucial evidence in the following argumentation has been supplied by Gunn himself. There is an object called *ʿnḫ*, exactly resembling the symbol and hieroglyph for 'life,' which is often represented pair-wise at the foot-end of Middle Kingdom coffins. These coffins are covered with pictures of articles deemed necessary for the happiness of the dead in the after-life, and care is taken in most cases to place each object in its appropriate position as regards the body of the dead man within the coffin; thus necklaces are shown on the level of his neck, sceptres within reach of his hand, and so forth. *A priori*, therefore, it is to be concluded that the object was connected with the feet—a point clinched by the fact that a pair of these objects is usually shown next one or more pairs of sandals, while the other articles depicted (anklets, bowls for washing, etc.) are more or less clearly connected with the feet (see J. Garstang, *Burial Customs of Anc. Egypt*, London, 1907, pl. 6, opposite p. 168; P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire*, Paris, 1904, no. 28034 [p. 90 f.]; H. Schäfer, *Priestergräber*, Leipzig, 1908, fig. 73 [p. 54], 83 [p. 59], and pl. 11). In several instances the accompanying inscriptions describe the pair of objects as 'the two *ʿnḫ* on the ground under his feet' (cf. Garstang, *loc. cit.*; Lacau, ii. 158; the preposition 'under' must not be pressed too closely, but it at least shows that the *ʿnḫ* was part of, or belonged in some way to, the sandals). If now we compare the object with the representation of the sandals, we shall see that the same elements enter into both—the long loop that passes round the ankle, the straps that serve to bind this loop to the sides of the sandal, and possibly a kind of ribbed bow or buckle. It is difficult to make the representations harmonize in detail, but, remembering that the sign is a very old one, that the modes of binding the sandal to the foot vary greatly, and that possibly the sign depicts the straps not as actually worn but laid out in such a way as to exhibit them to the best advantage, we shall hardly doubt that the objects shown on the Middle Kingdom coffins and called *ʿnḫ* are a spare pair of sandal-strings for use in the event of those attached to the sandals requiring to be replaced. The cut on the preceding page depicts various examples of the sandal-strings both as an article of use and as a hieroglyph, together with pictures of sandals for comparison; the hieroglyph is normally painted black.

There being no obvious connexion between the idea of life and that of sandal-strings, it must be supposed that the idea of life, not being itself susceptible of pictorial representation, was symbolized by an object the name of which fortuitously coincided in sound with the word for 'life'; this procedure is merely the procedure called 'phonetic transference,' extremely common in hieroglyphic writing.

It is, of course, possible that *ʿnḫ* (*ʿankh?*), 'sandal-strings,' and *ʿnḫ* (*ʿankh?*), 'life' (the vowel in both cases is hypothetic), are ultimately connected etymologically, but, as said above, the original meaning of the stem *ʿnḫ* is unknown. It would certainly be wrong to advance the hypothesis that the sandal-strings were called *ʿnḫ* because they resembled the symbol for life, the origin of that symbol itself being regarded as undiscoverable. The evidence of the earliest writing (the absence of the stroke-determinative[1]) shows that the *ʿankh*-sign was regarded as a phonetic and not as a pictorial sign.

As a symbol the *ʿankh* is everywhere to be found on the Egyptian monuments. Gods and goddesses hold it in their hands, or present it to the nose of their favourites. It appears with arms supporting a standard (*e.g.*, E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, v., London, 1906, pl. 149) or as itself representing the legs of a human figure (*Louvre*, *C 15*); such religious representations have still to be collected and classified. As a mere ornamental device the *ʿankh*-sign is frequently found on furniture, jewellery, etc., often in association with other auspicious symbols, *e.g.*, , 'life, stability, and prosperity.' As an amulet the *ʿankh* is fairly common, and is usually made of green or blue faience.

(*b*) There is no corresponding symbol for 'death.' The words 'death' and 'to die' are in early times followed (or 'determined,' to use the technical expression) by a sign representing a man fallen upon his knees, and bleeding from a wound on the head; later this sign is merged into another of wider application and varying form—the commonest form is —which accompanies various words meaning 'prisoner' or 'enemy.' Very often, however, these hieroglyphs are mutilated or suppressed because of their ill-omened associations (*ZÄ* li. [1914] 19).

3. Literal views of life and death.—How life was envisaged may best be learned from the following wishes on behalf of a dead man:

> 'May there be given to thee thy eyes to see, thy ears to hear what is spoken; thy mouth to speak, and thy feet to walk. May thy hands and arms move, and thy flesh be firm. May thy members be pleasant, and mayest thou have joy of all thy limbs. Mayest thou scan thy flesh (and find it) whole and sound, without any blemish upon thee; thy true heart being with thee, even the heart that thou didst have heretofore' (K. Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyp. Altertums*, Leipzig, 1904–09, iv. 114 f.).

Death is the negation of life; in slaying their foes, the Egyptians sought to make them 'as though they had never been' (*Urkunden*, iv. 7, and *passim*), and the custom of cutting off their hands and phalli indicates of what activities it was intended to deprive them. Further light is thrown on these materialistic conceptions of life and death in a passage of the 175th chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, where the state of death is described:

> 'Of a truth it is without water, it is without air—deep, dark, and void, a place where one lives in quietude. Pleasure of love is not there to be had, nay, but beatitude is given to me in lieu of water and air and love, quietude in lieu of bread and beer.'

Inertia is the chief characteristic of the dead, wherefore they were called 'the weary,' 'the inert' (§ 1); elsewhere we find death compared with sleep (e.g., *Pyramid Texts*, ed. Sethe, Leipzig, 1908, 721). Life, on the other hand, is full of activity, and chief among its needs are air to breathe ('breath of life' is a common expression) and food and drink for sustenance. Here, again, the wishes for the dead are the best evidence of the things deemed needful for the living; 'bread and beer, oxen and geese, cloth and linen, incense and myrrh, and things good and pure whereon a god lives'—so runs the common formula, which hardly less often mentions 'the sweet breeze of the North-wind' as a necessity of life. The place of life was pre-eminently the earth; 'O all ye who live upon earth,' begins a favourite invocation.

Various views were held as to the whereabouts of the dead, but their habitation was normally not the earth; 'those who are yonder' is, as we have seen, a common designation of the dead. That the land of death is a land whence there is no returning was early said; already in the Pyramid Texts (2175) we find the warning, 'Go not upon those western ways, for those who have gone yonder come not back again'[1] (the same thought recurs later; cf. *Harris 500*, recto 7, 2). Reflexions as to the duration of life and death are often encountered in the texts. The Egyptian prayed that, like Joseph, he might attain to the age of 110 years (see *RTAP* xxxiv. [1912] 16–18). In comparison with death, the endlessness of which was constantly alluded to (cf. 'the city of eternity' for the necropolis, 'the lords of eternity' for the funerary gods), 'the span of things done upon earth is but as a dream' (*PSBA* xxxv. [1913] 169; cf. *Pap. Petersburg 1116 A*, recto 55 [*Les Papyrus hiératiques . . . de l'Ermitage*, 1913]; it should be said parenthetically that this comparison of life with a dream refers only to the dreamlike fugitiveness of its events, not to any speculations concerning its reality). With regard to the extension of the idea of life, it seems to have included man and the animal kingdom only (cf. the words quoted from a Memphite text in § 11); it is doubtful whether an Egyptian would have spoken of plants as living; nor is there any expression found to describe the neutral inanimate state of things not belonging to the animal world.

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[1] Except where 'the symbol life' is meant.

[1] For this and other valuable references the writer is indebted to Professor Sethe of Göttingen.

4. The hatred of death.—The opening words of the gravestone-formula, 'O ye who love life and hate death,' strike to the root of the most profound feelings of the Egyptians, whose intense love of life and detestation of death made them devote more time and thought to funerary things than has been done by any other people before or since. The best expression of these feelings is on a stele dating only from the year 46 B.C., but wholly Egyptian in feeling; a woman speaks from the tomb to the husband who has survived her:

> 'O brother, husband, friend, highpriest—thy heart shall not grow weary of drinking and eating, drunkenness and love. Celebrate a happy day; follow thy heart by day and night; put no care in thy heart. What are thy years upon the earth? The West [*i.e.* the place of burial] is a land of slumber, dark and heavy, the habitation of those who are yonder, who sleep in their mummy-shapes, nor wake to see their brethren, nor regard their fathers and mothers, and their hearts are reft of their wives and children. The living water of which all have a share, for me it is thirst, but it comes to him who is upon earth. Thirst have I, though water is beside me, and I know not the place where I am, since I came to this valley. . . . Turn my face to the North wind on the bank of the water; perchance so my heart shall be relieved of its affliction. Nay but Death, his name is "Come"; every one to whom he hath called comes to him straightway, their hearts affrighted, through fear of him. There is none can see him either of gods or of men; great and small alike rest with him, nor can any stay his finger. He loveth all, and robbeth the son from his mother. The old man moves to meet him, and all men fear and make petition before him. Yet he turns not his face towards them, he comes not to him who implores him, he hearkens not when he is worshipped, he shows himself not, even though any manner of bribe is given to him' (R. Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des ägyp. Alterthums*, Leipzig, 1842, pl. 16).

This is perhaps the only passage in which death is personified, though the Egyptians were not averse to a sort of fictitious deification of abstract ideas; Life, *e.g.*, is found beside Health in the outward guise of a Nile-god (J. E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht*, Paris, 1902, p. 25). The exhortation 'celebrate a happy day' recurs again and again in the songs of the harpers at Egyptian banquets, together with the reminder that life is short, death inevitable and eternal. Herodotus tells us (ii. 78) that at the entertainments of the rich a wooden figure of a dead body in a coffin was borne around and shown to the guests, with the words: 'When thou lookest upon this, drink and be merry, for thou shalt be such as this when thou art dead.' No reference is made to this custom in our texts, but it is thoroughly Egyptian in spirit (see also Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* xvii.). The old songs collected by W. Max Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1899 (pp. 29–37), recall the wretched fate of the dead:

> 'The nobles and glorified ones . . . buried in their pyramids, who built themselves chapels, their place is no more; what is become of them? I have heard the words of Imhotpe and Hardedef, told and told again; where is their place? Their walls are destroyed, their place is no more, as though they had never been. None cometh thence who can relate how they fare. . . .' Then comes the inevitable moral: 'Be of good cheer, forget and enjoy thyself. Follow thy heart, so long as thou livest; place myrrh on thy head, clothe thyself with fine linen, anoint thyself; forget sorrow and remember joy, until arrives that day of putting to shore in the land that loveth silence.'

5. The hope of immortality.—From the same Theban tomb from which the last words are drawn (tomb of the priest Neferhotpe [50], XIXth dyn.) comes a song expressing widely different sentiments:

> 'I have heard those songs that are in the ancient tombs, and what they tell extolling life on earth, and belittling the region of the dead. Yet wherefore do they thus as concerns the land of Eternity, the just and fair, where terrors are not? Wrangling is its abhorrence, nor does any gird himself against his fellow. That land free of foes, all our kinsmen rest within it from the earliest day of time. The children of millions of millions come thither, every one. For none may tarry in the land of Egypt; none there is that passes not yonder. The span of earthly deeds is but as a dream; but a fair welcome awaits him who has reached the West' (*PSBA* xxxv. 169).

This pretty poem voices the opinions of those who, holding a firm faith in immortality, rejected the cold comfortless views of death already illustrated. No doubt that faith was born of a revulsion of feeling against the pitiless cruelty of death; and, being the offspring of the will rather than of the reason, it did not supersede or drive out the opposite belief. There is an argumentative, controversial note in the asseveration of the old funerary texts, 'Thou hast departed living, thou hast not departed dead' (*Pyramid Texts*, 134; cf. 833); or we may quote the reiterated assurance, 'Thou diest not,' in the same texts (657, 775, 781, 792, 810, 875, 1464, 1477, 1810, 1812, 2201). The multifarious funerary rites, the contracts made with *ka*-priests, and the petitions or threats to passers-by and visitors to the tombs all imply that the benefits of immortality were not to be obtained except by elaborate forethought and deliberate effort. It is true that a discontinuance of the funerary cult might not entail complete annihilation; the Egyptians dreaded, for instance, lest the cessation of the offerings made to them might compel them to devour their own excrements (*ZÄ* xlvii. [1910] 100–111). Nevertheless, there was ever lurking in the background the fear that a man might perish altogether, and that his corpse might decay and fall to pieces (*Book of the Dead*, titles of chs. 45, 163), this fear giving rise to the strange apprehension of a 'second death in the necropolis' (*ib.* chs. 44, 175, 176).

Similar conclusions might perhaps be drawn from the variety of the theories concerning the fate of the departed, who were alternately (or even simultaneously) believed to be stars in the sky, dwellers in the nether world, incarnations of Osiris, or spirits living in the tomb or revisiting their earthly homes (see art. STATE OF THE DEAD [Egyptian]). It is unthinkable that all these divergent views were accepted and believed with a fervent sincerity; rather they were conjectures sanctioned by ancient tradition, half-believed, half-doubted, and expressed with a naive and credulous thoughtlessness, which at the same time failed to silence the haunting suspicion that absolute death, after all, might be a reality.

6. Secondary views of life and death.—Under the influence of the conception of immortality the terms 'life' and 'death' became so impregnated each with the meaning of the other that they no longer contradicted and excluded one another as they had originally done; 'life' was not necessarily the short term of existence upon earth, and 'death' was perhaps but another mode of living. Sometimes, of course, by the abstraction which language permits, the words were used in their old strictly contrasted senses, but often there is left only a shadow of the original meaning; 'living' may be any form of existence vaguely analogous to physical, terrestrial existence, and 'death,' 'die,' 'dead,' are terms that might be applied to various states from which some characteristic feature of living was absent. A few examples, mainly of philological interest, may serve to illustrate this transition of meaning. Not only was prolongation of life the reward of moral conduct (see ETHICS AND MORALITY [Egyptian], § 6), but in a sense the moral life was the only true life; in the *Teaching of Ptahhotpe* we read:

> 'As for the fool who hearkens not, he achieves not anything, he looks upon him who knows as one who is ignorant, and upon things useful as things harmful, . . . he lives upon that

wherewith men die, . . . his character is told (?) in the opinion of the nobles in that he dies living every day' (*Le Papyrus Prisse*, ed. G. Jéquier, Paris, 1911, 17. 4–8).

Such was the fear felt by him who was admitted to the presence of Pharaoh that he knew not whether he was alive or dead (*Sinuhe*, 255; *Koller* [ed. A. H. Gardiner, *Literary Texts of the New Kingdom*, Leipzig, 1911], 5. 1). The verb 'to live' was applied to other things besides human beings and animals; thus, whatever else in a man might die, his name, if properly tended, would continue to live (*Pyramid Texts*, 764, 899, 1024, and in later texts *passim*). 'Living soul' (*b; 'nḫy*) is a collocation of words which frequently occurs; yet, from its association with the dead, the word 'soul' is often determined with the hieroglyph that implies death. Pictures, statues, and images of all kinds were imbued with a sort of life,[1] by virtue of a principle common to all early superstition; the sculptor was called 'he who makes to live' (*s'nḫ*); hieroglyphs representing animals and human beings were sometimes mutilated or suppressed, obviously because they were considered to have the same power to injure as living things (*ZÄ* li. 1–64).

7. Death and the gods.—Could the gods be said to live? In a sense, no doubt, they were considered to live more fully, more truly, than human beings. The solar deity in particular was full of vitality; the Pharaoh is said to be 'granted life like Rē'; Rē 'lives upon truth'; the solar hymns, especially those to the Aten (the solar god of the heretic king Akhenaten) represent all life as emanating from the god; and all gods and goddesses were dispensers of life. On a closer view, however, we find that the kind of life that was predicated of the gods is more analogous to the life of the blessed dead than to the life of human beings; to the virtuous dead it is promised, 'he who is yonder shall be a living god' (Erman, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*, Berlin, 1896, p. 142; cf. *Pap. Petersburg, 1116A*, recto 56). That the gods dwell afar off together with the dead is shown by the following sentence from a sepulchral stele of the Middle Kingdom: 'I have gone down to the city of eternity, to the place where the gods are' (*Cairo*, 20485). Various dead Pharaohs and celebrities were posthumously deified (see art. HEROES AND HERO-GODS [Egyptian]), and the green or black complexions of their images suggest that they were not regarded as wholly alive. Osiris, as King of Eternity, chief of the Westerners, led but a shadowy existence, and similar conclusions are implied by the fact that certain deities had their 'living' terrestrial representatives. The Pharaoh ruled as Horus 'on the throne-of-Horus of the living'; under another aspect he was the 'living sphinx-image of Atum' (*sšp 'nḫ n 'Itm*). Alternately regarded as 'son of Rē' and as identical with Rē, the King did not die, but 'flew to heaven and joined the sun, the flesh of the god becoming merged in its creator' (*Sinuhe*, R 7 f.). The Apis and Mnevis bulls were respectively living emanations of Ptah and Atum, and other sacred animals whose cult was celebrated in late times doubtless stood in a similar relation to the gods whom they represented. Lastly, the historical aspect from which the gods were sometimes regarded represented them as rulers of a far-distant age, and, in consequence, as beings long since dead.

8. The dead as a class of beings.—In the *Book of the Dead* and elsewhere we find the following classification: men, gods, blessed dead (*ỉ;ḫw*, 'bright' ones), and dead (*mtw*) (see E. A. W. Budge, *Book of the Dead*, London, 1898, pp. 113, 293, 298, 308, 366, 389, 477). In this classification there is a kind of chronological hierarchical arrangement; the dead of the most remote times are holier, and partake more of divinity, than those recently deceased. So, too, the Turin Canon of Kings conceived the earliest rulers of Egypt to have been the gods of the first ennead; then came the lesser gods, and, lastly, the followers of Horus and earliest historical kings. Manetho records a similar sequence of 'gods' and 'semi-divine dead' (νέκυες οἱ ἡμίθεοι). In the *Book of the Dead* and elsewhere 'the dead' are spoken of in a way that clearly assumes them to enjoy a kind of existence; they 'see,' 'hear,' and so forth.

9. Relations of the living and the dead.—Some Egyptologists, influenced more by anthropological theorists than by the unambiguous evidence of the Egyptian texts, have asserted that the funerary rites and practices of the Egyptians were in the main precautionary measures serving to protect the living against the dead (*e.g.*, J. Capart, in *Trans. Third Congr. Hist. Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, i. 203). Nothing could be farther from the truth; it is of fundamental importance to realize that the vast stores of wealth and thought expended by the Egyptians on their tombs—that wealth and that thought which created not only the pyramids, but also the practice of mummification and a very extensive funerary literature—were due to the anxiety of each member of the community with regard to his own individual future welfare, and not to the feelings of respect, or fear, or duty felt towards the other dead. We have only to read the story of the exile Sinuhe to realize the horror felt by an Egyptian at the prospect of dying abroad, and of being thus deprived of the usual funerary honours; it is a feeling akin to this that created the whole system of funereal observances.

It does not vitiate the assertion here made that the dead cannot bury themselves, and are to that extent at the mercy of the living. Death does not absolutely snap all relations; and motives of filial piety, the calculation that one's own funeral rites are dependent on others, liberal inducements in the form of legacies, previous contracts with the deceased, and also a certain modicum of fear and hope—all these things afforded a certain guarantee to the dying man that his own wishes with regard to burial and a *post mortem* cult would be carried out. But there was no real ancestor-worship or objective cult of the dead in ancient Egypt.[1] The feelings of the living towards the other-dead, if they may be so called, constitute, therefore, a question apart from the question of funerary rites (see art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Egyptian]). The Egyptians wailed and mourned at the death of relatives, not merely out of grief, but as a matter of propriety; under the New Kingdom, mourning-clothes of a bluish colour were worn by women at the funeral (*ZÄ* xlvii. 162); we have at least one possible allusion to fasting on the occasion of a death (*Pap. Petersburg, 1116B*, recto 42); friends as well as relatives attended the funeral. It was thought that after death the deceased might return 'to afford protection to their children upon earth' (*Urkunden*, iv. 491; Nina de Garis Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, London, 1914, pl. 27); and we have a number of pathetic letters to departed relatives craving their intervention and help (Cairo, 25,975, hieratic text on linen, Old Kingdom; Cairo, 25,375, and Petrie collection, bowls with hieratic inscription, before Middle Kingdom; Pitt-Rivers collection, cup with hieratic inscription, before XVIIIth dyn. = *PSBA* xiv. [1892] 328). In one of these letters (*Pap. Leyden 371*, XXth dyn.; see Maspero, *Études égyptiennes*, Paris, 1879–91, i. 145–159) bitter reproaches are addressed to a dead woman by her widower, who has fallen ill, blaming her for her neglect of him after all his kindness towards her while she was alive.

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[1] It has often been stated, especially by G. Maspero, that objects found in the tombs have been deliberately broken in order to 'kill' them, and so to send them into the realms of the dead for the use of the deceased. No authentic evidence in favour of this statement seems to be forthcoming.

[1] See, further, art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 13 (18).

10. The dead as malignant beings.—In the magical and medical papyri incantations are often directed against 'every enemy male or female, every dead person male or female,' who shall come to injure N, the son of M. The dead are conceived of as the cause of disease, though perhaps only those dead are meant who still wandered homeless over the earth. The evidence seems fairly clear that actual 'possession' by the dead, conceived of as haunting spirits, is meant in such cases; for the demon is charged to 'flow forth,' and honey is said to be a useful medicament 'which is sweet to men, but bitter to the dead' (Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, Berlin, 1901, p. 12 f.). At the same time, the duly-buried dead also had power to take vengeance on those who injured their property or violated their tombs (H. Sottas, *La Préservation de la propriété funéraire*, Paris, 1913). Evidently in Egypt, as in other lands, there was a danger inherent in death and in the dead, as also in blood, the symbol of death; in a Leyden papyrus it is lamented that 'plague is throughout the land, blood is everywhere, death is not lacking' (Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 25); and, perhaps because of its association with blood, red colour is in many papyri avoided for writing the names of the gods, except in the case of the evil god Seth.

11. Origin and nature of life and death.—The Pyramid Texts (1466) recall a time 'when heaven was not, when earth was not, when mankind was not, before the gods were born, before death had come into existence.' Many cosmogonic legends were told by the Egyptians (see Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*², Berlin, 1909, pp. 32–36, for best summary); most of these referred the origin of life to some god, but there was a superstition which attributed self-generative powers to various small forms of animal life, such as mice, snakes, or flies. The frog was particularly prominent in this connexion, doubtless owing to the numbers in which tadpoles appear, just as though they had come into existence by themselves out of the wet mud. Hence not only did the frog become a symbol of the resurrection (*whm ʿnḫ*, 'living again'), but it was intimately associated with the beginning of things; in the Hermopolitan myth the eight primitive creatures had the heads of frogs or snakes, and in the Abydene tale the frog-headed goddess Heket was associated with Khnum in the creation (see W. Spiegelberg and A. Jacoby, in *Sphinx*, vii. [1903] 215–228). Life, once being started, was continued by the physical methods of reproduction (see esp. *Song of Harper*, l. 1; *Admonitions*, 12, 2–4), but the gods, especially the sun-god, Rē, were none the less the cause and mainspring of life (the birth-scenes in the temples of Luxor and Deir el Bahri are very instructive in this connexion).

A daringly speculative attempt to follow up this train of thought is found in an inscription from Memphis, a late copy of a text of early date (J. H. Breasted, 'The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest,' in *ZÄ* xxxix. [1903] 39),[1] which seeks to explain how Ptah, having primitively divided himself into 'Heart' (the seat of the imaginative, judging faculty), as impersonated by Horus, and 'Tongue' (the organ of command, *i.e.* the executive, willing faculty), as impersonated by Thoth, henceforward pervaded all that lives, 'all gods, all men, all cattle, and all reptiles.' It is then shown how all actions and reactions to sense-impressions presuppose the functions of 'heart' and 'tongue': when the eyes see, or the ears hear, or the nose smells, they convey (this sensation) to the heart, and it is the heart that causes every recognition (judgment) to go forth; it is the tongue that iterates (in the form of a command or act of the will) what the heart devises. In this way Ptah necessarily appears to be the cause of all things done by living creatures; he is, in other words, the vital principle itself. This psychological analysis of human, or rather animal, activity is up to the present unique, and perhaps represents the thought of some unusually gifted individual rather than that of the priests and learned men generally.

The medical papyri show that a serious attempt was early made to understand the workings of the body, but no other effort to reconcile semi-scientific views with the current mythology has yet come to light.

12. Magico-medical views.—A certain pre-natal existence is assumed in many hyperbolical expressions, as 'he ruled (already) in the egg' (*Sinuhe*, R 93). The normal view, of course, was that life began with birth; a writer speaks of the 'children who are broken in the egg, who have seen the face of the crocodile before they ever lived' (*Lebensmüde*, 79). The medical papyri contain prognostications for telling whether a child will live or not; 'if it says *ny* [a sound like the word for 'yes'], it will live; if it says *embi* [a sound like the word for 'no'], it will die' (*Pap. Ebers*, ed. L. Stern, Leipzig, 1875, 97. 13 f.). Spells were used to prevent women from conceiving, and there are various other ways in which birth is touched upon by the magico-medical literature. Amulets and charms of all sorts were employed to protect life; and, conversely, magic was secretly employed to bring about an enemy's death (*e.g.*, by means of waxen images [*Pap. Lee*; see P. E. Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*, London, 1899]). A Turin papyrus attempts to cover all contingencies by enumerating all the possible kinds of death that may happen to a man (W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, *Pap. de Turin*, Leyden, 1869–76, p. 120 f.). Some kinds of death were considered happier than others; death by drowning, *e.g.*, was a kind of apotheosis, doubtless because Osiris had perished in this way, and those who died thus were called *ḥasye*, 'blessed' (*ZÄ* xlvi. [1909] 132). Curses were considered efficient magical means of affecting life (for a good collection of curses see Sottas, *op. cit.*). Oaths are conditional curses; it was usual to swear 'by the life of Rē,' and so common was this style of oath that the verb *ʿōnḫ*, 'to live,' was used transitively in the sense of 'to swear by,' and the Coptic word for an oath is *anash*. Most contracts and judicial depositions during the New Kingdom begin with the words, 'As Amūn endures, and as the Sovereign endures.' In the law-courts witnesses often swore oaths affecting their own life and property (conditional self-curses; see Spiegelberg, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaohenreiches*, Hanover, 1892, pp. 71–81).

13. Life and the law.—On this subject consult the art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 13 (1–3), from which it will be seen that the sanctity of human life was strongly felt, as far at least as Egyptians were concerned. A few details may be added here. Abortion was considered a crime (*Pap. Turin*, 55. 1), unless the charge made in the passage here quoted was one of brutality leading to a miscarriage. Particularly abhorrent was bloodshed between close relatives, as father and son, or a man and his maternal brothers (see Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 9). Capital punishment was less favourably considered than punishment by imprisonment and the bastinado (*Pap. Petersburg*, *1116A*, recto 48 f.), and persons condemned to death were allowed to make away with themselves.

14. Life as a thing undesirable.—The Egyptians' intense love of life and appreciation of its value are reflected in many of the passages that have been quoted. There is, however, a limited pessimistic literature (see art. ETHICS AND MORALITY [Egyptian], § 6) in which life is regarded as undesirable. This point of view may have been inspired originally by some such anarchical conditions as prevailed after the fall of the Memphite dynasties. By the beginning of the Middle Kingdom the pessimistic style of literature was a recognized *genre*. Sometimes the despondent attitude towards life finds expression in the wish for a total cessation of life:

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[1] See also Erman, *SBAW*, 1911, p. 916 ff.; a new ed. is promised by Sethe.

> 'Would that there might be an end of men, no conception, no birth! O that the earth would cease from noise, and tumult be no more!' (*Leyden Admonitions*, 5. 14–6. 1).

Elsewhere the misery of life is eloquently contrasted with the desirability of death; in a composition containing the dialogue between a misanthrope and his soul, death is described as follows:

> 'Death is before me to-day like the recovery of a sick man, like going forth abroad after lying prostrate.
>
> Death is before me to-day like the scent of myrrh, like sitting beneath the sail on a windy day.
>
> Death is before me to-day like the scent of lilies, like sitting on the shore of the land of intoxication.
>
> Death is before me to-day like a trodden road, like the return of men from a campaign to their homes.
>
> Death is before me to-day like the clearing of the sky, or as when a man becomes enlightened concerning that which he did not know.
>
> Death is before me to-day as a man longs to see his home, when he has spent many years in captivity' (Erman, *Lebensmüde*, 130 ff.).

In the sequel it appears that the death here so highly praised is not non-existence, but the untroubled existence 'yonder.' And so it mostly was; the Egyptian remains true to his love of life—not perhaps the life on earth with its mingled joys and sorrows, but the life of his dreams in the land of Eternity, 'the just and fair, where terrors are not,' and where 'none girds himself against his fellow.'

LITERATURE.—There is no published monograph on the subject; such references as are needful have been given in the text. For the sign *'ankh* see a detailed discussion by G. Jéquier, in *Bull. de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*, xi. (Cairo, 1914) 121–136.

ALAN H. GARDINER.

LIFE AND DEATH (Greek and Roman).—The outlook on life of the average Greek of the 5th cent. B.C. may be illustrated by the language which Herodotus, i. 30 ff., puts into the mouth of Solon of Athens in his interview with Crœsus, King of Lydia.

> When Solon visited Sardis, after all the grandeur of the royal palace had been exhibited for his admiration, he was asked by Crœsus whom he considered the happiest man (ὀλβιώτατος) he had ever seen. To the surprise of Crœsus, Solon answered, 'Tellus of Athens,' because, 'on the one hand, Tellus lived in a prosperous city, and had sons handsome and good (καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί), and saw children born to them all and all surviving; on the other hand, after a life affluent as we count affluence in Hellas, he died a most glorious death. He fought in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis, and, routing the enemy, died most nobly; and the Athenians gave him a public burial where he fell, and honoured him greatly.'
>
> Crœsus then asked whom he considered second in happiness. Solon answered, 'Cleobis and Biton.' These were natives of Argos, possessed of sufficient fortune, and, moreover, endowed with such strength of body that both were prize-winners in the games. It is further related of them that on one occasion, when the Argives were celebrating a festival in honour of Hera, it was necessary that their mother, as priestess of Hera, should be conveyed to the temple on an ox-waggon. The oxen not arriving from the field in time, the young men harnessed themselves to the waggon and drew it to the temple, a distance of forty-five stades. After they had performed this feat in view of the assembly, there came upon them a most excellent end of life, wherein God clearly revealed that death is better for a man than life. For the men of Argos standing round praised the strength of the young men, and the women of Argos called their mother blessed in that she had such sons. Then their mother rejoiced exceedingly in her sons' deeds and in the speech of the citizens, and, standing before the image of the goddess, besought her to grant to her children, who had done her such honour, the best thing that man can receive. After this prayer, when her sons had sacrificed and feasted, they fell asleep in the temple and awaked no more, but there ended their days. The Argives, in commemoration of their piety, caused their statues to be made and dedicated at Delphi.
>
> Crœsus was indignant that Solon should not assign to him even the second place among happy men. Then Solon said: 'O Crœsus, you ask me regarding human affairs—me who know that the deity (τὸ θεῖον) is always jealous and delights in confounding mankind. For in the length of days men are constrained to see many things they would not willingly see, and to suffer many things they would not willingly suffer. I put the term of a man's life at seventy years. . . . Now in all these days of seventy years . . . no one day brings us at all anything like another. Thus, O Crœsus, man is altogether the sport of chance (πᾶν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος συμφορή). You appear to me to be master of immense treasures and king of many nations; but I cannot say that of you which you demand, till I hear you have ended your life happily. For the richest of men is not more happy (ὀλβιώτερος) than he that has sufficient for the day, unless good fortune attend him to the grave and he end his life in happiness. Many men who abound in wealth are unhappy (ἀνόλβιοι); and many who have only a moderate competency are fortunate (εὐτυχέες). He that abounds in riches, and is yet unhappy (ἀνόλβιος), excels the other only in two things; but the other surpasses him in many things. The wealthy man, indeed, is better able to gratify his desires and to bear a great blow of adversity. But the other surpasses him in these respects: although he is not able to meet the blows of misfortune or the claims of his desires, yet his good fortune (εὐτυχίη) wards off these things from him, and he enjoys the full use of his limbs; he is free from diseases, unscathed by evil, blessed with a fine form (εὐειδής), happy in his children (εὔπαις); and, if all these things come at last to be crowned by a decent end, such a one is the man you seek, and may justly be called happy (ὄλβιος). For until that time we ought to suspend our judgment, and not to pronounce him happy (ὄλβιος), but only fortunate (εὐτυχής). Now because no man can possibly attain to this perfection of happiness; as no one region yields all good things, but produces some and wants others, that country being best which affords the greatest plenty; and, further, because no human body is in all respects self-sufficient, but, possessing some advantages, is destitute of others; he therefore who continues to enjoy the greatest number of these and then ends his life graciously, in my judgment, O King, deserves the name of happy. We ought to consider in every matter how the end shall be; for many to whom God has given a glimpse of happiness (ὑποδέξας ὄλβον), He has afterwards utterly overthrown.'

In reviewing these passages we may begin with the last point: 'Consider the end of everything.' This is a favourite sentiment in Greek writers, and there seems to be a note of conscious pride in the words with which Herodotus concludes the episode:

> 'When he made this reply, he found no favour with Crœsus, who held him of no account and dismissed him, considering him a very foolish man (ἀμαθής) who, overlooking present blessings, bade men look to the end of everything.'

Life is to be viewed as a whole. Already in Homer we find it a mark of the wise man that he 'looks before and after.'[1] It is a favourite notion in Pindar:

> 'There hang around the minds of men unnumbered errors, and this is the hopeless thing to discover—what is best for a man both now and in the end' (*Ol.* vii. 24 ff.).

Hence the distinction here drawn between the 'happy' man (ὄλβιος· ὁ διὰ τοῦ ὅλου βίου μακαριστός [Hesychius]) and the merely fortunate (εὐτυχής). A man may be prosperous, as Crœsus was. The Asiatic straightway calls him happy, but the 'foolish' Greek refuses that title till he has seen the end of all:

> 'Behold, this is Oedipus; this is he who solved the famous riddle and was a man most mighty . . . into what a sea of dire calamity is he fallen! Therefore, while a mortal waits to see that final day, call no man happy (μηδέν' ὀλβίζειν) till he have passed the final bourne of life, having suffered no evil' (Sophocles, *Œd. Rex*, 1524 ff.; cf. *Trach.* 1 ff.; Eurip. *Androm* 100 ff., etc.).[2]

Aristotle discusses the saying of Solon in *Eth. Nic.* i. 10:

> πότερον οὖν οὐδ' ἄλλον οὐδένα ἀνθρώπων εὐδαιμονιστέον ἕως ἂν ζῇ, κατὰ Σόλωνα δὲ χρεὼν τέλος ὁρᾶν;

He begins by asking what the saying means. Does it mean that a man is happy (εὐδαίμων) only when he is dead, but not before? If so, then it is absurd, especially if we hold that happiness (εὐδαιμονία) is an activity (ἐνέργειά τις). Does it mean that only when a man is dead is one safe to call him happy, as being at last beyond the reach of evil and misfortune? Even if this is the meaning intended, the saying is open to dispute. In estimating a man's life, as happy or unhappy, we cannot confine our view to the individual. Man is a social being (φύσει πολιτικὸς ἄνθρωπος [*Eth. Nic.* i. 7; cf. *Pol.* i. 2]). If happiness, then, as we have seen, is characterized by self-sufficiency (*αὐτάρκεια*), it is a self-sufficiency which includes children and other relatives and friends—within certain limits, of course; otherwise it would have to include the relatives of relatives, the friends of friends, and so on indefinitely (*Eth. Nic.* i. 7). When we are estimating the happiness of a man's life, then, we must include in the estimate a consideration of the fortunes or misfortunes of relatives and friends; but, here again, within limits. A man may have lived happily until old age and have died happily. But after his death (1) all sorts of things may happen to his relatives, and (2) these relatives will be of all degrees of nearness and remoteness of relation to the dead man. Now it is equally absurd either (1) to suppose that we must include in our consideration all sorts of degrees of distant relations, which would mean an indefinite postponement of our verdict, or (2) to refuse to take into account any posthumous happenings at all.

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[1] ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω (*Il.* iii. 109; cf. i. 343, xviii. 250, *Od.* xxiv. 452).

[2] The sentiment is not, of course, specifically Greek; cf. Sir 11^{28}: πρὸ τελευτῆς μὴ μακάριζε μηδένα; Ovid, *Met.* iii. 135. 'Ultima semper | Expectanda dies homini; dicique beatus | Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.'

The ground of our refusal to bestow the title of 'happy' on a living man is that we consider happiness as something stable and abiding, whereas life is subject to continual change. Consequently, if we judge a man by his condition at any one given time, we shall have to call him sometimes happy, sometimes unhappy. Is not our true solution that we must neglect accidents in our estimate? Most accidents are not determinative of *εὐδαιμονία*. What determines happiness or the reverse is *ἐνέργειαι κατ' ἀρετήν* or the reverse. This view is supported by our present problem. So long as we judge by accidents, we are no better off when the individual is dead than when he was alive. We are driven, then, to judge by the stable things, *i.e.* by the *ἐνέργειαι κατ' ἀρετήν*, and the higher of these are the more abiding, as it is in these chiefly that the happy live out their lives (*καταζῆν*).[1] Hence these are more stable and abiding even than our knowledge of special sciences, which we are not living in and are therefore liable to forget. Thus the stability and permanence which we desire will belong to the *εὐδαίμων*, and he will be *εὐδαίμων* all his life. His happiness may be tarnished by untoward accidents, but it will not be extinguished. He will never become *ἄθλιος*, or truly unhappy, for he will never do things which are *φαῦλα καὶ μισητά*. If overwhelming misfortune, such as overtook Priam—*τύχαι Πριαμικαί*—should come to him, he will cease to be *μακάριος*, but he will not become *ἄθλιος*. Happiness can be affected only by the greatest things, whether for good or evil.

We may, then, define the happy man (*εὐδαίμων*) as a man who energizes *κατ' ἀρετήν* and is adequately equipped in externals, not for a moment, but for a *χρόνος τέλειος*. Or, since the future is uncertain, and *εὐδαιμονία* is a *τέλος* and *τέλειον*, perhaps we may add the proviso 'if it continue.' If so, we shall say that those who have goods and shall continue to have them are *μακάριοι*, but *μακάριοι ἄνθρωποι*—always liable to *τύχαι Πριαμικαί*. We need not defer our judgment, but we may qualify it by saying that they are happy, but with a mortal happiness.

To confine our view to the individual's life, and take no account of what happens after his death to those near and dear to him, is to take too unsocial a view. On the other hand, we must make some limitation. There are two further considerations: (1) posthumous events must be regarded as modifying our judgment of a man's life much less than if the same things had happened while he still lived; he, at any rate, was spared the knowledge of them; (2) we do not know whether the dead *αἰσθάνονται*—whether they are aware of what goes on here. If they are, the news that penetrates to them must be supposed to be slight in itself or at any rate of little moment to them. It follows, then, that posthumous events have no determining effect on our estimate of the individual's life.

The doctrine of the jealousy of the gods appears often in Greek literature, and deserves special notice. It is a mistake to suppose that the Greek view is that the deity acts in an arbitrary and, so to say, spiteful fashion. It is true that the conception is sometimes so baldly expressed as to lend colour to such an interpretation.

> Thus in Herod. vii. 10 Artabanos, the uncle of Xerxes, tries to dissuade Xerxes from invading Greece: 'Do you see how God strikes with His lightning those animals which rise above others, and suffers them not to vaunt themselves, while the lowly do not at all excite His jealousy? Do you see how He hurls His bolts against the most stately edifices and the most lofty trees? For God is wont to cut down whatsoever is too highly exalted. Thus a great army is often defeated by a small number of men; when God in His jealousy (*φθονήσας*) strikes them with fear or with thunder, they often perish in a manner unworthy of themselves, because God suffers none to be proud save Himself.'

But, while this may have been a popular conception, the underlying idea is a much deeper one. It is, in fact, nothing more than the expression of the Greek idea of justice, or Dike. The definition of justice (*δικαιοσύνη*) which Plato gives in the *Republic*[1] is nothing new, but is implied in the whole Greek attitude to life, as Plato says:

> *ὅτι γε τὸ τὰ αὑτοῦ πράττειν καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν δικαιοσύνη ἐστί, καὶ τοῦτο ἄλλων τε πολλῶν ἀκηκόαμεν καὶ αὐτοὶ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν* (433 A).

Now, as applied to the relation of God and man, justice lies in the recognition that the divine and the human destinies are utterly unlike. The gods and men are alike the children of earth (mother) and heaven (father): 'from one source spring gods and mortal men' (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 107); but the lot of the gods is altogether different from that of mankind. Pindar emphasizes this distinction in a beautiful passage:

> 'One is the race of men, one the race of gods, and from one mother do we both have breath. But separate altogether is the power [faculty, *ingenium, indoles*] that sunders us; for one is naught, but the brazen heaven abides, an habitation unshaken for ever. Yet do we resemble somewhat, in mighty mind or in bodily form, the deathless gods, albeit we know not unto what line sovereign Destiny hath appointed us to run either by day or by night' (*Nem.* vi. 1 ff.).

Here we have the two characteristic distinctions which the average Greek drew between the gods and mankind: the gods are deathless and ageless, and untouched of evil; the years of man are few and full of sorrow, and the certain end is death; the gods have knowledge of the future; for man 'the river of prevision is set afar' (Pind. *Nem.* xi. 46). Now it is implied in the very nature of mortality that human life is a chequer-work of good and evil. A life of unbroken success, even if not attained by or attended with wickedness, is already a breach of nature, an injustice, an encroachment on the attributes of divinity, and so excites the jealousy of God, who allows none save Himself to be proud.

A life of unbroken happiness is no portion for men:

> 'Happy (*ὄλβιος*) is he to whom God hath given a portion of glory (*καλά*, especially success in the national games), and to live all his life with enviable fortune and in opulence; for no mortal is happy in all things' (Bacchylid. v. 50 ff.).

Hence it is a condition of abiding prosperity that a man's happiness should not be uninterrupted; only by being interrupted will it conform to the law of nature, the demands of justice:

> 'In thy new success I rejoice, but also I am grieved that jealousy [here, human jealousy] requites glorious deeds. But only thus, they say, will a man's happiness (*εὐδαιμονία*) prosper abidingly, if it wins both these things and those' [*i.e.* good and evil] (Pind. *Pyth.* vii. 14 ff.). 'Not one is without lot in sorrow nor shall be; yet the ancient prosperity (ὄλβος) of Battos attends them, giving them these and those' (*ib.* v. 54 f.).

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[1] The proposal to read *ζῆν* for *καταζῆν* is completely mistaken. *καταζῆν* is the regular word for describing a fixed manner of existence: 'to be a spinster' is *καταζῆν ἄνυμφος*. So *καταβιοῦν* as contrasted with *βιοῦν*.

[1] *ὅτι ἕνα ἕκαστον ἓν δέοι ἐπιτηδεύειν . . . εἰς ὃ αὐτοῦ ἡ φύσις ἐπιτηδειοτάτη πεφυκυῖα εἴη* (433 A).

This is the point of Clytæmnestra's words in Æsch. *Agam.* 904 f.:

> 'Let there be no jealousy: for many were the evils that we endured aforetime.' That is, our present good fortune should not excite jealousy. It is but the offset to former adversity.

So Nikias in Thucyd. vii. 77. 3:

> 'Our calamities are likely to abate: for the enemy have had enough success; and if our expedition provoked the jealousy of any of the gods, we have now been sufficiently punished.'

If a man is attended by an unbroken felicity, he must restore the balance by a voluntary sacrifice of some portion of his happiness.

This is the point of the famous story of Polycrates of Samos (Herod. iii. 40 ff.). His continued prosperity (*εὐτυχία*) excited the anxiety of his friend Amasis, who wrote to him in these terms: 'It is pleasant to hear of the good fortune of a friend and ally. But the excess of thy prosperity does not please me, because I know how jealous the deity is. As for me, I would choose that my affairs and those of my friends should sometimes be fortunate and sometimes stumble, rather than be fortunate in everything. For I cannot remember that I ever heard of a man who was fortunate in everything, who did not in the end finish in utter ruin. Be advised, therefore, by me, and in view of your good fortune do this: think what it is that you value most and the loss of which would most grieve you, and cast it away, so that it may never be seen again among men; and if after that your good fortune does not alternate with misfortune, repeat the remedy which you have now from me.' It is well known how Polycrates cast a valuable ring into the sea, but, unfortunately, afterwards recovered it in the belly of a fish—which so convinced Amasis that his friend's ruin was inevitable that he sent a herald to Samos to renounce his friendship and dissolve all obligations of hospitality between them, 'lest, if any great and dreadful calamity should befall Polycrates, he might himself be grieved for him, as for a friend.' So in Æsch. *Agam.* 1005 ff.: 'A man's destiny while sailing straight strikes a hidden reef. And, if betimes fear with well-measured (*εὐμέτρου*) sling makes jettison of a portion of his goods, the whole house sinks not, overladen with woe, nor is the ship engulfed.' The epithet 'well-measured' suggests the restoration of the balance, of the *μέτρον* which justice demands. The use of *σφενδόνη*, which is here in its usual sense of 'sling' but elsewhere occurs with the meaning 'bezel of a ring,' may possibly indicate that Æschylus had in mind the story of Polycrates.

The crude popular conception of the jealousy of the gods is refined by Æschylus in a remarkable passage of the *Agamemnon*:

> 'There is an ancient saying spoken of old among men, that a man's prosperity (ὄλβος), when it grows big, breeds and does not die childless, but from great fortune (*τύχη*) there springs for his race insatiable woe. But apart from others I hold an opinion of my own. It is the impious deed that breeds others like to its own kind, but the lot of the house which observes straight justice is blest in its children for ever. But old pride (*ὕβρις*) is wont to breed a young pride that wantons in the woes of men, now or anon, whensoever the appointed day of birth comes; breeds, too, that spirit (*δαίμων*) unconquerable, undefeatable, even unholy boldness (*θράσος*), dark curses (*ἆται*) for the house, like unto their parents' (750 ff.).

The teaching of Æschylus amounts to this. It is not mere prosperity that is sinful and brings evil in its train. Æschylus would, no doubt, admit that great prosperity has its temptations, that hardly shall a rich man enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, as Plato in the *Gorgias* tells us that the incurable souls who are hung up in the prison-house of Hades as deterrent examples to evildoers will mostly be the souls of tyrants and kings and potentates and politicians: 'for these, owing to the licence which they enjoy, commit the greatest and most unholy crimes' (525 D). That, in fact, Æschylus had this idea in mind seems to be proved by the immediately following words of the ode (772 ff.):

> 'But Justice (*Δίκη*) shines in smoky homes and honours the righteous (*ἐναίσιμος*) man; while from gold-bespangled dwellings of unclean hands she turns with averted eyes, and goes to pious homes, regarding not the power of wealth stamped with a false stamp of praise.'

We find the same thought in Pindar, *Pyth.* xi. 50 ff.:

> 'May I desire glory by the grace of Heaven, seeking things possible at my time of life. For, finding that the middle estate (*τὰ μέσα*) blooms with the more abiding prosperity (ὄλβος), I dislike the lot of the tyrant and am zealous for the common excellences. But the curses of jealousy are warded off, if one attaining the highest success and using it quietly avoids dread pride. So finds he the verge of death fairer, leaving to his dear children the best of possessions, the grace of a good name.'

If, however, continued prosperity leads a man to pride (*ὕβρις*), then pride leads to further pride or acts of pride, and by repetition come boldness (*θράσος*) and more daring deeds of sin: 'then he changed to thoughts of utter daring; for wretched base-devising infatuation, fount of woes, makes men bold (*θρασύνει*)' (Æsch. *Agam.* 221 ff.). To the Greek mind the Persian invasion of Greece was a typical example of pride and the effects of pride. Æschylus declares of the Persians who fell at Salamis:

> 'The heaps of corpses shall dumbly declare to the eyes of men even to the third generation that a mortal should not think thoughts too high; for pride flowers, and its fruit is an ear of doom (*ἄτη*), whence it reaps a harvest of tears' (*Pers.* 818 ff.).

The jealousy of God in the OT is exactly parallel to the Greek doctrine. It is not a capricious spite, but merely the justice which punishes any invasion of the prerogatives of the Deity by man: 'I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation of them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto thousands, of them that love me and keep my commandments' (Ex $20^{5f.}$). One form of the breach of justice is that a man should desert the God to whom he belongs and follow after strange gods. Just as the civil law recognized the duty owing from a metic to his *προστάτης*, or patron, and provided for the punishment of the neglect of these duties by a *δίκη ἀποστασίου* (Dem. xxv. 65, xxxv. 48, etc.), so neglect of a man's duty to his gods or the following after strange gods was *ἀσέβεια*, or impiety (cf. Dt $32^{15ff.}$).

The wise and good man is the man who recognizes the conditions of mortality. The fool refuses this recognition and kicks against the pricks.

> 'Not for happiness in everything did Atreus beget thee, Agamemnon: thou must have grief as well as joy. For thou art mortal,' says the old man to Agamemnon (Eurip. *Iph. in Aul.* 28 ff.). 'If thou, Hiero, understandest a pithy saying, thou hast heard from them who were of old and knowest that for one good the deathless gods give to mortals two evils. This fools cannot endure with decency, but only the good, turning the fair side out' (Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 80 ff.). 'We with mortal minds should seek from the gods the things that are meet for us, knowing that which lies before our feet, to what destiny we are born. Seek not, my soul, deathless life, but exhaust thy practicable means' (*ib.* 59 f.).

Pindar illustrates the doctrine by the story of Asclepius, whom Zeus slew with the thunderbolt because he tried to bring a man (Hippolytus) back from the dead—an attempt to overstep the limits of mortality, and therefore demanding punishment. The same story is referred to by Æsch. *Agam.* 984 ff., in a passage which excellently illustrates the Greek doctrine:

> Excessive prosperity demands voluntary jettison, says Æschylus. Then he proceeds: 'Abundant bounty given of Zeus from the yearly field destroys the plague of famine. But the blood of death that has once fallen on the ground at a man's feet—who shall call that back by any incantation? Did not Zeus for safety's sake [*i.e.* repelling an invasion of his divine prerogative of immortality] stop him who was skilled to bring back from the dead? And were it not that one fate is appointed by the gods to check another fate from going too far, my tongue would have outrun my heart,' etc. All life is based on the principle of justice, compensation, balance, that each should have his own.

Hence, too, it is *τὰ ἀπὸ τύχης*, the gifts of good-luck, that excite jealousy, not the good things which are won by toil.

The doctrine of the jealousy of the gods is repudiated as a 'poetic falsehood' by Aristotle, *Met.* i. 2, 983^a.

The things which make up human happiness are, according to Solon, adequate endowment of worldly goods, health, beauty of person, prosperous children, and a death in accord with these goods.

This enumeration of the elements of happiness is consonant with general Greek feeling. Similar catalogues occur frequently. Thus the distich inscribed in the temple of Leto at Delos (Aristotle, *Eth. Eudem.* 1214^a 1 ff., *Eth. Nic.* i. 8, 1099^a 25):

> 'Fairest (*κάλλιστον*) is justice, best (*λῷστον*) is health, and sweetest (*ἥδιστον*) of all is to attain what one desires.'

The same order is given in Theognis, 255 f. (cf.

Sophocles, frag. 328 f.). A popular *scolion*, or drinking-song, says:[1]

> 'Health is best for a mortal man; second, to be fair of body (φυὰν καλός); third, to have wealth without guile; fourth, to be young with one's friends.'

Philemon, frag. 163, gives (1) health, (2) success (εὐπραξία), (3) joy (χαίρειν), and (4) to owe no man. Pindar (*Pyth.* i. 99 f.) says:

> 'Success (εὖ παθεῖν, practically = prosperity or happiness) is the first of prizes; a fair fame (εὖ ἀκούειν) is the second lot; he who hath chanced on both and taken them to be his hath received the highest crown.' Cf. *Isth.* iv. 12, v. 12, *Nem.* i. 33, ix. 46, *Pyth.* iii. 104; Aristoph. *Av.* 605; Soph. *Œd. Col.* 144; Phocylid. frag. 10; Theocrit. xvii. 116; Bacchylid. i. 27 ff.

According to Aristotle, happiness is an ἐνέργεια κατ' ἀρετήν. But he admits, in *Eth. Nic.* i. 8, that 'nevertheless it does appear that happiness has need also of the external goods as aforesaid. For it is impossible or not easy for a man unprovided with these to do noble things. For many things are performed by friends, wealth, political power, the instruments, as it were, of action. The lack of some things mars happiness—the lack of birth, children, beauty. You could not well apply the term "happy" to a man who was utterly ugly, or low-born, or solitary and childless. Again, less still, if his children or his friends are altogether bad, or if he had good friends or children who are now dead. As we have said, happiness seems to need such outward prosperity. Hence some identify good fortune (εὐτυχία) with happiness, others identify happiness with virtue (ἀρετή).' In the *Rhetoric* (i. 5), where happiness is defined more popularly, such 'external' goods as the above are termed 'parts of happiness,' and the list is εὐγένεια, πολυφιλία, χρηστοφιλία, πλοῦτος, εὐτεκνία, πολυτεκνία, εὐγηρία; the physical excellences, as ὑγίεια, κάλλος, ἰσχύς, μέγεθος, δύναμις ἀγωνιστική; and δόξα, τιμή, εὐτυχία, ἀρετή.

He proceeds to explain what he means by the several terms here employed.

(*a*) εὐγένεια, good birth, may be predicated of a nation or a State, or of an individual. As applied to a nation or a State, it means that it is autochthonous or at any rate ancient, and had as its earliest leaders distinguished men, and has had many distinguished members in the course of its history. As applied to an individual, it refers to descent on either the male or the female side; it implies legitimacy, *i.e.* both father and mother must be citizens (ἀστός, ἀστή) in lawful wedlock (Arist. *Pol.* iii. 1. 4 f.; Dem. *adv. Neær.*; Aristoph. *Av.* 1660 ff.), it implies, further, that the earliest ancestors of the family were famous for virtue or wealth or some such distinction, and that many members of the family, both men and women, have in the course of its history distinguished themselves.

The high importance attached to heredity is evident on every page of Greek literature (see art. PINDAR).

(*b*) πολυφιλία and χρηστοφιλία, the possession of many and good friends, a friend being defined as 'one who, if he consider anything to be good for another, is ready to do it for the other's sake' (Arist. *Rhet.*, *loc. cit.*). Friendship takes a prominent place in the Greek ideal of life.

> 'Of all kinds are the uses of friends; above all in trouble, but joy also seeks to behold its own assurance' (Pindar, *Nem.* viii. 42 ff.). 'To cast away a good friend I count even as that a man should cast away the life in his own bosom, which he loves most' (Soph. *Œd. Rex*, 611 f.).

We hear of many celebrated friendships—Achilles and Patroclus, Orestes and Pylades, Castor and Pollux. The last is the theme of one of the most beautiful of Pindar's poems, *Nem.* x.

> When Castor, the mortal one of the Twins, is slain, Pollux asks to be allowed to die with him: 'Grant me, O Lord, to die with him! A man's honour is departed when he is reft of his friends, and few there be that are faithful in the day of trouble to share the travail' (76 ff.).

The false friend is the object of bitter scorn (Pind. *Isth.* ii. 11; Æsch. *Agam.* 798, etc.). We hear, of course, of a more cynical view, that one should always look upon a friend as a possible enemy (Soph. *Aj.* 677 ff.; Eurip. *Hippol.* 253 ff.).

(*c*) πλοῦτος, wealth.

(*d*) εὐτεκνία and πολυτεκνία: these may be predicated either of the community or of the individual. In the case of the community, they mean the possession of a numerous body of splendid youth, splendid physically—in stature, beauty, strength, and athletic prowess—and splendid morally, the moral qualities desirable in a young man being self-restraint and courage. In the case of the individual, they imply that his children, male and female, are many and good. In a woman, the physical excellences are beauty and stature; the moral excellences are 'self-control and industry without illiberality' (φιλεργία ἄνευ ἀνελευθερίας).

> 'The high standard of female excellence is very important for the state; for where the condition of the women is vicious, as at Lacedæmon, there is no happiness in half the state.'

The importance of having children lies partly in keeping property within the family, since the bitterest thought of the childless man when dying is that his wealth will go to an outsider:

> 'Even as a child by his wife is longed for by his father who has reached the other side of youth, and greatly warms his heart, since wealth that falls to an outside alien's keeping is most hateful for a dying man' (Pind. *Ol.* x. [xi.] 94 ff.);

partly in that there will be no one to pay the memorial offerings to the dead (ἐναγίσματα). These motives find their consequence in the frequency of adoption (εἰσποίησις).[1]

(*e*) εὐγηρία, a good old age. This denotes an old age which approaches gradually and without 'pain'; if it comes rapidly, or slowly but accompanied with pain, it is not a good old age. This requires both physical excellences and good fortune. It is incompatible with weakness or disease, and a man must have good fortune to live long and remain ἄλυπος. 'It is indeed true that some attain long life without physical excellences.'

(*f*) The physical excellences: (1) ὑγίεια, health, *i.e.* freedom from disease, full possession of bodily faculties. Such valetudinarianism as that of Herodicus (Plato, *Rep.* iii. 406) is not desirable, as it means the denial of all, or nearly all, human pleasures. (2) κάλλος, beauty. A different kind of beauty is appropriate to different periods of life: the young man must be adapted to exercises of speed and strength, and pleasant and delightful to look upon. Hence pentathletes are most beautiful. The man in the prime of life must be fit for military exercises, combining grace with sternness in his appearance. The old man must be equal to such exertions as are inevitable, and his appearance must not be repulsive, *i.e.* must be free from the disfigurements of age. (3) ἰσχύς, strength. (4) μέγεθος, stature—but not so as to be unwieldy. (5) δύναμις ἀγωνιστική, athletic excellence—size, strength, speed; good running, wrestling, and boxing.

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[1] Plato, *Gorg.* 451 E, *Legg.* 631 C, 661 A; cf. schol. *Gorg.*, *loc. cit.*: 'this *scolion* is attributed by some to Simonides, by others to Epicharmus.'

[1] Cf. Isæus, ii. 45 ff.: 'I have shown you that the laws give power to childless men to adopt sons. It is clear, moreover, that I paid attention to him while he lived and buried him when he died. My opponent wishes to turn me out of my father's estate, be it great or small; wishes to make the dead man childless and nameless, so that there shall be none to honour in his behalf the ancestral holies, none to make annual offerings to him (ἐναγίζῃ αὐτῷ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν), but to rob him of his honours. Providing for this, Menecles, being master of his property, adopted a son, that he might get these things. Do not, then, be persuaded by these men to rob me of the title of heirship, which is all that is left, and make my adoption by him invalid. But, since the matter has come to you and you have power to dispose of it, help us and help him who is now in the house of Hades and do not, in the name of gods and *daimones*, allow him to be insulted by them' (see, further art. ADOPTION [Greek]).

(*g*) *δόξα* or *εὐδοξία*, *i.e.* to be regarded as a good man (*σπουδαῖος*), or as 'the possessor of something which all men or most men or good men or wise men desire.'

(*h*) *τιμή*, or honour, *i.e.* honours paid for benefactions either great in themselves or great in the circumstances (cf. Dem. *adv. Lept.* § 41). Such honours are sacrifices, memorials in verse and prose, privileges, allotments in land, foremost seats on public occasions, tombs, statues, maintenance at the public charges, barbaric compliments—*e.g.*, prostrations and giving place—local compliments. *Τιμαί*, as being both honourable and valuable intrinsically, appeal equally to the *φιλοχρήματος* and the *φιλότιμος*.

(*i*) *εὐτυχία*, or good fortune. It is the gifts of fortune that especially excite envy.

(*j*) *ἀρετή*, virtue. This is discussed in *Rhet.* ch. ix. Virtue is not merely desirable—as gifts of *τύχη*—but also *ἐπαινετόν*. It is 'a faculty of providing and preserving good things and a faculty of conferring benefits,' and its elements are justice, bravery, self-control, 'magnificence' (*μεγαλοπρέπεια*), highmindedness, liberality, gentleness, wisdom practical (*φρόνησις*) and speculative (*σοφία*).

The virtues which go to make up virtue, the *μέρη ἀρετῆς*, are given by Aristotle in the *Rhet.* i. 9 as *δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρία, σωφροσύνη, μεγαλοπρέπεια, μεγαλοψυχία, ἐλευθεριότης, πραότης, φρόνησις, σοφία*. Plato, *Rep.* 402 C, gives *σωφροσύνη, ἀνδρεία, μεγαλοπρέπεια, ἐλευθεριότης, καὶ ὅσα τούτων ἀδελφά*, *Meno*, 73 E–74 A, *δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία, σωφροσύνη, σοφία, μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ ἄλλαι πάμπολλαι*.

The four cardinal virtues, according to Plato, are courage, justice, temperance, and wisdom (*Rep.* 427 E); but the sovereign virtue, which involves all these,[1] is justice, which, as we have seen, Plato defines as *τὸ τὰ αὑτοῦ πράττειν καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν*.[2]

In the famous passage of Pindar (*Nem.* iii. 74 ff.) the first three virtues are that of youth, that of men, and that of the old, while the fourth seems to be nothing else than justice, which is the sovereign and governing principle of all the rest: *ἐλᾷ δὲ καὶ τέσσαρας ἀρετὰς ὁ θνατὸς αἰών, φρονεῖν δ' ἐνέπει τὸ παρκείμενον*=*τὸ τὰ αὑτοῦ πράττειν*.

However this may be, justice includes all the other virtues. And the moral conscience of man demands in the name of justice that the just man shall have his reward. So Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 270 ff. :

> 'Now may neither I nor son of mine be just among men! For it is an ill thing to be just, if the unjust shall have the greater justice. *Howbeit these things I deem not that Zeus will bring to pass.*' Injustice may prevail for a time, but justice is better in the end (*ib.* 217 f.). 'On that which is pleasant but contrary to justice a most bitter end awaits' (Pind. *Isth.* vi. 47 f.). 'Too swift are the minds of men to accept a guileful gain in preference to justice, albeit they travel to a harsh reckoning' (*τραχεῖαν ἐπίβδαν* [Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 139 ff.]). On the other hand, end and beginning are alike pleasant if God speed.

How, then, and where shall it be better for the just man? The typical answer of the Greek moralist is 'Here and in this life.' Hesiod expresses the prevailing view of the Greek as of the Hebrew wisdom when he says:

> 'But whoso to stranger and to townsman deal straight judgments, and no whit depart from justice, their city flourisheth, and the people prosper therein. And in their land is peace, the nurse of children, and Zeus doth never decree war for them. Neither doth Famine ever consort with men who deal straight judgments, nor Doom; but with mirth they tend the works that are their care. For them earth beareth much livelihood, and on the hills the oak's top beareth acorns, the oaks midst bees; their fleecy sheep are heavy with wool; their wives bear children like unto their parents; they flourish with good things continually, neither go they on ships, but bounteous earth beareth fruit for them' (*Works and Days*, 225 ff.).

Even so the punishment of the wicked is in this world, whether in their own persons or in the persons of their descendants:

> 'But whoso ensue evil, insolence, and froward works, for them doth Zeus of the far-seeing eye, the son of Cronus, decree justice. Yea, oftentimes a whole city reapeth the recompense of the evil man, who sinneth and worketh the works of foolishness. On them doth the son of Cronus bring from heaven a grievous visitation, even famine and plague together, and the people perish. Their women bear not children; their houses decay by devising of Olympian Zeus; or anon he destroyeth a great host of them, within a wall it may be, or the son of Cronus taketh vengeance on their ships in the sea' (*ib.* 238 ff.).

In *Republic*, 363 A ff., Plato discusses this view of justice and its rewards. Goods are classified as of three sorts: (1) those desirable for their own sakes, (2) those desirable for their own sakes and for their consequences, and (3) those desirable for their consequences alone. Whereas Socrates would place justice in the second of these classes, the many would place it in the third. Popular morality says that justice is desirable because it leads to reward in this life—a position which is open to the objection that 'seeming to be just' is preferable to 'being just.' Parents exhort their children to be just for the sake of office and other advancement, and because, according to Hesiod (*loc. cit.*) and Homer (*Od.* xix. 109 ff.), the gods prosper the just in this life. Then follows a striking passage:

> 'Still grander are the gifts of heaven which Musæus and his son (Eumolpus) offer to the just: they take them down into the world below, where they have the saints lying on couches at a feast, everlastingly drunk, crowned with garlands; their idea seems to be that an immortality of drunkenness is the highest reward of virtue. Some extend their rewards yet further; the posterity, as they say, of the faithful and just shall survive to the third and fourth generation. This is the style in which they praise justice. But about the wicked there is another strain; they bury them in a slough in Hades, and make them carry water in a sieve; also while they are yet living they bring them to infamy, and inflict upon them the punishments which Glaucon described as the portion of the just who are reputed to be unjust; nothing else does their invention supply.'

According to Homeric eschatology, there remains for the dead only a shadowy existence in a dim under world, in dank places which even the gods abhor. This life after death, if it can be called life, holds nothing lovely or desirable:

> 'Speak not comfortably to me of Death, glorious Odysseus. Rather would I be on earth a servant with a landless man of no great livelihood than king over all the dead which are perished' (*Od.* xi. 488 ff.).

There seems to be no distinction of destiny between the good and the wicked, except, indeed, that perjury is said to be punished in the world below (*Il.* iii. 279, xix. 260). We have, it is true, some traces of a brighter fancy.

> The poets told of an 'Elysian plain at the ends of earth, where fair-haired Rhadamanthus is; where life is most easy for men; neither snow nor great storm nor rain is there, but ever as the shrill West wind blows, Ocean sends forth breezes to refresh men' (*Od.* iv. 563); but Homer assigns this fate only to Menelaus, 'to whom it was decreed that he should not die nor meet his fate in Argos, the pastureland of horses,' because he 'had Helen to wife and was the son-in-law of Zeus.' They told of certain Islands of the Blest far in the Western Ocean where the heroes of the Theban and Trojan Wars dwelt under the kindly rule of Cronus—'happy (ὄλβιοι) heroes, for whom the bounteous earth bears honeysweet fruit, blooming thrice a year' (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 166 ff.; cf. also art. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Greek and Roman]).

But such a lot was apparently reserved for the heroes of old, who, without suffering dissolution of soul and body, were by the favour of the gods transported to a terrestrial paradise.

The introduction to Greece of mystic and orgiastic worship, and the rise of the Orphic and Pythagorean teaching towards the end of the 6th cent., gave a new and heightened meaning to the doctrine of the soul's survival after death. In the mysteries, of which those at Eleusis were the most celebrated, it would seem that a fairer prospect was offered to the initiated—a reward for righteousness in a life of perpetual felicity beyond the grave. Hence we find in Pindar, alongside of the language of orthodox Greek belief, glimpses of a larger and brighter hope, expressed in passages which are among the most striking in the range of Greek literature:

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[1] *ὃ πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις τὴν δύναμιν παρέσχεν, ὥστε ἐγγενέσθαι, καὶ ἐγγενομένοις γε σωτηρίαν παρέχειν, ἕωσπερ ἂν ἐνῇ* (*Rep.* 433 B).

[2] *Rep.* 433 A; cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 9. 7, *ἔστι δὲ δικαιοσύνη μὲν ἀρετὴ δι' ἣν τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι ἔχουσι καὶ ὡς ὁ νόμος*.

> 'Wealth adorned with deeds of prowess . . . is a conspicuous star, a most true light for a man, if he that hath it knoweth that which is to come: that the helpless minds of the dead pay straightly here their penance, while the sins done in this kingdom of Zeus one judges under earth, pronouncing doom by abhorred constraint. But equally evermore by night and day the good enjoy the sun, receiving a life free from toil, vexing not the earth with might of hand, neither the waters of the sea in that ghostly life, but with the honoured of the gods they that rejoiced in keeping their oaths live a tearless life, while those others endure woe too dire to behold. But whoso thrice on either side have endured to refrain their souls utterly from unrighteousness, travel by the Way of Zeus unto the tower of Cronus, where round the Islands of the Blest the Ocean breezes blow, and flowers of gold are glowing, some on the land from glorious trees, while others the water feedeth, with wreaths and garlands whereof they entwine their hands by the true counsels of Rhadamanthus, whom the father Cronus hath as his ready assessor, Cronus, husband of Rhea, throned highest of all. Peleus and Cadmus are numbered among these, and thither his mother brought Achilles, when she had with her prayers persuaded the heart of Zeus' (*Ol.* ii. 58 ff.).

Pindar's teaching here appears to be that the soul passes through three successive incarnations, alternating with a disembodied state, and that only after passing through all these blamelessly is it finally redeemed. Such souls, according to another passage of Pindar (frag. 133), receive a final embodiment as kings and wise men and athletes, and after death become, not indeed gods, but heroes:

> 'From whom Persephone in the ninth year accepts the atonement of ancient woe, the souls of them she sends back into the upper sunlight. From them spring glorious kings and men swift and strong and mightiest in wisdom; and for the future they are called by men holy heroes.'

Again, in frag. 137 Pindar says, in reference to the mysteries:

> 'Happy is he who beholds these things before he goes beneath the earth; he knows the end of life, he knows its god-given beginning.'

According to this view, the soul lives on after death, it alone being of divine origin:

> 'By happy dispensation (ὀλβίᾳ αἴσᾳ) all travel to an end which sets free from woe. And the body, indeed, of all goes with mighty Death. But there remaineth alive a phantom of life; for that alone cometh from the gods. It sleepeth when the limbs are active, but to men asleep in many a dream it reveals the coming judgment of pleasant things and hard.'

For the souls of the good there awaits a paradise which is imagined in terms of human bliss:

> 'For them shines the strength of the sun below while here it is night. And in meadows of red roses their suburb is shady with frankincense and laden with golden fruits. And some in horses, some in games, some in draughts, some in the lyre take their delight, and by them flourisheth all the fair flower of blessedness. And a fragrance spreads above the lovely place, while they evermore mingle all manner of incense in far-shining fire on the altars of the gods' (frag. 129).

'By happy dispensation'! Strange, indeed, would this have sounded to the Homeric hero, and hardly less strange, it would seem, to the orthodox Greek of the 5th century. It is not easy to estimate how far the ideas to which Pindar here gives expression had affected the general body of his countrymen, but it would not appear that they had done so very deeply. The general attitude to death continues much as in Homer. A state of bliss after death is not held out as an incentive to righteousness in this world. Nor is the hope of a blessed immortality offered to comfort the dying or mitigate the grief of the bereaved. When death is spoken of as desirable, it is merely as a *κακῶν καταφυγή*, a refuge from evil, a dreamless sleep:

> 'Would that some fate might come, speedy, not over-painful, nor with lingering bed, bringing to us the everlasting, endless sleep!' (Æsch. *Agam.* 1448 ff.).

It does not seem probable that the conception of the state after death exercised any determining influence on the average man's conduct of his life.

When one attempts to discuss Roman views of life and death, there occurs at the outset the comparative paucity of genuinely Roman evidence. The general attitude of the Roman towards life and death presupposes the same general framework as we have outlined in the case of Greece; the same conception of the goods which make up the content of human happiness; the same conception of death as the end and not the beginning; the same belief in the duty of paying solemn offerings (*parentalia*) to the dead. When we advance beyond orthodox opinion to the region of poetic fancy or philosophic speculation, we find that we are merely encountering Greek ideas in a Roman dress.

Greek and Roman alike believed in gods who had a very real regard for the sins and the virtues of mankind, rewarding the good and punishing the evil, *but in this life*, in their own persons or in those of their immediate descendants. Greek and Roman alike believed that the dead in some sense survive and that it was the duty of the living to make offerings to the dead. But for Roman as for Greek, the after-world was but a dim shadow of the present. There was no lively conviction that it would fare worse in the after-world with the bad than with the good; there was no lively conviction that there was any true after-life at all, certainly no such conviction of an immortal felicity as could prompt to martyrdom or self-sacrifice, or alleviate the hour of bereavement with the hope of a blessed reunion hereafter. When Cicero lost by death his beloved daughter Tullia, in the letter of condolence written to him by his friend Servius Sulpicius (*ad Fam.* iv. 5) the topics of consolation are drawn from practical and secular considerations: that she has been taken away from the evil to come, and that she has but shared the common lot, not of individuals only, but of cities:

> 'Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cœpi regiones circumcirca prospicere: post me erat Ægina, ante me Megara, dextra Piræus, sinistra Corinthus; quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos iacent. Cœpi egomet mecum sic cogitare: "hem! nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidum cadavera proiecta iacent? visne tu te, Servi, cohibere et meminisse hominem te esse natum?"'

Nor in Cicero's most touching reply is there any hint of other consolation.

Nothing, perhaps, in the consideration of the conception of life and death is more significant than the attitude adopted in the question of suicide. The general feeling both in Greece and in Rome seems to have been one of pity for the suicide rather than condemnation. Thus, *e.g.*, Pindar, who three times refers to the suicide of Ajax, in no case hints at any moral wrong in the act, nor does Sophocles in the case of Jocasta. And the fact that Aristotle, in his *Πολιτεία Θηβαίων* (1553^b 31 f.), and other writers noted that suicide was condemned by the Thebans points clearly to a different attitude on the part of the Greeks in general. Naturally the Orphic-Pythagorean school, insisting on the reality of a true existence conditioned for weal or woe by the account of the present life, condemned suicide. In the *Phædo*, 61 C ff., Plato says that the good man will desire to be dead in order to free his soul from the cumbering influence of the body, which hinders him in the pursuit of truth: 'only, perhaps, he will not do violence to himself, for this, they say, is not lawful' (*οὐ θεμιτόν*); and he proceeds to refer to a 'secret doctrine' (*ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λεγόμενος λόγος*) that man is here 'in a sort of prison' (*ἔν τινι φρουρᾷ*), from which he has no right to free himself or run away' (cf. Cicero, *Cat. Maj.* 20; Plato, *Phædr.* 250 C, *Cratyl.* 400 C, *Gorgias*, 493 A). Macrobius (*Comm. in Somn. Scip.* i. 13) tells us that Plotinus objected to suicide on two grounds: (1) it implies a perturbed state of mind at the moment of dissolution; (2) it is a step which, once taken, is irretrievable. On the other hand, in the *Laws*, 854 C, Plato recognizes that in certain circumstances suicide is a duty. Sacrilege, he tells us, is an inherited malady.

> When a man is tempted to commit such an offence, he should 'go and perform expiations, go as a suppliant to the temples of the gods who avert evils, go to the society of those who are called good men amongst you; hear them tell, and yourself try to repeat after them, that every man should honour the noble and the just. Fly from the company of the wicked—fly and turn not back; and if your disease is lightened by these remedies, well and good; but if not, then acknowledge death to be nobler than life, and depart hence.'

Similarly Cicero, *de Offic.* i. 31, holds that in the same circumstances suicide is for one man a duty, for another a crime. A man must decide in consonance with his character. Thus Cato committed suicide, as did Ajax; Ulysses did not.

This question, like the question of the life after death, seems to have been in general considered open. It is always to be remembered that religious formulæ and religious practices lag behind the true and genuine beliefs of those who practise them, and ritual is an unsafe index of the inner meaning of the worshipper. Thus we hear much of oracles in Greek history, and undoubtedly they exercised an enormous influence. Yet even so early as Homer we find it considered an open question whether one should obey an oracle or not:

> 'If it were some other and a child of earth that bade me this, whether some seer or of the priests that divine from sacrifice, then would we declare it false and rather turn our backs upon it' (*Il.* xxiv. 220 ff.).

In Hector's mouth is put the famous declaration that 'One omen is best—to fight for one's country' (*Il.* xii. 243). So in Rome Cæsar, while holding the office of Pontifex Maximus, delivered himself in the Senate of the doctrine that after death there was no place either for trouble or for joy:

> 'In luctu atque miseriis mortem ærumnarum requiem, non cruciatum, esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum esse' (Sall. *Catil.* li.).

So widely divorced, indeed, was outward practice from inward belief that Cato 'wondered how, when one soothsayer met another, he could help laughing' (Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 52). But the better minds, persuaded as they were that death meant either extinction or a true after-life in which the good should fare better than the wicked, prepared themselves for the great change much in the spirit of the Platonic Socrates, by setting their house in order. Thus Cicero:

> 'Id spero vivis nobis fore. Quamquam tempus est nos de perpetua illa iam, non de hac exigua vita cogitare' (*ad Att.* x. 8).

See, further, art. HAPPINESS (Greek and Roman).

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A. W. MAIR.

LIFE AND DEATH (Hebrew).—There are two words which in the English OT are very often translated 'life': *nephesh* and *ḥayyîm*. *Nephesh* denotes the inner occult cause of life's activities. A *nephesh* is a concrete entity, resident in the body, which, if scarcely coming within the range of man's senses, is at any rate thinkable. It is a psychical something, endowed with many attributes, of which life is the chief, though it may also have others, physical and psychical. *Ḥayyîm* represents life abstractly, as a state or condition—vitality, mental and moral activity.

1. **Nephesh.**—OT psychology has always been a crux for Biblical scholars, because they have too often desired (as Franz Delitzsch) to form a 'system' of Biblical psychology. They have too often expected to find everywhere the same grade of civilization and the same type of approach and outlook. They have presupposed far more uniformity of thought than is actually present, and have not (until recently) allowed for primitive, ethnic modes of conception. The word *nephesh* is found in all Semitic languages, in much the same senses as in Hebrew; and therefore we must not be surprised if some extremely primitive beliefs, not taught—perhaps even discouraged—as doctrines by the men who were organs of revelation, have survived in occasional metaphors or modes of speech.

There were three ways in which the phenomena of life were regarded by early man: (1) objectively, by external observation, noting the manifestations of life in other men and in animals; (2) subjectively, by self-consciousness, through which man became aware of many different emotions and appetites, thoughts, and activities which were taking place within him; and (3) by the consciousness that he was being acted on by forces or beings extraneous to himself. We can scarcely point to a time when man did not fancy himself an object of interest, often of assault, to spirits good or evil, by whom he was surrounded. When the external influence came gently, the Hebrew called it *nᵉshāmāh*, 'breath'; when violently, he called it *rûaḥ*, 'wind'; and that part of his nature which was accessible to these gentle or violent invasions, by God or by spirits, he called respectively his *nᵉshāmāh* and his *rûaḥ*.

(1) *The objective method.*—Life is the antithesis of death; and from the beginning the thoughts of man were directed to the phenomena of life by their startling contrast with death. There were two ways in which death must have impressed primeval man: as the cessation of breathing, and as being caused by the shedding of blood.

(*a*) The universal and inevitable accompaniment of death is cessation of breathing; and this, by the force of contrast, would certainly direct the close attention of early man to the phenomena of breathing: the rising and falling of the chest, the varying rapidity of the inhalations, in rest and exercise, and the vapour visible from the mouth and nostrils at every exhalation. How did he account for this? Beyond all doubt, on principles of animism, which ascribed all internal movement, energy, and activity to an indwelling, living entity. *Nephesh* is often defined as 'the inner principle of life.' The vague term 'principle,' however, is much too modern. Early man personalized all our abstractions. The cause of breathing to him—and thus the cause of life—was a living spirit or soul, dwelling in man's chest, the breath-soul, which Semites called the *nephesh*, *i.e.* a semi-physical, semi-spiritual something, a potent reality, not to be identified with the breath, but the occult cause of the breathing; and, when it left the body for a considerable time, death was the result. To die, or 'yield up the ghost,' is to 'breathe out the *nephesh*' (Jer 15[9], Job 11[20]). When Rachel was dying and gave a name to her infant son, 'her *nephesh* was departing' (Gn 35[18]). When Elijah prayed for the recovery of the Shunammite's son, he stretched himself on the child and the child's *nephesh* came into him again (1 K 17[22]). When the Psalmist is sinking in a morass and in danger of drowning, he cries, 'Save me, for the waters are come in even unto my *soul*' (Ps 69[1]).

(*b*) The second startling phenomenon of life was the pulse, and the beat of the heart, which ceased when the blood was shed, in battle or in any other way. The occult cause of the heart-beat was conceived to be another *nephesh*—the blood-soul, resident in the blood; and, when the blood was shed, the *nephesh* was released. The shedding of blood received much scrutiny and thought in connexion with sacrifice, and the Hebrew priests assigned the efficacy of sacrifice to the blood-soul. This is most accurately expressed in Lv 17[11], 'The *nephesh* of the flesh is *in* the blood. . . . The blood maketh atonement by reason of the *nephesh*,' more laxly in Dt 12[23], 'The blood *is* the *nephesh*.' This is elucidated in Lv 17[14], where we read, 'The *nephesh* of all flesh is its blood, by reason of its *nephesh*' (so Kn., Kal.), *i.e.* we may say that the blood *is* the *nephesh* of the flesh, if we bear in mind that there is a *nephesh* resident in the blood, which is the cause of the vitality of the blood, and therefore also of the flesh. Hence the repellent feature in eating the flesh of animals whose blood had not been shed before death was that, in eating such flesh, from which the *nephesh* had not been allowed to escape, one would eat the *nephesh*, and this is strongly forbidden in the words: 'But flesh with the *nephesh* . . . shall ye not eat' (Gn 9[4]; cf. Dt 12[23]).

Human nature was not at first considered as a unity, but attention was directed to the centres of activity, where a mysterious energy was at work; and, long before man used the word *nephesh* as we use the word 'soul,' the several organs were considered separately, as so many independent centres of vitality. The heart, the liver, the kidneys, and the eye were regarded as distinct potencies,[1] endowed with life, not interrelated or unified one with another. The word *nephesh* is not used in the OT of the cause of the vitality resident in each of these organs, but it would be quite analogous to the ideas of other ancient peoples if they did ascribe to each a *nephesh*.

It was a very general belief in old times that a *nephesh* might go out from its abode without causing death for some considerable time. What is to us poetry and metaphor was in the hoary past often accepted as solid fact, as, *e.g.*, when we read of Jacob in Gn 44[30], 'His life (*nephesh*) is bound up with the lad's *nephesh*'; and of Jonathan in 1 S 18[1], 'his *nephesh* was knit to the *nephesh* of David.' In the statement that the soul of Shechem clave to Dinah (Gn 34[3]) we have reference to the primitive belief that in love the (or a) *nephesh* leaves the body and enters into union with the soul of its beloved; and a similar belief underlies the phrase which compares peril to 'putting one's soul in one's hand' (Job 13[14], Jg 12[3], 1 S 19[5] 28[21], Ps 119[109]).

The consequences of the temporary departure of a soul were believed to be giddiness, mental derangement, sickness, or dotage (Tylor, *PC^3* i. 435 f.). There seems to be an allusion to this in the words of Saul in 2 S 1[9], if, with Graetz, we may alter the difficult, if not impossible, words כל עוד into בל עוד. Saul has been wounded and is bleeding to death, and his words would then be: 'Giddiness hath taken hold of me, for my *nephesh* is *no longer* in me.' We have a similar underlying belief in the phrase which we use metaphorically: 'I have poured out my soul,' as Hannah said to Eli (1 S 1[15]); as Job also says: 'My soul is poured out upon me' (30[16]); and as is said of the righteous servant: 'He poured out his soul unto death' (Is 53[12]). In the first two cases the result is extreme prostration of mind and body, and in the third case death. It is the voluntary surrender of life.

The blood-soul may be 'smitten' when a wound inflicted causes bloodshed (Gn 37[21], Dt 19[11]); or this *nephesh* may be 'slain' in unintentional homicide (Nu 31[19] 35[11]), or in murder (2 S 4[8]); while in Dt 27[25] a curse is pronounced on one who should accept a bribe 'to *slay* a *nephesh* of innocent blood.' The Hebrews were forbidden to make 'an incision *to the nephesh*,' *i.e.* to incur the loss of the *nephesh* by the loss of blood (Lv 19[28]).

(2) *The subjective method.*—It is quite certain that men practised observation long before they practised introspection. When man habituated himself to turn his thoughts within, he became conscious of himself as a unity; the various organs were *his* organs. He was no longer an assemblage of vital organs, as observation led him to suppose; he was a unity, an organism; and the mysterious cause of his internal activities was his *nephesh*, his soul, the cause of his energies and emotions. Thus the *nephesh* in this sense is the seat of appetites, such as hunger (La 1[11]) and thirst (Is 29[8]), and also of the outgoings of life in desires, longings, and wishes (1 S 20[4] 23[20], 2 S 3[21]). It is also the centre of all sensibilities, as disgust (Nu 21[5]), weariness (Jg 16[16]), love (Gn 44[30]), hatred (2 S 5[8]), anger (2 S 17[8]), wrath (Jg 18[25]), and sorrow (Jer 13[17]); but in all these and similar cases *nephesh* approaches the meaning of our word 'soul' (*q.v.*), and is so rendered.

Most ancient peoples believed that the souls of the departed lingered some days near the corpse; and, while some peoples had no dread of the departing spirit, others, including the Hebrews, had a great terror as to the mischief it might effect; and their boisterous funeral practices were designed to scare the spirit away. We have indications of this belief in the lingering of a soul in the fact that a Nazirite is forbidden during his vow to come near the *nephesh* of a dead man (Nu 6[6]); a man rendered unclean through a *nephesh* was not allowed to eat the Passover at the statutory time, but might eat it a month later (9[10]). Indeed, any one, male or female, who was unclean by a *nephesh* must go and remain outside the camp until purified (5[2]), and a high priest was forbidden at any time to enter a room where the *nephesh* of a dead person was at large (Lv 21[11]).

Eventually, after or before the funeral, the soul was believed to pass into Sheol, and to be gathered unto its fathers. Hebrew has a distinct word for wraiths or ghosts, *rᵉphāîm*, but *nephesh* is also used of the soul as a disembodied psychical entity. 'Gather not my *soul* with the wicked,' the Psalmist prays (26[9]); 'Thou wilt not abandon my *soul* to Sheol,' says another (16[10]); 'He hath delivered my *soul* from Sheol,' says a third (86[13]; so Job 33[18-28], Is 38[17]). By this time the *nephesh* has become the man's self, his personality.

(3) *The objective-subjective method.*—Man believed himself to be the object of attack or of benign influences from other spirits, or from the one great Spirit, God. When the influence was gentle, he conceived of it as 'breath' (*nᵉshāmāh*); and when it was violent he spoke of it as a 'wind' (*rūaḥ*), partly, no doubt, because it caused him to pant with excitement. The stronger emotions of man were traced to the *rūaḥ*, or spirit of man, while the gentler emotions and the inspirations from the Divine were due to the action of the Divine *nᵉshāmāh* or the human *nᵉshāmāh*. See SPIRIT.

2. Ḥayyîm.—*Ḥayyîm* is a plural form, for which no singular is extant (the root is חי or חיה, 'to live'). It is an intensive plural, denoting diversity in unity. As the plural form *Elôhîm* seems to express the conception of one God with many manifestations, so *ḥayyîm* expresses life in its many manifestations and modes. G. H. A. Ewald truly says that the word 'life' is 'most expressive and crowded with meaning.'[1] Its various meanings it is now our purpose to deploy.

(1) *Physical life.*—*Ḥayyîm* is used of physical existence (*a*) in relation to time only, representing the continuance of the existence of God or man, in possession of their varied activities; thus we read of 'the days of one's life' (Dt 4[9], 1 S 7[15]), 'the years of one's life' (Gn 23[1], Ex 6[16]), and 'the days of the years of one's life' (Gn 25[7] 47[9]); (*b*) in relation to its antithesis, physical death (Jos 2[13], Jer 21[8], Ps 89[48]); and (*c*) in relation to the events

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[1] H. W. Robinson, *Christian Doctrine of Man*, p. 22 f.

[1] *OT and NT Theology*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1888, p. 183.

which occur in one's lifetime, or are the outcome of one's energies or activities, as marriage (Lv 18[18]), deeds of valour (Jg 16[30]), singing God's praises (Ps 104[33]), sensuous enjoyments (Ec 3[12]). 'They were lovely and beautiful in their *lives*' (2 S 1[23]); 'My soul is weary of my *life*' (Job 10[1]); 'Preserve my *life* from fear of the enemy' (Ps 64[1]).

The remarkable thing as to the Hebrew usage of *ḥayyîm* is the clear conviction that 'life' is something more than a continuance of physical existence. There is a clear recognition of the dignity of man—that man was not meant to live the life of an animal or a life of sensuous gratification. Such a life is unworthy of so dignified a creature as man is. As man's sense of dignity developed, the word 'life' became filled with deeper connotation. Roughly speaking, man's view of 'life' passed through the same three stages as we have found in regard to the word *nephesh*: (*a*) man's life consists in what he *has*, 'the abundance of the good things that he possesses'—the objective regard; (*b*) man's life consists in what he *is*, his character—the subjective regard; and (*c*) man's life consists in his relation to God, the influences which come to him from communion with the Divine—the objective-subjective regard. In passing through this development, Israel was subconsciously discussing the problem of the *summum bonum*—What is man's highest good? Wherein does man's true life consist? And his three answers were: (*a*) happiness, (*b*) goodness of character, and (*c*) fellowship with God.

(2) *Joyous life.*—Life, to be worthy of the name, must not be existence merely, but exuberant, joyous life. Life is not the humdrum of physical existence; it is the possession of goods, family, and wealth, which can contribute to man's enjoyment. It is the exhilaration of the red-letter days, when life is sublimely worth living. A life of joy and felicity is alone worthy to be called 'life.' This was always implied in the Oriental salutation: 'Let the king live' (1 K 1[25], 2 S 16[16]). It is associated with largesses of the gold of Sheba (Ps 72[15]), with riches and honour (Pr 22[4]), with prosperity and large possessions (Dt 5[33] [Heb. v.[30]]). In Ec 9[9] the Hebrew reads: 'See life with the wife whom thou lovest,' but AV and RV both correctly interpret: 'Live joyfully with the wife'; and, when a man is honoured with an invitation to the court, that is a day of days: 'In the light of the king's countenance is life' (Pr 16[15]).

(3) *Ethical life.*—True life consists in what a man is and not in what he has. The ideal life is a good life, a life of righteousness. 'In the way of righteousness is life' (Pr 12[28]); 'Wisdom and discretion are life to the soul' (3[22]); 'Keep her [wisdom]; for she is thy life' (4[13]); 'The words of wisdom are life to those that find them' (4[22]); 'Whoso findeth wisdom findeth life' (8[35]). There are three things which 'tend to life': righteousness (11[19]), the labour of the righteous (10[16]), and the fear of the Lord (19[23]). In the same pregnant sense of the word 'life' we read of 'the way of life.' 'Torah is light; the reproofs of instruction are the way of life' (6[23]); 'He that heedeth instruction is in the way of life' (10[17]). Similarly, the sages speak of a 'fountain of life.' 'The Torah of the wise is a fountain of life' (13[14]); so is the 'fear of the Lord' (14[27]) and 'understanding' disciplined by correction (16[22]). In Lv 18[5] in the Code of Holiness there is a statement, quoted in Neh 9[29] and developed at length by Ezk 18[21]: 'Ye shall keep my statutes, and my judgments: which if a man do, he shall live by them.' The statutes and judgments are considered, not as the rule and guide of life merely, but as providing the pabulum of the moral life. This appears more strikingly in Dt 8[3]: 'Man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.' Revealed truth is the sustenance of character—of that moral life which is acceptable to God. Similarly, Hezekiah in his Psalm, speaking of the promises of God, says: 'By these things men live, and wholly therein is the life of my spirit' (Is 38[16]), and in 55[3] the Lord calls men through His prophet, saying: 'Incline your ear, and come unto me: hear, and your soul shall live.'

(4) *Religious life.*—The passages hitherto considered refer to the moral life nurtured by the instruction of the wise and by obedience to the revealed will of God; but the OT saints rose to a higher conception of life than even this—the life which is nourished by fellowship with God, the life concerning which the Psalmist could say: 'The Lord is the strength of my life' (27[1]); 'I love thee, O Lord, my strength' (18[1]); 'The Lord is my strength and my shield' (28[7]); 'My prayer shall be unto the God of my life' (42[8]). 'In God's favour is life' (30[5]); the only life fully worthy of the name is that spent in the consciousness of His favour. Deuteronomy promises repeatedly a long and prosperous life on earth as the token of God's approbation, but the mystics soar above and beyond this present sphere. 'The righteous hath hope in his death,' says one of the sages (Pr 14[32]). They rejoiced that God was their 'portion' (Ps 119[57]), 'in the land of the living' (Ps 142[5]), that God was their 'guest-friend' (Ps 15[1]), and therefore there is an eternal covenant between Him and them. The high-water mark of a sense of unending frendship with God is found in Ps 73: 'Whom have I in heaven but thee? And there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee'; and from this the inference is drawn: 'I am continually with thee. Thou shalt guide me with thy counsel and afterward receive me to glory' (v.[23ff.]). God's friendship is the only true abiding good. This enables a man to triumph over death. 'Thou wilt show me the path of life: in thy presence is fulness of joy; in thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore' (16[11]); 'I shall behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness' (17[15]).

> 'In all these Psalms,' says Dillmann,[1] 'there is a full sense of a *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* already begun in this life, which to their authors gives the assurance that Sheol cannot be the end of such a life, but only blessedness with God. But it is always expressed as a personal conviction, not as a dogma, and we need not wonder that such deep experiences are somewhat rare.'

In conclusion, we turn to the significance of the word 'life' in Ezekiel. The prophet looks forward with great expectancy to the return from exile, but it is under the glamour of vastly improved religious conditions. The Kingdom of God is to be with men. The Lord's servant David shall be the benign prince and ruler (37[24f.] 34[23f.]). Jahweh will take people from among the nations and sprinkle clean water upon them, give them a new heart and put a new spirit within them, and cause them to walk in His statutes and keep His judgments (36[24ff.]). Ezekiel contemplates a new age—a Kingdom of God on earth. But, before that is established, he sees intervening a period of terrible conflict with the powers of evil, in which the wicked who are unfit to form part of the new Kingdom shall perish. Those who do wickedly shall not live, they shall surely die (18[10-13]). Those who 'do that which is lawful and right,' being endowed with the new heart and the new spirit, 'shall surely live' (18[5-9]). The Kingdom of God with its great moral and religious privileges is ever before the prophet's thoughts. To 'live' is to pass safely through the impending conflict with evil

[1] *AT Theologie*, p. 400.

and to enter on the new Kingdom, in which God's presence will be much more real and evident (48^{35}); to 'die' is to perish in the crisis and to be excluded from the Kingdom.

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LIFE AND DEATH (Indian).—The earliest Aryans to enter India worshipped a vast number of petty spirits, but they learned, rather later, to revere a number of the greater phenomena of nature, and also laid much stress on the worship of their ancestors. This ritual formed the foundation on which all the institutions of the Aryan family were built,[1] though it may well be that the religious belief had its own ultimate origin in the natural organization of the family. At all events, the belief in the power of ancestors profoundly modified that organization. The father was the family priest, and controlled the worship of the ancestors of the family in all details. Centuries after their entry into India, when the Aryans were engaged in the imperial work of bringing all the peoples of N. India under their political and intellectual domination, the great doctrine of *karma* and re-birth took shape. With Farquhar[2] we may conjecture that

> 'among the many animistic tribes the invaders met on the broad plains of the North, there must have been some who held the common primitive belief that the souls of men may become incarnate in animals. There were probably totemistic clans who believed that at death a man became, like his totem, a tiger, an ox, a frog, or a snake.'

Whether the transmigration idea came from this source or not it is impossible to say, and, indeed, it is more probable that it was at first a deduction from the physical resemblances which were observed among kindred.

> 'But, even if the idea that human souls might undergo animal births came from the aborigines, that is but one element in the complex doctrine. That which gave the belief its power over the intellect, and also its value for the moral life, was the connexion of this fairy-tale idea with the powerful ethical conception of retribution; and we may be certain that that was the work of the Aryan mind.'[3]

The doctrine first appears in the earliest Upaniṣads. Thus, while transmigration has been believed in many lands, the Hindu doctrine of *karma* (*q.v.*) is, as far as we can yet say, unique.[4]

Inextricably, though by no means consistently, intertwined with this moral theory of retribution is the more primitive and far more wide-spread belief that souls are something almost material, although they may not be always palpable or tangible.

1. Vedas and Brāhmaṇas.—In the Rigveda the conceptions of death are not entirely consistent, but the principal belief relating to the *aja bhāga*, or 'unborn part,' was as follows. When the remains of the deceased had been placed on the funeral pile and the process of cremation had begun, Agni, the god of fire, was prayed not to scorch or consume the departed, not to tear asunder his skin or limbs, but, after the flames had done their work, to convey to the fathers or ancestors the mortal who had been presented to him as an offering. His eye was bidden to go to the sun,[5] his breath to the wind, and so on. As for his unborn part, Agni was supplicated to kindle it with his heat and flame, and, assuming his most auspicious form, to convey it to the world of the righteous.[1] Before this unborn part can complete its course from earth to the third heaven, however, it has to traverse a vast gulf of darkness. Leaving behind on earth all that is evil and imperfect, and proceeding by the paths which the fathers trod,[2] the spirit, invested with a lustre like that of the gods, soars to the realms of eternal light in a car or on wings, on the undecaying pinions wherewith Agni slays the Rakṣasas, wafted upwards by the Maruts, recovers then its ancient body in a complete and glorified form, meets with the ancestors who are living in festivity with Yama, obtains from him, when recognized as one of his own, a delectable abode, and enters upon a more perfect life.

> In the Vedic era death was held 'to be the going-forth from the living of his breath, or of the thinking part, the mind, which was held to reside in the heart. . . . Heaven, a happy hereafter, was all that was looked forward to by these Vedic Aryans. Throughout the hymns there is no weariness of life, no pessimism.'[3]

From death there is no awakening; the shade, the breath, soul, or spirit has gone forth and returns not.

> 'In the "*Taittirīya Brāhmana*" the souls of the deceased are said to dwell in the heavens above as stars, and again in the stars are "the lights of those righteous men who go to the celestial world." In the "*Śatapatha Brāhmana*" death is the sun whose rays attach to mortals their life breath, yet, as the "*Katha Upanishad*" declares: "No mortal lives by the breath that goes up and the breath that goes down. We live by another in whom these two repose." There was something which went out of man in sleep and death; something underlying the Ego, the I, the vital breath, more subtle than life. In the "*Rig Veda*," the sun, though it holds the life breath of mortals, is something more. It is the Self, or the Ātman, of all that moves and moves not, of all that fills the heavens and the earth. So of man there is also the Ātman, "the Self, smaller than small, greater than great, hidden in the heart of that creature." A man who is free from desires and free from grief sees the majesty of the Self by the grace of the Creator. It is this Ātman, or Self, more abstract in its conception than soul, Psyche, or "anima," that becomes also the Universal Self, the Self of the World, "bhūmivāh ātman," of which the "Veda" speaks: "When that which had no bones bore him who has bones, when that which was formless took shape and form." The Indian sage . . . had first to sweep away all that which had been produced, even the gods themselves, and to his gaze there remained but the neuter essence, Brahman, from which all things issued forth, and into which all things resolve themselves. There remained also the Self, the Soul, the Ātman of man. There was but one step further to be reached by the Indian mind, and that was taken when all duality vanished, and the Brahman became the Great Self, the "Paramātman," the Universal Self, into which was merged the Ātman, or Self, of man.'[4]

In other words, the Hindu conception of the soul approached that of the modern monists (see, further, art. ĀTMAN).

2. Upaniṣads.—In the pre-Buddhistic Upaniṣads the soul is supposed to exist inside each human body and to be the one sufficient explanation of life and motion. In the living body it dwells ordinarily in a cavity in the heart, and is of the size of a grain of rice or barley. In later speculation it grows to the size of a thumb and is, therefore, called 'the dwarf.' In shape it is like a man. Beliefs varied as to its appearance and as to its composition. One passage says that it consists of consciousness, mind, breath; eye and ears; earth, water, fire, and ether; heat and no heat; desire and no desire; anger and no anger; law and no law—in a word, of all things.[5] Thus the soul was conceived as material, although it also possessed selected mental qualities. It could quit the body in dream sleep, and certain diseases were supposed

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[1] J. N. Farquhar, *Crown of Hinduism*, London, 1913, p. 66; cf. *ERE* ii. 28 f.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 135.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] Cf. A. B. Keith's paper on 'Pythagoras and Transmigration,' in *JRAS*, 1909, p. 569.

[5] In Rigveda, x. lviii. 8, the souls of the departed are said to go to the sun and to Uṣas, the dawn.

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[1] Rigveda, x. xvi. 1–5.

[2] *Ib.* x. xiv. 7.

[3] R. W. Frazer, *Literary History of India*, London, 1898, pp. 36, 38.

[4] Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 105 f.

[5] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upan.*, IV. iv. 5; see also III. vii. 14–22. Speculation in the Upaniṣad times was very free and it veered round even to the denial of the soul as a substance (R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Strassburg, 1913, p. 2). Buddhism also practically denied the existence of the human soul as a substance, as Bhandarkar points out (p. 2). But in the end it taught a very different doctrine (see below).

to be due to its having escaped from the body, so that charms had to be employed to bring it back. In some passages the soul is supposed to have existed before birth in some other body, and opinions varied as to how it got into its first body. We also find a curious speculation, with three variants,[1] on the transfer of the soul by generation, through the seed. One of these is the theory that certain human souls, on going to the moon, become the food of the gods as a consequence of their good deeds. When the efficacy of those deeds is exhausted, they pass from the gods to the ether, from the ether into the air, from that into the rain, thence on to the earth, and from it into plants which become food to males, whence they pass into females. At an ordinary man's death the top part of the heart is lighted up, and the soul, guided by that light, departs from the heart into the eye, and through it into some other body, exalted or not according to deeds done in the body which it is leaving. The soul of the man whose cravings have ceased goes to Brahman. The Upaniṣads are almost unanimous that the soul will not obtain release from re-birth either by sacrifice or by penance.

'It must be by a sort of theosophic or animistic insight, by the perception, the absolute knowledge and certainty, that one's own soul is identical with the Great Soul, the only permanent reality, the ultimate basis and cause of all phenomena.'[2]

In the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa Upan.* the belief in transmigration is combined with a notion that souls go first to the moon. All who depart from this world go to the moon. In the bright fortnight it is gladdened by their spirits, but in the dark one it sends them forth into new births. It is the door of heaven. Him who rejects it it sends on beyond, but whoso rejects it not, him it rains down upon this world; and here he is born as a worm, a grasshopper, fish, bird, lion, boar, serpent, tiger, or a man or some other creature, according to his deeds or his knowledge.[3]

3. Jainism.—The philosophy of Jainism, probably the oldest living Indian creed, defines the universe as not created and not controlled by any individual god. As substance it is without beginning and without end, but it is not homogeneous, since it consists of substance (*dravya*), which is either *jīva*, 'alive,' or *ajīva*, which may be translated 'inorganic.' There are five kinds of substance not alive, viz. matter, space, the two ethers, and (figuratively) time; but living beings are compounded of two kinds of substance, viz. soul and body, and the Jain belief is that nearly everything, even plants, particles of earth, fire, and wind, is possessed of life. In other words, the Jain philosophy is pure animism. *Jīva* is sometimes translated 'living being' and sometimes 'soul,' yet it is not one individual universal world-soul, but a mass of mutually exclusive, individual souls, and every soul having attained its highest state (*mokṣa*) is styled *paramātman*, or 'great soul,' a term only very roughly translatable by the word 'god.' Jainism thus fails to draw any definable distinction between 'life' and the soul. *Dravya* may be defined from several points of view. From the standpoint of its own unchanging nature it is that which ever exists. For example, the soul now embodied as a cat may in its next life be incarnated as a dog, man, insect, or what not, yet remain, in spite of all these changes, the same individual soul all the time; and thus, while the body is merely a vast multitude of cells which come and go, the soul is a homogeneous substance whose qualities (*guṇa*) do not come and go, and which is always itself, never becoming or merging into another, though in their modifications (*paryāya*) the *guṇas* are ceaselessly changing. The soul in its pure state is invisible, but, when compounded in a subtle way with visible, tangible matter, it is rendered visible, and men, angels, etc., are examples of it in this impure state. We do not, however, know when these conceptions were formed by Jainism, and we cannot say that Jain philosophy evolved them unaided. They were apparently borrowed from the common stock of ideas current in India and were modified by the Jains in their own way. The earliest Indo-Aryan conception of life as a series of re-births was far more primitive, and was developed not on metaphysical lines but for ethical purposes.

4. Buddhism.—Buddhism, as an organized creed, has disappeared from India, but the ideas which it adopted or promulgated are still living and form one of the sources from which the Indian beliefs as to the origin of life are drawn. For instance, the Buddhist teaching that all life is due to a common source appears to find expression in the legend that with Buddha himself was born his horse, as well as his wife, his companions, and even the Mahābodhi tree and the four treasure-vases. These are the seven that were born simultaneously, but to make up seven one must count the four vases as one. Another legend declares that with the Bodhisattva were born 500 Śākya princes, 500 maidens, 500 servants, 500 horses, 500 elephants, and as many treasures came to light.[1] A very similar conception has survived in modern India.

Thus in the legend of Gūga, his mother is destined never to bear a son, but Bhagwān rubs some of the dirt out of his head and gives it to her. She divides it among a Brāhman woman, another of the lowest caste, a gray mare, and herself; and all four females, hitherto barren, become fruitful. In another cult-legend a Brāhman gives a Rāja three grains of rice, and each of his three queens swallows one and bears a son. A stock incident in folk-tales is the gift by a *faqīr* of a barleycorn to a barren widow whereby she conceives. For the Buddhist doctrines see art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Buddhist).

5. Mediæval.—Three or four centuries before the Christian era a religion with Vāsudeva as its central figure and a school of his followers known as Bhāgavata was founded in India. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the sun is the gate, and after entrance those who are free from sin, all their material impurities being burnt, remain as atoms in him (it); then, released from him, they enter the Aniruddha (self-consciousness) form and, becoming mind, they enter the Pradyumna (mind) form. Leaving this, they enter that of Saṁkarṣaṇa, *i.e.* the form of the individual soul (*jīva*), and afterwards, freed from the three *guṇas*, they enter the Supreme Soul, who is everywhere and who is Vāsudeva, 'he who covers the whole world and is the resting-place (*adhivāsa*) of all beings.' Vāsudeva next became identified with Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu, and finally with Nārāyaṇa; and the Bhakti system or Ekāntika Dharma (monotheism) was attached to the Vaiṣṇava creeds. Its earliest exposition in the *Bhāgavad-Gīta* teaches that they who know the incarnations and the deeds of Bhagavat are released from the body and not born again. The discipline prescribed, however, for the attainment of the Brahmā condition is religious, not merely moral, and this differentiates the Bhakti doctrine from that of the *Kaṭha* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads.* Mention is made of two paths, and those who die while the sun is in his northern course (Uttarāyana) go to Brahmā, while those who die while he is in his southern course go to the orb of the moon, from which the soul returns. Again, the whole creation (Saṁsāra) is compared to a *pipal*-tree, which is to be cut by the weapon of indifference or detachment. When a soul departs from a body it takes away the *indriyas* (senses), of which *manas* (mind) is the sixth, and brings them in when it assumes another body. The soul itself is a part of Bhagavat and is eternal. By becoming *soma* (hemp) Bhagavat raises all herbs. By becoming fire he aids digestion. There are two souls in the world, one changeable, the other not, and besides these there is another, the highest or Paramātman, who, as the unchangeable lord, supports all three worlds after entering into them. Hence it appears that it is the animal soul that goes out of the body along with the six senses and enters new ones in that condition.

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[1] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 254.

[2] *Ib.* p. 255.

[3] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by some Points in the History of Buddhism*, London, 1891, p. 81; cf. Appendix VII. for parallel beliefs on souls going to the moon.

[1] J. P. Vogel, 'A Græco-Buddhist Sculpture in the Lahore Museum,' in *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, i. [1902] 135.

6. Modern Aryan.—The multiplicity and, it must be confessed, inconsistencies of the older doctrines current in India regarding life and death are reflected in the countless beliefs now existing, but through all the bewildering variations which prevail a few dominant conceptions can generally be traced, and a remote and savage tribe will be found professing a creed which is based on the fundamentals of orthodox Hinduism. Even the regular terminology will reappear in forms more or less mutilated. So numerous are these beliefs that only a few of them can be given.

The basic idea of life in all India is that it is indestructible. This leads to a readiness to take life which to the European appears callous and brutal indifference to it. Thus in 1841 S. C. Macpherson was deputed to Ganjām in Madras to suppress female infanticide and human sacrifices among the Khonds, a tribe which believed that souls return to human form in the same family, but that they do not do so if the naming ceremony on the 7th day after birth has not been performed. As the Khonds ardently desire sons, they saw in this belief a perfect justification for female infanticide as a means of reducing the number of female souls to be re-born in the family.[1] A very similar belief prevails in the Panjāb, where a girl child is or was killed with rites and an incantation bidding her 'send a brother instead.' Exchange is not murder.

How far this and similar beliefs account for the reluctance to cremate young children does not appear. But the souls of those dying after infancy or childhood are very widely believed to pass into another world, at least for a term. Thus in the Panjāb the Kanets of the Kulū valley sometimes after a cremation make a small foot-bridge over running water in the neighbourhood to help the passing of the soul of the deceased.[2] Yet the same people practise a form of divination, which is very widely spread, to ascertain, immediately after death, what animal the soul will enter or has entered.

This belief is perfectly consistent with a belief in metempsychosis and yet compatible with the worship or propitiation of the dead, who may be benevolent or the reverse. Among the kindly dead may be numbered the spirits of ancestors, of pure ones (*siddhs*), and saints, of dutiful widows who have committed *satī*, and so on. But the propitiation of the malevolent dead is much more necessary, and therefore prevalent. For example, in the Kumaon division of the United Provinces the lowest class, the Ḍoms, and even the lower classes of Brāhmans, the Khas Brāhmans and Rajputs—in fact, the bulk of the population—believe in the powers of the malevolent or vindictive dead. Thus, if a man has two wives and drives one to suicide, any disease afflicting the other wife's children is ascribed to her ghost, which must be propitiated, and gradually comes to be treated as a god. If a man is killed in a quarrel, every misfortune befalling his slayer or his children is ascribed to the ghost.

> 'There is reason to believe that the emotion caused by the dread of the effects of *karma* is much stronger in the hills than in the plains. In particular dying in debt is dreaded as the debtor will, it is believed, be re-born as the ox or pony of his creditor. If a man's son die it is believed that he was his father's creditor in a former life, and the debt being now extinguished there is no necessity of his further life.' The latter belief is said to provide a great consolation, since the death of an ordinary son is a much more serious matter.

The certainty of the operation of *karma* is not without considerable effect on practical morality.[1] It is automatic, so that specific condemnation by Parmeśwar (God) of any sin is hardly required. Similarly, the idea of forgiveness is absolutely wanting; evil done may be outweighed by meritorious deeds only so far as to ensure a better existence in the future, but it is not effaced, and must be atoned for. As to the objection raised to the theory of transmigration—that it does not follow from it that the soul remembers previous existences—such a consciousness is recognized in the case of great ascetics; and even a person born in a degraded position knows that the reason for this is his wrong-doing in a previous existence. The nature of the next incarnation can also be divined, when a man has died, by placing ashes from a potter's kiln in a shallow vessel and smoothing them. Next morning they will be found marked with human foot-prints, claws, wavy lines, and so on, according as the soul is to be re-born as a man, a bird, a tree, etc. To ensure that they shall be married to each other in a future existence, a man and his wife bathe together in the Ganges with their clothes tied together. The important difference in the teachings of theoretical Hinduism and popular religion in regard to heaven and hell is that the former declares that there are transitory stages of existence in the chain of transmigration, while in the latter there is generally an idea that the soul, when sufficiently purified, goes to dwell for ever in heaven, which is regarded as a place where the soul will enjoy material comforts. In popular Hinduism there is no idea of absorption in the deity or of recurring cycles of existence and non-existence.[2]

The conception of life as something impalpable, yet apparently material and certainly transferable, is extremely common in India, and may, indeed, be described as the most popular. Thus a woman who has lost a child will bathe above its grave, pouring water over herself through a sieve, in order to ensure a fresh conception. For the same reason very young children are sometimes buried under the threshold, so that the life may come back again. This idea leads to the popular belief that life may be stolen, and so on the night of the Dīvāli, or feast of lamps, male children are occasionally stolen and killed so that a barren woman may bathe over the body and conceive a son of her own.[3] As in other ritual murders, it is desirable to kill the child with as much pain as possible. And during the *śrāddhas*, the ancestral fortnight when the sun is in Virgo (Kanyā), occurs the Kanāgatān *laṛaṇ*, or 'fighting in Kanyāgat,' also termed *sāñjhi pāwan* ('sharing with others'), in which women of good Hindu caste, even Khatrīs and Brāhmans, of the Central Panjāb, take part. On the first day of the *śrāddhas*, the goddess Lakṣmī's image in the house or lane is painted with cow-dung, and the women belonging to it go out early in the day to a bathing-place, reviling on the way women who are known to have sons. This leads to tussles in which garments are often rent to pieces, but men must not interfere. The belief is that by cursing the sons of others the female attracts the male souls to herself through the intervention of the goddess, whose image is worshipped daily and thrown into the river at the end of the fortnight which is held sacred to the spouse of Śiva the destroyer as well as to the dead. Married women are also cursed to become widows, in order to prolong one's own wedlock. On the *Amāwas* day regular fights take place between large gangs of women on their way to the river, and the affair is treated as a festival.

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[1] E. A. Gait, *Census Rep. India*, 1913, p. 216.

[2] H. A. Rose, *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*, Lahore, 1911, ii. 463.

[1] *Census Rep. United Provinces*, 1901, i. 77.

[2] *Ib.* p. 76.

[3] No one would think a female soul worth stealing, although a girl's soul is expected to return in a boy.

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the footnotes.

H. A. ROSE.

LIFE AND DEATH (Iranian).—With their marked tendency towards optimism, the Iranians loved life (*anghu, gaya, jyātu, jīti, uštāna*) and abhorred death (*mahrka, mereθyu*); the one is the creation of Ahura Mazda, the other of Angra Mainyu (*Ys.* xxx. 4), who have been at variance since 'the beginning of life' (*Ys.* xlv. 2). Not only was life first created by Ahura Mazda (*Ys.* xliii. 5, xlvi. 6, xlviii. 6), and not only did he give life to the body (*Ys.* xxxi. 11), so that Zarathushtra asks him how the 'first [*i.e.* the earthly] life' is to be (*Ys.* xxviii. 11; cf. xxxiii. 1), but he is 'the lord of the deeds of life' (*Ys.* xxxi. 8), and from him come the joys of life (*Ys.* xxxiii. 10; cf. xxxiv. 14). The Amesha Spentas (*q.v.*) give aid to the life of man (*Ys.* xxx. 7), so that Zarathushtra fittingly presents the 'life of his own body' as a 'holy offering' (*rātā*) to Ahura Mazda and Asha (*Ys.* xxxiii. 14). On the other hand, the demon Wrath (Aēshma) injures the life of man, and the wicked and unbelievers mar it (*Ys.* xxx. 6, xxxii. 9, 11).

Life in this world is not all; indeed, though Zoroastrianism teaches that all good things are to be enjoyed in full measure, life here below is but a preparation for the richer life beyond. For this reason Zarathushtra asks from Vohu Manah and Asha the 'words of life' (*uxδā anghēuš*), while the 'right ways of weal' (*erezūš savanghō paθō*) are to be learned from the religious teacher in the present life (*Ys.* xliv. 8, xliii. 3).

If life on earth is the 'first life,' the 'second life' is in heaven, and that life the *dregvant* (the 'man of the Lie,' 'the perpetual term for those who take the devil's side in human life' [J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, pp. 146, 131]) seeks to destroy (*Ys.* xlv. 1, xlvi. 11, liii. 6). Heaven is the place of 'long life' (*Ys.* xliii. 2, 13). Most significant of all is the presence, among the Amesha Spentas, of the godling Immortality, Ameretāt (*Ys.* xliv. 17, xlv. 5, 10, xlvii. 1, li. 7), for in heaven life is to be for eternity (*Ys.* xlv. 7).

When we turn to the Younger Avesta, we find the outlook upon life unchanged. Long life in this world is a blessing and an object of prayer (*Ys.* lxviii. 11; *Āfrīnakān*, i. 18), while both Ahura Mazda and the Gāthās are honoured with life and body (*Ys.* v. 3, lv. 1; cf. lviii. 3). Life is twofold: 'this' or 'the corporeal' (lit. 'osseous'), and 'the spiritual' (*ahmāicā ahuyē manahyāicā*, *Ys.* xl. 2, xli. 6; *uvaēibya . . . ahubya . . . aheca anghēuš yō astvatō yasca asti manahyō*, *Ys.* lvii. 25), so that prayer is made to Ahura Mazda to be 'life and corporeality for both lives' (*gayascā astentāoscā . . . ubōyō anghvō*, *Ys.* xli. 3). The 'best life' (*vahišta ahu*, *Ys.* ix. 19, and often) is actually a synonym for 'heaven,' as the 'worst life' (*acišta ahu*, e.g. *Vend.* iii. 35) is for 'hell,' and this concept still survives in the ordinary Persian term for 'heaven,' *bihišt*. The 'best of the best life' is the 'righteousness of Asha' (*Vend.* xviii. 6); and in the time of the final Saoshyant, Astvaṭ-ereta, men will live for ever, for there shall be no more death (*Yt.* xix. 89), even as was the case in the happy days of Yima's reign (*Ys.* ix. 5; *Yt.* xix. 33; *Vend.* ii. 5).

In the Gāthās death is seldom mentioned. The whole stress of Zarathushtra is on life, to be devoted to overcoming the powers of evil and gaining the eternal joys of heaven. Even the wicked do not die; they are damned to the everlasting torments of hell (*Ys.* xlv. 7, xlvi. 11). In the Younger Avesta, on the contrary, death is an important feature. We need not detail the corruption wrought by the 'corpse demon' (Nasu; cf. Gr. νέκυς, 'corpse'), which forms the main theme of *Vend.* v.–xii. (see also art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Parsi]), and we need only mention that a standing epithet of Haoma (*q.v.*) is *dūraoša* ('from whom destruction [especially death] remains afar,' *Ys.* ix. 2, 19, x. 21, xi. 3, 10, xxxii. 14 [on the latter passage see Moulton, 71 f., 358]). Death is one of the worst of evils (*Yt.* iii. 7–12; cf. ix. 10), and the first to stay it was Thrita (*Vend.* xx. 2), while it is the Druj (the Lie, the negation of the truth of Ahura Mazda [?]) who destroys life (*Ys.* lvii. 15), 'life' here probably being meant in the eschatological sense. As we have seen, in the blessed future there will be no death, but in this present world only the wicked forget death; the man of piety prepares for it (*Aogemadaēcā*, 32 ff.), for it is inevitable (*ib.* 53 ff.).

According to the Pahlavi *Dīnā-ī Maīnōg-ī Xraṭ* (viii. 20), which is not strictly orthodox, being markedly fatalistic in tone (cf. art. FATE [Iranian]), the seven planets 'pervert every creature and creation, and deliver them up to death and every evil.' According to the *Bundahišn* (i. 7; cf. xxx. 20 ff.), the creatures of Ahriman will perish at the Last Day, when the heavens and the earth shall be created anew and when the creation of Ahura Mazda shall reign supreme, after wicked men shall have been purified by the flood of molten metal which at that time will cover the world.

Of mythological concepts of life and death there is scant trace in Zoroastrianism, the sole allusion, evidently borrowed from a Semitic source, being to the tree Gōkarṭ (the Gaokerena of *Yt.* i. 30, *Vend.* xx. 4, etc.), or white Hōm, which is 'the counteractor of decrepitude, the reviver of the dead, and the immortalizer of the living' (*Selections of Zāṭ-Sparam*, viii. 5), and from which, at the ἀποκατάστασις, is obtained one of the components of the food which will give undying life to all (*Bundahišn*, xxx. 25; cf. ix. 6, xviii. 1, and see F. Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, Berlin, 1863, pp. 169, 253; F. Spiegel, *Erân. Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871–78, i. 464 ff.).

LITERATURE.—The principal references are given by C. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1904, *s.vv.* 'Anghav-, 'Gaya-,' 'Jītay-,' 'Jyātav-,' 'Uštana-,' 'Mahrka-, 'Mereθyav-,' 'Pourumahrka-,' etc. No special study of the subject has yet been written.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

LIFE AND DEATH (Japanese).—As might be expected, the early Japanese conceived of life and death as being entirely dependent on breathing. The word for 'to live,' *iku*, is associated with *iki*, 'breath'; and *i-no-chi*, the expression for life and vitality, is believed to mean *iki-no-uchi*, 'during breathing,' or *iki-no-michi*, 'the way of respiration.' Similarly, the word for 'to die,' *shinu*, seems to mean *shi-inu*, 'the wind goes' (a derivation of the word from *sugi-inu*, 'to pass away,' is disputable). These very ancient words are still in common use, though the people think little of their etymology.

The mythology opens with the primal power of production. Three deities are said to have sprung out of the primeval chaos. One of these is the Eternal-Ruling (Ame-no-minaka-nushi), and the other two are the High-Producing (Taka-mimusubi) and the Divine- (or Mysterious-) Producing (Kami-mimusubi). The last two are identified with the Divinity-Male (Kami-ro-gi) and the Divinity-Female (Kami-ro-mi), the terminations *gi* and *mi* representing 'male' and 'female' respectively. It has not unreasonably been suspected that this triad may have been borrowed from the Chinese ideas of the primal entity and the two principles, positive and negative, flowing out of it; but the Divinity-Male and the Divinity-Female are constantly invoked in the ritual or prayers, some of which are of remote origin. It is undeniable that in the pristine faith of the Japanese the generative powers played a great part, but these divinities themselves were thought to have been generated spontaneously, and the first pair are followed by a series of similar deities. They were all generated independently from one another and in turn disappeared or hid themselves.

The last of these pairs are the Male-Who-Invites (Izana-gi) and the Female-Who-Invites (Izana-mi), who are doubtless counterparts of the first pair. They were united in marriage, by order of the celestial deities, and brought forth the islands which make up the Japanese archipelago, and nearly all sorts of elements and objects (see, further, art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Japanese]). The stories of these births show that many objects of nature were believed to be animated, as was, in fact, whatever manifested any power, good or evil, on men. The female deity becomes ill from bearing fire as a child and consequently dies. This death, however, is not to be taken as a natural death in our modern sense of the word. After her death the goddess is found in Yomotsu-kuni, *i.e.* 'the dark country,' which is thought to be in a subterranean region. The male deity visits her there and, against her will, looks on her body by torchlight. Enraged at his importunity, she, accompanied by her attendants of the darkness, pursues him, in order to catch him and to make him a member of the realm where death and darkness rule. Their dialogue on the boundary of the world and the dark region tells of the life and death of human beings. The female deity, now the genius of death, threatens the male that she will take the lives of one thousand men every day, while he expresses his counter-determination that he will give birth to one thousand and five hundred men a day. Thus we see how the pair of generative powers were divided and metamorphosed into the powers of life and death. A similar antithesis is attributed to the Heaven-Shining (Ama-terasu), the goddess of light and culture, and the Swift-Impetuous (Susa-no-wo), the god of darkness and outrage. These two are said to have been born of the Male-Who-Invites, either alone or in union with his consort. These divisions, however, are not thoroughgoing. Usually, in popular belief, life is ascribed to the power of the Producing deity or deities, and death to the power of evil spirits, who are indefinite in their personalities.

The stories told of the deities, of their generation and death, and of life and death in general, show neither definite sequence nor unity of conception. They are coloured by ethnological incidents, and are also possibly mingled with foreign elements. Still it is certain that the pristine beliefs contained the ideas of spontaneous generation and generative reproduction, on the one side, and the belief in unnatural death, caused by evil forces, on the other. This idea of death as the violent cessation of life survived the belief in spontaneous generation, and still remains in the observances of purity, which are intended as a means of avoiding the contagion of pollution or to prevent evil influences of all kinds.

Life is coeval with breathing, but vitality endures longer and acts beyond bodily limitations. Soul, the source of vitality, is considered to be a thing precious and mysterious like a jewel or ball. It is called *tama* or *tama-shii*, 'subtle aerial ball.' But it is not always a unity or a homogeneous whole, for double manifestations of it, or double entities, are spoken of. They are either *nigi-tama* and *ara-tama* or *saki-mitama* and *kushi-mitama*. The *nigi*, 'mild,' 'quiet,' 'refined,' is contrasted with the *ara*, which is 'wild,' 'raging,' 'raw.' Similarly, *saki* means 'happy,' 'flourishing,' while *kushi* means 'wonderful,' 'hidden,' or 'hideous.' The latter set is believed to be the two aspects of the *ara-tama*, the active side of the soul, but in fact the relation between these two sets is not clearly defined. The existence of these double souls in every man is also obscure. We know only that in some cases one of them appears, even to the astonishment of the possessor. Whether or not the double souls were borrowed from the Chinese conception of souls, aerial and terrestrial, or of the two principles, positive and negative, is uncertain.

The soul is sometimes personified as, *e.g.*, Uga-no-mitama, the spirit of vegetable production, or as Iki-kuni-dama, the living-land-soul. In post-Buddhistic ages the souls of trees, rocks, springs, etc. are more in vogue. They appear in human form, but they are distinguished from human souls, being specially named the *sei*, or 'essence.' The double souls were almost forgotten, having been overshadowed by Buddhistic ideas, and they were revived by the Shintoists of the 18th cent., but with little influence upon popular belief. Buddhism teaches that there is only one soul to one living being.

As to future conditions, there is a kind of heavenly world, Takama-no-hara ('Plain of High Heaven'), where celestial deities reign. Yomotsu-kuni, mentioned above, is the opposite pole. Besides these, there are two worlds beyond this, Hi-no-waka-miya ('Solar Young Palace') and Toko-yo ('Eternal World'). The former is mentioned only as the abode of the Male-Who-Invites, and it is sometimes explained as meaning the shrine marking the place of burial. The latter meant any place beyond the sea. Moreover, we are not told whether a deity, when he hides himself, or a human being, when he dies, is destined to be born in one of these worlds beyond. Nothing definite or detailed is told of these conditions. A definite systematization of the eschatology, after the models of Buddhist ideas, was made only by the later Shintoists.

The Japanese remained in rather primitive conditions as to the conceptions of life and death, until Buddhism introduced an elaborate system of ideas in the 6th cent. A.D. Contact with the civilization of the Asiatic continent and the importation of Confucianism with its writings may have influenced Japanese ideas in some respects, as pointed out above. But these influences did not materially change the ideas, because Confucianism was not particular in such matters. On the other hand, the Buddhist influence upon the people of the East consisted chiefly in its elaborate eschatological doctrines. It taught the composite nature of human life, made up of the five components (*skandha*), in order to convince the people of its impermanency. Life, thus made up, is only a knot in a long chain of causation, of deeds and their fruits (*karma*), which stretches out endlessly before and behind. Along this chain our souls have passed through all possible forms of existence, and will continue to transmigrate further on. There are five or six courses (*gati*) of transmigration, ranging from the highest heaven of pleasurable life to the nethermost inferno; and these are again classifed according to the three conditions of existence (*bhava*), which are subdivided into twenty-five. Beyond these courses and conditions there are the lands of eternal bliss, prepared by various Buddhas to receive believers. Every one may be born in one of these, according to his faith and merit. The Tuṣitā heaven of Maitreya and the Sukhāvatī of Amitābha were the most popular Buddha-lands (*kṣetra*) in the Buddhism brought to the East. There the soul, no longer subject to causation and transmigration, will enjoy full communion with the saints, and may come back to the earthly worlds in order to save relatives and friends. We can imagine how wonderful and attractive these teachings must have appeared to the people, simple and credulous as they were. Thus, an inscription dated A.D. 622 expresses a belief in *karma* and a devout wish to be taken to the Land of Purity by the grace of Buddha. It is questionable how much impression these ideas left upon the mind of the people at large a hundred years after their introduction; but the change and widening of thought are undeniable.

Steadily progressive Buddhist influence, first among the higher classes and then among the lower, gradually suppressed the old national ideas as well as the Confucianist conceptions of life and death. The romances, stories, and lyrical poems of the 10th cent. and later abound in ideas of *karma*, transmigration, and birth in Buddha-lands. Those ideas and beliefs became and remain to-day the most important factors of popular beliefs, in spite of hostile endeavours made by the Confucianists to depose them, ever since the 17th century. They can be detected in many songs sung by street musicians, and the words alluding to them are used in daily affairs, consciously or unconsciously.

Nevertheless, the native ideas have never died out, but have remained rather as a kind of matrix into which the adopted conceptions have been laid. The national beliefs, so to speak, look upon the sun as the source of all vitality. But here the sun is not exactly the goddess of light (Ama-terasu) of the mythology. It is sexless and without any other attributes than that of the life-giver. It is invoked as the Great Divinity (Oho-mi-kami) or the August Heavenly Way (O-tentō-sama), and is worshipped every morning by some, or on New Year's morning and at sunset on the equinoxes by the majority. They breathe deep breaths facing the sun, meaning to inhale thereby the vital essence (*yōki*) emanating from it. At the same time prayers, either Shintoist or Buddhist, are uttered. The power opposing life is darkness, which, however, means not merely absence of light, but an evil power or pollution (*kegare* or *yinki*), the cause of ills and death.

This belief in the sun as the life-giver is certainly a survival of that in the Producing-Divinity, who follows the Heaven-Shining goddess as her noumenon. The ideas and practices have been influenced by the Buddhist cult of Vairochana (the Great Illuminator) and also by the Confucian dualism of the *yin* and *yang*, but we can see here a tendency to continue primitive beliefs.

These ideas have been systematized in recent times into a cult by some Shintō reformers. One section of Buddhists favours this cult, while the other disregards it, though without opposing it. To the former belong the Shingon sect, the most Hinduistic form of Buddhism, which has tried to amalgamate Shintō, and the Nichiren sect, the most Japanized Buddhism. To the latter category belong the Jōdo and the Shin sects, the Buddhist Pietists and Puritans, and the Zen sect, the school of meditation and introspection.

On an average, the prevailing conceptions of the modern Japanese are based on the Buddhistic Shintō. *Karma* and fate are still believed in by many, but transmigration is not strictly adhered to in the details of its teaching. The majority, in fact, think little of life and of its origin; but evils and diseases are, in many cases and by many people, ascribed to spirits or devils indiscriminately. Among the educated classes and educational circles agnosticism, so common to the Japanese mind and to Confucianists in this connexion, is a recognized principle. Young Buddhists, who are now eagerly engaged in reconstructing their faith in Buddha, are not strict in the doctrines of *karma* and transmigration.

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LIFE AND DEATH (Jewish).—Optimism is the keynote of post-Biblical Judaism. Everything that God does is for the best (*Berakhoth*, 60*b*), and this life is essentially good, to be contemplated with joy and gratitude. 'For every breath that a man draws,' say the Rabbis, 'let him praise God' (*Midr. Rab.* to Gn 2^7). Yet life is not an end in itself, for it must be lived under a sense of responsibility to the Giver, and all its worth resides in this aspect of it. At death a man loses the opportunity of obeying the Torah and the Commandments (*Shab.* 30*a*). 'Morality,' says M. Lazarus, summing up the teaching of Judaism on this subject, 'is man's vocation' (*Ethics of Judaism*, § 116), and the Rabbinical legend tells of God's saying at Sinai: 'If Israel accept not the Commandments, it is better that the earth revert to chaos' (*Shab.* 88*a*). 'The world,' say the Rabbis elsewhere, 'stands upon three pillars: the Torah, Worship, and Benevolence' (*Aboth*, i. 2); or, according to another maxim, 'upon Justice, Truth, and Peace' (*ib.* i. 18). 'The Torah is the medicine of life' (*Yoma*, 72*b*); in other words, life is made sane and efficient by religion. God, according to the Talmudic doctors, says to Israel: 'My light, the Torah, is in thy hands; thy light, the soul, is in Mine. Tend My light, and I will tend thine' (*Midr. Rab.* to Lv 24^2). The supreme hope of the Jew is to behold the Kingdom of God established on earth, and thus, in a notable passage of the Liturgy for the New Year Festival, he prays:

> 'Put Thy fear, O Lord God, we beseech Thee, upon all Thy works, so that all mankind may bow before Thee, and become one band united to do Thy will with a perfect heart; for we know, O Lord, that dominion is Thine, and that strength is in Thy right hand. And so give glory, O Lord, to Thy people, hope to those that fear Thee, and the opening of the mouth to those that trust in Thee. For then the righteous shall see and be glad, and iniquity shall shut its mouth, and all wickedness shall be wholly consumed like smoke, for the proud rule of sin shall pass away from off the earth. Then every creature shall own Thee as its Creator, and everything that hath breath shall cry, The Lord, the God of Israel, reigneth, and His dominion ruleth over all' (cf. Sir $36^{1\text{ff.}}$).

But, though the true life is the life of service, it must be glad service, for 'the view of life taught by Judaism is serious, but cheerful' (Lazarus, § 253). The Shekinah (the Divine Presence), says the Talmud, does not come in response either to grief or to levity, but to glad performance of duty (*Shab.* 30*b*). This is the essence of Jewish doctrine on the subject; neither asceticism nor hedonism, but joy springing from and tempered by the religious idea, is the characteristic Jewish temper. 'There should be no unrestrained laughter in this world' (*Ber.* 31*a*). The history of Israel, with all its tragedy, is sufficient to forbid such mirth; and the pious Jew denies himself many a pleasure in memory of desolate Jerusalem. Moreover, unlimited enjoyment is incompatible with a religious outlook on life; the good man will conceive of himself as living under a Divine law, with which his pleasures must be made conformable. On the other hand, the ascetic idea is alien to the true Jewish spirit. The desire for happiness is no evil thing, and its indulgence, under right conditions, is commendable. Even the impulses that make for physical pleasure are the Divine handiwork, and to gratify them is a duty; without them life would be impossible. 'If it were not for desire, the world could not stand; a man would not take a wife, nor build a house, nor plant a vineyard' (*Midr. Tᵉhillim*, ed. S. Buber, Wilna, 1891, to Ps 37[1]). But indulgence of these lower instincts must have as its motive, not the satisfaction which it yields, but the desire to promote the Divine purpose for which they were created. That indulgence is a duty, but a religious duty.

Thus the Rabbinical law, following the general rule laid down in *Ber.* 35*a*, prescribes a number of prayers to be recited by the Jew on indulging in various pleasures more or less sensuous in character—on partaking, *e.g.*, of various kinds of food, on inhaling the scent of a flower, on looking upon the sea, on beholding a rainbow, on taking possession of a new house, and on wearing new clothes for the first time. By such means physical gratification, while sanctioned, is also sanctified. The tendency to self-indulgence is not rebuked, but restrained; natural desire is tempered, not extirpated or suppressed. 'Material comfort and æsthetical pleasures are regarded as integral parts of an ethically sound life' (Lazarus, § 245). It is a Jewish boast that the Hebrew language is particularly rich in words connoting joy. The Rabbis count ten such synonyms (*Aboth dᵉ Rabbi Nathan* [ed. S. Schechter, Vienna, 1887], 52*a*). The Feast of Tabernacles is called the 'season of our gladness' *par excellence* (see *Authorised Prayer Book*, ed. S. Singer, p. 228); 'it would seem as though the Festival was instituted for the specific purpose of gladness, as though the religiousness of joy was to be indicated by ordaining a special celebration in its honour' (M. Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*², p. 185). Joy is itself service; but it must be transmuted into service by being purified. Pleasure must be dignified by piety and self-restraint. At meals, the Rabbis teach, words of Torah must be spoken, otherwise it is as if the assembled company ate of the sacrifices of the dead (*Aboth*, iii. 3). A man should eat only when he is hungry, and drink only when he is thirsty, and always in moderation (*Hullin*, 84*a*, *b*). The Talmud inveighs against gluttony and luxury (*Pesachim*, 114*a*). In fine, Judaism commends the golden mean between unbridled self-gratification and extreme self-denial. Indulgence and renunciation must be allies, not antagonists; something of both must go to the making of the daily life; and each must find its justification in the higher utility. 'Here,' says Moses Luzzatto (18th cent.), 'is the true rule on this subject:—The worldly pleasures which a man needs not it is his duty to eschew; but those which, for one reason or another, he does need he cannot renounce without sin. This is the safe rule. But its application to the various circumstances of life must be left to the intelligence and the conscience' (*Mesilath Yesharim*, ch. 13). A far older teacher, Jehudah Halevi (12th cent.), aptly says: 'Our law, as a whole, is divided between fear, love, and joy, by each of which one can approach God. Thy contrition on a fast day does nothing to bring thee nearer to God than thy joy on the Sabbath and holy days, if it [the latter] is the outcome of a devout heart' (*Kitāb al-Khazari*, tr. H. Hirschfeld, London, 1905, p. 113).

It is due partly to the difficulty of defining the *via media* of moderation, and partly to the sorrowful experiences of the Jewish race, that occasionally temperance has overstepped the safe line, and lost itself in austerity. The Talmud tells of a Rabbi (Ze'ra) who fasted a hundred days (*Baba meṣi'a*, 85*a*), and of another (Mar ben Rabina) who fasted practically all the year round (*Pes.* 68*b*). There have been Jewish sects, like the Essenes and the Ḳaraites (*qq.v.*), which have been marked more or less strongly by austere practices. In Judaism, as in other religions, mysticism has had contempt for the world and its joys as its corollary. The disciples of Hillel and Shammai even formally discussed the question whether life is worth living (*Erubin*, 13*b*). This uncertainty is often visible. The devotee who gives himself to fasting is called, now a saint, and now a sinner (*Ta'anith*, 11*a*, 22*b*); a man must die for the Torah, and yet he must not (*Baba kama*, 61*a*; *Erubin*, 6*b*); to sleep on the earth is commended in one place (*Baraitha* of R. Meir), and discouraged in another (*Ber.* 62*b*). But these contradictions are either passing or incidental phases of Jewish thought; a firmer note is the rule, and the ascetic and the pessimist are only by-products of Judaism. It is a bad sign, say the Rabbis, to despise life (*Tana dᵉbe Eliyahu*, ch. 14); and they account for the sin-offering brought by the Nazirite (Nu 6[14]) by contending that his very abstinence from strong drink was a sin (*Ta'anith*, 11*a*).

'According to our view,' says Jehudah Halevi (*op. cit.* p. 135), 'a servant of God is not one who detaches himself from the world, or hates life, which is one of God's bounties. On the contrary, he loves the world and a long life because it affords him the opportunity of deserving the world to come.'

According to a striking Talmudic utterance, in the next world men will be called to account for the lawful pleasures which they have refused in this life (Jer. *Ḳiddushin*, ch. 4). And the real Jew speaks in these maxims. Judaism fixes the thoughts of its adherents upon the future world, but not to the exclusion of this world. 'It has revealed heaven to men, but earth as well' (M. Güdemann, *Das Judenthum*, Vienna, 1902, p. 56). It has no sympathy with self-mortification for its own sake, no commendation for the temper that voluntarily courts pain and abridges life for the greater glory of God. Suffering has to be patiently endured when it comes; it has even to be welcomed as the seed of moral regeneration. 'With thy very wounds I will heal thee,' God, according to the Rabbis, cries to man (*Midr. Rab.* to Lv 15[2] [the reference is to Jer 30[17]]), and 'those whom God afflicts bear his name' (*Midr. Tᵉhillim* to Ps 94[1]); 'if thou desirest life, hope for affliction' (*ib.* to Ps 16[11]). Such utterances betoken not a worship of sorrow, but a recognition of its disciplinary power, of its value for the character, its significance for the life. Judaism sees no merit in suffering, but only in the right bearing of it; and between its teachings and the ideas of the self-tormenting Hindu there is an impassable gulf. Suicide is a crime, and its perpetrator is not to be mourned (*Midr. Rab.* to Gn 9[5]; Maimonides, *Hil. Roṣeach*, xi. 4); but the slow suicide that comes of self-mortification or of the neglect of health is also reprehensible. 'Ye shall keep my statutes, and my judgments: which if a man do, he shall live by them' (Lv 18[5])—'live by them,' says the Rabbinical gloss, 'not die by them' (*Yoma*, 85*b*).

Scattered among the motley contents of the Talmud are the materials for an entire treatise on medicine and hygiene; and the fact is itself a proof of the importance attached to the physical life by the old Jewish sages. Personal cleanliness is exalted into a religious duty. Hillel (1st cent. B.C.), on his way to the bath-house, tells his disciples that he is about to perform a sacred rite; it is a religious duty, he explains, to tend the body, upon which God has stamped a divine beauty (*Midr. Rab.* to Lv 25[35]). Personal cleanliness, the Talmud teaches, is the avenue to spiritual purity (*Aboda Zara*, 20*b*). The duty of preserving life, it further declares, overrides the religious law (*Yoma*, 85*b*). It is not only allowable, but a duty, to extinguish a dangerous fire on the Sabbath day, and to ask permission of the religious authorities is to incur delay and to be guilty of murder. The heads of the community are to be foremost in the humane task (*ib.* 84*b*). For the dead, even though he be King David himself, the Sabbath must not be broken; but it may be broken for the living, even for a child a day old. 'Put out,' says the Talmud, 'the light of a lamp on the Sabbath day rather than extinguish God's light of life' (*Shab.* 30*b*). In a well-known passage in 1 Mac (2[39-41]) the Jewish patriots are described as resolving to defend themselves on the Sabbath instead of passively sacrificing their lives, as their brethren had done hitherto. Self-preservation is a duty. To slay a fellow-creature at the command of another is a crime (*Pes.* 25*b*); but to slay him in self-defence is justifiable. If we are called upon to choose between saving our own life and that of another, we must save our own (*Baba meṣi'a*, 62*a*). Self-torture is forbidden (*Baba kama*, 91*b*), as is the courting of needless danger to life—by sleeping, *e.g.*, on the ground, or remaining in a dilapidated house (*Ta'anith*, 20*b*; *Ber.* 62*b*). In certain ailments 'unclean' meats, usually forbidden to Jews, may be given to the patient (*Yoma*, 83*a*).

There are limits, however, to this regard for the physical life. A man may break every law to save his life except those which forbid the three cardinal sins, idolatry, incest, and murder (*Sanh.* 74*a*). Those who suffer martyrdom for the faith are justly lauded by the Talmud (*Giṭṭin*, 57*b*). But, with these reservations, the duty of preserving life is paramount. Nothing must be done to abridge the duration of life even in the case of the dying (*Shab.* 151*b*).

The Talmud has the story of a sage who, suffering martyrdom at the stake, is adjured by his disciples to end his agony by giving himself to the flames forthwith. He refuses. 'God,' he says, 'alone can take my life; I may not' (*Aboda Zara*, 18*a*).

Regard for life is exalted into reverence. The gift of God, life must be treated with the utmost consideration. The Talmudic laws prescribing kindness to the lower animals are in part actuated by this motive. God has created the various types of animal life, and desires their perpetuation. It is man's duty to pay homage to the Divine will in this as in every other respect, and to make himself the instrument for its fulfilment (see Aaron of Barcelona, *Sepher Haḥinnukh* [13th cent.], §§ 284, 545).

Life, then, according to the Jewish idea, is not evil, but supremely good; it is not a burden to be shuffled off with a sigh of relief.

'This world is not a vale of tears. It is a beautiful world, and men must keep it beautiful by the inherent graciousness of their own lives and by the joy they weave into the lives of others. On the other hand, the true Israelite does not think of this world as his home. It is but a halting-place on the journey from one point in eternity to the other, "the ante-chamber to the palace" (*Aboth*, iv. 16), "a wayside inn" (*Mo'ed ḳaṭon*, 9*b*), the port where we must equip our bark if we would fare safely on our fateful voyage in the great Beyond' (Joseph, p. 287).

Life is not to be clung to unduly, or to be yielded up grudgingly. When the Master's call comes, it must be obeyed cheerfully; for, since He does everything well, the decree that removes us is as wise and good as is the ordinance that places us here. 'Fear not,' says Ben Sira, 'the sentence of death. . . . Why dost thou refuse, when it is the good pleasure of the Most High?' (Sir $41^{3f.}$). This acceptance of death as the dispensation of Divine justice is the keynote of the ancient Jewish burial service, which takes the form of a theodicy, and, indeed, is so styled. Its distinctive name is *ṣidduḳ haddin*, 'justification of the Divine sentence,' and its essence is expressed in the following quotation:

'Righteous art Thou, O Lord, both when Thou killest and when Thou makest alive. . . . It is not for us to murmur at Thy method of judging. . . . Blessed, then, be the righteous Judge, all Whose judgments are righteous and true. . . . The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord' (*Authorised Prayer Book*, p. 318 f.). On hearing of the death of one dear to him, the devout Jew utters the benediction: 'Blessed be the righteous Judge' (*ib.* p. 292).

The Israelite, then, is taught not to desire death, but also not to fear it. If in life he sees the opportunity for service, in death he discerns the signal for ceasing his labours. He is so to live as to be ready for that signal whenever it is given; his 'garments are always to be white,' for 'who knoweth when the King may come?' (*Shab.* 153*a*). And, so prepared, he can await the unknown hour calmly.

G. H. Dalman is not warranted in charging the Jew, as does Max Müller also in his Gifford Lectures (*Anthropological Religion*, London, 1892, p. 369), with an undue dread of death. 'The celebration of the New Year and the Day of Atonement,' says Dalman, 'according to the notions attached to it by orthodox Judaism, instead of mitigating or banishing the fear of death, strengthens it' (*Christianity and Judaism*, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1901, p. 40). He is doubtless thinking of the passionate prayers for life which fill so large a place in the liturgy for those solemn days. But those days are essentially days of penitence; and, if the Jew supplicates for life, it is in order that by repentance and amendment he may put life to noble uses henceforth. Death itself has no greater terrors for him than it has for any other religionist. Judaism, at any rate, does not encourage such fears, but exhorts the Jew to contemplate death with a tranquil mind as the end and the climax of the well-spent life.

Such a death, coming in its due season, is likened to the gathering of fully-ripened fruit or the quenching of the flame of a burnt-out lamp. The death to be dreaded is the morally premature one, which is compared to the gathering of the half-ripened fruit or the untimely extinction of the lamp (*Midr. Rab.* to Gn 25^{8}). Death is a natural ordinance; his work finished, the worker must go and make room for his successor—Abraham for Isaac, Moses for Joshua, David for Solomon (*Midr. Tᵉhillim* to Ps 116^{15}). 'And God saw all that He had made, and behold it was very good'—it is death that is meant, says a Rabbi (*Midr. Rab.* to Gn 1^{31}). The death of the righteous is like the act of one who gently draws a hair from the surface of milk (*Ber.* 8*a*); this is called 'death by a kiss' (*Baba bathra*, 17*a*). The death of the wicked, on the other hand, is like the painful disentangling of a thorn from wool (*Ber.* 8*a*). Death is the liberator (*Shab.* 30*a*); it is like the entering into port of a well-laden vessel (*Midr. Rab.* to Ec 7^{1}); hence it is that the Wise Man declares that 'the day of death is better than the day of one's birth' (*ib.*). It is fulfilment as compared with mere promise. Far from being the primeval curse, death is a blessing. The day that Adam died was made a holiday (*Tana dᵉbe Eliyahu*, ch. 16). 'The death of the righteous,' God says, 'is a grief to Me, and never should they die if they did not themselves ask for death; for did not Abraham say, "I would be dust and ashes," and Jacob, "Let me die now"?' (*Midr. Tᵉhillim* to Ps 116^{15}).

The idea, however, that life is desirable as the opportunity for obedience persistently recurs in the Rabbinical literature. The thought of its cessation, therefore, is not welcome.

Even Abraham, who, as already indicated, prays for death, is represented (in the apocryphal *Testament of Abraham*) as being averse to it. He refuses to surrender his soul when the archangel Michael claims it; and to win his compliance the angel, at the Divine bidding, puts off his fierce aspect, and appears to the patriarch clothed in light. In like manner the Angel of Death, finding David absorbed in religious study and, therefore, invincible, has to divert his attention by a stratagem before he can perform his mission (*Shab.* 30*b*).

The Angel of Death is a familiar figure in the Rabbinical literature, and, as in the later Biblical writings (*e.g.*, 1 Ch 21^{16}), he is armed with a sword. Its point is tipped with gall, and it is this bitter drop that slays (*Aboda Zara*, 20*b*). Sometimes the weapon is described as a knife (*Ketuboth*, 77*b*); sometimes Death is pictured as strangling his victim with a cord. His presence in a town is betokened by the howling of dogs (*Baba kama*, 60*b*). According to some ideas, Death is a fallen angel (*Pirḳe R. Eliezer*, ch. 13), and identical with the Serpent in Eden (Wis $2^{23f.}$). His name, which often occurs in Rabbinical literature, is *Sammael*, *i.e.* 'the drug of God,' a reference to the gall on his sword. Liberal opinion, however, denied the existence of an Angel of Death, just as it scouted the idea of a personal Devil. 'Satan, the Angel of Death, and Evil Desire are one and the same' (*Baba bathra*, 16*a*). In other words, it is ignoble impulse alone that tempts and destroys. Death, however, is the friend of men, especially of the righteous. Benevolence disarms him (*Derekh ereṣ zuṭa*, ch. 8); and he instructs the learned in religious lore (*Ber.* 51*a*). He respects the wishes of the just as to when and where he delivers his summons (*Mo'ed ḳaṭon*, 28*a*).

A Talmudic legend tells how a famous sage, Joshua ben Levi, appointed to die, and permitted beforehand to see his place in paradise, seizes the knife of the destroying angel, whereupon a heavenly voice rings out the command, 'Give back the knife; the children of men have need of it' (*Ketuboth*, 77*b*). Longfellow has made good use of the story in his *Legend of Rabbi ben Levi*.

The necessity of death, however, applies only to the existing worldly order. In the Golden Age there will be no death; Messiah Himself will slay it (*Pesiḳta Rabbathi* [ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1880], 161*b* [the Scripture proof cited is Is 25^{8}]).

As to the origin of death, various opinions are expressed. The familiar idea that death was brought into the world by Adam's sin has its place in Rabbinical literature (see *Shab.* 55*b*; *Erubin*, 18*b*; *Tana dᵉbe Eliyahu*, ch. 5); but we find it much earlier in Sir 25^{24}. Closely connected with this idea is the legend, possibly of Persian origin, that the Serpent, when tempting Eve, infected her and, through her, all mankind with his death-dealing poison (*Shab.* 55*b*, 146*a* ; *Aboda Zara*, 22*b* ; cf., further, Wis 2^{24}). According to another view, death was ordained at creation, and the primeval sin merely hastened its coming (*Tanchuma* to Gn 39^{1}). Certain sages held that sin is the cause of death, and that there cannot be death without it; but this opinion was controverted by the majority. There were saintly men, it was objected, who had died without sin; like tribulation, death is no proof of transgression (*Shab.* 55*a*, *b* ; *Baba bathra*, 17*a*). But the good man, when he has finished his work, must make way, as already stated, for his successor (*ib.* 30*a*). The saints of old, however, did not die in the same way as did other men. Over Moses, *e.g.*, the Angel of Death had no power; God Himself took his soul from him; and the same blessed death was vouchsafed to the patriarchs and to other Scriptural heroes (*Baba bathra*, 17*a*). Some great Biblical figures escaped death altogether, and went living into paradise; Enoch, Elijah, and Hiram were among them (*Derekh ereṣ zuṭa*, ch. 1). Of Elijah it was believed that he was still to be seen on earth, and there are stories in the Talmud describing his apparitions (see, e.g., *Taʿanith*, 22*a*). Death, moreover, has no power over the phœnix, which renews its youth every thousand years, this being its reward for refusing, alone among the creatures, to eat of the forbidden fruit offered it by Eve (*Midr. Rab.* to Gn 3^{6}).

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LIFE AND DEATH (Teutonic).—Our knowledge of the conceptions of life and death among primitive Teutonic peoples can be gleaned from three fields: (1) the fragmentary information on Teutonic beliefs and practices given by classical and early Christian writers; (2) the organized religious belief of the Norse peoples, particularly the cult of the chief gods, which embodies beliefs common to the general Teutonic stock, and reveals traces of earlier ideas; and (3) the great mass of Teutonic tradition, folklore, superstition, and custom, both in early times and in modern survivals. From a study of this material it would appear that the processes of thought on these subjects among the early Teutons were very similar to those now formulated for all primitive peoples. The early Teuton, in dividing all that affected him into animate and inanimate, probably took for his criterion the power of motion; from the confusion of this power with the faculty of volition animistic ideas would arise in connexion with active natural phenomena, and, later, even with inanimate objects, while a still further development would appear in personification, with inevitable sex-distinction, and in symbolistic beliefs. The criteria for the attribution of death would be the loss of the power of motion and the phenomena arising from it; from the observation of sleep, dreams, trances, etc., would spring animistic beliefs. A further stage would appear in the identification of the principle of life with those intangible or tangible manifestations, such as breath, warmth, colour, pulsation, or blood, with whose immanence in the body life is obviously connected; hence the belief in a material form of the soul, leading to the idea of the 'external soul.' Of the later forms of belief Teutonic folklore and myth give ample evidence, allowing one to presuppose the earlier stages.

1. The principle of life in nature.—The four elements are constantly represented as imbued with life, and as able to transmit or to produce it. The strength of the belief in running water is shown by the wide-spread Teutonic worship of streams and springs (cf. Grimm, *Teut. Mythol.*, p. 101), and the practice of bathing in magic springs testifies to the power of water to give life and health (cf. Frazer, *GB*^{3}, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 29). The personification of the living element in water is generally feminine.

The belief in life inherent in fire is shown by the general Teutonic myth of Wieland, originally doubtless a fire demon, and by the Norse personification of fire as Logi, later confused with, and superseded by, Loki. The life-transmitting powers of fire appear in the customs still practised throughout Teutonic Europe, at the ceremonial bonfires, especially at Easter and Midsummer (*ib.* ch. iv.; note that Frazer admits the existence and significance of these customs, although he deviates [ch. v.] from Mannhardt's explanation of fire-festivals).[1] Akin to fire-beliefs is the belief in the quickening power of the sun, shown in the connexion between the summer solstice and the Midsummer fires, and in the custom of rolling fiery wheels or other sun-symbols. A curious example of belief in the generative power of lightning occurs in the superstition that mistletoe is produced by a lightning-stroke. The connexion between fire and human life appears in the representation of souls as flames or will-o'-the-wisps.

Air has always had an important connexion with the principle of life under two chief aspects: first, breath, the symbol of life (cf. *Voluspá*, 18); secondly, wind or whirlwind. Wind made known the presence of mysterious beings, and in Oðinn, as god of the wind, the slain, and the 'Wild Host,' is the culmination of the connexion of wind with the continuance of life in the soul.

The primitive conception of the earth as Mother of all appears widely in Teutonic belief (cf. art. EARTH, EARTH-GODS, § 6 f.). Early personifications of her occur (Nerthus, Erce), and her life-giving and restoring power appears in charms in which sods, turfs, or handfuls of earth figure; many of these, whether in Old English or in modern survivals, are Christianized, but their origin is unmistakable. The earth's living power is transferred even to inanimate objects resting on or discovered within her, such as stones and metals; we find a life-stone that heals wounds (*Laxdœla Saga*, 58 f.). Stones and metals, like plants, fire, and water, were credited with volition, as in the story of Balder, and the early idea of the conscious power of weapons (cf. 'the sword that fights of itself' [*Skirnismál*, 8 f.]) was long retained in poetry and folk-tales.

The close connexion of trees with the principle of life is proved by the well-attested Teutonic worship of trees, and by the idea of the World-Tree, with its popular parallels in the identification of trees with the guardian-spirits of peoples, tribes, families, or individuals (see HAMADRYADS [Teutonic]). The use of plants and fruits to convey life is frequent even in modern superstition, and an early instance occurs in the *Volsunga Saga* (ch. i.), where the queen becomes pregnant after eating one of Freyja's apples. The ashes of the Yule and Midsummer logs were touched and kept for the same purpose (cf. BRANCHES AND TWIGS, § 5).

Certain animals, particularly the boar, had a special connexion with the power of life and its transmission; others had an intimate connexion with individual human beings, and from this arises the power of transference or of shape-changing. Another form of this sympathetic connexion appears in the 'external soul'; but totemistic ideas, the logical conclusion of depositing the external soul in animals, seem never to have developed among the Teutons (K. Helm, *Altgerm. Religionsgesch.*, i. 23 ff.). In heroic saga the infant hero is sometimes suckled by an animal, as were Wolfdietrich and Sigurðr Sven. The serpent, in other cults so important a symbol of life, because of the renewal of its skin, has little connexion with life-conceptions in Teutonic mythology. The tenacity of the belief in individual life in the natural world appears in frequent personification, though it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between nature-personifications and those local deities which abound in Teutonic belief, but which may be a later development.

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[1] W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus der Germanen*, Berlin, 1875, p. 521 ff.

It is a moot point whether the primitive Teuton believed in a universal life-giving spirit; without going so far as to assume a monotheistic origin for Teutonic mythology, we can yet believe that the principle of life was early personified, though whether as earth-spirit or as sky-spirit it is impossible to decide. Animistic thought generally tends to the latter, but the Nerthus evidence, the Nerthus-Freyr combination, and the Swedish worship of Freyr as a fertility deity all point to the former. All the chief gods had some connexion with productivity, and traces of phallic worship are not lacking (*ib.* i. 214–225). The origin of world-life has already been treated (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Teutonic]); the revival of world-life and its different phases were celebrated at the Easter, Midsummer, and Yule festivals.

2. The origin of individual life.—The Teutonic conception was prevented from becoming metaphysical by that material view of the soul which is illustrated by the ceremonies followed at birth (see BIRTH [Teutonic]); and the lack of individualism in the life-conception is shown by the importance attached to blood-kinship, heredity, and re-birth. Blood-kinship was the closest of ties, and the mingling of blood was the symbolic ceremonial for sworn brotherhood (cf. art. BROTHERHOOD [Artificial], i. 7). The power of heredity consisted in the transmission of racial qualities, especially courage and hardihood, as in the case of Sinfjötli (*Volsunga Saga*, 8). The idea of re-birth, which still persists, was deeply rooted in Norse belief, and accounts for the constant pre-Christian custom of naming children after dead ancestors; the name was of great efficacy in the attraction of ancestral qualities, and even implied the transmission of a personality. The impossibility of re-birth was considered a misfortune (cf. P. Herrmann, *Nord. Mythol.*, p. 35 ff.). Similarly, the *hamingja*, or genius in female form, could transfer itself from the dead to a beloved kinsman (*Víga Glúms Saga*, 9). The different stages of human life were little regarded; we know of no initiatory ceremonies at adolescence, although Karl Pearson (*Chances of Death*, London, 1897, vol. ii. ch. ix.) considers that the licentious character of mediæval Walpurgisnacht revels proved their origin as sexual festivities; otherwise we hear only of military ceremonies (Tac. *Germ.* 13) or of heirship feasts (*Ynglinga Saga*, 40).

The material representation of the soul was probably induced by the observation of dreams and similar phenomena, where the soul appears to have an independent existence, or by the location of the soul in various organs of the body, as the liver, heart, or head. An extension of this material representation appears in the doctrine, common to all Teutonic peoples, of the 'external soul'; the chief evidence is the story told by Paulus Diaconus (*de Gest. Langobardorum*, iii. 33) of King Gunthram, whose soul was once observed to issue 'in modum reptilis' from his mouth during sleep. Survivals of this idea in fairy-tales show the control exercised by the individual over his external soul, generally by depositing the soul in a place of apparent safety, in an object or plant, and thereby prolonging indefinitely the body's existence (cf. Frazer, ii. 116 ff.; *CF*, ch. v.). A case of control exercised by an external and malignant power is that of Nornagestr, whose life was identified with a burning candle (*Saga af Nornagesti*, 11). The soul's power to assume animal form and to go on journeys (*hamfarir*), leaving the body sleeping, accounts for *hamramir*, or shape-changers, and confusion of such ideas with the observation of states of supernormal activity appears in accounts of *berserksgangr* and shape-changing (see TRANSMIGRATION [Teutonic] and LYCANTHROPY, § 1).

An extensive power over the principle of life was acquired by magic, chiefly sympathetic, prophylactic, or coercive, and it was possible to induce animal and vegetable fecundity, as by the sympathetic magic of the Midsummer fires. Instances of the sacrifice of human life to ensure vegetable fecundity occur in the immolation of the kings Domaldi and Oláfr (*Ynglinga Saga*, 18, 47); a slightly different case is that of Aunn, who gained an added ten years of life for each son sacrificed (*ib.* 29). Magic use of plants, etc., and of charms could induce prolific human life, and facilitate the soul's coming (*Sigrdrífumál*, 9). Life could be protected or prolonged by various practices, such as passing the individual through a cleft tree or hollow stone (cf. Grimm, p. 1167; Frazer, ii. 168 ff.); the story of Balder exemplifies prophylactic magic to secure invulnerability. By spells poison could be rendered innocuous (*Egils Saga*, 44, 75, 79), and sickness prevented or cured, while the perpetual battle of the Hjaðninga exemplifies the power to renew life indefinitely (*Skáldskaparmál*, 47). Charms also had power to suspend life (cf. the sleepthorn), and to harm or destroy it; metamorphoses were often compulsory, the result of external magic.

3. The conception of death in nature.—The elements have all a death-dealing as well as a life-giving power, especially fire and water; water acquires a maleficent power on Midsummer Day, and demands a human victim; similarly, many vegetable and animal objects had death-dealing powers, inherent or temporarily acquired.

4. The conception of individual death.—This arose from the phenomena attending sleep, which foreshadowed the soul's departure; the soul is still materially represented as issuing from the mouth in the form of a bird or mouse, and its exit is facilitated in every way. In Norse mythology the dead made an actual journey, and needed shoes to travel the Hel road. The idea of cessation of activity after death, if it ever existed, was soon superseded, as is proved by the universal custom of providing the dead with material implements; the earliest tombs contain cups and vessels, not armour and weapons—a sign that at first feasting, not fighting, was to be the chief occupation. Activity after death could be exercised still on earth, but it was then frequently malignant, and could be prevented only by burning the corpse (*Laxdœla Saga*, 17, 24). Spirits could return in animal or in human form (*Erbyggja Saga*, 51, 53), and hauntings show the power of ghosts to affect the living; fear was probably as great an incentive to ancestor-worship as reverence. Activity in another world was materially conceived as a close parallel to mortal life, as is proved by the nature of the implements provided, and such activity was often localized in sepulchral howes (*ib.* 11). The Valhalla belief is the final poetic development of the conception of Oðinn as god of the slain; in a less warlike age a more peaceful prefigurement arises, the *Rosengarten* of the later German poets; Saxo Grammaticus's account (*Gesta Danorum*, i. 31) of Hadding's voyage to the under world represents an intermediate stage (cf. art. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Teutonic]). The power of death was inexorable and inevitable, even the gods being doomed to perish at the world-death. Death was personified in many forms: as a messenger, or as an enemy. The Norse Hela was certainly at first a Teutonic Proserpine, however shadowy: subsequently, her personality was not distinguished from her abode. Popular and grotesque personifications of death prevailed later, and gave rise to the idea of weakening death's power by insulting or beating a tangible representation (Grimm, p. 767).

In spite of the undoubted fatalism of Teutonic peoples (see art. DOOM, DOOM MYTHS [Teutonic]), the belief, born of instinct and desire, prevailed that magic enabled man to exercise a twofold power over death: first, in retarding or hastening death; secondly, in controlling and summoning spirits (*Erbyggja Saga*, 55). Preventive magic against death might include the wide range of charms to preserve health, prevent barrenness, heal sickness, or stanch blood. Coercive magic to compel death was apparently as frequent as preventive, though naturally more secret. It was possible to foresee the doom of death upon others, and also to have the premonition of it in oneself—to be fey. The summoning of spirits (*helrúna*), performed by means of the *valgaldr*, became in Norse mythology an important branch of magic art (see MAGIC [Teutonic]).

5. The ethical aspect of life and death.—It is difficult to deduce the ethical outlook of the average Teuton on life and death because of the extremely objective character of the literature, but the non-moral aspect of world-life and world-death is proved by the fact that the end of the world comes 'automatically,' involving the gods also. Respect for the principle of life is presupposed by the importance attached to fertility and all that promotes it; but this was instinctive, and originally entirely non-moral. Respect for individual life rarely appears, except in kinship; the slaughter of kin was abhorred as violating the blood-tie (Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, ii. 1; *Beowulf*, 2436 ff.); but even this was probably due more to tribal than to moral instinct. Custom rather than morality governed the sacrifice or the retention of life, as in the case of the Gothic widows (Procopius, *de Bello Goth.* ii. 14). Chivalrous sparing of life was little known, for Saxo Grammaticus's assertion to the contrary can hardly be substantiated from earlier literature (*Gesta Danorum*, v. 160). The fatalism so deeply ingrained in the Teutons coloured their whole outlook, but it was untinged by remorse for an ill-spent life or by fear of coming punishment; and the lack of a moral division after death is so general that it is tempting to explain apparent inconsistencies by the theory of Christian influence. Suicide was allowable when due to grief for a friend or kinsman, and was more honourable than an ignoble death (cf. Saxo Grammaticus, tr. O. Elton, London, 1894, p. xxxvi). The practice of human sacrifice points to little respect for human life in the abstract (see art. HUMAN SACRIFICE [Teutonic]); the fact that such sacrifices were prophylactic or propitiatory was held sufficient justification, if indeed any were necessary. There certainly seems to have been a strong idea of sacrificing the life and welfare of the one to that of the many. It would add greatly to our knowledge and the interest of the subject if, in the account of prophylactic sacrifices, the least clue were given to the mood and temper of the victim—whether he were merely passive under compulsion or a willing and exalted sufferer.

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LIFE, FUTURE.—See STATE OF THE DEAD.

LIFE-TOKEN.—'Life-token' or 'life-index' is the technical name given to an object the condition of which is in popular belief bound up with that of some person, and indicates his state of health or safety. The object may be an artifact, such as a tool, a weapon, or an ornament; or it may be a tree or plant, an animal, or even a well, or a vessel of water or some other liquid. The most familiar examples are found in the *Arabian Nights*. In the story of 'The Two Sisters who envied their Cadette,' with which Galland concluded his version (cf. R. F. Burton, *Supplemental Nights*, London, 1886–88, iv. 491 ff.), Prince Bahman, on departing in search of the talking bird, the golden water, and the singing tree, leaves with his sister a hunting-knife, the blade of which will remain clean and bright so long as he continues safe and sound, but will be stained with blood if he be slain. His brother, following him, leaves a string of pearls, which will run loose upon the string while he is alive, but after his death will be found fixed and adhering together.

The incident is, in fact, common in folk-tales all over the world where the hero goes on a perilous adventure, and his friends require early information, that they may in case of need sally forth to rescue or avenge him. It is necessary here to draw attention only to one wide-spread cycle—that of the modern variants of the ancient Greek story of Perseus. In these tales Perseus is often represented by three sons, born in consequence of their mother's having partaken of a magical fish. Some portion of the offal of the fish is buried in the garden; a tree grows on the spot and becomes the life-token of the children. Sometimes a portion of the fish's blood is preserved, by its direction, in phials, one for each of the children, to boil or become turbid in case of misfortune. In a story from Pisa the fish-bone is fastened to a beam in the kitchen, and sweats blood when anything untoward happens to any of the boys.

There is thus an original organic connexion between the life-token and the person whose condition it exhibits. This connexion supplies the interpretation. The life-token is derived from the doctrine of sympathetic magic, according to which any portion of a living being, though severed, remains in mystic union with the bulk, and is affected by whatever may affect the bulk. Sympathetic magic, however, is not confined to folk-tales: it has a practical bearing. It is applied in witchcraft and folk-medicine to the injury or to the benefit of human beings and every object that comes into relation with them. Accordingly, we find the life-token not only in folk-tales, but also in everyday custom and superstition.

A striking and pathetic example of a severed portion of a human being employed as his life-token is recorded in the United States. Early in the last century a boy in Grafton County, New Hampshire, was so badly scalded that a piece of his skin, fully an inch in diameter, sloughed off, and was carefully treasured by his mother. When he grew up, he left home and was never heard of after; but his mother used from time to time to examine the fragment of skin, persuaded that, so long as it was sound, her son was alive and well, and that it would not begin to decay until his death. For thirty years, until her death about the year 1843, she kept it; and thenceforth her daughters continued to do so under the influence of the same belief (*JAFL* vi. [1893] 69).

This convenient method of providing a life-token from the substance of one's own body is, however, not always available. Fortunately, the doctrine of sympathetic magic applies equally to objects derived less directly from the person. Just as in the tale the offal of the fish buried in the garden grows up into the tree and becomes the life-token of the children who owe their birth to, or perhaps are a transformation of, the fish, so trees are in actual life planted for the purpose.

The navel-string of a Maori child was buried in a sacred place, and a young sapling planted over it expressly as the babe's 'sign of life' or life-token (R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui: New Zealand and its Inhabitants*^{2}, London, 1870, p. 184). Sometimes it was buried at the foot of a tree or bush. If the tree or bush afterwards 'showed signs of decay or died, the results would be similar to the child' (*Journ. Ethnol. Soc.* i. [1869] 73). In the latter case an already existing tree is appropriated as the life-token by uniting the child with it through the medium of the cord. In the same way, in Germany the afterbirth is thrown or buried at the foot of a young tree, and the child is expected to grow with the tree and thrive as it thrives (K. Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Meklenburg*, Vienna, 1880, ii. 43; *Am Urquell*, v. [1894] 253). Though it is not now common thus to unite the child with the tree, the practice of planting a tree at the birth of a child is still frequent in Europe. In Aargau (Switzerland) an apple-tree is planted for a boy, a pear-tree for a girl; and it is definitely believed that the babe will thrive or die like the young tree (W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1875, i. 'Baumkultus,' p. 50, citing Rochholz). Numerous remains of this practice and belief are found in tradition all over Europe.

The caul with which some children are born also becomes an index of their health and prosperity. For this purpose great care is taken of it.

Among the Letts of Russia to lose it betokens misfortune for the child (R. Kobert, *Hist. Studien aus dem pharmakol. Inst. der kais. Universität Dorpat*, iv. [Halle, 1894] 229). In England and Scotland its condition, whether soft and flabby or hard, dry, and stiff, indicates coming misfortune or prosperity (S. O. Addy, *Household Tales*, London, 1895, p. 120; J. G. Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1835, p. 326).

But, as in the stories, the life-token is not always determined at the birth of the person whose fate is indicated by it. When a child has been passed through a young ash-tree split for the purpose, in order to cure infantile hernia, the tree is bound up and plastered, in the hope that it may grow together again; and according to the success of the treatment the child is expected to recover or not. More than this, so intimate has the connexion between the tree and the child become by the operation that, if the tree be afterwards felled, the child will die. Thus the tree is not merely dependent upon the fate of the child; the child is also dependent on the fate of the tree. This mutual dependence is sometimes expressly mentioned in the stories also. It results from the close connexion established between the human being and the object constituted as the life-token. In the stories it is often forgotten; generally in practice it is at least implicit.

On the Eastern peninsula of Maryland, opposite Baltimore, when a member of a family leaves home, a bit of live-for-ever is stuck in the ground to indicate the fortune of the absent one. It will flourish if he prospers; otherwise it will wither and die (*JAFL* iv. [1891] 152). At Rome every Emperor solemnly planted on the Capitol a laurel, which was said to wither when he was about to die. A successful general to whom a triumph was accorded also planted on the occasion, in the shrubbery set by Livia, a laurel, similarly believed to wither when he was about to die. Two myrtle-trees grew before the temple of Quirinus, one called the Patrician tree, the other the Plebeian. So long as the Senate maintained its power as the supreme authority of the State, the Patrician tree flourished. But it began to fail at the time of the Social War, when the Plebs successfully asserted their rights, and the Plebeian tree, hitherto sickly and shrivelled, gained the superiority (Pliny, *HN* xv. 36). The Dayaks of Borneo are accustomed on certain occasions to plant a sort of palm, which is regarded, in the fullest sense of the word, as a life-token. If it grows prosperously, they can reckon on good fortune; but, when it fades or dies, the person concerned has to expect the reverse (Wilken, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iii. 562 n.). In Germany, at Hochheim, Einzingen, and other places near Gotha, two young trees are planted at a wedding by the bridal pair, on the property of the commune. If either of the trees withers, one or the other of the spouses will shortly die (Mannhardt p. 48).

Turning now to artificial objects—an illustration may be given from a somewhat unexpected quarter.

Father George Eich, reporting in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (1898) a recent visit to Easter Island, relates that the native converts persistently inquired after another Roman Catholic missionary, Father Albert Montiton, who had previously visited them. They said that he had caused the great stone cross in the cemetery of Hangaroa to be set up, and told them: 'When you see this cross fall, you will say, Father Albert has just died; let us pray for him.' Father Eich went to see the cross, and found that it had in fact fallen, but had been set up again, and bore traces of its fall. On questioning them to ascertain the precise date of its fall, he found that it coincided exactly with that of Father Albert's death in Spain, 25th Feb. 1894 (*FL* xi. [1900] 436, quoting the *Annales* at length).

This kind of life-token easily lends itself to divination concerning the health or prosperity of absent friends, or even the prospects of life of actual members of the household.

In Thuringia, when it is desired to know whether absent children or other kinsmen are still living, all that is necessary is to stick a loaf of bread with ears of corn before putting it into the oven. Each of the ears is designated by the name of one of the absent persons concerning whom inquiry is made; and, if any of them be scorched in the process of baking, the person symbolized is assuredly dead (A. Witzschel, *Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Thüringen*, Vienna, 1878, ii. 251). Zulu women, when their husbands go to war, hang the conjugal sleeping-mat on the wall of their hut. So long as it casts a shadow on the wall, the husband is safe; when it ceases to do so, he is believed to be dead (T. Arbousset and F. Daumas, *Exploratory Tour*, Cape Town, 1846, p. 145; cf. H. Callaway, *Rel. System of the Amazulu*, Natal, 1870, p. 126). Fire or a candle is often employed. In Brittany a sailor's wife who has been long without tidings of her husband makes a pilgrimage to some shrine and lights a taper before the saint. If her husband is yet alive and well, it burns well; otherwise the flame will be poor and intermittent, and will go out (A. Le Braz, *Légende de la mort en Basse-Bretagne*, Paris, 1893, p. 6). The Kei Islanders in the Moluccas perform a similar ceremony. When men are absent on a voyage, rude lamps, consisting of sea-shells filled with oil and containing wicks, are lighted with a sort of solemn ritual at the sacred fire. Each lamp represents one of the absent men. A straight and steady flame indicates that the man represented is well in body and soul; but, if the flame wavers or burns badly, an evil augury is drawn (*Anthropos*, v. [1910] 354). When the men go from Yule Island, off the coast of New Guinea, to the Papuan Gulf for sago, a fire is lit; if it goes out, 'there will be bad luck for the voyagers, consequently care is taken to keep the fire alight during the whole time the men are away' (A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters*, London, 1901, p. 259). A Shawnee prophet tried to persuade Tanner, when living among the Indians, that the fire in his lodge was intimately connected with his life. At all seasons and in all weathers it was to remain alight; for, if he suffered it to be extinguished, his life would be at an end (J. Tanner, *Captivity and Adventures*, New York, 1830, p. 155).

The last two cases are interesting examples of the ambiguity already noticed in the relation between the object and the person with whose life it is bound up. They naturally act and react upon one another. Whatever affects the one affects the other also. The object thus connected by a mystic bond with a human life has sometimes been called the 'external soul.' It is perfectly true that in the stories the life of ogre or hero is frequently said to depend on an object hidden safely away, and that this object is occasionally described as the owner's soul. Sometimes, as in the ancient Egyptian story of 'The Two Brothers,' it is called by the equivalent name of his heart. More commonly it is referred to simply as his life. It is also true that in savage belief the soul is separable from the body: it goes forth in dreams; sickness is caused by its absence; a complete severance is death. Care is taken on important occasions, as at marriage or change of dwelling, or at a funeral, to cage and retain the soul, and in sickness to recall it from wandering and restore it to the patient's body. But, as in the stories, so in the practices and superstitions, the object in mystic relation with a man is by no means always called his soul, or said to contain his soul. It seems, therefore, to be going somewhat beyond the facts to apply to it a word expressing a definite conception when it is not applied by the people holding the superstition or exercising the custom. Ideas are often vague, and, where they are so, to affix terms to them which connote to us something definite is to darken counsel.

In Nigeria a great tree frequently stands in a village, and is hung with medicine and votive offerings. It is described by the villagers as 'our Life,' and it is in some sense worshipped as a god (C. Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, London, 1905, pp. 194, 205). The Ibo-speaking Negroes of Awka declared that such a tree had 'the life or breath of the priest in it.' Not long ago the tree died and the priest 'died at the same time because the tree had died' (N. W. Thomas, *Ibo-speaking Peoples*, London, 1913, i. 29). The Montols of Northern Nigeria believe that at the birth of every individual of their race, male or female, a snake of a certain non-poisonous species which haunts the dwellings is also born. From the moment of birth the snake and the man share a life of common duration, and the measure of the one is the measure of the other. Hence every care is taken to protect these animals from injury; and it is said that they are quite harmless to human beings (*Journ. Afr. Soc.* x. [1910] 30). So at Rome every man was deemed to be accompanied throughout life by a *genius*, to which he owed all his gifts and good fortune. The genius was represented by, or incorporated in, a snake, which was never killed, but encouraged in the house, and even in the sleeping-chamber. The result was, according to Pliny, that snakes multiplied to such an extent that, if they had not been kept down by frequent fires, it would have been impossible to make headway against their fecundity (L. Preller, *Röm. Myth.*, Berlin, 1883, ii. 196–198; Pliny, *HN* xxix. 22). Tiberius Gracchus once caught a pair of snakes upon his bed, and was advised by the soothsayers to kill one of them, but warned that his life was bound up with that of the one, and his wife's with that of the other. Rather than put an end to his wife's life, he killed the male and himself died in a short time (Plutarch, *Tiberius Gracchus*). At the monastery of Saint Maurice, on the borders of Burgundy, near the Rhone, was a fishpond stocked with as many fish as there were monks. When any of the monks fell sick, one of the fish floated on the surface of the water, half-dead; and, if the monk was going to die, the fish would die three days before him (J. W. Wolf, *Niederl. Sagen*, Leipzig, 1843, p. 259, citing Leonard Vair, *Trois Livres des charmes*, Paris, 1583, p. 387). On the island of Buru, one of the Moluccas, the same belief seems to be attached to the cayman. No Burunese, we are told, would dare kill a cayman, lest he should unwittingly cause the death of one of his nearest kinsmen (Wilken, iii. 82). In fact, the belief that the lives of human beings are bound up with those of certain of the lower animals as well as of trees and plants is very wide-spread; and the latter are not necessarily viewed as the guardians or incarnations of the souls of the former.

Lakes and streams also serve as life-tokens, independently of the animals that haunt or inhabit them.

On a mountain in Franconia a fountain issues near the ancestral home of an ancient noble family. The clear stream gushes forth incessantly the whole year round; and it was believed to fail only when one of the family was about to die (J. Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, Berlin, 1816–18, i. 162). The waters of the crater-lake of Tritriva in Madagascar are of a deep green colour, almost black. It is believed that, when a member of the neighbouring tribe, the Zanatsara, is taken ill, if the water is troubled and becomes of a brown colour, his death is presaged; if it remains clear, he will have a chance of life (*RTP* vii. [1892] 760, quoting J. Sibree).

The present writer has elsewhere (*LP* ii. [1895] 13 ff.) pointed out that the custom of scrying or crystal-gazing (*q.v.*) is intimately related to those of looking into the depths of a well or a pool of water or ink, and into a magical mirror, for the purpose of gaining tidings of absent friends or distant events. It will suffice to say here that the hallucination on which it is founded is equally capable of being produced by gazing intently on any dark and polished surface like that of standing water, a mirror, or a piece of stone, and that the superstition is practically world-wide.

The march between the life-token and the belief in omens drawn from objects not specially connected with any individual is ill-defined. It is by no means necessary to appoint one's own life-token: the health or prosperity of the absent may be divined by the condition of a life-token arbitrarily appointed by anxious relatives or friends at home. There is but a step between this and the drawing of auguries from events and objects not appointed at all. The step is often taken both in tales and in real life.

In an Icelandic tale three drops of blood appearing on the knife while eating are a token to one brother of another's peril or death (*Am Urquell*, iii. [1892] 5, citing Arnason). The sudden falling of three drops of blood from the nose is recorded in recent years in countries as wide apart as Scotland and Transylvania to be regarded as an omen of the death of a near relative (W. Gregor, *Folklore of N.E. of Scotland*, London, 1881, p. 204; H. von Wlislocki, *Volksglaube und Volksbrauch der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, Berlin, 1893, p. 190). At Rauen, about 30 miles from Frankfort-on-the-Oder, a crack in a newly-baked loaf portends the death of one of the family (A. Kuhn and W. Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, Leipzig, 1848, p. 436). In Thuringia, if an altar-light goes out, one of the clergy will die (Witzschel, ii. 254). In Brunswick, when a plant in the garden, usually green, puts forth white leaves, it betokens the speedy death of some one in the house (R. Andree, *Braunschw. Volkskunde*, Brunswick, 1896, p. 224). The list of such omens might be continued indefinitely.

Further, if my life be united to any external object, whether physically (so to speak), as in the case of an ailing child passed through a split sapling, or by the arbitrary appointment of myself or another, it is obvious that injuries intentionally inflicted on the object in question will react upon me. The felling of the sapling causes the death of the child. In the classic story of Meleager the hero's life came to an end with the burning and extinction of the fateful brand. This belief is the foundation of that department of magic which is used for injuring others by damaging or destroying things which have been closely attached to them, or to which identity with them is imputed. Fragments of the hair, nails, food, or clothing, portions of the blood or saliva, and earth from the footprints of the victim are all impregnated with his life, are still a portion of himself, though detached; and he may be injured or even done to death by the appropriate treatment of any of these objects. So also to stick pins or daggers into, or to burn, the effigy of a man is to wound or kill the person represented. These are all well-known magical rites. Parallel with them is the treatment of such objects for the purpose of benefiting the person to whom they belong.

The navel-string of an infant, taken by a mother to church at her churching, and laid down behind the altar or in some other suitable place, is deemed in Mecklenburg and Thuringia to be effectual in surrounding the child with such holy influences that he will grow up God-fearing and pious (Witzschel, ii. 249; Bartsch, ii. 45). For some such reason Athenian women who became pregnant for the first time hung up their girdles in the temple of Artemis. Probably for a similar purpose fragments of clothing and other things are hung by votaries on a sacred tree, and pins are deposited in sacred wells. To the same order of thought belongs the sympathetic treatment of wounds by means of the instrument inflicting them. This treatment, formerly accepted by physicians and philosophers, is now left in Europe to the peasantry. It originates in savagery. The Lkungen or Songish of Vancouver Island are very careful to keep concealed the arrow that has wounded a friend, and not to bring it near the fire; for he would become very ill if the weapon, while still covered with his blood, were thrown into the flame (F. Boas, *Rep. Brit. Assoc.*, London, 1890, p. 577). Melanesians keep the arrow, when extracted, in a damp place or in cool leaves, believing that the inflammation will then be slight and will soon subside. But, if the enemy who has shot another can get back his arrow, he puts it into the fire, with intent to irritate the wound and cause fatal results (R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 310). Similar practices are very wide-spread among the European peasantry, and not least in our own island.

By a very natural extension of the idea of the life-token the cognate idea of the faith-token has been evolved. It is not enough for one of a pair of lovers to know that the other is living; there must be constant assurance of the absent one's fidelity. The token of fidelity is, therefore, a common incident both in tales and in actual life.

It is well-known in India. In the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, or 'Ocean of the Streams of Story,' a famous collection of Indian tales, the god Śiva appears in a dream to Guhasena and his wife Devasmitā when they are about to part, and gives each of them a red lotus, saying: 'Take each of you one of these lotuses in your hand. And, if either of you shall be unfaithful during your separation, the lotus in the hand of the other shall fade, but not otherwise.' When they awoke, each beheld in the other's hand a red lotus; 'and it seemed if they had got one another's hearts' (C. H. Tawney's tr., Calcutta, 1880, i. 86). In European folk-tales, ballads, and romances the faith-token is by no means an unusual piece of machinery. It has found its way on to the stage. Among other dramas, the plot of P. Massinger's play of *The Picture* (1629) turns upon it. Nor is its vogue in practice less wide. The Mech are a Mongoloid tribe in Bengal. Every Mech has in the court-yard of his house a *sij* plant (*Euphorbia*

Indica), which is carefully tended as the abode of Śiva and the emblem of conjugal fidelity. If its leaves wither, something is wrong with one of the women of the household (H. H. Risley, *TC*, Calcutta, 1892, ii. 89). In Peru the husband knots a branch of Euphorbia before going on a journey. If on his return he finds the knots withered up, his wife has been unfaithful; if they are fresh and living, she has been true (*ZE* xxxvii. [1905] 439). At Siena formerly a maiden who wished to know how her love progressed kept and tended a plant of rue. While it flourished, all went well; but, if it withered, it was a sign that the love she desired had failed her (*Archivio*, x. [1891] 30). Losing a garter in the street means, according to belief in some districts of England and Germany, that the owner's lover is unfaithful (Addy, p. 98; J. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, pp. 1782, 1824). Elsewhere, on the contrary, he is thinking of her (Andree, p. 215; cf. F. D. Bergen, *Current Superstitions*, Boston, 1896, p. 63). Certain sacred wells in France have or had the property of certifying the loved one's fidelity to a jealous lover. All that was necessary was to abstract a pin (which was often nothing but a thorn) from her dress and lay it on the surface of the water. If it floated, all was well; if it sank to the bottom, she was unfaithful (P. Sébillot, *Folklore de France*, ii. (Paris, 1905] 252). In all such cases the faith-token exactly corresponds with the life-token.

LITERATURE.—René Basset, *Nouveaux Contes berbères*, Paris, 1897, gives in a note (pp. 309–316) an extensive list of stories in which the incident occurs. Many of these are abstracted and discussed by F. J. Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, 5 vols., Boston, 1882–98, in the introductions to the ballads of Hind Horn (i. 187), and Bonny Bee Hom (ii. 317), and by W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1887, i. 169, and in his dissertation appended to *John Lane's Continuation of Chaucer's 'Squire's Tale'* (published by the Chaucer Society, London, 1888–90), 299, 334. Discussions will be found on the incident and its relation to custom and superstition by G. A. Wilken in his monographs on 'Het Animisme bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel,' 'De betrekking tusschen menschen-, dieren- en plantenleven naar het volksgeloof,' and 'De Simsonsage,' collected in his *Verspreide Geschriften*, 4 vols., The Hague, 1912, iii.; and E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, 3 vols., London, 1894–96, ii. ch. viii. See also art. LIFE AND DEATH (Primitive), § 4.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS.

Primitive (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 47.
Chinese (J. DYER BALL), p. 51.
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LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Primitive).—Among the lower races the nature and origin of light and darkness gave rise to many questions, and the answers to these are found in a great variety of myths. Frequently light and darkness are assumed to be substances—*e.g.*, 'a hard darkness,' as in an Australian myth[1]—or the sun, often regarded as the cause of light, is thought of as a fire or fiery substance, larger or smaller. Among the primitive peoples the dualism of light and darkness or of beings representing these—so frequently found at higher stages of civilization—can hardly be said to exist.

1. Primordial darkness.—A wide-spread idea seems to be that night precedes or gives rise to day, darkness precedes or gives rise to light. Light, the light of day, appears to come gradually out of the darkness of night, whereas darkness falls over the light of day and extinguishes it, but does not come from it. Man also, asleep and inert during darkness, rises to fresh activity with the light. A pre-existing state of darkness, out of which light and life have proceeded, is thus usually presupposed. Many Australian tribes believe that long ago darkness or semi-darkness prevailed, until the sun was made or released. An emu's egg was thrown up to the sky, and either itself gave a great light or set fire to a wood-pile belonging to a sky-being. The latter sees how beautiful earth now is, and therefore he makes a fire every day. There is little warmth in the morning, because it is not fully kindled, and it is cold at night when the fire dies out. The jackass rouses men to the light. If he did not, or if children imitated him, there would be nothing but darkness. Or the sun is created as the result of certain obscene rites performed by men who complained of having no heat or light; or there is darkness until the magpie props up the sky and so sets free the sun.[2] The last-mentioned myth, that heaven and earth are close together, and that, until they are separated, their offspring are in perpetual and universal night, prevails over Oceania. The children, or gods, or a serpent, or trees force them apart and so let in light and air.[3] Maori mythology relates that the Atua o te po, gods of Hades or darkness, existed before heaven was lifted up, and were more ancient than the Atua o te ra, gods of light, because darkness precedes light. Their chief was Hine nui te po, great mother night, or Hades. Light and life are represented by Tama mir te ra, the great son of day. A creation epic describes the cosmogonic periods, the first of which is that of thought, the second that of night or darkness:

'The word became fruitful;
It dwelt with the feeble glimmering;
It brought forth night,
The great night, the long night,
The lowest night, the loftiest night,
The thick night, to be felt,
The night to be touched, the night unseen,
The night following on,
The night ending in death.'

Then follows the third period, that of light, and the fourth, in which sun, moon, and stars are created, 'thrown up as the eyes of Heaven, then the heaven became light.'[1] This idea that chaos and darkness—the state of Po, Hades, or night—precede all gods and all things is wide-spread in Polynesia. Even a heaven-god like Taaroa, creator of sun, moon, etc., springs from it;[2] or he sprang out of an egg and so brought light to the world.[3]

The Garos say that earth was at first a huge watery plain, and darkness lay over all. Tatara-Rabuga created earth through a lesser spirit and, at the latter's request, placed sun and moon in the sky to give light.[4]

The myth of Heaven and Earth as a divine pair is common in W. Africa, but its most significant expression is found among the Yorubas, who say that Obutala and Odudua, their chief god and goddess, were shut up in darkness in a calabash in the beginning. She blamed him for this, whereupon he blinded her.[5]

Among the Eskimos, a people dwelling for a great part of the year in darkness, many myths deal with this subject. According to one of these, men came out of the earth, lived in perpetual darkness, and knew no death. There came a flood which destroyed all but two old women, one of whom desired both light and death. Death came, and with it sun, moon, and stars.[1] Another widespread myth is that of the brother who, in the time when darkness covered the earth, ravished his sister. In her anger at his brutal conduct, she pursued him to the sky with a brand. He became the moon and she the sun, ever pursuing the moon, except in winter, when she remains in her house and there is darkness. The stars are sparks from the brand.[2]

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[1] Howitt, p. 426.

[2] K. L. Parker, *More Aust. Legendary Tales*, London, 1898, p. 28; N. W. Thomas, *Natives of Aust.*, do. 1906, p. 249; Howitt, p. 427; E. M. Curr, *Aust. Race*, Melbourne, 1886–87, ii. 48; T. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, vi. [Leipzig, 1872] 197; R. Lasch, *ARW* iii. [1900] 99.

[3] B. Thomson, *Savage Island*, London, 1902, p. 84; G. Turner, *Samoa*, do. 1884, p. 296 f.; R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*^{2}, do. 1870, p. 120; Waitz-Gerland, vi. 245; G. Grey, *Polynes. Myth.*, do., n.d., p. 1 ff.; cf. EARTH, § 3.

[1] Taylor, p. 100 ff.

[2] W. Ellis, *Polynes. Researches*^{2}, London, 1832, i. 322; Waitz-Gerland, vi. 240, 266 f.

[3] L. Frobenius, *Die Weltanschauung der Naturvölker*, p. 10.

[4] A. Playfair, *The Garos*, London, 1909, p. 82 f.

[5] A. B. Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, London, 1894, p. 42; *ARW* xi. [1908] 402 f.; Frobenius, pp. 350, 354, 359.

A well-known Chinese myth relates that in the beginning all was darkness. From a great mundane egg, which divided in two, came Poon-Koo Wong, who made the sky out of the upper and earth out of the lower half. He also made sun and moon.[4] Chinese philosophy speaks of T'ai-Kih, the 'Most Ultimate,' which produced the cosmic souls Yang and Yin, male and female, heaven and earth, warmth and cold, light and darkness.[5] In Japan an old myth in the *Kojiki* speaks of a time when Heaven and Earth were not separated and the In and Yo (= Yin and Yang) not yet divided. All was chaos and presumably darkness.[6]

A Finnish cosmogonic myth in the *Kalevala* relates that from the upper and lower parts of an egg which fell into the primeval waters were formed heaven and earth, from the yolk the sun, from the white the moon, and from the darkness in the egg the clouds.[7]

Scandinavian mythology contains an elaborate myth of beginnings. There was first a void world of mist, *ginnunga-gap*. On its southern extremity was *muspell*, fire, on its northern, *nifl*, fog; from the one proceeded light and warmth, from the other darkness and cold. According to Grimm, *ginnunga-gap* is the equivalent of the Gr. *χάος*, meaning both 'abyss' and 'darkness.'[8] In the Edda, Day personified is the son of Night, each of them having a horse and car, in which they journey round the earth. The primitive method of counting time with Scandinavians, Teutons, and Celts was on the principle that night preceded day, the moon, which 'governs the night,' being the measurer of time. Tacitus says of the Teutons that they count the number of nights, not of days, for the night seems to precede the day. Cæsar writes of the Celts that they define the divisions of seasons not by days but by nights, and observe times in such an order that day follows night.[9] A Celtic myth embodying these ideas has not come down to us.

2. Origin of light.—In some of the myths just cited the origin of light from darkness, or from the creation of sun and moon, is already found. As in the Maori myth, light is sometimes prior to the sun (cf. Gn $1^{3.14}$). Some other examples of such myths may be cited. In Bushman belief the sun was a mortal on earth from whose body light radiated for a short distance round his house. Some children were sent to throw him up to the sky as he slept, and now he lightens the earth.[10] The Baronga think that the reflexion of light on the sea after the sun's rising is a kind of source of light whence the sun is renewed daily. It is 'cut out from the provision of fire,' and dies in the West nightly. Light is also called 'that which makes to appear.'[1] An E. African myth tells how two men came to a cave, looked in, and saw the sun. One of them removed a stone, and was burned up. Then the sun ascended on high to light the world.[3] According to the Ja-Luo, Apŏdtho, father of mankind, appeared from heaven on earth together with the sun, moon, and wind, which fled to the sky when he was angry, and have remained there ever since. The heaven-land has people as bright as fire, and men will go there when they die.[3]

3. Succession of light and darkness, day and night.—In some instances light, not darkness, is primordial; or after creation, while day exists, night is still unknown. Numerous myths relate how darkness is produced and the regular alternation of day and night follows. The Wümbaio, an Australian tribe, say that at one time the sun never moved. Nurelli, tired of eternal day, bade it go down by the west.[4] In Banks Island, Qat, after making all things, did not know how to make night, and it was always day. He heard that there was night at Vava, and went there to get it from I Qong, Night. Returning with it, he bade his brothers prepare for night. The sun now moved westwards; he let go the night, and it was dark. After a time he cut it with a knife, and daylight again shone out. In Lepers' Island this is told of Tagaro.[5] The Meitheis say that at first there were two suns which rose and set alternately. A slave, tired of getting no rest, shot one of them. There was now always darkness. The other sun refused to come forth, but at last did so as a result of certain ceremonies.[6] The savage Malays of Malacca have a myth of three suns, one of which was always left in the sky. The female sun was induced to swallow her husband and child, and now there was night.[7] A native Brazilian myth tells that at first there was no night. Night, or a cobra who owned night, slept at the bottom of the waters. His daughter would not sleep with her husband till he procured darkness from her father. Servants were sent to bring a *tucuman* fruit from him. In spite of all warnings, they opened it, and all grew dark. The daughter now separated day from night.[8] In Santa Cruz sun and moon are said to have travelled together, but by a trick the sun caused the moon to fall into a marsh and went on before her. Night is the result of a part of the moon becoming black through this trick.[9] A Finnish myth says that in the beginning there was nothing but water and light—an unusual version of the cosmogonic idea.[10] In some instances night is formed as the result of a dualism. The Yezidis say that God made the world beautiful. Then Malik-Taūs appeared before Him and said that there could be no light without darkness, no day without night, and accordingly He caused night to follow day.[11] In a Wallachian *Märchen* God sends a bee to inquire of the devil, the master of night, whether there should be one sun or more. The bee rests on the devil's head and hears his cogitations to the effect that, if there are several suns, men will get so accustomed to heat that there will be no fear of hell; night will be as clear as day; and the works of darkness will be brought to an end.[1] In Breton folk-belief God created the day, and the devil made night as an offset to it.[2] The same dualism is found in a Melanesian story in which all that Tagaro makes is good. Suqe, who makes evil things, wished to have six nights to one day, but Tagaro sent him underground to rule the souls of the dead.[3] An extremely naive Macedonian *Märchen* tells how all creation, grateful to the sun for his light and warmth, proposed to reward him with a wife. But the lion said that several suns would be born and all would be burned up. All agreed that it was better for the sun not to marry. In disgust he hid himself in the sea, and all became dark, to the consternation of the animals. But the hen, persuading him that marriage was a disgrace, caused him to rise from the sea every morning.[4] This myth obviously originates from the apparent disappearance of the sun into the sea at night, and his apparent rising from it in the morning. An Eskimo myth relates that sun and moon were once removed, causing darkness which no shaman could dispel. A boy is sent by his aunt to go south, where he will find the light. He arrives at a hut where light like a ball of fire is lying, but it is hidden by a man shovelling snow, which causes obscurity. He steals the light and is pursued. He breaks off pieces, each of which produces day, which is then followed by night. They are of unequal lengths because sometimes he travels a longer time without throwing out light, sometimes a shorter time.[5] This myth exactly reproduces the phenomena of the Arctic dark winter, and the phenomena of days and nights of varying lengths.

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[1] K. Rasmussen, *People of the Polar North*, London, 1908, p. 101.

[2] *Ib.* p. 173; *11 RBEW* [1894], pp. 266, 481; H. Rink, *Tales and Trad. of the Eskimo*, London, 1875, p. 237; cf. the idea of the Ticunus that stars are emanations from the face of the supreme God.

[3] Cf. *HAI*, Washington, 1907–10, i. 971; J. A. Farrer, *Prim. Manners and Customs*, London, 1879, p. 244; E. R. Emerson, *Indian Myths*, do. 1884, p. 102; *1 RBEW* [1881], p. 25; *5 RBEW* [1887], p. 540; Frobenius, p. 30.

[4] J. H. Gray, *China*, London, 1878, i. 1; see also CHINA, vol. iii. p. 551ᵇ.

[5] J. J. M. de Groot, *Religion in China*, New York, 1912, p. 9.

[6] W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905, p. 85.

[7] *Kalevala*, rune 1.

[8] J. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, p. 558.

[9] *Ib.* p. 735; Tac. *Germ.* 11; Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 18; cf. Pliny, *HN* xvi. 44, and see CALENDAR (Celtic) and CALENDAR (Teutonic).

[10] W. H. I. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 45–55.

[1] A. Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, Neuchatel, 1913, p. 282.

[2] D. Macdonald, *Africana*, London, 1882, i. 280.

[3] C. W. Hobley, *JAI* xxxiii. [1903] 328, 331.

[4] Howitt, p. 428; cf. A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*², London, 1899, i. 124 f.

[5] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, pp. 156, 171.

[6] T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, London, 1908, p. 125 ff.

[7] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. 338.

[8] F. J. de Santa-Anna Nery, *Folk-lore brésilien*, Paris, 1888, p. 55; Couto de Magalhães, *Contes indiens du Brésil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1883, p. 1.

[9] W. O'Ferrall, *JAI* xxxiv. [1904] 224.

[10] O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, i. 69.

[11] *Ib.* p. 27.

4. Gods of light and darkness; sun and moon.—Day and night or their rulers or representatives, sun and moon, are often personified as male and female, or as husband and wife, as in the Eskimo myths already cited (§ 1). This is found in American Indian mythology; and in Australian belief, *e.g.* among the Arunta, the sun is female, the moon male.[6] It is also found among the Andaman Islanders (the sun is the wife of the moon), the Indians of Guatemala, in Central Celebes, in Cumana, among the Ewe and Yoruba, in Tahiti, among the Piutes, among the Ainus, and among the peasants of Oberpfalz.[7] In another American myth day and night are two wives who produce light and darkness by sitting alternately at the door of their tent.[8]

In New Britain sun and moon, to whom belong respectively day and night, are children of Ilu and Mamao, and, having gone up to the sky, have stayed there ever since.[9]

In a Tongan myth Vatea and Tonga-iti quarrel about the parentage of the first-born of Papa, each claiming it as his own. The child is cut in two. Vatea throws one part up to the sky, where it becomes the sun; Tonga-iti throws the other to the dark sky, whence the moon. This is explained as Day and Night alternately embracing Earth, their joint offspring being sun and moon.[1]

In Norse mythology Night and Day are mother and son, set in the sky by All-Father, who gives each a horse and chariot to drive round the earth. The sun also has a chariot.[2]

In many of the myths just cited sun and moon are not always regarded as causing light and darkness, or rather day and night. These exist apart from them, though the two are associated together. A clear connexion between them, however, is seen in another group of myths—those of the sun-catcher. In some of these the sun is tied down, as in a Toda instance, by a demi-god. There is at once darkness on the earth and in the under world, whither the sun goes at night. The people of both implore the demi-god for the sun's release.[3] More usually the sun is captured because his course is far too rapid and darkness comes too soon—found in many Polynesian myths—or too erratic, as in a Ute myth.[4] Sometimes, however, he is captured in order to lengthen the ordinary day, and this group is then connected with magical rites which have also this for their purpose.[5] Again, he is captured by some persons who wish to amuse themselves, but it becomes so hot that the captors run away.[6] The second group of myths is obviously suggested in answer to such a question as was raised by the Inca prince: Why cannot the sun wander freely about? Clearly because he obeys the will of a superior being. This is an idea found also in the mythologies of the higher culture.

For further examples see *Mélusine*, ii. [1884–85] 556; Lang, *Myth, Rit. and Rel.*^{2} i. 124 f.; E. B. Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind*^{2}, London, 1870, p. 346 ff.

Light and darkness, day and night, sun, moon, and stars are often personified or worshipped as gods, or the sun, moon, and stars, as sources of light, are the dwellings of gods. Thus the Ainus believe in a spirit of light who lives in the sun or animates it (*ERE* i. 242^a). Many African tribes have a high god, often the sky personified, and many of them worship the heavenly bodies as sources of light. Loba, the high god of the Bakwiri, has a name signifying originally Heaven or Sun, and so in many other instances.[7] Shango of the Yoruba is the sun, dwelling in a flaming house of brass; one of his train is Biri, the darkness.[8] The Kavirondo worship the moon and the sun, the latter regarded as apathetic, occasionally beneficent, but usually malignant.[9] Among the ancient Teutons and Celts sun and moon were also divinities to whom a cult was paid.[10] Among the Polynesians Ka-ne is the sunlight and Tangaloa is the lord of light, his brother being Rongo, god of dark and night.[11] The Andaman Islanders connect Puluga, their high god, with the sky, where he set the sun and moon, who give light by his command and have their meals near his house.[12] Among the Hottentots Tsuni-Goam, the red dawn, is opposed to the dark sky personified as Gaunah.[13] With the

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[1] A. Schott, *Walach. Märchen*, Stuttgart, 1845, p. 283 f.

[2] P. Sébillot, *Folk-lore de France*, Paris, 1904–07, i. 185.

[3] Codrington, p. 169.

[4] Dähnhardt, p. 130.

[5] *18 RBEW* [1899], pt. 1, p. 484.

[6] *21 RBEW* [1903], p. 174; Spencer-Gillen^a, p. 561.

[7] E. H. Man, *JAI* xii. [1882–83] 160; O. Stoll, *Guatemala*, Leipzig, 1885, p. 275; Lasch, *ARW* iii. 134, 107; Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, London, 1890, p. 66, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, do. 1894, p. 83; A. Bastian, *Inselgruppen von Oceanien*, Berlin, 1883, p. 46; Lang, *Myth, Rit. and Rel.*^{2}, i. 181; *ERE* i. 242^a; Lasch, *ARW* iii. 139.

[8] E. Petitot, *Trad. ind. du Canada nord-ouest*, Paris, 1886, p. 16 ff.

[9] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, p. 363.

[1] W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the S. Pacific*, London, 1876, p. 45.

[2] Grimm, pp. 785, 787.

[3] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 592.

[4] G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, London, 1861, p. 248; Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*^{2}, p. 100 (in this case Maui beats the sun and makes it lame); Gill, pp. 62, 70; Grey, *Polynes. Myth.*, p. 24 f.; *1 RBEW*, p. 24.

[5] Waitz-Gerland, vi. 253; cf. *GB*^{3}, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 311 ff.

[6] E. Nordenskiöld, *Indianerleben*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 294 (Chané Indians).

[7] W. Schneider, *Die Rel. der afrik. Naturvölker*, Münster, 1891, pp. 43, 62, 80.

[8] Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 46 f.; Frobenius, p. 232 f.

[9] G. A. S. Northcote, *JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 63.

[10] Grimm, p. 704.

[11] Gill, pp. 10–14; Grey, p. 1 ff.

[12] E. H. Man, *JAI* xii. 160 f., 166.

[13] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, London, 1881, pp. 124, 126.

Fijians Ndauthina is god of light and fire, whose love of light in his infancy was so great that his mother bound lighted reeds to his head.[1]

5. Regions of light and darkness.—As in the higher religions the beneficent or loftier gods are connected with light or dwell in the sky (cf. 1 Ti 6^{16}, 'dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto'), so it is also in savage belief. The Australian high gods, Būnjil, Mūngun-ngaur, and Baiame, dwell in the sky or in Keladi, 'eternal brightness,' and the Nurali of the Murray River tribes is an embodiment of light.[2] The higher Polynesian gods, Tangaroa, Tangaloa, Tii, etc., dwell in the light heavens, seven or ten in number.[3] The Khonds reverence Būra Pennu, god of light, or Bella Poona, the sun-god, whose dwellings are the sun and the place where it rises. Puluga, the Andaman high god, lives in the sky. This is true also of many African gods; *e.g.*, the Zulus hold that the creator lives in heaven, and Nzambi Mpungu of the Fiort dwells behind the firmament.[4] Similarly one of the names of the supreme being of the Indians of Guiana signifies 'the Ancient One in Skyland.'[5] Many of the Teutonic gods, some of them gods of light, dwelt in the sky, where Valhalla was situated.

> 'From the sky the gods descend to earth, along the sky they make their journeys, and through the sky they survey unseen the doings of men.'[6]

So also Elysium, the abode of the blest, whether it is in the sky or on or below the earth, is always a region of light and brightness. In contradistinction to this, the abode of unhappy spirits in all mythologies is dark and gloomy, in this resembling the abode of the shades in religions where no distinction had yet been made between good and bad spirits—the Bab. Arallu, the Heb. Sh^{e}ôl, the Greek Hades (see the series of artt. on BLEST, ABODE OF THE).

The subterranean Pueliko or Tartarus of the Caroline Islanders is cold and dark.[7] In Polynesia, as Po, or darkness, was the primal source of light and of the gods of light, so it is also conceived as the subterranean place of night whither departed spirits go.[8] In Nanumea the wicked go to a place of mud and darkness.[9] The Japanese Yomi, or Hades, means 'darkness,' and it is presided over by Susa-no-wo, a personification of the rain-storm, and a moon-god, ruling also the darkness of night.[10] The Scandinavian Nifihel is a place of darkness surrounded by fogs and gloom (see BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Teutonic]).

6. Evil powers and darkness.—Evil gods, gods of death, etc., are often associated with darkness, or divinities who are not evil have often acquired a sinister aspect in so far as they are associated with the night or even with the moon, the ruler of the night. The Sakai believe that the lord of hell, a cavern in the interior of the earth, is a friend of darkness and cannot bear the light.[11] In Polynesia Rongo, brother of Tangaroa, is god of darkness and night; Hine-nui-te-po, the great mother night, into which all must fall, is a personification of night and death.[12] Some Australian divinities to whom evil powers are ascribed are connected with darkness and night.[13] The Japanese Susa-no-wo, already referred to, is another instance. Much more generally all evil spirits, demons, ghosts, and the like are associated with darkness, which men's fears peopled with them.[14]

In S.E. Guinea evil spirits called *werabana* inhabit dark places and wander about at night; and in New Britain Kaia, a spirit causing disease, earthquake, etc., lives in craters and dark places.[1] The Tasmanians thought that lower spirits concealed themselves in dark ravines by day and came forth at night to do harm.[2] The Australians also peopled the darkness with a variety of horrible beings ready to pounce upon men.[3] Innumerable other examples from savage belief might be cited. Similarly, among the Celts and Teutons a variety of demoniac and supernatural beings were associated with the darkness, and in folk-superstition generally fairies, witches, demons, werwolves, vampires, and ghosts are most powerful in the hours of darkness, especially 'at the lone midnight hour when bad spirits have power.'[4] See artt. DEMONS AND SPIRITS, FAIRY, LYCANTHROPY, VAMPIRE.

Among savages, as also among higher races, there is a wide-spread fear of the darkness. Many savages will not travel or even leave their huts or camp at night; or, if they do so, they must be armed with firebrands and the like to keep evil spirits at a distance, since these fear the light. Thus we find magical rites to overcome the terror of darkness; *e.g.*, in New Caledonia the priest, when cutting the umbilical cord of a boy, had a vessel of water before him, dyed black as ink, in order that when the child grew up he might not fear to go anywhere on a dark night.[5] For similar reasons an eclipse of the sun or the moon is universally feared. Generally a monster is supposed to be destroying these bodies, and, since they are so often regarded as the sources of light, it is feared that their destruction would mean a return to the primordial darkness. Every precaution is therefore taken to scare off the destroying monster or to bring to an end whatever other mythical cause is attributed to an eclipse.[6] In connexion with the belief that evil spirits have power in the dark must be noted the wide-spread idea that their power ceases at dawn, or that, if they are surprised by daylight, they are destroyed. This applies to all evil beings, demons, witches, fairies, etc. See art. FAIRY.

7. Dualism of light and darkness.—The contrary nature of light and darkness, the qualities instinctively associated with each—life with light,[7] death and terror with darkness—might easily suggest to primitive minds a species of natural dualism. The day seems to be swallowed up by night, again to appear and drive it away; at an eclipse sun or moon is wholly or partially concealed by darkness, figured as a beast or demon, but again emerges victorious. Hence in some instances on the lower levels of culture light, or day, and darkness, or night, may be personified and regarded as in conflict. That this was the case is obvious from such a dualistic system as the Parsi, which is fundamentally concerned with an older natural dualism of light and darkness, giving rise to a moral dualism of good and evil. The same dualism is found sporadically in other higher religions, and in faiths in which the influence of Parsiism was felt,[8] also perhaps in such a dualism as exists in the religion of the Buriats (*q.v.*). On the other hand, since light, day, sun, seem to rise out of night, they are perhaps more often regarded as produced by darkness, rather than hostile to it, as in Polynesian mythology and elsewhere (§ 1). It is also probable that modern inquirers into savage myths have too readily assumed that mythical personages represented, on the one hand, light, sun, or dawn, and, on the other, darkness and night, and that myths of a contest between a hero and a demoniac being necessarily meant a contest between light and darkness. While it is possible that certain American myths adumbrate such a contest, it is likely that, on arbitrary philological grounds, such an interpretation has been too easily applied to them.[1] One aspect of such a mythic strife may be seen in the beings associated with light and darkness rather than in these themselves personified. Thus the demoniac beings who have power in the darkness are generally powerless and are not feared by day (§ 6), or those connected with gloom and darkness are often regarded as opposite in nature or opposed to divinities or spirits of light—*e.g.*, gods residing in the heavens. In primitive religion decisive examples of a conflict between light and darkness are few in number, but the mythic method is seen in the words of a Basuto who described nature as given up to perpetual strife—the wind chasing the clouds, darkness pursuing night, winter summer, etc.[2] If, as has been supposed, the Polynesian Maui is the sun (though, as has been seen, Maui captures the sun), then the story of how he intended to pass through the body of Hine-nui-te-po, but was unsuccessful and died, and so brought death into the world, might be a myth of the sun or light being swallowed up by darkness.[3] In Khond belief the supreme creator, Būra Pennu, the light- or sun-god, is opposed, not by darkness, but by Tari Pennu, the earth-goddess, the bringer of disease, death, and other evils.[4] Japanese mythology preserves a story of the retirement of the sun-goddess to the rock cave of heaven, leaving the world to darkness, because of the misconduct of her brother Susa-no-wo, the storm-god and later ruler of Yomi (the dark Hades). The gods dance in front of the cave, and she comes out to see them and is prevented from re-entering. Light is thus restored to the world. This suggests a myth of the strife between light and darkness. Later Shinto theologians allegorize the goddess's retirement as emblematic of the darkness of sin, and the renewal of light as signifying repentance.[5] Grimm has suggested that many phrases in Teutonic languages used of light and darkness, day and night, show the one as a hostile, evil power in contrast to the kindly character of the other, and that there is perennial strife between the two.[6]

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[1] B. Thomson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, p. 113.

[2] *JAI* xiv. [1885] 313, xiii. [1884] 193; R. Brough Smyth, *Abor. of Victoria*, Melbourne, 1878, i. 423.

[3] Gill, pp. 4, 13; Ellis, i. 114, 325; Waitz-Gerland, vi. 240 f., 299.

[4] H. Callaway, *Rel. System of the Amazulu*, Natal, 1870, p. 49 f.; A. Lang, *Making of Religion*^{2}, London, 1900, p. 228.

[5] E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 365.

[6] Grimm, p. 698.

[7] F. W. Christian, *Caroline Islands*, London, 1899, p. 75.

[8] Ellis, i. 396; Waitz-Gerland, vi. 267 f.

[9] Turner, *Samoa*, p. 292.

[10] Aston, pp. 53, 137 f.

[11] Skeat-Blagden, ii. 286.

[12] Gill, pp. 4, 10–14; Taylor, p. 100; Ellis, i. 323 f.

[13] Waitz-Gerland, vi. 800 f.

[14] See *ERE* iv. 628^a.

[1] Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, pp. 235, 357.

[2] A. Ling Roth, *Abor. of Tasmania*, London, 1899, p. 53.

[3] Waitz-Gerland, vi. 801; Brough Smyth, i. 457; Spencer-Gillen^b, 496.

[4] Sir W. Scott, *Eve of St. John*, verse 24.

[5] Turner, *Samoa*, p. 341.

[6] Lasch, *ARW* iii. 97–152; also art. PRODIGIES AND PORTENTS.

[7] Cf. P. Giran, *Magie et rel. annamite*, Paris, 1912 p. 118.

[8] See Dähnhardt, pp. 27 ff., 48.

LITERATURE.—O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, i. 'Sagen zum Alten Test.,' Leipzig and Berlin, 1907; L. Frobenius, *Die Weltanschauung der Naturvölker*, Weimar, 1898; R. Lasch, 'Die Finsternisse in der Myth. und im rel. Brauch der Völker,' *ARW* iii. [1900] 97-152; *Mélusine*, ii. [Paris, 1884-85] 554 ff.; E. B. Tylor, *PC*³, London, 1891, *passim*.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Chinese).—The Chinese outlook on life and attitude towards religion give more prominence to light than to darkness.

The two principles which pervade all nature and to which everything is assigned—the *yin* and *yang* principles, the dualistic elements of Chinese philosophy—are also the two headings into which light and darkness are differentiated. *Yin*, it may be said, is darkness, and *yang* light. The latter stands for the upper world of light; the former for the nether world of gloom and semi-darkness.

It is difficult to classify as gods of darkness any of the gods of the Chinese, unless Yāma (Yen-ma, Yen-lo), the ruler of Hades, with his entourage of officials and demons, be considered as such. The light of the sun is wanting in the Chinese nether world; it is a land of shades and of the shadow of death, for a twilight gloom prevails. The idea of hells in Taoism was derived from Buddhism; but the conception was developed on different lines. Utter darkness reigns in eight hells out of the millions of various abodes of punishment in the future world of Chinese Buddhism.[1]

In the primitive religion of the ancient Chinese nature-worship was prominently apparent, and remnants of this are still found: in the erstwhile Forbidden City, or Inner City, of Peking there is a splendid altar to Light. The sun, according to the Chinese, is the source of all brightness, and the masculine principle in nature is embodied in it, while the moon is considered to be the essence of the female principle. The philosopher Chu Hsi said:

> 'In the beginning heaven and earth were just the light and dark air. . . . The subtle portion of the air . . . became heaven and the sun, moon, and stars. . . . Light and darkness have no beginning.'[2]

The 'visible darkness' that engulfs the sun and moon at an eclipse is supposed popularly to be the effect of a monster swallowing them. Mandarins under the old regime offered worship as an official duty during an eclipse, soldiers fired muskets, and priests clanged cymbals and chanted prayers to the sun and moon. While all this was going on, the populace fired crackers and clashed pots and pans to frighten the monster away.[3]

There is an altar to the sun to the east of the Tatar City of Peking. That to the moon is outside the west wall.[4]

In that ancient Chinese classic, the *Yi King*, or *Book of Changes*, one of the trigrams is an emblem of light or brightness.[5] Light and brightness are the symbols of, or attributes applied to, goodness and virtue.[6] The rising of the brightest object in the sky is suggestive of advancing, and Hû Ping-wăn of the Yuan dynasty (A.D. 1280-1367) thus applies it:

> 'Of bright things there is none so bright as the sun, and after its pattern he [the superior man] makes himself bright.'[7]

These instances show that the Chinese early seized on the striking symbolism of light and darkness to represent a mental or moral condition as well as a physical one; and this expressive language has continued in use. It appears now and again in the *Tâo Teh Ching*:

> 'We should attemper our brightness, and bring ourselves into agreement with the obscurity of others.'[8] 'Use the light that is within you to revert to your natural clearness of sight.'[9]

There is the goddess of lightning, worshipped by both Buddhists and Taoists, who, according to the popular mythology, was appointed to accompany the god of thunder on his expeditions to prevent his making a mistake, for on one occasion, finding the white rind of a melon flung away, in the darkness of a smoke-begrimed Chinese kitchen, he mistook it for rice and killed with his chisel and hammer the supposed waster of good food. To prevent the recurrence of such an event the goddess carries a mirror in each hand, or one in her two hands, and flashes light on objects before the god strikes. This is the explanation of 'the lightning's fiery wing.'

The god of fire is another of the gods connected with light. His name, Hwa Kwang, may be rendered 'Beautiful Light.' Unlike the majority of the popular gods, he was not originally a human being, but a lamp, of which the snuffings of the wick were turned into a man by the recital of a charm. He is the form and soul of fire.[1] Both Buddhists and Taoists claim him.

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[1] For these myths see D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, Philadelphia, 1896, p. 198 ff.; Tylor, *PC*³, ii. 290 ff. For some arguments against these views see A. Lang, *Nineteenth Cent.* xix. [1886] 50-65, and *Custom and Myth*², London, 1893, p. 197 ff. (against Hahn's theory of a contest of light and darkness in Hottentot mythology).

[2] E. Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, Paris, 1859, p. 253.

[3] Grey, *Polynes. Myth.*, p. 38 f.; Waitz-Gerland, vi. 261, 267.

[4] S. C. MacPherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, London, 1865, p. 84.

[5] Aston, p. 100 f.

[6] Grimm, p. 752.

[1] E. J. Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*², London, 1888, p. 105ᵇ.

[2] T. McClatchie, *Confucian Cosmogony*, p. 53 ff., quoted in S. Wells Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, revised ed., London, 1883, ii. 141.

[3] See H. C. Du Bose, *The Dragon, Image, and Demon*, London, 1886, p. 71.

[4] See Mrs. A. Little, *Guide to Peking*, Tientsin, 1904, p. 33 ff.; cf. Ezk 8¹⁶.

[5] J. Legge, *Yi King*, *SBE* xvi. [1882] 136, note.

[6] *Ib.* p. 310.

[7] *Ib.* p. 311, note.

[8] J. Legge, *Texts of Taoism*, *SBE* xxxix. [1891] 50.

[9] H. A. Giles, *Chuang Tzŭ*, London, 1889, p. 19; see *Tâo Teh Ching*, ch. lii.

The Buddhists deify light by personification in the *bodhisattva* Marīchī Dēva. The Chinese represent her with eight arms. In two of her hands she holds up emblems of the sun and moon. She is the goddess of light, and protects nations from war. Among her other titles is that of Queen of Heaven. The Taoists also claim her as one of their deities, and fix her residence in a star in the constellation of Sagittarius.[2]

Buddha after Buddha, commencing with Śākyamuni Buddha, has light as one of his attributes, or some manifestation of light appears in the course of his life in connexion with him. Five-coloured lights flashed at his birth, and flame burst from his dead body.[3] Every Buddha has, among his characteristics, a circle of hairs between his eyebrows by which he can illuminate the universes.[4]

'Light' and 'Brightness' often appear in the names given to different Buddhas, as well as occasionally to others, and to different objects. Among these names of Buddhas, present or to come, supposed to be real or fictitious, are such as 'Brightness of the Law,' 'One whose feet display myriads of Luminous Figures,' 'The Buddha of Fixed Light,' 'Light and Bright,' 'The Bright Effulgence of Sun and Moon,' 'The Clear and Bright Efficacy of Sun and Moon.' The 930th Buddha of the present *kalpa* is called 'The Buddha of Wonderful Light.' Some twenty billions of Buddhas have the title of 'Cloud Sovereign Illuminating King.' Five hundred *arhats* will reappear as Buddhas with the name of 'Wide-spreading Brightness.'[5] Some of the demons in which Buddhism believes shed a glare of light.[6] A realm mentioned in Buddhism is 'The Realm of Great Light.'[7] One of the sixteen (or eighteen in Northern Buddhism) celestial worlds is that of 'Light and Sound,'[8] and another is that of 'Unlimited Light.'[9] Buddhism has five 'Luminous Treatises.'[10] A fictitious degree of *samādhi* is also called 'Pure Light and Brightness,' and another 'Pure Light.'[11]

In Northern Buddhism the 'Buddha of Boundless Light,' diffusing great light, Amitā (Amitābha), originated in the ideal of boundless light, and was thought of at first as impersonal. He is the most popular of all the Buddhas among the Chinese people. In his heaven, the wonderful and glorious Paradise of the West, two Buddhas 'radiate light over three thousand great worlds.'[12] Amitā Buddha himself, in the words of the Chinese poem singing his praises, has a

'. . . halo of light that encircles his head,

The sun at noonday is less glorious than he.'[13]

As to those who enter that heaven,

'The material body of men while on earth
Is exchanged for another ethereal and bright,
That is seen from afar to be glowing with light.'[14]

This new mystical school makes use of the symbolism of light in its description of religious states of its devotees.[1] In some cases light plays an important part in the advent to earth of a god on his incarnation, and even one of the mythical emperors of China, the Yellow Emperor (2698 B.C.), owed his origin to this.

With the Taoist gods, a ray of light shoots down arrow-like from heaven to the future mother shortly to be delivered of a child, and thus the divine is blended with the human in the infant, who has sometimes to expiate some sin from which his godlike nature has not saved him, or to cure or to eradicate some infirmity still inherent in his moral nature.

We find a brilliant light in connexion with the preparations for the birth of the Taoist Gemmeous Sovereign, the Supreme Ruler, and in his later incarnations a golden light or a glimmering light[2] descends. Somewhat similar experiences occurred when the Taoist Aged Sire united with light, and became dust and was born on earth.[3] A Taoist writer of the Yuan dynasty says that light broke forth spontaneously in the primordial void, springing from itself in the heart of the void, and his idea would appear to be that to attain illumination one must empty oneself as the primordial void of which he speaks was empty.[4]

The word 'Light' is used as one of the Chinese clan-names or surnames, as it is in English, but it also appears sometimes as an individual name bestowed on an infant, and occasionally in union with some other character in a name selected later in life.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently cited in the footnotes.

J. DYER BALL.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Christian).—The symbolical use of the words 'light' and 'darkness' is very common in early Christian literature, and in the main was derived from the OT, as will be seen by the references given below. As time went on, the metaphor of light served as one method of expressing the theological conception of the Persons of the Holy Trinity.

1. The symbolism in the NT.—We may pass by the obvious metaphor by which to speak or act 'in the light' is to do so 'openly,' and to speak or act 'in the darkness' is to do so 'secretly,' as in Mt 10^{27}, Lk 12^{3} (cf. Jn 18^{20}, and Eph 3^{9}, 1 Co 4^{5}). More to our purpose are the numerous passages where 'light' denotes knowledge, truth, and holiness, and 'darkness' denotes ignorance and sin—ignorance in all its phases being included in the latter simile: absence of knowledge, spiritual blindness, error, and wickedness; for blindness, if wilful, becomes sin. The opposition between light and darkness is expressed in Jn $3^{19f.}$; men had the opportunity, for light is come into the world, but they loved the darkness rather than the light, for their works were evil—'every one that doeth ill hateth the light.' 'Darkness' expresses the state of the world before the Incarnation (Jn 1^{5}, Lk 1^{79}); the idea is taken from Is 9^{2}, where it is said that 'the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light.' To be in a state of sin and ignorance is to walk, or sit, or be in darkness (1 Jn $1^{6.8}$ 2^{9}, Jn 8^{12}, 1 Th $5^{4f.}$, Ro 2^{19}, Lk 1^{79}). In Jn 8^{12} the 'light of life' is the light 'which both springs from life and issues in life' (B. F. Westcott, *Gospel according to St. John*, London, 1908, *in loc.*). The metaphor is very common in the Johannine writings, but it is frequently found elsewhere. In Mt $6^{22f.}$ the 'body full of light' (*φωτεινόν*) denotes purity and holiness, and the 'body full of darkness' (*σκοτεινόν*) denotes evil; so Lk $11^{34f.}$ (cf. Pr 14^{18}).

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[1] See Dyer Ball, 'Scraps from Chinese Mythology,' in *China Review*, Hongkong, 1872–1901, xii. 188 ff., 324 ff., 402 ff.

[2] Eitel, *Handbook*, p. 97 f.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 136^{a}, 138^{b}.

[4] *Ib.* p. 188^{b}.

[5] *Ib.* pp. 38^{b} (1st ed.; the 2nd ed., 55^{b}, does not translate the Chinese), 46^{a}, 129^{a}, 50^{b}, 55^{b}, 173^{b} (the 1st ed. [1870] gives 'The Bright Effulgence,' etc., as translation of the Chinese; the 2nd ed. gives only the Chinese), p. 173^{b} (the same difference between the two editions). Also see pp. 129^{a}, 140^{b}, 116^{a} (1st ed., 141^{a} in 2nd ed.), 165^{b} (here again the Chinese is not translated in the 2nd ed.).

[6] *Ib.* p. 172^{b} f. of 1st ed., 206^{b} of 2nd (the 1st ed. is here fuller).

[7] *Ib.* p. 170^{b} of 1st ed., 204^{b} of 2nd (here again the Chinese is not translated in 2nd ed.).

[8] *Ib.* p. 1^{a}.

[9] *Ib.* p. 15^{b}.

[10] *Ib.* p. 44^{b} of 1st ed., where the term is translated; it is not translated in the 2nd ed., p. 63^{b}.

[11] *Ib.* p. 200^{b}.

[12] J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*^{2}, London, 1893, p. 234.

[13] *Ib.* p. 173.

[14] *Ib.*

[1] See T. Richards, *The New Test. of Higher Buddhism*, Edinburgh, 1910, pp. 55, 149, 151, etc.

[2] Dyer Ball, 'Scraps from Chinese Mythology,' in *China Review* xi. 72 ff., 207, 213, 282, 287.

[4] *Ib.* p. 85 f.

[3] See L. Wieger, *Le Canon taoïste*, Paris, 1911, i. 65, no 246

In Ac 26^{18} the preaching of the gospel is to turn the people from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God. St. Paul uses the metaphor freely. The 'works of darkness' are the evil deeds of the present 'night,' and the 'armour of light' is to be put on in view of the approach of the day (Ro 13^{12}; cf. Eph 5^{11}; for 'night' and 'day' in this connexion see 1 Th $5^{4f. 8}$). We are partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light, and have been delivered out of the power of darkness (Col $1^{12f.}$). The fruit of the light is in all goodness, righteousness, and truth (Eph 5^{9} RV). Light has no communion with darkness, and therefore Christians are not to be unequally yoked with unbelievers (2 Co 6^{14}, quoted in *Apost. Const.* viii. 34, to forbid Christians to pray with heretics). So St. Paul uses the verb 'to darken' (*σκοτίζω* or *σκοτόω*) in Ro 1^{21} 11^{10} and Eph 4^{18} metaphorically of the hardening of the heart or the blinding of the eyes by ignorance, just as he uses 'to enlighten' (*φωτίζω*) in a metaphorical sense in Eph 1^{18} (cf. Jn 1^{9}; see below, § 4). St. Peter speaks of our being called out of darkness into God's marvellous light (1 P 2^{9}). The curious passage 2 P 1^{19}, where prophecy is as 'a lamp shining in a squalid (*αὐχμηρῷ*) place,' may be compared with Mic 3^{6}, where 'darkness' is used of want of spiritual perception in a prophet.[1]

The name 'Light' is given to God. Not only is light a gift of God, but God is by nature 'light' (1 Jn 1^{5} *φῶς* anarthrous); therefore He can be known by His creatures, and is all-holy, for in Him is no darkness at all. This goes much further than Is 10^{17}, where God is called 'the light of Israel,' or Ja 1^{17}, where He is called the 'Father of lights' (*τῶν φώτων* = the heavenly bodies [?]).

This divine attribute is claimed by or ascribed to our Lord in Jn 8^{12} ('I am the light of the world') 9^{5} $12^{35. 46}$, Lk 2^{32}, Mt 4^{16} (from Is 9^{2}). St. John says that in the Word was life, and the life was the light of men, shining in the darkness; He was 'the true light which lighteth every man, coming into the world,' *i.e.* by His Incarnation (but see Westcott's note), in contrast to the Baptist, who was but a witness of the light (Jn 1^{4-9}). Because He is the light, He will shine (*ἐπιφαύσει*) on the awakened sleeper (Eph 5^{14}). He is to be a light to all men (Ac 13^{47}, quoting Is 49^{6} [the reference is to Jesus, not to St. Paul, though the Apostle identifies his mission with that of his Master]; cf. Is 42^{6}, where the Servant of Jahweh is to be a light of the Gentiles—a phrase repeated of the 'Son of Man' in *Ethiopic Enoch*, xlviii. 4 [1st cent. B.C. ?]). The phrase 'dwelling in light unapproachable' (1 Ti 6^{16}) might be applied to the Son (so Chrysostom, *Hom. xviii. in 1 Tim.*, *in loc.*) or to the Father, but probably it refers to the Father (cf. Ps 104^{2}, Dn 2^{22}). See also § 3, below.

In an inferior sense the servants of the Incarnate are 'lights.' The Baptist (see above) is 'a lamp that burneth and shineth,' in whose light the disciples were willing to rejoice for a season (Jn 5^{35}). All Christians are the light of the world (Mt 5^{14} *φῶς*, cf. Ph 2^{15} *φωστῆρες*), and are sons or children of light (Lk 16^{8}, Jn 12^{36}, 1 Th 5^{5}, Eph 5^{8} ['once darkness . . . now light in the Lord']). The angels are angels of light (2 Co 11^{14}; we may compare the light which shone when the angel released St. Peter, Ac 12^{7}). In contrast to this, the devil and his angels are 'world-rulers of this darkness' (Eph 6^{12}), *i.e.*, as the Peshiṭta paraphrases, 'rulers of the world of this darkness' (meaning 'of this dark world'), and their realm is the 'outer darkness' mentioned in Mt 8^{12} (for Jewish parallels see W. C. Allen's note *in loc.*, *ICC* [^{3}1912]) 22^{13} 25^{30}; this is the place of punishment of sinners, and we may compare Jude ^{6}, where the fallen angels are said to be 'kept in everlasting bonds under darkness (*ζόφον*) unto the judgement of the great day,' and 2 P 2^{17}, where the 'blackness of the darkness' (*ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους*) is said to have been kept for evil men. The same idea of punishment is found in *Eth. Enoch*, lxiii. 6, where the wicked say: 'Light has vanished from before us, and darkness is our dwelling-place for ever and ever'; on the other hand, God will for the elect 'transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light' (xlv. 4).

2. The same symbolism in the Fathers.—The symbolism of light and darkness is not so common in Patristic writings as in the NT, but a few examples may be given from the first four or five centuries. At the close of the Apostolic period the *Epistle of Barnabas* (§§ 18–20) describes the two ways, of light and darkness, *i.e.* of good and evil (cf. Dt 30^{15}); over the former are stationed the light-giving (*φωταγωγοί*) angels of God, over the latter the angels of Satan. In the 3rd cent. Origen calls Celsus's arguments darkness, the truth light (*c. Cels.* vi. 67). Lecturing A.D. 348, Cyril of Jerusalem says (*Cat.* vi. 9) that the Father is eternal light, beaming inexhaustibly. The metaphor is found in the Ancient Church Orders —*e.g.*, in the *Egyptian* (Coptic) *Church Order* (§ 62), the *Verona Fragments of the Didascalia*, etc. (ed. E. Hauler, Leipzig, 1900, p. 119), and the *Testament of our Lord*, ii. 24: 'The Father hath sent His Word [and Wisdom] to enlighten the saints.' In the last-mentioned work (Eng. tr., J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, Edinburgh, 1902) the symbolism is very common, both in the apocalyptic prologue (where it probably comes from an original apocalypse, perhaps of the 2nd cent.; see *JThSt* xiv. [1913] 601–604) and in the Church Order proper. Christians are children of light (i. pref., 1, 3, 12, 37). In the liturgy of this work (i. 23) God is called 'the Father of lights' (Ja 1^{17}), 'King of the treasuries of light,' 'Illuminator of the perfect,' 'Giver of light eternal.' Elsewhere in the book He is called 'Giver or Maker of light' (i. 26, 43), 'God of the lights . . . Whose veil is the light' (ii. 7). Our Lord is 'Begetter of light . . . Guardian of light eternal,' who has 'shed light on the darkness within us' (i. 26). Jesus is the name of light (ii. 27). The illumination of the heart is frequently referred to (i. 15, 21, 23, 31, 32, 38, ii. 5, 7, 9). Somewhat more sparingly the simile is used in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Christians are 'children of light' (i. 2, ii. 32, 46, 54), as in the parallel passages of the *Older Didascalia* (see these, arranged on opposite pages, in F. X. Funk, *Didasc. et Const. Apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1905). The Father inhabits light inaccessible (*Apost. Const.* vi. 11, viii. 15, from 1 Ti 6^{16}). Jesus is the true light (v. 16), and the bishop must be a student, and enlighten himself with the light of knowledge (ii. 5; cf. viii. 37). These phrases (except v. 16) are not in the *Older Didascalia.* In *Sarapion's Sacramentary* God is called the 'Fount of light,' and is prayed to give us the (or a) Spirit of light (§ 1; *JThSt* i. [1899] 105, in Funk [*op. cit.* ii. 172], numbered § 13). Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* xl. 5 f. [A.D. 381]) calls angels and men 'light' in an inferior sense, though in the highest sense God alone is light.

In the *Clementine Recognitions*, now thought to be of the 4th cent., Simon Magus, denying that God has a Son, says that there is a power of infinite and ineffable light (*i.e.* God), of which power even the Demiurge, Moses, and Jesus are ignorant (ii. 49).

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[1] The metaphor from the contrast between the dimness of a reflected light and the clearness of an open vision, a metaphor which was more obvious, no doubt, in the days of unscientific reflectors than it is now, is used by St. Paul in 1 Co 13^{12}, where he describes our partial knowledge in the present world as seeing 'in a mirror' instead of 'face to face'; but the words which we translate 'darkly' (lit. 'in a riddle') do not carry on the simile.

3. Light as describing the relation of the Father and the Son.—We may now investigate the use of the phrase 'Light of Light' (*φῶς ἐκ φωτός*) applied to our Lord. In the NT the Father is Light, and the Son is Light; but the above phrase is not used, though in He 1^3 our Lord is the effulgence (*ἀπαύγασμα*) of the Father's glory and the very image of His substance; the reference seems to be to Wis 7^{26}, where Wisdom is 'an effulgence from everlasting light . . . and an image of [God's] goodness.' (For various Patristic comments on He 1^3 see Westcott's note, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, London, 1889, p. 11.)

An early approximation to the phrase 'Light of Light' is found in Origen (*de Prin.* i. 1), who says that God is light, illuminating man, and interprets 'thy light' in Ps 36^9 of the Son. In the 2nd cent. Justin had used the illustration of fire kindled from fire with reference to the Son and the Father (*Dial.* 11, 128); and Tatian (*c. Græc.* 5) re-echoes his words. So also Tertullian (*Apol.* 21) says that a ray of the sun is still part of the sun; there is no division of substance, but only an extension; thus Christ is Spirit of Spirit, and God of God, as light of light is kindled. But Athanasius sees a danger in the metaphor of fire. He says (*de Decretis*, v. 23) that the Son is not as fire kindled from the heat of the sun, which is commonly put out again, but is 'effulgence' (*ἀπαύγασμα*), signifying that He is from the essence, proper and indivisible, of the Father, and is one with Him (see A. Robertson's note on the passage in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, iv. [1892] 165). Arius in his letter to Alexander had quoted Hieracas as saying that the Son was from the Father as a light from a light (*λύχνον ἀπὸ λύχνου*), or a lamp divided into two (quoted by Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxix. 7). In the small treatise *In illud 'Omnia,'* 3 (on Lk 10^{22}), Athanasius says that Christ, the Light, can never be separated from the Father. In *Orat. c. Arian.* iv. 2 the writer speaks of the Word as 'Light from Fire,' and in iv. 10 compares the Father and the Son to fire and the effulgence from it, 'which are two in being and in appearance, but one in that its effulgence is from it indivisibly'; but it is uncertain if this fourth Oration is by Athanasius.

Later in the 4th cent. (A.D. 381), Ambrose says that 'the Father is Light, and the Son is Light, and the Holy Ghost is Light, and the Holy Ghost is both Light and Fire,' referring to Is 10^{17} (*de Spir. Sanct.* i. 14 [160 ff.]). The well-known hymn *φῶς ἱλαρόν* ('Hail, gladdening Light'), sung at the Lamp-lighting, calls the Son the 'gladdening Light of the holy glory of the immortal, heavenly Father'; it is older than Basil, who apparently quotes it (*de Spir. Sanct.* xxix. [73], A.D. 374).

The phrase 'Light of Light' is found in the creed of Nicæa and in the enlarged creed (called the creed 'of Constantinople') which came into general use. It was derived by the former from the creed of Eusebius of Cæsarea, which, as Eusebius told the Nicene Fathers, had been handed down from preceding bishops of that see, and used in the baptismal catechesis; this creed had 'God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life' (Socrates, *HE* i. 8). On the other hand, the phrase 'Light of Light' is not in the creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus (*c.* A.D. 265), which has only 'Sole of Sole (*μόνος ἐκ μόνου*), God of God' (it is given in *Ante-Nicene Chr. Lib.* xx. [1882] 5). In Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* iv. 7) the Son is called 'begotten Life of Life, begotten Light of Light'; in xi. 4 Cyril repeats this phrase and adds 'Truth of Truth, and Wisdom of Wisdom, and King of King, and God of God, and Power of Power' (cf. xi. 18). The phrase 'Light of Light' occurs in R. H. Connolly's reconstruction of Aphraates' creed (4th cent.; *JThSt* ix. [1908] 280), but not in the creeds of the various Church Orders, though those of the *Apost. Const.* (vii. 41) and of the *Egyptian* (Coptic) and *Ethiopic Church Orders* are of the Eastern type (those of the *Testament of our Lord*, the *Canons of Hippolytus*, and the *Verona Fragments* are the Western or Roman creed). It is instructive to note the different creeds of the Council of Antioch in Encæniis, A.D. 341. The second creed has 'God of God, Whole of Whole, Sole of Sole, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord, the living Word, the living Wisdom, [Life], the true Light,' etc. The third creed has merely 'perfect God of perfect God.' The fourth creed, drawn up by a continuation of the Synod, has 'God of God, Light of Light . . . who is the Word and Wisdom and Power and Life, and the true Light' (these creeds are given in Athanasius, *de Synodis*, 23, 24, 25, and the second and fourth in Socrates, *HE* ii. 10, 18; see them also in Hefele, *Councils*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1876, ii. 77–80). With reference to the phrase in question Basil, when dealing with the relation of the Son to the Father, and speaking of the phrase 'like in substance' (*ὅμοιον κατ' οὐσίαν*), says that he will accept the phrase if the word *ἀπαραλλάκτως* ('without any difference') be added, as equivalent to the Homoousion:

> 'Being of this mind the Fathers at Nicæa spoke of the Only-begotten as "Light of Light," "Very God of Very God," and so on, and then consistently added the Homoousion. It is impossible for any one to entertain the idea of variableness of light in relation to light, of truth in relation to truth, or of the essence of the Only-begotten in relation to that of the Father' (*Ep.* ix. 3, to Maximus).

Passing to later times, we note the curious fact that the phrase does not occur in the present Nestorian Creed (F. E. Brightman, *Lit. East. and West.*, Oxford, 1896, p. 270), though it is in that of the Nestorian Catholicos Ishuyaw (Īshōʿyahbh) I., A.D. 595, which is given by W. A. Wigram, *The Assyrian Church*, London, 1910, p. 291.

Reviewing the evidence, we conclude that the appearance of the phrase in a creed cannot be affirmed before the 3rd cent., though perhaps (in view of Eusebius's word 'bishops' in the plural as above) it was so used early in that century; Cæsarea was perhaps its first home. But before this there is earlier evidence (in the 2nd cent.) of the use of the symbolism of 'Light of Light,' though not of the phrase itself. Even after Nicæa it was not by any means universally adopted into creeds. It will be remembered that the creed of Nicæa was a test of orthodoxy, and was not at first used liturgically; it was not, apparently, for some time used at baptisms, and was not introduced into the Eucharistic service till the end of the 5th century. It is not surprising therefore that, in spite of the great authority of the Council of Nicæa, the phrase in question did not at once spread very rapidly.

4. Baptism and light.—In the early Church the symbolism of light was closely connected with the sacrament of initiation. Baptism was, especially by the Greeks, called 'illumination,' *φωτισμός* or *φώτισμα*, as in Justin (*Apol.* i. 61), in Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* xl. 1; cf. ii. 36), once in the *Apost. Const.* (ii. 32, where it expressly includes the laying on of hands; in vi. 1 and viii. 12 the word is used literally, of the pillar of fire, and in ii. 5, v. 1 metaphorically, of knowledge; cf. 2 Co $4^{4.6}$), and in the *Older Didascalia* (*Verona Latin Fragments*, ed. Hauler, p. 87: 'post inluminationem quod dicit Græcus fotisma,' with reference to He 6^4 [not in the corresponding passage of *Apost. Const.*]). Similarly the selected candidates for baptism were called *φωτιζόμενοι*, 'those who are in process of being illuminated' (Lat. *competentes*), and the baptized were called 'the illuminated' (*οἱ φωτισθέντες*)—as in Justin (*Apol.* i. 61, 65, *Dial.* 122), Clement of Alexandria (*Pæd.* i. 6), who quotes Eph 5^8 of baptism, and wrongly derives *φώς*, 'man,' from *φῶs*, 'light,' Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.*, Introd. I. xi. 1, xiii. 21), and the *Apost. Const.* (viii. 8 and 35); Eusebius says that Constantine at his baptism 'was filled with heavenly light' (*Vit. Const.* iv. 62). For this reason the baptistery was often called in Greek *φωτιστήριον*; the *Arabic Didascalia* (§ 35), which derives its account of the church buildings from the *Testament of our Lord*, i. 19, transliterates this name into Arabic (Funk, *Did. et Const. Ap.* ii. 124 f.).

This symbolism is found also in the NT. In He 6^4 10^{32} the aorist participle *φωτισθέντες* ('illuminated'), denoting a definite act, clearly refers to the Christian act of initiation, and the Syriac versions, both the Peshiṭta and the Ḥarqleian, in translating these passages, explicitly refer them to baptism. The metaphor has been thought to have been derived from the Greek mysteries, though the NT *μυστήρια* are quite unlike the heathen ones in that in the former the *revelation* of the unknown is what is emphasized (cf. Mk 4^{11}, 1 Co 4^1 13^2 14^2, and Col 1^{26}, where see Lightfoot's note).

The custom of the candidates for baptism carrying torches probably came from the metaphor, not the metaphor from the custom, which is perhaps alluded to by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.*, Introd. and i. 1) and certainly in pseudo-Ambrose (*de Laps. Virg.* v. [19], A.D. 374 [?]).

There is a 2nd cent. legend, mentioned by Justin (*Dial.* 88), that, when Jesus was baptized, 'a fire was kindled in Jordan.' It is mentioned in the apocryphal *Preaching of Paul*, in the Ebionite Gospel, and in the Old Latin codices 'a' 'g' (in Mt 3^{16} they read 'lumen ingens' or 'magnum'; see H. B. Swete, *Holy Spirit in NT*^{2}, London, 1910, p. 43 n.), and is a commonplace of Syriac literature. In the Diatessaron it was related that a light flashed on Jordan and the river was girdled with white clouds. This reading is attested by Barṣalībī and Īshō'dādh (see F. C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-mepharreshe*, Cambridge, 1904, p. 115).

From the baptismal metaphor, Epiphany was called 'The Holy Lights' (cf. Greg. Naz. *Orat.* xxxix. and xl. 1); our Lord's baptism is the event principally commemorated at that festival in the East (see, further, art. EPIPHANY).

5. Liturgical use of lights.—There are many traces of the symbolic use of lights in Christian services, from the 4th cent. onwards. Perhaps the earliest is in connexion with funerals. At the Spanish Council of Elvira (*c.* A.D. 305, can. 34) the custom of burning candles in the day-time in a cemetery was forbidden, lest the spirits of the saints should be disturbed—a custom probably borrowed from the heathen (see Hefele, *op. cit.* i. 150). But in some form the custom continued. Lights were carried, as in heathen, so in Christian, funeral processions; see Gregory of Nyssa, *de Vita S. Macrinæ* (near the end, ed. Paris, 1638, ii. 201 A; *c.* A.D. 380), and *Funeral Oration on Meletius* (near the end; A.D. 381). Eusebius says (*Vit. Const.* iv. 66) that Constantine's body lay in state 'surrounded by candles burning in candlesticks of gold, presenting a marvellous spectacle'; and Gregory the Great (*Ep.* ix. 3, to Januarius, A.D. 598) speaks of relatives at a funeral offering lights for churches.

About the 4th cent. we find the symbolic use of lights in other Christian services. In the *Testament of our Lord* (i. 19) it is directed that all parts of the church 'be lighted, both for a type, and also for reading.' The derived *Arabic Didascalia* expands this phrase thus: 'Let them be lighted with many lights as a figure of heavenly things, especially in the reading of the pericopae of the sacred books' (§ 35; Funk, *op. cit.* ii. 125). It has been suggested that lights had necessarily been in use in the catacombs and in the assemblies before dawn in times of persecution, and that, when churches were built above ground in times of peace, the usage was continued and was given a symbolic turn (W. E. Scudamore, in *DCA* ii. 993 f.). This may be partly true, though it does not explain all the circumstances of the case. For we find lights also used as a decoration at festivals, as when Paulinus of Nola (*c.* A.D. 407; † A.D. 431) describes the innumerable festal lights burning night and day as a sign of rejoicing (*Poem.* xiv. [*de S. Felicis Natalit.*, carm. iii.] line 99 ff.). 'Etheria,' or 'Silvia' (whose *Peregrinatio* has usually been dated at the very end of the 4th cent., though many scholars think it is somewhat later), describes the same thing as happening daily at Jerusalem (part of this work is given in App. 5 of L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, Eng. tr.^{3}, London, 1912; see pp. 493, 498). This was also a heathen custom (Juvenal, *Sat.* xii. 92). Again, we find lights carried processionally in front of a person, as in the *Ordo Romanus Primus* (*c.* A.D. 770), where seven candles are carried before the pope before mass (ed. E. G. C. F. Atchley, *Ordo Rom. Prim.* §§ 7 f., 21). In the *Ordo* in the MS of St. Amand (Duchesne, p. 457) two candles are lighted when the pope says mass, and are placed behind the altar in candlesticks, right and left. A 5th cent. ivory at Trèves exhibits candles carried in procession (W. C. Bishop, in the *Prayer Book Dictionary*, p. 435). In these cases the Christian custom comes straight from the heathen—in the case of the processional lights from the custom of carrying lights before the emperor—and we cannot trace them to the usage in the catacombs.

Three other symbolical usages in connexion with lights may be noticed. (*a*) *Gospel lights*, *i.e.* lights used at the reading of the liturgical Gospel at the Eucharist, are mentioned by Jerome (*c. Vigilant.* 7; A.D. 378), and are said by him to have been universal in the East, 'not so as to put darkness to flight, but by way of showing our joy' (he also attests the use of lighted tapers in honour of martyrs). Later on these lights at the Gospel are often mentioned—*e.g.*, in the *Ordo Rom. Prim.* § 11. (*b*) *The Paschal candle* was blessed on Easter Even ('benedictio cerei'), and is alluded to, perhaps by Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, xv. 22; A.D. 413–426: read 'in laude . . . *cerei*'), certainly by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* xlv. 2) and Gregory the Great:

> 'the prayers . . . said over the wax taper, and the exposition of the Gospels given by priests about the time of the Paschal solemnity' (*Ep.* xi. 33).

The candle was carried before the *competentes* to the font (cf. § 4, above), and denoted the rising of the Sun of righteousness. The *Liber Pontificalis* says that Pope Zosimus (A.D. 417) extended the custom of blessing the Paschal candle to the parish churches of Rome. (*c*) The office of *Tenebræ* is found from the 7th or 8th cent. onwards—an extremely symbolic service on the night which ushers in Good Friday. After each of the three nocturns one-third of the lights were extinguished, except that seven remained, which were gradually put out during matins, the last when the Gospel was read (*DCA* ii. 994^a).

We may ask what is the meaning of this symbolism of lights when transferred to Christianity, and used in its services. Putting aside the lights carried before a dignitary, we gather that the general idea was that, on the one hand, Christ is the Light of the world, and that, on the other, Christianity is the religion of light and Christians are children of light. Theirs is an open religion, not confined to the few, like the Greek mysteries, not hiding itself, as those cults which became so common in the heathen world, and loved darkness rather than light. Such seems to be the symbolism of the liturgical use of lights.

LITERATURE.—(1) For the subject of light as expressing the relation of the Father and the Son see especially the works of Athanasius, and the edition of A. Robertson, *Select Writings and Letters of Athanasius*, tr. and notes, Oxford, 1892 (the Index, *s.v.* 'Light' and 'Simile,' gives a useful list of passages); see also E. C. S. Gibson, *The Three Creeds*, London, 1908, iii. 1. (2) For the liturgical use of lights see W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*^{2}, London, 1876, and art. 'Lights, Ceremonial Use of,' in *DCA*; E. G. C. F. Atchley, *Ordo Romanus Primus*, London, 1905; W. C. Bishop, art. 'Lights' in the *Prayer Book Dictionary*, do. 1912; C. E. Hammond, art. 'Paschal Taper' in *DCA*. (3) The symbolism of the NT is treated by F. H. Woods in *HDB* and J. Moffatt in *DCG*, artt. 'Light.' On the whole subject see also the works mentioned in the course of the article.

A. J. MACLEAN.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Greek and Roman).—In the fields of the Hellenic and the Italic civilizations we have in historic times a divinity recognized as supreme, Zeus or Jupiter, who is a personification of the sky and the daylight that fills it. He has counterparts in the religious systems of kindred races. Among Greeks and Romans and peoples subjected to their influence there are two groups of contrasted divinities, those of the upper world (θεοὶ οὐράνιοι, *di superi*) and those of the under world (θεοὶ χθόνιοι, *di inferi*), the former the authors of life and increase and prosperity, the latter of death and waning and misery to mortal creatures.

1. Greek.—Certain varying waves of tendency, changing the behaviour of believers towards these two classes, may be discerned in the history of the Greeks. There was a time when the chief sacred centres had mysterious connexion with the realms of darkness, when the fear of obscurity had more power over the religious consciousness than the delight in heavenly radiance. The spots at which there were reputed entrances to the domain of Hades and darkness were numerous in early Greek days. In many instances, subterranean phenomena, earthquakes, sulphurous or mephitic emanations, disappearing rivers, or medicinal waters had much to do with the superstitions that gathered round such places. Even in historic Greece practices of a primitive character were maintained in such localities, for in religions the new never entirely drives out the old; there is always superposition of strata. At Tænarum, a promontory of Laconia, there was a cleft through which Herakles and Orpheus had both passed when they visited the infernal shades. In the *Frogs* (186), Aristophanes puts an absurd speech in the mouth of Charon, the ferryman of the Styx, ridiculing these popular ideas. Most of the ancient oracles were connected with sites where there was communication with the nether darkness. This is illustrated by the story of the visit of Æneas to the Cumæan Sibyl, as told by Virgil, and by the behaviour at Delphi of the Pythian priestess, the mouthpiece of the oracular Apollo. The secrets of the future have been supposed in all ages to be in the keeping of spirits below, while in Greek literature the sun has knowledge of all the secrets of the present. The name 'necromancer' indicates the persistence of the belief about the dwellers in the regions of darkness.

As time went on, many of the places which had been principally associated with the powers of darkness passed into the possession of divinities who were mostly of the light. This was strikingly the case with Delphi, where, as the later Greeks said, the worship of the chthonian deity Earth (Gē or Gaia) was succeeded by that of Apollo, god of brightness. As civilization and culture strengthened, the reverence paid to the gods beneath was apt to be left to the uninstructed, and to pass into the backwater of superstition. Some of the figures of the dark were partially transformed into figures of the light. Thus it was with Demeter and Persephone as they appeared in the historic age in the mysteries celebrated at Eleusis. Hades, the consort of Persephone, underwent a like change, indicated by his later name Plouton (Pluto), *i.e.* god of wealth or prosperity. The change of view was sometimes aided by euphemism, causing dreaded deities to be propitiated by well-sounding titles. So the avenging spirits of gloom, the Furies, were venerated as 'Eumenides,' 'benevolent ones' (cf. artt. EUMENIDES, ERINYES; EUPHEMISM).

A profound alteration was wrought in the religious conceptions of the Greeks by the rein given to their myth-making fancy and to their artistic genius, working on things divine. As human traits were inwrought into the texture of dimly apprehended superhuman existences, and were enwrapped by the clouds of poetry and the dreams of art, their original connexion with natural objects became veiled, and in some cases was forgotten. The process had already been carried far when the Homeric poetry arose in its glory. Some figures that did not very readily lend themselves to transformation received little notice in later worship. Eos, the dawn-goddess, is prominent in Homer, but, as she is also too obviously the dawn, she is present but little in later ritual. Ovid remarked that her temples were the rarest in the world (*Metam.* xiii. 588). But the divine being who is wreathed in poetry and art does not generally lose that particular contact with nature which gave him his origin. Zeus remained the actual source of events in the sky. Where we say 'it rains' or 'it snows,' the Greek said 'he rains,' or 'he snows,' and sometimes mentioned the name of Zeus. Horace speaks of the hunter camping at night 'under the chilling Jove' (*Od.* I. i. 25). Apollo was always connected with the sunlight, Artemis with the moon, and so with many others. When the overgrowth of legend became abundant, there was an impulse to return to the veneration of actual heavenly bodies. Thus the worship of Helios, the sun, went on side by side with that of Apollo. Naturally, in historic times the development of mythology produced a mixture of attributes, and the interference of many divinities with one and the same function. The appearance and disappearance of the heavenly bodies suggested that the realms of light and darkness had intercommunication. Hermes, in the main a god of brightness, becomes a conductor of souls to regions below. Moreover, light was sometimes really baneful and at other times was thought so. Therefore Apollo, the sun-god, has a mission to destroy life, as well as to preserve it by medicine and to enhance its value by poetry and music. Dionysos, whose connexion with the sun is clear, also has to do with the shades; and so with other divinities. The bad effects of heat led to the idea that Pan, the god of the open country, is most to be dreaded at noon-day, for then he can inflict madness. The mild gleams of the moon and the divinities who guide them were usually beneficent, but sometimes had the contrary activity. The waxing moon is of good intent, the waning moon brings sickness and death. Hekate, a moon-goddess, kindly and supernal in the earlier age of Greece, became later a malignant power of darkness. It may be remarked that the reverence paid, with clear consciousness, to astral bodies as such was never at any time so marked in historic Hellas as among Babylonians and Semites. As a religious motive it belongs rather to the late Hellenic age, and the age of Græco-Roman civilization, and even then, as we shall see, it affected the outer fringes of Greek civilization, where it was wrestling with barbarism, rather than its heart and centre.

Besides the light of heavenly luminaries, great and small, there is the irregular and alarming fire from heaven, the lightning. The deities who rule the regular light also send lightning, especially Zeus, one of whose chief emblems is the thunderbolt, and also Athene and Apollo. It is sometimes a sign of divine anger, as when Semele died by its stroke, sometimes an indication that the god has signified his will and given a presage of the future. To interpret the sign is, of course, a matter for an expert. Lightning was thus connected with divination and prophecy, and spots struck by the sacred bolt were revered.

The fire which is of use to men on earth could not but be regarded as in its origin divine, and as venerable, being a symbol of the eternal. The apparent everlastingness of the fire of which sun, moon, and stars are the manifestations doubtless contributed to the importance of fire in the ritual of worship. A vein of thought which lies deep in the nature of men in the earlier stages of religion, that the gods are envious of human beings and grudge them the things of which they wish to possess themselves, is illustrated by the legends of which Prometheus was the centre. The gift of fire was one which the gods would fain have withheld, and they punished him who outwitted them. A number of Greek divinities have relations with the earthly fire. Hephaistos, the great metal-worker, uses the fierce subterranean flames which find vent in the crests of Ætna and the Lipari Isles. In Homer and the poets generally he is the maker of all the weapons, emblems, and equipments of the Olympians, of the sceptre of Zeus, of the arrows of Apollo and Artemis. Hestia, goddess of the family hearth, has an especial connexion with earthly fire. She is the only one of the greater divine beings whose name has a transparent significance in life, equivalent to the hearth of the house, always regarded as in some sense an altar. As every house had this altar, so the great State family had its central hearth-altar for all the burgesses. When a city sent out some of its sons to found a colony afar, the central fire of the new community was lighted from the central fire of the old home. When a city was under a monarch or despot, its common hearth was in his dwelling; in a republican community it was in the town-hall (πρυτανεῖον) (see, further, art. HEARTH, HEARTH-GODS [Greek]). The conception of Hestia remained one of the clearest and simplest in the range of Greek religion. Where the name of a divinity retains an obvious meaning, he does not lend himself to a covering of myth. Another divinity in whose ritual fire was conspicuous was Dionysos or Bacchus. The pine-tree and the torches that it provides figure in the Bacchic revels, as depicted, for instance, by Euripides in his *Bacchæ*. What we call the St. Elmo's fire was connected with the great twin-gods, the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux.

The gods of light and darkness must have a potent influence on life, and especially on the beginnings of life. The hearth-fire itself was treated as a symbol of the generation of the human being, and a growth of legend and ritual was developed from this idea. The light-bringing divinities are very naturally those who bring the child out of the pre-natal darkness into the light of life, and many deities were at different times and in different places supposed to exercise this function (cf. art. BIRTH [Greek and Roman]). Zeus himself to the latest age was a god of birth; but the powers that guide the milder radiance of the moon rather than those that wield the fiercer splendour of the sun had chiefly this duty, and the greatest among them was Artemis.

The mysteries of the darkness beyond the grave, in which departed souls were hidden, gave rise to multifarious practices and beliefs. There were many divine beings who either ruled the dead or guarded souls against the perils of the passage from this world to the next. There is no portion of the field of Greek religion in which the development of ideas from Homer's age to the time of the latest Greek philosophic speculation was more complex. The notion of a possible deliverance from the bonds of death prompted a series of beautiful tales, such as that of the restoration of Alcestis to Admetus, the theme of the fine tragedy of Euripides, the recovery of Eurydice by Orpheus, or of Persephone by Demeter. In this connexion the most interesting evolution, from a religious and social point of view, is to be found in the Greek mysteries. They represent the striving of souls on earth to be assured of safety in the perilous passage from the bed of death to a happy abiding-place in the world beyond. Starting from gross forms, in which enchantment had a great part, the mysteries were refined and moralized so as to satisfy the higher yearnings of the spirit, and to instil that better hope in death which, Cicero says, was given by initiation at Eleusis (*de Legibus*, ii. 36).

During the great age of Greece there was among the Hellenes no wide-spread conception of such a mysterious influence of heavenly bodies on human life as was systematized by the Chaldæan astrologers. This lore came from Eastern lands, especially Babylon, and was only in loose contact with religion; it was devotedly followed only in a later time, and then more in the sphere of Roman than in that of Greek civilization. The same is true of the real religious veneration of sun, moon, and stars. But mystic ideas concerning these entered into the earliest Greek thought—that of the Orphic and Pythagorean schools. The express attribution, however, of divinity to the heavenly bodies appears comparatively late in the history of Greek philosophy. Plato, in his *Timæus* (p. 38 f.), describes the fixed stars as divine existences brought into being by the 'Workman' (Demiurgus) of the universe at the bidding of the supreme god. In other passages he assigns divine character to the sun, moon, and planets. He was followed, with variations, by later thinkers—Xenokrates, Herakleides of Pontos, and many others. Aristotle described the celestial bodies as containing a great divine element, and pointed out that this belief, now explicitly declared by philosophers, was implicit, in an obscure form, in the popular mythology. Like doctrine was taught by the Stoics and particularly by Cleanthes, who considered that in the sun lay the guiding principle (ἡγεμονικόν) of the universe. It was common to call the heavenly bodies 'visible gods' as opposed to the unseen divine power. These notions were prevalent among the Neo-Pythagoreans. Apollonius of Tyana (*q.v.*), the seer and wonder-worker of the late 1st cent. A.D., venerated the sun at dawn, like many an Oriental of to-day. That the practice was popular in Greece is shown by the salute which Sokrates offers to the rising luminary, at the end of his great drinking-bout, in the *Symposium* of Plato. The Neo-Platonists, who powerfully affected the thought and religion of the Roman imperial period, embraced and developed beliefs like those that have been cited. Philo, the great Alexandrian Jewish philosopher, was in this respect fully in accord with the Greeks. An idea that was wide-spread in the philosophic schools, and especially favoured by the Stoics, was that the contemplation of the heavenly bodies in their purity and in the regularity of their operations had an ethical value for the regulation of human conduct.

2. Roman.—Among the Romans notions concerning the regions of light and darkness were clothed in some distinctive forms. The dread of evil that might befall if the inhabitants of the nether world, the departed spirits of mortals, did not receive their due from the living was much more marked than in Hellenic communities. In the historic time, till Christianity prevailed, the bodies of the dead were cremated, but some of the attendant ceremonies pointed to a remote age when inhumation was the rule (cf. art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Greek]). In primitive days the tomb must have been regarded as the only place haunted by the ghosts, and down to the latest age it was so treated in many ceremonial practices. But quite early a conception must have sprung up of a general habitation for those who were colloquially called 'the majority.' The Romans, however, never imagined for themselves a judgment beyond the tomb, which should assign one dwelling-place for the good, another for the bad. The great scheme pictured by Virgil in *Æneid* vi., which has stimulated the imagination not only of poets but of many religionists ever since, was drawn after Greek patterns. The genuine Roman under world was a tract of gloom, and the spirits were minded to do harm to the living unless their wants were supplied, though to avoid offence they were called 'good people' (*manes*). The ritual for the foundation of a new city required that somewhere near its centre an underground chamber called *mundus* should be provided, into which were cast fruits of the earth, probably to satisfy the hunger of the dead, though that may not have been the only purpose of the *mundus*. This chamber was opened at stated times mentioned in the calendar, when fresh offerings were made to the departed, who were thus kept in order and restricted to appearances on the days set apart. These gifts, presented by the nation as a whole to the nation's dead, were parallel to the private presentations at each of the family tombs. Special days for the service of the dead existed in Greece, but they were never so general or so precisely ordered as among the Romans. There was one *mundus* on the Palatine Hill supposed to have been the work of Romulus when he founded Rome; there was another in the Forum, and others elsewhere. Offerings at these places were made to all the *di inferi*—a phrase in which dead mortals are included, as being in some sort divine. Every Roman tombstone was inscribed 'Dis manibus,' 'to the divine spirits.' The *Larvæ* and *Lemures*, to whom propitiatory offerings were made, are merely the ghosts regarded collectively, in their unsatisfied and therefore terrifying aspect.

As to special divinities of the realms beneath, the earliest worshipped at Rome seems to have been Tellus, Mother Earth, 'the parent of all things and their common tomb,' as Lucretius calls her (v. 259). In the later age she was less and less regarded, in consequence of the attractiveness of Greek invasions in the sphere of religion. Names like Genita Mana, Lara, and others invoked in the *indigitamenta* (*q.v.*), appear to have been epithets of Earth. So, in Greece, Gaia was in some sense a goddess of the dead, and the same attribute was, of course, given to the divinized figure of Earth in other mythologies (cf. art. EARTH, EARTH-GODS, § 8).

A curious place of communication with the infernal regions was a spot called 'Terentus' in the Campus Martius, where probably at one time mephitic vapours escaped. This became in 249 B.C. the centre for a cult newly imported from Greece—that of Dis (whose name is a rendering of Pluto or Plouton) and Proserpina. The cult was probably grafted on to more ancient and purely Roman ceremonial. The blend gave rise to the characteristically Roman 'secular games,' celebrated theoretically, but not always in practice, at intervals of a century, to ensure the safety of the city. The most famous celebration is that ordered by Augustus in 17 B.C., when Horace acted as laureate and supplied the *Carmen Sæculare*.

The idea of a communication with the realms of darkness through an opening in the earth can be traced in other directions. The *devotio*, whereby a citizen could give himself up to the powers of gloom and thereby secure a favour for his country, is an example. Livy (vii. 6) and other ancient writers have told how, in 362 B.C., Curtius, riding in full armour, made his horse jump with him into a chasm in the Forum, which closed up after him. The spot retained the name of 'the pool of Curtius.' Here in the reign of Augustus the populace cast down coins every year on the emperor's birthday, to secure his welfare (Suetonius, *Aug.* 57). The *devotio* of the Decii, who vowed themselves to death by the enemy, thereby binding the powers to favour the safety of the country, was somewhat different. But, should the devoted man fail to find his death, the terms of his vow were satisfied by burying a lay figure in the earth with due ceremony—a curious example of the ease with which the gods might be cheated in Roman ritual. The walling up of the erring Vestal Virgin is an instance of the penal application of the *devotio*.

It is hard to discover in Roman religion the worship of divinities clearly connected with heavenly objects before the time when Greek and Oriental influences became powerful. Even the relation of Jupiter to the light of the sun does not come out with distinctness. The word 'Leucesie' addressed to him in the very primitive hymn that survived in the ritual of the 'Arval Brothers' (*q.v.*) refers to him as god of light, and a corresponding epithet 'Lucetia' was applied to Juno, indicating a connexion between her and the moon. The antiquarian scholars of the late Republic declared that Titus Tatius, the Sabine king of Rome, had introduced the worship of the sun and moon into Rome from his own country, and that a temple of the sun on the Aventine was founded by him. This was the opinion of Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* v. 74), and Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 41) attributed a temple of the moon (Luna) on the Capitol to Servius Tullius. But the official Roman calendar of festivals, which is known to enshrine very ancient usage, gives no sign of official reverence paid to sun or moon, nor have we any sound evidence of a public priesthood devoted to them either at Rome or elsewhere among Italic peoples, though Varro assigned such an office in old days to the *gens* of the Aurelii. They were supposed to have come from the country of the Sabines, in whose tongue *ausel* denoted the sun. The Aventine, as is well known, was a home of cults introduced from Greece. The existence of a deity called Noctiluca (the 'night-shining one') on the Palatine is hard to explain. The situation implies high antiquity, for no god realized as foreign was allowed to take up an abode within the *pomerium* of the city before the age of the Second Punic War. The name may have been an epithet of Juno, who was connected with the sky. In a ceremony connected with the fixing of the calendar she was addressed as Juno Covella, 'Juno, goddess of the sky.' The name Lucina (closely connected with *lux*) was attached to her as the power which brought the child to light and birth. When the ancient Italic goddess Diana was equated with Artemis, the function of the Greek goddess, as superintending human birth, was transferred to Diana.

The veneration of Volcanus as god of fire belongs to an old stratum in Roman religion; but, unlike Hephaistos, he was worshipped, it seems exclusively, as protector against danger to men from fire. He was a popular divinity, and his cult was one of those which longest survived the introduction of Christianity. The forms with which another divinity, Vesta, was venerated were remarkably characteristic of the Roman people. Her affinity with fire and her kinship with the Greek Hestia are obvious; but the worship of Vesta among Romans is far more conspicuous than that of Hestia among Greeks, possibly because the structure of the Roman family resisted the assaults of time more stoutly than that of the Greek family. A great feature of Roman religion is the parallelism in many respects of the religious ceremonial of the family and that of the State. And the private and public worships of Vesta resemble each other not a little. Every house had a cult of Vesta, and the name was restricted to the divinity; it had no connotation like the name Hestia, which meant 'hearth' as well as goddess. So thoroughly is Vesta a Latin deity that outside Latium hardly any signs of her existence have been found —a surprising fact when the similarity between Hestia and Vesta is remembered. In the home the cult of the goddess belonged to the matron and the virgin daughters, whose duty it was to see that the fire on the hearth was not extinguished. The centre of worship for the great State family was the ancient shrine of Vesta in the Forum, and no other public temple or altar devoted to her service existed before the end of the Republican period. The temple of Vesta was of the antique round shape derived from that of the earliest Roman house. Close by dwelt her priestesses, the Vestals, of whose abode important remains have come to light in recent days. The temple never contained an image, for Vesta was the one ancient divinity in Rome who never succumbed to the anthropomorphic impulses of her worshippers. The only symbol of the goddess was the eternal fire, whose extinction imported calamity to the land. Lapse of duty or impurity of life on the part of a Vestal was an omen of disaster, only to be averted by the sacrifice of the sinner. The Vestals were the daughters of the community, regarded as one vast family. Augustus, who loved to present himself as the restorer and maintainer of the most ancient Roman rites, connected Vesta with the dwelling-place of the imperial family on the Palatine. The Pontifex Maximus had a public residence close to the house of the Vestals. Augustus made this office an appanage of the emperor, and made over the official house to the Vestals. He then set aside with proper ceremony a portion of his palace on the Palatine to replace it and established there a second State temple of the goddess (see, further, art. HEARTH, HEARTH-GODS [Roman]).

We turn now to the later age of Rome. The conscious worship of the sun marked distinctively the dying days of Roman paganism. The oldest shrine dedicated to the sun was on the Quirinal, and seems to belong to the time of the Second Punic War, and to be a result of the mighty tide of religious influence which then invaded Rome from Hellas. A desire to venerate the sun was manifested, however, earlier, when he appeared with his attributes on the Roman coinage. Augustus placed in Rome two Egyptian obelisks before the temple of Cæsar, and they were supposed to be devoted to the sun. Vespasian transformed into a representation of the sun a great colossal figure erected by Nero in his own honour. Several influences contributed to increase Roman reverence for the luminary, to which inscriptions from the end of the 1st cent. A.D. bear increasing evidence. Some of the most powerful divine invaders who came from the East to conquer the West were solar divinities. Also, as mentioned above, philosophers and mystics had preached the divine nature of the sun and other celestial bodies. Immigrants from the East, and Romans, especially soldiers, who had resided there, brought the religion of the sun with them. The notable drift of sentiment towards monotheism aided the movement, for the one god was often, and not unnaturally, identified with the sun. It was not, however, till after Caracalla, by his universal gift of Roman citizenship to the inhabitants of the cities of the empire, had cut away the ground for fencing off the civic gods of Rome from those of other communities that public and formal recognition was given to these Oriental beliefs. A remarkable event in the history of Roman religion was the accession to the throne of Elagabalus, who bore the name of an eastern solar god, whose priest he had been, like his ancestors before him. This was the divinity of the Syrian city of Emesa. The boy-emperor deposed Jupiter from his supremacy among Roman deities, and, placing his own god in the vacant seat, brought to Rome the round black stone which was the symbol (τύπος) of the god. In his array of titles the emperor made his office as 'priest of the unconquerable sun Elagabalus' (*Sacerdos invicti solis Elagabali*) take precedence of the ancient designation of Pontifex Maximus. This was done in spite of the fact that the divine ruler of Emesa was sometimes correlated with Jupiter, probably because the eagle was an emblem of both. A temple was built contiguous to the Palatine residence of the emperor, and to it were removed the fire of Vesta and other venerable possessions, the Palladium that came from Troy, the shields of the Salii, archaic priests of Mars, and the stone which symbolized the Great Mother (Magna Mater), whose essentially Oriental divinity had been, curiously, recognized four centuries earlier than that of any other immigrant from the East. To give completeness to his innovation, Elagabalus made the foundation-day of the temple the same as the traditional foundation-day of Rome itself, the twenty-first day of April. He also ousted Vesta from the Palatine, where Augustus had planted her, and gave her place to the god Elagabalus. The ritual of the usurping god contained Oriental features revolting to the Roman mind. Among the emperor's pranks was a marriage between his divinity and the goddess of Carthage, sometimes identified with Juno and called 'the heavenly,' sometimes with Venus. It was about this time that 'Juno Cælestis' came to be widely venerated in the West, as connected with the moon. The religious revolution of Elagabalus found some favour in the army, always a nursery of Orientalism. But, when his memory was laid under condemnation, the divinity of Emesa suffered with him and was exiled from Rome.

The sun-god was to be glorified again, but in a saner fashion, in a later part of the same century, by Aurelian. He erected a fine temple in honour of 'the unconquerable god of the sun.' His biographer (*Hist. Aug.* 25) narrates a miracle which occurred when Aurelian defeated Zenobia and her host under the walls of Emesa. At a critical moment he was encouraged by a divine form, which appeared again to him in the temple of Elagabalus within the city and was identified with that divinity. The writer supposed that the god established at Rome by Aurelian was Elagabalus; but the condemnation that this divinity had undergone makes the idea improbable. Some scholars have thought that Aurelian's god was the god of Palmyra, also connected with the sun. But it is most likely that the emperor did not wish to correlate him with any particular Oriental manifestation. The only indication connected with the East is the epithet 'unconquerable' (*invictus*). Aurelian specially associated the god with old Roman practice by denominating the new College of priests as 'Pontifices.' The sun was selected by the emperor as embodying the monotheistic conception; and, in so far as that is concerned, he may be said to have borrowed from the East. An interesting inscription recently discovered in Mœsia records how Licinius the elder and Licinius the younger ordered the consecration of an image of the sun and the establishment of a ceremony in his honour just before the great crowning victory of Constantine, won near Adrianople in 323 B.C. Some years before, Constantine had ceased to place the sun on his coins, a practice common since Aurelian's time.

We come now to the most dominant of all the representatives of the sun in the Roman sphere—Mithra, who is named 'Mithra the unconquerable sun' in many inscriptions. The Mithraic system was complex and many-sided, however, and this is only one aspect of the god. His cult embraced elements derived from many sources, not only from the Persian religion in which his origin is to be found, but from Babylon and elsewhere. Sun, moon, and stars were prominent in the ritual. The extraordinary spread of Mithraism in the Roman empire was mainly the result of tendencies which we have noted in other directions. The vogue of Mithra was especially notable on the frontiers of the empire and in the camps situated there. But many of his shrines have been found in the inner lands, especially on the sites of seaports. At Rome he was venerated on the Janiculum, where M. Gauckler a few years ago discovered a remarkable shrine. Another lies under the church of San Clemente, and memorials have been found also where the Vatican now stands. The popularity of the Mithraic worship was specially due to the provision which it made for satisfying some yearnings which afterwards found a fuller gratification in Christianity. So many were the resemblances between the religion of Christ and that of Mithra that Christians attributed them to the subtle malevolence of evil demons. The religion spread rapidly among the freedmen and soldiers, but also attracted the educated and the officials, and found favour with princes. Its close-knit organization, with its official priests and its ascending grades of illumination, kept believers together in the manner of the Christian rites. It owed much of its hold over the West to the moral element which its mysteries embodied. It instilled into its votaries a higher aim in life and a better hope in death than any other form of pagan creed. The conversion of Constantine, however, gave it its deathblow. Like other heathen cults, it lingered on to the end of the 4th cent., revived a little in the intervening time through the restoration of the forbidden gods by Julian, who himself entertained a religious veneration for the sun. It may be observed that Mithraism never took any great hold on Greek lands where the Greek culture had been long established. It is found in contact with Hellenism chiefly on the outskirts of Greek civilization in the East and on the Danube (see, further, art. MITHRAISM).

In conclusion, we may note that the evil associated with the darkness left its mark on some usages connected with the administration of the Roman State. The taking of augury, which preceded the carrying out of many public affairs, originally took place at dawn. It was just as the sun was rising that Romulus saw the flight of eagles which gave him the kingship. No public business was valid unless conducted between sunrise and sunset—neither meetings of assemblies or of the Senate, nor the administration of justice. Cicero reproached Mark Antony for having carried through decrees of the Senate after the sun had sunk ('Senatus consulta vespertina,' *Phil.* iii. 24). Something of the same usage can be seen in Greece, but the rules there were never so rigid.

LITERATURE.—All information in matters connected with this article can be found in a few publications, in which the results of recent investigation are put together. W. H. Roscher's *Lexicon*, now approaching completion, is invaluable. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich, 1906, is important on the Greek side, and G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*^{2}, do. 1912, on the Roman. Roman religion has been interestingly treated by W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, London, 1908, and *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, do. 1911. Many illustrations of the topics here treated will be found in *GB*^{3}.

J. S. REID.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Hindu).—The great contrast between light and darkness with their life-stirring and life-suppressing influence has naturally in all ages taken deep root in the human mind, which welcomed the reappearance of light as the release from the night or the long darkness of winter, and transformed the contrast of light and dark into one of life and death, freedom and bondage, good and evil, virtue and sin. The great representative of light, life, freedom, and goodness was to the mind of ancient India Uṣas, the goddess of dawn, and her rival Rātri, the night, or, in a sense more averse to human life, *tamas*, the darkness. The imperishability of light found its expression in the personification of Aditi, which other scholars explain merely as eternity (cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* iii. 105 ff.).

Uṣas is not only a goddess of the dawn of every day; in many songs that glorify her reappearance the turn of the year is alluded to, and Uṣas means the first dawn of the New Year (cf. A. Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, Prague, 1876–88, iv. p. xi, vi. 173^a; Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* ii. 25 ff.). Uṣas is partly the Ōstara of the Rigveda poems (F. Kluge, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, ii. [1901] 42). She brings back the sun, the fire, the sacrifice which has been discontinued during the decaying period of the year; sometimes she is also called *sūryā* or *ekāṣṭakā*, and under the name *saramā* she became the mother of the two heavenly dogs, the *sārameyas*.

The Indians divide the year into two periods, the Uttarāyaṇa, when the sun proceeds towards the north, and the Dakṣiṇāyana, when he goes towards the south, the light half of the year being sacred to the gods, the dark half to the dead. Sometimes (e.g., *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II. i. 3. 1) it is said that spring, summer, and the rains are the god-seasons, while autumn, winter, and the cold season are the *pitaraḥ*-seasons, sacred to the *manes*. We may begin the New Year with the winter solstice or with Easter time, according as we lay greater stress upon an astronomical or a practical point of view. Indian writers also oscillated between the two possibilities, and faced the problem in the same manner as their brothers did among Teutonic, Slavic, and Italian tribes (cf., *e.g.*, F. M. Müller, *Contributions to the Science of Mythology*, London, 1897, ii. 715). The Vedic authors speak of the dark half of the year as *tamas*, and originally meant thereby the winter, the personification of which was Vṛtra, not the retainer of the heavenly rain, as has generally been believed, but the demon of winter, who was slain by Indra, and who regains the light and sets free the streams bound by the fetters of frost and ice. This idea was inherited from pre-historic times, and formed under the influences of a more northern climate than that of the Indian plains. The farther the Aryan tribes advanced towards the south, and the longer they settled under a milder climate, the less that idea harmonized with the surroundings and the actual climate; the notion of *tamas* was transferred to the really dark season of India—the rains; and the residue of the past and the germ of a new time were thus equally precipitated in the ancient literature. In later times the Holī festival seems to have absorbed most of the customs connected with the New Year festival, though even now the celebration of the Saṁkrānti is by no means forgotten in India; and the splendid spectacle of the bathing festival held about the 12th of January on the banks of the Ganges in Benares will not be forgotten by any one who has happened to witness it.

LITERATURE.—A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, Breslau, 1891–1902, ii. 25 ff., 77 ff., iii. 188 ff., 204 ff., *Die Sonnwendfeste in Alt-Indien*, Erlangen, 1889 (=*Romanische Forschungen*, v.), p. 299 ff.; H. H. Wilson, 'Religious Festivals of the Hindus' (*Works*, London, 1862–77, ii. 158 ff., on the Uttarāyaṇa; 222 ff., on the Holī rites). On the Holī festival: W. Crooke, *PR*^{2}, Westminster, 1896, ii. 313 ff., *Things Indian*, London, 1906, p. 211; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*^{2}, do. 1899, p. 575 ff.; Naṭeśa Śāstrī, *Hindu Feasts and Ceremonies*, with an Introduction by H. K. Beauchamp, Madras, 1903, p. 115 ff. ('The Hindu New Year's Day'); F. S. Growse, *Mathurā*^{3}, Allahabad, 1883, *passim*.

A. HILLEBRANDT.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Iranian).—The antithesis between light and darkness among the Iranians was closely connected with the antagonism between Ahura Mazda and Ahriman. This feature attracted the attention of Plutarch, who says (*de Is. et Osir.* xlvi.) that Ahura Mazda was born of purest light and Angra Mainyu of darkness, so that *τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δὲ ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ* (cf. Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.*, p. 41, ed. A. Nauck, Leipzig, 1860; Hippol. *Refut.* i. 2, iv. 43; A. Rapp, *ZDMG* xix. [1865] 48 f.). This view recurs not only in the late *'Ulamā-i-Islām* (tr. E. Blochet, *RHR* xxxvii. [1898] 41) and in al-Shahrastānī's *Kitāb al-milal w'al-niḥal* (tr. T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850–51, i. 275), but also in the Armenian writers (*e.g.* Thomas Artsruni, i. 3), while Dio Chrysostom (*Orat.* xxxvi.) goes so far as to make the assertion—not thus far substantiated elsewhere—that, in order to create, Ahura Mazda had to surrender much of his light.

In the Gāthās we find the striking statement that Ahura, 'well-working, created both light(s) and darkness(es)' (*Ys.* xliv. 5). This at once recalls the passage in Is 45^7, 'I [the Lord] form the light, and create darkness,' but it seems advisable to assume, with J. H. Moulton (*Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, p. 291), that the Iranian and the Hebrew developments are only parallel and not connected (cf., further, E. Stave, *Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, Haarlem, 1898, pp. 46 ff., 64 ff., and the 'Semitic and Egyptian' section below, p. 65^a, note 3).

Be the origin of the two what it may—and the true explanation of the Gāthic passage doubtless is, as Moulton maintains, that it is the protest of Zarathushtra against Magian dualism—light is, as is but natural, associated with Ahura Mazda and his supporters, while darkness is connected with Angra Mainyu and his rabble. It was Ahura Mazda who in the beginning filled the blessed realms (*xvāθrā*) with light (*Ys.* xxxi. 7), and in the realms of light (*raocēbīš*) beatitude will be beheld by him whose thought is right (*Ys.* xxx. 1), while the light of the sun is one of the things that glorify Ahura Mazda (*Ys.* i. 11). Apart from the passage already noted, darkness (*temah*) is mentioned only once in the Gāthās, in *Ys.* xxxi. 20, where it refers to the blackness of hell (on the blackness of hell see Moulton, p. 172 f.; F. Spiegel, *Erân. Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871–78, ii. 121).

In the Younger Avesta the dualism between light and darkness appears in full vigour, so that Spiegel is amply justified (ii. 20 ff.) in dividing his discussion of the Iranian theology and demonology into 'the light side' and 'the dark side' respectively. A phrase which constantly recurs in beginning the laudation of all good deities is 'for his magnificence and his glory' (*ahe raya xvarenanghaca*; for an admirable discussion of the latter word see E. Wilhelm, 'Hvarenō,' in *Jubilee Vol. of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa*, Bombay, 1914). Light was created by Ahura Mazda (*Ys.* v. 1, xxxvii. 1), and is one of his prerogatives (*Ys.* xii. 1); hence prayer is made to behold 'the creative light of the creative Creator' (*Ys.* lviii. 6), and the light of the sun praises him (*Ys.* lxiv. 6). Together with Asha, Ahura Mazda created 'the shining light and sunny abodes' (*Yt.* iii. 1 f.), so that the abodes of Asha are light (*Ys.* xvi. 7). In these abodes the souls of the righteous dead dwell (*Ys.* xvi. 7; cf. lxviii. 11; *Afrīnakān*, i. 18; *Vend.* xix. 36), for paradise (*vahišta ahu*; see art. LIFE AND DEATH [Iranian]) is light (*Ys.* lxii. 6, lxviii. 11), and, as such, receives worship (*Visprat*, xxiii. 1; *Sīh rōcak*, ii. 27). Indeed, 'light' (*raocāo*) is a synonym for 'heaven' (*Ys.* xix. 6), another synonym being 'the shining house of praise' (*raoxšna garō-nmāna* [*Yt.* x. 124, xix. 44]) to which worship is paid (*Sīh rōcak*, ii. 30). Still another synonym is 'the light without beginning' (*anaγra raocāo* [*Ys.* lxxi. 9; *Yt.* xxii. 15; *Vend.* xi. 1 f., 13, xix. 35; *Pursišnīhā*, xxxviii.]), which is likewise an object of veneration (*Gāh*, iii. 6, *Sīh rōcak*, ii. 30; cf. Spiegel, ii. 17 f.). Accordingly, in the *Patēṭ Īrānī* (ed. E. K. Antiâ, *Pâzand Texts*, Bombay, 1909, p. 145, tr. J. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–93, iii. 178), the righteous man hopes to attain to 'the place of light' (*rōšn-jāē*), not to 'the place of darkness' (*tārīk-jāē*).

The good creation is given the epithet of 'bright'—Asha (*Ys.* v. 4), the Amesha Spentas and their paths (*Yt.* xiii. 82, 84, xix. 15, 17), Ashi (*Yt.* xvii. 1, 6), Apãm Napāṭ (*Yt.* xix. 52; *Sīh rōcak*, ii. 30), the 'glory' (*xvarenah* [*Yt.* xix. 35]), and especially Yima, whose conventional epithet *xšaēta* ('shining') is so completely blended with his name that in modern Persian he is known only as Jamshīd.

The sun, moon, and stars are bidden to give light (*Vend.* xxi. 5, 9, 13), and the light of the moon is lauded (*Nyāyišn*, iii. 7), while so great are the blessings of the light of the sun that, if the sun no longer rose, 'the demons would destroy everything that is in the seven regions [of the world], and the spiritual angels would find no tarrying place and no abiding place in this corporeal existence' (*Yt.* vi. 3; *Nyāyišn*, i. 13; cf. in general *Nyāyišn*, i.–iii.; *Yt.* vi.–viii.). Indeed, the fairest of the forms of Ahura Mazda are the earthly and the heavenly light, *i.e.* the fire and the sun (*Ys.* xxxvi. 6, lviii. 8); and in the palace which Ahura Mazda built for Mithra there is neither night nor darkness (*Yt.* x. 50).

Darkness is a special attribute of hell (*Vend.* iii. 35; *Aogemadaēcā*, xxviii.), for which 'darkness without beginning' is a synonym (*Yt.* xxii. 33; cf. Spiegel, ii. 18 f.). The demons are 'spawn of darkness' (or, perhaps, 'possess the seed of darkness,' *temasciθra* [*Yt.* vi. 4; *Nyāyišn*, i. 14; *Vend.* viii. 80]), and seek refuge in darkness (*Ys.* lvii. 18), or hide in the earth (*zemare-gūz* [*Ys.* ix. 15; *Yt.* xix. 81; *Westergaard Frag.* iv. 3]) or in caverns (*Vend.* iii. 7, 10)—a phrase which may possibly point to survivals of an old chthonic cult (cf. Moulton, pp. 57, 128 f., 132, 399). Properly enough, therefore, divine aid is sought to resist 'darkness, woe, and suffering' (*Ys.* lxxi. 17; cf. *Nyāyišn*, i. 14).

Turning to the Pahlavi texts, we are told that 'the region of light is the place of Aūharmazd, which they call "endless light"' (*Bundahišn*, i. 2), and that the place of the Amesha Spentas is 'in that best existence of light' (*Dāṭistān-ī-Dīnīk*, lxxiv. 2), while Arṭā-ī-Vīrāf, when in the presence of Ahura Mazda, perceived only brilliant light (*Arṭā-ī-Vīrāf Nāmak*, ci.), and the radiance of

Zarathushtra within his mother, during the three days before his birth, was so great as to illumine his father's whole village (*Dīnkarṭ*, V. ii. 2, VII. ii. 56–58).

According to the same texts, hell is full of darkness (*Dāṭistān-ī-Dīnīk*, xxvii. 2, 6, xxxiii. 2, 4, xxxvii. 28, 45), so intense that it 'is fit to grasp with the hand' (*Bundahišn*, xxviii. 47 ; cf. *Dīnā-ī-Maīnōg-ī-Xraṭ*, vii. 31). This 'endlessly dark' is the abode of Angra Mainyu (*Bundahišn*, i. 3), and when, in his fruitless endeavour to destroy the light of Ahura Mazda, he emerged from hell, he made the world at mid-day as dark as midnight, returning, after his defeat, to the darkness, where he formed many demons (*ib.* i. 10, iii. 14). In fact, 'the most steadfast quality of the demon himself is darkness, the evil of which is so complete that they shall call the demons also those of a gloomy race' (*Dāṭistān-ī-Dīnīk*, xxxvii. 85). In contrast, although sun, moon, and stars will continue to exist after the renovation of the world, they will no longer be necessary, 'for the world is a dispenser of all light, and all creatures, too, are brilliant' (*ib.* xxxvii. 126). The power of the demons during the darkness has already been noted. Therefore, 'when in the dark it is not allowable to eat food ; for the demons and fiends seize upon one-third of the wisdom and glory of him who eats food in the dark' (*Šāyast-lā-Šāyast*, ix. 8 ; two-thirds are taken if one also eats with unwashed hands) ; and the eighteenth section of the lost *Sūṭkar Nask* of the Avesta dealt, among other topics, with 'the hussy who spills anything after sunset, or who scatters a morsel of food to the north, at night, without a recital of the Ahunavair' (*Dīnkarṭ*, IX. xix. 2). To the same category of concepts belongs a short Parsi poem contained in the second volume of the collection of Rivāyats of Dārāb Hormazdyār (ed. M. R. Unwallā, 207. 19–208. 4 ; the edition is not yet published, but the writer has a set of the proofs through the courtesy of the editor and J. J. Modi). According to this 'Rivāyat on the Lighting of a Lamp,' the lamp-light drives away all demons, and it adds :

> 'From that light of the Fire the world is bright, since it is hostile to the demons of Ahriman ; if there were not always the light of the Fire, there would not be a single man in the world.' This little poem is immediately followed, it may be remarked, by another of nine distichs, recounting the miraculous cure of a dying child by the lighting of a lamp on the roof of the house.

The problem of the relation of light and darkness was even more vital than the extant Iranian texts would lead one to suppose ; for it gave rise to philosophical speculations which materially helped to form the leading Zoroastrian sects.

> Al-Shahrastānī goes so far as to declare (i. 275) that 'all problems of the Magians turn upon two main points : why the light mingled with darkness, and why the light cleansed itself from darkness ; they posit the mingling as the beginning, and the cleansing as the aim.'

The Gayōmartian sect maintained, according to al-Shahrastānī, that light had no beginning, but that darkness was created. Whence, was their problem—whether from light, which, however, could not produce anything even partially evil, or from something else, though there was nothing which shared with light the properties of creation and eternity. Their rather lame solution was that Ahura Mazda thought to himself : 'If I had an opponent, how would he be formed ?' From this thought, which did not harmonize with the goodness of light, Angra Mainyu was produced. The mingling of light and darkness was due to the fact that the light gave men, before they were embodied, the choice of degradation to the realms of Angra Mainyu or battle with him. They chose corporeal existence and battle, on condition that they were aided by the light to eventual victory and to the final resurrection at his defeat.

The Zarvanite sect held that the light produced a number of creatures of bright, divine nature, the most important of whom was Zarvan (Time), who, after murmuring prayers for a son during 9999 years, entertained the thought : 'Perchance this world is nothing.' From this evil doubt Angra Mainyu was born, and from Zarvan's wisdom sprang Ahura Mazda. There were a number of minor speculations among this sect—*e.g.*, that Angra Mainyu was originally in heaven, but meditated upon treachery until, like Satan, he fell. The Mashītes thought that a portion of light had transformed itself into darkness.

The Zarathushtrians (Zoroastrians) entertained, according to al-Shahrastānī, the views of light and darkness which we would naturally infer from the Avesta and Pahlavi texts. Both light and darkness had existed from the beginning. Good and evil, purity and impurity, etc., had arisen from the mingling of light and darkness ; and, had there been no such mingling, the world would not have existed. God was the source of both (cf. *Ys.* xliv. 5, cited above), and in His wisdom had mingled them ; but light alone is real, darkness being, in fact, only its necessary antithesis ; and, since they are antithetic, they must war against one another until the light shall be victorious over darkness.

Thus in Zoroastrianism the problem of the relation between light and darkness becomes part of the greater question of the origin of good and evil ; and from this point of view the antithesis of light and darkness is found again—whether independent or derived—in several Gnostic systems (cf. *ERE*, vol. vi. p. 238 f.), as well as in Mandæanism (A. J. H. W. Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 39 ff.) and Manichæism (K. Kessler, *PRE*^{3} xii. [1903] 205 ff.). See art. MĀZANDARĀN.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the references given in the art., other citations from the Avesta may be gathered from C. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1904, *s.vv.* 'Raok-,' 'Raoxšna-,' 'Raocah-,' and 'Taθra-,' 'Temah-,' etc. (coll. 1487–1492, 648–650). No special treatise on the subject has as yet been written.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS (Semitic and Egyptian).—**1. Peoples and period.**—Babylonian (Assyrian), Egyptian, and Hebrew beliefs on the subject of light and darkness may all be taken together. Although in course of time they became widely divergent, at the outset and for a considerable period they showed many points of similarity —a fact to be ascribed to the contact and the common origin, in part if not in whole, of the peoples inhabiting the countries of the Near East. For the Babylonians and the Hebrews this affinity is generally admitted, both being of the Semitic stock. Further, in the words of Cheyne, 'a primitive contact between the early Egyptian race and the Babylonians has been made extremely probable by Hommel. Winckler, too, remarks with justice that the cultus of the Horus-child belongs to the same religion as the Babylonian, and is in this sense Semitic.'[1] Sayce, while tracing many analogies of the same kind between Babylonian and Egyptian beliefs, takes a further step, and sees in 'the triumph of the gods of light and order over the monsters of chaos not only the birth of the present creation, but also the theological victory of the Semite over the Sumerian.'[2] Without going so far as this, other scholars admit that the mythological compositions of the Babylonians were derived from Sumerian sources.[3] The upper limit of the period to be considered may therefore be placed in Sumerian times, about the middle of the fourth millennium B.C., and the lower limit may with propriety be fixed about the time of the Hebrew Exile, before the influence of Persia, followed by Greece, could have been felt.[1] Throughout this period of three millennia the predominant feature of religion in Babylonia and Egypt is the cult of the sun-god. We should therefore expect to find in the records that have survived much that is cognate to at least the first member of our subject. Owing to syncretistic tendencies always present, and the ease with which those ancient peoples tolerated antinomies in belief, no uniform presentation of their views about light and darkness can be given.

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[1] T. K. Cheyne, *Bible Problems*, London, 1904, p. 200. Linguistic affinities are worked out by C. J. Ball in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, Leipzig, 1909. For 'darkness' see p. 34, and for 'light,' pp. 37 f., 47 f., and 51.

[2] A. H. Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* (Gifford Lectures), Edinburgh, 1902, p. 496.

[3] L. W. King and H. R. Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries* London, 1907, p. 220.

2. Various relationships of light and darkness.—While the words 'light' and 'darkness' appear to stand in a co-ordinate relation, in reality they are contrasted terms, to be compared with 'day' and 'night,' 'life' and 'death,' 'good' and 'evil.' In all these cases the co-ordinate relation holds good in the sense that light and darkness, etc., can be regarded as complementary terms, conveying the idea of the whole—*e.g.*, the daily round, the sum-total of existence, and the ethical contents of life. The exceptional view whereby both light and darkness are traced to the same creative source (as in Is 45^{7}) may also be brought into this connexion. In general, however, the relation between light and darkness continues to be regarded in Semitic thought as adversative, slightly veiling a dualism which perhaps has been inherited from pre-historic times, and which is not resolved (Jahwism excluded), even theoretically, into a monism until the limit of our period has been passed.[2] We have throughout to reckon with that 'Oriental resignation to the contrasts in life' which marked all the peoples of the Ancient East.[3] The theory that prevailed might at best be termed 'optimistic dualism.'[4] With special reference to light and darkness there was a contest present in the beginning (cosmology), and this is daily and yearly renewed, with every day and night, every spring and autumn (or summer and winter), and it may even extend through the course of the world cycle.[5] While light and darkness have, therefore, each a separate kingdom, the one being for day and for life, the other for night and for death, there is evidence in the development of religious thought in Egypt of an invasion of each upon the other's domain, resulting in a measure of fusion. This is concisely summed up by saying that the solar cult was osirianized and the Osiris myth was celestialized.[6] A subtle theory of a similar kind has been formulated for Babylonia, as an instance of which we may quote the representation of the sun as under-world divinity, 'because in his light the stars disappear and perish.'[7] There is much less warrant for such crossing over of the ideas of light and darkness in Babylonian thought. Regarding the 'Astral Theory' as a whole, it may be remarked that, were it accepted, it would greatly extend the possibilities of our subject. It requires, however, more agreement than at present exists as to the date of the origin of scientific astronomy among the Babylonians before its findings can be used with any measure of confidence.

3. No science of light.—Judging from present data, the likelihood is that the peoples of antiquity were not conscious of the fact that the universe is under the dominion of natural law. Theirs was 'the cosmography of appearances'[1]—a view of the world resting at the empirical stage. They had no scientific theory of light; darkness was not merely the absence of light. Both were 'material entities':[2]

> 'The matter of light issues forth from its place and spreads over the earth; at night it withdraws, and darkness comes forth from its place, each in a hidden, mysterious way.'[3]

The 'substantiality of darkness'[4] may be specially remarked in Ex 10^{21} 14^{20}. A higher conception of the quality of light was indeed reached. According to Hehn, in the later parts of the OT light is used as a symbol of deity because it is the finest and most immaterial substance known, and there is no danger of corporeal form being attached to it.

> 'The deity as light gives the transition to the deity as spirit.'[5]

Bearing in mind that the peoples of the Ancient East were accustomed to concrete views of what are accepted by us as abstract qualities, we shall understand how they received the phenomena of light and darkness mainly according to their physical effects and their bearing upon life. Light was of service to them; darkness formed a hindrance. This was transferred to the realm of feeling: light they rejoiced in; darkness they dreaded. Love of the light and hatred of the darkness lie at the root of many of the myths of antiquity, and are evident in the metaphorical usage of the two terms. By an inevitable transition light is associated with warmth, and darkness is linked with cold. This applies to the cycle of the year, which is of more importance in ancient belief and practice, as appears in the Tammuz-cult, than the cycle of the day. From warmth again there is an easy passage to life and growth, and from cold to decay and death.

4. Light and darkness as associated with deities.—Like great natural forces, such as thunder and tempest, light and darkness were seen to lie beyond human control, and thus they came to be associated with deity or deities, and with beings more than human. Light is the creation of good gods, although it has also a hurtful side, when found in conjunction with the scorching heat of summer, and when bound up with lightning and fire. Darkness is viewed less as a creation of the gods than as an environment for monsters and evil spirits, who could not exercise their baneful power apart from darkness. Still there are gods specially associated with darkness, both in Babylonia and in Egypt. Many deities bear names and attributes compounded with words signifying 'light,' and their temples are similarly termed (*e.g.* E-Babbara, 'the shining house' [sun-temple at Sippar]). In addition to Shamash, the sun-god (and other deities who in their original function are merely aspects of the sun), Nannar or Sin, the moon-god, and Ishtar, 'the light of the heavens,' the foremost place must here be given to Marduk or Merodach (Amar-Ud, or Amar-Uduk), 'son of the sun,' or 'child of the day,' as being the god of light by pre-eminence. He, too, is generally regarded as a solar deity, although an attempt has been made to prove that he is independent of the sun, being simply the god of light.[6] Although appearing at the summit of the Babylonian pantheon, he certainly did not hold undisputed sway, either at the beginning or afterwards, and the fight between light and darkness, typified by Marduk (or Bel) and the Dragon, was continued down the ages.[1] How this should be is perhaps best explained on the theory of Radau,[2] who contends that Marduk is the god of light considered not as an illuminative power, but as a life-giving principle, which appears in the warmth of the spring. His fight with Tiāmat is a fight of the light, *i.e.* the warmth, against the darkness, *i.e.* the cold. By this line of argument Marduk comes into relation to the Tammuz-Adonis (and Ishtar) cycle of myths, and is also to be placed in opposition to Nabû, the god of the darker half of the year.[3] Viewed as a solar deity, then, Marduk stands for the sun-god of spring, who brings 'blessing and favours after the sorrows and tribulations of the stormy season.'[4] Before Marduk was exalted to the chief place, Anu, Ninib, Enlil, and Ea fulfilled a similar rôle in the myths of creation,[5] and in later times Ashur arose to dispute the glory. The nearest approach to a god of darkness, energizing in the world of nature, is Ramman, or Addu (Adad, in West Semitic), 'the thunderer.'[6] The darkness which he causes (*e.g.*, in the Flood Story, ii. 46 f.) is relieved by the lightning, in virtue of which he has some title to be regarded as a god of light also. With him may be classed Girru (Gibil) = Nusku, the god of fire,[7] whose symbol, a lighted lamp, is as old as the 14th cent. B.C.[8]

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[1] M. Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York and London, 1911, p. 60 ff.

[2] Cf. *ERE*, art. 'Dualism (Iranian)' and 'Dualism (Jewish),' vol. v. p. 111 ff.

[3] J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, London, 1912, p. 357.

[4] A. Jeremias, *Die Panbabylonisten: Der alte Orient und die ägyptische Religion*^{2}, Leipzig, 1907, p. 23.

[5] See *ERE*, art. 'Ages of the World (Babylonian),' vol. i. p. 184^{b}.

[6] Breasted, p. 149 ff.

[7] A. Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, London, 1911, i. 30.

[1] G. Schiaparelli, *Astronomy in the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1905, p. 22.

[2] T. K. Cheyne, *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel*, London, 1907, p. 10.

[3] S. R. Driver, *The Book of Genesis with Introduction and Notes*^{7}, London, 1909, p. 6.

[4] *JE*, art. 'Darkness.'

[5] J. Hehn, *Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 292.

[6] H. Zimmern and H. Winckler, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*^{3}, Berlin, 1902–03, p. 370 n.

Of the evil spirits that love the darkness, mention may be made of the seven evil demons who, aided by certain of the great gods, were thought to be responsible for the darkening of the moon by eclipse or storm, and even for the disappearance of the orb of night at the end of the month.

> 'From city to city darkness work they,
> A hurricane, which mightily hunts in the heavens, are they,
> Thick clouds, that bring darkness in heaven, are they,
> Gusts of wind rising, which cast gloom over the bright day, are they. . . .'[9]

In the official cults of Egypt sun-worship was all-important. Less is said about the moon, although it finds a place.[10] Within his own domain, which is the upper world, Rā (Amon-Rā), the sun, figures as a life-giving power, a set-off to the equally great power of death and darkness in the under world, to which so much importance was attached in Egypt. Here, it would seem, light and darkness are concomitants of the fuller notions of life and death. We must include in this even the apparent exception of the 'Aton' cult of the XVIIIth dynasty (in the reign of Ikhnaton). In the 'Solar universalism' of that period, which finds expression in a series of magnificent hymns,[11] while the whole activity and beneficence of the sun are rehearsed, its life-giving power is still in the forefront. In Egypt the part of Marduk is taken by Horus the elder.[12] An equivalent to Ishtar is found in Hathor, who by some scholars is called 'the goddess of light.'[1] Specific gods of darkness appear in Set[2] (or Set-Apōpi), and in one member of the Hermopolitan ennead, Kek (fem. Keket).[3] (For the gods of the under world see below, § 7.) In Egypt the demons of darkness were, like those of Babylonia, an awful power for evil to the living, and conspicuously active in the realm of the dead.[4]

The Hebrew conception of God is frequently conveyed by means of language (much of which is metaphorical and poetical) drawn from the realm of light (see Hehn, *loc. cit.*; cf. Ex 24^{10}, Ps 104^2, Is 10^{17} 51^4 $60^{1-5.\ 19.\ 20}$, Ezk $1^{13.\ 26}$, Hos 6^5).[5] But, while light is readily employed as a symbol of Jahweh, from first to last there is no idea of identifying Him with this manifestation of nature (as in the case of Marduk). While God is conceived of as luminous above measure, He is at the same time thought of as hidden, and His ways are reckoned to be mysterious. For this reason darkness, the 'natural antithesis' of light, also enters into the imagery of the OT (Ex 20^{21}, Dt 4^{11} 5^{23}, 1 K 8^{12}, Ps $18^{9.\ 11}$ 97^2, Am 5^{18}, Zeph 1^{15}).[6]

It is surprising that, though the Hebrews were surrounded by races more or less allied to them, who shared the Babylonian and Egyptian belief in demons and evil spirits, hardly a trace of such powers of darkness is evident in the religious literature of ancient Israel.[7]

5. Light and darkness in cosmology.—According to the main version of the Babylonian Story of Creation, Marduk, the god of light, prevails over Tiāmat, the personification of chaos, of which darkness presumably forms part.[8] Sayce finds in Mummu (tablet I. 4) 'the flood,' or chaos, the equivalent of 'the "darkness" which in Gn 1^2 is said to have been "upon the face of the deep."'[9] In both the Hebrew and the Babylonian accounts of what was in the beginning, darkness is reckoned as primeval, *i.e.* before the cosmos. It is an element not to be reckoned as good. While this may be asserted of darkness as diffused through space, it does not hold true of darkness as a division of time, when darkness means no more than night (Gn $1^{4.\ 5}$).[10] According to Hebrew cosmology, one function of the heavenly orbs was to divide the light from the darkness; 'and God saw that it was good' (Gn 1^{18}; cf. Ps 104^{20}). In the Babylonian account there is no mention of the creation of light, perhaps to be explained by the fact that Marduk is himself the god of light and consequently its creator[11]—a view which might well have been entertained in spite of the contradiction, as we see it, that the 'son of the sun' is also made the creator of the sun and all the other orbs of light. In the Hebrew account light is given as the first act in the creation of the world, wrought by the word of God. This, Cheyne thinks, formed no part of the traditional Hebrew cosmogony, but is due to the priestly writer's reflective turn of mind.[12] Be that as it may, this light, which is diffused through space, wherever darkness is not present, is evidently to be distinguished from the 'lights'—sun, moon, and stars—in which light is, as it were, localized (Gn $1^{14\text{ff.}}$). In Egypt there is no detailed account of creation.[13] Sayce[14] and

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[1] T. G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia*^{3}, London, 1908, p. 530 f.

[2] H. Radau, *Bel, the Christ of Ancient Times*, Chicago, 1908, p. 46 f. (with reference to the same writer's *Creation Story*, do., 1902, p. 5 f.).

[3] *ERE*, art. 'Babylonians and Assyrians,' vol. ii. p. 312^a; Jastrow regards him rather as a water-deity (*op. cit.* p. 97 f.).

[4] Jastrow, p. 39.

[5] *Ib.* p. 100 f.

[6] L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*^{2}, London, 1903, p. 130.

[7] *ERE*, art. 'Babylonians and Assyrians,' vol. ii. p. 313^a.

[8] A. H. Sayce, in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, p. 79 ff.

[9] R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, New York, 1912, p. 64 f.; cf. Jastrow, pp. 215, 333 ff.

[10] A. H. Sayce, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*, Edinburgh, 1913, p. 130 ff.; G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*^{2}, London, 1896, p. 92 f.

[11] See *ExpT* xxii. [1911] 485. For a revised tr. of the most important of Ikhnaton's hymns see Breasted, *op. cit.* p. 324 ff.

[12] Sayce, p. 165.

[1] Sayce, p. 146.

[2] *ERE*, art. 'Dualism (Egyptian),' vol. v. p. 106^b; Breasted, p. 40.

[3] Sayce, p. 132.

[4] Breasted, p. 290 ff.

[5] *HDB*, art. 'Light,' vol. iii. p. 119.

[6] *Ib.*, art. 'Darkness,' vol. i. p. 559.

[7] F. Delitzsch, *Mehr Licht*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 51.

[8] Cf. Berossus: τὸ πᾶν σκότος καὶ ὕδωρ.

[9] *ERE*, art. 'Cosmogony and Cosmology (Babylonian),' vol iv. p. 129^b.

[10] *HDB*, art. 'Cosmogony,' vol. i. p. 502^a.

[11] J. Skinner, *Genesis* (*ICC*), Edinburgh, 1910, p. 46.

[12] *EBi*, art. 'Light,' col. 2795 f.

[13] *HDB*, art. 'Religion of Egypt,' vol. v. p. 179^b.

[14] *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, pp. 166, 238 ff.

Jeremias[1] remark on sectional parallels to the Babylonian main version. Different conceptions of the origin of light appear. According to one, primeval chaos is an ocean from which the sun-god (Atum) arises, bringing his own light with him; according to another, light is laid up in the world-egg, waiting to be revealed.

The story of a second creation would seem to be found in the narrative of Berossus, according to whom the animals apparently were not able to bear the light of the first creation, and a second was rendered necessary of such a kind that they could bear the light.[2]

Deutero-Isaiah's exalted conception (45^{7}), whereby the creation of light and darkness is referred to the same divine source, is the logical outcome of monotheism.[3] It has an anthropomorphic parallel in the words ascribed to Rā: 'When I open my eyes, there is light; when I close them, there is darkness.'[4] This, of course, applies to the daily renewal of light and its withdrawal every night.

A reduction of earth to primeval conditions would involve among other things the extinction of light and by inference the return of the darkness of chaos (Jer 4^{23}). An Egyptian myth, found in the *Book of the Dead*, represents Atum (see above) as defacing what he had made, bringing a return of water, as it was at the beginning. Over this Osiris (lord of darkness) is to rule.[5]

6. Light and darkness in human experience.—The cosmology, although relating to what is first in the order of things, is itself the product of reflexion upon the phenomena of the present. The processes of thought which give origin to the myths connected with the world's beginning, and to mythology in general, may be placed in times antecedent to the Semitic period. The myths, having been invented and reduced to writing, were now exercising a certain counter-influence on current ideas. They were never absent from the background of thought, and in a way they hindered development. We may suppose that light and darkness, especially light, would in time have been accepted as in the course of nature, and have ceased to attract attention. But there came interruptions of the usual order—*e.g.*, in the eclipse of moon or of sun—and on such occasions the mythology was speedily recalled. The cults also were of such a kind that they kept the mythology alive. The great hymns to Shamash, Sin, Ishtar, etc.; the transcription and frequent recitation of funerary literature in Egypt, much of which had been handed down from very early times; the festivals attending new moon, full moon, and the new year, and every occasion of national or local assembly—all must have exercised much influence towards the preservation of traditional beliefs. There was thus but slight opportunity of escaping from the legacy of the past. When the Egyptians looked upon the fiery clouds that attended the rising sun, their minds reverted to the pits of fire that were supposed to mark the eleventh division of the Ṭuat.[6] The multiform representations on cylinder seals of the orbs of night and day, especially of the figure of the sun-god rising between the mountains of the East, depicted with streams of light flowing from both sides, or with rays of light protruding from his shoulders,[1] give a vivid conception of the ideas constantly at work in the minds of the Semites and their neighbours. In addition to anthropomorphic representations of the deities of light, their symbols, especially the sun's disk, winged or unwinged, abounded both in Egypt and in Babylonia. More telling still were the obelisks and pyramids of Egypt, which were symbols of the sun in addition to their other uses. Temples to these deities of light were also present to bear their witness. Very impressive was the thought current so long in Egypt that the sun died every evening, and every morning was resurrected. In the interval he moved with difficulty through the realm of darkness, and, as a passive body, had to be lighted through the under world by other creatures of light.[2] In Babylonia the phases of the moon seem to have attracted attention even more than the daily course of the sun. As king of the night, Sin (Nannar), 'the bright one,' may have had an even older sovereignty than Shamash, who was reckoned to be his son. This sequence has been explained in various ways,[3] but it would seem that the rejoicing which attended the moon's appearance every month, and the lamentation which accompanied its disappearance, point to the belief that in the presence and ascendancy of light, by night no less than by day, the ancient Babylonians found safety and happiness, whereas in darkness there lurked danger and woe. In this connexion it is curious to note that Saturn was regarded as a second sun, to whom (apart from the moon) the illumination of the night was due.[4]

In spite of these efforts to extend the sovereignty of light, there remained a sufficiently terrifying residuum of darkness. To overcome this, resort was had to other agencies, viz. magical rites and a due fulfilment of the duties owing to the dead. Darkness both of earth and of the underground being the *milieu* of demons and the spirits of the deceased, contrariwise they could not have their dwelling in the light. Inasmuch as natural light was not always available, artificial means had to be adopted to overcome the disabilities attaching to darkness. The energy of fire was here of great significance. It is noteworthy that a certain part of the temple where purification was wrought was termed 'the house of light' (Assyr. *bît nûri*). The light is associated with Girru or Nusku, the fire-god, which may be taken to mean that the purification was by fire.[5] The subject of artificial lights is closely related to this branch of our subject. The peoples of antiquity being obsessed by the terror of darkness, it was natural that they should have safeguarded themselves, so far as they could, by having lights in their dwellings and out-of-doors. From the number of lamps found during excavation, notably in Palestine, many of them belonging to the Semitic period, it has been inferred that these were in general use. Out-of-doors torches served the purpose. The torches of the Anunnaki (gods of a lower order) are mentioned in the Babylonian Flood Story (col. ii. 44). A graphic description of the festival 'illumination' of New Year's Eve and days following, given by Breasted,[6] affords an excellent idea of the part played by artificial lights in the ritual of Egypt. One of the duties of the priests and ministrants in the temples was to attend to the fires and lamps (cf. 1 S 3^{3}, 1 K 7^{49}).

Thoughts of light and darkness were further kept in the minds of these ancient peoples by the terms assigned to the day (Assyr. *urru*, Heb. *ôr*, 'light'); to the morning, or East (Assyr. *ṣît Šamši*, Heb. *mizrāḥ*, 'the rising of the sun'); to the evening, or West (Assyr. *erêb Šamši*, Heb. *m^ebô hash-shemesh*, 'the setting of the sun'); and by certain Babylonian month names (Âru, Ajjaru, the second or 'bright' month; Addâru, the eleventh, the 'dark' or 'gloomy' month). One series of directions in Hebrew gives north (=*ṣāfôn*) as the 'obscure' or 'dark' place, and south (=*dārôm*) as the 'bright' or 'illuminated' place.[1]

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[1] *OT in Light of the Anc. East*, i. 158 ff., and, in more detail, *Die Panbabylonisten*, etc.

[2] T. G. Pinches, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, London, 1906, p. 42.

[3] *ERE*, art. 'Cosmogony and Cosmology (Hebrew),' vol. iv. p. 155. Delitzsch, *op. cit.* p. 55, regards this verse as combating Old Persian dualism; similarly Jeremias, *OT in Light of the Anc. East*, ii. 276. A different view is taken by H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Göttingen, 1895, p. 136 n.

[4] Quoted in *ERE* iv. 228; cf. Sayce, *Religion of Anc. Egypt*, p. 218.

[5] E. Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, London, 1909, p. 220 ff.

[6] E. A. W. Budge, *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, London, 1905, iii. 178 f.

[1] Jastrow, plates 6 and 7 (at p. 16).

[2] Budge, iii. 107, 174, 187, 194. According to the Babylonian conception, the sun seems to have entered on a better fate at night-fall, feasting and resting in the abode of the gods (King, *Bab. Religion and Mythology*, p. 33).

[3] Jastrow, p. 65.

[4] *Ib.* p. 223

[5] *Ib.* p. 318 ff.

[6] *Op. cit.* p 261 ff.

7. Light and darkness in relation to the state after death.—The contrast between light and darkness in the idea of the ancients is most strikingly revealed in their views about the state of the living and of the dead. 'Darkness without light' is one of the curses invoked by Ḫammurabi on any one who should venture to deface his stele. This is synonymous with death. The grave to which the dead are consigned is 'the dark dwelling' (Sumerian *Unugi*), which in its extended meaning is applied to the under world, the abode of the shades (cf. Ps $88^{6.\ 12.\ 18}$).[2] The departed soul itself is a 'creation of darkness' (Sumerian, *gidim*, Semitic, *edimmu*).[3] The darkness attending death was to some extent relieved in the practice of the living by the use of artificial lights in the preliminaries to burial and by occasional illuminations in proximity to the tomb. From Palestinian excavation it has been ascertained that lamps are exceedingly common in graves, where their intention is evidently symbolical. Their purpose has been variously explained, and one and the same interpretation will hardly suit every era. The readiest explanation would place them—at least in the earlier period—on a level with food and drink vessels deposited with the dead. Whatever was of service to the living might also serve the dead.[4]

Among the Babylonians the general idea was that it was a misfortune for the dead again to be brought to the light of day. Unless decent burial were given, their spirits would return to earth, but only to plague the living.[5] In the under world (or preferably the other world) was their home, and there their spirits found rest. The classic description of this abode of the dead is found in the myth of Ishtar's Descent to Hades, to the land of no-return (cf. *Gilgamesh Epic*, ii. $4^{30\text{ff.}}$):

> 'To the house of darkness, Irkalla's dwelling-place,
> To the house from which he who enters never returns,
> To the road whose path turns not back,
> To the house where he who enters is deprived of light,
> Where dust is their sustenance, their food clay,
> Light they see not, in darkness do they sit. . . .'[6]

Over this gloomy realm of the Babylonian dead the god Nergal presides, with his consort Ereshkigal, the 'dark' goddess. In Egypt Osiris was lord of the under world, and there held his court. This also was a world lying in darkness, which was relieved one hour in twenty-four, during the passage of the sun-god and his train through each division of the Ṭuat.[7] The entrance to this realm of the dead lay, for both Babylonians and Egyptians, in the west, where the sun goes down. On the other hand, the east, as the point of sunrise, is the abode of life; but this has an interest only for the sun-god and the privileged few who shared his daily recurring glory. Although the point of departure to the under world and the point of return therefrom are clear, there is doubt as to the location, relatively to earth, of the region of the dead. The Egyptians placed it beyond the circle of mountains girding the earth, perhaps on the same plane with earth, perhaps at a lower level. In the Babylonian and Hebrew conception it seems to have lain beneath earth, even lower than the waters of the abyss (*apsû*), themselves associated with darkness.[1] This was a region which the sun, living or dead, could not pierce.

A better fate for departed spirits, some if not all, was also conceived of—symbolized, *e.g.*, in the recovery of Tammuz from the under world and in the sun-bark with its occupants who returned to the region of day. Light here plays the principal part, although the obstacle of darkness has to be surmounted before the goal of light can be reached. One of the charms in the *Book of the Dead* is for making the transformation into the god that giveth light (in) the darkness, or light for darkness.[2] The 'island of the blessed,' in the *Gilgamesh Epic*, is cut off from mortals by many barriers, including twelve double-hours of travelling through thick darkness.

The Babylonian heaven was the reserve of the gods, save in exceptional cases. In Egypt, at an early date, the king shared in the delights of heaven, and was exalted to life with the gods in the sky. Later this was qualified by the Osirian doctrine, whereby the realm of the blessed could be attained only by redemption from the under world through faith in Osiris or Amon-Rā. This other world is a realm of light for the most part. The crested ibis, whose name is equivalent to 'light,' is used as a symbol of the soul, including that of the sun-god.[3] The *khu*, or beatified spirits, feed upon the divine grain (*i.e.* the body of Osiris) in the land of the Light-god.[4] Later, 'the followers of the Sun-god, who travelled with him in the Boat of Millions of Years, eventually became beings consisting of nothing but light'[5] (cf. Is 60^{20}).

Hebrew thought about the state of the dead in the under world shows close kinship to the Babylonian, and is less developed than that of Egypt. The utmost allowed, even in the later books of the OT, falling within our period, is that the shades may emerge from Sh^eôl back to the light of the upper world (Is 26^{19}).[6]

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently given in the footnotes.

WILLIAM CRUICKSHANK.

LIGHTNING.—See PRODIGIES AND PORTENTS.

LIGUORI.—Saint Alfonso Maria di Liguori was born 27 Sept. 1696 at Marianella, near Naples. He was the eldest son of a rather impoverished noble family, and, according to his biographers, was from earliest youth remarkable for his piety, his charm of manner, and his precocious ability. A strain of Spanish blood seems to have lent him a greater seriousness of mind and tenacity of purpose than are common among natives of Southern Italy. He devoted himself to the law, and took the degree of Doctor of Laws at the age of sixteen, being then so small of stature that, to the amusement of the spectators, his doctor's gown hid him almost completely from view. He afterwards practised in the courts of Naples for nearly eight years with extraordinary success; but it would seem that in 1723, in a case in which large pecuniary interests were at stake, Liguori, in the interpretation of an important document, was guilty of an oversight which, when brought home to him, covered him with confusion, and disgusted him with his career and with all worldly ambition. He had always led a most innocent life, and now, giving himself up to solitude and prayer, he had what he believed to be a supernatural intimation to consecrate the rest of his days to God in the ecclesiastical state. He wished to become an Oratorian, but his father, who had already been much distressed on two different occasions by his son's unwillingness to fall in with an advantageous project of marriage that had been suggested, obstinately opposed his design. Yielding eventually to his father's entreaties, and acting on the advice of his confessor, himself an Oratorian, the young lawyer gave up his idea of leaving home, but began to study for an ecclesiastical career, and in December 1726 was ordained priest. In the first six years of his ministry Alfonso worked under the direction of an association of missionary priests, and devoted himself at Naples to the care of the *lazzaroni*, among whom his labours bore extraordinary fruit. He converted many hundreds from a life of sin, and formed a sort of confraternity, the 'Association of the Chapels,' for these poor outcasts, to ensure their perseverance in good. In 1729 Liguori was brought into relation with a certain Father Thomas Falcoia of the 'Pii Operarii,' who conceived a deep respect for the young man, and, when he himself was shortly afterwards made bishop of Castellamare, he was led to the conviction that Alfonso was an instrument divinely sent him to carry out a project which he had long secretly cherished of founding a preaching Order to evangelize the goatherds and peasants of that part of Italy. The scheme eventually took shape in the little town of Scala, near Amalfi, twenty miles from Naples. There the 'Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer,' from which name the members are most commonly called Redemptorists, was founded in 1732. Bishop Falcoia was at first its nominal superior, but he lived at a distance, while Alfonso resided with the community. Hence, on the bishop's death in 1743, Alfonso was formally elected to preside over his brethren. In 1749 the rule was authoritatively approved by Pope Benedict XIV., and the rule of an Order of nuns, which had been closely associated with the Redemptorist congregation from the beginning, was approved in the following year. But this measure of success was not achieved without numerous disappointments, and several of Liguori's first companions broke away from the Institute. A document drawn up in those very early days by the hand of Alfonso himself in the vain hope of obtaining the approbation of the king of Naples, Don Carlos (afterwards Charles III. of Spain), supplies a concise account of the special characteristics of the new Order.

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[1] Schiaparelli, p. 34.

[2] A. Jeremias, *Hölle und Paradies bei den Babyloniern*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 14.

[3] *ERE*, art. 'Death, etc. (Babylonian),' vol. iv. p. 445^a.

[4] H. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente*, Paris, 1907, p. 289 ff.; cf. S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, London, 1908, p. 40 ff.

[5] Sayce, *Religions of Anc. Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 288, 285.

[6] Rogers, p. 121 f.

[7] Budge, iii. 198 f.

[1] For different locations of Sh^eôl, relatively to the Abyss, see charts in *HDB* i. 503^b and Schiaparelli, p. 38.

[2] E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, London, 1901, ii. 261 f. Naville (p. 182) considers this an evident reference to the moon.

[3] Sayce, *Religion of Anc. Egypt*, p. 122.

[4] Budge, *Egyp. Heaven and Hell*, iii. 164.

[5] *Ib.* iii. 166.

[6] *SDB*, art. 'Eschatology,' p. 236^a.

> 'The principal aim of the priests so associated is to imitate as closely as possible . . . the life and virtues of Our Lord Jesus Christ. In this they set before themselves their own spiritual advantage and that of the people of this kingdom—especially the most forsaken of these, to whom they render spiritual aid.
>
> In their houses they lead a perfect community life, under obedience to their superior, and perform the functions of the sacred ministry, such as instructions, confessions, the superintendence of schools, confraternities, and other devout gatherings.
>
> They go about the dioceses in which they are established, giving missions, and, as a means of preserving the good results which they have been enabled by the grace of God to effect, they return from time to time to the districts which have been evangelized, to hear confessions and confirm the people in their good resolutions by another series of instructions and sermons as well as by spiritual advice and so forth.
>
> In the monastery as well as abroad they endeavour, with the help of divine grace, to follow closely in the footsteps of the Most Holy Redeemer, Jesus Crucified, in order to instruct the people by example as well as by precept.
>
> As a means of attaining this end, there are twelve points of rule set forth in their constitutions. The headings of these are: Faith, Hope, Love of God, Concord and Charity among themselves, Poverty, Purity of Heart, Obedience, Meekness and Humility of Heart, Mortification, Recollection, Prayer, Abnegation of Self, and Love of the Cross.
>
> Each of the associates passes one day every week [now one day every month] in retreat, thus treating alone with God in the interests of his soul, in order to be able to employ himself afterwards with more ardour in securing the spiritual welfare of his neighbour.
>
> In their houses they consecrate a large part of each day to silence, recollection, the choir, mortification, and to meditation, which is practised three times a day. . . .
>
> Their houses are to contain but a small number of subjects. As for their subsistence, they endeavour not to be a burden on anybody; they live on their family resources, which they have handed over to their superiors, and on such offerings as may be made spontaneously for the love of Jesus Christ, by the piety of the faithful' (Berthe, *Saint Alphonse de Liguori*, Eng. tr., i. 166).

Despite domestic anxieties and contradictions in the government of the new Institute, Liguori, down to about the year 1752, devoted himself indefatigably to the actual work of preaching, while leading at the same time a life of extreme abnegation and austerity. At that period his health began somewhat to fail, and henceforward he devoted more time to literary activities, composing a number of books of piety and instruction, as well as the comprehensive work on moral theology by which he is especially remembered. As early as 1747 the king had wished to make Alfonso archbishop of Palermo, but by earnest representations he had succeeded in evading the proffered honour. The Redemptorists, in point of fact, take a special vow to accept no ecclesiastical dignities, but in 1762 influence was used with the Holy See to dispense the saint from his vow, and, sorely against his will, he was compelled by the pope to accept the bishopric of Sant' Agata dei Goti, a tiny see to the north of Naples, among a peasant population unpleasantly notorious for their barbarism and irreligion. Here he worked wonders for the reform of morals, but after an episcopate of more than thirteen years he persuaded Pope Pius VI. in 1775 to allow him to resign in order that he might end his days among a community of his own Order. Broken with years, with apostolic labours, and with the incredible austerities which he practised, he retired to Nocera dei Pagani, but twelve years were still to pass before he was called to his reward. In the meantime he was destined to endure trials which probably cost him more severe mental suffering than any of the difficulties which he had previously encountered. For forty years and more, mainly owing to the influence of the anti-clerical but all-powerful minister Bernard Tanucci, who was the virtual ruler of Naples, the formal recognition of the Redemptorists as a religious Order had been withheld by the Government. This had always been an obstacle in the way of its expansion, reducing it, as it did, to the position of an illegal association. At the time of Tanucci's downfall in 1776, the Order numbered only nine houses—four in Naples, one in Sicily, and four in the States of the Church. In 1779, under a different administration, everything seemed to point to the adoption of a more generous policy. Promises of favour were made on behalf of the Government, and in response the Redemptorist rule was formally submitted for State approval. From the point of view of the aged founder, the result was disastrous. The rule was approved, indeed, but in a fundamentally modified form (known in the controversies which followed as the 'Regolamento'), which set at naught many of the most essential features of the constitutions as hitherto observed, and which practically reduced it from the status of a religious Order to that of a mere pious association. Liguori, who was now 85, decrepit, deaf, and almost blind, was induced to sign the Regolamento, and it was for the time adopted in the Neapolitan dominions, but the Redemptorists belonging to the houses founded within the States of the Church energetically protested against the acceptance of any such caricature of their rule. The Holy See pronounced in their favour, and the unfortunate schism thus caused in the Order had not been healed when, on 1 Aug. 1787, the saint died at Nocera dei Pagani. His death, together with the outburst of popular enthusiasm which it evoked and the marvellous events that followed, brought about a happier state of feeling. The Government of Charles III. in Oct. 1790 approved the original Redemptorist rule, and in Aug. 1791, under papal sanction, the different houses of the Order were once more reconciled with each other. From this time forward, and especially after the subsidence of the disturbances caused by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the development of the Order was rapid. In 1786 the first Redemptorist house north of the Alps was founded at Warsaw by Clement Hofbauer, afterwards beatified. From there the Congregation gradually spread to Austria and through Europe, while a beginning was made in the United States in 1832 and in England in 1843. The Redemptorists have since made foundations in Ireland (1851), Kinnoull, near Perth, in Scotland (1869), in Brazil, Dutch Guiana, the Congo, Australia, New Zealand, and many other distant countries. At present the Order numbers rather over 4000 members, half of whom are priests, the rest lay-brothers and students preparing for ordination. The strict ultramontane views distinctive of the followers of St. Alfonso di Liguori have often brought them into disfavour with State officials, and, like the Jesuits, they have several times been banished from different European countries. Still no serious attempt has been made to connect them with any kind of political intrigue. The Redemptorists have remained steadily faithful to their primary work of giving missions and retreats, especially among the poor and uninstructed, and the severe rule of the Order has suffered no relaxation.

Alfonso di Liguori was beatified in 1816, canonized in 1839, and declared 'Doctor of the Universal Church' by Pius IX. in 1871. The terms of this last pronouncement, though somewhat vague, may be held to constitute a guarantee of orthodoxy for the saint's writings, at least when taken as a whole. Moreover, it may fairly be inferred from the language used that he is commended for holding a golden mean in his moral teaching between a Jansenistic rigorism on the one hand and dangerous laxity on the other. A full bibliography of Liguori's writings may be found in Berthe, Eng. tr., ii. 766 ff. Two works especially in this long catalogue have been subjected to much adverse criticism. Against the *Le Glorie di Maria*, first published at Naples in 1750, and since translated into every European language, many objections have been raised on the ground of its alleged extravagant 'Mariolatry' (see, *e.g.*, E. B. Pusey, *Eirenicon*, Oxford, 1865, *passim*). But it is to be remembered, as Newman points out, that 'St. Alfonso wrote for Neapolitans, whom he knew, and whom we do not know' (see the whole context in J. H. Newman, *Letter to Pusey on the Eirenicon*, London, 1866, p. 103 ff.). The character and traditions of the people are very different from ours, and he was writing to protest against what he considered to be a veiled attack on that simple and childlike devotion to the Blessed Virgin which he shared, and which is a very important factor in the religion of his countrymen. It is, however, the *Theologia Moralis* that more than anything else has been made the object of fierce invective. Liguori originally (*i.e.* in 1748) published his views on moral questions in the form of a commentary on a well-known text-book for students, the *Medulla* of the Jesuit Hermann Busenbaum. But the second edition in two volumes (Naples, 1753 and 1755) appeared as an original work, and the author continued to revise and enlarge it as the successive issues were exhausted. The eighth edition, which was printed in 1779, was the last to receive his personal attention. Seeing that not only has Alfonso been declared a doctor of the Church, but that earlier authoritative decrees in 1803 and 1831 pronounced that there was 'nothing worthy of censure' in his writings (on this cf. Newman, *History of my Religious Opinions*, note G, p. 353), and that all his opinions might safely be followed by confessors, it is fair to conclude that by the theology of Liguori the moral teaching of the Roman Church must stand or fall. But, while we admit this, it must be said that few indeed of the exoteric critics who have inveighed against his teaching have taken the trouble to understand it. It is easy to denounce the 'shocking laxity' of this or that isolated proposition set out, often inaccurately, and always apart from the context, as, *e.g.*, in the notorious pamphlet of Robert Grassmann (*Auszüge aus der Moraltheologie*, etc.), but the man who does this is most commonly a publicist who knows nothing of ethical systems and who has never considered the difficulties which follow from the acceptance of a contrary principle. Nothing can produce a better impression than to lay down the rule that under no possible circumstances must the truth be departed from, but those who most positively commit themselves to this are also those who have never attempted to think out the extremely difficult problems which arise in practical life, and who have never attempted to square their own conduct by any consistent principle.

> They believe, as Newman well says, 'that on a great or cruel occasion a man cannot help telling a lie, and that he would not be a man did he not tell it, but still it is wrong and he ought not to do it, and he must trust that the sin will be forgiven him, though he goes about to commit it. It is a frailty, and had better not be anticipated, and not thought of again after "it is once over."'

Now Liguori, like all his fellow-bishops, believed that for those whose duty it was to hear confessions and instruct their flock it was necessary that these and other moral questions should be thought out. Moreover, it must be said, in answer to such criticisms as those of R. Grassmann and those contained in art. CASUISTRY (vol. iii. p. 240), that priests administer a code of law in the tribunal penance and, like lawyers, doctors, and magistrates, they have to acquaint themselves with technicalities which, in the case of certain offences, often involve unsavoury details quite unfit for public discussion.

One of the special grounds of reproach against Liguori's moral system is his adoption or defence of probabilism (*q.v.*). This charge is only partially justified and would be repudiated by all his own disciples. The principle which he enunciated, at least in his later years, was that of 'equiprobabilism' (*q.v.*). The difference between this and probabilism, rightly explained, is not very momentous, and many modern writers on the subject, especially the theologians of the Jesuit school, have maintained that St. Alfonso's views diverged but slightly from those of approved probabilists. According to the probabilist system, starting with the admitted axiom that a doubtful law does not bind (*lex dubia non obligat*), a man is not held in conscience to obey as long as there is a sound probability against the law—as long as, *e.g.*, in a matter of extrinsic testimony, where doctors disagree, one unexceptionable authority teaches that a particular precept has no binding force. The probabiliorists, on the other hand, held that, unless the authorities who maintained the binding force of the law or precept were notably less weighty than those who excused from it, such a precept could not be set aside without sin. Between these rival views comes that of Liguori, who held that, when the reasons or authorities were equally balanced for and against the law, then a man without peril to his soul was free to use his liberty.

'A doubtful law does not bind. But when two opposite opinions are equally or nearly equally probable, you have a strict doubt as to the existence of the law. Therefore the law, being only doubtfully promulgated, has no binding force. Therefore it is true that you can follow an equally probable opinion in favour of liberty' (Berthe, Eng. tr., ii. 143).

A critical and definitive edition of the *Theologia Moralis*, equipped with adequate notes, has only recently been brought to completion: *Theologia Moralis S. Alphonsi Mariæ de Ligorio*, ed. Leonardi Gaudé, 4 vols., Rome, 1905–12. The editor in his preface gives a satisfactory explanation of the inaccuracy of so many of the saint's quotations as printed in the current editions.

LITERATURE.—The fullest life of St. Alfonso di Liguori is that by A. Berthe, 2 vols., Paris, 1900, Eng. tr., H. Castle, 2 vols., Dublin, 1905 (the translation has been subjected to careful revision and is in many respects superior to the original). Other noteworthy biographies are those of A. Tannoia, *Della Vita ed istituto del' venerabile Alfonso Maria Liguori*, 3 vols., Naples, 1798–1802 (a valuable source written by a devoted disciple of the saint). See also C. Villecourt, *Vie et institut de S. Alphonse Marie de Liguori*, 4 vols., Tournai, 1863; K. Dilgskron, *Leben des heil. Bischofs und Kirchenlehrers Alfonsus Maria de Liguori*, Regensburg, 1887; A. Capecelatro, *La Vita di S. Alfonso Maria de Liguori*, Rome, 1879. A good account of the Order with full bibliography will be found in M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der kathol. Kirche*^{3}, Paderborn, 1908, iii. 313–333.

On the Probabilist and Equiprobabilist controversy see the anonymous *Vindiciæ Alphonsianæ*^{2}, Brussels, 1874, and *Vindiciæ Ballerinianæ*, Bruges, 1873; J. de Caigny, *Apologetica de Aequiprobabilismo Alphonsiano*, do. 1894, and *De genuino Probabilismo licito*, do. 1904; J. Arendt, *Crisis Aequiprobabilismi*, Brussels, 1902; J. Wouters, *De Minusprobabilismo*, Paris, 1905; A. Lehmkuhl, *Probabilismus Vindicatus*, Freiburg, 1906. A severe indictment of the moral teaching of St. Alfonso di Liguori will be found in A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*^{3}, Freiburg, 1898, iii. 591, 644 ff.; P. von Hoensbroech, *Die ultramontane Moral*, Berlin, 1902; J. J. I. Döllinger and F. H. Reusch, *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten*, Munich, 1889, and the pamphlet of R. Grassmann, *Auszüge aus der Moraltheologie des heil. Alphons v. Liguori*, Stettin, 1895, which has been widely distributed as a controversial tract. In reply see, *inter alia*, J. H. Newman, *History of my Religious Opinions*, London, 1865, pp. 273 ff. and 348 ff.; A. Keller, *St. Alphons v. Liguori oder Robert Grassmann?*, Wiesbaden, 1901; 'Pilatus,' *Was ist Wahrheit?*, do. 1902, and *Quos Ego*^{2}, do. 1903; F. ter Haar, *Das Decret des Papstes Innocenz XI. über den Probabilismus*, Paderborn, 1904; V. Cathrein, *Moralphilosophie*^{3}, Freiburg, 1899, i. 397 ff.; H. Ryder, *Catholic Controversy*^{10}, London, 1890.

H. THURSTON.

LIGURIAN RELIGION.

LIGURIAN RELIGION.—So little is certainly known of the early history and geographical distribution of the Ligurians that any attempt to give a general account of their religion is impossible. Some of the deities that were worshipped in Roman times in the Ligurian area strictly so called may be mentioned. The most noteworthy are those closely attached to a particular spot, such as Mars Cemenelus (*CIL* v. 7871), sometimes worshipped without the first name, and clearly connected with the town of Cemenelum; and Bormanus, who was probably, like his namesake in the north of Gallia Transpadana, from whom the modern town of Bormio takes its name, a god of hot springs, and who gave the name to the Lucus Bormani on the coast to the east of (Album) Intimelium, the modern Ventimiglia. Not less local was the worship of Mars Leucimalacus at Pedo (*ib.* 7862), possibly an apple-ripening deity, the dedication to whom was made on some festival of waggoners or muleteers (*plostralibus*). Local, too, was the cult of the Matronæ Vediantiæ, where the plural is interesting, also honoured at Cemenelum in the district of the Vediantii. The worship of Matronæ with some local epithet or epithets was fairly common in N. Italy, sometimes combined with Genii, as in an inscription from Tremezzina on Lake Como (*ib.* 5277), generally with a local epithet, as Deruonnæ (*ib.* 5791, found at Milan) or Vcellasicæ Concanaunæ (*ib.* 5584, found at Corbetta, north of Milan). They are often joined with Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and sometimes themselves called Iunones—a plural form which never appears in pure Latin inscriptions. It would be exceedingly unsafe, without other evidence, to see in this a trace of any polygamous strain in the Ligurian conception of Olympus; a nearer parallel is the (presumably) generalizing plural in such animistic figures as Nymphæ, Fauni, or the 'Clouds' and 'Dawns' of the Tabula Agnonensis (see ITALY [ANCIENT]); or the Angitiæ of the Marsians—not to speak of the Parcæ of Græco-Roman fable or the *Σεμναί* at Athens.

Other Ligurian examples of these 'Great Mothers' will be found in the Index to *CIL* (p. 1180). The other deities of the locality are all of common occurrence in Italian communities.

On the important question of the ethnic character and connexions of the Ligures, reference must be made to *EBr*^{11}, art. 'Ligurians,' and the authorities there cited. If, and in so far as, the view of W. Ridgeway ('Who were the Romans?' *Brit. Acad. Trans.* iii. [1907] 42, with the comments of the present writer, *ib.*) may be accepted as sound, the early history of Ligurian religion would be the same thing as that of the pre-Tuscan population of Western Italy, in particular of the Aurunci and other early dwellers on the soil of what afterwards was Latium (see ITALY [ANCIENT], especially the paragraph on the archaic cult of Aricia).

R. S. CONWAY.

LINGAYATS.

LINGAYATS.—The Lingayats are a religious community in India, numbering nearly three millions at the census of 1911, of whom more than half are found in the southern districts of the Bombay Presidency. In the Bombay districts of Belgaum and Bijapur one-third of the population is Lingayat, and in the adjacent district of Dharwar they constitute nearly 50 per cent of the total. Beyond the limits of the Bombay Presidency, Lingayats are numerous in the Mysore and Hyderabad States. They also form an important element in the population of the north-west corner of the Madras Presidency.[1]

1. Description.—The Lingayats, who are also known as Lingawants, Lingangis, Śivabhaktas, and Viraśaivas, derive their name from the Skr. word *liṅga*, the phallic emblem, with the affix *āyta*, and are 'the people who bear the *liṅga*' habitually. Their name literally describes them; for the true Lingayat wears on his body a small silver box containing a stone phallus, which is the symbol of his faith, and the loss of which is equivalent to spiritual death. The emblem is worn by both sexes. The men carry the box on a red silk scarf or a thread tied round the neck, while the women wear it inside their costume, on a neck-string. When working, the male wearer sometimes shifts it to his left arm.

The Lingayats are Dravidian, that is to say, they belong to a stock that was established in India before the arrival of the so-called Aryans. They are dark in complexion, in common with the races of Southern India, and speak Kanarese, a Dravidian language. They have been not inaptly described as a peaceable race of Hindu puritans, though it may be questioned how far their rejection of many of the chief dogmas of Brāhmanic Hinduism leaves them the right to be styled Hindus at all. Of the Brāhmanic triad—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva—they acknowledge only the god Śiva, whose emblem, the *liṅga*, they bear on their persons. They reverence the Vedas, but disregard the later commentaries on which the Brāhmans rely. Originally they seem to have been the product of one of the numerous reformations in India that have been aimed against the supremacy and doctrines of the Brāhmans, whose selfish exploitation of the lower castes has frequently led to the rise of new sects essentially anti-Brāhmanic in origin. It seems clear that, in its inception, Lingayatism not only rested largely on a denial of the Brāhman claim to supremacy over all other castes, but attempted to abolish all caste distinctions. All wearers of the *liṅga* were proclaimed equal in the eyes of God. The traditional Lingayat teacher, Basava, proclaimed all men holy in proportion as they are temples of the great spirit, and thus, in his view, all men are born equal. The denial of the supremacy of the Brāhmans, coupled with the assertion of the essential equality of all men, constituted a vital departure from the doctrines of orthodox Hinduism. Other important innovations were: the prohibition of child-marriage; the removal of all restriction on widows remarrying; the burial, instead of burning, of the dead; and the abolition of the chief Hindu rites for the removal of ceremonial impurity. The founders of the religion could scarcely have forged more potent weapons for severing the bonds between their proselytes and the followers of the doctrines preached by contemporary Brāhmanic Hinduism.

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[1] The census of 1911 gives the following figures for Lingayats: Bombay Presidency, 729,431; Mysore, 1,339,248; Madras Presidency, 134,592; total India, 2,976,293.

The reader must not assume that this brief description of the fundamental doctrines of a religious movement which dates from the 12th cent. A.D. conveys an accurate picture of the prevalent Lingayatism of the present day. In connexion with the attitude originally assumed towards caste distinctions, there has been a very noticeable departure from Basava's teaching. The origin of caste in India is as yet a subject requiring much elucidation. In its development no mean influence must be allotted to function, religion, and political boundaries. Nor can differences of race have failed materially to assist the formation of Indian society on its present basis. One of the most interesting phenomena connected with the evolution of modern caste is the working of a religious reformation in which caste finds no place on the previously existing social structure of caste units. If caste is largely a manifestation of deep-rooted prejudices tending to raise and preserve barriers between the social intercourse of different sections of the human race, it would seem not unnatural to expect that it would tend to reassert itself within the fold of an essentially casteless religion so soon as the enthusiasm of the founders had spent itself; and it is not unlikely that the mere fact of converts having joined the movement at an early stage in its history would generate a claim to social precedence over the later converts, and thus in time reconstitute the old caste barrier that the reformers spent themselves in endeavouring to destroy. One of the most interesting pages in the history of caste evolution, therefore, must be that which deals with the evolution of caste inside the fold of a religious community originally formed on a non-caste basis. A remarkable instance of such evolution will be found in the history of Lingayatism. The Lingayats of the present day are divided into three well-defined groups, including numerous true castes, of which a description will be found in the section dealing with their social organization (see p. 72). With the rise of caste distinctions, numerous other changes occurred in the nature of the Lingayat religion. The *ayyas* or *jaṅgams*, the priests of the community, devised in time a ritual and ceremonies in which the influence of the rival Brāhman aristocracy can freely be traced. The more important of these ceremonies are described in § 4 below. But it is essential to a thorough understanding of the nature of Lingayatism that the most important ceremony of all, known as the *aṣṭavarṇa*, or the eightfold sacrament, should be understood by the reader. It is commonly asserted nowadays by prominent members of the Lingayat community that the true test of a Lingayat is the right to receive the full *aṣṭavarṇa*, and that the possession of a few of these eight rites only does not entitle the possessor to be styled a member of the community. The contention seems scarcely in harmony with the popular usage of the term 'Lingayat.'

The *aṣṭavarṇa* consists of eight rites known as

1. Guru.
2. Liṅga.
3. Vibhūti.
4. Rudrākṣa.
5. Mantra.
6. Jaṅgam.
7. Tīrth.
8. Prasād.

On the birth of a Lingayat the parents send for the *guru*, or spiritual adviser, of the family, who is the representative of one of the five *āchāryas*, or holy men, from whom the father claims descent. The *guru* binds the *liṅga* on the child, besmears it with *vibhūti* (ashes), places a garland of *rudrākṣa* (seeds of the bastard cedar) round its neck, and teaches it the mystic *mantra*, or prayer, known as *Namaḥ Śivāya*—*i.e.* 'Obeisance to the god Śiva.' The child being incapable of acquiring a knowledge of the sacred text at this early stage of its existence, the prayer is merely recited in its ear by the *guru*. The child has then to be presented to the god Śiva in the person of a *jaṅgam*, or Lingayat priest, who is summoned for this purpose. On his arrival the parents wash his feet, and the water in which the feet are washed is described as the *tīrtha* or *charaṇatīrtha* of Śiva. This water is next poured over the *liṅga* attached to the infant. The *jaṅgam* is fed, and a portion of the food from the dish is placed in the child's mouth. This final ceremony is known as *prasād*. Occasionally the double characters of *guru* and *jaṅgam* are combined in one person. When the child attains the age of eight or ten, the ceremony is repeated with slight modifications.

It will be seen that this eightfold ceremony forms a very concise test of a Lingayat's religious status, and may be not unfitly compared to the rites of baptism and confirmation which are outward and visible signs of admission to the Catholic Church. But not all Christians are confirmed, and in the same way not all members of the Lingayat community undergo the full ceremony of initiation. It would probably be safer to apply the term 'Lingayat' to all wearers of the *liṅga*, whether they are entitled to the full *aṣṭavarṇa* on birth or conversion, or to a few only of the eight sacraments. In so doing, the lower orders, from a social standpoint, of the Lingayat community will not be excluded, as they would otherwise be, from the fold.

Lingayats are not permitted to touch meat or to drink any kind of liquor. The greater number of them are either occupied in agriculture or are traders. They are generally reputed to be peaceful and law-abiding; but at times they are capable of dividing into violent factions with such rancour and hostility that the dispute culminates in riots, and occasionally in murder. Among the educated members of the community there is a strong spirit of rivalry with the Brāhmans, whose intellect and capacity have secured them a preponderating share of Government appointments. Except for these defects, the community may be described as steady and industrious, devoted to honest toil, whether in professional employment or occupied in trading or the cultivation of the soil.

2. History.—Until the recent publication of two inscriptions, which have been deciphered and edited by J. F. Fleet, and throw an entirely new light on the probable origin of the Lingayat religion, the movement in favour of this special form of Śiva-worship was commonly supposed to have been set on foot by the great Lingayat saint, Basava, in the latter half of the 12th century. The acts and doctrines of Basava and of his nephew Channabasava are set forth in two *purāṇas*, or sacred books, named, after them, the *Basavapurāṇa* (ed. Poona, 1905) and the *Channabasavapurāṇa* (ed. Mangalore, 1851). But these works were not written until some centuries had elapsed since the death of the saints; and it seems certain that the substratum of fact which they contain had by that time become so overlaid with tradition and miraculous occurrences as to render them of little historical value. The *Basavapurāṇa* describes Basava as the son of Brāhman parents, Madiraja and Madalambika, residents of Bagevadi, usually held to be the town of that name in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency. Basava is the Kanarese name for 'bull,' an animal sacred to Śiva, and thus a connexion is traced between Basava and the god Śiva. At the age of eight, Basava refused to be invested with the sacred thread of the twice-born caste, to which he belonged by birth, declaring himself a worshipper of Śiva, and stating that he had come to destroy the distinctions of caste. By his knowledge of the Śaiva scriptures he attracted the attention of his uncle Baladeva, then prime minister to the king of Kalyan, Bijjala. Baladeva gave him his daughter Gangadevi in marriage. Subsequently Bijjala, a Kalachurya by race, who usurped the Chalukyan kingdom of Kalyana in the middle of the 12th cent., installed Basava as his prime minister, and gave him his younger sister Nilalochana to wife. The *purāṇas* further recount the birth of Channabasava from Basava's unmarried sister Nagalambika, by the working of the spirit of the god Śiva. The myth in connexion with this miraculous conception is interesting. Basava, while engaged in prayer, saw an ant emerge from the ground with a small seed in its mouth. He took the seed to his home, where his sister swallowed it and became pregnant. The issue of this unique conception was Channabasava. Uncle and nephew both preached the new doctrines, and in so doing encountered the hostility of the Jains, whom they ruthlessly persecuted. A revolution, the outcome of these religious factions, led to the assassination of king Bijjala and to the flight of Basava and his nephew. Basava is said to have been finally absorbed into the *liṅga* at Kudal Sangameśwar, and Channabasava to have lost his life at Ulvi in North Kanara, a district in the Bombay Presidency. An annual pilgrimage of Lingayats to the shrine of the latter at Ulvi takes place to this day.

Two important inscriptions bearing on these traditions of the origin of the Lingayats deserve consideration. The first was discovered at the village of Managoli, a few miles from Bagevadi, the traditional birthplace of Basava. This record (as also many others) shows that king Bijjala gained the kingdom of Kalyan in A.D. 1156. It also states that a certain Basava was the builder of the temple in which the inscription was first put, and that Madiraja was *mahāprabhu*, or head of the village, when the grants in aid of the temple were made. Basava is further described as the grandson of Revadasa and son of Chandiraja, and as a man of great sanctity and virtue. The second inscription was found at Ablur in the Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency, and belongs to about A.D. 1200. It relates the fortunes of a certain Ekantada-Ramayya, an ardent worshipper of the god Śiva. Ramayya came into conflict with the Jains, and defeated them, both in dispute and, the inscription says, by performing a miracle—we may venture to say, by arranging matters so that he seemed to perform it—which consisted in cutting off his own head and having it restored to him, safe and sound, by the grace of Śiva, seven days later. All this came to the notice of King Bijjala, who summoned Ramayya into his presence. And Ramayya, making his cause good before the king, won his support, and was presented with gifts of lands for the temple founded by him at Ablur in the new faith. The incidents related of Ramayya are placed shortly before A.D. 1162, so that he would have been a contemporary of Basava. No mention, however, of the latter or of his nephew is found in this record.

If we accept the contemporary inscriptions as more entitled to credit than the tradition overlaid with myth recorded at a later date, it seems clear that both Basava and Ekantada-Ramayya were reformers who had much to do with the rise of the Lingayat doctrine, and that the event is to be placed in the 12th century. Lingayat scholars of the present day, indeed, claim a far earlier date for the origin of their faith. But their contention that its origin is contemporaneous with that of Brāhmanic Hinduism has yet to be established by adequate evidence. The best opinion seems to be that of Fleet, who considers that there is no doubt that the present Lingayat sect is more or less a development of the gild (mentioned in many inscriptions) of the 500 Swamis of Aihole, a village in the Bijapur district, the protectors of the Vira-Bananju religion, who were always more or less strictly Śaivas, but, with a free-mindedness which is not now common, patronized also Buddhism. The movement, however, in which the 500 Swamis of Aihole joined seems certainly to have originated with Ekantada-Ramayya at Ablur. And probably the prevalent tradition of the present day, that Basava was the originator of it and the founder of the community, must only be attributed to his having quickly become acquainted with the new development of Śaivism started by Ramayya, and to his having taken a leading part in encouraging and propagating it in circumstances which rendered him more conspicuous than the real founder. Basava happened to be a member of the body of village elders at Managoli, and so to occupy a recognizable position in local matters, administrative as well as religious. Consequently, it seems likely that, when the first literary account of the rise of Lingayatism came to be written, which was unquestionably an appreciable time after the event, his name had survived, to the exclusion of Ramayya's. Accordingly, the writer of that account was unable to tell us anything particular about Ramayya, beyond duly recording the miracle performed by him, and attributed the movement entirely to Basava, assigning to him an assistant, his nephew Channabasava, who is perhaps only a mythical person. But it must be also admitted that the early history of the movement may be capable of further elucidation, and that the present-day claims of the leading Lingayats for a very early origin for their religion, though lacking the support of historical evidence, have this much to rely on, that it is essentially probable that the Dravidian races of Southern India, whose primitive deities were absorbed by the Aryan invaders into the personality of their god Śiva, always leant towards the special worship of Śiva to the exclusion of the other members of the Brāhmanic triad, and combined with this preference a dislike of Brāhmanic ritual and caste ascendancy which is the real substratum of the movement ending in the recognition of Lingayatism.

In dismissing the question of the origin of the Lingayat religion, it seems desirable to give an instance of the claims advanced by learned members of the community for a greater antiquity for their religion than historical evidence would afford it. Mr. Karibasavashastri, Professor of Sanskrit and Kanarese in the State College of Mysore, contends that the Saiva sect of Hindus has always been divided into two groups, the one comprising the wearers of the *liṅga*, and the other those who do not wear it. The former he designates Viraśaiva, and declares that the Viraśaivas consist of Brāhman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra, the fourfold caste division of Manu. Quoting from the 17th chapter of the *Parameśvar āgama*, he declares that the Viraśaiva Brāhmans are also known as Śuddha Viraśaivas, Viraśaiva kings as Marga Viraśaivas, Viraśaiva Vaiśyas as Miśra Viraśaivas, and the Śūdras of the community as Anteve Viraśaivas. In his opinion, the duties and penances imposed on the first of these classes are (1) the *aṣṭavarṇa* (see p. 70), (2) penances and bodily emaciation, (3) the worship of Siva without sacrifice, (4) the recital of the Vedas. He further asserts that the Hindu *aśramas*, or conditions of life of *brahmachārī*, *gṛhastha*, and *sannyāsī*, *i.e.* student, householder, and ascetic, are binding on Viraśaivas, and quotes, from various Sanskrit works, texts in support of this view. He furnishes a mythical account of the origin of Lingayats at the time of the creation of the world. The importance of this summary of his views lies in the fact that it is completely typical of the claims that many members of the Lingayat community have recently commenced to advance to be included, in a sense, within the fold of orthodox Hinduism, with the mistaken notion of thereby improving their social standing. They endeavour to divide themselves into Manu's fourfold caste scheme of Brāhman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra, regardless of the fact that theirs is in origin a non-caste religion, and that Manu's scheme, which can only with great inaccuracy be applied to the more orthodox Hindu castes, is totally unsuited to the Lingayats. A sign of this movement towards Brāhmanic Hinduism among Lingayats is to be found in the organized attempt made by certain Lingayats at recent censuses to enter themselves as Viraśaiva Brāhmans; and it seems probable that these claims to a great antiquity for their religion and for a caste scheme based on Manu's model are chiefly significant as signs of the social ambitions of the educated members, who are jealous of the precedence of the Brāhmans.

3. Social organization.—The results of investigations undertaken in the Bombay Presidency in 1900 by committees of Lingayat gentlemen entrusted with the duty of preparing a classification of the numerous social subdivisions of the Lingayat community tend to show that the relation of these various groups to each other is one of some complexity. Broadly speaking, Lingayats appear to consist of three groups of subdivisions.

(1) The first, which for convenience may be named 'Panchamsalis with full *aṣṭavarṇa* rites' (see p. 70 above), contains the priests of the community, known as *ayyas* or *jaṅgams*, and the leading trader castes, or *banjigs*. It is probable that this group is the nearest approximation to the original converts, who, it will be remembered, could interdine and intermarry without restriction. The seven subdivisions of this group may still dine together, but for purposes of marriage the subdivisions rank one above the other, and it is permissible for a bridegroom of one subdivision to take a bride only from the divisions below his. The reverse process, namely, of a bride marrying a youth of a lower division, is strictly forbidden. Members of the lower subdivisions of this group may rise to the higher by performing certain rites and ceremonies. The marrying of a boy to a girl beneath him in social rank and of a girl to a boy above her is part of a system of isogamy and hypergamy, and is not at all uncommon in many Indian castes. It is a probable speculation that the early converts in course of time came to rank themselves as superior to the more recent converts of the community, and the growth of this feeling would lead, in harmony with the ideas that prevail in all societies, to the early converts declining to wed their daughters to the newcomers, though they would accept brides from the latter as socially inferior, if only slightly so. The Panchamsalis, as they may be called for lack of a better name, are all entitled to the *aṣṭavarṇa* rites, and rank socially above the remaining groups. In *BG* xxiii. 218 they are described as 'Pure Lingayats.'

(2) The next group is that of the 'non-Panchamsalis with *aṣṭavarṇa* rites.' This group contains over 70 subdivisions, which are functional groups, such as weavers, oil-pressers, bricklayers, dyers, cultivators, shepherds, and the like. It seems probable that they represent converts of a much later date than those whom we have styled Panchamsalis, and were never permitted to interdine or intermarry with the latter. In this group each subdivision is self-contained in regard to marriage; that is to say, a *jāḍar*, or weaver, may marry only a *jāḍar* girl, a *bādig*, or carpenter, may marry only a *bādig* girl, and so on, resembling in this respect the ordinary Hindu castes, which are usually endogamous. Members of one subdivision may not pass to another. The names of the subdivisions are commonly indicative of the calling of the members, and it is of special interest to note here how the barriers erected by specialization of function have proved too strong for the original communal theories of equality which the Lingayats of early days adopted.

It is interesting to observe that considerable diversity of practice exists in connexion with the relations of the subdivisions of this group to the parent Hindu castes from which they separated to become Lingayats. In most cases it is found that, when a portion of an original Hindu caste has been converted to Lingayatism, both intermarriage and interdining with the unconverted members are finally abandoned, and the caste is broken into two divisions, of which one is to be recognized by the members wearing the *liṅga*, and the other by their wearing the sacred thread of the twice-born. But in some instances—*e.g.*, the Jeers of the Belgaum district—the Lingayat members continue to take brides from the non-Lingayat section, though they will not marry their daughters to them; it is usual to invest the bride with the *liṅga* at the marriage ceremony, thus formally receiving her into the Lingayat community. In other cases the Lingayat and non-Lingayat sections live side by side and dine together at caste functions, intermarriage being forbidden. In this case, however, the former call in a *jaṅgam* to perform their religious ceremonies, and the latter employ a Brāhman. The more typical case seems to be that of a caste subdivision given in the Indian Census Report (*Bombay Census Report*, 1901, ch. viii. p. 182). In the last century a Lingayat priest of Ujjini converted a number of weavers in the village of Tuminkatti, Dharwar district, Bombay. These converts abandoned all social intercourse with their former caste brethren, and took their place as a new subdivision in the non-Panchamsali group under the name of Kurvinaras.

This second group of subdivisions, therefore, differs essentially from the Panchamsalis, though the members also have the *aṣṭavarṇa* rites. It is described in *BG* under the name of 'Affiliated Lingayats.'

(3) The third group of subdivisions is the 'non-Panchamsalis without *aṣṭavarṇa* rites.' It contains washermen, tanners, shoemakers, fishermen, etc., which would rank as unclean castes among Brāhmanic Hindus. It is the practice among Lingayats of the present day to deny that the members of this third group are entitled to be classed as Lingayats at all. They maintain that, since the possession of the full *aṣṭavarṇa* rites is the mark of a Lingayat, these lower divisions, who at most can claim three or four of the eight sacraments, are only the followers or servants of Lingayats. The contention is not unreasonable; yet it seems that these lower orders would be styled Lingayats by the other Hindus of the neighbourhood, and would describe themselves as such. A classification of the Lingayat community would not there-

fore be complete unless they were included. On this point the evidence of J. A. Dubois is of interest. He writes:

> 'If even a Pariah joins the sect he is considered in no way inferior to a Brahmin. Wherever the *lingam* is found, there, they say, is the throne of the deity, without distinction of class or rank' (*Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*^{3}, p. 117).

Lingayats of this description marry only within their subdivision. They are described as 'Half-Lingayats' in *BG*.

Within the subdivisions just described smaller groups are found, known as exogamous sections, that is to say, groups of which the members are held to be so closely connected that, like blood-relations, they must marry outside their section. Little accurate information is available regarding the nature and origin of these sections; but it appears that in the higher ranks they are named after five Lingayat sages, Nandi, Bhṛṇgi, Vīra, Vṛṣa, and Skanda, and in this respect closely resemble the ordinary Brāhmanic *gotras* (*q.v.*). The Lingayats do not allow the children of brothers to intermarry, nor may sisters' children marry together. Marriage with the children of a paternal uncle or maternal aunt is similarly forbidden. A man may marry his sister's daughter; but, if the sister be a younger sister, such a marriage is looked on with disfavour. Marriage is both infant and adult. Sexual licence is neither recognized nor tolerated, but is punished, if need be, by excommunication. Polygamy is permitted, but is usual only when the first wife fails to bear a son. The disputes that arise on social or religious questions are settled by the *pañchāyat*, or committee of five elders, an appeal lying to the head of the *maṭh*, or religious house. These *maṭhs* are found scattered over the tract of country in which Lingayats predominate; but there are five of special sanctity and importance, namely, at Ujjini, Śriśaila, Kollepaka, Balehalli, and Benares. From these, decisions on vexed questions of doctrine and ritual issue from time to time.

4. Beliefs and customs.—It has been seen that the Lingayats are believers in the god Śiva, the third person of the Hindu triad, signifying the creative and destructive forces in the universe. Thence they derive the phallus, or *liṅga*, emblematic of reproduction, and the sacred bull, Nandi or Basava, found in all their temples, and in all probability the emblem of strength. The ceremonies in vogue at birth, betrothal, marriage, and death have been accurately described by R. C. Carr in his monograph on the Lingayat community (Madras Government Press, 1906), and are given below.

One principal Lingayat ceremony known as the *aṣṭavarṇa*, or eightfold sacrament, has been already referred to in some detail (p. 70 above). The essentially Lingayat beliefs and ceremonies, such as the wearing of the *liṅga*, the worship of the *jaṅgam*, and the administration of *aṣṭavarṇa* rites, are, however, as is usual in India, constantly mingled with many commonplace Hindu beliefs and customs. It is a common practice in India for Hindus to worship at the shrine of Musalmān *pīrs*, or saints, and in the same way Lingayats will combine the worship of the special objects prescribed by Basava with the worship of purely Hindu deities such as Hanuman, Ganapati, Yellamma, Maruti, and many others. The investigations hitherto conducted do not clearly show how far Lingayat and Hindu ritual are liable to be combined; but it can be confidently predicted that the lower orders of the community, who still keep in touch with the unconverted section of the caste to which, professionally speaking, they belong, will be found to adhere in many instances to the beliefs and customs of their unconverted fellow castemen, despite the teaching and influence of the *jaṅgams*.

The specially Lingayat ceremonies described by Carr are:

(1) *Birth.*—It is customary for the female relatives attending a confinement to bathe both mother and child. On the second or third day boiled turmeric and water is applied to the mother, and a ceremony known as *viralu*, or the worship of the afterbirth, is performed. The propitiation of the afterbirth by the offering of food, *nīm* leaves, turmeric, and a coco-nut, is considered necessary for the safe suckling of the child. When the child receives the *tīrth*, or water in which the *jaṅgam's* feet have been washed (see above, p. 70^b), the mother also partakes of it.

(2) *Betrothal.*—For a betrothal the bridegroom's family come to the bride's house on an auspicious day in company with a *jaṅgam*. They bring a woman's cloth, a jacket, two coco-nuts, five pieces of turmeric, five limes, and betel-leaf and areca-nut. They also bring flowers for the *sūsaka* (a cap of flowers made for the bride), gold and silver ornaments, and sugar and betel-nut for distribution to guests. The bride puts on the new clothes with the ornaments and flowers, and sits on a folded blanket on which fantastic devices have been made with rice. Some married women fill her lap with coco-nuts and other things brought by the bridegroom's party. Music is played, and the women sing. Five of them pick up the rice on the blanket and gently drop it on to the bride's knees, shoulders, and head. They do this three times with both hands; sugar and betel are then distributed, and one of the bride's family proclaims the fact that the bride has been given to the bridegroom. One of the bridegroom's family then states that the bride is accepted. That night the bride's family feed the visitors on sweet things; dishes made of hot or pungent things are strictly prohibited.

(3) *Marriage.*—The marriage ceremony occupies from one to four days, according to circumstances. In the case of a four-day marriage, the first day is spent in worshipping ancestors. On the second day rice and oil are sent to the local *maṭh*, or religious house, and oil alone to the relatives. New pots are brought with much shouting, and deposited in the god's room. A marriage booth is erected, and the bridegroom sits under it side by side with a married female relative, and goes through a performance which is called *surige*. An enclosure is made round them with cotton thread passed ten times round four earthen pitchers placed at the four corners. Five married women come with boiled water and wash off the oil and turmeric with which the bride and the bridegroom and his companions have been anointed. The matrons then clothe them with the new clothes offered to the ancestors on the first day. After some ceremonial the thread forming the enclosure is removed and given to a *jaṅgam*. The *surige* being now over, the bridegroom and his relative are taken back to the god's room. The bride and her relative are then taken to the *pandal*, and another *surige* is gone through. When this is over, the bride is taken to her room and is decorated with flowers. At the same time the bridegroom is decorated in the god's room, and, mounting on a bullock, goes to the village temple, where he offers a coco-nut. A chaplet of flowers called *bāsiṅga* is tied to his forehead, and he returns to the house. In the god's room a *pañchkalaś*, consisting of five metal vases with betel and ashes, has been arranged, one vase being placed at each corner of a square and one in the middle. By each *kalaś* is a coco-nut, a date fruit, a betel-leaf, an areca-nut, and one pice tied in a handkerchief. A cotton thread is passed round the square, and round the centre *kalaś* another thread, one end of which is held by the family *guru* and the other by the bridegroom, who sits opposite to him. The *guru* wears a ring

made of *kuśa* grass on the big toe of his right foot. The bride sits on the left-hand side of the bridegroom, and the *guru* ties their right and left hands respectively with *kuśa* grass. The joined hands of the bride and bridegroom are washed, and *bilva* (*Ægle marmelos*) leaves and flowers are offered. The officiating priest then consecrates the neck ornament and the thread, ties the latter on the wrists of the joined hands, and gives the former to the bridegroom, who ties it round the bride's neck, repeating some words after the priest.

The tying of the *tāli* is the binding portion of the ceremony. Before the *tāli* is given to the bridegroom, it is passed round the assembly to be touched by all and blessed. As soon as the bridegroom ties it on the bride, all those present throw over the pair a shower of rice. The bridegroom places some cummin seed and *jāgri*, or unrefined sugar, on the bride's head, and the bride does the same to the bridegroom. Small quantities of these articles are tied in a corner of the cloth of each, and the cloths are then knotted together. The bride worships the bridegroom's feet, and he throws rice on her head. The newly married couple offer fruits to five *jaṅgams*, and present them with five pice. The relatives worship the bride and bridegroom, wash their feet, and offer presents, and the proceedings of the day terminate.

On the third day, friends and relatives are fed. On the fourth day, bride and bridegroom ride in procession through the village on the same bullock, the bride in front. On returning to the house they throw scented powder at each other, and the guests join in the fun. Then follows the wedding breakfast, to which only the near relatives are admitted. The married couple worship *jaṅgams* and the elders, and take off the consecration thread from their wrists and tie it at the doorway. The five matrons who have assisted are given presents and dismissed, and the marriage is now complete.

In a one-day marriage the above ceremonies are crowded into the short time allotted.

The remarriage of widows was one of the points on which Basava insisted, and was probably one of the biggest bones of contention with the Brāhmans. Widow remarriage is allowed at the present day, but the authorities at Ujjini see fit to disregard it. They say that among *jaṅgams* it is prohibited, and that among the other classes of Lingayats it is the growth of custom.

(4) *Death.*—The dead are buried in a sitting posture facing towards the north; but an exception is made in the case of unmarried people, who are buried in a reclining position.

Before the sick man dies, the ceremony called *vibhūti-velai* is performed. He is given a bath, and is made to drink holy water in which the *jaṅgam's* feet have been washed. He is made to give the *jaṅgam* a handkerchief with *vibhūti* (ashes), *rudrākṣa* (seeds of the bastard cedar), *dakṣiṇa* (coin), and *tāmbūla* (betel-leaf). This is followed by a meal, of which all the *jaṅgams* present and the relatives and friends of the patient partake. It appears to be immaterial whether the patient is still alive or not. It is stated that, if the invalid survives this ceremony, he must take to the jungles and disappear; but in practice this is not observed. The death party resembles in some respects an Irish 'wake,' though the latter does not commence until the deceased is well on his way to the next world.

After death the corpse is placed in a sitting posture, and the *jaṅgam*, who has received the offering before death, places his left hand on the right thigh of the body. The people present worship the corpse, and the usual distribution of coins and betel to *jaṅgams* follows. The body is then carried in a *vimān*, or bamboo chair, to the burial-ground. The grave should be a cube of 9 feet dimensions, with a niche on one side in which the corpse is to sit. The *liṅga* is untied and placed in the left hand, *bilva* leaves and *vibhūti* are placed at the side, the body is wrapped in an orange-coloured cloth, and the grave is filled in. A *jaṅgam* stands on the grave, and, after receiving the usual *douceur*, shouts out the name of the deceased, and says that he has gone to Kailāsa, or heaven.

Memorial ceremonies are contrary to Lingayat tenets; but in this, as in other matters, the influence of the Brāhmans appears, and among some sections an annual ceremony is performed. The performance of *śrāddha*, or the funeral ceremonies common to other Hindus, is unknown. Dubois tells us that a Lingayat is no sooner buried than he is forgotten.

> 'The point in the creed of the Sivaites which appears to me to be most remarkable is their entire rejection of that fundamental principle of the Hindu religion, *marujanma*, or metempsychosis' (p. 116).

From this it would follow that they do not believe in ghosts. But there is a generally accepted idea that evil spirits sometimes take possession of females. This may be a rude way of expressing the fact that the gentle sex is 'uncertain, coy, and hard to please.' Although the ceremony of *śrāddha* is unknown, once in a year on the new moon day of the month Bhadrapada or in Aswina, they offer clothes and food to (*a*) ancestors in general, (*b*) childless ancestors, and (*c*) men who have died a violent death.

Among Lingayats widow remarriage is common, and divorce is permissible. The ordinary law of Hindus is followed in regard to inheritance. Lingayats regard their *jaṅgams*, or priests, as incarnations of Śiva, and will bathe their *liṅgas* in the water in which the *jaṅgam* has washed his feet and thus rendered holy. They have numerous superstitions regarding good and bad omens. Thus, it is lucky to meet a deer or a dog going from right to left, whereas the same animals passing from left to right will bring ill luck (monograph on Lingayats by R. C. Carr). They do not observe the pollution periods of the Hindus, and their indifference to the ordinary Hindu purification ceremonies is notorious (Dubois, pt. i. ch. ix.).

Members of other religious communities who wish to become Lingayats are called on to undergo a three days' ceremony of purification. On the first day they allow their face and head to be shaved, and bathe in the products of the cow, which alone they may feed on and drink that day. The second day they bathe in water in which the feet of a *jaṅgam* have been washed, and which is therefore holy water. They eat sugar and drink milk. On the third day they take a bath described as *pañchāmṛt*, *i.e.* they apply to the head and body a paste made up of plantains, cow's milk, clarified butter, curds, and honey, and wash it off with water; they again drink the *tīrth*, or water in which the feet of a *jaṅgam* have been washed, and are then invested with the *liṅga*, after which they are allowed to dine with Lingayats, and are considered members of the community. Women undergo the same ceremony, except the head-shaving.

5. General remarks.—It will be gathered from the foregoing sketch of the origin and present-day social organization and customs of the Lingayats that the community is virtually an original casteless section in process of reversion to a congeries of castes holding a common religion. It has been seen how, in the 12th cent., a movement was set on foot and spread abroad by two Brāhmans, Ekantada-Ramayya and Basava, devotees of Śiva, to abolish the ceremonies and restrictions that fettered the intercourse between the different ranks of orthodox Hindu society of the period, and to

establish a community on a basis of the equality of its members, irrespective of sex, by means of the purifying worship of the one god Śiva. It seems clear that the movement found special favour in the eyes of the Jain traders of the period, who would have ranked, as Vaiśyas, below both Brāhman priest and Kṣatriya warrior under the Hindu scheme of social precedence. The community encountered the hostility of the Jains, who remained unconverted, but clung tenaciously to its simple faith in the worship of Śiva, and in his emblem, the *liṅga*. We must assume the probability that the Brāhman converts, of whose existence we possess historical evidence, tended by degrees to assert for themselves social precedence as *ayyas* or *jaṅgams*, *i.e.* the priests of the community, for which position their knowledge and descent would give them special fitness. In time, indeed, they came to be regarded as the very incarnations of the god Śiva, and thus they were holy, imparting holiness in a special degree to the water in which they had bathed their feet, known as *tirth*, so that it plays a prominent part to this day in the Lingayat ceremonies. Once the original notion of universal equality of rank had yielded to the priests a precedence incompatible with such equality, the way was prepared for the introduction of further social gradations, and the older members of the community commenced to claim over the later converts a precedence modelled on that which the priests had established against them. In such a manner the essential doctrine of equality became completely undermined, and in the end gave place to certain rites and ceremonies as the test of Lingayat orthodoxy. Thus, when the more recent cases of caste conversion occurred, a section of a Hindu caste became Lingayat, not, as the founders of the religion would have wished, by being admitted to a footing of equality on the common ground of the worship of Śiva and of his emblem the *liṅga*, but by investiture through certain rites and ceremonies with the *liṅga*, retaining their distinctive social status as a functional caste, with which other Lingayats would neither marry nor dine. It must be admitted that in the case of most of the Lingayat subdivisions the *jaṅgam* will take food in the house of the members, but here all trace of the original equality ceases; and the Lingayats of to-day present the curious and interesting spectacle of a religious sect broken in the course of centuries into social fragments, of which the older sections remain essentially sectarian, and the more recent in origin possess the typical attributes of ordinary Hindu castes. As in the case of Christianity in some parts of India, the social barriers of caste have proved too strong for the communal basis of the orthodox religion.

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R. E. ENTHOVEN.

gLING CHOS.—The *gLing chos* (*gLing*-mythology), or *gLing glu* (*gLing*-song),[1] is the mythology contained in Tibetan folk-lore, and is perhaps the most ancient religion of that country. It is distinguished from the ancient mythology of countries such as Finland and Russia by the fact that it has not to be pieced together from fragmentary allusions scattered through the whole range of Tibetan folk-lore, but can be gathered from complete hymnals and catechisms, in which the *gLing chos* has been preserved for us almost untouched.

1. Is the gLing chos the ancient religion of West Tibet only or of the whole of Tibet?—Although the present writer's materials were collected exclusively in West Tibet, it is probable that the *gLing chos* was the ancient religion of the whole country. (1) We are informed by a lāma of Tashilhunpo (in Central Tibet) that an endless variety of versions of the Kesar-saga (not the Kesar-epic, which belongs to the subject of Lāmaism) are current, just as is the case in Ladākh (Western Tibet), where each village has one or even more versions of its own. (2) In the legends of Milaraspa there are embodied several *gLing glu*.[1] Milaraspa seems to have been extremely clever in building a bridge from the *gLing chos* to Lāmaism. He was a native of Eastern Tibet, Khang chen åbyung lngā (or the Kanchanjanga) being his native country. But, even if the *gLing chos* can be proved to be, territorially, a real Tibetan religion, the question still remains whether it is the original property of the Tibetan (Indo-Chinese) race or belongs to the Mon and Bedha population, who are the principal preservers of it at the present day, and who are not of Indo-Chinese, but possibly of Aryan and Mundari, stock.

2. Cosmology of the gLing chos.—In all the sources mentioned below, in the Literature, three large realms are spoken of:

(1) *sTang lha*, heaven (literally, 'the upper gods,' or 'the gods above').—A king reigns in sTang lha called sKyer rdzong snyanpo.[2] He is also called dBangpo rgyabzhin, and åBum khri rgyalpo. The name of his wife, the queen of heaven, is bKur dman rgyalmo, Ane bkur dmanmo, or åBum khri rgyalmo. They have three sons, Don yod, Don ldan, and Don grub. The youngest is the most prominent figure. 'Lightning flashes from his sword out of the middle of black clouds.' Don grub descends to the earth and becomes king Kesar of gLing. According to one theory, thunder seems to be caused by the walking of the gods, and, according to another, it is the groaning of the dragon-shaped *åbrug*, dwelling in the dark clouds, when it is assailed by Kesar with his sword of lightning. Three daughters of the king of heaven are also mentioned.

The life of the gods is an idealized form of man's life. They constitute a State, with king, ministers, servants, and subjects. They abide in perfect happiness, and live, free from illness, to a good old age. They tend, apparently on the earth, certain goats known as *lha ra*. These they must defend against the devil bDud. Kesar later on discovers many of the *lha ra* in the latter's realm. The king and the queen often change their shape. The former becomes a white bird or a yak, and the latter takes the shape of a woman, a *dzo* (hybrid between a cow and a yak), a golden or turquoise fly, or a dove.

(2) *Bar btsan*, the earth (literally, 'the firm place in the middle').—Other names are *mi yul*, 'land of men,' and *gLing*, 'the continent.' The principal deity of this earth is mother Skyabs bdun (or Skyabs mdun). It is probable that she is identical with brTanma, the goddess of the earth (H. A. Jäschke, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London, 1881). She rides a horse called bTsan rta dmar chung. Of her subjects, the human race, we do not hear much in the saga. The

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[1] The term *gLing chos* was first employed by the present writer. Among natives of Tibet the name *gLing glu* ('songs of *gLing*') is in more general use. In a hymnal discovered in Upper Kanāwār the words *Lha chos* and *Bon chos* are used for this type of religion.

[1] Some of these *gLing glu* will be found in B. Laufer's 'Zwei Legenden des Milaraspa,' in *ARW* iv. [1901] 100–123, *nga ni ngar seng dkarmoi bu*, etc.; 131–143, *seng ågangsla ågyingba spar mi åkhyag*, etc.; 194–211, *dbus ribo mchog rab mchod rtenla*, etc.

[2] This is the actual pronunciation. In literature the name is spelt *brgya sbyin* (Śatakratu or Indra).

eighteen *agus* (see below) take the part of human beings.

(3) *Yog klu*, the under world (literally, 'the *nāgas* below').—Like sTang lha, Yog klu is also a State. There is a king called lJogspo (probably lCogpo is meant), with his servants and his subjects, who are remarkable for the large number of their children. The *klumo*, or *nāginī* (female *nāgas*), are famous for their beauty, and Kesar is warned not to fall in love with them. For this reason, at the present day, the Ladākhi women still desire to look like *klumo*, and wear the *perag* or *berag*, a leather strap set with turquoises. This *perag* represents a snake growing out of the neck of a human body, which, according to Indian Buddhist art, is the characteristic mark of *nāgas*.

3. The colours of these realms.—The most original system of colours seems to be contained in the Sheh version of the Kesar-saga. According to it, the colour of sTang lha is white—perhaps the colour of light; Bar btsan is red—perhaps on account of the reddish colour of the ground;[1] and Yog klu is blue—this may be due to the deep blue colour of many Tibetan lakes. The *klu* generally live in the water.

According to the Lower Ladākhi version of the Kesar-saga, the colour system is as follows: sTang lha is white; Bar btsan is red; and Yog klu is black. A still more advanced stage is represented in the Mongolian version (which is without doubt based on that of Tibet). Here sTang lha is white; Bar btsan is yellow; and Yog klu is black. The change from red to yellow has probably something to do with Tsong-kha-pa and his reformation of Lāmaism.

4. The devil bDud.—Occasionally, to the three realms of the world a fourth is added, that of the devil bDud, and then all the three realms become united in opposition to this new realm. The colour of the devil and of his realm is black (Sheh version) or violet (Lower Ladākhi version). It is situated in the north. The devil tries to carry away the goats of the gods. He is in possession of a beautiful castle, great treasures, and a girl who is kept in a cage. Near his castle is the well of milk and nectar. In size, appetite, and stupidity he closely resembles the giants of European mythology and folk-lore. There seems to be a close connexion between Yog klu and the devil's realm, as they both appear to go back to similar ideas. But gradually the devil developed into a morally detestable character, while the *klu* did not. Other names of the devil bDud are ȧDre lha btsan bog, Curulugu, Srinpo ('ogre'), and sDigpa ('sinful').

Of a very similar nature is agu Za. He is probably a mountain- or cloud-giant. He devours not only Kesar, but also sun and moon.

5. The seven and the eighteen agus.—Next to Kesar, the greatest heroes of the Kesar-saga are the eighteen *agus*. Kesar is their leader, and together with him they form a group of nineteen beings, in whom the present writer is inclined to see personifications of the twelve months plus the seven days of the week. Just as India had a group of seven *ādityas* before there were twelve, we find occasionally a group of seven *agus* who act by themselves, the others being forgotten. There is a female *agu* among the group of seven, and there is always a traitor among the *agus*. They are described as having non-human heads on human bodies, thus being similar in shape to the Chinese representations of the zodiac. The list of the eighteen is as follows:

1. Pasang ldan ru skyes, with a goat's head.
2. Anggar rtsangspo, with a lizard's head.
3. Khrai mgo khrai thung, with a falcon's head.
4. Kha rgan [d]gani, with a white beard.
5. sKya rgodpo, with a soup-spoon for a head.
6. zLaba bzangpo, with a moon for a head.
7. mDā dpon gongma, with an arrow-blade for a head.
8. Ala jong gol, with the sole of a boot for a head.
9. ȧBu dmar lam bstan, with a worm's head.
10. Shelgyi buzhung, with a concave mirror for a head.
11. [d]Gani gongba, with a collar for a head.
12. Lag lag rings, with a hand for a head.
13. rKang rKang rings, with a foot for a head.
14. Bong nag ldumbu, with a donkey's head.
15. bKā blon ldanpa, with a man's head.
16. dPalle rgodpo, with an old man's head.
17. rNa γyu rna ȧthsal, with a turquoise for a head.
18. zLaba dkarpo, with a white shell for a head.

The following is the list of the seven *agus*: (1) dPalle, (2) [d]Gani, (3) Gongma buthsa, (4) lTaba miggi rab, (5) rNa γyu rna ȧthsal, (6) mDa dpon gongma, (7) dPalmoi astag.

Both lists are from the Lower Ladākhi version. Certain names will be found to differ in other villages. It looks as if there were not much hope of finding the clue to this ancient zodiac.

6. The Lokapālas.—There is some likelihood that the *gLing chos* has always had deities for each of the four cardinal points. It is quite possible that the Indian Amoghasiddha, Vajrasattva, Ratnasambhava, and Amitābha were deities of the four quarters before they became Dhyānibuddhas. In close correspondence with them we find in the *gLing chos* the following deities of the four quarters: Don yod grubpa, North; rDorje sems dpa, East; Rinchen byung ldan, South; sNangba mthā yas, West. It is not necessary to assume that these deities were introduced from India together with Buddhism. It is more likely that the names represent an instance of mutual influence between pre-Buddhist Tibetan and Indian mythology. The name Don grub, which corresponds exactly to the Indian Siddhārtha, was not necessarily introduced with Buddhism. Siddhārtha was a common name in India long before Buddha's time, and may belong to a deity similar to Don grub and Don yod grubpa of Tibet. There are also four 'kings' of the four quarters, who correspond more closely to their Indian equivalents, and may therefore have been received from India; but even these have nothing to do with Buddhism. Like the deities mentioned above, they belong to the four quarters, and to nothing else in the *gLing chos*.

7. The Tree of the World.—It is called the 'king-willow,' or the 'far-spreading willow.' It has its roots in Yog klu, its middle part in Bar btsan, and its top in sTang lha. It has six branches, and on each branch a bird with a nest and an egg. On the first branch there is the huge bird Khyung with a golden egg; on the second, the wild eagle with a turquoise egg; on the third, the bird 'white-head' with a pearl-white egg; on the fourth, the eagle 'white-kidney' with a silver egg; on the fifth, a snow-pheasant with a coral egg; and, on the sixth, the white falcon with an iron egg.

8. Outline of the Kesar-saga.—

(1) *Prologue to the saga: the creation of the earth.*—The 'forefather and his wife' sow some seed which grows into a huge tree, the fruits of which are gathered into a barn. There the fruits become changed into worms, which eat one another until one huge worm is left. This worm becomes the child Dong γsum mila. The child kills an ogre with nine heads, and builds the world (gLing) out of its body in seven days. Dong γsum mila is married to eighteen girls, to whom are born the eighteen *agus*. The *agus*, eager to gain riches, start for the castle Pachi dpal dong. Agu dPalle arrives there first of all, receives the riches, and hears the prophecy about what will happen in the course of the Kesar story.

(2) *Birth of Kesar.*—Agu dPalle assists the king of heaven in his fight with the devil, in the shape either of yaks or of birds. He is allowed to ask a boon, and asks that one of the three sons of the king of heaven may be sent to the earth as king. All the sons are asked, and Don grub, who is the ablest in spite of his youth, decides to go. He dies in heaven, and is reborn on earth to Gog bzang lhamo. (The name *Kesar* or *Kyesar* is spelt in full *skye γsar*, and is said to have been given with reference to this story; it means the 'reborn one'.) The conception arises from Gog bzang lhamo's eating a hailstone, and the child is born

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[1] The word *dmarpo*, 'red,' is also used for 'brown.' Cf. the traditional interpretation of the word 'Adam.'

through the ribs. It is of a most ugly shape, but at pleasure exchanges this for a beautiful shape, with sun and moon as attributes. The traitor among the *agus* makes some unsuccessful attempts to kill the child, and has to suffer himself. Together with Kesar, sun and moon and all kinds of animals are born.

(3) *Kesar's marriage to åBruguma.*—Kesar meets åBruguma on a plain where she is gathering roots. There are a great number of stories as to how he teases her. åBruguma is to be married to the traitor among the *agus*, but Kesar wins her through his skill in games. Her parents are disgusted when they see him in his ugly shape, and treat him with contempt. He runs away, and åBruguma has to seek him. She is pleased to find him in his beautiful shape, but at once he throws it off and sends hail and rain. Her parents say that their daughter will be given to him who brings the skin of the huge yak Riri (this yak looks almost like a cloud), and who will bring a wing of the bird Nyima khyung byung (this bird looks almost like the sun). The *agus* try; but only Kesar succeeds. Now he is accepted as son-in-law, and the wedding is celebrated. (Here Kesar is praised even as the inventor of firearms.)

(4) *Kesar's victory over the giant of the north.*—After religious preparations Kesar decides to start for the north to kill the devil. He finds it hard to have to leave åBruguma, and allows her to accompany him, but the queen of heaven sends her back. In the castle of the devil he finds a girl in an iron cage, whom he delivers. They have an enjoyable time together until the devil returns. Before his arrival Kesar is hidden in a pit which is dug inside the room in a miraculous way. Although the devil smells the presence of a human being, and although his book of magic assures him of it, he is soon persuaded of the contrary by the girl, and goes to sleep. Then Kesar is dug out again and kills the devil. The girl gives Kesar the food and drink of forgetfulness, and in consequence of this he forgets åBruguma, the land of gLing, and everything.

(5) *åBruguma abducted by the king of Hor.*—Because Kesar does not return, the king of Hor starts to carry off åBruguma. The traitor among the *agus* sits on the throne of *gLing*, and the other *agus* offer only feeble resistance. The most plucky among the *agus* is the youngest, åBu dmar lam bstan. åBruguma herself goes to fight, but is sent back with ridicule. She has to submit and become the wife of the king of Hor. Still she refuses to leave the land of gLing unless the king of Hor solves three difficult problems. Then åBruguma hides herself in a stable, but she is discovered and carried away. She begins to love the king of Hor. åBu dmar lam bstan makes a successful attempt to retake her, but he is killed through the treachery of åBruguma and the traitor among the *agus*. (This is the *Siegfried* story.) Agu dPalle sends two storks with a message towards the north to Kesar. He leaves the north and soon reaches the land of gLing. The horse arrives there before him, and together with the horse's adventure spring sets in.

(6) *Defeat of the king of Hor.*—The road to Hor, with its many obstacles, is described. First Kesar is led by a fox, then he gains the service of a dwarf. There is the door of rocks which opens and closes of its own accord; there are the stones flying about between heaven and earth; and the watchmen of Hor, who are killed in the same manner as Samson killed the Philistines in the hall. Kesar arrives in the shape of a beggar, and pretends to be the son of the smith of Hor. He is accepted after some difficulties and learns the trade of the smith. At a tournament he shows his superior power, and gains the victory in every contest. He is therefore sent with a force against the approaching *agus* of gLing. On this occasion he drowns all his followers from Hor, and sends the *agus* home again. He compels the smith to assist him in the fabrication of an iron chain, which is to be thrown on to the top of the castle of Hor. When it is finished, Kesar climbs to the top of the castle by means of the chain, kills the king of Hor, and regains åBruguma. On their way back to gLing, åBruguma's children, whom she had borne to the king of Hor, are offered to the door of rocks to induce it to open. In gLing, åBruguma is first punished for her treachery, then she is restored to her former position, and another wedding is celebrated.

(7) *Kesar's journey to China.*—(The Tibetan word for China—*rgya nag*—means 'the black expanse.') Kesar practises sorcery until the castle of the king of China falls to pieces and the king of China becomes ill. Kesar is entreated to go to China and heal the king. He sends the traitor *agu*, Khrai thung, in his place. Then he starts himself. The journey is one chain of obstacles (ice and snow, hills, lakes, an ogre and an ogress, etc.). All are overcome, and on Kesar's approach the king of China becomes better. Now he refuses to keep his word, and give Kesar his daughter (γYui dkon mchogmo). But the girl runs away with Kesar. He is, however, induced to go back again. Then the Chinese throw him into a pit with three dragons, which he does not mind much. He escapes in the shape of a fly, goes back to gLing, and smites the land of China with leprosy (snow apparently). The traitor among the *agus* has meanwhile gone back to gLing, turned åBruguma out of the castle, and seized the throne. He is punished, and Kesar lives in happiness with his two wives. The leprosy in China is stopped by another journey made by Kesar to that country.

(8) *Epilogue to the Kesar-saga: the story of Kesar's boy.*—Kesar and åBruguma have a boy called γSerri buzhung (or Shelli buzhung). He is married to Pimo (or Phyimo?) γSerralcan, but the ogre dPallepa carries this girl off. γSerri buzhung starts to seek her, and takes service at the ogre's castle. He is soon recognized, because the dogs, horses, and other domestic animals increase in an extraordinary way under his care. Before the ogres have succeeded in killing him, they are invited by Pimo γSerralcan to a feast. On this occasion the girl places nine frying pans, in which the lives (hearts) of the nine ogres dwell, outside the door. γSerri buzhung shoots with his arrow through eight of them, and thus eight ogres are killed. Then he runs away with Pimo γSerralcan and all the other girls of the ogres. dPallepa pursues him, but is destroyed with his army. Then the wedding is celebrated.

9. Is the Kesar-saga a myth of the seasons?—This was the present writer's idea from the first. As he was, however, assailed by several critics on account of it, he did his best to abandon it. But, when editing the 'Lower Ladākhi version of the Kesar-saga' for the *Bibliotheca Indica*, he was driven back to his former position. At any rate, he cannot help believing that myths of the seasons (mixed up, perhaps, with other materials) are contained in the Kesar-saga. Only a few instances may be noted: sun and moon are attributes of Kesar's beautiful shape, rain and hail of his ugly shape; he wields the sword of lightning 'in the middle of black clouds'; there is a full description of spring given on the occasion of Kesar's return to gLing (see above, § 8 (5)); the *agus* seem to point to an ancient zodiac; winter is apparently compared to leprosy; together with Kesar's departure (probably in winter) the male animals leave the female ones, but leave them with the hope of new offspring; Kesar's enemies are powers of darkness; the giant of the north; the king of Hor, also in the north; China is 'the black expanse.'

10. Relationship to other mythologies.—As has become evident, there are great similarities between the *gLing chos* and the mythologies of various Aryan nations. This, however, does not mean much, for even the mythologies of North American Indian tribes have much in common with European mythologies. But we must call attention to one particularly striking incident. The story of the Tibetan hero with the vulnerable spot, åBu dmar lam bstan, who is Kesar's representative, is very similar to the German story of *Siegfried*. The similarities are the following: both heroes have the vulnerable spot on the shoulder; both wear invisible caps; both are killed when drinking water; with both of them the vulnerable spot is pointed out by a woman who belongs to the side of the hero. All this is remarkable, because the corresponding Greek story, for instance, is greatly at variance with both of them, although there is an ethnic relationship between the Greeks and the Teutons.

11. gLing chos and Lāmaism.—It is not at all impossible that the *gLing chos* should have exercised an influence on Lāmaism. The following are a few instances. (1) With regard to the colours, white, red, and blue, there is a certain correspondence between the realms of heaven, earth, and under world on one side, and sPyan ras γzigs, åJam dbyangs, and Phyag rdor on the other. But with regard to their characters it is difficult to see a closer agreement. The three *mchod rten* of three different colours, white, red, and blue, seem originally to represent the three realms of the *gLing chos*, but are at the present time explained as having been erected in honour of the three Bodhisattvas. If this explanation is really true, it remains a strange fact that the *mchod rten* in the middle was always painted red, and not yellow; for yellow is the correct colour of åJam dbyangs. Thus the custom of erecting three *mchod rten* of three different colours seems to have its roots in the *gLing chos*, and in the Kesar-saga we often hear of the existence of three *lha tho* of the same colours, the prototypes of these *mchod rten* of the present day. (2) The story of Srong-btsan Gam-po with his two wives, the green and the white sGrolma, may have been influenced by the story of Kesar with his two wives. Thus åBruguma is addressed, 'Oh, thou milk-white fairy!' and Kesar's bride from China is called γYui dkon mchogmo, the turquoise goddess. Kesar is even called, in historical works, a suitor to the white sGrolma. (3) There can be hardly any doubt that the system of colours as we find it in the *gLing chos* has influenced the pantheon of Lāmaism with its white, red, blue, green, yellow, and golden-faced occupants. Still, it cannot account for all the different shades of colours. Some of them were probably introduced from India. (4) Most of the deities of the *gLing chos*, dBangpo rgyabzhin included, have been incorporated into the pantheon of Lāmaism, where they have to be satisfied with an inferior rank.

12. gLing chos and Bon chos.—The *gLing chos* was perhaps not such a pure religion of nature as it appears to have been from the preceding pages. It probably had its dark side of superstitions and sorcery. This dark side seems to have had its development down to the present day in the garb of the *Bon chos*.

13. Sacred numbers in the gLing chos.—Holy numbers in the *gLing chos* are 3, 7, 9, and 18. But it is remarkable that, whilst the first three of these numbers are quoted without a following number, the 18 is often followed up by 19; *e.g.*, 'They digged a pit of 18, 19 yards,' 'There appeared 18, 19 priests.' The 19 is favoured apparently as the sum of 12+7, the months of the year plus the days of the week.

14. Animism in the gLing chos.—Here we may mention the following personifications: *sKyeser*, the wind; *sbang char zilbu*, the rain; *sengge dkarmo γyu ralcan*, the glacier; *bya Khyung dkrung nyima*, (apparently) the sun; *byamo dkarmo*, the moon; *bya so mig dmar*, the morning-star; *γYan*, spirits living in rocks and trees. It is remarkable that several of these personifications are mentioned together with the representatives of the animal world. Some of such representatives are: *nyamo γser mig*, for fishes; *bya rgyal rgodpo*, for birds; *rKyang byung kha dkar*, for horses; *áBrong byung rogpo*, for yaks.

15. Festivals of the gLing chos.—(1) The *Lo γsar*, or New Year's festival. It is the festival of lamps and lights. Pencil-cedars are used for the decoration of houses. There are horse-races, and a goat is offered before a white *lha tho* (altar of the *gLing chos*). The heart is torn out of the living animal and offered to the *lha*. In the monasteries mask-dances are held, which were probably intended originally to show the victory of the coming spring over the demons of winter. Only at Hemis do the mask-dances take place in June, perhaps as a last remnant of a former festival to celebrate the highest point reached by the sun. (2) *Storma phangces*. This is the spring festival of driving out winter. At Khalatse a clay figure of human shape is carried outside the village and destroyed there. At other places the spirits of winter and disease are banished into magic squares of sticks and strings (*dosmo*) and destroyed outside the village. (3) The Kesar-festival. The festival is called 'Kesar-festival' only in Upper Kanāwār. In Ladākh it is called *mDā phangces*, 'arrow-shooting.' It is celebrated in spring. The *gLing glu* is played and sung; and the boys amuse themselves with arrow-shooting. There are processions round the fields to bless them, the *lha tho* (altars) are decorated with fresh twigs, and pencil-cedars are burnt. (4) The *Srub lha*, or harvest festival. In Skyurbuchan the boys dance with poles covered with fragrant alpine flowers. Offerings of grain are carried to the monasteries. The dates of all these festivals are fixed by the lāmas, and the lāmas take part in them.

16. The names of the gLing chos.—In the course of this article some of the names of the *gLing chos* are given with their English translation. The author has not ventured to translate all these names, because scholars are at variance with regard to the meanings of certain of them. In the names of the eighteen *agus* there is always contained the distinguishing mark of the *agu* which forms his head; thus in no. 2, *rtsangspo* means 'lizard'; in no. 4, *kha rgan* means 'old mouth,' *i.e.* a mouth surrounded by a white beard; in no. 1, *ru skyes* means 'horn-producer,' or goat. As for the group of seven *agus*, which has much in common with the heroes of such folk-lore as, *e.g.*, 'Sechse kommen durch die ganze Welt,' in the name of no. 4 the ability to see clearly is indicated; in the name of no. 5, the ability to hear clearly; in no. 6, to shoot well. There are certain names occurring in the *gLing chos* which are not of Tibetan origin: thus in the word *sengge* in the name sengge dkarmo γyu ralcan, 'white lioness with the turquoise locks,' the personification of the glacier has something to do with the Indian word *siṁha*. In the name of the smith Hemis, who teaches Kesar, the first part *hem* seems to be the Indian word *hima*, 'snow.' We find the word *hem* in the sense of 'snow' also in the name Hembabs, which means 'snow-falling,' and such Indian words as *rākṣasa*, 'monster,' Sītārām, Sītā and Rāma, and Indra occur occasionally in the *gLing chos*—which shows what an important part India has played in the shaping of certain tales of this ancient religion.

LITERATURE.—It must be admitted that all the following publications are one man's work. They have all passed through the present author's hands. It may, however, be pointed out that in no case did he write down the texts to the dictation of a native; he always employed natives to record them from the dictation of such other natives as were famous for their knowledge of this ancient literature.

(i.) Kesar-saga: 'Der Frühlings- und Wintermythus der Kesarsage,' in *Mémoires de la société finno-ougrienne*, Helsingfors, 1902, 'The Spring-myth of the Kesarsaga,' in *IA* xxxi. [1902], 'A Lower Ladakhi Version of the Kesarsaga,' in *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1908.

(ii.) Hymnals: 'A Ladakhi Bonpo Hymnal' (more correctly, 'The gLing glu of Phyang'), in *IA* xxx. [1901] 359 ff.; 'gLing glu of Khalatse,' contained in *Ladakhi Songs*, Leh, Kaśmir, 1899–1903, nos. xxi.–xxx.; 'The Paladins of the Kesarsaga,' in *JRASBo* ii. [1906] 467–490, iii. [1907] 67–77.

(iii.) Catechisms: 'The Ladakhi Pre-Buddhist Marriage Ritual' in *IA* xxx. [1901] 131 ff.; *Die Trinklieder von Khalatse* (Tibetan text only, ed. A. H. Francke, Leipzig, 1903); *Das Hochzeitsritual von Tagmacig* (Tibetan text only, ed. A. H. Francke reprinted from an old MS discovered at Tagmacig, 1904).

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LION.—See ANIMALS.

LITANY.—A litany, according to the modern use of the word, may be described as a devotion consisting of a number of short petitions or invocations, to each of which a response is made by the people. It may be either said or sung, it may be either processional or stationary, it may be liturgical, *i.e.* connected with the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or independent, and it may be for regular use or used only on special occasions. Processional psalmody which is not of the responsive form is not now usually called a litany, but at one time the word was applied to anything sung in procession. The modern use of the term is the result of a long and somewhat complicated history. It is especially necessary to trace the growth of two forms of devotion which were originally distinct, but which have coalesced to form the modern litany. These are the liturgical responsive prayer and the procession.

1. Earliest use of the word.—The word λιτανεία is not common in classical Greek, and it seems to be used in the quite general sense of a supplication. The earliest mention of the word in connexion with Christian services appears to be by Basil (*c.* A.D. 375; *Ep.* ccvii. 'ad Cler. Neocæs.' [*Opera*, iii. 311 D]).

Objections had been raised to some innovations which Basil had made. 'These things were not,' the objector says, 'in the days of the great Gregory' (*i.e.* Gregory Thaumaturgus, *c.* 254). 'Neither,' replies Basil, 'were the litanies which you now use. And I do not say this by way of accusing you; for I would that you all should live in tears, and in continual repentance.'

These litanies were, therefore, penitential devotions of some kind, but there is nothing to indicate their precise character. The word *rogatio* was used in a similar general sense in the West.

2. The liturgical litany.—The earliest description of Eucharistic worship is that contained in the *Apologies* of Justin Martyr (A.D. 148). Here common prayers are spoken of 'for ourselves . . . and for all others in every place,' immediately before the Kiss of Peace and the Offertory, and therefore after the lessons and homily (*Apol.* i. 65). Whether these already took the form of the later litany there is nothing to show, and the response 'Kyrie Eleison' is not yet mentioned. And there is no further detailed information about the form of service until the liturgies which date from about the end of the 4th century. Here, however, the liturgical litany is found in the form which it has preserved in the Eastern Church ever since. It consists of a number of short petitions offered by the deacon, to each of which the people respond 'Kyrie Eleison,' and the most usual place for it is after the Gospel, but this is not invariable. Some litany of this kind appears to be almost universal in the Eastern liturgies. Many examples will be found in Brightman (*Liturgies Eastern and Western*, esp. pp. 4, 471, 521 for the most ancient forms, all belonging to the 4th cent.). The usual name for these devotions in the East is not λιτανεία, but ἐκτενή (lit. 'stretched out,' *i.e.* the earnest prayer), or συναπτή ('continuous'). There is nothing to show when Kyrie Eleison was first used in the services of the Church, but as its use is almost universal in the Eastern liturgies it must have been very early, and the expression is so natural, and would be so easily suggested by passages of the OT, that no explanation of its introduction is necessary. It was also in use among the heathen, as was pointed out by Claude de Vert (*Explication simple, littérale et historique des cérémonies de l'église*, Paris, 1706–13, i. 94; cf. Epictetus, *Diss. ab Arriano digestæ*, ii. 7). The *Peregrinatio Silviæ* (ed. G. F. Gamurrini, Rome, 1888, p. 47) mentions the Kyrie as the response made at Jerusalem to the deacon's list of names, and it appears in the litanies mentioned above as belonging to the 4th century.

3. The liturgical litany in the West.—It is probable that the Western liturgies originally contained litanies closely similar to those of the East. This was certainly the case, as far as can be judged from their scanty remains, with the liturgies of the Gallican (or non-Roman) type. The extant forms bear the closest resemblance to the Eastern litanies, and may in some cases be translations from the Greek (see some examples in L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*^{3}, pp. 198–201; F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 229). There is little doubt that there was originally a litany of the same character in the Roman liturgy also, and that the Kyries at the beginning of Mass are a relic of it. There is also another place in the service which should be noted. After the Gospel the priest says 'Oremus,' but no prayer or response follows; and this was so at least as long ago as the 8th cent., as appears from the Ordines Romani. Some prayers had evidently fallen out of the service even at that early date, and these were undoubtedly the Prayers of the Faithful, which occur in this place in the Eastern liturgies, and which are still preserved in the Roman rite in the prayers used on Good Friday. Probably these prayers dropped out of use because they were transferred, in substance at least, to the litany which came at the beginning of the service. St. Gregory the Great (*Ep.* ix. 12), when speaking of the use of the Kyrie, mentions other devotions that accompanied it, and which were no doubt a litany. In the present service only the Kyrie remains, and this is curious because the Kyrie was probably an addition made to the original litany from the East, so that it would seem that the original prayers have disappeared, while the exotic response has remained. There is nothing to show when the Kyrie was first used in Rome. It was not used, as in the East, as the regular response to the petitions, but at the beginning and end of the service, and it was alternated with Christe Eleison, which was never used in the East. Gregory says:

> 'We have neither said nor do we say Kyrie Eleison as it is said among the Greeks, because in Grecian countries all say it together, but with us it is said by the clerks and the people respond; and Christe Eleison is said as many times, and this is not said at all among the Greeks' (*loc. cit.*).

The Kyrie was, therefore, in use in Rome in Gregory's time, but for how long before that we do not know. The Council of Vaison (c. iii. [A.D. 519]), in ordering its use in the province of Arles, implies that it had been introduced into Italy at a not very distant date. The rest of the liturgical litany disappeared, as has been said, from the Roman service at some unknown date, but that the Kyrie was still regarded as part of a litany is shown by the fact that in the 8th cent. the Kyrie was omitted when there was a processional litany to the church. The natural conclusion of the introductory litany, whether processional or not, was the prayer in which the Bishop 'collected' the petitions of the people, and which was therefore called Collectio or Collecta. But, as the Kyrie was omitted when there was a procession, the collect on these occasions was the first thing that was said after the people reached the church, and hence ritualists came to regard it as the prayer 'ad Collectam plebis'—when the people are gathered together. Thus there arose a double derivation of the word 'collect' (*q.v.*).

4. Processions in the East.—During the centuries of persecution it was not likely that forms of devotion so conspicuous as processions would be used by Christians. The first historical mention of them appears to be in A.D. 398, in connexion with the Arian controversy. The Arians, not being allowed to hold their assemblies in the city of Constantinople, used to meet in the public squares during the night, and to march out at dawn to their places of worship, singing antiphonally. Fearing lest the orthodox should be attracted by this ceremonial, St. John Chrysostom instituted counter-processions on a more magnificent scale, in which silver crosses and lights given by the empress Eudoxia were carried. These particular processions were prohibited by the emperor in consequence of the disorders which they caused, but the custom of using processions, especially in times of emergency, continued. Socrates mentions a legend to the effect that the antiphonal singing used at such times had its origin in a vision of Ignatius of Antioch, the third bishop from St. Peter, in which he saw angels singing responsive hymns to the Holy Trinity (*HE* vi. 8; Soz. *HE* viii. 8). These occasional processions were, however, quite distinct from the litany in the Eucharist.

5. Processions in the West.—Processions became common in the Western Church at about the same time as in the East, but their origin appears to have been independent. They were probably at first transformations of pagan processions. The Roman festival of the Robigalia, intended to secure the crops from blight, was kept on the 25th of April, and the procession called the Litania Major, which took place on the same day, St. Mark's Day, seems to be a direct descendant of this. Even the actual routes of the heathen and the Christian processions were nearly the same. The institution of the Greater Litany of St. Mark's Day has been generally ascribed to Gregory I., but it was probably earlier, and perhaps dates from the pontificate of Liberius (352–366). The litany ordered by Gregory on St. Mark's Eve, A.D. 490, in order to avert a pestilence, seems to have been distinct from the Litania Major. Another ancient Roman festival, the Ambarvalia, was observed on three successive days in the month of May, and also had the fertility of the fields as its object. There is here a close resemblance to the Rogation processions on the three days before Ascension Day. These are said to have been instituted by Mamertus, bishop of Vienne (*c.* 470), on the occasion of various public disasters (Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* v. 14, vii. 1; Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* ii. 34); but such processions had probably been practised at an earlier date, and were only revived on this occasion. These rogations or litanies, called Litaniæ Minores to distinguish them from those of St. Mark's Day, spread rapidly through Gaul, and were adopted and reorganized at Rome by Leo III. (795–816). Both the Greater and the Lesser Litanies were ordered to be used in England at the Council of Cloveshoe (A.D. 747 [A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Oxford, 1869–71, iii. 368]). It may be noted that in the decree of this council, and elsewhere, *rogatio* and *litania* are regarded as equivalent terms ('lætaniæ, id est, rogationes'), and also that the terms seem to include all the devotions connected with those days. There is no allusion to responsive prayer, and the only reference to processions is a mention of relics being carried about. The words 'litany' and 'rogation' were still used in quite a comprehensive sense.

6. Mediæval litanies.—Hitherto the liturgical litanies in the Mass and processions have been regarded as distinct. But it is easy to see how they would coalesce. Various kinds of singing have always been used in processions, but that particular form of responsorial singing in which the people answer with an unvarying refrain was so naturally adapted for processional use, owing to the ease with which the refrain could be taken up by a moving crowd, that litanies of the type of the Eucharistic ectene came to be very commonly used in processions not only in the Mass, but on all sorts of occasions. And so the word 'litany' came to mean a form of prayer with a response, either processional or stationary, and either regular or occasional. As the processional use was the most conspicuous and popular, the word 'procession' came to be used as almost an equivalent term, and the book which contained the mediæval litanies was called the Processional. The litanies in most common use also assumed a regular structure. They consisted, as a rule, of the following parts: (1) the Kyrie Eleison, alternated with Christe Eleison; (2) a number of invocations of saints by name, with the response 'Ora pro nobis'; (3) a series of short prayers against various evils, called Deprecations, with the response 'Libera nos Domine'; (4) prayers on behalf of various people and for various objects, called the Supplications, with the response 'Audi nos Domine'; (5) the Agnus and the Kyrie, and a collect. Such litanies became very popular, and Cardinal Baronius estimated in 1601 that there were then 80 different forms in use. The invocations of the saints just mentioned formed a conspicuous part of most of these litanies. It is not clear when these invocations were first introduced; it was certainly before the 8th cent.; they are to be found in the Stowe Missal, and in a litany which probably belongs to the 8th cent. printed in Warren, *Lit. Celt. Ch.* (p. 179), but they may be much older. Some of the later litanies became little more than a string of invocations. It has been suggested that these lists of saints originally grew out of a heathen formula recited by the Pontifex Maximus, but there appears to be little or no evidence for this.

It has been noted that litanies, in the sense of responsive prayers, were often, though not necessarily, sung in procession, and so were commonly called processions. On the other hand, devotions sung in procession were often called litanies even though they were not responsive prayers. Psalms and anthems were also frequently used. For instance, Bede says (*HE* i. 25) that at the first meeting of St. Augustine with king Ethelbert the missionaries approached the king in procession, bearing the image of our Lord upon the Cross, and singing litanies; and then he specifies what they sang, and it was clearly an anthem, and not a litany in the usual modern sense. Again, the processions before High Mass on Sundays became, during the Middle Ages, a very popular and conspicuous devotion, but the psalmody was not usually in form a litany. In the 8th cent. at Rome it was so, or it was regarded as such; for, when there was a procession, as has been mentioned, the Kyrie at the beginning of Mass was omitted. Later on the Kyries became a fixed part of the service, and the processional psalmody took a different form. From the 12th cent., however, there was a tendency to use the term 'procession' of whatever was sung in procession, and to confine the term 'litany' to the Kyries, the Greater and Lesser Litanies of St. Mark's Day and the Rogation Days, and other similar forms.

7. Litanies in the Roman Church.—As has been mentioned, a large number of litanies came into use in the later Middle Ages. But by a decree of the Holy Office, dated 6 Sept. 1601, Clement VIII. forbade the use of any litany except that usually known as the Litany of the Saints, which had been included in the liturgical books. The Litany of Loreto had already been sanctioned in 1587. All others were forbidden to be used without the approbation of the Congregation of Rites. It is probable that this decree was never very strictly enforced, but it was renewed in 1727 and in 1821. A decree, however, of the Congregation of Rites, dated 23 April 1860, allowed the private use of litanies sanctioned by the Ordinary. The Litany of the Blessed Virgin or of Loreto mentioned above was probably used in some form at a very early date at Loreto, but in its present form it perhaps dates from the early 15th cent., and the earliest printed copy known belongs to the year 1576. Another popular litany was that of the Most Holy Name of Jesus. This was perhaps also composed in the early 15th century. It was not included in the decree of 1601, but later on it received some sanction from the Congregation of Rites, and it was finally allowed by Pius IX. in 1852 for certain dioceses, and for universal use by Leo XIII. in 1886. The Litany of the Sacred Heart was sanctioned in 1899.

8. The Anglican litany.—As the procession was a popular form of devotion, it was natural that it should be one of the first parts of the public services to be translated into English. The *Prymers* of the 15th cent., books of devotion for lay people, commonly contain a litany in English. The form now used in the English Church appeared in 1544, and it is no doubt the work of Cranmer, and perhaps the happiest example of his literary style. The occasion of its production was given by public calamities. In 1543 the harvest was bad, and Henry VIII. wrote to Cranmer to desire that 'rogations and processions' should be made. In the following year there was war with France and Scotland, so that the English Litany was produced in similar circumstances to those of the early litanies mentioned above. It was, however, also intended for regular use, and was printed in the *Prymer* of 1545 and in the first English *Book of*

Common Prayer of 1549 This litany was constructed with great care, and several sources were used. The chief portion was taken from the Sarum Rogationtide litany, and the main structure of this was adhered to, but the invocations of the saints were greatly shortened, being reduced to three clauses, which were themselves omitted in the First Prayer Book. Passages were also introduced from a Sarum litany for the dying, called Commendatio Animæ (also omitted in the First Prayer Book), and a considerable part of the Supplications was taken from a mediæval German litany which was revised by Luther in 1529, and published in German and Latin. This litany was included in the *Consultatio* of Archbishop Hermann of Cologne, and so came to England, and it was used for the litany in Marshall's *Prymer* of 1535. It must be noted that the English litany falls into two main sections: the first ends with the collect that follows the Lord's Prayer—a collect being the natural ending of a litany. What follows is a translation of suffrages which were added to the Sarum litany in time of war. The reason for their insertion was no doubt that war was going on in 1544, but they were appropriate for use at other times, and were retained. These suffrages are preceded by the antiphon and Psalm verse which began the Sarum Procession on Rogation Monday. Unfortunately, the accidental omission of the Amen at the end of the collect has led to the ridiculous custom of using the antiphon ('O Lord, arise, help us') as a sort of response to the collect. Until 1661 the conclusions of most of the collects were not printed in the *Book of Common Prayer*; in the revision of that year the Amens were printed, but most of the endings were omitted by mistake.

Although in his adaptation of the old litanies Cranmer added little or nothing of his own, he made a noticeable change in the rhythm: the old petitions were short and simple; Cranmer, either with a view to compression or, more probably, because he preferred sonorous periods, grouped several petitions together, and enriched them with epithets and synonyms. For instance, the Deprecations of the Sarum litany begin thus:

> 'From all evil—Deliver us, Lord.
> From the crafts of the devil—Deliver us, Lord.
> From thy wrath—Deliver us, Lord.
> From everlasting damnation—Deliver us, Lord.'

In the new version this becomes:

> 'From all evil and mischief; from sin, from the crafts and assaults of the devil; from thy wrath, and from everlasting damnation—Good Lord, deliver us.'

At about the same time Cranmer intended to translate other processional hymns, such as 'Salve Festa Dies,' for he wrote to Henry VIII. in 1545 to say that he had done so. The attempt was probably relinquished because he became aware that he did not write so skilfully in verse as he did in prose.

The English litany has remained substantially unchanged since its first appearance in 1544. In 1549 the invocations of the saints were omitted, and in 1559 a petition about 'the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome.' 'The grace of our Lord' was added at the end in the same year. In 1661 the words 'and rebellion,' 'and schism,' were added, and 'Bishops, Pastors, and Ministers of the Church' was changed to 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.' The collection of collects at the end of the litany was altered more than once, and most of them were removed to other places in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

This litany was intended to be used for all the purposes for which the ancient litanies were employed. It was issued for occasional use at a time of distress, and it was sung in procession in the usual manner. Later on royal injunctions ordered it to be sung kneeling before Mass, and this became the usual, but not universal, practice. The present rubric allows either the stationary or the processional use. It was also related to the Rogationtide processions, being derived mainly from them, and it took the place of the Eastern ectene as a preparation for Mass. It was ordered from the first to be said on Wednesdays and Fridays, the ancient 'Station' days, on which especially Mass was anciently said, and, although its use on Sundays was not specified in the rubric until 1552, this was probably taken for granted from the first. Unfortunately, this special characteristic of the litany as a preparation for Mass was obscured later on, partly by the placing of the 'Grace' at the end, and partly by the rubric of 1661, which directs it to be said 'after Morning Prayer.' This made no practical difference so long as Matins, Litany, and Mass continued to be said in their natural order, but in recent years it has caused the litany to be regarded as a sort of appendage to Matins, and in many churches has led to its being altogether separated from the Mass.

9. Lutheran litanies.—As has been mentioned above, Luther published a revision of a mediæval litany in German and Latin in 1529. The original edition does not appear to be extant, but the litany was printed in the Psalm-books, and it was used in both languages for some time. The use of the Latin form seems to have died out in the 17th cent., and the German form, although it continued to be used on various occasions in North Germany, never became a popular form of devotion. The Calvinistic bodies objected to this form of service altogether, and the litany was one of the parts of the English *Book of Common Prayer* which were most disliked by the Puritans.

LITERATURE.—For Eastern litanies see F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896. For Western litanies, F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, do. 1881; C. Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of . . . Salisbury*, Cambridge, 1901; *Sarum Processional* (ed. W. G. Henderson), Leeds, 1882; *York Processional*, Surtees Society, London, 1875; E. Hoskins, *Sarum and York Primers*, London, 1901; H. Littlehales, *The Prymer*, do. 1895; *Ordines Romani*, in Migne, *PL* lxxviii. 937 ff. For the Kyrie, E. Bishop, 'Kyrie Eleison,' in *Downside Review*, Dec. 1899 and March 1900; S. Bäumer, *Gesch. des Breviers*, Freiburg im Br., 1895, esp. pp. 128, 154. For a history of the litany, F. Procter and W. H. Frere, *New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, London, 1901; L. Pullan, *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, do. 1900; J. H. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, rev. ed., do. 1895; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*^{3}, do. 1903.

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LITERATURE.

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LITERATURE (American).—The literature of the aborigines of America may conveniently be treated under two topics, viz. purely autochthonous literary expression, and works produced under Caucasian influence.

1. Autochthonous literature.—This group includes songs, orations, stories, legends and myths, rituals and possibly dramas, and chronicles. The sources of this literature are mainly oral tradition, though this tradition is fortified in many cases by mnemonic records, the most curious of which are the *quipus*—knotted and coloured cords—employed by the Peruvians. Petroglyphs and pictographs were wide-spread, and reached a considerable development in the direction of abstract symbolism, while among the Mayas, Aztecs, and other Mexican tribes they clearly gained the stage of hieroglyphic writing. Little progress has been made, however, towards the decipherment of the Mexican codices, except perhaps with respect to calendric computations, while the pictographic records of other Indian peoples depend for their interpretation upon individual initiation into the meanings intended. Such records as we have, therefore, are mainly transcriptions from oral expression.

American Indian songs are so intimately connected with American Indian music that they will be treated under art. MUSIC (American). Similarly, American Indian rituals, which are largely composed of cycles of songs and chants, will be treated under SECRET SOCIETIES (American) and PRAYER (American). Oratory was an art of prime importance among the many tribes who conducted their internal affairs by means of councils where the spoken word decided tribal policies. Gravity of mien and strict decorum characterized the orator, but his expression was often intensely passionate, and there is abundant testimony from white hearers to the power and eloquence of American Indian oratory, of which many fragments are preserved in scattered reports. More systematic records have been made of myths and legends, which are often documents of considerable length and no mean artistry. Their comparative stability of form under oral transmission may be studied in records of identical myths taken from different tribes (*e.g.*, the three versions of the 'Iroquoian Cosmology,' recorded by J. N. B. Hewitt, *21 RBEW* [1899–1900]). Legends of a historical character (as, *e.g.*, the legend of Hiawatha) give place in some tribes to conscious chronicles, or year-counts (see esp. G. Mallery, *10 RBEW* [1888–89], ch. x.; J. Mooney, *17 RBEW* [1895–96], 'Calendar History of the Kiowa'). Mooney (*19 RBEW* [1897–98], 'Myths of the Cherokee') classifies Cherokee myths as sacred myths, animal stories, local legends, and historical traditions. He traces many animal stories that have passed as of Negro origin to American Indian sources (notably the 'Brer Rabbit' stories of Joel Chandler Harris), and it is certain that the American Indians possessed tales designed for entertainment, often of a humorous character, as well as others intended for edification.

The artistic quality of which American Indian expression is capable may be suggested by a few examples. A. C. Fletcher (*27 RBEW* [1905–06], p. 431) records an Omaha song of four verses (or, with repetitions, seven), which she translates:

> 'No one has found a way to avoid death, to pass around it; those old men who have met it, who have reached the place where death stands waiting, have not pointed out a way to circumvent it. Death is difficult to face!'

This song is set to a moving native melody, which has been harmonized by Harvey Worthington Loomis ('Lyrics of the Red Man,' Newton Center, Mass., 1903, vol. ii. no. 2).

An impressive example of Indian eloquence is the speech of Smohalla recorded by Mooney (*14 RBEW* [1892–93], p. 720 f.), uttered in reply to the white commissioner's request that the Wanapum settle down to agriculture. The following is a fragment of Smohalla's peroration:

> 'You ask me to plough the ground! Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest.
>
> You ask me to dig for stone! Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die I cannot enter her body to be born again.
>
> You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it, and be rich like white men! But how dare I cut off my mother's hair?'

In the Iroquoian creation myth, there is a somewhat subtle humour in the account of the fall of Ataentsic, the demiurgic Titaness, from the Sky-world to the chaos of nether waters:

> 'So now, verily, her body continued to fall. Her body was falling some time before it emerged. Now, she was surprised, seemingly, that there was light below, of a blue color. She looked, and there seemed to be a lake at the spot toward which she was falling. There was nowhere any earth. There she saw many ducks on the lake, whereon they, being waterfowl of all their kinds, floated severally about. Without interruption the body of the woman-being continued to fall.
>
> Now, at that time the waterfowl called the Loon shouted, saying: "Do ye look, a woman-being is coming in the depths of the water, her body is floating up hither." They said: "Verily, it is even so." Now, verily, in a short time the waterfowl called Bittern said: "It is true that ye believe that her body is floating up from the depths of the water. Do ye, however, look upward." All looked upward, and all, moreover, said: "Verily, it is true"' (*21 RBEW*, p. 179 f.).

With this may be contrasted a fragment of the Navaho myth of the creation of the sun (*8 RBEW* [1886–87], pp. 275–277), which is not without a touch of grandeur:

> 'The people then said, "Let us stretch the world"; so the twelve men at each point expanded the world. The sun continued to rise as the world expanded, and began to shine with less heat, but when it reached the meridian the heat became great and the people suffered much. They crawled everywhere to find shade. Then the voice of Darkness went four times around the world telling the men at the cardinal points to go on expanding the world. "I want all this trouble stopped," said Darkness; "the people are suffering and all is burning; you must continue stretching."'

The more civilized Indian peoples of Mexico, Central America, and Peru show a corresponding advance in formal literary composition. The Aztec rituals recorded by B. Sahagun (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España*, Mexico, 1829) are dignified and ornate, and often imbued with a sombre and haunting beauty. The assembled lore of these more advanced peoples must have comprised a considerable body of legends, chronicles, oracles, spells, calendric computations, laws, etc., judging from the fragments which are preserved, while the existence of a secular artistic literature is probable. Brinton is of the opinion that the Central Americans possessed an autochthonous dramatic art (see *Library of Aboriginal American Literature*, no. iii., 'The Güegüence, a Comedy Ballet in the Nahuatl-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua,' Philadelphia, 1883); and Clements Markham regards the 'Ollantay' as an example of a pre-Spanish dramatic literature (see Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, London, 1910, which contains a translation of this drama). For this literature of the semi-civilized nations see the artt. ANDEANS, CHILAN BALAM, DRAMA (American), POPOL VUH.

2. Literature produced under white influence.—This class consists of (1) works in the native languages, and (2) works by American Indian authors in European languages. (1) Works of the first type include translations of the Bible and other works by white missionaries and teachers, and native records of native ideas made after a system of writing had been acquired. Of the latter, perhaps the most notable instance is the Cherokee literature in the native alphabet invented by Sequoya. A large number of periodicals—some under native, some under missionary, editorship, some in the native tongues exclusively, some part English, some wholly English—have appeared or are now appearing for the expression of American Indian ideas. For the growing body of aboriginal records—chiefly myths, rites, and chronicles—appearing in the *Reports of the American Bureau of Ethnology* and elsewhere special modifications of the Roman alphabetic signs have been invented and systematized for the expression of the native tongues.

(2) A certain number of Indians or part-Indians have distinguished themselves in their literary mastery of European tongues. The names of Garcilasso de la Vega, Inca-Spanish in blood, and of Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, descendant of the caciques of Tezcuco, are notable as authorities for the native customs and histories of Peru and

Mexico respectively. To these might be added the names of Tezozomac, Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, Nakuk Pech, and Fernando Hernandez Arana Xahila, Mexican and Central American post-conquest chroniclers of native history (see respectively E. K. Kingsborough, *Antiquities of Mexico*, ix., 'Cronica Mexicana'; R. Siméon, *Annales de San Anton Munon Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin*, Paris, 1889; D. G. Brinton, *Library of Aboriginal American Literature*, i., 'The Maya Chronicles,' vi. 'The Annals of the Cakchiquels'). In N. America, George Copway (Kagigegabo, 1818–63) was the author of several books, dealing chiefly with his own people, the Ojibwa, while Charles A. Eastman (Ohiyesa, b. 1858) is the author of essays and stories portraying the native life and ideals of his Siouan kinsfolk.

LITERATURE.—Bibliographical details are given in the *Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30* of the American Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1907–10, under 'Books in Indian Languages,' 'Bible Translations,' 'Dictionaries,' 'Periodicals'; see also 'Copway,' 'Eastman,' 'Sequoya.' Scattered through the *Reports* and *Bulletins* of the Bureau are many texts and translations of myths, songs, and rites; the files of the *JAFL* are rich in similar material. Other collections of importance include E. K. Kingsborough, *Antiquities of Mexico*, 9 vols., London, 1830–48; D. G. Brinton, *Library of Aboriginal American Literature*, 8 vols., Philadelphia, 1882–90; J. G. Icazbalceta, *Nueva Colección de documentos para la Historia de México*, 5 vols., Mexico, 1886–92; E. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1902–08. Yearly increasing material is to be found in the *Comptes rendus du Congrès international des Américanistes*, Paris, etc.; the *Memoirs* and *Papers of the Peabody Museum*, Cambridge, Mass.; the *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, New York; the *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society*, New York; the *Publications of the Field Columbian Museum*, Chicago; *of the University of California*, Berkeley, Cal.; *of the University of Pennsylvania Museum*, Philadelphia; the *Contributions of Columbia University*, New York, etc. Of the nature of bibliographical guides are H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific Coast*, New York, 1875, vol. i. p. xvii ff., 'Authorities quoted' (cf. also vol. iii. 'Myths and Languages'); Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, Boston, 1886–89, vol. i. 'Biographical Appendix'; *The Literature of American History*, ed. J. N. Larned, Boston, 1902; L. Farrand, *The Basis of American History, 1500-1900*, New York, 1904, pp. 272–289; H. Beuchat, *Manuel d'archéologie américaine*, Paris, 1912. See 'Literature' under artt. ANDEANS, CHILAN BALAM, MUSIC (American), POPOL VUH.

H. B. ALEXANDER.

LITERATURE (Babylonian).—Our knowledge of Babylonian-Assyrian literature has been gained chiefly by excavations. Only a few monuments are extant on rocks, among them the famous bilingual inscriptions of the Achæmenian kings, from the study of which the decipherment of the Babylonian script and language started. The statues of kings and deities, the colossi of bulls and lions, slabs, prismoids, cylinders, and various smaller objects of art inscribed with Babylonian legends are, as far as hitherto disinterred, not very numerous in comparison with the thousands of clay tablets which served the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian priests to record the deeds of the rulers of those Empires, to chronicle their historical events, to fix the common prayers, incantations, and religious rites, to place the outcomes of their superstitious belief in certain systems, and to transmit very ancient myths and legends to posterity.

As a matter of fact, these documents are not throughout conceived in the Semitic tongue of Babylonia. It is now well known that in the third millennium before our era the fertile alluvial plain of the twin rivers enclosing Mesopotamia, the Euphrates and the Tigris, was inhabited by a non-Semitic race called the Sumerians, and to them must be attributed the primitive culture of that country, the building of its earliest cities, the first works of art in Western Asia, and the invention of the cuneiform script, the development of which out of a picture writing can still be traced. At what time Semitic, *i.e.* Babylonian, tribes invaded Sumerian territory, and how the process of amalgamation between the two races developed, cannot as yet be ascertained. It may be fairly assumed, however, that at the time of the Babylonian king Ḫammurabi, who replaced the various feudal governments of his predecessors by a vast Babylonian Empire under one sceptre (*c.* 2000 B.C.), that process had come to a standstill, and subsequently the Sumerian literature was gradually superseded by that of the Babylonian-Assyrians. As, however, the religious hymns and psalms composed by the Sumerian writers were adopted by the Semites, forming part of their liturgy and subsequently translated by the priests into their native tongue, Sumerian was studied as a sacred language by the Babylonians and Assyrians, and its literature was carefully preserved and handed down to posterity, just as in mediæval and modern times the Latin language is treated and used as the language of the Church.

Sumerian literature is dealt with in this art. in so far as it forms part of the Babylonian-Assyrian incorporated therein. Babylonian literature actually begins in the time of Ḫammurabi, whose inscriptions (with one exception) and whose famous collection of laws (see LAW [Babylonian and Assyrian]) are conceived in pure Semitic Babylonian. Before entering into a detailed enumeration of the various branches of that literature, attention must also be called to the fact that the difference between the Babylonian and the Assyrian languages consists merely in dialectic varieties, so that Babylonian and Assyrian literature, practically speaking, are to be considered as identical, and are differentiated only by the respective time of their origin during one of the great monarchies of Western Asia—the Old Babylonian Empire, the Assyrian Empire, and the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

The history of the ancient East can now be authentically reconstructed from the historical inscriptions of the Babylonian-Assyrian literature. To the great kings of those monarchies the gaining of immortality by means of a careful tradition of their exploits, their successful campaigns, and building operations appeared most desirable, and so they caused the records of those deeds to be inscribed on a number of clay prisms, on cylinders and tablets, and on the animal colossi at the entrances of their palaces. The great extent of such texts is illustrated by a recently discovered tablet, on which the events of a single year (714 B.C.) are recorded so minutely that an English translation of the text would fill five columns of the London *Times*. Long prayers supplement the historical contents of these inscriptions, interspersed with the enumeration of the titles and abilities, virtues and religiousness, of the royal personages therein glorified. As a rule, the contents are arranged according to the years of reign or the campaigns, in chronological order, followed by an account of the building operations and, in some cases, of the hunting matches of the respective kings, while, at the end of the inscriptions, the blessing of the great gods is invoked upon a successor preserving the document, and their wrath upon its destroyer. To the historical documents must also be assigned the branch of the epistolary literature dealing with public affairs. It is from an extended correspondence between Ḫammurabi and one of his highest officials that an exact knowledge of the reign of the first Semitic ruler in the united Babylonian kingdom is gained — his personal care for the welfare of his vast dominion, the building of corn-houses and dykes under his auspices, the regulation of the temple-taxes, and the use of intercalary months by order of the crown. Of no less importance are the documents of a correspondence carried on in the middle of the second millennium between the Pharaohs of Egypt, then rulers of the whole civilized world, and the kings of Western Asia, including Palestine, the Phœnician ports, and the island of Cyprus, which have become generally known as the Tell el-Amarna find. Letters, proclamations, petitions, accounts of building operations, and short notes accompanying requisites for war were in constant use down to the end of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, and are of a historical value similar to that of the royal inscriptions mentioned above and various so-called 'epigraphs' which were added to the numerous bas-reliefs on the walls of the palaces, illustrating the kings' campaigns and other achievements.

Babylonian-Assyrian literature in the narrower sense of the word has become known chiefly from the documents preserved in a great Royal Library founded at Nineveh by Ashurbanipal, the last great king of the Assyrian Empire, who reigned from 668 to 626 B.C. and was called Sardanapalos by the Greek writers. This Library, generally known as the Kouyunjik Collection, the various portions of which have been secured since the middle of last century for the Trustees of the British Museum by Sir Henry Rawlinson and other English scholars, consists of copies and translations of ancient Babylonian and Sumerian works, and deals with every branch of wisdom and learning then appreciated by the Assyrian priests, who, by command of their royal patron, collected and catalogued, revised and re-copied, the various texts which had been gathered from the oldest cities and temple archives of the whole land. Recent excavations have in some instances also brought to light a number of hymns and prayers, certain omen-texts, and a few astrological inscriptions which must be attributed to an earlier period than that of Ashurbanipal, and apparently belonged to the mass of original documents from which the copies in the Library were made; and the same may be said of certain collections of the Neo-Babylonian time, in which, again, copies from the Kouyunjik Collection have been found. An exact idea of the literary achievements of the Babylonian-Assyrians, however, can be formed only by a perusal of the contents of the Library itself. Such a perusal yields the following results.

Apart from the epistolary literature, a few drafts for royal inscriptions, and numerous commercial texts—the last extending from early Babylonian times down to the beginning of our own era—Assyrian literature was devoted chiefly to superstitious belief, to religious rites and ceremonies, incantations and prayers, and, in close connexion with both branches, to medicine, astrology, and philology.

A large proportion of the documents here concerned deal with the appearance and actions of various animals, and it has been justly remarked that in these inscriptions survivals may be seen of a very ancient animal-cult—reminding one of certain parallels in Egypt—which in later times seems to have been superseded by an exquisitely astral religion. Closely connected with these animal omens are the numerous and systematically arranged texts bearing on monstrosities and other unusual features of births, as well as the large collections of documents dealing with the inspection of the liver of an immolated wether. The movements of various birds, the actions of dogs and pigs, the hissing of a snake, and the invasion of locusts were especially observed for the compilation of such omen-texts. Another means of divination used by the Babylonians was pure water, into which a small quantity of sesame-oil was poured, so as to produce the well-known interference-colours, re-discovered by Newton, and certain structures of rings and bubbles, from which the events of the future were predicted. The link between these forecasts and the religious texts must be sought in the medical prescriptions, which were laid down and redacted into a kind of pharmacopœia. Various diseases, arranged according to the limbs and members attacked, are enumerated in these collections, and the draughts, decoctions, and other therapeutics are described in detail. Mental disorder was attributed to the influence of evil spirits, and on this account the medical texts are frequently interspersed with incantation formulæ which otherwise constitute a class of literature by themselves. Three or four 'series' of tablets containing such incantation-texts, accompanied by directions for the respective ceremonies, have become known to us. They are chiefly directed against the pernicious actions of witches and sorcerers, supposed to be neutralized by destroying the images of these witches, mostly by burning. In the majority of cases the text of these incantations is in the interlinear bilingual style, *i.e.* in Assyrian and Sumerian; and in several instances it can be proved that the Sumerian original has been taken over from ancient sources, portions of which still exist. On the other hand, it can hardly be denied that the Semitic Assyrian priests themselves also composed such interlinear texts, using the Sumerian language, then long extinct, in much the same way as mediæval monks used Latin. Moreover, even pure Sumerian texts without an interlinear Assyrian version are preserved in Ashurbanipal's Library—a fact from which it may be concluded that such incantations even at his time were recited in the old sacred language. And the same holds good of the psalms, litanies, and other forms of prayers which are written either in Sumerian only or accompanied, in Assyrian times, by a Semitic version. Whilst the incantation-texts, however, are mostly preserved as parts of certain literary compositions or 'series,' the prayers and similar religious documents stand for the most part isolated, and only by their style can they be recognized as belonging to various classes. Of such, the prayers called after 'the lifting of the hand,' the hymns exhibiting a parallelism of members, the litanies addressed to certain deities, and the compositions showing acrostics may be mentioned as specimens.

Of special interest among the religious texts are the legends and myths, of which a number of 'series' have been discovered. A few of them, as, *e.g.*, the Babylonian Creation Legend and the Deluge Story, both of which have parallels in the OT, can be proved to reach as far back as the Old Babylonian period. It cannot be ascertained at present, however, at what time the account of the Deluge was incorporated in a great national epic, the so-called Gilgamesh Epic, which is founded on astral religion and seems to refer to the life in the nether world. Similarly the 'Descent of the goddess Ishtar to Hades,' an isolated poem preserved in Ashurbanipal's Library only, appears to depict nature's death in the autumn and its resuscitation in the spring, and the story of Nergal, the lord of tombs, and his consort, the goddess Erishkigal, likewise contains a description of the abode of the dead. Immortality was not granted to mankind, as we learn from another myth, the story of a pious man called Adapa, who, being misled by chance, refused to partake of the food of life and the water of life, which were offered to him in heaven.

As has already been remarked, it may be concluded from the Gilgamesh Epic and from other mythological texts that in the Assyrian time at least an astral religion was reigning in the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris. This appears to be borne out by another branch of Babylonian-Assyrian literature, viz. the astrological texts. A large composition, comprising at least 70 tablets, is devoted to observations of the movements of the celestial bodies, including atmospheric phenomena, such as thunder-storms, hurricanes, and earthquakes, and to the forecasts taken from such observations and referring to the welfare of the king, the devastation of temples and palaces, the growth of vegetation, and the increase of cattle and other animals. As early as in the 7th cent. B.C. these astrological documents were paralleled by purely astronomical texts, dealing with the heliacal risings and the culminations of luminous fixed stars and constellations, while of the Neo-Babylonian time documents with astronomical observations and calculations have been found which bear witness to the highly developed faculties of the later Babylonians for determining the velocity of the sun and moon, the length of the year, and the revolution of the five planets then known.

An equally high standard was attained by the Babylonian and Assyrian priests in grammar and lexicography. Those sacred Sumerian incantation-texts, hymns, and prayers must have early prompted the protectors of religious traditions to collect helps for studying the extinct sacred tongue, and in course of time such investigations necessarily involved a study of the Semitic native language of those priests as well. Paradigms of verb-forms, lists of synonymous words, and, above all, large collections of Sumerian ideographs explained according to their pronunciation and meaning have thus been handed down. And the numerous lists of names of animals, stones, plants, and wooden objects, of stars, temples, and deities, afford a clear insight into the wisdom and work of the philologists, by whom the oldest colleges on earth were founded and literary tradition was first carried on.

Babylonian literature was deeply influenced, as has been shown, by its older Sumerian sister, and the Assyrians, in developing it, seem to have played a rôle similar to that played in later centuries by the Syrians who conveyed Greek learning to the nearer East. On the other hand, the cuneiform Babylonian script spread all over Western Asia, and the Hittite and Mitanni nations, the Chaldic tribes, and the Canaanites appear to have adopted it in one or other form, and certainly became familiar to some extent with the literary documents of the Babylonian people. Babylonian legends found their way to the ancestors of the Israelite tribes, and similar Babylonian documents were studied in the middle of the second millennium by the learned priests of the Egyptian Pharaohs. Finally, the late Assyrian omen and astrological texts wandered to the East as far as China, left remarkable traces in the Indian literature, and were transmitted to Greece, where actual translations of such texts have been found. In this way also Babylonian literature has in the last instance influenced Christianity, and has left its marks throughout mediæval times down to the present day.

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C. BEZOLD.

LITERATURE (Buddhist).—The sacred canon of Buddhism has been handed down in two forms. One, written in Pāli and preserved in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, contains the doctrine of the older school, the Hīnayāna ('Little Vehicle'; see art. HĪNAYĀNA), the chief aim of which is to attain *arhat*-ship or the release of the individual from suffering. It is the canon of one sect only. The other, the Sanskrit canon, which is later, is not extant in any complete example, but is known only from fragments found during recent years in Central Asia by M. A. Stein, A. Grünwedel, and A. von le Coq, partly also from quotations in other Buddhist Sanskrit texts, as well as from Chinese and Tibetan translations. The chief texts of the Sanskrit Mūla-sarvāstivādins, who belonged to the older Buddhism, were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese in the years A.D. 700–712. This canon agrees largely with the Pāli canon both in wording and in arrangement. But there are also various divergences. These are to be explained by the descent of both from a common original in the Māgadhī dialect, from which the Pāli canon was derived in one part of the country, and the Sanskrit canon, later, in another. While the other sects had no complete canon, each regarded as specially sacred one or more texts, which either incorporated parts of or replaced a theoretically acknowledged canon. The great bulk of these Sanskrit Buddhists belonged to the new school of the Mahāyāna ('Great Vehicle'; see art. MAHĀYĀNA), the chief aim of which was the attainment of the condition of a Bodhisattva, or future Buddha, who brings *nirvāṇa* within the reach of the entire human race.

The forms of Buddhism preserved in Pāli and in Sanskrit have commonly been called 'Southern' and 'Northern' respectively because the former prevails in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, and the latter in Nepāl, Tibet, China, and Japan. The distinction thus made is misleading, since all Buddhist canonical literature arose in the North of India. The Pāli canon contains no reference to the South, and the term 'Northern' confuses sects by the erroneous implication that it excludes the older school of the Hīnayāna. It is, therefore, more appropriate to speak of 'Pāli Buddhism' and 'Sanskrit Buddhism.'

The languages in which the two canons were composed require to be more precisely defined. Pāli is the sacred language common to the Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Cambodia, but Pāli MSS are written in the four different alphabets of those countries, while it has become the regular practice to print European editions of Pāli texts in Roman characters. The Pāli language in which the texts have been handed down cannot be identical with the dialect in which the canon of the 3rd cent. B.C. was composed; the latter could only have been the language of Magadha (Bihār), in which Buddha first preached and which must have been used by the monks of Pāṭaliputra who put together the canon. Traces of such a Māgadhī canon may be found in the Pāli texts. In this connexion it is noteworthy that the titles of the canonical texts enumerated in Aśoka's Bairat inscription appear in a Māgadhī form. But Pāli differs from the Māgadhī which is known to us from inscriptions, literary works, and grammarians. Nor is it identical with any other dialect. It is, in fact, an exclusively Buddhist literary language, which, like other literary languages, is the result of a mixture of dialects. Its basis is, however, in all likelihood Māgadhī—a conclusion supported by the tradition that even identifies Māgadhī and Pāli. The language of the other canon is either correct Sanskrit or a Middle Indian dialect which, approximating to Sanskrit, is best termed 'mixed Sanskrit' (formerly as a rule called the 'Gāthā dialect').

No work of Buddhist literature goes back to Buddha's time. But much contained in the canon may very well hand down the words spoken by the Master, such as the famous sermon of Benares, especially if we consider the tenacity of the verbal memory in Indian oral tradition.

Almost the whole of the oldest Buddhist literature consists of short collections containing speeches, sayings, poems, tales, or rules of conduct, which are combined into larger collections, called *piṭaka*, or 'basket,' in a manner somewhat analogous to the formation of the *saṁhitā* of the Vedas (cf. HYMNS [Vedic]). Three such aggregate collections, called the *Tipiṭaka*, form the Pāli canon.

The canon as constituted in Aśoka's reign must have undergone appreciable changes between then and the time when it was fixed in the 1st cent. B.C. in Ceylon. But thenceforward it has been handed down with great care. Some modifications, indeed, must have taken place even after the 1st cent., because it is otherwise difficult to account for the numerous contradictions appearing in the canon. Taken as a whole, however, the Pāli *Tipiṭaka* may be regarded as not very different from the Māgadhī canon of the 3rd cent. B.C. For the quotations occurring in the Aśoka inscriptions diverge only slightly from the extant text, while the titles of seven texts mentioned in one of these inscriptions are partly identical with, and partly similar to, those which are found in the extant *Sutta-piṭaka*. Moreover, the sculptures and inscriptions of the monuments at Sāñchī and Bhārhut (*c.* 200 B.C.) afford corroborative evidence of the existence of a collection not unlike the extant *Sutta-piṭaka*. But the earliest direct evidence that the *Tipiṭaka* as a whole had already assumed its present form is furnished by the *Milinda-pañha*, which dates from the 1st cent. A.D. The age and authenticity of the Pāli tradition are confirmed by the Sanskrit canon, which, as already stated, is so closely allied to it as necessarily to be derived from the same original.

The texts which the sacred literature comprises will now be summarily described in regard to their chief contents.

I. *THE PĀLI CANON.*—**1. Vinaya-piṭaka.**—The first of the three main divisions is the *Vinaya-piṭaka*, the 'Basket of Discipline,' which supplies the regulations for the management of the Order (*saṅgha*), and for the conduct of the daily life of monks and nuns. It includes rules for reception into the Order, for the periodical confession of sins, for life during the rainy season, for housing, clothing, medicinal remedies, and legal procedure in cases of schism. Here and there are also to be found stories, some of which contain the oldest fragments of the Buddha legend, while others are valuable for the light that they throw on the daily life of ancient India.

2. Sutta-piṭaka.—The second 'basket' is the *Sutta-piṭaka*, our best source for the *dhamma*, or religion of Buddha and his earliest disciples. It contains, in prose and verse, the most important products of Buddhist literature grouped in five minor collections named *nikāyas*. The first four of these consist of *suttas*, or 'lectures,' being either speeches of Buddha or dialogues in prose occasionally interspersed with verses. These four are cognate and homogeneous in character. For a number of *suttas* reappear in two or more of them; there is no difference in the doctrines that they contain; and they all show a similar mode of discussion, probably preserving a reminiscence of Buddha's actual method as good as that which the Platonic dialogues preserve of Socrates' method. One of the features of the method of argument in these *suttas* is the very extensive use of parables and similes, which, though lacking in cogency, are valuable as throwing much light on the daily life of the artisans, cultivators, and merchants of the day. Since each of these *nikāyas* contains old along with more recent elements of a similar character, there is no reason to doubt that all of them were formed into collections about the same time.

(*a*) The *Dīgha-nikāya*, or 'Collection of long lectures,' consists of 34 *suttas*, each of which deals fully with one or more points of Buddhist doctrine. The very first, entitled *Brahmajāla-sutta*, or 'Lecture on the Brāhman net,' is of very great importance for the history not only of Buddhism, but of the whole religious life of ancient India. The Buddha enumerates a large number of the occupations of Brāhmans and ascetics from which the Buddhist monk should refrain. The second, the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, or 'Lecture on the reward of asceticism,' furnishes valuable information about the views of a number of non-Buddhistic teachers and founders of sects. The *Amboṭṭha-sutta* illustrates the history of caste and Buddha's attitude to that system. The *Kūṭadanta-sutta*, 'Lecture on the sharp tooth (of the Brāhmans),' displays the relations between Brāhmanism and Buddhism, while the *Tevijja-sutta*, 'Lecture on the followers of the three Vedas,' contrasts the Brāhman cult with Buddhist ideals. The fundamental doctrine of Buddhism is treated in the *Mahānidāna-sutta*, or 'Great lecture on causation.' One of the most noteworthy texts of the Pāli canon is the *Sigālovāda-sutta*, or 'Admonition of Sigāla,' describing fully the duties of the Buddhist layman. But the most important text in the *Dīgha-nikāya* is the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, or 'Great lecture on the complete Nirvāṇa,' a continuous account of the last days of Buddha. It is one of the oldest parts of the *Tipiṭaka*, as supplying the earliest beginnings of a biography of Buddha. It does not, however, all date from the same period, for in some passages Buddha appears entirely as a human being, while in others he is represented as a demi-god or magician. This text resembles the Gospels more than any other in the *Tipiṭaka*. On the other hand, the very title of the *Mahāpadāna-sutta*, or 'Great lecture on the miracles (of Buddha),' indicates its lateness. It already contains the dogma of six Buddhas as precursors of Gautama, and presupposes the whole Buddha legend.

(*b*) The *Majjhima-nikāya*, or 'Collection of (lectures of) middle (length),' consists of 152 sermons and dialogues dealing with almost all points of Buddhist religion. Thus Buddha is represented as admitting that a man may obtain *nirvāṇa* even without being a monk, or may commit suicide if he acts solely for the purpose of obtaining release; and as refuting the claim of Brāhmans to be the only pure caste and asserting the purity of all four castes. These *suttas* throw light not only on the life of Buddhist monks, but on such matters as Brāhman sacrifices, various forms of asceticism, and the relation of Buddha to the Jains, as well as superstitious, social, and legal conditions prevailing at the time. The difference in age of the *suttas* is indicated by the fact that here too Buddha sometimes appears as a purely human character and sometimes as a miracle-worker.

(*c*) Of the 56 divisions into which the *Saṁyutta-nikāya*, or 'Collection of combined lectures,' is divided the last is most noteworthy, as treating of the four truths (*sachcha*), and containing the famous *Dhamma-chakka-ppavattana-sutta*, the 'Lecture on setting in motion the wheel of the law,' usually described as the 'Sermon of Benares.' Of the *suttas* in one of its sections some contain a large admixture of stanzas, while others consist entirely of verse forming short ballads of great poetic merit.

(*d*) The *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, or 'Collection of lectures arranged according to increasing number,' consists of over 2300 *suttas* in 11 sections, so arranged that in the first are treated objects of which there is only one kind, in the second those of which there are two kinds, and so on. Thus, the second deals with the two kinds of Buddhas. In this collection are found a large number of *suttas* and stanzas which occur in other texts of the canon, and which here even sometimes appear as quotations. This alone points to a late date. But internal evidence also shows that it was composed at a time when Buddha was already regarded as an omniscient demi-god, if not an actual deity.

(*e*) The *Khudda-nikāya*, or 'Collection of small pieces,' is a late compilation added after the previous ones were complete. Its contents date from very different times; for, while several of its parts belong to the latest stratum of the Pāli canon, some go back to the earliest period. It is composed for the most part in verse, and, in fact, contains all the most important works of Buddhist Indian poetry. Of the works which it embraces the following may be mentioned. The *Khudda-pāṭha*, or 'Short reader,' comprises nine brief texts to be used by the novice or as prayers in the Buddhist cult. The first is the Buddhist creed; the second gives the ten commandments enjoined on monks; and the ninth is the fine *Metta-sutta*, in which kindness towards all creatures is praised as the true Buddhist cult. The *Dhamma-pada*, or 'Words of religion,' the most familiar and longest known work of Buddhist literature, is an anthology of maxims chiefly expressing the ethical doctrines of Buddhism. More than one-half of its 423 stanzas are found in other texts of the Pāli canon. The *Udāna*, or 'Solemn utterances,' consisting of old verses and prose stories (probably later additions), is a glorification of the Buddhist ideal of life and of the endless bliss of *nirvāṇa*. The *Itivuttaka*, or 'Sayings of Buddha,' is composed in prose and verse used in such a way that the same idea is expressed in both. Very often the verse simply repeats the statement of the preceding prose. The oldest parts of the work probably date from the time of Buddha himself. The *Sutta-nipāta* is a collection of poetical *suttas*, many of which, as shown by internal evidence, must go back to the beginnings of Buddhism, and have arisen at least among the first disciples of Buddha. They are important as supplying information about the original doctrine of Buddha, besides representing an early, though not the earliest, stage of the Buddha legend. The *Thera-gāthā* and *Therī-gāthā*, or 'Songs of monks and nuns,' are poems of great literary merit exalting mental calm as the religious ideal, and describing the value of Buddhist ethical doctrine from personal experience. It is quite possible that here may be included poems composed by some of the earliest disciples of Buddha, but several are much later, since they represent a Buddha cult like that of the Mahāyāna. The *Jātaka* is a book consisting of about 550 stories of former 'births' of Buddha in the character of a Bodhisattva, or future Buddha. It consists partly of poetry and partly of prose, but only the verse portions have canonical value. For a discussion of the work see art. JĀTAKA.

3. Abhidhamma-pitaka.—The *Abhidhamma-piṭaka*, or 'Basket of higher religion,' treats of the same subject as the *Sutta-piṭaka*, differing from that collection only in being more scholastic. It is composed chiefly in the form of question and answer, like a catechism. The starting-point of this collection appears to have been the *Sutta-piṭaka*, one of the texts of which, the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, may be regarded as its precursor. Its first beginnings seem to have been certain lists called *mātikās*, which are already mentioned in the *Vinaya-piṭaka*.

While the Pāli canon (apart from additions) was entirely composed in India, the non-canonical literature was the work of monks in Ceylon. There is only one important exception, the *Milinda-pañha*, which must have been written in the north-west of India. It represents a dialogue supposed to have taken place between a Buddhist teacher and Menander (Milinda), the Greek king who from about 125 to 95 B.C. ruled over the Indus territory, Gujarāt, and the valley of the Ganges. The author, whose name is unknown, must have lived at a time when the memory of this king was still fresh. As the Greek domination came to an end soon after Menander, he could hardly have been remembered for more than a century. That the original portion of the work, books ii. and iii. with parts of i., is thus as old as the beginning of our era is supported by the fact that it bears comparison with the very best dialogues in the *Sutta-nipāta*. Books iv.–vii., besides differing in character from the rest, are wanting in the Chinese translation made between A.D. 317 and 420. These and the other spurious parts are the work of learned monks in Ceylon.

II. *SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE.*—While one ancient sect created the Pāli canon, various later sects produced a Buddhist literature in pure or mixed Sanskrit, of which many extensive works have been preserved, though others are known only through Tibetan and Chinese translations. The great bulk of this Buddhist Sanskrit literature belongs to, or has been greatly influenced by, the later Mahāyāna school. That school, though acknowledging that the *Theravāda*, or 'Doctrine of the Elders,' went back to Buddha, regarded it as inadequate, because it made *nirvāṇa* attainable to the few only through the life of a monk. In order to bring salvation to all humanity, the Mahāyāna taught that every man could aim at being born as a Bodhisattva (*q.v.*); and any ordinary man, even a Pariah, could attain salvation by the practice of virtue and by devotion to Buddha. The Buddhas are now regarded as divine beings from the beginning, their earthly life and their *nirvāṇa* being nothing but an illusion. The Buddhas preceding Gautama, instead of being six, are now believed to be thousands or even thousands of millions in number; and an innumerable host of Bodhisattvas is revered as having for the salvation of mankind refrained from entering *nirvāṇa*. Under the influence of Hinduism a new mythology grew up in which a number of Hindu deities were added to the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and a much stronger devotion to Buddha, analogous to that of the Brāhman *Bhagavad-Gītā* (*q.v.*) to Kṛṣṇa. Brāhman doctrine influenced the development of Mahāyānism on the philosophical side also. For, while the old Buddhism denied the existence of the ego only, the Mahāyāna doctrine also denied the existence of everything (expressed by the formula *sarvaṁ śūnyam*, 'everything is void'), either as complete nihilism or as ideal nihilism (*vijñāna-vāda*, or 'doctrine' that nothing exists except 'in consciousness').

1. Hīnayāna.—The large realist sect of the Sarvāstivādins ('followers of the doctrine that everything is'), besides having an extensive literature, possessed a Sanskrit canon, of which, however, only fragmentary parts of the *Udāna-varga*, *Dharmapada*, and *Ekottarāgama* (corresponding to the Pāli *Udāna*, *Dhammapada*, and *Aṅguttara-nikāya*) have as yet been discovered. The *Mahāvastu*, or 'Book of great events,' is a text of the Lokottaravādins ('followers of the doctrine' that the Buddhas are 'supernatural beings'), a subdivision of the old schismatic sect, the Mahāsāṅghikas, or 'adherents of the great community.' Its chief content is a miraculous biography of Buddha, written in mixed Sanskrit. It is of great importance as containing many old versions of texts that also occur in the Pāli canon, such as the 'Sermon of Benares' and a section of the *Dhammapada*. About half of it consists of *jātakas*, many of which do not occur in Pāli. Though belonging to the Hīnayāna, it contains much that is akin to the Mahāyāna, as that the adoration of Buddha is alone sufficient for the attainment of *nirvāṇa*. There is, however, only a slight admixture of regular Mahāyāna doctrine, and nothing of Mahāyāna mythology. Some of the elements which it contains point to the 4th cent. A.D., but the nucleus of the book probably dates from the 2nd cent. B.C. (see MAHĀVASTU).

The *Lalita-vistara*, or 'Detailed account of the play (of Buddha),' though it seems to have originally been a Buddha biography of the Sarvāstivādins, has been extended in the sense of the Mahāyāna, of which it bears all the characteristics. It is a continuous narrative in Sanskrit prose, with long metrical pieces in 'mixed Sanskrit.' Containing old and new elements side by side, it is valuable for the development of the Buddha legend from its earliest beginnings to the deification of Buddha as a god above all gods.

The *Buddha-charita*, or 'Life of Buddha,' is an epic composed in pure Sanskrit. It is the work of Aśvaghoṣa (*q.v.*), a genuine poet, who, as one of the pioneers of the Mahāyāna and a contemporary of Kaniṣka, must have composed it about A.D. 100. Originally a Brāhman, he joined the Sarvāstivādin sect, but laid great stress on devotion to Buddha. His epic, however, contains no pronounced Mahāyāna doctrine.

Another work of the same school, dating probably from the 4th cent. A.D., is the *Jātaka-mālā*, or 'Garland of birth stories,' by Āryaśūra. It is composed in a mixture of verse and prose, conforming to the style of classical Sanskrit literature. It contains 34 *jātakas*, illustrating the *pāramitās*, or 'perfections,' of a Bodhisattva, and nearly all occurring in the Pāli Jātaka Book.

Cognate with the preceding works are a number of collections of *avadānas*, or 'stories of great deeds,' being practically *jātakas* in which the hero is a Bodhisattva (not Buddha). The older ones still belong to the Hīnayāna, though attaching special importance to the veneration of Buddha. Such is the *Avadāna-śataka*, or 'Century of great deeds,' which, dating probably from the 2nd cent. A.D., contains pieces from the Sanskrit canon of the Sarvāstivādins, and nothing connected with the cult of Bodhisattvas or with Mahāyāna mythology. Dating from about a century later, but including very old texts, is the *Divyāvadāna*, or 'Heavenly *avadānas*,' which often mentions the Sanskrit canon and quotes individual canonical texts, besides having several legends in common with the Pāli canon. Most of the stories are written in good simple Sanskrit with occasional *gāthās*, but others show the elaborate metres and long compounds of the artificial classical style.

2. Mahāyāna.—The Mahāyāna, not representing a homogeneous sect, possesses no canon. But there are nine *dharmas*, or 'religious texts,' which, composed at different times and belonging to different sects, are also called *Vaipulya sūtras*. The most important and most characteristic work of the Mahāyāna school is the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, or 'Lotus of good religion.' It contains matter of different date represented by Sanskrit prose and by *gāthās* in 'mixed Sanskrit.' Its original form dates perhaps from about A.D. 200. Śākyamuni is here no longer a man, the mendicant of the Pāli *suttas*, but a god above all gods, who has lived for countless ages and will live for ever. His doctrine is that every one can become a Buddha who has heard the preaching of Buddha, performed meritorious works, and led a moral life. Even those who adore relics, erect *stūpas*, or make Buddha images obtain the highest enlightenment (see LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW).

A whole *sūtra*, the *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*, akin in language and style to the later Hindu *purāṇas*, is devoted to the exaltation of Avalokiteśvara, the 'Lord who looks down' with compassion on all beings, here the typical Bodhisattva who, in the exercise of infinite pity, refuses Buddhahood till all beings are saved. The yearning for salvation has probably never been more powerfully expressed than in the figure of Avalokiteśvara (*q.v.*). The cult of this Bodhisattva is known to have been in existence before A.D. 400. More mythological is the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (*c.* A.D. 100), or 'Detailed account of the Land of Bliss,' which is devoted to the praise of the Buddha Amitābha ('of unmeasured splendour'). The *Gaṇḍa-vyūha* (a still unpublished *dharma*) celebrates the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (*q.v.*), who occupies a prominent position in Mahāyāna cult and art.

Other Mahāyāna *sūtras* are of a philosophic and dogmatic character. The *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (a *dharma*) describes a visit paid to the demon Rāvaṇa in Ceylon by Buddha, who answers a number of questions about religion according to the doctrines of the Yogāchāra school (founded by Asaṅga). The tenets of a number of philosophical schools are also discussed here. The *Daśabhūmīśvara* (a *dharma*) represents a lecture by Buddha in Indra's heaven, about the ten stages by which Buddhahood is to be reached. It dates from before A.D. 400, when it was translated into Chinese. The *Samādhi-rāja* (a *dharma*), or 'King of meditations,' is a dialogue in which Buddha shows how a Bodhisattva can attain the highest enlightenment by various stages of contemplation. The *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa* (a *dharma*), dating from not later than the 6th cent. A.D., is partly philosophical, partly legendary, and partly ritualistic in its contents. The Hindu goddesses Sarasvatī and Mahādevī are introduced, and magical formulæ and Tantra practices are dealt with. The *Rāṣṭrapāla-sūtra* (before A.D. 600), besides containing Buddha's description of the qualities of a Bodhisattva, introduces a number of *jātakas*. Its main interest lies in its prophecy of the future decay of religion; for its realistic descriptions must largely reflect the lax morality of the Buddhist monks of the 6th century. The most important of all the *sūtras* of the Mahāyāna are the *Prajñā-pāramitās*, or *sūtras* on the 'perfection of wisdom.' They deal with the six perfections of a Bodhisattva, but especially with the highest, *prajñā*, 'wisdom,' the knowledge of the doctrine of nothingness, which denies not only being, but also not-being. The doctrine of the Mahāyāna *sūtras* was systematized by Nāgārjuna, originally a Brāhman who flourished about A.D. 200 and founded the Mādhyamika school, one of the main branches of the Mahāyāna. In order to remove the otherwise insoluble contradictions of complete nihilism, he lays down in his Mādhyamika *sūtras* that the doctrine of Buddha rests on two kinds of truth. The one is the conventional truth of everyday life (in which the higher truth is latent), and the other is truth in the highest sense. It is only through the lower that the higher truth can be taught, and it is only through the latter that *nirvāṇa* can be attained. This distinction resembles that between the higher and the lower knowledge in the Vedānta system of the Brāhmans (see MADHYAMAKA, MĀDHYAMIKAS).

Nāgārjuna cannot be regarded as the originator of the Mahāyāna doctrine itself. There must have been teachers and texts of that doctrine more than a century before his time; for Mahāyāna texts were translated into Chinese in the 3rd cent. A.D., and the Gandhāra type of Buddhist art, which represents the Mahāyāna doctrine, came into being about the beginning of our era.

Asaṅga (*q.v.*), the eldest of the three sons of a Brāhman from Peshāwar, probably flourished in the first half of the 4th century. Originally an adherent of the Sarvāstivāda school, he became the main exponent of the Mahāyānist Yogāchāra school, which recognizes existence in consciousness (*vijñāna*) only, denying the reality of the phenomenal world. The only absolute entity is truth (*bodhi*), which is manifested in the Buddhas, and which is attainable solely by those who practise *yoga* in ten stages. *Yoga* (*q.v.*) was thus brought into systematic connexion with the Mahāyāna doctrine. Asaṅga expounds the tenets of this school in his *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṁkāra*, a work consisting of memorial verses (*kārikās*) in various metres and a commentary written by himself. Asaṅga's brother, Vasubandhu, one of the most important figures in Buddhist literature, distinguished for profound learning and great powers of independent philosophic thought, is remarkable as having written authoritative works representing both the great divisions of Buddhism. His most important work, belonging to his earlier and Hīnayāna period, was his *Abhidharma-kośa*, which deals with ethics, psychology, and metaphysics, but is known only through a Sanskrit commentary and Chinese and Tibetan translations. In later life he was converted by his brother Asaṅga to the Mahāyāna doctrine, when he composed a number of commentaries on various Mahāyāna *sūtras*, which have, however, been preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations only. The most important of the later Mahāyānists was Śāntideva, who probably lived in the 7th cent. and was the author of two works. The first, *Śikṣā-samuchchaya*, or 'Summary of the Doctrine,' is a manual of the Mahāyāna teaching, consisting of memorial verses (*kārikās*) and a commentary. The other is the *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, or 'Entry into the practice of enlightenment,' a religious poem of great literary merit, inculcating the pursuit of the highest moral perfection. The aim in both works is the attainment of enlightenment as a Bodhisattva by means of infinite compassion and the veneration of Buddhas, the highest wisdom being the belief in nothingness (*śūnyatā*).

An indication of the decay of Buddhism in India is the approximation of its later literature to that of Hinduism. Thus the Mahāyāna *sūtras* show striking resemblances to the Brāhmanic *purāṇas*, containing, like these, *māhātmyas*, or glorifications of particular localities, and *stotras*, or hymns addressed to various deities. There are also separate *stotras*, like those addressed to Viṣṇu and Śiva; many of them glorify the goddess Tārā, the female counterpart of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

A further sign of degeneracy is the increasingly important position which the *dhāraṇīs*, or 'spells,' begin to occupy in Mahāyānist literature. They appear to have existed from the 3rd cent. A.D. They were probably in their earliest form intelligible *sūtras* containing Buddhist doctrine, but unintelligible mystic syllables gradually began to prevail as the 'kernel' of magic powers. Finally, under the influence of the Śaivite *tantras* they became pure gibberish and entered as essential elements into the Buddhist *tantras*.

The *Tantras* (*q.v.*), which probably date from the 9th to the 11th cent., and are composed in barbarous Sanskrit, represent the final stage in the degradation of Indian Buddhism. They are treatises partly concerned with ritual (*kriyā-tantra*) or rules of conduct (*charyā-tantra*), partly with the esoteric doctrine of the Yogīs (*yoga-tantra*). The former class is a revival of the old Brāhman ritual of the *Gṛhyasūtras*, and the mystical syllables contained in them are addressed not only to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, but also to Śaivite deities. Most of the *tantras*, however, are connected with *yoga*, starting from the mysticism of the Mādhyamika and the Yogāchāra schools. The *yogī* here aims at the highest knowledge of nothingness (*śūnyatā*), not only by asceticism and meditation, but by magical rites, hypnotism, and other expedients. The teaching and practice of this *yoga* are a mixture of mysticism, sorcery, and erotics, accompanied by disgusting orgies. Nothing of Buddhism remains in them, for they differ in no respect, except in being described as 'promulgated by Buddha,' from the Śaivite *tantras*, inculcating as they do the worship of the *liṅga* and Śaivite gods, and introducing numerous female deities into their cult.

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A. A. MACDONELL.

LITERATURE (Chinese).—The vast mass of Chinese literature is divided by Chinese scholars into four classes—classics, histories, writings of philosophers, and belles lettres. The term *king*, translated 'classic,' means originally the warp of a web, and by metaphorical extension comes to mean what is invariable, a rule. The Chinese classics are, therefore, those books which are regarded by the Chinese as canonical. Taoism and Buddhism as well as Confucianism have their classics; but in speaking of the Chinese classics one has in view the books of the Confucian canon only. If we speak of them as 'sacred,' we expose ourselves to misleading associations. We do, indeed, meet with the phrase *Sheng King* as designating the Confucian canon, where *Sheng* is the word which is used in Christian literature to express the idea of holiness. Originally, however, it refers to perfection of wisdom ('sage,' 'sagely'), and does not of itself suggest any relation to the divine. Of the perfect Sage it is said :

> 'He is seen, and the people all reverence him ; he speaks, and the people all believe him ; he acts, and the people all are pleased with him' (*Doct. of the Mean*, xxxi. 3).

The authority of the classics is due not to any special inspiration, but to their connexion with sages or sagely men who possessed this ideal development of human nature. Degrees of authority are recognized ; Mencius, *e.g.*, in some of his pronouncements is held to have fallen short of the perfect balance of Confucius. In so far as education was founded on and almost confined to the classics, their influence has been enormous. Less legitimately their connexion with the sages has given them a pre-eminent share in that reverence, passing into superstition, with which all written and printed paper is regarded by the Chinese. Among the commentators on the classics, Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130–1200) has long been considered to be the standard of orthodoxy. The number of books embraced in the Confucian canon has varied. The Imperial edition of the T'ang dynasty included thirteen books. The present canon, taken in the strictest sense, includes the Five Classics and the Four Books.

I. The 'Five Classics.'—(1) *I King*, '*The Book of Changes.*'—The germ of this is the Eight Trigrams, further elaborated into sixty-four, alleged to have been copied by Fu Hsi, a legendary ruler of early China, from the back of a mysterious creature which appeared from the waters of the Yellow River. The diagrams are combinations of whole and broken lines, and are supposed to correspond to the powers of nature—heaven, earth, fire, water, etc. Wen Wang added to the diagrams his 'Definitions' ; Chou Kung supplemented these with his 'Observations' ; and, finally, Confucius added 'Ten Chapters of Commentary,' and the classic was complete. As being the joint work of these four sages, it enjoys a great reputation. It is a compound of obscure and fanciful speculation and of a system of divination. But with regard to its meaning and its origin, whether it is native to China or may be connected with Babylonia or elsewhere, various opinions have been held by scholars.

(2) *Shu King*, '*The Book of Historical Documents.*'—We read of a canon of one hundred

historical documents, ascribed on inadequate evidence to Confucius, with a preface the Confucian authorship of which is even more doubtful. What now exists is this preface and fifty-eight books of documents, the tradition of which is traced back to two scholars, Fu Sheng and An Kuo. The twenty-five books which rest on the sole authority of the latter are gravely suspect. The whole collection of documents, which by no means forms a continuous history, falls into five divisions—the books of T'ang, of Yü, of Hsia, of Shang, and of Chou. The earliest documents refer to a period about 2000 B.C., the latest to 627 or 624 B.C. Whatever be the admixture of legendary matter, the documents are of much historical interest. As a record of early moral and religious ideas their value is also great. The political ideal is a benevolent autocracy, and sovereignty is conferred or withdrawn according to the righteous judgment of God, who raises up the instruments of His providence.

(3) *Shi King*, '*The Book of Odes.*'—This comprises three hundred and five odes, with the titles only of six more, traditionally said to have been selected by Confucius from the numerous pieces extant in his time. This account greatly exaggerates his share in the making of the classic. Confucius attached great educational value to the odes. He claims that their design is summed up in this: 'Have no depraved thoughts'; but, while they are free from indecencies, a number of them spring from irregular passion. The subject-matter of the odes is various—praise of virtuous kings and ministers, and of chaste and submissive wives; longing for absent friends, and the joy of reunion; the griefs of neglected officers and forsaken wives; complaints of injustice, remonstrances with careless or wicked rulers; celebration of State banquets and sacrifices. The odes are not arranged in chronological order, but in four classes: (1) 'Lessons from the States,' 15 books of odes from various feudal States; (2) 'Minor Odes of the Kingdom,' 8 books; (3) 'Greater Odes of the Kingdom,' 3 books; and (4) 'Odes of the Temple and the Altar,' 3 books. The earliest odes date from the Shang dynasty (1765–1122 B.C.), and the latest from the time of King Ting (605–585 B.C.) of the Chou dynasty. Much can be gathered from the odes illustrating early Chinese civilization.

(4) *Li Ki*, '*Collection of Treatises on the Rules of Propriety or Ceremonial Usages.*'—Of the 'Three Rituals,' the *I Li*, the *Chou Li*, and the *Li Ki*, the last only has a place among the Five Classics. It is a collection condensed from a larger group of documents in the 1st cent. B.C., and augmented and finally fixed in the 2nd cent. A.D. The various treatises, which are not arranged in any logical order, cover a great variety of subjects—birth, capping, marriage, death, mourning, sacrifices, education, and intercourse between persons of different grades and ages. There is much wearisome detail, but it is from this classic that we learn the genius of the Chinese race as embodied in religious and social usages.

(5) *Ch'un Ch'iu*, '*Annals.*'—*Ch'un Ch'iu*, lit. 'Spring and Autumn,' a common name for annals, is the only one of the Five Classics ascribed to Confucius himself; but it falls so far short of Mencius's eulogy of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* which he knew that doubt—not supported by other evidence—has been expressed as to whether our *Ch'un Ch'iu* is indeed the Sage's work. It seems to be founded on, and may be merely transcribed from, the annals of Lu, Confucius's native State. It is an absolutely bald record of such things as the beginnings of the seasons, State-covenants, wars, deaths of persons in high estate, and extraordinary events. The notices of eclipses are important as affording chronological data. The record runs from 721 B.C. to the 14th year of Duke Ai, when Confucius's work ends, and is supplemented by his disciples up to the time of his death, 16th year of Duke Ai (478 B.C.). Even Chinese scholars admit that the record is not impartial, and is guilty of concealing the truth. An unfortunate cloud thus rests on the character of its author. The best known commentary on the *Ch'un Ch'iu* is the *Tso Chuan*, which supplements it in a lively style and carries the record to 467 B.C., with one entry of a slightly later date.

2. The 'Four Books.'—(1) *Lun Yü*, '*Analects.*'—These were probably compiled by Confucian scholars of the second generation. Conversations with Confucius and disconnected sayings of his, mostly quite brief, form the staple of the work; but bk. 19 contains sayings of disciples only, and these occur also in other books. The main themes are ethics and government. In spite of the general failure even to seek after righteousness, it is maintained that human nature is made for virtue, which is a life-long task. For the attaining of virtue there is sufficient strength, if only it is exerted. Hence the importance of moral culture, though some may be incapable of it. The ideal man (Chun Tzŭ) is depicted, and such topics as filial piety, friendship, and perfect virtue are discussed. 'Reciprocity'—not to do to others what one would not have done to oneself—is the highest moral rule. There is intentional reticence on extramundane matters. In politics the moral ends of government are emphasized, as is also the influence of a virtuous ruler over his subjects. Bk. 10 contains many particulars as to Confucius's deportment and habits. More important are the scattered estimates of Confucius by himself.

(2) *Ta Hsüeh*, '*The Great Learning,*' is so called with reference either to the importance of its matter or to the maturer age of its students. The text appears to be fragmentary. In one recension it forms a section of the *Li Ki*; but as usually printed it is arranged by Chu Hsi, though without authority, into text by Confucius and comment by Tsêng Tzŭ. The book professes to trace the development of morality from investigation of things, through extension of knowledge, sincerity of the thoughts, and rectification of the heart, up to cultivation of the person (which is the central idea); and then on to regulation of the family and tranquillizing of the empire. The work, though not without some excellent moral ideas, falls far short of its promise.

(3) *Chung Yung*, '*The Doctrine of the Mean*' (probably rather '*Equilibrium and Harmony*'), is ascribed to K'ung Chi, grandson of Confucius, commonly known as Tzŭ Ssŭ. This treatise, like the *Ta Hsüeh*, forms a section of the *Li Ki* Human nature, as given by heaven, is the sourc of morality. In its original state it is 'equilibrium'; as developed into right action it is 'harmony.' The beginnings of this development lie at hand in ordinary duties and virtues, particularly in 'reciprocity,' which is here developed positively (=the Golden Rule; cf. *ERE* vi. 311^b). Such development of nature is exhibited in the sages. When it is so developed that fact and ideal coalesce, we have 'sincerity.' Some have this sincerity by innate endowment; some attain to it by moral instruction. It is the *summum bonum*, and has a transforming influence on things and men. Confucius is eulogized extravagantly, though perhaps not precisely identified with the ideal man who is the equal of heaven.

(4) *Mencius* (371–288 B.C.).—Seven books of his teaching remain, which are credibly ascribed to Mencius himself in collaboration with his disciples. The main topics are ethics and politics Human nature is made for righteousness. This original constitution is the child-heart which good

men preserve. Mencius maintains the disinterested nature of the affections, and asserts as according to nature the subordination of the passions to moral control. Nature in ordinary men and in the sages is one and the same, but for its development ceaseless effort is required. The 'passion nature' is not to be suppressed but disciplined. If nature does not evince its goodness, it is only as a hill constantly grazed on appears bare of verdure. Untoward circumstances should be regarded as divine discipline. Repentance so purges a man that he may even worship God. Mencius's views on politics are mostly developed in conversation with contemporary rulers, with whom he uses, on the whole, an admirable frankness. Government should be benevolent and righteous. Such a government inevitably prospers. Its main concerns are agriculture and education. Above all, the people, who are of the first importance in a State, must have a stable livelihood. If a monarch be utterly unworthy, it is not rebellion to depose him; but this must be done in accordance with the decree of heaven revealing itself in the popular mind. Mencius acutely criticizes the heretical views of his time. In IV. ii. 26 he recommends observation of phenomena as the source of knowledge. His style is lively, the illustrations abundant and mostly apt, and the dialectic keen. He has popularized and given a tone of his own to the doctrines of Confucius, to which his work is the most interesting approach.

LITERATURE.—For the English student the most accessible works are J. Legge's ed. of the *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1861–72, and the volumes of his translations in *SBE* iii.^{2} [1899], xvi. [1882], xxvii. [1885], xxviii. [1885]. In W. A. P. Martin, *Hanlin Papers*, 2nd ser., Shanghai, 1894, there is a chapter on 'Chinese Ideas on the Inspiration of their Sacred Books.' For a more general view of Chinese literature one may refer to A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, London, 1867; H. A. Giles, *A History of Chinese Literature*, do. 1901; W. Grube, *Gesch. des chines. Litteratur*^{2}, Leipzig, 1909.

P. J. MACLAGAN.

LITERATURE (Dravidian).—Dravidian literature is the record of the best of the thought of those peoples of S. India who speak languages designated by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, in the 7th cent. of our era, as Āndhra Drāviḍa. The four principal literary Dravidian languages are now Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, and Malayālam. According to the Census Report of 1911, Telugu is spoken by 23½ millions of people, Tamil by a little over 19 millions, Kanarese by 10½ millions, and Malayālam by 6¾ millions. That the Sanskrit-speaking Aryans were acquainted with S. India at an early period is evident from the mention of the Āndhras by the grammarian Pāṇini (probably *c.* 350 B.C.), but Aryan immigration into the South came at so late a period that the southern Dravidian languages retained, with but few exceptions, their own characteristic grammatical structure. Their vocabulary was, however, enlarged by the inclusion of Sanskrit technical terms and words or their corruptions. So widely did this Aryan influence on the literature of the South spread in course of time that J. Vinson says:

> 'Not one Telugu, Kanarese, or Tamil book now in existence is independent of Sanskrit. . . . Writing was not applied to vernacular languages before the 4th century. It was the Aryan Brāhmans or Jains or Buddhists who first having learned the vernaculars used them for literary purposes and then taught the natives to write and compose works. The preliminary or Jain period must have lasted two or three centuries' (*Siddhānta Dīpika*, August 1908).

The southern inscriptions of Aśoka show that writing must have been familiar to the people by the 3rd cent. B.C. The present southern scripts are, however, all derived from the Āndhra alphabets of about the 4th cent. of our era. Telugu and Kanarese alphabets date from the 5th cent., while the oldest Tamil cursive writing comes from the 7th century. Previous to any writing or written records the folk-songs of the people, their moral aphorisms as well as their lyric outbursts of love and war, set as they were to music, were handed down by memory from generation to generation. P. Sundaram Pillai states that more than 19,000 lines of the hymns of the early poet Sambandhar, not later in date than the 7th cent., are still extant:

> 'Most of them appear to have been uttered impromptu, and all of them being lyrical are set to music. The original tunes are now mostly forgotten. They were lost in the later airs introduced by Aryan musicians of the north' (*Some Milestones in the History of Tamil Literature*, p. 5).

The intruding Aryan influence so blended with the indigenous Dravidian element that the Aryan lute (*vīṇā*) completely ousted the primitive Dravidian musical instrument (*yāl*), no reliable description of which remains on record. Similarly, the old grammars and the grammars of the Pāṇinian and Āndhra school of grammarians have been superseded by the now standard authority for all classic compositions, the *Nan Nūl*, composed by a southern Jain grammarian, Pavanandi, about the beginning of the 13th century. The *Nan Nūl* lays down the rule that 'to reject the old and obsolete usage and to adopt new and modern usage is not an error but a yielding to the necessities of time and circumstance' (G. U. Pope, *Third Tamil Grammar*, Madras, 1859, Rule 462, 'Nan Nūl'). Notwithstanding this salutary rule, Dravidian prose and poetry are considered worthy of commendation by the learned only when they are as different from the spoken vernaculars as Anglo-Saxon is from modern English. The more they hold themselves aloof from the colloquial language of the time and people, and the more they are swathed in archaisms, the more they merit the praise of *paṇḍits.* The earliest, and therefore the purest, Dravidian literature, as freest from Aryan influences, lies enshrined in works dating from about the 2nd cent. of our era. Collections known as the *Ten Classical Poems* are assigned to a very early date; these were succeeded by *Eight Compilations* of various authors. Eighteen shorter stanzas, including the moral aphorisms of the *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar, followed, and the four hundred quatrains of the *Nālaḍiyār*, said to have been composed by a Jain poet of about the 8th century. The latter quatrains show strong Aryan influences, dealing as they do with the ordinary topics of Indian metaphysics—the pain of existence, transmigration of the soul, and release therefrom. Some of the quatrains are mere translations from such Sanskrit epics as the *Mahābhārata*. Pope, who translated and annotated the *Nālaḍiyār* in a scholarly edition, described it as 'The Bible of the Cultivators of the Soil.' Its style, however, is so classical that no cultivator of the soil could understand the meaning of the verses unless explained to him in the language that he is accustomed to speak. The moral epigrams of the *Kural* and *Nālaḍiyār*, in couplets and quatrains, have been acclaimed as the highest achievements of Dravidian literature. Pope (*Kural*, p. xiv) truly says of the *Kural* (and the same applies to the *Nālaḍiyār*) that a line 'is often little else than a string of crude forms artfully fitted together.' Style such as this, framed on Sanskrit corrupt compounds, can hardly claim the title of literature, however epigrammatic or moral the underlying and hidden thought may be. The *Nālaḍiyār* is, nevertheless, well suited to fill its present rôle as a literary puzzle for Tamil students at the Madras University, or for Honours candidates at other Universities.

To the same period, from the 2nd cent. to the 10th cent., are ascribed the chief versified Tamil romances—the *Maṇi Mekhalai*, the *Śilapp'adhikāram*, and the most perfectly constructed and the most untranslatable, on account of its open erotic sentiment, of all Tamil romances, the

Jīvakachintamaṇi. These poems, amid a surrounding of love and romance, give a vivid view of early Jain and Buddhist life in S. India and reliable accounts of the doctrines of the Jain and Buddhist faiths. They still await translation into English to make them available for historical purposes. No translation could possibly convey the peculiar charm of the stately and leisured style of the original, its melodious and harmonic sequences of sound, and the subtlety of its quaint and involved conceits of metaphor. J. Vinson (*Manuel de la langue tamoule*, p. xlv) has given a valuable and balanced judgment respecting the comparative value of the best of Dravidian literature.

> 'Malgré tout, cependant, la littérature tamoule est secondaire. A part peut-être les recueils de sentences morales, il n'est pas un poème de quelque importance dont une traduction complète puisse être lue sans fatigue par des Européens. Ses descriptions y sont diffuses, monotones, pleines de mauvais goût et d'exaggérations choquantes, conformes d'ailleurs à un type uniforme donné. Ses poèmes d'amour ne sont pas plus variés, et les poèmes de guerre se ressemblent tous; ce sont proprement des jeux d'esprit, des amplifications de rhétorique sur une formule générale et sur un canevas minutieusement réglé. L'invention et l'imagination ne peuvent s'y exercer que sur les détails, sur les expressions, sur la mesure, sur la forme extérieure en un mot.'

This Aryan influence on the religious literature (see DRAVIDIANS [South India]) and even on the indigenous folk-songs of the people has had the result that without a previous knowledge of Sanskrit much is almost unintelligible. According to C. E. Gover (*Folk-Songs of Southern India*, p. 14), who gathered together folk-songs from the varied peoples of S. India,

> 'the foreign element progressed till almost the whole written literature of the country became Brahmanic. Indigenous poetry fell into undeserved contempt or, where that was not possible, was edited so unscrupulously that the original was hidden under a load of corruption.'

This Aryan influence so permeated the whole spirit and vitality of indigenous literature that Appakavi, a grammarian of the 17th cent., contemptuously declared that Telugu adaptations from the Sanskrit were merely for the use of women and Śūdras. The distinguished Dravidian scholar, G. V. Rāmamūrti, who quotes the above in his *Memorandum on Modern Telugu* (Madras, 1913, p. 3), further states that, should a Brāhman read the *Rāmāyaṇa* for religious merit, he reads the Sanskrit original and not a Telugu adaptation. The same writer, who is an ardent advocate for a reformed pure Dravidian literature freed from Sanskrit corruptions, states only the truth when he says:

> 'A Sanskrit original, whether it is the Rāmāyaṇa or Mahābhārata, is much simpler in style and language than a translation of it' (*op. cit.* p. 6).

Nevertheless, the simple peasant values these Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, or Malayālam imitations of, or adaptations from, the Sanskrit poems, epics, and *purāṇas.* Read as they are by professional reciters under the village tree during the long star-lit evenings, they hold the simple folk in spellbound wonder and awe as they listen to a running translation and commentary in the current vernacular. They teach the village folk the simple story of life, of the rewards and joys of those who had faith in the gods and thereby gained salvation through the grace of the deity, of the triumph of good over evil, and, above all, the loved stories of wifely devotion and patient suffering under unmerited calamities.

LITERATURE.—R. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*², London, 1875; C. E. Gover, *The Folk-Songs of Southern India*, do. 1872; V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years ago*, Madras, 1904; G. U. Pope, trr. of *Kural*, London, 1886, *Nāladiyār*, Oxford, 1893, *Tiru Vāchakam*, do. 1900; M. Śēshagiri Śāstri, *Essay in Tamil Literature*, Madras, 1897; P. Sundaram Pillai, *Some Milestones in the History of Tamil Literature*, do. 1895; S. C. Chitty, *The Tamil Plutarch*, Jaffna, 1859.

R. W. FRAZER.

LITERATURE (Egyptian).—The great bulk of extant Egyptian sacred literature may be grouped in three divisions: (1) the Pyramid Texts; (2) the *Book of the Dead,* with its related group of books, the *Book of Am Duat* (or of knowing that which is in the under world), the *Book of Breathings*, the *Book of Gates*, etc.; and (3) miscellaneous writings, embracing a number of hymns to various gods, Ra, Osiris, Hāpi, Amen, such writings as the *Lamentations*, and the *Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys* and the *Litanies of Seker*, and a number of legends concerning the gods and their relations to mankind.

1. The Pyramid Texts.—These constitute by far the most important body of Egyptian sacred writings known to us, not only because they exhibit the religious beliefs of the nation at a very early period in its history, but also because the remains of primitive traditions embedded in them enable some of the Egyptian beliefs to be traced back even to pre-historic times, and because the development manifest in the later versions of them shows how gradual but important changes were happening in Egyptian religious belief within a definite period.

The great pyramids of the IVth dyn. kings have no interior inscriptions, and it was supposed that this was true of all other pyramids also, until in 1880 Mariette's workmen at Saqqarah managed to effect an entrance to the pyramid of Pepy I. of the VIth dyn., and later on to that of Merenra of the same line, and found that both contained lengthy hieroglyphic inscriptions, hewn in the stone and coloured green. Eventually inscriptions were found in five pyramids, of which the oldest is that of Unas of the Vth dyn., and the others are those of Teta, Pepy I., Merenra, and Pepy II., all of the VIth dynasty. The inscriptions thus cover a period of about 150 years, from 2625 to 2475 B.C., or, on Petrie's Sinai dating, from about 4210 B.C. onwards. Immediately after their discovery the texts were edited by Maspero, and the attention devoted to them has been steadily increasing. The best edition at present available is that of Sethe (*Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, Leipzig, 1908–10).

These texts are, then, the oldest body of religious literature extant in the world, and a great deal of the material embodied in them carries us back to very much earlier times than their own sufficiently early date, referring to primitive customs and conditions of life which had long been extinct by the time of the Vth and VIth dynasties. The later versions show traces of editing, which has been undertaken in order to meet the new developments of religious thought arising in a period of 150 years. Broadly speaking, the object of these writings is to secure blessedness in the after life to the king on the walls of whose tomb they are inscribed; for there is as yet no trace of any idea that the immortality postulated for the Pharaoh may be also the property of the common people. The whole contents of the texts are directed towards the one purpose of securing entrance to the abodes of bliss for the dead king, and unification with the gods when his entrance is secured. These contents fall under the following divisions: (1) funerary ritual and ritual of mortuary offerings, (2) magical charms, (3) ancient ritual of worship, (4) ancient hymns, (5) fragments of ancient myths, and (6) prayers on behalf of the dead king.

The material is arranged in sections, each of which is headed by the words 'Utter (or recite) the words.' Of these sections the pyramid of Unas contains 228, and the other pyramids make up the number to 714. The amount of material is thus considerable, as may be judged from the fact that in Sethe's edition it fills two quarto volumes with over 1000 pages of text. It is arranged in the most haphazard manner possible, the scribes responsible for the different versions having made (as usual in Egyptian religious writings) not the slightest attempt to group together the various types of matter enumerated above. The hymns scattered through the collection already exhibit a familiar poetical arrangement, in the form of couplets showing parallelism in the ordering of words and thoughts; and the texts are not devoid of a certain wild and rude power of imagination which entitles them to rank as literature. Thus, when the dead king rises to the vault of the heavens,

'Clouds darken the sky,
The Stars rain down,
The Bows [a constellation] stagger,
The bones of the hell-hounds tremble,
The gatekeepers are silent
When they see king Unas
Dawning as a soul.'

And there is some power of fancy in the passage which pictures the king, after he has passed the lily-lake and drawn near to the gates of heaven, being challenged by voice after voice, out of the world of the dead, 'Whence comest thou, son of my father?' until, at last, when answer has been duly made to all the challengers, they fall silent, and the dead Pharaoh enters unopposed upon his heavenly kingdom.

The life of blessedness which the Pyramid Texts contemplate has already ceased to be that which we may take to be the earliest form of the Egyptian conception of the life after death—that of sojourn at and about the tomb. The deceased king's realm is in the sky, and, moreover, in the east of the sky—this in absolute contradiction to later belief, which always placed the abode of the blessed dead in the west. In the sky the king may develop either of two destinies: he may become a star, or he may be associated with Ra, the sun-god, finally becoming identified with him. These two destinies no doubt represent two different strata of earlier belief, which have been slumped together according to the regular Egyptian custom of associating incompatibles without attempting to reconcile them.

The earliest form of belief represented in the texts is solar; the deceased is constantly identified with Ra, and the Osirian belief is referred to in terms which show that it was held to be incompatible with, or even hostile to, the solar form. Certain prayers are designed to protect the pyramid and its temple against the intrusion of Osiris; and other passages show that 'to the devotee of the Solar faith, Osiris once represented the realm and the dominion of death, to which the follower of Re was not delivered up' (Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 140). Gradually, however, and, as the texts show, even within the Pyramid Age, the Osirian faith began to assert its power and to appropriate part of the place which the solar religion had formerly occupied. In doing so the Osirian conception of the life after death, originally one of an under world, becomes more or less solarized, and the two faiths interpenetrate to some extent; but, on the whole, the Pyramid Texts present us with the picture of the gradual assertion of superiority on the part of the Osirian faith over the earlier solar creed. It would appear that in this transformation we witness the triumph of popular over State religion, as it is evident that, to start with, the solar faith was the State theology, while the cult of Osiris was always a popular form of religion.

On the whole, there is no more interesting body of religious literature in the world than this, the most ancient of all, and its interest is due, not to its own intrinsic value alone, but also to the fact that it takes us nearer than any other religious writing to the primitive ideas of mankind as to the modes of life in the world after death. Passages such as those which describe how the dead king in the other world lassoes and disembowels the gods, cooking them in his kettle, and eating them,

'Their great ones for his morning meal,
Their middle-sized ones for his evening meal,
Their little ones for his night meal,'

so that 'their magic is in his belly,' have their own value as literature for the wild power and vigour of imagination which they reveal; but they are still more valuable as survivals of a period when the Egyptian, whom we have never seen save in the decent, ordered civilization of the dynastic period, was actually an unregenerate savage, with beliefs on the same intellectual level as those of other uncivilized races.

2. The Book of the Dead.—Next in importance to the Pyramid Texts comes the collection of sacred writings which has for long been regarded as representative of Egyptian religious literature, and is most widely known by the totally erroneous title of *The Book of the Dead*. The only justification for the use of this title is that the texts more or less regularly used in the collection were, like the Pyramid Texts, entirely designed for the advantage of deceased persons in the other world. The Egyptians themselves called the collection 'The Chapters of Pert em Ḥru,' or 'The Coming Forth by Day' (or 'Ascending by Day'), a title whose significance is somewhat obscure, though the contents of the chapters suggest that it may have something to do with the powers which the knowledge of them conferred upon the deceased to go in and out from his tomb, and to live an unfettered life in the other world. Concerning the early history of the *Book of the Dead* we have no certain information. In fact, there is practically no literature extant from the period between the VIth and the XIth dyn. to show the development of religious thought. In the middle kingdom, however, under the XIth and XIIth dynasties, there begins to appear a series of texts which are regarded by some as an early recension of the *Book of the Dead*. These texts are written no longer on the walls of tombs, but on the inner surface of the cedar coffins in which the well-to-do people of the period are buried. They are generally written in black ink, and are ornamented with coloured borders representing the usual funerary offerings to the deceased. About one-half of the material thus preserved is taken from the Pyramid Texts, the other half consisting of material which is met with later in the genuine *Book of the Dead*; so that, really, the inscriptions of this period occupy a middle position between the old texts, whose object was the service of the king alone, and the later book, which was a popular compilation intended for the use of all and sundry. It might be useful, therefore, to distinguish these Middle Kingdom texts by some such title as that of 'Coffin Texts,' which Breasted employs to denote them. The writing of these texts is marked by the same carelessness and inaccuracy which characterize the later versions of the *Book of the Dead*. The scribe's sole object was to cover the prescribed surfaces as rapidly as possible; it was never expected that his work would be seen again, and consequently he took the least possible trouble with it. In one instance the same chapter is repeated five times over in a single coffin. Apparently the thought that by his carelessness he might be prejudicing the safety of his patron in the other world did not worry the Egyptian scribe.

The Coffin Texts are intermediate in character, as in time, between the Pyramid Texts and the *Book of the Dead*. The old solar ideas of the Pyramid Texts are still present; but the Osirianizing process, already begun, has been carried a stage further, and now we have indications of the intrusion of the essentially Osirian idea of an under world into the old solar idea of a celestial heaven. Breasted epigrammatically sums up the dip of the balance in the Coffin Texts towards the Osirian side by the remark that in the Pyramid Texts Osiris was lifted skyward, while in the Coffin Texts Ra is dragged earthward (p. 277). The idea of a Western Elysium, in contradistinction to the solar idea of an Eastern one, begins to appear, and the character of the Elysium begins to approximate to that of the Sekhet Aaru, 'Field of Bulrushes,' as found in the *Book of the Dead.* Thus one of the chapters of the Coffin Texts is concerned with 'Building a House for a Man in the Nether World, digging a Pool, and planting Fruit trees.' Already the Coffin Texts exhibit instances of the desire, which reaches full development later, of furnishing the deceased with words of power to enable him to assume various transformations. Various texts enable him to transform himself into 'the blazing eye of Horus,' into an '*ekhet*-bird,' or into 'the servant at the table of Hathor'; and along with this development comes another which reaches an extraordinary pitch in the *Book of the Dead*—that of charms to protect the deceased against the dangers of the under world. Thus there are charms for 'preventing the head of a man from being taken from him,' for repulsing serpents and crocodiles, for preventing a man from being obliged to walk head downwards, and so forth. This kind of rubbish, towards which the Egyptian mind had an extraordinary inclination, increases steadily in amount until the really valuable morality of the *Book of the Dead* is almost choked under its senseless bulk.

The *Book of the Dead,* properly so called, makes its appearance with the New Empire in the 16th and following centuries B.C., under the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties. The change from inscriptions on tomb-walls to inscriptions on the inner surfaces of coffins is now followed by a further change: the texts which form the new compilation for the use of the dead are now written on rolls of papyrus, and placed in the coffin. The various versions extant from the XVIIIth to the XXIInd dyn. have mainly been derived from tombs near Thebes, and therefore the *Book of the Dead* of this period is known as the Theban Recension. It cannot be too clearly understood that there never was a standard text, or anything even remotely approaching to such a thing. Probably no two papyri agree as to the number of chapters, or the contents of them, and the divergencies are extraordinarily great. The size and content of the so-called *Book of the Dead* which was buried with any particular man depended entirely upon the power or the will of his friends to purchase a satisfactory copy for him or the reverse. The poor man has a meagre roll a few feet in length, containing a pitiful selection of a few of the more important chapters; the rich man may have a sumptuous version from 60 to 100 ft. in length and containing anything up to 120 or 130 chapters. In the XVIIIth dyn. the scribes began to ornament the text with designs in black outline, known as vignettes. Little by little the practice developed, and in the XIXth dyn. the illustrated papyrus had become the rule. The illustrations are often beautiful pieces of illumination, and sometimes attention has been given to them at the expense of the text.

In the most notable papyri of the XXIst dyn. the development of the artistic work continues at the expense of the text, which has become very corrupt, and also begins to contain passages which are not found in the older versions. This tendency is accentuated in the XXIInd dyn. papyri, which contain sections that, strictly speaking, have no connexion with the *Book of the Dead.* And from this time onwards there is a falling off in the versions, until a time is reached when no copies of the book seem to have been written. This period coincides with the decline of the power of the priests of Amen-Rā.

In the XXVIth dyn., however, the book takes a new lease of life. It now appears to have been reduced to some sort of order, to have been, in fact, edited and systematized. The result of this editing is the Saïte Recension. It contains four chapters which have no counterparts in the earlier versions.

In the Ptolemaic period we have a version which is best represented by the Turin Papyrus, from which Lepsius prepared his well-known edition. It is the longest extant collection of texts, containing nominally 165 chapters—some of them, however, are really vignettes, and others duplicates, the number of actual chapters being 153.

Meanwhile a number of short religious works had been compiled, containing what at this period was deemed to be most essential in the old versions of the book, and these are more commonly found in the end of the Ptolemaic period than the full version. These are known as the *Shai-en-Sensen* ('Book of Breathings'); they contain no hymns, no addresses to the gods—nothing, in fact, which does not directly refer to the life of the deceased in the world beyond. They may be regarded as an epitome of all that the Egyptian hoped to obtain in the spirit world.

In the Roman period there are still found small rolls of papyrus inscribed with statements referring to the happiness of the deceased in the next world; and even in the early centuries of the Christian era the knowledge and use of the book were not quite extinct, for selections from it are found on coffins as late as the 2nd century.

If we take into consideration the fragmentary versions in use as late as the 2nd cent. A.D., the actually extant documents of Egyptian religion, the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, and the *Book of the Dead,* cover a period of practically 3000 years on the most limited system of dating; and, allowing for the fact that even in the earliest texts theological ideas are to a great extent developed and stereotyped, we shall probably not exceed reasonable limits in saying that these documents represent the theological development of at least 5000 years. Petrie's system of dating would, of course, considerably extend this period.

The object of the *Book of the Dead* was simply and solely to secure for deceased persons eternal life and all the advantages which the Egyptian considered desirable in the world beyond the grave (cf. art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD [Egyptian]). There are chapters the knowledge of which was intended to preserve the body from decay or the ravages of certain animals—*e.g.,* ch. xxvi., 'Of driving away Apshait' (the beetle or cockroach), and ch. xlv., 'Of not suffering corruption in the under world'; chapters providing charms against the serpent Apepi, the serpent Rerek, and the crocodile that comes to take away the charm from the deceased; chapters 'Of not letting a man be burnt or scalded in the under world,' and 'Of not eating filth or drinking filthy water in the under world,' and so forth.

Generally speaking, it may be said of these chapters, and of many others of similar import, that they are somewhat melancholy reading. Allowance has, of course, to be made for the fact that they are full of allusions to a mythology the knowledge of which has almost absolutely perished, and that these allusions may have been full of signification to the Egyptian, though they are meaningless to us. It seems, however, that very early the sense of a number of the references had already been lost, as there are several chapters which contain glosses on the various allusions, and these glosses do not always agree. Very often the chapters do not rise above the level of mere vulgar incantation. Sometimes they consist simply of an endless series of names supposed to have magical power; sometimes they are merely ludicrous—*e.g.*, ch. xxxiii., 'Of repulsing serpents in the under world':

> 'Hail, thou serpent Rerek, advance not hither! Behold Seb and Shu. Stand still now, and thou shalt eat the rat which is an abominable thing unto Rā, and thou shalt crunch the bones of a filthy cat.'

The most important chapter of the book is cxxv., which embodies the Egyptian conception of the judgment of the dead. It consists of three parts: the introduction, the famous 'Negative Confession,' and a concluding text, and is fully discussed in artt. CONFESSION (Egyptian), and ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian).

The fundamental religious idea of the Egyptian mind was that of immortality, and it is to the Pyramid Texts and the *Book of the Dead* that we owe our knowledge of the extraordinary development which this idea had reached in Egypt at the earliest historical period, of the wonderful persistency with which it was maintained and worked out into almost endless detail, and, most of all, of the strange resemblances which the Egyptian conception of resurrection and immortal life presents to the Christian conception. The *Book of the Dead* is not to be taken as in any sense a complete statement of Egyptian belief—a thing which as yet is conspicuously lacking. The name sometimes given to it, 'The Egyptian Bible,' is a total misnomer. But in the working out of its central theme it affords unquestionable evidence of the fact that the conception of immortality and resurrection held by the ancient Egyptian was such as no other religious system of antiquity ever approached.

Little is told us of whether any intercourse was expected in the other world with the souls of those who had been known on earth, but chs. lii., cx., and clxxxix. at least indicate that the deceased looked forward to recognizing and being protected by the spirits of his father and mother.

The other sacred books related to the *Book of the Dead* may be briefly dismissed.

The *Book of the Overthrowing of Apepi* contains fifteen chapters treating of the various methods of destroying this enemy of souls in the under world. Its material is largely borrowed from the *Book of the Dead* (Papyrus of Nesi-Amsu, British Museum).

The *Book of Knowing that which is in the Duat* contains a description of the twelve parts of the under world through which the bark of the sun journeyed during the hours of night. It tells the names of these divisions, of the gates and gods belonging to each, and states the advantages to be derived from a knowledge of these names.

The *Book of Breathings* is largely a compilation from the *Book of the Dead*, and in the later periods was buried with the dead, being placed under the left arm, near the heart.

3. Miscellaneous writings.—Under this heading are to be included numerous hymns of Rā, Osiris, Hāpi, Ptah, and other gods (cf. art. HYMNS [Egyptian]); the *Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys*; the *Litanies of Seker*; the *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys*, and other similar works.

The *Festival Songs* and *Lamentations* are poems dealing with the Osirian myth, and supposed to be recited by the two goddesses with a view to effecting the resurrection of the dead Osiris. The ancient *Legends of the Gods* and their relations to mankind are found in inscriptions in several tombs (notably in the tomb of Seti I.) and in various papyri, and have been frequently translated.

In addition there are certain books which do not strictly come under the heading of 'sacred,' but have yet a semi-religious character. Among them may be mentioned the *Precepts of Ptah-hetep*, *of Gemnikai*, *of Ani*, and *of Khensu-hetep*, writings essentially of the same character as the book of Proverbs, while the *Lay of the Harper* (or *Song of King Antef*) may be compared with Ecclesiastes, and a remarkable comment on the social and moral condition of the land in the Middle Kingdom is found in the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*.

LITERATURE.—i. *PYRAMID TEXTS.*—Versions: G. Maspero, *Les Inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqarah*, Paris, 1894; K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, Leipzig, 1908–10. Examples of the texts are given by E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Religion*, London, 1908, and *Literature of the Egyptians*, do. 1914. The best summary of their contents and appreciation of their importance is found in J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, do. 1912.

ii. *THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.*—Versions: Coffin Texts, P. Lacau, 'Textes religieux,' *RTr* xxvi. [1904]–xxvii. [1905], xxviii. [1906]–xxxiii. [1911]; R. Lepsius, *Aelteste Texte des Todtenbuchs*, Berlin, 1867; S. Birch, *Egyptian Texts of the Earliest Period from the Coffin of Amamu*, London, 1886; Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, do. 1911.

BOOK OF THE DEAD PROPER.—Versions: E. Naville, *Das ägyp. Todtenbuch*, Berlin, 1886; Lepsius, *Turin Papyrus*, Leipzig, 1842; Birch, tr. of the Turin Papyrus in C. C. J. Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, Eng. tr., v., London, 1867; Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, do. 1898 (contains also a translation of the *Book of Breathings*); Maspero, hieroglyphic transcript with Fr. tr. of abridged version of the *Book of the Dead*, in *Les Momies royales de Déir-el-Bahari*, Paris, 1886.

iii. *MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS.*—For hymns, etc., cf. Literature in art. HYMNS (Egyptian). A good popular rendering of the *Legends of the Gods* is found in M. A. Murray, *Ancient Egyptian Legends*, London, 1913. The *Admonitions of Ipuwer* have been rendered by A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909.

iv. *GENERAL REFERENCES.*—A. Erman, *Handbook of Egyp. Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1907; A. Wiedemann, *Rel. of the Anc. Egyptians*, Eng. tr., do. 1897; P. Le Page Renouf, *Origin and Growth of Rel. of Anc. Egypt*^{4} (*HL*), do. 1897; G. Steindorff, *Rel. of the Anc. Egyptians*, Eng. tr., do. 1905; Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, Eng. tr., do. 1909; G. A. Reisner, *The Egyptian Conception of Immortality*, do. 1912; A. H. Sayce, *The Rel. of Anc. Egypt*^{2}, Edinburgh, 1913.

J. BAIKIE.

LITERATURE (Indian Vernacular).—The literature of the modern vernaculars of India may be divided into two main classes—that written under Musalmān, and that written under Hindu, influence. The former dates from the Mughul conquest, and was composed mainly in the Urdū form of Hindōstānī. Up to the introduction of printing at the beginning of the 19th cent. it was nearly all in verse and was confessedly written on Persian models and in Persian metres. The earliest works date from the 16th cent. A.D., but the standard of composition was set by Walī of Aurangābād in the Deccan, who flourished at the end of the 17th cent., and who is known as 'the Father of *Reḵhta*,' *Reḵhta* being the technical name for the form of Hindōstānī used by these poets. From the Deccan the taste for this literature spread to Delhi, where Walī found numerous successors, and thence to Lucknow. The most celebrated of the Delhi poets were Rafīʻu's-Saudā, best known for his satires, and Mīr Taqī, famed for the purity of the language in which his *Ghazals* and *Mathnavīs* were expressed. Both these flourished in the 18th century. Among the Lucknow poets the most celebrated was Mīr Ḥasan (18th cent.). Hindōstānī prose hardly existed as literature till the foundation of the College of Fort William in Calcutta at the commencement of the 19th century. It began with the preparation of text-books for students at the College, and since then has had a prosperous existence. It has been specially successful in the department of fiction. The novels of such authors as Ratan Nāth Sarshār and ʻAbdu'l Ḥalīm Sharar are worthy of a wider circle of readers than that to which they are condemned by the language in which they are written.

Although the above literature grew up under Musalmān auspices, its language has been successfully adopted by many educated Hindus, some of whom are looked upon at the present day as masters of an exceptionally pure style.

The beginnings of Hindu literature in the modern vernaculars were religious. In the North, up to about the 16th cent. A.D., the language of religion was Sanskrit, but, in the South, vernaculars were employed at a much earlier period. There is a great collection of Saivite texts in Tamil, said to go back to the 2nd or 3rd century. The more important of them are described in the art. DRAVIDIANS (South India). To these can be added a long list of Vaiṣṇavite works in the same language dating from before the time of Rāmānuja (12th cent.). The most noteworthy of these are referred to by A. Govindāchārya in two papers in the *JRAS* (1910, p. 565 ff., and 1911, p. 935 ff.). The Dravidian doctors employed both Sanskrit and Tamil for their writings. As a rule, it may be said that the Vaḍagalais, or Northern Tamils, wrote in Sanskrit, while the Teṅgalais, or Southerners, wrote in Tamil (cf. Govindāchārya, in *JRAS*, 1912, p. 714).

In Northern India vernacular religious literature is of enormous extent and, considered merely as literature, of great merit. It owes its origin to the spread of the Vaiṣṇavite Bhakti-Mārga under Rāmānanda and his followers (see art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA, vol. ii. p. 539 ff., esp. 546). All the great writers of this early period belonged to humble ranks of life, and were not Sanskrit scholars. Each therefore wrote in his own vernacular.

> 'The greatest of all the moderns, Tulsī Dās, although a Brāhman by caste, was abandoned by his parents at birth, and was picked up and educated by a wandering ascetic. Kabīr was a weaver, and Dādū a humble cotton-carder. Nāmdēv, the founder of Marāṭhā poetry, was a tailor, and his most famous successor, Tukārām, a struggling Śūdra shopkeeper. Tiruvalluvar, the brightest star in the South Indian firmament, was a Pariah, the lowest of the low; and Vēmana, the most admired of Telugu writers, was an untaught peasant.'[1]

In Northern India this *bhakti*-literature falls into two groups—that devoted to Rāmachandra, and that devoted to Kṛṣṇa (Krishna). In both cases it includes not only devotional works, but all branches of literature ancillary thereto.

In the art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA (vol. ii. p. 543) it has been pointed out that the foundation of the religion is the belief in the fatherhood of God. This is more especially true as regards that literature in which Rāmachandra is regarded as the most perfect presentation of the Deity, and on this idea is based some of the most lofty poetry that India, ancient or modern, has produced. In the Ganges valley, Kabīr (15th cent.) preached the doctrine in wise and pithy sayings that are still household words in Hindōstān. An offshoot from his teaching was the Sikh religion, whose sacred book, the *Ādi Granth*, is a collection of hymns by various authors formed by degrees in the course of the 16th century (see artt. GRANTH, SIKHS). Both Kabīr and Nānak (the founder of Sikhism) were more or less sectarian in their teaching. A greater man than either, but the founder of no sect, was the famous poet Tulsī Dās (16th–17th cent.), the author of the religious epic entitled the *Rāma-charita-mānasa*, or 'Lake of the Gestes of Rāma,' and of at least eleven other important works. His influence down to the present day over the people of Hindōstān cannot be overrated. Tulsī Dās was a native of Awadh (Oudh), and this country was the scene of Rāmachandra's early life and of his latest years. The poet, therefore, wrote in the Awadhī dialect of Eastern Hindī, and this form of speech has ever since, in the Ganges valley, been the only one employed for celebrating the deeds of Rāmachandra, and, indeed, for epic poetry of every description.

In Hindōstān proper, numerous followers and imitators of Tulsī Dās have narrated the story of Rāmachandra, and the same subject has also, though to a less extent, attracted writers in other parts of India. In Bengali there is the 16th cent. *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kīrttibās Ojhā, which is still recited at village festivals. In Marāṭhī, the learned Mōrōpant wrote several poems dealing with Rāma, but the favourite deity of this language is Kṛṣṇa. In the south of India we have a Tamil *Rāmāyaṇa* written by Kamban in the 11th cent., a Malayālam *Rāma-charita* of the 13th or 14th cent., and a Kanarese *Rāmāyaṇa* by Kumāra Vālmīki, said to be one of the oldest works in that language.

The literature based on the presentation of Kṛṣṇa as the Deity differs from the Rāma-literature in one important particular. The love of God is represented, not as that of a father to his child, but as that of a man for a maid. The soul's devotion to the Deity is pictured by the self-abandonment to Kṛṣṇa of his queen Rādhā, and all the hot blood of Oriental passion is encouraged to pour forth one mighty torrent of prayer and praise to the divine Lover. The whole idea is based on sexual relations; and, though the mystics who first wrote of it did so in all purity of conscience, in later years it developed into erotic poetry of a character too gross for description.

It is natural that most of the literature of this school should take a lyric form. According to tradition, Kṛṣṇa's earlier exploits centred round the town of Mathurā, and it was from this locality that his worship in the Ganges valley spread to other parts of Northern India. Hence, just as the Rāma-literature is couched in Awadhī, so the Kṛṣṇa-literature of Hindōstān is mainly recorded in the Braj Bhākhā dialect spoken round Mathurā. Its most famous writer was Sūr Dās (16th cent.), the blind bard of Āgrā. His *Sūra-sāgara*, or 'The Ocean (of songs) of Sūr Dās,' and the epic of Tulsī Dās are considered to have exhausted between them all the possibilities of Indian poetry—no later poet could write anything original. In spite of this dictum, one later writer in Braj Bhākhā, Bihārī Lāl of Jaipur (17th cent.), composed the *Sat Saī*, or 'Seven Centuries' of verses, a collection of seven hundred masterpieces in dainty miniature painting of scenes or incidents in the life of Kṛṣṇa. Numerous other writers connected with this phase of religion followed Sūr Dās in the Ganges valley. In Bihār, to the east, he was preceded by Vidyāpati Ṭhākur (15th cent.), who, however, wrote in his own language, an old form of Bihārī. He was the first of the old master-singers of Eastern India, and was followed and imitated by Chaitanya and other religious lyric poets in Bengali. Assam, further east, and, in the west, Rājpūtānā, Kashmīr, Gujarāt, and the Marāṭhā country have all been prolific in this style of composition, the most famous writers being Mīrā Bāī, the queen poetess of Mēwāṛ (15th cent.), and Tukārām (17th cent.) the Marāṭhā. In the south of India we have the great Tamil hymnology, the *Nālāyira-prabandham*, some of the contents of which are said to date from the 12th cent., and, in Telugu, the *Bhāgavata* of Bammera Pōtarāja, which ranks as a classic. There are also several works in Kanarese.

Reference has already been made to the Śaivite literature of S. India. There is a considerable literature devoted to Śiva in the north. The best known is that of Bengal, where the worship of Durgā, the *śakti*, or energic power of Śiva, is very popular. There were numerous writers who dealt with the worship of this goddess. The most admired is probably Mukundarāma Chakravartī (17th cent.), author of the *Śrīmanta Saudāgar*, or 'Adventures of the Merchant Śrīmanta,' and the *Chaṇḍī*, a poem in praise of the goddess Durgā. Extracts from the latter have been translated into English verse by E. B. Cowell (*JASBe* lxxi. [1902], extra no.). There is also a considerable Śaivite literature in Kashmīr. This directly deals with Śiva, rather than with his *śakti*, and is more in agreement with the Śaivite writings of the South described in the art. DRAVIDIANS (S. India).

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[1] G. A. Grierson, in *IGI* ii. 415.

A few lines must be devoted to the non-religious vernacular literature of India. Of great importance are the bardic chronicles of Rājpūtānā, Gujarāt, and the Marāṭhā country. The name of the earliest and most famous of these, the *Prithīrāj Rāsau* of Chand Bardāī (12th cent.), is familiar to students of J. Tod's *Rajasthan* (London, 1829–32, frequently reprinted), in which the poem is freely quoted. A semi-historical work, the *Padumāwatī* of Malik Muḥammad, is an epic poem in Awadhī of considerable merit.

The technical study of poetics gave rise to a large literature, to a certain extent ancillary to the literature of religion. Its most famous writer in Northern India was Keśav Dās of Bundelkhaṇḍ (16th cent.), who wrote in Braj Bhākhā.

The introduction of printing into India has given an immense impetus to the writing of books. It is impossible to deal with the results of this great increase in the mass of reading matter, good and bad; it must suffice to say that, so far as Hindu literature is concerned, it has tended more and more to follow English models. The only writer in the vernacular who has gained a high reputation in both Europe and Asia on the grounds of originality and imagination is the modern Bengali poet Rabīndra Nāth Tagore.

LITERATURE.—The only work attempting to deal with the vernacular literature of India as a whole is R. W. Frazer, *A Literary History of India*, London, 1898; G. A. Grierson, in *IGI*, vol. ii. (Oxford, 1908), ch. xi., may also be consulted. Brief and incomplete accounts of the literatures of most of the literary languages of S. India have appeared in such periodicals as *IA* and in prefaces to grammars and dictionaries. For Marāṭhī literature the English student can find the most accessible account in the preface to J. T. Molesworth, *Marāṭhī Dictionary* [2], Bombay, 1857. For Bengali see Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911, the philological parts of which should be used with caution, and a valuable collection of selections from Bengali literature entitled *Vaṅga Sāhitya Parichaya*, Calcutta, 1914. For N. India generally cf. G. A. Grierson, *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindūstān*, Calcutta, 1889; the dates in this are frequently taken from native sources, and are not always to be relied upon. See also C. J. Lyall, art. 'Hindōstānī Literature,' *EBr* [11] xiii. 483 ff.; and Gaṇeśa Vihārī Miśra, Śyāma Vihārī Miśra, and Śukadeva Vihārī Miśra, *Miśrabandhu-vinōda* (Hindī), in course of publication, pt. i., Khaṇḍwā and Allāhābād, 1913.

G. A. GRIERSON.

LITERATURE (Jewish).—The term 'Jewish literature' is used to cover those writings of the Jewish people which were composed after the completion of the Biblical (OT) canon, and which are devoted to the discussion or exposition of Judaism—its teachings, its history, and its documentary sources—and designed primarily for Jewish readers. This definition excludes all such works of Jewish authorship as, though written in Hebrew and meant for Jewish readers, deal with matters of general learning or literature.

I. *THE TRANSITION FROM ORAL TRADITION TO WRITTEN RECORDS.*—Between the completion of the Hebrew canon and the rise of Jewish literature there is an interval of several hundred years, and the reason why the literary activity of the Jews was so long in abeyance is that they regarded it as unlawful to commit their teachings to writing. The Scripture, as the Book *par excellence*, could suffer no other book to approach it; all supplementary doctrine must be imparted orally (תורה שבעל פה); 'to set down the oral teaching in writing is forbidden.' Thus even the Biblical Apocrypha were regarded as ספרים חיצונים, 'extraneous books.' The idea that the production of new works was unlawful must have been prevalent by the time of the elder Sirach, and hence his collection of proverbs could not be received into the canon; an author who wished to reach the public by a book had to publish it under some ancient and venerable name, such as Daniel. That the Alexandrian Jews were at that time displaying a remarkable literary fertility did not affect the Jewish authorities in Palestine at all, for the works of the former were written in Greek, and could, therefore, make no claim to canonicity. Thus all the creations of the Jewish mind in this epoch remained unwritten; translations of the Bible, prayers, academic and popular instruction, the development of law and custom, of ethics and religion—all these were carried on by oral instruction only. Apart from letters and fugitive notes relating chiefly to ancient pedigrees,[1] there is only a single document that has come down from ancient times in a written form, viz. the roll of festivals (מְגִלַּת תַּעֲנִית), a list of joyous memorial days of the Jewish nation (Jth 8^6, χαρμοσυναὶ οἴκου Ἰσραήλ)—that remarkable Aramaic calendar which stands as a monument of Jewish national pride, though it is extant only in a revised form with relatively late scholia (*JE* viii. 427 f.).

It would appear that as regards the Haggādā the interdict upon written communication was somewhat relaxed soon after the fall of the Jewish State, while as regards the Hălākhā it was still rigidly observed (Bab. *Giṭṭîn*, 60*b*). The first complete literary product of post-Biblical Judaism is the Mishnā, which was redacted *c.* A.D. 200 by R. Judah Nāśî. Whether the Mishnā was at once committed to writing is a question which is still—as it has been for a thousand years—a subject of controversy among scholars; and, while there are ostensible indications of its having been in written form from the first, yet our reliable sources rather support the hypothesis that at the time of its redaction and even for centuries afterwards it was still transmitted in a purely oral form (*JE* viii. 614). By the time we reach the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud, however (*c.* A.D. 500), the ancient prohibition must at length have been set aside, the change being necessitated, indeed, by the exigencies of the period—the repeated interference of the State in forbidding the continuance of the seminaries in their traditional ways—and also by the enormous growth of the material, which had now become too great a load for the human memory. In view of these facts, the last of the Amôrâîm and the Sabôrâîm found it necessary to break with the past by committing the Talmud to writing, and they thereby cleared the ground for the growth of a Jewish literature. Once the ban against writing had thus been lifted from the Hălākhā—that important domain where the interdict had been observed most rigorously—Jewish scholars formed the resolution, hesitatingly at first, but with time ever the more confidently, to write down and make more generally known the facts of their people's life and doctrine.

II. *LITERARY PERIODS.*—Jewish literature, in the fifteen centuries of its development, has passed through a variety of phases. To the period from *c.* A.D. 500 to 1000 we must assign its initial stages, in which the various branches of literature had to be evolved and wrought into form. While formerly knowledge of every kind was contained and indiscriminately massed together in the Talmud, special departments were now gradually disengaged from the mass, and were dealt with in monographs and more or less systematically. To the Gāôn Sa'adya b. Joseph (A.D. 892–942; see art. SA'ADYA) belongs the distinction of having been the first to treat of the most widely varied branches of Jewish theology in special works, and thus to have laboured as a pioneer, so that he has been rightly named 'the chief of the speakers in every place.' From A.D. 1000 to 1200 Jewish literature passed through its mediæval period of fertility in two ramifications, viz. a Hispano-Arabic, which displays a powerful tendency to scientific thoroughness and systematization, and a Franco-German, which in more characteristic fashion further elaborated the traditional materials of knowledge. The period from 1200 to 1500 was one of decline, and from 1500 to 1750 one of profound decadence, during which the literary activity of the Jews was mainly confined to Poland and the East; but, from the advent of Moses Mendelssohn ([*q.v.*] 1729–86), Jewish literature, now in contact with the spirit of European culture, experienced a fresh revival which, mainly under the influence of Leopold Zunz (1794–1886), developed into a scientific treatment of Judaism, *i.e.* a methodical and critical discussion of the thought expressed in the Jewish teachings and evolved from the Jewish mind, and has since found expression in numerous works, not only in Hebrew, but in all the languages of Europe. We cannot here trace Jewish literature throughout its various epochs and in all its phases; it must suffice to examine the chief departments in which it was specially active, to indicate the tendencies that asserted themselves in it, and to search for the reasons that led to the success of this or that particular work. A characteristic feature of Jewish literature, as contrasted with the literatures of other peoples, is that it is not so much the work of individual authors as the collective product of the spirit of entire epochs. In many cases, too, it is ill preserved—a result of the fact that it was not studied by the learned only, but spread among all classes; and, further, that it did not merely serve an intellectual interest, but also provided for a religious need, and was in consequence often disseminated and transmitted by untrained hands, in a form very different from what was originally intended.

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[1] Cf. Joel Müller, *Briefe und Responsen aus der vorgaonäischen jüdischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1886.

III. *THE SEVERAL DEPARTMENTS OF JEWISH LITERATURE.* — Jewish literature in its entire range may be conveniently brought under the following categories, with which we shall deal in order: (1) Scripture study and investigation of the Hebrew language; (2) works relating to the Talmud; (3) historical literature; (4) systematic theology; and (5) liturgical and secular poetry.

1. Scripture study and investigation of the Hebrew language.—Jewish literature is first of all, as it was originally, exegesis of Scripture—Biblical study in the broadest sense of the term. Targum and Midrash constitute its earliest forms, and perhaps the two were originally one, for the Targum was of the nature of paraphrase, and thus involved a kind of exegesis. Traces of the old, non-literal rendering of the Scriptures are found in the so-called Palestinian Targums—the Targum of Jonathan and the Fragmentary Targum. For the Pentateuch, however, the rendering to which Aquila first gave the name of the Targum of Onqelos, and which assumed its definitive form in the Babylonian schools of the 3rd cent. A.D., became the standard of authority; it was recited in the synagogue, and was generally regarded by the Jews as *the* Targum. For the Prophets, again, the acknowledged standard was the so-called Targum of Jonathan—not much later in date than that of Onqelos; while here, too, the other Palestinian Targums fell into the background. For the Hagiographa there was in the period of the Talmud no recognized Targum at all, and the renderings which we now possess were separately executed in the course of centuries, some of them, indeed, not having been completed till after A.D. 1000 (cf. *JE* xii. 57 ff.). 'Midrash' (*q.v.*) denotes exposition of Scripture, and was at first attached to the particular passages explained; but in the Bible itself we find the word used in the sense of a reproduction of older narratives (2 Ch 24^{27}; cf. 13^{22}). The Midrash was of a twofold character; from the text of Scripture it evolved laws—the Hălākhā—or else deduced moral and religious teachings, adding stories and parables—the Haggādā. The Hălākhic Midrash was compiled chiefly in the schools of R. Ishmael ben Elisha (early 2nd cent. A.D.) and R. 'Aqîbā (see art. AḲIBA BEN JOSEPH), and the latter school continued to be regarded as authoritative; the work of both schools, however, being in the mass subsequently lost, has come down to us in mere fragments; and it is only recently that we have been able, with the help of the *Midrash hag-Gādhôl*, a compilation of the 13th cent., written in Yemen, to piece the remains together, and obtain an approximate idea of the form of the ancient Midrashîm. The Haggādic Midrash is of vast extent; much of it is included in the Talmud, but it is found also in special collections. Leaving out of account the immense number of smaller Midrashîm (*JE* viii. 572 ff.), we may distinguish the following great compilations: the Midrash Rabbā or Midrash Rabbôth to the Pentateuch and the Five Mᵉgillôth, to Esther, Ruth, Song of Solomon, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, the Tanḥûmā to the Pentateuch, and the Midrash to the Psalms, Proverbs, and Samuel; but, while all these continuously follow the order of their respective texts, the Pᵉsiqtā collections deal only with selected portions of the Tôrāh or of the Prophets, for use at festivals or on special Sabbaths. Mention should also be made of the two great Midrashic compilations known respectively as the *Yalqûṭ Shim'ônî*, which probably took shape in Germany during the 12th cent. A.D., and embraces the entire Bible, and the *Midrash hag-Gādhôl* of Yemen already referred to, which is confined to the Pentateuch (*ib.* 557 ff.). The Haggādic Midrash has been brought within the reach of contemporary scholarship by the monumental works of Wilhelm Bacher, *Die Agada der babylonischen Amoräer*, Strassburg, 1878, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, do. 1890, 1902, and *Die Agada der palästin. Amoräer*, do. 1892–99.

The Midrash frequently gives simple explanations of the words and meaning of the Scripture text, but this is by no means its primary interest; in the main it is concerned with religious and devotional ends. Jewish scholarship did not evolve a rational exegesis of its own—exegesis in the scientific sense—till the time of Sa'adya, who was a pioneer and wrote independent commentaries upon, as also a translation of, the whole Bible. In his excursuses he, too, writes with a religious purpose; but, on the whole, his chief concern is the rationalistic, grammatical, and lexical exposition of Scripture. The movement which he initiated owes its further development in the main to European scholars. In Europe there arose two great exegetical schools, one in Spain, the other in Northern France. The Spanish school was largely influenced by Arabic learning, and its most prominent representative was Abraham ibn Ezra (1093–1168), whose works superseded those of all his predecessors (cf. *JE* vi. 520 ff., and art. IBN EZRA, § 1). His commentaries had an extraordinary popularity; they have come down to us in various MS copies, and were appended to the first printed editions of the Bible. The Northern French school, again, while it certainly lacked the scientific bent, the philological foundation, and the general culture of the Spanish, yet by its devoted study of the Biblical text and its sympathy with the spirit of the written word did a large amount of highly meritorious and exemplary work for the discovery of the verbal sense. It failed to gain recognition in its ripest representatives, who—particularly Samuel b. Meir (*c.* 1085–*c.* 1174)—have, in fact, been re-discovered by modern scholarship; but the favourite and most widely circulated commentary of the Middle Ages was the work of Solomon b. Isaac of Troyes, called Rashi (1040–1105), who combined the old method of the Midrash with the effort to ascertain the plain meaning; and consequently, though he certainly gives the dry details of exegesis, we also find in his work passages of an attractive and edifying character. His commentary eclipsed all others in general esteem; from the outset to the present day it has been widely read, and has formed a subject of study by itself; while in the course of centuries it has drawn to itself over a hundred special commentaries, and ranks in the popular mind as 'the commentary' κατ ἐξοχήν (cf. *JE* x. 324 ff.). A blending of the characteristic tendencies of the Spanish and Northern French schools appears among the scholars of Provence, from whose group sprang David Kimḥi (1160–1235; cf. *JE* vii. 494 f.), whose exegetical works on the Prophets and the Hagiographa were specially prized. The re-discovery of the predecessors and successors of the exegetes named, as also the historical evaluation of the entire literature of the period, has been the work of modern scholarship. In Kimḥi's commentaries we find a new type of exegesis—the philosophical, which soon passed into the mystical. Of the works that favour this type, those especially which were able to bring their more stubborn materials into a popular and generally accessible form attained a great vogue. These include the long-popular commentaries of Don Isaac Abarbanel (1437–1508; cf. *JE* i. 126), and also those of the so-called Bîûrists (*JE* iii. 232), dating from the age immediately after Moses Mendelssohn. On the whole field of exegetical literature cf. *JE* iii. 162–176.

Closely associated with the exegesis of Scripture were the works dealing with Hebrew philology. Linguistic study among the Jews was but rarely regarded as an end in itself, but, as the science of the language in which the Scripture was written, was pursued mainly as an adjunct to Biblical investigation. The literary treatment of Hebrew grammar and lexicography was systematically prosecuted by the Hispano-Arabic school, the masterly works of which, however, were composed in Arabic, and accordingly, even when translated into Hebrew, attracted but little notice; the philological writings of Judah b. David Hayyuj (b. *c.* 950; *JE* vi. 277 f.) and Abū al-Walīd Marwān ibn Jānāh (early 11th cent.; *ib.* vi. 534 ff.), important as they are, were re-discovered only recently. The works of Abraham ibn Ezra enjoyed an enormous vogue, as did also, and even in a still greater degree, the grammar and dictionary of David Kimḥi, which have in many quarters retained their pre-eminence until recent times. From the 15th cent., however, a marked decline in linguistic studies began; in proportion as mysticism prevailed, interest in the exact investigation of Hebrew fell away; the works of Elijah Levita (1468–1549; cf. *JE* viii. 46) attracted much less notice in Jewish than in Christian circles. Philology remained in a state of neglect until it was restored to its rightful position by the Mendelssohnian group; the manuals of J. L. Ben-Ze'eb (1764–1811; *JE* ii. 681 ff.) were widely studied until they were superseded by more modern and more competent works. The revival of Hebrew philology was due in a very special degree to the pioneer work of S. D. Luzzatto (1800–65; cf. *JE* viii. 224 ff.). Luzzatto was at the same time the first Jewish scholar for centuries who combined the study of the language with the exegesis of Scripture, and may also be regarded as the most eminent independent representative of Biblical literature among the Jews of last century. With the name of Luzzatto that of Abraham Geiger (1810–74) deserves to be specially associated. Speaking generally, we may say that the Biblical science of the Jews during last century was profoundly influenced by the contemporary critical works of Christian scholars in the same field.

2. Works relating to the Talmud.—The Talmud came to be the most important, the most comprehensive, and the most highly esteemed branch of Jewish literature; it is in a sense bound up with Biblical study, as its germs are found in the Midrash, and as it purports to be nothing more than an exposition of and a complement to the Scriptures. It consists of two parts, the Mishnā and its elucidation, the latter being the Talmud in the narrower sense; the term G^{e}mārā, which is usually applied to the second part, is of relatively late origin, and was introduced into the text by the clerical censorship. Our use of the expression 'the Talmud' involves a presumption due to the facts of historical development; for, although there is but one Mishnā, there are two commentaries upon it—one of Palestinian, the other of Babylonian, origin. In the process of historical development, however, the seminaries of Palestine were early dissolved, while those of Babylonia maintained their position, and succeeded in establishing the regulative supremacy of their views and decisions. The result was that, although in the earlier period the Palestinian scholars were held in great honour, and their decisions sought in all important questions, eventually the scholars of Babylonia came to be the sole recognized authorities. In the age of the G^{e}ônîm (*c.* 600–1040) the Babylonian Talmud had secured so high a place in general esteem that its Palestinian counterpart was virtually forgotten; and when, about the year 1000, the latter was once more brought to mind, consolation for its long neglect was sought in the pretext that the decisions of the Palestinian scholars had been known to the Babylonians, and had been duly taken into consideration by them. In consequence, the Palestinian Talmud remained in comparative obscurity; it was not studied to anything like the same extent as the Babylonian, nor did it find a single commentator during the entire mediæval period; moreover, its text suffered such gross deterioration that we can now scarcely hope to see it restored even to a semblance of its original form. It should be noted, however, that a few Hălākhic collections from Palestine, the so-called Minor Tractates, were appended to the Babylonian Talmud, and were studied in conjunction with it, thus becoming a factor in the further development of religious practice and religious law. The two Talmuds are not related to the Mishnā in the same way; in the Palestinian Talmud we have the commentary to forty Mishnaic Tractates, belonging to the first four Orders; in the Babylonian we have thirty-six only, principally from the second, third, fourth, and fifth Orders, while of the first and sixth Orders only one tractate in each is dealt with.

As the Talmud, until the dawn of the modern epoch, occupied the central place in Jewish learning, and formed the supreme standard of religious thought and practice among the Jews, it became the nucleus of an enormous literature, which, in connexion with its more outstanding representatives, may be summarized in the following divisions.

(*a*) *Explanatory works.*—For so intricate a work as the Talmud, explanation was indispensable; its own expositions were frequently very brief, and the links of connexion could be supplied only by those who had been initiated into the peculiar mode of its dialectic; moreover, the language of the Jews, like their general conditions of life, underwent in process of time radical changes, and was no longer the same as was presupposed in the Talmud. The need of explanation was felt at an early date, and soon, indeed, explanatory notes seem to have been attached to the text and transmitted with it; thus we find writers of the 10th cent. quoting *verbatim* from comments dating from the 6th.[1] On the other hand, what we may call an expository literature was not evolved till a much later day, for it was the Gᵉônîm of the 10th cent. who first felt constrained to supply written comments—first of all in the form of explanations of words; and these, again, were the germs of the comprehensive dictionaries, of which the most celebrated was the *ʿĀrûkh* of Nathan b. Jeḥiel of Rome († 1106; cf. *JE* ix. 180 ff.). The first commentaries in the ordinary sense, however, were produced in N. Africa *c.* A.D. 1000; besides explaining words, they gave short notes elucidating the context. The most important of these N. African commentaries is that of R. Ḥananel b. Ḥushiel of Kairwan (990–1050; cf. *JE* vi. 205). In Spain little progress was made in the composition of commentaries, although it was in that country that the most influential Mishnā commentary of the Middle Ages was composed, viz. that of Moses Maimonides ([*q.v.*] 1135-1204; cf. *JE* ix. 73 ff.), written originally in Arabic, but afterwards translated into Hebrew, and from the time that it was first printed (1492) to the present day regularly embodied in editions of the Mishnā or the Talmud. The most notable contributions to the exposition of the Talmud were produced in Germany and France. Talmudic learning, carrying with it the earliest commentaries, spread by way of Italy to Germany. R. Gershom b. Judah, 'the Light of the Exile' († 1040; cf. *JE* v. 638 f.), who taught in Mainz, gave the impulse to a new method of Talmudic exposition. His school not only dealt in the most thorough manner with details, but attached great importance to bringing out the connexion of thought; and from that school emanated the most notable of all commentaries on the Talmud, that of Rashi mentioned above. Its greatness lies in the fact that its author, with the self-restraint of genius, surrenders his mind wholly to the text, suppressing his own opinions, and bent only upon discovering and exhibiting the thought of the original writer. Rashi never introduces superfluous matter; nor, again, does he ever gloss over a difficulty; he either gives a solution of it or modestly confesses that he has none to suggest. The work came to be used as an indispensable auxiliary to the study of the Talmud; it superseded all previous commentaries, and threw all the later into the shade. While much of the expository literature of that age was buried in oblivion until the modern period, Rashi's work was frequently conjoined with the MSS of the Talmud, and it has been bound up with the printed editions from the first; even at the present day, indeed, it is regarded as an essential adjunct to the study of the Talmud, and no less as a work on the whole unrivalled in its method. The French schools sought to supplement Rashi; they occasionally felt the need of a more dialectical mode of exposition, and thought that the text of the Talmud should be furnished with decisions of the questions proposed and with references to practical life; and, finding none of these things in Rashi's work, they wrote supplementary notes, *tôsāfôth*, which, however, did not run continuously with the text, but here and there supplied comments of the desiderated type upon particular passages. Of these Tôsāfists numerous schools arose in Germany and France during the 12th and 13th centuries; the works which they produced were much studied in the Middle Ages, and afterwards, from the time when the Talmud was first printed in its entirety (Venice, 1520), a number of them, selected for purposes of study, were issued in conjunction with it (cf. *JE* xii. 202 ff.). A peculiar development of the expository literature appears in the so-called 'novels' (*ḥiddûshîm*), which, taking their pattern from the works of Naḥmanides (1194–*c.* 1270) and Solomon b. Adreth (1235–1310), continued to be produced for hundreds of years from the 13th cent.; they were really commentaries in the form of treatises on entire sections of the Talmud. Talmudic commentaries finally degenerated into mere empty dialectic, and this was specially the case in Germany and Poland from the 15th century.

As regards the Palestinian Talmud, the Middle Ages scarcely produced a single commentator, and the modern period not even one, who deals with it from beginning to end. The best known and most widely circulated commentaries to it are the *Qôrbān hā-ʿĒdhā* of David Fränkel, the teacher of Moses Mendelssohn, and the *Pnē Môshe* of Moses Margolioth (*c.* 1700). For the literature of the commentaries see *JE* xii. 28 ff.

(*b*) *Compendia.*—While the Talmud was regarded as the standard to which all religious institutions must conform and by which all questions of law must be solved, it was, nevertheless, but ill adapted to facilitate consultation for the decisions that were often required in practical life. Apart from the fact that it was a work of vast compass, such as scarcely a single individual could completely master, it confined itself almost wholly to the discussion of the questions which it raised, and hardly ever gave a decision as to which of the opinions which it presented should be regarded as authoritative. Further, its matter is not always systematically arranged; it frequently passes abruptly from one theme to another, so that its discussions of a single question have often to be sought for and examined in widely separate places. In order to remedy these defects, Yehudai, Gāôn in Sura, had (*c.* A.D. 750) drawn up a compendium of *hălākhôth*, which was subsequently revised, enlarged, and, as the *Hălākhôth Gᵉdhôlôth*, given a place in the religious literature by Simon Qayyara (*c.* 850), from whose time it has been taken into account as a basis for all decisions (cf. *JE* vii. 461 ff.). The *Hălākhôth Gᵉdhôlôth* often follows the Talmud's own order, and, while abridging its discussions, it reproduces them with verbal accuracy, and in such a way as to make the final question quite clear. The same method was adopted by Isaac b. Jacob Alfasi (1013–1103), whose work was diligently studied, and was likewise used as a basis for decisions. This type of synoptical abridgment of the Talmud became the work of a special school, mainly in Spain, where it was cultivated by many scholars—and with outstanding success by Asher b. Jeḥiel († 1327), a native of Germany, who took Alfasi's text as his groundwork, and added to it numerous notes from the Tôsāfists; his compendium is generally given in the printed editions of the Talmud.

Another mode of epitomizing the matter of the Talmud was to arrange it under the 'Six hundred and thirteen commandments and prohibitions,' an arrangement which is first found as an introduction to the *Hălākhôth Gᵉdhôlôth*, and was subsequently often reproduced in comprehensive forms. The most important work of this class is the *Sēfer ham-Miṣwôth* of Moses Maimonides, which, originally written in Arabic, was several times translated into Hebrew, and found many opponents and many imitators (cf. *JE* iv. 181 ff.).

The most important and practically most serviceable type of compendium, however, was the 'Code' in the narrower sense of the word. Here, too, Maimonides stands supreme; his *Mishnē Tôrāh*, written in Hebrew *c.* A.D. 1180, is the most systematic book in all Jewish literature; with masterly skill he arranges the entire material of the Talmud according to subjects, groups it in paragraphs, and succeeds in presenting it in such a way that the reader can at once find his bearings. Each section of the work opens with a clear statement of its subject, and then proceeds from the less to the more significant, from details to essentials, all being set forth so lucidly that the solution of any particular problem can be found without delay. The book met with the approbation which it so well merited—though it likewise encountered opposition, not only because of the bold and unprejudiced views advanced by the author in the theological sections, but also—what chiefly concerns us here—because of its very structure. Codification was a process that was never greatly favoured among the Jews, who were disposed to fear that it might supersede the study of the sources; and with regard to the work in question, consisting as it did of abstractly formulated paragraphs, and giving no references to sources or to the learned champions of particular views, they thought it well to guard specially against that danger. Nevertheless, the admirable structure of the *Mishnē Tôrāh*, and the veneration in which its author was held, made it a standard work; and the writings designed to elucidate or criticize it constitute a literary aggregate of vast proportions.

Maimonides, in importing the entire material of the Talmud into his Code, took no account of the question whether it still applied to the conditions of his age; thus, *e.g.*, he dealt also with the laws regarding the Temple, the sacrifices, etc. About the year 1340, however, Jacob b. Asher drew up a new code, entitled *Arbāʿā Ṭûrîm*, in which he passed by such subjects as were no longer of practical significance, and took cognizance of views and decisions that had meanwhile come to the front; moreover, unlike Maimonides, he dealt with the various themes in treatises, not in separate paragraphs, and, in particular, he gave expression to the views of scholars who had lived in the centuries immediately preceding. The *Arbāʿā Ṭûrîm* came to be a work of the utmost significance in the following period. Joseph Qaro (1488–1575; cf. *JE* iii. 585 ff., and art. QARO, JOSEPH) wrote a voluminous commentary to it, the *Bēth Yôsēf*, from which he afterwards compiled an abstract entitled *Shûlḥān ʿĀrûkh*. The *Shûlḥān ʿĀrûkh* follows the arrangement of the *Arbāʿā Ṭûrîm*, and, like that work, is divided into four parts. It deals only with the laws that had been in force from the fall of the Temple, but it departs from its model and reverts to the method of Maimonides in giving rules only, short paragraphs, and in making no reference to its sources or to the advocates of particular views. In systematizing power and candour of thought, however, Joseph Qaro is signally inferior to Maimonides; he was strongly influenced by the mystical tendency in the theology of the period of decadence. The *Shûlḥān ʿĀrûkh* was at first slighted, being regarded as a mere 'book for the ignorant,' and its eventual fame was due to its critics, who gave expression to their opposing views in commentaries and supplements to it. To begin with, Moses Isserles (1520–73; cf. *JE* vi. 678 ff.) published a series of supplements to the *Bēth Yôsēf* under the title of *Darkhē Môshe*, and afterwards re-issued them as glosses to the *Shûlḥān ʿĀrûkh*; here, on the basis of the Talmudic tradition then dominant in Germany, he frequently modified the decisions of Qaro. It was in this supplemented form that the *Shûlḥān ʿĀrûkh* was thereafter regularly given to the public, but it did not win full recognition till about 1650, by which date each of its four parts had already formed the text of celebrated commentaries; these, however, were not of the nature of expositions, but were rather supplements, and often, indeed, in direct opposition to their text. Thus at length it gained an acknowledged position, yet never without encountering resistance; and even in those circles of Jewish life where in principle it served as a norm there were countless departures from it in matters of detail. On the literature of the compendia cf., further, *JE* vii. 635 ff.

(*c*) *Responses.*—A combination of the two forms of Talmudic literature dealt with in the foregoing is found in the *Shᵉʾēlôth ū-Tᵉshûbhôth* ('Questions and Answers'), which contain explanations, decisions of particular cases, etc. The literary interchange of views regarding Talmudic problems began very early.

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[1] Cf. N. Brüll, *Jahrbücher für jüd. Gesch. und Litt.*, ii. (Frankfort, 1876) 43.

and an active correspondence by letter had been carried on between the teachers of the Talmud in Palestine and those in Babylonia. In proportion as the Jews became more and more dispersed, correspondence became more and more necessary; and from the time of the Gᵉônîm there was a large increase in the number of responses; from that period itself, indeed, no fewer than fifteen more or less voluminous collections of responses have been preserved. Nor, when the centre of Jewish life was transferred to Europe in the Middle Ages, did the interchange of opinions diminish either in extent or in vigour. Thousands of opinions and legal pronouncements by certain eminent Rabbis of mediæval times have been preserved, and were in the mass consulted as an important source of information. The number of works embodying such responses is so enormous that we must be content to mention only the most extensive and the most generally consulted: from the Middle Ages we have those of Meir b. Baruch of Rothenburg (1220–93), Naḥmanides (1194–c. 1270), and Solomon b. Adreth (1235–1310), and that of Isaac b. Sheshet (1320–1408), all belonging to Spain; from the dawn of the modern period, those of Israel Isserlein († 1460) and Joseph Kolon (c. 1450), as also that of David ibn Abu Simra († c. 1570); and from more recent times those of Ezekiel Laudau († 1793) and Moses Sofer († 1839). On the literature of the responses cf. also *JE* xi. 240 ff.

(*d*) *Systematic works.*—Mention must be made, lastly, of that branch of the literature which deals with the problems of the Talmud in a methodical and systematic way—a mode of treatment but little regarded in the earlier period, and, indeed, never strenuously applied till modern times. The earliest work aiming at systematic treatment is the *Sēder Tannāîm wᵉ-Ămôrāîm*, dating from the 9th cent.; the next works of the kind to appear were the *Mᵉbhô hat-Talmūdh* of 'Samuel ibn Nagdila' (extant only in one part, which, however, is printed in all editions of the Talmud) and the *Maftēaḥ* of Nissim b. Jacob, both of the 11th century. Of great importance in a methodological respect, again, are the introductions which Maimonides issued as prolegomena to his commentary on the Mishnā and several of its divisions. Later works worthy of mention are the *Sēfer hak-Krîthûth* of Samson of Chinon (c. 1300) and the *Hălîkhôth 'Ôlām* of Joshua ha-Levi of Tlemsen (c. 1450); the latter has drawn around it numerous commentaries, and has often been reprinted. A new epoch in these aspects of Talmudic study was ushered in by S. J. L. Rapoport (1790–1867; cf. *JE* x. 322 f.), who, in various Hebrew periodicals, as also in his dictionary, the *'Ērekh Millîn*, dealt with the problems of the Talmud in a scientific way, at once systematic and critical. The course marked out by Rapoport has been followed by Z. Frankel (1801–75; *ib.* v. 482 ff.) in his *Darkhē ham-Mishnā* and his *Mᵉbhô hā-Yᵉrūshalmî*, Abraham Geiger (1810–74; *ib.* v. 584 ff.) in numerous treatises in his magazines, and I. H. Weiss (1815–1905; *ib.* xii. 495 ff.) in the historical work named below.

3. Historical literature.—The post-Biblical historiography of the Jews took its rise as an element in the systematic treatment of the Talmud. The majority of the earlier works in this field were written chiefly with the object of re-constructing the chain of tradition and of determining as accurately as possible the genealogies of eminent families and the chronicle of learned men. The germs of Jewish historical literature are found in the Talmud itself, and these furnished the pattern for the earliest developments. The chronology of the course of history from the Creation to the destruction of the Second Temple is given in the *Sēder 'Ôlām*, the nucleus of which was the work of Jose b. Ḥalafta (c. A.D. 160). An annalistic work, though dealing only with the family of the exilarchs, is found in the *Sēder 'Ôlām Zûṭā*, a genealogical register, which cannot have been drawn up before the 7th cent. A.D., and which assumes a disparaging attitude towards the exilarchs of the day. The biographical annals of scholarship, again, are represented by the *Sēder Tannāîm wᵉ-Ămôrāîm* (c. 880), and the *Epistle of Sherira* (987), the latter being our principal source for the period between A.D. 500 and 1000. To the same class belongs also the *Sēfer haq-Qabbālā*, composed in 1161 by Abraham b. David of Toledo, who is chiefly concerned to exhibit the continuity of learned tradition down to his own times; for, though he gives somewhat more detailed information regarding the Jews in Spain of the two preceding centuries, yet even there his manifest purpose is to trace the development of learning and recognized authority. The work of Abraham Zakuto, who was for a time a professor of astronomy and chronology in Salamanca, but after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain settled in the East, was upon similar lines; his *Sēfer Yūḥăsîn* (1504) contains a detailed study of most of the Talmudic authorities, and also a chronology brought down to his own day. For centuries this work was known only in a form containing a series of supplements, and was first made accessible in its original shape in 1857. Jehiel Heilprin, of Minsk, wrote his *Sēder had-Dôrôth* (c. 1700) solely for the purpose of supplementing the data of Zakuto and bringing the Rabbinical genealogies down to his own times.

A further incentive to the writing of history was provided by the peculiar fortunes of the Jewish people, and in particular by the sufferings and persecutions which they had to endure almost without intermission during the Middle Ages. These oppressions are chronicled in a vast number of fragmentary records, both in prose and in poetry, but there are very few connected and continuous accounts. We shall enumerate here only the more extensive compilations of this type still extant. A narrative of the persecutions which harassed the Jews, chiefly in the Rhine country, in connexion with the Crusades is given by A. Neubauer and M. Stern in their *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1892. In those days of incessant persecution it was the practice to read (*commemorare*) in the synagogues the roll of those who had perished as martyrs; so-called memorial books were drawn up in the various communities, and were constantly added to. The most comprehensive of these books was published by S. Salfeld under the title *Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches*, Berlin, 1898. The earliest connected account of the persecutions was composed by the noted astronomer Judah ibn Verga († c. 1485), whose *Shēbheṭ Yᵉhûdhāh* was supplemented by a younger relative named Solomon and another writer named Joseph, and published in its enlarged form. The best-known account of the Jewish martyrdoms in the Middle Ages is from the hand of the physician Joseph hak-Kôhēn, who lived in the 16th cent., and resided in various Italian cities; his *'Ēmeq hab-Bākhā* describes with accuracy and graphic power the persecutions and banishments suffered by the Jews from the destruction of the Second Temple. A strange combination of martyrology and the history of learning is found in Gedaliah ibn Yaḥya's *Shalsheleth haq-Qabbālā* (c. 1550), which, although much of it was shown at an early date to be untrue and even incredible, enjoyed an extraordinary popularity, and was again and again issued in printed editions.

The Jewish scholars of the Middle Ages had little aptitude for intelligently grasping or portraying their people's history. The *Book of Josippon*, a reproduction of the Latin Hegesippus (cf. *ERE* vii. 578ᵇ) in fluent Hebrew, composed in Italy in the 10th cent., stood long alone; by reason of its vivid and interesting style it has always been held in great esteem, and has been not only frequently edited in Hebrew, but also translated into many other languages. Even more rarely, if possible, do we find mediæval Jewish writers attempting to write profane history in Hebrew. A work of later date deserving of mention is Joseph hak-Kôhēn's *Chronicle of the Kings of France and Turkey*, written in 1553, while, a few decades afterwards, David Gans († 1613, in Prague) published, in his *Ṣemaḥ Dāwîdh* (Prague, 1592), records, first of Jewish, and then of universal, history from their respective beginnings to his own time; this work appeared also in a Latin translation. In general, however, Jewish writers restricted themselves to the composition of popular narratives of particular episodes.

It was not until comparatively recent times, indeed, that Jewish history was treated in a coherent and orderly manner. In 1820 I. M. Jost began the publication of a history of the Jews in

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many volumes and in various forms, in which he was primarily concerned to recount the political fortunes of his people, discussing their sociological development in an appendix. Leopold Zunz, while he wrote nothing of the nature of a systematic work on Jewish history, furnished in his *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (Berlin, 1845) copious materials for all branches of that history, and suggestions as to the method of treating them. The best-known and most widely circulated work of this class, the *Geschichte der Juden* by H. Graetz (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1853–70), aims chiefly at exhibiting the development of the religion and literature of the Jews in relation to their political position and the martyrdoms suffered by them, while A. Geiger's *Das Judentum und seine Geschichte* (Breslau, 1871) deals solely with their religious development. I. H. Weiss, in his Heb. *Dôr Dôr wᵉ-Dŏrshăw* (Vienna, 1871–91), is likewise concerned only with the development of Judaism on its spiritual side. On the historical literature cf. also M. Steinschneider, *Die Gesch.-Literatur der Juden*, i. (Frankfort, 1905), and art. 'Historiography' in *JE* vi. 423 ff.

An important source of information regarding the history of the Jews in the Middle Ages is found in the copious narratives of the numerous Jewish travellers and wayfarers. The most important of such books of travel is the *Massāʿôth* of Benjamin of Tudela, who (*c.* 1165) made a journey from Spain to the East and back, and noted down in a racy style 'all that he had seen or heard.' In the edition of the *Massāʿôth* prepared by A. Asher (London, 1840), Zunz has given a detailed account of the geographical literature of the Jews ii. 230 ff.).

4. Systematic theology.—A great part of the Talmud and the Midrashîm is devoted to the religious and moral teachings of Judaism; the Haggādā in particular is concerned mainly with the problems of theology—with dogmatic and ethical ideas. No more than the Bible itself, however, does the Talmudic literature give a systematic presentation of theological doctrine. It was, in fact, only under the influence of Muslim theology that Jewish writers first essayed to deal systematically with the doctrinal fabric of their religion, and to support it by arguments. Their works were, to begin with, written in Arabic, but were soon all translated into Hebrew—largely through the efforts of the family of Ibn Tibbon, in Lunel—and in this form given to the Jewish world. The earliest speculative theologian among the Jews was Saʿadya Gāôn, who, in his *Ĕmūnôth wᵉ-Dēʿôth*, written in 933, sought to bring the doctrinal teachings of Judaism into relation with contemporary philosophy. Baḥya b. Joseph (first half of 11th cent.; *JE* ii. 446 ff.) won an extraordinary success with his *Ḥôbhôth hal-Lᵉbhābhôth*, which treats chiefly of the moral teachings of Judaism; the book was read far and wide, and was in its day perhaps the most popular work of general philosophical literature among the Jews. Judah Halevi (*JE* vii. 346 ff.; see also art. HALEVI), in his *Kuzari*, renounced philosophy altogether, and based theology exclusively upon the revealed faith and the experience of the Jewish people; the work, by reason of its poetic mode of treatment in the style of the Platonic Dialogues, enjoyed a great vogue. By far the most eminent work in this field, however, is the *Môreh Nᵉbhūkhîm* of Moses Maimonides, which, like his *Mishnē Tôrāh* mentioned above, is distinguished at once for its rigorously systematic structure and for the keenness and independence of its thought. Although the book, with its free handling of Jewish doctrine, aroused hostility on many sides, and was even publicly burned at the instance of Jewish accusers, yet in influence it stands supreme; all later study of Jewish philosophy revolves around the *Môreh*, and the most outstanding Jewish thinkers, such as Spinoza, Moses Mendelssohn (*qq.v.*), and Solomon Maimon, found in it the incentive to the construction of their own systems. The *Môreh* marks the culminating point of Jewish philosophical literature in the Middle Ages. Of writers belonging to the time after Maimonides we mention only Levi ben Gershon ([*q.v.*] *c.* 1350; *JE* viii. 26 ff.), who, with his *Milḥāmôth Ădhônāi*, was the first to make a stand against the authority of Aristotle; Ḥasdai Crescas (*c.* 1400; *ib.* iv. 350 ff.), whose *Ôr Ădhônāi* was drawn upon by Spinoza as an important source; and Joseph Albo (*c.* 1415; *ib.* i. 324 ff.), whose *ʿÎkkārîm* was an enormously popular book.

The period after Maimonides was, however, on the whole one of profound decadence in philosophical studies, which were, in fact, regarded as positively unlawful. The enlightened philosophy of Maimonides brought forth a counterpoise in the composition of the Qabbālā (see ḲABBĀLĀ), a peculiar medley of speculative ideas and curious fancies which was put forward as an esoteric doctrine of ancient origin, and sought to attach itself to the earliest authorities; its representatives, indeed, did not scruple even to disseminate writings purporting to be the work of the most venerable personages, including Moses and the Patriarchs. The most notable book of such speculative secret doctrine was the *Zôhār*, which was put into circulation *c.* 1300 by Moses de Leon, and passed off as the work of Simeon b. Yoḥai, a writer of the 2nd cent. A.D. It takes the form of a commentary to the Pentateuch, but is interspersed with many systematic dissertations, which bear special names, and are perhaps later insertions. The *Zôhār* was regarded with the utmost reverence; it was designated a divine book, and was ranked higher than the Talmud or even the Bible itself; its real origin was brought to light only in recent times. The name of Isaac Luria († 1572) marks a further stage in the development of the mystical literature. While Luria himself wrote nothing, his pupils promulgated his teachings in a vast number of biographies of their master, of commentaries to the Bible and the book of prayer, and of legal and ethical works. Likewise Ḥasîdism (cf. *ERE* vii. 606^{b}), the last phase of Jewish mysticism, gave birth to countless works of the kind indicated above; but, as all of them reproduce the ideas of their respective schools in a most unsystematic and incoherent way, it is very difficult to describe them in terms of literary science.

It was not until comparatively recent times that Jewish theology again assumed a rationalistic character. The turning-point was marked by Mendelssohn's *Jerusalem* (Berlin, 1783), and thereafter, under the influence of Kant, Hegel, and Schelling, Jewish thought brought forth various systems, not one of which, however, can be said to have come into general favour. The modern Judaism of Western countries, in fact, has been powerfully influenced by the prevailing philosophy of the age. Of the latest works dealing with Jewish theology we would mention only K. Kohler, *Grundriss einer systematischen Theologie des Judentums*, Leipzig, 1910, and S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, London, 1909.

The ideas embedded in the theological literature were given to the wider Jewish public by means of popular writings, including not only the many widely circulated discourses (*Dᵉrāshôth*), but also numerous books of morals, which, it is true, laid more emphasis upon ethics than upon the speculative verification of the faith. The most excellent of the books of morals produced in the Middle Ages is the *Sēfer Ḥăsîdhîm* of Judah b. Samuel of

Regensburg († 1217; *JE* vii. 356 ff.), a work of high ethical value, which, though not free from the superstition of its time, is pervaded by an admirable spirit of piety and an earnest desire to foster the mutual love of men. The books of morals were in many cases translated into the language of the country in which they arose, and they form a large part of the Judæo-German, Judæo-Spanish, and Judæo-Arabic literatures. From the time of their composition they have had an enormous currency, and even at the present day the most widely read and systematic work on Judaism is the *Ethik des Judentums* of M. Lazarus (Frankfort, 1898, 1911).

The theology of the Jews also involved the work of pointing out the lines of demarcation between their own religion and other creeds. The Jews, who from an early period formed but a sparse minority among the adherents of other faiths, had abundant occasion for such procedure. As might be expected, all their writings which deal with theological matters are concerned also with apologetics and polemics, but the systematic treatment of the questions at issue was a relatively late development. The works in this field which were given to the public and still survive are but few in number; from fear of the dominant religion, indeed, they were often suppressed, or at any rate not issued in printed form.[1] Jewish polemical works consist either of explanations of Biblical passages which had been interpreted in a Christological or Muhammadan sense, or of systematic treatises on the cardinal doctrines of Christianity or Islām. Of writings directed against Christianity the *Tôl^{e}dhôth Y^{e}shū* (on which see *ERE* vii. 552^a) was not used so much by Jews themselves as by Christian controversialists. Of Jewish polemical works that created a considerable stir, mention may be made of the *Niṣṣāḥôn* of Lipman-Mühlhausen, a resident of Prague (*c.* 1400), who in that work brought forward three hundred and forty-six passages of the OT as telling against Christianity, and the *Ḥizzūq Ĕmūnā*, in which Isaac Troki, the Qaraite, made a systematic attack upon Christian doctrine (*c.* 1580). Both of these works were translated into various languages, and many attempts were made to refute them by Christian theologians. On the polemical literature cf., further, *JE* x. 102 ff.

A considerable amount of varied polemical activity was likewise directed against the Qaraites and other Jewish sects, but for the most part it finds expression incidentally in more general writings, and we are unable to specify any monograph of importance in this smaller field.

5. Liturgical and secular poetry.—The worship of God supplied the most powerful impulse to the post-Biblical development of Hebrew poetry, which, now termed *pīyyūṭ*, was revived with a view to enriching the liturgy. All instruction in and laudation of Jewish history and religion, which in the olden time had been the work of the preacher, fell, from *c.* A.D. 600, to the function of the *paiṭān*. It was under the influence of the Arabs that Jewish religious poetry sprang into life, and it was from them that it borrowed its artistic forms, but it required first of all to mould the Hebrew language to its designs—a process which, after long-sustained efforts, was at length brought to full realization in Spain. The most distinguished *paiṭān* of the Middle Ages was Eleazar b. Jacob haq-Qalîr, who lived probably *c.* A.D. 750 in Palestine; he composed over two hundred well-known poems, which have found a place in the Jewish prayer-books of nearly all countries, though we must note the exception of Spain, which had its own eminent figures in this field, and where mediæval Hebrew poetry attained its highest level between 1040 and 1140. The most outstanding names here are those of Solomon ibn Gabirol, Moses and Abraham ibn Ezra, and Judah Halevi (*qq.v.*). Poems by these writers are found in all prayer-books, but such compositions form only a small part of their poetic work; they also wrote voluminous 'divans,' which, it is true, soon fell into oblivion, and were rediscovered only in recent times; a number of them still await publication. On the *pīyyūṭ* cf. *JE* x. 65 ff.

While liturgical poetry occupied the place of supreme regard, other branches of the poetic art were by no means neglected. Of these the most widely cultivated was the didactic, which was turned to account in every department of knowledge. The *pīyyūṭ* itself sometimes assumed a didactic form; but, in addition, we find disquisitions in verse relating to the calendar, philology, and Biblical study, the Hălākhā, the laws of religion, Talmudic jurisprudence, philosophy and polemics, history, medicine, astronomy, etc., and poems in all these branches of study are extant in large numbers (cf. *JE* x. 98 f.). Of more importance, as being more closely in touch with the poetic spirit, is Jewish lyric poetry. The religious poetry, once more, was to a great extent lyrical. But the earliest development of the lyric in the ordinary sense, *i.e.* the poetry that finds its themes in love, wine, war, patriotism, etc., took place in Spain, where the supreme master of this form was Moses ibn Ezra, where Judah Halevi won renown by his occasional poems and his poetical descriptions of nature, and where Abraham ibn Ezra and Judah al-Ḥarizi (early 13th cent.) found recognition as keen satirists. The greatest Jewish secular poet, however, was Immanuel b. Solomon, of Rome—the contemporary, perhaps a personal friend, of Dante—who combined Oriental fantasy with Italian erotics, and gave expression to them in highly polished Hebrew verse, writing, indeed, with such audacious abandon that the *Shūlḥān 'Arūkh* forbade the reading of the poet's *Maḥberôth* on the Sabbath, while even in our own time Graetz has accused him of having profaned the Hebrew muse. Another lyric writer worthy of mention is Israel Nagara (*c.* 1570), who, while he sings of God and of Israel, works upon a basis of love-songs and their melodies, and writes with such intensity of passion and such daring anthropomorphism that he too incurred the censure of the Rabbis. Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto (1707–47) deserves mention as a writer of great emotional power, and as the first who composed epic poetry in the Hebrew language.

Jewish poetry, like Jewish literature in general, passed through a long period of barrenness, which lasted, indeed, until it was vitalized by the modern renascence of intellectual interests. The majority of the more distinguished poets of the present age are of Russian origin, the most eminent of all being Judah Loeb Gordon (1831–92; cf. *JE* vi. 47 f.), whose achievement, however, lies more in the field of satire than in that of the lyric. Of living poets special reference is due to H. N. Bialik, whose lyric poetry has justly met with the highest appreciation, and whose compositions have already been translated into nearly every European language The last few decades have witnessed the rise of a copious Hebrew literature of general interest.

LITERATURE.—J. W. Etheridge, *Jerusalem and Tiberias; Sora and Cordova: Religious and Scholastic Learning of the Jews*, London, 1856; M. Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature from the Eighth to the Eighteenth Century*, Eng. tr., do. 1857; D. Cassel, *Lehrbuch der jüdischen Geschichte und Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1879, ^{2}Berlin, 1896, Eng. tr., *Manual of Jewish History and Literature*, London, 1883; G. Karpeles, *Geschichte der jüdischen Literatur*, Berlin, 1886, ^{2}1909, *Ein Blick in die jüdische Literatur*, Prague, 1895, *Jewish Literature and other*

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[1] Writings connected with the long controversy between Judaism and Christianity were collected by J. B. de Rossi in his *Bibliotheca Judaica Antichristiana*, Parma, 1800, while Steinschneider has compiled a work entitled *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*, Leipzig, 1877.

Essays, Philadelphia and London, 1895; I. Abrahams, *A Short History of Jewish Literature*, London, 1906; S. Levy, 'Is there a Jewish Literature?' in *JQR* xv. [1903] 583-603; J. Jacobs, art. 'Bibliography' in *JE* iii. [1902] 199-201; I. Davidson, art. 'Literature, Hebrew,' *ib.* viii. [1904] 108-112.

I. ELBOGEN.

LITERATURE (Pahlavi). — Pahlavi ('Parthian,' *i.e.* 'heroic, belonging to heroic times'), or Middle Persian, literature dates, so far as its contributions to religion are concerned, from the 8th to the 11th cent. of our era; and its chief value in this regard is the elucidation of Zoroastrianism and Manichæanism (*qq.v.*), since it explains and supplements the data contained in the Avesta (*q.v.*) and adds materially to the scanty documents of Manichæan literature, besides giving fragmentary renderings of Christian texts. The religious material in Middle Persian falls into three categories: translations of Avesta texts, original compositions on Zoroastrian religious subjects, and Manichæan and Christian literature.

1. Translations of Avesta texts.—These translations are combined with running commentaries, sometimes of considerable length; but they are handicapped by failing to understand the original, especially in its grammatical relations, since the inflected type of the Avesta language had yielded, long before the composition of any Middle Persian of which we have any indication, to the analytic type present in Pahlavi, whose grammar differs only in unimportant details from that of Modern Persian and other modern Indo-Iranian dialects. At the same time, the Middle Persian translations of the Avesta possess a real value and must be considered in any attempt to decipher the meaning of the Avesta original, particularly in view of the allusions, etc., preserved by Iranian tradition (see, further, art. INTERPRETATION [Vedic and Avesta]). The principal Pahlavi translations are of the *Yasna*, *Vīsparad*, and *Vendīdād* (most conveniently ed. F. Spiegel, *Avesta*, Vienna, 1853-58; L. H. Mills, *The Ancient MS of the Yasna, with its Pahlavi Tr.* (*A.D. 1323*), *generally quoted as J2*, Oxford, 1893, and *Gathas*, Leipzig, 1892-1913 [also with Sanskrit and Modern Persian versions, and Eng. tr.]; the *Vendīdād* separately by D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1895, and H. Jamasp and M. M. Ganderia, do. 1907), *Nyāyiśns* (ed. [also with Sanskrit, Persian, and Gujarātī versions, and Eng. tr.] M. N. Dhalla, New York, 1908),[1] *Yaśt* i. (ed. K. Salemann, in *Travaux du 3^e congrès des orientalistes*, Petrograd, 1879, ii. 493-592), vi., vii., xi. (ed. J. Darmesteter, *Études orient.*, Paris, 1883, ii. 286-288, 292-294, 333-339; a complete ed. is promised by Dhalla), *Nīrangistān* (ed. D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1894; tr. of Avesta portion by Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892-93, iii. 78-148, and *SBE* iv.^{2} [1895] 304-368), *Aogemadaēcā* (ed. and tr. W. Geiger, Erlangen, 1878), and *Hāṭōxt Nask* (ed. and tr. Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa and M. Haug, in their *Ardā Vīrāf*, Bombay, 1872-74, also tr. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, ii. 648-658, and *SBE* xxiii. [1883] 311-323). In addition, Pahlavi versions of *Yt.* ii., xiv., and xxiv., and of the *Āfrīnakāns* and *Sīh rōcaks*, are known to exist in MS.[2]

2. Texts on Zoroastrian religious subjects.—Of these the longest and most important is the *Dīnkarṭ* ('Acts of the Religion'), dating from the 9th cent., and forming 'a large collection of information regarding the doctrines, customs, traditions, history, and literature of the Mazda-worshipping religion' (E. W. West, *GIrP* ii. 91). The first two books have been lost, and the ninth ends abruptly. The *Dīnkarṭ* is the chief source for a knowledge of Zoroastrian philosophy in the Sasanid period, and it also contains much legendary material of value, such as the traditions concerning Zoroaster (tr. West, *SBE* xlvii. [1897] 3-130), while two books, viii.-ix. (tr. West, *ib.* xxxvii. [1892] 3-397), contain summaries of the Avesta, including accounts of those large portions which are no longer extant. The text, which is of exceptional difficulty, has been edited by D. M. Madan (Bombay, 1911), and, with English and Gujarātī paraphrases, by Peshotan Behramji and Darab Peshotan Sanjana (do. 1874 ff.; vol. xiii. carries the work through *Dīnk.* vii. 2). The *Bundahiśn* treats of Zoroastrian cosmogony, cosmology, and eschatology. It is found in two recensions: a shorter (ed. and tr. F Justi, Leipzig, 1868; tr. West, *SBE* v. [1880] 3-151) and a longer—the so-called Great, or Iranian, *Bundahiśn* (ed. T. D. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1908; summary of contents in *GIrP* ii. 100-102; tr. of portions by Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, i. 267 f., ii. 305-322, 398-402; by J. J. Modi, *Asiatic Papers*, Bombay, 1905, pp. 225-234; and by E. Blochet, *RHR* xxxii. [1895] 99 ff., 217 ff.).

Eschatology forms the general subject of the *Arṭā-ī-Vīrāf Nāmak*, which sets forth, in describing the journey of Arṭā-ī-Vīrāf through heaven and hell, the future life of both righteous and wicked (ed. Hoshangji and Haug, Bombay, 1872-74). Here belong also the *Bahman Yaśt*, which purports to be Ahura Mazda's revelation to Zoroaster of the future vicissitudes of the Iranian nation and religion (ed. K. A. Noshervan, Poona, 1899; tr. West, *SBE* v. 191-235); and the *Maṭan-ī-Śāh Vāhrām-ī-Varjāvand* ('Coming of King Vāhrām-ī-Varjāvand'), on the expulsion of the Arabs from Persia (ed. Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts contained in the Codex MK*, Bombay, 1897-1913, p. 160 f.).

The principal Pahlavi texts of a purely general religious character are the following: *Māṭīgān-ī-Haft Amśaspand* ('Particulars of the seven Amesha Spentas'); *Stāyiśn-ī Sīh-Rōcak* ('Praise of the Thirty Days'), which 'praises and invokes Aūharmazd as the creator of each of the thirty sacred beings whose names are applied to the days of the month, and whose attributes are detailed and blessed in succession' (West, *GIrP* ii. 108); *Stāyiśn-ī-Drōn*, a laudation of the *drōn*, or sacred cake; *Ḥaqīqat-ī-Rōjhā* ('Statement of the Days'), stating what actions are suitable on each of the days of the month; *Māṭīgān-ī Māh Fravarṭīn Rōj Xūrdāṭ*, enumerating the marvellous events that have occurred on the sixth day of the first month from the beginning to the end of the world (ed. Jamaspji, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-108; tr. K. J. Jāmāsp Asānā, *Cama Memorial Volume*, Bombay, 1900, pp. 122-129); *Māṭīgān-ī-Sīh-Rōj*, containing material similar to the *Ḥaqīqat*, but in fuller detail (tr. D. P. Sanjana, *Next-of-kin Marriages in old Irân*, London, 1888, pp. 105-116); *Dārūk-ī-Xūrsandīh*, giving the components (contentment, perseverance, etc.) which are to be pounded with 'the pestle of reverence,' and taken daily at dawn with the spoon of prayer (ed. Jamaspji, *op. cit.*, p. 154); *Cīm-ī-Drōn* ('Meaning of the Sacred Cake'), dealing with the symbolism and consecration of the *drōn*; *Patēṭ-ī-Xūṭ*, a long formula for the confession of one's sins; a number of *Āfrīns* ('Benedictions'); the *Āśīrvād*, or marriage benediction; *Namās-ī-Aūharmazd*, a laudation of Ahura Mazda (ed. and tr. E. Sachau, *SWAW* lxvii. [1871] 828–833; also tr. Darmesteter, *Une Prière judéo-persane*, Paris, 1891); and *Nāmstāyiśnīh*, a laudation of the name and attributes of Ahura Mazda.

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[1] Translations of the Pahlavi version of *Ys.* xxx. and lvii. have been made by H. Hübschmann (*Ein zoroastr. Lied*, Munich, 1872, and *SMA*, phil.-hist. Classe, 1873, pp. 651-664), of xi. by W. Bang (*Bull. de l'Acad. roy. de Belgique*, xviii. [1889] 247-260), of xxviii.-xxxii. 1 by M. Haug (*Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*^{4}, London, 1907, pp. 338-354), of ix. by M. B. Davar (Leipzig, 1904), and of *Vend.* i. by W. Geiger (Erlangen, 1877), of i., xviii.-xx. by Haug (*op. cit.* 355-393), and of xvii. by P. Horn (*ZDMG* xliii. [1889] 32-41).

[2] The authenticity of the *Vijirkarṭ-ī-Dīnīk* (ed. Peshotan, Bombay, 1848) is too dubious to be considered here. The book, of which the writer knows only two copies (in the Staatbibliothek, Munich, and in the library of A. V. W. Jackson, Columbia University), has been suppressed by the Parsis as unauthentic (cf. on it West, *GIrP* ii. 89 f.; C. Bartholomae, *Indogerman. Forschungen*, xi. [1900] 119-131, xii. [1901] 92-101).

Second only to the *Dīnkarṭ* as a source for knowledge of the religious philosophy of the Sasanid Zoroastrians (and, like the larger work, doubtless embodying a large amount of older material) is what may be termed *responsa* literature. This treats of all sorts of matters on which questions might arise. One of the most important works of this type is the *Dāṭistān-ī-Dīnīk*, the 'Religious Opinions' of Mānūšcīhar, high priest of Pārs and Kirmān, in reply to the questions raised by Mitrō-Xūršēṭ and others (tr. West, *SBE* xviii. [1882] 3–276; the first 15 questions ed. D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1897); with this is connected a long and important Pahlavi *Rivāyat* (ed. Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar, Bombay, 1913), while the same Mānūšcīhar wrote, in 881, three epistles on ritual problems (ed. Dhabhar, Bombay, 1912, tr. West, *SBE* xviii. 279–366), his brother, Zāṭ-Sparam, also being the author of a noteworthy religious treatise (tr. West, *SBE* v. 155–186, xlvii. 133–170, xxxvii. 401–405). Of equal importance with the *Dāṭistān-ī-Dīnīk* is the *Dīnā-ī-Maīnōg-i-Xraṭ* ('Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom'), of which only a portion (ed. F. C. Andreas, Kiel, 1882) survives in Pahlavi, though the complete work is found in Pāzand and Sanskrit (ed. West, Stuttgart, 1871, tr. West, *SBE* xxiv. [1885] 3–113). The *Pursiśnīhā* ('Questions') are chiefly answered by quotations from Avesta texts (the latter ed. and tr. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, iii. 53–77, *SBE* iv.^{2} 276–299), and another noteworthy collection of *responsa* (as yet unedited) is contained in the *Rivāyat-ī-Hēmēṭ-ī-Aśavahištān*. Here, too, belongs, roughly speaking, the *Šāyast-lā-Šāyast* ('Proper and Improper'), whose contents 'are of a very varied character, but sins and good works, precautions to avoid impurities, details of ceremonies and customs, the mystic signification of the Gathas, and praise of the sacred beings are the principal subjects discussed' (West, *GIrP* ii. 107; tr. West, *SBE* v. 239–406). In this category may also be ranked the *Māṭīgān-ī-Yōšt-ī-Fryāno*, narrating how the righteous Yōsht answered the 33 questions of the wizard Axt, who was thus destroyed, whereas he had previously killed all who had failed to solve his queries—the Iranian version of the story of the sphinx (ed. and tr. Hoshangji and Haug, in their *Ardā Vīrāf*; also tr. A. Barthélemy, *Une Légende iranienne*, Paris, 1889). Controversial literature is represented by the *Māṭīgān-ī gujastak Abāliś*, recounting the disputation between the heretic Abāliš and Aṭūr-Farnbag (who began the compilation of the *Dīnkarṭ*) before the khalīf al-Ma'mūn about 825 (ed. and tr. Barthélemy, Paris, 1887).

Yet another important type of Pahlavi literature is that of didactic admonitions. To this class belong the *Pand-nāmak-ī-Zaratūšt* (not the Prophet, but probably the son of Āṭūrpāṭ-ī-Māraspandān; ed. and tr. P. B. Sanjana, in his *Ganje-Shāyagān*, Bombay, 1885); *Andarj-ī-Xūsrō-ī-Kavāṭān*, purporting to be the dying counsels of Chosroes to his people (ed. and tr. Sanjana, *op. cit.*; also tr. L. C. Casartelli, *BOR* i. [1887] 97–101, and Salemann, *Mélanges asiat. tirés du bull. de l'acad. imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, ix. [1887] 242–253); *Andarj-ī-Āṭūrpāṭ-ī-Māraspandān*, being the advice of Āṭūrpāṭ to his son Zaratūsht (perhaps the person mentioned just above; ed. and tr. Sanjana, *op. cit.*; also tr. C. de Harlez, *Muséon*, vi. [1887] 66–78); *Pand-nāmak-ī-Vajōrg-Mitrō-ī-Būxtakān* (ed. and tr. Sanjana, *op. cit.*); *Five Dispositions for Priests and Ten Admonitions for Laymen* (ed. Jamaspji, *op. cit.* 129–131); *Characteristics of a Happy Man* (ed. Jamaspji, *op. cit.* 162–167); *Vācak aēcand-ī-Āṭūrpāṭ-ī-Māraspandān*, the dying counsel of Āṭūrpāṭ (ed. Jamaspji, *op. cit.* 144–153); *Andarj-ī-Aōśnar-ī-dānāk*, *Injunctions to Beh-dīns*, *Admonitions to Mazdayasnians*, and *Sayings of Aṭūr-Farnbag and Baxt-Āfrīṭ* (these as yet unedited).

3. Manichæan and Christian literature.—Until comparatively recently it was supposed that Pahlavi literature was exclusively Zoroastrian; but the discoveries made in Central Asia by M. A. Stein, A. Grünwedel, A. von Le Coq, and P. Pelliot have revealed a new province of extreme interest and value. The decipherment of the MSS found by these explorers has only begun. Here it must suffice to say that we already possess Pahlavi versions of somewhat extensive portions of Manichæan literature—a fact the more important since this religion had hitherto been known only from the writings of its enemies. The most important collection of these texts thus far is that of F. W. K. Müller (with German translation, 'Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan,' *ABAW*, 1904; revised ed. C. Salemann, 'Manichaeische Studien, i.,' *Mém. de l'acad. imp. des sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, viii. 10 [1908]; Müller, 'Doppelblatt aus einem manich. Hymnenbuch,' *ABAW*, 1913). In the closely allied Soghdian dialect are numerous fragments of a version of the NT, perhaps from the 9th or 10th cent. (Müller, 'NT Bruchstücke in sog. Sprache,' *SBAW*, 1907, pp. 260–270; 'Sog. Texte, i.,' *ABAW*, 1913; cf. L. H. Gray, *ExpT* xxv. [1913] 59–61).

4. Pāzand and Sanskrit versions.—The special problems of the Pahlavi language cannot be discussed here (see F. Spiegel, *Gram. der Huzvâresch Sprache*, Vienna, 1851; P. B. Sanjana, *Gram. of the Pahlvi Lang.*, Bombay, 1871; C. de Harlez, *Manuel du Pehlevi*, Paris, 1880; Darmesteter, *Études iran.*, do. 1883; Salemann, 'Mittelpersisch,' *GIrP* I. i. [1901] 249–332; E. Blochet, *Études de gram. pehlvie*, Paris, n.d. [1905]); it must suffice to say that, when the Semitic words (or logograms) in Pahlavi are written in Iranian (e.g., *śāhān śāh*, 'king of kings,' instead of *malkāān malkā*), the language is termed Pāzand (Spiegel, *Gram. der Pârsisprache*, Leipzig, 1851). Many Pahlavi texts already listed are found in Pāzand as well. The great majority of the religious writings of this type, except the important *Šikand gūmānīg-Vijār* ('Doubt-dispelling Explanation'), probably dating from the latter part of the 9th cent. (ed. Hoshang and West, Bombay, 1887; tr. West, *SBE* xxiv. 117–251), and the *Jāmāsp-nāmak* (ed. J. J. Modi, Bombay, 1903), have been edited by E. K. Antiā (*Pâzend Texts*, Bombay, 1909). The *Šikand gūmānīg-Vijār* defends the doctrine of dualism, and in this connexion polemizes in very interesting fashion against Judaism, Christianity, Manichæanism, and—necessarily quite guardedly—Muhammadanism (cf. artt. JESUS CHRIST IN ZOROASTRIANISM, JEWS IN ZOROASTRIANISM); the *Jāmāsp-nāmak* gives a summary of Iranian cosmology, history, and future fortunes of the Iranian religion. Among the texts edited by Antiā are *doās* (benedictions recited on various occasions), *nīrangs* (charms, often of much ethnographical interest; for examples see Modi, *Anthropological Papers*, Bombay, 1911, pp. 48, 125–129; K. E. Kanga, in *Cama Mem. Vol.*, 142–145), *patēṭs* (confessions); and of texts not included in this collection mention may be made of *A Father instructing his Son* and *Andarj-ī-dānāk Marṭ*.

A number of Pahlavi (and Avesta) treatises are found in Sanskrit as well as in Pahlavi and Pāzand versions. Many of these are given in editions of Pahlavi texts enumerated above, but we must also note the ed. of Neriosangh's version of the *Yasna* by Spiegel (Leipzig, 1861) and the series of *Collected*

Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis, ed. S. D. Bharucha (Bombay, 1906 ff.).

5. Parsi-Persian literature.—Apart from Persian translations of Avesta and Pahlavi texts, there is a large amount of Zoroastrian literature in Persian, which, for the most part, still awaits study. The *Zartušt-nāmah*, dating from the 12th cent., which is now accessible in original and translation by F. Rosenberg (Petrograd, 1904), gives a legendary biography of Zoroaster. Another work of importance is the *Ṣad-dar* ('Hundred Gates'), which discusses a hundred subjects of note in Zoroastrianism. Two of its three recensions have been translated into English (West, *SBE* xxiv. 255–361) and Latin (T. Hyde, *Hist. religionis veterum Persarum*, Oxford, 1700, pp. 433–488). A different work, although along the same general lines, is the *Ṣad-darband-ī-Huš* (or *Ṣad-dar Bundahišn*; ed. B. N. Dhabhar, Bombay, 1909). Of worth for a study of the methods of Zoroastrian polemic against Muhammadanism is the *'Ulamā-i-Islām*, which is found in two recensions, the shorter of which has been edited and translated (ed. J. Mohl, *Fragmens relatifs à la religion de Zoroastre*, Paris, 1829; tr. J. Vullers, *Fragmente über die Religion des Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831; Blochet, *RHR* xxxvii. [1898] 23–49). A particularly valuable collection of Parsi-Persian literature is contained in the MS Bu 29, belonging to the University of Bombay, the second volume of which has been edited by M. N. Unvālā (not yet published) and analyzed by Rosenberg (*Notices de litt. parsie*, Petrograd, 1909). It contains a large number of *Rivāyats* (religious traditions) and letters on the most diverse subjects—ritual, cosmogony, eschatology, etc.—the longer recension of the *'Ulamā-i-Islām* (pp. 72–80), the *Aḥkām-i-Jāmāsp* (containing the horoscopes of Zoroaster, Moses, Alexander the Great, Christ, Mazdak, etc., as well as cosmology and eschatology, pp. 111–130), *Vaṣf-i-Amšāsfundān* (attributes of the Amesha Spentas, pp. 164–192), *Āghāz-i-dāstān Mazdak va-Šāh Nūšīrvān 'Ādil* (on the heresiarch Mazdak, pp. 214–230), six parables connected with the Barlaam cycle (pp. 305–327; cf. art. JOSAPHAT, BARLAAM AND), and questions asked of Zoroaster by Jāmāsp (pp. 417–422). Among other Parsi-Persian texts, not yet edited, may be mentioned a *Discussion on Dualism* between a Zoroastrian priest and a Muhammadan, and the *Saugand-nāmah*, or 'Book of Oaths.'

The interesting secular works in Pahlavi, Pāzand, and Parsi-Persian, such as geographical matter, social rules, and tales, do not come within the sphere of religion.

Finally, it may be mentioned that translations of the Avesta have been made not only into Persian (for specimens see, in addition to works cited above, Darmesteter, *Études iran.* ii. 262 ff.), but also, from the 15th cent., into Gujarātī, the vernacular of the Indian Zoroastrians (see the Prolegomena to K. Geldner's ed. of the Avesta, Stuttgart, 1896, pp. vii–xi; Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, i. p. xlii); and the modern religious literature of the Parsis is chiefly written either in Gujarātī or in English.

LITERATURE. — F. Spiegel, *Traditionelle Lit. der Parsen*, Vienna, 1860; E. W. West, 'Pahlavi Lit.,' *GIrP* ii. (Strassburg, 1904) 75–129; E. Wilhelm and K. B. Patel, *Cat. of Books on Irânian Lit. published in Europe and India*, Bombay, 1901, and the former scholar's annual report on 'Perser' in *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

LITERATURE (Vedic and Classical Sanskrit).—**1. The language.**—The name 'Sanskrit' (*saṁskṛta*, 'adorned,' 'perfected,' perfect passive participle of the verb *saṁ-skar*, 'to adorn,' from *saṁ*, 'together,' and *kar*, 'to make') is ordinarily applied to the whole ancient and sacred language of India. It belongs more properly to that dialect which may be defined more exactly as Classical Sanskrit, the language which was treated by the Hindu grammarians, Pāṇini and his followers. For more than 2000 years, until the present day, this language has led a more or less artificial life. Like the Latin of the Middle Ages, it was, and is, even to-day, to a very marked extent, the means of communication and literary expression of the priestly, learned, and cultivated classes. The more popular speech upon which it was based is known as *bhāṣā* ('speech,' from *bhāṣ*, 'to speak'), of which there is no direct record. Sanskrit is distinguished more obviously from the phonetically later, decayed dialects, Prākrit and Pāli, the second of the two being the language of the canonical writings of the Southern Buddhists. The relation of the Prākrit and Pāli dialects to Sanskrit is closely analogous to the relation of the Romance languages to Latin. On the other hand, Sanskrit is distinguished, although much less sharply, from the oldest forms of Indian speech, preserved in the canonical and wholly religious literature of the Veda (Skr. *veda*, 'knowledge,' from *vid*, 'to know,' connected with Gr. *Ϝοῖδα* 'I know,' Lat. *videre*, Old Bulgarian *vědě*, 'I know,' Gothic *wait*, 'I know,' Old High German *wizzan*, Germ. *wissen*, Eng. *wit*, 'to know'). These forms of speech are in their turn by no means free from important dialectic, stylistic, and chronological differences; yet they are comprised under the name Vedic (or, less properly, Vedic Sanskrit), which is thus distinguished from the language of Pāṇini and its forerunner, the language of the Epics, whose proper designation is Sanskrit, or Classical Sanskrit.

Vedic differs from Sanskrit about as much as the Greek of Homer does from Attic Greek. The Vedic apparatus of grammatical forms is much richer and less definitely fixed than that of Sanskrit. The latter has lost much of the wealth of form of the earlier language, without, as a rule, supplying the proper substitutes for the lost materials. Many case-forms and verbal forms of Vedic have disappeared in Sanskrit. The subjunctive is lost; a single Sanskrit infinitive takes the place of about a dozen very interesting Vedic infinitives. Sanskrit also gave up the most important heirloom which the Hindu language has handed down from pre-historic times, namely, the Vedic system of accentuation. In the last forty years the recorded Vedic accents have proved to be of paramount importance in the history of the Indo-European languages. Vedic, however, notwithstanding its somewhat unsettled wealth of form and its archaic character, is not a strictly popular dialect, but a more or less artificial 'high speech,' handed down through generations by families of priestly singers. Thus both Vedic and Sanskrit, as is indeed the case more or less wherever a literature has sprung up, were in a sense caste languages, built upon popular idioms. The grammatical regulation of Sanskrit at the hands of Pāṇini and his followers, however, went beyond any academic attempts to regulate speech recorded elsewhere in the history of civilization.

Older forms lying behind the Vedic language are reconstructed by the aid of Comparative Philology. The Vedic people were immigrants to India; they came from the great Iranian region on the other side of the Himālaya mountains. The comparison of Vedic (and to a less extent Sanskrit) with the oldest forms of Iranian speech, the language of the Avesta and the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenian Persian kings, yields the rather startling result that these languages are collectively mere dialects of one and the same older idiom. This is known as the Indo-Iranian or Aryan (in the narrower, and proper, sense) language. The reconstructed Aryan language differs less from the language of the Veda than Classical Sanskrit does from Prākrit and Pāli. The language of the Iranian Avesta is so much like that of the Veda that entire passages of either literature may be converted into good specimens of the other by merely eliminating the special sound changes which each has evolved in the course of its separate existence. And the literary style, the metres, and above all the mythology of Veda and Avesta are closely enough allied to make the study of either to some extent directly dependent upon the other. In fact, the spiritual monuments of the Avesta as well as the stone monuments of the Achæmenian kings became intelligible chiefly by the aid of the Vedic language. Since the revival of classical learning there has been no event of such importance in the history of culture as the discovery of Sanskrit in the latter part of the 18th century. There is at present no domain of historical or linguistic science untouched by the influence of Sanskrit studies. The study of this language gave access to the primitive Indo-European period, and originated the science of Comparative Philology in all its bearings. Linguistic Science, Comparative Mythology, Science of Religion, Comparative Jurisprudence, and other important fields of historical and philosophical study either owe their very existence to the discovery of Sanskrit or were profoundly influenced by its study.

2. The Veda as a whole.—The word 'Veda' is the collective designation of the ancient sacred literature of India, or of individual books belonging to that literature. At an unknown date, which is at the present time conventionally averaged up as 1500 B.C., but which may be considerably earlier, Aryan tribes (clans, *viś*, from which is derived the later name of the third, or agricultural, caste, Vāiśya) began to migrate from the Iranian highlands on the north of the Hindu Kush mountains into the north-west of India, the plains of the river Indus and its tributaries. The non-Aryan aborigines, called Dasyu, in distinction from Ārya (whence the word 'Aryan'), the name of the conquerors, were easily subdued. The conquest was followed by gradual amalgamation of the fairer-skinned conquerors with the dark aborigines. The result was a not altogether primitive, semi-pastoral civilization, in which cities, kings, and priestly schools rivalled the interests connected with cattle-raising and agriculture. From the start we are confronted with a poetical literature, primitive on the whole, and more particularly exhibiting its crudeness when compared with Classical Sanskrit literature, yet lacking neither in refinement and beauty of thought nor in skill in the handling of language and metre. That this product was not entirely originated on Indian soil follows from the above-mentioned close connexion with the earliest forms of Persian literature. Vedic literature in its first intention is throughout religious. It includes hymns, prayers, and sacerdotal formulæ offered by priests to the gods in behalf of lay sacrificers; charms for witchcraft and medicine, manipulated by magicians and medicine-men; expositions of the sacrifice, illustrated by legends, in the manner of the Jewish Talmud; higher speculations, philosophic, psycho-physical, cosmic, and theosophic, gradually growing up in connexion with and out of the simpler beliefs; and, finally, rules for conduct in everyday life, at home and abroad. This is the Veda as a whole.

At the base of this entire literature of more than 100 books, not all of which have as yet been unearthed or published, lie four varieties of metrical and formulaic compositions known as the four Vedas in the narrower sense. These are the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Sāmaveda, and the Atharvaveda. These four names come from a somewhat later time; they do not coincide exactly with the earlier names, nor do they correspond completely with the contents of the texts themselves. The earlier names are *ṛchaḥ*, 'stanzas of praise,' *yajūṁṣi*, 'liturgical stanzas and formulæ,' *sāmāni*, 'melodies,' and *atharvāṅgirasaḥ*, 'blessings and curses.' The collection which goes by the name of Rigveda contains not only 'stanzas of praise,' but also 'blessings and curses,' as well as most of the stanzas which form the basis of the *sāman*-melodies of the Sāmaveda. The Atharvaveda contains *ṛchaḥ* and *yajūṁṣi*, as well as blessings and curses. The Yajurveda also contains many blessings in addition to its main topic, the liturgy. The Sāmaveda is merely a collection of a certain kind of 'stanzas of praise' which are derived with some variants and additions from the Rigveda, but are here set to music which is indicated by musical notations.

3. The Rigveda.—The *Rigveda* is on the whole the most important as well as the oldest of the four collections. A little over 1000 hymns, equalling in bulk the surviving poems of Homer, are arranged in ten books, called *maṇḍalas*, or 'circles.' Six of them (ii.–vii.), the so-called 'family books,' form the nucleus of the collection. Each of these is the work of a different *ṛṣi*, 'seer,' or rather a family of poets, traditionally descended from such a *ṛṣi*, as may be gathered from certain statements in the hymns themselves. The eighth book and the first fifty hymns of the first book, belonging to the family of Kaṇva, are often arranged strophically in groups of two or three stanzas. These form the bulk of those stanzas which are sung to melodies in the Sāmaveda. The hymns of the ninth book are addressed directly to the deified plant *soma*, and the liquor pressed from it, in order that it may be sacrificed to the gods. The remainder of the first book and the entire tenth book are more miscellaneous in character and problematic as to arrangement. On the whole they are of later origin and from a different sphere. Their themes are partly foreign to the narrower purpose of the *ṛchaḥ*; witchcraft hymns of a more popular character and theosophic hymns appear in considerable numbers. The poems of the former class reappear, usually with variants, in the Atharvaveda.

On the whole the Rigveda is a collection of priestly hymns addressed to the gods of the Vedic pantheon (see VEDIC RELIGION) during sacrifice. This sacrifice consisted of oblations of intoxicating *soma*, pressed from the 'mountain-born' *soma*-plant, which reappears in the Zoroastrian Avesta under the name *haoma* (*q.v.*), and was therefore the sacred sacrificial fluid of the Indo-Iranians, or Aryans. In addition, melted butter (*ghṛta*, or *ghī*) was poured into the fire, personified as the god Agni (Lat. *ignis*), who performs the function of messenger of the gods (Aṅgiras). The ritual of the Veda is to a considerable extent pre-historic, and advanced in character—by no means as simple as was once supposed. But it is much less elaborate than that of the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas (see below). The chief interest of the Rigveda lies in the gods themselves and in the myths and legends narrated or alluded to in the course of their invocation. The mythology represents an earlier, clearer stage of thought than is to be found in any other parallel literature. Above all, it is sufficiently primitive in conception to show clearly the processes of personification by which the phenomena of nature developed into gods (anthropomorphosis). The original nature of the Vedic gods, however, is not always clear, not as clear as was once confidently assumed to be the case. The analysis of their character is a chapter of Vedic philology as difficult as it is important. In any case enough is known to justify the statement that the keynote of Rigvedic thought is the nature myth.

4. The Yajurveda.—The *Yajurveda* represents the exceeding growth of ritualism or sacerdotalism. Its *yajūṁṣi*, 'liturgical stanzas and formulæ,' are in the main, though not wholly, of a later time. They are partly metrical and partly prose. The materials of the Rigveda are freely adapted, with secondary changes of expression, and without regard to the original purpose and order of their composition. The main object is no longer devotion to the gods themselves; the sacrifice has become the centre of thought: its mystic power is conceived to be a thing *per se*, and its every detail has swollen into all-importance. A crowd of priests (seventeen is the largest number) conduct a vast, complicated, and painstaking ceremonial, full of symbolic meaning even in its smallest minutiæ. From the moment when the priests seat themselves on the sacrificial ground, strewn with sacred grass, and proceed to mark out the altars (*vedi*) on which the sacred fires are built every act has its stanza or formula, and every utensil is blessed with its own fitting blessing. Every flaw is elaborately expiated. These formulæ are conceived no longer as prayers that may, or may not, succeed, but as inherently coercive magic. If the priest chants a formula for rain while pouring some sacrificial fluid, rain shall and must come; if he makes an oblation accompanied by the curse of an enemy, that enemy is surely destroyed. In fact, and in brief, the Yajurveda means the deification of the sacrifice in its every detail of act and word.

5. The Sāmaveda.—The *Sāmaveda* is the least clear of all the Vedas as regards its purpose and origin. Its stanzas, or rather groups of stanzas, are known as *sāmāni*, 'melodies.' The *sāman*-stanzas are preserved in three forms: (1) in the Rigveda, as ordinary poetry, accented in the same way as other Vedic poetry; (2) in the Sāmaveda itself in a form called *ārchika*, a kind of libretto composed of a special collection of stanzas, most of which, though not all, occur also in the Rigveda (see above); here also there is a system of accents, peculiar in its notation, but apparently with reference to the unsung *sāmans*; (3) in the third *sāman*-version, the *gānas*, or song-books, we find the real sung *sāmans*; here not only the text but the musical notes are given. Still this is not yet a complete *sāman*. In the middle of the sung stanzas exclamatory syllables are interspersed—the so-called *stobhas*, such as *oṁ*, *hau*, *hai*, *hoyi*, or *hiṁ*; and at the end of the stanzas certain concluding syllables—the so-called *nidhanas*, such as *atha*, *ā*, *īṁ*, and *sāt*. The Sāmaveda is devoted chiefly to the worship of Indra, who is a blustering, braggadocio god and who has to befuddle himself with *soma* in order to slay demons. It seems likely, therefore, that the *sāmans* are the civilized version of savage shamanism (the resemblance between the two words, however, is accidental), an attempt to influence the natural order of things by shouts and exhortations. It is well understood that the Brāhmans were in the habit of blending their own hieratic practices and conceptions with the practices which they found among the people. The *sāman*-melodies and the exclamations interspersed among the words of the text may therefore be the substitute for the self-exciting shouts of the shaman priests of an earlier time.

6. The Atharvaveda.—The oldest name of the Atharvaveda is *atharvāṅgirasaḥ*, a compound formed of the names of two semi-mythic families of priests, the Atharvans and Aṅgirases. At a very early time the former term was regarded as synonymous with 'holy charms,' or 'blessings,' the latter with 'witchcraft charms,' or 'curses'. In addition to this name, and the more conventional name Atharvaveda, there are two other names, practically restricted to the ritual texts of this Veda: *bhṛgvaṅgirasaḥ*, that is, 'Bhṛgus and Aṅgirases,' in which the Bhṛgus, another ancient family of fire-priests, take the place of the Atharvans; and *Brahmaveda*, probably 'Veda of the Brahma, or holy religion in general.' As regards the latter name, it must be remembered that the Atharvaveda contains a large number of theosophic hymns which deal with the *brahma* in the sense of the Neo-Platonic λόγος, as a kind of pantheistic personification of holy thought and its pious utterance. The Atharvaveda is a collection of 730 hymns, containing some 6000 stanzas.

7. The Vedic schools.—The redactions or collections of these four Vedas are known as *Saṁhitās*; each of them is handed down in various schools, branches, or recensions, called *charaṇa*, *śākhā*, or *bheda*, the term *śākhā*, or 'branch,' being the most familiar of the three. These 'branches' represent a given Veda in forms differing not a little from one another. The school differences of the Rigveda are unimportant, except as they extend also to the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras of that Veda (see below). There are two Sāmaveda redactions, those of the schools of the Kauthumas and the Rāṇāyanīyas. A very persistent tradition ascribes nine schools to the Atharvaveda; the Saṁhitās of two of these, the Śaunakīyas and Paippalādas, are published, the latter in an interesting chromo-photographic reproduction of the unique manuscript of that text preserved in the library of the University of Tübingen. The Yajurveda, especially, is handed down in recensions that differ from one another very widely. There is in the first place the broad division into White Yajurveda and Black Yajurveda. The most important difference between these two is that the Black Yajurveda schools intermingle their stanzas and formulæ with the prose exposition of the Brāhmaṇa (see below), whereas the White Yajurveda schools present their Brāhmaṇa in separate works. The White Yajurveda belongs to the school of the Vājasaneyins, and is subdivided into the Mādhyaṁdina and Kāṇva recensions. The important schools of the Black Yajurveda are the Taittirīyas, Maitrāyaṇīyas, Kaṭhas, and Kapiṣṭhalas. Sometimes these schools have definite geographical locations. For example, the Kaṭhas and Kapiṣṭhalas were located, at the time when the Greeks became acquainted with India, in the Panjāb and in Kashmīr. The Maitrāyaṇīyas appear at one time to have occupied the region around the lower course of the river Narmadā; the Taittirīyas, at least in modern times, are at home in the south of India, the Deccan.

8. The Brāhmaṇas.—The poetic stanzas and the ritualistic formulæ of the Vedas collectively go by the name of *mantra*, 'pious utterance,' or 'hymn.' These were followed at a later period by a very different literary type, namely, the theological treatises called *brāhmaṇa*, the Hindu analogon to the Hebrew Talmud. The Brāhmaṇas are exegetical and commentative, bulky expositions of the sacrificial ceremonial, describing its minute details, discussing its value or reason, speculating upon its origin, and illustrating its potency by ancient legends. Apart from the light which these texts throw upon the sacerdotalism of ancient India, they are important because they are written in connected prose—the earliest in the entire domain of Indo-European speech. They are especially important for syntax: in this respect they represent the oldest Indian stage even better than the Rigveda, owing to the restrictions imposed upon the latter by its poetic form. The Brāhmaṇas also were composed in schools, or recensions: the various Brāhmaṇa recensions of one and the same Veda differ at times even more widely than the Saṁhitās of the *mantras*. Thus the Rigveda has two Brāhmaṇas, the *Aitareya* and the *Kauṣītakin*, or *Śāṅkhāyana*. The Brāhmaṇa matter of the Black Yajurvedas is given together with the *mantras* of that class (see above); on the other hand, the White Yajurveda treats its Brāhmaṇa matter separately, and with extraordinary fullness, in the famous *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the 'Brāhmaṇa of a Hundred Paths,' so called because it consists of a hundred lectures. Next to the Rigveda and Atharvaveda Saṁhitās this work is the most important production in the whole range of Vedic literature. Two Brāhmaṇas belonging to independent recensions of the Sāmaveda have been preserved entire, that of the Tāṇḍins, usually designated as *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, and that of the Talavakāras or Jaiminīyas. To the Atharvaveda is attached the very late and secondary *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*; its contents harmonize so little with the spirit of the Atharvan hymns that it seems likely to have been produced in imitation of the 'school' conditions in the other Vedas.

9. The Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.—A later development of the Brāhmaṇas is the *Āraṇyakas*, or 'Forest Treatises.' Their later character is indicated both by the position which they occupy at the end of the Brāhmaṇas and by their partly theosophical character. The name 'Forest Treatise' is not altogether clear. Either these works were recited by hermits living in the forest, or, owing to the superior sanctity of their contents, they were taught by teacher to pupil in the solitude of the forest rather than in the profaner atmosphere of the town or village. The two important Āraṇyakas are the *Aitareya* and the *Taittirīya*, belonging to the two Vedic schools of that name. The chief interest of the Āraṇyakas is that they form in contents and tone a transition to the Upaniṣads, the older of which are either embedded in them or form their concluding portions (see artt. ĀRAṆYAKAS, UPANIṢADS).

10. The Śrauta-Sūtras, or manuals of the Vedic ritual.—Both *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* are regarded as revealed (*śruti*, or 'revelation'); the rest of Vedic literature as tradition (*smṛti*), derived from holy men of old. This literature has a characteristic style of its own, being handed down in the form of brief rules, or *sūtras*, whence it is familiarly known as Sūtra literature, or the Sūtras. They are, in the main, of three classes, each of which is, again, associated with a particular Vedic school, reaching back, as a rule, to the school distinctions of the Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. The first class of Sūtras are the Śrauta or Kalpa Sūtras, which may be translated 'Sūtras of the Vedic Ritual.' They are brief mnemonic rule-books compiled, with the help of oral tradition, from the Brāhmaṇas. They are technical guides to the Vedic sacrifice, distinguished from the diffusive Brāhmaṇas, where the ritual acts are interrupted by explanation and illustrative legend. To the Rigveda belong two Śrauta Sūtras, corresponding to its two Brāhmaṇa schools: the *Āśvalāyana* to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Śāṅkhāyana* or *Kauṣītakin* to the Brāhmaṇa of the same name. To the White Yajurveda belongs the Śrauta Sūtra of Kātyāyana, closely adhering to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. There are no fewer than six Śrauta Sūtras belonging to the Black Yajurveda, but only three of them are published, or in the course of publication, those of Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, belonging to the schools of the Taittirīyas, and the Mānava, belonging to the school of the Maitrāyaṇīyas. The Sāmaveda has two Śrautas, those of Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyaṇa, belonging respectively to its two schools of the Kauthumas and the Rāṇāyanīyas; the Atharvaveda has the late and inferior *Vaitāna*.

11. The Gṛhya Sūtras, or 'House Books.'—Of decidedly greater, indeed of universal, interest is the second class of Sūtras, the *Gṛhya Sūtras*, or 'House Books.' These are treatises on home life, which deal systematically and piously with the events in the everyday existence of the individual and his family. Though composed at a comparatively late Vedic period, they contain practices and prayers of great antiquity, and supplement most effectively the contents of the Atharvaveda. From the moment of birth, indeed from the time of conception, to the time when the body is consigned to the funeral pyre, they exhibit the ordinary plain Hindu in the aspect of a devout and virtuous adherent of the gods. All the important events of life are sacramental, decked out in practices often of great charm and usually full of symbolic meaning. For ethnology and the history of human ideas the 'House Books' are of unexcelled importance. These manuals are also distributed among the four Vedas and their schools, each of which is theoretically entitled to one of them. More than a dozen are now known to scholars. The Rigveda has the *Gṛhya Sūtras* of its two schools, that of Āśvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana; the White Yajurveda that of Pāraskara; the Black Yajurveda a large number, as those of the Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Hiraṇyakeśin, Mānava, and Kaṭha schools; the Sāmaveda has the Gobhila, Khādira, and Jaiminīya. To the Atharvaveda belongs the unique *Kauśika Sūtra*, which, in addition to the domestic ritual, deals with the magical and medicinal practices that specially belong to that Veda.

12. The Dharma Sūtras, or 'Law Books.'—The third class of Sūtras are the *Dharma Sūtras*, or 'Law Books.' They also deal to some extent with the customs of everyday life, but are engaged for the most part with secular and religious law. In one department of law, that of expiation, these Sūtras root in the Vedic hymns themselves. A considerable number of expiatory hymns and stanzas, clearly of the same stock as the law of expiation, are found in Vedic texts, especially the Atharvaveda and the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. The Law Sūtras, in their turn also, are either directly attached to the body of canonical writings of a certain Vedic school or are shown by inner criteria to have originated within such a school. The oldest Law Sūtras are those of the Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, belonging to the Black Yajurveda schools of that name; the Gautama belonging to the Sāmaveda; the Viṣṇu belonging to the Kaṭha school of the Black Yajurveda; and the Vāsiṣṭha of less certain associations. The earliest metrical law-books, the so-called *Dharmaśāstras*, written in Classical Sanskrit, seem also to be based on lost Sūtra collections of definite Vedic schools. The most famous of these, the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, or 'Law Book of Manu' (see LAW [Hindu]), may be founded upon a lost *Dharma Sūtra* of the Mānava or Maitrāyaṇīya school of the Black Yajurveda, while the briefer 'Law Book of Yājñavalkya' is unmistakably connected with some school of the White Yajurveda.

English readers may obtain ready insight into the contents of Vedic literature in all its important aspects through the series of translations edited by Max Müller in *SBE* (Oxford, 1879 ff.). Parts of the Rigveda are translated by Müller himself (vol. xxxii.) and H. Oldenberg (vol. xlvi.); the Atharvaveda by M. Bloomfield (vol. xlii.); the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* by J. Eggeling (vols. xii. xxvi. xli. xliii. and xliv.); seven of the *Gṛhya Sūtras* by Oldenberg (vols. xxix. and xxx.); the older *Dharma Sūtras* by G. Bühler and J. Jolly (vols. ii. vii. and xiv.); and the Law Book of Manu by Bühler (vol. xxv.).

13. Vedic and Sanskrit literature contrasted.—

The form and style of Sanskrit literature differ a good deal from those of the Vedas. As regards the language, it is to be noted that prose in Vedic times was developed to a tolerably high pitch in the Yajurvedas, Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads; in Sanskrit, apart from the strained scientific language (*sūtra*) of philosophy or grammar, or the diffuse and inorganic style of the commentators, prose is rare. It presents itself in genuine literature only in fables, fairy tales, romances, and partly in the drama. Nor has this prose improved in literary and stylistic quality, as compared with the earlier variety. On the contrary, it has become more and more clumsy and hobbling, full of long awkward compounds, gerunds, constructions in the passive voice where the active would do, and other artificialities. As regards the poetic medium of Classical Sanskrit, it also differs from the Veda. The bulk of Sanskrit poetry, especially the Epic, is composed in the *śloka* metre, a development of the Vedic *anuṣṭubh* metre of four octosyllabic lines of essentially iambic cadence. But numerous other metres, usually built up on Vedic prototypes, have become steadily more elaborate and strict than their old originals; in the main they have also become more artistic and beautiful.

Notwithstanding the wonderfully unbroken continuity of Hindu writings, the spirit of Sanskrit literature also differs greatly from the Vedic. The chief distinction between the two periods is that the Veda is essentially a religious collection, whereas Sanskrit literature is, with rare exceptions, such as the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, or the metrical Law Śāstras, profane. In the Veda lyric poetry as well as legendary and expository prose are in the service of prayer and sacrifice; in Sanskrit epic, lyric, didactic, and dramatic forms are all for the purpose of literary delectation and æsthetic or moral instruction. In Sanskrit literature, moreover, with the exception of the grand compilations of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*, the authors are generally definite persons, more or less well-known, whereas the Vedic writings go back to families of poets or schools of religious learning, the individual authors being almost invariably submerged.

14. Epic literature.—Sanskrit literature may be divided into epic, lyric, dramatic, didactic, narrative, and scientific. In epic poetry there is the important distinction between the freer, narrative epic called *itihāsa* (*q.v.*), 'story,' or *purāṇa*, 'ancient legend,' and the artistic or artificial epic called *kāvya*, 'poetic product.' The great epic, the *Mahābhārata*, is by far the most important representative of the former kind. Of somewhat similar free style are the eighteen *Purāṇas* (see below), of much later date than the *Mahābhārata*. The beginnings of the artistic style are seen in the other great Hindu epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But the finished style of the *kāvya* is not evolved until the time of Kālidāsa about the 6th cent. A.D.

The *Mahābhārata*, or 'Great Bhārata Story,' the greatest of Hindu epics, is a huge authorless compilation for which tradition has devised the name Vyāsa, 'Redaction,' as author. It is written for the most part in the epic metre, the *śloka*, and contains altogether about 100,000 stanzas of four lines each, about eight times the length of the Homeric poems.

The kernel story of the epic, which is interrupted by many episodes, or interwoven narratives, tells how the ancient and wicked dynasty of the Kurus was overthrown by the pious Pañchālas and Pāṇḍus. At a gambling-match depicted in the most vivid language, Duryodhana, the king of the Kurus, cheats the Pāṇḍu princes, robs them of their kingdom, and exiles them for thirteen years. But this is only the preparation for the final war, or eighteen days' battle, between the opposing royal houses and their allies. In this the Kurus are finally overthrown and destroyed. The heroic story is not only interrupted by episodes, but is in general made the pivot around which philosophical (religious) and ethical discussions of great length revolve. Thus the work has assumed the place in Hindu literature of an encyclopædia of moral and religious instruction.

A *Bhārata* and a *Mahābhārata* are mentioned as early as the 'House-Books' (see above) of the later Vedic literature, but all dates assigned to the original simpler epic which preceded the encyclopædic poems in its finished form are mere guesses, except that it obtained its essentially present form in the 4th or 5th cent. of our era.

Among the episodes of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, 'The Song of the Divine One,' or 'Song Celestial,' is pre-eminent. It is in some respects the most interesting and important book in post-Vedic literature.

When the rival armies of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus are drawn up against each other, Arjuna, the leader of the Pāṇḍus, stoutest of heroes, hesitates to enter upon the slaughter. Then Kṛṣṇa, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, acting as Arjuna's charioteer, silences his scruples by pointing out that action, which is the performance of duty, is the obligation of man in the world, although, finally, abstracted devotion to the Supreme Spirit alone leads to salvation. The poem is conceived in the spirit of eclectic Hindu theosophy or philosophy. At the bottom is the Sāṅkhya doctrine of dual matter and spirit, but this is tinged with monistic Vedāntist pantheism (see BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ).

It is not likely that the poem formed part of the original 'Bhārata Story,' but there is no information as to its date and authorship. The *Mahābhārata* has been translated into English prose at the expense of Pratāpa Chandra Rāy (Calcutta, 1895), and by M. N. Dutt (do. 1895).

15. The Rāmāyaṇa.—The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the second of the great epics, is in the main the work of a single author, Vālmīki. Though all parts are not from the same hand, and though it is not entirely free from digressions, it tells a connected story of great interest in epic diction of the highest order. It is to this day the favourite poem of the Hindus. The central figures are Rāma and his devoted wife Sītā; the main event the conquest of Laṅkā (probably Ceylon).

Daśaratha, the mighty king of Oudh (Ayodhyā), having grown old, decides upon Rāma, his oldest son, as his successor, but his intriguing second queen, Kâikeyī, succeeds in changing his mind in favour of her son Bharata. Rāma, banished for fourteen years, retires with Sītā to the forest. Upon the death of Daśaratha, his son Bharata refuses to usurp Rāma's throne, but seeks him out in the forest in order to conduct him back to the throne in his capital city. Rāma in turn refuses to cross his father's decision; he offers his gold-embroidered shoes as a token of his resignation of the throne. But Bharata, on returning, places the shoes upon the throne, and holds over them the yellow parasol, the sign of royalty; he himself stands by and acts as the king's plenipotentiary. In the meantime Rāma makes it his business to fight the demons who molest the ascetics of the forest in their holy practices. Râvaṇa, the king of the demons, who lives in Laṅkā, revengefully kidnaps Sītā. Then Rāma forms an alliance with Hanuman and Sugrīva, the kings of the monkeys, who build for him a wonderful bridge across from the mainland to Laṅkā. Rāma slays Rāvaṇa, is reunited with Sītā, returns home, and, conjointly with Bharata, rules his happy people, so that the golden age has come again upon the earth.

The story, notwithstanding the fact that it presents itself outwardly as a heroic legend, lies under the suspicion of containing one or more mythic roots. Certainly in the Veda Sītā is the personified furrow of the field, the beautiful wife of Indra or Parjanya (see VEDIC RELIGION). Hence Rāma certainly continues the qualities of Indra, the slayer of demons. The story also seems to typify the advance of Brāhmanical civilization southward towards Ceylon.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* consists of seven books, in about 24,000 stanzas. It exists in three recensions, which differ one from the other in their readings, the order of the stanzas, and in having each more or less lengthy passages that are wanting in the others. The best known and most popular recension has been translated by the Anglo-Indian scholar R. T. H. Griffith in five volumes (Benares, 1870–75).

16. The Purāṇas.—Somewhat related in character to the great epics are the *Purāṇas*, eighteen in number. They are later poetic works of mixed cosmogonic, epic, and didactic character. The word *purāṇa* occurs frequently in the prose texts of the Veda as a designation of the Veda's own cosmogonic and legendary lore; the name is also applied to the *Mahābhārata*. In its most distinctive sense the word refers to a class of writings which certainly do not date before the 6th cent. A.D. The existing *Purāṇas* seem to be sectarian religious manuals for the people, written in the interest of either the worshippers of Viṣṇu or those of Śiva. Though the fundamental later Hindu triad—Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva—is recognized, nevertheless the Vaiṣṇavite *Kūrma Purāṇa* does not hesitate to say: 'Viṣṇu is the divinity of the gods, Śiva of the devils.' To Brahmā all alike refer only in a perfunctory fashion. According to ancient tradition, the ideal *Purāṇa* is divided into five parts: (1) primary creation, or cosmogony; (2) secondary creation, or the destruction and rebuilding of the worlds; (3) genealogy of the gods and patriarchs; (4) *manvantaras*, or periods of reigns of the Manu; (5) the history of the dynasties of kings. Though no extant *Purāṇa* is so divided, yet their subject-matter roughly follows that order. The entire type of composition is of secondary importance; it borrows its themes very largely from the epic literature, and represents religious belief, practices, and legends in an exaggerated, fantastic, often disordered fashion (see PURĀṆAS).

17. **The 'artistic epics.'**—The Hindus consider six *kāvyas*, or 'artistic epics,' entitled to the epithet 'great' (*mahā-kāvya*). But their artistic, or, better, artificial, character removes them in reality from the sphere of genuine epic; they are interesting on account of their wealth of descriptive power and delicacy of illustration; they are deficient in the portrayal of strong character or stirring action. Moreover, they are commingled more and more with lyric, erotic, and didactic elements, as well as with bombast and play on words. Nevertheless, no less a person than Kālidāsa, the universal poet and dramatist, is the author of the two best known artistic epics, the *Kumārasaṁbhava*, or 'Birth of the War God,' and the *Raghuvaṁśa*, or 'Race of Raghu.' The former consists of seventeen cantos, the first seven of which are devoted to the courtship and wedding of the deities Śiva and Pārvatī, the parents of the youthful god of war. The real theme of the poem appears only towards the end, in the account of the destruction of the demon Tāraka, the object for which the god of war was born. The *Raghuvaṁśa*, in nineteen cantos, describes in the first nine the life of Rāma, together with that of his dynasty. Then in the next six cantos comes the story of Rāma himself, the same theme as that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The remaining cantos deal with the twenty-four kings who ruled as Rāma's successors in Ayodhyā. The remaining *kāvyas* deal for the most part with themes from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*.

18. **Lyric poetry.**—Every form of artistic Sanskrit literature, whether epic, dramatic, or confessedly lyric, has a strong lyric cast. At the bottom these three kinds, in the Hindu poet's hands, are but thematically differentiated forms of the same poetic endowment. Ornate figures of speech, luxuriant richness of colouring, carried into literary composition from the gorgeous climate, flora, and fauna of India, subtle detail-painting of every sensation and emotion—these are the common characteristics of Hindu artistic poetry. Lyric poetry can hardly do more than emphasize or specialize these conditions, yet it has its individual traits, the most important of which is the refined elaboration of the single strophe, in distinction from continuous composition. In form and name these strophes are infinitely elaborated and varied. In no other literature have poets endeavoured so strongly to harmonize the sentiment of a stanza with its metrical expression. The most elaborate continuous lyrics of India are the *Meghadūta*, or 'Cloud Messenger,' and the *Ṛtusaṁhāra*, or 'Cycle of Seasons,' both by Kālidāsa.

The theme of the former is a message sent by a *yakṣa*, or elf, exiled from heaven. The messenger is a passing cloud which shall report to the *yakṣa's* wife, as she tosses lovelorn upon her couch through the watches of the night, the longing of her exiled husband. May the cloud, after delivering his message, return with reassuring news, and never himself be separated from his lightning spouse. The 'Cycle of Seasons' is famous for its descriptions of India's tropical nature, matched all along with the corresponding human moods and emotions.

The bulk of lyrical poetry, however, is in single miniature stanzas, which suggest strongly the didactic sententious proverb poetry which the Hindus also cultivated with great success. In fact the most famous collection of such stanzas, that of Bhartṛhari, consists of lyric, didactic, and philosophic poems. Bhartṛhari, who lived in the 7th cent. A.D., is perhaps the most remarkable Hindu poet next to Kālidāsa.

His stanzas, 300 in number, are divided into three centuries—the 'Century of Love,' the 'Century of Wisdom,' and the 'Century of Resignation.' There is no action in these stanzas Ever and again, within the narrow frame of a single stanza, the poet pictures the world of him for whom the wide universe is summed up in woman, from whose glowing eyes there is no escape. But, after singing woman's praise in every key, he finally declares that he has become an altered man. Youth has gone by; his thoughts, freed from infatuation, are all for contemplation in the forest, and the whole world he accounts but as a wisp of straw.

The second master of the erotic stanza is Amaru, author of the *Amaruśataka*, or 'Century of Amaru.' He also is a master at depicting all the moods of love: bliss and dejection, anger and devotion. None of the Indian lyrists treats love from the romantic or ideal point of view; it is always sensuous love. But a certain delicacy of feeling and expression, as well as a sensitive appreciation of those qualities of love which attract irresistibly, only finally to repel, lifts their stanzas above the coarse or commonplace. It is Hindu 'minne-song,' flavoured with the universal, though rather theoretical, Hindu pessimism.

19. **Didactic poetry.**—Even in erotic lyrics the Hindu's deep-seated inclination towards speculation and reflexion is evident. This has not only been the basis of that which is best and highest in their religion and philosophy, but it has assumed shape in another important product of their literature, the gnomic, didactic, sententious stanza, which may be called the 'Proverb.' O. von Böhtlingk (*Ind. Sprüche*, Petrograd, 1870–73) collected from all Sanskrit literature some 8000 of these stanzas. They begin with the *Mahābhārata*, and are particularly common in the moral envoys of the fable literature. Their keynote is again the vanity of human life, and the superlative happiness that awaits resignation. The mental calm of the saintly anchorite who lives free from all desires in the stillness of the forest is the resolving chord of human unrest. But for him who remains in the world there is also a kind of salvation, namely, virtue. When a man dies and leaves all behind him, his good works alone accompany him on his journey into the next life (metempsychosis). Hence the practical value of virtue almost overrides the pessimistic view of the vanity of all human action. These gnomic stanzas are gathered up into collections such as the *Śānti-śataka*, or 'Century of Tranquillity,' or the *Moha-mudgara*, or 'Hammer of Folly'; but the ethical saw is really at home in the fables of the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*. These works are paralleled by Buddhist compositions (see below). In fact, a Buddhist collection of this sort, the *Dhammapada*, or 'Way of the Law,' contains perhaps the most beautiful and profound words of wisdom in all Hindu literature.

20. **The drama.**—The drama is one of the latest

yet one of the most interesting products of Sanskrit literature. With all the uncertainty of literary dates in India there is no good reason to assume for this class of works a date earlier than the 5th or 6th cent. of our era. Certain Vedic hymns in dialogue are all that the early periods of Hindu literature suggest as a possible partial, yet very doubtful, basis for the drama. The Sanskrit word for 'drama' is *nāṭaka*, from the root *naṭ*, *nart*, 'to dance' (whence '*nautch* girls,' etc.). The word therefore means literally 'ballet.' It is not doubtful that dances contributed something to the development of the drama. In various religious ceremonies of earlier times dancing played a part; at a later time the cult of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and especially of Śiva's incarnation Kṛṣṇa, was accompanied by pantomimic dances. These pantomimes reproduced the heroic deeds of these gods, and were accompanied by songs. Popular representations of this sort, the so-called *yātras*, have survived to the present day in Bengal. They are not unlike the mystery-play of the Christian Middle Ages, and their modern continuation, the passion-play. The god Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, his love, are the main characters, but there are also friends, rivals, and enemies of Rādhā. The *yātras*, a mixture of music, dancing, song, and improvised dialogue, while unquestionably in some way connected with the origin of the drama, are nevertheless separated by a very wide gap from the finished product of the *nāṭaka* as it appears in such works as the *Śakuntalā* of Kālidāsa, or the *Mṛchchhakaṭikā*, 'Clay Cart,' of Śūdraka.

It is still a moot question whether Western (Greek) influence, particularly the New Attic Comedy of Menander (as reflected in Plautus and Terence), has not in some measure contributed to the shaping of the Hindu drama. It is known that Greek actors followed Alexander the Great through Asia, and that they celebrated his victories with dramatic performances. After the death of Alexander Greek kings continued to rule in North-Western India. Brisk commerce was carried on between the west coast of India and Alexandria, the later centre of Greek literary and artistic life. Greek art and Greek astronomy certainly exercised strong influence upon Hindu art and science. The chief points of resemblance between the Hindu drama and the Greek comedy are as follows. The Hindu drama is divided into acts (from one to ten), separated by varying periods of time; the acts proper are preceded by a prologue spoken by the stage manager (*sūtradhāra*). The stage was a simple rostrum, not shut off from the auditorium by a curtain, but, on the contrary, the curtain was in the background of the stage; it was called *yavanikā*—that is, 'Greek curtain' (*ἰωνική*). The characters of the Hindu drama resemble in some respects those of the Attic comedy. There are courtesans and parasites, braggarts and cunning servants. Especially the standard comic figure of the Hindu drama, the *vidūṣaka*, the unromantic friend of the hero, compares well with the go-between, the *servus currens*, of the Græco-Roman comedy. The *vidūṣaka* is a hunchbacked, bald dwarf of halting gait, the clown of the piece. Though a Brāhman by birth, with maliciously humorous intent, he does not speak Sanskrit, but the popular dialect, Prākrit, like the women and the inferior personages of the drama. He plays the unfeeling realist, intent upon every form of bodily comfort, especially a good dinner, to the hero's sentimental flowery romanticism. Although it is just possible that one or the other feature of the Hindu drama may be due to outside influence, the inner matter is certainly national and Indic. The themes are, for the most part, those of the heroic legend in the epics, or they move in the sphere of actually existing Hindu courts. The themes, at any rate, are not different from those of other Hindu literature. They show no foreign admixtures. It must not be forgotten that certain general coincidences between the drama and the theatre of different peoples are due to common psychological traits; hence genuine historical connexion in such matters requires the most exacting proof.

The chief dramatic writer is Kālidāsa, the incomparable Hindu poet, master at the same time of epic and lyric poetry (see above). Three dramas are ascribed to him: the *Śakuntalā*, the *Urvaśī*, and *Mālavikāgnimitra*, or 'Mālavikā and Agnimitra.' From a time somewhat earlier than Kālidāsa comes the drama *Mṛchchhakaṭikā*, the 'Clay Cart,' said to have been composed by king Śūdraka, who is praised ecstatically as its author in the prologue of the play. Similarly, during the 7th cent. A.D., a king named Harṣa is said to have composed three existing dramas: the *Ratnāvalī*, or 'String of Pearls'; the *Nāgānanda*, whose hero is a Buddhist, and whose prologue is in praise of Buddha; and the *Priyadarśikā*. From the 8th cent. A.D. date the dramas of Bhavabhūti, a South Indian poet, the most distinguished dramatist next to Kālidāsa and Śūdraka. His most celebrated compositions are the *Mālatīmādhava*, or 'Mālatī and Mādhava'; and the two dramas *Mahāvīracharita* and *Uttararāmacharita*, both of which deal with Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Finally may be mentioned Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, the 'Seal of the Minister Rākṣasa,' a drama of political intrigue, whose composition also dates from the 8th century.

'Action is the body of the drama'—such is the dictum of the Hindu theorists. Precisely what we should call dramatic action is not the prominent quality of the greatest dramatist of them all, Kālidāsa. His dramas are rather distinguished by tenderness of feeling and delicacy of touch. They are lyric rather than dramatic. The action is slow, the passions profound but not elemental. The deepest feelings are portrayed in delicate forms which never approach violence or coarseness, but, on the contrary, are over-nice. At the height of the situation, perhaps in profound misery, the hero and the heroine still find time to institute comparisons between their own feelings and the phenomena of nature. There is indeed a plethora in them all of mango-trees and *śirīṣa* - blossoms, of creepers and lotus, of *bimba*-lips, of gazelles, flamingoes, and multi-coloured parrots. But we must bear in mind the climate of India, and its almost frenzied flora and fauna; then this excess will seem less extravagant. Kālidāsa's dramas are always artistic and finished, and their beauty strongly suggests the genius of Goethe. The single Hindu drama which calls to mind a real modern drama is the 'Clay Cart,' ascribed to king Śūdraka, whose persons, diction, and action, more than those of any other Hindu play, remind one of Shakespeare (see DRAMA [Indian]).

21. Fables and stories. — No department of Hindu literature is more interesting to the student of comparative literature than that of the fables and fairy tales. There is scarcely a single motive of the European fable collections that does not appear in the Hindu collections. The study of the migrations and relations of fables and fairy tales was first elevated to the position of a science by Theodor Benfey in his work on the *Pañchatantra* (Leipzig, 1859). On the other hand, the proverbs and instructions which are woven into the fables present the best and most practical picture of Hindu ethics. The most important and extensive collection of fables and tales is Buddhistic, being written in Pāli. This collection is designated as the *Jātakas*, which seems to mean 'Birth Stories.' Buddha is made to appear in every one of them as the wise or successful person or animal of the fable; he himself points the moral (see JĀTAKA). The two most important Sanskrit collections are the *Pañchatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa.* The *Pañchatantra,* or 'Five Books,' the most celebrated Sanskrit book of this sort, existed at least as early as the first half of the 6th cent. A.D., since it was translated by order of king Khusrū Anūshirvān (531–579) into Pahlavi, the literary Persian language of that time. It thence passed into Arabic, Greek, Persian, Turkish, Syriac, Hebrew, Latin, and German; and from German into other European languages. The name 'Pañchatantra' is probably not original, but took the place of 'Karaṭaka and Damanaka,' or some similar title, derived from the names of the two jackals prominent in the first book. This may be surmised, because the title of the Syriac version is 'Kalīlag and Damnag,' of the Arabic version 'Kalīlah and Dimnah.' Both the *Pañchatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa,* or 'Salutary Instruction,' were originally intended as manuals for the instruction of kings in domestic and foreign policy. The *Hitopadeśa,* said to have been composed by Nārāyaṇa, states that it is an excerpt from the *Pañchatantra* and 'other books.'

The most famous collection of fairy tales is the very extensive *Kathāsaritsāgara,* or 'Ocean of Rivers of Stories,' composed by the Kashmirian poet Somadeva, about A.D. 1070. This is in verse; three much shorter collections are in prose. The *Sukasaptati,* or 'Seventy Stories of the Parrot,' tells how a wife whose husband is away, and who is inclined to solace herself with other men, is for seventy nights cleverly entertained and deterred by the story-telling parrot, until her husband returns. The *Vetāla-pañchaviṁśati,* or 'Twenty-five Tales of the Vampire,' is known to English readers under the name of 'Vikram and the Vampire.' The fourth collection is the *Siṁhāsana-dvātriṁśikā,* or 'Thirty-two Stories of the Lion-seat' (throne), in which the throne of king Vikrama tells the stories. A noteworthy feature of the Sanskrit collections of fairy tales, as well as of the fables, is the insertion of a number of different stories within the frame of a single narrative. This style was borrowed by other Oriental peoples, the most familiar instance being the *Arabian Nights.* A few prose romances of more independent character may be mentioned in this connexion. The *Daśakumāra-charita,* or 'Adventures of the Ten Princes,' a story of common life and a very corrupt society, reminds one of the *Simplicissimus* of Grimmelshausen. Its author is Daṇḍin, and it probably dates from the 6th cent. A.D. The *Vāsavadattā* by Subandhu, and the *Kādambarī* by Bāṇa, are highly artificial romances; the latter narrates, in stilted language and long compounds, the sentimental love-story of an ineffably noble prince and the equally ineffably beautiful and virtuous fairy princess Kādambarī. These works are known as *charita,* 'narrative'; the same name is also used for chronicles or quasi-historical literature of inferior grade. The nearest approach to history, in our sense of the word, is the *Rājataraṅgiṇī,* or the Chronicle of Kashmīr, by Kalhaṇa, from the middle of the 12th cent. A.D.

22. **Scientific literature.**—India abounds in all forms of scientific literature, written in tolerably good Sanskrit, even to the present day. One of the characteristics of the Hindu mind is that it never drew the line between literary creation and scientific presentation, so that it is not easy to mark off from one another *belles lettres* and scientific literature. The ancient legal books of the Veda (see above) continue in the more modern poetical *Dharmaśāstras* and *Smṛtis.* Of these the Law Books of Manu and Yājñavalkya (see above) are the most famous examples; Manu specially enjoys great authority to this day. Rooted in the Upaniṣads are the *sūtras,* or rules, of the six systems of Hindu philosophy, and their abundant expositions. Grammar, etymology, lexicography, prosody, rhetoric, music, and architecture all own a technical literature of wide scope and importance, and the treatment of most of these shows a surprising tendency to assume metrical form. The earliest works of an etymological and phonetic character are the Vedic glosses of Yāska, the so-called *Naighaṇṭukas* and the *Nirukta,* and the *Prātiśākhyas,* or phonetic treatises pertaining to the treatment of a Vedic text in a given school or *śākhā* (see above). Later, but far more important, is the *Grammar* of Pāṇini, one of the greatest grammarians of all times, and his commentators Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Mathematics and astronomy were cultivated from very early times; the so-called Arabic numerals came to the Arabs from India, and were designated by them as Hindu numerals. Indian medical science must have begun to develop before the beginning of the Christian era, for one of its chief authors, Charaka, was the head physician of king Kaniṣka in the 1st cent. A.D. The germs of Hindu medical science reach back to the Atharvaveda. The Bower Manuscript, one of the oldest of Sanskrit manuscripts (probably 5th cent. A.D.), contains passages which agree verbally with the works of Suśruta and Charaka, the leading authorities on this subject.

LITERATURE.—The most convenient sketch for English readers is A. A. Macdonell's thoroughly competent *History of Sanskrit Literature,* one of the volumes of 'Short Histories of the Literatures of the World,' edited by Edmund Gosse (London, 1900). The bibliographical notes at the end of the book are a safe guide to more extensive study. Readable and popular in style is R. W. Frazer's *Literary History of India* (London, 1898). Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*^{2} (London, 1860) deals only with the Vedic period, and was important in its day, but is now antiquated. A. Weber's *History of Indian Literature* (from the German by T. Zachariae, London, 1878) is a learned and technical work, not at all adapted to the wants of the general reader; it represents the state of knowledge of a quarter of a century ago. The German work of L. v. Schröder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur* (Leipzig, 1887), contains a fuller, very instructive, and readable account of Hindu literature; copious translations and digests of the texts themselves render this work very helpful. The more recent treatises are H. Oldenberg, *Die Literatur des alten Indiens* (Stuttgart, 1903), and V. Henry, *Les Littératures de l'Inde* (Paris, 1904), both excellent treatises, having in view more particularly æsthetic valuation of Hindu literature. Still more recently there have appeared three parts of M. Winternitz's *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1908 ff.), a most satisfactory and instructive book. The *GIAP*, commenced under the editorship of G. Bühler, and continued after his death by F. Kielhorn and others (Strassburg, 1896 ff.), covers the entire domain of Indo-Aryan antiquity, and contains authoritative information concerning many points and problems of Sanskrit literature.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

LITHUANIANS AND LETTS.—1. Ethnography.—The Lithuanians and the Letts belong to the Aryan family of peoples, and together with the Borussians or Old Prussians, who became extinct in the 17th cent., form a distinct ethnological group. This group, now generally called the 'Baltic,' had already ramified into its several divisions in its pre-historic period, and its unity is now seen only in certain common elements of popular tradition and in the sphere of language—as regards which, however, the Lithuanians exhibit a much more archaic type than the Letts. The original home of the Lithu-Lettish or Baltic race was probably the basin of the lower Niemen, and, as that district is virtually coterminous with the Lithuania of to-day, while the Letts are found in Courland, the adjacent Prussian littoral, the southern half of Livonia, and Polish Livonia in the government of Vitebsk, it would appear that the Lettish branch had reached its present location by migrating to the originally Finnish districts of Courland and Livonia, and that, on the other hand, the Lithuanians remained fast upon their ancestral soil.

Numerically, neither member of the group is of great account, nor is it likely that either was ever important. The Lithuanians number some one and a half million, about 120,000 of them being in Prussia; the Letts less rather than more—the estimates varying from 1,200,000 to 2,000,000. In a physical respect both branches are mixed, though the mixture has been in no way detrimental to them, since many individual Lithuanians and Letts still exhibit all the distinctive marks of pure Aryan descent, while the rest, men and women alike, are generally self-reliant and sympathetic, well-formed, and often even handsome.

2. Political history.—The historical fortunes of the two peoples have run in quite distinct courses. (*a*) *Lithuanian.*—The history of the Lithuanians opens in the 11th cent. with prolonged frontier wars with Russia, from which, however, they emerged so successfully, and with their integrity still so far complete, that one of their princes, Mendowg (recognized by Pope Innocent IV. as king of Lithuania), actually contemplated the founding of a united Lithu-Russian State. This design, however, was frustrated by Mendowg's death (1263) and by internal embroilments. Nevertheless, it was at length brought to realization by the government of the Grand-duke Gedymin († 1341); and then, under the leadership of his sons, Olgierd (whom his brothers recognized as sovereign Grand-duke) and Keistut, the young nation succeeded in extending its sway from the Baltic to the Euxine, and from the Polish Bug to the Ugra and the Oka, though it did not include the western districts (Nadrauen, Schalauen, and Sudauen), which the Teutonic Knights had brought under their control during the years 1274–83.

At the death of Olgierd, in 1377, his place was taken by his favourite son, Jagiello, who, however, soon quarrelled with Keistut († 1382) and with his son Witaut, the outcome of the dissension being that the latter became the real lord of Lithuania, although nominally the sovereignty of Jagiello was not thereby infringed. Jagiello had shortly before (1386) married Hedwig, queen of Poland, thus opening the way for a political alliance between Lithuania and Poland which seriously threatened the independence of the former. Witaut strained every nerve and took all available measures to avert this danger. Not only did he seek to promote the independence of his country in a political sense, but he also endeavoured, by working for a union between the Greek and Roman communions within its borders, to make it ecclesiastically self-dependent. While these endeavours proved to be in vain, they won him the confidence of the Utraquist Hussites in such measure that upon the death of King Wenceslaus they offered him the Bohemian crown, and it was only the unpropitious political conditions of the time that prevented his acceptance of it. He was now all the more ready to assume the crown of Lithuania, which, indeed, the Emperor Sigismund, with a view to the complete severance of that country from Poland, had thrice offered him already. Here, again, however, Witaut was disappointed, as Poland intercepted the passage of the party which was conveying the crown to him, and he died shortly afterwards (1430)—four years before Jagiello, who, as Queen Hedwig's consort, had at her death (1399) become king of Poland.

In the succeeding period the Lithuanians repeatedly took occasion to assert their independence in relation to Poland, but this did not prevent the principality of Olgierd from gradually becoming a Polish feudatory. Witaut himself had been repeatedly compelled by the necessities of war and by external troubles to make concessions to Poland, and his successors, under the increasing pressure of the steadily growing power and rapacity of Moscow, were forced in even larger measure to purchase the help of Poland by ever closer fusion with that State. These rulers, moreover, almost without exception bore the name of Jagiello, and united in their individual persons the Grand-dukedom of Lithuania and the crown of Poland. The eventual result was the incorporation of the two countries in a single political organism whose fortunes were controlled by a common Diet. The incorporating union was effected at the Diet of Lublin in 1569.

(*b*) *Lettish.*—At the very outset of Lettish history we find the merchants of Lübeck taking steps to find an outlet for their commerce in the district of the Lower Dvina, and they were followed by German missionaries, who there founded the earliest Christian settlements. While these attempts at colonization were not at once greatly successful, they had, nevertheless, the effect of making Livonia known to the West, and of directing against that heathen land the enthusiasm for war against unbelievers which in that period of the Crusades dominated the thought of Christendom. It was owing to this enthusiasm that Albert, canon of Bremen († 1229), was able to secure a permanent footing in Livonia (1200), and as its bishop—supported as he was by constant immigration from Germany and by the Livonian Order of the Sword (founded in 1202)—to establish there a German colonial State, which was recognized in 1207 as a frontier-district of the Empire. Its suzerainty was shared by Albert and the Order in such a way as to make the power of the bishop preponderant; but this position of matters was fundamentally altered when, in 1237, the Livonian Order was merged in the Order of the Teutonic Knights, the latter thus adding the domain of the former to its own. Taking as its model the Prussian State, in which it alone held the reins of sovereign authority—the bishops themselves being subordinate to it—the Teutonic Order sought to curb the episcopal power among the Letts, and it was all the more successful in this policy as it managed to subjugate the hitherto unconquered heathen districts. The process of subjugation, so far as the Lettish provinces, Livonia and Courland, were concerned, was virtually completed by 1290. The Order, nevertheless, did not thereby win repose, but had constantly to take the field against unfriendly neighbours, and, as the fortune of war was on the whole unfavourable to it, while its powers were sapped by internal dissensions, and the secularization of its Prussian territory in 1525 isolated its Livonian domain, its authority in the latter also was at length completely shattered. In 1562 Livonia became a Polish province, while Courland, as a hereditary feudal duchy of Poland, came into the power of the last Master of the Livonian part of the Order, Gotthard Kettler. Finally, both provinces became subject to Russia.

3. Ecclesiastical history.—Thus, while the Western Lithuanians and the Letts came under German control in the 13th cent., the whole of Eastern—now Russian—Lithuania was brought into close relations with Poland a century later, and accordingly, as was to be expected, the two divisions came to diverge widely from each other, not only as regards their language, but also in the moral, and most of all in the religious, sphere. Eastern Lithuania, which at the time of Keistut's death was almost entirely pagan, was thrown open to Christianity by Jagiello, who himself had embraced that faith at his marriage with Hedwig, and strove with all the zeal of a new convert to propagate it among his own people of Lithuania; they became more and more closely bound to Poland, and the Church of the Polish Court and the Polish State soon gained complete spiritual authority among them. In this way Russian Lithuania became a Roman Catholic country, and such, except to a very small extent, it has always remained; its non-catholic population consists only of a small number of Lutherans, who were won to that communion through efforts directed from Courland, and of some 40,000 adherents of the Reformed Confession, whose forefathers were induced to renounce Roman Catholicism under the influence of Prince Nicholas Czarny Radziwill. The ecclesiastical history of the Western Lithuanians and the Letts took a different course. As in the Prussian territory of the Teutonic Knights, which under the Grand-Master Margrave Albert of Brandenburg became a secular Protestant duchy in 1525, so in Livonia and Courland the Lutheran teaching was enthusiastically welcomed, and, in fact, won universal acceptance in both provinces. Most of the inhabitants remained faithful to it, so that Protestantism is to-day almost universal among the Letts. The only exceptions are found in localities where Roman Catholicism was able to gain a footing under the protection of Poland, or where proselytes have been won by the Russian State Church.

4. Early religion.—The religion which prevailed among the Lithuanians and Letts prior to the introduction of Christianity was a developed nature-cult. Besides the worship of woods and waters, of trees, stocks, and stones, of fire and household snakes, we find a belief in the personality of the heavenly bodies, especially the sun, as also in the existence of divine beings who control all created things. Pre-eminent among these divine beings was 'God,' designated by the primitive Aryan name *dēwas* (Lat. *deus*). He was regarded generally as the highest supramundane power, but sometimes, like θεός in Homer, he was a distinct mythological figure, and as such probably identical with Perkúnas (Lett. Pérkohns), the thunder-god, who presided over the heavenly bodies, and was regarded as armed. An ancient folk-song tells that, when the moon was unfaithful to his wife, the sun, and became enamoured of the morning star, Perkúnas cut him in pieces with a sword. According to Lithuanian belief, Perkúnas's aunt washed the wearied and dust-covered sun, who was once called the daughter of God, and who herself had sons and daughters; in popular songs these play a great part as mystic powers, but are always represented as human in all respects. We hear frequently also of the 'children of God,' and it would seem that the mythological imagination did not distinguish between the latter and the 'children of the sun.' The sun, nevertheless, was not regarded as the wife of *dēwas* (or of Perkúnas), as appears not only from what has been said, but also from a Lettish folk-song which tells how, when Perkúnas set out to find a wife beyond the sea, he was attended by the sun, bearing a dowry-chest. The Letts, again, believed that Perkúnas was a polygamist, and in another of their folk-songs he is said to have as many wives 'as the oak has leaves,' though none of them plays an independent part in the mythology.

We need have no hesitation in assuming that the ancient religion of the Lithuanians and of the Letts alike recognized the existence of other divine beings, and the way in which these are associated shows that they originated in the observation of nature and human life. But, with the exception of Láime, the goddess of fortune, none of them comes down to us under a common Lithu-Lettish name, and we must be the more cautious in connecting such beings with the ancient religion because many of the divine names of the Lithu-Lettish mythology rest upon the misconceptions or fabrications of later times. There is adequate evidence, however, for an early belief in a number of demonic beings, such as the *laumes* ('fairies') and the *pũkis* ('goblin,' 'flying dragon'), and it is equally certain that the Lithu-Lettish religion was dominated from primitive times by the conception of a devil (Lith. Wélnias; Lett. Welns). While that conception never became perfectly distinct, it nevertheless formed so definite an antithesis to the idea of 'God' that we cannot doubt the presence of a dualistic element in the Baltic cult.

Corresponding to the belief in demonic beings, superstition of a more general kind was, and still is, very prevalent. It manifests itself in a belief in witches (*rãgana*, 'seeress'), in the practice of casting lots (Lith. *bùrti*; Lett. *burt*), in notions regarding countless occurrences of daily life, and not least in the idea that the spirits of the dead (Lith. *wēlēs*; Lett. *welji*) continue to move about among the living—an idea that is undoubtedly very ancient, as it is attested not only by distinct historical evidence, but also by certain features in folk-song (as, *e.g.*, the notion that disembodied spirits marry), and, above all, by graves dating from heathen times, which often contain the remains of both rider and horse, and are furnished with weapons and implements, thus pointing conclusively to the belief that the dead continue to exist in a condition not unlike that of their earthly life. As the majority of these graves contain skeletons, not ashes, they likewise show that the Lithu-Lettish peoples believed in the resurrection of the body. As to the situation of the Lithu-Lettish abode of the dead, there seems to have been no general agreement, some data suggesting the sky, others a nether world. In various localities we find traces of a doctrine of metempsychosis.

Whether the cult had a special class of priests cannot be made out. It had certainly no temples in the proper sense, and the 'ædes sacræ' of which we hear should probably be regarded as slight erections in which fire was kept burning. Sacrifices were common, and were offered not only by way of petition and thanksgiving, but also as propitiations; to judge from the Lettish designation, *ſeedi* ('blossoms'), the offerings would seem to have consisted originally of flowers and fruits, but we have historical evidence that there were from the first other kinds of sacrificial gifts, while, if not among the Letts, yet among the Lithuanians and Borussians, we find traces even of the practice of human immolation.

5. Sociological features.—Our data regarding the political and social conditions, the prevailing sentiments and morals, of the ancient Lithuanians and Letts are not sufficient to enable us to give a full and clear account of their civilization. With varying degrees of certainty, however, we may make the following statements regarding their mode of life: they were efficient in war, and were divided into numerous clans or cantons governed by chieftains; they lived by tillage, cattle-rearing, and hunting, and practised all manner of handicraft and trading; they lived in separate homesteads, and their family life was of the patriarchal type; marriage was based upon the purchase and capture of brides, and, while the wife was subject to the husband, she held a place of high honour among her children; finally, both peoples had a remarkable liking for song, but did not possess the art of writing.

6. Literary development.—One result of the lack of writing is that the Lithuanians and Letts have absolutely no literary remains from heathen times. It was, in fact, only when the Christian Church began to make use of texts written in the native languages—long after the invention of printing—that literary documents were at length produced. A Lithuanian and a Lettish translation of the Lutheran Catechism—the former by Martin Mosvidius, subsequently a clergyman, and published in 1547, the latter by various clergymen belonging to Courland, in 1586—a Lithuanian version of a Roman Catholic catechism by a canon named Michael Daukša (1595), and a work translated by a protestant Lithuanian nobleman named Pitkiewicz (1598), are the earliest known writings in the Lithu-Lettish languages. Like most of this earlier literary work, the further development of Lithu-Lettish literature was long due to clergymen, and thus, naturally enough, that literature, even when it is not of a distinctively religious character, is in its earlier stages largely pervaded by Christian feeling and moral earnestness. Among the Letts the most outstanding figure of the earlier secular literature was Pastor G. F. Stender (1714–96); among the Lithuanians, Pastor Christian Donalitius (1714–80), the distinguished author of a poem entitled 'The Seasons.' As contrasted with this earlier stage, contemporary secular literature is entirely modern in its point of view, as it not only bears the impress of the social revolutions of last century, but is informed by the spirit of a national consciousness, and aims at the independence and enlightenment of the Lithuanian and Lettish peoples. This progressive movement, which proceeded at first but slowly, has within recent decades become very vigorous, and alike in the field of politics and in that of letters has produced great, if not always good, results. Not a little of the poetic production of Lithuanian and Lettish writers is well worth the attention of foreign readers. Yet even the best of it is not to be compared in poetic quality with the lyrical survivals of the earlier eras, falling far short of the beauty of many Lithuanian folk-songs (*dainos*), and also of the charm of the countless Lettish lyrics in quatrains (*dſeesmas*).

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LITTLE VEHICLE.—See HINAYĀNA.

LITURGIES.—See WORSHIP.

LOCKE.—

1. Chief dates in his life.—John Locke was born on 29th August 1632, at Wrington, Somersetshire. Brought up at home till the age of fourteen, he was then sent to Westminster school, from which he passed in 1652 to Christ Church, Oxford. He found little satisfaction in the scholastic kind of training then in vogue at Oxford, and, although, after his election to a Senior Studentship at Christ Church in 1659, he held lectureships in Greek and Rhetoric, his interests eventually turned more to scientific and medical studies. His connexion with medical practice happened in 1666 to bring him into contact with Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, who figured so prominently in the politics of Charles II.'s reign; and the meeting had an important influence on Locke's life. In the following year Locke went to London to act in the double capacity of confidential adviser to Shaftesbury himself and tutor to his son, while he was also engaged in political work and held some appointments. Shaftesbury was dismissed from office in 1673, and in 1675 Locke had to go to France for his health. He remained abroad for four years, staying chiefly at Montpellier and Paris, but in 1679 returned to England to assist Shaftesbury once more. The two years that intervened before the statesman's fall and flight were stormy, and, though Locke had disapproved and probably kept clear of the final plots, he thought it prudent in 1683 to betake himself to Holland, nor did he return until the Revolution had made it safe to do so in 1689. The two years 1689–90 saw the publication of the great *Essay* and two others of his principal works, and thus constitute a sort of literary epoch in his life. From 1691 onwards he lived more in retirement, and chiefly in the family of Sir Francis Masham, at Oates, in Essex. He was in great favour with the new government, and for four years (1696–1700) held the well-paid appointment of a Commissioner of Trade. Failing health compelled his retirement from this office. His death took place at Oates on 28th October 1704.

2. Characteristics as a thinker and writer.—'Perhaps no philosopher since Aristotle has represented the spirit and opinions of an age so completely as Locke represents philosophy and all that depends upon philosophic thought, in the 18th cent.—especially in Britain and France' (A. C. Fraser, *Locke*, Preface). Locke's claim to be regarded as thus representative may be based alike on the variety of the subjects on which he wrote—philosophy, education, politics, religion—and on the aims and qualities of his thinking. In all directions he exhibits the merits and the defects which are attributed to the period. He is impatient of authority and of 'the jargon of the schools,' seeks to put aside preconceptions and see the truth of things clearly for himself, believes firmly that 'reason must be our last judge and guide in everything,' and desires sincerely to pursue truth only and for its own sake. On the other hand, he has no adequate knowledge or appreciation of the heritage of the past, accepts current assumptions, distinctions, and doctrines without seeing any need to test them, tends to bring 'reason' down to the level of reflective common sense, and is quite ready to acquiesce in a very humble estimate of its reach as a human faculty. Moreover, although Locke was so eminently representative and exercised an immense influence on European thought, he cannot be ranked very high as a philosophic thinker. His thinking, though patient, laborious, and candid, is fatally deficient in the two qualities of thoroughness and system. The deficiency is partly explained, no doubt, by his occupation with practical affairs, which interfered with continuous philosophical pursuits, and partly, too, by the directly practical aims of much of his writing; but this practicalness of his aims is itself characteristic. Locke's 'discontinued way of writing' goes also to explain his great fault as a writer—the endless repetitions with which he wearies his readers. In the 'Epistle to the Reader' with which he prefaced the *Essay*, he admits frankly that he has not been at great pains to correct the fault, and at times he certainly seems to let his pen run on almost as it pleases. But his faults are not unconnected with real virtues—his intentness upon expressing his whole thought fully and clearly, his desire to drive home his point and to gain the full assent of the reader. When he writes with any care, his plain style is as excellent as it is appropriate, and, when he is moved to earnestness, he writes with force and real impressiveness. His faults are seen at their worst in his controversial writings. Although he professes his eagerness to be shown his errors, he seems in point of fact to have been rather impatient of criticism. He is too much taken up with exposing the misunderstandings and misrepresentations of which his critics have been guilty to try to penetrate to the real motives of their criticisms. Hence his replies do not carry us much further, while even as polemics they have their defects. For, although Locke can be very effective both in direct retort and in irony, he is too apt to weaken his case, not merely by over-elaboration, but also by an insistence on the letter of his own and his critics' statements which the reader feels to be petty and unprofitable.

3. The 'Essay concerning Human Understanding' (1690).—In the prefatory 'Epistle to the Reader' Locke tells us how he was started upon the line of inquiry which resulted, after some twenty years of interrupted labour, in the publication of the *Essay*. He was discoursing with a few friends on a subject which he does not specify, but which we know from another source to have been 'the principles of morality and revealed religion' (see Fraser's ed. i. p. xvii). The baffling character of the difficulties which arose in the course of the discussion caused Locke to ask himself whether, before entering upon such subjects, it was not rather 'necessary to examine our own abilities, and see what objects our understandings were, or were not, fitted to deal with.' He took up the task of this examination, and found it expand far beyond his first expectations. The aim of his whole inquiry, however, remained the same throughout, viz. that determination of the certainty, extent, and degrees of human knowledge which is the theme of bk. iv. of the *Essay*, and to which all the rest of the work is subservient.

But before this theme could be dealt with effectively certain preliminary matters had to be cleared up. To know is to have ideas about things—this at least, whatever more. If, then, we are to arrive at right conclusions about the scope of knowledge, we had best begin by examining this medium in which alone it exists; *i.e.*, we had better try to take stock of our ideas,[1] and see how we come by them. To Locke it was plain that we come by them only through experience. To convince the reader that our knowledge and our ideas have no other source, Locke devotes bk. i. of the *Essay* to showing that there are no 'innate' principles or ideas, unless we understand the term 'innate' in some sense which makes the assertion of such innate knowledge either insignificant or misleading. If there are no such innate ideas, then we must look to experience and experience only for the origin of all our ideas, and must try to trace them back, one and all, to their source therein. It is easy to underestimate the importance of Locke's teaching on this point, but it really constitutes one of his claims to be regarded as the founder of modern psychology.

Yet it was hardly as a psychologist that Locke himself was interested in the source and origin of our ideas; it was rather because he thought that, by seeing how, and at what point, our ideas emerge or are formed in the course of experience, we should be better able to measure the knowledge which we get by means of them. We should know, in short, what the actual experience is from which the ideas are derived, and on which, therefore, the knowledge which we have by means of the ideas is based. The results of Locke's stocktaking of our ideas in bk. ii. can be here only summarized.

He finds that all our ideas may be traced back to two great sources: sensation, which gives us the ideas involved in our knowledge of the external world, and 'reflexion,' which is the perception of the operations of our own mind, and which gives us ideas such as those of reasoning, believing, willing. The ideas derived from (one or both of) these sources may be either simple—such as the ideas of yellow, thinking, pleasure, unity—or complex. The complex ideas are subdivided (ii. ch. xii.) into ideas of modes, substances, and relations. By 'modes' are meant 'such complex ideas which, however compounded, contain not in them the supposition of subsisting by themselves, but are considered as dependences on, or affections of substances: such as are the ideas signified by the words triangle, gratitude, murder.' They may be either simple (=unmixed) or mixed, according as they are merely variations or combinations of one simple idea, or, on the other hand, involve different simple ideas; *e.g.*, the different numbers are simple modes of number or unity, whereas ideas like gratitude and murder are mixed modes. Under the above heads Locke proceeds to survey and examine the most important ideas or classes of ideas that enter into our knowledge. The classification is open to criticism in various ways, but where it principally fails Locke is in dealing with the more abstract and general categories, such as existence, power, unity, substance. The first three of these are said in ch. vii. to be simple ideas derived both from sensation and from reflexion. But it is obvious that they are not really comparable with simple ideas like yellow or hot; they are not sensible qualities. Locke himself speaks of the ideas of existence and unity as 'suggested to' the understanding by objects, and in ch. xxi. the idea of power seems to be reached by a process in which inference, as well as direct experience, plays a part. The general idea of substance seems in like manner to be a result of inference, if we are to give that name to a process and a result which Locke describes in terms so halting and dubious that it is not surprising that his critic Stillingfleet took offence at them. The mind, we are told (ch. xxiii. § 1 f.), takes notice that its simple ideas go constantly together in groups (the qualities that make up a single thing), and, 'not imagining how these simple ideas can subsist by themselves, we accustom ourselves to suppose some substratum wherein they do subsist, and from which they do result; which therefore we call substance. So that if any one will examine himself concerning his notion of substance in general, he will find he has no other idea of it at all, but only a supposition of he knows not what support of such qualities, which are capable of producing simple ideas in us.'

It was the ambiguous position of ideas like power and substance that gave an opening for Hume's sceptical criticism. Throughout the long analysis of ideas which occupies bk. ii. the modern reader, accustomed to a more precise demarcation of the provinces of logic, psychology, and metaphysics, is perplexed by the difficulty of giving any one consistent interpretation of Locke's procedure. The analysis is not simply a logical dissection of ideas into their simplest constituents. Yet it is too much influenced by the point of view of logical analysis to be a truly genetic or psychological account of the growth of our ideas. Finally, both interests are crossed by the further interest in the knowledge-value of our ideas, though the last point of view takes us over to the theme of bk. iv. Thus the discussion of primary and secondary qualities in ch. viii., and the discussions of power, substance, and identity in the chapters so named, are as definitely concerned with the knowledge-value of our ideas, and with the nature of the realities known by means of them, as any part of bk. iv.

In bk. iii. ('Of Words') Locke applies his analysis of ideas to the interpretation of the words by which we express them. The most striking feature of the book is the way in which the distinction of real and nominal essence is applied to the names which signify mixed modes (*e.g.*, moral ideas) and substances respectively. When we define man as a rational animal, we lay down a certain abstract idea, or combination of abstract ideas, by reference to which our application of the term 'man' is determined. This abstract idea is the 'nominal essence' of man. The nominal essence, then, is for Locke nothing more than the statement of the meaning in which we intend to use the general name, whereas the 'real essence' of a thing is the real being or inner constitution of the thing itself. Now in Locke's view the ideas of mixed modes are ideas which we ourselves frame or put together at our own discretion. Therefore, so far as they are concerned, nominal and real essence coincide, and there is nothing, unless the complexity or vagueness of the ideas in question, to prevent us from stating their essence exactly and completely. But in the case of substances we are dealing with things which have a real essence, and, since in Locke's view their real essence is not known to us, we have in their case no guarantee that the distinctions which we draw by means of our abstract ideas or nominal essences will truly represent the real lines of division among the things themselves. In fact, by introducing the notion of essence at all we are assuming that there is a real division of things into species, and this assumption is liable at any point to turn out untrue. The lines of division which we suppose to exist may be found to break down. Hence Locke concludes that in the case of substances our general names express merely the nominal essence. 'The boundaries of species are made by men,' though, of course, we are guided in making them by those superficial resemblances among things which nature presents to our view.

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[1] The term 'idea' is used by Locke in a very wide sense 'for whatsoever is the object of the understanding when a man thinks.' The equivalent in modern psychology is a term like J. Ward's 'presentation.'

In bk. iv. we come at last to those conclusions regarding the nature and extent of knowledge—or, where knowledge fails, of probability or probable judgment—to which the rest of the work had been subsidiary. Knowledge is defined by Locke as 'the perception of the connexion of and agreement, or disagreement and repugnancy of any of our ideas.' And of such agreement and disagreement he distinguishes four sorts: (1) identity or diversity (*e.g.*, 'blue is different from yellow'), (2) relation (*e.g.*, geometrical equality), (3) co-existence (of attributes in a subject or substance), and (4) real existence 'agreeing to any idea' (*e.g.*, 'God is'). Further, our knowledge of the agreement and disagreement of our ideas has different degrees of evidence. It may be (*a*) immediate or intuitive—and all certainty goes back to such intuition—or (*b*) demonstrative, *i.e.* reached by a series of steps, and therefore in Locke's view not quite so clear as immediate intuition, even though each step has, or ought to have, intuitive evidence. Lastly (*c*), there is 'sensitive knowledge,' our knowledge of the particular existence of external things when they are actually affecting our senses. The last degree of knowledge Locke regards as inferior to the other two, though not open to serious doubt. Whatever falls short of these degrees of evidence is matter, not of knowledge, but at the most of probability. From these preliminary determinations Locke proceeds to a series of discussions in which three problems are intertwined in a way that is rather confusing to the reader: (1) the problem how far we can have knowledge which is real in the sense of being authentic or valid, and not a mere imagination, (2) the problem how far this real knowledge is also general or universal, (3) the problem how far knowledge which is real in the first sense is also real in the further sense of being a knowledge of real existence, *i.e.* a knowledge of things which have a substantive existence or reality. The clue to Locke's answer to all three problems lies in the sharp opposition which he makes between our knowledge, *e.g.*, of mixed modes, where we are dealing with (complex) ideas which are 'archetypes of the mind's own making,' and our knowledge of substances and of real existence, where our ideas refer to archetypes beyond themselves. In the former case our knowledge (of relations among our ideas) can be at once real (in the first sense) and general, because it makes no further claim to be a knowledge of real existence (of things) or co-existence (of attributes in things). In the latter case our knowledge makes this further claim, and is therefore far more restricted. Our knowledge of the properties of a triangle or of the wrongness of murder is real and general, even though no perfect triangle could be drawn or no murder had ever been committed. But our knowledge of real existence and co-existence can never be thus general. As regards real existence, we have, according to Locke, an intuitive knowledge of our own existence, a demonstrative knowledge of God's existence, and a sensitive knowledge of that of external things. But it is to be observed that this knowledge is a knowledge of existence and not of substance, for on Locke's view we do not know the inner nature either of spiritual or of material substance. In fact, he offended his orthodox readers by suggesting that, while we may believe, we cannot know, that the soul (of man) is immaterial. The inner nature (or real essence) of material bodies he assumes to consist in a certain atomic constitution; and, since he regards this as inaccessible to our knowledge, he denies the possibility of physical 'science,' in the strict sense of the term 'science.' Such 'knowledge' as we have of material bodies is only of the co-existence of their superficial properties, and does not go beyond probability, though it may be extended and improved by experiment.

The subsequent development of philosophy and science has made many of Locke's positions seem strange to us. Our confidence in physical science is far greater, our reliance on abstract demonstrations of 'the existence of a God' far less than his. Above all, we have to be more careful about the relation of 'ideas' to real existence and less ready to separate and unite them alternately as suits our convenience. The weaknesses of Locke's compromise between common sense and philosophy have been made so abundantly evident by later criticism that it is hard to be fair to his real merits. And yet it is to the suggestiveness of his treatment of the problems of knowledge that later criticism owes the advance that it has made on his positions.

4. Ethics and politics.—Locke's contributions to ethics are scanty and of little value, unless we credit to ethics the discussion of free will contained in the chapter on power (bk. ii. ch. xxi.). Certainly this discussion, in spite of the perplexities which Locke candidly reveals to the reader, is full of interest and instruction alike for the moralist and for the psychologist. But in ethics proper his notion that morality is no less capable of demonstration than mathematics is an eccentricity, which can be explained only by his theoretical views about our knowledge of mixed modes. It certainly matches ill with his doctrine of moral obligation, which recognizes no higher motives than those of pleasure and pain, reward and punishment.

Nowhere are the features of Locke's thought displayed more characteristically than in his political doctrine. Published early in 1690, the *Two Treatises of Government* had a direct reference to current politics. The first was a refutation of Filmer's plea for the unlimited (paternal or hereditary) right of kings, the second a defence of the Revolution. Concerned only about the right of the people to resist oppressive and arbitrary rule, Locke is more than usually careless about thoroughness and system. He accepts with easy credulity the literal truth of a social compact, with the subsidiary doctrines of a state of nature, natural rights of the individual, and tacit consent of the individual to submit to the established government. In one and the same sentence (bk. ii. ch. xiii. § 149) he tells us that in a constituted commonwealth 'there can be but one supreme power, which is the legislative,' yet that 'the legislative being only a fiduciary power to act for certain ends, there remains still in the people a supreme power to remove or alter the legislative, when they find the legislative act contrary to the trust reposed in them.' He tells us (xi. § 134) that the legislative is 'sacred and unalterable in the hands where the community have once placed it,' yet admits that, as a result of historical changes, the legislative may cease to be representative and may therefore stand in urgent need of reform (xiii. § 157). And then, to complete the reader's confusion, he assigns the task of reforming the legislative to that royal prerogative whose arbitrary exercise he elsewhere denounces. In view of such incoherences we must be content to take Locke's treatise primarily as a pamphlet for his own time; it has at all events more historical than theoretical importance.

5. **Toleration.**—Locke's writings upon toleration serve as a link between his political and his religious doctrines. In 1689 he published in Holland a Latin *Epistola de Tolerantia*, which was translated into English in the same year. Criticisms (attributed to one Jonas Proast of Queen's College, Oxford) drew from Locke *A Second Letter concerning Toleration* and *A Third Letter for Toleration* in 1690 and 1692 respectively, and twelve years later he had even begun a fourth, of which, however, only a fragment was written. The original letter is a businesslike piece of argument, the second is longer, the third is very long and very tedious. Locke can see nothing at all in his critic's arguments, and it must indeed be admitted that the position which the critic had chosen to defend was anything but strong—viz. that, in the case of those who will not embrace the true religion, the magistrate ought to employ force, in the shape of moderate penalties, to compel them to consider the error of their ways. Against this position Locke shows again and again that compulsion can produce only outward conformity, not inward conviction, that what was punished was therefore really dissent and not 'want of consideration,' that any end which justified moderate penalties would equally justify the severest persecution where moderate penalties failed, that 'the true religion' must for practical purposes mean the magistrate's own religion, and that the arguments by which the critic sought to escape from these conclusions were either circular or question-begging. The practical force of Locke's argument lies in this, that the sincerity of religious dissent makes compulsion futile, while the actual divisions among Christian sects make it presumptuous. Philosophically these considerations were reinforced and explained by his view that in matters of religion there is no certain (or demonstrative) knowledge, and that we must be content with 'a persuasion of our own minds, short of knowledge' (*Works*[11], vi. 144). But he had also laid down clearly in the first letter the religious ground that it is 'in the inward and full persuasion of the mind' that 'all the life and power of true religion consists' (p. 11). 'I cannot be saved by a religion that I distrust, and by a worship that I abhor' (p. 28).

It can hardly be said, however, that the constructive argument of the original letter is in itself satisfactory. It is based on Locke's narrow conception of the State as concerned with little but the security of life and property, and as limited in its functions by the supposed consent of the individual. His argument is qualified, too, in ways which make its consistency doubtful. Thus it refuses toleration to atheists, because 'promises, covenants, and oaths, which are the bonds of human society, can have no hold upon an atheist' (p. 47), and, in effect, to Roman Catholics, because their religion requires them to submit themselves to a 'foreign jurisdiction' (p. 46). And this refusal does not square very well with that '*absolute liberty, . . . equal and impartial liberty*,' which, the reader was assured at the outset, '*is the thing that we stand in need of*.' Locke wants to separate sharply and completely the spheres of the civil power and the Church. As he denies to the magistrate any right to prescribe articles of faith or forms of worship, so he condemns those who 'upon pretence of religion' arrogate to themselves any peculiar authority in civil concernments: 'I say these have no right to be tolerated by the magistrate' (p. 46). But it seems strange that, with the recent history of his own country in view, he should not have recognized that an assertion of authority in civil concernments was almost certain to be made by the dominant religious sect, whatever it might be. The magistrate who was not to tolerate such ecclesiastical pretensions would hardly be able to avoid meddling in matters of religion. Nor was it to be expected that any religious sect, whether Catholic or Puritan, which was firmly convinced that it alone taught the true way of life and that its rivals were spreading pernicious errors would quietly acquiesce in its exclusion from the use and the control of the civil power. As in other cases, so here, Locke's argument makes a great show of robust common sense, but does not go very deep, and involves large tacit assumptions.

6. **Religion.**—One of these assumptions, no doubt, was that latitudinarianism of his own religious views which found expression later in his *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695). In that work he seeks to show, by a great array of Scriptural evidence, that the one and only gospel-article of faith is this, that Jesus is the Messiah, the promised Saviour. To believe this, to repent of our sins, to endeavour after a sincere obedience to the Saviour's commandments—these and these only are the conditions required to make any one a Christian, these and these only are the true 'fundamentals' of the Christian religion, viz. those 'which are to be found in the preaching of our Saviour and his apostles.' Locke anticipates the objection that belief, on the strength of reported miracles, in the statement that Jesus is the promised Messiah is merely a historical, and not a saving, faith; but it can hardly be said that he sees the real force of the objection. He speaks, it is true, of the 'oblation of a heart, fixed with dependence on, and affection to God' as 'the foundation of true devotion, and life of all religion,' and describes faith as 'a stedfast reliance on the goodness and faithfulness of God' (*Works*[11], vii. 129, 131), but he does not explain sufficiently how this religious faith arises out of the historical belief. He insists on the inability of plain people, 'the day-labourers and tradesmen, the spinsters and dairy-maids,' to follow abstract reasonings, and on the consequent necessity for an authoritative religion and morality. 'The greatest part cannot know, and therefore they must believe' (p. 146). But whether such an appeal to authority would find its most natural satisfaction in Locke's simplified Christianity, or is even quite consistent with it, is not so clear. Among other advantages of an authoritative revelation he speaks of the support which it affords to morality, and he leaves us in no doubt as to the kind of support he has in view.

> 'The philosophers, indeed, showed the beauty of virtue; they set her off so, as drew men's eyes and approbation to her; but leaving her unendowed, very few were willing to espouse her. The generality could not refuse her their esteem and commendation; but still turned their backs on her, and forsook her, as a match not for their turn. But now there being put into the scales on her side "an exceeding and immortal weight of glory"; interest is come about to her, and virtue now is visibly the most enriching purchase, and by much the best bargain' (p. 150).

It has to be remembered, however, that appeals to self-interest—'the favourite passion,' as Butler calls it—were characteristic of the age.

7. **Education.**—Locke's views on this subject are contained in his *Thoughts concerning Education* (1693) and the posthumous *Conduct of the Understanding*. The latter connects directly with the *Essay*, and was originally designed to form a

chapter of it. It has been highly praised, but, like other writings on the general education of the intellect, seems often to be elaborating truths of a somewhat obvious kind. Perhaps its main value, after all, lies in the ample illustration which it affords of Locke's own intellectual attitude and temper of mind. The other work makes a much more definite contribution to the art of education. The limited and practical aim of the *Thoughts* is emphasized by Locke himself, viz. to set forth 'how a young Gentleman should be brought up from his infancy.' As a medical man he does not disdain to give detailed advice as to bodily health and training. The characteristic feature, however —and the conspicuous merit—of the book is the paramount importance which it gives to the training of character.

> 'That which every Gentleman . . . desires for his Son, besides the Estate he leaves him, is contained (I suppose) in these four Things, Virtue, Wisdom, Breeding, and Learning' (§ 134).

The order expresses Locke's deliberate estimate of the relative importance of the qualities named, and this estimate governs his treatment of the subject consistently throughout the book. No reader of the *Thoughts* is likely ever to confuse education with instruction. So, too, in the case of intellectual education itself, Locke insists, in his *Conduct of the Understanding*, that the business of education 'in respect of knowledge, is not, as I think, to perfect a learner in all or any one of the sciences, but to give his mind that freedom, that disposition, and those habits, that may enable him to attain any part of knowledge he shall apply himself to' (§ 12). A writer who goes carefully into details must, of course, expose himself to criticism. Locke's advice as to bodily training is in some points certainly not such as medical authority would now approve, and some of his views on moral training are at any rate open to question. But there can be little question about this, that Locke is at his best in dealing with such matters. His fresh and independent view of his subject, his steady insistence on character as all-important, his own kindliness and affection for young people, and his practical common sense combine to make him an admirable exponent of the spirit in which the educator should go about his work.

LITERATURE.—The best ed. of Locke's works is, according to A. C. Fraser, that of E. Law, 4 vols., London, 1777. The references in the art. are to *Works*^{11}, 10 vols., do. 1812. The *Essay* has been edited by Fraser, 2 vols., Oxford, 1894. The chief *Life* is that of H. R. Fox Bourne, 2 vols., London, 1876. There are short accounts of Locke's life and philosophy by Fraser, Edinburgh, 1890, T. Fowler, London, 1880, and S. Alexander, do. 1908; and E. Fechtner's *John Locke: ein Bild aus den geistigen Kämpfen Englands im 17ten Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1898, is a work of similar character. In addition to the histories of philosophy, the chapters on Locke in the following works may be referred to: R. Adamson, *The Development of Modern Philosophy*, Edinburgh, 1903, i.; Leslie Stephen, *Hist. of English Thought in the 18th Century*^{3}, London, 1902, both vols.; *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, Cambridge, 1907–12, viii. ch. xiv. (W. R. Sorley). Of more special works those of G. von Hertling (*John Locke und die Schule von Cambridge*, Freiburg, 1892), G. Geil (*Über die Abhängigkeit Locke's von Descartes*, Strassburg, 1887), and R. Sommer (*Locke's Verhältnis zu Descartes*, Berlin, 1887) deal with the difficult question of Locke's relation to his predecessors; that of E. Martinak (*Die Logik John Locke's*, Halle, 1894) with the philosophy proper.

H. BARKER.

LOCKS AND KEYS.

—Before the invention of bolts or, later, of locks and keys, a variety of devices were in use to secure safety. Many peoples at a low level of culture live in shelters or huts, one or more sides of which are quite open (Tasmanians, Seminoles, Indians of Guiana, etc.), and others live in a house only for occasional purposes—sleeping, birth, sickness, death, etc.[1]—so that there is no need of a fastening. But in other instances, even where no doors exist, attempts are made to render the entrance secure. The huts of the Eskimos are approached by a narrow winding passage along which one must creep on all fours. Kumi villages are stockaded, and the door is approached by a winding passage trebly stockaded.[1] In Fiji, the Caroline Islands, Kiwai Island, among the Indians of the Chaco and of Guiana, and in various parts of Africa the doorway is made very low or very narrow, or is merely a small aperture at some height from the ground (cf. Pr 17^{19}).[2]

Sometimes the doorway is closed merely with a couple of large plantain leaves or palm leaves plaited into basket work, or with a branch of a coco-nut (Solomon Islands, Roro-speaking tribes of N. Guinea),[3] or with a *portière* (ancient Peru),[4] or with a kind of blind or mat which can be raised or lowered as desired (Uaupes, Samoa, Tonga, Tlascala, New Mexico).[5] To this might be fastened pieces of metal or shell which clattered and so gave warning when any one entered (Tlascala), or, as in New Britain, a rattle was hung in the doorway, so that any one entering at night might strike his head against it and warn the inmates.[6] In Benin, where locks were known (§ 1), a cord running through a staple, and attached to a block of wood, served to keep the door closed.[7] Or, again, a wooden screen is slid across the entrance—a kind of primitive door (Cross River, Kitimbiriu, ancient Mexico, Efik and Ekoi, Bageshu).[8] This is secured by thongs (Baganda, Melanesia [but the tying can be done from without through an opening made for the purpose]),[9] by props or a wedge (African tribes, Zuñis [stone slabs held in position by props]),[10] or by bars (Mexico, Upper Congo, Grebos, Dayaks, wild Malay tribes, Zuñis).[11] In some instances such doorways or doors are further protected by charms or fetishes which will work evil on any one trying to enter. These are analogous to the protectives placed at a keyhole to prevent fairies, spirits, etc., from entering through them (§ 3 (*c*)).[12] As knotted strings or thongs served for tents, so they were also sometimes used to fasten doors. In Babylonia and Egypt seals sometimes served the purpose of locks and keys, but bolts were also used, and over those of the temple of Šamaš in Babylonia libations of oil were poured as well as over other parts of the door

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[1] E. Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, Paris, 1859, p. 182.

[1] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, p. 222.

[2] T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1858, i. 82; F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, do. 1899, p. 140; J. Chalmers, *JAI* xxxiii. [1903] 118; E. Nordenskiöld, *Indianerleben*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 40; H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, London, 1878, ii. 134 [Uregga]; E. Holub, *Seven Years in S. Africa*, do. 1881, i. 97 [Koranna]; E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, do. 1883, p. 206.

[3] H. B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands and their Natives*, London, 1887, p. 59; C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 198.

[4] H. Beuchat, *Manuel d'arch. américaine*, Paris, 1912, p. 638.

[5] A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and the Rio Negro*, London, 1853, p. 491; G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, do. 1861, p. 256; W. Ellis, *Polynes. Researches*^{2}, do. 1832, i. 176; W. Mariner, *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*^{2}, do. 1818, ii. 267; Waitz-Gerland, *Anthrop. der Naturvölker*, iv. [Leipzig, 1864] 94; *NR* i. 486.

[6] Beuchat, p. 638; G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, p. 24.

[7] H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, London, 1903, p. 189.

[8] C. Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, London, 1905, p. 176; H. H. Johnston, *Kilima-Njaro Expedition*, do. 1886, p. 140; *NR* ii. 573; J. Parkinson, *JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 262; J. Roscoe, *JRAI* xxxix. [1909] 194.

[9] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, pp. 368, 375; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 298.

[10] E. Gottschling, *JAI* xxxv. [1905] 369 [Bawenda]; E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, *ib.* 407 [Ba-Mbala], xxxvi. [1906] 43 [Ba-Yaka]; J. Roscoe, *JRAI* xxxix. 194 [Bageshu]; *23 RBEW* [1904], p. 350.

[11] *NR* ii. 578; J. H. Weeks, *JRAI* xxxix. 110; H. H. Johnston, *Liberia*, London, 1906, ii. 1006–08; S. St. John, *Forests of the Far East*, do. 1862, ii. 10; N. Annandale and H. C. Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses*, do. 1903–06, p. 45; *8 RBEW* [1891] p. 183; *16 RBEW* [1897], p. 164 f.

[12] Partridge, *op. cit.* p. 176; A. Werner, *Nat. of Brit. Cent. Africa*, London, 1906, p. 80 f.; H. A. Junod, *Life of a S. Afr. Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1913, p. 446; Torday and Joyce, *JAI* xxxv 407; P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de France*, Paris, 1904–07, i. 142.

(cf. § 3 (*d*)). A conqueror in Egypt sealed the doors of the temple of Rā after having bolted them.[1]

1. Primitive locks and keys.—In some of the instances cited above a bar set against the movable door from within and held in place by various means is found. Doors and gates swinging on hinges were also held with bars of wood, bronze, or iron, set across from one doorpost to the other, the ends being set in holes in these (Dt 3^5, Neh 7^3, Is 45^2, Jg 16^3), or with bars and bolts (Neh 3^3, Babylonia, Egypt). In Homer, *Il.* xii. 455 ff., two bars are pushed out from square holes in the doorposts and meet in dovetailed fashion in the centre. A bolt or wedge keeps them in position. The primitive bolt, at first of wood, then of metal, slid into a staple on the doorpost.[2] Where folding doors were used, probably a vertical bolt above or below held one leaf, and a horizontal bolt fixed both in the centre. The bolt might be shot backwards or forwards by means of a cord from outside, secured to a catch by a series of knots. Or such a cord might lift a latch, the bar of which turned on a wooden pin.[3] Before the use of locks and keys a simple method of sliding a bolt was used in Greece as well as in central and northern Europe, in the shape of a bent hook or sickle-shaped rod. This was passed through a hole in the door and caught in a hole in the bolt or on a projecting knob. Such 'keys' have been found in archæological remains. A similar key about 2 ft. long made of iron with a brass handle ornamented with ring money, and known as the chief's door-key, is in use in N. Nigeria.[4] Another method was to hold the bolt in place by means of a peg also worked from outside by means of a string. A further development, implying the use of a key, consisted in using pegs which fell from an upright into corresponding sockets in the bolt. These pegs might be lifted in different ways according to the type of lock in use. In one type two pegs fell into notches in the bolt when it was pushed home, and held it in place. To raise these a T-shaped key was used.[5] It was pushed vertically through a hole in the door, given a quarter turn, bringing the arms into a horizontal position, and then pulled slightly back so that the returns of the T fitted into holes in the pegs, which could now be raised. The bolt was then pulled back by means of a string.[6] In the second type a number of small pegs drop into holes in the bolt and are then flush with its lower surface. The key consists of a rod bent at a right angle with teeth fitted variously upon the shorter piece. When inserted below the bolt, the teeth raise the pegs flush with its upper surface, and the bolt can then be pushed back by the key. Innumerable varieties of this type of lock are known, and the key is probably that known as 'Laconian' with three teeth, the invention of which was attributed to the Laconians. Locks and keys of this type were used in Egypt, among the Romans (often of an elaborate pattern), Greeks, Scandinavians, and possibly the Celts.[1] Both of these locks are of the 'tumbler' type, as is also the third, the tumbler being 'a bolt of a bolt.' In this the pins drop into holes in the bolt, which is hollow, until they are flush with the upper side of the hollowed-out part. The key consisted of a strip of wood or metal fitted with upright teeth corresponding in size and position with the pegs. It was inserted into the hollow of the bolt and raised the pegs, so that the bolt could be pulled back. In this case the key, which is sometimes of very large size, was put through a hole in the door large enough to let the hand pass through with it. But in some cases the lock was fixed on the outside. This type of lock was used in Egypt (perhaps not earlier than Roman times), and is still common there, in Oriental countries generally from early times—Syria, Arabia, Palestine—in Scandinavia, in Scotland, where it is still found in remote parts of the W. Highlands, among the Negroes of Jamaica, in British Guiana (where it may have been introduced by settlers), and among the Zuñis (perhaps of Mormon origin).[2]

The first of these types is supposed to be the kind of lock which Penelope opens in *Odyssey*, xxi. 46 ff.[3] Diels, however, regards the strap as fastening the bolt from outside. Penelope unloosens it (probably it was tied by a secret knot); then through a hole in the door she inserts a bar of metal bent twice at a right angle; its end strikes on a knob fixed on the bolt and pushes it out of its staple. If there were two bolts, both, connected together, could be shot at once.[4] A large key of this kind is often represented on monuments as a hieratic survival, carried by priestesses.[5] It is akin to the sickle-shaped key already described. In Benin a key and bolt working somewhat on this principle are in use. The bolt has a knob; the key is a metal rod, to the end of which is attached another piece bent twice at a right angle; at the other end is a ring-shaped handle. This key is inserted through a hole in the door, the keyhole being at a height above the bolt corresponding to the size of the key. The end of the key impinges on the knob, and, when a turn is given to it, the bolt is slid along. The bolts in the king's palace were of carved ivory.[6] Locks and keys more or less of this type, but of wood, are used by the Wamba of British Central Africa. The key has teeth of 2 or 3 inches in length. When it is turned, it moves a wooden bolt into place. Possibly these are of Portuguese origin.[7] Original native locks are made by the Hausa, and are traded among other tribes.[8] Du Chaillu refers to native locks used for chests and doors in Goumbi, Equatorial Africa, but does not describe them.[9] Among savage tribes generally civilized influences are introducing the use of European or American locks and padlocks—*e.g.*, among the Baronga and elsewhere in Africa.[10]

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[1] M. Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 665; J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, London, 1878, i. 353; Herod. ii. 128.

[2] *16 RBEW* [1897], p. 164 f.; D. Macdonald, *Africana*, London, 1882, i. 149 (door barred on outside when owner is at work in the fields); Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Janua,' col. 607 (Etruria, outside bar); Perrot-Chipiez, vi. 188, 281; Hom. *Il.* xxiv. 453 f., 567, etc.

[3] *8 RBEW*, pp. 183, 187.

[4] O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 725; Brit. Museum *Guide to Early Iron Age*, London, 1905, p. 125; the Nigerian key is in the Ethnographical section of National Museum, Edinburgh.

[5] Or, as in the Faroe Islands, a key has teeth which fit into notches in the pegs when slipped in horizontally. The pegs are then raised vertically.

[6] Brit. Mus. *Guide to Exhib. illustrating Greek and Roman Life*, London, 1908, p. 162 f.; H. Diels, *Parmenides' Lehrgedicht*, p. 131. A key of this type (still used in Norway) might be inserted into holes in the bolt (which had no pegs), and could then push it either way (A. H. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, *On the Development and Distribution of Primitive Locks and Keys*, p. 14).

[1] Aristoph. *Thesm.* 421 ff.; Diels, p. 144; Wilkinson, i. 354; Brit. Mus. *Guide to . . . Gr. and Rom. Life*, p. 162 f. A key of this type might consist simply of a bent rod to lift one peg. This kind is used in Egypt, Persia, India, Turkey, etc. (Pitt-Rivers, p. 9).

[2] Pitt-Rivers, *passim*; Diels, p. 141; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Sera'; H. Syer Cuming, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xii. [1856] 118, 120; T. Wells, *ib.* xiii. [1857] 335 f.; E. W. Lane, *Mod. Egyptians*, London, 1895, p. 27; A. Russell, *Natural History of Aleppo*^{2}, London, 1794, i. 21 f.; C. M. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, do. 1888, i. 143; *8 RBEW*, p. 187; Wilkinson, i. 354 f.; Egyptian and Roman specimens in Brit. Museum.

[3] See reconstruction in Brit. Mus. *Guide to . . . Gr. and Rom. Life*, p. 162; Diels, p. 131.

[4] See reconstruction in Diels, p. 135 f.; Daremberg-Saglio, *svv.* 'Sera' and 'Janua.'

[5] Diels, p. 123 f.; Daremberg-Saglio. *locc. citt.*

[6] H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, pp. 87–89 (specimen in Brit. Museum).

[7] H. H. Johnston, *Brit. Cent. Africa*, London, 1897, p. 459.

[8] T. E. Bowdich, *Mission to Ashantee*, London, 1819, p. 306.

[9] P. B. du Chaillu, *Explorations in Equatorial Africa*, London, 1861, p. 254.

[10] Junod, *op. cit.* p. 92; du Chaillu, p. 254 f.

In another type, used mainly in padlocks, the key thrust into the lock compresses springs, thus permitting the shackle to be withdrawn. Such padlocks were used in Egypt, and are still known in W. Africa (possibly of Egyptian origin). They were also used by the Romans, and are still extant in China and India (the so-called puzzle padlocks).[1] The Romans had flat keys for raising latches, similar to those in use to-day.[2] Both the Greeks and Romans knew the lock with wards through which the key passes, thus moving the bolt backwards or forwards. Keys of a simple type to suit such locks are represented on vases.[3] More elaborate keys are often small and form a part of finger-rings, the key lying flat upon the finger. False keys were also used by Roman robbers.[4]

While locks of the primitive types here described were used in different parts of Europe and are indeed still used in remote districts, the ward system, with obstacles to prevent any but the proper key from turning the bolt, was much used during the Middle Ages. The principle of the tumbler lock was applied to locks during the 18th century. Roman keys terminated in a flat or perforated handle; others were of an open lozenge, ovate, or round shape. Until the 13th cent. keys had little ornamentation. In the 13th to 15th centuries they terminated in a lozenge, trefoil, or quatrefoil. After this, and especially in the 16th cent., they had elaborate decoration and became works of art. The bows terminating the stems were filled with ornament, the stem itself was ornamented or took the form of an animal or human figure, or stem and bow took the form of a crucifix. Even the webs were sometimes ornamented.[5]

2. The key as symbol.—The importance of the key, as that by which doors guarding treasure, stores, etc., might be closed or opened, was marked in ancient times. This doubtless originated in the period when locks and keys of a primitive type were first invented and their value made plain to all.

(*a*) Frequently the wife as *Hausfrau* bears the household keys symbolically. She is the key-bearer for her husband. Among the Romans the newly-married wife was given the keys of the store-rooms. The divorced wife had to surrender the keys; hence the formula in the Twelve Tables signifying divorce—'claves ademit, exegit.' The wife who separated from her husband sent him back the keys—'claves remisit.'[6] Among the Teutons and Scandinavians the bride was decked with keys at her girdle. Here also at divorce she had to give up the keys, and 'taking away' or 'giving up the keys' became a formula of divorce.[7] Among the Gauls a widow placed keys and girdle on the corpse of the dead husband as a sign of renunciation in participation of goods—a custom found elsewhere, and also signifying that the widow was free of obligation.[8] Slaves carried keys of various parts of the house, and the janitor bore the house-key. In the Christian Church the church-treasurer who carried the keys of the treasury was known as *claviger*.[9] In Is 22^{22} 'laying the key of the house of David upon his shoulder' signifies transference of the supremacy of the kingdom, and the imagery is taken from the large keys opening tumbler locks carried on the shoulder in the East. In Equatorial Africa, as chests containing treasure are a synonym for property, and as they are kept locked with either native or American locks, the more keys a man has the richer he is. Hence keys in large numbers are worn as a symbol of wealth.[1]

(*b*) Since many divinities were key-bearers, their priestesses (not usually their priests) also bore keys symbolically, signifying that the divine powers were theirs, or that they were guardians of the sanctuary of the gods. Priestesses are often represented carrying on their shoulder a large key of the rectangular type, already alluded to as an archaic survival; a key represented on a grave-stone signifies the burial-place of a priestess.[2] Iphigenia is called *κληδοῦχος* ('key-bearer') of Artemis, and Io *κληδοῦχος* of Hera.[3] Cassandra bore the keys of Hecate, and in the mysteries of the goddess the priestess was *κλειδοφόρος*, while the priestess of Ceres *κατωμαδίαν δ' ἔχε κλαῖδα*.[4]

(*c*) As has been shown in the art. DOOR (vol. iv. p. 851^{b}), heaven and the under world were believed to be regions or abodes with doors and gates. These doors and gates had bars and bolts as well as locks. In Babylonian mythology Marduk made gates to the heavens and attached secure bolts to them. Šamaš is said to open the bolt of the bright heaven, and to Ištar's supremacy is said to belong the opening of the lock of heaven. Hades with its seven gates has also bolts. Over these dust is scattered, and Ištar threatens to break the bolts when she descends there.[5] The gates of Pluto's realm are closed with iron bars and keys.[6] The Hebrews had similar conceptions. Sheôl has bars (Job 17^{16}; cf. Ps 107^{16}); Hades and the Abyss have locks and keys (Rev 1^{18} 9^{1} 20^{1}). These conceptions were still retained in Christian belief, and nothing is more dramatic in the legends or theology of the *Descensus* than Christ's breaking the bars and bolts of Hades. Similarly in Mandæan mythology the regions of the dark worlds have gates with bolts and with locks and keys differing from all other locks and keys.[7] So also earth, sea, the world, etc., have locks and keys. The Assyrian Ninib holds the lock of heaven and earth, and opens the deep, and Ea unlocks fountains.[8] Cybele is represented with a key—that of earth, which is shut in winter and opened in spring. Eros has keys of sea and earth as well as of heaven, and Proteus has the keys of the ocean (*πόντου κληῖδας*).[9] The Egyptian Sarapis has keys of earth and sea.[10] In Hebrew thought the sea has doors and bars, and the earth has bars.[11] In Breton folk-lore is found the curious idea that menhirs are keys of the sea. Should they be lifted, the sea would rush in. They are also keys of hell.[12] Fairyland likewise has its doors with locks and keys, and the key is sometimes given to a favoured mortal in order that he may obtain treasure.[13]

(*d*) It is not surprising, therefore, that some gods were represented with keys, those of the region which they guarded or which was sacred to them, or that the key became a symbol of power—the power which was represented in the opening or closing of the doors of that region to allow or prevent entrance or egress. This was more especially marked in Greek and Roman mythology, in which certain of the divinities bear the title κλειδοῦχος, *claviger*. Janus, as god of doors, is said to have been represented 'cum clavi et virga' in left and right hands—the key and the rod of the Roman doorkeeper. He sits guarding the gates of heaven with the Hours. At morning the doors of heaven are opened to let out the day, and they are shut again at night. Even more universally he was κλειδοῦχος, since all things—heaven, sea, clouds, and earth—were opened by his hand.[1] Portunus, another god of doors, probably of barns and stores, also carried keys, and perhaps some ritual act was performed with keys on the Portunalia.[2] Divinities of towns carried the keys of the town—*e.g.*, Athene is κλειδοῦχος of the town of Athens.[3] According to Parmenides, Dike carries the keys of the doors of day and night, *i.e.* of heaven, and removes the bar from the door when necessary.[4] So Helios, who comes forth from the doors of the sky, is said in the *Hymn* of Proclus (i. 2) to have keys. The same conceptions are found in Mithraic circles, perhaps partly taken over from these classical models. The Kronos of Mithraic belief carries a key in his right hand or one in each hand, or, like Janus, a key and a rod. These are the keys of the doors of heaven, by which souls enter or pass out to birth. He was addressed as 'the lord who fastens the fiery bars of heaven.'[5]

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[1] Cuming, *op. cit.* p. 118 f.; Wells, *op. cit.* p. 336; Pitt-Rivers, p. 26. Specimens are to be seen in most ethnological collections.

[2] Brit. Mus. *Guide to . . . Gr. and Rom. Life*, p. 163 f.

[3] Diels, p. 145 ff.

[4] Sallust, *Bellum Jugurth.* 12.

[5] Cuming, *op. cit.* p. 123 ff.; Wells, *op. cit.* p. 337 f.; Brit. Mus. *Guide to Mediæval Room*, London, 1907, p. 183.

[6] Cicero, *Philipp.* ii. 28; Ambrose, *Ep.* 68 (*PL* xvi. 938); Ducange, *s.v.* 'Claves remittere.'

[7] J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*^{3}, Göttingen, 1881, p. 176.

[8] Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, p. 1757, *Kleinere Schriften*, Berlin, 1882, vi. 180.

[9] Ducange, *s.v.* 'Claviger.'

[1] Du Chaillu, p. 254 f.

[2] Diels, p. 123 ff.

[3] Eur. *Iph. in Taur.* 131; Æsch. *Suppl.* 299.

[4] Eur. *Troad.* 256 f.; Daremberg-Saglio, iii. 49; Callimachus, *Hymn to Ceres*, 45; cf. 55.

[5] M. Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyria*, pp. 301, 311, 428, 435, 566, 569.

[6] R. Wünsch, *Defixionum Tabellæ Atticæ*, Berlin, 1897, iii. b.

[7] W. Brandt, *Mandäische Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893, pp. 154, 161 f.

[8] Jastrow, pp. 214, 237.

[9] Servius, *ad Æn.* x. 252; C. G. Schwarz, *De Diis Clavigeris*, p. 23; *Orph. Hymn.* xxv. 1.

[10] Schwarz, p. 18.

[11] Job 38^{10}, Jon 2^{6}.

[12] Sébillot, i. 418, 421.

[13] *Ib.* i. 474, ii. 123.

Divinities associated with the under world carry its keys. Hecate usually holds the keys of Hades on monuments or images of the goddess, and is also described as possessing them. She is even called 'the Lady bearing the keys of the Universe.'[6] In Caria every fourth year the procession of the key (κλειδὸς πομπή) was celebrated in her honour—a festival which lasted for several days. Pausanias (v. xx. 1) describes Pluto as having keys of Hades, which is closed by him so that none can go out thence. In the magic papyri and elsewhere other divinities bear the keys of Hades—Persephone, Æacus, Anubis—and here we enter the region of mingled classical, Oriental, and Egyptian beliefs which were popular after the decay of the Greek and Roman State religions.[7]

(*e*) Generally speaking, possession of the keys signifies power over the regions the locks of the doors of which these keys open. As heaven and Hades were regarded as towns or States with walls and gates, so they had locks and keys. The keys are entrusted to their respective guardian divinities, who have the power of opening or closing the gates. To those who were worthy of heaven its door was opened; to those who merited hell its door was opened. Once in, there was generally no egress. In Jewish thought Michael is said to hold the keys of the kingdom of heaven (3 Bar 11^2, cf. 4 Bar 9^5, Eth. version, where he holds open the gates of righteousness till the righteous enter in).

The power of the keys as associated with St. Peter is treated of in the art. BINDING AND LOOSING. Here it is sufficient to say that the idea of his being dowered with the keys of the kingdom of heaven is sufficiently obvious. The picture is still that of a State or town with gates. St. Peter, as κλειδοῦχος, can open to those worthy of the kingdom and its rewards, or can keep the door locked against the unworthy. But it should be observed that, while generally righteousness, obedience to divine law, was the condition of future reward, not only in Christianity but in other religions, there were other methods of compelling the opening of the gates of heaven. We find this in Mithraism, in Gnosticism, perhaps in the popular Christianity which was so much mingled with Gnosticism and paganism, and in the syncretistic magico-religious groups of the period. In these, submission to rites and ceremonies—*e.g.*, of baptism, purification, and communion—possession of amulets, knowledge of the right pass-words or the names of the demonic or divine guardians of the gates of the heaven, were all so many keys with which the soul could unlock the gates and pass onwards or compel the κλειδοῦχοι to unlock them.[1]

(*f*) The name 'key' might be given to anything which had the power of opening or disclosing. Rabbinic lore spoke of three keys which were given to no third party—the keys of the womb or of child-birth, of rain, and of resurrection of the dead.[2] As to the first of these, it is still a divine power which works in conception and birth, opening the womb, and we may compare the phrase of Aristophanes regarding Hera, that she guards the keys of marriage (κλῇδας γάμου φυλάττει), or that of Pindar when he says of Peitho that she bears the secret keys which open the way to the sanctities of love.[3] But the thought underlying this is seen in the erotic slang of many languages, which describes the male organ as 'key' and the female organ as 'lock.' The consummation of marriage by their means was a sacred act, consecrated to certain divinities. Similarly any book of secret knowledge or of mysteries or γνῶσις might be called a 'key.' It contained the means of unlocking mysteries, of opening the way to truth. The book of rites of the Paulicians is called *The Key of Truth*, and some of the magical texts current in the syncretistic groups already referred to bore the name 'Key.' The name is applied also to any book which purports to explain various matters, or even to literal translations of classical or foreign works; hence withholding 'the key of knowledge' of which Christ speaks (Lk 11^{52}) means debarring men from the knowledge of moral or spiritual truth which would give them entrance to the Kingdom of God. In the Coptic Gnostic documents Christ Himself is called 'the Key.'

As a symbol the key occurs in heraldry. It is found in the arms of the pope, of various bishoprics, of cities, of private families. It also occurs in the names and signs of shops and inns, and is here of ecclesiastical derivation—the Cross-keys, the Golden Key, etc. Keys, and especially that of the forbidden chamber, are prominent in folk-tales of the Bluebeard group (MacCulloch, *CF*, London, 1905, p. 306 ff.).

3. Locks and keys in magic.—The importance attaching to locks and keys gave them a place in various magical rites, while their being made of metal adds to their value, since metal of itself has magical power (see CHANGELING, vol. iii. p. 359^b; FAIRY, vol. v. p. 684; METALS AND MINERALS).

(*a*) As locks and keys make fast or open, bind or loose, so they are sometimes considered to have a sympathetic effect upon dwellers in the house—*e.g.*, at a birth or at death. It is a common custom to open all the locks at a confinement, lest the delivery should be hindered through their remaining fast, and so to lighten the labour. With this may be compared the Roman custom of presenting the woman with a key as a portent of an easy delivery. In Sweden in difficult labour the midwife asks the woman whether she has prayed to the Virgin for her key to open the womb. If not, the midwife says the prayer, the woman repeating it after her.[1]

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[1] Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 99, 117 ff.; Macrobius, i. ix. 7.

[2] W. W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, p. 203.

[3] Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1139.

[4] Diels, p. 29 f.

[5] F. Cumont, *Textes et monum. figurés rel. aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1895–99, i. 83 f. and plates; A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 8.

[6] *Orph. Hymn*, i. 7.

[7] W. Köhler, *ARW* viii. [1905] 222 f.

[1] See, *e.g.*, *Pistis Sophia*, and *Book of Jeu*, *passim*; Origen, *c. Celsum*, vi. 31; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, p. 10 f.; Cumont, *Textes*, i. 41; J. A. MacCulloch, 'Ascent of the Soul,' *Irish Church Quarterly*, 1912, p. 122 f.

[2] A. Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläut. der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Göttingen, 1878, p. 195.

[3] Aristoph. *Thesm.* 976; Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 39.

If a witch was present at a wedding and snapped a padlock to at the benediction, dropping it into water, she caused the marriage to be unfruitful, until the padlock was recovered. This belief is found in Germany and, in a similar way, in Greece.[2]

On similar grounds the soul cannot leave the body of a dying person as long as any locks or bolts in the house are fastened; these are therefore unlocked or unfastened and the house-doors are opened.[3]

In all these we have instances of sympathetic magic—what is done to the lock is *ipso facto* done to the living person. They correspond to the world-wide use of knots (*q.v.*) and bindings in magic.

(*b*) In many cases the key itself, probably as a symbol of power, is used as an amulet or has magical virtues. Already among the ancient Greeks and Etruscans this use was found (see *ERE* vol. iii. p. 436ᵇ). In Italy small keys blessed by the priest are called 'keys of the Holy Spirit,' and are worn by infants as a preservative against convulsions. There, as well as in Portugal, Greece and the islands, Germany, and other places, the key is a frequent amulet against the evil eye. It may form one of the charms attached to the *cimaruta*, or sprig of rue, or may be a single amulet elaborately worked. Sometimes it is phallic, the handle being so shaped.[4] In Jerusalem necklaces from which charms depend are worn, and among the latter are a lock and key.[5] In China a common amulet given to an only son in order 'to lock him to life' is a silver lock. The father collects cash from a hundred heads of families and exchanges it for silver; of this a native padlock is made, and it is used to fasten a silver chain or ring round the boy's neck.[6] In Korea the neck ring lock is also a charm. For a girl it is a real lock of silver with a bar across the top (the bolt), and the key at the side. For a woman it is a mere symbol of the lock. On it is the inscription, 'Longevity, riches, and all you wish.'[7] With these practices may be compared an incident in a Danish *Märchen*: the hero gets a key as a christening gift, and it brings him luck.[8] In Norway a large old iron key is used against dwarf-struck cattle. It is hung over the stall, and is supposed to heal them. Such keys are supposed to have been forged by dwarfs (cf. the use of elf-shot, FAIRY, § 6).[9] An ancient method of warding off hail from a field was to hang keys around it—perhaps by way of locking the field in from harm, or merely as charms against the hail.[10] In Transylvania a lock is carried in the seed-bag in order to keep birds from the corn.[11] A key, partly for its own virtues, partly because it is of iron, is commonly placed in a cradle to prevent fairies from changing the baby.[12]

In the island of Zacynthos a key is placed on the breast of a corpse, because, being of iron, it will scare away evil spirits, though the popular explanation is that it will open the gate of paradise.[1] According to a belief in Poitou, when a werwolf is struck between the eyes with a key, the enchantment ends, and the human form is resumed.[2]

(*c*) Another magical use is that of the Bible and key. A large key, sometimes an ancient or hereditary key, is placed flat between the leaves of a Bible, which is then closed and bound with cord. The handle of the key projects and is held in the hand or on the fingers of one or two persons, while some formula is being said. At the psychological moment it twists and turns, thus indicating whatever is desired to be discovered. This has superseded earlier methods—*e.g.*, with a sieve—but Reginald Scot already mentions the use of a psalter and key. (1) They are used as a cure for nose-bleeding. Here the patient turns the Bible and key round, while the wise man repeats a charm. Then the latter removes the key and places it down the patient's back, while the patient holds the Bible. This is supposed to cure the bleeding entirely. The latter part of the charm is often used, but seldom now in a magical way. A similar use of Bible and key is for the purpose of 'unwitching' a patient.[3] (2) It is also used in divination, usually to discover a thief or a witch. The names of the suspected persons are repeated with the formula, 'Turn Bible, turn round the key, turn, key, turn, and show the name to me.' At the right name the key twists and the Bible drops from the hand. Within recent years such a use is known to have actually led to an arrest.[4] The Bible and key (or the key alone) are used in E. Anglia to divine with, and also to help a vessel entering or leaving port. To assist it to enter port, the key is turned towards oneself, and, to leave port, away from oneself.[5]

(*d*) The keyhole, as an opening by which fairies, spirits, and the like may enter the house, is often magically protected. Thus in the Sporades it is stopped with a skein of flax to prevent vampires from entering. They would require to count all the threads in the skein before doing so. In Cyprus, on locking up, the cross is signed with the key over the keyhole.[6] In Germany the keyhole is stopped up in order to outwit the *Mar* ('nightmare') which enters thereby.[7] In Egypt it is customary to say, 'In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,' when locking a door, as a protection against genii. The door cannot then be opened by them.[8] In Aude a vase of water was placed before the keyhole to prevent visits from a spirit, and in Savoy a watch-glass. The spirit broke the latter and then left in disgust.[9] Stables, cow-houses, etc., are sometimes protected by tying charms to the key—usually a perforated stone (the key-stone which keeps off the demon Mara) and a horn.[10] In Babylonia demons were said to slip into houses through bolts, etc., 'gliding "like snakes,"' and it may have been to prevent this that libations were poured over these (§ I; for other precautions taken see DOOR, vol. iv. p. 849ᵇ).[11]

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[1] F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 360; Festus, *s.v.* 'Clavis.'

[2] Grimm, *Teut. Myth.*, pp. 1073, 1175; J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 17.

[3] T. F. Thiselton-Dyer, *English Folk-Lore*, London, 1878, p. 228; *Choice Notes from Notes and Queries*, do. 1859, p. 117; cf. Scott, *Guy Mannering*, ch. 27, 'And wha ever heard o' a door being barred when a man was in the dead-thraw?—how d'ye think the spirit was to get awa' through bolts and bars like thae?'

[4] *FL* xvi. [1905] 142 f., xix. [1908] 218, 221, 223, 469; Cuming, *loc. cit.* p. 127; cf. also, for additional data, EVIL EYE, vol. v. p. 614ᵃ.

[5] *FL* xv. [1904] 194.

[6] N. B. Dennys, *The Folklore of China*, London, 1876, p. 55; *FL* xvi. 369; Cuming, *loc. cit.*

[7] *FL* xiv. [1903] 114, 294 f.

[8] *FLR* iii. [1880–81] 214.

[9] *FL* xx. [1909] 323; cf. 315.

[10] Cf. *ERE* iii. 436ᵇ.

[11] *GB*³, pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 308.

[12] E. S. Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, p. 97.

[1] J. C. Lawson, pp. 109, 112.

[2] F. Pluquet, *Contes populaires*², Rouen, 1834, p. 15.

[3] *FL* xvi. 169 f. (Wye valley), 172.

[4] *FL* xv. 93 (Jamaica); *FLJ* ii. [1884] 156 f., 380 f. (England); W. Henderson, *Folk-Lore of Northern Counties*, London [1879], p. 232 f.; Grimm, p. 1109 (Germany). An alleged use of the Bible and key as an 'incantation' in a case tried at Runcorn Sessions is referred to in the *Evening Dispatch*, Edinburgh, May 19, 1914.

[5] *FL* iv. [1893] 391.

[6] *FL* x. [1899] 175, 365.

[7] K. Simrock, *Handbuch der deutschen Mythol.*, Bonn, 1864, p. 457.

[8] E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 236.

[9] Sébillot, i. 142.

[10] Cuming, *loc. cit.* p. 129.

[11] Jastrow, p. 265.

(*e*) Keys were sometimes thrown into holy wells as a propitiatory offering to the spirit or guardian of the well, as at Criccieth on Easter morning.[1]

4. The key-flower.—Mediæval legend and later story had much to say regarding certain mysterious flowers which could either make locks fly open or cause a rock door in a mountain to swing open and so admit the seeker to obtain treasure hidden there. The flower was blue, red, or white, and was known as the 'wonder-flower' or 'key-flower' (*Schlüsselblume*); similar properties were also ascribed to the *Springwurzel*, or 'explosive root,' usually obtained from a woodpecker whose nest had been closed up with a wooden bung. She flies off to seek the root, returns with it, and applies it to the bung, which is forced out with a loud noise. It is then taken by the treasure-seeker, who uses it as the flower is used in other instances.[2] Ælian and Pliny know of this legend, but speak of a plant, and the latter elsewhere refers to a herb by which all things closed can be opened.[3] This is the *shāmīr* of Rabbinic legend, a kind of worm or a stone in possession of a moorhen.[4] In connexion with these stories of mountain treasures obtained by the wonder-flower, there are usually mysterious white ladies who guard them, and who, like the *Hausfrau*, carry a bunch of keys which also give access to the treasure.[5] There is a German belief that where the rainbow touches the earth a golden key falls, which gives its name to the flower.[6] In the story of 'Alī Bābā, the rock door opens when the mysterious word *Sesame* is spoken. The word may have stood in an earlier version for the herb *sesamum*, but in other instances the use of magical words makes locks and bars open—*e.g.*, those of the Egyptian under world—while even in tales of enchantresses from New Guinea the use of the words, 'Oh, rock be cleft,' and 'Oh, rock be closed,' causes a rock door to open and shut.[7] In the lives of saints a not uncommon miracle is to unlock a door when the key is lost. They touch the lock with the hand, or their mere presence causes the door to open. In other instances they pass through closed doors, as modern mediums have claimed to do.[8] Probably the *point d'appui* of these saintly miracles is Ac 12^{10}.

LITERATURE.—J. Romilly Allen, *Proc. Scott. Soc. Ant.*, n.s., ii. [1879–80] 149–162; J. Chubb, *On the Construction of Locks and Keys*, London, 1850; H. Syer Cuming, 'History of Keys,' *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xii. [London, 1856] 117–129; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.vv.* 'Janua,' 'Sera'; H. Diels (ed.), *Parmenides' Lehergedicht, mit einem Anhang über griech. Türen und Schlösser*, Berlin, 1897; J. E. Mayer, *Der Schlosser*, Regensburg, 1913; H. Havard, *La Serrurerie*, vol. ix. of *Les Arts de l'ameublement*, Paris, 1891–97; E. Higgin, 'Sketch of Hist. of Ancient Door Fastenings,' *Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Cheshire*, Liverpool, 1850; W. Köhler, 'Die Schlüssel des Petrus,' *ARW* viii. [Leipzig, 1905]; F. Liger, *La Ferronnerie ancienne et moderne*, ii., Paris, 1875; L. I. Molinus, 'De Clavibus Veterum,' in A. H. de Sallengre, *Novus Thesaurus Antiq. Roman.*, The Hague, 1716–24, vol. iii.; A. H. L. Fox Pitt-Rivers, *On the Development and Distribution of Primitive Locks and Keys*, London, 1883; C. G. Schwarz, *De Diis Clavigeris*, Altdorf, 1728; C. Tomlinson, *On the Construction of Locks*, London, 1858.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

LOCUST.—1. **Introductory.**—The Latin word *locusta* first denoted certain crustaceans—*e.g.*, the lobster—and the English word 'lobster' is itself a corrupt adaptation of the Latin *locusta*. Dialectically 'locust' denotes the cockchafer and the cicada. A certain resemblance to the lobster seems to have brought the English meaning of 'locust' back to the insect.[1]

Various species of different genera have been endemic plagues in N. Africa and the Levant from ancient times. In recent years S. Africa and Australia have suffered severely. Mediæval lore, continuing the Biblical traditions and many Oriental tales, and also making the most of some inroads into Central Europe, elevated the locust into a fabulous monster. The Romans and Greeks had similar fancies; Pliny, *e.g.*, speaks of Indian locusts three feet long, with legs of such hardness that they were used as saws.[2] Arabian legend created a body of myth about the insect. The locust addressed Muhammad thus:

> 'We are the army of the Great God; we produce ninety-nine eggs; if the hundred were completed, we should consume the whole world and all that is in it.'

At various dates Italy, Russia, Transylvania, Poland, France, and Spain were visited by swarms, and the accounts given vie in exaggeration. But in the East from Africa to N. India they have been and are still a dangerous pest to agriculture, as the example of Cyprus shows.

The insect chiefly referred to in historical accounts is *Schistocerca peregrina*, formerly classified as *Acridium peregrinum*. *Pachytylus migratorius*, formerly *Œdipoda migratoria*, also appears in the Levant. They belong to the family *Acridiidæ*, not the *Locustidæ*, and are the only Old World species, the others being American.[3] The locustid insects of entomologists are the European grasshoppers. The OT has nine different names; it is improbable that these refer to different species. That most often employed is *arbeh* (*e.g.*, Ex 10^{4-15}), probably connected with *rābāh*, 'multiply.'[4]

The *larva*, not the perfect insect, is the destructive form. This blackish *larva*, which moves by hopping, resembles the *imago* very closely, but the wings are immature. The perfect insect walks until after a sixth change, when it is able to fly. Three to four inches in length, the *larva*, as it advances to the *imago*, passes from black to brown and green.

While we must distinguish the absolutely destructive *larvæ* from the relatively harmless winged insects, some accounts of the flights of the latter are essential, having produced so great an impression on the popular imagination. It is curious that only modern observers have described the march of the *larvæ*, as terrible in its completeness of destruction as that of the white 'ants' of Africa. But possibly such OT writers as Joel were familiar with the phenomenon, however vaguely they may refer to it. As will be seen from the account cited, it is far more impressive than the flight.

2. The locust flight.—Darwin's account has a typical value:

> '. . . a ragged cloud of a dark reddish-brown colour. At first we thought that it was smoke from some great fire on the plains; but we soon found that it was a swarm of locusts. They were flying . . . at a rate of ten or fifteen miles an hour. The main body filled the air from a height of twenty feet, to that, as it appeared, of two or three thousand above the ground.' The sound was 'like a strong breeze passing through the rigging of a ship. . . . They were not, however,

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[1] J. Rhys, *Celtic Folk-Lore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 364.

[2] Grimm, pp. 971 ff., 1596 f.; E. H. Meyer, *Mythol. der Germanen*, Strassburg, 1903, p. 430; W. Mannhardt, *Germ. Mythen*, Berlin, 1858, p. 153; *FL* xvi. 143; Sébillot, iii. 469, 476.

[3] Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* iii. 26; Pliny, *HN* x. 18, xxvi. 4.

[4] S. Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths*, London, 1877, p. 396 ff.; L. Blau, in *JE* xi. [1905] 229 f.

[5] Grimm, p. 963 ff.

[6] Simrock, p. 32.

[7] C. G. Seligmann, *Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 399 f., 402.

[8] J. J. von Görres, *Die christliche Mystik*, Regensburg, 1836–42, bk. iv. ch. 25.

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[1] *OED*, *s.vv.* 'Lobster' and 'Locust.' Old Cornish has *legast*, and Fr. *langouste*; cf. *Trin. Coll. Hom.* 127 (1200 A.D.): 'wilde hunie and languste his mete.' The word appears to mean originally the 'springer' (the 'grass-*hopper*'; cf. also Fr. *sauterelle*; *sauter*), and to be connected with Gr. *ληκάω*, Lettish *lēkt*, 'leap, spring' (A. Walde, *Lat. etymolog. Wörterbuch*^{2}, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 438 f.). The Boers term their 'locust' *voetganger*; this is the larva called by the Portuguese *saltona*, or 'jumper,' and by the Italians *cavalletta*, with which Germ. *Heupferd* may be compared. Jl 2^4 and Rev 9^7 repeat this analogy of form and movement with the horse.

[2] *HN* xxxv. (29).

[3] A. E. Shipley, art. 'Locust' in *EBi*; L. Gautier, art 'Locust' in *DCG*.

[4] G. E. Post, art. 'Locust' in *HDB*.

> so thick together, but that they could escape a stick waved backwards and forwards.'[1]

Another account, from the Levant, states:

> 'Their swarms fill the air, darkening the sky, and the noise of their wings resembles the pattering of a heavy rain . . . towards nightfall they light . . . they often break the branches of the trees . . . the swarm invariably resumes its flight as soon as the sun has warmed it a little . . . it has not time to destroy all the vegetation.'[2]

In 1889 a swarm over the Red Sea occupied 2000 square miles; its weight was calculated at 42,850 millions of tons.[3]

> Munro, writing of locusts in S. Africa, states that, when driven by a storm into the sea, they may 'lie on the beach as a bank from three to four feet thick and from fifty to one hundred miles in length, and the stench from the corruption of their bodies, it is affirmed, is sensibly perceived for a hundred and fifty miles inland.'[4] He describes the movements of the flying locusts as 'curious, interesting, and pretty.'

All observers agree with the Psalmist (Ps 109^{23}) that locust swarms follow the course of the wind.

> 'To a certain extent' the flying insects 'do injure here and there . . . but they do not destroy everything before them, like the army of the larval stage or jumpers.'[5]

3. The locust march.—After the flight the females lay their eggs in the soil, each ovisac containing about a hundred eggs.

> 'When the tiny creatures issue from their nest . . . the very dust of the ground which was so still before, now seems to waken into life. They begin to move by a process of twisting or rolling over one another, so that for the first few days they receive the name of twisters (South Africa). Within eight or ten days, however, they can jump four or six inches, and at the age of three or four weeks a new characteristic makes its appearance. A desire to explore manifests itself, and in a surprising manner. The whole company moves in a body in one general direction, and more or less in a straight line, as if by one common instinct, without apparently having any recognised leader or commander.'[6]

Marching thus over the country, they eat everything that comes in their way, even the bark of trees; they enter houses and 'eat the very clothes and curtains at the windows'; they even eat the wool off the sheep; and, 'last stage of all that ends this strange, eventful history,' they will eat one another. When the *voetgangers* are on their way, they resemble and receive from the Boers the name of an 'army on the march.'[7]

> 'It is in this marching stage that the *voetgangers* do enormous damage and eat every edible thing in their path, and completely destroy the work of the husbandman. They are unlike the flying company of locusts, which only levy toll here and there, but these, when they pass, leave nothing.'[8] 'The black larvæ,' says Post, referring to Palestine, 'now spread like a pall over the land, eating every green thing, even stripping the bark off the trees.'[9]

The Syrians beat pans, shout, and fire guns to drive off a swarm. When they have settled, they are gathered in sacks. The government enforces a *per capita* contribution of eggs, or offers a price for them by weight. When the *larvæ* hatch out, in fifteen or twenty days, trenches are dug in their pathway, or fires are built.[10] The only successful method of exterminating locusts was adopted in Cyprus in 1881. Since 1600 the island had been a wilderness. Matthei, conversant with the habits of the *larvæ*, erected an insurmountable wall of calico and leather round the main area. Unable to pass the smooth leather, the locusts fell into the trench dug beneath. At the same time 1300 tons of eggs were destroyed. The plague has been obsolete ever since.

4. Superstition and metaphor.—Among the Dravidians of Mirzapur, when locusts threaten the gardens, the natives catch one, decorate its head with red lead (in accordance with ceremonial custom), salaam to it, and let it go. The whole swarm is then believed to depart.[11]

> Similarly in Syria, when caterpillars invaded a vineyard or field, 'the virgins were gathered, and one of the caterpillars was taken and a girl made its mother. Then they bewailed and buried it. Thereafter they conducted the "mother" to the place where the caterpillars were, consoling her, in order that all the caterpillars might leave the garden.'[1]

It is not unlikely that the 'caterpillars' mentioned in this account are the locust *larvæ*. The conciliatory method of expelling pests and vermin is adduced by Frazer to explain such titles of Greek deities as Locust Apollo, Locust Hercules, and Mouse Apollo.[2]

> Such worships 'were originally addressed, not to the high gods as the protectors of mankind, but to the baleful things themselves, the mice, locusts, mildew, and so forth, with the intention of flattering and soothing them, of disarming their malignity, and of persuading them to spare their worshippers.'[3]

In Hebrew literature, and thence to a certain extent in European, the locust is a symbol of destructive agencies.[4] The OT also employs it to illustrate number and combination.[5]

5. Locusts as food.—Since the time of Herodotus[6] the use of locusts as food has been known. Thomson limits it to the Bedawīn of the frontier, and observes:

> 'Locusts are always spoken of as a very inferior article of food, and regarded by most with disgust—to be eaten only by the very poorest people.'[7]

They are roasted and eaten with butter, after the head, legs, and wings have been removed. They are also dried and then beaten into a powder, as a substitute for flour.[8] According to Burckhardt, they were roasted and kept in sacks with salt. He adds that the Bedawīn never used them as a dish, but would take a handful when hungry.[9] Van Lennep states that they resemble shrimps in flavour. Horses and camels are often fed with them, and they are exposed for sale in the markets of Baghdād, Medīna, and Damascus.[10]

The Law forbade Israel to eat 'creeping' things; 'yet may ye eat of all winged creeping things that go upon all four, which have legs above their feet to leap withal upon the earth.'[11] This exception includes the locust. The gospel account of locusts forming part of the diet of John the Baptist is accepted by most writers.[12] But Cheyne argues in favour of the ancient tradition that the ἀκρίδες are the beans or pods of the carob tree. This is a definite meaning of the words ἀκρίς and 'locust,' and the latter is even applied to the similar bean of the cassia tree. The resemblance between the insect and the bean is the reason for the identity of name. The carob beans are the 'husks' referred to as food for swine in the parable of the Prodigal Son,[13] and they are still sold for food in Syria.[14] In mediæval literature these beans are St. John's bread. In ancient Palestine there was a proverb, 'Israel needs carob beans to do repentance.'[15] They were a type of the food of the poor, and the connexion is between poverty and repentance, the

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[1] *Journal of Researches*^{2}, London, 1845, p. 317.
[2] G. E. Post, *loc. cit.*
[3] A. E. Shipley, *loc. cit.*
[4] Æneas Munro, *The Locust Plague and its Suppression*, London, 1900, p. 30.
[5] *Ib.* p. 36.
[6] *Ib.* p. 55 f.
[7] Post, *loc. cit.*; cf. Munro, p. 57 f.
[8] Munro, p. 59.
[9] Post, *loc. cit.*; cf. Munro, p. 59.
[10] Post, *loc. cit.*
[11] W. Crooke, *PR*, London, 1896, ii. 303.

[1] From the Canons of Jacob of Edessa, quoted by J. G. Frazer, *GB*^{3}, pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, ii. 279 f.

[2] *Ib.* ii. 282 f.; Strabo, XIII. i. 64; Paus. I. xxiv. 8; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* i. 39, p. 34; cf. also O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, p. 1229.

[3] Frazer, *op. cit.* p. 282.

[4] Cf. Rev 9^{3-11}; B. Disraeli, *Endymion*, I. xxxi. 288: 'The white ant can destroy fleets and cities, and the locusts erase a province.'

[5] Jg 6^{5} 7^{12}, Pr 30^{27}.
[6] iv. 172.

[7] W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, London, 1883, ii. 301.

[8] Post, *loc. cit.*; H. J Van Lennep, *Bible Lands*, London, 1875, p. 319; W. R. Wilson, *Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land*^{2}, do. 1824, p. 330; S. R. Driver, *Joel and Amos*, Cambridge, 1897, p. 82 ff.

[9] J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, London, 1822, p. 238 f.

[10] Van Lennep, *loc. cit.*
[11] Lv 11^{21}.
[12] Mt 3^{4}, Mk 1^{6} ἀκρίδες.
[13] Lk 15^{16}; T. K. Cheyne, art 'Husks' in *EBi.*

[14] H. B. Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of the Bible*^{10}, London, 1911, p. 361. They form a constituent of Thorley's 'food for cattle.' English dealers call the pods 'locusts.' The hard brown seeds were formerly used by jewellers to weigh gold and silver, hence the word 'carat.' 'Carob' is the Arabic and Persian name for the tree, *Ceratonia siliqua* (Cheyne *loc. cit.*).

[15] *Wayyiqrā Rabbā*, 35.

Baptist being essentially the prophet of repentance.[1] It is impossible to decide a detail which is itself perhaps legendary. But its typical value is great; and, as such, the carob bean proverb leaves little doubt in identification. Treating the detail as historical fact, we reach the same conclusion in favour of Cheyne's view, for this reason, that, while the carob, like all leguminous food, is highly sustaining (the Levantines have always made such food their staple diet), the nutritious value of the insect locust is extremely small, and insufficient, with honey, to support life.

LITERATURE.—This is fully given in the article, excepting J. H. Fabre, *Souvenirs entomologiques*, Paris, 1879 ff., vi. 196–212, 248–297.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

LOGIC.—I. *DEFINITION.*—Exceptional difficulties lie in the way of a general description of logic, because the definite increment of knowledge which is undertaken by primary sciences is not claimed here in a sense that is comparable. In logic we merely 're-traverse familiar ground, and survey it by unfamiliar processes. We do not, except accidentally, so much as widen our mental horizon' (B. Bosanquet, *Essentials of Logic*, p. 2). And exceptional pains are necessary in explaining how unfamiliar processes which reveal no unfamiliar objects amount to knowledge and science. A knowledge of knowledge cannot be proposed with quite the same assurance as a knowledge of space, matter, organization, and history, or even beauty or goodness. Some writers have proposed an art, rather than a science or even a philosophy; and others, a science of a special kind of mental process, or a philosophy reflecting on special relations of our personality to the universe. Mansel collects the following varied descriptions of the subject (Introd. to Aldrich, *Artis Logicæ Compendium*^{4}, p. lviii).

> Logic is a part of philosophy (the Stoics). It is not a part, but an instrument (Peripatetics). It is both a part and an instrument (Academics). It is both a science and an art (Petrus Hispanus and others). It is neither science nor art, but an instrumental habit (Greek commentators). It is a science and not an art (Albertus Magnus and others). It is an art and not a science (Ramus and others). It is the science of argumentation (the Arabians), of the operations of the mind so far as they are dirigible by laws (Aquinas), of the syllogism (Scotus), of the direction of the cognitive faculty to the knowledge of truth (C. Wolff), of the universal and necessary laws of thought without distinction of its objects (Kant), of the processes of the understanding concerned in the estimation of evidence (J. S. Mill). It is the art of thinking (P. Gassendi, Arnauld), of reasoning (J. Le Clerc, R. Whately, and others), of the right use of reason (J. Clauberg, Watts), of dissertation (Ramus), of teaching (Melanchthon), of directing the mind to any object (George Bentham), of forming instruments for the direction of the mind (Burgersdyck, R. Sanderson, Aldrich).

Underneath such summary phrases as 'laws of thought' and 'forms of knowledge,' which have become common in the more modern definitions, there still lie very varied suggestions as to scope and method. The following are influential examples:

> 'A collection of precepts or rules for thinking, grounded on a scientific investigation of the requisites of valid thought' (Mill, *Exam. of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy*^{5}, London, 1878, p. 462).
>
> 'If we analyse the mental phænomena with the view of discovering . . . the Laws by which our faculties are governed, to the end that we may obtain a criterion by which to judge or to explain their procedures and manifestations . . . we have a science which we may call the Nomology of Mind. . . . Pure Logic is only an articulate development of the various modes in which they [the primary conditions of the possibility of valid thought] are applied' . . . the laws of thought as thought (Hamilton, *Lectures*, Edinb. and London, 1859–60, i. 122, iii. 12, 78 f.).
>
> The forms and laws of thought 'are those subjective modes of the connection of our thoughts which are necessary to us, if we are by thinking to know the objective truth' (Lotze, *Outlines of Logic*, Eng. tr., Boston, 1892, p. 6).
>
> 'The conditions under which thought can arrive at propositions which are certain and universally valid . . . and the rules to be followed accordingly' (C. von Sigwart, *Logic*, Eng. tr., London, 1895, § 1).
>
> 'The doctrine of the regulative laws, on whose observance rests the realization of the idea of truth in the theoretical activity of man' (Ueberweg, *System of Logic and Hist. of Logical Doctrines*, Eng. tr., London, 1871, § 3).
>
> 'The subject-matter of Logic is Knowledge, *qua* Knowledge, or the form of knowledge; that is, the properties which are possessed by objects or ideas in so far as they are members of a world of knowledge . . . the characteristics by which the various phases of the one intellectual function are fitted for their place in the intellectual totality which constitutes knowledge' (Bosanquet, *Essentials of Logic*, p. 44, *Logic*, i. 3).

These definitions with one consent repudiate the relativity, or volitional limitation, which is suggested by the title 'art'; but the responsibilities which must fall on a professed science they acknowledge only with some qualification. Mill does not propose any 'scientific investigation' which is not already sponsored by psychology. Hamilton attenuates the specific guarantee by relying on conditions that are 'primary.' The others appear to undertake something further, but with the same risks as are attendant on speculative philosophy. Ueberweg expressly relies on 'universal laws of existence' borrowed from metaphysics, and 'laws of the life of the mind,' from psychology, for 'auxiliary axioms' (§ 2). In order that we may avoid the responsibility of assuming that the 'unfamiliar processes' of which Bosanquet speaks are 'knowledge' in the same sense as our more natural scientific processes are, and that logical doctrine consists of 'theses to be proved' and 'axioms to be applied,' as Ueberweg claims (§§ 1, 4), comparable with these in significance, we might define logic as the art of raising the natural scientific processes into explicit self-consciousness. The special labour of logical studies, in any case, is to be undertaken with a view to what psychologists describe as 'acquaintance with,' rather than 'knowledge about,' our natural processes.

> 'Without logic, the mind of man can admirably energise, admirably reason; but without it, does not know itself through and through; and ignores one of the fairest and most fruitful of its faculties. Logic brings to the mind self-acquaintance. Such is its use, and it cannot have any other' (Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, *De la Logique d'Aristote*, p. xlii).

We might also require of any doctrine which claims to be logical that it shall be (1) reflective, as distinct from assertive, in its significance, (2) teleological or purposive in its principle, (3) *a priori* or independent in its authority, (4) theoretical rather than practical in its limitations, and (5) disciplinary, not objective, in its motive.

1. Reflexion.—Reflective contents belong to various kinds of philosophical doctrine. In logical doctrine they recover the reference to personality which has been discarded from scientific, and place an 'I know' where otherwise would be a 'So it is.' This reference is the ground for classifying logic with the sciences specially grouped as mental, as in Hamilton's scheme (*Lectures*, vol. i. ch. 7), or as an 'integral part of philosophy' (Ueberweg, § 6); and it forbids such arrangements as those made by A. Bain and H. Spencer, where, at least in part, it stands first in the series of natural sciences arranged in the order of abstractness. For logic is what it is, not because it leaves out of consideration the spatial and other aspects of reality which natural sciences accept, but because it accepts something which they reject, and so changes the significance of a scientific statement, in scholastic phrase 'a first intention,' into a 'reflective idea,' or 'second intention.'

2. Purpose.—Knowledge is a form of life, and, like other forms, cannot be explained by detailing its constituent energies or organs, without assuming a finality for the whole. For descriptive purposes we can say that 'the idea of complete knowledge is the motive power of theoretical effort' (Sigwart, § 62, 6); or, to mark off the occasion for logical study, that 'the *fundamental fact* which underlies all logical reflection . . . is that we make a *distinction, from the point of view of value, between the true and the false*' (W. Windelband, in *Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences*, Eng. tr., i. 11); or, in co-ordinating cognitive life with other moments of cosmic existence, that 'the "value" which is the object of philosophical Logic is logical reality and fact itself' (B. Croce, *ib.* p. 203). Logical consciousness reinforces this finality, though the doctrine is essentially neither description of the experience nor discrimination of the faculty nor perspective of the event, but expression of the aim.

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[1] Cheyne, art. 'Husks' in *EBi*.

3. Independence.—In analogy with Kant's celebrated criticism of knowledge, that it all begins with experience, but does not all spring from experience, we can say that logical consciousness begins with knowledge, but does not spring from it, or wait for a licence from it in the same way that empirical science has to wait for its special data. Even the borrowings from psychology and metaphysics are not for the purpose of conferring authority on logic, but are methodical devices for making it precise, for 'unfolding an inward conviction,' as Butler claimed to do in regard to conscience. The logical rule is neither more nor less authoritative than the example, provided it is understood discriminatively. 'If any man stumbles at the fact that when we want to think about thought we must, in so doing, already follow the norms of right thinking—there is no arguing with him' (Windelband, *loc. cit.* i. 25). All we can do is, in the words of Kant, to 'make the rule followed by the understanding a separate object of thought' (*Logic*, Introd. § i.).

4. Theory.—Cognition gives us the control of nature; and the reflective faculty, the control of self. But logic is the expression of the reflective faculty so far, and so far only, as the self is cognitive and there is conscience in science. It is indifferent to the manifestations of personality in feeling or action, and even in so much of cognition as escapes control.

5. Discipline.—Thus the motive of logic is not furnished by the world of objects, but by the aims of personality; if an art, it is a cognitive art, if a science, a disciplinary science; and it is sustained by our solicitude for intellectual self-government. The historical beginnings of logical theory are to be found in those racial dispositions and social conditions which gave occasion for the deliberate control of our trains of thought. In India it appears to have originated with rules in ceremonial deliberation:

> 'From the Brahmanic decisions on disputed points arising in the course of sacrifice . . . collected in exegetical and philosophic aphorisms . . . Gotama [probably later than the 5th cent. B.C.] evolved a system' (Bodas, *Tarka-Saṅgraha of Annambhaṭṭa*, Introd. p. 29).

And with Gotama the inwardness of logical concern has outworn its ceremonial form.

> 'The end proposed is the escaping from liability to transmigration, and the attainment of tranquil and eternally uninterrupted beatitude' (*Aphorisms*, tr. J. R. Ballantyne, Introd. p. 5).

In Greece it originated with canons of public debate and scientific instruction: the propaganda of plausibility by the Sophists, the challenges to the complacency of popular beliefs issued by Socrates, the polemics of Zeno.

> Some of Aristotle's predecessors, he records, 'had given rhetorical, others interrogative, discourses to learn—since they imagined that they should instruct their pupils by delivering, not [logical] art, but the effects of art' (*Soph. Elenchi*, ch. 34). The art which he constructed deepened, like Gotama's, into pure reflexion and self-communion, for 'dialectic [the art of discussion], being investigative, holds the way to the principles of all methodical thought' (*Topics*, i. ch. 2, *Soph. Elenchi*, ch. 2).

But in the Greek, unlike the Hindu, logical illumination, reflexion fastened upon conviction at the point where individual intelligence merged in the intelligence of humanity at large—just as in Greek ethics the good of the individual merges in that of the State. The Greek forms of proposition and syllogism seem to symbolize a world of intellects, where a common record of conviction can be maintained amid determinations of experience and foresight varying and changing with the individuals: the Greek analysis of demonstrative science idealizes the inner coherence of such a record, whereby it dominates the individual intellect, while the Greek dialectic is the interplay through which vitality, welling from the latter, streams into the record.

The motive of logic being disciplinary, its method must be adjusted to the intellectual forces which are permanently constitutive of civilization; and its general scope cannot change to the extent to which other sciences change, where any advance may open up new vistas of inquiry. Kant is able to say:

> 'Since Aristotle's time Logic has not gained much in extent, as indeed its nature forbids that it should. But it may gain in respect of accuracy, definiteness and distinctness. . . . Aristotle has omitted no essential point of the understanding; we have only to become more accurate, methodical and orderly' (*Logic*, Introd. § ii.).

Nevertheless, it must share the vicissitudes in fortune of civilization as a whole. And the more influential of these, since Aristotle, have been the limit set on the range of free judgment during mediæval centuries, the value set upon personality by modern religion and philosophy, and the accelerating progress of physical sciences in the most recent times—three influences which have some connexion with a certain exaggeration in value which has fallen upon the three Aristotelian departments of doctrine successively in scholastic, modern, and recent years, and has transformed at least the dialectic almost beyond recognition. For the contrasts and controversies between the historic schools are questions of emphasis and balance in what might be called the 'dimensions' of logical discipline, to borrow a conception from geometry; or in the fundamental 'ideas' used in forming our conceptions, to borrow from Whewell's philosophy of all scientific discovery whatever.

> In almost every science 'controversies' have 'turned upon the possible relations of Ideas, much more than upon the actual relations of Facts' (*Philosophy of Discovery*, p. 255).

The dimensions or ideas in which the historic schools have formed conceptions for logical value may be distinguished as explicitness, consistency, relevance, and system.

II. *PRINCIPLES.*—Parallel with what Whewell says as to the progress of physical science—

> it 'consists in reducing the objects and events of the universe to a conformity with Ideas which we have in our own minds—the Ideas, for instance, of Space, Force, Substance [Number, Composition], and the like . . . the Idealization of Facts' (*ib.* p. 385)—

we may expect for logic also that

> 'an exhaustive solution of the great aggregate of logical problems can only grow up out of the union of all the different methods of treatment to which Logic has been subjected in virtue of the inner essential manifoldness of its nature' (Windelband, *loc. cit.* i. 9).

But the different 'methods' must be such as are grounded, if not 'in the systematic continuity of a philosophical theory of knowledge,' as Windelband requires, still in the unity of dimensions in consciousness of logical value. The 'principles' of logic must be these dimensions.

1. Explicitness.—The earliest of such dimensions to be utilized in the formation of logical conceptions was that of explicitness. We must be conscious of the definite germinal organization within our judgments or inferences, whenever occasion arises to make them deliberate. Hamilton proposes as 'the only postulate of Logic which requires an articulate announcement . . . to be allowed to state explicitly in language all that is implicitly contained in thought' (*Lectures*, iii. 114). And Gotama inaugurated the history of the science by detailing sixteen conceptions for our guidance in the analysis of this 'content,' as 'standards of right notion.'

> 'Proof [*i.e.* the faculty of a right notion]; the object of a

> right notion; doubt; motive; familiar fact; scholastic tenet; syllogism; hypothetical confutation; ascertainment; discussion; controversial wrangle; cavil; semblance of a reason; perversion; futility; and unfitness to be argued with—from knowing the truth in regard to these [sixteen things], there is the attainment of supreme good' (*Aphorisms*, tr. Ballantyne, § 1. 1).

Most of these topics appear to represent 'stages in dialectic or in the process of clearing up knowledge by discussion' (Adamson, *History of Logic*, p. 166; cf. Saint-Hilaire, p. xxx). But logic in the long course of its development has always made use of a method dialectical in this sense, which should not hide from us a more inward motive and significance. While it was as yet only tradition, no other method was practicable; and, even when it became literary, the practical utility of the method preserved it alongside of interpretations that were more spiritual. The alliance of the two methods was assumed in the reforms and elaborations made by Dignāga about A.D. 500.

> 'Demonstration and refutation together with their fallacies are useful in arguing with others; and Perception and Inference, together with their fallacies, are useful for self-understanding; seeing this, I compile this Śāstra' (*Nyāya-praveśa*, quoted in Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Hindu Mediæval Logic*, p. 89).

The Aristotelian exposition of the same alliance was turned to forensic uses by Cicero, to academic uses by the scholastics, and to educational uses by the many modern and the now contemporary authors who choose to teach a science of argument, as the medium for an implied science of knowledge.

The conceptions of explicitness suggested to a modern mind by Gotama's sixteen standards and the explanations which he and his commentators append to them would be such as follow. In placing a logical value upon any given judgment, we must bring into consciousness (1) the extent to which our cognitive faculties are committed to it, perceptually, inferentially, conceptually, or interpretatively; 'that I shall die' is inferential, the 'recognition of a sign'; (2) the genus of truth or reality which is thus assumed as accessible to the faculty, or 'fit to supply a right notion'—a topic similar to that of the 'category' in modern logic, or, in Whewell, the 'idea'; (3) the question, or predetermination of a void in the system of our knowledge, which brings faculty and reality into the relation—the problematic phase in the development of a judgment, such as fails us in truism or is perverted in paradox; (4) the emotive root which makes a thought worth thinking or even a science worth creating; for 'truth implies a reference to purpose as well as to reality' (W. R. Boyce Gibson and A. Klein, *Problem of Logic*, London, 1908, p. 2); 'that I shall die' is significant only for the businesses of life; 'that I shall not altogether die,' for the counsels of moral perfectness; (5) and (6) the sureness and definiteness which fact and dogmatic or conceptual principle bring with them to their function in inference; (7) the scheme of their co-operation in the inferential syntheses; there must be (*a*) the probandum, defined by doubt and motive; (*b*) the reason, appealing to a sign; (*c*) the example, verifying a principle of signification; (*d*) the application, investing the reason with the significance of the example; and (*e*) the conclusion, establishing the probandum as a significate. 'Shall I not die, seeing that I am but human, as my fathers died because they were human? For I am as human as they, and consequently I, too, must die.' It is the transition from the problematic to the assertory phase of thought that sunders the application and conclusion from the reason and probandum—a transition which disappears in all the Western schemes of explicitness, because it disappears in proofs and static formulations, as distinct from the processes, of knowledge. The remainder of the sixteen topics are adjustments imposed on a conviction by its entrance into an environment of other convictions on the same question, by its encounter with convictions current in the world of other persons, and by the entrance of its motive into a system of other motives within our manifold practical nature, an organism where cognition, after all, is only one of the forces constituting its life.

2. Consistency.—Under the more complex social and intellectual conditions of life in Greece, the logical consciousness became more sensitive to the contact of individual thinking with this 'static formulation' of knowledge. And the 'idea' most essential for forming conceptions suitable to the spiritual emergency is that of consistency. It is not the consistency between thought and thought which in modern times became the ideal of Hamilton and the 'subjectively formal' logicians, but that which makes possible the allegiance of individual intellects, with varying perceptions, memories, and premonitions, to common formulations of knowledge.

(*a*) *Interpretative.*—In recent psychology the paradoxical tenet is held that, while a 'permanently existing idea' appearing in consciousness 'at periodical intervals' is a mythological entity, yet 'the mind can always intend . . . to think the same' (W. James, *Text-book of Psychology*, London, 1892, chs. xi. and xiv.). Similarly, we may say that, while a judgment identical in many minds is mythological, varying acts of judgment may give allegiance to the same super-personal truth, and join in the same inferential trend. It is such truth and trend, and not any range of individual experience and foresight, that allow Aristotle to postulate 'the proposition of the same thing about the same thing' (*de Interpretatione*, vi. 1), and the continuation of the same section within the same collection, of actual or possible facts (*Pr. Anal.* I. i. 5–8). The actual variability within this mythical identity is veiled by the indefiniteness of the form of proposition named 'particular'; and the actual poverty of human foresight, by the 'universal' proposition, distributing possibilities, as though on a mere chart, to an infinite range. That 'some men die willingly' cannot be the same thought for you and for me, and that 'all men die' is beyond the intellectual concern of either of us. Yet we consent that death is not the supreme terror, and we foresee it widespread as far as our imaginations can have any concern. Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* must be interpreted as dealing with this situation, and as rendering into varieties of syllogistic form the ways in which formulated thought can tolerate the limitations of actual thought, and the reservations under which it must reject them.

> 'The first book of the *Prior Analytics*, after a brief statement of the nature of the proposition and of the fundamental law of predication, proceeds to analyse (1) the various kinds, figures, or modes of syllogism; (2) the means by which syllogisms are formed; (3) the reduction of various imperfect forms of argument to the perfect syllogistic type. . . . The second book . . . deals with the theory afterwards called that of *Consequence*, with circular reasoning, with the possibility and consequences of syllogisms formed by converting parts of the original argument, with certain modes of indirect argument and fallacy, and concluding with brief handling of induction, paradigm, enthymeme, argument from signs, probabilities,' etc. (Adamson, *History of Logic*, p. 40).

Such topics are the main teaching of academic logic to-day, in spite of criticisms renewed from generation to generation. It must be that the more adverse critics are preoccupied with the interest of some other direction of consistency than the Aristotelian, or with some dimension of logical value other than consistency. To their interests it may seem paradoxical that a professed theory of mental process should resolve this into linguistic elements—argument, syllogism, proposition, name (T. Case, *EBr*^{11}, art. 'Logic'); and unphilosophical that all the important distinctions should rest on the mere denotation of terms (Hamilton); and a mistaken subtlety to classify moods into figures.

according to order of terms (Kant); and puerile that inductive conceptions should be referred to their own list of instances (Bacon); and an error that syllogism is an estimate of evidence (Mill); and a usurpation that the formalities of deduction should be limited to syllogistic, and to propositions with two terms only, and to terms that are classes rather than objective relations, and to the logical relation only of inclusion and exclusion (L. Couturat, in *Encyc. Philos. Sciences*, i. 167–169).

(*b*) *Conceptual.*—A second direction in which consistency may be sought is between the thought of the moment and an identity or permanency of personal knowledge, hardly distinguishable from 'meaning the same,' as described in psychology, but quite distinguishable from the impersonal truth or universally human trend assumed by Aristotle.

The mythological world of the super-personal is replaced by an equally mythological content of the personal microcosm, a static conceptual structure to which our ever variable thoughts conform. The 'subjectively formal' or 'conceptual' logic is the canonic for the stability of this. It originated with Kant's discrimination between the section of his *Critique of the Pure Understanding* which he named 'Transcendental Logic,' where the 'forms' of knowledge appear as contributions of the mind to the constitution of its objects, and the 'General Logic,' where 'forms' are relations of cognitions to each other (*Critique*, bk. ii. Introd. § 2, *Logic*, Introd. § 1). Once more, then, as in the Hindu discipline, knowledge is referred to personality; but personality comes back not as an isolated centre of motive interest, to be disciplined for its high destiny, but as a realm of mere abstracts, namely cognitions outside the world of natural sciences, yet factitiously evolved through the course of transcendental reflexion. Kant himself, not forgetful of this origin, found in knowledge a dimension of 'relevance' as well as one of consistency. In the living thought he found an interplay corresponding to the petrified formations of the transcendental 'object.' And, while accepting the law of non-contradiction as the principle of such inference as is merely possible, he added a law of reason and consequence, for the cogency of any actual inference (*Logic*, Introd. § 71); and in applying this second law we encounter transcendental distinctions, such as between 'logical' or *a priori* universals and 'quasi-logical' or inductive. And the neo-Kantian school of logicians better their instruction by re-introducing the detailed conceptions of intellectual synthesis framed in transcendental logic. To others, however, still following the disciplinary motive, and unconcerned with the origin of the new realm commended to them for study, the only dimension recognizable independently of every physical or primary object, in which cognitions could be related to each other, appeared to be consistency.

> 'The stricter followers of the Kantian logical idea, *e.g.*, Mansel and Spalding, recognise, as sole principles which can be said to be involved universally in the action of thought, the laws of identity, non-contradiction, and excluded middle, and in their hands logic becomes merely the systematic statement of these laws, and the exposition of the conditions which they impose upon notions, judgments, and reasonings' (Adamson, p. 15).

(*c*) *Symbolic.*—More recently, a third direction in which consistency might be followed has been taken, which seems to presuppose, if not the factitious abstracts of transcendental logic, yet still the reflective valuations of general logic. Given these, it furnishes a 'clearer, more precise, and more plastic expression' of them, and formulæ of equivalence between them. Algebra renders a similar service to arithmetic, but without raising any doubt as to the scientific priority of the latter. Symbolic logic is at least a discipline in consistency when we make logical reflexions. Whether it is also a direct discipline in scientific knowledge, as the older formal logic is, and so may supersede or absorb it, is as yet controversially obscure.

But on every logic of consistency, however judiciously its pretensions may be restrained, one critical comment may be made:

> 'I do not deny the scientific convenience of considering this limited portion of Logic apart from the rest . . . but the smaller Logic, which only concerns itself with the conditions of consistency, ought to be, at least finally, studied as part of the greater, which embraces all the general conditions of the ascertainment of truth' (Mill, *Exam. of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy*^{5}, p. 477).

3. Relevance.—The larger logic was inaugurated by Aristotle through the addition of his *Posterior Analytics* to the *Prior*.

> 'No demonstrative proposition [*e.g.*, about numbers or lines] is taken as referring to "any number you may know of," or "any straight line you may know of," but to the entire subject —to every possible number or line' (*Post. Anal.* i. 1).

Relevance is that in 'the things we know of' which, when we 'possess or receive a demonstration,' relieves us from the need of similarly 'knowing of' the 'entire subject.' It is what Bosanquet describes as 'an inmost character' of the content of knowledge, 'as revealed by the structural relations in which it is found capable of standing' (*Essentials*, p. 49). Aristotle conceives relevance as embodied in 'universals.' Mediæval Hindu logicians (Dignāga, Divākara [*c.* A.D. 530], and Nandi [*c.* A.D. 800]) taught the intervention of 'secondary ideas' or 'abstract conceptions' in the process of inference, and authorized a 'syllogism for self' in which this dispensed with the analogy between 'example' and 'application' still required in the 'syllogism for instruction.' But Aristotle elevated this secondary idea into an authoritative 'principle,' dominating our knowledge, whether personal or racial. The authority was conferred by the faculty of reason.

> 'From experience, or from the entire universal which is retained in the soul, the single unit apart from the manifold of sense, which is identical in all particular cases, comes the elementary principle of art and science. . . . Reason would seem to be the faculty which has the primary principles as its objects' (*Post. Anal.* ii. 19).

The universal as a principle assures applications that might escape the 'secondary idea.' 'Man is mortal,' therefore 'I, too, must be mortal,' although men instinctively may 'think all men mortal but themselves.' The inevitability was not objective, as Plato's metaphysics might imply, but inferential.

> 'It does not follow, if demonstration is to exist, that there must be Ideas, or a Unity outside the many individual things, but it does follow that some unity must be truly predicable of the many' (*Post. Anal.* i. 11).

The predicable unities appear in judgment as predicates that are 'genera' and 'definitions,' and as subjects that are 'second substances'; and in demonstration as the 'essences' of the things which we seek to explain, the 'nature' of the things whose destiny we wish to foretell, the 'reasons' for what we experience, and the 'causes' for what we infer. And, although these conceptions in the dimension of relevance still influence the texts of modern logic, philosophical progress has disclaimed the static, self-sufficing constitution, which seems to spring arbitrarily from the fiat of reason. The achievements of reason must themselves become conscious under the guidance of logical conceptions more liberal, such as 'conditions of a rule' (Kant), 'laws of connexion' between attributes (Mill), 'coherence' of conceptual 'content' (Lotze), or 'identity' of relational 'system' (Bosanquet). Two distinct operations of reason must be traced: that which explains the comparative complexity of universals whose constituents are available at will, and that which explains the selection of constituents from the passive sequences of experience.

(*a*) *Deductive.*—The definite logic of the first begins with Descartes, and that of the second with Bacon. The interest of modern mathematical science supplied to Descartes the 'doubt' and 'motive,' to use Hindu logical conceptions, which brought to an end the Aristotelian superstition of 'second substances,' and suggested a scheme of rational constructiveness, proceeding from what Lotze afterwards named 'first universals' to a vast Platonic hierarchy, the 'world of ideas.'

> 'Those natures which we call composite are known by us, either because experience shows us what they are, or because we ourselves are responsible for their composition' (Rule xii.). . . . 'There are but few pure and simple essences . . . existing *per se*, not as depending on any others' (Rule vi.); essences which 'cannot be analysed by the mind into others more distinctly known' (Rule xii.). . . . 'Intuition is the undoubting conception of an unclouded and attentive mind; . . . it is more certain than deduction itself, in that it is simpler. . . . For example, 2 and 2 amount to the same as 3 and 1' (Rule iii.). . . . Deduction proceeds 'by the continuous and uninterrupted action of a mind that has a clear vision of each step in the process' (*ib.*). 'It is presented to us [as a complete movement] by intuition when it is simple and clear. . . . We give it the name of enumeration or induction [when it is complex], because it cannot then be grasped as a whole at the same time by the mind, and its certainty depends to some extent on the memory' (Rule xi.; Descartes, *Works*, tr. E. S. Haldane and G. R. T. Ross, vol. i., Cambridge, 1911, pp. 7–43).

(*b*) *Inductive.*—It was a parallel but slower development of the scientific spirit, in observation and experiment, that inspired a complementary scheme of rational insight as to 'how experience shows the natures that are composite.' The field for unclouded intuition is here fenced off by the indefinite multiplicity of constituents in an actual experiential situation, and, however few and simple may be the 'ultimate essences,' the steps in their synthesis are beyond either complete intuitive penetration or memory. All that Hindu logic had here achieved was to classify the 'constant associations' between sign and significate. According to Nandi, the 'signs' are either positive or negative, perceptible or imperceptible; and are related to their significates (*a*) constitutively, (*b*) as resultants, (*c*) causally, or (*d*) by concrete order, of priority, subsequence, or simultaneity (Vidyābhūṣana, p. 30 f.). Aristotle, in his *Topics*, when not prepossessed by the conception of second substances, reads more deeply into the indices of relevancy, suggesting comparative analysis of instances that are exceptional towards each other or contrary in their consequences, or are negative, reverse, privative, or relational to each other, or are homogeneous in whole or part, or vary methodically in quantity, time, place, or other relation. But these broken lights still left darkness of principle over the plans of manifestation for an 'essence' or 'nature,' and how reason finds them. It is inductive principle which Bacon appears to have been first in conceiving. The Baconian conception is:

> 'Observation presents to us complex natures which are the results of simpler, more general forms or causes. . . . The form which is sought can be detected only by examination of cases in which the given complex effect is present, in which it is absent, and in which it appears in different degrees or amounts; . . . a process of exclusion or elimination. . . . The method of exclusion can never be perfectly carried out; but all additional aids have significance only as supplying in part the place of exhaustive enumeration' (Adamson, p. 90).

Thus, were our experience divinely given on the perfect plan of reason, we should, in the words of Descartes, 'know what these natures are,' though we ourselves are not 'responsible for their composition.' J. S. Mill articulated the principle of exclusion or elimination in five experiential methods, with symbols and canons, and explained their cogency on the broad empiricist basis which his complete survey of logical doctrines is intended to commend and defend. But the ideal plan for the manifestation of universals in experience is as much the work of *a priori* reason as is the unclouded vision of synthetic essences described by Descartes, while the march of merely experiential sequences eternally withholds that definiteness and exhaustiveness of constituents which might thus unveil the pure tissue of relevancy. The neo-Kantian logicians can accept the canons of elimination as living expressions of the aspirations of thought, in such an intellectual nature as displays the 'categories of relation,' substantiality, causality, and reciprocity. But the rationalization of any given experiential sequence must be approached through a further dimension of logical value—that of system. In this we may conceive the 'additional aids' which transform aspiration into accomplished science. Relevance is a selective principle, system a comprehensive.

4. System.—A conviction which cannot be a stable truth through sheer restrictions of internal relevancy may have value through its membership of a world of other convictions—other convictions not defined by the same question, as in the Hindu system of standards, but by questions in all degrees of kinship to it.

(*a*) *Dialectical.*—Aristotle's *Topics* marks out a sphere where such value may be traced by expressly excluding both the harmony of personal investigation with super-personal truth and the open vision of truth through reason.

> 'The purpose of this treatise is to find a method which will qualify us as disputants in regard to every kind of subject, where the start of the inference is from probable judgments, and which will instruct us how to avoid stultifying ourselves when we ourselves sustain an argument. . . . We call probable what appears true to all men, or to the majority, or to the wise, and, among the wise, to all, to the greater number, or to the most distinguished and authoritative' (*Topics*, i. 1).

The wide ramifications of relationship of any conviction to the remainder of knowledge are suggested by a variety of incidental methods or 'auxiliary aids' to insight.

> 'The organa by which we find materials for syllogisms and inductions are . . . collection of opinion from various sources, resolution of ambiguities in meaning, discrimination between species and genera, assimilation of things to each other or in their relation to other things' (*Topics*, i. 13).

(*b*) *Methodological.*—In the modern era a more systematic study of system was begun by the *Novum Organum* of Bacon, the methodological reflexions of scientists themselves, and the theories of explanation, as distinguished from eliminative induction, and of approximate generalization, probability, and operations subsidiary to induction, resumed in detail by Mill. But the methods so formulated seem to be episodes in the consciousness of a more comprehensive development in the organization of our ideas. We continuously reform and refine our tentative concepts to meet the exigence of newly experienced facts (see artt. CONCEPT and INFERENCE). And in this process we both accept limitations from, and contribute pulsations to, a progressive sum of cognitive life. The logic of system frames conceptions of the limitation and the contribution, such as the colligation of facts by superinduction of conceptual schemata (Whewell), the depth to which concepts interpenetrate judgment or blur the purity of inferential synthesis (Lotze), the inversion of dependence in our thought between principle and application (Jevons), and the relation of approximation between science and final truth (F. Enriques). In the dimension of system, 'truth can only be tested by more of itself' (Bosanquet, *Logic*, ii. 267).

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For a summary of substantive logical doctrine see artt. BELIEF (Logical), CONCEPT, INFERENCE, JUDGMENT (Logical), and METHOD (Logical).

J. BROUGH.

LOGIC (Buddhist).—Buddhists have been called the real founders of the mediæval logic and logical literature of India, a position which they share to a great extent with the Jains.

> 'At about A.D. 400 began an epoch when they [Jains and Buddhists] seriously took up the problems of logic, and all the text-books on the Jaina and Buddhist systems of logic date at or after that time. Ujjainī in Malwa and Valabhi in Guzerat, . . . Patna and Drāviḍa [the Deccan],' were the principal seats of Jainist logical activity. 'The Nyāyāvatāra, by Siddhasena Divākara, dated about 533 A.D., was the first systematic work on the Jaina Logic.'[1]

The earliest seat of Buddhist mediæval logic is said to have been in Gandhāra (about Peshawar) on the Panjāb frontier, till the invading Huns dispersed all scholarly life. Only such literature survived as had been transported in translations to China and Tibet. There were, however, other schools at Ayodhyā (Oudh) and in the Deccan. From the latter school one systematic work of the 7th cent. A.D. has survived in Sanskrit: the *Nyāyabindu* of Dharmakīrti, and its commentary by Dharmottara.[2]

This ascription of the rise of logical studies in mediæval India to Jain and Buddhist culture is tantamount to saying that systematic treatment of the nature and regulation of reasoned knowledge as such first took shape when Indian culture was practically Buddhist and Jainist. That systematic treatment was more critical and exegetical than constructive. It is clear from the Buddhist scriptures, and also, so far as any work has yet been done upon them, from the Jain scriptures, that an unwritten and unelaborated body of normative principles and methods of thought had long existed in India. The early mediæval logics are exegeses, expounding and elaborating the logical categories applied in earlier works. These categories included classifications of knowledge, doctrines of terms and propositions, methods of induction, fallacies, and, possibly, in the Jain classics, syllogism. Of the methods and categories themselves the early works say little or nothing. Those works are the expression of the greater or constructive stage of the Buddhist and Jain movements. The Buddhist scriptures are often critical; but they criticize the traditions which they found holding the field, rather than the principles and methods of deduction and induction of their day.

Two passages in the Suttas afford an apparent exception to this assertion. In these, certain matters are declared to be 'not in the sphere of *takka*,' rendered by Rhys Davids and R. Otto Franke 'mere logic'[1] (*tarka-śāstra*, or 'rules of thought,' is one of the technical Indian terms for logic). And logic-mongers (*takkino*) and pedants (*vīmaṁsino*), failing to grasp them, are said to arrive at fantastic theories.[2] Again, in prescribing a pragmatic criterion of the merits of a religious doctrine, the Buddha is said to have excluded such criteria as authority, tradition, etc., and both *takkahetu* and *nayahetu*.[3] These, again, belong to the oldest technical terms for logic, *hetu* ('condition,' 'cause,' 'inference') and *naya* ('method') practically covering all reasoned thinking in both Jainist and Buddhist books.[4] This depreciation of ratiocinative method, combined with misconceptions of the orthodox theory of knowledge in early Buddhism, has given rise to the mistaken view that Buddhists rejected both logical method and the validity of any knowledge established by it.[5] But a careful consideration of the two *Suttas* quoted above, in the light of the sober intellectual method prevailing in the great majority of the *Suttas*, brings us to a very different conclusion. In the latter passage the soundness of any ethical doctrine or gospel is held to be rightly tested, not by metaphysical dialectic, but by a utilitarian calculus. In the former passage the 'logic' that is condemned as inadequate is such as often finds condemnation among ourselves, when we 'feel' rather than discern that deductions are being made from outworn, outgrown terms, from wrong data, from words ambiguously used. Only a culture which has a logic of recreated inductions will condemn such misuse of deduction as 'mere logic.' It is one of the penalties induced by such effete reasoning that the noble formulation of right thinking should, in popular usage, incur reproach, as if it had failed in general.

The Buddhist *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma Piṭakas* afford unmistakable evidence of (1) the existence of a current logical doctrine, (2) misuse of the same by dialecticians or 'sophists,' deducing from confused terms and wrong premisses, and (3) a constant faith in the appeal to judgment and argument, *i.e.* to logical faculty, and to logical principles. The *Suttas*, or discourses, were in great part addressed to relatively immature minds—to the 'man in the street' and to the average *bhikkhu* or *sekha* (learner in the Order). But the proportion of discourses filled with categorical assertions is very small. Most of them seek to capture the listener by argument. No sentence occurs oftener than *Taṁ kissa hetu?*, 'What is the reason of that?' The prevailing method of the Buddha in his replies to interlocutors is one of gentle 'reasonableness' (to adopt Matthew Arnold's rendering of ἐπιείκεια). And *nyāya* (*ñāya*), 'knowledge,' 'science,' which is the title-word in the oldest Indian logical works,[1] is used synonymously with *satya* (*sachcha*), 'truth,' as forming, with *dhamma* ('right' or 'norm') and *kusala* ('good'), the threefold foundation on which the perfect man should be established.[2] In the somewhat later collection called *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*, where doctrines, put forward *ad hominem* in the *Suttas*, are more abstractly expounded by way of question and answer, logical method is more systematically applied. The import of a great number of terms is set out, usually in dichotomic division, but sometimes in the distinctively Indian method of presenting the by us so-called Laws of Thought, thus: Is A B? If not, is A not-B? If not, is A both B and not-B? If not, is A neither B nor not-B (in other words, is A a chimæra)? The expositions, again, are sometimes exercises in converted propositions, sometimes arguments in hypothetical propositions. The books entitled *Yamaka* and *Kathāvatthu*,[3] respectively, consist entirely of these exercises and arguments. No definite exercise in, or allusion to, syllogism has been found in the *Piṭakas*, although it figures prominently in the earliest Buddhist and Jain treatises on logic. Nor, indeed, do the paired words *pamāṇa* ('immediate knowledge,' 'perception') and *anumāna* ('mediate knowledge,' 'inference') apparently occur in the *Piṭakas* as the indispensable logical terms which they subsequently became.[4] Nevertheless, the *Suttas* and the *Abhidhamma* books taken together, with all the legendary and illustrative matter discounted, present so varied an appeal to the intellect of their age that it is not surprising if one result of the paramountcy of Buddhist culture was to yield a harvest, not only of psychological, but also of logical, analysis and systematization. A still greater field of material for the history of logic will possibly be opened up when (1) the original Jain scriptures are all edited, and (2) the Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist Sanskrit treatises on logic, as well as (3) the orthodox Theravāda philosophical works in Sinhalese and Burmese MSS, become accessible. A comparison of the conclusions gleaned from these sources, and from the Pāli materials as yet accessible, with the concepts of European logic will prove of deeper philosophical importance than may appear likely to those who see in logic only an academic exercise. By intellectual procedure, according to the norms of which logic is the interpreter rather than the dictator, the human mind has grasped the most general data of experience inductively and deductively. And that prócedure has centred round certain concepts here, round other concepts there. The difference in emphasis thus produced tends to become absolute, hindering both mutual understanding and also thereby a positive, general advance in philosophy. The system, for instance, of definition by genus and species, of division by dichotomy only, of subsuming the particular under the more general, admirable as it has proved in all quantitative analysis, may prove a hindrance in estimating qualitative values in æsthetic and spiritual inquiry. The Buddhist scriptures did not keep rigidly to these (peculiarly Greek) lines in their analyses. They did not always, or emphatically, see things as decomposable substances, in wholes and particulars. Their founder disliked generalizing. 'I am not,' he is made to say, 'a generalizer, I am a particularizer.'[1] True, they expressed organic phenomena in terms of *khandha*, 'aggregate.' But *khandhas*, for them, were not 'things that *are*,' but 'happenings and ceasings,' 'risings and fallings.' They may be said to have seen things more as intercrossing force-rays, each abscissa or confluence of which gave occasion for a general term. Hence their definitions consist in the laying together of mutually intercrossing, overlapping, or partially coinciding notions.

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[1] S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic*, Calcutta, 1909, p. xviii.

[2] Ed. P. Peterson, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1890.

[1] *Dīgha Nikāya*, i. 12; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Oxford, 1899–1910, i. 26; R. O. Franke, *Dīgha Nikāya in Auswahl übersetzt*, Göttingen, 1914, p. 21.

[2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, p. 16.

[3] *Anguttara Nikāya*, i. 189.

[4] Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *op. cit.* p. 4.

[5] Cf., *e.g.*, *ib.* p. 59.

Centuries later we find Buddhaghoṣa and Buddhadatta adopting consistently a fourfold scheme for the definition of psychological and ethical terms, viz. by salient character(s), essential properties, resulting phenomena, and proximate cause.[2] This method survives in a classic work centuries younger, but is no longer prominently used.[3]

To revert to the laws of thought—the way in which Indian logic presented the second and third of these (Contradiction and Excluded Middle) has been mentioned. But the first (Identity) was virtually traversed, in Buddhist thought, by the fundamental law of *anichcha* (*anitya*), 'impermanence' (*i.e.* incessant change). By this law A is never A for more than a moment, but is after that not A, but, as it were, A_1, A_2, A_3. . . . And, just as Aristotle rated as mere 'vegetable' the mind that rejected the (Greek) laws of thought, so for the Buddhists there was no intelligent or accurate thinking on any basis which ignored this law of impermanence. The other great tenets that 'all (life) is subject to ill,' and that 'all is without soul or substance,' are, in fact, corollaries of it.

The only general principle of thought put forward in Europe which harmonizes with Buddhist axioms is that 'Principle or Law of Sufficient Reason' for which certain logicians, notably Leibniz, claimed equal rank with the three named above, namely, that 'nothing happens without a reason why it should be so rather than otherwise.' This comes very near to the *idap-pachchayatā* ('this is conditioned by that') of Buddhist causality. And, generally speaking, it is in the logic of causation or of induction that we first notice the resemblances between Buddhist and European logic rather than the differences. The ancient formula of cause—'that being present, this becomes; from the arising of that, this arises; that being absent, this does not become; from the cessation of that, this ceases'[4]—is the nearest approach to our logical schemata that we find in the *Piṭakas*. And the mediæval elaboration of the principle so formulated—that 'its essential mark is the condition of the happening of a phenomenon[5] on the occurrence of its sole invariable antecedent phenomenon'—is well in tune with our more modern logic of induction.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the footnotes. Of the two important early classics, the *Milinda-pañha* (see MILINDA) and the *Netti-pakaraṇa*, the former argues mainly by analogy, while the latter uses only the first and last of Buddhaghoṣa's four heads given above.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

LOGIC (Indian).—See NYĀYA.

LOGOS.—The Greek word λόγος has no exact equivalent in any other language. Just as Goethe's *Faust*, when translating the first verse of the Fourth Gospel into German, tries in succession and rejects *Wort*, *Sinn*, *Kraft*, and finally decides upon *That*, so Latin theology wavered between *Verbum*, *Sermo*, and *Ratio* before accepting

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[1] Vidyābhūṣaṇa, p. 1.

[2] Cf. *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, v. 19, with i. 180; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, ii. 167 (*ñāya* is rendered 'system'). The formula of causation is repeatedly called Aryan (*i.e.* Buddhist) *ñāya*.

[3] Ed. for *PTS*, 1911-13, 1894–97. The *PTS* is publishing a translation of the latter work in 1915.

[4] *Pamāṇa* is used only for 'measure,' 'estimate'; *anumāna* apparently does not occur at all.

[1] Not an *ekaṁsavāda*, but a *vibhajjavāda* (*Majjhima Nikāya*, ii. 197). The Theravāda, or mother school, were long known as Vibhajjavādins.

[2] *Atthasālinī* (*PTS*, 1897), 109, *passim*; *Abhidhammāvatāra* (*PTS*, 1915), 2, *passim*.

[3] *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* ('Compendium of Philosophy') probably 12th cent. A.D., p. 212 f. (*PTS*, 1884, tr. 1910).

[4] *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii. 32; *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, ii. 28, etc.

[5] *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, p. 187.

Verbum, the least satisfactory, perhaps, of the three. The word has a history both in Greek philosophy and in Jewish Alexandrian theology. But, whereas in Greek philosophy the word means the divine Reason regarded as immanent in the cosmic process, the authors of the Septuagint use it to translate the Hebrew *Memra* and its poetic synonyms, which mean primarily the spoken word of the Deity.[1] Hellenized Jewish thought attempted to fuse these two originally distinct meanings; and so arose the Christian use of the word as a name for the second Person of the Trinity, incarnated in Jesus of Nazareth. It will be convenient to consider in succession the growth of the idea in Greek philosophy, in Jewish-Alexandrian theology (the use of *Memra* in the Hebrew sacred literature hardly belongs to our subject), and in Christian theology.

1. In Greek philosophy.—The history of the Logos-idea begins with Heraclitus of Ephesus (*c.* 535–475 B.C.), who, as F. M. Cornford has rightly maintained,[2] represents a mystical reaction against the materialism of the Ionian philosophers. For him the visible world is a symbolic system which half conceals and half reveals the reality. This truth or reality is the divine soul of the world, whose life is manifested in the endless cycle of birth and death, of becoming, change, decay, and renewal. There is *one* Logos, the same throughout the world, which is itself homogeneous and one. This wisdom we may win by searching within ourselves; 'it is open to all men to know themselves and be wise.' The divine soul is 'Nature,' the cosmic process; it is God; it is *ψυχή*, the life-principle; it is Logos, the divine law, or will of God. 'All human laws are fed by the one divine law. It prevails as much as it will, and is sufficient and more than sufficient for all things.' This Logos is the immanent reason of the world; 'it existeth from all time; yet men are unaware of it, both before they hear it and while they listen to it.' The Logos, like Wordsworth's 'Duty,' keeps the stars in their courses. It is the hidden harmony which underlies the discords and antagonisms of existence. There is no trace in Heraclitus of a transcendent God, whose reason or will the Logos could be. The system is rather a form of pantheism, with a strong mystical element. In Anaxagoras, however, the Logos, or *νοῦς* (he preferred the latter term), is intermediate between God and the world, being the regulating principle of the universe, the divine intelligence. In Plato, though he was the founder of a philosophy in which the Logos-idea was to find a congenial home, there is but little that bears directly on our subject. The world, he says in the *Timæus* (p. 29 f.), is created by a fusion of mind and necessity; it is itself a living and rational organism, the 'only-begotten (*μονογενής*) son of God,' itself a God, and the 'express image' (*εἰκών*) of the Highest.

In Stoicism the philosophy of Heraclitus received a new life and fresh developments. Like Heraclitus, the Stoics regarded Fire as the primordial substance, the material principle of the divine. Endowed with inherent productive activity, it is the 'seminal Reason' (*λόγος σπερματικός*) of the world, which manifests itself in all the phenomena of nature. These phenomena, or, rather, the active principles which create them, are often called *λόγοι σπερματικοί*, in the plural. Christian writers like Justin Martyr laid hold of this doctrine to connect Greek philosophy with their own religion. Every man, Justin taught, at his birth participates in the universal Reason, which he identifies with the Johannine Logos which 'lighteth every man.' Accordingly, he argues,[1] heathens like Heraclitus and Socrates, in so far as they lived *μετὰ λόγου*, may be claimed as Christians, and may be saved. The seminal Logos of the Stoics, when spoken of as a single Power, is God Himself as the organic principle of the cosmic process, which He directs to a rational and moral end. This power is not present in all creatures equally; only man participates in it so fully that he may be regarded as a real effluence of the Deity. The Stoics distinguished between the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*, the potential, unmanifested Reason, and the *λόγος προφορικός*, the thought of God expressed in action. This distinction led to a new emphasis being laid on the other meaning of *λόγος*, as 'word' or 'speech'; and in this way Stoicism made it easier for Jewish philosophy to identify the Greek *λόγος* with the half-personified 'Word of Jahweh.' Words and thoughts, according to the Stoics, were the very same things regarded under different aspects. The same *λόγος* which is Thought as long as it resides in the breast is Word as soon as it comes forth. The distinction between *ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικός*, often used by Philo and the Greek Christian Fathers, is really identical with that drawn by Aristotle between *ὁ ἔξω λόγος* and *ὁ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ*.[2] Christian writers found another fruitful idea in the Stoic doctrine that, since the one Logos is present in many human souls, men may have communion with each other through their participation in the same Logos. The Logos-Christ might be explained Stoically as the indwelling revealer of the Father, with whom He is one; as the vital principle of the universe; as the way, the truth, and the life; as the inspirer of the highest morality; and, last, but not least, as the living bond of union between the various members of His 'body.' The world, for Stoicism, is simple and unique (*εἷς καὶ μονογενής*); it is a living creature (*οὐσία ἔμψυχος*). The Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) goes through all things, formless itself, but the creator of forms. The Logos, as World-Idea, is also single and simple (*εἷς καὶ ἁπλοῦς*), though it assumes manifold forms in its plastic self-unfolding. It is identified with Fate (*εἱμαρμένη*); and Stobæus says:

> 'Fate is the *λόγος* of the *κόσμος*, or the *λόγος* of those things in the universe which are directed by providence (*πρόνοια*). Chrysippus, however, instead of Logos uses Truth, Cause, Nature, Necessity, and other words' (*Ecl.* i. 130).

The question whether Stoicism identified God with the Logos is not easy to answer. E. Zeller is probably right in saying that the logic of Stoicism was rigidly pantheistic—it was a form of naturalistic monism: *Deus sive Natura*. Origen says that the Stoics and the Platonists both call the world God; but for Stoicism the world is the supreme God, for the Platonists only God in the second place. But the opponents of Stoicism are too harsh when they say that the Stoics bring in God only in order to be in the fashion. It was their religious need that made them bring Him in. Perhaps they could not consistently find room for any God above the Logos, but in fact they did ascribe to the Deity more personal attributes than could properly belong to their Logos. They were certainly able to feel enthusiastic devotion to the Logos as the principle of law and righteousness. This is shown by the famous hymn of Cleanthes:

> 'Thee it is lawful for all mortals to address. For we are Thine offspring, and alone of living creatures that live and walk the earth moulded in the image of the All. Therefore I will ever sing Thee, and celebrate Thy power. All this universe, rolling round the earth, obeys Thee, and follows willingly Thy command. . . . O King most high, nothing is done without Thee, neither in heaven nor on earth nor on the sea, except what the wicked do in their foolishness. Thou makest order out of disorder, and things that strive find in Thee a friend; for Thou hast fitted together good and evil into one, and hast established one Reason (*λόγον*) that lasts for ever. But the wicked fly from Thy law, unhappy ones, and though they desire to possess what

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[1] Cf. E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *Concordance to the Septuagint*, Oxford, 1892–1906, pp. 881–887.

[2] *From Religion to Philosophy*, London, 1912, p. 184 f.

[1] *Apol.* i. 46.

[2] *Anal. Post.* i. 10. 76.

> is good, yet they see not, neither do they hear, the universal law of God. . . . But O God, giver of all things, who dwellest in dark clouds and rulest over the thunder, deliver men from their foolishness. Scatter it from their souls, and grant them to obtain wisdom, for by wisdom dost Thou rightly govern all things; that, being honoured, we may repay Thee with honour, singing Thy works without ceasing, as we ought to do. For there is no greater thing than this, for mortal men or for gods, to sing rightly the praise of universal law (λόγον).'

In fact, this conception of a germinative principle of Reason which manifests itself in the universe, and especially in the minds of human beings as members of a universal community, prepared the soil on which a world-religion might grow. And at the same time the individual was brought into a closer relation with the divine than had been contemplated in any earlier system of Greek philosophy.

2. In Jewish-Alexandrian theology.—Hebrew thought about the 'Word of the Lord' does not enter the subject of the present article until the tendency arose to personify the self-revealing activity of Jahweh. The earlier books of the OT connect the operations of the *Memra* with three ideas—creation, providence, and revelation. God spake the word, and the worlds were made; then at once His spirit, or breath, gives life to what the Word creates, and renews the face of the earth. The protecting care of God for the chosen people is attributed by the Jewish commentaries to the *Memra*. Besides this, the 'Word of the Lord' inspires prophecy and imparts the Law. The tendency to personify the activities of Jahweh is seen in the expressions used about the Angel, the Name, the Glory, and, above all, the Wisdom of God. Similar language about the Word is found in the frequent phrase 'the Word of the Lord came unto me,' and in such passages as Ps 147^{15}, Is 55$^{10f.}$ 2^{1}, Ps 33^{4}, Jer 23^{29}. Nevertheless, the personification is throughout poetical rather than metaphysical, except in writers completely under Greek influence. On the whole, in the later books the conception of Wisdom tends to displace that of Word—a change which really brings the Jewish idea nearer to the Greek. 'Wisdom' in Job is the hidden purpose which God is working out in man's existence—the grand secret of life known only to God. In Proverbs Wisdom is the cardinal virtue; she stands at the corners of the streets, and invites men to walk in her ways. God created or prepared her before the world was made; she was by His side when He planned the scheme of the world-order; she was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him. Therefore He assures those who listen to her of life, blessedness, and the favour of God. In Ecclesiastes, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom of Solomon we find a further development of Jewish thought in the direction of Greek philosophy. Ecclesiastes presents us with a pessimistic philosophy quite alien from Judaism and strongly influenced by Stoicism, though the trend is masked by numerous interpolations. Ecclesiasticus is more Jewish in sentiment; 'Wisdom' has found her chief expression in the books of the Law. The book called Wisdom of Solomon is the work of an orthodox Jew, who has no sympathy with the views of Ecclesiastes, and resents their attribution to Solomon; but his doctrine of the divine Wisdom is strongly coloured by Stoical and Platonic ideas. Wisdom is immanent in God, belonging to the divine essence, and yet existing in *quasi*-independence side by side with God. Wisdom was the active agent in the creation of the world, selecting among the divine ideas those which were to be actualized in the created universe. She is an emanation from God, pervading all things, and passing 'more rapidly than any motion' among them, without contracting any impurity by her contact with matter. In the human spirit she is the teacher not only of every virtue and of all theological knowledge, but of all the human arts and sciences. The identification of 'Wisdom' with the Greek Logos is almost explicitly made, as is the identification of Wisdom with the Holy Spirit of God. This book, in fact, marks a transition from the OT doctrine to that of Philo, and is of much importance in the history of Jewish-Alexandrian theology.

Philo not only blends Greek and Jewish ideas about the Logos; he achieves a syncretism of divergent Greek conceptions. His Logos is a combination of the Platonic ideas and Stoic universal causality. He takes over the main Stoical conception, but detaches it from materialism, and tries to harmonize it with the Platonic theory that visible things are only types of realities laid up in the intelligible world. His Logos is much like Plato's idea of the Good, except that it is regarded as creatively active. Philo found this conception useful, because he wished to conceive of the divine activity Hellenically, without ceasing to believe in the OT Jahweh. Jewish thought had been in danger of separating the Creator so completely from His creation as to produce an intolerable dualism. This tendency had been mitigated by poetical personification. Philo fixed these poetical symbols, and turned them from poetry to metaphysics by identifying the *Memra* with the Stoical Logos Platonized. In opposition to the earlier Jewish idea of the Word, Philo's Logos is an intermediary between God and the world; He is the principle of revelation. Philo is fertile in forms of expression to convey the relation of this principle of revelation to the Godhead and to man respectively. In the former aspect, the Logos is declared to be the first-born Son of God, the first of the angels; in the latter, He is the Man who is the immediate image of God, the prototypal Man in whose image all other men are created. The Logos dwells with God as His vice-gerent; He is the eldest son of God, and Wisdom is His mother. In other places He is identified with Wisdom. Again, He is the Idea of Ideas, the whole mind of God going out of itself in creation. He represents the world before God as High Priest, Intercessor, Paraclete. He is the Shekinah, or glory of God; but also the darkness or shadow of God, since the creature half conceals and half reveals the Creator. He is the intelligible world, the archetypal universe of the Platonists, and the real life of the world that we know. In man He operates as the higher reason. If we ask whether the Logos is an aspect of the divine nature or an individual being, we get answers which are hard to reconcile. The rational part of the soul exhibits the type of the Logos, the 'second Deity'; no mortal could be formed in the likeness of the supreme Father of the world, or ever brought into comparison with Him. But elsewhere the Logos appears to be only an attribute of God. As an orthodox Jew (or one who wished to pass for orthodox), Philo cannot have thought of affirming two divine agents. And yet the Platonic doctrine of a transcendent unknowable God required a divine vice-gerent, while the Stoic Logos had been an independent immanent world-principle, very different from the Hebrew Jahweh. The amalgamation of these divergent philosophies in Philo is rather external and superficial. The Philonic Logos is a dynamic principle, but also a cosmic principle, who accounts for the existence of the world. Occasionally Philo seems to suggest that the Logos is 'the God of us the imperfect,' as if from the highest point of view the Logos were only an appearance of the Absolute. So in a thoroughly Plotinian passage he says:

> 'God appears in His unity when the soul, being perfectly purified and having transcended all multiplicity, not only the multiplicity of numbers but even the dyad which is nearest to unity, passes on to the unity which is unmingled, simple, and complete in itself' (*de Abrahamo*, 24).

But this is not a common line of speculation in Philo.

In the NT the technical use of the word Logos is found in the Fourth Gospel (unless we should add 1 Jn $1^{1f.}$ and Rev 19^{13}) only. But it is important to observe that St. Paul, especially in his later Epistles, gives us almost the whole of the Logos-doctrine which we read in the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel. The conception of Christ as a cosmic principle is even more emphasized in Colossians than in the Gospel. When we read of the Pauline Christ that He is the image (εἰκών) of God, that in Him the Pleroma of the Godhead dwells in bodily form, that He was the agent in creation, and the immanent Spirit 'through whom are all things,' that He pre-existed in the form of God, that He is the first-born of all creation, in whom and through whom and to whom are all things, that all things are summed up in Him, that He is all and in all, that His reign is co-extensive with the world's history, that He is life-giving Spirit, abiding in the souls of His disciples, forming Himself in them, and transforming them into His likeness, enlightening them and uniting them in one body with Himself, it does not seem that a candid criticism can deny that all the elements of a complete Logos-theology are to be found in the Pauline Epistles. Without assuming any direct influence of Philo, which is perhaps improbable, it is unquestionable that the Jewish-Alexandrian Logos-philosophy had a great and increasing influence upon St. Paul's doctrine of the Person of Christ. In proportion as the apocalyptic Messianism which we find in Thessalonians lost its importance for him, he approximated more and more to the type of Christology which we associate with the name of St. John. It must not be supposed that this statement stands or falls with the authenticity of Colossians and Ephesians. The Epistles to the Corinthians contain similar language.

The large obligations of the author of the Fourth Gospel to the Philonian school cannot reasonably be denied, though they have often been questioned. It is clear from the tone of the Prologue that Philo's conception of the Logos, or something akin to it, was already familiar to those for whom the Evangelist wrote. No explanation of the word Logos is given; and almost every verse in the Prologue might be paralleled from Philo. Technical terms from Philo (σφραγίς and παράκλητος are examples) abound in the Gospel. Indeed, the whole treatment adopted by the Evangelist presupposes the Jewish-Alexandrian philosophy of religion, and would be unintelligible without it. Nevertheless, it is true that the identification of the historical Jesus with the Logos, and of the Jewish Messiah with the Logos, makes a great difference. Philo had never thought of identifying the Logos with the Messiah—a figure in whom he took very little interest. The chief differences (which have often been exaggerated) between the Philonian and Johannine Logos are these: (1) the Evangelist defines far more clearly the relation of the Logos to God, as a second Person in the Godhead, distinct, though eternally inseparable from the Father; (2) the notion of God the Father as a transcendent unapproachable Being, to be known only through an intermediary, is foreign to the Gospel, in which God the Father acts directly upon the world; it is in consequence of the activity thus attributed to God the Father that the *creative* function of the Logos loses its interest and is not referred to after the Prologue; (3) in the Gospel the conception of the Logos is more dynamic than in Philo; the Logos-Christ is the complete revelation of the *character* of God rather than of His nature; the revelation of the Divine as self-sacrificing love is an idea not to be found in Philo; it follows that the conception of *life*, which implies growth, change, and development, has an importance for the Evangelist which it could not have for Philo; (4) could Philo have accepted the Incarnation? The difference between the two writers here has often been magnified by orthodox critics. Philo believed in theophanies, and could have easily accepted a docetic theory of the Incarnation. The Fourth Evangelist is no docetist; but for him too the Incarnation was primarily a *revelation*. The Johannine Christ became flesh that we might 'behold his glory,' and learn what could only thus be taught. But a real Incarnation of the Logos would no doubt have been inconceivable to Philo, for whom no historical event seems to have any importance as such. The Logos-doctrine of the Prologue may be briefly summarized as follows. From all eternity, before time began, the Logos *was*. He is supra-temporal, not simply the Spirit of the World. He did not become personal either at the Creation or at the Incarnation.[1] The Logos was 'turned toward' (πρός) God. The preposition indicates the closest union, with a sort of transcendental subordination. The Father alone is the πηγὴ θεότητος. The opening words of the Prologue do not (with Meyer, Weiss, etc.) refer to the exaltation of Christ, but to His eternal relationship to the Father. Deification was to the Jews blasphemy, to the Greeks a light thing. The Evangelist shows that the principles of distinction and deeper unity are in God Himself. 'All things came into being through the Logos,' who is the mediate Agent in creation.[2] 'Apart from him nothing came into being. That which has come into being was, in him, life.' Bossuet, following Augustine, comments rightly:

> 'Everything, even inanimate things, were life in the eternal Word, by his idea and eternal thought.'

The Logos is the light of men *as life*; that is to say, revelation is vital and dynamic. God reveals Himself as vital law to be obeyed and lived. The cosmic process, including, of course, the spiritual history of mankind and of the individual, is the sole field of revelation. 'The light shineth in darkness.' As the first step in the first creation was to divide the light from the darkness, so the new creation effects the same division in the moral and spiritual sphere. 'And the darkness arrested (?) it not.'[3]

'This is the genuine light, which lighteth every man as it comes into the world.' 'He was (always) in the world, and the world knew him not.'[4] 'And the Logos became flesh and tabernacled among us.' Here (v.^{14}) the Evangelist mentions the Incarnation for the first time. The Logos, who from all eternity was fully divine (θεός), became flesh (assumed visible humanity) at a certain time.

It is not easy to say whether the Evangelist conceived of the Logos existing *before* the Incarnation as 'true man from all eternity';[5] but 3^{13} and 6^{62} (cf. 1 Co 15^{47}) suggest that he did. It is certainly in accordance with Johannine ideas to hold that the Incarnation, and the Passion as the sacrament of the divine self-sacrifice, were part of the counsels of God from all eternity. The Logos before the Incarnation was, according to this thought, Man ἐνδιάθετος, though not προφορικός. The Prologue thus leads up to the Incarnation of the Logos, which is the theme of the whole Gospel, though the historical form precludes any further discussion of the subject on its philosophical side. The incidents are selected for their symbolical and illustrative value, and the whole tendency of the treatise is quietly to transmute local and temporal ideas about the Incarnation into a more universal and spiritual form. The highest form of faith, he more than hints, is that which can dispense with ocular evidence. The ascended Christ can be 'touched' more readily than was possible when the Logos had His tabernacle among men.

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[1] There was nothing strange in this doctrine. The book of Proverbs (8^{23}) had asserted the same of Wisdom: 'I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.'

[2] This is also Philonic; cf. *de Cherub.* 35: εὑρήσεις γὰρ αἴτιον μὲν αὐτοῦ [τοῦ κόσμου] τὸν θεόν, ὑφ' οὗ γέγονεν, ὕλην δὲ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα, ἐξ ὧν συνεκράθη, ὄργανον δὲ λόγον θεοῦ, δι' οὗ κατεσκευάσθη.

[3] So Origen took κατέλαβεν, probably rightly.

[4] This is exactly what Heraclitus also says about the Logos.

[5] T. H. Green, *Works*, London, 1885–88, iii. 208 f.

3. In Christian theology.—The doctrine of the Logos has a very important place in the theology of the early Christian Church. It was the answer of orthodox Catholicism to various theories of the Person of Christ which at that time seemed plausible—theories which made Jesus a phantom, or an emanation, or a demi-god. Heretical thought, down to and including Arianism, tended to rank Christ with the imaginary intermediate Spirits which formed a hierarchy between the supreme God and humanity. The Johannine Logos-doctrine was a barrier against all such theories. The Apostolic Fathers do not supply much material. Ignatius calls Christ *λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών*,[1] which has a Gnostic ring, since Valentinus was soon to make Logos and Zoe the offspring of Bythos and Sigē. Hermas identifies the Son with the Law of God, just as Philo identifies Law and Logos. In the Acts of John the Logos-conception is separated from the man Jesus, so that Christ with His disciples can sing the praises of the Logos. And in ch. 13 the Voice teaches: 'This cross of light is sometimes called by me Logos, sometimes Jesus, sometimes Christ, sometimes *νοῦς*,' etc. In Montanism (*q.v.*) this notion of the Logos as a *σύγκρασις* of divine attributes was maintained. The anti-Montanist 'Alogi' represented a reaction against this tendency. They were 'feeble reptiles' (*ἑρπετὸν ἀσθενές*), according to Epiphanius. This was a time of unrestrained theosophical speculation, in which an attempt was made to throw into the Logos-conception a mass of heterogeneous elements—Jewish, Greek, and Oriental. The Fourth Gospel had a very steadying effect, when it was accepted as canonical; and so had the writings of the Apologists—Justin, Tatian, Theophilus, and Athenagoras. The Apologists were theological conservatives. They wished to preserve traditional Christianity, with its doctrine of revelation and its reverence for the OT. They do not philosophize for their co-religionists; they talk about the Logos to show the pagans that Christianity is in agreement with 'the best thought of our time,' just as our clergy talk about evolution.

The philosophy which the Apologists mainly wished to conciliate was Stoicism, which in the 2nd cent. was much stronger than Platonism.[2] So Justin argues that Christ is the 'Spermatic Logos,' the Reason of God, at first immaterial in the Father's bosom, then sent forth as the spoken word for creation and revelation. All men are made in the image of the Logos; and 'those who believe in Christ are men in whom the divine seed, which is the Logos, dwells.' Tatian[3] gives us a Stoic-Christian cosmology. The Logos was first *δυνάμει*, not *ἐνεργείᾳ*, residing in the bosom of the Father. Then, by the will of the Father, He came forth, and the worlds were made. The Logos is the *ἀρχή* in relation to the creatures. Theophilus[4] employs the Stoic terms *ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικός*, and gives in outline a systematic Logos-doctrine. Athenagoras[1] maintains that the Logos did not first acquire a personal existence in connexion with creation. Minucius Felix[2] equates the Christian Trinity with *Mens, Ratio, Spiritus*. This is to be noted, because later, under Platonic influence, a principle above Νοῦς (*Mens*) was asserted, and this, with Christian speculative mystics, was naturally identified with the Father, with the result that Νοῦς was now equated with the Logos, and *Ratio* (the will and thought of God transmuted into vital law) had to be awkwardly assigned to the Holy Ghost. This led to confusion. The Alexandrians continued to call the Father Νοῦς, feeling probably that the Neo-Platonic Absolute in no way corresponds to the Christian God the Father. Thus they introduced a distinction resembling that between the Godhead and God in Eckhart; a sublimated conception of Νοῦς was introduced between the Absolute and the Logos.

In Clement of Alexandria the Logos-doctrine is a doctrine of Immanence. The world is an organic whole, moving on to some exalted destiny in the harmony of the divine order. Humanity has its life and being in Christ. The Incarnation is no abrupt break in the continuity of man's moral history. Christ was in the world before He came in the flesh, and was preparing the world for His visible advent. Hence the prophecies of the Incarnation enter into the organic process of human history. The history of man's redemption is, for Clement, the education of the human race under its divine 'Instructor.' As Instructor, the Logos has always been present in the world; He spoke through Moses, and through Greek philosophy. He even gave the sun and moon to be worshipped, that men might rise from the lower worship to the higher.[3]

> 'He is the Saviour of all, some with the consciousness of what he is to them, others not as yet; some as friends, others as faithful servants, others hardly even as servants' (*Strom.* vii. 2).

Salvation is not a physical process, but a moral growth through union with God; knowledge is not merely speculation, but a growing sympathy and insight into the character of God and His laws. The union of the Logos with God is so intimate that we cannot hold (with the Gnostics and some Platonists) that the Father is *passive* in the work of redemption. The Incarnation is in itself the Atonement by which God reconciles the world to Himself. For Clement, as for other Greek theologians, there is properly only one dogma—the Incarnation.

For Origen's Logos-doctrine see art. ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY, vol. i. p. 316.

There were two schools which opposed the Logos-theology—the rationalistic Unitarians, who regarded the 'divinity' of Christ as a mere power bestowed on Him by God, and emphasized the humanitarian aspect of His Person, and the modalistic Monarchians, such as Praxeas, Noetus, and Sabellius. These maintained the old alliance with Stoicism, after the Catholics had adopted Neo-Platonism as their mistress in philosophy (see, further, art. MONARCHIANISM). Hippolytus's anti-Sabellian treatises show the line of argument used by the orthodox—a position which was later regarded as not wholly satisfactory. Methodius,[4] a Platonist but not an Origenist, argues that the Incarnation was the necessary complement of the Creation, the imperfection of Adam being natural. There is a double development—in the race and in the individual, both due to the immanent Logos. The *κένωσις* is perpetually re-enacted in spiritual experience. Macarius[5] teaches the same doctrine: in each believer a Christ is born.

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[1] *Magn.* 8.

[2] Non-Christian Platonism never attached much importance to the Logos; the word for them had a different meaning; their 'Second Person' was Νοῦς.

[3] *Orat.* 5.

[4] ii. 10.

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[1] 10.

[2] *Oct.* v. 10.

[3] *Strom.* vi. 14.

[4] *S. Conviv.* iii. 5.

[5] *Hom.* iv. 8 f.

The Arian controversy drove orthodoxy into something like a compromise with modalism. The test-word *ὁμοούσιος* gave the Monarchians most of what they wanted, and its adoption soon ended the hostility of this school. The Arian Christology is of no philosophical value; and its great opponent Athanasius, though he writes much about the Logos, does not add anything significant to the doctrine. It was, in fact, no longer thoroughly acceptable to the Catholics. The word *λόγος* was not allowed to appear in the Nicæan symbol; and the Synod of Sirmium (A.D. 451) condemned the doctrine of the *λόγος ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικός*. Other terminology, and to some extent other ideas, displaced it. It was never acclimatized in the Latin-speaking countries.

The Logos-doctrine has an obvious affinity with mysticism, and with types of religion which emphasize the divine immanence. It was revived by Eckhart in the Middle Ages, and has been a living article of faith with religious idealists, Christian Platonists, and speculative theists. It belongs to a permanent and very important type of religious thought, and can never lose its value, though there are now many who (like Max Müller) are ardent supporters of the Logos-idea in religious philosophy, while they cannot accept the Johannine identification of the Logos with a historical individual.

For an evolution in Indian philosophy somewhat similar to the development of the Logos-doctrine see art. VĀCH.

LITERATURE.—A. Aall, *Der Logos: Gesch. seiner Entwickelung in der griech. Philosophie und der christl. Litteratur*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1896–99; J. Réville, *La Doctrine du Logos dans le quatr. évang. et dans les œuvres de Philon*, Paris, 1881; A. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*, Freiburg im Br., 1893, Eng. tr., London, 1894–99; A. V. G. Allen, *Continuity of Christian Thought*, London, 1884; W. R. Inge, *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, do. 1907; T. Simon, *Der Logos*, Leipzig, 1902.

W. R. INGE.

LOKĀYATA.—This word, which denotes properly 'belonging to the world of sense,' is the Indian name for the materialistic system whose adherents are termed Lokāyatikas or Laukāyatikas, or more usually Chārvākas, from the name of the founder of their doctrinal system. There are clear indications of the presence in India, as early as pre-Buddhistic times, of teachers of a pure materialism;[1] and undoubtedly these theories have had numerous adherents in India from that period onwards to the present day.

Although two authorities[2] bear witness to the former existence of text-books of materialism, viz. the *Bhāgurī* and the *Sūtras* of Bṛhaspati, the mythical founder of the system, yet materialistic doctrines have never gained any further place in the literature of India. In order to understand these theories, therefore, we can only have recourse to a few passages of the *Mahābhārata*, to the polemic which was carried on against materialism in the text-books of the other philosophical schools, and to the doctrines of King Error in the philosophical drama *Prabodhachandrodaya*. This last was composed in the 11th or 12th cent. A.D., and aims at setting forth in allegorical style the superiority of Brāhmanical orthodoxy to all other theories of the universe. The principal source of our knowledge, however, is the first chapter of the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*,[3] a compendium of all the philosophical systems of India, composed in the 14th cent. of our era by Mādhavāchārya, the celebrated teacher of the Vedānta, in which the doctrines of Indian materialism are set forth in the greatest detail. Mādhavāchārya begins his exposition with an expression of regret that the majority of the men of his day follow the materialism represented by Chārvāka.

The Lokāyata allows only perception as a means of knowledge, and rejects inference. It recognizes as the sole reality the four elements, *i.e.* matter, and teaches that, when a body is formed by the combination of the elements, the spirit also comes into existence, just like the intoxicating quality from the mixture of special materials. With the destruction of the body the spirit returns again to nothingness. The soul, therefore, is only the body *plus* the attribute of intelligence, since the existence of a soul distinct from the body cannot be established by perception. Supersensuous things are, of course, also wholly denied, and are dismissed at times with a mere jest. Hell is earthly pain, due to earthly causes. The Supreme Being is the king of the country of whose existence the whole world affords tangible proof. Emancipation is the dissolution of the body. The post-operative force of merit and demerit, which, according to the belief of all other Indian schools, determines the lot of each individual down to the smallest details, has no existence for the Lokāyatika, because this conception is reached only by inference. To the objection of an orthodox philosopher, that those who reject this controlling force in the universe leave the various phenomena of the latter without a cause, the materialist replies that the essential nature of things is the cause from which the phenomena proceed.

On the practical side this system exhibits itself as the crudest Eudæmonism; for it represents the gratification of the senses as the sole desirable good. The objection that sensual pleasures cannot be the highest aim for mankind, since these are always mingled with more or less pain, is met by the remark that it is for us to secure by prudence enjoyment as little alloyed as possible with pain, and to shun as far as is in our power the suffering inseparably connected with pleasure. The man who would have fish must take their skin and bones, and he who wants rice cannot exclude the husks from his bargain. Let him not then from fear of the pain renounce the pleasure which we instinctively feel to be congenial to our nature.

The Vedas are declared to be the idle prating of knaves, characterized by the three faults of untruthfulness, internal contradiction, and useless repetition; and the professors of Vedic science deceivers, whose doctrines are mutually destructive. To the Chārvākas the ritual of the Brāhmans is a fraud, and the costly and laborious sacrifices are useful only for providing with a livelihood the cunning fellows who carry them out. 'If an animal sacrificed at the Jyotiṣṭoma (the original form of the *soma* offering) rises to heaven, why does not the sacrificer prefer to slay his own father?' No wonder that in the view of the orthodox Hindu the doctrine of the Chārvākas is the worst of all heresies.

It is natural to conjecture that the Lokāyata system was based by its founder upon deeper principles, and developed upon more serious philosophical lines than the information which has come to us from their opponents allows us to understand. The conjecture, however, cannot be established.

LITERATURE.—J. Muir, *JRAS* xix. [1862] 299 ff.; A. Hillebrandt, 'Materialisten und Skeptiker' in *Alt-Indien, Kulturgeschichtliche Skizzen*, Breslau, 1899, p. 168 ff.; F. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Ind. Philosophy*, London, 1899, pp. 86, 97 ff.

R. GARBE.

LOKOTTARAVĀDINS.—See BODHISATTVA.

LOLLARDS.—See WYCLIF.

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[1] See especially *Brahmajāla Sutta*, ed. P. Grimblot, *Sept Suttas pâlis*, Paris, 1876, and tr. D. J. Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, ed. A. S. Bishop, Colombo, 1908, pp. 401–472.

[2] Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, vii. 3. 45; cf. A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, xiii. [1873] 343 f.; Bhāskarāchārya on *Brahmasūtra*, iii. 3. 53; cf. H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*², London, 1873, i. 429.

[3] Tr. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough², London, 1894.

LONGSUFFERING.—Longsuffering is alike a divine attribute and a human virtue. In both its uses its meaning is well represented by 'longanimity,' formerly a word of frequent occurrence, and not altogether obsolete.

> The earliest example of 'longanimity' quoted in the *OED* (vi. 417) is from a 1450 tr. of *de Imitatione*, I. xiii. 14: 'Thou shalt overcome them [temptations] better litel and litel by pacience and longanimyte'; the most recent citation of the word is from the *Spectator*, 11th Jan. 1890: 'His longanimity under the foolishness of the young woman is really marvellous.'

The literal meaning of the Greek word (*μακρόθυμος*) of which 'longsuffering' is the translation is 'long-tempered,' the opposite of our familiar expression 'short-tempered' (cf. Germ. *Langmütigkeit*).

In three OT passages (Ex 34^{6}, Nu 14^{18}, Ps 86^{15}) the RV substitutes a more literal rendering of the Hebrew phrase (אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם, 'length of face')—'slow to anger'—for the AV 'longsuffering.' In many passages (Neh 9^{17}, Ps 103^{8} 145^{8}, Jer 15^{15}, Jl 2^{13}, Jon 4^{2}, Na 1^{3}) the two translations are interchangeable.

> 'Longsuffering or slowness to anger is the glory of man as it is the glory of God' (R. C. Trench, *Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey*, London, 1861, xxx. 349).

That the two expressions are synonymous in many contexts is evident from the retention in the RV of 'longsuffering' in Jer 15^{15} 'Avenge me of my persecutors; take me not away in thy longsuffering.' The former sentence seems decisive in favour of the interpretation which regards the divine longsuffering as displayed towards the persecutors and not towards the prophet.

> 'The petition shews how great was the peril in which the prophet perceived himself to stand: he believes that if God delay to strike down his adversaries, that longsuffering will be fatal to his own life' (C. J. Ball, *The Prophecies of Jeremiah*, London, 1890, p. 321).

A similar ambiguity arises in the interpretation of Lk 18^{7}; AV translates *καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*, 'though he bear long with them'; but RV 'and he is longsuffering over them.' A. Plummer (*ICC*^{2}, Edinburgh, 1898, *in loc.*) grants that *ἐπ' αὐτοῖς* may refer to the enemies of the elect, but prefers to understand it to apply to the elect. The meaning, then, would be: 'And shall not God deliver His elect who cry day and night to Him, while He is slow to act for them?' But the analogy of Jer 15^{15} (cf. Sir 35^{22}) suggests that the main thought is of God's patient forbearance with those who are at once His enemies and the oppressors of His chosen ones. J. Moffatt renders: 'And will not God see justice done to his elect who cry to him by day and night? Will he be tolerant to their opponents? I tell you, he will quickly see justice done to his elect!' (*The New Testament: A New Translation*, London, 1913).

The uncertainty in regard to the interpretation of the above and other passages may serve to emphasize what Plummer rightly insists upon, namely, that, although *μακροθυμεῖ* usually means 'is slow to anger,' yet 'it sometimes means "to be slow, be backward, tarry," and is almost synonymous with *βραδύνω*. . . . So also *μακροθυμία* may mean "slow persistency" as well as "slowness to anger." Comp. 1 Mac. viii. 4' (*op. cit.* p. 414).

The EV recognizes this wider meaning, and regards 'longsuffering' as equivalent to 'patience' in He 6^{12} and Ja 5^{10}. The corresponding verb is applied in Ja 5^{7} to the husbandman's patient waiting for the harvest. But 'patience' is more frequently the translation of *ὑπομονή*, 'the temper which does not easily succumb under suffering,' while '*μακροθυμία* is the self-restraint which does not hastily retaliate a wrong' (J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, London, 1879, on Col 1^{11}).

To the 'longsuffering' of God reference is made in Lk 18^{7}, Ro 2^{4} 9^{22}, 1 P 3^{20}, 2 P 3^{9}, and to the 'longsuffering' of Jesus Christ in 1 Ti 1^{16} and probably 2 P 3^{15}. In Ro 2^{4} 'forbearance' (*ἀνοχή*) is linked with 'longsuffering.'

> The distinction between these two words is that 'the *ἀνοχή* is temporary, transient: we may say that, like our word "truce," it asserts its own temporary, transient character. . . . This, it may be urged, is true of *μακροθυμία* no less. . . . But as much does not lie in the word; we may conceive of a *μακροθυμία*, though it would be worthy of little honour, which should *never* be exhausted; while *ἀνοχή* implies its own merely provisional character' (R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*^{11}, London, 1890, p. 199).

As a moral attribute of God, 'longsuffering' is a manifestation of His grace. In 'the riches of His goodness' He waits long and patiently for the sinner's repentance (Ro 2^{4}), and in loving-kindness He tolerates those who deserve His wrath (Ro 9^{22}).

> Yet '*patience and long-suffering* point not merely to the suspension of punishment, but to the love which never tires till it has exhausted its last resource. Owing to the contrast between the apparent impotence of long-suffering, and supreme moral omnipotence, this is an attribute which excites special reverence' (T. Haering, *The Christian Faith*, London, 1913, ii. 492 f.).

'Longsuffering,' as a Christian grace, is a 'fruit of the Spirit' (Gal 5^{22}). Though a passive virtue, it is the manifestation in human character of spiritual power received in answer to prayer from Him by whom believers are 'strengthened with all power, according to the might of his glory, unto all patience and longsuffering with joy' (Col 1^{11}). In his earnest prayers that Christians may be adorned with this grace, St. Paul asks that they may have the mind of Christ, for he obtained mercy, that in him, as chief of sinners, 'Jesus Christ might shew forth all his longsuffering, for an ensample of them which should hereafter believe on him unto eternal life' (1 Ti 1^{16}). In 1 Co 13^{4} 'longsuffering' is said to be an attribute of the 'love' by which we are made partakers of the divine nature. Tertullian (*de Patientia*, 12) and other Fathers 'explain it to mean greatness of soul or magnanimity,' but *μακροθυμία* differs from *μεγαλοψυχία*, the 'high-mindedness' of Aristotle:

> '*First*, it is not a consciousness of greatness, but a largeness of conception. *Second*, it is not the loftiness of spirit that great men alone possess, but a moral and godly frame of mind to be exhibited in the life of every Christian. *Third*, it is not a noble pride that stands aloof, but an interested spectator of life's sufferings, though not an active combatant in the strife' (T. C. Edwards, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*^{2}, London, 1885, p. 343).

In the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (ed. R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1913), *inter alia* the following instructive examples of the use of 'longsuffering' are found:

> *Test. Dan* 2^{1}: 'Unless ye keep yourselves from the spirit of lying and of anger, and love truth and longsuffering, ye shall perish.'
>
> *Test. Gad* 4^{7}: 'The spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in longsuffering unto the salvation of men.'
>
> *Test. Jos.* 17^{2}: 'With longsuffering hide ye one another's faults.'
>
> *Pirqê Âbôth* 4^{1}: 'Who is mighty? He who controlleth his evil disposition; as it is said: "Better is the longsuffering than the mighty, and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city."'

LITERATURE.—The word 'longsuffering' is best studied with the aid of commentaries on the passages in which *μακροθυμία* occurs. There is an instructive and comprehensive article in *ExpT* xii. [1900–01] 330 ff.; the following bibliography is given: H. Cremer, *Bibl. Theol. Lexicon*^{3}, Edinburgh, 1880, p. 288 ff.; J. Taylor, *Works*, London, 1848, iv. 483 ff.; R. W. Dale, *Week-Day Sermons*, do. 1883, p. 88 ff.; F. Temple, *Rugby Sermons*, do. 1861, iii. 173 ff.; C. J. Vaughan, *University and Other Sermons*, do. 1897, p. 230 ff.; A. Maclaren, *Paul's Prayer and Other Sermons*, do. 1893, p. 217 ff. See also J. Hastings, art. 'Longsuffering' in *HDB* iii. 136; H. C. Lees, art. 'Long-suffering,' in *DCG* ii. 53 f.

J. G. TASKER.

LORD'S DAY.—See SUNDAY.

LORD'S PRAYER.—See PRAYER (Christian).

LORD'S SUPPER.—See EUCHARIST.

LORETO.—For many centuries the little town of Loreto, situated some 15 miles from Ancona on a hill commanding a view of the Adriatic, has been a notable place of pilgrimage. Montaigne, who visited it in 1580, and who apparently believed in the miracles of healing supposed to be wrought there, describes the town as 'containing few inhabitants except those who serve the needs of the religious devotees' (*Journal of Travels*, Eng. tr., London, 1903, ii. 196–209). The great basilica, the dome of which is visible from afar, was begun in 1468, completed in 1538, and has since received many additions and modifications. Of its artistic glories an excellent account is given in A. Colasanti (*Loreto*, Bergamo, 1910). But the basilica was built only to enclose and enshrine a tiny edifice known as 'la Santa Casa,' which is the real object of pilgrimage. The Holy House is believed to rest on the surface of the ground without foundations, and this fact seems to be authentic. It measures roughly 31 ft. by 13, and its walls are built of hewn stones, from their shape and colour often mistaken for brick, but externally they are hidden from view by a casing of marble richly adorned with sculptures. An ancient statue[1] of wood, of Byzantine inspiration, representing the Madonna and Child, now voluminously draped and also crowned, occupies a niche inside the little house at some height from the floor, and beneath it stands an altar at which Mass is said. Countless *ex votos* are suspended all around, but these probably represent only a small part of the rich gifts which belonged to the shrine before Napoleon rifled it in 1797. On that occasion the statue itself was carried off and taken to Paris, but in 1801 the First Consul returned it to the niche that it had formerly occupied. The words 'Hic Verbum caro factum est' sculptured above it indicate the shrine's official claim to the veneration of the faithful, but the story is more fully told in a Latin inscription set up in the basilica by Pope Clement VIII. in 1595, the approved English rendering of which runs as follows:

> 'Christian Pilgrim, you have before your eyes the Holy House of Loreto, venerable throughout the world on account of the Divine mysteries accomplished in it and the glorious miracles herein wrought. It is here that the most holy Mary, Mother of God, was born; here that she was saluted by the angel; here that the eternal Word of God was made flesh. Angels conveyed this house from Palestine to the town Tersato in Illyria in the year of salvation 1291 in the pontificate of Nicholas IV. Three years later, in the beginning of the pontificate of Boniface VIII., it was carried again by the ministry of angels and placed in a wood near this hill, in the vicinity of Recanati in the Marches of Ancona, where, having changed its station thrice in the course of a year, at length, by the will of God, it took up its permanent position on this spot three hundred years ago. Ever since that time both the extraordinary nature of the event having called forth the admiring wonder of the neighbouring people, and the fame of the miracles wrought in this sanctuary having spread far and wide, this Holy House, whose walls do not rest on any foundation and yet remain solid and uninjured after so many centuries, has been held in reverence by all nations.'

This statement lays little stress upon what is perhaps the most surprising feature of the legend, viz. the triple change of site after the arrival of the Holy House upon the shores of the Adriatic. Pietro di Giorgio Tolomei, best known, from his native town of Teramo, as 'Teramanus,' who between 1465 and 1473 drafted the earliest version of the translation story that has been preserved to us (the document has been discussed with great critical acumen by Hüffer in his *Loreto*, i. 33–66), explains that, because the Santa Casa was not sufficiently honoured where it was first deposited, near Fiume in Illyria, it was carried thence by angels across the Adriatic to a wood at Recanati belonging to the 'Lady Loretha'; hence the name which has since attached to the shrine ('inde accepit tunc ista ecclesia nomen "sancta Maria de Loretha" ab illa domina que erat illius silve domina et patrona'). Here, however, there was such a concourse of pilgrims that the wood was infested with robbers and murderers.

> 'For this reason,' the *Relatio Teramani* goes on, 'the Holy House was once more taken up by the hands of angels, and it was carried to the Mount of the Two Brothers, and on this same mount by the hands of angels it was set down. The which brothers, on account of the immense revenue and gain of money and other things, fell straightway into grievous discord and strife. Wherefore the angels, in the same manner as before, carried it away from the said place on the mount and brought it to a spot in the public road and there they made it fast.'

The legend also relates how the Blessed Virgin in 1296 appeared in his sleep to a certain man who was devout to her, and in this way made known the whole story. Thereupon sixteen good men and true journeyed to the Holy Land to measure the foundations of the Holy House at Nazareth. They discovered that these exactly agreed with the dimensions of the Santa Casa, and also that a stone tablet commemorated the disappearance of the little building which had formerly been venerated there. Furthermore, in the time of Teramanus himself two old men came forward and each testified that his grandfather's grandfather had confirmed from personal knowledge the account of the translation.

This was the story which, with further amplifications, added in the 16th cent., was believed from about the year 1470 to the present day. Although such antiquarian writers as M. Leopardi and G. A. Vogel betrayed their misgivings, they did not venture to throw doubts upon the substantial truth of the narrative. It was only in 1906 that U. Chevalier, following in the wake of the less elaborate criticisms of H. Grisar (at the International Catholic Congress of Munich in 1897), A. Boudinhon (in *Revue du clergé français*, xxii. [1900] 241), and L. de Feis (*La Santa Casa di Nazareth*, Florence, 1905), published a systematic refutation of the whole legend (*Notre-Dame de Lorette*). Since then an energetic and often acrimonious controversy has been carried on, both in magazine articles and in separate books, between the assailants and defenders of the legend; but, even among the organs of Roman Catholic opinion, the more weighty and critical reviews without exception have all ranged themselves on the side of Chevalier.

Apart from the intrinsic improbabilities of the legend itself, two lines of argument have been pressed home by the critics with irresistible force. The first, mainly negative, lays stress upon the fact that a shrine of Our Lady had existed at Loreto a century before the date of the supposed translation, that nothing whatever is heard of this translation until the middle of the 15th cent., and that, even when first spoken of, the accounts of the transportation by angels do not suggest that it was the house of the Holy Family at Nazareth which was so transported. Curiously enough—and this is a point which all the many writers on the subject seem to have missed—the earliest known mention of a miraculous translation by angels occurs in the narrative of an English pilgrim, William Wey, one of the original fellows of Eton College. His account, which is probably not of later date than 1462, runs as follows:

> 'Also twelve miles from Ancona and three miles from Recanati, is a hamlet which is called Loreto, where there is now a stone chapel of Blessed Mary which of old was built by St Helen in the Holy Land. But because the most Blessed Mary was not honoured there, the chapel was lifted up by the angels, the most Blessed Mary sitting upon it, and was carried away from the Holy Land to Alretum, while the country-folk and shepherds looked on at the angels bearing it and setting it down in the place where it now is; where the most Blessed Virgin Mary is held in great honour' (*Wey's Pilgrimage*, Roxburghe Club, London, 1857, p. 54).

It will be noticed at once that the building transported is not the actual Holy House of Nazareth, but a chapel built by St. Helen. On the other hand, the first papal document which gives any indication of the special sanctity attaching to the Loreto shrine is the bull of Paul II. in 1470, which speaks thus:

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[1] Adolfo Venturi (see Hüffer, *Loreto*, i. 41, n.) assigns it to the early years of the 14th cent.; but it seems to be mentioned in documents of the year 1313, and other authorities attribute it to the 13th or even the 12th century. The legend declares it to have been carved by St. Luke the Evangelist.

> 'Desiring to show our veneration for the church of Blessed Mary of Loreto, miraculously founded in honour of the same most holy Virgin outside the walls of Recanati, in which, as the statements of persons worthy of credit attest, and as all the faithful may ascertain for themselves, an image of the glorious Virgin, through the wondrous mercy of God, has been deposited, attended by a troop of angels, and to which (church) by reason of the countless stupendous miracles which the Most High through her intercession has worked for all who devoutly have recourse to her and humbly implore her patronage,' etc.

Here again not the least suggestion is conveyed that the building, even if believed to exist miraculously without foundations, was the actual house of the Holy Family of Nazareth. On the other hand, the terms of this notice lend great probability to the opinion, supported by Hüffer and others, that it was the statue, showing, as we have noticed, Byzantine characteristics, and consequently known to have come from a distance, that was at first supposed to have been brought to Loreto by the hands of angels. Then the fact that the chapel had no proper foundations seems to have given rise to the further development that the whole building had been miraculously transported from the East. And, finally, a reason was found for this exceptional providence by assuming that the building was none other than the actual Holy House of Nazareth. Considerable support is lent to this hypothesis of a gradual evolution of the legend by a curious parallel in the case of a chapel not far from Siena. The story is told first by A. Fortunio in his *Cronichetta del Monte San Savino* (Florence, 1583, pp. 9–11). In the year 1116 a little wayside chapel of the Blessed Virgin at Asciano belonged to a certain lord, who at his death left it to his two sons. They quarrelled over the division of the offerings and were on the point of fighting a duel when, during the night, the angels took the chapel up and bore it to a place about 14 miles off, called Colle di Vertighe, near Monte San Savino. G. B. Mittarelli, a really serious and critical antiquary of the 18th cent. (see his *Annales Camaldulenses*, Venice, 1755–73, iii. 89–92), bears witness to the existence of the chapel in his time and also to its great antiquity. Here again, just as at Loreto, the chapel was without foundations, and a great church had been erected over the smaller building to protect and enshrine it. Whether the Loreto legend or that of the Colle di Vertighe is really the older it is difficult to decide. In the case of Loreto the negative evidence tending to show that in the beginning no idea existed of the chapel having come from Nazareth is emphasized by the large number of documents of the 14th and 15th centuries which have been unearthed concerning it. It is incredible, as Hüffer shows in his very patient discussion, that the supremely sacred character of the building could have been ignored, as it is, in almost all of them, if men had then believed that this was actually the Holy House in which God had become incarnate.

The second line of argument, developed by Chevalier and other critics, claims to show that at Nazareth itself nothing was known to have happened in 1291, when the Holy House is supposed to have been transported westwards; no pilgrims comment on the disappearance of a shrine which was known to have been visited by their predecessors in the 12th and 13th centuries, nor do the accounts of what was venerated at Nazareth as the abode of the Holy Family apply in the least to such an edifice as we now see at Loreto. It may be noticed also that the measurements and proportions of the chapel of the English shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham, which happen to have been accurately preserved to us, do not agree with those of the Santa Casa, while, according to legend, the Walsingham chapel reproduced exactly the dimensions of the Holy House as measured by a pilgrim about the year 1060.

By the time of Pope Julius II. the legend of the Santa Casa had fully established itself in popular favour and it is incorporated in a bull of 1507, but with the qualification 'ut pie creditur et fama est.' In 1518 Leo X. identifies himself with the whole marvellous story 'ut fide dignorum comprobatum est testimonio,' and it must have been shortly after this that Thomas Duchtie or Doughtie of Musselburgh made his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and brought back that image of the Italian shrine for which he afterwards built a chapel on the land now occupied by Loreto School. Other pontiffs, notably Sixtus V. and in modern times Pius IX. and Leo XIII., adopted the tradition without any question, and Innocent XII. permitted the celebration of a special feast of the translation of the Holy House with a 'proper' Mass and Office. In the latter part of the 16th cent. the story of the miraculous translation was everywhere accepted, and the local traditions of Nazareth itself were modified to suit it. It should, however, be remembered that none of these papal bulls or other similar acts of ecclesiastical authority is regarded in the Roman Church as having any dogmatic force, and consequently all Roman Catholics are free to accept or reject the legend according to their own judgment of the historical evidence. The defenders of the tradition still lay stress upon an alleged scientific examination of the materials, particularly the stone of which the Santa Casa is built, and it is claimed that experts have declared that such materials are not found in Italy, but only in the neighbourhood of Nazareth (see D. Bartolini, *Sopra la Santa Casa di Loreto*, Rome, 1861). But these experiments were carried out in 1857, and it may be doubted whether their conclusions can be regarded as rigidly scientific. Let us also notice that the frescoes at Gubbio and in one or two other places, said to be of early date and representing angels carrying a house (the date and details are nearly always matters of controversy), cannot be assumed to refer of necessity to the Loreto legend. It is clear from the Monte San Savino chronicle quoted above that there was at least one rival tradition of the same kind in circulation. These frescoes, then, cannot be appealed to as a conclusive argument in favour of the early date of the Loreto story in particular.

LITERATURE.—The vast bibliography of the subject has been very fully, though not quite exhaustively, dealt with by J. Faurax, *Bibliographie lorétaine*, Tournai, 1913, and also by G. Hüffer, *Loreto* (see below), pp. 5–8; only a selection of books and articles can be mentioned here. The text of the early writers who elaborated the legend into the form which ultimately prevailed, viz. Teramanus, Jerome Angelita, Raphael Riera, and Horazio Tursellini, will be found printed at length in the voluminous work of P. V. Martorelli, *Teatro istorico della S. Casa Nazarena*, 3 vols., Rome, 1732–35. Besides this, we may note, among older works, the important treatises of G. A. Vogel, *de Ecclesiis recanatensi et lauretana earumque episcopis commentarius*, 2 vols., Recanati, published in 1859, though written in 1806, and M. Leopardi, *La Santa Casa di Loreto*, Lugano, 1841. Both these works give proof of much research among municipal archives and other MS sources. In the modern controversy, after U. Chevalier, *Notre-Dame de Lorette*, Paris, 1906, by far the most important contribution to the subject is that of G. Hüffer, *Loreto: eine geschichtskritische Untersuchung der Frage des heiligen Hauses*, Münster, 1913 (so far only one volume, but a second promised). See also A. Boudinhon, *La Question de Lorette*, Paris, 1910; C. Bouffard, *La Vérité sur le fait de Lorette*, do. 1910, and *The Month*, July 1912.

Of the various attempts made to reply to Chevalier's criticisms we may note A. Eschbach, *La Vérité sur le fait de Lorette*, Paris, 1910; F. Thomas, *La Santa Casa dans l'histoire*, Lyons, 1909; L. Poisat, *Lorette au xiiie siècle*, Arras, 1906; M. Faloci Pulignani, *La Santa Casa di Loreto secondo un affresco di Gubbio*, Rome, 1907; I. Rinieri, *La Santa Casa di Loreto*, 3 vols., Turin, 1911; G. Kresser, in *Theolog. praktische Quartalschrift*, Linz, 1907, pp. 795–820, and 1911, pp. 50

526; cf. also *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Tübingen, 1909, pp. 212–248, 477–490.

On Loreto at Musselburgh see **L. Barbé**, *Byways of Scottish History*, London, 1912, pp. 141–152.

For a further bibliography see **U. Chevalier**, *Répertoire des sources hist. du moyen âge, topo-bibliographie*, Montbéliard, 1894–1903, cols. 1746–1749.

HERBERT THURSTON.

LOTS.—See DIVINATION.

LOTUS (Egyptian).—**1. Name.**—First we must dismiss entirely the modern botanical name 'lotus.' '*Lotus Arabicus* is a small leguminous plant resembling a vetch' (*Proc. Roy. Soc.* lxvii. [1900] 225). As plants more or less confused together, being all water-lilies, and popularly called 'lotus,' there may be specified (1) rose lotus (*Nelumbium speciosum*), distinguished by imbricated petals on the bud; (2) white lotus (*Nymphæa lotus*), distinguished by ribbed petals on the bud, rounded when opened; and (3) blue lotus (*Nymphæa cærulea*), distinguished by smooth, pointed petals. The two *Nymphæa* lotuses cross, and any intermediate form may occur naturally.

(1) *Rose lotus.*—This is at present an Indian plant unknown in Egypt, except as a cultivated rarity. It was known in Roman times, being found in the cemetery at Hawara (W. M. F. Petrie, *Hawara*, London, 1890, p. 52), and described by Athenæus:

> 'Lotus grows in the marshes . . . one like that of the rose, and it is the garlands woven of the flowers of this colour which are properly called the garlands of Antinous; but the other kind is called the lotus garland, being of a blue colour' (xv. 21).

It was known earlier to Herodotus:

> 'There are also other lilies like roses that grow in the river, the fruit of which is contained in a separate pod . . . in this there are many berries fit to be eaten' (ii. 92).

There does not seem to be any proof that this plant was indigenous, nor that any instance of it was represented in Egypt. It cannot, therefore, be reckoned as of importance in religion or art. Various instances have been alleged, but incorrectly. Loret states that the lotus-flower supporting Horus is a rose lotus; but the petals are equal-ended and striped as white lotus. He also states it to be on the head of Nefertum; but that flower appears rather to be a *Nymphæa*. He agrees that it is not shown on monuments. The capital found at Memphis (Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, London, 1909, xviii.), like other early capitals, is white lotus, and not rose.

(2) *White lotus.*—This is characterized by the sepals and petals being ovoid with rounded ends. It is frequent in canal scenes of the early kingdom; as a capital at Memphis (Petrie, *Palace of Apries*, xviii.); as figures of capitals (Zowyet el-Meyityn, VIth dyn.; El-Bersheh, XIIth dyn.; see E. Prisse d'Avennes, *Hist. de l'art égyptien*, Paris, 1879); as a garland (P. E. Newberry and F. Ll. Griffith, *El Bersheh*, London, 1895) it was placed upon the mummies of Aahmes, Amenhetep I., and Rameses II. It is represented as the flower upon which Horus is seated, shown by the strong ribbing of the sepals (R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, Turin, 1886, ccxiv. 1). This figure is entirely of late date, 8th cent. B.C. and onward. Loret attributes this to the rose lotus; but J. G. Wilkinson emphatically states that it is the blue lotus (*Manners and Customs of Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1878, iii. 132 f.); the ribbing would indicate that it is, as a matter of fact, the white lotus.

(3) *Blue lotus.*—This is the most usual lotus-flower of all periods, with straight-edged pointed petals. It is found commonly in the tombs, and is the origin of the regular lotus-capitals. The Egyptian names of these flowers are variously equated. Loret puts the *neheb*, *nekheb*, or *nesheb* to the rose lotus, *seshni* to the white lotus, and *serpet* to the blue lotus. But we have seen that probably the rose lotus was a Persian importation, and could not therefore have a usual name dating from the VIth dyn. (Papyrus, i. col. 440). Now Loret gives Arab authority for the *sushan* being a blue flower (*Flore phar.*, p. 116), and the *khazam* (which in the *Scalæ=soshem*) being also blue. It seems probable that *seshni* is the blue lotus. The seeds of all three lotus-plants were eaten (Herod. ii. 92), and *seshni* was gathered in the IInd dyn. (see a seal in Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, London, 1901, ii., xxi. 171). If *seshni* were blue, probably the commonest name *nesheb* is the white lotus. The name *serpet* is more fully spelled out like a Syrian word, as *sairpata*. It seems obviously connected with *sirpād* of Is 55^{13}, where it stands in antithesis to myrtle, and is therefore probably a bush rather than a herb or water-plant. It does not appear to have any connexion with a lotus.

2. Meaning.—Though the lotus is so abundant naturally in Egypt, and so incessantly represented in decoration, yet it seems to have singularly little contact with the religion or writing. Its use as a vocal sign is rare and of late period, and before that it appears only as a determinative of the names of such plants. It is never associated with any early god. Nefertum, who wears the flower on his head, is a late deity, the figure first occurring in the XIXth dyn. (A. Mariette, *Abydos*, Paris, 1869–80, i. 38c), where also is a portable shrine with the lotus-flower of the god, clearly the blue lotus. Usually he is not represented till the Greek period. Horus, who appears seated on the lotus-flower, is so represented only in the Ethiopian and later ages (G. Colonna-Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques de Chypre*, etc., Paris, 1882, pl. viii.; G. A. Hoskins, *Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert*, London, 1837, pl. vi. base). As Wilkinson says of the lotus, 'there is no evidence of its having been sacred, much less an object of worship' (iii. 133).

LITERATURE.—The principal books are **V. Loret**, *La Flore pharaonique*², Paris, 1892, for the botany; **G. Foucart**, *Histoire de l'ordre lotiform*, do. 1897, for Egyptian architecture; **W. H. Goodyear**, *Grammar of the Lotus*, London, 1891, for general art connexions, but overstrained.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

LOTUS (Indian).—To the Indian taste the lotus has always been the fairest flower: it has enjoyed an unparalleled popularity throughout the length and breadth of India from the earliest times down to the present day, as is shown by its predominance in literature and art. Beginning to be mentioned in the oldest Veda, it plays a prominent part in the mythology of Brāhmanism. To the later Sanskrit poets it is the emblem of beauty to which they constantly compare the faces of their heroines. The lotus, moreover, enters into Indian art of all ages and all religions as a conspicuous decorative element. It appears thus on the oldest architectural monuments of Buddhism as well as later on those of Jainism and Hinduism all over India. With the spread of Buddhism to the countries of the Farther East, its use as an ornament in religious art has extended as far as Japan.

1. In literature.—The lotus is already named in the Rigveda and is mentioned with increasing frequency in the later Saṁhitās. Two varieties occur in the Rigveda. The *puṇḍarīka* (later known as a white variety of the *Nelumbium speciosum*) is once referred to (X. cxlii. 8) as a water-plant. In the Atharvaveda (X. viii. 43) the human heart is compared with this lotus, and the *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (XVIII. ix. 6) speaks of its flower as 'born of the light of the constellations.' The Taittirīya recension (I. viii. 2. 1) of the Black Yajurveda mentions a garland of such lotuses (*puṇḍari-srajā*). The blue variety named *puskara* occurs several times in the Rigveda (VI. xvi. 3, VII. xxxiii. 11, VIII. lxxii. 11) and still oftener in the later Vedas. In the former it is alluded to as growing in lakes. Here also the term seems to be applied to the bowl of the sacrificial ladle, presumably on account of resemblance in shape; it is certainly so applied in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. That this variety of the flower also was early used for personal adornment is shown by the fact that the Aśvins, the youthful twin gods of the morning, are described (x. clxxxiv. 2) as wearing a garland of blue lotuses (*puṣkara-sraj*). Another kind of lotus, the *kumuda*, is mentioned, together with its various edible parts, in the Atharvaveda (IV. xxxiv. 3). The flower meant is doubtless the white edible lotus (*Nymphæa esculenta*), denoted by this name in later times.

In the *Brāhmaṇas* the lotus first appears associated with the Creator Prajāpati in cosmogonic myths. Thus the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I. i. 3. 5 ff.) tells how Prajāpati, desiring to evolve the universe, which in the beginning was fluid, saw a lotus-leaf (*puṣkara-parṇa*) standing erect out of the water. Thinking that it must rest on something, he dived in the form of a boar, and, finding the earth below, broke off a fragment, rose with it to the surface, and spread it out on the leaf. Again, the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (I. xxiii. 1) relates that, when the universe was still fluid, Prajāpati alone was produced on a lotus-leaf.

Later, in the epic poetry of the *Mahābhārata*, the Creator, under the name of Brahmā, is described as having sprung from the lotus that grew out of Viṣṇu's navel, when that deity lay absorbed in meditation. Hence one of the epithets of Brahmā is 'lotus-born' (*abja-ja*, *abja-yoni*, etc.). The lotus is thus also connected with Viṣṇu, one of whose names is accordingly *padma-nābha*, 'lotus-naveled.' It is further associated with Viṣṇu's wife Lakṣmī, goddess of fortune and beauty, in the *Mahābhārata*, where the myth is related that from Viṣṇu's forehead sprang a lotus, out of which came Śrī (another name of the goddess), and where one of Lakṣmī's epithets is *padmā*, 'lotus-hued.' The *Mahābhārata*, in its account of Mount Kailāsa, the abode of Kubera, the god of wealth, describes his lake Nalinī and his river Mandākinī as covered with golden lotuses.

2. In art.—As regards its application in religious art, the lotus figures, with the rise of that art in India, on all the Buddhist monuments which came into being in different parts of the country from about 200 B.C. onwards. In its simplest form the expanded lotus is very frequent as a circular ornament in the sculptures at Sānchī, Bhārhut, Amarāvatī, and Bodh Gayā, as well as in the rock-cut Buddhist temples of Western India, being introduced a as medallion on pillars, panels, and ceilings. Very elaborately carved half-lotuses sometimes appear used thus, or, in Ceylon, as so-called moonstones—semi-circular stone slabs at the foot of staircases. Lotuses growing on stalks also occur in the sculptures of Gandhāra and of Mathurā, and often figure in elaborate floral designs on the pillars of Sānchī or the panels of Amarāvatī.

The lotus is further found from the earliest times conventionalized either as a seat or as a pedestal on which divine or sacred beings rest in a sitting or standing posture. The oldest and most striking example of this use is exhibited in the figure of the Hindu goddess Lakṣmī in the Buddhist sculptures at Udayagiri, at Bhārhut, and especially at Sānchī, where it is frequently repeated on the gateways of the Great Stūpa. She is portrayed sitting or standing on a lotus and holding up in each hand a lotus-flower which is watered by two elephants from pots raised aloft by their trunks. This ancient type is found all over India at the present day; it even occurs among the old sculptures at Polonnaruwa in Ceylon.

After Buddha began to be represented in sculpture, from about the beginning of our era, his image constantly appears sitting cross-legged on a lotus seat, occasionally also standing on a lotus pedestal. In this form it occurs, for instance, at Rājgīr in Behār, in the Kanheri caves near Bombay, and often in the Gandhāra monuments of the North-West. From the latter region this type spread beyond the confines of India, reappearing in Nepāl, Burma, China, and Japan. Even when the seat is not actually the flower itself, two, three, or four lotuses are, in the Gandhāra sculptures, carved on its front. Such lotuses are even found delineated on a footstool on which Gautama rests his feet instead of sitting cross-legged. The number of the petals of such lotuses varies from four to six.

The use of the lotus seat has been extended to images of *bodhisattvas* not only in India but in Buddhist countries beyond its borders. Thus Mañjuśrī is represented sitting in this way not only at Sārnāth, near Benares, but also in Java and Tibet. In a modern Tibetan picture Maitreya is depicted on a lotus seat, and the figure of a Persian *bodhisattva* sitting on a seat adorned with lotuses and painted on a wooden panel was discovered by M. A. Stein during his first expedition to Central Asia. Even in China the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara occurs sitting on a lotus seat, and in Nepāl also as standing on a lotus pedestal. The lotus is otherwise intimately connected with this *bodhisattva*: for he is represented as born from a lotus, and he regularly holds a lotus in his hand, whence is derived his epithet of Padmapāṇi, 'lotus-handed.' To him, moreover, refers the Buddhist formula *Oṁ maṇi padme Hūṁ* ('Yea! O jewel in the lotus! Amen'), which at the present day is the most sacred prayer of the Buddhists in Tibet (see art. JEWEL [Buddhist], § 7). The persistence of this application of the lotus is indicated by the fact that it often appears not only in modern Indian brass images of Hindu gods, but even in seated portraits of Mahārājas of the 19th century.

The lotus seat and pedestal have an almost universal application in connexion with the figures of Hindu mythology. Thus Brahmā appears seated on Viṣṇu's navel lotus. The three great gods of the Hindu triad, Brahmā, Śiva, and Viṣṇu, with their respective wives, Sarasvatī, Pārvatī, and Lakṣmī, as well as Agni, god of fire, Pāvana, god of wind, Gaṇeśa, god of wisdom, Viṣṇu's incarnation Rāma, and the demon Rāvaṇa, are all found represented on a lotus seat. Viṣṇu, in addition, regularly holds a lotus in one of his four hands. A lotus pedestal also serves as a stand for images of the god Indra, of Viṣṇu and nearly all his incarnations, and of the sun-god Sūrya; in Ceylon also of Śiva and Pārvatī, as well as of Kubera, god of wealth, and in Tibet of Sarasvatī, goddess of learning.

Similarly, in the ancient Jain sculptures found at Mathurā the lotus constantly occurs as a medallion or in more elaborate floral decoration. It also appears as the symbol of the sixth Jina, or Saint. At the present day it is worshipped generally by the Hindus in India, and even by low caste Muhammadans in some parts of the country. See also art. FLOWERS, vol. vi. p. 54^a.

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dhapura, *Ceylon*, etc., London, 1894, pl. lvii.; A. Foucher, *L'Art du Gandhāra*, Paris, 1905; L. de Milloué, *Bod-Youl ou Tibet*, do. 1906, p. 186; S. W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, London, 1904–06, i. 46, 110 (lotus sacred to Buddhism), ii. 78; R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, do. 1913, frontispiece and illustrations opposite pp. 30, 98, 194, 280, 296; R. Pischel, *Leben und Lehre des Buddha*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 97 f.; H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*^{3}, Cambridge, Mass., 1900; *Jātakas*, Eng. tr., Index volume, Cambridge, 1913, *s.v.* 'Lotus'; E. Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, London, 1810; G. C. M. Birdwood, *Industrial Arts of India*, do. 1880, p. 130, plates A, C, D, E, F, I, K; E. B. Havell, *Ideals of Indian Art*, do. 1911, p. 154; G. Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi*, Calcutta, 1903, p. 92; V. A. Smith, *Jaina Stūpa*, Allahabad, 1901, plates xxiv., lii.–lxiv., lxxiii.–lxxvi.; *NINQ* iv. [1894–95] § 289; T. A. Gopinātha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Madras, 1914, Index, *s.v.* 'Padmāsana.'

A. A. MACDONELL.

3. In Buddhism.—The symbolism of the lotus-flower (*padma*, *puṇḍarīka*, *utpala*) was borrowed by the Buddhists directly from the parent religion Brāhmanism. Primarily, the lotus-flower appears to have symbolized for the Aryans from very remote times the idea of superhuman or divine birth; and, secondarily, the creative force and immortality. The traditional Indian and Buddhist explanation of it is that the glorious lotus-flower appears to spring not from the sordid earth but from the surface of the water, and is always pure and unsullied, no matter how impure may be the water of the lake. It thus expresses the idea of supernatural birth, and the emergence of the first created object from the primordial waters of chaos; hence also the flower was regarded as the matrix of the Hindu creator himself, Nārāyaṇa, and his later form as the god Brahmā, who are respectively figured and described as reclining and seated upon a lotus-flower. As an emblem of divine purity, the lotus-flower is instanced in the pre-Buddhist Vaiṣṇavite *Bhagavad-Gītā* (*SBE* viii.^{2} [1898] 64, xxxvi. [1894] 189); and this was possibly its signification when it was first applied to the historical Buddha, Śākyamuni.

As an emblem of divine birth, the lotus is the commonest of motives in Buddhist art and literature, as has been noted above (§ 2). In the Buddhist paradise of Sukhāvatī, the goal of popular Mahāyāna Buddhists, where no women exist, every one is born as a god upon a lotus-flower (*Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* [*SBE* xxi. (1884) 389, xlix. (1894) pt. ii. pp. x, 62]), and there are lotus-flowers of *maṇi*-gems (*SBE* xlix. pt. ii. 36). The Western notion of the beatitude of 'lotus-eating' is possibly a memory of this old tradition of divine existence.

A form of this myth of divine lotus-birth is probably the myth which invests Buddha with the miraculous power of imprinting the image of a lotus-flower on the earth at every step that he took. The references to this are innumerable in the Pāli canon; but in the book which the present writer has shown to be manifestly the earliest of all the books of that canon, the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* (*JRAS* 1914, p. 663 f.), the account of the infant Buddha's first seven steps makes no mention of the lotus-flower imprints which appear in the later versions.

The lotus was especially identified with the sun. This association rested doubtless upon the natural observation that the flower opened when the sun rose and closed at sunset, so as to suggest to the primitive mind the idea that the flower might be the residence of the sun during its nocturnal passage through the under world, or that it might be the re-vivifier, resurrector, or regenerator of the fresh or refreshened sun of the next day. Its very large multi-rayed flowers would also contribute to this association. It is probably from its association with the sun that we find the lotus-flower in the Gandhāra sculptures, and often subsequently, taking the place on Buddha's footprints of the 'wheeled disk of the sun with its thousand spokes.' This possibly was the source of the lotus-marked footprints.

The device of a lotus-flower in the hand seems to have symbolized not merely divine birth but the possession of life everlasting, and the preservation and procreation of life. Such was it with the Aryan queen of heaven, the Brāhmanist goddess Śrī, and her derivative, the Buddhist Tārā, both of whom have the title 'Garlanded by Lotuses' (Tantra, *Rgyud*, xv. 4). In the mystical Vedic, pre-Buddhist *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the lotus was a symbol of the womb (*SBE* xli. [1894] 215); and, as we have seen, it appears to have this sense in the famous *Oṁ maṇi padme Hūṁ* formula (see JEWEL [Buddhist], § 7). Probably, therefore, such a meaning may be in part implied in the lotus held in the hand of Avalokita, the consort of Tārā, to whom that formula is now specially addressed. In the hand of Maitreya, the next coming Buddha, and other divine *bodhisattvas* of Gandhāra, the lotus in the hand, however, may have had a metaphysical significance and have denoted the preservation of the life of the law and the re-vivifying of the same. It was possibly in this sense as cherishers of the law that we find that a lotus-flower adorns the hands of many of the images of Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* who do not specially possess the attribute of a lotus held in the hand (see list below).

The gods and goddesses of Buddhism who hold a lotus in their hand are here enumerated; this lotus, with the object which it carries, forms one of the chief conventional attributes of the particular divinity.

The simple lotus, one of the three kinds specified above, is the especial mark of Tārā, Avalokita, Padmapāṇi, and, occasionally, Maitreya. The lotus surmounted by a sword is an attribute of Amoghapāśa, Khagarbha, Siṁhanāda, Tārā, Padmapāṇyavalokita, and Maitreya; surmounted by a thunderbolt (*vajra*), it is an attribute of Mañjuśrī and mild Vajrapāṇi (*Śānta*); surmounted by a book, it is an attribute of Mañjuśrī and Prajñā Pāramitā; surmounted by a jewel, it denotes Kṣitigarbha and Ekajāta; by a sun, Samantabhadra. Among Tibetan saints the lotus is the especial emblem of the founder of the Order of Lāmas, Padmakara, 'the Lotus-born'; and Tsong-kha-pa, the founder of the Yellow-Hat reformed sect, the Gelug, has two, one on either side of him.

Images of divine symbols, such as the seven treasures (see JEWEL [Buddhist]), are figured usually upon lotus-flowers.

In Buddhist mythology the 'lotus' gives its name to two out of the twenty-four 'previous' Buddhas of the Pāli canon, namely Paduma (properly Padma) and Padumuttara, and to several *nāga* demigods, Padma, Padmottara, and Puṇḍarīka; also to several of the Buddhist hells, namely Paduma, Mahāpaduma, and Puṇḍarīka (*Sutta Nipāta* [*SBE* x. pt. ii. 121]; these appear to be named from the flower-shaped boils which torment the inmates therein). It is also used to denominate the highest number known to Buddhist computators, namely $10{,}000{,}000^{17}$, or 1 followed by 119 ciphers, which is called a *padma* or, in Pāli, *paduma*, whilst the white lotus, *puṇḍarīka*, gives $10{,}000{,}000^{16}$, or 1 followed by 112 ciphers (R. C. Childers, *Dict. of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, pp. 315, 392).

The white lotus, *puṇḍarīka*, gives its name to one of the great canonical texts of Mahāyānist Buddhism, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, or 'Lotus of the True Law.' This is a theistic development of the Buddha-theory which represents Sākyamuni as the supreme god of the universe and the possessor of everlasting life. See following article.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently quoted throughout.

L. A. WADDELL.

LOTUS OF THE TRUE LAW.—No book gives a more accurate idea of the literature of the Great Vehicle or Mahāyāna (*q.v.*) than the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, or *Lotus of the True Law*; and none gives a better impression of the character of the changes undergone by Buddhism in certain surroundings, from its beginnings down to the earliest times of the Christian era.

1. The Buddha in the Lotus.—In the ancient Pāli documents Śākyamuni is a man, a simple mortal, and he moves in a historical background. In the *Lotus* he is a sublime being, eternal or almost eternal, who unveils in a phantasmagoric setting the 'divinity,' *i.e.* the divine splendour and the majestic power, which Buddhists now attribute to the Buddhas; he is a god as Hindus and Buddhists understand the word—that is to say, he manifests himself especially by mythological performances, although he is a stranger to all notions of creation or of immanence. Such a being has no history; therefore, as Kern says (*SBE* xxi. p. ix), the *Lotus* is a sort of 'dramatic performance, an undeveloped mystery play. . . . It consists of a series of dialogues, brightened by the magic effects of a would-be supernatural scenery.'

Among the most characteristic episodes we may mention the silence which Śākyamuni maintains for thousands of centuries, lengthening out his divine tongue into the most distant worlds;[1] the appearance of the *stūpa* of a deceased Buddha, who had been in Nirvāṇa for a long time, but who wished to hear the *Lotus* (xi.);[2] the appearance of innumerable saints and Buddhas eager to hear the teaching of the Master, and coming from all the worlds. By means of Kern's excellent translation (*SBE* xxi.) we can appreciate the character of the 'sublime' and the 'supernatural' attributed by the Great Vehicle to the Buddha.

Although completely divine, Śākyamuni is not God in the *Lotus*. He is Buddha 'from the beginning'; he is the father of the worlds, the father of the future Buddhas and saints, the universal providence. In order to save human beings and to lead them to Nirvāṇa he appears in a human form which is illusory; he is born, teaches, and enters Nirvāṇa—at least as far as ordinary men can see; but in reality, while illusory Śākyamunis are appearing in this world, the true Śākyamuni reigns on a divine 'Mountain of vultures,'[3] surrounded by future Buddhas,[4] and imparting to them the true teaching, the true law. It is this true Śākyamuni that the *Lotus* shows.

Nevertheless, as we said, this god is not God. There is not a single word in the *Lotus* which is not capable of an orthodox, *i.e.* 'atheist,' interpretation. Śākyamuni may be styled Svayambhū,[5] 'who is by himself,' because, like all the Buddhas, he became Buddha without receiving the teaching from another. He is Buddha 'from the beginning';[6] but, just as the *Lotus* mentions a Buddha who will one day replace Śākyamuni, so we must believe that Śākyamuni is Buddha 'from the beginning of this cosmic age.' We know, moreover, that Brahmā himself is not, properly speaking, eternal. Besides, Śākyamuni is not the only Buddha; other Buddhas reign and teach at the same time as he, his equals in nature, although not necessarily in merits, glory, or activity as a saviour; every Buddha has his own 'field.'[1] If he is the father of the world, it is not because he creates human beings; it is because by his teaching he is the father of the saints or future Buddhas.

So much for speculation. In practice, in the religious sentiment that the *Lotus* assumes, Śākyamuni is really God, providence, and reward of the saints.

2. The doctrine of salvation in the Lotus.—According to the *Lotus*, the saints of the Little Vehicle (see art. ARHAT), or Hīnayāna (*q.v.*), do not attain Nirvāṇa; they believe that they will not be re-born, but they are re-born to receive the true doctrine from the heavenly Buddhas. Deliverance cannot be obtained except by first becoming a Buddha; and for that purpose it is necessary to enter the Vehicle of the future Buddhas (see art. BODHISATTVA).[2] This doctrine is set forth in various parables, the most famous of which is that of 'The Prodigal Child' (iv.); it is not without a somewhat distant resemblance to the Gospel parable.

> 'It is . . . as if a certain man went away from his father and betook himself to some other place. He lives there in foreign parts for many years, twenty or thirty or forty or fifty. In course of time the one (the father) becomes a great man; the other (the son) is poor; in seeking a livelihood . . . he roams in all directions and goes to some place, whereas his father removes to another country.' The father is vexed at having no son; but one day, when, sitting at the gate of his palace, he is dealing with the affairs of millions of sovereigns [*aurei*, *suvarṇa*], he sees his son, poor and tattered. The son thinks, 'Unexpectedly have I here fallen in with a king or grandee. People like me have nothing to do here; let me go; in the street of the poor I am likely to find food and clothing without much difficulty. Let me no longer tarry at this place, lest I be taken to do forced labour or incur some other injury.' The father orders his son to be brought to him; but, before revealing his birth to him, he employs him for some years at all kinds of work, first at the meanest kind, and then at the most important. The father treats his son with paternal kindness, but the son, although he manages all his father's property, lives in a thatched cottage, and believes himself poor. At last, when his education is completed, he learns the truth. In the same way we are the sons of the Buddha, and the Buddha says to us to-day, 'You are my sons.' But, like the poor man, we had no idea of our dignity, of our mission as future Buddhas. Thus the Buddha has made us reflect on inferior doctrines; we have applied ourselves to them, seeking as payment for our day's work only Nirvāṇa, and finding that it is already ours. Meanwhile the Buddha has made us dispensers of the knowledge of the Buddhas, and we have preached it without desiring it for ourselves. At last the Buddha has revealed to us that this knowledge is to be ours, and that we are to become Buddhas like him.

3. Episodes.—Although the former part of the book (see below, § 4) is almost entirely devoted to Śākyamuni, chs. xxi.–xxvi. glorify several Bodhisattvas. We may mention the *ἀριστεία* of Avalokita (xxvi.), which is one of the most widely read works in China (see art. AVALOKITEŚVARA); the myth of the 'healer king,' Bhaiṣajyarāja (xxii.), a Bodhisattva who sets fire to his gigantic body for the salvation of human beings, and who is none other than the sun. In the Chinese Great Vehicle the practice of burning the skull is connected with this myth. In submitting to this cruel rite, the monk fulfils the duty of self-sacrifice incumbent on future Buddhas (J. J. M. de Groot, *Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, pp. 50, 217, 227). The history of Sadāparibhūta, 'the always subdued one,' 'the always despised one' (xix.), exemplifies 'the superiority of simple-mindedness and pure-heartedness to worldly wisdom and scepticism' (Kern, in *SBE* xxi. p. xxxi). We should not have a right idea of the *Lotus* if we did not mention the glorification of the *dhāraṇīs*, or magical formulæ (xxi.), and the glorification of the *Lotus* itself (xx.): 'He who writes this book, or causes it to be written, obtains infinite merit,' etc. We know that, in the *Milinda*, a Pāli book of the Little Vehicle, all that is required to obtain a divine re-birth is to think of Buddha when dying (*SBE* xxv. [1890] 124); with more reason, in the Great Vehicle, the tendencies of *bhakti* predominate (see art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA).

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[1] The development of the tongue, capable of covering the whole face, is one of the signs of the 'great man' in the ancient sources.

[2] Contrary, evidently, to all Buddhist dogmas. The being 'who has attained Nirvāṇa' is 'invisible to gods and men,' since he is annihilated or has entered into eternal rest. The appearance of 'deceased Buddhas' in the *Lotus* is probably, therefore, only a case of the magical or deceptive power (*māyā*) of Śākyamuni.

[3] A hill near Rājagṛha, which was turned by the neo-Buddhists into a heavenly mountain.

[4] See art. BODHISATTVA.

[5] This is a name of Brahmā. The *Svayambhūpurāṇa* is a glorification of the Buddha of Nepāl (S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, Paris, 1905).

[6] Cf. this expression with the one described in art. MAÑJUŚRĪ. Mañjuśrī is 'the Buddha of the beginning, the middle, and the end,' therefore the Eternal and also the Absolute—quite different from Śākyamuni in the *Lotus*.

[1] See art. MAHĀVASTU for the plurality of Buddhas and ĀDIBUDDHA for the stages in the divinization of the Buddhas.

[2] With this idea is connected the theory of the double teaching of Buddha—provisional teaching (Little Vehicle) and true teaching (Great Vehicle).

4. Date of the Lotus.—The *Lotus* was translated into Chinese for the first time in A.D. 255; but this ancient translation is lost. The next one (286) contains chs. xxi.–xxvi., which criticism proves to have been added afterwards, the former ch. xxi. becoming ch. xxvii. On the other hand, the former chapters include verses (*gāthās*) and explanations in prose (the latter more recent). Kern therefore thinks that 'several centuries' separate the primitive redaction from the one which was certainly in existence before 286. Winternitz is not so generous, and places the original about the year 200. The present writer is inclined to favour an earlier date: the *sūtras* of Amitābha were translated into Chinese in 148–170, and show a Buddhology as developed as the *Lotus*. It is difficult to identify the Bodhisattvas of the Gandhāra sculpture, except Maitreya, but there is little doubt that this sculpture also shows the quasi-divinization of Buddhas and future Buddhas.

LITERATURE.—Skr. text, ed. H. Kern and B. Nanjio, Petrograd, 1908–09, Fr. tr. by E. Burnouf, Paris, 1852, Eng. tr. by H. Kern (*SBE* xxi. [1884]); the two translations are accompanied by introductions and notes (Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien*, Paris, 1845, pp. 29, 60); M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Litteratur*, ii. (Leipzig, 1913) 230; works on Japanese Buddhism, especially R. Fujishima, *Bouddhisme japonais*, Paris, 1888; J. J. M. de Groot, *Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, Amsterdam, 1893, pp. 50, 217, 227.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

LOTZE.—1. General philosophical position.—Among German philosophers of the period which opens with the triumphant advance of natural science about the middle of last century, the most eminent name is undoubtedly that of Rudolf Hermann Lotze. Lotze's significance lies, above all, in his having instituted and constructed an all-embracing theory of the universe which does full justice to the claims of modern science, and at the same time conserves whatever was of real value in the results of the great idealistic movement of German philosophy in the preceding period; it was Lotze, in fact, who first directed those results to genuinely fruitful issues. To him belongs, moreover, the distinction of having stated and discussed the problems of thought with such outstanding clearness, force, and thoroughness that even in the most perplexing questions the reader is stimulated to form his own conclusions, or at least enabled to realize the difficulties that stand in the way of a definite result. The several philosophical sciences, accordingly, are indebted to Lotze's tireless intellectual labours for an effective and permanent furtherance and enrichment in numerous directions; and, indeed, it cannot be said that the results of his work have as yet been exhausted, or have been worked out in due measure by the general mind.

2. Life and works.—Lotze's early life falls within the period dominated by the thought and sentiment of Romanticism. Born on the 21st of May 1817 at Bautzen in Lusatia, he was grounded in classical study at the gymnasium of Zittau. Even as a boy he displayed that combination of critical acumen and lofty idealistic thought which characterized his riper years, and in a number of poems composed when he was about sixteen, and given to the public among his posthumous papers, we can clearly trace the rudiments of the comprehensive views which he subsequently elaborated; they reveal a maturity which amazes us in one so young. In 1834 he entered upon his academic course at the University of Leipzig, where he devoted himself to the study of medicine, and so came into practical touch with scientific pursuits and with the exact methods of contemporary natural science. Simultaneously, however, he sought to satisfy his philosophical and æsthetic aspirations by the study of German idealism, and to this end attended the lectures of Chr. Weisse. What he won from his University studies was, above all, the conviction that the mechanical mode of interpreting nature must be extended also to the organic, animate sphere, and that the current uncritical doctrine of 'vital force' must be banished from the scientific field (cf. his dissertation, *De futuræ biologiæ principiis philosophicis*, Leipzig, 1838); and this challenge to vitalism continued to be one of the leading features of his critical activity until his view at length won general acceptance.

After practising for a time as a doctor in Zittau, Lotze qualified as a Dozent both in the medical and in the philosophical faculty of the University of Leipzig (1839), and from that time to his call to Göttingen in 1844 he not only laboured successfully as an academic teacher (he had become a Professor Extraordinarius in 1842), but manifested a remarkable fertility as an author. In 1841 he published the first of his greater philosophical works, the *Metaphysik*, in which he stood forth as an independent thinker who had struck out upon fresh paths, though at the same time the powerful impetus which he had received from Hegel and Herbart is clearly traceable in the work. The distinctive feature of the *Metaphysik* is in constant presentation of the idea that that which truly exists—the ultimate root of reality—is to be found only in what by virtue of its unconditional value deserves to exist in this supreme sense. This line of thought, reminding us of Platonism and the Platonic insistence upon the supremacy of the Idea of the Good, finds pointed, if somewhat paradoxical, expression in the concluding statement of the book, viz. that the beginning of metaphysics lies not in itself, but in ethics. In 1842 Lotze issued a second work of importance, his *Allgemeine Pathologie und Therapie als mechanische Naturwissenschaften*. Here he attempts to apply without reservation the mechanical theory of things to the field of organic life, where the scientifically inadequate and, indeed, inadmissible idea of vital force had so long been resorted to; to that idea he likewise devoted a special article entitled 'Leben, Lebenskraft,' in R. Wagner's *Handwörterbuch der Physiologie* (Göttingen, 1843). In 1843 he also completed his *Logic*, in which he works on independent and often fresh lines, and strenuously emphasizes the 'spontaneity' of our thought-processes. His leading psychological views he wrought out at some length in another article in Wagner's *Handwörterbuch*, viz. 'Seele und Seelenleben' (1846), the most notable features of which were its doctrine of the substantial unity of the soul as a real entity and its unequivocal opposition to the materialistic views then forcing their way into psychology. His opinions in the field of æsthetics he set forth in a treatise entitled *Über den Begriff der Schönheit* (1845), which was soon followed by his *Über die Bedingungen der Kunstschönheit* (1847)—both appearing in the *Göttinger Studien*.

His *Allgemeine Physiologie des körperlichen Lebens* (1851) and *Medizinische Psychologie* (1852) develop the fundamental ideas of the *Pathologie*, seeking to examine more closely the validity of the procedure by which the mechanical method is extended to the organic sphere, as also to the psychological, and to define the necessary limits of that application. It is worthy of note that here

Lotze, in opposition to the parallelistic theory, quite definitely champions the hypothesis of a causal connexion between body and soul; and to this he adhered all his life. As regards the relation between the physical organism and the soul, in fact, he holds that the former is simply a system by which external stimuli are enabled to make a due impression upon the latter, and by which, again, the impulses of the soul are brought to bear upon the external world. The life of the soul is thus by no means a mere copy of the bodily life; the truth is rather that the soul governs the body, and makes it subservient to its own higher ends.

From 1856 to 1864 appeared the three volumes of Lotze's great work, *Mikrokosmus* (Eng. tr., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1885), in which he set forth his philosophical system as a whole. His previous treatises, devoted almost entirely to a consideration of the basis of human life in nature, are here supplemented by a profound treatment of human life as expressed in history and the forms of civilization, and the work culminates in a survey of the universe from the standpoint of the philosophy of religion. The *Mikrokosmus* as a whole is dominated by the purpose in which Lotze's life-work in relation to his age took definite shape—to show how absolutely universal in its application, and at the same time how subordinate in its significance, is the function performed by mechanism in the structure of the world. It is in reality the philosophical problem of the age that Lotze here undertakes to solve; he makes it his task to refute the assumption that the modern mechanical science of nature demands as a necessary consequence a materialistic conception of the world; and his conclusion is that mechanism is simply the aggregate of the means by which the higher ideal element in the world can realize itself, and thus must not be allowed to rank as the ultimate reality. Hence, in particular, such mechanism does not conflict with that freedom of individual volition which we must postulate on moral grounds; the case is rather that it is to be conceived as simply the necessary condition of the efficient action of the autonomous will—as the mode of its self-realization. And just as little does this mechanism imply that the real world is a mere automaton, having its action fixed as by clock-work; on the contrary, the essential ground of the concatenation and process of the world is found by Lotze in the Infinite, which in the last resort can be conceived only as a living and all-embracing deity.

Lotze's next work of importance was his *Geschichte der Aesthetik in Deutschland* (1868). This work comprises (1) a history of the general points of view, dealing in the main with the æsthetics of Kant and of German idealism, but also treating of Herbart's views, and making reference to the fresh perspectives opened by the experimental method of Fechner; (2) a history of the fundamental æsthetic conceptions—'the agreeable in sensation,' 'the pleasing element in intuition,' and 'the beautiful in reflexion'; and, finally, (3) a history of the theories of art as developed in the various provinces of æsthetics.

In 1874 and 1879 respectively he published his larger *Logik* and *Metaphysik* (Eng. tr. of both, ed. B. Bosanquet, 2 vols., Oxford, 1884; *Metaphysics*², 2 vols., do. 1887, *Logic*², 2 vols., do. 1888) as the first two volumes of the *System der Philosophie* with which he hoped to crown his life-work. The third part, which was to have treated of ethics, æsthetics, and the philosophy of religion, was never completed. Lotze died in July 1881, shortly after taking up work in the University of Berlin, to which he had been called in the spring of that year. For the aspects of his final theory of the world, the composition of which in system he could not finish, we are therefore dependent upon his earlier works, especially the *Mikrokosmus*. Much valuable additional material on many points is to be obtained from the dictated portions of his lectures, edited by E. Rehnisch (9 vols., Leipzig, 1881 ff., Eng. tr., ed. G. T. Ladd, *Lotze's Outlines of Philosophy*, 6 parts, Boston, 1884–87).

3. Philosophical teaching.—The scientific foundation of Lotze's philosophy lies in his investigations of metaphysics; his chief interest is the problem of the causal connexion of things, and he arrives at a most characteristic solution of it. As the starting-point of his inquiries he takes the fundamental postulate of all natural science, viz. the assumption of a universal law of causal connexion operative among the elements of reality; or, to speak more precisely, he is concerned with the problem of 'transitive action' (*transeuntes Wirken*), *i.e.* the question how a change that occurs in an object A can be connected by a universal law with a change that takes place in a separately existing object B. In Lotze's view the fact of such connexion leaves us no option but to discard the theory that separate objects have an independent existence, and to regard all elements of reality as comprehended in a universal unity of being, in the Infinite, so that what was at first conceived as a 'transitive action' between separate substances passes into the conception of an immanent operation within a single substantial entity, the 'world-ground.' This Infinite, if it is to supply a real basis for the facts in question, cannot in the last resort be thought of otherwise than as analogous to our own spiritual being, though, of course, as raised to an incomparably higher power and freed from the limitations necessarily inherent in human nature as a finite thing. Ultimately, therefore, the world-ground is defined as an infinite spiritual being, or deity, the entire process of things being conceived as immanent in this deity, and as integrated and sustained by the unity of its being.

Lotze then proceeds to deal in a thorough-going way with the idea that this world-ground or deity forms the one ultimate basis of the existence and interpretation of all things. The elements of the real are all merely dependent parts or modifications of the Infinite; at a later period Lotze preferred to call them its 'actions.' Such actions of the Infinite he divides into two classes: first, the particles of the material world, or the atoms, which he speaks of as the 'elementary actions of the one world-ground,' but as 'actions always maintained in uniformity by it'; and, secondly, souls, the actions not always [so] maintained, but emerging at distinct points of the world-process, and for a section of that process generating a not previously present centre of 'internalization' (*Verinnerlichung*). Outside of and prior to the activity of the Infinite, however, there are no universal laws operative *per se*, nor any so-called eternal truths; there is no independently valid 'law of occurrence' (*Recht des Geschehens*) or of existence; 'law' and 'truth,' indeed, simply express the mode of realization by which the Infinite chooses to effect its will, and their validity depends absolutely upon the will of the Infinite, and lasts only so long as that will remains one with itself—a self-identity which, however, must be regarded not as a metaphysical necessity, but as a consequence of the ethical nature of the world-ground or deity, in the sense of the latter's 'fidelity to itself.'

Further, a vital constituent in Lotze's theory of the universe as originally formulated was the idea of the animate nature of all reality. The ultimate elements of the real he at first regarded as spiritual entities, as of kindred nature with the Leibnizian monads. He was led to take this view mainly by æsthetic motives, as also by the conviction that a purely material reality could have no independent existence. But, as he gradually wrought out his doctrine of the Infinite, the divine world-ground, his hypothesis of the animate nature of reality was more and more dispensed with, becoming ever the less necessary as what it had been designed to supply was equally well and, indeed, even better supplied by the fundamental position to which he latterly attained. He came at length to the above-mentioned conception of the material elements of reality as the mere 'actions of the Infinite,' maintained in a condition of uniformity, and thus differentiated in the clearest possible way from souls. Souls themselves, however, were likewise conceived as 'actions of the world-ground,' but as specially distinguished by their admirable and at bottom inexplicable capacity of feeling and knowing themselves as the active centres of an out-flowing life (*Met.* p. 601 f.). Some writers are of opinion that this view involves a denial of the doctrine of free will—a doctrine which Lotze always distinctly insists upon as an essential element in his theory of the universe, and for the sake of which he rejects, *e.g.*, the pantheism of Spinoza, notwithstanding the profound relationship between that theory and his own. Obviously, therefore, Lotze himself did not believe that his conception of souls as actions of the Infinite in any way implied the surrender of human freedom; but it is nevertheless true that he refers to the subject only in certain religio-philosophical reflexions, and never deals adequately with the crux which undoubtedly shows itself at this point, so that in his metaphysical construction he has left here a problem still unsolved.

Taken all in all, however, since the development of Lotze's thought is never guided by a purely systematic interest, but, on the contrary, takes the fullest possible account of experience, his philosophy presents a conception of the universe which is distinguished by a marvellous unity and completeness.

LITERATURE.—Of the more important works dealing with the life and philosophy of Lotze, the following may be named: E. Pfleiderer, *Lotze's philosophische Weltanschauung nach ihren Grundzügen*^{2}, Berlin, 1884; O. Caspari, *Hermann Lotze in seiner Stellung zu der durch Kant begründeten neuesten Geschichte der Philosophie*^{2}, Breslau, 1894; E. von Hartmann, *Lotze's Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1888; E. Rehnisch, 'Zur Biographie Hermann Lotze's' (see in Lotze's *Grundzüge der Aesthetik*, at the beginning), and 'Hermann Lotze' in *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin*, lxxvii. [1901]; R. Falckenberg, *Hermann Lotze*, Stuttgart, 1901 (*Frommanns Klassiker der Philosophie*, vol. xii.), and art. 'Lotze' in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, suppl. vol. lii. [1907]; M. Wentscher, *Hermann Lotze*, i., Heidelberg, 1913. For further lit. cf. *DPhP* iii. [1905] 347–350.

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LOURDES.—Lourdes, a small town in the extreme south of France (diocese of Tarbes, department of Hautes Pyrénées), has become known as a place of pilgrimage only since 1858. In view of the insinuation that the development of this shrine represents a conscious design on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy to exploit pious credulity in the interest of the then newly defined dogma of the Immaculate Conception, it is worth while to point out that in 1858 and for some years afterwards Lourdes was one of the least accessible spots in the country. The nearest railway was at Bayonne, 80 miles off, and the road through Lourdes led nowhere except to some little-frequented health-resorts in the Pyrenees. If there were any question of deliberately organizing a fraud to impress the world, the choice of such a site would be inexplicable. Whatever judgment may be formed as to the nature of the phenomena of healing now witnessed at Lourdes, a careful study of the evidence regarding the manifestations which first brought the shrine into notice tends unmistakably to establish the good faith of all the persons primarily concerned. The history of the grotto of Lourdes is briefly this.

About mid-day on Thursday, 11th Feb. 1858, three little girls went to gather wood on the banks of the Gave. One of them, Bernadette Soubirous, a delicate child of 14, who looked much younger and who then could neither read nor write, was left behind by her companions. She was standing on a narrow strip of ground between the river and a low cliff known as the Massabieille, in which was a shallow cave or grotto with a sort of niche in the rock above it. Her attention was roused by such a rustling of the leaves as is caused by a sudden breeze, and, looking in front of her, she saw standing in the niche the figure of a beautiful young lady clothed in white and with a rosary in her hands. The figure made the sign of the cross, and the child, after doing the same, began to say her rosary. When the rosary was finished, the apparition smilingly saluted the child, and disappeared. This was the first of a series of similar apparitions of which a few details are given below. It is to be noted that, contrary to the usual experience of such visionaries, Bernadette had no clear intuition as to the identity of the heavenly visitant. Joan of Arc recognized her 'voices'—St. Michael, St. Catherine, etc.—from the first, but this was not the case here. 'A girl in white no bigger than myself' was her first description of the apparition (Cros, *Notre-Dame de Lourdes*, p. 16). The townsfolk, when they heard the tale, conjectured that she might have seen a soul from purgatory who came to ask for prayers, and, accordingly, when Bernadette went to the grotto a second time three days after, she took holy water with her and threw it at the apparition for fear the figure which she saw might be some delusion of the evil one, but the lady only smiled. Even after the sixth apparition Bernadette described her mysterious visitant in her patois as *aquéro*, *i.e.* 'it' (cf. Spanish *aquello = ecce illud*), and sometimes also as *un petito damizélo* (*une petite demoiselle*; cf. Cros, pp. 42, 302). The vision was at all times restricted to Bernadette alone; no one else saw anything or pretended to see anything—a fact which is in marked contrast to such cases as those of Marie Magontier at Le Pontinet in the Dordogne in 1889 (see L. Marillier, *Proc. Society for Psychical Research*, vii. [1891] 100 ff.) or that of Knock in Ireland in 1879–80 (see M. F. Cusack, *The Apparitions at Knock*, London, 1880). On the other hand, the child herself usually fell into a state of trance in which her features were completely transfigured, and Dr. Dozous, who went at first out of curiosity as a sceptical scientist in search of experience, testifies that the flame of a candle playing upon her hand for many minutes neither roused her from her trance nor left any trace of burning upon the skin. Bernadette, as early as 21st Feb., was subjected to the severest cross-examination by the commissary of police, M. Jacomet, and by the Procureur Impérial, M. Dutour, both of whom threatened her and her parents with punishment if she persisted. Still later, on 28th Feb., she was severely cautioned by M. Rives, the Juge d'Instruction, her proceedings at the grotto were closely watched by gendarmes, and she met with a severe rebuff, more than once repeated, from the curé, Abbé Peyramale, to whom the apparition had directed her to address herself. None the less, though timid by nature, she was never in the least shaken in her account of what she had seen, nor was she cowed by threats of punishment. Not one of the many formidable persons who cross-questioned her detected any signs either of unbecoming boldness or eagerness for notoriety or of a hysterical temperament. There is a large amount of contemporary evidence upon the point in the works of Cros, Estrade, and Dozous. As early as 27th March 1858, three physicians, appointed by the Prefect of the Department, who was anxious to suppress these manifestations, made a medical examination of Bernadette. In their report, dated 31st March (before the apparitions had come to an end), which is still preserved, the whole story of the early apparitions is recapitulated as the doctors heard it from Bernadette's own lips, and it is interesting to note its complete agreement with the account given by her many years later. Of mental disease or of any moral obliquity which would suggest the probability of conscious fraud the doctors found no trace. 'There is nothing,' they say, 'to show that Bernadette wished to impose upon the public.' On the other hand, nothing in the report suggests that the medical examiners themselves placed any faith in the story of the apparitions. They think that Bernadette was the innocent subject of a hallucination, and, while calling attention to her naturally impressionable character, they point out a certain development in the intensity of the trance with which the apparitions were normally accompanied. For the rest, they report that the child was delicate but perfectly sane and healthy-minded, and they offer no kind of suggestion that she should be put under restraint (Cros, p. 143).

It is interesting to contrast this report, which was fully justified by Bernadette's subsequent history, with the very unsatisfactory career of the two children who were witnesses of the alleged apparitions of the Blessed Virgin at La Salette in 1846, or again with Marillier's account of Marie Magontier, the child *voyante* of Le Pontinet, already referred to:

> 'I have no doubt,' says Marillier, 'so far as I am concerned, of the reality of her visions. In my opinion she certainly saw the Virgin in the crack of the wall. . . . She is no doubt subject to hallucinations; but at the same time she is ill-balanced and heavily weighted with the burden of heredity. She is the daughter of a father who was epileptic and of a mother who was doubtless insane, and she has the bearing, the character—in a word all the appearance of one suffering from hereditary degeneration. She is filled too with the morbid self-love and the enormous vanity so common among the degenerated' (*Proc. Soc. Psych. Research*, vii. 107).

According to the testimony of a number of persons who, much to the child's distress, pursued her with questions as to what she had seen, none of these undesirable characteristics was present in Bernadette Soubirous. Traps were laid to induce her to take money for herself or her parents, but her simplicity and good sense defeated them all. Though below the average in intelligence, she learned afterwards to read and write at the convent school, and until 1866 she remained engaged in humble occupations at Lourdes. She never saw the apparition again after 16th July 1858, though she visited the grotto frequently. In 1866 she became a nun at Nevers and remained there discharging the duties of infirmarian and sacristan, as far as her delicate health permitted, until her death in 1879. It is noteworthy that, though her body at the time of death was covered with tumours and sores, it was found, when the remains were officially examined in 1909, thirty years afterwards, entire and free from corruption (see Carrère, *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Lourdes*, p. 243).

With regard to the apparitions of the year 1858, it is to be noted that Bernadette always described the vision as one of ravishing beauty, and as living, moving, and speaking to her. The recorded words —for there seem to have been others which the child felt that she was bidden to keep secret as relating only to herself—are comparatively few. Though Bernadette several times asked the lady, as she had been bidden to do, to disclose her name, the apparition down to the sixteenth vision—that on March 25th—only smiled in reply. The dates and utterances of the series of apparitions are thus commemorated in an inscription upon marble which is erected near the grotto:

> 'Dates of the eighteen apparitions and words of the Blessed Virgin in the year of grace 1858. In the hollow of the rock, where the statue is now seen, the Blessed Virgin appeared to Bernadette Soubirous eighteen times—the 11th and the 14th of February, each day with two exceptions from Feb. 18th until March 4th, and on March 25th, April 7th, and July 16th. The Blessed Virgin said to the child on Feb. 18th: "Will you do me the favour (*me faire la grâce*) of coming here daily for a fortnight?" "I do not promise to make you happy in this world but in the next." "I want many people to come." The Virgin said to her during the fortnight: "You will pray for sinners, you will kiss the earth for sinners. Penitence, Penitence, Penitence." "Go tell the priests to cause a chapel to be built.' "I want people to come here in procession." "Go and drink of the fountain and wash yourself in it." "Go and eat of that grass which is there." On March 25th the Virgin said: "I am the Immaculate Conception."'

One point claims to be especially noted. These visions did not come to Bernadette at command. On two important occasions, as the inscription notices, she failed to see the apparition, viz. on 22nd Feb. and 3rd March, when she herself certainly expected to do so and when a large crowd —in the latter case some 4000 people, many of whom had spent the night upon the spot—had come long distances to assist at the manifestation. But, as sensible critics remarked even then, this arbitrary behaviour of the mysterious lady was a point in favour of the genuineness of the vision. 'If the child had simply invented the apparition,' said one of them, 'what was there to prevent its happening to-day, just as it happened yesterday?' (Cros, p. 121).

But what has given permanent significance to these occurrences was the discovery of the spring the healing virtues of which now bring hundreds of thousands of pilgrims to Lourdes from every part of the world. At the ninth apparition, on 25th Feb., the crowd of four or five hundred people who were watching Bernadette saw her rise and walk towards the grotto and then back again, moving to and fro in apparent perplexity. Finally she stooped down and began to scratch up the ground with her hand. A puddle formed, and the child then drank some of the dirty water and daubed her face with it and also ate a few blades of the grass which was growing in the same spot. Many of the spectators took this for proof that the poor girl had really gone out of her mind. Afterwards Bernadette explained that the Lady had bidden her drink of the spring, but, as she could find no spring, she had followed the apparition's directions in scraping up the ground as described. It seems absolutely certain that at that period the existence of any spring at this place was quite unknown to the inhabitants of Lourdes. By the next morning the trickle had grown to the thickness of a finger, a few days later it was like a child's arm, and since then and down to the present time it yields a quantity of water equal to 122,000 litres, or about 27,000 gallons, a day. This is the miraculous water which is the reputed source of so many miracles. The wonders of healing began almost at once, and several of them were juridically investigated by a commission appointed by the bishop of Tarbes, which occupied itself with the inquiry from Nov. 1858 to the end of 1861. It is to be noted, and the fact is proved by contemporary reports made to Baron Massy, the Prefect of Hautes Pyrénées, and to M. Rouland, the Minister of Worship, that for some months the clergy did all in their power to discourage these manifestations. They fully acquiesced when the Government erected obstructions barring access to the grotto, but the evidence of the cures that had taken place eventually bore down official opposition, and in Jan. 1862 the bishop of Tarbes, acting upon the advice of the Commission which he had appointed, issued a decree declaring that 'the apparitions (of the Blessed Virgin) have all the characteristics of truth and that the faithful are justified in believing them to be true.' Since then further ecclesiastical approbation has been given both to the apparitions and to the miracles of Lourdes in many ways, both direct and indirect, by the authority of the Holy See.

Any adequate discussion of the marvellous cures which take place at Lourdes must raise the whole question of the possibility of miracles. For Roman Catholics both the possibility and the continuance of a dispensation by which the Divine Omnipotence suspends at times the operation of natural causes are fundamental dogmas of the faith. Given the hypothesis that miracles may occur and do occur, it is difficult to imagine any facts more wonderful, either from the inveterate and organic nature of the diseases healed or from the abundance of the evidence with which the cures are attested, than the miracles worked at Lourdes. For those who wish to examine the subject for themselves no better or more convenient examples offer than the cures with which Emile Zola was brought into contact during his visit to Lourdes, and which he has introduced under fictitious names into his novel which bears that title.

Clémentine Trouvé (called in the novel Sophie Couteau) was cured instantaneously of a periostic fistula of the most aggravated kind which, down to the moment of her bathing in the piscina, was suppurating freely. Marie Lemarchand (*alias* Elise Rouquet) was also instantaneously healed. This was a most repulsive case of lupus, in which the face had been so eaten away as almost to lose the semblance of a human countenance. The evidence quoted by Bertrin in his last edition (*Histoire*, p. 363 f.) shows that seventeen years after the cure Marie Lemarchand was a healthy married woman with five children. Mme. Gordet (in the novel Mlle. de Guersaint) had been an invalid suffering from a complexus of most painful disorders, including tumour and phlegmon, for more than twelve years. The doctors declared that the only possible remedy lay in a dangerous operation, but she also was instantaneously cured in the piscina. In the case of Marie Lebranchu (Zola's La Gavotte), who was suffering from a tuberculous affection and had reached the very last stage of consumption, Zola supposes in his novel that the patient, after a temporary rally owing to the excitement of the pilgrimage, relapses soon after and falls a victim to the old disease which had never really relaxed its hold. In point of fact, the real Marie Lebranchu was in the enjoyment of vigorous health in 1908, fourteen years after the date of her cure (see for all these Bertrin, *Histoire*, who in his last edition has followed these cases up to the latest available date).

But examples of such cures are almost innumerable, and they may perhaps be most conveniently studied, especially by medical readers, in F. de Grandmaison's *Vingt Guérisons à Lourdes*, who gives an admirable choice of specially selected examples. It is not, of course, for one moment disputed that modern psychotherapeutics, and especially suggestion, have accomplished many marvels, but the instantaneousness of the cure, as witnessed more particularly in such cases as those of Pierre de Rudder, Mme. Rouchel, Gabriel Gargam, etc., can in no way be paralleled by any of Charcot's experiments at the Saltpêtrière or elsewhere. Again, there are the extraordinary cases of the healing of quite young children, as, *e.g.*, the two-year-old infant of Dr. Aumaître of Nantes, born with a club-foot and instantaneously cured at Lourdes, of which a remarkable account is given in the *Annales des sciences psychiques* (1907, p. 858 f.). It may be confidently affirmed that the more carefully the evidence is studied, the more certain it becomes that the words 'suggestion' and, still less, 'hysteria' are not capable of accounting for the phenomena witnessed at Lourdes. In the preface to a booklet on Lourdes published by R. H. Benson a few months before his death, the writer describes his meeting with 'a famous French scientist—to whom we owe one of the greatest discoveries of modern times—who has made a special study of Lourdes and its phenomena.' The conclusions of this scientist, which, as Benson says, are particularly interesting because 'he is not himself at present a practising Catholic,' were formulated by him as follows:

'(1) That no scientific hypothesis up to the present accounts satisfactorily for the phenomena. Upon his saying this to me,' adds Benson, 'I breathed the word "suggestion," and his answer was to laugh in my face and to tell me, practically, that this is the most ludicrous hypothesis of all.

(2) That, so far as he can see, the one thing necessary for such cures as he himself has witnessed or verified, is the atmosphere of prayer. Where this rises to intensity the number of cures rises with it; where this sinks, the cures sink too.

(3) That he is inclined to think that there is a transference of vitalizing force either from the energetic faith of the sufferer or from that of the bystanders. He instanced an example in which his wife, herself a qualified physician, took part. She held in her arms a child aged two and a half years, blind from birth, during a procession of the Blessed Sacrament. As the monstrance came opposite, tears began to stream from the child's eyes, hitherto closed. When it had passed, the child's eyes were open and seeing. This Madame tested by dangling her bracelet before the child who immediately clutched at it, but from the fact that she had never learned to calculate distance, at first failed to seize it. At the close of the procession, the lady, who herself related to me the story, was conscious of an extraordinary exhaustion, for which there was no ordinary explanation.'

In a lecture given by Benson in June 1914 he stated publicly that the scientist here referred to was no other than Prof. Alexis Carrel, whose marvellous experiments in the transplanting of living tissue have constituted the great sensation of recent biological research. Indeed, signs are multiplying on all hands that in the less conservative circles of the medical profession the brusque dismissal of the phenomena of Lourdes as matters already classified and fully accounted for is going out of favour. This change of attitude was emphasized not long since by the action of the medical faculty of the University of Lyons. A lady doctor, Jeanne Bon, presented a *Thèse sur quelques guérisons de Lourdes* (Paris, 1912). This University thesis was officially approved, and certain of the professors superintended its composition. It was only at the last moment that the jury took fright and found a pretext for conferring the doctorate upon the candidate in virtue of some different title. The author in her thesis maintains that genuine cases of tuberculosis, in which laboratory experiment has established the fact that pseudo-tuberculous hysteria was not in question, have been spontaneously cured at Lourdes, and that these cures are effected under conditions of extreme rapidity which conspicuously mark them off from other spontaneous cures of consumption as generally observed. Finally, it should be noticed that, in contrast to the cures of Christian Science and many other faith-healing organizations, the fullest medical investigation is welcomed at Lourdes. Medical men of all creeds are invited to attend at the Bureau des Constatations, to which a permanent medical staff is attached, and every facility for observation is afforded to all scientific inquirers. Patients who believe themselves to have been miraculously healed or benefited are urged to bring their medical certificates and to attend personally at the Bureau that the case may be properly investigated, and efforts are also made to induce them to return after an interval of a year or more to afford the staff of the Bureau an opportunity of inquiring into the permanence of the cure.

LITERATURE.—Many of the earlier books on Lourdes, notably that of H. Lasserre, *Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes*, Paris, 1868, which has been translated into many languages and of which numerous editions have been published, are lacking in accuracy or in the medical knowledge desirable in the treatment of such a subject. The best general work is undoubtedly that of G. Bertrin, *Histoire critique des événements de Lourdes*, 37th thousand, Paris, 1912 (the Eng. tr., *Lourdes: A History of its Apparitions and Cures*, London, 1908, is unfortunately incomplete, lacking most of the documents printed in the Appendixes). Other valuable works are: F. de Grandmaison, *Vingt Guérisons à Lourdes discutées médicalement*, Paris, 1912; A. Vourch, *Quelques Cas de guérisons de Lourdes et la foi qui guérit; étude médicale*^{2}, do. 1913; A. Gemelli, *La Lotta contro Lourdes*, Florence, 1912, *Ciò che rispondono gli Avversari di*

Lourdes, do. 1912; Dr. Boissarie, *Lourdes: histoire médicale*, Paris, 1891, *L'Œuvre de Lourdes*, do. 1908, *Les grandes Guérisons de Lourdes*, do. 1901–13; J. Jörgensen, *Lourdes*, Eng. tr., London, 1914; R. H. Benson, *Lourdes*, do. 1914; J. P. Baustert, *Lourdes und die Gegner vor dem Forum der Wissenschaft*, Rindschleiden, 1913; A. Castelein, *Le Surnaturel dans les apparitions et dans les guérisons de Lourdes*, Paris, 1911. An interesting early account of Lourdes in English may be found in D. S. Lawlor, *Pilgrimages in the Pyrenees and the Landes*, London, 1870, pp. 296–448.

With regard to Bernadette Soubirous and the early history of the shrine see esp. L. J. M. Cros, *Notre-Dame de Lourdes*, Paris, 1901 (a summary of the historical portion of this work may be found in *The Month*, Sept. 1910); J. B. Estrade, *Les Apparitions de Lourdes*, Tours, 1899; Dr. Dozous, *La Grotte de Lourdes, sa fontaine, ses guérisons*, Paris, 1885; S. Carrère, *Histoire de Notre-Dame de Lourdes*, do. 1912; M. Reynès Monlaur, *La Vision de Bernadette*, do. 1914. Two valuable articles by F. de Grandmaison, defending Bernadette on medical grounds from the charge of hysteria and hallucination, may be found in the *Revue pratique d'apologétique*, xvi. [1913]. There is also a large number of books and articles which discuss the phenomena of Lourdes in a critical or hostile spirit, among others, J. Rouby, *La Vérité sur Lourdes*, Paris, 1911; H. Baraduc, *La Force curatrice à Lourdes et la psychologie du miracle*, do. 1907; J. Bonjour, 'Les Guérisons miraculeuses,' in *Revue de psychothérapie*, June and July 1913; a discussion of the whole question of faith-healing by several English physicians and surgeons in *Brit. Med. Journal*, June 18th, 1910; an art. by F. W. Myers and his brother A. T. Myers in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, ix. [1894]; and a similar discussion by M. Mangin, 'Les Guérisons de Lourdes,' in *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, xvii. [1902] 315–366. Two periodicals, the *Annales de Lourdes* and the *Journal de la Grotte*, provide information regarding the reputed miracles and other incidents occurring during the pilgrimage to the shrine. A bibliography of earlier books on Lourdes will be found in L. Clugnet, *Bibliographie du culte local de la Vierge Marie* (France, Province d'Auch), pt. iii., Paris, 1903.

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LOVE.

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LOVE (Psychological and Ethical).—**1. The psychology of love.**—Love, as a complex psychical experience, may be classed as a 'sentiment' or 'passion,' the term 'passion' being here understood not as an explosive emotional outburst, but as a deep and steadfast enthusiasm. Whether we prefer to call love a sentiment or a passion will depend on the point of view from which we regard it. 'Sentiment' and 'passion' stand alike for stable and complex organizations of the emotional life, but, whereas the term 'sentiment' implies a higher intellectual development and greater refinement and subtlety of emotional feeling, the characteristic feature of a passion as distinct from a sentiment is its forcefulness. A passion is an emotional complex of a predominantly forceful kind.

A passion has been defined by A. F. Shand as 'an organized system of emotions and desires.'[1] When, as in the life of the lower animals, emotional impulses are independently active, they may still exercise some mutual restraint: a dog summoned from the pursuit of a cat by his master's whistle no longer feels the pure joy of the chase, for the fear of his master's displeasure tends to neutralize the joy. But such restraint is external and contingent: it does not suggest self-restraint. Where, however, the various emotions of the soul have found an object on which they can concentrate their desire or their aversion, or have become devoted to an idea about which they cluster and develop, a system of self-restraint grows up within the emotions.

> 'In every passion there is a system of self-control regulating more or less efficiently the intensity and behaviour of its emotions.'[2]

A mother loves her child. She may tend to be jealous if an aunt or a nurse wins too much the child's affection. But, if her love for the child is genuine, she is grateful for the kindness shown to the child, and the jealousy is inwardly controlled. Or she may yearn to shield him from every danger, but will surrender him despite her fears to the inevitable perils of hardy growth. Here emotions of solicitude, fear, and selfless surrender, like those of jealousy and gratitude on the former supposition, all feel the dominance of the steady, disinterested love, and, as they feel it, tend to pass into harmony with one another.

A passion is not only organized emotion; it is also organized desire. For our emotions have their instinctive impulses, and these, when checked, tend to rise into conscious desires, into conative tendencies often urging in conflicting directions. Now it is of the very nature of a steadfast passion such as love to allow these desires and emotions place only as forms and expressions of itself; hence we find operative within the system a constant transforming influence. The emotions lose their primitive explosiveness and violence, for these disintegrating tendencies are incompatible with the centralizing, integrating work of the passion itself. As the spirit of this dominant passion circulates through all its members, exclusivenesses fall away, suspicion turns to interest, fear to respect, anger into the championship of just causes. The very form of the passion changes its character as the passion assumes mastery over the life. At first a concentrated persistency, as though set on an *idée fixe*, it relaxes and differentiates itself as the various emotions and desires become adjusted to its needs and demands, and become vehicles for its expression. The power of mere persistency passes into that of organized effectiveness. It is then a stable power, with its roots deep sunk in the vital affections and impulses; it has acquired the genuine stability which comes from organization and self-control.

As an organizing agency a passion will be functional at each point of its system, expressing itself as circumstance requires, now through this emotion or desire, now through that.

> 'In the love of an object, there is pleasure in presence and desire in absence; hope or despondency in anticipation; fear in the expectation of its loss, injury, or destruction; surprise or astonishment in its unexpected changes; anger when the course of our interest is opposed or frustrated; elation when we triumph over obstacles; satisfaction or disappointment in attaining our desire; regret in the loss, injury, or destruction of the object; joy in its restoration or improvement, and admiration for its superior quality or excellence.'[1]

From the foregoing it will be clear that, when we speak of the passion of love, we have in mind something very different from any mere passionate emotion. We have in mind a system of organized emotions and desires which, by very reason of its systematic character and the principle which unifies it, is stable, regulative, inclusive, and instinct with a profound rationality.

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[1] See art. 'M. Ribot's Theory of the Passions,' in *Mind*, new ser., xvi. [1907] 489.

[2] *Ib.* 488.

[1] Art. 'Character and the Emotions,' in *Mind*, new ser., v [1896] 217 f.

For the normal development of love the fundamental condition is that there shall be joy in the object.[1] If there is this, the rest will follow; if there is not this, love is doomed from the outset.

The emotion of joy is characteristically spontaneous, expansive, vital. Its very expression bears witness to this.

> 'In joy the features dilate, the eye-brows are arched, the countenance opens out, the voice is louder and fuller, the gesture more ample and vivacious. The heart and lungs dilate, and the brain works more easily and more rapidly. There is increase of mental animation and of sympathetic feeling and goodwill in all that is said and done. In a word the expression of joy is the expression of liberty and therefore of liberality.'[2]

It may also become the fundamental expression of love. And the condition for this is that this expansive emotion, whose primitive bias is to go out of itself, shall fasten round some object and give it an intrinsic value, a value for its own sake. To have a joy in anything for its own sake is the primary essential for the development of love. Indeed it is this valuation of the object for its own sake, so essential to joy as to love, that is the mark distinguishing joy from pleasure. I am pleased with an object when it gratifies some interest of mine or some instinctive impulse. It gives me pleasure because it fulfils my need. It is a pleasure in relation to my sensibility or to my activity. And we speak correctly of the pleasures of sense and of movement. But joy is not self-centred like pleasure. No doubt there is pleasure in it, for all our emotions are toned by pleasure or pain, but such pleasure is but the pleasure of the joy. There is also a self-enlargement in joy, but this is not of its essence. The joy itself attaches not to the subject but to the object, and to have joy in an object is to value it for its own sake. Joy is thus an active disinterestedness, and its instinctive impulse is not only to maintain its object, but to surrender itself to it and rest freely in it as in something of intrinsic value and promise.

To have joy in an object is to respect its individuality. This is implied in the very idea of delighting in it for its own sake. To have joy in what is real is to subordinate individual opinion wholeheartedly to the truth of the matter; to have joy in what is beautiful is to trust to the inspiration of beauty and not to the contrivance of artifice. The interests of the object dictate at each step the line of advance.

And yet, essential as joy is to the development of love, it is not the whole of love, for love includes not only joy, but sorrow, and it includes these as co-operative and interpenetrative emotions. The joy of presence is followed by the sorrow of absence, and this sorrow at absence, possessing the imagination, has a selective and idealizing influence. We remember and dwell on those aspects of the object that tend to endear it and make it appear still more worthy of our joy and devotion, so that, when the object is restored, our joy in it is deepened and strengthened by these new insights won through sorrow. Thus sorrow and joy co-operate in the strengthening of the passion of love. But of the two emotions joy is dominant, sorrow 'recessive.' For sorrow is ever a search for a lost joy, whereas joy is not a search for a lost sorrow. Moreover, were it not for the joy in retrospect and prospect which is operative in and through sorrow, sorrow would have a contracting and depressing influence over life.

Love, then, is more than its dominant emotion, joy; more than any mere synthesis of joy and sorrow and their respective impulses. It is the inclusive passion and, in this supreme sense, the master-passion.

Love and belief.—Belief, following W. James's famous definition, is the sense of reality; or, if we wish to distinguish belief from faith, the intellectual from the intuitional aspects of spiritual sensibility, we might say that faith is the sense of reality, belief the sense of truth. Peirce, in his 'Illustrations of the Logic of Science' (*Popular Science Monthly*, xii. [1877], 289 f.), defines belief somewhat differently, but with similar purport, as the goal of thought and the starting-point of action. It is essentially the self-confidence that comes from having reached beyond doubt, and in its place built up settled habits or rules of action, the assurance that one is ready to meet the contingencies of life in any direction. At root this view identifies belief with the sense of power, power being here conceived as the reality with which our life is invested when doubt passes over into belief. To have a sense of power is to believe in one's self, to be ready to set one's own personal mark on whatever one touches; in a word, to hold, in James's phrase, that the *fons et origo* of all reality is ourselves.

Now, if we turn from belief so understood to love, and ask what the passion of love has to tell us about reality, we find that for love the supremely real thing is not itself, but its object. Clearly, if belief and love are to meet harmoniously, the sense of the reality and significance of self so essential to the belief that means power must be identical with that sense of the reality and supreme worth of its object which is so essential to love. Our joy in the object must be one with our belief in ourselves.

This requirement leaves us with the question: What must the nature of that object be which we can intimately identify with our own selves? It must be at least personal, or we could not identify ourselves with it. Moreover, the view that we take of the nature of our own personality must be of such a kind that we can conceive it as identified with this personal object without being lost or absorbed in it. If the self is lost in its object, the sense of power, the belief, will also go, and there will be no reconciliation of belief and love. Thus, if belief is to be love's belief, if faith is to be love's faith, the object of love must be such that communion with it heightens our sense of personality and makes us more truly ourselves than we were before.

But, it may be objected, when I really love anything, is it not one of the most satisfying features of this experience that I get away from myself? How can I surrender myself to the call of the great starry spaces of ether or of spirit and yet continue to be impressed with the importance of my own individuality?

The question goes to the root of all ethical inquiry. It compels us to recognize that there is something which we currently call our individuality, which is yet too weak to subsist in the presence of what is really sublime in the universe and in history. This individuality, which grapples itself to a finite body and shrinks from all the great things, from the infinite, from sacrifice and from death, how is it possible to conceive any organized sentiment or passion fulfilling itself within the limits of such being as this? Sooner or later it must strike its roots home into deeper personal ground. Only a self which has these roots of the infinite about its heart can ever ask the question out of which the true science of self emerges. Only in this infinite self can the will to love and the will to power prove no longer tendencies that are mutually destructive.

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[1] Cf. A. F. Shand, *op. cit.* p. 495 f.

[2] A. Fouillée, *La Psychologie des idées-forces*, Paris, 1893, i. 155.

2. The ethics of love.—We have spoken of love as a sentiment or passion. We have spoken of it also as a power. We might go one step further back and speak of it as an instinctive power or an instinct, as a deep-rooted conative tendency shaped and determined in connexion with the supreme end of the preservation of life, *i.e.* of natural or spiritual existence whether in the individual or in the race. There is indeed good ground for claiming love as an instinct, provided we do not forget the fundamentally conative character of all instinctive behaviour, or insist that instinct shall from the outset have at its disposal some mechanism through which it operates. There is no such mechanism in the passion for the ideal, and yet this passion has the originality and fundamental force of an instinct. But this is not the place to attempt a systematic vindication of the independence of the spiritual life. It will be enough if we assume as the fundamental postulate of ethical science that the life animated by the ideals of truth, beauty, and right is not a mere derivative from the natural life of the body, but, as a *φυτὸν οὐκ ἔγγειον ἀλλ' οὐράνιον*, in Plato's memorable phrase[1]—a heavenly and not an earthly plant—has independent instincts of its own, instincts of spiritual self-preservation, instinctive passions for the ideal and the heroic, and that the instinctive passion *par excellence* is love.

Virtue is love.—When love is conceived in this ultimate way as the creative power of a new life, it is legitimate to look upon it as the supreme virtue. By virtue we understand the special power (*δύναμις*) and special excellence (*ἀρετή*) which enable us to live the best life. Now the question 'What is virtue?' received in the ancient world a great variety of answers; but of these, three stand out as of conspicuous interest and importance. Taken together they show a progressive deepening of the conception of virtue, so that the last of the three answers, properly interpreted, is not only the maturest, but also the most inclusive answer of the three. Of these three solutions—(1) Virtue is knowledge (Socrates), (2) Virtue is the habit of right willing (Aristotle), (3) Virtue is love (the solution of Christian ethics)—the second supersedes and includes the first, and the third supersedes and includes the second. With Aristotle virtue is primarily a matter of habit and not of mere rational insight; none the less the habit of right choosing, in which virtue essentially consists, is guided by the practical reason; for to choose rightly is in all things to choose the mean, and the practical reason alone can show where the mean lies. Thus with Aristotle we reach a more inclusive conception of virtue than that given by Socrates. The Aristotelian conception is a substitute for the Socratic only in the sense that it is a deepening or transcending of it. The Socratic 'reason' is taken up into the Aristotelian 'will' and made to function in its service. Similarly the definition 'Virtue is love' does not supersede the Aristotelian definition. It simply deepens, and by so doing develops and reorganizes it. To do justice to the value of habit we must look deeper than the habit. Moral habits grow from their instinctive foundations, not automatically, but through the enthusiasm which we put into the task of their formation. Hence, when we say 'Virtue is love,' we are far indeed from denying that it involves habits of right willing. We simply emphasize the motive power which is at the root of the formation of all habits of right willing. If enthusiasm for what is good fails to express itself in decisions and habits, it is no virtue; it is no more than the capacity for virtue.

But it is especially in relation to the varied emotions and impulses, to 'whatever stirs this mortal frame,' that love stands out as the great transforming and inclusive agency, and therefore as the ultimate virtue of the spiritual life, of the life which aims at a universal or common good. Working through the emotion of anger, it is the root of moral indignation and of justice;[1] through that of fear, it makes the object loved the object whose hurt is feared. It regenerates the self-regarding sentiments, transferring their affection from the atomic, private ego to the personal and inclusive self; the competition of others, directed as it is against the merely individual self, is no longer felt as an injustice to one's true personality and therefore excites neither envy nor ill-will.

'There is no remedy but love,' writes Goethe, 'against great superiorities of others.'[2]

Nor can the inclusiveness of true love tolerate the exclusive passion of jealousy. Moreover, with the complete passing of exclusiveness not only jealousy, but pride also, is transfigured, for love is not truly inclusive until it shows itself as ready to be grateful as it is to be generous, as ready to receive as to give. Love again is inseparable from reverence, and as such is the great security of true personal dignity. The negative element is never absent from love's sense of its own freedom. Inclusiveness does not mean loss of distinction between self and not-self. Intimacy with a friend through love means increased respect for his or her personality. There is thus in all love an element of reverence which guarantees that as intimacy grows so also does the value set upon personality. Again, we reverence the object of our love because we have a joy in it for its own sake, as an end in itself, and this joy is rooted in our sense of its reality, and most intimately associated also with the sense of our own reality. Belief or faith, an emotional belief in the intrinsic value of its object, is therefore essential to love, for faith is just this sense of personal reality.[3] Once again—and this is a central point—love is the source and also the very substance of moral volition. For by 'will' we mean the whole personality as active in deliberation, decision, and resolute conduct. And, when the whole personality is volitionally active in this broader sense of the term, and this activity is motived by the idea of a common good, then we seem justified in affirming that the power which vitalizes such activity, and the moral excellence which characterizes it—in a word, its virtue—is love. Finally, love is essential to knowledge, so that, if virtue is knowledge, it is for that very reason, and still more fundamentally, love. Love, at the root of our thinking, inspires the tendency to abandon ourselves to our object and identify ourselves with it. This has the effect of facilitating concentration and whole-hearted interest; the power of cleaving to a problem through thick and thin comes with the devotion of love. The best reason is love's reason, the reason born of sympathetic insight.

'Sympathy is the general principle of moral knowledge,' and the reason is that 'it furnishes the most reliable and efficacious intellectual standpoint.'[4] 'Quickened sympathy means liberality of intelligence and enlightened understanding.'[5] Or, again, 'genuine moral knowledge involves the affection and the resolute will as well as the intelligence. We cannot know the varied elements of value in the lives of others and in the possibilities of our own, save as our affections are strong. Every narrowing of love, every encroachment of egoism, means just so much blindness to the good.'[1]

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[1] *Timæus*, 90 A.

[1] Cf. W. McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 73.

[2] Quoted by Hegel in *The Logic of the Encyclopædia*; see W. Wallace's tr., Oxford, 1892, p. 256.

[3] Cf. W. James, *Principles of Psychology*, London, 1891, ch. xxi.; also J. R. Seeley, *Ecce Homo*, do. 1865, ch. vi.

[4] J. Dewey and J. H. Tufts, *Ethics*, London, 1909, p. 335; cf. also G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, ii. 136: 'Even knowledge at its best is a form of love. Interest is intellectual love, and one of the best tests of education is the number, intensity, and distribution of interests. . . . Even philosophy is not the possession, but the love and wooing of wisdom.'

[5] Dewey-Tufts, p. 389.

So Plato, as we see in the *Republic*, connects the philosophical element in human nature very intimately with that which 'makes him fond of what he understands, and again makes him want to understand what he is attracted to,' for 'the understanding and the attraction go together.'[2] Indeed the very word 'philosophy' implies this.

But there is still one question to be faced if the inclusiveness of love as a virtue is not to be misconceived. There is such a thing as love's hate, for the lover of good is the hater of evil.[3] Hence, so long as evil actually exists, love must exclude it with all the force of its being. Now, in order that evil may actually exist, it must graft itself on to the good. For evil is a source of disintegration, and nothing can be wholly evil without being wholly disintegrated. Plato points out, in the first book of the *Republic*, that it is only in virtue of there being honour among thieves that the gang can subsist at all. Evil, in fact, can subsist in actuality only in virtue of the good which it possesses and enslaves. Hence, if love, through successive redemptions of all the elements of good contained in things evil, becomes inclusive of *all* good, evil as an actuality must cease to be. We cannot, indeed, think of it as annihilated, but we can conceive it as depressed to an infra-actual level of reality. At best it could survive as a real possibility of evil, real, that is, in relation to the will. As an actuality it would have vanished from the world. Then, and not till then, will love be inclusive of evil as of all else. For, though love cannot include actual evil, it must include at all times the possibility of evil, seeing that the possibility of evil is implied in the possibility of good, and all moral choice is ultimately a choice between possible evil and possible good. Hence, when evil shall have been reduced to the status of a real possibility, it will cease to lie outside love. Love will then be all-inclusive.

LITERATURE.—A. F. Shand, 'Character and the Emotions,' *Mind*, new ser., v. [London, 1896], 'M. Ribot's Theory of the Passions,' *ib.*, new ser., xvi. [1907], *The Foundations of Character*, do. 1914, and in G. F. Stout, *Groundwork of Psychology*, London and New York, 1903, ch. xvi. 'The Sources of Tender Emotion'; W. McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, London, 1908; G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, 2 vols., New York, 1904; W. R. Boyce Gibson, *God with us*, London, 1909, ch. viii.

For a more general treatment of the problem of love see F. M. Cornford, 'Olympian and Mystic Doctrines of Eros,' in *From Religion to Philosophy*, London, 1912; Plato, *Symposium*; Spinoza, *Ethics*, and *Short Treatise*, bk. ii. ch. v.; H. Jones, *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher*³, Glasgow, 1896, ch. vi. Cf. also R. L. Nettleship, in *Philosophical Remains*², London, 1901, pp. 37, 81, 85, 91 f.; for some living remarks on the meaning of love, F. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, London and New York, 1908, Index, *s.v.*; Rabindranath Tagore, *Sādhanā: The Realisation of Life*, London, 1913. On the problem of the relation of love to suffering see A. G. Hogg, *Karma and Redemption*, Madras and Colombo, 1909, and also J. P. S. R. Gibson, art. 'Karma and the Problem of Unmerited Suffering,' in *Church Missionary Review*, lxiv. [1913] 537. See also the standard works on Christian ethics. On the problem of sexual ethics see G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, and F. W. Förster, *Marriage and the Sex Problem*, tr. Meyrick Booth, London, 1913. On the application of love as an educational principle see F. W. Förster, *Jugendlehre*, Zürich, 1904, and *Schule und Charakter*, do. 1908.

W. R. BOYCE GIBSON.

LOVE (Primitive).—The passion or emotion of love is as difficult to define as life itself, and probably for the same reasons. The following statements are useful:

> 'Simple et primitif comme toutes les forces colossales, l'amour paraît pourtant formé des éléments de toutes les passions humaines.'[4] Again, in its 'fully developed form the passion which unites the sexes is perhaps the most compound of all human feelings. Mr. Spencer thus sums up the masterly analysis he has given of it:—"Round the physical feeling forming the nucleus of the whole, are gathered the feelings produced by personal beauty, that constituting simple attachment, those of reverence, of love, of approbation, of self-esteem, of property, of love of freedom, of sympathy. These, all greatly exalted, and severally tending to reflect their excitements on one another, unite to form the mental state we call love."'[1]

Mantegazza, speaking of it as a colossal force, and Spencer, in his reference to exaltation, rightly emphasize the most remarkable characteristic of sexual love. This is the temporary raising of the individual to a higher power, the intensifying of all his capacities. A woman of the people said: 'When I am not in love, I am nothing.' Nietzsche has eloquently described this result:

> 'One seems to oneself transfigured, stronger, richer, more complete; one *is* more complete. . . . It is not merely that it changes the feeling of values; the lover *is* worth more.'[2]

For Plato love was a 'divine madness'; he was thinking of its automatism, its sweeping away of reason and even consciousness. It was perhaps this aspect that led Schopenhauer and others to condemn it as an illusion. But 'love is only a delusion in so far as the whole of life is a delusion, and if we accept the fact of life, it is unphilosophical to refuse to accept the fact of love.'[3] Ellis defines love 'in the sexual sense' as 'a synthesis of sexual emotion (in the primitive and uncoloured sense) and friendship.'[4] It is a minimum definition.

There is no doubt that the various forms of love—sexual, parental, fraternal, filial, and social—are kindred emotions. Their relative intensity decreases from the sexual to the social, but, as this decreases, extension increases, and more and more persons may be embraced. It is unnecessary to do more than mention the sociological truth that in all its forms love plays a part in society only less important than that of the instinct to live. It brings together the primal elements of the family, it keeps the family together, and it unites in a certain fellow-feeling all members of a race or nation.

I. *SEXUAL LOVE.*—Especially in its sexual grade, love has certainly during the progress of civilization become not only more refined and complex but more intense.[5] This is shown by a comparison with modern savages. Not only is the impulse weak, but the physical development is inferior, and consequently the difficulty of obtaining sexual erethism is great.[6] A social result of this last condition is the orgy, a method of periodic artificial excitement (see below). Jealousy is frequently absent, among the Central Australians to a remarkable degree.

> 'Amongst the Australian natives with whom we have come in contact, the feeling of sexual jealousy is not developed to anything like the extent to which it would appear to be in many other savage tribes.'[7]

Jealousy, however, seems to have little or no connexion with sympathetic love, but to be entirely concerned with animal instinct and the sense of property, and many savages show jealousy to as remarkable a degree as the Central Australians show its absence.

The question remains, and it is important for the study of the origin of the family, whether primitive love was merely organic desire. *A priori* it is conceivable that the family could have been established, monogamy made the type of marriage, and more or less permanent unions fixed in social habit, merely by the operation of animal instincts. Similar results of the same causes are sufficient in the case of the animal world to preserve the race and render it efficient.

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[1] Dewey-Tufts, p. 423.

[2] R. L. Nettleship, *Lectures on the Republic of Plato*, London, 1897, p. 157 f.

[3] *i.e.* moral evil, or sin, not suffering, sorrow, or pain.

[4] P. Mantegazza, *Physiologie du plaisir*, Paris, 1886, p. 248.

[1] E. Westermarck, *MI* ii. 192, quoting Spencer, *Principles of Psychology*, i. 488.

[2] F. Nietzsche, *Der Wille zur Macht*, Leipzig, 1911, iii. 235. The neuro-muscular effects in man are curiously paralleled in animals not only by intensified activity, but by morphological developments; 'it produces new weapons, pigments, colours and forms, . . . new rhythms, a new seductive music' (Havelock Ellis, *Sex in Relation to Society* [*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, 6 vols., Philadelphia, 1897–1910, vol. vi.], p. 179).

[3] Ellis, p. 139.

[4] *Ib.* p. 133.

[5] Ellis, *Analysis of the Sexual Impulse in Man* (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. iii.), p. 220 f.; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*³, London, 1901, p. 546.

[6] Ellis, *Sexual Impulse*, pp. 211, 209.

[7] Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 99 f.

The accounts available vary from pessimistic denial of anything but reproductive impulse to fulsome predication of refined and romantic emotion. The contrast illustrates the difficulty of penetrating to the psychical processes or even the social feelings of the lower races.

The Australian bride is generally dragged from home to the man to whom she is allotted. But 'love' may come after marriage from kind treatment.[1] It is pointed out that 'love' must be assumed in Australian marriages by elopement, which was a recognized form of marriage.[2]

The Papuan language possesses no word for 'love.'[3] The Hos have no word for it; but 'they feel it all the same.'[4] The Paharias are said to form 'romantic' attachments.[5]

> An observer remarks even of the Arabs that 'the passion of love is, indeed, much talked of by the inhabitants of towns; but I doubt whether anything is meant by them more than the grossest animal desire.'[6]

This statement is probably too sweeping, as also is the statement that the Bible contains no reference to romantic love.[7] Love-songs are rare among the lower races,[8] probably a mere result of the imperfect development of literature. But Polynesian peoples are adept at love-poetry,[9] which may be regarded as proving some degree of an emotional refinement, or rather irradiation, of the passion of love. At the other extreme, physical contact, it has been remarked that kissing and caressing are rare among savages, except towards young children.[10]

> Yet among the Eskimo 'young couples are frequently seen rubbing noses, their favourite mark of affection, with an air of tenderness.'[11]

Suicide, which is fairly frequent among the lower races, is often prompted by unrequited passion.[12] But there are many trivial reasons for suicide which indicate merely a rudimentary development of character, and special conditions of social structure must also be considered. It may be regarded as a general rule that love, of any degree or character, is not an essential basis of marriage. Among the majority of early tribes marriage is a matter of arrangement; spouses are allotted by the relatives, often in infancy. In many cases such 'betrothed' couples are prohibited from all association until marriage takes place. That love, however, may be a basis of permanent marriage is another matter. It is probably as essential as the needs of the offspring. Marriage by arrangement and 'the marriage of convenience' were often contracted among the Greeks and Romans. They were frequent in mediæval Europe, and occur in modern civilization. But it is certain that social developments during the last century have involved a general adoption of the principle that marriage should be based on previous mutual attachment.

In the majority of early societies the two sexes are strictly separated, at least after puberty. Such a condition precludes much sympathy between youths and maidens when marriage is to be undertaken. This segregation sometimes extends to married life; in other words, there is a development of sex-clannishness, due either to natural inclination or to a certain subjection of women. Hence it is not surprising that among peoples like those of Eastern Africa it is regarded as disgraceful in a wife to show affection for her husband.[1] Among most rude peoples the man treats the woman with more or less roughness. This is to some extent the case in barbarism and among the lower classes of civilized society.[2] The ancient Greeks, Chinese, Hindus, and Muslims represent that stage of culture in which woman is a slave, a prisoner, or both. Notions of female inferiority combine with a sense of property and of proprietary jealousy, and polygamy in some cases is a contributory factor.

The conditions indicated above show that love in 'primitive' society had little chance of development except in and after marriage. 'Love comes after marriage' is a proverb used by Plutarch and by the Eskimo savage; it is common all over the world. What is termed 'romantic' love is rare, even in the highest societies, when the married state has been established for some time. Conjugal love is more affection than passion, and affection depends on intellectual and moral sympathy; community of interests, habitual association, and mutual care of children contribute to the complete character of the emotion. These factors also are sufficient to produce permanence in marriage and to bind the family together. It is therefore unnecessary to call in the aid of teleology in general, or natural selection in particular, to explain the origin of the family. Nor is it possible to argue that 'love has played little or no part in the institution of the family'[3] (see below, § 1). The cannibal Niam-niam are said by a good observer to show an affection for their wives which is 'unparalleled,'[4] and similar statements have been made of many savage peoples.[5]

It is a justifiable conclusion that conjugal love was real, though elementary. Combined with occasional rough treatment, it was still genuine affection, based on sympathy as well as on the sexual impulse.[6] Similarly, of primitive love in general it may be concluded that it possessed the same elements, in a less developed state and capacity, as modern love in its best manifestations. We need not accept either the frequent denials of any form of love or the attribution of 'chivalrous' love to Bushmen and Congo savages.[7] Lastly, in estimating the evidence of observers, it must be remembered that their diagnoses of love are not based on one invariable scientific definition of the emotion.

1. Development of conjugal love.—The extension of the elementary sexual impulse into conjugal affection with its complex associations should be regarded as, sociologically, the most important feature in the natural history of love. This emotion seems to have developed sufficiently in primitive society to assist in breaking down collective methods of mating, which apparently (as in Central Australia) were often liable to be induced by the hard conditions of savage life. The hypothesis is frequently put forward that the family and social organization are essentially antagonistic. But the pacific way in which they work together in existing races, both civilized and barbarous, and also the fact that crude types of social organization have been broken up by the family, strongly oppose this partial view.

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[1] R. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, London, 1878, i. p. xxiv.

[2] B. Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*, London, 1913, p. 83.

[3] C. W. Abel, *Savage Life in New Guinea*, London, 1902, p. 42.

[4] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 206.

[5] *Ib.* p. 273.

[6] Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*^{3}, p. 360.

[7] The statement is that of H. T. Finck, *Romantic Love and Personal Beauty*, London, 1887, p. 110.

[8] Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*^{3}, p. 357; Ellis, *Sexual Impulse*, p. 212.

[9] G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, p. 98; see also *ERE* vii. 740^a.

[10] Ellis, *loc. cit.*, quoting authorities.

[11] G. F. Lyon, *Voyage of Discovery*, London, 1824, p. 353.

[12] Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*^{3}, pp. 358, 502.

[1] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen, 1864, p. 325.

[2] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, Melbourne, 1881, p. 87; Malinowski, p. 83; *MI* i. 657.

[3] As A. J. Todd, *The Primitive Family*, New York, 1913, p. 19.

[4] G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, London, 1873, i. 510.

[5] Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*^{3}, p. 502.

[6] See F. Bonney, in *JAI* xiii. [1883] 130; Malinowski, p. 83.

[7] As cited by Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*^{3}, p. 358. See on the whole subject *MI* i. 532.

It is right to notice that a time came 'when the conditions of life became favourable to an expansion of the early family, when the chief obstacle to a gregarious life—scarcity of food—was overcome.'[1] But before that there was a different type of gregariousness, which, so far as it went, did possess elements antagonistic to conjugal affection, at least. It is probable that increased security of subsistence assisted the growth of this emotion and strengthened thereby the family bonds. Westermarck has argued:

> 'Where the generative power is restricted to a certain season —a peculiarity which primitive man seems to have shared with other mammals—it cannot be the sexual instinct that causes the prolonged union of the sexes, nor can I conceive any other egoistic motive that could account for this habit. Considering that the union lasts till after the birth of the offspring and that it is accompanied with parental care, I conclude that it is for the benefit of the young that male and female continue to live together. The tie which joins them seems, therefore, like parental affection, to be an instinct developed through natural selection. The tendency to feel some attachment to a being which has been the cause of pleasure . . . is undoubtedly at the bottom of this instinct. Such a feeling may originally have induced the sexes to remain united and the male to protect the female even after the sexual desire was gratified; and if procuring great advantage to the species in the struggle for existence, conjugal attachment would naturally have developed into a specific characteristic.'[2]

This is an important statement and calls for consideration. In the first place, the assumption that even the earliest palæolithic men were capable only of periodic impulse is insecurely based. That a more or less regular capacity did ultimately develop from a periodic is a different matter. Secondly, even admitting the above-mentioned view, no account is taken of the phenomena of habit. Habit is the essential factor to-day, and must always have been, in the development of conjugal affection from the primary incidence of the sexual emotion. And here habit is reinforced by many associations, one of which is the care of children. Another, itself a strong emotion, is the proprietary feeling, strengthened by habit. Even the rudest savage woman feels a right of property in 'her man,' however badly he treats her. Again, the invocation of 'natural selection' is, when analyzed, merely rhetorical. Westermarck admits that the sexual impulse is 'at the bottom' of conjugal affection and prolonged union, but he here ignores improved environment. Neither of these factors can, except by a metaphor, be identified with the agents or machinery of 'natural selection.'

The fact is that improvement of conditions and development of nerve and intelligence have been accompanied by an increase both in emotions and in their control; the emotion of love in all its grades has been no exception. To apply the doctrine of the survival of the fittest to such a development within the species is a misapplication of Darwinism, or, rather, an unnecessary extension of the doctrine.

2. Development of sexual love.—In order to estimate aright not only the course of development, but the character, of modern love in its typical form, it is necessary to note some further elements —in particular, complementary elements—in the love of man and woman. Male love is active and dominant; female love is passive and subservient.

> 'In men it is possible to trace a tendency to inflict pain, or the simulacrum of pain, on the women they love; it is still easier to trace in woman a delight in experiencing physical pain when inflicted by a lover, and an eagerness to accept subjection to his will. Such a tendency is certainly normal.'[3]

Hence various aspects of married life and of courtship:

> Among the Slavs of the lower class the wives feel hurt if they are not beaten by their husbands; the peasant women in some parts of Hungary do not think they are loved by their husbands until they have received the first box on the ear; among the Italian Camorrists a wife who is not beaten by her husband regards him as a fool.'[1] 'In courtship, animal and human alike, the male plays the more active, the female the more passive part. During the season of love the males even of the most timid animal species engage in desperate combats with each other for the possession of the females, and there can be no doubt that our primeval human ancestors had, in the same way, to fight for their wives; even now this kind of courtship is far from being unknown among savages. Moreover, the male pursues and tries to capture the female, and she, after some resistance, finally surrenders herself to him. The sexual impulse of the male is thus connected with a desire to win the female, and the sexual impulse of the female with a desire to be pursued and won by the male. In the female sex there is consequently an instinctive appreciation of manly strength and courage.'[2]

A connected result of male superiority in strength, activity, and courage is the element of protection in male love, and of trust on the side of the female. The pugnacity observed in the males, both of animals and of wild men, is one aspect of the general increase of capacity effected by passion. The intimate psychology of love reveals not only an impulse for union, but an association in the male psychosis with an impulse for destruction, and even for devouring. Love often uses the language of eating. The natural modesty and coyness of the female play an important part both in stimulating the love of the male and in refining it. 'La pudeur,' says Guyau, 'a civilisé l'amour.'[3] Connected with these differences is the relative slowness of the growth of love in woman; it proceeds by long circuiting. In men its growth is relatively rapid, and its duration generally less. Love, again, is 'only an episode in a man's life, whereas for a woman it is the whole of her life.'[4]

Biologically, courtship is a stimulus of love, a means of producing tumescence. Owing to the differences of secondary characters noted above, the love of the male is expressed chiefly in acts of courtship, that of the female in receiving them. If the preservation of love in a permanent union is analyzed, it will be found that it depends on a more or less continuous process of courtship.

A remarkable development of sexual love was made by the early Christians. This was the practice of close but chaste unions between the virgins and young men (see art. CHASTITY). The poetic or romantic exploitation of love to which the custom led (as is shown by the literature) was perhaps the only sociological result. It is possible that this became a tradition and thus influenced the mediæval valuation and practice of chivalrous love. 'For a mediæval knight the chief object of life was love.' It became a formal cult, and theoretically was defined as 'the chaste union of two hearts by virtue wrought.'[5] Dante's love for Beatrice is the highest type of the practice. Its essential condition was that the passion should be hopeless and should not be consummated in marriage. But, as with a similar ideal of love in ancient Greece, so in this case, the reality was generally immoral. The lady as a rule was the wife of another, and adultery was frequent.

In European civilization to-day the factor of intellectual and moral sympathy in love has become more pronounced with the greater freedom and higher education of women. Sympathy strengthens affection, and affection strengthens sympathy. The element of equal friendship in love has been greatly increased, and thus, curiously, in spite of the levelling which has taken place to some extent in class-distinctions, has made love between members of different social spheres more rare.

> A 'gentleman' to-day 'seldom falls in love with a peasant

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[1] *MI* i. 113.
[2] *Ib.* ii. 191, citing also *Hum. Marr.*^{3}, ch. ii.
[3] Ellis, *Sexual Impulse*, p. 74.

[1] Ellis, *Sexual Impulse*, p. 66 f.
[2] *MI* i. 657.
[3] See Ellis, *Evolution of Modesty* (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. i.), p. 1; Stanley Hall, in *AJPs* ix. [1897] 31.
[4] *MI* ii. 440.
[5] *Ib.* ii. 432 f.

girl, or an artizan with a "lady."'[1] Again, 'to a cultivated mind youth and beauty are by no means the only attractions of a woman; and civilisation has made female beauty more durable.'[2]

Meanwhile, the importance in marriage of compatibility, physical and psychical, is becoming more and more recognized by the law.

3. Social habits.—(*a*) *Restrictions on love.*—The majority of primitive peoples impose restrictions on the physical gratification of love except in the marriage relation. This tendency thus harmonizes with the biological law that mating is the final cause of love. But an errant tendency is inevitable, and many peoples have permitted it, with a proviso. Thus, 'the Jakuts see nothing immoral in free love, provided only that nobody suffers material loss by it.'[3] In many of these cases the temporary possession of a lover is regarded as a test of complete womanhood, and in most of them the practice actually serves as a kind of trial-marriage. The case is very different in civilization.

(*b*) *The law of parity.*—A social and a biological tendency act as complementary factors, the one discouraging and the other encouraging love between biological similars. The one tendency is expressed in the remarkable rules of exogamy;[4] the other, which may or may not be connected, is the tendency for those persons to be mutually attracted who are of the same grade of pigmentation. It has long been a popular belief that fair persons are attracted by dark, and *vice versa*; even that short persons are attracted by tall, and *vice versa*. A. Bain speaks of 'the charm of disparity.'

'But da Vinci affirmed clearly and repeatedly the charm of parity . . . Men fall in love with and marry those who resemble themselves.'[5]

Modern investigations have established this conclusion.[6]

One of these began from 'the popular notion that married people end by resembling each other.' The explanation was that they began by so doing. On the other hand, persons are not attracted to members of the opposite sex 'who are strikingly unlike themselves in pigmentary characters.' 'With this feeling may perhaps be associated the feeling, certainly very widely felt, that one would not like to marry a person of foreign, even though closely allied, race.'[7] But the barriers between widely different races are occasionally broken by love.

(*c*) *Seasonal love.*—Among primitive peoples there is a constant practice of what may be termed the periodic love-feast. Types of these are to be found among the Central Australians and the Dravidians of India. Certain festivals of mediæval Europe have been classed in the same category, with little foundation.[8] A prevalent deduction from these 'periods of licence' was that the morals of savages were degraded and licentious. But a closer study of savages makes it certain that their existence is 'just as little a prolonged debauch as a prolonged idyll' (as was the still earlier view, instituted by Rousseau).[9] A more recent deduction was that among the earliest men and the lowest modern savages pairing took place only in spring and at harvest.[10] The festivals in question would be 'survivals' of a primitive pairing-season. Among mammal and other animals (though not domestic), a periodic rut is general, though not universal. A doubtful statement has been made of so relatively a high type of people as the Cambodians that they exhibit a rut twice a year.[11] It is a fact that spring and harvest are among savages, barbarians, and modern peasants regular seasons both for general festivity and for special development of the sexual feelings. The reason may be partly biological, partly climatic, and partly connected with the food-supply. The probable conclusion is that, the conditions being favourable for any sort of expansion and perhaps specially so for amorous expression—an increase in the sexual impulse during these periods is established for modern peoples—the opportunity is taken by societies, which express themselves only socially, to stimulate their normally feeble sexuality and to obtain organic relief.[1]

The principle of dramatization, which is at the root of magical ceremony, may be noted in love-charms, of which all folk-custom, from the Australian to the European, has a store, and in a large class of primitive marriage ceremonies, which generally typify union. The latter are organized love-charms.[2]

The connexion between love and religion is of the same nature as the connexion between love and art and life generally.

'Very much of what is best in religion, art, and life, owes its charm to the progressively widening irradiation of sexual feeling.'[3]

4. Homosexual love.—Sexual love between individuals of the same sex is a not infrequent abnormality. 'It probably occurs, at least sporadically, among every race of mankind,'[4] and in post-Homeric Greece it became, so far as the male sex was concerned, almost a 'national institution.'[5] Cases of congenital perversion are very rare; habit and environment have been largely overlooked by investigators.[6] The majority of barbarian and civilized peoples have condemned the habit; in mediæval Europe it seems to have been regarded as connected with witchcraft and heresy.[7]

II. *NON-SEXUAL LOVE.*—**1. Parental love.**—As in the case of conjugal love, observation of primitive peoples is contradictory; but it is certain that maternal affection is universal, and paternal affection, though less intense, and often defective, is normal in the human race.[8]

According to Aristotle, parents love their children as being portions of themselves.[9] Espinas regards this love as a modified love of self or property.[10] A. Bain, however, derived parental love from the 'intense pleasure in the embrace of the young.'[11] But, as Westermarck notes, 'if the satisfaction in animal contact were at the bottom of the maternal feeling, conjugal affection ought by far to surpass it in intensity; and yet, among the lower races at least, the case is exactly the reverse, conjugal affection being vastly inferior in degree to a mother's love of her child.' He adds: 'It seems much more likely that parents like to touch their children because they love them, than that they love them because they touch them.'[12] According to Herbert Spencer, parental love is 'essentially love of the weak or helpless.'[13] Westermarck observes that 'when the young are born in a state of utter helplessness somebody must take care of them, or the species cannot survive, or, rather, such a species could never have come into existence. The maternal instinct may thus be assumed to owe its origin to the survival of the fittest, to the natural selection of useful spontaneous variations.'[14] But, as stated above, it is unnecessary to regard these instincts as cases of natural selection.

2. Filial love.—'Children's love of their parents is generally much weaker than the parents' love of their children. . . . No individual is born with filial love.' But 'under normal circumstances the infant from an early age displays some attachment to its parents,' especially to the mother. It is 'not affection pure and simple, it is affection mingled with regard for the physical and mental superiority of the parent.'[15]

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[1] Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*^{3}, p. 362.

[2] *MI* ii. 391.

[3] *Ib.* ii. 423; see also W. G. Sumner, in *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 96.

[4] There is some evidence that love is rare between persons brought up together from childhood (*MI* ii. 375).

[5] Ellis, *Sexual Selection in Man* (*Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. iv.), p. 195.

[6] *Ib.* pp. 201, 203.

[7] *Ib.* p. 198.

[8] Ellis, *Sex in Relation to Society*, p. 218 f.; Spencer-Gillen^b, ch. xii.

[9] Ellis, *Sexual Impulse*, p. 209.

[10] The hypothesis of Max Kulischer, *ZE* viii. [1876] 152 ff.

[11] Mondière, *s.v.* 'Cambodgiens' in *Dictionnaire des sciences anthropologiques*, Paris, 1884–86.

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[1] Ellis, *Sex in Relation to Society* ('The Orgy'), pp. 127 ff., 147, 218 ff.

[2] See A. E. Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 318.

[3] Stanley Hall, in *AJPs* ix. 31.

[4] *MI* ii. 456.

[5] *Ib.* p. 463.

[6] *Ib.* p. 468.

[7] *Ib.* p. 489.

[8] *Ib.* i. 529, 531.

[9] *Eth. Nic.* VIII. xii. 2.

[10] A. Espinas, *Des Sociétés animales*^{2}, Paris, 1879, p. 444.

[11] *Emotions and the Will*^{3}, London, 1880, p. 140.

[12] *MI* ii. 187.

[13] *Principles of Psychology*^{3}, London, 1881, ii. 623 f.

[14] *MI* ii. 187, 190 f.

[15] *Ib.* ii. 194.

Conversely, parental and, still more so, paternal affection includes a regard for weakness and helplessness. Filial love is proved to be normal in primitive races; as with other forms of love, it is both less intense and less complex than in civilization.

3. Fraternal and social love.—All peoples exhibit 'altruism of the fraternal type, binding together children of the same parents, relatives more remotely allied, and, generally, members of the same social unit.'[1] In primitive tribes social organization is the outcome of social needs, and a real social affection and friendly sympathy are proved. As before, Westermarck applies the doctrine of natural selection to this development.[2] With progress in culture social affection becomes a marked feature of religious and ethical practice and theory. Noteworthy examples are the doctrine and duty of charity,[3] in Christianity idealized by the Founder's love for all mankind and by the theory of brotherly love, and the Oriental systems, such as the *ahiṁsā* of Hindu religions.

The philosophical literature which exploits the idea of love is enormous. Plato developed the view that love is the creator of beauty, though beauty must have an objective element. Greek, Christian, and mediæval thinkers developed the connexion between love and faith, love of good and love of God. The *amor intellectualis Dei* of Spinoza is paralleled by many Oriental theories of contemplation. Throughout, love in religion stands midway between the philosophical and the human conceptions.

III. *LOVE-GODS.* — Deities embodying the abstract notion of love are hardly developed until the higher stages of barbarism are reached, but some points may be noted in the previous evolution. Animistic thought may produce, by a process of normal 'hallucination,' the belief that evil spirits, at a later stage various neutral or good spirits, behave as lovers of human beings. The peoples of the Dutch East Indies believe that evil spirits take the shape of handsome men and love their women.[4] Primitive psychology, by analogical reasoning, explains love as made of fire (the Malay notion[5]), or the state of love as one of possession. The latter animistic view is connected with any departure from the normal; the new character of the individual is regarded as due to the entrance of a spirit. The West Africans attribute love to possession by the god Legba, or Elegbra. Dreams of love are explained in the same way as in mediæval Europe with its ideas of the *incubus* and *succuba*.[6] Such a deity might develop, as others to be cited might have or actually have developed, into a deity 'of Love.' But, as usual, a deity has an indirect connexion only with this or that emotion. Many peoples, like the Finns,[7] have regarded love as a form of insanity (a variety of possession). It is doubtful whether the description of this or that deity as 'patron of love' has any more definite meaning than an indirect connexion, such as is usually the case with 'possession.' The Finns regarded the god of evil as the patron of love.[8] The Yoruba 'patroness of love,' Odudua, is 'worshipped' at erotic feasts.[9] Her connexion with love is probably indirect only. Such a connexion is frequent in the case of 'deities of fertility.' The Scandinavian Freyja, goddess of love and fruitfulness, seems to have been synthesized with Frigg, goddess of marriage.[1] Among the early Semites the Baal (like any local fetish of a hunting, pastoral, or agricultural tribe) was a source of fertility and a 'heaven-god,' and his wife, the Baalat, was therefore a goddess of fertility and of heaven. Some process, as yet uncertain, developed from this the figure of Ishtar, Astarte, Ashtoreth, worshipped at Erech as the goddess of love, and identified with Nana, the Sumerian goddess of the planet Venus (see artt. BAAL, ASHTART). The Heavenly Aphrodite of the Greeks is derived from this figure.[2] It is possible that the Hindu god of love and desire, Kāma, was developed in connexion with some such festival as the spring *Vasanta* of 'prosperity and love,' which is primitive in character, though his figure is a direct personification of an emotion.[3] A connexion is often made in early thought between love and the moon—possibly a case of the regular attribution of fertilizing power to the satellite. The serpent is occasionally connected with myths of the origin of love, and demons take the serpent-form in order to prosecute amours, or change from the human to the serpent-form on discovery.[4] The arrows of love, in folklore and poetry, seem to be due to an obvious analogy from the incidence of the emotion. Metaphor, throughout the world, speaks of the effect of love as a wound.

LITERATURE.—The more important authorities are given in the article.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

LOVE (American).—The psychology and social habits of the aboriginal American peoples are, on the whole, in line with those of other races at equivalent stages of development. But they exhibit one or two distinctive features. As an instance of the usual conflicting results of observations, there is Morgan's statement that the 'refined passion of love is unknown to the North American,'[5] and that of Catlin, that the N. Americans are not 'behind us' in conjugal, filial, and paternal affection.[6] An accidental case of difference, not due to observers, is the remarkable fact that the Nahuas possessed no word for love, while Quichua, the ancient language of Peru, had six hundred combinations of the word meaning 'to love.' Observation of this fact has led to an interesting analysis by Brinton of the expression of the idea in N. American dialects. He distinguishes four methods of linguistic reaction to the emotion of love: (1) inarticulate cries, (2) assertions of identity and union, (3) assertions of sympathy and similarity (2 and 3 are clearly not distinct), and (4) assertions of a desire. It is noted that the Mayas possessed a radical word for the joy of love, which was purely psychical in significance.[7] 'Romantic affection' is predicated, as usual, by certain observers.[8] It is clear that the Americans compared favourably with other races in the combination of love with female chastity, and in the filial and social forms of altruism. It is, for instance, stated that the Central Americans at the time of the Spanish invasion were remarkable for their brotherly love and charity to the needy. The Naudowessies

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[1] *MI* ii. 194 f.

[2] *Ib.* ii. 197.

[3] *Ib.* i. 559.

[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, pp. 252, 271, 340, 439

[5] Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 198.

[6] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, London, 1890, p. 44, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, do. 1894, p. 67.

[7] J. M. Crawford, *Kalevala*, New York, 1889, xxiii.

[8] Todd, *The Primitive Family*, p. 19, citing Crawford.

[9] Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 43.

[1] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88), i. 303.

[2] J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, London, 1898, ii. 128 ff.; L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, do. 1899, p. 24 See Herod. i. 199; Jer 7^{18} $44^{17ff.}$

[3] E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, Boston, 1895, pp. 154, 156, 452, 455.

[4] Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 193.

[5] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, London, 1870, p. 207.

[6] G. Catlin, *Manners, Customs, and Condition of the N. Amer. Indians*^{3}, London, 1842, i. 121.

[7] D. G. Brinton, 'The Conception of Love in some American Languages,' in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxiii. [1886] 546.

[8] G. Gibbs, in *Contrib. N.A. Ethnol.* i. [1877], quoted by E. Westermarck, *Hum. Marr.*^{3}, London, 1901, p. 508 f.

(Dakota), Californians, and Eskimos, among others, are mentioned as being exemplary in their regard for aged parents;[1] but their care for children, though marked, is not above the standard of contemporary races.[2] In short, they exhibit a slightly more highly developed stage of the social form of affection. It is worth noting that all observers attribute to the Northern Indians a measure of chivalrous feeling.

One abnormality, namely, homosexual love between individuals of the male sex, was curiously prevalent; it is sufficient to refer to the remarkable list of authorities adduced by Westermarck.[3] It is possible that the military tone of N. American life—and the practice was chiefly characteristic of the Northern aborigines—was a predominant factor, as in the cases of the Fijians and ancient Greeks.

The personification of love in the figure of a deity and the worship of erotic forces are perhaps less conspicuous, as might be expected, than in other societies. The Nahua peoples celebrated, it is said, 'a month of love,' during which many young girls were sacrificed in honour of the goddesses Xochiquetzal, Xochitecatl, and Tlazolteotl, who were patronesses of sexual love.[4] But the Central American deities, with the exception of the leading members of the pantheon, were extremely vague personalities; it is generally doubtful whether two names refer to one deity or two, and it is still more problematical what forces or properties the divine names represented. But the name Tlazolteotl seems to have a definite connexion with love, though we cannot, with Camargo, regard her absolutely as 'the Mexican deity of love.'

> 'Her home,' he states, 'was in the ninth heaven, in a pleasant garden, watered by innumerable fountains, where she passed her time spinning and weaving rich stuffs, in the midst of delights, ministered to by the inferior deities. No man was able to approach her, but she had in her service a crowd of dwarfs, buffoons, and hunchbacks, who diverted her with their songs and dances. . . . So beautiful was she painted that no woman in the world could equal her . . . whoever had been touched by one of the flowers that grew in the beautiful garden of Xochiquetzal [*sic*] should love to the end, should love faithfully.'[5] She not only inspired and provoked acts of love, but was able to hear confessions and to give absolution.

The last detail has been emphasized by Spence,[6] in connexion with the meaning of her name, to reduce the goddess to the status of a Mexican Cloacina. But, in spite of the priestly rhetoric of her description, there is enough in its latter portion to establish her as a deity of love, though probably illicit. Brasseur de Bourbourg regarded a volcanic symbol and Boturini Benaduci the high god Tezcatlipoca, as deities of love, without any foundation.[7] Equally unfounded, except in the sense of indirect connexion, are the cases of the moon (especially among the most northerly peoples) and of fire.[8] The N. Americans are slightly behind their contemporaries in the development of deities of love.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the article.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

LOVE (Buddhist).—The way in which early Buddhist literature takes account of the emotion of love is many-sided. It cannot adequately be settled, as some have tried to settle it, by a treatment that is too abstract or, again, too specialized. The hunger for unity or simplification leads some historians to assign to every departure in religious or philosophical thought one fundamental or leading idea—a view that may be attained by closing the vision to all but a few considerations. No great teacher ever discoursed systematically, or even mainly, on one subject. And it is as misleading to say, of early or any Buddhism, that love is its 'ground-thought' as to substitute any other single emotion, idea, or aspiration in place of love. A glance at the scheme drawn up by the present writer of how, and with what frequency, or other emphasis, such things are envisaged in the saints' anthology of early Buddhism[1] should suffice to give pause to such generalizations. There it is shown that the inner, or upper, circle of adherents to what was first known as the Sāsana (rule, order), or Dhamma (norm, doctrine), of the followers of the Sākyas' son found, in the goal that they had reached, not a unison, but a diversity of aspects. And it is hardly wise for interpreters of another age and tradition to contradict them.

Further, Buddhism was a movement set on foot with a view to the needs and ideals not solely, or even mainly, of the academy or the cell, but of 'all sorts and conditions of men,' in so far as these were represented among dwellers between Himālaya and Ganges. Its doctrines were not promulgated only among a chosen few; its teachers went afield without delay, waiting in the groves by village and city to converse with all and any who came to hear. It is true that its ideals, like those of Christianity, stretched far beyond and away from the range of notions and wishes common among average errant mortals. But there was that in the one movement, as in the other, which availed to draw to it the hearts of the many as well as the aspirations of the few. And among the needs and the emotions covered by the word 'love,' the teachers of Buddhism and the compilers of its sacred literature met and dealt with every variety of channel, and every degree of refinement or the reverse. We may, for clearness of reference, set out those channels of normal love as follows: (1) parental, especially mother-love; (2) filial love; (3) fraternal and kin love; (4) friendship; (5) sex love; (6) love of a superior for an inferior; (7) love of an inferior for a superior; and (8) æsthetic and ideal love. It is easy to see that other emotions are blended with these, wherever they are found, but it is no less true that the word 'love' is much used for each one of the eight.

As a doctrine based with great and very frequent emphasis on the generally current fundamental principles of morality, or social conduct (such as the veto on murder, theft, loose sex-morality, harmful speech, and intemperance), Buddhism had homilies and a benediction for all channels of love so practised as to draw men together in mutual goodwill and domestic and social happiness. These are scattered about the *Nikāyas* (collections of *Suttas*, or discourses). But the homily to Siṅgāla[2] is the most comprehensive in its scope. The Buddha is represented as interrupting the open-air morning orisons of a young layman. The latter is rendering homage to the four quarters of the firmament, the nadir, and the zenith, presumably to the several devas—the 'four great rājas' and others—who presided over them, though they are not mentioned. The layman performs these rites out of loyalty to his dead father's wishes. The Buddha substitutes for these objects of worship six objects of devotion and service as more desirable, viz. the devotion of children to parents and of parents to children, that of learners to teachers and conversely, that of husband to wife and conversely, that of friend to friend, that of master to servant and conversely, and that of layman to recluse or Brāhman and conversely. The practical forms which these six several modes of devotion or worship should take are simply and concisely described. For our present purpose it is chiefly interesting to note that they are prescribed not as mere duties or moral acts, but rather as ways of giving expression to a spirit of 'compassion' felt by the agent. Thus not only should parents in five ways take compassion on (*anu-kampanti*, lit. 'vibrate towards or after') their children, and teachers in five other ways take compassion on their pupils, but wives, in yet other five ways, should take compassion on their husbands, friends and colleagues, in yet other five ways, should take compassion on any honourable man (*kulaputta*; this would refer pointedly to Siṅgāla and his companions), in yet other five ways servants should take compassion on their master, and in yet other six ways recluses and Brāhmans should take compassion on the laity. The corresponding term in the other six cases of reciprocated service—*e.g.*, of children to parents, husbands to wives, etc.—is 'ministering to,' or 'waiting upon.' And the choice of these two Pāli words, differing as they do from those that we should find in a similar European catalogue, is interesting. The former word—to show, take, feel 'compassion'—while it is here applied, for instance, to the devotion of the good servant, is very often used in the *Suttas* for the supreme instance of the reciprocal devotion—that of a superior for inferiors—to wit, the compassion moving a Buddha to spend himself 'for the welfare, the happiness of many folk, for the good . . . of gods and men,'[1] and 'to live perpetually moved towards the welfare of all that lives and breathes.'[2] It was this spirit that he prescribed for those whom he sent forth as missionaries.[3] For all these six forms of mutual service or devotion a Christian catalogue would probably use the word 'love,' however much the sources and outlets of the emotion so termed are shown to differ. The fact that the Buddhist catalogue does not bring in its ethics to supplement, or flow from, Siṅgāla's religious beliefs, but supersedes the latter by the former, and, again, the fact that it substitutes the 'divine emotion' of compassion and the practical devotion of ministry for our more familiar and pregnant 'love' show us the need that there is for caution in making affirmations about love in Buddhism. It may help us further towards some, or away from other, conclusions if we examine in brief detail some of these forms as met with in the five *Nikāyas*.

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[1] *MI* i. 531, 534, 600, 603.

[2] *Ib.* i. 403 ff., 531.

[3] *Ib.* ii. 456 ff.

[4] H. H. Bancroft, *NR* ii. 336 f., quoting J. de Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, Madrid, 1723, ii. 280, 299, and C. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique céntrale*, Paris, 1857–59, iii. 530, ii. 462 f.

[5] D. M. Camargo, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, xcix. [Paris, 1843] 132 f., quoted in *NR* iii. 377 f.

[6] L. Spence, *Myths of Mexico and Peru*, London, 1913, p. 380.

[7] *NR* iii. 505, 507.

[8] D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, New York, 1868, pp. 132, 146.

[1] *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, London, 1910–13, pt. i. p. xxxvii, pt. ii. p. 420.

[2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii., xxxi.

1. Parental love.—The typical form of intense and self-surrendering devotion is that of mother-love, just as the type of overwhelming sorrow is that of the bereaved mother.[4] The wise man should cleave to a genuine friend—a watchful, loyal, sagacious, sympathizing friend—as the mother is devoted to her child.[5] And not only to his friends:

> 'E'en as a mother watcheth o'er her child,
> Her only child, even with life itself,
> So let us for all creatures, great or small,
> Develop such a boundless heart and mind,
> Ay, let us practise love for all the world,
> Upward and downward, yea, before, behind,
> Uncramped, free from ill-will and enmity.'[6]

This simile is quite in keeping with the chosen term 'being moved, *or* vibrating towards,' or 'compassion,' since mother-love contains so large an element of passionate, protecting pity.

2. Sex love.—No case is found of a woman seeking death or religion through the death not of her child, but of her husband. *Satī* does not appear in Buddhist literature. The anthology mentioned above has one case, vouched for by the Commentary only, of a man leaving the world because of his young wife's death from snake-bite.[1] And women are recorded, in text and commentary, as having left the world because their husbands had forsaken it for religion. The power of sex to enthrall is fully acknowledged,[2] as is that of sex-repulsion.[3] But there was no one ancient and moving 'Canticle' of sex-love calling for spiritualized annexation to the Buddhist books, such as we possess in the legacy left by Hebrew Scriptures to the Christian apostles. No allegory of the 'compassion' of a Buddha for his adherents is found in the pretty love-song of the *Sutta* called 'The Questions of Sakka.'[4] Conjugal love—a blend of sex-feeling, parent-feeling, and friendship—finds beautiful expression in old Indian literature, but in poems that are younger than early Buddhist books. This is possibly the outcome of a social evolution—an evolution which a century or two of Buddhist ethics as to the right devotion in husband and wife may have done much to bring about. It may be noted in this connexion that the Aśokan rock and pillar edicts, although they are now and then didactic on family relations, are silent as to conjugal life. Again, it is perhaps a pathetic touch in the Anthologies that shows woman at her best ready for the comradeship, but man blind to it. Mahā-Kassapa, who headed the Order at the Buddha's death, and Bhaddā Kapilānī, famed as a preacher, were, by commentarial tradition, husband and wife, and not in their final birth only. They left the world by mutual agreement, having gone through the form of marriage to please their kin. She, in the poems attributed to her, glories in her ex-husband's gifts and in their 'spiritual friendship' and common vision of the truth. His much longer poem reveals him as both the anchorite and the friend of mankind, even of the outcast, but has no word concerning her.[5] It is conceivable that the larger, more heterogeneous group composing the family in ancient India may have hindered the evolution of the conjugal relation. According to the sidelights thrown by the *Suttas* on domestic life, a girl left her home to enter the house not of her husband, but of her father-in-law.[6] She became more or less the servant of him and his wife as well as of her husband. Reference also is occasionally found to a second wife:

> 'Woeful when sharing home with hostile wife.'[7]

3. Love towards the Buddha.—Filial love alone is the form wherein early Buddhist devotees gave expression to their feeling for the founder of their rule and doctrine. They confessed themselves not seldom as the 'own mouth-born' sons and daughters of the Buddha[8]—a sentiment which, in the later commentarial records, finds an echo in these children being termed severally 'my son,' etc., by the Master.[9] Yet, so far as the present writer knows, none of the usual terms for love or affection is applied to him, and certainly no one is spoken of as loving him by 'taking compassion upon' him. He, as father, teacher, 'recluse,' is ministered to or waited upon; it is he who 'takes compassion' on children, disciples, and laity. Honour, worship, or homage, faith or confidence, and the term *pasanna*, which may be rendered 'resting in,'

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[1] *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. 211, etc.

[2] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, iv. 208, etc.

[3] *Mahāvagga*, i. 10 (*SBE* xiii. [1881] 112); cf. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, iv. 150.

[4] C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, pt. i. p. xxvii.

[5] *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. 188.

[6] *Khuddaka Pāṭha* (*PTS*, 1915), p. 8

[1] Rhys Davids, *Psalms*, ii. 34. [2] *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, i. 1.

[3] Rhys Davids, *Psalms*, i. 159 f., and several *Suttas*.

[4] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, London, 1899–1910, ii. 301.

[5] Rhys Davids, *Psalms*, i. 49, ii. 359 f.

[6] *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 186; Rhys Davids, *Psalms*, i. 159 f.

[7] Rhys Davids, *Psalms*, i. 108, 163.

[8] *Ib.* pt. i. p. xxxii, pt. ii. p. 50, and *passim*.

[9] *Dhammapada Commentary*, i. 21, 430, etc.

'satisfied with'—such are the expressions for the emotion felt, but not 'love.' The Indian words for love were not sufficiently elastic to cover this relation—a relation which was not the less deep and genuine, whether it was expressed in terms of the self-surrendering devotion of a believing and adoring 'heart' or of the intellectual love of the philosophic mind :

'I see him with my mind as 't were mine eyes,
By night, by day, incessant, watching ever.
I reverence him while waiting for the morn.
And thus methinks I'm ever with him dwelling.

. . . .
Truly my mind with him is joined, O brāhman.'[1]

The emancipating force of his teaching drew the imagination :

'So I, leaving the men of vision cramped,
Come as the swan flies to the mighty sea.'[2]

And the charm or majesty of his presence drew by way of sense :

'O wondrous fair the All-enlightened shines

. . . .
Like a great storm-cloud in the summer sky,
Thou on thy followers pourest precious rain,
. . . noble of aspect, whose skin
Resembleth gold, say, what is friar's life
To thee with presence so supremely fair?'[3]

This adoration for his person is usually accepted, but not always :

'Long have I wished, lord,' said the devoted Vakkali on his deathbed, 'to draw near to behold the Exalted One, but now is there no more strength left in me to come!' 'Let be, Vakkali, what hast thou to do with seeing this poor frame of me? He who seeth the Norm, he it is that seeth me; he that seeth me is he who seeth the Norm.'[4]

And indeed it was the conviction that, in this man of the long and tireless ministry, carried out purely from sweet compassion for the sons of men, such wisdom and goodness, charm and power, were combined as to banish, while and where he lived, the need for superhuman objects of worship from his followers, and which, long after he had passed away, aided the theological evolutions of Mahāyānism—the conception, namely, of Mañjuśrī, and Avalokiteśvara, wisdom and compassion personified. And Maitreya or Metteyya, the future Buddha, has been conceived as one who will revive the spirit of lovingkindness among men.[5]

4. **Love towards deities.**—For deity, or the deities of its age, early Buddhism finds no need of adoring devotion. No deities in our sense of the word exist for it. All *devas* are more like our conception of angels, beings differing from mankind only in degree and in quality of physical and mental characteristics. They inhabited other more or less adjacent worlds or spheres. On earth were nature-spirits or fairies, usually termed *devatā* (lit. 'deity'). All were to be treated with goodwill and friendliness, but nothing further. They were believed to have the power of communicating with man, and are found rebuking and admonishing the lax or lazy recluse. But in the case of the chosen few—a Buddha and his Arahants—it is the *devas* who render homage and minister to the man, not the reverse.[6]

5. **Ideal love.**—The emotion of ideal love, though it was not reserved for any personified deity in Buddhism, and though it played largely round the person of the founder, was not otherwise atrophied. It never appears as associated with the whole of that cosmodicy which, for the more intellectual Buddhists, takes the place of a theodicy. Devotion bestowed on a 'cosmic mechanism,'[7] not planned by divine wisdom, and involving for each and all so much unspeakable suffering, was not to be looked for. But the Norm, as doctrine and as a part of that cosmos, in Pāli *dhamma* and *dhammatā*, constituted for the intelligent adherent a source of austere affection (*rati*). Admiration for *dhammatā* is a refrain in the Brethren's anthology,[1] and the expression 'love for the Norm' (*dhammagatā rati*) is met with; *e.g.* (here called 'the Ideal'):

'Is his love set on the Ideal,
. . . .
Other loves that Love surpasseth.'[2]

The same emotion is aroused by the idea of Nirvāṇa (*nibbānābhirati*, a stronger form of *rati*):

'All my heart's love is to Nibbāna given,'[3]

and by that of the Sāsana, or 'religion,' 'rule' (*sāsanarati*).[4]

6. **Friendship.**—'Goodwill and friendliness' (*avyāpāda, adosa, mettā*) express, better perhaps than the overburdened word 'love,' that expanded sentiment of amity to all living things which the average man can cherish only for personal friend or comrade. The cultivation of amity (*caritas*), pity, sympathetic gladness, and equanimity formed a sort of sublimated or higher *sīla*, or code of morals, the first three of them forming a development of that 'vibrating towards,' or compassion, which is so essential an attitude in Buddhist ethics. It is to these that the Elder Revata refers in defending himself against the charge that he lived in the woods to receive stolen goods :

'Since I went forth from home to homeless life,
Ne'er have I harboured conscious wish or plan
Un-Ariyan or linked with enmity.
Ne'er mine the quest, all this long interval:—
"Let's smite our fellow-creatures, let us slay,
Let them be brought to pain and misery!"
Nay, love I do avow, made infinite,
Well trained, by orderly progression grown,
Even as by the Buddha it is taught.
With all am I a friend, comrade to all,
And to all creatures kind and merciful;
A heart of amity I cultivate,
And ever in goodwill is my delight.
A heart that cannot drift or fluctuate
I make my joy; the sentiments sublime
That evil men do shun I cultivate.'[5]

If, as certain writers think, we should refrain from applying so warm-blooded a term as 'love' to *mettā*, 'amity,' this may be justified, perhaps, on etymological grounds, and on the ground that Buddhism sets itself against passionate feeling. But it cannot be justified either by lukewarmness in the exordiums to practise *mettā* and sympathy with pain or joy or by sluggishness in the carrying out of these virtues by leading Buddhists.

It would be hard to find in ancient literature any exordium so aglow with 'goodwill towards men' as that of the so-called Four Brahma-vihāras, *i.e.* Best Dispositions, or Four Infinitudes :

'Suffusing, tender and compassionate, such an one with the rays of our loving (or sympathizing) thought, and from him forthgoing suffusing this and that quarter, the whole world with loving consciousness far-reaching, . . . beyond measure;'[6]

or, again, as that of the emancipation of mind through 'amity':

'All the means that can be used as bases for right doing . . . are outshone in radiance and glory by this, which takes all those up into itself.'[7]

If this be amity only, we can let love stand aside!

There is no specific and positive injunction to 'love your enemies,' but this is only because the true spirit of the Dhamma would label no fellow-creatures as enemies. All were either to be 'ministered unto' with honour or to be taken compassion upon in that spirit of grave tenderness for the burden of ill on earth—and in the heavens too—which is Buddhism at its emotional best. 'Conquer the wrathful by mildness, . . . the stingy by giving, the liar by truth!'[8] is the prescribed line of action.

7. **Altruism.**—Among the channels for catholic altruistic sentiment, however termed, the giving of

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[1] *Sutta Nipāta*, verses 1142, 1144.
[2] *Ib.* 1134.
[3] Rhys Davids, *Psalms*, ii. 408, 811.
[4] *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, iii. 119 f.
[5] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*^{22}, London, 1910, p. 200.
[6] *e.g.*, Rhys Davids, *Psalms*, ii. 274, 889.
[7] H. Oldenberg, *Buddha*^{6}, Stuttgart, 1914, p. 367.

[1] Rhys Davids, *Psalms*, ii. 29, n. 2.
[2] *Ib.* ii. 297.
[3] *Ib.* i. 166.
[4] *Ib.* i. 187.
[5] *Ib.* ii. 280.
[6] *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 129.
[7] *Itivuttaka*, 19–21.
[8] *Dhammapada*, 223.

worldly, and the giving of spiritual, goods, Buddhist missionary labours from the earliest days are well known, and, from Aśoka's days, are matters of history. The *Sutta* describing a conversation between the Master and Puṇṇa of the Sunāparantas—a *bhikkhu* whose labours were crowned with martyrdom—is typical of the incorrigible unfaltering 'amity' of the missionary spirit.[1] Of the other kind of giving, while *dāna*, 'liberality,' is recommended, especially as a pious and profitable return to the dispensers of spiritual gifts, the absence of any systematic inculcation of 'charity,' or poor relief, is noticeable. There were poor folk and beggars, for the ideal king is described as giving largely to such.[2] But the fact that the religious 'friar' was termed almsman (*bhikkhu*), and took his place as a beggar among beggars (save that he never 'begged,' but only passed by), seems to indicate that the practice of charity at the door and in kind was a matter of course, not calling for special exhortation. Royal donors gave their charity in almshalls at each city gate.

A noteworthy feature in the developments of secedent Buddhism is the expansion, in eschatological hypotheses, of the altruistic spirit so strongly fostered, for life on earth, by the original teaching. In the early Dhamma concentrative self-training receives relatively more emphasis than any exercise in the expansion of emotional imagination. But in the altruistic patience and faith of the Bodhisattva ideal we see the mother-germ reaching a sublimity unattained in the poetic idealism of any other creed.

LITERATURE.—In addition to works cited in footnotes, see T. W. Rhys Davids, *Early Buddhism*, London, 1910, p. 60 f.; R. Pischel, *Leben und Lehre des Buddha*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 78 f., criticized in H. Oldenberg, 'Der Buddhismus und die christliche Liebe,' *Aus dem alten Indien*, Berlin, 1910, p. 1 f.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

LOVE (Celtic).—**1. Gauls.**—The Celts do not appear to have had at any time in their history any special god or goddess of love. In later times the numerous goddesses of fertility often possess the attributes of love-patrons; and it is, therefore, probable that this conception was identified with them, if at any time it formed a special subject of worship among the Celts. We have, for example, among the goddesses of ancient Gaul one who is equated with Diana, but who possesses at the same time some of the characteristics of Venus (G. Grupp, *Kultur der alten Kelten und Germanen*, Munich, 1905, p. 160). It is possible, then, that there was a tendency among the primitive Celts to assign love-attributes to some of their deities. Thus, we are not yet certain of the form of cult addressed to the *Matres*, who were the special patrons of women, presiding at child-birth; but it was without doubt a kind of love-worship, especially that of motherhood, since these goddesses are usually represented with a child in their arms. In Christian times these wooden figures, blackened with age, were often mistaken for those of the Virgin, and, under the name of *Vierges noires*, were given a place of honour in the churches (J. A. MacCulloch, *The Rel. of the Anc. Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 45 f.; cf. also *ERE* iii. 280). Another class of divinities called *Virgines* were also closely associated with the *Matres*—in fact, this title may have been but an appellative of the latter. They were served by priestesses, whose existence has been explained by the hypothesis that many Celtic divinities were at first female, and were, therefore, served by women possessed of the tribal lore (*ib.* 317). Strabo (IV. iv. 6), copying from Pytheas, who visited the western seaboard of France about 322 B.C., gives an account of the mystic rites practised by some Samnite women who inhabited a small island in the ocean near the mouth of the Loire; and, though Strabo calls these rites Bacchic, it is very probable that they were connected with some form of love-worship.

In the betrothal rites of the founders of Marseilles there appear to be indications of the existence of a love-god. We are told that the daughter of the king, after a splendid repast, entered the room with a full cup in her hand, and extended it, by chance or otherwise, to a stranger. The father sanctioned it at once, declaring that it was a god who wished it (Aristotle, quoted by Athenæus, xiii. 36 [p. 576]). According to Plutarch (*Amatorius*, xxii., *de Mulierum virtutibus*, xx.), it was customary among the Asiatic Celts for the betrothal to take place before the altar of the goddess, who, in the case which he cites, happened to be Artemis. It is impossible to say how far those rites were influenced by the customs of the Greeks.

In spite of the miserable condition to which women were reduced among the Gauls, they were renowned for their devotion and fidelity to their husbands (see ETHICS AND MORALITY [Celtic], I. 2). Yet by the 4th cent. A.D., if we may accept the statement of the Emperor Julian (*Orat.* ii., text and tr. W. C. Wright, London, 1913, i. 218 f.; also *Ep.* 19; G. Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique*, Paris, 1906, p. 141), a sad change had taken place in the character of the Celtic women, especially among the Eastern Gauls.

Julian relates that the Celts took the Rhine as a judge of the fidelity of their wives. When a child was born, the father placed it on a shield and set it on the river. If the child was legitimate, it floated on the surface of the water; but if, on the contrary, it was illegitimate, it was swallowed up by the waves. We are uncertain, however, whether the tribes referred to were Celtic or German. The love-motive also existed without doubt in the cult of the Earth, the great mother of gods and men, but to what extent it is impossible to say (cf. C. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, Paris, 1908, ii. 123).

2. Irish.—In his well-known hymn St. Patrick prayed against the 'spells of women, smiths, and druids' (W. O. E. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880 ff., i. 56). The women to whom the saint refers were probably those of the *síde*, who rejoiced in eternal youth and beauty, and whose capacity for love was so great that they would go forth themselves to woo and win mortals. Once the spell was cast, not even the greatest hero could resist. The important rôle played by these divine women in Irish mythology is revealed in the account of the adventures of Connla, where even the powerful magic of druidism fails to remove the spell.

Connla, walking on the hills of Usnech in company with his father Cond, who was supreme king of Ireland from A.D. *c.* 122 to *c.* 157, saw a beautiful damsel approaching. She was attired in a strange garb; and, when Connla asked her whence she came, she replied: 'We are the great *síd*, hence we are called the people of the *síde*,' *i.e.* of the mound or hillock. The father wished to know with whom his son was speaking, so the damsel informed him that she had come to invite Connla, whom she loved, to the Mag Mell, 'Plain of Delight,' where dwelt King Boadag. 'Come with me,' she cried, 'Connla the Red, of the spreckled neck, flame-red, a yellow crown awaits thee; thy figure shall not wither, nor its youth nor its beauty till the dreadful judgment.' Cond then bade Corán the druid, who, like the others, heard but did not see the damsel, chant a magic song against her. She departed, but not before throwing Connla an apple, which was his sole sustenance for a month, and yet nothing diminished from it. After a while longing seized Connla for the damsel, and at the end of a month he beheld her again, when she addressed him thus: 'It is no lofty seat on which Connla sits among the short-lived mortals awaiting fearful death. The ever-living beings (*bíi bithbi*) invite thee. Thou art a favourite of the men of Tethra, for they see thee every day in the assemblies of thy father's house among thy dear friends' Again the king urged the druid to chant against her, but she made answer: 'O Cond of the Hundred Battles, druidism is not loved, little has it progressed to honour on the Great Strand. A just man [probably an allusion to St. Patrick inserted in the saga] will come with a great following; and his law will destroy the incantations of druids from passing the lips of black, lying demons.' She then told Connla of another land, in which was no race save only women and maidens. When she had ended, Connla gave a bound into her ship of glass, and they sailed away. From that day to this they have never been seen, and no one knows whither they went (for the text of this saga see Windisch, *Irish Grammar*, tr. N Moore, Cambridge, 1882, pa

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[1] *Majjhima*, iii. 267 f.

[2] Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, i. 177.

134–136; Fr. tr. in d'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Épopée celtique en Irlande*, Paris, 1892, pp. 384–390; and a summary in K. Meyer and A. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895–97, i. 145 f.).

Oengus, the beautiful, sometimes called Mac Ind Óc, 'Son of the Young Ones' (*i.e.* of Dagda and Boand), is also a god of growth and fertility who possesses in a marked degree the attributes of a god of love. He has been called the Eros of the Gaels, because he was patron of Diarmaid, beloved of women, and because his kisses became birds which whispered thoughts of love to youths and maidens.

The love-motive occurs very frequently in the stories of the Tuatha Dé Danann, the youth and beauty of whose women were supposed to be unfading (S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, London, 1892, ii. 203). One of the earliest concerns Eri, sister of Bres, who was son of the Fomorian Elatha.

The love-motive is equally prominent in the Voyages of Bran and Maelduin, which are close parallels to the adventures of Connla. In both of these stories the happy mortal is allowed to visit Elysium, which he finds to consist of an island inhabited by an amorous queen, who gladly welcomes the mortal visitor and is equally reluctant to let him depart.

A most interesting example of the development of the primitive love-theme is found in 'Cúchulainn's Sick Bed.'

This saga relates that one day Cúchulainn was struck with a horse switch by two strange women, one of whom was attired in green and the other in red, and in consequence of this blow he lay till the end of the year without speaking to any one. Then came a stranger who sang verses promising health and strength to the hero, if he would accept the invitation of the daughters of Aed Abrat, to one of whom, Fann, it would give heartfelt joy to be espoused to Cúchulainn. Fann, daughter of Manannán mac Lir, who had been abandoned by her husband, had conceived a great affection for Cúchulainn, and the stranger, whose name was Líban, had been sent by her own husband, Labraid of the Quick Hand on the Sword, to tell Cúchulainn that, if he would come and fight against Labraid's enemies, he should have Fann as his wife. After sending his charioteer Lóeg to visit the Plain of Delight, the great hero accepted the invitation and went to overthrow the opponents of Labraid. After remaining a month with Fann, he returned to Ireland, promising to meet her again at a trysting place. Emer, his wife, having heard of this, went with fifty maidens, all armed with knives, to attack the lovers, and, when Fann saw them, she appealed to Cúchulainn for protection, which he promised. He was then bitterly upbraided by Emer for having disgraced her before all the women of Erin. Once they were together in dignity, and they might be so again if he desired. Cúchulainn took pity on her; and a contest then arose between the two women for the possession of the hero. The fairy queen finally yielded to the mortal, saying:

> 'Woe! to give love to a person,
> If he does not take notice of it;
> It is better to be turned away
> Unless one is loved as one loves.'

When Manannán became aware of this, he came east to seek Fann, and no one could see him but Fann alone. He gave her choice to remain with Cúchulainn or go with him. She answered: 'There is, by our word, one of you whom I would rather follow than the other, but it is with you I shall go, for Cúchulainn has abandoned me—thou too hast no worthy queen, but Cúchulainn has' (d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Épopée celtique*, pp. 170–216; Nutt and Meyer, i. 153–157; ed. Windisch, i. 205–227).

Without multiplying examples, it is obvious that the woman is usually the aggressive figure in Irish mythology. In Christian times where beliefs revealing the pagan love-theme have survived, the method of procedure is different, the man pursuing the woman, often against her wishes. Thus, when King Fiachna was fighting against the Scots and in great danger of his life, a stranger appeared to his wife, announcing that he would save her husband's life if she would consent to yield herself to him. She agreed with reluctance; and the child born of this union was the 7th cent. King Mongán, of whom the annalist says: 'Every one knows that his real father was Manannán' (*Leabhar na hUidhre*, facsimile reprint, Dublin, 1870, p. 133ª, 19).

In the Cúchulainn cycle the love-motive is usually one of wild lust; and, as these stories doubtless reflect, to a great extent, the condition of society at the beginning of the Christian era, we can form from them an idea of the status of woman at that period. In his analysis of the *Táin*, the great epic of Ireland—which depicts to a great extent the morals of Connaught—H. Zimmer has pointed out that Medb, the heroine of the expedition, had been the wife of Conchobar, but, having abandoned him, married in succession two chiefs of the same name, Ailill, the second of whom is her husband at the beginning of the account ('Der kulturgeschichtliche Hintergrund in den Erzählungen der alten irischen Heldensage,' *SBAW*, 1911, pp. 174–227).

An idea of the unusual prominence of the love-motive in the early Irish saga can be formed from the list of titles given in d'Arbois de Jubainville's *Essai d'un catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande* (Paris, 1883).

Thus on pp. 34–37 there are twelve stories bearing the title *aithed*, or 'elopement,' among the more important of which are *Aithed Blatnaite, ingine Puill, maic Fhidaig, re Coinchulainn*, or 'Elopement of Blatnat, daughter of Pall, son of Fidach, to Cúchulainn' (cf. G. Keating, *Hist. of Ireland*, tr. J. O'Mahony, New York, 1866, pp. 282–284); *Aithed Derdrenn re maccaib Usnig*, or 'Elopement of Derdriu to the sons of Usnech,' identical with *Longes mac n-Usnig*, or 'Exile of the Sons of Usnech (ed. Windisch, i. 67–82); and *Aithed Grainne re Diarmait*, or 'Elopement of Grainne to Diarmait' (*Book of Lecan*, fol. 181; Brit. Mus., Harley MSS, 5280, fol. 25). In addition to *Cath na Suirghe* and *Cath Tochmarca*, 'Battle of the Demand in Marriage' (d'Arbois de Jubainville, p. 82 f.), there are six sagas bearing the title *compert*, or 'conception' (92–94), of which the most famous are *Compert Conchobair*, or 'Conception of Conchobar' (*LL* 106), and *Compert Conculainn*, or 'Conception of Cúchulainn' (Windisch, pp. 134–145, 324 f.). *Eachtra an Phalais Dhroidhachtamhuil*, or 'Adventures of the Enchanted Palace' (d'Arbois de Jubainville, p. 124), is concerned entirely with love, as is also *Óen-ét a-mnas Ailella*, or 'Single Jealousy of Ailill' (178). There are five stories with the title of *serc*, or 'love' (205 f.), of which *Serc Fhinn go criocaib Lochand*, or 'Love of Finn in Norway,' deserves to be mentioned (Roy. Ir. Acad., Ossianic MS, 1789–1818). As for those with the title of *tochmarc*, or 'demand in marriage,' there are at least twenty (224–231). Of these, mention may be made of *Tochmarc Becfola* (ed. and tr. B. O'Looney, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, i. [1870] 174–183), *Tochmarc Emere la Coinculainn*, or 'Demand in Marriage of Emer by Cúchulainn' (Windisch, p. 324 f.), *Tochmarc Etáine* (*ib.* 117–133), etc.

3. Welsh.—In Brythonic mythology the naturalism common to the Irish sagas has been greatly refined, and magic, especially in the form of the love-potion, assumes greater prominence. The nearest approach to a goddess of love is found in Branwen, 'White Bosom,' daughter of a sea-god, who has been called the 'Venus of the northern sea' (C. I. Elton, *Origins of English History*,² London, 1890, p. 291). She was in all probability a goddess of fertility, but reappears as Brangwaine in romance, giving a love-potion to Tristram, which in itself is perhaps a reminiscence of her former attributes as a goddess of love. Dôn, the Welsh equivalent of Danu, was also perhaps a goddess of fertility, and had for her children Gwydion, Gilvæthwy, Amæthon, Govannon, and Arianrhod (MacCulloch, p. 103). All these divinities play a more or less important part in the story of Gilvæthwy's illicit love for Goewin, the 'foot-holder' of Math in the *Mabinogion*.

Resorting to magic, Gwydion succeeded in obtaining for Math from the court of Pryderi certain swine sent him by Arawn, king of Annwfn, for the purpose of aiding him in his love affair. The trick was discovered, and a battle ensued, in which Gwydion slew Pryderi by enchantment. Having discovered that Gilvæthwy had seduced Goewin, Math transformed him and Gwydion successively into deer, swine, and wolves. It is also implied that Gwydion was the lover of his own sister Arianrhod, by whom he had two children. MacCulloch suggests (p. 106) that these are mythic reflexions of a time when such unions, perhaps only in royal houses, were permissible. Arianrhod, on her part, while being the mistress of her brother, pretends to be a virgin and refuses to acknowledge her children.

The more or less universal type of the treacherous wife is found in the story of the unfaithful dawn-goddess, Blodenwedd, who discovers the secret of her husband's life and then places him at the mercy of her lover (T. W. Rolleston, *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, London, 1911, p. 383).

In the Welsh romances the element of love, due principally to foreign influences, assumes the aspect of woman-worship. This new attitude towards love is already apparent in Kulhwch and Olwen, which is comparatively an ancient tale, and is further developed in later stories like Peredur and The Lady of the Fountain (see A. Nutt, *Celtic and Mediæval Romance*, London, 1899). It is the main symptom of the extent to which, in comparison with the Irish, Welsh literature had lost its pure Celtic strain (Rolleston, p. 345 f.). The relations between the sexes in Wales have already been discussed in ETHICS AND MORALITY (Celtic), III. 1–7.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

JOHN LAWRENCE GERIG.

LOVE (Chinese).—The importance of love as an ethical principle is recognized by Chinese moralists. This can be made sufficiently evident from the classical books.

When asked about benevolence (*jên*), Confucius replied: 'It is to love all men' (*Anal.* xii. 22). 'Jên is the characteristic element of humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives' (*Doct. of Mean*, xx. 5). 'The benevolent embrace all in their love; but what they consider of the greatest importance is to cultivate an earnest affection for the virtuous' (Mencius, VII. i. 45).

From these passages it appears that the general affection of love is modified in accordance with the claims of kinship and virtue. The ethical nature of true love is further brought out in such sayings as these:

'The Master said, "It is only the truly virtuous man who can love or who can hate others"' (*Anal.* iv. 3). 'The Master said, "Can there be love which does not lead to strictness with its object?"' (*ib.* xiv. 8).

The importance of love as an ethical principle may also be seen in what is said of 'reciprocity' (*shu*). This is '*jên* in action, to put oneself in another's place.' Primacy is given to it as the rule of life (*Anal.* xv. 23). It is not merely 'Not to do to another what I would not have done to myself,' but, more positively, 'To serve my father as I would require my son to serve me . . . to set the example in behaving to a friend as I would require him to behave to me' (*Doct. of Mean*, xiii. 3). In the Confucian ethic, however, the exercise of love is limited by retributive justice.

'Some one said, "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?" The Master said, "With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness"' (*Anal.* xiv. 36).

Specially interesting in connexion with the place of love in Chinese ethics is the philosopher Micius and his doctrine of universal love, as the bond of a perfect social state. The Confucian ethic has its religious counterpart in the classical representation of Shang-ti as benevolent and righteous (cf. art. GOD [Chinese]).

Of love in the narrower sense as between the sexes, neither its more romantic aspects nor its depravations are unreflected in Chinese literature from the *Shi King* and *Shu King* down to present-day novels. In view of too evident grossness of thought and life, one is surprised to find the religious sphere so clean. There is, *e.g.*, polytheistic superstition, but no grossness in the religious worship reflected in the classics, though it is true that regrettable features appear in popular superstition —spiritual beings may be attracted by the fair looks of maidens and call them to the other world to be their wives; prostitutes may worship a goddess of their own.

According to E. H. Parker (*Studies in Chinese Religion*, London, 1910, p. 7), 'there is a considerable amount of disguised linga worship, especially in the south of China.' He adds, 'In any case, prayers for children, offered up by women, are common enough in every province.'

Such prayers are in themselves innocent, but in some cases the accompanying ritual worship of the idol invoked is somewhat suspect, and is shy of publicity. Still it is substantially true that there is in China no deification of vice or any public practice of immoral rites.

LITERATURE.—In the classical religion and ethics, see the relevant vols. of *SBE*; and E. Faber, *Mencius*, Shanghai, 1897. For examples of popular superstition cf. H. C. Du Bose, *The Dragon, Image, and Demon*, London, 1886, chs. 19, 21.

P. J. MACLAGAN.

LOVE (Christian and New Testament).—I. **Divine love.**—The highest and most satisfying faith which the human mind has attained, or can attain, is formulated in the sublimely simple confession, 'God is love' (1 Jn $4^{8.16}$). This is interpreted as meaning not only that God, self-conscious and moral, creates, sustains, and orders all things in love, but that love is His very essence; and the spiritual conflict of the ages has been, and is, waged against the forces opposing this first principle of religion and ethics, the acceptance or rejection of which leads logically to optimism or pessimism. A few expressions of the belief that eternal love subsists at the heart of all things, and manifests itself through them, may be chosen as typical.

'Let me tell you why the Creator made the universe. He was good . . . and desired that all things should be as like Himself as possible' (Plato, *Tim.* 29 E). 'The Lord is good to all; and his tender mercies are over all his works' (Ps 145^9). 'For thou lovest all things that are, and abhorrest none of the things which thou didst make; for never wouldst thou have formed anything if thou didst hate it' (Wis 11^{24}). 'And we know that to them that love God all things work together for good' (Ro 8^{28}). 'O tender God, if Thou art so loving in Thy creatures, how fair and lovely must Thou be in Thyself' (Suso, quoted by W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*^{3}, London, 1913, p. 302). For lovers of Nature Wordsworth expresses the conviction that nothing

'Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb
Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold
Is full of blessings' (*Tintern Abbey*, 132 ff.).

There is no dubiety in R. C. Trench's large utterance:

. . . 'We and all men move
Under a canopy of love,
As broad as the blue sky above'
(*The Kingdom of God*, 4–6);

or in Browning's *cri du cœur*:

'God! Thou art love! I build my faith on that'
(*Paracelsus*, v. 51).

And in Carlyle's words there is at least a wistful longing to believe:

'O Nature! . . . Art not thou the "Living Garment of God"? . . . Is it, in very deed, He, then, that ever speaks through thee; that lives and loves in thee, that lives and loves in me?' (*Sartor Resartus*, 'The Everlasting Yea').

It is common knowledge, however, that this splendid creed of three syllables is not only severely tested but strenuously contested. The notion that love is the ultimate reality of things—that transcendent love is Creator and Lord of the world, and immanent love the life which pulsates through it, the Spirit ceaselessly operant in Nature and humanity—is pronounced by many to be a delusion and a snare. One of the champions of popular free-thought thus emphatically expresses himself:

'That God is love is a very lofty, poetical and gratifying conception, but it is open to one fatal objection—it is not true' (R. Blatchford, *God and My Neighbour*, London, 1907, p. 23).

One of the leaders of philosophic thought confesses that in the loss of this faith 'we are confronted by one of the great tragedies of life' (J. M. E. MacTaggart, *Some Dogmas of Religion*, London, 1906, p. 297). So manifest and repellent is the blending of good and evil in human lives that Swinburne makes the chorus of one of his dramas sing:

'The high gods . . .
. . wrought with weeping and laughter,
And fashioned with loathing and love . .
The holy spirit of man'
(*Atalanta in Calydon* [*Poems*, London, 1904, iv. 259]).

The bitter pagan belief, that the gods take the same pleasure in the sufferings of mankind as cruel children in the torture of flies, still has its adherents, finding expression, for example, in Thomas Hardy's pessimistic dictum, 'The President of the Immortals (in Æschylean phrase) had ended his sport with Tess.' Some critics of the world-order do not hesitate to declare that 'for all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man is blacken'd' God needs to take as well as give man's forgiveness (Omar Khayyām, quatrain lviii.). Worst of all, science hesitates to say that God is love. The belief so dear to the heart of Linnæus, that the phenomena of Nature bear witness to the benevolence of the Creator, is supposed to have received a staggering, if not a fatal, blow from the principle of evolution, so that no comforting rod or staff, but only a broken reed, appears to be left in the hand of the man

> 'Who trusted God was love indeed
> And love Creation's final law—
> Tho' Nature, red in tooth and claw
> With ravine, shriek'd against his creed'
> (Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, lvi.).

Confident assertions on the one side and the other help at least to make the issue clear, while they may also suggest that strong feeling is apt to be generated in the attempt to solve the problem of problems. Every man admits 'the one absolute certainty that he is ever in the presence of one Infinite and Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed' (H. Spencer, *Ecclesiastical Institutions*, London, 1885, p. 843). The question is whether that Energy is controlled by love, or, rather, is identical with love—whether the All-Great is the All-Loving.

(*a*) What answer comes from the heart of Nature? That a struggle for existence, with a resultant survival of the fittest and extinction of the unfit, has gone on through geological ages and is still going on is one of the demonstrated truths which modern science has added to the sum of knowledge. And many evolutionists find it difficult, if not impossible, to imagine a God of love ordaining and witnessing that secular conflict. But do they fairly interpret the struggle? The indictment against Nature which was frequently heard in the early and somewhat hysterical days of the evolution doctrine is now generally admitted to have been based upon half truths. Unqualified assertions that 'nature is one with rapine,' that any little wood is 'a world of plunder and prey' (Tennyson, *Maud*, IV. iv.), that 'the cosmic process has no sort of relation to moral ends' (T. H. Huxley, *Collected Essays*, London, 1898, p. 83; cf. 197), that all progress is attained by the methods of the gladiatorial show or the battle-field, are seen to be almost a libel. For the whole range of life upon the earth—vegetal, animal, social—bears witness to something quite different from hatred and strife. The two main activities of all living things are nutrition and reproduction, and, while the object of nutrition is to secure the life of the individual, the object of reproduction is to secure the life of the species. If one great factor of evolution is concerned with self-assertion, another is concerned with self-sacrifice, and it is not too much to assert that the world is not only an abode of the strong, but a home of the loving.

'Nature has more to say than "Every one for himself." There has been a selection of the other-regarding, of the self-sacrificing, of the gentle, of the loving' (J. A. Thomson, *The Bible of Nature*, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 179).

If Rousseau erred in closing his mind to everything but the love, peace, and harmony of Nature, we are equally at fault if we find in her nothing but discord and cruelty.

'Love is not a late arrival, an after-thought, with Creation. It is not a novelty of a romantic civilization. It is not a pious word of religion. Its roots began to grow with the first cell of life that budded on this earth.' It is 'the supreme factor in the Evolution of the world. . . . The Struggle for the Life of Others is the physiological name for the greatest word of ethics—Other-ism, Altruism, Love' (H. Drummond, *The Ascent of Man*, London, 1894, pp. 276–281). 'The principles of morality have their roots in the deepest foundations of the universe,' and 'the cosmic process is ethical in the profoundest sense' (John Fiske, *Through Nature to God*, London, 1899, p. 79).

If, then, creative evolution is God's theophany—His method of unfolding His purpose and revealing Himself—the facts of the case, on a wide and impartial survey, go far to prove that His central energy, or ruling motive, and therefore His true Name, is Love. And to Divine overtures of love the human heart cannot fail to respond. Viewing the world as mysteriously 'full of God's reflex,' Charles Kingsley exclaims, 'I feel a gush of enthusiasm towards God' (*Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life*, London, 1877, i. 56).

It must be admitted, however, that there is another side. Nature's physical and vital forces do not all inspire confidence, making us 'very sure of God' and ready to acclaim the sentiment, 'All's right with the world.' There are times when it is not easy to 'rise from Nature up to Nature's God,' or to maintain that He has done all things well. The facts that disturb one's faith in the benevolence of the Creator are too many and too conspicuous to be ignored. The life of the forest and the jungle is not all idyllic. The wolf does not lie down with the lamb, nor the lion eat straw like the ox. The tiger and the tarantula are no less real than the fawn and the dove. It is impossible to forget Nature's ruthlessness to the unfit or her savage outbreaks of fire and flood and tempest. Over against Natura Benigna we have always to set Natura Maligna, as T. Watts-Dunton does in a group of sonnets (*The Coming of Love*). And the existence of positive evil in the world has driven not a few observers, especially those who have been victims, to the conclusion that God, whether personal or impersonal, is no more than an irresistible and inexorable Force, indifferent to pain, regardless of life, and therefore to be dreaded, hated, or scorned, rather than trusted and loved. This is the view which lends a tragic pathos to the *Prometheus Vinctus*, the book of Job, and other literature of religious doubt.

With the best 'will to believe,' many a man cannot wholeheartedly affirm that 'the Variety of Creatures . . . is so many Sounds and Voices, Preachers and Trumpets, giving Glory and Praise and Thanksgiving to that Deity of Love, which gives Life to all Nature and Creature' (William Law, *The Spirit of Love* [*Works*, London, 1892–93, viii. 35]).

At the best the evidence is conflicting. Nature speaks with two voices. We can never be quite sure whether she is a kind mother or a cruel stepmother. Love is not seen at a glance to be her primal law. The men of science who decipher the testimony of the rocks do not feel constrained to proclaim with one accord that God is good, and, though they may comfort themselves with the reflexion that in Nature's infinite book of secrecy only a little has been read, and acknowledge that there is no religion without mystery, yet the inquiring spirit of man is troubled. Devout but open-eyed spectators of the world-drama are sometimes 'perplexed in the extreme.' They feel as if Nature were betraying the heart that truly loves her.

'God is love, transcendent, all-pervading! We do not get *this* faith from Nature or the world. If we look at Nature alone, full of perfection and imperfection, she tells that God is disease, murder and rapine' (H. T. Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson; A Memoir*, London, 1897, i. 314).

And, if 'to be wroth with those we love doth work like madness in the brain,' it is the crowning sorrow to doubt the God whose lovingkindness is better than life (Ps 63^3).

(*b*) But the God who speaks ambiguously through Nature reveals Himself also through humanity. He has His dwelling 'in the mind of man' (Wordsworth, *Tintern Abbey*, 99). Here it must not be forgotten that the isolation of the human species from the rest of the sentient creation is now known to be unscientific. This fact only makes the growth of ethical ideas and ideals the more wonderful. The basis of society is the family, and the cosmic process which has brought into existence the conscious personal relation between mother and child cannot be said to be indifferent to ethical ends; rather it may be held to exist for the sake of such ends. While Huxley is right enough in maintaining (L. Huxley, *Life and Letters of Thomas*

Henry Huxley, London, 1900, ii. 268) that moral purpose, in the strict sense, is 'an article of exclusive human manufacture,' he is wrong in denying it a place in the cosmic process. Human nature is an integral part of nature. If Nature is personified, human life is her crowning achievement.

> The development of 'the moral sentiments, the moral law, devotion to unselfish ends, disinterested love, nobility of soul—these are Nature's most highly wrought products, latest in coming to maturity; they are the consummation towards which all earlier prophecy has pointed' (J. Fiske, *op. cit.* p. 130).

Now, these constitutive elements of the moral life are the root and ground of that assurance of Divine love which must be regarded in the first instance as an instinct or intuition of loving hearts. The writer of the Song of Songs makes a Hebrew maiden, inspired by her passion of holy love, exclaim: 'For love is strong as death . . . the flashes thereof are flashes of fire, a very flame of the Lord' (8^6). This means not only that the pure love which glows and burns in the human breast is a fire kindled and cherished by God, but that it is an emanation from, and in quality identical with, His own uncreated flame of love. He 'never is dishonoured in the spark He gave us from his fire of fires' (Browning, *Any Wife to Any Husband*, iv.). Follow the gleam, and it leads to God. The natural is seen to be supernatural. 'The spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord' (Pr 20^{27}). The prophet Hosea, made wise by a patient love outwearing mortal sin in his own home, had the truth flashed upon his mind that a human affection which bears, hopes, believes, endures all things, and never fails, is explicable only as a radiation from the love of God, a revelation of the heart of the Eternal. His own ideal conduct in the supreme moral crisis of his life sensitized his mind to receive a new and true image of the Absolute. His forgiving pity, his redeeming love, his confidence in the ultimate triumph of good, gave him an unerring insight into the controlling principle of the Divine character. Love, he sees, is paramount in heaven and earth, and justice is its instrument. Love is therefore the *Leitmotiv* of his prophecy, his master-key to the mysteries of religion and history. He dares to make his own *confessio amantis* the preface to a stupendous love-tale, of which the scene is the world and the hero is God. He represents Israel's patient Divine Friend as saying, 'I delight in love, and not in sacrifice. When Israel was a child, then I loved him. . . . I drew them with cords of a man, with bands of love' (6^6 11$^{1.4}$; cf. 3^1 14^4). Later prophets and lawgivers reiterate Hosea's teaching in many beautiful forms—'I have loved thee with an everlasting love: therefore have I continued lovingkindness unto thee' (Jer 31^3). 'He will rest in his love, he will joy over thee with singing' (Zeph 3^{17}; cf. Dt 4^{37} 7^{18} 10^{15}, Is 48^{14} 63^9). 'But it is not too much to say that the entire faith and theology of later Israel grew out of Hosea, that all its characteristic views and ideas are first to be found in his book' (C. H. Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel*^{4}, Chicago, 1899, p. 53).

(*c*) Jesus linked His gospel with the prophecy of Hosea by repeatedly quoting the words 'I will have mercy and not (ritual) sacrifice' (Mt 9^{13} 12^7). No one was so swift as He to discover the evidences of Divine love in Nature. The beauty of flowers, the ways of birds, the benediction of the rain, the glory of clouds, and the splendour of the sun in its strength spoke to Him of a goodness that was over all and in all. He sanctioned the religious use of Nature. He assumed that God is omnipresent in the external world. But that was not His whole message. Nature's goodness was not His evangel. Least of all did He worship Nature.

> 'Know, man hath all which Nature hath, but more,
> And in that *more* lie all his hopes of good'
> (M. Arnold, *To an Independent Preacher*, 5 f. [*Poet. Works*, London, 1890, p. 5]).

And it is the spirit of the Ideal Man—His personal expression in word and deed—that constitutes mankind's surest evidence of the love of God. In His compassion for the multitudes, His tenderness to sinners, His hope for the vilest, His yearning to bring back the lost, His forgiveness of those who 'know not what they do,' He is the Revealer of God. He changes Israel's Lord of Hosts into mankind's 'Our Father.' The writer of the Fourth Gospel represents Him as saying, 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father' (Jn 14^9), and the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord is a fact which science must reverently accept. Christ is indeed the crown of evolution, fulfilling not only the spiritual ideals of Israel, but the æonian ethical strivings of Nature.

> 'Our first reason, then, for believing that God is Love, is the authority of Jesus Christ—His declaration and manifestation of the fact as God incarnate. That is to say, all the cumulative and complex proofs of Christianity are proofs to us of this fact, which simply is the kernel of Christianity. If Christianity is true, God is Love' (J. R. Illingworth, *Christian Character*, London, 1904, p. 87).

(*d*) The apostles always interpret Divine love in the light of Christ's sacrifice. The love which inspired the early Church was more than that of the Father who makes His sun to shine on the evil and on the good. It was that of the Father who withheld not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all; that of the Son who laid down His life for the sin of the world. In the NT the identification of Divine love with atonement is axiomatic. 'Herein is love'—in a Divine initiative which provided a propitiation for sin (1 Jn 4^{10}). Personal faith centres in 'him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins by his blood' (Rev 1^5), in 'the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me' (Gal 2^{20}). It was His Spirit of sacrifice that conquered the intellect as well as the heart of the ancient world. His age-long empire is the expression, not of the love of power, but of the power of love. He can never cease to be hailed as

> 'Strong Son of God, immortal Love.'

2. Human love.—Great and true conceptions of love have not been confined to any single nation. In the Greek classics love is often something much higher, purer, and nobler than sensual passion or natural desire. This fact appears clearly in the cosmogonic myths. The Eros of Hesiod is not 'erotic' in the later sense of the word. His Love is the fairest of the gods, who rules over the minds and councils of gods and men, the great uniting power, who brings order and harmony among the conflicting elements of Chaos. To the lofty mind of Plato love is the sympathy of affinities, the instinctive rushing together of kindred souls, the harmony of spirits, not without such a touch of natural feeling as strengthens without dishonouring the union. And the Stoics laid the foundation of a noble ethic in their conception of the brotherhood of men, regarded as akin to God, or even as children of one great Father.

> 'For we,' says the *Hymn* of Cleanthes, 'are Thine offspring, alone of mortal things that live and walk the earth moulded in the image of the All' (cf. Ac 17^{28}).

But Christianity raises love to a higher mood, smites it with a new ardour, purifies it by the touch of God, making the natural love of man and woman sacramentally holy, and changing the bitterest foe into a potential friend as 'the brother for whom Christ died.' The very vocabulary of love is changed, Eros, a word too often profaned, giving place to Agape. The natural elements of conjugal love, real and imperious enough, but consecrated now to the highest uses, have superadded to them the intimate communion of heart and soul. The genius of love is seen to be sacrifice, which has its source and sanction in God's eternal self-giving.

> 'Thrice blest whose lives are faithful prayers,
> Whose loves in higher love endure'
> (Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, xxxii.).

Only of such lives can it be safely said that 'love is an unerring light, and joy its own security' (Wordsworth, *Ode to Duty*, 19 f.). The strongest affection decays unless it is rooted in idealism. The house of life cannot be built on the shifting sand of passion. Love faints and fails unless it is braced by the sense of duty. Lovelace's hero, going to the wars, says to Lucasta:

> 'I could not love thee, dear, so much,
> Loved I not honour more.'

It is always the 'higher love'—patriotism, the passion for liberty, the enthusiasm of humanity, the zeal for God's Kingdom, any one of which may claim love's final sacrifice—that gives the affections of the home a purity and an intensity never dreamed of in the life of pampered individualism. When Christ says, 'He that loveth father or mother . . . son or daughter, more than me is not worthy of me,' He is calling men to the ideal life, which includes whatsoever things are pure and lovely and of good report. 'We needs must love the highest when we see it' (Tennyson, *Guinevere*, *ad fin.*).

The truth is that the heart's deepest instinct—its passionate 'amoris desiderium'—cannot be satisfied with an earthly affection. The Hebrew poet speaks for the human race when he says that, as the hart pants for the water brooks, so his soul pants after God, thirsts for the living God (Ps $42^{1.2}$).

> 'The most philosophical students of love from Plato and Plotinus to Augustine and Dante have felt that it demands, in the last resort, an infinite object and an infinite response' (Illingworth, p. 88).

Modern science has immeasurably widened man's mental horizon, and the vaster the material world becomes the greater is the spirit's unrest in its cage of sense. It suffers from 'the malady of the ideal,' and is restless till it rests in God. The deepest thoughts of a nation are expressed by its artists and poets. Rossetti painted human love languishing for fullness of life, but evermore fearing death. Watts painted divine love leading life *per aspera ad astra*. Tennyson protests that his love would be half-dead to know that it must die (*In Memoriam*, xxxv.), while his faith in immortality stays itself on his deathless love of a friend.

> 'Peace, let it be! for I loved him, and love him for ever: the dead are not dead but alive' (*Vastness*, *ad fin.*).

At the close of life his supreme wish was to

> 'learn that Love, which is, and was
> My Father, and my Brother, and my God!'
> (*Doubt and Prayer*, 7 f.).

Browning repeats in a hundred forms his reasoned conviction that

> 'There is no good of life but love—but love!
> What else looks good, is some shade flung from love—
> Love gilds it, gives it worth'
> (*In a Balcony* [*Works*, London, 1886, p. 17]).

And he is certain that love cannot be quenched by death.

> 'No: love which, on earth, amid all the shows of it,
> Has ever been seen the sole good of life in it,
> The love, ever growing there, spite of the strife in it,
> Shall arise, made perfect, from death's repose of it'
> (*Christmas Eve*, v. 97–100).

If love is thus proved to be the essential character alike of God and of the sons of God, this result profoundly affects all human relationships. (*a*) True intercourse with God Himself is a fellowship of love. To be right with Him is to have the heart of a lover or a child. Though the OT breathes many passionate longings for such an intercourse, the NT alone exemplifies it in its perfection. The bare notion of such a divine fellowship was strange to the Gentile, whose relation to the object of his worship was always cold and distant. Jesus lived in uninterrupted filial communion with His Father, teaching His followers to do the same. It is their high privilege to keep themselves in the love of God (Jude ^{21}), and so to have His love shed abroad in their hearts by the Holy Spirit given to them (Ro 5^{5}).

(*b*) The knowledge of God can be attained only through love. In love's lore a 'dry light' helps but little. Theology at its best, like 'divine philosophy,' is always charged with feeling. 'Pectus facit theologum.' Selfishness absolutely disqualifies the student of divine things. God reveals Himself to those who tread, like Himself, the 'love-way'—the path of lowly service. 'Even as the eye,' said Plotinus, 'could not behold the sun unless it were itself sunlike, so neither could the soul behold God if it were not Godlike' (*Ennead*, I. vi. 9). Not to sympathize is not to understand. Love is the great hierophant of the mysteries of God. He that willeth to do the will of God shall not doubt His highest teaching (Jn 7^{17}); but he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, and therefore cannot love God whom he hath not seen (1 Jn 4^{20}), has lost 'the key of knowledge' (Lk 11^{52}).

(*c*) The ideal society consists of persons animated and united by the spirit of love, each seeking the good of all and all of each. The programme of Christianity is the renewal of human life and the reconstruction of human society, on the basis of the faith that 'God is love.' While hatred has a fatal power of division, love is the bond of perfectness (Col 3^{14}). Human associations are strong and stable in proportion as they are welded together by that brotherly love which is the law of the kingdom of heaven.

> 'Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,
> And men below, and saints above;
> For love is heaven, and heaven is love'
> (Scott, *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, III. ii. 5–7).

(*d*) As man's chief good, love is a task as well as a gift—an *Aufgabe* as well as a *Gabe*. It is not a passive sentiment or an involuntary emotion. The verb 'to love' has an imperative mood, which the greatest lawgivers—Jesus as well as Moses—frequently use. To this extent Christianity as well as Judaism is legalistic. The practice of love is the highest exercise of freedom. 'The love of the will' is no less real than that of the heart (Illingworth, p. 101). Love's rise and progress are dependent on a continuous effort, and the more perfect it becomes the more does it embody the inmost desires and strongest impulses of the soul. It is more than good-nature, which is no satisfactory basis for ethics; more than good intentions, which are proverbially delusive; it is a good will—which, according to Kant, is the one absolutely good thing in the universe.

(*e*) All duties spring ultimately from the one duty of love. It is more than a poetic fancy, it is a literal fact, that, 'as every lovely hue is light, so every grace is love.' Augustine describes virtue as the unfolding of love—'Virtus est ordo amoris'—and in reference to the cardinal virtues he says:

> 'I would not hesitate to define these four virtues which make such an impression upon our minds that they are in every man's mouth: temperance is love surrendering itself wholly to Him who is its object; courage is love bearing all things gladly for the sake of Him who is its object; justice is love serving only Him who is its object, and therefore rightly ruling; prudence is love making wise distinctions between what hinders and what helps itself' (*de Moribus*, i. 15 [25]).

The law of love is called the royal law (*νόμος βασιλικός*, Ja 2^{8}), because, being supreme in dignity and power among the principles which control human action, it brings all the others into subjection to itself.

> 'All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
> Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
> All are but ministers of Love,
> And feed his sacred flame' (Coleridge, *Love*, 1–4).

(*f*) And love is perfected when even its most laborious duties are performed with gladness. It is true that 'tasks in hours of insight will'd can be through hours of gloom fulfill'd' (M. Arnold, *Morality*, 5 f. [*Poet. Works*, p. 256]). But the moral life needs the heart to aid the will. It never flourishes long if its roots are left dry. Its strength and fruitfulness are always traceable to hidden springs of affection. Schiller was justified in complaining that Kant made too much of the categorical imperative and too little of the æsthetic side of morality—the beauty of holiness. Duty is not perfectly done unless a great love makes the yoke easy and the burden light. Under this potent influence, each of a thousand thoughtful deeds becomes a 'labour of love' (*κόπος τῆς ἀγάπης*, 1 Th 1^{3}). Ferdinand in *The Tempest* (III. i. 7) says that the mistress whom he serves makes his 'labours pleasures,' and Jacob's seven years seemed to him but so many days because of his love (Gn 29^{20}). Moral education advances rapidly when a man can say from the heart, 'To do Thy will, O Lord, I take delight.' It is not enough that morality be 'touched' by emotion; it needs to be transfused with the spirit and transfigured by the glory of love.

> 'No heart is pure that is not passionate; no virtue is safe that is not enthusiastic' (J. R. Seeley, *Ecce Homo*^{3}, London, 1866, p. 8).

It thus becomes evident that, before the activities of love can be spontaneous, a man's very nature must be changed. 'Every one that loveth is born of God' (1 Jn 4^{7}). That which is natural, the self-life, is first, and afterwards that which is spiritual, the life of self-renunciation. And nothing changes the natural into the spiritual like the contemplation of the sacrifice of Christ.

> 'Thou hast no power nor may'st conceive of Mine,
> But love I gave thee, with Myself to love,
> And thou must love Me who have died for thee!'
> (Browning, *An Epistle*, *ad fin.*).

Many have found it possible to conceive for Christ 'an attachment the closeness of which no words can describe' (Seeley, p. 187). To cherish a love for Him is to love His Kingdom, which ideally embraces the whole human race. Where the AV reads 'We love him, because he first loved us,' the RV has 'We love, because he first loved us' (1 Jn 4^{19}), which may be rightly interpreted, 'We love the Son of Man and, for His sake, every son of man.' Christ's constraining love is at once the impulse and standard of all Christian love—'that ye should love one another, as I have loved you' (Jn 15^{12}). Judaism supplied the law of love (Dt 6^{5}, Lv 19^{18}), Christianity supplies the power—the grace which came by Jesus Christ (Jn 1^{17}). It seems *a priori* impossible to love the world that hates us, but it is morally impossible not to love the world which God has so loved. Faith works by love (Gal 5^{6}), and works miracles.

> 'The gospel . . . desires the text "Love thy neighbour as thyself" to be taken quite literally. . . . Is, then, this demand reasonable, and is its fulfilment possible? The coolly reasoning, common-sense intellect answers "No," a thousand times over. . . . The gospel replies to this *No* with a decided, quiet *Yes*' (W. Bousset, *The Faith of a Modern Protestant*, London, 1909, p. 77 f.).

While, however, all finite love flows from God's infinite love, it is not always conscious of its source. It may well up pure and strong in a heart which has never been able by searching to find out God. And it is none the less acceptable to God though He is not yet its object. This truth is exquisitely expressed in Leigh Hunt's poem of 'Abou Ben Adhem,' who, though not yet one of those who love the Lord, has it revealed to him that, because he loves his fellowmen, his name stands first among those whom love of God has blessed. And it is expressed more authoritatively in Mt 25, where our Lord proclaims that deeds done in love to the least of His brethren are accepted as done to Himself. Those who do them are unconscious Christians. Their merit, of which they are astonished to hear, is real, and their reward, which they never sought, is sure.

> 'For they love goodness, and to love goodness is in fact to love God. . . . While, therefore, the unbelief of men who lead good lives must always cause regret to the Christian, the goodness of their lives need not perplex him, as being implicitly due to the same cause which has for himself become explicit' (Illingworth, p. 102).

George Herbert calls sin and love the 'two vast, spacious things' which it behoves every man to measure (*The Agonie*, 4). The one seems, but the other is, infinite. And the stronger subdues the weaker. Where sin abounds, grace—which is Divine love in its redeeming energy—superabounds (Ro 5^{20}). And all hope for the world lies in the fact that a God of holy love is, through His Spirit in His children, for ever wrestling with its sin.

> 'Is not God now i' the world His power first made?
> Is not His love at issue still with sin,
> Visibly when a wrong is done on earth?'
> (Browning, *A Death in the Desert*, 211 ff.).

Augustine uses a still finer figure than that of the arena. He speaks of 'the glory of love . . . alive but yet frostbound. The root is alive, but the branches are almost dry. There is a heart of love within, and within are leaves and fruits; but they are waiting for a summer' (*In Epist. Joannis ad Parth.* v. 10). The leaves of the tree are for the healing of nations torn by passions of hatred. And, with eyes opened by eating of the fruit, men find their *Paradiso* in letting their desire and will be turned,

> 'Even as a wheel that equally is moved,
> By the Love that moves the sun and the other stars'
> (Dante, *Par.* xxxiii. 144 f.).

LITERATURE.—In addition to books named in the article, see E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, London, 1906; L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, do. 1906; H. H. Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, Edinburgh, 1892; W. Beyschlag, *NT Theology*, do. 1895; E. Sartorius, *The Doctrine of Divine Love*, do. 1884; G. B. Stevens, *The Theology of the NT*, do. 1899; J. Seth, *A Study of Ethical Principles*^{3}, Edinburgh and London, 1898; J. C. Murray, *A Handbook of Christian Ethics*, Edinburgh, 1908; T. B. Strong, *Christian Ethics*, London, 1896; T. von Haering, *The Ethics of the Christian Life*, do. 1909; R. Law, *The Tests of Life*, Edinburgh, 1909; F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, iv., London, 1874, p. 222 f.; R. F. Horton, *The Trinity*, do. 1901, p. 133 f.

JAMES STRAHAN.

LOVE (Greek).—I. *GODS OF LOVE.*—**1. Introductory.**—Gods of love, whether co-ordinate with, or actually in opposition to, deities presiding over marriage and fertility, are products of a relatively late development. Doubtless, too, the moment of gratification gave rise to certain 'momentary gods,' and served to fix their permanent influence in the cultus; this group will include Aphrodite Πρᾶξις in Megara (Paus. I. xliii. 6), Aphrodite Πόρνη in Abydos (Athen. xiii. 572 C; cf. R. Meister, *Griechische Dial.*, Göttingen, 1882-89, ii. 230), Aphrodite Μιγωνῖτις in Gythium (Paus. III. xxii. 1), and Aphrodite Περιβασώ in Argos (Hesych. *s.v.*; Nicand. frag. 23 [Schneider]). In Provence the phallic demon Τέρπων was dedicated to her service (*IG* xiv. 2424), and the comic poet Plato (i. 648 [Kock]) enumerates a group of kindred figures in her retinue. Another special goddess is the Ῥαψώ of an inscription from Phalerum (J. N. Svoronos, *Das athen. Nationalmuseum*, ii. [1903] 495), whose character may be deduced from the epithets δολοπλόκος and Μαχανῖτις (Paus. VIII. xxxi. 6) applied to Aphrodite. With this single exception, however, Aphrodite is everywhere the most prominent figure.

2. Aphrodite.—Aphrodite was originally by no means merely a goddess of love; on the contrary, she also presided over the development of female life from the period of youth, and a relic of this conception survives in the story that she nurtured the daughters of Pandareus (Hom. *Od.* xx. 68). At marriages sacrifices were offered to her in conjunction with Hera and the Charites (*Etymologicum Magnum*, 220, 54) or else to her alone (in Hermione [Paus. II. xxxiv. 11]); in Sparta the bride's mother made a sacrifice to Aphrodite Hera (*ib.* III. xiii. 9). Aristophanes (*Nub.* 52, *Lysistr.* 2) speaks of Aphrodite Κωλιάς as specifically the goddess of women; and the Γενετυλλίδες, the goddesses of birth, belong to her circle (schol. to Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 130, *Lysistr.* 2; Hesych. *s.v.*). In an epigram of Theocritus (no. 13; cf. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Textgesch. der Bukoliker*, Berlin, 1906, p. 118) a woman of Cos thanks her for the fruits of her marriage. The prayers of widows for a second husband were directed to her (Naupactus [Paus. X. xxxviii. 12]); in Sparta she was entreated to retard the coming of old age (*ib.* III. xviii. 1; *Carm. Pop.* frag. 2 [Bergk]).

In addition to these functions, however, she promoted increase and growth in the larger world of nature, as appears from such epithets as Δωρῖτις (Cnidus [Paus. I. i. 3]) and Εὐδωσώ (Syracuse [Hesych. *s.v.*]), which can hardly apply exclusively to the δῶρα Κύπριδος. To her, as the goddess of fertility, the goat was sacred, and she rides upon it (A. Furtwängler, *SMA*, 1899, ii. 590 ff.; P. Gardner, *Mélanges Perrot*, Paris, 1902, p. 121 ff.).[1] Moreover, sacrifices of swine were offered to her, as to Demeter, at the festival of the Ὑστήρια in Argos (Athen. iii. 96 A; the name of the festival is ancient, as is shown by the mode of its formation; cf. Ἀνθεσ-τήρια); as also in Cos (W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscrip. Græc.*², Leipzig, 1898, p. 621), Thessaly, and Pamphylia (Strabo, ix. 438).[2] And, just as goddesses of the field and of fertility, like the Charites and the Horæ (*qq.v.*), were often represented as triads, so we find three Aphrodites in one temple at Thebes (Paus. IX. xvi. 3), and also—probably derived therefrom—in Megalopolis (*ib.* VIII. xxxii. 2).[3] In this broader capacity she was worshipped along with Zeus, as was Dione (who in Homer is her mother) in Dodona (*ib.* III. xii. 11; *IG* xii. 5. 220, where the names of Aphrodite and Zeus Ἀφροδίσιος occupy the first place in a dedication; *ib.* 551 *additam.*). Her association with Hermes is, no doubt, to be understood in the same way (Paus. VIII. xxxi. 3; *IG* xii. 5. 273; C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscr. grecques*, Brussels, 1896–1900, nos. 832, 33; *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, London, 1874–93, iv. 796; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene*, Berlin, 1906, no. 183). To her as the tutelary goddess of the meadow and of fertility, of the prosperity of man and beast, pertain also the dedications made to Aphrodite—probably as thanksgiving for εὐετηρία—by those who were leaving office, as found in Halicarnassus (*Ancient Inscr. in the Brit. Mus.*, iv. 901), Cos (*IG* xii. 5. 552), Paros (*ib.* xii. 5. 220), Megara (*ib.* vii. 41), Acræ in Sicily (*ib.* xiv. 208 ff.), and elsewhere. As the protectress of a whole people she is called Πάνδημος (cf. *CGS* ii. 658), and in this capacity she was actually accorded a πομπή at Athens (*IG* ii. Suppl. 314*c*). She invites human beings generally, not merely the sexes, and is thus called Ἑταίρα (Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, in G. Wentzel, Ἐπικλήσεις Θεῶν, Göttingen, 1890, p. 4) and Ἅρμα (Plut. *Amat.* xxiii., though a reference to marriage is also possible here).

Then the sinister aspect of her character as an earth-goddess is likewise duly brought out; she bears the epithets Ἐρινύς (Hesych. *s.v.*) and Μελαινίς (Paus. II. ii. 4; Athen. xiii. 588 C; Paus. VIII. vi. 5, IX. xxvii. 5), as does Demeter in Arcadia; in Thessaly there was a festival of Aphrodite Ἀνοσία or Ἀνδροφόνος (Nilsson, p. 378), which, it is true, seems to have had a reference to female love; probably Περσιθέα (Hesych. *s.v.*) is also to be interpreted by this conception. According to an ancient theogony, she, together with the Erinyes and the Moiræ, is descended from Kronos (schol. Soph. *Œd. Col.* 42). A kindred figure is the Nemesis of Rhamnus (Phot. *s.v.* Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις; cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Antigonos von Karystos*, Berlin, 1881, p. 10), while in Smyrna, again, we find two Νεμέσεις (*CGS* ii. 595 B, C; interpreted by F. G. Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre*, Leipzig, 1857–63, iii. 34).

In Aphrodite was merged another goddess, the pre-Hellenic Ariadne or Ariagne; the result is most clearly seen in Delos, where she acquires the name Hagne (*BCH* vii. [1883] 308), and in Amathus, where a festival in which the two sexes exchanged garments was celebrated in the grove of Aphrodite Ariadne (Nilsson, p. 369). Then in Cyprus we find a goddess of Spring named Aphrodite θεὰ Ϝηρπό(μ)πα (R. Meister, *SSGW*, 1910, p. 247), who appears again in Crete as Ἄνθεια (Hesych. *s.v.*), and in Pamphylia, where her priestesses are called ἀνθηφόροι (*CIG* ii. 2821 f.). Certain glosses of Hesychius (*s.vv.* θύλλα and ἀοῖα) which bring her into relation with the May-pole have likewise to do with this aspect of her character. In Amathus she is thought of as androgynous under the name of Ἀφρόδιτος (Hesych. *s.v.*); in Phæstus, similarly, we find the androgynous dæmon Leucippus (Nilsson, p. 270). It is usually supposed that the Aphrodite cult of this district was derived from the worship of Astarte, and that it spread thence over Greece (most recently Nilsson, p. 362; cf. also *ERE* ii. 118ᵃ). It has already been noted, however, that the Aphrodite cult of the Greek motherland presents certain features which cannot be explained as importations. There is also the fact that androgynous forms are unknown as regards Astarte (W. Baudissin, *PRE*³ ii. 156), and that such are shown to be Hellenic by the figure of Leucippus and the festival of Ariadne in Amathus. The epithet Ἀνίκατος, borne by the goddess in Cyprus (*SSGW*, 1910, p. 245), is certainly met with elsewhere only as an attribute of Oriental goddesses (O. Weinreich, *Ath. Mitt. des deut. archäolog. Instituts*, xxxvii. [1912] 29, note 1), but the name ἄμαχος θεός (Soph. *Ant.* 800) suggests that it was peculiarly congruous with Greek sentiment. Moreover, E. Sittig (*De Græcorum nominibus theophoris*, Halle, 1911, p. 105) has noted that there are in Cyprus no Phœnician theophoric names formed with 'Astarte.' It is true that in the ancient Greek tradition likewise there are only 'comparative,' but no theophoric, names derived from that of the goddess of love,[1] but the same holds good as regards Eros (*ib.* p. 110). In view of the early relation between Cyprus and Arcadia, it is of great importance to note that her birth-place was transferred not only to Cyprus or Cythera, but also to the River Ladon (Hesych. *s.v.* Λαδωγενής). On the other hand, it is not to be denied that the figure of Aphrodite shows a considerable admixture of Oriental features. Such are certainly the ritual prostitution of Paphos and Corinth (Nilsson, pp. 365, 376), the worship of Aphrodite Οὐρανία (*CGS* ii. 629), and perhaps the fact that her image was armed (*ib.* 654). Her relation to Ares, which is frequently ascribed to epic influence, has not been satisfactorily explained (cf. K. Tümpel, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.*, Suppl. xi. [1880] 641). Another doubtful point is the Hellenic origin of Aphrodite Εὔπλοια, the goddess of navigation (H. Usener, *Legenden der heiligen Pelagia*, Bonn, 1879, xx.); she may quite well have been evolved from the goddess of Spring, who was brought across the sea from Cyprus (cf. Theognis, 1275 ff.). On the other hand, we must certainly assign a Semitic origin (see W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*^{2}, London, 1894, p. 471) to the sacrifice of an *ovis pellita* to Aphrodite in Cyprus.[1] The worship of Aphrodite was also influenced by foreign deities in other districts; on the Black Sea there was an Οὐρανία of Scythian origin (Herod. iv. 59, 67), the lady of Apaturon (B. Latischev, *Inscrip. Pont. Eux.*, Petrograd, 1885–90, ii. 19).

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[1] Gardner's attempt to find an Oriental origin for this feature is rendered abortive by the fact that the goat has no place in the Astarte cult; similarly Furtwängler's efforts to interpret Aphrodite Ἐπιτραγία as a goddess of light are futile, as the aureole with which she is occasionally portrayed merely implies that at a later period she was identified with Οὐρανία.

[2] Farnell (*CGS* ii. 646) and M. P. Nilsson (*Griechische Feste*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 386) are undoubtedly wrong in seeking to trace in all these instances a connexion with Adonis; such a connexion finds no support in tradition, and, so far as the Argive festival is concerned, is contravened by the fact that there was no State cult of Adonis in Greece.

[3] Cf. H. Usener, in *Rhein. Museum*, lviii. [1903] 205, where he points out that the distinguishing names given by Pausanias must be of late origin.

[1] Even Ἀφρόδιτος (*IG* vii. 585) and Ἐπαφρόδιτος are 'comparatives'; there is no Ἐπαφροδίσιος at all.

The function of the goddess was in historical times narrowed down to that merely of the protectress of love. It is only as such, with the exception already noticed, that she is recognized in the Ionic epic, and it is therefore worthy of remark that her cult was introduced into Smyrna (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 63) and Ephesus (Michel, *Recueil*, 839 A 5, B 25) by means of oracles. Even at a later period theophoric names formed from 'Aphrodite' rarely occur in Ionia proper (Sittig, p. 108). Her temples in that region were almost all devoted to the goddess of love. In this capacity, too, she absorbed Peitho, who had originally an independent cult (in Sikyon [Paus. II. vii. 7]), but subsequently became sometimes an epithet (*IG* ix. 2. 236), sometimes an attendant, of Aphrodite (Weizsäcker, in Roscher, iii. 1797), as is aptly shown by the figure of Farnesina (*Mon. dell' Inst.* xii. [1885] 21). She usually appears as the goddess of female love, although the Aphrodite Αργυννίς of Bœotia (Phanocl. *ap.* Clem. Alex. *Protr.* ii. 38 [*PG* viii. 17]; Athen. xiii. 603 D; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀργύννιον) seems to have had to do with παιδικὸς ἔρως, as is certainly true of the Aphrodite Σκοτία of Phæstus (*Etym. Mag.* 543, 49; in Crete the boys were called σκότιοι [schol. to Eur. *Alc.* 989]). As Aphrodite was brought into relation with the evening star in the myth of Phaon-Phaethon (Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Hermes*, xviii. [1883] 416 ff., *Sappho und Simonides*, Berlin, 1913, p. 33 f.), it is easy to see why maidens should murmur their love-pangs to the moon-goddess (schol. to Theocr. ii. 10; Hesych. *s.v.* οὐρανία αἴξ), just as in the Erotic Fragment (6) the lover invokes the stars and the συνερῶσα νύξ.

3. Eros.—Besides Aphrodite the only Greek love-deity of real importance is Eros. He too had a more general function as a deity of procreation, viz. in Thespiæ, where he was worshipped as a stone fetish (Paus. IX. xxvii. 1), as also probably in Parion, in Laconian Leuktra (*ib.* III. xxvi. 5), and in the sex-cult of the Lycomids (*ib.* IX. xxvii. 2; cf. Furtwängler, *Jahrb. des deut. archäolog. Instituts*, vi. [1892] 116 f.). In Elis he is represented beside the Charites, and to the right of them (Paus. VI. xxiv. 7), *i.e.* as their leader, like Hermes elsewhere. From his procreative aspect arose the cosmic character which he bears in Hesiod and among the Orphics. In consequence of the obvious derivation of his name, however, he remained all along the god of sensual desire. His cult had only a narrow range. In Laconia and Crete sacrifices were offered to him before a battle (Athen. xiii. 561 C), and the connexion between these and pæderasty has been explained by E. Bethe (*Rhein. Mus.* lxii. [1907] 445). We are told also that in the Academy he had an altar which was supposed to have been erected in the period of the Pisistratidæ (Athen. xiii. 609 D; Plut. *Sol.* 1), but Euripides (*Hipp.* 538) asserts that offerings were never paid to him at all. In literature and art his figure was always a mutable one, and he is the subject of no clear-cut myth (J. Boehlau, *Philolog.* lx. [1901] 321, and cf. O. Waser, in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. 487). Alcman (frag. 38 [Bergk^4]) calls him a boy; Anacreon sometimes obviously regards him as a youth (frags. 2, 47), while in other passages (*e.g.*, frag. 62) one may well doubt whether he thinks of him as a personal deity at all. But this indefiniteness of outline, which persists throughout the subsequent period, is counterbalanced by the magnificence of the associated conception. While Sappho (frag. 1) naively prays to Aphrodite, who inflicts and removes the pains of love, Æschylus (frag. 44 [Nauck^2]) extols the might of that craving which pervades all that lives, and depicts the shattering effects of ἀπερωπὸς ἔρως (*Choeph.* 599); and the other two great tragedians give expression to similar ideas regarding the destructive and enravishing power of Ἔρως (Soph. *Ant.* 781; Eur. *Hipp.* 525, 1268, *Iph. Aul.* 543). Thereafter philosophical speculation seizes upon the conception, and exalts it to heights before undreamed of. Plato (*Conviv.* 187 D), playing upon the etymology of the words, contrasts Οὐρανία and Πάνδημος as sacred and profane love—a contrast having no foundation in their essential meaning, but dominating their usage for the future.

4. Later developments.—In the sphere of common life the deities of love declined as the practice of hetærism gained ground. In this period the Ἀφροδίσια became a characteristically hetæristic festival (Nilsson, p. 374). Besides Eros we now find Ἵμερος and Πόθος, 'Longing' and 'Fulfilment' (Paus. I. xliii. 6; on the meaning of Πόθος cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff on Bion's *Adonis*, v. 58), and in other districts Ἀντέρως (Paus. I. xxx. 1, VI. xxiii. 3, 5). The earlier tradition still makes itself felt in the verses in which the bearded Eros of Simias (*Bucolici Græci*, ed. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Oxford, 1905, p. 147) describes his powers, but coincidently, from the period of the vase paintings ornamented with gold, a multitude of dallying Erotes find their way into art and literature, as shown by the epigrams of the Anthology and the paintings found in Pompeii. Among the Hellenistic societies the Aphrodisiasts were largely represented (F. Poland, *Griechisches Vereinswesen*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 189 ff.), though it is true that there were among them numerous foreign (Syriac) cults. The high favour enjoyed by Adonis also served to revive the worship of Aphrodite; the deities of love in general now reached their highest vogue, and it is in this period that we first meet with theophoric names derived from Aphrodite, though no doubt—with but few exceptions—in the lower ranks of society (Sittig, p. 108). Aphrodite and Eros are no longer deities of the procreative impulse, but are the guardian spirits of love in the modern sentimental sense. It is worthy of note that unhappy lovers now frequent the supposed tomb of Rhadine and Leontichos, the heroine and hero of the romance of Stesichorus (Paus. VII. v. 13). Syncretism once more laid hold of the figure of the love-goddess, and combined it with that of the healing mother of the gods (*IG* iii. 136), while the recollection of her larger function survives in the literary tradition, as appears in the Proem of Lucretius, and as reveals itself also, immediately before the collapse of the ancient religion, in the *Pervigilium Veneris* (*Anth. Lat.* i. 144 [Riese and Bücheler])—the last memorial of antiquity to the goddess whose influence pervades the universe.

LITERATURE.—The more important works have been cited in the course of the article. The reader may also consult: W. H. Engel, *Kypros*, Berlin, 1841, ii. (materials); A. Enmann, 'Kypros und der Ursprung des Aphroditekults,' in *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. de St. Pétersbourg*, xxxiv. [1886] p. xiii; L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*^{4}, Berlin, 1887–94, i. 345, 501; W. H. Roscher, art. 'Aphrodite,' in Roscher; A. Furtwängler, art. 'Eros,' *ib.*; P. Weizsäcker, art. 'Peitho,' *ib.*; K. Tümpel, art. 'Aphrodite,' in Pauly-Wissowa (to be used with caution); O. Waser, art. 'Eros,' *ib.*

KURT LATTE.

II. *ETHICAL IDEAS.*—**1. The Homeric age.**—It remains to examine what ideas concerning the emotion of love and its ethical value were characteristic of the Greeks; and the survey will reveal considerable develpoment in consequence of political and social movements, together with a certain variety of contemporary opinions in the most important eras. The charming pictures of domestic affection which are to be found in the Homeric poems, such as the parting of Hector and Andromache (*Il.* vi. 370 ff.) or the meeting of Odysseus and Penelope (*Od.* xxiii. 85 ff.), and even occasional comments like 'there is nothing mightier and better than when husband and wife keep house with united hearts' (*Od.* vi. 182 ff.), and the tenderness of the allusion to the soft voices of the youth and maiden while they are courting each other (*Il.* xxii. 128), reflect a condition of society in which wedded love was highly prized. This was the natural outcome of the respect with which women were treated, and of the comparatively high degree of liberty which they enjoyed.

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[1] The πρόβατον κωδίῳ ἐσκεπασμένον (Joh. Lydus, *de Mens.* iv. 65) is doubtless to be understood in this sense; cf. J. Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*^{2}, Leipzig, 1886, p. 476.

2. Post-Homeric development.—The causes which led to the disappearance of the Achæan monarchies are imperfectly known to us (see art. KING [Greek and Roman]), and the evidence available does not enable us to trace the course of the changes which lowered women in public estimation by depriving them of their earlier freedom. But signs of their depreciation may be observed even in the utilitarian precepts of Hesiod regarding marriage (*Works and Days*, 700 ff.); and the same tone pervades the invective of Semonides of Amorgos (frag. 7), whose pattern wife is the offspring of the busy bee blessing with material increase the gathered store of her mate (line 83 ff.). It is remarkable that the same simile is employed by Ischomachus in describing to his wife the duties which he expects her to perform (Xen. *Œcon.* vii. 32), and the whole of the training prescribed in Xenophon's dialogue (*op. cit.* vii.–x.), as well as casual allusions to domestic happiness, shows that the Attic ideal was satisfied by the loyalty of a careful and thrifty housewife (Lys. i. 7). In historical times an ordinary Greek marriage was so entirely prompted by motives of convenience that we read without surprise the typical sentiment of the Athenian orator:

> 'While we keep a mistress to gratify our pleasure and a concubine to minister to our daily needs, we marry a wife to raise legitimate issue and to have our property carefully preserved' ([Dem.] lix. 122).

3. Sappho.—It must not be supposed that in the meantime the passionate outpourings of the lover failed to find adequate expression in literature. In this respect the poems of Sappho occupy so peculiar a position that an attempt must be made to define it. Sappho, a poetess of such eminence as to have been accounted the rival of Homer and to have earned the title of the tenth Muse (*Anth. Pal.* VII. xiv. 15; cf. Strabo, p. 617), owed most of her reputation to the fervour of her love-poems. Yet in estimating their tendency we encounter unusual difficulty, partly because, notwithstanding the additions made in recent years, only scanty fragments of her writings survive, and partly because comic poets and later gossip-mongers have shrouded her name in unmerited scandal. It is generally admitted that the story of her unrequited love for Phaon and of her despairing leap from the Leucadian rock are fictions due, perhaps, to a misunderstanding of her own words (U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Sappho und Simonides*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 24–40). The grosser suspicions, such as those indicated by Seneca in his reference (*Ep.* lxxxviii. 37) to the discussion of Didymus 'an Sappho publica fuerit,' are not to be supported by such doubtful evidence as frag. 52, and are contradicted no less by the soundest part of the tradition, which represents her as a wife and a mother (Suid. *s.v.* *Σαπφώ*; cf. Sappho, frag. 85), than by the sincerity and freedom of her genuine utterances. The psychological problem presented by frags. 1 and 2 and Berlin frags. 2 and 5 is to understand how the yearning affection inspired by the loss or departure of one of her girl friends came to be expressed in terms usually reserved for the rapturous emotions of sexual love. The solution, so far as the evidence permits us to form a definite conclusion, is to be sought in the character of a remarkable personality. If Sappho was the inspiring genius of a society of beautiful and high-born maidens, who sought at her hands instruction in the poetic art (frag. 136), and with whom she lived on terms of intimate affection, there was no reason why she should not, with a different intention, have anticipated the behaviour of Socrates to his young disciples, by giving utterance to her whole-hearted devotion in the language of passionate love. The parallel was drawn in antiquity by Maximus Tyrius (xxiv. 9), who was, doubtless, not the first to suggest it; and in modern times the good name of Sappho has been defended by F. G. Welcker (*Kleine Schriften*, Göttingen, 1816, ii. 80–144) and, more recently, by von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (*op. cit.* pp. 17–78).

4. Tragic and other poets.—The poetic treatment of love was usually confined, as, *e.g.*, by Mimnermus and Anacreon, to its sensual aspect, and it is clear from the history of the tragic stage that a serious preoccupation with the causes, symptoms, or effects of love was considered unworthy of a poet who aspired to be true to his calling. Hence Aristophanes (*Ran.* 1043 f.), in the character of Æschylus, attacked the degeneracy of Euripides in exhibiting on the stage the lust of Phædra and Stheneboea, whereas the elder poet had never been guilty of describing a woman in love. The unfairness of this criticism is sufficiently demonstrated by the nobility of the female portraits to be found in the extant plays; but it is particularly important to observe that here, as in some other respects, Euripides was the herald of a new development in imaginative literature of which the climax has probably been reached in the extraordinary popularity of the romantic novel during the last hundred years. To this we shall presently return. If we exclude certain features in the psychological studies of Euripides, however, the dominant conception of love figured its victims as entirely passive, since love was an over-mastering force which, entering into a man's body, permeated it so completely that he was no longer able to control his impulses. Love was a particular phase of possession by a demonic being as popularly conceived (cf. Plut. *Amat.* xviii. p. 763 A), and was consequently described as a disease (Soph. *Trach.* 544) or a madness (Eur. frag. 161). The medium which conveyed the mysterious influence was the faculty of sight (Æsch. *Ag.* 427 f.; Thuc. II. xliii. 1; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ix. 5. 1167*a* 4). The lover's glance was a physical emanation from the eye, which, making its way straight to the eye of the beloved object, was met in its course by the responsive gaze speeding as fast towards the lover (Soph. frag. 433; Heliod. iii. 7; Plut. *Quæst. Conv.* v. vii. 2, p. 681 B). The shaft of light then came to be regarded as a weapon (*βέλος*, *τόξευμα*) which inflicted a wound upon its victim (see *ClR* xxiii. [1909] 255 ff., where copious illustration is given). But the love-god had his wings as well as his bow and arrow (Eur. *Hipp.* 530 ff.). For, by another figure, every violent transport of emotion, including poetic inspiration (Pind. *Isthm.* v. 64) and fear (Apoll. Rhod. iv. 23), as well as frenzy (Eur. *Bacch.* 332) and love (Plat. *Phædr.* 246 D, etc.), was represented in the guise of soaring wings, as if under such influences the agent were lifted out of his normal sphere into a higher region by some supernatural force. Sophocles, in a famous fragment (frag. 855 N.²), characterizes the love-goddess, here a personification of the passion itself, in the following words:

> 'Love is not love alone, but is called by many names; it is Death, it is immortal Might, it is raging Frenzy, it is vehement Desire, it is Lamentation; in Love is all activity, all peace, all that prompts to violence.'

Over and over again stress is laid upon the irresistible power of Love: he is the mightiest of all the gods (Eur. frags. 269, 430; Menand. frag. 235, iii. 67 K., frag. 449, iii. 129 K.); and not one of them (Soph. *Trach.* 443), not even Zeus himself (Eur. frag. 684; Menand. frag. 209, iii. 60 K.), can withstand his attack.

> 'He is not wise,' says Deianira in the *Trachiniæ* (441 f.), 'who stands forth to contend with Love, like a boxer at close quarters.'

It is not difficult to imagine the result of this assumption upon the attitude of the average Athenian citizen. The celebrated ἱερόδουλοι of the Corinthian Aphrodite (cf. Pind. frag. 122 and art. HIERODOULOI [Græco-Roman]) help to explain the absence of moral reproach directed against the notorious ἑταῖραι of Athens. Resistance to the onset of Love is no less reprehensible than it is futile (Eur. frag. 340), though excessive indulgence is as much to be deprecated as entire abstinence (Eur. frag. 428). Such self-control as was exhibited by Agesilaus in refraining, despite the violence of his passion, from accepting the kiss offered by a beautiful Persian boy (Xen. *Ages.* v. 4 f.) was so rare that the historian felt it to be altogether marvellous.

5. Pæderasty.—The passage last quoted confronts us with that form of the love-passion, the love of boys, which has come to be known as 'Greek love,' and has tarnished the whole fabric of Greek morality. There is no trace of this custom to be found in the Homeric poems; for the assertion of such relations having existed between Achilles and Patroclus is not, so far as we can tell, earlier than Æschylus (frag. 136 [*Tragicorum Græcorum Fragmenta*², Leipzig, 1889, p. 44]). But there is no doubt of its antiquity, at any rate, among the Dorian branch of the Greek race. This is established by the evidence of certain Theraic inscriptions (*Inscriptiones Græcæ insularum maris Ægæi*, ed. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, iii. [1904] 536 f.); by the relation between the εἰσπνήλας and ἀΐτας in the disciplinary system of Spartan training (Plut. *Lyc.* xvii. f.; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 10, 12); and by the curious custom of the Cretans, according to which the lover carried off his favourite by a show of force, and was more or less seriously resisted according to his supposed merit (Strabo, pp. 483, 484). The inveteracy of the habit may be attributed to its long descent from a primitive period when continuous military service involved a scarcity of women (Bethe, in *Rhein. Mus.* lxii. 438 ff.). Moreover, it is fair to admit that the results of such companionship were by no means invariably bad.

> T. Gomperz has well remarked that 'the sentiment in question appeared in as many, if not more, varieties and gradations, than the love of women at the present day. Here, as elsewhere, a noble scion was often grafted upon a savage stock. Devotion, enthusiastic, intense, ideal, was not infrequently the fruit of these attachments, the sensual origin of which was entirely forgotten' (*Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr., London, 1901–12, ii. 380).

Such an elevation of sentiment is the easier to understand if we bear in mind the continually increasing segregation of the sexes to which reference has already been made, and which, owing to the natural craving for sympathy and affection, left a gap to be otherwise filled. Widely spread as the evil undoubtedly was,[1] there were many—probably an increasing number—who were keenly alive to its disgrace. But sentiment varied among different communities, and, as compared with Athens, Thebes and Elis were subject to an unenviable notoriety in this respect (Xen. *Symp.* viii. 34; Plat. *Symp.* 182 D).

6. Philosophic love.—Such was the state of society when the teaching of Socrates began to open a new era in the progress of morality. By putting sexual desires more or less on the level of the other bodily wants (Xen. *Mem.* IV. v. 9, *Symp.* iv. 38), Socrates scarcely advanced beyond the prudential standpoint of the ordinary person. But his character, so completely vindicated by Alcibiades in the *Symposium* (215 A ff.), was free from any suspicion of vice; and, though he sometimes ironically pretended to be enamoured of beauty (Xen. *Mem.* VI. i. 2, *Symp.* iv. 27), and actually described himself as the lover of his younger companions and pupils (Xen. *Symp.* viii. 2), yet he energetically repressed the erotic tendencies of his associates (Xen. *Mem.* I. ii. 29, I. iii. 8), and required that a spurious love should be converted into a true friendship aiming solely at the moral improvement of the beloved object (Xen. *Symp.* viii. 27). Plato developed his master's teaching on this subject by connecting it with the innermost core of his philosophical system, and, in the dialogues *Symposium* and *Phædrus*, he expounded with matchless literary skill his doctrine respecting the true nature and purpose of love. The argument in the *Phædrus* (250 A) starts from the hypothesis of the immortality and pre-existence of the soul, which in its ante-natal state was associated with the eternal verities of the ideal world. Now, the ideas of Justice and Temperance are scarcely visible in their earthly counterfeits, and their apprehension is difficult and seldom attained. But Beauty is always so conspicuous that its phenomenal representation attracts at once the admiration even of those who are strangers to the mysteries of wisdom, and are engrossed in their mortal surroundings. Thus souls from which the glories of the images once beheld have faded by contact with earthly clogs, so far from being sanctified and inspired by the sight of beautiful forms, are stirred only with fleshly desire. But it is different with the lover who is also a philosopher, and his progress is described in the lecture of Diotima reported by Socrates in the *Symposium* (pp. 210, 211). The true lover, by contemplating the beauty of the beloved object, is immediately reminded of absolute Beauty itself. With his personal admiration for his beloved freed from the trammels of bodily fetters, he sees even more keenly the beauty of mind and character of which the outward form is only the reflexion. Presently he perceives the common kinship of beauty wherever it is manifested in action or thought, and learns that its complete apprehension is the task of a single science. Lastly, passing entirely from the individual to the universal, his soul is so greatly purified as to become re-united with the idea of Beauty itself, which is the ultimate source of all beautiful persons and things belonging to the phenomenal world. Such is the significance of τὸ ὀρθῶς παιδεραστεῖν (*Symp.* 211 B), or τὸ παιδεραστεῖν μετὰ φιλοσοφίας (*Phædr.* 249 A).[1] Plato's philosophy left its mark upon subsequent ethical speculation, but was too much exalted to affect the opinion of the ordinary citizen. Aristotle distinguished perfect friendship between good men based upon character from the spurious friendship of lover and beloved aiming at pleasure or utility (*Eth. Nic.* viii. 4. 1157*a* 1 ff.). Whereas the Epicureans entirely rejected love as a violent impulse attended by frenzy and distraction (Epic.

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[1] The free use of the word παιδικά in this relation is itself significant.

[1] J. Burnet has recently undertaken to show that the whole of the doctrine commonly attributed to Plato was actually propagated by Socrates (*Greek Philosophy*, i., 'Thales to Plato,' London, 1914, p. 140). It is obviously impossible to discuss the question here.

frag. 483 [Usener]), the Stoics followed closely in Plato's footsteps by recommending it to the Wise Man as an attempt to produce friendship with youths who displayed in their beauty a capacity for virtue (Diog. Laert. vii. 129; Stob. *Ecl.* ii. p. 115, 1 [Wachsmuth]; Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 70, etc.). Plotinus, as might be expected, adopted the rules laid down in the *Symposium* as a means of approach to the supra-rational and transcendent First Being (Porphyr. *Vit. Plotin.* xxiii.). On the other hand, Plutarch, whose dialogue entitled ἐρωτικός aimed at reconciling conflicting views by a return to the commonsense point of view, while he was largely influenced by Platonic imagery, vindicated the claim of woman as the proper object of a divinely inspired passion (21, p. 766 E ff.). We even find Plato condemned altogether as unworthy of serious attention by such writers as Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*de Admir. vi dicendi in Demosth.*, p. 1027), Athenæus (508 D), and Heraclitus, the author of the Homeric Allegories (76, p. 101, 19).

7. Romantic love.—In the meantime we are able to trace the growth in Greek literature of the romantic love-story in which the hero and heroine, who have fallen in love at first sight, after a series of adventures are at last happily united. The realistic treatment by Euripides of certain tragic subjects was undoubtedly one of the causes which contributed to the appearance of the domestic drama known as the New Comedy. Among the stock elements in the plots of Menander and his rivals we find the intrigue of the son of a rich citizen with a slave-girl who often proves to have been originally a free-born Athenian exposed by or otherwise lost to her parents; the overreaching of an unsympathetic parent or a rascally pander by the cunning of a devoted slave or parasite; and the ultimate reconciliation of all parties, leading to the marriage of the happy lovers. But pathos and sentiment were entirely alien to the cold atmosphere and artificial mechanism of these plays. A new tone—that of sympathy with the fortunes of the lovers—asserted itself for the first time in some of the masterpieces of Alexandrian literature. Whether this was merely the result of the diffusion of the Hellenic spirit outside the confines of the city communities through the countries which then constituted the civilized world, or more specifically of closer acquaintance with popular Eastern tales such as that of Abradates and Panthea in Xenophon (*Cyrop.* v. i. 3, VI. i. 31 ff., iv. 2–11, VII. i. 29–32, iii. 2–16; see J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*², London, 1896, p. 254; E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*², p. 583 ff.), it is impossible now to determine. The vigour of Alexandrian love-poetry receives its best illustration in the third book of Apollonius's *Argonautica*, where the growth of Medea's passion for Jason, the conflicting interests prompting her to struggle against it, and her final submission to an irresistible emotion are depicted with poetic power of a very high order. There is no doubt that Vergil made Apollonius his chief model when constructing the well-known episode of the loves of Dido and Æneas. Another example was the love-story of Acontius and Cydippe described by Callimachus in the course of a digression in the *Ætia*, the conclusion of which has recently been discovered in one of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (no. 1011 [=vii. [1910] 15 ff.]). The various features which became common to the writers of these romantic narratives have been summarized (A. Couat, *La Poésie alexandrine sous les trois Ptolémées*, Paris, 1882, pp. 140–160; J. P. Mahaffy, *op. cit.* p. 256 ff.) as follows: (1) the minute portraiture of the personal beauty of the lovers; (2) the sudden interposition of the love-god at their first meeting; (3) the record of the misfortunes obstructing the fulfilment of their wishes; (4) the description of the pangs of thwarted love; and (5) the importance attached to the preservation of the virgin purity of the heroine amidst all her trials and dangers until her final reunion with the hero. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the influence exerted by the art of Callimachus and Philetas upon Latin poetry, and especially upon the works of Catullus, Propertius, and Ovid; but mention should be made of the Μιλησιακά of Aristides, which had an extensive circulation in the Roman era (Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 413; Lucian, *Am.* i.). This was a collection of erotic tales put together in the 2nd cent. B.C., whose general character may be inferred from Petronius, Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*, and Lucian's *Asinus*. The work of Parthenius dedicated to Cornelius Gallus was different in both scope and purpose: it consisted of excerpts relating to the misfortunes of lovers and drawn from various historians and poets. The characteristic features of the romantic love-story enumerated above were closely followed by the later romance-writers (ἐρωτικοί; cf. art. FICTION [Primitive] (*j*)), who were the direct inheritors of the Alexandrian tradition and became extremely popular in the Middle Ages (I. Bekker, *Anecd. Græca*, Berlin, 1814, p. 1082). The best of these novels was the *Æthiopica* of Heliodorus (3rd cent. A.D.), who was preceded by Xenophon, the author of the *Ephesiaca*, and followed by Achilles Tatius (*Leucippe and Clitophon*) and Chariton (*Chæreas and Callirrhoe*). The *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus was constructed according to the same plan, but under the influence of the pastoral *Idylls* of Theocritus. To these names should be added the fictitious love-letters of Alciphron and Aristænetus, which aimed at restoring the Attic flavour of the New Comedy.

LITERATURE.—Several of the authorities consulted have been indicated above. Certain portions of the subject-matter are covered by E. Bethe, 'Die dorische Knabenliebe,' *Rhein. Mus.* lxii. [1907] 438 ff.; E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*², Leipzig, 1900. For the ethical development in general, see the authorities quoted under ETHICS AND MORALITY (Greek), and especially L. Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, Berlin, 1888, i. 204–208; J. Denis, *Histoire des théories et des idées morales dans l'antiquité*², Paris, 1879, ii. 122–154.

A. C. PEARSON.

LOVE (Jewish).—The dictionaries define love as 'a feeling of strong personal attachment, induced by that which delights or commands admiration.' The subdivisions of this sentiment comprise the impulses of attachment, due to sexual instinct, or the mutual affections of man and woman; the impulses which direct the mutual affections of members of one family, parents and children, brothers and other relatives; the attachment that springs from sympathetic sentiments of people with harmonious character, friendship; and, finally, the various metaphorical usages of the word, as the love for moral and intellectual ideals. To the last class belongs the religious concept of love for God, while the particular Biblical conception of God's love for Israel is closely related to the idea of paternal affection.

1. Sexual love.—Love for woman as an irresistible impulse is most strongly represented in Canticles in the words:

> 'Love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as the grave: the flashes thereof are flashes of fire, a very flame of the Lord. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it: if a man would give all the substance of his house for love, he would utterly be contemned' ($8^{6f.}$).

The passion of sexual instinct which must be elevated by a feeling of love is repeatedly referred to in the same book ($2^{6f.}$ 3^{5} $5^{6.\ 8}$ $8^{3f.}$; see also $1^{3f.\ 7}$ $2^{4f.}$ $3^{1\text{-}4.\ 5.\ 10}$ 7^{7}), and sensuous life of the low physical type is often mentioned either directly (Pr 7^{18}) or as the most natural metaphor for reprehensible inclinations (Hos 3^{1}). The Biblical stories give us repeated instances of the power of sexual passion, as in the case of Samson (Jg 14^{16} $16^{4.\ 15}$), where the demonic power of woman over man leads man to ruin. Similar is the case of Shechem (Gn 34), though in his case the love for Dinah is not of the strictly carnal nature which characterizes the relation between Samson and Delilah. The love of King Solomon for many strange women—a prototype of the baneful influence of the harem on politics in the Orient—is given in the Bible (1 K 11^{1}) as the cause of the downfall of the wisest of kings. The Rabbis consistently prove from this story that it is impossible for any man to guard against the influence of woman, and use this fact as support for the theological doctrine that law is unchangeable; for even Solomon, who thought he was wise enough to be safe from having his heart turned away by women (Dt 17^{17}), fell a victim to their influence (*Ex. Rabbā*, ch. vi., *Tanḥūmā*, *Ex.*, ed. S. Buber, Wilna, 1885, p. 18).

With equal force sexual passion is described in the case of Amnon, raping his stepsister Tamar (2 S 13), when, after the gratification of the brutal impulse, Amnon's passion turns into hatred and disgust (v.^{15}), a story which has a remarkable parallel in Max Halbe's tragedy *Jugend* (Berlin, 1893). The term 'love' is also used with regard to other physical pleasures, as love for delicacies (Gn 27^{4}).

2. Matrimonial and parental love.—The higher conception of matrimonial love as an attachment which elevates sexual relationship, just as the latter without such relationship is degrading, is often referred to both in principle and in illustrative story. The case of Jacob, who was willing to work seven years in order to gain Rachel, and the remark that those seven years passed by like 'a few days' (Gn 29^{20}), as well as the hope of Leah that the birth of her third son would make Jacob love her (v.^{34}), show that ideal matrimonial relations are to be governed by spiritual affection. Thus the marriage of Isaac and Rebekah, arranged by their parents, ripens into love (Gn 24^{67}). A further stage to the relation of Jacob and Leah is that of Elkanah and Hannah (1 S 1^{8}), where the husband tries to console his wife, longing for the blessing of children, by saying, 'Am I not better to thee than ten sons?' David is spurred by the love of Michal to do great acts of valour (18^{28})—a conception of life akin to that of troubadour times. Even in the story of Esther the king's love for the queen (Est 2^{17}), while in many ways showing the characteristics of an Oriental despot, willing to give half of his kingdom away in order to gratify the whim of an odalisk, is presented as an attachment seizing the king with the force of a sudden passion. Such passion is referred to in the case of a captive of war, and the law requiring that she be allowed time to become assimilated to her environment is dictated by a delicate understanding of womanly feelings (Dt 21^{10-14}). The placing of duty above personal feeling underlies the law for the conduct of a man who has two wives, one of whom is beloved, and the other hated (vv.$^{15-17}$). It is worthy of note that Rabbinical apologetics explains the love as a tribute of piety and hatred as being 'hated by God' (*Sifrē*, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1864, p. 113). At the same time Rabbinic ethics derives from this law a condemnation of polygamy as leading to domestic trouble (*ib.*). In a warning against sexual licence the author of Proverbs advises (5^{19}) devotion to 'the loving hind and the pleasant doe'; and the author of Ecclesiastes gives as a recipe for happiness the advice:

> 'Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity . . . for that is thy portion in life' (9^{9}).

It is significant that such advice was put in the mouth of King Solomon. In full harmony with this conception of domestic felicity, as the highest ideal of life, are many Rabbinical statements.

> 'Of him who loves his wife like himself and honours her more than himself, Scripture (Job 5^{24}) says: "Thou shalt know that thy tent is in peace"' (*Yᵉbhāmôth*, 62*b*).

Closely related to this conception of love is the love of children, so often referred to in the OT, and already implied in the many passages praising the happiness derived from the possession of children (Ps 127^{3-5} 128^{3}, Pr 17^{6}) and the misfortune of not having children, as in the case of Rachel, who would rather die than live without them (Gn 30^{1}), and in the similar case of Hannah (1 S 1). The love of Jacob for Joseph, because 'he was the son of his old age' (Gn $37^{3f.}$), and the love for Benjamin, who, in addition to being a son of his father's old age, was the only one left of his mother (44^{20}), are so naturally presented that they show the psychological continuity of human nature. The same feature of truly human life is seen in the story of Jacob and Esau, where the father loves the daring hunter Esau, while Rebekah feels more affection for Jacob, the young man of domestic habits (25^{28}). Such affection does not rest in the blood, but is often stronger in persons attracted by congenial feelings. There is hardly in the whole world's literature a nobler expression of devotion than the words spoken by Ruth to Naomi (Ru $1^{16f.}$), and the words of felicitation spoken to Naomi on the birth of Ruth's son, that Ruth's love for her is greater than that of seven sons (4^{15}), are felt by the reader of to-day as a profound truth, just as they were at the time when they were written. A similar feeling of affinity is that of the faithful servant, of which the law takes cognizance in the case of a slave who would rather stay in the house of his master than go free (Dt 15^{16}, Ex 21^{5}).

3. Friendship and wider love.—The love of friends is naturally presented in comparison with that arising from sexual and blood relationship. David says of Jonathan: 'Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women' (2 S 1^{26}). A true friend is one 'that sticketh closer than a brother' (Pr 18^{24}). False friends who fail in the hour of need are often referred to (Ezk $16^{33.\,36f.}$ $23^{5.\,9}$, Hos $2^{9.\,12.\,15}$, La 1^{19}, Ps $109^{4f.}$). The happiness that friendship brings in poverty is contrasted with abundance and hatred (Pr 15^{17}). In correct interpretation of this experience the Rabbis speak of the natural friendship of the ostracized for each other, naming the proselytes, slaves, and ravens (Talm. *Pᵉsāḥîm*, 113*b*). As specimen of the highest love the Rabbis give the case of David and Jonathan (1 S 20^{17}), and contrast it with that of Amnon and Tamar, showing that the first, because unselfish, lasted, while the second, being based on carnal passion, could not last (*Ābhôth*, v. 16).

Love, as not limited to friends, but extended to all mankind, is a principle the priority of which Jewish and Christian theologians have been contesting with one another. On the Jewish side it was claimed that the command, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lv 19^{18}), is universal. As proof for this conception it was adduced that the commandment of love in the same chapter is extended to the stranger, 'for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt' (v.^{34}),[1] and that, therefore, it expresses implicitly the idea of Hillel (*q.v.*)—a teacher of the 1st cent. B.C.—'What is hateful unto thee do not unto thy neighbour; this is the whole Torah, and all the rest is its commentary' (Talm. *Shabbath*, 31*a*). It is claimed that in the same sense Rabbi Aqîbā, a teacher of the 2nd cent., said: '"Love thy neighbour as thyself" is a great principle[2] in the Torah' (*Sifrā*, *Qᵉdhôshîm*, ch. 4; *Yᵉrūshalmī Nᵉdhārîm*, x. 3). Christianity, on the other hand, claims that Jesus, in the parable of the Good Samaritan (Lk 10^{30-37}), was the first to answer the question, Who is my neighbour?, in the universalistic sense.[1] One might introduce the argument that the Rabbis interpret the commandment, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' as teaching a humane method of execution, evidently implying that even the criminal remains our neighbour (Talm. *Pes.* 75*a*). The Hebrew word *ôhēbh* ('lover') for friend is also used in the social sense, as in the case of Hiram and David (1 K 5^{15} [EV 5^{1}]).

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[1] See also Dt 10^{18}.

[2] Or the fundamental principle.

True love is tested by the sincerity which will not hesitate to rebuke and which will accept rebuke (Pr 9^{8}), but, on the other hand, loving friendship will overlook faults (10^{12} 17^{9}). In the same sense the Talmud reports that Johanan ben Nūrî praised his companion Rabbi Aqîbā for having loved him more each time that their teacher chastised him on the ground of a charge made by Johanan (*Arākhîn*, 16*b*). For this reason controversy on religious questions between father and son, teacher and disciple, will promote their mutual love (*Qîddūshîn*, 30*b*). At the same time it is commanded to suppress hostile feelings. In Talmudic casuistry the question is asked, What precedes, if a man see at the same time his enemy's and his friend's ox or ass lying under his burden (Ex 23^{5})? The answer is given that he must first help his enemy 'in order that he train himself in subduing passion' (*Bābhā Mᵉṣî'ā*, 32*b*). Love is also used in the plain social sense, as when it is said that 'breakfast removes jealousy and brings love' (*ib.* 107*b*). The making of friends is true greatness. He is a strong man who can turn his enemy into a friend (*Ābhôth R. Nāthān*, ch. 23). Just as true friendship is praised and recommended, so false friendship is condemned. The Rabbis warn man to keep at a distance from high officials, for 'they pose as lovers, when they have use for you, and will not assist you in the time of distress' (*Ābhôth*, ii. 3). The utilitarian point of view in friendship is presented in the case of Canaan who—so the Talmud says—admonished his sons to love one another, but at the same time to love all vices (*Pᵉsāḥîm*, 113*b*). On the other hand, it is cited as an expression of true love, when Rabbi Judah han-Nāśî, while the spiritual head of the Jewish community, repealed his own decision in a legal case when he heard that Rabbi Jose had decided differently.

4. Metaphorical uses.—Love in the metaphorical sense is used very frequently in connexion with wisdom, especially in the introduction to Proverbs (4^{6} 8^{17}); see also the counterpart of loving folly or hating wisdom (1^{22} 8^{36}). As true wisdom is identical with the Torah, we find the love of the Torah (Ps $119^{97. 163}$) and of God's commandments (vv.$^{47\text{f.}\ 159}$) monotonously repeated in the long Psalm, which evidently is the work of an early Pharisee who anticipates the ideal presented in the sayings of the Fathers:

> 'Turn it [the Torah] over and turn it over, for everything is in it, speculate over it, grow old and grey with it, and never depart from it, for there is no higher conception of life than this' (*Ābhôth*, v. 22).

This conception is repeated innumerable times in theory and story. In commenting on the passage, 'This day thou art become the people of the Lord thy God' (Dt 27^{9}), the Rabbis say:

> 'Israel had indeed become God's people forty years previously, but Scripture wishes to say that to one who studies the Torah earnestly, it becomes new every day' (*Bᵉrākhôth*, 63*b*).

As an example of such devotion Joshua is quoted (*Mᵉnāḥôth*, 99*b*), to whom God said, not in the sense of a commandment, but in the sense of a blessing, that the Torah should not depart out of his mouth (Jos 1^{8}).

The love of instruction—in Hebrew synonymous with reproof (Pr 12^{1})—wisdom (29^{3}), purity of heart (22^{11}), righteousness (Ps 45^{7}), and kindness (Mic 6^{8}) are characteristic traits of the pious, just as to love their opposites is characteristic of the wicked (Ps $52^{5\text{f.}}$). The injunction of Micah (6^{8}) to do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God is presented by a Rabbi of the 4th cent. as the sum-total of 'the 613 commandments of the Torah' (*Makkôth*, 24*a*). The true disciple of Aaron is, according to Hillel, 'he that loves peace and pursues it' (*Ābhôth*, i. 12; cf. Ps 34^{14}). To Rabbinic theology ethical conduct and ritualistic conformity are equally divine commands (*ib.* ii. 1), and therefore the righteous is he who practises God's laws without regard to material advantage. Moses took care of Joseph's remains (Ex 13^{19}) while the Israelites were busy trying to secure the booty of the drowned Egyptians, which shows how he loved God's commandments (*Sôṭāh*, 13*a*), for to bury the dead is the highest of the cardinal virtues (see To 1^{17-19} $2^{3\text{ff.}}$, Mt 8^{21}, Lk 9^{59}). Fulfilling God's commandments at a great personal sacrifice is another proof of love. The legend reports that Rabbi Gamaliel bought a palm-branch at a thousand drachmæ to fulfil the divine commandment (Lv 23^{40}) even while on board a ship (*Sukkāh*, 41*b*). A similar story of a great number of ducats paid for an *ethrôg* (citron used on the same occasion) is told by L. Münz, *Rabbi Eleasar genannt Schemen Rokeach*, Trèves, 1895, p. 115. God's sanctuary, as a place where only the righteous may set their foot (Ps 15^{1}), is also an object of love for the righteous (26^{8}). In a eudæmonistic sense love is advised for the practical pursuits of life in the Rabbinic saying:

> 'Love Mᵉlākhāh [work in the sense of man's occupation], avoid office and seek not the acquaintance of those in power' (*Ābhôth*, i. 10).

As devotion to practical pursuits, love is mentioned in the case of king Uzziah, who is praised as one who 'loved husbandry' (2 Ch 26^{10}). Perhaps the obscure passage in Ec 5^{9} is to be interpreted in this sense of a king who is devoted 'to the field.' The popularity of a king is referred to as love in 1 S 18^{16}. As a love of the ruler for the people the Rabbis define the devotion to public improvements in the case of Joshua, who is said to have built roads and erected public buildings (*'Ērūbhîn*, 22*b*). Time-serving is implicitly condemned in those who 'love the rich, while the poor is hated by his own neighbour' (Pr 14^{20}). Prophets who seek their own material advantage are denounced as 'watchmen loving to slumber' (Is 56^{10}), and the people steeped in materialism are said to 'love cakes of raisin' (Hos 3^{1}).

A special theological aspect of love in the metaphorical sense is the use of the word as referring to the mutual relation of God and Israel, both in Biblical and in Rabbinical literature. The traditional liturgy speaks very often of God's love for Israel in giving it His commandments, especially Sabbath and holy days, and this love is often referred to in the Bible as the love of a father for his children, as that of a loving husband, and especially as that of a bridegroom (Dt $7^{8. 13}$ 23^{7}, 1 K 10^{9}, 2 Ch 2^{11} 9^{8}, Is 43^{4} 63^{9}, Hos 3^{1} 9^{15} 11^{1} 14^{4}, Mal 1^{2} 2^{11}). Inasmuch as Israel is ordained to maintain the heritage of Abraham to do justice (Gn 18^{19}), God loves justice and righteousness (Ps 33^{5} 37^{28} 146^{8}, Is 61^{8}) and hates him 'that loveth violence' (Ps 11^{5}). As Zion stands for the embodiment of all that is noble, God loves Mount Zion (78^{68}); and, as Israel's patriarchs were the living representatives of this ideal, God loves them and, for their sake, their descendants (Dt 4^{37}). Just as Israel is not selected by God for His power, but for His righteousness (Dt 7^{8} 10^{15}; cf. Pr 15^{9}), so He loves the humble (Is 66^{2}) and His symbol, the stranger (Dt 10^{18}). Prosperity is not a sign of God's love, and affliction is not a sign of His hatred, for the Lord often 'correcteth him that he loveth' (Pr 3^{12}; see Job 5^{17}). Yet prosperity is repeatedly quoted as a token of God's love, as in the case of Solomon (2 S 12^{24}). In a satirical sense the correctional value of suffering is referred to in a Talmudic story.

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[1] M. Lazarus, *Die Ethik des Judentums*, Frankfort, 1898, pp. 144–183.

> R. Ḥānînā calls on his friend R. Johanan who is ill, and asks him whether he loves his sufferings. Johanan answers: 'Neither the sufferings nor their reward' (*Berākhôth*, 5*b*).

The case of king Manasseh (2 Ch $33^{12\mathrm{f.}}$) is quoted as proof that suffering ought to be received with love (*Sanhedrîn*, 101*b*).

As a fundamental doctrine R. Aqîbā presents the principle that God loved mankind, for He created man in His image; He loved Israel, for He called them His children; and, furthermore, Israel is beloved by God, for He gave them a most precious gift, His Torah (*Ābhôth*, iii. 14). R. Aqîbā evidently wishes to grade God's love as the love of mankind in general, of Israel in particular, and of the law-observant Israelite as the best beloved. God, according to Rabbinic ethics, loves especially the humble and peaceful (*Berākhôth*, 17*a*), and more generally him who is beloved by his fellow-men (*Ābhôth*, iii. 10). Modesty is the best means to gain God's love.

> 'I love you, says God to Israel, because, when I elevate you, you humble yourselves, for Abraham called himself "dust and ashes" (Gn 18^{27}), and Moses said of himself and Aaron: "What are we?" (Ex 16^{8}), and David called himself: "I am a worm, and no man" (Ps 22^{6})' (*Ḥûllîn*, 89*a*).

God loves, says the Talmud in a different passage (*Pesāḥîm*, 113*b*), him who is calm, temperate, and humble, but hates him who is a hypocrite, who does not offer testimony when he knows something of the case, and who sees his neighbour commit a wrong and testifies, although he is the sole witness (gossip). Most probably in the sense of condemning luxury in the building of synagogues R. Ḥisdā, who lived in Babylonia in the 3rd cent., says, commenting on Ps 87^{2}:

> 'God loves the gates, ornamented with the Hălākāh [play on words: *ṣîyūn*, 'heap of stones,' and Ṣîyôn] more than all synagogues and schoolhouses' (*Berākhôth*, 8*a*).

It is consistent with this principle that the true Israelite who is beloved of God is in the sense of St. Paul (Ro 2^{28}) the spiritual Israelite, and therefore the heathen who came to Hillel to be converted, and desired to be assured that he might become high priest, was satisfied when he heard that 'the stranger who comes with his staff and wallet has the same rights as the Israelites who are called God's children' (*Shabbāth*, 31*b*). Israel is beloved by God, for the *Shekhînāh* accompanies them wherever they are exiled (*Megillāh*, 29*a*). A distinctly polemical idea is found in the statement of R. Jose, who says: 'God loves Israel so that they need no mediator' (*Yômā*, 52*a*), probably an antithesis to the statement in the Gospel of John (3^{16} 14^{6}). Yet the Rabbinic theologians considered also a miracle a proof of divine love (*Ḥăgîgāh*, 26*b*; *Ta'ănîth*, 20*a*).

The correlate term to God's love for Israel is Israel's love for God. It is enjoined as a duty in Dt 6^{5}, and this section is the principal part of the daily morning and evening devotion, thus practically enjoining the doctrine of Jesus (Mt $22^{37\mathrm{f.}}$), which makes this the principal commandment. The injunction to love God is typical of the Deuteronomic code (5^{10} 7^{9} 10^{12} and often) and of the Psalms, where the pious are called lovers of God, of His salvation, or of His righteousness (5^{11} 31^{23} 40^{16} 97^{10} 119^{132} etc.). To those who love Him God will do good (Ex 20^{6}, Dn 9^{4}, Neh 1^{5} 13^{26}, Mal 1^{2}), and therefore Abraham (Is 41^{8}, 2 Ch 20^{7}) and Solomon (1 K 3^{3}) are called lovers of God, and Jehoshaphat is reproved for loving God's enemies (2 Ch 19^{2}), whom the pious must hate (Ps $139^{21\mathrm{f.}}$).

An important theological discussion, leading back to the early days of Christianity, is carried on in the Talmud between R. Eliezer and R. Joshua, whether the piety of Job is to be found in his love or in his fear of God (*Sôṭāh*, 27*b*). The love of God is characterized in the Talmud by man's conduct, which sheds lustre on his religion (*Yômā*, 86*a*). As Zion stands for Israel's ideal, the pious are those who love Zion (Ps 122^{6}) and the wicked those who love strange gods, often presented by the metaphor of adultery and sinful love (Is 57^{8}, Jer 2^{25} 8^{2}, Ezk 16^{16}, Hos 2^{17} 4^{18}). From a practical point of view the Talmudists say that one who marries his daughter to a Rabbi (*Kethûbhôth*, 111*b*), or one who studies the Torah with no expectation of worldly glory (*Nedhārîm* 62*a*), loves God. A special sign of the love of God is submission to His decrees, as in the case of Hananiah ben Hezekiah and his school, who wrote down 'the scroll of the fasts' (a chronicle of Israel's misfortunes) because they rejoiced at the tribulations, thus exemplifying the spirit of Job, who served God out of love.

See, further, 'Semitic and Egyptian' section below, §§ 2, 4.

Literature.—In addition to the Jewish sources quoted in the article, see E. Grünebaum, 'Der Grundzug und dessen Entwicklung der Liebe im Judenthume,' in A. Geiger's *Wiss. Zeitschr. für jüd. Theol.*, ii. [1836] 285, iii. [1837] 59, 180; M. Lazarus, *The Ethics of Judaism*, ii., Philadelphia, 1901; S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 2nd ser., London, 1908, 'Saints and Saintliness,' pp. 148–181; K. Kohler, art. 'Love,' in *JE* viii. [1904] 188–190. Cf. also art. Conscience (Jewish); M. Joseph, 'Jewish Ethics,' in *Religious Systems of the World*, London, 1901, pp. 695–708.

G. Deutsch.

LOVE (Muhammadan).—Although in the Qur'ān the vengeance and wrath of Allāh are more forcibly depicted than His mercy and love, any one reading the successive revelations in chronological order, as far as possible, will observe that the latter conception was gradually gaining ground from the hour when the Prophet's struggle for recognition began to the day when his victory was no longer doubtful. The epithet *wadūd* ('loving') is applied to Allāh in a *sūra* of the oldest Mecca period (lxxxv. 14); but, with this exception, and a few others dating from the period immediately before the Prophet's migration, all the Qur'ānic references to divine love occur in those chapters which were revealed at Medina. It is likely that his settlement in a city where he could not fail to be brought into contact with Christian ideas co-operated with the happy change in his fortunes and caused him to emphasize the milder aspects of Allāh in a corresponding degree. Of these references, which are about thirty in number, most are brief statements that God loves various classes of men—*e.g.*, the beneficent, the patient, those who trust in Him, fight for Him, keep themselves pure, and so on—and that He does not love various other classes, such as the transgressors, the proud, and the unjust. Muḥammad denies the claim of the Jews and Christians to be the children and, in a peculiar sense, the beloved of Allāh (v. 21). Man's love of God is mentioned in three passages: some men take idols which they love as much as they love Allāh, but the faithful love Allāh more than anything else (ii. 160); those who love God must follow His Prophet, then God will love and forgive them (iii. 29); if any of the faithful apostatize, Allāh will fill their places with men whom He loves and who love Him (v. 59).

Many traditions ascribed to the Prophet on the subject of divine love go far beyond the somewhat arid and perfunctory allusions in the Qur'ān, but there is no reason to suppose that they are genuine. They belong to the mystical doctrine which developed under Christian influence in the 2nd cent. of Islām, and which in the course of time established itself, as a guiding and inspiring principle, at the centre of Muhammadanism. The following examples are often cited by Ṣūfī authors:

'When God loves a man, his sins hurt him not; and one who repents of sin is even as one who is without sin' (*Qūt al-qulūb*, Cairo, 1310 A.H., ii. 50. 15).

God said: 'False are they who pretend to love Me, but when the night covers them sleep and forget Me. Does not every lover love to be alone with his beloved? Lo, I am near to those whom I love. I hearken to their secret thoughts and prayers, and I am the witness of their moaning and lamentation' (*ib.* ii. 60. 22).

God said: 'My servant draws nigh unto Me by works of devotion, and I love him; and when I love him, I am the ear by which he hears and the eye by which he sees and the tongue by which he speaks' (cf. al-Qushayri, *Risāla*, Cairo, 1318 A.H., 169, penult; there are several versions of this tradition).

It is obvious that the doctrine of divine love will assume different forms according to the relative orthodoxy of its exponents. We often find it linked with mysticism of an ascetic or devotional type, while in other cases it accompanies a thorough-going pantheism, or occupies various points between those extremes. The subject is exhaustively treated by Ghazālī in bk. vi. of his *Iḥyā* (Būlāq, 1289 A.H., iv. 280–349). Only a brief abstract can be given here, but this will suffice to show the scope and development of the doctrine as it is set forth in the most popular and authoritative encyclopædia of Muhammadan ethics.

Love (*ḥubb*) is the natural desire for that which gives pleasure; when that desire grows intense, it is called 'passion' (*'ishq*). Each of the bodily senses takes pleasure in different objects. Similarly, the spiritual sense, whose organ is the heart (*qalb*), has its own objects of pleasure which are imperceptible to the bodily senses. Ghazālī enumerates five chief causes of love: (1) *Self-interest.* Every one desires to preserve his life or to make it as perfect as possible. Therefore men hate death and seek wealth, children, etc. (2) *Beneficence.* Men love those who benefit them. This is indirectly a species of self-love. (3) *Disinterested love of good.* Sometimes a good man is loved for his own sake, not for any advantage that may be derived from him. (4) *Love of beauty* (moral or spiritual), when the whole pleasure which it gives consists in the perception of it. (5) *Spiritual affinity.* Ghazālī then proceeds to demonstrate that all these motives have their ultimate source in God, who is the sole object of true and perfect love, although love of God necessarily includes love of the Prophet and the saints. The strongest and rarest motive, he says, is spiritual affinity. Man is called to an *imitatio Dei* in respect of certain attributes, according to the tradition, 'Form yourselves on the moral nature of God' (*takhallaqū bi-akhlāq Allāh*). He becomes near to God through his acquisition of knowledge, benevolence, compassion, and other virtues. But, underlying this, there exists between God and man a real and intimate relation, of which Ghazālī speaks with the utmost caution as an ineffable mystery which is revealed to theosophists. It is indicated by the verse of the Qur'ān where God says that He breathed His spirit into man, by the divine command given to the angels to worship Adam, and by the tradition that God created man in His own image.

Every human sense and faculty seeks a particular end, which constitutes its pleasure. The spiritual faculty—it is described by different names, *e.g.*, reason, faith, illumination, insight—seeks to know the essences of all things. God is the highest object of knowledge; therefore knowledge of God is the highest pleasure. The gnostic (*'ārif*) inevitably loves that which he knows and contemplates; and his love increases in the same degree as his knowledge. Both spring up together in his heart when he has purged it of worldly desires and sensuous impressions. What he longs for is perfect contemplation and perfect knowledge. The former, though it is not attainable in the world of phenomena, may be enjoyed in the beatific vision hereafter, but perfect knowledge of the Infinite Reality can never be reached either in this world or in the next. Consequently the gnostic's longing (*shawq*) is everlasting; even in the bliss of union with God he moves unconsciously towards an unrealizable perfection.

Having defined love as the soul's desire for that which gives it pleasure, Ghazālī points out that the term is metaphorical in its application to God, who wants nothing and regards nothing except His essence and His essential attributes. When it is said that God loves certain men, the intended meaning may be expressed as follows: God raises the veil from their hearts in order that they may behold Him spiritually, and enables them to draw nigh unto Him, and has eternally willed that they should so draw nigh by means of works of devotion, which are the cause of their becoming pure within, and of the raising of the veil from their hearts, and of their attaining to the rank of nearness to God. All these are acts of favour, involving no change in the divine perfection, but inwardly transforming the person who is the object of them. How shall a man know that God loves him? Ghazālī answers this question by enumerating the signs which characterize the lovers of God, since their love of Him is the best proof that He loves them. The true lover yearns to meet God and therefore desires death, or, if he be unwilling to die, it is because he feels that he is not yet ripe for the heavenly vision; he is assiduous in worship and good works, for disobedience cannot co-exist with perfect love; he loves recollection (*dhikr*) of God, and he loves the Qur'ān, which is the Word of God, and the Prophet and his fellow Muslims and all God's creatures, yet he has no joy but in solitary communion with his Beloved, knowing that the more he loves God in this world the greater will be his bliss in the world to come. Some long for paradise, and they shall enter it, but God will give Himself only to those who have fixed their desires on Him. According to Ghazālī, true love always contains an element of fear: the lover dreads lest God should turn away from him or deprive him of contemplation, not on account of such sins as are committed by ordinary men, but to punish him for the hidden deceit (*al-makr al-khafī*) of insincerity, spiritual pride, preoccupation with spiritual delights, and similar offences against divine love, from which no one except the firmly grounded theosophist is secure.

In his concluding chapters Ghazālī explains the meaning of two terms, *uns* and *riḍā*, which denote states connected with the fruition of mystical love. *Uns* is the joy of immediate contemplation of the divine beauty without regard to any possibility that the present experience may be transcended at some future time. Such persons flee from intercourse with mankind, and when they appear in the company of others they are really alone. God allows them to address Him familiarly and to use a freedom of speech that would be considered blasphemous in any one less enraptured. *Riḍā* ('satisfaction') signifies willing acquiescence in whatever God has ordained. The lover cheerfully accepts tribulation and suffering at the hands of men, because he sees that God is the only real agent, and that all good and evil is divinely decreed. Ghazālī shows that prayer is not incompatible with *riḍā*. He also refutes those who use the doctrine of *riḍā* as an argument in favour of antinomianism.

In more advanced and pantheistic forms of Ṣūfīism the term 'love' becomes a symbol for the soul's aspiration to attain *fanā*, *i.e.* to lose itself in union with God. Especially do the Islāmic mystical poets exhaust all the resources of erotic imagery in order to describe the subtleties of a passion that is wholly pure and spiritual; though sometimes the same style may be deliberately adopted as a mask for other sentiments or as an artistic device. The selflessness associated with the highest types of human love makes it an apt emblem of the ecstasy in which the mystic passes away from consciousness of his individuality and lives only in the eternal and universal. The following lines by Ḥallāj are often quoted:

'I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I;
We are two souls dwelling in one body.
When thou seest me, thou seest Him,
And when thou seest Him, thou seest us both'
(L. Massignon, *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, Paris, 1912, p. 134).

As the true lover thinks only of his beloved, so the true mystic thinks of nothing but God. Such meditation, however concentrated it may be, cannot in itself produce love, which is a divine gift of rapture beyond the reach of learning; it is the inevitable effect of love, not its cause. By emancipated Ṣūfīs the word 'love' is constantly employed to denote the essential spirit of all religion as contrasted with particular creeds, the ardent inward feeling of adoration as distinguished from ritual ceremonies and forms of worship. Love is the harmonizing and unifying element that transcends sectarian differences.

'Because He that is praised is, in fact, One,
In this respect all religions are one religion'
(Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī, *Masnavi*, abridged tr., by E. H. Whinfield, p. 139).

'None of the two and seventy sects with mine
Agrees, nor any faith but Love Divine.
Saint, sinner, true believer, infidel,
All aim at Thee: away with name and sign!'
('Omar Khayyām, ed. E. H. Whinfield, London, 1901, no. 287 [translated by R. A. Nicholson]).

Thus the value of religious systems, including Islām itself, is only relative, and depends on their power to inspire love. Acts of devotion inspired by any other motive are worthless. There is no paradise except union with the Beloved, and no hell except separation from Him. These doctrines lead many Ṣūfīs into a position that practically coincides with free thought. On the other hand, if love of God stands in sharp antithesis to conventional religion, it is equally opposed to logic, philosophy, and every form of intellectual activity. Real knowledge does not come through the mind; it is a divine revelation that flashes upon the hearts of those whom God loves. Possessing 'the light of certainty,' the lover wants no evidence for his faith, and scorns the demonstrative arguments of the theologian.

LITERATURE.—A. von Kremer, *Gesch. der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, Leipzig, 1863, pp. 79–89; E. H. Whinfield, Introduction to his abridged translation of the *Masnavī* of Jalāl ad-dīn Rūmī, 2nd ed., London, 1898; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 157 ff., 170 ff.; D. S. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, London, 1914, p. 175 ff.; R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, London, 1914, pp. 102–119; see also art. ṢŪFIISM, where further references will be found.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

LOVE (Roman).—Nothing is more significant of the practical character and the prosaic morality of the early Roman than his attitude towards love. In the earliest known period of Roman religion, the so-called 'religion of Numa,' we do not find a single trace of any deity connected with love. Now, inasmuch as all phases of life had their representatives in the world of the gods, the conclusion would seem to be inevitable that, while there was, of course, natural affection, there was no pronounced development of sentiment, along either moral or immoral lines. Immoral expression was checked by that extraordinary self-restraint which characterized a people who were instinctively conserving all their energies for future conflicts; and expression along moral lines was discouraged by the severely practical view of marriage merely as an institution for the propagation of the race. So far as we are able to tell, therefore, we have in the case of the early Romans a people without any deity of love. In the course of Rome's development she was destined to receive a goddess who was eventually to represent in her world all that the Greeks included under the concept of Aphrodite. This goddess was known as Venus, and was, from about the year 300 B.C. onwards, identified with Aphrodite; but she did not exist in Rome before Servius Tullius, for we have absolutely no trace of her in the 'calendar of Numa.' On the other hand, the name *Venus* seems Latin, and it is certainly Italic and not Greek;[1] and the fact that, when the Romans learned of Aphrodite, they called her by this name seems to indicate that she was known to them before Aphrodite was, and that there was sufficient resemblance between her and Aphrodite to make an identification possible. Our first task, therefore, is to find what is known about Venus in the period before Aphrodite arrived. All books on Roman religion, except a few of the most recent ones, are full of information about an Italic, a Latin, and even a very early Roman Venus. It is our duty first to examine these statements.

1. The question of the Italic Venus.—In general the assertion is made that in very early times there was present throughout Italy the cult of a goddess who was called Venus. But a closer examination shows that many of the facts adduced to prove this statement are of very doubtful value. (1) It has been repeatedly said that this goddess of gardens was especially worshipped in Campania, that, in other words, she is the Venus so famous at Pompeii, the *Venus Pompeiana*. But this is false, for the Venus Pompeiana is the Venus whom the veterans of Sulla brought to Pompeii when they were settled there, the goddess of the *Colonia Veneria Cornelia*, a combination of Venus-Aphrodite and Felicitas (see below, § 3). Her cult, therefore, does not antedate the first cent. before Christ. (2) We hear of the worship among the Oscans of a goddess akin to Venus, a certain *Herentas* (mentioned in three Oscan inscriptions: two from Herculaneum [R. von Planta, *Gramm. der oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, Strassburg, 1892–97, ii. 510], and one from Corfinium [*ib.* ii. 546]). In one of these inscriptions Herentas has the cognomen *herukinaí* (=*Erucinæ*, *i.e.* the Aphrodite of Mount Eryx in Sicily). This proves, therefore, that the goddess resembled Aphrodite; it tells nothing of Venus, so far as any early Italic cult is concerned.[1] (3) We are in a similar position regarding *Frutis*, for whom we have two passages: Cassius Hemina, quoted by Solinus, ii. 14, who tells us that in the country of the Laurentes Æneas dedicated the statue of Aphrodite, which he had brought from Sicily, to 'Mother Venus who is called Frutis'; and Paulus, in the excerpt from Festus (p. 90), who says that the temple of Venus Frutis was called *Frutinal*. But these passages show merely that an otherwise unknown goddess Frutis[2] was identified with Aphrodite, and again nothing is gained for the old Italic Venus. (4) There are, however, traces of a very early Venus cult at Lavinium and Ardea. Strabo (p. 232) tells us that Lavinium had a temple of Venus which was the common property of all the Latin cities (*i.e.* the Latin league), and that it was in charge of priests from Ardea; further, that near Ardea itself there was a shrine of Venus, which served as a meeting-place for the Latins. These statements must be taken at their full value, in spite of the fact that suspicions readily suggest themselves. It is suspicious, for instance, that Pliny (*HN* iii. 56) and Pomponius Mela (ii. 4) refer to a place in this region as Aphrodisium—an unfortunate name for an old Latin cult. Following the ordinarily sound principle that on solemn occasions the Romans often made sacrifice at the mother-city of a Roman cult, Wissowa tries to prove (*Religion und Kultus der Römer*^{2}, p. 289) that Ardea was the source of the Venus-cult in Rome, because in 217 B.C. the Decemviri (later Quindecimviri), who had charge of the Sibylline books, commanded the Romans to sacrifice to Venus at Ardea (Livy, XXII. i. 19). The Roman cult may well have come from Ardea, but this reference scarcely proves it, for the sacrifice was made under Greek auspices, and the connexion of Ardea and Rome in the Æneas-legend was likely to suggest such an act, merely as one step in the metamorphosis of the Æneas-legend into a State dogma, which was taking place during the 3rd cent. B.C.

2. Traces in Rome of the early worship of Venus.—If a search for early traces of an Italic Venus is not very rewarding, an attempt to discover early traces in Rome itself is still less so. The three old cults of Venus ordinarily quoted are Venus Cloacina, Venus Libitina, and Venus Murcia, all of them old, but not one of them originally or at any time officially connected with Venus. (1) *Venus Cloacina.* Cloacina was the goddess of the *cloaca*, and possessed a shrine on the north side of the Forum, near the Comitium, at a point where the Cloaca Maxima entered the Forum.[3] No ancient writer refers to her as Venus Cloacina until Pliny (*HN* xv. 119, and, depending on him, Servius, *ad Æn.* i. 720) makes Cloacina a cognomen of Venus. Starting from this, a passage in Obsequens (8, from the year 178 B.C.), where he speaks of a fire in the Forum as having absolutely destroyed the temple of Venus, has been interpreted to mean a temple of Venus Cloacina. On the contrary, the presence of an old Venus-temple near this point may have been the origin of the false association of ideas.[4] (2) *Venus Libitina.* The old Roman goddess Libitina, whose cult was connected with the burial of the dead, and whose sacred grove on the Esquiline was the headquarters of the undertaking establishments of Rome, had originally no connexion with Venus. Later she was popularly confused with Venus, forming Venus Libitina—a combination which never existed in the actual cult. It is easy to see two or three things which led to this: the presence eventually of a temple of Venus not far from the shrine of Libitina; the association of Aphrodite with graves, and her cognomen ἐπιτυμβία; lastly, Venus's own cognomen *Lubentina*, or *Libentina*, which was readily confused with Libitina.[1] (3) *Venus Murcia.* Murcia was an old Roman goddess, whose nature was entirely forgotten in the closing centuries of the Republic, but whose name was kept alive by association with a shrine (*sacellum*) in the valley of the Circus Maximus on the Aventine side. The locality was known as *ad Murciæ* or, later, as *Murcia vallis.* Subsequent generations, trying to find who Murcia was, connected her with *Murtia*, *Murtea*, *Myrtea*, and so thought that they had found in her a cognomen of Venus, the goddess of the myrtle.[2]

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[1] On the word see especially A. Walde, *Lat. etymolog. Wörterbuch*^{2}, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 818 f.

[1] On the etymology of the name see Walde, p. 369.

[2] For etymology see Walde, pp. 321, 870.

[3] Cf., on the recently discovered remains of this sanctuary, D. Vaglieri, *Bull. arch. com.* xxviii. [1900] 61; C. Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.* xvii. [1902] 45, note, xx. [1905] 62 f., *Roman Forum*, Eng tr., Rome, 1906, p. 132.

[4] On Cloacina cf. Plaut. *Curc.* 471; Livy, III. xlviii. 5; Pliny, xv 119; Obseq. 8 [62]; for her image on a coin see H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies de la république romaine*, Paris, 1857, 'Mussidia,' 6, 7; cf. H. Dressel, *Wiener Studien*, xxiv. [1902] 418 ff.

Little thus remains of an old Venus-cult in Rome, except the temple near the shrine of Libitina, which need not be older than the 3rd cent. B.C. We have seen, therefore, that there are very slight traces of early Italic Venus-worship, and still slighter ones of specifically Roman worship. The existence of the Italic name Venus, by which Aphrodite was known at her introduction into Rome, compels us to presuppose some sort of an Italic deity with that name, who was known and worshipped before the coming of Aphrodite. There is another possibility, which we venture merely to suggest, namely, that we have in Venus a case which resembles in part the case of Hercules and Castor-Pollux, and in part that of Mercury. Like Hercules and Castor-Pollux, she may have been originally a Greek deity, who moved up through Italy, and became nationalized into a Latin cult at Ardea, just as Hercules was at Tibur and Castor-Pollux at Tusculum. On the other hand, the name may have been derived, like that of Mercury, from the translation into Latin of an explanatory cognomen. But, whether Venus was from the beginning a Latinized form of Aphrodite or an original Italic goddess later identified with Aphrodite, one clue to her character is afforded us in the fact that, when the directly Greek Aphrodite came (and, of course, she came before the Æneas-legend), it was especially her function as a goddess of gardens that appealed to the Romans. This function, secondary in Greece, seems to have been primary in Rome.[3]

3. The coming of Aphrodite.—We do not know exactly when or how the Aphrodite-cult came into Rome—probably not at first by order of the Sibylline books. She came, however, before the Æneas-legend, though, of course, Aphrodite and Æneas were subsequently inseparably connected. The first datable temple is in 295 B.C., and the first official proclamation of the Æneas-dogma by the State was in the year 282 B.C. Naturally Aphrodite was known before 295 B.C., and the Æneas-legend had been circulated privately before it was publicly proclaimed. The two oldest temples of Venus-Aphrodite in Rome were the one in the grove of Libitina, the date of whose foundation is unknown, but was probably in the 3rd cent. B.C., and the one founded in 295 B.C. near the Circus Maximus. The dedication day of both these temples was August 19th, which was also the festival of the *holitores*, or kitchen-gardeners (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 20)—a proof of the emphasis laid upon Aphrodite's function as goddess of gardens. The temple of 295 B.C. was, however, in its origin connected with Venus-Aphrodite as a goddess of love rather than of gardens, for it was built by the ædile, Q. Fabius Gurges, from the fines obtained from the punishment of women taken in adultery (Livy, X. xxxi. 9). During the First Punic War the Romans became acquainted with the cult of Aphrodite on Mount Eryx in Sicily; during the Second Punic War, in the year 217, this goddess, under the name of Venus Erycina, was formally introduced into Rome at the command of the Sibylline books, and given a temple on the Capitoline. A generation later, in 181 B.C., another temple[1] of Venus Erycina was built outside the Porta Collina. But, though Aphrodite may have come in first as the goddess of gardens, this deity of Mount Eryx was pre-eminently a goddess of love, with a pronounced accent upon illegitimate love. A reaction was inevitable, and about the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C. an altar was erected to Venus Verticordia (Ἀφροδίτη Ἀποστροφία [cf. Paus. IX. xvi. 3; L. Preller and C. Robert, *Gr. Myth.*, Berlin, 1894, i. 368]), who 'turns the heart back' from evil passions (cf. Val. Max. VIII. xv. 12; Pliny, *HN* vii. 120; Solin. i. 126). In 114 B.C. a temple was erected to this same goddess (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 133 ff.; Obseq. 37; cf. Oros. V. xv. 22) as an atonement for a prodigy which showed the anger of the gods on account of the unchastity of three Vestal virgins. We do not know where this temple was (Servius, *ad Æn.* viii. 636, wrongly places it in the valley of the Circus Maximus, confusing it with Murcia). Thus by the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. Rome was equipped with two forms of the worship of the goddess of love—the Venus of Mount Eryx, representing licentious love, and the Venus Verticordia, domestic affection. Finally, during the last century of the Republic, Venus assumed three more forms. First, under the leadership of the dictator Sulla, who translated his name *Felix* into ἐπαφρόδιτος and devoted himself especially to the worship of Aphrodite, we have the rise of the cult of Venus Felix, a combination of Venus and Felicitas. This is the Venus Pompeiana (cf. *CIL* iv. 26, 538, 1520, 2457) of whom we find so many pictures at Pompeii; secondly, we have Venus Victrix, for whom, in company with Felicitas, Pompey erected a temple in connexion with his theatre, in 55 B.C.; and lastly comes the Venus Genetrix of Julius Cæsar, the mother of the Julian house, for whom the dictator built a temple in the middle of his Forum (46 B.C.). Thus the tradition was established that Venus was the especial protectress of the Imperial house—a tradition which must have influenced Hadrian in the building of his magnificent temple of Venus and Roma (on the site of the present church of S. Francesca Romana), in A.D. 135.

It is scarcely necessary to add that Amor, Cupid, etc., are merely the Latin translations of the names of Greek gods of love, and that they are confined in Rome entirely to poetry and art, and were never the recipients of an actual cult.

Thus we have seen that, so far as we are able to tell, Rome began life without any deities of love; that her first genuine goddess of love was the

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[1] On Libitina cf. Dion. Hal. iv. 15; Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 23; Ascon. *in Milon.* 34; *CIL* vi. 9974, 10022.

[2] On Murcia cf. Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* v. 154; Livy, I. xxxiii. 5; Pliny, xv. 36; Fest. p. 148; Serv. *ad Æn.* viii. 636.

[3] On Aphrodite as the garden-goddess cf. the cult-name Ἀνθεία (Hesych. *s.v.*); the gardens at Paphos, ἱεροκηπίς (Strab. p. 683); the Urania ἐν Κήποις in Athens (Paus. I. xix. 2); and the Aphrodite ἐν καλάμοις at Samos (Strab. p. 343; Athen. xiii. 572 F). On Venus as garden-goddess in Rome cf. Nævius, quoted by Paulus, p. 58, where Venus=*holera*, 'vegetables'; Plaut. *Men.* 371 (cf. Pliny, *HN* xix. 50); Varro, *de Re Rust.* I. i. 6; Fest. p. 265; *CIL* iv. 2776; and the frequent references in *CIL* vi. to the Venus Hortorum Sallustianorum; cf. Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.* iv. [1889] 270 ff.

[1] This temple is not to be confused with the Venus Hortorum Sallustianorum (*e.g.*, *CIL* vi. 122), which R. Lanciani thought he had located (*Bull. arch. com.* xvi. [1888] 3 ff.; cf. Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.* iv. 270 ff.).

Greek Aphrodite; that even here the Greek ideas of Venus Erycina were offensive to her feelings, so that a corrective was sought and found in Venus Verticordia; that in the last century of her Republic three of her great rulers paid homage to Venus as their especial protectress; and, finally, that the example of Julius Cæsar's cult of Venus Genetrix elevated Venus into the goddess of the Imperial household during a large part of the Imperial period which followed.

LITERATURE.—On Venus in general: G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*², Munich, 1912, pp. 234–239; W. W. Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, pp. 67, 68, 69, 85, 86; E. Aust, *Rel. der Römer*, Münster, 1899; J. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, ed. Wissowa, Leipzig, 1885, iii. 374 f.; L. Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, ed. H. Jordan, Berlin, 1881–83, i. 434–450 (good, but out of date). In addition to the special references given above, see, for Herentas, Wissowa, in Roscher, i. 2298; for Cloacina, Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 60 f.; H. Steuding, in Roscher, i. 913; O. Gilbert, *Gesch. und Topog. der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, Leipzig, 1883–85, i. 338 (to be used with caution); for Libitina, Wissowa, in Roscher, ii. 2034 ff.; Gilbert, i. 176; for Murcia, Wissowa, in Roscher, ii. 3231 ff.; Gilbert, i. 71.

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

LOVE (Semitic and Egyptian).—**1. Among the primitive Semites.**—No written records or oral traditions have come down to us from that remote time when the forefathers of the several branches of the Semitic race dwelt together in the desert of Central Arabia. Our knowledge of that period is derived solely by the comparative method of research, which assumes that common elements in the life, thought, and language of the later Semites are an inheritance from their early ancestors. The love-songs of the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Hebrews, and the Arabs disclose many common features that we may unhesitatingly assume to have belonged to primitive Semitic thought.

The poems of the pre-Muhammadan Arabs in particular have preserved the ancient type with remarkable fidelity. For generations this poetry was transmitted by oral tradition, but in the second, or the third, century of Islām the songs were collected and written out by the grammarians. The most important collections are the *Ḥamāsa*, which contains 884 songs, or fragments; the *Mu'allaḳāt*, or seven most famous poems; the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, a collection of thirty odes, the *Dīwāns*, or collected poems, of Labīd; and the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, which contains the traditions in regard to the lives of the poets and the circumstances of the composition of their songs.

Love is the emotion that finds most frequent expression in the old Arab poetry. Every *ḳaṣīda*, or ode, begins normally with an account of the poet's affection for some woman and his grief at separation from her, and continues with a description of the way in which he solaces himself for her loss by war, or by adventure on his fleet camel or horse. The *ḳiṭ'a*, or fragment, the other main type of Arabic lyric, is often merely a portion of an ode. Where it is an independent composition, it usually has love for its theme. The seven *Mu'allaḳāt* are all love poems, and the 124 songs of the fourth division of the *Ḥamāsa* all treat of this subject.

These poems show that, although Arabian society had already passed into the patriarchal stage in the pre-Muhammadan period, yet many traces of a primitive matriarchal organization still survived (see *ERE* ii. 116ᵇ). The greatest liberty existed in the relations between the sexes; and women were free not only to choose their husbands, but even to receive in their tents lovers of other tribes. During the winter the rainfall was sufficient to cover the great steppes of the Nejd with scanty verdure, and to replenish the springs that dried up in summer. Then the tribes forsook their permanent headquarters by the perennial springs, and wandered far and wide over the plains. The clans were brought into new temporary relations, and their men and women had the opportunity to become mutually acquainted. The result was numerous inter-tribal attachments.

The poets relate how they first met their lady-loves, and were captivated by their charms. Imra al-Ḳais hid the clothes of 'Unaiza while she was bathing, and would not return them until she promised to carry him home with her on her camel. Duraid fell in love with al-Ḫansa, herself a poetess, while, scantily clad, she was anointing a sick camel with pitch. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the bards were able to describe the charms of their mistresses with as great detail as those of a favourite she-camel. Large parts of the poems are devoted to word-pictures of the beloved that are as circumstantial as the praises of the 'fairest among women' in the Song of Songs. As among the modern Orientals, fatness and heavy perfumes are specially admired in women. When an attachment was established, the poet made secret visits by night to the tent of his inamorata. If she were a maiden, she went out with him into the solitude of the desert, dragging a heavy garment behind her to obliterate the footprints in the sand (*Mu'allaḳa* of Imra al-Ḳais, 28 ff.). If she were a mother, she remained in her tent, receiving his caresses with one hand, while with the other she stilled her babe (*ib.* 18). The poet protested his devotion and fidelity, and besought her to cease coquetry, and give him her love; and, he assures us, his entreaties were not in vain. Often the lady belonged to a hostile tribe, and such visits were accomplished only by stealing past the sentries at the risk of life (see *ERE* ii. 116ᵃ). The poems are full of accounts of such love-adventures, and Imra al-Ḳais even boasted to 'Unaiza of the number of women that he had loved in the past (*op. cit.* 7, 18).

All this came to an end with the cessation of the winter rains and the drying up of the springs and the pasture. Then the tribes moved away to their distant homes, and the lovers were separated.

The poets tell us how they visited the spot where the tent of the beloved had stood and found it deserted. They called to mind the happy hours that they had once spent there, and shed bitter tears, and refused to be comforted. All the poems of the *Mu'allaḳāt* begin with this theme, and they show rare beauty and pathos in its treatment.

Love of family and friends also finds frequent expression in the old Arab poetry, particularly in the laments, one of the most numerous and most beautiful products of the lyric art.

This passion, like all strong human emotions, was ascribed to the direct influence of a divinity. Possibly in the earliest times a special dæmon presided over love in distinction from the powers that presided over reproduction and birth. Traces remain of an old Arabian god Wadd, *i.e.* 'love' (see J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*², Berlin, 1897, pp. 14–18; *ERE* i. 662). Little is known about his character, but he may be a personification of love similar to other Semitic gods such as Gîl, 'joy,' and Paḥad, 'fear' (Gn 31$^{42. 53}$). His erotic character is evident from a verse of Nābigha preserved by Ibn Ḥabīb and cited by Wellhausen (p. 17):

'Farewell Wadd, for sporting with women is no longer permitted us, since religion is now taken seriously' (*i.e.* since the introduction of Islām).

However this may be, it is certain that, long before the separation of the Semitic races, the function of inspiring love had been assigned to the great mother-goddess 'Ashtar, the giver of springs and the producer of life in all realms of the organic world. Under the varied forms that this divinity assumed in different Semitic lands she was everywhere the goddess of love. The love that she inspired was not merely sexual, but also maternal, paternal, fraternal, and social. In the ancient Arab poetry she is occasionally mentioned by the titles al-Lāt, 'the goddess,' and al-'Uzzā, 'the strong,' and the infrequency with which she appears is almost certainly due to Muslim substitution of Allāh for al-Lāt. In other Semitic literatures she is constantly described and invoked as the awakener of love (see ASHTART, vol. ii. p. 115 f.; ATARGATIS, *ib.* 165 f.; ISHTAR, vol. vii. p. 430).

This goddess was the chief divinity of the Semites in their primitive matriarchal stage of social organization. She was the analogue of the human matriarch, free in her love, the fruitful mother of her clan, and its leader in peace and in war. In her supremacy there was a potentiality of monotheism peculiar to the Semites; and it is a fact of deep importance for the growth of the religion of Israel that its starting-point in primitive Semitic religion was not the deification of nature, but the deification of maternal love. In the cult of the mother-goddess there existed in germ the message of the Prophets that God is most truly revealed in unselfish human love, and the message of the gospel that the supreme revelation of God is the perfect love of Jesus Christ.

2. Among the Hebraic Semites.—When the matriarchal form of society gradually gave place to the patriarchal, it was no longer natural to think of the chief deity of the tribe as a mother, but rather as a father. Two things might then happen to the old mother-goddess ʿAshtar. (1) She might be degraded to the position of consort of one or more male gods. This was the step taken in Babylonia, Syria, Canaan, and most other parts of the Semitic world. It involved a surrender of the incipient monotheism that was characteristic of primitive Semitic religion, and an adoption of polytheism. It also involved an over-emphasis of the sexual element in the conception of deity. (2) ʿAshtar might change her sex and become a father-god. Thus the monotheistic tendency of primitive Semitism would be preserved, and the paternal element would be blended with the maternal in the conception of the tribal god. This was what happened in the branch of the Semitic race to which the Hebrews belonged. In S. Arabia, Abyssinia, and Moab, ʿAshtar changed her sex and became the masculine ʿAthtar (=ʿAshtar) who retained feminine characteristics (see *ERE* ii. 115^b; cf. also vii. 429^b). In Ammon and Edom also the tribal god was masculine and had apparently no feminine associate. Jahweh was originally a god of this sort. He was the father of His people, who united maternal characteristics with paternal, and who reigned without a consort. This is a phenomenon of great interest in the development of Hebrew monotheism. By it sexual dualism, the curse of other Semitic religions, was avoided, and at the same time maternal tenderness was retained as a fundamental element in the conception of the deity.

3. Among the ancient Egyptians.—Our knowledge of love and gods of love among the Egyptians is derived partly from the pictures and inscriptions on the monuments, and partly from occasional references in the elegant literature, but mainly from collections of popular love-songs. The chief of these are the London MS (Harris 500), which dates from about 1400 B.C.; the Turin MS, which dates from about 1200 B.C.; the Gizeh ostracon, from about 1350 B.C.; and the Paris fragment, which may be a copy of an original of the Middle Empire. These were first published by C. W. Goodwin, *TSBA* iii. [1874] 380, and G. Maspero, *JA*, 8th ser., i. [1883] 5; and in a much more correct edition and translation by W. M. Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter.* They contain true folk-poetry, free from the artificialities and tediousness of the conventional Egyptian classics and of the ordinary Oriental literature, and in their simplicity and directness they make a strong appeal to modern taste and interest. The poems in these MSS show the same loose arrangement that is seen in the Hebrew Song of Songs.

The Egyptians belonged to the Hamitic stock, which was closely related to the Semitic; and from the earliest times they were mixed with infusions of Semitic population. It is not surprising, therefore, that their conceptions of love were similar to those of the ancient Semites. In the earliest times they seem to have been organized matriarchally (see A. Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 155), and at this time their marriage was exogamous; but with the adoption of agriculture they passed over to a patriarchal organization and endogamous marriage. In order to retain their small farms in the family, marriage with a sister, or half-sister, became a common practice, just as among the Hebrews and settled Arabs marriage with a cousin on the father's side was usual (*ib.* p. 154). Hence in the poems the regular name for 'lover' is 'brother,' or 'sister,' as in the Song of Songs the 'fairest among women' is called 'sister,' *i.e.* 'kinswoman.'

In spite of the patriarchal endogamous organization of society, the ancient freedom of the matriarchal exogamous organization was still accorded the Egyptian women, as among the pre-Muhammadan Arabs. The liberty of the Egyptian women was without a parallel in the ancient world, and is rivalled by only a few of the most progressive modern communities. In every respect, legally and socially, they were on an equality with men. In sexual relations they were as independent as their brothers. They were free to marry the men of their choice, and a case is on record of a daughter who threatened to starve herself if she were not permitted to marry as she pleased. Under these conditions the danger of sexual licence was as great on the part of the women as on that of the men (*e.g.*, Potiphar's wife, Gn 39); at the same time an honest, equal love was attained between men and women that has not since been possible until modern times.

An interesting result of this independence was that women wooed men as often as men wooed women. In the love-poems the 'sister' speaks more frequently than the 'brother.' The maiden is sent out by her mother to catch wild fowl in nets, but she confesses that she has been so distracted by thoughts of her beloved that she has caught nothing all day (Müller, *Liebespoesie*, p. 22). She invites her beloved to walk with her in the park between Memphis and Heliopolis, and runs to meet him with her hair decked with flowers and a flower fan in her hand (*ib.* 29); she invites him to hunt with her in the green marshes that are full of birds and flowers (*ib.* 20); she takes him bathing with her, and lets him see her charms through a dress of fine diaphanous linen (*ib.* 41). When he does not respond quickly enough to her advances, she plies him with wine until he becomes more yielding (*ib.* 39); and, when this means fails, she resorts to love-philtres, though she knows that this is punishable by beating with rods (*ib.* 17). She asks him why he does not take her to cook for him, since she is so lonely without him (*ib.* 23). When she has won his love, she describes her transports of joy, and tells how she silences his every excuse for leaving her (*ib.* 14). She chides the dove (the bird of ʿAshtar) for disturbing the meeting with her lover by its cooing (*ib.* 24). When he has left her, she walks in the garden, and every flower tells her something about him (*ib.* 26). The fig offers its shelter to her as a trysting place (*ib.* 39), the pomegranate threatens to tell her secret (*ib.* 39), the sycamore promises not to reveal what it has seen (*ib.* 40). Sometimes, as in other lands, the lover does not come when he is expected; then the maiden mourns for him, suspects that he has stayed with another girl, and hopes that he may make the new love as miserable as he has herself (*ib.* 25). Sometimes the 'sister' is cast off by her 'brother'; then she raises a bitter lament, and prays the gods to restore him to her (*ib.* 28).

The 'brother' also expresses his emotions, although less often than the 'sister.' Unlike the Semites, the Egyptians did not admire fatness, but preferred a girlish, undeveloped figure. Their beauties had a fair complexion, large dark eyes, whose expressiveness was enhanced by pointing the edges of the lids with stibium, masses of jet black hair, red lips, white teeth, quantities of jewellery, particularly earrings, garlands of flowers on the head and around the neck, and, above all, plenty of heavy perfumery. The poems dwell on the 'scent' of the beloved more often than on any other feature (cf. Ca 1^3). The 'brother' is smitten by the charms of his 'sister' (Müller, pp. 16, 44); her love fills him as honey mixes with water, or as a strong spice penetrates a perfume (*ib.* 15); he is ensnared by her locks, as a wild goose is caught in a net (*ib.* 16); he is sick from love, and cannot be cured until she comes to him (*ib.* 18). When he goes on a pilgrimage to a temple, he can think of nothing better to ask of the gods than a meeting with her, and he begs each of them to give her his favourite flower to adorn her for his coming (*ib.* 18). He longs to be her slave, to be scolded or beaten by her, if only he may be with her (*ib.* 19); her handmaid, that he may see her lovely form, her washerman, that he may smell the perfume of her garments, her ring, that he may be ever on her hand (*ib.* 43). He swims a river full of crocodiles in order to meet her, and is filled with ecstasy when he sees her (*ib.* 42). Her kiss intoxicates him like beer (*ib.* 42).

In connexion with these poems a number of gods, such as Ptah, Sekhmet, Nefer-Atum, and Amon (*ib.* 18, 23), are invoked to favour one's suit; but the proper divinity of love was Pet, 'the sky,' who, under the forms of Nut, Neith, Bast, Hathor, and a variety of other local names, was the chief Egyptian goddess. She was conceived either as a celestial cow, whose belly formed the dome of the sky, or as a woman raised up from the embrace of her brother-husband, the earth-god Keb. Under the form of Hathor, 'abode of the sun,' at Denderah she attained the greatest glory, and became one of the chief divinities of the empire. Here she was depicted as a benevolent-faced woman with the ears of a cow, or with a head-dress consisting of the horns of a cow enclosing the solar disk (see *ERE* vii. 430^{a}). Since she was originally a sky-goddess, her function as love-goddess must be regarded as secondary, and as due to Semitic influence. The Semites who settled in Egypt in the earliest period found in her characteristics as mother and as cow the nearest counterpart to their own mother-goddess 'Ashtar, and accordingly attributed to her all the erotic qualities of the latter. Thus she early became the Egyptian form of 'Ashtar, and the two goddesses were regarded as identical both by the Asiatic Semites and by the Egyptians. The Canaanite 'Ashtart was depicted with the attributes of Hathor, and Hathor with the attributes of 'Ashtart. During the XIXth dynasty 'Ashtart received extensive worship in Egypt under her own name, or under the epithet of Ḳadesh (see *ERE* iii. 182^{a}, 184^{b}).

4. Among the Hebrews.—We know that love-poetry existed among the ancient Hebrews from such incidental allusions as Am 6^{5}, Is 5^{1} 23^{16}, but specimens of these compositions have as a rule been excluded from the books of the OT. Only the Song of Songs, thanks probably to an allegorical exegesis, has found a place in the sacred canon. This is to be regarded as a collection of folk-songs, similar to those found in modern Palestine, which were sung at weddings in the villages round about Jerusalem. As such it is an invaluable source of information in regard to the Hebrew conception of love. The collection as a whole dates from the Persian or Greek period, but its individual songs may have a much greater antiquity. Besides these primary sources, we have numerous incidental references to love in the other books of the Bible.

The earlier writings of the OT show that women enjoyed much of the freedom that existed among the primitive Arabs and the Egyptians. They dared to love even before they had been wooed (1 S 18^{20}), and they were allowed to express their choice in marriage (Gn 24^{58}). In the Song of Songs the woman is fully as ardent as the man.

The same passionate intensity that existed among the primitive Semites was found also among the Hebrews. The Song of Songs bears a close resemblance to the love-poetry of the ancient Arabs and of the Egyptians. It describes the physical charms of the beloved with the same sensuous detail (*e.g.* 4$^{1-15}$ 7$^{1-7}$ 5$^{10-16}$), and it praises the joy of love with an ardour that is surpassed by no other literature ancient or modern (*e.g.*, 1$^{2.\ 4}$ 2$^{3-5}$ 4$^{9.\ 10.\ 16}$ 5^{1} 7^{10}–8^{4}). This erotic tendency led the early Israelites into all sorts of sexual excesses. Polygamy, concubinage, and prostitution remained unchecked down to a late time, and brought no disgrace to either man or woman. Married women were required to be chaste, but no limits were set to the licence of the men. Love led often to crimes of violence (Gn 34^{2}, 2 S 11. 13); but, on the other hand, it also produced beautiful instances of self-sacrificing devotion (Gn 24^{67} 29^{20}, Hos 3^{1}) and of persistent, though unrequited, love (Gn 29$^{18.\ 32}$). The OT shows also numerous cases of strong paternal love (Gn 25^{28} 37^{3}, 2 S 12$^{15-17}$ 18^{33}), and the love of David and Jonathan stands out conspicuously as the most perfect friendship in all literature (1 S 18^{1} 20^{17}, 2 S 1^{26}).

With all these forms of love Jahweh, the God of Israel, was closely connected in the early Hebrew consciousness. There is strong evidence that He was originally the tribal god of the Kenites who dwelt at Mount Sinai, and that He first became the God of Israel through the work of Moses. Among the Kenites He can have had no consort, for otherwise she would have been adopted by Israel at the same time when He was accepted; but in the old Hebrew religion we find no trace of any such goddess. Jahweh must, accordingly, have belonged to the class of Semitic gods that have been considered above (2), namely, mother-goddesses that were transformed into father-gods in consequence of the transition from the matriarchal to the patriarchal form of society. As such He united with paternal characteristics all the maternal characteristics of the ancient Semitic chief goddess 'Ashtar. (1) He was a god who manifested Himself in life-giving springs (*ERE* ii. 285^{b}). (2) He was the producer of vegetation, and sacred trees stood in His sanctuaries (*ERE* ii. 286). (3) He was the creator of animals; the Passover was celebrated in acknowledgment of His gift of the young of the flock, though these were still known as '*ashtarôth* (Dt 7^{13} 28$^{4.\ 18}$). (4) He presided over sexual love; circumcision, a primitive Semitic rite of preparation for marriage, was the special badge of loyalty to Him (Ex 4$^{24f.}$, Gn 34). In swearing by Him the hand was placed 'under the thigh' (Gn 24$^{2.\ 9}$ 47^{29}). The *ăshērā*, the symbol of the mother-goddess, stood originally beside His altar (2 K 13^{6} 18^{4} 21^{7} 23$^{6.\ 15}$). The *qᵉdhēshîm* and *qᵉdhēshôth*, or temple-prostitutes (see art. HIERODOULOI [Semitic and Egyptian]), were connected with His temples in pre-prophetic times, and did not disappear until after the Deuteronomic reformation (1 K 14^{24} 22^{46}, 2 K 23^{7}, Hos 4^{14}, Dt 23^{18}). (5) He was the giver of children (Gn 21^{1} 30$^{2.\ 22}$, 1 S 1^{20}). His most characteristic blessing was 'be fruitful and multiply' (Gn 1^{22} etc.). A plausible etymology of His name is that it means 'He who causes to live,' *i.e.*, gives children and the young of the flocks and herds. To Him as the giver of offspring the first-born of animals and the first-born child were originally sacrificed, as to the mother-goddess 'Ashtar (Ex 22^{30} 34^{19} 22^{29}, Ezk 20$^{24-26.\ 31}$). (6) He showed maternal love in His care of His people (Hos 11$^{1-4}$, Is 49^{15} 63^{9}). (7) He was the moral governor of His people (Ex 21–23. 34). (8) He gave oracles for the guidance of His people (1 S 14$^{18-20.\ 36-42}$ 28^{6} 30^{7}). (9) Like the old mother-goddess, He was a god of war, who fought for the defence of His children (Ex 15$^{3f.}$ 17^{16}, Jg 5^{23}, 2 S 5^{24}, Dt 23^{14}). (10) By a natural association of thought He was also, like 'Ashtar, a storm-god, who came in the thunder-cloud to fight for His people (Jos 10^{11}, Jg 5$^{4f.}$, 1 S 12^{17}, Ps 18). (11) He was the destroyer as well as the giver of life (Gn 7. 12^{17}, 2 S 24^{13}). For the analogies of these traits in 'Ashtar-Ishtar see *ERE* ii. 115 f., vii. 429–431. These facts seem to show that the Kenite Jahweh was the old Semitic goddess of love and fertility who had been transformed into a father. These maternal traits were never wholly lost in the later development of the religion of Israel.

The message of Moses, that Jahweh, the God of the Kenites, had taken pity on Israel and had determined to rescue it from the bondage in Egypt, laid an altogether new emphasis upon the love of this god. His affection for Israel was not necessary, like that of a parent for a child, but was free and moral, like that of a husband for a wife. Henceforth the redeeming love of Jahweh in the deliverance from Egypt and in the gift of the land of Canaan became the keynote of the religion of Israel. From His people He demanded exclusive worship and a love for Him like His love for them. As early as the Song of Deborah His worshippers are called His 'lovers' (Jg 5^{31}). It is clear also that from the first Jahweh demanded a kindness to fellow-Israelites similar to that which He had shown when He delivered the nation from bondage. Thus for Israel Jahweh became the God of love in an ethical sense that had not yet appeared in any other Semitic religion.

After the conquest of Canaan Israel was confronted with the problem of the relation of Jahweh to the gods of Canaan. This problem was solved by the identification of Jahweh with the *bᵉʿālîm* and other male divinities of the land, so that their sanctuaries and rites became His, and they ceased to exist by being absorbed into Him (*ERE* ii. 291^{b}). With 'Ashtart, 'Anath, and other goddesses the case was different. They could not be identified with Him, and He had no consort with whom they could be combined; consequently they remained His rivals with whom He waged war to the death. In all the pre-Exilic literature Jahweh is never once said to inspire sexual love, although this was certainly one of His primitive functions, apparently because this was regarded as the work of His rival 'Ashtart. Everything connected with the sexual life and with birth rendered one 'unclean,' that is, 'tabu' from participating in the worship of Jahweh, because of the association with the hated mother-goddess; yet, with curious inconsistency, Jahweh was still regarded as the giver of children.

In the Prophets from Hosea onwards the moral love of Jahweh that had appeared already in the Mosaic religion received fresh emphasis. In his love for his wife Hosea saw 'the beginning of Jahweh's speaking' unto him (Hos 1^{2}). When she forsook him for her lovers and plunged into the depths of degradation, he found that he could not give her up, and, when the opportunity came to buy her as a slave and to take her back to his home, he eagerly embraced it (3^{1-3}). Through this experience of unselfish love in himself he received his vision of the love of Jahweh for Israel. Jahweh had taken Israel as His bride at the time of the Exodus and had loved her ever since with unfailing fidelity; she had forsaken Him for the *bᵉʿālîm* of Canaan, yet He could not give her up. He must send her into exile to reform her, yet He would not cease to love her; and, when she repented, He would restore her. This message of Hosea is echoed by all the other pre-Exilic prophets, and finds its noblest expression in the words of Jer 31^{3}, 'I have loved thee with an everlasting love.' It is the recognition that in unselfish human love the truest revelation of the character of God is found.

In return for His love Jahweh demanded the undivided love of Israel. This teaching found its classical expression in Dt 6^{5}, 'Thou shalt love Jahweh thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.' The recognition of Jahweh's love for Israel carried with it the realization that He required love in the Israelite's treatment of fellow-Israelites. This thought runs through all the pre-Exilic prophets, and is finally summed up by the Holiness Code (*c.* 600 B.C.) in the words, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour (*i.e.* fellow-Israelite) as thyself' (Lv 19^{18}). Even the alien residing in Israel was to be treated kindly (Dt 10^{19}, Lv $19^{33f.}$), but the extension of such treatment to the foreigner was not yet imagined (Dt 14^{21} 15^{3}, Lv $25^{44f.}$). The interpretation of Jahweh's love in the terms of wedded love reacted also upon the conception of marriage. In the post-Exilic period monogamy became the rule, prostitution was condemned, and men were urged to cleave in fidelity to the wives of their youth (Pr 5^{3-23} 9^{13-18} 31^{10-31}). This higher ideal of marriage is nobly expressed in Ca $8^{6f.}$: 'Love is as strong as death, passion as insatiable as Sheol. The flashes thereof are flashes of fire, a very flame of Jahweh. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it. If a man should give all his possessions in exchange for it, would any one despise him?' Here wedded love is regarded as more precious than all worldly possessions, and as a flame kindled by Jahweh Himself in the soul. An utterance of such purity and profundity concerning love is not found in the whole range of classical literature.

Jesus took up the prophetic conception of the love of God for Israel, and clarified and intensified it by teaching that love was not merely an attribute, but the very essence of the divine nature. The Prophets said, 'God has love'; Jesus taught, 'God is love' (1 Jn 4^{16}). He also declared the universality of God's love, which had not yet been grasped by the Prophets (Jn 3^{16}). He reaffirmed the old commandments, 'Thou shalt love Jahweh thy God with all thy heart,' and 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' and gave them new meaning by His juxtaposition of them, through which love to man became the supreme expression of love to God, and by His new interpretation of 'neighbour' as meaning every fellow-man (Mk $12^{30f.}$, Lk 10^{25-37}). He recognized that in Himself God's love to man and man's love to God and to man were perfectly manifested, and therefore He proclaimed Himself as the supreme revealer of God and the reconciler between God and man.

See, further, 'Jewish' section above.

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LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

LOVE-FEAST.—See AGAPE.

LOYALTY.—1. Derivation and definition.—The connexion between the common meaning of this word and its derivation is obscure enough to suggest that a clearer apprehension of its significance may be gained by considering its probable origin. 'Loyalty' is the Anglicized form of the French *loyauté*; its base is *loi*, and corresponds to the English 'law' and the Latin *lex* (stem *leg*). French has also *légalité* and English 'legality,' the late Latin abstract term being adopted without change either of meaning or of form.

Now *loi* in French, and more particularly in the derivative *loyal*, means in respect of its denotation much more than 'law' in the limited sense of a definite written code. It is a generic term, and stands for that which ought to be obeyed; its source may be the will of an acknowledged ruler or ruling class, or it may be popular consent, or it may be personal agreement, whether by contract or by voluntary allegiance. It stands, moreover, for the law of nature and the dictates of reason and conscience, more especially and imperatively if these are conceived in terms of religion as manifestations of the Divine command. Law to the ancient Hebrew of the last few centuries before our era meant this last, and, in so far as it evoked his sentiment of loyalty, it meant little else. To every man the object of his loyalty is as *loi*, or 'law,' in the sense of our inquiry—the authority whose claim on his allegiance he, as a true man, admits. Furthermore, in the natural exercise of his quality, the loyal man applies it to all persons and groups of persons in whom he recognizes any claim of bounden duty or faithful service.

But not only is the range of application wide; the claim for loyal service goes very deep: it is the service of those who desire to serve, and to do so up to the limit of their ability. The law is to be within them, written on their hearts, as the Scripture says, and incorporate in their will. The whole of Ps 119 is, indeed, an expression of the loyalist spirit in application to the Divine law. The devotion expressed by this loyalist in religion is entire; the Divine law is conceived as not perfectly apprehended by him, but he sets no limit to his desire to fulfil it to the end. It is by this note of unlimited purpose, upheld by faith and chastened by humility, that the loyalty of the Psalmist stands out in contrast to the spirit of precise legality, limited by the letter of the law and its tradition, that marked certain developments of a later era. This distinction between the loyalist and the legalist may be found in all times and all places. It applies to allegiance of every kind, whether it be to the supreme law however conceived, or to human ordinance by ancient tradition, modern statute, authoritative utterance of prophet or king, the word of a leader, the rule of a commander. There is the legalist who does what he is told, breaks no rules; he keeps faith to the word that is written and can be read. There is the loyalist who does this but can by the very nature of the spirit that is in him be counted on for more, who puts his whole mind into his duty, who forms his spirit in accordance with the spirit of the purpose to be served.

Loyalty, then, may be defined as the quality of character which issues in free devoted service to the appointed person or the appointed cause. Thus the perfectly loyal person is certain to obey, to serve, despite all obstacles, at all costs, to the best of his ability. And the best of his ability implies that he uses all means to make himself efficient in knowledge and skill and in understanding the requirements laid upon him. The perfect loyalist of story corresponds to this description. We always find him carrying out his instructions—which are his *loi*—with zealous care to undertake them so that, by fulfilling them in the spirit as well as in the letter, the purpose may be accomplished even should the letter fail. He has to be intelligent, alert, resourceful—not merely obedient to precise instructions given—and these qualities he needs the more in proportion to the importance and difficulty of his task. It follows that the development of perfect loyalty throughout a company requires that the duties should be accurately apportioned in accordance with the abilities of each member. It requires also that opportunities for the training and exercise of latent abilities should be given to all. This ideal does, in fact, appear, both in pagan heroic story and in mediæval romance, as characterizing bands of pre-Christian heroes and bands of Christian knights.[1] The unwritten law—not mere personal law, but a pact of comradeship—that bound the Round Table knights to mutual loyalty, and to the king above all, is a notable case in point. The two chief cycles of Irish Gaelic story are noteworthy also in this connexion. Later comes the age of chivalry with its blossom of romantic lore. Fealty and loyalty are main dramatic motives in all these.

2. Loyalty and fealty.—'Fealty,' from Latin *fidelitas*, 'faithfulness,' has an equivalent in all the Romance languages, and so has 'legality.' But loyalty was neither of these. English adopts the French *loyal* to mean 'law-fulfilling' in the sense of the Sermon on the Mount, and distinguishes it from 'lawful,' or 'legal,' which means allowable, and from 'law-abiding,' which connotes submissiveness to the law, the passive quality of the orderly citizen. German translates by specialization and slight change of significance, using such words as *Untertanentreue* (fidelity in a subordinate) and *Vaterlandstreue* (fidelity to the Fatherland); the quality, of course, exists in many diverse applications, and, though fidelity or fealty is not identical with loyalty, the one characteristic is apt to be accompanied by the other. Loyalty connotes a certain specialization of good faith and faithfulness towards the person, principle, ideal, or covenant in respect of which it is expressed; it lays stress on this obligation of specialized fealty rather than on any wider duty of humane comradeship and general goodwill. Nevertheless, there is close affinity between those qualities, the deeper motives of which so widely overlap. The good comrade who, in time of danger or trouble, takes up his responsibilities with settled mind and faithfully sustains them is apt for loyal service wherever his allegiance is given. This is often understood to be given when it is not as a fact, in which case we have either the sturdy rebel or the disloyal man.

The giving of allegiance is in effect a vow to serve; the standard case of loyalty coincides, therefore, with the standard case of fealty in which a pledge of service is given, as, for instance, by oath of allegiance to a king, by marriage vows between two persons, or by acclamation—and vote—in tribal assemblies, when law was promulgated and accepted thus. The standard cases are the same, but in the development of thought the two ideas differ. Loyalty specializes in respect of the object of service, fealty in respect of faith to the pledge. Of these the latter is the more necessary for virtuous character, and so it has been judged by the common sense of mankind, as the testimony of language shows. So long as men were either free or under strict rule, they were simply required either to keep their covenants in the former case or to do what they were told in the latter; faith and obedience were their primal social virtues. The conception of religion, for instance, as consisting in a covenant with the god, was a distinct advance on its conception as a slave service by which he was to be propitiated. The Bible as a whole contains the story of man's progress in religion from the slave service of the bondsman, through covenant, to the free man's willing recognition of a law which it is at once his bounden duty and his delight to obey, and thence to conformity of mind with the Divine purpose for mankind and thus to 'the glorious liberty of the sons of God.' Here we have the specific evolution of loyalty in its highest application, as at once the supreme duty, the supreme delight, and the social virtue of man. On a much smaller scale of motive and in a murkier atmosphere we might trace it in application to finite secular affairs.

3. Personal honour expressed in devotion to social ends.—The free development of fealty by self-discipline to social ends, and of loyalty as a particular case, may be studied in the literature of chivalry and romance. The practice of knightly vows, however, is much older and pre-Christian; so far as records go, it was specially characteristic of the people and the social conditions reflected in Celtic hero lore. The champion of the Gaelic stories is essentially a free man, free of feudal and —except for the spirit that binds him—free of tribal bonds. Social affection binds him too, but honour is his only law. The young hero from his childhood is educated carefully in all manly accomplishments, and in all social courtesies, including respect for women, children, and grey hairs. He emerges from his tutelage free, comradelike, and courteous, a strong individual. But this is not all. Not the least important part of his education is the contribution which he makes to the formation of his character by laying bonds or obligations (in the Gaelic *geis*) on himself that he will or will not do certain things. The obligation never to refuse assistance to a woman frequently occurs, and may supply occasion for the turning-point of the story. Others are of the nature of obligations to a king, leader, or comrade, or to all the members of a band. King Arthur and his Round Table come to mind, or, for those who know Gaelic story, Fionn and the band of heroes whose story has been a fund of moral instruction for western Irish children to this day. Some stories turn on a conflict of two loyalties, each claiming dominion over the loyal soul. The discussion of such difficult situations, however, is not in terms of loyalty, but in terms of keeping faith; in a certain typical case where the vows appear to be of equal weight the decision is given on grounds of common sense quite modern in complexion, whether one agrees with them or not.

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[1] Thomas Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*; see also the Celtic originals in the Welsh *Mabinogion*.

This practice of self-made vows in the social interest has, no doubt, been a principal factor of moral education, in its best form of self-discipline for the sake of service, among the peoples of N.W. Europe, where mild forms of government by loose tribal organization of free men prevailed. Faith to a self-made vow covers all cases of voluntary allegiance, and so, as the feudal system was established throughout Europe, it availed itself instinctively of this free man's social virtue by the institution of the oath of fealty from the feudal subordinate to his over-lord. At this point loyalty emerges; fealty and respect for authority maintain each the other and are fused. Fealty, however, is not exhausted in the compound. It remains as the quality of faith to the pledge once given, the central virtue of the self-respecting hero who cannot be false to his word. Carried to the point of fulfilment in spirit, rather than merely in letter, this implies not being false to the reasonable expectations involved in mutual understandings between his fellows and himself. The ideal of the honourable man signifies all this. Such a one is 'loyal,' or 'leal,' so far as his conduct goes, but in his motive he is primarily 'feal.' It may be that only he himself is aware of the difference. As a rule, no doubt, the motives are mixed, but it seems probable that in many, or indeed most, cases either one or the other is the backbone of the composite characteristic. If so, it is important that in the education of each person sufficient demand should be made on the leading trait to evoke it strongly, and sufficient social opportunity given to direct its practical expression in terms of the other—the faithful soul realizing itself in service to others, the loyal spirit fulfilling its service by self-reliant intelligence and steadfast faith.

4. **Political loyalty and its object in feudal and modern times.**—Loyalty connotes attachment to some definite authority which has a right to be served. The growth of the feudal system in Europe was favourable to the special personal turn which its application took. The political problem was the organization of many small groups into one large inclusive group, or nation, especially for purposes of defence against some common foe. The moral strength of such a national organism consisted largely in the series of loyalties from man to master that bound each to his feudal superior, from the lowest vassal upwards to the supreme over-lord or king. Each primary group was sufficiently small, and grouped round a leader sufficiently well known, to bring out men's normal instincts to follow their chief, to cleave to him truly, to give him allegiance, acclaim him lord, and be his men. This is loyalty of the most picturesque and primitive type, steeped, moreover, in a high mood to which religious enthusiasm is akin. What the man was to the lord, the lord was to his over-lord, and so the national system was linked up unit by unit into larger units all under the supreme over-lordship of the king. The system of loyalties, as signified in this actual system of political allegiances, would in the perfect State have likewise been linked up, all loyalty centring in the king. When the kings of France succeeded in making all the under-feudatories take the oath direct to the king, they established themselves as the centre beyond all doubt. Under absolute personal government the king stands for *la loi*; his will—bound more or less by his coronation oath—is the standard and subject-matter of service due; his under-lords are subordinates commissioned to use their subordinates as his servants in so far as he may require.

The reality, to be sure, was never so systematic, and bred many other qualities, bad and good, besides its modicum of high-toned loyalty. It is, however, certain that such a system would profit by encouragement given to so useful a quality. Thus the situation was favourable to much praise of loyalty as a prime virtue in the mouths of the upper classes and, for this and other better reasons, in the mouths of their dependents—poets and men of letters generally, lawyers and all who had to do with the executive government, whether on the national or on the local scale.

As feudalism declined, or was broken up, the source of authority gradually defined itself anew as duplex in form: (1) the king administering the realm in accordance with the law, and (2) Parliament, *i.e.* the *élite* of the nation, Lords and Commons, wielding sole power by joint action with the king to change the law. The Lords were, in the first instance, the true peers of the king—the displaced feudal lords—and the old sentiment of feudal loyalty continued for long to be expected more or less by them and conceded less or more. As local magnates of one sort or another, they have in this country had a prolonged and honourable reign. In France they disappeared from view politically, as did the king himself, at the Revolution, and as later did the pseudo-king or emperor in 1870. England is still in process of change as regards the sentiment of the rural masses towards the aristocratic classes; but certainly it is no longer necessary to consider loyalty as a sentiment greatly affecting the relations between ordinary people and the Parliamentary peers who are lords of the soil. No historic sentiment of the kind attaches personally to the elect of the people in the House of Commons. Each commands the loyalty of his own supporters in his own constituency, so long as he and they are in general agreement on political issues. But he is not in any sense *la loi* to them, except in so far as he adopts, and with sufficient ability expounds, those principles of national policy which are common to them and him. Their feeling to him is rather that of fealty—not the maximum of fealty—than of loyalty: they support him so long as he continues to support that policy with which they continue to agree. Personal loyalties, of course, emerge, but they are not in the nature of the case. There is a very real loyalty, however, to 'the party' as a whole—either party—and to the leader of the party, also, more especially when he is an outstanding figure satisfactory to the moral sense, arresting to the imagination, strong and of a good courage.

But for the civilized world of Europe in general little importance in the first instance attached to

Parliament in any form as an object of loyalty. The king and the law emerge from the feudal system as claimants by moral right on the service of men. The sphere of service to which loyalty properly applies lies beyond and includes the sphere of duties and restrictions enforced under fear of punishment. Loyal service to the king included, as of course, loyal obedience to the law; but loyalty, no doubt, was more consciously directed to the king and fused with a sentiment rising to passionate personal devotion. The Bourbons in France and the Stuarts in England assumed themselves to be kings by Divine right after the manner of the Roman emperors—in effect, claimed all loyalty, and from many obtained it, as due to the king. The revolt in England took its stand on the law as binding on the will of kings, and claimed restitution of the people's rights as guaranteed by ancient charter. The English Revolution of the 17th cent. was, in effect, not a revolution but a restoration of the ancient constitution, cleared, however, of feudal complications, the great Whig families standing with the common people, and the Royalists, who more especially esteemed themselves as loyalists, with the defeated dynasty. In due course there emerged from the welter of pitiful plots and gallant endeavour on the one hand, and conflicting interests around the court *de facto* on the other, the British Constitution—or rather its first edition—with all its 20th cent. characteristics latent, and sure to develop, in it.

Here it is, a sufficiently complex object of loyal regard:

(1) The law of the land as the one authority which *all* must obey; and all commands by persons in office must be in accordance with it.

(2) King, Lords, and Commons making one Parliament; and these three only, and by consent of each, can change that law, order taxation, or decree the appropriation of the revenue to the uses of the Executive Government.

(3) The King and his ministers, by whose advice all his decrees are made, whom he appoints by the established custom of the constitution from the leaders of the political party which commands a majority in the House of Commons; the maintenance of this custom is guaranteed by the Commons' hold on the Power of the Purse.[1]

So there emerged slowly in England the modern State, which has emerged elsewhere more suddenly and with less of the attractive complexity of detail which links it with its own historic past. This is what stands for *la loi* to the modern Englishman. As an object of loyalty it has advantages over some other examples of the 'Mixed State.' Not only is the British Constitution built as it is in order to preserve intact the ancient liberties of the people, but it has been built, bit after bit, by the very act of maintaining them. It is apt, therefore, to excite a high degree of enthusiasm in the minds of all those who care about history, all those who lay store by the liberties of the people and the powers of the House of Commons. To them the members of that House, and especially the two front benches, whichever party is in power, constitute the political aristocracy, in the fine Platonic sense. If they are loyal citizens, they will be loyal in the full sense to their own front bench, and law-abiding to the other front bench if it happens to be in power. In stormy times, when great principles, on one or other or both sides, are at stake, the adherents of the party likely to be defeated steady their minds to bear the shock by a very real loyalty, pitched finely in the more abstract key of devotion to the Crown and Constitution, whatever betide. This sentiment is effectively upheld by the consciousness of historic continuity throughout all changes, each having been effected by self-evolution within the Constitution itself; the King's prerogatives that have come under the power of the Commons have done so by the King's consent; the House of Lords, too, in 1911, submitted to the limitation of its veto.

5. Grades and modes of loyal sentiment in modern life.—Among persons outside the large circle who take deep interest in political problems the sentiment of political loyalty is probably in many cases practically non-existent, or at least very shallow, except, indeed, when roused by some real or imaginary national danger. This, no doubt, is the reason why some newspapers bristle with intimations of national danger when, a general election being at hand, it seems necessary to awaken the latent patriotism of voters. Of the others—the great majority, it may be hoped—there are those to whom the ideal of the nation to be served, in some small way or other as one can, makes a constant appeal as steady as that of his lord to the devoted henchman. For some this social service lies entirely outside the sphere of State control; for others it consists in service under, or co-operation with, the State. In all cases it is better done by those who understand the ways of the public administration as it is related to their work, so that they may use it to better effect by working loyally with it. State Insurance, Old Age Pensions, and recent legislation for the benefit of children are cases in point; voluntary workers disposed to loyal co-operation can do much. No form of loyalty is more honourable than this.

Quiet, non-political people, whose sphere of work or leisure does not impinge at all on public affairs, do very often, nevertheless, take a keen interest in the doings of the State and have a certain loyalty for King and Constitution, or King and Country, which, though not productive of any service, is quite real in its way. Without party-bias for the most part, they are proud of the whole complex system under which they live, with preferences in attachment, it may be, to one or other constituent in it. This class includes all 'armchair politicians' except that large section of 'armchair political critics.' There is the 'philosophic radical,' watching for signs of the social millennium in the House of Commons. There is the Tory gentleman of 'the good old school,' who has not lost faith in the future, and still sees the Constitution as he would wish to see it. There is the genuine Royalist, who anticipates great things in the future, of which he seldom speaks, from the character and ability of the Royal family, and believes generally that events are moving steadily in the direction of absolute monarchy, world-wide and British, a century or so hence. Others there are, without any preconceptions as to an absolute best towards which we are tending, who have a comfortable loyalty for things as they are. These, if they have votes, tend to support the ministry of the day. Their existence is one reason why it is better in general, when the sands are running out, for the ministry to dissolve than to resign.

6. Loyalty in the public services.—Persons who are in the service of the State are, of course, the servants of the Executive. Efficient service according to agreement, reticence in confidential matters, and abstinence from public comment on the policy either of the ministry they serve or of the opposition they may have to serve—these make up the obvious minimum of their bounden duty. To reach the maximum two things are needed: (1) zeal in the service because it is the service, and (2) self-identification with the instructions under which they work, or loyal adherence to the leader under whom they serve. Under adverse circumstances these conditions may fail to be possible in whole or part; in that case the loyal temper still shows itself by putting the best face upon the matter and keeping silence.

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[1] Since the battle of the Constitution had been fought to a large extent on the people's claim to be taxed only by their own consent, given by a majority of their elected representatives in the House of Commons, it was inevitable that the Power of the Purse should be stoutly claimed and rigorously retained by the Commons; and from this it followed, by the logic of events, that no ministry could remain in power that did not command the confidence of the Lower House.

It is in the military and naval services more particularly that the idea of service, as to the king direct, counts for most. Here we are back to primitive requirements. The soldier is under bond to risk his life at the word of command. Respect for this word is vital to his character—respect without limits—and this, in the last resort, is self-devotion unto death. The good soldier's loyalty, no doubt, is often fealty pure and simple, as, *e.g.*, it certainly is when he has naturally no sentimental tie to the service in which he finds himself. Normally, however, we may take it to be a compound mixed in various proportions, into which enter loyal attachments to his sovereign, his country, his leader, his comrades, and the flag he follows, the last being a symbol of all these things and of his own self-respect as bound to stand or fall by them.

7. Problems arising from the complexity of the modern State.—Casual reference has been made above to non-political loyalty as between friends, lovers, kindred, and the members of a voluntary group or a natural social order. Clearly this is not the primary application of the word, but the tendency to use it in this, rather than in the political, sense appears to be on the increase. This is due, no doubt, to that confusion of ideas as to the political object of loyalty consequent on the complexity of the modern State. Angry politicians are apt to use the word 'disloyal' rashly to denote persons who differ from themselves as to the right balance of power in the State and the focus, consequently, of right loyalty. Thus claims have sometimes been made in the name of loyalty to right of attack on the lawfully constituted State, as, *e.g.*, in the case of constitutional reform to which a minority strongly objects. This implies confusion of ideas between the State in some special sense—*e.g.*, apart from the principle of development which it contains—and the State as it is, including its provision of a sovereign authority empowered by law and precedent to make changes in all things, including itself. A somewhat wilful confusion of ideas to the opposite effect is also possible between hostility to the *personnel* and policy of the ministry of the day, which is the normal motive-force that sways the political pendulum, and disloyalty to the sovereign Parliament which happens to be led by that ministry, and the majority of which takes responsibility for its doings. The complex character of the modern State lends itself to such confusion of feeling in times of stress and change. Every attempt at large reform divides the citizens into two camps, each vowing loyalty to its own ideal of the State in some particular. This is party loyalty, which is quite consistent, as the inner circles fully understand, with perfect loyalty to the actual State as by law established—that self-conserving, self-developing organization of King, Lords, and Commons with which we are all familiar. An attractive focus for the loyal sentiment of the simple or careless citizen, who makes no attempt to join issue in the political dialectic, is provided by the presence in the trio of the hereditary monarch in his uplifted place, holding his supreme veto to be used only on the side of the majority in the House of Commons, subject to the delaying powers of the House of Lords. The number of persons in Britain whose sole effective loyalty centres in attachment to the Crown is probably large; it counts doubtless for much also in the British colonies.

8. The focus of loyalty in republican nations.—In republican States this focus is supplied—so far as it is supplied at all—by a more vivid consciousness of the organized nation as a self-governing whole, the ark of whose covenant is the Constitution. The ideal of the republic as the lode-star of loyal sentiment is highly developed in France. The French mind has perhaps a natural genius for the concrete ideal, as indeed is perhaps implied by its turn of speech in favour of thought—eloquent thought—by means of generic terms that fire the imagination. In the United States of America loyal affection is rather to the composite nation in reference to all its interests, each more or less on its own—a wonderful 'Union' of diverse elements, run by a carefully planned political machine, which would do its work much better if all the citizens in every section were more enthusiastic in serving it according to their lights. The ideal of the Republic as an organization of free citizens for purposes of self-government seems to have lost for a time something of its pristine freshness and attractive force. At any rate, it is of the United States rather than of the United States Republic that many Americans think as the focus of their political loyalty. This much may be said in their defence. The good of the nation is, of course, in all cases the ultimate end of the political art, and the final object, therefore, of that sentiment which reveres as its proximate end the national institutions.

9. The ideal of loyalty.—To be loyal is to be much more than law-abiding. Whether the object be a person to whom we owe duty or affection, the community of persons to which we belong, the institutions under which we live, the service to which we are pledged, or the law—human or divine—by which we ought to regulate our conduct, the loyal man is distinguished from the law-abiding man as one who serves with his whole heart and mind, making of himself a veritable organ of expression for the purpose, or the master, or the mandate, under which he serves. No voluntary sins of commission, omission, or ignorance does he permit himself. We realize him at his time of special effort in a passion of service, every faculty awake and urgent to achieve his end. And in the intervals of passivity his mind is clear and steady—stayed, as it were, on his whole nature as a rock. Self-training to this effect in any school of wholesome service must work like a leaven on character as a whole. Even under questionable conditions of service it goes far, as all experience of public service shows, to make a man. But it must be remembered that, without either a morally attractive cause or wise and sympathetic leadership, the loyal sentiment which is the motive of self-training is not adequately evoked.

History and literature abound in examples. Three lines of thought, independent of each other and contrasted, may be distinguished in their logical order here.

(*a*) *The heroic romance of Western Europe*, developing through the centuries from its original sources in Classic, Celtic, and Norse or Germanic lore, deals largely in loyalties within the smaller social sphere, intimate, personal, and glorified by affection. Patriotic loyalty in this dawn of the civilized world has little to do with government, but is steeped in a vivid idealism; the race-life and the home-land are seen as of infinite value, objects in effect of religious faith, worthy of devotion through all suffering unto death. These are the primitive loyalties—to kindred, friendship, race, and land. Nor is the spirit which forms them dead; it does not die so long as a race either vaguely or clearly believes in itself as having a part of some kind in the fulfilment of human destiny. This is why the history of any nation true to itself is capable of being treated as the development of an ideal implicit from the first.

(*b*) For the ideal of personal virtue relative to civic institutions, and for the fundamental theory of the State even as we know it to-day, we go back to the Greeks, and specially to *Plato in The Republic and The Laws.* It is his conception of the individual soul in relation to the State that concerns us here. The ideal of the State, as he teaches, should be built up within the soul. Thus—wedding his thought to our inquiry—we may say that the soul of the loyal citizen is trained, or trains itself, into accordance with the ideals realized in the constitution of the State. Thus he exceeds the law-abiding, and is the loyal, man. Further, it is implied in Plato's thought that of those who have political power the loyal ones are they who cultivate their philosophic aptitude to perfect the ideal of the State in the soul, in order that they may labour to develop the organization of the real State and bring it into harmony with the ideal.

This obviously is what the sincere modern statesman does, or thinks he is doing. It is a necessary part of his loyalty that he should spare no pains to do it. Moreover, in the modern self-governing State, every enfranchised citizen shares this duty.

(*c*) Finally, we find in *post-Exilic Judaism* the supreme example of a people held together by allegiance to the law—the law embodied in a written code that he who runs may read. The Davidic monarchy had come to an end; the high priest held the supreme office as chief ruler in the little theocratic State. But from the time that Ezra had read in the ears of the people all the words of the book of the law which he had brought from Babylon,[1] the Jew who was faithful and pious felt that the law was above the priesthood and that he was to obey it and understand it for himself. Externally the Jewish people had many masters after this; internally—in his own mind—each pious Jew spent all his loyal sentiment on the law of his God. This was no short commandment, but the whole law, dealing with conduct in all social relations and with ceremonial ordinances in considerable detail. The Jew who loyally obeyed the law was, in quiet times—except for taxation—to all intents and purposes a free man. The ideal of his State in its essentials was built up in the mind of the properly instructed Jew; if a professing Jew, he obeyed, whether grudgingly, willingly, or loyally, *i.e.* with his whole heart seeking to understand and to obey more perfectly. In that perfect inward obedience his freedom was realized, though it was not his quest. The Psalms and the Prophets abound in expressions of this loyalist spirit applied to the Supreme Law:

> 'Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy statutes;
> And I will keep it unto the end.
> Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy law;
> Yea, I shall observe it with my whole heart' (Ps $119^{33\text{f.}}$).

So runs the Psalmist's typical prayer, and it continues in the same strain, asking for help to go in the path, to incline his heart aright, to turn away his heart from vanity, to establish God's word unto His servant. In NT times, when the elaborated legalism of the latter-day Pharisees prevailed, the great Master Teacher set over against it the true doctrine of loyal observance, the fulfilment of the law by being the kind of person who expresses its purpose naturally in all his acts. 'I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil' (Mt 5^{17}). 'A good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good' (Lk 6^{45}). And later, St. Paul, following the same line of thought, attains to the vision of the 'liberty of the sons of God' (Ro 8^{21}). Thus the cycle of reason on the highest as on all lower planes is complete, from the free man's fealty through loyalty to the higher liberty of devoted service to the ideal in his soul.

LITERATURE.—Little of note appears to have been written dealing directly with this subject. (1) It enters into the history of the development of the State more especially as a serviceable motive-force in the mediæval growth of the feudal system: see *Cambridge Mediæval History*, ii. [1913], ch. xx., 'Foundations of Society' (Origins of Feudalism), and F. Warre Cornish, *Chivalry*, London, 1901; *Essays on Romance and Chivalry*, do. 1870, containing reprints from Hallam and Sir Walter Scott, are also interesting. (2) The primitive ideal of heroic character to which the political virtue corresponds may be studied in Celtic and Teutonic hero lore and in their later developments, (*a*) under the influence of mediæval chivalry, and (*b*) in recent years. Sufficient exemplification will be found in *Völsunga Saga* and *Grettir the Strong*, tr. E. Magnusson and W. Morris, *Three Northern Love Stories*, London, 1875; E. Hull, *Cuchulain, the Hound of Ulster*, do. 1911; T. W. Rolleston, *The High Deeds of Finn*, do. 1910; T. Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, ed. do. 1894, and its primitive prototype, the Welsh *Mabinogion*, tr. Lady Charlotte Guest, do. 1877.

S. BRYANT.

LOYOLA.—St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits (*q.v.*), was the youngest of the eight sons of Don Beltrán Yañez de Oñez y Loyola. The name Lopez de Ricalde, by which Ignatius is often designated (so, *e.g.*, in *AS* and in the British Museum Catalogue), is a simple blunder, due originally to the carelessness of a notary. He was born in the house, or *casa*, of Loyola near Azpeitia in the Basque province of Guipuzcoa. The year of his birth is disputed. Astrain (*Hist. de la Compañía de Jesús*, i. 3 ff.), the best modern authority, assigns it to 1491, but others have thought 1495 more probable (cf. Tacchi Venturi, in *Civiltà Cattolica*, 21st July 1900). The name Ignatius, by which Loyola is now generally known, was not that which he himself used in his youth. Down to 1537 Inigo (not, however, Iñigo, as Astrain prints it) was his invariable signature, but he then began to use sometimes Ignacio, sometimes Inigo, and after 1542 Inigo hardly occurs at all. It seems certain, though early biographers intent on edification have glossed over the fact, that the future ascetic passed an unbridled youth, following the course which was then almost inevitable for all who adopted the career of arms (Astrain, i. 12–16). But at the siege of Pampeluna in 1521 he was dangerously wounded by a cannon-ball, and in a long convalescence which followed he gave himself up to reading the lives of Christ and the Saints, with the result that, after many inward conflicts, he determined to make a complete change in his own way of living. As soon as he was able to travel, he journeyed to the monastery of Monserrat, made a very devout confession, and, after a sort of vigil of arms, divested himself of his knightly attire and went forth to beg his bread. He then took refuge for nearly a year in a cavern near Manresa. The life that he led in this retreat was one of terrible self-maceration, marked by tempestuous inward trials of which he has left a relatively full account in the autobiography. It was during his stay at Manresa that he drew out at least the broad outlines of that manual of ascetical discipline so widely famed under the name of the *Book of the Spiritual Exercises*. There seems no reason to claim such originality for this system of spiritual training as to exclude the influence of earlier ascetical writers like Garcia de Cisneros of Monserrat (see J. M. Besse, in *Revue des questions historiques*, lxi. [Paris, 1897] 22–51) and especially Gerard de Zutphen and Johannes Mauburnus, Brothers of the Common Life; but, as Watrigant has shown, the combination of these materials into one instrument employed for a clearly recognized and uniformly consistent purpose is entirely the work of Ignatius, and bears the imprint of his eminently practical mind.

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[1] 'The law of thy God which is in thine hand' it is called in the decree of the great king Artaxerxes (Ezr 7^{14}).

It must always be remembered that the *Spiritual Exercises* is not a book intended merely for reading and reflexion, but a manual of training to be put into practice. In this it differs *toto cœlo* from such a work as A Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, and it would be as vain to expect literary graces in the *Exercises* as in a proposition of Euclid After some preliminary considerations on the end of man, the exercitant is directed, during a week or ten days and always under the advice of a competent spiritual guide, to occupy his mind with the recollection of his past sins and of the punishment which they have deserved, and to cultivate a sense of shame and sorrow, bringing external adjuncts to bear to deepen the impression—*e.g.*, by depriving himself of light, warmth, unnecessary food, and all intercourse with his fellows. After this preliminary discipline, he is introduced to the study of the life of Jesus Christ, who is set before him in two powerful military parables as a chieftain appealing for volunteers to aid Him in the task of reconquering the world from the dominion of sin and the devil. It is easy to see that Loyola's thought had been powerfully influenced by the still vivid remembrance of the struggle to rescue the soil of Spain from the yoke of the infidel. The meditations of this 'second week' of the *Exercises* are estimated to occupy another ten days. By this time it is assumed that the well-disposed exercitant will have been brought to the point of resolving to leave all things and follow Christ if God should make it plain that He was calling him to a life of humiliation and self-sacrifice. A formal election of a state of life is introduced, accordingly, at this stage, and the two remaining 'weeks' of the *Exercises* are intended to confirm the choice so made. In the third week the exercitant is bidden to use much bodily penance and to meditate upon the Passion of Christ; in the fourth he is directed to allow the body its meed of rest and refreshment, while the mind is occupied with consoling thoughts derived from the consideration of the Resurrection of our Saviour and the remembrance of the joys of heaven.

It was natural that one who laid so much stress upon the study of our Lord's life upon earth should feel the need of coming as closely as possible into contact with the scenes of those events with which his mind was filled. Accordingly, in Feb. 1523 Ignatius set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, living on alms and, to a large extent, travelling on foot. He passed through Rome and Venice, and thence sailed to the Holy Land, so that almost a year elapsed before he found himself back in Barcelona. That he was specially called to labour 'for the greater glory of God' had by this time become a deep conviction, but the precise manner in which he was to further the work of Christ on earth does not seem to have been made clear to him until many years later (see F. Van Ortroy, 'Manrèse et les origines de la Compagnie de Jésus,' in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxvii. [1908] 393–418). Still, he seems to have realized, at least vaguely, that to become an efficient instrument for good he required a better education than he then possessed. Thus we find him at the age of 33 learning the rudiments of Latin with the school-children of Barcelona (1524–26), and thence proceeding to the Universities of Alcalá and Salamanca (1526–28). A personality like that of Loyola was bound to influence men wherever he went, and it is not altogether surprising that he fell under the suspicion of the Inquisition, on account of the disciples who gathered round him and who imitated in some measure his own austerity of life. At first he seems to have been careless of what men said of him, conscious of his own integrity; but later he found that these suspicions hampered his influence for good, and he went out of his way to court and even to insist upon a judicial inquiry. The proceedings before the Inquisition, so far as they have been preserved, are printed in the *Scripta de Sancto Ignatio*, i. 580–629. Partly on account of the hindrances to his work for souls which these suspicions engendered, partly, it would seem, in the hope of finding companions more in harmony with his ideals than any whom he had yet met (see Fouqueray, *Histoire*, i. 7 f.), Ignatius, in Feb. 1528, made his way to the University of Paris. There at the Collège de Montaigu and afterwards at that of Sainte-Barbe he pursued his studies for the priesthood. At Sainte-Barbe he must, at least occasionally, have encountered Calvin, who had studied there himself and still visited it in 1533. For his support Ignatius, owing in part to his unselfish generosity to his countrymen, had to depend upon alms, and during the begging expeditions made in the vacation season to that end he visited London, Bruges, and Antwerp. Contradictions and persecutions in abundance were also still his portion, but in Paris he found at last what his heart had always craved—a group of companions capable of sympathizing in his high ideals, and of an intellectual force which lent real weight to any cause which they undertook. The story of his conquest of Francis Xavier by the constant repetition of the words 'What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?' is well known. An even earlier recruit was Peter Le Fèvre, whose position in the University was already an influential one. To them were added James Laynez, Francis Salmeron, Simon Rodriguez, and Nicholas Bobadilla. Laynez and Salmeron were destined to play a great part as theologians in the Council of Trent. Laynez was also to be Loyola's successor as second General of the Society. But even in 1534, when on 15th Aug. these friends met together in the chapel of St. Denys at Montmartre, and at the mass of Le Fèvre, who was so far the only priest amongst them, took vows of poverty and chastity (Astrain, i. 79), there seems to have been as yet no clear design of founding a religious Order. The third vow, which they added to the other two, pledged them only to make the attempt to undertake apostolic work in the Holy Land; but if, after a year's waiting, it was found impossible to obtain passage thither, in that case they were to place themselves at the disposition of the pope, for any work that he might assign them. This it was that actually happened. In the middle of 1537 war broke out between the Sultān Sulaimān and the Venetian Republic. There was no longer any possibility of obtaining a passage to the Holy Land. The little band of companions waited the prescribed year, and meanwhile Ignatius himself was ordained priest at Venice (24th June 1537), and he and his companions spent the interval in serving in the hospitals and in apostolic work in many different Italian towns. Eventually it was decided that they ought to address themselves to the pope, then Paul III., and, in spite of contradictions, they had a most favourable reception. It was apparently only at this time that the desirability of organization as a formally recognized religious society living under obedience seemed to take shape in their minds. It was characteristic of Ignatius that he always attached much more importance to the inward spirit than to the written letter. Even after he had recognized the fact that in order to perpetuate their work they must be bound together in some regular institute, he was reluctant to provide written constitutions. But the various stages in the development of the Order now followed rapidly. Already in 1537 the companions had found it necessary to give themselves a collective name, and they agreed that, if interrogated, they should describe themselves as belonging to the 'Company of Jesus' (Astrain, i. 89). When they had found favour with the pope, the scheme of a definite religious institute (*formula instituti*) was drafted, and approved in the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiæ*, 27th Sept. 1540. On 4th April 1541 Ignatius, in spite of his own reluctance, was elected superior, and from that date until 1550 he busied himself at Rome in compiling constitutions. The spread of the Society was extraordinarily rapid, and, as the twelve volumes of his correspondence attest, the official business connected with his office of General steadily increased day by day until his death on 31st July 1556. Ignatius was interested, and he considered it the duty of his subjects to be interested, in every form of religious work which was for the greater glory of God. Although the Society of Jesus was the backbone of the Counter-Reformation movement, it would be a mistake to regard the Order as having been instituted with the conscious design of counteracting the religious teaching of Luther and Calvin. The central idea, which is found alike in the *Exercises* and in numberless passages of the *Constitutions*, and which may be taken as the dominant conception of the whole Ignatian spirituality, was the desire to assist in and carry on the work of rescue and sanctification for which Jesus Christ had come on earth. Loyola was not in any way a man of brilliant intellectual gifts, but he possessed clear judgment and indomitable energy; and, contrary to the idea so often formed of his religious descendants, he was by the testimony of all who knew him a man who was absolutely fearless and straightforward in all his relations with others. He was beatified in 1609 and canonized in 1622.

LITERATURE.—The first place among the sources for the life of Ignatius Loyola must always be given to the so-called 'Autobiography,' dictated by the Saint to Luis Gonzalez de Camara. A Latin version is printed in *AS*, 31st July, vii., but a more accurate text in the original, partly Spanish and partly Italian, has been provided in the *Monumenta Ignatiana, Scripta de S. Ignatio* (i. 31-98), which form part of the great collection of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu* (Madrid, 1894 ff.), edited by the Spanish Jesuits. In fact, the whole contents of the *Monumenta Ignatiana*, which include a critical ed., in 12 vols., of Loyola's own letters and official documents, are of first-rate importance. An Eng. tr. of the *Autobiography* (by E. M. Rix), with notes, appeared under the title *The Testament of Ignatius Loyola*, London, 1900. See also J. Susta, 'Ignatius von Loyola's Selbstbiographie,' in *Mitteilungen des Inst. für österr. Geschichtsforschung*, xxvi. [1905] 45-106. A vast number of papers and letters which bear upon the history of Ignatius and his first companions may be found in the other volumes of the *Monumenta Historica Soc. Jesu*. The biography of Ignatius by Pedro Ribadeneira, which appeared originally in more than one redaction—the first at Naples, in 1572—is also re-edited in *AS*, *loc. cit*. A young disciple of the saint, who knew him and lived with him, Ribadeneira is an important authority. Translations of this life have been published in French and many other languages. Of the 17th cent. biographies of Loyola by far the most valuable is that of D. Bartoli, who had important original materials at his command. The best available ed. is in French, with supplementary notes, by L. Michel (Bartoli, *Histoire de S. Ignace de Loyola*, 2 vols., Lille, 1893). Of other lives the best are C. Genelli, *Das Leben des heil. Ignatius von Loyola*, Innsbruck, 1848, Eng. tr.^{2}, London, 1881; 'Stewart Rose,' *Life of St. Ignatius Loyola*^{3}, London, 1891; F. Thompson, *Life of St. Ignatius*, do. 1910. An excellent short sketch is that of H. Joly (*St. Ignace de Loyola*^{5}, Paris, 1904, Eng. tr., London, 1899). But by far the most trustworthy source of information among modern works is to be found in A. Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, i., Madrid, 1902, this volume being entirely devoted to the period of the life of Ignatius. It may be supplemented for French affairs by H. Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France*, i., Paris, 1910; and for those of Italy by P. Tacchi Venturi, *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia*, i., Rome, 1909. See also J. Creixell, *San Ignacio en Barcelona*, Barcelona, 1906.

Few of those who have studied the life of Loyola from an antagonistic or Protestant standpoint seem to have taken the trouble to acquaint themselves accurately even with the facts of his career. The best is perhaps E. Gothein, *Ignatius von Loyola und die Gegenreformation*, Halle, 1895, but on this see *Analecta Bollandiana*, xv. [1896] 449-454. Even more fantastic is H. Müller, *Les Origines de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris, 1898, on which cf. *The Month*, xciv. [1899] 516-526. Some valuable materials and criticisms are, however, contained in the work, very hostile in tone, of the ex-Jesuit M. Mir, *Historia interna documentada de la Compañía de Jesús*, Madrid, 1913. Other points of criticism are dealt with by B. Duhr, *Jesuitenfabeln*^{4}, Freiburg i. B., 1904; H. Stoeckius, *Forschungen zur Lebensordnung der Gesellschaft Jesu im 16ten Jahrhundert*, Munich, 1910 ff.

The only works of St. Ignatius besides his letters are the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. A facsimile of the 'autograph' of the Spanish original of the *Ejercicios Espirituales* was published in Rome in 1908; innumerable other editions, including several English translations, have been published in every language. The most illuminating discussion of the genesis of the *Exercises* is supplied by H. Watrigant, *La Genèse des Exercices de S. Ignace*, Amiens, 1897. As to the *Constitutions*, a facsimile of the original Spanish text has appeared, *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús, reproduccion fototípica*, Rome, 1898, with valuable illustrative material.

HERBERT THURSTON.

LUCIAN.—See ANTIOCHENE THEOLOGY.

LUCK.—See CALENDAR, CHARMS AND AMULETS, DIVINATION.

LUCRETIUS.—Titus Lucretius Carus was a Roman poet (99 [?]-55 B.C.) who, in the last century of the republic, accepted the philosophy of Epicurus, and expounded it to his countrymen in a noble didactic poem, entitled *de Rerum Natura*.

1. Life and writings. — Little is known of Lucretius except a notice in Jerome's additions to the Eusebian chronicle, under the year of Abraham 1923 (=94 B.C.):

> 'Titus Lucretius poeta nascitur. Postea amatorio poculo in furorem versus, cum aliquot libros per intervalla insaniæ conscripsisset, quos postea Cicero emendavit, propria se manu interfecit anno ætatis quadragesimo quarto.'

This strange story of madness and suicide, which Tennyson has made familiar, is no doubt derived ultimately from Suetonius, *de Vir. Illust.*, and, if it comes from such an antiquary, probably has a basis of fact (cf. Lachmann on i. 922, p. 63 of his ed.; Munro^4, ii. 1 ff.; Sellar, *Roman Poets of the Republic*, p. 283 ff.). But there is an error of four or five years either in the birth year or in the age assigned to the poet, most likely in the former. According to Donatus (*Vit. Verg.*), Lucretius died on 15th October 55 B.C., and not, as Jerome's figures would imply, in 51 or 50 B.C. This is confirmed by the earliest extant mention of the poem in a letter of Cicero to his brother Quintus (*ad Quint. fr.*, II ix. 4). This letter, written early in 54 B.C., presupposes the publication of the poem and, presumably, the poet's death. For on internal evidence alone most scholars agree that *de Rerum Natura*, like Vergil's *Æneid*, never received a final revision from the author's hand; certain passages, especially in the last three books, seem to be afterthoughts or additions imperfectly adjusted to their context. In the dearth of external testimony, something may be gleaned from the poem itself. It seems clear that the author was a Roman noble, well acquainted with the luxury of the time (ii. 24-28, iv. 75 ff., 973, 1121) and with the rivalry and ambition of political life (ii. 11 ff., 40 ff., v. 1120 ff.). Strongly impressed by the crime and bloodshed of the civil wars (i. 29 f., 40-43, iii. 70-74, v. 999 ff.), he deliberately chose, almost alone among the Romans, a contemplative life (i. 922 ff., ii. 1 ff., iii. 1 ff.). Further, we see that he possessed a poet's clear, minute, exact observation with a poet's love of nature and delight in open-air scenes (i. 280 ff., 305, 326, 404 ff., ii. 144-149, 323-332, 342 ff., 349 ff., 361 ff., 374 ff., 766 f., iv. 220, 575, v. 256, 991 ff., vi. 256-261, 472), that he had unbounded reverence for Epicurus, both as a scientific discoverer and as a moral reformer (iii. 9-30, v. 1 ff., vi. 1 ff.), that Democritus and Empedocles were also objects of respectful admiration (i. 729-733, iii. 371, 1039), and that he never mentions the Stoics or the Socratic Schools, although sometimes alluding to their doctrines, 'quod quidam fingunt' (i. 371; cf. 690 ff., 1083, ii. 167-176). He dedicated the work to Memmius, the patron of Catullus, who was prætor in 58 B.C., and at that time an opponent of Cæsar. He addresses Memmius as an equal; the Lucretii belong to a gens distinguished in the early annals of Rome, and the cognomen Carus is said to be attested by an inscription. The author's purpose in writing a philosophical treatise in verse is clearly explained (i. 54 ff., esp. 106–145, 922–950, iv. 1–25). His aim is genuinely scientific—to gain our assent to certain propositions concerning the atomic theory (bks. i. and ii.) and its applications to the relations of mind and body (bk. iii.), the wraiths or images whence he deduces the popular belief in the future life (bk. iv.), the origin of our world, of civilization, and of language (bk. v.), and the phenomena of sky or earth which are supposed to come from the vengeance of the gods, such as thunder, tempests, earthquakes, and volcanoes (bk. vi.). He admits that the system which he advocates is unpopular (iv. 18 ff.), and fears that Memmius will some day fall away (i. 102 ff.). He therefore provides an antidote. Poetry is the honey at the edge of the cup which shall make palatable the medicine of truth. It is no less obvious that the sympathy evoked in the reader, the effect upon his imagination, is bound up with the philosophic poet's soaring frenzy ('furor arduus'; Statius, *Sil.* II. vii. 76). A philosophical argument is ill-adapted for hexameter verse, but the mental power and perseverance displayed in so arduous an undertaking call for unstinted admiration. The difficulties of his task spur the poet on, and to overcome them so far as may be is at once his merit and his delight. His grasp of his subject with all its perplexities and problems bespeaks a logical mind, and he is eminently successful in discovering and marshalling whole groups of particular facts which lead up to and illustrate a general principle (i. 159–214, 265–328, ii. 333–380, 581–699), in the use of analogies, and in vividly picturing the consequences of hypotheses (i. 215–264, 968 ff., 988–995). It has been conjectured that the poet followed the larger epitome of Epicurean doctrine mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (x. 39 f., 73 [Giussani, i. 10]). Whether this is so or his choice and arrangement of topics are dictated by his own immediate purpose must remain an open question. In any case the idolatry of the disciple and his close study of the master's writings (iii. 10) afford a reasonable certainty that he introduced no innovations in substance, although the exposition, with its flights of imagination, its flashes of feeling, and its insight, is all his own. In what follows attention is directed to those parts of the system only where Lucretius fills a gap in the scanty outlines left by Epicurus himself or gives a fuller treatment of particular doctrines (see EPICUREANS).

2. **Atomic theory.**—Lucretius begins by advancing the two propositions (1) that nothing can arise out of nothing, and (2) that nothing can be annihilated, which he proves separately from the order and regularity of the processes of nature, as especially seen in the generation of the species of organic life. The obvious objection that we cannot see the particles dispersed when a thing is destroyed is met with a series of analogies from the potent invisible agencies at work in the world. The existence of empty space (vacuum or void) is then proved from the impossibility of otherwise accounting for motion, which all the facts of experience confirm. The opposite view, that the world is a plenum, is next refuted mainly by the consideration that condensation and expansion no less than motion imply the existence of a vacuum. Next, the existence of any *tertium quid* other than body and empty space is denied. All other nameable things, even time itself, must be regarded as the qualities (whether essential properties or transient accidents) of these two forms of reality. Body is then divided into simple and composite, according as it is or is not conjoined with void. The composite are what we call things (*res genitæ*), the simple bodies are atoms (*materies*, *corpora genitalia*, *semina rerum*, *principia*, *elementa*, or simply *corpora*). To postulate the existence of atoms is to deny the infinite divisibility of matter. And here again Lucretius employs his favourite negative procedure, following out the consequences of infinite divisibility to absolute annihilation, which he has proved impossible. Infinite divisibility would be incompatible with the natural laws (*fœdera naturæ*) which regulate the production of things and the permanence of organic species; for, unless the constituent atoms of things are unchangeable, there will be no uniformity of nature, and it will be uncertain what can and what cannot arise.

Summing up these arguments and collecting what is said elsewhere in the poem, we arrive at the following conception: an atom is a little hard kernel of matter, quite solid and therefore immutable and indestructible (since heat, cold, and moisture, the destroyers of the composite things about us, cannot enter where no void exists). Each atom is a distinct individual ('solida pollentia simplicitate'); it is perfectly elastic; it has minimal parts, of which, however, it is not compounded, for they have no independent existence; hence it has size, shape, and weight, but no secondary qualities, no colour or temperature, no sound, flavour, or smell, no sentience, the different qualities of composite things being due to the variety of atomic shapes, which, though very great, is not infinite.

After refuting the divergent views of Heraclitus, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras (i. 635–920), Lucretius proves by a variety of arguments that both matter and space are infinite, and refutes the opposing view that all things tend to the centre of the universe and the assumption of antipodes which it involves. He subsequently deduces from infinite space and infinite matter an infinite number of worlds, which come into being, grow to maturity, and ultimately perish (ii. 1023–1174).

3. **Clinamen or swerving.**—Atoms are in constant motion. They move through space (1) by their own inherent motion, and (2) in consequence of collision. Some atoms of intricate shape form after collision a close union, thus giving rise to the things we call hard; others rebound to greater distances and thus form softer substances; others, again, do not unite at all, but wander freely through space. It is next shown how by imperceptible motions (*motus intestini*) atomic groups or molecules increase in complexity and size until they reach the limits of visibility, like motes in the sunbeam (ii. 125–141). It will help us to understand the relation between these internal atomic movements and the motion of the group of atoms as a whole, if we take Giussani's admirable illustration (i. 111 ff.): as a swarm of insects moves slowly through the air in one direction, the individual insects of which it is composed are executing all manner of far more rapid movements, some of them in divergent or even opposite directions. The first motion of atoms, always through empty space, is inconceivably rapid and uniformly in the same downward direction; the apparent upward motion of some sensible things is shown to be not inconsistent with this. But at quite uncertain times and places atoms, travelling downwards by their own weight, and therefore in parallel lines, swerve a very little from the perpendicular. The least possible change of inclination must be assumed, although it is imperceptible to the senses. Otherwise atoms would never collide, so as to unite and give birth to things, for in empty space, where there is no resisting medium, heavy and

light atoms fall with equal velocity, so that the heavier would not overtake the lighter. There is a further proof of this in the consciousness of spontaneous initiative, the power by which each living creature goes forward whither the will leads, the something which struggles and resists when we move involuntarily under compulsion (ii. 216–293). For our spontaneous movements originate in sole atoms, and their existence at all can be explained only by assuming a certain indeterminism or contingency in the movements of such sole atoms. Thus the mind does not feel an internal necessity in all its actions, nor is all motion linked together in an unending chain of cause and effect (as the Stoics maintained), but atoms initiate motion, breaking through the decrees of fate. It will be seen that the postulate of uniformity—the decrees of nature which govern the birth and growth of organic species—to which appeal is so often made in the poem, is subject to certain limitations of which our information is imperfect. This being the case, it is not altogether strange that, while M. J. Guyau deduces from the *clinamen* universal contingency in the Epicurean scheme of nature, T. Gomperz and Usener incline to regard it as no more than a consistent determinism in opposition to Stoic fatalism (Giussani, i. 125–167).

4. **Isonomy.**—The atomic motions which go on now are the same as they have always been and always will be. What they have produced they will again produce; for, the sum of matter being constant, there can be no complete change of conditions and no change in the order of nature. The main distinction is between motions which tend to foster birth and growth and those which tend to destroy, whether the aggregate formed be inanimate or an organism. The forces of production and destruction alternately prevail (ii. 1105–1140), but are so evenly balanced that, if we look to the whole universe, the result is equilibrium, as in an indecisive battle (ii. 569–580, v. 380–415). This principle of equable distribution is best known from Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* I. xix. 50, but undoubtedly it was familiar to Lucretius. Combined with the infinity of atoms of every shape, it guarantees that fixity and perpetuation of species to which he so often appeals as a fact. That in an infinite universe the possible is also the real is the premiss underlying some of the astronomical portions of the poem (cf. v. 526–533).

5. **Psychology.**—The poet undertakes to prove that the soul is as much an actual part of a man as the hand or foot, and has therefore to refute the theory once current and last represented by Aristoxenus (iii. 130–132) that it is a harmony or immaterial relation subsisting between corporeal elements or parts of the body. Though a single nature, it consists of two parts, mind (*animus, mens*) and vital principle (*anima*), the seat of feeling, the former lodged in the breast, the latter diffused all over the frame. The single nature which mind and feeling unite to form is, like everything else, material—an atomic aggregate formed of the very finest atoms of (1) wind, (2) heat, (3) air, and (4) a nameless something in which sensation begins. The preponderance of one or other element in the single substance compounded of the four explains the diversity of character and the variety of the emotional states in animals and men. Soul and body, like mind and vital principle, form one whole, so constituted that neither can exist without the other (iii. 94–416), and this is enforced by twenty-eight arguments against the immortality of the soul (iii. 417–829), whence it follows that man's fear of death is unreasonable. The impassioned discourse on death in which these conclusions are driven home (iii. 830–1094), while sharing the defect of all attempts to 'make fear dig its own false tomb,' is yet by its moral earnestness and depth of feeling one of the most impressive passages in literature.

The atomist theory of perception is developed at great length in bk. iv. Images or films (εἴδωλα) are continually parting from the surface of things and streaming off in all directions, but we see them only when and where we turn our eyes to them. An image pushes before it the air between it and the eye. This air sweeps through the pupil and thus enables us to judge the distance of the object seen. This takes place almost instantaneously; we do not see the images singly, but there is a continuous stream of them whenever an object is seen (iv. 239–258). The theory of images is applied to those cases where the senses seem to be mistaken. The square tower at a distance looks round, because the images are blunted in their long journey through the air. In this and similar instances the eyes are not deceived. What they see they rightly see; it is the mind that errs in the inference which it draws. The error lies in the opinion which the mind superinduces upon what the senses really perceive. The sceptic contradicts himself. For how does he know that nothing can be known? By what criterion does he distinguish knowing from not knowing? The senses are true, all equally true, for each has a distinct power and faculty of its own which the others cannot challenge or convict of error, nor is a single sense at one time more certain than at another. Reasoning, since it depends upon the senses, must be false if they are false, and with the overthrow of reason life itself would be impossible (iv. 469–521). The mind, too, receives its impressions from images, but these images are finer than those by which we see, hear, taste, and smell. Moreover, they do not all come directly from the surface of actual objects; sometimes images from several distinct things unite, as a centaur, or they may be spontaneously formed by atoms in the air. In sleep, when senses and memory are inactive, images still find their way to the mind, wraiths or ghosts of the departed being one special kind. Dream images appear to move because some are coming, some going, in continuous succession, so that they appear to be the same in different postures. In the least sensible time many times are latent in which images can appear. Unless attention is directed to them, they pass unheeded. This explains why we think of what we will, and different men have different thoughts.

6. **Cosmogony.**—The working of the causes which produce, build up, and ultimately destroy worlds such as ours is described in outline as a corollary to the doctrine of the infinity of matter and space (ii. 1023–1174). The details are filled up in bk. v. The world is not eternal, as some philosophers held. Lucretius starts by proving that it is mortal, *i.e.* had a beginning and will have an end (v. 91–109, 235–415). It must be dissoluble, for it is neither impenetrable like the atom nor intangible like space, nor, like the sum of reality, can it be said to have nothing outside it into which it could pass and out of which destructive forces may come. Our world began with a chaotic jumble of discordant atoms. By the escape of the lighter atoms from the heavier this mass broke up into horizontal layers, ether at the top over air, air over the other two elements, water and earth, the sea being nothing but the moisture squeezed out as the earth condensed. In the infancy of the earth and of the world, vegetation began with herbs and bushes, and then tall trees shot up; animal life followed, first birds, then quadrupeds, last of all man, all sprung from the earth—not from the sea—and nourished by Mother Earth. The existing species are a survival out of a far greater number which the earth first tried to

produce. The monstrous births perished because they could not grow up and continue their kind. Many species must have died off, because they lacked natural weapons of defence or could not be utilized and protected by man. But the union of two incompatible natures in the fabled creations—centaurs, chimæras, mermaids—is impossible. At no time did they exist (v. 878–924). This account mainly follows Democritus, but in the primeval monsters the influence of Empedocles is discernible.

7. **Anthropology.**—Civilized society is the product of a long course of development. The sketch of man's gradual advance from primitive savagery (v. 925–1457) is not without interest and value even in the present day when so much fresh material has been accumulated and is continually enlarged. Men at first were hardier and more like the brutes than now. Knowing nothing of tillage, they lived on acorns or berries, without fire, clothes, or houses, without law, government, or marriage. Their foes were the beasts, from whose fury they suffered. Civilization began with the use of huts and skins and the ties of family life. Then came compacts with neighbours for friendship and alliance; and then speech, a natural impulse quickened by need, not due to any single inventor. The next step was the discovery of fire from lightning or the friction of branches. Further improvements led to the building of cities, the allotment of lands, and the discovery of gold. With the origin of political life is linked the origin of religion. Another important discovery was the use of metals, especially iron and copper, which were accidentally discovered when the burning of woods caused the ore to run. Hence came improvements in warfare, the extension of agriculture, and the invention of weaving. The art of music followed. When a knowledge of all the useful crafts had thus been attained, progress was complete.

8. **Religion.**—The popular faith, with its whole apparatus of prayers, vows, offerings, and divination, had been rejected not only by Epicurus, but by almost all philosophers since the feud between poetry and philosophy began with Xenophanes and Heraclitus. Lucretius is bitterly hostile; his indignation at the evil wrought by religion glows throughout the poem as fiercely as in the famous description of the sacrifice of Iphigenia (i. 80–101). But it is not merely popular superstition that he condemns; he is equally opposed to the philosophic monotheism or pantheism of Plato and the Stoics, and, in fact, to whatever is meant by the term 'natural theology.' The negative propositions which he maintains are all-important. (1) There is no purpose in nature; the argument from design is disallowed in advance; adaptation is the product of experience.

> 'Nil ideo quoniam natumst in corpore ut uti
> possemus; sed quod natumst, id procreat usum' (iv. 834 f.).

The bodily organs were not given in order to be used. On the contrary, the eye preceded seeing, and man had a tongue before he could speak. Thus the activity of the senses is explained on mechanical principles without assuming final causes, and a similar explanation holds for all other activities, nourishment by food, and growth, walking and locomotion generally, sleep and dreams. Hence (2) there is no divine providence. The course of nature is not sustained by a divine power working for the good of mankind. The flaws in the world ('tanta stat prædita culpa') at once and for ever dispose of that hypothesis (ii. 165–181; cf. v. 195–234). Hence, too, (3) the world is not divine. So far is it from being conscious and intelligent that it is the most fitting example of what we mean by insensible and inanimate (v. 110–145). (4) The world was not created by the gods. What could induce them to take such trouble inconsistent with their majesty? Or, supposing them willing to create, whence came their notion or preconception (πρόληψις) of man before he existed (v. 181–186)? On the contrary, the world and all that is therein was gradually formed by mere natural causes through the fortuitous concourse of some part of an infinity of atoms in some part of infinite space (ii. 991 ff., v. 187–194).

But negative criticism is not all. On the positive side the existence of gods is proved by the agreement of all nations, although the fables and legends told of them (ii. 600 ff.) must be rejected. The gods are blessed and immortal. They need nothing of mankind, bestow no favours, take no vengeance (ii. 646–652). Their abodes, which in fineness of structure correspond to the impalpable nature of the divine body, too delicate for our sense to perceive, are in the *intermundia* (a word not used by the poet), or lucid interspaces between the worlds. They touch nothing that is tangible for us, since that cannot touch which cannot admit of being touched in turn (v. 148–152). There is a significant reference (iii. 819–823) to the conditions under which alone immortality is possible, namely the absence of destructive forces or their being kept at bay, or being held in equilibrium by conserving forces (see Giussani, i. 239). Not content with proclaiming the true doctrine, Lucretius goes on to explain how the false arose. The belief in gods arose from the images seen by the mind in waking hours and still more in sleep. The shapes thus seen were of more than mortal size, beauty, and strength. As these shapes were ever present, and as their might appeared so great, men deemed them to be immortal and blessed, and placed their abodes in the heavens because the unexplained wonders of the heavens had already excited awe. Thus all things were handed over to the gods, and the course of nature was supposed to be governed by their nod. This fatal error sprang from the instinctive fear which associates with divine vengeance the calamity and ruin wrought by storms and earthquakes (v. 1161–1240). Lucretius more than once exults at the overthrow of this delusion (i. 62–69, ii. 1090–1104, iii. 14–30). On the other hand, it is obvious that he has gone too far in his concessions to anthropomorphism. The criticism which he successfully applies to the incongruous creations of legend, centaurs, and chimæras would, on his own grounds, be just as valid against the blessed immortals. The superhuman beings whom he reverences as gods are simply the Homeric divinities purified, refined, and rationalized.

9. **Ethics.**—In a poem professedly dealing with physics we hardly expect to find a systematic treatment of ethics, yet there are enough short notices or digressions in which the subject appears (ii. 16–61, 172 ff., iii. 14–16, 459 ff., 978–1023, v. 9–51, vi. 9–41) to establish the author's complete agreement with the teaching of Epicurus. The end is pleasure—in other words, to secure that pain hold aloof from the body, and that the mind, exempt from cares and fears, feel its own true joy (ii. 16–19). Whoever has been born must want to continue in life so long as fond pleasure shall keep him (v. 177 f.). Gratification of desires which, though natural, are not necessary affords no true happiness. The tortures of conscience make a hell upon earth. Tantalus and Sisyphus and the like are types of men tormented in this life by various lusts and passions. The pangs of remorse are emphasized as well as the constant apprehension that, though the wrong-doer has hitherto eluded gods and men, he cannot keep his secret for ever (v. 1156 f.). Epicurus is extolled as the saviour who, seeing the miserable condition of mankind, partly from ignorance, and partly from mistaken fear of the gods and of death, proclaimed those truths which

alone can bring salvation: that death is nothing to us, that the gods do not interfere with the course of nature, that the world is a fortuitous and temporary concourse of atoms, and man himself a still more ephemeral combination in that world. These are the doctrines which, he thinks, will redeem mankind. But, while master and disciple are perfectly agreed in the literal acceptance of these propositions, there is a marked difference in the spirit of their teaching. Starting with the proposition 'There is no joy but calm,' Epicurus deduces his ideal of a simple, almost ascetic life of intellectual enjoyment, spent in the society of congenial friends. By a life thus regulated according to circumstances he sought to attain the maximum of pleasure. Lucretius, too, advocates an austere hedonism; the pleasure which is the universal law and condition of existence is not indulgence, but peace and a pure heart (v. 18). From all who would live worthily he demands fortitude, renunciation, and unswerving loyalty to truth. No ancient writer was more profoundly impressed with the mystery of existence, and the ills that flesh is heir to. He assailed the foundations of belief with fanatical zeal which rises, one might almost say, to the intensity of religion. Under this aspect, his earnestness has its counterparts in the *Divina Commedia* or *Paradise Lost*.

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R. D. Hicks.

LUGH.—See Celts, Festivals and Fasts (Celtic).

LULLISTS.—Among the figures of the 13th cent. none is more picturesque, none more representative of the great forces, spiritual and mental, of the age than Raymond Lull, 'The Illuminated Doctor,' logician, philosopher, scientist, poet, missionary, and martyr. He was born at Palma, in Majorca, in 1236, when the first spiritual enthusiasm of the Franciscan movement was dying away. During his boyhood the spiritual Franciscans were making desperate, but vain, efforts to maintain the simplicity of the original vow of poverty which had been the joy of their founder. Human nature made it inevitable, however lamentable, that an Order should possess property. Another deviation from the singleness of mind of St. Francis was, happily, inevitable also. During his life a brother was not allowed to possess a book, and learning seemed as alien as riches. But true devotion cannot be permanently content without the offering of the realms of mind as well as of soul and body. Thus we find in the lives of Roger Bacon and Raymond Lull, members of Franciscan Orders of the next generation, an enthusiasm for learning linked with an enthusiasm for Christ as intense as that of Brother Giles and Sister Clare. These are the figures whom we find toiling amid the dim foundations of the great Palace of Science, blackened by the suspicion of the narrow-minded orthodox, strenuously maintaining the nobility of the offering of science, knowledge, and thought at the foot of the Cross. They were fervent lovers of Christ who stood at the parting of the ways of Scholasticism, still recognizing and using its words and its processes, but adding the facts and inferences of a dawning science of Nature. Their lives were enthusiastic fulfilments of the command, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God *with all thy mind*.'

Lull was seneschal of the household of James II. of Majorca, and till the age of thirty he lived the ordinary life of a libertine noble. Suddenly conscience was aroused, and in his chamber, as he was writing love poems, he beheld the vision of Christ on the Cross, and heard Him say, 'Oh Raymond, follow me henceforth.' Then came the agony of conviction and the determination to forsake the world and follow Christ entirely. Two aims at once filled his life—to gain martyrdom, and to convert to Christianity the Saracens around. He would use no carnal weapons; he would go to the Holy Father and to Christian kings, and induce them to endow colleges for the learning of the languages of the unbelievers. For himself he would write a book so irrefutable as to ensure the conversion of Saracen, Jew, and heretic to the Catholic faith. A sermon on the renunciation of St. Francis of Assisi completed his resolution; he left wife and children with sufficient for the necessities of life, sold all else, and went forth in coarsest attire to the new life. He kept a cell for himself on Mount Randa, and there during nearly ten years he sought to fit himself for his work. By the advice of his friends he chose this solitary study in preference to the University of Paris, the centre of the intellectual life of Europe. He learnt Arabic from a Saracen whom he bought as a slave, and narrowly escaped being murdered when this infuriated Muslim realized the object of his study. The crown of his long preparation came when eight days of profound meditation were succeeded by an illumination which Lull himself always claimed as a direct divine inspiration. Under this impulse he wrote the *Ars Magna*, the first of the great works associated with his name. By its methods he felt sure that the truths of Christianity could be so irrefragably stated that the infidels could not possibly refuse acceptance of them. Nothing is more striking in the subsequent history of the philosopher and his followers than the absolute conviction, which they all shared, of the direct divine origin of the mode of reasoning here initiated. The assertion is crystallized in the title 'The Illuminated Doctor' by which he is always known among succeeding generations of Lullists. The woodcuts adorning the great folios in which Salzinger has issued his works all represent the divine beam of light shining down upon him. Enthusiastic disciples confidently appeal to the logical power of the processes as more than possible to unaided human intellect. The unbiased judgment of our own day fails to discover the same immense value or power.

It may be briefly characterized as a mechanical method by which all possible subjects may be subjected to all manner of questions, and thus a complete category of statements may be obtained. The apparatus in its original form is a number of concentric circles divided into compartments denoted by letters of the alphabet. These letters denote in different circles different ideas. Thus we have in one nine subjects: God, Angel, Heaven, Man, the Imaginative, the Sensitive, the Negative, the Elementary, the Instrumental. In another circle we have nine predicates: Goodness, Magnitude, Duration, Power, Wisdom, Will, Virtue, Truth, Glory. In another we have nine questions: Whether? What? Whence? Why? How large? Of what kind? When? Where? How? One of these circles is fixed, the others rotate, and we thus obtain a complete series of combinations, first of questions and then of statements. The precise form of the mechanism varies; in some works we have triangles of various colours intersecting each other; in others we have a tree with roots, trunk, branches, twigs, each labelled with some term contracting from the universal to the special. Letters vary in meaning with the apparatus. But in every case the general idea is the codifying of every possible statement on all subjects. The method, intended first solely as a Christian apologetic, was speedily found to be as applicable to other subjects, and among the numerous works assigned to Lull are many in which the *Ars* is applied to Medicine, Chemistry, Mathematics, Physics, and Astronomy.

Lull commenced at once to use his new weapon with all the enthusiasm of the direct emissary of God. He gave a series of lectures on its application at the Universities of Montpellier and Paris and in the monasteries of France, Italy, and Spain. The failure of his persuasions to induce monarchs or pontiff to develop fresh enterprise for the conversion of the Saracen led Lull himself, at the age of fifty-six, to land as a missionary in Tunis, there confidently expecting to win all to Christianity through his reasoning. Imprisonment and expulsion did not check his zeal; we find him ardently continuing his work wherever there were Muslims or heretics. His own islands, Cyprus, and Armenia certainly saw many converts, and the ban of death did not prevent his returning twice to Africa. The assertions of his much wider travel need further proof.

Lull's scheme for colleges for the study of missionary languages bore fruit for a time in a foundation by his own king, in 1276, of a college for Arabic at Miramar in Majorca, but it was not until the Council of Vienne, in 1311, that papal authority was given for schools for Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Chaldee in the Roman Curia, Oxford, Bologna, Salamanca, and Paris. It is interesting thus to realize that in Lull's enthusiasm we have the germ of the Hebrew professorships at our English Universities, as well as the broader ideas of missionary education which he and Roger Bacon alike impressed upon the Church. The same instinct which sent Lull to talk to Saracens in Arabic led him to overleap the limits of tradition and to write many of his works, both devotional and logical, in his native Catalan. He was a pioneer in that movement which, by entrusting to vernacular languages thoughts hitherto imprisoned in the Latin of the learned, gave a new dignity to national speech and a new impulse to the development of the common people: his great religious romance *Blanquerna* was written in Latin, Arabic, and Catalan; his ecstatic hymns entitled *Hours of the Virgin*, with many others of his works, in Catalan alone.

Round Raymond Lull there has gathered a misty halo of romance and unorthodoxy through his incursions into the world of alchemy. His Franciscan supporters are eager to free him from this charge, which has repeatedly brought him within danger of the censure of the Church. He is stated to have learnt from Arnauld of Villeneuve the secret of the philosopher's stone. There is a tradition, exceedingly doubtful but not entirely discredited, of a visit to England to make gold for Edward II. in return for his help against the unbelievers. Certain it is that a number of works on alchemy are assigned to his name which were obviously not written by him. It is proved that on Lull has been fixed the discredit of certain works on magic by another Raymond of Tarrega, a renegade converted Jew, which were condemned by Pope Gregory XI. But we must remember that alchemy was the beginning of natural science, that the early alchemists were religious men who commenced their works in the name of the Trinity, and that the man who believed that he had discovered a universal transmuter of the elements of thought might not unnaturally aim at a universal transmuter of the elements of matter. Lull's dominating idea was that there is one great principle running through the universe, since it is the expression of one divine mind. Scattered among his acknowledged works are repeated references showing that he thought much on alchemy, though he did not expect impossibilities from it. We can well believe that he wrote as well as thought on the subject. Indeed, Roger Bacon (*de Emendandis Scientiis*, bk. iii.) refers to the fact of such writing.

The last period of Lull's life revealed a foe within the Church against which he fought unceasingly. Round the name of Averroes (Ibn Rushd, † 1198; see AVERROES, AVERROISM), the Arab interpreter of Aristotle, had been gathering the thoughts and theories of Muslim, Jewish, and Scholastic successors, diverging gradually into the banishment of the Deity beyond the reach of prayer or care for the individual, the denial of individual immortality, and ultimately even asserting the identity of the soul of all men. Averroism thus, while using the name of a single devout Muslim, was really the composite deposit of a century of more or less sceptical thought; through Maimonides (*q.v.*) and Michael Scot it gained the ear of a section of Scholasticism and won over as votaries many in the University of Paris, the intellectual focus of the world. In attempting to save its orthodoxy it asserted that what might be true in faith might be false in philosophy. This was the special heresy against which Lull spent his life; the authorities at Paris eagerly sought his assistance in combating the heresy which threatened to capture the whole University. The contest was so keen that Lull himself was obliged repeatedly to obtain certificates of his own orthodoxy. At the Council of Vienne Lull worked hard, though apparently without success, to secure an edict forbidding the teaching of Averroism in Christian schools. It lingered for a couple of centuries longer, more and more tending to materialism and finding its chief sphere in the medical school of Padua. Lullism always provided its strongest foes.

When nearly eighty years of age, Lull set off on another missionary journey to Africa; his fervid exhortation roused the fury of the Muslim mob, and he was stoned to death at Bugia on June 30, 1315, thus gaining the coveted crown of martyrdom. The body was carried to Palma and was there interred amidst the laments of his nation.

The immense mental activity of Lull left a vast number of works, many of which have never been printed. Salzinger in his great (incomplete) edition (1721–48) gives a list of 205 treatises as undoubted, besides 93 others more or less probably assigned to his name. Perroquet (1667) names 488, and states that several authors of weight assign no fewer than 4000 to his pen. A large number of enthusiastic pupils, gathered from the lecture-halls of Paris and of the Franciscan monasteries, continued and applied his methods, and in many places Lullist schools grew up side by side with the older-established Thomists and Scotists. The aim of the Lullists was to apply a logical method to the proof of doctrines of the faith, to fight Averroism, and to fit men for missionary work. Enthusiasm for his methods was the special characteristic of the followers of the great enthusiast. This enthusiasm was speedily met by a bitter opposition. It is almost certain that Lull had been a member of the third Order of St. Francis. Rivalry between the great religious Orders, however, belittled his growing fame. The Dominican Eymeric, Inquisitor-General in Aragon (1320–99), initiated the campaign by an accusation of heresy in 500 passages taken from Lull's works. Franciscan apologists assert that Eymeric was a disbeliever in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, which was the special enthusiasm of the University of Paris and was warmly advocated by Lullists, and that this was the seed plot of Eymeric's opposition. The Inquisitor asserted that 200 Lullist errors had been condemned by Gregory XI. in 1376. This bull has never been found, though the papal archives have again and again been searched, and N. de Pax (1519) and L. Wadding († 1657), the annalist of the Franciscans, have made out their case that Eymeric invented it, or forged it, or confused it deliberately or accidentally with the condemnation of the works of Raymond of Tarrega, already referred to (most conveniently accessible in *AS*, June, vii. 618–623). Eymeric was degraded and subsequently sent by King John of Aragon into exile; Lullism was declared sane and wholesome in 1386 by the Inquisitor Emangaudius at Barcelona.

In 1483 Ferdinand the Catholic founded the University of Majorca, with a 'studium generale' for the study of Lull's method. Naturally it is the native island of the founder that has been most devoted to the propagation of his philosophy and has fiercely fought for its recognition. But its fortunes have varied elsewhere. In the University of Paris at times students were officially warned against its study, but about the year 1515 it attained great glory there under the inspiring teaching of Bernard de Lavinheta. Its doctrines were again and again assailed as unorthodox, and as earnestly defended. A favourable sentence was obtained from the Council of Trent and from the Inquisition at Madrid. But its foes procured the inclusion of Lull's works on the Index Expurgatorius under Paul IV. They were finally removed from the Index in 1594. The hold of Lullism on the University of Palma continued into the 18th century. In 1635 Urban VIII. ordered that its scholars during their last two years of study should daily hear lectures on the *Ars*. In 1673 Maria Anna of Austria issued an edict assigning precedence to Lullists even over scholars senior to themselves. Objections, insufficient to prevent Lull's beatification, have obstructed his canonization, though the process recounting the miracles at his tomb was presented by the bishop of Majorca in 1612. The principal charges were due to unguarded utterances that seem to ignore the necessity of faith and to bring the truths of religion within the powers of human reason. Others considered the processes of the *Ars* mere word-chopping. Later apologists like Perroquet confess that sciolists made it their boast that by this method they could speak on any subject, to any length, at a moment's notice, and Perroquet laments the undeserved obloquy which such charlatans have brought on their master (*Vie*, p. 118 f.). The specimens given of the method explain why it has now passed away. Ps 20 and Wis 6 are expounded by Perroquet as samples. We find a careful analysis of the subjects and predicates of each verse, and an exhaustive statement of their combination—the whole producing a somewhat commonplace expository commentary. Lull has become the national saint of the Balearic Isles. Here the enthusiasm never died, but the philosophic method gradually merged itself in an enthusiasm for the memory of the saint and a national pride in collecting and publishing the Catalan poems and imaginative works on which Lull's fame will finally rest. The Lullists of to-day are a number of patriotic and cultured men who are proud of their national literature and its great exponent.

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LUMBINĪ.—A pleasaunce, or small wood, mentioned in Pāli records as the birthplace of the Buddha. It is now occupied by the shrine of Rummindēī in Nepāl, approximately in 83° 20′ E. long., 27° 29′ N. lat., about four miles north of the frontier between the British possessions and the Nepālese Tarai, and half a mile west of the river Tilār.[1]

The references to it so far traced in the N. Indian Pāli books are only three. One is in an old ballad, containing the prophecy of the aged Asita about the infant Buddha, this Asita story being the Buddhist counterpart of the Christian story of Simeon. The ballad is certainly one of the very oldest extant Buddhist documents, and must be earlier than 400 B.C. It is now included in the anthology called the *Sutta Nipāta*, and it states at verse 683 that the child was born in the village of Lumbinī (*Lumbineyye gāme*). The other two references are in the *Kathā Vatthu*, composed in the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. by Tissa, son of Moggali. In that work (ed. A. C. Taylor for *PTS*, London, 1894–97, pp. 97 and 559) it is stated that 'the Exalted One' was born at Lumbinī (*Lumbiniyā jāto*).

Our next information is the inscription found on a pillar in Dec. 1896. The pillar had been known for years to be standing at the foot of the small hill on which the tiny shrine is situated, but the fact that the *graffiti* on the exposed part of it were mediæval and unimportant, combined with the difficulties resulting from its being in foreign territory, caused it to be neglected until 1896. When it was then uncovered, the top of an inscription was discovered three feet beneath the soil. The inscription is in old Pāli letters, and in a dialect which the present writer would call Kosalī—a dialect so nearly allied to the literary Pāli of the canon that other scholars prefer to call it Pāli. The translation is as follows:

> 'The beloved of the gods, King Piyadası (that is, Aśoka), has come in person and paid reverence; and to celebrate the fact that the Buddha, the Sākiya sage, was born here, has had a stone horse (?) made and put up on a stone pillar; and because the Honourable One was born here has remitted the tax of one-eighth on Lumbinī village (that is, parish).'

There are slight differences in the translations by various other scholars, but not as to the double insistence on the fact that the Buddha was born at the spot where the pillar was erected.[2] The letters are beautifully clear, each being nearly an inch in height. When the present writer made a copy of them in 1900, though they had then been three years exposed to the light, they seemed almost as if freshly cut. In the dim light of the cell above, containing the shrine, can be discerned a bas-relief representing the birth-scene. But the Brāhman who claims the right to the petty income arising from the pence of the peasantry refuses any proper examination of it. So far as a cursory inspection permits of a decision, it seems to be much later than the inscription.

A legend in the *Divyāvadāna*[3] purports to give the conversation between Aśoka and his guide Upagupta on the occasion of the visit recorded in the inscription. Perhaps the tradition that Upagupta, very possibly another name of the author of the *Kathā Vatthu*, accompanied him is historical. The work in question is in Buddhist Sanskrit; and, though its date is unknown, it must be at least five centuries later than Aśoka, who spoke, of course, the language of his inscription, and would not have understood the words here put into his mouth.

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[1] See V. A. Smith, in *JRAS*, 1902, p. 143.

[2] See A. Führer, *Buddha Sakyamuni's Birthplace*, Allāhābād, 1907; G. Bühler, in *Epigraphia Indica*, v. [1898]; R. Pischel, *SBAW*, 1903, p. 724 ff.; A. Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1897, p. 73.

[3] Ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neill, Cambridge, 1886, p. 389.

Still later are certain references in the Pāli commentaries written at Kāñchīpuram[1] or Anurādhapura[2] (*qq.v.*). In order to explain how the birth took place in a grove, they say that the mother, on the way to be delivered among her own people, was taken with the pains of delivery half-way between Kapilavatthu, her husband's home, and Devadaha, her father's home. This is quite probable; but, on the other hand, it may have been suggested by the meagre facts recorded in the ancient books. Neither the Buddhist Sanskrit writers nor the Pāli commentators could have understood the long-buried inscription, even had they known of its existence.

It is very interesting to see that this spot, so deeply revered by all Buddhists, should have retained its original name through so many centuries of neglect and desertion. Watters says that 'according to some accounts' it had been named Lumbinī after a great Koliyan lady who had dedicated it to public use.[3] This is quite probable. There are other instances of a similar kind; but, unfortunately, Watters gives neither name nor date of any of the Chinese books to which he refers. But we know that both Sākiyas and Koliyas found difficulty in pronouncing the trilled *r*. Perhaps this was true of all Kosala. The inscription at Lumbinī, for instance, has *lāja* for *rāja*; and Lumbinī itself is often written in Pāli MSS with a dotted L, which may represent an untrilled *r*. Thus Rummindēī stands for Lumbinī Devi, the goddess of Lumbinī. But that goddess was not really a goddess at all, nor even Lumbinī, but only the mother of the Buddha. We have no evidence as to when or how the transformation took place. And in face of the stubborn opposition of the Nepālese Government, and of the Brāhman who has taken possession of the shrine, there is very little hope of any further excavation at the site to throw light on this question, or to explain the divergent statements of Chinese writers as to what they saw at the place.[4]

LITERATURE.—See the sources cited in the article, and cf. also art. KAPILAVASTU.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

LUNACY.—See INSANITY.

LUSHAIS.—The Lushais are a composite community, consisting of those groups which were absorbed and reduced to a more or less complete unity by the skill and sagacity of the Thangur chiefs of the Lushai clan in the last century. They practise *jhuming*, a form of cultivation which involves constant moves from one site to another. In this fact is found a reason for some at least of their peculiar characteristics.

Each village is a separate State ruled by its own chief, who usually belongs to the Sailo clan, whose talent for government has made them the masters of nearly the whole of the area now known as the Lushai Hills. The sons, as they reached maturity, were provided with a wife and followers, and were sent forth to found new villages. The youngest son was the heir general. Elders assist the chief in the village administration, and each village possesses, in addition to the council of elders, officers to settle where the *jhums* are to be made, a village crier, a blacksmith, and a wise man, *puithiam* (lit. 'much knower'). The population of a Lushai village consists of members of different clans and tribes brought under the unifying influence of their subordination to the Thangur chiefs. Their religion, therefore, exhibits traces of a mixed origin; there are features in it which recall some of the more notable characteristics of the systems of their congeners, east as well as in the more distant north, all of whom speak cognate dialects.

The Creator is a spirit called Pathian, beneficent, but with little concern in the affairs of men. Subordinate to Pathian is a spirit Khuavang, whose appearance to men causes illness. He is also spoken of as a personal genius—an idea which is still further elaborated in the belief in the *mivengtu*, the watchers of men. Each man has two souls, *thlarao*, the one wise and the other foolish. One *mivengtu* is good and the other evil. The *huai* are demons inhabiting water and land, are all bad, and are the causes of all sickness and misfortune; the *lashi* are spirits who are concerned only with wild animals, whom they control; the spirits of the dead need constant propitiation and receive offerings of firstfruits. Each clan has a spirit, or clan deity, *sakhua*, to whom a special chant is addressed by the *puithiam* (who must be a member of the clan), and identity of chants and ritual is a sure proof of membership of the clan.

The rites performed for the purpose of address to some definite spiritual being may be separated from the rites which seem to be efficacious without the intervention or mediacy of any definite spiritual being. The *sakhua* chants recorded by Shakespear are accompanied by sacrifices of a sow. The sacrifices to *huai*, supposed to frequent houses and villages, are various, now a pig, now a cock, and sometimes a goat being offered. Three sacrifices should be performed after marriage. Dreams afford an indication of the necessity for the performance of one of those rites. Temporary tabus, closely akin to those so common in the Nāga area, are part of the necessary liturgy. The ritual for appeasing the *huai* of the woods and waters is not dissimilar, but some of the most efficacious rites are the patent of certain clans. The villages close their gates on the occasion of an epidemic of cholera, so as to exclude all visitors from the infected area, and frighten away the demon causing the sickness by erecting a rough gate across the road leading to the distressed villages, which they man with straw figures of armed men; they suspend from the gateway the portions of the dog sacrificed in these emergencies, which are reserved for the demon—as a rule, the extremities with the heart, liver, and entrails. Some of the birth-rites are addressed to *huais*, while others are seemingly of almost automatic efficacy. In the second category of rites are those which are performed to bring back a straying soul (for men sometimes lose one of their souls), to produce children, to afford protection against sickness, to secure good hunting and to ascertain the luck of the intended chase, to benefit the crops, to obtain power over the spirits of animals and men killed in this world, and to secure freedom from the ghost of the slaughtered enemy. The series of five feasts which affect the future life in important ways are religious rites of a specially interesting nature. Most of the rites are accompanied by a regulation requiring that the social group concerned, be it a household or a whole village, shall abstain from all but the most necessary work, and shall not leave the prescribed area. The blacksmith's forge possesses sanctity, and is a place where persons who have accidentally come into contact with any noxious influence may take sanctuary and be purified. The priesthood consists of the *puithiam* and the members of special clans. Any one can acquire by purchase the *hlā*, songs or charms which form the stock-in-trade of the *puithiam*, whose success must depend largely on luck and on short memories of his failures.

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[1] Com. on *Therīgāthā*, p. 1.

[2] *Majjhima Com.*, *JRAS*, 1895, p. 767; *Jātaka Com.* i. 52, 54.

[3] T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwāng's Travels in India*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell, London, 1905, ii. 15.

[4] See Watters, *op. cit.*

The first man, Pūpawla, or the ancestor Pawla, possibly in revenge for his death, stands armed with bow and pellets at the entrance to the spirit world. Except the *thāngchhuah*, *i.e.* those who have performed the series of five rites (fasts, as they are sometimes called) in this world, none can escape his aim. Yet he spares still-born children or those who die young, for he heeds their plea that, had they lived, they too might have performed the due ritual and so been free to enter with the *thāngchhuah* into Pielrāl, where all is pleasant. Those whom Pawla wounds go to Mithi khua. Their wounds swell painfully for three years, and for a like period the scar remains. Thereafter they die again, are born as butterflies, and then die again, to reappear as dew on the ground; as dew they enter the loins of a man, and are reborn as human children. In addition to the personal advantages of the *thāngchhuah* rites, the man may take his wife with him to Pielrāl, whence there is no return to reincarnation, and he may wear certain special clothes, build a verandah at the back of his house, enjoy a window in his house, and put an additional shelf near his bed.

The Lushais are a superstitious people, and believe firmly in witchcraft; not very long ago, to test the efficacy of the belief that the victim of witchcraft would surely recover if he could but taste the liver of the wizard, they killed three whole families who were thought to be bewitching an aged chieftainess, cut the livers of the wizards out, and carried them back, only to find that the old lady had died in their absence. Naturally *le voisin ennemi* is an expert at the black art, but their neighbours return the compliment to them in full.

Certain persons, especially women, can put themselves into a trance (*zawl*) and communicate with Khuavang, from whom they acquire information as to the particular sacrifice required to cure the sick. The process of divination employed on these occasions requires the use of an egg and a shallow basket of rice, in which appears the footprint of the animal to be sacrificed. Possession by the spirit of a wild animal (*khawring*) is contagious and hereditary, and takes the form of passing from the hostess to another woman, who speaks with the voice of the original hostess. The belief in the power of men to assume the form of a tiger is common.

LITERATURE.—T. H. Lewin, *The Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, Calcutta, 1869; J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, London, 1912.

T. C. HODSON.

LUSTRATION.—See PURIFICATION.

LUTHER.—1. Life.—The career of Martin Luther naturally divides into three periods—the first, of preparation (1483–1517); the second, of protest (1517–21); the third, of construction (1521–46). He was born at Eisleben in Saxony on 10th Nov. 1483. His birthplace was only the temporary home of his parents. They had come thither from Moehra, the real home of the family, some 80 miles to the south-west. The father, as an older son, had no share in the paternal estate, and was, therefore, in straitened circumstances, until, by his daily labour in the copper mines, and by economy and thrift, he became proprietor of mines and furnaces, and an influential member of the community. Both as a child in his home and in his early school days, Luther knew what the struggle with poverty meant. As he advanced, his father was at last able to provide him with the means for a liberal education. Both his father, John Luther, and his mother, Margaretta Ziegler of Eisenach, were deeply religious, and subjected him to a discipline, continued in the schools to which he was first sent, that was legalistic rather than evangelical. His childhood was spent at Mansfeld. His elementary training was received chiefly at Eisenach, among his mother's relatives, and his University course at Erfurt, an institution which, at his entrance in 1501, was over 100 years old, and the most numerously attended of the German Universities. Intended by his father for the legal profession, he devoted his first years at Erfurt to classical literature and philosophy. While he read with absorbing interest the Latin classics, and derived from them the benefit of a wider horizon and a deeper acquaintance with human nature, it is a great exaggeration to affirm, as some recent writers have done, that they made him more of a humanist than a theologian; for he read them with a critical eye, and reacted against the excessive devotion to the purely formal that dominated the humanistic school. His teachers in philosophy were nominalists, who introduced him to Occam, Biel, and Gerson, and instilled a critical disposition towards the current scholasticism. Attaining A.B. in 1502, and A.M. in 1505, he reluctantly began the study of Law, for which he had little taste. His dissatisfaction with the calling into which his father was forcing him was intensified by spiritual conflicts, brought to a crisis by the sudden death of a friend by his side—whether by a bolt of lightning or by assassination can scarcely be determined—and by his own narrow escape in the storm that is said to have destroyed his friend. In obedience to a vow made in the moment of peril, he turned his back upon the world two weeks later, and entered the cloister of the Augustinian hermits at Erfurt (17th July 1505). Purity of life, deep moral earnestness, devotion to the study of the Holy Scriptures, and ability as preachers distinguished the Saxon Augustinians; but it is incorrect to infer from their name any special interest in Augustine's doctrine of sin and grace. With all the intensity of his nature the young novice devoted himself to the scrupulous observance of every detail of the requirements of the Order, and rose rapidly in the esteem of his brethren and superiors. He found edifying spiritual advisers in an aged monk whose name has not been preserved, and especially in John Staupitz, his Vicar General. Some of his modern critics accuse him of morbid conscientiousness and needless scrupulosity in his conceptions of truth and duty. The rules of the Order came to him with all the claims of divine commands, which he could not decline to observe in all their strictness without, in his belief, sinning against God. Nor could he be satisfied with anything less than certainty with respect to his relations to God. It matters little that, as has been recently urged, in some of his earlier discourses, composed while he was still a monk, as, *e.g.*, in the lately discovered lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, evangelical statements can be found foreshadowing his future position. For it is no uncommon circumstance for writers advancing towards a conclusion, amid many vacillations, not fully to grasp the meaning of their own words.[1] In 1507 he was ordained to the priesthood, and his father, with a large retinue of personal friends, honoured the occasion of his first celebration of the Mass; but that, even then, the breach between father and son was not completely healed appeared at the meal which followed, when the former in his blunt way reminded the clergy that obedience to parents is a command from which no dispensation could be given, and that what they esteemed a call from God might be nothing more than a delusion of Satan. Selected by Staupitz in Nov. 1508 as instructor in Philosophy in the University of Wittenberg, founded only six years before, Luther was delighted, when, four months later, as a Bachelor of Theology, it was his privilege to lecture also on the Holy Scriptures. Recalled the succeeding autumn to Erfurt, he was assigned the task of lecturing on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. Two years later (1511) he was sent to Rome to represent Staupitz in regard to certain business affairs of the Order. This visit was of the highest moment to Luther's subsequent career. His most recent Roman Catholic biographer, Grisar, candidly says that the Rome which he visited was the Rome of the then ruling Julius II. and his predecessor, Alexander VI.—Rome glorified by art, but the deeply degenerate Rome of the popes of the consummation of the Renaissance.[1] He was grieved by the many abuses forced on his attention; and, notwithstanding the credulity with which, as he afterwards acknowledged, he accepted much of what he there saw and heard, the hold which the papal name and authority had had upon him was greatly weakened. The story of his experience on Pilate's Staircase rests solely on the testimony published after his death by his son Paul. Rapid promotion followed, as a testimonial to the success of his mission. Receiving the degree of Doctor of Theology at the age of twenty-nine (1512), he accepted it as a special call 'to explain the Scriptures to all the world,' and broke the traditional modes of instruction by his method of lecturing. Although he retains the 'four-fold sense' of Scripture, he lays the chief stress upon finding allusions to Christ in all the prophecies of the OT, and interprets the Psalter by the gospel of the NT. From the OT books he turned to the NT, treating successively Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews. From the nominalists, Occam and Gerson, he had turned to Augustine, and from Augustine more and more to Paul. The mystical writer, John Tauler, and the anonymous author of *The German Theology* had a decided formative influence. His time, however, was largely absorbed by administrative duties. In 1515 he was appointed Vicar, with the oversight of eleven monasteries.

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[1] Cf. Otto Scheel, *Die Entwicklung Luthers bis zum Abschluss der Vorlesung über den Römerbrief*, Leipzig, 1910.

It was in the midst of these duties that he became involved in the controversy concerning indulgences (*q.v.*). The doctrine of indulgences was rooted in the denial of the completeness of the satisfaction for sins made by Christ. This satisfaction, it was taught, had value for original sin, and, beyond it, was made for actual sins only by commuting the penalty from one that was infinite, and beyond man's power to afford, to one that is finite and within his limitations, either in this world or in that which is to come. Penitence, it was further taught, consisted of contrition, confession, and satisfaction, made by the penitent. Such satisfactions could be made only for such sins as were recognized by the sinner. But, as in this life the knowledge of many sins escapes the notice of even the most faithful, purgatory was provided, where satisfactions could be rendered for sins unrepented of at death. Relief from such satisfactions would be found, however, in the fund of the superfluous merits of the saints acquired by their works of supererogation—a fund upon which the Church, through its head on earth, could draw, so as to grant indulgence by the payment of an equivalent. Heretofore, no more had been claimed for a letter of indulgence than an abbreviation of the pains of purgatory for those who had already departed. As the granting of these letters afforded large revenue, abuses constantly grew. It was the most convenient and effective way of raising funds for Church purposes, with percentage allotted to the agents who collected them. The luxurious habits of Leo X. and especially the completion of St. Peter's church at Rome rendered this expedient very serviceable at this time. Albrecht of Brandenburg, Archbishop and Margrave, had contracted to collect fees from this source, with the stipulation that he retain one half. He commissioned as one of his agents John Tetzel, a Dominican monk and emotional preacher, who, by his appeals to the terror of his hearers, created great popular commotion wherever he appeared, and urged them to purchase his wares. It would not be difficult to accumulate from Roman Catholic writers abundant censure of the course of Tetzel. For more than a year Luther, entirely ignorant of the connexion which both Albrecht and the pope himself had with Tetzel's traffic, had been uttering protests at a distance; but, as Tetzel drew nearer Wittenberg, the revelations made to Luther as a spiritual guide in the confessional compelled him first to appeal repeatedly to his ecclesiastical superiors, and, finally, when these appeals were fruitless, to publish his Ninety-five Theses for an academic discussion in the University. The effect which they produced, as well as the publicity which they received, was beyond all expectation. While in these Theses he strikes boldly and remorselessly at the very roots of the abuse, he is evidently still feeling his way, and has not entirely freed himself from some positions that were afterwards very forcibly repudiated.

There were formal answers the next year by John Eck and Silvester Prierias, which called forth responses, with characteristic vigour, from Luther. There was a barren conference with Cardinal Cajetan at Augsburg (Sept. 1518), and another with Miltitz at Altenburg (Jan. 1519), followed by the Leipzig Disputation (beginning 23rd June), in which, after Eck and Carlstadt had argued for days, Luther's debate with Eck began (4th July) on Church authority, significant because of the advance shown by Luther upon anything that he had previously declared, in the maintenance of the fallibility of Councils, and the censure of the Council of Constance for condemning Hus. The aid offered from the camps of humanism Luther not only declined, but repelled, as he wished to make it clear that his protest rested upon entirely different grounds from theirs. The year 1520 is noted for three monumental treatises, two polemical, one irenic and constructive. Of the former, the first was his famous 'Appeal to the Christian Nobility,' which might appropriately bear the title, 'The Responsibility and Duty of the Laity in Spiritual Affairs,' and the second, 'The Babylonian Captivity,' a scathing criticism of the sacramental system of the Roman Church. The latter, 'The Liberty of the Christian Man,' has evoked the following tribute from one of his most prominent modern critics:

> 'One cannot help asking how the same hand which delighted to shatter as with a sledge-hammer all that had hitherto been held sacred and venerable, could also touch so tenderly the chords of divine love' (Janssen, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, Eng. tr., iii. 239).

The bull of excommunication promulgated by the pope on 15th June 1520 did not reach Wittenberg until four months later, and was formally burned by Luther before the students of the

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[1] H. Grisar, *Luther*, i. 41.

University (10th Dec. 1520). On 16th and 17th April 1521 Luther appeared before the Emperor, Charles V., at the Diet of Worms, and declared that he could not recant. There were too many political complications involved to enable the Emperor to act promptly against him, and before such action could be taken the Elector of Saxony, as a precaution, had Luther arrested, while returning from the Diet, and carried to the Wartburg, overlooking Eisenach, where he remained in retirement until the following spring.

The isolation of those ten months afforded opportunity to review his work at a distance from the scene, to mature his convictions by the close and uninterrupted study of Scripture, to form some plans for the future, and to begin his most important work, the translation of the Bible into German. The NT was translated, from the second edition of the Greek Testament of Erasmus, within three months from the time when it was begun. The translation was brought with him when he returned to Wittenberg from his exile (6th March 1522), and appeared the succeeding September. The translation of the OT was a much more difficult undertaking, in which he had the assistance of Melanchthon, Aurogallus, Roerer, Foerster, and others, and was published in parts, until in 1532 the entire Bible appeared complete, followed by the Apocrypha two years later.

On his return to Wittenberg the character of his labours was much changed. He had at once to meet with decision the radical reaction against Rome, which had resorted in some cases to revolutionary, and in others to precipitate, measures. Three days after his return he began a series of eight sermons, preaching daily, into which he threw all his energy to check their excesses and, against them, to define the principles for which he had been contending. The reformation of the churches in districts no longer under the dominion of the old Church now became necessary, to prevent them from being misled by the confusion that had been introduced, and in order, by a re-organization, to build them upon solid evangelical foundations. Henceforth, while the polemic against Rome did not cease, and almost equal energy was directed against the opposite extreme, he was occupied largely with constructive work—the visitation of churches, the preparation of Church constitutions, the re-organization of schools, the revision of the liturgy, the writing of catechisms, the composition of hymns, and the publishing of popular sermons, not only for private edification, but especially as models for the inadequately prepared preachers, besides his lectures to his classes and incessant correspondence and conferences—until, from sheer exhaustion, he fell a victim to disease, while acting as a mediator between the counts of Mansfeld, and died in his native town of Eisleben (16th Feb. 1546). Among the more important events of this later period of his life are his marriage with Catherine von Bora (1525); the Marburg colloquy with Zwingli (Oct. 1529); his second period of isolation, at the castle of Coburg, during the Diet of Augsburg (1530); his conferences in 1535 with representatives of the English Church, which had an important influence on the English Reformation and its literary monuments; the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 with Bucer and other representatives of the Reformed Church; and the Schmalkald Articles of 1537. Probably the point that has occasioned most heated discussion was his relation to the bigamy of Philip of Hesse in 1540 (see W. W. Rockwell, *Die Doppelehe des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen*, Marburg, 1904).

2. **Appreciation.**—The greatness of Luther lies largely in the versatility of his gifts and the readiness with which he could call them into service. Intensity, concentration, earnestness, directness, and action are constantly present. Beneath his efforts there is always some important practical end. His scholarship has a higher end than mere love of learning. He availed himself of the weapons of humanism, so far as he could use them, without being in any sense a humanist. He had lectured for years on philosophy, only to repudiate both the Greeks and the scholastics. His writings abound in numerous historical allusions, without suggesting that he ever could be rated as a historical investigator. It is rather his experience as a Christian that is ever leading him the more deeply into the treasures of Holy Scripture, to find therein the solution of the problems of human life.

As a professor he was neither a scientific exegete nor a systematic theologian. He cut loose from all scholastic formulæ and methods. While he could not entirely escape from the influence of mediævalism, he was in constant antagonism to its authority. Even in the class-room he was a great preacher, stimulating the thought and life of his pupils, instead of retailing stereotyped definitions. His lectures were almost entirely confined to particular books of the Bible, which he expounded with great freedom of manner.

As an author, it is in his form rather than his matter that he reflects the present moment. Eminently conservative and slow to reach a conclusion, when once he has reached it he writes in an intense glow of feeling; words crowd one upon the other with great rapidity of thought, and with wealth of illustration often of the most homely character. He never has difficulty in making his meaning intelligible. He can write with equal ease as a scholar or for the plainest of the people. He loves paradoxes. He concentrates his attention so intensely on the particular form of the subject before him as to make no qualifications in order to forestall possible incorrect inferences or misrepresentations. The whole, real Luther can be read only by placing side by side his declarations under varying circumstances, and against opponents that widely differ. Few writers, therefore, can be so readily perverted by partisans. His language is not infrequently rough, and his allusions such as were in keeping with the rude age in which he lived.

He was master of the art of translation. Not verbal exactness, but the precise reproduction of the very shade of meaning of the original in the language of the simplest people of a later age, was his aim. His German Bible is a modern book, which at last fixed the form and became the standard of modern German. His hymns are paraphrases of Scripture, or free renderings of the old Latin hymns of the Church. His sermons are most frequently expositions of long passages of Scripture, and grow naturally out of the text, as applied to contemporary circumstances and conditions; and hence generally reflect that with which his attention at the time was chiefly occupied. They have come to us mostly as taken down in shorthand by some of his hearers, and not in finished form from his own pen.

His contributions to the re-organization of churches are embodied not only in documents that bear his name, but also in those of his co-labourers, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and others, who applied the principles which he laid down, and acted with his constant co-operation and advice. He was the advocate of liberal culture, the study of the Greek and Latin classics, the education of women, and free public libraries. So far was he from precipitate and revolutionary methods of reform that he proceeded with the greatest caution, upholding what had been fixed and approved by long usage, until a break with the past was no longer avoidable, but, when the critical moment came, always acting with promptness and decision. His aim was not even a restoration of Scriptural models, but the continuance of whatever in life, worship, and organization was not contrary to Scripture. External union was approved only as it was the expression of a preceding inner unity. Agreement as to the faith of the gospel was the condition of all attempts at Church union, which he esteemed valuable only as the servant of faith; hence the faith was never to be adjusted to the supposed expediencies of union.

As a theologian, his chief effort, on the negative side, was to free theology from its bondage to philosophy, and to return to the simplicity of Scripture. He was dissatisfied with technical theological terms, because of their inadequacy, even when the elements of truth which they contained restrained him from abandoning them. He was not without a historical sense and a reverence for antiquity, provided that it was subjected to the tests of Holy Scripture. Scripture was not to be interpreted by the Fathers, but the Fathers were to be judged by their agreement or disagreement with Scripture. It was his especial privilege to have entered into the spirit of St. Paul as none before him, not even Augustine. Luther's theology is Pauline theology, in the language of modern times. It begins and ends with the revelation of God in Jesus Christ. Christology is the key to all knowledge of the nature and attributes of God and the doctrine of the Trinity. Christ is the interpreter of Scripture. All doctrines are to be considered in their relation to Christ. With Augustine, he taught the organic union of all men in Adam, and the organic union of all sins in original sin. Original sin is emphasized rather as the corrupt state resulting from the Fall than as the act itself whence this state proceeds—a state of spiritual death, from which man can neither of himself escape nor contribute towards his deliverance. The Incarnation presupposes man's sin. God became man in order, by His sufferings and death, to provide redemption. In the personal union, as the result of incarnation, the integrity of both natures is preserved, the divine inseparably pervading and energizing the human; the human bringing the possibility of suffering, and the divine sustaining and imparting to the human its infinite efficacy. The humiliation (*kenosis* [*q.v.*]) is not of the divine nature, but of the divine person in His human nature. Hence humiliation is not synonymous with incarnation, but is only a determination of the human nature, glorified from the very first moment of its union with the divine. Redemption is made for all men and all sins, although not received and realized by all. The doctrine of predestination, he insists, should always be treated as a supplement to Christology, since what God has predetermined concerning our salvation from eternity He has revealed in the gospel, and, therefore, the gospel itself exhibits the contents of God's eternal decree concerning salvation. The blessings of salvation, to be realized, must be appropriated by faith; but this faith is God's gift. Man cannot believe in Christ, or come to Him, by his own reason or strength. It is the office of the Holy Spirit alone to bring man to Christ and Christ to man, to call, enlighten, and regenerate. If man is saved, it is entirely by the work of the Holy Spirit in applying redemption through Christ; if he is lost, it is entirely by his own persistent resistance of the offers of divine grace. There are no degrees in justification; it is perfect and complete, however weak the faith that apprehends it, since the righteousness which it imparts is the perfect righteousness of Christ. If regarded as forgiveness, where the least sin is forgiven, all are forgiven, and where the least sin is unforgiven, none are forgiven. But justification is more even than forgiveness. Christ and man have exchanged places; so that while all the guilt of man is assumed by Christ, all the righteousness of Christ is transferred to man. Hence the confidence of man before God. Faith kindles love. As an active principle, faith not only receives what God offers, but also, through the new powers imparted with justification, exercises itself in obedience towards God, and in efforts for the good of man.

> 'It is as impossible to separate works from faith, as it is to separate heat and light from fire' (*Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans*, 1522 [*Works*, Erlangen ed., lxiii. 124 f.]). This passage has called forth the unqualified commendation of the Roman Catholic theologian, J. A. Moehler, although he incorrectly adds that it is 'in the most amiable contradiction with the Lutheran theory of justification' (*Symbolik*^{8}, Mainz, 1872, i. 163, tr. J. B. Robertson, London, 1843, i. 185).

Furthermore, the Holy Spirit comes to men only in and through the Word and Sacraments, through the word of the Law, producing sorrow for sin, and through the gospel, *i.e.*, the promise of the forgiveness of sins producing faith. The office of the Sacraments is to individualize the general promise of the gospel. The chief thing in baptism is not the water, but the Word, which, in and with the water, is applied to the person baptized. The chief thing in the Lord's Supper is not the bodily eating and drinking, but the assurance, 'Given and shed for you,' which is declared to the guests, and sealed by the elements and the heavenly mystery that they offer. Since, wherever this Word is preached, whether orally or visibly in the Sacraments, the Holy Spirit is active, Word and Sacraments become marks, designating where at least some truly believing children of God are to be found; *i.e.*, they indicate the presence of the Church, which otherwise is a matter of faith, as the Creed confesses: 'I *believe* in the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints.' The direct relation of each individual to Christ, unmediated by any other agency than Word and Sacrament, creates the spiritual priesthood of believers, and obliterates the distinction between an order of priests and laymen. The ministry of the gospel is not a priesthood, but an office of the Church for the administration of Word and Sacraments, in which administration ministers are only the executives of the congregation, and, through the congregation, of Christ Himself, who has called and ordained them. Distinctions of rank among ministers are not admissible by divine law, but may be very advantageous when agreed upon simply according to human law. Uniformity of Church government and ceremonies is unnecessary, however desirable it may be as a matter of expediency. The Church has no power but that of the Word. Even in regard to those matters where the Word of God allows no freedom, we have no right to attempt to constrain others by any other means than by the preaching of the Word.

> 'I will preach and talk and write against these things, but no one will I attempt to force' (*Eight Sermons preached at Wittenberg, Lent, 1523* [*Works*, Erlangen ed., xxviii. 219]). 'The Word that has created the heavens and the earth must do this, or it will be left undone' (*ib.*).

The dualism in ethics that pervaded the mediæval religionism, according to which there is an inherent antagonism between the spiritual and the material, the heavenly and the earthly, entirely disappears in Luther. The separation caused by sin is removed by redemption and regeneration, and the spiritual now pervades the material, the heavenly the earthly. Hence the believer is not only a spiritual priest, but also a spiritual king, and lord over all things; and his chastened enjoyment of them belongs to that gratitude which he owes the Redeemer who has provided them for him. Nevertheless, while by faith lord over all, by love he is servant of all, and obeys God's law from an inner necessity of his regenerated nature

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(cf. C. E. Luthardt, *Die Ethik Luthers in ihren Grundzügen*, Leipzig, 1867, *Geschichte der christlichen Ethik*, do. 1893, vol. ii.).

Probably with only one exception in all history, no one has been so much praised or so bitterly and incessantly attacked as Luther. The discussion of his life and deeds is constantly renewed with all the interest of almost contemporaneous occurrences. His voluminous works, many of them reaching us through the notes of others instead of from the pen of the author himself, the memoranda of friends who jotted down from memory fragments of his conversations in the bosom of his family, his most confidential letters to his most intimate associates, humorous and satirical as well as serious, afford an inexhaustible mine for students of successive generations. Researches in archives heretofore closed and in libraries where they have lain unnoticed are bringing to light MSS of decided historical importance. Thus, in the last year of last century, his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans,[1] for which scholars had long been looking, were found in so public a place as the Berlin Library, shortly after a student's notes of the same lectures had been discovered in the Vatican, and succeeding only by a little over ten years the discovery of lectures on the Psalms, belonging also to his formative period. New biographies from both friends and opponents, as well as from those who profess to apply with rigid impartiality the highest standards of historical criticism, succeed each other with a frequency that is remarkable when it is remembered that he has been dead for over three centuries and a half, showing clearly that the last word has not been said on many questions that he started, and that cannot be answered without a thorough study of his own presentations.

Literature.—(*a*) Of the more recent Roman Catholic critics of Luther and his work, the following may be mentioned: J. Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 8 vols., Freiburg im Br., 1879–94, Eng. tr., 16 vols., London, 1896–1911; H. S. Denifle, *Luther und Luthertum*², 2 vols., Mainz, 1906; H. Grisar, *Luther*, 3 vols., Freiburg im Br., 1911–12.

(*b*) Among the replies called forth are the following: J. Köstlin, *Luther und J. Janssen, der deutsche Reformator und ein ultramontaner Historiker*², Halle, 1883; R. Seeberg, *Luther und Luthertum in der neuesten katholischen Beleuchtung*, Leipzig, 1904; T. Kolde, *P. Denifle, seine Beschimpfung Luthers*, do. 1904; J. Haussleiter, *Luther im röm. Urteile*, do. 1904; W. Köhler, *Ein Wort zu Denifle's Luther*, Tübingen, 1904; G. Kawerau, *Luther in kath. Beleuchtung, Glossen zu H. Grisar's Luther*, Leipzig, 1911. The results are condensed in: W. Walther, *Für Luther wider Rom*, Halle, 1906 (an exhaustive answer to the polemics of Janssen, G. G. Evers, and Denifle); and H. Boehmer, *Luther im Lichte der neueren Forschung*³, Leipzig, 1914.

(*c*) The collected works of Luther have been comprised in seven editions of varying excellence and completeness: the Wittenberg (1539–58); the Jena (1555–58); the Altenburg (1561–64); the Leipzig (1729–40); J. G. Walch (1740–53), of which the St. Louis (1880–1910) is a thoroughly revised reprint; the Erlangen (beginning in 1826); the Weimar, the fullest and edited with greatest critical accuracy, under the patronage of the German Emperor. It was begun in 1883, and is still far from completion. For details concerning these editions see *PRE*³, art. 'Luther.' A very convenient edition of select works, edited with critical care and with introductions, is that of G. Buchwald, G. Kawerau, J. Köstlin, M. Rade, and E. Schneider, 8 vols., with 2 supplementary vols., 3rd ed., Berlin, 1905. Of greater scientific value is O. Clemen, *Luther's Werke in Auswahl*, 4 vols., Bonn, 1912–14.

(*d*) The list of biographies begins with that of Melanchthon, published the year after Luther's death, in the introduction to the second Latin volume of the Wittenberg edition of Luther's works. Mention may be made of the following: M. Meurer, Leipzig, 1843, ³1870; J. Köstlin⁵, ed. G. Kawerau, Berlin, 1903; T. Kolde, Gotha, 1884–93; M. Rade, Neustadt, 1887; A. Hausrath, Berlin, 1904; and the English biographies of C. Beard, London, 1889; H. E. Jacobs, New York, 1898; T. M. Lindsay, Edinburgh, 1900, and esp. in his *History of the Reformation*, i., do. 1907; H. Preserved Smith, London, 1911; A. C. McGiffert, do. 1911. A very condensed, but most excellent and suggestive, classification of biographers and other writers on Luther, according to schools, is the work of Boehmer, above cited, pp. 7–27. For a critical study of Luther's theology see the treatises on that title by T. Harnack, Erlangen, 1862–67, and J. Köstlin, Stuttgart, 1863, Eng. tr., C. E. Hay, Philadelphia, 1897.

HENRY E. JACOBS.

LUTHERANISM.—Notwithstanding the protests which Luther himself raised against it, the term 'Lutheran' was soon applied in the 16th cent. to the principles of which he was the chief advocate. However necessary plans for Church organization became when the attempt was made forcibly to suppress his protests, it had never been Luther's aim either to found a new Church or even within the historically existing Church to carry out any elaborately pre-arranged form of re-organization. Nor was the initiative for such re-organization taken by Luther or by those theologians who were most closely associated with him, but either by the radical extremists whom he repudiated or by the Protestant rulers, who justly realized that the churches in their realms could not be left without some form of administration.

Lutheranism starts with the assertion of the responsibility of the individual conscience to God alone in all matters of faith and life. But, in maintaining this position, it does not proclaim pure individualism, since the conscience is always bound by the Word of God, and that Word is not to be interpreted arbitrarily, but by comparing spiritual things with spiritual. In its treatment of the doctrine of the Church, the emphasis rests not so much upon the external institution, with a well-defined organization and codes of ecclesiastical laws, as upon the association of truly Christian people, maintained by their communion in the one faith of the gospel, through the activity of one and the same Spirit within their hearts and minds. The appeal, accordingly, is never made to the authority of any outward visible organization, but to the individual conscience. All Church power inheres in the Word of God.

> 'This power is exercised only by teaching or preaching the Gospel, and administering the Sacraments' (*Augsburg Confession*, art. xxviii.).

The Church has no sword but that of the Spirit with which to enforce obedience. Nevertheless, as for the administration of Word and Sacraments, external association, as well as the internal communion of believers with each other, is necessary; the external Church must always be maintained, but the form of its organization must be determined by the circumstances in which the Church is placed, the preservation of the pure Word and Sacraments being the first consideration. The preference is always on the side of that which has been historically approved, a break in the existing order being justified only when such order cannot be maintained without impairing fidelity to God's Word. It was not by any concerted action among Lutherans, nor with any thought of a united Lutheran Church, that the Church constitutions of the Reformation period were formulated, but they were prepared in various countries and provinces according to the peculiar needs of each. Externally, there were many Lutheran churches, but no one Lutheran Church. The very first word of the first article of the Augsburg Confession ('ecclesiæ apud nos') declares this. There was, however, an external bond in their common confession. This confession, properly speaking, is no particular historical document, however widely accepted among Lutherans, but the enunciation of those Scriptural principles for which the Lutheran Church peculiarly stands. Such confession, however, has found concrete expression in certain classical historical agreements that have greater or less recognition. It is not the Confession of Faith, but the faith of the Confession, that determines the Lutheranism of any individual teacher or Church body. Where the doctrines of the Confessions are held and confessed, even though the Confessions themselves be not subscribed, or even known, the Lutheran character of the teaching is established; while, on the other hand, where the contents of the Confessions are not cordially received, as a matter of faith, *i.e.* as derived from God's Word, and there is no subscription to such Confessions with qualifications expressed or with mental reservations, the test is not met. A real Confession of Faith is not so much a law as the joyful declaration of Christian freemen of the liberty that they have attained in Christ, and of the limits within which this liberty is to be found and exercised (cf. art. CONFESSIONS, vol. iii. p. 845).

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[1] Critically edited and published, with historical introduction, by J. Ficker, *Luther's Vorlesungen über den Römerbrief*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1908.

What are known historically as the Lutheran Confessions are not attempts to summarize the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, as are various other Confessions in Christendom that are, in reality, systems of doctrine. The confessional development of Lutheranism has proceeded on the principle that Holy Scripture is its own interpreter, and needs no formal explanation by Church authority, unless the meaning of Scripture be involved in serious controversies that greatly agitate the Church and call for the careful guarding of the purity of the gospel from those who would pervert it. Articles of faith that have not been attacked or misrepresented need no confessional treatment. A Confession, from this view, should never be an exhaustive presentation of the Church's faith, but there should be a readiness, as new controversies arise, to meet them with the same weapons and in the same spirit with which preceding controverted points have been treated. Hence the Augsburg Confession closes with the words:

> 'If anything further be desired, we are ready, God willing, to present ampler information according to the Scriptures.'

The Lutheran Confessions have thus been determined by certain practical ends in view at several crises in the experience of the churches that call themselves Lutheran.

Of these Confessions, the two Catechisms (cf. art. CATECHISMS [Lutheran], vol. iii. p. 253 ff.), both written by Luther in 1529, are handbooks of elementary religious instruction rather than theological documents. The four theological Confessions are: the unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Schmalkald Articles, and the Formula of Concord. The first of these chronologically, as well as by general recognition, the Augsburg Confession, was prepared by Melanchthon for presentation at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. It is an irenic document, emphasizing the points of agreement with the Roman Church, in the hope that some way might yet be found to avoid a break in the Western Church. The term 'unaltered' is used to distinguish the Confession presented at Augsburg from unauthorized revisions made by Melanchthon personally in 1540 and 1542, in the interests of a nearer approach to the Reformed. The fact that the term 'unaltered' may not strictly belong to even the best text—since the original copies placed in the hands of the Emperor Charles V. have both been lost, and Melanchthon was compelled to reproduce the Confession from the very full notes of himself and his colleagues for publication the succeeding spring—does not justify the rejection of the distinction historically fixed between the two types of the Confession. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession (1531) is a full and learned defence, also written by Melanchthon against the criticisms contained in 'The Confutation of the Augsburg Confession' by the Roman theologians at Augsburg. The Schmalkald Articles (1537), prepared by Luther, with a long Appendix by Melanchthon, mark a stage in the controversy with Rome when the differences were no longer reconcilable. The Formula of Concord (1577) gives a decision concerning controversies among Lutherans, as the other Confessions had treated those which had assailed them from without (see, further, art. CONFESSIONS, § 13).

Differences between Luther and Melanchthon were intensified among their followers. These differences, due primarily to differences of temperament, training, and religious experience, caused no personal rupture between them. Melanchthon, gentle, timid, and sensitive, loved the retirement and occupations of the study, and shrank from conflict. Far more of a humanist than Luther, he was swept by the force of events, and, much to his regret, from classical studies into the current of theological discussions. He had passed through no such inner spiritual conflicts as had Luther. Accordingly, he excelled in the sphere of the formal rather than of the material. No one could give such accurate and graceful literary expression to Luther's thoughts. But, when Luther's influence was removed, he was not only vacillating, but dominated by two principles, viz. a much higher regard than Luther for patristic authority, and a greater concern for the external peace and the impressiveness of the Church's government. He was frequently involved in negotiations with respect to Church politics, which compromised his position, and brought into prominence his great contrast with Luther in this particular. Notwithstanding his sharp arraignment of scholastic methods in the first edition of his *Loci Communes* (1521), he soon manifested a bent towards the principles which he had repudiated, placed undue importance upon the philosophy of Aristotle, and became the founder o Lutheran scholasticism. The perpetuation of thes two types of thought has caused not only differences in regard to the attitude of their adherent to individual Confessions, but also a stricter or laxer standard of Confessional subscription. Th Formula of Concord is a formal repudiation o Melanchthonianism in its divergence from Luther.

Of the two principles of Protestantism, th formal and the material, it has often been observe that Lutheranism lays greater stress upon th material—'Justification by Faith alone'—tha upon the formal—'The Sole Authority of th Holy Scriptures.' While, in fact, the two ar never separated, the Scriptures are regarded a the absolute norm of revealed truth rather tha as a magazine or receptacle in which the truth i stored. For it must not be forgotten that th gospel itself was proclaimed orally before it wa committed to writing, and was no less the powe of God unto salvation where thus preached, o where taught by those who had heard it from th first ear-witnesses, than when read on the printe page. Nor can the Scriptures be correctly apprehended except as in regeneration a new spiritua sense is imparted.

> 'When even the most able and learned men upon earth rea or hear the Gospel of the Son of God, and the promise of eterna salvation, they cannot, from their own powers, perceive, apprehend, understand or believe and regard it true, but th more diligence and earnestness they employ to comprehen with their reason these spiritual things, the less they understand or believe, and before they become enlightened, or taugh of the Holy Ghost, they regard this only as foolishness or fictions, 1 Cor. 2. 14' (Formula of Concord, pt. ii. ch. ii. § 9, Eng tr., H. E. Jacobs, *Book of Concord*, p. 553).

The true interpretation of Scripture is to be foun only as the relation of each part to Christ as th centre is correctly apprehended, and this is possibl only by the regenerated man.

While protesting against all ecclesiastical authority that arrays itself against Holy Scripture Lutheranism lays great stress upon the continuou witness to the truth of the gospel, given throug the Holy Spirit, as this truth is applied and developed from age to age in believing personalities. Such believers, according to its teaching, constitute the inner spiritual organism of the Church. In this respect its doctrine is in contrast with that of Rome, on the one hand, which lays so much importance upon the decisions of the externally organized Church, and that of the Reformed, on the other, which is apt to isolate the individual from his historical relations and the mediation of those through whom Word and Sacraments reach him. The same principle obtains in its conception of the relation of the Holy Spirit to Word and Sacraments, since, besides being a source of revealed truth, it regards the Word as a real means of grace through which alone the Spirit calls, illuminates, regenerates, and sanctifies; and the Sacraments as efficacious instrumentalities by which the promise of the gospel concerning the forgiveness of sins and the grace of God is individualized.

Like all ideals, those of Lutheranism suffer various modifications as embodied in a concrete form in external organizations. The union of Church and State in European lands has not only prevented the principles of Lutheranism from being applied in entire consistency to practice, but has also often interjected adjustments of theory and policy foreign to both its spirit and its teaching. As in the time of the Reformation, so at all times since, there have been those whose intense conservatism has shown the presence of a Romanizing, or whose greater freedom that of a Reformed, tendency. Indifferentism, Unionism, Mysticism, and Rationalism have had their learned advocates among those claiming the Lutheran name, and within Church organizations known as Lutheran, just as the Christian Church has much within it for which Christianity is not responsible.

LITERATURE.—For the study of the subject the Lutheran Confessions are indispensable. The best ed. is that of J. T. Mueller, Stuttgart, 1848, ^{10}Gütersloh, 1907, containing in parallel columns the official German and Latin texts, with exhaustive scholarly introductions and minute index, Eng. tr., ed. H. E. Jacobs, Philadelphia, 1882–83, 2 vols., vol. i. containing the Confessions, vol. ii. introductions and documents; condensed ed., containing Confessions alone, do. 1911.

Next in importance for an intelligent acquaintance with Lutheranism is Martin Chemnitz, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, Frankfort, 1565–73, and many other edd. (far more than a thorough criticism of the Decrees and Canons of Trent; it is a very full discussion also of the constructive principles of Lutheranism in doctrine, ethics, liturgics, polity, and pastoral theology); see also G. L. Plitt, *Einleitung in die Augustana*, Erlangen, 1867; F. H. R. Frank, *Die Theologie der Concordienformel*, do. 1858–65; L. P. Tschackert, *Die Entstehung der lutherischen und reformierten Kirchenlehre*, Göttingen, 1910; F. Uhlhorn, *Geschichte der deutsch-lutherischen Kirche*, Leipzig, 1911; C. P. Krauth, *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, Philadelphia, 1871; T. E. Schmauk and C. T. Benze, *The Confessional Principle and the Confessions of the Lutheran Church*, do. 1911; treatises on Symbolics by G. B. Winer, Leipzig, 1824, ^{4}1882, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1871; H. E. F. Guericke^{3}, Leipzig, 1861; R. Hofmann, do. 1857; G. F. Oehler, Tübingen, 1876; K. H. G. von Scheele, Gotha, 1881; F. A. Philippi, Gütersloh, 1883, and E. F. K. Mueller, Leipzig, 1896; *Lutheran Cyclopedia*, ed. Jacobs and J. A. W. Haas, New York, 1899; *PRE*^{3}, *passim*; *Bureau of the Census, Special Reports*, 'Religious Bodies, 1906,' Washington, 1910, ii. 340–404.

HENRY E. JACOBS.

LUXURY.—I. Historical aspects of luxury.—One of the incentives towards social progress is the desire to procure a surplus after the needs of a mere physical existence have been met. Somewhere within the limits of this surplus is that portion of it which constitutes expenditure upon luxuries. What exactly is to be termed luxury depends to a large extent on the situation and condition of a community, and, in a somewhat less degree, upon its standard of life.

Once a tribe managed to procure a sufficient food supply to maintain itself, any increase rendered possible an unproductive consumption of the excess in the form of feasting, and under these circumstances a rude form of luxury would have been evolved. Thus a primitive type of luxury must have come into existence in pre-historic times. In the early civilizations luxury made its appearance in well-defined and striking forms. In Egypt, Nineveh, and Babylon, and at Tyre and Sidon, the primary tendency towards decoration and display appears to have shown itself in relation to religious observances, and, closely connected with this, there was the pomp of the royal family, where, as in Egypt, it claimed divine authority. But the example of the supreme ruler extended sooner or later to the governing classes, and in this way luxurious expenditure by individuals manifested itself. The chief gratifications sought were the pleasures of the table in eating and drinking, of personal adornment (both in dress and by the use of costly perfumes), of buildings and monuments (such as the Pyramids), or of dwellings and their appurtenances (as, for instance, the hanging gardens of Babylon). Among the Greeks there were traces of luxury in the heroic age, such as rich armour and dresses, and artistic ivory work, but it was at Athens after the defeat of the Persians (490–480 B.C.) and in the time of Pericles († 429 B.C.) that sumptuous expenditure became a characteristic both of the State and of the individual citizens. Public festivals were conducted on a scale of great magnificence, while the erection of public buildings was carried on at an outlay which was very great for the times. What differentiates the luxury of the Greeks from that of the Eastern nations was the artistic aspect of the movement. On the Acropolis there was the Pinacotheca beautified by the frescoes of the painter Polygnotus, near which stood the immense statue of Athene Promachos, the work of Pheidias, and beyond was the Parthenon, also embellished by the sculpture of Pheidias. With the rapid increase of wealth private expenditure increased; vases for household use became more decorative, and dress was more ornate. The conquests of Alexander the Great (336–323 B.C.) introduced the somewhat crude display of the Eastern nations, and, to a large extent, degraded the externals of social life. In Rome luxury became marked after the Punic Wars. Gladiatorial games had been introduced in 264 B.C., and by 186 B.C. lions and panthers were brought long distances at great cost to stimulate the lust for sensation which was being shown by the people. Rich citizens began to spend profusely on food and table appliances—anchovies were brought from Pontus and wine from Greece. As the power of Rome grew, luxury increased, till it culminated under the Empire. Augustus claimed to have erected 408 marble pillars, and to have provided 8000 gladiators and 3000 wild beasts for the arena. Ostentation developed into the excesses of Caligula and Nero, which were copied by private individuals according to their means. In the Byzantine Empire luxury was, if possible, greater than at Rome; it was certainly more decadent. If at Athens art had glorified luxury, at Constantinople luxury debased art; the Byzantine style has almost become synonymous with over-elaboration and tasteless display. Even before the Renaissance luxury had become remarkable in Italy, more particularly at Florence; afterwards it developed and produced a by-product in the encouragement of art and commerce. The more generous expenditure of the upper classes in France during the reign of Philip IV. (1285–1314) was met by his attempted sumptuary legislation regulating dress. In England Edward III. considered that extravagance was diminishing the taxable resources of the country, and, in order to prevent the evil, the statute 'de Cibariis Utendis' was passed in 1336, by which the courses of meals were limited to two, except on the principal feast days, when three were permitted. In 1363 a further act was passed against outrageous and excessive apparel, while in 1463 there was a more detailed sumptuary law. The inflow of precious metals to Europe after the discovery of America, followed by the extension of foreign trade, increased the stock of several classes of goods which previously had been excessively rare and costly. Hence commodities which had been of great value became relatively less expensive. The improved organization of industry facilitated production, so that Adam Smith was able to point to the fact that the most common artificer's accommodation exceeded that of many an African king, 'the absolute master of the lives and liberties of ten thousand naked savages' (*Wealth of Nations*, bk. i. ch. i.). Sumptuary legislation in England may be said to have ended with the Tudors. Mercantilism, in its encouragement of manufactures, tended to permit the production of luxuries for exportation. The growth of foreign trade enabled seafaring nations to participate in it and in the re-exporting of rare and costly goods. Accordingly, though there remained a sturdy body of opinion against luxuries generally, and more especially against those luxuries brought from foreign countries, sumptuary laws ceased to be observed in England. In Scotland, on the other hand, as late as 1681 the Scots Parliament prohibited the importation of a long list of foreign commodities which were held to be 'superfluous.' The industrial revolution followed by the acceptance of the doctrine of *laissez-faire* (*q.v.*) made the State less disposed to interfere with private expenditure unless upon moral or social grounds, as, for instance, in the regulation of wines and spirits. In the 19th cent. the principle of the taxation of luxuries came to be more and more recognized, partly on the ground of restraining the consumer from a species of consumption which was hurtful to himself (*e.g.*, taxation of spirits), partly as raising revenue from what were admitted to be superfluities, and thereby collecting revenue from classes who would not pay taxes otherwise (*e.g.*, tea and sugar taxes). A few taxes may be regarded as having a sumptuary element, such as the tax on armorial bearings or those on male servants and on motor cars.

2. The economic questions arising out of the existence of luxury.—Social observers who approach the problem of luxury from the historical side are inclined to urge against it that it has been the cause of the fall of great empires. Frequently, if not invariably, luxury has been a symptom of decadence, but a closer analysis tends to show that the moral weakness had already shown itself, and, as it increased, it manifested itself in public and private extravagance, while extravagance again gave fresh impetus to the forces of political and social disintegration. In these cases it is clear that the evil lay in the abuse of luxury.

Some of the most powerful economic motives are to be found in the desire of men to realize an idea or scheme of life which seems to them an improvement on their present one. Once their mere bodily wants are satisfied, their further desires may be called luxuries. This, however, is not strictly accurate. In a great number of occupations the worker who is able to satisfy the former wants only would not be efficient. Therefore one must extend the meaning of the term 'necessaries' so as to include in it all those things which are required for efficiency. What is consumed beyond that point may well be described as consisting of luxuries. It follows that the term 'luxury' must be understood in relation to time, place, and the general circumstances. It is easy to determine whether any specific commodity is a luxury to a given individual in regard to whom the necessary data are known; the problem becomes much more difficult in the case of a whole community. Certain forms of expenditure, as a rule, do not aid efficiency, and these can usually be classed under the head of luxurious outlay; certain others, again, are usually incurred with the object of conferring distinction on the spender, and, where such can be isolated, they fall into the same class. For the rest, all that is possible is to note with care what happens in the majority of cases in order to ascertain whether a certain type of expenditure is necessary or a luxury.

In the case of individual expenditure, luxury can arise only where there is a surplus beyond physical needs. If that expenditure is so directed as to cut into the margin required for efficiency, then inroads are being made into future income-earning power. But, after full provision has been made for efficiency, there is yet another claim on the surplus—namely, that for the accumulation of capital. It is this claim that has led many economists to condemn luxury. Expenditure on luxury repays or restores the capital which was temporarily locked up in the commodities consumed as luxuries. Therefore such expenditure cannot leave production much larger than it had been before the goods were purchased.[1] Wealth which becomes capital is also consumed, but in such consumption it becomes an instrument for further production. Thus that part of the surplus which is used as capital is more fruitful as regards production than the other portion which, in the phraseology of J. S. Mill (*Principles of Political Economy*, London, 1886, bk. i. ch. iii.), is consumed unproductively.

Consumption of luxuries has other consequences which are partly economic, but which are also of considerable social and ethical importance. Expenditure on superfluities has a tendency towards a relaxation of concentrated effort. In extreme cases it weakens the moral fibre and opens the way to dangerous excesses. It not only tends to injure the person whose life is luxurious, but reacts on others by the force of example. Thus there is a contest in the fixing of the prevailing standard of living between luxury and a wise and discriminating frugality. Even in periods of national and individual prodigality there were always moralists who pleaded for a simple life, and it is the relative degree of support which either class of precepts attracts that fixes whether a particular age or a particular class can be described as luxurious or not.

In the view of luxury that has been adopted the central point is the fixing of the standard of expenditure which is required for full efficiency. As society progresses and as further resources become available, it becomes possible for a community to increase enjoyments which are largely immaterial. The enjoyment of art is a case in point. If progress is conceived in a wide sense, the highest culture becomes an element in national efficiency. Accordingly, in a wealthy nation, where the inequalities of incomes are not too great, a condition is possible where the dividing line between luxuries and the necessities for efficiency is drawn at a much higher point than in another community which is less fortunately situated. And the higher standard of living can become a step towards further advance in civilization. But, at the same time, there is a somewhat insidious danger—namely, that consumption which was begun as conducive to efficiency may be continued much beyond that point. By becoming luxurious, it reacts on efficiency, and in the end results in a check instead of an increase in progress.

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[1] The matter is stated this way to allow for the possibility that the producer of the luxury may save a portion of the profit which he has realized from its sale. Such savings would be available for new production

LITERATURE.—[B. Mandeville,] *The Fable of the Bees*^{4}, London, 1725; I. Pinto, *Essai sur le luxe*, Amsterdam, 1762; David Hume, *Essays and Treatises*, Dublin, 1779 (pt. ii. 'Of Commerce, of Refinement in the Arts'); G. M. B[utel] D[umont], *Théorie du luxe, ou traité dans lequel on entreprend d'établir que le luxe est un ressort non seulement utile, mais même indispensablement nécessaire à la prospérité des états*, London and Paris, 1771; F. Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, Paris, 1699 (bk. xxii.); K. H. Rau, 'Ueber den Luxus,' in *Lehrbuch der polit. Oekonomie*, Leipzig, 1876–78; H. Baudrillart, *Histoire du luxe privé et public depuis l'antiquité jusqu' à nos jours*, 4 vols., Paris, 1878–80; W. Roscher, 'Ueber den Luxus,' in *Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft aus dem geschichtlichen Standpunkte*, Leipzig, 1861; Voltaire, *Le Mondain* (1736), and *Défense du Mondain ou l'apologie du luxe* (1737); H. Sidgwick, 'Luxury,' in *IJE* v. (Philadelphia, 1895); E. J. Urwick, *Luxury and the Waste of Life*, London, 1908; Werner Sombart, *Luxus und Kapitalismus*, Munich, 1913.

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LYCANTHROPY.—The word 'lycanthropy' is used in two senses. (1) It may indicate merely a form of madness in which the patient imagines that he is an animal, especially a wolf, and acts as such. This disease was common in antiquity, and especially in the Middle Ages, doubtless as a result of the wide-spread belief that transformation into animal form was possible (§ 3). (2) It indicates the popular belief that on occasion a human being can actually transform himself, or be transformed, into a wolf or some other animal. In this form he slays and eats men. But, if wounded while in his wolf form, it is found that a corresponding wound exists on the human body from which the transformation has taken place. When wounded or killed, the werwolf's human form is restored. While the wolf transformation is that which is or was most common in Europe, it is by no means the only one. For this superstition is practically world-wide, and everywhere it is generally the fiercest and most dreaded animals whose shapes are taken. The wolf transformation has been most usual in all parts of Europe and in N. Asia from early times, but in the North of Europe the bear form is also general, and in modern Greece the boar. In Abyssinia and E. Africa the hyena form is taken; in other parts of Africa the hyena, leopard, lion, and sometimes the shark, crocodile, or even the elephant. In India and other parts of Western Asia the tiger form is usual; in Borneo and Shoa the tiger or leopard; in China and Japan the tiger, fox, etc. In N. America the wolf form is mostly found; in S. America the jaguar. But, while in regions where such wild animals have become extinct the old tales are still told, now other less harmful animal forms are believed to be taken by witches or sorcerers—*e.g.*, those of the cat, hare, etc.—and in these animal shapes considerable mischief is supposed to be done, while the idea of the wound being continuous in the animal and human shapes ('repercussion,' see § 5) also prevails.

'Lycanthropy' is derived from λύκος, 'wolf,' and ἄνθρωπος, 'man,' the Gr. form being λυκάνθρωπος (cf. κυνάνθρωπος, 'dog-man'). The common English name is 'werwolf,' lit. 'man-wolf,' A.S. *werewulf*, O.H.G. *weriwulf*, Norman *guarwolf* (*wer*, 'man'; cf. O. Ir. *fer*, Lat. *vir*, and cf. 'wergild'). The French name for werwolf is *loup-garou*. In this case *garou* has been thought to be a corruption of *wer* and *loup*, but this is uncertain. The old French romances contain the forms *warouls*, *warous*, *vairous*, *vairals*. *Bisclaveret* for *bleiz-garou* (*bleiz* = 'wolf') occurs in the *Lai* of Marie de France (§ 1). The Slavic names are O. Ch. Slav. *vlŭkodlakŭ*, Slovenian *volkodlak*, Bulgarian *vŭlkolak*, Polish *wilkolak*, White Russ. *volkolak*, Russ. *volkulakŭ*, etc. The Serbian *vųkodlak*, however, means 'vampire'; hence, probably, modern Gr. βρουκόλακας, βουρκόλακας, 'vampire,' though occasionally 'werwolf.' The Slavic form means literally 'wolf-haired,' or 'wolf-skinned.'

The wolf has long been regarded with superstitious awe. An old belief in Europe is to the effect that, if a wolf sees a man before being seen by him, the man is deprived of sight or hearing, or goes mad or dies (cf. Pliny, *HN* viii. 24; Verg. *Ecl.* ix. 53; Theocr. *Id.* xiv. 22; J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 10). J. Cardan (*de Subtilitate*, Lyons, 1554, p. 17) says that there is something in the eye of a wolf contrary to man, by which the breath is stopped, and consequently the voice. In European folklore the wolf is usually a creature of the devil (cf. the wolf-shape of Ahriman; see O. Dähnhardt, *Natursagen: eine Sammlung . . . Fabeln und Legenden*, i., Berlin, 1907, p. 146 f.).

It is obvious that lycanthropy, in so far as it involves an actual belief in shape-shifting, is connected with the wider belief in transformation into animal form, which is of universal occurrence. Men, especially medicine-men, claim or are believed to possess this power, as well as that of transforming others; it is also ascribed to the gods, spirits, demons, and ghosts of the dead, as well as to animals, which sometimes assume human form, as some of the following paragraphs will show (see METAMORPHOSIS). But the actual origins of the belief are probably to be sought elsewhere (see § 3).

1. Extent of the superstition.—In one form or another the werwolf superstition is world-wide.

It was known to the *ancient Greeks*. In Æsop the thief who pretends to be a wolf says that when he has yawned three times he will become a wolf. Circe changed men to wolves, etc., by means of drugs. The superstition is also found embedded in the myths pertaining to the cult of Zeus Lycæus, the Wolf Zeus. Lycaon, king of Arcadia, was said to have been changed into a wolf when he sacrificed a child on the altar of Zeus Lycæus.[1] In other versions of the myth Zeus came disguised as a labourer, and the sons of Lycaon slew a child and mixed its flesh with the sacrificial food set before the guest. Zeus then changed them to wolves, or slew them and transformed their father.[2] These myths probably arose from werwolf stories current in Arcadia, a district where wolves abounded. The stories took two forms.

In one it was said that at the yearly sacrifice on Mt. Lycæus he who at the sacrificial feast ate the flesh of the human victim mixed with that of animal victims became a wolf for ten years—a fate which is said to have befallen Demænetus, who afterwards became a victor in the Olympic games. If he abstained during that period from human flesh, he regained his human form.[3] In another version lots were drawn by the members of a certain family, and he on whom the lot fell was led to a lake, where he stripped and, hanging his clothes on an oak, plunged in and swam across. Emerging on the other side, he became a wolf and herded with wolves for nine years. In this case also, if he did not eat human flesh he regained his own form at the end of that time.[4]

Perhaps such stories, based on an existing werwolf belief, may have been connected with the ritual of the cult of the wolf-god, if the priests wore a wolf-skin and ate part of a human victim. This ritual wearing of a wolf-skin occurred in the cult of Apollo Soranus on Mt. Soracte, where the gild of worshippers, the Hirpi Sorani, or 'wolves of Soranus,' apparently wore skins of wolves and acted as wolves. Possibly the cult was totemistic in origin, and the Hirpi were members of a wolf clan.[5]

In *modern Greece* the old belief in lycanthropy still exists, either as such or in other forms. The name βρουκόλακας is applied in Thessaly and Epirus to those who fall into a trance or catalepsy, while their souls enter wolves and raven for blood,[6] or who in a state of somnambulism bite and tear man and beast. Stories exist of the *vrykolakas* being wounded, while next day a man is found with a similar wound, and he confesses to being a *vrykolakas*.[7] More usually, however, this word signifies a vampire in Greece. In Southern Greece the name λυκάνθρωποι is applied to men known in other parts as Karkantzari or, more usually, Kallikantzari. The Kallikantzari are beings of monstrous form, hurtful and evil, who destroy men and carry off women, and sometimes make a meal of their prey.[1] Lawson considers that the Kallikantzari represent the ancient Centaurs, whom he regards as a Pelasgic tribe of Centauri credited by the Achæans with shape-shifting. Some connexion also exists between them and the mummers of the Dionysia who represented the satyrs and Sileni. They appear and are feared from Christmas to Epiphany—the period of the Kalends when such mumming took place. In some districts, however, the Kallikantzari are equivalent to werwolves, and are regarded as men transformed into monstrous shapes, or seized with recurrent bestial madness at this period. This is attributed, *e.g.*, to the mountaineers of E. Eubœa. This madness may be congenital—*e.g.*, children born between Christmas and Twelfth Night are supposed to have a taste for human flesh. Lawson regards this as a modification of the original Kallikantzari belief caused by the werwolf superstition or by actual forms of insanity.[2] The name λυκοκάντζαροι is given to the Kallikantzari in Messenia and Crete, and in Macedonia they are called λύκοι. To escape these beings the house must be carefully closed at all openings; but a brave man may bind them with a straw rope. Various apotropæic and propitiatory rites are also in use to keep off these dreaded beings, who are 'a species of werewolves, akin to the Wild Boar and the Vrykolakas.'[3] Wicked Turks gradually turn into wild boars before death, and rush through the land on all fours, attacking wayfarers or trying to get into houses. After forty days such a being goes to the mountains, remaining there as a wild beast, but still wearing on its foot the ring which the man wore on his hand (cf. the Abyssinian *buda*, below).[4] The Bulgarians have a similar belief, but with them the transformation of the Turk takes place after death.[5] In Albania the *liouvgat* is a dead Turk with huge talons, wandering in his shroud, devouring what he finds, and strangling men.[6] Here the vampire superstition is approached (§ 4). In the Cyclades witches are thought to turn into birds at will. They are called στρίγλαι, and are akin to the Harpies.[7]

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[1] Paus. viii. 2.

[2] Lycophron, 481; Hyginus, *Fab.* 176.

[3] Plato, *Rep.* viii. 15, p. 565 D; Paus. viii. 2; Pliny, *HN* viii. 22.

[4] Paus. vi. 8; Pliny, *HN* viii. 22; cf. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 17.

[5] See W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*^{2}, p. 209; L. R. Farnell, *CGS* i. 41, who thinks that Lycaon 'may darkly figure the god himself'; cf. also O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, p. 805 f.

[6] *PC*^{3} i. 313; C. Robert, *Les Slaves de Turquie*, Paris, 1844, i. 69.

[7] Lawson, p. 379 f.

The *Romans* also knew of lycanthropy, and called those who changed their form *versipelles*, 'turn-skins.'[8] Vergil describes how by magic herbs Mœris became a wolf, and Propertius speaks of spells which have the same effect.[9] But the most detailed account is found in Petronius.

> Niceros tells how his soldier friend stripped off his clothes and addressed himself to the stars. Then he 'circumminxit vestimenta,' and all at once became a wolf, which ran howling into the woods. Niceros next heard from a widow whom he visited that a wolf had been worrying her cattle, and had been wounded in the neck. On his return home he found his friend bleeding at the neck, and knew then that he was a *versipellis*.[10] This is a typical and early version of the werwolf story.

In more modern times the superstition survives in *Italy*. Straparola tells how Fortunio received from a wolf the power of changing to wolf form, and the superstition is also referred to by Basile. At the present day in Naples the werwolf, who is a man cursed by being born on Christmas night, is known by having long nails, and runs on all fours, but retains the human form, and tries to bite. If blood is drawn from him, his madness ceases. This is a case of lycanthropy in its medical sense.[1] More akin to the true werwolf superstition is the general belief that witches can turn into black cats and do much harm, especially to children. In one case a woman caught such a cat and clipped its hair, whereupon it turned into the witch.[2]

Among the *Semites* lycanthropy was not unknown, but recorded instances of the belief are few. Among the Ṣeiʿar in Ḥadramaut part of the tribe could change into ravening werwolves in time of drought, others into vultures or kites.[3] The Arabs also regarded some men as having the nature of a hyena, and said that, if a thousand men were shut up with one of these and a hyena came, it would go at once to him.[4]

The belief among the *Celts* is illustrated by a story told by Giraldus Cambrensis.

> An Irish priest was met by a wolf in Meath and desired to come and see his dying wife. They were natives of Ossory, whose people had been cursed for their wickedness by St. Natalis, and were compelled to take two by two a wolf-shape for seven years, returning to their own form at the end of that time. The priest was persuaded to give the she-wolf the sacrament, for the other turned her skin down a little, showing that she was an old woman. Giraldus says that he was asked to give his advice on this case at the synod of Meath two years after, and that it was referred to the pope.[5]

A citation in the *Book of Ballymote* (140*b*) says that the 'descendants of the wolf' in Ossory had the power of changing themselves and going forth to devour people. St. Patrick is also said to have cursed a certain 'race' in Ireland so that they and their descendants are wolves at a certain time every seventh year, or for seven years on end.[6] These may be explanatory legends about older wolf-totem clans, later accused of lycanthropy—an already current superstition—when totemism was requiring an explanation, as in the case of the wolf-clan in Arcadia. To the same category may be referred the statements of early English travellers in Ireland to the effect that the Irish took wolves as godfathers, prayed to them to do them no ill, and used their teeth as amulets. Lycanthropy ran in families, and here also it may point to an older totem clan. Laignech Fáelad and his family could take a wolf-shape at will and kill the herds, and Laignech was called Fáelad because he was the first of them to go as a wolf.[7] In Irish and Welsh *Märchen* transformation to wolf-form of children by a stepmother or of a husband by a wife is not uncommon.[8] Giraldus already refers to the belief that hags in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland can change to hares and suck cattle for their milk, but, with St. Augustine, regards this supposed change as a delusion of the senses.[9] This belief is thus contemporary with that in lycanthropy, but long survived it. Later Celtic witches — Irish, Welsh, Manx, Scots—usually turn into hares or cats, less often into dogs, weasels, ravens, porpoises, whales, etc., for the purpose of doing mischief. In Donegal the change is said to be effected by a hair rope made of a stallion's mane and by the recital of charms. In some cases the transformation is confined to certain families. Such witch animals can be shot only with a silver bullet. When followed up, the woman has resumed her true form and is found to have a corresponding wound. A miller in Cork who saw a number of cats attacking his flour threw his knife at them and cut off the leg of one. Next morning he found his daughter with her hand cut off, and concluded that she was a witch. Hares are usually thought to be unlucky, and are suspected of being witches in disguise. The ancient Welsh laws already speak of their magical character, regarding them as companions of witches, who often assumed their shape.[1]

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[1] G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 73 f., 93; W. H. D. Rouse, *FL* x. [1899] 174 f.; J. Rennell Rodd, *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, London, 1892, p. 197 f.; Lawson, p. 190 ff.

[2] Lawson, pp. 208, 254.

[3] Abbott, pp. 73 f., 93; Rouse, *FL* x. 174 f.; Rodd, p. 197 f.

[4] Abbott, p. 215 f.

[5] *Ib.* p. 216.

[6] A. Dozon, *Contes albanais*, Paris, 1881; J. G. v. Hahn, *Albanes. Studien*, Jena, 1854, i. 16 f.

[7] J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades*, London, 1885, p. 388.

[8] Pliny, *HN* viii. 22.

[9] Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 95 f.; Prop. iv. 5.

[10] Petron. *Sat.* 61.

[1] *FL* viii. [1897] 9.

[2] *Ib.* viii. 8; C. G. Leland, *Etruscan Roman Remains*, London, 1892, pp. 203, 222.

[3] W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*⁴, p. 88.

[4] W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Arabia*, new ed., London, 1903, p. 232.

[5] *Top. Hib.* ii. 19.

[6] W. Stokes, *RCel* ii. [1873] 202; *FL* v. [1894] 310 f.

[7] E. Windisch and W. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880 ff., iii. 377, 421.

[8] P. Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, London, 1886, p. 267; W. Larminie, *W. Irish Folk Tales*, London, 1894, p. 11.

[9] *Top. Hib.* ii. 19.

The *Slavic* werwolf belief is referred to under DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Slavic), vol. iv. p. 624ᵃ. Possibly the Neuri, mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 105), were a Slavic people (cf. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 102 f.). The Scythians and Greeks said that every year each Neurian became a wolf for a few days and was then restored to human shape. Among the Magyars witches and wizards assume the form of horses, cats, etc. If the former are caught and shod or the latter injured, they are found next morning in human form with iron shoes on hands and feet or seriously wounded.[2] Hertz notes the sinister character of the belief through its connexion with that in the vampire, the names for both being interchangeable.[3]

The Serbians think that the *vukodlak* have annual gatherings, when they hang their wolf-skins on trees. Should such a skin be taken and burnt, the owner retains human form. A girdle of human skin laid across a threshold by a witch in a house where a wedding is taking place will cause all who step over it to become wolves. In three years' time, if the witch covers them with skins with the hair turned outwards, they resume their human form. This is a Polish belief. In White Russia the werwolf is sometimes a man transformed by the devil, and, contrary to the usual belief, he is harmless, but is driven to wander from place to place.[4]

In a Polish story a wolf seizes a girl at a merry-making and carries her off to the forest. Years after, one of the peasants meets his long-lost brother, who confesses that he was the wolf changed by sorcery, that he had carried off the girl, who had died of grief, and that then he was consumed with rage against all men and killed as many as he could. He had come to see his home once more, but must resume his wolf-form immediately, which he did.[5] In another case a peasant, released from his wolf shape, returned home to find his wife married again. He cried, 'Why am I no longer a wolf that I might punish this woman?' Immediately he was re-transformed, and killed his wife and child. The neighbours came and slew the wolf, when the body was seen to be that of a man.[6]

Olaus Magnus says that at Christmas many werwolves collect and try to enter houses to drink in the cellars. Between Lithuania, Samogitia, and Livonia is the wall of an old castle whither thousands of werwolves come to try their skill at leaping. The unsuccessful one is beaten by one of the captains or by the devil. The method of the transformation was to drink to one in a cup of ale and mumble certain words. Then he could assume or lay aside the wolf form when he pleased. The Livonian werwolves collected at Christmas, and crossed a river which had the power of changing them to wolves, like the lake in Arcadia. They resumed their human shape at the end of twelve days. In Livonia a servant whose power as a werwolf was disputed went to the cellar and soon after came out as a wolf. The dogs bit out one of its eyes, and next day the man appeared with one eye.[7]

In *Scandinavia* and *Germany* the superstition was well known, and here the wolf, and in the former also the bear, were animals into whose form the transmigration took place. Boniface, Archbishop of Mayence in the 8th cent., mentions the belief.[1] The change was caused by a man himself—*e.g.*, by donning a wolf-skin (*úlfhamr*, hence the name 'skin-changer'; cf. Lat. *versipellis*), or a wolf-girdle, or a girdle of human skin; or it might be forced upon him—*e.g.*, by throwing such a skin or girdle at him, or by shaking a wolf-skin glove at him. The girdle had sometimes magic signs on it, and was held in place by a buckle with seven catches. When the buckle was broken off, the transformation ceased. In such cases the man was a wolf or bear by night, and a man by day; or he assumed the animal form for nine days, or even for three, seven, or nine years, the eyes alone retaining a human appearance. He howled and devoured like the actual animal. Such persons were said to be *eigi einhamr*, 'not of one form,' or *hamramr*, *hamhleypa*, 'changing form.' In some instances the gift of transformation was imparted by trolls. Burchard of Worms speaks of certain *Parcæ* who at birth can cause that the child may later transform himself into a wolf or any other form.[2] In later times Finns, Lapps, or Russians were thought by Scandinavians to have the power of changing others to wolves or to bears at will,[3] and were therefore disliked. The belief was apparently much mingled with and probably influenced by the fact that wild warriors and outlaws—*e.g.*, the *berserkr*—wore wolf-skins or bear-skins over their armour or clad themselves in these, while they were often victims of ungovernable passion and acted as if they were animals.[4] This is illustrated in the earliest Scandinavian instance of the werwolf belief—that contained in the *Volsunga Saga* (chs. 5–8).

King Volsung had ten sons and a daughter, Signy, who was married to King Siggeir. Siggeir later slew Volsung and bound his sons in the stocks. There nine of them were devoured by an old she-wolf—the mother of Siggeir, who had taken this form. Through Signy's craft the tenth son, Sigmund, overcame this werwolf and went into hiding. Signy exchanged form with a sorceress, and had a son by Sigmund, called Sinfiötli. He and Sigmund took to a wandering life and, on one occasion, came to a house where two men were sleeping, with wolf-skins hanging above them. For nine days they were wolves and on the tenth day came out of their skins. Sigmund and Sinfiötli donned the skins and became wolves, and each went his way, after agreeing that neither should attack more than seven men without howling for the other. In the sequel Sinfiötli slew eleven men without Sigmund's aid. The latter, hearing of this, flew at his throat and wounded him. When he was healed and the day had come for doffing their wolf-skins, they agreed to lay them aside for ever, and burned them in the fire. Of this wild tale Baring-Gould (p. 38) has said that it is 'divested of its improbability, if we regard these skins as worn over their armour.' While this is true, and while *vargr*, 'wolf,' means also 'outlaw,' the story is an important witness to the belief itself, as is seen from the words of Goðmund to Sinfiötli, 'Thou thyself hast eaten wolves' meat and murdered thy brother. Thou hast often sucked wounds with cold mouth, and slunk, loathsome to all men, into the dens of wild beasts' (Vigfusson-Powell, i. 136).

In another wild tale from the *History of Hrolf Kraka*, Björn was transformed into a bear by his stepmother, who shook a wolf-skin glove at him. He lived as a bear and killed many of his father's sheep, but by night he always became a man, until he was hunted and slain (Sir W. Scott, *Minstrelsy*, London, 1839, p. 354).

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[1] *FLJ* i. [1883] 53, 87, ii. [1884] 258; *FL* viii. [1897] 17; W. Gregor, *Folk-Lore of N.E. of Scotland*, London, 1881, p. 128; D. Hyde, *Beside the Fire*, do. 1890, p. 128; S. Hibbert-Ware, *Descr. of Shetland Islands*, Edinburgh, 1822, p. 599; J. G. Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1835, pp. 50, 53; J. Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, Oxford, 1901, i. 294 f., 309, 326; J. A. MacCulloch, *Misty Isle of Skye*, Edinburgh, 1905, p. 240; C. I. Elton, *Origins of English History*, London, 1882, p. 297; J. G. Campbell, *Witchcraft and Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1902, p. 6.

[2] *FLJ* i. 354.

[3] *Der Werwolf*, p. 113.

[4] S. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves*, p. 115 f.; J. Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* p. 1095.

[5] Hertz, p. 118.

[6] *Ib.*

[7] Olaus Magnus, *Hist. of the Goths*, London, 1658, p. 193 f.; M. F. Bourquelot, 'Recherches sur la lycanthropie,' *Mém. de la soc. des ant. de France*, new ser., ix. 235. For further references to the Slavic werwolf see G. Krek, *Einleitung in die slav. Literaturgesch.*², Graz, 1887, p. 410; and, for Lithuanian material, A. Bezzenberger, *Litauische Forschungen*, Göttingen, 1882, p. 67 f.

[1] *Sermo* xv. 'de Abren. Diaboli' (*PL* lxxxix. 870–872).

[2] Baring-Gould, p. 56.

[3] Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* p. 1097; B. Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, London, 1851–52, ii. 18 f., 93 f.; G. W. Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse*³, do. 1888, p. lxi f.; Vigfusson-Powell, *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, Oxford, 1883, i. 425; P. D. C. de la Saussaye, *Rel. of the Teutons*, Boston, 1902, p. 298. See also *ERE* iv. 632.

[4] Cf. Vigfusson-Powell, i. 425; Baring-Gould, p. 36 f.

The poet Ari has a curious tale of two 'skin-changers,' Dubhthach and Storwolf. The former took the form of a bull, the latter of a bear. They fought, and next day were found in bed badly bruised.

Modern collections of Scandinavian and German *Märchen* contain many werwolf stories.

In one Swedish tale a cottager was transformed by a Vargamor or Wolf Crone (Troll-wife), because he had not crossed himself when felling a tree. Years after, he appeared at his house, and recovered his true form when his wife gave him food.[1] In a Danish tale a man, when in his wife's company, noticed that the time of the accustomed change drew near. He bade her strike with her apron at anything which came to her. Soon after a wolf attacked her; she struck at it, and the wolf bit a piece of the apron and disappeared. Presently the man came, carrying the piece, and explained that now he was free from the curse.[2] In a N. German tale a reaper saw his neighbour gird himself with a strap and become a wolf.[3] In another a woman told her husband to throw his hat at any wild beast which came. When she appeared as a wolf among the hay-makers, a boy stabbed her with a pitchfork. The wolf changed back to the woman, who was found to be dead.[4] A Dutch story tells how a man shot with an arrow a wolf which was attacking a girl, and that the arrow stuck in the wound. Next day he heard that a strange serving-man was dying with an arrow sticking in his side. He went to see him, and found his own arrow, whereupon the man confessed that he was a werwolf.[5] In a Flemish tale a shepherd received a wolf-skin from the devil, by which he became a wolf at night. If the skin was burned, he himself would suffer as if his own skin were being burned, but would be freed from this curse. In the sequel his master succeeded in releasing him in this way.[6]

In many modern tales and also in mediæval witchcraft belief the transformation of the witch was usually into a cat, dog, hare, or duck (the bird of Freya, great mother of the witches), and these, when wounded, became the woman with a similar wound in her body. Spina says that such cat-women ate the brain of a cat and rubbed themselves with the flesh of a newly-born child which had been offered to Satan.[7]

In *England* and *Scotland* werwolf stories are scanty, but there are traces of the superstition in early literature. The word *werwulf* in the sense of 'robber' occurs in the *Laws* of Canute, and it is also found in later ballads and poems. Gervase of Tilbury refers to the existence of men called *gerulfos* in Wales, *werwolf* in England, who change their form at the change of the moon. William of Malmesbury also alludes to the superstition.

A well-known old English poem, translated from a 12th cent. French poem, is that of *William and the Werwolf*, in which the king of Spain's son, changed to wolf form by his stepmother, rescues the king of Sicily's child, whom his uncle wishes to murder. The story relates how the wolf cared for the boy, his further adventures, and the eventual re-transformation of the wolf to his human form.[8] Drayton, in his *Mooncalf* (ii. 504), tells of a man who found that by gathering a certain herb at a certain hour with appropriate spells, and eating it, he would be changed into a wolf. Having done this, he committed much havoc on sheep, etc. When he attacked an ass which was a man so transformed, the latter assumed his rightful shape and caused the people to slay the lycanthrope.

If tales of werwolves are scanty, there are innumerable tales and traditions of witches changing to hares, cats, dogs, and the like in order to do harm. No charge is more common in the 16th and 17th cent. witch trials, and frequently the belief is found, as in the case of the werwolf, that such a wer-animal can be hurt only by a silver bullet. In some instances wounding causes the witch to assume her true shape, when she is found with a corresponding wound.[9]

In *France* the earliest literary version of the belief is found in the *Lai du Bisclaveret* of Marie de France (13th cent.).

A knight went from time to time to the forest, then the haunt of many werwolves, undressed, and became a wolf. He told his wife the secret, and she obtained his clothes on one of these occasions, after which he had to remain in wolf form. As a wolf he retained human wisdom, and eventually, through the king's command, his clothes and consequently his own form were restored to him, but not before he had revenged himself on his unfaithful wife.

This story is found in other literary versions—*e.g.*, the *Roman de Renard* of the Clerk of Troies (14th cent.), in the *Lai de Melion* (ed. F. Michel, Paris, 1832), in the story of *Arthur and Gorlagon*, and elsewhere. These are all literary versions of a folk-tale.[1] The legend of St. Ronan in mediæval Brittany told how he had taken the form of a werwolf and had eaten children.[2]

Gervase of Tilbury, in his *Otia Imperialia*, tells of a certain Pontio de Capitolio, who out of despair became a werwolf in Auvergne, ate children, and wounded older people. A carpenter hacked off one of his feet, and at once he resumed his human form, and acknowledged that the loss of his foot was his salvation.

The belief survived in modern times. In Normandy the werwolf was a godless man or one under a curse, who for four or seven years must nightly assume wolf-shape and submit to castigation by the devil.[3] In Berry those who, by a pact with the devil, at the cross-roads, at midnight, become *loups-garous* can be wounded only by a ball which has been blessed or has had the Lord's Prayer or Ave Maria said over it five times. Once wounded, they take human form, and the spell which attached them to Satan is broken.[4] In Brittany, towards the end of the 18th cent., sorcerers were supposed to take the form of wolves or clothe themselves with a wolf's skin when going to the Sabbat.[5] In many parts of France every *flûteur* is supposed to lead wolves, himself sometimes changed into a wolf, whereby he is placed beyond the power of shot. He directs the wolves where to go for hunting.[6] In Périgord sons of priests must rush to a fountain at full moon and plunge into it. They emerge, clad in a goat-skin, which the devil has given them, and rush about on all fours, attacking men and animals. They resume human form by plunging again into the fountain at daybreak.[7] This recalls the Arcadian and Livonian beliefs (see above). Numerous stories relate how a *châtelaine*, transformed into a wolf, cat, etc., has a paw cut off, and is afterwards found in bed with one hand lacking.[8] In a Breton tale a werwolf hid his wolf-skin in an oven. Sympathetic magic established a link between skin and owner, so that whatever was done to the skin happened to him. A fire was lit in the oven, and the owner of the skin soon began to leap about, crying, 'I burn, I burn.'[9]

In *Portugal* a seventh son, where there were no girls, was thought to belong to the devil and to become a werwolf—a belief found also in the Azores.[10]

Cervantes, in his *Persiles y Sigismunda* (ch. 8), relates how an enchantress made advances to Rutilio, who repelled her. She turned into a wolf. He stuck his knife into her breast, and as she fell her human form came back to her.

Passing now to *Asia*, clear evidence of the belief is found in *Armenia*. Sinful women are sometimes forced by a spirit to don a wolf-skin and become wolves for seven years. Soon the wolf nature

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[1] Thorpe, ii. 96.

[2] *Ib.* ii. 168.

[3] *Ib.* iii. 27.

[4] *Ib.* iii. 76.

[5] *Ib.* iii. 201.

[6] Hertz, p. 68.

[7] F. B. de Spina, *Quæstio de Strigibus*, ch. 20, in *Malleorum Quarundam Maleficarum*, Frankfort, 1582; Grimm, p. 1097; Hertz, p. 71 f.; Thorpe, ii. 191 f.

[8] ed. F. Madden, London, 1832, Roxburghe Club.

[9] Rhŷs, i. 326; Dalyell, pp. 50, 53, 560; J. Napier, *Folklore*, Paisley, 1879, pp. 70, 118; A. E. Bray, *Borders of the Tamar and the Tavy*, new ed., London, 1879, ii. 112; A. and J. Lang, *Highways and Byways on the Border*, London 1913, pp. 183, 277.

[1] For *Arthur and Gorlagon* see *FL* xv. [1904] 50 ff. Gorlagon was changed to a wolf by being struck with the thin end of a sapling which grew up on the night he was born. For the folk-tale see 'Prince Wolf'—a Danish version—*FLR* iii. [1880] 225 f., and a Norse version in Dasent, no. 36. In both the husband remains a wolf or bear through the wife breaking a tabu, and has originally been transformed by a stepmother.

[2] *RCel* xxiv. [1904] 324.

[3] A. Bosquet, *La Normandie romanesque et merveilleuse*, Paris, 1845, ch. 12; Hertz, p. 108.

[4] Bourquelot, p. 247.

[5] La Tour d'Auvergne-Corret, *Origines gauloises*², Paris, 1794, p. 39.

[6] P. Sébillot, *Folk-lore de France*, i., Paris, 1907, p. 284 f.; cf. A. Dumas' story, *The Wolf-Leader*.

[7] Sébillot, i. 205.

[8] *Ib.* iv. 304.

[9] *RCel* i. [1870] 420.

[10] *FL* xiv. [1903] 142; cf. *FLR* iii. 148.

grows in them. They devour their children, then those of relatives, then children of strangers. Doors and locks fly open before them by night. In the morning the skin is doffed. If the skin is found and burned, then the woman suffers fearful agony and vanishes in smoke.[1] In Asia Minor generally werwolves are feared especially at Christmas and in Holy Week.

In *India*, where the tiger is the fiercest creature known, its form is supposed to be adopted. Already in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the monomaniac is said to be consecrated to the man-tiger.[2] In most instances the Hindus attribute the power of shape-shifting to the aboriginal tribes. Numerous stories are current regarding men with the power of becoming wer-tigers—*e.g.*, among the Khonds (with whom, by the aid of a god, one of a man's four souls becomes a *mleepa* tiger), the Lushais, Kukis, etc.[3]

Dalton describes how a Kol, tried for murder, maintained that his victim was a wer-tiger, which he had followed to the man's house after it had killed his wife. The relatives of the victim had admitted that they had suspected him of such power and had handed him over to the prisoner, who slew him.[4]

Sometimes the eating of a root is believed to produce the change.[5] Occasionally the witch assumes the form of a badger and carries off children.[6] Witches also ride about on tigers or in the water on crocodiles, dishevelled, with glaring eyes, and heads turned round. Wizards also have tigers as familiars, or, as a Thana belief has it, mediums are possessed by a tiger-spirit.[7] The souls of those slain by tigers are believed to pass into tigers to slay and devour in their turn, or to sit on the heads of tigers and direct them to their prey, calling out in a human voice so as to attract the unwary.[8]

In *Indonesia* the wer-tiger is very commonly believed in among the Malays, Dayaks, etc. Sometimes the power of transformation is thought to be confined to one tribe, as in Sumatra to the Korinchi Malays. There are many tales of men leaving their garments in a thicket, whence a tiger has presently emerged, or in human form vomiting feathers of fowls eaten when in their tiger form. A wer-tiger slain was found to have gold-plating in its teeth, as the man who assumed tiger form had. The Lavas of Burma are also regarded as wer-tigers. While the wer-tiger is generally very dangerous, in Java it is believed to guard plantations against pigs, and the change is effected by spells, charms, fasting, etc. In Malaysia the medicine-man is sometimes possessed by a tiger-spirit, and acts as a tiger when exorcizing a spirit from a sick man.[9]

A gruesome Malay story of a Semang who became a tiger (*Si Ridong*, 'He of the hairy face'—a euphemism), and sucked blood rather than ate flesh, is told by H. Clifford. The tiger burst into a hut where several people were collected. One of them was able to reach a shelf near the roof, and from there he saw how the tiger killed them all and drank deep draughts of blood. One girl he first played with as a cat with a mouse, and all night he tossed the bodies about and tore them, disappearing at dawn.[10] Another story tells how the transformation was seen taking place. A bride saw her Korinchi husband returning home as a tiger, which thrust its head above the top rung of the entrance ladder. 'It palpitated and changed, and the face of the husband came up through the face of the beast.' Later this wer-tiger was caught in a trap, but escaped, when it was tracked to the house. There the man was said to be sick, and soon after he and his sons disappeared. The story was reported to the District officer, and such a transformation is 'to the native mind a fact, not a mere belief.'[1]

The tiger familiar spirit is also possessed by certain men, and after their death their spirits appear as tigers, or the medicine-man has subject to him an actual tiger which is immortal (Benua of Johore).[2] The soul of a dead wizard enters the body of a tiger, and the corpse is left in the forest for seven days until the change is effected.[3] A curious Malay belief concerns the fold in which tigers possessed of human souls are penned. Periodical attacks of fierceness come on them, when they break bounds and go after their prey. Passing through one door, they become men, and on returning through another door they become tigers again. Their chief is always in human form, and enters the bodies of sorcerers when they invoke the tiger spirit.[4] The transformation into tiger form is effected in different ways: by sympathetic magic—*e.g.*, donning a *sarong* (yellow with black stripes) and repeating charms—by offerings to evil spirits, by charms, or by a mysterious poison which is supposed to affect the soul; or the power is conceived as hereditary. Among the Semang the medicine-man lights incense and invokes a spirit. Presently fur and a tail appear on him, as he himself believes, and he goes about for twelve days destroying cattle. Then he returns home and is sick, vomiting bones. During the twelve days his wife must always keep the fire burning and burn incense, else he would disappear. Such a wer-tiger cannot be shot, as it disappears so quickly.[5] Various beliefs are held regarding the transformation among the Malays—the whole body takes part in it, or merely the soul substance, the body remaining at home.

Among the wild Malays of the Patani States there is a belief in *badi*, or mischief, which remains by a body after death and devours the *semangat* or, sometimes, the liver of passers-by. Birds and beasts also have *badi* or, in the case of tigers, leopards, and jungle-cats, *pegrung* or *begrob*; and, if a man is affected by this, he goes mad, and either imitates the actions of the creature or is subject to an abnormal growth resembling one natural to it.[6]

In Lombok the crocodile form is assumed by certain men in order to destroy their enemies, and many strange stories are told of them. This form is also taken among the Klemantans, one group of whom claim the crocodile as a relative. One man found his skin become rough, his feet like a crocodile's, and a tail forming, until he was completely transformed. He made his relatives swear that they would never kill a crocodile. Many people saw him in his crocodile form.[7]

In *China* there are various wer-animals—tiger, wolf, dog, fox, etc. The change is usually a bodily one, but an ethereal human double may pass into an animal either before or after death. There are many literary notices of such transformations.

An early instance is mentioned in a document of the 2nd cent. B.C., in which, after the crisis of an illness, a man changed to a tiger and killed his brother.[8]

Such transformations are often ascribed to delirious patients, and, if the patient does not kill a man, he may return to human form. This suggests a popular confusion between the fancies of insanity and actual belief in the power of shape-shifting. Sometimes the transformation is ascribed to a community of aborigines, and is effected by magical means. In other cases the cause may be divine displeasure because of the neglect of religious duties. Here the victim goes mad and turns into a tiger. In one such instance he is covered with a spotted skin by the god, as in European cases, where a wolf-skin is used. Stories of transformation by wearing a tiger-skin are said to abound in China.

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[1] A. F. L. M. von Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, London, 1854, p. 359; cf. *ERE* i. 800.

[2] *SBE* xliv. [1900] 414.

[3] *FL* xx. [1909] 411 f.; Tylor, *PC*³ i. 309.

[4] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnol. of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 290.

[5] Crooke, *PR* ii. 216.

[6] *Ib.* ii. 264.

[7] *Ib.* ii. 267.

[8] T. W. Webber, *Forests of Upper India*, London, 1902, p. 27; *ERE* iii. 314ᵃ; cf. *PR* ii. 211.

[9] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, pp. 160 f., 436 f.; A. Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, Leipzig, 1866, i. 119; J. Knebel, in *Tijdschrift van nederl. Ind.* xii. [1899] 570; for Cambodia see *ERE* iii. 158ᵃ.

[10] H. Clifford, *In Court and Kampong*, London, 1897, p. 198 f.

[1] Clifford, pp. 65, 67.

[2] H. Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and Borneo*, London, 1896, i. 205; *Journ. Ind. Arch.* i. [1847] 276 f.

[3] See *ERE* i. 530ᵃ.

[4] Skeat, p. 157 f.

[5] *Ib.* p. 161; N. W. Thomas, *FL* xvii. [1906] 262; Skeat-Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. 227.

[6] N. Annandale and H. C. Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses*, London, 1903–06, pt. i. pp. 100 f., 104.

[7] A. R. Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, London, 1869, i. 161; C. Hose and W. McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, do. 1912, ii. 81 f.

[8] J. J. M. de Groot, *Rel. System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., iv 160.

> A 14th cent. writer tells how he saw a man slowly becoming covered with hair like a tiger, his body adorned with spots and stripes. During the night he ate a hog.[1]

Other cases of this kind are of frequent occurrence. Wer-tigers and tigresses are sometimes favourably disposed and give presents. This is especially the case with wer-tigresses on behalf of those who excite their love.[2]

The wolf transformation is also known.

> In one case a peasant was attacked by a wolf and cut off its paw. By the traces of the blood he followed it to a house, where an old man was found lacking a hand. He was killed, and in dying took the form of a wolf. Before his period of transformation he had been long ill, and, after being healed, had disappeared. In another instance a youth after an illness acquired the power of sending forth his soul in the form of a wolf, and devoured children—obviously a case of hallucinatory insanity combined with cannibalism, as in European instances.

Other tales of this kind are current.

> An old woman finds her body being covered with hair and a tail forming, after which she becomes a wolf, and escapes, though sometimes she returns to see her family. In another instance a man weds a woman who is really a wolf, as also are her servants, and he is devoured by her.[3] In a 4th cent. work all wolves are said to be transformed to men after the five-hundredth year of their age.[4]

Other wer-animals are also known—*e.g.*, the dog, though here, as in the case of the fox, perhaps it is the animal that takes human form. In one instance men who are beaten become dogs; and a dog-man who was stabbed changed to a dog when dying.[5]

In China the fox superstition is a kind of inverted werwolf belief, especially in N. China. The wer-foxes dwell in the debatable land between earth and Hades, and can take human form at will—most frequently that of a young and pretty girl—but they may be detected by the possession of tails. Spirits of the dead may occupy the bodies of such foxes and revenge injuries on the living. Some legends show that the fox lives in graves and borrows human form from a corpse by instilling into himself the soul-substance. Wer-foxes can do either good or ill to men, but are grateful to those who are kind to them. Foxes in male form live with women, in female form with men; in either case a morbid erotic state is produced, resembling that caused by the mediæval *incubi* and *succubæ*. When killed in human form, all that remains is the body of a fox. Their animal form also appears spontaneously in sleep, or when they are overcome by wine, of which they are very fond. Sometimes they enter and occupy a house invisibly, acting exactly like the *Poltergeist*.[6]

It is also believed that witches can take the form of the fox, cat, or hare.[7] The tiger-ghost is also believed in.

> 'When he wishes to eat people he puts off his clothes and is changed into a striped tiger. He then advances with a great roar, and the traveller is instantly torn to pieces.'[8]

Tigers are said to make slaves of the souls of men devoured by them. These souls go before them to point out traps or to act as beaters,[9] as in the similar Indian belief.

The wer-fox superstition is found in *Japan*, but was not introduced there until the 11th century. There are different kinds of foxes. The wild fox, Nogitsune, can take any form, or become invisible, but its reflexion in water is always that of a fox. The Ninko fox can also take various forms, especially that of a pretty girl, in which shape it will even marry a man.[1] These foxes also possess men, or live in their houses, bringing luck if well treated, but they are dangerous if ill-treated. Some Samurai families are believed to own foxes, which steal for them or torment their enemies. Foxes to whom some kindness has been shown, either in their own or in human form, reward the doer of it with money, etc., part of which turns to grass. Often the house in which the fox lives is illusory and cannot be found again (see FAIRY, vol. v. p. 679). Men possessed by foxes run about yelping and eat only what foxes eat, but the possessing goblin-fox may be exorcized.[2]

The same fox-belief exists among the Ainus, and with them the fox has both good and evil powers, and can cause death. Foxes also exhume and eat corpses. But the same powers of transformation to human form are ascribed to the horse, mole, crow, etc. The spirit of the bear, dog, otter, and especially the cat, can enter into and bewitch a man as a punishment; the victim eats as a cat, wastes away, and dies mewing like a cat. This may occur when a man has killed a cat. To prevent possession by its spirit, he must eat part of it.[3] The Eskimos and some American Indian tribes also possess the fox superstition.[4]

The wer-animal superstition is found in *Africa* in connexion with a variety of savage beasts. All over N. Africa it is believed that the *jinn* can take animal forms—wolf, jackal, lion, serpent, scorpion. This is also true of the *ghūls*, who appear as men or animals, and feed on dead bodies, or kill and eat living men.[5] More akin to the werwolf superstition is the belief that twin children go out at night as cats, their bodies meanwhile remaining at home as if dead. If they are beaten by any one, they tell this to their parents next day.[6] Among the Berbers witnesses maintain that they have seen girls, when born, change into ogresses, who throw themselves on men until they are strangled.[7] Among the Abyssinians there is a wide-spread belief in the *budas*, who change into hyenas and kill and devour. They are distinguished from ordinary hyenas by greater malice. The *budas* are sorcerers; and blacksmiths, found mainly among the Falashas and Agaos, are supposed to be *budas*. Hyenas have been killed with earrings in their ears, and these are believed to be *budas*, though it has been thought that sorcerers put earrings in the ears of young hyenas to bolster up this superstition. The *budas* have a king in the neighbourhood of Abbolo to whom they bring offerings of corpses daily. As blacksmiths are a hereditary folk, their sorcery is also hereditary, but a *buda* confers the gift on his children by a mysterious decoction of herbs. Cases of transformation are believed to have been actually witnessed. In one such case the *buda* sprinkled ashes over his shoulders, and the change began. Besides killing men and drinking their blood, the *buda* takes possession of his victim, entering his body by a look, or when he is eating, or in illness. The victim becomes more or less insane, laughing like a hyena, then falling into a trance, when the *buda* speaks through him, often telling who he is and why he thus personates the patient. Sometimes the victim tries to get into the forest, where the *buda* is supposed to devour him. The *buda* is kept off by the wearing of amulets, by which also he can be exorcized. He can also transform his victims into animals, and sometimes digs up corpses to eat them. This is also done by actual hyenas.[1]

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[1] De Groot, iv. 172 f.

[2] L. Wieger, *Folk-lore chinois moderne*, Sienhsien, 1909, pp. 11, 62 f.; de Groot, iv. 156 ff.

[3] Wieger, pp. 126 ff., 142.

[4] De Groot, iv. 182.

[5] *Ib.* p. 124 f.

[6] H. A. Giles, *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, London, 1880, i. 32, 85, 163, 182; N. B. Dennys, *Folk-Lore of China*, do. 1876, pp. 61, 70; Wieger, pp. 11, 111, and *passim*; de Groot, iv. 188 f.

[7] Dennys, p. 90.

[8] *Ib.* p. 91.

[9] Wieger, p. 11.

[1] Cf. the Baluchistān belief that the black bear 'takes the form of a beautiful woman at night, and hugs men to death if they are not wary' (M. L. Dames, *FL* xiii. [1902] 265).

[2] A. B. Mitford, *Tales of Old Japan*, London, 1871, *passim*; L. Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, do. 1894, i. 312 ff.; B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*, do. 1890, *s.v.* 'Fox'; see also *ERE* iv. 610b.

[3] J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, *passim*, *The Ainu of Japan*, do. 1892, *passim*; B. H. Chamberlain, *Aino Folk-Tales*, do. 1888, p. 22.

[4] Dennys, p. 96; H. J. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, Edinburgh, 1875, p. 144.

[5] E. W. Lane, *Arabian Society in Middle Ages*, London, 1883, pp. 34, 42.

[6] Lady Duff Gordon, *Last Letters*, London, 1875, cited in Dennys, p. 90 f.

[7] R. Basset, *Contes populaires berbères*, Paris, 1888, iii., iv.

The belief in the wer-hyena occurs from the Sūdan to Tanganyika, and is perhaps strengthened by the fact that wizards at their meetings howl and caper like hyenas, eat horrible food, and commit excesses the sight of which makes the onlooker mad. Even in the daytime their glance causes a deadly sickness. Certain tribes in the Sūdan are supposed to possess this power of transformation, but it is dangerous to shoot them. One of them who was shot was seen to enter the hut of a wizard, who died soon after. The man who shot him soon followed him to the grave.[2] Generally among the black races the usual animals, besides the hyena, are the lion, leopard, and crocodile. In Nubia old women are called hyenas, and are believed to enter the bodies of these animals by night.[3] In the Sūdan the hyena shape is supposed to be assumed at an ant's nest. The Awemba wizards receive power to become wild beasts from spirits called *vibanda*.[4] The Wanyamwesi of E. Africa think that sorcerers can transform themselves into animals in order to injure their enemies.[5] In E. Central Africa witches kill men, and in the form of hyenas try to get at the graves of their victims in order to eat their flesh.[6] The Akikuyu tell of a man, who, after his marriage, went to the wilds and lived like a hyena on dead bodies. Returning home, he ate his child. His brothers killed him, but the woman's second husband also became a hyena and ate her and his child.[7] In British Central Africa the bewitcher (*mfiti*) can turn himself into a hyena, leopard, crocodile, etc. He then digs up dead bodies and eats them. Sometimes the change takes place after death, and, if the creature kills people, some method of appeasing it is adopted. The wer-hyena is thought by the Makanga to have a wife who at night opens the door of the *kraal* to admit him and then runs off with him to feast. In one case, when a goat was carried off, tracks of a hyena and of human feet were seen together.[8] Among the Tumbuka of Central Africa certain women wander about smeared with white clay, and are believed to have the power of changing into lions.[9] In W. Africa the Yoruba think that the wer-hyenas assume their animal shape at night to prey on cattle and sheep, and, if possible, on human beings, who are sometimes compelled to go out to them when they utter certain howls.[1] In Loanda the belief existed that the chief could change himself to a lion, kill some one, and then resume his own form.[2] The Ibos believe that a man's spirit can leave his body and enter into an animal. This is called *ishi anu*, 'to turn animal,' and it is done by means of a drug. If the animal is killed, the man dies; if wounded, his body is covered with boils.[3] Wilson says of sorcerers in Guinea that they can turn into leopards and change their enemies into elephants, in which form they kill them.[4] In Senegambia a sorcerer who changes to an evil animal is kept off by means of salt; or, when transformed, he leaves his skin behind him. If it is rubbed with salt, he suffers, and comes to beg that the grains of salt be removed.[5] In W. Africa generally the power of certain persons to change into leopards or to send their souls into leopards, which are then guided by the human possessor to kill such persons as are obnoxious to them, is very commonly believed in. The person so changed is called *uvengwa*, and cannot be killed. Many persons actually believe that they have thus metamorphosed themselves and done harm. Other animals—lion, panther, crocodile, or shark—are occasionally made use of.[6] One family, living at the mouth of the Congo, can change into leopards, but, if once they lap blood, they remain leopards for ever, exactly as in the case of the Arcadian werwolves.[7] In Calabar a man may become a rat, bat, or owl, etc. In this form he throws his victim into a deep sleep. He then resumes his human form, and sucks his blood, and the victim falls sick and dies. After burial, the body is taken by witches from the grave for a cannibal feast. A witch continues to have this power after death, and may still be called to cannibal feasts or summoned to aid living witches. In old days witches laid aside their skins to assume animal form. If such skins were found, pepper was rubbed into them, so that the witches could not resume them. They were thus caught, and burnt to death, care being taken to destroy the heart, in which the witch power resided.[8] In equatorial Africa the wer-leopard is also much dreaded.[9] The whole belief in such transformations is much mixed up with the existence of leopard societies, the members of which disguise themselves in leopard-skins and commit murders.

In S. Africa similar beliefs are common. The lion form is assumed by wizards on the Zambesi by means of drinking a certain liquid. They kill men and animals.[10] In N. Rhodesia even educated natives believe in the power of certain men to become evil wer-lions or leopards through magic. This is combined with a belief that the soul of the chief is transformed at death into a lion. It comes as a cub from his grave and is told to be good, but by means of a test it may be discovered to be an evil wer-lion.[11] The Barotse credit certain persons, both living and dead, with power to change to an animal—hyena, lion, serpent, or alligator—and to do harm to men or cattle.[1] Among the Baronga a secret society exists the members of which send out their spirit-bodies or go out bodily at night to devour human flesh. They leave their shadow, or the appearance of themselves, behind, but this is in reality a wild animal with which the person has chosen to identify himself. If this appearance is stabbed, a hyena rushes howling from the hut, and the real man falls through the roof with a similar wound. Such persons enter huts, take the true self of the occupant, and eat him. Only his shadow is left, and he dies next morning. Some think that such wizards are not aware of their night work. Those who have long practised it, however, are aware. Perhaps the basis of the whole idea is to be found in the dream-conceptions of hysterical subjects.[2] The Basuto also believe in wer-animals, *māhlithoumes*, men who turn temporarily into animals and kill and eat human beings. They have the tradition of the introduction of sorcery through a queen who could call troops of wolves, monkeys, etc., to her nocturnal gatherings — a belief not unlike that of the wolf-leader in France.[3] The Hottentots believe in the power of changing to lion shape and killing men or animals. This is illustrated by a story bearing some resemblance to European werwolf tales.

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[1] N. Pearce, *Life and Adventures of N. Pearce . . . with Coffin's Visit to Gondar*, ed. J. J. Halls, London, 1831, i. 287; H. Salt, *Voyage to Abyssinia*, do. 1814, p. 427; W. C. Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia*, do. 1868, pp. 116 ff., 262; M. Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*^{2}, do. 1868, p. 300 ff.; cf. *ERE* i. 57^a.

[2] W. Schneider, *Die Religion der afrikan. Naturvölker*, Münster, 1891, p. 236.

[3] D. Macdonald, *Africana*, London, 1882, i. 227.

[4] J. H. W. Sheane, *JAI* xxxvi. [1906] 155.

[5] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in W. Africa*, London, 1904, p. 231.

[6] Macdonald, i. 107.

[7] W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, London, 1910, p. 326.

[8] A. Werner, *Natives of Brit. Cent. Africa*, London, 1906, pp. 64 ff., 241.

[9] W. A. Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni*, London, 1899, p. 74.

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, London, 1894, p. 122.

[2] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, London, 1857, p. 642.

[3] J. Parkinson, *JAI* xxxvi. 314.

[4] J. L. Wilson, *W. Africa*, London, 1856, p. 398.

[5] L. J. B. Bérenger-Féraud, *Contes populaires de la Sénégambie*, Paris, 1886, p. 236.

[6] R. E. Dennett, *Folklore of the Fjort*, London, 1898, pp. 5, 10; Nassau, pp. 70, 201 f.; M. H. Kingsley, *Travels in W. Africa*, London, 1897, p. 542; Wilson, pp. 161, 398; *AE* xvii. [1905] 99.

[7] A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Exped. an der Loango-Küste*, Jena, 1874–75, ii. 248.

[8] J. K. Macgregor, 'Some Calabar Beliefs,' *United Free Church Miss. Record*, Edinburgh, 1914, p. 223 f.; Nassau (p. 123) says that wizards go forth to the Sabbat in their spirit-bodies. If any one rubs the real bodies with pepper, they cannot re-enter them, but must die.

[9] P. B. du Chaillu, *Wild Life under the Equator*, London, 1869, p. 254.

[10] D. and C. Livingstone, *Expedition to the Zambesi*, London, 1865, p. 159.

[11] C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *Great Plateau of N. Rhodesia*, London, 1911, pp. 133, 200.

> A Hottentot and a Bushwoman travelling saw some horses. He bade her turn into a lion and kill one, as he knew her to possess this power. Hair appeared on her neck, her nails became claws, her features altered, and she bounded off as a lion, the man in turn climbing a tree until she re-assumed her human form.[4]

The Bushmen believed that sorcerers could assume the form of jackals, etc., and, conversely, that the lion could take human form.[5]

Similar beliefs exist among the Negroes of America, carried thence by their forefathers from Africa. In Missouri the Negroes think some cats are devils, *i.e.* witches in disguise.[6] The Voodoo is credited with the power of changing to a black wolf, dog, cat, owl, or bat at night. To stop this the human or the animal skin must be found and salted. This assumes a real change of skin.[7]

With all the *N. American Indian* tribes it was believed that wizards and witches could take the form of wolves, foxes, bears, owls, bats, or snakes —a belief which was probably strengthened by the wizards wearing skins of animals and imitating their howls, etc.[8]

> The Nishinam had a legend of a medicine-man who was seized with a spasm and went on all fours. His nails grew long and sharp, a tail grew on him, hair covered his body, and he became a bear. This transformation lasted until the spasm passed.[9]

A belief similar to that of the Chinese fox superstition exists, as with the Narraganset, and the Tlaxcalans believed in a wer-dog. The Musquakies have curious tales about trees which appear as human beings, each bearing the marks of injuries done to the other, and of an old man who, denying that he was a bear, is proved to have taken that form by the fact that his tracks and those of the bear both have traces of grease. He is therefore killed because he has 'a devil in his nose.'[10] Lafitau tells of wizards who, having taken the form of birds and been wounded, are found to have identical wounds, while the magical bolts with which the birds were shot are found in their bodies. The Chippewa sorcerer for a fee will turn into an animal and inflict injuries on the person described to him.[1]

> In a Chippewa story a boy left by his father in charge of his elder brother and sister is neglected and eats the leavings of wolves. These pity him, and he follows them. The brother one day heard a child's voice crying, 'I am turning into a wolf,' followed by a howl. Then he saw the boy half turned into a wolf. As he watched, the change became complete, and with the words, 'I am a wolf,' the werwolf disappeared.[2]

Among the higher American Indian peoples similar beliefs prevailed. Maya sorcerers could turn into dogs, pigs, etc., and their glance was death to a victim; and in Guatemala the name of the priests was derived from the fact that they could take animal forms. In Yucatan sorcerers claimed to have such powers, and one in dying confessed to a priest that he had often so transformed himself.[3] Among the Tarahumare Indians of Mexico, if a sorcerer sees a bear, he will beg an Indian not to shoot it, as it is he, or, if an owl screeches, he will say, 'It is I who am calling.'[4] The European belief in the transformation of witches into cats was carried to America.[5]

Following the belief into *S. America*, we find that the Abipone *keebet*, or priest, was believed to turn himself into an invisible tiger which could not be killed. When a *keebet* threatened to transform himself and began to roar like a tiger, the onlookers fled, believing that the change was actually taking place.[6] The people of Guiana believe in the *kenaima*, a being who can send forth his spirit to injure or cause wasting disease, or place it in the body of any animal—jaguar, serpent, bird, or insect—which follows up the victim and slays him. His spirit may also enter a man in the form of a caterpillar, and cause disease. Such a caterpillar is often withdrawn from a patient's body by a *peaiman*, or doctor, and killed, but the spirit escapes, so that the *kenaima* does not die. The animal in which the *kenaima* usually places his spirit is the jaguar or tiger—the *kenaima*-tiger —which it puzzles an Indian to kill. A certain small bird is also much feared as a *kenaima*-bird; this is shot and every scrap of it carefully burned, so that there may be one enemy the less. Certain *peaimen* are thought to have the power of sending their spirit into an animal.[7] The wer-jaguar is believed in by many of the tribes.

> A Tucuman story tells how a man saw his brother take three grains of salt, spread a jaguar-skin on the ground, and dance round it, when he became a jaguar. Much horrified, he later obtained the skin and burned it. Returning home, he found his brother dying, but was asked by him to procure a piece of the skin. He did so, and the dying man threw it over his shoulders, and became a jaguar, which fled into the forest. In this case bullets merely rebounded from the wer-animal. In a Paraguay story the man becomes a man-eating jaguar by falling prone, and is re-transformed by reversing the process. Once he was wounded by a youth, who followed him up and killed him in his den, which was filled with human bones.[8] In another tale from the Paraguayan Chaco two men who visited a village when the men were absent decamped when they heard from the women that they would soon return. When the men returned, they said that the visitors were jaguars, who had come to deceive and destroy them, and they had seen the marks

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[1] L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, London, 1898, p. 75; Livingstone, p. 642.

[2] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a S. African Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1913, pp. 462, 466 f.

[3] E. Jacottet, *Contes pop. des Ba-Soutos*, Paris, 1895, p. 110 f.; E. Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, do. 1860, p. 289; T. Arbousset and F. Daumas, *Exploratory Tour*, Cape Town, 1846, p. 12.

[4] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, London, 1881, p. 108; W. H. I. Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, do. 1864, p. 57.

[5] Bleek, *Bushman Folk-lore*, London, 1875, pp. 15, 40.

[6] Leland, p. 221. [7] *Ib.*, citing M. A. Owen.

[8] R. M. Dorman, *Origin of Primitive Superstitions*, Philadelphia, 1881, p. 248 ff.

[9] *NR* iii. 546.

[10] M. A. Owen, *Folk-lore of the Musquakie Indians*, London, 1904, pp. 6, 89 f.

[1] *14 RBEW* [1896], p. 151.

[2] H. R. Schoolcraft, *History . . . of the Indian Tribes*, Philadelphia, 1853–57, ii. 232.

[3] *NR* ii. 797; D. G. Brinton, *Lib. of Aborig. Amer. Lit.*, Philadelphia, 1882–87, vi. 46; *FLJ* i. 249.

[4] C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, London, 1903, i. 325.

[5] S. A. Drake, *New England Legends*, Boston, 1884, p. 260.

[6] M. Dobrizhoffer, *Account of the Abipones*, London, 1822, ii. 77.

[7] E. F. Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, pp. 328 f., 332 ff., 349; W. H. Brett, *Ind. Tribes of Guiana*, do. 1868, p. 368.

[8] A. H. Keane, *Man, Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1899, p. 380 f., citing *Anales de la Soc. Científica Argentina*, xli. [1896] 321.

of their claws near the village. They were then pursued and killed.[1]

Among the *Melanesians* in Banks Islands the nearest analogy to the werwolf is the *talamaur*, the soul of a person which leaves the body to eat a corpse. A woman threatened to do this. Watch was kept, and, when a noise was heard near the corpse, the watchers threw a stone and hit something. Next day the woman was found to have a bruise on her arm caused by the stone which hit her soul.[2] In Lepers' Island wizards transform themselves into blow-flies and cause sickness to their victim, or into a shark and eat enemies. In Aurora magicians take the form of sharks, owls, and eagles.[3] A story from this island illustrates the belief.

> Tarkeke devoured men by turning into a fish, or entering a fish or a kind of magic image of a fish. His son found this image and got into it, when it went out to sea. Tarkeke then went after the boy and punished him.[4]

In the examples quoted it is interesting to note in how many ways the change is thought to be effected. In many instances—Scandinavian, German, Slavic, French, Chinese, and the Tucumans of S. America—it is by donning an animal skin or girdle (see GIRDLE), presumably after removing the clothing, as this is a necessary preliminary in other methods. Eating a drug or root or rubbing the body with a salve or oil is found in ancient Italy, the Netherlands, England, India, Indonesia (where also a poison infecting the soul is thought to be the cause of the change), and in Africa, and in many cases tried judicially in Europe. Charms, spells, and other magical methods also effected the change in Celtic, Slavic, Chinese, Indonesian, Cambodian, and other instances, and no doubt the use of spells accompanied the other means referred to. The power might be given by the devil (Russian), or by spirits (Awemba), or the change might be caused in a man by a witch. It might be the effect of a divine or saintly punishment or other curse (ancient Greece, China, Celts of Ireland, Normandy); or it might be the result of eating human flesh (ancient Greece), or of making use of some particular action—swimming (ancient Greece, Périgord), falling prone (Paraguay), yawning (ancient Greece); or it might be the natural gift of a seventh son (Portugal), or of one born on Christmas night (Naples) or between Christmas and Twelfth-night (Greece).

In some cases the power is ascribed to a special tribe or to a people living in a special district—Arcadians, Korinchi Malays, aboriginal tribes in China, Ṣeiʿar of Ḥadramaut. This has perhaps an equivalent in the appearance of epidemics of lycanthropy in certain places, so common in the Middle Ages and later.

Very often it is said that, when the wer-animal is wounded or killed, the human form comes back spontaneously. This is found in many European instances, and also inversely in that of the fox and dog superstition in China.

In general, where the animal skin may be separated from the man, there is still a sympathetic relation between it and him. Thus, if it is burned (Flemish, Breton, American, S. American instances), or rubbed with salt or pepper (Senegambia, Calabar, Negroes of America), he suffers terribly and may die, as in the case of the *lamboyo* in Celebes (below, p. 218 f.). On the other hand, this may release him from being a werwolf, as in the case of other men under enchantment who lose their beast nature when the skin is burned. Conversely, the seal or mermaid wife recovers it when she discovers her skin.

While in Europe the man who is a werwolf is known by his eyebrows growing together over his nose, or by a small wolf's tail growing between his shoulder-blades, in Indonesia the man-tiger as a man lacks heels or the furrow of the upper lip, or is marked by twisted feet or by peculiar actions.[1]

There are various methods of curing or ending the transformation. Burning the skin and wounding have already been mentioned. Another method was for the witch to cover the werwolf with a skin with hair turned outwards (Serbia). In the case of wounding, some special methods are referred to—the werwolf had to be scratched above the nose so as to extract three drops of blood (Brittany), and in Germany stabbed on the brow three times with a knife or pitchfork. The effusion of blood as a cure here corresponds to the drawing of blood from a witch as a well-known means of destroying her power. Naming the werwolf by his baptismal name and reproaching him were also effective.[2] In one story cited above the wife shakes her apron at her husband and so restores him. In Cambodia the werwolf is deprived of his power if struck with a hook on the shoulder.[3]

2. Lycanthropy as a theological doctrine.—Throughout the Middle Ages, but more emphatically in the 16th and 17th centuries, theologians turned their attention to lycanthropy as a branch of sorcery. The general doctrine was that by the help of Satan sorcerers could transform themselves into noxious animals, particularly wolves, for purposes inimical to others. Innumerable theologians expressed these views, and many treatises were written on the subject, while it was also discussed in general works on the evils of sorcery. Of these theologians J. Bodin is one of the best examples; in his *De Magorum Dæmonomania* (Frankfort, 1603) he maintains the reality and certainty of the transformation. Theological opinion thus coincided with popular superstition, and many of the instances cited as proofs are little better than the popular tales referred to above—*e.g.*, where a wolf is wounded and a human being is found with a similar wound soon after. The severest measures were therefore taken against lycanthropes, especially on the part of the Inquisition, and this authoritative announcement of the reality of the transformation added to the popular terrorism. People easily imagined the truth of the charges brought against those charged with them, or came forward as witnesses of the alleged facts. Indeed, the prisoners themselves often maintained their truth, showing that insanity and hallucination had much to do with the matter (§ 3). The peculiarly heinous aspect of the crime is seen in this: H. Boguet, a judge who tried many cases and who wrote many works against sorcery, drew up a code in 1601 in which he stated that, while sorcerers should be first strangled and then burned, the *loups-garous* should be burned alive.[4] The belief in sorcery as well as the theological animus against it often led to epidemics of sorcery; the people in a district, *e.g.*, became terrorized by the idea that all around them were sorcerers, or many persons, half crazy, maintained this regarding themselves. At the beginning of the 16th cent. in Lombardy, during such an epidemic, witches were freely accused of having changed into cats and entered houses to suck the blood of children.[5] Reports of many trials of reputed lycanthropes are still extant, and afford sad evidence of human credulity.

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[1] W. B. Grubb, *A Church in the Wilds*, London, 1914, p. 61, where also a story of a woman who married a jaguar is given.

[2] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 222; see also ABORIGINES.

[3] *Ib.* p. 207.

[4] *Ib.* p. 407 f.

[1] Grimm, pp. 1097, 1630; de Groot, iv. 167, 170; Thorpe, ii. 169.

[2] Thorpe, ii. 169; O. Hovorka and A. Kronfeld, *Vergleichende Volksmedizin*, Stuttgart, 1908–09, i. 450; Hertz, p. 61.

[3] See *ERE* iii. 158^{a}.

[4] See the code in J. Garinet, *Hist. de la magie en France*, Paris, 1818, p. 302.

[5] Bourquelot, p. 246.

In 1521 Pierre Burgot and Michel Verdun were tried by the prior of the Dominicans of Poligny, in the diocese of Besançon. The former alleged that years before, when his cattle had strayed, a black cavalier had brought them together after he had agreed to give himself to his master, the devil. Later Verdun taught him at the Sabbat how to become a werwolf by rubbing himself with a certain ointment. Then he saw himself with four paws and his body covered with hair, while he was able to run like the wind. Verdun also transformed himself in the same way; the ointment had been obtained from his demon master. In the form of wolves they killed several children, sucked their blood, and ate part of their flesh, finding it excellent. Burgot also said that he had sexual relations with wolves. Both men were burned alive at Besançon.[1] In the same year, before the same court, three sorcerers were executed for the same crime. One of them had been wounded as a wolf by a hunter, who, following the trail, came to a hut, where he found him having his wound dressed by his wife. These lycanthropes are represented in a painting in the chapel of the Dominicans.[2] A curious case is that of Gilles Garnier, a hermit of Lyons, who, finding his solitude irksome, had taken a female companion. They had several children and lived in great misery. In 1572 a wolf terrorized the district, and the bodies of several children were found half devoured. A boy was attacked by the wolf, but his cries attracted attention. Garnier was found near the body, and at his trial before the Parlement of Dôle avowed that he was the wolf, that he had sold himself to the devil, and had obtained the power of transformation by the use of an ointment. He had killed and eaten the children, the woman also sharing in the ghastly meal. He also was burned alive.[3]

In Auvergne in 1588 the wife of a gentleman was burned alive as a werwolf. Her husband had asked a hunter to bring him some game. The hunter was attacked by a wolf, and cut off one of its paws. On his return to the château he drew the paw from his bag, when it was seen to be the hand of a woman, with a ring on the finger which the gentleman recognized as his wife's. Suspecting her, he went in search of her, and found that she had lost a hand. On her confession that she was the wolf, she was condemned.[4]

Henri Boguet, grand judge of the ecclesiastical court of St. Claude (1569–1616), was most active against sorcerers, and, according to Voltaire, boasted of having put to death more than 600 lycanthropes. His *Discours exécrable des sorciers* (Lyons, 1602) contains many instances of alleged lycanthropy, with the confessions of those accused. He believed firmly in the possibility of the transformation, whether by rubbing with an ointment or otherwise, some chapters of his work dealing specially with this subject. It is remarkable also, as showing the state of feeling at the time, that on 3rd Dec. 1573 the Parlement of Franche-Comté gave a ruling for the pursuit of *loups-garous.*[5]

Towards the end of the 16th cent. Pierre Stumf was executed at Bibburg, in the diocese of Cologne, on his own confession of having lived with a *succuba*, who gave him a girdle by which he could become a wolf, not only in his own sight, but in that of others. He had killed and eaten fifteen children in his wolf form, and had tried to eat two of his daughters-in-law.[6]

The beginning of the 17th cent. was marked by new epidemics of lycanthropy, and hundreds of executions took place.

In 1603 Jean Grenier, a boy of 14, alleged before the judge of Roche-Chalans that he was a werwolf, as a result of a demoniacal gift, and that he had eaten some children. He also accused his father of being a werwolf and possessing a wolf's skin, and another man, Pierre la Thillaire, of having his skin and ointment. The conduct of the boy in court showed that he was insane, and he was detained in a convent. Nevertheless the charge was continued against the two men. The youth was visited in his convent by De Lancre in 1610, who found that he could run on all fours with ease, and that his method of eating was disgusting. He still persisted in his delusion of being a werwolf.[7]

In 1604 at Lausanne five persons were burned as werwolves. A peasant of Cressi had cursed his child and, as a result, five sorceresses in the form of wolves had carried him off to the devil, who sucked his blood. The sorceresses then cut him up, boiled him in a cauldron, and made an ointment of his flesh.[8]

These will suffice as examples of the trials and executions for alleged lycanthropy which were so numerous at this period. Not the least noteworthy fact in the whole sordid business is that some of the writers on the subject show the most extraordinary credulity regarding the cases. Petrus Marmorius, in his *De Sortilegiis*, maintained that he had seen the change of men into wolves in Savoy.[1] Bourdin, procureur général of the king, assured Bodin that there had been sent to him from Belgium the *procès*, signed by judge and witnesses, regarding a wolf shot in the thigh with an arrow. Soon after a man was found in bed with the arrow in a wound, and, when it was drawn out, it was recognized for his own by the person who had shot the wolf.[2] Other cases are related in which cats attacked a man, who wounded them. Women were then found in bed with similar wounds, and they were at once believed to be the cats in question.[3] While the whole was generally attributed to diabolical influence, there were different ways of accounting for it. Some writers thought that there was a real transformation,[4] or that the devil clothed the men with an actual wolf-skin[5] or with one condensed out of air.[6] Others, however, thought that the devil wrought by fantasy or by means of unguents on the man or on the onlookers, so that they imagined that the man or woman was an animal, while he or she was similarly deluded.[7] Others, again, suggested that the devil caused the person in sleep to imagine that he was a wolf, and that he actually did the deeds of which he dreamed.[8] This is akin to the theory of St. Augustine, who refused to believe that the demons could actually change man's corporeal substance. In sleep or trance the man's 'fantasm' went from him and might appear to others in corporeal, animal form, while to the unconscious man himself it might then appear that he was in such a form and acting in accordance.[9] The effect of such drugs as stramonium caused hallucinations of riding through the air and of transformation, such as witches confessed to, and this may have been the food given by women to others in Italy so that they believed themselves beasts of burden.[10] Such a drug might occasionally be responsible for lycanthropic hallucination. Still others, more rational, regarded lycanthropes as lunatics who imagined themselves wolves. The last is probably the true solution of the whole matter.

3. Lycanthropy as a form of mental aberration.—Both in earlier times and even in the period when severe sentences were being passed against alleged werwolves, the existence of a diseased mental condition in which the patient imagined himself to be an animal—a form of melancholia with delirium—was clearly recognized by some. The popular belief in werwolves was not accepted by scientific writers in antiquity. Herodotus (iv. 104) would not be persuaded of the alleged transformation of the Neurians. Pausanias, admitting the transformation of Lycaon as a divine punishment, refused to believe in the recurrent transformations in Arcadia. Pliny (*HN* viii. 34) was equally incredulous. Medical writers regarded lycanthropy as a form of mental derangement. Of these, Marcellus of Side wrote a poem in which he treats lycanthropy in this fashion. The poem has not survived, but a prose version, abridged, by Ætius exists.

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[1] Bodin, p. 235.

[2] J. Français, *L'Eglise et la sorcellerie*, Paris, 1910 p. 119.

[3] Bodin, p. 234.

[4] Garinet p. 149.

[5] Bourquelot, p. 245.

[6] M. A. Del Rio, *Disquis. Magicarum Libri Sex*, Louvain, 1599, lib. ii. qu. 18.

[7] P. de Lancre, *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons*, Paris, 1613, p. 252.

[8] Bourquelot, p. 245.

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[1] Bodin, p. 237.

[2] *Ib.* p. 236.

[3] Instances in Bodin, p. 236 f.; cf. De Spina, ii. 549.

[4] Bodin, p. 245, and *passim.*

[5] D. Sennert, *Opera Omnia*, Lyons, 1666, ii. 393 f.

[6] De Spina, ii. 582.

[7] J. de Nynauld, *De la Lycanthropie*, ch. i.; De Spina, ii. 500, 581 f.; B. de Chauvincourt, *Discours de la lycanthropie*, *passim.*

[8] J. Wier, *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*[3], Basel, 1566, *passim.*

[9] *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 17 f.

[10] Cf. R. Reuss, *La Sorcellerie*, Paris, 1871, p. 133 f.; E. Parish, *Hallucinations and Illusions*, London, 1897, p. 40 f.; Leland, p. 207.

According to Marcellus, those afflicted by the lupine or canine madness go out at night in February, imitating wolves or dogs, and lurk among tombs. He gives the signs by which they may be known—pale face, tearless eyes, dry tongue, burning thirst, etc. He also suggests various remedies for this disease, which he regards as a form of melancholia.[1] Greek physicians knew also the *κυνάνθρωπος*, the man who imagined himself to be a dog.[2]

The existence of such a form of madness was known to the Semites, as the account of Nebuchadrezzar (Dn 4^{33}) shows.[3] Several 16th and 17th cent. writers regard lycanthropy as a form of madness. Of these Wier is the best known, though he still believed in demoniacal influence. According to him, those who believed themselves wolves were really troubled in their minds by the devil, so that in sleep they imagined that they had actually perpetrated the actions of which they accused themselves. He also cites the passage of Marcellus just referred to.[4] J. de Nynauld, a doctor who wrote on lycanthropy, thought that the lycanthropes were deluded by the devil, or that he actually gave them unguents, liquids, or powders, by which their sense impressions were affected. There were, however, natural lycanthropes, persons afflicted with *folie louvière*. He denies any actual transformation,[5] such as was insisted on by Bodin. The possibility of persons, more or less imbecile, living in a wild state in the forests, or even found among wild animals, such as wolves, was also suggested by some later writers.[6] Modern alienists take the view that lycanthropy was a form of insanity, often endemic. The patient suffers from a degradation of the personality, and imagines that he is a beast. The disease was common in the Middle Ages, because people then believed such a transformation possible. Now such melancholia with delirium is rare, because this belief hardly survives in Europe. Sporadic cases, however, are still known; in one instance the patient imagined that he was a wolf, and ate raw meat.[7]

Some of the instances cited in the previous sections may be best explained as cases of insanity of the type described. Cf. the Greek βρουκόλακας and the human Kallikantzari, the Malay instances of men with *badi*, several Chinese examples, the Japanese belief in fox-possession, the Ainu belief in possession by various animals, the Abyssinian belief in possession by a *buda*, the Nishinam man possessed by a bear, as well as various European instances. In all these the imitation of the possessing animal is noticeable, and the additional accounts of the growth of hair, claws, etc., may be imaginary, or may be exaggerated accounts of abnormal growth of hair or nails in cases of such insanity (cf. Nebuchadrezzar) or of hypertrichosis in general.[8] The instances of medicine-men pretending to become animals, and of the witnesses actually believing that they see hair and claws growing on them, are perhaps exploitations of this diseased condition.

Further examples of possession from all stages of culture are worth citing.

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[1] Ætius, bk. vi. cap. 11; W. H. Roscher, 'Das von der Kynanthropie handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side,' *ASG*, philol.-hist. Classe, xvii. [Leipzig, 1896] no. 3; cf. R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, London, 1836, p. 88 f.

[2] Galen, x. 502.

[3] Some theologians thought that there was a real change, others that it was imaginary, and others that his soul had passed into the body of a beast.

[4] Wier, pp. 241 f., 446 f., 453 f.

[5] De Nynauld, ch. i. For other writers who took the view that madness was the cause of lycanthropy see Bourquelot, p. 268. Voltaire appears to regard the demoniacs of Scripture, who wandered among the tombs, as lycanthropes, who also had that habit (*Essai sur les Mœurs*, in *Œuvres*, Paris, 1819, xiii. 195).

[6] *e.g.*, L. F. Calmeil, *De la Folie*, Paris, 1845, i. 74; Reuss, p. 143.

[7] D. Hack Tuke, *Dict. of Psychol. Medicine*, London, 1892, i. 434, ii. 752; L. Bianchi, *A Text-Book of Psychiatry*, do. 1906, pp. 323, 597, 689; cf. Bourquelot, p. 260 f.

[8] See A. F. Le Double and F. Houssay, *Les Velus*, Paris, 1912, p. 170, and *passim*.

A. Werner, writing of the tribes of British Central Africa (among whom the possibility of transformation is firmly believed in), tells of a man who had a strong feeling at times that he was a lion, and was impelled, as a lion, to kill and mutilate. He would watch by the wayside, leap out, and stab his victim, and was undoubtedly insane. Other men believed that they were similarly transformed.[1] A boy was burned in Ashango-land because he confessed that he had changed into a leopard and murdered two men—a case not unlike certain occurring in the 16th century.[2] Some men of the Garo hill tribes are afflicted occasionally by a temporary delirium, in which they walk like tigers and shun society. This is known among these tribes as 'transformation into a tiger,' and is supposed to be caused by the application of a medicine to the forehead. Those who thus suffer do not know what has happened when they return to their senses.[3] Certain demoniacs among the Goṇḍs are believed to be possessed by the tiger-god, and will fall on a kid and devour it alive.[4] In the Malay peninsula so real is the belief in the wer-tiger that boys play a game based on the belief. In this one boy is hypnotized, and the others run off, imitating cries of fowls. Then he rises, pursues, scratches, and bites any whom he catches, or climbs trees in his assumed character. Any one who finds himself at his mercy may break the spell by calling out his real name (cf. the European werwolf instances parallel to this)—probably because this was pre-suggested to him. He is supposed to be temporarily possessed by a spirit, but it is obvious that this is on a par with actual cases of insanity, and that the boy might easily become insane, imagining himself to be a tiger. The game is also played in Sumatra and Java, where other animals are also imitated.[5] Among the Dayaks men who eat forbidden flesh are liable to penalties. They will run about the woods naked, imitating a deer, if they have eaten deer's flesh.[6] In Annam an adept who wishes to ask something from the tiger-god prays it to incarnate itself in him. He falls on all fours, growls, eats raw meat, and breaks with his teeth the vessel which contains it. When he is calmed down, he is rubbed with alcohol so that he may come to himself.[7]

Most of these cases from low levels of civilization are obviously temporary cases of insanity, actual or assumed, explained in terms of current belief regarding shape-shifting, etc. They suggest that, even among savages, with whom the general shape-shifting belief is very strong, insanity may, partially at least, have suggested actual wer-animal ideas.

In Europe, during the period when the werwolf superstition was most prevalent, the belief in the possibility of transformation and in the power of the devil over men deluded by him was generally too strong to allow of the truth of the matter being understood. Nevertheless some alleged werwolves were clearly seen to be lunatics and treated as such.

The case of Jacques Rollet, arrested as a werwolf at Condé in 1598, is an example. Two wolves were seen devouring a child's body, while a third rushed off into a neighbouring field. There a man of wild appearance was found, who claimed to be the wolf and maintained that the two wolves were his brother and cousin, and that they had killed and devoured the child. His answers at his trial were contradictory, but he clearly believed that he sometimes became a wolf by means of an ointment. His life was one of great poverty and misery, and it is not impossible that he had killed the child and devoured part of it, and that his ghastly meal was interrupted by wolves. He was sentenced to death, but the Parlement of Paris annulled the sentence and sent him to a hospital.[8] In another case related by Lercheimer, he describes how he visited an alleged werwolf in prison. He was really a lunatic, but maintained that at Easter, through the power of his master, the devil, he became a wolf, took off his chains, and flew out of the prison window. This man would have been burned alive, but Lercheimer obtained his release.[9] In a third case, at Pavia in 1541, a man maintained that he was a wolf and had killed several persons, and that he differed from other wolves merely in the fact that their skin was covered with hair, while his hair was between his skin and his flesh. He was given over to the doctors for treatment, but died soon after.[10] In more modern times such cases are sporadic. Gurney recounts that of a young man at Corfu who in a state of maniacal frenzy imitated a serpent, crawling about, hissing, and also howling like a dog.[1] In another instance, treated by Morel in the asylum at Maréville, the patient had the delusion that he was a wolf, and ate raw meat.[2]

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[1] Werner, p. 86 f.; cf. H. H. Johnston, *Brit. Cent. Africa*, London, 1897, p. 439.

[2] P. B. du Chaillu, *Journey to Ashango-land*, London, 1867, p. 52.

[3] R. G. Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, London, 1859, i. 110.

[4] Dalton, p. 280.

[5] *FL* xxi. [1910] 371 f.; Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 498 f. (imitation of a pole-cat); *FL* xxii. [1911] 240.

[6] *FL* xxii. 239; Ling Roth, i. 296.

[7] Paul Giran, *Magie et religion annamites*, Paris, 1912, p. 231.

[8] P. de Lancre, *L'Incrédulité et mescréance du sortilége*, Paris, 1622, p. 785 f.

[9] A. Lercheimer, *Souvenirs de magic*, Strassburg, 1586, p. 120; cf. the case of Baronga transformation and flight, § 1. It may be based on dream experiences and hallucinations, as this obviously was.

[10] Wier, p. 453; cf. the curious description of a mad lycanthrope in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, act v. sc. 2.

It is obvious that in facts like these lies one explanation of the origin of the belief in lycanthropy. The unfortunate victims of melancholia with such delusions, imitating in their frenzy the cries and actions of various animals, must have suggested, both in primitive and in later times, certain aspects of the shape-shifting dogma, especially that of the werwolf. And, where the people believed in the possibility of such transformation, it was easy for them to think that such persons, when actually seen imitating the actions of an animal, were really in that animal's shape. Examples of this hallucination have already been given from among the Abipones and the Abyssinians. The frightful prevalence of this mania during the later Middle Ages and in the 16th and 17th centuries may be explained by the miserable conditions under which thousands of the peasantry lived, constantly on the verge of starvation, by their pre-conceived ideas, and by the terrorism to which so many were reduced by the wide-spread demonology, with its sinister shapes of fear and horror as well as its peculiarly vile conceptions of both cruelty and sensuality.[3] Nor is it impossible that half-insane persons, suffering constantly from hunger, may have killed and eaten human victims, whether under the delusion that they were wolves or not.[4] Necrophagy is not unknown in the annals of mental science,[5] and no crime was more commonly attributed both to werwolves and to witches at the Sabbat, and also alleged by them, than the eating of human flesh. This crime was doubtless largely hallucinatory, but it may have had a foundation in fact. Such persons may have actually covered themselves with a wolf-skin in order to terrify their victims more completely.[6] Among savages, sorcerers and medicine-men have traded on the existing delusion or dementia, and have claimed the power of transformation, as many of the above instances show. This is the case with Abipone sorcerers, and another instance is found among the Chippewa and other American Indian tribes, with whom sorcerers dress in the skin of an animal, and imitate its howls and gestures, until the spectators believe in the reality of the transformation.[7] Nicaraguan sorcerers were much feared for their supposed power of assuming animal forms. To strengthen this belief, they disguised themselves in the skins of animals.[8] In such cases, where an exact imitation of the animal's howls or movements was gone through, credulity would aid the deception, and, as the sorcerer pulled off the skin, he would be thought to have resumed his human form. Mediæval and later sorcerers doubtless also exploited the current delusion in these and other ways. This would account for such cases of the change being witnessed as have already been cited.

The constantly recurring idea that the animal change is for a certain period, so many days or years, and the statement that the person knows when the change is about to come, are also strongly suggestive of periodical or recurrent attacks of insanity.

In several of the above instances, where the change occurs through the donning of an animal's skin, there may be a trace of the fact that insane persons with lycanthropic delusions did actually heighten the delusion by wearing a skin, as perhaps in the case of the *berserkr*. In the Irish instance mentioned by Giraldus, the human body is visible underneath the skin. As far as the popular belief was concerned, in many cases the clothing was first removed. This may point to what actually occurred before the animal skin was put on. But it may be the relic of an older belief that the human skin was first removed; cf. the Voodoo instance (above, § 1, p. 213^{a}).

Perhaps the werwolf belief was also aided by such phenomena as imbecile children, brutalized, and having animal appetites. These 'wild boys' were often believed to have been stolen by animals—the bear, the wolf—and to have been brought up and suckled by them. While many stories about such children are not authentic, there are some cases in which boys were actually found in the dens of wolves in India. They could not stand upright, went on all fours, ate raw meat, and tore clothes into shreds. Various theories have been suggested to explain their having been thus brought up, but, if some cases are authentic in wolf-haunted districts in India, there may have been instances from time to time in similar districts in Europe. This would in part explain the numerous folk-stories about children suckled by animals—*e.g.*, that of Romulus and Remus.[1] The cases are of the kind described as 'idiocy by deprivation,' and, if such children survived, they would hardly differ from the insane persons who imagined they were wolves, went on all fours, and ate raw flesh.[2]

The case is parallel to that of women carried off by baboons or orang-outangs, which has doubtless some foundation in fact (see *CF*, p. 277).

4. Werwolf and vampire.—While both werwolf and vampire have a liking for human flesh and blood, there is a marked difference between them. The werwolf is a living person assuming animal form for the sake of gratifying his desire. The vampire, on the other hand, is a resuscitated corpse, which rises from the grave to prey on the living, the reasons for the resuscitation being of various kinds (see VAMPIRE). But here and there links of connexion exist. Thus in Germany, Serbia, and modern Greece it is thought that the man who was a werwolf in life becomes a vampire after death. Hence the werwolf was burned, not buried, lest he should do mischief.[3] Again, the dead sometimes appear as werwolves. King John Lackland was said to be a werwolf after his death, on the evidence of a monk of Worcester.[4] In Normandy within the last century priests watched at the grave to be sure of the good conduct of the deceased. If they saw that some lost person was about to become a werwolf, they cut off his head and threw it into the river.[5] A ghost may also appear as a wolf, like the wolf of Anspach in 1684, which was the ghost of a dead Burgomeister.[6] This corresponds to the Malay belief that ghosts of dead wizards enter the bodies of tigers, unless the son of the wizard by certain rites attracts his father's spirit to himself.[7] Similar beliefs have already been noted among the Slavs, Benua, Chinese, natives of British Central Africa, Rhodesians, etc. (§ 1). In New Zealand lizards were feared because the souls of those whose death-rites had been neglected became malignant and entered such creatures. They then gnawed the entrails of living men.[8] Demons and spirits of all kinds frequently take animal forms and act as the werwolf or vampire. Thus the French *lubin* was a spirit in the form of a wolf, which haunted churchyards to prey on the dead, like the Arabian *ghūl*, which takes the form of men or animals and eats corpses.[1] In Ethiopian lives of saints the king of the devils rides on a fire-breathing wolf and is followed by fiends in the form of wolves, while in Meroe the wicked are thought to be visited by evil spirits as wolves, jackals, etc.[2]

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[1] E. Gurney, F. W. H. Myers, and F. Podmore, *Phantasms of the Living*, London, 1886, ii. 121.

[2] Hack Tuke, *op. cit.*

[3] Cf. the horrible accounts of orgies at the Sabbat in documents of the period.

[4] Cf. the Galician case of 1849 cited by Baring-Gould, p. 238 ff.; Bourquelot, p. 255.

[5] Français, p. 262 f.

[6] Voltaire suggests as one explanation of lycanthropy a joke played by a young peasant who covered himself with a wolf-skin to frighten old women and so to gain the reputation of a werwolf (*Dict. philosoph.*, *s.v.* 'Enchantment'). The alleged necrophagy by witches is already found in Apuleius.

[7] Dorman, p. 248.

[8] *NR* iii. 496.

[1] J. A. MacCulloch, *CF*, p. 277; E. B. Tylor, 'Wild Men and Beast Children,' *Anthrop. Review*, i. [1863] 21 f.; V. Ball, *JAI* ix. [1880] 465; PR^2 ii. 153. For a recent instance of a wild girl found at Nainital, see *Morning Post*, July 27, 1914, and other newspapers of same date. Cf. also R. Kipling's *Jungle Books*.

[2] E. B. Sherlock, *The Feeble-minded*, London, 1911, p. 166.

[3] Hertz, pp. 88, 122, 128.

[4] *Ib.* p. 110.

[5] Sébillot, iv. 240.

[6] Hertz, p. 88.

[7] T. J. Newbold, *British Settlements in Straits of Malacca*, London, 1839, ii. 387.

[8] E. Tregear, *JAI* xix. [1890] 120.

5. **The 'sending.'**—A phenomenon analogous to that of the werwolf is that of the 'sending'—a thing or animal, sometimes animated or even created by the sorcerer, or some part of the sorcerer himself (his soul, etc.) and sent out by him to annoy or injure people. Examples occur over a wide-spread area and at various levels of civilization. The 'sending' is a kind of familiar of the wizard. In S.E. Australia the lizard is such a wizard familiar and is sent out to do injury.[3] Among the Roro-speaking tribes of British New Guinea snakes and crocodiles are sent by sorcerers to kill. A fragment of the victim's garment is put beside the snake in a pot; then heat is applied to the pot, and the snake strikes at the fragment. Then it is let loose near where the victim passes, and attacks him because it recognizes the smell of the fragment on him. More magical is the method of the Bartle Bay sorceress, a 'sending' from whose body causes death. It leads a separate life from her after her death, or may pass to her daughter. At Gelaria this 'sending' is called *labuni*, and resembles a shadow. It leaves the woman's body when she is asleep, and causes disease by inserting bone or stone in the victim. Should any one see it, it turns into an animal, and then again takes its human form. At Collingwood Bay the 'sending' is called *farum*, and is like a limbless old woman. It turns to a mosquito and sucks the victim's blood, resuming human form at dawn.[4] In Banks Island, if any one eats a piece of a corpse, its ghost will go forth to harm a victim at the will of the eater. Here also and in the New Hebrides the *mae*, or sea-snake, acts as the familiar spirit of those who profess to have had intercourse with it.[5] Among the Malays and in Java insects and even horned deer are used as 'sendings.'[6] Among the Yoruba sorcerers use the owl as a 'sending,' and, should it be caught by the person whom it is intended to destroy, and its claws and wings broken, a similar injury is done to the sorcerer's limbs.[7] In the Cameroons a man selects a hippopotamus, leopard, elephant, gorilla, etc., as a friend, and the animal is then supposed to harm his enemies by stealth. But, if the animal dies or is slain, the man dies. Hence such animals are usually not hunted by fellow-tribesmen.[8] Matabele wizards dig up corpses, transform them into hyenas, and use them as messengers or steeds. A wounded hyena escaping into a *kraal* is thought to show that this is the dwelling of a wizard.[9] Baronga wizards send forth crocodiles, lions, snakes, etc., to kill or wound.[10] In Calabar each wizard has two owl messengers, or sends forth insects—stinging ants, beetles, etc.—into the house where he is to find his victim. Then he sends his *ikim*—a gourd—to examine the house. Insects and *ikim* report whether there is any dangerous *juju*, or medicine, in it.[1]

Bavili sorcerers will leopards and crocodiles to go and destroy, having obtained this power through a medicine rubbed into their eyes. Then the animal becomes visible to them, and they know that it is at their service.[2] In British Central Africa wizards can create lions, or sometimes inspire existing lions, to go forth and destroy.[3] Among the Bondei 'dolls' of Indian corn are animated by the sorcerer, and go forth to suck the blood of a victim, who turns sick and dies.[4] Zulu wizards send out owls and other animals, and Basutos crocodiles, to injure their victims. These are called their *amanxus*, 'attendants.'[5] The Eskimo *angakok* sends a *tupilak*—a seal made by him. Should the victim kill it, he loses all strength and becomes a cripple. This seal is made of bones of various animals, covered with turf and blood, and charmed into life by a magic song.[6] A Siberian shaman will send out a *ye-keela*, or witch-animal, to fight that of another shaman. The shaman whose *ye-keela* is worsted shares its fate. Lapland wizards sent flies and darts against their enemies, and also a kind of ball. The last was fatal to the victim as well as to any one who came in its way.[7] Witch-doctors among the Paraguay Indians send forth witch-beetles to enter their victims, and these beetles cause great terror when seen.[8] In Mexico, among the Tarahumare Indians sorcerers cause snakes, scorpions, toads, and centipedes to eat a man's heart so that he dies.[9] The Twanas explain sickness as caused by an evil animal sent by a sorcerer to eat away the patient's life.[10] In ancient Scandinavia it was believed that sorcerers could raise up a ghost or a corpse by their magic power and send it to do harm to an enemy.[11] The Indian, Benua, and Japanese examples of the animal familiar, cited above (§ 1), should also be noted.

Danish witches were believed to make a hare out of some wooden pegs and an old stocking, and send it to steal milk from cattle.[12] The Esthonians believed in magic packets made by wizards and sent forth to do all kinds of mischief—*e.g.*, to transform the victim.[13] Among the Celts the druids had the power, by singing spells over a wisp of straw and flinging it in their victim's face, to cause him to become mad, and all madness was attributed to such a 'sending.'[14]

Not dissimilar to this conception of the 'sending' is the belief entertained in Celebes regarding the wer-man. The Torajas believe that a man's spirit or inside, *lamboyo*, can go forth from him as a deer, pig, cat, ape, etc., while he is asleep at home. The *lamboyo* then assumes human form (this resembles the New Guinea *labuni*). Its victim is first made unconscious; then in human form the *lamboyo* cuts him up, eats the liver, and joins the body together again. Soon after the victim wakes, he dies. Elsewhere in Celebes a man is thought to have three souls. One of these, the *tonoana*, leaves him in sleep and acts as a werwolf, but, if it is long away or is fatally hurt, the owner dies.

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[1] W. C. Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore*, London, 1905, p. 374; Hertz, p. 110; Lane, *Arabian Society*, p. 42.

[2] E. A. W. Budge, *The Egyptian Sûdân*, London, 1907, i. 268.

[3] A. W. Howitt, *JAI* xvi. [1887] 34.

[4] C. G. Seligmann, *Melanesians of Brit. New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 282 f., 640–643.

[5] Codrington, pp. 221 f., 188.

[6] *FL* xiii. 157.

[7] *Les Missions catholiques*, Lyons, 1884, p. 249.

[8] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, ii. 596 f.

[9] T. M. Thomas, *Eleven Years in Central S. Africa*, London, 1872, p. 293.

[10] Junod, p. 466 f.

[1] Macgregor, p. 224.

[2] R. E. Dennett, *FL* xvi. [1905] 391–393.

[3] Johnston, p. 451.

[4] G. Dale, *JAI* xxv. [1895] 223.

[5] H. Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, Natal, 1884, p. 348; *JAI* xx. 115.

[6] K. Rasmussen, *People of the Polar North*, London, 1908, p. 155; cf. F. Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, do. 1893, p. 285.

[7] A. Calmet, *Les Apparitions*, new ed., Paris, 1751, i. 107.

[8] W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, London, 1911, p. 155 f.

[9] Lumholtz, i. 315.

[10] M. Eells, *Ten Years of Mission Work among the Indians*, Boston, 1886, p. 43.

[11] Vigfusson-Powell, Introd. p. lxxvii; *FL* x. 460.

[12] Thorpe, ii. 192; *FL* x. 460.

[13] W. F. Kirby, *The Hero of Esthonia*, London, 1895, i. 208, 257, ii. 168.

[14] E. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, ii. 203.

A wer-man in human shape arranged for a rendezvous with a woman. Her husband overheard, and followed the wer-man, whose bodily form was meanwhile at work. He struck the *lamboyo* or *tonoana*, which turned to a leaf. This he thrust into his bamboo tobacco box. Then, carrying it to the place where the man was at work, he placed it on the fire. The owner begged him not to do this. But he still kept it in the fire, whereupon the man fell dead.

In some cases this power of sending forth the soul is a natural gift, in others it is the result of contagion from another wer-man, or from anything with which he has been in contact. This contagion can be made to leave such a person in the form of snakes or worms by means of severe medical treatment. The wer-man is known by his long tongue and unsteady eyes, which are of a green colour. A wer-man, when discovered, is punished by death. In these instances the spirit is but little different from the 'sending' or familiar spirit. In some cases, however, it is thought that there is an actual bodily transformation, and here, if the animal is wounded, the man who has thus changed his form is similarly hurt when discovered, or dies.[1] Among the Oraons a witch sends out her soul as a cat, herself remaining insensible. Should it be injured in any way, she bears a similar wound.[2]

This likeness may be further extended to the kindred phenomena of the bush-soul and the *nagual*, both of which bear some resemblance to the 'sending' and to the *lamboyo* or *tonoana*. In Calabar the bush-soul is one of four souls possessed by every man. It lives in a pig, leopard, etc., unseen by its owner, but it must not be neglected by him, else the owner turns sick. Then the witch-doctor advises that an offering be made to it. If this appeases it, all is well. If not, the man dies. The witch-doctor can tell the man what sort of animal encloses his bush-soul. He then takes care that neither he nor any one else harms it, for, if it is shot or trapped, the man dies; *vice versa*, when the man dies, the bush-soul also dies.[3] Another observer, J. K. Macgregor, writes that the death of the bush-soul merely causes weakness to its owner. But it is possible for a man to purchase an extra bush-soul from a witch-doctor which is stronger than the other, and can be used for purposes of offence. He may command it to go and kill goats, if a leopard, or trample a farm, if a hippopotamus. If this soul dies, the owner also dies. The owner of a bush-soul can transform himself into the animal in which his bush-soul is.

A chief's son who had a hippopotamus for his bush-soul had been paying a visit to another chief, but sent away his canoe. Asked how he would cross the river, he replied, 'You will see.' He took the leaf of a coco-yam, placed it on the water, sat on it, and at once disappeared below the surface. Then he was seen to cross the river as a hippopotamus, and on the other side he became a man.

It should be observed also that a man's human soul, residing in himself, may leave his body through a medicine and take the souls of things that he desires out of a house. Then he materializes them, and the original articles fall to pieces.[4] In Northern Nigeria among the Angass a man is held to have a *karua* which enters him at birth, and another, its counterpart, which enters an animal. The death of the one causes the death of the other.[1] The whole belief in the bush-soul is not unlike the Roman belief in the genius. A man's health depended on that of his genius, which often resided in a snake. If that was killed, the man whose genius it was also died.[2]

The *nagual* belief is found in Central America. In this case a youth obtained his *nagual* by dreaming of an animal after a period of solitude and fasting. The *nagual*-animal is closely bound up with the man henceforward. When it dies, the man dies; when it is sick, he is sick. He has also the power of appearing as his *nagual*. Any wound caused on the animal form is then found on the man.[3] This resembles the belief in Motu, Melanesia. A lizard, snake, or stone, etc., is selected as a man's *tamaniu*. His life is bound up with it. If it dies, or gets broken, or lost, the owner dies.[4] As already seen, the *talamaur* may be the soul, and, if it is wounded, the body is found to have a similar wound. In an Eskimo story the spirit of a witch who has made a young man ill is wounded in the heel. At the same moment the witch dies in the next house.[5]

Between the werwolf superstition and the various beliefs cited in this section there are certain similarities. Of these that which recurs constantly is the belief in repercussion.

Injury to the 'sending' entails injury to the sorcerer (Yoruba, Eskimos, Siberia); injury to the animal friend entails injury to the owner (Cameroon); injury to the bush-soul, *nagual*, *tamaniu*, wer-soul, entails injury to the owner (Celebes, African instance, Oraons, Indians of Guiana); injury to the soul which takes the form of an animal entails injury to the owner; injury to the soul which enters an animal temporarily entails injury to the owner; injury to the soul absent from the body for some mischievous purpose entails injury to the owner (Eskimos, Melanesians); injury to the werwolf or other wer-animal entails injury to the man in his human form.[6]

The real point of connexion between all the beliefs is that something belonging to the man, some part of the man, or the man himself in another form is injured. The injury then, because of the vital connexion between the part and the whole, or thing owned and owner (sympathetic magic), is seen on the man himself. But it is not clear that, as Frazer supposes, the wide-spread belief in wer-animals may 'be found to resolve itself into a belief in the external soul.'[7] The wer-animal is, save in a very few instances (Khonds, Oraons, Malays, Chinese, Ibos and other W. African peoples, Indians of Guiana), the man himself transformed, not his soul. And, even where the owner of bush-soul or *nagual* is supposed to change himself into the animal containing it, or an animal of the kind, the transformation is a bodily one. The external soul, injury to which causes injury to the owner, is one thing; the wer-animal, which is really the man himself transformed, is another. But the same theory or belief in repercussion is applicable to both. It is not by any means certain that the instance on which Frazer bases his theory of the wer-animal and the external soul can support it. There is no evidence that, when the Nūtka novice is supposed to die and come to life again before becoming a member of the wolf-society, he has exchanged souls with a wolf, so that both man and wolf are werwolves, or that there is anything here akin to the bush-soul.[1] Nor again is it clear, as N. W. Thomas maintains,[2] that lycanthropy is connected with nagualism rather than with transformation, or that the wer-animal was originally the familiar of the medicine-man. The comparatively few instances of the spirit going forth as a wer-animal suggest that we are here on the track of a different if analogous superstition to that of lycanthropy with its supposed bodily transformation. Again, the familiar is hardly a form of the man himself, as the werwolf is, but rather sometimes of part of the man, or it is his messenger, which the werwolf does not seem to be.

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[1] A. C. Kruijt, 'De weerwolf bij de Toradja's van Midden-Celebes,' *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xii. [1899] 548 f.; J. Knebel, *ib.* 568 ff.; *GB*^{3}, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, i. 311 ff.; N. W. Thomas, *EBr* xvii. 149; A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme*^{11}, The Hague, 1906, p. 109 f.

[2] P. Dehon, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, i. [1906] 141.

[3] M. H. Kingsley, *West Afr. Studies*, London, 1899, p. 208 f.; J. Parkinson, *Man*, vi. [1906] 121; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 594; cf. p. 598 for a similar belief among the Balong of Cameroon.

[4] Macgregor, p. 28; H. Goldie, *Calabar and its Mission*, Edinburgh, 1901, p. 51.

[1] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 598.

[2] Plutarch's *Romane Questions*, ed. F. B. Jevons, London, 1892, p. xlvii.

[3] T. Gage, *New Survey of the W. Indies*^{3}, London, 1677, p. 334; A. de Herrera, *Gen. Hist. of Continent and Islands of America*, do. 1726, iv. 138; Brinton, 'Nagualism,' *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, xxxiii. [1894] 26 f.; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iii. 443 f.

[4] Codrington, p. 251.

[5] Rink, pp. 371 f., 458.

[6] An injury done to a fantasm or double is also found to be done to the actual person (see A. Lang, *Cock Lane and Common Sense*, London, 1894, p. 51); cf. the Zulu idea that the *imamba*, or dead chief in the form of a snake, can be killed but may come to life again with the mark of the wound still upon it (Callaway, p. 225).

[7] *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 599 f.

There may, however, be a connecting link if we regard the phenomena of lycanthropy as based on the hallucinatory dreams of insane persons, preoccupied with ideas of transformation. Where a medicine-man is supposed to send forth his spirit either in its own shape or in that of an animal, while he remains quiescent at home, this may also be suggested by a hallucinatory dream.

It seems better, therefore, to regard lycanthropy with its bodily transformation as distinct from the transformation of the outgoing spirit, and also from the 'sending,' messenger, or familiar. They are analogous beliefs, to which similar conceptions—*e.g.*, that of repercussion—have attached themselves. But they are in origin different. In the same way, though there is much in the fairy, demon, or witch superstitions which is common to all (see FAIRY), these are really distinct in origin.

6. Conclusion.—The wide diffusion of the werwolf superstition forms an excellent example of a universal belief being worked up into a superstition or story bearing a common likeness in different regions. Without the belief in shape-shifting the werwolf superstition could not have existed. But, this being granted, persons of diseased mind in all stages of civilization easily conceived themselves to be ferocious animals preying upon other human beings. The belief itself was easily exploited by interested persons—medicine-men, sorcerers, etc.; or some of these might themselves be half-crazed, as medicine-men often are through their austerities (see AUSTERITIES). In certain cases—*e.g.*, that of the Norse *berserkrs*—the insane fit was heightened by the wearing of animal-skins; or, in others, totemism, in its later stages, may have helped the form of the superstition, as in the Arcadian and some Irish Celtic examples.

LITERATURE.—Of the numerous works written on this subject in the 16th and 17th centuries, the following are the most important: B. de Chauvincourt, *Discours de la lycanthropie*, Paris, 1599; J. de Nynauld, *De la Lycanthropie*, Louvain, 1596; Wolfeshusius, *De Lycanthropis*, Leipzig, 1591. More modern works are: R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 62–80; S. Baring-Gould, *The Book of Were-wolves*, London, 1865; M. F. Bourquelot, 'Recherches sur la lycanthropie,' *Mémoires de la société des antiquaires de France*, new ser., ix. [1849] 193–262; J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr., London, 1882–88; W. Hertz, *Der Werwolf: Beitrag zur Sagengeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1862; R. Leubuscher, *Ueber die Wehrwölfe und Thierverwandlungen im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1850; E. B. Tylor, *PC*^{3}, London, 1891, i. 308 f.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

LYING.—The English word 'lie' with its congeners and derivatives represents a concept which, if hard to define, is yet unique and irresolvable into any other. While it cannot be claimed either (*a*) that all persons are agreed as to what precisely constitutes a lie or lying, or (*b*) that anything like the same ethical significance has at all times and in all communities been attached to the practice generally understood to be denoted by the Teutonic word and by the words commonly regarded as its equivalents in other languages, yet in English at any rate this term, and in a somewhat less degree any word or periphrasis which is thought to be merely a covert alternative for it, is viewed and, by those to whom it is applied, is resented as conveying a reproach, or at least an opinion, generically different from any other. It would probably be conceded that nowhere has antipathy to lying and sensitiveness to the imputation of it reached a higher intensity than among ourselves; and a study of the import of the term in our own language may therefore be taken as in a manner typical and representative.

1. Sources of modern conception.—Historically the English lie has, if we may so speak, a fourfold pedigree—Saxon, Jewish, Græco-Latin, and Christian. It signifies, that is, a vice or vicious act, which derives its peculiar reputation partly from the language and sentiment of our pagan forefathers, partly from conceptions that find expression in the Hebrew Scriptures of the OT, partly from Greek and Roman thought and literature, and, as we shall contend, partly from the specific teachings of Christianity. If it be alleged against this analysis that our sensitive regard for veracity is rather of feudal origin, the objection, even if well-founded, is of no moment, that feature of feudal ethics being itself derived from some or all of the four sources enumerated.

(1) *Saxon.*—The presence in all the Teutonic languages of a substantially identical word of like meaning attests the perennial importance of the thing meant. To 'lie' is to say that which is not. And we cannot doubt that the tribesman who had the skill, and the heart, on occasion to do this undetected was held in different esteem from the man who could not or would not; whether in higher or in lower esteem, we cannot in the absence of adequate evidence be sure; that might perhaps depend on, and change with, the varying circumstances of the community.

(2) *Jewish.*—When at length on British soil the Anglo-Saxon invaders were gradually led to profess the Christian faith, that faith brought with it a moral code derived in unequal degrees from the three other sources named above, of which the most ancient and explicit was the Hebraic. Although the Decalogue contains no precept 'Thou shalt not lie,' the prohibition of 'false witness' reprobates the most frequent and injurious form of lying. Prophets and moralists enlarged the prohibition. 'The voice of the Lord crieth unto the city,' says Micah (6^{9}), 'for the inhabitants thereof have spoken lies, and their tongue is deceitful in their mouth' (6^{12}; cf. Is 30^{9} 59^{13}, Jer 23^{14}); 'Lying lips are an abomination unto the Lord' (Pr 12^{22}); 'A righteous man hateth lying' (13^{4}; cf. Ps 119^{163}). Especially guilty are 'false prophets' who in the name of the Lord 'prophesy lies . . . a lying vision . . . a thing of nought, and the deceit of their own heart' (Jer 14^{14}; cf. Zec 13^{3}).

(3) *Græco-Latin.* — Meanwhile early Hellenic sentiment viewed lying without horror; virtually, as craft, it had in Hermes a patron-god. Perjury, however, was deemed perilous, incurring the wrath of Zeus. Subsequently, as witness the gnomic poets,[1] civic morality coupled veracity with justice as laudable (cf. Plato, *Rep.* i. 331 B); and Sophocles proclaimed the ugliness of falsehood:

> 'Honourable (καλόν) it nowise is to speak lies; though when the truth brings a man dire destruction, 'tis pardonable to say even what is not honourable' (frag. 323).

Finally, philosophy pronounced falsehood intrinsically vicious. Plato (*Rep.* ii. 382 A, 389 B–D), while permitting his 'guardians' to use it, now and again, medicinally and officially 'for the benefit of the State,' bids them punish it rigorously in private individuals as 'a practice pernicious and subversive of the commonwealth,' and in his latest work (*Laws*, 730 B f.) extols truth as 'foremost of all good things'; for the truthful man is 'trustworthy, whereas he who loves wilful falsehood is untrustworthy (ἄπιστος), and he who loves involuntary falsehood is foolish.' Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* iv. 7. 6) deems 'lying' (τὸ ψεῦδος) essentially 'mean (φαῦλον) and blameworthy.' The 'truth-lover' (φιλαλήθης) stands in notable contrast with him who rejoices in falsehood (ὁ τῷ ψεύδει αὐτῷ χαίρων), a type of character distinct from him who lies for the sake of gain or glory (*ib.* § 12). In Stoicism the viciousness of falsehood, although not expressly affirmed, is tacitly assumed. Thus ideal good is in effect defined by Seneca (*Ep.* lxvi. 6) as 'a mind set on truth.'[1] To the consistent Stoic acceptance of unverified 'opinion' as a substitute for truth or real knowledge would be equivalent to inveracity. Altogether, Greek philosophy had energetically discountenanced the art of lying, and, when Latinized, had found an ally in old-fashioned Roman prejudice against wilful untruth.

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[1] *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 599, iii. 549, *GB*^{3}, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 270 f.

[2] *EBr*^{11} xvii. 149, *Man*, ii. [1902] 117.

[1] *e.g.* Mimnermus, frag. 8: 'With thee and me be truth, most just of all things.'

(4) *Christian.*—The NT endorsed and deepened the injunctions of Jewish theology and Gentile ethics. 'Lie not one to another,' writes St. Paul to the Colossians (3^{9}); the Christian is to forgo all 'lying,' and this for the new and characteristically Christian reason that 'we are members one of another' (Eph 4^{25}). And with this Pauline monition the warnings of the Apocalypse agree. Into the heavenly city no 'liar' may enter (Rev 21^{7}); outcast thence is 'every one that loveth and maketh a lie' (22^{15}), where nothing is lost to the ethics of truth if by 'lie' be meant idol or counterfeit god; that, theologically, *is* the typical lie—idolatry falsifying man's conception of the divine attributes and therewith the standard of truth. In the Synoptic Gospels 'hypocrisy' (Mt 23^{28}, Lk 12^{1}) would appear to express what in St. John is called simply 'lying' (ψεῦδος), of which 'the devil' (Jn 8^{44}) is first cause. Thus for Christianity the spirit of lying is opposed to the spirit of truth as darkness is to light. It is antagonistic to God and incompatible with fellowship in the Church of Christ. And this abhorrence of lying as deadly sin, though too often grievously violated in nominal Christendom, has endured throughout the centuries, permeates our finest literature, and is reflected in the life and conduct of many a plain, honest man to-day.

2. Philosophical theories.—Theology and custom-morality apart, moral philosophers of different schools condemn lying on different grounds; the intuitionist as intrinsically repugnant to 'right reason' or 'moral sense' or 'conscience,' the eudæmonist or perfectionist because it impairs well-being and self-development, the utilitarian because, on the whole, if not in every instance, it would tend to the diminution of the sum-total of pleasure experienced. Whether the utilitarian sanction is well-founded in fact may be questioned. It is arguable that the wide acceptance of utilitarian ethics has been attended by an increased indifference to truth. Whereas lying is demonstrably contrary to other ideals—universal benevolence, perfection, or the beautiful—there is no guarantee that truth-seeking will bring either to the individual or to the community a surplus of pleasure, or that more pleasure may not be secured by an admixture of well-timed falsehood. But, even if utilitarian theory could demonstrate the all but universal inexpediency of lying, such calculative disapproval of it as hedonistically impolitic is not the same thing as hating a lie for its own sake. It is this that would seem to be ethically the point of main consequence, distinguishing man from man—the presence or absence of a deep aversion to lying as such. Of less real importance is the much debated question, too complex to summarize here, of exceptional contingencies in which, notwithstanding that aversion, it may be right to speak falsely, just as killing is sometimes right. But we may consider whether lies can be classified, and attempt a more exact determination of the essential constituents of lying.

3. Analysis and classification of lying.—The aim of a lie is to misrepresent facts, or purpose, or feeling. To be a liar is to do this habitually and wilfully. Of each particular lie the motive is normally some gain foreseen or conjectured as attainable by deceiving somebody as to (1) what has happened, (2) what one purposes, or (3) how one feels. In popular usage the term 'lie' is apt to be limited to the first kind. But I lie no less really, if (2) I promise what I have no intention of doing, or if (3), being glad, I feign sorrow. This is sometimes overlooked or even denied. With regard to declarations of purpose, it is rightly urged that unforeseen circumstances alter cases, and to promise what one may eventually see reason not to perform is no falsehood. But it *is* lying, if at the time of speaking I have not the intention professed; or if I deliberately, but insincerely, protest that in no circumstances will I change my mind; or if, having changed it, I allow those concerned to go on believing my purpose to be unchanged. The last is a very common form of falsehood. Similarly, as regards feeling, many people who would be ashamed to state that they had seen what they had not seen, make no scruple about pretending goodwill towards persons for whom they have none, with the object sometimes of getting general credit for a kindness of heart which is not theirs, sometimes of misleading the victims of their dissimulation.

Not all deceit, however, is lying. For, although the essence of lying is intent to deceive, there must be also, to constitute a lie, either (*a*) untrue words, or (*b*) such reticence as in the context (of speech or action) amounts to false statement—*e.g.*, if I say 'He gave me twenty pounds,' when in fact he gave me fifty (cf. Ac 5^{8}), or if I adopt and publish as my own an essay largely written by another man. To lie is, as Kant well says, 'to communicate one's thoughts to another through words which (intentionally) contain the opposite of that which the speaker thinks.'[1] It matters not whether the false belief is created by positive affirmation or by omission of words necessary to the establishment of a true belief.

Allegory is not falsehood, provided it is designed and adapted to embody truth. It was because early Greek mythology did not in Plato's judgment fulfil this condition that he regarded allegorizing interpretations of it as in no way bettering the case for Homer and Hesiod (*Rep.* ii. 378 D). As with allegory, so with all fiction. Stage-plays and novels exhibit in the form of 'stories' events that are not history, present or past, and yet mislead nobody. A 'story' is a lie, then, only when it falsely disowns its fictitious origin. Even pseudonymous authorship does not necessarily involve falsehood. Not all illusion is deception. Daniel is dramatically as legitimate as Hamlet or Coriolanus. But the pope who, to intimidate a Frankish king and practising on his credulity, sent him a private letter purporting to come from St. Peter was no dramatist, but a forger; and forgery is falsehood. It is doubtful whether equivocation, where a statement is equally susceptible of two meanings, one false and one true, should, because calculated to deceive, be accounted lying. As an isolated act, it probably should not. But the man who habitually equivocates is an untruthful man. Under the head of equivocation may fairly be brought many of those partially deceptive utterances which are sometimes, but unconvincingly, defended as mere social conventions on a par with the customary phraseology of address and other 'common forms of speech generally understood.'[1] If, *e.g.*, in declining an unwelcome invitation I express regret at being unable to accept it, the defence that this is a usual and well-understood way of notifying my intention, while disguising the motive, is inadequate. But, supposing I do regret the disappointment which my refusal may cause or the circumstances which render the invitation unacceptable, the phrase employed is equivocal rather than actually false. If, instead of declining, I profess 'pleasure in accepting' the invitation, the pleasure need not be wholly fictitious; for it is in my power by an effort of goodwill (*a*) to feel pleasure in accepting, and not refusing, the civility offered, and (*b*) to find altruistic pleasure in a visit not naturally attractive. By thus *choosing* to be pleased, a man determines on the side of truth what would have been equivocation. Even where there is an actual element of falsehood, we recognize degrees of insincerity. A statement which in the main reveals the speaker's purpose, feeling, or knowledge of fact, but disguises some detail, is not in the same degree vicious as an entirely misleading utterance, unless, of course, the point misrepresented is the most essential, in which case the saying may be exemplified that 'the worst lies are half truths.' Yet we cannot altogether reject the widely spread view of 'common sense,' that a direct lie stands on a different footing from any indirect device whether of hiding the truth (*suppressio veri*) or of creating a false impression (*suggestio falsi*). There is a common understanding that, when we speak, we do not state what we know to be untrue. Socially regarded, then, a direct lie is a graver breach of faith, and a worse blow to mutual confidence, than any statement, however evasive, which does not actually violate this understanding.

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[1] 'Animus vera intuens, peritus fugiendorum ac petendorum, non ex opinione, sed ex natura pretia rebus imponens.'

[1] E. Caird, *Critical Philosophy of Kant*, Glasgow, 1889, ii. 337.

4. **Conclusion.**—On the whole, the main difference between ancient and 'modern' views of inveracity is that in the latter censure is directed primarily on discrepance between statement and thought rather than on the divergence from reality of a spoken, or unuttered, proposition. 'Modern' morality tends to be severe upon misstatements, apparently wilful, of particular facts, but is strangely lenient wherever 'ignorance' can be pleaded—as if ignorance was not often wilful, or reckless, indifference to truth. Many persons will habitually declare as fact anything that they do not positively know to be untrue, and, when convicted of error, take no shame to themselves. They 'thought' it was so. To Plato such untrue 'thought' or 'lie in the soul' appeared more manifestly evil than any spoken lie; and, though Christianity, supervening, emphasized the distinction between wilful sin and intellectual error, there is nothing in the NT to justify, and the Johannine writings abundantly discountenance, the 'modern' view aforesaid, which indeed rests upon nothing better than the assumption that we are entitled to ignore truth, if not to pervert it. In practice the former habit leads on to the latter. Having once entertained and echoed some untruthful allegation, a man will often shut his ears to all disproof and pervert other facts in support of it. Again, if 'lying' proper implies some kind of utterance, the wider concept of 'falsehood' includes (*a*) self-deception, and (*b*) the unuttered lie cherished in the heart and potent to vitiate judgments whether of fact or of value. The dishonest-minded man frequently propagates untruth without any formal or positive lying. If he thus on technical grounds escapes being designated a liar, he yet comes within Aristotle's description of 'the man who delights in falsehood as such.' Doubtless this permanent disposition is acquired only through repeated indulgence in lying for the sake of some particular gain. If it is seldom attained, an intermediate stage is very frequent. Many men and women rarely tell the truth, regarding it as something too precious to give away!

The relation of inveracity to 'that most excellent of all virtuous principles, the active principle of benevolence,' emerges in Butler's 'Dissertation of the Nature of Virtue.' Linking 'falsehood' as a cardinal vice with 'injustice' and 'unprovoked violence,' Butler holds that 'veracity as well as justice is to be our rule of life'; by these our benevolence must be conditioned.

Of the view which condemns lying as violation of a man's duty to himself, the typical exponent is Kant, who stigmatizes a lie as 'an annihilation of the dignity of man,' and deprecates argument from the injury done by the liar to others as confusing 'the duty of truth with the duty of beneficence' (Caird, ii. 384). On the other hand, the best English moralists of the past century, notably Sidgwick and Martineau, take a wider and at the same time a more discriminating view of the nature and harmfulness of falsehood.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities quoted in the art. see H. Sidgwick, *Methods of Ethics*^{7}, London, 1907, bk. iii. ch. vii. (from the intuitional standpoint), bk. iv. ch. iii. (from the utilitarian standpoint); J. Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*^{2}, Oxford, 1886, section on 'Veracity' (pt. ii. bk. i. ch. 6, § 12); T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, do. 1883, p. 344 f.; J. S. Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*, London, 1897, pp. 189, 319 f.; H. Rashdall, *Theory of Good and Evil*, Oxford, 1907, i. 90, 192–196. For the attitude of non-Christian peoples towards lying see *MI*, ch. xxx. f.

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[1] J. Butler, *Analogy*, Dissertation ii. 'Of the Nature of Virtue' (*ad fin.*) (ed. J. H. Bernard, London, 1900, p. 295).

M

MA'ARRĪ.—

1. **Life.**—Abu'l-'Alā Aḥmad ibn 'Abdallāh ibn Sulaimān al-Ma'arrī, the celebrated Muhammadan poet and man of letters, was born in A.D. 973 at Ma'arra (Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān), a prosperous Syrian town situated about 20 miles south of Aleppo. At an early age he became almost completely blind in consequence of an attack of smallpox, but so extraordinary was his power of memory that this misfortune did not seriously interfere with the literary studies to which he afterwards devoted himself. It would seem that at first he intended to make poetry his profession. The sums gained by writing panegyrics were often immense, and may well have tempted an ambitious youth with the example of Mutanabbī before him. Abu'l-'Alā, however, declares that his poems were not written for hire. Probably this is true in the sense that he soon abandoned a career which, lucrative as it might be, entailed dependence on the precarious favours of patronage and was destructive of every feeling of self-respect. From the age of 20 to 35 he remained at Ma'arra, a poor and comparatively unknown scholar, supported by a small annual pension paid from a trust-fund. During this time he composed the greater part of the collection of poems entitled *Siqṭ al-zand* ('Sparks from the Tinder'), in which the influence of Mutanabbī is apparent. With the object of seeking a wider field for his talents, he left Ma'arra in A.D. 1008 and journeyed to Baghdād, where he was well received by the learned men; but, instead of settling there, as he had planned, he departed after a stay of eighteen months, and, on returning home, announced his intention to retire from the world. Though, according to his own statement, it was lack of means and the news of his mother's illness that caused him

to quit the capital, there seems to be little doubt that he took this step on account of an indignity which he suffered at the hands of a powerful noble whom he was so imprudent as to offend. The remainder of his life was passed in teaching and writing. His picture of himself as a misanthropic recluse conveys a false impression. From Baghdād he returned with a reputation that not only made him the first man in his native town, but also brought disciples from all parts to hear him discourse on Arabic philology and literature. He had many friends, and his letters to them show 'a kindly interest both in men and things' (*The Letters of Abu'l-'Alā*, ed. Margoliouth, Introd. p. xxx). He complains of his poverty, but the Persian poet Nāṣir-i Khusrau, who visited Ma'arra in A.D. 1047, describes him as very rich (*Safar-nāmah*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris, 1881, p. 10= p. 35 of the Fr. tr.). Ma'arrī died in A.D. 1058.

2. **Writings.**—Besides the *Siqṭ al-zand*, already mentioned, Ma'arrī is the author of another and far more remarkable volume of poetry, entitled *Luzūm mā lam yalzam*, in reference to a technical peculiarity of rhyme, and generally known as the *Luzūmiyyāt*. These poems, written after his visit to Baghdād, contain religious, moral, and philosophical reflexions and deal with a great variety of topics. The prevailing tone is pessimistic and sceptical, but many passages occur in which Ma'arrī speaks as an orthodox Muslim. The *Risālat al-ghufrān* (described and partially translated by the present writer in *JRAS*, 1900, pp. 637–720, and 1902, pp. 75–101, 337–362, 813–847; ed. Cairo, 1907) takes the form of an epistle addressed to 'Alī ibn Manṣūr of Aleppo, who is better known by the name of Ibn al-Qāriḥ. In this Lucianic work Ibn al-Qāriḥ is imagined to have entered paradise, where he holds a series of conversations with pre-Islāmic poets, and the author discusses the opinions of the leading Muhammadan freethinkers (*zanādiqa*). His *Letters*, composed in an elaborately artificial and allusive style, have been edited, with Eng. tr., by D. S. Margoliouth. The long list of his minor works, of which only a few are extant, includes a supposed imitation of the Qur'ān, entitled *Al-fuṣūl wa 'l-ghāyāt*. Ma'arrī is said to have boasted that, if it were 'polished by the tongues of four centuries of readers,' it would bear comparison with the original (see references in I. Goldziher, *Muhamm. Studien*, Halle, 1889–90, ii. 403); but this appears to be an invention. What he attempted was probably a parody of Qur'ānic style rather than a deliberate challenge to the dogma of *i'jāz*, which claims for the Qur'ān a miraculous and inimitable perfection.

3. **Doctrines.** — It is difficult to give a clear account of Ma'arrī's religious and philosophical beliefs. Not only are they, to a large extent, negative in character, but the evidence derived from some passages in his writings is counterbalanced by other passages which, if they stood alone, would lead us to the opposite conclusion. These contradictions are most strikingly exemplified in his attitude towards Islām. Any one who wished to prove him orthodox might quote from the *Luzūmiyyāt* numerous instances in which the poet unequivocally accepts nearly all the chief Muhammadan doctrines, yet his pages are full of denials, doubts, and criticisms which, though cautiously expressed, show a strong anti-Islāmic tendency, and will convince any impartial reader that the charge of heresy brought against him by certain of his contemporaries was not unjustified. Several explanations of the inconsistency have been offered. The question is important, since whatever solution we adopt must affect our estimate of Ma'arrī. Can it be assumed that he is equally sincere when he writes as a pious Muslim and when he preaches the gospel of rationalism? That seems incredible, except on the hypothesis that Ma'arrī, while doubting the divine origin of Islām, also distrusted the human intellect, and hesitated to cut himself loose from the faith in which he was bred. Such an explanation, however, does not accord with his confident and emphatic appeal to reason as the highest authority. The following quotations from the Cairo ed. of the *Luzūmiyyāt* (A.D. 1891) illustrate his views on this point.

'Reason is the most precious gift thou hast received' (i. 151. 1). 'Traditions have come down to us which, if they be genuine, possess great importance; but they are weakly attested. Consult Reason and pay no heed to anything else. Reason is the best adviser in the world' (i. 288. 8 f.). 'Be guided by Reason and do whatever it deems good' (i. 394. 8). 'My Reason is indignant that I should lay it aside in order to follow Shāfi'ī and Mālik' (ii. 150. 3). 'O Reason, 'tis thou that speakest the truth. Perish the fool who invents traditions or expounds them!' (ii. 196. 4).

Those who hold that Ma'arrī's orthodox utterances do not express what he wholly or partly believed, but were designed to mask his real convictions and to serve as a defence against any dangerous attack, are attributing to him a course of action that he himself openly professes.

'Society compels me to play the hypocrite' (ii. 139. 4). 'I raise my voice to pronounce absurdities, but I only whisper the truth' (ii. 36. 13). 'Conceal thy thoughts even from the friend at thy side' (i. 272. 1).

His opinions were of a sort that could not be communicated without some disguise; and this necessity, which he disliked (cf. ii. 34. 2), is the source of many superficial contradictions in his writings. The suggestion that his ideas were dictated and controlled by the complex form of rhyme which he uses throughout the *Luzūmiyyāt* is inadequate as a general explanation of the facts, although it may cover part of them. Something also should be allowed for the influence of an Islāmic atmosphere and tradition upon the language of the poems, an influence to which, perhaps, their author at times consciously surrendered himself.

While Ma'arrī adopted certain ascetic practices and held certain religious and moral beliefs, his genius was essentially critical, sceptical, more apt to destroy than to construct. He could think for himself, but lacked the power of developing and combining his speculations. Unable to find rest in any religious or philosophical system, he fell into a fatalistic pessimism tempered, as not seldom happens in such cases, by a good deal of active benevolence. He claims to unfold to his readers the secret thoughts of mankind (i. 230. 15), and it is true that his poems reveal the inmost spirit of contemporary Muhammadan culture in its many-sided aspects. We are here concerned only with his main points of view and with the opinions and beliefs to which he was led by reflecting on the problems of life. For the sake of convenience the subject may be classified under a few general heads.

(*a*) *Scepticism.* — In several passages of the *Luzūmiyyāt* Ma'arrī discusses the origin and nature of religion. He ignores, although he does not formally deny, the theory of divine revelation. Religion, as he sees it, is a matter of inheritance and habit.

'They live as their fathers lived before them, and bequeath their religion mechanically, just as they found it' (i. 248. 13). 'In all thy affairs thou art satisfied with blind conformity, even when thou sayest, "God is One"' (i. 252. 2).

He disapproves of conformity (*taqlīd*), not because it is opposed to genuine faith, but on the ground that it is irrational.

'It is not reason that makes men religious: they are taught religion by their next of kin' (ii. 403. 13); cf. the celebrated verses (ii. 201. 7 ff.): 'The Muslims are mistaken and the Christians are on the wrong road, | And the Jews are all astray and the Magians are in error. | Mankind fall into two classes—the intelligent | Without religion, and the religious without intelligence.'

The whole fabric of popular religion is raised on fear, fraud, and greed (i. 251. last line, 65. 9, ii. 196. 5). The poet characterizes the great world-systems as a mass of forged traditions and doctrines which not only are repugnant to reason but have undergone vital alteration at the hands of their own adherents (ii. 20. 15, 196. 3, 404. 2, 409. 9). All of them are tainted with falsehood; no community possesses the truth (*hudā*) entire (ii. 177. 10). Ma'arrī does not shrink from applying this principle to Islām, though here, as has been remarked above, he speaks with two voices and avoids positive statements of disbelief. In the case of other religions his criticism is less restrained; thus, referring to the Crucifixion, he says (ii. 409. 7 ff.):

'If what they [the Christians] say concerning Jesus is true, where was His father? How did He abandon His son to His enemies? Or do they suppose that they defeated Him?'

He disbelieves in miracles (ii. 252. 11), augury

(i. 104. 3, 327. 10), and astrology (i. 254. 1, ii. 330. 2). On these matters he had been able to reach a definite conclusion, but he was rarely so fortunate. Experience assured him that human knowledge is a leap in the dark.

> 'There is no certainty; my utmost effort results only in opinion and conjecture' (ii. 23. 14). 'Colocynth does not know what gave it its bitterness, nor honey why it is sweet. Ye asked me, but I had no power to answer you: any one who pretends to know is a liar' (i. 103. 6).

All his metaphysical speculations close on the note of agnosticism.

> 'Some men assert that nothing really exists, but have they proved that there is neither misery nor happiness? We oppose them in this controversy, and God knows which of us is farther from the truth' (ii. 281. 1).

As regards the question of a future life, he admits that the soul may perhaps be immortal (ii. 171. 7). No one can tell whither it goes (i. 225. 7, 248. 6). It is a subtle thing, and, although it is confined in the body, the intellect cannot perceive it; will it be conscious of what befalls it hereafter? (i. 211. 6). If mind accompanies it, it may have memory of its life in this world (i. 140. 6). The doctrine of metempsychosis is not corroborated by reason (ii. 171. 9 ff.). In other passages, however, he alludes to an infinite cycle of dissolution and re-composition, of death and re-birth, as the destiny of all living beings (ii. 169. 13 ff.).

(*b*) *Pessimism.*—Amidst the welter of doubt from which he struggled in vain to escape Maʿarrī found one undeniable fact, namely, death (i. 256. 6, 291. 1 f.). Wherever he looked, he saw the cruel hand of Fate dragging all to destruction (ii. 146. 13). The life of man is a journey to the tomb (ii. 81. last line), a bridge between two deaths (i. 308. 12), a disease which only death can cure (i. 182. 3), a long torment (i. 69. penult.). Contemplating the futile pain of existence, he exclaims:

> 'May I never rise from the dead! I take no delight in living, though my fame is spread afar' (i. 426. 9 f.; cf. i. 374. 17).

Of such a view of life celibacy is the logical consequence, nor in this case could the poet be accused of preaching what he did not practise (ii. 359. 7 ff.). He held that procreation is a sin (i. 45. 3 ff., ii. 299. 4). No one has the right to increase the sum of suffering by bringing children into the world (i. 349. 13):

> 'If you wish to be kind to your sons, leave them in your loins' (i. 397. last line).

Children are burdens (i. 289. 12), and a man's son is his worst foe (i. 400. 2; cf. i. 45. 3 ff.). Fathers should provide husbands for their daughters, but should warn their sons not to marry (i. 216. 10). Maʿarrī depicts the universal misery and wickedness of mankind in terms that no satirist has surpassed. The world is a sea of raging passions which drive us to and fro until we are engulfed (i. 49. 6); it is like a carcass, and we are the dogs barking around it (i. 224. 9).

> 'When you come back to realities, every human being is wretched' (ii. 20. 7).

He repeats again and again that human nature is radically evil (i. 50. 8, 94. 3, 353. 11 f., 403. 5).

> 'Better than the best of them is a rock which commits no wrong and tells no lies' (i. 95. 12).

Good is soon burnt out, but evil smoulders for a long time (i. 270. 11 f.). The proportion of good in the world is exceedingly small (i. 315. 3). Fate, not free will, is the cause of men's wickedness, and the crow cannot change its colour (i. 311. 6 ff.).

> 'Do not seek to reform a world whose righteousness God never ordained' (i. 110. 3).

It follows that no human actions incur blame or deserve praise, and the poet says in one place (ii. 79. 10 f.) that only religious scruples prevented him from accepting this doctrine. Elsewhere he denies that men sin under compulsion (i. 354. 8, ii. 254. 3).

> 'They are unjust to each other, but the Creator of injustice is certainly just' (ii. 280. 6).

While castigating his neighbours and contemporaries, Maʿarrī does not spare himself (i. 48. 7). His pessimism extends to the future:

> 'If this age is bad, the next will be worse' (ii. 171. 17).

(*c*) *Asceticism.*—He earnestly desired to withdraw from a society of knaves and hypocrites and a world of bitter illusions.

> 'Would that I were a savage in the desert, idly smelling the spring flowers!' (ii. 28. 14). 'Be a hermit as far as possible, for one who speaks the truth is a bore to his friends' (i. 66. 1). 'The happiest man in the world is an ascetic who dies childless' (i. 212. 3).

But the value of asceticism depends on the motives by which it is inspired: the humble father of a family is superior to the ostentatious pietist (i. 208. 17 ff.). Maʿarrī seems to have learned at Baghdād, if not during his earlier travels, some peculiar doctrines and practices of Indian origin, connected more particularly with the Jains. He thinks it wrong to kill animals for food or to hurt them in any way, and therefore excludes from his diet not only meat, but also eggs, milk, and honey (i. 232. 9 ff., ii. 169. 9, 210. 13, 264. 13, 373. 9; cf. *JRAS*, 1902, p. 313 ff.). In his opinion there is greater virtue in letting go a captured flea than in giving alms to a beggar (i. 212. 9). He praises the Indian custom of burning the dead instead of burying them, and adduces practical arguments in favour of cremation (i. 235. 5 ff., 418. 20 f., ii. 407. 3). The religious enthusiasm of the Indian ascetics who throw themselves alive into the flames fills him with admiration (i. 260. 6 ff., ii. 253. 5 f.). Characteristically enough, he alleges as a reason for abstaining from wine the fact that the forbidden beverage is destructive to the intellect (ii. 312. 14, 361. 11).

(*d*) *Religion and ethics.*—Though Maʿarrī believed the whole conception of religion as a supernatural revelation to be false, he was nevertheless a firm monotheist (i. 47. 12, 279. 12, 281. 4 f.). Reason, he says, assures us of the existence of an eternal Creator (i. 249. 9), whom he seems to have identified with an omnipotent, all-encompassing Fate. Whether his idea of God is truly expressed by the orthodox phrases which he employs may be left an open question. At all events, his religious beliefs were based on intellectual conviction, not on traditional authority (i. 128. 8, 129. last line, 358. 15).

> 'Truth is not to be found in the Pentateuch: follow thy reason and do what it deems good' (i. 394. 8 f.).

Religion, as he defines it, is fear of God, renunciation of pleasures, and avoidance of sin (i. 315. 12, 361. 17, ii. 298. 12, 329. 12), but also embraces the obligation of dealing justly with every one (i. 103. 11). He asserts that all acts and forms of worship are useless without obedience to the unwritten moral law which is prescribed by reason and conscience. It is evident that he regarded this law as supreme and self-sufficing, for he never made the pilgrimage to Mecca nor did he take part in the public prayers (i. 100. 8). Virtue consists not in fasting and praying and wearing ascetic garb, but in abandoning wickedness and purging the breast of malice and envy (i. 285. 13 f.). That man is ignorant of true piety who, when he has an opportunity of satisfying his desires, does not abstain (ii. 159. 13 f.). A trivial wrong to one's neighbour will be more severely punished hereafter than neglect to fast or pray (ii. 294. 9). Maʿarrī had no sympathy with religious or sectarian prejudice.

> He observes that, 'when a religion is established, its adherents contemn and revile all other creeds' (ii. 405. last line), but his own opinion is that a Christian priest may do one more good than a Muslim preacher (ii. 93. 7). 'Were it not for the radical hatred implanted in human nature, churches and mosques would have risen side by side' (ii. 82. 5).

Worldly ambition causes theologians to write controversial books full of vain words and endless analogies (i. 249. 5 ff.).

> 'Ask pardon of God and pay no heed to what is said by Abu'l-Hudhail and Ibn Kallāb' (i. 131. 5).

While refusing to acknowledge any authority that is less than divine, the poet finds the source and sanction of his freedom in the reason with which God has endowed him.

> 'Serve God Himself, not His servants, for religion enslaves and reason emancipates' (i. 326. 13).

Though man is naturally evil, the mind can acquire virtue (i. 241. 4). Virtue must be sought and practised for its own sake without desire of praise from men or hope of reward from God : it is a consolation for the woes of this life (ii. 341. 15 f. ; cf. i. 142. 5, 312. 10, 333. 10, 437. 7). Humility should go hand in hand with charity.

> 'Do as you would be done by' (ii. 87. 7). 'Show kindness to the poor and never despise them for receiving your bounty' (i. 175. 11). 'Forget your good deeds' (i. 349. 15). 'Forgive your neighbours, but be merciless to yourself' (i. 360. 13).

Slaves ought to be treated kindly, also animals and birds (ii. 25. 16 f., 31. 4). If Ma'arrī says some hard things about women, he is far from being a misogynist, and he makes handsome amends when he declares that a good wife is man's first paradise (i. 356. 12). He regards polygamy as unjust to the wife and calamitous for the husband, but his views on the education of women must have seemed to his Muslim readers curiously old-fashioned (i. 62. 12 ff., 192. 2 ff., ii. 235. 1 ff.).

LITERATURE.—The most complete biography of Ma'arrī is contained in D. S. Margoliouth's ed. of the *Letters*, Oxford, 1898, Introd., and the best general survey of his religious and philosophical opinions in A. von Kremer, 'Ueber die philosophischen Gedichte des Abul-'Alâ Ma'arry,' *SWAW*, phil.-hist. Classe, cxvii. 6 [1889]. See also, in addition to the works cited in the art., C. Rieu, *De Abu-'l-Alæ Poetæ Arabici vita et carminibus*, Bonn, 1843 ; A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna, 1875–77, ii. 386–396, also in *ZDMG* xxix. [1875] 304–312, xxx. [1876] 40–52, xxxi. [1877] 471–483, xxxviii. [1884] 498–529 ; D. S. Margoliouth, 'Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī's Correspondence on Vegetarianism,' *JRAS*, 1902, pp. 289–332 ; R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, London, 1907, pp. 313–324 ; H. Baerlein, *The Diwan of Abu 'l-Alā*, do. 1908, *Abu 'l-Alā the Syrian*, do. 1914 ; C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litteratur*, Weimar and Berlin, 1898–1902, i. 254 f.

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MACEDONIANISM.—1. Introduction.—In the closing years of the 4th and the first half of the 5th cent. the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians were regarded as the most important heretical groups deriving their origin from the Arian controversies. Three laws of Theodosius, dating from A.D. 383 and 384 (*Cod. Theod.* XVI. v. 11–13), are in the main directed against them, and the latest of these speaks of the three heretical designations as 'inter sacræ religionis officia pro suis erroribus famosa nomina.' About three years afterwards Jerome (*in Eph.* ii. [on 4$^{5f.}$], ed. D. Vallarsi, Venice, 1766–72, vii. 1, p. 610 C=*PL* xxvi. 528) and, as far down as 450, Nestorius (*Liber Heraclidis*, tr. F. Nau, Paris, 1910, p. 148) link together the names of Arius, Macedonius, and Eunomius in a similar way. Didymus of Alexandria, in his *de Trinitate*—a work which is not distinctly named in Jerome's *Catalogue of Authors* (ch. 109), and which, therefore, cannot have been written long before A.D. 392, and may even be of later date—regards the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians, whom he sometimes conjoins (ii. 11 [*PG* xxxix. 661 B], ii. 12 [*ib.* 673 B and 688 B]), as the most outstanding adversaries of orthodoxy. Augustine (*c.* 402) brings them before us as the non-Catholics of the East (*de Unit. eccl.* I. iii. 6 [*PL* xliii. 395]) ; in 415 Jerome describes them in similar terms (*Ep.* cxxxiii., 'ad Ctesiphontem' 11 [Vall. i. 2, p. 1040 B=*PL* xxii. 1159]) ; and Socrates (*c.* 440) recognizes them as the heretical sects of his time (*HE* I. vi. 41, V. xx. 1). As regards the heresy *τῶν Εὐνομιανῶν, εἴτουν Ἀνομοίων, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν, εἴτουν Εὐδοξιανῶν* (Council of Constantinople in 381 ; J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum . . . collectio*, Venice, 1759–98, iii. 560), we are so well informed that in dealing with them we can start from their date of origin. In the case of the Macedonians, however, the position is less favourable. It will therefore be advisable, first of all, to determine the characteristic standpoint of the Macedonians who, towards the close of the 4th and in the first half of the 5th cent., formed a definite sect distinct from the orthodox Church.

2. Sources for the history of the Macedonians from c. 383 to 450.—As sources for our inquiry we have, besides the historians of the 5th cent., the following works : (*a*) the *de Trinitate* of Didymus mentioned above (*PG* xxxix. 269–992) ; (*b*) the third of the five pseudo-Athanasian dialogues, *de Trinitate* (*ib.* xxviii. 1201–1249 : *Διάλογος Γ′ περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος, ἐν ᾧ αἱρετικοῦ φρονοῦντος τὰ τοῦ Πνευματομάχου Μακεδονίου ἀντίθεσις πρὸς Ὀρθόδοξον*) ; (*c*) the two pseudo-Athanasian *Dialogi contra Macedonianos* (*PG* xxviii. 1291–1330, and 1330–1338) ; and (*d*) the fragmentarily preserved *Sermones Arianorum*, printed in Migne (*PL* xiii. 593–630) from A. Mai's *editio princeps* (*Veterum scriptorum nova collectio*, Rome, 1825–38, III. ii. 208 ff.). Of these four sources, the *Sermones Arianorum*, which seem to have been composed *c.* 400, or some years later, in the Latin-speaking portion of the Balkan Peninsula, are of little service for our purpose ; but what they say regarding the teaching of the Macedonians rests, to some extent at least, on what 'Soziphanes [of whom otherwise we know nothing], princeps eorum, scripsit' (613 C). As regards Didymus, *de Trinitate*, and the two sets of dialogues enumerated above, the present writer, in a recent paper ('Zwei macedonianische Dialoge,' in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xix. [1914] 526–551), seeks to show (1) that in Did. *de Trin.* we find no fewer than thirty-one fragments (printed and numbered *loc. cit.* pp. 526–534) of a learned dialogue of Macedonian origin, written between *c.* 381 and the date of Didymus's work ; (2) that this dialogue was known to and used by the author of the third of the five *Dialogi de Trinitate*, who wrote, as it would seem, in the period between the date of Did. *de Trin.* (*c.* 392) and the Nestorian controversy (*c.* 430), and that many sections of this third dialogue have probably been taken—verbatim, more or less—from the said Macedonian dialogue ; (3) that the first of the two *Dialogi contra Macedonianos* is of prior date to Did. *de Trin.*, and that its preliminary disquisitions (i.–viii. [pp. 1292–1301]) enable us to reconstruct a *second* dialogue of Macedonian origin, considerably shorter than that mentioned in (1) above, and written between A.D. 381 and *c.* 390 (printed as no. 32 in Loofs, 'Zwei maced. Dialoge,' p. 536 f.). With these data at our disposal we are in a position to sketch the teaching of the Macedonians to a great extent from their own writings, and, in order to bring out this point clearly, we shall in the following paragraphs, when quoting from the two Macedonian dialogues in question, give the number of the relevant fragment as found in the present writer's paper cited above.

3. Doctrine of the Macedonians in the same period.—The leading doctrine of the Macedonians is found in the thesis characterized by their opponents as 'Pneumatomachian,' viz. that the Holy Spirit is not to be designated Θεός (frag. 32, lines 1–8, *Dial. c. Maced.* i. 1 [p. 1292 A] ; frag. 29, Did. *de Trin.* III. xxxvi. [p. 965 B]). The development of this thesis on its negative side seems to have been conditioned among the Macedonians by the antithetic positions of the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed : the Macedonians disputed the *κυριολογεῖσθαι* of the Holy Spirit (frag. 32, ll. 8–12, *Dial. c. Maced.* i. 3 [p. 1293 B]), His *ζωοποιεῖν* (frag. 16, Did. *de Trin.* II. vii. 3 [p. 573 A]), and His *προσκυνητέον εἶναι* (frag. 32, ll. 13–33, *Dial. c. Maced.* i. 4 [p. 1293 C, D]; frag. 12, Did. *de Trin.* II. vi. 18 [p. 545 B, C]; frag. 22, *ib.* II. x. [p. 641 B]). Only *τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ τοῦ Πνεύματος συναριθμεῖται* [*sc.* *τῇ Τριάδι*] (frag. 32, ll. 33–35, *Dial. c. Maced.* i. 6 [p. 1297 C]). On the positive side it was urged that in 1 Ti 5^{21} St. Paul does not mention the Holy Spirit *ὡς συντάξας δῆθεν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις* (frag. 14, Did. *de Trin.* II. vi. 19 [p. 548 B, C]; cf. frag. 18, *ib.* II. vii. 8 [p. 581 D]: *κατάγεται . . . τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα εἰς ἀγγέλου φύσιν*); the angels, too, are *ἅγιοι καὶ πνεύματα τοῦ Θεοῦ* (frag. 4, *ib.* II. iv. [p. 481 B]). The Holy Spirit, however, was not regarded as merely one of the angels; He was described as *Θεοῦ μὲν ἥττων τῇ φύσει, ἀγγέλων δὲ κρείττων, μέσην τινὰ φύσιν καὶ τάξιν εἰληχός* (frag. 17, *ib.* II. vii. 3 [p. 576 B]). Nor is it only orthodox writers who on these grounds ascribe to the Macedonians the doctrine that the Holy Spirit is a created being, for we find it stated also in the *Sermones Arianorum* that 'Macedoniani Spiritum Sanctum iussu Patris per Filium creatum defendunt, et nuntium et ministrum Patris eum esse prædicant, sicut et nos' (*PL* xiii. 611 A). The Macedonians themselves sought rather to disguise their position here; for, although they were willing to admit that the Spirit was included among the *πάντα* of Jn 1^3: *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ* (*i.e.* *διὰ τοῦ Λόγου*) *ἐγένετο* (frag. 32, ll. 44–46, *Dial. c. Maced.* i. 8 [p. 1300 C]; frag. 27, Did. *de Trin.* III. xxxii. [p. 957 B]), they expressly denied that He should on that account be described as *τῶν κτισμάτων ἕν* (*loc. cit.*: *οὐ κοινοποιεῖται τοῖς πᾶσι μοναδικὸν ὂν τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα*; cf. frag. 20, Did. *de Trin.* II. viii. 1 [p. 617 C]: *οὔτε εἰς θεικὴν ἀξίαν ἀνάγουσι τὸ Πνεῦμα, οὔτε εἰς τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν φύσιν καθέλκουσιν*). Even so, however, they do not advance beyond the Arian doctrine of the Spirit, as the *Sermones Arianorum* likewise assert that 'Spiritus Sanctus . . . melior et maior ceteris omnibus in tertio loco . . . *singularis* atque solus in sua singularitate dinoscitur' (*PL* xiii. 601 A).

In their interpretation of the Scripture texts on which the orthodox writers based their doctrine of the Spirit, the Macedonians proceeded partly on grounds of purely grammatical exegesis—*e.g.*, frag. 32, l. 12, *Dial. c. Maced.* i. 3 (p. 1293 B): *περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου λέγει* [*sc.* Paul, in 2 Co 3^{17}] *ὅτι ὁ κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμα*; and partly on arguments of textual criticism—*e.g.*, that in Ro 8^{11} we should read *διὰ τὸ ἐνοικοῦν αὐτοῦ Πνεῦμα*, as the one or two MSS with *διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικοῦντος, κτλ.* in the hands of the orthodox had been tampered with (frag. 25, Did. *de Trin.* II. xi. [p. 664 C]; cf. *Dial. de Trin.* iii. 20 [p. 1233 B, C]), while in Ph 3^3 the correct reading was *πνεύματι Θεῷ* not *Θεοῦ* (frag. 25, Did. *loc. cit.* 664 B, etc.; cf. frag. 25, ll. 9–13, Did. *loc. cit.* and *Dial. de Trin.* iii. 26 [p. 1244 B, C]); partly, again, they applied the principle that *οὐ χρὴ ὁμωνυμίαις ἢ συνωνυμίαις ἢ ὁμοιολεξίαις προσέχειν* (frag. 3, Did. *de Trin.* II. iii. [p. 476 A]), or that *τὰ ἀλληγορικῶς ἢ προσηγορικῶς ἢ μεταφορικῶς ἢ ὁμωνύμως λεγόμενα οὐ χρὴ εἰς δόγματος ἀκρίβειαν παραλαμβάνειν* (frag. 23*a*, *ib.* II. x. [p. 645 A]). It seems clear that the last of these devices was largely adopted by the Macedonians (cf. the *ὁμωνύμως* also in frag. 9, Did. II. vi. 4 [p. 516 C], and frag. 19, l. 19, *ib.* II. viii. 1 [p. 605 B]). A view held by the learned, and supposed—wrongly, as the present writer thinks—to have the support of Augustine (*PL* xlii. 39), viz. that certain Macedonians regarded the Spirit as a *δύναμις ἀνυπόστατος* (cf. J. A. Mingarelli's note [83] on Did. *de Trin.* I. xviii. = *PG* xxxix. 357, n. 83), cannot be verified directly from Macedonian sources. It appears to lack probability, and seems to the present writer to have no better support than the casual and forced interpretations of orthodox controversialists (Did. *de Trin.* II. viii. 1 [p. 620 A]), or the misinterpretation of certain passages in which the Macedonians distinguished between the *Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον* and the spiritual power of God inseparable from God Himself (*Dial. de Trin.* iii. 23 [p. 1240 A]; *Dial. c. Maced.* i. 20 [p. 1328 B, C]; cf. Did. *de Spiritu Sancto*, xxiii. [*PG* xxxix. 1053 A]).

As regards the Christology of the Macedonians, we have, as far as the present writer knows, only a single statement emanating directly from the Macedonian side, and unfortunately it cannot be detached with certainty from its context. In the *Sermones Arianorum* we read as follows:

> 'Macedoniani post hæc omnia [there is, unhappily, a lacuna in what precedes] corrigunt se et dicunt: Filium similem per omnia et in omnibus Deo Patri esse dicimus; his autem qui dicunt esse differentiam inter lumen natum et inter lumen non natum, non communicamus, quia nullam differentiam esse inter deum natum et inter Deum non natum dicimus; *æquales honore, æquales virtute* Soziphanes, princeps eorum, scripsit' (*PL* xiii. 613 B, C).

Is it only the words here italicized that are ascribed to Soziphanes, or are we to regard the whole statement, *i.e.* also the affirmation of the doctrine *ὅμοιος κατὰ πάντα* (and therefore *κατὰ οὐσίαν*), as a formulation due to him or some other Macedonian? Be this as it may, the present writer has now—formerly he advocated a different view (cf. *PRE*^{3} xii. 47)—no doubt that the sect of the Macedonians (and it is of the sect only that we are meanwhile speaking) were Homoiousian, not Homoousian, in their mode of thought. This is, in fact, distinctly stated—even if we leave out of account the passage just quoted from the *Sermones Arianorum*—by Didymus (*de Trin.* I. xxxiv. [p. 437 A]: *ὁμοιούσιον . . . καὶ οὐχὶ ὁμοούσιον λέγοντες*), by the author of the *Dial. de Trin.* (iii. 1 [p. 1204 C]: *ἡμεῖς* [*οἱ Μακεδονιανοί*] *. . . ὁμοιούσιον λέγομεν καὶ οὐχ ὁμοούσιον*), and by the writer of the *Dial. c. Maced.* (ii. [p. 1336 B, C]); and there are good grounds (cf. Loofs, 'Zwei maced. Dialoge,' p. 549 f.) for supposing that the passage in *Dial. de Trin.* iii. 16 (*κἂν ἓν τούτων δείξῃς, γίνομαι ὁμοουσιαστής* [p. 1228 A]) is borrowed from the longer Macedonian dialogue. There is in addition the fact that the so-called Confession of Lucian (Athanasius, *de Synodis*, xxiii. [*PG* xxvi. 721 B]), which the Macedonians, to judge from their own utterances (cf. Loofs, 'Zwei maced. Dialoge,' p. 550 f.), would seem to have regarded as *their* confession, does not contain the Homoousia. The present writer has therefore no doubt that the Macedonians of the closing years of the 4th cent. and the first half of the 5th cent. were Homoiousians in their mode of thought. Statements to the contrary are found only among Western writers who did not know the facts (Augustine, *de Hæres.* lii.: 'de Patre et Filio recte sentiunt, quod unius sint eiusdemque substantiæ'; also Philastrius [see below]), or among Arians and Eunomians, who regarded the Homoiousia as no less objectionable than the Homoousia (*Sermones Arianorum* [*PL* xiii. 611 A]: 'de Patre et Filio convenit illis'; on Philostorgius cf. J. Bidez, in the pref. to his ed., Leipzig, 1913, p. cxxiv f.). Moreover, in circles where the Homoousian orthodoxy of the later Nicæans differentiated the *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις* in an almost polytheistic fashion (*Dial. de Trin.* iii. 6 [p. 1212 A] = *Dial. c. Maced.* i. 18 [p. 1320]), the distinction between the Homoiousian and the Homoousian way of thinking was so slight that even the author of the *Dial. c. Maced.*, who was acquainted with the Homoiousian teaching of the sect (ii. [pp. 1329 C, 1336 C]), could represent the Macedonian as saying to the orthodox: *περὶ μὲν τοῦ Υἱοῦ καλῶς λέγεις* (i. 20 [p. 1325 C]). As regards their Christology in the narrower sense, it need only be observed that, according to the *Dial. c. Maced.* (ii. [pp. 1329 C, 1333 C]), the Macedonians, like the Arians, denied that the Υἱὸς σαρκωθείς, or Υἱὸς ἐνηνθρωπηκώς, had a human soul.

4. The relation between these Macedonians and the Homoiousians of the 4th century.—What we know of the teachings of the Macedonians in the period between A.D. *c.* 381 and *c.* 430 (cf. § 3) would make it necessary to assume (even if we had no direct information on the point) that the sect was historically connected with the Homoiousian or semi-Arian party. In point of fact, however—even apart from Rufinus, Socrates, and Sozomen, whom meanwhile we leave out of account (cf. § 5, below)—that connexion can be traced in the older sources. Jerome, who, when referring (*c.* 380) in his *Chronicle* (*ad ann.* 342 [ed. R. Helm, Leipzig, 1913, p. 235 h]) to the installation of Macedonius as bishop of Constantinople, does not fail to add, 'a quo nunc hæresis Macedoniana,' regards the Homoiousian doctrine alone as the 'Macedonianum dogma' (*ad ann.* 364 [*ib.* p. 243 d]); and in the famous twenty-four anathemas of Damasus (A.D. 380 [?]), given by Theodoret (*HE* v. 11 [ed. L. Parmentier, Leipzig, 1911, p. 298; in Latin, *PL* xiii. 359 A; cf. Parmentier, p. lxxxii]), all that is said of the Μακεδονιανοί is:

> οἵτινες ἐκ τῆς Ἀρείου ῥίζης καταγόμενοι οὐχὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἀλλὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐνήλλαξαν.

Further, Auxentius of Dorostorum writes (*c.* A.D. 383) of Ulfilas as follows:

> 'Omoeusion autem dissipabat, quia . . . Filium similem esse Patri suo non secundum Macedonianam fraudulentam pravitatem dicebat' (ed. F. Kauffmann, *Aus der Schule des Wulfila* (=*Texte und Untersuchungen zur altgerman. Religionsgesch.*, I., Strassburg, 1899, p. 74; cf. p. 17).

By *c.* 380, however, the 'Macedonianum dogma' embraced also the Pneumatomachian thesis. The Ἡμιαριανοί, ἤγουν Πνευματομάχοι, who were condemned by the Synod of Constantinople (381, can. 1; Mansi, iii. 559), were, like the Pneumatomachian Semiariani of Philastrius (*Hær.* lxvii.; *Corpus hæres.*, ed. F. Oehler, Berlin, 1856, i. 66), indubitably, in part at least, the same as the Macedonians of Jerome. Nicetas likewise, hardly before 381, speaks distinctly of the 'Macedoniani vel eorum in hac curiositate participes' as those 'qui quæstionem de Spiritu induxerunt' (*de Spir.* v. 2 (*PL* lii. 853 B]). As the anathemas of Damasus in their opening words impugn Pneumatomachian ideas—though without applying any heretical designation—we may probably infer that Damasus was acquainted with the doctrine of the Spirit held by the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians. nd the reason that Auxentius does not mention the Macedonian doctrine of the Spirit is that, like Ulfilas, he had nothing to criticize in the so-called Pneumatomachian ideas.[1] For, like Origen, all the theologians who in the Arian controversy rejected the Homoousia of the Son affirmed by the Nicene Creed—Eusebians, Arians, Homoiousians, and Eunomians—regarded the Spirit as a κτίσμα subordinate to the Son. Even the Nicene Creed itself did not proscribe that view; all that it says regarding the Spirit is: καὶ [πιστεύομεν] εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Moreover, its partisans were at first concerned to assail only the Logos-doctrine of their opponents. At the earliest it was in the *Epistles to Serapion* (*PG* xxvi. 529–676), written by Athanasius during his exile from 9th Feb. 356 to 21st Feb. 362, that that theologian contended also for the Homoousia of the Spirit. The opponents of whom Serapion had informed him, and against whom these Epistles were directed—ἐξελθόντες ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν διὰ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ βλασφημίαν, φρονοῦντες δὲ κατὰ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος καὶ λέγοντες αὐτὸ μὴ μόνον κτίσμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λειτουργικῶν πνευμάτων ἓν αὐτὸ εἶναι (*Ep.* i. 1 [p. 529 f.])—were obviously the precursors of the Macedonians of the 5th century. This is shown by the demonstrable similarity between the *Dialogues* of Didymus and the *Epistles to Serapion* in many of their ideas, although the former is, no doubt, dependent upon the latter (cf., *e.g.*, *ad Serap.* i. 10 [pp. 556 C and 557 A] with Did. *de Trin.* II. vi. 19 [p. 548 B, C]). Not only do the opponents of Athanasius as well as those of Didymus make use of 1 Ti 5^{21} as a 'dictum probans' (*Ep. ad Serap.* i. 10; Did. *loc. cit.*; cf. also Basilius, *de Spir. Sancto*, xiii. 29 [*PG* xxxii. 117 C])—here Didymus may well have borrowed from Athanasius—but we find also that Am 4^{13} (κτίζων τὸ πνεῦμα) and Zec 4^{5} (ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί) are appealed to by the opponents of Athanasius (*Ep.* i. 9 [p. 552 B, C], i. 11 [p. 557 B]) as well as by the Macedonians of the 5th cent. (*Dial. de Trin.* iii. 26 [p. 1244 B, C] and 23 [p. 1237 C]). Above all, we have the fact that the mockery poured by Athanasius upon the τρόποι recognized by his adversaries (*Ep.* i. 7 [p. 548 B])—whom he stigmatizes as τροπικοί (*ib.* 21 [p. 580 D], 32 [p. 605 A])—recalls that Macedonian practice of resorting to ὁμωνυμίαις, συνωνυμίαις, etc., to which Didymus draws attention.

It is surprising, however, that Athanasius here makes no mention of Macedonius; as a matter of fact, he names no exponent of the doctrine which he criticizes.[1] Nor even later, when, as a result of the attitude assumed by Athanasius, of the anathema uttered by the Alexandrian Synod of A.D. 362 against all who regarded the Holy Spirit as a κτίσμα (Athan. *ad Ant.* iii. [*PG* xxvi. 800 A]), and of the acceptance of that doctrine by Meletius of Antioch at an Antiochian Synod of A.D. 363 (Mansi, iii. 366 f.), many had become interested in the Pneumatomachian question, do we hear anything, to begin with, about Macedonius himself. Neither Basil of Cæsarea, who in 372 went definitely over to the anti-Pneumatomachian side, and for that as for other reasons quarrelled with his friend Eustathius of Sebaste in the following year, and who composed his *de Spiritu Sancto* (*PG* xxxii. 67–218) in 375, nor Epiphanius, who, writing in 376, inserts the Πνευματομάχοι in his catalogue of heretics (*Hær.* lxxiv.), mentions Macedonius by name. Epiphanius, without giving any name at all, is content to characterize the Pneumatomachians as ἀπὸ τῶν Ἡμιαρείων καὶ Ὀρθοδόξων τινές; Basil, in his *de Spiritu Sancto*, likewise gives no name; but two years later (377) he states that Eustathius is the πρωτοστάτης τῆς τῶν Πνευματομάχων αἱρέσεως (*Ep.* cclxiii. 3 [p. 980 B]; on the attitude of Eustathius towards the doctrine of the Spirit as a created being cf. Soc. *HE* II. xlv. 6). In view of these facts, we must ask what was the connexion between the Macedonians and their nominal head.

5. Macedonius and the Macedonians.—This question leads us to a consideration of the life of Macedonius. It will not be necessary to discuss here the difficulties regarding the date and circumstances of his elevation to the episcopal throne of Constantinople (on these matters the present writer may perhaps refer to his art. 'Macedonius,' in *PRE*^{3}, and to E. Schwartz, 'Zur Geschichte des Athanasius,' ix., in *GGN*, hist.-phil. Klasse, 1911, p. 476 ff.).[2] Here we need merely state that Macedonius, who, according to Socrates (II. vi.), had as an aged deacon (*τῇ ἡλικίᾳ γέρων*) contested the see of Constantinople with Paul upon the death of Alexander (installed, in all likelihood, while Constantine was still reigning), found himself in secure possession of the see after what the present writer (*SK*, 1909, p. 294) regards as the final deposition of Paul in 342. He had been raised to the dignity by the anti-Nicene party, and, as regards his theological position, must have belonged to it, although, as the presbyter of Paul, he must have been in ecclesiastical communion with the latter (Athan. *Hist. Ar.* vii. [*PG* xxv. 701 A]). This does not necessarily imply that he had been an 'Arian'; for the later Homoiousians also belonged, till A.D. 358, to the 'Eusebian' group of the opposition, and even at the event which ushers in the rise of the Homoiousians, Macedonius, as documentary evidence shows, is found in that group: the Epistle of George of Laodicea, written in 358, and preserved by Sozomen (IV. xiii. 2 f.), names him first among the persons addressed. Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxxiii. 23 and 27 [ed. D. Petavius, Paris, 1622, 870 D and 875 C=*PG* xlii. 445 A, 456 B]) recognizes him as one of the Homoiousian party which was (from 358) opposed to the Acacians, the later Homoians, just as his presbyter, Marathonius, subsequently[1] bishop of Nicomedia, and Eleusius, whom he made bishop of Cyzicus (Soc. II. xxxviii. 4; Soz. IV. xx. 2), were partisans of Basil of Ancyra and Eustathius of Sebaste.[2] At the Synod of Seleucia (359) he was associated with Eleusius and the other Homoiousians in supporting Basil against the Acacians (Soz. IV. xxii. 7 ff.), and, like Basil, Eleusius, Eustathius, and other Homoiousians—as, indeed, the most prominent of them all—he was deposed by the Acacians at the end of the year 359 or in January 360 (Jer. *Chron. ad ann.* 359 [ed. Helm, p. 241 h]; Philostorg. v. 1 [ed. Bidez, p. 66; cf. p. 224]; Soc. II. xlii. 3; Soz. IV. xxiv. 3). He then retired, according to Sozomen (IV. xxvi. 1), to a place in the vicinity of Constantinople, and died there. He cannot have very long survived his deposition, as he does not appear in the important movements of his party after 364. In the interval between his deposition and his death, according to Socrates (II. xlv. 1–3) and Sozomen (IV. xxvii. 1, 2),[3] he founded a new party. Socrates states that (by letter? [see below]) he called upon his associates Sophronius (of Pompeiopolis) and Eleusius (of Cyzicus) to adhere for the future to the Antiochian formula recognized at Seleucia, *i.e.* the Confession of Lucian (cf. C. P. Caspari, *Alte und neue Quellen*, Christiania, 1879, p. 42 f.). Sozomen (IV. xxvii. 1) is more explicit:

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[1] The words 'contra Pneumatomachos' in Auxentius, lxi. (ed. Kauffmann, p. 75), rest upon a false reading and a false conjecture; cf. K. Müller, *Ulfilas Ende*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 88 ff.

[1] The bishops Acacius of Cæsarea and Patrophilus of Scythopolis, to whom he alludes in *Ep. ad Serap.* iv. 7 [p. 648 B], were Arian Homoians.

[2] Although V. Schultze (*Altchristl. Städte und Landschaften: I. Konstantinopel*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 45, note) regards the present writer's labours on this subject as inferior to what was done nearly twenty years earlier by Franz Fischer ('De patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum catalogis et de chronologia octo primorum patriarcharum,' in *Commentationes philologicæ Jenenses*, iii. [1884] 263–333), yet the present writer cannot withdraw his objection in principle to what he regards as an unscientific mode of using Socrates and Sozomen (*PRE*^{3} xii. 43; cf. xviii. 486), and to Schultze's and Fischer's over-exaltation of their merits.

> *εἰσηγεῖτο δὲ τὸν Υἱὸν Θεὸν εἶναι, κατὰ πάντα τε καὶ κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιον τῷ Πατρί· τὸ δὲ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἄμοιρον τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβείων ἀπεφαίνετο, διάκονον καὶ ὑπηρέτην καλῶν καὶ ὅσα περὶ τῶν θείων ἀγγέλων λέγων τις, οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι.*

Rufinus (*HE* i. 25 [ed. T. Mommsen, Leipzig, 1908, p. 990]) somewhat earlier makes a similar statement. The tradition is nevertheless untenable. It refers in reality to the earliest public appearance of the Homoiousians, not of the Macedonians, and it displays even less knowledge of the actual beginnings of the Homoiousian party some two years previously than does Philostorgius (iv. 9 [p. 62]). Then, in the further course of the narratives of Socrates and Sozomen, the term 'Macedonians' becomes, in conformity with that report, the regular designation of the Homoiousians generally. Thus the 'Macedonians,' in the reign of Valens, draw closer to the orthodox party; they accept the *ὁμοούσιον*; they come to an understanding with Pope Liberius, and, especially in Constantinople, live in religious communion with the orthodox (cf. esp. Soz. VII. ii. 2), until at length (cf. *ib.* 3), after the death of Valens, they once more stand forth as a party by themselves. But, had the Homoiousians been in reality universally designated Macedonians, as Socrates and Sozomen assume, we should certainly have found some evidence of the fact in Athanasius and the Cappadocians. One is prompted to ask, nevertheless, whether the statement of Sozomen (V. xiv. 1), viz. that during Julian's reign *οἱ ἀμφὶ Μακεδόνιον, ὧν ἦν Ἐλεύσιος καὶ Εὐστάθιος καὶ Σωφρόνιος, ἤδη εἰς τὸ προφανὲς Μακεδονιανοὶ καλεῖσθαι ἀρξάμενοι*, can possibly be based upon mere error. We are compelled to assume that, just as in Antioch, after the installation of Euzoius, the loyal adherents of Meletius came to be called 'Meletians,' so in Constantinople the followers of the deposed Macedonius who did not attach themselves to the church of Eudoxius, his successor (Soz. IV. xxvii. 7, VIII. i. 7), were presently designated 'Macedonians.' The connexion between Macedonius and the later 'Macedonians' would thus simply be that the latter gained accessions from the Homoiousian circles of which the adherents of Macedonius, as dwellers in the metropolis, formed the best-known group in the Balkan Peninsula. This solution of the historical problem—a solution which surrenders the literal significance of the name 'Macedonians'—is certainly a possible one. For it was in the neighbourhood of Constantinople—on the Hellespont, in Bithynia, and in Thrace—that the 'Macedonians' were most numerous (Soz. IV. xxvii. 2; Soc. II. xlv. 8, IV. iv. 5); and it is from Constantinople and its neighbourhood that, with a single exception (Damasus), our oldest authorities for the use of the name (Jerome, Auxentius, Nicetas) are derived, while both Socrates (cf. V. xxiv. 9) and Sozomen (cf. II. iii. 10) wrote largely under the influence of the same local tradition. In view of the active intercourse between Rome and Constantinople, the single exception of Damasus does not mean much. Rufinus, again, may have gained his information from Jerome through literary channels (cf. Jer. *Chron. ad ann.* 364 [ed. Helm, p. 243 d] with Ruf. *HE* i. 25 [p. 990]) as well as by personal contact; and Didymus had relations with both. Moreover, the random use of the name 'Macedonians' is confirmed by the fact that, according to Socrates (II. xlv. 4) and Sozomen (IV. xxvii. 5), the Macedonians were also called 'Marathonians'; and Sozomen (*loc. cit.*) even expresses the opinion that, in view of the personal and material support for which the party were indebted to Marathonius, the name was not inappropriate.

Still, it is quite intelligible that K. Holl (*ZKG* xxv. 388 f.), especially in view of the witness of Didymus, should put forward the question whether the connexion between Macedonius and the Macedonians was not, after all, of a more substantial character. The present writer is, however, of opinion that the information possessed by Didymus is less than Holl makes out. Didymus seems, *e.g.*, to have regarded Marathonius as the successor of Macedonius (*de Trin.* II. x. [p. 633 A]: *Ἀρειανῶν τῶν χειροτονησάντων τὸν αἱρεσιάρχην ὑμῶν Μακεδόνιον καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Μαραθώνιον*); and if, as the present writer thinks possible (cf. 'Zwei maced. Dialoge,' p. 544), the person addressed in *de Trin.* II. viii. 1 (p. 613 C) is not the author of the Macedonian dialogue, but, by a figure of rhetoric (cf. frag. 17, Did. *de Trin.* II. vii. 3 [p. 576 A]), Macedonius himself, then the information given in *de Trin.* II. viii. 1, viz. that Macedonius was made bishop by the

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[1] Cf. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, Venice ed., vi. 397, 770.

[2] On Eleusius, cf. Epiph. *loc. cit.*; on both, Philostorgius, viii. 17 (ed. Bidez, p. 115).

[3] It may be remarked that these two Church historians differ noticeably in their judgment of Macedonius; for, while Socrates simply disparages him, Sozomen betrays a certain admiration of the monastic ideals which he shared with Marathonius (cf. Soz. IV. xxvii 3 ff.).

Arians, but was previously a deacon of the orthodox Church, supplements that given in II. x. only by the latter—and, indeed, correct (cf. Soc. II. vi. 3)—statement. Nor is it inconceivable that Didymus obtained the name 'Macedonians' and his information regarding Macedonius from the Macedonian dialogue used by him. Yet the correspondence between what that dialogue tells us regarding the Macedonian teaching and what Athanasius must have known when he wrote his *Epistles to Serapion* is striking. Can it have been the case that the above-mentioned summons of Macedonius to Eleusius and Sophronius, referred to by Socrates (II. xlv. 2), was contained in a letter, and that this letter had come into Serapion's hands? This would explain how the Alexandrians had obtained information regarding the Macedonians at a relatively early stage; it would explain the information possessed by Didymus regarding the *αἱρεσιάρχης Μακεδόνιος*, and also the account given by Socrates (and Sozomen) of the origin of the Homoiousian party. The hypothesis is not impossible; for the first letter of Athanasius to Serapion may quite well have been written as late as A.D. 361. The point, however, cannot be decided in the present state of our knowledge.

6. The persistence or recrudescence of Homoiousianism among the Macedonians.—There is still another question to be considered. Athanasius was aware that those who were known to Serapion as opposed to the Deity of the Holy Spirit felt themselves repelled by the Arian 'blasphemy' against the Son (*Ep. ad Serap.* i. 1 [p. 529 f.]), and that they were detested by the Arians (*ib.* i. 32 [p. 605 B]; this fits in remarkably well with the situation from the beginning of A.D. 360). Somewhat later the Homoiousians ('Macedonians'), as a result of negotiations with Liberius at a synod held at Tyana in 367, passed completely over to the side of the Nicene Creed (Basil, *Ep.* ccxliv. 5 [*PG* xxxii. 917 D]; Soz. VI. xii. 2 f.; cf. Sabinus, *ap.* Soc. IV. xii. 11). Thereafter, as we read (Soc. V. iv. 1; Soz. VII. ii. 2), the 'Macedonians,' who at that time had neither a church nor a bishop in Constantinople (Soz. IV. xxvii. 6, VIII. i. 7), maintained ecclesiastical communion with the Homoousians. Thus the question arises how it came about that the later Macedonian doctrine was Homoiousian. Basil (*Ep.* ccxliv. 9 [*PG* xxxii. 924 B]) tells us that, at a synod held at Cyzicus in A.D. 376—otherwise unknown to us (Loofs, *Eustathius*, p. 17 f.)—Eustathius of Sebaste, the *πρωτοστάτης τῆς τῶν Πνευματομάχων αἱρέσεως* (cf. § 4), subscribed a formula which, together with Pneumatomachian clauses, contained statements pointing away from the Nicene Creed to the Homoiousion (*τὸ ὁμοούσιον κατασιγάσαντες τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ὅμοιον νῦν ἐπιφέρουσι*), and that from 375 he had drawn closer, ecclesiastically, to the Homoiousian court-bishops (Basil, *Ep.* ccxliv. 7 [p. 921 A, B]; cf. 5 [p. 920 A], ccli. 3 [p. 936 B]; cf. Loofs, *Eustathius*, p. 76 ff.); Basil is of opinion that the fundamental Arian tendency of Eustathius had once more manifested itself (*Ep.* cxxx. 1 [p. 564 A]). Was this reversion of Eustathius to the Homoiousion—an act that (as he merely suppresses, without overtly rejecting, the Homoousion) did not as such altogether exclude recognition of the Nicene Creed[1]—a decisive factor in the later position of the Macedonians? Our sources do not enable us to answer the question. But to the present writer it seems beyond doubt that what is here said of Eustathius lends support to an account of similar purport given by Sozomen (VII. ii. 3), and less fully by Socrates (V. iv. 2 f.), regarding a synod held at Antioch in Caria (378). These historians record that, when, after the death of Valens (9th Aug. 378), the Emperor Gratian enacted a law (not now extant) conferring freedom of worship upon all religious parties except the Manichæans, the Photinians, and the Eunomians (Soc. V. ii. 1; Soz. VII. i. 3), the Macedonians seceded again from the Homoousians, with whom they had hitherto been in communion, abandoning the Nicene Creed, and asserting their preference for the *ὁμοιούσιος* as against the *ὁμοούσιος*. From that time a section of the Macedonians (Homoiousians) had continued to exist as a distinct party (*ἰδίᾳ ἐκκλησίαζον*), while another, breaking away from the latter, had united themselves all the more closely to the Homoousians. These statements are not altogether free from difficulties. The present writer would not lay stress upon the fact that the notice in Soz. IV. xxvii. 6 (cf. the words *οὐ γὰρ συνεχώρουν, κτλ.*), which obviously refers to this re-appearance of the Macedonians, points to the reign of Arcadius,[1] as the notice in question is manifestly erroneous. Here, indeed, Sozomen seems to have wrongly interpreted the statement of his authority (Sabinus), which he renders verbatim in VIII. i. 7.[2] May it not be the case, however, that in Soz. VI. xii. 4 we have a doublet of VII. ii. 3, clearly derived from Sabinus, and providing fresh difficulties? In VI. xii. 4 likewise we read of a synod in the Carian Antioch, where, in opposition to the Homoousion, the Confession of Lucian was made the standard; this synod, however, was held subsequently to the synod of Tyana (367), and in opposition to those members of the Homoiousian party who had gone over to the Homoousion. The present writer must admit that he finds this 'doublet'—if it is a doublet—a disturbing element. Still, it is possible that, as H. Valesius (*Adnot.* to Soz. VI. xii. 4) assumes, there were two Homoiousian synods at Antioch in Caria (A.D. 368 and 378); and, in fact, if the bishop of that city was an intransigent Homoiousian, there is much to be said for the theory. If we accept it, we must regard it as probable that the second of these synods likewise gave its adherence to the Confession of Lucian, which, as we have seen, was so highly esteemed by the Macedonians. It is in the period succeeding that date that we find the later Macedonians. For Macedonianism was simply the Homoiousianism which, on account of the doctrine of the Spirit, broke away from the Homoiousians adhering to the Nicene Creed. The fact that Epiphanius had also heard of certain Pneumatomachians who were orthodox as regards their Christology (see above) proves nothing to the contrary, since that author wrote at a time prior to the synod of Antioch; nor is our statement refuted by the fact that Gregory of Nazianzus, in a Whitsuntide sermon of the year 381, addressed the Pneumatomachians as *περὶ τὸν Υἱὸν ὑγιαίνοντες* (*Or.* xli. 8 [*PG* xxxvi. 440 B]). Gregory had as valid grounds for this friendly judgment as had the Orthodox when, shortly afterwards, at the synod of 381, they reminded the thirty-six Pneumatomachians who attended under the leadership of Eleusius of their negotiations with Liberius (Soc. V. viii. 7; Soz. VII. vii. 4).

The breach which had been started by the rupture between Eustathius and Basil, and by the synods of Cyzicus and Antioch in Caria, was rendered absolute by the Council of 381. The Pneumatomachians withdrew from the Council, and were condemned by it (cf. § 4). The amicable overtures made at the instance of Theodosius I. to the Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians at

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[1] Cf. Loofs, *Eustathius*, p. 78, with note 2, where, however, the defection of Eustathius from the Nicene Creed is not sufficiently recognized.

[1] J. Bidez has kindly informed the author of this art. that all the MSS read Ἀρκαδίου.

[2] *μέχρι τῆς ἐχομένης βασιλείας.* If the source here is referring mainly to the time of Valens, this would point to Gratian's reign.

Constantinople in 383—Eleusius being once more the representative of the last-named group (Soc. V. x. 24; Soz. VII. xii. 9)—were unsuccessful in winning the sect back to the Church. The Macedonians, undisturbed by the laws against heretics passed in 383 and 384 (cf. Soc. V. xx. 4; see above, § I), still remained a distinct group apart from the Church, but how far beyond A.D. 450 they maintained their position the present writer cannot say.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the Histories of Dogma and the more general works dealing with the Arian controversy, the following may be consulted with advantage: L. S. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique*, ed. Venice, 1732–39; G. H. Goetze, 'Dissertatio historica de Macedonianis,' in J. Vogt, *Bibliotheca historiæ hæresiologicæ*, i. 1, Hamburg, 1723, pp. 165–199; *Damasi papæ opera*, ed. A. M. Merenda, Rome, 1754 (*PL* xiii. 109–442); F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste*, Halle, 1898; J. Gummerus, *Die homöusianische Partei bis zum Tode des Konstantius*, Leipzig, 1900; T. Schermann, *Die Gottheit des heil. Geistes nach den griechischen Vätern des vierten Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg i. B., 1901; F. Loofs, art. 'Macedonius,' in PRE^3 xii. 41–48; K. Holl, in *ZKG* xxv. [1904] 388 f.; V. Schultze, *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften: I. Konstantinopel (324–450)*, Leipzig, 1913; F. Loofs, 'Zwei macedonianische Dialoge,' *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, xix. [1914] 526–551.

F. LOOFS.

MADAGASCAR.—The religion of the Malagasy is extremely simple. They believe in one god, whom they call Zanahary, 'creator of all things'; but this god, being essentially good and, consequently, incapable of doing evil, is more or less neglected. His attributes are vague, and there is, properly speaking, no cult connected with him. Indeed, with the exception of sorcerers, there are in Madagascar no individuals or classes of individuals connected officially with any religion or cult.

1. Ancestor-worship.—The shades of ancestors, however—for all the Malagasy believe in a future life—are the objects of profound veneration, and inspire their worshippers with extraordinary awe. They are credited with all power of good and evil over the living, whom they visit from time to time. A dead husband, *e.g.*, will sometimes pay a visit to his widow, and in this case the birth of posthumous children is considered perfectly legitimate. Offerings are made to ancestors, generally of a small piece of ox-flesh and a few drops of rum, which are taken to the grave of the ancestor whose favours are sought.

2. Sorcery and fetishism.—The Malagasy do not believe in death from natural causes, except in the very rare case of extreme old age. Their idea is that death is always the effect of witchcraft or evil spells cast by sorcerers, and they are, therefore, careful to collect all hair-cuttings, nail-parings, etc., in case a sorcerer should find them and use them to work evil on their owner. The Sakalava kings were always accompanied by a servant whose sole charge was to gather up the earth upon which they had spat.

Diviners or sorcerers play a very important part in the life of the Malagasy. The natives believe that they are in communication with the spirits of the dead and can cure disease, foretell the future, discern whether the outcome of any enterprise will be favourable and what is the most suitable moment for undertaking it, indicate lucky and unlucky days, and warn against what is forbidden (*fady*). The Malagasy never embark upon any important undertaking without first consulting the sorcerer, who makes use of *sikidy*—a ceremony in which a handful of seed is spread out on a cloth, according to well-defined rules, so as to form sixteen figures, which are then interpreted with the aid of a code. The *sikidy*, which was introduced, or at least very frequently employed, by the Antimorona, has been in general use throughout the island for a long time.

The sorcerers, who are called *mpanazary*, *ombiasa*, *masina*, etc., according to the different provinces, have as one of their occupations—and that not the least lucrative—the manufacture of amulets or talismans (*ody*), which generally consist of small pieces of carved wood, bulls' horns ornamented with glass beads, or crocodiles' teeth. The horns and teeth are usually filled with earth or sand and various small objects such as gilt nails, iron-filings, and so on. After invoking the god and sprinkling the talisman with grease, the sorcerer, for a consideration, hands it over to the purchaser, who then hangs it round his neck. The result is supposed to be that the wearer is successful in all his undertakings, fortunate in love, immune from gun-shots or crocodile bites, and so on. The natives have the most implicit faith in these *ody*.

The Merina introduced the worship of national fetishes, which were very similar to the foregoing. These fetishes were regarded as royal personages, and had a special residence with officiating servants. The oldest and most famous of them was Kelimalaza.

3. Fady.—In almost every case there is some *fady* connected with these amulets and fetishes—*i.e.*, it is forbidden to do certain things and to eat certain foods. If this prohibition is not rigidly respected, the *ody* loses all its virtue and is useless. The *fady*, which occurs throughout the whole of Madagascar, is extremely curious, and recalls the tabu of the Oceanians. There are some places which are regarded as *fady* for every one, while others are *fady* only for certain families or even for certain individuals. There are *fady* days, when no one should begin anything new or start on a journey. If a child is born on one of these unlucky days, it is killed—or, rather, it was until quite recently, especially in the southern parts of the island—because it is supposed to bring evil upon its family. There are also *fady* words, *i.e.* words which must not be pronounced; naturally, these are fast disappearing from the language. As an example of this we have the words which went to make up the names of the Sakalava kings, the use of which was prohibited after their death. These *fady* are really of a religious nature; their aim is to appease the wrath of spirits and otherwise gain their favour.

4. Human sacrifice.—Human sacrifice has now been abolished in Madagascar, but it is not very long since it was the custom, when a Sakalava king was shaving for the first time, to dip the razor for this important operation in the blood of some famous old chief killed for the occasion. This ceremony was still in vogue when the king of Ménabé, Toera, who met his death in the attack on the village of Ambiky by the French troops in 1897, reached the age of manhood. Not many years ago, in accordance with an ancient custom practised in S. and W. Madagascar, the favourite wife of a great Mahafaly chief was killed on his grave, that he might not be alone in the other world; four of his servants were also put to death and their bodies laid under those of the chief and his wife, so that they might not touch the ground.

5. Crimes and punishments.—The Malagasy have no moral code. Their religion seems to authorize anything and everything, and the only recognized sin is failure to observe the external formalities of worship; such a sin of omission may be absolved by the penitent's making a small offering to the god.

Before the conquest of Madagascar by the French, justice was of an extremely summary nature (except in the case of the Merina, who had a code of laws modelled on European codes), based simply upon traditional use and wont.

Justice was meted out by the king or the village chief, and in certain tribes—*e.g.*, the Betsileo—by an assembly of the leading men of the tribe. The *lex talionis* was in universal use. The principal crimes were cow-stealing, failure to pay debts, and—the greatest crime of all—sorcery, which was always punished by death.

6. Ordeals and oaths.—In cases of doubt, recourse was had to trial by ordeal. The poison test, or *tanghin*, which has made so many victims among the Hova, is one of the best-known methods, and another test consisted in making the accused cross a river infested with crocodiles, or an arm of the sea where sharks abounded, these animals being supposed to eat the guilty and to do no harm to the innocent.

Another interesting practice is the 'water-oath.'

Into a bowl half full of water are put a bullet, some powder, earth from a sacred spot—*e.g.*, the tombs of the old kings of Imerina—and especially a bit of gold. The accused, or the two litigants in a law-suit, drink this water, vowing their good faith during the process; and all the ills that flesh is heir to are supposed to fall on those who swear falsely.

There is another ceremony similar to this—the 'blood-oath,' or *fatidra*—by which two persons promise each other mutual aid and protection throughout their lives, and enter into a voluntary relationship more intimate and binding than real blood-relationship.

To the contents of the bowl described above are added a few drops of each individual's blood, drawn from a slight cut made on his breast. While each holds in his hand the shaft of his spear or the ramrod of his gun, with the points dipped in the bowl, an orator announces the news of this fraternal union to their ancestors in an eloquent speech, and calls upon God to inflict the most severe punishment if either of them fails to keep his oath (cf., further, art. BROTHERHOOD [Artificial], § 13).

7. Exorcism.—The Malagasy have a peculiar ceremony which shows their belief in demoniacal possession and exorcism. Its aim is to cure certain maladies, and also to render thanks to God for the cure effected. This is practised chiefly in the west and south of the island, and is termed *bilo*[1] or *salamanga.* Those who are submitted to treatment of this kind are supposed to be possessed of a devil, which must be expelled.

The patient is led out of the village to a large open space where a platform 10 or 12 ft. high, with a primitive ladder leading up to it, is erected for the occasion. At the foot of this platform all the inhabitants of the neighbourhood are grouped on one side, and the cattle belonging to the invalid or his family on the other. When he arrives, dancing and singing begin, and there are great libations of *toaka* (rum), large quantities of which must be consumed by the patient. The unfortunate man is then led into the middle of the cattle, where he has to point out with a stick two oxen, one of which acts as a kind of scape-animal and is sacred to the man's parents, who treat it with every kindness, while the other is immediately sacrificed and eaten by the spectators. The patient, drunk with alcohol, noise, and the heat of the sun, has then to climb up to the platform—an operation not altogether free from risk. If he reaches the top without much help, God is supposed to be favourable to him and he will get better; if not, his case is hopeless. Once he is safely established on the mat covering the top of the platform, a woman, who has had to remain in a state of absolute chastity for twenty-four hours previously, gives him food which she has cooked specially for him, particularly newly-killed ox-flesh. If he eats it, or even pretends to do so, that is a sure sign of his speedy recovery to health and long life. The tumult of singing and shouting then begins again with redoubled energy. The sick man is left lying there, several feet above the ground, sometimes for a very long time, while those who have assisted at the ceremony intoxicate themselves with rum and gorge themselves with meat. He is then carried back with great pomp to his dwelling, where, nine times out of ten, he succumbs to the effects of his treatment.

8. Death and disposal of the dead.—Among the most characteristic customs of the Malagasy are those connected with burial of the dead. The funeral rites are not the same throughout the whole island; some peoples hide their cemeteries in the heart of the forest, among hills and rocks, in desert places, or anywhere far from the sight and sound of man; others, again, bury their dead by the side of the high road or right in the midst of human dwellings. The former, who are terrified at death and everything connected with it, are mainly found among the coast tribes, except in the south-east, where the people are of Arab origin. The latter, who like to live within sight of their last resting-place, belong to the centre of the island, and consist chiefly of the Merina, Betsileo, and other tribes civilized by the Malays.

The eastern tribes put the dead body in the hollowed-out trunk of a tree, closed with a badly-fitting lid in the form of a roof, and this improvised coffin they lay either on the ground or on a small platform in the middle of a palisade roofed over with branches and leaves.

The Antankarana make their cemeteries in the natural grottoes or rock-caves found in the numerous small islands along the coast or in the limestone mountains of the north, and here again the coffins, with beautifully carved lids, are simply laid on the ground. Some Betsileo and Bara families follow the same custom, and bury their dead in the hollows and caves which abound on the higher reaches of their mountains.

The other natives of the island bury their dead beneath the ground. The western and southern tribes—the Sakalava, the Mahafaly, the Antandroy, and most of the Bara—cover their graves with a heap of loose stones in the form of a long parallelepiped, while some Sakalava families surround their tombs with posts carved in different shapes (human beings, birds, crocodiles, etc.), which recall certain cemeteries of Oceania.

The Merina custom is to hollow out a mortuary chamber, above which they usually build a small house for those of noble birth, and for the Hova, or freemen, a small rectangular wall, where they gather together stones and blocks or fragments of quartz, with a raised stone at one end. The head is generally turned to the east.

All the Malagasy have the same idea of the impurity of a dead body and its power to communicate uncleanness to others. A funeral procession must never pass in front of the king or anywhere near his residence, and it must also avoid the neighbourhood of sacred stones. Those who have taken any part in a burial ceremony must cleanse themselves before going home.

As may be gathered from the prevalence of ancestor-worship, all the Malagasy without exception stand in awe of the dead, and desire above all things to be buried in the family tomb. When a Malagasy (in particular a Merina) dies away from home, his urgent wish is that his relatives should come, no matter how long after his death it may be, and carry his bones back to his native land. This desire is respected in almost all cases, and even to-day it is no rare thing to meet little processions of Hova carrying back the mortal remains of a member of their family wrapped in a white cloth hung on a long bamboo pole. In many cases they go as far as four or five weeks' journey from Tananarivo. When the body cannot be recovered, the pillow or mattress of the deceased is buried in his stead, or a stone or a post is erected to his memory at the side of the road or near his native village.

In Madagascar mourners cut their hair short and keep it dishevelled; they wear coarse dirty clothes, and are not allowed to wash or look in a mirror, even if they possess one—they must appear as unkempt as possible so as to keep other people at a distance. On the death, or—as the phrase goes in Madagascar, where ordinary everyday words would never be used in connexion with such high and exalted personages as kings—on the 'departure,' of a sovereign, a number of sumptuary laws came into force which had to be strictly obeyed, if one did not wish to run the risk of being considered responsible for the death of the king and of being subjected to capital punishment as a sorcerer. The following are some of the restrictions enforced on the death of Radama I. (1810–28): all the inhabitants of the kingdom, with the exception of the heir to the throne, had to shave their heads, sleep on the ground instead of in beds, use neither chairs nor tables, pass each other without greeting in the street, neither play any musical instrument nor sing, have no fire or light at night, do no work except in the fields, refuse to be carried in a palanquin, use no mirror, go about bare-headed, wear no fine clothes, and, in the case of women, keep the shoulders bare. As in the East, white, not black as in Europe, is the colour of mourning.

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[1] The Arabic word for 'devil' is *Iblis*, and from this the Malagasy have formed *bilo*, which is the name both for the evil spirit and for the ceremony of exorcizing it.

Several Malagasy tribes—*e.g.*, the Betsileo and the Antankarana—have the peculiar and repugnant custom of not burying their dead immediately after death; frequently they even wait till decomposition has set in; and in many cases the putrid liquid is collected and set apart. Their funeral watches are naturally far from agreeable, and, to be able to live at all in the midst of the nauseating odours, the relatives and friends of the dead man drink rum all the time and burn quantities of incense, suet, and even leather. This custom, which is of Oceanic origin, comes from the desire not to bury any putrescible or impure matter along with the bones. Even the tribes which do not have this practice generally have two burial ceremonies—one consisting in simply burying the dead, and the other taking place some years after, when nothing but the skeleton remains, and when the body is finally placed in the family tomb. Sometimes, as in Imerina, the body is put into the family vault at once, but it is wrapped round with several silk *lambas* and is not placed in a coffin. Later, at a certain specified time, the ceremony of the *mamadika* takes place. This consists in changing the soiled *lambas*, and the Merina say then that they turn the bodies on their other side so that they may not get tired of lying in one position.

Funerals in Madagascar are always the occasion of feasts in honour of the dead. The richer the man is and the more cattle he possesses, the more brilliant are the orgies that are indulged in. Shots are fired and bulls are killed, the flesh being eaten at the funeral feast, and the head and horns being placed with great ceremony on the tomb of the deceased. Rum flows like water, and as long as there is anything left to eat or drink the feast continues; the funeral festivities of great and noble personages have been known to last for months.

LITERATURE.—R. Baron, 'A Hova Custom with regard to People at the Point of Death,' in *Antanànarivo Annual*, 1892, p. 502; C. Benevent, 'Conception de la mort chez les Malgaches,' in *Rev. de Madagascar*, 1901, pp. 637–648; E. Besson, 'Rites funéraires en usage chez les Betsiléos,' in *L'Anthropologie*, v. [1894] 674–682 (with illustrations); W. E. Cousins, 'The Ancient Theism of the Hova and the Names of God,' in *Antanànarivo Annual*, 1875, pp. 5–11; E. de Flacourt, *Hist. de la grande île de Madagascar*, Paris, 1658; A. Grandidier, 'Des rites funéraires chez les Malgaches,' in *REth* v. [1886] 213–232; G. Grandidier, *Madagascar au début du xx^e siècle* (Ethnographie), Paris, 1902, pp. 217–292; A. and G. Grandidier, *Hist. physique, naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, 4 vols., in course of publication, i., do. 1908, ii., 1914, iii., 1915; De la Vaissière, *Vingt Ans à Madagascar*, do. 1885; J. B. Piolet, *Madagascar: sa description, ses habitants*, do. 1895; J. Sibree, 'Carving and Sculpture and Burial Memorials amongst the Betsileo,' in *Antanànarivo Annual*, 1876, pp. 65–71, 'A Sakalava Custom,' *ib.*, 1879, p. 16, *The Great African Island*, London, 1880; *Guide de l'immigrant à Madagascar*, Paris, 1899; and, for a complete list of works on the religion of Madagascar, see G. Grandidier, *Bibliographie de Madagascar*, 2 vols., Paris, 1905–06.

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MĀDHVAS, MADHVĀCHĀRĪS.—The Mādhvas or Madhvāchārīs are an Indian sect, one of the four *saṁpradāyas*,[1] or churches, of the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-mārga (see art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA, vol. ii. p. 545). It has usually been stated that this sect represents an attempt to form a compromise or alliance between Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas,[2] but an examination of the authoritative documents of the faith shows that this is far from the truth. It is therefore advisable to include in this article an account of the life of the founder of the religion, and of the legends connected with his coming.

The authorities on which the following account is based are: (1) the *Maṇimañjarī* (quoted as *Mm.*), which deals with the religious history of India down to the birth of Madhva, the founder of the sect; (2) the *Madhvavijaya* (*Mv.*), which deals with the life of Madhva himself; both these works are in Sanskrit, and are written by one Nārāyaṇa, who was the son of Trivikrama, an actual disciple of Madhva; (3) the *Vāyustuti* of the above Trivikrama; and (4) C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyer's *Śrī Madhwa and Madhwaism* (K.), which includes a summary in English of (1) and (2).

1. Accounts of the founder.—The basis of the Mādhva religion is, first, that Viṣṇu is the Brāhman of the *Upaniṣads*; and, secondly, that, whenever he becomes incarnate, he always has his son, Vāyu, the air-god, as his friend and helper. Accordingly, the first four *sargas*, or chapters, of *Mm.*, after describing the order of creation, give detailed accounts of the Rāma and Kṛṣṇa incarnations, Rāma's great friend and ally being Hanumat, the son of Vāyu, and Kṛṣṇa's ally being, not Arjuna, as we might expect, but Bhīma (cf. *Mv.* i. 41), one of the five heroes of the *Mahābhārata*, and also a son of the air-god. In both of these cases the sonship is looked upon as equivalent to incarnation. In the *Mahābhārata* Bhīma is described as having performed many glorious feats, and as having conquered many terrible demons; but in Mādhva theology these are all ignored save one, which, compared with the others, is, in the epic, of quite minor importance. In the *Vana-parvan* (*Mahābh.* iii. 11,661 ff.) it is related that Bhīma attacked certain Yakṣas or Rākṣasas belonging to the country beyond the Himālaya, and killed their leader, Maṇimat. Maṇimat had formerly offered a filthy insult to the Indian sage Agastya (the apostle of southern India), and had been cursed by him to be slain by a mortal. Such stress is laid upon this story by the Mādhvas that they maintain that the version, as we have it now in the *Mahābhārata*, was, with the sanction of Vyāsa, the author of the epic, rewritten and completed by Madhva himself (K. p. 42).

The narrative of the events in the Kaliyuga, or present age of the world, commences in the 5th *sarga* of *Mm.* At first, the knowledge of the Vedas, as taught by Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma (*Mm.* v. 1), reigns supreme. Then the Asuras conspire to spread false doctrines. The demon Śakuni, urged by Chāṇakya, the son of Lokāyata, points out that other heresies, such as those of the Chārvākas, Jains, and Pāśupatas, had all failed (9–15). Therefore Maṇimat, who alone had sufficient skill, must become incarnate as a Brāhmaṇa ascetic, and must destroy the Vedānta, under cover of explaining it (15 ff.). Maṇimat is dispatched with instructions to abolish the Vedas and Purāṇas, to ridicule the theory that Viṣṇu has *guṇas*, or qualities, and to establish the identity of the soul with Brāhman (19 ff.).

Here (29) the story digresses to tell how at that time the whole earth was under the sway of Buddhism, and to describe the efforts of Śabara and Kumārila to refute it by the aid of the *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* system of philosophy. The 6th *sarga* continues this, narrating the successes of Kumārila and the rise of the rival Prābhākara school.

At this stage of affairs Maṇimat is born as a widow's bastard (*Mm.* vi. 6; *Mv.* i. 46). He is hence named Saṁkara.[3] He is brought up in great poverty, and (as a slap at the monism subsequently taught by him) it is related that in his boyhood he could count only one thing at a time, never being able to see a second (*Mm.* vi. 10). He is taken to Saurāṣṭra, where, under the patronage of Śiva, he quickly masters the sacred books (14). He then goes from teacher to teacher, but is turned off by them for his heretical views. He invents his doctrine, described as *śūnya-mārga* and *nirguṇatva*, and is hailed by the demons as their saviour (24). On their advice he joins the Buddhists and teaches Buddhism under cover of Vedāntism. He makes the Vedas without meaning, and equates Brāhman with nothingness (*śūnyatva*) (46). He becomes a Śākta, and messenger of Bhairavī, who confers upon him a magic spell (51).

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[1] It is called the *Brahma-saṁpradāya* because it is said to have been first communicated by Viṣṇu to Brahmān, who spread it through the world with the help of his brother, Vāyu. See below.

[2] *e.g.*, by Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, p. 149.

[3] The Mādhva books uniformly change the great Śaṁkara's name to Saṁkara. The object is plain. Saṁkara means

The 7th *sārga* describes further disgraceful events in Saṁkara's life. He seduces the wife of his Brāhmaṇa host (1 ff.). He makes converts by magic arts. He falls sick and dies. His last words are instructions to his disciples to uproot the learned Satyaprajña, the last of the great teachers of the true Vedic doctrine.

In the 8th *sarga* we have the doings of Saṁkara's followers. They persecute their opponents, burning down monasteries, destroying cattle-pens, and by magic arts killing women and children (2). They forcibly convert one of their chief opponents, Prājñatīrtha, and compel him and his disciples to adopt the *māyā*-system (5). These, however, still secretly adhere to the true religion, and, after consulting Satyaprajña, determine to cause one disciple to become thoroughly learned in the *māyā*-system, who should start a line of disciples, outwardly Māyins, but really devoted to Hari (*i.e.* Viṣṇu). In this line of disciples came, in due course, Achyutaprekṣa. In his time the Lord, *i.e.* Vāyu, became incarnate as Madhva, in the house of Madhyageha, and studied under Achyutaprekṣa (34 ff.). The book ends with a brief account of Madhva's work, specially mentioning that he composed a commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras utterly destroying that made by the thief Maṇimat-Saṁkara.

It thus appears that Madhva, like Bhīma, was an incarnation of Vāyu, who came to the earth to destroy the followers of Saṁkara and all their teaching, that the true religion was delivered to the present age by Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma, that it was upheld by Kumārila in the *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā*, and that it was revived by Madhva. Saṁkara's *māyā*-system was declared to be only Buddhism in disguise (*prachchhanna-Bauddha* [*Mv.* i. 51]). There is no trace whatever of any attempt to reconcile the Śaiva teaching of Saṁkara with Vaiṣṇavism. Here also must be mentioned one other doctrine of Mādhvism not referred to above, but of considerable importance—that salvation can be obtained only through Vāyu (*i.e.* in the present age, through Madhva), and through no one else (K. p. 68).

In *Mv.* the first *sarga* sums up briefly the contents of *Mm.*, special stress being again laid on the Maṇimat story (i. 39), and on Bhīma's close connexion with Kṛṣṇa (41). The incarnation of Vāyu is plainly stated in ii. 24. The rest of the work is a prolix account of Madhva's life, too long to analyze here. The main facts are as follows: Madhyageha Bhaṭṭa, Madhva's father (*Mv.* ii. 9, 14), was a Brāhmaṇa living at Rajatapītha[1] (6), close to the modern Udipi, a town on the sea-coast of the present district of S. Kanara, and about 40 miles due west of Sringeri, then, and still, the head-quarters of the Smārta followers of Saṁkarāchārya.

The ancient name of the country now comprising the Districts of Dhārwār and N. and S. Kanara, together with the western portion of the State of Mysore, was Tuluva, the modern Tulū, and it is here that the Mādhvas have always been strong. No census figures are available for their number, but a very rough estimate of the materials available leads us to put it at something like 70,000. Elsewhere they are very few.[2]

After the usual natal rites, the boy was named Vāsudeva, but in later years he was known as Madhva. The most probable date of his birth is the Śaka year 1119 (= A.D. 1197), but some authorities put it as late as A.D. 1238.[1] Numerous tales are told of his youthful exploits and of miracles that will be referred to below. His prowess in physical exercises was recognized by his schoolfellows, who nicknamed him 'Bhīma' (*Mv.* iii. 42–48). When he grew up, he became a pupil of the Achyutaprekṣa already referred to (*Mv.* iv. 6), and in due course, amidst a burst of prophecy from the assembled crowd, received initiation under the name of Pūrṇabodha or Pūrṇaprajña (33). He continued his studies under Achyutaprekṣa in the Ananteśvara monastery at Udipi, and finally received from him the name of Ānandatīrtha (*Mv.* v. 2), the title adopted by him in future as his pen-name. All this time, it must be remembered, he was studying the Vedānta, according to the *māyā*-school of Saṁkara.

After further study, he made a tour through southern India, having in the meantime developed his own system of dualism in opposition to the monism of Saṁkara. He journeyed along, disputing with the doctors in each town, his most important combat being at Anantapura (the modern Trivandrum) with the head of the Saṁkara monastery at Sringeri (*Mv.* v. 36). Here there seems to have been a drawn battle. The combatants parted in enmity, and thenceforth began the deadly hatred that ever after existed between the followers of the two systems. Madhva had to take refuge for four months at Rāmeśvara (v. 41 ff.), after which he returned to Udipi. The result of this first tour was to establish Madhva as the leader of a new sect and to widen the breach between him and the authorities at Sringeri (K. p. 32).

After some years of further study at Udipi, during which (K. p. 33) he seems to have completed his commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*, Madhva started on his second tour, this time through northern India. He at length reached Hardwār. Here, after fasting and meditation, he left his followers and went off alone into the heart of the Himālaya, where he is said to have stayed with Vyāsa, the compiler of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mv.* vii. 16 ff.). Vyāsa encouraged him to return to India and there to publish his commentary (viii. 44 ff.). He accordingly went back to Hardwār, where he widely proclaimed his doctrine, and 'ground opposing commentaries and false systems to dust' (ix. 6 ff.). He made a leisurely return to Udipi, converting more than one eminent Saṁkarite on the way (ix. 17), and finally converted his own teacher, Achyutaprekṣa (ix. 35).

There now began a period of persecution (*Mv.* xii. and xiii.), in which the Saṁkarites, led by the head of the Sringeri monastery, did all that they could to destroy the new teacher and his followers. They even went so far as to carry off Madhva's entire library, and it was restored only through the interposition of the local prince, Jaya Siṁha of Viṣṇumaṅgala. It was shortly after this that Madhva converted Trivikrama (xiii. 50 ff., xv. 64), the father of the author of *Mm.* and *Mv.* In his last years Madhva again toured to the North, and is said to have rejoined Vyāsa, in whose company he still remains awaiting the conclusion of the present age. His final journey is described in *Mv.* xvi. The date of his death was probably Śaka 1198 (= A.D. 1276), when he was 79 years old.[2] Thirty-seven different works are attributed to him, of which the most important are his commentaries on the *Vedānta Sūtras* and on the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, and his commentary on the *Mahābhārata*, entitled the *Mahābhārata-tātparya-nirṇaya*.

'auspicious,' but Saṁkara 'misbegotten' or 'rubbish.' The whole account is a ferocious libel on the founder of the system which it opposes.

[1] Probably identical with the ancient town and still existing village of Kalyāṇapura (*IGI* xiv. [1908] 314).

[2] It is, however, important to note that the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal, founded by Chaitanya (*q.v.*), is an offshoot of Mādhvism (see Pratāpa-Siṁha, *Bhakta-kalpadruma*, Lucknow, 1884, p. 46).

[1] See Subba Rau, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, p. xi ff.; cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 59.

[2] See Bhandarkar, p. 59. A list of the thirty-seven works attributed to him is given in Bhandarkar's *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency for 1882–83*, Bombay, 1884, p. 207.

2. Doctrines of the sect.—Mādhvism rejects not only the monism of Saṁkara but also the *Viśiṣṭādvaita*, or qualified monism, of Rāmānuja (see art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA, vol. ii. p. 545). Its followers call themselves Sad-Vaiṣṇavas to distinguish themselves from the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava followers of the latter. The basis of the whole philosophical system is *dvaita*, or dualism. By this is not meant the dualism of spirit and matter, or that of good and evil, but the distinction between the independent Supreme Being (*Paramātman*) and the dependent principle of life (*jīvātman*). There are five real and eternal distinctions (*pañchabheda*), viz. (*a*) between God and the individual soul, (*b*) between God and matter, (*c*) between the soul and matter, (*d*) between one soul and another, and (*e*) between one particle of matter and another. The account of the order of creation given in *Mm.* i. 2 ff. closely follows the well-known Sāṅkhya-Yoga system, as modified by the Purāṇas, and need not detain us. Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa, or Parō Bhagavān, not Brāhman, is the name given to the Supreme Being. He is endowed with all auspicious qualities (*guṇa*), and has a consort, Lakṣmī, distinct from, but dependent on, him. By her he has two sons, Brahmān, the Creator, and the Vāyu mentioned above, who is the Saviour of mankind. *Mokṣa*, or salvation, consists in release from transmigration and eternal residence in the abode of Nārāyaṇa. Souls (*jīva*) are innumerable, and each is eternal, has a separate existence, and is subject to transmigration. They fall into three groups, viz. (*a*) the lesser gods, the *pitṛs*, *ṛṣis*, kings, and a few other select classes of the good; these are destined to salvation; (*b*) those who are neither sufficiently good to belong to the first class nor sufficiently bad for the third; these are destined to perpetual transmigration (*saṁsāra*); and (*c*) demons, etc., and sinners, especially followers of the *māyā*-doctrine and other heretics who reject Vāyu; these are destined to eternal hell. Again, it must be noted that there is no salvation, except through Vāyu, *i.e.*, in the present age, through Madhva. It is also noteworthy that in this religion the idea of eternal bliss, or *mokṣa*, is balanced by the idea of an eternal hell—a logical symmetry that is missing in the other religions of Madhva's time.

The natural soul is characterized by ignorance (*avidyā*), and this ignorance is dispelled, and salvation is obtained, by right knowledge of God. This knowledge is obtainable by souls of the first class, and eighteen means are described as necessary for its attainment. Such are distaste of this world (*vairāgya*), equanimity (*śama*), attendance on a *guru*, or religious teacher, *bhakti* directed to God, due performance of rites and ceremonies (cf. the *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā*), reprobation of false doctrines, worship (*upāsanā*), and so on.[1]

Service to Viṣṇu (*i.e.* to God) is expressed in three ways: (*a*) by stigmatization, or branding (*aṅkana*) the body with the symbols of Viṣṇu; (*b*) by giving his names to sons and others (*nāmakaraṇa*); and (*c*) by worship (*bhajana*) with word, act, and thought. Worship with word consists in (1) veracity, (2) usefulness, (3) kindliness, (4) sacred study; with act, in (5) almsgiving, (6) defence, (7) protection; with thought, in (8) mercy, (9) longing, and (10) faith. Worship is the dedication to Nārāyaṇa (*i.e.* God) of each of these as it is realized.[2]

The custom of branding symbols of Viṣṇu on the shoulders and breast is not peculiar to the followers of Madhva, being also adopted by the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas; but among the Mādhvas, instead of being occasional, it is universal, and is declared to be necessary according to the *śāstras*. All classes, whether monks or lay, are branded. The chief of each *maṭh*, or monastery, tours among the faithful, and every time he makes his visitation the laity undergo the ceremony (K. p. 40). The sectarian marks, common to monks and laity, are, besides these brands, two white perpendicular lines on the forehead, made with *gopī-chandana* earth, and joined at the root of the nose. Between them is a straight black line made with incense-charcoal, and terminating in a spot of turmeric. Madhva did not allow bloody sacrifices. The old sacrifices were retained, but he enjoined the substitution of a fictitious lamb made of rice-meal as the victim, instead of a lamb of flesh and blood.[1] Mādhvism is also remarkable for the extreme lengths to which fasting of great rigour is carried out. The life of an orthodox Mādhva is one continuous round of fasts, and, according to one writer, this has had an injurious effect on the average physique of the members of the sect (K. p. 70). A full account of these fasts will be found in the *BG* xxii. 72 ff.

The chief *maṭh*, or monastery, of the sect is at Uḍipi, and is said to have been founded by Madhva himself. He also founded two others at Madhyatala and Subrahmaṇya respectively—both, like Uḍipi, in the coast district of Mangalor—and gave a *svāmin*, or head, to each of the three. The main settlement he divided into eight sub-monasteries, to each of which he also gave a *svāmin*. Each of these eight *svāmins* conducts the worship of Kṛṣṇa at the head monastery in his turn, his term of office lasting for two years. The change (*paryāya*) of *svāmins* thus takes place every second year, when the sun enters the sign of Makara, or Capricorn, early in January. It is the occasion of a great fair and festival. The succession of chief pontiffs is recorded in the *BG* xxii. (p. 59), and the thirty-fifth pontiff was living in 1883. There are now eighteen subsects, of which ten are the followers of the ten *svāmins* appointed by Madhva and five were started by his four immediate successors. Only two, and these still more modern, refuse to acknowledge the authority of the head pontiff at Uḍipi. The most salient doctrinal difference depends on the interpretation of the word *bhajana*, or worship, and even this is of small importance (K. p. 60).

3. Influence of Christianity.—In the art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA (vol. ii. p. 548) it was pointed out that the southern Indian reformers had probably been to a certain extent influenced by the Christianity then existing in their neighbourhood.[2] The apparent influence of Christianity is especially noteworthy in Mādhvism. Madhva's birthplace was either in the ancient city of Kalyāṇapura or close to it. Kalyāṇapura has always been reputed as one of the earliest Christian settlements in India, and here, so long ago as the 6th cent. A.D., Cosmas Indicopleustes (p. 178 f. [*PG* lxxxviii. 169]) found a bishop who was appointed from Persia.[3] These Christians were Nestorians (Garbe, p. 155). No stress need be laid on most of the childish miracles attributed to Madhva in *Mv.*, because they are such as are attributed to the infancy of many religious teachers; but some of the legends deserve a passing notice. Thus, before Madhva appeared on earth, at a festive gathering at the temple at Uḍipi the spirit of Ananteśvara (Viṣṇu) came upon a Brāhmaṇa and made him a messenger of good news to proclaim that the kingdom of heaven was at hand (K. p. 13). After the child had been presented in the temple at Uḍipi, as his parents were taking him through a forest, a *graha*, or evil spirit, opposed their way, but departed on being rebuked by the divine child (K. p. 16; *Mv.* ii. 32 ff.). When the child was five years old, his parents missed him, and after an anxious search of three days found him at Uḍipi, in the temple of Ananteśvara, teaching gods and men to worship Viṣṇu according to the *śāstras* (K. p. 16; *Mv.* iii. 1 ff.). On his southern tour Madhva multiplied food in a wilderness, to meet the needs of his followers (K. p. 27; *Mv.* v. 32). On one of his northern tours he walked across water 'without wetting his clothes' (K. p. 35; *Mv.* x. 27), and on another occasion he stilled an angry sea by his look (K. p. 48; *Mv.* xvi. 11). The substitution at sacrifices of a lamb of rice for a lamb of flesh and blood also offers a striking analogy, but, as K. p. 68 points out, it may with equal probability be ascribed to Jain influence. Under any circumstances, considering the fact that Madhva was born and brought up in the neighbourhood of Christians and that the doctrine of *bhakti* is common to all forms of Vaiṣṇavism and to Christianity, there is considerable probability that at least some of these legends grew up under Christian influence. Still more striking, however, is the central article of Mādhva belief that Vāyu is the son of the Supreme God, Viṣṇu, and that salvation can be obtained only through him. This is evidently an idea borrowed from Christianity, quite possibly promulgated as a rival to the central doctrine of that faith.

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[1] The complete list is given by Bhandarkar, p. 60 f.

[2] *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha*, tr. p. 91.

[1] It will be remembered that Madhva is said to have revised the *Mahābhārata*, and in this connexion it should be noted that in the southern recension of the epic, after XII. cccxliv. 20, six verses have been inserted in which it is directed that animals of flour should be used at sacrifices.

[2] The present writer takes this opportunity of withdrawing the remark made in *ERE* ii. 548^b that Alopen had visited the court of Śilāditya. See *JRAS*, 1913, p. 144.

[3] A. Burnell, *IA* ii. [1873] 274 ff., iii. [1874] 310 ff.; cf. R. Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1914, p. 151 ff. The passage in Cosmas is not quoted in J. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1877. Garbe (p. 152) considers it probable that the Kalliana of Cosmas was another Kalyāṇa farther north and near Bombay, but it seems to the present writer that the wording of Cosmas connects Kalliana so closely with Male (Malabar) that it must be the town near Uḍipi Garbe himself appears to accept this in his note on p. 273.

4. Traces of Manichæism.—In the two papers already quoted, Burnell points out that Persian immigrants were welcomed in this part of India long after the time of Cosmas, and that before the beginning of the 9th cent. A.D. they had acquired sovereign rights over their original settlement of Maṇigrāma, by a grant from the *perumal*, or local chief. Burnell goes on to suggest that these Persians were Manichæans, and that the name of their settlement meant 'Manes- (Mani-) town,' not 'Jewel-town,' as the compound would ordinarily mean in Sanskrit. Burnell's theory was attacked in the same journal and, according to Garbe (p. 152), completely controverted by R. Collins. To the present writer it seems that, in the discussion, Collins failed in his main point—the meaning of 'Maṇi' in 'Maṇi-grāma'—and that Burnell's suggestion, though certainly not proved, may possibly contain more elements of truth than Garbe was prepared to admit.[1] It seems that Burnell's suggestion that 'Maṇi' refers to Manes receives some confirmation from the Maṇimat theory of the Mādhvas. It is intelligible that Bhīma should be selected as the hero, but it is unintelligible why the altogether unimportant Maṇimat of the epic should be selected as the origin of the arch-heretic Śaṁkara. Bhīma killed many much more noteworthy demons, who would have served Madhva's purpose better; but so small a part does Maṇimat, the demon from beyond the Himālaya, play in the epic[2] that Madhva had, according to the legend, actually to get Vyāsa's permission to re-write the story, so as to make it complete. It must, on the other hand, be admitted that there is little resemblance between Manichæism and Śaṁkara's theology. The former is dualist and the latter is monist. But Mani's dualism taught the existence of two beings—light and darkness. Light had God at its head, and darkness had no god at its head. There is a certain resemblance between this and Śaṁkara's Brāhman obscured by *māyā*. At any rate, it is possible that Madhva, who (K. p. 36) could speak the language of the Mlechchhas (foreigners), may have become acquainted with Manichæism, and may have associated it in this way with Śaṁkara's theory of *māyā*. The question deserves more investigation than has hitherto been given to it.

LITERATURE.—The *Maṇimañjarī* and the *Madhvavijaya* have been already mentioned. Several editions of these have been published in India. A useful summary of Mādhva doctrines will be found on p. 16 ff. of the *Sakalāchārya-mata-saṁgraha*, an anonymous work published in the Benares Sanskrit Series in 1907. A fuller account will be found in Padmanābhasūri, *Madhvasiddhānta-sāra*, Bombay, 1883, quoted by Bhandarkar, p. 59. Finally, there is Mādhvāchārya, *Sarva-darśana-saṁgraha*, of which many editions have been published in India. Of this there is an Eng. tr. by E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough (2nd ed., London, 1894). The system of Purṇaprajña, *i.e.* Madhva, will be found in ch. v. p. 87 ff. of the translation.

As for works in English, the earliest account of the Mādhvas is contained in 'Account of the Marda Gooroos, collected while Major Mackenzie was at Hurryhurr, 24th August 1800,' printed on p. 33 ff. of the 'Characters' in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1804 (London, 1806). We next have H. H. Wilson, *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, reprinted from vols. xvi. and xvii. of *Asiatic Researches*, London, 1861, i. 139 ff. A useful little book is C. N. Krishnaswami Aiyer, *Śrī Madhwa and Madhwaism*, Madras, no date. This has been freely utilized in the foregoing pages. See also the following: R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (=*GIAP* iii. 6), Strassburg, 1913, p. 57 ff.; *BG*, vol. xxii., 'Dhārwar,' Bombay, 1884, p. 56 ff. (full account of the history, religion, and customs of the Mādhvas of the present day); and G. Venkobo Rao, 'A Sketch of the Hist. of the Madhwa Acharyas,' beginning in *IA* xliii. [1914] 233 (refers to C. M. Padmanābhāchārya, *Life of Madhvāchārya*).

For an authentic account of Madhva's doctrines see S. Subba Rau, *The Vedanta-sutras, with the Commentary by Sri Madhwacharya, a complete Translation*, Madras, 1904, *The Bhagavad-Gita, Translation and Commentaries in English according to Sri Madhwacharya's Bhashyas*, do. 1906. Both of those are in English. The preface of the latter contains a life of Madhva from the orthodox point of view; cf. also P. Ramachandra Rao, *The Brahma Sútras: Construed literally according to the Commentary of Sri Madhavácharya* (Sanskrit text), Kumbakonam, 1902.

G. A. GRIERSON.

MADHYAMAKA, MĀDHYAMIKAS.—Madhyamaka is the name of a system of Buddhist philosophy, 'the system of the middle way,' 'the system of the Mean' (μέσον); the adherents of this system are called Mādhyamikas.

1. Nāgārjuna.—The work upon which the Madhyamaka philosophy is based, the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, still survives, and tradition is agreed in ascribing it to Nāgārjuna; numerous commentaries have been written upon it: Nāgārjuna's own, the *Akutobhaya*; those of Buddhapālita and Chandrakīrti, which seem to give a faithful rendering of the author's meaning; and that of Bhāvaviveka, which transmits his personal views. There are two branches of Madhyamaka, but the difference between them has not been studied, and seems to consist in a mere divergence in the method of demonstration.

All this literature is, or will soon be, accessible in the editions of the originals or in translations.[1] The *Mūlamadhyamaka* is probably the authentic work of Nāgārjuna, who flourished about the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. We knew that this mysterious and miraculous person was the putative father of the Great Vehicle, or Mahāyāna (*q.v.*), and, in particular, the revealer of the *sūtras* of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the teaching of which is akin to that of the Madhyamaka. It is even possible that several *sūtras* of the Great Vehicle were written with the sole purpose of stating the theories of the Madhyamaka philosophy under the guise of 'words of the Buddha.' It is difficult to determine what part Nāgārjuna took in the redaction of the *sūtras*, but respect for tradition would lead us to believe that his share was a large one. In any case, the Madhyamaka school must be held responsible for a considerable proportion of the Great Vehicle. All this must be assigned, probably, to the early centuries of the Christian era, from the first onwards.

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[1] The following are the references to the whole controversy. Garbe (*loc. cit.*) refers only to one of Collins's communications, and does not notice any of Burnell's replies: *IA* ii. 273 (Burnell), iii. 308 (Burnell), iv. [1875] 153 (Collins), 181 (Burnell), 311 (Collins), v. [1876] 25 (Burnell).

[2] For the references see S. Sörensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahabharata*, London, 1904 ff., p. 464.

[1] See Literature at end of article.

2. The Madhyamaka system and its antecedents.—It is not difficult to show the place occupied by the Madhyamaka in the development of Buddhist philosophy from its beginning, and such a historical sketch is indispensable to a definition of the system itself.

The Buddha had given his revelation as a 'path,' or a 'way' (*magga, paṭipadā*), and had qualified this path by 'middle' (*majjhima = madhyama*), doubtless, as has been often said, because he repudiated two 'extremes' (*anta*)—an exaggerated asceticism (*tapas*), and an easy secular life (*sukhallikā*). But he had also condemned other 'extremes,' viz. contradictory theories, such as: 'Everything exists,' 'nothing exists'; 'The person who feels is the same thing as sensation,' 'the person who feels is a different thing from sensation'; 'The Buddha exists after death,' 'the Buddha does not exist after death'; and some texts—few, but explicit—prove that, at the time of the redaction of the Pāli *Nikāyas*, 'middle way' meant a 'way between certain negations and affirmations.' This way is simply the philosophy of the *dharmas* and of the negation of the individual (*pudgala*, '*τὶς*'), which is almost exactly the philosophy of the Canon, and finds, from the very first, clear and skilful expression in the theory of dependent origination (*paṭichchasamuppāda, pratityasamutpāda*).

The Canon teaches that there is no individual (*pudgala*), one and permanent, of whom we can say that he is identical with sensation or different from it, or that he survives or fails to survive the destruction of the body. The individual does not exist in himself (*pudgala-nairātmya*); he is merely a mass of *dharmas* following one another in unbroken succession, cause and effect.

But what is meant by *dharma*? This word, as Max Müller said,[1] is difficult to translate, though easy to understand. Man is a collection, a 'series' of *dharmas*; every thought, every volition, every sensation, is a *dharma*. His body is composed of material *dharmas*. Sound, colour, smell, whatever can be struck or touched, is composed of material *dharmas*. The organs of sense and intellect (*mana, indriya*) are *dharmas* of subtle matter. Concupiscence, hatred, and delusion are mental *dharmas*, 'co-ordinated with thought.'

The *dharmas* are 'realities,' things which actually exist, and nothing exists but these elementary realities, which are all doomed to destruction; some—*e.g.*, the mental *dharmas* and the *dharmas* forming the successive instants of the existence of a flame—perish moment by moment, while others sometimes last for a long time.

Just as a waggon is nothing but the collection of the parts of a waggon, so man is simply the collection of the elementary realities, material and spiritual, which constitute his pseudo-individuality. Apart from *dharmas*, man and waggon have only an ideal existence—an existence of designation (*prajñāpti*), as the Buddhists say.

It will be observed that none of these elementary realities exists in isolation, but that every *dharma* combines with other *dharmas* to form a more or less solid complex. The four chief elements (*mahābhūta*) combine in the formation of every material thing. Anger presupposes, besides delusion, an elaborate complex of intellectual *dharmas*—contact, sensations, ideas, and intellections; and this intellectual complex presupposes, at least as a rule, a physical complex—body, sense-organs, heat, vital organ, not to mention former actions to be rewarded, which are sometimes regarded as subtle matter.

All *dharma* is intimately bound up with its causes and effects; its essential nature is to be an effect and to be a cause; it is a moment in continuous time. Every thought has as determining causes (*pratyaya*) a great number of *dharmas* more or less exterior to itself (object of vision, visual organ, etc.), but its cause, properly so called (*hetu*), is the thought immediately preceding it—just as every moment of the duration of a flame depends, of course, upon the oil, the wick, etc., yet is, as a matter of fact, the continuation of the preceding moment of the flame. The Buddhists were quick to see that flame and thought are made up of 'instants' of flame and thought succeeding each other moment by moment. Extending this observation, they formulated the general theory that 'the *dharmas* perish the very moment they are born.' They perish without any other cause of destruction than their very birth or their nature; they are not merely 'transitory' (*anitya*), as the Buddha said; they are 'momentary' (*kṣaṇika*) (cf. art. IDENTITY [Buddhist]). There can be no distinction between a stone and a human being: they are both collections, more or less complex, of *dharmas*, which do not last. The collections last by constituting series, because the *dharmas* renew themselves—always the same in the case of the stone, often very different in the case of the living being. In the course of an existence our vital organs, sense-organs, etc., renew themselves without any essential modification; volition, on the contrary, creates *dharmas*—retribution, etc.—which are different from volition itself. Volition is controlled by judgment; and, when judgment is illumined by the law of the Buddha (*yoniśo manasikāra*), 'supramundane' (*lokottara*) actions become possible, and these destroy passions, desire, action, and retribution, and make for the realization of *nirvāṇa*, that is to say, the collection of mental *dharmas* begins to become impoverished and finally disappears; desire is no longer present to give life to it. Such is the philosophy of ancient Buddhism, and it can be summed up in two words: *pudgala-nairātmya*, the unreality of the individual, and *dharmānityatva* or *dharmakṣaṇikatva*, the transitory or momentary character of the *dharmas*.

This philosophy satisfied Buddhists for a long time. But it did not satisfy the Madhyamaka school, who put a more rigorous interpretation upon the word 'void,' so often applied by the Buddha to everything in general, and held that this philosophy is in its nature not free from the two 'extremes' of perpetual duration and annihilation (*śaśvata, uchchheda*), seeing that it inevitably regards *nirvāṇa* as the annihilation of a series of thoughts. The Madhyamaka school claims to find the true 'middle way' by declaring, not only the unreality of the individual (*pudgalanairātmya*), but also the unreality of the *dharmas* themselves; it denies the existence not only of the being who suffers, but also of pain. 'Everything is void.'

Nāgārjuna and his school seem to hesitate between two positions.

i. Everything takes place as if things and living beings were composed of substantial *dharmas*, and, to arrive at *nirvāṇa*, the methods defined by the ancients must be followed: eliminate the *dharmas* which generate new *dharmas* because they are associated with desire; and insert, in the complex series that constitutes our being, the *dharmas* of the knowledge that destroys desire, and so arrest the renewal of the *dharmas*. Yet we do not put an end to existence by this method, for existence is void of reality in itself, since the *dharmas* do not exist substantially; we put an end to a *processus* of 'void' (*śūnya*) *dharmas* which renew themselves in 'void' *dharmas*. It is important to know this, for the only knowledge that can arrest the renewal of unreal *dharmas* is knowledge of their radical and fundamental unreality.

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[1] *SBE* x. [1898] 31.

The ancients saw that the essential nature (*dharmatā*) of things (*dharma*) is to be produced by concurrent causes (*pratītyasamutpanna*), 'dependently originated.' The Madhyamaka school observes that 'what is produced by causes is not produced in itself, does not exist in itself.' The essential nature of things consists in not being produced in themselves, in being void of all substantial reality—*i.e.* in 'vacuity' (*śūnyatā*). This term 'vacuity' has been variously understood. For some it is 'nothingness'; for others it is a permanent principle, transcendent and undefinable, immanent in transient and illusory things. It would be a long and difficult task to explain the mystical significance that it has in certain Buddhist books; we know that it ends by being confused with the term *vajra*, 'thunder-bolt, diamond, male organ.' One thing is beyond all doubt: for the Madhyamaka, 'vacuity' is neither nothingness nor a transcendent-immanent principle, but the very nature of what exists; 'things are not void because of vacuity' (*śūnyatayā*)—conceived as exterior to things—'but because they are void,' and they are 'void' because they are produced by causes. 'Vacuity' means 'production by causes,' and is only an abstraction, a mere word; 'void' means 'produced by causes.'

Existence (*saṁsāra*), therefore, is a complex *processus* of *dharmas* which have no reason in themselves for existing and which cannot exist substantially by reason of their causes, *i.e.* former *dharmas* which do not exist by themselves. The following formula explains this clearly: *dharmas* resembling delusions of magic or reflexions in a mirror (*māyopama, pratibimbopama*)—we might say 'contingent' *dharmas*—give birth to *dharmas* that are equally illusory. Like begets like.

The objection of the realist against the Madhyamaka is, therefore, fruitless: 'If everything is void, then existence and *nirvāṇa*, impurity and purity, ignorance and wisdom, are the same thing; and the path of salvation does not exist.'

Nāgārjuna himself formulates this difficulty, and answers it. Existence is the continuous production of phenomena not substantial but actually existent, because they are existent by the only existence that there is—void existence, or existence produced by causes. *Nirvāṇa* is the end of the production of these phenomena. Impurity is attachment to phenomena conceived as pleasant; purity is complete detachment from phenomena. Ignorance is a clinging to the substantiality of phenomena, which induces attachment; wisdom is real truth, knowledge of the vacuity of things.

Nāgārjuna, Chandrakīrti, and Śāntideva very often took this point of view, which is quite within the logic of Buddhism and not unreasonable. But, in order to give a true picture of the Madhyamaka as it is, we must add that our teachers often go much further.

ii. Just as their criticism destroys all ideas of experience and religion—the notion of movement, of time, of 'passion' (since the connexion between the passionate man and passion 'does not bear investigation')—it also destroys the notion of causality; not only do the *dharmas* not exist substantially; they do not exist at all, either in reality or apparently. They are like the daughter of a barren woman, like the beauty of the daughter of a barren woman: this beauty evidently does not exist except in so far as it may be described; but, in reality, the object described, the description, and the person describing are all similarly non-existent.

Absolute truth, which is, properly speaking, 'knowledge of a Buddha,' is a 'not-knowledge'; it is midway between affirmation and negation. The *dharmas* are like the hairs that a monk with diseased eyes thinks he sees in his almsbowl; he does not see them, for the knowledge which he has of them does not exist any more than its object. This is proved by the fact that a man with undiseased eyes has no thought about these hairs at all; he neither denies nor affirms their existence, because he knows them in their true nature (which is 'void') by not knowing them. The legitimate conclusion of this system is formulated in our sources: 'Absolute truth is silence.'

LITERATURE.—i. *BRĀHMANICAL AND JAIN SOURCES.—Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*; Śaṅkara on the *Brahmasūtras* (*Muséon*, new series, iii. ff. [1902 ff.]). ii. *BUDDHIST SANSKRIT SOURCES.—Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, with Chandrakīrti's commentary, *Prasannapādā* (*Bibl. Buddhica*, iv. [Petrograd, 1903–12]); *Madhyamakāvatāra* (Tibetan tr., *Bibl. Buddhica*, ix. [do. 1907 ff.], Fr. tr., *Muséon*, viii. ff. [1907 ff.]); Nāgārjuna, *Akutobhaya*, Germ. tr., after the Tibetan and Chinese, by M. Walleser, Heidelberg, 1911–12; *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, ch. ix. (*Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta, 1901 ff.), Fr. tr., *Introduction à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas*, Paris, 1907. iii. *TIBETAN SOURCES* (history and doctrines of the school).—Mañjughoṣahāsavajra, *Siddhānta* (summary in W. Wassilieff, *Buddhismus*, Petrograd, 1860, p. 326 ff.); Tāranātha, *Gesch. des Buddhismus*, tr. A. Schiefner, Petrograd, 1869, *passim*. iv. *EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS.*—L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, pp. 11, 124; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 126; D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, London, 1907, pp. 21, 62, etc.; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions sur l'hist. de la dogmatique*, Paris, 1909, p. 191; M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Litteratur*, ii. (Leipzig, 1913) 250.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

MADRAS AND COORG.—In the Government Census for 1911 the vast majority of the population in the Madras Presidency are classed as Hindus. Out of a total population of 41,870,160 in the Presidency and the small Feudatory States included in it, the Hindus number 37,230,034. The rest of the population are classified as follows: Musalmāns, 2,764,467; Christians, 1,208,515; Animists, 638,466; Jains, 27,005; Buddhists, 697; Parsis, 489; Brāhma Samāj, 374; Jews, 71; while 42 are classed simply as 'others.'

1. Christianity.—The most progressive of all these religious bodies is the Christian. Excluding the 40,928 European and Anglo-Indian Christians, whose numbers do not largely vary from decade to decade, we find that the Indian Christians have increased during the decade from 1901 to 1911 by 168,964, or 17 per cent—a rate more than double that of the increase in the total population, and one which compares favourably with an increase of 8 per cent among Hindus, and 11 per cent among Muhammadans.

The main cause of this increase in the Christian population is the movement among the out-castes of Hindu society towards Christianity that has been in progress in S. India for the last sixty years. Conversions to Christianity from the higher castes of Hindus or from the Musalmāns have been comparatively rare. On the other hand, the out-castes are being gathered into the Christian Church in the village districts in increasingly large numbers, especially among the Telugus in the northern part of the Presidency. The causes that have led to this great movement are mainly social. The out-castes are the hereditary slaves or serfs of their Hindu masters, and have been kept for many generations in a state of abject poverty and utter ignorance. They have seen in the Christian Church the hope and possibility of new life, and for the last half century have been crowding into it in thousands. The great force behind the movement, therefore, is a natural human craving for life and freedom. At the same time, there is also a strong spiritual element in the movement. In almost every district where it is in progress it has owed either its origin or its power to a few men and women of true spirituality, and the fact that a large number of the converts have to endure a very bitter persecution when they first join the Christian Church is in itself an indication that the movement is due to something higher than a mere desire for immediate temporal gain. This great movement is bound to have a very striking influence in the future, not only upon the Christian Church itself, but also upon the religious life and thought of India as a whole. A great Christian Church is steadily and rapidly rising up in India from the lowest stratum of Hindu society. The conscience of educated Hindus is becoming awakened to the injustice and the social evils inherent in the caste system. Slowly and surely the work of the Christian Church is preparing the way for a great economic, social, and religious revolution throughout the length and breadth of India.

2. **Hinduism.**—Hinduism in the Madras Presidency does not differ greatly as regards either its doctrines or its customs from Hinduism in other parts of India. One striking difference observable between the Hinduism of S. India and that of N. India is the predominance of the Brāhmans in the South, but this difference is social and political rather than religious. The Vedāntist philosophy and the monism of Śaṅkara are more widely held in the South than in the North, mainly owing to the fact that Muhammadanism, with its clear teaching on the unity and transcendence of God, has had far less influence there than in N. India. The stern and gloomy worship of Śiva, the Destroyer, which has absorbed into itself many elements of the old animistic cults, is the predominant form of Hinduism; but the worship of Viṣṇu, the Preserver, in all his manifold incarnations, has a large number of devotees, and has a special attraction for the lower castes of Śūdras whom it has admitted more freely to its temples than the rival cult of Siva.

3. **Animism.**—The prevalence of animism in the Madras Presidency is very inadequately represented by the small number of people (638,466) classed as animists in the Government Census. The large majority of the Hindus in the villages, with the exception of the Brāhmans, even when they are devotees of Viṣṇu and Śiva, are also animists worshipping the village deities, the Grāma-Devatās, as they are called in the vernacular, and a host of spirits, good, bad, and indifferent. The worship of these village deities forms an important part of the conglomerate of religious beliefs, customs, and ceremonies which are often classed together under the term Hinduism. In almost every village and town of S. India may be seen a shrine or symbol of the Grāma-Devatā, who is periodically worshipped and propitiated. As a rule, the shrine of the village deity is far less imposing than the Brāhmanical temples in the neighbourhood; very often it is nothing more than a small enclosure with a few rough stones in the centre, and often there is no shrine at all; but still, when calamity overtakes the village, when pestilence, famine, or cattle-disease makes its appearance, it is to the village deity that the whole body of the villagers turn for protection. Śiva and Viṣṇu may be more dignified beings, but the village deity is regarded as a more present help in trouble, and is more intimately concerned with the happiness and prosperity of the villagers. In the animal sacrifices offered to these deities the treatment of the blood, which is sometimes drunk by the worshippers, sometimes sprinkled upon their bodies, sometimes sprinkled on the houses or the gate-way of the village, and sometimes mixed with boiled rice and sprinkled all round the village site, and also the sacrificial feast upon the flesh of the victim, connect the sacrifices to the Grāma-Devatā in India very closely with the primitive systems of animal-sacrifice which are found all over the world. Traces of human sacrifice, too, are often found in connexion with these cults. In Mysore the present writer came across a ceremony called 'the human sacrifice ceremony,' in which the man who represents the victim, instead of being killed, is simply touched with a bunch of coco-nut flowers. Lewis Rice states that similar traces of human sacrifice are found among the Coorgs in the hill country to the west of the Mysore State, whose religion is anti-Brāhmanical and consists of the worship of ancestors and demons. With reference to the worship of Grāma-Devatās among them, he says that, as among other Dravidian mountain tribes, so also in Coorg, the tradition relates that human sacrifices were offered in former times to secure the favour of their Grāma-Devatās, who are supposed to protect the villages from all evil influences. At the present day a he-goat or a cock is often sacrificed instead of a man.

The special features which broadly distinguish the worship of the village deities in S. India from that of Śiva and Viṣṇu are three. (1) The fact that the village deities, with very few exceptions, are female. In the Tamil country, it is true, almost all the village goddesses have male attendants, who are supposed to guard the shrine and to carry out the commands of the goddesses; and one male deity, Iyenar, has a shrine to himself, and is regarded as the night watchman of the village. In the Telugu country there is a being called Potu-Razu, who figures sometimes as the brother and sometimes as the husband of village goddesses, and sometimes as an attendant. But, with the exception of Iyenar and one or two other deities, all the male deities are so distinctly subordinate to the goddesses that they do not contravene the general principle that village deities are female and not male. (2) The fact that the village deities are almost universally worshipped with animal sacrifices. Buffaloes, sheep, goats, pigs, and fowls are freely offered to them, sometimes in thousands. In the Tamil country this custom is modified by the influence of Brāhmanism, which has imbued the villagers with the idea that the shedding of blood is low and irreligious. The animal sacrifices are regarded, therefore, as offered to the male attendants of the goddess and not to the goddess herself. (3) The fact that the Pujaris, *i.e.* the men who perform the worship and officiate as priests, are not Brāhmans, but are drawn from the Śūdra castes or sometimes from the out-castes. On the other hand, in the temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu, the officiating priests are Brāhmans, no animal sacrifices are ever offered, and the principal deities are male and not female. The origin of these cults is lost in antiquity; they are certainly pre-Aryan, but have been more or less modified in various parts of S. India by Brāhmanical influence. Some details of the ceremonies used in them seem to point back to a totemistic stage of religion; some of the deities are obviously agricultural, others are the spirits of women who have died in childbirth or of men or women who have died by violent deaths, others are connected with disease and pestilence, especially cholera and smallpox; many of the deities are of quite recent origin, and it is easy to observe a deity in the making even at the present day.

Snake-worship and tree-worship are also widely prevalent throughout S. India and have become incorporated in popular Hinduism. Almost every village has its sacred *pipal* tree, representing a female, and a *margossa* tree, representing a male, planted close to each other. These two trees are married with the same ceremonies as human beings. In every house of one section of the Brāhmans (called Mādhvas [*q.v.*] or Raojis) there is a *tulasi* plant (sacred to Viṣṇu). The snake is closely connected with the worship both of Viṣṇu and of Śiva. A cobra forms the *vāhana* (sacred vehicle) on which Viṣṇu rides, and Śiva is always represented with a cobra in his hand. At the entrance of almost every village of S. India there are figures of the cobra carved on stone in bas-relief erected on raised platforms for the adoration of the public. Brāhmans and Śūdras alike make offerings at these shrines. The living serpent is very generally worshipped, and few Hindus will consent to kill one. If a cobra takes up its abode in the thatched roof of the house or in one of the walls of the compound, it is not only left undisturbed, but is fed with milk. A woman is often the priest in the worship both of trees and of serpents, and women are the chief worshippers, mainly for the purpose of obtaining offspring.

On the W. Coast in Malabar snake-worship is especially prevalent. Some families are supposed to be consecrated to the snake deity, and to exercise a peculiar influence over the deadly cobras which are reputed to swarm in their houses and crawl in and out among the members of the family without ever doing them any injury.

Demonolatry is very prevalent, especially in the Southern part of the Tamil country, and devil-dancing, performed by a class of men who are supposed to have supernatural powers over the devils, forms a weird feature of the religion of the Tamil villagers. Some diseases, especially nervous maladies, are supposed to be the result of possession by an evil spirit. Devils innumerable surround the village—water-devils, cow-devils, horse-devils, and buffalo-devils—who are always ready to pounce down upon the unhappy villager. The poor people who are supposed to be possessed by these devils are often put to terrible tortures by the exorcist. Red-hot iron needles are sometimes stuck all over their bodies, or they are bound hand and foot and then beaten with sticks.

The innumerable superstitions connected with popular Hinduism are excellently described by Edgar Thurston in his *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India.*

LITERATURE.—*Census Reports*, 1901 and 1911, 'Madras'; E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, London, 1912; H. Whitehead, *The Village Deities of Southern India*, *Bulletin of Madras Government Museum*, v. [1907] no. 3, reprinted, London, 1915; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*^{3}, tr. H. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906.

H. WHITEHEAD.

MADURA.—Madura is the name of an important District in S. India—280 to 380 miles south of the town of Madras. Its capital, Madura, had a population of 134,130 in 1911, and is situated 10° N. lat. by 78° E. longitude. It is a prosperous town among whose progressive people are found about 50,000 weavers. Yet, apart from government and railway works and the Scottish spinning mill, there is hardly one horse power of steam used in the whole community—by which it may be known that modern prosperity in the East is not necessarily connected with the use of most modern industrial appliances and forces.

Madura is a town of considerable antiquity. It was known to Ptolemy (VII. i. 89, VIII. xxvi. 17) as Μόδουρα, and was the centre of the ancient Pāṇḍya kingdom whose fame spread westward through the Greeks and Romans even before the advent of the Christian era. Even to-day ancient Roman coins are occasionally discovered in the town and surrounding regions.

Madura has long been designated 'the Athens of S. India'; the ancient and famed Madura College was the source and inspiration of Tamil classical literature for centuries. Many of its most popular legends gather round its poet-saints, the narrative of whose struggles and conflicts is a perennial source of delight to the people.

But it is its great Mīnākṣī temple that is the source of its pride and the centre of its life. The town is built around its sacred precincts, all the main streets running parallel to the four walls of the temple. This temple has a past which runs far beyond history into the misty realm of legend and myth.

The first historical reference is to its partial destruction by Malik Kāfūr, the famous general of the Mughal emperor, ʻAlā-ud-dīn, in 1310. He destroyed its outer wall and fourteen high towers, and left little but the inner shrines, which were saved only by an opportune dissension among the vandals.

Perhaps all that now exists of this architectural pride of S. India (except the inner shrines and contiguous courts) is not older than the 16th cent. and is largely the gift of kings of the Nayaken dynasty, by far the most prominent of whom was Tirumala Naik (1623–59).

S. Indian temples are the most spacious in the world. The Madura shrine is the third in size, but is the first in architectural excellence, best in its upkeep, and most thoroughly devoted to its religious purposes. Its outer walls, which are 25 ft. high, form almost a square (830 ft. by 730 ft.) and enclose an area of about 14 acres. Each wall is surmounted at its centre by a richly embellished *gopura*, or tower, which is about 150 ft. high. These towers are the landmarks of the country around.

Granite is almost exclusively the material used in the temple, even the roof being of granite slabs. Its monolithic pillars are legion, and nearly all of them are elaborately carved, some exhibiting marvellous patience and skill. The 'Hall of a Thousand Pillars' (correctly speaking, its pillars are only 985 in number) is the culmination of its architectural claims. Of this J. Fergusson writes:

> Its 'sculptures surpass those of any other hall of its class I am acquainted with . . . but it is not their number but their marvellous elaboration that makes it the wonder of the place' (*Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*^{2}, i. 392).

This hall is eclipsed, perhaps, by only one other, the so-called Choultry, or Puthu Maṇḍapam, which is outside and to the east of the temple proper and is the most imposing of all sacred edifices in S. India. It was erected by Tirumala Naik about 250 years ago, is 330 ft. by 105 ft., and is supported by 124 richly sculptured pillars 20 ft. high. It is a worthy granite monument to one of the great kings of S. India. The whole temple is distinctly Hindu in its architecture—a style in which the arch is entirely absent and densely pillared halls predominate. Its many *gopuras* are pyramidal in form, and are a striking development of the ancient *stūpa*, or pagoda, of Buddhism.

The temple is one of the most distinguished fanes of Śaivism, representing that type of the Brāhmanic cult which first appealed to and was adopted by the Dravidian people of S. India. Because this is the more austere form of Hinduism, it is more closely allied than the mild Vaiṣṇavism to the cruel demonolatry of the aboriginal people of that region. This temple and its worship also admirably illustrate the habit of the Brāhmanic propaganda, which never antagonized a new and contiguous faith, but rather fraternized with it, then adopted its leading features, and finally absorbed it entirely. Śiva's representative in this shrine is Sokkaliṅgam or Sundareśvara. The first name is Dravidian, revealing the non-Brāhmanic or non-Aryan origin of the god who was adopted from the pantheon of the Dravidian cult to that of the Aryan. Later, this S. India manifestation of Śiva popularized the northern faith among the people of Madura by marrying the most dreaded demoness of that region, Mīnākṣī. The latter, doubtless, was an ancient queen who was slain in war, and was soon exalted to the highest place in the Dravidian pantheon. By this marriage the Aryan cult of the north was wedded to the supreme faith of the south, and the great annual marriage-festival of the temple celebrates and perpetuates the union of the two diverse cults in that region. In that most popular festival there is another interesting feature: Mīnākṣī is said to be the sister of Alahan, a popular Vaiṣṇava demon-deity a few miles from Madura, and this brother comes to attend the wedding ceremonies of his sister at Madura; but, unfortunately, he arrives a day late, and is so incensed by the fact that he will not enter the city or temple; his idol is thus kept for three days on the outskirts of the town, during which period all the people, both Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites, fraternize together and bring their offerings to the aggrieved god. Thus, upon this occasion, we find the three cults of that region, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, and demonolatry, most strikingly brought together.

In many ways the worship of this famous Hindu temple reveals a fact which outsiders can understand only with much difficulty. In a certain way, all the Dravidian people are a part of Hinduism and are loyal to that faith. But it is a Hinduism which is completely impregnated with Dravidian and animistic ideas. The worship of the Aryan deities in S. India is a pleasing pastime; but the people are still obsessed with the fear of their myriad demons, and find their chief religious concern in appeasing them in the many demon shrines which are found in every town and village. Even Kālī, the chief consort of Śiva, who also finds a prominent place in this temple, is so Dravidianized and demonized with a bloodthirsty passion that no one can separate her from the many Dravidian *ammans*, or demonesses, who haunt that region and terrorize the whole community.

It is thus that we learn what the amorphous thing called Hinduism is in S. India. In outward form it poses as an Aryan cult, but in its inner spirit it reveals the pervasive animistic genius which has characterized the Dravidian mind and heart from time immemorial. The Aryan has given to the religion its outer form and *éclat*; but the Dravidian has retained and conveyed into it all the animism which his ancestors entertained and practised. It is largely the spirit of the south robed in the garb of the north. The Madura temple furnishes one of the best illustrations of this animistic type of Hinduism.

LITERATURE.—J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*,^{2} London, 1910; W. Francis, *District Gazetteer*, Madras, 1906; M. Monier-Williams, *Hinduism*, London, 1877; A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, do. 1882; E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, do. 1896.

J. P. JONES.

MÆNADS.—The character of the Mænads was long a subject upon which the most mistaken ideas prevailed. The accounts of them given by poets, mythographers, and historians were all mingled together, and were, moreover, mixed up indiscriminately with the representations of the cult of Dionysus in art, while, again, these artistic products were not submitted to any process of critical analysis. Thus arose the conception of a wildly fantastic religious service celebrated by delirious women in nearly all parts of Greece and Asia Minor. The first to reduce the literary and artistic data to order, and to give a clear impression of the development and character of the Dionysus-cult, was A. Rapp, in his 'Die Mänade im griechischen Kultus, in der Kunst und Poesie' (*Rhein. Mus.* xxvii. [1872] 1–22, 562–611; cf. Roscher, ii. 2243–2283). Then at length the powerful movement introduced into Greece by the new deity, and the influence of that movement upon the spiritual life of the people, were exhaustively delineated by E. Rohde (*Psyche*^{4}, Tübingen, 1907, ii. 5 ff.). The researches of the folklorists among other peoples have also brought to light interesting parallels to the ancient Dionysian cult and customs; but great caution must be exercised with regard to the ideas of 'vegetation deities,' 'spirits of fertility,' etc., to which the modern tendency to trace analogies everywhere has given rise (cf., *e.g.*, O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich, 1906, p. 905 f.).

Dionysus, the lord of the Mænads, of the 'Bacchæ,' so named after him, was, as is now universally recognized, and as was already known to Aristarchus, not originally a Greek deity, but was derived from Thrace (cf. Herod. v. 7, and the notes of W. W. How and J. Wells, London, 1912), where he was worshipped under the name of Sabos or Sabazios (schol. Aristoph. *Vespæ*, 9 ff.). It is true that Sabazios is also spoken of as a Phrygian deity (reff. in Rohde, ii. 7, note 3), but, as the Thracians and the Phrygians were, in the judgment of the ancients, closely related peoples, we need not be surprised that the worship of the Phrygian national goddess Cybele should show so many points of contact with the forms of the Thracian cult of Dionysus. The latter was a non-Greek cult which was celebrated upon the mountain heights of Thrace in the winter of every alternate year (and in Greece, therefore, subsequently called the *τριετηρίς*). At these celebrations women danced in wild frenzy amid the glare of torches, whirling dizzily to the clangour of rude music—the clashing of bronze vessels, the hollow roll of large drums (cf. CYBELE), the shrill whistling of flutes—and with loud shouts of *εὖ οἶ* (which afterwards became *euhoe*, *evoe*, and finally *evoē*). These raving creatures (*μαινάδες*; used generically as early as Hom. *Il.* xxii. 460), with their dishevelled hair streaming in the wind, were clothed in long flowing *βασσάραι* (whence they were also called Βασσαρίδες), over which they wore the *νεβρίς* (cf. Æsch. frag. 64, and the pictorial representations), and in their hands they carried serpents (animals sacred to Sabazios [Theophr. *Char.* xxx. 4; cf. the *πομπή* of Ptolemy II. in Athenæus, 198 C, etc.]), daggers, or thyrsi. In their religious frenzy they threw themselves upon the sacrificial animals, tearing them in pieces with their teeth (Eur. *Bacch.* 736 ff., etc.; but cf. the singular explanation of the practice in Gruppe, p. 731 f.). In these riotous scenes the fumes of wine played no part; the women used no strong drink to stimulate their frenzy, but, on the contrary, were able to work themselves into such a condition of over-excitement as would bring about the ecstatic state. Their delirium was regarded as a means of compelling their god to appear (Eur. *Bacch.* 141 ff., 306 f.; Paus. VI. xxvi. 1: *καὶ τὸν θεόν σφισιν ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐς τῶν Θυίων τὴν ἑορτὴν λέγουσιν*). A notable analogy to these practices is found in the leaping of the Perchtas in the Tyrol; here, on Shrove Tuesday (cf. art. CARNIVAL, vol. iii. p. 225 ff., esp. p. 228^a), the Perchtas (so named, like the Bacchæ, after the deity whom they thus honour) work themselves into a frenzy. Their raving is carried to such a pitch that at length they think that they actually see Percht herself in their midst, and it is even said that she has sometimes mangled her worshippers (F. A. Voigt, in Roscher, i. 1041 f.).

This tumultuous cult, whose votaries were also called Κλώδωνες and Μιμαλλόνες, maintained itself till later times; even Queen Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, was devoted to the wild practices of the Thracian religion, and her tame snakes, which would suddenly wriggle out from amongst the ivy or from the sacred winnowing-fans, not seldom startled the court of Philip (Plut. *Alex.* 2). In that form, however, the cult certainly met with opposition as it spread through Greece. What mythology tells us, now of Lycurgus and the struggle which he made against Dionysus and his τιθῆναι (so Hom. *Il.* vi. 132 ff.; concrete details regarding the τιθῆναι are lacking), as of Pentheus, and now of the Minyads and the Prœtids, shows at least that at some time the Bacchus cult had once or oftener encountered enemies in various districts to which it spread. Its complete triumph throughout almost the whole of Greece is, of course, a commonplace of history. The new religion, with its outlandish features, came to be so thoroughly naturalized that its alien origin was almost forgotten: Herodotus speaks (iv. 79) of the Bacchic frenzy as a peculiarly Hellenic characteristic in contrast to the practices of other lands; the Spartan Mænads, the δύσμαιναι, raved upon the heights of Taygetus (reff., *e.g.*, in Rohde, ii. 45, note 2); and Galen (*de Antid.* 8, vol. xiv. 45 [Kühn]) could speak of snake-rending as still practised at the Bacchic festivals.

But the educative power of Delphi was now at work, and Apollo exercised his softening influence upon the raging Bacchus. It was with very different rites that the women performed their worship of Bacchus on Mt. Parnassus. Here, every two years, about the time of the shortest day, the Thyiads 'awaked' Λικνίτης, the god who lies in the sacred winnowing-fan (Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* xxxv.); here (Rapp, *Rhein. Mus.* xxvii. 5) a caste of priestesses was employed, who attended to the rites of this winter festival on Parnassus. With such rites, too, the Attic Thyiads celebrated at similar intervals the orgies of the god at Delphi. Thus the celebration had now to do not with Dionysus only, but with Apollo as well (Paus. x. xxxii. 7). Of this cult, whose Bacchic ecstasy had been refined by Apollonian moderation, we find a picture in the celebrated chorus of the *Antigone* of Sophocles (1126 ff.), which tells indeed of the torch-swinging θυῖαι and of their dancing by night upon Parnassus, but does not speak of the mad fury of the Thracian observance—the reason being that in the precincts of Delphi this element no longer had a place. Then Euripides, who, in contemplating the unrestrained frenzy imported from the North, broadened and enriched that poetic sense which understands all, produced a permanent memorial of the thrillingly graceful activities of the Mænads. In his *Bacchæ* the actual and the poetic run naturally into each other. Here the enthusiastic troops of women, crowned with wreaths of ivy and smilax, garbed in the many-coloured νεβρίς, and holding the thyrsus in their hands, plunge madly through the mountains, and fall to the ground in the fullness of their rapture; while, again, they rush to the slaughter of the goats, the ground flows with milk and wine, and the stroke of the thyrsus upon the rock causes a spring to break forth; ferocious animals are on a friendly footing with the Mænads, who offer the breast to fawns and young wolves, while ill-disposed men flee before the hurtling thyrsus (*Bacch.*, *passim*).

Investigators have had great difficulties also with the portrayal of the Bacchus cult in art. In this field, too, it was necessary to disengage the mythological aspects from the presentation of the real. As a whole, it is only the general impression to be found here that corresponds to the literary account. On the artistic side it is pre-eminently the Attic vases that merit consideration. On the earlier specimens of these we see the orgiastic dancing of women to the cadence of flutes; later additions are the swinging of torches, the beating of drums, and the head thrown back upon the shoulders. According to the more recent explanation, the celebration thus represented is the Lenæa, the festival of the raving women (λῆναι), which had been brought from Bœotia (on all this cf. A. Frickenhaus, *Lenäenvasen* [*Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste der archäolog. Gesellsch.* lxxii.], Berlin, 1912). With these designs are mingled others showing a distinct background of mythology, and here we also find names of the Mænads, such as Μαι[νάς], Θηρώ, etc. (cf. C. Fränkel, *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern*, Halle, 1912). Then later art brought the depictment of that furious, almost hysterical, ecstasy to its most vigorous expression, and even extended it, most unnaturally, to the uncouth satyrs; this intense expression of feeling is seen in its finest form in the Mænads of Scopas (M. Treu, in *Mélanges Perrot*, Paris, 1902, p. 317 ff.). Nearly everywhere in art, however, the representation of the Mænads is an expression of early religious emotion, and the vase-paintings designedly set forth the strict reserve of the Bacchæ in contrast to the loose merry-making of the satyrs. The introduction of the Bacchic procession, with its troops of men and women rolling wantonly along, and the transformation of the primitive festival, attended by females only, into a turbulent orgy were the work of the superficial art of the Hellenistic age.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

J. GEFFCKEN.

MAGADHA.—Magadha, an ancient kingdom in India, was the scene of the greater part of Buddha's preaching and the last stronghold of his faith in India. It was equivalent to the modern districts of Patna, Gayā, and Shāhābād in S. Bihār. The name Bihār itself, which is now that of a vast district, is evidence of the predominance of Buddhism in these lands, for it was originally the name of a town with a celebrated Buddhist monastery (Skr. *vihāra*). Buddha was not born in Magadha, but in the country to the north of it, at the grove of Lumbinī (*q.v.*), near Kapilavastu (*q.v.*), the Śākya capital in the Nepālese Tarāi. Magadha was the home and the nucleus of two of the greatest Indian empires, the Maurya and the Gupta. It is celebrated in Sanskrit literature as one of the richest, most fertile, and best irrigated districts in India. As the home of Buddhism and Jainism, it is full of archæological remains of the greatest religious interest.

Its earliest capital was a very ancient hill fortress named Girivraja (Pāli Giribbaja), built, according to tradition, by an architect named Mahāgovinda; its place was taken in the 6th cent. B.C. by the better known Rājagṛha (Pāli Rājagaha), built at the foot of hills on which Girivraja stood; Rājagṛha is the modern Rājgēr, which, however, stands about a mile to the south. Its walls still exist, and are probably the oldest stone buildings in India. Rājagṛha had reached its zenith about Buddha's time, soon after which it began to decline with the growth of Pāṭaliputra (the modern Patna). The modern town of Gayā, although now a place of pilgrimage for Hindus, has no ancient religious associations; 7 miles to the south, however, are the remains of Bodh (Buddh) Gayā (see GAYĀ, vol. vi. p. 181 ff.), one of the most interesting sites in India, where Gautama Śākyamuni finally attained enlightenment (*bodhi*). To the south of Gayā is the hill of Dhongra, the Prāgbodhi (Po-lo-ki-pu-ti) of Hiuen Tsiang, with a cave in which Buddha once rested. Punāwān, 14 miles east of Gayā, is rich in Buddhist sculptures; to the south of it is Hasrā hill, which has been identified with the Kukkuṭapādagiri of the Chinese pilgrims.

A. Cunningham, however, recognizes the latter in Kurkihār, which lies some miles to the north. Gunerī, Dharawat, and Kavadal are all rich in Buddhist remains, the last-named with a colossal stone image of Buddha. Jetian, or Jakhtiban, is the Yaṣṭivana ('bamboo-forest') of Buddha's wanderings; near it at Tapoban are the hot springs, visited by Hiuen Tsiang, at which Buddha bathed. In this neighbourhood the Chinese pilgrim visited a cave with a stone which had been used by Indra and Brahmā for pounding sandalwood to anoint Buddha's body. In the side of Baibhār hill, near Rājgēr, was the Sattapaṇṇi cave in which the first Buddhist synod met in 543 B.C.; according to Cunningham,[1] this cave is the modern Son Bhāndār cave on the southern side of the hill. On the adjacent hill of Ratnāgiri is the *pipal*-tree cave of Fa-Hian in which Buddha used to meditate after his meals. On the top of this hill there still is a small Jain temple; Ratnāgiri is the Pandao of the Pāli chroniclers and the Ṛṣigiri of the *Mahābhārata*. The extensive ruins at the modern Baragaon are the ancient Nālandā (*q.v.*), the greatest centre of Buddhist learning in ancient India. Near Giriak on the Panchāna river a bathing festival is held annually to commemorate Kṛṣṇa's crossing of the river here on his way to challenge Jarāsandha. Sasaran, Monghyr, and Shergarh are rich in relics of Muhammadan architecture. At Sītāmarhi is a cave with which a legend of Sītā is associated. The annual bathing festival of Sonpur, held in November at the junction of the Gandak and the Ganges, is one of the oldest and most popular in India; it was here that Viṣṇu rescued the elephant from the crocodile, and here Rāma built a temple. At Afsar there is a fine sculpture of the *varāha* (boar) *avatār* of Viṣṇu.

LITERATURE.—T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*², London, 1905; A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, do. 1871; J. Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, Oxford, 1886; T. W. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, London, 1904–05; *IGI*, *passim*.

J. ALLAN.

MAGAS.—See SAURAS AND MAGAS.

MAGH.—Magh, or, popularly, Mugh, Mugg, is the designation of a group of Indo-Chinese tribes, numbering 128,545 at the Census of 1911, and practically all confined to Bengal. The derivation of the name is uncertain. A. P. Phayre (*Hist. of Burma*, London, 1884, p. 47; cf. H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*², do. 1903, p. 594) connects it with Magadha, the ancient name of modern Bihār, while L. Vivien de St. Martin (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Calcutta, 1877, p. 133, note), identified the Magh with the Maccocalingæ of Pliny (*HN* VI. xxi. 8).

> 'All Maghs are Buddhists of the Southern school, and regard the Northern Buddhists of Tibet as wholly unorthodox. The wilder sections of the Thongchas, however, retain some vestiges of an earlier animistic faith, which bids them sacrifice cattle, goats, and swine, and make offerings of rice, fruits, and flowers to the spirits of hill and river. Among the Maramagris, on the other hand, the tendency is to follow after modern Hinduism, particularly in its Tantric developments, and to add the gross worship of Siva and Durga to the simple observances prescribed by their own communion. It thus comes to pass that while the Buddhist *Phungyis* or *Rdolis* are the recognized priests of all the tribes, considerable respect is shown to Brahmans, who are frequently employed to determine auspicious days for particular actions, and to assist in the worship of the Hindu gods. Among the Thongchas old women often devote themselves to the service of religion, and although not charged with special ceremonial functions, are regarded as in some sense priestesses, and are called by the distinctive name *lerdama*' (H. H. Risley, *TC*, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 33).

The people thus described are the Khyoungtha of the hill tracts of Chittagong, who, as T. H. Lewin states (*Hill Tracts of Chittagong*, Calcutta, 1869, p. 37, *Wild Races of S.-E. India*, London, 1870, p. 95), are known to the Bengalis of the plains as 'Hill Mugh,' and are to be carefully distinguished from the true Maghs of the Chittagong District, otherwise called Rājbansī, who are the offspring of Bengali women by Burmans, when the latter possessed Chittagong. They supply the famous Magh cooks, well known in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal. The true Khyoungtha are Buddhists and believe in the doctrine of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls; but their Buddhist worship is of a simple character—the presence of a priest is not indispensable; prayers are made and offerings of flowers, food, etc., are placed before the shrine of Gautama by the people themselves. Many villages have no priest, except wandering friars, who are not so much ministers of religion as recipients of alms. Each village has a temple (*khiong*), a bamboo structure built under the shade of some trees, inside which, on a small raised platform of bamboos, stands an image of Gautama, made either of gilded wood or of alabaster, the figure being in a sitting posture, with a pagoda-shaped headdress indicative of superior power. Before it the village girls lay offerings of flowers and rice every morning, and, at the same time, bring the daily food of any priest or wayfarer who may be resting there. By the side of the image hangs a small stand of bells, which each villager, after removing his turban and bowing to the semblance of the Teacher, rings to announce his presence. Each one prays for himself, except that now and again a father may be seen leading his young son by the hand and teaching him how to pray. Each year, before the commencement of the burning of the jungle for the purpose of sowing their crops, the boys are clothed in yellow robes of the priesthood, have their heads shaved, and go through a rite before a priest which seems to be an assumption on their part of religious responsibilities. Women do not participate in this rite; but it is common for a man to perform it two or three times during his life. If a relative is sick, or he himself has escaped any danger, he performs the ceremony as a supplication or as an acknowledgment of the mercies which he has received.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the article.

W. CROOKE.

MAGI.—I. The name (Gr. Μάγος, Lat. *Magus*, from Old Pers. *Magu*) is familiar to us from the classical writers, and from two appearances in the NT. It meets us first on the Behistān Inscription of Darius, where the king describes (*Bh.* [Pers. text] i. 35 ff.) the usurpation of 'Gaumata the Magus' (*Gaumāta tya Maguš*) and his own successful plot against him, by which he restored the Achæmenian dynasty to its ancient throne. There is nothing in the inscription to show what *Magu* meant, and we must fall back on our Greek sources, Herodotus first, and the rest *longo intervallo.* In Herod. i. 101 we are told that Ἀριζαντοί, Μάγοι, and four others were Μήδων γένεα. The six names were explained as Aryan caste-titles by J. Oppert long ago (*Le Peuple et la langue des Mèdes*, Paris, 1879, p. 7), and again, on different lines, by A. J. Carnoy (*Muséon*, new ser., ix. [1908] 121 ff.); the tolerable certainty that five are Aryan makes a strong presumption that Μάγος must be interpreted from the same language group.

The etymology, however, must be left undecided. Putting aside some attempts of Semitists to claim it, we have at least two plausible accounts from the Indo-European side. Carnoy (*loc. cit.*) compares μηχανή and Μαχάων with the meaning 'helper, healer,' while Moulton (*The Thinker*, ii. [1892] 491; see his *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 428–430) connects Gothic *magus*, O. Ir. *mug*—a connexion which Carnoy accepts, but in a different sense. The Gothic word translates τέκνον once, and παῖς (='servant') elsewhere. The latter meaning is that of the Irish word; we may probably compare the development of our 'maid' and local uses of 'boy.' That 'boy' is the primitive meaning is confirmed by the Later Avestan *maγava*, 'unmarried.' The significant fact that *moγu* (=O. Pers. *magu*) occurs only once in the Avesta, and that in a prose passage (*Ys.* lxv. 7) obviously late, speaks for the meaning 'servant'; the Magi were thus the leading tribe of the aboriginal population, enslaved or reduced to political subjection by the invading Aryans. But the whole history of the word is open to great uncertainty. The authority of T. Nöldeke and C. Bezold (*ap.* C. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 1111) may be referred to against the Semitic claim.

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[1] *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 463.

2. While the Magi were thus a distinct caste of Medians, and apparently the recognized leaders of the subject population in the time of Aryan (Persian) dominion, there is no reason for doubt that their ascendancy was essentially religious, like that of the Brāhmans in India. Darius writes of his repairing temples which the Magus had destroyed (*Bh.* [Pers. text] i. 63–66), and so far the inscription favours the existence of a marked difference of religion—of course, its scanty reference does not definitely prove anything one way or another. But the testimony of Herodotus and all later classical writers is so unanimous and precise that we need no other. It would appear that, having failed in their bold bid for political supremacy, as leaders of the people against Aryan invaders, they began to build up power upon their popular vogue as shamans. It was easy to insinuate themselves into the open place of priest in the unreformed Iranian nature-worship, as described most accurately by Herodotus (i. 131 ff.); they had only to emphasize certain clear points of resemblance between their own religion and that of the Aryans, veneration of the sun and of fire being the chief. There is one important detail of ritual in which we can with high probability trace an appearance of Magianism separate from Aryan connexions at a very early date. Ezk $8^{16f.}$ describes, as the greatest of three 'abominations' that had brought Jahweh's wrath on Jerusalem, the sun-worship of men in eastward position, who 'put the branch to the nose.' To hold a bough before the face in solar cultus is a natural action; its special interest for us lies in its coincidence with the Parsi use of the *barsom* (*q.v.*), a bunch of tamarisk twigs held by the priest before his face in worship. The name, and the peculiar use of the verb 'spread' to describe the preparation of the instrument, alike take us to something quite different—the Aryan carpet of stalks of tender grass (Herod. i. 132) on which the offering was laid (Skr. *barhiṣ*, Av. *baresman*). We may infer that the Magi adapted the Aryan use to their own by prescribing that a bunch of the sacred stalks should be picked up from the ground and held reverentially before the face.

3. This notice enables us to trace the Magi in a separate activity as far back as 591 B.C., when they seem to have secured proselytes in Judæa. This is quite in keeping with what we know of them. Their contemporary appearance in Babylon is probably attested by Jer $39^{3.13}$, where 'the Rab-Mag' appears among Nebuchadrezzar's officers (for alternative views of Rab-Mag see the *Oxford Lexicon* and *EBi*, *s.v.*). H. Zimmern and H. Winckler (*KAT*^{3}, 416) explain the Rab-Mag's name, Nergal-sharezer, as 'Nergal, protect the king'; and in their account of Nergal they expressly compare Ahriman, who in the Later Avesta has features which could be very easily connected with Babylon. The head of a caste of exorcists, who by their charms can keep the Satan from harming the king, is wholly in place at court. We compare at once the apotropæic functions of the Magi in Plutarch, *de Is. et Osir.* 46. We may add to this small but important peculiarity several other traits by which the Magi may be distinguished from the Persians in religion, whether in the earlier or the later stages of what we now call Parsiism. First come two conspicuous features recognized from the first by Greek writers as Magian and not Persian: (1) their exposure of the bodies of the dead to birds and carrion dogs was distinguished by Herodotus (i. 140) from the Persian custom of burial after encasing in wax. It has pronounced aboriginal affinities, and was neither Semitic nor (almost certainly) Aryan. Coupled with this was (2) their insistence on next-of-kin marriage, which they belauded extravagantly for its accumulations of merit. It was never accepted by the Persians, and never found its way into the Avesta (see on this Moulton, p. 205 f.), first appearing in the Pahlavi writings of the Sasanian age as a precept of developed Parsiism. But modern Parsiism repudiates it with the utmost emphasis, and its scholars attempt the heroic but impossible task of denying that their predecessors meant anything of the kind (see art. MARRIAGE [Iranian], § 2). (3) The very name of *magic* attests the strength of their association, in the mind of antiquity, with an accomplishment altogether ignored in the Avesta, and never countenanced in Parsiism. Equally ignored is (4) *oneiromancy*. The Magi were renowned for their skill in divining by dreams; but the very word for dream occurs only once in the Later Avesta (*Yt.* xiii. 104), and there is no hint that dreams were ever studied. Closely linked with this is (5) *astrology*, with which the Magi were traditionally credited. But the Avesta, while it has plenty of star-lore, and some mythology, has never a hint of ideas belonging to astrological conceptions. A curious point under this head is the inconsistent views of the planets held in the later Parsi Scriptures (the Avesta has nothing one way or the other). On one side there is the official view that planets were malign; on the other we find them named by the names of the good *yazatas*, including Ormazd himself. These names are simply equivalents for the Babylonian terms, like those which we ourselves have taken over through the later Greeks and the Romans, so that the date is post-Avestan. But it seems probable that the Magi put the planets into the creation of Ahriman because of their irregular motion, while the Parsis generally believed in their beneficence. There is the same kind of discrepancy in (6) the views of *mountains*, which in Aryan and Semitic mythology alike were venerated as divine, but by the Magi were treated as blots on the symmetry of creation, to be smoothed out when the Regeneration came. It will be seen that most of these peculiar traits, by which we may distinguish the Magi from the people whose religion they adopted and adapted, are incompatible with either Aryan or Semitic affiliation, or at least do not suggest the one or the other. It seems a fair inference that they were aboriginal Medians, who, like the Elamites, belonged to neither of the two great races which divided Nearer Asia between them. To what stock they belonged we may not be able to say. L. H. Gray (*ExpT* xxv. [1914] 257) points out that there were Magas in India, about whom we hear in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*; he thinks that these were probably Magians, accepting the general view of them which has been outlined above, and he believes them to be immigrants to India from Persia.[1]

It must be premised that the foregoing view of the ethnography of the Magi and their religious origins is to some extent new, and has not yet had the benefit of full discussion. The extent of approval expressed by L. C. Casartelli (*Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 23, 1913) and L. H. Gray (*loc. cit.*) encourages the writer to epitomize here the thesis set forth in his *Early Zoroastrianism*, chs. vi. and vii. (cf. also K. Geldner, in *ThLZ* xxxix. [1914] 290).

4. Pursuing this thesis further, we are led to credit the Magi with all that is fairly called 'dualistic' in Parsiism. There is nothing really

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[1] It may be noted that a Skr. *Maga* cannot be directly equated with Iranian *Magu*; but *Magu* may be borrowed as a foreign word with altered declension (the form *Magu* also occurs in the *Bhav. Pur.*). This would imply an Iranian origin, which suits our theory. See, on the Magas, art. SAURAS AND MAGAS.

dualistic in Zarathushtra's *Gāthās*. The very name of Ahriman (*angra mainyu*, 'enemy spirit'; see art. AHRIMAN) occurs only once there (*Ys.* xlv. 2), as a casual epithet and not a fixed title. The good and evil spirits make their choice in the beginning, but there is never any real question as to the issue of the strife between them; one whose perpetual counsel is 'Resist the devil and he will flee' can never be called a dualist. But the Magi, on Plutarch's express testimony, offered sacrifices to Ahriman.[1] The practice is entirely absent from the Avesta—a fact that does not discredit Plutarch, but only shows the survival of distinct usages among the Magi, whose genius is well suited by the mechanical division of the world into creations of Ormazd and creations of Ahriman. This is practically absent from the *Gāthās*, and even from the *Yashts*, where a pure Iranian nature-worship shows small sign of influence from Zarathushtra on the one hand or the Magi on the other. The prose Avesta (excluding the early *Gāthā haptanghaitī*)—which by the loss of metre and the presence of much dubious grammar proclaims itself composed in a virtually dead language—is full of this dualism. Even words have to be distributed between the two camps; different terms are used for the head, hand, voice, etc., of an Ormazd-worshipper and those of an Ahrimanian. Every *yazata* has a demoniacal opponent; but we note that the balancing is imperfectly completed, and that the fiends are often of manifestly late origin and vague functions, so that we should suppose the work of correlation to have been rather half-heartedly undertaken as a concession to theory. The type of dualism implied suggests affinity with that which apparently called forth the declaration of Is 45^7. The presence of such a system in Babylonia during the Exile suits our view of the Magi as shamans exercising influence far beyond their own land of Media; and the presumption adds something to the case for recognizing the Rab-Mag as an ἀρχίμαγος. We may observe that, if Jahwism emphatically denied this dualistic assigning of darkness to an evil demiurge, Zarathushtra himself was no less clear in his claim that Mazda made the night as well as the day (*Ys.* xliv. 5).

5. We are reduced mainly to conjecture when we ask what was the Magian eschatology. That death must be abolished if Ormazd is at last to conquer Ahriman—*pouru-mahrka*, 'many-slaying,' according to his standing Avestan epithet—seems a natural inference from their first principles. We know, further, that they pictured a regenerate world in which such unsymmetrical features as mountains would disappear, and the earth would become a 'slopeless plain.' But how far they pressed their form of the doctrine of immortality we have no means of knowing. Our early Greek witness, Theopompus, according to an important statement of Diogenes,[2] declared that the Magi taught the future resurrection of men to a deathless existence. This excellent 4th cent. authority may, of course, be describing only the doctrine of Persian religion in his own time, when the Magi were its long-established priests. But the extract apparently connects this immortality with a doctrine that looks rather characteristic of the Magi themselves. The *locus classicus* in Plutarch, already quoted, is ordinarily taken as silent as to any doctrine of a resurrection among the Magi. But E. Böklen (*Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christl. mit der pars. Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1902, p. 102 ff.) argues that in Plutarch's quotation from Theopompus[1] we should translate 'Hades is to be deserted,' which agrees with the other accounts of the testimony of Theopompus. The absence of any doctrine of immortality in Tobit can hardly be regarded (as in Moulton, p. 416) as a contributory argument. For, whether the book is rightly or wrongly held (as by Moulton, ch. vii. and p. 332 ff., and D. C. Simpson in the Oxford Apocrypha) as containing a Median folk-story re-written by a Jew, we must admit that the adapter was not likely to include that element unless he agreed with it, which, if the date was early, he would not do. It is clear that, if Zarathushtra's eschatology came before Jews during the Exile only in an adaptation determined by Magian ideas, it was very little likely to attract the thinkers of Israel. The common belief that the rise of the doctrine of immortality in post-Exilic Judaism owed some real stimulus to Persian influence becomes less and less probable as the history of early Zoroastrianism is investigated more thoroughly.

6. Such, then, in outline were the Magi as a sacred tribe, so far as our information allows us to isolate them for separate portraiture. Most of what we hear of them naturally belongs rather to the religious system upon which they fastened so tenaciously. As early as the travels of Herodotus, they had compensated for their failure to regain political ascendancy by making themselves indispensable to the ritual of Persian religion. It involved, as we have seen, considerable suppression of beliefs and usages traditional among themselves. These they continued to practise in their own community, with or without attempts at propaganda. They could easily use general similarities between their religion and that of the native Iranians so as to prove to the latter their fitness to serve their altars; and the people to whom they ministered, including a large proportion of their own kin, would be slower to realize how much change the proselytes were bringing to the religion which they so zealously adopted.

7. Later developments of Magianism belong to the history of Zoroastrianism as established under the Sasanian dynasty. It only remains here to add a few words about the Magi as they figure in the Nativity story of our First Gospel. To discuss the historic credibility of that story, or the various theories that have been devised to explain the star, must be left to the Dictionaries of the Bible. Here it suffices to connect the foremost traits of the Magi, as described above, with points in the story of Mt 2. That these Μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν answer to the picture as experts in dream-interpretation and in star-lore is clear. It is noteworthy, therefore, that Mt 2, so far as its testimony goes, isolates the Magi from Persian religion, which, as we saw, has practically no room for either (see art. FRAVASHI, *ad fin.*). This constitutes within its limits a rather striking witness, when we remember how little we are able to discover about the Magi as apart from the religion with which even four centuries earlier they were almost completely identified. Naturally we must not be tempted to make too much of evidence so limited in its range.

LITERATURE.—Greek and Latin *loci classici* are collected in A. Rapp's two papers, *ZDMG* xix. [1865] 1–89 and xx. [1866] 49–140. Those which affect Zoroaster are conveniently printed together in A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, New York, 1899. The account here given depends largely on the writer's full discussion of the whole subject in *Early Zoroastrianism* (*HL*), London, 1913.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

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[1] *de Is. et Osir.* 46: 'Zoroaster the Magus . . . taught them to sacrifice to the other [Areimanios] offerings for averting ill, and things of gloom.' The blood of a wolf is specially mentioned. Cf. the Mithraic dedication *DEO ARIMANIO.*

[2] Diog. Laert. *Proœm.* 9, ὃς (sc. Theopompus) καὶ ἀναβιώσεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς Μάγους φησὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἀθανάτους. See Moulton, pp. 405, 415 f., for a full discussion.

[1] *de Is. et Osir.* 47: τέλος δ' ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸν Ἅιδην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους εὐδαίμονας ἔσεσθαι, μήτε τροφῆς δεομένους μήτε σκιὰν ποιοῦντας, κτλ. Hades has been usually taken as a name for Ahriman, but this almost demands the alteration of ἀπολείπεσθαι.

MAGIC.

Introductory (R. R. MARETT), p. 245.
Arabian and Muslim (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 252.
Babylonian (L. W. KING), p. 253.
Buddhist (L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN), p. 255.
Celtic (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 257.
Chinese (R. F. JOHNSTON), p. 259.
Christian.—See CHARMS AND AMULETS (Christian).
Egyptian (A. H. GARDINER), p. 262.
Greek and Roman (K. F. SMITH), p. 269.
Indian (H. A. ROSE), p. 289.
Iranian (A. J. CARNOY), p. 293.
Japanese (M. REVON), p. 296.
Jewish (M. GASTER), p. 300.
Slavic (L. A. MAGNUS), p. 305.
Teutonic (F. HÄLSIG), p. 307.
Vedic (A. A. MACDONELL), p. 311.

MAGIC (Introductory).—**1. History of the term and problem of its definition.**—In any general treatment of the subject of magic the problem of its definition must occupy the chief place, seeing that it constitutes a veritable storm-centre in the anthropological literature of the present day. As so often happens when a word belonging to the common language, and used in vague and conflicting ways, is taken over by science that it may correspond to some precise concept, theorists interested in different and more or less incompatible concepts claim exclusive rights over the same technical term; so that, if they are at all equally matched, the term becomes for the time being ambiguous, *i.e.*, it answers to more concepts than one. Something of this kind has occurred in regard to the word 'magic.' It may be instructive, then, to begin with a glance at its meaning as a popular expression. It is, of course, the lineal descendant of the Gr. *μαγεία* and the Lat. *magia*, which in their strictest sense refer simply to the religion, learning, and occult practices of the Persian Magi, or priests of the sect of Zoroaster, in the form in which they became known to the West (see art. MAGI). Such matters, however, being both foreign and ill-understood, would naturally be more or less suspect. Hence the word tends from the first to carry with it the unfavourable associations summed up in the notion of witchcraft (see, for instance, Hesychius, *s.v.* *γόης*, which he identifies with *μάγος*, and Pliny, *HN* xxx. 11; and for further references cf. H. Hubert, in Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Magia'). These associations the equivalent words in the various languages of modern Europe have never lost. Bacon's attempt to rehabilitate *magia* as natural science in its operative aspect (*de Augmentis scientiarum*, iii. *ad fin.*) proved quite abortive. Thus it comes about that the modern anthropologist in attributing 'magic' to a given people can hardly do so without at the same time implying that it is something inferior and bad—something that, however prevalent it may be, belongs to the lower levels or even to the pathology of mind and society. A survey of representative views on the subject will bring out the fact that, in this respect at least, most, if not all, theories tend to be at one.

2. Representative views.—As far back as 1870 E. B. Tylor laid it down that the 'confusion of objective with subjective connexion, . . . so uniform in principle, though so various in details, . . . may be applied to explain one branch after another of the arts of the sorcerer and diviner, till it almost seems as though we were coming near the end of his list, and might set down practices not based on this mental process, as exceptions to a general rule' (*Researches into the Early Hist. of Mankind*, p. 129). He adds that the same state of mind will account for tabus, many of the food-prejudices of the savage, for instance, depending on the belief that the qualities of the eaten pass into the eater (*ib.* p. 133). Such an attitude of mind he characterizes as one of 'gross superstition and delusion' (*ib.* p. 119), even while allowing that at a stage of development when human life 'was more like a long dream' such a system of error was perfectly 'intelligible' (*ib.* 139 f.). He pursues the same line of explanation in his later work, *Primitive Culture*, where magic is described as 'occult science,' *i.e.* a 'pseudo-science' (3rd ed., i. 112, 119). 'The principal key to the understanding of occult science is to consider it as based on the association of ideas, a faculty which lies at the very foundation of human reason, but in no small degree of human unreason also' (i. 115 f.). He adds a disquisition on the futility of magic arts, in which he maintains that 'in the whole monstrous farrago' there is practically no truth or value whatever (i. 133). Meanwhile, he holds that the laws of mind are as unchanging as the laws of chemical combination, so that 'the thing that has been will be' (i. 159). The 'symbolic magic' of the savage and modern spiritualism are alike hurtful superstitions born of fallacies to which the human mind is naturally prone (see ch. iv., *passim*, esp. *ad fin.*).

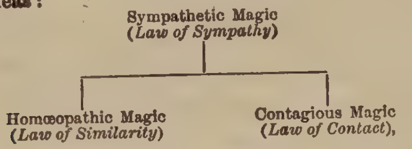
J. G. Frazer (*The Golden Bough*) maintains a position which in most respects is identical with that of Tylor. In the first edition (1890) he credits primitive man with two views of the world that exist side by side, the one view being that it is worked by personal beings acting on impulses and motives like his own, the other view amounting in germ to the conception of nature as a series of events occurring in an invariable order without the intervention of personal agency. The latter is the view involved in sympathetic magic (GB^1 i. 9), though the savage acts on it, not only in magic art, but in much of the business of daily life (*ib.* 31). In the second edition (1900) Frazer lays far more stress on the 'fundamental distinction and even opposition of principle between magic and religion,' being influenced especially by the theories of H. Oldenberg (*Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894), F. B. Jevons (*Introduction to the History of Religion*, London, 1896), and A. C. Lyall (*Asiatic Studies*, 1st ser., London, 1899). More than that, he is now disposed to affirm that, 'in the evolution of thought, magic, as representing a lower intellectual stratum, has probably everywhere preceded religion' (GB^2 i. p. xvi). He still represents magic as 'next of kin to science,' since the two have in common the 'general assumption of a succession of events determined by law.' Magic is nevertheless only 'the bastard sister of science.'

'All magic is necessarily false and barren; for were it ever to become true and fruitful, it would no longer be magic but science.'

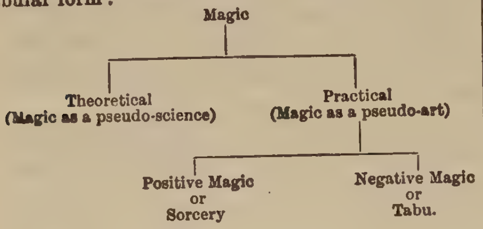
All cases of sympathetic magic resolve themselves on analysis into mistaken applications of the laws of the association of ideas by similarity and contiguity.

'Legitimately applied' these same principles 'yield science; illegitimately applied they yield magic' (*ib.* p. 62).

Religion, on the other hand, 'is opposed in principle both to magic and to science,' since its fundamental assumption is that the course of nature and of human life is controlled by personal beings superior to man. Towards such beings conciliation must be employed, whereas to exert mechanical control is the object of magic and science, though the former often essays to control spirits, treating them, however, exactly as if they were inanimate agents (*ib.* p. 63 f.). Finally, the human race are assumed to have passed through an 'intellectual phase,' in which they 'attempted to force the great powers of nature to do their pleasure,' and had not yet thought of courting their favour by offerings and prayer. Such an 'age of magic' finally gave place to an 'age of religion' only because mankind at length were led by experience to a 'tardy recognition of the inherent falsehood and barrenness of magic,' whereupon the more thoughtful part of them cast about for a truer theory of nature (*ib.* pp. 73, 75). In the third edition (1911) these main theses are retained, but the following scheme of the principal branches of magic (taken over from *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, ch. ii.) is added, in accordance with the view that magic is simply misapplied association of ideas:



while 'the whole erroneous system, both theoretical and practical,' which answers to the name of magic is classified under aspects according to the following tabular form:



(See *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 54 and 118.)

The view that tabu is a negative magic did not appear in earlier editions of *The Golden Bough*. Frazer holds that, if not the whole doctrine of tabu, at all events a large part of it, would seem to be but a special application of sympathetic magic, with its two great laws of similarity and contact (*ib.* i. 111 n.).

E. S. Hartland (*Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914) enters on a full discussion of 'The Relations of Religion and Magic' (p. 26 ff.). He insists at the outset that they spring from a common root.

> 'I venture to suggest that in man's emotional response to his environment, in his interpretation in the terms of personality of the objects which encountered his attention, and in their investiture by him with potentiality, atmosphere, *orenda*, *mana*—call it by what name you will—we have the common root of magic and religion' (p. 66).

Correspondingly, magician and priest are differentiated from a common type, namely, the medicine-man.

> 'Roughly and provisionally it may be said that the professional magician is he who in the course of the evolution of society, by birth, by purchase, or by study and practice in the conventional methods, has acquired the most powerful *orenda*. Similarly, the professional priest is he who in these ways, or by prayer and fasting, has obtained the favour of the imaginary personages believed to influence or control the affairs of men—who has, in a word, possessed himself of their *orenda*. The union of these two professions in one person is not adventitious; it is probably fundamental' (p. 95 f.).

Hartland, while thus differing from Frazer on the question of origin, is disposed in other respects to follow the latter's method of delimiting magic and religion.

> Magic 'conveys the notion of power, by whatsoever means acquired, wielded by the magician as his own, and not as that of a higher being whose coöperation is only obtained by supplication and self-abasement' (p. 86).

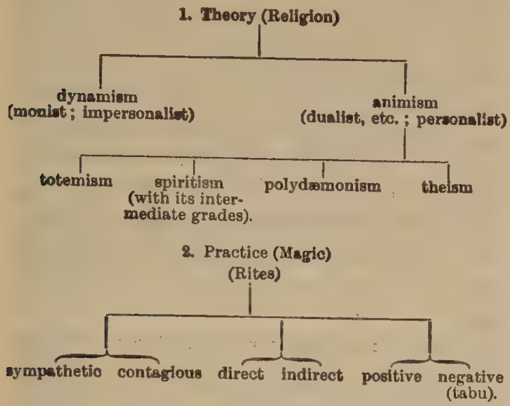
On his view prayers and sacrifices are magical processes just in so far as a constraining power is attributed to them; and he asks, 'Have analogous beliefs in the magical powers of a rite even yet disappeared from Christianity?' (p. 87).

> Religion, on the other hand, is 'confined to cultual systems, whose objects, so far as they are personal, are endowed with free will, are to be approached with true worship, and may or may not grant the prayers of their suppliants. . . . Where the object is impersonal, or is but vaguely personal, it is none the less treated with reverence and submission, as something transcending man; it is the object of an emotional attitude, actively directed towards it. The object thus, even where it is not personal, tends to become so' (p. 88).

A. Lehmann of Copenhagen (*Aberglaube und Zauberei von den ältesten Zeiten an bis in die Gegenwart*, Stuttgart, 1898) defines superstition (*Aberglaube*) as any belief which either fails to obtain authorization from a given religion or stands in contradiction with the scientific conception of nature prevailing at a given time. Correspondingly, magic or sorcery (*Magie oder Zauberei*) is any practice which is engendered by superstition, or is explained in terms of superstitious notions (p. 6 f.). By insisting on the essential relativity of these two ideas he claims to have avoided many difficulties that puzzled former inquirers. For instance, if it be asked how magic is to be distinguished from miracle, the reply is that it is all a question of standpoint, Aaron performing miracles while his Egyptian rivals are mere magicians (p. 9). For the rest, he finds two more or less independent theories to be equally at the back of magical practice, namely, the spiritist, which relies on the intermediation of personal agents, and the occultist, which calls into play mysterious powers of nature (p. 314).

H. Hubert and M. Mauss ('Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie,' in *ASoc* vii. [1904]) start from the conception of rites. Rites are traditional acts that are efficacious in a non-mechanical way, thus involving the notion of *mana* (*q.v.*), or wonder-working power (p. 14; cf. p. 138). Such a notion underlies the idea of the sacred as implied in a religious rite like sacrifice. A magical rite, though non-religious, involves ideas of the same order (p. 2 f.). The differentia of magical rites consists in the fact that they do not form part of an organized cult, and therefore tend to be regarded by the society concerned as illicit (p. 19). Thus religion and magic tend to stand to one another as two poles representing severally the social and the anti-social ways of trafficking with the miraculous. Finally, magic, as being always the outcast of society, becomes charged with all the effects of decomposition and rejection, and so is gradually differentiated from religion more and more. This very ingenious and weighty study of magic, to which a short sketch cannot pretend to do justice, is made, it must be remembered, from a strictly sociological standpoint, and throughout regards magic and religion not as phases of mind, but as social institutions, having as such a reality of their own determinable in terms of form and function.

Arnold van Gennep (*Les Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909) treats the magico-religious as an indivisible whole, distinguishing only between the theoretical and the practical activities which it comprises, and assigning the term 'religion' to the former and 'magic' to the latter. It is essential, in his view, to insist on the indissolubility of the relation between the theoretical and the practical sides, since the theory divorced from the practice passes into metaphysic, while the practice founded on another theory becomes science. For the rest, the mysterious forces which are the objects of magico-religious theory may be conceived equally well under an impersonal or a personal form; and, correspondingly, magico-religious practice, whether it issue in positive acts or in abstentions—viz. in the observance of tabus—may seek to deal with things either directly or indirectly through personal agents having power over the things, while the mechanism of association by similarity and contact is involved in both cases alike. The theory is stated (p. 18) in tabular form as follows:



Wilhelm Wundt (*Völkerpsychologie*, vol. ii. pts. ii. and iii., Leipzig, 1907–09) makes myth or belief the ultimate source of cult or ritual, since the latter is but the former put into practice. There is but one mythical idea at the back of all rites, namely, the idea of soul; and from it are generated in succession three forms of cult, magic, fetishism, and totemism, which by reaction cause the idea of soul to develop correspondingly. To deal only with the first of these, magic in its primary form consists in the supposed direct action of soul on soul, as when the evil eye is feared, while the secondary form consists in supposed action from a distance, when the soul-influence makes itself felt indirectly by means of a symbol (ii. 46 f.). Thus Wundt is entirely opposed to the Frazerian theory that magic implies a theory of natural causation on the part of the savage. On his view, while ordinary events are accepted as a matter of course, extraordinary events, demanding as they do a theory that will account for them, are at first ascribed to the soul-power or will of a man, and later (when the stage of magic is transcended) to that of a magnified man, or god, similar soul-power or will being ascribed to inanimate objects and to animals at the intermediate stages of fetishism and totemism.

Here perforce must end the survey of representative views, those selected for examination at least exemplifying the wide diversity of the notions which it is sought for purposes of science to impose on a highly plastic, since popular, term. Now the purely verbal side of the question need not be a source of trouble. If the things are envisaged distinctly, the words may be trusted to look after themselves. Thus in the present case there are evidently different concepts answering to separate aspects of human life; and it will be sufficient for the present purpose if these aspects are discriminated, so that terminology may be given the chance of adjusting itself to the facts.

3. Magic as a general name for rudimentary cult.—On any theory of the evolution of religion which represents it as a single movement falling into distinguishable stages, there will always be a first stage of minimum development immediately preceded by a stage of what Bacon would call *absentia in proximo*—a 'pre-religious' stage, as it might be termed. Now, since the word 'magic' tends to bear an unfavourable sense, nothing is more natural than to dub magical whatever fails to come up to the evolutionary standard which religion is more or less arbitrarily taken to embody. It hardly matters whether, after the manner of Frazer, an age of magic is held to have preceded the age of religion, or whether, in the style of Wundt, magic is identified with the lowest form of religion. In either case magic answers to something to which is assigned an unfavourable, because inferior, place in the evolutionary scale as compared with religion at its most characteristic. Anthropological science, however, is becoming increasingly chary of constructing any such scale on lines so simple and so drastic. Human evolution is a tissue of many interlacing strands; and, again, the savage of to-day is no older or earlier than the civilized man, so that typological and historical primitiveness cannot be identified offhand. At most, then, it is with the help of psychological and sociological considerations of a general type that a primordial stage of mind and society can be theoretically posited, out of which determinate religion may be shown to have emerged by some sort of subsequent process. Such general considerations suggest that, just as Jourdain talked prose before he realized the fact, so the primeval savage acted before he thought about his action. Correspondingly, therefore, in the sphere of nascent religion there must have been a stage of cult or ritual (if so it may be termed), the product of sheer unreflective habit, which preceded the growth of ideas concerning the how and why of what was being done. Certain recurrent situations in the social life—and, as for the individual life, it is wholly subordinate to the social so long as mere gregariousness prevails—induce states of emotional intensity. The emotions must find a vent somehow. This they do either through activities directed to practical ends, such as hunting, fighting, and love-making; or else through secondary activities such as are not immediately practical in their object but serve simply as outlets of superfluous energy, such as the dances that simply play at hunting, fighting, or love-making. In either case habit entwines with the activities in question all sorts of more or less functionless accidents; and the presence of these unaccountable details helps to make the whole performance seem mysterious to the performers and still more so to the civilized onlooker. When the activity is of the directly practical kind, say, hunting, whereas the tracking, the killing of the game, and so on, explain themselves, the accompanying observances enjoined by custom which do not explain themselves so readily—for instance, wearing such and such a garb, uttering certain words, and the like—may well seem to call for justification even to the unthinking savage, who will at least translate his sense of the value of custom into the vague doctrine that there is 'power' in these things, that they 'work.' When, on the other hand, the activities belong to those of the secondary type which are not immediately practical, constituting 'protreptic' rites, as they might be termed, which, while affording emotional relief, act likewise on the whole as preparations for the business of life—very much as play does, in the case of the young—then accretions in the way of accidental features due to custom are likely to be more pronounced, inasmuch as there is no discipline of hard fact to impose bounds on the action. Meanwhile, in proportion as these secondary activities conform to the same stimuli as the primary activities of which they are the by-product, as, for instance, when the hunting interest overflows into a pantomimic rehearsal of the chase, they will wear an imitative appearance, though in reality being 'repercussions' rather than imitations. When, however, an *ex post facto* justification of them becomes necessary, it is quite natural that the doctrine that they have 'power' should implicate the belief that their seemingly imitative character has something to do with their efficacy. It is putting the cart before the horse to say, as Frazer seems to do, that the belief that 'like produces like,' or what not, generates symbolic ritual. It is, on the contrary, symbolic ritual—*i.e.* a ritual that involves a more or less realistic reproduction of some practical activity—that generates the doctrine of 'sympathetic' causation in one or another of its forms. As a matter of fact, the so-called symbolic rites usually include all manner of details the mimetic bearing of which is at least not obvious; and the generalization that an 'age of magic' indulges in rites which are symbolic and sympathetic through and through is reached by picking out the abstract element of imitativeness which runs through primitive cult (and to no small extent through the more 'advanced' types of cult as well), and ignoring everything that is like nothing but itself, yet forms just as persistent a part of the approved ritual. If, then, we are going to use the word 'magic' loosely as a name for rudimentary or unreflective cult in general, let us at least identify the magical quality, not with the imitativeness, which is a secondary feature, but with the customariness, which is the real source of the value attaching to these non-utilitarian accompaniments of the more exciting moments of the practical life—these 'superstitious' practices, as the civilized onlooker ranks them. For the rest, in so far as these relatively unideated discharges of the social energy need any supporting doctrine, they would seem to find it, not in any philosophy about like producing like, and so on—ideas that appear quite late in the history of thought—but in vague notions of the *mana* type (see MANA). In other words, the savage comforts himself with no theory of *how* these ritual practices work, but is content to feel and know *that* they work—that, despite all appearances to the contrary (since their non-utilitarian character may be supposed to become gradually manifest), they have power and efficacy in them or behind them. It is just this faith in their efficacy that distinguishes nascently religious practices from such as are merely æsthetic. The former are so closely related to the practical activities that a sense of their contributory value runs through them, and they thus suggest and foreshadow practice in all sorts of ways that make for hope, courage, and confidence, whereas æsthetic enjoyment, though possessing a recreative function, does not thus point beyond itself. It remains only to ask whether 'magic' is a suitable word for the designation of the most rudimentary type of cult. On the whole, it would seem a pity for the evolutionist to apply a term redolent of disparagement to what on his view is a genuine phase of the serious life as lived under certain conditions of culture. It is far less question-begging to predicate religion throughout (unless, indeed, one is prepared to follow van Gennep, and predicate magic throughout as well as a general name for the practical side of religion—which is surely an abuse of language). The science of comparative religion, if it is to do its work properly, must impartially embrace the cults of all mankind in its survey.

An observation may be added for the benefit of the field-worker, who, as a rule, has to take over his classificatory apparatus ready-made from the hands of the theorist. If such an one has learnt to identify magic with the sympathetic principle or with those early forms of cult in which this principle appears to predominate, he will be inclined to label his collections of specific ceremonies 'hunting magic,' 'productive magic' (a term often used to describe rites of the *intichiuma* type, which bear on the increase of food-animals and plants), 'agricultural magic,' and so on. But it is just as easy to speak of hunting and agricultural 'rites' or 'ritual'; and it is much more likely to lead to an unprejudiced description of all the relevant facts, whether they be of the sympathetic order or not. So, again, tabus are better treated as a part of ritual, namely, as observances of negative prescriptions, which will invariably be found to form one context with sundry other positive prescriptions; to make them a part of magic is neither necessary nor even natural according to the ordinary usage of speech. It may even be said to be now a recognized working principle that the first-hand observer should class all magico-religious phenomena under one general heading, and leave the theorists to determine how far, and along what lines, the differentiation of the magical and religious elements involved in the complex needs to be pushed (see *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*⁴, issued by the Royal Anthrop. Institute, London, 1912, section on 'The Study of Magico-Religious Facts,' p. 251 f.).

4. Magic as a name for the black art and allied developments.—The view which has just been discussed and deprecated, that identifies magic with rudimentary cult as a whole, may be said to draw a horizontal line between magic and the later and more evolved products of the same tendencies which rudimentary cult embodies. The other view, which will now be examined, differs altogether from the former in that it draws a perpendicular line between magic and certain contemporaneous but rival growths which may be broadly classed under the two heads of religion and science. This point comes out very clearly in Lehmann's definition, which correlates magic with superstition as practice with theory, and in turn makes superstition co-extensive with such ideas as stand to the accepted religious and scientific beliefs of a given time in a relation of more or less direct conflict and contradiction.

(*a*) *Magic as the rival of religion.*—Starting once more from the fact that the word 'magic' tends to stand for something bad, we realize at once that it is possible to treat magic as a general name for all the bad kinds of trafficking with the occult and supra-sensible in vogue in a given society, while, conversely, religion may be taken to comprehend all the good kinds of such trafficking. Obviously the power of bringing wonders to pass is a two-edged sword, since surprising things may happen for weal and for woe, while, again, immoral as well as moral persons may seek benefit from miracle. It is, indeed, eminently characteristic of ideas of the *mana* type that they are, from a moral point of view, ambiguous and two-sided, covering all manifestations of the efficacy of rites, whether they be beneficent or maleficent in their intention (see MANA). Now it is easy to see how rites of an ill-intentioned kind will come to be practised and will have efficacy imputed to them. Hate, greed, and the other types of anti-social attitude being more or less endemic at all levels of society, they are bound to find expression in habitual activities that assume the character of mystic rites in proportion as they abound in accretions and in secondary activities of the expletive order, such as cursing in set phrases or destroying an absent enemy in pantomime. Moreover, the very fear which hate and malice awake in the breasts of those against whom they are directed is enough to create an atmosphere in which the natural seeds of black magic cannot but germinate freely. The almost universal dread of the evil eye illustrates very well how the responsibility for the existence of a belief in sorcery often rests with the credulous victim just as much as, or more than, with the alleged aggressor. Anthropological literature is full of striking examples of the tendency which W. E. Roth (*North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin no. 5, Brisbane, 1903, p. 28) calls *thanatomania*, namely, the suggestibility leading sooner or later to death on the part of one who satisfies himself that he is doomed. Roth has had personal experience as a medical man of five or six such cases among the Queensland natives. Thus it comes about that, by an extension of the same line of thought, 'evil magic' becomes the stock explanation offered for any form of accident or mysterious disease.

> 'An individual becomes incapacitated through some chronic and painful illness which does not answer to the various aboriginal methods of treatment or materia medica: the illness weighs upon his mind, and after a time he becomes more and more confirmed in his conviction that someone has been "pointing" the *munguni* (death-bone) at him—*i.e.* that a "bone," pebble, flint, etc., has been put inside him and his blood removed' (W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane, 1897, p. 154).

Indeed, it has often been observed that the savage scarcely recognizes the fact of 'natural' death, so ready is he to impute the event to the sinister arts of some particular individual or at least to the machinations of persons unknown (cf. art. LIFE AND DEATH [Primitive], § 7). From these vaguer attributions of ill-will to one's neighbours it is but a step to the conception of an evil magic independent of the will and intention of any person at all. Various more or less impersonal forms of evil—such as the *arungquiltha* of the Arunta (Spencer-Gillen^{a}, London, 1899, p. 548 n.), the *otgon* of the Hurons (J. N. B. Hewitt, *Am. Anthropologist*, new ser., iv. [1902] 37 n.), or the *badi* of the Malays (W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 94)—are regarded as malignant and destructive agencies in their own right, very much as one thinks of the plague or the influenza. In short, there is always more or less of black magic 'in the air' for the panic-ridden savage. For this reason, and seeing also how much the healer of diseases and, again, the witch-finder do to foster the evil reputation of the magician by their highly-coloured accounts of the dreadful arts which it is their professional privilege to be able to counteract, one might almost be tempted to declare that the sorcerer is a mere bogey, the creation of abject fear wedded to ignorance and credulity. But this would be to go too far. There seems good evidence that in Australia men and even women, despite the fact that black magic practised within the group is normally held to be punishable by death, wreak their vengeance in this way on their private enemies. Roth's own black servant, a mere layman, actually dared to point the bone at a native doctor, the latter dying about a fortnight later (*N. Queensland Ethnography*, Bull. no. 5, p. 30). At most, then, it may be surmised that for every case of genuine guilt there are far more false accusations; and, in short, generally, in every witch-haunted society, whether it be native Australia or 17th cent. England, that the proofs of witchcraft mainly rest on an argument from effect to cause.

As for love-magic, it may not seem at first sight to have the anti-social character of the magic of hate; but, if closely observed, it will be found on the whole to minister to hardly less disreputable purposes. Thus among the Arunta of Central Australia such magic is chiefly resorted to in order to bring about a runaway match. It is true that, according to native ideas, it is merely a case of one tribal husband trying to entice the woman away from another tribal husband, so that, as Spencer and Gillen say, 'it is a breach of manners but not of custom' (^{a}, p. 544). Even so, however, it would seem to be extremely liable to lead to a general fight within the group, or between one local group and another, so that its anti-social tendency is bound in the long run to become tolerably manifest.

So much for what are perhaps the clearest instances of types of ritual acts generated by passions and desires which society is bound to try to suppress in the interest of its own self-preservation. Such rites can be placed in a more or less determinate class by themselves, whereas over against this class can be set in contrast another class of rites, entirely similar as regards the general nature of their mechanism, but embodying motives of a kind held to be socially salutary. Broadly speaking, all public rites have this common quality of being licit and reputable, since the fact that they are the recognized custom of the community is taken as a sufficient guarantee that they exist for the furtherance of the common weal. Thus the totemic ceremonies of the Central Australians, the object of which is the increase of the food-animals and plants, occupy exactly the same place in the life of the people as is filled by the rites of the Church in a Christian country. Hence E. Durkheim (*Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris, 1912) takes the totemic system of Australia as the typical instance of an elementary religion, whereas Frazer, adopting what has been termed the horizontal line of division between magic and religion, would assign these totemic rites wholesale to the age of magic. Indeed, no better instance could be cited to illustrate the incompatibility between the horizontal and the perpendicular methods of viewing magic and religion in their relation to each other. While, then, for the simpler societies at all events, public rites always rank as good and licit, does it follow that private rites as such will tend to be regarded as bad and illicit? According to Robertson Smith (*The Religion of the Semites*^{2}, London, 1894, p. 263 f.), it well-nigh amounts to this:

> 'It was the community, and not the individual, that was sure of the permanent and unfailing help of its deity. It was a national not a personal providence that was taught by ancient religion. So much was this the case that in purely personal concerns the ancients were very apt to turn, not to the recognised religion of the family or of the state, but to magical superstitions. . . . Not only did these magical superstitions lie outside religion, but in all well-ordered states they were regarded as illicit. A man had no right to enter into private relations with supernatural powers that might help him at the expense of the community to which he belonged. In his relations to the unseen he was bound always to think and act with and for the community, and not for himself alone.'

Granting, however, that in the small undifferentiated society private enterprise is suspect, we must recognize that, as the division of labour develops and the individual asserts himself more and more, the law is increasingly ready to sanction, or at least condone, the use of ritual forms for securing personal ends, such as the protection of property by tabu-marks having the force of conditional curses (see P. Huvelin, 'Magie et droit individuel,' in *ASoc* x. [1907] 1 f.; and cf. M. Mauss and M. H. Beuchat, *ib.* ix. [1906] 117, on the magico-religious significance of the Eskimo property-marks). For the rest, there will always be in every society a number of ceremonial practices to which a certain amount of magico-religious value attaches that fall most naturally under the category of folk-lore, having no place in the official cult, yet being too insignificant to call for much notice favourable or unfavourable, and, on the whole, tending to be despised rather than condemned. In short, for certain purposes of science it is best to treat all magico-religious rites as generically akin, even while making due allowance for their tendency to group themselves round the opposite pole of beneficence and maleficence, of social service and individual greed or spite. More especially is this so when the interest passes from intent to content, from motive to mechanism. Social and anti-social rites are hardly distinguishable in respect of their external forms at the stage of the most rudimentary culture. Thus the agents bear the closest resemblance to each other, the sorcerer and priest often meeting in the person of the medicine-man. The rites are of the same general pattern, whether they be manual or oral. Lastly, the ideas that are bound up with the rites conform to a common type, now to that of *mana* and now to that of spirit (cf. Huvelin, *op. cit.* p. 2). After all, it is no wonder that differentiation should hardly have begun, seeing that, so long as society is represented by an aggregate of small groups living in a state of perpetual discord, what would be evil if practised on a friend becomes good the moment it is directed against the people just across the way. Or, again, society may halt as it were between two ethical opinions, with the result that ritual practices of contradictory intent may obtain something like equal toleration ; the moral status of love-magic was especially ambiguous, so that, for instance, among the Kurnai tribe of Victoria, where marriage by elopement verges on the position of a recognized institution, 'while there were medicine-men who assisted those who wished to elope, there were other medicine-men who aided the pursuing kindred to discover them' (A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, London, 1904, p. 277). Once more the medicine-man in his capacity of tribal head-man may use his supernatural power to punish offenders against the laws of the group, such as the novice who behaves improperly at the initiation ceremonies, or the man who attacks another by means of evil magic ; but he will likewise in his private capacity use his power against his enemies, and will even bring to bear on them the power of Daramulun, the great anthropomorphic god of the mysteries, the very embodiment of all that is most religious in the eyes of the tribe (Howitt, pp. 543, 382). Clearly, then, it is not to the simpler and more undifferentiated societies that we must look for an accurate evaluation of the purposes embodied in rites, leading sooner or later to their organization in rival systems that henceforth to some extent develop independently. Organization and system, however, are terms that perhaps are hardly applicable even to the later developments of black magic. It is religion that has all the organization to itself, because public approval affords it every chance of free expansion. Magic, on the other hand, as the enemy of organized cult and, indeed, of the social organization as a whole, must lurk in dark places, and grows not by internal systematization, but merely as does a rubbish-heap, by the casual accumulation of degraded and disintegrated rites of all kinds. At most it may affect a certain definiteness of form by imitating religious ritual in a spirit of blasphemous parody, as in the case of the 'black mass.' On the whole, however, it is utterly deficient on the side of theory, and consists simply in a congeries of practices which by perversion and distortion have lost most of the meaning that they once had. Only in this sense, then, do they rest on the principle of compulsion as opposed to conciliation, that, being mere rites, lacking the support of any consistent scheme of thought, they have to depend for their validity on the bare fact that they appear to work. Religion, on the other hand, though never wholly escaping the tendency to impute value and efficacy to its ritual as such, is free to develop an ethical conception of the godhead in which the action of mere power is gradually converted into that of a power that makes for righteousness, and is therefore to be moved and conciliated not by rites but by righteous conduct.

(*b*) *Magic as the rival of science.*—The view advanced by Frazer to the effect that the fundamental conception of magic is identical with that of modern science (GB^3, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 220) will hardly bear close inspection. The magician surely does not postulate 'that the same causes will always produce the same effects.' On the contrary, his art is based on the supposed possibility of miracle—on what might be termed super-causation as contrasted with normal causation. In other words, he seeks to help out ordinary action by means of an increment of power borrowed from a supra-sensible source. This is what Tylor means by characterizing magic as 'occult science.' It makes a fatal difference if, after the manner of Frazer, this qualification be omitted. Magic thus stands in far closer affinity with religion than with science, inasmuch as religion and magic equally consist in dealings with the supra-sensible and differ not as regards the means employed but simply as regards the ends pursued, since the one tries to bring blessings to pass by means of miracle, and the other to bring curses. On the other hand, at no known stage of his evolution does the existence of man consist in one continuous round of mystic practices. It is mainly at the crisis, periodic or occasional, in the social and individual life that the need to draw on unseen sources of support is felt. In the intervals the workaday world of actions, guided by the routine of sense-perception, stands in the foreground of attention ; and this is the world in which science in the sense of natural science has always been at home. Chipping a flint so as to produce a cutting edge is nascent science, whereas bringing up a quartz-crystal mysteriously from one's inside is a magico-religious proceeding belonging to quite another order of experience. A considerable part at any rate of modern science has originated in technical processes of a directly utilitarian and 'lay' character. Thus European geometry would seem to be the outcome of the art of the 'cord-fasteners' who measured out the land in Egypt after each inundation of the Nile (cf. J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*^{2}, London, 1908, p. 24). It cannot be denied, however, that, so long as their occult character be recognized, certain developments of the magico-religious way of thinking may be held to correspond to sciences or pseudo-sciences, inasmuch as they severally represent a body of organized lore intended on the whole for the furtherance of secular and purely technical ends. Of these the most characteristic types are faith-healing and divination (*qq.v.*). Faith-healing is in its most typical form a direct counterblast to sorcery, which is in essence a faith-hurting. White magic and black magic determine to a large extent each other's form, since the natural procedure of the healer is first to establish by his diagnosis what exactly the wicked magician has done, and then by dramatic reversal of the action to undo it. Indeed, as has already been suggested, witchcraft is in no small part a pure invention on the part of leechcraft. To bring about a faith-cure it is essential to show that what is wrong is something that will answer to the proposed method of putting it right ; and what more plain than that medicine-man may checkmate medicine-man, diamond cut diamond ? Meanwhile, the occult science of the faith-healer is not the only form of medical science known to the savage. On the contrary, it may be more or less sharply distinguished from the ordinary folk-medicine, towards which it stands in a certain attitude of rivalry.

Thus Roth, who, as a medical man, went very carefully into the various methods of dealing with disease that prevailed among the aborigines of North Queensland, shows that 'no "doctors" attend specially on the sick, the charge of all such being left to individual caprice, *e.g.*, a woman looks after her husband, a mother after her child. Nor do they specially prescribe, the knowledge—where known to all—of the therapeutical value of any plant, of massage, etc., being common to the tribe' (*N. Queensland Ethn.*, Bull. 5, p. 29). It is only when the ordinary treatment fails that the aid of the medicine-man is called in (*ib.*).

Among the specifics in common use among the natives observed by him, Roth enumerates more than forty different plants, for some of which at least genuine remedial properties can be claimed. Again, ligatures, bleeding, massage, poultices and fomentations, dressings for cuts, the use of splints for fractures, and so on, are 'lay' methods of treatment which rest on a basis of what we too would be ready to recognize as 'science,' *i.e.* a more or less organized common sense. At the same time, the lay mind is likewise addicted to what the modern doctors would regard as pure superstition, such as reliance on charms, amulets, the sucking-string, etc. But at any rate the atmosphere of mystery with which the professional faith-healer surrounds the exercise of his craft is absent from these applications of communal lore to the ills of life. Further, the professional enters into competition with the layman in order to demonstrate how superior his wonder-working is to the humdrum procedure of the ordinary folk-medicine.

Thus Roth specially notes that 'among the Boulia blacks, there are indications of a desire on the part of the medicine-men to claim a share in the cure, with a corresponding reward.' The common cure for snake-bite being a vapour-bath, which apparently answers very well, the medicine-man undertakes to help it out by operating on the snake. 'The doctor himself goes to the place where the accident happened, is shown where the snake lies hid, digs it out, and lets it glide away a few feet before commencing to pelt it with stones. During this process the snake gradually diminishes in size, and gradually becomes harmless, when it is carried back to camp, where the medicine-man, turning its skin half-way inside out while still alive, throws it into water, and so makes an end of it. It is needless to say that no layman is allowed to witness any part of this procedure' (*ib.* p. 42).

It only remains to add, in fairness to the medicine-man, that a reputation for magic in the sense of a more or less bad and anti-social kind of wonder-working is thrust upon him by the very fact that he is a professional and hence has the public against him, according to the principle that whatever is private in rude society is suspect. As Huvelin points out, so long as society remains undifferentiated, all custom rests on the common belief and wears a religious character, so that every manifestation of individuality is destitute of sanction, when it does not actually amount to a crime. Hence, when social organization begins to come into existence through the division of labour, individual activity is obliged to disguise itself under a cloak of religious forms, which gives the professional an ambiguous character, not only in the eyes of others, but even in his own eyes, since others suspect, while he himself is obscurely conscious, that powers and practices which originally came into being for the public service are being exploited for private ends (Huvelin, p. 46). Whether it be the professional doctor or the professional smith, his right to be a specialist has been purchased at the cost of seeming, and being, something of a humbug.

Passing to the subject of divination, we have an even clearer case of a pseudo-science, since, whereas faith-healing has been to a certain extent purged of its supernaturalism and incorporated into modern medicine, divination has no part or lot in the science of to-day, unless we detect its aftermath in the accepted postulate that the goal of science is prediction. On the other hand, divination has in certain of its developments all the appearance of science so far as concerns the organization of its principles and the directly practical character of its aims. Thus Babylonian divination, the literature of which is particularly rich, reveals an amazing wealth of lore involving the most elaborate classifications of omens resting on a wide basis of genuine observation. It is also to be noticed that here the practice of the art depending on this body of would-be knowledge was thoroughly respectable, being, in fact, a branch or department of the official religion (see DIVINATION [Assyro-Babylonian]). It is not, in fact, until it migrates into Europe that Babylonian astrology is differentiated from astronomy, and the opposition between the two becomes apparent. Again, at a lower stage of social evolution divination can fill the place of science in so far as it calls out the reasoning powers of the mind and supplies some sort of intellectual gymnastic. Thus H. A. Junod, a missionary, who gives an admirable account of the use of the divinatory bones among the Thonga of S. Africa, spent many hours with his native teachers trying to acquire the principles of this system of theirs which they call 'The Word,' and vaunt to be superior to the missionary's Bible:

'So I had an opportunity of reaching the depths of the Bantu mind, that mind which has perhaps invented nothing more elaborate and more magical than the divinatory system. Of course no sensible person would for a moment believe in the objective value of these practices. Astralogomancy has no more real worth than Cheiromancy, Necromancy, and all the other "mancies." But I am obliged to confess that the Thonga system is far more clever than any other which I have met with, and that it admirably answers to the wants of the Natives, as it comprehends all the elements of their life, photographs them, so to speak, in such a way that indications and directions can be obtained for all possible cases' (*The Life of a South African Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1913, ii. 494).

It remains to show how science in the modern sense has managed to shake itself free of its rivals, the pseudo-sciences. As far as relates to what has been called 'the European epoch of the human mind,' the mother of science is undoubtedly ancient Greece. There the human spirit shook itself free of the domination of the magico-religious, thanks to its interest in the things of this world.

'Between Homer and Herodotus, Greek Reason has come into the world. . . . Man has become the measure of all things; and things are worth observing and recording . . . according as they do, or do not, amplify human knowledge already acquired, or prompt or guide human attempts to classify and interpret them. In this high meaning of the word all Greek records are utilitarian, relative to an end in view: and this end is ever anthropocentric, it is nothing less, but it is also nothing more, than the Good Life, the Wellbeing of Mankind' (J. L. Myres, in *Anthropology and the Classics*, ed. Marett, Oxford, 1908, p. 123).

There is no violent breaking with the old-world rituals and the associated beliefs; but colonization, trade, and the progress of the industrial arts beget a secular frame of mind which dismisses theological prejudices in so far as they conflict with technical improvements.

'All ailments are from God,' writes Hippocrates, 'no one of them being more divine than another, or more human either, but all alike from God. But each of such things has a process of growth, and nothing comes into being without a process of growth.' Wherefore he turns without more ado to the study of these physical causes (cf. Myres, *loc. cit.* p. 140).

Meanwhile, in philosophy, which at first understands by 'nature' something eminently supernatural in its potency for making wonders happen, there gradually develops a scientific tradition by the side of a mystic tradition, the former of which affirms the reality of the many things of the sense-world as against the reality of the one transcendental world-soul conceived by the latter (cf. F. M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy*, London, 1912, p. 144 f.). The former view culminates in the atomism of Democritus, which has prevailed in the sphere of physical science until recent times. Now this whole scientific movement is opposed in spirit to magic and religion alike. It contradicts the whole tenor of the magico-religious type of procedure whether by manual or by oral rites, and hence cannot be identified or equated, after the fashion of Frazer, with magic regarded as equivalent to the earliest phase of cult in general. Nor, again, has it any real affinity with black magic or any parallel development, save in so far as all technical processes undertaken by experts are at first more or less suspect as private exploitations, as has already been explained. Natural science by association with the productive arts has taken into its hands the entire control of the mechanical and material sphere of human life, and within this sphere will brook no rival. In the moral sphere, on the other hand, it shows no signs of making headway against the claim of religion to be the supreme authority. Meanwhile, neither science nor religion can afford to tolerate the anti-social and immoral person, the man who tries to make a living out of the credulity and idle fears of weak humanity. In practice, however, both find it hard to distinguish between the delinquent and the innovator, so that the line between evil magic and charlatanry, on the one hand, and mere heterodoxy, on the other, tends to be even now of a somewhat fluctuating kind. As for black magic, it has almost disappeared from view in civilized society. As the folklorist knows, however, a permanent possibility of demoralizing superstition lurks in human nature, and only education in regard to both physical facts and moral truths can keep the monster down.

LITERATURE.—The subject has a vast literature, more especially seeing that, according to one definition of the term, magic covers all the ruder forms of cult. The following works are in various ways authoritative: E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*^{2}, London, 1870, ch. vi., *PC*^{3}, do. 1891, ch. iv., art. 'Magic,' in *EBr*^{9}; J. G. Frazer, *GB*^{3}, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, do. 1911 (see also earlier edd.), *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, do. 1905; A. C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, 1st ser., do. 1899, p. 99 ff.; F. B. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, do. 1896, 'The Definition of Magic,' *Sociological Review*, i. [1908] 105 ff.; *Trans. of 3rd Internat. Cong. of Religions*, i. [Oxford, 1908] 71 f., *Introduction to the Study of Comparative Rel.*, New York, 1908, p. 70 f.; R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*^{2}, London, 1914, essay ii.; L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, do. 1906, ^{2}1914, ii.; A. Lang, *Magic and Religion*, do. 1901; A. C. Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, do. 1906; W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography*, Bull. no. 5, 'Superstition, Magic, and Medicine,' Brisbane, 1903; W. R. Halliday, 'The Force of Initiative in Magical Conflict,' in *FL* xxi. [1910] 147ff.; E. S. Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, do. 1900; I. King, *The Development of Religion*, do. 1910; E. S. Ames, *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, do. 1910; J. H. Leuba, *A Psychological Study of Religion*, New York, 1912; H. Hubert and M. Mauss, 'Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie,' *ASoc* vii. [1904], *Mélanges d'histoire des religions*, Paris, 1909; P. Huvelin, 'Magie et droit individuel,' *ASoc* x. [1907]; H. Hubert, art. 'Magia,' in Daremberg-Saglio, vi.; A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909, p. 17 f.; K. T. Preuss, 'Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst,' in *Globus*, lxxxvi. [1904]; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894; W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, vol. ii. pt. ii., Leipzig, 1907; J. Ennemoser, *Geschichte der Magie*, Munich, 1844; A. Lehmann, *Aberglaube und Zauberei*, Stuttgart, 1908.

R. R. MARETT.

MAGIC (Arabian and Muslim).—The word used in Arabic for this notion is *sihr*, connected with the verb meaning 'to produce illusion' on the eyes (*Qur'ān*, vii. 113); it seems, therefore, to be in origin the causative of the verb *ḥāra*, 'to be bewildered,' and is explained by the verb 'to frighten' (*istarhaba*), whence the whole phrase resembles *μαγεύων καὶ ἐξιστάνων* in Ac 8^9. It is probable that the Hebrew *shaḥar*, used twice by Isaiah for 'conjure away,' is identical, and the Armenian *skhroumn*, 'marvel,' may be borrowed from this word. The passage in the Qur'ān which contains most information on the subject is ii. 96, where it is stated that the *siḥr* was revealed to the two angels in Babel, Hārūt and Mārūt, who taught it to mankind, without concealing the fact that they were tempting them; the *siḥr* showed how to separate a man from his wife, *i.e.* was the contrary of a love-philtre. Isaiah (47^{11}) connects the *shaḥar* with Babylon, which, according to classical writers also, was the headquarters of magic:

> 'Tunc Babylon Persea licet, secretaque Memphis
> Omne vetustorum solvat penetrale Magorum'
> (Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vi. 449 f.).

Hārūt and Mārūt seem from their names to be Aramaic personifications of mischief and rebellion, with which their recorded operation corresponds.

In the Qur'ān, as might be expected, it is not clear whether the results of *siḥr* are always subjective only or may be objective; and some commentators think both possible. When, therefore, a miracle is branded as *siḥr*, it may be regarded either as an optical illusion or as an illicit process due to the employment of demons; it is true that Solomon employed them (according to the Qur'ān), but this may have been a prophetic privilege. And a theological difficulty arises from the statement that *siḥr* was revealed to two angels, as what is revealed ought not to be evil. The orthodox view is that magic can be objective; but some Mu'tazilite doctors and some members of the Shāfi'ite and Ḥanifite schools took the other view; and even those who believed that it was objective thought that it could affect accidents only, and could not transmute substances.

The practice was forbidden, and, indeed, under penalty of death; Mālik held that one convicted of sorcery should not even be given the option of repentance, whereas Shāfi'ī confined the death-sentence to the case where examination of the accused proved him to be guilty of unbelief (Qasṭallānī, *Commentary on the Mawāhib Laduniyyah*, Cairo, 1278, vii. 116). Acquisition of the theory was, however, permissible, and, according to some, a duty incumbent on certain members of the community, as protection against those who practised the art.

The recognition by Islām of the existence of *jinn* furnished a basis for the belief in magic, to which, however, the attitude of the educated and of serious writers is about the same in most countries; it is not ordinarily recognized as an agent in the course of events, yet may well be admitted into tales of wonder and delight, whereas the superstitious may resort to it for a variety of needs.

It figures on one occasion in the biography of the Prophet, when an illness was brought upon him by a Jew named Labīd ben al-A'sam; according to one account, the latter obtained possession of some hair left on the Prophet's comb, which he hid with some other objects in a well; according to others, the object hidden was a string with a number of knots upon it. The latter version is doubtless suggested by the penultimate *sūra* of the Qur'ān, which is a spell against eclipses and women who breathe or spit on knots. The practices against which these spells are directed are similar to, if not identical with, those which are enumerated by classical writers (*e.g.*, Lucan, vi. 460 ff.). Others, of which the *Arabian Nights* offers ample illustration, also have analogies in the literature of classical antiquity; the transformation of men into animals by a witch's potion is found as early as the *Odyssey*. In Arabic there is a special word for this process, *maskh*.

Ḥājī Khalīfah (*Lexicon bibliograph. et encyclopæd.*, ed. G. Flügel, London, 1835–58, iii. 584) classifies the various magical methods as follows:

> The Indian consists in purification of the soul; the Nabatæan in the employment of spells at suitable times; the Greek in compelling the service of the spirits of the spheres and the stars; that of the Hebrews, Copts, and Arabs in mentioning names of unknown meaning—this method being a variety of that by incantation, those who employ it professing thereby to press into their service the angels who have power over the *jinn*. This last expression recalls Lucan's
>
> 'habent haec carmina certum
> Imperiosa deum, qui mundum cogere, quicquid
> Cogitur ipse potest' (vi. 497 ff.).

The classification cannot be maintained, though it is possible that the tendency in the case of the different nations corresponded roughly with the methods assigned; thus doubtless the theory that ascetic practice won command over the gods was carried to greater lengths by the Indians than elsewhere, whereas the theory of mysterious words may be particularly Jewish, and the Hermetic magic specially astrological; ordinarily, however, all these ideas are confused or combined.

The difference emphasized by Lucan between authorized and unauthorized occultism ('si quid tacitum, sed fas erat' and 'detestanda deis saevorum arcana magorum') was fully recognized in the Islāmic State, which had its official astrologers while it condemned the black art. Since, however, what was required from the former was prediction of the future, the distinction could not be maintained with the desirable clearness.

Ṭabarī records (*History*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1879–1901, iii. 1463) how the highly respected astrologer, 'Alī ben Yaḥyā, in the year 247, was reading out to the khalīf a book of predictions (*malāḥim*), when he came across the statement that the tenth khalīf would be slain in his own reception-room; he had to alter the text in consequence. Much the same is recorded by him in the case of an unauthorized lad, who possessed 'the Book of the Empire' (*Kitāb al-daulah*), where there was a prophecy that the khalīf Mahdī would last ten years. Since such a prophecy would mean certain death to any one who was discovered to be in possession of it, the word 'forty' was substituted for 'ten' in the book, and with such skill that no one could detect the interpolation (iii. 497). In the year 284 (Ṭabarī, iii. 2179) an unknown person haunted the palace of the khalīf Mu'taḍid, who summoned 'the lunatics and the conjurers' to detect him; the conjurers were to get control of the demon in possession of one of the lunatics, who would then give the necessary information. The behaviour of the lunatics, however, so much alarmed the khalīf that he dismissed them all with gratuities before anything could be done.

Similarly, there is a distinction between the normal or legitimate spell and that which would be condemned by the orthodox, though here, too, clearness is wanting. The child's amulet called *tamīmah* is regarded as normal. About the magical employment of Qur'ānic verses there seem to be differences of opinion. The historian Sakhāwī (*Tibr Masbūk*, Cairo, 1896, p. 218) records a controversy about the *ḥafīẓatRamaḍān*, certain verses which, if written on the last Friday in Ramaḍān, will secure the house which contains them from burning and the ship whereon they are inscribed from being wrecked; the historian's teacher wished for government interference with their inscription, but the practice was too widely spread to admit of this. In the *Maqāmahs* of Ḥarīrī the impostor succeeds with the spells which he composes; in one case the magic lies in the eloquence of the composition, whereas in the other (for facilitating childbirth) the work is really done by a drug with which he happens to be acquainted.

In the *Arabian Nights* the magician is frequently a Moor (*Maghribī*), and the association of magic with those regions is not extinct; the most elaborate treatise which we possess on Islāmic magic is E. Doutté's *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, 1909). Women and negroes also play a considerable rôle. In the tradition the art has a tendency to be connected with Israelites, as we have seen in the case of the Prophet.

According to Mas'ūdī (*Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. and tr. B. de Meynard and P. de Courteille, Paris, 1861–77, iv. 266), one of the complaints against Uthmān, the third khalīf, was that he had shown insufficient firmness in dealing with the case of a Jew, named Batrunī, who had performed some marvellous exploits in the mosque of Kūfa; 'he caused a mighty king mounted on a horse to ride in the court, he then turned himself into a camel, then produced a phantom ass, which passed through him, then he beheaded a man, and by another stroke with his sword put him together again'; a pious spectator beheaded the Jew, who probably was a conjurer, and performed some feats which the narrators have exaggerated.

Written spells which are brought to Europe from Islāmic countries are often in Hebrew or contain Hebrew words.

The limits which separate the practices condemned by the Prophet from those which he approved are again very narrow; thus in the authoritative collection of traditions by Muslim (Cairo, 1290, ii. 180–183) evidence is adduced to show that Muhammad sanctioned the employment of spells or magical prayers for treatment of the evil eye, snake-poison, and disease generally; the expert who employed the Qur'ānic texts for this purpose might even charge a fee, out of which the Prophet would accept a royalty. The word *ruqyah* is employed for charms of this kind, and in the case of snakes it would seem, from a story told by Jāḥiẓ (*Zoology*, Cairo, 1906, iv. 134), that their effectiveness depended on the loudness of the charmer's voice.

The name for collections of oracles is, as has been seen, *Malāḥim*, and this word is applied to those prophetical works wherein the future is regularly read (*e.g.*, the Book of Daniel), as well as to less authoritative books. Others were of the sort known as *Consulting-books, i.e.* tables whence the future could be divined by certain modes of combining the words, letters, or figures which make them up. It is likely that the primitive practices which constitute the magicians' chief stock-in-trade, and are common to many countries, are handed on by oral tradition, and to be learned only from the persons who perform them or from travellers who have made careful observations (*e.g.*, E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London, 1895).

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the article. Cf., further, DIVINATION (Muslim), CHARMS AND AMULETS (Muhammadan).

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MAGIC (Babylonian).—For the purpose of this article we may regard the term 'magic' as connoting practices which have their origin in the belief that man is able by their exercise to control the unseen powers and force them to act in accordance with his own will. Without attempting to discuss the vexed question of the relationship of magic to religion (see 'Introductory' section above), we may say that this generally accepted use of the term has great advantages for the classification of material. And it corresponds, moreover, to a distinct contrast in attitude towards the supernatural. Magic may be said to be present wherever power over the unseen is believed to be inherent in the ritual, whereas, according to the religious concept, the seat of power is regarded as resting outside the sphere of man's deliberate control. When the term is used in this sense, it must be admitted that a great body of the religious beliefs and practices of the Babylonians and Assyrians should be more accurately described as falling under the category of magic.

It is true that, when reading some of the Babylonian religious compositions, one is struck by the resemblance which many of the phrases bear to ethical passages in the Hebrew Psalms and prophetical writings. Quoted apart from their context, such passages suggest an extraordinarily high standard of morality and great depth of feeling. But it is dangerous to judge any literature merely by extracts or anthologies; and, when studied in their own surroundings, they are at once seen to have a background that is largely magical rather than moral. To take a single example, the Babylonian penitential psalms and many of the prayers to the gods show that the Babylonians had a very keen sense of sin. The contrition and misery of the penitent are expressed with great beauty of metaphor; but it is essential to examine the precise meaning of the words employed, and not to read extraneous associations into them. In this connexion it is important to realize that the moral character of sin which we find emphasized in the Hebrew prophets is quite foreign to the Babylonian conception. In almost the whole of their religious literature the expressions 'sin,' 'sickness,' and 'possession by evil spirits' are employed as pure synonyms; they denote merely an evil state of the body. In fact, all sickness and disease were believed to be due to the attacks of evil spirits, under whose power or influence the sufferer had fallen, whether by his own act or through the machinations of a hostile sorcerer or sorceress. Such spirits and powers of evil were legion, and were ever on the look-out to inflict bodily harm on men. They might be ghosts of the dead, or gruesome spirits half-human and half-demon, or, lastly, fiends and devils of a nature corresponding to, but lower than, that of the gods.

The sole object of the magical texts was to enable the priests to control and exorcize these demons, or to break in some way the malign influence which they exerted upon their victim. And, in order to be successful, it was of the utmost importance that the spirit or evil influence which affected the sick man should be mentioned by name. To this end the magician repeated long lists of ghosts and devils, any one of which might be the cause of the sickness. Thanks to this practice, we know a great deal about the Babylonian demons and their characteristics. In order to illustrate the manner of their attack, and how dissociated this was from any moral offence on their victim's part, it will suffice to refer briefly to one class of spirits, the ghosts of the dead. These spirits were the ghosts of dead people which, for some reason or other, could not find rest, but wandered as spectres over the earth. After death the spirits of men and women who died in the ordinary course of nature and were buried were believed to enter the under world, where they eked out a miserable existence with the help of offerings and libations paid to them by their descendants and relatives upon earth. But, if the offerings were not made, or if the corpse was left unburied, the spirit might wander unsatisfied. Other ghosts were the spirits of those who died violent or unnatural deaths, or who departed this life before completing certain natural functions—such as the ghosts of women who died in childbed. As a rule, such spirits haunted ruins or desolate places, and, if a man wandered there, they might seize on him and plague him. A spirit of this sort could also fasten himself on any one who had been in any way connected with him in this life, by the sharing of food with him or by the mere act of eating, drinking, or dressing in his company. From these instances it will be seen that a man was liable, through no fault of his own, to supernatural attack, and precisely similar results were believed to follow both ceremonial and moral offences. To touch the chair or bed of a person already affected by such evil influence or ban was, according to the texts, quite as dangerous as committing a moral offence, such as theft, adultery, or murder, and the resulting condition of sickness or misfortune was the same.

In order to escape the ban and cure his sickness or misfortune, the sufferer had recourse to the magician, who, by his knowledge of magical words, prayers, and ritual, could invoke the help of the great gods, and so gain control over the demon itself, or, in cases induced by human intervention, over the hostile sorcerer or sorceress who had cast the spell. In a large class of texts prepared for the use of the magician their purely magical character is sufficiently apparent from their contents. In others, where the contents refer more to the condition of the sufferer than to the possible causes of his misfortune or the means to relieve it, the essentially magical character of the compositions may sometimes be detected in notes or 'rubrics' which give directions for their due recital and for the performance of accompanying rites and ceremonies. For the rites prescribed often have an intimate connexion with the subject-matter of the prayer or incantation. Sometimes the offerings and the accompanying rites have, to our eyes, only a vague relationship to the character of the god or goddess addressed. But in other compositions the media employed for the magic are specifically named in the recitative, or liturgical, portion of the text. In fact, a study of the rubrics makes it clear that many present a certain general resemblance in giving directions for the recital of the main text over something which is mentioned in the accompanying formulæ. The relationship between text and ritual may be illustrated by the following group of rubrics from the Eighth Tablet of the *Maḳlû* series, col. iii. lines 8–22, which give directions for the due recital of incantations on the Sixth Tablet of the series and the performance of accompanying rites.

'(*a*) The incantation (beginning): "Thou art good, who in a pure place art born!" over a good offering shalt thou recite, and upon the fumigation-bowl, which is at the head of the bed, shalt thou place it.

(*b*) The incantation (beginning): "Come my sorceress or my enchantress!" over a *nulukhkha*-plant shalt thou recite, and upon the fumigation-bowl, which is at the head of the bed, shalt thou place it; (and) with an upper-garment shalt thou envelop the bed.

(*c*) The incantation (beginning): "Come my sorcerer or my enchantress!" over twelve pieces of *sha'irru*-wood shalt thou recite, and upon the fumigation-bowl, which is at the head of the bed, shalt thou place them.

(*d*) The incantation (beginning): "Come my sorceress, my witch, whose paths are over all the world!" over two caged locusts shalt thou recite, and to the right of the door and to the left of the door of the enchanted man shalt thou set them.

(*e*) The incantation (beginning): "Come my sorceress, my witch!" over a stone from the mountain shalt thou recite, and in the court (of the house) shalt thou lay it.

(*f*) The objects for ceremonial burning (*ḳutari*), which belong to the incantation (beginning): "Ellil my head," all that are described as potent against bans, shalt thou heap together and make to go up in smoke. The incantation (beginning): "Ellil my head," shalt thou recite.'

The connexion between these rites and the corresponding sections of the liturgical, or recitative, portions of the composition is clear. For example, the incantation referred to in section (*b*) corresponds to *Maḳlû* vi. 102–109, which twice refers to the *nulukhkha*-plant (cf. 108 f.); that in (*c*) corresponds to *Maḳlû* vi. 110–117, and the *sha'irru*-wood is referred to in line 115 of the text, which should read: 'At the head of my bed will I place twelve pieces of *sha'irru*-wood'; that in (*d*) is *Maḳlû* vi. 118–126, and the two locusts are symbolical of the two 'gods of the watch' who will slay the sorceress (cf. 123 ff.).

This rite of the locusts, which may be regarded as typical of a great body of Babylonian ritual, will be seen, when examined, to be an obvious example of sympathetic magic. The locusts were set, one on each side of the sick man's door, to represent Lugal-girra and Meslamtaea, who, as 'gods of the watch,' would be ready to pounce upon the sorceress and slay her. The magic would work and the gods would act at the second recital of the incantation.

In many of the rites and ceremonies the use of fire was essential, and it would seem that, after the recital of the correct formulæ, the destruction of the objects collected by the magician for that purpose synchronized with the destruction or removal of the evil influence under which the patient suffered. The rites sometimes required substances of some value or rarity, such as fragments of gold or precious stones; and it is probable that, except for powerful or wealthy clients, the magician would make the same fragments do again and again. But the objects used by the magician also included plants, pieces of wood, various sorts of seeds, vegetables, dates, palm-spathes, sheep-skin, wool, etc.—all perishable substances which could easily be consumed. And in their case the sympathetic connexion between the destruction of the ban and that of the object is obvious. That this is the correct explanation of this whole class of ritual is clear from a singularly instructive sub-section, in which the employment of images is prescribed in place of unfashioned natural objects or substances. The images were to be fashioned in human form, to represent the hostile sorcerer or sorceress, and the destruction of these by fire, to the recital of the correct formulæ, was obviously believed to synchronize with the destruction of the hostile person whose figure had been imitated. These images could be made of wax, honey, bitumen, sesame-seed, and the like—all perishable and common substances. When metal was employed, we may assume that the mere passing through the fire was sufficient for the purposes of the magic. Evidence of the great part played by fire in Babylonian magic may be seen in the titles of the two chief magical works, *Shurpu* and *Maḳlû*, both of which signify 'burning,' and in the great number of prayers and incantations addressed to the fire-god.

In one particularly interesting class of magical rites the relationship which was constituted by the magician between the hostile influence and the object destroyed may be clearly traced. Here the magician is engaged in exorcizing a demon from his patient, and, having gained control by the necessary formulæ, he transfers him to some object which may be destroyed or rendered harmless. In one such case the medium is a pot of water, which is then broken and the water spilt; in another a clay image is fastened to the patient's body and afterwards removed; or the body of a pig might be spread upon the sick man, and afterwards thrown out of the house. In these cases we have a physical transference of the hostile power from the sick man to the object employed. In other rites, such as the knotting of cords, the weaving and unweaving of coloured threads, and the like, it is not clear how far the physical action was believed to exercise a direct influence. It is possible that we should explain such rites on the principle of imitation, which is the basis of sympathetic magic.

But it must be confessed that with regard to a considerable section of the ritual we are still not in a position to follow the underlying trains of thought. The large class of so-called medical prescriptions were, no doubt, essentially magical, and, although in some instances the substances prescribed may have actually had curative effects, the associations which led to their employment by the Babylonians are still obscure.

Most of our knowledge of Babylonian magic is derived from purely textual sources, for we have recovered but few amulets, in which we may be said to deal with magic in a concrete form. It is true that we possess a few plague-tablets, inscribed with a text relating to the plague-god, and intended to be hung up in houses to keep off the plague; we have also recovered the figures and heads of demons, sometimes inscribed with incantations; and these, too, were doubtless employed in propitiation or defence. But the only magical apparatus, in the strict sense of the term, that has come down to us may be seen in certain rectangular plaques of cast metal, moulded on the face with the figure of a sick man lying on a couch, attended by the magicians or exorcizers, and surrounded by various hostile demons and protecting spirits or their emblems, which are arranged in horizontal registers. On the back is the large figure of a demon in relief, with his head usually protruding above the top of the plaque. From the subject of the reliefs it is clear that the plaques are to be classified under the general heading of sympathetic magic, but the precise manner in which they were employed by the magician in cases of sickness is not certain. Another class of objects, consisting of little clay figures of deities or birds, which were buried below the pavement in the main doorways of a temple or a palace, may be treated as magical in their supposed effects, but they fall rather under the special heading of foundation-deposits. It may be added that the magical beliefs and practices of the Babylonians survived their racial disappearance, and, largely through Jewish, Syriac, and Mandaic channels, contributed in no small degree to the great and composite body of mediæval magic.

LITERATURE.—General treatises on Babylonian magic will be found in M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii., Giessen, 1910; A. H. Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* (Gifford Lectures), Edinburgh, 1902; C. Fossey, *La Magie assyrienne*, Paris, 1902; R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908; R. W. Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, New York and London, 1908; and J. Morgenstern, *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion* (=*MVG* x. 3 [1905]). For edd., with trr., of the principal magical works see K. L. Tallqvist, *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, Leipzig, 1894; H. Zimmern, *Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu*, do. 1896, and *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer, und Sänger*, do. 1901; L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, London, 1896; Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, do. 1903–04; and S. Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, Paris, 1909. Full references to other published texts (up to 1910) are given in Jastrow, *op. cit.*; and for subsequent references, the bibliographies in *ZA*, *AJSL*, or the Babylonian sections of the *Orient. Bibliographie* may be consulted. For the plague-tablet amulets see King, in *ZA* xi. [1896] 50 ff.; and for the magical plaques for the cure of the sick see K. Frank, *Babylonische Beschwörungsreliefs*, Leipzig, 1908. For the latest discussion of the survival of Babylonian magical practices, cf. J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 106 ff.

L. W. KING.

MAGIC (Buddhist).—If we rightly understand the real character of Buddhism, what Buddhism ought to be according to its cardinal tenets, there is no possible connexion between Buddhism and magic. The only aim of the Buddhist monk is '*nirvāṇa* to be attained in this life,' *i.e.* absolute freedom from passion in order to reach freedom from rebirth, *i.e.* eternal, blissful *nirvāṇa*. All the machinery of intellectual and moral life is organized with a view to this. Buddhism does not deny that there are good (*kuśala*) acts that ripen into happiness in a future life (*svarga*, 'paradise'),[1] but monks consider them not only as of no avail for, but even as obstacles to, *nirvāṇa*. Ascetic and religious acts (*śīlavrata*, *tapas*, *pūjā*) have no place in the training for *nirvāṇa*, and it is a very grave and delusive heresy to lay stress upon them. *A fortiori*, in contrast with Vedism and Brāhmanism, Buddhism ignores all the magical theories connected with sacrifice, worship, or asceticism as a means of salvation. As far as every-day or trivial magic is concerned, its efficiency is acknowledged, but Buddhists are strictly forbidden to practise it; all kinds of magical arts and performances—even of a benevolent nature—are regarded as pernicious.[2]

But 'historic Buddhism' is not, in every respect, what Buddhism ought to be. Buddhists are Hindus, 'regular' Hindus; and no large religious body has ever been found that was always scrupulously faithful to the true spirit of its creed, the more so as the Buddhist creed implies a superhuman disinterestedness and a non-Oriental disregard for any kind of superstition.

1. **Ṛddhi.**—There is a large category of 'superhuman' activities, which to some extent would be understood by Europeans as magical, and which are 'very good Buddhism.' We mean *ṛddhi* (Pāli *iddhi*)—in the words of Rhys Davids, 'mystic wonder,' 'wondrous gift,' 'magic power,' a mastery (*prabhāva*), which is only the exercise of a power acquired by pious works, by penance, and also by 'formulæ,' and especially by contemplation.

There is nothing 'preternatural' in the *ṛddhi*, and the natural character of the 'miracles' performed by *ṛddhi* is clearly shown in the following passage of the *Milinda-pañha*: '"There are persons who can go with this four-element-made body to

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[1] These are 'mundane' (*laukika*) good acts, in contrast with 'supramundane' (*lokottara*), those which lead to *nirvāṇa*, *i.e.* the volitions concerned with 'trances' (*dhyāna*) and other 'concentrations' (*samādhi*).

[2] On the position of the Buddha with regard to magic see T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. (*SBB* ii., London, 1899) 273.

Uttara-kuru [see art. Blest, Abode of the (Buddhist)], or to the Brahma world . . ." "But how can they?" "Do you admit having ever jumped three or six feet of ground?" "Yes, I do; I can jump twelve feet." "But how?" "I cause this idea to arise: 'There will I alight!' With the genesis of this idea, my body becomes buoyant to me." "Just so does a monk, who has *iddhi* and mastery over his thought, travel through the air."'[1]

The man whose thought is concentrated has indeed a great power over his body; but this power is not different, in nature, from the power of an ordinary man.

Birds are, by nature, endowed with magic power, as is proved by the fact that they go through the air. Their *ṛddhi* is 'born from the ripening of acts,' *i.e.*, the special character of some of their acts in a former birth endows them with this special 'superhuman' faculty. Gods are, of course, magicians; they go through the air, they create at their will palaces and pleasures (*bhoga*). Sovereign kings or world-emperors (*chakravartin* [*q.v.*]), too, are magicians by nature. Ordinary men obtain momentary magic power by many devices, and are 'superhuman' at some time and for some object.[2]

As a matter of fact, Buddha was looked upon by his followers—as he was by the unbelievers—as a great magician; and it is recognized by all Buddhists that magic power is one of the natural possessions of the saints, since they are holy men, just like the *yogīs* of old and the modern *faqīrs*. Magic power ranks therefore with the divine eye, the divine ear, the knowledge of the thought of others, the knowledge of former births, the knowledge of the disappearing of passions, *i.e.* with the most desirable gifts of saintship. And it is no mean eulogy of Maudgalyāyana that he is styled 'the best of the Buddha's disciples with regard to magic.'

It is evident that the admission of the reality of *ṛddhi* is beset with many dangers. Buddhists were, accordingly, strictly forbidden to boast of possessing superhuman faculties; that was one of the gravest sins.

There is nothing specially Buddhist in the manifestations of *ṛddhi*. Buddha's disciples win success in the phantasmagorial shows which have long been familiar to Hindu romancers and dreamers:

> 'Being one, he becomes many, or having become many, becomes one again; he becomes invisible or visible; he goes, feeling no obstruction, to the other side of a wall or rampart or hill, as if through air; he penetrates up and down through solid ground, as if through air; he walks on water . . .; he travels cross-legged in the sky; even the sun and the moon, so mighty though they be, does he touch and feel with his hand; he reaches in the body even up to the heaven of Brahmā. . . .'[3]

Stories of miraculous exhibitions intended to convert the incredulous are frequent. Buddha and his disciples willingly condescend to give 'signs.'

> When the Tibetan writer Tāranātha narrates the mediæval miraculous tournaments between the Buddhist and Brāhmanist scholars, which often conclude with the Buddhist victory and the conversion of kings, he only testifies the continuance of an old tradition. But—and this restriction is of paramount import—even when narrating miracles, the old texts add that miracles, by themselves, prove nothing; the unbelievers, conquered by the more powerful magic of Buddha, used to say: 'Gautama'—the 'mundane' name of the Buddha, and the one used by unbelievers—'Gautama is the magician (*māyāvin*); every thousandth year there appears in the world a great magician who eats or enjoys the world' (*Abhidharmakośa*); or, in the words of the *Kevaddhasutta*: 'Well, Sir! there is a certain charm called the gandhāra-charm. It is by the efficacy thereof that he performs all this.'[4]

There is in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, a text-book of the Vijñānavādins (by Asaṅga, 4th–5th cent. A.D.?), a complete survey of the magical power of the *bodhisattvas*. It is said to be twofold: *pāriṇāmikī ṛddhi*, power of transformation, when a *bodhisattva* modifies the nature of an existing thing; and *nairmāṇikī*, power of creation, when he creates some thing or some person. The 'created persons' (*nirmita*, *nirmitaka*) are frequently mentioned in the Mahāyāna works; but they are not unknown in the Hīnayāna, both Pāli and Sanskrit. Elaborate theories on the *nirmitakas* are to be found in the *Abhidharma* treatises of the Sarvāstivādins (*Lokaprajñāpti*, 1st cent. A.D.), which embody the views of the Sanskrit Hīnayāna; and in the *Abhidharmakośa* (ch. vi.), where the creative power of Buddha and of the gods (*nirmāṇarati*, etc.) is discussed.[1]

2. Paritta.—Another very orthodox form of magic is *parittā*, or *rakkhā*, 'guard,' 'safeguard.' It plays an important part in Siṁhalese Buddhism under the name of *pirit* (Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850, p. 240, *Manual of Budhism*², do. 1880, p. 47; D. J. Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, ed. A. S. Bishop, Colombo, 1908, pp. 327–393). Good examples are found in Pāli literature.

Taking refuge in the three 'jewels' (*ratna*, *ratana*), Buddha, the *Dharma*, and the *Saṅgha*, forms a charm called '*sutta* of the jewels,' which is very efficacious against illness:

> 'Whatever spirits have come together here, either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let all spirits be happy, and then listen attentively to what is said. Therefore, O spirits, do ye all pay attention, show kindness to the human race who both day and night bring their offerings; therefore protect them strenuously. Whatever wealth there be here or in the other world, or whatever excellent jewel in the heavens, it is certainly not equal to Tathāgata. . . . By this truth may there be salvation.' In the same way: 'Nothing is equal to the *Dharma*, to the *Saṅgha*!'[2]

So also, in the Peacock *Jātaka*, sun-worship ('the only king, the one who beholds, the light of the world') is connected with that of the Buddhas:

> 'I worship thee, golden and luminous being! May I spend this day under thy care! Homage to the omniscient sages! May they protect me! Homage to the Buddhas and to the illumination, to the delivered and to the deliverance! . . .'

When Śākyamuni was a large golden peacock, he recited this half-solar, half-Buddhist prayer morning and evening, and consequently avoided all dangers. And, as the peacock is the born enemy of serpents, the '*sutta* (or 'charm') of the peacock' is used as a preventive and as a cure for serpent-bites.[3]

In these examples the magical character is not very prominent: there is nothing pagan in the formulæ, which are, above all, acts of Buddhist faith; there is nothing mechanical, nothing really magical, in the efficacy ascribed to the *pirit*. The non-Buddhist gods are clearly subordinated to the Buddha: it is almost a dogma that the Buddha converted gods and demons;[4] and it is quite reasonable to believe that they will grant their favour to the disciples of Buddha. It is believed also that benevolence (*maitrī*) possesses a power in itself (*maitrībala*), which is capable of protecting the benevolent person against all the attacks of the wicked; in order to avoid serpent-bites, it is not a bad plan to sleep on a raised bed, but the right method is to declare to all the tribes of serpents that they are being enveloped in a universal sentiment of benevolence.[5] This magic of benevolence is the most noteworthy invention of Buddhism in connexion with the subject which we are discussing.

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[1] C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1914, p. 161; see also pp. 127, 190, 199; *SBE* xxxv. [1890] 129 f. Magic power (*ṛddhi*) is sometimes only a momentary possession; cf. the story of a disciple who, when crossing a river, concentrates his mind, and, accordingly, walks on water; but, being distracted, he sinks (*Jātaka* 190).

[2] On the ten kinds of *iddhi* see *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (London, 1907), ii. 205. The *iddhi* 'born from spells' or 'made of spells' (*vijjāmaya*) is the worst.

[3] See 'Sāmaññaphalasutta,' *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 88, and *Mahāvyutpatti*, § 14 f. (*Bibl. Buddhica*, xiii., Petrograd, 1911).

[4] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 278.

[1] A summary of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* has been published by C. Bendall and the present writer in *Muséon*, vi. [1905] 38–52, vii. [1906] 213–230. A summary of the *Lokaprajñāpti* is being published as an Appendix in *Cosmologie bouddhique, troisième chapitre de l'Abhidharmakośa*, London, 1915.

[2] 'Ratanasutta' (*Sutta-Nipāta*, ii. 1); Rhys Davids, *SBE* xxxv. 218; art. Jewel (Buddhist), § 9.

[3] *Morajātaka*, *Jātaka* ed. V. Fausböll, London, 1877–97, ii. 33.

[4] It is a dogma for the Sarvāstivādins (see A. Csoma and L. Feer, 'Analyse du Kandjour,' *AMG* ii. [1881] 167). The Pāli sources admit that there are still wicked gods (*Digha*, xxxii.).

[5] See *Chullavagga*, vi. 2. 2, and v. 6. 1 (*SBE* xx. [1885] 168 f., 75 f.).

3. **Hindu influences.**—All practices tainted with magic or superstition, from the most trivial to the most serious, are strictly forbidden: astrology, divination, charms, incantations—in a word, all that any one may accomplish with the help of certain secret recipes and a technical method. Holy men, in ancient as in modern India, priests or sorcerers, had only too much opportunity for making huge profits by giving horoscopes and practising white or black magic. The Buddha—the first Order—was anxious that the monks should be sheltered from this temptation, and drew up a long list of 'wrong means of livelihood,' of low arts, that were strictly prohibited. The Brāhmans also made an effort to distinguish themselves from sorcerers.

Among these 'low arts' we may mention specially:

> 'Arranging a lucky day for marriages; using charms to make people lucky or unlucky, to procure abortion, to bring on dumbness, deafness, to keep a man's jaw fixed; obtaining oracular answers by means of the magic mirror, or through a girl possessed; bringing forth flames from one's mouth; causing virility; making a man impotent; invoking Sirī (Śrī), the goddess of luck; worship of sun,' etc.[1]

Whatever precautions the Order took to avoid all paganism and superstition, there is, nevertheless, a Buddhist magic. It was impossible to guard against Hindu infiltrations. At no time could people have been completely ignorant of the sun or the inferior deities; a day came when the infiltrations became 'streams,' when paganism—gods, rites, theurgies—under a thin Buddhist veneer, took its place in sacred literature. Of course, we find popular magic always condemned in principle (love-rites, elixir of life, etc.). What is more serious, official worship and mysticism are permeated with Hindu elements, heavily laden with magic; this is, properly speaking, what is called Tantrism (*q.v.*).

Among the earliest of these infiltrations we may mention: (1) in some very orthodox books of the Mahāyāna, the great value attached to the sacred texts, to the *sūtras*, the mere reading of which effaces sin; (2) the great value attached to sacred names (*e.g.*, the name of Amitābha): devotion turns to superstition pure and simple; (3) the name replaced or strengthened by mystic formulæ (see AVALOKITEŚVARA), represented, when carried to an extreme, by the Tibetan 'prayer-wheel'; it has been noticed that, in the *Lotus of the True Law* (*q.v.*), in which there is no mention of a female deity, the formulas are made from feminine vocatives: these invocations or litanies are undoubtedly borrowed from rituals; (4) the coming of a day when the rituals received the consecration of literature, and were put at the service of the great work of identifying the faithful with the Buddhas (Tantrism).

LITERATURE.—R. C. Childers, *Dictionary of the Pali Language*, London, 1875, *s.vv.* 'Iddhi,' 'Parittā'; M. Winternitz, *SBE* l. [1910], *s.vv.* 'Iddhi,' 'Magic,' 'Miracles'; *Jātaka*, Eng. tr., ed. E. B. Cowell, Cambridge, 1895–1913, vii. *s.vv.* 'Magic,' 'Miracles'; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1909, p. 362 f.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

MAGIC (Celtic).—1. Wielders of magic.—Magical rites resembling those used by other races abound in Celtic paganism. They were performed by the gods, the Tuatha Dé Danann being later regarded as supernal wizards, by kings (a reminiscence, perhaps, of the origin of the kingship in the magic-wielding class), and by all members of society, but, above all, by the druids as the official magical class. There is evidence that they had ousted women as the earlier magic-wielding persons. The rites of agriculture and the possession of much primitive lore having been first of all in the hands of women, and these rites being largely magical, they were *par excellence* magicians. With the gradual encroachment of man on woman's domain, with the growing supremacy of gods over goddesses, men became also greater magicians. But women still professed magic, and their claims were never forgotten. The so-called 'druidesses' of the later empire, the priestesses of Sena, and the virgin guardians of Brigit's fire were magic-wielders. The 'spells of women' were feared even by St. Patrick, as they had been in earlier times by Connla's father,[1] and in the Irish texts women as magicians, performing all magical rites ascribed to druids, are much in evidence. But their magic was, so to speak, non-official; hence, when the druids were overthrown, they still retained their powers, and much mediæval witchcraft is directly connected with them. Women, as the earliest, remained also the latest, magicians, though in time they were proscribed and persecuted. On the other hand, many of the druidic magical rites were later ascribed to the *filid*, or poets, and also to Christian saints. Whatever view may be taken of the origin of the druids, it is certain that the Celts believed firmly in magic, and did not require to learn the superstition in any of its branches from the races which they conquered.

For the druids as magicians in Gaul and Ireland see DRUIDS, § 7. Their prominence is seen in the fact that in later Celtic literature 'druid' is the equivalent of *magus*, 'magician,' as in the lives of Celtic saints *magi* = 'druids,' while in saga and folk-tale 'druidism' = magic.

2. **Elemental magic.**—The druids, who claimed to have created the elements, claimed also to rule them. They could cover the dry land with the sea to destroy their victims;[2] they produced enchanted mists in which to hide people or places; they changed day into night, or caused blinding snow-storms. These feats are ascribed to them even in the lives of early Celtic saints.[3] They caused showers of fire to fall upon enemies during battle.[4] In other cases they dried up all the rivers and wells in an enemy's country by means of spells, though the druids of the latter caused water to flow again by shooting an arrow into the ground.[5] They even claimed to remove mountains and dash them against an opposing host.[6] Druids accompanied the warring hosts of Erin, and these marvels usually occurred on such occasions, the rival magicians striving to outdo each other. These and other powers—*e.g.*, rain-making—were later claimed by wizards (*tempestarii*) and witches in Christian times over the Celtic area. Rain-making was usually associated with a sacred well, whither the people went in procession, probably with an image of a divinity, which was sprinkled with the water; in some instances it was sufficient to beat the water with branches, sprinkle it on stones, or throw it in the air. In certain cases the Church took over this rite by making it a part of an elaborate ritual, including a procession with an image of a saint, the priest officiating and saying prayers.[7] But in pagan times the presence of a druid was probably essential. The control of the elements by *tempestarii*, which was denounced by the Church, was directly borrowed from druidic magic. Until comparatively recent times the

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[1] See Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 23 f.—a collection of interesting documents on the ancient life of India.

[1] W. O. E. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880 ff., i. 56; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Épopée celtique en Irlande*, Paris, 1892, p. 387.

[2] D'Arbois, p. 277.

[3] W. Stokes, *Three Middle-Irish Homilies*, Calcutta, 1877, p. 24.

[4] *RCel* xii. [1891] 83; d'Arbois de Jubainville, p. 424.

[5] E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS Materials of Ancient Irish Hist.*, Dublin, 1861, p. 271 f.

[6] *RCel* xii. 81.

[7] L. F. A. Maury, *Croyances et légendes du moyen âge*, Paris, 1896, p. 14; P. Sébillot, *Folk-lore de France*, do. 1904–07, i. 101, ii. 224 f.; L. J. B. Bérenger-Féraud, *Superstitions et survivances*, do. 1896, iii. 169, 190.

priest in rural French parishes was believed capable of causing rain in time of drought, or of averting tempests.[1]

3. Magic affecting human beings.—The druids could make themselves or others invisible, and this was also done by Celtic saints.[2] A spell used for this purpose, or by which the person using it appeared in another form to his enemy and so escaped, as well as the effect produced, was called *fœth fiada* ('the wild beast's cry'). By it he and his followers appeared as deer to their foes.[3] The power of such an incantation is still spoken of in remote parts of the W. Highlands.[4] Still more common was the power of shape-shifting, which was also ascribed to women. The evidence of Irish texts shows that the druid could take any shape, or invest others with it, while the same power is also ascribed to divinities.

The children of Ler became swans through the arts of their step-mother, the daughter of the god Bodb Derg, while Oisin's mother became a fawn through the power of the druid Fear Doirche (P. W. Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*^{2}, London, 1894, p. 1 ff.; P. Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, do. 1866, p. 235). The priestesses of Sena could take any shape (Pomp. Mela, iii. 6), and many tales of goddesses or women assuming the shape of birds are found in the sagas. In some instances the belief is evidently connected with totemism, explaining a tabu upon eating certain animals by saying that they were human beings transformed.

'Riming' people to death—a practice used by the *filid* as well as by the druids—was connected with the power of the spoken word, though it may also be connected with the actual power of violent emotion to affect the body. It was usually the result of a satire spoken in verse to the victim; black, red, and white blotches arose on the face, and were followed, sooner or later, by decay or death. The satire was probably a magical spell, and the fear of such a spell brought about the result automatically. Coirpre pronounced the first satire in Ireland upon Bres, king of the Fomorians, and many other instances occur in the texts.[5] To the power of the satire was attributed a quelling force over nature itself.[6] A magical sleep was also produced in different ways. Sometimes it was done by music, which produced first laughter, then tears, then sleep. These three results are uniformly ascribed to music in Irish saga; they were brought about by Dagda's harp, as well as by the songs of the *filid*.[7] All this probably reflects the power of music upon primitive minds, especially since it is so frequently connected with religious or magical dances and orgiastic rites, in which the motion and the music produce delirium, then exhaustion. But it may also suggest the soothing power of music. Similar magical sleep was caused by the music of divine visitants (see BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Celtic], §§ 2, 6). In other cases sleep was produced by a 'drink of oblivion,' probably some narcotic made from herbs;[8] but sometimes the effect was curious, as when Cúchulainn, by the drink given him by the druids, was made to forget his fairy mistress, and his wife to forget her jealousy.[9] Another 'druidic sleep,' in which the victim is made to forget or is rendered motionless, and occasionally in that state is caused to tell secrets, is of frequent occurrence, and is suggestive of hypnotism, the powers of which are well known to savage medicine-men, and may quite well have been employed by the druids.[10] The power of 'glamour' produced by magicians, by which stones or trees seemed to be armed men and were attacked by the victim, is also strongly suggestive of hypnotic influence. It may, however, be merely the record of actual hallucinatory cases, since the 'glamour' in which the modern Celt believes is little else than hallucination. The druid could also turn a man into a lunatic by throwing a wisp of straw at his face after saying a spell over it.[1] Even more primitive was the method of killing a person by throwing a spear into his shadow,[2] or of making an image of him and sticking pins into it or placing it in running water, so that he might suffer or waste away. This image is the *corp creadh*, still known and used in remote Celtic regions.

4. The Airbe Druad, or 'Druid's hedge,' was an invisible magic barrier made by the magician round an army, probably by circumambulating it sunwise and singing spells. Its effect was that the ranks could not be broken, but, if any one was bold enough to break through, its power was gone, though the act usually cost the trespasser his life.[3]

5. Magical rites connected with stones and trees.—The cult of stones and the belief that sepulchral stones were the abode of the ghosts of the dead probably gave rise to many magical rites, the origin of which must be sought in remote times. Many of these are still practised, and the method used throws light upon the earlier pagan customs. These are of a magico-erotic nature, and, like similar rites among savages, are founded on the belief that the ghost can cause fruitfulness, or perhaps may incarnate himself in the barren woman who performs the rite. The woman sits on the stone, or slides down it, or thrusts her head or body through a hole in one of the stones of a dolmen. Pregnant women do the same to ensure an easy delivery, or unmarried girls to procure a husband.[4] Similar practices are used in connexion with boulders or stones which are not sepulchral, and probably these were anterior to the use of megalithic monuments. In these cases the rocks were believed to be the abode of spirits, or perhaps manifestations of the power of the Earth divinity, who gave vitality or fruitfulness to those performing the rites. A small offering was usually left on the stone.[5] Such practices may already have been used by the Celts, though they necessarily adapted them to existing stones and monuments in the lands conquered by them. Other practices were the passing of sick persons three times through a holed dolmen or a weather-worn hole in a rock, to obtain strength and healing.[6] In other cases a slit was made in an oak or ash sapling, through which the patient was passed, and the slit was then carefully closed and bound. The underlying idea is complex. The spirit of tree or stone was expected to cause healing, or there was a transference of the disease to either, or perhaps there was some idea of a new birth with renewed strength to the re-born.[7]

Certain magical stones had the power of producing rain or wind when turned with appropriate rites, or in other cases the water in which stones of a fetish kind had been dipped procured healing when it was drunk—a method used by St. Columba.[8] Other magical rites with stones were used in cursing an enemy.

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[1] Bérenger-Féraud, iii. 218; *GB*^{3}, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 232.

[2] D'Arbois de Jubainville, p. 387.

[3] Windisch, i. 52; Stokes, *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1887, p. 38.

[4] A. Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Edinburgh, 1900, ii. 25.

[5] *RCel* xii. 71; O'Curry, p. 248.

[6] Windisch, *Die altir. Heldensage, Táin bó Cúalnge*, Leipzig, 1905, line 5467.

[7] *RCel* xii. 109; O'Curry, p. 255.

[8] Joyce, p. 279.

[9] Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, i. 226.

[10] Joyce, p. 88; *RCel* xxiii. [1902] 394.

[1] O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, ii. 203.

[2] *RCel* xv. [1894] 444.

[3] Stokes, *Lives of Irish Saints*, Oxford, 1890, p. xxviii.

[4] Bérenger-Féraud, i. 529 ff.; T. A. Trollope, *A Summer in Brittany*, London, 1840, ii. 229; W. C. Borlase, *The Dolmens of Ireland*, do. 1897, iii. 841.

[5] Sébillot, i. 334 f.

[6] Bérenger-Féraud, i. 529, ii. 367.

[7] *L'Anthropologie*, iv. [Paris, 1893] 33; F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1895, pp. 69, 106.

[8] Adamnan, *Vita S. Columbæ*, ii. 34; J. A. MacCulloch, *The Misty Isle of Skye*, Edinburgh, 1905, p. 249.

6. Celtic saints and magic.—Much of the magic of the druids was popularly ascribed to the saints who combated them—with this difference, that their power was held to come from God. In the *Lives* of Celtic saints we find them opposing druids with their own weapons—neutralizing their magic, controlling the elements, producing rain, rendering themselves invisible, producing marvellous supplies of food, and causing transformation or confusion through their curses. The popular belief in magic could not be eradicated, and they who now filled the place of the ancient priesthood were freely dowered by the people and by their biographers with the ancient powers.

See also CHARMS AND AMULETS (Celtic).

LITERATURE.—J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911; S. Reinach, *Cultes, mythes, et religions*, Paris, 1905–12, *passim*.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

MAGIC (Chinese).—Magic in all its forms is a subject which has always fascinated the Chinese mind. The literature which deals with the theory and practice of magic is enormous; and, if much of this literature is wearisome to the modern reader on account of the childish credulity of its authors and the extravagance of their speculations, it is nevertheless worthy of more patient scrutiny and analysis than it has yet received from anthropologists and students of folklore, or even from serious students of Chinese life and character. In this article we cannot do more than touch the fringe of a subject which derives much of its interest from the fact that a belief in magic is still a living force in the China of to-day.

There are many early references to a class of sorcerers or witches known as *wu*. This name is often applied to male as well as female witches, though the more correct designation of the former is *chi*. The term *chi* is rarely found outside the old books, but the term *wu* (usually in some such combination as *wu-p'o*, which means 'witch-wife') has persisted throughout the ages, and is still in common use. In pre-Confucian days the *wu* held a recognized position in the social organization of the country. They were entrusted even in the courts of kings with certain quasi-sacerdotal functions, and in public ceremonials they had stated duties to perform in connexion with divination and exorcism. Judging from the somewhat meagre accounts which we possess, we may suspect that the rites observed by the *wu* were in many respects identical with those practised to this day by the shamans of Central Asia and Siberia (see BURIATS, SHAMANISM). Their methods included mimetic dancing, drum-beating, chanting of mystic formulæ, and trance-mediumship, and their efforts were directed towards the foretelling of the future, the conjuration of spirits, and (in general) the invocation of good influences and the expulsion of evil. In the course of ages their position gradually deteriorated. This was largely the result of the rise of Confucian culture, which always aimed at reducing every non-Confucian ideal and practice to a position of inferiority; but it was also due to the fact that many of the magical notions and methods of the *wu* fraternity were taken up and systematized by the Taoists. This is one of the reasons why the popular Taoism of modern times concerns itself with magic and sorcery to an extent which seems quite unwarranted by early Taoist philosophy, and why the illiterate village witches and fortune-tellers of the present day usually profess to act in co-operation with one or more of the innumerable Taoist deities, in spite of the fact that they are the sole surviving representatives of the ancient *wu*, whose name they still bear.

There is reason to believe, however, that besides the officially-recognized *wu* there were always numerous 'free-lance' witches who carried on a lucrative business among the superstitious multitudes, and whose connexion with the State-cult or predominant religion of the time was little more than nominal. It was probably sorcerers of this type that were aimed at in certain anti-witchcraft regulations (reminding us of Plato's *Laws*, xi. 933) which we find in the *Li Ki*—the canonical 'Book of Rites.'

'Those who gave false reports about spirits, about seasons and days, about consultings of the tortoise-shell and stalks, so as to perplex the multitudes: these were put to death' (*SBE* xxvii. 237 f.). It may be added that the same fate befell inventors of 'wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements,' because such things raised 'doubts among the multitude' (*ib.*).

But it seems that even the official *wu* were not always free from peril, for the very fact that they were supposed to have a mysterious controlling power over the forces of nature rendered them liable to terrible punishment if those forces seemed to be showing hostility to mankind.

In the year 683 B.C., *e.g.*, there was a disastrous drought, and a certain reigning duke expressed his intention of dealing with the situation by burning two persons—an emaciated or deformed man and a witch. Evidently this was a familiar practice in such emergencies, and the reason why special mention was made of it in this particular case was that, owing to the remonstrances of the duke's minister—who seems to have been far in advance of his time in his attitude towards popular superstitions—the barbarous custom was not carried out.[1] From a similar story which refers to the reign of Duke Mu (409–377 B.C.) it appears that the practice had been modified to the extent that the witch and deformed man were no longer burned alive, but were merely exposed to the scorching heat of the sun.[2]

One explanation of these customs is that by burning a deformed or emaciated man, or by exposing him to the sun, the pity of the heavenly powers would be aroused and rain would be sent to alleviate the wretched man's sufferings; and that the same happy result would follow the burning or exposure of a witch, because a witch was a person who was able to compel spirits to descend to earth. A sounder explanation is based on the belief in the supposed interaction of the principles of *yang* and *yin*—the male and female, or active and passive, forces, which by their alternating pulsations or activities give rise to all natural phenomena. In time of drought the *yang* principle shows excessive activity and disturbs the harmony of nature's processes; steps must be taken, therefore, to redress the balance of forces. The intricacies of the *yin-yang* theory are necessarily bewildering to a Western reader until he has acquired some knowledge of the principles of *feng-shui* (*q.v.*); but it is this pseudo-philosophy—belief in which is slowly decaying in China, but is still far from extinct—that supplies some of the most important hypotheses on which the edifice of Chinese magic has been erected.

No doubt it was only in extremely serious cases of drought that the witches were tortured or put to death. The regular method of obtaining their assistance in rain-making was to send them out, under the guidance of their official leader, the *ssŭ-wu*, to perform a ritual dance.[3] The dancing of the witches formed part of the ordinary ritual observed on the occasion of the official rain-sacrifices; and, if we may judge from similar practices in other parts of the world, the dancing partook of the nature of mimetic magic.[4] It was accompanied by music; and, if there is any truth in such ancient legends as that of King Mu (whose reign ended in 947 B.C.), we may suspect that music preceded dancing as a means of producing rain. We are told that the method adopted by that monarch for putting an end to an excessive drought was to play magic music on his flute.

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[1] See *Tso Chuan*, in Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. v. pt. i. p. 179 f.

[2] See *SBE* xxvii. 201. It has been suspected by commentators that the two stories refer to the same historical incident.

[3] *Chou Li* (Biot's tr., ii. 102).

[4] The ceremonial dancing of ancient China was not always magical. There were six dances officially recognized under the Chou dynasty, of which only one (the *huang*) had anything to do with rain-making. Ceremonial dancing is not yet extinct in China, for it still forms part of the ritual proceedings at the Confucian sacrifices. For an interesting account of the ancient Chinese dances see H. A. Giles, *Adversaria Sinica*, Shanghai 1906, p. 119 f.

Many of the observances still carried out at the popular festivals in China are undoubtedly of a magical character, and are intended to regulate the rainfall, to expel disease and misfortune, to ensure good harvests, and to attract good luck. Communal magic of this kind is sometimes official in character, as in the case of the spring-welcoming ceremonies presided over by the local district-magistrates; but for the most part the rites are conducted by the villagers themselves, under the guidance of their own clan-committees (*hui-shou*), or headmen. Ceremonies which at one time were doubtless carried out with punctilious care and with something like religious awe have in many cases become mere village games and pastimes of which the original significance has been partially or wholly lost. Such are the lantern-dances and stilt-walking of the children of N. China at the full moon of the first month of the year. Few of those who take part in such merry-makings understand that by the skilful manipulation of their paper lanterns they are supposed to be helping and encouraging the moon to go successfully through her phases; that in getting up before dawn on a certain day and cooking a dumpling which 'rises' they are assisting nature to stimulate the dormant activities of animals and vegetation; and that in walking on stilts over ground destined to produce a crop of grain they are helping the wheat and millet to grow to their full height. It is perhaps a significant fact (when we remember the important part played by women in fertility-magic in other parts of the world) that many of the men and boys who take part in these festival-ceremonies are clothed for the occasion in women's garments.

Magical notions are also traceable in numerous simple acts which practically every family performs with a view to the well-being of its own members. Such are the hanging of certain plants above the doorway on certain days, the entwining of red threads in the queues of children to protect them from the demons of disease, and the affixing of pieces of scarlet cloth to the scrub-oak bushes to ensure the protection of the shrubs and the silkworms against hurtful insects and noxious influences. At the New Year it is customary to cover the outsides of doors and windows with paper scrolls containing sage mottoes, quotations from classical and other literature, and words expressive of virtuous aims or suggestive of material prosperity. These scrolls may fairly be regarded as magic charms which will not only prevent evil from entering the house, but will attract the influences which make for good fortune and happiness. Many of the usages connected with death and burial, the ceremonial summoning of ancestral spirits, and the tabuing of personal names are also essentially magical, though their intimate connexion with religious beliefs and observances makes it difficult to decide where magic ends and religion begins.

In China, as elsewhere, magic arts are practised for private and personal as well as for public and family purposes, and many persons who know of no normal method whereby they may bring about the fulfilment of their desires are glad to seek the aid of magicians and witches. The witches of China have had many illustrious clients. One of them was the T'ang emperor Hsüan Tsung, who ordered certain Taoist necromancers to summon before him the shade of his dead consort, the beautiful Yang Kuei-fei. Very similar stories are told of the emperor Wu of the Han dynasty and the emperor Hsiao-Wu of the earlier Sung dynasty. As for the self-styled 'First Emperor,' who reigned in the 3rd cent. B.C., the assistance of witches and necromancers in his case was unnecessary, for he—like the king Solomon of Muhammadan legend—was himself a king of magicians.[1] Returning to more recent times, we find that the great empress-dowager, who died in 1908, put implicit faith for a time in the magical attainments of the 'Boxers'; and, though the 'Sacred Edict' of the emperor K'ang-hsi bids men abjure all kinds of heterodox teachings and practices, among which the arts of magic are included, and though in quite recent years proclamations have been issued warning the people not to allow themselves to be deluded by witches and soothsayers, it is beyond question that a belief in the reality of magic is by no means confined to the ignorant peasantry.

The official attitude towards 'black magic' (to use the convenient Western term) is clearly demonstrated in the anti-witchcraft clauses of the Penal Code of the late Manchu dynasty. The punishments inflicted on persons convicted of this crime were extremely severe, though it is only fair to add (in the words of a scholarly student of the subject) that 'the pages of Chinese history have never been stained by such a mad epidemic of witch-killing as disgraced Europe and America in the seventeenth century.'[2]

As recently as the summer of 1914 an alleged case of 'black magic' occurred in the territory of Wei-hai-wei, at present administered by Great Britain.

> The inhabitants of a certain village approached one of the British Courts with a petition in which they complained that a fellow-villager had been practising magic with disastrous results to their little community. It was stated that he had quarrelled with the village headman, and had foretold the headman's death. 'And sure enough,' they said, 'the headman died, though there was nothing whatever the matter with him.' Two or three other enemies of the accused subsequently died in the same mysterious way; and, to crown all, a villager, on going to the shrine of the guardian-spirit of the village, discovered there a slip of paper on which were written, in the accused's handwriting, the names of various people with whom he was known to be on bad terms. This discovery created a panic among the villagers, who took it for granted that the list comprised the names of all those unfortunate persons whom the wizard had condemned to a speedy death. They therefore seized him and brought him before the writer of this article, who in his magisterial capacity had to perform the somewhat delicate task of differentiating between real and imaginary wrongs and grievances.

From the point of view of the student of magic, the special interest of this particular case centres in the unexpected part played by the tutelary deity of the village. Here, it would appear, we have an instructive example of the intermingling of religion and magic, and the junction seems to have been brought about in this way. One of the principal functions of the *t'u-ti*, or village deity, is to receive the spirits of the newly dead and to act as their spiritual friend and guardian.[3] Each village has its own little shrine dedicated to the local deity, and this shrine usually stands by the roadside a short distance outside the village. When a villager dies, the members of his family go in procession to the *t'u-ti* shrine to make a formal announcement of the death, in order that the deity may make arrangements for the proper reception of the dead man's spirit. Now, at first sight, there seems to be no obvious reason why an expert in black magic who wishes to bring about the death of his enemies should expect the *t'u-ti*—who is regarded as friendly to men and interested in their welfare—to give him help and countenance in carrying out his nefarious designs against their lives. What, then, is the magician's object in placing a list of the names of his intended victims on the little stone altar of the village *t'u-ti*? The theory seems to be that, when the *t'u-ti* perceives the list of names, he will assume that the persons bearing those names are already dead, and will make preparations in the under world for the reception of their souls. These preparations will act with a powerful attractive force upon the souls concerned, and will create in them an irresistible inclination to sever their connexion with their respective bodies. The non-arrival in the under world of the spirits of persons whose death had already been announced in a formal manner would cause bewilderment to the well-meaning *t'u-ti*, and might perhaps arouse his wrath; and, as it is strongly advisable, in the interests of the community in general, to 'save the face' of the *t'u-ti* and maintain friendly relations with him, the only reasonable course for the spirits in question to adopt is to bow to the inevitable and acquiesce in the premature loss of their physical bodies.

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[1] For some of the stories of his magical exploits, which included the transfixing of the sun with a needle in order that uninterrupted daylight might be secured for the building of the Great Wall, see R. F. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, London, 1910, p. 20 f.

[2] E. T. Williams, in a paper on 'Witchcraft in the Chinese Penal Code,' *JRAS* (North China Branch) xxxviii. [1907] 95.

[3] For a full discussion of the *t'u-ti* and his functions see Johnston, p. 371 f.

Magical and semi-religious theories of this kind are hardly likely to find Western parallels; but many of the ordinary magical practices of the Chinese are strikingly similar to some of those forms of sympathetic and mimetic magic with which we are familiar in Europe.

The great artist Ku K'ai-chih (4th cent. of our era), one of whose paintings is among the most treasured artistic possessions of the British Museum, was himself a graduate in magic. When spurned by the girl whom he loved, he drew her portrait, and in the place where the heart should be he stuck a thorn. Thereupon the girl, who knew nothing of the portrait and the thorn, began to suffer pain in the region of the heart, and next time her lover paid his addresses to her she did not scorn him. The artist then withdrew the thorn from the portrait, and, though the pain in the damsel's heart promptly disappeared, her love for him remained.

That many of the poets and artists of China have been credited with a knowledge of magic is no matter for surprise when we know how frequently their passionate love of wild nature brought them into contact with the Buddhist and Taoist saints and hermits, whose favourite dwelling-places have always been the caves and forests and ravines of the mysterious mountains. These mountain-dwelling ascetics have been for ages regarded as the discoverers and guardians of occult secrets of various kinds, and, though their disciples and biographers endowed them with faculties which they never possessed and which the best of them never pretended to possess, it is highly probable that there were some who, in the course of their own heart-searchings and their solitary communings with nature, not only made valuable discoveries as to the properties of plants and herbs, but were also successful pioneers in various untrodden fields of psychology and mysticism. To some extent, at least, the popular belief in their supernormal capacities and attainments was justified.

When Buddhism first came to China, and for some centuries afterwards, the relations between Buddhists and Taoists were often strained to breaking point. The victories of the Buddhists—if we may credit the Buddhist historians and biographers—were often brought about by miraculous occurrences which non-Buddhists would perhaps describe as magic if not as mere conjuring tricks. It is difficult, perhaps, in some cases, to draw a distinction between miracles and magic. A miracle, as E. S. Hartland remarks, is 'legitimate magic,' while magic is 'a forbidden miracle.'[1] However this may be, many of the marvellous doings attributed to Buddhist monks and hermits bear a close resemblance to those recorded of Christian saints. But we know from the earliest Buddhist scriptures that the brethren were not encouraged to perform miracles, and it was certainly not by the help of miracles or of magic that the Buddhists achieved their most substantial successes in China. The Taoists, however, did not scruple to ally themselves with various forms of magic and sorcery, and it is their fatal readiness to meet the popular demand for signs and wonders that is largely answerable for their present degeneration (see TAOISM).

If we had space to deal with matters of detail, it would be necessary to describe the various magical uses made of plants and animals and also of manufactured articles such as metal mirrors and weapons. An authority has stated (see *EBr*^{11} xviii. 577) that magic mirrors are mentioned in Chinese literature of the 9th cent.; but they are mentioned and their uses fully described much earlier than that. The curious book known as *Pao P'o-tzŭ*, which was written by the famous wizard Ko Hung in the 4th cent. of our era, contains full accounts of how to detect the presence of evil spirits and other dangerous beings by the use of magic mirrors. The belief once prevalent in the British Isles that a witch could turn herself into a hare is paralleled by the Far Eastern belief (still extremely common in China) that demon-witches can assume the form of foxes and other beasts.[2] A book could be filled with the magical notions and theories which in China are based on the habits and peculiarities of animals. Even insects are not exempt from the necessity of making a contribution to the treasury of magical lore. There is in China a destructive little insect known to Europeans as the silver-fish (*Lepisma saccharina*), which is a most unwelcome visitor to libraries. It is believed that, if one of these insects gets into a Taoist classic and eats the two characters *shên-hsien* ('spiritual-immortal'), its silvery body will become five-coloured. If the coloured insect be subsequently caught and eaten, the man who eats it will have the happiness of attaining the goal of Taoist ambition—he will overcome death and develop into a spiritual being. As to trees, plants, and herbs, large numbers are believed to possess some magical property or to be adaptable to magical uses. The cypress, pine, and similar trees are supposed to be conducive to immortality, and, when we learn that a noted hermit was in the habit of sleeping on a bed of pine-needles, we may be sure that this was not done merely as a means of mortifying the flesh.[3] The willow is much used as a rain-charm. In times of drought in Shansi and neighbouring provinces adults and children may be seen going about with willow-wreaths on their heads. The peach-tree is famous for its magical properties, and for this reason peach-twigs and peach-blossom are frequently mentioned in Chinese fairy-lore. The use of peachwood for the exorcism of evil spirits is very ancient, for the brandishing of peach-wands was part of the recognized procedure of the professional *wu* at royal courts under the Chou kings and probably at a much earlier date.

That large and important subdivision of Chinese magic which concerns itself with charms and amulets and divination is dealt with elsewhere (see Literature below). Here it must suffice to mention that the principal purveyor of charms is the 'Celestial Master'—usually described by Europeans as 'the Taoist pope'—who lives among the Dragon-Tiger Mountains in the province of Kiangsi. The practice of divination is also largely in the hands of Taoist specialists and *wu-p'o*; but Confucianism has always had under its patronage the complex systems of divination which are based on that abstruse classic the *I King*, or 'Book of Changes' (*SBE* xvi.). There is a grass known as *shih-ts'ao* which grows on the grave of Confucius and is carefully gathered and put up into packets. The stiff dried stalks of this plant are believed to retain some of the *ling*, or spiritual efficacy, which lies latent in the sacred soil, and they are or were highly valued for divining purposes. During recent years a very interesting discovery of 'oracle bones' and tortoise-shell fragments was made in the province of Honan. They are believed (mainly on the evidence of the archaic script) to belong to the 12th cent. B.C., though certain authorities assign some of them to a somewhat later period. An inspection of these fragments throws a most welcome light on the classical and post-classical references to the ancient methods of 'fortune-telling.'[1]

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[1] *Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914, p. 81.

[2] For a full discussion of all forms of zoanthropy see de Groot, *Religious System of China*, iv. 156 f.; see also art. LYCANTHROPY.

[3] See Johnston, *Buddhist China*, London, 1913, p. 245, and *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 262 f., 375–384.

Divination by the tortoise-shell and by the dried stalks of certain plants 'were the methods by which the ancient sage kings made the people believe in seasons and days, revere spiritual beings, stand in awe of their laws and orders; the methods (also) by which they made them determine their perplexities and settle their misgivings' (*Li Ki*, I. i. 5. 27 [*SBE* xxvii. 94]).

The forms of magic which are or were popularly supposed to be associated with astrology and palmistry, and with automatic writing, telepathy, clairvoyance, and 'possession' by gods or demons, are all familiar to the people of China; and there is good reason to believe that any society for 'psychic research' which showed itself enterprising enough to conduct some patient investigations on Chinese soil would be rewarded by interesting and perhaps valuable results.

LITERATURE.—The subject of magic and allied topics is exhaustively dealt with in J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., esp. vols. v. and vi. E. Biot's Fr. tr. of the *Chou Li* (*Le Tcheou-Li*, Paris, 1851) should be consulted for information regarding the official standing and functions of the *wu* (see esp. ii. 76–104). There are many references to sorcery and magic—some of them shrewdly critical—in Wang Ch'ung, *Lun Hêng*, an Eng. tr. of which (by A. Forke) has appeared in two parts (pt. i., London, 1907; pt. ii., Berlin, 1911). In J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1861–72, and *SBE* xvi. [1882], xxvii. [1885], xxviii. [1885], xxxix. [1891], and xl. [1891], English readers will find all the references to magic which occur in the canonical literature mentioned in the above article. Students of the subject will also do well to consult H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Shanghai, 1911 (*Variétés sinologiques*, no. 32), and L. Wieger, *Folklore chinois moderne*, Paris, 1909. From a more popular point of view the subject of Chinese magic has been dealt with in N. B. Dennys, *Folklore of China*, London, 1876, and F. H. Balfour, *Leaves from my Chinese Scrapbook*, do. 1887. Interesting sidelights on popular notions of magic can be gathered from the collection of stories known as the *Liao Chai*, tr. H. A. Giles, under the title of *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, London, 1880, new ed., Shanghai, 1908. The Chinese literature dealing with the subject from every conceivable point of view is voluminous, and hitherto only fragments of it have been translated. Good Chinese bibliographies will be found in the works of de Groot, Doré, and Wieger referred to.

See also artt. DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Chinese), CHARMS AND AMULETS (Buddhist), DIVINATION (Buddhist), FENG-SHUI, FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Chinese), CALENDAR (Chinese), FORTUNE (Chinese), COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Chinese), COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Chinese).

R. F. JOHNSTON.

MAGIC (Egyptian).

1. The Egyptian view of magic.—If the Egyptians had been more self-analytic than they actually were, they might, from their own point of view, have described all their actions as either ordinary or magical. By ordinary actions would have been understood all those simple ways of coping with inanimate things and living beings which were suggested by habit, mother wit, or acquired skill. But, when inanimate matter proved recalcitrant, and living creatures were unmoved by requests, prayers, commands, promises, or threats, there still remained, in their opinion, a method of achieving their ends by means of an art that they called *ḥīke'* (Coptic ϨⲒⲔ). There is direct traditional authority for translating this very ancient term by the English word 'magic' (*μαγεύων*, *μαγίαι*, Ac $8^{9.11}$), and the examination of the hieroglyphic and hieratic examples of its use proves it to correspond fairly well to what we understand by 'magical power.' Wherever mysterious, miraculous knowledge was required to effect a purpose, that was *ḥīke'*; *ḥīke'* was something different from the techniques and practices of everyday life, since it postulated special powers in its user, and always made a greater or less demand upon faith.

2. Magic and religion.—For our traditional Western thought magic and religion are always more or less consciously contrasted with one another, whence students have often unwarrantably assumed that the two are radically heterogeneous, and that they represent successive strata in the mental development of mankind. Some investigators argue that magic is the earlier and ruder product (*e.g.*, Frazer), while others (*e.g.*, Erman) hold it to be a debased corruption of the nobler phenomenon of religion. So far as Egypt is concerned, there cannot be the slightest doubt that *ḥīke'* was part and parcel of the same *Weltanschauung* as created the religion which it deeply interpenetrated. Before defining 'magic' and 'religion' for Egyptological purposes—and we must insist on our right to frame our own definitions within the limits prescribed by the current, untechnical meaning of these terms—it will be profitable to make a rapid survey of the facts to be distributed between the two provinces.

It is with active relations that we are here concerned, and with doctrines only in so far as they are involved in the same. There are three classes of being that are affected, namely the living, the dead, and the gods. Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of the Egyptians' view of the universe is the thoroughgoing and impartial logic with which they drew the consequences of their belief that the gods and the dead were beings of like nature with themselves, subject to human appetites and needs, and amenable to the same methods of persuasion or compulsion. Hence the principal duty of the priests was to keep those whom they served provided with food and drink, and to maintain their houses in good order; the analogy with the domestic services demanded by the living was fully conscious, for the priests of the gods and the dead were called 'the servants of the god' (*ḥm-ntr*) and 'the servants of the departed spirit' (*ḥm-k'*) respectively, even as the temple was called 'the house of the god' (*ḥ'-t ntr*) and the tomb (or an essential portion of it) 'the house of the departed spirit' (*ḥ'-t k'*). Again, the Egyptians could seek help of their gods and dead in the same naive and unsophisticated way as one man sought help of another—*e.g.*, by prayer, by questioning (asking for an oracle), and by writing letters (for letters to the dead, see art. LIFE AND DEATH [Egyptian], § 9). But in their own everyday life, as seen above (§ 1), the Egyptians resorted, when all else failed, to mysterious, uncanny arts (*ḥīke'*) to achieve various difficult aims; the method employed was not simply coercion, but coercion of an abnormal and special kind. It would have been strange if the practice of *ḥīke'* had been restricted to the narrow circle of the living, when the living shared with the gods and the dead all their other modes of intercourse. In point of fact, it was *ḥīke'* more than anything else that welded together the seen and the unseen worlds. The self-protective rites of the living, as we shall have abundant occasion to see, are full of trafficking with the gods and the dead. But the gods and the dead themselves had a use for the miraculous power called *ḥīke'*; Thōth and Isis were famous adepts of the art (below, § 10), and in a demotic story the dead priest Neneferkaptah deeply resents the attempt to rob him of a book of incantations that had been buried with him in his tomb (F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900, p. 80 f.). Nothing could better prove the wide range of *ḥīke'* than to observe its transference from secular to funerary or divine employments and *vice versa*. In the *Pyramid Texts* and the *Book of the Dead*, compilations intended to ensure the well-being of the departed, one may often come across spells that must originally have been composed for earthly use—spells directed against the bites of snakes (e.g., *Die altägyp. Pyramidentexte*, ed. K. Sethe, Leipzig, 1908, §§ 246, 247) or of crocodiles (e.g., *Book of the Dead*, tr. E. A. W. Budge, London, 1908, chs. xxxi., xxxii.), for example; even erotic charms may be found inscribed on coffins (cf. H. Schack-Schackenburg

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[1] See, *e.g.*, various passages in the *I King*, *Shu King*, *Li Ki*, and *Chou Li*. A recent account of the new discovery is to be found in *JRAS* (North China Branch) xlv. [1914] 65 f.

Zweiwegebuch, Leipzig, 1903, pl. 16. 11–13). Conversely, the *Book of Overthrowing Apophis* (Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*, London, 1910) was a liturgy intended for daily recitation in the temple of Amen-rēʿ at Thebes, Apophis being the mythical snake that was supposed to be the eternal foe of the sun-god Rēʿ; the rubrics of this book nevertheless declare that it will prove of the greatest advantage to the private individual who recites it in the presence of the god. It may be added that the word *ḥīke'* is quite common in all parts of the *Book of the Dead*, as well as in such temple rituals as the *Book of Overthrowing Apophis* just mentioned.

It may therefore be taken as proved that *ḥīke'* was as intimately associated with the presumed existence of the gods and the dead as it was with the real existence of the living. But, further than this, a greater or less element of *ḥīke'* may have been inherent in all the dealings between men on the one side and the gods and the dead on the other. The two last classes of being were, after all, creatures of a world apart, elusive in their nature and hard to reach by ordinary, matter-of-fact means. The very idea of their existence puts a strain upon the imagination, and for this reason set forms of words, indicative of an effort to break down mystical barriers, had to accompany even such simple deeds of homage as the presentation of food-offerings. In other terms, the gods and the dead could hardly be approached save by the medium of what is known as 'ritual,' and the attribute which distinguishes ritual from ordinary performances may have been just that attribute which the Egyptians called *ḥīke'*. The point is not susceptible of absolute proof, for it was naturally only in the more extreme cases, where the sense of mystery and miracle-working had to be emphasized, that the term *ḥīke'* was actually applied; but the view that *ḥīke'* underlies all ritual is favoured by the close resemblance between the divine and funerary rites, on the one hand, and the rites performed for human benefit (self-protective and similar rites), on the other. The formulæ of the *Book of the Dead* differ neither in form nor in substance from the incantations which the Egyptians used to heal their own maladies; and the same general similarity also runs through the daily liturgies of the temples and the tombs (see A. Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte*, Paris, 1902).

From the Egyptian point of view we may say that there was no such thing as 'religion'; there was only *ḥīke'*, the nearest English equivalent of which is 'magical power.' The universe being populated by three homogeneous groups of beings—the gods, the dead, and living human persons—their actions, whether within a single group or as between one group and another, were either ordinary or uncanny (*ḥīke'*). But the gods and the dead were somewhat uncanny themselves, so that all dealings with them or performed by them were more or less *ḥīke'*. It was only when men treated them ordinarily, and as man to man, that this quality of *ḥīke'* was reduced to a minimum, as in the case of spontaneous prayer and the letters to the dead—in fact, just in those rare instances where the solemn phraseology of ritual was avoided.

3. Magic defined for Egyptological purposes as privata religio.—We shall hardly be able to avoid rendering *ḥīke'* in English by the words 'magic' or 'magical power'; but, if the Egyptian conception of *ḥīke'* be taken as the criterion of what is magical and what is not, we shall have little or no use for the word 'religion,' and a multitude of facts which the common parlance would more naturally describe as 'religious' will fall under the head of 'magic.' It is advisable, therefore, in defining 'magic' for Egyptological purposes, to strike a compromise between the Egyptian connotation of *ḥīke'* and the English connotation of 'magic.' Taking our cue from the former, we shall restrict the sense of 'magic' to those actions which clearly have the implications of mystery and the miraculous; at the same time we shall attempt to maintain the distinction between magic and religion, or, rather, between magic and other kinds of religious acts. It is fully in accordance with the practice of Egyptologists, instinctively adopted but inconsistently carried out, to contrast 'magic' with the 'cult of the dead' and the 'cult of the gods,' as referring exclusively to those rites which deliberately and in the first instance aimed at the advantage of living human beings, the cults of the dead and of the gods being in this division implicitly classed together as 'religion.' Magical actions may therefore, for our purposes, be defined as those actions which men performed for their own benefit or for the benefit of other living men, and which demanded certain miraculous powers for their performance. Warning must be given against two misconceptions: in the first place, it must be clearly understood that the gods and the dead may, as indeed they usually do, enter into the *dramatis personæ* of the magical rite; the principle of division is not *de quibus* but *cui bono*; in the second place, magic as thus defined did not differ essentially in its mechanism from the cults of the dead and of the gods, nor was it necessarily regarded with feelings of moral reprobation.

For a similar definition see A. H. Gardiner, 'Notes on Egyptian Magic,' in *Trans. Third Internat. Congr. Hist. Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, i. 208–210. Erman (*Ägyptische Religion*², Berlin, 1909), though forming a very different estimate of magic from that here adopted, accepts the same tripartite division of the active aspect of religion into *Götterkultus*, *Totenkultus*, and *Zauberei*. Magic as thus defined has a whole native literature of its own: various hieratic papyri in Leyden, Turin, London, Berlin, Cairo, Rome, Vienna, and elsewhere, mostly dating from the New Kingdom; several similar papyri of the Middle Kingdom, in the Ramesseum find of 1896, still unpublished and in the writer's hands; numerous ostraca in various collections. Besides these must be named the medico-magical papyri (see art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE [Egyptian]), and the so-called *Cippi of Horus*, of which the type is the *Metternich Stele* (ed. W. Golenischeff, Leipzig, 1877).

The abstract concept of *ḥīke'* is once or twice found deified, apparently in something like the restricted meaning assigned to 'magic' in this section. Two physicians of the Old Kingdom bear, besides the honorific title 'priest of Horus in Hundred-town,' also that of 'priest of Ḥīke'' (A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'ancien empire*, Paris, 1889, p. 96; R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Berlin, 1849–58, ii. 91a).

The deified concept of Ḥīke' is figured in the form of a man in some sculptures of the Vth dyn. (L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure'*, Leipzig, 1913, ii. pl. 20), and is of occasional occurrence also in the texts (*ib.* p. 99). A funerary incantation whereby it was sought to confer upon the deceased the powers of Ḥīke' himself has recently come to light (P. Lacau, *Textes religieux*, Paris, 1910, no. lxxviii.); here Ḥīke' is described as a creation of the sun-god in primordial times, when as yet nothing else existed.

4. The purposes of magic.—In theory the domain of magic was as wide as men's desires themselves, magical art supplying all those things that were not procurable by simpler means. Our existing materials, which illustrate only a limited number of purposes, are probably very one-sided. The Egyptians believed, or feigned to believe, that their wizards could work all kinds of wonders; in a late tale a charm is made to bring the viceroy of Ethiopia up to Egypt, to the place where Pharaoh dwells, where he is to be beaten with five hundred blows of the stick, and returned to the land of Ethiopia again, 'all in six hours thither' (Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 59). It is said to have been related at the court of Cheops how one magician fashioned a crocodile of wax that devoured an adulterer, how another parted the waters of a lake into which a jewel had accidentally fallen, and how a third cut off a goose's head and replaced it in a twinkling (Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, Berlin, 1891, i. 8 f.). The magical contest of Moses with Jannes and Jambres (Ex 7^{8-13}, 2 Ti 3^8) is thus quite Egyptian in spirit. Passing from such fabulous reports to practical magic, we may classify the attested uses under a comparatively small number of heads:

i. *DEFENSIVE.*—How important this class was may be judged from the fact that in a general panegyric of God as creator He is said to have 'made magical spells for men for defence against things that happened' (*Pap. Petersburg 1116 A* [ed. Golenischeff, Petrograd, 1913], line 136 f.).

(1) *Prophylactic.*—To avert death, W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, Leyden, 1869–76, pl. 120 f.; W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, London, 1907, pl. 27 c; against scorpions, *Pap. Turin*, 134; *Pap. Leyden 349*: against lions, hyænas, and 'all long-tailed animals that eat flesh and drink blood,' *Le Papyrus magique Harris* (ed. F. J. Chabas, Châlon-sur-Saône, 1861; also Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*), verso B; against crocodiles and other dangers of the river, such as drowning, *ib.* recto; against snakes, L. Stern, *Papyrus Ebers*, Leipzig. 1875, pl. 97. 17.

(2) *Preventive.*—'To prevent a woman from conceiving,' *Ramesseum medical*, unpublished; 'to prevent rats from devouring the grain in a barn,' *Ebers*, 98. 6.

(3) *Counter-charms.*—'To lay a spell (*ḫ;ʿ s;*) on him whom one fears,' *Louvre, Hier. Ostr.* 694, no. 1; 'to banish magic from the body' (prescription of drugs), *Ebers*, 34. 2, 7, 10; against a complaint named 'the artifice of spells,' *Ebers*, 88. 18. A book containing 'formulæ for repelling the evil eye' (ⲉⲓⲉⲣ-ⲃⲱⲛ; cf. also *Pap. Anast.* iii. 5. 4) was preserved in the Library of Edfu (*ZÄ* ix. [1871] 44).

(4) *Curative.*—Spell to cure scorpion-stings, *Pap. Turin*, 31+77; headache, *Pap. Leyden 348*, verso 2. 9; burns, *Ebers*, 69. 3, 6; *Pap. Leyden 348*, recto 3. 1; to ease pain, *Ebers*, 30. 6. For the relations of magic and medicine see below, § 8.

(5) *Psychological.*—'A book for repelling fear which comes to befall a man by night or day, from front or behind,' *Pap. Leyden 348*, recto 2. 1.

ii. *PRODUCTIVE.*—(1) *Obstetric.*—To facilitate birth, Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, Berlin, 1901, pl. 5. 8, 6. 8; *Pap. Leyden 348*, recto 12. 6; 'to bring milk to a woman who is nursing a child' (prescription only), *Ebers*, 97. 10; 'to keep a child warm,' *Zaubersprüche*, verso 2. 2.

(2) *Weather-charms.*—'Thou shalt perform these ceremonies when a storm rages in the east of heaven, or when Rēʿ sets in the West, to prevent storm-clouds in the east of heaven. . . . Thou shalt perform these ceremonies many times against bad weather, that the sun may shine, and Apophis be overthrown in truth' (*Book of Overthrowing Apophis*, 23. 14 f.).

(3) *Love-charms.*—A spell to secure sexual enjoyment, secondarily used for funerary purposes, has been alluded to in § 2. Erotic charms must have been frequent, but those that are known are of late date; in demotic, see F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, London, 1904, p. 14; in Greek, C. Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus*, Vienna, 1888, lines 296 f. and 1877 f.

(4) *General.*—'He who recites this book is blessed every day; he hungers not, thirsts not, lacks not clothes, and is not melancholy. He does not enter into the law-court, nor does judgment go forth against him. But if he enters the law-court, he goes forth vindicated, praise being given to him like a god. Nor does his popularity depart from him' (*Pap. Leyden 347*, 12. 10–12).

iii. *PROGNOSTIC.*—Many cases that fall under this head are on the border-line between magic and the techniques of ordinary life.

(1) *Obstetric.*—To know whether a child will live, *Ebers*, 97. 13; to know whether a woman will give birth, W. Wreszinski, *Medizinischer Papyrus des Berliner Museums*, Leipzig, 1909, verso 1. 3, 7, 9, etc.

(2) *Divination.*—A number of magical modes of divination are detailed in the *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, ed. Griffith-Thompson (see p. 14), but these instances do not seem to be of ancient origin. Oracle-seeking does not come under the head of magic, as here defined.

(3) *Soothsaying.*—In the tale of Unamūn (*RTAP* xxi. [1899] 81) there is related a case of a young man being 'seized by the god' and giving a solemn warning while in this condition.

(4) *Prophecy* may perhaps be brought within the sphere of magic, as it postulates supernatural power in its human mouthpiece, and usually involves the welfare of human beings. There is only one very ancient book of predictive prophecies, in a Petrograd papyrus (see A. H. Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, i. [1914] 100 f.).

There seems to be no Pharaonic evidence for horoscopes, ordeals, and other forms of prognostic magic.

iv. *MALEVOLENT.*—See next section. Cursing and oaths (conditional self-curses) are magical in quality, but cannot be dealt with in this article.

5. Magic and law.—The Egyptians themselves seem to have made no distinction between 'black magic' and 'white magic,' but, when magical arts were used for wicked purposes and to injure others, they naturally came within the category of legal offences.

Thus papyri of the XIXth dyn. (*Les Papyrus Lee et Rollin*, published by T. Devéria, *Œuvres et fragments* [*Bibliothèque égyptologique*, v.], Paris, 1897, ii. 97 ff.) record the case of two harem-conspirators, one of whom 'made magical writings to lead astray and work mischief, and made certain gods of wax and certain medicines to weaken the limbs of men,' while the other procured 'writings for giving himself fearfulness and majesty,' and made 'men of wax and writings in order that they might be introduced into the harem . . . so as to lead astray the one faction and so as to bewitch the rest.' Both these criminals were condemned to death.

6. The magical rite.—A characteristic example of a magical spell, translated *in extenso* from the original, will give a truer impression of the methods of Egyptian magic than any amount of mere description.

'Flow out, thou poison, come forth upon the ground. Horus conjures thee, he cuts thee off, he spits thee out, and thou risest not up but fallest down. Thou art weak and not strong, a coward and dost not fight, blind and dost not see. Thou liftest not thy face. Thou art turned back and findest not thy way. Thou mournest and dost not rejoice. Thou creepest away and dost not appear. So speaketh Horus, efficacious of magic! The poison which was rejoicing, the hearts of multitudes grieve for it; Horus has slain it by his magic. He who mourned is in joy. Stand up, thou who wast prostrate, Horus has restored thee to life. He who came as one carried is gone forth of himself; Horus has overcome his bites. All men, when they behold Rēʿ, praise the son of Osiris. Turn back, thou snake, conjured is thy poison which was in any limb of N the son of M. Behold, the magic of Horus is powerful against thee. Flow out, thou poison, come forth upon the ground.

To be recited over a hawk with the two feathers on its head, being made of isy-wood and painted. Open its mouth and offer to it bread and beer and incense. Place it on the face of one suffering from the bite of any snake and recite from beginning to end. It will repel the poison. A successful specific' (*Pap. Turin*, 131. 1–8 = *Metternich Stele*, 3–8).

7. Analysis of the magical rite.—Except in certain border-line cases (prognostics, medical treatment, etc.), the magical rite is always twofold and comprises (1) an oral rite, consisting of certain words to be recited, and (2) a manual rite, consisting of certain actions to be performed. These two portions must be discussed in detail.

(1) *The oral rite.*—The task that lay before the magician usually involved a struggle with some difficulty, which might consequently be regarded as a hostile and aggressive force. This force is not always completely personified, but more often than not it is treated personally, being commanded, persuaded, cajoled, warned, threatened, or cursed, just like a human being.

A leading idea in defensive magic, which embraces no small part of our material, is that of 'possession.' The possible antagonists are often enumerated in a long rigmarole—*e.g.*, 'the assaults of a god, the assaults of a goddess, the assaults of a male pain, the assaults of a female pain, the assaults of a dead man, or the assaults of a dead woman,' etc. (*Ebers*, 30. 13); 'enemy male or female, dead man male or female, adversary male or female' (*Pap. Turin*, 122. 5). Any god could doubtless attack human beings, but savage or malicious deities, like Seth, the murderer of Osiris, or Sakhmet, the 'lady of pestilence' (*nb·t ʿidw*), were doubtless most to be feared. The dead were specially to be feared; nor was it only those dead who were unhappy or unburied that might torment the living, for the magician sometimes warns them that their tombs are endangered (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 8. 7–9; *Pap. Turin*, 124. 12–13). The possessing spirit was particularly likely to be of foreign origin, a negress or an Asiatic woman (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 2. 7–8); and it was wont to come secretly, 'arriving in darkness, gliding in, its nose backwards and its face turned' (*ib.* 1. 9 f.). Its mode of taking possession is, as a rule, vague; the 'demon' (*i;ḫ*, Boheiric ⲓϧ) doubtless often dwelt 'with' or in the afflicted one (*Bekhten Stele*, 11. 19 = Budge, *Egyptian Reading Book*, London, 1888, p. 27 f.), but sometimes it merely injected some kind of poison, such as its semen, urine, or the like (*Pap. Leyden 348*, verso 6. 6 f.; cf. especially the word '*ō'e*' in *Ebers*, 24. 14, 34. 10, etc.). Or else, again, the hostile power might attack with arrows (*Pap. Leyden 346*, 1. 5). The evil influences were most easily ejected through the excretions of the body, such as the sweat or urine (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 2. 8–10); or they might come out in the form of winds (*Pap. Leyden 348*, verso 12. 9). All the members of the body were subject to attacks of the kind, whence their frequent enumeration in magical texts (see below); here they are not seldom called upon to 'open their mouths and vomit forth what is in them' (*Pap. Leyden 345*, recto G 2. 2. 14–3. 1).

The malignant force was sometimes merely informed of its defeat:

'Thou flyest before the sorcerer, before the servant of Horus, as soon as he mentions the name of Horus, or the name of Seth, the lord of heaven. He raiseth his scimitar, and smiteth thy forearm and thy throat. Thou fallest upon the ground on which thy loin-cloth is spread, and there thou gropest in quest of thy heart. So dost thou die, and the report goes forth to the house of Rēʿ that Horus has conquered the disease' (*Pap. Leyden 345*, recto G 3. 12–4. 1).

Sometimes the magician frustrates the aims of the enemy by a simple veto:

'Dost thou come to kiss this child? I suffer thee not to kiss it' (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 2. 1).

Elsewhere, as in the example quoted in § 6, the poison is bidden to flow forth upon the earth. Warnings frequently supplemented and reinforced such commands, as:

'Fall not upon his tongue; it is a serpent at the mouth of its hole' (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 3. 11, in the midst of a long series of similar phrases).

Commands and warnings failing in their effect, a more persuasive means is tried:

'Come, lay thee down, departing to the place where thy

> beauteous women are, on whose hair is myrrh, and fresh incense on their shoulders' (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 3. 5–6).

Or else the demon is made to understand that in delaying to obey the magician he holds the whole order of nature in suspense:

> 'Rē' waits for thee in order to shine, and Atum to set, that thou mayest quit the arm of N son of M. The chief of the Westerners waits for thee in order to enter in triumphant, that thou mayest quit the arm of N son of M' (*Pap. Leyden 345*, verso G 4. 2–4).

In the last resort curses are employed:

> 'Every god curses thee, every goddess curses thee. . . . The [great] Ennead curses thee, the little Ennead curses thee' (*Pap. Leyden 343*, verso 1. 1–3).

It often happens, indeed almost in every spell, that gods are summoned to the sorcerer's aid. They are invoked with salutations and praise:

> 'Hail to thee, Horus, thou that art in the town of Hundreds, thou sharp-horned one, who shootest at the mark. . . . I come to thee, I praise thy beauty; destroy thou the evil that is in my limbs' (*Pap. Leyden 347*, 8. 10–13).

A trait characteristic of Egyptian magic, noted already by Iamblichus (ed. G. Parthey, Berlin, 1857, p. 245), is the threatening tone often adopted towards the gods; examples are very common:[1]

> 'On the night that the wife of Horus (Selkis, the scorpion goddess) shall bite thee, I suffer not the Nile to beat upon its bank, I suffer not the sun to shine upon the earth, I suffer not the seed to grow, I suffer not cakes to be made, I suffer not jugs of beer to be brewed for the 365 gods, who are hungry by both day and night—on that night of the burial of Osiris' (*Pap. Turin*, 137. 1–4).

The most daring menace of all is the following:

> 'I will throw fire into Busiris and burn up Osiris' (*Pap. Turin*, 135. 10; cf. *Ebers*, 30. 8).

On such occasions the magician is apt to disclaim his responsibility:

> 'It is not I who say it, it is not I who repeat it; it is Isis who says it, it is Isis who repeats it' (*Pap. Leyden 348*, recto 11. 7; *Pap. Turin*, 136. 8–9; *Pap. mag. Harris*, 9. 11).

Elsewhere the gods are referred to in the third person, and the more numerous they are, the more efficacious the rite is likely to be. Thus, when the limbs of the body are enumerated,[2] it often happens that each separate limb is identified with, or said to belong to, some special deity; and the list ends with the words,

> 'There is no limb of his without a god' (*Pap. Leyden 348*, verso 6. 2).

Origen (*c. Celsum*, viii. 58) asserts that the Egyptians divided the human body into thirty-six parts, and placed each one of them under the charge of a god; 'and so,' he says, 'invoking these, they heal the diseases of the limbs.' The divine names mentioned by Origen are those of the gods of the decans, or ten-day periods.

The magician often speaks of himself in the first person, but sometimes identifies himself with a particular god whose assistance he desires—*e.g.*,

> 'I am Rē' in this his mysterious name "He-who-was-in-the-Nun," shooting his arrows against his foes' (*Pap. Leyden 347*, 4. 11 f.)—

or else with some god who, like the person for whom the rite is performed, had once been menaced by some imminent danger:

> 'Avaunt thou, for I am Horus; retire thou, for I am the son of Osiris. The magic of my mother (Isis) is the protection of my limbs' (*Hearst medical Papyrus*, 11. 4 f.)

At other times he merely claims to be 'the servant of Horus' (*Pap. Leyden 345*, verso F 1; *Pap. Turin*, 134. 1.).

Often a mythical precedent was alluded to or narrated at length, and the mere mention of a parallel case seems to have been considered a useful expedient for ensuring the success of the rite. Thus the magician declares:

> 'I will banish all bad and evil things which come to fall upon N the son of M, even as Rē' saved himself from his enemies, even as Khnum saved himself from Sobk, even as Horus saved himself from Seth, and even as Thōth saved himself from Be'bō'' (*Pap. Turin*, 118. 9–10).

More often the point of the narrative is merely implied; in the following short incantation against burns even the names of the interlocutors, namely a messenger and Isis, are omitted:

> '"Thy son Horus has been burnt in the desert." "Is water there?" "There is no water there." "There is water in my mouth, and a Nile between my legs; I am come to quench the fire"' (*Ebers*, 69. 3–4; see H. Schäfer, in *ZÄ* xxxvi. [1898] 129–131).

Many valuable fragments of myths have been preserved to us by this means.

Especially frequent are tales that turn upon the revelation of the true name of a god; a well-known instance is the story of how Isis devised a stratagem by which the sun-god Rē should be compelled to divulge his name; this she brought about by causing him to receive a snake-bite which none could cure save herself (*Pap. Turin*, 131–133). Less well known is the narrative of the attempts made by Seth to provoke Horus into betraying his real name, which would have given the mischievous god power over his nephew; Horus, however, invents various absurd names, and so manages to elude his wicked uncle (*Pap. Turin*, 134 f.).

The importance of *names* in Egyptian magic was very considerable; the knowledge of names gave control, whether for good or for evil. It was not a rare proverb that 'a man lives who is conjured by his name' (*Pap. Turin*, 133. 6, 11, 134. 7, 9, etc.). Thus to be familiar with the names of the epagomenal days (*Pap. Leyden 346*, 2. 6) was a safe method of protecting oneself against their perils. This is a topic that might be greatly elaborated (see art. NAMES [Egyptian]).

Closely akin to the question of the importance of names is that of the importance of *language*. Certain formulæ were supposed to possess particular efficacy, such as the words 'Protection behind, a protection that comes, a protection!' (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 9. 2). The magical potency of anything depends in a large degree on its mysteriousness, and it is therefore but little wonder that cabbalistic gibberish (*Pap. mag. Harris*, verso C) and foreign spells were held in high esteem (*Der Londoner medizinische Papyrus*, ed. W. Wreszinski, Leipzig, 1912, nos. 27, 28, 32, the last being in the Kefti language).

The significance attached to names and language is an aspect of the doctrine of *sympathy*, by far the most fertile conception of all those underlying the magical rite. This doctrine holds that things that have once been associated in any way remain henceforth connected and almost interchangeable for practical purposes; its chief varieties are (1) the principle of *contagion*, which affirms that things that belong together or have once been in contact continue to influence one another even when separated; and (2) the principle of *homœopathy*, according to which like has special power to affect like. These and other forms of sympathetic magic not so easily classified are of constant recurrence in the Egyptian magical books, both in the oral and in the manual rites; the recital of mythical precedents also clearly comes under this head. The very idea of the oral rite is an instance of homœopathic magic, for language may be said to imitate and image the things which it expresses, and in so far verbal references to a desired effect may have been considered instrumental in producing it.

Sympathetic magic takes curious forms at times; one or two instances may be singled out. In connexion with the importance of language reference may be made to the significance of puns. A magician says:

> 'I make a charm for him against thee of 'afai-plant, which does injury, of onions, which destroy thee, and of honey, which is sweet to men and sour to the dead' (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 2. 4).

The virtues here ascribed to the '*afai*-plant and to honey are of obscure origin, but the destructive property of onions is clearly due to the fact that the Egyptian word for onions was *ḥădg* (the vowel is merely guessed), while 'to destroy' was *ḥōdg*. In order to tell whether a new-born infant would live or not, its first articulate cries were to be noted:

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[1] For similar examples from the funerary books see H. Grapow, *ZÄ* xlix. [1911] 48–54.

[2] See Erman's remarks, *Zaubersprüche*, p. 23.

> 'If it says *ny*, that means it will live; if it says *mbi*, that means it will die' (*Ebers*, 97. 13);

the sound *mbi* resembles the emphatic Egyptian expression for 'no' (see *ZÄ* xliv. [1907] 132).

A widely different example of the supposed influence of like upon like is illustrated by the following words, addressed to a demon that is causing sickness:

> 'Thy head has no power over his head, thy arms have no power over his arms, thy legs have no power over his legs' (A. H. Gardiner, J. G. Milne, and H. Thompson, *Theban Ostraca*, London, 1913, p. 14 f.).

A conditional curse that runs upon similar lines may also be quoted:

> 'He who is deaf to this decree, may Osiris pursue him, may Isis pursue his wife, and Horus pursue his children' (H. Sottas, *Préservation de la propriété funéraire*, Paris, 1913, p. 128).

The mystical potency attaching to certain *numbers* doubtless originated in associations of thought that to us are obscure. The number seven, in Egyptian magic, was regarded as particularly efficacious. Thus we find references to the seven Hathors (*Pap. med. Berlin*, 21. 8; *Pap. Turin*, 137. 12; cf. *αἱ ἑπτὰ Τύχαι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* [A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*², Leipzig, 1910, p. 71]):

> 'The seven daughters of Rēʿ,' who 'stand and weep and make seven knots in their seven tunics' (*Pap. Turin*, 135. 12 f.);

and, similarly, we read of

> 'the seven hawks who are in front of the barque of Rēʿ' (*ib.* 136. 3).

Oral rites have occasionally to be recited seven times (*ib.* 138. 9, 10), but the more usual number is four (*Pap. Leyden 348*, verso 3. 3, 5, 4. 10, etc.; *Pap. mag. Harris*, 7. 4), a number doubtless associated with the 'four pillars of heaven' (*οἱ τέσσαρες στυλίσκοι* [Dieterich, p. 71]), or, as we should say, the four cardinal points.

A characteristic feature of the oral rite is its complexity. This is shown in various ways, and not least in the love manifested for enumerations. Reference has been made to the long lists of parts of the body, and to the formulæ naming all the possible enemies from whom attacks are to be feared. Similarly, lists are found of the various ways in which a man might meet his death (*Pap. Turin*, 120-121; Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. 27 c), and of the various excretions through which the demon might transmit his baneful influence (*Pap. Leyden 348*, verso 6. 6 f.). This *quasi*-legal tautology is to be explained partly by the desire to cover all eventualities, and partly by the necessity of compelling respect for the learning and skill of the magician.

(2) *The manual rite.*—(*a*) *Active elements.*—The employment of *images* played an important part in the manual side of magic. Sometimes it is the hostile power to be destroyed that is thus counterfeited and done to death; so, in the *Book of Overthrowing Apophis*, the words of the oral rite are

> 'to be recited over an Apophis made of wax or drawn on a new sheet of papyrus and thrown into the fire' (26. 20; cf. 22. 6).

More often the object imitated represented a means of effecting the purpose of the rite.

> Thus in a spell to assist child-birth there was made 'a dwarf of clay to be placed on the forehead of the woman who is giving birth' (*Pap. Leyden 348*, recto 12. 6).

Miniature hands, seals, and crocodiles were powerful to ward off evil, doubtless by slaying it, sealing it up, or devouring it (*Zaubersprüche*, verso 2. 4; cf. *ZÄ* xxxix. [1901] 87). A great number of the *amulets* found in such abundance in Egyptian tombs were of a magical nature, all, indeed, except those whose purpose was exclusively funerary. Like the images mentioned above, amulets can, if explicable at all, always be interpreted by the principle of sympathetic magic in one or other of its various forms (see Petrie, *Amulets*, London, 1914).

The materials of which such images and amulets should be made are nearly always specified, and it is evident that this was considered a matter of vital importance. Here we meet with a new aspect of sympathetic magic, namely the doctrine of *properties*; every plant, stone, metal, and colour possessed its own peculiar virtue, which prompted its use in the diverse cases. Wax and clay were very commonly employed, and perhaps not only because they were easy of manipulation; their plasticity may have been thought symbolic of a wide adaptability. Aetiological myths assign a divine origin to various substances; thus the bees that supply the wax are said to have sprung from tears shed by Rēʿ (*Pap. Salt 825*, 2. 5–6, [unpublished]), and the cedar-tree emanated from the sweat of Osiris (*ZÄ* xlvii. [1910] 71).

Images were not immediately potent of themselves, but had to be charged with magical power in one way or another. The oral rite is usually recited over them (*dd mdw ḥr*, *passim*), and this transitory and intangible kind of contact seems to have ensured their continuous efficacy.

> In a fabulous story the magician Hor, the son of Pa-neshe, made a litter with four bearers and 'pronounced writing upon them, gave them breath of respiration, and made them live' (Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 59).

Elsewhere the ceremony of 'opening the mouth,' familiar from the funerary ritual, was performed over the magical figure (*Pap. Turin*, 131. 7), and offerings and incense were presented to it in token of its now animate condition (*ib.*; *Pap. Leyden 346*, 2. 3). Drawings upon papyrus or rag were treated in exactly the same way, and seem to have been equally effective (*Pap. Leyden 346*, *ib.*; *Pap. Turin*, 31 + 77. 3); or the figures of the gods whose help was invoked could be sketched on the patient's hand, and licked off by some one (*Pap. Turin*, *ib.*). At times the mediating image could be dispensed with; the magician pronounced his spell, and then spat on the diseased limb (*Ebers*, 30. 17).

Magically charged amulets, images, or beads were often attached to the person whom they were designed to protect or heal; some kind of contact was a prime necessity of Egyptian magic; *e.g.*, we read of spells that were fastened to the left foot (*Pap. Leyden 348*, verso 4. 3); but the neck was naturally the spot where most charms were worn (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 1. 3, 8. 3, and *passim*). The string or strip of rag employed for this purpose was usually tied into magical knots (*q.v.*), seven being the favourite number. Such knotted strings have often been found and are to be seen in many collections (Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, p. 31). In other lands than Egypt the idea of the magical knot is frequently to 'bind' the hostile force; but, though references to binding demons can be found in Egyptian magical texts (*Pap. mag. Harris*, verso A 6), it is not in connexion with knots. One view that seems to have been taken of knots is that they were obstacles, as, *e.g.*, in the following words put into the mouth of a magician:

> 'If the poison pass these seven knots, which Horus has made on his body, I will not allow the sun to shine,' etc. (*Pap Turin*, 135. 8).

Particularly interesting is a spell where twelve gods were invoked.

> These were drawn 'on a rag of fine linen to be tied into twelve knots. Offer to them bread, beer, and burnt incense. To be placed on the neck of a man' (*Pap. Leyden 346*, 2. 3).

Here evidently each knot was put under the guardianship of a special deity, and thus formed a divinely protected barrier between the malign influence and its possible victim.

Imitative or significant actions were frequently performed with the apparatus of the magical rite; we have seen how a waxen image of Apophis was thrown into the fire and so destroyed, and similar cases could be multiplied.

At this point may be mentioned the composite stelæ known as *Cippi of Horus*; these are of comparatively late date (Saite period and after), and are covered with magical texts of the kind described above, and with sculptured figures, chief among which is the figure of Horus with his feet on two crocodiles. Such stelæ seem to have been placed in buildings for their protection, and especially to rid them of snakes and scorpions (see Golenischeff, *Metternichstcle*; G. Daressy, *Textes et dessins magiques*, Cairo, 1903).

(*b*) *Negative or precautionary elements.*—Magical rites could not be performed at any time and under any conditions, but strict rules and restrictions had to be observed. Of these some, like the injunction to the magician to stand 'with his face to the East' (*Pap. Leyden 347*, 12. 10), are of so many different types that they elude classification. *Times and seasons*, like everything else in ancient Egypt, had their own specific properties; some days were lucky and others unlucky, in part at least through mythological associations (for such calendars on papyrus see art. CALENDAR [Egyptian], § 2). Such considerations had to be taken into special account where magical rites were concerned, and perhaps more attention was paid to the question of time than is indicated in the brief instructions usually given as to the performance of the manual rites.

Of one spell we learn that it had to be recited 'at eventide, when the sun is setting' (*Zaubersprüche*, verso 3. 7); in another case seven knots have to be tied, 'one in the morning, and another in the evening, until seven knots are complete' (*Zaubersprüche*, verso 3. 3).

Magical rites were also in demand for safeguarding men against dangerous periods of the year. As in ancient Mexico (*GB*³, pt. iv., *Osiris, Attis, and Adonis*², London, 1914, ii. 28, n. 3), the intercalary days, in Egypt known as the five epagomenal days, were fraught with exceptional risks, against which enchantments were employed (*Pap. Leyden 346*); the user of these had to refrain from all work during the period in question (*ib.* 3. 4).

Purity was requisite in him who would be benefited by magic (*Book of Overthrowing Apophis*, 24. 19, etc.), just as ch. lxiv. of the *Book of the Dead* was ordained to be recited by 'one pure and clean, not having eaten venison or fish, and not having been near women.' In another place the user of a spell is charged to purify himself for nine days, and his servants are to do the same (E. Naville, 'Destruction des hommes,' line 79, in *TSBA* iv. [1876] 16).

Secrecy was essential in dealing with magic. In reference to a spell written on a strip of fine linen the warning is given that 'it is not to be looked at' (*Pap. Leyden 348*, recto 2. 7); of another it is said that it must not be used for any one except him for whom it was prescribed (*ib.* verso 8. 6). For similar instructions in the *Book of the Dead* see J. Baillet, *Idées morales dans l'Egypte antique*, Blois, 1912, pp. 72–75.

8. Magic and medicine.—Magical spells are often recommended on account of their proven efficacy; 'a true remedy on many occasions' is a formula extremely frequent in the magical papyri (*e.g.*, *Pap. Leyden 347*, 13. 2–3). This appeal to experience indicates a desire to justify magic as a science, and hints at the possibility of a real science arising out of it. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Egyptian medicine is the direct offspring of Egyptian magic, and that it never became really emancipated from its parent.[1] The medical books are seldom free from incantations, and the magical papyri are leavened with medical prescriptions (e.g., *Zaubersprüche*, recto 7. 2). In the selection of drugs the doctrine of properties undoubtedly played a great part, though the defectiveness of our evidence and the fact that medicine was in process of becoming an empirical science tend to conceal this from our observation. It is no argument against the thesis here supported that many of the herbs and drugs prescribed were actually, and were known to be, wholesome. In the first place, magic itself is not necessarily irrational in its methods, and, in the second place, even the utility of many wholesome things like onions was based upon essentially magical conceptions (see above, § 7 (1)). The exotic and abhorrent nature of many drugs cannot conceivably be explained except as due to superstitious reasons; how else could one account for the use of 'the bones of an oxyrhynchus-fish' (*Ebers*, 6. 3), or 'the urine of a male ass that has begotten another' (Griffith, *Petrie Papyri*, London, 1898, pl. 5, l. 18)? It is significant that the latter medicament occurs in a treatise on midwifery and kindred topics. One can often make a shrewd guess at the meaning of a prescription. To cure a complaint called 'the working of charms' (*ḥmt-s'*) the following is prescribed:

'A large beetle (*ḫprr*), whose head and wings have been cut off. To be burnt and put into fat, and then applied' (*Ebers*, 88. 13).

The point of this must surely be that, the word for beetle being derived from the verb *khōper* (*ḫpr*), 'to become,' a mutilated beetle would symbolize the frustrated achievement of a purpose; the purpose here to be frustrated was 'the working of charms.'

It must not be imagined that there was no distinction between a medical prescription and a magical rite. The former consisted mainly, if not wholly, of what may be considered as a specialized development of the manual rite, namely, the enumeration of drugs and directions for their use. The diagnosis, which is ushered in by the words 'so shalt thou say' (*dd-ḫrk*), and which sometimes precedes the list of drugs, may owe its origin to the oral rite of magic—just as the magician sometimes declares that he knows the name of the enemy. A difference is made in the medical papyri between an 'incantation' (*shīnet*) and a 'remedy' (*pakhret*); the latter is, in the main, an enumeration of drugs. In the same way the physician (*sunu*) was not quite the same thing as the magician; the physician might be a layman, while the magician was a priest (below, § 9).

That even in the 'remedy' (*pakhret*) magical ideas were latent may be proved by some additional evidence. The following is explicit enough:

'*Formula for drinking a remedy*: Welcome, remedy, welcome, which destroyest the trouble in this my heart and in these my limbs. The magic (*ḥike'*) of Horus is victorious in the remedy' (*pakhret*) (*Ebers*, 2. 1–2).

We also find formulæ to be recited in applying remedies generally (*Ebers*, 1. 1–11), in using the medicine-measures (*Pap. med. Hearst*, 13. 14), in using animal fat (*ib.* 14. 4), and so forth. These formulæ seem intended to supply the place of the incantations of which most medical prescriptions have purged themselves; their reintroduction was a reactionary step.

Where, then, does medicine begin and magic end? There is no definite boundary-line. Medicine may be said to begin when incantations are no longer used. At that point medicine becomes a technique, though using means which it does not understand, and which, if it pauses to give explanations, it explains by superstitious reasons. So far as medicine was practised without a sense of mystery and without making appeals to faith, it was a technique of ordinary life like any other; but, wherever there was consciousness of its exceptional, occult nature, it might be said to lapse back into the domain of magic. Egyptian medicine was at its best in diagnosis and in its physiological speculations; the *materia medica*, on the other hand, remained permanently under the influence of magical conceptions.

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[1] The writer thus agrees with the views of E. Thrämer (in art. HEALTH AND GODS OF HEALING [Greek]) against F. von Oefele and H. Schneider.

9. The magician.—A Greek alchemistic treatise quoted by Maspero (*PSBA* xiii. [1891] 502) exactly defines the difference between the physician (*sunu*) and the practitioner of magic. The former exercises his craft *ἀπὸ βιβλίου . . . μηχανικῶς*, 'mechanically and by book,' while the latter is a 'priest' (*ἱερεύς*), 'acting through his own religious feeling' (*διὰ τῆς ἰδίας δεισιδαιμονίας ποιῶν*). There appears to be no common word for 'magician' (*s;w*, 'charmer,' *e.g.*, in *Ebers*, 99. 3, is very rare), and magicians certainly formed no caste of their own. It is in accordance with the homogeneity of religion and magic emphasized above (§ 2) that the priests should have been the chief repositaries of magical knowledge, and particularly those priests whose function it was to be versed in the sacred writings. The subjects of many of the books kept in the library of the temple of Edfu cannot be described otherwise than as magical (see H. Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, Leipzig, 1889–90, p. 156; cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 268). The 'lector-priest' (*chrai-ḥab*) is specially named as empowered to perform cures (*Pap. med. Berlin*, 8. 10), as having discovered incantations (*Pap. med. London*, 8. 12), and as being endowed with the gift of prophecy (*Pap. Petersburg 1116 B*, recto 9); and the wonder-workers at the court of Cheops in the tale were all 'chief lectors' (see Erman, *Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, i. 21). A passage in the *Ebers Papyrus* (99. 2) singles out the 'priests of Sakhmet' (*w'ēb Sakhmet*) for special mention as skilled members of the magico-medical profession; this is because Sakhmet was a baleful goddess who manifested her wrath in inflicting disease; her priests were likely to know best how to cope with her. Priests, doctors, and sacred scribes alike received the final touches to their education at colleges called 'the house of life' (*per-'onkh*); of these we know but little.

A 'chief physician' of the time of Darius describes how he was summoned by Pharaoh to restore the *per-'onkh* (in Sais) 'because His Majesty knew the value of this (*i.e.* the medical) art' (*ZÄ* xxxvii. [1899] 74). There was a *per-'onkh* at Abydos, apparently attached to the temple (*Louvre A 93*=*ZÄ* xxxii. [1894] 119). The word *ἱερογραμματεῖς* in the bilingual decrees is rendered in the demotic as 'scribes of the house of life' (see Griffith, *Rylands Papyri*, Manchester, 1909, p. 81, n. 13, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 19). Magic could be learnt at the *per-'onkh* (*ib.*; *Pap. mag. Harris*, 6. 10).

On the whole, we receive the impression that less importance was attached in Egypt than in other lands to the personality of the magician; his powers might in some cases be due to special gifts, but, broadly speaking, the belief in magic was a tribute to knowledge, and not to the supernatural powers of certain men. The instructions appended to magical incantations usually presuppose that private individuals could use them for their own profit if only they observed the right precautions. Thus the magician's presence was not essential, and his authority lay solely in the fact that he was the possessor of magical knowledge; the epithet 'knower of things' (*rakh ikhet*) was commonly applied to him (*Bekhten Stele*, 11; *Ebers*, 1. 9). This point is well brought out in a passage describing the all-wisdom of the Pharaoh Amōsis:

> 'An unique king, whom Sothis taught, praised of the goddess of writing; the reverence of Thōth is beside him, and he gives to him knowledge of things, so that he guides scribes according to the true rule. He is one great of *ḥīke*'' (Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. [Leipzig, 1906] 19 f.).

10. Celebrities in magic.—Egyptian-wise, we will begin with the gods. Thōth was the most powerful of all magicians; in the end this qualification of his gave rise to the fame of Hermes Trismegistos (*q.v.*; see Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 58). The skill of Thōth as a magician is associated with his reputation as the inventor of hieroglyphs and the sciences of astronomy and mathematics; in the myth of Osiris he played the part of 'physician of the eye of Horus' (*Pap. med. Hearst*, 14. 6). Isis enjoyed great fame as a sorceress, mainly on account of the charms which she devised to protect her infant son Horus (*Pap. Turin*, 31+77. 6; *Ebers*, 1. 12 and *passim*). Horus himself was not devoid of magical ability, though it was mainly in his skill in warding off attacks that this was displayed; the Horus of Letopolis is described as the 'chief physician in the house of Rē'' (*Pap. Turin*, 124. 5). The eye of the sun-god, which was subsequently called the eye of Horus and identified with the Uræus-snake on the forehead of Rē' and of the Pharaohs, the earthly representatives of Rē', finally becoming synonymous with the crown of Lower Egypt, was a mighty goddess, Uto or Buto by name; she is often referred to as Wĕret-ḥīke', 'she who is great of magic' (Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. und Altertumskunde Ægyptens*, v. [Leipzig, 1912] 128).

According to Manetho, King Athothis of the Ist dyn. practised medicine and composed anatomical books. Under King Zoser of the IIIrd dyn. lived the wise Imhotep, whose skill as a doctor led to his identification by the Greeks with Asclepius; like Amenhotpe, son of Hepu, a famous man of the reign of Amenophis III. (XVIIIth dyn.), Imhotep was in late times worshipped as a god (see art. HEROES AND HERO-GODS [Egyptian], II. 2). The prince Hardedef, a son of Cheops, was similarly noted for his deep learning and wise utterances; he was the reputed discoverer of various books of *ḥīke'* incorporated in the *Book of the Dead* (see Erman, *Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, i. 18). Another royal prince, who was high priest of Ptah, became the hero of many tales in which he appears as a great magician; this was Khamwēse, one of the innumerable progeny of Ramesses II. (see Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 2 f.). In the later Greek and patristic literature reference is made to various Egyptian magicians of note, Sochos, Psenosiris, and, above all, Nectanebo, the last native Pharaoh, who plays an important part in the legend of Alexander the Great.

11. The nature of Egyptian magic.—The magical rite, as described in § 7, was by no means wholly irrational in its methods; indeed, granting its premisses, namely the existence of gods and demons, the theory of possession, the principles of sympathy, and the doctrine of properties, its manner of setting to work was perfectly logical and businesslike. Here, at first sight, we are face to face with a paradox; the essence of *ḥīke'* we stated to reside in its opposition to the mechanism of ordinary action (§ 1), yet now the methods of magic are declared to be simple and straightforward. The fact is that no explanation of the magical rite is afforded by the consideration of its parts either severally or collectively; its explanation can be sought only in the concept of *ḥīke'*, which is a thing apart from, and, as it were, superimposed upon, the methods and premisses of the magical rite, a sort of pervading vital principle making this what it is.[1] Without the concept of *ḥīke'* the magical rite would doubtless have seemed to the Egyptians no more than what to us it appears to be, a puerile, though not wholly meaningless, combination of words and pantomime. There was perhaps once a period when even the most gifted were utterly ignorant of the limitations of their own power and that of the world outside; they saw forces which they treated personally in all kinds of external phenomena, and the law of sympathy seemed to them very good logic indeed. In this hypothetical period magic and science were undifferentiated. Later on, a distinction became gradually discernible between the simple techniques of ordinary life and the less successful or, at least, less trustworthy means by which men sought to achieve more difficult aims, and the notion of *ḥike'*, or magical power, was precipitated. *Ḥike'* gathered round itself just those less matter-of-fact preconceptions which were found unserviceable in ordinary life, and these became its methods. Now, the simple techniques are always able to detect, amid the complex environment in which acts are necessarily performed, the actual determining factor in their results; not so *ḥike'*, which is therefore apt to regard the whole complex environment as essential to the achievement of its purposes. This is the reason for the meticulous attention that *ḥike'* pays to detail, the set form of words to be recited, the restrictions as to time and place, the purity of the officiant, etc. The more restricted the domain of *ḥike'* became and the less successful it was, the greater the necessity which it felt of insisting on its own inherent efficaciousness, and of diverting attention from its methods; hence its love of secrecy, and its use of mystic, incomprehensible jargon to enhance the impression of the wisdom lying behind it. In this context mention must be made of two more ways in which it was sought to obtain credit for *ḥike'*, namely the appeal to antiquity and the appeal to authority.

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[1] For the proof of this assertion see H. Hubert and M. Mauss, 'Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie,' in *ASoc* vii. [1902–03], esp. pp. 97–108.

> Such and such a rite was 'found at nightfall in the forecourt of the temple of Coptos as a secret of this goddess (Isis) by a lector of that fane; the earth was in darkness, but the moon shone upon this book, illuminating it on every side. It was brought as a wonder to King Cheops' (*Pap. med. London*, 8. 11–13).

The papyrus from which this quotation comes was written in the time of Amenophis III., more than a thousand years after the reign of Cheops. A mythical origin is assigned to other spells.

> One was said to have been 'invented by Geb on his own behalf' (*Pap. med. Hearst*, 5. 11); while others were devised by Nut or Isis on behalf of Rē' (*ib.* 5. 13, 15).

A more reputable way of appraising the value of a magical rite was by appealing to the test of experience; it is often claimed for a particular spell that it has been successful on many occasions (see above, § 8). Where the claim has proved justifiable, or where it has seemed sufficiently so for the rite to pass into general use, the more mysterious elements rapidly disappear, and the rite becomes an ordinary technique; so in the case of medicine and, it may be here added, of legal oaths.[1] Nothing can better illuminate the nature of *ḥike'* than the alterations which it undergoes in the course of its transformation into some ordinary technique.

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated in the body of the article. Of general treatises may be named E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*^{2}, London, 1901; A. Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*^{2}, Berlin, 1909, ch. vii.; A. Moret, *La Magie dans l'Egypte ancienne* (*Bibliothèque de vulgarisation du Musée Guimet*, xx.), Paris, 1907; A. Wiedemann, *Magie und Zauberei im alten Ägypten* (*Der alte Orient*, vol. vi., pt. iv.), Leipzig, 1905.

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MAGIC (Greek and Roman).—I. *INTRODUCTORY.*—It is practically impossible to extract anything from the great mass of magic theory and practice as certainly the particular contribution of any given people. There is no system of human thought which, in its unchanging essential principles, is more primitive and, for that very reason, more cosmopolitan, more literally devoid of distinguishable national traits, than magic. Anything which might be considered indigenous is usually secondary as well as comparatively unimportant, and, in any case, can rarely be identified with certainty. This is especially true of the two great nations of classical antiquity. Here, as elsewhere, magic was believed and practised by the common man, and even the literary record of magic theory and practice begins with Homer and continues with increasing volume and particularity until the latest times. But, rich as they are, the records of classical magic are too incomplete and the possibility of filling the lacunæ is too remote to warrant us in hoping that a search for the indigenous would meet with any success. We shall therefore omit all reference to this aspect of our subject. For this reason, too, as well as on account of the intimate cultural relations between Greece and Rome, it seems best to deal with the two nations as one.

1. Magic and religion.—From more than one point of view the civilization of classical antiquity is still quite justified in challenging comparison with that of any other period in history. No civilization has shown such remarkable ability to observe, reflect, organize, and create in so many great departments of human thought and action. And yet among all the higher civilizations of the world there is none in which magic—of all things the most relentlessly and essentially primitive—had such an abiding influence, none in which men had such a perennial interest in the subject, none in which the progress of magic from the lore of the farmer to the lucubrations of the philosopher is more clearly marked and more profusely illustrated.

The paradox, however, is only apparent. Owing to its exaggerated conservatism, the religion of both nations always remained amazingly primitive, so primitive that it was always impossible to distinguish it from magic on the basis of any essential details of ceremonial or of the generalizations from which they were derived. Even the doctrine of incantation, with all the conclusions for which it is ultimately responsible, was never distinctive of the one as opposed to the other. It is obvious, therefore, that the Greeks and Romans were always in the position of their primitive ancestors—they were utterly unable to differentiate clearly between magic and their religion on the basis of this or of any other criterion which, when seriously applied, would have left their religion unimpaired, and at the same time would have transformed their once redoubtable magic into an interesting but harmless fossil. Their only course was to cling to the ancient distinction of official recognition.

> According to this distinction, 'religion is prescribed, official, an organized cult. Magic is prohibited, secret; at most it is permitted, without being prescribed' (N. W. Thomas, *EBr*^{11} xvii. 305, summarizing H. Hubert).

Magic cannot be distinguished from religion by the doctrine of sympathy, or by any supposed necessary sequence of cause and effect, or even by its maleficent character. Religion, then, is the orthodox, magic is heterodox, it being understood, of course, that for the Greeks and Romans the criterion of orthodoxy was the official recognition of their own State. The god must be officially recognized by the State, and his ceremonial must be the one prescribed by the official experts of the State. Other gods, and therefore their ceremonials, are heterodox. Even orthodox gods must be approached only by prescribed ceremonials.

This Græco-Roman retention of the primitive distinction between magic and religion is our only guide in establishing meaning and coherence in the bewildering array of phenomena with which we have to deal. For instance, it will be seen at once that the only effect of this criterion, so far as magic itself is concerned, is, so to speak, to define its social position. It does not necessarily destroy or even impair the belief in the reality and power of magic as such; on the contrary, from the very nature of the distinction, it takes them both for granted. Hence the persistence of magic in a civilization otherwise so advanced as was that of classical antiquity.

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[1] Legal oaths are, of course, a fairly effectual way of guaranteeing truthfulness; but less because the implied curse is feared than because perjury is a criminal offence.

We must assume this test of orthodoxy, *e.g.*, in the case of Cato's cure for a sprained hip (*de Agr.* 160). By any other test it is patently magic; but Cato did not consider it magic, or he would not have recommended it. It was orthodox, *i.e.*, it was Roman, it had an immemorial tradition in the Roman countryside; at the most, it had become secularized. By the same test the old Roman ritual for calling out and appropriating the gods of a conquered city (Macrob. III. ix. 7) is religion, and the operation known as 'calling down the moon' is magic. Again, the same criterion is responsible for the well-known method of raising the heterodox to the orthodox by official recognition. This device of naturalizing foreign cults and thereby embracing within the sphere of their influence heaven and hell as well as humanity, is several times illustrated in the religious history of the Romans.[1]

All foreign religions, therefore, were classified as magic. The foreign cult, as such, was occasionally despised, but quite as often it was thought to be full of terrible possibilities in the way of mysterious knowledge. This was especially the case if its possessors were an older nation or a nation far away in space or time. Despite their native good sense, the Greeks were much impressed by the pretentious wisdom of the East, as after them were the Romans by the complicated mummeries of the Etruscans. Nations living far away, particularly those who live at or near the place where the sun rises from the under world in the morning or goes down into it at night, are notable for their knowledge of magic. Under such circumstances as these whole nations may be endowed by nature with magic power, especially for some given thing. Remoteness in time is, if anything, a more powerful factor than remoteness in space. When a faith has been superseded, it thereby becomes magic. In Italy the term *la vecchia religione* is known to be used as a synonym for 'magic.' So the elder and alien race is apt to be looked upon, especially by those who superseded it in the same country, as a race of formidable magicians—so formidable, in fact, and, by reason of their antiquity, so much nearer the days of the gods, that they themselves are sometimes believed to have been of supernatural origin. But they are still heterodox, they belong to the old order of things, they are more or less allied to the Lords of Misrule.

One of the most characteristic features of magic is a direct result of this persistent association of the heterodox and the foreign. From the very first, there is no magician like the one from foreign parts (Theocr. ii. 162 and often), no magic like the imported brand. Helen's nepenthe (Hom. *Od.* iv. 219), as the poet is careful to tell us, was 'Egyptian'; the very word 'magic' suggests the influence of Persia; and to the end of the Empire the native practitioner had no vogue as compared with that of his rival who was, or pretended to be, from Egypt, Chaldæa, Colchis, India, or any other place but Rome.

It is true, of course, that 'magic is prohibited, secret; at the most, not prescribed.' But, so far as classical antiquity is concerned, these distinctions seem to be secondary and derivative. Magic was prohibited because it was heterodox. The Romans, in particular, disliked secret rites of any sort, above all, foreign rites with *mysteria*, like those Greek cults so much affected by the Greeks themselves. If the Greeks objected to the secrecy of magic, it could only have been because magic itself was heterodox. So far, then, as secrecy was felt to characterize magic as opposed to religion, the ultimate source of the distinction in Greece as well as in Rome was the criterion of orthodoxy. To the same criterion is due the fact that, as a rule, men turned to magic for the things which they could not or would not ask of religion. Nor, of course, was magic necessarily maleficent; on the contrary, it might be distinctly otherwise. So long as orthodoxy was the test, magic was magic whether it happened to be white or black—and this, of course, explains why the Roman law never made any attempt to distinguish between the two.

2. Magic and legislation.—The general reputation of magic at all times was due to the same criterion; it was always illicit, it was always distrusted, it always had a bad name. And when the law stepped in—as it did at an early date in both Greece and Rome—the orthodox and the legal, the heterodox and the illegal, became synonymous terms. Magic was then criminal, and punished accordingly. The history of magic before the law began at an early period, but, so far, at least, as Greece is concerned, our records are too incomplete to give a very satisfactory idea of the question. In Greece, however, as in Rome, it concerned itself most seriously with the matter of strange religions—a burning question as soon as communication with the outside world became more intimate and extensive; still more in Rome when, owing to rapid expansion after the Second Punic War, alien beliefs and rituals came pouring in from every side. From the Decemviri to Theodosius and beyond, the Roman laws against magic were affirmed and reaffirmed, the domain of magic was at once particularized and extended, new laws were frequently passed, and the jurisprudence of the subject grew steadily in volume and importance. And, so far as the legal aspect of magic is concerned, it may be emphasized anew that, whether in Greece or in Rome, the ultimate foundation and guide of procedure was always the old criterion of orthodoxy. It is clear, for instance, that the characteristic tendency of the law to extend its scope was both suggested and guided by this criterion. It was particularly useful whenever the law felt obliged to take cognizance of some system of activity more or less mental that was 'good in parts'— such, *e.g.*, as divination (*q.v.*), which stands on the border line between magic and religion, or alchemy (*q.v.*), which hovers in like manner between magic and science, or, again, certain types of mysticism (*q.v.*), which were more or less an amalgam of magic and logical thinking. In every case what was to be considered legal and what illegal was determined by official recognition. Above all, the inclusion of foreign rites and religions within the legal concept of magic was an obvious and entirely logical deduction from the test of orthodoxy. Not only so, but by the same test it was equally obvious that precisely those foreign rites were the most serious question in magic. How, *e.g.*, shall we define the legal status of the native religions of the provinces? The final solution was again entirely logical. The Emperor was the civil and religious representative of the State. He was therefore entitled to investigate them and to make such use of them as seemed proper. But this privilege was his alone, and only by virtue of his office. In the hands of private individuals it was considered dangerous, and no doubt it was largely for this reason that magic was so rigorously proscribed and its illegality so sedulously kept alive.[1]

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[1] E. Schmidt, 'Kultübertragungen,' in *RVV* viii. 2 [1909].

The recorded history of Roman legislation on the subject of foreign rites begins with the *cause célèbre* of its type, the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* in 186 B.C. (Livy, xxxix. 8–19),[2] in connexion with which it was ordered that all books of divination and magic should be destroyed. The history of Roman legislation on the subject of magic, whether directed against specific practices or against the art as a whole, begins with the Decemviri (*Leges XII. Tab.* viii. 8*a*).[3] Notable in later days was the *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficis* in 82 B.C.[4] Dio Cassius (xlix. 43) tells us that in 32 B.C. the triumvirs, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, banished the magicians and *astrologi*, and refers (lii. 36) to a speech by Mæcenas against foreign religions and secret societies for purposes of magic. In A.D. 16 Tiberius banished the magicians and *mathematici*, and in the same reign L. Pituanius was thrown from the Tarpeian Rock and P. Marcius was executed 'more prisco' outside the Porta Esquilina (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 32), and Mamercus Scaurus committed suicide to escape a suit for magic (*ib.* vi. 29). Under Nero, Servilia, the young daughter of Soranus, was accused of selling part of her dowry to procure the means to save her father's life by magic rites (*ib.* xvi. 31). The prescriptions of Tiberius were renewed by Claudius (*ib.* xii. 52) and Vitellius (Suet. *Vitell.* 14), and the end of official paganism was marked by the laws of Diocletian against the *malefici*, *Manichæi*, and *mathematici* (*Coll.* xv. iii. 1 [Huschke]). Sometimes the law prescribed special and severe punishments, and how far the law itself had extended by the 3rd cent. A.D. may be seen from the *Sententiæ* of Iulius Paullus[5] on the *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis*:

'Qui abortionis aut amatorium poculum dant, etsi id dolo non faciant, tamen mali exempli res est, humiliores in metallum, honestiores in insulam amissa parte bonorum relegantur; quod si ex hoc mulier aut homo perierit, summo supplicio adficiuntur. Qui sacra impia nocturnave ut quem obcantarent, defigerent, obligarent, fecerint faciendave curaverint, aut cruci suffiguntur aut bestiis obiiciuntur. Qui hominem immolaverint exve eius sanguine litaverint, fanum templumve polluerint bestiis obiiciuntur, vel si honestiores sint capite puniuntur. Magicæ artis conscios summo supplicio adfici placuit, id est, bestiis obiici aut cruci suffigi. Ipsi autem magi vivi exuruntur. Libros magicæ artis apud se neminem habere licet; et penes quoscumque reperti sint, bonis ademptis ambustis his publice honestiores in insulam deportantur, humiliores capite puniuntur. Non tantum huius artis professio, sed etiam scientia prohibita est.' See also the *Cod. Theodos.* ix. 16, xvi. 10; *Cod. Iustin.* ix. 18.

Doubtless the object of the law was or, at least, ought to have been merely to punish the abuse of magic (Plato, *Legg.* 933 D), but it went much further than that. All the old laws were revived and reinforced by new legislation as soon as, under Constantine, Christianity succeeded paganism as the official religion of the Empire. Of course, the moment the change was effected Christianity became the plaintiff and paganism the defendant in the ancient process of Religion *v.* Magic. It was Christianity now that was responsible for the welfare of the State in this world. But, among other things, Christianity differed essentially from paganism in the fact that it had also a keen interest in the welfare of every member of the State in the world to come. Between the two, the new representative of orthodoxy—in the hands of those who do not understand or appreciate its message and meaning, the most intolerant of all religions—thought fit to proceed against its predecessor with a zeal worthy of a better cause and a rigour that amounted to persecution.[1]

The practice of the courts naturally went hand in hand with the law and was regulated by it. The charge of magic in one form or another was always a cause of action. It was perhaps most common in cases in which our plea is 'undue influence.' In Greek testamentary law, *e.g.*, this plea was specified either as *ὑπὸ φαρμάκων* or as *γυναικὶ πειθόμενος* (*i.e.*, 'drugs,' in the ancient sense of the word, or 'persuaded by one's wife').

The best known case of this kind is the one brought against Apuleius, the famous rhetor and author of the 2nd cent. A.D., by the relatives of the impressionable old widow, Pudentilla, whom he had just married. The charge was that he had won her affections by magic, and specified practices were alleged.[2] The legal basis of the action was perhaps ultimately the *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficis* passed by Sulla in 82 B.C. The defendant conducted his own case and won it by a speech, the *de Magia*, which still survives and is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of magic in that period. It must be said, however, that for the most part the great rhetor does not touch upon the real point at issue.

Considering the comparative frequency of such litigation in everyday life, we can understand with what interest the Athenian audience listened to the famous scene in the *Andromache* of Euripides in which she is charged by Hermione, the wife of Neoptolemus, with winning his affections by the use of philtres. Her dignified and stinging reply,

'Not of my philtres thy lord hateth thee,
But that thy nature is no mate for his.
That is the love-charm: woman, 'tis not beauty
That witcheth bridegrooms, nay, but nobleness'
(205 ff.; tr. A. S. Way, *Tragedies*, London, 1894–98),

is doubtless the poet's own protest against the folly of such a charge. But, if one may judge from cases still occasionally reported in the daily press, it is a charge which, old as it is, will never cease to be preferred in one form or another.

3. Derivation and definition.—All the words for 'magic' in Greek and Latin record some real or supposed fact in the history of the subject or else indicate that some particular manifestation of it was sufficiently prominent to stand for the whole.

The ordinary Greek words for 'magic' are *μαγεία*, *γοητεία*, and *φαρμακεία*. The last two are old and popular. The *γοήτης*, according to the derivation offered by the Greeks themselves —*ἀπὸ τῶν γοῶν καὶ τῶν θρήνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς τάφοις γινομένων*— was specifically a necromancer in the original sense of that word, *i.e.*, like the Witch of Endor, he called up the dead (*νεκυομαντεία*)—a thing which in all ages has been one of the most important specialties of the magic art. It is true that the derivation just quoted is on the face of it equally descriptive of professional mourners, and, as Hubert observes,[3] the two occupations are not incompatible. The *γοήτης* may very well have been both. But, as we shall see below, the old etymologist is not thinking of mourners; he is giving a very good description of a special and particular type of magic with which he himself was doubtless quite familiar. The *γοήτης* was, no doubt, much feared by the population in general, but he was also more or less a roadside charlatan, and in other respects the associations with a person of his type were such that of the three ordinary names of 'magic,' *γοητεία* appears always to have been the most distinctly pejorative. The prominence of *φαρμακεία* in this connexion is due to the primitive idea that the action of any drug (*φάρμακον*)—using that word in its most extended application—is due to magic power. In its original sense *φαρμακεία* means the science which deals with the magic properties of plants and simples. Hence the *φαρμακός*—in all countries the primitive ancestor of the doctor, the apothecary, and the toxicologist (amateur or professional)—was the magician whose specialty was this particular branch of the subject, and the *φάρμακον*, *i.e.* the 'drug' which he prepared, was a magic charm. As such, the efficacy of the *φάρμακον* is enhanced, if not actually conditioned, by the incantation which generally is associated with some stage of its history. In most cases, too, it must be discovered, prepared, or given under certain conditions or in a certain way. Of course, its effect may be helpful or harmful according to the intentions of the giver. Hence the secondary use of the word in the sense of either a 'poison' or a 'remedy.' Homer himself generally distinguishes by the use of an adjective (*Od.* iv. 230). The origin and use of *μαγεία* (Lat. *magia*), from which, through the substantivized adjective (*τέχνη μαγική*, *ars magica*), our own word is derived, are an excellent illustration of the Greek and Roman attitude towards an alien faith to which allusion has already been made. In its original and restricted sense μαγεία meant nothing more than the religion of the Persian Magi (so, *e.g.*, Plato, *Alcib. I.* 122 A). It is well known that this faith, which was imported to Greece by the Magi (*q.v.*), takes rank as one of the great religions of the world. But it was imported, and had no official standing; even though impressive, it was unauthorized. Between these two facts μαγεία became a general term for 'magic' as early, at least, as the 4th cent. B.C., as we see from Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ix. 17, and, perhaps, Aristotle, frag. 36[1] (though this is only an indirect quotation by Diog. Laert. *procem.* vi. 8), and thereafter retained no apparent traces of its specific and pretentious origin. Μαγεία is perhaps the most colourless of the three words; γοητεία, except when it returns to its original and distinctive use, is a pejorative term for magic in general; φαρμακεία, when used generically, is possibly fuller than the others of vague and dreadful associations; but otherwise there seems to have been no great difference between them in current speech. Hesychius, *e.g.*, defines γοητεία by μαγεία, and for Porphyrius the general term for 'magic' is γοητεία (pejorative) and whatever may be detached from it is religion. The Mystics (*e.g.*, Porphyr. *de Abstinentia*, ii. 40) differentiated theoretically the use of these words; they distinguish between good magic and bad magic, and enter into all sorts of subtle speculations regarding the hierarchy of demons through whose aid the good or the bad magic, as the case may be, is able to accomplish its purpose. The Alexandrian school of philosophers undertook to draw a distinction between γοητεία and the particularly pretentious *theurgia* of later days. But Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, x. 9) is too much of a practical, clear-headed Roman not to see the essential weakness of the entire theory. The worship of God, he says, is a matter of 'simplici fide atque fiducia pietatis, non incantationibus et carminibus nefariæ curiositatis arte compositis, quam vel magian vel detestabiliori nomine goetian vel honorabiliori theurgian vocant, qui quasi conantur ista decernere et illicitis artibus deditos alios damnabiles, quos et maleficos vulgus appellat (hos enim ad goetian pertinere dicunt), alios autem laudabiles videri volunt, quibus theurgian deputant; cum sint utrique ritibus fallacibus dæmonum obstricti sub nominibus angelorum.' In other words, Christianity is orthodox; therefore all else is heterodox, *i.e.* magic. And, whatever we call it, however we disguise it, magic is—magic. This, of course, is nothing more or less than our familiar old criterion of orthodoxy, unimpaired and unaltered by the fact that Christianity instead of paganism happens to be the official and legal standard of comparison. For the Romans themselves—at least, after the 1st cent. A.D.—the difference between the *maleficus*, the *veneficus*, the *saga*, and the *magus* was only difference of degree.[2]

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[1] T. Mommsen, 'Religionsfrevel nach römischen Recht,' in H. von Sybel's *Hist. Zeitschr.* lxiv. [1890] 389–429, reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1905 ff., iii. 389–422.

[2] C. G. Bruns, *Fontes iuris romani antiqui*^{6}, Freiburg, 1893, p. 160.

[3] *Ib.* p. 30.

[4] *Ib.* p. 93.

[5] Collected by P. E. Huschke, *Corpus iurisprudentiæ anteiustinianæ*^{6}, Leipzig, 1908–11, v. xxiii. 14 ff., vol. ii. p. 149 f.

[1] Maury, *La Magie et l'astrologie*, p. 106 ff.

[2] A. Abt, 'Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei,' in *RVV* iv. 2 [1908] pp. 75–344.

[3] In Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Magia,' p. 1499.

Pliny's opinion (*HN* xxx. 2) is that magic began with medicine, and that the chief causes of further growth were the admixture of religion and astrology (*ars mathematica*)—all with intent to deceive. In the same way magic is extended to alchemy and divination (Tert. *de Idol.* 9, *de Cultu Fem.* 1 f., etc.). Hubert rightly observes[3] that, in spite of the fact that the Chaldæi and the plain magicians are in the same class, a sharp distinction should be made between astrology and magic. The business of astrology is to foretell the very things which it is the business of magic to prevent or, at least, to modify. If, therefore, magic enters into astrology, it is for that purpose (*Pap. Paris*, 2891, 2901, 2910). Hubert does acknowledge, however, that the astrologer's ceremonial in consulting the stars derives no small part of its efficacy from the fact that it has so much in common with the incantations of magic. We might, perhaps, add that the whole 'science' of astrology is based upon a type of reasoning so primitive, so nearly akin to that upon which magic itself is based, that one might be excused for failing to see sometimes where magic begins and astrology ends. There was at least one large and especially popular class of astrologers about whom there could be no doubt: the so-called Ἰατρομαθηματικοί, or astrological quacks, whose entire practice was founded on speculations regarding the mystic properties and powers of mere numbers. The Roman legislators were quite justified in believing that, if there was any distinction between this theory and the theory of magic incantation, it was a distinction without a difference.

It is also quite true, as Hubert insists, that alchemy should be reckoned *per se* as a science. We might add, however, that alchemy never had a chance to be reckoned *per se*. Not until it assumed the *alias* of chemistry was it able to escape from its old associations with magic (see ALCHEMY).

It has already been noted that divination, even by the old criterion of official sanction, occupies a more or less indeterminate position between magic and religion. Indeed, μαντεία and magic are so thoroughly commingled that even in antique parlance the one is often merely a synonym for the other.[1] In others a fairly sharp distinction is supplied by official sanction. *Nekyomantia*, for instance, was religious if used in a family cult, *i.e.*, it was presumed that a man has the right to call up his own ancestors if he pleases. By a somewhat similar presumption it was also sanctioned in the cult of the heroes.[2] Under any other circumstances it is not only magic, but one of the most formidable and characteristic operations of magic. The same distinction holds good in another very important and extensive branch of divination, one in which every one was interested and which all the schools of philosophy, especially the Stoics, investigated and discussed at great length—the source, valuation, and interpretation of dreams (ὀνειροκρισία; see DREAMS AND SLEEP, vol. v. p. 30 f., and cf. Artemidorus, *Onirocritica*, a curious treatise of the 2nd cent. A.D. which still survives). The method officially sanctioned for securing true and prophetic dreams (ὀνειροπομπία, ὀνειραιτησία) was *incubatio*, but the magic papyri (esp. the *Pap. Lugd. Batav.*, Leyden, 1843–85, v., vi.) are full of ὀνειραιτητικά, formulæ and charms for obtaining such dreams. Hubert would also include within the sphere of magic such practices as divination *per sortes* with verses of Homer, Vergil, or the Scriptures, φαρμακομαντεία (Athen. vi. 80 [261 F]) and, in general, any ceremonial for purposes of divination which implies the use of magic rites in our sense of the word. By that criterion, of course, we should agree with Hubert that divination in private cults was strongly tinged with magic. The same was true even of official divination, although this was when the oracles were revived in the 2nd cent. and was for historical reasons. In all these cases, however, magic was distinguished from religion by the usual criterion of official sanction.

II. *MYTHOLOGICAL PERIOD.*—Until the age of Pericles the history of our subject is largely confined to what Hubert calls the 'mythology' of magic. This is partly due to the fact that our record is so fragmentary and that what survives belongs to types less likely to be concerned with such a subject. But it is fairly certain that not far from the time of Pericles magic itself rapidly assumed greater importance in the everyday life of the nation. By that time the average man's faith in the old gods was rapidly diminishing; and among the factors contributing to the growth and spread of magic and kindred ideas in any people the decay of orthodox belief is by no means the last to be considered.

1. **The magicians.**—Among mythical magicians, the Telchines (or Telchinæ), the Dactyli, the Curetes—and in connexion with the Curetes the Corybantes (see KOURETES AND KORYBANTES)—hold a position which amply illustrates the fundamental ideas about magic already mentioned. The first three were reckoned the primitive pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greek lands—the Telchines, of Rhodes (Strabo, p. 472; Diod. Sic. v. 55, though here, as with the others, there is a tendency to confusion in names and places of origin); the Dactyli, of Cretan or Phrygian Ida (Strabo, p. 355; Apoll. Rhod. i. 1129); and the

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[1] ed. V. Rose, Leipzig, 1886.

[2] T. Mommsen, *Röm. Strafrecht*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 639 ff.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 1495.

[1] C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, 1829, p. 632.

[2] *Ib.* p. 236; L. Deubner, *De Incubatione*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 6.

Curetes, of Acarnania.[1] As such, they were all regarded as servants of the gods and, indeed, as themselves more or less divine; and, in some cases, they actually had a cult.[2] Even the Telchines, a synonym of spitefulness in the folklore of Greece, were in their time founders of cults (Diod. Sic. v. 55; cf. Paus. IX. xix. 5). But they all belong to the old order, they are all heterodox, they are all classed as γόητες (Nonn. xiv. 36 f.; Strabo, p. 601).[3] Indeed, the Telchines are inimical to the gods and spiteful towards men. They use the water of the Styx in their charms (Nonnus, *Dionys.* xiv. 36); they are malignant sorcerers, who wither the plants, ruin the crops, and make barren the domestic animals.

Most notable is the position of these clans in the history of the arts. As the Cyclopes were the servants of Hephæstus, so these semi-divine corporations of smiths were the first workers in iron and copper, gold and silver; in fact, they were the inventors of metallurgy. Hence the Telchines in particular are aptly compared by W. Pape[4] to the *Kobolde* of Germanic mythology. These clans of demoniac master magicians know all the secrets of nature. The Dactyli were masters of music and of the healing art. They taught Orpheus (Diod. Sic. v. 64) and, long afterwards, Pythagoras. Paionius, Iasius, Akesidas, the three great physicians of the epic, are all Dactyli. Later, they were regarded as inventors of the famous *Ephesia Grammata* (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 15 [*PG* viii. 781]). The Centaurs Chiron and Nessus are also masters of the healing art. The gift of prophecy, though naturally common to all by reason of their magic powers, is especially associated with the Curetes. Among all nations the most notable symptom of the power to prophesy is an ecstatic state of mind. The assumed origin and pattern of the Corybantic worship, the best known and most widely spread cult of this nature among the Greeks and Romans, was the wild noise and clatter of the armed dance of the Curetes around the baby Zeus—really a primitive spell, an ἀποτροπαῖον, to keep the child from harm (see KOURETES AND KORYBANTES).

The great individual magicians of Greek mythology are Prometheus (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 845; Val. Flac. vii. 356), Agamedes,[5] Melampus (Apollod. II. ii. 2), Œnone (*ib.* III. xii. 6), Pasiphae (*ib.* III. xv. 1), Agamede or Perimede (Roscher, *s.vv.*; Theocr. ii. 16 and schol.), Circe (Roscher, ii. 1193), and Medea (*ib. s.v.*). The special, though not the exclusive, interest of all is φαρμακεία. Prometheus, the wise and kindly Titan, belongs to the old régime. Melampus comes from Thessaly, the distant land of magicians. All the rest (except Œnone, and even she is a water-nymph) are in some way connected with the sun or—which amounts to the same thing—with the sea or the moon. Agamedes is the grandson of Poseidon. The rest are descendants of Helios. Agamede is also the beloved of Poseidon. The greatest of all are Circe and Medea—both of the seed of Helios and Poseidon, both from Colchis, the distant land where the sun-god himself rises at dawn from the ocean stream.

Circe.—In the Homeric account—the most marvellously correct and sympathetic portrayal in all literature of her curious, abnormal, not quite human type—Circe dwells far away in the mystic and trackless seas. Cruel, but no more consciously cruel than the child who separates some luckless fly from its wings, this φαρμακίς, whose special power is metamorphosis, amuses herself with enticing such wandering mariners as come within her reach to drink magic potions which straightway turn them into swine. Like any other queen of the mermaids, Circe is unmoral rather than immoral. Nothing could be more in harmony with her type than her first meeting with Odysseus and their subsequent life together, or than the fact that, in the long run and all things considered, the Wanderer never had a more disinterested friend among women.

Medea.—Medea is a relative of Circe and, like Circe, was sometimes worshipped as a goddess (Hes. *Theog.* 956 ff.; Alcman, cited by Athenag. *Legat. pro Christ.* 14); in fact, the Romans identified her with Angitia and the Bona Dea (Macrob. I. xii.; Serv. on *Æn.* vii. 750). Of all mythical magicians she is most distinctly the sorceress, and her powers as such are the most varied and terrible. As Hubert says,[1] she is evidently the most highly developed personality in a group of homonyms. It was therefore the constant tendency of tradition to make her the originator of rites and charms which previously had no definite pedigree at all or were attributed to some more obscure rival. At all events, in song and story, in the long annals of magic itself, there never has been a sorceress to compare with Medea. Medea, the beautiful and awful Colchian, as awful as her mistress the goddess of the crossways, Medea παμφάρμακος, daughter of Æetes and granddaughter of the sun-god, is still the arch-enchantress of all the Occident. She is first and foremost a φαρμακίς. It is therefore particularly, though not exclusively, from her knowledge of φάρμακα that her power is derived. Her box of magic simples is often mentioned (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 802, iv. 25), and in art she is often represented as holding it in her hand. Her charms are innumerable.[2] She can restore youth, bestow invulnerability, lull the dragon of the golden fleece to slumber, quiet the storms, make the rivers pause in their courses, call down the moon from heaven, etc. Indeed, Apollonius's description (iv. 1665–72) of her procedure when, from the deck of the Argo, she cast the evil eye on the giant Talus far away on the cliffs of Crete and brought him down to his death is enough to chill one's blood. But Medea is also beneficent, and K. Seeliger (in Roscher) even suggests that this was really her primitive character. She heals the wounds of the Argonauts, cures Heracles of his madness, frees the Corinthians from a famine, and is even a prophetess.

Even in the fancy of the unlettered her memory never fades. On the contrary, the popular tradition of her continued to grow in its own way (Tib. I. ii. 51, note, ed. K. F. Smith, New York, 1913). Special feats of magic were supposed to have been her invention (*e.g.*, Paus. II. xii. 1), and, as the line just cited from Tibullus suggests, we may be sure that the *libri*

> 'carminum valentium
> Refixa coelo devocare sidera'

of Canidia to which Horace refers (*Epod.* xvii. 4) contained more than one charm claimed to be Medea's own. So, too, the magic plants and simples for which Thessaly was so famous were supposed to have sprung up in the first place from the box of charms lost by Medea as she was passing over that land with her winged dragons (schol. Aristoph. *Nubes*, 749; Aristides, i. p. 76 [Dindorf]). Her fame in the written word is unique. We are obliged to agree that she never lived among men; she was merely a child of popular fancy and the foster-child of a long line of literary artists few of whom were men of transcendent genius; and yet she emerges as perhaps the most wonderful woman in all classical antiquity. Poets, historians, orators, philosophers, even unimpressionable grammarians and commentators—few fail to mention her. Ovid never escaped from her spell. From Homer to the last feeble echoes of rhetoric, and again in the renaissance of the modern world, hers is a dominant personality, and the story of her love and her lover, her betrayal and her terrible revenge, has never grown old or lost its interest and charm.

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[1] Roscher, ii. 1588.
[2] *Ib.* ii. 1611.
[3] Lobeck, p. 1181 ff.
[4] *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*³, Brunswick, 1875, *s.v.* Τελχίν.
[5] Deubner, p. 18, n. 7.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 1498.
[2] Roscher, ii. 2483, for list and references.

As we might guess, Medea is the typical Græco-Roman enchantress. Her connexion with Hecate, her methods of discovering, securing, preparing, and administering her φάρμακα, and the large preponderance of φαρμακεία itself in her theory and practice of magic are all typical of every other enchantress both in literature and in life from Homer to the end of the classical world.

2. Their methods.—Φάρμακα are either to be swallowed or to be applied outwardly as salves or plasters. The distinction is medical, but it is also Homeric, and applies equally well to magic at any time. Circe uses a salve to restore her victims to human shape (*Od.* x. 391 f.); Medea uses another to render Jason invulnerable (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 1041 ff.), and still another—in the form of an aspersion—to put the dragon to sleep (*ib.* iv. 156); in the old Lesbian folk-tale Aphrodite gave Phaon a box of salve which, when applied as directed, gave him youth and surpassing beauty (Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 18; Serv. on *Æn.* iii. 279; Palæphat. 49; Lucian, *Dial. Mort.* ix. 2; Roscher, *s.v.* 'Phaon'). The shirt of Nessus and the robe of Creusa belong to the same type. Pamphila (Apul. *Met.* iii. 21) went so far as to have a box filled with little caskets, each containing a special salve for a given metamorphosis.

Quite as ancient and characteristic is the φάρμακον taken as a drink. So Helen, herself a sorceress, administered her Egyptian nepenthe (*Od.* iv. 220–232); so Circe effected all her transformations (*ib.* x. 237); so Medea performed some of her feats. And here, again, the method is typical of later times. One branch of it—the use of φίλτρα or *pocula amatoria*, *i.e.* drinks to inspire love—is perhaps the commonest and most characteristic feature of all ancient magic. It is to be noted here that in Circe's case the process is not completed until she touches the victim with her ῥάβδος, or magic wand. In art Medea is frequently represented with a wand; with a wand Athene makes Odysseus look young again (*Od.* xvi. 172); so Hermes overpowers our senses (*Il.* xxiv. 343; *Od.* v. 47); and, as every one knows, to this day no magician's outfit, even if he is nothing more than an ordinary sleight-of-hand performer, is complete without this ancient and dramatic accessory. The use of the wand seems to be an application of the doctrine of sympathy. It facilitates the transfer of the magician's power to the object upon which he wishes to exert it. But in all cases the wand is a help rather than an actual necessity. Except, perhaps, in the case of the gods just mentioned, who, as such, are too powerful to need it, the really essential thing is the φάρμακον, and, as we have seen, the Græco-Roman theory of magic presupposes that Circe had already prepared her φάρμακα to the accompaniment of the proper charm, and that Helen's nepenthe had been similarly treated either by herself or by the specialists from whom she had procured it.

The same rules hold good for φαρμακεία in the art of healing. The sons of Autolycus bind up the wound of Odysseus, and stop the flow of blood with an ἐπαοιδῇ (*Od.* xix. 457); the divine physician, Asclepius, follows the same methods (Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 52; cf. iv. 217; schol. *Isthm.* vi. 53; cf. Soph. *Œd. Col.* 1194 [Jebb]), and at all times the use of incantation with a remedy was so characteristic that one of our richest sources for the study of φαρμακεία as magic is the works of the physicians from Hippocrates to Marcellus. Not that men like Hippocrates and Galen were much impressed by the magic of medicine; but their patients were, and any good doctor learns that his most powerful allies are the patient's own determination to recover and his belief that he is going to succeed. In popular medicine, of course, the survival of magic is much more marked. Here, too, the practice of pre-Periclean times is typical. The case of Iphiclus (Apollod. I. ix. 12; Roscher, ii. 306) is an excellent example.

For ten years Iphiclus could have no children. At last he consulted Melampus the seer. Melampus, whose specialty, like that of Mopsus the Argonaut (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 916 ff.), was the language of birds, consulted the vulture. The vulture said that ten years before, while castrating rams, Iphiclus had threatened his father Phylacus with the knife. It was then discovered that the knife had at that time, and presumably by Phylacus himself, been struck into the tree with which the life and well-being of Iphiclus were bound up,[1] and that it had stuck there ever since. The knife was removed, the rust scraped off and prepared as a φάρμακον, and, when Iphiclus had taken it as prescribed, he immediately recovered his powers. Similarly, the wound of Telephus could be cured only by the rust on the spear of Achilles by which the wound had originally been inflicted. The principle is, of course, frequently illustrated in the later history of Græco-Roman magic, and still survives in our own homely saying that 'the hair of the dog cures his bite.'

Other branches of magic referred to in this period are equally typical. According to Homer (*Od.* x. 516 ff.), Odysseus learned from Circe how to call up the dead, and the ceremonial of *nekyomantia*, as the poet pictures it, always remained practically the same. Indeed the antics of Empedocles, as described by Diog. Laert. (viii. 59, 62 ff.), show clearly that the type of the γοήτης became finally fixed at a very early period. Again, the bag of winds given by Æolus to Odysseus (*Od.* x. 16 ff.) repeats the symbolism of wind and weather magic in all times and countries.[2] The same is true of the primitive rustic magic attributed to the Telchines. Finally, the love-charm known as 'drawing down the moon' was certainly familiar long before the time of Sophron, who, according to Suidas, was a contemporary of Xerxes. Presumably this charm was from the first looked upon as the special property of the Thessalian witches. At all events, the idea was firmly fixed in the time of Aristophanes (*Nubes*, 749) and was never afterwards forgotten.

III. *FOREIGN INFLUENCES.*—We have seen that, in conformity with the law of distance in time or space or both, the early Greeks attributed special magic powers to their alien predecessors, the Telchines, Dactyli, and Curetes—apparently, too, the Pelasgi—and that unusual activity and ability in magic were attributed to what at the time were felt to be such distant countries as Colchis, Egypt, Thessaly, and even the Islands. As time went on and the horizon of the known world became correspondingly wider, such local centres became *pari passu* more and more distant, and the strange tribes of the African deserts, the mysterious nations of the Far East, and the still more mysterious peoples of the Far North took their turn as redoubtable magicians.

But the primacy always remained with Thessaly. In the time of Aristophanes as in the time of Apuleius, Thessaly was *par excellence* the realm of magic and magicians. The literature is full of it, and evidently the literature was in this respect a faithful reflexion of average opinion in the world at large. Numberless passages might be cited to show that in the Athens of Pericles, as long afterwards in the Rome of Augustus, the average professional enchantress found it 'good business' to advertise herself as a 'genuine Thessalian.'

Orphism.—Thrace too, though Pliny (*HN* xxx.

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[1] W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1877, p. 30 ff.

[2] *GB*^{3}, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 819 ff.

1 f.) denies it, was another famous locality for magic. But Thracian magic, as Hubert warns us,[1] was really another name for Orphic magic. Now Orphism itself was not essentially magic; on the contrary, it was not only a religious movement but a religious movement of the most momentous importance in the spiritual development of classical antiquity and ultimately of the entire Western world (see ORPHISM). But it was heterodox and, therefore, 'magic.' This seems to be the first great and definite example within historical times of the impingement of a strange religion on Greek orthodoxy. Aristophanes and his fellow poets make all manner of fun of the Orphics, and such a passage as Euripides, *Cyclops*, 639 ff. (cf. Plato, *Rep.* 364 E), shows that Orpheus, like Musæus, had already become an inventor of magic, a sort of protomagician and doctor.[2] Finally, Orpheus the magician, as he appeared to the popular mind of the 5th cent. B.C., became a character of great importance in the mystic magic of later days,[3] the rites of the Orphics were associated with those of the Chaldæi, the Ophitæ claimed Orpheus as their founder, and he was even made one of the founders of astrology and alchemy. Indeed, as Hubert says,[4] it is often difficult to distinguish between Orphic texts and magic texts. Further confusion was caused by the lustral ceremonies peculiar to Orphism, and to the association of Orpheus with the cult of Selene and Hecate. So far as the average man was concerned, the distinction between the ἀγύρται and the μάντεις and the unattached priests of Orphism (Plato, *Rep.* 364 B; Theophr. *Char.* xxx. [xvi.])[5] was practically negligible. The standing charge against them was their emphasis on *mysteria*. But Orphism itself suffered from the fact that, being a strange religion, it was at once classed as mere magic. As such, it had no standing and inevitably began to deteriorate. It justified more and more its new name of ordinary magic, and its adherents assumed more and more the habits and point of view of ordinary magicians. On the other hand, ordinary magic was enriched and enlarged, as usual, by contact with new principles and methods of procedure. Here, of course, we have one important reason for the incomparable wealth and variety of Græco-Roman magic.

The Magi.—But of all these foreign influences on native magic the religion of the Persians, *i.e.* of the Magi, was perhaps the most important. At any rate, in the ordinary opinion of later times it was the type of all such influence in general. An almost immediate result, *e.g.*, of absorption by its native rival was the designation of the new combination as μαγεία. As we have seen, this was not later than the middle of the 4th cent. B.C.; we are therefore safe in assuming that by that time the Greeks had already drawn the inevitable corollary, afterwards generally accepted, that the original fountain-head of the new combination was Zoroaster, the Persian. The intrusion of Zoroaster upon magic is characteristically reflected in the later history of the subject. Thus, as it was popularly believed in the ancient world that great scholars and sages—especially if, like Pythagoras, Epimenides, Democritus, and even Plato, they had also travelled in foreign parts and had been vouchsafed the ineffable mysteries of the Oriental religions—were thereby mighty magicians, if not actually the first to reveal their wondrous art to the world at large (Val. Max. VIII. vii. 7, ext. 2; Solinus, 3; *HN* xxx. 3 f., xxiv. 156 ff., xxv. 13 ff.; Plut. *Sympos.* viii. 8; Aul. Gell. x. 12; Apul. *de Mag.* 27, 31; Diog. Laert. ix. 7; Lucian, *Necyomantia*, 6; Apoll. Tyan. *Ep.* xvi), we now hear that Pythagoras was a pupil of Zoroaster; indeed, we are told still later that he was also a pupil of Zaratas the Chaldæan (Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 471). Democritus broke into the tomb of Dardanus in order to secure the wondrous MSS buried with the defunct; and others say that, after being initiated by the Persian Osthanes, he became one of the fountain-heads of the tradition of alchemy.

Of these Persian sages associated with the tradition of Græco-Roman magic the most famous was Osthanes (*HN* xxx. 8, etc.). His special prominence was partly due to the belief that he had committed to writing all the voluminous and unutterably precious but, until his time, entirely oral tradition of ancient magic (*ib.*). The first book on medical magic was attributed to him (*ib.* xxviii. 6), and also certain apocryphal books on alchemy.[1] Of all the authors on magic he is the most frequently referred to, and his name may be found cited as an important authority in 'dream-books' still for sale.

As we shall see, all this foreign influence on magic was much discussed by the philosophers (Diog. Laert. *proœm.* 1). One of the most notable contributions must have been the so-called Μαγικός, usually attributed to Aristotle (*Frag. Aristot.*, ed. Rose, frag. 32 ff.). Suidas (*s.v.* 'Antisthenes') does well to doubt Aristotelian authorship, for the symptomatically childish statements referred to it are eminently uncharacteristic of that residuary legatee of Hellenic thought, the hard-headed and highly intellectual Stagyrite.

IV. *ITALIC MAGIC.*—The traditional history of Italic magic is not so well attested, but the assumption that, generally speaking, it was quite the same as that of Greece is fully supported by such testimony as survives. The first Roman reference to magic is the law of the Twelve Tables ('QVI FRVGES EXCANTASSIT. . . . NEVE ALIENAM SEGETEM PELLEXERIS)[2] which forbids the transference—by magic—of the crops growing in other people's fields to your own. This primitive and universal explanation of the reason why the wheat-ears in your neighbour's field are full of grain and yours are not never died out among the Romans. It is illustrated by Pliny's typical anecdote of one Furius Chresimus (*HN* xviii. 41), and as late as the 6th cent. A.D. we are told by Agobardus of Lyons, *de Grandine et Tonitruis*, 2 (*PL* civ. 148), that in his time the belief was current that the witches had formed a sort of trust and were transporting all the crops in air-ships to a land with the significant name of 'Magonia.'

A certain amount of magic of this primitive type is preserved by the Elder Cato (*de Agr.* 70 f., 73, 96, 102, 127, 156–160) and Varro (*de Re Rust.* I. ii. 27) and is more or less discernible in later authors (*e.g.*, *HN* xi. 5, xxviii. 4; Sen. *Quæst. Nat.* iv. 7; Serv. on *Ecl.* viii. 99; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, viii. 10; Pallad. i. 35). It will be observed that the only difference here between magic and religion is that religion is officially sanctioned, while magic is not. The effect of the law of the Twelve Tables is simply to establish this distinction from the legal point of view.

Divination, as usual, occupies a more or less indefinite position between religion and magic. Hence *nekyomantia* was practised to a certain extent by private individuals, and Cicero's accusation of Vatinius (*in Vatin.* vi. 14) is not so extraordinary as it sounds.

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 1499.

[2] For formulæ attributed to Orpheus see E. Abel, *Orphica*, Leipzig, 1885; R. Wünsch, *Rhein. Mus.* lv. [1900] 78.

[3] *Orphica*, 974 ff.; *Lithica*, 50; A. Dieterich, *Abraxas*, Leipzig, 1891.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 1499.

[5] Lobeck, p. 625.

[1] M. Berthelot and E. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, Paris, 1888, ii.

[2] Bruns, p. 30.

The usual term for a magician is *maleficus*, but the word does not occur in the law until Diocletian.[1] *Veneficium* is the generic name for any magic ceremony, whether legal or illegal, and *veneficus* or *venefica* as the epithet of a magician is used in the same way. The *magus* in Cicero's time was still more or less associated with his Persian origin, but with the first year of Tiberius[2] he comes under the ban of the law, and after Trajan's time the word was applied to any one who practised illegal magic (*Cod. Theodos.* ix. 16. 4; *Cod. Iustin.* ix. 18. 7). *Saga*, 'wise woman,' is probably one of the oldest words for a 'witch' in the language, and the fact that it also means a 'bawd' is a sufficient indication of the *saga's* social position as well as of her specific functions as a magician. She is one of the standard characters of the Roman elegy. *Striges* (*strigæ*, Petron. 63; Ital. *streghe*), lit. 'screech owls,' was a name for witches which records the popular Roman explanation of vampires.

As the Greeks looked upon Thessaly, so the old Romans appear to have looked upon Etruria, as a land of magic and magicians. Among other accomplishments, the Etrurians knew how to call up the dead, bring on rain, and discover hidden springs (Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Aquilex'). So, too, such ancient and mysterious peoples as the Sabines, Marsi, and Pæligni were particularly famous for certain magic powers (Verg. *Æn.* vii. 758; Hor. *Epod.* v. 76, xvii. 29, 60, *Sat* I. ix. 29 f.; *HN* xxi. 78; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 141 f.). The Romans saved the Etruscan *haruspicina* at an early date by naturalizing it. Cato (*de Agr.* v. 4) classes it with the rituals of the *augures*, *harioli*, and *Chaldæi* as a matter which any solid farmer would do well to avoid; but, although he himself was doubtless unaware of it, his own charm for a sprained hip has a suspiciously foreign sound. Even then Roman magic had been exposed for some time to the influx of foreign religions which set in soon after the Second Punic War; the overpowering influence of Hellenism began still earlier; and, as we have seen, Greek magic itself had been thoroughly commingled and overlaid with foreign elements. Finally, our principal Roman source for the details of magic practice is the poets—and the poets confine themselves for the most part to the Greek tradition. The result is that after Cato's time we are dealing not so much with Greek magic or Roman magic as with the magic of the Græco-Roman Empire.

Before referring to the ancient literature connected with this subject—originally enormous and still formidable—it should be observed that no small amount of magic of a certain type had already passed into the category of what Hubert aptly calls 'magie éternelle,'[3] *i.e.* magic too old to have a definite origin, and so common that the fact that it was ever magic at all has long since been forgotten—in short, magic that has been secularized and is reckoned merely so much scientific knowledge already acquired. This explains why Pliny, a hard-headed Roman who had no use whatever for what he would define as magic, is for us a principal source for those magic formulæ and incantations which long usage had made a part of medicine and the various sciences with which he deals. And to a greater or less extent similar material may be found in any other ancient authority who deals with the same matters. One of the most important themes of Græco-Roman science was the tradition of the given subject. Perhaps this explains the curious fact that in the course of time the very word φυσικός itself acquired the secondary meaning of 'magic.'

For these as well as for other reasons already given, few sources are so valuable to the student of Græco-Roman magic as the ancient treatises concerned with medicine, especially if, like Pliny, the author is an inveterate collector of useful information, or if, like the *de Medicamentis* of Marcellus, the book is intended for home use. One of the most notable and characteristic developments of antiquity, especially during and after the Alexandrian age, was the extent to which every conceivable subject of a scientific or *quasi*-scientific nature was treated as literature, particularly as a theme for verse. In such cases whatever magic there was in the subject was rarely forgotten. Valuable sources for the magic of medicine, therefore, are the *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* of Nicander (even more famous were the lost poems on the same subject by Æmilius Macer) and the long passage on snakes in Lucan, ix. 607–937, which doubtless owed much to Macer. Particularly valuable, too, are those writers who deal with some homelier branch of medicine, such as the art of the veterinary—like Palladius and the authors of *Hippiatrica* and the *Mulomedicina*. Especially notable among physicians are Ætius of Amida, Theophanes Nonnus, and Alexander of Tralles, but, above all, Cyranides and Dioscurides. Scribonius Largus and Serenus Sammonicus also might be considered. In short, any ancient doctor, however wise or learned, is likely to contribute something to medical magic.

The writers on agriculture and kindred themes (*e.g.*, Cato, Varro, Columella, the author of the *Geoponica*, Gargilius Martialis), the writers on botany, beginning with Theophrastus (*Historia Plantarum*), the naturalists, and the writers of φυσικά, like Neptunalius, are valuable. The same is true of antiquarians like Gellius and Macrobius, of the Paradoxographi, of the Agrimensores, and of the Parœmiographi. In short, omitting for the present that large and important class of writers who deal with the subject merely as a literary asset, any ancient author, no matter what his theme may be, is likely to contribute something to our knowledge of contemporary magic.

It is the philosophers, however, especially the philosophers of a certain type, who are most intimately associated with the most remarkable phase in the history of our subject. We have already seen at how early a date the spiritual life of antiquity began to feel the impact of foreign ideas and systems. The Orphics, the Magi, the worship of Mithra, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, the Hebrews—these are merely the most important. And the process was facilitated to an indefinite extent by the conquests of Alexander, as it was again later by the extension of Roman power to whatever seemed worth while in the way of territory. Laws were passed and, as we have seen, were severely enforced. But they appear to have been practically powerless. The classical world was a babel of creeds, and in the time of Augustus the great capital was alive with a dozen different kinds of magicians, from the lowly *saga* to the impressive *Chaldæus*. As yet the average man of birth and education was not, as one might say, dangerously affected by these different varieties of heterodoxy; but already powerful disintegrating influences had long been at work. As early as three hundred years before Augustus, the great tide of mysticism and related ideas was already rising. Orphism was prominent in it. But Orphism (and, for that matter, any other specific creed that one might name) was perhaps quite as much a symptom as a cause. Spiritual unrest was world-wide. Men needed new wine, and the old bottles could not contain it. The craving which for generations had been more or less vague grew in volume and intensity, and finally reached its acme not far from the beginning of the 2nd cent. of our era. There were creeds then—like those of Isis and Mithra—that would seem to have just missed becoming great religions of the future. There were men, too, in that period—*e.g.*, Apollonius of Tyana and the Peregrinus of Lucian—who were philosophers of the contemporary type, and posed as the more or less inspired founders of creeds—all charlatans, of course, but not entirely so; and it is not altogether inconceivable that the names of some of these men might have gone ringing through the ages instead of being merely an object of occasional scholastic contemplation.

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[1] Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 640, n. 3.

[2] *Ib.* p. 640, n. 7.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 1501.

Mysticism.—The unusual prominence of magic in this period is symptomatic and due to a number of causes. There was, of course, the ignorant lower class, who always believe in magic. But there was also a higher class, fairly well educated—heavily recruited in a period like this—who had lost their faith in orthodoxy, but who lacked the character to seek the truth elsewhere and the continuity of purpose to attain it. They preferred to give themselves up to whatever promised the incredible—in a way sufficiently dramatic and interesting to gratify the taste for novelty. Under such circumstances there is always another class ready to cater to this form of intellectual and spiritual dissipation. Both these classes—the willing deceivers and the willingly deceived—are pictured to the life in Lucian's admirable skit, the *Philopseudes*, *i.e.* 'Liars for the love of it.' A few, of course, ridiculed the whole matter; the most notable example is Lucian himself, who has been well named 'the Voltaire of antiquity.' Others undertook to demolish magic by argument; chief among these were the Sceptics, the Cynics, and the Epicureans, *i.e.* those who did not believe in orthodoxy, and therefore, by our familiar criterion, were not logically driven to accept the reality of heterodoxy. Finally, however, there were also others—especially the Gnostics and the Alexandrian school of philosophy—who, after honest and conscientious investigation, became responsible for the most remarkable development of magic in Græco-Roman times. This is the magic of mysticism in its various forms. Among the most important authorities for this aspect of the Alexandrian school are Porphyrius (*de Abstinentia* and *de Mysteriis*) and Proclus (*de Sacrificio et Magia*). The theory, as Hubert observes,[1] is one in which the philosophical and the religious elements are still imperfectly differentiated. It is a synthesis of all the known methods of acting on the powers of the supernatural world. It is halfway between religion and ordinary magic, and capable of moving in either direction. The philosophers, of course, emphasized the religious character of the combination, but, as Augustine (*loc. cit.*) saw, and as Porphyrius himself acknowledged (quoted by Eus. *Præp. Evang.* v. 10), they could make no satisfactory distinction between *goetia*, *magia*, and *theurgia*. Their principal criterion was the character and intentions of the individual performing the given ceremony—a criterion hard to apply and of no real value in itself. Their *theurgia* became dissociated from religion; its position in society, like that of the *theurgia* of the old Egyptians, was not such as to give it the character of a religion; in fact, even without it the Alexandrian philosophy had all the outward appearance of magic. The attack on Apuleius was supported more by the various initiations of which he was so proud and the sanctity of the traditions which he invoked than by any specific acts of magic with which he was charged. *Theurgia* did afterwards enter religion, but it entered by the Gnostics, not by the philosophers—and this only in so far as the Gnostics who transformed it into a cult were recognized as a religious organization. So, too, the cult of Mithra gave a religious character to theories and ceremonials that in Pliny's time (*HN* xxx. 17 f.) were described as magic. On the other hand, it was always difficult to distinguish between the Ophitæ and the regular associations of magicians.[2]

Theurgical philosophy was violently attacked by the Sceptics, Epicureans, and Cynics (Philostr. *Apoll. Tyan.* vii. 39). Among the most important works were the *Κατὰ Μάγων* of the Epicurean Celsus (probably the adversary of Origen, and the one to whom Lucian dedicated his *Pseudomantis*), and the *Γοήτων Φωρά* of the Cynic Œnomaus. The *Πρὸς Μαθηματικούς* of Sextus Empiricus still survives, and it is unusually dreary reading. Like Lucian (*e.g.*, in his *Alexander seu Pseudomantis*, *Demonax*, *Philopseudes*, etc.), they attacked not only magic, but everything marvellous in either religion or mythology. Lucian feels that the wandering priests of the Syrian goddess are no better than any other magicians. All magic is a mere pretence, all magicians are hypocrites, rascals, and charlatans, whose object is to play on the credulity of the average man.

The Christians.—The attitude of the Christians, as we have seen, was different. According to Origen, Celsus had no right to deny the reality of magic; Augustine was quite certain that the rites used for summoning demons were efficacious (*de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 6); and, indeed, the Church Fathers in general are far from denying the existence and power of magic (Epiph. *Hær.* xxxiv. 1; Tert. *Apol.* 35, *de Anima*, 57; Eus. *Præp. Evang.* v. 14), especially in those early days when it seemed necessary to make the sharpest possible distinction between the Christians and the Gnostics. All heretics in general and Gnostics in particular were magicians and their faith was magic (Iren. *Hær.* i. 13 ff.; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 26). Paganism in any form was magic. For the Alexandrian *theurgi* the difference between gods and demons was merely a difference in degree; for the Christians there was an absolute opposition between the two: God was good, all the demons were evil; the pagan gods were all demons, therefore all the pagan gods were evil. Any and all marvels which did not happen to be orthodox were the work of the demons.

It will be seen that this is really the familiar old distinction between the orthodox and the heterodox, with a much greater emphasis on the secondary conclusion, also ancient, that the one was good and the other evil, *per se*. And the same old distinction carried with it the same old assumption that the one was just as real as the other. The Christians never seem to have realized any more than did their pagan forefathers that the difference between their gods and other people's gods might conceivably be the difference between gods who are and gods who never were. The only way to deal with the pagan gods was to classify them as evil demons (Tatian, *Orat.* viii.). They were just as real as ever; the marvels and prodigies attributed to them were just as real and just as readily believed as ever; it was merely insisted that the same had been wrought with intent to deceive. The 'idols' still nodded and gave signs from time to time, just as they had always done; but that was a *magica operatio* wrought by the demons of the old religion (Iren. *Hær.* v. 28. 2; Eus. *HE* ix. 3). The persistence of this old prodigy of nodding, etc., is an interesting proof that the Christians still clung to the old pagan idea, more or less generally entertained by the less educated class, that the gods actually inhabited their statues. Many a priceless example of ancient art has been destroyed for this reason, and the idea still survives in the famous mediæval story of the 'Ring of Venus.'

Of particular interest to the student of magic of this strange period are such surviving treatises as the *Poimandres* of Hermes Trismegistus, *Asclepius sive Dialogus Hermetis Trismegisti*, the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollon, and the astrological works of Nechepso and Petosiris.[1] The literature of the magic oracles belongs to astrology as well as to magic. Another important source is the *Tabellæ Devotionis*, so many of which have come to light in recent years.[2]

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 1501.

[2] Dieterich, p. 149.

The magic papyri.—But most important of all are the magic papyri which continue to turn up from time to time in Egypt. Hubert[3] gives the list of those published down to 1904; for later finds and their discussion, the reader is referred to Von Christ (*op. cit.*), L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Papyruskunde* (Leipzig, 1912), the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, and the occasional reports in Bursian's *Jahresbericht des klassischen Altertums.*

The magic papyri belong for the most part to the period between A.D. 300 and 500. Their discovery is peculiarly fortunate in view of the fact that they belong to a type which came under the ban of the law, and which some of the later emperors, notably Diocletian, made sedulous efforts to destroy. They are not original and independent works, but merely handbooks of magic, and, as might be expected, the editorial tradition is very poor. There are often different versions of the same thing; sometimes the hymn or formula in one version will be considerably abbreviated as compared with the same hymn or formula in another version; again, certain habitual formulæ are often merely indicated. It is therefore extremely difficult to reconstruct any complete and trustworthy text of this type.

The authorities habitually quoted and the sources, so far as we can trace them, seem in some respects to bear out Pliny's statements in his account (*HN* xxx. 1 ff.) of the growth and development of magic. Pliny distinguishes three principal sources of ancient magic: (1) the Persian school, founded by Zoroaster; his 2,000,000 verses on this important subject (note the childish exaggeration characteristic of this sphere) were revealed and explained to the Greeks by Osthanes. Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Democritus belonged to this school, and also certain ancient Medes, Babylonians, and Assyrians. Democritus explained the magic books of Dardanus, which he had found in his tomb; they were written in Phœnician. (2) The second is the Jewish school, descended from Moses, Iamnes, and Iotapes (*Pap. Mag.* p. 755; Apul. *de Mag.* 9; Ex 7^{10-12}), and (3) the third is a Cypriote school.

It will be observed that Pliny makes no reference to the Egyptian school, which was particularly important and which, of course, is often mentioned in the papyri themselves. One of the most important authorities in magic alchemy is Maria, the Jewess, but the papyri also refer to real philosophers like Thales, Anaxagoras, Heraclitus, and Diogenes. The genuine magicians, *i.e.* the contemporary or recent authorities, are generally referred to under such names as Zosimus, Synesius, Olympiodorus, Pelagius, and Iamblichus. Now and then we find such curious and characteristic documents as a letter of the magician Nephotes to Psammetichus, a charm of Solomon, or a letter of Pitys, the Thessalian, to Osthanes. This gives some idea of the attitude of the Alexandrian magicians towards the tradition which they followed.

It is no longer possible to trace the Persian, druidical, and Brāhmanical elements in this strange compound. Assyro-Chaldæan influence must have been strong, but it appears to have been indirect. Jewish influence, on the contrary, was both strong and direct, the magic papyri being strongly affected by Judaism. Jewish magicians were in evidence, and they doubtless encouraged the impression that they were the only depositories of the genuine tradition of real magic. But, as Hubert remarks,[1] they brought no organized system to bear upon the Græco-Roman type, but merely introduced certain powerful elements of magic. Especially important here was the Bible, which was presented in Egyptian by way of the Hermetic tradition, after being translated from Greek, and furnished part of the more or less peculiar mythology of magic at this time. Their god, as we should expect, is frequently mentioned in incantations, especially the different forms of his name (Aoth, Abaoth, Arbathiao, Abriao, Adonai, etc.). Especially frequent, too, are the names of Moses, Abraham, Jacob, Solomon, and the various archangels. F. G. Kenyon[2] has explained 'Abraxas' as a corruption of the Hebrew benediction *hab-bᵉrākhāh dābhᵉrāh*, 'pronounce the blessing,' which still survives in the magic of modern times as the familiar 'abracadabra.' Hebrew words more or less corrupted are frequent in the papyri, and Christian influence is also evident; it followed in the wake of Judaism, and, though naturally not so strong, is of the same general type.

But one of the most remarkable contributions of all is that of Egypt, as we might expect of a country so ancient, so full of pretentious wisdom, with a language so utterly strange, and an alphabet which to the ordinary outsider seemed so hopelessly complicated and mysterious. The last two qualifications alone — both sovereign for charms — are enough to establish the reputation of any country as a land of magic and magicians. It may be observed, however, that, unlike the Jews, the Egyptians contributed a complete, organized system of magic to the combination. The fact that, as we learn from the *Book of the Dead*,[3] a magician could be prosecuted shows that the old Egyptians had long since separated magic from religion by the familiar criterion of official recognition. So far as the Greeks and Romans are concerned, the great name here is Hermes Trismegistus. He is not only the principal vehicle and interpreter of Egyptian magic, but, as we have seen, the Hermetic tradition is quite as powerful in the articulate presentation of the Hebrew contributions.

All these foreign influences on the theory and practice of Græco-Roman magic of this later period are more or less clearly traceable in the magic papyri. But it is to be observed that they are never clearly differentiated. Isis, *e.g.*, reveals the wonderful art of magic to Horus. This is all well enough; Horus was one of the family. But Isis learned all her magic from one of the Hebrew archangels. It is equally surprising to see Sabaoth approached with Greek rites. Often special efficacy is gained by issuing a sort of general call to all the pantheon or—which, thanks to the doctrine of sympathy, amounts to the same thing—by adding to one god the names of the most revered gods in a number of nationalities. Magic naturally turns to the foreign religions. It also believes that the plural is more redoubtable than the singular. Hence the more or less chaotic pantheon of magic, especially in its more advanced stages, the symptomatic tendency to multiplication and mixture for purposes of power, which reflects to a certain extent the fact that magic is an outlaw, that it is not subject to official control, and that it has no assured position in the body politic.

V. *THEORY OF MAGIC.*—The procedures of magic, especially of magic so highly developed as was that of Greece and Rome, are, at first sight, bewilderingly complex. But the main ideas, the essential principles from which they all derive and upon which they are all founded, are simple, universal, and eternal. The fundamental purpose of magic is to compel by supernatural means; the primary object and supposed result of every charm is some form of constraint. Possession or obsession (κάτοχος) is a constraint, any form of metamorphosis (such, *e.g.*, as lycanthropy) is a constraint, *fascinatio* in all its numerous forms is a constraint. The ancients habitually associate the processes of magic with the ideas of binding, tying up, nailing down, and their opposites. A magic act is a κατάδεσμος, a κατάδεσις, a *defixio*, a *devinctio*; the removal of its effect is an ἀνάλυσις, a *solutio*, and the corresponding verbs are, *e.g.*, καταδέω, *defigo*, λύω, *solvo*. The language of charms and the details of ritual are largely suggested and guided by some form of this fundamental idea. One sees it most clearly in such symbolic acts as the tying of knots, the driving of nails, and the binding of images.

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[1] See W. von Christ, *Gesch. der griech. Litteratur*^{5}, Munich, 1908, § 820, for editions, etc.

[2] See esp. W. S. Fox, 'The Johns Hopkins Tabellæ Defixionis,' *AJPh*, Suppl. to vol. xxxiii. [1912] and references.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 1503 ff.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 1513.

[2] *Greek Papyri in the Brit. Museum*, London, 1893 ff., i. 63.

[3] ed. E. A. W. Budge, London, 1899, p. cli.

> 'The object of every magic act is to put beings or things into or take them out of a state in which certain movements, certain changes, certain phenomena must infallibly ensue. A character or condition is either produced or suppressed, a spell is either imposed or removed.'[1]

I. The doctrine of sympathy.—One of the great fundamental principles of magic art is the doctrine of sympathy; but, while the doctrine of sympathy explains much, it should not be forced to explain all. This would be expecting too much of such a phenomenon as magic, in spite of the fact that its deductions are, in their way, so amazingly logical. It is also true that magic is supposed to work in two different ways; it either reaches its object independently and directly and acts at once, as it were, automatically, or—and this was the prevailing theory of the Greeks and Romans—it reaches its object indirectly through the agency of some intervening power to whom its behests are addressed and by whom they are executed. The distinction is important and enlightening; but here, again, we must not apply it too rigidly. There are cases in which the characteristic features of both methods are more or less traceable. We must not expect too much of the magician; he is not always a clear thinker, and he has an inveterate habit of calling all known powers to his aid, whether they happen to be logically related or not.

The doctrine of sympathy is most clearly seen in the direct method. The simplest and most common form among the Greeks and Romans is that in which the magic power possessed or acquired by a given thing works upon the desired object by contact. The virtue of the amulet (see CHARMS AND AMULETS) is shared by the person who wears it, the virtue of philtres and φάρμακα of any kind is appropriated by those who take them as directed. It may be observed, however, that even here, so far as the Greeks and Romans were concerned, the supernatural power had already intervened in the preparation of the given article; and the magician's characteristic method of pluralizing for power is naively illustrated by the rule that in preparing a φάρμακον one should combine ingredients which individually are capable of producing the desired effect. The reasoning is evident. The large use of magic of this type, *i.e.* φαρμακεία, helps to explain the magician's particular interest in the properties of plants and simples. For a similar reason the alchemist is particularly interested in the properties of stones and gems; some of them are sovereign for certain diseases, if ground up and taken inwardly with the appropriate ceremonial. Primitive medicine is a fearsome adventure for the patient. In rare cases the *mana* inheres in the object as such, but this is generally a secondary conclusion. As a rule, the *mana* is acquired, or merely accidental. Some objects are only conductors of *mana*—which explains why they can be used for apparently contradictory purposes. Other staple ingredients in a large number of charms—such as honey, flour, rain-water, etc.—have lost their original significance. Objects are selected according to the usual rules—some real or fancied resemblance, especially the association with some god, etc. A certain thing, *e.g.*, is yellow, therefore it is good for jaundice. Such odd names for plants as 'Jove's Beard' or 'Venus' Ears' record associations with gods, and were doubtless originally secret. The place from which an object comes is often a decisive factor: articles found in the public baths were magic. The Christians considered certain filthy animals magic because they were associated with the devil. Certain names of plants and minerals are magic because they correspond to the planets.[1] Sometimes the decision is made from etymology, true or false; the *reseda* owes its power to its name only (*HN* xxvii. 131). The virtue of lead for certain purposes is due to the fact that it is heavy or cold or indestructible, etc.

One of the most important applications of the doctrine of sympathy is the use of symbolism.[2] As we have already seen, symbolism is even more characteristic of magic than it is of religion. Hubert[3] defines two methods. In the one, which is particularly dramatic, the person or thing upon which we wish our magic to act is represented by a substitute. The most notable example of this class is the use of clay and waxen puppets. The second consists in prefiguring the desired action and result (Tib. I. vi. 53 f.; Soph. *Aias*, 1175)—

> *e.g.*, apply a stone to a wart (contact and sympathy), throw the stone away (symbolism), and the wart goes with it. Or, if you have a pain in the stomach, apply the stomach of a frog to the part affected, and your pain becomes his pain, etc. (*HN* xxii. 149; Marcellus, xxvii. 123).

The same idea of contact and sympathy creates the familiar rule of magic homœopathy, that the cause of a given thing is also its remedy.

But, so far as magic is concerned, perhaps the most momentous deduction from the doctrine of sympathy is the rule that the part may stand for the whole, that the two are inseparably connected; the part is able to draw the whole to itself, if aided by magic. What Vergil called the *exuviæ* of Æneas had a special function and a special significance in the pretended *solutio amoris* of the unhappy Dido (*Æn.* iv. 494 ff.). Without assuming the active co-operation of this principle, we cannot appreciate the true inwardness of the most striking performances of magic in classical antiquity. If, for instance, a magician can secure bones of the dead, he has a special and powerful means of calling up the dead to whom those bones originally belonged (Tib. I. ii. 46)—which is one important reason why witches were so often accused of haunting the graveyards (Hor. *Sat.* i. 8; Lucan, vi. 530), and in primitive times the principal reason why the corpse was so carefully watched until it was safe in the grave (Petron. 63; Apul. *Met.* ii. 21). So, too, if we wish to reach the living, it is very important to possess a lock of their hair, the parings of their nails, a garment, or anything nearly or remotely associated with them. Nothing is more intimately and entirely part and parcel of a thing than its real name. 'Rome,' it is said (Tib. I. ii. 57 f., with the present writer's note; Macrob. III. ix. 2; *HN* xxviii. 18, iii. 65; Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 61 [p. 279 A]; Serv. on *Æn.* i. 277; Solinus, 1; Lydus, *de Mens.* iv. 73), is only the *alias* of the great city with world dominion. The true name, *i.e.* the name which would have enabled her enemies to conjure against her with magic, was a religious secret. So the clay or waxen image may be comparatively harmless until it has been ceremonially named with the true name of the person whom it is meant to represent.[1]

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[1] Hubert, *op. cit.* p. 1506.

[1] Dieterich, p. 171 ff.

[2] See esp. *GB*^{3}, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. ch. 3.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 1507.

Names are not the only words which are an integral part of the things which they represent. A similar relation exists between the verb, or the sentence, and the action described by it. Hence, of course, the theory of incantation as opposed to that of prayer in the modern sense. From this point of view the lines of Euripides (*Hippol.* 478 f.),

> *εἰσὶν δ' ἐπῳδαὶ καὶ λόγοι θελκτήριοι·*
> *φανήσεταί τι τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου,*

echoed by Horace (*Epist.* I. i. 34 f.) in

> 'Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem
> Possis et magnam morbi deponere partem,'

are true not only of magic theory in general, but of the Græco-Roman conception of magic in particular. Incantation is rarely, if ever, absent from some stage of the act. The influence of the indirect method is seen even more clearly in the fact that sympathy is often created by the incantation which accompanies the act (*e.g.*, *HN* xxvi. 93). In the exorcism of disease the incantation is often sufficient in itself. Again, a mere verbal comparison is sufficient, especially if accompanied by a gesture.

'Salvum sit quod tango!' ejaculates Trimalchio piously (Petron. 63), to avoid possible consequences when he touches his friend's arm to illustrate where and how the unfortunate character in his story was touched by the witch.

Given, therefore, the right words in the right order and pronounced in the right way, the desired result must ensue. But which words? Ancient formulæ connected with or naming the appropriate gods are, of course, valuable, but in many cases nothing can compare with ancient words in an utterly incomprehensible tongue. The most famous example in antiquity was the so-called *Ephesia Grammata* attributed to the Dactyli.[2]

But it is by no means necessary that an incantation should consist of what, even in the most general sense, could be termed articulate speech of any sort. Mere music, *e.g.*, as such is distinctly magic. The great musicians of mythology—Amphion, Orpheus, Väinämöinen, etc.—are always magicians. We no longer attribute the power of music to magic in the literal sense, but primitive man can hardly be blamed for doing so. The ancient doctors made a considerable use of music in their practice, and we ourselves have learned that it is sometimes distinctly beneficial in certain obstinate nervous disorders of long standing.

Here, however, our particular concern is with a class of sounds which are anything but musical, but which are mentioned again in the literature of the Empire as being especially powerful and efficacious in magic incantations. Lucan, vi. 686 ff., tells us that all the sounds of nature were imitated by such an expert as Erichtho, and does not fail to add his usual and characteristic catalogue. But Lucan is too anxious to tell us all he has read in his uncle's library to be of any great value in a matter like this. Whatever they afterwards may have become, we can be sure that these phenomena were simpler and more specific, that they were probably inspired by some aspect of the doctrine of sympathy, and used for a special purpose.

The Romans habitually describe them by *stridor* and *stridere*. The sounds to which these words are applied are many, and vary from the filing of a saw to the creaking of a door and the shrilling of a locust. But they are all alike in being inarticulate, high-pitched, and disagreeable. The obvious and instructive parallel is the primitive Greek *γοητεία*. The *γόητες* were specifically necromancers and, as we saw above (p. 271^{b}), they were supposed to have received their name from the most notable peculiarity of their magic, viz. 'from their wailing and crying among the tombs.' So, long afterwards, in Græco-Roman times the charms described by *stridor* and *stridere* are very characteristic of *nekyomantia.* If so, and we can hardly doubt it, the inarticulate magic charms connoted by these two words should be just those described as 'wailing and crying among the tombs,' and their purpose should be to call up the dead. Such being the case, the two most common and characteristic uses of *stridor* and *stridere* outside the sphere of magic itself are illuminating. (1) One of these is that squeaking and gibbering of the dead to which the ancients so often refer:

'Ecce inter tumulos atque ossa carentia bustis Umbrarum facies diro stridore minantur' (Petron. cxxii. 137); 'auribus incertum feralis strideat umbra' (Lucan, vi. 628; cf. Stat. *Theb.* vii. 770; Sil. Ital. xiii. 600; Claudian, *in Ruf.* i. 126; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 458; Verg. *Æn.* vi. 492 f.; Hom. *Od.* xxiv. 5; and Hor. *Sat.* I. viii. 40 f.).

By the doctrine, therefore, of sympathy the *stridores* of the necromancers were an imitation of the wailing and crying of the dead, and owed their efficacy to that reason. (2) *Stridor* is regularly used to describe the hoot of the *strix*, or screech-owl—that long-drawn, shuddering scream that suggests nothing so much as the wail of the banshee, the moaning of souls that can find no rest, the ominous cry of the *βιαιοθάνατοι*, questing ghosts of those who died before their time (see HECATE'S SUPPERS). No wonder the *strix* is the most remarkable and ill-omened bird in classical folklore. Owls, disembodied spirits, or necromancers calling up those spirits—so far as the cry alone was concerned, how was one to be sure which was which? As a matter of fact, all three were more or less inextricably confused with each other, and there can be no doubt that the cry had much to do with the situation. The *strix* is associated with all sorts of witchcraft in antiquity, but especially and above all with vampirism in its various forms (see the present writer's note on Tib. I. v. 42). The classics are rich in examples of the type which happens to be more familiar to us, especially in the erotic sphere. The return of Protesilaus is a case in point (Roscher, *s.v.*), also the story of the Lamia (Philostr. *Apoll. Tyan.* iv. 25) immortalized by Keats, and the simple and touching tale told by Phlegon of Tralles (*Mirab.* 1) which is the prototype of Schiller's 'Braut von Korinth' and Gautier's 'Morte Amoureuse.'

But witches can turn owls whenever they like, and they do so regularly, when their object is some form of necromancy.

Ovid, *Amor.* I. viii. 13–18, speaking of Dipsas, the redoubtable saga with eyes of different colours ('pupula duplex'),[1] says:

> 'Hanc ego nocturnas versam volitare per umbras
> Suspicor et pluma corpus anile tegi;
> Suspicor, et famast; oculis quoque pupula duplex
> Fulminat et gemino lumen ab orbe micat;
> Evocat antiquis proavos atavosque sepulcris
> Et solidam longo carmine findit humum.'

But the ever present and most gruesome side of this idea, as of magic in general, is the sexual side. Most frequently the witch is like Pamphila in Apuleius (*Met.* iii. 21). She assumes the form of a *strix* to fly to her lover; she never comes to him as a human and normal woman. The fires of hell are in her eyes, the fires of hell are in her veins, the taste of blood and death is on her lips. She is the erotic vampire—the *succuba*, as she was called in the Middle Ages—who haunts her victim in his dreams and little by little draws to herself the very marrow in his bones. Hence it is that the Græco-Roman screech-owl, who, even at her best, as Pliny substantially says (*HN* x. 34), seems to make no effort to look or act like a well-meaning and self-respecting fowl of the air, belongs quite as much to the kingdom of dreams as to the kingdom of birds. How can one be sure in any given instance whether the *strix* is a real *strix* or a witch in the form of one (Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 141)? Indeed, as early as Plautus (*Pseud.* 820; cf. Propert. IV. v. 17) *striges* already meant 'witches' as well as 'screech-owls,' and this designation of what is evidently the Roman parallel of the old Greek γοήτεις records a popular belief which showed no tendency to diminish in later days.

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[1] E. Rohde, *Psyche*⁴, Tübingen, 1907, p. 61; often in the papyri.

[2] See E. Kuhnert in Pauly-Wissowa, v. 2771–2773, and references.

[1] See K. F. Smith, in *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, Baltimore, 1902, p. 287.

2. Sources of magic power. — Our surviving testimony is insufficient to give us a very clear idea how the powers of the classical magician were defined or from what sources they were supposed to be derived. For the Egyptians, as Hubert[1] remarks, the magician was like the priest in being closely associated, if not actually identified, with the god whose power he was utilizing,[2] and perhaps in the ultimate issue this is everywhere the explanation of his power. Particularly notable was the development of this principle among the Alexandrian *theurgi*. Here, of course, the characteristic Græco-Roman preference for the indirect method afforded a favourable soil, but, without doubt, the chief factor was the direct influence of the Egyptian theory just mentioned.

But, granted that he does identify himself with the god, how does he compass it? Is it a gift, or does he acquire it, and, if so, how? The *theurgi* emphasized the theory that it was acquired, and the methods recommended indicate in themselves the effort to raise magic to the level of a religio-philosophical system permeated with the ideas and ceremonials characteristic of mysticism. Asceticism was recommended, but, above all, the magician must be an adept. Such persons may have a revelation coming to them more or less directly by way of the fallen angels or the archangels (Tert. *de Idol.* 9 f., *Apol.* 35). Indeed, Maria the Jewess was instructed by God Himself.[3] Gods, kings, great philosophers, and sages of old loom large in this aspect of later magic. The 'Book of Moses'[4] gives us a good idea of the complicated ceremonial through which the candidate was supposed to pass in order to arrive at the perfection desired. There were purifications, sacrificial rites, invocations, and, to crown all, a revelation of the Κοσμοποιία (how the universe was made and the secrets thereof). This puts the adept in relation not with certain specific gods, as appears to have been the idea of the Egyptian prototype, but with the stars and planets, *i.e.* the universal powers. The magician, especially the magician-alchemist, derives his power from the acquaintance with the forces of nature. He has established *rapport* with the universe; and, as there is also *rapport* between all the parts of the universe, he has extended his power over the entire universe as a whole. This, of course, is the old doctrine of sympathy on a particularly grand and impressive scale. The result of the ceremony is that the magician, the *theurgus*, is himself no longer a man, but a god.[5]

This is a conception calculated to appeal to any man whose imagination is still in working order, but it does not emerge clearly in ordinary magic. It belongs rather to mystic magic, which was the special development of serious souls, some of them really great, who believed that this path would lead them to the undiscovered secrets of life, death, and immortality. To speak in terms of the average man and of the history of the art as a whole, the ideas which determined the powers of the magician were much the same as those which dictated the choice of a magic object or the construction of a charm, and which, in fact, are fundamental in the art of magic as a whole. Generally speaking, magic is a gift and, as such, it is often due to some accident of birth or to some special privilege. In some cases it is inalienable; again, it can be outgrown or easily lost. Children, *e.g.*, merely as such, sometimes possess it.[1] Virginity has always been considered an important condition of the power to prophesy (*Geopon.* XI. ii. 4; Plut. *de Defectu Orac.* 46).[2] The idea seems to be that the seeress is, as it were, married to the god and that infidelity to him is punished by loss of the power which he gave her. The entire world seems to be agreed that women, simply as women, are peculiarly gifted in this direction (Demosth. *c. Aristog.* i. 17; Aristoph. *Nubes*, 749; Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* xx. 10, *Dial. Meretric.* i. 2, iv. 4, *Bis Accus.* 21). We have already seen how important they are in the mythology of Greek magic, and this is true of all magic. They are less prominent in the magic of the mystics and their brethren, but this is itself symptomatic of the ideals and pretensions of the movement. In the genuine, traditional, immemorial magic of everyday life in Greece and Rome they never lost their importance. As a φαρμακίς, Medea was typical of her sex. The knowledge and practice of φαρμακεία as a branch of magic were always more or less confined to women.

The distant, the foreign, the strange, the unusual, even the horrible, are all important factors. 'Magic' is a primitive name for anything abnormal. Those who come from distant countries, especially if, like the Brāhmans (Philostr. *Apoll. Tyan.* iii.), they are also the priests of strange and remote religions, are magicians. Hence, on the principle of 'omne ignotum pro magnifico,' there are distant countries in which all the inhabitants are magicians or possess the evil eye or some such uncanny gift. Any person with the evil eye is a magician; so, too, the ventriloquist (schol. Aristoph. *Vespæ*, 1014; Plato, *Soph.* 252 C; Plut. *de Defectu Orac.* 9). Anything abnormal about one's birth or pedigree is likely to give one magic powers. Persons born with a caul have the gift of prophecy. The child of incest, especially of deliberate incest, is bound to be a magician. This was harped on continually in the witch trials of the Middle Ages, but it is also prominent in ancient tradition, especially in connexion with the Magi themselves (Catullus, xc.; Xanthus, frag. 28 [*FHG* i. 43]; Sotion, *ap.* Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 7; Strabo, p. 735). Sometimes whole peoples, clans, or families are supposed to be magicians (Herod. iv. 105);[3] some—*e.g.*, the Thibii (*HN* vii. 17)—owe it to the possession of the evil eye; others have some particular specialty.

The Ophiogenes, the Psylli, the Marsi, etc. (*ib.* xxviii. 30, vii. 13–15). can kill snakes simply by breathing on them, or can cure snake-bites merely by touching the wound with their hands. A certain family in Corinth could calm tempests (Hesych. and Suidas, *s.v.* ἀνεμοκοῖται), and so on. Many similar statements made by Alexandrian authors and others now lost are preserved by Pliny (*HN*, esp. bks. vii. and xxviii.).

In the majority of such cases the ability is more or less vaguely conceived of as inborn, in others it is a secret transmitted from generation to generation. But, whether inborn or imparted, magic is a secret. Indeed, initiates were sworn to secrecy in the later days among the mystics.

3. The powers invoked.—But the most characteristic feature of Greek and Roman magic is the universal prevalence of the indirect method and its influence on the development of the art. So far as Greece and Rome were concerned, the theory of demons—those spirits to whose action practically every phenomenon is due—was as characteristic of the world at large as it was of Plato and his followers (Plut. *de Defectu Orac.* 10). Diseases were caused by specific demons, panic was caused by Pan; such figures as the Erinyes, Nemesis, Pœna, Empusa, the Μοῖραι, Ἀνάγκαι, and Βασκοσύναι are not only popular but very old. There are even demons whose only function is to execute the commands of the magic tablets deposited in the baths, and there are others who are merely *ἀπόρροιαι*, or emanations. The efficacy, *e.g.*, of the *ἴυγξ* demands, as Hubert observes,[1] the creation of a demon or of a special god[2]—a curious but characteristic retention of the primitive view that nothing in this world can happen or be except by the individual exertion in every case of conscious, energizing will.

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 1509.

[2] Dieterich, p. 136.

[3] Berthelot, ii. 80.

[4] W. Kroll, 'De Oraculis Chaldaicis,' in *Breslauer philol. Abhandl.*, vii. 1 [1894], p. 56.

[5] Dieterich, p. 136, n. 1.

[1] Abt, *op. cit.* pp. 245, 262.

[2] See E. Fehrle, 'Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum,' in *RVV* vi. [1910].

[3] Cf. Lobeck, p. 1196.

The magician may find it necessary or advisable to consider other spirits besides the specific agents of the phenomenon in question. He cannot be sure of success beforehand. He may make mistakes, and a mistake in a ceremonial is fatal. And, even if everything is correct, the ceremony may be entirely upset by something unexpected and unforeseen. In addition, therefore, to the specific energizing demon, he considers it prudent to summon to his aid such other powers as he can command. He calls on some appropriate god, *e.g.*, to send him the necessary energizing demon, or he summons the spirit to whom the efficacy of the rite itself is due; hence the theory of the 'familiar,' the magician's own 'demoniac factotum,' which assumed such importance in the Middle Ages.

The object, therefore, of magic was to act upon and use the supernatural powers either as energizing spirits or as auxiliaries. Some of these powers occur only in the tradition of magic itself, but the large majority are common to both magic and religion. Most important here are the demons. Plato himself (Suidas, *s.v.* *μαγεία*), as well as the average man, attributed to them the success of any magic rite.[3] The magic charms of the later period are full of invocations to demons—demons of all kinds and descriptions and exercising every imaginable function, but all of varying degrees of inferiority to the great gods. In fact, as time goes on, the realm of the supernatural assumes more and more the aspect of an Oriental despotism with a thoroughly organized bureaucratic government, all in the hands of demons. There are secretaries and under-secretaries, guards, doorkeepers, messengers—a regular hierarchy of demoniac officials, whose rank and functions are established and fixed with meticulous exactness. The only private citizens in this government are the ordinary human man and the occasional person with 'influence,' *i.e.* the magician; and it is curious to see how soon and easily the latter assumes the methods and attitude of the influential citizen who lives under a similar government in this world. If he wishes to reach the ear of the all-highest at the other end of the line, he addresses the demon of lowest rank, the message is transmitted through the appropriate channels, and in time he gets his answer. Indeed, as in all such governments, the first demoniac underling may be so nearly human and, therefore, so much in sympathy with the magician himself as to take a really personal and lively interest in furthering the matter in hand. All this question of rank and functions was carefully discussed by Proclus and Porphyrius (*de Mysteriis Ægyp.*), and, in fact, the prominence of it is particularly characteristic of their school and period. This school, it may be observed, made a distinction between good demons and bad demons, attributing the errors of *γοητεία* to the latter. The demons were identified with the Jewish angels in their function of divine messengers, and even the old pagan gods, reduced to the rank of demons, became messengers of the universal deity (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, ix. 19), while the archangels, Michael, Gabriel, etc., take rank with the *archontes* of the Gnostics as tutelary gods of the planets (W. Anz, *TU* xv. [Leipzig, 1897] *passim*). With Christianity the old gods became demons, and all were considered evil. But magic, the conservative of conservatives, never gave them up, though all of them now without distinction were in the service of the devil.

One of the most important classes of demons connected with magic are the spirits of the dead, the *νεκυδαίμονες*, especially those who, like the *βιαιοθάνατοι*, died violent deaths or otherwise before their time, or never received proper burial, and therefore cannot rest in their graves.[1] The heroes, so to speak, have a somewhat higher social position, but they too are important in magic.[2]

A notable peculiarity of paganism as contrasted with its successor was the inability to make a sharp distinction between gods and demons. The obvious criterion would be power or disposition. Neither were trustworthy. Some demons were greater than some gods, and some gods were as unmistakably malignant as some demons were beneficent. The demons, therefore, were not the only powers to whom the magician addressed himself. The gods themselves practised magic (Apollod. I. ii. 1, III. vi. 8); indeed, Pindar says (*Pyth.* iv. 213 ff.) that it was Aphrodite herself who taught Jason how to 'draw down the moon'; and so the magician would naturally turn to them (Apul. *de Mag.* 31). The preference is, of course, for the *di inferi*—Hades, Demeter, Persephone, Baubo, the Praxidikai, the Erinyes, Gaia, Cybele, especially those who, like Hecate, Selene, and Hermes, habitually pass back and forth between the two worlds.

The greatest of all, the goddess *par excellence* of magic and magicians throughout antiquity, is Hecate-Selene,[3] the Dea Triformis of the crossways, and the queen of the ghosts, who sweeps through the night followed by her dreadful train of questing spirits. Her power is universal, but she is specially connected with the magic of love, metamorphosis, and *φάρμακα*. The most famous and dramatic incantations of antiquity are associated with her. The *lunulæ*, the *ἴυγξ*, the *selenitis*, the redoubtable *spuma lunaris*, and the *rhombus* are only a few magic objects and properties directly associated with her. The schol. on Apoll. Rhod. iii. 478 even informs us that Circe was her daughter. At all events, Medea was her priestess, Musæus was called her son, etc. Next to her, perhaps, especially in the magic papyri, comes Hermes Chthonius, often confused with Hermes Trismegistus (Diog. Laert. *proœm.* 7; Porphyr. *de Abstin.* ii. 16).[4]

But the Κύριοι Θεοί, the great gods, are also addressed, and not only the great gods of foreign races—which we should expect—but those of Greece and Rome. This habit, however, belongs more prominently to the babel of the later period. Here the habit of calling on a number of gods at once, or of reinforcing the name of some Greek god with the names of all the strange gods of foreign lands who are supposed to be identical with him, or of using Ἰάω as the name of the god of gods, or Ἰάω, in the feminine, to sum up, as it were, all the aspects of divinity, or of combining gods in the hermaphroditic form for the same purpose—all these are so many illustrations of the magician's inveterate habit of pluralizing for power. The result is, of course, that the divinities lose all personality and, as Hubert says, 'become mere factors of a divine total.'[5] Nothing was left but the name, and even this was more or less concealed or defaced in the magician's characteristic effort to get at the true name, the name of power for the now somewhat vague supernatural force which he wished to utilize. Having the name and also the image of the god, he could use the force for anything desired, it being understood, of course, that such accompanying ceremonials had been performed as were appropriate for realizing the mystic presence of the god.

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[1] *Op. cit.* p. 1511.

[2] Kroll, *op. cit.* p. 39.

[3] J. Tambornino, 'De Antiquorum Dæmonismo,' in *RVV* vii. [1909], *passim.*

[1] E. Riess, in *Rhein. Mus.* xlviii. [1893] 307 ff.

[2] Deubner, p. 29.

[3] Abt, *op. cit.* p. 197 ff.

[4] Deubner, p. 21 n.

[5] *Op. cit.* p. 1512.

4. Rites and ceremonies.—Thanks to this habit of pluralizing for power, of summoning from every direction all kinds of strange and, therefore, particularly irresponsible forces, a magic ceremony was even more complex than a religious ceremony. Especially notable in all ages is the number of conditions and precautions which have to be observed. This is characteristic of any cult in which the theory of incantation still survives. Under such circumstances the immediate conclusion always is that religion is a perilous pursuit. Any man who approaches gods with an invocation so worded and presented that it is a command which must be obeyed knows that he is handling an edged tool able to cut both ways. The gods resent the imperative, especially from an inferior, and will destroy him if they can. The Roman account of the death of old king Tullus shows how dangerous it was in their opinion—even in religion, much more in magic—for an amateur to start the complicated machinery of invocation. There was an old Greek saying that 'the witch who draws down the moon finally draws it down on herself.' The saying reflects the general idea, afterwards so strongly emphasized in the Middle Ages, that the magician, of all people, is foredoomed to something like the fate of Tullus Hostilius in the end. The Greek is also apt as a specific illustration. It was generally held that of all charms one of the most difficult and dangerous was 'drawing down the moon'—so dangerous, in fact, that the magician deemed it wise to arm himself in advance with a protective counter-charm against the very power whom he was about to invoke. The *Διαβολὴ πρὸς Σελήνην* preserved in the *Papyrus Paris*, line 3622 ff., is an interesting example of what was considered efficacious against the wrath and vengeance of *Πότνια Σελάνα*, 'Our Lady Moon'—a suggestive forerunner of the 'magic circle' of which we hear so much in the more pretentious magic of the Middle Ages.

The magician must also observe certain rules, likewise characteristic of religion, which, to a large extent, are suggested by the nature of the powers with whom he has to deal.[1] He, or the person in whose interest the charm is being performed, or both, must be in such a condition that contact with the spirits evoked shall be without danger. Regulations vary, but among the most common are *ἁγνεία*, 'purity,' ablutions at stated intervals, anointings with oil, avoidance of certain foods (esp. fish), fasting, temporary chastity[2] (cf. Tib. II. i. 11 f.; the regular *secubitus* so often referred to by the elegiac poets, etc.). More rigorous and more numerous are the conditions attending the performance of the rite itself, and most important is the observance of nudity or its ceremonial equivalent.[3] The costume must be flowing, *i.e.* without knots or fastenings of any kind, or it must be coarse, or of linen, and in the last case, either white or white with purple streamers (the ceremonial significance of colours has already been referred to).[4] Having gone through the preliminary purifications and donned the appropriate raiment, the operator must then consider the attitude to assume. This is vital. In most cases there are gestures which cannot be omitted.[1] Equally important is the magician's own state of mind. He must have faith, he must put all his soul into the accomplishment of the rite (Gargilius Martialis, 19).

The time at which the rite should be performed is also very important. This is largely determined by the habits and associations of the god to be addressed, and is an immediate deduction from the law of sympathy. For magic in general, but in particular for all magic connected with Selene-Hecate, sunset and the few minutes just before sunrise are very favourable; so, too, any phase of the moon, but, above all, the new and full moon. The stars and planets for the most part became important only after astrology gave greater precision to the sort of influence supposed to be exerted by each. As a matter of course, night is a better time than day.[2]

The place is quite as important as the time, and the choice of it is again a direct deduction from the law of sympathy, as regards either the god to be addressed or the person to be affected. Roads, streets, boundaries, and the threshold are all sacred in both magic and religion. The cross-roads suggest Hecate, the graveyard *nekyomantia*. Both are favourite spots so far as the magician is concerned.

Finally, as we have just seen, there are ceremonies which the operator does not venture to perform unless he is armed with some sort of protective charm against the god whom he is addressing, or against any one who might interrupt the ceremony, or against the effect of possible counter-charms.

The best and clearest description of the ceremony, properly speaking, is given by Hubert.[3] It involves the use of two kinds of rites. The purpose of the one is to accomplish the object itself of the ceremony by a logical application of the principles of magic action; the object of the other is to manufacture or, at least, to assure the presence of the actual magic power sufficient to work in the way prepared and thus to accomplish the purpose desired. In other words, to state it in terms of modern electrical science—the theory of which is curiously near to that of magic—he must construct the proper machinery and establish the proper connexions; then, before turning on the power, he must see to it that the power is really there.

The first class of rites, the machinery and connexions, calls for the use of a certain number of objects or parts which, in the end, generally come to be considered magic in themselves. One of the most common and dramatic is the magic wand, which is really a conductor of the magician's *mana*. The divining rod,[4] though used in a different way and for a different purpose, derived its efficacy from a similar conception. The Etruscans used it in searching for hidden springs (Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Aquilex'), and, as the writer of this article can testify from personal observation, as late as twenty years ago a similar method for discovering the best place in which to dig a well was still used occasionally in the American countryside. In addition to the magic wand and the divining rod, we have the apparatus of *dactylomantia* (Amm. Marc. XXIX. i. 29 ff.), the lamps in *lychnomantia*, the basins of water in *lecanomantia*, keys in their symbolic use, cymbals, the various substances referred to above, threads of different colours, portions of the dead, the *ἴυγξ* (Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 213, and often), the famous *rhombus*, *turbo*, or *vertigo*, *i.e.* the 'witches' wheel,' the rotation of which, by imitation and sympathy, was sovereign to influence the will of the person whom one wished to gain, etc.

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[1] Deubner, p. 20 ff.; T. Wächter, in *RVV* ix. 1 [1910].

[2] Cf. Fehrle, *loc. cit.*

[3] J. Heckenbach, 'De Nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis,' in *RVV* ix. 3 [1911].

[4] See Abt, *op. cit.* p. 148, n. 3, for literature on this point.

[1] Deubner, p. 36, for examples.

[2] Abt, *op. cit.* p. 292 ff.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 1516 ff.

[4] The examples of its use in classical literature are collected by E. Norden, *Jahrb. für Phil.*, Suppl. Bd. xviii. [1894] 317 ff., 319 n.

All these end by being considered magic in themselves, but, in view of what has been said, it will be seen that this idea is secondary. Their real function and purpose was to facilitate or render possible the action of magic power and, at least originally, they were chosen from that point of view.

Sometimes the ceremonial proper needs the assistance of some rite whose object is to put the person interested in a state to receive the benefit of the action desired. A case in point is the ceremonial of *incubatio*.[1] The purpose of *incubatio* is to surround a person with the appropriate conditions to secure for him the true and prophetic dream which he desires. Conditions are, as often, dictated by the law of sympathy. And, except that the nature of dreams was never quite clear to the ancients—and perhaps will never be quite clear to any one—the nameless theorists and thinkers by whom these conditions were first discovered and formulated appear to have been quite familiar with the results of J. Börner's famous dissertation afterwards incorporated and extended in W. H. Roscher's *Ephialtes: eine pathologisch-mythologische Abhandlung über die Alpträume und Alpdämonen des klassischen Altertums*, Leipzig, 1901.[2] Börner showed that, among other things, in a healthy person nightmare is usually due to partial suffocation caused by burying one's head in the pillow, coverlet, etc., that the rapidity with which the nightmare, the *incubus*, appears to approach the dreamer is always measured by the rate of suffocation, but, above all, that the appearance of the *incubus* itself is to a surprising extent determined by the sleeper's surroundings, especially by the material and texture of his coverings. Such being the case, though L. Laistner[3] goes too far in his theory that the *Uralptraum*, the primeval nightmare, is the father of all mythology, we may at least suspect with Roscher that Pan's legs were the inevitable result of the style of bed-quilts used by his primeval worshippers (cf. Latinus's method of securing an interview with Faunus in Verg. *Æn.* vii. 81 ff.), and, for that matter, that the *incubi*, *succubæ*, *striges*, and all their monstrous brood must have entered this world in the first place by the Ivory Gate. If so, it is certain that some of our most cherished legends, our best and most thrilling stories, and our finest poetry are literally the stuff that dreams are made of.

But of all magic operations none is more common and characteristic, more dramatic and impressive, or a better illustration of the doctrine of sympathy than the casting of spells (cf. Heliodorus, xi. 14, and the examples noted below). The special feature of this operation is due to the theory that, if the person whom we wish to reach with our magic is absent or far away, his place may be filled by a puppet, or some symbolical substitute for him. If, then, the ceremonial is appropriate, whatever we do to the puppet will be exactly repeated, literally or symbolically, as desired, on the person whom the puppet represents. Consecration of the one is immediately followed by consecration of the other (Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 74 f.), binding of the one by the desired condition symbolized by it in the other, running needles into the heart of the one by some effect on the other symbolized by such a process—as, *e.g.*, wasting away to death with no apparent cause (Ovid, *Amor.* III. vii. 29 f., *Heroid.* vi. 21, and often). Sometimes one figure may stand for an indefinite number, as in the spells of Nectanebo (pseudo-Callisthenes, i. 1). One may cast a spell on spirits as well as mortals by this means (Eus. *Præp. Evang.* v. 12 ff.). Hence we have cases in which two puppets are used, one representing the person to be acted upon, the other the spirit by whom the action is to be performed (Hor. *Sat.* I. viii. 25 f.).[1] Occasionally even three figures appear to have been used (schol. Bern. on Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 75). Often they were hollow, and their power was enhanced by putting written incantations inside. As a rule, these puppets must be made of clay or wax, but occasionally other substances were just as rigorously prescribed. Eusebius (*loc. cit.*) speaks of such an image of Hecate made of pulverized lizards and the roots of rue. A sheet of metal or even of paper upon which the figure has been traced is often considered sufficient.[2] The value and philosophy of *exuviæ* have already been mentioned. But one may use such arbitrary substitutes as the body of a bird, a sprig of myrtle or of rue, etc.[3] Indeed, as we have already seen, the name is sufficient in itself. On the same principle, a written incantation placed in a tomb has the same effect as would a puppet[4] (Apul. *Met.* i. 10, *de. Mag.* 53).

The verbal portions of a magic rite are of the highest importance. In many cases they are the operator's instructions to the intervening demon in order that he may make no mistake as to the meaning and object of the symbolic rite. The puppet is inscribed with the name of the person whom it represents, and sometimes this is accompanied by a written statement of what is to happen to him. So, when one gathers a medicinal plant, one should be careful to utter the name of the patient who is to be benefited by it. Again, in constructing a *devotio*, one should specify in order each and every part in which it is desired that the proposed victim shall suffer.[5]

The indirect method is also directly responsible for the conclusion that incantations are a special help to the operator in the accomplishment of his second great task—the creation of magic power. Hence the use of the magic hymns and litanies, the object of which is to ensure the presence and active participation of the appropriate spirit, to indicate his duty, and, if necessary, to frighten him into doing it.[6]

We have seen how various objects, plants, simples, etc., originally selected as facilitating in some way magic *rapport*, finally came to be considered magic in themselves. Names and incantations underwent precisely the same secondary development. From being a means to an end they became magic *per se*. The further conclusion was then drawn that their power might be indefinitely increased by frequent repetition, by lengthening certain syllables to an extraordinary extent, by abstracting certain syllables and decorating them with affixes and suffixes, by rearranging them in different combinations, and especially by disposing them so as to form certain figures.[7] Examples still surviving are 'abracadabra,' and 'sator arepo tenet opera rotas' (see *Thesaurus Ling. Lat.*, *s.v.* 'Arepo'). The *Ephesia Grammata* belong to the same type (Porphyr. *de Myster.* vii. 4). Mystery and power were further enhanced by the use of magic alphabets, by certain sacred inks, and so on. Numbers pass through the same experience and acquire the same magic power *per se*—

e.g., there are seven planets. If, therefore, we wish to invoke them, there is nothing so compelling as the pronunciation of the seven vowels or a sevenfold repetition of a ceremony, gesture, or word (Eus. *Præp. Evang.* v. 14). Odd numbers have always been significant (Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 75, and often), three and multiples of three are sacred to Hecate, and certain special numbers like four, ninety-nine, etc., have a special importance.

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[1] L. Deubner's *De Incubatione*, Leipzig, 1904, is the standard work on this subject.

[2] Cf. *AJPh* xxii. [1901] 233.

[3] *Rätsel der Sphinx*, Berlin, 1889.

[1] Cf. Riess, *op. cit.* p. 908.

[2] R. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln*, Leipzig, 1898.

[3] G. Knaack, *Rhein. Mus.* xlix. [1894] 310.

[4] For clay and waxen images see Abt, *op. cit.* p. 153 ff., and L. Fahz, in *RVV* ii. [1905] 125 ff.

[5] See esp. Fox, *op. cit.*

[6] Dieterich, p. 63; K. Dilthey, *Rhein. Mus.* xxvii. [1872] 375-419.

[7] K. Wessely, in *Wiener Studien*, viii. [1886] 184.

In magic as in religion the object of sacrificial rites is to ensure the actual presence of the gods invoked. And here again the indirect method suggests that these rites are of material assistance to the operator in acquiring the desired power (Theocr. ii. 3, 10, 159). In the choice of what shall be sacrificed in any given instance the usage of magic as a rule does not differ materially from that of religion. This, of course, is quite natural. As a rule, the gods addressed are common to both and of equal importance in both; in fact, it is perhaps safe to guess that, so far as sacrifice is concerned, the usage of magic and religion is a common inheritance. For example, the notable preference of magic for black victims is not distinctive of magic. It simply means that, in accordance with the naive analogy set forth, for instance, in the old hexameter quoted by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* iv. 9)—

> *Φαιδρὰ μὲν οὐρανίοις, χθονίοις δ' ἐναλίγκια χροιῇ,*
> 'dark victims to the powers of darkness, light to the powers of light—

the gods to whom magic habitually addresses itself are the gods of the under world. So wine,[1] honey, milk, perfumes, meal (Theocr. ii. 18, 33), certain cakes dear to these same gods, a cock to Hermes, a white dove to Aphrodite, etc.—all common to both religion and magic—are frequently employed. The use of blood is defined by Hubert as a sacrificial rite; it is at any rate—as in Sallust's account of the oath administered by Catiline to his fellow-conspirators—a striking illustration of the law of sympathy (Lucan, vi. 544). The sacrifice of human beings, especially of little children, even of the unborn babe torn from its mother, is a standing charge against magic in all ages (Hor. *Epod.* v.; Philostr. *Apoll. Tyan.* viii. 5),[2] and, for that matter, against any heretical sect with secret rites. The Christians in their time were charged with such abnormalities as infant-sacrifice and promiscuous incest at their meetings—precisely the same charges which, a millennium later, they themselves preferred with wearisome regularity during their long persecution of witchcraft, especially in connexion with the 'witches' Sabbath.' In most cases the charge of human sacrifice is as conventional as it is untrue; but it would be unsafe to deny it *in toto*. We can hardly expect such an outlaw, such a striver for extraordinary effects, as magic to abstain altogether from what was quite regular in the religion of more than one savage race, and which—in accordance with the familiar theory that extraordinary occasions demand extraordinary sacrifices—has been known to occur more than once at some grave crisis in the religious life of nations which, comparatively speaking, occupied a much higher plane of civilization. Finally, it may be noted that, as was the case with the incantations, names of the gods, etc., mentioned above, the things sacrificed, whatever they were, soon passed into the secondary stage of being considered magic *per se*.

One important aspect of our ceremony—quite as important in religion as it was in magic—remains to be considered. As we have seen, the operator must be careful to follow certain prescribed rules in order to get into the necessary and intimate spiritual relation with the gods whom he is addressing, and, therefore, with the sacrifice which he is conducting. The relation is abnormal and distinctly perilous. To get out of it safely is, therefore, quite as important as to get into it safely; prescribed rules are as necessary for the one as for the other. The object of these rules is to end the ceremony, to limit the effects of it so far as the operator is concerned, to make it safe and possible for him to return to the conditions of everyday life. Above all, the remains of the sacrifice, unless he wishes to preserve them to produce some lasting effect (as, *e.g.*, in a *devotio*), must be disposed of ceremonially. One may deposit them at some prescribed spot sacred to the god to whom the sacrifice itself was offered. The *καθάρματα*, for instance, the ceremonial remains of the sacrifice to Hecate (see HECATE'S SUPPERS), were deposited at the cross-ways. The more usual method was to eliminate them ceremonially by burning them, burying them, or throwing them into running water or the sea (Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 102, with the notes of Conington and Forbiger). The Μαντεία Κρονική (*Pap. Paris.* 3095) shows that, at least in some cases, the ceremony closed with a prayer to the god in which he was invited kindly but firmly to go back to where he belonged:

> *Ἄπελθε, δέσποτα, κόσμου προπατήρ, καὶ χώρησον εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους τόπους, ἵνα συντηρηθῇ τὸ πᾶν. Ἵλεως ἡμῖν, κύριε.*

It will be seen, therefore, as Hubert observes,[1] that among the Greeks and Romans the standard ceremony of magic and the standard ceremony of religion, so far as their essential elements were concerned, were practically the same, even to the point of using the same names for these elements. Furthermore, with some comparatively slight exceptions, the gods of magic are equally important in religion, and, on the whole, they are treated with the same reverence. As we have seen, some of the abnormalities of magic are just as characteristic of religion, and they are generally due to the fact that, at the time when these abnormalities occur, both are specially concerned with the infernal gods. The worship of these gods, whether in religion or in magic, is visibly influenced by the universal idea that the under world is the reverse of ours. It is dark, silent, barren, loveless, childless, eventless, stationary—a complete contrast to the world above, a contrast regularly symbolized in rituals to the dead and their gods by such things as the use of the left hand instead of the right. It is, no doubt, this ancient idea of reversed conditions in Hades that suggested the most striking feature of the famous 'Black Mass' as practised by the early Christian magicians (Iren. *Hær.* I. xiii. 2). The normal 'White Mass' is addressed to heaven; if we reverse it, *i.e.* if we read it backwards, we address it to hell. But the Christian magician, in so far as he was a Christian, was bound to assume that his Black Mass was a wicked and impious rite. Hence the inevitable deduction was soon established that, the more wicked and impious magic could be, the greater and more terrible its power. For the magician of Græco-Roman paganism there seems to have been no such parodying of religious rites—above all, no such deliberate and malignant desecration of things considered divine as that of which we hear so much in mediæval magic and which appeared again in the modern cult of Satanism (*q.v.*), as described some years since by Jules Bois[2] and as utilized for purposes of fiction by J. K. Huysmans.[3]

Summary.—In so far as there was any real and essential difference between magic and religion in Græco-Roman paganism, the ultimate cause of it was largely, if not entirely, the steady maintenance of the ancient distinction of official recognition as defined and explained at the beginning of this article. It is the business of magic, as long as it remains magic, to speak only in the imperative. It must, therefore, retain and emphasize those primitive doctrines—notably the doctrine of sympathy in all its forms—which are supposed to enable it to use the imperative successfully in addressing the gods. It is also the business of magic, partly because it is an outlaw and bound to assert its importance in order to live, to promise extraordinary, if not impossible, things—among them, things which the social and legal restraints of religion would not allow it to promise. In the course of its long and exceptionally brilliant history classical magic promises practically everything from a cure for warts to a receipt for personal immortality—all tried and true. Magic, therefore, was obliged not only to retain but to develop in every possible way those primitive aids to its imperative. It pluralized for power. And religion had done the same. But magic was an outlaw, it had no position in society, it was free to range at will, to gather into one portentous plural strange and terrible gods from the four corners of the earth, to combine them with the native gods, to re-arrange, re-interpret, disguise, mutilate, etc., in the ways described. In the long run, as we have seen, the pantheon of Græco-Roman magic was a pandemonium, and confusion worse confounded, in which the only relating principle seems to be the fact that the doctrine of sympathy in all its forms has been pushed to its uttermost limits.

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[1] K. Kircher, 'Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum,' in *RVV* viii. [1910].

[2] See also J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, pp. 44–46, 1300 f.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 1520.

[2] *Le Satanisme et la magie*, Paris, 1891.

[3] *La-bas*, Paris, 1891; cf. also G. Legué, *La Messe noire*, do. 1903.

To the very end magic was obsessed by the old imperative and, therefore, by the time-honoured means for securing it. When it rose in the social scale, it merely learned to be pretentious. Even when it had been adopted, so to speak, by some distinguished family like the mystics, had changed its name, and had been carefully educated and refined, it was still haunted by the old ideas, and generally ended by infecting with them its benefactors and teachers.

The same may be said of the contemporary development of popular magic. Our great authority here is the magic papyri. They all come from Egypt and are much affected by local influences; but, among other things, they show that, under the circumstances, the old rule of official recognition was eminently wise. In the civilization of Greece and Rome magic was given a rare, a unique, opportunity to make the most of itself. But, whether it improved the opportunity or not, the final result, as we see it in the papyri, is a striking illustration of its besetting sins. If it had clung to the native gods, as religion was forced to do, it is conceivable that, even with the heavy handicap of the imperative and its attendant vices, magic might have risen to comparative respectability. But its weaknesses were encouraged rather than checked. By the 2nd cent. the number of strange religions available, not to mention the semi-detached religious theories, had increased to an indefinite extent. The result was that from being a thing which, at least, could appeal to the imagination and the æsthetic sense, it steadily degenerated into utter absurdity as pretentious and complicated as it was dreary and commonplace.

But, fortunately for us, Græco-Roman magic in its best days was the familiar possession of all classes in a highly intellectual and highly imaginative people. Men of Ovid's calibre and training may not have believed in it to any extent, but there never was a time when magic as such became unfamiliar to any one. Even the major operations of magic were always being performed somewhere, and, as we have seen, the charge of magic was always kept alive in the courts. Hermione was far from being the only jealous woman to soothe her wounded pride by accusing her successful rival of resorting to philtres. The charge was quite as characteristic of the Augustan age as it could ever have been of Homer's time (Tib. I. v. 41; Propert. IV. vii. 72). Nor was the charge by any means always unfounded. *Pocula amatoria* were a regular specialty of the *lena*, or go-between, and they actually were so frequently administered that the average man generally assumed that they were responsible for certain lingering diseases, especially certain mental or nervous abnormalities, for which he could see no apparent cause. Examples in point are the traditional account of the death of Lucretius and the contemporary explanation of the vagaries and perversions of Caligula's tempestuous brain (Jerome, *Chron. Euseb.*, 1924; Sueton. *Calig.* 50).

VI. *MAGIC IN LITERATURE.*—The more or less familiar presence of magic not only in folklore and legend, but also in ordinary everyday life, is reflected to an extraordinary extent in the written word. It is continually turning up in the arts, sciences, and professions, in law, religion, and philosophical discussion, in history, anecdote, and any other record of everyday life past or present. All this, however, is characteristic of any people among whom magic still survives as an active force, and it appeals for the most part only to such persons as the special investigator and the historian of manners and customs. But the most characteristic and interesting aspect of Græco-Roman magic is the deliberate exploitation of it in the interests of conscious literary art. One is inclined to assume, and perhaps justly, that this was particularly notable of such periods as the Hellenistic age, the time of Augustus and his immediate successors, and the Sophistic revival of the 2nd century. This use of magic was especially characteristic of poetry and of such types of prose as that of the highly rhetorical and semi-Romantic historians of the Alexandrian age, the Paradoxographers, the writers of *novelle* and tales of marvel, even the practice debates of the rhetorical schools, and, in later times, the throng of professional declaimers for whom those schools were ultimately responsible. But this aspect of classical magic is far from being a matter merely of period and department. On the contrary, nothing is more characteristic of it than the extent and variety, as well as the unbroken continuity, of its use in practically every department of artistic literature. No one could be more thoroughly alive to its æsthetic possibilities than was Homer himself, and he created a tradition of its literary use which not even the semi-Oriental and unutterably dreary fooleries of the papyri were able entirely to destroy.

In an article like this it is impossible as well as inadvisable to attempt a thoroughgoing investigation of the debt of creative literature to magic in antiquity. We must content ourselves with a passing reference to a few of those magic operations which are most frequently mentioned, and which by reason of their dramatic possibilities are best suited to the purposes of literary art.

One of the most notable of these is *nekyomantia*, calling up the dead to ask them questions. *Nekyomantia* is rarely absent from that catalogue of magic feats with which so many of the Roman poets seem impelled to supply us (Tib. I. ii. 42, and note). They also mention even more frequently three other feats which are particularly awesome, but for which the modern reader, at least, can see no adequate reason until it dawns upon him that they are merely a useful, though by no means necessary, preparation for *nekyomantia*. These are producing earthquakes, splitting the ground, and making the rivers either stand still or run backwards. The magician uses his earthquake to split the ground; the behaviour of the rivers is merely a consequence of the quake. He splits the ground so that the ghosts can hear his incantation (*i.e.* be reached and affected by it) and then can come straight up to him from Hades (Sen. *Œdip.* 571; Lucan, vi. 728). As we have seen, the literary use of *nekyomantia* begins with the famous passage of the *Odyssey* (xi. 24 ff.). The essential details of the ceremonial as Homer describes it were always the same not only in literary tradition but in actual life. Doubtless, Lucan felt that his own long and lurid description of Erichtho's special performance for the benefit of Sextus Pompeius before the battle of Thapsus (vi. 728 ff.) was the masterpiece of its kind. And so it is. It would be hard to find a more glaring illustration of what can happen to literature in an age when a furious lust for effect is not restrained by any principles of rhetorical self-control or common sense. *Nekyomantia* had a long and brilliant tradition in the drama. Examples still surviving are Æschylus, *Persæ* (the ghost of Darius), and Seneca, *Œdipus*, 560 ff. Indeed, ghosts were as common, it would appear, in the ancient as in the Elizabethan drama. Κλίμακες Χαρωνεῖοι, 'Charon's step-ladder,' was the popular name for the regular staircase by which the ghosts appeared on the stage as if from the world below. *Nekyomantia* was also quite as characteristic of comedy. In the later days of the Roman Republic Decimus Laberius wrote a mime entitled *Necyomantia*, and we know that this and similar themes were characteristic of the mime as developed by Philistion and his immediate successors during and after the Augustan age. Brilliant examples in the satirical sphere are Horace, *Sat.* I. viii., and Lucian's *Necyomantia*.

If we choose to emphasize the literary influence as such of the Homeric *Nekyia*, we can say that it is responsible for one of the most notable developments in classical literature. This is the theme of the Descent into Hades. The Homeric passage is directly responsible for the 6th book of the *Æneid* and its numerous echoes in epic and narrative poetry both ancient and modern. Nor was epic the only department to be affected. The theme was a favourite in the Old Comedy of Athens, although, as it happens, the *Frogs* of Aristophanes is the only example now surviving. The same is true of the satirists and popular philosophers of the Alexandrian and Hellenistic ages. It was characteristic of their didactic methods to appropriate for their own purposes the traditional forms and themes of literary art, and one of the most notable was the Κατάβασις εἰς Αἴδου, which practically became conventionalized as a *mise-en-scène* for the presentation of doctrines and opinions. Allied to it are such examples as Horace, *Sat.* II. v., Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, such works of Lucian as the *Dialogues of the Dead*, and Claudian's attacks on Eutropius. The *Epicharmus* of Ennius and probably certain of the lost satires of Lucilius and Varro were illustrations. The poet Sotades used it to a notable extent.

But, while *nekyomantia* is the most prominent and pervasive aspect of literary magic, the most famous and picturesque was the love-charm known as 'drawing down the moon.'[1] It is first mentioned in surviving literature by Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 750, again and again by later writers, and still survives, it is said, in modern Greece. It was the theme of no fewer than four masterpieces: a lost mime of Sophron in the time of Xerxes, the lost *Thettale* of Menander (*HN* xxx. 7), the second *Idyl* of Theocritus (founded on Sophron), and the eighth *Eclogue* of Vergil (founded on Theocritus). Certainly, too, Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 14 ff., is a masterpiece of its kind. The atmosphere reflects to the life that aspect of the 2nd cent. which suggests the modern *milieu* in which theosophy, spiritualism, and kindred ideas are wont to grow luxuriantly.

In this passage of Lucian we have the 'Professor's' story of how his disciple, Glaukias, was saved by the great 'Hyperborean' magician. It seems that Glaukias, a rich young orphan whose father had been dead about a year, fell fairly ill with love for the disdainful Chrysis—a genuine prototype of Jemmy Grove and cruel Barbara Allen. His condition became so serious that the 'Professor,' as he says, 'felt it his duty' to secure the services of the great Hyperborean. Four minæ had to be paid in advance—to supply the necessary sacrifices—and sixteen more if the operation was successful. By way of preliminary—which showed that the specialist was not only a great man but also a just and scrupulously conscientious man—he insisted on having an elaborate rite of *nekyomantia*, to call up the boy's late lamented father and ask his consent. The old gentleman was furious at first, but finally told them to proceed. A dramatic description of the ensuing ceremony follows—how the moon came down, how Hecate came up, how the ghosts flocked around, how, at the psychological moment, the distinguished operator 'told the sort of little figure of Cupid which he had fashioned out of clay to go and fetch Chrysis.' Away flew the tiny thing at once. A few minutes later there comes a knock on Glaukias's door, in rushes Chrysis, throws her arms around him, ὡς ἂν ἐμμανέστατα ἐρῶσα ('like a girl utterly crazy with love'), and there she stays till cockcrow! Then up rose the moon to heaven, down sank Hecate to Hades, and all the ghosts disappeared.

But the 'Professor's' listener is not duly impressed. Besides, he knows the girl. He doesn't see the use, he says, of calling on one Hyperborean magician, one goddess, and one clay ambassador to unite in overcoming the disdain of a girl who, as every one knows, is ready to follow a man to the North Pole and beyond for twenty drachmæ.

Such books as the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and the lost poem of the same name by his predecessor, Nicander, show that change of form was quite as characteristic of classical mythology and folklore as of the *Thousand and One Nights*. Transformation was Circe's specialty, and the Homeric account of her methods (*Od.* x. 212 ff.) has always remained the most famous literary account of the performance. Apart from the Homeric passage, the most vivid and circumstantial accounts of transformation by magic are those in which Apuleius (*Met.* iii. 21 ff.) and Lucian (*Asinus* [the common source of both was the lost romance of Lucius of Patras]) tell how the witch, Pamphile, made an owl of herself, and how, immediately afterwards, Fotis, her maid, made an ass of Lucius. But, as a rule, magic as such is not prominent in metamorphosis as a literary theme. This is, of course, quite natural; for in this particular feat the dramatic point is the transformation scene, and all else is likely to be subordinated, even in those cases where the transformation is confessedly due to magic. Vergil's sorceress, *e.g.*, says that she has seen the werwolf transformation with her own eyes and that it was done by magic:

> 'Has herbas atque hæc Ponto mihi lecta venena
> Ipse dedit Moeris (nascuntur plurima Ponto);
> His ego sæpe lupum fieri et se condere silvis
> Moerim' (*Ecl.* viii. 95 ff.).

But in all the famous werwolf stories of antiquity,[1] as in most of the stories told by Ovid, the magic element is either absent, ignored, or referred to so slightly that it calls for no special notice here. Magic command of the wind and weather is often mentioned, and nothing in the way of magic was more common in everyday life, but the one famous passage is that in which Æolus gives the bag of winds to Odysseus (*Od.* x. 19 ff.). Also unique—and terrible—is the spell of the evil eye cast by Medea upon the giant Talus (Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1652 ff.). Ovid (*Met.* vii. 160 ff.) gives a full and dramatic description of her charm for renewing the youth of Jason's father, Æson. More famous was her pretence of doing the same favour for the aged Pelias at the instance of his daughters (Apollod. I. ix. 27; Hygin. *Fab.* 24; Macrob. v. xix. 9 f.). This was the theme of the lost 'Ριζοτόμοι of Sophocles. Indeed, the lost plays of the Greek tragic poets would have been a wonderful field for the study of the use of magic for literary purposes.[1]

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[1] W. H. Roscher, *Selene und Verwandtes*, Leipzig, 1903, with a plate reproducing a vase-painting of the process; M. Sutphen, in *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, p. 315.

[1] J. Heckenbach, *op. cit.* p. 86; Kirby Flower Smith, *JHC*, 1893, *Publicat. Modern Lang. Assoc. of Amer.*, 1894.

Creusa's robe was a famous theme. Euripides (*Medea*, 1156 ff.) merely described the awful effect of it upon the wearer; Seneca (*Medea*, 740 ff.), the preparation of it. Which is the more artistic and effective may easily be seen by comparison.

On the other hand, there are types of magic in which it is precisely the preliminaries, the things which witches do because they have something terrible in prospect, that are full of dramatic possibilities. This is especially true of *nekyomantia.* As we have seen, the necromancers are always eager to get mortal remains in order to be better able to call up their late owners. Striking examples are Trimalchio's story in Petron. 63, and the dramatic experience of Thelyphron as told by him after dinner in Apuleius, *Met.* ii. 21 ff. So, speaking in terms of magic theory, the dreadful scene of Horace, *Epod.* v., was only a means to an end; the object of the witches was to secure the strongest possible love-charm. The liver is the seat of desire (Hor. *Odes,* IV. i. 12); therefore the liver is sovereign in a charm to produce desire. Now, when a savage wants snake-poison for his arrows, he irritates the snake for some time before he kills it, so that it may secrete more poison and that the poison may be more virulent. So, here, the idea is that the more the liver feels desire, so much the more it actually accumulates desire, as it were, and stores it up within. If, therefore, we can secure a liver still containing a maximum of desire so accumulated, we have a charm of maximum power for arousing desire in others. Hence, in this scene, the poor child who has been kidnapped by the witches for that purpose, is buried to the neck and left to die of a prolonged agonizingly intense desire for food and drink, which is deliberately aggravated as much as possible by always keeping food and drink before his eyes. After the child was dead, his liver was removed, and, upon being prepared with the appropriate ceremonial, became a love-charm of superhuman power, a φίλτρον secured in a special way for a special purpose.

The gathering of herbs is another preliminary of φαρμακεία, which was fully appreciated for its dramatic possibilities. In literature the process is regularly associated with Medea (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 843 ff.; Valer. Flaccus, vii. 323 ff.; Ovid, *Met.* vii. 224 ff.; special emphasis was probably laid on this by Sophocles in his Ῥιζοτόμοι). She went out at night and by the light of the full moon cut her plants with a brazen sickle[2] held in her left hand and behind her back, *i.e.* ἀμεταστρεπτί (see HECATE'S SUPPERS).

So far as philtres are concerned, the most notable contribution to literature is what might be called the case of Beauty *v.* Magic in the court of Love.[3] Its first appearance is in the scene between Hermione and Andromache (Eur. *Androm.* 205 ff.), to which attention has already been called. The subsequent tradition of the question at issue is a striking and characteristic illustration of the methods and development of ancient literary art. The topic was announced from the stage, discussed in the boudoir, argued in the schools of philosophy, enlarged upon in the schools of rhetoric (Menander, frag. 646 K.; Afran. 378 R.; Lucret. iv. 1278 ff.; Tib. I. v. 43, viii. 23; Ovid, *Med. Fac.* 35 ff., *Ars Amandi*, i. 299 ff.). At some time in the unrecorded past it was given a new turn and made the basis of a properly illustrative and sprightly anecdote in which the appropriately magnanimous mother of a great conqueror—any great conqueror will do—was in the position of Hermione, but possessed the wisdom of Andromache. In Plutarch, *Conj. præc.* 23, the position is held by the mother of Alexander; the sands of Egypt have lately disclosed the fact that in Satyrus, *loc. cit.*, it was held by the mother of Darius. Others may yet appear.

But for any one who is at all interested in the development of magic for literary purposes the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius is a veritable treasure-house. Those who have studied this unique book generally gain the impression that its author is a past master in the art of telling a tale of magic. Two examples may be given by way of illustration.

The first (*Met.* i. 11 ff.) is told by Aristomenes, and might be called 'The Witches' Revenge.' While travelling about Thessaly a short time previously, Aristomenes ran across one Socrates, an old friend whom he had not seen for several years. The man was a monument of rags, squalor, and wretchedness; he was also in a constant state of abject terror. He had drifted into a *liaison* with a famous but elderly witch named Meroe, and, in fact, had been living with her, more or less perforce, for a number of years. Now he was trying to run away. Aristomenes decided to help his friend to flee the country. He took a room at the inn, made him presentable with a bath and some clothes, the two ate a heavy dinner, accompanied by too much wine, and retired early so as to be off betimes in the morning. Aristomenes barred the doors, and for greater safety pushed up his trundle-bed against them. Socrates fell asleep at once and snored loudly, but Aristomenes lay awake for hours. At last, about the third watch, just as he had dropped off into a doze, there was a horrible noise, the doors flew open and, indeed, came to the floor with such a crash that the bed with Aristomenes still in it was turned upside down. Then in walked Meroe and her sister, Panthia, the one carrying a leathern bottle, the other a sponge and a naked sword, and gathered about Socrates, who was still plunged in his magic slumber. Aristomenes could see all this from beneath his trundle-bed and hoped he had escaped observation, but in vain. Meroe was anxious to kill him at once with the sword, but Panthia thought it better to tear him limb from limb. 'No,' said Meroe, changing her mind, 'let him live, so that, when the time comes, he may cover his friend with a little earth.' With that Socrates' head was drawn to one side, and Meroe drove the sword into his neck just behind the left collar-bone. Then she plunged her arm into the gaping wound, and plucked his heart out. Meanwhile she caught all the blood in her bottle so skilfully that not one betraying drop escaped. When this was done, Panthia pushed her sponge into the wound, with the words:

> 'Sponge, sponge, born o' the main,
> Haste ye, haste ye back again!
> When you reach the river-side,
> In the water slip and slide;
> Water, water, flowing fast,
> Bears you onward home at last.'

Then, after heaping nameless insults on Aristomenes, the two women left the room, the doors flew back in place, the bolts shot to (a regular occurrence in witchcraft; cf. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 41 ff.), and all was as before—all but the murdered friend. How was Aristomenes to explain that in the morning? He tried to escape, but the porter was obdurate and even suspicious. Then he went back in despair and attempted to hang himself from the window-frame. But the rope broke, and, what made it more horrible, he fell on the corpse—whereat the corpse leaped up in high dudgeon at being so rudely disturbed. After all, it had only been a dreadful nightmare, a warning against too much eating and drinking late in the day. Next morning the friends set out, and, when it was time, proceeded to take their breakfast beside a stream under the shade of a tree. Socrates was as pale as wax, but he ate heartily, and then, at the suggestion of Aristomenes, knelt down on the bank of the stream to drink. As he leaned over, his neck gaped open, and a sponge, followed by a few drops of blood, dropped out, fell into the water, and was swept away. In a moment he was dead. So then and there Aristomenes dug a shallow grave and 'covered his friend with a little earth.'

The second story (*Met.* ii. 32 ff.) is unique as a satirically exaggerated illustration of what can be accomplished by the doctrine of sympathy when it is really given a fair chance. During his stay at Hypata young Lucius, the protagonist of the book, was entertained by his father's old friend, Milo. The rest of the family consisted of Milo's wife, Pamphila, who was a redoubtable sorceress, and Fotis, a beautiful slave-girl, with whom Lucius immediately fell in love. One night he went out to a dinner-party, and by the time he started for home it was very late and very dark—and the wine had been very strong. Just as he reached the door, the dim shapes of two great burly figures jostled up against him on either side. Thinking they were thieves, he leaped back, whipped out his sword, and ran them both through. He was barely awake the next morning, with a vague but awful memory of what had happened, when all the magistrates appeared, full of fear and office, and arrested him for murder.

The trial scene, which begins at once, is a masterpiece. It all seemed like a nightmare to the prisoner at the bar, and his impressions are fully shared by the reader. What surprised him—and it surprises us too—was that the trial was held in the amphitheatre. Stranger yet, every seat was taken, and people had even climbed up on the pillars to get a better view. After the trial had gone on for hours, some one suggested that the prisoner must have had accomplices, and that he be put to the torture and made to name them. At this point the poor old mother of the two murdered ones came forward, and insisted that the unfeeling assassin be compelled to look upon his innocent victims. The corpses were brought in, lying side by side, and decently covered with a cloth. Lucius was forced, much against his will, to raise the cloth, and discovered not two stalwart men cold in death, but two wine-skins—horribly gashed by his ruthless falchion blade, but unmistakably wine-skins. A huge roar of laughter went up from the crowd. Mystified, but relieved, Lucius was escorted home in triumph. The day, he was told, was the regular festival of Risus, the goddess of laughter. His own contribution on this particular occasion had been so original and successful that the city had unanimously voted him a bronze equestrian statue. Lucius was still mystified and, indeed, somewhat resentful. As soon, however, as Fotis had the opportunity, she let him into the secret.

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[1] Abt, *op. cit.* p. 173 ff.

[2] *Ib.* p. 159.

[3] Kirby Flower Smith, 'Note on Satyros, Life of Euripides, Oxyr. Pap. 9, 157–8,' *AJPh* xxxiv. [1913] 62–73.

As Pamphila was passing the barber's shop the day before the 'murder,' she had caught sight of a blonde youth from Bœotia who was in the chair having his hair cut. She fell in love with him then and there, and went straight home and began preparing a charm to draw him to her. The necessary preliminary, of course, was the possession of something belonging to him. 'So,' as Fotis says in substance, 'I was sent out to steal a lock of his hair. But the barber caught me before I could get away, and our reputation in town is so bad that he made me give up the hair, which I had hidden in my dress. I was in despair. But on the way home I passed a shop in which a man was clipping the hair off some wine-skins. So, to save a beating, I picked up some of the yellowest locks I could find, and managed to palm them off on my mistress for the real thing. She took them, and began her charm about the time you started for the dinner-party. The charm worked only too well. The robbers whom you met and slew at our door were the original owners of those locks—two passionate wine-skins struggling madly to get at their love and melt at her feet. And so it comes that "non homicidam nunc, sed utricidam amplecterer" ("the lover now in my arms is after all not a homicide, but a jugicide").'

But nothing, perhaps, is a clearer proof of the prominence of magic in everyday life than the fact that, as H. Reich has abundantly shown,[1] the favourite and most characteristic habitat of magic as a literary asset is the most popular type of drama in the ancient world. This is the *mimus* (see DRAMA [Roman], vol. iv. p. 904). Transformations of men and animals were frequent; all kinds of charms were performed; the effects of all kinds of powerful magic were represented. Witches, warlocks, magicians, prophets, ghosts, demons, popular divinities, Empusa, Mormo, Incubo, Anna Perenna, Ephialtes, etc., were all favourite characters. The play went on in fairyland quite as often as on the Imperial streets or in the Imperial country-side. And sometimes, no doubt, it was hard to tell which was which. And yet the *mimus* was realistic—the very name insists upon it. But the investigation of Græco-Roman magic emphasizes the undoubted fact that, after all, the realism of antiquity was not, and never could be, our realism. The native gifts of imagination and fancy were too enduring, the native inheritance of mythology and folklore was too rich and interesting, to allow it. Magic was one of those vices of intellectual youth which the Græco-Roman world never quite outgrew. But intellectual youth also has its virtues; and these two great Aryan races of the Mediterranean basin, in some other respects as well, retained to the last their unique and priceless gift of never really growing old.

LITERATURE.—This is given for the most part in the text. The best and most complete discussion of the subject is given by H. Hubert, in Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Magia.' L. F. A. Maury, *La Magie et l'astrologie dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge*, Paris, 1860, is still valuable as a general survey. R. Heim, 'Incantamenta magica Græca Latina,' *Jahrb. für class. Philol.*, Suppl. Band xix. [1893] pp. 463–576, collects and discusses the actual texts of surviving charms and incantations. Particularly valuable for special topics is the *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeitungen* (*RVV*), ed. R. Wünsch and L. Deubner, Giessen, now in its 15th volume.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

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[1] *Der Mimus*, Berlin, 1903.

MAGIC (Indian).—I. *HINDU*.—Indian magic is essentially the profession of certain castes, though magical rites may be practised by laymen and magical properties are attributed to countless objects. The caste which is peculiarly devoted to magic as a vocation is that of the Yogīs, which is primarily Hindu but has Muhammadan elements affiliated to it. The Yogī claims to hold the material world in fee by the magical powers which he has acquired through the performance of religious austerities, but this claim soon degenerates into superstition of the worst type, and the Yogī in reality is little better than a common swindler, posing as a *faqīr*. Thus, in the tale of the magic boat, the gift of it comes from a *sādhu*, or religious mendicant.[1] Brāhmans, however, possess much magical lore, though the practice of magic is not a Brāhmanical function and the sections which make a profession of it tend to form sub-castes. The Brāhmans are said to have secret books on the subject which contain over 50 *jotias*, or figures, consisting partly of numbers and partly of mystic symbols, cabalistic words, and geometrical figures not unknown to free-masonry; these are used for all kinds of purposes, including the causing of abortion, success in gambling, etc.,[2] as well as to ensure easy parturition.[3]

The Yogīs in particular claim power to transmute base metals into silver and gold—a claim which enables them (and those who personate them) to reap a great harvest from the credulous.

This power is said to have been discovered by the Yogī Dīna Nāth, who, passing one day by a money-changer's shop, saw a boy with a heap of copper coins before him and asked for some in alms. The boy replied that they belonged to his father, but offered him some of his own food. Touched by his generosity and honesty, the Yogī prayed to Viṣṇu for power to reward the boy, bade him collect all the copper coin he could find in his father's house, and then, melting it down, recited *mantras*, or charms, and sprinkled a magic powder over it, whereby it was changed into pure gold. This occurred in the time of Sulṭān Altamsh (A.D. 1210–36), who witnessed Dīna Nāth's performance of a similar feat, and in commemoration of it had gold *mohars* struck with Dīna Nāth's name on them as well as his own. These Dīna Nāthī *mohars* are said to be still found. The secret of the *mantras* and the powder has been handed down, but is known only to the initiated.

I. Occasions.—Magical rites are practised at weddings, during pregnancy, at birth to procure offspring and ensure its safety and to determine and predict its sex, and to resuscitate the dead.

(1) *Marriage.*—The magic practised at a wedding is often symbolical. For example, just as naked women plough the soil in times of scarcity to ensure a crop, so at weddings a Telugu bridegroom of the Balija caste performs a mimic ploughing ceremony, stirring up earth in a basket with a stick or miniature plough.[4] Similar rites are in vogue among the Palli,[5] Kamma,[6] Sambadavan,[7] and Tottiyan.[8] The Kamma bride carries seedlings in her lap, apparently to be planted by the groom. Among the Kāpu a milk-post of *Odina Wodier* is set up, and, if it takes root and flourishes, it is a happy omen.[9] An Unni bride plants a jasmine shoot, whose flowers she should present to the deity.[10] The parting of the bride's hair with a thorn is probably an imitation of the ploughing rite.[11]

The Indian conceptions that all life is one, and that life is something tangible or material, come out in several rites. Thus, at the beginning of a wedding, the Beḍar scatter rice and gram (*dhāl*) seed on some white-ant earth near five pots filled with water. By the time the wedding is concluded, these seeds have sprouted and are culled by the pair, taken to the village well, and cast into it—obviously to ensure their fertility.[1] An Idaiyan couple sow nine kinds of grain in seven trays,[2] and the Māla groom digs with his knife a few furrows, which his bride fills with grain and waters after he has covered it up.[3] Apparently the widespread custom of pounding grain at weddings has a similar origin. This is done by five women, *e.g.*, in Bombay.[4]

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[1] *NINQ* v. [1895] § 69.

[2] *PNQ* i. [1883] § 686.

[3] *Ib.* § 1017.

[4] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909, i. 144. The full rite is of interest.

[5] *Ib.* vi. 20.

[6] *Ib.* iii. 103.

[7] *Ib.* vi. 355.

[8] *Ib.* vii. 193.

[9] *Ib.* iii. 235.

[10] *Ib.* vii. 226. The milk-post is sometimes made of twigs of other trees—*e.g.*, among the Agamuḍaiyan it is made of three kinds of tree, typifying Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (*ib.* i. 14).

[11] *BG* xxiii. [1884] 45.

The grindstone is also used among the Bhondāri in Madras; the bridegroom stands on it, while women bring a mill-stone and powder three kinds of grain with it; then he sits on the dais, and a number of married women each touch seven times with a grinding-stone an areca nut placed on his head.[5] A Bedar couple are invited by the Brāhman priest to stand on a grinding-mill placed beneath the *pandal*.[6]

Among the Agamudaiyan a grinding-stone and a roller, representing the god Śiva and the goddess Śakti, are placed in the north-east corner at the actual wedding, and at their side pans containing nine kinds of seedlings are set. Seven pots are arranged in a row between the stone and a branched lamp, and married women bring water from seven streams and pour it into a pot in front of the lamp.[7] The grinding-stone is also used in Bombay.[8]

The future offspring of the union is symbolized among the Komaṭi by a doll which is rocked in a cradle, but both the prospective parents profess lack of leisure to look after it.[9] The Parivāram use a stone rolling-pin to represent the child, which the husband hands over to the wife, who accepts it as 'the milk is ready.'[10] The Konga Vellāla bridegroom takes some fruit and a pestle to a stone, which he worships. It is supposed to represent the Kongu king whose sanction to every marriage used to be necessary, and the pestle represents the villagers; but the fruit is not explained, and the myth is probably ætiological.[11] A newly-married Bedar or Boya couple sit on a pestle, and are anointed after rice has been showered over them.[12] In Bombay the rice-powder is used to personate the baby.[13]

Fertility can also be communicated to a bride by placing a child in her lap, and fruit is an effective substitute for one.[14] On the same principle women whose husbands are alive are admitted to take part in marriage rites,[15] more especially if they have sons living; whereas widows and those whose children have died should be excluded, at least from the more significant rites.[16] Similarly, widowers are excluded from certain functions.[17] Unmarried girls may, however, take the place of married women; *e.g.*, among the Badaga, married women or virgins, preferably the bridegroom's sisters, go to a stream in procession to bring water for cooking purposes in decorated new pots.[18]

Water as a source of fertility also plays a great part in wedding rites. Thus bathing is an essential part of the ritual for both parties at weddings, and visits to a well or stream are very common. The use of pots full of water is to be explained in the same way. Thus among the Alitkar of Bombay a couple already married bring pots from a potter's house to that of each party to the marriage, and after an elaborate rite the boy pours water from a jar. A jar also plays a prominent part in other rites, including a widow's re-marriage.[1]

Fish being an emblem of fertility, they are often caught by the bridal pair—*e.g.*, among the Gudigāra of Madras;[2] the Holeya let the fish go after kissing them.[3] But the Kṣatriya, in Madras, only pretend to catch them,[4] as do the Nambūtiri Brāhmans.[5]

The potter's wheel, symbolical of the creative power which fashions the earth as it fashions clay, is also in evidence at weddings. The clay is formed into a revolving lump, like a *liṅga*, and wheel and clay together bear a strong resemblance to the conjunction of *liṅga* and *yoni*.[6]

The Pole-star (Dhruva in northern India) is called Arundhatī in Madras, and, as the wife of the *ṛṣi* Vasiṣṭha, is pointed out to the bride as the model of conjugal fidelity.[7]

(2) *Birth.*—Magical rites to procure children are very usual. A typical rite, often resorted to by barren women, consists in burning down seven houses. In Madras a Koyī woman sometimes throws a cock down in front of the cloth on which portraits of ancestors are sewn, and makes obeisance to it,[8] and this cures her sterility. Bathing is also a cure for this misfortune, especially bathing over a corpse.

In the Andamans a pregnant woman sows seed.[9] Pregnancy, moreover, involves peculiar risks necessitating the protection of magic[10] and the avoidance of various acts, such as stepping over the heel-ropes of a horse,[11] which might apparently cause protracted labour, or crossing a running stream, which would result in miscarriage—a common belief in the Panjāb. In Travancore tamarind juice is dropped into a pregnant woman's mouth to cast out devils.[12]

When his wife's first pregnancy is announced, a Kota husband in Madras lets his hair grow long and leaves his finger nails uncut, and on the child's birth he is under pollution till he sees the next crescent moon.[13] A Mukkuvan husband also lets his hair grow until the third day after the birth. A coco-nut, betel leaves, and areca nuts are laid at the place where he sits to be shaved, and the coco-nut is smashed to pieces by one of his own sept.[14] A Nambūtiri Brāhman also remains unshorn while any of his wives are pregnant.[15]

Pre-natal divination to ascertain and magic to determine the child's sex are also common. Thus the Cheruman in Madras employ devil-drivers, who seat the woman in front of a tent-like structure with a coco-nut-palm flower in her lap. When cut open, the fruits predict the child's sex, the birth of twins, and the child's expectation of life or death. The goddess Kālī is supposed to be present in the tent, and prayer is offered to her to cast out the devil from the woman's body.[16]

Another rite which is believed to influence the child's sex is the so-called *sīmanta* of the Śūdras in Madras. In a first pregnancy, water or human milk is poured over the woman's back by her husband's sister.[17]

To ensure that the child shall be a male the *puṁsavana* is performed in the third month of pregnancy, the wife fasting that day until she is fed by her husband with a grain of corn and two beans symbolizing the male organ. Sometimes curd is poured over them before she swallows them, and she also pours juice of a grass into her right nostril.[18]

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[1] Thurston, i. 205.
[2] *Ib.* ii. 359.
[3] *Ib.* iv. 364.
[4] *BG* ix. pt. i. [1901] 159.
[5] Thurston, i. 233.
[6] *Ib.* 201.
[7] *Ib.* 13.
[8] *BG* xviii. pt. i. [1885] 124.
[9] Thurston, iii. 338.
[10] *Ib.* vi. 158.
[11] *Ib* iii. 420.
[12] *Ib.* i. 202.
[13] *BG* xviii. pt. i. 216.
[14] *Ib* xii. [1880] 117, xviii. pt. i. 217, xx. [1884] 132.
[15] *Ib.* xv. pt. i. [1883] 161.
[16] Thurston, i. 38.
[17] *Ib.* 107.
[18] *Ib.* 104 f.

[1] Draft Monograph No. 52, *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*, 1907.
[2] Thurston, ii. 306.
[3] *Ib.* 330.
[4] *Ib.* iv. 87
[5] *Ib.* v. 203.
[6] *Ib.* iv. 191.
[7] *Ib.* i. 15, 108, 14
[8] *Ib.* iv. 63.
[9] *Census Report*, 1901, i. 206.
[10] *BG* ix. pt. i. 31, 161.
[11] *NINQ* ii. [1892] § 136.
[12] *Census Report*, 1901, i. 331; cf. Thurston, ii. 416.
[13] Thurston, iv. 23.
[14] *Ib.* v. 115.
[15] *Ib.* 169.
[16] *Ib.* ii. 73 f.
[17] *Ib.* vi. 102.
[18] *Ib.* v. 211, 218.

Quite distinct from this Brāhmanical rite is one observed in the seventh month in Travancore.

> The woman goes to the foot of a tamarind tree, where she receives a thread seven yards long. This she entwines round a tree, and, if it breaks, either she or her child will soon die. Next day the thread is unwound, and her husband gives her a handful of tamarind leaves. On re-entering the house, he also gives her tamarind juice to drink, pouring it through his hands into hers. The priestess employed in this rite then pours oil on her navel, and from the manner of its fall divines the child's sex. As she drinks the juice, the woman leans against a cutting from a mango, which is then planted; and, if it fails to strike root, the child is doomed to adversity.[1]

Among the polyandrous Kammālan the woman's brother gives her rice gruel mixed with juices of the tamarind, mango, and *Hibiscus.*[2]

In protracted labour the washings of a brick from the fort of Chākabu or Chakrabhyu Amīn near Pehoa are potent, or it suffices to draw a plan of the fort and drink the water into which the picture has been washed off.[3] The origin of this rite is obscure. The 'fort of Chākabu' is a game played by children: they make a maze on paper, and one child finds his way through it with a pencil. A dot within represents the treasure which it is supposed to contain. Vaiṣṇavas of the Vallabha *sampradāya*, or school, often make their *ārti* in this shape.[4]

Difficult labour is dealt with in parts of Madras by calling in a woman who has had an 'easy time'; she presents the patient with betel, etc., and, if that fails, a line of persons drawn up pass water from hand to hand until it reaches the woman who had the 'easy time,' and she gives some of it to the sufferer. Here the luck or quality of the one woman is transmitted to the other.

In one caste, the Mālas of the Telugu country, who are Pariahs, the placenta is put in a pot in which are *nīm* leaves and the whole is buried, lest a dog or other animal should carry it off, which would make the child a wanderer.[5]

(3) *Death.*—A magical rite of resuscitation is practised by the Dāsaris, a class of priests who minister to Śūdras, in Madras. If a Dāsari is offended, he will revenge himself by self-mutilation or even by cutting off his own head. News of this is miraculously carried to all his caste-fellows, and, when collected, they display their magical powers by frying fish which come to life again on being placed in water, by joining together limes cut in two, and, finally, by bringing the suicide to life again. The rite can fail only if the victim's wife is in pollution or when the rite is not carried out reverently.[6]

2. Agents.—First-born children have power to stop rain. Muslims say that they can do so by stripping naked and standing on their heads, heels in the air. In Calcutta they need only make a candle of cloth and burn it.[7] A first-born son leaning against anything will, it is believed in S. India, attract a thunder-bolt to it.[8] Girls born in the asterism of Mūla are believed in S. India to place their mother-in-law in a corner, *i.e.*, make her a widow, and so such a girl, if her mother is not already a widow, finds difficulty in securing a husband.[9]

Just as charms are made out of various natural substances, so such substances often possess magical powers. The acacia is inhabited by a *jinn*, but its wood is unlucky only if used to make or mend a bed; no one will be able to sleep on it. Here the spirit in the tree appears to endue it with magical properties; a man who conveys himself in servitude to the spirit of this tree will get all that he wants, but only at the risk of his life. For twenty-one days he must take a pot full of water daily to the jungle, and on his way back cast half of it upon a particular tree; on the twenty-first night he will be irresistibly drawn towards it; the devil will appear to him, and, if he escapes death, he will get all that he wants as the price of his bondage.[1] The tree called *barkhar* (*Celtis caucasia*) has magical properties; any one cutting it down or tampering with it loses all his hair and becomes very ill. It yields a milk which raises blisters, and even to sit in its shade, while it is exuding it, has that effect. Indeed it is dangerous to sit in its shade at any time. This belief is current in the Murree Hills, in the Panjāb, but in that very part the Gūjars use amulets of *batkar* (its usual Indian name) to ward off the evil eye (*naẓar*) from both men and cattle, and its fruit is also much relished.[2]

To cure scorpion bite the insect should at once be caught and burnt, and the smoke allowed to touch the bite.[3] To cure *saya*, or consumption, in a child (said to be due to enchantment caused by ashes taken from a burning place and thrown over or near the child) the parents should give away salt equal to the child's weight.[4] Toothache is cured by a magical rite which consists in spreading sand over a clean piece of board and writing on it the first six letters of the Arabic alphabet. The patient then holds his aching tooth between his thumb and index finger, and touches each letter in turn with a pointed instrument. When he reaches the sixth letter, if not before, he will be cured. At each he should be asked if he is cured, and, when he says that he is, he should be asked how long he wishes for relief. He should reply 'two years,' as that is the limit of the charm's efficacy.[5]

After a bad dream, a Gāro, in Assam, collects a reed-like grass and is beaten with it by a priest, who repeats certain exorcisms. Then they carry a cock to the nearest stream, kill it, and let its blood fall into a toy boat; the boat is launched, and as it starts the dreamer bathes in the water. The prayers, the chastisement, and the sacrifice appease the spirits, and the boat is allowed to carry off the ill-luck.[6]

On the first day of sowing sugar-cane, sweetened rice is brought to the field, and women smear the outside of the vessel with it, after which it is given to the labourers. Next morning a woman puts on a necklace and walks round the field, winding thread on a spindle. This custom is falling into disuse.[7]

Magic squares are in vogue among Hindus. Thus one which totals 90 lengthways cures quartan ague; one totalling 100 every way causes excess of milk in cows and women and of *ghī* in a churn; one totalling 130 every way will, if worn round one's neck or in one's *pagṛī* (turban), bring any person under one's power;[8] and one totalling 15 each way brings luck and is commonly found on shops. Squares totalling 55 and 20 each way should be placed under one's seat to ensure success at play.[9]

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[1] Thurston, ii. 416. This rite cannot be said to correspond to the *puṁsavana*, which is intended to influence the sex of the child.

[2] *Ib.* iii. 131.

[3] *Karnāl Settlement Report*, 1883, p. 154; A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Calcutta, 1871, ii. 223.

[4] *NINQ* v. § 642.

[5] Thurston, iv. 369 f.

[6] *Ib.* 382.

[7] *PNQ* i. §§ 116, 468.

[8] *NINQ* i. [1891] § 378.

[9] *Ib.* § 379.

[1] *NINQ* iv. [1894] § 797.

[2] *PNQ* ii. [1884] § 272, and *Selection Calcutta Review*, viii. [1896] 124 (*Calcutta Review*, lxxv. [1882] 290). In the latter R. C. Temple identifies the *bhar* with the Skr. *vaṭa*, or banyan-tree, but describes the *batkar* as a low thorny shrub of the *zizyphus*, or jujube, family, the fruit of which is the 'fruit of paradise' in Arabic poetry—on which account the tree is much prized in Tripoli and Tunis.

[3] *NINQ* i. § 563.

[4] *Ib.* § 561.

[5] *Ib.* § 370.

[6] A. Playfair, *The Garos*, London, 1909, p. 115 f.

[7] *Karnāl Settlement Report*, p. 181.

[8] *PNQ* i. § 462.

[9] *Ib.* § 537.

The power of magic is so great that by mere assertion of its potency a *bīr*, or demon, may be brought into subjection.

> Fast the whole of a ninth lunar day falling on a Friday, and in the evening eat sweet rice milk. At 8 p.m. don red clothes perfumed, and make a circle of red lead on the ground. Sit in its centre with four cardamons, some catechu, betel-nuts, and eight cloves. Light a lamp fed with clarified butter and say: 'Incantation can break down the stars' 5000 times—and a demon will be at your service.[1]

II. *ISLĀM*.—Muhammadans classify magic as high (*'ulwī*), divine (*raḥmānī*), low (*siflī*), and satanic (*shaiṭānī*). In divine magic perfection consists in knowledge of the greatest of God's names—the *ism-al-a'ẓam*, which is imparted only to the elect, and by which the dead can be raised. But God's other names, and those of Muhammad and of the good *jinn*, are also efficacious, and written charms are composed of them or of passages from the Qur'ān, as well as of mysterious combinations of numbers, diagrams, and figures. Satanic magic is condemned by all good Muslims. It depends on Satan's aid and that of the evil *jinn*, who ascend to the lowest heaven and hear the angels so that they can assist magicians. Enchantment (*al-siḥr*) is a branch of this magic; but, as it has been studied with good intent and with the aid of good *jinn*, there is a science of enchantment which may be regarded as lawful. Enchantment results in death, paralysis, affliction with irresistible passion, possession, or metamorphosis. Metamorphosis is effected by spells or invocations to the *jinn* accompanied by the sprinkling of dust or water on the object to be transformed. Against enchantment and other evils a talisman (*ṭilism*), *i.e.* mystical characters, astrological or otherwise magical, or a seal or image on which they are engraved, is effective. When rubbed, it calls up its servants.

Divination (*al-kihāna*), which is also practised by the aid of Shaiṭān, is obtained by magic, by invoked names, and by burning perfumes. Its forms are: *ḍarb al-mandal*, inscribing the enchanter's circle,[2] *ḍarb al-raml*, the moving of sand, *'ilm al-nujūm*, astrology,[3] and *al-zijr*, or augury from beast and bird.[4]

The Imām Zamānī rupee is said to be dedicated to that *imām*, and is worn by Muhammadans on the right arm when starting on a journey.[5]

The names of 'Alī and the *imāms* are used in magical squares according to the *abjad*, or letter-value system of computation. Notices of the custom are not uncommon in Indo-Persian histories as having been practised on the Mughal court-ladies.[6]

Islāmic medicine is acquainted with the olive of Bani-Isrā'īl, a stone found on the banks of the Indus. It is black with a little red and yellow, or olive-coloured with small white lines, and is used only for sprinkling over wounds and stings by Muslims. Hindus are said to worship it as a god, and to the Persians it is known as the *sang-i-Yāhū*, or 'stone of Jahweh,' or the *ḥajar al-Hunūd*, or 'stone of the Hindus,' in Arabia. Jasper (in Pers. *yashm*, Arab. *ḥajar al-bashaf*, or 'hard stone'), when olive, green-yellow, or opaque green, is used in charms; and, when white, in medicine. The hair of a child will never turn white if a piece of it be tied on his neck at birth. If a piece is tied on the right wrist, he will be immune to witchcraft and the evil eye. Tied to a woman's thigh, it ensures painless labour; and, if by the light of *lailat al-qādir* (the night when Muhammad spake with God) a man be sketched over it and the picture worn over the head, the wearer will be safe from wounds in battle.[1]

III. *MAGIC AND RELIGION*.—It has been held by many scholars that in ancient India the confusion of magic and religion was rife, just as it survived among other peoples that had risen to higher levels of culture. H. Oldenberg[2] regards the sacrificial ritual of the earliest known period as pervaded with primitive magic, and he tells us that the rites celebrated at marriage, initiation, and the anointment of a king are complete models of magic of every kind, and that the forms employed are of the highest antiquity. Sylvain Lévi[3] observes of the sacrifices prescribed in the *Brāhmaṇas* that they have all the characteristics of a magical operation, effective by its own energy, independent of the divinities, and capable of producing evil as well as good; it is only distinguishable from magic in that it is regular and obligatory, so that both matters are treated in the same works. Thus the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* is a hand-book of incantations and sorcery, as is the *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa* portion of the *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*. M. Bloomfield[4] also holds that witchcraft became intimately blended with the holiest Vedic rites, the broad current of popular superstitions having penetrated into the higher religion of the Brāhman priests who were unable and possibly unwilling to cleanse it from the mass of folk-belief which surrounded it. W. Caland,[5] in his introduction to the *Kauśika Sūtra*, enlarges on the agreement between the magic ritual of the old Vedas and the shamanism of the so-called savage. Indeed, some authorities would derive Brāhman from *brahman*, 'a magic spell,' so that, if they are right, the Brāhman would seem to have been a magician before he was a priest.[6]

On the other hand, J. G. Frazer[7] also points out how in India, from the earliest times down to the present day, the real religion of the common folk appears always to have been a belief in a vast multitude of spirits of whom many, if not most, are mischievous and harmful. This belief subsists under the great religions, like Brāhmanism, Buddhism, and Islām, which may come and go; and in support of this thesis he cites Oldenberg for the Vedic and Monier Williams for the modern periods. It is to this deep-seated and universal belief in the existence of spirits, which fill all created matter—the sky, the earth, trees, beasts, the earthly waters and clouds—that many, if not all, magical practices are to be ascribed, at least in their inception. At every stage of a ritual sacrifice, *e.g.*, spirits have to be appeased, and the very stake to which a willing victim is tethered for the sacrifice must be cut, shaped, and erected with the most minute precautions against their sinister influences. Every point in sacrificial ritual is symbolical, but the guiding principle in it is not magical, but religious. By the part of the stake which is dug in the sacrificer gains the lower world of the fathers, by its middle part that of men, and by its top the world of the gods. But this winning of the three worlds is conditional on his success in averting the onslaughts of evil spirits. In the whole ritual of animal-sacrifice at the stake (*yūpa*), as prescribed by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, there is no trace of magic or of magical practices.[1]

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[1] *NINQ* v. § 214.

[2] *Mandal* is doubtless from the Gr. *μάνδαλον*, and not connected with Skr. *maṇḍala*, a circuit or group of villages. The *μάνδαλον* was a kind of drum used to conjure up demons; hence an enchanter's circle.

[3] It was taught by the two fallen angels Hārūt and Mārūt, who became enamoured of the songstress Zuhra, who ascended to the sky and mingled her splendour with the star Zuhra (Venus).

[4] H. Wilberforce Clarke, *Divān-i-Ḥāfiz*, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 616 f., citing the *Mishkāt-al-Maṣābīḥ*, ii. 394, 384, 385, 388, and *Mirāt al-zamān*, i. 1. For a charm to divine which of two rivals will prevail see the *Sirāj al-raml* by Maulavī Roshan 'Alī and the *Miṣdāq al-raml* by Muḥammad 'Aṭṭār Māl Lahorī, Lucknow, cited in *Divān-i-Ḥāfiz*, ii. 831. It consists in writing the two names in *abjad*, and dividing by nine. Then, if both the quotients be odd or even, the lesser in number will conquer; if both are equal, the lesser in age; and, if one be odd, the other even, the greater in number will prevail.

[5] *NINQ* i. § 695.

[6] *PNQ* i. § 686.

[1] *PNQ* ii. § 17, quoting from the *Makhzan al-Adwiyāt*, or 'Treasury of Medicine,' of Muḥammad Ḥusain of Delhi, 1761, published by Newal Kishore, Cawnpore and Lucknow.

[2] *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 59, 177 (for particular examples of the blending of magical with religious ritual in ancient India see pp. 311 f., 369 f., 476 f., and 522 f.).

[3] *La Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brâhmanas*, Paris, 1898, p. 129.

[4] *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda* (*SBE* xlii. [1897] p. xlv f.).

[5] *Altindisches Zauberritual*, Amsterdam, 1900, p. ix.

[6] O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 637 f.

[7] *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1913, i. 228 f., pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, do. 1913, p. 89 ff., citing Oldenberg, p. 39 f., and Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, do. 1883, p. 210 f.

A question of minor interest is whether Indian magic was derived from or has influenced that of Arabia and the Nearer East. The Skr. word *śilpā*, 'black magic,' may be the original form of *siflī*, or, conversely, the Arab word *siflī* may have been Sanskritized as *śilpā*. A typical rite in *śilpā* illustrates the spiritual basis of belief in magic. When performed with the object of destroying an enemy, it is known as *chel*, or *ghāṭ*, in the United Provinces. A vessel is filled with iron nails, knives, etc., and sent by certain incantations through the air until it descends on the victim's head and kills him. But, if a river intervenes, a sacrifice to the spirit called *ghaṭbai* (lit. 'ferryman'), which is supposed to guard the river, must be made to induce him to let the vessel cross.[2] Thus black magic has to reckon with the spirits, however it works and whatever its origin.

LITERATURE.—i. The Hindu literature is vast, but mostly unpublished. It comprises many treatises on special topics—*e.g.*, the *Kashtauli* (?) *Sukdeoji*, a Gurmukhi MS, contains only magic squares for all kinds of ailments.[3] It commences with the Atharvaveda, upon which and other texts is based Alfred Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur: Vedische Opfer und Zauber* (=*GIAP* iii. 2), Strassburg, 1897.

ii. The Shī'a Muhammadans, who are prone to occultism, have six books on magic: the *Ja'afar Jāma*, *Safīnat al-nijāt*, *Tuḥfat al-'awām*, *Mahaj al-da'wāt*, *Mukārim al-ikhlāq*, and *Anwār i-Na'māniya*. The Sunnis also have books on magic: such are the *Mujarrabāt-i-Dīrbī* and the *Naqsh-i-Sulaimān*.[4]

H. A. ROSE.

MAGIC (Iranian).—**1. Religion and magic.**—Although religion and magic are two essentially different things, the interpenetration of the two is fairly common; but nowhere are they so intricately commingled as in Mazdeism.

First of all, a clear line of demarcation has to be traced between the real doctrine of Zoroaster, as it is expounded in the *Gāthās*, and the Later Avesta.

In the Gāthic hymns we find a religion of a highly moral character. It admits of no deity besides Ahura Mazda except personified moral entities, and it expressly undertakes a struggle against the lower beliefs and the magical practices of the people of the time. The cult of the *daēvas* in general and the nocturnal orgiastic sacrifices in which *haoma* (*q.v.*) was drunk by the worshippers were specially condemned.[5]

The Later Avesta also anathematizes the sorcerers (*yātu*) and witches (*pairika*), but many of the beliefs and practices which Zoroaster had associated with them have found their way back into religion. The whole subject is rendered all the more intricate by the fact that a coherent system has been formed from a combination of the superior elements of the Zoroastrian creed (sophisticated to a great extent by adaptation to a lower standard of religious thought) and the popular and inferior beliefs of the Iranian people, including much that is in origin magical. As is well known, this is the system called dualism (*q.v.*). It is based on the assumption that there are two cosmic elements, the one created by Ahura Mazda, the real god, and the other by his adversary, Angra Mainyu. Every creature of the wise lord is good, but all that has been created by his foe is evil. Each creator has thus communicated to his creatures his own specific nature and power. His creatures both share in their lord's natural and supernatural power and must assist him in the incessant struggle which is going on between the good and the evil spirit—a contest which will not be settled before the end of this world.

It follows that good creatures have a power over evil ones and evil over good. Of course, we may imagine that a good being, when he neutralizes the evil deeds of his opponent, acts, after all, as a depository of his creator's power; but in practice it is as though he had a real and effective power of his own against demons.

A good work is an act of war, capable of helping effectively towards the triumph of good over evil and having, therefore, an efficacy of its own to conjure and oppose the noxious activity of evil creatures such as evil spirits; and this is very much like the efficacy ascribed to magical rites. The only difference between such an activity and magic is that, with the latter, material interests are generally at stake, whereas, in the majority of Mazdean religious acts, the concern is mostly supra-terrestrial, being the religious purity of the faithful (*ašavan*) as a preparation for the future happiness of the blest. The contrary state, the impurity of the imps of the *druj* (*dregvants*), has to be destroyed.

2. Purification.—For the Zoroastrian the normal means of getting rid of an impurity acquired by sin is to outweigh it by merit[1]—a process which, of course, is far from being magical. Sin, however, being in Iranian eyes not only a breach of order which has to be repaired by repentance and good works, but a positive product of the evil spirits, of the evil creation, produces a substantial, though invisible, pollution—a moral disease like a bodily illness—and death likewise results from some mysterious contrivance of the originators of all evil. A material means of removing that pollution is therefore requisitioned, just as a remedy by its beneficial properties, as a piece of good creation, cures an ordinary disease. The power of purifying man from impurity belongs in the highest degree to water—an eminently good element of Mazda's creation. Besides water, other substances—e.g., *gaomaēza* (urine of cattle)—are supposed to have great power to purify. The rites of purification by means of these substances are strictly fixed, as in a magical proceeding: the priest has to sprinkle every part of the body in a definite order, beginning with the head, till the *druj* is expelled from the left toes, which are the last refuge of the evil spirit. Dogs have a specially powerful wholesome influence. More intricate ceremonies tending to the same result existed besides this relatively simple one—*e.g.*, the great purification of the nine nights (Pahl. *barašnūm nū šaba*) expounded in *Vend.* ix.; the ground is prepared, holes are dug, and furrows are drawn, according to a strict ritual; *gaomaēza* is put into the holes, the patient rubs the ground, and is sprinkled with water and perfumes by means of a spoon and a stick of a fixed size, etc. The proceeding cannot, however, be completely identified with magic, because, however material the concept of purity may have been in the thought of the Iranian people at that time, it was, after all, a duty not confined to human interests in this world, because the activity of the purifying substances and acts derives from an essentially beneficent power, whereas the counter-spells, although tending to neutralize noxious influences, are regarded as possessing a power of the same kind as the one which they oppose, and, lastly, because the rites, in spite of their magical tendencies, are devoid of all mystery. They are a public and accepted procedure, assumed—wrongly, of course—to date back to the Prophet's teaching, and forming part of the sacred struggle of good against evil. Man is supposed to make use of the weapons which Mazda has put into his hands for a contest in which he is serving the lord's interests. Nevertheless, it is clear that a real degeneration towards magic has taken place in these ceremonies, and also that many an ancient magical prescription for averting evils may have been introduced. This process is analogous to that which we observe in Mazdaism from Zoroaster to the Later Avesta period.

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[1] J. P. Vogel, 'The Sacrificial Posts of Isapur,' in *Archæological Survey Report for 1910–11*, Calcutta, 1914, p. 44 f.

[2] *NINQ* i. § 351. [3] *PNQ* ii. § 901. [4] *Ib.* i. § 686.

[5] Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 71 f.

[1] Moulton, p. 144.

Moral beings, like the *amesha spentas* ([*q.v.*] justice, good spirit, piety, etc.), have been turned into—or, rather, identified with—the genii of fire, cattle, earth, etc., and Sraosha, 'obedience,' has become a good spirit protecting men during the night against demons and sorcerers, having the cock and the dog as his assistants in this task (*Bund.* xix. 33).[1]

3. Sacrifice.—Of sacrifice we may say much the same as of purifications. Neither to the Indians nor to the Iranians was the sacrifice properly a magical act. Oldenberg[2] is quite right when he says that sacrifice is in Vedic times a gift to the god, which, in the mind of the sacrificer, is to influence the intentions of the deity, not by way of compulsion, but by securing his powerful goodwill. This conception, however, was likely to degenerate, and did. Indra and Agni are sometimes described as being mastered by the sacrificer.

Agni, the fire, is regarded as a miniature of the sun, the great fire, and, by kindling fire, one gets the sun to rise. Indeed, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[3] says that the sun would not rise if the fire-sacrifice did not take place. A similar process can be traced in Irān, where the sacrifice is given its place in the general cosmic conflict, so that it

> 'is more than an act of worship; it is an act of assistance to the gods. Gods, like men, need food and drink to be strong; like men, they need praise and encouragement to be of good cheer. When not strengthened by the sacrifice, they fly helpless before their foes.'[4]

Sacrifice has thus a value of its own independently of the will of the gods. It is an act of war, helping God in His struggle against the evil creation, so much so that gods also have to practise cult:

> 'Aūharmazd performed the spiritual Yazišn ceremony with the archangels (*ameshōspendān*) in the Rapītvīn Gāh, and in the Yazišn he supplied every means for overcoming the adversary.'[5]

The value of sacrifice in itself is also to be discerned in the fact that it produces merits independently of the piety and attention of the sacrificer. If he does not obtain them for himself, they are not lost, but are collected in a store (*ganj*) of merits.[6] The sacrifice of the *haoma* (=Ind. *soma*), although itself not really magical in principle, was specially prone to develop in that direction. The *haoma*=*soma*, in the thought of the proto-Aryans, was a plant wherein resided an extraordinary strength of life capable of giving immortality to the gods, who were supposed to live on it like the Homeric gods on ἀμβροσία, and of giving a superexaltation of life to man, in whom it caused intoxication. As was said above, the *haoma* orgiastic sacrifice had been banished from Gāthic religion in company with the magical procedure of the *daēva*-worshippers. In the post-Gāthic period we see it reappear, but it has been deprived of its savage character and turned into a mystical drink.[1] Not only was it supposed to confer a greater intensity of human life, but it was regarded as a highly beneficial spirit, imparting to man also the gift of spiritual life and a title to the supra-terrestrial reward.[2] It led to a division into two *haomas*.[3] The one, the actual plant, was the yellow *haoma*, the other, supra-terrestrial, called the white *haoma*, was identified with the tree *gaokerena* (Pahl. *gōkarṭ*) 'that stands in the middle of the sea *Vouru-Kaša* . . . that is called "the All-healer" and on which rest the seeds of all plants.'[4] It is by drinking the *gaokerena* that men on the day of the resurrection will become immortal. For that reason it was customary to put a drop of *haoma* on the lips of a dying Zoroastrian. *Haoma*, having been made the principle of all life and fecundity, was supposed to receive its healing power from Vohu Manah, and to be the son of Ahura Mazda. This mysterious power of the drink of life is an approach to magic, although it is extended to domains to which healing and vivifying power cannot normally attain—*e.g.*, the gift of swiftness to horses in races, of healthy children to pregnant women, and of bridegrooms to girls. Moreover, it is, in the traditions of the Indo-Iranians, closely connected with a mystical bird which took the *soma*=*haoma* from the place where it lay hidden and brought it to gods and men.[5] The Avesta speaks of the bird Saēna, which is the Sīmurgh of the Persians, who make him play the same part as the bird Vārengana in *Yt.* xiv. 35 f.—a part which is completely magical.[6]

> 'Get thee a feather of the wide-feathered bird Vārengana, Oh Spitama Zarathushtra. With that feather thou shalt rub thy body; with that feather thou shalt curse back thine enemy. He who hath a bone of the mighty bird or a feather of the mighty bird gaineth (divine) favour. No one, (however) magnificent, smiteth him or turneth him to flight; he first gaineth homage, he first (gaineth) glory; the feather of the bird of birds bestoweth help.'

Thus we have here to do with a real amulet.

4. Spells.—If the sacrifice is apt to degenerate into a magical rite, prayer may become a spell. The message of Zoroaster to man is a *manthra*, a noble word which properly means 'utterance,' 'word,' 'ordinance,' but has in the Later Avesta the meaning of 'spell' and, indeed, the sermons of the Prophet, instead of being a subject for meditation, are chanted in a dialect obsolete for ages, and have degenerated into mere spells, the exact pronunciation of their words achieving what their author sought by pure life and diligence in a noble calling.[7] The finest Mazdean prayers, such as the *Ahuna Vairya* ([*q.v.*] Pārsī, *honovar*)—a kind of profession of faith—have stiffened into a mechanical repetition of formulæ, and have acquired an infinite power of their own, so much so that they become a weapon for the Creator Himself. The *Bundahišn* (i. 21) narrates how Aūharmazd, having recited the *Ahunavar* and uttered its twenty-one words, confounded the evil spirit and secured the victory over him, in the first days of creation. The power of the same prayer and of some others is also expounded in *Vend.* xix. (cf. also *Yt.* xvii. 20). Recited as many times as is prescribed on every occasion, they help as a spell the purification of man, which is primarily attained by the marvellous power of the substances and ceremonies mentioned above.

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[1] L. C. Casartelli, *Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme*, Paris, 1884, § 106.

[2] H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 304 f.

[3] II. iii. 15 (Oldenberg, p. 110); *SBE* xii. [1882] 328.

[4] Moulton, p. 417, note.

[5] *Bund.* ii. 9, tr. West, *SBE* v. [1880] 14.

[6] Casartelli, § 250. The *Yazišn* is the ritual reading of the *Yasna*.

[1] Moulton, p. 72 f.

[2] C. P. Tiele, *Godsdienst in de Oudheid*, Amsterdam, 1895–1901, ii. 222.

[3] Casartelli, § 178.

[4] *Yt.* xii. 17.

[5] So Odin as an eagle carries away the mead. The victor Kṛśānu was supposed to have shot off a feather of the eagle (Oldenberg, p. 247).

[6] Art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Iranian), vol. iii. p. 448.

[7] Moulton, p. 153.

No wonder, therefore, if the *manthra* is mentioned as a regular means of curing diseases. *Vend.* xx. distinguishes healing by plants, by the knife, and by the *manthra*, the last being the most powerful. A series of formulæ is to be found there for repelling both diseases and evil beings. The prayer contained in *Vend.* xx. 11 is supposed to be peculiarly powerful. It is directed to Airyaman, the healing god *par excellence*. *Vend.* xxi. 18–23 is also a spell against all kinds of diseases, consisting of some fragments of other parts of the *Vendīdād* and of some very well known prayers. These are the means that Airyaman has at his disposal for curing the 99,999 diseases created by Angra Mainyu for the bane of mankind (*Vend.* xxii.). Airyaman is an old Indo-Iranian god: in the Veda he is an *āditya* (Aryaman) who is generally found in company with Varuṇa and Mitra. He is a beneficent and helpful god, but in Persia he has been narrowed down to the character of a healing god. He survives in Parsiism as the *īzad* of heaven, but, in his quality of healing god, he is replaced by Farīdūn (=Thraētaona), who, having killed the dragon Azi Dahāka, is supposed to be a powerful enemy to the works of evil spirits. The Iranians knew, moreover, of a healing fruit, which, according to *Bund.* iii. 18, Ahura Mazda pounded up before his coming to the ox, 'so that its damage and discomfort from the calamity (*zaniŝn*) might be less.'[1] On the same footing as the *manthra* for healing diseases must, of course, be put the numerous incantations and mystical formulæ for removing the pollution inflicted upon anything which has come into contact with a corpse. *Vend.* viii. 14 ff., *e.g.*, explains that a road whereon the dead bodies of dogs or men have been carried cannot be traversed again by men or flocks, till the yellow dog with four eyes or the white dog with yellow ears has gone three times across it and an *ātharvan* has gone along it, saying aloud the fiend-smiting words of the *honovar*. *Vend* vii. 28 ff. contains the method of purifying wood which has been in contact with a corpse, and formulæ for all kinds of good elements infected by the same pollution (cf. *Vend.* x., xi., etc.). In such cases the *Gāthās* had become a mere spell (cf. *Vend.* x. 1 ff.). The reason of this custom with regard to corpses is originally a magical one, which has been fitted into the general Mazdean system. It is the old conviction of mankind that death, like illness, cannot occur without the maleficent intervention of some spirit, which has therefore to be averted. For a Mazdean to die was to pass into the power of the *druj* Nasu. Hence it was necessary to minimize the evil produced by this demon by protecting all good beings and substances from its power and freeing, as soon as possible, the beings or substances that had fallen into its hands. The intervention of maleficent beings and the utility of spells were felt in many other circumstances—*e.g.*, in the case of a woman on the eve of child-birth (*Vend.* xxi. 8, 12, 16), or when some accident occurred to cattle.[2]

5. Fire.—Among the elements which have to be kept carefully from any pollution, fire occupies a prominent position. It is well known that among the Parsis it enjoys a veneration which is not far from being superstitious. Here, the process is not a degenerative one, but rather the elevation of an elementary and, to a great extent, magical belief which is common to many nations, but which is specially Indo-Iranian (cf. art. FIRE, FIRE-GODS, § 6 f.). Fire is the great purifier, which illuminates the night, keeps off bitter cold and wild beasts, and, as such, is the great enemy of demons and the friend and ally of man. It repels diseases, and it plays an important part in the proceeding of Indian magic, as is expounded in the Atharvaveda[1]—a name which is taken from the *atharvans*, who were originally priests of fire. The Iranian myth of Ātar's victory over the serpent Azi Dahāka (*Yt.* xix. 45 ff.) belongs to the same order of thought. Indeed, fire, in the conception of the Persian *āthravan*, keeps closer to its original part, inasmuch as it does not become, as in India, the agent which conveys to the gods the substances of sacrifice. It remains the great averter of everything impure, and must on no account be put in contact with anything that is not pure, least of all with corpses or with anything coming from the body. It has become an earthly form of the eternal, infinite, godly light, the purest offspring of the good spirit, the purest part of his pure creation,[2] the weapon of Ahura (*Ys.* li. 9). It is the principle of all life, in men as well as in plants, the son of Ahura Mazda.[3] We can distinguish several forms of it, among which the *bahrām* fire is the most sacred. It is supposed to be an emanation on earth from the fire above and the most powerful protection of the land against foes and fiends.[4] It took its name from Verethraghna (Skr. *vṛtrahan*), in Indian myth the genius of victory and the slayer of the demon Vṛtra.

6. Influence of stars.—Astrology, as is well known, was the chief concern of the Magi, as the ancients describe them to us; but there is abundant evidence that this element of activity was not of Iranian origin. The proto-Aryan element of astrolatry was extremely small, in contrast with Babylonian religion.[5] We have, however, the cult of Tištrya, the star (Sirius) which was regarded as a good genius that brought rain after having slain the drought demon Apaoša (*Yt.* viii. 20 ff.). It is a very good genius which, at the dawn of creation and before man was created, destroyed the noxious creatures by an effusion of beneficent waters. It would be an exaggeration to treat as real magic such beliefs concerning the part of Tištrya as we find in the Avesta. There is reason to believe, however, that in some parts of Persia rain spells were in use. The *Great Bundahiŝn* says:

> 'The plague created against Saïstān is abundance of witchcraft; and that character appears from this, that all people from that place practise astrology: those wizards produce . . . snow, hail, spiders, and locusts.'[6]

On the other hand, it was a current belief among Iranians that planets had a malign influence; but this does not oblige us to admit that they had any belief in the influences of stars upon men's fate (cf. art. FATE [Iranian]).

7. Recent superstitions.—Among the superstitions prevalent among the Parsis and the Muhammadan Persians many customs, no doubt, go back to old Mazdean practices or, more probably, to popular beliefs which persisted beside the official creed.

The great power assigned, among the old Mazdeans, to plants in general, and in particular to some specially marvellous ones, as well as the extensive practice, among the Babylonian Magi,[7] of natural or magical treatment of diseases by herbs, probably explains the important part played by plants in the superstitious customs attached to the ancient Persian festivals as described by Persian writers[8]—*e.g.*, rubbing with olive oil on the day of Naūrūz as a riddance from sorrows during the new year, eating a pomegranate on the feast of Mihr (Mithra) to avert dangers, hitting an eating animal with an orange on the day of Ādar in November as a way of securing happiness, giving garlic to one's friends on the Gōś rūz (14th Dec.), and boiling herbs on the same day, in order to get rid of demons, fumigation with liquorice on the day of Dī-mihr rūz in order to avoid starvation or misery, eating apples and daffodils on the same day in order to secure success in one's enterprises, placing betel, walnuts, etc., on a pregnant woman's bosom, to make her fertile,[1] etc.

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[1] *SBE* v. 18.

[2] W. Geiger, *Ostīrānische Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882, p. 332.

[1] V. Henry, *Magie dans l'Inde*, Paris, 1904, pp. 4, 186, 233.

[2] Darmesteter, *SBE* iv.² [1895] p. lxxvi.

[3] Tiele, p. 303; cf. M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914, pp. 42 f., 134–137.

[4] Darmesteter, p. lxiv.

[5] Moulton, p. 210.

[6] Moulton, p. 209.

[7] Pliny, *HN* xxx. 6.

[8] Decourdemanche, *RTP* xxiii. 209.

The power of fire against evil beings is illustrated by the lighting of a fire on the night of the Bahmān (Vohu Manah) festival (10th Jan.). This fire, on which perfumes were thrown, was lit under the image of the genius in order to repel wild beasts. During the whole night it was guarded by standing Persians.[2] Anquetil du Perron reports that on 15 Spendarmat the Parsis used to hold a spell, written on a sheet of paper, in the smoke of a fire, in which they had put pieces of horn from an animal killed on the festival of Mihr, cotton seed, resin, and garlic, in order to remove the *dēvs* (*daēva*) from their houses.[3] The magic for rain has survived in the custom of pouring out water on 30th Jan. in order to obtain rain during the year.[4]

In the last days of the Persian year the souls of the departed are said to come and pay a visit to their relatives, who prepare a sumptuous meal for them. The souls—or, rather, the *fravashis* (*q.v.*)—are supposed to gaze at the food and smell it.[5] This also, no doubt, is a survival of the beliefs concerning the *fravashis*.

The use of the Gāthic hymns and of the chief Zoroastrian prayers as spells against diseases or against the evil eye is current to this day among the representatives of the Mazdean faith.

> 'In order to avert the influence of the evil eye or to cure a child of some disease, a parent will occasionally hire the mobeds . . . to read from the Yasna, the Yashts, or the Khordah Avesta; and when women are childless, they will sometimes pay to have the Vendîdâd Sadah recited by the priests, in order that the curse of sterility may be removed.'[6]

J. J. Modi knows of charms for diseases of the eye[7] or for avoiding pollution from contact with all that comes from the human body—*e.g.*, hair or nails.[8] Amulets are also used for the same purpose.[9]

LITERATURE.—There is no special book on Iranian magic. The general bibliography on Mazdaism has to be consulted, especially the translation of the Avesta by J. Darmesteter (*AMG*, Paris, 1892–93); J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913. For spells and charms see literature at end of art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Iranian). For Parsis cf. J. A. Decourdemanche, in *RTP* xxiii. [1908] 209 ff.; D. Menant, *Les Parsis*, Paris, 1898.

A. J. CARNOY.

MAGIC (Japanese).—Japanese magic is such a vast subject that, if we were to treat it systematically, with all its logical divisions and subdivisions, it would be almost impossible to give even a bare index to the volume that would have to be written to describe it. We shall, therefore, dismiss everything that springs from foreign influences, and even in Japanese magic proper we shall ignore the general classifications under which the innumerable details supplied by the rich literature of the country might be arranged. We shall confine our attention to emphasizing the essential point, viz. the existence of magic in the very heart of the national religion, in the most authentic documents of pure Shinto.

For this purpose we must apply chiefly to the ancient rituals (*norito*) collected in the *Engishiki* in the 10th cent., although several of these—and precisely those that contain most of the magical element—were certainly composed at a much earlier date, even before the most ancient mythico-historical works, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, which were written in the 8th century. By glancing over the most typical of these *norito*, and explaining them with the help of certain related passages in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* or in other equally ancient sources, rather than by abstract classifications, we shall gain a vivid idea of what Japanese magic was in its most ancient and most original form.

The old rituals seem to have been not so much prayers as magical formulæ, solemn incantations, and we shall see that at the same time they were enveloped in powerful rites by which the magician priests of primitive Japan conquered their gods.

This magical spirit appears at the very beginning of the collection, in the 1st ritual, *Toshigohi no Matsuri*, which was said every year at seed-time to obtain a good harvest. The chief priest (*nakatomi*), who recited it in the name of the emperor, addressed the gods in these words:

> 'I believe in the presence of the sovereign gods of the Harvest. If the sovereign gods will bestow in many-bundled ears and in luxuriant ears the late-ripening harvest which they will bestow, the late-ripening harvest which will be produced by the dripping of foam from the arms and by drawing the mud together between the opposing thighs, then I will fulfil their praises by setting up the firstfruits in a thousand ears and many hundred ears, raising high the sake-jars, filling and ranging in rows the bellies of the sake-jars, in juice and in ear.'

Other offerings are then enumerated, among which we notice a white horse, a white pig, and a white cock. Now, a 9th cent. document, the *Kogoshūi*, gives the legendary origin of this detail: Mi-toshi no Kami, 'the god of the august harvest,' had cast his curse on the rice fields; but the diviners obtained from him, by the gift of these same white animals, the secret of a magical process which enabled them to save the imperilled crop. The ritual is, therefore, based on a history of magic. The main point to remember from this first text, however, is the conditional character of the offerings which are to obtain the desired result. The same precaution is found again, in the same words, towards the end of this document, where the officiant invokes the gods who preside over the departure of the waters on which irrigation depends. This ritual, therefore, is not so much a prayer as a contract, a matter-of-fact agreement, by which the gods receive in advance the remuneration promised in exchange for the services expected from them, and thus find themselves morally compelled to render them. We accordingly see at the very beginning the familiar nature of the relations between these very human gods and the priestly magicians who exploit their power.

In the 2nd ritual, *Kasuga Matsuri*, we again find this idea of the bond which must unite the offerings with the services rendered; for it is 'in consequence' of these offerings that the gods are asked to protect the sovereign and his court. We may also observe that, of the four gods worshipped in the temple of Kasuga, the first two, Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi, were represented by magical swords (cf. *Kojiki*, tr. B. H. Chamberlain, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1906, p. 36), and that the other two, Koyané and his wife, are connected with the famous eclipse in which that god, by his 'powerful ritual words,' helped to bring back the sun-goddess (*Kojiki*, 64).

There is the same spirit in the 3rd ritual, *Hirose Oho-imi no Matsuri*, devoted to the goddess of food.

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[1] Menant, *Les Parsis*, p. 116.

[2] Decourdemanche, p. 214.

[3] Menant, p. 108.

[4] Decourdemanche, p. 215.

[5] *Ib.*; Menant, p. 106.

[6] A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York, 1906, p. 378 f.; Khudayar Sheriyar, in *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Vol.*, Bombay, 1914, p. 299 f.

[7] J. J. Modi, 'Charms or Amulets for some Diseases of the Eye,' *JASB* iii. [1894] 333–345 (reprinted in Modi's *Anthropological Papers*, Bombay [1911], pp. 43–50).

[8] Modi, 'Two Iranian Incantations,' *JASB* viii. [1909] 557–572 (reprinted in *Anthropological Papers*, pp. 340–354).

[9] Modi, 'Nirang-i-Jashan-i-Burzigarân' and 'An Avesta Amulet for Contracting Friendship,' *JASB* v. [1900] 398–405, 418–425 (reprinted in *Anthropological Papers*, pp. 122–139).

Her worshippers make a bargain with her; while bringing her various offerings, they promise her others if the harvest is very abundant.

The 4th ritual, *Tatsuta no Kaze no Kami no Matsuri*, is just as characteristic, and, moreover, relates its own legendary origin. For several years unknown gods have bungled all the crops, and the diviners have not been able to discover who these gods are. Then the sovereign himself 'deigns to conjure them,' and they reveal themselves to him in a dream. They are 'Heaven's Pillar's augustness and Country's Pillar's augustness,' the gods of the winds who maintain the order of the world. They require certain offerings, the founding of a temple at Tatsuta, and a liturgy, by means of which they 'will bless and ripen the things produced by the great People of the region under heaven, firstly the five sorts of grain, down to the least leaf of the herbs.' Here it is the gods who state their conditions. The people hasten to fulfil them 'without omission,' but evidently the recollection of past calamities has left some mistrust, for, when making the present offerings, they announce future gifts for the autumn: if, between now and then, the gods have deigned not to send 'bad winds and rough waters,' but to 'ripen and bless' the harvest, they will grant them the firstfruits of it. This will be their small commission.

We shall pass over the 5th, 6th, and 7th rituals, which are not so interesting, and come to the 8th, *Ohotono-Hogahi*, *i.e.* 'Luck-bringer of the Great Palace.' This title itself indicates the magical character of the document, and, in fact, we find the ritual defined in its own text in the words, *ama tsu kusushi ihahi-goto*, 'the celestial magical protective words.' It is a formula the recitation of which wards off all calamity from the palace, as an amulet would do; this is shown by the importance ascribed to the perfect regularity of the words pronounced; for, in another passage, certain 'corrector'-gods (*naho*) are begged to rectify all the omissions that they may have seen or heard in the rites or the words of the ceremony. This ceremony itself throws abundant light on the magical character of the ritual of which it was a part. We have a description of it in the *Gi-shiki* of the 9th cent. (see E. Satow, in *TASJ*, vol. ix. pt. ii. [1881] p. 192 f.). A priestly retinue, in which we distinguish chiefly the *nakatomi*, the *imibe* ('abstaining priests'), and the vestals, goes through the palace in every direction; and in different places, from the great audience-hall to the bath-room, even to the emperor's privy, the vestals sprinkle rice and *sake*, while the *imibe* hang precious stones on the four corners of the rooms visited by them. We observe here an application of the custom, called *sammaï*, which consisted in scattering rice to ward off evil spirits. Whatever is the reason of this custom—whether it is simply a bait thrown to the demons or perhaps a symbolical use of grains whose shape represents one of the aspects of the generative power, of the vital force which combats illness and death—the rite in question was very frequently practised in Japanese magic. Rice was scattered inside the hut in which a woman was about to be confined; in the divination at cross-roads (*tsuji-ura*; see art. DIVINATION [Japanese]), a boundary was sometimes marked on the road, where rice was also strewn, in order to take afterwards as an oracle the words spoken by the first passer-by who crossed this bewitched line; and an old legend tells how, when the son of the gods descended from heaven to Mount Takachiho, grains of rice were thrown at random in the air to disperse the darkness from the sky. Just the same is the magical use of jewels to combat evil influences. Through the whole of Japanese mythology there is the sparkle of jewels, some of which are talismans—jewels which, at the time of an eclipse, the gods suspended to the highest branches of the sacred *cleyera*, and whose brilliance recalled the sun (*Kojiki*, 64); jewels which, in another famous story, enabled their possessor to make the tide flow or ebb at his will (*ib.* 150); jewels which even aimed at resuscitating the dead, as we shall see below. We can, therefore, easily understand the magical rôle of the red jewels which, paraded in the imperial apartments, caused the dark threats of the invisible everywhere to retire before their brightness. Still another point to be remarked is that, according to the description cited, the *imibe* recite the ritual 'in a low voice.' Polynesian sorcerers also said their prayers in a low singing, perhaps even hissing, tone, similar to the hissing, whispering voice which they attributed to their gods; and even in Japan, in the divination by the harp (*koto-ura*), one of the practices of the officiant was a complicated whistle. All this magical atmosphere which surrounds the ritual suits its text very well. It points out, first of all, the propitiatory rites which the *imibe* have accomplished in hewing down the trees intended for the construction of the palace. Then it recalls the mythical recollections which assure beforehand the efficacy of the formula recited. Then the protector-gods of the palace are entreated to ward off certain calamities, several of which—*e.g.*, serpent-bites, or the droppings of birds falling through the smoke-hole in the roof—are ritual 'offences.' Lastly, in the same way as it invokes the corrector-gods for every possible omission, the text insists on this fact—that the 'innumerable strings of luck-bringing grains' have been made by sacred jewellers 'taking care to avoid all pollution and to observe perfect cleanness.' The care in all these details shows the magical importance attached to each of the rites of the ceremony, and to the most insignificant words of the incantation.

We shall omit the 9th ritual, *Mikado Matsuri*, 'Festival of the Sublime Gates,' devoted to the gods who guard the entrance of the palace against the evil influences of the 'crooked' gods (*maga*), and come to the 10th, which is much more important. This is the 'Ritual of the Great Purification' (*Oho-harahi*). This ritual was recited by the chief of the *nakatomi*, at the end of the 6th and the 12th months, to blot out all the transgressions, both moral and ritual, that the whole people had committed in the interval. The choice of these dates is in itself significant: the summer ceremony recalls the lustrations formerly practised on the eve of St. John in different countries of Europe, and the ceremony at the end of the year corresponds with the need of renewal experienced by the majority of men at this time, and which, in Japan, still takes the popular form of a dramatized exorcism called *tsuina*, 'expulsion of the demons.' The Great Purification included various rites; but the ritual is often mentioned as if it itself formed the whole ceremony—which proves the magical power ascribed to the words recited. This ritual begins by stating clearly that it is the emperor who 'deigns to purify and wash away' (*harahi-tamahi kiyome-tamafu*) the offences committed—from which we see that the gods who, a little later, are to be invoked to intervene really play a part inferior to that of the emperor, and act only, so to speak, at his command. The right of absolution which he exercises thus arises from the general sovereignty conferred 're-spectfully' upon him by the celestial gods at the beginning of the dynasty, as the continuation of the text immediately recalls. Then follows the enumeration of ritual crimes, voluntary or not, which are to be effaced (see Revon, *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise*, Paris, 1910, p. 28 f.). We may select from this list at least two offences connected with our subject. The one is the 'planting of wands' (*kushi-sashi*) in rice-fields, probably with incantations—a process which an ancient native interpretation explains as the erecting of magic boundaries on the field of which one claims to be proprietor, though perhaps it is an example of pointed wands secretly stuck into the mud to hurt the bare feet of a neighbour, just as, among the Malays, a person in flight retarded the pursuit of his adversaries by this means. The other offence (*maji-mono seru tsumi*) is the 'performing of witchcraft,' either in a general way (cf. *Kojiki*, 326 f.) or in particular against a neighbour's animals (if we connect this passage with the expression *kemono-tafushi*, 'to kill animals,' which precedes it). In any case the Chinese character employed shows that it is a question of black magic; and that is why the *norito*, although it is itself a magical text, does not hesitate to condemn it. The ritual afterwards shows that, when these faults are committed, the great *nakatomi* has to prepare some twigs in a certain way, doubtless intended to form a sort of purificatory broom, then to recite 'the powerful ritual words of the celestial ritual' (*ama tsu norito no futo norito-goto*). The native commentators tried for a long time to find out to what mysterious incantation this passage could possibly allude, without seeing that it simply referred to the *norito* itself. This is the 'celestial' ritual which the gods revealed on high to the ancestor of the emperors, and whose 'powerful words' his descendant causes to be repeated—an expression intended to recall the intrinsic virtue of this formula. When the high priest recites it thus, according to the text of the ritual itself, the gods of heaven and earth will approach to listen, and all offences will disappear, being swept off, carried away to the ocean by the goddess of the torrents, swallowed by the goddess of the sea-currents, driven to the nether regions by the god whose breath chases before it all impurities, and there they will be seized at last by a subterranean deity who will banish them for ever. Clearly these deities are only the four wheels of the machine which the emperor sets in motion by the hand of the great *nakatomi*, the magician who knows the sacred words which even the gods obey. As for the rest, to make more certain, they bring a horse whose erect ears will incite these gods to listen attentively, just as the crowing cocks, the lighted fire—all these magical processes of the myth of the eclipse (*Kojiki*, 63–65)—would recall the sun, or as, in another account of the old Shinto annals (*Nihongi*, tr. W. G. Aston, London, 1896, i. 106), one had only to whistle to raise the wind. Then an order is given to the *urabe* ('diviners') to throw into the river the expiatory offerings, to which a mysterious sympathy unites the sins themselves, which will disappear along with the objects to which they have been attached. The ritual finishes, therefore, with a last example of the magic which has inspired the whole of it.

We may mention the 11th ritual along with this one. It is an invocation which the hereditary scholars of Yamato pronounced immediately before the ceremony of the Great Purification, and in which they presented the emperor with a silver-gilt human effigy, which would play the part of scapegoat by removing calamities from him, and a gilded sword on which he breathed before it was taken from him, with the same intention of driving away, after this magical transfer, both the sins committed and their material support.

Another ritual which is plainly magical is the 12th, the title of which, *Ho-shidzume*, 'Appeasing of the Fire,' shows that its purpose was not to worship the god of fire, but to banish him from the palace. As in the 10th ritual, the text first recalls the celestial revelation which has confided to the emperor the 'powerful words' by means of which he is superior to this god. Then it recounts the atrocious crime of this 'child with the wicked heart,' who caused his mother's death by burning her when she gave him birth (cf. *Kojiki*, 32–33); and tells how Izanami herself, cursing this son who had caused her death, came up from the nether regions to give birth to the water-goddess, the gourd, the river-plant, and the princess of the clay mountains, four divine things whose magical use against fire she immediately taught. Then, in order that this wicked god 'may deign not to be terribly lively in the palace of the august sovereign,' he is loaded with offerings, which have the effect of captivating and subduing him. This ritual was accompanied by rites which consisted mainly in the lighting of a fire by the *urabe* in the four outside corners of the precincts of the palace, with the primitive apparatus (*hi-kiri-usu*) of which a specimen may be seen in the University Museum, Oxford.

The 13th ritual, *Michi-ahe*, also aimed at employing certain gods to combat others. Those who were invoked on this occasion were three gods of roads and cross-roads, whose phallic character caused them to be looked upon as 'preventive gods' (*sahe no kami*) against the epidemics sent by the demons. The ritual begins by reminding these protector-gods, without great reverence, that their duties were inaugurated in heaven itself, where they already served the son of the gods. It then dictates to them what they must do:

> 'Whenever from the Root-country, the Bottom-country, there may come savage and unfriendly beings, consort not and parley not with them, but if they go below, keep watch below, if they go above, keep watch above, protecting us against pollution with a night guarding and a day guarding.'

In return they are presented with offerings, which they are to enjoy while defending the great roads 'like a multitudinous assemblage of rocks,' and, finally, the celebrant insists once more on the 'powerful words' of his formula.

The next ritual, the 14th, was devoted to the *Oho-nihe*, 'Great Offering of Food.' Before eating the new rice of the year, the ancient Japanese performed a ceremony called *Nihi-name*, 'new tasting,' which had a propitiatory purpose towards the spirit of the rice (Uga no Mi-tama). The *Oho-nihe* was a more solemn *Nihi-name*, celebrated some time after the accession of the emperors, and constituting a sort of religious coronation for them. The ritual relating to this festival contains nothing very curious in itself; but it is interesting to find that the very complicated ceremony with which it was connected included a long series of preparations, in which magic occupied a large place, just as in the essential part of the festival, when the emperor in person, surrounded by ladies of honour who repeated a mysterious formula, shared in the repast which he had just offered to the gods.

The 15th ritual is another document whose magical value appears as soon as it is placed in its psychological surroundings. It is entitled *Mi-tama shidzumuru*, which shows that its purpose was 'to appease the august spirit,' *i.e.* the spirit of the emperor. It was a case of keeping the imperial soul in his body, of recalling it if it seemed to wish to escape—in a word, of renewing magically the vital force of the sovereign for the coming year and thus prolonging his life. This is the meaning of the ceremony called *Chinkonsaï*, which was celebrated at the end of the year in the sanctuary of the priests of the court (see *Nihongi*, ii. 373). Now, the gloss identifies this festival with an ancient ceremony called *Mi-tama furishiki*, 'shaking of the august jewels,' which again plunges us into deep magic. The *Kiujiki* (ii. 2) says, in fact, that, when the sun-goddess gave the investiture to the ancestor of the emperors, she bestowed upon him ten precious treasures:

> 'one mirror of the offing, one mirror of the shore, one eight-hands-breadth sword, one jewel of birth, one jewel of return from death, one perfect jewel, one jewel road-returning [evil things by the road they came], one serpent-scarf, one bee-scarf, and scarf of various things.' She added: 'In case of illness, shake these treasures and repeat to them the words: *Hi, fu, mi, yo, itsu, mu, nana, ya, kokono, tari*, and shake them *yura-yura* (onomatopœia). If thou doest so the dead will certainly return to life.'

The objects enumerated by the sun-goddess are talismans, several of which occur in the most ancient Japanese mythology (see *Kojiki*, 86, 150, 324, etc.). As for the incantation, it represents simply the series of numbers from one to ten, which demonstrates its intrinsic power, independent of the meaning of the words. We know, besides, that the same incantation was recited at this festival by young sacerdotal virgins (*mi-kamu-ko*), who performed the sacred *kagura*, in imitation of the dance of Uzume in the eclipse myth (*Kojiki*, 64–65), while a *nakatomi* knotted threads, which were clearly meant to retain the imperial soul, and which he shut up in a closed vessel.

We shall omit rituals 16 to 24, which refer exclusively to the offices of the temples of Ise; it will be sufficient to mention in this group the formula of the 23rd ritual, for the installing of a princess as vestal:

> 'The offering of a sacred princess of the blood imperial to serve as the deities' staff, having first, according to custom, observed the rules of religious purity for three years, is to the end that thou mayst cause the Sovereign Grandchild to live peacefully and firmly as long as Heaven and Earth, the Sun and the Moon may last. I, the Great Nakatomi, holding the dread spear by the middle, with deepest awe pronounce this dedication of her by the Mikado to the end that she may serve as an august staff.'

We have here evidently a survival of the 'abstainer' of primitive Japan, whose asceticism assured on pain of death the good fortune and health of the village, in the same way as here the sacrifice of the imperial virgin is to guarantee the happiness and long life of the sovereign (cf. art. ASCETICISM [Japanese]).

The 25th ritual, of a more general interest, is entitled: *Tatari-gami wo utsushi-tatematsuru norito*, 'Ritual for the Respectful Removal of the Gods who send Plagues.' In the 13th ritual the gods of roads were made to intervene against these wicked gods; now they themselves are directly addressed. It is, therefore, a real formula of exorcism. The text begins by recalling how the supreme council of the celestial gods, wishing to 'pacify' the country before the descent of the future emperor, sent Futsu-nushi and Take-mika-dzuchi, who triumphed over the terrestrial gods and 'silenced the rocks, trees, and the least leaf of herbs likewise that had spoken.' After this warning, undisguised and all the more plain because, according to the ritual, the wicked gods know well, 'by virtue of their divinity, the things which were begun in the Plain of high heaven,' numerous gifts are made to them to win them over—and not only the usual offerings of cloths, fish, game, vegetables, rice, and *sake*, but also, in a naive form,

> 'as a thing to see plain in, a mirror; as things to play with, beads; as things to shoot off with, a bow and arrows; as a thing to strike and cut with, a sword; as a thing which gallops out, a horse.'

Lastly, after having thus loaded them with numerous toys and abundant dainties, which they beg them to accept 'with clear hearts, as peaceful offerings and sufficient offerings,' they earnestly ask these 'sovereign gods' to be good enough,

> 'without deigning to be turbulent, deigning to be fierce, and deigning to hurt, to remove out to the wide and clean places of the mountain-streams, and by virtue of their divinity to be tranquil.'

Passing in silence a less interesting ritual (the 26th), we come at length to the last document of the collection, the 27th ritual, which is called *Idzumo no kuni no miyakko no kamu yogoto*, 'The Divine Words of Good Fortune of the Chiefs of the Country of Idzumo.' These local chiefs, after having lost their civil sway, had preserved their religious power. It is they who to this day in this old province hand down the primitive fire-kindler which their legendary ancestor, the god Ame-no-hohi, had received from the sun-goddess herself, and which each chief priest of Idzumo bequeaths to his successor by the ceremony called *Hi-tsugi*, 'perpetuation of fire.' In this ritual the *miyakko* first announces that he will recite the formula, after many ritual preparations, to bring happiness to the reign of the 'visible god,' *i.e.* the sovereign. He then relates how Ame-no-hohi and, later, other celestial ambassadors were sent to earth to prepare for the descent of the son of the gods; how Ohona-mochi, the divine king of Idzumo, who achieved the 'making of the country' with the help of a stranger magician, and who was the first to found a government in this important region of the archipelago, was persuaded by the celestial envoys to abandon his temporal rule to the son of the gods; how he then divided his souls, by a curious application of the Japanese idea which allows the possible separation of the multiple souls of man, attaching his 'gentle spirit' (*nigi-tama*) to a fetish-mirror which he caused to be placed in a temple of Yamato, while his 'rough spirit' (*ara-tama*) went to rest in the great temple of Idzumo; and how at length Ame-no-hohi received from above the command to bless the sovereign henceforth, that his life might be long, healthy, and happy (cf. *Kojiki*, 54, 58, 113–124). It is while carrying out this command that the descendant of Ame-no-hohi intervenes, as he himself declares. He brings to the emperor 'divine treasures,' whose magical rôle—fortunately for us—he clearly defines. There are, first of all, sixty jewels, white, red, and green.

> 'These white jewels are the great august white hairs [to which your Majesty will reach]; the red jewels are the august, healthful, ruddy countenance; and the green-estuary jewels are the harmonious fitness with which your Majesty will establish far and wide, as with a broad sword-blade, his lasting great august reign over the Great-eight-island-country which he governs.'

We have here, therefore, a typical case of the action of like upon like, which is one of the essential doctrines of primitive man, and which, in the present case, attaches to the different jewels a power corresponding to their colour. The formula continues by other applications of this principle of imitative magic:

> 'As this white horse plants firmly his fore-hoofs and his hind-hoofs, so will the pillars of the Great Palace be set firmly on the upper rocks and frozen firmly on the lower rocks; the pricking up of his ears is a sign that your Majesty will, with ears ever more erect, rule the Under-Heaven,' etc.

It is possible that at some time these rites may have become symbols; but it is impossible not to recognize in them, especially at the beginning, practices inspired by that primitive logic which has always and everywhere constructed magic on the same universal principles.

Ancient Shinto, therefore, as it appears to us in its most authentic liturgies, is a religion in which the magical element still prevails over the religious sentiment. The rituals are essentially magical formulæ, addressed to magician gods (as is demonstrated by all their mythical exploits) by magician-priests (the *nakatomi*, the *imibe*, and the *urabe*), and encircled in magical rites. Magic is, therefore, at the base of the national cult of the Japanese, and it appears there with all the characteristics familiar to the student of comparative religion.

To finish with a vivid illustration, which, after the necessarily short descriptions given above, will show this magic in application in a typical and exact case, we shall choose as an example sorcery, as it was practised in the most ancient times. The following is the curious account of the subject given in the *Kojiki* (326 f.):

> 'The Deity of Idzushi [the country of the 'sacred stones'] had a daughter, whose name was the Deity Maiden-of-Idzushi. So eighty Deities wished to obtain this Maiden-of-Idzushi in marriage, but none of them could do so. Hereupon there were two Deities, brothers, of whom the elder was called the Youth-of-the-Glow-on-the-Autumn-Mountains, and the younger was named the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains. So the elder brother said to the younger brother: "Though I beg for the Maiden-of-Idzushi, I cannot obtain her in marriage. Wilt thou be able to obtain her?" He answered, saying: "I will easily obtain her." Then the elder brother said: "If thou shalt obtain this maiden, I will take off my upper and lower garments, and distil liquor in a jar of my own height, and prepare all the things of the mountains and of the rivers, in payment of the wager." Then the younger brother told his mother everything that the elder brother had said. Forthwith the mother, having taken wistaria-fibre, wove and sewed in the space of a single night an upper garment and trousers, and also socks and boots, and likewise made a bow and arrows, and clothed him in this upper garment, trousers, etc., made him take the bow and arrows, and sent him to the maiden's house, where both his apparel and the bow and arrows all turned into wistaria-blossoms. Thereupon the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains hung up the bow and arrows in the maiden's privy. Then, when the Maiden-of-Idzushi, thinking the blossoms strange, brought them, he followed behind the maiden into the house, and forthwith wedded her. So she gave birth to one child. Then he spoke to his elder brother, saying: "I have obtained the Maiden-of-Idzushi." Thereupon the elder brother, vexed that the younger brother should have wedded her, did not pay the things he had wagered. Then when the younger brother complained to his mother, his august parent replied, saying: "During my august life the Deities indeed are to be well imitated; it must be because he imitates mortal men that he does not pay those things." Forthwith, in her anger with her elder child, she took a one-jointed bamboo from an island in the River Idzushi, and made a coarse basket with eight holes, and took stones from the river, and mixing them with brine [*shiho*, in the sense of 'hard salt'], wrapped them in the leaves of the bamboo and caused this curse (*tokohi*) to be spoken [by her younger son]: "Like unto the becoming green of these bamboo-leaves, do thou become green and wither! Again, like unto the flowing and ebbing of this brine [again the word *shiho*, but here with the meaning of 'sea-water'], do thou flow and ebb! Again, like unto the sinking of these stones, do thou sink and be prostrate!" Having caused this curse to be spoken, she placed the basket over the smoke [apparently on the hearth of the elder son]. Therefore the elder brother dried up, withered, sickened, and lay prostrate for the space of eight years. So on the elder brother entreating his august parent with lamentations and tears, she forthwith caused the curse to be reversed. Thereupon his body was pacified. This is the origin of the term "a divine wager-payment."'

In this text we have a case of original sorcery, founded on sympathetic magic (a conception so well expressed by the Japanese word for 'magic,' *majinahi*, which conveys the idea of 'to mix'), but before the time when the progress of the arts and foreign influences could have given the idea of exercising sorceries on the effigy of an enemy. (For this later development see, *e.g.*, the popular ballad of Shuntoku Maru, in *TASJ*, vol. xxii. pt. iii. [1894] pp. 294–308.) We are, therefore, in the presence of a thoroughly Japanese rite, whose ancient character is shown by its very obscurity, and which cannot be understood unless it is replaced in the midst of the primitive beliefs from which it came. First of all, the mother provides herself with the mysterious bamboo on which the life of her elder son is to depend. Purposely she does not gather it in any chance place; she takes it from an island—which already connects that object with the aquatic element. With this bamboo she weaves a basket, in which she takes care to leave eight holes, which will be the eight openings by which eight years of misfortune are to enter for the victim. In this basket she places river-pebbles, which, even more than the bamboo, come from the water. But it is from fresh water that they have come; and the nature of the rite demands that they should assume a maritime character. They are, therefore, put among brine; by this union the assimilation is made, and the sorcery can be accomplished. The only thing that remains to be done is to pronounce the formula whose powerful words will act on all these things. The victim will wither like the leaves of bamboo, in the same way as, in another legend (*Kojiki*, 238), the magical imprecation (*ukebi*) of a chief had made a great oak-tree suddenly decay; or, better still, in the same way as, by the effect of a general malediction, man, formerly immortal, was condemned to die as the flowers of the cherry-tree fade (*Kojiki*, 140–142). Then, as the high water falls back, the guilty one will be abased. Lastly, he will be seen foundering as a stone sinks when disappearing under the waves. This curse pronounced, the basket of perdition is placed in the smoke of the hearth; the green leaves become black; the threat is executed. Yet in the end the mother's heart hears the repentance of her son. She reverses the curse, *i.e.*, the terrible magical formula is this time pronounced backwards (cf. *Kojiki*, 238), and immediately the body of the young man is 'pacified'; he returns to health, to life.

In this sorcery the most curious point is that which is connected with the sea element. The fate of the young man is, in fact, connected with the ebbing of the tide. We have here an interesting illustration, among the insular Japanese, of the belief so wide-spread among primitive races, according to which a mysterious harmony exists between the life of man and the flowing and ebbing of the sea. In this belief, it is when the sea is flowing in that one is born, becomes strong, prospers; it is when it is ebbing that one loses his energy, falls ill, and dies. The Japanese sorceress, the depositary of primitive traditions, is well aware of this secret agreement. She knows that, even far from the seashore, an artificial connexion can be formed between these two manifestations of a single force. Consequently she brings into connexion with the salt element these river-pebbles, into which the consecrated words will bring the very existence of her son; and the cursed one is immediately delivered up to the enchantment of the waters; he becomes like a pebble on the beach, the tide carries him away, drags him towards the brightnesses of life, then lets him fall back and roll in darkness and death. This story of witchcraft has, therefore, given us at one and the same time a typical case of Japanese magic and a new proof of the strange unity observable even in the most curious beliefs of humanity in general.

LITERATURE.—This has been cited in the article.

M. REVON.

MAGIC (Jewish).—The attitude assumed by Judaism towards everything not sanctioned by its own monotheistic teaching has also affected the practice which may be called 'magic,' and it thus becomes necessary, first of all, to obtain as clear a definition as documents of the OT and Jewish tradition allow as to what is to be understood by the term.

It must at once be pointed out that divination and charms (see DIVINATION [Jewish] and CHARMS AND AMULETS [Jewish]) are not part of Jewish magic, which, properly speaking, corresponds most closely to 'witchcraft.' The difference between witchcraft and other forms of magic is that the magician has nothing whatsoever to do with forecasting the future or with preventing any occurrence that is sure to happen in the ordinary course of nature. He has nothing to do primarily with spells or incantations, nor is the writing of any formula an indispensable condition for magic. Magic can only be 'performed'; no magic is effective unless it is the result of some 'operation'; the magician must 'act' in one way or another in order to accomplish his purpose; and herein lies the profound difference between magic and any other form of superstition—preventing and altering the regular operations of nature. The magician is not helping things to fruition; on the contrary, he seeks to subvert the regular course of events. He is expected, if possible, to obscure the sun and moon, to bring the dead to life, to change human beings into animal shapes or *vice versa*; he is to produce fruit in winter, and, in fact, to do everything that is contrary to the regular laws of nature. The magician will kill, he will create strife—his activity will always be an evil one. He is not expected to do good; he will be the agent for vengeance, hatred, and everything that makes for strife, death, and destruction. But he cannot carry out his intention without an 'operation'; he must 'do' something in order to bring about the desired result. Unlike the diviner, who is guided by certain signs and omens, which he is able to understand and combine, so that he can read the future in the events of the present, and unlike the charmer, who can only undo the magician's evil work by certain spells, songs, formulæ, and written amulets, the magician must perform a whole set of ceremonies quite independent of signs, omens, and spells. It is a new definition that is here offered, which, by circumscribing much more narrowly the field of superstition, is an endeavour to give to magic its real meaning. The magician's work, again, is not expected to be of a permanent character; it is temporary, and it can be undone by other means, or by other magicians who know the secret of the action and the means by which it has been achieved. In order, then, to disturb the laws of nature, to transform existing things, to shape and mould new creatures, the magician requires the help of superhuman powers. This is the very root and basis of magical art; the magician must be able to command the services of spiritual powers—demons, gods, or ghosts—malignant in their disposition and willing to do mischief.

Jewish magic presupposes the existence of such spirits, and occupies the borderland between orthodoxy and heresy, between Judaism and paganism. It is an art that lives in the twilight between truth and falsehood; and the line of demarcation shifts according to the change of theological views in the course of development and transition. It depends also upon the nature of those spirits and upon the theological attitude towards them—whether they are considered as forces opposed to God or as mere negative forces that are also creatures of God and yet unwilling, by their own innate wickedness, to do good. The conception of a rebellious angel who has been cast down from the heavenly heights because of his arrogance and insubordination does not enter into the sphere of Jewish magic, nor, with rare exceptions, have the gods of other nations become evil spirits subservient to the wish of the magician and willing to do his behest.

The Hebrew term for 'magic' is *keshef*, which, like all technical expressions connected with superstition, is of obscure origin; though many attempts have been made to elucidate its primitive meaning, not one has yet proved satisfactory. The primitive meaning of *keshef*, in the view of the present writer, is apparently 'hidden,' 'obscure,' 'a thing done in a secret manner,' which is the very essence of magic. The performance is a secret one, and even those who are allowed to witness it are slow to understand its meaning. The word *keshef*, with its various derivatives, occurs twelve times in the Bible. It is to be noted that all the references in the Pentateuch are to Egypt, while of the references in the Prophetical writings some are to Assyria as well as to Palestine itself. In 2 Ch 33^6 Manasseh is described as having practised witchcraft as well as other forbidden things (cf. also Mal 3^5); the wizards of Egypt are mentioned in Ex 7^{11} 22^{18}; in Babylon there is only one allusion to them, in Dn 2^2.

The LXX translates *keshef* by *φάρμακον*, which does not mean 'poison,' but, as in later Greek, a 'spell' cast by a magician. *Keshef* has remained the technical term in Hebrew literature. Witchcraft is called *kishshūf* in the Mishna and Talmud, and no words have been more widely used, and yet with a very definite meaning attached to them, than *kishshūf* and *mᵉkhashshēf*, nor is there any doubt that the real meaning of this 'magic' is exactly witchcraft. It is clearly stated (*Sanh.* vii. 4, 11) that only he is to be called a magician who produces a real act, but not the man who produces an optical illusion, a kind of jugglery.

The fact that witchcraft is mentioned in connexion with Egypt (exclusively, in the Pentateuch, and occasionally, in other passages in the Bible) shows the probable source of the magical art known and practised in Bible times. The Egyptian *mᵉkhashshᵉfîm* in Ex 7^{11} 22^{18} perform precisely the acts defined above as the work of the magicians; they endeavour to change the order of nature. No details are given regarding the operation of the magician in the Bible; but from Is $47^{9.12}$, Mic 5^{12}, Mal 3^5, Nah 3^4, Jer 27^9, and 2 K 9^{22} it is clear that, in the eyes of the prophets, the work of sorcery was tantamount to idolatry and to lewdness, possibly through the performance of some action by the magician. That some of the witches performed such acts in a state of absolute nakedness is an attested fact throughout the history of magic, and it is possible that the prophets had this in view when in speaking of witches they placed them on the same plane as harlots. It is noteworthy that the witch, and not the wizard, is mentioned in Ex 22^{18}, Dt 18^{10}. The sin of the *mᵉkhashshēfāh* must have been so heinous that the law punished it with death. Witchcraft must, therefore, have been connected with idolatry (Mic $5^{11f.}$); it was characterized as an 'abomination' (Dt 18^{10}), and was also described as *zᵉnūnîm*, 'lewdness' (Nah 3^4, 2 K 9^{22}).

The scanty references in the OT, which show that the practice could not have been wide-spread in Bible times, become clear in the light of the tradition of Rabbinical literature. We learn to know through what powers the magicians were able to carry on their operations; the spirits become, as it were, more materialized.

The existence of demons is not denied; on the contrary, they are universally acknowledged, possibly through the influence of Babylon, and the Jewish belief of the period endeavours to account for them in a world created by God (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Hebrew] and DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Jewish]).

According to the *Pirḳē Abhôth*, v. 9 (cf. C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*^{2}, Cambridge, 1897, *ad loc.*) and *Gen. Rab.* 7, *mazzîḳîm* were created by God Himself at the close of the sixth day; but, as the Sabbath supervened before their creation had been completed, they remained half human, half spirit. They are not fallen angels, nor are they ancient heathen gods, but intermediate between angel and man, and mostly of an evil inclination.

How they are to be used—*i.e.* the art of witchcraft—has been taught to man by two angels who have forfeited all rights to the bliss of heaven. According to a legend found in the *Book of Enoch*, the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (tr. M. Gaster, London, 1899), and other Jewish Haggadic collections, the two angels Uzza and Azael, who showed their discontent at the creation of Adam, and afterwards were sent by God, at their own request, to see whether they could withstand temptation, both fell in love with a woman and were punished by God. One of them hangs head downwards from heaven, and the other is chained behind the dark mountains; it was the latter who taught women the arts of witchcraft and cosmetics (*Jerahmeel*, ch

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25, and notes, p. lxxiii).[1] The Kenites, the descendants of Cain, were the pupils of these angels, and, according to the *Book of Jubilees*, corrupted the descendants of Seth and brought about the Flood. According to another tradition, the *mazzîḳîm* and *shēdhîm* were the children of Adam and Lîlîth, the *shēdhāh* who leads the procession of *shēdhîm*, and who, during the one hundred years that Adam was separated from Eve, consorted with him (*Zôhār*, i. 176; cf. *ERE* iv. 614^a). Lîlîth plays a great rôle in magical literature; she later becomes the demon who kills infants at birth and, together with her companions, is constantly mentioned in Aramaic inscriptions on magical bowls from Assyria and Babylon (see below). The demons are both male and female, and they also endeavour to consort with human beings—a conception from which arises the belief in *incubi* and *succubæ*—and it is through these demons that the magician is believed to be able to carry on his work.

In apocryphal and legendary literature we get a clearer glimpse of the beliefs prevalent among the Jews concerning magic and magical operations. Faith in demons and demoniacal powers seems to have been established by that time; at any rate, these beliefs are far more in evidence, and do not seem to be seriously contested. The character of these spiritual potencies is somewhat indefinite, except in the *Book of Enoch*, where, as we have seen, angels who had fallen in love with human women use such powers as instruments for deception and sorcery. In the book of Tobit another side of this belief is shown in which we may begin to see a differentiation between a white magic, or a magic tolerated by Judaism, and that kind of magic which ranked as pure paganism, and which probably would fall under the category of the witchcraft for which the death penalty was prescribed by law. Here we find the angel Raphael himself helping, by means of fumigation, to counteract the work of a demon who, falling in love with Sarah, had become an *incubus*, and would, therefore, kill any one who intended to approach her. The spirit thus exorcized was Asmodæus, who is recognized in the later demoniacal hierarchy as the king of the evil powers.[2] The position of Beliar, or Belial (the name given also in Samaritan tradition to the evil spirit who deceived Eve), is, in the *Ascension of Isaiah* and other apocryphal writings, not so clearly defined, but in any case he is an evil spirit approximating to the character of Satan in the book of Job (cf. BELIAL, BELIAR).

To obtain the assistance and help of these powers, certain means had to be devised: gifts or sacrifices were made in order to win them over and gain control over them. Maimonides,[3] in interpreting Dt 32^{17}, 'they sacrificed to *shēdhîm*,' says that the gift most acceptable to the evil spirits was blood, and that their willing help was obtained by giving them the blood of the sacrifice as food; the magician must partake of the blood, thus sharing the food of the evil spirits, so as to become their associate. To this sacrifice, which was not limited to the shedding and partaking of blood, other ceremonies had to be added, all best understood as sacrifices; just as the fumigation or burning of incense in the temple is an offering to God, so fumigation and the burning of incense must be understood primarily as gifts very acceptable to the spirits, who are not sufficiently materialized to enjoy material food (cf. the Biblical parallelism of magic with idolatry, noted above). In addition there was the lighting of candles and the use of a knife with a black handle which is mentioned by Rashi to *Sanh.* 101*a*, and which can be understood only as a symbolical sacrificial knife. Philtres must be served in glass bowls (*Bābhā mᵉṣîʿā*, 2*a*). Fasting and other ceremonies are all intended to propitiate the evil spirit, and this is what made magic and magical operations objectionable to Jews and an 'abomination' to Judaism. Yet Rabbis made allowance for weaknesses of human nature and, except on rare occasions, avoided rigorous measures against witchcraft. But when necessary they did not shrink from them. During the first centuries of the Christian era the whole of what might be termed the civilized world—Egypt, Babylon, Greece, and Rome—stood under the absolute sway of belief in evil spirits. It was partly Babylonian tradition that ascribed every form of evil and harm to the action of the *shēdhîm* and *mazzîḳîm* and produced a large literature of invocations and magical formulæ for harm and for protection, and partly the Egyptian tradition of magical operations and ceremonies of a mystical and magical character. During Talmudic times it seems to have been believed that some *shēdhîm* were harmless, and, though they were looked upon as evilly inclined and malignant, a friendly intercourse with them does not appear to have been considered contrary to Jewish law. Thus a Rabbi once assisted in a dispute between two *shēdhîm*, in which one who had taken unlawful possession of a place belonging to the other was vanquished and a few drops of blood were found floating on the well where they dwelt (*Levit. Rab.* 24); but, on the other hand, Abaya saw a seven-headed monster coming out of a well and killed it.[1] The attitude of the Rabbis was justifiable so long as it did not lead to real idolatry.

The belief in the power of the Ineffable Name (see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Jewish], NAMES [Jewish]) was as old as any belief in witchcraft. As soon as the existence of evil spirits could not be denied, they also were given mysterious names, and it was held that, the moment the magician possessed the secret of their names, he could win their assistance, provided it was not contrary to the will of God. Legend says (*Pal. Targ.* to Gn $25^{1ff.}$) that among the first who obtained mastery over these demons and the knowledge how to deal with them for their own purposes were the children of Abraham by his wife Keturah, to whom he had imparted the knowledge of the mystical names of the demons (the names of the unclean). It was through the names of these evil spirits that 'the prophet of the heathen,' as Balaam is called, was able to perform his witchcraft and was expected to harm the Israelites. He was considered to be the greatest magician of old, and, according to *Pal. Targ.* to Nu 25^1, he taught the daughters of Moab to practise sorcery and witchcraft and thus entice the young men to idolatry and immorality, which brought the plague upon Israel. It is also said that Balaam tried to escape by flying in the air, but Phinehas, through the Holy Name, was able to fly higher and smite him. The magicians in Egypt who unsuccessfully withstood Moses were Jannes and Jambres (so already in *Pal. Targ.* to Ex 1), well known in apocryphal literature as the great magicians at the court of Pharaoh (cf. also 2 Ti 3^8). According to the Samaritan *Apocrypha of Moses*, the sorcerer who predicted the birth of Moses was a certain Palti. The Samaritans trace the origin of sorcery and witchcraft to the 'Book of Signs' given to Adam before he left Paradise; but in Jewish and Christian apocryphal literature it is the 'Book of Adam,' or the 'Book of Rāzîēl,' a title afterwards given to a handbook of practical *ḳabbālā* full of such mystical names of angels, rulers, princes, stars, planets, and sublunar worlds. Still less could the Rabbis object to belief in power over these demons when they remembered that even the Temple in Jerusalem was said to have been built by Solomon with the assistance of the *shēdhîm*—a legend which rests on a peculiar interpretation of the word *shiddāh*, occurring in Ec 2^8. So firm was the later belief in Solomon's power over the *shēdhîm*—and whatever was allowed to Solomon could not be refused to any other Jew—that Josephus has preserved to us (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 5) the tradition of Eleazar, who came before the Roman emperor Vespasian, and was able to drive away an evil spirit by using the ring of Solomon and certain herbs.

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[1] For an Egyptian parallel to this legend ascribing the origin of magical art to the teaching of an angel who had fallen in love with a woman see M. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, Paris, 1887–88, i. 31.

[2] Later the host of *shēdhîm* had other rulers and princes besides Asmodæus (cf. Jerus. *Shᵉḳ.* v. 49*b*, *Gen. Rab.* 20, *Levit. Rab.* 5, and later Midrashic compilations).

[3] *Guide*, iii. 56.

[1] This is one of the earliest mentions of a seven-headed dragon, which plays such an important rôle in fairy-tales.

In the Solomonic cycle Asmodæus is mentioned as their king, and Lîlîth, Maḥalat, and Agaron are also described later as leaders of evil spirits, while even a demon Meridianus has been evolved out of Ps 91^6. Once the grouping of spirits was conceded, numbers came from various quarters to swell the host. Among these we find reference, in the Talmud, to the princes or rulers over oil and eggs,[1] rulers over the thumb or, rather, thumbnail, and over crystal—all shining objects used, no doubt, for crystal-gazing (*q.v.*). It was a time of syncretism, in which everything that helped either to do or to avert evil was eagerly sought by the credulous. The work of the magician was wrapped in obscurity; his books were kept secret, and his operations were accessible only to the adept, whence much of the practical operation is almost lost to us. What has survived is, with few exceptions, the accompanying formulæ by which these various spirits and invisible powers were invoked or subdued either for evil, as in most cases, or for good. In the Greek magical papyri some fragments of the formulæ are extant, but very little of the operations. Much more seems to have been preserved in the Hebrew *Sword of Moses* (ed. and tr. Gaster, *JRAS*, 1896, pp. 149-198), of extreme antiquity, and in some MSS of practical *ḳabbālā*, or practical occultism, mostly in the possession of the present writer (one of the prescriptions in these is given below). A large number of bowls, many of them dating from the first centuries of the Christian era, have been found in Babylonia with Hebrew and Syriac inscriptions, these vessels being used by the ancient magicians for the purpose of making the incantation or conjuration written on them effective. The inscriptions in question contain whole lists of demons and spirits who are in the service of the magician or whose power he is expected to check. A large number of them have been published by J. A. Montgomery (*Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913), and one (no. 32) may here be reproduced as showing the state of mind and the beliefs of the people. The translation is independent and differs somewhat from that given by Montgomery.

'This bowl is prepared for the sealing of the house and the wife and the children of Dīnōi, son of Ispandarmēd, that the Terrifier (fright) and evil Dreams may depart from him. The bowl I lifted up and I have watered (drained) it, an operation like that which was established by Rab Joshua bar Peraḥyah, who wrote against them—a ban against all Demons and Devils and Satans and Lîlîths and curses which are in the house of Dīnōi, son of Ispandarmēd. Again: he wrote against them a ban which is for all time, in the name of ATMDG, Atâtōt Atōt, within T, Atōt Atōt, the name a scroll within a scroll. Through which are subjected heaven and earth and the mountains; and through which the heights are raised (lifted) up; and through which are fettered the magician, Demons and Devils and Satans and Lîlîths and curses; and through which he passed over from this world and climbed above you to the height (of heaven) and learned all counter-charms for hurt and for healing to bring you forth from the house of Dīnōi, son of Ispandarmēd, and from everything that belongs to him. I have dismissed you by the ban, and it is bound and sealed and countersealed, even as ancient lines (of writing) which do not fail and men of old who were not surrounded (tied). . . . Again: bound and sealed and countersealed is this ban in the name of YHYHYHYHYH, YHYH, YHYH, A. (Amen), Amen, Amen, Selah.

Sealed and protected are the house and dwelling of Dīnōi, son of Ispandarmēd, from the Terrifier (fright) and evil Dreams and the Curse. And sealed and protected be [his wife and son] from the Terrifier and evil Dreams and Curses and Vows and . . . Hallela. Amen.'

This inscription has been selected because it contains the name of the famous Joshua (Jesus) b. Peraḥyah who was so important a figure in the time of John Hyrcanus at the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. He was the teacher and friend of R. Simeon b. Sheṭaḥ, whose dealings with the witches of Ashkelon are mentioned below. In the apocryphal stories about Jesus a noteworthy part is assigned to this Joshua b. Peraḥyah, who had fled to Egypt, where he was believed to have learned the art both of working and of combating magic.

The Jerus. *Talm.* (*Sanh.* vii. 19, fol. 25*d*) tells a curious legend concerning this same R. Joshua, who is made the contemporary of R. Eleazar and R. Gamaliel. These three came to a place where they found a young man whose manhood had been taken away by a witch. R. Joshua sowed flax seeds on the table, and they sprouted in an instant and grew up. Out of the midst a woman with dishevelled hair suddenly appeared—the witch. R. Joshua seized her and ordered her to loosen the spell, but she refused, whereupon he threatened to divulge her name. She then answered that she could not undo the spell, because the things had been thrown into the sea. R. Joshua then ordered the angel of the sea to throw them up, and thus the young man was restored to health, and later became the father of R. Judah b. Bethera.

In the light of the Babylonian bowls, it is not improbable that this is a story of Joshua b. Peraḥyah, but, as nothing was known of his magical powers, it was transferred later to another Rabbi also named Joshua.

The Rabbis had no doubt as to the origin of witchcraft: it came from Egypt. According to *Ḳiddūshîn*, 49*b*, ten measures of witchcraft have come down into the world, nine of which have gone to Egypt, while one has spread throughout the rest of the world. The Talmud names one or two witches who are said to have practised in Jerusalem, among them being Yôḥnā, the daughter of R^{e}ṭîbî (*Sôṭāh*, 22*a*), famous as a witch affecting childbirth.

One day, whilst she was assisting a woman in travail, a neighbour came into her house. Hearing a noise in a vessel like that of a child in the womb, she lifted the cover; the noise ceased, and the woman was easily delivered. Hence it was recognized that Yôḥnā was a witch.[1]

Evidence of the Egyptian origin of witchcraft and of its purely temporary character—as is shown by the fact that, if put to the proper test, it vanishes—is seen in the Talmudic story of Z^{e}ʿērî.

He bought an ass in Alexandria, but, when he attempted to cross the river on it, it turned into a plank the instant it touched the stream, for no witchcraft can withstand running water. All who saw him laughed at his discomfiture, but he recovered the money which he had paid for the ass. Another Rabbi, Jannai, being offered a drink of water, poured some of the liquid on the ground, whereupon the rest turned into scorpions. He then compelled the witch to drink and she was transformed into an ass, on which he rode into the market. There another witch, recognizing her, broke the spell, and the Rabbi was then seen to have the witch for his steed (*Sanh.* 67*b*).

As soon as magical operations came to be regarded as idolatry, sterner measures were taken, one of the foremost opponents of magic being R. Simeon b. Sheṭah (*Sanh.* 44*b*, and Rashi, *ad loc.*), who lived in the time of King Jannæus and Queen Alexandra (1st cent. B.C.). He went to Ashkelon, where, with the assistance of eighty pupils, he caught eighty witches actually practising their magic arts, and he hanged them all in one day.

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[1] The rulers of the egg must mean those who obtained an insight into the work of the spirits or mastery over them through looking intently into the yolk of an opened egg (*Sanh.* 67*b*).

[1] This idea of a witch who holds the soul, or the eyes, or the heart in close imprisonment in certain vessels which, when broken (the contents being restored to the owner), restore life, health, and sight occurs frequently in fairy-tales and is derived from Egyptian tradition.

The details are of much interest, for they show a complete continuity of practice from that day onward. The women procured food and drink in a miraculous manner, and in the midst of their feasting did not disdain to invite the Rabbi's pupils to share in their banquet. Each of the young men then took one of the witches in his arms and lifted her from the ground, whereby she lost her magical power, the reason given for this procedure being that no harm could befall a witch as long as she touched the earth.

It was, however, found necessary to bring some order into the chaos of magic, for the Rabbis could not transgress a clear prescription of the Bible, and a sin which was punished with death could not be passed over lightly. On the other hand, what was a deadly sin for the followers of one creed might be tolerated by those following another; a heathen might be allowed to be a magician and not fall under the ban of the Law, while a Jew was strictly forbidden to follow such practices, and, *vice versa*, a Jew might be considered a magician by the followers of another creed. To a Jew all heathen practices and even religious ceremonies might be magic, and the Rabbis, therefore, divided magic into three categories. First, the death penalty by stoning (Lv 20^{27}) was inflicted only on those who practised magic and performed magical operations. The second class consisted of those who merely acted as jugglers or produced optical illusions, and who were warned not to indulge in such practices, but were not punished. A third type of magic was that by which operations and identical results obtained by the Holy Name were not only tolerated, but actually sanctioned. A difference was thus made between the use of the names of the unclean spirits (magic) and the names of the clean ones (*ḳabbālā*). By the former are meant demons and spirits, by the latter angelic powers. At the same time mastery over demoniacal beings might be obtained through the mediation of heavenly powers.

Thus, when R. Simeon b. Yoḥai and other sages went to Rome, they caused a demon, ben Teᵉmaliôn, to enter the emperor's daughter; and, when they arrived at the city, they were able to cure her by expelling the spirit (briefly told in *Mᵉʿīlāh*, fol. 17, *a–b*, enlarged form in A. Jellinek, *Bēt ha-Midrasch*, Vienna, 1853–78, vi. 128–130; also Rashi, *ad loc.*; Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, London, 1896, no. 19; M. Seligsohn, in *JE* xi. 360 f.).

Thus was established a compromise which was facilitated by the manifold meanings attached to the word *rūaḥ*, 'spirit,' used even in the Bible for both a good and an evil spirit coming forth from the Lord, possessing man and departing from him. So strong was the belief in the harm which such evil spirits could produce that, as far back as the time of the Mishna, a light might be extinguished on the Sabbath if an evil spirit was feared (*Mishn. Shab.* ii. 5); and in the Bible *rūaḥ* is already occasionally applied to evil spirits, demons, and devils (Jg 9^{23}, 1 S $16^{14-16.23}$ 18^{10}, 1 K $22^{22f.}$, Zec 13^{2}).

Despite the stern attitude taken by the Rabbis, magic flourished among the Jews, for the adepts of this science often deluded themselves as to the true character of their art. Not only did they continue their forbidden practices and their operations for evoking spirits and subduing demons, but in their formulæ they introduced names of spirits and demons gathered from every form of warring creed and ancient tradition, and gods and spirits long dead and forgotten were retained in magical practices and invocations. Gnostic, Babylonian, and Egyptian names, and even such appellations as Soter, Alpha, Omega, and Evangelion are found side by side with Ṣᵉbhāôth and Shaddai. Actual specimens of these conjurations are very rare, for the magician would never disclose his mode of operation, but the following example (taken from the present writer's Cod. no. 443, fol. 13*b*) is characteristic of the peculiar mixture of names and powers used by the magician.

'And they are called "the princes of bdellium." Take bdellium and write upon it with olive oil[1] 'AUNGIL (or) AUNGILEIA;[2] and take a boy seven years old and anoint his hand from the top of the thumb to the end of the finger; and put the bdellium into his hand in the anointed place and seize his hand; and you shall sit upon a three-legged stool and put the boy between your loins so that his ear shall be against your mouth and you shall turn your face towards the sun and say in his ear: "Aungil, I adjure thee in the name of the Lord God, God of Truth, God, Keeper of the Hosts, ALPHA, AIDU,[3] that thou shalt send from thee three angels." Then the boy will see (a figure) like (that of) a man; and say (the charm) twice more, and he will see two (figures); and the boy shall say unto them: "Your coming be in peace!" And then tell the boy to ask of them that which you wish. And if they will not answer him, the boy shall adjure them, and say: "KASPAR, KELÉI, 'EMAR (or) BLEITEISAR,[4] the master and I adjure (you) with a second adjuration that you tell me that thing or who has committed that theft." And know that he who wishes to do this must do it on a clear, cloudless day, and in winter time at mid-day.'

The most remarkable product of this type of syncretism is the *Sēfer Mafteāḥ Shlᵉômôh* ('Key of Solomon'), a complete facsimile of which has been edited by H. Gollancz (Oxford, 1914).

No legal command could eradicate so deep-seated a belief as that in magic and magician, and, though it is true that it was forbidden, almost on pain of death, to become a pupil of a magician (*amgūshî*) (*Shab.* 75*b*), yet his help might be invoked to break a spell in the case of a man who had become seriously ill through witchcraft. This was done almost to modern times (*Ṭūr*, *Yôreh dēʿāh*, § 179, and the commentary of R. Joseph Ḳaro [see QARO, JOSEPH], *ad loc.*).

Belief in magic received an additional impetus through the mysterious teachings of the *Zôhār*, which, from the 14th cent., held almost unbroken sway over the mind of the majority of the Jews. In it the Talmudic legends concerning the existence and activity of the *shēdhîm* are repeated and amplified, and a hierarchy of demons was established corresponding to the heavenly hierarchy. Halls of the nether world and their demon rulers are fully described in the *Zôhār* (Ex. 246*b*–268*a*) and exorcism of the *shēdh* or any evil spirit was recognized as within the power of every man fully versed in mystical lore and in the mystical names of God. Many a tale is told of such expulsion of demons by holy and pious men, such as Heliodorus in Catania in the 8th cent. (L. Zunz, *Zur Gesch. und Lit.*, Berlin, 1845, p. 486); and others are mentioned by Manasseh in his *Nishmat Ḥayîm* (Amsterdam, 1652), bk. iii., which is full of information concerning belief in demons and the power of the pious to master them and use them for their own purpose. Even the scholarly and learned Rabbis of the 17th cent. clung to the belief, while in the legendary lore of the Middle Ages such men as Maimonides (*q.v.*), Ibn Ezra (*q.v.*), R. Judah the Pious, Rashi, and Naḥmanides (*q.v.*) were all credited with magical powers, and many a legend is told of their operations. Rabbi Jehiel of Paris has even found a place in Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* as a wonder-working Rabbi, and no less famous was R. Loeb of Prague (17th cent.), who was regarded as a great magician and was credited with having a clay famulus that was able to perform wonderful deeds, since it had under its tongue a plate on which a mysterious name had been engraved. The Baʿal Shēm († 1760), who founded the sect of the Ḥasîdhîm, had many encounters with the *shēdhîm*, as described in his biography (*Shibḥē Baʿal Shem Ṭob*, Berdichev, 1815 ff.), and a collection of miraculous deeds performed by him and after him by wonder-working Rabbis of the Ḥasîdhîm as detailed in the *Kᵉhal Ḥasîdhîm* (Lemberg, 1864); nor should we forget the legendary contest, described in an anonymous chapbook, between a bishop magician and a red Jew, who had come from beyond the waters of the mysterious river Sambaṭyôn, for upon the issue of the struggle depended the life of the Jewish communities in Germany. To this very day the Jews in Syria perform such magical operations as fumigation, libations, and offerings of oil, bread, and lighted candles, which are put in the four corners of an empty house to propitiate the *shēdhîm* before the people venture to enter the dwelling and make the proper dedication. Gradually, however, the belief in the *shēdhîm* is waning, and the literature of practical *ḳabbālā* is slowly but steadily being discarded. Indeed, much of Jewish magic to-day is, in reality, little more than a concession to ignorance. When a Rabbi was asked why the aid of a magician may be invoked in case of serious illness, he replied, according to Joseph Ḳaro (commentary on *Ṭūr*, *Yôreh Dē̆āh*, ch. 179), that, although there was no basis of fact for the procedure, such an appeal might soothe and comfort the patient, and therefore he saw no objection to it. This is practically the answer which is given in modern times when the people are asked why they continue to believe in the harm done by demons, and in magical operations intended to propitiate them and to obtain relief and safety. It is merely a temporary comfort to those who are loath to give up old beliefs which are now recognized as vain imaginations.

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[1] S. Daiches, *Bab. Oil Magic in the Talmud and in the Later Jewish Literature*, London, 1913.

[2] Εὐαγγέλιον.

[3] Ὤμεγα (?).

[4] The three kings from the East, Kaspar, Melchior, and Baltazar—a curious invocation in the mouth of a Jewish magician. It is evident, from the corrupted form of the names, that the copyist did not understand what he was writing.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the books mentioned in the text see the Literature at artt. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Jewish), DIVINATION (Jewish), and BIRTH (Jewish).

M. GASTER.

MAGIC (Slavic).—The Slavic countries are a peculiarly rich field for the study of folk-lore, as they were not Christianized until the 10th cent., remained isolated from Western influences, and have conserved their written traditions.

On the vast uplands of the northern steppes man's relations to nature were characteristic. The Greeks, in their narrow, diversified, hilly country, developed a corresponding mythology, varied and beautiful; the modern Western European, a city-dweller, turns to nature in a romantic manner, semi-religiously idolizing what is to him unwonted and fresh. But to the Slav peasant nature was business, his everyday surrounding, beside which nothing else existed. He was rather unimaginative and quite ignorant. Whilst the Norsemen and the Greeks created mythologies out of natural phenomena, the Slav, in the drear monotony of his plains, fell into neither the deep religious fatalism of the Scandinavians nor the bright imagery of the Greeks; he simply saw that the sun ripened and the sun scorched; that the earth was moist and fertile or parched and frozen; that he was environed by unknown powers to be obeyed or to be subdued; he addressed prayers and incantations to them in a prosaic, almost rationalist, attitude of mind, without adoration, with merely a recognition of inevitable dependence. His spells and invocations (the bastard descendants of heathen rites) were unsound science, but good rationalism. A. N. Rambaud[1] says that the primitive Slavs adored matter and never felt the incentive to personify, idealize, or philosophize it; perhaps it was a mere acceptance of necessity.

The Pomeranian Slavs, the only Slavs who had access to the sea, had a very elaborate ritual, and worshipped many-headed images in temples, not in groves, like the other Slavs. Their greatest oracles and pilgrimages were in the isle of Rügen; these pagan shrines were destroyed by Valdemar I. of Denmark in 1168.

The recollection of this sacred island has strongly influenced Slav myth and magic. The word Rügen is derived from the same root as the English 'rough,' and is called in Early Russian Ruyán. Now the word Buyán comes from a synonymous root, and looks like a translation of the Teutonic name Rügen; and it is thus a safe and probable theory to identify the fabulous island of Buyán with the historical shrine of Rügen—all the more so as the mysterious stone Alátyr is thought perhaps to mean amber, which was an article of Baltic commerce.

When Christianity had effaced the old Slavic nature-gods, the need for which they stood still remained—that of dealing with nature, coaxing and dominating her, and mastering her secrets. Fragments of the old ritual, degenerating into incomprehensible patter, continued to be used at the old sacred haunts, but these incantations were clandestine; though the beings invoked were believed in, they were considered illicit or hellish; heathendom had changed into magic.

Every village had its magician or witch-doctor. These practitioners certainly possessed great knowledge of healing, as herbalists and masseurs; but, where all nature consists of discontinuous miracles, such cures had to be accompanied with the ritual that was calculated to conciliate the powers and convince the patient.

The Russian sorcerer lived alone; he had learnt the magic formulæ, and had been instructed by the woodsprites (*lešì*), the goblin of the hearth (*domovóy*), the fairies of the fields and the water (*polevóy*, *vodyanóy*). Such practitioners are known by many names—*e.g.*, *znákhar*, *kóldun*, *kudésnik*, *vedún*, *vorožéy*, etc.; the women-witches are called *vedĭma*; and to them more extraordinary powers are attributed. These magicians hand down their wisdom to their youngest children—a custom signifying that this magical knowledge was derived from non-Aryan peoples, and taken over by the Aryan conquerors.

It is said that the *znákhar* has physical marks—a troubled eye, a grey complexion—that he mutters, has a hoarse voice, and so on. Unless he communicates once a year, earth will not receive his body, and then he wanders after death as a vampire, sucking others' blood. Witches are credited with the power of flying, and are supposed to have marvellous muscular strength and a spotted skin. They are said to forgather in the gusts and whirls of snow at cross-roads; a pious man should cross himself when he comes upon such whirling columns, for in them the witches dance. If a knife be thrust into such a column, it will drop to the ground blood-stained; and it then becomes an implement for sorcery—*e.g.*, a man crossed in love may use its broad blade to wipe out the track of his maiden in the snow.

The wizard is believed to have terrible powers; among the Galician Rusins, *e.g.*, if the *znákhar* inserts a knife under the threshold of his intended victim's dwelling, the victim is snatched away by a whirlwind, and detained until the knife is removed.

The magical formulæ are very curious. They are framed for every occasion of need; and, to be efficacious, they must be spoken in one breath without any departure from the text—only thus can the powers of nature be quelled, and the wizard be the lord of creation. The following is the text of a charm against lead, copper, and iron bullets:

> 'In the lofty chamber, at the river mouth, beyond the river Vólga, a fair maiden stands, stands and decks herself, commends herself to valorous folk, glories in deeds of war. In her right hand she holds bullets of lead, in her left bullets of copper, on her feet bullets of iron. Do thou, fair maiden, ward off the guns of the Turks, the Tatars, the Germans, the Circassians, the Russians, the Mordvins, of all tribes and foes;

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[1] *La Russie épique*, Paris, 1876, p. 215.

> smite with thy invisible might the hostile weapons. If they shall shoot from their guns, may their bullets not hit, but strike the moist earth, the open field. May I be whole and uninjured in this war, and my steed whole and uninjured, and my dress stouter than armour. I close my decree with a lock, and I hurl the key into the Ocean-sea, on the burning stone Alátyr. And, as it is not to the sea to dry, as the stone may not be seen, the keys not be reached, so may I not be hit by bullets for all my life.'

A charm against fever runs as follows:

> 'On the Mountains of Athon there is an oak, and under the oak thirteen sages with the Sage Pafnúti. To them there go twelve maidens, fair, with simple tresses, and simple belts. And the Sage Pafnúti with the thirteen sages says: "Who are these who have come to us?"—And the twelve maidens say: "We are the daughters of King Herod, we journey across the earth to freeze up bones and torture the body." And the Sage Pafnúti spake to his sages: "Break off three rods, and we will beat them on for three dawns and three gloamings." The twelve maidens besought the thirteen sages with the Sage Pafnúti; but in vain. And the sages began beating them, saying: "Hail, ye twelve maidens! Be ye turned into water-sprites, and weakened, and live in the chilled water; nor enter the world, nor afflict bones, nor torture bodies." The maidens fled into the cold water as water-sprites,' etc.

These charms contain weird mixtures of legend: beyond the sea of Khvalynsk (probably the Baltic), on the isle of Buyán, on the mystic stone Alátyr, or on a sacred oak magical maidens sit; or there is a mighty sword, a man with a huge bow, a gigantic raven, or a castle with seven locked gates. In fact, the epic portion of the incantations is a medley of all the ancient myths, the one common feature being the locality of the island, and, occasionally, distinct recollections of the ritual practised at Rügen by the Pomeranian Slavs in the 12th century. These incantations also contain, as necessary parts, an invocation in which the 'servant of God,' the suppliant, states his request, and a conclusion, such as 'my word is strong,' 'a seal on my words,' to ratify, as it were, and assert the mastery over nature ensured by the spell.

Incantations must be pronounced in the traditional manner and at the right time and spot—*e.g.*, on midsummer's day, facing east, on the threshold, etc., during the offices at church (to contrive murder, a candle should be held upside down during the hearing of Mass). The professional enchanter expresses his desires forcibly and effectually to the natural powers whom he has under his sway, by means of formulæ which are a farrago of ancient Finnish magic, Aryan folklore, and Christian apocalypse. The incantations contain words of action, such as 'I stand up,' 'I wash myself,' 'I shroud myself in the clouds,' 'I surround myself with the crowded stars'; and the expression creates an illusion of the reality of the action.

Among the incantations against toothache, one invokes the dawn-goddess to cover the aching teeth with her veil against the attacks of the fiend Limar; the epic part goes on:

> 'In the field there is a hare, in the sea there is a stone, in the depths there is Limar.'

Another invokes the horned moon to cure the affliction. A third invokes, literally in the same breath, the Christian saints Martha, Mary, and Pegalea, and the water-demon. A fourth runs as follows:

> 'I go neither on the road nor on the street, but on empty lanes by copses and canals. I meet a hare. Hare, where are your teeth? Give me yours, take mine. I go neither on a road nor a path, but in the dark forest, a grey wood. I meet a dusky wolf. Wolf, dusky wolf, where are your teeth? I will give you mine, give me yours. I go neither on earth nor on water, but on the open plain, the flowery mead. I meet an old woman. Old woman, where are your teeth? Take out your wolf-like teeth, take out my falling teeth.'

In an incantation to stay the flow of blood the *znákhar* squeezes the wound and recites three times in a breath:

> 'In the Ocean-sea, on the Isle of Buyán a fair maiden was weaving silk; she did not leave off weaving silk; the blood ceased flowing.'

Again, in another formula, the Holy Virgin is depicted, like Svantovít, one of the principal gods worshipped at Rügen by the Pomeranian Slavs, or St. George, as riding across the golden bridge on her horse—an unmistakable reminiscence of the chariot of the sun on the rainbow.

There are charms to lull a child to sleep, and these sometimes invoke mysterious beings—Kriks, Plaks, and Ščekotuna—as well as the dawn, coupled with the names of Christian saints.

To save a man from drunkenness a worm is taken out of an empty wine-cask, dried, and then steeped anew in wine, whilst this formula is recited:

> 'Lord of the sea-depths! Carry the mettlesome heart of thy servant out of the shifting sands, the burning stones; breed in him a winged brood.'

The following examples illustrate the lyrical quality occasionally found in these strange compositions, especially in some of the spring invocations:

> 'Thou, Heaven, hearest, thou, Heaven, seest what I wish to accomplish on the body of thy servant X. [There follow four words unintelligible. An unintelligible patter is sometimes found, which looks very like a tradition of a lost language.] Thou Moon, turn away the servant of God from wine; thou little Sun, bring peace to the servant of God from wine. Ye bright stars, do ye assemble in the wedding-cup! But in my cup be there water from the mountain-well! Ye stars, do ye wean X, the servant of God, from wine. My word is potent.'
>
> 'Thou bright Moon, come into my net! But in my net there is neither bottom nor cover! Thou generous Sun, approach my door, my courtyard, but in my courtyard there are neither men nor beasts.'

The field of Slav magic is too vast and intricate for adequate treatment in these few words. The varied superstitions have been voluminously compiled by Sakharov and his generation; but it should be particularly noted that there are extant songs of witches in a meaningless gibberish, which some philologist might very possibly interpret and so assign definitively some origin to part of the magic ritual, at any rate, of Russia.

In the 18th cent. Russian magic became specifically demonological. An infernal hierarchy was foisted upon it with anti-ecclesiastical ritual. These late charms impress the reader as being identically artificial, like the imitative ballads of the same period; in form they copy the mediæval spells.

Summary.—The history and decline of Russian magic, it would appear, traced the following course. The primitive vague and inchoate nature-worship of the Slav Aryans was profoundly influenced and deflected by the subject races of the Finns, Cuds, and other Turanian races, who became typical magicians and had mystic powers ascribed to them. The elaborate ritual of the Pomeranian Slavs originated in a greater intermixture of race, and, when suppressed, was soon forgotten; but it lingered on in tradition and folk-lore, in the incomprehensible patter of the spells, and especially in the legend of the isle of Buyán and the stone Alátyr.

As Christianity spread, the ancient gods of thunder, spring, and progeny, the sun and moon, etc., were duly canonized, whilst the pagan soul and the pagan adoration of nature remained the same, and the festivals were held, often on the same day in the same place, and with similar ceremonies.

In the second mediæval stage, merged in and with the incantation are village science and medicine, village nature-poetry, and primitive *religio loci*. The specialization of the medicine-man, the healer, the priest, and the minstrel came with advancing civilization, the herbalist degenerating into the magician and enchanter. Post-mediævally, a formal demonology arose, a positive anti-Christianity, artificial, sporadic, and short-lived.

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L. A. MAGNUS.

MAGIC (Teutonic).—In all ages and in all localities the belief in magic is found to have sprung from the same roots: panvitalism, *i.e.* the conception of nature as alive in every part; the incapacity of primitive man to distinguish persons or things from their names or representations; the belief in the transferability of the powers of nature and of human souls; and the dread of soul-spirits and demons, as also of such hostile persons as were believed to be in league with these supernatural existences. We need not wonder, therefore, if the means by which the various peoples of the earth have sought to defend themselves from all sinister influences of the kind should likewise show a large degree of uniformity. Naturally the most effective mode of securing immunity from the machinations of magic was to counteract them, if possible, by a magic still more potent. From the earliest times the amulet and the spell have been specially resorted to as protective expedients. While the former, however, was employed exclusively as a prophylactic, the magic formula was used in the practice of other kinds of the occult art, whether its design was beneficent or the reverse.

With reference to the ideas and customs associated with the belief in magic, the Teutons formed no exception to the general rule. Among them, as among other races, are found the belief in the soul and the various forms of superstition developed from and dependent upon it. The souls of the departed were believed to pervade and animate all nature; they could assume at will human or animal forms, and bring good or evil fortune to men. From the soul of the sorceress came the powers of the witch whose devices could work injury upon other human beings. Many of the nature-demons, whose place of origin was the physical environment, were regarded as being endowed with magical powers. Among the Germans, likewise, the practices of soothsaying and magic were intimately connected with the belief in soul-spirits. The prophetic faculty was attributed to women as well as men. In the north of Europe the *Völven* had a great reputation as prophetesses and sorceresses. The practice of magic was on the whole more fully developed among the Northern Teutons than in Germany, being fostered in the former case by the shamanism of the neighbouring Finns, a people famous over the entire North for their magic. The most powerful and formidable sorceresses mentioned by the Norse sagas belong, for the most part, to the Finnish race, which, again, in its religion, its demonology, and its magic, is very closely allied to the ancient Sumerian peoples. It is possible that many elements in the magic and demonology of the Northern Teutons were borrowed from the Finns. At all events, the practice of resorting to the latter people in order to acquire their magic arts became so prevalent that at a later time the Christian Church found it necessary to enact laws prohibiting it. But this was not the only channel by which the Teutons became acquainted with the magical ideas and usages of foreign, and especially of the Roman, Greek, and Oriental, peoples. The Northern Teutons visited the Mediterranean Sea both as Vikings and as peaceful merchants, while the Southern Teutons were the near neighbours of the Romans, and were sometimes in their pay as mercenaries. In point of fact, however, the occult art and its adepts are found among the Teutons from the outset. Here, just as on Greek and Roman soil, the idea prevailed that it was possible to work changes in the nature of objects simply by the magical virtues of the spoken and written word or of the symbol. The magic utterance and the magic rune—the engraved talismanic symbol—were used for the most varied purposes. According to the *Ynglinga Saga*, runes and spells owed their origin to Oðin, while the rune-master of the *Hávamál* knows the right method of engraving the characters, as well as the songs which effect cures, restrain enemies, render weapons harmless, quench fires, subdue winds and waves, call up the dead, and awaken a maiden's love, though the words of the songs are not given. Other magic songs are referred to in the *Sigrdrífumál*. That a similar profusion of magic songs was to be found among the Southern Teutons is shown by the *Homilia de sacrilegiis*, which came into existence in the Southern Frankish kingdom under the Merovingians. Alike in the North and in the South these songs were in great part employed as expedients for the cure of disease in man and beast; nor is this to be wondered at when we remember that disease itself was regarded as due to demons and malefic magic. Magic alone, in fact, could undo the work of magic.

Now, the articles exclusively employed for the purpose of influencing the magical properties of things were amulets and ligatures. There was not the slightest misgiving as to the efficacy of the appropriate amulet. Discoveries in tombs furnish ample information regarding the objects specially in request as amulets among the Teutons. Thus, for the protection of the dead, belemnites, amber rings, stone arrow-heads, and hook crosses were laid in the grave along with the body. Amulets were also fashioned out of all kinds of objects bearing figures and drawings, while a special vogue was enjoyed by the so-called *bracteates*, which were imitated from Roman coins, and brought to the North in the early centuries of our era. These were mostly of gold. The images of the gods which served as amulets likewise date from the period of Roman influence.

When the missionaries of the Roman Church introduced the Christian religion among the Teutonic tribes, they found ideas and practices quite similar to what had prevailed in pagan Rome and its provinces. Accordingly, they sought to apply the same procedure as had been previously resorted to, *i.e.*, they incorporated the deities of the pagan Teutons into the system of demons whose existence the Church recognized, while they forbade all worship of them, as also the practice of magic in general, and inflicted severe penalties upon the disobedient. From the early centuries of the Church's history, synods and councils had found it necessary to forbid even the priests to pander to the people's craving for amulets, written spells, adjurations, and magic potions; and, as late as the 8th cent., clergy in Thuringia, the missionary district of St. Boniface, were making amulets of small cards inscribed with Biblical verses of supposed protective or remedial powers, and hung from the neck by a cord, just as if they had been pieces of amber or agate. The use of incantations was also vigorously assailed from the pulpit, while other ecclesiastical enactments against amulets and spells are found among the rules for penance and in the ecclesiastical or Christian codes. Among the various collections of penitential regulations—which, it is true, prohibit many non-Teutonic superstitions—a peculiar place is occupied by those of the Anglo-Saxons, as the Frankish regulations are in great measure verbally dependent upon them. They warn against 'divinationes,' 'auguria,' 'somnia,' 'mathematici,' 'emissores tempestatum,' and especially against 'incantationes diabolicæ,' 'filacteria,' and 'ligaturæ.' As yet excommunication was the extreme penalty for transgression. The Venerable Bede (*HE* iv. 27) relates that, during a time of pestilence and high mortality, recourse was had to adjurations and spells. The abbot Regino of Prüm has incorporated an entire series of the decrees of councils dealing with the subject in his work *de Synodalibus Causis* (A.D. 906; *PL* cxxxii. 187 ff.), and from that work much has been borrowed by Burchard of Worms, who wrote about the beginning of the 11th century (*PL* cxl. 537 ff.).

That similar ideas and usages were still flourishing in England at this period is shown by Ælfric's *Passio S. Bartholomei Apostoli*, with its injunction that no one shall seek to regain health by using a ligature of medicinal herbs or praising a herb in a 'magic song.' The ecclesiastical ordinances of Eadgar and the Northumbrian priests' laws contain regulations to the same effect. Among the Northern Teutons likewise canon law directed its mandates against superstition and magic.

Till well on in the 16th cent. synods and councils of the Church were constantly under the necessity of dealing with the use of spells and amulets and the evils arising from them. Thus can. 9 of a papal bull enacts for the Lateran Council of 1514 that *sortilegia* made by invoking demons, by incantations, or by other superstitious practices are unlawful. Clerics who offend are to be punished at the discretion of their superiors, and laymen are to be excommunicated or visited with civil penalties.

In dealing with such offences, the national codes of the various Teutonic peoples do not show the same unanimity as the Church. The Teutonic nations that came into existence on Roman territory found it necessary to base their legislation against magic directly upon the ordinances of Roman law. The earliest Teutonic code, the *lex Visigothorum,* enacted (bk. vi. tit. 2, 4) that those who 'quibusdam incantationibus' bring hailstorms upon the fields and the vineyards 'ducentenis flagellis publice verberentur et decalvati deformiter decem convicinas possessiones circuire cogantur inviti.' Rotharis, king of the Longobardi, sternly prohibited the belief in cannibal witches. Among the Germans, as among all other races, the feeling prevailed that one who practised malefic magic must at all costs be got rid of, whether by expulsion from the tribe or by death. But, on the other hand, we have a variety of testimony from Northern Europe which seems to show that the practice of magic was not in all circumstances deemed criminal.

In the civil law of the Anglo-Saxons, from the 7th cent. onwards, we find penal enactments against superstition and magic, and in particular against the employment of spells and amulets. The laws of Alfred the Great dealing with magic are founded mainly on the Biblical denunciations of the practice. Of similar character are the legal ordinances directed against the occult art among the Northern Teutons. The older Icelandic canon law of the 12th cent. ordains that those who tamper with incantations or witchcraft shall be punished by banishment.

The evil against which the enactments of the Teutonic codes were mainly directed was malefic magic (*maleficium*). Until the 8th cent. we find no similar enactments against other superstitions which eventually gathered round the belief in witchcraft. But the belief in the existence of cannibal witches and in witches' flights was explicitly forbidden by ecclesiastical and civil legislation, though Ivo of Chartres (*c.* A.D. 1100) thought it possible that witches exerted some influence upon the sexual functions. The Church, however, notwithstanding all its exertions, was by no means successful in ridding the people of their magic beliefs and practices. Both continued to flourish abundantly in the department of medicine, thanks to the recrudescence of the old neo-Platonic—in reality, the Babylono-Egyptian—doctrine of demons. At an early period medicine had become the monopoly of the cloister; the demons of disease were exorcized by the priest; and to relics, to the rosary, and to the 'Agnus Dei' were ascribed the greatest virtues. Those who in sickness and trouble applied to the priests were treated by means of the amulet and the incantation, so that as late as the 16th cent.—at a time, that is, when a medical profession in the proper sense existed—adjurations were still resorted to by doctors.

The attitude of the Church towards the belief in magic was twofold. On the one hand, it accepted magic as an indisputable reality. On the other hand, it ranged itself with the civil legislation in an uncompromising opposition to certain dangerous popular superstitions. But in the 13th cent. came a momentous change in the Church's standpoint. The doctrine of Satan was now made the basis of the doctrine of magic and witchcraft. The nightly journeys of witches, the transformation of human beings into animals, the sexual intercourse of men with female demons, and the operation of sorcery in the sexual functions—all these things were now accepted as facts not to be gainsaid. Then in the 14th cent. the two currents of heresy and sorcery, which had hitherto run side by side, became amalgamated with each other, and merged in the belief in witchcraft. While among the Teutonic tribes the practice of magic had hitherto been penalized—to speak strictly—only because of the mischief which it might work, in the 13th cent. the civil legislatures in Germany likewise resolved upon a new policy. The Old Saxon code (*Sachsenspiegel*) sent those who practised magic of any kind to the stake, and its example was followed by other municipal and territorial codes. In spite of the rigour of the Inquisition, it is true, the earlier penal law (which threatened with excommunication the users of incantations, amulets, or other magic devices) was still pleaded for by the councils and by certain outstanding men among the clergy. But the Inquisition at length silenced every stricture against its competence to deal with magic. By the civil legislation of the 16th cent. those who dealt in magic and soothsaying were punished mainly by fines; the death-penalty was scarcely ever mooted. On the other hand, the Hamburg criminal code of 1508 enacts that the punishment of malefic magic shall be death by fire, and this clause was taken over by the Imperial legislation —the 'peinliche Gerichtsordnung Kaiser Karls V.' —while we find that the criminal code of the Electorate of Saxony (1572) sentenced witches to death by fire, and its example was followed by the legislation of the several States. The persecution of witches was gradually introduced into the various territories of Germany during the second half of the 16th century. In England the earliest processes of this kind seem to have been trials for real or alleged attacks upon the person of the sovereign, as from the reign of Henry VI. But in England the laws against witchcraft were in general much more lenient than was commonly the case on the Continent. Witch-persecution in England dates from about the middle of the 16th cent.; in Scotland cases are found as early as the beginning of that century. With regard to Sweden, we are not in a position to say whether witches were burned before or during the Thirty Years' War. These measures, however, were incapable of extirpating the belief in magic—just as the Reformation itself failed to destroy it, though the delusion certainly received a telling blow from the Reformers. As to the question whether sorcery has a foundation in fact, the Reformers themselves shared the ideas of their age, and the final deathblow to the belief in witchcraft and sorcery was administered by the reconstituted sciences of modern times.

Even in the earliest ages a clear line of demarcation was drawn between lawful and unlawful magic. The latter was treated by all races with the utmost rigour, and not seldom punished with death. Among the Teutons, as elsewhere, incantations and amulets were utilized as a means of securing protection and profit to the individual and his belongings, and also to work injury upon others, and their possessions. The magic spells of the Teutons may therefore be arranged in two main divisions, according to the purposes that they were intended to serve: (1) magic formulæ supposed to secure protection and advantage; (2) magic formulæ intended to injure others. But, as the subject itself suggests, the former class may be further divided according to the effects which the spells were intended to produce. Their object might be either (*a*) to drive away an existent evil, to 'exorcize' it, or (*b*) to avert a possible evil by means of a 'blessing.' This dichotomy of the first main group, however, will not be found exhaustive, and it is necessary to mark off another subdivision. Magic formulæ were used not only for the purpose of dislodging present and averting future evils, but also as a means of inducing spirits to throw light upon the future, and upon hidden things generally. In so far as this (*c*) prophetic magic (as it may be called) had often to do with things which lay in the future, it comes into close touch with the class of magic formulæ designed to prevent possible evil. But, while the received spells can for the most part be assigned to one or other of these four *genera*, many particular species may be differentiated within the larger groups. The number of different varieties will in general correspond to that of the various purposes which the formulæ were meant to serve.

Magic can be overcome only by counter-magic; such was at one time the universal postulate of the occult art. In primitive times, however, all sorcery consisted in words and symbols, generally conjoined with actions. Thus, with reference to the Germans, Tacitus (*Germ.* x.) states that, when the deity was consulted by means of the lot, the priests held aloft the magic wand engraved with symbols, muttering incantations the while. Sundry Anglo-Saxon spells specify the appropriate action to be performed. Thus the incantation for bewitched soil gives precise directions regarding the requisite symbolic actions and sacrificial usages. For the formula against the machinations of witches the instruction runs: 'wið færstice feferfuige and seo reade netele, ðe þurh ærn inwyxð, and wegbrade: wyll in buteran'; then at the end, 'nim þonne þæt sæx, ado on wætan.' But word and action had already been frequently employed independently of each other, and it is not surprising that the word came to be used apart from all accessaries or symbolic actions. The Teutonic conviction that magical effects could be directly produced by the spoken word must doubtless have found expression in the particular form of the spell. But the simplest—and hence, no doubt, the oldest—vehicle of direct influence is the express command, and, accordingly, such command must have formed the nucleus of the Teutonic incantation. Two examples of Teutonic spells may be given here. The first is a formula from the 9th–10th cent., which has come down to us bearing the title 'contra vermes' (C. von Müllenhoff and W. Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*³, i. [1892] 17):

'Gang ût, nesso, mid nigun nessiklînon
ût fana themo marge an that bên,
fan themo bêne an that flêsg,
ût fan themo flêsge an thia hûd,
ût fan thera hûd an thesa strâla,
drohtîn, uuerthe sô!'

With this may be associated the Anglo-Saxon 'blessing of bees,' the 'wyð ymbe,' from a Cambridge MS of the 11th century. After a direction regarding a magical action, and a verse explanatory thereof, it continues (C. W. M. Grein and R. P. Wülcker, *Bibliothek der angelsächs. Poesie*, i. [1883] 319 f.):

'Sitte ge, sigewif, sigað to eorþan!
næfre ge wilde to wudu fleogan!
Beo ge swaagemindige mines godes,
swa bið manna gehwilc metes and eþeles.'

It is quite conceivable that spells of this kind should exist independently, and unattached to any preliminary narrative. This has been observed also by Schröder in his article 'Über das Spell' (*ZDA* xxxvii. 259):

> 'Probable as it is that at a certain stage of civilization the action of the *galdr*, *i.e.* the spell in the proper sense, or of certain species of it, was produced in connexion with the narration of a particular mythical incident, yet there is not the slightest doubt that in other periods the epic narrative and the magic formula are disjoined, and may each maintain a separate existence.'

Besides these adjurations strictly so called, which were complete in themselves, and which may be regarded as the earliest Teutonic spells, there comes down to us from the same age another species—that in which an epic narrative is prefixed to the formula proper.

The classical examples of this type are the two Merseburg incantations, and the Anglo-Saxon spell against the practices of the witch is constructed on similar lines. The substance of the introductory portion—the narrative—is generally borrowed from mythology. The procedure was to relate some incident traditionally associated with an effect identical with or similar to that which the formula was meant to produce. It was not necessary to say in so many words that the spell should now operate with like efficacy; the bare recitation of the story invested the formula with all the potency required. But this dependence of the formula upon the narrative certainly indicates a change of view regarding the power of the formula. The performer has lost his earlier reliance on his own capacity, and this must, accordingly, be reinforced from without.

While this epic type of spell is often referred to as the primitive Teutonic form, the facts would seem to imply its secondary character, though its root may indeed lie in paganism, but in any case the recitation of a short narrative before the actual formula is not peculiar to the Teutons—let alone the Western Teutons—this form of spell being traceable among other races and in much more remote times. It was certainly known to the Romans and the Hindus. But, as a matter of fact, there is evidence to show that it was not even a distinctively Indogermanic usage, since it is found also among the Babylonians and the Egyptians. An Egyptian papyrus of the XXth dynasty (now in Turin), for instance, contains a spell which in its whole design shows a striking resemblance to the Merseburg incantation for fracture of the leg. In the Babylonian and Egyptian spells, too, precisely as in the Teutonic, the scene of the narrative part is always laid in the mythological sphere. In view of the vast influence exercised by the Oriental, and especially the Babylonian and Egyptian, magical ideas upon the nations of the West, it is a tempting conjecture that Oriental models may have been largely instrumental in propagating the narrative spell among the Indogermanic peoples of Europe—first of all in the Greek and Roman area, and then derivatively in the Teutonic. At all events, the theory that the Teutons had a primitive type of spell consisting of a prose narrative followed by a rhythmical formula, as adopted by Schröder (*loc. cit.*), is beside the purpose. The primordial element was certainly the formula, the narrative being added later; and, as we have seen, each could be used by itself alone. We find, moreover, that in Christian times quite different introductions were combined with the real nucleus of the spell. We must therefore think of each part as distinct in itself, and in no degree the less so because in the recitation 'saying and singing' came alternately. In all probability the spells were simply muttered in an undertone; there is a large mass of evidence —and not from Teutonic sources only—pointing to this mode of recital.

Thus the missionaries who came to evangelize the Teutonic tribes found two types of indigenous incantations, viz. the purely imperative and the narrative. As the Church was unable to put an end to heathen customs and practices, or the use of magic formulæ, it adopted the policy of assimilating everything that could in any way be reconciled with its own views, hoping that by the device of clothing the objectionable thing in a Christian garb, it might succeed in eradicating the superstitions of the heathen. It likewise endeavoured to transform the ancient formulæ, and here probably its first, as also its most urgent, task was to eliminate the heathen characters from the narrative spells and put Christian ones in their place. These new formulæ were generally composed in verse, and were embellished with rhyme. Their narrative portions exhibited Biblical characters, such as Jesus, Mary, the apostles, and others, in perfectly appropriate situations—a fact which in itself conclusively shows that the spells in question originated in ecclesiastical circles. Such imitations of heathen formulæ composed by the clergy are relatively numerous, and date for the most part from the 11th and 12th centuries.

From this narrative species of Christian spell, again, was in part evolved a new type. This took the form of a comparison or allegory, and its rubric ran thus: 'As such and such a result was brought about then, so let it be produced now.' Very few of the surviving spells of this type are in metrical form; the great majority are in prose.

A further form of blessing, for the use and diffusion of which the clergy must again be regarded as mainly responsible, derives its origin from the special Roman Catholic ceremonies known as the sacramentals. New formulæ were formed on the pattern of the 'exorcisms,' 'benedictions,' and 'consecrations,' or these were simply translated into the vernacular. This species is probably not older than the 13th century.

Mention must also be made of a type of magic formula in regard to which the monks played merely an intermediate rôle. This group consists mainly of formulæ handed down in ancient medical writings. The design of most of these is the cure of disease, but adjurations for use in digging up medicinal plants were also transmitted in this way. These formulæ were, of course, mostly in the Latin language. Their potency lay mainly in phrases and letters—magic words and characters largely of Eastern origin, being derived from Babylonian, Egyptian, and Jewish magic. This group, accordingly, comprises the most ancient type of spell, which, it is to be observed, always exhibits an unintelligible jumble of words. From the earliest times, indeed, this very unintelligibility was the indispensable condition of the efficacy of the spell. From the 13th cent., however, we must take account also of another contributory source of the superstition which is concerned with words and letters—and, it may be added, numbers also. This was the religious philosophy of the Jews, as set forth in the works of the Ḳabbālā (*q.v.*).

These leading types will suffice to classify the great majority of magic formulæ, and even the hybrid, composite, and other derivative varieties which inevitably made their appearance in the course of centuries. But the prime factor in such secondary formations was doubtless oral tradition, to the action of which a large proportion of the spells would certainly be subject at some stage of their development. The learned formulæ of the Church are usually of considerable length, and in their full form would have relatively little vogue among the common people. From these larger spells, accordingly, certain typical portions were excerpted, and then used independently. The popular mind laid the main emphasis upon the nucleus of the spell—the formula proper; and examples of this type become numerous from the 16th century. In these the strict parallelism of the earlier ecclesiastical blessings is to some extent abandoned. It was now considered sufficient to say: 'As surely as this act has taken place, so surely may this effect ensue.' Sometimes, in fact, the place of the parallel is taken by the antithesis. It became the practice, further, to draw upon still more remote quarters for the conclusion of the blessing, and to introduce formulæ which in themselves had formerly done duty as blessings, so that the formulæ of blessing, being supplemented by invocations of God and multiplied petitions, often actually approximated to the character of prayer itself.

When we consider the mass of Teutonic formulæ —even with the 16th cent. as the ulterior limit— in relation to the purposes which they were meant to serve, we see that the multiplicity of forms mentioned in the *Hávamál*, the *Sigrdrífumál*, and the *Homilia de sacrilegiis* is by no means an exaggeration. Adjurations against disease certainly constitute the largest class. Many maladies were believed to be due to malignant demons and unfriendly magicians, and were therefore combated by the magic formula. But the same means was employed in dealing with diseases about the origin of which there was no uncertainty. The remedies employed in such cases were supposed to acquire peculiar efficacy by having a spell uttered over them.

Nor was it human beings only who in their distresses were benefited by spells. As had been believed from the earliest times, protection was equally indispensable for the lower creatures most closely associated with human life, viz. the domestic animals. In their case also, therefore, magic formulæ were used to ward off disease and other evils. The dog, and especially the shepherd's dog, was protected in this way from the dangers to which it was exposed from wild beasts. People were very specially concerned, however, to guard against the bite of mad dogs. A certain blessing, 'ad pullos de nido,' was supposed to help the growth of chickens. The purpose of the somewhat numerous 'bee-blessings' was to keep the insects from swarming.

There was, besides, a multitude of adjurations for animals other than the domestic. People tried to rid their houses of flies, mice, and rats by appeal to the power of the formula; wolves were adjured not to hurt the cattle in the fields; serpents, to be easily caught. The bite of the serpent was averted by spells, and by means of adjurations the reptiles were induced to yield up the potent ophite stone, and to be obedient to all commands. The tooth and the right forepaw of the badger acted as charms against all kinds of injury, and with the shoulder of a toad a man could win the love of whomsoever he chose.

In the therapeutics of ancient and mediæval times an important place was assigned to medicinal herbs. It was of vital moment, however, that these herbs should still retain their supposed virtues after being plucked, and certain magical formulæ were believed to ensure this. The practice was to adjure either the whole world of herbs, or a definite number of them (cf. the Anglo-Saxon 'nine-herb spell'), or, again, some particular herb. But still further manifestations of the potency of herbs could be elicited. They could be made to secure the traveller against fatigue, to act as a defence against weapons, and to protect the cattle from sorcery and the crops from hailstorms. They could also help one to win love, to open locks, to ascertain truth, and to read both the future and the past.

Then the magic formulæ served to protect men not only against disease, but also against the malice of their fellows and the threat of misfortune. By their aid a person sought to safeguard himself—especially when on a journey—against the artifice of his enemies, to blunt their weapons, and to free himself from prison. By the same means he could defend himself against malefic magic, and against the bewitching of his food and drink. Other formulæ possessed the power of procuring friendship, love, and favour, and of gaining justice before a legal tribunal. Wives sought, through the medium of magic, to turn the harshness of their husbands into love. An astute merchant of the 16th cent. would even try by a spell to induce people to buy up his stock of stale wares.

Human life was thus surrounded by a rampart of spells, and property likewise was in similar fashion made proof against evil influences. Houses were secured by spells against burglary and fire, and corn in the granaries was kept from decay. If anything was lost or stolen, the magic formula could restore it, and even lead to the discovery of the thief. The same means were also used to protect, and to increase, the fruits of gardens and fields.

The number of extant magic formulæ designed to work harm is quite insignificant—a circumstance which is, no doubt, due to the rigorous treatment meted out from the earliest times to the practice of malefic magic. Such hurtful spells might be used by the malicious to sow dissension between old friends, to change the love of a married couple into hatred, to bring every conceivable disaster upon another, and even to overwhelm with destruction all that he possessed.

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F. HÄLSIG.

MAGIC (Vedic).—**1. Definition.**—The sphere of cult and ritual has two aspects in Vedic literature—religion and magic. The former (see art. VEDIC RELIGION) represents the relation of man to the gods and lesser divine beings. Its object is to cultivate their goodwill by means of hymns as well as sacrifice, and thus to induce them to bestow in return the benefits which man desires. The essential character of Vedic religion, therefore, is propitiatory and persuasive. Magic, on the other hand, endeavours to gain its ends by influencing the course of events, without the intervention of divine beings, by means of spells and ritual. Its essential character is, therefore, coercive. Both aim at the same result, but in different ways. Religion achieves its purpose indirectly by inclining the will of a powerful ally through prayer and gifts, for instance, to destroy an enemy; magic does so directly by operating with the impersonal (and imaginary) causal connexion between the means which it employs and the effect to be attained, as burning the effigy of an enemy in order to burn the enemy himself. Its practice was in part auspicious and beneficent, as the ritual for the obtaining of offspring or luck, of rain or victory, but it was largely maleficent in the interest of individuals and not of the community, and, therefore, as being dangerous, was condemned by the priesthood, except in so far as it was applied by themselves.

2. Literary sources.—The sphere of religion, as considered apart from magic, is chiefly represented by the earliest product of Indian literature, the Rigveda, which consists almost entirely of hymns addressed to various gods, in which their greatness and their deeds are praised and all kinds of welfare are prayed for, and which are intended to accompany the ritual of the Soma sacrifice (cf. art. HYMNS [Vedic], § 7 f.). Only a dozen of its 1028 hymns are concerned with magic, about one half of them being auspicious, the rest maleficent in character. As to any magical rites connected with the sacrifice, the Rigveda gives us no information. On the other hand, magic is the main and essential subject-matter of the Atharvaveda (art. HYMNS [Vedic], § 11); it is a collection of metrical spells, largely to be accompanied by ceremonies aiming at the welfare of the magician or the injury of his enemies. The Yajurveda (art. HYMNS [Vedic], § 13) occupies an intermediate position between these two Vedas as regards magic. In its original part, which consists of prose formulæ, the gods are only secondary, bearing a kind of mechanical relation to the sacrificial ceremonial with which these formulæ are associated, and which they follow in its minutest details. Its character is thus of a magical rather than a religious type. The great development, in this period, of an intricate ritual and the concentration of sacerdotal thought on its perfect performance had led to the new conception that sacrifice was not meant to propitiate the gods, but directly to control the natural course of things.

The prose theological works called Brāhmaṇas, which represent the next stage of Vedic literature, being concerned with explaining and interpreting the details of the ritual, supply much information regarding the magical notions and observances with which the sacrificial ceremonial was permeated. The Upaniṣads, though a continuation of the Brāhmanas, are philosophical rather than religious, but their speculations on the nature of *brahman* and on the supernatural powers acquired by knowledge and asceticism are charged with magical notions.

The final phase of Vedic literature, which comes down to *c.* 200 B.C., is represented by the Sūtras. These concise manuals, especially those dealing with domestic life (*gṛhya*), and to a less extent those concerned with customary law (*dharma*), show how the observances of everyday life were saturated with magical beliefs and practices (cf. also art. LITERATURE [Vedic and Classical Sanskrit], §§ 8–12).

3. Importance of the subject.—A knowledge of Vedic magic is obviously important to the investigator of magic in general, for here we have magical material, bearing on every aspect of human life, which began to be recorded well over 3000 years ago, and which can, from that time onwards, be historically studied in continuous successive literary stages, extending over more than 1000 years. Such facilities are afforded by no other ancient literature as regards either the antiquity or the quantity and quality of the evidence afforded. The material in Vedic literature does not require to be laboriously gathered together from scanty and scattered references, as is necessary elsewhere. It is here supplied not only in great abundance, but, for the most part, in an easily accessible collected form. Its aid is, moreover, essential to the student of Indian religion: without it he would arrive at erroneous or exaggerated conclusions as to the purity and advanced character of the beliefs and practices of that religion in its earliest form.

4. Sacrifice and magic.—Considering that in the Rigveda we have a collection of prayers, and in the Atharvaveda one of spells, are we justified in supposing that the spheres of religion and of magic were already separated in the Vedic period? By no means. It is, indeed, certain that the sacrificial invocation had by that time assumed a literary type, and that the hymns of a magical character found in the Rigveda are very few and late. It must, however, be borne in mind that the prayers of the Rigveda, being addressed to the great gods, offered few opportunities for references to magical practices, while the ritual which the hymns of the Rigveda were intended to accompany, and which is fully described in other Vedic texts, is, though carried out by the sacrificial priests, from beginning to end saturated with magical observances. Again, where there is a group of ceremonies directed to the accomplishment of a particular purpose and, therefore, favourable to a greater prominence of the magical element, such as the wedding and funeral rites, we meet with quite a network of magical usages bearing the stamp of extreme antiquity. It is thus impossible to suppose that the sacrificial priests of the Rigveda, the composers of the old hymns, should have occupied an isolated position, untouched by magical practices derived from a much earlier age and afterwards continued throughout the priestly literature of later times. In fact, a close examination of the hymns of the Rigveda actually affords evidence that even in them the belief in magical power independent of the gods is to be found. Thus in one hymn (X. xcviii.) the sacrificing priest Devāpi begins with the intention of appealing to the gods for rain, but then himself brings down the waters by the magical powers of his sacrificial art: 'the sage Devāpi sat down to the duty of Hotṛ priest, familiar with the goodwill of the gods; he then poured down from the sea above to the sea below the heavenly waters of rain' (V. v.). Every page of the Brāhmaṇas and of the ritual Sūtras shows that the whole sacrificial ceremonial was overgrown with the notion that the sacrifice exercised power over gods and, going beyond them, could directly influence things and events without their intervention. An incipient form of this notion already appears in the Rigveda, where exaggerated sacrificial powers are in several passages mythically attributed to ancient priests; *e.g.*, 'with mighty spells the Fathers found the hidden light and produced the dawn' (VII. lxxvi. 4); 'the Fathers adorned the sky with stars, like a black steed with pearls; they placed darkness in night and light in day' (X. lxviii. 11); 'with their kindled fire the Aṅgirases (ancient priests) found the cows and steeds hidden by (the demon) Paṇi' (I. lxxxiii. 4); they 'by their rite caused the sun to mount the sky' (X. lxii. 3); '(the ancient fire priest) Atharvan by sacrifices first prepared the paths; then the sun, the guardian of ordinances, was born' (I. lxxxiii. 5). The ancient priest Viśvāmitra, by directly invoking the rivers, made them fordable for the tribe of the Bharatas (III. xxxiii. 1–12). The composers of all such passages must have attributed to the sacrifice in their own day the powers which they thus projected into the past.

An examination of the ritual literature shows that the dividing line between a sacrificial act, which is meant to propitiate the gods, and a magical act, which is intended to control the course of things, is by no means always definite, but that the two are often intermingled. Thus the morning sacrifice at sunrise, of which we read in the Rigveda (*e.g.*, IV. li. 7), when the fire is kindled and an offering is made to the fire-god, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (II. iii. 1. 5) assumes a magical character, the fire being kindled to produce sunrise: 'By offering before sunrise he (the sacrificer) makes him (the sun) to be born: he would not rise, if he were not to sacrifice in it (the fire).' A similar view seems already to be expressed in a verse of the Rigveda: 'Let us kindle thee, O Agni, that thy wondrous brand may shine in heaven' (V. vi. 4). Again, there are several passages in the Rigveda (*e.g.*, IX. xlix. 1, xcvii. 17, cvi. 9, cviii. 9 f.) in which the Soma ritual is spoken of in the magical character of producing rain direct, without influencing the goodwill of the gods that shed rain.

The blending of a sacrificial and a magic rite may be of two kinds. A ceremony which is primarily sacrificial may assume a magical character by the nature of the object which is offered for the attainment of a special purpose.

There can be little doubt that only food eaten by man originally constituted the sacrifice offered to the gods in fire. On the Vedic sacrificial ground there was, by the side of the fire, the litter of grass (*barhis*) on which the gods were conceived as sitting to receive the offering. On the conclusion of the ceremony the *barhis* was thrown into the fire, originally, no doubt, to render it innocuous after, by the divine presence, it had become dangerous to profane contact. To the *barhis* corresponds, in the ancient Persian ritual, the *baresman* (a bundle of twigs; see art. BARSOM) on which the sacrificial offerings were placed, and which was the seat of the gods. This indicates that the oblation in fire was an Indo-Aryan innovation, and that the burning of the *barhis* not improbably formed the transition to the fire-sacrifice.

The ritual literature furnishes innumerable examples of sacrifice receiving a magical turn by the employment or addition of a non-eatable substance; as when a man wishing for cattle offers the dung of a couple of calves (*Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. ix. 13 f.); or when poison is added to an offering in order to destroy ants (*Kauśika Sūtra*, cxvi.). On the other hand, objects suitable for direct magical manipulation could easily be turned into an offering by those habituated to the sacrificial idea in order to invest magical acts with the garb of sacrifice. Thus the burning of injurious substances would become a sacrifice; for instance, arrow tips might be offered in order to destroy an enemy (*ib.* xlvii. 44). In this way the sacrifice came to assume the rôle of driving away demons; of helping a woman to overcome her rivals; of enabling a prince to conquer his enemies or to return from exile; and of producing many other magical results. The gradual mixture of the religious and the magical in the direction of the latter led the whole system of sacrifice to assume this character in the later Vedic period.

Various causes contributed to this result. The belief in the divine presence at the sacrifice, and in the mysterious success produced by the sacrifice, encouraged an increasing application of magical practices as the ceremonial system became more elaborate. Secondary observances of the sacrificial ritual might already have belonged to the sphere of magic from the beginning. Efforts to explain accidental features of the ceremonial would lead to the discovery of effects allied to magic. Priests would also foster belief in the magical power of sacrifice in order to secure their own indispensableness. The magical tendency would be increased by the mixture of prayer and spell; if in the prayer accompanying the sacrifice the magical effects of a spell were assumed, such effects would naturally be attributed to the sacrifice also.

5. Predominantly magical ritual.—There are several groups of rites which, though belonging to the sphere of sacrifice, are predominantly magical in character. They are partly connected with family and partly with public life. The most important of these are:

(1) *The wedding ceremony.*—What little worship of the gods is found in this group of rites is almost restricted to the cult of Agni, the domestic god, who was constituted a witness of the marriage, and who, in the form of the domestic fire, was to accompany the young pair through life. On the other hand, the ceremony was surrounded by magical acts, of which the following were the principal. The bride's hand was grasped that she might be delivered into the power of her husband. She stepped on a stone to acquire firmness. She took seven steps with him in order to establish friendship. She ate the sacrificial food with him to create community of life. When she reached her husband's house, she sat down on a red bull's hide to ensure fertility. The son of a woman who had borne only living male children was placed on her lap in order to fulfil the hope of healthy male progeny. Later, during pregnancy, a magical powder was placed in her nose to secure the birth of a son.

(2) *Initiation.*—Of the various religious ceremonies which were performed during boyhood, and which display the same predominantly magical character, the chief was that of initiation (*upanayana*). This, though not mentioned in the Rigveda, goes back to pre-historic times, as is shown by the parallel Avestic ceremony, and is the Vedic transformation of a rite by which, on the attainment of puberty, a boy was received into the community of men. In India it was regarded as a second birth, as being the entry into a new life, when the boy was introduced to a religious teacher with a view to Vedic study. The outward signs of the initiation are the girdle, which is wound three times round the pupil's waist, and the sacred cord, worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm, with which he is invested. The ceremony includes a number of observances and involves various tabus in regard to food, some of which will be mentioned below (see also VEDIC RELIGION, § 6 *h*, and cf. INITIATION [Hindu]).

(3) *Public rites.*—The public ceremonies of Vedic times were performed on behalf not of the clan or tribe as such, but of an individual, who in these cases was the king. The most prominent of them, aiming at the attainment of certain definite purposes, are magical in their main elements. At the royal consecration (*abhiṣeka* [*q.v.*]) the king sits on a throne made of wood from the *udumbara* fig-tree, which to the Indian was the embodiment of all nourishment. The seat was covered with a tiger-skin, the emblem of invincible strength. The contents of a cup made of *udumbara* wood, filled with butter, honey, and rain-water, were poured over the king in order to communicate to him their strength and abundance. The royal inauguration (*rājasūya*) is a further series of rites, chiefly of a symbolical character (cf. 12 (*b*)) intended to ensure a successful reign. A still more imposing ceremony was the Vājapeya, the two main features of which, a conventional race and another symbolic observance, have a magic purpose (12 (*b*); cf., further, art. ABHIṢEKA). Finally, the horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha* [*q.v.*]) was the highest sacrificial expression of regal power, which was undertaken for the fulfilment of all the most ambitious wishes of the king, and in which the victim indicated the desire to transfer the swift might of the horse to the sacrificing monarch.

6. Priest and magician.—The magician of prehistoric ages, who manipulated only the lower ritual concerned with demons and natural forces, had long before the time of the Rigveda (at least as early as the Indo-European period) developed into the priest, who dealt with a higher cult in which he invoked and sacrificed to gods. In the later Vedic period of the Yajurveda, however, we find the priest to a considerable extent reverting to the rôle of a magician; for he now constantly appears, independently of the gods, driving away evil spirits or influencing the powers of nature by the use of spells and other expedients of sorcery. In various lesser rites the priest acts quite in the style of prehistoric times. Thus he makes the bride step on a stone to ensure steadfastness; he causes fish to be eaten for the attainment of speed; he produces an imitation of rain that it may actually rain—here he is not a servant of the gods, but a magician. Yet even in the earliest period, that of the Rigveda, the sacrificial priest was a magician as well (though by no means necessarily the only magician, for both here and later references are made to sorcerers whose magic is directed against the sacrificial priest). It cannot be supposed that even the most advanced minds among the priests regarded prayer and sacrifice as the only means of securing welfare, while rejecting magic as an ineffective and reprehensible superstition. Magic was still to some extent used by those who had occasion to apply it, as is apparent from the character of some hymns of the Rigveda which, although late, form part of its canonical text. But not the employment of every form of magic was approved nor the practice of magic as a profession, doubtless because alliance with evil spirits and the use of maleficent magic were liable to injure the community. This is sufficiently clear from the words of the author of a passage of the Rigveda: 'May I die to-day if I am a sorcerer (*yātudhāna*), or if I have harassed any man's life; then may he lose his ten sons who falsely calls me "sorcerer"; he who calls me, that am no sorcerer, a practiser of sorcery, or who, being a demon, says that he is pure, may Indra strike him with his mighty weapon, may he sink down below every creature' (VII. civ. 15 f.). It was because the Atharvaveda contained a body of maleficent spells that it did not attain to canonical recognition till after it had become associated with the sacrificial cult by the addition to its text of numerous hymns borrowed from the Rigveda. On the other hand, in the Atharvaveda itself (*e.g.*, V. viii., VII. lxx.) magic is expressly approved when directed against the sacrifice offered by an enemy; and the ritual texts are full of directions for the sacrificer who wishes to destroy his enemy, in particular, when he desires to give his sacrifice a magical turn for the purpose of inflicting injury. The post-Vedic *Code of Manu* even contains the express statement (xi. 33) that the magic spells of the Atharvaveda are the Brāhman's weapon, which he may use without hesitation against his foes. In the Upaniṣads the magician-priest has become a philosopher who has passed from the path of ritual (*karma*) to that of knowledge (*jñāna*); but his mode of thought is still full of traits derived not only from sacrificial, but from magic lore. Of such a nature are his conceptions of the world-soul (*brahman* [*q.v.*]) and of the identity with it of the individual soul (*ātman* [*q.v.*]), as well as his speculations on the sacred syllable *om* (analogous in sense to 'amen'). Such, too, is his doctrine of *karma* (*q.v.*) as an impersonal power which, free from any divine influence, rules future existences with inexorable force. The same mental attitude is indicated by his approval of the grotesque and forcible exercises of Yoga, which is an inextricable blend of philosophy and magic. By the aid of Yoga he believed himself capable of acquiring the ability to make himself minute and invisible, to increase his size infinitely, to multiply his body, to remember his former existences, and so forth.

7. Asceticism and magic.—There is evidence that from the earliest Vedic period ascetic practies (*tapas*, lit. 'heat'), primarily exposure to heat, but including other forms of self-mortification, such as fasting, abstinence, and silence, were regarded as a means of attaining various supernatural powers resulting from the ecstatic condition induced by them. Thus the Rigveda says (X. cxxxvi. 2) of those who are in such a frenzied condition that 'the gods have entered into them.' A poet of the same Veda tells (VIII. lix. 6) how, in a vision produced by austerity (*tapas*), he saw the old creations of ancient sages, the first sacrificers, in the remotest past of the human race. There are many other Vedic passages ascribing similar powers: dream is born from the soul filled with austerity (Atharvaveda, XIX. lvi. 5); speech born of austerity penetrates to the gods (*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, V. vi. 7); he who has practised great austerity reaches the sun (Rigveda, X. cliv. 2); after practising austerity Indra won heaven (X. clxvii. 1); the magical power of austerity peculiar to the Brāhman will bring calamity on the man who injures him (X. cix. 4). Austerity confers the power to produce the mightiest creations: the goddess Aṣṭakā, performing austerity, produced the greatness of Indra (Atharvaveda, III. x. 12); the seers were born of austerity (XI. i. 26, XVIII. ii. 15, 18). In many passages of the Brāhmaṇas the creator Prajāpati is described as gaining by the practice of austerity the power to evolve out of himself the worlds and all living creatures; and in one place (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, X. iv. 4. 2) he appears as practising such asceticism that from all his pores came forth lights, which are the stars. The Brāhmaṇas also tell how various mythical beings attained by austerity to a high degree of enlightenment that revealed to them some secret of sacrificial lore. It is for such magical effects that austerity is required as an essential element in the preparation for various particularly holy sacrificial rites. Thus the Soma sacrifice is preceded by a consecration (*dīkṣā*) of the sacrificer in which he practises austerity lasting, according to some authorities (*ib.* XIII. i. 7. 2), till complete physical exhaustion ensues.

8. Magical conditions and agencies.—Magical effect is largely, if not altogether, based on contact (very often impalpable), which has to be brought about if the agency is beneficial to oneself, or to be prevented if the agency is injurious to oneself. The result desired is attained by the use of spells and rites of various kinds. The place selected for the practice of magic, except when it is an element of the sacrificial ceremonial, is generally a lonely one. A cemetery, the seat of flesh-eating demons, is a specially suitable place for its operations. A cross-road is a favourite locality to divest oneself of evil influences. A secluded part of a house, a shed, and solitary spots in field or forest are also used. The time at which many operations of hostile magic take place is night; but that of others depends on their circumstances or their purpose. Direction is an important element. Thus the south is the home of demons and *manes*; hence performers of rites connected with them must face that point of the compass. In auspicious rites walking and other kinds of movement are directed from left to right, following the course of the sun, while in funeral and other uncanny ceremonies the direction is invariably reversed, the performers moving from north to south.

(*a*) *Spirits and demons.*—Some of the lesser spirits are concerned only with one activity, such as presiding over the fields and helping at harvest; others, with Arbudi at their head, are invoked to spread terror and death among enemies on the field of battle (Atharvaveda, XI. ix. 1 ff.). The characteristic of most of the rest is to cause damage and destruction in the sphere of human life. These demons are usually called by the generic name of *rakṣas*, *yātu*, or *piśācha*, though many of them also have individual designations. Their appearance is for the most part human, though often with some kind of deformity; but they not infrequently have an animal or bird shape, such as that of a dog, wolf, owl, or vulture. They also appear in assumed figures, human or animal; thus at funeral rites they intrude in the form of the souls of the ancestors to whom the offering is made; and they approach women in various disguises. The sorcerer himself (as well as the spirits serving him) might assume animal form and thus injure his enemies. Belief in such transformation is already expressed in the Rigveda, where hostile magicians are spoken of as becoming birds and flying about at night (VII. civ. 18). Setting demons in motion is regarded as letting them loose against an enemy. Thus in the Rigveda (X. ciii. 12) the demon of disease Apvā is let loose against a hostile army with the spell: 'Go forth, Apvā, to confuse their minds, to seize their limbs; attack them; burn them with thy heat in their hearts; let the foe fall into deep darkness.' Such spells might be accompanied by magical acts, such as letting loose a white-footed ewe, in which the power of disease was supposed to be embodied, against the hostile army.

Evil spirits are thought to be everywhere—in the sea, in the air, but most of all in human dwellings; otherwise they especially infest the place where four roads meet. The time of their activity is chiefly evening and night; at night they seek to kill the sacrificer who has undergone consecration (*dīkṣā*). But they are particularly active during the night of new moon. Their usual mode of attack (mentioned in both the Rigveda [VIII. xlix. 20] and the Atharvaveda [V. xxix. 6–8, VII. lxxvi. 4]) is to enter into a man, especially through the mouth; they then eat his flesh, suck his marrow, drink his blood, and create disease of every kind; they also cause madness and take away the power of speech. They are chiefly dangerous on the most important occasions of domestic life—at births, weddings, and funerals. One of the main objects of their attack is the sacrifice: the Rigveda speaks (VII. civ. 21) of the Yātus that seize the sacrificial food, and the Atharvaveda contains (VII. lxx. 1 f.) the spell of a magician desiring to destroy the sacrifice of an enemy through the wiles of a demon. Hence the sacrificial ceremonial is, from beginning to end, accompanied by formulæ directed to defence against demons. These evil spirits, moreover, do harm to man's property, drinking the milk of his cows, eating the flesh of his horses, and damaging his dwellings. In short, every moment of life, every act, every possession is assailed by hosts of invisible foes, the allies of human workers of calamity.

(*b*) *Injurious substances.*—Closely allied to these demoniac enemies are the numerous substances—the most general expression for which in the Vedic language is *tanū*, or 'body'—which, conceived chiefly as impersonal, though sometimes still tinged with personality, perhaps represent an advance of thought. Hence the boundary-line between personal demons and impersonal agencies is not fixed; thus the term *pāpman*, 'evil power,' as a masculine is used in the former, as a neuter in the latter sense. Nor are even injurious creatures like snakes, ants, and worms clearly distinguished from evil spirits, being often spoken of as demons to be driven away. Examples of impalpable agencies are the 'substance' of disease, of hunger and thirst, of guilt, even of such abstractions as sonlessness; or the intangible influence proceeding from auspicious or baneful stars and from the waning or waxing of the moon. These are supposed to fly about in the air and to affect man by various forms of contact. The sphere of magical operations is greatly extended by the belief that, if a 'substance' or power is embodied in any creature or object—*e.g.*, irresistible strength in a tiger—that power is inherent in all its parts and in all that is connected with it. Such a power, therefore, resides not only in the flesh of an animal, but in its skin, horn, hair, and so on. Again, the essence of water dwells in aquatic plants like the *avakā* (*Blyxa octandra*), and in aquatic animals like the frog; the nature of the boar is present in the soil that is torn up by its tusks; the force of lightning is latent in a splint of wood from a tree that has been struck; the virtue of one's native land exists in a clod taken from it; a man is connected with the earth by his footprints; even an image or a name is conceived as containing a part of the essence of the beings or things which they represent or name. As all such powers are communicable by contact, the whole sacrificial ritual is full of rules as to the persons or things which the performers are to touch, for thus the beneficial power of the sacrifice is transferred to them. For instance, the skins of various animals communicate the characteristic quality attributed to them: one who seats himself on the hide of a bull acquires fertility; on that of a black antelope, sanctity; on that of a he-goat, plenty; on that of a tiger, invincible power.

9. **Magical procedure.**—The operations of magic are mainly directed against hostile agencies, either by preventing their contact with the operator or by bringing about their contact with an enemy. Auspicious rites, besides being much less numerous, are often only another aspect of offensive magic, and will, therefore, be treated under the various types of action, partly auspicious and partly hostile, employed in magical ceremonies (§ 12).

10. **Defensive magic.**—This type of magic, though consisting in warding off injurious powers, is not always expressed in the form of hostility when demons are concerned; it may then be attended by a certain amount of propitiation. Thus in the Atharvaveda (I. xii. 2) deterrent homage is paid to a demon of disease: 'Thee, lurking in each limb with burning, we, paying homage, would worship with oblation'; lightning is similarly addressed (I. xiii. 2): 'Homage to thee, child of the height, whence thou gatherest heat; be merciful to ourselves; do kindness to our offspring'; also instruments and ministers of death: 'To those weapons of thine, O Death, be homage; homage to thy benediction, homage to thy malediction; homage to thy favour, O Death; this homage to thy disfavour' (VI. xiii. i. 2). Again, sacrifices to demons are often mentioned (*Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II. i. 32); and in the general sacrificial cult they receive their share, which, however, consists only of inferior offerings, such as blood and offal. Hostile words or actions are often accompanied by spells expressive of homage. *Hiranyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra* contains a direction (I. xvi. 20 f.) that a brand burning at both ends should be thrown at a jackal (regarded as possessed by the evil powers of death), and that the animal should at the same time be worshipped with the Vedic verse, 'Thou art mighty, thou carriest away.' In a rite concerned with serpents the reptiles are addressed with homage, while the intention to destroy them is also expressed (*Sarpabali*, xi.). A ceremonial intended to ward off ants (*Kauśika Sūtra*, cxvi.) begins with propitiatory offerings and spells; but, if these fail, they are followed with a poisoned oblation surrounded by symbols of hostility and accompanied by an invocation of the gods to destroy their eggs and progeny. Propitiation, however, plays but a very subordinate part in this type of magic.

i. PREVENTIVE MAGIC.—On the principle that prevention is better than cure the procedure of defensive magic is largely prophylactic, everything being avoided that might attract injurious powers. The precautions taken are of the following kinds.

(1) *Avoidance of contact.*—The touch of beings in which maleficent spirits or substances were supposed to dwell was eschewed. Thus to touch the mother during the ten days of impurity after childbirth was regarded as dangerous; and the stones used in erecting an altar for Nirṛti, the goddess of dissolution, were put in their place without being directly handled. The access of injurious powers through other senses was similarly avoided. Thus listening to impure sounds involved risk. Precautions were taken not to see impure or dangerous persons or things; the sight of offerings to the dead or to the uncanny god Rudra was to be avoided; and those who were departing from a place where inauspicious ceremonies had been performed, such as those concerned with the dead, with demons, with the goddess Nirṛti or the god Rudra, abstained from looking back. On occasions when evil spirits were likely to be in the neighbourhood care was taken to prevent their coming too near. Thus a bundle of twigs was tied to the corpse on the way to the burning ground in order to efface the footsteps and so hide the path from the demons; and the sacrificial fire of the departed, having by his decease become a seat of death-bringing powers, was removed by some aperture other than the door.

(2) *Fasting.*—One of the chief precautionary measures against the attacks of hostile powers was abstention from food, in order to prevent them from entering the body. It is, therefore, a leading element in the preliminary consecration (*dīkṣā*) for the Soma sacrifice. With reference to this, one of the Sūtras remarks (*Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*, X. xiv. 9): 'When an initiated man (*dīkṣita*) grows thin, he becomes purified for the sacrifice.' A special form of fasting was the avoidance of particular kinds of food. Thus the performer of the new and full moon sacrifice had, on the eve of the ceremony, to refrain from eating either flesh or the kind of food which he was going to offer on the following day. The teacher who has invested a pupil with the sacred cord may not eat flesh for a night and a day; while the student himself has to refrain from eating salted food and drinking milk for three days after the ceremony; he must also abstain from food altogether for three days, or a day and a night, before he enters upon a particularly holy part of his Vedic course. A newly married couple must, during the first three nights following the wedding ceremony, avoid all salted or pungent food. The efficacy of fasting is illustrated by the precept (*Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. vi. 13) that one who desires to gain a hundred cart-loads of gold should observe the vow of fasting during one fortnight.

(3) *Abstinence.*—Another safeguard is the practice of chastity. This is enjoined for three nights after the wedding ceremony in order to ward off the attacks of demons that destroy offspring. It is observed by the performer of the new and full moon sacrifice on the night before the rite takes place; for a day and a night by the teacher who initiates a pupil; for twelve nights by the offerer of the Śabalī sacrifice; during the course of the Dīkṣā by him who undergoes that consecration; and by the Vedic student during the whole period of his apprenticeship.

(4) *Asceticism.*—This expedient appears in various forms. One of them is exposure to heat; it is an element in the Dīkṣā ceremony, a special formula being quoted for use when the initiated man breaks into perspiration. Sleeping on the ground is prescribed, during the same length of time as abstinence for the newly married couple, the Vedic student, and the performers of the Dīkṣā consecration, of the new and full moon ceremony, and of the Śabalī sacrifice. As a safeguard against demons dangerous to the sleeper, watching through the night is enjoined during the Dīkṣā ceremony, and on the eve of setting up the sacrificial fires and of the new and full moon sacrifice. Silence is to be observed by the sacrificer undergoing the Dīkṣā consecration, by the man about to set up the three

sacrificial fires, and by the Vedic student on various occasions. Holding the breath, which was regarded as an important form of asceticism, appears, for instance, in a rite during the funeral ceremony. It may here be added that austerities of various kinds had to be undergone by one preparing to cure epilepsy, before he was qualified to perform the magical ceremonies intended to effect the recovery of the patient.

(5) *Concealment.*—Another means of guarding against the attacks of hostile powers was concealment of one's person or of its parts, as seclusion in a shed and covering the head during the observances of the Dīkṣā ceremony; or putting on garments to make oneself unrecognizable; or hiding the hair of the head and beard or nails cut off at sacramental rites, such as the initiation of the Vedic student (cf. § 8 (*b*)).

(6) *Amulets.*—Charms worn on the body were frequently employed both for the negative purpose of warding off evil influences from one's person (amulets) and for the positive purpose of attracting prosperity (talismans). Sometimes the same charm serves both purposes; thus the pearl destroys demons, disease, and poverty, and at the same time bestows welfare and long life. Amulets were for the most part made of wood, but also of various other substances. Their efficacy is regarded as dependent on the particular power of repulsion inherent in them, and is not infrequently spoken of as imparted by the gods. They are called god-born, are said to have been given by gods to men, to have been strengthened by the gods, or to have had their power communicated to them by the gods, who co-operate with them; the gods themselves are described as having once been successful by the power residing in them; by amulets Indra overcame the demons (Atharvaveda, X. iii. 11). Their potency sometimes emanates from their names. An amulet derived from the *varaṇa* tree (*Cratæva Roxburghii*) destroys enemies because, according to the meaning attributed to the name (*ib.* X. iii. 5), it drives off (*vārayati*). An amulet made of this wood is thus addressed in the Atharvaveda (X. iii. 14, 11): 'As the wind and the fire consume the trees, the lords of the forest, so do thou consume my rivals; this *varaṇa* upon my breast, the kingly, divine tree, shall smite asunder my foes, as Indra the demons.' One of the amulets most frequently mentioned in the Atharvaveda is that made from the *jaṅgiḍa* tree, which protects from diseases and demons. Again, a long hymn of the same Veda (VIII. v.) dwells on the aggressive powers of an amulet fashioned from the wood of the *sraktya* tree, which destroys foes, demons, and sorceries. Cf., further, art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Vedic).

ii. REMEDIAL MAGIC.—Magical operations are performed not only to ward off maleficent powers that are threatening, but also to expel them after they have taken possession of their victim in the form of diseases or ailments. The Atharvaveda is full of spells directed against these. Many such incantations make no mention of any concrete remedies with which their use was accompanied; but the evidence of the Sūtras shows that these incantations, at least very often, formed part of a magical rite in which concrete remedies were an element. Examples of simple spells for the cure of diseases are the following: 'As the rays of the sun swiftly fly to a distance, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the flood of the sea' (VI. cv. 3); and 'The disease that racks and wastes thy limbs, and the sickness in thy heart, has flown as an eagle to the far distance, overcome by my charm' (V. xxx. 9). Curative spells are, however, more usually accompanied by the express employment of material objects, chiefly plants. The hymns of the Atharvaveda abound in references to such remedies. These represent the earliest beginnings of medical lore in India. The border-line between magic and primitive science here is not always definite, for in some cases the plant used with the spell may have been an actual cure for a particular disease, while in other cases its application was purely magical, as that of the herbs used to promote the growth of hair on bald heads (these were doubtless as ineffective as the hair-restorers of modern times). The following are two charms from the Atharvaveda intended for this particular cure: 'That hair of thine which drops off, and that which is broken root and all, upon it do I sprinkle the all-healing herb' (VI. cxxxvi. 3); 'Make firm their roots, draw out their ends, expand their middle, O herb! may thy hairs grow as reeds, may they cluster black about thy head!' (VI. cxxxvii. 3). The Atharvaveda contains many spells in which the *kuṣṭha* plant (probably *Costus speciosus* or *arabicus*) is invoked to drive out fever; two of its hymns (I. xxiii. f.) are meant to cure leprosy by the use of a dark plant; one (VII. lvi.) operates with a herb that destroys snake poison, and another (VI. xvi.) with a plant against ophthalmia. Fractures are cured by the plant *arundhatī* (IV. xii.), and wounds by the use of the peppercorn (VI. cix.). The use of ointment is associated with one hymn of the Atharvaveda (IV. ix.), of which this is one of the spells: 'From him over whose every limb and every joint thou passest, O salve, thou dost, as a mighty intercepter, drive away disease.' Water not infrequently appears as a magical remedy, and its general curative powers are thus expressed by the following spell of the Atharvaveda (VI. xci. 3): 'The waters verily are healing, the waters chase away disease, the waters cure all ailments; may they prepare a remedy for thee.' It also cures individual diseases, as excessive bodily discharges: 'The spring water yonder which runs down from the mountains, that do I render healing for thee, in order that thou mayest contain a potent remedy' (II. iii. 1); or heart-disease: 'From the Himavat mountains they flow forth, in the Indus is their gathering place: may the waters, indeed, grant me that cure for heart-ache' (VI. xxiv. 1). *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (III. vi. 2) describes how water is used in a magic operation for the cure of headache: the performer moistened his hands and passed them over the eyebrows of the sufferer with the spell: 'From the eyes, from the ears, from the whiskers, from the chin, from the forehead I drive away this disease of the head.' Another remedy is the horn of an antelope, used against a hereditary disease named *kṣetriya*: 'Upon the head of the nimble antelope a remedy grows! He has driven the *kṣetriya* in all directions by means of the horn' (Atharvaveda, III. vii. 1).

II. Offensive magic.—Aggressive operations against maleficent powers cannot always be distinguished, especially in regard to demons, from that form of defensive magic which is directed to warding off their attacks. Hence the expedients adopted are to some extent the same for both purposes.

i. MEANS EMPLOYED.—(1) *Fire.*—Fire was one of the chief direct means of driving away demons and all hostile sorcery. Thus in the Rigveda Agni, the god of fire, is frequently invoked (I. xii. 5, xxxvi. 20) with such verses as: 'Burn, O Agni, against the sorcerers; always burn down the sorcerers and the allies of the demons.' This use of fire, probably the earliest in cult, though overlaid with its later and much more extensive sacrificial application, still survives in the Vedic ritual. Thus a special fire called the 'lying-in fire' (*sūtikāgni*) is introduced into the lying-in chamber (*sūtikā-gṛha*). Of this fire the author of one of the domestic Sūtras remarks (*Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra*, II. iii. 6 f.):

'Sacred rites, except fumigation, are not performed with it; he fumigates the child with small grains mixed with mustard seeds'; he then adds a number of spells to drive away various demons that prowl through the village at night, that drink out of skulls; Agni is invoked to burn their lungs, hearts, livers, and eyes. At the sacramental ceremony of cutting the child's hair a fire is kindled while a number of auspicious verses are recited; as nothing is said of its application to sacrificial purposes, it was presumably meant to ward off demons. Of similar significance were the fire employed at the investiture of the Brāhman student, behind which both he and his teacher step, and that kindled when the pupil entered upon his course of Vedic study. That this was the significance of the fire beside which the Soma sacrificer watched during the night in the Dīkṣā ceremony is certain, because it is expressly said (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, VI. i. 4. 6) that Agni is here appointed 'for the destruction of the demons.' It can hardly be doubted that in the great sacrificial ritual of the three fires the southern fire was understood to have the magical power of dispelling demons, for the south is the direction from which the souls of the dead and the injurious spirits allied to them approach. In the funeral ritual a brand was taken from the southern fire and laid down pointing to the south, while a formula was pronounced in which Agni was invoked to drive away all demons that, assuming manifold forms, might venture near. At the conclusion of the funeral ceremony a fire was used by the survivors for the purpose of warding off the powers that cause death. Fire was also on various occasions carried round what was to be protected against the attacks of evil spirits. Thus a brand lighted at both ends was moved round the funeral offering; and a firebrand was also borne by the priest round the victim, the post, and other accessaries of the animal sacrifice.

(2) *Water.*—Water is another efficacious means of repelling hostile agencies, as is indicated by the statement (*Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, IV. viii. 5) that 'the demons do not cross the waters.' We have already noted some examples of the use of water in curing diseases and ailments. Water is further regarded as a chief means of removing possession by evil spirits. At the birth ceremony water is supposed to wash away all injurious powers from the new-born child. A purifying bath is prescribed before entering on various ceremonies, as the Dīkṣā, to remove supernatural substances that might be inimical to their success. Thus the bride and bridegroom take a bath or perform ablutions before the wedding ceremony. In rites of expiation especially, bathing and washing play an important part. Various ceremonies also conclude with a bath in order to obviate the risk of taking back into ordinary life the magical influence inherent in the rite. Such is the case at the end of the Dīkṣā, when clothes and implements used during the ceremony are also laid aside. The significance of the bath taken by the Brāhman student at the end of his apprenticeship is similar. There is, further, a rule that after the utterance of spells addressed to uncanny beings, such as the dead, demons, or Rudra, one should purify oneself with water from the contact with those beings which has thus been incurred. The urine of cows was specially esteemed as a means of purification, being perhaps at the same time regarded as communicating the abundant nutritive power inherent in the animal. As long as a magical condition is meant to continue, bathing or washing is avoided; hence dirt is the characteristic of one who, by means of asceticism (*tapas*), aims at acquiring special magical power.

(3) *Plants.*—We have already seen that plants were frequently used along with spells as a magical cure of disease. Cognate to this medicinal employment is the application of herbs to the purpose of securing the love of a man or a woman, and of promoting or destroying virility; of both these classes of charms the Atharvaveda contains many examples. But they are also resorted to for other objects. Thus some are employed against demons and sorcerers, others to counteract curses, and several are associated with battle-charms. Aquatic plants, together with frogs, as representing water, are combined with spells to quench fire. Bdellium (*guggulu*), the fragrant exudation of a tree, frequently occurs in the ritual as, by its odour, driving away demons of disease or frustrating a curse.

(4) *Stones, etc.*—In the wedding ceremony, as we have seen, the bride stepped on a stone to ensure steadfastness. A stone, as representing a dividing mountain, was regarded as a means of keeping off evil spirits, and with this intention it was employed in the funeral ritual to separate the living from the dead, where also a clod of earth taken from a boundary was similarly used. In the same ceremony a mat was laid down while the formula, 'This is put between against calamity,' was pronounced (*Kauśika Sūtra*, lxxxvi. 14). A wooden fence was placed round the sacrificial fire, the purpose being 'to strike away the demons' (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, II. vi. 6. 2).

(5) *Lead.*—This metal was frequently employed in magical operations, as, *e.g.*, in wiping off dangerous substances. The Atharvaveda contains a hymn (I. xvi.) in which lead was used against demons and sorcerers, this being one of its spells: 'If thou slayest our cow, if our horse or our domestic, we pierce thee with lead, so that thou shalt not slay our heroes.'

(6) *Weapons and staves.*—These appear on various occasions as a protection against demons. Thus a man who woos a bride is accompanied by one armed with a bow and arrows. At the wedding ceremony little staves are shot into the air, with the formula: 'I pierce the eye of the demons that prowl around the bride who approaches the fire' (*Mānava Gṛhyasūtra*, I. x.). At the royal inauguration the priest beats the king with a staff, saying, 'We beat evil away from thee' (*Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, XV. vii. 6). The staff is a part of the ritual equipment in the Dīkṣā ceremony, its significance here being explained by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. ii. 1. 32) thus: 'The staff is a thunder-bolt to drive away the demons.' The Vedic student, as peculiarly liable to the attacks of evil spirits, is provided with a staff at the rite of investiture. This he must always carry, never allowing any one to pass between it and himself; he parts with it only at the end of his apprenticeship, when he casts it away into water, along with his girdle and other sacred objects. On entering the next stage of religious life the Brāhman receives a new staff made of a different wood, the purpose of which is sufficiently expressed by the spells employed at the accompanying rite: 'Protect me from all powers of destruction on all sides,' and 'Destroy all hosts of enemies on every side' (*Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra*, I. xi. 8). A wooden implement shaped like a sword, technically called *ṣphya*, and very variously applied in sacrificial rites, has evidently the significance of a demon-repelling weapon. At the sacrifice to the dead the *sphya* is passed over the altar with the words, 'Smitten away are the devils and demons that sit on the altar' (*Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, IV. iv. 2).

ii. MAGICAL ACTION.—Certain types of action are regarded as producing a magical effect in various rites. They may be grouped as follows.

(*a*) *Hostile.*—(1) To make a *noise* is believed to be an efficacious means of driving away demons. At the solstitial festival drums were beaten in order to scare evil spirits, which were deemed to be especially powerful at the time of the shortest day. A gong was sounded at the ritual for exorcizing the demon of epilepsy. At the funeral ceremony a din was produced by shattering pots.

(2) A frequent method of removing injurious influences is to *wipe* them *off*. Thus lead or a black thread of wool was used as an aid in the process. In particular, the *apāmārga* (*Achyranthes aspera*) plant (popularly interpreted to mean 'wiping out') was most variously employed in this sense. The Atharvaveda contains several hymns with which the plant is applied, the following being one of the spells in which this action is expressed (IV. xviii. 8): 'Having wiped out all sorcerers, and all grudging demons, with thee, O Apāmārga, we wipe all that evil out.' The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* remarks (V. ii. 4. 14) that by the aid of this plant the gods wiped away fiends and demons. Among other magical applications of this action may be noted the requirement that one who has seen an evil dream should wipe his face.

(3) Another means of getting rid of demons or injurious powers is to *shake*, *cast*, or *strip* them *off*. The black antelope skin used at a sacrifice is shaken out with the words, 'Shaken away is the demon; shaken away are the goblins' (*Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, i. 14). After feeding the souls of the dead, the officiant shakes the hem of his garment in order to remove the souls that may be clinging to it. At the conclusion of the funeral ceremony, the bundle of twigs, used to efface the footsteps of death, is thrown away for fear of the dangerous substance which it may have derived from those footprints. For similar reasons clothes worn at uncanny rites, such as funerals, are cast aside. Injurious substances are deemed to be stripped off by passing through some aperture the person to whom they adhere. This notion is found even in the Rigveda (VIII. lxxx. 7), where Indra is said to have cured the girl Apālā, who suffered from skin disease, by drawing her through an opening in a car. It is doubtless a survival of this form of purification when, in the wedding ceremony, the aperture of the yoke of a car is placed on the head of the bride.

The removal of injurious substances is not always a mere riddance, but is often also a transference to remote places or to other objects animate or inanimate. The Rigveda and the Atharvaveda contain several formulæ or spells to relegate evil agencies to particular places or persons in the far distance. Thus hostile magic is expelled beyond the ninety streams (Atharvaveda, VIII. v. 9, X. i. 16); the disease Takman (a sort of fever) is sent away to far-off peoples, such as the Gandharians and the Magadhas (*ib.* v. xxii. 14); evil deed and evil dream are banished to the divine being Trita Āptya in the remotest distance (Rigveda, VIII. xlvii. 13–17). Injurious agencies are also transferred to others at particularly uncanny spots, especially crossroads. A garment containing certain impurities is removed to a forest, suspended from a tree, or hung over a post, to which its dangerous influence is conveyed, and thus rendered innocuous (Atharvaveda, XIV. ii. 49 f.). Snake-poison is removed to a firebrand, which, being then thrown at a snake, returns the danger to its source (*Kauśika Sūtra*, xxix. 6). Fever is transferred to a frog as an antidote representing water (Atharvaveda, VII. cxvi. 2); while jaundice is conducted in a homœopathic manner to a yellow bird (*ib.* I. xxii. 4).

(*b*) *Auspicious.*—(1) A very prominent part is played by *eating* in the communication of beneficial influences; contact with injurious substances, which would, of course, be equally well effected by eating, is avoided by fasting (cf. § 10. i. (2)). The Vedic ritual contains innumerable examples of the magical power conveyed by the eating of sacrificial food. The eating of the food is regarded as communicating the blessing embodied in it; and in the most various forms the view appears that the sacrificial substance conveys the special kind of power implied in a particular sacrifice. Thus, when the religious teacher initiates his pupil, he gives him the remnant of the offering with the formula, 'May Agni place his wisdom in thee.' On the occasion of the ploughing festival a mixture of the milk of a cow that has a calf of the same colour and dung, bdellium, and salt is eaten. At the ceremony for the obtaining of male offspring the wife has to eat a barleycorn and two grains of mustard seed (or two beans), one of which has been laid on each side of it (as symbolizing a male being). The act of two or more persons eating together establishes a community between them; at the wedding ceremonial the bride and the bridegroom eat together, and at the royal inauguration the king and the priest.

Based on the idea that an animal, when eaten, communicates its special characteristics to the eater is the correspondence in sex, colour, and other qualities between the victim and the god to whom it is offered. To Indra a bull or (less often) a buffalo, to which he is often compared, is sacrificed; to the Aśvins, twin gods of the morning, a reddish he-goat, for 'of reddish colour, as it were, are the Aśvins' (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. v. 4. 1); to the goddess Sarasvatī a ewe of certain qualities; to Agni, with his column of dark smoke, a he-goat with a black throat; to the Sun and to Yama (god of death), two he-goats, one white, the other black. A cognate magical correspondence appears in the offering of a black victim in a rite for the obtaining of rain: 'It is black, for this is the nature of rain; with that which is its nature he wins rain' (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, II. i. 8. 5). When the destruction of enemies is intended, a blood-red victim is offered by priests dressed in red and wearing red turbans.

(2) There are several ceremonies in which *anointing* is applied for the attainment of auspicious ends. In the Dīkṣā rite the sacrificer is anointed with fresh butter to give him unimpaired vigour and sound sight. In the animal sacrifice the stake is anointed with clarified butter for the purpose of bringing blessings to the sacrificer. At the royal inauguration the king is anointed with a mixture of butter, honey, rain-water, and other ingredients, which communicate to him the powers and abundance inherent in them. At the same ceremony the king anoints himself with the fluid contained in the horn of a black antelope and refrains for a year from cutting his hair, which has been moistened by it. At the Sautrāmaṇī rite, an expiatory part of the Soma sacrifice, the priest consecrates the king by sprinkling him with the fat gravy of the sacrificial animals: 'With the essence of cattle, with the highest kind of food, he thus sprinkles him' (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XII. viii. 3. 12).

(3) *Charms*, made for the most part of wood, but also of other materials, were frequently attached to parts of the body for various auspicious purposes. A talisman made of wood from the *parṇa*-tree (*Butea frondosa*) was worn in order to strengthen royal power (Atharvaveda, III. v.); a bridegroom, while reciting a hymn of the Atharvaveda, fastened to his little finger, by means of a thread coloured with lac, a talisman made of liquorice wood to secure the love of his bride (*Kauśika Sūtra*, lxxvi. 8 f.); at the full moon ceremony the sacrificer tied on his person talismans made of lac, together with all sorts of herbs, for the attainment of prosperity; while sowing seed, the husbandman put on a talisman of barley. The Vedic student who, at the conclusion of his apprenticeship, has taken the purifying bath ties a pellet of *badara* (*Zizyphus jujuba*) wood to his left hand and fastens a pellet of gold to his neck; he then attaches two earrings to the skirt of his garment, and finally inserts them in his ears. A talisman of gold secures long life: 'He who wears it dies of old age,' in the words of the Atharvaveda (XIX. xxvi. 1). To ensure conception a woman puts on a bracelet with the spell, 'An acquirer of offspring and wealth this bracelet has become' (VI. lxxxi. 1).

(*c*) *Indifferent.*—(1) *Burying* was a frequent secret method of conducting magical substances to others, generally with hostile intent. The Atharvaveda is full of spells expressing fear of magic buried in sacrificial straw, or fields, or wells, or cemeteries. Objects belonging to a woman who is to be injured—a garland, hair, a twig for cleaning the teeth—together with other things productive of misfortune are placed between three stones in a mortar (a symbol of crushing) and buried. The luck of a person thus attacked might be restored by digging up the objects, while an auspicious spell was uttered. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* relates (III. v. 4. 2 f.) a myth how the demons buried charms in order to overcome the gods; but the latter, by digging them up, made them inoperative. The Soma sacrifice even contains a ceremony the express purpose of which is to dig up the magical objects buried by rivals or enemies. This idea of burying things sometimes has an auspicious intention, as when a mixture of milk, dung, bdellium, and salt is buried in order to promote the welfare of cattle (*Kauśika Sūtra*, xix. 19).

(2) The action of *looking* at an object may be either beneficial or injurious. It has the former effect, *e.g.*, when the sacrificer says (*Vājasaneyi Saṃhita*, v. 34) to the priest, 'Look at me with the eye of Mitra' (the sun-god); or when a guest addresses the sweet food that is offered to him, saying, 'With Mitra's eye I regard thee' (*Aśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, I. xxiv. 14). But the evil eye (*q.v.*), *e.g.* of the serpent, brings disaster on him towards whom it is directed. At the wedding ceremony the bridegroom secures himself against the evil eye of the bride by anointing her eyes and saying, 'Look not with an evil eye, bring not death to thy husband' (*Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, i. 4; *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, i. 16). In the Atharvaveda (IV. ix. 6) ointment is conjured against the evil eye with the spell, 'From the evil eye of the enemy protect us, O salve'; the *jaṅgiḍa*-tree is invoked against the evil eye of the hostile-minded (XIX. xxxv. 3); and a certain plant is employed with the spell, 'Of the enemy who bewitches with his eye we hew off the ribs' (II. vii. 5; cf. XIX. xlv. 1). On the other hand, the evil effect produced by an inauspicious object on him who sees it is shown by innumerable directions enjoining avoidance of such sights. Thus the Vedic student who, at the conclusion of his apprenticeship, has taken his purifying bath must not look at an enemy, a malefactor, a corpse-bearer, or ordure. For similar reasons, one returning to the sacrificial ground should not look round after performing an inauspicious ceremony, such as an offering to the goddess Nirṛti or a rite for the slaughter of demons.

(3) The action of *circumambulation*, which occurs very frequently in the Vedic ceremonial, is regarded as having a magically auspicious effect when the performer walks round an object in sunwise fashion by keeping his right hand towards it (*pradakṣiṇā*). Both living and inanimate things are three times circumambulated in this manner; *e.g.*, priests thus walk round other priests or the victim, and the wives of the king walk round the dead sacrificial horse. Sacrificial altars and temples, the ground where a house is built, as well as houses (as a protection against serpents), are circumambulated. This rite is especially often performed with the sacrificial fire, as at the wedding ceremony and at the initiation of the Vedic student. Water is circumambulated at a wedding, as also a new house, while water is at the same time sprinkled round it. When the ceremony is inauspicious, the direction is reversed, the left hand being kept towards the object. This is done especially in funeral rites at the burying ground and at cross-roads. Thus the mourners walk three times round the unlucky fire deposited where four roads meet, with their left sides towards it, beating their left thighs with their left hands. When a patient is to be cured of snake-bite, the priest walks round him to the left. When a servant who is disposed to run away is asleep, his master, making water into the horn of a living animal, walks three times round him to the left, sprinkling the water round him with the spell, 'From the mountain on which thou wast born, from thy mother, from thy sister, from thy parents, and thy brother, from thy friends I sever thee' (*Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, III. vii. 2). Movement both in the auspicious and in the revers direction is not restricted to walking. Thus in th sacrifice to the dead the officiant grasps a water j with his left hand and pours out its contents fro right to left; he also holds the ladle in his left a deposits the offering on the grass in the sa direction (cf., further, art. CIRCUMAMBULATION).

12. Sympathetic magic.—A special type of magi is that which has been called 'sympathetic,' being the influence exercised on a remote being or phenomenon by means of a telepathic connexion between it and what is manipulated by the magician. It may be either beneficent or injurious.

(*a*) *Effigies.*—An image is frequently made and operated on for the purpose of producing a similar effect on the victim. Thus an enemy is destroyed by piercing the heart of his clay effigy with an arrow, or by transfixing his shadow. His death is also produced by melting a wax figure of him over the fire, or by killing or burning a chameleon as representing him. The elephants, horses, soldiers, and chariots of a hostile army are imitated in dough, and sacrificed piece by piece so as to bring about its destruction. The magician annihilates worms by stamping on or burning twenty-one roots of the *uṣīra* plant, while he pronounces the spell, 'I split with the stone the head of all worms male and female; I burn their faces with fire' (Atharvaveda, V. xxiii. 13). In order to exterminate the field vermin called *tarda*, a single *tarda*, as representing the whole class, is buried head downwards, its mouth being tied with a hair so as to prevent its eating grain (*Kauśika Sūtra*, l. 19). With a view to smashing the limbs of evil spirits pegs are driven into the ground. One who pounds the Soma-shoots for sacrifice directs the blows against his enemy by fixing his thoughts on him during the operation.

The sympathetic connexion is sometimes very remote, as when implements or materials are used in which a particular power is regarded as inherent. Thus an exiled prince receives food rendered magical by being cooked with wood that has grown from the stump of a tree, symbolizing the restoration of fallen fortunes. At a ceremony for the removal of troublesome ants a sacrificial ladle of *bādhaka* wood is employed simply because the name of the tree means 'remover.' At a rite to destroy demons the dipping spoon is made of wood from the *palāśa* (*Butea frondosa*) tree as representing the magical spell (*brahman*), which is a slayer of demons. When the sacrifice for the restoration of an exiled prince is performed, earth and other material from his native country are employed. At a sacrifice for victory in battle, soil torn up by a boar is taken for the altar (*vedi*), with a view to communicating the fierceness of that animal to the combatants on behalf of whom the offering is made.

(*b*) *Imitative processes.*—The higher cult concerned with the three sacrificial fires abounds with rites in which the desired effect is produced by an imitation of the event or phenomenon. Thus the kindling of the sacrificial fire in the morning develops into a magical rite to make the sun rise; and the dripping of the Soma-juice through the purifying sieve becomes a rain charm. At the ceremony of the royal inauguration, the conventional chariot race in which the king wins is meant to gain for him speed and victorious might. On various occasions in the ritual a game of dice is played; this has clearly the magical purpose of securing luck and gain for the sacrificer. At the solstitial ceremony an Āryan and a Śūdra (representing a white and a black man) engage in a struggle for the possession of a circular white skin, the former ultimately wresting it from the latter; the magical aim of this performance is the liberation of the sun from the powers of darkness. In the same ceremony, as well as at the Soma and the horse sacrifice, there are certain sexual observances the obvious purpose of which is to produce fertility in women. A good example of the imitative method is the procedure meant to deflect a river into another channel. The new course is first watered; it is then planted with reeds; and, finally, representatives of water, such as a frog and the aquatic plant *avakā*, are deposited on it; the imitation is believed to produce the reality.

(1) This type of magic is very frequently found in the particular form of *rain-making*. Such is the purpose when, at the solstitial festival, a cowhide is pierced with arrows—probably an imitation of the myth of Indra's release of the waters by piercing the rain-clouds (which frequently appear as cows in the Rigveda). On the same occasion girls dance round a fire with jars full of water which they pour out, while they sing a song calling upon the cows to bathe. At the ceremony of piling the fire-altar jars of water are emptied on the ground, on which rain is thus said to be shed, and grain is sown on the spot. When an otter is thrown into the water, rain falls in abundance; or, if any one desires rain, he casts herbs into the water, submerges them, and then lets them float away.

(2) A modified form of sympathetic magic is *divination*, the aim of which is to find out what is hidden or future, largely from the occult correspondence between the representation and the reality. Dreams and sacrificial and funeral rites are the most significant representations; these can be interpreted by spiritual persons who possess inner illumination, strengthened by the power of asceticism and other magical means. From the direction taken by a cow at a particular point in the ritual it may be inferred that the sacrificer will attain his purpose. If at a certain sacrifice the fire flames up brightly, the sacrificer will obtain twelve villages; if the smoke rises, he will obtain at least three. The fire kindled in a special way between two armies about to fight prognosticates the result of the battle by the direction of the smoke. The observer who, at a funeral, notes which of the three sacred fires catches the corpse first can tell whether the soul of the deceased is in heaven, in air, or on earth.

The following examples of divination are of a more general type. If one wishes to know whether an unborn child will be a male, the son of a Brāhman must touch a member of the mother; supposing the member has a masculine name, the child will be a boy. When it is desired to ascertain whether a girl will make a good wife, she is bidden to choose between various clods taken partly from auspicious soil (as that of a furrow or a cowshed), partly from an unlucky spot (as a cemetery or cross-roads); her choice betokens her character and her future. A special form of prognostication is the foretelling of weather by old Brāhmans from the smoke of dung.

Mixed with the knowledge of the future obtainable from a symbolic process is that derived from gods or spirits, by interpreting the movement, the flight, or the cry of animals or birds specially connected with gods or spirits, such as the wolf and hyæna, the owl, crow, pigeon, and vulture. Thus, in one of the two hymns of the Rigveda concerned with augury, the bird crying in the region of the Fathers (the south) is invoked to bring auspicious tidings (II. xlii. 2). Again, in one of the Sūtras, the owl 'that flies to the abode of the gods' is addressed with the words, 'Flying round the village from left to right, portend to us luck by thy cry, O owl' (*Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra*, I. xvii. 1. 3). The direction from which the wooer will come is indicated by the flight of crows after the performance of the rite for obtaining a husband for a girl. Such omens seem to be a later development, resulting from the simplification of the symbolical method of divination by isolating a single feature of a complex process.

13. Oral magic.—Magical formulæ are usually accompanied by some ritual act; but the spoken word in the form of a spell, a curse, or an oath also has a magical effect by itself.

(*a*) *The spell.*—The spell has generally a metrical form, being sometimes an old religious verse degraded to magical use. Though the formula is magical in application, it is in form often a mixture of prayer and spell, the gods being mentioned or invoked in it; *e.g.*, 'Between the two rows of Agni Vaiśvānara's teeth do I place him that plans to injure us when we are not planning to injure him' (Atharvaveda, IV. xxxvi. 2; cf. XVI. vii. 3); 'Thy ninety-nine spirits, O Night, shall help and protect us' (XIX. xlvii. 3–5). It is, indeed, characteristic of the hymns of the Atharvaveda to contain the names of numerous deities, while the panegyrics of the Rigveda are addressed to one only; *e.g.*, 'Heaven and Earth have anointed me; Mitra has anointed me here; may Bṛhaspati anoint me; may Savitṛ anoint me' (VII. xxx. 1). The magician very usually threatens or commands in his own person; *e.g.*, 'I plague the demons as the tiger the cattle-owners; as dogs that have seen a lion, they find not a refuge' (IV. xxxvi. 6); 'As the lightning ever irresistibly smites the tree, so would I to-day beat the gamesters with my dice' (VII. l. 1); 'Swift as the wind be thou, O steed, when yoked to the car; at Indra's urging go, swift as the mind; the Maruts shall harness thee; Tvaṣṭṛ shall place fleetness in thy feet' (VI. xcii. 1). But he also often mentions in his spell a parallel case, in order to effect his purpose, like the symbolical process in sympathetic magic; *e.g.*, 'With the light with which the gods, having cooked porridge for the Brāhmans, ascended to heaven, to the world of the pious, with that would we go to the world of the pious, ascending to the light, to the highest firmament' (XI. i. 37); 'As one pays off a sixteenth, an eighth, or an entire debt, thus we transfer every evil dream to our enemy' (VI. xlvi. 3); 'As the rising sun robs the stars of their brilliance, so I rob of their strength all the men and women hostile to me' (VII. xiii. 1); 'The cows have lain down in their resting-place; the bird has flown to its nest; the mountains have stood in their site; I have made the two kidneys stand in their station' (VII. xcvi. 1). A frequent feature of spells, in order to make sure of striking the injurious spirit, the seat of evil, or whatever else is aimed at, is the enumeration of a whole series of possibilities; *e.g.*, 'Out of eyes, nose, ears, brain, neck, back, arms I drive the disease' (II. xxxiii. 1 f.). If, however the demon is known, this knowledge is emphasized as bestowing magical power over him; *e.g.*, 'This is thy name; we know thy birth; this thy father, this thy mother.'

On the most varied occasions spells are uttered without any accompanying rite. The application of one that may be pronounced by a man on entering a court of justice is thus described (*Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, III. xiii. 6): 'If he should think, "This person will do evil to me," he addresses him with the words, "I take away the speech in thy mouth, I take away the speech in thy heart; wherever thy speech is, I take it away; what I say is true: fall down inferior to me."' Spells are also uttered, *e.g.*, when a man mounts an elephant, a camel, a horse, a chariot, when he comes to cross-roads, when he swims across a river, and in many other situations.

A formula sometimes consists of two or three words, or even of one word. If a man has spoken what is unworthy of the sacrifice, he has only to murmur 'Adoration to Viṣṇu' as an expiation. The daily repetition of the single sacred syllable *bhūḥ* averts death from him who utters it; 'he has nothing to fear from serious diseases or from sorcery' (*Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. vi. 1). Again, the mere mechanical repetition of a prayer meant for a totally different purpose may have a magical effect. Thus, the celebrated Gāyatrī verse of the Rigveda (III. lxii. 10)—'We would attain that excellent glory of Savitṛ the god, that he may stimulate our prayers'—it muttered 3000 times, frees a man from the sin of accepting unlawful presents. Even the formulaic use of a stereotyped dialogue secures the desired result. Thus, when the rite of parting the hair of a woman is performed, the husband asks her, 'What dost thou see?' 'Offspring,' she replies.

(*b*) *The curse.*—A special form of the magically effective spoken word is the curse. The earliest examples of it in Vedic literature are mythological. In the Yajurveda (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, II. vi. 6. 1) Agni curses the fish for betraying his hiding-place in the waters, predicting that men shall kill it by means of various artifices: 'Hence men kill fish with various artifices, for they are cursed.' In *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* (VI. v. 11) the gods curse the trees with the threat that they shall be cut down with an axe the handle of which is made from themselves. That the employment of actual curses was also common in early Vedic times is obvious, and is confirmed by the occurrence of many spells intended to counteract them or to make them recoil on him who utters them. The Atharvaveda contains several such; *e.g.*, 'Avoid us, O curse, as a burning fire a lake; strike him that curses us, as the lightning of heaven the tree' (VI. xxxvii. 2); 'Let the curse go to the curser, we crush the ribs of the hostile eye-conjurer' (II. vii. 5; cf. V. xiv. 5, X. i. 5). Plants, such as the *apāmārga*, are invoked to free from the calamity consequent on a curse. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* contains several passages showing the potency attributed to curses. Thus it is there said (II. i. 4. 19, III. ii. 1. 9) that, 'if any one were to curse him, saying, "May the sacrifice turn away from him," then he would indeed be liable to fare thus'; 'Were any one to curse him, saying, "He shall either become demented or fall down headlong," then that would indeed come to pass.' It is there also said that he who curses a Brāhman possessed of certain knowledge leaves this world bereft of his strength and the result of his good deeds. In other Sūtras those who raise their hand to pronounce a curse are said to be one of the seven kinds of assassin (*Viṣṇu-smṛti*, v. 191).

(*c*) *The oath.*—This is really a curse directed against oneself, as is indicated by the verb *śap*, which in the active means 'to curse,' but in the middle 'to curse oneself,' 'to swear.' It calls down on oneself and one's belongings loss of life or possessions in this world and the next as a penalty for telling an untruth or breaking one's word. Thus, in the ceremony of royal inauguration the priest causes the king to swear the following oath (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii. 15): 'All the merit of my sacrifices and gifts from the day of my birth to the day of my death, my position, my good deeds, my life, my offspring shall belong to thee, if I deceive thee.' If the oath is broken, the punishment ensues; *e.g.*, the Yajurveda (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, II. iii. 5. 1) relates how, when the moon-god did not keep the oath which he had sworn to the Creator Prajāpati, he was attacked by the disease of consumption.

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MAGICAL CIRCLE.—For the 'operation' of 'conjuring' spirits the mediæval sorcerer sat in the centre of a circle described on the ground. This formed a spiritual barrier, protecting him from ghostly attacks, while enabling him to question his 'familiars' or other spirits from a coign of supernatural vantage.

'Circuli sunt munimenta quaedam quae operantes a malis spiritibus reddunt tutos.'[1]

The concepts of circle, circular, and encircling lend themselves naturally to dramatic ceremonialism, and ideas of continuity, finality, and eternity have been appropriately expressed by circular symbolism.

In Scandinavian mythology a serpent engirdles the earth. Popilius Lænas, delivering an ultimatum from the Senate of Rome to King Antiochus, drew with his staff a circle round himself in which he awaited the reply.[2]

The circular form of certain shrines and religious structures may involve some symbolism, possibly astrological. According to the Talmud, a round house and a three-cornered house do not become unclean—*e.g.*, from the contagion of leprosy—whereas a square house does.[3] Possibly the sacred number 3 renders the three-cornered house immune; possibly, again, the three corners represent the points of supernatural weapons.[4] In the case of the round house the idea may be that nothing can cling to its smooth outline.

The circle as a supernatural protective barrier has several analogies in primitive custom, and variations of form involve corresponding variations of meaning. Throughout, from the earliest examples to the latest, importance is usually attached to the material or the instrument with which the circle is traced.

Among the Shuswap Indians the bed of a mourner is surrounded by thorn-bushes, the object being to ward off the ghost of the dead person.[5] The Bellacoola Indians, also of British Columbia, have a similar practice. Besides surrounding the bed with thorns, mourners cleanse their bodies while standing in a square formed by thorn-bushes, as a protection against the ghost.[6] Here the mystic *zareba* depends not on its shape but on its completeness in the geometrical sense.

Water and fire, excellent bulwarks both in human warfare and in spiritual conflict, and, possibly for this reason, among others, regarded as supreme cleansers, are often used to avert evil influences.

The Laotians had a custom of keeping a fire burning in a circle around the bed of a mother for some weeks after child-birth. In Abyssinia the bed was surrounded by blazing herbs, while the mother herself was held in the circle by 'stout young fellows.'[7] In a moving or dynamic form the fiery circle was used for the same purpose in Scotland. Morning and night fire was carried round the mother till she was churched, and round the child till it was christened. In some parts of Scotland a fir-candle was whirled three times round the bed where mother and child lay.[1]

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[1] G. C. Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek*, Mainz, 1822, iii. 70.

[2] Livy, xlv. 12; Cicero, *Phil.* viii. 8. 23; Vell. Pat. i. 10.

[3] R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908, pp. 186, 189.

[4] This seems to be one notion in the use of the pentagram or pentacle (see Thompson, *locc. citt.*).

[5] *GB*³, pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 142, quoting F. Boas.

[6] *Ib.*, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, ii. 174.

[7] J. G. Frazer, in *JAI* xv. [1886] 84 f.

It has been suggested that in some such cases the idea was to prevent the soul in its critical state from leaving the body, but the greater proportion of cases certainly depend on the idea of protecting the patient from external evil, though the fire-treatment of childbed may have originated simply in a primitive clinical intention of producing comfort or obviating complications.

In China candles are kept alight round the coffin to 'give light to the spirit,' or to light him on his way.[2] The Caribs burned a fire round the grave.[3] A Chinese charm consists in laying a circle of ashes round the dead man; it is supposed to resuscitate him.[4] The Romans carried water or fire round mourners on their return from the funeral.[5]

The curious custom of circumambulation as a mark of honour was practised by Hindus, Greeks, and Celts.

In ancient India, walking round a person three times to the right (sunwise) was a ceremony of honour,[6] as it was among the Gauls and Celts.[7] The ancient Indians walked round the funeral pyre, as Achilles drove round the pyre of Patroclus[8] (see art. CIRCUMAMBULATION). The ancient Indians also practised the rite as a cure for a sick person.[9] Possibly the idea of protecting a person with a mobile, living ring is behind the honorific variety.

In Nias a candidate for the priesthood consorts with spirits in the mountains; when he returns home, he splits a young tree and creeps through the fissure, 'in the belief that any spirit which may still be clinging to him will thus be left sticking to the tree.'[10] Highlanders of Scotland used to send their sheep through hoops of rowan to 'ward off the witches.'[11] Similar customs are found in N. Europe and England as cures for sickness.[12]

The Lapps wore a brass ring on the right arm by way of protection against the ghost of the dead person.[13]

Frazer instances superstitions about rings—arm or finger rings—suggesting that the idea is to keep the soul in the body. For this purpose magic cords are tied round wrist, ankle, or body among various peoples.[14]

'To keep the soul in or the demons out' is a question where convergence of practice is natural. In ancient India the medical magician encircled the bed of a woman at child-birth with black pebbles to ward off demons.[15] This is in line with primitive practices mentioned above, but a suggestion of V. Henry possibly connects it with Babylonian magic: he finds in old Indian magic traces of the double pentacle, or Solomon's Seal, the famous constituent of the mediæval magical circle, consisting of two equal and equilateral triangles, cutting each other so that the resulting segments are equal. The underlying idea may be that the points of the star pierce the invisible enemies.[16] The Indian data alone show a connexion, by means of this astrological element, with the Semitic, and it is from the Semitic practice that the magical circle of mediæval Europe, along with a considerable body of astrological magic, was developed. This is a remarkable case of permeation from one source. Semitic magic and its conquest of Europe may be described, not altogether fancifully, as a left-handed compliment to Semitic religion and the conquest of Europe by the Bible.

The Babylonian texts continually refer to the *usurtu*, which Thompson justly identifies as 'the prototype' of the magical circle, possessing the properties of a 'ban.'

The *ašipu*-priest recited over the sick an incantation: '(The man) of Ea am I, . . . the messenger of Marduk am I, . . . the circle of Ea is in my hand.'[1]

In more detail, the sick person was safeguarded by an enchanted circle (of the nature of a tabu-mark) made with flour or other material, 'as a kind of *haram* through which no spirit could break.' The priest first performed a ceremony of atonement, in which a kid was sacrificed. He flung the kid away, and then described the circle. 'Enclose the man with kusurra (flour), flour of lime, surround the shut gate right and left. The ban is loosed.'[2] A mixture of meal and lime seems to be intended; both substances possessed virtue. The 'flour of Nisaba (the corn-god)' was the 'ban of the great gods.'[3] In another ceremony, before the god Nergal, the priest described with lime a circle round seven winged figures,[4] and in yet another flour and water were used for drawing the circle.[5] Here Thompson compares the mediæval use of the Host as a protection against vampires and witches. The Babylonians described the mixture as the 'net of the corn-god.' Similarly the Jews of Jerusalem employed the virtues of food against evil influences, scattering a mixture of food round the bed of a sick person.[6] A Semitic parallel to the idea of stripping off evil by passing through a ring, or arch, or other circumscribed opening is found in a cure for headache, which consisted in making a circle round a desert-plant with meal, plucking it up before sunrise, and tying it on the head. When the plant was removed, the headache disappeared simultaneously. On the same principle an ailing limb was cured by tying round it a charmed thread, and then casting this away, along with the sickness.[7]

The development of magic, white and black, in Europe, and its remarkable exploitation, lasting till well after the scientific period had begun,[8] were bound up with Semitic animism, or rather dæmonism, if the distinction may be observed. The causes producing a state of culture in which every man of science was a necromancer and conjurer of spirits do not concern us here, but the invariable employment of the magical circle for the conjuration of spirits is typical of the culture of those ages. The primitive Babylonian practice was now divorced from medical magic. As applied to the evocation of elemental demons, whose aid was invoked for alchemical research or prophecy or evil magic against individuals, its main purpose was to protect the sorcerer from the dangerous servants whom he called up.[9] At the same time the geometrical possibilities of the circle appealed to the mathematical instincts of the scholar, and geometry perhaps owes something to magical experiments upon the circle. Kabbalistic lore was also called upon for the exploitation of names and numbers of power, to be inscribed in the circle. Here begins the positive virtue of the circle, which, in connexion with the universal concepts of the figure, made it something more than a protective barrier. It became rather a mystic focus of power, and had at least the merit of concentrating the alchemist's or astrologer's thoughts. Lastly, the astrological elements of the zodiacal system were applied to it, and it thus became an intermediary between chemistry and astronomy, as the focus to which were attracted the infernal and supernal powers alike.

The Arabic and Hebrew developments of magic in the early centuries of the Middle Ages are obscure. The account given by Psellus of a *Hecatinus circulus*, Ἑκατινὸς στρόφαλος, calls for notice, though its meaning is confused. He writes:

> 'Hecate's circle is a golden sphere, enclosing a sapphire in the centre, turned by a thong of bull's hide, and having characters through the whole of it. They made conjurations by turning this; and they are wont to call such things ἴυγγες, whether they have a spherical or triangular or any other shape whatsoever. Shaking these, they uttered unintelligible or beastlike sounds, laughing, and striking the bronze. It accordingly teaches the operation of the rite, or the motion of such a circle, as possessing secret power. And it is called "Hecate's" as being dedicated to Hecate; and Hecate is a divinity among the Chaldæans.'[10]

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[1] Frazer, in *JAI* xv. 85, note.

[2] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, New York, 1867, i. 126.

[3] Frazer, in *JAI* xv. 91, note.

[4] J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., vi. 952.

[5] Servius, on Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 228.

[6] *SBE* ii. [1897] 25, vii. [1900] 236 f.

[7] J. Rhŷs, *Celtic Heathendom*², London, 1892, p. 567.

[8] *SBE* xvii. [1882] 299.

[9] *Ib.* xlii. [1897] 425.

[10] *GB*³, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 175.

[11] *Ib.* p. 184 f.

[12] *Ib.* pp. 180, 184 f.

[13] *Ib.* p. 314.

[14] *Ib.* p. 315 f.

[15] V. Henry, *La Magie dans l'Inde antique*², Paris, 1909, p. 142.

[16] *Ib.* p. 93.

[1] Thompson, p. xxiii.

[2] Thompson, p. lvii, quoting P. Haupt, *Akkad. und sumer. Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1881–82, xi. ii.

[3] *Ib.* p. lix.

[4] *Ib.* p. lviii.

[5] *Ib.* p. 123.

[6] *Ib.* p. 102.

[7] *Ib.* p. 165.

[8] See F. Barrett, *Magus*, London, 1801, *passim*, for proof that magic was practised at the end of the 18th century.

[9] *Ib.* ii. 105; the circles 'are certain fortresses.'

[10] *Expositio oraculorum Chaldaicorum* (*PG* cxxii. 1133).

This account may be simply confusing the Babylonian magical circle with the Greek magical wheel (*ἴυγξ, torquilla*); but, just as the mediæval circle was made material and portable in the form of metal amulets and talismans, so it is possible that Græco-Chaldæan superstition may have developed the circle into a wheel like the ἴυγξ. The fact that such 'wheels' were sometimes triangular or of other shapes is an interesting hint in the direction of the pentagrams and other figures with which the mediæval circles were filled. Psellus notes that the object of the *invocatio* was oracular, the idea, no doubt, being to evoke spirits for the purpose of forcing them to predict future events. As for the Greek wheel on which the ἴυγξ, wryneck, was tied, there is considerable doubt as to its nature.[1]

The magical circle of mediæval occultism had innumerable varieties, according to the purpose, the time, and the species of spirit to be invoked; and it also varied according to the predilections of the operator. The following may be considered typical examples of the method of description and formulæ of blessing and of invocation. The magician, after purifying himself, collected his paraphernalia, including his magic wand, blessed candles and holy water, magical sword or knife, and so forth, and traced the circle, usually 9 ft. in diameter,[2] with his wand or sword. He then blessed the circle, a typical blessing being:

> 'In the name of the holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, proceed we to our work in these mysteries to accomplish that which we desire; we therefore, in the names aforesaid, consecrate this piece of ground for our defence, so that no spirit whatsoever shall be able to break these boundaries, neither be able to cause injury nor detriment to any of us here assembled; but that they may be compelled to stand before this circle, and answer truly our demands.'[3]

More elaborate formulæ include such terms as:

> 'Sanctify unto myself the circumference of nine feet about me, . . . from the East, Glavrab, from the West, Garron, from the North, Cabon, from the South, Berith.'[4]

Good spirits seem to have been invoked but rarely; necromancy was also rare, though two forms of this were used, one in which the body and the other in which the 'shadow' of the dead was conjured. Evil spirits of power were the usual object of conjuration, and extraordinary precautions were taken in the process.[5]

> 'Now, if any one would call any evil spirit to the circle he must first consider and know his nature and to which of the planets it agrees and what offices are distributed unto him from the planet. This being known, let there be first sought out a place fit and convenient and proper for his invocation according to the nature of the planet and the quality of the offices of the same spirit as near as it can be done; as if their power be over the sea, rivers or floods, then let the place be the sea-shore, and so of the rest. Then chuse a convenient time for the quality of the air (being serene, quiet, clear, and fitting for the spirits to assume bodies). . . . Let the circle be made at the place elected, as well for the defence of the invocant as the confirmation of the spirit. And in the circle write the divine general names and all those things which do yield defence to us; and with them those divine names which do rule his planet, and the offices of the spirit himself; likewise write therein the names of the good spirits which bear rule in the time you do this and are able to bind and constrain that spirit which we intend to call.
>
> We may add characters and pentacles[6] . . . frame an angular figure with the inscription of such convenient numbers as are congruent amongst themselves to our work. . . . Further, we are to be provided with lights, perfumes, unguents and medicines, compounded according to the nature of the spirit and planet which agree with the spirit by reason of their natural and celestial virtue . . . holy and consecrated things necessary not only for the defence of the invocant and his companions, but also serving for bonds to bind and constrain the spirits; such as holy papers, lamens,[7] pictures, pentacles, swords, sceptres, garments of convenient colour and matter. Then let the exorcist (*sic*) and his companions enter the circle.'[1] If, after a prayer to God and an invocation, the spirit refuses to appear, 'reiterate the same three times, from stronger to stronger, using contumelies, cursings, punishments, suspension from his power and office, and the like.' If the spirit make a doubtful assertion, it must be tested by oath; the operator stretches his sword out of the circle and swears the spirit by laying his hand on the sword.[2]
>
> At last, when the operation is beginning to have effect, 'there will appear infinite visions, apparitions, phantasms, etc., beating of drums, and the sound of all kinds of musical instruments; which is done by the spirits, that with the terror they might force some of the companions out of the circle.' At this point, 'holding the pentacle in his hand let him [the operator] say, Avoid hence these iniquities.'[3] The spirit invoked would now normally appear.

A plain circle was the exception. In some, two diameters were drawn in the form of a cross,[4] but, as a rule, the circle included a pentagram or combination of pentagrams. Two intersecting pentagrams, viz. two equilateral and equal triangles cutting each other so that their segments are equal, constituted Solomon's Seal;[5] this seems to have been often regarded as more efficacious than the circle itself. These triangles were described before the circle, a frequent method being to draw a 9 ft. square, then the diagonals, and then the circle round the square.[6] An inner circle was described at a distance of a foot from the outer, and between these were inscribed various 'names of power,' or injunctions to the spirits, Alpha, Omega, On Adonai, El-Zebaoth, Tetragrammaton, Elohim, Jahweh; 'I forbid thee, Lucifer, to enter within this circle,' 'Obey me, Frimost,' being examples of these.[7] The mystic combination *Agla* was a favourite. Dove's blood, especially that of a white dove, was sometimes used for writing these names and formulæ.[8] The circle, figures, and names might be described with holy water, charcoal, or consecrated chalk; when the magical knife was used for the drawing, the lines were sprinkled with holy water. This knife, which also served to frighten the spirits,[9] should have a black handle of sheep's horn, and the steel should have been tempered in the blood of a black cat and the juice of hemlock. For more important operations, especially in black magic, as when using the 'great kabbalistic circle,' the tracing should be done with the magical stone Ematille.[10] A curious refinement was a gate in the circumference, by which the operator and his associates might go out and in; on leaving the circle, they closed the gate by inscribing names and pentacles.[11] The more elaborate circles were filled with names and kabbalistic figures and 'characters.'[12] Candles and vervain crowns were placed within the circle, and the operator had with him gold or silver coins to fling to the spirit when evoked, the 'seals' to be shown to the spirit, and talismans, generally made of coloured satin embroidered with silver. Incense was burned within the circle, or it was perfumed with musk, and holy water was sprinkled over it. When the preparations were complete, the operator and his associates stood or sat in the centre of the circle, often in small circles marking their places, and the operator began his invocation of the spirit required.[13]

The 'great kabbalistic circle' was made with strips of the skin of a sacrificed kid. These were fixed in the ground or floor by nails. Five concentric circles, close together, formed a strong protective circumference. A triangle took the place of the pentagram, and three small circles were described for the stations of the operator and assistants.[1]

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[1] Cf. O. Gruppe, *Griech. Myth. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, pp. 851 f., 897.

[2] Barrett, ii. 106.

[3] Thompson, p. lx; Barrett, ii. 106.

[4] A. E. Waite, *Occult Sciences*, London, 1891, p. 47.

[5] Barrett, ii. 69 f.

[6] Pentacle (properly = pentagram) is used of any talisman with figures (not necessarily angular) incised or embroidered within a circle.

[7] Linen or vellum plaques inscribed with figures.

[1] Barrett, ii. 99 f.

[2] *Ib.* ii. 101 f.

[3] *Ib.* ii. 114.

[4] Horst, ii. 103.

[5] A. E. Waite, *The Book of Ceremonial Magic*, London, 1911, p. 221; Barrett, ii. 109.

[6] Waite, *Occult Sciences*, p. 46.

[7] Waite, *Ceremonial Magic*, p. 286; Horst, ii. 103; Barrett, ii. 110.

[8] *Ib.*

[9] Waite, *Ceremonial Magic*, pp. 280, 322, 286, 154, 156.

[10] *Ib.* p. 244; Waite, *Occult Sciences*, p. 60.

[11] Waite, *Ceremonial Magic*, p. 82.

[12] *Ib.* p. 185 f.

[13] *Ib.* pp. 244, 225, 124 ff., 321.

The elaboration of geometrical design and astrological figures within the circle was connected with its positive efficacy for conjuration and control of the spirit. Thus Giordano Bruno writes:

> 'O! quanta virtus est intersecutionibus circulorum et quam sensibus hominum occulta! Cum caput Draconis in Sagittario exstiterit, diacedio lapide posito in aqua, naturaliter spiritus ad dandum responsa veniunt.'[2]

Consultation of the stars and seasons was essential.

> 'Oportet in constituendo circulo considerare quo tempore anni, qua hora circulum facias, quos spiritus advocare velis, cui stellae et regioni praesint, et quas functiones habeant.'[3]

For summoning chance spirits or seeing visions generally, a circle was made (probably at cross-roads) and perfumed, and the operator had to walk round its circumference, east to west, till he was giddy.[4] For necromancy the churchyard was an appropriate site.[5] The operator wore elaborate vestments, and was anointed with holy oil.

The circle was invariably obliterated on the conclusion of the operation.[6] A similar practice of destroying the traces of magical rites is regular throughout the history of magic, even in primitive culture.

The talismans, pentacles, or seals, used freely by the magician, depended largely upon the magical circle which was described round them. Here, as in the large operating circle, the more concentric circles, the more potent the efficacy. Against the attacks of spirits they were very powerful, 'presiding with wonderful influence.'[7] They were exhibited to the spirit on its appearance; by their means the operator bound the spirit, and was able to prevent it from departing 'without a licence.' The issue of the licence was an important detail; if it was omitted, the death of the operator might result.[8] The first virtue of a seal was from the star under whose influence it was, and, accordingly, it would be made of gold, if the planet were the sun, of iron, if the planet were Mars.[9] Seals 'of the names of God' were most powerful. Others had the names of angels, such as Raphael, Michael, Gabriel, inscribed between two concentric circles. Those which may be distinguished as pentacles proper had a Solomon's Seal surrounded by a circle.[10] The most usual form had enclosed within the circle the 'table' of a planet. These tables, it is interesting to note, were 'magical squares' in the mathematical sense (see below). Each planet, and each of the other forces, had its own magical squares.[11] The Seal had an obverse and a reverse, and was the size of a large medallion.[12] In connexion with the pentagram, this figure was a synonym for health. It was also developed into a continuous figure, by combining two, resulting in five, not six, points.[13]

The 'characters' of spirits were taken by the operator within his circle. These were in a book, which, when completed, was consecrated in a triangle described just outside the circle.[14] When a spirit appeared, it was asked to place its hands on its 'character' and swear.[15]

Mediæval amulets for general use were frequently stamped with the magical circle in its numerous varieties, as also were talismans of various make. The latter were effective, as a rule, only in co-operation with a ring engraved with 'characters.' This was worn on the finger, and the talisman on the arm or body.[1] The magician's wand was sometimes pliant and could be made into a circle, the ends being joined by a gold chain.[2] Described on parchment, the magical circle served as a basis for astrological calculations. This use was prevalent wherever Arabic culture penetrated. Thus, in Malaysia at the present time the circle is employed for all kinds of divination. To select a lucky day for a journey or business, a circle enclosing a heptacle is used, but every alternate day is skipped, the lines of the continuous heptacle running from, *e.g.*, Sunday to Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday, Sunday, and so on.[3] This heptacle is an ingenious development of the double pentacle. Magic squares of three or five numbers enclosed in a circle are less frequently used. Another form of divinatory circle has only radii from the centre. Colours emphasize the various parts of these circles.[4]

As a mathematical curiosity, the so-called magical circle is a development from the magical square, known since the earliest Arabic science. The latter is a square divided into smaller squares in each of which a number is written, and so arranged that the sum of the numbers in any row, horizontal, vertical, or diagonal, is always the same. The magical circle, or circle of circles, has numbers in concentric circles with radial divisions, possessing the same property as the rows in the magical square.[5]

LITERATURE.—In critical literature, R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908, and G. C. Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek*, Mainz, 1822, are the best of a very few. Francis Barrett, himself an adept, remains the most useful of the uncritical exponents, in his *Magus*, London, 1801.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

MAGYARS.—See HUNGARIANS.

MAHĀBAN (Skr. *mahā*, 'great,' *vana*, Hindī *ban*, 'forest').—A sacred town in the Mathurā District of the United Provinces and Oudh, on the left bank of the river Jumnā; lat. 27° 27′ N., long. 70° 45′ E.; famous as the scene of the adventures of Kṛṣṇa as a child.

Here and at Gokul (*q.v.*), as might have been anticipated, the places where the young god was attacked by the witch Pūtanā, where he played his pranks in the dairy and was saved from the falling wooden mortar, and where he overcame the demons Tṛṇāvarta and Śakaṭa are now shown. Mahāban was, in reality, only the water-side suburb of Gokul, which has now appropriated much of its sanctity, possibly because Mahāban never recovered from its sack by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in A.D. 1017 (H. M. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, London, 1867–77, ii. 458, 460). In the fort are found fragments of Buddhist sculptures, and it is believed that Mahāban was the site of some of the Buddhist monasteries which, in the time of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian, stood on both banks of the river. The existing temples are modern and mean. Only one is of any importance, that dedicated to Mathurānāth, Kṛṣṇa as lord of Mathurā. The most interesting building, however, is that known as Assī Khambhā, 'the eighty pillars,' which also has the name Chhaṭhī Pālnā, so called because women come here to be purified on the sixth day (*chhaṭhī*) after child-birth, and here the cradle (*pālnā*) of the infant god is exhibited. In its original form it seems to have been a Buddhist building, afterwards used for Hindu ceremonial, and finally converted into a Muhammadan mosque.

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[1] Waite, *Occult Sciences*, p. 60, *Ceremonial Magic*, p. 243 ff.
[2] *De Monade*, 139, quoted in Horst, iii. 70.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] Barrett, ii. 95; see also 91.
[5] *Ib.* ii. 69.
[6] Waite, *Occult Sciences*, p. 48.
[7] Barrett, ii. 109.
[8] *Ib.* ii. 115 f.; Horst, iii. 98 ff., 142, 161.
[9] Barrett, i. 88, 174.
[10] *Ib.* i. 88, ii. 41, 80, 109.
[11] *Ib.* i. 143, 174.
[12] *Ib.* ii. 41.
[13] *Ib.* ii. 66, 41.
[14] *Ib.* ii. 90 f.
[15] *Ib.* ii. 66 f., 90.

[1] Waite, *Ceremonial Magic*, p. 124 ff.
[2] *Ib.* p. 130.
[3] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 558.
[4] *Ib.* pp. 555, 560.
[5] C. A. M. Fennell, in *EBr*11, *s.v.*

The style of the colonnades closely resembles that of the more famous building of the same class near the Quṭb Minār at Delhī (*q.v.*), and both buildings have been ascribed to the same age, the close of the 12th cent. A.D. The most remarkable feature in this building is that one half of the southern end consists of the shrine of a Hindu temple almost undisturbed, with the original roof still in position.

LITERATURE.—The history, legends, and architecture of the place have been fully described by F. S. Growse, *Mathurā*^{3}, Allahabad, 1883, p. 272 ff., and A. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-West Provinces and Oudh*, do. 1891, p. 103 f.; *IGI* xvi. [1908] 427 f.

W. CROOKE.

MAHĀBHĀRATA.—The *Mahābhārata* is an epic poem of India in eighteen books, containing altogether about 400,000 verses of eight and eleven syllables each, although these verses are united into stanzas (called *śloka* and *triṣṭubh*) of four verses each, so that the Hindus call it a poem of a lakh (100,000) of stanzas. The books are of very unequal length, varying from a few hundred to several thousand stanzas, and there is also a supplementary book—the *Harivaṁśa*—of 16,000 stanzas. The matter of the poem is partly narrative and partly didactic. The epic proper contains about 20,000 stanzas embedded in and embellished by moral, political, religious, and metaphysical dissertations, the whole forming a heterogeneous mass of tale and teaching, which gradually accumulated around the epic kernel. As a tale the *Mahābhārata* ('Great Bharata' story) represents in its oldest form the *purāṇa*, or ancient tale, in distinction from the *kāvya*, or studied, elegant poem, of which the other epic, called the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*q.v.*), is the representative. It is probably older in its oldest parts than the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and yet in its entirety much later. It belongs rather to western ('Midland') India, while the *Rāmāyaṇa* belongs to the east. It celebrates Kṛṣṇa as representative of Viṣṇu on earth, while the *Rāmāyaṇa* celebrates Rāma. Finally, it has not the unity of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, nor was it written by one poet, as was the *Rāmāyaṇa*. According to a tradition still extant in the work itself, the *Mahābhārata* at first contained only 8800 stanzas and was subsequently increased to 24,000, after which it was again enlarged by the addition of numerous episodes till it reached its present size. The chief individual characters in the poem are known in part in ancient literature, but not the popular characters, the heroes of the winning side in the story as now extant. The war waged was between the old and the new; the date of the poem as it stands cannot, therefore, be that of the antique characters of the Brāhmanic age. As a whole, the poem dates from about the 2nd cent. B.C., extending to the 2nd cent. A.D., or, with the margin allowed by some scholars, its period extends from 400 B.C. to A.D. 400, this representing the centuries during which the whole poem was developed into its present shape. The additions since A.D. 400 must have been slight, though it is possible that one of the most probable references to Christianity in the poem, contained in the story of the White Island (xii. 335–339), was among such 'latest additions.' The material wrought into the poem is in part older than the poem itself, probably by centuries, especially the narrative and didactic episodes, some of which seem to be of Buddhistic origin. But the mass of the poem is greater than the epic narrative itself, and this mass, being largely didactic, led to the theory that the epic was originally didactic only, the narrative of human conquest being utilized as a frame on which to hang interminable sermons. This theory, put forth by Dahlmann, was further burdened with the thesis that the encyclopædic epic dated from pre-Buddhistic times and was the work of one author; but neither this most improbable hypothesis nor the basic theory—to wit, that the epic proper was merely ancillary to the didactic mass—has obtained general recognition. It is merely the exaggeration of a truth not denied by any one, viz. that moral and narrative poetry have always been more or less commingled in India. If the hypothesis of Dahlmann could be established, it would, of course, tend to show that Buddhism had been very much over-rated as an originator of ethical teaching. Very simple critical tests show, however, that no such great antiquity can be assigned to the *Mahābhārata*; the metre alone proves that it belongs to a period much later than that of Buddhistic beginnings. The epic is first mentioned in the *Gṛhyasūtras*, withal not the earliest (*Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, iii. 4), to which there is no cogent reason to ascribe an antiquity greater than the 3rd cent. B.C., and it is not impossible that even this reference may be interpolated. In the 2nd cent. A.D. the Greeks refer to an Indian Homer (Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* liii. 6), and this perhaps implies the supposititious author or compiler Vyāsa, to whose activity the Hindus give the name of authorship of the epic, as they say that Vyāsa compiled or arranged the Vedas—a story without any historical importance. Not more successful has been the counter-theory of Holtzmann, who holds that the epic was much later than the Christian era. He would date the *Mahābhārata* from the 5th to the 9th cent. A.D., and thinks that the story as we have it is an inversion of an older epic, in which not the Pāṇḍus but the Kurus were the characters originally besung by some earlier poet, and that it is due to the retention of older material that sins ascribed to the Pāṇḍus and their ally Kṛṣṇa have been kept in the poem of to-day. This theory also has failed to find recognition, in part because it ignores the weight of inscriptional evidence, which shows that, half a millennium before the *Mahābhārata*, according to this theory, had been completed, it was already of the size it is now.

The completed *Mahābhārata* represents an age well acquainted with foreign nations, even Greeks, Scythians, Persians, and Chinese being occasionally referred to in it (*e.g.*, v. 19); it represents also a time of empire, when, however exaggerated, the conquest of all India was regarded as quite a possible feat. It shows a superficial knowledge of the extreme north and south and a very intimate knowledge of Middle India. Castes are recognized as orders of society naturally, or, rather, divinely, established (*e.g.*, xii. 72, 297). Heterodox beliefs are freely discussed; outlandish morals are gravely reproved (*e.g.*, viii. 45). *Satī* is approved, but is not regarded as imperative; the ethical standard is high. Buddhist remains and Hindu temples are mentioned (*e.g.*, iii. 190). Different epochs have amalgamated their beliefs in regard to the gods. In one episode the Vedic gods are paramount; in another the authority of Brahmā is supreme; elsewhere Viṣṇu is the one great god, or Śiva alone is God and Viṣṇu is his representative. Only one late passage recognizes the Trimūrti, or triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, as three forms of one god (iii. 272).

The *Mahābhārata* begins with an Introduction, or Book of Beginnings, which tells how the childhood of the heroes was passed and gives their origin, and also, incidentally, the origin of gods and men in general. For the story, it may be compressed into the following statements. Two brothers, Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, are educated by their uncle Bhīṣma. The former brother grows up and marries a western woman, Gāndhārī, who has a hundred sons, called Kurus. Pāṇḍu has two wives, one of whom, Mādrī, commits *satī* at his death; the other, Pṛthā or Kuntī, survives Pāṇḍu and brings up his five children, called the Pāṇḍus, who are really sons of the gods, whom Kuntī and Mādrī had invoked. These sons are Yudhiṣṭhira (son of the god Dharma, or Right), Bhīma (son of the wind-god), Arjuna (the chief hero of the epic, son of Indra), and the twins Nakula and Sahadeva (sons of the Aśvins, or Dioskouroi). After this Introduction, which, like most childhood-recitals, is in general late, comes the 'Sabhā,' the title of the second *parvan* (book), taken from the assembly in the gaming-hall (*sabhā*), where the epic drama begins. At Hastināpur (about 60 miles north of Delhi) the Kurus hold an assembly, to which they have invited the Pāṇḍus, who, after various adventures, had built a town at Indraprastha (near Delhi). The Kurus intended to cheat the Pāṇḍus out of their kingdom by a game of dice, since they were afraid of the waxing power of their cousins. Yudhiṣṭhira plays away all his wealth and kingdom, and finally his brothers and himself. Then he plays Kṛṣṇā, the daughter of Drupada, polyandrous wife of the five brothers, and loses her. Once more he plays, all that he has lost against a term of exile, and on losing again he and his brothers and wife are driven ignominiously forth to live for twelve years in the forest. The third book is called 'Vana' ('Forest'), and narrates the life of the exiles. It is a storehouse of legend and tales, such as the story of Sāvitrī, and that of Nala and Damayantī, told to relieve the tedium of exile. The fourth book receives its name 'Virāṭa' from the name of the king with whom the Pāṇḍus take refuge at the close of the twelfth year. They stay in town collecting allies and assisting Virāṭa against attacks by the Kurus. They are at first disguised, and incidents of court life form the main part of this book, which is obviously, in its details, a late part of the epic. The fifth book is called 'Udyoga' ('Preparation for War'). Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) is now enlisted upon the side of the Pāṇḍus, as, with her brother's consent, Arjuna has married his sister after eloping with her. The following four books are named from the leaders in the battle which now takes place, 'Bhīṣma,' 'Droṇa,' 'Karṇa,' and 'Śalya.' Bhīṣma and Droṇa are the uncle and teacher respectively of the cousins now at war. Into the 'Bhīṣma Parvan,' at the beginning of the battle, is inserted the long poem called *Bhagavad-Gītā* (*q.v.*). This book ends with the fall of Bhīṣma, and Droṇa then assumes the leadership of the Kurus. Numerous encounters are described with wearisome iteration, and Śiva is lauded as the great One God. Karṇa, the half-brother of the Pāṇḍus, son of the sun-god, had been insulted by the refusal of Kṛṣṇā to recognize him as a worthy knight when she chose her husband, and had taken part with the Kurus against his brothers. He now leads them into battle, but is slain by Arjuna. This leads to the 'Śalya Parvan' (ninth book), in which Śalya is made leader of the Kurus; but, with the exception of a few warriors, they are all routed and slain, and the chief Kuru prince is killed (after the battle) by Bhīma. The tenth book is called 'Sauptika' ('Night-Attack'), and describes how the surviving Kurus make an attack by night on the camp of the victors, killing all the army except the Pāṇḍus themselves. It is followed by a short book called 'Strī' ('Women'), which gives an account of the lamentation of women over their dead. The war is now over; but Bhīṣma has miraculously survived, and in the long didactic books called 'Śānti' and 'Anuśāsana' he is resurrected to preach religion and philosophy, and give rules of ethical behaviour. Yudhiṣṭhira is crowned emperor, and in the fourteenth book, called 'Āśvamedhika' ('Horse-Sacrifice'), he performs the horse-sacrifice, which is the sign of undisputed lordship (see art. AŚVAMEDHA). Into this book is inserted (16–51) the *Anugītā*, a poem imitative of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The fifteenth book, called 'Āśramavāsika' ('Hermitage'), takes up the life of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and his queen, who, with Kuntī, the Pāṇḍus' mother, retire into the woods, where they are burned. The sixteenth book, called 'Mausala' ('Club-Battle'), tells of the death of Kṛṣṇa and his brother Baladeva, and the fate of their city Dvārakā, which was flooded by the sea. The family of Kṛṣṇa, the Yadus (Yādavas), are cursed by a Brāhman, and destroy each other. The seventeenth book, 'Mahāprasthānika' ('Great Renunciation'), tells how the Pāṇḍus give up their kingdom and climb to heaven by way of the northern mountains; this is supplemented by the last book of the epic proper, called 'Svargārohaṇa' ('Ascent to Heaven'), describing the journey. To this is later added the *Harivaṁśa* ('Genealogy of Viṣṇu'), a long account in three sections of the life and family of Kṛṣṇa as a form of Viṣṇu. It has, in part, the characteristics of a Purāṇa (*q.v.*), and is, without doubt, a subsequent addition, dating perhaps from the 2nd cent. of our era, though generally regarded as still later.

The *Mahābhārata* may be viewed as a rich store of philosophical and religious lore as well as a tale, and as embodying important geographical and historical data. It undoubtedly reflects some real contest, which may have taken place about a millennium before our era. It extols the lunar race (the other epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, extols the solar race), and derives the heroes from kings who descended from Soma, the moon-god, himself the son of the seer Atri. Budha, son of Soma, had as wife Ilā, a daughter of Ikṣvāku of the solar line. Their son was Purūravas, whose son, Āyus, was the father of Nahuṣa, the father of Yayāti, from whom came Pūru and Yadu, the ancestors of all the lunar race, Yadu being the ancestor of Kṛṣṇa, and Pūru being the ancestor of Bharata and Kuru, whose descendant, Śāntanu, was the father of Bhīṣma (above) by the goddess Gaṅgā (the river Ganges). Śāntanu's wife, Satyavatī, was also the mother of Vyāsa and of Vichitravīrya, who died without children; but Vyāsa raised up children for him, and these were Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. If these legends be reconstructed historically with the aid of the Purāṇic lists of kings, they show that a real historical background is reflected in the maze of myth. The polyandry of the Pāṇḍus is a trait of certain hill-tribes, and is not unknown on the plains; it is undoubtedly a genuine bit of tradition which serves to mark the Pāṇḍus as a ruder race than the old and long-respected Kurus.

An attempt to group the participants in the great war according to their place of origin has been made by F. E. Pargiter (*JRAS*, 1908, pp. 309–336, and 1910, pp. 1–56), who seeks in this examination to determine whether the theory of successive invasions leaving inner and outer rings of Aryans in India can be substantiated thereby; but the result seems to leave considerable doubt as to such invasions having left traces in the poem, though the theory of successive invasions may be substantiated on other grounds. The didactic teaching of the epic is not confined to any one part of the work, and from a general view of this teaching it is evident that a later pantheistic system has become amalgamated with the dualistic doctrines of the Sāṅkhya philosophy in its later theistic tendency as represented by the Yoga. This mixed system is represented not only in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, but in the *Anugītā* and in the philosophical chapters of the twelfth and thirteenth books. The outcome of the systematic speculation is in accord with the teaching of the Vedānta, but the terminology and basic ideas are those of the

Sāṅkhya system throughout. The chief interest of the religious doctrine lies in the insistence upon the loving devotion of the worshipper and the saving grace of the supreme spirit (see BHAKTI-MĀRGA). Kṛṣṇa as a form of Viṣṇu is not revered (as later) in his child-form, nor is anything made of his being the lover of milk-maids, though both traits are recognized. They come out strongly in the *Harivaṁśa* and later Purāṇas, and it is perhaps not unjustifiable to conclude that they did not form part of the worship as originally adopted into Brāhmanism.

Directly opposed to Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇuism is the Śiva-cult also found in the epic, as already indicated. This cult appears to have been set against that of the Kṛṣṇa-worshippers by the more orthodox upholders of Brāhmanism, although neither Śiva nor Kṛṣṇa was a Vedic god. But Śiva had long been recognized as a form of the Vedic Rudra, and, though probably at first a popular god, like Kṛṣṇa, he was already accepted by the Brāhman priests. The parts of the poem exalting Śiva as All-god or as the One God are not early; on the contrary, they bear the marks of later composition and the trait now so familiar, that of phallus-worship, appears only in a few late passages. As this aspect cannot be in itself a late feature, it must have acquired the seal of respectability only by degrees, being probably repugnant to the orthodox priests of Brahmā. The special sectarian cults or forms of cults as advocated in the Purāṇas are unknown in the epic. The cult of Viṣṇu is that of the pantheistic All-god; the cult of Śiva is that of the only One God. But, with the opposing claims of each sect, each god gradually assumes the distinctive attributes of the other. Viṣṇu is the one theistic god and Śiva is the pantheistic All-god. Each in turn claims to be maker, preserver, and destroyer; and Brahmā also, though originally creator-god, becomes destroyer as well, till all three, the sectarian Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu and Śiva and the older Brahmā of Brāhmanism, coalesce into the 'one god with three forms,' or, as the Hindu says, 'three gods and one form.' Besides these great gods it is noteworthy that a revival of sun-worship leads to strange exaltation of the sun as supreme god (but only in late passages), probably because of the identification of Viṣṇu with the sun on the one hand and the later Persian sun-worship on the other; for, though the epic was probably rounded out to its present size by the 2nd cent. of our era and was virtually complete in all probability as an epic two or three centuries before (by 100 B.C.), yet numerous episodes and laudatory hymns have been added at all times, as may be seen by the manifold additions in the recently published southern text of the epic, which contains thousands of verses in great part of this character (in part, narrative). Of such sort also are the hymns to Durgā and probably also the exaltation of Skanda as the great army-leader of the gods, raised far above his earlier conception. All these later additions are of priestly sectarian origin. The original lay of the Bharata war may also have been of priestly rather than of popular origin, though 'hero-lauds' sung by hired minstrels are not unknown in early literature. But it was part of the business of the king's chaplain to recite laudations in his honour, and it is not impossible that some chaplain of the epic kings may have expanded the theme, for not only the king living but 'dead kings and their glory' formed the topic of lays and eulogies. The completed *Mahābhārata* was intended for recital, but this was in dramatic form, so that even to this day it is acted as well as recited by the purveyors of amusement at country fairs.

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E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

MAHĀBODHI.—See GAYĀ.

MAHĀR, MHĀR, MEHRĀ.—One of the menial or depressed castes of W. India and the Deccan, numbering 3,342,680 at the Census of 1911. Their name is very doubtfully connected by G. Oppert (*Orig. Inhabitants of Bhāratavarṣa or India*, London, 1893, p. 28 ff.) with that of the ancient Indian Malla; and, according to J. Wilson (*Indian Caste*, Bombay, 1877, ii. 48), they gave their name to the country of Mahārāṣṭra, from which the Marāṭhās take their title. They are practically all Hindus by religion. Another caste, the Ḍheḍ or Ḍheṛ, is sometimes included with them, and, if not identical, they are allied, with the Holeyā menials of the Madras Presidency (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, ii. 329 ff.).

In the Central Provinces 'the Mahārs say they are descended from Mahāmuni, who was a foundling picked up by the goddess Pārvatī on the banks of the Ganges. At that time beef had not become a forbidden food; and when the divine cow, Tripād Gāyatrī, died, the gods determined to cook and eat her body, and Mahāmuni was set to watch the pot boiling. He was as inattentive as King Alfred, and a piece of flesh fell out of the pot. Not wishing to return the dirty piece to the pot, Mahāmuni ate it; but the gods discovered the delinquency and doomed him and his descendants to live on the flesh of dead cows' (R. V. Russell, *Central Provinces Ethnographic Survey*, pt. ix., Allahabad, 1911, p. 84; cf. E. J. Kitts, *Census Report, Berar*, 1881, p. 114 n.).

Their religion is of the primitive animistic type, with a veneer of Hinduism. In the Khāndesh District they keep the regular Hindu fasts and feasts, and worship the popular gods of that country—Viṣṇu, or Viṭhobā; Śiva as Khaṇḍobā; Mahāsobā, an evil spirit who abides in an unhewn stone smeared with red lead; Bhairoba, or Śiva in his terrible Bhairava form; and the Mother-goddess in the form of Āī Bhavānī, whose image they keep in their houses. Besides these they worship snakes and the spirits of their dead ancestors (*BG* xii. [1880] 118 f., xvii. [1884] 172 ff.). At a temple in Kāṭhiāwār the Dheḍs worship what is really an image of Viṣṇu reposing on his serpent Śeṣa as Hānī, who is said to have been a deified woman of the caste. Women who are unable to nurse their babies and owners of cows which give a scanty supply of milk vow to wash this image in milk if their milk be increased (*BG* xiii. [1884] 415).

In the Central Provinces 'the great body of the caste worship the ordinary deities Devī, Hanumān, Dūlhā Deo, and others, though, of course, they are not allowed to enter Hindu temples. They principally observe the Holī and Dasahrā festivals and the days of the new and full moon. On the festival of Nāgpanchmī they make an image of a snake with flour and sugar and eat it. At the sacred Ambāla tank at Rāmtek the Mahārs have a special bathing-ghāt set apart for them, and they may enter the citadel and go as far as the lowest step leading up to the temples: here they worship the god and think that he accepts their offerings. They are thus permitted to traverse the outer enclosures of the citadel, which are also sacred. In Wārdha the Mahārs may not touch the shrines of Mahādeo, but must stand before them with their hands joined. They may sometimes deposit offerings with their own hands on those of Bhīmsen, originally a Goṇḍ god, and Mātā Devī, the goddess of smallpox.'

In Berār they worship a curious collection of deities, among whom are included the archangels Gabriel, Azrael, Michael, and Anādin, all of whom, they say, come from Pāndharpur. In Berār the worship of these archangels was probably borrowed from the Muhammadans ; but in Gujarāt it was apparently taken from Christianity.

'It seems that the attraction which outside faiths exercise on the Mahārs is the hope held out of ameliorating the social degradation under which they labour, itself an outcome of the Hindu theory of caste. Hence they turn to Islām or to what is probably a degraded version of the Christian story because these religions do not recognise caste, and hold out a promise to the Mahār of equality with his co-religionists, and in the case of Christianity of a recompense in the world to come for the sufferings which he has to endure in this one. Similarly the Mahārs are the warmest adherents of the Muhammadan saint Sheikh Farīd, and flock to the fairs held in his honour at Girār in Wārdha and Pratāpgaṛh in Bhandāra, where he is supposed to have slain a couple of giants' (Russell, p. 90 ff.).

LITERATURE.—Besides the authorities quoted in the art. see *Census Report, Central Provinces*, 1901, i. 182, *Bombay*, 1911, i. 287 ; A. Baines, *Ethnography* [=*GIAP* ii. 5], Strassburg, 1912, p. 76 f.

W. CROOKE.

MAHATMA.—See THEOSOPHY.

MAHĀVASTU.—The *Mahāvastu*, one of the most noteworthy books of Buddhist antiquity, is a huge confused compilation of legends 'on the origins of Buddhism, on the persons of its founder [up to the gift of the *jetavana*] and his first disciples—in a word, on that *ensemble* which, with infinite varieties of detail, crossed and ramified in every way, is the common property of all Buddhists.' Besides all this, it includes a gnomic treasure, which is also traditional, an enormous mass of *jātakas* ('birth-stories') and tales, certain dogmatic speculations (see below, § 3), interminable lists of Buddhas—'needless digressions, mere padding—two, three, four accounts and more of the same episode, from different sources, sometimes contradictory, sometimes following one another, sometimes scattered through the book, dovetailed into one another, dismembered, lacerated.'[1]

The interest attaching to the *Mahāvastu* is of many kinds: (1) it is a book of *vinaya* ('discipline') of one of the ancient sects, and its history, so far as it can be traced, is instructive ; (2) it is a vast repertory of legend and folklore, which, when compared with Pāli literature, supplies innumerable documents on the nature and primitive state of Buddhist tradition ; (3) the *Mahāvastu*, from the point of view of dogmatic ideas, marks a period or a transition stage between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna ; and (4) its language, too, deserves attention.

1. History and contents.—The *Mahāvastu*, or, according to the colophon (which is open to suspicion), *Mahāvastv-avadāna*, claims to be a part of the *Vinayapiṭaka*, of the 'recitation' (*i.e.* the canon) of the Lokottaravādin Mahāsāṅghikas of the Madhyadeśa.

(1) The Mahāsāṅghikas are one of the old sects or branches of the Order, the other branch being that of the Sthaviras or Theras (see SECTS [Buddhist]) ; from the beginning it probably had special rules of *vinaya*, or 'discipline.' (2) The expression Lokottaravādin, 'believer in the supernatural character of the *bodhisattva*' (see below, § 3, and art. BODHISATTVA), indicates a dogmatic school. It is possible that there were Mahāsāṅghikas who were not Lokottaravādins. It would not be difficult to eliminate from the *Mahāvastu* the passages which have a Lokottaravādin tendency. (3) The Madhyadeśa, or 'middle country,' of the Buddhists comprises N. India, Magadha, Kośala, and Videha ; but there were Mahāsāṅghikas outside of the Madhyadeśa, notably the Pūrvaśailas and the Aparaśailas, who were also Lokottaravādins.

In order to understand the word *mahāvastu* and to see how the *Mahāvastu*, in which discipline takes only a very small place, can belong to the section on 'discipline,' it is necessary to go far back.

The disciplinary literature (*Vinaya*) was from the beginning composed of two parts: (1) the formula of confession (*prātimokṣa, pāṭimokkha*), a list and classification of grave and venial faults, to which an explanatory and historical commentary was soon added: on what occasion such and such a prohibition was made by the Master ; in the Sarvāstivādin school this commentary is called *Vibhāga*, in the school of the Pāli language *Vibhaṅga* ; and (2) the statutes of the Order, a collection of the texts (*karmavākya, kammavācha*) relating to ecclesiastical acts (ordination, fortnightly confession, etc.) and of rules referring to ordination, confession, the cenobitic life during the rainy season, to parishes, medicines, beds, and schisms. These texts and rules were also embedded in a historical commentary. In the Pāli canon they are divided into two sections (*khandhaka*), in two chapters or books (*vagga*)—the 'Great Vagga' and the 'Little Vagga' (*Mahāvagga* and *Chullavagga*), the latter being devoted to subsidiary questions. There is the same division in the canon of the Sarvāstivādins, under different titles : the *Kṣudrakavastu* (*vastu*, 'thing,' 'topic,' 'point of discipline or doctrine,' 'story'), corresponding to the *Chullavagga*, and the *Vinayavastu*, which, although it does not bear the title 'Great,' corresponds to the *Mahāvagga*.

One of the characteristics of the *Mahāvagga* (and the *Vinayavastu*) is that, especially in its first part, it assumes the form of history. It contains a short epitome of the origin of the Order, which is perfectly justified as an introduction to the *vastu* of ordination : it was in a book of discipline that the most ancient writers, for want of a better planned library, deemed it expedient to place some pages from the life of the Buddha—his illumination, his first sermon, etc. The editors of the *Vinayavastu* (which is, as we have said, the *Mahāvagga* of the Sarvāstivādins), who came long afterwards, took far more liberties : in the first ten chapters their work preserves the character of a historical treatment of monastic discipline ; but the last chapter (devoted in principle and in title, like the corresponding chapter of the *Mahāvagga*, to the internal strife of the Order) contains not only a fresh statement of the biographical elements of the first chapter, but also the history of Śākyamuni from the beginning of time, related in a continuous account down to the schismatic intrigues of Devadatta ; a list of the *chakravartin* kings, the creation of the universe and life of primitive men, and the history of the Śākyas (ancestors of Śākyamuni) ; legends of the birth of Śākyamuni, his education, his departure, his mortifications, etc.—a *summa* of ancient traditions among which are to be found documents which have an independent existence in the Pāli canon (*e.g.*, the *Ajaññasutta*). Of the five hundred pages in the eleventh chapter of the *Vinayavastu*, little more than forty are devoted to the schism which gives its name to the chapter, and which, in all probability, was at first its only *vastu*, its one subject. In a word, the *Vinayavastu*, as a whole, is a faithful replica of the *Mahāvagga* ; but it shows a very wide use of interpolation.

It is different with the *Mahāvastu*, and the manifest contradiction between the title and the contents raises a delicate question. Such a title implies that the book was, like the *Mahāvagga* and the *Vinayavastu*, meant to be a history of disciplinary rules. As a matter of fact, of thirteen hundred pages about twenty treat of discipline (especially at the beginning, two lines on ordination), and certain parallelisms with the *Mahāvagga* cannot be mistaken; *e.g.*, there is 'a series of stories in the *Mahāvastu*, in the Pāli *Mahāvagga*, and in the Tibetan *Vinaya* which hold together, and really seem faintly to reproduce a common prototype' (Barth, *loc. cit.* p. 464). But, on the whole, the *Mahāvastu* is a collection of legends without any connexion with discipline.

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[1] Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1899, pp. 463, 623.

One can easily understand how a primitive *Mahāvastu*, a historical treatment of discipline, would be fed (Barth says *nourri*) by a mass of heterogeneous materials, differing in date and character, which, by their inorganic or chaotic accumulation, would explain all that non-disciplinary literature which forms ninety-nine hundredths of the present *Mahāvastu*. This task of enlarging and of 'feeding' was carried on in all the Buddhist sects, for a longer or shorter time, with more or less moderation; and what is true of the literary units is still more true of the canonical collections. Although we at present know nothing about the library of the Mahāsāṅghikas, we may suppose that it had no shelves in which the *jātakas, suttas*, and stanzas would be arranged. The only course was to gather together in the *Mahāvastu* all that seemed precious.[1] The development of the *Mahāvastu*, therefore, if it had remained to any extent a history of discipline, and if some pieces of the framework of the *Mahāvagga* were perceptible, would seem quite simple. Must it be admitted that the last compilers of the *Mahāvastu* systematically cut away the elements of *vinaya* already sunk in the legendary mass? Or that, in the fearful disorder in which the literature of the *Mahāsaṅgha* was weltering, these elements fell into oblivion? Or that the *Mahāvastu* was never in any respect, except its title, a replica of the *Mahāvagga*? The three hypotheses seem equally inadmissible.

Some light is perhaps afforded by the history of the *Divyāvadāna*. E. Huber (and after him S. Lévi[2]) has proved that this book is, above all, a collection of anecdotes and legends taken from the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins. The extracts have not always been made very consistently, and some fragments of *vinaya* proper—disciplinary rules—are to be found in the *Divyāvadāna*. The history of the *Mahāvastu* is probably similar. The colophon gives it the name of *Mahāvastv-avadāna*: is this to be translated 'the narrative part of the *Mahāvastu*'? In the Pāli *Vaggas* the various episodes are linked to the history of the *Vinaya* by explicit references or allusions; these, without exception, are wanting in the *Mahāvastu*: 'So those same episodes which in the *Mahāvagga* and the *Chullavagga* are more or less prolix and discursive chapters of a treatise on discipline are here mere narratives, which end by making the *Mahāvastu* a book of stories.'[3]

However this may be, 'the materials which have entered into the composition of the *Mahāvastu* are of widely different ages; . . . the source of the compilation is certainly ancient, since it forms part of the canon of one of the ancient schools. It must be admitted, therefore, that it took a long time to be formed, for it is certain that it was not completed until very late.' The mention of astrologers under a Western name (*horāpāṭhaka*) and that of the writings of the Chinese and of the Huns, Peliyakṣa (Felix ?), Ujjhebhaka (Uzbek ?), indicate the 4th or 5th century. At that date, however, 'the persistence, in the prose, of the ecclesiastical jargon, which will be discussed below [§ 4], is an astonishing fact.'[4] We must, therefore, admit late interpolations and carry the date of the compilation a little further back. In order to realize the character of this compilation, it must be noticed that 'the editors do not allow themselves to invent anything, and do not dare even to correct the most flagrant contradictions.'[1]

2. Comparison with Pāli canon.—There are numerous parallel passages in the *Mahāvastu* and Pāli literature. Minayeff, Oldenberg, above all Senart and Barth, and, lastly, Windisch, have called attention to many, but not to all. Differences which seem to be marks of sect are rare. We are able to study the unsettled state of Buddhist tradition and the infinite diversity of arrangement and treatment of the same materials.

> 'In these examples, the amount of similarity is of all degrees, from simple community of subject and vague resemblance to complete identity. The latter, however, is rarely attained, and never for long. . . . The similarity, especially in the verses, is to a large extent an exterior one; it is shown in mode of expression, in general assonance, in words more than in matter, in sounds more than in words; the stanza is the same, when the meaning is sometimes quite different, like an egg of which nothing remains but the shell. . . . They all go back to one original. . . . The probabilities are not always in favour of the Pāli edition. But for the *ensemble* of the fragments as well as for the detail of their rendering, it is the Pāli that is the best on the whole and that gives the best representation of the original version.'[2]

It is well known that all the comparisons set up between the Pāli canon and the other canons arrive at the same conclusion. The Pāli writings were fixed and codified first.

3. Relation to Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna.—The *Mahāvastu* may be said to form the bridge between the Old Vehicle and the New. As is seen in art. MAHĀYĀNA, the two Vehicles are not incompatible, and the book may present certain characteristics peculiar to the Great Vehicle while remaining unacquainted with the others.

(1) The 'Buddhology' of the *Mahāvastu* marks a stage between the conception of Buddha as a simple mortal (Little Vehicle) and that of Buddha as a quasi-eternal god sending illusory images down to this world (Great Vehicle). The Buddha of the *Mahāvastu* is a superman. He feels neither hunger nor thirst; he lives in ignorance of carnal desires; his wife remains a virgin. It is from consideration for humanity, in order to conform to the customs of the world (*lokānuvartanā*), that he behaves as a man, or that he gives to men the false impression that he is behaving as a man. In technical terms, he is *lokottara*, 'superior to the world.'[3]

(2) The infinite multiplication of Buddhas in the past and in the present is also a characteristic of Mahāyānist tendency. It must be noticed, however, that the Sarvāstivādins, who are reputed to be free from Mahāyānism, allow that several Buddhas may co-exist, though in different universes, or 'fields of Buddha.'

(3) Much more marked is the tendency of one of the chapters of the *Mahāvastu*, entitled *Daśabhūmika*, 'the book of the ten *bhūmis*'—successive steps by which the future Buddhas have to mount up to the state of Buddha.

> 'It is to the beings who aspire resolutely to the condition of Buddha that the *Daśabhūmika* ought to be set forth . . . for they will believe; the others will only cavil' (i. 193).

The *Mahāvastu*, therefore, has incorporated a book which is addressed, in so many words, to the men who wish to become, not *arhats*, but Buddhas, *i.e.* to the men who enter the Vehicle of the future Buddhas, the Mahāyāna.[4]

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[1] See the Introductions and notes of E. Senart, and cf. Barth, *Journal des Savants*, 1899, p. 623 f.

[2] *T'oung-pao*, II. viii. [1907] 105 ff.

[3] Barth, *loc. cit.* p. 529.

[4] *Ib.* p. 629.

[1] Barth, *loc. cit.* p. 624.

[2] *Ib.* p. 627.

[3] The text says that his body is *manomaya*, 'mind-made.' This expression has been discussed by E. Senart and A. Barth (see art. BODHISATTVA). According to the *Abhidharmakośa*, it means, not 'mental body,' 'body formed of mind,' but 'body created by the mind,' without intervention of seed and blood. Such is the body of the creatures called *aupapāduka*, 'apparitional,' one of whose characteristics is that, on dying, they leave no trace.

[4] Several other instances of Mahāyānist tendency are discussed by Senart and Barth (*loc. cit.* p. 526). Different interpretations may be suggested from that of these two scholars for

On the other hand, Amitābha, Avalokita, Mañjuśrī; the *dhāraṇīs* (‘spell’), and the *śūnyatā* (‘voidness’)—and, we may add, *karuṇā* (‘compassion’)—are unknown in the *Mahāvastu*, which remains ‘a book of the Hīnayāna in its mythological and legendary part,’ as Barth remarks (p. 527), and which is really Mahāyānist only in the considerable interpolation of the *Daśabhūmika*.[1]

4. **Language.**—The ancient religious literatures of India—with the exception of the Brāhmanic—were written in popular and spoken dialects. In course of time these dialects became ‘fixed languages,’ subject to rules. This happened with the Jains (*ardhamāgadhī*), and with the church which was afterwards that of Ceylon (Pāli). The Buddhist school of the Sarvāstivādins adopted Sanskrit, and Sanskritized both the ancient nomenclature and the traditional texts in prose and in verse. The language of the Mahāsāṅghika school remained ‘in an unsettled state: it was neither Sanskrit nor Pāli, nor any of the known Prākrits, but an arbitrary and unstable mixture of all these.’

> It is a literary language, says Senart, ‘and it is certain that it was no longer [*i.e.* at the time of the compilation of the *Mahāvastu*] a spoken language, and not less certain that, for several centuries before and after that time, inscriptions and books were written in much the same way. But, in the *Mahāvastu*, is it still a language? At bottom, there is undoubtedly the substance of a real idiom, akin to that of the most ancient inscriptions and to that which has come to us so admirably fixed in the Pāli texts,’ but this idiom remained without grammar and without orthography, and, especially in the prose, ‘it was indefinitely open to the influence of Sanskrit.’[2]

Such is the language of the *Mahāvastu* in the present state of the text—more Prākrit in the poetry than in the prose, and extremely interesting for the linguistic history of India. This language has received the name of ‘language of the *Gāthās*,’ because it was first studied in the books of the Great Vehicle, the prose parts of which are in Sanskrit or quasi-Sanskrit, and the verses or stanzas (*gāthās*) in this peculiar jargon. This difference of treatment does not exist in the *Mahāvastu*, in which the Sanskritisms seem to be unconscious.

LITERATURE.—E. Senart, *Le Mahâvastu* (Skr. text, introduction, and commentary), i.–iii., Paris, 1882–97; A. Barth, *RHR* xi. [1885] 160, xlii. [1900] 51, and *Journal des Savants*, 1899, pp. 459, 517, 623; E. Windisch, ‘Die Komposition des Mahāvastu,’ *ASG*, phil.-hist. Klasse, xxvii. [1909] 467–511; M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Litteratur*, II. i. (Leipzig, 1913) 187. The remarks of P. Minayeff and H. Oldenberg are quoted by Barth.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

MAHĀVĪRA.—See ĀJĪVIKAS.

MAHĀYĀNA.—I. *DEFINITION AND DESCRIPTION.*—1. In order to define Mahāyāna, we must first notice certain characteristics of the Hīnayāna.

Buddha has said that, as salt is the only flavour of the sea, the only flavour (*rasa*) of his doctrine, the true doctrine or religion (*saddharma*), is the flavour of deliverance (*mokṣa, mukti*), or of *nirvāṇa*. Buddhism, therefore, can be looked on as a path (*mārga, pratipad*) leading to *nirvāṇa*, as a supramundane (*lokottara*) path leading to the end of the constant succession of re-births (*saṁsāra punarbhava*) which constitutes the ‘world’ (*loka*) or existence (*bhavaloka*), or as a vehicle (*yāna*) conveying those who mount it to the same goal, ‘the town of *nirvāṇa*, the island of *nirvāṇa*.’

The first metaphor has been adopted by primitive Buddhism; the second one by the new Buddhism. The adherents of this later Buddhism found fault with the earlier Buddhism; and, accordingly, while styling their own creed *mahāyāna* (‘great vehicle’), true, great, and profound (*gambhīra*) doctrine of salvation, they characterized the creed of their predecessors as *hīnayāna* (‘little vehicle’), an inferior, imperfect, inefficient doctrine of salvation. Another name for the older Buddhism, a more polite one, is *śrāvakayāna*; in the old scriptures the disciples of the Buddha who have entered the path are called *śrāvaka* (‘disciples,’ ‘auditors,’ or ‘preachers’ of the Law), or *āryaśrāvaka* (‘noble disciples,’ ‘true disciples’). The term *śrāvakayāna* conveys the idea that the old doctrine is nevertheless an efficient means of salvation. Moreover, it marks a contrast between the two Buddhist creeds; for the adherents of the new Buddhism style themselves *bodhisattva* (future Buddhas) and employ the term *bodhisattvayāna* (‘vehicle that conveys the *bodhisattvas*’) as a synonym of Mahāyāna.

(1) The Hīnayāna asserts that salvation can be quickly gained; it is a vehicle drawn by deer (*mṛgaratha*). It professes to lead, when duly practised, to *nirvāṇa* in this existence (*dṛṣṭadharma*). One has to become an *arhat*, *i.e.* a *jīvanmukta* (*q.v.*), a man freed even in this life. In fact, the *arhat* has already obtained *nirvāṇa*, the *nirvāṇa* called *sopadhiśeṣa*, the liberation from desire and lust, the machinery of life continuing automatically until it runs down. When dying, he says: ‘I have nothing more to do. I shall not be re-born here again,’ and he enters into *nirupadhiśeṣa nirvāṇa*, ‘absolute *nirvāṇa*.’

It is mysticism, but a perfectly coherent mysticism. It involves no elements that are foreign to the end which it has in view, viz. the destruction of desire or thirst, the suppression of all activity (*karman*) liable to induce a new existence. It consists essentially in contemplation (*darśana* = ‘sight’) and meditation (*bhāvanā*) on the four truths: everything is painful, etc. These four truths may be summarized in a philosophical dogma: what we call the ‘soul,’ or the ‘ego,’ is only a complex of incongruous, transitory elements (*skandhas*), which endures by means of desire (or thirst) alone; and an ethical dogma: desire can be rooted out and the consequences of action can be suppressed by meditations which emancipate and deliver from existence.

(2) This method of salvation (the method of supramundane meditations) cannot be practised except by a person who observes, and has observed for some time, ‘morality’—*i.e.* the laws that make an action or a thought good (see art. KARMA)—and, what is very important, a person who practises continence (or the religious life *brahmacharya*) as a Buddhist monk.

(3) Although the Buddha is neither a god nor a supernatural being, he is nevertheless very different from the other saints. The saints, like the Buddha, have attained *nirvāṇa* in this life, because they have attained *bodhi* (‘illumination’); but it was the Buddha who discovered the truths of salvation which potentially contain *bodhi*, and who showed the ‘path’; and he was able to do so because in the course of his innumerable existences, with a view to saving human beings, he had accumulated good works and acquired infinite knowledge.

(4) The cult of the Buddha is not distinguished by what is properly called ‘devotion’ (*bhakti*)—

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two passages in which they think they discern references to the two sects of the Mahāyāna—the Yogāchāras and the Mādhyamikas. (1) *Yogāchāra*, in *Mahāvastu*, i. 120, means simply ‘he who practises *yoga*, “contemplation.”’ It is by this name that the *Abhidharma* (ch. vi. *ad init.*) designates the ascetic who practises ‘meditation of the horrible’ (*aśubhabhāvanā*, contemplation of the corpse, etc.), the *smṛtyupasthānas*, etc. (2) As regards the ‘middle path’ described in iii. 448, it is certainly Mādhyamika, but it is also ‘canonical’ (*Saṁyuttanikāya*).

[1] We know that one of the chief books of the Mahāyāna is called *Daśabhūmika* (tr. into Chinese, A.D. 265–316). The Yogāchāras claim it as patronizing their doctrine, because it teaches that ‘all things are only thought’ (*chitta*)—a theory which does not appear in the *Daśabhūmika* of the *Mahāvastu*. The *bhūmis* of the two works have been compared in art. BODHISATTVA. The scholars of the Mahāyāna argue from the fact that the theory of the *bhūmis* is taught in the *Mahāvastu*, a Hīnayāna book.

[2] Barth, p. 459.

this sentiment implies a living god—though the *Abhidharmakośa* employs the term. Veneration of relics, *stūpas*, etc., is useful and recommended; it is good, it is helpful, as penance (*tapas*) is, but it is not essential.

(5) Ancient Buddhism is not merely a vehicle of *nirvāṇa*; it also teaches how to be re-born in heaven, in the world of Brahmā.

Three Vehicles are usually distinguished: (1) the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas, (2) the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas, (3) the Vehicle of the *bodhisattvas*. The first two together constitute the Little Vehicle, the third the Great Vehicle (see E. Burnouf, *Le Lotus de la bonne loi*, Paris, 1852, pp. 52, 315, 369; H. Kern, *SBE* xxi. [1884] 80, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 61; *Dharmasaṁgraha*, ed. F. Max Müller and H. Wenzel, Oxford, 1885, p. 2, and sources cited on p. 35; E. J. Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*², London, 1888, *s.v.* 'Triyāna'; cf. *Buddhavaṁsa* [*PTS*, London, 1882], Commentary, p. x f., where the Śrāvaka-Pratyekabuddhas are opposed to the Samyaksambuddhas). There is no difference between the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas and that of the Pratyekabuddhas; both arrive at the same *bodhi*, or illumination, and the same *nirvāṇa*; but, while the Śrāvakas appear at a time when the Law of the Buddha is known, and profit by the teaching of others, the Pratyekabuddhas attain to *bodhi* themselves at a time when the Law of the Buddha has disappeared; while the Śrāvakas preach (*śrāvayanti*; *śrāvaka*, translated 'hearer,' means rather 'preacher' [see *SBE* xxi., *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, iv. 53]), the Pratyekabuddhas do not convert except by miracles. There are still other differences, but they are of no importance to the Vehicle of salvation (see *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, ch. iii., Fr. tr., London, 1915, p. 103 and notes; Chandrakīrti, *Madhyamakāvatāra* (Fr. tr., *Muséon*, new ser., viii. [1907] 2 ff., quoting literary authorities). It is natural, then, for the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas and the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas to be fused in the Little Vehicle (Hīnayāna [*q.v.*]).

2. Great Vehicle.—The new Buddhism adopts the name of *mahāyāna* ('great vehicle'). The word *yāna* ('vehicle') is used to express the same idea as that conveyed by the 'supramundane path' (*lokottaramārga*), the 'path leading to *nirvāṇa*.' But, as we shall see, there are various kinds of Mahāyāna, and this fact explains the diversity of definitions and the evident difficulty in which early writers—*e.g.*, the Chinese pilgrims—found themselves when they tried to explain the difference between the Little and the Great Vehicle.

The Great Vehicle consists of (1) the practice of the virtues (*pāramitās*) of a *bodhisattva* or future Buddha (i.e. *pāramitāyāna* [°*naya*] or *bodhisattvayāna*); by it one becomes a Buddha (*buddhayāna*); (2) the wisdom or knowledge of vacuity (*prajñāyāna* or *jñānamārga*); (3) devotion; it is the path of devotion (*bhaktimārga*).

(1) *Career of the bodhisattva.*—The books which profess to belong to the Great Vehicle (*Mahāyānasūtras*) tend to assert that *nirvāṇa* cannot be attained by the ancient method. To obtain deliverance from desire, ignorance, and existence it is necessary to practise all the virtues and acquire all the knowledge of the Buddhas, to enter on the career of a future Buddha (*bodhisattvacharyā*) and pursue it for centuries. Instead of 'Great Vehicle,' it may therefore be called 'Vehicle of the future Buddhas' (*bodhisattvayāna*), or 'Method of the perfect virtues, charity, patience, etc.' (*pāramitānaya*).

Now the Buddha Śākyamuni, during his former existences, has always lived in the world. It is possible, therefore, to enter the 'Vehicle of the future Buddhas' although married. Nothing, however, prevents monks from making the 'vow to become Buddhas'; by this vow they mount the 'Vehicle of the future Buddhas,' but by their monastic observances they belong to the 'old Buddhism,' and form part of one of the disciplinary schools of the Śrāvakas. Young laymen often take the vows of monks, and, after acquiring merit in this way for a time, renounce them in order to take the vows of a future Buddha.

(2) *Vacuity.*—The books that treat of philosophy explain that the ancient dogma, 'The soul is nothing but a complex of transitory elements (*skandha*),' is perfectly accurate, but unsatisfying; they would add that these elements themselves do not exist in themselves, but are 'void' (*śūnya*). (For the two ways of understanding vacuity, and the two schools of the Great Vehicle, see artt. MADHYAMAKA and VIJÑĀNAVĀDINS.) The doctrine of vacuity (*śūnyatāvāda*) is the second characteristic of the Great Vehicle. But a layman or a monk can perform the 'vow to become a Buddha' without thinking out the doctrine of vacuity. The 'theologians' themselves declare that, as the beginning of the saintly career is entirely devoted to charity, it is not good to give too much thought to philosophy, *i.e.* to universal nothingness. On the other hand, an adept of the Little Vehicle who does not believe in the necessity of becoming a Buddha may adhere to the doctrine of vacuity and become imbued with it, in order to attain *nirvāṇa* as an *arhat*, *i.e.* in this present life. Some texts even explain that, if the doctrine of vacuity is really indispensable to the attainment of *nirvāṇa*, it is sufficient, without the career of the future Buddha.

(3) *Devotion.*—A third characteristic of the Great Vehicle is the worship of the Buddhas and 'future Buddhas' of high rank (see art. BODHISATTVA). The Buddhas are great gods, almost eternal, who sit upon thrones in heavens surrounded by saints, and send 'magic bodies' down to earth to save men. The worship of the Buddhas may exist independently of any desire to become oneself a Buddha and independently of philosophic speculation.[1] There is therefore a Great Vehicle that is merely devotional: (*a*) the Buddha (Amitābha, *e.g.*) is a god in the full meaning of the word, eternal or almost so (Amitābha, 'infinite splendour,' is sometimes called Amitāyus, 'infinite life'); (*b*) the only concern of the faithful is to be re-born in the paradise of this god, 'the blissful world' (Sukhāvatī), the western paradise, by the grace of the god and with the help of the holy saints Avalokita, etc.[2]

This Mahāyāna, purely devotional and with monotheistic tendencies, is not a 'Vehicle of future Buddhas.' In the books discussing it (*Sukhāvatīvyūha*, etc.) there is practically no reference to *nirvāṇa*. This Vehicle is a Buddhist form of the Hindu *bhakti*, or devotion. *Bhakti* must be accompanied by highly orthodox acts of worship, which are recommended in the Hīnayāna: worship of *stūpas*, *maṇḍalas* in honour of the Buddha, abstinence from food before worshipping Buddha, etc. But the Mahāyānist *bhakti* is laden with litanies and formulæ; it declares that rites efface sin, and attributes salutary virtue to the reading of the *sūtras* and the repetition of the name of the Buddhas—which is not quite orthodox.

It is to be noticed that the worship of Buddhas, Tārās, etc., is compatible with the strict orthodoxy of the Hīnayāna, as has been remarked in regard to Java, which is very idolatrous and yet attached to the Hīnayāna.[3]

3. Vedāntic and Tāntric Vehicle.—The Mahāyāna, as analyzed above, is, from the philosophical point of view, a phenomenalist system, and, from the religious and mythological point of view, polytheism with monarchical and devotional tendencies. From early times phenomenalism and polytheism led to conceptions of immanence and monism.[4] In the days of Asaṅga (A.D. 4th cent.) men believed in an Ādibuddha (*q.v.*) who would play the part of Brahmā in his various aspects as Brahmā, or Kṛṣṇa divine, or Kṛṣṇa incarnate. These speculations upon immanence and emanation, which often mingle with the doctrines of the Mahāyāna proper, are the basis of the 'Vehicle of formulæ' (*mantrayāna*), the 'diamond method' (*vajranaya*), also called the 'Tāntric Vehicle' (*tantrayāna*). This Vehicle is Vedānta in Buddhist disguise as regards its doctrine, and Śaivite and pagan as regards its mythological representations and its rites. Its goal is the condition of a Buddha, its doctrine that (1) every being is, in his inmost nature, a Buddha, and (2) every being can, by meditation, spells, (*sādhana*), and theurgic practices of all kinds (often erotic), 'realize' this Buddha nature at little expense (see TANTRISM).

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[1] For the combination of the cult of the Buddhas and compassion, or charity, with meditation on vacuity, see art. BODHISATTVA.

[2] See artt. AMITĀYUS; BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Buddhist); cf. Matsumoto Bunzaburō, *Gokuraku jōdo ron* ('Study of the Pure-Land Sukhāvatī'), Tokyo, 1909, and *Miroku jōdo run* ('Study of the Pure-Land of Maitreya'), do. 1911 (Fr. tr., M. N. Péri, in *Bull. de l'Ecole franç. d'Extrême-Orient*, xi. [1911] 439 ff.).

[3] A. Barth, 'Le pèlerin chinois I-tsing,' in *Journal des Savants*, 1898; cf. the remark of Winternitz, *Geschichte*, ii. 157, on the Buddha in Buddhaghoṣa: 'eine Art Halbgott wie in den Mahāyānasūtra.'

[4] See Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Opinions sur la dogmatique*, p. 391; also his papers on the three bodies of a Buddha and allied subjects in *JRAS*, 1910, p. 129, and *Muséon*, new ser., xiv. [1913] 257; cf. D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism* London, 1907.

4. Is the Mahāyāna the only Vehicle?—This is an interesting question and worthy of our attention. Do the Mahāyāna teachers regard the Mahāyāna as the only Vehicle of salvation? I-tsing's remarks may be accepted as giving the general opinion:

> 'These two systems [Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna] are perfectly in accordance with the noble doctrine [of the Buddha] . . . Both equally conform to truth and lead us to Nirvâna.'[1]

But the scholastic literature and the *Mahāyāna-sūtras* of course give different and often narrower views. Maitreya-Asaṅga says that 'the meditation (*dhyāna*) of the Hīnayāna, though impure, leads to salvation';[2] but for Śāntideva the Hīnayāna is of only relative truth, and its followers are upon a path that has no issue;[3] Chandrakīrti sees no virtue in the Hīnayāna except its teaching of 'vacuity' (see MADHYAMAKA): there are old *sūtras* which proclaim vacuity (*śūnyatāpratisamyukta*); in an extreme case *arhat*ship and *nirvāṇa* may be attained by meditation on these *sūtras*[4]—in an extreme case, we say, because the follower of the Hīnayāna has no part in the spiritual aids that are reserved for the future Buddha; he does not have the great 'means' (*upāya*) of salvation, compassion, great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*), *i.e.* the desire and the vow to save all creatures; the possession of wisdom (*prajñā*) is unavailing, since he lacks the great 'means' of remission of sins and elimination of passion. In fact, there is only one Vehicle, as the *Lotus of the True Law* (*q.v.*) and several *sūtras* teach very clearly. The only way to salvation is to become a Buddha. But this demands a long career; so the Buddha has shown men a nearer goal, the *nirvāṇa* of the *arhat*, that they may not lose heart—like a caravan-leader who creates a magic town in the midst of the forest, far from the end of the journey, that the travellers may think they are near their destination, and take heart to advance.[5] 'The men who mount the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas cannot obtain deliverance by the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas'; embracing a false *nirvāṇa*, they are like a lover who embraces his mistress's corpse; they have, however, advanced nearer to the true *nirvāṇa*. At death, they falsely think that they have attained deliverance and exemption from re-birth; they are re-born, for they are not yet delivered, but they are re-born beyond the world (*tridhātu*), in the 'pure realm' (*anāsravadhātu*), in lotuses which open their petals to the rays of Amitābha and other Buddhas. There they learn the true Vehicle, make the *bodhi* vow, and enter, through numerous lives, upon the career of a future Buddha.[6]

The Chinese texts studied by J. J. M. de Groot (*Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, Amsterdam, 1893, p. 94) reduce the Hīnayāna to the observation of monastic rules, taking no notice, either purposely or through ignorance, of all the Noble Path and meditation on the truths. They say that the Little Vehicle, thus understood, leads to re-birth in the very inferior paradises of the world of Kāma (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]); it is therefore a Vehicle that leads to the gods (*devayāna*, according to de Groot's translation), and not a Vehicle of salvation.

5. Speculative doctrines of the Mahāyāna.—These are examined in the artt. MADHYAMAKA and VIJÑĀNAVĀDINS, which discuss the two chief philosophic schools of the Great Vehicle. The doctrines connected with the 'career of the future Buddha' (*bodhisattvacharyā*) are treated in art. BODHISATTVA. Many details might be added on the technique of meditations; but the works on this subject (*Abhisamayālaṁkārāloka*, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*) have not been published, and present very serious difficulties.

6. Discipline (Vinaya) of the Mahāyāna.—The Indian schools of devotion (*bhakti*) are often not strict as regards morality and discipline. There existed, accordingly, lax Mahāyāna, inclining to Tantrism, which preached salvation and the remission of sins by the recitation of formulæ, etc., independently of rules of conduct.

But there is also a rigid Mahāyānist 'monachism,' sometimes adhering to the ancient *Vinayas*, sometimes introducing new ones.

(1) The *Ākāśagarbhasūtra* says:

> 'If a Bodhisattva [*i.e.* an adept of the Great Vehicle] begins to think: "The Bodhisattva does not require to study the law which forms part of the Hīnayāna; he need not make it a rule for himself. What is the use of accepting this rule? What is the use of this rule?"—if he thinks in this way, he is guilty of error, and renders himself very culpable.'

Śāntideva speaks in the same strain:

> 'The adept of the Great Vehicle will never give his hearers the vain hope of acquiring purity by simply reading the books of the Great Vehicle, and reciting formulas, while abandoning the rules of conduct.'[1]

One fully realizes I-tsing's statement:

> 'Which of the eighteen schools [of the Hīnayāna] should be grouped with the Mahâyâna or with the Hînayâna is not determined. . . . Both [Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna] adopt one and the same discipline (Vinaya).'[2]

Monks and convents practising the strict monastic observance of the ancient *Vinayas* adopted the dogmas and worship of the Mahāyāna; Yuan Chwang therefore mentions monks who were 'Mahāyānists of the Sthavira-school and all perfect in Vinaya observance.'[3] It has been supposed that the *Vinaya* of the ancient Mahāsāṅghika sect was the most popular in Mahāyānist convents, because it was in a Mahāyānist convent that Fa Hian found the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*,[4] because the Mahāsāṅghikas seem to have been the forerunners of the Mahāyāna.[5]

(2) The Mahāyāna apparently introduced into the discipline some new rules concerning the use of milk and meat. The Sarvāstivādins (Hīnayāna) allowed the use of meat under certain conditions; the Mahāyānists condemned it. I-tsing tells a touching story of a young Mahāyānist, Chittavarman, who was refused ordination in a Hīnayāna convent until he renounced, in tears, his principles of diet.[6]

Sooner or later, however, the Mahāyāna created a new *Vinaya* for itself—a *Vinaya* that was independent of the ancient *Vinayas*, that had a different purpose in view and that could be, and was often expected to be, used together with the ancient *Vinayas.* The ancient *Vinayas* were for the use of monks; the Mahāyāna *Vinaya* is the 'Vinaya of the future Buddhas,' or, more exactly, 'of incipient future Buddhas' (*ādikarmika bodhisattva*). (*a*) It was while making the vow to become a Buddha that Śākyamuni, prostrating himself at the feet of a Buddha, became a 'future Buddha'; this vow is valid, not only for present existence, but also for numerous future existences; like the vows of a *bhikṣu* (see KARMA), it creates 'discipline' (*saṁvara*), the obligation and, to a certain extent, the 'grace' (the moral power) to perform certain duties. We have no longer a Buddha in our midst to receive such a vow from us; we must be content to take the 'discipline of a son of Buddha' (*sugatātmajasaṁvara*) before a qualified person (*sāṁvarika*), or, in the absence of such, before all the Buddhas of the quarters.[1] (*b*) The future Buddha must practise the perfect virtues (*pāramitās*); theologians have therefore to explain how he is to fulfil the virtues of giving, energy, and meditation. (*c*) He commits errors; he must know how to confess them, before whom (*i.e.* Buddhas of confession), and how to obtain pardon. (*d*) The ancient devotional practices, worship of *stūpas*, etc., are not sufficient for devotees of Avalokita, Amitābha, and Tārā; fixed rules of worship must therefore be made.[2]

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[1] *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, tr. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, p. 15.

[2] *Sūtrālaṁkāra*, xvi. 50.

[3] *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, iv. 7, ix. 49.

[4] *Madhyamakāvatāra*, 19; *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, *locc. citt.*

[5] See Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Opinions sur la dogmatique*, pp. 313–320; *Lotus of the True Law*, tr. Kern (*SBE* xxi.), p. 181; *Madhyamakāvatāra* (*Bibl. Budd.*, Petrograd, 1912), p. 402, and source cited.

[6] *Abhisamayālaṁkāraloka*, p. 166 of Poussin's MS, on *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, xxxiv. 3, who cites the *Laṅkāvatāra*, the *Ratnamegha*, Nāgārjuna, etc.

[1] *Śikṣāsamuchchaya*, p. 61; *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, tr. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Introd. à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas*, Paris, 1907, ch. v.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 14.

[3] T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629–645*, London, 1904–05, i. 227, ii. 136, 188, 199, 234, 248.

[4] A. Rémusat, *Foe-koue-ki*, Paris, 1836, p. 318; J. Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, Oxford, 1886, p. 98.

[5] See the *Mahāvastu*; the 'basket of magic formulæ' (*Vidyādharapiṭaka*) said to be a part of the Mahāsāṅghika canon; Kern, *Manual*, p. 4; S. Julien, *Voyages der pèlerins bouddhiques*, Paris, 1853–58, i. 158, iii. 37.

[6] I-tsing, *Mémoires*, etc., tr. E. Chavannes, Paris, 1894, p. 48; Julien, *Voyages*, i. 50; Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, i. 55, 57, 79, ii. 173, 192; I-tsing, tr. Takakusu, p. 43.

We have no exact information regarding the oldest forms of the *Vinaya* for *bodhisattvas.* But documents which give an accurate idea of the rules of life of the Mahāyānist monk will be found in the *Brahmajālasūtra* (tr. de Groot, *Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*), and in the 'Daily Manual of the Shaman' (S. Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, London, 1871, p. 239). The ritual of the office in honour of Avalokita (Beal, *Catena*, p. 398) indicates the nature of the cult.

(3) The Mahāyānist monks belonged to one of the Hīnayāna schools, and fulfilled the obligations of future Buddhas[3] in addition to those of their own school. Later, there were monks who adhered solely to the monastic code of the Mahāyāna (the type given in de Groot, *Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*), which became a complete code in itself, a conglomeration of different *Vinayas.* Finally, it is always possible for a monk to renounce his vows and return to the world; the Great Vehicle favoured this tendency inasmuch as it had a special 'code of the future Buddha' for the use of married people.[4] It is understood, however, that ordination to future Buddhahood can be granted only to persons who are at least Upāsakas, 'devotees,' who have taken the three refuges and are ritually bound by the five vows (not to kill, etc.).[5]

(4) The relative importance of duties for monks who are at the same time 'future Buddhas' is not always clear. I-tsing declares that he is not writing 'concerning those who claim to follow the practice of a Bodhisattva rather than the Vinaya rules.'[6] Śāntideva cites an extreme case—the story of the monk who had practised continence for a long time (84,000 years) consenting to satisfy the desires of a woman so that he might fulfil the requirement of benevolence and kindness that is the essential law of future Buddhas.[1] For them the sins of hatred are very serious, while the sins of desire are venial. The very spirit of the Mahāyāna, therefore, may perhaps be responsible for the singular development of Kashmīr monasticisim, viz. married monks.[2]

II. *HISTORY AND ORIGINS OF MAHĀYĀNA DOCTRINES.*—As we have seen, the Mahāyāna differed from the ancient Vehicle in three points: (1) the substitution of the 'career of a future Buddha' for the 'conquest of the quality of *arhat*'; in other words, the substitution of the *bodhisattva*, who might be a layman, for the *bhikṣu*, 'monk'; (2) the creation of a new ontological theory, 'the doctrine of the void' (*śūnyatā*) or of 'the non-existence in themselves of the constituent elements of things and of the human ego' (*dharmanairātmya*), superimposed upon the doctrine of 'the non-existence in itself of the human ego' (*pudgalanairātmya*); and (3) the transformation of the Buddhas into great mythological gods, almost eternal; the deification of 'future Buddhas' as helping providences; and, by a parallel development, the practice of devotion (*bhakti*) towards these 'great beings' (*mahāsattva*) instead of the respect and meditation practised by the ancients towards the Buddha; what was formerly venerated in the Buddha, what men 'took refuge in' (*śaraṇagamana*) when taking refuge in the Buddha, was the complex of the moral and intellectual qualities in virtue of which a certain person is Buddha. To admire and meditate on these qualities is an excellent means of gaining morality, tranquillity, *nirvāṇa.* The Mahāyānist addresses himself to living, gracious, paternal gods.

There are, therefore, three formative elements in the Mahāyāna; and its history means the history of the development and inter-relation of these three elements. This comprises three distinct histories; for, though the three elements are sometimes united, they are often separate; and, though their development has been parallel, or almost so, they have no connexion from the logical point of view. We may safely attempt to give the scheme the evolutionary curve of these three elements, but it is very difficult to give chronological dates or precise details in the evolution.

1. Career of the bodhisattva.—Ancient Buddhism holds that Buddhas are very rare, but the Mahāyāna invites all who desire salvation to enter on the career of a future Buddha. This is a fundamental change from the dogmatic point of view, and involves a corresponding change in morale: in short, the monk believed that the quickest way to reach *nirvāṇa* was by meditation; he worked entirely 'for himself' (*svārtham*); the activity of the future Buddha, on the contrary, is, above all, altruistic (*parārtham*).

Our literary evidence on the stages of this transformation is unsatisfactory. On the other hand, it is easy to guess the motives behind it. The following factors are of great importance.

(1) The ideal of ancient Buddhism, the *arhai* useless to others and an utter egoist, to the extent of insensibility, appeared mean when compared to the Buddha, the being of compassion and pity. Hence the 'saint for himself,' the 'delivered while

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[1] See *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, i. 10, fol. 62, and the fragments of the *Bodhisattvaprātimokṣa* (B. Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Oxford, 1883, nos. 1096–1098), quoted in *Śikṣāsamuchchaya*, p. 11. On the vow of the future Buddha see Śrījñāna, *Bodhipathapradīpa* (*JBTS* i. [1893] 39), and art. BODHISATTVA, vol. ii. pp. 746, 748 f. The *Bhadracharīpraṇidhāna* has been published by Watanebe, Strassburg, 1912. The *Vinayas* of the Mahāyāna were first placed under the patronage of Upāli (*Upāliparipṛchchha*); later they were more completely cut off from the tradition of the Hīnayāna.

[2] See, *e.g.*, *Ādikarmapradīpa*, in Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1898.

[3] De Groot, *Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, p. 8.

[4] Kern, *Hist. du bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, ii. 34, following B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874, p. 145.

[5] Śrījñāna, *Bodhipathapradīpa*, tr. Sarat Chandra Dās, in *JBTS* i. 47.

[6] Cf. Takakusu's tr., p. 197.

[1] *Śikṣāsamuchchaya*, p. 167.

[2] See M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, a Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*, London, 1900, p. 74: 'In one half of the monastery she placed those Bhikṣus whose conduct conformed to the precepts; and in the other half those who, being in possession of wives, children, cattle and property, deserved blame for their life as householders' (on the date see Introd. p. 81). Cf. Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 52, and various predictions of the *Mahāyānasūtras* as to the decadence of Buddhist law.

still alive,' so long the dream of India, was no longer held in honour. The creation of the type of the Buddha, the hero of charity, saving the world at the cost of so many lives consecrated to the world, reveals tendencies in ancient Buddhism towards the doctrine of the 'career of the *bodhisattva*' open to all.[1]

(2) The question arose, further, whether the *arhat* actually obtains *nirvāṇa*. Formerly the *arhat* was required to show, not only 'morality,' 'harmlessness,' but also 'feelings of benevolence' for the mass of human creatures, as it is only just to mention, but his 'equipment of merit' appeared somewhat slight, and we may suppose that men were even then tempted to ask whether his 'equipment of knowledge' was sufficient. Metaphysics and psychology had made progress. Many existences are necessary, they may have said, to obtain 'knowledge' sufficient for deliverance; just as, in order to achieve deliverance from desire, love of self, and love of existence, the first necessity is devotion to others.

(3) It is possible, also, that faith in *nirvāṇa* was shaken, or that, not knowing exactly what *nirvāṇa* was, men were somewhat afraid of it, and devoted their attention rather to the acquisition of celestial powers and the bliss of the Buddhas (now transformed into very happy and long-lived personages) (see below, 3).

The *Daśabhūmika*, a very technical work on the 'career of the future Buddhas,' was translated into Chinese between A.D. 265 and 316; the *Mahāvastu* (*q.v.*), of much earlier origin, gives a lengthy account of the stages or degrees (*bhūmi*) of this career. According to Chandrakīrti (*Madhyamakāvatāra*), the Hīnayāna knows nothing of the 'Vehicle of the future Buddhas,' which is the characteristic trait of the Mahāyāna.

2. Vacuity.—We have more extensive information on the philosophic doctrine. Here we are dealing with a development rather than with a transformation: (1) the principles of analysis and speculative annihilation applied by ancient Buddhism to the ego and the great unities (the body, the chariot) were now applied to the *dharmas* ('elements of things'), the minute elementary realities constituting the ego and the great unities; this is the Mādhyamika system (see art. MADHYAMAKA); and (2) the ancient idealist tendencies were developed which saw in thought the cause of all: 'All that we are is the result of what we have thought; it is founded on our thoughts, it is made up of our thoughts' (*Dhammapada*, i. [*SBE* x. (1898) 3]). Hence the conclusion that matter does not exist; thought alone exists.[2]

The two philosophical schools of the Mahāyāna (Mādhyamikas and Vijñānavādins) are both in line with the most ancient tradition. Nāgārjuna, the great master of the former, is placed in the 2nd cent. A.D.; but there is a great deal of Mādhyamika philosophy in the Pāli canon,[3] and the *sūtras* of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, where this philosophy is predominant, are ancient.[4] Chandrakīrti establishes the fact that the true doctrine of the void was known to the Hīnayāna, or, to be more exact, that the Buddha had already taught this doctrine in his first revelation, in the *sūtras* of the Hīnayāna. But, it will be asked, if this Vehicle, the Vehicle of the Śrāvakas, teaches the non-existence in themselves of the elements of the ego (*dharmanairātmya*), where is the need of the Mahāyāna? The Mahāyāna, replies Chandrakīrti, teaches not only the *dharmanairātmya*, but also the stages of the career of the future Buddha, the perfect virtues (*pāramitā*), the resolutions or vows to save all creatures, the application of merit to the acquisition of the quality of Buddha, the great compassion (*Mādhyamakāvatāra*, tr. in *Muséon*, new ser., viii. 272), whence the Mahāyāna was necessary.

3. Devotion.—As regards the deification of Buddhas and worship of Buddhas and *bodhisattvas*, we have a sure date in the Chinese translation (between A.D. 148 and 170) of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, the book in which the monotheistic religion of Amitābha (see above, I. 2. (3)) is formulated.[1] The Gandhāra monuments, the exact date of which is not known, but which can hardly be later than the 1st cent. A.D., take us back even further than the earliest date of the Chinese translation. They show, or at least may be held to show, the worship of the *bodhisattvas* associated with that of the Buddhas.[2]

On the other hand, we know from the documents of the Hīnayāna that the worship of the Buddha is of great antiquity. In the art. ĀDIBUDDHA the present writer has mentioned some of these documents, and (although he no longer sees in certain passages the quasi-deification of the Buddha which he saw in 1908) they show that the Buddhists, or at least certain Buddhists, came to the conclusion that Śākyamuni did not descend in person to the earth, but was content to send his image (cf. DOCETISM [Buddhist]). This is, in substance, the teaching of the Great Vehicle on Buddha—the Buddha almost eternal and saving beings by means of magical creations. Scholars who admit the authenticity of the *Kathāvatthu* as a whole are compelled to locate this belief before the time of Aśoka. Without believing in the authenticity of this very composite book, the present writer would willingly admit that the deification of the Buddha and his 'almost' eternity belong to a period long before the formal documents.

It is almost certain, too, that this transformation of the Buddha may be explained by the natural evolution of the Buddhist dogma on Hindu soil. The resemblance between the Buddha reigning peacefully in a paradise and sending images of himself down to this world, on the one hand, and Kṛṣṇa, gladdening beings in his own world (Goloka) and appearing in a human form, on the other, is striking, and contains a valuable lesson.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that, although Śākyamuni plays an important rôle in the *Lotus of the True Law* and in the Mahāyānist literature of which he is the revealer, he does not seem to have such a leading part in the religions of the Great Vehicle. In the first rank are Maitreya,[3] the future Buddha, more living than Śākyamuni, and especially personages of obscure origin, Avalokiteśvara (see art. AVALOKITEŚVARA), Amitābha,[4] Vairochana, Vajrapāṇi, and many others, whose Buddhist character is not very marked.

Several scholars, moreover (and no mean ones), regard the origin of the devotion to the Buddhas as a real 'puzzle' (Max Müller), and believe that it is to be found in the influence of the 'barbarians,' notably the Mazdæans—an influence which was exercised especially in Northern India, the Panjāb, and Kashmīr, where religious statuary reached such high development. The pre-historic mythology of the Great Vehicle is veiled in obscurity, and future researches may perhaps confirm this hypothesis; but the comparisons to which attention has been called up to the present have little value and do not prove that Amitābha is an Ahura Mazda or an Apollo disguised. In any case it is useless to explain the worship of the Buddhas by the influence of Greek sculptors who, it is believed, were the first to make images of Buddhas. The whole 'theology' of the

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[1] The *Chariyāpiṭaka*, not one of the most ancient books, is the first in Pāli literature to mention the doctrine of the *pāramitās*, 'perfect virtues' necessary for making a Buddha, 'a doctrine that plays no part in the older books' (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 177). The doctrine of the *bodhisattva*, the theory of his charity, merits, etc., is relatively highly developed in the *Abhidharmakośa* and its sources (Sanskrit Buddhism of the Hīnayāna).

[2] But its existence is not *paramārthika*, 'absolute'; it is only *saṁvyavahārika*, 'contingent,' as will be seen in art. VIJÑĀNAVĀDINS.

[3] H. Oldenberg (*Buddha*⁶, Stuttgart, 1914, p. 323) disagrees with the present writer on this point.

[4] The *Prajñāpāramitā* was translated into Chinese between A.D. 147 and 164. We are told that the Pūrvaśailas and the Aparaśailas possessed a *Prajñā* in Prākrit (Wassilieff, *Buddhismus*, p. 291), which is quite possible. They were Lokottaravādins (see art. BODHISATTVA, vol. ii. p. 742ᵇ). But what is the date of this *Prajñā*?

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[1] See the tr. of Max Müller and Takakusu in *SBE* xlix. (1894).

[2] See A. Foucher, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique*, ii., who treats of the difficult identification of the icons of Gandhāra and their date.

[3] *Bull. de l'Ecole franç. d'Extrême-Orient*, xi. 442.

[4] See Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Opinions sur la dogmatique*, p. 266.

religion of Amitābha is Indian; the belief in the providence of Amitābha and of Avalokita, the belief in their saving grace, has very little in common with ancient Buddhism, but is excellent Kṛṣṇaism. The paradise of the west (Sukhāvatī), and the name of Amitābha, 'infinite light,' which probably are in reality 'solar,' have not up to the present been sufficiently studied and explained. The idea of multiple universes, however, each ruled by a Buddha, is very authentic Buddhism (see, *e.g.*, the *Mahāvastu*).

III. *HISTORY OF THE SCRIPTURES OF THE MAHĀYĀNA.*[1]—**1. Controversy on the authenticity of the books and legends concerning them.**—We know that the books of the Hīnayāna appeared surrounded with a very definite ecclesiastical history. Whatever may be the value to modern scholars of the tradition referring to the Councils (*e.g.*, R. O. Franke, *Dīghanikāya*, Göttingen, 1913, p. xlii), the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna and of the Hīnayāna admitted the authenticity, in the strict sense, of the ancient canon. But the adherents of the Hīnayāna did not recognize the books of the Mahāyāna for the simple reason that these books were unknown in ecclesiastical history:

> 'This is the word of the Buddha which is found in the Sūtra, which appears in the Vinaya, which is in harmony with religion, with Truth (*dharmatā*).'[2]

This old text of the *Dīgha* is, according to them, the condemnation of the Mahāyāna, which not only is not authentic, but is even full of heretical novelties.

The most weighty argument of the Mahāyānists is the speculative argument. The Mahāyāna, they say, is in harmony with the *dharmatā*; it is the only vehicle of *nirvāṇa*. The Hīnayāna is indeed authentic, but the Buddha taught it only as provisional truth, taking into consideration the weakness of mind of his hearers. Besides, if the doctrine of the Mahāyāna is not found in your *sūtras*, it is found in ours; if you do not admit our *sūtras*, we admit them. But, the Hīnayānists reply, our *sūtras* are authentic since you admit them; yours are not authentic, and that is why we reject them. To this the Mahāyānists answer that there are far more reasons for admitting the *sūtras* of the Mahāyāna, since they are the true path to salvation.[3]

The Mahāyānists further maintain that the Mahāyāna is not new, and that the Hīnayānist tradition shows that the Mahāyāna is authentic. (1) The *Saṁyuttanikāya* (ii. 17 and iii. 142) proves that even in the Hīnayāna the Buddha taught the non-existence in themselves of the elements of the ego (see above, II. 2; *Madhyamakāvatāra*, p. 22). (2) The doctrine of the multiple teaching of the Master, of his 'accommodation to the ideas of the world' (*lokānuvartana*), is taught in the Canon of the Pūrvaśailas, a sect of the Hīnayāna (*Madhyamakāvatāra*, Fr. tr., *Muséon*, new ser., xi. [1910] 134); which is also (3) said to have possessed the *sūtras* of the *Prajñāpāramitā* edited in Prākrit. This sect, however, is strict in the matter of doctrine, since it orders the expulsion of those who do not understand the 'reserved questions' (see art. AGNOSTICISM [Buddhist], vol. i. p. 221ᵇ; *Madhyamakāvatāra*, p. 251). (4) The *Mahāvastu* (a book of the Hīnayāna) teaches the stages in the career of a *bodhisattva* and the perfect virtues.[4]

If the whole of the Mahāyāna was not known to the ancients, it was because the doctrines were too sublime to be understood by the compilers of the Hīnayāna. But it was the Buddha who taught them, and they were heard by the *bodhisattvas* Samantabhadra, Mañjughoṣa, Guhyeśvara, Vajrapāṇi, and Maitreya. In fact, immediately after having obtained illumination, the Buddha preached to the gods (in the heaven of the Thirty-three) and to the *bodhisattvas* (J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, London, 1880, p. 18; A. Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 86).

The *bodhisattvas*, throughout the course of the ages, have revealed the Mahāyāna to men; Mañjuśrī took the form of a *bhikṣu* and, it is said, made known the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 80,000 articles (Tāranātha, tr. A. Schiefner, Petrograd, 1869, p. 58). It was Maitreya, the future Buddha, who explained the *Prajñāpāramitā* to Asaṅga, and who is the author of the treatises of the Vijñānavādin school (*Muséon*, vi. [1905] 145, xv. [1914] 42). According to a Japanese tradition, interesting as an example although without historical value, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya had published the Mahāyāna in the year 116 of Nirvāṇa: 'If these books had not existed before, whence would they have been obtained?'—a very childish argument.[1] This Mahāyāna is said to have been completed in 200 of Nirvāṇa, notably by the publication of the *Avataṁsaka* (=*Gaṇḍavyūha*). All these revelations took place before Nāgārjuna (R. Fujishima, *Le Bouddhisme japonais*, Paris, 1888, p. 54).

Nevertheless, it is to Nāgārjuna that our most trustworthy documents give the honour of the revelation of the Mahāyāna. The *Laṅkāvatāra* and a *Mahāmeghasūtra*[2] put into the mouth of the Buddha words like the following:

> 'Four centuries after my *nirvāṇa* this Ānanda will be the *bhikṣu* called Nāga; he will teach the Great Vehicle.'

It is said that Nāgārjuna obtained the *Prajñāpāramitās* or the *Avataṁsaka* from the Nāgas (Wassilieff, *Buddhismus*, p. 118 f.). We cannot give an account of all the legends referring to the revelation of the books of the Mahāyāna (see Tāranātha, p. 61 f.); what has already been said will give a sufficient idea of the beliefs that arose in the Buddhist world concerning the origin of these books. Apart from a few ardent partisans of the Hīnayāna, all Buddhists readily believed all that appeared as the 'word of Buddha.'

2. Criticism of the legends and conjectures.—The library of the Mahāyāna consists of two parts, which the Tibetans have carefully distinguished: first, the *sūtras*, divine works, uttered by Bhagavat himself, which are arranged in the *Kanjūr* (=*bka hgyur*, 'word of the Master'); and, secondly, the commentaries on the *sūtras* and the treatises (*śāstras*) properly so called, human works, the greater number of which were written by the scholars to whom tradition ascribes them; all this literature forms part of the *Tanjūr* (*bstan hgyur*, 'instruction, scholasticism'). This distinction has not always a historical value. Many *sūtras* are frankly scholastic works, and it is probable that some of them are later than the signed treatises whose doctrine they contain and authorize.[3]

We know that Asaṅga wrote five treatises which he gave as a revelation of Maitreya. Although revealed, these treatises are included as part of the *Tanjūr*, because in form they are not *sūtras*, but mere treatises (*kārikās*, mnemonic verses, with a prose commentary). Presented with the formula, 'Thus have I heard. Bhagavat was on the Mount of Vultures, surrounded by thousands of Bodhisattvas . . .,' they might have made good *sūtras*. There is therefore some truth in the legends which we were discussing above: the scholars of the Mahāyāna forged the *sūtras* in order to publish their philosophic doctrines, to glorify their chosen saints, to authorize their beliefs in the saviour Amitābha, and so on. In the same way, whether at the same time, earlier, or later, the thaumaturges and the magicians first made collections of magical formulæ and then compiled the *Tantras*, attributed to demi-gods or semi-demons, whom they were believed to evoke. The work of editing and compiling the *Sādhanas* (magic rituals) and the *Tantras* took a very long time—Tāranātha abounds in really historic stories on this subject—and the Mahāyāna probably developed by similar processes.

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[1] For a description and analysis of the literature of the Great Vehicle see Wassilieff, *Buddhismus*, pp. 157-207, and Winternitz, *Gesch. der. ind. Litteratur*, ii. 187-250; see also Winternitz on the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*—works which belong to both Vehicles. Among translations see 'The Lotus of the True Law,' *SBE* xxi., 'The Sukhāvatī, etc.,' *SBE* xlix.

[2] *Dīgha*, ii. 124; Mañjughoṣahāsavajra, *Siddhānta*, i. 128b; *Sūtrālaṁkāra*, ed. S. Lévi, Paris, 1907, i. 20.

[3] See *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, ix. 42 f., Fr. tr., *Introduction à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas*, p. 120; *Sūtrālaṁkāra*, i.; Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Opinions sur la dogmatique*, p. 137 f.

[4] Arguments 3 and 4 are given in the Tibetan work, the *Siddhānta* of Mañjughoṣahāsavajra, p. 128ᵇ, in the Urga ed., tr. by Wassilieff in *Buddhismus*, p. 264 (291). The connexion of the Mahāyāna with the Mahāsāṅghika school, of which the Pūrvaśailas are a branch, is beyond doubt; but the antiquity of the doctrine of this school is rather doubtful.

[1] Maitreya-Asaṅga believes (*Sūtrālaṁkāra*, i. 7) that the two Vehicles are contemporaneous.

[2] See *Madhyamakāvatāra*, p. 76; Fujishima, pp. 32, 55; for the prophecies of Laṅkā, which are wanting in the first Chinese version, see Max Müller, *India, What can it teach us?*, London, 1883, p. 298 f.

[3] We must confine ourselves to a few remarks here. This subject will depend for a long time yet upon monographs.

The scholastic character of the *Laṅkāvatāra* is very definite. This *sūtra* implies the existence of a strong Vijñānavādin doctrine; it is full of controversy. The *Daśabhūmika*, which, augmented by résumés in verse, became transformed into the *Daśabhūmīśvara*, sets forth a theory of the ten stages of the future Buddha which is quite in the manner of a 'treatise.' One of these *sūtras*, invoked by Chandrakīrti to confirm a Mādhyamika formula, seems to have been written according to the same formula (see *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 249). Careful study will probably prove the close connexion between the *sūtras* and the treatises.

What exactly was the rôle of Nāgārjuna in the elaboration of this literature? It is thus defined by Kern:

> 'Nāgārjuna may have been one of the most talented and influential leaders of the movement rather than its originator. . . . An influential person, the first eminent leader of a school imbued with Hinduism and the methods of Indian scholastic philosophy.' He then became 'a comprehensive name of the activity of Mahāyānism in the first phase of its onward course' (*Manual*, pp. 6, 123).

Nāgārjuna's importance lies in having discovered the doctrine of the 'void,' which showed the inferiority of the ancient Vehicle. His name is inseparable from the *Prajñāpāramitā*. It may well be that Nāgārjuna, being the author of the treatises which are the scholastic working-out of the principles of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, is of some account in the redaction of the *Prajñāpāramitās*, the revelation of which tradition attributes to him.

There are many ancient materials in the *sūtras* of the Mahāyāna.

> 'Not a few elements of the Mahāyānist scriptures are taken bodily from the Tripiṭaka, with such omissions and additions as deemed necessary' (Kern, *loc. cit.*).

Whole passages, *e.g.*, of the *Lalitavistara*, recur almost word for word in the Pāli scriptures. The work that H. Oldenberg has done for the *Divyāvadāna* and E. Windisch for the *Mahâvastu*[1]—in comparing these two works of the Sanskrit Hīnayāna with the Pāli canon—might be done with advantage for several *sūtras* of the Mahāyāna. The comparison would also be very fruitful between the Mahāyāna and the Sanskrit Hīnayāna. The *Abhidharma* of the Sarvāstivādins (Hīnayāna) is accepted by the Mādhyamikas (Mahāyāna); the Sautrāntikas (Hīnayāna) have opened the door to the Vijñānavādins (Mahāyāna); the *Daśabhūmika* (Mahāyāna), we may believe, depends on the *Mahâvastu* (Hīnayāna); the scholars of the Mahāyāna know and quote the Hīnayāna.[2] When they invent, preaching vacuity or the career of a *bodhisattva*, they make use of old models, reason in the manner of the *Abhidhārmikas* and the Brāhmans, and model the career of the *bodhisattva* on the path of the *arhat*, and the new meditations on the canonical meditations.

LITERATURE.—The sources mentioned in artt. ĀDIBUDDHA, BODHISATTVA, MADHYAMAKA, MAÑJUŚRĪ, VIJÑĀNAVĀDINS; H. Kern, *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indie*, Haarlem, 1882–84, Fr. tr., *Hist. du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, Paris, 1901, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896; W. Wassilieff, *Der Buddhismus*, Petrograd, 1860; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Études et matériaux*, London, 1898, *Bouddhisme, Opinions sur l'hist. de la dogmatique*, do. 1909; M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Litteratur*, ii., Leipzig, 1913. For the iconography of the Mahāyāna: A. Foucher, *Études sur l'iconographie bouddhique*, 2 vols., Paris, 1900–05, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, 2 vols. do. 1905–15; A. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, Eng. tr., ed. J. Burgess, London, 1901, *Mythologie du Bouddhisme au Tibet*, Leipzig, 1900.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

MAHDĪ.—The title Mahdī was first associated with 'Alī's son Muhammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah, and, apparently, given him by the adventurer Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubaid, who, after the death of Ḥusain at Kerbela, ostensibly championed the claims of this personage to the khalīfate. The word is ordinarily interpreted 'the divinely guided,' from a verb which frequently occurs in the Qur'ān in the corresponding sense, though this particular derivative is not found there; yet this explanation did not give universal satisfaction, and several others were current (see Yāqūt, *Geographical Dictionary*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866–73, iv. 693. 4). Mukhtār clearly used it as analogous to a title attached to the name of 'Alī, calling him 'the Mahdī, son of the Waṣī' (Ṭabarī, *Chronicle*, ed. Leyden, 1879–1901, ii. 534), where the latter title means 'the legatee,' *i.e.* he to whom the Prophet had bequeathed the sovereignty; it is, however, often interpreted as 'the trustee.' It is doubtful whether this Muhammad used it himself, as a letter purporting to be from him, in which it is prefixed to his name, was condemned as spurious by one of his correspondents on that account (Ṭabarī, ii. 611 [66 A.H.]). After the death of 'Alī's two sons by Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter, it would seem that some Muslims were ready to recognize the claim of this Muhammad, 'Alī's son by another wife, to the sovereignty, but he himself acted with extreme caution in the matter of asserting it; he was, however, imprisoned for a time by the partisans of 'Abdallāh b. Zubair, who endeavoured to wrest the throne from the Umayyads; but, when their supremacy was restored, he accepted a governorship, and appears to have ended peacefully. Some uncertainty existed with regard to both the time and place of his death, and a sect arose called the Kaisāniyyah, who declared that he remained alive in his supposed tomb in Mt. Raḍwa, whence he would one day emerge; and the poet of this sect, the Sayyid Ḥimyarī, fully expected this occurrence, though the Mahdī had disappeared for sixty years (*Aghānī*, Cairo, 1285, viii. 32). The poet Kuthayyir asserts that his reappearance had been foretold by Ka'b al-Aḥbār († 34 A.H.), whose name is often mentioned in connexion with matter drawn from the Jewish Scriptures. This prophecy may well owe its origin to that of the return of Elijah; but how the Mahdī came to be substituted for that prophet is not clear; if the reference to Ka'b be genuine, we should gather that the word had been used before Mukhtār's time with a religious import. The poet further asserts that this Mahdī's book was studied by the Kaisānis in Mecca; but such a work must assuredly have been a forgery.

With this personage the idea of an awaited deliverer is first connected in Islām, and this notion is expressed by the name Mahdī, to which the participle 'expected' (*muntaẓar*) is sometimes attached. The various pretenders from the house of ʻAlī received the title—*e.g.*, Zaid (after whom the Zaidīs are called); he was defeated and killed in the year 122 A.H., and his body was afterwards crucified. An Umayyad satirist said that he had never before seen a Mahdī hanging on a tree (Masʻūdī, ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, *Les Prairies d'or*, Paris, 1861–77, v. 471). When the pretender Muhammad b. ʻAbdallāh first made his appearance, the people of Medīna cried out: 'The Mahdī has come forth' (Ṭabarī, iii. 159 [A.H. 144]). It was to be expected that prophecies of the appearance of such a personage should be attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, and such were current, though of questioned authenticity, the best, according to Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, who wrote about 325 A.H. (*Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire*, ed. C. Huart, Paris, 1899–1903, ii. 161), being

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[1] Oldenberg, *Trans. of the 5th Intern. Congress of Orientalists*, Berlin, 1881–82, ii. 107–122, 'Studien zur Gesch. der buddh. Kanon,' *GGN*, 1912, p. 155; Windisch, *Die Komposition des Mahâvastu, ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des Buddhismus*, Leipzig, 1909, and also *Māra und Buddha*, do. 1895, and *Buddha's Geburt*, do. 1908.

[2] Cf., *e.g.*, the theory of the 'meritorious material gifts' (*aupādhikapuṇyakriyāvastu*) in *Aṅguttara*, ii. 54, in *Abhidharmakośa*, iv. 113 f. (Skr. Hīnayāna), in *Āryaratnarāśisūtra*, cited in *Sikṣāsamuchchaya*, p. 138, and *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 309.

> 'The world shall not pass away until my nation be governed by one of my house whose name agrees with mine.'

This tradition is also found in the collection of Tirmidhī († 279; ed. Cairo, 1292, ii. 36), where it is followed by another in which the Mahdī is mentioned:

> 'We were afraid of some trouble occurring after the Prophet's death, so we asked him, and he said: In my nation there is the Mahdī who shall come forth; he shall live five (or seven or nine) years; a man shall come unto him and say, "O Mahdī, give me!"; and the Mahdī shall pile into his lap as much as he can carry.'

The author of this fiction appears to have interpreted the word as 'the giver,' which should rather be Muhdī. Somewhat more information is to be found in the contemporary collection by Ibn Mājah († 273; Cairo, 1313, ii. 269): the tradition just given is repeated with some variations, indicating that under the Mahdī men would enjoy greater blessings than they had ever experienced; to it is prefixed one to the effect that certain persons with black standards (*i.e.* the ʻAbbāsids) would come from the East,

> 'who shall ask for good and not be given it, and shall fight and be victorious and be offered what they asked and not accept it until they hand it [the sovereignty] to one of my house who shall fill it with justice as they filled it with injustice.'

Another tradition states that the Mahdī is to be a descendant of Fāṭima; another gives as the list of lords of paradise the following members of the family: the Prophet, his uncle Ḥamzah, his cousins ʻAlī and Jaʻfar, and his grandsons Ḥasan and Ḥusain and the Mahdī. The last is:

> 'Men shall come forth from the East, and shall prepare the way for the Mahdī.'

It seems clear that the authors of these fictions had somehow heard of an expected Mahdī, and made up traditions calculated either to encourage the munificence of princes or to win adherents for some political party. Muṭahhar adds another, that the only Mahdī to be awaited was ʻĪsā b. Maryam, *i.e.* the Christian Saviour; and, since orthodox Islām looks forward to His returning to judge the world—according to the law of Muhammad—it is not quite easy to find room for another Deliverer. One of the etymologies suggested for the name, viz. the man of the *mahd*, 'cradle,' favours this view, the reference being to Qurʼān, xix. 30 ff., where Christ speaks 'in the cradle.'

There is little reason for supposing that the Prophet Muhammad contemplated the appearance of a Mahdī, however interpreted; but the outbreak of the civil wars within a generation after his death, and the perturbed condition of Islām which followed, led to the adoption of the idea from Jews or Christians, who look forward respectively to the appearance and reappearance of the Messiah; why the title Mahdī should have been adopted for the expected Deliverer is, as has been seen, an unsolved puzzle. To the etymologies suggested we should be inclined to add one more, viz. from *hadā* in the sense 'to give,' making the word mean 'He to whom has been given,' as in Mt 28^{18} the Risen Saviour says, *ἐδόθη μοι πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς*, and a similar interpretation was current for the name Shîlôh in Gn 49^{10}, 'until Shiloh come,' viz. *shel-lô*, 'whose is.' Thus the Shīʻite author of the *Fakhrī* (ed. W. Ahlwardt, Gotha, 1860, p. 58), speaking of the Mahdī Zaid (executed in 122 A.H.), curses those who deprived him of his 'right.' However this may be, the function of the expected Mahdī was, in the first place, to fill the world with justice in lieu of injustice, which often meant the abolition of unauthorized practices and the enforcement of orthodox doctrine and conduct; in the second, to achieve the conversion of the world to Islām, and often this was identified with the taking of Constantinople. Some, however, were satisfied with a partial execution of this programme; and among persons who had been accepted as the Mahdī by various writers up to his time Muṭahhar (*loc. cit.*) mentions ʻAlī himself, the pious Umayyad ʻOmar II., and the ʻAbbāsid al-Mahdī, who reigned A.D. 775–785.

About the signs whereby the Mahdī was to be recognized when he appeared there were differences of opinion; a common theory was that he should have the name Muhammad and the patronymic Abu'l-Qāsim, and that he should belong to the Prophet's house; yet not all demanded the fulfilment of these (not very difficult) conditions. To all—save the few who suppose that the Mahdī has come already—he is ὁ ἐρχόμενος, 'he that shall come'; and, on the whole, the Sunnī view is that his appearance will be that of an ordinary man whose career is that of a reformer and conqueror, while the Shīʻite view is that he is in hiding somewhere, and has been concealing himself for an unlimited period. In our times there were in the Sūdān two Mahdīs simultaneously, representing these different opinions. The line between the two is not quite easy to draw, except where some definitely historical personage is expected to reappear; for it has been found possible to adopt the theory that the Mahdī is some one in hiding, without any suggestion of supernatural concealment. In more than one case of a successful revolution the victory has been won by a commander in the name of an obscure individual, who has been brought forward only when success has been assured. Thus the author of the *Fakhrī* (p. 171), describing the rise of the ʻAbbāsids, remarks that, while the Khurāsānites under the brilliant leadership of Abū Muslim were fighting for the *imām* Ibrāhīm (representative of the ʻAbbāsids), he was himself in retirement somewhere in Syria or Arabia, attending to his devotions and the affairs of his family, the greater number of his adherents being unable 'to distinguish between his name and his person,' *i.e.* knowing nothing at all about him.

The rise of Mahdīs from time to time, then, was due to the disordered state of Islām in normal circumstances, but also to the wide-spread sentiment that the sovereign should be a descendant of either the Prophet or ʻAlī, for with some communities the latter was regarded as the more important personage, and indeed the master whom the former betrayed (see Yāqūt, *Dictionary of Learned Men*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1913 ff., i. 302). The pretenders of the house of ʻAlī were repeatedly supposed by their adherents to have escaped death, notwithstanding their ostensible execution, and the Shīʻa sects were to a certain extent divided by their loyalty to different pretenders whose return they expected. Such pretenders were Muhammad b. ʻAbdallāh, executed 145 A.H., whose return was awaited by some of the Jārūdiyyah sect; Yaḥyā b. ʻUmar, executed

250 A.H., expected to return by others of the same sect; Muhammad b. al-Qāsim, who revolted in the year 219, was captured, but escaped and disappeared; and Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, who died of poison in Baghdād in 186 A.H. Several others are mentioned with these by Ibn Ḥazm (*Kitab al-Fiṣal*, Cairo, 1321, iv. 179 f.). The sect called Qatʿiyyah got their name from making sure of the death of this Mūsā b. Jaʿfar, without having ascertained it (Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1894, p. 232). Believers in the continued existence of Muhammad b. al-Qāsim were to be found in the time of Masʿūdī (332 A.H.; *Prairies d'or*, vii. 117) in the district of Kūfah, in the mountains of Ṭabaristān and the Dailam, and the districts of Khurāsān. The person ordinarily acknowledged to be the 'expected Mahdī' is Muhammad b. Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, whose father died 260 A.H. There was, however, great doubt as to the age of this Muhammad at the time of his father's death, some denying that he ever came into existence, and all agreeing that he could have been only a few years old at the time. Shahrastānī locates him in Sāmarra (ed. W. Cureton, London, 1842–46, p. 128); but at some time in the 7th or 8th cent. A.H. he appears to have taken up his abode at Ḥillah. The traveller Ibn Baṭūṭa († 780 A.H.; ed. and tr. C. Defrémery and R. B. Sanguinetti, Paris, 1853–58, ii. 98) gives a weird account of the ceremonies which he found there, and which seem to be relics of some pagan cult.

> 'There is a mosque with its door covered by a silken curtain, called the sanctuary of "the Lord of the Age." Each afternoon a hundred of the inhabitants come out of their houses armed with drawn swords; going to the governor, they obtain from him a horse with saddle and bridle, or else a mule; beating drums and playing musical instruments, they then proceed, fifty of them in front of the charger and fifty behind. Others arrange themselves on either side. Coming to the mosque that has been named, they halt before its door, and say: "Bismillah, O Lord of the Age, come forth. Mischief is rampant, and wrong abundant; this is the time for thee to come forth, that God may distinguish by thee between the true and the false." This they continue till the prayer of sunset, playing their musical instruments the whole time.'

Ibn Khaldūn, a contemporary of Ibn Baṭūṭa, who has no high opinion of his veracity, tells the same story, with some variation. According to him, the people of Ḥillah hold that their Mahdī entered a cellar in their habitation, and every night they appear with a mount before the entrance to this cellar, and keep calling him to come out, from the prayer of sunset until the stars are all shining (*Prolegomena*, Beirut, 1900, p. 199). It is surprising that in the *Taʾrīkh-i-Guzīdah* (compiled 730 A.H., ed. E. G. Browne, London, 1910, p. 208) the connexion of this Mahdī with Ḥillah appears to be unknown.

> 'In his ninth year he disappeared in Sāmarra, and was never seen since; the people of the Shīʿah, however, believe that he is the Mahdī of the end of the world, is still alive, and will come forth when the time arrives.'

Probably even the revised version of Ibn Baṭūṭa's story requires further redaction.

The majority of the Mahdīs have thus played a larger rôle in the imagination than in reality; there have, however, been cases wherein the character has been assumed with very considerable and even permanent success. The first capital of the Fāṭimids in Africa was called Mahdiyyah after the Mahdī who founded the dynasty (297 A.H. = A.D. 909). The conquests which prepared the way for his sovereignty were all achieved by an agent, who had ultimately to produce the person to whom he had preached allegiance; and, according to the statements of his enemies, the person produced was an impostor, suddenly called to play the part, the real Mahdī having perished on his way to Africa. According to an author of weight (Niẓām al-Mulk, † 485; see C. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, Paris, 1883–85, i. 165), the propaganda of this sect began at least a century before, and proselytes to whom the mysteries had been communicated were forbidden to divulge them until the Mahdī appeared. Probably with this community (in theory at least) the Mahdī, called also, as has been seen, 'the Lord of the Age,' was the legitimate occupant of the Fāṭimid throne; when the sovereign al-Ḥākim disappeared, doubtless through assassination, his continued existence and future reappearance became the dogmas of a sect.

Another Mahdī whose efforts resulted in the foundation of a dynasty was Ibn Tūmart (*q.v.*; † 524 = A.D. 1130), who started the empire of the Almohads. Of this personage there is an unusually full and interesting biography by Ibn Khallikān (tr. W. M. de Slane, Paris, 1843–71, iii. 205 ff.), which is doubtless somewhat coloured by prejudice. He appears to have started genuinely as a religious and moral reformer, and to have taken the title Mahdī when opposition and danger induced him to draw the sword; he is likely then to have been influenced by the prophecy of the appearance of such a reformer, which, as we have seen, had already found its way into an authoritative collection of traditions. The pedigree which brought him into connexion with ʿAlī may well be an invention later than his time, and as such his biographer appears to regard it. Some stories told by Ibn Khallikān are characteristic of such adventurers, though not perhaps true in this case; he got access to the *Book of Jafr*, in which ʿAlī had prophesied all that was to occur till the end of time (see art. DIVINATION [Muslim]), whence he obtained the letters which formed the name of the person destined to be his chief helper and successor, with a description of his appearance. In order to be armed with a miracle, he persuaded a learned associate to feign illiteracy and ignorance of correct Arabic; one day this person claimed to have learned the Qurʾān by heart in a dream, and this miracle convinced the most stubborn; the confederate then proclaimed Ibn Tūmart the Mahdī, whereas he had previously been called *imām*. According to Ibn Khaldūn (*History*, Cairo, 1284, vi. 229), the only heresy of which he could be convicted was his agreeing with the Imāmiyyah sect that the sovereign was infallible. In his treatment of opponents he appears to have been as ruthless and intolerant as any religious leader; but a singular feature of his career as a Muhammadan saint was that, besides asceticism in diet, he observed strict chastity. His creed, which has been published (*Majmūʿat al-rasāʾil*, Cairo, 1328, p. 44 ff.), does not appear to differ from the orthodox *kalām*.

The prophecy of a Mahdī assumed special importance at the commencement of the century preceding the first millennium of Islām, especially in India. According to the details collected by H. Blochmann (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, i. [Calcutta, 1873] p. iv ff.), the Mahdist movement started in Badakhshān, where one Sayyid Muhammad Nūrbakhsh gained numerous adherents, defied the Afghān government, was defeated, and fled to ʿĪrāq, where he maintained himself till the end of his life. In India it assumed a definite form through the action of Mīr Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, who found an adherent in Gujarāt in Sultan Maḥmūd I. Apparently this personage was, like Ibn Tūmart in his early days, a preacher and reformer, whose doctrines gave offence, and who was forced to leave one place after another. Ultimately he decided that the burden of Mahdī-ship was too heavy for him to bear, and that, if he returned home, he would recant; he died in 911 (= 1505) at Farah in Baluchistān, where his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. An interesting account of another Indian Mahdī of this century is given by the historian Badāʾūnī in his *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh* (tr. G. Ranking, Calcutta, 1898, p. 507 ff.). This person was named Shaikh ‘Alā’ī, and was born in Baiāna in Hindustan. To the same place there came one Miyān ‘Abdallāh, who had come under the influence of Muhammad of Jaunpur.

> ‘He adopted the manners of a Mahdī [which would seem to have been settled by Ibn Tūmart, for they consisted in extreme asceticism]; making his dwelling in the corner of a grove far from the haunts of men, on the borders of a tank, he used to cast water on his head; and when the times of prayer came round, he used to gather together certain of the labourers who had to pass that way, and compel them to form an assembly for prayer, with such a degree of asceticism that, if he met any man disinclined for the meeting, he would give him a few coins and encourage him.’

Shaikh ‘Alā’ī was much impressed by this example.

> He too, ‘trampling under foot his self-esteem and conceit, devoted himself to the poor of his neighbourhood, and, entering the valley of self-renunciation and abnegation, he bestowed all his worldly possessions, even to his books, upon the poor.’

He became a disciple of Miyān ‘Abdallāh; the two formed a community of ascetic socialists or communists, consisting of three hundred householders, who, abandoning all other source of gain and traffic, agriculture, and skilled labour, spent their time with them. In spite of their asceticism, they were in the habit of keeping arms and implements of war always with them as a protection against their enemies, but also in order to interfere with any proceeding in the city or the market of which they disapproved.

> ‘They would go and call the offenders to account by main force, admitting no investigation by the governor, and on most occasions they got the best of it.’

After a time the place came to be too hot for Shaikh ‘Alā’ī, who, along with his followers, whose numbers had now reached six or seven hundred heads of families, migrated to Khawāṣpur, near Jodhpur; but here, too, he interfered seriously with the government of the place, and he was compelled to go back to Baiāna, accompanied by his disciples. Islam-Shāh had by this time obtained possession of Agra, and he summoned Shaikh ‘Alā’ī to his court, whither the Mahdī proceeded with a party of select companions fully armed; according to the chronicler, the Shaikh nearly effected Islam-Shāh’s conversion to his views, but he was presently expelled and sent to the Deccan. Meanwhile, his former teacher and associate had started a sect of his own, which with some difficulty was suppressed by the authorities; and the Shaikh ‘Alā’ī was himself ere long summoned again to Agra, and requested to abandon his claims to the Mahdī-ship; refusing to do this, he was tortured to death. His followers, however, were numerous, and increased, and were known as the Mahdawīs; they were persecuted, but not exterminated, in the reign of Akbar.

Blochmann observes that these Indian Mahdīs were men of considerable eloquence, who by their preaching obtained great influence over the populace, and that they regularly came into conflict with the authorized expounders of the law at the Muhammadan courts. Badā’ūnī takes evident pleasure in narrating how Shaikh ‘Alā’ī triumphed over the official theologians who were employed to argue with him. They endeavoured to bring the practice of their co-religionists into harmony with the strict principles enjoined by the Sunnī codes, and especially to banish practices which had been borrowed from their pagan neighbours.

The Mahdī who acquired the greatest fame in Europe was the personage whose enterprise led to the Anglo-Egyptian conquest of the Sūdān. The best account of the early stages of the movement is given by F. R. Wingate in *Mahdiism and the Egyptian Sudan* (London, 1891). After the strong hands of Zubair Pasha, Samuel Baker, and General Gordon had been withdrawn from the Sūdān, that country was subject to violent oppression, and the ‘broad basis of the Mahdī’s appeal was the injustice and cruelty of every sort which sprang up the moment Gordon’s wholesome discipline was withdrawn’ (p. 12). Muhammad Aḥmad, who took this title, was born at Dongola in 1848 of a family of boat-builders; at the age of 22 he was already a shaikh with a great reputation for sanctity, and became a powerful preacher; he denounced the iniquities of the Egyptians, and laid stress on the promised appearance of a Mahdī, with whom he presently identified himself, and, indeed, in the Shī‘ite sense; he claimed to be the twelfth *imām*, the son of Ḥasan ‘Askarī. His claims were first recognized in 1881 at Abba Island, 150 miles south of Khartum, when a band of men declared him their appointed leader, and he communicated to them the secret that he was the Mahdī. News of his ‘issuing forth’ having come to Khartum, the governor sent to have him arrested; but he declined to obey, and, when troops were sent to enforce the order, he succeeded in annihilating them. He evidently possessed some skill both as an organizer and as a military leader, for he soon enrolled among his followers tribe after tribe of Sūdānese, and proceeded from victory to victory until, at his death on June 22, 1885, shortly after the historic fall of Khartum, his empire extended from lat. 5 to 21 S., and from long. 23 to 38 E. of Greenwich. Wingate suggests as an epitome of Mahdīism the sentence ‘Your money or your life’; in practice it was an enforced communism, maintained by plunder, divided arbitrarily by the Mahdī. Success also appears to have made of the Mahdī a coarse voluptuary. Like some of his predecessors, he seems to have aimed at reproducing what were supposed to be the conditions of early Islām, and to have insisted on a sort of asceticism; his followers were advised to go on foot, or at any rate to ride asses and not horses, except in war. Further, they were told to reduce expenditure on weddings. These ascetic tendencies were indicated by the name which his followers assumed, Darwīsh (‘poor’), for which at a later period the Mahdī substituted the appellation Anṣār (‘helpers’), which had been given by the Prophet Muhammad to his entertainers in Medīna. The Mahdī himself clearly aimed at reproducing the career of the Prophet, since he had a *hijrah*, or ‘migration,’ viz. from Abba, where he first came forward, to Masat in the Nuba mountains; and he assigned four chairs to persons representing the eminent associates of the Prophet who became the first successors. The chair of Abū Bakr, the first khalīf, was filled by ‘Abdallāh al-Ta‘aishī, who afterwards became famous as the Mahdī’s successor, or *khalīf*, and is said to have suggested the rôle of Mahdī first to Zubair Pasha and then to Muhammad Aḥmad (*Muqtaṭif*, xxiv. [1900] 5).

The asceticism of the Mahdī, like that of the Wahhābīs, included the tabu of tobacco, the smoking of which it regarded as a greater offence than the drinking of wine; in his early days he showed leanings towards Ṣūfīism, and would gladly have obtained recognition from the head of the Sanūsīs; this being refused, he abolished all ‘orders’ except his own.

After the fall of Khartum the Sūdān was gradually evacuated by the Anglo-Egyptian government, and the *khalīf* extended the Mahdī’s empire by fire and sword till it reached the bounds of Egypt; in 1896 the reconquest of the country began, and this was achieved at the battle of Omdurman (Sept. 22, 1898). The new State had achieved nothing but devastation and destruction.

The success of the Sūdānese Mahdī encouraged many others to play the part. It seems that the title ‘al-Mahdī’ in the case of the head of the Sanūsī community was originally a proper name; its holder, however, gave it the familiar application, and even claimed to have on his body the 'seal of prophecy,' *i.e.* the nævus between the shoulders which had indicated the office to which Muhammad was born (the Sūdānese Mahdī also bore a mark, but it was a mole on his right cheek). In the oracle which foretold his appearance the beginning of the 13th Islāmic cent. (1301 = 1883) was specified as the date. His theories will be found in the art. SANŪSĪS. He was rarely seen by strangers himself, having a 'double,' Sī Aḥmad b. Biskrī, who resembled him very closely, to play the part before them. In 1884 he enjoined the Muslims to pay no attention to the Sūdānese pretender, who was merely 'an impostor and a liar.' In 1888, when an appeal was made to the Sultan of Borgo to assist in the suppression of Mahdīism by revolutionaries in the Sūdān, the Sanūsī Mahdī, to whom the matter was referred, advised the Sultan to abstain from interference with Sūdānese affairs and fight with the *khalīf* only if himself attacked.

The measures taken by the Protectorate of Nigeria in recent years to regulate taxation, emancipate slaves, and introduce other reforms led to the rise of numerous Mahdīs; between the years 1900 and 1905 there were a dozen in Sokoto, and as many in the other provinces. In 1905 Mahdīs arose simultaneously in Saturu, Bauchi, and Kontagara. Most of these were caught, tried, and executed, the government regarding such severity as necessary for the preservation of order. In 1907 there was one Mahdī at Bima in Bauchi, 'but the situation was in general satisfactory' (*Revue du monde musulman*, iv. [1908] 144).

While the tradition, which, as we have seen, has been admitted into some authoritative works, is likely to produce aspirants to the Mahdī-ship from time to time, it is probable that the general introduction of good and stable government will render their appearance constantly rarer and their adherents fewer. To the question whether there were any relics of Mahdīism in the Sūdān, the Cairene journal *Muqtatif* as early as 1902 (xxvii. 1126) replied that the introduction of security and justice in place of the long reign of terror which that system had produced had effectually destroyed its traces.

LITERATURE.—The authorities have been cited throughout the article.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MAIMONIDES.—1. **Life.**—Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon), Talmudist, philosopher, and physician, born at Cordova, 30th March 1135, died at Cairo, 13th Dec. 1204, is known in Jewish literature as 'Rambam' (the letters r, m, b, m being the initials of Rabbi Moses ben Maimon) and in Arabic literature as Abū 'Imrān Mūsā ben Maimūn ibn 'Abd Allāh. His native city falling into the hands of the Almohads, Maimonides, when yet a lad of thirteen, was compelled either to leave or to embrace Islām. He, together with his father, chose the former course, and settled at Fez. Here they led for a time the dual life of Muslim and Jew. But, the Muslim authorities growing suspicious of their *bona fides*, father and son determined to leave Fez. Accordingly, in April 1165, they boarded a vessel bound for Palestine. Acre was reached after a month's stormy voyage, and after a short stay there they went on to Jerusalem; but, as Palestine had just been the scene of the Second Crusade, and the Jews there were few in number and poor in goods as well as in culture, Maimonides fixed upon Egypt as a more congenial centre. A home was made in Fostat, a suburb of Cairo. Soon after their arrival here, both the father and the brother of Maimonides died, and, becoming financially reduced in consequence, Maimonides took up the practice of medicine as a means of livelihood. After several years of obscure practice he became court physician to Saladin, pursuing his Rabbinical and philosophical studies undaunted while following out the exacting duties of his profession. The eminent position which he has ever held in Jewish estimation is expressed in the popular Jewish saying, 'From Moses to Moses[1] there was none like Moses.'

2. **Works.**—Maimonides' works can be classified under the following heads.

i. PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY.—(*a*) *Dalālat-al-Hairīn* ('Guide of the Perplexed'), known in Heb. as *Mōrēh Nᵉbhūkhīm*. The Heb. tr. was effected in 1204 by Samuel ibn Tibbōn, and another and less popular Heb. tr. was made by the celebrated Hebrew poet Al-Ḥarizi in the 13th century. The Lat. tr. by the younger Buxtorf (Basel, 1629) is based on the Heb. of Ibn Tibbōn. Salomon Munk published a Fr. tr. of the Arabic original entitled *Guide des égarés* (3 vols., Paris, 1856–66), and there are two Ital. trr. of the whole work and several Germ. trr. of parts. An Eng. rendering of pt. iii. was brought out by J. Townley (London, 1827) under the title of *The Reasons of the Laws of Moses*. The standard Eng. ed. with commentary and introduction is that of M. Friedländer.

(*b*) A work on the terms used in logic entitled *Māḳālah fī-Ṣina'at al-Manṭīḳ*, popularly known in its Heb. tr. (by Moses ibn Tibbōn) as *Millôth Higgāyôn*. Sebastian Münster published a Lat. tr. (Basel, 1527). There are two Germ. renderings, and the most noteworthy Heb. commentary is that of Moses Mendelssohn.

(*c*) *Maḳālah fī al-Taūḥīd*, on the unity of God, known in Heb. as *Ma'ămar hay-Yiḥūdh*.

ii. COMMENTARIES ON TALMUD AND MISHNAH.—(*a*) Commentary on the Mishnah known in Arabic as *Sirāj* ('Light'). The component parts of the work were translated into Heb. by various mediæval scholars. W. Surenhusius rendered the Heb. into Lat., and E. Pococke published parts with a Lat. tr. (Oxford, 1654). The section known as 'The Eight Chapters' (*Shᵉmōneh Pᵉrāḳīm*) was edited with an excellent Germ. tr. and valuable annotations by M. Wolf (Leipzig, 1863). A new ed. with a very good Eng. tr. and notes is that of Gorfinkle (Columbia University Press, 1912). Various edd. of small sections have been brought out by other scholars; and there is much that still awaits the light.

(*b*) *Kitāb al-Farā'id*, rendered into Heb. under the title of *Sēfer Ham-Miṣwôth* by Ibn Tibbōn. Moses Bloch brought out a complete ed. with a Fr. tr. (Paris, 1888), entitled *Le Livre des préceptes*. [The book might also appropriately be classified under iii.]

iii. HALĀKHĀ OR CODIFICATION OF RABBINIC LAWS.—*Mishneh Tôrāh* ('Repetition of the Law'), known also as 'The Strong Hand' (*Yād hā-ḥăzāḳāh*). It is divided into fourteen component books, and was written by the author in Hebrew Extracts were translated into English by H. Bernard and E. Soloweyczik in 1863. The work is of gigantic proportions, and was meant to be an easily intelligible compendium of Jewish ritual law.

iv. LETTERS AND OCCASIONAL ESSAYS.—(*a*) *Iggereth hash-Shᵉmādh* ('Letter on Conversion'), written in Arab. and translated anonymously into Hebrew. It deals with the subject of forced conversions. Maimonides maintains that a Jew who outwardly through compulsion professes to embrace Islām does not thereby forfeit his claim to be considered a righteous Jew. But the authenticity of the 'Letter' has been doubted by scholars.

(*b*) *Iggereth Tēman* ('Letter to Tēman,' *i.e.* Yemen), written in Arab. and translated into Heb. by Ibn Tibbōn and others. The Jews of Yemen are given advice as to how to conduct themselves in times of religious persecution.

(*c*) *Mă'amar Tᵉḥiyyôth ham-Mêtîm* ('Essays on the Resurrection of the Dead'), written in Arab., translated into Heb. by Ibn Tibbōn and also by Al-Ḥarizi (see Steinschneider, *Hebräische Uebersetzungen*, p. 431). He maintains a spiritual view of resurrection as opposed to the largely prevalent material view of the resurrection of a united body and soul.

(*d*) 'Letter to the men of Marseilles,' written in Arab. and translated into Heb. by Ibn Tibbōn, a discussion on astronomy and astrology, in which Maimonides upholds the truth of the former, but rejects belief in the potency of the stars.

(*e*) 'Letter to Rabbi Jonathan of Lunel,' in which Maimonides, while replying to certain queries on ritual topics, discloses much of his private and personal life. A similar note is struck in a letter to Ibn Tibbōn (translated into Eng. from the Heb. by H. Adler, in the *Miscellany of Hebrew Literature*, i., 1872).

v. MEDICINE AND ASTRONOMY.—(*a*) An essay on the Jewish calendar, called *Sēfer Ḥibbūr* (written at the age of twenty-three), composed in Arab. and translated into Heb. by an anonymous writer, to be found in the collection *Ḳôbhēṣ Tᵉshūbhôth hā-Rambam* (Leipzig, 1859).

(*b*) Various minor works on detailed points in medicine. These were all written in Arab., and were translated into Heb. by Jews of the Middle Ages. There are also Lat., Fr., Germ., and Span. trr. of several.

vi. RESPONSA.—Maimonides' correspondence embraced nearly all the Jewish communities of the Middle Ages. They were translated at an early date into Heb., and comprise the collection known as *Ḳôbhēṣ Tᵉshūbhôth hā-Rambam*.

3. **Place in philosophy.**—Maimonides holds a

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[1] *i.e.* Moses Mendelssohn (*q.v.*).

significant place both in Jewish and in general philosophy, his importance in these respects resting mainly on his three larger works—the 'Guide of the Perplexed,' the *Sīrāj*, or Commentary on the Mishnah, and the *Mishneh Tôrāh*. The most essentially 'Jewish' of the three is the *Mishneh Tôrāh*. It is an elaborate text-book of 'law' as understood by Jewish orthodox tradition, its sources being the Bible, the Talmud, and the whole Rabbinical literature previous to Maimonides. What prompted the author to write it was the fact that the Talmud and the Rabbinical literature generally are a large, unwieldy, unsystematized mass of opinions and rules, laws, counsels, prescriptions, permissions, and prohibitions, with no vestige of any attempts at logical classification and arrangement; so that, unless a Jew possesses a complete mastery of those intricacies, he is puzzled to know what is, and what is not, Judaism as laid down by the Rabbis and sanctioned by orthodox tradition. Maimonides felt the necessity of aiding Jews in this cardinal respect. Judaism appeared to him to be in danger of losing itself in mazes of its own invention; he therefore planned a work in which both the letter and the spirit of the Talmud should reappear in a simple, orderly, and systematic guise. All the controversies, disputations, and doubtful points in the original are omitted. The faithful Jew who wishes to know the settled Rabbinical view on any subject of ritual or belief need no longer wade for the information through oceans of unnecessary details. It is given him in definite, clear-cut, and brief language. As can be understood, this good service rendered to Judaism was not without an admixture of evil. Talmudic law, once flexible, became rigid. Maimonides, by aiming at laying down opinions which were to be the norm of all future religious practice and belief, was felt to have exercised a too arbitrary dogmatism. He made development impossible and chained Judaism to the letter, instead of leaving it free to the eternally unfolding life of the spirit. The numerous attacks—very often virulent and abusive—which were hurled against him both in life and after death on account of this dogmatism, and on kindred grounds, constitute a substantial chapter in Jewish mediæval history. On the other hand, the book was well received in many Jewish communities, though the hope of the author that it would one day become the authoritative code for all Israel was never realized.

In the making of 'codes' or 'compendia' of Jewish law, Maimonides had both predecessors and successors. But his work stands out from all these in two commanding respects: (*a*) a greater variety of subject, a broader interpretation of the scope of Judaism as a system both of 'law' and of 'theology'; (*b*) the metaphysical [Aristotelian] colouring pervading his treatment of religion and ethics, as well as the addition of dissertations on such subjects as the calendar, idolatry, and free will. He was no mere codifier in the sense that others were. His was the genius of the literary artist working out his own original conception of divine truth as understood by the Jew. Hence, whereas to-day resort is had to other codes only when enlightenment is sought on points of strict 'legalism' or strictly orthodox ritual—what is forbidden and what is not forbidden by the 613 precepts of the *Tôrāh*—the code of Maimonides is a source of edification to the theological student generally, quite irrespective of its relation to the Jewish life. The first of the fourteen books comprising the *Mishneh Tôrāh* is entitled 'Maddā‘' ('Knowledge'). Maimonides feels that, before a man can be ordered to worship God, he should first be informed of what God really is; so he sets out with proofs of the existence of God, of the impossibility of a plurality of gods, of the impossibility of a world without God, of the various grades of animate and inanimate existence—angels, 'spheres,' men, plants, minerals (introducing, of course, the 'four elements,' viz. earth, air, fire, water). He shows how all these have their places in the cosmos, and how all reveal God in their several ways and degrees. In the framework of such a treatment he discusses the Rabbinic views of prayer, divine worship, Sabbath, feasts and fasts, repentance, and the whole host of ethical and civil prescriptions which the Talmudic Rabbis had deduced from Scripture and had laid down for observance by the Jewish commonwealth. It is all done in a way which shows that, while Maimonides defended what he considered the eternal sanctity of 'ceremonial,' he was too spiritual, too mystical a thinker to omit giving due prominence to the ethical and spiritual aspects of Judaism—the aspects which justify and transfigure the rest.

The *Sīrāj*, or Commentary on the Mishnah, has not as yet had full justice done to it by scholars and students. It has been in many senses overshadowed by the more popular commentary of Obadiah Bertinoro, an Italian Rabbi of the 15th century. But there can be no doubt that, with the growing modern recognition of the necessity of studying the Rabbinical literature on strictly scientific lines, the *Sīrāj* will yet come into its own.

The object of Maimonides was to enable the layman to understand the Mishnah—its technical phraseology as well as its general drift—without the necessity of working through the involved disquisitions of the Talmud. The Talmud is *par excellence* the commentary on the Mishnah, but its elaborations and criticisms of the Mishnah, instead of throwing light on the latter, often render the darkness all the greater. Further, Maimonides was of opinion—and critical study shows that he was right—that the Talmudic masters did not always understand the Mishnah, because their extraneous knowledge was faulty. He therefore planned a work in which the student would be able to see the Mishnah as it essentially is and irrespective of the Talmudic glosses. Not that Maimonides ignores these glosses. He incorporates them—and largely too—in the commentary. But he sometimes adopts an independent view; and this is just one of the facts that make his work serve as a really valuable introduction to the study of the Talmud. It is also very valuable for the many long dissertations which it contains on points in theology, philosophy, history, and exegesis. Thus, commenting on Mishnah xi. in the Treatise *Sanhedrin* on the words 'All Israelites have a portion in the world to come,' he is led to write a treatise on the Jewish creed, in which he draws up the famous 'Thirteen Principles of Faith' (for which see *ERE* iv. 246^{a}), being the first 'Rabbanite' (*i.e.* as opposed to 'Ḳaraite') Jew to ask the Synagogue to accept a set, formulated creed of Judaism. For this he was severely criticized by a famous 15th cent. Jewish philosopher, Ḥisdai Crescas, in his *Ôr Ădhônai* ('Light of the Lord'). But, as subsequent history proves, there was no necessity for attaching any really serious importance to these 'Thirteen Principles of Faith,' seeing that the Synagogue at no time did, and even at the present time does not, attach any canonical validity to them. In all probability Maimonides promulgated them with no dogmatic intent. They are useful as a literary monument of the often-forgotten fact that Judaism emphasizes inward belief as well as outward conduct.

Another remarkable excursus is that known as

'The Eight Chapters.' Just as Philo attempted to expound the OT on the basis of Plato, so Maimonides here attempts to present Judaism in the dress of Aristotle. Rabbinical ethics are viewed through Greek spectacles, and Aristotle's doctrine of 'the mean' (μεσότης) is shown to underlie the sacred moral truths of Judaism.

'This perfect Law does not teach us to subject the body to useless and uncalled-for tortures. On the contrary, its aim and intention is that man according to the dictates of nature should pursue the path of moderation, eat and drink moderately and according to his means' (opening words of ch. iv.).

Adopting this standpoint and with the aid of the Aristotelian psychology, Maimonides shows how the Jew's path to ethical perfection lies only through the adoption of the mean. With all its Greek colouring, the spirit and teaching of the book are thoroughly Hebraic. OT and Talmud contain the highest wisdom and are man's surest guide to God.

Maimonides' greatest contribution to metaphysics, however, is his 'Guide of the Perplexed.' It is designed, as he himself says, 'for thinkers whose studies have brought them into collision with religion,' for men who 'have studied philosophy and have acquired sound knowledge, and who, while firm in religious matters, are perplexed and bewildered on account of the ambiguous and figurative expressions employed in the holy writings.' Thus the book is not meant to convince the unbeliever, but, rather, to correct the believer. His introductory motto is, 'Ye who have gone astray in the field of the holy Law, come hither and follow the path which I have prepared. The unclean and the fool shall not pass over it.'

The object of the book is to provide a working harmony between reason and faith. But whose conception of reason does Maimonides take as the standard? No one but Aristotle's. What is faith to Maimonides? Belief in the Torah, which is for all time the one true embodiment of the divine word. There is no contradiction between divine revelation as entrusted to the Jews and the metaphysical truths given to the world by the brains of the philosophers. For not only is it a fact that both in the last resort emanate from God, but it has also to be borne in mind (so argued Maimonides) that the prophets of the OT received a twofold divine message. Besides the message which is manifest to us in their written prophecies, they received oral revelations of a philosophical kind. The written prophecies are really instinct with these oral philosophies; and Scripture enshrines, in ways and degrees which can be detected only by the student of philosophy, a body of metaphysical truth. As the average Jew, through the dulling effect of the repeated persecution of his race, fails to grasp this metaphysical truth, Maimonides conceived it his duty to devote the major portion of the first book of the 'Guide' to an exhaustive examination of the anthropomorphic expressions occurring in the Scriptures in order that the reader should thereby learn the first and fundamental tenet of all metaphysic, viz. that God is incorporeal, and that all the Scriptural passages which talk of 'the eye' or 'the hand' or 'the foot' of God, or which describe divine movements such as 'passing,' 'dwelling,' 'coming,' 'standing,' etc., must be understood allegorically, seeing that they express transcendental metaphysical truths about the deity. But there is another leading consideration. What about the Scriptural 'attributes' of God? Is not the misunderstanding of these liable to lead to an infringement of both the incorporeality and the unity of God? Maimonides saw real danger here, and, therefore, after a severe examination of the meanings and inter-relations of the different attributes of God, he proves the inapplicability of them all to God. All that can be predicated of God is that He exists. God is indefinable. Even to assert, as Scripture repeatedly does, His unity, power, wisdom, eternity, will, is inadmissible. But how, then, can we justify Scripture? By assuming, he says, that, owing to the poverty of language, these terms must be understood as describing not a positive quality but a negative of its opposite. Hence to say that 'God is one' is merely tantamount to saying that God is not a plurality. Hence the deity can be described only by negative attributes; and, since the number of these is infinite, the positive essence of the deity must for ever lie outside human comprehension. But, despite all this, the deity is unquestionably active in the universe; He is the creator of the cosmos, and the traces of divine design are everywhere obvious. How are these divine relations with the universe to be understood? Before grappling seriously with this subject, Maimonides enters into an acute criticism of the views of the Mutakallimūn, or philosophers of the *kalām* (*q.v.*). As against Aristotle, who maintained the eternity of the universe, these Arabian philosophers defended the *creatio ex nihilo.* Maimonides, while as a Jew differing on this fundamental point from his teacher Aristotle, agreed with the Mutakallimīm, but differed from the latter again on several other fundamental propositions of theirs. Maimonides' originality of mind as well as his fearless liberality of spirit in the investigation of religious truth can be clearly gauged in this connexion. He rejects, as has just been said, the propositions of the Mutakallimīm—but only as propositions, *i.e.* theories or methods of proof. For he accepts their results. He believed, just as much as they believed, not only in the *creatio ex nihilo*, but also in the existence, incorporeality, and unity of God. On the other hand, while opposing Aristotle on the question of the *creatio ex nihilo*, he practically employs the whole paraphernalia of the Aristotelian cosmology in order to prove the *creatio ex nihilo.* The latter came about through the work of a Primal Cause, who is identical with the Creator alluded to in the Scriptures. From this Primal Cause there emanate the intellects of the spheres (these 'intellects' are identified with the angels of Holy Writ). All changes on earth are due to the revolutions of the spheres, which have souls and are endowed with intellect. God created the universe by producing first the intellects of the spheres, which give to the spheres the faculties of existence and motion and are thus the *fons et origo* of the entire universe. It is of deepest interest to both the theologian and the mystic to note in this connexion the quaint Maimonidean exegesis of Gn 1 (*Maʿăśēh Bᵉrēshîth*) and Ezk 1 (*Maʿăśēh Merkābhāh*). His whole theory of emanation (*hashpāʿā*) is a wonderful combination of what are usually regarded as two diametrically opposite frames of mind, viz. rationalism and mysticism.

Aristotle believed in the eternity of matter. Maimonides argues against this at great length in pt. ii. of the 'Guide,' in favour of the *creatio ex nihilo*—not that he believed that the latter thesis was really provable from Scripture, but because he felt it a necessary peg on which to hang the essentially Jewish doctrines of miracles, revelation, and prophecy. On the latter subject his views are strikingly original but highly debatable. There is a strong element of passive ecstasy in prophecy. The prophet is wholly the passive instrument in the divine hand. Imagination is an essential element in all prophecy. Prophecy is an impulse descending from the Active Intellect to man's intellect and imagination. Can any man become a prophet? No, because, while it is in the power of many a man to bring himself to the high pitch of moral and intellectual perfection which prophecy necessitates, another factor is still required. This factor consists in a special vouchsafing of the divine will, *i.e.* divine inspiration. A man may be intellectually and morally perfect, but may be unable to prophesy, because prophecy arises, in the last resort, only at the call of a divine *fiat*; and the *fiat* is arbitrary.

Maimonides' subsequent discussions on the nature and origin of evil, on belief in divine providence and man's free will (in which he strikingly discusses the central problem in the book of Job), on the purpose of the Biblical precepts, on the meanings of the Biblical narratives, on the stages by which man comes to hold real communion with the divine—all these are treated with a fullness of knowledge which makes them a contribution to general as well as to Jewish theology. A vein of unvarying optimism permeates his teachings on sin and evil. Evil has no positive existence, but is merely the absence of good, just in the same sense as sickness denotes the absence of the possession of health, or poverty the absence of sufficiency, or folly the absence of normal wisdom. In support of the argument he quotes Gn 1^{31}, 'And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good,' the Midrashic comment upon which is, 'No evil thing descends from above' (*Bᵉrēshîth Rabbā*, xviii. 9). Divine providence extends to individual human beings, but not to animals, plants, or minerals. Here Maimonides differs from Aristotle, who held that Providence took no account of particulars, because His knowledge was limited to universals. Scriptural passages are quoted in refutation of Aristotle's views. Can free will be reconciled with the fact of divine omniscience, seeing that the latter must imply predestination? Numerous passages from Scripture are quoted in illustration of the difficulty of the problem. Maimonides bases his answer on the words of Is 55^{8}, 'My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways.' God's knowledge is unique; and the great mistake that men always make is that they persist in thinking and speaking of God's knowledge in the same senses as they think and speak of man's. It is identical with His essence, and is independent of existence or of time—past, present, and future are all the same to God.

The object of the divine precepts is 'to give man true knowledge or to remove wrong knowledge, or to give a correct ordering of life or to remove oppression, or to give a training in good morals or to exhort against bad morals.' Man's final consummation of 'knowing' God can come about only after man has perfected himself, not only inwardly, but in all his external relations to society, to the State, to the world. Maimonides discusses every precept of the Torah with the object of showing how their rightful understanding and practice lead to this goal. By an ingenious adaptation of Scripture he shows that the reason why God 'led the people about, by the way of the wilderness by the Red sea' (Ex 13^{18}), instead of leading them straight to the Promised Land, was in order to give them the necessary preliminary training in the endurance of hardship, in the cultivation of courage in face of danger, and in all the social and martial qualities which a self-governing nation needs. Even so, says he, is it with man. Before he can live on the high level of knowing God, he must live on the lower level of an obedience to all the divine precepts which are the training-ground for his more exalted rôle. 'Knowing' God and 'loving' God are identical.

Maimonides influenced all succeeding generations of Jewish thought by his introduction of what we nowadays call 'the scientific spirit' into the study of Judaism. Henceforward an anthropomorphic conception of God became impossible. God is spirit, and the worship of Him—based as this is on the carrying out of the 'laws' of the OT as interpreted by the Rabbis—is not a series of mechanical performances, but a movement of the human spirit towards its divine source. Man's intellect is his greatest asset. Hence Judaism, rightly understood, can never really become fossilized, seeing that the application of the intellect to it cannot but result in a continuous chain of development in consonance with the changing phases of human thought as time goes on. Although much of the substance of the 'Guide' is now obsolete, its encouragement to a freedom of spirit in the handling of religious problems will always, unlike the dogmatism of the *Mishneh Tôrāh*, make its appeal to the thinker and the moralist. Maimonides the liberal philosopher will live on long after Maimonides the dogmatic ritualist is forgotten.

The influence of Maimonides on general European thought has not yet been adequately appraised. The Latin translations of the 'Guide' in the 13th cent. affected the great Franciscan, Alexander of Hales, as well as his contemporary, William of Auvergne. The great Christian scholastics, Albertus Magnus and Duns Scotus, drew inspiration from its pages. Thomas Aquinas's whole theological system is permeated with the theological view-points of Maimonides. What debt, if any, Spinoza's philosophy owes to him is a moot point, but that the reading of the 'Guide' influenced Spinoza's mode of life is certain.

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J. ABELSON.

MAJHWĀR, MĀNJHĪ.—A non-Aryan tribe numbering, Majhwār 14,210, Mānjhī 4933, according to the Census of 1911, and found in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bengal, Central Provinces, Berār, and Assam. The name is usually derived from Skr. *madhya*, in the sense of 'headman,' and ethnologically they are closely connected with the Gonḍs and Kharwārs (*qq.v.*).

In the United Provinces the Majhwār possess a well-marked system of totemistic exogamous divisions, some being named from trees, animals, or birds, each of which is held sacred and not injured or eaten by the members of the division who take their name from it. The tribal legend describes the rescue of their forefathers by a tortoise; they therefore worship the tortoise, and will not injure or kill it. Their death rites recognize the survival of the soul after death, and they take measures to prevent the return of the malignant spirits of the dead, particularly those who have died by accident or in some tragic way. But some of the ancestral spirits are supposed to be re-incarnated in their descendants, or in a calf which is taken care of and not used in ploughing. At marriages a fowl and spirituous liquor are offered to ancestors, and in their honour the *patārī*, or tribal priest, offers a fire sacrifice (*homa*). Among the special tribal deities of the Majhwār may be mentioned Dulhā Deo, the spirit of a bridegroom who in the olden days perished in a specially tragic way. As is the case with the cognate tribes, there is, in their beliefs, a clear distinction between those who live more or less within the range of Hindu influence and those who are less exposed to it. The former worship, under the title of Mahādeva, 'the great god'—a name of Śiva—a deity who seems to be identical with Baṛā Deo, 'the great god' of the Gonḍs, both of whom are believed to use the ox as a 'vehicle' (*vāhana*). This cult has a basis of phallicism, which is more clearly seen in the worship of Lingo or Lingal (Skr. *liṅga*, the phallic symbol). The *patārī*, at his periodical visits to his parishioners, worships Mahādeva by rattling a number of iron rings fixed on a staff. The collective village-gods are impersonated by a male deity Dih (Pers. *dih*, 'the village'), whose name at least is of modern origin, while his female counterpart is known as the Deohārin (Hindī *deuhrā*, Skr. *devagṛha*, 'house of the gods'), so named because she occupies the village-shrine, a mass of rude stones piled under a sacred tree, usually the *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*). More advanced members of the tribe identify her with the Hindu Devī. The shrine contains a water vessel, over which a red flag is hung, and the seat of the deity is a little mud platform on which offerings are laid and a fire sacrifice is performed. The officiant at these rites is the *baigā* (*q.v.*), the village medicine-man, who holds a goat or fowl facing the east and sacrifices it by cutting off the head and allowing a little blood to drop on the platform. The worshipper, his friends, and the priest then and there cook and eat the flesh. No blood sacrifice is offered to ancestors, but flesh cooked by the wife of the eldest son (perhaps a survival of mother-right) is offered in the family kitchen, where the honoured dead are supposed to live. When they eat they throw a little food on the ground for the earth-goddess. Women may be present at the worship of the higher gods, but not at that of the village-deities. They also propitiate a number of demons or evil spirits, such as Turkin, the ghost of a Turk or Muhammadan woman, and her consort Barwat, who rule all the mountain-spirits of the neighbourhood. Other spirits inhabit streams and water-pools, and with these are joined the snake-gods—the Nāg and his consort, the Nāgin. A special tribal rite is the worship of the sacred *karama* tree (*Nauclea parvifolia*), which is ceremonially cut down and brought into the village, where the people dance round it to the beating of drums. The rite is probably, like similar rites in other parts of the world described by J. G. Frazer (*GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 247 ff.), a form of symbolical or imitative magic to promote the fall of rain and the fertility of the people, their crops, and cattle (W. Crooke, *PR*² ii. 94 ff.). Only the more Hinduized members of the tribe employ Brāhmans, the real priests being the *patārī* and *baigā*, who are usually drawn from the more primitive allied tribes, which are believed to preserve unimpaired the knowledge of the local cults. Fetishism, so called, appears in the reverence for the sacred chain (*gurdā*) hung in the village shrine, with which hysterical girls are beaten in order to drive out the evil spirit supposed to cause such attacks. The belief in witchcraft, the evil eye, and omens is wide-spread.

LITERATURE.—W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896, iii. 413 ff.

W. CROOKE.

MĀL, MĀLĒ, MĀL PAHĀRIĀ.—A non-Aryan tribe, containing various groups, numbering, Māl 2,135,329, Māl Pahāriā 54,069, at the Census of 1911, and found in the greatest numbers in Madras, Haidarābād, and Bengal.

The inter-relations of the North and South groups have not been clearly ascertained, but they seem to be, to a large extent, pure Dravidians, and those in the Rājmahāl Hills in Bengal are closely allied to the Orāons (*q.v.*). The Māl, a cultivating caste in W. and Central Bengal, are mainly Hindus, and few vestiges of primitive beliefs can be traced among them. The snake-goddess, Manasā, is their special guardian, and they also worship the local village-deities. The earliest account of their religion in the Rājmahāl Hills is that by Shaw, which has been supplemented by Risley and Dalton.

> 'At the head of their system stands the Sun called Dharmer Gosain, and represented by a roughly-hewn post set up in front of each house. He is worshipped with offerings of fowls, goats, sindur [red lead], and oil at the commencement of the harvest season, and at other times when any misfortune befalls the family. When people are gathered together for this purpose, the village headman, who acts as priest, goes round the congregation with an egg in his hand, and recites the names of certain spirits. He then throws away the egg, apparently as a propitiatory offering, and enjoins the spirits to hold aloof and abstain from troubling the sacrifice' (Risley, *TC*, ii. 57).

Shaw describes various gods inferior in rank to the sun-god. Whenever a tiger, smallpox, or any other plague attacks the village, Ruksey or Raksī is supposed to desire that a shrine should be raised for him. Accordingly the *demāno*, or tribal priest, is directed to search for the god. He gets a branch of the *sīdī* tree, and gum benjamin is burned, which he smells. He is thus enabled to point out a place where he directs the people to dig, and the god, in the shape of a sacred black stone, is discovered. The *mānjhī*, or headman, then sets out in search of a large tree, under the shade of which he places the stone, and encloses it with a stone fence and hedge. A fowl and a goat are sacrificed, and the headman or some other worthy person does worship to the god and then retires (*Asiatic Res.* iv. 46 f.). This god at the present day is the tutelary deity of strong drink, who is worshipped by the headman before he begins to distil liquor from the fresh crop of *mahuā* (*Bassia latifolia*) (Risley, ii. 57). Chal, or Chalnad, presides over a group of villages, but he is not worshipped until some plague attacks the people, when the *demāno* dreams that a shrine should be raised, and the god, when found in the shape of a stone, is placed under a *mukmum* tree near the village, the stone undergoing no change in form from the chisel (*Asiatic Res.* iv. 48 f.). Goats and pigs are usually offered to him, but the triennial sacrifice of a cow, mentioned by Shaw, seems now to have fallen into disuse (Risley, ii. 58).

The first worship performed by young men is offered to Pāū Gośāīn, god of the road, but it is not undertaken till some accident has induced the worshipper to consult an exorcist, who decides whether a sacrifice will be acceptable.

> On the day of thanksgiving at harvest he proceeds to a high road, and clears a space under the shade of a young *bel* tree (*Ægle marmelos*), in the centre of which he plants a branch of the *mukmum* tree. Round it he makes marks with red paint and, laying some rice and an egg decorated with three streaks of vermilion near the sacred branch, he invokes the god of the highway to protect him on his journeys. A cock is sacrificed, some of the blood being dropped on the branch, and the offering is cooked and eaten by the worshipper and his friends. The rite concludes with the breaking of the egg, and is never repeated unless the person concerned should meet with an accident in travelling (*Asiatic Res.* iv. 51 f.).

At present the offering prescribed for the god is a white goat, and the sacrifice is very expensive, owing to the large amount of rice-beer which must be offered to the god and then drunk by the assembled worshippers (Risley, i. 58).

> 'The tutelary deity of the village, spoken of by Lieutenant Shaw under the name of Dwára Gosain [god of the doorway], is now called Bára-Dwári, because he is supposed to live in a temple with twelve doors. The whole village worship him in the month of Mágh [Jan.–Feb.]. Colonel Dalton suggests that this god may perhaps be the same as the Oraon Dárá. Kul Gosain, "the Ceres of the mountaineers," and Autga, the god of hunting, appear not to be known at the present day. Gumo Gosain, or the god of the pillar, is represented in every household by the wooden post (*gumo*) which supports the main rafters of the roof. On this the blood of a slain goat is sprinkled to propitiate the spirits of ancestors. The fact that this god is common to the Málés and Mál Paháriás, and is worshipped by both in the same way, seems to tell strongly in favour of the common origin of the two tribes. As in Lieutenant Shaw's time Chamda Gosain still ranks high among the tribe, and demands offerings on a larger scale than any other god' (Risley, ii. 58).

At the present day the priests of the tribe are said to be the *demānos*, who were originally diviners; but it is declared that generally the *demāno* does not officiate as priest, but merely directs the village headman, head of the household, or other influential person chosen for the occasion (*ib.*).

The religion of the Māl Pahāriās is of much the same type. Their chief god is the sun, who is addressed as Gośāīn, 'Lord,' and to whom an offering of rice is presented and then given to a goat, which is decapitated by a blow from behind. The meat is cooked, and served up at a feast, of which the neighbours partake. The head alone, which is regarded as sacred food (*prasād*), is carefully reserved for the members of the family. Next in honour to the sun are Dhartī Mātā, Mother Earth; her servant or, as some say, her sister, Garāmī; and Singhbāhinī, 'she who rides on a tiger,' who rules tigers, snakes, scorpions, and all manner of noisome beasts. The tribe also performs the *karama* rite, dancing round the sacred tree (see MAJHWĀR). Chordānū, 'the thief demon,' is a malevolent spirit, who must be propitiated by sacrifice and the offering of the firstfruits of the crop, which, as usual, are under tabu (J. G. Frazer, *GB*^{3}, pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, ii. 48 ff.). To Mahādānā eggs are the appropriate offering. Gūmo Gośāīn, the house pillar, represents the *lares* of the household, and every village has its own tutelary deity, which lives in a *sāl* tree (*Shorea robusta*). This is periodically daubed with red lead, and may on no account be cut down.

LITERATURE.—T. Shaw, 'On the Inhabitants of the Hills near Rájamahall,' in *Asiatic Researches*, iv. [London, 1798] 31 ff.; H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 45 ff., 51 ff., 66 ff.; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, do. 1872, pp. 138 ff., 263 ff.; a popular account of the Pahāriās, mainly based on the above authorities, will be found in F. B. Bradley-Birt, *The Story of an Indian Upland*, London, 1905, pp. 7 ff., 287 ff.

W. CROOKE.

MALABAR JEWS.—See JEWS IN COCHIN (MALABAR).

MALAY ARCHIPELAGO.—The religious beliefs and customs of the natives of the numerous isles of the Malay Archipelago, all of them belonging to the great Malayo-Polynesian family,[1] were certainly in the main identical, but, owing to historical facts and foreign influences, by far the greater part of the population have forsaken their ancestral creed. The native population, with insignificant exceptions, of Java and Sumatra, except most Battak, profess Muhammadanism, as do the Macassars, Buginese, Mandarese, Bimanese, and some other tribes of the West and North coast of Celebes, and of Borneo; the small islands of Ternate and Tidore are also peopled by Muhammadans. The Balinese in Bali and Lombok are Saivites, with a sprinkling of Buddhists, whereas the Sassaks of Lombok are followers of Islām. Christianity is the prevailing religion in Amboina, the Minahassa, the Sangir, and Talaut Islands, and has an increasing number of adherents among the Battak, Torajas, Sawunese, and Rottinese; Roman Catholic natives are chiefly found in the Eastern part of Flores. Some small communities of converts to Christianity are also found in Java.

I. Animism.—The religion of the pagan tribes of the Archipelago is what is generally denoted as animism. In speaking of the beliefs prevailing in the Malay Peninsula Skeat rightly says:

> 'The root-idea seems to be an all-pervading Animism, involving a certain common vital principle (*sĕmangat*) in Man and Nature, which, for want of a more suitable word, has been here called the Soul. The application of this general theory of the universe to the requirements of the individual man constitutes the Magic Art, which, as conceived by the Malays, may be said to consist of the methods by which this Soul, whether in gods, men, animals, vegetables, minerals, or what not, may be influenced, captured, subdued, or in some way made subject to the will of the magician.'[2]

All this applies to the pagan Indonesians, and, in many respects, also to the natives who have adopted another religion and, in their own opinion, are sincerely attached to it.

Sumangat, with dialectic variations, is the general word with the Malays also in Indonesia for 'soul,' 'vital force,' penetrating the whole body, but distinct from the latter, so that it can leave the body temporarily, *e.g.*, in dreams, and finally at death. The Macassars and Buginese use the same word, *sumanga*, *sumangĕ* with the same meaning. The Battak use the term *tĕndi*, *tondi* for exactly the same idea; and the Dayaks have *hambaruan*, *amirue*, *amiroi*, *blua*, and other dialectic variations of the same word. With the Torajas in Central Celebes the usual term is *tanoana*, properly 'homunculus'; another expression is *wayo*, or *limbayo*, *i.e.* 'shadow' (Jav. *wayang*, Mal. *bayang*). When the soul temporarily leaves the body, it assumes the form of a homunculus or an animal. A man whose soul thus goes forth in order to feed upon the souls of others appears in the shape of a deer, pig, crocodile, monkey, buffalo, or cat. Like many other Indonesians, the Torajas believe that there are witches who can separate their head and entrails from their body in order to suck the blood of sleeping persons. Such beings may be compared with the Mal. *penanggalans*, 'vampires.'

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[1] With the doubtful exception of the people of Ternate Tidore, Halmahera (Gilolo).

[2] *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 579 f.

The word for 'soul' in Nias is *noso*, which, like Skr. *prāṇa* and Gr. *πνεῦμα*, is properly the 'breath of life,' and then 'life,' 'vitality.' The same may be said of *ñawa* (Jav., Mal. etc.). There are several other Indonesian words for 'soul'—*e.g.*, Tontembuan *imukur*, *nimukur*, Sangir *himukudĕ*, Bentenan *himukur*, Ponosakan *dimukur*.

The common belief is that not only men, but also animals, vegetables, and minerals have a soul. The Ngaju Dayaks make a distinction between *hambaruan* and *gana*, the former belonging to men, animals, rice, and money, the latter to slaves, some trees, and things. The *gana*, like the *hambaruan*, can leave its abode and appear in the shape of a human being to men in dreams.

The soul leaves the body at death, and returns to its origin, the creator, or passes, directly or indirectly, into another human body, an animal, or a plant. The residuum of the individual, however, continues a shadowy existence as spirit. Such a spirit of the dead is called *liau* among the Ngaju Dayaks, and *diau*, *andiau*, among the Olo Dusun. It is commonly believed that the *liau* goes forthwith to Lewu liau, the spirit land, which it often leaves to roam in the woods or haunt its burial-place. During that time it is often harmful to the survivors, particularly by causing disease.

The common word for 'spirit' in Battak is *begu*, Nias *beghu*, which not only denotes the spirit of the departed, in which case we may translate it by 'ghost,' 'spectre,' but is applied also to superhuman beings, demons, and gods. The Torajas use the term *anga* for the spirit of the dead, and, in particular, *anitu* for the spirits of chieftains and heroes. This word *anitu*, or *nitu*, so wide-spread throughout the whole area of the Malayo-Polynesians, in Formosa, the Philippines, and the isles of the Pacific, is the common term for the ghosts of ancestors in the Moluccas, Timor, and Rotti. The Rottinese use it also for demons, whereas the Hill Torajas apply it to their gods, who, in fact, are deified ancestors. In general it is difficult to distinguish the ghosts of the departed from the spirits of higher beings or gods, but among some Torajas, who use the term *lamoa*, we find that a distinction is made between higher and lower *lamoas*.

According to R. H. Codrington (*The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 124 f.), 'it must not be supposed that every ghost becomes an object of worship. A man in danger may call upon his father, his grandfather, or his uncle; his nearness of kin is sufficient ground for it. The ghost who is to be worshipped is the spirit of a man who in his lifetime had *mana* in him.'

The same may be said with reference to the people in the Malay Archipelago, and not the heathen exclusively. The ghosts of different kinds are not equal in power. The Karo Battak hold the ghosts of stillborn children in particular awe, making little houses for them, and honouring them with offerings. The inhabitants of the Luang Sermata Isles believe that the ghosts of those who have died a violent death are most powerful and zealous to help their kinsfolk. In Halmahera the ghosts of persons killed in war or by accident are called *dilikè* in Galelarese, *dilikini* in Tobelorese. They are more powerful than other ghosts, protecting the living, especially in battle,[1] and are worshipped in the village temple. The Torajas also honour the ghosts of those who have fallen in battle.

To another category of ghosts belongs the protecting genius of places, regarded as the founder of a village or the common ancestor of the population. In Java every village honours the ghost of its founder, the *tjakal desa*, with frequent offerings. The tutelary deity of a place is called *ḍanghyang*, *i.e.* 'the god'; as the name implies, he is not a ghost, but a supernatural being. The worship of the reputed founder of a settlement is very common in the Moluccas. The Galelarese call the genius of a village and the forefather of its people *wongé*.

The Indonesians in general live in constant dread of innumerable ghosts, who are mostly malignant, and therefore must be propitiated by offerings or warded off by other means. Most feared is the *pontianak*, a word which with slight variations recurs in the whole archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines. The *pontianak* is the reputed ghost of a woman who has died in childbirth and, out of jealousy, penetrates the bodies of pregnant women to kill the unborn children. Usually she is thought to have the shape of a bird,[1] but to be invisible when she approaches her victim. In the archipelago the customary prophylactic against her insidious attempt is to suspend the thorny branches of a certain lemon-tree, the fruits of which are also employed as a means of repelling ghosts (for other means see Kruijt, *Het Animisme*, pp. 245-251).

All sorts of diseases are ascribed to the baleful influence both of ghosts and of other spirits. Especially in Nias we find several names of *beghus* who are held responsible for the appearance of different diseases and evils. It is no wonder that the people employ every means in their power to cure sickness or to prevent threatening attacks. In apprehension of the danger which may accrue from the dead, the Malays take care that the dead body is so treated that the ghost may not return. With many tribes one of the symbolical means of doing this is to scatter ashes, as if to blind the ghost.[2] The relatives of a deceased person have to undergo a longer or shorter period of mourning, during which they must wear the conventional mourning dress, observe certain restrictions in the use of food and drink, and refrain from amusements. At the end of this period it is customary for some tribes to offer human sacrifices, the ruling idea responsible for this custom apparently being that the ghost ought to be given a companion by way of propitiation.

It is commonly believed that the ghosts of the dead remain for some time in the neighbourhood of their former dwelling, whence the custom of erecting a hut in which to place the necessary offerings. With some Indonesians it is usual to prepare a bed of state for the ghost during the first days after the death. Even the Christians of Amboina and the Sangir Isles believe that the dead man pays a visit to his former home on the third day.

The ghosts continue to wander and meet with all sorts of difficulties before finally reaching the realm of the dead, which is situated somewhere in the West. When they are supposed to have arrived there, a great commemorative feast is arranged, such as the *tiwah*[3] of the Ngaju Dayaks and the *tengke* and the *mompemate* of the Western Bare'e Torajas.[4] For the ceremonies of the feast among the Dayaks of Sarawak see Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak*, i. 208–210.

In the primitive belief of the less civilized Indonesians there is a bond of connexion between a dead man and his body, chiefly his bones. It is usually the skull that is used as a medium for communication. It is preserved with great piety, honoured with offerings, and worshipped. Not seldom a magic power is ascribed to parts of the body, which thus come to be in reality miracle-working relics. Another medium of communication is found in idols representing the deified ancestors; these are held to be inspired after due initiation. Such images are very numerous in Nias, where they are called *adu*, and occur also in Ceram and in some parts of Borneo. The Battak have no idols of particular ancestors, but keep two puppets in their houses, one male, the other female, called Silaon ('the primeval ones'), or Debata idup ('deities of life'). They seem to represent the primordial couple from whom mankind is sprung. Among the Ngaju Dayaks puppets called *hampatong* represent the ghost (*gana*) of the slaves of the deceased at the *tiwah*, but the term has also the more general meaning of 'puppet.' The Toraja tribes, on the other hand, except the To Lage and To Onda'e, have no images, but wooden masks (*pemia*). Stones are also objects of worship, as well as certain earthen pots or urns, which are regarded as sacred and inspired.

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[1] For further particulars see M. J. van Baarda, *Woordenlijst van het Galelareesch-hollandsch*, p. 98; A. Hueting, *Tobèloreesch-hollandsch Woordenboek*, The Hague, 1908, p. 61.

[1] But cf. Skeat, p. 325 f.

[2] See, for other peculiar action, Kruijt, pp. 251-268, and cf. Skeat, p. 325.

[3] Described in Hardeland, *Dajacksch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, p. 608 ff.

[4] Described in Adriani-Kruijt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradjas*, p. 117.

2. **Shamanism.**—The belief that persons, during madness, epilepsy, and sometimes abnormal states of mind, are possessed by spirits has led to attempts to reproduce the same phenomenal conditions in order to get into contact with spirits to learn from them what medicines to apply or how to act in matters of importance. The medium through whom the spirits manifest themselves is the shaman, who is brought into a state of mental abnormality by artificial means, the rites employed for this purpose being multifarious among the peoples of Indonesia, but, in general, similar to what we find elsewhere—*e.g.*, among the Buriats (*q.v.*).

The Battak distinguish the shaman (*sibaso*) from the priest (*datu*). Though their functions are not seldom analogous, there is this difference between them: the former acts unconsciously, under inspiration, whereas the latter gives his decision, based upon his knowledge of the books of his craft, in full consciousness. With the Dayak tribes it is a priest or priestess who acts as medium. The *dayong* of the Kayans is a priestess who sends her own soul to bring back the soul (*blua*) of a sick person, or to conjure up the ghost of the dead. The *manang*, a word properly meaning 'one who exercises power,' is with the Sea Dayaks the man who is able to meet and converse with spirits. The same character belongs to the *walian*, *belian*, *basir*, or *dayang* of other Dayaks. Such persons are more properly medicine-men than priests or shamans. Yet it is true that in doing their work they occasionally show signs of ecstasy caused by their being inspired. A peculiar kind of shamanism, which, however, is of foreign origin, is found in Halmahera.[1]

3. **Fetishism.**—Various substances are supposed to conceal a powerful soul within themselves. They are therefore held sacred and worshipped in one way or another in the hope that by their power some desired object may be attained. All over the archipelago we find the use of so-called thunder-stones, chiefly as a means of gaining invulnerability in battle or as a preservative against lightning. Not less common is the belief in the wonderful effects attending the possession of the bezoar.[2] A high sacredness is attached to stones of a certain uncommon shape, especially in the eastern isles of the archipelago. In Timor the finder of such a stone, considered to be the abode of a spirit, puts it on a sacred place (*voho*) and brings sacrifices to it. It looks as if such a sacred stone is a rude form of idol, for idols also are inhabited by the deity. Various other fetishes are used as amulets, and a prophylactic fetish called *matakau* is in common use. It consists of a collection of leaves and sticks, which are hung in fruit trees to repel thieves. With the Torajas and Dayaks the suspended materials are mostly of a sympathetic character.

4. **Mythology.**—In general it may be said that the pagan Indonesians recognize the existence of real gods, and that the supreme god is the creator, more or less directly, of the world and the preserver of it, and punishes the transgressors of his laws. In the Moluccas and the South-Eastern Isles the supreme deity is generally known under the name of Upu Lero (with dialectic variations). The word means 'Lord Sun'—a sufficient proof of his origin. Upu Lero may be identified with Upu Langi, *i.e.* 'Lord Heaven.' The earth is a female deity, and represents the female principle, who, in the West monsoon, is impregnated and fructified by the male principle, Lord Sun-Heaven. Similarly, the Torajas recognize two supreme powers: Ilai, 'the Man,' and Indara, 'the Maiden'; these formed men, but not animals or plants. In the Minahassa Muntumuntu is the sun and lawgiver. In the confused mythological lore of Nias we find Lowa Langi represented as the creator of men, though he himself is not primordial, but came forth from the bud of a tree. His counterpart is Lature, the chief of the evil spirits, who, curiously enough, is said to have his seat in the sun; he is the master of all that is perishable. The highest god of the Toba Battak is Ompu mula jadi na bolan, 'the Great Lord Origin of the Creation'; and his subordinates are the three gods Debata na tolu: Batara guru, Soripada, and Mangala bulan. The use of the somewhat corrupt Sanskrit words is sufficient proof of foreign influence, but the name of the highest god is original. Bhaṭara Guru is a title of Śiva among the Śaivites in ancient Java. Among the Karo Battak he is the highest god; and likewise among the Macassars and Buginese in former times. The Sanskrit word *bhaṭṭāra*, in some more or less changed form, is found in many Indonesian languages in the sense of 'god' or 'divine being.' So the Ngaju Dayaks call the creator Mahatara, but also Hatalla or Mahatalla, borrowed from Arabic *Allāh ta'ālā*; and the same name is used by the Manyan Dayaks. With the Sea Dayaks *pĕtara* or *bĕtara* is a name for higher beings. Thoroughly original is the word for the supreme being in Halmahera, viz. Galelarese *Giki-moi*, Tobelorese *Gikiri-moi*, the 'First Being.' The moon plays a considerable part in the myths, but not in the cult; but there are traces that formerly it was otherwise. In the belief of the people of Babar Rarawolai, the war-god, has his seat in the moon, with nine female ministers.

The host of minor deities or demi-gods is so great that only a few classes can be mentioned here. The *sangiangs* of the Ngaju Dayaks are benevolent demi-gods related to men. The most powerful of them is Tempon telon; his principal function is to conduct the ghosts to the land of spirits. The *djatas* (from Skr. *devatā*) are water-gods, whose ministers are the crocodiles. The water-spirits are called *taghazangarofa* in Nias. The *hantus* and *hantuens* of the Ngaju Dayaks are malignant spirits, or demons, whereas the *antu* is considered by the Sarawak Dayaks to be a helpful spirit. The belief that demons make their appearance in the shape of snakes, dogs, pigs, crocodiles, tortoises, and men is very general. The Kayans have a great number of gods—*e.g.*, a god of war, three gods of life, a god of storms and thunder, of fire, of harvest, of the waters, and of insanity, and the gods who conduct ghosts to the subterranean world. Above all these gods or demons stands Laki Tenangan, whose wife is Doh Tenangan, the patroness of women. Laki Tenangan is identical with Pa Silong of the Klemantans, and Bali Ponylong of the Kenyahs.

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[1] See van Baarda, *s.v.* 'Djini.'

[2] For the ideas of the Malays in the Peninsula see Skeat, pp. 195–197. 275; see also following article.

5. Nature-worship. — Nature-worship in its widest sense finds its expression in the sacred character of mountains, volcanoes, seas, and rivers, all of them being inhabited and ruled by superhuman powers.

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MALAY PENINSULA. — **1. Geography.** — The Malay Peninsula, a long scimitar-shaped piece of land, stretches from Burma and Siam to Singapore. Its length from the northernmost extremity to the southern confines of Johor, immediately to the north of the island of Singapore, is rather under 1000 miles; its breadth varies from 35 miles to less than 200 miles at the broadest part. The result is that the peninsula, though distinctly a part of the mainland, is insular in character rather than continental. At a comparatively late geological period its southern half was indeed actually insular, being at this time joined to the island of Sumatra, and entirely separated from the northern portion. The line of division ran, somewhat roughly, from Singora on the one side to Perlis on the other, and it may be observed that at the very point where this line traverses the peninsula a marked change in the flora and distinct ethnographical differences occur. The lower and more properly Malayan portion of the peninsula is separated from that to the north by a low divide. The backbone of the peninsula is formed by ranges, mainly of granite formation, the source of numerous rivers and streams which drain the country. The ranges are steep and precipitous, rising to 7000 or 8000 ft. and containing stanniferous and sporadic auriferous deposits. The wild aborigines make their homes chiefly on the foot-hills, but they are also found on the main mountain complex to a height of upwards of 3000 feet. The upland valleys are narrow and covered with dense jungle. They offer little attraction to any but the scattered aboriginal population who still find shelter in their fastnesses and, in some districts, to the Chinese miners. Further towards the coast the valleys become larger and more fertile, and their loamy soils have long been cultivated by the Malays, and in recent years by numerous European planters. As the rivers reach the sea on either side, the soil tends to become more and more a clayey or sandy alluvium. Often the rivers are tidal for a great many miles inland. On the east coast, for some four months of every year, the steady beat of the China monsoon seals all the river-mouths with a sandy bar, and during the height of this monsoon all trade is effectually prevented. On the west coast the land is sheltered, as if by a colossal breakwater, by the neighbouring island of Sumatra. Here muddy mangrove flats are found, but with magnificent expanses of sandy beach at intervals. The light breezes that prevail have led to the evolution of quite different types of boats and canoes from those on the China Sea. The peninsula is rich in tin ore. It produces an amount estimated, roughly, at three-quarters of the entire world's supply. The revenue derived from this industry has been ably applied by the governments of the native States to their development. Out of this income a railway has been built from Penang to Singapore, another is under construction round the main mountain mass on the east coast, and will be continued to meet the Siamese railways from Bangkok, while the railway from Penang is also to be extended to meet the same railway system. Together with a most excellent road system, second to none in the East, these modern means of transport have changed entirely the old conditions of life, and have brought this part of British Malaya, in one generation, into vital contact with our own economic world. Besides the mining industry there are now large agricultural industries dealing with rubber and coco-nuts. In the main these industries are worked by a non-indigenous population from China and the south of India, for whose sustenance large supplies of rice are imported annually. The British possessions consist of the islands of Penang and Singapore, and of three small strips of land: Province Wellesley opposite Penang, and the Dindings and Malacca between Penang and Singapore. The Federated Malay States of Perak, Selangor, and Nĕgri Sembilan on the Straits of Malacca, and Pahang, on the China Sea, form a compact core dominating the centre of this part of the peninsula. To the north of the Federated Malay States are the States of Perlis and Kedah on the west coast, and of Kelantan and

Trengganu on the east coast, all of which have recently been taken under British protection, and also the State of Patani, which is under Siamese suzerainty. To the south of the Federated Malay States lies the State of Johor, also now under British protection. It is common to speak of the units of the British sphere as British Malaya, a term which formerly included our far greater possessions in Sumatra and the densely populous island of Java. Occasionally the term is more accurately extended to include the island of Labuan, British N. Borneo, a British possession, and the protectorates of Brunei and Sarawak also represent British interests in Malaya, though the conditions there differ materially from those in the peninsula and ought to be considered with the archipelago.

2. Ethnological affinities and history. — The ethnological affinities of the area of which the Malay Peninsula forms a part, as well as of the adjacent areas, are still obscure in many respects. In so far as they have yet been elucidated by ethnological investigations and an examination of historical records, they bear out conclusions deducible from the geographical data. The Malay Peninsula itself would appear from very early times to have served as a causeway for migrations from the Asiatic continent, while the protected character of the waterway on the west side, and the richness of this part of the peninsula in minerals and other products, have favoured its economic development, and made it not only attractive to higher civilizations, as the study of its entire history shows, but also a rendezvous of merchants and workers from many far-separated countries. At the present day not the least important element in the population consists of a congeries of alien races, Chinese from the southern provinces of China, Canton, Fu-kien, and the island of Hainan, Tamils from S. India and Ceylon, and, in a lesser degree, Sikhs, Panjābīs, and Paṭhāns from N. India, and Javanese and Malays from all parts of the Eastern archipelago. In the north of the peninsula isolated outposts of Siamese have pushed for a considerable distance over the Kraw Divide, overstepping the ancient ethnological boundary of the peninsula. Old forts can be traced in the Patani valley and for some way down the Perak valley, the defences of which were strengthened with a hedge of thorny bamboo, which is not indigenous in this region. On the Upper Perak valley and in a few places further south there are distinct traces of Siamese influence in comparatively recent times.

(*a*) *Malays.*—The peculiar importance of the native religions of the region here discussed is due to the fact that they exhibit a clearly-defined series of superimposed ceremonial strata, native (*i.e.* aboriginal of at least two different types, and Malayan) Indian and Islāmic. The most recent ethnological investigations confirm the view that the native population consists of the descendants of immigrants of a comparatively recent date, superimposed upon a more ancient stratum consisting, to a great extent, if not entirely, of aboriginal races. The Malays proper belong to the modified Southern Mongoloid group of peoples found in Formosa, Sumatra, Java, and throughout a great part of the Malay Archipelago. When the Palĕmbang emigrants first began to arrive from Sumatra, about 900 to 1000 years ago, introducing a Hinduized civilization into the peninsula, it is probable that they found some Indo-Chinese race of superior culture already in possession. This is suggested by certain features of the aboriginal dialects, and by other considerations.

It is of great importance to note that some of the Sumatran settlers, who followed, after some centuries, the earlier Palĕmbang colonists, are still in the matriarchal stage as distinct from other Sumatran settlers, by whom customs of a patriarchal type are followed. In the Malayan phrase, the people of the Nĕgri Sembīlan 'follow the '*adat pĕrpateh*,' which may be described as '*Pĕrpateh* custom,' whereas the other Malays of the peninsula 'follow the '*adat Tĕmenggong*' ('custom of the *Tĕmenggong*'), these two contrasted bodies of custom being based on mother-right and father-right respectively.

These Sumatran settlers, who were agriculturists, amalgamated with the aborigines, at any rate in some districts—*e.g.*, in the State called Nĕgri Sembīlan—but the conversion of the Malays from tolerant Hinduism to Muhammadanism from the late 14th to the 16th cent. began to drive the aborigines into the jungles and hill fastnesses of the interior. Since that time Sunnī Muhammadanism of the Shāfi'ite school has remained (as in Java) the official religion of the peninsula, although among the less educated of the Malays it is the merest veneer covering a vast body of practices and beliefs which can be traced either to the influences of Hinduism or to primitive shamanistic beliefs, such as are still held by the aborigines. Malay Islāmism is nevertheless still fervent.

It may be remarked that the Malay Peninsula belongs, geographically and ethnographically, to Indo-China, a name which well expresses the fact that, with hardly any exception, the congeries of races inhabiting the peninsula from time immemorial represent strata of races belonging to one or other of the two chief families of nations in various parts of Asia, viz. a Mongoloid and a non-Mongoloid, both terms being used broadly. Belonging to the latter family we have (1) Indonesians (defined by A. H. Keane[1] as the pre-Malay 'Caucasic' element, of which the Veddas and Korumba, and one at least of the Australian aboriginal races, are typical), often called 'Dravidian' (though, like 'Malayo-Polynesian,' this term should strictly be confined to linguistic affinities); on the other hand, we find, as representatives of the same great family, (2) a more highly developed or specialized type, possibly the tall brown-skinned Polynesian. These two main Indonesian types are said to be represented in the peninsula, the pre-Malay 'Caucasic' element of the Korumba-Vedda type, by the aboriginal Sakai, centred in S.E. Perak and N.W. Pahang (cf. one of the basic elements in the Malay language),[2] while to the pre-Malay Oceanic 'Caucasians' (of the Polynesian or Maori type) belong the taller east coast 'Malays' of Kelantan and part of Patani. The latter may be described as very tall, somewhat fleshy, large-limbed men, with light brown or cinnamon-coloured skins, straight or wavy black, sometimes nearly curly, hair, and regular, sometimes almost European, features.

Again, the great Mongolian family of nations is represented both by the Siamese (or Thai) in the northern portion of the peninsula and by the Malays themselves in the southern part, the Malays proper being perhaps best regarded as a highly specialized offshoot of the southern or 'Oceanic' Mongoloid race, immediately immigrant from central and southern Sumatra. They have long, lank, bluish-black, straight hair, of circular section, and are almost beardless, with skin of a dark yellow-brown or olive hue (or the 'colour of newly-fallen leaves'); they are round-headed (brachycephalic), and often have more or less wide

[1] *Man Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1899, p. 231.

[2] R. O. Winstedt, *Malay Grammar*, Oxford, 1913, p. 12. 'This connexion was first definitely asserted by Prof. Schmidt of Mödling, Austria, and is now generally accepted; it establishes an ultimate prehistoric relationship between Malay and the languages of the aborigines in the Peninsula' (*ib.*).

and flattened noses, and somewhat thick ears, and on the average are about 1·61 m. in height. The women are usually much shorter than the men. Both sexes have rather short, often almost stumpy, feet, with toes that are to some extent prehensile; they will walk up a thin sloping pole leading to a raised platform or house-floor by gripping it with the hands and at the same time holding it between the great toe and remaining toes of each foot. Their joints are remarkably fine and small; the dagger-ring of a well-developed old-style rebel chief, which was worn on his fore-finger, was too small for an average-sized little finger of a European. A jungle Malay can commonly perform certain feats with his limbs that are impossible to a European unless he has been specially trained as an acrobat.

In Sumatra the race was moulded by Indian influences into a comparatively civilized condition before they crossed to the peninsula. When they arrived, they found the country occupied by the three pagan races (see below, (*b*)), whom they drove before them into the fastnesses of the mountainous and jungle-clad interior. It is thought that they also found some branch of the Môn-Khmer or Môn[1] races holding the coast-line and other points of vantage, and thus occupying almost the same relation towards the aboriginal races as the Malays do at the present day, and that they then partly absorbed the Môns, by thinning them of their women, and partly drove them into the jungle. This episode is, however, a lost chapter in the history of the peninsula, although some such theory seems evidently necessary in order to account for all the actually extant conditions.

The Malays proper are but partially civilized, a graft upon a savage stock, allied not only to the Central and Southern Sumatrans and Indonesians, but also perhaps ultimately to the Chams of Champa.[2] See CAMBODIA, CHAMS.

The hereditary savagery of the Malay nature, for many years after the introduction of the British Residential system (introduced to curb the turbulent Malay Rajas, who were fostering piracy), continually broke out, the commonest form in which it showed itself being perhaps the *âmok*, the national Malay method of committing suicide, until the gradual strengthening of the right arm of British law made it too risky to indulge in, when by degrees it became unfashionable. Other striking evidence of the high-strung excitability of the Malay temperament is still to be seen in the form of the mysterious disease called *latah* (corresponding to what has been called 'arctic hysteria'), which also has not yet been thoroughly investigated.

(*b*) *Aborigines.*—Various theories have been put forward as to the ethnological character of the several wild races which form the substratum of the population. It was held by the older ethnologists that they belonged to a homogeneous group—a Negrito race modified by admixture with the Malay population. This is what has been termed the 'Pan-Negrito' theory of A. de Quatrefages, N. von Miklucho-Maclay, and others. This hypothesis, however, has proved untenable, and the result of later researches has established the fact that at least three[1] types are to be found among these primitive tribes. Of these tribes two, at least (the Semang and Sakai), can be found in a relatively pure state, though only in very limited areas, and the third (the Jakun) is probably nowhere really pure. Admixture between the three has taken place in varying degrees throughout the peninsula, and the only satisfactory procedure anthropologically is to compare each tribe with the pure, unmixed standard or standards to which it is most closely related. By no other method can any really useful conclusions be reached, or, indeed, the drawing of the most fallacious inferences avoided.

(1) *Semang.*—The Semang are a nomad Negrito race — comparable with the Negrito (Pygmy) peoples of Central Africa, and probably most closely connected with the Andamanese, whose group of islands lies off the Burmese coast at its southward end—belonging to a primitive group of peoples found to a greater or less extent as a relic of the aboriginal population as far as New Guinea and the Philippines, although it is remarkable that no traces of any such race have yet been quite proved in Borneo midway between these two Negrito centres. The physical characters of these people are short stature (1·491 mm. male, 1·408 female), brachycephaly, skin varying from dark copper or chocolate to shiny black, hair woolly, nose broad, lips everted, beard scanty. They extend from Patani to Kedah, and from Kedah to Mid-Perak and N. Pahang.

In view of the fact that the Semang (or, as they are called on the east coast of the peninsula, Pang-an) are so frequently described as being of Negro character—'like African negroes seen through the reverse end of a field-glass'[2]—it cannot be too strongly stated that this is a mistake. At the utmost, it may be conjectured, with W. H. Flower, that they represent, with the true Pygmies, an original undeveloped stock from which the Papuans, like the Negroes, may have branched off. But even for this theory there are many difficulties, and it cannot be said to have been in any way established. Hence the Negrito and the Negro must be regarded as totally different races—the former having short or round heads and the latter being long-headed.

(2) *Sakai.*—The Sakai were at one time regarded as Semang admixed with Malay, but are now clearly differentiated as a separate and independent type[3] most nearly akin to the Dravidian group of peoples. They are taller than the Semang (average height 1·504 mm. male, 1·437 female), dolichocephalic, skin very variable, light to dark brown, hair wavy, nose fine and small, cheek-bones broad, mouth small, lower lip full and projecting, beard as a rule non-existent. The habitat of the purest Sakai is S.E. Perak and N.W. Pahang.

(3) *Jakun.*—The Jakun are a mixed group inhabiting especially the south of the peninsula, probably everywhere blended, to a varying extent, with Semang and Sakai. This fact is the more remarkable since a relatively important element running throughout all the aboriginal dialects in

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[1] Pronounced 'Mown.' The Môns, or Talaing, are remnants of an old pre-Malay ('Caucasic') race which once covered the whole of lower Burma. The Talaing language is the oldest literary vernacular of Indo-China, and is fast dying out, though it is the original tongue upon which the Burmese alphabet and religion were modelled, and in which were composed the Môn inscriptions, which go back to about the 11th cent. of our era.

[2] The Cham dialect has in recent years been shown to contain Malay elements (E. Aymonier and A. Cabaton, *Dictionnaire čam-français*, Paris, 1906). One of the most peculiar customs (though in this case non-Malay) attributed to the Chams is that the women ask the men in marriage.

[1] Wilkinson has recently suggested that five aboriginal race types should be recognized. When, therefore, the new elements, such as would be required in order to form the two proposed new types, have been differentiated, and these elements are all shown not to be referable to either one or the other of the three types already identified, the problem will have reached a further stage of development. Certainly, as there are still some unexplained points, it is probable that some further racial element may eventually be isolated (see *F.M.S. Govt. Papers on Malay Subjects: Aboriginal Tribes*, 1910).

[2] Hugh Clifford, *In Court and Kampong*, London, 1897, p. 172. But this is a microscopic slip for an author who has done as much as any other ten men to familiarize the English public with the peoples of Malaya.

[3] This all-important differentiation was first clearly established by R. Martin; see his *magnum opus, Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel*, Leipzig, 1905.

varying degrees consists of some Malayo-Polynesian tongue, the vocabulary of which shows affinities with the Malayan languages of the Far Eastern Archipelago, unlike modern (peninsular) or standard Malay. The reason for this is not apparent, unless we may conjecture that at some remote period a race whose national speech was of this Malayo-Polynesian type prevailed in the peninsula. The Jakun may be classified as consisting of at least three related groups, blended as above. In so far as they are of Malayan type, they should be to that extent regarded as aboriginal Malays. In physical character they are a little taller than the Sakai, the head is brachycephalic, the skin dark coppery, hair long, straight, and smooth, nose thick, flat, and short; the eyes show little tendency to obliquity, and the mouth is large and broad, with well-formed lips. The Jakun proper are divided by the Malays into Hill Tribes (Orang or Jakun Bukit) and Sea Jakun (Orang Laut).

The surest test in regard to these tribes is the hair-character; hence we may distinguish the three main racial groups as ulotrichi ('woolly-haired'), cymotrichi ('wavy-haired'), and lissotrichi ('smooth-haired').

There has undoubtedly been a considerable admixture between all the wild tribes, but, owing in particular to their being still pagans, it is improbable that they have been materially affected by intermingling with the Malays, since nothing could be rarer than that a Malay woman should demean herself by marrying a heathen husband. The case is rather the other way about, since a Malay marrying a woman of the wild tribes would see that his children were brought up as Muhammadans, while in many districts, especially in Kedah, the adoption of the Muhammadan religion by a large portion of the aboriginal Semang element has caused them to be reckoned as part of the recognized Malay population.

3. **Culture.**—(*a*) *Malays.*—Apart from such tendencies as have already been mentioned, the Malay character may be regarded as a softened and more civilized form of the Mongol, since under ordinary circumstances he may be relied upon to show himself a peaceable, quiet, civil, and loyal subject, though he still retains much of his old proud sensitiveness, and in inland districts he is still reserved in his ways of life, and to some extent suspicious of strangers. In countries where he is less trammelled by civilization, the Malay is frequently of a bold and even savage character and makes an excellent soldier; there should, therefore, be no doubt that with training he would soon develop first-rate soldierly qualities. His alleged laziness is due in part to his natural reserve, which allows more pushing races to outstrip him, and in part to the simplicity of his life, and to the absence of any spur to industry in a land where the climate supplies out of its own superabundance the greater part of his few simple wants—a land which to him is a veritable 'island of fruits,' of 'bowery hollows crowned with summer sea.' It must be remembered, too, that before the advent of the British the employment by his rulers of the *krah* or *corvée* system, as well as the wide prevalence of debt-slavery, made it difficult for the average Malay to reap the reward of his labour.

Among the institutions of the Malay race which it shares more or less with other races in the same region are the use of sea-canoes (*prahus*,[1] once associated with piracy), the building of houses on piles (inland as well as on the border of tidal rivers), the use of the blowpipe with poison-tipped darts (now practically confined to the aborigines), and the *kris*, the *sarong* (the national Malay plaid skirt-like garment, closely corresponding to the kilt of our own Highlanders, though worn somewhat longer on the western seaboard of the peninsula), the filing, gold-plating, and blackening of the teeth (now all but completely obsolete customs), the use of the *balei*, or council-hall (now confined to Rajas), and a strong belief in animism. In spite of being animists at heart, however, the Malays are not infrequently more or less bigoted Muhammadans, being in this respect at the very antipodes to the Battak of Sumatra, who have a literature of their own, and who are still to some extent inclined to be cannibals.

The Malay traditions and romances contain distinct references to human sacrifices, which would appear to have lasted until the advent of the British. The men show mechanical skill of a high order, and would probably respond readily to a more advanced training especially in engineering. Many are still adept in manual arts, notably in those belonging to the jungle and the sea.

The material culture of the Malay is of the insular Malayan (chiefly Sumatran) character. It has never been influenced by Hinduism to such an extent as, for instance, the culture of Java (as exemplified in the architecture of Borobudur and other famous temples of ancient date in that island). The Malays are skilled and artistic craftsmen in certain arts, though in others they are somewhat conspicuously backward. Their textile work reaches a high standard, and they display considerable ingenuity in their weaving processes and in combining their dyed threads to produce elaborate and often intricate patterns, among which a variety of check patterns predominate. In metalwork, especially in the working of silver, their taste is, under favourable circumstances, less florid than the Indian and less coarse than the Chinese. In ornamenting metal and damascening, in inlaying, and especially in niello-work, their work, both in design and in technique, is excellent of its kind. Distinction in such branches of metallurgy as the manufacture of blades for their krisses, and other weapons, is rare, though not non-existent; a high degree of skill in the adornment of the hilts of weapons and the sheaths in which they are kept is appreciably common. They pay special attention to the manufacture of waved kris-blades, and their damascene-work is a technical process of considerable elaboration, the more so because the proportions and even, in some cases, the ornamentation of the blade are determined by an elaborate set of rules governing the dimensions and intended properties of the various portions. These rules are not entirely technical, though compliance with them requires some degree of technical skill, but are in part magical, and designed to secure excellence in the blade and success in its employment. Similar rules are sometimes applied in a lesser degree to the *parang* (woodman's knife). Metal casting by the *cire perdue* process is known and employed not only for copper but also for white metal or *tutenague* (sometimes popularly called 'tooth and egg' metal). Coins (round cash) were formerly cast on the east coast in the form of 'cash-trees,' from which the cash were snipped off, and before the British entered the country the superfluous tin was run into ingots shaped like elephants, crocodiles, cocks, etc., which were used as currency.[1] Time was reckoned by water-clock (as in India and Ceylon and also, it may be mentioned, in ancient Britain). Thus for the mains at cock-fights in Kedah it was kept by means of a perforated half coco-nut shell set afloat in a water-bucket, and timed to sink in a definite period. Pottery is made both with and without the wheel, and also by moulding in a split trunk, but in a few places only, and is often crude; on the west, in some cases, Indian influence is traceable, the types being both graceful and artistic. In some cases hæmatite, which turns black on firing, is used as a varnish. The wide-spread use of bamboo and the palm-spathe bucket as a receptacle is, no doubt, responsible for the lack of a more extended development of fictile ware, in spite of the great abundance of clays suitable for porcelain. On the east coast generally, and less commonly on the west, mat-making is a fine art; at Malacca highly artistic baskets are made of twisted strips of pandanus. The woodwork of the Malays, as shown in the ornamentation of household utensils, as well as on the structural side of house and boat manufacture and furniture, is excellent, though as regards mere ornament it is decidedly scanty—the heart-breaking effect of the superficial Muhammadan veneer which has been imposed on the Malays from without. The further from such influences, the commoner such ornament becomes, and the better its quality. The Malays are especially ingenious in adapting means to ends and in conforming to the conditions of their surroundings; their houses are well adapted to the conditions of life of a jungle-dwelling race, whilst the seaworthy qualities of the Malay *prahu*, or sailing-boat, bear witness to the reputation of the Malay as a sailor.[1]

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[1] These *prahus*, being roomy boats paddled by large numbers of men, and of extremely shallow draught, could habitually elude pursuit by men-of-wars' boats by slipping over the innumerable river-bars of the peninsula, and escaping into the network of salt-water creeks. It was not till the second half of the 19th cent. that the *prahu* was vanquished by the paddle-wheel.

[1] R. C. Temple, *The Obsolete Tin Currency and Money of the Federated Malay States*, Mazgaon, 1914 (reprinted from *IA*).

(*b*) *Aborigines.*—The culture of the wild tribes presents generally many features of similarity. The inland tribes are still nomads to some extent, existing largely by hunting, fishing, and the produce of their search for fruits and roots of the jungle. But most of them practise a primitive agriculture, sowing in a rude way small patches of rice or millet; their method of cultivating their half-wild orchard-trees, which grow as well in the jungle as elsewhere, is limited to throwing away in certain patches of the jungle the seeds or stones of the fruit they have eaten. The Sea Jakun are especially skilled in all devices for securing a livelihood along the foreshore, while the jungle tribes give evidence of a high degree of ingenuity in slaying and snaring their game by hunting and trapping.

The Semang are the most nomadic of the pagan tribes, though they are now taking to agriculture. Their typical clothing consists of a girdle of leaves or barkcloth, or, on festal occasions, a belt of shining black strings, made of the rhizomorph of a toadstool. Their typical habitations are of a primitive character, consisting of mere lairs, or rock-shelters, or of simple round or rectangular leaf-shelters planted on the ground or in trees. Those of a more developed type are large enough to shelter a whole tribe, each individual having a separate fire and bamboo sleeping-place. Frequently the head is more or less shaved and the teeth are filed to form a concave surface, possibly in accordance with a once usual Malay custom. They do not circumcise or (as a rule) chew betel, nor do they tatu or scarify the body. They have no boats, but use bamboo rafts on the river-reaches. Their most distinctive weapon is the bow with poisoned arrows; in fact, among the pagan tribes, the bow is, in the present writer's opinion, good *prima facie* evidence of Semang admixture; the northern Sakai, who also possess it, have most likely borrowed it from the Semang. Almost all, however, now also employ the bamboo blowpipe, of a different type from that of the Sakai, the idea of which has been copied, in all probability, from their Sakai neighbours.

The Semang have no organized body of chiefs, but each tribe has a single head-man. The tribes are organized in villages, each under a chief, to whom disputes are referred. Quarrels between villages were settled by meetings of these chiefs. Complete equality exists as between individuals, and all property is held in common. Crime is rare, and punishable generally by fines.

The Sakai, a mountain race, are still largely nomadic. Their habitations consist of tree huts and temporary shelters; their clothing is a loin-cloth of tree-bark, though they also decorate themselves on occasion with a girdle of leaves. They tatu the face and practise scarification and body-painting, and sometimes wear a porcupine quill or a metal ring through the nasal septum. Their distinctive weapon is the bamboo blowpipe. Agriculture is of a very primitive type, the principal implement being a digging-stick. They use neither boats nor rafts. The ornamentation of their implements, more especially the blowpipe and quiver, is considerably more artistic than that of the other aboriginal races.

Their social order, like that of the Semang, is of a primitive type; the only functionary is the *pĕnghulu* (Mal. 'head-man'),[1] who has every right over his tribe. Except when enforcing his position, however, he is only the equal of his fellow tribesmen. The office is hereditary, but, failing a direct heir, the *pĕnghulu* may appoint his successor during his lifetime. In their laws the penalty of death is reserved for murder, the relatives of the victim being the executioners. Cases of this kind are rare. For theft, also rare, the punishment is exclusion from the tribe. For other crimes the delinquent makes compensation, or pays a fine. Individual property does not exist, its place being taken by family property. The family as a unit cultivates the land, and the produce is shared between the members. The limits of the family property are designated by the *pĕnghulu*, and abandoned land may not be taken up without his consent.

A more highly developed social order exists among the Jakun, or aboriginal Malayans, as represented, *e.g.*, by the Southern Sakai, who show strong Malayan influences.

The Jakun are still to some extent a community of hunters, although among the Land Jakun agriculture is practised, more especially rice-planting. Their clothing resembles that of the Malays, but is scantier. They sometimes file their teeth to a point. Their typical weapon is a blowpipe of bamboo, or, as in Kuantan, uniquely made of two half cylinders of wood fitted together for the purpose—corresponding exactly to a form of blowpipe used in Peru. They have no bows. They use spears and cutlasses; in some cases they also carry sword and kris like the Malays. They live in huts built on piles and use 'dug-out' boats of hollowed tree-trunks, but on the river only, not on the sea. They still use face- and body-paint, but do not tatu or scarify the face. Their marriage customs include, like those of the Malays, 'bride-purchase,' the ceremony of eating together, and, in addition, the bride-chase, which takes place round a large bell-shaped mound, constructed for the occasion, or an ant-hill or tree, if the tribe is a land one, or in a dug-out canoe—the form which it took among the sea-gypsies (Orang Laut). Their social organization is of a distinctly higher type than that of either Semang or Sakai. The chief of their tribe, the *batin*, is the head of a group of villages, and has certain subordinate officers who represent or act for him upon occasion. Thus, among the Besisi of Langat, the *batin* is the arbiter of all disputes referred to him by the sub-chiefs, besides being the priest at marriages, the magician in cases of illness or disaster, and the judge whose duty it is to punish wrong-doing. His substitute is the *jinang*. Their subordinate, known as the *pĕnghulu balai*, has charge of the tribal feasts and councils, whilst the *jukrah* (probably=Mal. *jurukrah*, or 'corvée officer') is the summoner of the tribe; the *pĕnglima* is the *batin's* executive officer. Among the Benua each *batin* has authority within his own jurisdiction, but difficult or unusual cases are referred to a council composed of all the *batins*. In this division of the Jakun, as indeed among all, crime against personal property is rare, and is expiated by payment of fines in the form of coarse Chinese plates or saucers. One half of the fine goes to the *batin* and one half to the injured person. The office of *batin* descends, as a rule, from father to son, except among the Johor Jakun, where the eldest son has to be accepted by the tribe, and, if his brothers as well as himself are rejected, a stranger to the family is elected. If suitable, the sons of minor officials would be appointed by the *batin* to succeed their father. The inheritance of property was generally from father to children, but varied from tribe to tribe in the proportion assigned to sons and daughters or to wife and other relatives. Property held by a man before marriage among the Mantra was assigned on his death to his parents, brothers, and sisters.

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[1] See H. Warington Smyth, 'Boats and Boat-building in the Malay Peninsula,' in *Journal of the Soc. of Arts*, 1902 (reprinted in *IA* xxxv. [1906] 97 ff.).

[1] *Pĕnghulu* = Mal. 'head-man' (from obs. Mal. *hulu* or *ulu*, 'head'). On the other hand, *pelima* or *pĕnglima* = Mal. 'hand-man' (from obs. Mal. *lima*, 'hand'), *i.e.* executive officer.

4. **Languages.**—(*a*) *Malay.*—The Malay language belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian family, related forms of which occur sporadically over an amazingly vast insular area, extending from Formosa in the North to New Zealand in the South, and from Madagascar in the West to Easter Island in the Eastern Pacific.[1] Malay itself has, moreover, very considerable importance as a *lingua franca* over a great part of the same region. In recent years a connexion has been sought between the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages and a family of 'Austro-Asiatic' languages, including S.E. Asia, Muṇḍā (Central India), Khāsī (Assam), Môn, or Talaing, and Khmer, or Cambodian (Indo-China), Nicobarese, and the aboriginal dialects of the Malay Peninsula; 'this connexion is now generally accepted.'[2] This fact would actually link up the Malayan language in prehistoric times with the corresponding element in the Sakai and Semang dialects of the peninsula. This theory is entirely the work of Schmidt; but C. O. Blagden's work[3] in tabulating the various elements in these aboriginal dialects first made this identification possible.

The Malay tongue, by which the standard speech of the peninsula and E.C. Sumatra is meant, is of an agglutinative character, the roots being, as a rule, unchanged, and new words being formed by means of affixes, infixes, and reduplication. The roots are mostly dissyllabic, and the derived words frequently very numerous, while any harsh juxtaposition of consonants is avoided, by means of either assimilation or dissimilation, following certain recognized euphonic rules.

From a phonetic point of view, Malay shows a remarkably small, almost a minute, number of changes during the last four centuries. At an earlier period it had, however, become morphologically simplified, analysis showing the development of the modern affix system out of an earlier and more restricted substratum of similar particles common to Malay itself and to the islands of the archipelago.[4]

The oldest foreign loan-words in Malay are Sanskrit, and include words for religious, moral, and intellectual ideas, with some astronomical, mathematical, and botanical terms, a court vocabulary, and a large number of everyday words.[5]

The plural is theoretically formed by reduplication, though, as a rule, in the vernacular speech no difference is made between plural and singular. Reduplication is, however, also employed to express a metaphorical meaning. Thus we have *orang*, 'person' or 'man' (whence *orang-utan*, 'man of the woods' or 'wild man'), but *orang-orang*, 'pupil of the eye' (corresponding to what are called, in Elizabethan literature, 'children,' or 'babies of the eye'); *kuching*, 'cat,' but *kuching-kuching*, 'biceps muscle' (from the play of the muscle; the Romans, by a curious antithetical metaphor, compared it to a little mouse—*musculus*). Similar metaphorical reduplications give us *kuda*, 'horse,' but *kuda-kuda*, 'wooden horse' or support (as in our own towel-horse); and *tupai*, 'squirrel,' but *tupai-tupai*, 'belaying pin' (on a mast, which is compared to a squirrel running up a tree).

With regard to the difficult question of the penultimate accent, Winstedt[1] (with H. van der Wall and Gerth van Wijk) has recently (1913) come to the conclusion that the stress falls, even in standard Malay, upon the penultimate syllable, both in the case of simple words and in words that are mere derivatives. In this he is probably correct, although it is far from being in accordance with the usually received opinion.

The Malay parts of speech frequently fail to coincide with our own: a root-word or radical, *e.g.*, may often be used either as a substantive or as an adjective, with complete indifference, and the same remark holds true of substantive and verb. Words which logically would have priority take precedence of those which should not do so. Thus the actual subject or thing talked about, having prior importance logically, precedes any word which is merely qualificatory; also the normal sentence-order is subject, verb, object. There is no inflexion for gender, number, or case, and the syntax is as simple as that of 'pidgin English.' Thus it has been accurately remarked that the lines,

'Little boy, box of paints,
Licked his toy, joined the Saints,'

would be verbose to a Malay, who would express it as follows:

'Little boy, box paint[s],
Lick[ed] toy, join[ed] Saint[s].'[2]

Similarly an up-country European traveller who happened to inquire whether there would be time for him to reach a neighbouring village before nightfall might be puzzled to receive by way of reply the mysterious monosyllabic 'Can' or 'Dark' (as the case might be), the meaning in the first case being that he could safely reckon on doing so, and in the second that night would fall before he reached his destination.

Malay may, therefore, be thought of—if such an expression may be allowed—as a kind of 'shorthand speech'—a fact which is the more remarkable because in the written literary language it often reaches the opposite extreme of exuberant verbosity.

The dialects of Malay are many and varied, but the three that are of most importance to the present subject are: (*a*) the dialect of Kelantan and Patani, (*b*) the dialect spoken in Nĕgri Sembīlan (*i.e.* especially in Naning and Rembau), and (*c*) the Riau-Johor dialect (spoken in Selangor, Perak, Pahang, etc.). Of these the first is that which especially shows survivals from the Malayo-Polynesian tongue, to which reference was made above. This correspondence, moreover, is fairly close, as can be seen from the Maori *rua*=Malay *dua* ('two'); Maori *ika*=Malay *ikan* ('fish'); cf. even the Easter Island *mate*=Malay *mati* ('dead'); Malagasy *vulana*=Malay *bulan* ('moon'); Formosan *pidlak*=Malay *perak* ('silver').[3] Even New Guinea dialects (usually supposed to be free from Malay) contain some words of evident Malay origin. In view of other evidence, it seems permissible to believe that this particular Malay dialect of the east coast of the peninsula forms a much-needed link between standard Malay and the nearest Malayo-Polynesian languages, and, further, that it was from this precise district on the continental seaboard of south-eastern Asia that this Malayan dialect spread throughout the Polynesian islands. The corresponding social links are (*a*) their very similar kin-systems and (*b*) the general use of tabu.

(*b*) *Aboriginal dialects.*—The languages of the wild tribes are split up into a number of dialects, each confined to a relatively small area. They are rapidly disappearing, especially in the southern districts of the peninsula, their place being taken by Malay as the wild tribes become more nearly assimilated with Malays in status and culture under modern conditions. Setting aside purely local and unimportant differences, the linguistic material, scanty as it is in most cases, has been classified into three main groups, which may be referred to three principal types or standards: (i.) typical Semang dialects, best represented by the speech of the aborigines in central Kedah and the adjoining State of Raman; (ii.) typical Sakai dialects, the best specimens coming from south-eastern Perak and the adjoining district of Pahang; and (iii.) in the southern part of the peninsula, the Jakun dialects, which may be classed together as Jakun or Malayan in spite of the fact that they contain a large number of Sakai words, because the great bulk of their words are Malayan and not Sakai, although they do not afford material so favourable for clear type-differentiation as is found among the Sakai and Semang. Both in phonology and in vocabulary the Sakai and Semang show considerable divergence, but between the strongly contrasted type-dialects are intermediate variations, the linguistic evidence thus supporting the ethnological data in pointing to contact and admixture.

Roughly speaking, the dialects fall into groups which correspond, though not accurately, with the anthropological varieties of the aboriginal races, at least in the case of Sakai and Semang.

Of the affinities of the aboriginal languages and the elements which have entered into their composition something has already been said. It is clear that all the dialects as now spoken contain a considerable number of purely Malay words, more or less modified in pronunciation by the borrowers. In addition to these loan-words, however, which are easily identifiable, there is a considerable element remaining which is not traceable to standard Malay. The latter element, of which we have already spoken, was not developed within the peninsula, and this and the Malayo-Polynesian factor in the aboriginal dialects which is akin to the insular Malay spoken in the Malay Archipelago together make up what is perhaps the largest component in the languages of the aborigines. A third and still more interesting element has been proved to show a very close affinity with the Môn-Khmer or Môn dialects of western Indo-China. The identifications, though certain and numerous and even striking, are rather disappointing, if considered as a vocabulary percentage. Sidney Ray himself once remarked to the present writer: 'What is the use of our assuming [as certain scholars had done] that the Sakai dialects are identifiable with Môn, when all that has been identified is about 20 per cent of the entire vocabulary? The question is, what is the remaining 80 per cent?'

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[1] For illustration of this astonishingly wide range see below, p. 353^{b}.

[2] See above, p. 349, n. 2.

[3] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, vol. ii. ch. iv. 'Language.'

[4] Winstedt, p. 12.

[5] W. Maxwell, *Malay Grammar*, London, 1888, Introd.

[1] P. 31.

[2] Winstedt, p. 173.

[3] See above, p. 353^{a}.

To reply, we must study attentively both the Semang and Sakai syntax structure and a considerable percentage of the vocabulary, and especially, as regards Sakai, the phonology; the modern Jakun dialects are of no less importance. In each group there remains an unidentified element. Semang embodies a number of words which are confined to the Negritos and which are completely *sui generis*. It is clear that the Semang dialects did not originally belong to the Môn-Annam group. These words relate to matters of everyday life, and presumably they represent the old original dialects of the Negritos. Relationship with Andamanese has been suggested, but remains completely hypothetical; for hardly a single word of Semang is recognizable in the Andaman dialects, and this fact is one of the many and great puzzles of the Semang problem. For the unidentified element in Sakai no suggestion as to origin has been made, though it is possible that many of the uncertain words may yet be traced not to a Malayan but to a Môn-Annam origin. In the case of the Jakun it is pointed out that some of the words of unknown origin occur in Semang, but not in Sakai, but they are hardly of sufficient number to support the view that Jakun dialects were originally allied to Semang; on the contrary, a large number of Jakun words are certainly allied to Sakai, and Wilkinson, treating as Jakun certain southern Sakai dialects, seeks to eliminate Blagden's linguistic Jakun, but leaves unexplained both Kĕnāboi and the common element in which Mantri, Beduanda, and Jakun differ from every other known language.

5. Religion: greater gods.—(*a*) *Malay.*—The official Malay religion, as has already been stated, is Muhammadanism, but the popular beliefs and ritual afford abundant proof, which is supported by the historical evidence, that this religion has been superimposed upon some form of Hinduism, which itself, when introduced into the country, superseded an earlier and more primitive type of belief, of shamanistic character. Folklore, charm-books, and romances go to show that the greater gods of the Malay pantheon—so far as their names go—are borrowed Hindu divinities, while the lesser gods and spirits are native to the Malay religious system, incorporated in and modified by the higher religions, but not entirely forgotten.

Taking first the Hindu divinities, we find Viṣṇu, the preserver, Brahmā, the creator, Batāra Guru[1] (Śiva), Kala,[2] and Seri[3] simultaneously invoked by the magician. Of the greater divinities Batāra Guru is, in the minds of the Malays, unquestionably the most important; in other words, the Malays were of the Śaivite sect of Brāhmanism. In the *Hikayat Sang Samba*, the Malay version of the *Bhaumakāvya*, Batāra Guru appears as the supreme god Śiva, with Brahmā and Viṣṇu as subordinate deities. He alone has the Water of Life which resuscitates slaughtered heroes. The Malay magician will, on occasion, boldly declare that he was the all-powerful spirit who held the place of Allāh before the advent of Muhammadanism, a spirit so powerful that he 'could restore the dead to life'; and that to him all prayers were addressed at that period. It may be noted that most of the theological terms in use among the Malays are of Sanskrit origin, and that the titles Sang-yang ('the deity') and Batāra are used mostly of the older Hindu divinities. The Malays, however, in adopting the Sanskrit title of Guru, seem to have transferred it to a hunting-god, whom they identify in certain localities with the 'Spectre,' or 'Demon Huntsman,' though pure Hinduism would certainly not have recognized hunting (one of the deadly sins of that religion) as a pursuit fit for one of their deities. Further, the Malays distinguish between a good and a bad side of Batāra Guru's character, which may point back to the combination into one of what were originally two distinct personalities, Batāra Guru and Kala. Thus the Malay Kala holds as his only definite sphere of influence the foreshore, a strip intermediate between the land-sphere of Batāra Guru and the dominion of a third deity called 'Grand-Sire Long-Claws' (Toh Panjang Kuku). This attempt to divide the spheres of land and sea must again be attributed solely to the Malays, as Hindu mythology knows nothing of the sea. It is clear, therefore, that in the greater deities of the Malayan pantheon we may, after all, recognize Malayan deities simply re-named after the gods of the Hindus. The Batāra Guru of the sea is identified by some magicians with Si Raya, and occasionally with the god of mid-currents (Mambang Tali Harus). Sickness is sometimes ascribed to him, but it is not usually so fatal as illness induced by the malice of the Demon Huntsman, and fishermen and seafarers, on the other hand, obtain from him many benefits. The only other deities of importance are the White Divinity, who dwells in the sun, the Black Divinity, who dwells in the moon, and the Yellow Divinity, who dwells in the sunset; the last is considered most dangerous to children, and Malayan parents always endeavour to keep their children within doors at sunset and during the twilight in order to avoid his malignant influence.

(*b*) *Pagan races.*—In view of the still inadequate evidence of the beliefs of the pagan tribes in relation to a supreme deity, it is necessary to exercise some caution in making any statement as to their ideas upon the subject. On the other hand, it is at least safe to remark that any one who, as the result of mere worrying by questions, commits himself to the statement that any of these pagan races have no such beliefs whatever proves merely that his own methods of investigation are at fault in these matters.

It appears, moreover, clear that the Semang and Jakun, and possibly also the Sakai, are at present in the stage of development, common to most primitive peoples, in which the supreme deity belongs to the realm of mythology rather than of religion proper. Since he stands more or less aloof from the affairs of this world and the next, and possesses no cult, his claims to recognition are set aside in favour of spirits more closely in touch with mundane affairs, whose powers for good and evil are constantly capable of exercise and who at every turn must be propitiated. Among the Semang there is clear evidence for a belief in the existence of such a being, combined with a crude dualism based upon natural phenomena.

According to one account, Tā' Pönn ('Grandfather Pönn') is a powerful but benevolent being described as the maker of the world. He was, in fact, described to the present writer by the Semang of Kedah as being 'like a Malay Raja; there was *nobody above him*.' He is the moon's husband and lives with Āg-Āg, the crow who is the sun's husband, in the eastern heavens. Tā' Pönn has four children, two male and two female. His mother Yāk is the old Earth-mother, and lives underground in the middle of the earth. He has a great enemy, Kakuh, who lives in the west. He is dangerous and very black. That is why the east is bright and the west dark. The heavens are in three tiers, the highest of which is called Kakuh, and which are defended against unauthorized intrusion by a giant coco-nut monkey, who drives away any one found trying to enter the heavens.

The naturalistic dualism of this account is obvious; from his place of abode, and from his having the moon as his consort, we may perhaps conclude that Tā' Pönn is a spirit of the rising sun. In addition it has been maintained that the Semang recognize two other superior deities, Kari, a thunder-god, the supreme creator, ruler, and judge, and Ple, a related but subordinate divinity, who, under Kari, created earth and man. The evidence, however, is too slender for dogmatic statement, and the point still awaits the collection of further material.

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[1] *Guru*=spiritual guide. Batāra is Skr. *bhaṭṭāra*, 'highly honourable'; in Jav. (Manjapahit) and Sej. Mal. it='king.'

[2] Skr. *kāla*, 'black,' an epithet of Śiva.

[3] Skr. Śrī, goddess of good fortune and wife of Viṣṇu

The religion of the Sakai is more shamanistic in character than that of the Semang, and, if any corresponding belief exists among them, as has been maintained, it is overshadowed by the cults of demons, ghosts, and spirits. The Jakun afford more certain evidence of a belief in a supreme deity, although their conceptions at the best are vague and shadowy. The Mantri say that Tuhan Di-Bawah, lord of the under world, created the earth and dwells beneath it, supporting everything above him by his power. The Benua believe in one god, Pirman,[1] who dwells above the sky and is invisible. He made the world and everything that is visible. The greater part of the Jakun of Johor know and acknowledge a supreme being whom they call by the Malayo-Arabic name of Tuhan Allāh; the grotesquely slight influence, however, that is really exercised by Muhammadanism on the wild races of the Malayan jungles is best evidenced by the statement of those tribes who believe that Muhammad, the prophet of God, is the wife of the supreme deity.

6. Lesser gods, spirits, and ghosts.—(*a*) *Malay.*—Subordinate to the great gods are lesser gods or spirits whose place in Malay mythology is due to Muhammadan influences; their inferiority may in part be due to the law that the gods of the autochthones are usually considered by an invader more powerful than his own deities. These lesser gods and spirits are the *jin*, or genii. The Malays, to a certain extent, show a tendency to identify them with the spirits of the older Hindu religion, but only the Black King of the Genii (Sang Gala[2] Raja) appears to rise on occasion to the level of the great divinities, when he is regarded as a manifestation of Batāra Guru in his destructive aspect as Śiva, or Kala, though later he came to be considered a separate personality. This would also explain the difficult problems of how the Black and White Genii come to be regarded as brothers, the latter being identified with Mahārāja Deva, 'great king of the gods.' The genii are also subdivided into good and faithful (*jin islām*) and bad (*jin kāfir*), this nomenclature being obviously a Muslim accretion. In addition to these subdivisions they are also regarded as attached to special objects—*e.g.*, the powerful *jin* of the royal musical instruments. The genii are able to do infinite harm to mortals, and choose as their dwelling-places hollows in the hills, solitary places in the forests, dead epiphytes on trees, etc. They are sometimes said to derive from the dissolution of various parts of the anatomy of the world-snake Sakatimuna, the first great failure at man's creation.

The Malays have also adopted into their popular religion the Muhammadan belief in angels (Azrael, Michael, and Gabriel), prophets (Solomon, David, and Joseph), and chiefs, four in number penned in the four corners of the earth.

Ghosts and spirits are known by the generic name of *hantu*. Of these there are many varieties. *Hantu kubor* are grave-demons who, with the spirits of murdered men, prey upon the living whenever they see an opportunity; *hantu ribut* is the storm-fiend; *hantu ayer* and *hantu laut* are water- and sea-spirits; *hantu rimba*, deep forest demons; *hantu bĕrok*, the baboon-demon; *hantu bĕlian*, the tiger-demon; and *hantu songkei*, the 'loosening' demon, who interferes with rope-snares and traps for wild animals. In addition there are giants and 'tall' demons (*bota*, *gasi-gasi*, and *hantu tinggi*) as well as 'good people' (*bidadari* or *pĕri*), who are of foreign origin; echo[3] spirits (*orang bunyian*), spirits of whom little is known except that they are good fairies and very easily cheated; blood-sucking demons of various kinds, mostly birth-spirits (these last being certainly among the ghastliest conceptions of humanity); and others such as the *hantu kopek*, which is the equivalent of our own nightmare.

(*b*) *Pagan races.*—Except in one or two cases, little has been recorded concerning the beliefs of the pagan tribes relating to the spirits or demons. Those which most afflict the Sakai of Ulu-Bertam are the 'tiger-spirit,' the 'jungle-spirit,' and the 'river- or water-spirit.' Against these charms and simples can prevail. Against the tree-spirit, however, who slays his victims before any one can help, there is no protection. The Sakai of Selangor had a ceremony at which they sat and blew bamboo pipes and sang to the demons.

The spirits in which the Bĕsisi believe include the wind-demon (*jin angin*), who lives on a white rock near Tanjong Tuan (Cape Rachado); the demonic legion (*jin sa-ribu*), who dwell in the earth and, when possible, feed upon human beings; and the garrotting demon (*jin sa-rapat*), who lives in the uplands. Certain trees are the embodiment of spirits, notably the gutta, eagle wood, and camphor trees, and this idea is extended to inert objects—*e.g.*, canoes, treasure-jars, and stone implements. Chipping a jar kills its spirit.

The Demon Huntsman (*hantu si buru*) is ten ft. high, and his face is very hairy. From nightfall onwards during the full of the moon he hunts the wild boar and the *sambhar*-deer. Although he is highly dangerous to mankind, many have made friends with him, and, when they have invoked him, he has cured them of their illness. Other spirits are the river-spirit, the demon of fatal birth-sickness, and the tomb-demon, which, in one of its manifestations, plunders graves in the form of wild beasts, such as deer and tigers.

7. The soul.—(*a*) *Malay.*—In Malay beliefs the *sĕmangat* ('human soul') is a thin, unsubstantial mannikin, temporarily absent from the body in sleep, trance, or disease, and permanently departed after death. It is about the size of the thumb and invisible, but is supposed to correspond in shape, proportion, and complexion to its embodiment; it can fly quickly from place to place, and it is often, perhaps metaphorically, addressed as a bird. In mental attributes it is quasi-human and may possess, independently of its corporeal owner, personal consciousness and volition. It has been alleged that the *sĕmangat* cannot be the 'soul' because it is believed to quit the body and wander about during sleep, and that it must therefore be a spirit of vitality. But this very same reasoning would show that it cannot be a spirit of vitality. What is actually meant here by 'soul,' however, is the native (and our own mediæval) idea of the soul, which is something very different from the soul of our modern idealistic Christianity. The latter might indeed almost be described, in comparison with its mediæval prototype, as a 'super-soul,' and it is only the more primitive idea of the soul in which we are here interested.

In charms it is addressed as having a house, usually, though not necessarily, identified with its embodiment (the body of its owner). As the *sĕmangat* is separable from the body, it follows that, if called in the right way, it may be made to follow—a powerful weapon in the hands of an enemy or lover who possesses the requisite magical powers. When abducted, it may be imprisoned in a lump of earth, a cloth, or a wax mannikin. The lump of earth should have been in contact with the victim's body—*e.g.*, with the sole of the naked foot. An escaping or swooning *sĕmangat* may be recalled to the owner's body; hence the form of certain kinds of medical treatment. In the older charms the *sĕmangat* is distinctly referred to as being sevenfold, and, as a similar multiple division is found elsewhere among savages (PC^4 i. 391 f.),[1] this may be taken as original, although seven is a somewhat favourite number in Malay magic.

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[1] But this name (=*Firmān*, 'Word of God') is clearly borrowed, like Allāh, from Muslim sources.

[2] Possibly Skr. *śaṅkara*, 'beneficent,' an epithet of Śiva.

[3] Or 'hidden.'

The belief in the existence of *sĕmangats* does not confine them to human beings. Animal, vegetable, and mineral *sĕmangats* are clearly recognized. While in the case of animals the *sĕmangat* is a counterpart, on a reduced scale, of its embodiment, in the vegetable and mineral kingdoms the tree *sĕmangat* or the ore *sĕmangat* is usually an animal, whereas the rice *sĕmangat* is treated as resembling a human infant. The *sĕmangat* of the eaglewood tree, *e.g.*, takes the form of a bird, the tin-ore *sĕmangat* that of a buffalo, the gold-ore *sĕmangat* that of a deer, and so forth. A box or a treasure-jar may also have a *sĕmangat* until chipped or broken, when the *sĕmangat* escapes from it. An interesting variation has been said to occur on the east coast of the peninsula, where the *sĕmangat* of a particular kind of boat is called by a special name, *mayor*, as opposed to the usual soul-name, *sĕmangat*.[2] But there is no trace of this form on the west coast or apparently in other parts of the peninsula.

This creed is no empty belief inoperative in daily life. It forms the basis of the Malay's mental attitude and practice in all dealings with the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms.

Although Malay animism is consistent and complete in extending the belief in the *sĕmangat* to all nature, animate and inanimate, side by side with the purely animistic belief there is abundant evidence of a special Circe-like theory attributing animals, birds, fishes, reptiles, and trees to an (accursed) human origin. The elephant, tiger, bear, deer, crocodile, solid-crested hornbill, and stick-insect are examples. Evidence of such anthropomorphic ideas is to be found not only in the folklore but in many magical ceremonies and charms of Malaya (on the *sĕmangat* see, further, INDONESIANS).

(*b*) *Pagan races.*—Of the conception of the *sĕmangat* held by the pagan tribes very little is known, and, lacking definite statement, their beliefs must be inferred from their methods of burial and treatment of the dead and their views of the life after death.

According to the eastern Semang (Pangan) of Kelantan, each man has a *sĕmangat* shaped exactly like himself, but 'red like blood' and 'no bigger than a grain of maize.' It was passed on by the mother to her child. After death the *sĕmangats* of the wise proceed to a paradise in the west in which grow fruit-trees. To reach it they cross a bridge consisting of the trunk of a colossal tree. At the end of the bridge sits a hideous demon, and such of the Semang as are scared by him fall into a vast boiling lake beneath, in which they swim for three years until the Lord of the Paradise of Fruit-Trees lets down his great toe for them to clutch, and in this contemptuous fashion pulls them out. The old and wise men for this reason were buried in trees, so that they could fly over the demon's head. The western Semang believed that only the medicine-men went to the Land of Fruit; the lay members of the tribe crossed the sea to a land of screw-pines and thatch-palms, wherein was the hole into which the sun fell at night. If they had committed any bad action, they started by the same road, but turned north to a land which had two months of day and one month of night. Among the Sakai it has been said that *sĕmangats* proceed to a Hades (*Nĕrāka*[1]) where they are washed clean by one 'Granny Long-Breasts,' and made to walk across a boiling cauldron on the sharp edge of a chopper. Bad *sĕmangats* fall in, good ones escape to an Island of Fruit, where they wait until a friend comes to show them the way to the 'Husks of the Clouds.'

The Mantri possess peculiarly positive faith in the continued existence of the *sĕmangat* after death. It leaves the body and is carried by Bayang Lasa either to Ngangnari or to Fruit Island (*Pulau Buah*), far away in the region of the setting sun, where all *sĕmangats* dwell in harmony, marry, and have children. Those who die a violent death go to Red Land (*Tanah Merah*), a desert place and barren, repairing thence to Fruit Island to get their nourishment. The Benua, on the other hand, believe that after death the *sĕmangat* dissolves into nothingness again, having been fashioned from air by Pirman. Notwithstanding this, they hold that the *sĕmangats* of medicine-men, while their animate bodies remain behind, are conveyed or carried to heaven in music.

8. Animism.—Although it would in any case be justifiable to regard the attitude of the Malays towards the *kĕrāmat*, or holy place, as a survival from an earlier stage of religious belief on the analogy of similar ideas among more primitive peoples, there is, in addition, abundant evidence to support the view that not only Muhammadanism, but also the popular ideas traceable to a modified Hinduism, are superimposed upon a form of religion in which animism was the predominant factor. A belief in spirits pervades the whole of the every-day life of the bulk of the people. The position and importance of the medicine-man or magician (*pawang* and *bomor*), the language of the innumerable charms recited on any and every conceivable occasion, and the ceremonies which accompany any and every action or undertaking—even in some cases the most trivial—would in themselves point to this particular conclusion, even if we lacked the evidence supplied by the statements of the Malays themselves with regard to their object and meaning. Important proof of this connexion is furnished by the relations of the Malays with animals, with trees, and with the crops, and especially by their remarkable beliefs with regard to mining.

(*a*) *Animals.*—To nearly all animals, but especially to the larger, the Malays attribute anthropomorphic traits and, in some cases, superhuman powers. The elephant and tiger, *e.g.*, are believed to possess cities or districts in which they assume human form and live in houses. According to a legend which comes from Labu in Selangor, a man tracked an elephant to her home and married her in human form. She resumed her animal form when, on returning to his country against her express directions, he gave her food which included certain young tree-shoots. The tiger, which is an object of especial fear, is believed to be a demon in the form of a beast; in the legendary 'Tiger Village' the roofs of the houses are thatched with human hair, men's bones are the rafters, and men's skins the hut-walls. The original tiger was a boy found in the forest who changed into a tiger when beaten with many stripes by his schoolmaster. The latter placed a ban upon him to compel him to 'ask for' his prey. The tiger therefore uses divination by leaves (of certain forest trees) to ascertain whether his petition for a victim has been granted. It may be added that he is also believed to doctor his wounds with leaf-poultices. The belief in wer-tigers is one of the most deeply ingrained of Malay superstitions, but the power to become such a being is believed to belong especially to one tribe of Sumatrans, the Korinchi Malays, of whom there are a number living in the peninsula. In one case a dead wer-tiger was identified by his possessing a gold tooth derived from his human original (see LYCANTHROPY). Both ghost-elephants and ghost-tigers are strongly believed in. They are distinguished by having one shrunken foot, are harmless, and are the tutelary spirits of certain regions of sacred localities. The most famous ghost-tigers of the peninsula dwelt on Mount Ophir (4000 ft.), near Malacca; in Selangor they were the guardians of a shrine on the summit of the Jugra Hill. The latter were formerly reputed to be the pets of the princess of Malacca; thus the two stories were connected. The princess is said by local report to have established herself on Mount Ophir at the time of the Portuguese invasion, and still visits the hill in Selangor, accompanied by a handsome tiger, though herself invisible. When a tiger was killed, a public reception was accorded to him in the nearest village, at which he was treated as a powerful war-chief or champion, and was entertained by an exhibition of dancing and fencing. Both claws and whiskers of the tiger are greatly valued as charms; the latter are sometimes twisted up with a man's moustache, to strike terror into his enemies, and the former are imitated in the tiger's claw knives worn on their fingers by the men who pretend to be wer-tigers.

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[1] See also W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, pp. 50, 411, etc. It is surprising to find among Malays this sevenfold division of Plato himself.

[2] N. Annandale, 'The Theory of Souls among the Malays of the Malay Peninsula,' *JRAS*, Straits Branch, v. 3 [1909].

[1] Skr. *naraka*, 'hell.'

Equally significant are the stories and beliefs connected with the mouse-deer or chevrotain. This animal occupies the place of Brer Rabbit in Malay folklore;[1] it figures in numberless proverbial sayings and romances, and is honoured by the title of Mentri Bĕlūkar, 'the Vizier of the (secondary) Forest-growth.' In the fire-getting ceremony it is said to ask for fire wherewith to 'singe its mother-in-law's feathers' (a bird).

Hunting dogs are continually addressed as if they were human beings. It is, however, believed that it is unlucky to see them in the jungle, unless the person meeting them barks after the manner of a wild dog before they have time to do so. Cats, in addition to possessing supernatural powers (*e.g.*, in the rain-making ceremony), are lucky because they wish for the prosperity of their owners. On the other hand, cat-killers, when in purgatory, will be required to cut and carry coco-nut logs to the number of hairs on the cat's body, wherefore cats are not 'killed,' but only set adrift on rafts to perish of hunger.[2]

The flesh of swine is now regarded as unclean by the modern (Muhammadan) Malay, but there are indications that this was not always the case; thus a wild pig's paunch is required in a Malay recipe for turning brass into gold; the wild pig, moreover, is hunted and eaten with avidity by the wild jungle tribes, as is still the case in N. Borneo and other parts of the Malayan region. It may also be noted that the flesh of the buffalo is preferred to that of the ox, and the former is used, and not the latter, for sacrificial feasts—a fact which suggests an obscure survival of Hindu belief. The earth itself is supported on the horn of a gigantic wild buffalo.

The attitude of the Malays towards wild animals and their belief in their magical powers are further indicated by the fact that in hunting and trapping no skill can avail unless it is itself supported by magic, by special charms supplied by the medicine-man, and by formulæ to be repeated in setting the traps and snares or when actually engaged in hunting operations, either to ensure success or to serve as a protection. Like the Siamese elephant-wizard, the Malay deer-wizard himself must first enter the toils before a hunt begins, in order to influence the deer magically to enter the deer-snares. If this were omitted, the ropes would fail [illegible] the deer, nor would the deer enter. The [illegible] on the legs of the *sambhar* deer (*rusa*) are [illegible] to ulcers on the legs of its human original.

Fish and other inhabitants of the water, like land animals, are regarded as having human or superhuman qualities, and, when catching them, the Malays have to perform ceremonies to overcome their spiritual nature and magical powers. The crocodile, *e.g.*, is, according to one account, a boy who fell from his mother's arms into the water. The various species of fish also have their special origin; one kind is said to be originally a cat, another a monkey, another a human being drowned in the river, and so forth. The Norse myth of the rivers sprung from the teats of the cow Auðhumla is recalled by a Perak story of a large specimen of the mudfish called *aruan*. Many magical or semi-magical beliefs cling round the crocodile. In many of the rivers certain crocodiles are regarded as the sacred embodiment of dead chiefs, and are free from molestation. When hunting these reptiles, the Malays repeat charms and take precautions to secure capture by symbolic actions such as striking the water with the canoe-paddle in imitation of the crocodile's tail; or, when eating curry, by gulping down three lumps of rice successively in the way in which it is hoped the reptile will take the bait; or (by avoidance) by not taking the bones of curry-meats for fear that the wooden cross-piece buried in the bait will fail to hold the crocodile.

An elaborate ceremony precedes and accompanies a fishing expedition. It includes notification by three loud cries to the land-spirits that offerings, consisting of rice, betel, parts of a goat sacrificed for the purpose, cigarettes, etc., hung up on a tree in a sacrificial tray, await their acceptance, and the offering of two similar trays, one in shallow water and one, containing the goat's head, at the seaward end of the fishing stakes. Miscellaneous offerings from a basket are scattered while the boat is rowed out to the stakes, and, when they are reached, saffron-coloured and parched rice is scattered on the water, while the 'neutralizing rice-paste' ceremony is performed on the stakes and the boats. A number of tabus, such as seven days' refraining from sexual indulgence, the avoidance of bathing without a bathing-cloth, or of taking an umbrella into the fishing-boats, or of climbing the fishing-stakes with boots on, are strictly enforced. The use of a tabu language by the fishermen is also *de rigueur*.

Among the wild tribes similar beliefs are entertained, but in particular they look upon animals as the embodiment of their illustrious dead. The elephant, the largest and most important of the animals, is the one into which the *sĕmangats* of Semang chiefs are supposed to migrate. In consequence, it has euphemistic and propitiatory names. The same applies to the tiger. Monkeys, snakes, and birds play an important part in Semang mythology, while among insects the stick-insect is the most important. The list of animals to which the *sĕmangats* of chiefs are supposed by the Bĕsisi to migrate is extended beyond beasts of prey, including deer and pigs as well as tigers and crocodiles. Among the Mantri the tigers are the slaves of the wizard, or *poyang*, and are supposed to be immortal, while the Jakun believe that, if a tiger meets them in their path, it is a man who has sold himself to the evil spirit in order that in such a form he may wreak vengeance on his enemy or give play to his malignity. The amount of *un*-natural history associated with animals is, indeed, quite remarkable for a race whose jungle knowledge is so complete as it is among real up-country Malays. The case of the large caterpillar which is believed to metamorphose into a squirrel is typical.

(*b*) *Birds*.—Ideas of various kinds, mostly animistic or anthropomorphic in character, are very generally associated with birds by the Malays. As a rule, nocturnal birds are ill-omened. If one species of owl alights near a house and hoots, it is said that there will soon be a 'tearing of cloth' for a shroud. If the *băberek*, a nocturnal bird which flies in flocks (a kind of goatsucker or night-jar), is heard, the peasant brings out a wooden platter, beats it with a knife, and calls out, 'Great-grandfather, bring us their heads,' in the hope of deluding the spirits into the belief that he forms one of the train of the Spectre Huntsman (*hantu pĕmburu*) which these birds accompany, and must therefore not be attacked by them.

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[1] W. W. Skeat, *Fables and Folktales from an Eastern Forest*, Cambridge, 1901, Introd. p. xiii.

[2] Clifford, p. 47.

The argus pheasant (*kuang*) is said in Perak to have been metamorphosed from a woman; the female, moreover, is believed to reproduce its kind by swallowing the male bird alive. In Selangor it is believed that a hornbill was transformed from the murderer of an old man, another variety (*rhinoplax*) to have been a man who slew his own mother-in-law. The *toh katampi* (a variety of horned owl) is believed to enter the fowl-house and there live on the intestines of fowls, which it extracts during life by means of a charm. The luck-bird—a small white bird about the size of a canary—if caught and placed in a rice-bin, ensures a good harvest to its owner; a ground-dove, kept in a house, is a prophylactic against fire. If any one is fortunate enough to secure the nest of a kind of heron, or *ruwak-ruwak*, it confers upon him the power of invisibility. But the list of birds to which it has been recorded that the Malays attach peculiar ideas and significance may be said to be limited only by the varieties indigenous to the peninsula.

In fowling, as in hunting, sympathetic magic plays a prominent part, while every operation has its appropriate charm for repetition. In catching wild pigeons, constant reference is made to their *sĕmangats*, and the aid of the *pawang* is required to perform the 'neutralizing rice-paste' ceremony in the space in front of the conical snarer's hut, enclosed for the purpose, which is known as King Solomon's Courtyard, or to recite a charm over the long bamboo decoy-tube or pigeon-call. During the operation great care is taken that no part of the snarer's paraphernalia is called by its proper name (which might be understood by the pigeon); everything is called by some euphemism—*e.g.*, 'the Magic Prince' (for the name of the hut) and 'Prince Distraction' (instead of the word 'pigeon-call').

(*c*) *Vegetation.*—The Malayan beliefs in relation to trees and other forms of vegetation follow to a great degree, if not entirely, their concepts in relation to animals. It is not clear that they hold that all trees have a *sĕmangat*, but it is certain that some trees, such as the durian, the coco-nut-palm, the trees producing eagle-wood, camphor, and gutta-percha, and others are supposed to possess *sĕmangats*. This belief extends even to dead and seasoned wood, as is shown by the invocation addressed to the timbers used in the ceremony of launching a boat—a ceremony which is frequently represented in Malay romances as taking place (as formerly in Fiji) over human rollers. In earlier days the men used to try to frighten the durian groves into bearing by threats addressed to them verbally. The medicine-man struck the trunk of an unfruitful tree seven times with a hatchet and threatened to fell it if it did not bear. The toddy collector said to the coco-nut-palm: 'Thus I bend your neck and roll up your hair; and here is my ivory toddy-knife to help the washing of your face.'[1] The malacca cane is regarded from the same animistic point of view, and it is believed that a cane with a long joint will protect the owner from harm by snakes and animals, as well as bring him good luck in everything. In Selangor the stick-insect is supposed to be the embodiment of the malacca cane-spirit. In felling a *tualang* tree (apparently not a specific tree, but a generic term for all trees containing a bees' nest)—a matter in which great reluctance is shown—it is necessary to obtain the services of a *pawang* to drive away demons by charms and incantations. In the course of the incantation the heads of two white fowls are cut off and the blood is sprinkled upon the tree-trunks. The lime is another tree of which the spirit is the object of a special cult; it is revered and looked upon as their chief patron by the theatrical players of Penang. In searching for the diseased and perfumed wood known as *gharu*, or eagle-wood, the services of a *pawang* are required to burn incense and repeat the appropriate charms. According to one account, the *pawang* uses a shelter near the selected tree (which is indicated by a low whispering or singing in the tree), and then repeats a charm which induces the *gharu*-spirit to appear to him, generally in a dream, and to inform him of the kind of sacrifice required. When the tree has been felled, any one passing between the trunk and the stump will die immediately. The *pawang* uses and carries with him a piece of eagle-wood, the *gharu mĕrupa* (or shaped eagle-wood), which possesses a natural resemblance to some animal or bird. This is believed to contain the *sĕmangat* of the eagle-wood and to assist in the search for that product. Similar beliefs are entertained, and similar ritual is followed, in the collection of camphor and gutta-percha. It is interesting to note that in the collection of camphor a special language must be used, *pantang kapur*, which, so far as known, is Malay in part only. A portion of any food eaten during the search for camphor must be thrown into the jungle for the *bisan*, or camphor-spirit.

Many rules followed in planting the crops are based upon sympathetic magic and animism. In the first place, the propitious season for each operation must be indicated by the *pawang*. Sugar-cane must be planted at noon; this makes it sweeter by drying up the juice and leaving the saccharine matter. Maize should be planted with a full stomach, a thick stick, and thick dibble; this will swell the maize ear. Plantains should be planted after the evening meal, as they fill out better; sweet potatoes, to ensure their having plenty of 'eyes' when they begin to sprout, should be set when the night is starry.

Of all agricultural pursuits, however, the cultivation of rice exhibits most completely the animistic ideas which underlie the relation of the Malays to nature. At every stage of the procedure precautions are taken to ensure the well-being and prosperity of the rice-soul, upon which the success of the cultivation depends.

The time of the sowing is determined by the *pawang*; prayers are read over a portion of the seed at the mosque (replacing an earlier ceremony at the holy place, or *kĕrāmat*); in sowing, the mother-seed is placed in a specially-prepared bed in one corner of the nursery-plot before the rest of the seed is scattered. When the rice is ready, it is transplanted with proper propitiatory ceremonies, and occasionally, say once in three or four years, these were accompanied by a ceremony—a sort of mock combat (*singketa*)—to drive off evil spirits. When the rice is ready for reaping, in order to begin the harvest, the reapers must first obtain the *pawang's* permission. The first operation was to take the *sĕmangat* out of all the plots, and before cutting the rice it was usual to sprinkle it with the neutralizing rice-paste. From the spot where the rice is finest and where there are seven joints to the stalk, seven stems are clipped ceremonially to be the *sĕmangat* of the rice-crop. Another handful is tied by the *pawang* in the centre with a strip of a special variety of sugar-cane, to be the mother of the rice-crop of the year following. This mother-sheaf should be reaped last, preferably by the wife of the owner. The *sĕmangat* was made into the shape of an infant dressed in swaddling clothes, placed in a basket with a Malay umbrella to shade it from the sun, and laid on a new sleeping-mat, with pillows at its head, in the house of the owner. For three days the people in the house must observe certain tabus; *e.g.*, rice, salt, oil, money, etc., must not leave the house, perfect quiet must be observed, hair must not be cut, and so forth. These tabus were practically identical with those imposed in the case of the birth of children. For three days after the taking of the *sĕmangat* the mother-sheaf was treated as a young mother; *i.e.*, young shoots of trees were pounded and scattered over it every evening, and on the evening of the third day coco-nut pulp and goat-flowers mixed with sugar were eaten and a little ejected from the mouth on to the sheaf—an analogue of the salad administered to a mother. A woman, when entering the clearing, must kiss the stalks, saying, 'Come, come,[1] soul of my child,' as if embracing one of her own infants. Ultimately the rice obtained from the *sĕmangat* (representing the child) and from the sheaf (representing the mother) are mixed and placed in the receptacle in which rice is stored, together with a wreath of the straw of the first ceremonial pounding of the *padi*, the ears first pounded being those cut immediately after the taking of the *sĕmangat*. Some is mixed with next year's seed, and some is used to make the *tĕpong tawar*.[2]

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[1] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 217.

From all that has been said it will be clear that the gist of the Malayan harvest ceremony consists in the attempt to simulate, on behalf of the vegetative rice-crop, a lucky birth as of a human infant, in the hopes that this mock-ceremony may stimulate the productive powers of the rice-plant for the following harvest.

(*d*) *Mining.*—In the western States of the peninsula tin-mining was, and still is, the most important industry. Although mining is now carried on chiefly by Chinese, the ceremonies in use at the opening of a mine are purely Malayan. Formerly a lucrative and highly important post was that of mining wizard; some of these magicians were believed to possess the power of bringing ore to a place where it did not exist, and of turning into grains of sand, or of sterilizing, such ore as existed. The ore itself was regarded as endued not only with vitality, but also with the power of functional increase. Sometimes it was said to resemble a buffalo, and in this shape could travel to and fro underground. The gold-spirit in one case (at Raub in Pahang) was believed to take the form of a golden roe-deer—an idea obviously based on the imaginary shape of some large nugget. Beyond tin, gold, and possibly a little silver and galena, no metals are worked in the peninsula.

The natives, however, have a great reverence for iron. The Lump of Iron in the royal regalia, when placed in water, is the most solemn and binding oath known to those who use it, and it is referred to in the most terrible denunciations of the Malay wizard; a long iron nail guards the newborn child and the rice-soul; betel-nut scissors (also of iron) or a dagger protect a corpse from evil contact, and a Malay in the jungle often plants his knife-blade edgewise to the source in a stream before he drinks, in order to drive away any chance demons. Bezoar-stones and stone implements alike are said to be endowed with magical properties and powers; a unique east-coast belief regards the latter as arising out of the ground, and not, as almost everywhere else in the world, as being hurled down from the sky in the form of thunderbolts.

The objects of the charms employed by the mining wizards seem to be to clear the jungle of evil spirits, to banish evil spirits from the ground before starting excavations, to propitiate the local spirits and induce the tin-ore to show itself when the tin-bearing stratum is reached, and to persuade the spirits to partake of a banquet spread for them in a receptacle intended to represent a royal hall of audience. The spiritual 'audience chamber' is usually two or three feet square and furnished with offerings similar to those normally placed on the sacrificial tray, with certain articles, such as sugar-cane, plantains, yams, etc., supposed to be specially characteristic of the food eaten by miners. The chief tabu is the killing of any sort of living creature within the mine, except in case of sacrifice, when a white buffalo may be slain upon the brink of the mine, the head being buried and small portions representative of each part being deposited in the 'audience chamber.' Other tabus are the wearing of a sarong, burying the skin of any beast in the mine, wearing shoes, and even carrying an umbrella; the last is particularly offensive to the spirits, since it is the insignia of Malay royalty. A special language has to be used in so far as certain words are concerned. No animal or thing not itself allowed in the mine (such as an elephant, tiger, or cat), nor even lime-fruit, may be mentioned by any but this substituted title. Nor may any one assume the attitude or dress (a black coat) worn by the wizard in building the altar for the preliminary sacrifice, in performing the magical ceremonies, or in uttering the invocations (such as the attitude of standing with both hands on the hips or behind the back), nor may even the wizard himself assume them on any ordinary occasion.

(*e*) *Water.*—The Malays have been a seafaring race from time immemorial, and the rivers were also of great importance to them before the making of roads. It was by the rivers that they first penetrated the country; the old Malay settlements are all on river-banks, and the streams are still the chief source of supply for irrigating the rice-fields. To both river and sea many superstitions and legends are attached. Their animistic notions include belief in water-spirits, against whom precautions are taken for the protection of their boats. It was formerly the custom to fasten a bunch of sugar-palm twigs to the top of the mast to prevent the water-spirit from settling on the mast-head. The sea-spirits are invoked to point out shoals, etc., and sometimes in rapids or other difficult places offerings are made to the spirits of the rivers. The tidal wave (bore or eagre) on a river was formerly held to be caused by the passing of a fluvial monster, which ascends the river; one of these (on the bore ceasing) was described to the present writer as having been killed by being knocked on the head with a stick. Eredia (A.D. 1613) says that the Malays attribute such bores to souls of the dead who are passing the ocean in *cafilas* from one region to another, *i.e.* from the Golden Chersonese to the river Ganges. Ordinary river-floods (which were distinguished as male and female) were thought to be caused by similar agency.

9. Cosmology and natural phenomena.—(*a*) *Malay.*—In Malay folklore the theory of creation is that light emanating from the supreme being became the ocean, from which ascended foam and vapour. The earth and sea were then formed, each of seven tiers, the earth resting on the surface of the water from east to west, the mountains of the Caucasus being regarded as a chain put round the earth to keep it stable on the face of the waters. Beyond them is spread a vast plain, the sand and earth of which are of gold and musk, the stones rubies and emeralds, the vegetation of odoriferous flowers. Besides the Caucasus, which are known to the Malays as Bukit Kof ('Hills of Kāf'), and are of immense importance in popular lore, there is a great central mountain called Maha Meru, which is sometimes identified by Malays with a hill in Sumatra. Another version of the Creation, in part obviously due to Muslim influence, describes how God, the eldest magician, pre-existing by Himself, created the pillar of the Ka'ba[1] of which the four branches form the four corners of the earth, and the world-snake, Sakatimuna, which was killed by Gabriel and broke asunder, the head and fore part shooting up to heaven, the tail part penetrating downwards beneath the earth. The description of this serpent (whose name suggests an Indian origin) is remarkably anthropomorphic; in fact, it is a serpent in little more than name.

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[1] Lit. 'Cluck, cluck,' the call commonly addressed to domestic fowls.

[2] 'Neutralizing rice-paste' (see above).

[1] Lit. 'cube' (the cube-shaped sanctuary of the Black Stone at Mecca). For the Ka'ba see MECCA.

It was usually believed that the world was of oval shape and revolves on its axis four times in the year, and that the sun was a body of fire moving round the earth and producing the alternations of day and night. Some at least imagined the firmament to consist of a perforated stone or rock, the stars being caused by the light which streams through these apertures. Further, the earth is declared to be carried by a colossal buffalo on the tip of its horns—an obvious Malay parallel to the world-elephant in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu. When one horn gets tired, the buffalo tosses up the earth and catches it on the other horn, the concussion thus produced being the cause of earthquakes. This buffalo stands on an island in the nether ocean, or on a giant tortoise (according to some versions), or on the monstrous fish called Nun (Arab. 'fish'). The universe is girt round by a huge serpent which feeds upon its own tail. Peculiarly Malay, on the other hand, is the idea of the tides, which, it is said, are caused by the movements of a colossal crab that twice a day leaves and re-enters its cave at the foot of the world-tree Pauh Janggi (the sea-coco-nut-palm), which grows on a sunken rock or quicksand in the 'Navel' or Central Whirlpool of the Ocean (*pusat tasek*). The sun's name in Malay is Mata-hari, which means 'eye of day,' but on the east coast it is held to be a horse which is conducted in procession through the heavens by angels during the day, and led back again at night-time to the point whence it started.

Eclipses of the sun and moon are considered to be due to the devouring of these bodies by a gigantic dragon (Rāhu), or, according to some, a god. Malays, like the Chinese and other more primitive races, endeavour to save the sun and moon by making a vigorous noise to drive away the destroyer. The spots on the moon represent an inverted banyan tree, under which sits an old hunchback, plaiting strands of tree-bark, or, as some say, spinning cotton. As soon as his task is finished, he will angle for everything on the earth's surface. The line has not yet been completed because a rat gnaws through it despite the vigilance of the old man's cat, which is always watching. It should be added that the Malay phrase, *bulan bunting pělandok* ('the moon is great with the mouse-deer'), is doubtless explainable by the fact that in Sanskrit mythology the spots on the moon are thought to be a hare or antelope, which, being hard pressed by a hunter, appealed to the moon for protection and was taken up by her into her arms; the phrase is often used when she is three-quarters full.

Landslips in the hills during the rains, being often accompanied by floods, are said to be due to dragons breaking forth from the hills, where they have been doing penance, on their way to the sea. Rocks and waterfalls of unusual appearance are believed to owe their origin to demons. A rainbow, if only a small portion of the end is visible, betokens the death of a Raja, if it appears in the west. The treasure which lies where the foot of the rainbow touches the earth has never yet been found, as 'no one can ever arrive at the place' where it touches. The rainbow itself is often taken to be a snake and is sometimes said to be seen drinking (*ular minum*). On the east coast it is sometimes said to be the head and entrails of a horse or a bullock which comes down to earth to drink. There is a house on the east coast of the peninsula in which a water-jar (*těmpayan*) had been drained dry by a rainbow.

Sunset is a time of danger, since then all evil spirits have power, while the name applied to the yellow glow of the last rays of the sun (*mambang kuning*, 'the yellow deity') is a term associated with terror. In Perak children are called in at sunset to save them from this danger, and women often chew and spit out at seven points, as they walk round the house at sunset, *kunyet těrus*, an evil-smelling root much disliked by evil demons. Pulau Tioman, an island south-east of Pahang, is believed to be actually the body of a dragon, or *nāga*. The Malay who told this to the present writer said that a long while ago an English Government vessel was passing this island, when her crew, catching sight of the then existing three points of the dragon's crest on the summit of the island, fired, breaking them off, and that the vessel itself sank afterwards. There are now said to be a number of people living on it, none of whom is allowed to make the least use of vinegar; if any vinegar is spilt, an earthquake follows, because the island is in reality the monstrous body of an enormous dragon.

(*b*) *Pagan races.*—The Semang endow both sun and moon with human form, both being female. Like the Japanese, who have been credited by some authors with Malayan affinities, they associate the sun with a crow (Āg-Āg), whom they assert to be the husband of that luminary, whereas the husband of the moon is Tā̆ Pönn (see above, p. 354^{b}). When the sun sets, it falls into a cavern, which some Semang identify with a species of Hades. Eclipses are caused by a huge dragon, or serpent, which tries to swallow the luminary; in the case of the moon, the Semang assert that the serpent is the moon's mother-in-law, who has assumed this form and is trying to embrace it—an act which is clearly regarded by the Semang with loathing and abhorrence. The rainbow is a huge python, or serpent, and the spots where it touches the earth are feverish and bad to live near. During a storm of thunder and lightning the Semang draw a few drops of blood in a bamboo internode and throw it skywards. As the ghosts of wicked tribesmen fly up to the heavens, this is intended to propitiate them and persuade them to return. Sometimes, however, it is believed that the spirits go downwards and become water-spirits. In this case part of the blood is thrown towards the sky and part groundwards (Pangan).

Thunderbolts are supposed to be hurled as the result of undue familiarity towards a mother-in-law. An unusual explanation of thunder and lightning from Kedah is that the latter phenomenon is the flashing of the top-cords of dead medicine-men. The thunder is the hum of the tops themselves when revolving.

The Kedah Semang hold that heaven consists of three tiers or layers: the highest is filled with fruit-trees which bear luxuriantly all the year round, and is inhabited by the greater personages of Semang mythology; the second also contains fruit-trees, but is defended against unauthorized pillagers by a gigantic baboon who pelts any such would-be assailants with 'false durian-fruit' (the produce of a wild fruit-tree);[1] the third has nothing but the low brooding clouds which bring sickness to humanity.

Of Sakai beliefs little that is typical has been recorded, such information as is available witnessing to a close resemblance to Semang beliefs. Rā-hū' (obviously the Indo-Malay Rāhu), a being resembling a dragon, tries to swallow the sun and moon, but is driven away by the beating of drums and bamboo clappers. Kělang Bělok, a world-eagle, at one time destroyed all human beings except a boy and a girl. With a magic knife the boy slew the eagle, and from this pair all mankind are descended. The Sakai are said to indulge in ceremonial exorcism of the spirits of thunder, and it is believed that the forces of nature assist the souls of certain evil spirits or demons, which cause them to harm people, though the forces themselves are not demons. The earth is a thin crust resting on the nether ocean, and the heavens possess several layers, or tiers; the inhabitants of the uppermost are said to include a female deity who has to wash the sin-blackened souls in hot water.

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[1] This fruit is sometimes called by Malays the 'Ha-ha' fruit, from the belief that demons, on flying up to inspect it, see that it is not the real durian-fruit, and indulge in loud peals of sardonic laughter

The Blandas of Selangor say that the earth was originally the shape of a flat long betel-box (*sōdok-sōdok*), the nether ocean had the form of a globular tobacco-box (*lōpak-lōpak*), and the heavens were round and over-arching like an umbrella. The Blandas' account of paradise resembles that of the Bĕsisi. The latter hold that the souls of the good (or wise) pass away to the Island of Fruit-Trees, which they identify apparently with the moon, an eclipse being the work of a spirit that wishes to annihilate their spirit ancestors, the moon's inhabitants. This Island of Fruit-Trees is reached by crossing a fallen tree-trunk which serves as a bridge, and from which the wicked fall into a lake or boiling cauldron. This happens only to those who allow themselves to be frightened by a big dog which sits at the parting of the ways by which the souls must go. The magicians of the tribe are reputed to be able to visit paradise and bring back fruit with them. Gaffer Engkoh dwells in the moon, which he reached by a ladder now broken, and protects from wild animals dead souls who visit the Island of Fruit-Trees.

The Mantri have not, to any extent, acquired Malay traditions as regards the form, character, and motion of the sun, moon, stars, etc. The dark spots in the moon they believe, however, to be a tree beneath which sits the moon-man Moyang Bertang, an enemy of mankind, who is constantly making nooses with which to catch them—a task which he is prevented from accomplishing by mice, who continually gnaw through the strings. Eclipses are not attributed to a snake or a dragon, but to a devouring evil spirit. The sky is a great [? inverted] copper pot, suspended over the earth by a string, and around its edge the earth is constantly sending up sprouts which would join the stars if an old man did not cut and eat them. In addition the Mantri have a version of the sun-rope belief, viz. an idea that the sun is a woman tied by a string which her lord is always pulling, while the stars are the moon's children. The sun once had as many children as the moon, but, having been tricked by the latter into eating them, now pursues the moon, and, when he succeeds in biting her, causes an eclipse to happen. This explains why the moon hides her children by day.

In the beliefs of the Benua Jakun the world is globular in shape and enclosed in the sky. Farthest north and south are the extremities of a great beam, the north being twenty days' journey from Boko, where there was a great hill from which the north winds issued. The sun and moon move round the earth, producing darkness and light alternately.

10. Origin of man.—(*a*) *Malay.*—What is now the most usual account of the creation of man, from the four elements of earth, air, fire, and water, appears to be a Malayized version of the Muhammadan story. Adam was formed from the heart of the earth by the angel Azrael, not without strenuous opposition and protests from the earth itself. A common feature of Malayan romances and legends, which also appears in Japanese folklore, and is probably to be attributed to an Indian origin, describes the supernatural origin of human beings in the interior of some vegetable product, as, *e.g.*, in the story of a giant bamboo, which continually sent forth fresh shoots as it was cut down, and in which King Daśaratha, according to the story in *Sri Rama* (the Malay version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*), found the princess, or, again, in the tradition of the discovery of Teh Purba in the river-foam.

(*b*) *Pagan races.*—The Semang story of the origin of the human race is that the first woman, seeing that all other animals had children, was desirous of having offspring of her own, but did not know how to obtain them. She and her husband took to carrying a brace of fire-logs under their arm-pits by way of make-believe. But one day the coco-nut monkey (B'ro), on noticing what they were doing, gave them advice, as a result of which they had four children, two boys and two girls. These married and had children of their own, but the ring-dove (*tĕkukor*) warned the children of the first generation that they had united within the forbidden degrees, and advised them to separate and 'marry other people,' in which case their children might intermarry without impropriety.

Among the Mantri the story of their origin forms an incident in a group of myths connected with Mĕrtang, the first medicine-man, and his younger brother, Blö, who came from a place called 'Rising Land' (Tanah Bangun) in the sky and returned there after a sojourn on earth. They were the children of two people called 'Drop of Water' (Ayer Să-Titik) and 'Handful of Earth' (Tanah Să-Kĕpal), the latter being their mother. Mĕrtang took his youngest sister to wife, and from them the Mantri are descended. Blö married the other sister, but had no offspring. When men increased in numbers to an alarming extent, To' Entah (or 'Lord-knows-who'), the first *batin*, a son of Mĕrtang, drew his father's attention to the circumstance. Mĕrtang wished things to remain as they were, but Blö suggested that 'men ought rather to die, after the fashion of the banana, which itself expires, although its young scions survive.' Thus it was decided, and so the old now die, although they leave their children behind them. According to another version, the Mantri are descended from two white apes (*ungka putih*) who sent their young ones down into the plains, whereupon they developed so rapidly that they and their descendants became men. Yet another version says that men came down from heaven in a ship built by God, which floated upon the waters of the earth. The story of the princess found in the bamboo also occurs among the Mantri. She married the son of the first Raja, and she and her husband both live invisible to this very day.

Benua tradition says that a man and woman were created by Pirman when he formed the world. When the Lulumut mountains, the oldest land, rose out of the water, a ship of *pulai*[1] wood, completely enclosed, in which the man and woman were contained, was left floating on the surface of the water. After the ship ceased to move, they nibbled their way out, and from this pair men are descended. As the male child was born from the right leg and the female from the left, children of the same womb cannot marry. The Jakun say that God created a man and woman in heaven who came down to earth in the State of Johor.

11. Personality; the body and personal possessions.—Malays, in common with all peoples of a primitive civilization, have implicit faith in the magical possibilities of personality and of intimate personal possessions. This is very clearly shown in the beliefs relating to the spiritual or magical powers of the Rajas, the theory of the king as the divine man being strongly held and consistently adhered to. It is alleged that the Malay king originally had the right to slay any one at pleasure, without being guilty of a crime and without any inconvenient questions being asked him. Not only is his body sacred, but that sanctity extends to the royal regalia, which no one may touch, or even make models of, without incurring the risk of a grave illness, possibly even death itself. Any one who infringes the royal tabus, offends the royal person, or wrongfully makes use of the royal insignia or privileges will be struck down by the divine (quasi-electric) discharge of the royal sanctity (*daulat*). In the Malay romances the kings are credited with all the attributes of inferior gods; they are usually invulnerable and gifted with miraculous powers, such as that of transforming themselves, returning to life, and resuscitating the lives of others. As a divine man the Malay king possesses a number of prerogatives which enter into almost every act of life and effectually set him apart from ordinary men. One of these is the sole use of white for the royal umbrella, and the use of yellow cloth (the white umbrella, once the royal emblem throughout Indo-China, has now been abandoned for yellow). Linguistic tabus are also employed with reference to the king, such words as *santap*, 'to eat,' *bĕrādu*, 'to sleep,' *gĕring*, 'to be sick,' being substituted for the usual Malay words when reference is made to the royal person. At the Malay king's death his name is dropped and he is called Marhum,[1] the deceased, with the addition of a phrase descriptive of some prominent, and often uncomplimentary or grotesque, event of his lifetime. One of the most important and significant beliefs connected with the king is that which attributes to him a personal influence over the works of nature, such as the growth of the crops and the bearing of fruit-trees. This also, in a minor measure, applies to his delegates, and in modern times has even been extended to European officials employed in the government of the country.

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[1] ***Alstonia scholaris***, which furnishes the Malay substitute for cork.

In a lesser degree the magical property upon which the regal sanctity is based is a quality of the ordinary individual, though usually inversely in the sense that it is susceptible to evil influence, or, in the case of parts of the body, capable of conveying evil to the owner. The head is still, to some extent, regarded as sacrosanct. In cases of assault greater penalty is exacted for an injury to the head than for that to any other part of the person. Great circumspection is employed in cutting the hair; sometimes it is never shorn; more often it is not cut during a special period—*e.g.*, after the birth of a child. Often a boy's head is shaved after birth with the exception of one lock in the centre of the head, which is allowed to grow until he begins to grow up, or even, in consequence of some parental vow, until he attains the period of puberty or marriage. These customs may be due to the sanctity of the head, or possibly to the idea that magic may be brought to bear upon the former owner of the hair by means of that which has been cut off. For this reason both hair-clippings and nail-parings are carefully disposed of, while they are invariably mentioned as part of the ingredients of the well-known wax mannikin still believed to be most effective in bringing about the illness or death of an enemy. To the same category belongs the practice of kneading up with the substance of a mannikin the eyebrows or saliva of the intended victim, or soil taken from his footprint.

12. Holy places.—Notwithstanding the existence of the mosque as the centre of religious life, there is in every small district a sacred place, or 'high place' (*kĕrāmat*),[2] at which vows are paid on special occasions. Such spots are invested with a high degree of sanctity. In theory they are the burial-places of holy men, the early apostles of the Muhammadan faith, or the first founders of the village, and persons of local celebrity; but, as a matter of fact, in many if not in most cases, they belong to an earlier state of belief than such an origin would imply. Many of these *kĕrāmat* are not graves at all, but fall into the category of those holy places which the Malays themselves, when asked to interpret them, explain as being 'spirit places' (*kĕrāmat jin*). For instance, the *kĕrāmat* of Nakhoda ('shipmaster') Ḥusain on Bukit Nyalas, near the Johol frontier, consists of a group of rocks exhibiting no sign of any kind of burial. This (orthodox) *jin* presides over rain and streams and all kinds of water. Incense is burnt here to prevent floods and to get sufficient water for irrigation. It is probable that the name is a later accretion and the rite a relic of the worship of the spirit of streams of water. In another place the *kĕrāmat* is a tree with a protuberance on the trunk. This swelling is closely connected with the harvest; it increases in good years and in bad decreases.

In Klang there is a famous wishing-rock, called Batu Tre, to which the Mantri have resorted from time immemorial. A similar rock is situated on the top of Gunong Berembun ('Berembun Crag'), while other mountain summits also have similar wishing-places, each possessing its good spirit. The suppliant who visits these places carries with him a couple of white fowls and samples of various articles of food in a tray, which is suspended from a tree or placed on the highest peak of the summit. After his wishes have been silently addressed to the spirit of the mountain, the petitioner sets a meal prepared on the spot for the purpose.

It may be noted, however, that such sacred places were not recognized by the Semang, possibly owing to their nomadic habits. The Sakai and Jakun appear to have set apart certain sites for the purpose of burning incense and registering vows, and they had, in addition to these shrines, medicine-huts, either solitary cells in the depths of the forest, in which the medicine-man kept a selection of his charms and spells, or diminutive shelters which screened him and his patients during the ceremony of exorcism.

13. Rites: prayer and sacrifice.—In the case of both prayer and sacrifice, the Malay standpoint is entirely materialistic. The prayer is invariably a request for material advantage; its efficacy is increased by repetition. Sacrifice, as is shown by the language of the charm, is, or was originally, regarded as a simple gift. There is evidence, however, of the progression from this point of view to that of homage, and, finally, to that of self-abnegation. The spirit or deity is invited to eat or drink of the offerings placed before him. An intermediate stage between the gift and the idea of homage is marked by the use of substitutes and a sacrifice of parts for the whole. For instance, in the instruction of the magician, 'if the deity demands a human sacrifice, a cock may be substituted'[1]—a statement which points, moreover, to the former prevalence of human sacrifices. In one case a more explicit declaration was made to the present writer, who was told that for a man a buffalo could be substituted, for a buffalo a goat, for a goat a cock, for a cock an egg—a statement which explains the frequent use of an egg in Malay sacrifices. The idea of abnegation among the Malays appears to be confined to votal ceremonies or vows in which the votary's offering is not regulated by custom, but there is often a tacit understanding that he will sacrifice something of value to himself.

The chief rites performed on various occasions, to which reference is made below in connexion with special beliefs, are: (*a*) rites performed at shrines; (*b*) the rite of burning the incense; (*c*) the scattering of the sacrificial rice; and (*d*) the application of the neutralizing rice-paste.

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[1] Arab. *marḥūm*, 'one who has found [divine] mercy.'

[2] From Arab. *karāmah*, 'respect,' 'veneration,' 'miracle.'

[1] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 211; cf. p. 144, note.

(*a*) The principal elements of the rites performed at shrines are the burning of incense, the offering of *nasi kunyit* (yellow-stained rice), and the killing of he-goats. The worshippers partake of the flesh of the goats and, in some cases at least, of the yellow rice, while the white ('soul') cloth, five cubits in length, which is laid on the shrine now becomes the property of the mosque attendant (*bilal*), though formerly it doubtless went to the *pawang*.

(*b*) The burning of incense is the commonest form of burnt sacrifice. An invocation is sometimes addressed to the spirit of the incense, urging it 'to pervade the seven tiers of the earth and the seven tiers of heaven respectively,'[1] so as to ensure that the offering reaches the nostrils of the gods. Omens are drawn from the way in which the smoke rises.

(*c*) The scattering of the sacrificial rice is performed with four varieties of rice-grain (parched, washed, saffron-stained, and a special kind called 'glutinous rice,' or *pulut*). The parched rice is generally used for scattering on the sacrificial tray after banana-leaves have been spread over it. The saffron-stained and the washed rice are sprinkled on the persons to be benefited, or upon the ground or house-floor, while the glutinous rice is generally used for feasts at high places.

(*d*) Lustration is accomplished by fire or water. Of the former the best examples are the fumigation of infants and the roasting of the mother after child-birth. One form of lustration by water is an integral portion of a large class of ceremonies, such as those relating to building, fishing, agriculture, marriage, etc. It is called *tĕpong tawar*, or the 'neutralizing rice-paste' (really rice-flour water). It consists in the application, by dabbing, painting, or sprinkling, of a thin paste (made by mixing the rice-flour with water, taken up in a leaf-brush or sprinkler) on the objects which it is intended to protect or neutralize. The brush is made of bunches of five, seven, or nine leaves of certain plants bound with fibrous strings of shredded tree-bark or creeper. The materials and combinations vary, of course, with the object and occasion of the ceremony (whether, *e.g.*, for a marriage, for blessing the fishing-stakes, or for taking the rice-soul). Short rhythmic charms were often used to accompany the rites, but were not repeated audibly.

Developments of the idea of lustration by water are to be found in the bathing of the mother and child after birth and the washing of the floor on similar occasions, the ablution of the sick, of the bride and bridegroom, and of corpses, and the annual bathing expeditions which purify the bathers and protect them from evil. Fasting in the form of religious penance is now seldom practised, but used in former days to be undertaken to secure a state of exaltation, to induce visions, or to acquire supernatural powers. The fast always took place in a solitary place, usually on the summit of a lofty hill or mountain. Such fasts did not imply complete abstinence; a small modicum of rice was allowed daily, with the result that they might be prolonged almost indefinitely.

14. Magic and the medicine-man.—(*a*) *Malay.*—Although the office of the medicine-man, or magician (*pawang*), is falling into abeyance in towns, it was at one time of great importance; and this is still the case to a large extent in country places. The *pawang* is the accredited intermediary between men and spirits, and, although he has no connexion with the Muhammadan religion, without him no village community would be complete. The office is often hereditary, or at least confined to the members of one family. Certain properties, such as a peculiar kind of head-dress, are, as it were, the regalia or official insignia, and are handed down from one generation to another. The functions of the medicine-man are many and diverse. Few of the operations of life can be undertaken without his intervention. In fishing, trapping, and hunting, in the gathering of jungle produce, in agricultural matters, such as sowing, reaping, irrigation, and clearing the jungle, in prospecting for minerals of all kinds, in every crisis of life—birth, adolescence, and marriage—of sickness, death, and burial, his aid is invoked to decide the propitious moment for action, to prescribe the ritual, and to carry out the rites. Not the least important of his powers in former days was that of controlling the weather—traces of which are still preserved in Malay weather charms. For his services in these matters he receives a small payment.

For the most part the *pawang's* instructions consist of prohibitions, or *pantang*; *e.g.*, it is *pantang* in some places to work in the rice-fields on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the lunar months; certain instruments are proscribed: in the interior a reaping-hook may not be used for cutting the *padi*, or at least the *tuai* (a small instrument consisting of a crescent-shaped blade, set transversely in a slip of bamboo, which will cut only one or two heads of rice at a time) must be used to begin the reaping. By these prohibitions, it may be concluded, the *pawang* preserves the traditional method of an older *régime*—*e.g.*, in enforcing an adherence to the custom of the fixed maximum prices for the sale of rice and other articles within the village, infraction of which entails a bad harvest.

The *pawang* is sometimes supposed to keep a familiar spirit which is hereditary in the family, enabling him to deal summarily with wild spirits of a noxious character, and also to bewitch and thus to punish people who are bold enough to dispute his authority. Such punishment is usually inflicted by a 'sending,' or 'pointing,' one form of which consisted in pointing a kris in the direction of the intended victim, the point of the dagger beginning to drip blood as soon as the charm began to work. Another form consists in burning the point of the cordiform top of a newly opened bunch of bananas growing on the tree; this causes excruciating agony; then the *pawang* cuts off the top and the victim dies vomiting blood, his heart having fallen out of its proper position. The Malay witch also commonly keeps a familiar, which may have as its embodiment a night-owl, a badger, etc.

In certain respects, it is important to note, the magician stands on the same footing as the divine man or king; *e.g.*, he possesses a regalia which is called by the same name (*kabĕsāran*) as the insignia of royalty, he may (at least in some cases) use the royal colour, and he may, like the king himself, enforce the ceremonial use and disuse of certain words and phrases. Probably both offices are held to be dangerous. Other powers and attributes of the medicine-man which may be mentioned are his ability to act as a spirit-medium and to give oracles in trances, and his practice of austerities and observation of chastity for the time being. His use of mesmerism is not yet recorded, but motor automatism certainly occurs.[1]

Although the office of magician is hereditary, the power may be acquired by certain recognized methods. One of these is to raise and meet face to face the ghost of a recently murdered man or of an infant, by means of incantations and fumigations performed at the grave-side.

The Malays themselves make some distinctions between the *pawang* and the *bomor*, the latter being the medicine-man who is concerned especially with the curing of diseases. The two terms are, however, sometimes used as if they were interchangeable. The basic principles of the medical man's art are identical with those of the *pawang*; they depend upon a belief in spirits, and the aim of his treatment is either to propitiate or to overcome their influence.

The *bomor's* procedure in dealing with disease falls under two clearly distinguished headings. First comes the ceremonial inspection or diagnosis, when the character of the therapeutic treatment is determined by divination, by means of omens from the smoke of burning incense, by the position of coins thrown into a water-jar, or by the aspect of parched rice floating on the water's surface.

The therapeutic rites are various in character:

(1) *Propitiatory ceremonies*, the most popular of which is the use of the sacrificial tray called *anchak*, a small frame of bamboo or wood decorated with a fringe of plaited coco-nut-leaf, on which offerings of food are laid for the spirits to eat when it has been hung in a suitable spot outside the house.

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[1] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 75.

[1] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 466–468.

As an alternative method models of certain objects are placed upon the tray, the evil spirits are invited to enter them, and the tray is then got rid of by being hung up in the jungle or set adrift on the sea or nearest river.

(2) *Neutralizing ceremonies*—the use of counter-charms to neutralize the active principle of poisons, extended by the medicine-men to cure all cases where any evil principle (even a familiar spirit) is believed to have entered a sick person's body. The ceremony of applying such charms usually consists in mixing powder from a grated bezoar-stone or celt with water and drinking it after reciting the incantation.

(3) *Expulsory ceremonies*—rites intended to expel from the patient's body all kinds of evil influences or principles, such as may have entered him on his touching a dead animal or bird, or from meeting the 'Wild Huntsman.' The evil principle known as *badi* attaches to everything that has life, including inert objects such as trees, and even stones and minerals, which, in the Malay view, are animate. Of these evil principles or 'mischiefs' there are one hundred and ninety, or, according to some, one hundred and ninety-three. To 'cast out the mischief,' the patient is stroked down with a brush (made of certain prescribed leaves and plant-sprays) which has been dipped in water in which woods have been grated or pieces of scrap-iron allowed to soak, or else he is rubbed with limes, appropriate charms being recited in either case. In another form of the ceremony the 'mischief' is driven from the body along a red thread, which the patient holds in his hand, until it reaches certain dough images of birds, beasts, and fishes, placed upon the *anchak*. A 'disease-boat,' sometimes a mere raft, is also used as a vehicle for the spirits and set afloat on sea or river. The evil may also be expelled by a long and elaborate ceremony in which a protective spirit, such as the tiger- or elephant-spirit, may be summoned. In such cases the spirit, seizing upon the medicine-man, who, while in a state of possession, simulates the movements of the animal-spirit summoned, expels the evil by its superior spiritual powers.

(4) *Revivificatory ceremonies*—ceremonies to recall the sick person's *sĕmangat*. In one such rite dough is rolled into a human figure, which is laid upon five cubits of white cloth. Rice is scattered, incense burned, and a charm recited to induce the *sĕmangat* to enter the dough image and be transferred thence to the soul-cloth, and thence to the patient. Similar ceremonies are used to prevent the *sĕmangat* of a swooning person from escaping.

(*b*) *Pagan races.*—The *bĕlian* (shaman, or medicine-man) is the most important member of the tribe among the Semang. In normal circumstances the chiefs or head-men are always *bĕlians* of more or less reputation. They obey certain prohibitions which do not affect ordinary members of the tribe: they may not eat the flesh of domestic animals, like the goat or buffalo, and that of domestic fowls but rarely. They receive a special form of burial, traditionally regarded as specially honourable, consisting of a rude shelter built in a tree, in which are placed a modicum of food and water, a jungle-knife, etc. It is believed that they are able to proceed to paradise in trances and to drive out devils. They alone know the love-charms that never fail, and can slay men by 'sendings' at a distance of several days' journey. They alone have the power to change themselves into wer-tigers, and at their death their *sĕmangat* passes into the body of an elephant, tiger, or rhinoceros. When the latter dies, they proceed to paradise.

Not merely are diseases caused by demons, but they *are* demons, and have to be exorcized as such. They are abstracted sympathetically from the body by pulling up sapling stumps at or near the place where the disease is believed to have entered the patient. The affected part is rubbed with earth taken from the hole in which the root grew; chewed betel is ejected on the body (in imitation of the Malay medicine-man), and the hurling of dead saplings into the wood, so that the evil spirits may be cast out likewise, ends the ceremony.

'Sendings' or 'pointings' are achieved by a minute dart or splinter of bamboo about two inches long, which is laid on the right palm and is ordered to go forth and slay the victim. This dart or sliver flies through the air and, reaching the victim, pierces his heart and kills him. Sometimes a taper formed of wax from a deserted bees' comb is burned at the same time. Such 'sendings' were said by the Semang to be effective at 'a distance of probably two days' journey.'

The Mantri believe that all diseases are caused either by the spells of bad men or by spirits. Among the latter are the smallpox demon, which the Mantri avoid even mentioning by name; the dropsical demon (*hantu kĕmbong*), which haunts the abodes of men and afflicts them with pains in the stomach and head; the Demon Huntsman (the *hantu si buru* of Malayan origin), who dwells in lakes or pools, is black, and has three dogs which he will cause to chase a man in the forest; if they catch him, they will drink his blood. In every stream, in the ground, in trees, and in caves and crevices of rocks dwell malignant demons who cause disease or mischief to men in various ways, as by sucking their blood and thus causing their death. When a person is wounded, the *hantu pari* fastens on the lesion and causes the blood to flow by sucking. The Berembun tribes believe that diseases are inflicted by the spirits of the rivers (*hantu sungei*), which are evil and feed on the human *sĕmangat*.

The Mantri magician's most noted form of 'sending' is the *tūju*, or pointing ceremony, which is achieved by the use of wax from an abandoned bees' nest.

When a wind blows in the direction of the victim, the magician takes a vessel of water and a lighted candle or two, and mutters an incantation while 'gazing' into the water. When he discerns the image of his intended victim in the water, he throws the wax into the air, and the wind instantaneously carries it to his victim. The latter feels as if struck by some unseen assailant, and is immediately seized by sickness, which may result in death, should the strength of the spell be great enough.

This attack may be averted if the victim has surrounded himself by counter-spells or charms of a prophylactic character. These may not only ward off the blow, but may even prevent the magician from seeing the image of the victim in the water. Amulets are much used as prophylactics against those diseases which are most frequently attributed to 'sendings,' but which may also be due to unsatisfied cravings (*sākit pūnan*).

Among the Benua Jakun the magicians are an order combining the offices of priest, physician, and sorcerer. They and the Bĕsisi medicine-men are much dreaded by the Malays, who believe them (as autochthones) to be more powerful than their own magicians, especially, *e.g.*, in matters in which the performance of the Bĕsisi *bĕrsawai* ceremony is likely to be effective. Not only can the medicine-men cure, but they can inflict disease and death-sickness. This is usually effected by the 'pointing,' or *tūju*, ceremony. Even tigers are subject to these medicine-men, and every magician of repute is believed to have one in constant attendance. In curing disease, incantations are accompanied by the music of the *gĕlondang*, a long bamboo struck by sticks, which are always made of wood of the *mĕrawan* tree. Conjurations are addressed to Jiwa-jiwa (=Mal.-Skr. *deva-deva*), who resides in heaven and alone can approach Pirman. The incantations last all night for one, two, three, or four nights, until the medicine-man announces that he has received the medicine or that the deity is inexorable. The Berembun tribes, like the Malays, attribute the magician's powers to his command over spirits. Every shaman has disciples, who accompany him when he visits the sick. These pupils alone enter the small hut of leaves erected near the house in which the medicine-man performs his incantations, these being continued until the wizard is possessed by the spirit. The latter then answers the medicine-man's questions respecting the mode of treating the diseased person. The Jakun of Madek (Johor) believed that the great magicians (*poyang bĕsar*) of the tribe could reach heaven itself, and that they could disappear without dying, or else, on sickening for death, by arranging to have incense burned over them for two days after their apparent decease, they could return to life again.

A ceremony of exorcism known as *sĕoi*, or, more commonly, as *sawai*, is employed by the Bĕsisi in case of illness or when an answer is required to a question concerning the welfare of an individual.

The ceremony takes place in a hut in complete darkness. After incantations accompanied by the rhythmic drumming of bamboo 'stampers' on the central beam of the floor, the spirit descends upon one member of the company, who answers any questions put to him while he is in a state of trance or possession. In the case of illness the magician erects a small leaf-chamber or cell (*balai bumbun*) near the walls of the hut, in which he conceals himself while the ceremony progresses.

The Blandas employ spells and exorcisms to cast out disease and evil spirits. Spirits of tigers, elephants, and monkeys are summoned to enter the magician's body, and the sick man is then brushed with leaves seven times downwards from head to foot while a charm is repeated. In the blood-throwing charm water is used, and a charm against the Wild Huntsman is also recited.

15. Birth ceremonies and beliefs.—(*a*) *Malay.*—There are four spirits, or, rather, demons, which are specially feared by the Malays in relation to child-birth. The *bajang*, a demon which appears in the form of a civet-cat, is evoked by incantation over the grave of a still-born child. It may, however, be inherited, and its possessor can send illness, usually in the form of convulsions or delirium, to an enemy. It is especially inimical to children, who are sometimes made to wear a black silk string armlet as a protection against its attacks. The *langsuir*, a woman who has died in child-birth, becomes a flying demon, or banshee, who, through a hole in the back of her neck, sucks the blood of children. It is believed that these demons have on occasion become wives and mothers, but, when allowed to dance at village merrymakings, they will assume their original form and fly off again into the forest. The *pontianak* is the still-born daughter of a *langsuir*. As a precaution intended to prevent the dead mother or still-born child from originating these mischiefs, the *langsuir* and *pontianak* are buried with glass beads in the mouth (to prevent them from shrieking), an egg under each armpit (to prevent them from waving their arms in flight), and needles in the palm of each hand (to prevent them from opening and shutting their hands in flying). The *pontianak* appears under the form of a species of night-owl. The *pĕnanggalan*, a colossal flying head with hair matted by clots of blood, a species of monstrous vampire or banshee that sucks the blood of children, sits on the roof-tree, or endeavours to force its way through the floor, whenever a child is born, to attack the infant. In addition to these four spirits specifically connected with child-birth, there are the familiar two, called *polong* and *pĕlĕsit*, which also give rise to anxiety at this time, though they do not confine their activities to new-born children. The *polong* originates from the blood of a murdered man which has been placed in a bottle and over which certain incantations have been recited. It is described as a diminutive female figure about as large as the top joint of the little finger, and is usually preceded by the *pĕlĕsit*, its pet or favourite, which, in the form of a cricket, searches for a victim and enters his body, when found, tail foremost. The *pĕlĕsit* is obtained by exhuming the body of a first-born child, a first-born mother's offspring, which has been dead for less than forty days, and burying the child's tongue, with incantations, in a spot where three cross-roads meet. It has been noticed that these demons belong to the category of familiar spirits who are sent to attack their victims by an owner, and, as such, are sharply distinguished from the more primitive animistic ideas relating to disease, etc., which are held by the Bomor.

In regard to the observances at and after child-birth, it is usual to engage the midwife (*bidan*) in the seventh month by sending her a copper vessel containing four or five areca-nuts, three or four packets of betel-leaf, tobacco, and so forth, all of which the *bidan* charms and then empties upon the floor for the purpose of taking the omens. She then chews some of the betel-leaf and ascertains the child's horoscope. At the appointed time she chooses the luckiest place in the house for the child to be born, by dropping an adze-blade, point downwards, first in one place and then in another, until it sticks upright in the ground (under the usual Malay pile-dwelling). Beneath this spot, under the raised floor of the house, are fastened a bunch of prickly screw-pine leaves, the 'acid' egg-plant, or *brinjaul*, and a *lĕkar jantan* (rattan stand for a cooking-pot) as a snare for and protection against any evil spirit (who will, it is believed, prick himself with the former and catch his head in the latter as in a noose). Demons so caught have been pecked to death by the fowls. A tray covered with husked uncooked rice and two mats with several thicknesses of sarong between are prepared for the child's reception. As soon as the new-born infant is laid upon this, it is formally adopted by the father, who (nowadays) breathes into its ear a Muhammadan formula. Mother and child are purified by bathing in warm water containing various kinds of leaves, with areca palm-blossoms. The child is then swaddled. Mother and child are next marked, especially the latter, as a precaution against convulsions and straining, and also, in the case of both, by way of protection against evil spirits. For this ceremony chips of wood from the thin end of the threshold, from the house-ladder, or from the house furniture, in combination with a coat of garlic, a coat of an onion, assafœtida, a rattan pot-stand, and fibre taken from the monkey-face of an unfertile coco-nut, are collected and burned, and the ashes are mixed with a little betel-water. The proper charm is repeated, and, the forefinger having been dipped in the mixture, the centre of the child's forehead is marked—if a boy, with an arrow-shaped mark; if a girl, with a cross, and also with daubs on nose, cheeks, chin, and shoulders. The mother is marked with a line from breast to breast and on the end of the nose also. The evil one will then, it is thought, take woman and child to be his own (who are supposed to be similarly marked) and refrain from harming them. In addition, if the child is a girl, the eyebrows are shaved, and a curve is drawn in their place, extending from the root of the nose to the ear. If the head is considered to be 'too long' (the Malays being on the whole a round-headed race), a yam-leaf cap is made to compress it.

Other ceremonies affecting the child are the administering of the 'mouth-opener,' the rite of giving the first drink from half a green coco-nut, followed by the laying of a gold and a silver and an amalgam ring on its lips, and by fumigating it before it is laid for the first time in the swing-cot, which takes the place of the Malayan cradle. The cot is protected by a funnel-shaped bunch of leaves of the *brinjaul* and other materials, including the casing of the charred torch used at the severing of the umbilical cord, a spice-block, and a trap against blood-sucking demons, made of a *parang*-blade, a coco-nut scraper, and a rattan pot-stand. This trap hangs under the bunch of leaves. The spice-block is explained as being a substitute for the child itself; it is laid in the cot during the first part of the fumigation ceremony, and for the first seven days, whenever the child is taken from the cot, the block must replace it. The naming ceremony takes place usually within the first week, and the first head-shaving and nail-cutting a few days later. Of the naming ceremonies the most characteristic is represented by the east-coast practice of writing seven different names on as many separate banana-fruits, and then allowing the infant to choose between them.

The most characteristically Malayan custom connected with child-birth is that which requires the mother to 'ascend the roasting-place' (*naik saleian*) daily. A rough couch is prepared for her on a small platform, beneath which a large fire is lighted, and upon this bed she has to recline two or three times a day, and that, moreover, for an hour or two together. Sometimes heated hearth-stones wrapped in rags are applied to her stomach. This is said to continue for the whole period of the forty-four days of convalescence. In some cases the 'roasting' was carried out with such rigour as to cause aberration of mind or even the death of the unfortunate patient. At the end of the forty-fourth day a purificatory ceremony takes place, wherein the floor is smeared with rice cosmetic and scratched over by the claws of a fowl held tightly in the grasp of the cleanser. At about the same period, of the fortieth day, the child (in Perak) is presented to the river-spirits, being made to stand with one foot on a couple of coco-nuts and the other on a fowl (both of which have been deposited in the water). A boy then, if the infant is a boy, is sent up-stream to catch a fish with a casting-net; if a girl, a girl acts as the fisher. In Upper Perak the baby himself, with a number of other young children, is caught in the net; he will then never want for fish to feed on.[1]

During the forty-four days' period there are many food prohibitions—*e.g.*, any foods which, from the Malay point of view, are lowering, such as certain vegetable foods, things which irritate the skin or cause faintness, sugar (except coco-nut sugar), coco-nuts themselves, and chillies are prohibited.

Both before and after child-birth many prohibitions are laid not only on the wife, but also on her husband. The latter may not shave his head or cut his hair until after the child's birth; he may not sit in or obstruct the doorway. Any untoward act may cause deformity: a child was born with only a thumb, forefinger, and little finger on the left hand owing to the father having, just previously to the child's birth, killed a crab with a cutlass. In fact, it was at one time prohibited for him to cut the throat of a buffalo or a fowl preparatory to cooking it, or even to take any life whatever. In Perak any log marked by, or distorted in growth by, a parasite, if used in building the house, would cause deformity, protract delivery, and endanger the life of both mother and infant.

(*b*) *Pagan races.*—Superstitions and practices connected with birth, so far as known among the pagan tribes, or, rather, among those pagan tribes for whom Malayan origin and affinities are here claimed, strongly confirm the view that the popular beliefs of the more highly civilized natives of the peninsula are essentially primitive in character. The practice of roasting the mother, *e.g.*, of course on a quite minor scale, is found among the Jakun, Bĕsisi, and Mantri, while among the Blandas the charms used at birth are directed against the demons, the *langhui* (Malay *langsuir*), *polong*, and *pontianak*—identical, at least in name, with those of the Malays. Another incantation is repeated at the moment of removing the caul as a charm against the caul-demon, which licks up the blood of the sufferer. The Sakai bury the umbilicus and placenta under human habitations so that the rain may not beat upon them and turn them into birth-demons.

It must be stated, however, that our knowledge of the birth customs of the pagan tribes is by no means adequate, and the whole subject awaits further investigation. In one account of the Semang, for instance, it was alleged that their birth customs were based upon a belief in a bird-soul which was carried by the expectant mother in a bamboo receptacle; but, although the conception of the *sĕmangat* as a bird is certainly familiar to the Malays, this statement still awaits confirmation among the wild tribesmen. Both Sakai and Jakun make use of the services of a *sage-femme*, who, among the former, has a special hut used by the women of the tribe for purposes of confinement.

The Bĕsisi decorate the mother's mosquito-curtains with the leaf-hangings used on all important ceremonial occasions, while among the Mantri a cup of water is charmed during labour and administered to the mother. The sap of certain leaves is given to the child, and a charm is repeated. A name, which is retained until marriage, is given to the child at the moment when the umbilical cord is severed. The Benua Jakun fastened round the neck of the child at birth a string to which pieces of turmeric, and so forth, were attached. The Jakun also observed a number of food prohibitions: while the children were unable to walk, the parents abstained from certain fish and animal foods, the latter including fowls and eggs, deer of all kinds, tortoises, and lizards.

16. Adolescence and maturity customs. — (*a*) *Malay.*—Of the purely Malay ceremonies at adolescence the most important are the filing of the teeth and the cutting of the first locks of hair—the latter, of course, only when, owing to some vow of the parents, the 'first head-shaving' operation has been postponed until marriage.

Tooth-filing is done by a professional tooth-wizard (*pawang gigi*). Neutralizing rice-paste, charms, and the scattering of the several kinds of sacrificial rice and rings of precious metal are employed by the *pawang* in order to avert the 'mischief' (*badi*) from his instrument, as well as from the teeth of the patient. The medicine-man's eyes are considered to be especially endangered by the *badi* emanating from the teeth, while an unskilled performer may cause much pain to the patient if he does not know thoroughly how to 'neutralize' the evil.

The rings of precious metal which are pressed against the patient's teeth as part of the rite of extracting the *badi* are also used in the hair-cutting ceremony. The bride's hair is arranged in seven long tresses hanging down her back below the veil which, on this occasion, shrouds her head; to each of these is attached a ring of precious metal, and then each tress of hair, on being cut, is allowed to fall with the attached ring into a coco-nut vessel (ornamented for the purpose with a chevron edge), which is half full of fresh coco-nut milk. For this ceremony also the proceedings are opened by the aspersion of the bride with the neutralizing rice-water, some of it being also sprinkled on the palm of her left hand, by those who take part in the ceremony.

The ear-boring ceremony appears to have fallen into abeyance, though in some of the Malay States a special kind of large, round, ornamental ear-ring, or ear-stud, is still the mark of virginity. Significantly, the ear-studs of a virgin bride are tied on to the ear-lobes of a widow who remarries, the latter being regarded, so to speak, as a sort of 'merry widow,' and being, in fact, actually called jeeringly 'the widow adorned' (*janda bĕr-hiyas*). Ear-boring is now usually performed when the child is quite an infant.

Circumcision is practised, the instrument being traditionally a knife of bamboo, but in all the mere accessaries of the practice it seems to be entirely a non-Muhammadan rite. Especially in the Northern States it is accompanied by such a wealth of irrelevant detail as to suggest that it has been grafted upon an ancient festival (probably the tonsure ceremony) belonging to an older faith than that of Islām.[1]

It is accompanied by the usual purificatory rites, and the ceremony is made the occasion for a banquet, at which the boy is dressed like a pilgrim and stained with henna like a bridegroom, after which the customary gifts are offered. In Perak he is then taken aside and robed in rich raiment, his mouth filled with the sacrificial saffron-stained rice, and his body sprinkled with the purifying rice-dust. After this, two coco-nuts and two small packets of rice are slowly rolled over him from head to foot. A hen is then placed 'on his chest to pick up grains of the yellow rice from his mouth. This is done to drive away ill-luck.'[2] The boy's teeth are next tapped with a stone by the operator, and, after feasting, a procession to the river follows, the object of which is to propitiate the water-spirit. The boy then has his top-knot shorn off and returns to the house for the actual circumcision, during which he takes his seat either on a sack of rice or on the stem of a banana. In the procession the youths are sometimes carried on men's shoulders, sometimes (east coast) in a litter shaped like some strange bird or mythical animal.

The girls' ceremony is much simpler, much more private; it was formerly accompanied by ear-boring and tooth-filing, and by staining the teeth 'black as a borer-bee's wing.' Large round ear-studs were also formerly assumed by girls at this period, as emblems of maidenhood; but, though these are still sometimes worn on the east coast, they are now assumed, on the west coast, only at the wedding ceremony in preparation for the rite of discarding them a few days later.[3]

In the same part of the peninsula (east coast) the ceremony is not called, as on the west coast, 'entering into Islām,' but, most significantly, *masok jawi*, which means literally 'admission into the body of the Malay people'—the most usual meaning of *jawi* being the vernacular, or 'Malay,' language. Yet another term for the ceremony in these parts was 'purification' (*chuchi tŭboh*, literally 'cleansing of the person')—a phrase which is also applied in the same parts of the country to marriage.

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[1] R. J. Wilkinson, in *Papers on Malay Subjects* [printed for the F.M.S. Government], 1908, 'Life and Customs,' pt. i. p. 5.

[1] Cf. Wilkinson, p. 68. [2] *Ib.* p. 17 f. [3] *Ib.* p. 19

(*b*) *Pagan races.*—Of the various operations with which it is usual among primitive peoples to mark the attainment of maturity, neither incision nor circumcision is practised by the wild tribes except, in the case of the former, among the Sembrong and Jakun of the Batu Pahat in Johor, and the Benua, and, in the case of the latter, as elsewhere, only where Muhammadan influence has penetrated. It may, in fact, be said that the rite is virtually synonymous with conversion to Islām, and that it may be taken as the broad dividing-line between Muhammadanism and mere pagandom. Nor, with the exception of a single record from the Perak Sakai, is there any tatuing in the strict sense of the expression. Scarification, however, is found among both Semang and Sakai, but not among the Jakun, and, judging both from distribution and from frequency, there is good reason to believe that the custom originated among the Sakai, and was introduced, though only to a limited degree, among the Semang. The scarification consists of divergent lines on the cheek from the nose towards the ear, produced by the scratches of a thorn or edge of a sugar-cane leaf, charcoal being rubbed into these scratches by way of pigment. Body-painting is of wider distribution, and is to be seen among Semang, Sakai, and Jakun, but more especially among the Sakai. The colours used are black, white, red, and occasionally yellow. The designs are decorative and magical rather than tribal. Perforation of the nasal septum with the wearing of a nose-bar or porcupine's quill also appears to be more especially a Sakai practice. Boring the ears, however, is, as a ceremony, practically universal, whilst the ceremonial filing and blackening of the teeth may belong rather to the Malayan order of ideas. It occurs among the Semang of Kedah and Kelantan, but is there undoubtedly borrowed from the Malays of the neighbouring country.

The shaving of the head, with the exception of a top-knot, which is temporarily removed at puberty, is found among the Semang, but, though also found with differences among the Malays, is most likely a native custom of the wild Negritos, as it is also found among their Andamanese kindred.

17. Betrothal and marriage.—(*a*) *Malay.*—Negotiations for marriage and the ceremony of betrothal are carried out by representatives of the families implicated. The betrothal is a simple affair, consisting chiefly of the offering of betel-leaf by the representatives of the prospective bridegroom and its acceptance by the bride's parents, the two parties meeting in a 'family circle,' at which the offer used originally to be made, and the reply given, in rhyming stanzas. The term of the engagement is then settled. The amount of the marriage settlement is fixed by custom at two *bharas* of dollars ($22, about £2, 6s.) in Selangor, or $31·25 (about £3, 5s.) in Perak, etc. The sum is not usually mentioned unless a modification of this arrangement is to be made. A breach on the part of the bride's parents involves forfeiture of double the marriage portion. The affianced pair avoid one another, but there is a regular system of exchange of presents, those given by the girl being deposited in exquisitely woven baskets made in the shape of birds or fishes. It should be added that the Malay name of the ceremony in the peninsula, *bĕrpīnang*, is an interesting parallel to the splitting of the betel-nut (*pinang*), which is the symbolical act of betrothal to this day among the Dayaks of Borneo.

The actual marriage ceremonies cover a period of four days, beginning with the work of decorating both houses, which includes the erection of a dais, with two standard candlesticks, often 6 ft. high, before the door of the bride's chamber. The arrangement of the dais (*pĕlammin*) is of extreme importance, since the number of big white (or in case of a Raja, yellow) pillows used indicates, according to a rigid code of etiquette, the rank of the contracting parties. The whole of the dais is covered with a mosquito-curtain, and the walls of the chamber are adorned with striped or 'rainbow' hangings (*kain pĕlangi*), while the ceiling is decked with an awning or 'heaven' (*langit-langit*).

The basic forms of the rite, which were those of a royal wedding, include the so-called 'bride-price,' the food-sharing ceremony, and the approximation of the dress of the bride (who on this occasion wears trousers) to that of her husband (who wears a skirt). It is this fact that, as A. E. Crawley[1] has explained, helps to account for the apparent resemblance to royal ceremonies that may be noticed in so many Malay customs. The idea seems partly to disguise the subjects of the ceremony in order to avert the possible danger attaching to what is certainly regarded as a critical occasion, and partly to promote a more perfect union between the pair by means of (1) a pledge passing between them (*i.e.* the 'bride-price') as well as by (2) the sharing of a meal together, and (3) the obliteration (so far as may be practicable) of the distinctions of sex. The pretence of kingship by which the bridegroom is made to wear the bracelets, chain, neck-ornament (and, if we may go by the analogy of Malay funeral custom, even the kris) is simply, therefore, an attempt to secure a really effective disguise for the party in danger. The shaving of the bride's forehead may be similarly explained, since the bridegroom is also shaved. Although these are all likewise usages of royalty, it is wrong to regard them merely as a species of social self-advertisement; they are really the paraphernalia worn by all persons of the Malayan race on certain critical occasions,[2] in order to banish the spirits of evil and thus to avert mischief and danger. Till recent years the ceremonies over the greater part of the peninsula were almost entirely non-Muhammadan, and often took place in country districts without the intervention of any mosque official whatever. Lustrations followed, and on the east coast processions in monstrous or bird-shaped litters.

In certain details the wedding ceremonial has now become Muhammadanized in character; among these is to be included, most probably, the staining of the fingers of the bride and bridegroom with henna. The henna-staining at first is done in seclusion ('by stealth'), the initial public appearance of the married couple at their respective dwellings occurring on the second night, when ceremonial rice-water is sprinkled, offerings of rice made to each of the parties, and the 'henna dance' (*tari hinei*) performed; on the fourth day the procession of the bridegroom to the house of the bride's parents takes place. Here, on his arrival, his progress was in former days occasionally opposed by a mimic conflict (*mĕlawa*), which terminated only on his payment of a small fine or ransom to these (for the nonce) self-constituted 'authorities.' This part of the ceremony, which used to be explained as an example of the so-called 'marriage by capture,' is now taken to be merely an expression of the antagonism between the sexes. In some cases a rope or piece of red cloth barred the way, and a stout resistance was offered until the bridegroom had paid the fine demanded. Even then admission to the house had to be made against the resistance of women of the bride's party. The simple marriage service—a mere bald statement of the fact and of its acceptance by the groom—is now performed by the *imām* (Muhammadan priest) in the presence of the bridegroom only. It is said that, according to the old custom, the ceremony took place on the day before the procession. The groom is then taken to the bride, and both are seated ceremonially side by side (*bĕrsanding*)[1] on the dais and partake of rice, each feeding the other from a specially-prepared receptacle (*nasi sĕtakōna*=Skr. *aṣṭakoṇa*, 'octangle')—an octagonal erection of three tiers which holds the 'rice of the presence' (*nasi adap-adap*), coloured eggs (*tĕlor joran*), etc., and stands before the *pĕlammin*. The eggs, which have coloured streamers, and represent a fruit, with flower and leaf, are given to the guests as wedding favours. On the third day of the lustrations which follow the marriage the ceremony of bathing for good fortune takes place in the evening. Later, at night, a bonfire was formerly lit outside the house and the groom 'stolen,' *i.e.* carried off to his parents. He was escorted back to his house next day, and a water-fight with syringes (called 'water-bows') took place (sometimes in a specially-erected pavilion) between the friends of the two parties. After this the bride and bridegroom each pulled one of the ends of a slip-knot made of a young coconut frond, and the bridegroom broke through threads wound seven times round himself and the bride; in some cases (Patani) the threads were severed by burning. Seven days after the concluding feast-day the rite of the 'discarding of the ear-rings'—the emblems of the bride's maidenhood—takes place. For two years the bridegroom may be expected to remain under the roof of his mother-in-law. It has been remarked that in the 'bridal rice' (*nasi bĕr-astăkōna*), in the 'bridal thread' (*bĕnang pancharōna*), and in the 'bathing pavilion' (*balai pancha-pĕrsāda*) we have not only Indian customs, but Indian names.[2]

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[1] *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 336, quoting the Malay ceremony.

[2] Not specially in connexion with kingship.

In addition to this regular form of marriage with the consent of the girls' parents, the Malays recognized another form of marriage when the parents were notoriously unwilling, the essential feature being that the would-be bridegroom, fully armed, must force his way to the women's apartment and secure the person of his bride, or prevent her from escaping. If the parents should then give their consent, the customary payments were doubled. This procedure was known as the *panjat angkara*.

In a second and more peaceful form, the *panjat 'adat* (once frequently employed by Malayan Rajas), the groom did not break into the house himself, but sent his kris, accompanied by a message that he was ready with the dower, doubled in accordance with custom. If the kris was returned (*e.g.*, on an unfavourable answer), the parents must send back with it a double dower.

W. E. Maxwell gave both these forms of marriage as being recognized by Malay custom.[3] Wilkinson, however, assenting to the second, regards the first as a mere *crime passionel*.[4]

The marriage ceremony is called in most parts of the peninsula by terms which are obviously of Arabic or Persian origin; on the east coast, however, where Muslim influence is less strong, it is often termed, significantly, by a Malay word denoting 'purification.' Like their Polynesian co-linguists, certain Malays (*e.g.*, Nĕgri Sembīlan) forbid the marriage of two brothers' (or sisters') son and daughter, but not that of a brother's son and a sister's daughter.

(*b*) *Pagan races*.—Among the pagan tribes the essential feature in the marriage ceremony is a ritual purchase and a repast shared between bride and bridegroom. Among the Semang the price consisted of the blade of a chopper (*parang*), presented by the bridegroom to the bride's parents, and a coiled girdle of great length, said to be manufactured from the rootlets of the sugar-palm, given to the bride. This act of purchase, so long as it was performed before witnesses, was in itself binding. The Semang, as a rule, were monogamists, and conjugal infidelity was strongly discountenanced, the immemorial penalty being death, which would now be commuted for a heavy fine. Among the Perak Sakai the nuptial present was, as among the Semang, a knife or yam-tubers.

According to one account, the bride and bridegroom attended at the house of the chief, who, after an inquiry as to their prospects, declared the man and wife united. Another account states that the relatives of both parties assembled at the bride's house, and that the two betrothed persons ate rice out of the same dish together. The little finger of the man's right hand was joined to the little finger of the left hand of the woman, and they were pronounced husband and wife by the elders of the settlement.

The Sakai occasionally, but rarely, took more than one wife. Death or a fine was the penalty for infidelity.

The Jakun ceremony embodied several features of peculiar interest and importance.

In addition to the nuptial presents for the bride and her parents—beads, white cloth, etc.—the husband was expected to provide a hut, cooking-pots and pans, and other household requirements. Either party or both were questioned as to their ability to carry out the duties of their future state, the requirements in the case of the man being proficiency in the use of the blowpipe, ability to fell trees or to climb after fruit in the jungle, and even ability to smoke a native cigarette. The *batin* (head-man of the tribe), as a rule, was present and pronounced the parties husband and wife at the end of the ceremonies. Among the Bĕsisi of Selangor the head-man then gave the bride and bridegroom a new name. According to one account, among the Selangor Sakai, the smoking of a native cigarette was substituted for the common meal. The Mantri bride and bridegroom presented a love-token of betel-leaf to one another before the feast, at which they ate together from the same plate. The most distinctive feature, however, in the Jakun marriage was the use made of a conical or, rather, bell-shaped mound of earth (sometimes an actual ant-heap) decorated with natural and artificial 'flowers,' the latter being representations of the solar disk with rays, etc., and other ornaments; around this mound the bride was pursued by the bridegroom, in some cases three, in others seven, times; if he succeeded in catching her, they were declared to be married. Among the Bĕsisi of Kuala Langat (Selangor) the bridegroom was conducted before the present writer seven times round this mound at a walking pace, and the bride once, before they partook of a common repast, consisting of a dish of rice and drink from a bowl of water which had both been placed on top of the mound (*būsut*). This was, of course, a survival of the mound-race ceremony. In one form of this rite among the Mantri there was no mound, but the pursuit took place round a circle of varying size; in the case of the Benua of Pahang, a fire was substituted. In the case of some Jakun tribes of Johor, in the middle of a dance the bride ran into the forest, and was followed by the bridegroom. The counterpart of this ceremony among the Land-Tribes (Orang Darat) was, it is important to note, among the Sea-Tribes (Orang Laut) of Johor a ceremony in which the bride had to be pursued by the bridegroom for a given distance on the river, in canoes.

Monogamy was generally, though not invariably, the rule. Although marriage was recognized as strictly binding by the Bĕsisi and other Jakun, yet at their drinking carnival (*main jo'oh*), which took place at the end of the rice-harvest, they were allowed to exchange their wives promiscuously.

18. Burial customs and mourning.—(*a*) *Malay*.—The Malays are not among those races who fear, but rather among those who pay respect to, the ghost of the departed.

After death the body is shrouded in sarongs and laid on the back, with hands crossed on the breast, on a mattress which, in turn, rests on a new mat of pandanus. A pair of scissors used in the preparation of betel-leaf is placed on the chest, the explanation being that, should a cat by any accident come in contact with, or brush against, the body, the touch of iron will prevent the corpse from returning to life, as once happened. Cats are always expelled from the house while it contains a dead body, and the corpse is watched day and night in case evil should come near it. The preparation of the body for the grave includes ceremonial washings, which should be performed while it rests on the outstretched legs of four people (members of the family) sitting on the floor. Failing volunteers for this office, banana-stems are used as rollers. A final washing of 'nine waters' is performed by the *imām* (if accessible), 'three scoops' of water being scattered to the right, three to the left, and three over the body from head to foot. The orifices, including the ears, eyes, and nose, are plugged with cotton, and the corpse is wrapped in a white cotton shroud, the selvedge of which is torn off and used to bind up the body at the breast, hips, knees, head, and feet, the shroud having been fastened with the 'five knots.' The corpse is then placed on the mattress in the position which it is to occupy in the grave, lying, that is, on the right side with the head to the north, and face looking towards Mecca (westward). When the relatives give the last kiss before the shroud is fastened, they must be careful that no tears fall on the face, as these might disturb the deceased's spirit. The position of the body in the grave depends upon the kind of coffin used. If it is a single-plank bier (*pāpan sa'kĕping*), the body is placed in a recess at the left side of the grave, and the plank is fixed in a sloping position with pickets closing the aperture, so that the plank itself may neither touch the body nor allow the earth to fall upon it. Another kind of receptacle

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[1] 'Wherever the old Palembang (Sumatra) tradition exists—in Pahang, Johor, Riau, Malacca, Selangor, and Perak—the enthronement or *bersanding* varies very little. But if we leave the Palembang area and cross into Patani, the ceremony is different, the regalia are different. We see before us the ghost of the ancient Northern Courts and of the old and high civilizations that have been crushed out of existence by the Siamese' (Wilkinson, p. 70).

[2] Wilkinson, p. 64.

[3] *Ap.* Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 394.

[4] P. 28.

(the *kăranda*), a plain oblong box, is placed in the middle of the grave-pit. The *long*—made either of two planks united along one edge in the form of a gable with bulging sides or of three planks fastened together like the sides of a box without bottom—is placed over a trench in the middle of the grave which contains the body. While the grave is being filled in by the bystanders, the diggers, who must not leave the grave until the operation is completed, fend off the earth from the body with small hurdles. A relative fashions two small (temporary) grave-posts of wood, one of which is placed over the head and one over the waist, to both of which strips of white cloth (as signs of recent death) are fastened. The *imām*, after pouring libations on the grave, and scattering shredded blossoms of scented flowers, reads the *talkin* ('exhortation') amid profound silence. The reason given for this silence is that the dead man is supposed to open his shroud, the fastenings of which have been loosened for the purpose, and, feeling that its border has no selvedge, thus first becomes cognizant of the fact that he has died, beyond any possibility of doubt. He then sits up to listen to the preacher, supporting himself on his elbow until, at the end of the reading, he falls back really lifeless. The mourners, led by the *imām*, then recite the *tahalil*, the Muslim profession of faith, one hundred times, beginning very slowly and increasing their speed at regular periods (finally at an extremely rapid rate), after which they return to share in a feast given by the head of the household; before they leave, however, the contributions collected in the alms-bowl which stands near have been divided among all present. Feasts follow on the third, seventh, and fourteenth days, and, in the case of the wealthy, on the fortieth and hundredth days, and on the anniversary. Then the grave is made up, and a framework of planks is placed round it to keep the earth of the grave-mound banked up properly. In the case of a chief, a small hut or shelter is often erected over the grave, and this the writer has sometimes seen furnished actually with a mosquito-curtain.

No special sign of mourning is worn, but the sarongs in which the corpse is wrapped and the pall must be as costly as possible, consistently with the rank and wealth of the deceased person.

In the formerly Malayan district of Singgora, north of Patani, various forms of exposure of the dead frequently took place until recently, when the Siamese Government prohibited the custom with great strictness. One of these consisted in suspending the corpse in a cigar-shaped receptacle or wrapper between a couple of trees in the jungle, at a height of about 8 ft. from the ground. Another consisted in depositing the body of the deceased person (placed at an angle) in a large rectangular box, supported on lofty posts—a method which is of exceptional interest, since it may be linked up with the custom of burial in a chest on high posts, still practised in Borneo. The remarkable point about these forms of tree-burial, or corpse-exposure, is that they were in both cases explained by the people who employed them as being reserved for any one who had died a 'bad' death, the idea being apparently that ordinary interment or cremation would not suffice in such an instance to bring peace to the *sĕmangat*. The Patani Malays also had once a similar custom—casting out to be eaten by dogs and vultures the bodies of those who had died a bad death. Yet from the statements of mediæval Chinese writers (*e.g.*, Ying Yai Sheng Lan, A.D. 1416), though quoted by Wilkinson,[1] it is clear that such exposure, from the analogy of ancient Java, was in no way limited to bad deaths, but was an honourable and pious form of burial offered even by the children of a family to their parents, so that it falls into line, in this regard, with the funeral customs of modern Tibet, where dead relatives are dismembered and given to the dogs and vultures. It would, on the other hand, perhaps readily come about that such methods should be regarded as barbarous and even 'wicked,' when the country was settled by a people to whom such forms of burial were alien.

A third remarkable method was practised by the so-called 'white Prâms' of the Malayo-Siamese region, who had a small cemetery in Patalung, wherein their dead were deposited in a sitting position.

(*b*) *Pagan races.*—Among the pagan tribes the burial customs exhibit considerable variation, but they are especially significant as revealing the attitude of the various groups towards death, and particularly towards the spirits of the departed. The Semang appear to have no special fear of the dead, although they do exhort their deceased friends to think of the spirits of their departed ancestors and not to trouble the living. The Sakai, on the other hand, appear to have great terror of the spirits of the dead, and it is usual for them not merely to desert the house in which any one has died, but to abandon the whole clearing, even if the crops are standing. The Jakun are distinguished from both the Semang and the Sakai by the tender care which they show for their dead relatives.

The Semang method of interment is simple.

Among the Kedah Semang the grave is usually surrounded by a low fence of palm-leaves, and the two bamboos upon which the body was carried to the grave are laid upon it. The corpse is placed on its side, with the head and knees to the right, on a mat or rough platform of twigs, and a screen of sticks, driven diagonally into the side of the grave and roofed with palm-leaves, prevents any earth from falling on it. The legs are drawn up, probably, as the grave is only 5 ft. long, for the sake of mere convenience. Three coco-nut shells containing rice are placed in the grave-pit at the head and sides, and a coco-nut shell at the foot holding water.

It is probable that at one time the Negritos (Semang) practised tree-burial. The bodies of their medicine-men may still occasionally be exposed in trees in the forest—this being a more honourable form of burial. Among the Malays a tradition is current that the Semang used once upon a time to devour their dead. It is unnecessary to place any credence in this statement; its importance lies in the fact that it probably alludes to the existence at one time of a custom analogous to that of the Andaman Islanders, who disinter and dismember their dead after a certain interval.

Of Sakai methods of burial little is known with certainty, the reason being apparently the fact that they threw the bodies of their dead into the jungle, or simply left them to rot away in their primitive hut-shelters. It is certain that they have always shown the utmost abhorrence and terror of the dead, abandoning their huts—and even clearings with growing crops—when a death had happened in their encampment. A modified form or survival of platform-burial is found among the so-called Sakai of Selangor (Ulu Langat), by whom the body was exposed on a platform in front of the house for twenty-four hours.

Jakun (or Malayan) ritual and practice are more elaborate than those of the Semang, and in the solicitude shown for the welfare of the departed imply an entirely different mental attitude towards death from that of the Sakai and the Semang. In many respects there is close affinity with Malay customs.

The body is carefully washed and prepared for the grave. It is covered with white cloth, and laid on a mat, which, in turn, is placed upon a tree-bark wrapper. This tree-bark is then lashed round the body and used for carrying it to the grave-side. Frequently the blade of a chopper (*parang*) is laid on the breast of the departed. The Orang Bukit cut a hole in one of the cloths in order that the corpse may 'breathe' more fully. It is customary also for them to make crosses on the palms of the hand and soles of the feet with a yellowish root which, on being bruised, leaves a stain behind it. By these marks the deceased person recognizes, on waking in the other world, that he or she is really lifeless. At the grave the tree-bark wrapper is removed, and the body is laid on its back, or sometimes facing east if an adult, west if a child (Mantri). A gable-like covering, in accordance with the Malay custom, is formed from pickets covered with tree-bark or a sloping plank (this being also a Malay usage) to keep the earth from striking the body. The Orang Bukit (Hill Men) place a dish of boiled rice at the feet for the spirits, and one at the middle for the departed. It is commonly the custom to lay in the grave some or all of the property of the deceased, usually articles most distinctive of the daily duties of the sexes. An extremely interesting practice among the Bĕsisi consists in their erecting, a yard or two away from the foot of the grave, a small triangular hut thatched with a big fan palm-leaf made to lean against it, fitted with a stick-ladder by which the ghost may climb up. In the hut are placed models of domestic and other utensils and implements, again distinctive of sex, betel-shoots, seed-rice, and fish, acid fruits, water, and sugar. When the grave has been filled in, the seed-rice is scattered on the mound and about the grave in order to provide the ghost, when the grain has grown up and ripened, with suitable nourishment. Among these people it was also the custom for two men to stand one on each side of the grave and simultaneously to let fall two choppers, horizontally crossed, upon the mould at about the spot where the breast would be, this being done in order to 'fix the ghost in the grave' and to 'prevent it from harassing the living.' The Mantri broke a blowpipe (no doubt that of the deceased) and scattered the fragments on the grave-mound. At each end of the mound the Jakun commonly placed wooden tomb-posts bound with white cloth similar to those used by the Malays, and, again like the Malays, they enclosed the grave, when made up, with a framework of wooden planking.

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[1] P. 67.

The feeling for the welfare of the dead which is expressed among the Bĕsisi by the seed-rice sown over the grave is also responsible for the depositing of a number of offerings at or near the place of interment. The Bĕsisi themselves plant yams, sweet potatoes, etc., near by, while on the grave of a *jukrah* ('tribal chief') described by D. F. A. Hervey (*JRAS*, Straits Branch, no. 8 [1882], p. 119), were sticks to serve as ladders for the soul to climb up, coco-nut shells, a torch in a stand, and a cooking-pan, as well as the basket in which firewood is usually carried. This grave was also provided with a trench in which the dead man could paddle his canoe—apparently a link with boat-burial. Among the Berembun a bamboo was placed upright near the face of a child, with one end projecting from the ground—undoubtedly a survival of an earlier custom of feeding the corpse through the bamboo, as is still done by the Dayaks of Borneo. It was not uncommon for a fire to be lighted near the grave for three days, while the Sabimba visited the grave on the third and seventh days and one month after interment. The Jakun sometimes, though not usually, abandoned the house and clearing after a death; usually, however, this took place after a month's interval.

19. Omens, divination, and ordeals.—Astrological calculations based upon the supposed values of times and seasons or the properties of numbers are largely employed in divinatory ritual. Exhaustive tables of unlucky and lucky times and seasons have been compiled by the Malays, but are proved to have been largely translated from Indian or Arabic sources. The oldest and best known of the 'magic squares' founded upon these systems is that known as the 'five times' (*kătīka līma*), in which the day is divided into five parts, while five days form a cycle, the name of a Hindu divinity being assigned to each division. Mystic values are also attached to certain colours in connexion with these divisions. Another scheme is based upon the seven heavenly bodies, the divisions being, correspondingly, seven in number. Malayan astrological knowledge and the signs of the zodiac upon which the various systems are founded appear to be largely Arabic in character, though there can be little doubt that the original home of this lore was Babylonia (or Chaldæa), and some part of it may have come in through Indo-Persian channels. The division of the month into *rĕjangs*, thirty in number, each with a separate symbol, is based upon the twenty-eight *nakṣatras*, or lunar mansions, of the Hindus, rather than upon the *anwā* of the Arabs. The Malays are especially partial to the magic square, which generally takes the form of the magic square once used in Europe, but sometimes works conversely—the latter being, no doubt, the older native form proper to the Malays of the peninsula. As has been remarked, the Malays introduce both coloured squares and the names of five of the greater Hindu deities. Besides these squares, many other magic figures—pentacles, compass-figures, and the like—are much used by Malay diviners.

In interpreting omens from dreams the method usually employed is that the initial letter of the thing dreamed of determines the character of the omen. *T* is very unlucky, *N* indicates sorrow, *H* a visitor from a distance, and so on. In another system an almost entirely arbitrary interpretation is put upon the subject-matter of the dream, or, at most, it is interpreted by analogy. In a third method, however, the nature of the thing dreamed does actually suggest its interpretation, with the proviso that so-called 'direct' dreams come only on the eve of a Friday, whereas on other days the dream works backwards.

It may be added that the doctrine of luck plays a most important part in what may be called Malay 'natural religion.' By certain signs and indications not only human beings but also birds and animals are either credited with the possession of luck or believed to be invested with the power of bringing it to others; in a fine passage the Malay deer-wizard chants as follows:

> 'From the seven Hills and the seven Valleys
> Comes the intense barking of my Hounds.
> My Hounds are *Hounds of Luck*,
> Not Luck that is adventitious,
> But Luck incarnate with their bodies.'[1]

Even inert objects, such as krisses and other weapons, may be brimful of luck, or otherwise.

(*a*) *Malay.*—Omens and divinations play a part of paramount importance in every department of life's activities in Malaya. Equal significance is attached to signs deduced from the acts of men and those taken from the events of nature.

Among the acts of men may be mentioned sneezing, which is held to be fortunate, since it tends to drive away the demons of disease. Yawning, on the other hand, when audible, is a bad sign; but, if the yawning is silent and happens when the stomach is craving for food, it implies that the craving will soon be satisfied. It is unlucky for a child to lie on its face or kick its feet together in the air; this is a sign of the approaching death of one or other of its parents.

The evil eye is much feared, and praise of children is conveyed in a roundabout way to avoid ill-fortune.

Among omens drawn from natural events, the following may be mentioned.

A star in apparent proximity to the moon portends an approaching wedding. The entrance of an animal which does not usually frequent the house denotes ill-fortune; to be barked at by a wild jungle-dog is a fatal portent; a wild bird entering the house should be caught carefully and smeared with oil and then released in the open air, a formula being recited which bids it fly away with all the ill-luck or misfortune of the household. Omens are taken from the flight and cries of certain birds, such as the night-owl, night-jar, or *caprimulgus*, the crow, and certain kinds of wild dove, as well as from a bird called the 'rice's husband.'

Such prognostics are drawn from entirely fortuitous events, but they may also be the natural reply to actions initiated by the inquirer. In such cases we have the rite of divination properly so-called (*tīlek*=Skr. *tilaka*, 'mark').

One form of divination is effected by means of a lemon which, after offerings have been made and certain ceremonies performed, is suspended with incantations over a brazier by seven strands of coloured silk thread, the fruit being itself thrust through by a needle. The motions of the suspended lemon answer questions in the negative or affirmative, and will discover a thief by indicating which of a number of names written on paper is that of the guilty man. The mirrored surface of water held in the palm of the hand, or saliva, or a bowl filled with water and covered with a cloth upon which the names of suspected persons are successively placed is employed to discover those who may have been guilty of stealing. In the last-named case, two men each place a finger in the bowl, which begins to turn when the name of the culprit is placed upon the cloth above it. Another method is the use by the medicine-man of a divining-rod composed of one, three, or more rattan-stems, inscribed with magical devices, and connected at the base or butt-end, which vibrate when the thief approaches; these rods may also be used for treasure- or water-finding, as by our own 'dowsers,' and also even for exorcizing demons.

It is noteworthy that the Malays attribute the arts of the diviner to animals as well as to men; thus the tiger is said to employ divination when it wishes to secure a human victim, just as tigers are believed to poultice themselves with *ūbat tāsak* (the medicament applied to the newly circumcised) when wounded.

An important and solemn ordeal was that by diving. This required the consent of the Sultan, and could be conducted only in the presence of the four great (west coast) chieftains.

In the case of a dispute, each of the adversaries in defence of his own case writes a solemn statement. After certain formal preliminaries, this document is enclosed in a bamboo sheath or covering. One of these bamboo receptacles is given to each of the two adversaries, who are escorted to the river and placed up to their necks in the water. A bamboo pole is then made to rest upon their heads and, at a given signal, they are both pressed downwards. Each remains under the water as long as he can, but, as soon as one of the two gives in and appears above the surface, his tube is snatched from him. The winner is led back, his bamboo opened, and the result declared to the bystanders.

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[1] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 182.

(*b*) *Pagan races.*—The savage Malays of Malacca also paid much attention to omens when a new clearing was to be made, and charms were used to expel the jungle spirits. The Mantri, in choosing a new locality for a clearing, paid strict attention to the attitude of the spirits toward his undertaking as signified by the dreams of the party. To dream of being chased by a dog or an enemy, entering water, or being flooded out was an evil omen; to dream of felling or climbing trees, of ascending trees, or of growing plants was of good import.

Divination among the Sakai, so far as records go, is practically non-existent. Among the Jakun it is employed as a part of their medical diagnosis, but, whether used as a part of a tribal or group ceremony or by the medicine-man alone, it falls more properly under the category of exorcism.

20. Charms, amulets, and talismans. — (*a*) *Malay.*—Not only does the Malay attempt to foresee the coming of evil, but he endeavours to ward it off by charms and talismans. Charms in the shape of invocations are extremely numerous, and are addressed to every conceivable form of spirit on every conceivable occasion. But, in addition, free use is made of charms of a more material character. Examples of this class include a length of the *sĕmambu* (Malacca cane) with a joint equal to the height of the owner, which protects him from snakes and animals; so, too, the 'coco-nut pearl' (apparently a form of 'tabasheer'), the 'eyeless coco-nut' (which confers invulnerability by 'sympathy'), the 'dragon's blood' rattan or cane, the tiger's whiskers and claws, and many others are all, for various reasons, much sought after by warriors. Some of these are directly effective, others work only by influencing the volition of another mind, as in the case of love-charms, charms for securing conjugal fidelity, and so forth. In most cases the charm consists of a short Arabic or Malay and Arabic prayer or a few magical letters or figures inscribed on paper or cloth and worn on the person. One important use of a charm is to enable the devotee of this magic to abduct the *sĕmangat* of a person from his (or her) body, for the purpose either of benefiting the operator or of harming the intended victim. There is a variety of methods of attaining these objects. In some the charm works without contact; in others contact is necessary. Although there is considerable variety, the principle in all cases is the same, and is based upon the Malay theory of the *sĕmangat*. Thus, *e.g.*, soil is taken from the intended victim's footprint and treated ceremonially by wrapping in red, black, and yellow cloth; and this, when suspended from the centre of the magician's mosquito-curtain, becomes the embodiment of his victim's *sĕmangat*. As such it is switched with seven strokes three times a day for three days and then buried in the middle of a path where the victim is bound to pass; on doing so, he becomes distracted. Wood scraped from the floor where he has been sitting, parings of his nails, and clippings of his hair are utilized in various ways; sometimes they are kneaded into a wax figure, which is either transfixed with a thorn in the member that the enchanter desires to injure or burned to ensure the victim's complete destruction.

Of the various methods of abducting the *sĕmangat* without contact, the simplest is to go out when the sun clears or when the newly-risen moon glows red, and, standing with the big toe of the right foot resting on the big toe of the left, make a trumpet of the right hand, and recite the appropriate charm thrice over. At the end of each recital, blow through the hollowed fist, using it as a trumpet. The words of the charm, 'I loose my shaft,' suggest a 'sending,' analogous to that of the medicine-man. Other methods are to beat one's own shadow, to hang a seven-fruited lime-branch from the top of one's mosquito-net on three successive nights, to wave the end of one's head-cloth in the direction of the moon seven times for three successive nights, and so forth, the appropriate charm in each instance being, of course, recited.

With their customary logical thoroughness, the Malays attribute the use of charms and amulets in some cases to wild animals, and even to reptiles. The wild boar, *e.g.*, is believed to possess a talisman of extraordinary power called *rantei babi*, 'the wild boar's chain,' which is hung up on a neighbouring bush by the animal whilst he is occupied in wallowing, and which can therefore sometimes be stolen by a lucky native. Another talisman carried by the boar for defensive purposes is the *kulum babi*, 'boar's sucking stone'; the two together made a wild boar invulnerable. A similar 'lucky stone' was sometimes worn by serpents. Any magically potent object is called *ber-tuah*.

(*b*) *Pagan races.*—Amulets and talismans are common among the wild tribes. Coins are strung on necklaces to serve as 'medicine,' and necklaces of tufts of squirrels' tails, teeth of apes, wild pigs, and monkeys, and bones of birds and animals, as well as the bristles, teeth, and claws of tigers, were first worn, as among the Malays, quite as much for magical purposes as for ornament. The Mantri strung pieces of turmeric on strings of *artocarpus* bark, and these were worn round the neck, wrists, or waist as prophylactics against demons, bad winds, and, generally, all kinds of evils. They also placed great reliance on the efficacy of spells to render them invulnerable. Semang women wear armlets of *pālas* (*Licuala peltata*) leaf, and men wear similar ornaments of the 'rock vein' (*urat batu*) fungus. It appears that among these tribes, as elsewhere, much of their personal adornment was intended to protect them against evil from the spirits by which they were on all sides surrounded. The elaborate patterns of the combs of the Semang and half-breed Sakai-Semang women were similarly designed to ward off accidents and disease, and the copper bracelets, rings, and other objects worn by the Sakai were in effect talismans which preserved the wearer from ill-health and misfortune. The Semang, when wearing the Malay sarong, frequently still retain underneath it the primitive string girdle of 'rock-vein' fungus, possibly from habit, but more probably for magical reasons.

The most important class of charms or talismans employed by the wild tribes is undoubtedly the ornamental geometrical patterns with which they adorn various objects of common use. These designs are intricate and have as yet been adequately studied and elucidated only to a small extent. So much, however, is clear: the pattern, as a rule, is symbolical of the use to which the object on which it appears is to be put, and its aim is to secure the successful attainment of that object. Exception to this rule may be made in the case of the women's combs and other articles, the patterns on which are intended to ward off disease, the attacks of reptiles, animals, and noxious insects, and other accidents. The difficulty of comprehending and interpreting these designs is increased by the fact that, in the usual fashion of primitive artists, the wild tribes make a part stand for the whole. The slots of deer on a bamboo quiver, *e.g.*, represent the whole animals, which, it is hoped, will be induced, by being represented as approaching towards certain wild jungle-fruits beloved of the deer, to visit a particular feeding-ground, when they can be the more easily marked down and captured. The articles decorated in this manner with magical intent include, in addition to the Semang combs, large bamboo tubes used as quivers for darts and arrows, the last being covered with patterns intended to secure success in hunting. Other articles similarly adorned are 'stampers' (*i.e.* bamboos struck on the ground during magical ceremonies, amulets against disease, insect pests, drought, etc.). Besides these they decorate bamboo rice-dibbers, poison receptacles, tobacco receptacles, blowpipes, arrows, nose-sticks, etc., mats and wallets (Sakai and Jakun, not Semang), bark-cloth (with painting only), and the human body, the last not only with painting, but also with tatuing and scarification (likewise especially among the Sakai).

LITERATURE.—This is cited throughout the article. Especial use has been made of W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900; and Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, do. 1906 (with full bibliography).

W. W. SKEAT.

MALE PRINCIPLE.—See PHALLISM, SEX.

MĀLIK IBN ANAS.—Mālik ibn Anas, the founder of the Mālikite school, was born in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal A.H. 95 (A.D. Nov. 713). He was of pure Arabic stock, being descended from Dhū Aṣbaʿ al-Ḥārith, who belonged to one of the tribes of Yaman. When still a youth, he had already acquired a full knowledge of the Qurʾān, the *ḥadīth* (tradition), and other Muslim sciences, and soon he was held in reverence as a great authority in these matters.

During his long career Mālik ibn Anas resided in his birthplace Medīna as a *muftī* and teacher of Muslim law. Like many men who have spent their lives in study, he has not left much for his biographers to record. His chief work was the so-called *Muwaṭṭaʾ* (lit. 'The Beaten Path'), the basis of the whole Mālikite system of Muslim law. This book is not a mere collection of traditions. It deals not only with the sayings of the Prophet but also with the opinions of several famous *faqīhs* in Medīna and with Mālik's personal views on various matters of canon law. It is often alleged that Mālik rejected every kind of reasoning by means of argument and kept exclusively to the literal sense of the sacred texts. But the contents of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* prove the contrary. According to his later biographers, Mālik repented of this in his old age. It is told that, when he sat down in his last illness and wept, he was asked: 'What makes thee weep?' He answered: 'Who has more reason to weep than I? By Allāh, I should wish I had been flogged and reflogged for every question of law on which I pronounced an opinion founded on my own fallible judgment!'

The text of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* is handed on by Mālik's disciples in different versions. The best known is the text of Yaḥyā al-Maṣmūdī, which was printed with the commentary of Muhammad al-Zarqānī in 4 vols. at Cairo (1863). Another version is that of Muhammad al-Shaibānī, the famous disciple of Abū Ḥanīfa, who studied three years in Medīna (printed at Lucknow, 1879).

It seems that the opinions of Mālik ibn Anas were not always in agreement with the views of the government. In the year A.H. 145 (A.D. 762), as some persons had accused him of declaring that he did not consider the oath of allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid khalīfs as binding, he was even flogged and treated in a most scandalous manner. After this cruel punishment, however, he rose still higher in public estimation in Medina, where he died on the 10th of the month Rabīʿ al-Awwal, A.H. 179 (A.D. 3rd June 795).

Mālik ibn Anas enjoys the reputation throughout the whole Muslim world of being one of the greatest *faqīhs* and traditionalists of Islām. At the present day his school is still dominant in the west of the Muslim territory, in the French and Italian possessions (Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli), and in many other parts of Africa.

LITERATURE.—Ibn Khallikān, *Biographical Dictionary*, tr. M. de Slane, Paris, 1843-71, ii. 545-549; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle, 1889-90, ii. 213-226; C. Snouck Hurgronje's review of I. Goldziher's *Die Zâhiriten* in *LOPh* i. [1884] 419; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Weimar and Berlin, 1898-1902, i. 175 f.; A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, Vienna, 1875-77, i. 477-479; T. Nöldeke, *Orientalische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1892, p. 129; *The Kitāb al-Ansāb* of al-Samʿānī with an introduction by D. S. Margoliouth, Leyden and London, 1912, p. 41; F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen der arabischen Stämme und Familien*, Göttingen, 1852, ii. 'Die jemenischen Stämme,' Tabelle 3.

TH. W. JUYNBOLL.

MALTHUSIANISM.—Some economic and social investigations seem to be haunted by an evil fate. The subject with which they are concerned seizes popular attention for a time, and the results of the inquiry come to be represented in a form which is little more than a travesty of the original meaning and intentions. One of the most remarkable instances of this tendency is to be found in the reception accorded to the work of Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834) on *Population*. Popular interest in his work grew much more rapidly than the time or the capacity for assimilating it, and he was criticized by many who had not read his books. He was accused in his own day of being an enemy of the human species, and of being guilty not merely of heterodoxy but also of atheism. It was said that 'the insults the theory of Malthus levels at God, and the injuries it meditates inflicting upon man, will be endured by neither' (M. T. Sadler, *Law of Population*, i. 15). Further, the principles of population enunciated by Malthus have been expanded and developed in several directions by subsequent writers; and all these views are described roughly by the vague and comprehensive term 'Malthusianism,' which means little more than the consideration of the relation between increase of population and the available food supply. Malthusianism, in fact, has no more definite meaning than 'Smithianismus' in Germany.

It would be a mistake to consider that Malthus was the first economist who treated of population. The Mercantilists had explicitly advocated 'populousness' as an important condition of national wealth, and their views had influenced social legislation and poor-law administration in England during the 18th century. In 1776 Adam Smith had mentioned that 'every species of animals naturally multiplies in proportion to the means of their subsistence, and no species can ever multiply beyond it' (*Wealth of Nations*, bk. i. ch. viii. [ed. J. E. T. Rogers, Oxford, 1869, i. 84]), but it was not till almost the end of the century that Malthus selected the subject of population for separate treatment. It is true that more than a century earlier William Petty had published several essays relating to the numbers of the people, but his point of view was entirely statistical, whereas that of Malthus was directly related to the conditions of progress. In a sense the work of Malthus was begun to oppose the theories of William Godwin, who had published his book on *Political Justice* in 1793 and his *Enquirer* in 1797. Godwin had been influenced by Condorcet and other writers of the era of the French Revolution, and he advocated human perfectibility by means of a gradual equalizing of wealth, under which condition there would be a sufficiency for the reasonable wants of all. In time the peaceful influence of truth would render force and even government unnecessary, so that a state of human perfection was possible on earth. Godwin's views formed a common topic of discussion among those who were interested in political science. One such conversation was destined to have important results. It took place between Malthus and his father. The latter, Daniel Malthus—a friend of Voltaire and the literary executor of Rousseau—was favourably disposed towards Godwin's views, while the son had doubts, which he afterwards placed in writing. The treatise which resulted was his *Essay on Population*, published anonymously in 1798.

Malthus believed that a fatal objection to the thesis of Godwin and other writers who maintained the same view was to be found in the relation of population to the means of subsistence. Population, when unchecked, doubles itself every twenty-five years; the means of subsistence, under circumstances the most favourable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio; *i.e.*, the progression for population, if unchecked, would be 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, while that of subsistence could not exceed 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Population had not increased in a geometrical ratio, owing to the checks imposed upon it by misery and vice, the former being certain and the latter probable. Society as a whole makes 'a constant effort towards an increase of population,' with the result that there is a constant tendency towards distress among the lower classes (*Essay*, 1798, p. 29). As against Godwin, Malthus pointed to the grim spectres of famine, war, pestilence, and evil-living as the necessary limitations to the natural increase of mankind—either positively by reducing a redundant population, or negatively by the dread of these evils. The first edition of the *Essay* can be understood only by remembering the controversial purpose out of which it arose. In opposition to the optimism of Godwin and his sympathizers it overestimates the darkness of the situation. An attempt was made to correct this in the second edition (1803), which is practically a new book. The treatise of 1798 was in the main the critique of a Utopia from the point of view of the support of a growing population; that of 1803 was a scientific examination of the principle of population, as far as possible in isolation from other phenomena. There was, however, a greater change than that of external form; the two progressions remain, but the exposition of the checks to increase of numbers is worded differently. Misery and vice become subordinate to what Malthus terms 'moral restraint.' This new characteristic anticipates, and so prevents, a pressure on the means of subsistence; and, where it is observed, actual misery, as a result of population, need not arise. Moral restraint is, strictly speaking, 'moral' only in so far as it is exclusive of 'irregular gratifications'; its main characteristic is rather that of rational prudence, based on man's 'reasoning faculties which enable him to calculate distant consequences' (*Essay*, 1803, pp. 9, 11), such as his capacity to support a large family without lowering a suitable standard of life. Hence moral restraint operates in the direction of postponing early marriages as well as irregular connexions. It means, in fact, as J. Bonar puts it, simply continence (*Malthus and his Work*, p. 53).

Much of the popularity of the principles of Malthus may have been due to his summing up the foundations of his theory in a formula which is capable of being apprehended easily and remembered, especially as the geometrical and arithmetical ratios seem to provide the certainty of a mathematical demonstration. But the formula suffers from a false simplicity; the first important objection is that Malthus founds his argument upon two alleged necessities which he claims as co-ordinate, but it is clear that a supply of food is much the more urgent need. The celibate must be fed if he is to live. It follows that the tendency towards increase of population is a conditional one, and hence any ratio which is established at a given time is susceptible of alteration, irrespective of changes in the quantity of food. Malthus often speaks as if population must increase up to the limits of the means of subsistence; but since his day there have been cases of countries where increased resources have been followed, not by an increase in population, but by an improvement in the general standard of living. The arithmetical ratio, as the maximum possible increase in the production of food, was never formally and fully proved by Malthus; indeed, his sections on the state of population in America (*Essay*, 1798, p. 20) partially contradict his view of the ratio. Moreover, not only the production of food but its consumption must also be taken into account. Economies in consumption without loss of efficiency would enable a larger population to be maintained by the same supply. The whole statement of Malthus regarding agriculture in his earlier editions is embarrassed by his ignorance of the Principle of Diminishing Returns; some of his expressions almost suggest it, but he makes no real use of this law. This theorem, which was stated clearly by West in 1815, soon changed the manner in which the population question was formulated. Torrens, James Mill, and McCulloch understood Diminishing Returns not so much as a theoretical tendency, but as a condition of the working of the extractive industries in practice. Accordingly, in spite of improved methods of production, they thought that the increase of population drove agriculturists to cultivate more and more inferior soils, so that a larger and larger proportion of the world's labour would be required for providing the necessaries of life. J. S. Mill stated this point of view concisely when he wrote: 'It is in vain to say, that all mouths which the increase of mankind calls into existence, bring with them hands. The new mouths require as much food as the old ones, and the hands do not produce as much' (*Principles*, bk. i. ch. xiii. § 2). Mill, like the rest of the Classical School, regarded Diminishing Returns as a 'law' which could be suspended only temporarily by the disturbing influence of improvements. The present disposition of economists is to consider Diminishing Returns as a tendency which is subject to frequent counteraction. The difference of outlook removes some of the gloom which settled on the population question during the 'dismal' era of economics in the first half of the 19th century. The real influence of Malthus survives in a much modified form, on the one side in the responsibilities of parents in being able to provide for their offspring, on the other in a ceaseless effort to effect improvements in the productive arts, particularly in those connected with the provision of the world's food supply.

It is scarcely necessary to add that the doctrines and practices of 'Neo-Malthusianism,' or the voluntary restriction of the birth-rate, form no part of Malthus's own teachings and would doubtless have been indignantly repudiated by him.

LITERATURE.—W. Godwin, *Enquiry concerning Political Justice*, 2 vols., London, 1793, *The Enquirer: Reflections on Education, Manners and Literature*, do. 1797; T. R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population as it affects the Future Improvement of Society; with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and other Writers*, do. 1798, *Essay on the Principle of Population, or a View of its past and present Effect on human Happiness, with an Inquiry into our Prospects respecting the future Removal or Mitigation of the Evils which it occasions*, do. 1803 (2nd ed.), 3rd ed. 1806, 4th ed. 1807, 5th ed. 1817, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent, and the Principles by which it is regulated*, do. 1815; E. West, *An Essay on the Application of Capital to Land, with Observations showing the Impolicy of any great Restriction of the*

Importation of Corn, and that the Bounty of 1688 did not lower the Price of it, do. 1815; N. W. Senior, *Two Lectures on Population, to which is added a Correspondence between the Author and Mr. Malthus*, do. 1829; M. T. Sadler, *The Law of Population*, do. 1830; Robert Torrens, *An Essay on the Production of Wealth, with an Appendix in which the Principles of Political Economy are applied to the actual Circumstances of this Country*, do. 1821; James Mill, *Elements of Political Economy*, do. 1821; J. R. McCulloch, *Principles of Political Economy with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science*, Edinburgh, 1825; J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy, with some of their Applications to Social Philosophy*, London, 1848; J. Bonar, *Malthus and his Work*, do. 1885, *Philosophy and Political Economy*, do. 1893, *Malthus—Parallel Chapters from the first and second Editions of the Essay on Population*, Economic Classics Series, New York, 1893; V. Lebrecht, *Il Malthusismo e i problemi sociali*, Turin, 1893; E. Leser, *Malthus, drei Schriften über Getreidezölle*, Leipzig, 1896; J. Bonar, 'Malthus,' in *Dictionary of Political Economy*, London, 1900; E. Cannan, *A History of the Theories of Production and Distribution in English Political Economy*², do. 1903; C. E. Strangeland, *Pre-Malthusian Doctrines of Population, a Study in the History of Economic Theory*, New York, 1906.

W. R. SCOTT.

MALŪK DĀSĪS.—The Malūk Dāsīs form a small Vaiṣṇava sect of northern India. It is an offshoot of the Rāmānandīs (see *ERE* ii. 546), and is named after its founder, Malūk Dās, a trader by occupation, who lived in the reign of the Emperor Aurangzīb (latter half of the 17th cent. A.D.). He is said to have been born at Kaṛā, in the present District of Allāhābād, where there is a shrine in his honour and a monastery of his followers. The neighbouring village of Sirāthū is said to have been granted to him by the emperor.

The main point that differentiates Malūk Dāsīs from other Rāmānandīs is the fact that their teachers, like their founder, are laymen. Wilson adds that there is also a shorter streak of red in the sectarian mark on their foreheads.[1] Like other Rāmānandīs, they worship the Rāma incarnation of Viṣṇu. Wilson mentions six other monasteries of the sect in the Ganges valley, and also one of great repute at Jagannāth, in Orissa, where Malūk Dās is said to have died.

So far as the present writer is aware, none of Malūk Dās's works have been published. He is said to have written a poem called the *Daśa Ratna*, or 'Ten Jewels.' Two lately discovered works of his are the *Bhakta-vatsala*, dealing with Kṛṣṇa's regard for devotees, and the *Ratna-khāna*, a dissertation on the soul and God,[2] and he is also the reputed author of many well-known detached verses and apothegms. One of his verses is probably the stanza that is best known and most often quoted in the north of India, and offers a striking resemblance to the leading thought of Mt 6²⁶. According to Hindu belief, the *ajagara*, or python, is unable to hunt for its food. It can only lie with its mouth open to wait for what will walk into it. The verse runs as follows:

Ajagara karai na chākarī   Pañchhī karai na kāma,
Dāsa Malūka kahi gaē   Sabha-kā dātā Rāma,

'The python doth no service, nor hath the fowl of the air a duty to perform (to earn its living);
Quoth Malūk Dās, for all doth Rāma provide their daily bread.'

LITERATURE.—Jīvarāma, *Śrī Rasikaprakāśa Bhaktamāla*, Bankipur, 1887 (section 19 deals with Malūk Dās, and the commentary gives some legends about him); H. H. Wilson, *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861–62, i. 100–102; F. S. Growse, *Mathurā: A District Memoir*, Allāhābād, 1880, p. 212; *Gazetteer of the Allahabad District*, 1911, pp. 250, 301; R. G. Bhandarkar, 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems' (=*GIAP* iii. 6), Strassburg, 1913, p. 74.

G. A. GRIERSON.

MAMMON.—The word occurs three times in Lk 16 among the somewhat disconnected Logia that follow the parable of the Unjust Steward (16⁹·¹¹·¹³), the last of which, 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon,' is found also in Mt 6²⁴. It is a transliteration of the Gr. μαμμωνᾶς, a form which, with μμ, appears in TR, with Latin Vulgate, six Old Latin, and a few Greek minuscules. The correct Greek, however, is μαμωνᾶς, which is found in RV, with all Greek uncials, and most minuscules, as well as in the Complutensian and the first two editions of Erasmus; but the influence of the Vulgate led to the appearance of *mm* in the later editions of Erasmus and in AV (for further details as to spelling see E. Nestle, in *EBi*).

The word is not Greek, nor is it found in the Hebrew Bible. It is a hellenized form of the Aram. מָמוֹן, which means 'money,' 'riches,' 'worldly goods.' Wyclif and Purvey translated the word by 'riches' ('richessis'), but Tindal followed the Vulgate in transliterating the word, and so did all later English versions, except Geneva.

1. Derivation.—The Aramaic form מָמוֹן (*stat. emph.* מָמוֹנָא) follows a well recognized form of nominal inf. מִקְטַל, but scholars are divided as to what is the verbal root.

(1) J. Drusius (quoted in J. Buxtorf, *Lexicon Chaldaicum*, Basel, 1640, *s.v.*) and Dalman (in *PRE*³ xii. 153) derive the word from אֲמַן, *i.e.* מָמוֹן = מָאמוֹן, which would mean 'that on which man trusts,' or, as Dalman prefers, 'that which brings man into safety.' (2) Jastrow (*Talmud Dictionary*, p. 794ᵇ) derives it from כמה; and thus מִכְמוֹן = 'that which one accumulates.' (3) Levy (*Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, iii. 138) considers מָנָה = מן, 'to distribute,' to be the root, and thus our word means 'that which is distributed.' (4) W. Gesenius (*Thesaurus linguæ Hebreæ et Chaldææ*, Leipzig, 1829, ii. 552), as if μαμμωνᾶς were the true form, derives it from טְמַן, 'hide,' whence מִטְמוֹן = מָמוֹן, 'that which one hides or treasures' (Gn 43²³, Job 3²¹, Pr 2⁴, Is 45³, Jer 41⁸). However much the learned may now differ as to the derivation, it seems certain to the present writer that the Syriac versions all derived the word from אֲמַן, and that they assumed a paronomasia to exist between our word מָמוֹנָא and מְהֵימַן (pass. part. of אֲמַן), which means 'faithful' or 'trustworthy,' thus: 'He that is trustworthy in little is trustworthy also in much; and he that is not trustworthy in little is not trustworthy in much. If ye have not been trustworthy (מְהֵימְנָא) in the unrighteous mammon (מָמוֹנָא), who will entrust (מְהֵימַן) to you the true?' But, since the verb אמן is as common in Galilæan Aramaic as in Syriac, may we not go further, and say that the paronomasia was probably intended by our Lord in the original Aramaic?

2. Usage.—The trade of the world, before the time of Alexander, had long been in the hands of Phœnicians and Aramæans; and we have evidence that in both languages *mamon* was the word for 'money.' As to the former, it occurs on Phœnician inscriptions on tombstones; and Augustine, in two passages (*de Serm. in Monte*, II. xiv. 47, and *Quæst. Evang.* ii. 34), states that the Punic word for *lucrum* ('wealth') is *mammona*. Its Aramaic usage is also abundantly attested. Jerome (*Ep.* cxxi. 6) affirms:

> 'Non Hebræorum sed Syrorum lingua, mammona divitiæ nuncupantur.'

Irenæus (III. viii. 1) attests its use

> 'secundum Iudaicam loquelam, qua et Samaritæ utuntur.'

The Aramaic Targums often contain the word: *e.g.*, Pr 3⁹, 'Honour the Lord with thy *māmôn*'; Is 55¹, 'O ye that wish to learn . . . come and learn without price and without *māmôn*'; Jg 5¹⁹, 'They accepted no *māmôn* of silver'; in Ex 18²¹ the ideal judges are those 'who hate the receiving of *māmôn*.' In the Aramaic sections of the Palestine Talmud the same story is told twice (*Nāzîr*, v. 3; *Bᵉrākhôth*, vii. 2) of 300 poor Nazirites who came for purification. R. Simeon asked King Jannæus to give half the cost, but it turned out that the king paid all the money (*māmôn*) and the Rabbi's half was his knowledge of Tôrāh. *Bᵉrākh.* 61*b* says:

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[1] *Religious Sects*, i. 101.

[2] See *Report on the Search for Hindī Manuscripts for 1904*, Allāhābād, 1907, p. 60, and *for 1909–11*, do. 1914, p. 271.

> 'There are men whose money (*māmôn*) is dearer to them than their own body.'

There is also a classification in lawsuits between those which concern money (דִּינֵי מָמוֹן) and those which concern the person (דִּינֵי נְפָשׁוֹת). This is found often in the Talmud and also in *Jerus. Targ.* to Dt 1^{16}. The pre-Christian usage of our word even in Hebrew is shown from Sir 31^{8}, 'Blessed is he . . . that has not yet gone after *māmôn.*' The translators of LXX show themselves acquainted with the word, for in Ps 36 (EV 37^{3}) they misread אֱמוּנָה as מָמוֹן, 'Thou shalt dwell in the land and be fed on its wealth'; and in *Pirqē Ābhôth* (ii. 16) we have a 'saying' of R. Jose: 'Let the property (מָמוֹן) of thy friend be as precious to thee as thy own.'

The very phrase 'mammon of unrighteousness' is quite common in Jewish literature; in the pre-Christian *Book of Enoch* the wicked say:

> 'Our soul is satiated with unrighteous mammon, but this does not prevent our descending into the flame of the pains of Sheol' (63^{10}).

The phrase מָמוֹן דִּשְׁקַר is a well recognized phrase in the Targums for 'money earned through deceit or fraud.' The crime of Samuel's sons was that 'they turned after mammon of fraud' (1 S 8^{3}; cf. also Pr 15^{27}, Is 33^{15}, Ezk 22^{27}, Hos 5^{11}).

3. Exegesis.—(1) In Lk 16^{9}, 'Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness,' the difficulty is: to whom was Christ speaking? Lightfoot (*Horæ Hebraicæ*, iii. 159 ff.), A. B. Bruce (*Expositors' Greek Testament*, i. [1897] 586 f.), and Merx (*Die Evangelien Marcus und Lucas*, p. 328 f.) hold that He was speaking to the Pharisees and publicans to whom ch. 15 was spoken (15^{3}), and who were still in the crowd (16^{14}). It was certainly more suitable for them than for the Twelve, who had not much 'mammon' of any kind; and, if so, the phrase has the same meaning here as in Jewish literature—'money ill gotten,' 'money gained by fraud.' Thus the advice which Jesus gives to the Pharisees is that they should make restitution to God by deeds of benevolence. Christ's advice is, says Merx (p. 328), 'Ye who have acquired money unrighteously and cannot refund it, use this wealth in making friends for yourselves,' as Zacchæus, when converted, volunteered to give half his goods to the poor.

> 'The counsel is to use wealth in doing kindness to the poor, . . . only care must be taken not to *continue* to get money by unrighteousness in order to have wherewith to do charitable deeds' (Bruce, *loc. cit.*).

The alternative view, that the words are said to the Twelve, and that *μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας* is the evil stamp placed on all wealth, 'because great wealth is seldom gained or employed without injustice,' is forcefully presented by Moffatt, in *DCG* ii. 106 f.

(2) In Lk 16^{11} we have a contrast between *τὸ ἄδικον μαμωνᾶς* and *τὸ ἀληθινὸν μαμωνᾶς*, which seems to turn on a second meaning of שְׁקַר. In the original Aramaic, שְׁקַר means (*a*) 'deceit,' 'fraud,' and (*b*) 'nothingness,' 'illusion,' 'vanity.' We believe that *ἀληθινός*, here as elsewhere in NT, means 'real,' 'permanent,' 'belonging to the spiritual world,' in contrast with the present life of illusion and vanity, where 'the things that are seen are ephemeral' (2 Co 4^{18}). We surmise, then, that מָמוֹנָא דִּשְׁקַר would, in the original Aramaic, appear in both v.^{9} and v.^{11}; but in v.^{9} שְׁקַר means 'deceit,' 'fraud,' while in v.^{11} it means 'illusion,' 'vanity,' and thus presents a contrast to the 'true,' the 'real,' 'spiritual' riches. Our Greek translation, of course, obliterates or ignores the distinction between the two meanings of שְׁקַר.

(3) In Lk 16^{13}, 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon,' the emphasis is on 'serve' (*δουλεύειν*). No man can at the same time be the *δοῦλος* of God and of worldly wealth. The ordinate pursuit of wealth is not condemned. It is the undivided concentration of mind—the surrender of body and soul to money-getting—that is censured, as being incompatible with whole-hearted devotion to God and to His service. Mammon is personified as the object of undivided attention and service, as in Ro 16^{18} Paul speaks of those who 'serve' their own sensual nature (*δουλεύουσιν . . . τῇ ἑαυτῶν κοιλίᾳ*), and as in Col 3^{5} he utters a warning against 'covetousness, inasmuch as it is idolatry,' *i.e.*, wealth so easily erects itself into an idol, which woos men's affections from God and makes men averse to giving cheerfully what they acquire. Here and in Lk 16^{13} there is, no doubt, a personification of wealth, as also in Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 33).[1] When Milton, therefore, speaks of Mammon as one of the fallen angels in hell, 'the least erected Spirit that fell from heaven,' who even in heaven was

> 'admiring more
> The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodd'n gold,
> Than aught, divine or holy, else enjoyed
> In vision beatific'
> (*Par. Lost*, i. 678 ff.; cf. also ii. 228),

we have, perhaps, not so much the flight of the poet's imagination as an indication of his familiarity with apocryphal lore. The phrase 'mammon-worship' has been made familiar by Carlyle (*Past and Present*, bk. iii. 2, bk. iv. 4, 8, etc.), and is, no doubt, useful in emphasizing strenuously the warning of Jesus, 'Ye cannot serve God and mammon.'

LITERATURE.—A. Merx, *Die Evangelien Marcus und Lucas*, Berlin, 1905; J. Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, ed. R. Gandell, Oxford, 1859, iii.; T. Zahn, *Einleitung in das NT*^{3}, Leipzig, 1906, i. 11 f.; A. Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1896, p. 51 n.; the commentaries on Mt 6 and Lk 16; Jacob Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1876–89; and Marcus Jastrow, *Talmud Dictionary*, London and New York, 1903; W. H. Bennett, in *HDB*; J. Moffatt, in *DCG*; E. Nestle, in *EBi*; G. Dalman, in *PRE*^{3}.

J. T. MARSHALL.

MAN.—See ANTHROPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, EVOLUTION, PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY, etc.

MAN, ISLE OF.—See CELTS.

MANA.—*Mana* is a native term belonging to the Pacific region, but, for the purposes of the science of comparative religion, serves likewise as a category of world-wide application. The local sense will be found to stand in close relation to the scientific, despite the fact that the latter represents but the generalized content of various concepts prevailing in different ethnic areas and presumably of more or less independent origin.

1. Local meaning of mana.—'The word,' says R. H. Codrington (*The Melanesians*, p. 119 n.), 'is common I believe to the whole Pacific, and people have tried very hard to describe what it is in different regions. I think I know what our people mean by it, and that meaning seems to me to cover all that I hear about it elsewhere.' For the twofold reason that Codrington's account has in no respect been impugned by later observations, and that it is the classical source from which the scientific use of the term *mana* is derived, it will mainly be followed here, though one must bear in mind that it deals primarily with the Melanesian usage, whereas there is reason to suppose that the actual word is an importation from Polynesia. It will be convenient to consider the *mana* of the Pacific region under two aspects: (*a*) theoretical, comprising the native view of what it is, how it is manifested, where it resides, and whence it comes; and (*b*) practical, involving the methods by which it is sought to turn the supposed fact of its existence to human advantage.

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[1] W. Taylor Smith calls the attention of the present writer to a passage in the 'Passio Sancti Bartholomæi Apostoli,' in *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, Leipzig, 1891–1903, pt. ii. vol. i. p. 156: 'Vidit (Satanas) se exclusum, et alterum sibi angelum apostolicum, qui Mamona dicitur, sociavit, et protulit immensa pondera auri argenti gemmarum et omnem gloriam quæ est in hoc sæculo et dixit ei: Hæc omnia tibi dabo si adoraveris me.'

(*a*) *Theoretical aspect.* — *Mana* is defined by Codrington thus:

> 'It is a power or influence, not physical, and in a way supernatural; but it shews itself in physical force, or in any kind of power or excellence which a man possesses. This *mana* is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have it and can impart it; and it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water, or a stone, or a bone' (p. 119 n.). Or, again, he describes it as 'a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil, and which it is of the greatest advantage to possess or control' (p. 118 n.).

In this account three points are specially to be noted: (1) that the power or excellence for which *mana* stands is 'in a way supernatural,' namely, in so far as it is 'what works to effect everything which is beyond the ordinary power of men, outside the common processes of nature' (p. 118); (2) that, even if it be in itself impersonal, resembling a contagion, or such a force as electricity, in that it can have a material object for its vehicle, 'it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it'; (3) that it 'acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil,' or, in other words, may be used 'to benefit or to afflict friends and enemies' (p. 200), and is thus indiscriminately at the service of religion or of the black art. So much for the nature attributed to *mana*—which, be it noted, is noun, adjective, or verb, since it is equally a property, quality, or state. It may next be shown how such an attribution is a result of experience and sometimes even of experiment.

> 'If a man has been successful in fighting, it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness of resource that has won success; he has certainly got the *mana* of a spirit or of some deceased warrior to empower him, conveyed in an amulet of a stone round his neck, or a tuft of leaves in his belt, in a tooth hung upon a finger of his bow band, or in the form of words with which he brings supernatural assistance to his side. If a man's pigs multiply, and his gardens are productive, it is not because he is industrious and looks after his property, but because of the stones full of *mana* for pigs and yams that he possesses. Of course a yam naturally grows when planted, that is well known, but it will not be very large unless *mana* comes into play; a canoe will not be swift unless *mana* be brought to bear upon it, a net will not catch many fish, nor an arrow inflict a mortal wound' (p. 120).

Moreover, in this matter the native mind proceeds logically enough by the method of hypothesis and verification.

> 'A man comes by chance upon a stone which takes his fancy; its shape is singular, it is like something, it is certainly not a common stone, there must be *mana* in it. So he argues with himself and he puts it to the proof; he lays it at the root of a tree to the fruit of which it has a certain resemblance, or he buries it in the ground when he plants his garden; an abundant crop on the tree or in the garden shews that he is right, the stone is *mana*, has that power in it' (p. 119).

Hypothesis and verification even lurk behind the forms of prayer.

> Thus at Florida, one of the Solomon Islands, a fisherman addresses Daula, a *tindalo*, or ghost, connected with the frigate-bird, in these words: 'If thou art powerful, *mana*, O Daula, put a fish or two into this net and let them die there.' If he makes a good catch, he thereupon exclaims, 'Powerful, *mana*, is the *tindalo* of the net' (p. 146).

Again, the heir of a famous chief must live up to the reputation of his predecessor, or society decides that the *mana* has departed (p. 52).

> For instance, a man claimed to have received from the ghost of a late chief, a very great man, a stone for producing pigs together with the *mana* chant for working the stone; the people were ready enough to believe this, but the stone proved unproductive of pigs, and so the departed chief had no spiritual successor (p. 57).

To pass on to the question who or what may act as a host or vehicle of *mana*, it is plain from the foregoing examples that it may reside (though always conditionally and, as it were, by favour) either in a man or in a thing. For a man to have *mana* and to be great are convertible terms.

> 'To rise from step to step [in the *Suqe*, *i.e.* secret society or club] money is wanted, and food and pigs; no one can get these unless he has *mana* for it; therefore as *mana* gets a man on in the *Suqe*, so every one high in the *Suqe* is certainly a man with *mana*, and a man of authority, a great man, one who may be called a chief' (p. 103; cf. p. 115). In the after-life, too, 'the ghost who is to be worshipped is the spirit of a man who in his lifetime had *mana* in him; the souls of common men are the common herd of ghosts, nobodies alike before and after death. The supernatural power abiding in the powerful living man abides in his ghost after death, with increased vigour and more ease of movement' (p. 125).

As for the *mana* associated with inanimate things, the following example will show how it may come to be attributed.

> 'If a man came upon a large stone with a number of small ones beneath it, lying like a sow among her litter, he was sure that to offer money upon it would bring pigs,' and such a stone would be thought to have *mana* (pp. 181, 183).

Moreover, the *mana* (herein, as has been said, resembling a contagion, or such a force as electricity) may be transmitted by one thing to another.

> Thus, to make sunshine, certain leaves are held over a fire, and a song is sung to give *mana* to the fire, which gives *mana* to the leaves, so that, when the latter are hung high upon a tree, the wind may blow abroad the *mana* derived from the fire, and sunshine may result (p. 200 f.).

In other cases, the *mana* is seen to lend itself not only to transmission, but likewise to a sort of accumulation.

> To make rain, leaves that are *mana* for this purpose are caused to ferment so that a steam charged with *mana* may rise up to make clouds, and at the same time a stone that is *mana* for rain is placed among them to assist the process (p. 201).

It remains to notice the native theory of the ultimate source of *mana*. It has already been noted that, according to Codrington, 'it essentially belongs to personal beings to originate it' (p. 119 n.)—namely, to a dead man's ghost, a spirit (which was incorporeal from the first), or a living man (p. 151). The claim of the living man to originate *mana* is, however, somewhat doubtful, inasmuch as, if a man has *mana*, it resides in his 'spiritual part,' which after death becomes a ghost, while, for the rest, it is permissible only to say that a man has *mana*, not that he is *mana*, as can be said of a ghost or spirit (p. 191). In short, the native theorist would seem to have arrived at the view that *mana*, being something supernatural (to use Codrington's own term), must ultimately come from pre-eminently supernatural personalities such as ghosts or spirits. The existence of such a view, however, need not blind us to the fact that it is the man who does great things in his lifetime that is after death supposed to be a ghost with *mana*, a fighting man's ghost, for instance, being known specifically as a *keramo*, or ghost of killing, and hence much prized as a spiritual ally who can give *mana* (p. 133). Similarly, it is because the stone with little stones round it is like a sow among her litter that it is credited with *mana*; and the doctrine that it belongs to spirits (p. 183) is, clearly, but an explanatory after-thought. Thus neither animism (in Tylor's sense of 'the belief in spiritual beings') nor even animatism (the attribution of life and personality) would seem to be essentially involved in the naïve experience of the wonder-working thing, whatever be the last word of native theory on the subject.

It must be allowed, however, that, if *mana* does not necessarily imply personality in the case of the thing with *mana*, it is none the less perfectly capable of co-existing with it, as in the case of the living man with *mana*; and, being itself something indwelling, comes to be intimately associated with the indwelling 'spiritual part.' In this way *mana* and its derivatives have come in various Polynesian dialects to supply all that is needed in the way of a psychological vocabulary, standing not merely for 'heart' and 'belly,' but for the 'interior man' and all therein comprised, namely, 'desire,' 'love,' 'wish,' and 'feelings' generally, as also 'thought' and 'belief,' and even in some sense 'conscience' and 'soul' (see E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, s.v. 'Mana'). Even if, however, *mana* thus in certain contexts almost amounts to what we term 'personality,' it must be remembered that, according to the native view, such personality is transmissible (just as we are liable to think of a man's—say, an artist's—personality as attaching to his work), so that the *mana* as the realized personality of a powerful individual may be operative through the medium of what he makes or owns or leaves behind him at death.

(*b*) *Practical aspect.*—Codrington roundly declares that 'all Melanesian religion' consists in getting *mana* for oneself or getting it used for one's benefit—all religion, that is, so far as religious practices go (p. 119 n.). As he shows by numerous examples, to obtain *mana* is the object to which all prayers and sacrifices are directed. Or, again, as can be gathered from Tregear's *Dictionary*, *mana* may be used to express the performance of miracles, the exertion of a gift of healing, the interpretation of omens, an act of prophecy, in short, all the manifestations of a wonder-working beneficence which a religious man may aspire to set in motion. On the other hand, *mana* is a two-edged sword which may just as readily be employed in the service of maleficence. Those who have the *mana* to produce wind or calm, sunshine or rain, are wont 'to turn it either way as it is made worth their while to turn it' (Codrington, p. 200). Healing medicine and poison are alike *mana* (*ib.* pp. 198, 308). As Tregear's citation of phrases shows, accident and misfortune, cursing and intimidation, involve the exercise of *mana* no less than does any and every form of blessing. In short, all traffickings with the unseen and occult, whether licit or illicit, involve *mana*; and, just as electrical energy may be exploited alike in the public service and with criminal intent, so *mana* lends itself to the manipulation of the expert, be his motive moral or the reverse. Further, whatever is *mana* is likewise, in a complementary aspect, 'not to be lightly approached,' or, as we find it convenient for comparative purposes to say, 'tabu,' though, in Melanesia at all events, the word *tambu* (=*tabu*, *tapu*) has a rather different sense, implying human sanction and prohibition, the sacredness involving a supernatural sanction being rendered rather by *rongo*, or, where it is held to be especially severe, by *buto* (*ib.* p. 215; cf. pp. 190, 31). Whatever has magico-religious value in any degree is treated with more or less of awe, not to say fear, because in a corresponding degree it has supernatural power which it is liable to exercise on the unwary with such effects as usually attend the careless handling of something extremely potent. In sheer self-protection, then, the profane, that is to say, ordinary folk in their ordinary manner of life, observe a number of tabus towards the person or thing that is *mana*. Meanwhile, conversely, such tabu may be looked upon as helping to keep the holy person or thing inviolate, or guarding the *mana* from desecrating influences that will somehow spoil its efficacy.

2. Scientific meaning of mana.—It remains to determine what *mana* may appropriately mean when used as a class-name of world-wide application. Just as *tabu* has been turned into a general category standing for any prohibition resting on a magico-religious sanction, despite the fact that in Melanesia another shade of meaning apparently attaches to the term, so *mana* has of late obtained a wide currency as a general name for the power attributed to sacred persons and things, and is so used without reference to the particular associations which may have gathered round the word in this or that part of the Pacific region. Thus, even if it be true, as Codrington's somewhat guarded account leads one to suspect, that in Melanesia *mana* has been more or less successfully incorporated in an animistic system, so that its ultimate source is usually supposed to be a ghost or spirit, that is no reason why, for the general purposes of comparative science, *mana* should not be taken to cover all cases of magico-religious efficacy, whether the efficacy be conceived as automatic or derived, *i.e.*, as proceeding immediately from the nature of the sacred person or thing, or mediately because a ghost or spirit has put it into the person or thing in question. Meanwhile, the simplest way of ascertaining what modifications, if any, need to be imported into the local meaning of *mana* in order that the term may be employed generically, so as to cover analogous ideas hailing from a variety of other cultural areas, will be to review sundry examples of such kindred notions.

(1) *Orenda.*—This word is Iroquoian, belonging more especially to the Huron dialect, and apparently has the literal sense of 'chant' or 'song,' whence it comes to stand for the mystic power put forth by means of a magic song or in any other magico-religious way. Thus we are near the original meaning when we find 'one who exerts his *orenda*' as the regular expression for a soothsayer, or hear of the *orenda* of the cicada, which is known as the 'maize-ripener' because, if it sings in the early morning, a hot day follows. Not only the soothsayer, however, but the mighty hunter likewise, or he who succeeds in a game of skill or of chance, is credited with great *orenda*, though, if the hunter fails, or the gambler is worsted, then his *orenda* has been thwarted by the greater *orenda* of the game or of the rival player (J. N. B. Hewitt, *American Anthropologist*, new ser., iv. [1902] 38 f.). Indeed, everybody and everything would seem to have *orenda* in some degree, the world being regarded as a sort of battle-ground where unequal forces are matched against each other, and the strongest obtains his desire ('he is arrayed in his *orenda*' is the regular way of expressing 'he hopes' [*ib.* p. 39]), while the weaker must submit ('he lays down his *orenda*' is equivalent to 'he prays' [*ib.* p. 40]). Whether it implies personality may be doubted; for, whereas at one end of the scale it is associated with personal activities such as singing, charming, praying, hoping, and so forth, and sometimes almost amounts to 'intelligence,' as when it is said of a shy animal that 'its *orenda* is acute' (*ib.* p. 39), at the other end of the scale we find it attributed freely to trees, plants, stones, meteors, water, a cloud, a storm, or again to medicine, to a ceremony, and so forth (*ib.* pp. 33, 41, etc.). Sometimes *orenda* seems to come near to what we should term will-power, and doubtless such will-power is freely attributed to what we consider to be inanimate objects, as when 'it is making its *orenda*' is said indifferently of an animal in a rage or of a storm brewing. But sometimes the *orenda* would seem to act automatically and independently of the wills of those who seek to bring it into action, as when the condolence ceremony, whereby a sort of figurative resurrection is accorded to a dead chief, has to be performed in winter lest its association with death should exert an evil *orenda* on the crops (*ib.* p. 34). For the rest, *orenda* may work either for good or for evil, though a separate word *otgon* may be used to denote the specifically bad kind of *orenda*, and is actually displacing the more general term, as if the malign aspect of its manifestations made the more lasting impression on the tribal mind (*ib.* p. 37 n.). See, further, art. ORENDA.

(2) *Wakan.*—This Siouan word is strictly parallel to *orenda*, and stands for all 'power which makes or brings to pass.' It may come near to the idea of will-power, as in the Omaha act of

wa-zhin-dhe-dhe, the 'sending of power' by singing to an absent friend engaged in war, or in the chase, or in a game of skill. On the other hand, menstrual blood is *wakan* (whence the nudity charm described by H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, Philadelphia, 1853–57, v. 70 [see A. C. Fletcher, *Proc. Amer. Assoc. for Adv. of Science*, 1897, p. 326]). In short, the term may be applied indifferently to a shaman, to sun, moon, thunder, to animals and trees, to fetishes and ceremonial objects of all sorts, and, in fact, to anything that exhibits wonder-working power (cf. W J McGee, *15 RBEW* [1897] 182).

(3) *Manitu.* — Here once more we have an Algonquian word that is generically identical in meaning with *orenda* or *wakan.* It is primarily an impersonal substantive; for in the Algonquian dialect a rigid distinction of gender is made between things with life and things without life; and, when *manitu* stands for a virtue or property, the form expressive of inanimate gender is used, though, 'when the property becomes identified with objects in nature, the gender becomes obscure and confused' (W. Jones, *AJFL* xviii. [1905] 183 f.). The following account by an Indian of the Fox tribe of the beneficent effects of the sweat-lodge brings out very clearly the non-personal nature of the force set in motion by a man for his personal betterment; he might almost as well be describing an electric bath.

> 'Often one will cut oneself over the arms and legs . . . it is done to open up many passages for the *manitou* to pass into the body. The *manitou* comes from its place of abode in the stone. It becomes aroused by the heat of the fire, . . . proceeds out of the stone when the water is sprinkled upon it, . . . and in the steam it enters the body, . . . and imparts some of its nature to the body. That is why one feels so well after having been in the sweat-lodge' (*ib.* p. 183 f.).

See, further, art. MANITU.

(4) *Hasina.*—This word is used in Madagascar to express the power or virtue which makes a thing unusually good and effective, such as the efficacy of a remedy, the power of a prophecy to come true, the virtue residing in an amulet or in a spell, the sanctity of holy persons and things, and so on. *Hasina* belongs in a high degree to the king, seeing that he is born in a family which has it, and is strengthened by the ceremonies of people having it, such as sorcerers and his own relatives. Hence his *hasina*, being highly contagious, is apt to cause his subjects to fall ill and die, if they but touch him. He dare not even speak to them, save through an intermediary. Meanwhile it is his duty to guard his *hasina* intact for the public good, so that A. van Gennep is probably right in regarding such a tabu as that which prohibits the subject from entering the court of the palace with his hat on his head as a *fady* (= tabu) *de conservation* (*Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 17). Indeed, the native theory of kingship turns entirely on this notion of *hasina.* Thus, at the king's enthronement, the monarch-elect stands on a sacred stone charged with *hasina* and cries aloud to the people, 'Have I, have I, have I the power?', to which they reply, 'The power is thine' (*ib.* p. 82). Taxes paid to the king are called *hasina*, being derived from firstfruits and hence inherently sacred, in fact, a tithe. Even when the king is dead, his body transmits its *hasina* to the place of the grave, which is henceforward sacred (*ib.* p. 104). It may even be, as van Gennep suggests, that the royal practice of strict endogamy, which was carried as far as sister-marriage, was due to the desire to keep the *hasina* in the family (*ib.* p. 162). *Hasina* is, however, by no means the exclusive property of the king. Nobles have it too, but in less degree. Even common men have some, and the very animals, trees, and stones have their share likewise. *Hasina*, in short, is relative. If I plant something in my field, I put into it some of my *hasina.* Another man will therefore respect it, unless he feel his *hasina* to be greater, in which case he can receive no harm (*ib.* p. 18). Meanwhile I shall do well to fortify myself by protecting my property with amulets full of *hasina*, these often amounting to veritable boundary-stones (*ib.* p. 186). For the rest, whatever is sacred has *hasina* and for this reason is likewise *fady*, or tabu, so that, for instance, the stranger who has *hasina*, and is therefore *fady*, must be received with rites of admission the object of which is *détabouer*, 'to remove the tabu' (*ib.* pp. 40, 46).

(5) *Baraka.*—This is the term used in Morocco to describe the holiness attributed to 'saints,' male or female, as well as to places and natural objects, which are, however, thought of as deriving their holiness from the saint. The name *sîyid* (*i.e.* *sayyid*), 'saint,' is meanwhile bestowed impartially on person or place, implying a certain 'confusion of categories' (E. Westermarck, in *Anthrop. Essays presented to Tylor*, London, 1907, p. 368). To secure that the power shall be exercised in his favour, the Arab puts a conditional curse (*'ār*) upon the saint by throwing a stone on the cairn marking his tomb, or by tying a rag near by. The most efficient conductor of such a curse is, however, the blood shed in a sacrifice, for the blood contains *baraka*, supernatural energy, in itself, and hence lends potency on its own account to the curse with which it is loaded (*ib.* p. 365). *Baraka* is, however, by no means necessarily noxious (as it is when it provides the sting of a curse); for it stands equally for the blessing, *l'-baraka del 'īd*, 'the benign virtue of the feast,' which flows from the sacrificial meal, and is further distributed among the worshippers by a man clothed in the victim's skin (Westermarck, *MI* i. 445). Or, to take another example, the *baraka* inherent in the Moorish bride 'implies not only beneficial energy, but also a seed of evil or an element of danger,' so that people partake of her dried fruit to rid themselves of evil on account of her *baraka*, even while they regard a gift from her as bringing a blessing, and likewise suppose her *baraka* to give efficacy to the ceremonies practised with a view to producing rain for the good of the crops (Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, London, 1914, p. 360 ff.).

(6) *Manngur.*—This word among the Kabi tribe of Queensland is used to express the 'vitality' with which the doctor is full and whereby he effects his miracles. He is also known as *muru muru*, 'the man full of life' (*murubarnan*, 'to live'). The force that pervades him is conceived, hylomorphically, as a number of those magic crystals which are so much in evidence when he engages in his acts of healing. As a native witness put it, 'always pebbles in his inside are. In the hand bones, calves, head, nails' (J. Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, London, 1899, p. 191). These pebbles enter the patient, so that he in turn becomes *manngur bathin*, 'full of vitality.' Or, conversely, the *muru muru*, the man full of life, sucks out the pebbles which some other ill-disposed person has put into the victim, so that the latter recovers, the potency resident in the pebbles being thus equally capable of killing or curing according to the intention of the powerful man who has control of them (*ib.* p. 191 f.). Or the medicine-man may relieve his patient by drawing out the evil by means of a rope, and such a rope he obtains from Dhakkan, the rainbow, who is himself *manngurugur* (superlative of *manngur*), superlatively potent (*ib.* p. 192).

These examples, which might be multiplied indefinitely, will suffice to show that there is a widespread tendency on the part of the peoples of the lower culture to isolate in thought and invest with a more or less independent being of its own the power whereby a holy person or thing proves his or its holiness by means of action supremely efficacious, whether for good or for evil. Modern anthropology lays great stress on this notion of the savage (whether it be conceived and expressed by him with full explicitness or not), because it appears to stand for something which lies at the very centre of what he feels, thinks, and does in regard to the supernatural and unseen. Whether it is more or less central and fundamental than the notion of spirit is a question that need not be raised here. In any case it would be quite beside the mark to seek to assign exact relations of logical priority and posteriority to these two ideas, seeing that savage doctrine is tolerant of confusion, not to say downright contradiction, and uses the one or the other conception alternatively or in manifold conjunction as a particular situation may seem to suggest.

Here, then, it will be more profitable to indicate shortly what general purposes of theory are served by reference to the group of ideas for which *mana* may by convention be allowed to stand when used in its scientific as distinguished from its purely local sense. In the first place, *mana* usefully calls attention to the element which magic and religion have in common. Among savages my religion corresponds roughly to whatever system of rites is resorted to by the community in general for self-preservation in the face of all the dangers, real or imaginary, that beset them. If you are a member of another tribe in perpetual strife with mine, I am not disinterested enough to attribute to you any religion worth speaking of, even if your rites bear the closest family resemblance to mine; but rather incline to pay you the compliment of supposing you to wield a most malignant magic, in proportion as I feel respect for your power of getting the better of me. It is a case of me and my gods against you and your devils. Gods or devils, however, they have power alike, and to the stronger power, whichever it be, the victory goes. Similarly, within the tribe a particular individual may have recourse to mystic rites to help a public cause or to help himself in a way of which the public approves, or contrariwise in order to wreak his private spite on his neighbour. In the former case he is behaving piously, in the latter he shows himself a wizard and deserves to die the death; but in either case indifferently a wonder-working power is set in motion. *Mana*, then, as representing what may be broadly described as the element of the miraculous, enables theory to treat the magico-religious as a unity in difference, the unity consisting in wonder-working power and the difference in the social or anti-social use to which it is put by the rival systems. In the second place, *mana*, taken together with *tabu*, provides a minimum definition of the magico-religious, such a delimitation coinciding accurately with the distinction which the savage both in theory and in practice draws between the world of the supernatural and the world of the workaday and ordinary. Whatever else it may be as well, and however diverse the characters it may otherwise wear, the magico-religious in all its manifestations is always hedged round with respect because of the potency inherent in it. *Tabu* and *mana* always imply each other, so that either can stand by itself for the whole two-sided notion. Thus *tapu* (=*tabu*) was 'a general name for the system of religion' in Hawaii (Tregear, *s.v.* 'Tapu'). Conversely, *wakan*, a word of the *mana* type, is translated by McGee 'mystery,' because the notions of 'power,' 'sacred,' 'ancient,' 'grandeur,' 'animate,' 'immortal' all fall alike within the wide circle of its implications (*15 RBEW*, p. 183). *Mana*, however, taken by itself offers the more adequate characterization of the nature of the magico-religious, since it reveals the positive ground of the negative attitude of fear and shrinking which *tabu* involves. It only remains to add that, having by means of such terms expressed the generic characters of the class of objects to which magic and religion relate, the anthropologist is merely on the threshold of his task, and must go on to distinguish by means of fresh terms of narrower connotation the specific types in which this class abounds. Thirdly, *mana* is well suited to express that aspect of the magico-religious or sacred in which it appears as a transmissible force or influence. Thus van Gennep shows the notion of *hasina*, which is of the *mana* type, to be closely bound up with that of *tohina*, contagion (*Tabou et totémisme*, p. 17). The idea of spirit, on the other hand, does not lend itself so readily to the representation of such transmissibility or infectiousness on the part of what is sacred, except where some sort of dual personality is manifested, as in the case of what is known as 'inspiration.' Meanwhile the passing on of sacredness between one person and another, one thing and another, or a person and a thing in either direction, is a constant feature of primitive belief, corresponding as it does to that play of association to which the uncritical mind is prone, more especially when rendered suggestible by emotional excitement. Thus, in the Melanesian charm for sunshine, the operator's desire, as expressed in his song, starts a train of actions—the lighting of a fire, then the placing of leaves therein to warm them, then the hanging of the leaves upon a tree to impart their warmth to the wind; and the whole process is interpreted in terms of the transmissibility of *mana*, from the song to the fire, the fire to the leaves, the leaves to the wind, the wind to the sun, in strict accordance with the associational flow of the interest (cf. Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 201). Lastly, *mana* is the term best suited to express magico-religious value as realized in and through ritual; and ritual, as Robertson Smith has shown once for all, comes before belief in order of importance for the peoples of the lower culture. If *mana* is, regarded in itself, an impersonal and quasi-mechanical force operating on its own account, even though personal beings may have set it in motion, this is largely because a more or less automatic efficacy is imputed to ritual as such. Whereas the reason and conscious design that are immanent in the ritual are at most but dimly apprehended, the rite itself, on the other hand, stands out clearly as something that can be seen and enacted, and thus acquires independent value. Whatever it may exactly mean, at all events it works. Thus the ideas of *mana* and of ritualistic control go very closely together, the former being little else than a projection of the latter into the world of objects, which are thought of as so many foci in a system of partly co-operating and partly conflicting controls. And so it is also with the civilized man's notion of luck, which is a genuine, though degraded, member of the *mana* group of conceptions. Those who still hold to a belief in luck are precisely those who likewise believe in the possibility of controlling it.

LITERATURE.—For the local use of the word *mana* the *locus classicus* is R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891. Cf. also E. Tregear, *Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary*, Wellington, N.Z., 1891, *s.v.* 'Mana.' For the kindred words, *orenda*, *wakan*, etc., see the references given above A. van Gennep, *Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar*, Paris, 1904, deals with *hasina* in strict relation to the local context, yet in a broad way that suggests interesting applications to general theory. On the scientific use of the term see various essays, the earliest going back to 1899, by R. R. Marett, reprinted in *The Threshold of Religion*^{2}, London, 1914. In 1904 Marett, in 'From Spell to Prayer,' *ib.*, and H. Hubert and M. Mauss,

in *ASoc.* vii., independently made *mana* the basis of a theory of magic. See also I. King, *The Development of Religion*, New York, 1910, and J. H. Leuba, *A Psychological Study of Religion*, do. 1912. Important papers dealing with the subject from various points of view are E. S. Hartland, *Address to Section H, British Association*, York, 1906, and *Address to Section I, 3rd Internat. Congress for the Hist. of Religions*, Oxford, 1908; A. Lovejoy, *The Monist*, xvi. [1906] no. 3; V. Gronbech, 'Soul or Mana,' *4th Internat. Congress for the Hist. of Religions*, Leyden, 1912; P. Saintyves, *La Force magique*, Paris, 1914. Important books illustrating the theoretical applications of the idea of *mana* are L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, Paris, 1909; E. Durkheim, *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, do. 1912; J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912.

R. R. MARETT.

MANCHURIA.—See SHAMANISM.

MANDÆANS.—1. Introduction.[1]—The Mandæans claim our interest not only as being a separate surviving branch of the Semitic stock, but also on account of their religion, their language, and their sacred literature. Besides the records of their religious teaching and their religious poetry, that literature includes fragmentary remains and revisions of ancient Gnostic speculation and myth. Adherents of the Mandæan faith, either as larger communities or as distinct family groups, were to be found some forty years ago—and may perhaps still be found—in cities and smaller market-towns on the lower Euphrates, the lower Tigris, and the rivers which water the eastern ʿIrāq al-ʿarabī and the adjacent Persian province of Khūzistān (Arabistān). It is, indeed, necessary for them to live in the neighbourhood of rivers, since immersion in flowing water is an essential, and certainly the most characteristic, feature of their religious practice.

As far back as our records carry us, we find them subsisting in very humble conditions, earning their living as tradesmen—carpenters, smiths, locksmiths, goldsmiths—or as shopkeepers. Upon their priests rested the duty of preparing and directing the public religious ceremonials, which were few and by no means sumptuous, as well as that of performing certain rites on behalf of individual members of the community. At these functions it was their regular task to recite a number of extracts from the sacred books. In the Mandæan religion, as in others, such recitations take the place of the incantations that are no longer permitted, and in conjunction with the religious rites they serve to effect or to ensure the salvation of the soul.

From the time when the Mandæans began the serious collection of their religious texts—their mythological and legendary documents may also be regarded as revelations—the transcribing of their sacred books, and even a monetary contribution to the expense of such labour, ranked among them as a work which could purge from sin; hence not merely priests, but also a considerable number of laymen, possessed copies. Some of these were obtained by Christian missionaries from their converts, and others were bought, with the result that since the middle of the 17th cent. not a few Mandæan MSS have found their way into European libraries. The books are composed in a distinct Semitic idiom, and written in a special script.

2. Mandæan writings.—The most valuable, from the historical point of view, and—at least in the main—the most ancient portions of Mandæan literature are collected in the voluminous *Sidrâ rabbâ* ('Great Book') or *Genzâ* ('Thesaurus'), which is divided into a right and a left part.[2] This consists largely of theological, mythological, ethical, and historical treatises, which are interspersed with revelations, prayers, and hymns. All these components, so varied in their matter, may be called 'tractates,' though only by way of having a uniform term by which they may be enumerated and cited. From the introductory 'blessings,' which occur some twenty times, and from postscripts, we may infer that the sixty-four pieces, with three collections of hymns, were gradually incorporated in the 'Thesaurus,' now singly, now in groups. Originally each tractate was independent, though in the very first three or four separate writings have been brought together. The last tractate of the Right is the 'King's book,' which contains a survey of cosmic events as they appeared to a Mandæan who expected the end of the world to take place one hundred and fifty years after the foundation of the Arabic sovereignty, and assigned to that sovereignty a duration of only seventy-one years; hence the tractate must have been composed in the early years of the 8th cent. A.D. The short tractate, xix. R, speaks of Mahamat the Arab (Muhammad) as one who had lived at least from two to three generations in the past. To the much more important i. and ii. R, however, notices referring to Muhammad have been attached only at the end, the redactors of these tractates evidently thinking that they must fill out the historical sketch; no other tractate exhibits any knowledge of Muhammad or any trace of his teaching. As regards the narrative tractates, we can distinguish between those of more and those of less importance, the latter having taken their materials or their themes from the former. In some we find fragments interpolated from older works not now extant, while not a few are a mere patchwork of remnants of what they originally contained. When all has been said, it cannot be doubted that these documents of the *Genzâ* which speak authoritatively of Mandæan thought and sentiment were composed prior to Muhammad's day, and such later redaction—often far from competent—as they have undergone was the work of Mandæan priests who were concerned to transmit in some form to future generations the greatest possible amount of their ancestral literature. The formal nucleus or focus of the entire collection is a manifesto of the Mandæan priesthood to the community (xxvii. R; cf. *MR*, supplement A).

Like the *Genzâ*, the *Sidrâ d'Yahyâ* ('The Book of John'), or *Drâšê d'malkê* ('Recitations of the Kings'), more rarely designated *Drâšê d'Yahyâ* ('Recitations of John'),[1] is also a collection of tractates, many of which have come down in an incomplete, or at least in a corrupt, textual form. A considerable number of them relate to the experiences and the teachings of John the Baptist. The book also contains narratives (*e.g.*, one about the 'fisher of souls'), instructions in conversational form, etc. The diction is still good, but the legend of the baptizer of the Jordan, who is mentioned only once in the *Genzâ*, where he is described as a truly wise and devout prophet, is here brought down to the sphere of popular taste, and expounded with entertaining stories. The older form of his name, 'Yôhannâ,' is superseded by the Arabic 'Yahyâ' (cf. § 40), and from these facts we infer that the contents of this collection are of considerably later origin than those of the great 'Thesaurus.'

The *Qolastâ* is a volume containing the liturgies for the annual baptismal festival and the service for the dead (*masseqtâ*).[1] Its poetical sections, which are intended to be recited as hymns or prayers, are worthy to stand beside the songs in the *Genzâ*, though they are possibly not so ancient. The liturgical directions attached to them are certainly of much later origin, being the work of writers who were not familiar with the pure form of the Mandæan language. The same statement holds good of the two sections of the *Marriage Ritual*, which has not yet been printed, though there are MSS of it in Oxford.

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[1] In this art. the abbreviations *MR* and *MS* indicate respectively the present writer's *Mandäische Religion* and *Mandäische Schriften*, cited at the end of the Literature.

[2] A transcription of a complete MS with a list of variants from three others, executed by H. Petermann, was published in lithographic form as *Thesaurus sive liber magnus*, Leipzig, 1867. We shall cite from this ed., using the letters R and L for the right and left parts respectively, while the accompanying figures will indicate the page and line. The right-hand pages are for the living, the left-hand for the dead.

[1] ed. M. Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, i., Giessen, 1905; a second vol., with tr., is promised for 1915.

To the liturgical rubrics of the two works just mentioned corresponds the *Dîvân* preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The name *dîvân* is given by the Mandæans to a work written on one long strip of paper. The Paris example is 136 × 6 cm., and gives the procedure for the expiation of ceremonial offences (cf. T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. xxiv). Another *Dîvân*, now in the Vatican Library, is 7·6 metres in length, and consists of a series of sketches representing the halting-places through which the soul of a deceased Mandæan must pass in its ascent (cf. § 28), and, at its destination, the scales and the throne of Abatûr. Its numerous figures have been drawn mainly with ruler and compass, and might be the work of a child's hand, while some parts of the text found between or at the side of the figures have been rendered illegible by stains and dilapidation of the paper. The Latin notes added by Ignatius a Jesu to explain the figures sometimes do not agree at all with the original text, and at certain points there is convincing evidence that the missionary could not read a word of the Mandæan language. It would appear that he had the work explained to him by one of his converts, but that he frequently failed to understand his informant, and made fresh errors in writing his notes.[2]

Another Mandæan work, one main division of which bears the title *Asfar malwâŝê* ('Book of the zodiacal Constellations'), is found in the Royal Library of Berlin.

According to Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*), 'it is a compilation, containing all sorts of astrological material of very diverse date, and translated in part from Arabic and Persian; portions of it are of Jewish origin.'

Mention should also be made of the recently discovered earthenware bowls with Mandæan inscriptions intended to avert a curse or an evil spell.[3] They furnish melancholy evidence of the complete decay of Mandæan theology.

3. The Mandæan language.—The idiom in which this literature is composed is recognized by Nöldeke as of importance for the study of the Semitic languages; it is the form of Aramaic which developed in lower Babylonia, and its nearest congener is the special dialect of the *Talmûd Babhlî* (*i.e.* the Aramaic of Upper Babylonia). The script (see below, § 19) has the advantage of expressing the vowel-sounds by letters, and does not require diacritical signs. A correct interpretation of the texts—at least so far as they are accurately written and in good preservation—has been made possible by the grammar which Nöldeke has drawn up from them (*Mandäische Grammatik*).

4. Translations.—Ignatius a Jesu, who, as a missionary in Baṣra in the 17th cent., was in close contact with Mandæans for nearly thirty years, simply says that he had some knowledge of their language, while his successor, Angelus a S. Josepho, thought himself able to furnish the key to their writings. The material extracted by the learned Maronite, Abraham Echellensis, from three Mandæan books, and given to the public in a work printed in 1660 at Rome, that scholar had doubtless succeeded in reading with the assistance of Mandæan converts then resident in Rome (cf. *MR*, p. 5 f.). From the same period come three renderings of the supposed Mandæan baptismal formula, but these show how utterly bewildered the translators were even with the first line of the Mandæan books, for it is in reality their introductory formula. Later essays in translation, the most notable of which were the arbitrarily conjectural version by M. Norberg and the more careful but still very erroneous studies of G. W. Lorsbach, are considered in some detail in *MS*, pp. xiv–xix. In the latter half of the 19th cent. it also transpired that there was no such traditional interpretation as scholars had expected to find in the hands of the Mandæan priests (cf. *MR*, pp. 7–20). The specimens of translation offered by H. Petermann simply repeat the errors of Norberg (*ib.* pp. 99, 186, 214, 234).

Even with Nöldeke's *Grammar* at our disposal, there are still serious obstacles to a complete translation of the Mandæan writings. These contain a large number of expressions which we can interpret only conjecturally or else not at all; some appear to be Persian in origin, but there are also a number of genuine Aramaic words whose usage in other dialects does not suit their Mandæan context, while in other cases the context does not clearly show which modification of meaning has been developed from their etymological root. In some instances, again, it is obvious that words and phrases have acquired a theological or ritual sense which is not clearly determinable. All this, however, has to do with matters of detail; the course of thought and most of the constituent elements lie within the scope of literal reproduction. H. Pognon (*opp. citt.*) has taken the utmost care in establishing the renderings of the inscriptions, and has also, in connexion with them, translated numerous passages in the *Genzâ* and the *Qolastâ*—though he, too, has made mistakes. The same may be said of *MS*.

5. Interest of the Mandæan texts.—The largest and most interesting portion of the Mandæan writings is liturgical and mythological in character. The myths relate to the origin and nature of the world of the gods and that of men, and also to the religious history of mankind. They are not derived from conceptions of nature, nor did they originate in the popular mind, but were constructed in accordance with theological views. The scientific gains which this vein of liturgy and myth seems to promise—and it is the prospect of such gains that draws us to the study of the Mandæan texts—are in the main as follows: (*a*) enlightenment regarding the meaning of the Mandæan rites; (*b*) a tenable view of the origin and early history of the Mandæan religion; and (*c*) an advancement of our knowledge regarding the character of Oriental Gnosis and its religious bearings.

6. General contents of the Sidrâ rabbâ, or Genzâ.—In seeking to solve the riddle presented by the Mandæans and their writings, we must begin with a critical examination of the oldest portions of their literature. We shall, therefore, first direct our attention to the matter found in the *Genzâ*. There we find a teeming world fabricated by religious and theological fantasy. Gods and demons, or beings of like nature, come before us with actions and utterances which, almost without exception, relate to the creation of the world, the founding of religions, and the destiny of the human soul. Not infrequently it seems as if one and the same being stood before us under different names, while in other texts the bearers of these names are found in company with one another; sometimes, again, a particular action is ascribed to beings of altogether diverse character, or, as the action of one and the same being, it is described and characterized with much variation in different texts. It would be impossible here to set forth or unravel all this, and we shall seek only to give a concise survey of the most important trains of thought and imagination to which the vast variety of the materials may be reduced.

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[1] A copy, beautifully transcribed and ed., with variant readings, by J. Euting, was published as *Qolasta oder Gesänge und Lehren von der Taufe und dem Ausgang* (erroneously, the original having, not מאפיקתא, 'exit,' but מאסיקתא, 'ascent') *der Seele*, Stuttgart, 1867.

[2] A photographic facsimile of this *Dîvân*, ed. J. Euting, was published at Strassburg, 1904.

[3] H. Pognon, *Une Incantation contre les génies malfaisants en Mandaïte*, Paris, 1893, and *Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir*, do. 1897–99; cf. M. Lidzbarski, 'Mandäische Zaubertexte,' in *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i. [1902] 89–106. A few Mandæan texts are to be found in J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913.

7. Ancient Gnostic elements in the Genzâ.—The tractates that first claim our interest, as being probably the oldest, are those which exhibit polytheistic beliefs, or are at least ultimately based upon polytheistic views. Some of these open with speculations regarding the origin of all things, including the world of the gods, and to this group belong the sections in which emanational doctrines are set forth (cf. *MR*, p. 24 ff.). Here 'the Great Fruit,' from which innumerable other fruits have sprung,[1] and—as a personal divine being—'the Great Mânâ of Glory,' from whom, in like manner, other 'Great Mânâs' have arisen, are spoken of as primal entities. Beside the Great Mânâ we frequently find 'his counterpart,' 'the radiant ether' (*ayar ziwâ*), or 'the great ether of life' (*ayar rabbâ d'hayyâ*), who appears sometimes as a primitive being, sometimes as one of the first emanations; and the same holds good of 'the First Life,' also called 'the Great Life,' and of 'the Great Hidden First *Niṭuftâ*' (*i.e.* 'drop,' perhaps thought of as a sperm-drop). In all the sections of this type we read also of 'the great Jordan,' which is always represented as a river of white water, as 'the living water,' 'the gleaming and lustrous water.' It encircles the realm of the *ayar*, the world inhabited by the higher beings, and in its descent it is joined by innumerable other Jordans which water the *ayar*-realm; or, again, it traverses that realm as 'the great artery of life.' So unorganized is the system, however, that as early as the middle period of the *Genzâ* we find the personified figure of Wisdom making request for revelations as to the gradation of the higher beings according to their period and dignity (*MS*, p. 202 f.). Nor do the texts in question present us merely with diverse elaborations of a single underlying view, or with various attempts to reconstruct an imperfectly conceived system; on the contrary, they contain originally divergent conceptions of the origin of things—conceptions either fabricated or gathered from foreign sources by the Mandæan scholars themselves at a period before the transmitted texts were written. Of the authors of the *Genzâ* it is only the polytheistic group that have made use of these conceptions.

Of the narratives describing the creation of the terrestrial world, some still bear a relation to the theogonies, the relation being peculiarly close in the long and important tractate vi. R, which we may call the Mandæan Genesis. In this text 'the Life' calls 'the Second Life' into existence by a 'request to itself.' Then this 'Second Life' creates for itself a second celestial world, and among the spirits of this higher realm of second rank (the '*ûtrâs* of the Second Life) arises the idea of creating a third world, viz. our earth, with inhabitants who should know and worship only the Second Life, not the First. Then the Great Mânâ of Glory, in order to frustrate this design, calls into existence the Mandâ d'hayyê, who was to see that the First Life was worshipped also upon the earth.

In the Mandæan dialect *mandâ* is a by-form of *maddâ* or *middâ*, a noun from the root ידע (cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm.*, p. 75), and *Mandâ d'hayyê* is equivalent to γνῶσις τῆς ζωῆς, 'the knowledge of life'—such a knowledge of life as gives one a portion in life. The term 'Mandæan' is a rendering of *mandâyâ*, γνωστικός.

8. The polytheistic strain in Mandæan theology.—While the Mandæan writers esteem the theological speculations of their books as mysterious and ancient revelations, in their own religious thinking they retain only the belief in 'the Great Life'—or simply 'the Life'—whom they regard as the deity of the world of light. They use the word *pîrâ* for the most part as equivalent to 'fruit' in the ordinary sense, and the term *ayar* (ultimately derived from Gr. ἀήρ) as denoting the air of the celestial world and the north wind associated with it. The word *mânâ* (usually = 'vessel,' 'instrument') is still found in a group of hymns (L 38–74) in which the soul of the Mandæan asserts its heritage in the higher world, declaring, 'I am a *mânâ* of the Great Life,' while occasionally an exalted celestial being is distinguished by the epithet 'pure *mânâ*.' At first the deity referred to as 'the Life' is still regarded as a plurality, being designated 'the Fathers,' and is thus conceived as a council of gods—though one that is small and always unanimous. Very soon, however, 'the Life' comes to be spoken of in the singular. In the polytheistic writers a number of other gods appear besides 'the Life'—not, indeed, as its subordinates, but inferior to it in power and prestige. These are not called 'gods'—among the Mandæans, in fact, that term was long restricted entirely to the false foreign deities (*MR*, supplement C)—but are referred to each by his proper name. The heavenly beings created for a special purpose are called '*ûtrâs* (lit. 'wealth'), as are also the countless angels who play a more ornamental part.

Far below the realm of *ayar* lies a world of darkness—'the black water' (*mayyâ syâwê*). We are nowhere told that the black water is merely a portion of the under world, or that it bounds or covers it, and yet the idea that the under world is in a liquid condition is quite irreconcilable with a large number of its features as presented in the narratives.

The creation of the earth which lies solid in the black water, and of the firmament expanded over it, is ascribed by the writers of this school to Ptahil (on whom cf. *MS*, p. 60 f., note). The characterization of this demiurge shows a remarkable degree of variation. Ptahil merely resembles the higher beings, and has arisen out of the black water; he acts only by permission, or, indeed, upon the authority, of 'the Life,' and with the means vouchsafed to him by the latter, but he oversteps his orders; or he has accepted the proffered help of the evil spirits. Again, he is in fault solely because he has not boldly resisted such an evil spirit, or, once more, he himself has committed no transgression, and it is only after he has duly performed his work that evil comes into the world.

The creation of man is wrought in part either by Ptahil or by the evil spirits, but is left incomplete, the soul and the finer organs, or at least the former, being still lacking. The soul—that which makes man live—is breathed into Adam by Mandâ d'hayyê, or else brought down from the treasure-house of 'the Life' and placed in Adam's body by one of the celestial beings. By this means, and also by the fact that the first man was at once enlightened regarding his origin and the true religion, the design of the subordinate spirits (those of the Second Life) to create a world whose inhabitants should belong to them and worship them alone was foiled.

The wicked spirits, however—of the '*ûtrâs* of the

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[1] According to Hippolytus, *Ref.* (= *Philosophoumena*) v. 9, vi. 37, viii. 8 (cf. x. 16), the Naassenes, Valentinus, and the Docetists had a similar idea (cf. *MR*, p. 187 ff.).

Second Life nothing is said even in the 6th tractate—do not at once accept defeat. By magic they create all manner of noxious things—poison and corruption, predatory animals and serpents, devouring fire and earthquake, etc., as well as evil passions—and mingle them with the good creation. According to vi. R, the first to be deluded by the wicked ones was the son of the first man (*âdâm bar âdâm*); and Mandâ d'hayyê, or his representatives (Hibil, Šitil, 'Enôš), must once more appear to fortify and maintain mankind in the true faith. These evil spirits are the Rûhâ (Jud.-Aram. רוחא) and her children, viz. the spirits of the seven planets and of the twelve zodiacal signs. Prior to the creation of the earth her abode was the region overlying the black water, and from her and her sons all evil things have come into the world—demons, founders of false religions, teachers of heresy, and men of violence. The Rûhâ, who also bears the epithet of 'world-mother' or 'mother of the world,' bore these children to 'Ûr, the Mandæan devil, who was himself her son. He is a most villainous creature, and had to be laid under restraint before the earth and the firmament were created, the reason evidently being that the 'solidification' of the land in the black water would otherwise have been impossible. According to vi. R, it was Mandâ d'hayyê himself, according to viii. R, it was his son Hibil zîwâ, who cast 'Ûr to the ground, loaded him with chains, and set warders over him—or, on another view, immured him in 'Ûr's own dark realm. Detailed accounts of how these measures were carried out—mainly by magic and trickery—are found in the tractates cited; and viii. R (one of the later portions of the *Genzâ*) relates further, with reminiscences of Bab. myths, how the 'fathers' of 'Ûr, the lords of three deeper regions of the under world, were rendered harmless (complete tr. in *MS*, pp. 137–191).

9. Biblical matter in the tractates of the polytheistic earlier school.—The Rûhâ and her son 'Ûr, dwelling upon the surface of a watery expanse that existed before the creation of the solid land, and in some way interested in that work of creation, since their names are not Mandæan, but of Heb. origin, can be none other than the female רוח אלהים who, according to the opening words of the Heb. Genesis, 'brooded upon the face of the waters,' and the light (אור),[1] which is said in the same passage to have been the first work of the creation. The Gnostic writer here adopts a theory according to which the light was born of the Rûhâ (of God), as were also, subsequently, the lights of the heavens. The word קרי, 'call,' as used for 'call into being,' can be traced to the Biblical Genesis, as well as the names of Âdâm and his wife Ḥawwâ, and, consequently, also that of their son Šitil (*i.e.* שת, lengthened in Mand. to שיתיל) and the names of the other two genii Hibil and 'Enôš. The exaltation of Abel (הבל), slain in his innocence, as Ḥibil zîwâ seems to the present writer to be of later origin (cf. § 14). The Heb. narrative of the Fall, in which knowledge is described as a forbidden fruit, is one that the Gnostic author could not use at all, since he must have regarded it as directly in conflict with the view that the knowledge of good and evil, of truth and error, was revealed to the first man immediately after he had received a soul from the higher worlds, and that that revelation marked the founding of the true religion.

In connexion with the account of the origin of the worlds and the true religion, the Mandæan Genesis refers to the false religions. It states that all of them, as well as the peoples who profess them, were called into existence by the planetary spirits, and that, in particular, Judaism was created by Šâmeš ('the sun'), 'whom all people call Adônai.' The writer does not mention Christianity by name, but in the place of Mercury he inserts the Messiah (*Mšîhâ*), of whose followers he says that they 'all accuse one another of lying,' and of himself that he had distorted the teaching of the true religion. This reference to the mutually conflicting teachings of the Christian Church (R 120. 7 ff.) comes doubtless from the hand of the Mandæan redactor.

10. Possible traces of a Gnosis entirely independent of Christianity.—In the texts relating to the cosmogony (and theogony) there is nothing to remind us of Christianity except the fact that the rivers which contain the 'living' water are each called 'Jordan.' Among the Mandæans the word *yardnâ* is used as an appellative; but, as it is not a native Mandæan formation, this usage is, no doubt, to be explained by the peculiar respect accorded to the chief river of Palestine by the Gnostics, whose writings had been appropriated or used by the Mandæans. There are certain facts which lend support to the opinion that the high honour paid to the river Jordan is of an older standing than the gospel narrative of John the Baptist and Jesus (cf. *MS*, p. 16 f., note; Brandt, *Elchasai*, p. 154); and upon this point depends the answer to the question whether the Mandæan documents show vestiges of a Gnosis that was not affected by Christianity, and was perhaps pre-Christian.

11. Jesus Christ as Mandâ d'hayyê.—Tractates bearing unmistakable signs of dependence upon a tradition of gospel history, and emanating, at the same time, from the polytheistic school, are found in ix. and xi. R. These two tractates stand out from the rest of the *Genzâ* in that they alone speak of the Mandâ d'hayyê as having appeared 'in Jerusalem and Judah,' or in company with Yôhannâ the Baptist at the Jordan, with a view to 'selecting' the believers in the true religion 'from amongst all peoples and families' (R 175. 10), while the proclamation of the true doctrine, which, according to the view otherwise universal among the Mandæans, was revealed in the days of Adam, is in these tractates utterly ignored. The Mandæans gave their sanction to the narratives without suspecting that they related to the Lord of Christian believers, and also without adjusting their own theological views to the contents. The appearance of the Mandâ d'hayyê among the Jews, or among a human race long in existence, is never again mentioned—so far, at least, as the *Genzâ* is concerned—by later Mandæan writers.

12. The monotheistic school, or doctrine, of the king of light.—With the polytheistic Gnosis described in the foregoing paragraphs Mandæan writers of, we would surmise, the 4th or 5th cent. A.D. conjoined a strictly monotheistic Gnosis, which, from its leading theme, we shall call the doctrine of the king of light. i. and xxv. R furnish a complete and almost unvitiated account of it.

'One is the lofty king of light in his kingdom'—lord of all heavenly beings, source of all good, creator of all forms, of infinite greatness and goodness, highly extolled by the 'kings' or 'angels' who stand before him and inhabit his paradise. Of distinctively Mandæan character are the features noted in 3. 11 ('he sits in the lofty north') and 6. 17 ('victims are not sacrificed before him), and the description given in 9. 8: 'The Jordans of the worlds of light are white waters, full, whiter than milk, cool and delectable. . . . And the 'ûtrâs and kings who drink do not taste of death'; their garments and crowns are things of splendour and light. A complete contrast to all this is seen in the realms of darkness, with their black waters, and with a king who, like the Manichæan devil, has the head of a lion, the body of a serpent, and the wings of an eagle; he is hideous and of terrific proportions; 'iron seethes in the exhalations of his mouth; the stone is burned up by his breath; when he lifts his eyes the mountains tremble; the plains quake at the whisper of his lips.' With all his demons he once projected an assault against the realm of light, but, coming to the border of his kingdom, he found no gate, no way, no means of ascending to the celestial heights. Then the lofty king of light calmed the agitated world by proclaiming that 'All the projects of the Daywâ ['demon'] come to naught, and his works have no continuance' (cf. *MR*, p. 43 f., *MS*, p. 231 f.).

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[1] In the pronunciation of the word the Mandæans may quite well have made the mistake of substituting *û* for *ô*, just as they said *Yûhânâ* instead of *Yôhanâ*. On the initial *Y* cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gramm* [illegible]

According to the theology which finds expression here, the earth and the firmament, with all that they contain—stars, winds, fire, plants, animals, and human beings—were created by command of the king of light through the agency of an '*ûtrâ* named Gabriêl the Ambassador.

In the record of the mandate given to Gabriel the Mandæan redactor has interpolated a passage referring to the subjugation of the world of darkness (R 12. 8–12), but nothing is said of this subjugation in the account of the actual creation. The creation of man is briefly recorded as follows (13. 9): 'And the man Adam and his wife Hawwâ were fashioned, and the soul fell into the body.' Then (13. 11–15) 'the fire-angels came; they made submission to Adam; they came and worshipped before him, and changed not his word. One was the evil one, by whom wickedness was formed, who departed from the word of his lord; and the lord fettered him with a fetter.'

13. The moral code.—With this theological exposition in i. R and also in the parallel ii. R is associated a code of practice, which seems to be of identical origin, and which, at all events, has been transmitted (R 13–26; cf. *MS*, pp. 24–43) as a record of the doctrine of the king of light. Here, *e.g.*, we read:

> 'I say unto you, all who give heed to the name of God: In your standing and your sitting, in your going, coming, eating, drinking, resting, lying—in all your doings name and glorify the name of the lofty king of light.'

That the record in question is derived from a non-Mandæan original appears from its use of the term *alâhâ*, 'God,' and also from its repeated mention of 'the Saṭan,' and of 'Saṭans.' The laws relating to food are of special significance; they forbid the faithful to partake of the flesh of animals that have died otherwise than by slaughter, or to taste of blood, and of meats and drinks that have been prepared by heterodox hands. This portion of 'knowledge' (*maddâ*, R 13. 23), however, has likewise been moulded into conformity with the Mandæan faith, and distinctively Mandæan commandments have been inserted in it—those enjoining white clothing with girdle, immersion in a river, the Mandæan communion, the *masseqtâ* for the dead, and the washing of all foods, as well as those prohibiting lamentation for the dead and condemning fasting.

14. Judæo-Christian Gnosis in the doctrine of the king of light.—The monotheistic concept of the king of light, as set forth, with marked Parsi colouring, in the *Genzâ*, must be originally Jewish or Judæo-Christian. The present writer is of opinion that it reveals a Judæo-Christian Gnosis. From what was said above (§ 10), the mention of the 'Jordans' of the world of light must not be regarded as decisive evidence; but in the moral code (R 25. 20, 48. 9) we find the injunction:

> 'Arm yourselves with the weapon that is not of iron; let your weapon be Naṣaritism (*nâṣârûtâ*; variant *nâṣtrûtâ*) and the direct utterances of the place of light.'

In the *Genzâ* the terms Nâṣôrâyê and Mandâyê are used synonymously; according to the Mandæans, both terms apply, or, at least, should properly apply, to themselves alone. We know, however, that down to the end of the 4th cent. the former designation was specially used of the Jews who believed in Jesus, and that it is applied in the Qur'ān (ii. 59, 105, 107, 114, 129, 134, iii. 60, v. 17, 21, 56, 73, 85, ix. 30, xxii. 17) to the Christians generally. The injunction just quoted permits us to hazard the conjecture that the doctrine of the king of light was the source from which the Mandæans adopted the name Nâṣôrâyê.

No other unmistakable features of a specifically Christian character occur in the tractates of the school under notice. In the final sections of its two most notable documents (i. and ii. R), 'the Messiah, the prophet of the Jews,' is actually described as a leader among the wicked spirits who make the human race abandon the true religion. These sections, however, retain only the scantiest elements of the original doctrine of the king of light. Such residual elements might with most likelihood be found in the figures of Hibil zîwâ, who (like Mandâ d'hayyê in the polytheistic Gnosis) instructs the first man in all that is necessary for salvation, and 'Enôš-'ûtrâ, who in the course of the world's history comes forth to rehearse that instruction (R 29; cf. *MS*, p. 48).

15. 'Enôš and the cloud; Mšunê kušṭâ.—The Mandæan 'Enôš (ענוש, אנוש) rests upon an identification or fusion (due, possibly, to the author of the Judæo-Christian doctrine of the king of light) of the OT 'Enôsh (Gn 4^{26}) with the Son of Man (*bar 'enāsh*) of Dn 7^{13}. Abel, Seth, and Enoch—or, in their Mandæan form, Hibil, Šitil, and 'Enôš, three '*ûtrâs*—are associated with Adam as messengers of the true religion and as his auxiliaries. 'Enôš, however, comes forth again, appearing in Jerusalem at the same time as 'Išû-mšîhâ (Jesus Messiah), who poses as a wonder-worker, and whom he unmasks as a deceiver; he performs miracles of healing (perhaps on the basis of Mt 11^5), proclaims the true religion, causes three hundred and sixty (or three hundred and sixty-five) 'disciples' to go forth from Jerusalem, and ascends to 'the Life,' by whom (his father [here sing.]) he is charged to destroy the city, and does so in the form of a white eagle—corresponding to the white falcon in *Bundahišn*, xix. 23 (*SBE* v. [1880] 71 f.; cf. *MR*, p. 155 f.). In all these acts 'Enôš has at his disposal a cloud, in which he dwells; and from its matter he fashions the body in which he appears upon the earth as a man. This cloud is in its origin doubtless the cloud of the gospel narratives (Mk 9^7, Mt 17^5, Ac 1^9), and this, again, probably has its source in the clouds of heaven which form the vehicle of the Son of Man in Daniel (7^{13}; cf. 2 Es 13^{2-4}, Mt 26^{64} etc.). In the closing period of the *Genzâ* literature the Mandæans began to depict the cloud of 'Enôš in conformity with the Parsi conception of the garden of Yima (see art. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Persian]), and it then came to be conceived as a country floating above the earth—a realm called *mšunê kušṭâ* from the 'righteous translated ones' who inhabit it (R 338 f.); the name recalls the Jewish traditions about the righteous ones (Enoch, Elijah, Isaiah) who were translated to heaven (cf. *MS*, p. 77, note).

16. The Christian Redeemer in the Genzâ.—From all this we seem to be entitled to infer that the Mandæans became acquainted, first of all, with the figure of Mandâ d'hayyê in the framework of a Gnosis working with polytheistic ideas, and appropriated it, and that they afterwards adopted the figure of 'Enôš from the Judæo-Christian doctrine of the king of light, while, at a still later date, they met with the Messiah Jesus in writings of another origin. The tractates or books in which they found the name last mentioned were, as regards their contents, more closely related to the gospel narrative than were their other sources, and in them the Christian Saviour was intimately connected with the Holy Spirit. Hence, as the Mandæan savants identified the Holy Spirit (*rûhâ d'qudšâ*) with the Rûhâ whom they had long known as an evil being, the mother of 'Ûr, they could not but regard 'Išû mšîhâ likewise as belonging to the group of evil spirits. In the later sections of the *Genzâ* tractates which profess to relate the religious history of man—in other tractates the Messiah does not appear at all—He is usually surnamed the 'liar' or 'impostor,' on the ground, of course, that He sought to usurp the rôles of Mandâ d'hayyê and 'Enôš. Where the writers of these sections still employ the scheme of the earlier system, they assert that He is the planet Mercury, and, similarly, that Rûhâ is Venus, and that Adônai, the god of the Jews, is Šâmeš, the sun (on the Mandæan names of the planets cf. *MS*, p. 45). The observance of Sunday was not as yet a Mandæan practice, though it later became obligatory (R 56. 12; cf. *MR*, p. 90, and below, § 32).

An account of the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan is given in the *Sidrâ d'Yahyâ*, which, however, narrates the incident in the following way: the Baptist is at first unwilling to perform the ceremony, and does so only after he has received from heaven (Abatûr) the written mandate, 'Yahyâ, baptize the liar in the Jordan.'

17. The relation of the Mandæan religion to Judaism.—Besides the OT characters already mentioned, several others are named in certain sections of the *Genzâ*, but are of no importance in Mandæan theology. Virtually all of them are enumerated below.

It is curious to note that in one passage (L 18 f.) the promise is made to Adam that, 'on the great Day of Resurrection' he and all his race will rise again and be transported to his own land, while in the same tractate, immediately before, the soul of Adam is said, quite in keeping with the Mandæan view, to have ascended to the 'house of the Life.' The idea of a resurrection from the dead is altogether foreign to Mandæan theology, so that the passage about the promise must have been carelessly transferred from a Jewish or Christian-Gnostic work. The Jewish materials in the *Genzâ* were drawn, not directly from the OT, but from Aramaic sources, including some of a Gnostic character. The ark of Noah (Nû) ran ashore—as the Targums also tell—on the mountains of Qardû (Gordyæa, *i.e.* Kurdistan); Abraham and Moses were prophets of Rûhâ; King Solomon, like King Jamšîd in Iranian legend, held the demons in subjection until he ceased to give thanks to his Lord, and let himself be adored; the world-conflagration which had once annihilated the human race before the Deluge was kindled by 'the angel Daniel, to whom was given power over fire,' at the order of 'Êl-rabbâ and Rûhâ (*MR*, pp. 129 f., 123).[1]

The assumption that the Mandæans were originally a Jewish or Judæo-Christian sect (Hilgenfeld, Wellhausen) seems to be at variance with the following facts. Their knowledge of the most eminent names associated with the teachings of Judaism was not obtained from oral tradition; on the contrary, they found the names in written documents—found them, moreover, as foreign words, for they read them incorrectly. Thus they render the name of Moses as Mêšâ, Miriam as Miryai, Abraham as Abrahim, Israel as Usriêl, Jacob as Yaqif; Sabbath appears as *Saftâ*, *malăkhê*, 'angels,' as *malkê*, 'kings,' and Benjamin actually as *bnê 'Amîn*, 'the sons of Amin.' The inevitable inference is that the Mandæans had been throughout complete strangers to the religious tradition of Judaism. The same may be said of Jewish religious life. In the entire Mandæan literature there is no evidence to show that the Mandæans ever observed the Sabbath, or practised circumcision, or turned towards Jerusalem in their prayers. Like the Essenes (*q.v.*), they rejected animal sacrifices, and believed that the soul was liberated from the body at death; but marriage—in the form of monogamy, though with a succession of wives—and the procreation of children were enjoined upon them as a religious duty; they had nothing like the organized communal life characteristic of the Essenes, while their views regarding the planets are quite inconsistent with such a practice as that of according an adoring salutation to the rising sun. A further point of importance is that in their prayers the Mandæans turned towards the north, where the exalted king of light sits upon the throne, while the common Jewish view (held also by Elkesai) is that the evil spirits and their chief Sammâêl (from *s^{e}māl*, 'the left,' *i.e.* the northern one) have their abode in that very region of the heavens.

18. Conjectures regarding the origin of the Mandæan religion.—The relation between the Mandæan teachings and Manichæism (*q.v.*) cannot be fully discussed here. The parallels have been collected by the present writer in *MS*, pp. 223–228 (cf. *Elchasai*, p. 142 f.), and to that list should be added the correspondence between a passage in the Manichæan narrative regarding the awaking of the first man to life (as quoted by Pognon, *Inscr. mand.*, p. 130 f., from Theodore bar-Khônî's *Book of Scholia*), and one in L 46 f. In the verifiable parallels the Mandæan versions seem to be secondary, and we must infer that both sides are indebted to the same group of sources. A large proportion of the material common to both is explained by the mass of Parsi ideas in the Judæo-Christian groundwork of the doctrine of the king of light on the one hand, and in the theology of Mânî on the other. Doubtless, too, the Mandæan redactors introduced into their tractates a number of fragments from Manichæan documents unknown to us (cf. *MR*, p. 198 f.). The religious teachings of the two faiths, however, were essentially distinct in character; the fundamental dualism of the Manichæan system—a doctrine that finds a soteriological design even in the creation of the world, and involves an ascetic mode of life—is far removed from the Mandæan view. It may also be noted that, according to a passage in the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871–72, p. 328, line 5), the father of Mânî, shortly before the latter's birth, joined the Mughtasila, a sect akin to the Mandæans; this point, however, need not be further discussed here (for fuller details cf. Brandt, *Elchasai*, p. 137).

On the other hand, we cannot place the slightest reliance upon bar-Khônî's statement (in Pognon, pp. 154 f., 224–227) that the sect of the Mandæans was founded in the land of Maišân by a beggar named Ado, of Adiabene: 'Companions came to him, and there they played on cymbals, as beggars are accustomed to do.' Some of the names of Ado's relatives, as given in the context, are also borne by well-known figures in the Mandæan religion, while most of the others would at least be quite suitable for such. Nöldeke is doubtless right in his conjecture that Ado is simply a corruption of Adam—ܐܕܘ from ܐܕܡ. Here, in fact, we recognize a blunder on the part of the heresiologist, due to his habit of regarding alien religions as sects, and tracing each to a distinct founder.[1]

The religious teaching of the Mandæans must, however, in the opinion of the present writer, be explained in other ways than those suggested by the theories discussed, and the view to which our critical examination of the *Genzâ* leads us will be found to do justice to all the data, and has at the same time the merit of simplicity; moreover, it derives some degree of support from what can be ascertained regarding the age of the Mandæan script.

19. Age of the Mandæan script.—Comparing the Mandæan written characters with the various alphabets collected by Julius Euting in his *Tabula scripturæ aramaicæ* (Strassburg, 1890; the work contains also the Pahlavi script), we find that, while they are somewhat like the characters employed in the Nabatæan inscriptions of Sinai, dating from the 2nd–5th centuries A.D., they approximate more closely to those found in the inscriptions of El-Hajr, written in the 1st cent. A.D. (in these comparisons we must, of course, disregard the hair-strokes due to the cursive mode of writing). In particular, the circle by which the Mandæans represent א is closely matched by the corresponding characters in col. 53 of Euting's *Tabula*, and the א of an inscription at Baṣra, dated 17 B.C., is similar in form to the Greek minuscule *σ*.[1] Thus, as the Mandæan written character dates from about the beginning of the Christian era, and as there is no ground for supposing that the Mandæans had previously used a different alphabet, the rise of the Mandæan literature cannot well be dated earlier than the 1st cent. A.D.

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[1] The *Genzâ* refers also to the Iron Mountain (L 17. 5: *ṭûrâ d'parzlâ*), which, though not noticed in the OT, is mentioned in the Targum of Jonathan in connexion with the fixing of the eastern frontiers of Palestine in Nu 34^{3-11} (also in Josephus, *BJ* IV. viii. 2 [§ 454, ed. Niese]).

[1] On bar-Khônî's designation of the Mandæans as Dostæans see especially *PRE*^{3} xii. 157, 159 f.

20. The baptistic nature-religion.—The idea that the rivers descended from the celestial world by way of the mountains in the distant north and that their waters impart fresh energies to the pious who bathe in them—a naturistic element of belief retained by the Mandæans amid all the thoughts and fantasies subsequently acquired—was probably inherited from their ancestors. In explanation of that belief we would advance the conjecture that this Semitic people had not always lived among the lower courses of the rivers, but at an earlier period had dwelt in a locality much further north, and nearer the sources—in a district from which they could see, upon their northern horizon, huge mountains towering to the sky (cf. *MR*, pp. 69-72; *MS*, pp. 213-217). We scarcely need to explain how these facts would provide a basis for the belief in question, and we can easily understand, too, how a people, if driven from their native region and compelled to endure a miserable existence in their new abode, should seek, in conformity with the practice of their ancestors, *i.e.* by means of immersions, constantly repeated, to absorb the virtues which the river brought from the higher world to the low-lying plains. We do not claim, of course, that this is more than a surmise, yet we would draw attention to the fact that there are linguistic phenomena which might be adduced in its support. Thus the Syriac idiom used in Kurdistan and on Lake Urmia is found to agree with the Mandæan dialect in the formation of the infinitive and in not a few features of the pronoun —a fact which Nöldeke (p. xxvii) recognizes as 'of great importance.' If, however, we set the theory aside as over-hazardous, we must be content to suppose either that the very simple religious ceremony of ablution had prevailed from primitive times among the country people of Lower Babylonia or that by some means or another it had spread to that district from Syria (cf. Brandt, *Elchasai*, pp. 151, 154).

21. The adoption of Gnostic tractates.—The Mandæans, then—though not yet bearing that name—practising their religious ablutions, and sharing the general Semitic belief in demons, were living in Southern Babylonia at a time when the intermingling of religions had proceeded so far in the districts in which the Aramaic and Persian languages were spoken that it had at length evolved those creations of theological fantasy commonly called Gnostic, with which, however, we must here combine the Manichæan teachings and, in great part, the substance of the Pahlavi books (*Bundahišn*, etc.). The priests of this baptistic tribe were not, intellectually, sufficiently advanced to share in the reflective activity which strives to interpret the objects of faith and the influences of religion as cosmic entities and occurrences; nor had they much appreciation for explanations of the world-process by pre-suppositions which purported to guarantee future salvation to all who acted in accordance with them, although this salvation itself and its mythological elements, the ideas of the gods and all their imaginative embroidery, were quite of a kind to make a powerful impression upon them. In reality it was into the hands of a class whose learning was confined to a little reading and writing that 'Gnostic' tractates fell, and these texts, written in a foreign language, and, therefore, to be read only with difficulty—documents coming from afar, dealing with things of a remote past, and unveiling the world of the gods—wrought upon them with the force of oracles, revelations from above, records of a superhuman wisdom. Accordingly, the priests adopted the tractates as their own, translating them, of course —at first orally, no doubt—into their own dialect. Conceivably, indeed, it was the desire of having these precious revelations in their own language that prompted them to draw up an alphabet of their own; and it is also possible that it was the translators themselves, and not their descendants in a later generation, who came to believe that the documents were from the first meant for them and their people, that the contents had been revealed to their forefathers, and that the 'Mandâyê' addressed therein were none other than these ancestors and themselves.

22. The rise of Mandæan theology.—It seems beyond question that the earlier generations of Mandæans who had a knowledge of writing (covering, we should estimate, a period of at least two hundred years) treated all the texts in their possession—as far as the contents comported in some measure with their own religious sentiment—as records of revealed wisdom; in their backward intellectual condition, moreover, they could not fail to be impressed with matter so unfamiliar. In the work of translation, however, as well as later in transcribing and renewing dilapidated texts, they themselves learned the art of literary composition. Thus, if they found that these strange documents made no mention of, *e.g.*, 'the Jordan,' the bath of immersion, or anything else that they could have wished to discover in them, they added what was required, while fragments of defective MSS they either inserted into others or put into such order as they could devise. From translation they advanced to redaction, and from redaction to independent composition. Such, then, was the genesis of the Mandæan literature; it consists essentially of borrowed matter. The circumstance that very diverse cycles of conception had a place in this material stimulated the Mandæan scholars to attempt the task of combining one with another, and of mediating between the different views. This, again, explains the development of the Mandæan theology, and it also accounts for the confusion that prevails in it.

The Mandæans never had an orthodox system of theology. Their authors busied themselves with the motley materials that had accumulated in their minds only with a view to reproducing the narrative of the creation of the world and of the human race in a fresh and improved form; and the one central thought that guides all their efforts is the necessity of explaining the harsh lot of the devout Mandæan in his earthly circumstances, and of giving him the strongest possible assurance that his soul will return again to the bright and joyful realm which is its true home.

23. The religious beliefs of the Mandæan writers.—Amid all the conceptions and the varied views with which the Mandæan writers became familiar, and notwithstanding all the reverent interest with which they received the new materials, they never surrendered the traditional religious practice of their people, although their ideas of the benefits to be derived from the bath of immersion underwent a process of refinement in conformity with the development of their theology.

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[1] Nöldeke (*Mand. Gram.*, p. xxxiv) notes that the Mandæan script bears a fairly close relation to the earliest form of Pahlavi, especially the so-called Chaldæo-Pahlavi, but its conformity with the Nabatæan inscriptions mentioned above seems to the present writer much more striking.

From the heterogeneous Gnostic trains of thought by which these theologians were influenced there arose, in course of time, a distinctively Mandæan religious belief, which can be traced without difficulty in most sections of the *Genzâ* writings. The main features of that belief are as follows. Far above, beyond the heaven of the planets, there is a world full of light and splendour, where dwell the Life (as the supreme deity) and other divine beings, or where, according to another phase of doctrine, the 'exalted king of light,' surrounded by hosts of angels, sits enthroned. From that realm the soul of man derives its origin—the soul of Adam and the souls of his descendants in the Mandæan community. Far beneath, again, is the world of darkness with its black waters. Part of it has been 'thickened,' brought into a solid state; this is the earth inhabited by mankind. The earth has now the black water upon the south; upon the north it stretches over lofty mountains to the world of light; from that world the rivers descend by way of the mountains; and thus the Mandæans, by bathing in the 'living' water of the rivers, maintain their connexion with the higher realm. The souls of the devout dwell upon this earth as in a foreign land. Here, meanwhile, evil spirits reign, akin to the powers of darkness now immured—the deities of other peoples and other creeds—and it is they and their creatures or servants who make life a torment for the Mandæans. Hence the believer waits with earnest longing for his salvation, *i.e.* his deliverance from this earthly existence.[1] At the hour of death a divine being descends from the world of light, and, as the 'liberator,' takes the soul from the body, and bears it upwards through the celestial spheres to the world of light and of the Great Life.

24. The Mandæan typology.—The soul of the Mandæan, until the hour of its deliverance, is sustained by the symbolism of the ritual elaborated by the priests. Confessors of the true faith are plants of the world of light or of Mandâ d'hayyê (R 89 f., 220, 15 f., etc.), and they are summoned to their most important religious duty in the words *Pârûn yardnâ* (R 17. 20), 'Make the river sprout' or 'blossom' (*MR*, p. 99 f.; *MS*, p. 163, note). What is implied here is that the water streams from the world of eternal life and infuses life into those who bathe in it, so that they may be said to spring from the river like plants. They were also required, however, to mark their brow with the living water, and likewise drink of it (the draught is called 'gushing'), partake of a loaf (the loaf is termed *pehtâ*, 'opening,' 'unlocking'), etc.; and those who take part in these ceremonies have a share in the benign fountains of the better world—in the great baptism in the heavenly Jordan, in the gushing of radiance, in that treasure of the Light which is to be opened. The liturgical recitations (*drâšê*) were meant to represent the beams (*drafšê*) of splendour which would flow from the house of the Life to meet the soul as it sped upwards from the earth (*MS*, p. 49), etc. The ultimate ground of trust, however, was always the ceremony of immersion; thus in R 18. 13 we read:

> 'Your token is the token of the living water, by which you ascend to the place of the Light.'

At the ceremony of immersion—originally this itself was the sign—it was the practice, as early as the period of the *Genzâ*, to utter names, viz. those of the Great First Life (R 196. 8; or of the king of light, R 17 f.) and Mandâ d'hayyê (*MR*, p. 104 f.).

To their own rite of immersion, whether performed, as was usually the case, by the individual himself, or, as on feast-days, with the co-operation of a priest, or administered to children, the Mandæans applied the term *maṣbutâ* (מאצבותא, presumably for מאצבועתא; the odd pronunciation given by Siouffi, *masouatta* [French], could be approximately correct only for the plural form of the noun), a word which certainly comes from the Sem. verb צבע (the sound of ע is lost in Mand.), which the Mandæans use exclusively in connexion with the religious practice in question (cf. § 38). For Christian baptism, on the other hand, the writers of the *Genzâ* persistently employ the term used in the Syrian Church, *ma'môdîtâ* (מאמוריתא = ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ) and the Afel forms of ܥܡܕ. They contemn and vilify the Christian ceremony because it is performed not in 'living,' but in (or with) 'cut-off' water.

25. Kušṭâ.—In the ethical and religious sections of the Mandæan literature much is said about *kušṭâ*, 'straightness,' 'rectitude,' 'veracity.' In the ritual the ceremony of immersion included a gesture called 'putting forth *kušṭâ*,' this being identical with what is described in several texts as a stretching out of the hand 'from the bath of immersion,' or (after the performance of some other religious duty) 'before Mandâ d'hayyê.' The gesture was made with the right hand, and it corresponds to the clasp of hands with which the soul would be welcomed by the Life and other great celestial beings when it reached the world of light. It was an outward manifestation of the upright mind and of loyal devotion. Further particulars regarding the religious ceremonies, which were constantly being increased and rendered more complex by the priests, will be found in § 33 below, and more fully in *MR*, pp. 96–120, 221–226.

26. Ceremonial purity.—In this period the idea of purity was recognized in the sense of a relation to the world of light so intimate that it carried with it exclusion from every object and condition antipathetic to it ('Hibil zîwâ, pure Mânâ'; L 116. 17, 'the Jordan of the Life, from which I have taken purity'). The laws already mentioned regarding food came to the Mandæans through the medium of the ethical code in the doctrine of the king of light, as did also the injunction that husbands and wives should 'wash themselves with water' after cohabitation, and women after menstruation. It was only later that the commandment of ablution was extended to many other occasions of life (Siouffi, cited in *MR*, p. 95 f.).

27. Prayers.—Among the Mandæans prayer was known as 'compassion,' or 'petition and praise.' According to the ethical code just mentioned, believers must rise to pray thrice in the day-time, and twice during the night, but in other texts, apparently of Judæo-Christian origin, the only prayers enjoined are one in the morning, one at the seventh hour of the day, and one before sunset, while in one passage (R 300) prayer in the night-time is actually forbidden. We read also of a 'man' who (like the archangel Michael among the Jews) receives the prayers, and stores or preserves them in the treasure-house of the Life (R 221 f., 300). In the later redaction of a regulation in the ethical code the believer is commanded to ask a blessing upon flesh-food before eating (R 68; cf. *MR*, p. 94). The priests drew up short forms of prayer for these ordinances; but for protection against distress and danger they regarded prayer in the proper sense as less effective than a long series of recitations from the ancient books.

28. The masseqtâ.—The ceremony termed *mas-*

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[1] The Christian belief in a redemption from spiritual evil, from the dominion of Satan and the power of sin, is quite foreign to Mandæan thought.

seqtâ, ‘mounting up,’ ‘ascent,’ consists exclusively of such recitations, and is designed to help the souls of the departed if in their journey or flight to the better world they should be stopped by evil-disposed spirits or because of their own sins. The imagination of the Mandæans gave itself with zest to descriptions of this ascension and of the stations through which the soul must pass. Each station is pictured as a place where the adherents of a false religion, or various classes of sinful men, are kept in ward and punished, the term applied to such a place being *maṭrâ*, or *maṭṭartâ*, *i.e.* ‘ward,’ ‘place of custody,’ ‘prison.’ Some of the descriptions contain features taken from Parsi-Gnostic sources, as, *e.g.*, the ‘gates’ of the planets situated one above the other (mentioned as Mithraic in Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 22; cf. *MS*, p. xii), or the guardian spirits who come to meet the soul, and—in the latest *Genzâ* texts—the tree of life, the balance in which the soul is weighed, the judge of the dead, etc. (*MR*, p. 195 f.; so, in the Vatican *Dîvân*, beasts of prey lie in wait for the soul). The souls of the devout pass all the wards without molestation, because, according to the tractates of the *Genzâ* which describe the ascension (x. R and iv. L), they give the ‘name and sign’ that they have ‘taken from the waves of the water,’ *i.e.* because they profess the Mandæan faith and thus show that they belong to the world of light. In place of this name and sign, however, the hymns of the *Genzâ* (about 120 pieces), all of which find their themes in the destiny of the soul, its imprisonment in the body, its release, and its journey home to the world of light, insist rather upon the necessity of good works; with these was probably associated a devout spirit (cf., *e.g.*, L 101. 3: ‘I loved the Life, and Mandâ d’hayyê dwelt in my heart’). It is but seldom, however, that we find in these hymns even a few words referring to the religious practice of the Mandæans or to the ‘Jordan.’ The explanation of this curious fact we take to be as follows. The *masseqtâ* for the dead is in reality a Mandæan imitation of a corresponding ceremony in the Parsi religion. According to Parsi doctrine, the soul, after leaving the body, is received by its own good thoughts, words, and works—which assume the form of a beautiful maiden—and by them is led across the narrow Chinvat bridge, or guarded against other objects of fear. Now the hymns in the *Genzâ* are simply *masseqtâ* hymns, *i.e.*, they were composed for use in the Mandæan ceremony. They are the work of Mandæan writers, as cannot be doubted in view of the matter incorporated in them, but in composing them the writers must have let their thoughts be guided by the example of the Parsi ceremony and the Parsi texts.

29. Mandæan poetry.—Although the majority of the Mandæan hymns can lay little claim to real poetic merit, they show at least that the Mandæans did not deal with their religious knowledge on purely intellectual lines, but found in it a source of true emotion, and the spirit that inspires them seems to be one of sincere and genuine emotion. As a specimen of the *masseqtâ* hymns we give here one of the most pleasing (L 89 f.); it should be premised that the use of the expression ‘my conflict’ rests upon the idea that the soul is entangled in the body and in its earthly conditions generally—an entanglement that is dissolved at death.

> 1. ‘How I rejoice! How my heart doth rejoice! How I rejoice on the day when my conflict is dissolved, and I go to the place of the Life.
>
> I fly and I go. At the ward of Šâmeš [‘the sun’] I arrived. I utter a call: “Who taketh me past the ward of Šâmeš?”
>
> “Thy merit and thy works and thine alms and thy well-doing take thee past the ward of Šâmeš.”’
>
> Strophes 2, 3, 4, and 5 are all mere repetitions of the first, except that for Šâmeš they substitute respectively the moon, fire, the seven, and Rûhâ. The hymn then proceeds:
>
> 6. ‘How I rejoice! How my heart doth rejoice! How I rejoice on the day when my conflict is dissolved, and I go to the place of the Life.
>
> I fly and I go. I arrived at the water-brooks. As I arrived at the water-brooks, the radiant beam (? צוריר זיוא) came forth to meet me. He took me by my right hand and led me through the water-brooks. They [the celestial beings appointed for the purpose] brought splendour and clothed me with it; they brought their light and wrapped me round with it. Life reclined upon life, and found its own life; its own life it found.’
>
> Here follow a few sentences composed of ancient formulæ; their construction and, in part, their sense are difficult to make out.

30. The Mandæans under Sasanian rule.—The Mandæans never played a part in the field of politics. As long as they were allowed to go about their daily tasks without interference, their frame of mind was one of entire content. They were in no sense a warlike people, and their whole history, as well as their literature, shows that they were able to offer only a weak resistance to persecution and attacks upon their religion.

Babylonia, in the period preceding its conquest by the Arabs, belonged to the empire of the Sasanians. We cannot say whether the Mandæan hatred of the Jews was kindled by documents embodying an anti-Jewish Gnosis; it may perhaps date from the first half-century of our era, when a number of rapacious Jewish satraps, as related by Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. ix. 1 ff. [§ 310 ff., ed. Niese]), provoked the whole population to an outbreak against themselves and their compatriots.

The Sasanians persecuted the Manichæans and the Christians who adhered to Rome, but they spared the Nestorian Church, which was subject to the State, and the peaceable Mandæans. The latter, however, were sometimes ill-treated by Christian monks who went to them as missionaries. In the *Genzâ* (xvi. R) we find an account of the Roman Catholic clergy and worship, and (i. and ii. R) we are told that the attempts to convert the Mandæans were not always carried out ‘with sweetness’—with discourses and promises—but were also supported by force. In that satrapy, doubtless, the Nestorian Church had at one time sufficient influence to have the soldiery employed on its behalf; and, accordingly, we read (R 28. 16):

> ‘When He [the ‘Saviour Jesus’] compels you, say, “We are thine”; but in your hearts acknowledge Him not, and deny not the word of your lord, the exalted king of light; for hidden things are not manifest to the lying Messiah.’

31. In the period of the Arabian invasion; migration.—Then (*c.* A.D. 650) came the incursion of the Muslim Arabs, and the collapse of the Sasanian empire. Certain late portions of the *Genzâ* make reference to the gate and the demons of the planet Mars, ‘Nirig [Nergal] who is called the Arab ‘Abdalâ.’

> ‘The whole earth is made subject to his throne’; to his followers all things fall a prey; ‘day after day they make war and shed blood, and are ever an oppression to the tribe of the souls, and to the great family of the Life’; ‘and there are also many souls of the great family of the Life who go over to them, and deny the name of the Life. . . .’ In their distress the devout Mandæans comforted themselves with the thought that the wicked ‘Abdalā had fallen into one of the infernal prisons, where his followers take him to task, asking why they now suffer torments in the realm of darkness while ‘the servants of the alien [*i.e.* Mandâ d’hayyê], against whom we drew the sword, mount up to the world of light’ (*MR*, p. 162 f.).

It must have been about this period, in the 7th or 8th cent. A.D., that most of the Mandæans, having reached the limits of endurance, gave way before the Muslim Arabs, and migrated from Babylonia to the adjacent districts of Persia. It is possible that the minority, as found later on the Euphrates and the Tigris, had for a time ostensibly adopted Islām, or that they concealed themselves among the adjoining marshes.

32. Restoration of the cultus.—Tractate xxvii. R may be interpreted as a summons to a meeting of the Mandæan communities either on the banks of the rivers of Khūzistān or (after peace had been restored) in their old home; it is a manifesto in which ‘we, the Tarmîdâs,’ turn with prayer and adjuration to the Mandæans of both sexes to urge them to fulfil their religious duties. The people are to come on Sundays to the temple (lit. 'dwelling'; down to modern times it was nothing more than a small house with gabled roof), where, in becoming order, they are to stand praying behind the Tarmîdâs, to take part in the communion, etc. This tractate is unmistakably one of the very latest compositions in the *Genzâ*, and is a documentary witness to the rise of an ecclesiastical organization among the Mandæans. In earlier texts the term *tarmîdê* (for תלמידי), like the corresponding word *μαθηταί* in the NT, means simply 'believers'; but by this time it was the name which the priests applied to themselves. The institution of Sunday, as is shown by its designation as *habšabbâ* (ܚܕܒܫܒܐ; cf. Peshiṭta of Mt 28¹), was adopted by the Mandæans from Syro-Christian usage, though, of course, through the medium of documents of whose origin they were ignorant. The manifesto urges the due observance of the day (*MR*, pp. 88, 90). The religious ceremonies enjoined are those of old: immersion, performed by the individual himself or applied by parents to children, the stretching forth of the right hand, and the partaking of communion-bread. Everything is as yet quite primitive, in harmony with the fact that the *tarmîdê*, 'priests,' are still hardly distinguishable from the *malfânê*, 'teachers,' reverence for whom had been enjoined in the moral code (cf. § 13).

33. Introduction of new ceremonies by the priests.—In the period that immediately followed the priests formed themselves into an organized body and gradually amplified the religious ceremonial with rites requiring the co-operation of an official celebrant, or, at least, elaborated such rites from the traditional usages, and conjoined them with the simple ceremonies of earlier times. Even towards the close of the period of the *Genzâ* as attested in the latest sections of that work (cf. *MR*, p. 104), we find, besides the rite of marking the forehead with water from the river, a sign made with oil; a certain mixture was prescribed, and was to be prepared and applied by the priests. The draught of 'living' water was duplicated, being taken once from the individual's own hand and once from the priest's bowl (*qanînâ*). The priesthood ventured even to institute, in addition to the ordinary communion-bread, a host of higher order, the 'superior *pehtâ*,' which was reserved for themselves and the Salmânâs (see below). They also instituted a sacrament for the dying (cf. *MR*, p. 82), and, in addition to the *masseqtâ* of the dead, one for the living. The latter was an eight days' ceremony, and conferred upon the person concerned the title of *šalmânâ ṭâbâ*, 'blessed perfect one,' as well as priestly rank; he was thenceforward regarded as dead to the world, and had to abstain from sexual intercourse. The ordinary immersions performed by the individual Mandæan as time and opportunity permitted—every day, morning and evening (Le-Gouz, *Voyage et observations*, p. 301), or only on Sundays and feast days, and the days preceding them (Siouffi, *La Religion des Soubbas*, p. 83)—could still be regularly performed without priestly assistance. About this time, however, an annual festival was introduced at which all the members of a community assembled upon the bank of a river. This celebration, conducted by a priest, included, in its first part, all the ceremonies requiring to be performed in the river and with river water; but here the priest, using his right hand, submerged the layman three times; thrice, too, he made the sign upon the recipient's forehead, and thrice, with his own hand, gave him water to drink (*Qolastâ*, fol. 9. 32 ff.). Further, the first immersion of children now assumed the form of a baptism administered by a priest with one or two assistants (for texts and references bearing upon these baptisms cf. *MR*, pp. 221–224).

34. Ceremonies wrongly interpreted by Europeans.—The assertion that the Mandæans worship the cross rests upon references in the *Narratio* of Ignatius a Jesu (p. 38), and is due to misapprehension. What actually takes place is that at great festivals a priest of higher rank sticks a few cane rods into the ground close together and crosswise, and that he renders homage to this symbol. The structure is termed 'beams of splendour,' and may thus be regarded as symbolizing the world of light.

Reports dating from the 17th cent. agree in stating that it was the practice of the Mandæans in Baṣra to sacrifice a fowl once a year, and Jean Thévenot writes that he himself had witnessed 'la sacrifice de la poule' on the 2nd of November 1665. Since, however, the Mandæan religion does not permit animal sacrifices, such statements refer in all likelihood to the fowl whose blood was used in preparing the special host mentioned above. According to Siouffi, the 'superior *pehtâ*' was made but once a year, and was in the form of baked wheaten cakes, each of which was sprinkled on both sides with four drops of sesame oil and four drops of the blood of a newly-killed pigeon. The dead bird was afterwards buried in the temple, presumably with a view to ratifying its slaughter as a sacred act. The act was thus in no sense a sacrifice, and it is so little in keeping with the fabric of the Mandæan cult that its institution can be characterized only as a gross blunder on the part of the priests.

35. The priestly hierarchy; an order of confession in the Persian settlement.—The priestly system included the following grades: pupils, who were in training from their fifth or seventh year; assistants employed in the sacred ceremonies; priests, who had to pass an examination and be ordained; and high priests, chosen by the ordinary priests from their own number. The name applied to an assistant (and perhaps also to a pupil) was *šgandâ* or *škandâ* (cf. *MS*, p. 169), and to a priest, *tarmîdâ*, while a high priest bore the Persian title of *ganzibrâ*, 'treasurer.' Each priest had his own dishes and table, and partook of food and drink apart from the others; but his wife, by a special consecration, might sit with him at meals. There are numerous data which seem to indicate that the clericalizing of the Mandæan cult was carried furthest in the Persian settlement. Besides the title of the high priest, the names of several articles of priestly attire (*rastâ*) are Persian words —*tâgâ*, *kanzalâ*, *pandâmâ*. The priest's seal-ring (Siouffi, 'le chaumiavar') bears the device, 'Name of Yâwar zîwâ'; had the inscription originated in Babylonia, it would have been 'Name of Mandâ d'hayyê.' Again, while the *Narratio* of Ignatius (p. 23) shows distinctly that the Mandæans of Baṣra knew nothing of the practice of confessing to a priest, Siouffi's informant, who appears to have studied in Persia, tells of a form of confession according to which the sinner, upon making a penitent acknowledgment of his sins, three times receives absolution for the same sin, *i.e.*, he is assured of the remission of future penalty; but after the third time further transgression can be expiated only by certain good works. The passage of the *Genzâ* to which appeal is made in support of this ordinance simply enjoins that the devout shall thrice 're-erect' apostates or transgressors before casting them out of the community.

36. Final redaction of the Genzâ writings.—Persian loan-words are found even in the oldest Mandæan texts, but names like Yâwar ('friend,' 'helper'), Sâm, and Bahrâm (Verethraghna) could hardly have come into vogue among the Mandæans except on Persian soil. When, accordingly, in many tractates we find these names taking the place of the undoubtedly more ancient Mandâ d'hayyê, and when we observe that in others, in passages where the bearer of that epithet is mentioned, it is added that he is also called Sâm, Yâwar, etc., it seems highly probable that most of the tractates in the *Genzâ* underwent their final redaction, *i.e.* attained their present form, in the Persian province.

37. Religious decadence; obsolescence of the language.—By the time when the 'Abbāsid khalīfs had established peace and order throughout their domains, the Mandæan religion had passed its zenith. The desire for knowledge and the spirit of enthusiasm were quenched; the theological activities that had been earnestly directed towards a solution of life's enigmas had spent themselves, and had given place—as in the writers of the *Drâšê d'malkê* and the *Sidrâ d'Yahyâ*—to placid dialectics and fable-making. The soul which knew that it had come forth from a better world and would again behold its primal abode was no longer a well-spring of sacred lyric; the Mandæan had, in fact, become familiarized with his faith, and was now anxious simply to bring his store of ancient hymns into order, to keep it intact, and to use it properly. It was in this period that the Mandæans gathered their writings into collections, and composed the liturgical directions or regulations comprised in the *Qolastâ*, the *Marriage Formulary*, and the Paris *Dîvân*. Moreover, living, as they now did, in isolated groups among peoples of other faiths, they gradually lost the use of their ancestral dialect, and Arabic, which had made its way into these districts, became their vernacular, though Mandæan still maintained its place in religious worship. In the process of organizing the ritual every ceremony came to be introduced and concluded with recitations from the sacred books; in the *masseqtâ*, indeed, the recitations constituted the main element, and, according to Siouffi, this ceremonial, designed to succour the departed, lasted for seven days. Since, however, the teachings of the *Genzâ* required all believers to engage in such recitations, the priests endeavoured, by instructing the young, to confer upon the laity the ability to read and, as far as possible, to understand the texts, although their own learning was doubtless almost wholly confined to a knowledge of the liturgy and a traditional understanding of their own language.

38. The Ṣābians of the Qur'ān; Mughtasila and Mandæans.—In the Qur'ān we find three passages (ii. 59, v. 73; cf. xxii. 17) in which the Jews, the Naṣaræans (Christians), and the Ṣābians are assured of religious toleration. The famous Muslim scholar al-Mas'ūdī, writing in the 10th cent., speaks of Chaldæan or Babylonian Ṣābians 'whose remnants live to-day in villages among the swamps between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra,' states that in their prayers they turn to the pole-star and Capricorn, and describes them as 'those who wear girdles' (S. de Sacy, *Notices et extraits*, VIII. i. [1810] 132 ff.). The Mandæans turned towards the north, and wore the girdle. Moreover, the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (p. 340, l. 26) states that the Ṣābians of the marshes are the Mughtasila, a word meaning 'those who wash themselves,' and it also declares that they wash all their food—a practice which, so far at least as flesh-food is concerned, is also enjoined in the *Genzâ*. To these Mughtasila, however, the same writer ascribes a doctrine of dualism—a thing quite unknown in the Mandæan documents; and he also states that many of them still worship the stars, while, on the other hand, the guarantee of toleration in the Qur'ān assumes that the Ṣābians believe in One God (and in the Last Judgment). To account for these references to the Mughtasila there seem to be two alternative hypotheses at our disposal: we may suppose either that the Ṣābians of the marshes were descendants of that group of originally heathen baptists of Babylonia which did not share the religious development of the Mandæans, or that some of the Mandæans had taken refuge from the Arabs in the swamps (§ 31), and there, while adhering to their custom of bathing and washing, had adopted new and alien doctrines. For further particulars regarding the Mughtasila cf. art. ELKESAITES, vol. v. p. 268.

The passages in the Qur'ān and the name 'Ṣābians' would apply most approximately to the Mandæans. The Mandæans, in speaking of their practice of immersion, always employ forms of the verbal root צבע, as, *e.g.*, in R 286. 1: בנאין ובנאתון צאביא, 'who immerse their sons and their daughters'; by their Arab neighbours they were termed Ṣubba down even to recent times, and in European accounts dating from the 17th cent. they were called 'Sabbi,' 'Sabbei,' 'Sabi,' 'Sabæi'—the termination being that of the Ital. or Lat. plural. The name may formerly have covered the Mughtasila as well, and the latter possibly also came under the references of the Qur'ān. As regards the Mandæans, we have already seen that, as an outcome of the doctrine of the king of light, they had become monotheists, and that they believed in a future retribution.

39. Ostensible Christianity of the Mandæans.—The toleration extended to the Ṣābians by no means secured for the Mandæans a condition of life satisfactory in every respect. In course of time—perhaps more than once—circumstances arose in which they thought it better to be regarded as Christians. As, however, besides the name of 'Mandâyê,' they had also adopted that by which the Christians were known, viz. 'Nâṣôrâyê'—in the *Genzâ* the latter is actually used more frequently than the former—it would demand no great effort on their part to say that they were Christians. If, *e.g.*, they no longer wished to be regarded as akin to the Ṣābians dwelling in the marshes, or if they hoped to evade a tax imposed specifically on the Ṣābians, they would probably assume the Christian name without misgiving. According to Ignatius a Jesu (*Narratio*, i., a chapter written by himself), the Mandæans of Baṣra believed that Muhammad had granted them a document guaranteeing their safety, but that his successors had not respected it. Ignatius also states that the Mandæans were formerly united with the Chaldæan Christians, but that, about one hundred and seventy years before his time, they had renounced the authority of the Babylonian patriarch and abandoned the name of 'Christians.' If we qualify this statement by saying that the Mandæan communities had at one time joined hands with the Church—though only for a while—it will be quite correct.

The Arabian writer, Ḥamza Iṣfahānī (belonging, like the two Arabian writers already cited, to the 10th cent.), affirms that the true Ṣābians, *i.e.* those whom the Qur'ān has in view, were heretical Christians, 'living between the desert and the swamps.' This opinion may have arisen from a fusion of vague reports about the Mandæans and the Mughtasila, and it might possibly be taken as indirect evidence that as early as the 10th cent. the Mandæans desired to be regarded as Christians. On the other hand, a Muslim might quite well think of all the Ṣābians, by reason of their baptistic practices, as belonging to the Christian body.

40. The Mandæans as 'Christians of St. John.'—The Portuguese monks through whose reports the existence of the Mandæans was first made known in Europe asserted that they were descended from the disciples of John the Baptist (cf. a letter from Pietro della Valle, dated June 1622), and from that time, in treatises and text-books of Church History, they have been referred to and regarded (on the ground of Ac 18^{25} $19^{1\text{ff.}}$) as Christiani S. Ioannis, 'Christians of St. John.' It was not without some support from their own side that this designation gained currency. A number of Mandæans who had transferred their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church visited Rome in the period between 1652 and 1660, and Abraham Echellensis, who cultivated a most friendly intercourse with them in order to gain the fullest possible information regarding their characteristics and doctrine, was told by them that their people called themselves 'Naṣaræans of Yahyâ'—though in Arabic only, the qualifying phrase perhaps meaning that they did not call themselves so in their own religious language, or among themselves, but that they adopted the name only in their intercourse with people of a different faith; at all events the phrase implies that they did not speak of themselves as *kriṣṭiânê* (R 55. 14, 282. 12).

John the Baptist is mentioned in a single tractate only (cf. § 11), which long lay almost unnoticed by the Mandæans, but at length, when the final additions and a number of titles to the writings of the *Genzâ* came to be formulated (R 57. 23, 188. 26, 213. 10, 218. 23), a period opened in which the Mandæans turned to the figure of the Baptist with intense interest, and it is worthy of note that his old name Yôhannâ (which they pronounce Yûhânâ) was now expanded to Yahyâ-Yôhannâ, or was sometimes simply superseded by Yahyâ. Yahyâ is the Arabic form of the name—the form by which the Baptist is mentioned and highly extolled in the Qur'ān (iii. 34, vi. 85, xix. 13–15). May we not, therefore, venture to suppose that the reason why the writers of this period bring John into such prominence and make him a hero of their people was that they had already begun to refer to him, in the presence of the Muslim authorities, as the prophet of their religion? Henceforth they could claim, whenever and wherever they thought fit, to rank as 'Nâṣôrâyê d'Yahyâ'—a name which, to all except themselves, could mean nothing else than 'Christians of John.'

Finally, they are said actually to have introduced the name of Yahyâ-Yûhânâ into their baptismal formula, and to have done so, in fact, by speaking of the rite itself as having been instituted by God, by Mandâ d'hayyê, and by John (cf. *MR*, p. 225, on Siouffi's authority). This innovation would seem to be best explained as a result of the lesson constantly impressed upon the Mandæans by Roman Catholic missionaries during the 17th cent., viz. that their baptism was only the baptism of John mentioned in Ac 18^{25} 19^{3}, and as a counter-stroke to the attempts to bring them within the Roman Catholic fold.

41. In the period of the Portuguese ascendancy in the Persian Gulf.—In the 16th cent. the Portuguese dominated the Indian Ocean, establishing themselves securely at Goa on the Indian and at Muscat on the Arabian coast, and in the harbours of Ceylon. They forced their way into the Persian Gulf, and on the coast of Persia made the island of Hormuz the base of their military forces; and with the pasha of the district of Baṣra they reached an agreement by which, in return for annual gifts, he permitted them to have a trading-station in Baṣra, and promised to protect it. The Portuguese soldiers and traders were everywhere followed by the Jesuits, who founded missions, and secured the government of such settlements as 'Christian territories' according to the regulations of the Inquisition. Thus Portuguese monks came to Baṣra, where they obtained a house and made one of its rooms into a church, their hope being to win for the Roman faith more particularly the schismatic (Nestorian and Armenian) Christians living in the district. Their attention, however, would soon be attracted by the Mandæans, for the number of the latter in Baṣra and its neighbourhood in the 17th cent. was still estimated at 14,000–15,000, while in the city itself they are said to have formed the majority of the population (Le-Gouz). Decades may have elapsed, however, before the monks learned that the 'Sabbi' held John the Baptist in honour and baptized their children, and so came to believe that this baptistic people were already semi-Christians, and needed only a little instruction in order to become good Catholics. The *Discursus* which Ignatius issued as a supplement to the *Narratio* provides the arguments to be employed in persuading the Mandæan priests; but the latter were not to be won over by such simple means. Thereupon the missionaries, bent upon gaining their end, induced the pasha to order the Sabbi, under threat of fines or bodily penalties, to attend the Roman Catholic place of worship and observe Sunday according to the Christian practice of resting from servile work on that day. In this way the work of conversion was set on foot, supported, however, by doles of food and clothing to the children of the poorer Mandæans.

About this time the Mandæan communities suffered a considerable loss from another cause. In the early years of the 17th cent. the Portuguese found that their commercial monopoly on the Persian coast was challenged, and by way of strengthening their powers of defence they resorted to the employment of mercenaries. To the Portuguese cantonments the Mandæans are said to have flocked in vast numbers from Baṣra, and, no doubt, from Persia also—people who, of course, had there barely managed to live. In their new capacity they were instructed in the Christian faith and received Christian baptism (Le-Gouz, della Valle).

The fortified inshore island of Hormuz, which commanded the entrance to the Persian Gulf, was invested by British merchantmen and the military forces of the 'Duke' of Shiraz in 1622, and surrendered on the 1st of May of that year. The prestige of the Portuguese was at an end; their missionaries withdrew from Baṣra, and the Mandæans once more enjoyed freedom in their religious services. Of the Christian converts some embraced Islām, while the rest reverted to their ancestral faith—'et ne s'en conserva pas quatre Chrétiens' (Le-Gouz).

42. In Baṣra in the time of Ignatius a Jesu.—The place of the Portuguese Jesuits was taken by an Italian mission of Discalced Carmelites under the leadership of Ignatius a Jesu. Within a few years Ignatius came to realize that great or lasting results would never be secured among the Mandæans while they lived in Persia, and he devised the plan of persuading them to emigrate to Christian territories. From the Portuguese viceroy in the Indian Ocean he obtained a guarantee that Mandæans who so desired would receive grants of land in the colonies under the viceregal authority, on condition that they would give their allegiance to the Roman Catholic Church. The offer of settlements in Ceylon was accepted by many who were eventually rejected because they insisted upon being allowed to take their priests with them and to remain loyal to their faith; but, notwithstanding this, a number of Mandæans were sent forth, such migrations having taken place, as has been ascertained by Assemani from documents of the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, in the years 1629, 1633, 1646, and 1650. The whole affair, however, came to very little, and all that Ignatius himself says of it is that he had once sent to the viceroy of Goa a number of men who were to act as the spokesmen of their people, and also to look for suitable residences in Ceylon, and that at length other fifty Mandæans, some of them with their wives and children, had set out for Muscat. It may be remarked that between 1638 and 1658 the Portuguese were gradually expelled from Ceylon by the Dutch.

43. Numerical strength of the Mandæan communities in the 17th century.—Information regarding the numerical strength of the Mandæans and their diffusion in the contiguous provinces of Turkey and Persia—as found, probably, in the first half of the 17th cent.—is provided by a map published in Paris by Melchisedech Thévenot in 1663. This map, which, unfortunately, bears no date, embraces the area throughout which the Mandæan communities were scattered, and gives on its lower margin a list of the townships in which they were located and the number of families in each community. We find an aggregate of 3279 families living in 31 settlements. By far the largest figure, exactly 2000, is conjoined with Ḫuwaiza, in Persia;[1] next comes Ṭina with 500 families and Baṣra with 400, then one place with 50, two with 30, and others with numbers ranging from 2 to 20, while to four place-names a dotted line is attached, and to several others only a stroke. We shall thus hardly err in assuming a total of some 3400 families.

44. Reports of European travellers since 1650.—Ignatius a Jesu left Baṣra in 1650 or 1651, and the Christians no longer endeavoured to win the Mandæans for the Church. It is true that the mission-house was not abandoned, and that the banner of the Cross continued to wave from its roof, while the pasha still received his annual gift; but, when Jean Thévenot lodged there in 1665, he found that it was tenanted only by a single Italian monk, and that the church stood open for prayer not only to Europeans, but to Nestorian and Armenian Christians. Shortly afterwards, when the station had once more been brought into working order, its director, the Carmelite Archangelus a S. Theresia, was obliged to expend a considerable sum of money to procure Mandæan MSS for Robert Huntington, who lived in Aleppo from 1671 to 1681. The vendors were a couple of Mandæans, one of whom had to be assured upon oath that his co-religionists should never hear of the transaction, while the other had become a convert to Islām.

A long period then elapsed during which little or no information regarding the Mandæans reached Europe. Paragraphs devoted to them (and often referred to in encyclopædias) in J. Chardin, *Voyages*, etc. (Paris, 1686 ff.), and E. Kaempffer, *Amœnitatum*, etc., fasc. v. (Lemgow, 1712), simply repeat accounts previously published. In 1765 Carsten Niebuhr visited Baṣra and found that only a few 'Sabians' lived there; he had their alphabet transcribed for him by a smith. Naval Lieutenant Ormsby, the friend of J. R. Wellsted, stayed at Hiṭ for five days in 1833, and ascertained that the Mandæans had a community with a priest in that city, though neither there nor elsewhere could he learn anything about them but the most meagre details.

The first European to gain really fresh information regarding the Mandæans was the German Orientalist H. Petermann, who, in the spring of 1854, spent three months in Sūq eš-Šiyūkh on the Euphrates, learned the Mandæan language from the local high priest Yahyâ (-Bûlad), and in the latter's company was permitted to be present at a number of ceremonies, including the five days' baptismal festival. At length, however, a much greater addition to our knowledge was contributed by the information with which a grandson of this Yahyâ gratified the curiosity of N. Siouffi, French vice-consul at Baghdād, in 1875. The fullness and accuracy of the communications are explained by the fact that the informant, before embracing Christianity when about twenty-five, had received an education qualifying him to become a Mandæan priest, but it is necessary to state that his account of the Mandæan doctrines and legends was wholly dependent upon a late version, from which every difficulty had been expunged (cf. *MR*, pp. 17–19), and that he could describe the methods and customs of his people only in their most recent phases of development.

45. The Mandæans in the 19th century.—The books of Petermann and Siouffi contain observations from which we may learn how the Mandæans had fared in the long interval from the 17th cent., and it would seem that in this period, too, the vicissitudes of their ordinary life were due to suffering and want. About the year 1800 30 families in Shushter alone are said to have seceded to Islām, and 'many Mandæans' are reported to have done so about 1825. The great pestilence which ravaged Persia and Mesopotamia in 1831 carried off the entire priesthood with the exception of two *šgandâs*, and at some unspecified date the Mandæans forsook Baṣra owing to its deadly climate. In the vicinity of Ḫuwaiza only 25 families remained, all the rest having removed because the river (K̮ercha) had almost completely dried up. Sūq eš-Šiyūkh (which does not appear in the list subjoined to Thévenot's map), or rather the village of Ṣubbuye on the other side of the river, had become one of the main domiciles of the Mandæans (the 'Ṣubba'), and was named after them. The district, however, was ruled by a Bedawin *shaikh*, who so afflicted the village with chicanery and extortion that about 200 of the 260 families composing the local Mandæan community abandoned it in 1853 and removed to Ammāra on the Tigris, where the second largest community (about 100 families) had enjoyed a more favourable lot under Turkish rule. Petermann also mentions Qurna, at the confluence of the Euphrates and the Tigris, with 40 families, and Muhammara, on the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab below Baṣra, with 4, as well as the Persian towns of Dizful with 80, and Shushter with 34. He makes an aggregate of about 560 families, with 10 priests. Siouffi mentions other 11 settlements, 6 in Turkish and 5 in Persian territory, and his estimate of the total number of Mandæans is 4000, of whom 1500 were males. These two enumerations bring us to the years 1854 and 1875 respectively. Whether any Mandæan communities still exist the present writer is not in a position to say.

LITERATURE.—i. On the Ṣābians, Mughtasila, and Mandæans: D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, Petrograd, 1856; G. Flügel, *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1862, p. 133 ff.; W. Brandt, *Elchasai*, do. 1912, pp. 134–151 (gives information regarding the Arabic data, with translations, and discusses the question as to the origin of the Bab. practice of baptism).

ii. On the Mandæans in the 16th and 17th centuries: *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino, La Persia*, Rome, 1658, pp. 412–414; P. F. Ignatius a Jesu and others, *Narratio Originis, Rituum, et Errorum Christianorum Sancti Joannis, Cui adiungitur Discursus per modum Dialogi in quo confutantur XXXIII Errores eiusdem Nationis*, Rome, 1652 (the bulk of the text consists of an earlier account which, with the *Discursus*, had probably been written during the time of the Portuguese mission, and afterwards amended and supplemented here and there by the Italian monks; to this Ignatius himself prefixed a new 'first chapter' in which he states his views of the Mandæans—a view differing from that given in the original first chapter, now the second—and he also inserted his notes regarding the *Dîvân*); F. de la Boullaye-

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[1] According to a statement of Pietro della Valle, dating from 1622, the Mandæans in Persia lived principally in the district of Kamalawa, not far from Ḫuwaiza.

Le-Gouz, *Voyage et observations*, Paris, 1652, ^{2}Troyes and Paris, 1657, p. 291 ff. (chs. xliii.-xlix.); Jean Thévenot, *Suite du Voyage de Levant*, Paris, 1674 (posthumously), pp. 324-328; Melchisedech Thévenot, *Relations de divers voyages*, do. 1663-64 (large quarto, without continuous pagination), pt. i., 'Vera Delinatio Civitatis Bassoræ' (the map mentioned in § 43); Abraham Echellensis, *Eutychius patriarcha Alexandrinus vindicatus*, ii. ('De Origine nominis Papæ'), Rome, 1660, pp. 310-336.

iii. Works published in the 19th cent. and later: J. R. Wellsted, *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, London, 1840, i. 316 f. (from notes of Lieut. Ormsby); H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1860-61, ii. 83-137, 447-465; N. Siouffi, *Etudes sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens, leurs dogmes, leurs mœurs*, Paris, 1880 (on pp. 198-204 will be found an extract relating to the Mandæans from the *Voyage en Russie*, etc., of J. M. Lycklama a Nijeholt, Amsterdam, 1872-75, on which cf. *MR*, p. 12, note); T. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, Halle, 1875, Introduction; cf. also his art. in *GGA*, 1869, pp. 481-501; K. Kessler, art. 'Mandæans,' in *EBr*^{9}, and 'Mandäer,' in *PRE*^{3} (cf. *MR*, p. 230 f.); M. Lidzbarski, 'Uthra und Malakha,' in *Orientalische Studien, Theodor Nöldeke zum 70ten Geburtstag*, Giessen, 1906, pp. 537-545; W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, *Mandäische Schriften*, Göttingen, 1893.

W. BRANDT.

MANETHO.—This historian of Egypt was born at Sebennytus, the *Theb-Neteret* of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, and lived during the reigns of Ptolemy Lagi and Ptolemy Philadelphus. His name is probably the Gr. form of *Mā-en-Teḥuti*, 'Gift of Thōth'—equivalent to the Gr. Ἑρμόδωρος. The following works have been attributed to him, some of them on doubtful authority: (1) Αἰγυπτιακά, (2) Βίβλος Σώθεος, (3) Ἱερὰ Βίβλος, (4) Φυσικῶν ἐπιτομή, (5) Περὶ ἑορτῶν, (6) Περὶ ἀρχαισμοῦ καὶ εὐσεβείας, (7) Περὶ κατασκευῆς κυφίων. His reputation rests upon the Αἰγυπτιακά, a history of Egypt which he compiled at the request of Ptolemy Philadelphus. The first part of his work dealt with the mythological era in the history of Egypt, and the first eleven of the thirty historical dynasties; the second began with the XIIth dynasty, and ended with the XIXth; the third comprised dynasties XX.-XXX. The work was written in Greek, and has, unfortunately, perished, with the exception of the list of kings, which has been preserved in corrupt and incomplete forms by Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and George the Syncellus.

An examination of these king lists shows that in many particulars Julius Africanus and Eusebius do not agree in their rendering—*i.e.* in arrangement of the dynasties, in the lengths of the reigns, and in the total number of kings assigned to the various dynasties. According to Africanus, 561 kings reigned in about 5524 years, while, according to Eusebius, only about 361 kings reigned in 4480 or 4780 years. The version of Africanus is clearly the more accurate of the two, agreeing best with the monuments. It seems fairly certain that Africanus had access to the actual work of Manetho. The version of Eusebius was based on that of Africanus, and shows carelessness in the copying of both names and figures. It will thus be seen that the work of Manetho must be received with some caution, for his king lists have become very corrupt; and it is probable that the Christian writers who transmitted his system, being anxious to reconcile it with the accepted Biblical chronology, have curtailed his lists to some extent. Nevertheless Manetho's work remains the standard authority on Egyptian chronology, and upon it all attempts to restore that chronology must be based.

The chief original authorities with which his work may be compared are: (1) the Turin Royal Papyrus—lamentably mutilated, and badly restored; (2) the Tablet of Abydos, containing a list of 75 kings, dynasties I.-XIX.; (3) the Tablet of Ṣaqqārah—47 royal names in practically the same order as (2); and (4) the Tablet of Karnak, containing a list of 61 kings—the cartouches are not arranged chronologically. The lists of Manetho are much more complete than any of these, and it is to him that we owe the accepted distribution into dynasties.

Opinions differ widely as to the value of his historical work. A period in which he was regarded as a mere fabricator was succeeded by one in which his authority was considered practically unimpeachable. Thus Lenormant says:

> 'He is now the first of all authorities for the reconstruction of the ancient history of Egypt' (*Anc. Hist. of the East*, i. 201).

More modern authorities are sharply divided. Adverse opinion may be represented by Breasted's sweeping dictum:

> 'A late, careless and uncritical compilation, which can be proven wrong from the contemporary monuments in the vast majority of cases where such monuments have survived. Its dynastic totals are so absurdly high throughout that they are not worthy of a moment's credence, being often nearly or quite double the maximum drawn from contemporary monuments, and they will not stand the slightest criticism. Their accuracy is now maintained only by a small and constantly decreasing number of modern scholars' (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 23).

This is so sweeping as to suggest bias at once; and, when it is remembered that an exactly opposite judgment is pronounced by authorities of such standing as Maspero and Flinders Petrie, its oracular tone becomes merely ridiculous. Maspero's verdict is as follows:

> 'The system of Manetho, in the state in which it has been handed down to us by epitomizers, has rendered, and continues to render, service to science; if it is not the actual history of Egypt, it is a sufficiently faithful substitute to warrant our not neglecting it when we wish to understand and reconstruct the sequence of events. His dynasties furnish the necessary framework for most of the events and revolutions, of which the monuments have preserved us a record' (*Dawn of Civilization*, p. 228).

Still more emphatically favourable is Petrie's judgment:

> 'An authority of the highest order. . . . The internal evidence is also strong for the care given to his work and its precision. . . . Manetho has been often accused of double reckoning, by stating two contemporary dynasties or kings separately. Every instance in which this has been supposed has broken down when examined in detail. Not a single case of overlapping periods can be proved against him. On the contrary, there are two excellent proofs of his care to avoid such errors' (*Researches in Sinai*, p. 171).

Possibly the truth may lie somewhere between the two extreme opinions, and Manetho may be neither so careless as Breasted alleges nor so immaculate as Petrie affirms. In any case, even his detractors cannot afford to do without him; for every reconstruction of the history of Egypt is based, and will continue to be based, on the dynastic framework which he has provided.

What system of dating we are to derive from his dynastic scheme and other sources is another question. Here also there is fundamental disagreement. As far back as 1580 B.C. there is practically no difference between the various schemes of dating, and Egyptian chronology may be looked upon as settled with only a few years' margin of error up to that point. Beyond that lies chaos. The Berlin school, represented by Meyer and Breasted, dates the beginning of the Ist dyn. at 3400 B.C., and that of the XIIth, fixed by astronomical data, at 2000 B.C. Wallis Budge, still clinging to Brugsch's system, gives 4400 B.C. for the Ist dyn. and 2400 B.C. for the XIIth. Petrie gives 5510 B.C. for the Ist dyn., and, using the same astronomical data as the Berlin school, 3459 B.C. for the XIIth. Here it is most unlikely that the truth lies between the two extremes, and Brugsch's *via media* seems to lead nowhere. The gigantic gap between Petrie's dates and those of Berlin is due to the fact that Petrie holds that the advocates of the shorter system have dropped a whole Sothic period of 1460 years out of their reckoning. If the astronomical foundation be sound, the truth must lie either with the shortest or with the longest system, and only further research can clear up the problem. Meanwhile the tendency has been somewhat in the direction of the Berlin system, which, according to Petrie, 'defies all the history and the collateral facts which support it' (*Ancient Egypt*, London, 1915, pt. i. p. 37); and Manetho's credit remains in suspense.

In addition to his service to chronology, Manetho has contributed, though only at second-hand, two interesting traditions of Egyptian history. These are preserved by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 26 f.), and give a somewhat nebulous account of the Hyksos invasion, and the narrative of the expulsion of a race of lepers and unclean persons, which may conceivably represent the Egyptian tradition of the Hebrew Exodus.

Manetho's chronological scheme is too long to be given in detail, but will be found, in part or in whole, in most of the Egyptian Histories—*e.g.*, completely in Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. 130–140.

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JAMES BAIKIE.

MANICHÆISM.—I. Sources.—Manichæism, the religion of Mānī or Manes, is one of those systems which are usually classed together under the name of Gnosticism. The Manichæan religion arose in Babylonia about the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D., and during many generations exercised great influence both in the East and in the West. Of the literature of the Manichæans very little has survived. The fragments of Manichæan MSS which have lately been discovered in Central Asia present great difficulties of interpretation, so that, while they confirm much that was previously known, they do not enable us to form a connected idea of the subject.[1] The attempts which have been made in modern times to prove that some well-known books, in particular certain of the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts, are of Manichæan origin must be pronounced wholly unsuccessful. Hence our information respecting this religion is derived almost entirely from non-Manichæan authors, most of whom wrote with an avowedly hostile purpose. As our conclusions must depend largely on the relative importance which we attach to the various sources, it is necessary first to give some account of them. They fall into four main groups: (1) Oriental Christian sources, (2) Zoroastrian sources, (3) Western sources, (4) Muhammadan sources.

(1) *Oriental Christian.*—These have, in some respects, the greatest claim to consideration. The Aramaic-speaking Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia were in race, in language, and in general culture nearly akin to the primitive Manichæans, and had every opportunity of becoming well acquainted with the new religion. Unfortunately very little of their testimony has come down to us. Aphraates, in the first half of the 4th cent., the earliest Syriac author whose works have been preserved in any considerable quantity,[1] briefly alludes to Manichæism as a dangerous heresy:

> 'The children of darkness, the doctrine of the wicked Mānī, who dwell in darkness like serpents, and practise Chaldæism [*i.e.* astrology], the doctrine of Babel.'[2]

More information may be gathered from the works of a younger contemporary of Aphraates, the well-known Ephraim of Nisibis, commonly called Ephraim Syrus. References to Manichæism are found in several of his writings, especially in a series of five discourses, entitled *Letters to Hypatios.*[3] The treatise against Manichæism composed by Gabriel, bishop of Hormizdshēr, in the 6th cent., seems now to be lost.[4] Later Syriac writers, such as Theodore bar-Khōnī[5] and Barhebræus,[6] do not supply much that is of importance.

Among Oriental Christian authorities we must also reckon the Armenian writer Eznik of Kolb, who lived in the 5th cent.,[7] and Sa'īd ibn al-Biṭrīq, generally called Eutychius, who was Patriarch of Alexandria from A.D. 933 to 939.[8]

(2) *Zoroastrian.*—The evidence contained in Zoroastrian literature is, if anything, scantier than that which may be collected from the works of Oriental Christians; moreover, it is much more difficult to interpret, owing partly to the unsatisfactory condition of the text and partly to our imperfect acquaintance with the language. But the vehement condemnations of Manichæism which are found in Zoroastrian books bear witness at least to the dread with which the Persian priesthood regarded the rival faith.[9]

(3) *Western.*—Accounts by Greek and Latin authors exist in far greater quantity, but they are, from the nature of the case, much less trustworthy. Manichæism was so essentially Oriental (*i.e.* non-Hellenic) in its character that the Christians of the West would probably have had considerable difficulty in understanding it, even if they had been wholly impartial. That this was out of the question hardly needs to be stated. The strangeness of the system was doubtless an attraction to some minds, but those who are attracted by mere novelty are usually uncritical, while the attitude of uncom-

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[1] These fragments are written in various languages (Persian, Turkish, and Chinese). They have been published by F. W. K. Müller, 'Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan,' in *SBAW*, 1904, p. 348 ff., and in *ABAW*, 1904, 'Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch,' in *ABAW*, 1912 (republished separately, Berlin, 1913); A. von Le Coq, 'Ein manichäisch-uigurisches Fragment aus Idiqut-Schahri,' in *SBAW*, 1908, p. 398 ff., 'Ein christliches und ein manichäisches Manuskriptfragment in türkischer Sprache aus Turfan,' *ib.*, 1909, p. 1202 ff., 'Dr. Stein's Turkish Khuastuanift from Tun-Huang, being a Confession-prayer of the Manichæan Auditores,' in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 277 ff.; C. Salemann, *Ein Bruchstük manichäischen Schrifttums im asiatischen Museum*, Petrograd, 1904 (=*Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*, VIII. vi. 6), *Manichäische Studien*, i., do. 1908 (=*Mémoires*, VIII. viii. 10), *Manichæica*, i.–iv., do. 1907–12 (=*Bulletin de l'Académie impériale des Sciences*); E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, 'Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine,' in *JA*, 1911 (republished, Paris, 1912).

[1] On Aphraates see W. Wright, *Short History of Syriac Literature*, London, 1894, p. 32. The *Homilies* of Aphraates have been re-edited, with a Lat. tr., by I. Parisot (Paris, 1894).

[2] *Hom.* iii. Why the Manichæans were accused of astrology will appear later on.

[3] The first of these discourses and part of the second were published by J. J. Overbeck in his *Sancti Ephraemi Syri aliorumque opera selecta*, Oxford 1865, p. 21 ff. This portion of the second discourse was reprinted by K. Kessler (*Mani*, p. 268 ff.), with a very inaccurate Germ. tr. The remainder of the work, with the exception of some passages which are effaced in the MS, was first made known by C. W. Mitchell (*S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations*, i., London, 1912). In Ephraim's *Carmina Nisibena* (ed. G. Bickell, Leipzig, 1866), no. xlv., there is an interesting passage which doubtless refers to the Manichæans, though they are not expressly named: 'Fools in their perversity have forged a tale, how that the Darkness ventured to disturb the Light,' etc.

[4] See Wright, *op. cit.* p. 120.

[5] Theodore's account of Mānī has been published and translated by H. Pognon in his *Inscriptions mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir*, Paris, 1897–99. It is borrowed in part from Epiphanius, and therefore cannot be regarded as purely Oriental. Cf. also F. Cumont, *La Cosmogonie manichéenne, d'après Theodore bar Khôni* (=*Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, i.), Brussels, 1908.

[6] The testimony of Barhebræus is to be gathered partly from his Syr. *Ecclesiastical History*, partly from his Arab. *Compendium of the Dynasties*.

[7] See V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1867–69, ii. 375 ff., and the tr. by J. M. Schmid, Vienna, 1900, p. 94 ff.

[8] *Eutychii Annales*, ed. E. Pococke, Oxford, 1658–59, which contains the original Arab. text with a Lat. tr.

[9] Perhaps the most important passage on this subject is that which E. W. West has translated in his *Pahlavi Texts*, iii. 243 ff. (*SBE* xxvi. [1885]). A Germ. tr. is given by Salemann, *Ein Bruchstük manichäischen Schrifttums im asiat. Museum*.

promising hostility, which was adopted by the great majority of Christian theologians, naturally proved even less favourable to accurate comprehension.

The foreign origin of Manichæism is duly emphasized by Eusebius in the brief notice which he devotes to this 'insane heresy.'[1] Alexander of Lycopolis, the author of a short tract against Manichæism,[2] was probably a contemporary of Eusebius. He deserves notice as being the only Western writer who treats the subject from a purely philosophical point of view; though he speaks of Christianity with a certain respect, it is doubtful whether he ever became a Christian. Of more importance is the testimony of a somewhat later controversialist, Titus, bishop of Bostra in Syria, who died about A.D. 370. In a geographical sense, Titus must be reckoned among Oriental Christians, but his *Treatise against the Manichæans*[3] proves him to have been thoroughly Western in his education and habits of thought, deeply imbued with Greek philosophy, in particular with Stoicism, and full of contempt for 'barbarians.' He distinctly states that he derived his information from a Manichæan book,[4] but he tells us nothing definite as to its authorship. His words, however, seem to imply that the book was not composed by the founder of Manichæism himself, for in quoting it he says, 'as is stated by the author who wrote down the doctrines of that maniac';[5] and, again, 'these are the very words used by him or else by one of his followers.'[6] He afterwards mentions a Manichæan work entitled *The Treasure*,[7] but whether this is identical with the book cited previously cannot be determined. In any case it is interesting to observe that, according to Titus, the Manichæans made every effort to conceal from outsiders the writings of their founder, apparently in obedience to his express orders.[8] Another fact, no less significant, is that Titus professes to have softened down the expressions which he found in his source: 'these are not the words used by him, but this is what he meant to say, translated into more decent language.'[9] In estimating the evidence supplied by Titus this tendency must be constantly borne in mind.

A more popular but a much less respectable authority is the *Acta Archelai*, a work which professes to record a disputation between Manes and Archelaus, bishop of Carchar[10] in Mesopotamia. Here for the first time we meet with the remarkable theory that Manichæism originated, not with its reputed founder, but with a certain Scythianus, from whom the system was passed on to Manes. These *Acts* are extant in a Latin translation, made from a Greek text of which we possess some long fragments.[1] According to Jerome,[2] the book was originally composed by Archelaus himself in Syriac ('Syro sermone') and afterwards translated into Greek. But it has been clearly proved that Archelaus is not the author, and that the narrative is to a large extent, if not entirely, fictitious. Nevertheless, some modern writers have endeavoured to show that, though Jerome was mistaken in ascribing the *Acts* to Archelaus, he was right at least in believing them to have been composed in Syriac. The arguments which Kessler has advanced in support of this theory have been shown by T. Nöldeke to be worthless.[3] The author of the *Acts*, whoever he was, evidently possessed no accurate information about the country in which he placed the scene of his story. For example, he represents the river Strangas as the Western boundary of the Persian Empire—a notion which is derived from the Greek *Romance of Alexander the Great* (pseudo-Callisthenes), as Nöldeke points out. A writer who was capable of falling into such mistakes can scarcely be supposed to have had any definite knowledge as to the early history of Manichæism. Nevertheless, it is not surprising that his statements were readily believed by Western Christians. With some variations, the story contained in the *Acta Archelai* reappears in Epiphanius,[4] Socrates, Theodoret, and several later writers.

By far the most celebrated of the Western authorities on Manichæism is Augustine. At first sight it might seem that his testimony ought to outweigh all others that have been mentioned, for during nine years (from A.D. 373 to 382) he was a professed Manichæan. Among the works that he composed on the subject, after his conversion to Catholic Christianity, are the following: *Contra Epistolam Manichæi quam vocant Fundamenti*, *Contra Faustum*, *Contra Fortunatum*, *Contra Adimantum*, *Contra Secundinum*, *De Actis cum Felice Manichæo*, *De Genesi contra Manichæos*, *De Natura Boni*, *De Duabus Animabus*, *De Utilitate Credendi*, *De Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ et de Moribus Manichæorum*. Many passages relating to Manichæism are to be found in his other writings, particularly in the *Confessions*. But, on the whole, the amount of positive knowledge which can be gathered from Augustine is much less than might have been expected. In the great majority of cases he confines himself to vague generalities, and, when he descends to particulars, his statements seem mostly to rest on hearsay. It may be doubted whether even his Manichæan informants were at all accurately acquainted with the history and writings of their founder. Faustus, whom Augustine represents as one of the ablest and most influential among the Manichæans, was a native of N. Africa, and it is therefore unlikely that he could read the sacred books of his religion in the original Aramaic. Nor have we any reason to believe that the other Manichæans with whom Augustine came in contact were better instructed.

One of the latest, but not the least important, of the Western sources is the Greek *Formula of Abjuration*,[5] which repentant heretics were required to pronounce before being admitted into the communion of the Byzantine Church. In its present shape this document cannot be older than the 9th century. It consists of a series of anathemas, directed partly against doctrines and partly against persons, put together without any definite plan. Some of the doctrines are undoubtedly Manichæan, but some emanate from other sects, and some appear to be gross misrepresentations. Yet, in spite of the uncritical manner in which it is compiled, the *Formula of Abjuration* contains a certain number of interesting facts.

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[1] *HE* vii. 31.

[2] ed. A. Brinkmann, Leipzig, 1895.

[3] Of the four books into which this work is divided only the first two and the beginning of the third have been preserved in the original Gr.; but all four are extant in a Syr. tr., which must have been made very early, as it is contained in a Brit. Mus. MS written in A.D. 412. The Gr. text was first published by J. Basnage in 1725; the best edition is that of P. A. de Lagarde (Berlin, 1859), who also edited the Syr. version. It is to be noted that the Gr. text has a long insertion (printed as an Appendix by Lagarde, pp. 69–103) which is absent in the Syriac. In *SBAW*, 1894, p. 479 ff., August Brinkmann has endeavoured to prove that this piece is a fragment of a book against the Manichæans by Serapion of Thmuis, a friend of Athanasius.

[4] αὐτῇ λέξει φησὶν ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς βίβλος (bk. i. § 21); φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ γράμμα ἀφ' οὗ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ μανέντος παρεθήκαμεν (bk. i. § 22). The punning use of μανείς, μανία, etc., in allusion to the name Manes, is extremely common.

[5] ὥς γε ὁ τὰ τοῦ μανέντος συγγράφων φησίν (bk. i. § 21).

[6] φησὶ δὲ πρὸς λέξιν αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνος ἢ ἕτερός τις τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου (bk. iii. § 4). Photius states that the source used by Titus was the work of a certain Addas: ἔδοξε μὲν κατὰ Μανιχαίων γράφειν, ἔγραψε δὲ μᾶλλον κατὰ τῶν Ἄδδου συγγραμμάτων (*PG* ciii. 288).

[7] Syr. *sīmĕthā* (bk. iii. § 9). This is probably the work called θησαυρός by Epiphanius, and θησαυρὸς ζωῆς in the Greek *Formula of Abjuration*. Both al-Ya'qūbī and al-Bīrūnī ascribe to Mānī a book known as *Kanz-al-Iḥyā*, 'Treasure of Life-giving,' but it is to be noted that the list of Mānī's writings in the *Fihrist* (p. 336, line 8 ff.) does not include this title, although it mentions a *Sifr-al-Iḥyā*, 'Book of Life-giving.'

[8] Bk. iii. § 9.

[9] εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ τούτοις γε τοῖς ῥήμασιν, ἀλλά γε ταῦτα βούλεται λέγειν, ἅπερ εὐσχημονέστερον πάνυ γε πρὸς ἡμῶν εἴρηται (bk. i. § 17).

[10] The name is doubtful. Possibly the author, or a later scribe, may have confused the two places Karkhā and Kashkar; the latter form agrees with that given by Epiphanius in his version of the story.

[1] See M. J. Routh, *Reliquiæ sacræ*^{2}, Oxford, 1846–48, v.

[2] *De Vir. Illustr.*, no. lxxii.

[3] See *ZDMG* xliii. [1889] 535 ff., and xliv. [1890] 399.

[4] See F. Oehler, *Corpus Hæreseologicum*, Berlin, 1856–61, II. ii. 398 ff.

[5] See A. Gallandi, *Bibliotheca Patrum*, 14 vols., Venice, 1765-88, xiv. 87 ff.

(4) *Muhammadan.*—Evidence from Muhammadan literature does not begin before the 9th cent. of our era. Nevertheless, the Muhammadan accounts are, on the whole, the most instructive of all, much fuller than those by Oriental Christians and less misleading than those by Western writers. For this several causes may be assigned. In the first place, the Muhammadan scholars to whom we owe these descriptions wrote from a historical, rather than from a controversial, point of view. Moreover, some of them at least had access to very ancient and trustworthy sources of information; for Babylonia, the political centre of the Muhammadan Empire, was also the ecclesiastical centre of the Manichæan community, and, accordingly, in that country the text and the traditional interpretation of the Manichæan Scriptures were most likely to survive. It is true that after the Muhammadan conquest the Aramaic language gradually ceased to be spoken, but the knowledge of it never wholly died out, as we see in the case of the Christians and the Mandæans, who have retained their sacred books, in their respective Aramaic dialects, down to the present day.

Almost all Muhammadan historians who treat of pre-Muhammadan or early Muhammadan times take some notice of Manichæism, but the authors from whom we learn most on this subject are the following: (*a*) Ibn Wāḍiḥ, also called al-Ya'qūbī, who in A.D. 891 composed a *History of the World*;[1] (*b*) Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, who probably lived about the end of the 10th cent. of our era, and is known as the author of the *Fihrist*, *i.e.* 'Catalogue,' a great storehouse of information respecting literary works of various kinds;[2] (*c*) al-Bīrūnī, who died A.D. 1048, one of the most learned men that the East ever produced, the author of a book on *Chronology*[3] and other important treatises; (*d*) al-Shahrastānī, who died A.D. 1153, the author of a work on religious and philosophical sects.[4] All these authors wrote in Arabic, although the last two were of Persian nationality.

The story of Mānī in the *Shāh-nāmah* of Firdausī, the well-known Persian epic poet, is almost entirely legendary, and the same may be said of nearly all the popular Muhammadan accounts, whether written in Persian or in Arabic.

2. The founder of Manichæism.—With regard to the history of the founder we are mainly dependent on Muhammadan writers, for the Western authorities either tell us nothing definite or else repeat, more or less faithfully, the legend contained in the *Acta Archelai*. The story there related is briefly as follows:

> In the time of the Apostles there lived a man named Scythianus, who is described as coming 'from Scythia,' and also as being 'a Saracen by race' ('ex genere Saracenorum'). He settled in Egypt, where he became acquainted with 'the wisdom of the Egyptians,' and invented the religious system which was afterwards known as Manichæism. Finally he emigrated to Palestine, and, when he died, his writings passed into the hands of his sole disciple, a certain Terebinthus.[1] The latter betook himself to Babylonia, assumed the name of Budda, and endeavoured to propagate his master's teaching. But he, like Scythianus, gained only one disciple, who was an old woman. After a while he died, in consequence of a fall from the roof of a house, and the books which he had inherited from Scythianus became the property of the old woman, who, on her death, bequeathed them to a young man named Corbicius,[2] who had been her slave. Corbicius thereupon changed his name to Manes, studied the writings of Scythianus, and began to teach the doctrines which they contained, with many additions of his own. He gained three disciples, named Thomas, Addas, and Hermas. About this time the son of the Persian king fell ill, and Manes undertook to cure him; the prince, however, died, whereupon Manes was thrown into prison. He succeeded in escaping, but eventually fell into the hands of the king, by whose order he was flayed, and his corpse was hung up at the city gate.

It is needless to say that this narrative, as it stands, has no claim to be considered historical. Some details, in particular the account of the execution of Manes, are confirmed by more trustworthy authorities, but as to the main point—the existence of Scythianus and Terebinthus—no such confirmation is forthcoming. The assertion that Terebinthus took the name of Budda seems to be a confused reminiscence of the fact that Mānī represented the Indian Buddha as one of a series of prophets who had preceded him. But this, so far from tending to support the story as a whole, is rather an argument against it.

The accounts of the principal Muhammadan authorities may be briefly summarized thus:

> Mānī,[3] the son of F-t-q,[4] was born in Babylonia[5] about A.D. 216.[6] His father was originally a heathen, and frequented an 'idol-temple' at or near Ctesiphon, the Persian capital, 'as other people were wont to do.' But shortly before the birth of Mānī he abandoned his former religion, and joined[7] the sect of the Mughtasila, *i.e.* 'those who practise ablutions.'[8] Mānī at an early age became convinced that he had received divine revelations, and that he was chosen to preach a new faith.[9]

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[1] ed. M. T. Houtsma, Leyden, 1883.

[2] ed. G. Flügel, and published after his death by J. Rödiger and A. Müller, Leipzig, 1871–72. The section relating to Manichæism was published separately by Flügel, with a Germ. tr. and copious notes, under the title *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, Leipzig, 1862. The author of the *Fihrist* is sometimes called al-Nadīm, but it is doubtful whether this name, or rather nickname, belonged to him or to one of his ancestors.

[3] ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig, 1878, and tr. by him into Eng., *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, London, 1879. Al-Bīrūnī is the Arab. form of the Pers. Bērūnī.

[4] ed. W. Cureton, London, 1846, and tr. into Germ. by T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850–51.

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[1] As to this name the authorities vary.

[2] This name also is uncertain.

[3] So the name is written in Arab., and the adj. derived from it is usually *mānawī* (formed according to the ordinary rule in Arab.), but sometimes *manawī*, *manānī*, or *mānī*. In Syr. the name Mānī seems to have been pronounced as in Arab., although the Syr. spelling does not enable us to decide positively whether the first vowel was long or short. In the case of rare proper names the vowel-points added by later Syrian scribes have, of course, no authority. In Zoroastrian writings the name appears with a final aspirate, *Mānīh* (adj. *mānīhīk*), and this aspirate accounts for the form Μανιχαῖος, *Manichæus*, which Gr. and Lat. writers often use, not only as an adj., but also as the equivalent of Μάνης, *Manes*. The origin and meaning of the name Mānī are unknown. But this very fact tends to show that it is a real name, not an honorific title like Christ or Buddha.

[4] This is the form given in the *Fihrist*. The vowels are uncertain, but the consonants agree with those of Πατέκιος, who is expressly mentioned as the father of Manes in the Gr. *Formula of Abjuration*. It is well known that the Arabs have no sign for P, and use F or B instead. According to the *Fihrist*, F-t-q also bore the name of Bābak (=Pers. Pāpak), while al-Ya'qūbī calls him Ḥammād. The last name, which is purely Arabic, must be due to some mistake.

[5] According to al-Bīrūnī, the birth-place of Mānī was a village called Mardīnū, on the upper part of the Kūthā canal, *i.e.* a little to the south of Baghdād.

[6] The statement of al-Bīrūnī that Mānī was born in the year 527 of the era of Alexander (*i.e.* the Seleucid era) agrees very nearly with what we are told in the *Fihrist* as to the age of Mānī when he came forward as a public teacher.

[7] G. T. Stokes, in *DCB*, *s.v.* 'Manes,' states that Mānī's father 'founded' this sect—an assertion for which there is no authority.

[8] These details are given in the *Fihrist*, evidently from a Manichæan source. What was the precise form of heathenism which Mānī's father originally professed is not clear. The terms used in the *Fihrist* point to some local cult rather than to Zoroastrianism. The religion of the Mughtasila seems to have been a kind of Judaic Christianity mingled with heathen elements. It was not identical with that of the Mandæans in later times, though the two sects had much in common.

[9] The narrative in the *Fihrist* clearly implies that Mānī did not derive his system from any human teacher. On the other hand, al-Bīrūnī describes Mānī as a 'disciple of Fādarūn,' and a similar statement appears in the well-known historical work of al-Mas'ūdī, who lived about a century before al-Bīrūnī, except that the name is there written somewhat differently (see Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet

Before he was twenty-five years old he had privately gained a few disciples, but he began his public propaganda on the day when Shāpūr (=Sapor I.), the son of Ardashīr, was crowned king, *i.e.* March 20, A.D. 242.[1] He succeeded in securing the patronage of the king's brother Pērōz, and through him obtained access to the king himself.[2] In the course of his journeys he is said to have visited Central Asia, India, and China, but it does not appear that he ever penetrated into the Roman Empire. He composed numerous books and epistles in Aramaic, and at least one book in Persian, probably the work known as the *Shāpūraqān*, which, according to al-Bīrūnī, was written for king Shāpūr.[3] We learn from Ephraim Syrus that Mānī illustrated his writings with coloured pictures;[4] his fame as a painter survived for many centuries in the East. He is also said to have invented the peculiar alphabet which the Manichæans afterwards employed; it was a modification of the Syriac *Estrangēlō* character, as the recently discovered fragments prove. Mānī was put to death by king Bahrām (or, according to the older pronunciation, Warahrān) I., who reigned from about A.D. 274 to 277.[5] Whether he was flayed alive, as al-Ya'qūbī and some other authorities state, is doubtful. His corpse, or, according to others, his skin stuffed with straw, was hung up, by order of the king, at the gate of Gundē-Shāpūr, an important city which lay a little to the east of the ancient Susa. In after times that gate was always known as 'the Mānī-gate.' The execution of Mānī was evidently due not so much to the personal caprice of the king as to the enmity of the Zoroastrian priesthood. At the same time the Persian government made a strenuous, but wholly fruitless, attempt to exterminate the adherents of the new religion.

3. The Manichæan system.—Manichæism, like other forms of Gnosticism, professes to be at the same time a religion and a philosophy, inasmuch as it not only sets up an ideal of holiness, but also undertakes to explain the constitution of the world. It is not, however, to be regarded as a philosophy in the ordinary European sense of the word. It attempts to arrive at philosophical truth by means of a method which, to us, appears wholly unphilosophical. Though the Manichæans confidently appealed to human reason and were always ready to defend their conclusions by argument, they did not pretend that those conclusions had been reached by abstract logic or by any kind of scientific induction; on the contrary, they claimed, no less than the primitive Christians, to be in possession of a direct revelation from God. Thus Mānī himself says, in a passage which al-Bīrūnī quotes from the *Shāpūraqān* (see above):

> 'Wisdom and deeds[6] have always from time to time been brought to mankind by the messengers of God. So in one age they have been brought by the messenger called Buddha to India, in another by Zarādusht [Zoroaster] to Persia, in another by Jesus to the West. Thereupon this revelation has come down, this prophecy in this last age, through me, Mānī, the messenger of the God of truth to Babylonia.'

Such was the claim put forward by Mānī. We have now to consider the substance of his teaching.

The Manichæan system is based upon the idea of the essential and eternal contrast between good and evil, between light and darkness. But it is not correct to say, as Western writers have frequently done, that Mānī identified good with spirit, and evil with matter (ὕλη). Whether he ever attained to the conception of matter may be doubted;[1] at all events, it is clear that he represented evil, or darkness, as something capable of thought and volition;[2] in other words, his dualism was of the imaginative, or poetical, not of the philosophical kind. The following is an abstract of the account given in the *Fihrist*.

> Originally the light and the darkness bordered on one another, but were unmingled, the light being limitless above and the darkness limitless below. The light is identical with God, who is called 'the King of the Paradises of Light,' but the realm of light includes also an atmosphere and an earth which are co-eternal with the Godhead. Moreover, there are various other beings called gods,[3] who are subordinate to the King of the Paradises of Light. Out of the darkness arose Satan, the Primal Devil, who 'did not exist from all eternity, although the elements of which he is composed are eternal.' At first he wrought havoc in his own domain, and then invaded the kingdom of light.[4] 'When he saw the flashes of light, he conceived a hatred for them, shuddered, and rejoined his native elements.' He made a second attack, and the King of the Paradises of Light, in order to repel him, produced a being called the Primal Man, who went forth armed with a fivefold panoply—the breeze, the wind, the light, the water, and the fire. Satan, on the other hand, arrayed himself in the smoke, the consuming flame, the darkness, the scorching blast, and the cloud. After a long struggle Satan prevailed over the Primal Man. The heavenly powers then intervened and rescued the Primal Man, but the elements which formed his panoply became mingled with the elements of darkness. Out of this confused mass the heavenly powers fashioned the actual world which we inhabit. Not only all animal and vegetable organisms, but even objects which we regard as wholly inanimate, such as metals, contain portions of divine light. Hence the distinction which we are accustomed to make between natural and spiritual phenomena does not exist in Manichæism, since it represents all the processes of nature as part of a spiritual contest.[5] The visible universe is, in fact, a vast and complicated machine devised by God for the purpose of enabling the elements of light to effect their escape. When the light contained in the earth separates itself from the darkness, it ascends in the form of a pillar, called 'the pillar of glory,' first to the moon,[6] thence to the sun, and thence to the higher regions. This process continues until at length the final separation is brought about by a conflagration, which will last 1458 years. Thereafter the light will be secured for ever against the assaults of the darkness.

The most singular part of the Manichæan system is that which relates to the origin and history of mankind. Unfortunately, the statements of the *Fihrist* on this subject are fragmentary and full of obscurities, which the other sources do not enable us to explain in an altogether satisfactory manner. But it is clear at least that the first human beings, whom Mānī called Adam and Eve,[7] were represented as the offspring of devils, the object of the devils in producing them being to imprison, and so to keep in their own possession, a portion of the elements of light. The heavenly powers, in order to frustrate the purpose of the devils, sent Jesus (who is here regarded as a celestial being) to instruct Adam on the subject of 'the Paradises and the gods, Hell and the devils, the earth and the heaven, the sun and the moon,' and in particular to warn him against sensuality. As to the history of Adam and Eve many details are given, some of which have been borrowed from the OT, some perhaps from sources unknown to us, while some appear to be wholly fantastic.

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de Courteille, Paris, 1861–77, ii. 167; also Flügel, *Mani*, p. 141). Who Fādarūn was we are not told; it is therefore vain to inquire whether he really existed, and, if so, whether Mānī had any connexion with him. The assertion of Barhebræus that Mānī was at one time a Christian, and even 'a presbyter,' rests upon no evidence whatever.

[1] See T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden, 1879, p. 412.

[2] That king Shāpūr was ever converted to Manichæism, as al-Ya'qūbī states, is very improbable.

[3] The fullest list of Mānī's writings is to be found in the *Fihrist* (p. 336 ff.). Unfortunately many of the titles are doubtful, and even those which are certain seldom give us any clue as to the nature of the contents.

[4] See C. W. Mitchell, *op. cit.* i. 126 ff. of the Syr. text.

[5] That Mānī was executed under Bahrām I. seems tolerably certain, though one historian (Theodore bar-Khōnī) places the event in the reign of Shāpūr, another (al-Dīnawarī) in the reign of Hurmuz (*i.e.* Hormizd I., about A.D. 273), and a third (Eutychius) in the reign of Bahrām II., the son and successor of Bahrām I. For the sake of readers unacquainted with Arab. it may be worth while to point out that in Sachau's tr. of al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology*, p. 191, line 17, the word 'Hurmuz' is a slip of the pen; the Arab. text says merely 'and *he* killed,' referring to Bahrām. By a curious coincidence there is an exactly similar mistake in H. Zotenberg's tr. of the corresponding passage in the history of al-Tha'ālibī (Paris, 1900), p. 503: 'Sâboûr fit aussi mettre à mort. . . . Cette action gagna à Sâboûr. . .' Here again Bahrām is meant.

[6] *i.e.* the theory and the practice of religion.

[1] Alexander of Lycopolis (ed. Brinkmann, p. 5) observes that in the Manichæan system the term ὕλη is not used in the Platonic or the Aristotelian sense; accordingly Alexander defines the Manichæan ὕλη as 'motion without order' (ἡ ἄτακτος κίνησις).

[2] According to al-Shahrastānī, some Manichæans held that the mingling of the darkness with the light had taken place 'blindly and by accident,' not as a result of volition. But this is obviously a later philosophical speculation.

[3] The nature of these gods is not clearly defined; they are regarded as the offspring of the Supreme God.

[4] It is instructive to compare this narrative with the parallel passage in Titus of Bostra, bk. i. § 17. For 'the Primal Devil' Titus substitutes ἡ ὕλη.

[5] Thus, for instance, the rain is explained as due to the perspiration of devils (Titus of Bostra, bk. i. § 17).

[6] The moon, as it waxes and wanes, is compared to a bucket which alternately fills and empties itself (*ib.*).

[7] It is to be observed that Adam, 'the first man' (in Arabic *al-insān al-awwal*), is wholly distinct from 'the Primal Man' (*al-insān al-qadīm*).

As we learn from the passage of the *Shāpūraqān* quoted above, Mānī held that a series of divine revelations had been promulgated in the world by Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, and finally Mānī himself.[1] Al-Bīrūnī adds that Mānī, in another of his books, claimed to be 'the Paraclete (*al-Fāraqlīṭ*) announced by Christ,' and this we learn from other sources also, both Christian[2] and Muhammadan. As the Muhammadan authorities use the Greek word, it may be assumed that it was used by the Manichæans themselves, but we are not to conclude that Mānī knew Greek, still less that he had read the NT in the original. The term Paraclete was in common use among Aramaic-speaking Christians, from whom Mānī doubtless borrowed it. Precisely what meaning he attached to it is a question not easy to answer. From the statements in the *Fihrist* as to his parentage and birth we may infer with certainty that, though he laid claim to a divine commission, he did not profess to be more than a human being in the ordinary acceptation of the term.[3] And it is to be observed that in the *Shāpūraqān* the earlier prophets, including Jesus, are placed on a level with Mānī. This would seem to imply that they also were regarded as mere men. It is, therefore, not a little surprising to find that Christian authors, such as Titus of Bostra[4] and Augustine, frequently represent Mānī as holding a Docetic theory with regard to Jesus, namely, that He was not born of a woman and that His body was a phantom.[5] And the difficulty of ascertaining what was really the Manichæan doctrine on this point is still further increased by the statement in the *Fihrist* that Mānī pronounced Jesus to be a devil (*shaiṭān*).[6] The *Fihrist* informs us also (p. 336, line 10 ff.) that one of Mānī's works, *The Book of Secrets*, contained a chapter on 'the son of the widow, that is to say, according to Mānī, the crucified Messiah, whom the Jews crucified.' How the strange phrase 'the son of the widow' is to be explained, and how this passage is to be reconciled with that in which Jesus is said to have been called a devil, we have no means of determining. But, whatever the Manichæans may have believed as to the origin of the historical Jesus, the nature of His body, etc., it would certainly appear that they denied the fact of His crucifixion. Hence, according to Augustine,[1] they were in the habit of contrasting the unreal sufferings of Christ with the real sufferings of Mānī, which they solemnly commemorated by an annual ceremony known as the Βῆμα. That the Muhammadan writers say very little on this Christological question may be due to the fact that here their own views happened to resemble those of the Manichæans.[2]

The teaching of Mānī as to the duties and ultimate destiny of individuals was in accordance with his theory of the universe as a whole. Since the visible world has as its aim the separation of the light from the darkness, practical religion must consist mainly in the furthering of this process. The divine element in man must be freed from its fetters in order that it may return to its heavenly source. With regard to this part of the Manichæan system much misconception has prevailed in the West, from the time of Augustine to the present day. The divine element in man is not to be identified absolutely with the soul, though the Manichæans sometimes used language which admitted of such an interpretation. Yet, if we examine the evidence carefully, it becomes clear that, when they spoke of the soul as divine, they meant only that it contained something divine; and even this was not asserted with respect to the soul of every individual.[3] Another misapprehension, due chiefly to Augustine's treatise *De Duabus Animabus*, is that man was represented as having two souls, one good and the other evil.[4] In reality the passages which are cited as proofs of this theory affirm only the existence of two opposite *tendencies* in man. And, just as the soul is not wholly good, so the body is not wholly evil; for, according to the *Fihrist* (p. 335, line 16 ff.), the Manichæans held that after the death of the righteous man the 'powers' contained in his body, namely, the water, the fire, and the breeze, have to be extracted by 'the sun, the moon, and the shining gods,' and then 'the *rest* of his body which is altogether darkness is cast into hell.'

But, although it was the duty of all Manichæans to take part in the liberation of the light from the darkness, their share in the great work naturally varied according to their several capacities. First of all, a broad distinction was made between the ordinary Manichæans, who were known as 'the Hearers' or 'the Combatants,' and the inner circle of teachers or ascetics, whom Western writers call 'the Elect' (*οἱ Ἐκλεκτοί*, *Electi*) and Muhammadans *al-Ṣiddīqūn*.[5] The Elect again were subdivided into several grades and formed an elaborate hierarchy, at the head of which stood the representative of Mānī himself. But the position of the Elect differed essentially from that of the Christian clergy, inasmuch as the Elect exercised no sacerdotal functions properly so called. Whether Mānī instituted anything of the nature of a sacrament is doubtful; in any case, if there were Manichæan sacraments, they cannot have occupied an important place in the system, since the Oriental authorities make no mention of them, unless, indeed, we apply the term 'sacrament' to such practices as prayer and fasting.[1] Hence the main characteristic of the Elect was not that they had the exclusive right, or power, to perform certain acts, but rather that they possessed a fuller knowledge of religion and abstained from certain things which were lawful to the rest of the community. This duty of abstention was called by the Manichæans 'the three seals,'[2] which Augustine more definitely characterizes as *signaculum oris, signaculum manuum*, and *signaculum sinus*.[3] The first 'seal' imposed restrictions with respect to food and speech, the second with respect to outward acts, the third with respect to thoughts and desires. Thus the Manichæan asceticism implied no thought of expiation; the idea that self-inflicted suffering atones for sin—an idea which has exercised so disastrous an influence in some sections of the Christian Church—was quite foreign to the religion of Mānī. The prohibitions which he issued are based upon the belief that certain acts, such as the destruction of life and the intercourse of the sexes, are essentially Satanic, and therefore retard the liberation of the light. In matters of detail the Manichæan code naturally appears arbitrary to us; it is evident that in drawing the line between what is 'Satanic' and what is not Mānī was guided much more by his fancy and by various casual associations than by any abstract logical principle. Thus, for instance, all Manichæans were forbidden to kill animals, but it would seem that the Hearers were permitted to eat flesh. The Elect abstained from both flesh and wine; they were also forbidden to pluck fruit or vegetables, so that the food on which they subsisted had to be supplied by the Hearers. Similarly the Hearers were allowed to marry and to engage in worldly avocations, whereas the Elect might neither marry nor acquire property, 'except food for one day and clothing for one year.'[4] It is remarkable that among the things most strictly prohibited were idolatry and magic.[5] As in nearly all Oriental religions, fasting played an important part. Sunday was observed as a fast-day by ordinary Manichæans, Monday by the Elect; there were also monthly and annual fasts. Of the prayers, which were recited several times in the day, the following specimens are given by the author of the *Fihrist* (p. 333, line 15 ff.):

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[1] The list of prophets given by al-Shahrastānī (i. 192) is longer, viz. Adam, Seth, Noah, Abraham, Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ, Paul—'then shall come the seal [*i.e.* the last] of the prophets to the land of the Arabs.' Whether this sentence is simply a Muhammadan interpolation, or a distorted form of some passage referring to Mānī, is uncertain.

[2] Christian writers, from Eusebius onwards, sometimes wrongly interpret this to mean that Mānī identified himself with the Holy Ghost. It is scarcely necessary to recall the fact that even in the NT the term *παράκλητος* is applied not only to the Holy Ghost but also to Christ (1 Jn 2^1). The statement of Titus of Bostra (bk. iii. § 1), Augustine, and other Christian writers, that Mānī called himself an 'Apostle of Jesus,' has been confirmed by one of the recently discovered fragments (F. W. K. Müller, M. 17). This title does not necessarily imply more than that Mānī believed his own teaching to be substantially identical with that of Jesus.

[3] The fact that in one of the fragments published by F. W. K. Müller (M. 311) Mānī is addressed as 'Mānī, son of the gods' (*Mānī yazdān frazēnd*), does not prove anything to the contrary, since the phrase may be understood in a purely spiritual sense.

[4] Bk. iv. § 33 ff., p. 145 of the Syr. text.

[5] As Baur remarks (*Das manich. Religionssystem*, p. 235), the Christian Fathers tell us at great length what Mānī denied with respect to the person of Christ, but they say scarcely anything about his positive teaching on the subject.

[6] *Fihrist*, p. 335, line 8; see Flügel, *Mani*, note 284. A more explicit statement is to be found in the treatise *De Fide contra Manichæos*, ascribed to Euodius, a friend of Augustine: 'Sic enim in Epistola Fundamenti dicit: Inimicus quippe qui eundem Salvatorem iustorum patrem crucifixisse se speravit ipse est crucifixus, quo tempore aliud actum est, atque aliud ostensum. Princeps itaque tenebrarum affixus est cruci, idemque spineam coronam portavit cum suis sociis, et vestem coccineam habuit, acetum etiam et fel bibit, quod quidam Dominum potasse arbitrati sunt, atque omnia quæ hic sustinere visus est, tenebrarum ducibus irrogata sunt, qui clavis etiam et lancea vulnerati sunt' (ch. 28 [*PL* xlii. 1147]). The fragment on the Crucifixion published by F. W. K. Müller (M. 18) unfortunately leaves the question open.

[1] 'Cum sæpe a vobis quærerem illo tempore, quo vos audiebam, quæ causa esset, quod Pascha Domini plerumque nulla interdum a paucis tepidissima celebritate frequentaretur, nullis vigiliis, nullo prolixiore ieiunio indicto auditoribus, nullo denique festiviore apparatu; cum vestrum Bema, id est, diem quo Manichæus occisus est, quinque gradibus instructo tribunali et pretiosis linteis adornato ac in promptu posito et obiecto adorantibus, magnis honoribus prosequamini; hoc ergo cum quærerem, respondebatur eius diem passionis celebrandum esse, qui vere passus esset; Christum autem, qui natus non esset, neque veram sed simulatam carnem humanis oculis ostendisset, non pertulisse, sed finxisse passionem' (Augustine, *c. Epistolam Fundamenti*, viii.).

[2] It is well known that, according to the Qur'ān (iv. 156), Christ was never crucified; but, when His enemies sought to slay Him, He was removed from the earth and 'a likeness was made to appear to them.' This theory, it will be observed, does not imply any denial of the reality of Christ's body. That Muhammad borrowed the conception from the Manichæans is very improbable, but at all events there is a striking analogy.

[3] The souls of those who are finally lost seem to have been regarded as wholly evil. Thus we read in the *Fihrist* (p. 331, line 16 ff.) that Eve had two daughters, one of whom possessed an abundant measure of divine light and wisdom, whereas the other possessed none at all.

[4] See the very instructive discussion by Baur, p. 162 ff.

[5] This expression means in Arab. 'the veracious,' but, as Kessler has pointed out (*Mānī*, p. 318, note 4), it is here to be understood in the sense of its etymological equivalent in Syr..

'(1) Blessed is our Guide, the Paraclete, the Ambassador of Light, blessed are his guardian angels and adored are his shining hosts.

(2) Adored art thou, O shining one, Mānī our Guide, source of brightness, branch of life,[1] thou great tree which art wholly medicine.

(3) I prostrate myself and adore, with a pure heart and a truth-speaking tongue, the great God, the Father of Lights, the Essence of Lights, adored and blessed art Thou, all Thy majesty and Thy blessed worlds which Thou hast called;[2] he adoreth Thee who adoreth Thy hosts, Thy holy ones, Thy word, Thy majesty, and that which seemeth good to Thee, because Thou art the God who is all truth, life, and holiness.

(4) I adore and prostrate myself before all the gods, all the shining angels, all the lights, and all the hosts, who proceed from the great God.

(5) I prostrate myself and adore the great hosts and the shining gods who by their wisdom have pierced, expelled, and overcome the darkness.

(6) I prostrate myself and adore the Father of majesty, the Great, the Luminous. . . .'[3]

It will be noticed that these utterances contain not a single petition, no confession of sin, and no reference to the need of pardon. But we should not be justified in arguing that such conceptions were alien to the Manichæan system, for great stress seems to have been laid on repentance and the forgiveness of sin.[4] Since, however, the Manichæans did not admit the idea of a propitiatory sacrifice, their theory as to the forgiveness of sin necessarily differed from that which was accepted by the great majority of Christians. Precisely what Mānī himself taught on this subject we cannot hope to determine; but the view which appears to have been current among the Manichæans, at least as early as the 4th cent., was that repentance naturally leads to forgiveness, 'since man is not punished for sinning, but for failing to grieve over sin.'[5]

With respect to Mānī's doctrine of the future life we have somewhat fuller information. The division of mankind into three classes, the Elect, the Hearers, and the Wicked, is here specially emphasized. The Elect, immediately after death, ascend by means of 'the pillar of glory' to the moon, and thence are conveyed to paradise; the Hearers must pass through a long process of purification and of wandering to and fro, before they join the Elect; while the souls of the wicked roam about the world, in a condition of hopeless misery, until the final conflagration, and are then consigned for ever to the realm of darkness.[6]

4. The relation of Manichæism to other religions.—When we consider the complex nature of Mānī's teaching, it will not surprise us to find that very different opinions have been expressed as to its general character and its connexion with other religious systems. Until comparatively recent times it was the fashion to represent Manichæism, and Gnosticism generally, as a mere fantastic perversion of Christianity. When Zoroastrianism and Buddhism began to attract serious attention in Europe, the real or apparent resemblances between these religions and Manichæism naturally gave rise to the theory that Manichæism is a combination of Christian with Zoroastrian or

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viz. *Zaddīqē*, 'the righteous,' which we may assume to have been the form employed by the Manichæans themselves (see C. W. Mitchell, *op. cit.* i. 30: 'A Manichæan who is called a *Zaddīqā*,' p. 127 ff.: 'Those idle women of the party of Mānī, those whom they call *Zaddīqāthā*'). Neither Kessler nor any previous writer seems to have noticed that from the same Syr. word is derived *zandīq*, or *zindīq*, 'heretic,' a term which was applied especially to the disciples of Mānī by the Persians of the Sasanian period, and afterwards by Muhammadans. Various other interpretations of this word have been proposed, but none that is at all plausible. The substitution of *nd* for *dd* is a phonetic change for which there are many analogies. That a term which was originally used as a title of honour should afterwards have acquired an opprobrious sense is likewise quite natural; cf. the Germ. *Ketzer*, from καθαρός. The Persian terms for the 'Hearers' and the 'Elect' respectively are Niyōshāgān and Vižīdagān.

[1] According to Augustine (*c. Fortunatum*, i.), the Elect were supposed to celebrate a kind of Eucharist in their secret meetings. But, as Augustine himself admits that he knew nothing definite on the subject, we cannot attach much importance to his testimony.

[2] *Fihrist*, p. 333, line 5; Flügel, *Mānī*, note 217.

[3] *De Moribus Manichæorum*, ii. 10.

[4] Al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, p. 208.

[5] The prohibition of idolatry is the first of the ten commandments which, according to the *Fihrist* (p. 333, line 10 ff.), all Manichæans were required to observe.

[1] For *ḥayā*, 'bashfulness,' we should no doubt read *ḥayāt*, 'life,' as Nöldeke has suggested.

[2] That is, apparently, 'called into existence'—the Arab. verb *da'ā* seems here to be a rendering of the Aram. *qĕrā*, on the use of which see H. Pognon, *Inscriptions mandaïtes*, p. 185, note 1.

[3] Here follows a short clause which is unintelligible.

[4] See Baur, p. 262, and the *Khuastuanift*, ed. A. von Le Coq (*JRAS*, 1911).

[5] 'Non enim punitur quia peccavit sed quia de peccato non doluit' are the words of the Manichæan Secundinus, cited by Augustine (*c. Secundinum*).

[6] *Fihrist*, p. 335. In this passage we find nothing which distinctly confirms the statement of Augustine that the souls of the Hearers and of the Wicked were believed to pass into plants and animals (*c. Faustum*, bk. v. 10, *de Hær.* xlvi.). At the same time the idea of metempsychosis is not definitely excluded.

Buddhist elements, but whether Christianity, Zoroastrianism, or Buddhism formed the basis of the system was a disputed point. During the last twenty years the prevalent tendency to explain everything in the ancient world as due to Babylonian influence has led to the belief that Manichæism and all other forms of Gnosticism are simply modifications of the old Babylonian religion.

But to those who impartially examine the sources none of these hypotheses will appear satisfactory. Whatever elements Mānī may have borrowed from older Oriental religions, it is clear that the fundamental principles of his system are neither Zoroastrian, Buddhist, nor Babylonian. The relation in which Manichæism stood to Christianity was undoubtedly closer, but to call Manichæism a Christian heresy would be misleading. The characteristics which Manichæism and other Gnostic systems share with primitive Christianity are not necessarily derived from any Christian source; they are, for the most part, products of a general movement which, as mankind outgrew the older religions, spread over the civilized world and assumed various forms, according to the special circumstances of each case. The general movement in question has been well described by H. Oldenberg as a shifting of the centre of gravity, in religious matters, from without to within.

> 'The antique conception of religion, as a sort of offensive and defensive alliance between man and God, a mutual agreement whereby the worshipper secured for himself prosperity, success, and victory over his enemies, gradually faded away, or sometimes was violently shattered, and in its place there arose a new kind of belief, which held out the hope, not of earthly enjoyment, triumph, and dominion, but rather of rest, peace, and redemption' (*Buddha*^{3}, Berlin, 1897, p. 3).

In the time of Mānī the old heathenism was by no means extinct in Babylonia, though Zoroastrianism had become the religion of the State.[1] Moreover, large Jewish colonies had long been established in the country. Of the early history of the Christian Church in those regions next to nothing is known, but there can be no doubt that before the beginning of the 3rd cent. Christianity had taken root among the Aramaic-speaking population which occupied the Western provinces of the Parthian Empire. It is also tolerably certain that the Christians of Babylonia were divided into various parties, and that their beliefs sometimes diverged widely from the ordinary orthodox type.[2] In particular the sect founded by the Syrian Christian Bar-daiṣān (Bardesanes), who died in A.D. 222, seems to have had great influence. Ephraim Syrus goes so far as to call Bar-daiṣān 'the teacher of Mānī';[3] this is not meant to imply that Mānī was ever a Bardesanist, but merely that he adopted certain Bardesanist doctrines. In any case it is essential to realize that Manichæism arose in a country where several religions were competing with one another, and where, in consequence of this, various hybrid sects had been formed. Of such sects we have already had an example in the Mughtasila, the community to which Mānī's father attached himself.

The hostility of Mānī to popular paganism is sufficiently shown by his strict prohibition of idolatry. That he clearly distinguished between ordinary paganism and Zoroastrianism appears from his inclusion of Zoroaster among the messengers of God. He must, therefore, have regarded the Zoroastrianism of his own age as corrupt rather than as radically false; but how much he actually borrowed from it is a very difficult question. To suppose that Mānī's dualism was due mainly to Zoroastrian influence would be an unwarranted assumption; for, though both systems are rightly described as dualistic, they nevertheless differ profoundly. The aim of the Zoroastrian is to banish evil from the world; the aim of the Manichæan is to extract from the world that which is good. In this respect Manichæism has more in common with Buddhism than with Zoroastrianism; but from the fact that Mānī represented Buddha as the communicator of a divine revelation we must infer that Mānī's acquaintance with Buddhism was of a very vague kind. It is manifest, however, that in matters of detail he appropriated freely elements derived from very different quarters. Thus we can attach no great importance to his adoption of certain ancient Babylonian myths—*e.g.* such as relate to the nature and movements of the heavenly bodies.[1] In like manner he borrowed narratives, directly or indirectly, from the OT, although his general attitude towards Judaism was one of decided opposition. That he refused to recognize Moses as a prophet is abundantly proved;[2] hence in Christian writings directed against Manichæism the defence of the OT generally occupies a prominent place. It is probable that Mānī's aversion to Judaism was largely due to his horror of a practice which Judaism notoriously has in common with popular paganism, namely, the sacrificing of animals.[3]

Towards Christianity he was much more favourably disposed. Whence he derived his information on the subject is indeed uncertain, for, though it seems probable that the greater part of the NT had been translated into Syriac some time before Mānī was born, we cannot safely assume that he had access to it. Hence his peculiar teaching as to the person and history of Christ, to which allusion has been made above, may be due in some measure not to perversion of the gospel narrative on his own part, but to the beliefs of his Christian informants. In any case it is clear that some of the most essential features of primitive Christianity, in particular the ascetic view of the present world, were thoroughly congenial to Mānī. But he had one great advantage over the Christians, namely, that he provided a much more secure dogmatic basis for asceticism than any previous teacher. The Christian ascetics, in condemning natural feelings and appetites, were constantly hampered by their theory of God as the Creator of the universe in general and of man in particular; the distinction which they were obliged to make between human nature as such and human nature in its present corrupt state gave rise to endless difficulties. On the other hand, the Manichæan dogma that humanity is of Satanic origin, however shocking it may be to modern sentiment, greatly simplified the problem. In this, as in some other points, Mānī displayed a boldness and originality of conception which entitle him to be regarded as a genius of the first order. To represent his system as a mere patchwork of older beliefs is therefore a total perversion of the facts.

5. **History of the Manichæan community.**—At the time of their founder's death the Manichæans were already a numerous and highly organized

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[1] The theory that Zoroastrianism did not become the State religion till after the overthrow of the Parthian dynasty (about A.D. 224) rests on no trustworthy evidence.

[2] F. C. Burkitt's *Early Eastern Christianity* (London, 1904) relates chiefly to the Christianity of Edessa and its immediate neighbourhood; but much of what he says probably applies also to Babylonia.

[3] C. W. Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 8.

[1] Astrological myths and speculations played a considerable part in some other Gnostic systems, notably in that of Bar-daiṣān.

[2] See, for instance, the beginning of the account of Manichæism in al-Shahrastānī (i. 188). The statement in the *Fihrist* (p. 335, line 5 ff.), that Mānī rejected the prophets generally, is an exaggeration based mainly on his treatment of Moses.

[3] In this respect, of course, Mānī did not differ from some of the early Christians. Thus the *Epistle to Diognetus*, which is usually regarded as a product of orthodox Christianity, speaks of animal sacrifices in terms of unqualified condemnation, and even in Rabbinical literature a tendency to disparage sacrifice occasionally shows itself.

sect, scattered over a great part of the Persian Empire and drawn from the ranks of various older religions. Some of them belonged to the Persian aristocracy; hence the bitterness with which the Zoroastrian priesthood opposed the new faith. Mānī's immediate successor, as head of the community, was a certain Sīs (Gr. Σισίννιος). For many centuries Babylonia continued to be the headquarters of the Manichæan organization, in spite of repeated persecutions on the part of the Persian government. Now and then there was a king sufficiently powerful and intelligent to restrain the intolerance of the priests, but as a rule the Manichæans were treated even worse than the Christians.[1] For this no political pretext could be alleged, since the Manichæans were politically inoffensive, whereas the Christians not infrequently brought persecution upon themselves by an ostentatious display of their philo-Byzantine sentiments. The principal result of these attempts to suppress Manichæism in Babylonia and Persia was that large numbers of Manichæans took refuge in Central Asia, where they carried on a successful propaganda among the Turkish tribes.

The precise date at which Manichæism began to spread in the Roman Empire is not certain, but it was undoubtedly well known there early in the 4th century. With respect to its prevalence in N. Africa, two or three generations later, Augustine furnishes ample evidence. The Christian emperors, as we might have expected, showed themselves no less intolerant towards Manichæism than the kings of Persia. In the persecution of the Manichæans Pope Leo I. played a specially prominent part. As to the later history of the Manichæans in Europe very little can be discovered with certainty, on account of the vagueness with which the term 'Manichæan' is used by Catholic writers. Thus the charge of Manichæism was brought against the Bogomils in the Byzantine Empire and the Albigenses (*q.v.*) in Provence, but how little these accusations prove may be gathered from the fact that even at the present day the religion of the Russian Molokanye has been described as a modified form of Manichæism.

On the overthrow of the Persian Empire by the Muhammadan Arabs, about the middle of the 7th cent., the followers of Mānī in the East enjoyed a period of comparative repose. Strictly speaking, they had no legal claim to toleration, for the Qur'ān, which expressly recognizes Jews, Christians, and Sabians[2] as capable of deserving the favour of God (ii. 59, v. 73), does not mention Manichæism. Nevertheless, it would appear that in the early days of the Muhammadan Empire no penalties were inflicted upon the Manichæans. The extreme simplicity of their cult, and in particular their abhorrence of idolatry, may for a while have served to protect them from molestation under Muhammadan rule. At length it began to be rumoured that some Muhammadans in high positions had secretly adopted Manichæism. In many cases these reports were certainly false; thus, for instance, the Khalīfa al-Walīd II. (A.D. 743–744), whom Muhammadan historians depict as a monster of impiety, is accused of having said that Mānī was the only prophet whom God ever sent into the world.[1] If al-Walīd really uttered these words, they would prove not that he was a Manichæan, but that he knew next to nothing of Manichæism. It is, however, impossible to deny that secret conversions to Manichæism actually took place among the literary classes. Apostasy from Islām is notoriously a capital offence according to Muhammadan law (see art. APOSTASY [Muhammadan]). Hence we cannot wonder that in the latter half of the 8th cent., when under the 'Abbāsid dynasty the spirit of religious intolerance became dominant in the Muhammadan world, a systematic attempt should have been made to extirpate Manichæism.[2] The organizer of this persecution was the Khalīfa al-Mahdī (A.D. 775–785), who instituted for the purpose a State Inquisitor, with the title of 'Inspector of the Zanādiqa.' The term *zanādiqa* (plural of *zindīq*)[3] was used primarily to denote the Manichæans, though Muhammadan writers often employ it vaguely in the sense of 'heretics' or 'atheists.'[4] That al-Mahdī did not make a very clear distinction between Manichæism and some other heresies may be inferred from a passage in which he is represented as elaborately justifying his policy of persecution;[5] the accusations here brought against the Manichæans include, *e.g.*, the practice of marriage with near relatives (*nikāḥ al-akhawāt wa-l-banāt*), which was characteristic of the Zoroastrians (see art. MARRIAGE [Iranian]), but seems to have been altogether foreign to Manichæism.

The religious policy of al-Mahdī was generally followed by his successors. The number of persons put to death on the charge of Manichæism certainly amounted to many thousands, while Christians and Jews, though subject to various disabilities, were usually tolerated. But, in spite of all, the religion of Mānī long survived even in the heart of the Muhammadan Empire. Some two centuries after al-Mahdī, the author of the *Fihrist* tells us (p. 337, line 26 ff.) that he had been acquainted with about 300 Manichæans in Baghdād alone. But the region in which they were most numerous was Central Asia. In the territory of the Turkish tribe Taghazghaz the majority of the population professed Manichæism; a Muhammadan traveller who visited that country describes it as flourishing and civilized.[6] When, in the reign of the Khalīfa al-Muqtadir (A.D. 908–932), the Muhammadan governor of Samarqand condemned to death a large number of Manichæans, they were saved, it is said, by the intervention of their co-religionist, the prince of the Taghazghaz.[7] This is the only known case in which Manichæism became the religion of a political community. We do not know how long this state of things continued, or when Manichæism finally died out; but we may conjecture that it was swept away, like many other beliefs and institutions, by the great Mongol invasion of the 13th century.

That the Manichæan community in the course

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[1] The Persian officials, in dealing with persons suspected of Manichæism, sometimes adopted the curious method of requiring the accused to 'kill ants,' just as Christians, in the Roman Empire, were required to throw incense upon a heathen altar (see E. Rödiger, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*², Halle, 1868, p. 94).

[2] The Sabians (a name which, of course, has no connexion with that of the ancient Sabæans) seem to have been a sect, or possibly a group of sects, who existed in Arabia at the time of Muhammad. The disciples of Muhammad were at first called Sabians by the heathen Arabs, and in later ages the title of Sabians was falsely assumed by several religious communities, as a means of protection—*e.g.*, by the pagans of Ḥarrān, in Mesopotamia, and by the Manichæans of Samarqand, as we learn from al-Bīrūnī.

[1] *Kitāb-al-Aghānī*, vi. 135, last line.

[2] See the very interesting paper by I. Goldziher, 'Ṣâliḥ ibn 'Abd-al-Ḳuddûs und das Zindîḳthum während der Regierung des Chalifen al-Mahdî,' in *Trans. of the Ninth Intern. Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1893, ii. 104 ff. Goldziher is of opinion that the Manichæan propaganda under the early 'Abbāsids was somehow connected with the anti-Arabian movement of the Persian nationalists (the so-called *Shu'ūbīya*). Whether there is any truth in this view may be doubted, for Manichæism had nothing to do with nationality. At the same time it is not surprising that Muhammadans should often have confounded these wholly distinct tendencies.

[3] See p. 398ᵇ, note 5.

[4] Thus from the statement in Ibn Qutaiba, *Kitāb-al-Ma'ārif* (ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1850, p. 299), it is very unsafe to conclude, with G. Jacob (*Altarabisches Beduinenleben*², Berlin, 1897, p. 107), that there were Manichæans at Mecca in the time of Muhammad.

[5] Al-Ṭabarī, iii. 588.

[6] See Yāqūt's *Geographical Dictionary*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1866–73, i. 840.

[7] *Fihrist*, p. 337; Flügel, *Mani*, p. 106.

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of its long history was not altogether free from internal dissensions might have been safely assumed. But the positive information which we possess on this subject is very scanty. We learn from the *Fihrist* (p. 334, line 4 ff.) that at a date which is not specified, but in any case some time before the end of the 7th cent., a party among the Manichæans severed their connexion with the central authority established in Babylonia and set up an independent organization; whether this schism was due to dogmatic differences or to other causes it is impossible to say. A second division took place about the beginning of the 8th cent., when a branch-sect was formed and became known as the Miqlāṣīya, after the name of their leader Miqlāṣ. The majority of the Manichæans, who remained faithful to the head of the community, a certain Mihr, were thenceforth called the Mihrīya. The points in dispute between these parties seem to have been matters of discipline rather than of religious belief.

LITERATURE.—In modern times, the first serious attempt to investigate the subject was made by the French Protestant theologian I. de Beausobre in his colossal work, *Histoire critique de Manichée et du manichéisme*, Amsterdam, 1734–1739; in dealing with the sources he shows considerable acumen, but his book is ill-arranged and contains many irrelevant digressions. An admirable summary and examination of the evidence, so far as it was then available, will be found in the treatise of F. C. Baur, *Das manichäische Religionssystem nach den Quellen neu untersucht, und entwickelt*, Tübingen, 1831. Perhaps the best general account is F. Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871–78, ii. 195–232. The works of K. Kessler—*Mani, Forschungen über die manichäische Religion*, i., Berlin, 1889, art. 'Mani, Manichäer,' in *PRE*^{2} and *PRE*^{3}—supply much valuable information, but they should be used with extreme caution; the author's speculations are often fantastic and his linguistic knowledge is very superficial. A. Harnack, art. 'Manichaeism,' in *EBr*^{9} (revised by F. C. Conybeare in *EBr*^{11}), is largely based upon Kessler. The same may be said of the work of E. Rochat, *Essai sur Mani et sa doctrine*, Geneva, 1897. Very important contributions to the study of the subject are contained in a series of monographs by F. Cumont and A. Kugener, entitled *Recherches sur le Manichéisme*, Brussels, 1908–1912.

A. A. BEVAN.

MANIPURIS.—Officially the Manipuris are Vaiṣṇavite Hindus. They cremate the dead, they receive the *mantra* from a recognized Hindu *guru* in many but not in all cases, they recognize Hindu festivals (but observe them a day late), they revere the cow, they are scrupulous in the matter of food, but, on the other hand, they do not practise child-marriage, they do not seclude their women, they permit divorce, they permit the remarriage of widows, they do not allow the supremacy of the Brāhman, and none of the ordinary definitions of caste applies to their social order. Knowledge of the Vaiṣṇavite doctrines is spreading with the spread of education, but they are still the most backward of all Hindu groups in Assam. With them Hinduism, adopted as the State religion by royal edict (*c.* A.D. 1705), is of social and political value in that it separates them from the ruder tribes inhabiting the hills and from the subordinate peoples of the valley. It provides the rites and ceremonies of everyday life. It is, so far as externals are concerned, the religion of the Meitheis. It exists side by side with the earlier faith to which in the hour of trial and trouble, be they Rāja or ryot, they turn unhesitatingly. The continued existence of this earlier faith in such vigour is a notable fact which enables the student of religious development in India to study at close quarters the process by which in Hinduism animism is tempered by metaphysics, and magic transformed by philosophy.

The historical records of Manipur, *Ningthaurol*, are valid documents for at least five centuries. It is a settled State far removed from savagery. At the present time the population consists of two main divisions—the Meitheis and the Lois. The Meitheis consist of seven clans, each divided into numerous families, the principal clan being that known as the Ningthauja, or Royal, clan. The name Meithei now borne by all the clans is thought to have been the name of the Ningthauja clan before its hegemony was completely established. The Lois, or the conquered people, are not admitted into the Meithei confederacy, but are of similar stock to the Meitheis, and the Meitheis worship the gods of these Loi villages as much as the Lois themselves. The Meithei confederacy is an endogamous group in theory, although in practice the issue of mixed marriages is admitted. The principal order of divine beings is the *ūmang lai*. There were originally, as recent research has shown, nine *ūmang lai*, or forest gods, with whom were associated seven *lairemas*, or goddesses. There are now 364 such deities. The gods married with mortals, and their issue were promoted to divine rank. The deities have different names in different places, and there are cases where Rājas have been deified after death. The creator deity is identified both with the chief of the gods and with the snake ancestor of the royal family. Other gods are identified with the clan deities of clans still existing. Yet others are members of a special group, whose function is to guard certain areas and who are therefore known either as *maikeingākpa*, watchers over or guardians of direction, or *lamlai*, gods of definite areas. Here there is obviously a combination of ideas dating back to the time when definite areas were occupied by local groups each possessing a group deity. Then among the *ūmang lai* is the rain-god, and last is the god of the household (Sena-mehi), who is occasionally said to be the son of one of the seven goddesses. The function of the *maikeingākpa* deities was to keep sickness from entering the State. Each family has a special deity, male or female, who is obviously in origin a deified ancestor, but the worship of some at least of these group deities is not now confined to members of the group. The seven goddesses bear titles describing their functions. From each of them is sprung one of the clans composing the Meithei confederacy. The earth, water, grass, rice, iron, fish, gold and silver, salt, cotton, fire, and the winds are sprung from these goddesses, either directly or from their daughters. Each of these deities has a *laipham*, or god's place, specially sacred to him or her. Some reside on hill-tops, but for the convenience of their worshippers have abodes in more accessible spots. Such *laipham* abound, notably on the ridges and passes, and are marked by heaps of stones and leaves. In the sacred groves near the villages of their special worshippers are houses for the deities, and these groves are sanctuaries for bird and beast. The gods play the national game of polo, and a stick and ball are kept for their use. In some cases they are represented by images or material objects. They also reside in the chief official of the group, village, or family which forms their special clientele. The principal ceremony in the worship of the *ūmang lai* is called the *laiharaoba*, literally 'pleasing the god.' In every case the god has to be enticed from running water. The ceremony rouses him from a state of quiescence into activity, as is shown by his entering into some selected worshipper. The god benefits directly by the rite, which gives him strength so that he becomes thereby more potent to aid his worshippers. The process of enticing the deity varies somewhat according to the deity, and is accompanied by numerous subsidiary rites, mainly in order to avert all evil influence. Special precautions have to be taken—*e.g.*, clean fire must be manufactured by means of a bamboo and a cane in cross friction. Dancing is a necessary accompaniment of the rite, which often includes the use of foul abuse—a feature which gives the god great pleasure. While the ceremony is in progress, social and sexual tabus, immediately paralleled by the customs of the hill-tribes, are strictly enforced, thus indicating that the purpose of the rite is to restore the solidarity of social life and to produce in the worshippers a sense of religious exaltation. The social divisions, resting on age and other lines of social cleavage, function separately on these interesting occasions. The offerings are in some cases such as render the active participation of professing Hindus a matter of some difficulty, but the difficulty is surmounted by substituting a Loi, a member, *i.e.*, of the non-Hindu section of the community, for the Hindu believer for and by whom and on whose behalf the rite is performed. The Hindu may salve his conscience by merely sniffing the savour of the sacrifice, unmindful of the fate of the Pīr Alīs of Bengal, who fell from orthodoxy by mischance in that manner. In general, the tendency would seem to be to substitute offerings of fruit and flowers for animal flesh. Human sacrifice was undoubtedly practised, probably at no very distant date.

The priests of the ancient order are designated *maibas* and *maibis*, and are recruited by the admission of those who become possessed by the deity at one of the high religious festivals. Inasmuch as sickness and disease are attributed to spiritual beings, the *maiba* is also the doctor of the community, but here there are specialists, and the practical knowledge of the *maibas* is far from despicable. The wide-spread belief in possession as a token and source of abnormal power and religious authority is beyond a doubt at the root of much that is important in Hindu doctrine. There is no evidence forthcoming as yet from Manipur to show that the priesthood is hereditary or that the members of the order, like *bhakats* and *jogīs*, are regarded as *jīvanmukta* (*q.v.*), or that their funeral rites differ from those of ordinary people. On its practical side the religion ministers to the simple needs of an agricultural community dependent on the regularity, adequacy, and seasonability of the rainfall for their subsistence. There are rites to secure rain and rites to stop excessive rain. Not the least interesting of the numerous rites to secure good fortune for the State is the annual selection of the *chāhitāba*, the person who gives his name to the year. Various means of divination are employed for the purpose of securing for this office a person who shall bring the good luck that is dependent on his personality.

Beliefs in evil spirits, who accompany animals and fish, and are ever hurtful to mankind, in beautiful sirens who lure young men and make them insane, in vampires, in witchcraft, in the power of trees and of tree-spirits to cure as to cause sickness, and in the maleficent activity of the ghosts of those who die by violence or of women who die in childbirth are also notable features of their organized religious system. The rites which are performed for the purpose of protection and exorcism in these cases are full of interesting detail, but in general outline resemble the rites performed elsewhere on a similar level of culture for similar purposes.

LITERATURE.—W. McCulloch, 'Account of the Valley of Munnipore,' *Selections from the Records of the Government of India* (Foreign Department), xxviii., Calcutta, 1859; T. C. Hodson, *The Meitheis*, London, 1908; J. Shakespear, 'The Religion of Manipur,' in *FL* xxiv. [1913] 409 ff.

T. C. HODSON.

MANITU.—*Manitu*, a word originally applied by the Eastern Algonquins to a spirit, is properly *anit*, 'spirit,' with the sign *m*, meaning any spirit or genius in the shamanistic devil-cult of the Indians, and also any *genius loci* without the implication of evil. In consequence of the teaching of the missionaries, the conception of one Great Spirit became current among the Indians, and this was expressed by the word *kit* or *keht* prefixed to *anit*; thus Keht-anit, or Kitanit (Kittanit), to which was again added the syllable *wit*, meaning a mode of existence; hence Kittanitowit, 'the existence (known as) the Great Anito,' the paraphrase of God as taught by the missionaries. That the Indians themselves had evolved no such conception is abundantly manifested by the absence in any American language of a word capable of expressing the idea of God, the words used in John Eliot's Bible (Cambridge, Mass., 1663) and employed by the Penobscot Indians, Kiehtan and Keitanitom, being merely variants of this artificial compound. As such the conception was introduced in opposition to a spirit variously called Hobbomoco, the Evil Spirit, or Malsum, 'the Wolf.' Another form of the latter appears to have been evolved in antithesis to a contracted form of Keitanitom, namely, Tan'tum, as opposed to Squantum, the Devil ('angry god'). *Manitu* is, then, a general word for any sort of a dæmonium, good or bad, and it has reached a higher significance by purely artificial means.

Nevertheless, the missionaries did not invent the idea of a good spirit, or of an evil spirit, or of a spirit-creator. What they did was to seize upon ideas already current in another form, fuse them, and present to the Indians the fusion (really confusion) as the embodiment of one unitary conception. The Indians believed that a spirit might be a good or good-natured power, and that he might be an inimical power, and they also believed that a certain ancestral spirit had always been favourably disposed towards his children, but it was far from the thought of the Algonquins that there was an ever good and supreme Great Spirit, creator and benefactor, opposed to a Great Spirit of Evil. Wherever such ideas are found, they reflect the thought inherited from forefathers who had been under Christian influence. Thus the Mandans painted upon one side of the tent a figure representing the Good Spirit and on the other side a figure representing the Evil Spirit, that they might be under the protection of both these powerful spirits; but this is merely the degradation of teaching originally strange to them. They recognized certain spirits who aided and certain spirits who opposed them, but not as in any case Great Spirits. They believed rather that the 'medicine-man' could control all spirits. Similarly, when the 'epic' of Kulóskap describes this god of the Passamaquoddies as the son of a divine unknown mother and antithetical to a twin evil spirit, as the principle of goodness opposed to a sort of Ahriman, it must be remembered that the Passamaquoddies have long been under higher religious guidance than that of their medicine-men. Even the 'vague faith in a Supreme Spirit' ascribed to them is derived from the same source. What is original is the conception of a superior being, who is father of the special tribe or race that revere him as leader and helper. In general it may be said that worship is not paid to any evil spirit as such, but also that worship is not paid to any good spirit as such.

The *manitu* is often confused with the *wakan* of western tribes. But the latter is often less a spirit than a power, like the *mana* (*q.v.*) of the Polynesians, which lies inherent in certain objects as well as in certain men. Its possession gives power, not, to the Indian's thought, a supernatural power, but a perfectly natural, although unusual, power. Between the two conceptions lies that of the ordinary *oke*, which at bottom is one with *wakan*, but is conceived as sometimes a spirit and sometimes a spiritual power. There is some corresponding word to be found in most of the languages of the American Indians, and every one of them connotes a power which may be called spiritual. Sometimes it is the purely shamanistic power contained in the medicine-bag, which is not really a medicine-bag at all, but a collection of objects of fetishistic nature, and sometimes it is a spirit, embodied or disembodied, such as the spirit of a waterfall, the spirit of thunder, the spirit of animals, etc. It is a mysterious force which may inhere in matter or may make itself felt as an expression of spirit. The powers of nature have it, generally winds, storms, productive earth, and animals all have it, though some in larger amount than others. Finally, men have it in certain cases. But there is no sharp distinction between this power and that found in spirits proper, where it becomes individualized. It is this very power that is the 'medicine' of the conjurer and nature-subduing priest. Whether it be called *manitu*, *oke* (*oki*), *wakan*, or even *ku* (in Maya form), it is always the same thing under a shifting terminology, except that among certain tribes it is more apt to be conceived as impersonal and among others as personal. *Manitu* is generally personal, *wakan* is generally impersonal, but the alternate use of either is not unusual. *Wakan* has been defined by Brinton (*Myths of the New World*, p. 45) as 'supernatural in its etymological sense,' in that it means in the forms current among the Iroquois and Dakotas, namely, *oke* and *wakan* respectively, something 'above,' and Brinton interprets this as *super* in the sense of supernatural. But it is more probable that the word means *super* in the sense of superior. These Iroquois and Dakota forms are etymologically allied, and a possible connexion with Sioux *oghee* may be admitted; but it would be unprofitable to attempt, with Brinton, to connect these terms with the above-mentioned *ku* of the Mayas. The 'Quaker' of the Powhatans is another form of the same word, the quaker gods being, however, not the higher but the lesser spirits. This word, like Tan'tum and Squantum above, is an adaptation from approximately corresponding Indian sounds (Quaker is *qui-oki*, 'small spirits') and contains the *oki* of the Iroquois and Algonquins, but it is not probable that it is one with the southern *huaca*, *ku*, etc. The Algonquin *oki* means a spirit of any sort—*e.g.*, the spirit of a body of water, or the spirit of winter—and expresses also the idea of a distinctly demoniac power ruling the winds, but not in a devilish manner; for, especially among the Hurons, the *oki* gives good fortune and regulates the winds for the benefit of the good Indian. It also implies a ghost, and in this respect differs from the conception of *anit* (*manitu*), though in other respects it is difficult to perceive any distinction between the *anit* (*manitu*) and the *oki*; perhaps, as appears from the geographical distribution of the two words, the *anit* was confined to the East, while the *oki* penetrated from the West to the Eastern tribes.

The *manitu* of greatest authority among the Algonquins was Michabo, and an analysis of this peculiar being shows that he was far from being a supreme spirit. Like many of the Indian spirits, he was a very superior animal, Michabo meaning 'great hare' (originally *manibozho*). This *manitu* was revered from the Northern line of the States to Virginia and from the East as far West as the Mississippi. He was represented as the originator of all the system of conjuring and exorcizing which makes the real science of the medicine-man; he ruled the winds and guarded his people, but was as often tricked and deceived as he in turn tricked and deceived; he was for the most part a humorous buffoon, whose exploits amused the Indians, as those of Brer Rabbit amuse the Negroes. On the other hand, he is referred to as 'the hare that made the moon,' and he is even said to have created the earth. But as creator he is not dignified, nor even serious. It is more natural to him to hunt, and, when autumn comes, to smoke his last pipe before turning in to sleep through the winter. It is the smoke of his last pipe that makes the haze in the air of autumn. That he originally came from the East, and, according to the earlier accounts, sends (not creates) the sun and moon out of the East, has led to the ingenious conjecture that Michabo has come from a confusion of *wabos*, 'hare,' with *wabi*, 'light' (Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 165). There is the greatest confusion in the form of the name now known as Michabo, which appears as Missibizi and Messou as well as Nanibozho and Manibozho, apparently because the name was sometimes rendered *michi* ('great') and sometimes *manitu* ('spirit'), with *wabos*, 'hare.' That is, Michabo was thought of as the 'spirit-hare' or as the 'great hare,' and this 'hare,' according to Brinton, is a later Indian mistake for 'light.' Although the words are alike, and *wabi* means 'white' (*wapa* means the eastern light), yet nothing is more apt to lead one astray than reliance upon such etymological chances. We are, then, far from agreeing with Brinton when he says that 'beyond a doubt this is the compound in the names Michabo and Manibozho which therefore means the Great Light, the Spirit of Light, the Dawn' (*ib.* p. 166). Much as Brinton has done for American studies, he wrote under the dawn-myth influence of his day and probably laid more stress upon etymology than upon ethnology. The truth is that the 'great hare' is the interpretation best justified in accordance with Indian belief and tradition. Michabo was a demoniac animal of kindly disposition and endowed with a great magician's knowledge and cunning, which, however, could not keep him out of ludicrous difficulties. He was not a god, still less a god of goodness, but, as has been said of similar Indian spirits, a spirit of good-nature. He is the son of the wind, one of four brothers born at a birth, but he took command of them. As they were born North, South, East, and West, it seems as if he represented one of the four winds. Yet the early missionaries declared that he *and* the four winds were the chief Algonquin gods. As expressed in the account of the year 1616, Michabo and the four winds were the only gods that the Algonquins had at that time. Further, it must be remembered that Michabo is sometimes portrayed (as among the New Jersey Indians) as a devil, while at others he is represented as the 'ancestor'—a term which has often led to the false conclusion that believers in an ancestor-spirit must necessarily believe in a creator-god. Other tribes also have ancestral or at least specially revered animals, such as the bear, deer, and wolf of the Mohigans. None of the Western or Southern American Indians had the conception of a Creator-God, but many of them derived their stock from certain animals. To this class of animal-gods Michabo, the greatest *manitu* of the East, appears to belong. The history of the brothers is told in various forms in various tribes, and has been interpreted as additional evidence that, when there is a good and a bad brother, we have a fundamental dualism, which, however, is unsubstantiated by any close analysis even of the tales as handed down. In the Iroquois version there are two brothers, the Beautiful Spirit and the Ugly Spirit or Good Mind and Bad Mind, as interpreted by the missionaries. But these are in reality the two brothers, 'White' and 'Dark,' Ioskeha and Tawiskara, who contend with one another till White Spirit conquers and rules from the East. Both are grandchildren of the moon, but Ioskeha becomes 'father of mankind'—an expression which means that he is the ancestor of the Iroquois. He destroyed the frog, which had made earth a desert by swallowing all the water, and he learned the wisdom of the tortoise which supports the world, namely, how to make fire. Ioskeha gave this knowledge to man. Yet here the brother is not represented as an animal; it is a simple conflict of white and dark, or light and darkness, a culture-myth which the Algonquins kept in animal-form, while the Iroquois preserved or invented it without basing the myth upon anything save the natural antithesis of light and darkness (cf. art. DUALISM [American]). It is this myth that caused the belief in American Indian dualism to receive wide acceptance, as it was thus originally interpreted by Brébeuf in 1626.

As the word *manitu* has been widely used by ethnologists, it has naturally lost somewhat its original signification and at the same time has gained a new connotation, so that it has come to mean special forms of spirit-power more or less unknown to the Algonquins. Thus it has come to denote the personal guardian-spirit of certain Western tribes which has occasionally arisen out of the personal guardian of an individual. The mythical ancestor of a village at a certain period in his life retires into solitude, and after fasting and prayer is rewarded with the vision of a certain animal, which then becomes his totem. This is adopted by his clan; and, when the clan becomes part of a larger tribal organization, it still remains as the guardian of the clan, though with a marked tendency to become simply a totem-crest. The tutelary guardian-*manitu* thus becomes a mere symbol. Sometimes such crests become merely the property of certain families. The ancestors who received the totem-*manitu* received with it the powers or privileges still retained by the *protégés* of the spirits, who continue to appear to the young men of the tribe, and the possession of these secrets forms the basis for the secret societies widely spread among the Indians of the North-West. This is the 'individual totem' acquired by every youth at puberty, which, when the organization of the clan is in a decayed state, is no longer identical with that of the ancestor and is no longer inherited. The youth at this period wanders from his father's lodge and in a secluded spot fasts and cries to the spirits, inviting any one of them to become his spiritual patron (cf. art. COMMUNION WITH DEITY [American]). During this period, when he falls asleep, the first animal, bird, or reptile of which he dreams he considers to be the one designated by the Great Spirit of the tribe for his mysterious protector during life. He then returns home, kills such an animal as he has seen in his dream, and preserves its skin in his mystery-bag ('medicine-bag'). It is possible that the individual *manitu*, though in some cases a later development than the clan-totem, is in other cases, notably among the Eastern tribes, of independent origin and as antique as the totem-*manitu*. Even among the Eastern Algonquins the acquisition of a special *manitu*-spirit in animal form by the youth who fasts is not unknown.

LITERATURE.—G. Catlin, *The North American Indians*^{3}, London, 1842; D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, New York, 1868, *The American Race*, do. 1891; A. H. Keane, *Man, Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1899; *Relation de la nouvelle France pour l'an 1637* (and subsequent years); H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, New York, 1908. The earliest source of information is contained in the *Relations* of the early missionaries. Brinton and Webster (*opp. citt.*) give full bibliographies. The *Annual Reports* of the Bureau of American Ethnology should be consulted for modern conditions.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

MAÑJUŚRĪ.—Like the majority of Buddhist 'gods,' Mañjuśrī is represented under various aspects: (1) in the Great Vehicle, or Mahāyāna (*q.v.*), properly so called, he is a *bodhisattva*, an entirely Buddhist personage in definition if not in origin (his origin is obscure; cf. AVALOKITEŚVARA); (2) in the 'Tāntric Vehicle,' which is of very early date and is not always distinguished from the Great Vehicle proper, Mañjuśrī becomes one of the names, and often the principal 'exponent,' of the Supreme Being; (3) the cult of Mañjuśrī, originating in India, took a peculiar development in China: it probably spread from China into Nepāl, where Mañjuśrī is the mythical giver of civilization.

1. As bodhisattva.—The most ancient of his numerous names is perhaps Mañjughoṣa, 'pleasant voice.' His usual epithet is *kumāra*, or *kumārabhūta*, 'young man,' 'royal prince';[1] this title, whatever its origin, means technically a *bodhisattva* at the stage when, having received consecration (*abhiṣeka*) as a prince, he is associated with the power of a Buddha and becomes his right arm (see BODHISATTVA, vol. ii. p. 748^a). He is named in the first rank of *bodhisattvas*, before Avalokiteśvara, at the beginning of the *Lotus of the True Law* (translated into Chinese A.D. 147–186), where he is represented (ch. xi.) as a great converter. The 'scholastic' *sūtras* and devotional works give him as a type of *bodhisattva*, relate his vow, attribute to him moral counsel for the conduct of true believers of the Great Vehicle, and celebrate his power.[2] Legend associates him with the revelation of the books of the *Prajñāpāramitā*.[3] Revealer of the *Prajñā*, god of the Word, he is the patron of the Great Vehicle, of the 'second dispensation,' and becomes the god of wisdom, a personage of high importance. According to Fa-Hian (see J. Legge, *Fā-Hien, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, Oxford, 1886, p. 46), the followers of the Mahāyāna worshipped the *Prajñā*, Mañjuśrī, and Avalokiteśvara. We have many images of Mañjuśrī; the most ancient, with two arms, are those which make his characteristic mark the *Prajñā* carried upon a lotus.

2. As Tāntric god.—It is in the Tāntric section of the Tibetan scriptures (*Rgyud*, *Kanjur* as well as *Tanjur*) that Mañjuśrī takes an extraordinary development.[4] Half a dozen *Tantras* (*Kanjur*) bear his name; among them is 'The List of the true Names of Mañjuśrī Jñāna-sattva.'[5] The last term, 'Essence-of-knowledge (?),'[6] is opposed to the name *bodhi-sattva*, and is more dignified. We find it again in one of the numerous magic rituals devoted by the *Tanjur* to Mañjuśrī: ‘spell (*sādhana*) of the Ādibuddha, the Essence-of-knowledge Mañjuśrī,’[1] which begins as follows:

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[1] On this expression see H. Kern, in *SBE* xxi. [1884] 4; cf. *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, ed. H. Kern and B. Nanjio, Petrograd, 1908 ff., p. 66: 'A certain Buddha will live twelve cosmic ages, not counting the time he is *kumāra*.'

[2] Various legends are told of his former human lives, but they are not so developed as the legends relating to Maitreya. See (1) E. Chavannes, 'Le Sūtra de la paroi occidentale de l'inscription de Kiu-yong Koan,' in *Mélanges Harlez*, Leyden, 1896, p. 75 (this *sūtra* is a *dhāraṇī*, sacred to Vairochana, 'the Brilliant,' the Buddha to whom Mañjuśrī is sometimes subordinated); (2) the *Mañjuśrīguṇakṣetravyūha* (translated into Chinese A.D. 300), where Mañjuśrī tells how he took his *bodhisattva* vow: 'I do not wish to become a Buddha quickly, because I wish to remain to the last in this world to save its beings'; 'In all my existences I wish to follow the example of Akṣobhya and be a monk' (*Śikṣāsamuchchaya*, Petrograd, 1902, p. 13); (3) the *Mañjuśrīvikrīḍita* (translated into Chinese in 313), a book patronized by the Mādhyamikas, giving the story of the conversion of a light woman by Mañjuśrī in the guise of a handsome young man; the only real sin of the *bodhisattva* is the sin of hatred (*Śikṣāsamuchchaya*, p. 149). All these works are scholastic, as is the *Bodhipakṣanirdeśa*, an account by Mañjuśrī of the 'wings' (*pakṣa*) of illumination. The devotion to Mañjuśrī, the virtue of his name, which protects against all female birth, and his glorification as the hero (*śūra*) are to be noted. Mañjuśrī is one of the saviours and patrons invoked in the 'Stanzas of Good Practice' (*Bhadracharyāgāthā*), one of the classical texts used every day by the Buddhists of the Great Vehicle (*Śikṣāsamuchchaya*, pp. 297, 365; *Bodhicharyāvatāra* [*Introd. à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas*, Paris, 1907, p. 8 f.]).

[3] Tāranātha, *Gesch. des Buddhismus*, tr. A. Schiefner, Petrograd, 1869, p. 58.

[4] See P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque nationale*, iii., Paris, 1810.

[5] *Nāmasaṁgiti*, ed. J. P. Minayeff, Petrograd, 1887.

[6] Probably this term has been invented on the model of *bodhisattva* for the purpose of implying something more sublime, and yet more mysterious, than the word *bodhisattva*. This heaping up of terms is characteristic.

> ‘Homage to the Buddha of the beginning, the middle, and the end, free from every stain of sin, a body immaculate by nature, primordial Buddha.’

Sādhanas (spells) are magical operations by means of which the worshipper brings a deity into his presence in order to identify himself with the deity—which is not difficult to accomplish, since every man is essentially nothing but deity, though particularized and stained. These operations include ‘diagrams’ (*maṇḍalas*), ‘geometrical figures formed of squares and circles, more or less ornamented, and inscribed within each other, upon which is ranged an endless succession of deities’ represented by magic syllables.[2] Mañjuśrī often occupies the centre of these *maṇḍalas*.

Tāntric gods have two aspects, a ‘right hand’ aspect and a ‘left hand’ (or erotic) aspect. Under the former Mañjuśrī is called ‘Lord of speech of the ontological Universe’ (Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara); under the latter he is ‘Diamond-Love,’ ‘Thunderbolt-Love’ (Vajrānaṅga).[3] His right-hand aspect is seen from the following:

> ‘Qu’on s’identifie à Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara, qui a le corps tout blanc, quatre faces, huit bras: les cinq Bouddhas [who represent the five kinds of knowledge of which Mañjuśrī is the synthesis] ornent sa couronne de joyaux . . . les deux mains (originelles) font le geste de l’enseignement; les trois autres de droite tiennent le glaive, la flèche, la hache; les trois autres de gauche, le livre de la Prajñā.’[4]

Here, Foucher goes on to say, the book, the four arms (the eight is simply a multiple), and especially the four faces, suggest representations of Brahmā. Grünwedel remarks that Mañjuśrī and Brahmā share the favours of a common *śakti* (divine energy, feminine aspect, of a god), Sarasvatī.[5]

It is noteworthy also that the *Nāmasaṁgīti* (viii. 19) gives Brahmā among the names of Mañjuśrī. As soon as the Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* became ‘gods,’ they inevitably became gods after Hindu fashion: Avalokita has more likeness to Śiva, and Mañjuśrī to Brahmā. Mañjuśrī always occupies an important, and often the chief, place in Buddhist polytheism.

3. As developed in China.—E. Huber was the first to observe that the canon of one of the Buddhist schools of the Little Vehicle, or Hīnayāṇa (*q.v.*), contained traditions foreign to India—*e.g.*, the legend of a town of Khotan—and he wondered, therefore, whether ‘this canon had not been considerably augmented and modified in Turkestan itself.’[6] It is now certain that ‘Serindia’[7] and, later, China itself collaborated in the development of Buddhism. The story of Mañjuśrī, who, according to the Chinese pilgrim,[8] now dwells in China, who is represented in the miniatures of the Nepālese MSS as a god worshipped in China,[9] and who, according to the Nepālese tradition, came from China to Nepāl, is interesting from this point of view.[10]

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently cited in the footnotes.

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[1] *Jñānasattvamañjuśrī-ādibuddha-sādhana* (*Rgyud-ḥgrel*, vol. 71) (according to a transcription by P. Cordier).

[2] A. Foucher, *Catalogue des peintures népâlaises et tibétaines de la collection B. H. Hodgson*, Paris, 1897, p. 24.

[3] On the word *vajra*, ‘diamond,’ ‘adamant,’ ‘thunderbolt,’ etc., see art. TĀNTRA.

[4] Foucher, *Étude sur l’iconographie bouddhique*, ii. (Paris, 1905) 47.

[5] *Ib.*; cf. also vol. i. (Paris, 1900) p. 114; A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 136; J. Burgess, *Arch. Survey of Western India*, London, 1876.

[6] *Études de littérature bouddhique*, viii., ‘La Destruction de Roruka’ (*Bull. de l’Ecole franç. de l’Extrême-Orient*, vi. [1906] 335).

[7] From the Pamir mountains to the Great Wall.

[8] I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, tr. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, p. 169.

[9] Foucher, *Étude sur l’iconographie*, ii. 42, 115.

[10] Cf. S. Lévi, *Le Népal*, Paris, 1905–08, i. 330–347. Of ancient sources see B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874, and E. Burnouf, *Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, Paris, 1852.

MAN OF SIN.—See ANTICHRIST, ESCHATOLOGY.

MANTRAS.—See CHARMS AND AMULETS (Indian), MAGIC (Iranian).

MANU.—See LAW (Hindu).

MAORIS.—See POLYNESIA.

MĀRA.—It seems that during the so-called late Vedic period, new gods, gods of a new style, were created. They wear, on the one hand, an aspect which is popular and mythological, and, on the other, one which is sacerdotal and esoteric; they are the expression of a pantheistic and pessimistic philosophy; but they, nevertheless, appeal to devotion and worship. Brahmā-brahman is the most eminent among them. Kāla, ‘Time,’ creator and destroyer, Kāma, ‘Desire,’ a cosmical entity, and many others may be embodied in the figures of the popular pantheon. Our Brāhmanic information on these gods is, as a rule, scanty, and, in many cases, we are largely indebted to Buddhist or epic sources.

This is the case with Māra, who is not unknown in the Atharvaveda, that aristocratic compendium of demonology; he is an important figure in Buddhism, and the Upaniṣads show the elaboration of the ideas which constitute his frame in Buddhism.

The Atharvaveda joins together Yama, the old Āryan king of the dead, Mṛtyu, Death, Agha Māra, the evil slayer or hateful murderer, Nirṛtha, the destroyer, and Śarva, the prototype of Śiva (VI xciii. 1). Elsewhere (XI. viii. 19) it mentions the ‘deities called Misfortune, or Ill, or Evil’ (*pāpmāno nāma devatāḥ*), and has deprecatory invocations (VI. xxvi. 1–2, cxiii. 2, XVII. i. 29) to Misfortune (*pāpman*). Māra, or Mṛtyu, is Death personified, the god who kills, and he has already acquired his Buddhist qualification *pāpman*, ‘the evil one’ (Pāli, *pāpiman*). With this dark figure may be identified Yama or Śarva, also a mythological god.

That is what we know of Māra from the oldest literature. He quickly acquired a metaphysical and moral significance. For the thinkers of the age of the Brāhmaṇas and of the Upaniṣads, who admit transmigration and are anxious to find the path to the other shore of transmigration, Māra, or Death, may be regarded as the sovereign of this subsolar universe: whoever obtains a passage beyond the sun reaches the realm of immortality. For the common people, the recurrence of birth and death is the rule; the sun is Death. The legend of Nachiketas in the *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad* is of importance for the history of Death: a young Brāhman descends to Hades, and, unmoved by all promises of transient pleasures, wrings from Yama, the god of death, the secret of that which lies beyond death and the means of liberation from death, this only means being the knowledge of Brahman which confers immortality. H. Oldenberg rightly compares this Nachiketas-Yama legend with the Buddha-Māra legend. Buddha also rejects the offers of Māra in order to obtain the *summum bonum*; but, whereas Yama is benevolent and himself reveals the liberating truth to Nachiketas with only the habitual jealous reluctance of a god, Māra is the evil one, the tempter.[1]

In the Buddhist scriptures all these premisses are fully developed. Māra actually assumes the rôle of the sovereign of the world, both of men and of gods; god of death, he is also the god of the living, who are only the food of death; he is the god of re-birth. Māra is Kāma, ‘Desire,’ since desire is the *raison d’être* of birth and death; and, because

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[1] Oldenberg, *Buddha*, tr. Hoey, p. 54.

Buddha is the deliverer from death and birth, Māra is the personal enemy of Buddha and Buddhism, the evil one, the tempter of Buddha and Buddha's disciples.

The dogmatic position of Māra is clear in all our texts: Māra embodies desire, the universal fetterer, the sensual life both here and in the other world.

In scholasticism three Māras—*devaputra māra*, the deity Māra, *maraṇamāra*, Māra as death, and *kleśamāra*, Māra as vices and passions—are distinguished. In ancient times these Māras were confused. Māra is not an allegory in the Pāli stories of temptations; he is a demon; he is spoken of as Namuchi, a Vedic demon killed by Indra.

It follows that mythological features are not wanting, even in the oldest tales of the Pāli canon. They are not, however, predominant. We are actually confronted with the temptation of Buddha by Māra's daughters; but these daughters are Desire, Unrest, Pleasure (Taṇhā, Arati, and Rati). It has been said that these stories—the intervention of Māra in order to make the future Buddha abandon his austerities (a common topic in the *Mahābhārata*: gods grow jealous of the power acquired by penitents, and dispatch fair damsels to trouble their meditation), or in order to make Buddha reach *nirvāṇa* prematurely—are only poetical descriptions of the *crises de conscience* of Sākyamuni. This view is by far too rationalistic. Such stories, it may be, were looked upon in this light by some philosophers or 'modernists,' but it is safer to admit that the Buddhists believed in a divine enemy of the eternal welfare of men, and embodied this enemy in the traditional god of death. Mythical and folk-lore accretions, as well as scholastic concoctions, naturally follow from such a belief. Monks and nuns, especially when living in the 'hermitages,' knew that Māra could appear to them under any form, and ensnare them into philosophical discussions.

The Sanskrit sources, late when compared with the Pāli ones, but not insignificant even for the restitution of the passages which they have in common with Pāli, indulge in much more dramatic and would-be poetical descriptions of Māra's attacks upon Sākyamuni. Some episodes are entirely unknown in the *Tipiṭaka*, viz. the battle for the *bodhi*-tree, the possession of which, for the compilers of the *Lalitavistara*, seems to be almost identified with the possession of the *bodhi*, the Enlightenment, itself.

It has been pointed out that even in the Pāli canon the Māra-stories show a gradual development, and that the inventions to be found in the more modern biographies of Sākyamuni, the *Lalitavistara* and the *Buddhacharita*, mark a further point in this development. There is truth in this statement—the multiplication of Māra's daughters and their counter-attacks, a large part of the *mise en scène* of the *Lalitavistara*, are not archaic—but the course of the development is not necessarily a chronological one. Less or more mythological versions may be productions of the same age in different circles.

It appears that the Māra folklore has been more luxuriant than can be judged from the Pāli canon. Some bits of popular folklore which have found their way into the authorized literature may be regarded as fragments of a larger cycle. It is only by a mere chance that we know that Māra roams everywhere, 'in the visible shape of murky smokiness,'[1] to catch the souls of the dying.

It is worth while mentioning that Māra, who is often associated with Brahmā ('the world of men and gods with Brahmā and Māra'), has no fixed abode, no heaven of his own, in the official cosmology of the Sarvāstivādins (see art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Buddhist]).

See art. TEMPTATION (Buddhist) for the comparison between the Buddhist stories of temptation and the Gospels.

LITERATURE.—E. Senart, *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, Paris, 1882; E. Windisch, *Māra and Buddha*, Leipzig, 1895; H. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, tr. W. Hoey, London, 1882, pp. 54, 84; H. Kern, *Histoire du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, Fr. tr., G. Huet, 2 vols., Paris, 1901, i. 52, 73, 180, 219; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique*, do. 1909, p. 227; R. C. Childers, *Dict. of the Pāli Language*, London, 1875, *s.v.* 'Māro.'

Original sources, Vedic, Pāli, and Sanskrit, have been studied by Senart and Windisch.

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MARCIONISM.—1. The founder.—According to the earliest and most reliable accounts, Marcion was a shipmaster (*nauclerus*, or *ναύτης*) of Pontus, and may have been a native of Sinope. The story[1] which makes him the son of a Christian bishop in that region, and declares that he was excommunicated by his father for corrupting a virgin, is, on the whole, improbable, and may have been based on a misunderstanding of some phrase about his corrupting the doctrinal purity of the Church. It is possible that he was born and bred a pagan, and was converted to Christianity about the time of his journey to Rome. But the fact that his system of doctrine is based entirely on the Jewish and Christian Scriptures makes it, on the whole, more probable that he spent his youth in a Christian atmosphere.

Marcion arrived in Rome in or near A.D. 140—'after the death of Hyginus,' according to Hippolytus (see Epiph. *Hær.* xlii.). Whether or not a recent convert, he at first became a zealous member of the Roman Church, to which, according to Tertullian (*de Præscr.* 30), he presented the sum of 200,000 sesterces. But before long trouble arose through his falling under the influence of the Syrian teacher Cerdo, who had a certain connexion with the Gnostics, and whose distinctive doctrine was that

> 'the God proclaimed by the law and the prophets was not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the former was known, but the latter unknown; while the one also was righteous, but the other benevolent' (Iren. *Hær.* I. xxvii. 1).

It is easy to see how Cerdo's teaching would lead Marcion into uncomfortable relations with the orthodox Church; and it is not surprising to learn that his gift of money was returned to him, and that he was placed outside the pale. This took place about the year 144, and from that date the Marcionite propaganda must have been active, since Justin Martyr tells us in his *First Apology* (*c.* 150) that Marcion

> 'by the help of devils has caused many of every nation to speak blasphemies, and to deny that God is the maker of this universe, and to assert that some other being greater than He has done greater works' (xxvi.).

Tertullian, who was writing his *adversus Marcionem* in 207 or 208, places the activity of Marcion in the reign of Antoninus Pius ('sub Pio impius'). Irenæus (*loc. cit.*) says that Cerdo came to Rome in the episcopate of Hyginus (*c.* 137–141), and that his successor Marcion flourished under Anicetus (154–166). In view of the different statements, we may conclude that Marcion became active as a teacher some years before 150, and that his activity ended before or about the time of the death of Anicetus. For Marcion's own death no date can be definitely assigned.

2. The doctrine.—The teaching of Marcion may be reviewed under five heads: (*a*) theology proper, or the doctrine of God, (*b*) Christology, (*c*) criticism and exegesis of the Scriptures, (*d*) the application of religion to practical life, and (*e*) the ritual of worship.

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[1] See C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1914, p. 21; *Saṃyutta*, i. 222, iii. 124.

[1] This account, which was unknown to Tertullian, may be traced through Epiphanius to Hippolytus. The Armenian version is thus given by Eznik (5th cent.): 'This Marcion was a native of Pontus, the son of a bishop. And having corrupted a virgin, he went into exile on account of his father's having expelled him from the Church. And going to Rome at that time to seek absolution (lit. penitence) and not obtaining it, he was irritated against the Faith' (*Against the Sects*, bk. iv.).

(*a*) *Theology.*—In theology Marcion's main assertion was that the just God of the law and of the OT generally was other than and inferior to the God revealed in Jesus Christ, the chief attribute of the latter being goodness or loving-kindness. The idea of a dual godhead seems to have come from the Gnostics through Cerdo, and this fact may be connected with the (otherwise doubtful) statement by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* VII. xvii. 107) that Marcion, 'being contemporary with' Basilides and Valentinus, 'companied with them as an elder with younger men.' At all events, Marcion's theology differed from the Gnostic in excluding any doctrine of æons, and, indeed, any element which could not be derived from his interpretation of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures.[1] His teaching was not in any sense pagan. His lost work named the *Antitheses* contained the proofs of his theology, which were attained by placing utterances by and concerning God in the OT side by side with opposed statements by Jesus and Paul about God in the NT.

He further differed from the Gnostics by abstaining from any attempt at a completed speculative system. The contrasts which he drew out were final, and he did not seek to harmonize them in a higher principle; for him the two ἀρχαὶ were and remained completely separate, in spite of the moral superiority of the God of the NT. The logical weakness of the position is well shown by Tertullian. On the one hand, the introduction of number or plurality was inconsistent with the essence of true godhead; and, on the other, the interposition of the good God—'the Stranger'—in a world which had been created by and belonged to another was an obvious stumbling-block.

(*b*) *Christology.* — The mode of self-revelation employed by the good God was, according to Marcion, that 'in the 15th year of the reign of Tiberius He (*i.e.* Jesus Christ) came down to the Galilæan city of Capernaum'—to which Tertullian adds the explanation, 'of course meaning from the heaven of the Creator, to which He had previously descended from His own' (*adv. Marc.* iv. 7). The relation of Christ to the good God His Father does not seem to have been otherwise defined than by the idea of sonship. Of the human experience and suffering of Christ Marcion took a wholly Docetic view. Rejecting the Gospel accounts of a human birth, he represented the supposed sudden appearance of Christ in the year 29 as an entirely new phenomenon, without any root in the past history either of the people or of the human race. And, while he regarded the life of Christ on earth and His crucifixion as the means of salvation for men, he nevertheless believed that our Lord suffered only in appearance. On the other hand, he did accept the historical facts narrated in those portions of the Third Gospel (see below) which he believed to be genuine, and shared the belief of his time in other elements of the Christian creed; thus he laid great stress on our Lord's descent into Hades and His preaching to the men of former generations who were there confined.

Again, as he believed in two Gods, he also recognized two Christs. According to him, the Messianic prophecies of the OT were true predictions, referring, however, not to Jesus Christ but to another Messiah who was to appear later as the messenger of the just God of the OT. But his exposition of the work of this Messiah does not seem to have proceeded beyond applying to him the language of OT prophecy.

(*c*) *Criticism and exegesis of the Scriptures.*—In his dealing with the Scriptures Marcion combined a high estimate of the objective truth of the OT as a historical document with a startling and audacious subjective criticism of the NT. His mode of handling each was largely dictated by the necessities of his position. Convinced of the fundamental discrepancy between the theologies of the OT and of that which he regarded as the genuine kernel of the NT, he naturally laid stress on every narrative, discourse, or even verse in the Jewish Scriptures which seemed to him to set forth the Jewish as opposed to the Christian view. His treatment of the OT has at least one great merit—he rejected allegorical explanations such as were current among the Gnostics; he took the history literally, and laid full stress on its distinctive characteristics. In the NT, on the other hand, while he similarly preferred the literal to the allegorical explanation, he proceeded ruthlessly in the way of cutting out such books or portions of books as did not fit in with his view of the facts, and in re-editing the text to any extent on subjective grounds. As the Third Gospel seemed on the whole to suit best the requirements of his theology, he adopted this, though in a mutilated and much altered state, as the only reliable portion of the historical writings contained in the NT. To him Paul was the only true apostle of the Master, and he believed that the Third Gospel—which he did not call Luke's—had been written under Paul's supervision and expressed Paul's view of the life of Christ. The other Evangelists[1] he regarded as handing on a false Judaic tradition which had grown up among the Twelve, and he therefore rejected their works *in toto*. In the rest of the NT he accepted only ten Pauline Epistles, rejecting the Acts, the Pastoral Epistles of Paul, and the rest of the NT writings so far as known to him. And in the ten Epistles he used considerable freedom in rejecting or altering passages which conflicted with his views. An understanding of his detailed treatment of the NT can be best obtained by reading the fourth and fifth books of Tertullian's *adv. Marcionem.*

(*d*) *The application of religion to practical life.*—It is easy to see that, however arbitrary and subjective was Marcion's attitude in relation to the Christian tradition and its literature, his main interest in the matter was not speculative or theoretical, but religious and practical. This is shown by the fact that he attempted no higher synthesis, but allowed what seemed to him the irreconcilable opposition between the Creator and the NT God to continue until the end of time. To him the means of salvation was faith in Jesus Christ and in His Father. This faith was to issue in an ascetic life which despised and rejected the works of the Creator, so far as the conditions of human life allowed. Thus the celibate alone were admitted to baptism. A further consequence of this attitude was that Marcion denied the resurrection of the body; the salvation through Christ was for the soul and spirit only. The moral earnestness of the Marcionite community was proved both by the zeal of its propaganda and by the large number of its martyrs.

(*e*) *The ritual of worship.*—The aim of Marcion was to found not a school, but a church. Accordingly, in points of ritual he for the most part followed the usage of the orthodox Church, but admitted catechumens to the same privileges in Church worship as baptized persons, and forbade the use of wine in the eucharistic service. Some of the peculiarities of usage in the Eastern branch of the Marcionite church may be gathered from the statements of Eznik (bk. iv.):

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[1] Marcion appears to have held the independent, though passive, existence of ὕλη, or matter. He certainly did not attribute to it the degree of activity which some of his followers did. In his view the Creator (*i.e.* the just God or God of the law) was the ruler of the whole material universe.

[1] There is no definite evidence as to whether Marcion knew the Fourth Gospel.

> 'He allows not one baptism only, but three after (successive) transgressions, and in place of catechumens who have died he urges others to be baptized. And he has the boldness to direct women to administer baptism—which no one from the other sects has taken upon himself to do—but not to administer a second or a third baptism, nor (does he venture) to admit women to be priests,' etc.

Marcion's followers seem to have elevated him (at least virtually) to the rank of bishop, and the constitution of the sect was probably episcopal, though on this point we have not much information.

3. Later developments.—Among the followers of Marcion some, like Potitus and Basilicus, followed their master in recognizing two principles or divine beings; but some, like Apelles, held only one ultimate principle, the God of the NT, while others accepted three independent principles—the Good, the Just, and the Evil. Of these different teachers Apelles is the most interesting. Starting from the Marcionite opposition between the Creator and the NT God, he seems to have regarded the former as 'an opposing spirit' who owed his existence to the supreme God. The material world, in the view of Apelles as of Marcion, was created by this 'opposing spirit,' and so Apelles also taught an ascetic view of life. On the other hand, he rejected Marcion's Docetism, and held that Christ really felt and suffered in His earthly experience, although He did not possess a truly human nature in the orthodox sense. But he maintained that in the Crucifixion lay the hope of man's salvation.

The doctrines of Marcion were for a time widely spread both in the West—Rome and Italy—and in the East—Arabia, Syria, Armenia, Cyprus, Egypt, and perhaps even Persia. After sharing in the persecutions inflicted on the Church, particularly under Diocletian, the Marcionites seem to have enjoyed a short period of toleration early in the 4th cent., to judge from an inscription of A.D. 318–319 discovered a few miles south of Damascus, which records the existence of a village community of Marcionites. But their worship was soon prohibited by Constantine. In the West they seem early to have succumbed to the more powerful propaganda of Manichæism (*q.v.*), but in the East they may be judged to have exerted a stronger and more enduring influence. We infer from the attention given to them in the controversial works of Ephraim, and from the careful account of their doctrines left us by Eznik, an Armenian writer of the 5th cent., that they counted for much in Eastern Christendom. So late as the 10th cent. they are mentioned in Arabic by the *Fihrist*.

As the best illustration of the nature of Eastern Marcionism, we subjoin a literal translation of Eznik's Armenian account:

> 'Marcion wrongly introduces a strange element (lit. strangeness) in opposition to the God of the Law, positing with him also Hyle, by way of essence, and three heavens. In the one (they say) dwells the Stranger, and in the second the God of the Law, and in the third his armies; and in the earth Hyle, and they call her the Power of the Earth.
>
> And he so orders the world and the creatures, as the law says. But he adds that in union with Hyle he made all that he made, and Hyle was as though a woman and a wedded wife. And after making the world, he went up together with his armies into heaven; and Hyle and her sons remained in the earth, and they each held authority—Hyle in the earth, and the God of the Law in heaven.
>
> And the God of the Law, seeing that the world is beautiful, thought to make in it a man. And going down to Hyle in the earth, he said, "Give me of thy clay, and from myself I give spirit, and let us make a man according to our likeness." On Hyle giving him of her earth, he moulded it and breathed into it a spirit, and Adam became a living soul, and therefore was called Adam because he was made from clay. And moulding him and his wife, and putting them in the garden (as the law says), they continued giving him commands, and rejoiced in him as in a common son.
>
> And (he says) the God of the Law, who was lord of the world, seeing that Adam is noble and worthy of ministration, pondered how he could steal him from Hyle and appropriate him to himself. Taking him aside, he said, "Adam, I am God, and there is no other, and beside me thou shalt have no other god. But if thou takest any other god beside me, know that thou shalt surely die." And when he said this to him and mentioned the name of death, Adam, struck with fear, began by degrees to separate himself from Hyle.
>
> And Hyle, coming to give him commands according to custom, saw that Adam was not obeying her, but was purposely holding aloof and not coming near her. Then Hyle, amazed in her mind, knew that the Lord of Creatures had deceived her. She said, "From the source of the fountain its water is befouled. How is this? Before Adam is increased with offspring, he has stolen him by the name of his godhead from me. Since he hates me, and has not kept with me the covenant, I will make many gods, and will fill with them the whole world, that he may enquire who is God and not find out."
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> And she made (they say) many idols and named them gods and filled the world with them. And the name of God, that of the Lord of Creatures, was lost among the names of the many gods, and was not found anywhere. And his offspring was led astray by them and was not serving him, for Hyle claimed them all for herself, and did not suffer one of them to serve him. Then (they say) the Lord of Creatures was enraged, because they forsook him and obeyed Hyle; and one after another, who were departing from their bodies, he was casting in anger into Hell. And Adam he cast into Hell because of the tree, and so went on casting all into Hell, up to twenty-nine generations.
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> And (they say) the good and strange God, who was sitting in the third heaven, seeing that so many peoples perished and were tortured between the two deceivers, the Lord of Creatures and Hyle, was grieved for those fallen into the fire and tortured. He sent his son to go and save them, and to take the likeness of a servant and assume the form of a man among the sons of the God of the Law. "Heal," he said, "their lepers, and raise their dead to life, and open the eyes of their blind, and do among them great cures without price; until the Lord of Creatures see thee, and be jealous, and crucify thee. And then when thou diest, thou shalt go down into Hades, and bring them from thence; for Hades is not wont to admit life within it. And therefore thou goest up on the cross, that thou mayest become like the dead, and Hades may open its mouth to admit thee, and thou mayest enter into the midst of it and empty it."
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> And when he crucified him (they say), he went down into Hades and emptied it. And taking the souls in the midst of it, he led them into the third heaven to his Father. And the Lord of Creatures, being enraged, in anger tore his garment and the veil of his temple, and darkened his sun and clothed his world in blackness, and sat in grievous mourning.
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> Then Jesus, going down a second time in the form of his godhead to the Lord of Creatures, was entering into judgment with him about his death. And the Lord of the World, seeing the godhead of Jesus, knew that there is another God besides himself. And Jesus said to him, "I have a suit with thee, and let none be judge between us but thine own law which thou didst write." And when they produced the law, Jesus said to him, "Didst not thou write in thy law that whoso killeth shall die; and whoso sheddeth the blood of a righteous man, they shall shed his blood?" And he said, "I so wrote." And Jesus said to him, "Now give thyself into my hands, that I may kill thee and shed thy blood, as thou didst kill me and shed my blood, for I am indeed juster than thou, and have wrought many benefits in thy creation." And he began to reckon up the benefits which he had wrought in his creation.
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> And when the Lord of Creatures saw that he had conquered him, and knew not what to say because out of his own law he was condemned, and was finding no answer because he deserved death in return for his death, then falling to prayer he was beseeching him, "Because I have sinned and killed thee in ignorance, because I knew not that thou art a God, but reckoned thee a man, it is given thee as satisfaction for that to carry off where thou wilt all those who shall be willing to believe in thee." Then Jesus leaving him laid hold of Paul and revealed to him the purchase and sent him to preach that "We are bought with a price, and every one who believes in Jesus has been sold by the Just to the Good."
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> This is the beginning of the heresy of Marcion, besides many other worthless things. And this all do not know, but a few of them. And they hand on the teaching to one another orally. The Stranger (they say) has bought us with a price from the Lord of Creatures; but how or with what the purchase has been made, that not all of them know.'

LITERATURE.—A full list of authorities is supplied by A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, Leipzig, 1893–1904, i. 191–200; and a shorter list by G. Krüger, in *PRE*^{3} xii. 266 f. The main ancient sources are Irenæus, Tertullian (esp. *adv. Marcionem* and *de Præscr. Hær.*), Clement of Alexandria, Origen, pseudo-Tertullian (*Carmen adv. Marcionem*), Adamantius, Ephraim, Epiphanius, Theodoret, and Eznik. An exhaustive account of Marcion's dealings with the NT will be found in T. Zahn, *Geschichte des NT Kanons*, Erlangen, 1888–92, i. 585–718.

N. MCLEAN.

MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.—

1. Early influences.—By birth and training, alike on his father's and his mother's side, Marcus, son of Annius Verus, belonged to the official aristocracy of Rome. From boyhood he was inured to the round of absorbing and ceremonious etiquettes which, under the régime of Hadrian, made up the official life of the capital. Through his uncle Antoninus, whom Hadrian appointed *Quatuor vir* for the administration of Italy, he was brought from childhood into personal touch with the Emperor himself, and the playful 'Verissimus' accorded to him by Hadrian re-appears even in the formal address of the Christian apologist.

Another influence, which he himself attributes to his mother's fostering care, sank deep into the fibre of his being. In the antique life of Rome, *religio*, dependence upon God, pervaded every turn and act; and from the simpler life of the home and farm the ancient pieties and rituals had never died away. Under Augustus the historic festivals and shrines, the ancient brotherhoods and colleges and gilds, of Salian priests, of Arval Brothers, of Vestal Virgins, and others were revived, and a profusion of new cults was introduced. Priesthoods became the dress of leadership and rank, and patriotism found articulate expression in the worship of the Emperor and in countless forms of mystery worship. To this religious complex Marcus was acclimatized from youth. At eight years old he was enrolled among the Salii, the most primitive of all the priestly colleges at Rome, and 'got all the forms and liturgies by heart.'[1] At sixteen, as *Præfectus feriarum Latinarum*, he solemnized the fête upon the Alban Mount; and besides the formal dignities of *Pont. Max.*, *XV vir Sacr. Fac.*, and *VII vir Epul.*, he wore the cowl of Master among the Arval Brotherhood. The prayer of the college is still extant which besought blessing for him and L. Verus in their conflict with the Marcomanni. At the outset of his great campaigns he purified the people with the solemn ritual of the *Lectisternium*; at Athens he was himself initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries; on the Danube he approved the casting of lions into the stream at the bidding of the Eastern magi. His Stoic monotheism lent itself to sympathy with cults of every kind, as witnesses to the divine power.

2. Life.—His boyhood was given to wholesome and studious disciplines. At Rome he fenced, played ball, and eschewed the mischievous excitements of the circus and the amphitheatre; at Lorium he rode, hunted, walked, and shared the glee of rural industries and festivals. The correspondence with Fronto, his master in rhetoric, shows rare docility of type. Boyish experiments in philosophy ended in complete conversion under the perusal of Ariston, the influence of Rusticus, and the charm of Epictetus.

His life falls into three sections: A.D. 121–138, boyhood, ending with his adoption in 138; 138–161, apprenticeship to rule, as Cæsar and lieutenant to his adoptive father, Antoninus; 161–180, Imperial rule, shared nominally in 161–169 with L. Verus, and from 177 with his son, Commodus.

Till 167, when the Danubian campaigns begin, the years are filled with unremitting administrative activities. The *Edictum perpetuum* of Salvius Julianus furnished the basis of the Pandects of Justinian; Gaius and Papinian immortalize the era, as master-builders among those who reared the great fabric of Roman law. Under the direction of Stoic principles the rigours of the *patria potestas*, the slave-owner, and the creditor were brought within control; protection was accorded to women, children, wards, minors, freedmen, slaves; educational and charitable endowments were multiplied; professorships were established at Universities; and medical service was organized for communities. Commerce, industries, and communications were liberally fostered by provision of roads, aqueducts, bridges, and havens, while in special crises, as of earthquake, fire, famine, or inundation, State aid was ungrudgingly extended. The collection and distribution of taxation were vigilantly supervised, and vast extension given to the forms and activities of local and municipal government. Wealth lavished its resources upon the provision of temples, baths, gardens, colonnades, and other embellishments of city life, while among all classes of the community gilds, colleges, and clubs, though kept under strict surveillance, multiplied to an almost incredible extent.

In his *dealings with the Christians*, Marcus followed the practice of his predecessors. First by Nero, then by the Flavian Emperors, especially Domitian, Christianity had been treated as a form of sacrilege (*ἀσέβεια, ἀθέοτης*) and treason, that lay outside the province or protection of law and entailed the penalty of death. Like rebellion or brigandage, it fell under the summary jurisdiction of the Emperor or his representative. Trajan, setting his face against professional or anonymous delation, and Hadrian, going still further in discouragement of malicious information or assault, did much to arrest active persecution; but Christianity continued to be a capital offence, and the forms of the Imperial cult furnished a standing test of complicity or disclaimer. Enforcement of the penalty rested with the Emperor's delegate, and was rarely exercised. But outbursts of personal hostility, of local prejudice, or of racial or religious jealousies might at any moment bring it into play. The progress of Imperial consolidation, and the rapid social developments of Christianity, both tended to enhance the seeming disaffection of Christians to Imperial unity. In Pliny the note of condescension and compassion softens contempt for the perverse superstition, which seemed to invite and almost compel persecution; in Marcus the accent of irritation becomes prominent; to him Christian defiance seemed like the melodramatic pose which induced Proteus Peregrinus, in the story of Lucian, to cast himself on the pyre as the finale of the Olympian festival. On the main merits of the case he shared, no doubt, the judgment of his compeers, the leading Hellenists of the time, and among them his own intimate associates. The persiflage of Lucian and the malignant disdain of Celsus do not stand alone; Fronto still credits the Christians with nameless crimes and immoralities; Ælius Aristides satirizes their mean and mischievous self-seeking; Galen quotes them as the type of impenetrable bigotry. The Emperor's political philosophy led him the same way. The Græco-Roman unity of Empire was the World-Cosmos finding realization in the communities of men; the highest and best hopes of the world were centring in that consummation of the civic bond about the person of the Emperor; and the self-willed isolation of the Christian was essential atheism, in its estrangement from the divine impulse immanent in man.

But, as a statesman, Marcus holds to the prescriptions of Imperial policy. The rescript, cited by Eusebius,[1] is plainly unauthentic, and belongs, if to any period, to that of Antoninus. Melito[2] himself discredits the persecuting edicts to which he refers, and bears witness to the clemency and philosophy of the Emperor in checking tumultuary acts of violence against the Christians. The decree, or rather rescript, uttered against 'demoralizing superstitions' may have been partly aimed at Christians; but the terms were general, and it was retained upon the statute-book under later Christian Emperors. Possibly under its terms Christians were sent to the mines of Sardinia, but in point of fact the penal provisions—deportation for those of higher rank, and death for humbler offenders—would mitigate, not enhance, the penalty to which all avowed Christians stood liable. In their social organization the Christians remained as free as other sects. In Rome itself Church-membership and jurisdiction, episcopal authority, and literary activity advanced apace. Apologists, such as Justin, Melito, Athenagoras, one after another addressed their pleas to the Emperor in person; Tatian and Hermas retort scorn and invective on their antagonists. Christians served in the Imperial households and, as the story of the Thundering Legion proves, were numerous among the legionaries.

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[1] *Capit.* 4.

[1] *HE* iv. 13.

[2] In Eus. *HE* iv. 26. 5 f.

None the less, illogical as was the situation, the profession of Christianity remained under the Imperial ban, and Christians as such were judicially liable to death. In two of the most famous instances when the penalty was enforced, responsibility devolves directly on the Emperor. The first concerns Justin, apologist and martyr, who with six associates was brought before the bar of Rusticus, prefect of the city, on the charge of 'atheism and sacrilege'; each in succession adhered to the Christian confession, and, on refusing to abjure or to offer sacrifice, was ordered to execution. Marcus was at the time resident in Rome, and, no doubt, endorsed the sentence passed by the Stoic prefect, his close friend and ex-preceptor. Still more famous is the persecution recorded in that masterpiece of Christian martyrologies, the letter of the Christians of Lyons and Vienne to the sister churches in Asia and Phrygia.[1] The outbreak, rooted in racial, even more than religious, antipathies, was fanned to fever heat by the frenzies of the amphitheatre, where the Christians were subjected by the mob to hideous and revolting tortures and indignities. When order was restored, and the martyrs, rescued from the fury of the mob, were remanded to prison, their sentence was referred to the Emperor himself, whose ruling was that, if they still persisted in recalcitrance, the law must take its course. The incident was fresh in his mind when he wrote down his reflexion on Christian perversity and bravado.[2] In Asia too, and in Africa, sporadic acts of persecution took place, and martyrdom was judicially inflicted, though for the most part Christians were screened under the Imperial ægis from outbreaks of popular fanaticism or dislike. Of systematized persecution there was none, and to the Church historians and apologists of the next generation the era of the Antonines was an age of peace and toleration.

Marcus's latter years were clouded with calamities, public and personal. In 166 Italy was desolated by plague, from which it never recovered; in its track came famine, earthquakes, and inundations of unusual severity; then the yet more terrific inroad of barbarians, streaming across the Alps, and knocking at the gates of Aquileia. From that date onwards the legions of the West were locked in a life-and-death struggle with Marcomanni, Quadi, Jazyges, and other trans-Danubian hordes, sustained and carried to a triumphant conclusion only by the dogged and intrepid leadership of Marcus himself.

3. The 'Thoughts.'—From these ordeals the *Thoughts* emerge. They are not the exposition of a system, but a criticism of life; reflexions confided 'To Himself' in the hours of loneliness and interstices of strain; a retrospect and record of experience; a manual of duty and endurance. In them a soul communes with itself, examines motives, probes illusions, corrects or re-affirms conclusions, emits the sigh of weariness or the ejaculation of disgust, but perpetually renews resolve, unalterably clinging to the noblest hypothesis with which it was familiar. Beginning in almost random reminiscence, composition gave relief from strain, and became a substitute for company, and a pleasure for its own sake; and for Marcus Stoic principles so interpenetrated the whole fabric of conduct and creed that these self-communings shed clearer light upon the actualities of Roman Stoicism than the homilies of Seneca or the *Memorabilia* of Epictetus.

(1) *Logic.*—In his theory of knowledge and sensation he adheres closely to the terms of Epictetus. The φαντασίαι are in part sense-impressions proper, derived from things, in part impressions of aims, qualities, or attributes, moral or æsthetic, belonging to things, and conveyed to the reason. It is for reason to sit in judgment on them, determine their true content and value, and firmly maintain its own prerogative. In the one passage in which he formally discusses the doctrine of assent (συγκατάθεσις, v. 10) he drops the Stoic claim to final certitude—τὰ πράγματα ἀκατάληπτα. But there remains a tenacity of moral assurance which suffices for conduct of life. Reason as part of the divine immanence attains a coherence, a consistency, and strength which give the indefeasible assurance of truth.

(2) *Theory of being.*—In Stoic monism matter, form, and force are an inseparable unity. The life-power, self-determined from within, is embodied in the various forms of phenomenal and spiritual being. The variety of being is explained physically by the doctrine of τόνος, that is, of 'tension within the life-producing force,' present in ever-varying grades in all forms of existence, material or spiritual. In the successive grades of inorganic, vegetable, animal, and human life each variation represents a different degree or kind of tension in the informing πνεῦμα, or life-power. Cohesion, life, and reason are resultant phases of embodied spirit, varying in the same way as inorganic substances are seen to vary under processes of rarefaction or condensation. Ἕξις, 'hold,' or 'cohesion,' is the characteristic property of being in its inorganic forms, φύσις, 'growth-power,' of vegetable life (vi. 14), ψυχή of 'soul' realized in the animal phase (ix. 9, x. 33), while the higher grade of 'reason'—λόγος, co-extensive, it will be noted, with the faculty of speech—appears only at the stage attained by man. The higher tension always includes the properties of the lower, so that the higher order shares the attributes of the lower, but with its own *differentia* superadded. Thus man shares with the inferior orders ἕξις, φύσις, and ψυχή, but 'reason' is all his own.

Each type finds its guarantee of individuality and perpetuity in the seminal or generative principle, the σπερματικὸς λόγος, which defines and reproduces the type. This survives immutably, until its final re-absorption into the 'seminal principle' of the universe, the primal reservoir of life (iv. 14, 21, vi. 24). That of the universe at large contains and is likewise immanent in the countless individualized σπερματικοὶ λόγοι, which determine, conserve, and reproduce life in all the several orders of being through their 'productive capacities of realization, change, and phenomenal succession' (iv. 14, ix. 1).

(3) *Soul.*—Man, the microcosm, within his individual range, is the counterpart of the macrocosm, in which he dwells, and with which he reciprocates currents of sensation (αἴσθησις,), impulse (ὁρμή), emotion (πάθη), and reason (διάνοια, νοῦς). All these are activities and reactions of the soul, the counterpart and product of that cosmic soul which permeates and moves the universe. Soul is self-moved, within the range of those seminal principles

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[1] Eus. *HE* v. 1.

[2] xi. 3.

from which it originated. As, in the individual, soul actualizes itself in physical energies, such as life, growth, sensation, and all bodily functions and appetites, in moral, such as impulse (ὁρμή), inclination (ὄρεξις), aversion (ἔκκλισις), will (προαίρεσις), or in intellectual, such as perception (φαντασίαι), judgment (ὑπόληψις, κατάληψις, πρόληψις), mind (νοῦς), or reason (διάνοια), so, too, the world-soul operates in energies no less diverse in operation, now as the natural forces that actuate all inorganic or organic life, *e.g.* heat, moisture, breath, contraction, expansion, or the like, now as the moral forces which we know as fate, destiny, necessity, the 'laws' of nature or of God, and now, again, as those purposive or reasoning powers which, as design, providence, Zeus, God, direct the plastic movement of the whole.

For Marcus these conclusions are the key which unlocks all problems of life and thought. No Stoic thinker applies this key more resolutely and consistently to the whole field of ethics, personal and social. Every action, every relation, is referred to the cosmic test; by it he construes all the accepted formulas of the school, and resolves their ambiguities.

(4) *Cosmic unity.*—Cosmic unity stands at the centre of his thought, the pole to which his moral compass continually turns. In its contemporary phase of microcosmic self-expression the unity of the cosmos was realized and reflected in that world-Empire of Rome whose vital activities centred in and radiated from Marcus himself. The Emperor was the indwelling god of the State, as earth was of the universe.

Unity is written large upon the face and in the heart of things. The idea that the world-order can result from chance, from the confused clash and welter of atoms, is impatiently dismissed. It would imply permanent confusion, moral and intellectual—a universe as unintelligible as intolerable. Beyond all possibility of mistake, materially and spiritually, the cosmos is a perfectly co-ordinated unity, 'one order made of all things, one God through all, one being, one law, one reason common to all things intelligent and live' (vii. 9), as is shown by the ramifying bond of ubiquitous design (συνάφεια εὔλογος, iv. 45) and that unfailing rapport between the constituent parts (συμπάθεια τῶν μερῶν, v. 26, ix. 9) which results from perfect interpenetration (κρᾶσις δι' ὅλων), and makes the whole inseparably one.

Design is everywhere apparent, in small and great—in all the processes of nature, in the adjustment of means to ends, in the social life of animals, in economy of materials, in the entire 'concatenation of the web.' Nature is a vast laboratory, in which there is no destruction and no waste, but processes of cyclic transmutation and repair. Divination, oracles, dreams, add their corroborative testimony to the providential plan that runs through all.

Without reserve Marcus embraces the Stoic explanation of reason immanent within the world, accounting for its unity, its order, and its constitution. The most general term employed for this pervading and directive reason is the unifying Logos, which the Stoic school derived from Heraclitus, 'the reason and the ordinance of the city and commonwealth most high' (ii. 16), the all-pervading, all-directing, all-perfecting principle and power which animates and operates in all that is. Less frequently it is called nature, or 'the nature of the whole' (vi. 9, x. 6, 7). But the preference is for terms which associate it with those analogies in human consciousness on which the whole conception is based. Marcus speaks not only of the world-mind and thought (νοῦς, διάνοια), world-soul and moral sense (ψυχή, ἡγεμονικόν), but also of world-impulse and world-sensation. The world, as a live whole and being (ἓν ζῷον, iv. 40, x. 1), throbs to one master purpose as truly as all the energies of man respond to the direction of the unitary sovereign self.

(5) *Unity of things.*—The unifying power, a common gravitation revealing itself in man as truth, beauty, and love, combines, constrains, and co-ordinates all to a common end (xii. 30). It finds its type or organ in the central sun.

> 'I am the eye with which the Universe
> Beholds itself and knows itself divine'
> (Shelley, *Hymn of Apollo*, vi. 1 f.).

But the splendid harmony invests common things and processes with an appeal and beauty of their own; they contribute to the advantage of the universe; they are notes, or discords, which swell the great accord. Not only the heavenly bodies in their orbits, sun and stars, rain and air, the hiving bees and nesting birds, the lustre of the emerald, and the bending of the corn, but even things unprepossessing in themselves—the cracks and crevices in bread-crust, the foam that flecks the wild boar's mouth—appeal to him who is in unison with nature, and touch hidden springs of answering admiration and desire.

> 'Earth is in love with rain, and holy æther loves—Yea, the world-order is in love with fashioning what is to be. To the world-order I profess Thy love is mine' (x. 21).

(6) *World-soul.*—The unity of the indwelling mind corresponding to personality in the individual man is commensurate with the scale of the universe, beneficent and rational in aim. Degrees of goodness and of value are part of the great scheme, but everywhere 'things lower are for the sake of things higher' (v. 16, 30, vii. 55, xi. 10, 18, etc.), and all is for the best.

(7) *Evil.*—The oneness of the cosmos is utilized to explain the mystery of evil. Seeming evil is good misapprehended or disguised. The course of nature is all good. 'It contains no evil, does no evil, and inflicts no hurt on anything.' Analyze the facts, suppress the hasty, ill-formed inference, and the evil ceases to exist, or changes its complexion (vi. 36, vii. 26). It is the discord that prepares and shapes the harmony; the coarse jest (as Chrysippus said) that gives the comedy its point (vi. 2). 'Nothing is hurtful to the part which helps the whole' (x. 6).

(8) *Providence.*—The mind of the universe is social, 'civic' (πολιτικός) in all its aims. Fate, destiny, necessity (μοῖρα, τὸ πεπρωμένον, τὸ εἱμαρμένον, ἀναγκή), overrule all things for good; man's freedom is accord with the movements of the universal Providence, the object of his reverence, trust, regard.

(9) *The round of being.*—Everywhere there is the recurrent transformation of elements, pursuing their continuous round. Change is nature's joy (ix. 35, iv. 36), the life of individuals, of nations, and of the universe at large. The 'passage up and down' repeats itself in history, upon the small scale and the great; always 'the same dramas, the self-same scenes reproduced; the court of Hadrian, the court of Antoninus, the court of Philip, Alexander, Crœsus; the same stock rôles, only with change of actors' (x. 27; cf. vi. 46). This is the depressing side of the Emperor's philosophy, the resignation from which he would not deign to extricate himself by self-deception.

(10) *Man a part of cosmos.*—Man is by nature an inherent part, a living and organic member—μέλος, not μέρος merely—of the whole. He draws from its organic life as vitally as the branch draws sap from the parent tree. His 'nature' is the nature of the universe; self-realization of that nature is an instinct and a call as primary as that of self-preservation, attained by deliberate co-operation with its designs and ends, by loyal following

of law and reason, by active citizenship in the world-commonwealth.

(11) *Virtue.*—Moral obligation is fulfilment of function, active acknowledgment of reciprocal relation to the whole. And this alone is able to minister interior content, 'life with the gods,' 'citizenship in heaven.' The soul—a particle of Zeus (v. 27), the good genius or the God within (iii. 4, 6, 16), the lord and law-giver (iv. 1, 12), the pilot reason (vii. 64), the fellow-citizen, the priest and minister of God—is the power within which makes for righteousness. The indwelling presence becomes almost that of the Holy Spirit in the Christian believer. Prayer is not merely communion with the inner self, but a true intercourse with God; the self-communings which the sage has left us are but part and sample of his habitual practice of the presence of God.

(12) *Littleness of man.*—Man is indeed part of the universe, but how immeasurably small a part—a morsel in the mighty sum, a moment between two infinities. Fame is as transient as it is brittle and precarious—a short-lived rattle of tongues, a bubble that bursts and vanishes (ii. 7, iii. 10, iv. 3, 19, viii. 20, etc.); gratitude is precarious and belated; virtue is its own and sole reward; it consists in mastery of the will, ability to uphold and satisfy the instincts of reason in fellowship with nature and God. If ever that is forbidden or debarred, then indeed God sounds the signal for retreat. Unmurmuring and undispleased, we quit the rank. The exodus is quick and easy—a 'bare bodkin' is enough. The play is ended (xii. 36); ring the curtain down. Death is the natural end of man's ephemeral endeavour. Whatever be its physical analysis, extinction, dispersion, or transmutation (xi. 3)—alternatives which are dispassionately considered—the dissolution of the material elements ends the present resultant; they take their place in other compounds, while the 'seminal principles,' or life-seeds, will either integrate new forms and activities of being or themselves be resumed into the central reservoir of the world-life.

(13) *Ethics.*—In ethics the eye is fixed upon the inner self, upon the duties, disciplines, and obligations proper to his own experience. But the Imperial position assumed gives breadth and elevation of view, and the fixed sincerity of the writer atones for lack of form, or method, or variety. The commonplaces or the paradoxes of Stoicism—the inseparateness of virtue, or the indefectibility of the wise—are not discussed at large. The more developed casuistry of later Stoicism, with its scheme of conditional duties (*officia*, or καθήκοντα), its recognition of preferential moral choice (in προηγμένα and ἀποπροηγμένα), its admission of relative moral values (κατ' ἀξίαν), its belief in 'proficiency' (προκοπή), or progressive growth in philosophic grace, is everywhere assumed, though seldom in scholastic phraseology. The philosopher is on the throne, and passion is outlived. Duties of inferiors, sins of the flesh, all vulgar vices of the tyrant or the profligate, even the licence and the luxuries of city life, are not in view. The whole attitude is one of strained, insistent obligation, wrought out in patience inexhaustible; men are the recipients, himself the dispenser, of benefits; in realization of the social tie, duties to equals and duties to inferiors monopolize the field. Against ingratitude nature has provided forbearance as an antidote. Of the four cardinal virtues courage seldom receives mention; truth is not protest or resolve, but that singleness of word and act, that quiet undeviating 'pursuit of the straight course,' which power and place make doubly difficult; justice comes urging, not the rights of the oppressed, but the obligations of the strong; as regards wisdom or self-control, it may be said that the whole book is an enlargement upon that theme. The moral perturbations which he dreads are those which beset power and place and privilege, such as impatience, discourtesy, distrust, officiousness, or such more delicate delinquencies as self-absorption in the press of current duties, the want of moral nerve or fixity of aim, or the indolence which, rushing to hasty conclusions, admits unwarranted impressions or desires. And beside the solid virtues and charities incumbent on the ruler are set the social graces which adorn the official and the gentleman—consideration, candour, modesty, attentive and intelligent perception, courtesy, tact, address in conversation; and the compass of morality is extended to such refinements as cheerfulness in leadership, belief in friends' affection, wise husbandry and just apportionment of powers, careful selection among competing claims, reserve of opportunities for self-examination and recreation of the inner life. Leisure as well as labour, thought as well as action, deportment as well as motive, are scrupulously moralized.

'Blame none,' 'Do not find fault,' 'To expect no one to do wrong is madness' (xi. 18), are maxims for the ruler rather than prescriptions of the teacher. 'Can the world go on without shameless people? Certainly not. Then do not ask for the impossible' (ix. 42). The supremacy of the ἡγεμονικόν—in Marcus the favourite and characteristic term for man's highest governing self—secures to man self-mastery and personal equilibrium in an unstable world; within his own circumference he becomes 'a sphere self-orbed,' proof against all assaults of circumstance, all enticements and deceits of sense, and all dominion of impulse, appetite, or feeling. To that extent he can identify himself, his will, with the sweep of the great cosmic current, and, at one with nature, reason, God, be wrapped in calm. To such an one all outer things become 'indifferent,' for 'no man can rob us of our will' (xi. 36). Man is a citadel, 'a promontory against which the billows dash continually; but it stands fast, till at its base the boiling breakers are lulled to rest' (iv. 49). This attitude of set endurance gradually moulds his moral as well as his physical lineaments to that resolved serenity which is engraved upon the stones of the Imperial arch, and abstention rather than action, isolation rather than corporate fellowship, becomes the keynote of morality. Towards this the influences all conspired—the austere renunciations of his creed; the mood of sombre, almost wilful, resignation; the solitude and destitution of the close. Before his eyes Latin literature breathed its last. The great equestrian statue, the memorial column, the reliefs of his triumphal arch, the apotheosis of Faustina, are the last triumphs of expiring art. Human fecundity was stricken with a strange paralysis of reproductive power; the very Campagna was changing to a depopulated waste. Religions, politics, literatures, and Rome herself were dying. In unmistakable letters the handwriting was blazed upon the wall, and he himself was ἔσχατος τοῦ γένους. With his death decline and fall set in, not on the Danube only, but throughout the whole Empire of the West. His end was like his life, a slow tenacious struggle with the inevitable. No longer able to eat or drink, he lay upon his couch, still exercising the habits of duty and authority; spoke passionately of the vanity of life; and with the words, 'Haec luctuosi belli opera sunt,' turned to his rest.

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G. H. RENDALL.

MARKET.—1. Definition.—The term 'market' may be defined as a periodic gathering of persons at an appointed place for the purpose of trading by way of exchange or purchase and sale, subject to the special regulations which law or custom may impose. The term 'fair' is frequently used in conjunction with the term 'market,' and has been defined as 'a greater species of market recurring at more distant intervals.' In either case, the essential element is the same—recurrence, namely, at a fixed time and at a fixed place.[1]

Provided that this element is present, any circumstances which bring men together can produce a market or a fair.[2] The occasion may be a religious festival,[3] a popular assembly,[4] the formation of a camp,[5] the temporary sojourn of a court at a royal residence,[6] the stay of a caravan at one of its customary halting-places,[7] the concourse at a saint's tomb,[8] the celebration of funeral games at the burial-place of a hero,[9] or the temporary cessation of hostilities between besieger and besieged.[10]

2. Geographical distribution of the market.—The institution of the market is not universal; in many parts of the world it is either altogether unknown or known only in its most rudimentary forms.[1] It has been pointed out that certain geographical conditions and certain racial characteristics are more favourable than others to its establishment and development. Thus, the markets of insular regions, especially those which are situated on the coast, are, in general, of little importance, perhaps because the necessity for an exchange of articles of diet hardly arises among populations whose economic status is the same, and whose daily needs are supplied by the bounty of nature seconded by their own exertions. In such regions the occasion for a market arises only where different economic conditions come into touch—where, *e.g.*, a tribe of fishermen have a tribe of agriculturists for neighbours.[2]

According to J. G. F. Riedel,[3] there are no market-places in Ceram; and, while we hear of the market in Java,[4] Sumatra,[5] and Borneo,[6] we are reminded by a high authority[7] that, in many of the islands inhabited by Malay peoples, the institution does not exist, or, if it does exist, is to be regarded as imported rather than as indigenous.

In New Guinea, markets are to be found in the German[8] as well as in the British portion of the island.[9] W. Ellis[10] supplies an account of those in Madagascar; and we have a few notices of Polynesian and Melanesian markets.[11]

The market thrives best where, in addition to favourable geographical conditions, the natural bent of the population is towards commercial pursuits, as in the case of the Negro and Bantu races.[12]

In N. America we find only few and scattered indications of the existence of the market;[13] and to the hunting tribes of S. America it is practically unknown; while among many of the peoples of Central America,[14] and especially in the old civilizations of Mexico[1] and Peru,[2] it formed an important element in the national life. In Arabia fairs and markets arose at places whither pilgrims were wont to repair.[3] The fairs at Ukātz,[4] Mujanna, and Dzul Majāz[5] were visited by the Prophet, and there were great markets at Senaa and Başra.[6] Not infrequently the resting-places of caravans are little markets, where the Bedāwi may lay aside his animosities and trade in peace.[7]

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[1] *EBr*^{11}, *s.v.* 'Fair'; P. Huvelin, *Essai historique sur le droit des marchés et des foires*, Paris, 1897, p. 26 ff.

[2] Huvelin, p. 36; see D. Crantz, *History of Greenland*, Eng. tr., London, 1820, i. 160.

[3] See § 2 below.

[4] See § 2 below.

[5] J. M. Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, new ed., London, 1876, ii. 302.

[6] Huvelin, p. 35.

[7] Boyd Alexander, *From the Niger to the Nile*, London, 1907, ii. 4; F. Stüwe, *Die Handelzüge der Araber unter den Abbasiden durch Afrika, Asia, und Osteuropa*, Berlin, 1836, p. 34.

[8] K. Rathgen, *Die Entstehung der Märkte in Deutschland*, Darmstadt, 1881, p. 7; Huvelin, p. 7.

[9] E. O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, ed. W. K. Sullivan, London, 1873, i. p. cclv; cf. Huvelin, p. 138 ff.

[10] See authorities in P. J. Hamilton-Grierson, *The Silent Trade*, Edinburgh, 1903, p. 59 f. See also § 4 below.

[1] As to native markets in Australia see art. GIFTS (Primitive and Savage), 6 (2).

[2] R. Lasch, 'Das Marktwesen auf den primitiven Kulturstufen,' *Zeitschr. für Socialwissenschaft*, ix. [1906] 701.

[3] *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 127.

[4] T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java*, London, 1817, i. 198.

[5] W. Marsden, *The History of Sumatra*, London, 1783, p. 308; F. Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra*, Berlin, 1847, ii. 228 f. There seem to be no markets among the Gajos (C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajōland en zijne bewoners*, Batavia, 1903, p. 378 f.).

[6] S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, London, 1862, ii. 85 f.

[7] Lasch, p. 702 f.

[8] B. Hagen, *Unter den Papua's*, Wiesbaden, 1899, pp. 217, 219.

[9] A. C. Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, London, 1901, pp. 265, 269; cf. R. W. Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, do. 1912, p. 232 f.

[10] *History of Madagascar*, London, 1838, i. 332 ff.

[11] We hear of the markets on the river Wairuku in Hawaii (W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*^{2}, London, 1832–36, iv. 325), at Somu-Somu in the Fiji Group (C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838–42*, London and Philadelphia, 1845, iii. 300 f.), in the Bismarck Archipelago (R. Thurnwald, 'Im Bismarckarchipel und auf den Salamoninseln,' *ZE* xlii. [1910] 119; G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, p. 297; Hagen, p. 117 f.), and in New Caledonia (J. J. Atkinson, 'The Natives of New Caledonia,' *FL* xiv. [1903] 245; J. Moncelon, 'Réponse alinéa par alinéa pour les Neo-Calédoniens,' *BSAP* III. ix. [1886] 374).

[12] Lasch, p. 702. The Boloki are a Bantu people, yet they have no markets (J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, London, 1913, p. 114).

[13] The principal market resorted to by the tribes on the coast near the Stikine river was held three or four times a year at a village about 60 miles from Lake Dease (G. Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey round the World during the Years 1841 and 1842*, London, 1847, i. 210). Markets are held by the Eskimo of Point Barrow and those of Demarcation Point (J. Simpson, 'Observations on the Western Esquimaux and the Country they inhabit,' in *Further Papers relating to the Arctic Expeditions, presented to both Houses of Parliament, 1855*, London, 1855, p. 936; see N. A. E. Nordenskiöld, *The Voyage of the Vega round Asia and Europe*, tr. A. Leslie, do. 1881, ii. 118 and note). Markets were also held at the Falls of the Columbia (M. Lewis and W. Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River . . . in the Years 1804–06*, new ed., London, 1815, ii. 427), and at Prairie du Chien (J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766–68*, London, 1778, p. 99).

[14] Among the Toltecs (F. de A. Ixtlilxochitl, *Relaciones históricas*, in A. Aglio, *Antiquities of Mexico*, London, 1830–48, ix. 332) and the Chibchas (J. de Acosta, *Compendio histórico del descubrimiento . . . de la Nueva Granada*, Paris, 1848, p. 207), and in Yucatan (G. F. de Oviedo y Valdés, *História general y*

So, too, the religious festivals of Harar, Batne, and Mabug were the resort not only of pilgrims but of traders;[8] and the immense assemblage which gathered twice a year at the sacred tomb at Teuta, a city of the Delta, was devoted to commerce as well as to worship.[9]

The antiquity of the market in China is vouched for by the Book of Rites, which contains elaborate regulations for its conduct.[10] G. M. Curzon[11] speaks of the markets as the most picturesque and characteristic of Annamite spectacles; and the great feature of life in the Shan country is the bazaar, which is held on every fifth day in all the chief villages of the States.[12]

The Khāsis of Assam hold a market every four days.[13] Lasch[14] observes of India that, in early times, fairs and markets were to be found at the holy places frequented by pilgrims; and that the Rigveda and the *Laws of Manu* contain references to markets.

We know that markets were held on the boundaries of certain Greek States under the protection of θεοὶ ἀγοραῖοι,[15] and that an active commerce found its home in the sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi; and Homer and Herodotus tell us of the market-places of foreign seafarers, and especially of those of Phœnician visitors.[16] In later times the institution of the market spread from Massilia, from the north of the Balkan Peninsula, and from the cities on the shores of the Euxine to the countries of the neighbouring barbarians.[1] In Latium the fairs were of great antiquity. In Rome and in Etruria they were associated with religious festivals; and the most important of the Italian fairs was held on the boundary which separated the Etruscan from the Sabine land at Soracte in the grove of Feronia.[2] In heathen times the religious festivals and popular gatherings of Norway and Sweden[3] and, in ancient Germany,[4] the tribal assemblies seem to have supplied occasions for the holding of markets.

So, too, in the past, the great markets of France, Germany, and England showed their close connexion with the observances of the Church.[5]

3. Origin of the market.—We have seen[6] that one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the forms of commerce is that which has been called 'the silent trade.' Those who engage in it are strangers to one another and are consequently enemies. But, so long as it lasts, they observe a truce, which is safeguarded by a supernatural sanction. This sanction derives its force primarily from the sacredness of the relation between the traders, which the trade creates, and—in very many cases—in a degree hardly less considerable, from the sanctity of the place where the trade is carried on. This spot lies often within a border-land—a locality which is very generally regarded by primitive peoples as holy ground—and such a situation is frequently chosen not only because it possesses this characteristic, but because it is easily accessible. Goods set out on the seashore, on a river bank, or at a meeting of ways are likely to catch the eye of the passing trader; and, if he is satisfied with his exchange, he will return, as we are told, again and again, to the known place at the known time. In this strange custom is to be seen, in our opinion at least, the germ of the market.[7] Richard Lasch, however, in his admirable essay on the 'Primitive Market,'[8] urges two objections to this view. He contends that, in its beginnings, the market is, to a large extent, a provision market, mainly in the hands of women. He admits that, in certain cases, an exchange of articles of food may be transacted by the methods of the silent trade. A tribe of bushmen, *e.g.*, which has a tribe of agriculturists for neighbours may employ these methods in bartering game for bananas. In such a case the traders are men, not women. But to infer from such evidence that the market is derived directly

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natural de las Indias, Madrid, 1853, xxvi. 27, xxxii. 3; J. Roman y Zamora, *Repúblicas de Indias*, in *Coleccion de libros raros ó curiosos que tratan de América*, do. 1897, i. 306), Vera Paz (J. Roman y Zamora, *loc. cit.*), Nicaragua (G. F. de Oviedo y Valdés, *Histoire de Nicaragua*, in H. Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages . . . pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1840, xiv. 70), and on the Pearl Coast (B. de las Casas, *História de las Indias*, bk. i. ch. 171, in M. Fernandez de Navarrete, *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la história de España*, Madrid, 1842–95, lxiii.).

[1] J. de Torquemada, *Monarquía indiana*, Madrid, 1723, xiv. 14, 16, 23; B. de Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, tr. D. Jourdanet and R. Siméon, Paris, 1880, viii. 36; F. L. de Gomara, *Chronica de la Nueva España*, cap. lxxix., in A. G. Barcia, *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*, Madrid, 1749; *Carta de relacion de Fernando Cortés*, §§ xi., xxx., in Barcia, *op. cit.*; D. Duran, *História de las Indias de Nueva España*, ed. J. F. Ramirez, Mexico, 1867–80, i. 215 ff.; F. S. Clavigero, *História antigua de Megico*, tr. from Ital. by J. J. de Mora, London, 1826, i. 348 ff.

[2] Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, tr. C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Society), London, 1860–71, vi. 35, vii. 11; Pedro de Cieza de Leon, *Travels*, tr. C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Society), do. 1864, i. 390 ff.

[3] A holy place of Hadramaut, which was neither a town nor a village, but merely a mosque near a saint's tomb, was visited on a certain day by pilgrims from every quarter, and became for the time being a great market, where all might trade in safety (L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Hadhramout et les colonies arabes dans l'archipel indien*, Batavia, 1886, p. 14).

[4] J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, Berlin, 1887, p. 85; W. Muir, *The Life of Mahomet and History of Islam to the Era of the Hegira*, London, 1858–61, ii. 1, 181.

[5] Muir, ii. 181. [6] Stüwe, pp. 174, 179.

[7] Stüwe, p. 34. The 'journeying canvas city' of the pilgrims to Mecca contained a market (*sūq*) within itself (C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, i. 71, 205 ff.).

[8] At Mabug the festival was celebrated in spring and autumn; and at the autumn festival at Batne, at the beginning of September, a great throng of traders congregated (F. C. Movers, *Das phönizische Alterthum*, Berlin, 1856, iii. 135 ff.; Amm. Marcell. xiv. 3. 3 (Batne); Pliny, *HN* xii. 40 (Harar).

[9] A. H. L. Heeren, *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Carthaginians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., Oxford, 1832, i. 450.

[10] *Le Tcheou-li, ou Rites des Tcheou*, tr. E. Biot, Paris, 1851, xiv.

[11] 'Journeys in French Indo-China,' *The Geographical Journal*, ii. [1893] 110.

[12] C. E. D. Black, 'The Indian Surveys, 1893–94,' *The Geographical Journal*, vi. [1895] 30; R. G. Woodthorpe, 'Some Account of the Shans and Hill Tribes of the States on the Mekong,' *JAI* xxvi. [1896–97] 19.

[13] J. D. Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, London, 1854, ii. 277.

[14] *Loc. cit.* p. 706. Lasch refers to H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 258, and to the *Laws of Manu*, viii. 201; see G. Bühler's tr. in *SBE* xxv. [Oxford, 1886], and J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* (=*GIAP* ii. 8), Strassburg, 1896, p. 110. See also A. H. L. Heeren, *Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity*, Eng. tr., 3 vols., Oxford, 1833, iii. 373 ff. (Benares, Juggernaut, etc.).

[15] Especially Hermes, Zeus, Artemis, and Athene (O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, pp. 1340, note 9, 414, note 7, 1118, 1282, note 1, 1142, note 3).

[16] O. Schrader, *Linguistisch-historische Forschungen zur Handelsgeschichte und Warenkunde*, Jena, 1886, p. 35, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 522 f.; Hom. *Od.* xv. 415 ff.; Herod. i. 1. G. Grote (*A History of Greece*⁴, London, 1872, iii. 294, note) observes that both Velleius Paterculus (i. 8) and Justin (xiii. 5) refer to the Olympian festival as *mercatus*. See also Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* v. 3.

[1] Schrader, *Reallex.* p. 523.

[2] T. Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, tr. W. P. Dickson, new ed., London, 1867, i. 203.

[3] K. Lehmann, 'Kauffriede und Friedensschild,' in *Germanist. Abhandlungen zum 70ten Geburtstag K. von Maurers*, Göttingen, 1893, p. 50; S. Laing and R. B. Anderson, *The Heimskringla, or the Sagas of the Norse Kings, from the Icelandic of Snorre Sturlason*², London, 1889, i. 104; J. J. A. Worsaæ, *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, do. 1852, pp. 100, 232.

[4] Schrader, *Reallex.* p. 521 f. The Roman word *mercatus*, applied in the first instance to the trading of pedlars and hawkers in S. Germany and the Rhineland, was not used to designate the market as a place until the Germans had come to settle in towns. Thereafter, the word was adopted in almost all the Germanic languages as the expression for market (*ib.* p. 523; see Rathgen, p. 3 f.; S. Rietschel, *Markt und Stadt*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 33 ff.). Rathgen (p. 9) observes that, in Karolingian times, the institution of the market was fully developed.

[5] See the works of Huvelin, Rathgen, and Rietschel cited above; C. Elton and B. F. C. Costelloe, 'Report on Charters and Records relating to the History of Fairs and Markets in the United Kingdom,' in *First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls*, London, 1889, i. 5; C. Walford, *Fairs, Past and Present*, do. 1833.

[6] See art. GIFTS (Primitive and Savage). As to the markets in ancient Ireland see § 14 below.

[7] See Hamilton-Grierson, p. 28 ff., and 'The Boundary Stone and the Market Cross,' *Scottish Historical Review*, xii. [1914] 25 f. The view indicated above as to the origin of the market is held by H. Schurtz, *Das afrikanische Gewerbe*, Leipzig, 1900. p. 122 ff.; A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, 'Die Entstehung des Tauschhandels in Polynesien,' *Zeitschr. für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, iv. [1895] 54 f.; M. Kulischer, 'Der Handel auf den primitiven Culturstufen,' *Zeitschr. für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, x. [1878] 380 ff.; cf. Huvelin, p. 10; O. Schrader, *Linguistisch-historische Forschungen*, pp. 11, 34, *Reallex.*, *s.vv.* 'Handel,' 'Markt.'

[8] Pp. 623 ff., 700

from the silent trade seems to Lasch to be wholly unwarranted. His second objection rests on the nature of the goods brought to market, which are, he says, for the most part perishable. They are produced constantly and they are in constant demand. Accordingly, market must follow market at a short interval, the times being fixed to suit the convenience of the traders. But the existence of such arrangements presupposes an exchange of views between those interested; and such an exchange involves a complete breach with the principles of the silent trade. The best way of dealing with arguments such as these is to turn to what evidence we have regarding the market in its beginnings. We shall find that it is attended by men only, and that, in some instances, it exhibits features which recall to us those of the silent trade.

S. Passarge,[1] *e.g.*, describes a market on the Benue to which a river tribe resorted for the purpose of exchanging fish and grain for the skins and game brought in by a tribe of bushmen. The former left a man in each canoe to hold it in readiness in case of a quarrel. Only men were present, and each man stood, weapons in hand, in front of his merchandise. On an alarm the bushmen sprang into the jungle, and the river-men took to their canoes. Insults were hurled, and arrows began to fly; and, in the end, after a few men had been killed on either side, each party returned home, satisfied with the day's work. Another example is supplied by Ellis's[2] account of the fair or market held in the island of Hawaii on the banks of the Wairuku river. The inhabitants of the different divisions[3] into which the island was parcelled out, although frequently at enmity, frequented this meeting-place for the purpose of exchanging the specialties of their respective districts. These consisted of mats, native cloth, dried fish, hogs, and tobacco. 'From bank to bank the traders shouted to each other and arranged the preliminaries of their bargains. From thence the articles were taken down to' a large square rock which stood in the middle of the stream. 'Here they were examined by the parties immediately concerned in the presence of the' king's 'collectors, who stood on each side of the rock, and were the general arbiters in the event of any dispute arising. To them also was committed the preservation of good order during the fair; and they, of course, received a suitable remuneration from the different parties.' Again, we are told[4] that at Somu-Somu, in the Fiji group, 'the market is held on a certain day in the square, where each deposits in a large heap what goods and wares he may have. Any one may then go and select from it what he wishes, and carry it away to his own heap; the other then has the privilege of going to the heap of the former and selecting what he considers to be an equivalent. This is all conducted without noise or confusion. If any disagreement takes place, the chief is there to settle it; but this is said rarely to happen.' It is reported of the Eskimo of Point Barrow that, in their intercourse with those of Demarcation Point, they 'seem to be very wary, as if they constantly keep in mind that they are the weaker party and in the country of strangers. They describe themselves as taking up a position opposite the place of barter on a small island to which they can retreat on any alarm, and cautiously advance from it making signs of friendship. They say that great distrust was formerly manifested on both sides by the way in which goods were snatched and concealed when a bargain was made; but in later years more women go, and they have dancing and amusements, though they never remain long enough to sleep there.'[5]

A very curious instance, in which women were the traders, and in which the method employed recalls that example of the silent trade mentioned by R. and J. Lander,[6] is recorded by Torquemada[7] in his account of the Mexican markets. He tells us that the Indian women made exchanges without a word being spoken. One held out the article of which she wished to dispose to another, who herself had something to barter. The latter took what was offered in her hand, and indicated by signs that it was worth very little in comparison with the value of her own article, and that something must be given in addition before she could consent to the exchange. If the addition required was made, the bargain was complete; if not, each retained her own property.

In these instances we have the mutual distrust, and, in some of them, traces of the strange methods, which marked the silent trade. Further, the evidence shows that, so long as the market may at any moment become a battle-field, it is, even where its business is confined to the exchange of provisions, entirely in the hands of men. So soon, however, as women can visit it in security, they assume the entire conduct of its traffic in articles of food, and the men attend only as guardians of its peace,[1] or confine themselves to dealing in the objects of their special concern, such as cattle and slaves.[2]

Two further observations may be made in reference to Lasch's arguments. In the first place, there are many instances in which perishable articles, such as fresh fruit and fresh meat, are exchanged by the methods of the silent trade.[3] In the second place, many cases can be cited in which the places where the silent trade is to be found in operation are matters of common knowledge.[4]

4. Situation of the market.—The primitive market was held, just as the silent trade was practised, at spots so situated as to secure the safety of the trader.[5]

Thus, a river separated those who resorted to the market on the Wairuku, the articles to be bartered being laid upon a flat rock in mid-stream.[6] In many instances the market is held within a border-land,[7] as in the Baluba country,[8] in Somaliland,[9] and in British New Guinea.[10] We have already mentioned the border markets of Greece and Rome;[11] and we are told that the frontiers of the Roman world formed a vast zone of markets.[12] In Usambara[13] and in some districts in British New Guinea[14] the markets are held on the borders of different districts; and the Batua markets[15] in the virgin forest and those of Angola[16] are generally equidistant from the nearest villages. Among the Akikúyu the site chosen for the market is an open space where the inhabitants of several districts can conveniently attend,[17] while in the Congo countries the market-places are often situated in an open country.[18] In both cases a hill-top is a favourite situation. Among the Gallas of the Western Abyssinian country markets are usually held on the top of a small hill, near some big farm[19]; in the Gazelle Peninsula, on plateaux, about an hour's journey from the coast[20]; and, among the Lapps, sometimes in open fields, and sometimes on the ice.[21] On the Lualaba,[22] at

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[1] *Adamaua*, Berlin, 1895, p. 360.

[2] *Polyn. Res.*², iv. 324 f.

[3] The tradition that, at one period, each division had its own king points to a time when each was a separate State (W. Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii or Owhyhee*, London, 1826, p. 116).

[4] Wilkes, iii. 300 f.

[5] J. Simpson, p. 936.

[6] *Journal of an Expedition to explore the Course and Termination of the Niger*, London, 1832, iii. 161 ff. See art. GIFTS (Primitive and Savage).

[7] xiv. 28

[1] A. C. Haddon, p. 269; B. Hagen, p. 117; H. Clapperton, *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo*, London, 1829, pp. 149, 205.

[2] P. Labat, *Voyage du chevalier des Marchais en Guinée, îles voisines, et à Cayénne, fait en 1725–27*, Paris, 1730, ii. 203, 208; see § 7 below.

[3] Hamilton-Grierson, pp. 44–47, 51, 58; P. and F. Sarasin, *Reisen in Celebes*, Wiesbaden, 1905, ii. 275.

[4] A. da Ca da Mosto, in *A General Collection of Voyages and Discoveries made by the Portuguese and the Spaniards during the 15th and 16th Centuries*, London, 1789, p. 57; W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *The Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, do. 1906, i. 227.

[5] Another method employed by traders for this purpose was that of exchanging hostages (*Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, ed. L. M. Langlès, Paris, 1811, i. 145 f.; cf. J. Bruce, *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768–73*², Edinburgh, 1804, v. 401).

[6] Ellis, *Polyn. Res.*², iv. 324 f.

[7] As to the connexion of the market, the border-land, and the supernatural, see below, § 8.

[8] H. von Wissmann, *My Second Journey through Equatorial Africa*, London, 1891, p. 125.

[9] P. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas; die materielle Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl*, Berlin, 1893, p. 313.

[10] Haddon, p. 269; M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, Berlin, 1899, p. 329.

[11] See above, § 2.

[12] Rathgen, p. 3 f.; Huvelin, p. 343, note 6.

[13] F. H. Lang, 'Die Waschambala,' *ap.* S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, Berlin, 1903, p. 265. The markets are held in open spaces.

[14] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 204.

[15] H. von Wissmann, L. Wolf, C. von François, H. Müller, *Im Innern Afrikas*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 259.

[16] A. Bastian, *Afrikanische Reisen* (=*Ein Besuch in San Salvador, die Hauptstadt des Königreichs Congo*), Bremen, 1859, p. 116.

[17] W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People: the Akikûyu of British East Africa*, London, 1910, p. 105.

[18] W. H. Bentley, *Life on the Congo*, London, 1887, p. 53.

[19] C. W. Gwynn, 'Surveys on the proposed Sudan-Abyssinian Frontier,' *Geographical Journal*, xviii. [1901] 568.

[20] Hagen, p. 117.

[21] J. Scheffer, *The History of Lapland*, Oxford, 1674, p. 71. See also Regnard, *A Journey through Flanders*, in J. Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World*, London, 1808–14, i. 173: 'The church is called Chacasdes, and it is the place where the fair of the Laplanders during winter is held.'

[22] V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa*, new ed., London, 1885, p. 288 f.

Mogelo,[1] at Andshira,[2] and among the Kabyles[3] markets are situated in uninhabited places, while in Benin the two great markets were held in large clearings, with only small villages adjacent.[4] At Malani, which consists of two villages, the market lies between them,[5] and a somewhat similar account is given of that at Abu-Gher.[6] In one of the districts of Bornu the market is generally held at some distance from the town,[7] and a like practice is frequently to be found elsewhere.[8] In some countries it is held near a principal town, as in Madagascar,[9] or in an open space near a village, as in German New Guinea,[10] or outside a town, as among the Western Mandingoes,[11] or between the town-wall and a river, as at the chief town of the Wymar country.[12] Markets are not infrequently held on islands. Thus, on the Gwosdew Islands an exchange takes place between natives of N. America and N. Asia;[13] and a fair, attended by the Chukchis and other nomad tribes, takes place annually on an island on the Anui River.[14] Markets are held on river-banks on the Niger[15] and on the Benue,[16] at points equidistant from the neighbouring villages, as on the Congo,[17] or at cross-roads, as on the Congo[18] and in Dahomey,[19] at spots easy of access by visitors from several districts, as in Somaliland,[20] on the sea-shore, as in New Caledonia[21] and among the ancient Northmen,[22] on the banks of great lakes, such as the Victoria Nyanza,[23] and, as at Guzzula, on a plain between mountains.[24]

Many of these situations point to a time when the fear of attack was prevalent; and Schurtz[25] suggests that the arrangement in the Mahee[26] country by which the weekly markets were held outside the walls, so that strangers might not enter the town, while the daily markets attended by the inhabitants were held within it, is a survival of the old state of things.

Where an established order exists, however, the market is generally held within the town.

Thus, at Koolfu and Zaria the market-place is within the walls;[27] and at Kanó it is situated on a neck of land stretching across a marsh, which nearly intersects the city.[1] The markets at Hang-Chau[2] and in the city of Mexico[3] were held in great squares within the town. Timbuctu may be cited as an instance of a town which had its beginnings in a temporary market.[4] In Java the markets are held under large trees on spots dedicated to the purpose from time immemorial.[5] In Silindong the market-places are generally at the foot of the hills, and are marked by old fig-trees.[6] In the Sherbro and its Hinterland the markets are always held under large trees;[7] and those on the upper Lualaba frequently take place on grassy mounds under the shade of great spreading trees.[8] In the chief town of Uganda,[9] at Loango,[10] at Paweea and Seka in the Mahee country,[11] among the Kabyles,[12] and in the Mekeo district of British New Guinea[13] the markets are held under the shelter of large trees; and a somewhat similar account is given of markets on the Congo.[14]

5. **Day of the market.**—In the Shan States and in Korea the market is held on every fifth day in all the chief villages.[15] This practice prevails throughout western Yun-nan,[16] and is found in Java[17] and Abeokuta,[18] at Igbegbe and Onitscha,[19] at Kong, and at Bobo,[20] in the Mekeo district of British New Guinea,[21] in ancient Mexico,[22] and in many other places.[23] At Ikoradu, on the lower Ogun, the market between the townsfolk and the bushfolk takes place every eight days,[24] and in the Banyeng country markets are generally held with an eight days' interval.[25] In regard to the markets on the caravan routes between Matadi and Leopoldville, a distinction must be kept in view between those held daily by the neighbouring villages for the caravans' supply and the weekly markets. The Fioti week is one of four days; but frequently the market is held every eighth day. In order to mark the week when there is no market, it is called *onduelo*, 'little,' 'insignificant.' On the Lower Congo each market bears the name of one of the days of the Fioti week, followed by the name of the village where it is held.[26] The Khāsis of Assam,[27] the Battak of Sumatra,[28] the tribes of the Lower Niger,[29] and the Akikúyu[30] hold a market every four days. On the Lualaba the

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[1] G. A. Haggenmacher, *Reise in Somali-Lande*, Gotha, 1874, Ergänzungsheft no. 47 zu *Petermann's Geogr. Mitth.*, 1876, p. 36; cf. W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen, 1864, p. 519.

[2] O. Lenz, *Timbuktu*, Leipzig, 1884, i. 79.

[3] A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, Paris, 1872–73, ii. 77.

[4] H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, Halifax, 1903, p. 134.

[5] H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, London, 1857–58, v. 377.

[6] *Ib.* iii. 386 f.

[7] Alexander, i. 268; cf. ii. 236. 'Most of the markets in this part of Bornu are held some way off the towns, partly no doubt to make them more central to the neighbouring villages, and partly because the people do not wish to have near their homes the many undesirable persons that a market always attracts' (*ib.* ii. 79).

[8] Barth, ii. 168 (Gúmmel), iv. 292 (Dóre); Lenz, i. 154 (Fez).

[9] W. Ellis, *Madagascar*, i. 333.

[10] Hagen, p. 220. It is sometimes held within a village.

[11] B. Anderson, *Journey to Mussardu, the Capital of the Western Mandingoes*, New York, 1870, pp. 104, 109.

[12] *Ib.* p. 80.

[13] F. von Wrangel, in K. C. von Baer and G. von Helmersen, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des russischen Reichs*, Petrograd, 1839, i. 60.

[14] W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, Boston, 1870, p. 514 f.

[15] W. Allen and T. R. H. Thomson, *A Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841*, London, 1848, i. 398.

[16] Passarge, p. 360.

[17] Bastian, *Afrikanische Reisen*, p. 116.

[18] *Ib.* p. 190 f.

[19] J. Duncan, *Travels in Western Africa in 1845–46*, London, 1847, i. 289.

[20] Paulitschke, p. 312.

[21] Moncelon, p. 374.

[22] Worsaæ, p. 100.

[23] J. Roscoe, 'Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda,' *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 80.

[24] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa, done into English in the Year 1600 by John Pory*, London, 1896 (Hakluyt Society), ii. 283.

[25] *Op. cit.* p. 116.

[26] Duncan, i. 100. 'Where a town or city has two walls, the public market is held within the outer walls. This market is often attended by strangers from a great distance. The private market is invariably held within the walls' (*ib.* ii. 101). See Alexander's observations regarding the Bornu markets quoted above. A similar practice prevails in some of the towns of Adamaua (Passarge, p. 85). A. W. P. Verkerk Pistorius, in his *Studien over de inlandsche huishouding in de Padangsche Bovenlanden*, Zalt-Bommel, 1871, p. 13, observes that the market-place, situated on a large open space in the middle of the village, is called *perdameian*, or place of peace. But, when circumstances permit, the site chosen for the market is outside the village; and some markets are held on spots quite uninhabited.

[27] Clapperton, pp. 135, 158.

[1] D. Denham, H. Clapperton, and W. Oudney, *Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in 1822–24*, London, 1826 (Capt. Clapperton's Narrative), p. 51.

[2] H. Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*³, ed. H. Cordier, London, 1903, ii. 201 f.

[3] See Cortés, §§ xi., xxx.; Gomara, § lxxix.; and the other authorities cited in § 2 above.

[4] Lenz, ii. 148.

[5] Raffles, i. 198.

[6] Junghuhn, ii. 228 f.; C. B. H. von Rosenberg, *Der malayische Archipel*, Leipzig, 1878–79, p. 82; Pistorius, p. 13, quoted above; cf. Marsden, p. 309.

[7] T. J. Alldridge, *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, London, 1901, p. 216.

[8] H. M. Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, London, 1878, ii. 167.

[9] Roscoe, p. 79.

[10] L. B. Proyart, *Histoire de Loango, Kakongo, et autres royaumes d'Afrique*, Paris, 1776, p. 159.

[11] Duncan, ii. 56, 100.

[12] Hanoteau-Letourneux, ii. 78. These markets are situated, if possible, near a water-course.

[13] Seligmann, p. 314.

[14] *Guide de la section de l'état indépendant du Congo à l'exposition de Bruxelles-Tervueren en 1897*, Brussels, 1897, p. 69.

[15] Black, p. 30; Woodthorpe, p. 19; C. H. Hawes, *In the Uttermost East*, London, 1893, p. 8.

[16] Yule, ii. 107, note 1.

[17] J. B. Jukes, *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage of H.M.S. 'Fly,'* London, 1847, ii. 113; cf. Raffles, i. 198.

[18] R. F. Burton, *Abeokuta and the Camaroons Mountains*, London, 1863, i. 71.

[19] W. B. Baikie, *Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Kwóra and Bi'nue in 1854*, London, 1856, pp. 268, 297.

[20] L. G. Binger, *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée*, Paris, 1892, i. 318, 370.

[21] Haddon, p. 265.

[22] Gomara, § lxxix.; Clavigero, i. 348; Sahagun, iv. app.; Duran, ii. 216. There was also a daily market of less importance (Clavigero, *loc. cit.*).

[23] See Schurtz, p. 117.

[24] Burton, ii. 17.

[25] F. Hutter, *Wanderungen und Forschungen im Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*, Brunswick, 1902, p. 267.

[26] *Guide de la section de l'état indépendant du Congo*, p. 69; A. J. Wauters, *L'État indépendant du Congo*, Brussels, 1899, p. 330; H. H. Johnston, *The River Congo*⁴, London, 1895, p. 85 ff., who says: 'For the rest of the "week" or "fortnight" the market-place is void and desolate.'

[27] Hooker, ii. 277.

[28] Marsden, p. 308.

[29] Allen and Thomson, i. 398; Baikie, p. 316.

[30] W. S. and K. Routledge, p. 105.

market is held every fourth day, other markets being frequented in the interval.[1] At Ambas Bay the market takes place every third day.[2] There are daily markets at Loango,[3] at Kanó,[4] and at Mogelo.[5] The Bini have now eight days in their week; but formerly they had four only. On each day there is a market in or near Benin city.[6] Three markets a week are held at Kassa-Kanó;[7] and two a week at Marrakesh,[8] at Koolfu,[9] and at Banjaribuan.[10] Weekly markets are held in Morocco,[11] at Popalahun in the Sherbro,[12] in Lega-land,[13] among the Oromó,[14] among the Kabyles,[15] and at Passumah in the southern part of Sumatra.[16] In the Kuantan districts of Central Sumatra each market has its own special day of the week allotted to it.[17] In Silindong there is a daily market, but the place at which it is held varies from day to day.[18] In this last instance, and in many other cases,[19] the market takes place here to-day, there to-morrow, and in a different locality on each of the days following, until the round is completed. The order is fixed, and so the inhabitants of each district know where the market is to be held each day.

6. Hour of the market.—In Kúkawa, Maseña, Kanó, Sókoto, and Timbuctu, the market is held in the hottest hours of the day.[20] According to Clapperton,[21] the market at Kanó is crowded from sunrise to sunset. The Yo (Bornu) market begins about 9 a.m. and ends about 3 p.m.;[22] and the Congo markets commence towards 10 or 11 a.m. and cease at 3 or 4 p.m.[23] In some places in the neighbourhood of Harar the markets begin about noon;[24] and at Gire in Adamaua they are in full activity by that hour.[25] At Saria the busiest time of the market is from 2.30 p.m. to 5.30 p.m.,[26] and at Kulka in Bornu about 3 p.m.[27] In Tshambá the market is held in the late afternoon,[28] and at Coosoo[29] in Yoruba in the evening. It takes place at Aden two hours after sunset,[30] and at Bida and Ilorin[31] and in some parts of Malacca[32] in the night. On the upper Ubangi it is held from 8 to 10 in the morning.[33] On the Livingstone it is deserted after noon.[34] In the Padang district of Sumatra it is little frequented in the early morning, but by 10 o'clock it is full.[1] Markets in the early morning are less frequent, for the obvious reason that they interrupt the day's work of those who resort to them more than do markets held towards the close of the day, and also because those at a distance cannot attend them.[2]

7. Frequenters of the market; market-women.—H. H. Johnston[3] observes that both men and women make long journeys to sell their goods, the men always travelling furthest.

Among the Bondei, if the market be near, the woman goes and her husband supplies the goods. If it be at a distance, the husband generally goes alone.[4] At Whydah on the Gold Coast,[5] and among the Battak of Sumatra,[6] traffic in slaves was confined to the men. Among the Bakuba the men bring goats and palm-wine to market,[7] and in the Mandingoe markets they trade in cloth.[8] At Woodie the women sell milk and honey, fowls and herbs, while the men sell oxen, sheep, and slaves.[9] At the Harar markets the frequenters are grouped by sexes, *i.e.* according to the articles which they sell.[10]

In many instances the business of the market is entirely in the hands of women.

Thus, in the districts near Kilimanjaro, 'the women do all the trading, have regular markets, and will, on no account, allow a man to enter the market-place.'[11] At Koolfu, the principal town of Nupe, nine out of ten of those who resort to the daily market are women;[12] and the Foulahs or Fallatas leave the market in their hands.[13] A similar state of things is reported from many quarters.[14] It is of interest to observe in this connexion that, in the Congo area, when a thief is caught, his punishment—that of being stoned to death—is inflicted by the women.[15] In Nicaragua no male above puberty might enter the market-place of his own village to buy or sell. He might not even look at it from a distance. But men and women from other friendly or allied villages might go to it.[16] The women selling at the market of Brunei in Borneo are generally old slaves.[17] At Kuka in Bornu the principal slaves are generally the traders, while their masters loiter about, spear in hand.[18] The Oromó market people form a caste by themselves; they attend all the larger markets in person, and send their servants to the smaller ones.[19]

8. Religion and the market; the market peace.—The market peace is sacred; and this quality may be due to one cause or to a concurrence of several causes. It may be due to the nature of the relation between traders which the act of exchange creates, to the sacredness of the place where the trading takes place, to the consecration of the market at the time of its foundation,[1] or to the fact that the market is under the protection of a god,[2] or is associated with a religious festival.[3]

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[1] D. Livingstone, *Last Journals in Central Africa*, London, 1874, ii. 112.

[2] Burton, ii. 35.

[3] A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an die Loango-Küste*, Jena, 1874, ii. 81; Proyart, p. 159.

[4] Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney (Capt. Clapperton's Narrative), p. 53.

[5] Munzinger, p. 519.

[6] R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, London, 1906, p. 214.

[7] Duncan, ii. 130.

[8] Lenz, i. 256 (on Thursdays and Fridays).

[9] Clapperton, p. 135.

[10] Junghuhn, ii. 228.

[11] Lenz, i. 79, 154, 203.

[12] Alldridge, p. 215.

[13] J. M. Schuver, *Reisen im oberen Nilgebiet* (Ergänzungsheft no. 72 zu *Petermann's Geogr. Mitth.*), Gotha, 1883, p. 17.

[14] Paulitschke, p. 313.

[15] Hanoteau-Letourneux, ii. 77.

[16] Lasch, p. 765.

[17] *Ib.*

[18] Junghuhn, ii. 228; Marsden, p. 308.

[19] *e.g.*, in Madagascar (Ellis, i. 332). Among the Akikúyu (W. S. and K. Routledge, p. 105) the date of the market every fourth day is fixed so as to avoid clashing with other markets in the district.

[20] Barth, ii. 168.

[21] Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney (Capt. Clapperton's Narrative), p. 53.

[22] Alexander, ii. 79 f.

[23] *Guide de la section de l'état indépendant du Congo*, p. 70.

[24] Paulitschke, p. 314.

[25] Passarge, p. 55.

[26] P. Staudinger, *Im Herzen der Haussaländer*, Berlin, 1889, p. 210.

[27] G. Rohlfs, *Land und Volk in Afrika*, Bremen, 1870, p. 77.

[28] Schurtz, p. 118.

[29] Lander, i. 137.

[30] L. di Varthema, *Travels in Egypt*, London, 1863 (Hakluyt Society), p. 59.

[31] A. F. Möckler-Ferryman, *Up the Niger*, London, 1892, pp. 159, 210.

[32] In a Chinese account of Malacca it is said that 'women hold a market at night, but must finish at the second drum' (W. P. Groeneveldt, 'Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca,' in *Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago*, London, 1887, ser. ii. vol. i. p. 247).

[33] Schurtz, p. 118.

[34] Stanley, ii. 167.

[1] Lasch, p. 768.

[2] Schurtz, p. 118.

[3] *British Central Africa*, London, 1897, p. 471.

[4] G. Dale, 'An Account of the Principal Customs and Habits of the Natives inhabiting the Bondei Country,' *JAI* xxv. [1895–96] 204.

[5] Labat, ii. 208.

[6] Lasch, p. 707.

[7] Von Wissmann, etc., *Im Innern Afrikas*, p. 249.

[8] Anderson, p. 55.

[9] Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney (Major Denham's Narrative), p. 53.

[10] Paulitschke, p. 314. As to the division of labour according to sex in primitive times, see K. Bücher, *Die Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*⁴, Tübingen, 1904, p. 36; Schurtz, p. 122; J. G. Frazer, *GB*³, pt. v., *The Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, i. 113 ff.

[11] D. and C. Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries, 1858–64*, London, 1865, p. 192; cf. G. Volkens, *Der Kilimandscharo*, Berlin, 1897, p. 289.

[12] Clapperton, p. 136.

[13] *Ib.* p. 205.

[14] Livingstone, *Last Journals*, ii. 112 (Nyañgwé); H. von Wissmann, *Unter deutscher Flagge: Quer durch Afrika von West nach Ost*, Berlin, 1889, p. 94 (Lubuku); Schurtz, p. 121 (Lower Congo; in the *Guide de la section de l'état indépendant du Congo*, p. 69, it is stated that the women traders are more numerous than the men traders; vegetables are always sold by the former); Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney (Major Denham's Narrative), p. 69 (Kuka, in Bornu); Anderson, p. 44 (Boporu, a market of the Western Mandingoes); Lander, i. 108 (Egga); J. J. Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, London, 1875, ii. 25, 27; G. Merolla, *Voyage to Congo in 1682*, in Pinkerton, *Voyages*, xvi. 299 (Loanda); Burton, i. 131, 304 (Egbas); B. H. Chamberlain, 'The Luchu Islands and their Inhabitants,' *Geographical Journal*, v. [1895] 448 (Nafa); G. W. Lewes, 'Notes on New Guinea and its Inhabitants,' *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, new ser., ii. [1880] 611 (Hood Bay, New Guinea); Haddon, p. 269 (Mekeo District, British New Guinea); Curzon, p. 110 (Shan States); J. Bruce, iv. 303, 352, 474 (Abyssinia); H. O. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago, 1878–83*, London, 1885, p. 463 (Timor); Raffles, i. 198 (Java); St. John, ii. 85 f. (Brunei, in Borneo); Moncelon, p. 374; Atkinson, p. 245 (New Caledonia); R. Thurnwald, p. 119 (Gazelle Peninsula and Admiralty Islands).

[15] N. W. Thomas, 'The Market in African Law and Custom,' *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation*, new ser., ix [1908] 100.

[16] Oviedo, *Histoire de Nicaragua*, xiv. 70.

[17] St. John, ii. 85 f.

[18] Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney (Major Denham's Narrative), p. 70.

[19] Paulitschke, p. 313.

Large fairs, held at different points on the Niger, are professedly regarded as sacred ground, whatever wars there may be in the land; and, although this neutrality is not infrequently violated, still the traders return with remarkable pertinacity.[4] The Shilluks enticed the Khartum traders to their camp by a display of attractive merchandise, and then butchered them for their arms and ivory;[5] at the close of a Bakuba market the chief allowed his bodyguard to plunder the market-women;[6] and Livingstone speaks of a massacre of Manyuema market-women by Arab traders.[7] 'But,' he observes, 'they have great tenacity and hopefulness. An old established custom has great charms for them: and the market will again be attended, if no fresh outrage is committed.'[8]

Sometimes such violence kills the market.[9] 'To "revive" a "dead" market, there must be an assemblage of the local magnates; a pig or pigs must be furnished by the town to which the market belongs, and slaughtered, and divided up among the towns represented. Whenever possible, the culprit who caused the disturbance, or his substitute, if he is a wealthy man, is burned or buried alive; if other ways of killing are resorted to, his skull is fixed up on a post in the market-place to "strengthen the law."'[1]

The Congo markets, held at points equidistant from several villages, are neutral spots;[2] and the market at Mogelo, held within an enclosed space, is neutral.[3] Market-places on the banks of the Livingstone, at intervals of three or four miles, are resorted to by the aborigines of either bank, and are regarded as neutral ground;[4] and a similar privilege attaches to a fair held on the Lukalla, in the territory of the Kalosh,[5] and to a trading-place which lies deep in the forest at a point where the countries of the Baluba, the Babinde, and the Balunga touch.[6]

Dennett[7] says of the 'silent' markets of the Bavili that he has never known of their being abused; and in many places in the Philippines, especially in Mindanao, commerce is carried on at regular intervals on neutral ground by the method of the silent trade.[8]

During the last two months of one year and the first and seventh month of the following year, war was suspended throughout Arabia, and fairs were held;[9] at Guzzula there was a complete truce three days a week, when the markets were held, and for two months during the annual fair.[10] Again, at the great fair at Prairie du Chien hostile tradesmen abstained from all unfriendly acts;[11] and during the Batta markets hostilities are entirely suspended. 'Each man who possesses one carries his musket with a green bough in the muzzle as a token of peace, and afterwards, when he comes to the spot, following the example of the director or manager of the fair, discharges his loading into a mound of earth, in which, before his departure, he searches for his ball.'[12]

Among the Kabyles the market is a neutral ground placed under the *anaya* of its owners; and, while within their territory, all who frequent it are under their protection.[13] By the Rifis the market, with the roads leading to it, is regarded as safe from the exercise of private vengeance.[14] Women from different districts, even when those districts are engaged in actual hostilities, pass to and from the Lualaba markets unmolested;[15] and a like immunity is secured to the women of the Masai and Wachaga by agreement, although those tribes are mortal enemies.[16] A compact to the same effect holds good between the Masai and Wa-Kikúyu;[17] and at Nyangwé[18] and among the Somali[19] feuds are suspended during the passage of traders to and from market. This protection is afforded by the tribe where the form of society is tribal, by the king where it is monarchical, and by the king or the feudal lord where it is feudal.[20]

The history of the boundary-stone and of the market-cross is of great interest in this connexion. It has been pointed out[21] that the intimate relation of the market, the border-land, and the supernatural is illustrated by the characteristics of Hermes-Mercury. His symbol was an upright stone; and, as boundaries were marked by such stones, he came to be regarded as the god of boundaries. In many cases the border-land consisted of tracts of neutral territory whither merchants repaired to exchange their wares; and thus the god of boundaries became the god of traders.[1] Now we are told that the ancient Germans used to raise poles at their public meetings, which were consecrated to the god of the public assembly.[2] These poles were, in all probability, erected upon a stone;[3] and it has been suggested that this 'truncus super lapidem,' replaced in later days by a stone column, is the prototype of which Irminsäulen, Rolandsäulen, *perrons*,[4] and many of the market-crosses of Scotland[5] are later forms. In view of the facts, it is tempting to conjecture that the stone which formed the base of the column, and which seems to have served as a seat of justice, was, in many cases at all events, a boundary-stone.[6]

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[1] It is said that, at Stanley Pool, the establishment of a market was the occasion for the sacrifice of a slave (Costermans, 'Le District de Stanley Pool,' *Bulletin de la société d'études coloniales*, 1895, p. 62); and it seems not improbable that the object of this sacrifice was to convert the soul of the victim into a protecting demon (*PC*^{4}, London, 1903, i. 106; *GB*^{3}, pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, do. 1911, p. 90; F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 284 ff.; cf. A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*^{3}, Berlin, 1900, § 440, and R. Proctor, *The Story of the Laxdalers done into English*, London, 1903, ch. 17, where we read that Hrapp desired to be buried standing in the firehall doorway that he might look after his household gods; see also the story of the Philæni [Sall. *de Bell. Jugurth.* 79]). A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa*, London, 1887, p. 53, tells us that it was regarded as impossible for a hostile force to make its way into Elmina, if the body of a human victim were cut up and distributed round the outskirts of the town so as to enclose it. The victim, for which nowadays a sheep is substituted, was offered to a river-god. With this may be compared C. Coquilhat's statement (*Le Haut Congo*, Brussels, 1883, p. 85) that, among the Bayanzi, when an agreement has been made between two villages as to the price of victuals, it is solemnized by digging a ditch between them, and throwing into it a slave whose arms and legs have been broken, and to whom no one may give either meat or drink. Among the Bondei, when a market is founded, the witch-doctor sets up his *fingo* at every road which opens into it (Dale, *JAI* xxv. 231); and in the Congo countries a gun is buried on a like occasion, and an agreement made that no arms of any kind shall be introduced (Dennett, p. 48). Cf. also, in general, art. FOUNDATION, FOUNDATION-RITES.

[2] M. H. Kingsley ('African Religion and Law,' in *National Review*, xxvii. [1897] 134) tells us of a W. African market-god who punishes the cheat and the thief; and among the Ewe-speaking peoples Aisan is the protector of markets and public places, performing the functions of the multitudinous gods of the Tshi-speaking peoples (A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, London, 1890, p. 52). See also Hamilton-Grierson, p. 53 and note 2. Lasch (p. 711) holds the view that the market-trees either are personifications of market-gods or serve as their abodes, and that, as a consequence, they are regarded as 'tabu,' or sacred. He bases his view upon the facts that, according to primitive conceptions, the market-place is holy ground, and the sanction which secures its peace is supernatural; but, while we admit these facts, we cannot regard them as in themselves justifying the inference which he draws from them.

[3] See above, § a. In the ancient North the market peace was a peace of God, when the market was held during a religious festival. When the king went to the frontier to settle boundary questions, and a trade arose, the peace was a host's peace (K. Lehmann, p. 50 f.). In Greece a special religious peace extended beyond the territory where the great festivals were celebrated, and secured the person and property of those who frequented them, even in their passage through a hostile district (Huvelin, p. 76 ff.; see above, § a).

[4] Allen and Thomson, i. 398.

[5] G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, tr. E. E. Frewer, London, 1873, i. 101.

[6] Von Wissmann, etc., *Im Innern Afrikas*, p. 250.

[7] *Last Journals*, ii. 133 ff.

[8] *Ib.* ii. 139. It is for this reason that sellers prefer to do their business at the market. If an offer is made, the reply is 'Come to the market' (*ib.* ii. 112, 132). The same view prevailed in Mexico (Torquemada, xiv. 16).

[9] When the market has been 'killed,' all law is suspended, and crimes may be committed, the responsibility for which falls upon the family of the person in fault, until he has been delivered up (M. de Saegher, 'Les Coutumes des indigènes de l'état indépendant du Congo,' *Bulletin de la société d'études coloniales*, Brussels, 1894, p. 91).

[1] W. H. Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, London, 1900, i. 309.

[2] Bastian, *Afrikanische Reisen*, p. 116.

[3] Munzinger, p. 519.

[4] Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent*, ii. 167. On the portion of the river called Lualaba the markets are neutral (Cameron, p. 288 f.; cf. Livingstone, *Last Journals*, ii. 56, 136).

[5] Von Wissmann, *Second Journey*, p. 125.

[6] Von Wissmann, etc., *Im Innern Afrikas*, p. 283.

[7] *Op. cit.* p. 193.

[8] A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot*, Manila, 1905, p. 159; see F. Blumentritt, 'Ueber die Negritos von Mindanao oder die Mamanuas,' *AE* ix. [1896] 251. Blumentritt's informants say nothing of the method of the barter.

[9] Muir, i. p. clvi.

[10] Leo Africanus, ii. 282. [11] Carver, p. 99.

[12] Marsden, p. 308. See, however, Hagen's account of the markets on the Tobah Lake to which the men and youths come armed (*Eine Reise nach dem Tobah See in Zentralsumatra*, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitth.*, 1883, p. 173).

[13] Hanoteau-Letourneux, ii. 80.

[14] B. Meakin, *The Moors*, London, 1902, p. 402.

[15] Livingstone, *Last Journals*, ii. 136.

[16] J. Thomson, *Through Masái Land*, new ed., London, 1887, p. 93.

[17] *Ib.* p. 177. [18] Cameron, p. 288.

[19] Haggenmacher, p. 37. We may note E. F. im Thurn's statement (*Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, pp. 214, 271) that in British Guiana the trading Indians, who bring specialties of their own country for the purposes of exchange, are allowed to pass unharmed through the country of their enemies, by whom they are for the time being treated as fellow-tribesmen.

[20] Elton and Costelloe, pp. 3, 28; Huvelin, pp. 223 ff., 360 ff.

[21] H. S. Maine, *Village Communities in the East and West*, new ed., London, 1890, p. 192 f.; J. Lubbock, *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*^{6}, do. 1902, p. 318 ff.

In the Middle Ages the market-cross was not always fixed, but was raised at the commencement of the fair. It became fixed only when the temporary market became a permanent market, when the temporary peace became a permanent peace.[7]

In China an official notified the beginning and end of the market peace by hoisting and lowering a flag;[8] in British New Guinea a drum is beaten at the opening and closing of the market;[9] the trade between the people of the Rifi and the Spanish garrison whom they were besieging ceased on the ringing of a bell.[10]

Many instances might be cited of trading during a truce, followed by a resumption of hostilities as soon as the trading was over.[11]

9. The law of the market and its enforcement.—We have already seen[1] that acts of violence perpetrated upon the frequenters of a market may and probably will 'kill' it—for a time, at all events. The recognition of this fact appears to produce two results. In the first place, offences committed within the market are punished with exceptional severity, as imperilling its peace. In the second place, since offences committed outside of the market are not regarded as a danger to its peace, those who have committed them are in consequence not subjected to punishment so long as they are within it.

On the lower Congo every breach of the regulations of the market renders the culprit liable to death. He is 'either buried to his neck in a hole, in the centre of the market place, and his skull crushed by a heavy stone; or he is beaten to death with sticks, and his body is subsequently lashed to a pole, which is erected alongside a native path.'[2]

Bentley[3] tells us that in some of the Congo markets 'a man who brought a gun with him would be promptly buried alive, and the muzzle of his gun would be left protruding' as a warning to the rowdy elements in the fair. 'Sometimes a pile of firewood is ready to burn the culprit alive. On some markets no stick or knife may appear, a heavy fine being imposed in case of infraction.'

Among the Kabyles every offence committed in the market is punishable with death without trial. The crowd seize the offender and stone him without mercy. It is the strangers that execute the law. The tribesmen try to avoid these executions as they discredit the market.[4] At Berbera any one from the interior or the coast who by his conduct does serious injury to trade must pay the death penalty. Still, as such an execution occasions reprisals, it is avoided as far as possible.[5]

The fairs of ancient Ireland were regulated by strict rules, any breach of which was punished with death.[6]

In ancient Greece,[7] in ancient Norwegian and Danish law,[8] and in the France and Germany of the Middle Ages[9] a breach of the special peace of the market was dealt with more severely than was a breach of the common law.

In Mexico he who stole in the market was punished with death;[10] and he who was suspected of selling stolen goods, if he could not tell from whom he had received them, was condemned to death.[11]

As we have already indicated, there is evidence to show that, in many instances, those who had committed deeds of violence or contracted debt before coming to the market were safe from pursuit or arrest so long as it lasted and they remained within it.

Thus, among the Kabyles the avenger of blood who kills a man in the market suffers the same penalty as a common murderer;[12] and the same rule seems to have been observed at Berbera.[13] There, too, the trader who brought stolen goods to the market could not be proceeded against.[14] Those who resorted to the fairs of the Middle Ages were safe from prosecution or arrest for crimes committed or debts incurred beyond their bounds,[15] and enjoyed privileges, and were allowed relaxations of the common law which attracted not only the merchant but those in search of pleasure.[1]

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[1] See also Schrader, *Ling.-hist. Forsch.*, pp. 97–100; Hamilton-Grierson, pp. 29, 60.

[2] Goblet d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, Westminster, 1894, p. 116. This god was probably Thingsus, the Germanic equivalent of Zeus Agoraios (see note below); see, however, Mogk's art. GOD (Teutonic), vol. vi. p. 304ᵃ. According to Cæsar (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 17), the Gauls worshipped a deity whom he identified with Mercury.

[3] D'Alviella, p. 117.

[4] D'Alviella (*Les Perrons de la Wallonie et les Market-Crosses de l'Écosse*, Brussels, 1914, pp. 27, 42, *The Migration of Symbols*, p. 103 ff.) indicates his agreement with the views of E. Monseur (*Supplément littéraire de l'indépendance belge*, 3rd May 1891). He observes that, before the diffusion of Christianity, the poles, to which we have referred, were at once the symbol of the god of assemblies (Thingsus, the equivalent of Zeus Agoraios) and of the autonomy of those assemblies. It is not improbable that, for the purpose of ornament, a representation of the god in the likeness of an armed man was attached to them or carved upon them; and that, when the meaning of these representations came to be forgotten, the popular imagination gave to them the name of the Paladin most popular at the time, and the Irminsäulen became Rolandsäulen. When the Church established herself among the barbarous peoples, the old columns continued in many places to serve as the rallying points of collective life. Sometimes they bore the emblem of Christianity; sometimes they were altered or transformed so as to symbolize something new or additional; and sometimes they were replaced by the crosses planted by the Church in sign of possession.

[5] The resemblance which many of the market-crosses of Scotland bear to the *perron* has been pointed out by W. G. Black (*Glasgow Cross, with a Suggestion as to the Origin of Scottish Market-Crosses*, Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1913), and his suggestion as to their origin has been approved by d'Alviella in the later of his two works cited above. At p. 39 of this work d'Alviella figures certain of the Scottish crosses, and it is curious to observe how close is the similarity of some of them with the image of Hermes figured by him on p. 194 of *The Migration of Symbols*.

[6] See Hamilton-Grierson, 'The Boundary Stone and the Market Cross,' *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, xii. 24 ff. As to the cult of the boundary in N. India see art. DRAVIDIANS (North India), § 33.

[7] Huvelin, p. 354, note 4, where the authorities are cited. See also pp. 223 f., 350.

[8] *Le Tcheou-li*, i. 309.

[9] Haddon, p. 269.

[10] N. Cotte, 'Mœurs politiques et sociales du Maroc; l'Administration . . . les Pirates du Riff,' *Revue contemporaine*, Paris, 15th Dec. 1857, p. 29 f.

[11] Laing and Anderson, iii. 92 (Biarmaland); *NR* i. 723 (Mosquito Coast); C. F. P. von Martius, *Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ureinwohnern Brasiliens*, Munich, 1832, p. 44; *The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse in A.D. 1547–55, among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil*, ed. R. F. Burton, London, 1874 (Hakluyt Society), p. 88 (aborigines of Brazil); J. S. Polack, *New Zealand, being a Narrative of Travels and Adventures*, London, 1838, ii. 313; G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, do. 1847, ii. 61 f. (New Zealanders); N. Cotte, p. 29 f. (Rīfis); C. Letourneau, *L'Evolution du commerce*, Paris, 1897, p. 76.

[1] Above, § 8.

[2] H. Ward, 'Ethnographical Notes relating to the Congo Tribes,' *JAI* xxiv. [1894–95] 290.

[3] *Pioneering on the Congo*, i. 399. Among the Akikúyu no one may carry arms in or near a market (W. S. and K. Routledge, p. 106); and a similar regulation is in force at the fairs held at Sona and Quimalenço, near Bembe (Monteiro, i. 210). See also Schurtz, p. 119. In the largest town of the Wymar country, the sale of palm-wine at the market is forbidden (Anderson, p. 79; cf. T. J. Alldridge, 'Wanderings in the Hinterland of Sierra Leone,' *Geographical Journal*, iv. [1894] 131).

[4] Hanoteau-Letourneux, ii. 81; cf. iii. 198.

[5] Haggenmacher, p. 37.

[6] O'Curry, i. p. cclvi.

[7] Huvelin, p. 73.

[8] W. E. Wilda, *Das Strafrecht der Germanen*, Halle, 1842, p. 237.

[9] Huvelin, p. 227; E. Mayer, 'Zoll, Kaufmannschaft und Markt zwischen Rhein und Loire,' in *Germanist. Abhandlungen zum 70ten Geburtstag K. von Maurers*, p. 478 ff.; S. Rietschel, p. 204. As to the relation of the market peace to the king's peace see Huvelin, p. 349 ff.; Mayer, p. 482 ff.; and cf. W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, Oxford, 1875, i. 179 ff.

[10] Torquemada, xii. 5.

[11] Sahagun, viii. 36.

[12] Hanoteau-Letourneux, iii. 309.

[13] Haggenmacher, p. 37.

[14] *Ib.*

[15] As to Scotland see *Laws and Customs of the Four Burghs*, quoted by Elton and Costelloe, i. 7, 99; as to Ireland see O'Curry, i. p. cclvi.; as to France and Germany see Huvelin, pp. 227, 445 ff.; L. Goldschmidt, *Handbuch des Handelsrechts*³, Stuttgart, 1891, i. 228 f.

10. Administration and execution of the law of the market.—It has been observed[2] that, where the market lies within the territory of a tribe, its law is administered and executed in part by those who resort to it and in part by officials appointed by the tribe of the district. Where, however, it is held within the territory of a king, chief, or feudal lord,[3] it is his officers that act as police, and, in some instances, as judges.

In the Kabyle markets, *e.g.*, an official—the chief of the market, who belongs to the leading family of the tribe which owns it[4]—sees to the preservation of the peace, escorts those who fear attacks on the road, summarily expels the quarrelsome, and fines those who create disturbance.[5] He is concerned only with offences which affect the public, while civil and commercial disputes are referred to a marabout of the tribe.[6] At the same time, it is the strangers in the market that execute its law by stoning the delinquent.[7] Again, in the Berbera market, there is no supreme authority to whom the enforcement of the law is entrusted. Its execution is in the hands of the market chiefs. An assembly of those belonging to the district is sole judge in disputes; but the disputants need not abide by its decision. If they ignore it, they must leave the market.[8]

But where the market lies within the territory of a king, he or his officer sees to the maintenance of order.[9]

Thus, at a fair on the Lukalla, within the country of the Kalosh, 'the chief kept watch in his greatest pomp with half a dozen guards, in order that no dispute might disturb its peace. His companions were all well-known by the broad axe which they carried on their shoulders.'[10] Among the Baganda a chief appointed by the king performs similar duties;[11] and these are discharged at Wairuku by the king's collectors,[12] and among the Gallas by the local headman.[13]

At Maidugari—the largest market of Bornu—there is a market king who settles disputes between buyers and sellers; and the women choose a market queen for their protection, through whom they transact all their business.[14]

This last instance shows that, while, in some cases, the duties of the officers of the market are confined to the preservation of the peace,[15] they are, in many others, of a much more varied character.

Among the Waschambala the superintendent of the markets collects the dues and attends to matters of police.[16] At Wairuku the king's collectors are the general arbiters of disputes;[17] and throughout the country of the Gallas, on the western Abyssinian plateau, the market is held under the superintendence of the local headman, who decides all questions arising out of broken contracts.[18] At Whydah the chief constable of the market attends to its cleanliness;[19] and a high officer named Conagongla sees that the strings of beads which serve as money are composed of the proper number. Those which are deficient he confiscates for the king's benefit and for his own.[20] Among the Gallas the duties of direction of the market are exercised by an important official who is entrusted with the conduct of foreign trade and the supervision of the exchequer.[21] In the Congo markets there is, in most cases, a chief of the market, perhaps an old fetish-man, who regulates all disputes, and fines both the litigants so heavily that all are chary of invoking his assistance.[22] At Kanó the judge of the market sits all day to try disputes arising in the course of trade;[1] and in the Loango markets an official is charged with seeing that no deceptions are practised in the trade between natives and Europeans.[2]

The quality of articles brought to the market is, in general, a matter of consideration only when disputes arise.

The milk brought to the market of Jakoba, however, is daily subjected to examination;[3] and in Morocco an officer is appointed to inspect the provisions offered for sale.[4] He must constantly attend the markets and see that purchasers are not overcharged; and, in view of the plenty or scarcity of the goods exposed, he must fix the prices.[5] At Kanó the shaikh of the market fixes the prices;[6] and among the Bangala the price is fixed by the chiefs with reference to a standard.[7] At Mecca and Jidda a public officer fixes a maximum price to all victualling traders.[8] In some of the markets in Hawaii the chiefs regulated the prices;[9] and in ancient Mexico they were fixed by the superintendents of the market.[10] In China the officer placed over the market was charged not only with the maintenance of order, but with the supervision of weights and measures, and with the administration of justice in more important cases.[11] The Greek ἀγορανόμοι appear to have exercised similar functions in regard to the preservation of the peace and the use of weights and measures. They also fixed the hours of the market, and regulated its conduct generally.[12] The Roman ædile preserved order by means of his officers, and imposed fines upon the peace-breakers. He allotted their positions to the traders, and saw to the accuracy of weights and measures. To assure the *bona fides* of transactions within the markets was his special care, both by exposing frauds and by rejecting articles which were unfit for sale.[13] In the market of Tenoxtitlan ten or twelve judges sat in a house on the market-place to deal with cases as they arose and to see to the punishment of delinquents. There were also officers who went among the people, saw what was bought and sold, and broke any false measures which they found in use.[14] It was the duty of these officers to fix the prices and to prevent frauds.[15]

11. Market dues and their collection.—In some markets—*e.g.*, at Silindong—dues are not exacted.[16] Among the Hausa, while dues are levied, entrance into the town is free to the market people.[17] At Eetcho men can enter the market and trade without charge, but every woman must pay ten cowries to the government.[18]

When trade took place in the temple of the sun, the priest collected dues on behalf of the divinity.[19]

At a fair on the Lukalla, in Kashama's country, each district whose representatives were present must make a gift to the prince. Kashama, who performed a series of dances in the market, after each dance received their contributions from the market-women, who danced as they paid.[20] In the Bomma markets the king grants his protection and collects the dues;[21] and in the horse-market of Fez,[22] and at the market of Rabat,[23] an officer levies a small percentage on behalf of the government. At Adamaua,[24] and in Hawaii,[25] king's collectors are present in the markets; and in those of Usambara the superintendent (*mgelu*) takes a double handful of the market-women's provisions for the king, and levies a contribution for himself.[1] Among the Baganda a chief appointed by the king collects a tax upon every sale;[2] and at Quampanissa the people pay a tax on every article of food exposed for sale.[3] In the Loango markets the chief of police sees to the payment of the dues;[4] and at Kanó the shaikh of the market lets out the stalls at so much a month, the rent forming a part of the governor's revenue.[5] In China there are special market-dues, which are collected by a special officer.[6] In ancient Greece the ἀγορανόμοι collected dues, which were applied in the first instance to the needs of the market;[7] and in the markets of imperial Rome, and especially in those of the Middle Ages, a fully developed system of taxation obtained.[8] In the Mexican markets a fixed tribute was paid to the emperor, in return for which he granted his protection against thieves.[9]

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[1] Huvelin, p. 438; see below, § 14.

[2] *Ib.* p. 343 ff.

[3] As to the relative position of king and feudal lord in this matter see Huvelin, p. 347 ff.

[4] Hanoteau-Letourneux, iii. 303.

[5] *Ib.* ii. 80 ff.

[6] *Ib.*

[7] *Ib.*

[8] Haggenmacher, p. 36 f. If a stranger is killed in the market, the traders leave until the blood-price has been paid to the heirs.

[9] Huvelin (p. 346) refers, among others, to the nations of Islâm, the Slavs, and the Magyars.

[10] Von Wissmann, *Second Journey*, p. 125.

[11] Roscoe, p. 79 f.

[12] Ellis, *Polyn. Res.*², iv. 324 ff.

[13] Gwynn, p. 568.

[14] Alexander, i. 268. A market queen presides over the markets of Asaba. She deals with offences, fixes prices, and collects dues (N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, pt. iv., 'Law and Custom of the Ibo of the Asaba District, S. Nigeria,' London, 1914, p. 187 f.; see Index, *s.v.* 'Omu').

[15] Duncan, ii. 115 (Quampanissa); W. S. and K. Routledge, p. 106 (Akikúyu); Anderson, p. 79 (Wymar country); G. Nachtigal, *Saharâ und Sûdân*, Berlin, 1879, i. 679 (Kuka); Leo Africanus, ii. 282 (Guzzula).

[16] Lang, *Die Waschambala*, *ap.* Steinmetz, p. 266 (Usambara).

[17] Ellis, *Polyn. Res.*², iv. 324 ff.

[18] Gwynn, p. 568.

[19] Duncan, i. 120. According to Labat, ii. 203, this official, with four armed attendants, goes through the market, hearing complaints, dispensing summary justice, and selling thieves and troublers of the peace.

[20] Labat, *loc. cit.*

[21] Paulitschke, ii. 127.

[22] H. H. Johnston, *The River Congo*⁴, p. 87.

[1] C. H. Robinson, *Nigeria, Our Latest Protectorate*, London, 1900, p. 165.

[2] Proyart, p. 124 f. Between the natives themselves fraud is unknown. A mother sends her six-year-old child, knowing that it will not be cheated. All the articles for sale are divided into parcels of the standard weight of equal value. There is no advantage in comparing those of one trader with those of another, the contents of each parcel being the same in quantity and quality (*ib.* p. 160).

[3] Schurtz, p. 121, citing G. Rohlfs, in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitth.*, Ergänzungsheft no. 34, 1872, p. 56.

[4] W. Lempriere, *A Tour from Gibraltar . . . over Mt. Atlas, to Morocco*, in Pinkerton, xv. 709.

[5] *Ib.* p. 709.

[6] Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney (Capt. Clapperton's Narrative), p. 51.

[7] Coquilhat, p. 305 f.

[8] J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London, 1829, p. 377.

[9] W. Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour*, p. 390.

[10] Sahagun, viii. 36.

[11] *Le Tcheou-li*, xiv.; Huvelin, p. 58.

[12] Authorities in Huvelin, p. 72 ff.

[13] *Ib.* p. 113 ff.

[14] Cortés, *Carta de Relacion*, § xxx., Gomara, § lxxix., Torquemada, xiv. 14, and Oviedo (*Historia General*, xxxii. 3) give a similar account of the administration of justice in the Yucatan markets; on those of Vera Paz see Roman y Zamora, i. 306, and on those of Nicaragua see Oviedo, *Histoire de Nicaragua*, in Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages*, xiv. 70.

[15] Sahagun, viii. 36.

[16] Junghuhn, ii. 229.

[17] Staudinger, p. 527.

[18] Lander, i. 165.

[19] Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ix. 4.

[20] Von Wissmann, *Second Journey*, pp. 126, 129. We are reminded of the dances which accompanied trading in New Caledonia (Lambert, *Mœurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens* [*Nouméa*], Paris, 1901, p. 157 ff.; Atkinson, p. 245).

[21] Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition*, ii. 79.

[22] Lenz, i. 155.

[23] *Ib.* i. 205.

[24] Passarge, p. 87.

[25] Ellis, *Polyn. Res.*², iv. 324 f.

In ancient India the king was entitled to market dues, which varied, according to circumstances, from a twentieth to a tenth of the value of the goods.[10] The frequenter of the Baluba market at Kabao must pay three cowries to the chief, whatever the value of his goods may be;[11] and in the Bondei market every person who brought articles for sale had to hand over one of each kind.[12] In the Aruwini district the dues amount to one-twentieth of the value of the goods brought to market;[13] at Nyangwé to a tenth or a sixth.[14] Those who expose goods in the Whydah market pay very heavy dues to the king of Dahomey,[15] while in the Hawaiian markets two-thirds of the proceeds of whatever the natives sold was demanded by the chief.[16]

12. The arrangements of the market-place.—Among the Lega-Gallas the markets are held only if the weather permits; for the climate is variable, and the market-places are wholly without shelter.[17] In the markets of Madagascar there are neither shops nor booths, the articles for sale being set out upon mats.[18] The markets on the Lualaba are held at uninhabited places, except at Nyangwé, where there are houses for traders and huts for slaves and porters.[19] When the caravans arrive at Berbera from the interior, booths and dwellings are erected; and, within a week, on what was previously a desert spot several hundred huts are ready for the strangers coming thither over sea.[20] At Sennâr the traders transact their business protected by temporary erections of boughs and mats;[21] and at Guzzula the wares are exposed in tents and shelters of boughs, where stranger merchants are entertained and housed,[22] while in some of the Sumatran markets huts are provided, where stranger merchants can display their merchandise, and pass the night for a mere trifle.[23]

At Maidugari, the largest market in Bornu, lines of sheds and stalls cover an extensive area;[24] similar erections are found in the markets at Tusáwa and Kátsena;[25] and Passarge[26] says of the markets in Adamaua that they contain numerous flat-roofed huts, which form a long street.

At Kinsay (Hang-Chau) the markets were held in great squares surrounded by shops, where all kinds of crafts were carried on and goods sold[27]—a description which recalls to us the accounts of the markets of ancient Mexico.[28]

In many markets the position assigned to the different traders depends on the nature of their wares,[29] the result being that, where those wares are traded in by one only of the sexes, a specific portion of the market is allotted to each sex.[30]

In the markets of ancient Mexico each class of merchandise had its appointed place,[1] the more cumbrous kinds being stored in the neighbouring streets, or in floats on the canals;[2] in those of the Middle Ages what determined the trader's position was not only the character of his goods, but his nationality; and, in some cases, the latter was the sole determinant.[3]

13. Modes of bargaining in the market.—One of the most characteristic practices of the primitive trader is that of transacting business by means of a third person. Dall[4] tells us that the Aleuts never trade with one another directly; and we have suggested that some light is thrown upon the origin of this method by the instance of the exercise of the silent trade reported by Lander.[5] It is said that, among the natives of Australia, children are made *ngia-ngiampe* in order that they may act as the agents of their respective tribes in the business of barter;[6] and many cases may be cited in which the man who takes a stranger under his protection not only acts as his host, but assists him in buying and selling, and is generally responsible for his conduct.[7]

At Berbera each stranger must choose a protector (*abban*). He dare not trade without him, and must pay him one per cent on the value of every article which he brings into the market. The *abban* is his broker; he protects him against the extortions of the natives, and settles all disputes in which he may have become involved.[8] A similar account is given of the part played by the host at Dioulasou.[9] In Nigeria, whenever an article changes hands, the seller pays a commission to a third party, who is supposed to have facilitated the purchase.[10]

In the markets of many Asiatic countries a curious practice prevails by which traders, when bargaining in the presence of others from whom they wish to conceal their business, drive and conclude their bargains by touching the points of each other's fingers under a shawl without a word being spoken. It has been found in use at Mecca,[11] at Calicut,[12] among the Somali,[13] at Jidda,[14] at Pegu,[15] in Malacca,[16] in Mongolia,[17] and elsewhere.[18]

Torquemada[19] notes a curious practice which prevailed among the Indian women in the markets of ancient Mexico. They exchanged their wares without a word being spoken. The one party held out the article of which she wished to dispose; and the other, taking it in her hand, made signs that it was not a fair equivalent for what she proposed to give in exchange. If the first party refused to add anything, she ran the risk of losing her customer; if she added what was demanded, the bargain was concluded.

14. Methods of securing attendance at the market; its place in public and social life.—In some of the Congo countries it is penal for a woman to go to her farm on a market day.[20] To the desire to induce the stranger to come to market Heeren[21] ascribes certain Lydian and Babylonian regulations regarding the relations of foreigners with the women of the country; and we may assign to a like origin such customs as the temporary marriages of Central Asia, and similar usages there and elsewhere.[1]

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[1] Lang, p. 265 f. Similarly, at the market of Bobo Dioulasou, a man carrying a gris-gris staff, accompanied by a drummer and a crowd of urchins, sets down his staff before each merchant ceremoniously, and, unopposed, helps himself, by means of a small calabash holding about a litre, from the merchant's calabash (Binger, i. 371).

[2] Roscoe, *JAI* xxxii. 80.

[3] Duncan, ii. 115.

[4] Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition*, ii. 40.

[5] Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney (Capt. Clapperton's Narrative), p. 51.

[6] Huvelin, p. 54.

[7] *Ib.* p. 75.

[8] *Ib.* pp. 103 ff., 578 ff.

[9] Torquemada, xiv. 14.

[10] Lasch, p. 775.

[11] Von Wissmann, etc., *Im Innern Afrikas*, p. 250.

[12] Dale, *JAI* xxv. 231.

[13] Schurtz, p. 120.

[14] *Ib.*

[15] Duncan, i. 120.

[16] Ellis, *Narrative of a Tour*, p. 390.

[17] Schuver, p. 17.

[18] Ellis, *Hist. of Madagascar*, i. 333.

[19] Cameron, p. 288 f.

[20] Haggenmacher, p. 36 f. These erections belong to the trader; and, when the market is over, they form a perquisite of the *abban* (protector).

[21] Lasch, p. 776.

[22] Leo Africanus, ii. 283.

[23] Lasch, p. 776.

[24] Alexander, i. 267.

[25] Barth, ii. 21, 59.

[26] Pp. 55, 234.

[27] Yule, 201 f.

[28] Cortés, § xxx.; Torquemada, xiv. 14; Sahagun, viii. 36.

[29] Passarge, p. 85 f. (Adamaua); Haggenmacher, p. 39 (Berbera).

[30] Paulitschke, i. 314.

[1] Cortés, § xxx.; Torquemada, xiv. 14; Sahagun, viii. 36; Clavigero, i. 348; Gomara, § lxxix.

[2] Clavigero, *loc. cit.*; Gomara, *loc. cit.*

[3] Huvelin, p. 504 ff.; Elton and Costelloe, pp. 5, 22.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 394; cf. E. W. Nelson's account ('The Eskimo about Bering Strait,' *18 RBEW* [1899], pt. i. p. 359 f.) of the 'Asking' festival.

[5] Art. GIFTS (Primitive and Savage), § 6 (11).

[6] *Ib.* § 6 (2).

[7] Art. STRANGERS, a (*b*). In ancient Germany the host in many cases was at once protector, broker, and interpreter (see C. Koehne, 'Markt-, Kaufmanns- und Handelsrecht in primitiven Culturverhältnissen,' *ZVRW* xi. [1895] 206 f.).

[8] Haggenmacher, p. 36.

[9] Binger, i. 372.

[10] Robinson, p. 165.

[11] Burckhardt, p. 191.

[12] L. di Varthema, p. 108; Pyrard de Laval, *Voyage to the East Indies* . . ., London, 1887–90 (Hakluyt Society), ii. 173.

[13] Haggenmacher, p. 37; see Paulitschke, i. 322.

[14] Bruce, ii. 175.

[15] Cæsar Frederick, *Voyages*, in R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation*, London, 1598–1600, II. i. 239.

[16] Groeneveldt, ser. ii. vol. i. p. 246

[17] E. R. Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, China, 1844–46*, London, 1852, ch. v.; see H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, do. 1866 (Hakluyt Society), i. p. clvii.

[18] See notes to Varthema and Pyrard de Laval; see also *PC*[4] i. 246 note.

[19] xiv. 23.

[20] Bentley, i. 400. According to the ancient laws of India, in ancient Mexico, and during the Middle Ages, the market was the only place where it was permissible to sell movables. He who sold outside of it was regarded as an illicit trader, and he who bought from him as his accomplice (Lasch, p. 778; Torquemada, xiv. 16; Huvelin, p. 457 f.).

[21] Heeren, *Hist. Res. into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Principal Nations of Antiquity*, i. 105 f., ii. 199.

In the Batta markets gaming, cock-fighting, and, in some cases, boat-racing form special attractions.[2] At the fair of Ukātz transactions intertribal and communal were adjusted, truces were declared, evil-doers were proclaimed, and tribute was brought in. It was there that betrothals were arranged by parents, who brought their daughters with them, that poets produced their verses, and that great men, ambitious of reputation, sought to gain it by exercising a profuse hospitality.[3]

In Ireland the *aenach*, or fair, was 'an assembly of the people of every grade without distinction: it was the most common kind of large public meeting, and its main object was the celebration of games, athletic exercises, sports, and pastimes of all kinds.'[4] The most important of the *aenachs* were those of Taillteṅn, Tlachtga, and Ushnagh.[5] The people of Leinster held a provincial *aenach* at Carman, or Wexford, once every three years, which began on 1st August and ended on the 6th.[6] 'Professors of every art, both the noble and the base arts, and non-professionals were there selling and exhibiting their compositions and their professional works to kings: and the rewards were given for every [work of] art that was just or lawful to be sold or exhibited or listened to.'[7] New laws were promulgated, old laws were rehearsed, peace was proclaimed. There was music, recitation of poetry, feats of arms, athletic sports, horse-racing, and juggling.[8]

In Madagascar the market is a place of public resort, and it is there that the public announcements of the sovereign are made.[1] In the Kabyle market feasts and fasts and all matters that affect the community are proclaimed. It is the place of news, gossip, and friendly intercourse, of plannings, and of plots.[2] The Papuan markets last all day, and are enlivened with feastings and dances;[3] and similar amusements accompany some of the Eskimo markets.[4] Those who resort to the Congo markets go not only to buy and sell, but to meet friends, to drink *malafou* and enjoy a gossip with them, to settle thorny questions, to hold palavers, to arrange disputes between clans and villages, to decide on war and peace, to bargain about the purchase of a wife, to describe slaves lost or stolen, and to give publicity to transactions such as the release of hostages or prisoners of war, or the payment of the price of blood. It is there that the man who is robbed gives information of the robbery, and that the creditor, if he cannot get payment, proclaims the infamy of the debtor. It is there, too, that ordeals are administered and criminals executed. Under the trees in its vicinity the drinkers of palm-wine, the politician, and the news-monger hold rendezvous.[5]

LITERATURE.—The authorities are cited in the course of the article; but special reference must be made to three works, to which the writer of the article owes a special debt: R. Lasch, 'Das Marktwesen auf den primitiven Kulturstufen,' *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, ix. [1906] 619 ff., 700 ff., 764 ff.; P. Huvelin, *Essai historique sur le droit des marchés et des foires*, Paris, 1897; H. Schurtz, *Das afrikanische Gewerbe*, Leipzig, 1900.

P. J. HAMILTON-GRIERSON.

MARQUESAS.—See POLYNESIA.

MARRIAGE.

Introductory and Primitive (W. H. R. RIVERS), p. 423.
Babylonian.—See 'Semitic.'
Buddhist.—See FAMILY (Buddhist).
Burmese.—See BURMA.
Celtic (G. DOTTIN), p. 432.
Christian (W. M. FOLEY), p. 433.
Egyptian (F. LL. GRIFFITH), p. 443.
Greek (W. J. WOODHOUSE), p. 444.
Hebrew.—See 'Semitic.'
Hindu (A. B. KEITH), p. 449.
Iranian (J. J. MODI and L. H. GRAY), p. 455.
Japanese and Korean (T. NAKAJIMA), p. 459.
Jewish (I. ABRAHAMS), p. 460.
Muslim.—See FAMILY (Muslim), LAW (Muhammadan).
Roman (W. WARDE FOWLER), p. 463.
Semitic (G. A. BARTON), p. 466.
Slavic (J. MÁCHAL), p. 471.
Teutonic.—See FAMILY (Teutonic and Balto-Slavic).

MARRIAGE (Introductory and Primitive).—Marriage has two main functions: it is the means adopted by human society for regulating the relations between the sexes; and it furnishes the mechanism by means of which the relation of a child to the community is determined. Owing to the preponderant importance which has been attached to the former function, the more strictly social functions of marriage have been largely overshadowed by its moral aspect, and it has not been sufficiently recognized that the function of marriage as the regulator of social relations may be of the most definite kind where the institution is of a very lax and indefinite order when regarded from the moral standpoint of civilized man.

The institution of marriage may be regarded as the central feature of all forms of human society with which we are acquainted. It stands in an especially close relation to the family—using this term for the group consisting of parents and children. This social group rests absolutely on the institution of marriage. Where marriage is monogamous, the group formed by the family will consist of the consorts and their children; where marriage is polygynous, it will consist of a man, his wives, and their children; while in polyandry, the family will consist of a woman, her husbands, and her children by those husbands or assigned to those husbands by social convention.

The institution of marriage also underlies the extended family, this term meaning the social group consisting of all persons related to one another either by consanguinity or by those social conventions which so often take its place (see art. KIN, KINSHIP). It is the marriages of the members of the extended family that immediately determine the limits and functions of this mode of social grouping.

The relation of the clan and other similar social groups to marriage is less simple. While marriage is the foundation of the family, it is possible that the clan-organization has grown out of a state of society in which individual marriage did not exist; but, whether this has been so or not, the clan-organization as it now exists is intimately related to marriage, this institution being the means by which descent, inheritance of property, succession to rank, and other social differentiations are regulated.

1. Regulation of marriage.—In all forms of human society there are definite rules regulating whom the members of the community may and may not marry. These rules are of many different kinds, but they all fall under one or other of two main forms: regulation by kinship or genealogical relationship; and regulation by some form of social mechanism, consisting of clans or similar social groups. The rules may also be distinguished according as they prohibit or enjoin certain unions.

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[1] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*², London, 1894, pp. 73–75; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, i. 144, 193, 210, 212, ii. 54, 56 f., 202, 204; A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1895, i. 28; E. Wilutzky, *Vorgeschichte des Rechts*, Berlin, 1903, i. 45 f.; K. Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, do. 1856, p. 447; R. Sigismund, *Die Aromata in ihrer Bedeutung für Religion, Sitten, Gebräuche, Handel und Geographie des Altertums*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 141; W. Roscher, *System der Volkswirthschaft*⁷, Stuttgart, 1899, iii. 83. In the charter of Bressieux in Dauphiné, A.D. 1288, it was provided as a special privilege '. . . et sint omnes in dictis nondinibus (sic) existentes quieti et immunes a crimine adulterii' (Huvelin, p. 438).

[2] Marsden, pp. 274, 380; Hagen, *Eine Reise nach dem Tobah-See in Zentralsumatra*, p. 173. The gaming booths which are found in the most populous parts of Gajoland seem to be the only centres of trade (Snouck Hurgronje, p. 279).

[3] Wellhausen, pp. 85 f., 183. According to Burckhardt, p. 449, it was the custom among the Assyr. Arabs, before the Wahhābi conquest, to bring their marriageable daughters to market, and it was there only that the match was concluded.

[4] P. W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, London, 1903, ii. 438; see J. Rhys, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, do. 1888, p. 409 f.

[5] Joyce, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Ib.* ii. 441.

[7] O'Curry, iii. 529, 531.

[8] *Ib.* i. pp. cclv, cclvi, cccxxvi, ii. 152.

[1] Ellis, *Hist. of Madagascar*, i. 332 f.

[2] Hanoteau-Letourneux, ii. 77 f.

[3] Hagen, *Unter den Papua's*, p. 219.

[4] J. Simpson, p. 396.

[5] *Guide de la section de l'état indépendant du Congo*, p. 69.

Among all those peoples who have the family as their main form of social grouping marriage is regulated solely by kinship, and the rules regulating marriage consist exclusively of prohibitions, forming the 'table of prohibited kindred and affinities.' Peoples whose social system is founded mainly on the clan or other similar mode of grouping do not, however, regulate their marriages solely by this mechanism, but this kind of regulation, in all cases of which we have any exact knowledge, is combined with the regulation of marriage by kinship, the two modes of regulation co-existing, and supplementing one another. Further, this double mode of regulation does not consist entirely of prohibitions, but, side by side with rules of prohibition, there are often definite rules which enjoin marriage with certain relatives.

The regulation of marriage associated with modes of social grouping assumes certain definite forms for which there are well-established terms, such as exogamy, endogamy, and hypergamy.

2. Exogamy and endogamy.—Much confusion has been produced in the use of these terms through the mistaken idea that the processes which they denote are opposed to one another, this being chiefly due to an error on the part of McLennan, who was the first to draw attention to the practice of exogamy. According to this writer, exogamy is a custom in which a person has to marry outside his tribe. There are a few cases on record, though even about these we need far more exact information than we possess, in which it seems that people have to marry outside their tribe or other similar social group, but in the vast majority of the cases for which the term 'exogamy' is used the exogamous social group is not the tribe, but that subdivision of the tribe for which the term 'clan' is generally employed. When we say that a community possesses the clan-organization, we mean that it is divided into a number of groups, the members of each of which must marry outside their own group. If they must marry into some other group of their own community, we have to do with the practice of endogamy, the community as a whole being endogamous, while the clan within the community is exogamous. From this it will follow that exogamy and endogamy are not antithetical processes, but, where both exist, supplement one another.

Endogamy in this sense is a relatively infrequent practice, being most fully developed in the caste system of India, in which the caste is the endogamous group and the *gotra* (*q.v.*) or other corresponding sub-group the exogamous unit (see art. CASTE). The social system of the Todas is another pure case of the division of endogamous social groups into exogamous clans. In other parts of the world obligatory endogamy is rare. There are many people who are isolated from their neighbours, either by physical or, still more frequently, by social conditions, such as constant warfare, who habitually marry within their own community, but their case differs fundamentally from that of the Hindu or Toda in that there is no definite prohibition of marriage within the community, and, if the opportunity arises, such marriages meet with no opposition. Even in Europe there are cases in which marriage within the village or other social group is so habitual and departure from this custom meets with such social reprobation that we come very near to true endogamy. It would seem that this tendency to endogamy is especially pronounced where the people of the village follow one occupation, and this association of endogamy with occupation is not only characteristic of the caste system of India, but is also found in one of the exceptional examples of obligatory endogamy, which occurs in Africa in the case of the smiths, who often form a social group kept separate, by having to marry within their own body, from the rest of the community to which they belong. It is noteworthy also that there is a definite tendency towards the association of endogamy and occupation in the cases of priesthood and royalty, and in some cases marriage within these classes is so strictly enjoined that it amounts to a form of endogamy.

The practice of exogamy occurs in many forms according to the nature of the social system of which it forms part. If the community is totemic, the exogamous social group will be the totemic clan. If the community is organized on a social or territorial base, the exogamous unit will be the village, the hamlet, or the quarter of a town. If the grouping rests on a belief in common descent, the exogamous group may take its name from the ancestor, this mode of organization differing from regulation by kinship in that the common ancestor is remote, and in some cases mythical or fictitious. In one frequent form of exogamy the whole community consists of two moieties, the men of one moiety marrying women of the other. The rule that two people with the same family name may not marry, which is found in China, may be regarded as another variety of exogamy. In Australia this mode of organization is modified so as to produce a complicated system consisting of social groups known as matrimonial classes.

3. Australian matrimonial classes.—These form a special variety of exogamous system in which a person has not only to marry outside his own class, but has to marry into another specified group. In one form, known as the four-class system, each moiety is composed of two sections, the marriages of members of one section of one moiety being limited to one section of the other. This system is associated with a peculiar mode of descent in which a child does not belong to the class of either father or mother, but to the other section of the moiety of one or other. In another form, known as the eight-class system, each of the four classes is composed of two sections, in which descent follows the same kind of rules as in the four-class system, but of a more complicated kind. This form of social organization has until recently been supposed to be unique, but A. R. Brown has shown[1] that it is nothing more than a systematization of the regulation of marriage by kinship which is generally associated with exogamous systems. In Melanesia there are probably similar groupings, though of a less definite kind than in Australia.

4. Hypergamy.—This name has been given to a peculiar form of the regulation of marriage, only known to occur in India, in which a woman must marry a man of a caste or sub-caste higher than her own. Where this custom is found, men and women of the same caste or sub-caste are sometimes also allowed to marry, but there is the strictest prohibition of the marriage of a woman with a man of a caste lower than her own.

5. Regulation of marriage by kinship.—Among peoples whose social system is based specially on the family and the nature of whose system of relationship shows that this mode of social organization has been of long duration, marriage is regulated exclusively by genealogical relationship. Marriages with certain classes of relatives are forbidden and those with other classes allowed, while other marriages may not be strictly prohibited, though looked upon with more or less disfavour by the community, the chief example of this difference of attitude occurring in the case of first cousins. We do not know, however, of any such people among whom marriages with certain relatives are obligatory, or even so habitual as to stamp their presence on the nomenclature of relationship.

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[1] *JRAI* xliii. [1913] 143 ff.

The regulation of marriage solely by relationship is not limited to peoples whose system of relationship is based on the family, but occurs also among many people who follow the classificatory system of relationship. It is found in many parts of Africa and America; it is characteristic of Polynesia, and occurs in some parts of Melanesia; while, as already mentioned, the matrimonial classes of Australia are only a specialized form of this mode of regulation. Among all these peoples, however, the results of this type of regulation differ widely from those already considered in that the restrictions apply to the very wide circle of relatives involved in the use of the classificatory system. Among such peoples we have not to do with the prohibition of marriage merely between brother and sister or between first cousins, but also between those whom we should call second and third cousins, or even more remote relatives. Sometimes the rule forbids marriage with a person with whom any kind of genealogical connexion, apart from relation by marriage, can be traced. More frequently the prohibition does not take this extreme form, but there are rules limiting the prohibition to certain classes of genealogical relationship, a frequent form of such limitation being the exclusion from the prohibition of those cases in which cousins are descended from persons of different sexes. Thus, among many peoples the marriage of the children of two brothers or of two sisters is strictly prohibited, but not only is the marriage of cousins who are the children of a brother and sister allowed, but, as will appear shortly, these relatives may be the natural consorts of one another. The people who thus regulate marriage exclusively by relationship have lost the clan-organization which their use of the classificatory system shows them to have once possessed. Even those who still possess this form of social organization do not rely solely upon it for the regulation of marriage, but marriages with many relatives are prohibited outside the circle of the exogamous group. Sometimes this prohibition takes the form that a man must not only seek a wife out of his own clan, but must avoid the clans of both father and mother, and perhaps the clans of all the grandparents. More often, however, the prohibitions rest more directly upon kinship, and do not involve all the members of the clans with which the man is related. Many gradations occur between people who regulate marriage solely by kinship and others among whom marriage is chiefly regulated by the clan-mechanism, but we know no people who have been carefully investigated and have been found to be wholly devoid of the mode of regulation by kinship.

6. Marriage with relatives.—Among many peoples, and especially among those who use the classificatory system of relationship, the regulation of marriage by kinship is not confined to prohibitions, but there are often definite regulations which make marriage with certain relatives the orthodox unions, and even in those cases in which such marriages occur but are not especially frequent the influence which they have had upon the nomenclature of relationship shows that they must once have been habitual. The influence upon systems of relationship is so definite that it is possible to infer from their nature the existence of forms of marriage in the past which are no longer in vogue, thus affording evidence which makes it possible to trace the past history of marriage.

(*a*) *Parent and child.*—We know of no people who allow marriage between mother and son. In many places, especially in Africa, a man may marry one of his father's wives, but in these cases his own mother is definitely excluded. Marriage between father and daughter is said to occur occasionally, though it is probable that in such cases the marriage is not that of a man with his own daughter, but with one whom he calls daughter in the classificatory sense. The marriage of a man with his brother's daughter would be a union of this kind, and such marriages certainly take place in some parts of Melanesia and in Australia.

(*b*) *Brother and sister.*—The case in which we have the most definite evidence for this form of marriage is that of royal families. Examples of the marriage of brother and sister are known from history in the royal families of Egypt and Persia, and occurred also among the Incas of Peru. In recent times the marriage of brother and sister is, or has been, the custom in Siam, Burma, Ceylon, Uganda, and the Hawaiian Islands. In the last case the highest kind of chief was one whose father and mother were own brother and sister, who were themselves the offspring of a similar union. In this case certainly, and probably in the others, this form of marriage is definitely forbidden to those of other than royal or chiefly rank, and the practice is due to the belief in the virtue of royal blood and the desire to keep this blood as pure as possible.

Marriage between brother and sister has occasionally been recorded as the general custom of a people. There are well-established cases where marriage is allowed between half-brother and half-sister, usually where they are the children of one father by different mothers, more rarely by one mother and different fathers. No other cases are well authenticated, and some records of the marriage of brother and sister, such as the case of the Veddas, are now known to be mistaken. In general, not only is this form of marriage prohibited, but its prohibition forms the central and most definite feature of the moral code; and this applies to the marriage not merely of own brother and sister, but of those relatives in the widest classificatory sense.

It has been supposed by Morgan and others that the marriage of brother and sister was once general among mankind, and that it formed a stage in the history of the institution of marriage, but this opinion is chiefly based on misinterpretation of the evidence. Thus, avoidance between brother and sister (see KIN, KINSHIP, III. 2) has been held to show the former presence of sexual relations between these relatives. This is probably correct; but in Melanesia, from which region some of our best examples of this form of avoidance come, the custom is almost certainly a relatively recent practice due to external influence.[1] In all cases where marriage or sexual relations are allowed between brother and sister, they are probably of late occurrence, due either to relaxation of morality, or to the working of special ideas, such as that of the virtue inherent in royal blood.

(*c*) *Cousins.*—It is necessary to distinguish here between the marriage of cousins in general and the marriage of those cousins, usually known as cross-cousins, who are descended from persons of different sex. The marriage of cousins in general is sometimes allowed and sometimes prohibited, this prohibition being a necessary consequence of the classing of all or some cousins with brothers and sisters in different forms of the classificatory system.

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[1] Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914, ii. 153.

The marriage of cousins is frequent among Muhammadans, usually with the daughter of the father's brother, and here, as in other cases in which this form of marriage occurs sporadically, the motive is the desire to keep property within the family.

The most frequent form of marriage of cousins is that which takes place between cross-cousins, namely, cousins who are the children of brother and sister. In many places this marriage is not merely allowed, but is the orthodox union, and is so habitual that it determines the form of the system of relationship and gives a special character to the whole social system. All the peoples who are known to practise this form of marriage use the classificatory system of relationship; but usually the marriage is not between cross-cousins in the wide classificatory sense, but between the children of own brother and sister. In some communities these relatives are regarded as husband and wife without the need of any ceremony or other social arrangement, and still more frequently they apply to one another the terms used between husband and wife, even when they are not actually married to one another.

In the most frequent form of this union a man marries the daughter either of his mother's brother or of his father's sister, but occasionally his choice is limited to one or other of these relatives, the case which occurs the more frequently being that he may marry the daughter of his mother's brother but not of his father's sister. This form of marriage occurs among a few peoples of Australia, in several parts of Melanesia, including Fiji, and in India, especially in the south of the peninsula, though it was probably once more widely distributed.[1] It is also found among the Haida and a few other peoples of N. America, but has not yet been recorded from S. America. In Africa it has recently been found by Mrs. R. F. A. Hoernle among the Hottentots.

This type of marriage has usually been regarded as a secondary consequence of the dual organization of society, and has probably arisen in most, if not in all, cases out of this form of social organization. In Melanesia it has probably had as its immediate antecedent marriage with the father's sister or with the wife of the mother's brother, but elsewhere it seems to be actuated by the desire to keep property within the family.[2] In some parts of Australia the form taken by the matrimonial classes involves the marriage of second cousins, but we do not know how far such marriages occur between true second cousins or between more distant relatives. In some parts of the New Hebrides it is the custom to marry certain relatives whom we should class as first cousins once removed. Thus, a man may marry the daughter of his father's sister's son or daughter, the daughter of his mother's brother's daughter, or the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. One of these forms of marriage is especially frequent, viz. that with the daughter's daughter of the father's sister.

(*d*) *Uncle and niece.*—In general, marriage between these relatives is prohibited, but occasionally a man is allowed to marry his brother's daughter, and this marriage would seem to have sometimes been so habitual as to have influenced the system of relationship. This marriage occurs in northern Australia and in some parts of Melanesia. It has also been recorded elsewhere, and is allowed in some parts of Europe. Several peoples of S. India permit a man to marry his sister's daughter. In some cases it is only the daughter of an elder sister who may be married.

Another marriage which may be included under this heading is one occurring in Melanesia, in which a man marries the wife of his sister's son, or in which he and his sister's son have their wives in common.

(*e*) *Aunt and nephew.*—Marriage with the father's sister occurs sporadically in certain parts of Melanesia, and is a regular practice among some of the Déné peoples of N. America, and marriage with the mother's sister is said to occur among the Ossetes of the Caucasus. Marriage with the wife or widow of the mother's brother is still practised in many parts of Melanesia, and is shown by the nomenclature of relationship to have once been a common practice. This form of marriage also occurs among some of the Bantu peoples of Africa, and many systems of relationship of N. America have features which would be its natural result.

(*f*) *Grandparent and grandchild.*—In Pentecost Island in the New Hebrides it is, or has been, the custom to marry the daughter's daughter of the brother; and this marriage with one who, through the classificatory system, has the status of a granddaughter has imprinted itself so deeply on the nomenclature of relationship that it must once have been the habitual custom of the people. This form of marriage has also been recorded among the Dieri of Central Australia.

A form of marriage similar to that just described, in that a man marries a woman two generations below his own, occurs in Ambrim, adjacent to Pentecost Island. In this island a man marries the daughter of his sister's son. Still more widely distributed is marriage with the wife or widow of the father's father. The occurrence of this form of marriage was first inferred from the nature of the terminology of relationship in Fiji and in Bougainville Island in the Solomons, but the present writer has since found it in vogue in several islands of the New Hebrides, not only with some wife of the father's father, but with the actual grandmother.

We do not at present know of marriage between grandparents and grandchildren outside of Australasia, but there are features of some African systems of relationship which suggest its occurrence at present or in the past.

7. Polygamy.—The forms of marriage so far described are characterized by the social status of the partners to the union. The varieties now to be considered arise out of the number of the persons who enter into union. The term at the head of this section is most conveniently used as a generic term to include all such cases other than monogamy. Its different forms are polygyny, in which one man marries more than one woman; polyandry, in which one woman marries more than one man; and communal marriage, in which more than one man marries more than one woman.

8. Polygyny.—Though this form of marriage exists, or has existed, in every part of the world, it is very rarely, if ever, practised by all members of the community, but is the special privilege of the powerful and wealthy. Polygyny can be universal only among a people which obtains women by capture or some other means from outside its own community. Sometimes the practice is limited to chiefs, sometimes, where large payments for a wife are in vogue, it is only the wealthy who can marry more than one wife. Sometimes polygyny is the privilege of those who have shown their superiority to the rest of their community in some way, as in Eddystone Island in the Solomons, where a second wife is allowed to men who have taken ten heads in warfare.

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[1] *JRAS*, 1907, p. 611.

[2] C. Hill-Tout, *British North America*, London, 1907, p. 145; F. J. Richards, *Man*, xiv. [1914] p. 194.

Polygynous unions differ considerably in the degree of social differentiation accompanying the union. The different wives may live together in one household, or each may have her own establishment. Sometimes one wife is superior to the rest, and her children differ from those of other wives in social status—a condition which passes insensibly into the distinction between marriage and concubinage (see below, § 11). Sometimes there are definite rules regulating the behaviour of the husband to the different wives.

The continent in which polygyny has reached its highest degree of development is Africa, in many parts of which the practice is so frequent and has so impressed itself upon the social organization that it has influenced the nomenclature of relationship, and special terms are used to distinguish from one another the children by the different wives of a polygynous marriage. Other regions where polygyny is well established are Australia and parts of Melanesia, where the polygyny forms part of an organized system of monopoly of the young women by the old men of the community.

It is sometimes the custom in polygyny that the wives shall be sisters, a man who marries a woman having the right to take her sisters also as they reach marriageable age.

9. Polyandry.—This custom is far less frequent than polygyny. At the present time its chief home is in India and its neighbourhood, and it also occurs in a definite form in the Marquesas Islands and among the Bahima and Baziba, Bantu peoples of Africa. In ancient times it has been recorded among the Arabs, Britons, Picts, and Guanches, but our information about these and many of the recently-recorded cases is not sufficient to show whether the condition was one of true polyandry or a variety of sexual communism. Even in India there is a distinct tendency for polyandry to be associated with polygyny, thus producing one form of communal marriage. Two varieties of polyandry are generally recognized, in one of which husbands are brothers, while in the other they are not necessarily related to one another. Following McLennan, these two forms are often called Tibetan and Nair (Nayar) respectively, but are better distinguished as fraternal and non-fraternal.

Both among the Todas and in Tibet and neighbouring regions, where polyandry exists in its purest form, it is of the fraternal variety. Usually the eldest son of a family marries, and, as his brothers grow up, they share his wife with him. Even if one of the younger brothers takes a wife among the Todas, she becomes also the wife of the other brothers. It is doubtful whether the recorded cases of non-fraternal polyandry should be regarded as polyandry at all. Among the Nayars, who furnished McLennan with his pattern of this form of polyandry, a girl goes through a form of marriage with a man, but then or later consorts with a number of men who need not be related to one another. It is a question, however, whether these men should not be regarded as cicisbei rather than husbands—a point difficult to decide, since the purely matrilineal institutions of the people make the fact of fatherhood of little social importance.

A variety of polyandry which may be distinguished is one which occurs among several peoples of India, in which a young boy marries a wife who consorts with the boy's father or maternal uncle or some other man. The wife's offspring are counted as the children of the boy-husband, and, when the boy reaches adult age, he will consort with the wife either of one of these children or of some other boy. The motive of the custom is said to be that the boy shall have a son to take him out of *Put* (hell). A similar practice has been recorded elsewhere, as among the Ostiaks and Ossetes. In Melanesia a man and his sister's son might share a wife or wives in common, but this was almost certainly part of a system of communal marriage, and it is probable that this is also the true nature of some or all of the other cases of this variety of polyandry. The polyandry of the Marquesas is peculiar in that the husbands are of different social status, one husband belonging to a more influential section of the community than the other.

We know very little of the social mechanism by means of which the status of the children is determined in cases of polyandry. In several cases it has been recorded that the children are assigned to the different husbands in order of age, but it is certainly not true of the Todas, who were once credited with this practice. Among this people there is no need for any special ascription of the children to the different husbands when these are brothers, owing to their common habitation and their common possession of property. It is only when the husbands are not brothers that the necessity arises, and then fatherhood is determined by means of a ceremony at the seventh month of pregnancy, the man who performs this ceremony becoming the father of the child for all social purposes.

We know little or nothing of the causes which have led to polyandry. Among the Todas and in the Marquesas Islands, and possibly elsewhere, polyandry is associated with female infanticide, and it has been supposed that the polyandry is a result of the scarcity of women so produced. It has also been supposed that polyandry has been the result of inequality in the proportion of the sexes, due to scarcity of the food-supply, this either producing a small proportion of female births owing to physiological causes or leading to the practice of infanticide.

It is noteworthy that the only definite example of polyandry recorded in Africa should occur among a pastoral people whose culture possesses several features closely resembling that of the Todas.

10. Communal or group-marriage.—The question whether this form of marriage exists has been the subject of a lively controversy between different schools of sociologists for many years. If we define this type of marriage as a union of more than one man with more than one woman, no one doubts that cases occur which conform to the definition. This form of union is found among the Todas, for instance, but there it seems to have arisen as a combination of polygyny with polyandry. It is when we pass from such cases to those in which large groups of men are held to be the husbands of large groups of women that doubt arises.

The solution of the problem turns largely on the sense in which we use the term 'marriage.' If this word be employed for relations between the sexes, there is no question that group-marriage does not merely exist, but is a widely distributed practice. If, on the other hand, marriage is regarded essentially as an institution by which the social status of children is determined, we are met by our very imperfect knowledge of the exact nature of the recorded cases from this point of view; and another difficulty is that of drawing the line between wife and concubine, between husband and cicisbeo.

The recorded case which seems most to deserve the name of group-marriage is that of the Ngarabana (Urabunna) of Central Australia. It is stated that, among this people, no man has exclusive rights over any woman, and that we have not to do with a confusion between wife and concubine appears from comparison with an adjoining people, the Dieri. The Dieri have a definite term for individual marriage, viz. *tippa-malku*; this exists side by side with the *pirrauru* relationship, which is certainly one in which a group of men and a group of women have the right to sexual relations with one another. The Ngarabana have consorts called *piraungaru*, who evidently correspond with the *pirrauru* of the Dieri, and the relations between the Ngarabana men and women who call one another *nupa* would, therefore, seem to correspond with the *tippa-malku* union of the Dieri, except that they are group-relationships, while the *tippa-malku* union occurs between individuals. The *tippa-malku* marriage, however, is associated with the custom of lending a wife, while men other than the husband have marital rights as part of the marriage ceremony. If the *tippa-malku* union is regarded as true marriage, it is difficult to withhold this name from the union between *nupa* which seems to correspond with it among the Ngarabana. In order to reach a positive decision on the matter, however, we should like to be more fully informed about the exact social relations which exist between children and the male partners in the different kinds of union.

In some parts of Melanesia there is an association of definite individual marriage with the occurrence of sexual relations between the group of men formed by the husband's brothers and the group of women formed by the wife's sisters. Since these groups consist of brothers and sisters in the classificatory sense, they may be of considerable size. This case is, now at any rate, confined to relations between the sexes, and it seems, therefore, better not to regard this as a form of group-marriage, but to speak of sexual communism associated with individual marriage.

Those cases may be similarly regarded in which all the members of a conventional brotherhood possess marital rights over the wives of other fellows. The most definite case of this kind of which we know is that recorded by C. G. Seligmann[1] among the Massim of New Guinea, in which all the members of a brotherhood who called one another *eriam* have marital rights over the wives of the *eriam*.

11. Concubinage and cicisbeism.—Reference has already been made to the difficulty of distinguishing these conditions from marriage. The most convenient use of the word 'concubine' would be to denote a woman with whom sexual relations are permitted, although the union does not involve fatherhood if there should be offspring. Similarly, the term cicisbeo would be most conveniently used of the male partner in a similar union. If the terms were used in this sense, the *pirrauru* and *piraungaru* of the Dieri and Ngarabana would be concubines or cicisbei. The distinction would be especially applicable in such a case as that of the Todas, whose *mokhthodvaiol* would be distinguished as cicisbei from the husbands proper, there being the important difference between the two that the *mokhthodvaiol* partnership is not subject to the law of endogamy which regulates the polyandrous marriage. The *mokhthodvaiol* also never obtains the status of father to his partner's children except in those rare cases in which, being of the same endogamous group as an expectant mother whose husband is dead or missing, he is called upon to perform the ceremony which determines fatherhood.

The difficulty in using the term 'concubine' in the sense thus proposed is that in some of the cases, such as those of the OT, in which the use of the term is fixed, concubinage carries with it the social relation of fatherhood, sometimes even with full rights of inheritance and succession (cf. art. CONCUBINAGE [Introductory]).

12. Marriage and sexual relations.—In this article marriage has been considered chiefly as a social institution by means of which the relations between parents and children become part of an organized social system. People among whom marriage is a social institution of the most definite kind may vary greatly in their attitude towards the sexual relations of married persons. All gradations can be found between peoples who regard any sexual relations other than those between husband and wife as a heinous offence and those who allow very great freedom in this respect. Of all the cases of which we have any knowledge, however, the extra-marital relations of married persons are subject to definite restrictions, the clue to the nature of these restrictions resting upon the conception of a wife as the personal property of her husband. Thus many peoples who will kill or make war upon the offender, if a wife is found to have transgressed, will nevertheless freely allow others access to their wives if their consent is asked, or will offer no objection if relations with other men form part of the saturnalia or other occasions when relaxation of the ordinary moral rules is allowed.

The chief modes of departure from marital chastity are exchange of wives, which is especially a feature of Australian society, and lending wives to guests, which occurs in many parts of the world. Allowing the use of a wife in return for money or other kind of compensation is more rare, and is often only a feature of the relaxation of morality which follows contact with external influence.

13. Sexual relations before marriage.—Peoples differ greatly in their attitude towards sexual relations before marriage. In general, pre-nuptial freedom is allowed to men, but great divergencies are found in the views held about female chastity before marriage. Among many people the pre-marital chastity of the wife is so highly valued that it may lead to such a practice as infibulation (cf. *ERE* iii. 668^a, 669^b), and the testing of chastity may form an important part of the marriage ceremony, the failure of this test leading to annulment of the marriage or depriving the relatives of the woman of the bride-price or other benefits which they would otherwise obtain from the marriage.

Among other peoples freedom of sexual relations before marriage is regarded as a normal occurrence, and there may even be an organized system of payments for such relations, or prostitution in some form may be regarded as a regular preliminary to marriage, and those who have been successful in this career may be especially sought as brides. In other cases sexual relations before marriage may take place more or less freely, though they are not openly condoned. Among many peoples such sexual relations are allowed so long as they do not result in offspring, and often, as in many parts of Europe, the occurrence of pregnancy forms the usual preliminary to, and occasion for, marriage.

In addition to the forms of marriage dependent upon the social status of husband and wife and the numbers of partners who enter into union, other varieties can be distinguished according to the place of residence of the married persons, and the age at which the union takes place.

14. Patrilocal and matrilocal marriage.—These are terms respectively for cases in which the wife goes to live with her husband, and the husband goes to live at the home of his wife, the usual consequence being that in the one case the children will belong to the locality of the father, and in the other to that of the mother. These two varieties of marriage have often been distinguished, especially by writers on Indian sociology, by means of the Simhalese words *deega* and *beena*, but the above terms, first proposed by N. W. Thomas, are now coming into general use. Intermediate cases between the patrilocal and matrilocal forms occur in which the man goes to live at his wife's home for a time, the case being closely related to that mode of obtaining a wife in which a man has, for a period of months or years, to serve the parents of the woman he hopes to obtain as a wife (cf. § 19).

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[1] *Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 473.

Sometimes, as in the island of Tikopia, the visit to the wife's home is of so short a duration that it is probably only a survival in ceremony of a former condition of matrilocal marriage. Still another condition is that which occurs among the Arabs of the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān, in which the wife returns to the home of her parents in order to give birth to her children.

15. Infant marriage.—It is necessary to distinguish between infant marriage and infant betrothal, though the line between the two is often indefinite. Children are often promised as husbands or wives when very young or even before they are born, but it is only when ceremonies are performed or transactions carried through which are of the same nature as those accompanying the marriage of adults that we ought to speak of infant marriage.

Even in this limited sense, infant marriage is a very widely distributed practice. It is especially prominent in India, where its combination with the prohibition of re-marriage of widows makes it a very important feature of social life. Infant marriage occurs as an established practice in Australia and Melanesia, but here, as in other parts of the world, the process is often one of betrothal rather than of marriage. Sometimes a girl married in infancy goes at once to live with her husband's people; in other cases she continues to live with her own parents until she is of age for the marriage to be consummated.

Infant marriage has probably had two chief causes. It is a means of promoting the chastity of the young, adopted by peoples who attach importance to chastity before marriage, and this is especially the case when the girl goes to live with her husband's parents, who are thus able to watch over their son's wife. It may also be the result of any social condition which makes it difficult to obtain a wife, such as scarcity of women due to infanticide or natural causes, or monopoly of women by one section of the community. A lowering of the age of marriage for these reasons only accentuates the difficulty in obtaining a wife, and the lowering of age thus tends to be progressive, producing, in course of time, the marriages in extreme infancy which are found among some peoples (cf. art. CHILD MARRIAGE [in India]).

16. Arrangement of marriage.—In the very rare cases in which the choice of a consort is absolutely free the arrangement of marriage is a simple matter, and the same is true of the condition which seems to occupy the other end of the scale, in which the marriage of a person is pre-determined by the social rules of the community, as in those cases in which a man has to marry a certain relative. Even, however, in cases in which the choice is largely free, it is often the custom to make use of an intermediary, or the transactions connected with the marriage are arranged by the relatives or friends of the partners in the proposed union.

An important difference in the nature of the process of courtship turns upon whether the initiative comes from man or woman. Among many peoples proposals of marriage should come from the women.

The part played by other persons in the arrangement of marriage largely turns upon the extent to which relatives and friends take part in the pecuniary transactions which so often accompany marriage; but in many communities the consent of certain relatives is necessary, quite apart from this. Among those peoples whose social system is based on the family it is the consent of the parents that is chiefly needed. Among other peoples the place of the parents in this respect may be taken by some other relative, such as the mother's brother or the father's sister. In some parts of Melanesia the consent of the father's sister is essential. She usually chooses a wife for her nephew, and has the power of vetoing his marriage if he should choose for himself.

17. Marriage by purchase.—In most parts of the world marriage is accompanied by pecuniary transactions. In some cases payments are made by the husband or his relatives to the relatives of the woman, this payment being usually known as the bride-price. In other cases payments are made by the relatives of the bride, these being usually known as a dower. In other cases again there are complicated transactions in which payments pass between the two parties, but often these are chiefly of a ceremonial nature, either existing alone or, more frequently, accompanying the transference of the bride-price or dower.

Sometimes the payments made for a wife or husband may be so large as to form a definite impediment to marriage. They tend to raise the age of marriage, or may even prevent some members of the community from marrying at all. In some cases, however, in which the payments seem to be very large the common ownership of property distributes the payments over a large circle, making them more practicable than would be the case if they had to be given by an individual person. Sometimes the payments are made in different stages which may correspond with betrothal and marriage, and sometimes they do not cease at marriage, but continue for some time afterwards, the birth of each child of the union being an occasion for them.

Among peoples who follow the custom of marrying certain relatives it sometimes happens that the payment for a wife is made only in those cases in which a man marries some other woman.

The most frequent mode of marriage by purchase takes the form of the bride-price; but in India, and in some parts of Europe, the dower or payment to the husband is the more usual custom.

18. Marriage by exchange.—The most definite case of this mode of contracting marriage is that in which a man gives his sister to the brother of his bride, and, since this custom usually occurs among peoples who use the classificatory system of relationship, it may lead to the exchange of women between groups of considerable size. The motive usually assigned for this form of marriage by those who practise it is that it does away with the necessity of paying for a wife; but there is some reason to suppose that in some cases the practice may have arisen out of, or be otherwise associated with, the cross-cousin marriage.

19. Marriage by service.—This kind of marriage, which has become well known through its occurrence in the OT, is probably not very common, and, as already mentioned (§ 14), passes insensibly into the matrilocal form of marriage.

20. Marriage by elopement.—Among many peoples elopement is so frequent and is so little objected to by the community that it may be regarded as a regular mode of contracting marriage. In some cases it would appear to be the result of restrictions upon marriage which have developed to such an extent as to have become irksome to the community. In the absence of any social mechanism for the abrogation of these restrictions it has become the custom to connive at their infraction by taking a lenient view of elopement. In Australia and some parts of Melanesia where elopement is frequent it may be the secondary consequence of the monopoly of women by the old men. In other cases it may be a means of escape from the obstacles to marriage due to the bride-price.

21. Marriage by capture.—This form of marriage has aroused great interest in consequence of the idea of McLennan that, at one period of the history of human society, it was the normal mode of obtaining a wife. The capture of wives is known to occur, and the marriage ceremonial of many parts of the world includes either a definite conflict for the possession of the bride or features which may be interpreted as survivals of this process. It is very doubtful, however, whether any people habitually obtain wives from without their tribe, though the Khonds of India are said to do so, and it is probable that the conflicts of wedding ceremonial are derived from other social processes, such as the custom of marrying relatives, which gave certain persons a vested interest in the women of their own community. The vogue of the cross-cousin marriage in southern India makes it probable that a conflict which takes place between the husband and his wife's cousin in some parts of Malabar is a survival of that form of marriage in which the cousin had a proscriptive right to the bride.

It is probable that many of the other customs which have been regarded as survivals of the capture of women from hostile tribes are rather the results of a social condition in which it was the custom that women should become the wives of certain members of their own community.

22. Trial marriage.—Unions to which this term has been applied have been recorded among many peoples, but many, if not most, of these cases should be regarded as trials before marriage rather than as examples of marriage in the sense in which the term is used in this article. Temporary unions are especially frequent where marriage is contracted with little or no ceremonial, and these cases shade off insensibly into trials before marriage on the one hand and into ease and frequency of divorce on the other. A union should be called a trial marriage only if there is a definite contract or ceremony entered upon with the condition that the union shall be annulled if it is unfruitful or if the parties to it wish to separate after a certain period.

23. Social functions of relatives by marriage.—Marriage brings the partners to it into definite social relations with large groups of persons in whom they had previously no special interest. Among some peoples, and especially among those who use the classificatory system of relationship, these social functions may take very definite and well-established forms. Prominent among those is the custom of avoidance (see KIN, KINSHIP, III. 9) between a married person and his or her parents-in-law. The restrictions on conduct are usually most pronounced in the case of a man and his wife's mother, and the avoidance in this case may be so strict that the two are not allowed to see one another or to be in the same house or even in the same village. A more frequent form of avoidance is that a man may not speak to his mother-in-law or may not speak to her familiarly, and still more frequent is the custom that he may not use her personal name, but must address her by the appropriate term of relationship. A similar mode of conduct often accompanies the relationship of a man to his wife's father, but usually the avoidance is less strict, and the avoidance between a woman and her husband's parents is also, in general, less rigid than that between her husband and her parents. In some places certainly, and probably everywhere, these customs of avoidance are definitely associated with the idea of the likelihood of sexual relations between those who avoid one another, but the occurrence of similar customs of avoidance between persons of the same sex shows that this is not the only explanation.

Similar customs of avoidance also occur between brothers- and sisters-in-law, using these terms in the classificatory sense; but they are usually less strict, and often limited to prohibition of the use of the personal name or of familiar conversation. Often these customs are combined with certain duties on the part of these relatives towards one another—duties which may be summed up as those of mutual helpfulness. This is especially the case with the relationship of brother-in-law. Sometimes the duty of helping one another goes so far that a man may use any of the property of his brother-in-law. Sometimes the men must defend one another in case of danger, while the presence of the relatives on different sides may put an end to a fight. Still another duty sometimes assigned to these relatives is that one must dig the grave or take the leading part in the funeral ceremonies of the other.

This combination of customs of avoidance with the obligation of mutual helpfulness may possibly be explained as having grown out of the relations which arise when marriages habitually take place between hostile peoples, or they may be the result of the marriages which form part of the process of fusion of two peoples.

24. Marriage ceremonial.—The rites accompanying marriage vary greatly in duration and complexity among different peoples. Sometimes they are so fragmentary that they can hardly be said to exist, while in other cases the ceremonial may consist of rites of the most diverse and elaborate kinds, prolonged over weeks or months. In the lower forms of culture the ceremonial of marriage is, in general, scanty, especially where it is the custom to marry relatives. Its greatest complexity, on the other hand, is reached in India, south-eastern Asia, and the Malay Archipelago, the elaboration in the last region being almost certainly the result of Hindu influence. It is possible to distinguish certain main varieties of ceremonial. Putting on one side feasting and adornment as the expression of æsthetic motives natural to any important event in social life, we find a number of ceremonies which are connected with the economic side of marriage. Such is the transmission of objects from the friends of one partner to those of the other which form the bride-price or dower. In some parts of the world, as in Melanesia, the transactions of this kind are numerous and complicated and form nearly the whole of the ceremonial. Sometimes, however, these transactions have aspects which suggest a religious character, especially in the customs of exchange which are so prominent in the ceremonies of Polynesia, Melanesia, and some N. American peoples.

Another group of ceremonies which may have a motive chiefly economic is the conflicts and other features which are probably indications of interference with vested interests affected by the marriage.

A large group of ceremonies consists of acts symbolic of features of marriage. Such are the joining of hands and the tying together of garments. Allied to these are the acts which seem to show the superior status of one or other partner to the union. Thus the superiority of the bridegroom may be symbolized by presenting him with a whip or by his boxing the bride's ears, and possibly tying the *tāli* in India and the use of the wedding ring of our own ceremony may have had a similar meaning. Elsewhere, as in Morocco, the bride may perform various acts, such as riding a pack-saddle, which are designed to give her power over her husband.

Similar to these are the many forms of rite in which bride and bridegroom eat together or march round a fire. Other rites, such as that of pouring rice or wheat on the head of the bride, probably have as their motive the desire to promote the fertility of the union, or to ensure an abundance of food for the household.

Another large group of rites seems to be connected with the idea that some danger is attendant upon entrance into the marriage state. It may be that rites of this kind at marriage form part of a general custom of performing ceremonies at any transition from one period of life to another—the 'rites de passage' of A. van Gennep.[1] Another motive may be the idea of the danger accompanying sexual intercourse to which so great an effect has been ascribed by Crawley.[2]

Among features dependent on ideas of this kind may be mentioned the prolonged period which often has to elapse before consummation of the marriage is allowed, and the frequent customs according to which husband and wife are not allowed to see one another before a certain stage in the ceremonial. The many rites of purification, the assumption of new garments, and such disguises as dressing in the clothes of the opposite sex may also be of this order. It is probable that some rites of marriage are designed to impart to others the spiritual sanctity which is supposed to attach to newly-married persons.

Many of the motives for ceremonial so far considered are of the kind usually supposed to underlie magic. Other features are definitely religious in that they involve specific appeal to some higher power. Such are definite rites of sacrifice and prayer, while the practice of divination to discover whether the higher powers are propitious also falls under this head.

Among most people of rude culture no part is taken by any person who can be regarded as a priest, but, as definite religious motives come to actuate the ritual, its performance tends to pass more and more into the hands of a class of persons especially set aside for the performance of this and other religious functions.

25. Marriage to inanimate objects.—In several parts of India it is the custom, under certain circumstances, that persons shall go through ceremonial marriages with such objects as a tree, a bunch of flowers, a dagger, a sword, or an arrow. One occasion for this kind of marriage is the entrance of a dancing-girl upon her career, the motive being apparently that, though the future occupation of the girl will render a husband superfluous, she shall, nevertheless, be married.

Another motive for this form of marriage is the belief in the unluckiness of certain numbers. Thus, to counteract the belief that a second marriage is unlucky, a widower may marry an inanimate object in order that his succeeding union with a woman shall be his third marriage. It is probable, also, that marriage to a tree may, in some cases, especially where this forms a part of the ordinary marriage ceremonial, depend upon a belief in the influence of the tree upon the offspring, possibly in the future reincarnation of an ancestor represented by, or whose representative is present in, the tree.

26. Marriage after death.—In some parts of India the body of a girl who dies unmarried is the subject of marriage rites, while the marriage of dead bachelors seems to have been a feature of ancient Aryan culture (*ERE* ii. 22). The Aryan practice seems to have been connected with the custom of killing the wife on the death of her husband, and to have had as its motive the desire to provide the man with a wife in the life after death. We do not know the motive for the modern Indian practice.

27. Widowhood.—In some parts of the world the re-marriage of widows is absolutely prohibited, and in others widows normally become the wives of certain relatives, while intermediate cases occur in which their marriage is allowed, but is not subject to any special rules. Among many peoples, especially in the case of chiefs and more influential members of the community, wives are killed as part of the funeral ceremonies of their husbands, and there is reason to suppose that there is a connexion between this practice and the total prohibition of re-marriage, particularly as the latter practice is often found in the neighbourhood of places where the killing of wives on the death of the husband is or has been practised. Two places where the association occurs are India and the Solomon Islands, and the connexion of the two practices is supported in the latter locality by the fact that widows undergo a period of seclusion after death, with features suggesting that the seclusion is intended to represent a ceremonial death. It would seem that the prohibition of re-marriage is adopted when the more extreme measure has been given up.

Several cases in which a widow normally marries certain relatives have already been mentioned. Sometimes, especially in Africa, a son takes his father's widow, excluding his own mother. Elsewhere a widow may be married by the sister's son, or the son's son, of the deceased husband; but the most widely distributed form of union of this kind is that known as the levirate, in which a wife is taken by the brother of the deceased husband.

28. The levirate.—The best known example of this practice is that recorded in the OT, in which the custom is limited to the case in which the dead husband has no children, the motive of the marriage being to raise up seed for the dead brother. The term is now used for any case in which a man marries his deceased brother's wife, and in most cases the Biblical limitation and motives are not present. The practice may be based on the idea that a wife is property to be taken by the brother with other goods, or it may form part of the duty of guardianship over the children of the brother and be designed to prevent the management of the children's property passing into the hands of a stranger whom the widow might otherwise marry.

In India, and in some parts of Melanesia, the practice of the levirate is subject to the limitation that the widow of a man may be married only by his younger brother, a man having no right over his younger brother's wife. It is not easy to see how this limitation can arise out of the motives for the practice already mentioned. It was supposed by McLennan that the levirate is a survival of polyandry, and it is possible that in these Indian and Melanesian cases the practice is derived from either polyandry or communal marriage, the limitation being connected with some social functions of the relationship between elder and younger brother of which at present we have no knowledge.

Though the OT motive does not wholly account for the custom of the levirate, it shows itself in other forms among many peoples. In many parts of Africa a child born to a widow even many years after the death of her husband is held to be the child of that husband, and the Dinkas of the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān have a custom according to which a widow without male offspring who is beyond the age of child-birth will purchase a girl and pay a man to beget children by this girl for her dead husband. Again, where there is a need for male offspring, especially to perform religious rites, a man without sons may call on his brother or some other man to beget children by his wife.

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[1] *Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909.

[2] *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902.

29. Re-marriage of widowers.—We know of no people who prohibit the re-marriage of widowers, and the chief point of interest in this subject is the difference of attitude towards marrying with the deceased wife's sister. It has already been mentioned that in polygynous unions it is often the custom to marry sisters, and among people who follow this custom and many others the wife's sister is the natural spouse of a widower. Other peoples prohibit this form of union. Among many of these peoples the wife's sister is regarded as a sister, a conventional relationship often shown in terminology, and the prohibition of marriage is definitely connected with this idea. It is an expression of the general reprobation of marriage between persons who stand in the relationship of brother and sister, even when this relationship has come about through some social convention, and when the use of the term is only metaphorical.

30. History of marriage. — Widely different views on this topic are at present current. On the one side are those who regard monogamy as the original state from which the other forms of marriage have developed; on the other are those who believe that monogamy has come into existence by a gradual process of evolution from an original condition of complete promiscuity through an intermediate stage of group-marriage. Lewis Morgan, who has been the chief advocate of an original state of promiscuity, based his opinion on evidence which we now know to be fallacious, and at present not only do we have no knowledge of any promiscuous people, but there is also no valid evidence that a condition of general promiscuity ever existed in the past.

The problem of group-marriage stands on a different footing. Whether the communistic unions of different parts of the world be regarded as marriage or not, there is no question that such unions exist, and there is much reason to believe that they have been more general in the past than they are at the present time. The nature of the classificatory system of relationship is most naturally explained by its origin in communistic conditions. Even if this view be accepted, however, it does not commit us to the position that this condition was once universal among mankind. It is possible that only some of the main varieties of mankind have been communistic. Still less does it follow that sexual communism was the primitive condition of mankind. No people now in existence can be regarded as primitive, or even as a sure representative of primitive conditions. Even if it be accepted that sexual communism was once widely distributed or even universal, it would remain possible, if not probable, that it is not a primitive condition, but only represents a stage in the evolution of human society. If, as there is much reason to believe, mankind originally lived in small groups, perhaps consisting only of parents and children, the original state would have been monogamy, and, if so, the wide prevalence of communistic forms of marriage must be ascribed to some factors which came into action as the social group increased in size. Even if the classificatory system be founded in communistic conditions, it has features, such as the clear recognition of generations, which are most naturally explained by its growth out of a still earlier condition in which the unions between the sexes were monogamous, or were restricted to such small groups of persons as to approximate to that condition.

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W. H. R. RIVERS.

MARRIAGE (Celtic).—**1. Gaul.**—Polygamy does not seem to have been customary in Gaul. In the only passage that we have on the subject (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 19) the plural *uxores* is certainly due to the plural *viri*. At the time of Gaul's last struggle against the Romans every Gaul bound himself by a sacred oath neither to enter his house again nor to see his children, relatives, or wife (*uxorem*, vii. 66) until he had ridden twice through the enemy's lines. We know that, as in other places, the wife (*uxor*) brought a dowry, but the husband also added an equal amount taken from his own property.

On the death of either husband or wife, the survivor received both portions, along with the revenues accumulated after marriage (vi. 19). Marriage was often employed as a means of securing political alliances; thus Orgetorix gave his daughter to Dumnorix; and the latter had his mother wedded to a noble of the Bituriges, and married his sister and other female relatives into other cities (i. 3, 9, 18). The wife's position, then, was very much superior to that of a slave. Plutarch relates that, before the Gauls had crossed the Alps, the women reconciled the opposing parties after a terrible civil war, and ever afterwards the Celts continued to admit their wives to their council when deliberating on peace and war, and to let the disputes with their allies be ruled by their wives' judgment. An agreement was made, later, between Hannibal and the Celts that, if the Celts had any grievance against the Carthaginians, the Carthaginian generals would judge, and, if the Carthaginians had any complaints against the Celts, the case would be judged by the wives of the Celts (*de Mul. Virt.* 6; cf. Polyænus, vii. 50). The numerous stories handed down to us by the ancients about the women of the Celts—Chiomara (Polyb. xxii. 21), Camma (Plut. *de Mul. Virt.* 20), Eponina (Tac. *Hist.* iv. 67), Gyptis (Athen. xiii. 38; Justin, xliii. 3)—seem to prove that the Celtic wife was not the passive being that the wife has remained among most barbarous peoples. Cæsar, who often gives her the title of *materfamilias*, relates nevertheless that, when a *paterfamilias* of high birth was about to die, his relations assembled, and, if there was any suspicion in connexion with his death, they cross-examined his wife like a slave; if any delinquency was proved, they put her to death by fire and all kinds of torments. But there is really nothing more in this than the exercise of the power of life and death which the *paterfamilias* had over his wife as well as his children (vi. 19).

2. Ancient Britain and Ireland.—Among the ancient Britons the position of woman was quite different. The women were the common possession of ten or twelve husbands, especially of brothers, or of fathers and their sons; but the children born from these unions belonged to the man who had married the woman first (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* v. 14). Women were common property also in Caledonia (Dio Cass. lxxvi. 12; cf. lxii. 6). In Ireland, it is stated, it was quite a natural thing for men to have intercourse with the wives of other men, with their mothers, or their sisters (Strabo, IV. v. 4; cf. Jerome, *in Jovin.* ii. 7), but we find a much more advanced social state among the Irish and Britons described in the ancient epics and the collections of laws and customs.

3. Mediæval Ireland.—In Ireland, although the wife might bring all her own personal belongings (*tinól*) with her, it was the husband first of all who provided a dowry (*tinnscra*) for his wife. This dowry consisted of metals (gold, silver, copper, brass), clothing, or cattle; sometimes it consisted in some condition to be fulfilled by the future husband. In fact, marriage was generally a sort of sale, for the laws stipulate that the wife's father has a right to the whole dowry for the first year, to two-thirds the second year, half the third year, and so on, his share decreasing until the twenty-first year, when the debt is cancelled; during all this time the wife has control of what remains of her dowry each year. As a rule, marriages were celebrated by preference on the first days of August, at the time of the Fair of Tailltenn, or in the month of November. Polygamy seems to have been practised, perhaps as an exception, a little before the Christian era. In any case, if it was very uncommon to have several wives of the free class, a king often had one or more concubines of a servile class in addition to his lawful wife (*cétmuinter*, 'first wife'). Kinship ties were not always an obstacle to marriage: Lugaid, king of Ireland, married his mother; and a king of Leinster had his two sisters as wives.

The rights of the woman after marriage depended largely on her personal status in the community. In cases of separation for serious offence or by mutual consent, the wife received either the part of her dowry that was left her or what she brought on her marriage-day; in dividing the property, all that she had acquired by work and manufactured articles was taken into account, and the very smallest details were controlled by law.

4. Mediæval Wales and Brittany.—The laws of Wales show in their archaic parts a similar social state. The woman brought with her a dowry (*agweddy*) equal to half of what her brother would have (*gwaddol*), and articles for her own use (*argyfreu*); she received from her husband a present proportionate to her position and payable on the morning after the consummation of the marriage (*cowyll*). The conditions of separation depended on how long the union had lasted. If it had continued for a period of seven years all but three days, the belongings were divided equally between the couple; but, if the wife left her husband before this time, and without good reason, she had no right to anything beyond her *cowyll*. Polygamy was forbidden. Fosterage seems to have been less wide-spread than in Ireland.

The Britons who emigrated from Great Britain to Armorica in the 9th cent. called the dowry given by the husband to the wife *enepuuert*, 'face-price.' It was often property in land. Cf. also artt. CHILDREN (Celtic), ETHICS AND MORALITY (Celtic), FOSTERAGE, II. 5-7.

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G. DOTTIN.

MARRIAGE (Christian).

1. The Christian ideal.—The NT does not profess to set forth any new law or theory of marriage. Our Lord's answer to the Pharisees who questioned Him on the subject of divorce (Mt 19^3, Mk 10^2) implies that the perfect ideal of marriage is sufficiently declared in the passage in Genesis which professes to record the original institution of the holy estate of matrimony (Gn $2^{18ff.}$). The teaching and legislation of the Christian Church on this subject may, therefore, from one point of view, be regarded as a series of attempts to define more clearly and fully what is implied in the words of the original institution, and to enforce in practice the careful observance of the principles therein involved.

It is, accordingly, not strange that the subject of marriage occupies a comparatively small space in the teachings of the NT, and is for the most part confined to general rules as to the behaviour of married people such as might very well have found a place in the teaching of any heathen philosopher.

In the Gospels we have no direct reference to marriage, with the exception of our Lord's deliverances on the subject of divorce, which probably represent sayings uttered on different occasions, but which are, at any rate, all to the same purport: divorce is in itself sinful and inconsistent with the original divine institution of marriage. In the Epistles we have a number of practical exhortations in which the duties of married persons are clearly declared. The supremacy of the husband as the head of the wife is recognized, and the duty of wifely obedience declared. Mutual love and consideration are urged with considerable insight, while the perfect unity of husband and wife as 'one flesh' is duly emphasized.[1]

The NT, in fact, deals with marriage as an established social institution as it deals with other established institutions, laying down broad general principles of conduct, and demanding faithfulness and uprightness in the discharge of all recognized duties.

It was not necessary for the first Christian teachers to condemn polygamy, for in both the Græco-Roman and the Jewish world in their time monogamy was the universal rule. Polygamy is not expressly forbidden in the OT, nor was it uncommon in ancient Israel; but the Jewish teachers of the post-Exilic period had come to recognize that it was not consistent with the spirit of the original institution, which plainly demands the union of one man and one woman in marriage. Extra-matrimonial connexions might not be seriously condemned in the Gentile world, but, for the begetting of legitimate children, it was the rule that there should be only one wife to one husband. While it is safe to say, however, that monogamy is assumed throughout the NT, there is perhaps only one passage which a lover of proof texts could quote as distinctly forbidding polygamy, viz. 1 Co 7^2 'Let each man have his own wife, and let each woman have her own husband.'

Yet, although the NT does not profess to put forth any new laws on the subject, it is most true that the religion of the gospel has done inestimable service, not only in restoring and preserving precious principles which were being forgotten in an age of luxury and grievous moral laxity, but also in changing profoundly men's ideas of the marriage-relation and of its duties and responsibilities. This result is the direct outcome of the teaching of the NT.

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[1] The passages of the NT dealing directly with marriage are Mt 5^{31} 19^{3-12}, Mk 10^{2-12}, Lk 16^{18}, Mt 22^{23-30}, Mk 12^{19-25} Lk 20^{27-38} Ro 7^{1-4}, 1 Co 6^{16-18} 7 *passim*, Eph $5^{22ff.}$, Col $3^{18f.}$, 1 Ti $2^{11ff.}$ 5^{9-16}, He 13^4, 1 P 3^{1-8}.

(1) The spirit and teaching of the NT tend to put the mutual love of husband and wife in the foremost place. Marriage has been described as a provision for the propagation of the race and the proper bringing up of children. The NT recognizes the importance of the Christian household and the rightful education of Christian children, but does not describe this as the main object of marriage. Again, marriage has been regarded as a provision for the satisfaction of a natural desire and a restraint upon unbridled indulgence. St. Paul acknowledges that marriage serves this purpose, but does not give it any great prominence (1 Co $7^{9ff.}$). According to the book of Genesis, marriage was instituted, in the first instance, to satisfy the need of man's social nature. Because it was 'not good that the man should be alone,' because companionship with his fellows was necessary for the perfect development of his nature, marriage was instituted to provide him with the closest and most intimate form of companionship. Thus the words, 'The twain shall become one flesh,' imply much more than a merely carnal relationship—a thought which is instructively developed by St. Paul in Eph $5^{22ff.}$

(2) It is not too much to say that our whole conception of the marriage-relation has been changed, and changed for the better, by the high and honourable position accorded to women in the NT, and the general improvement in the status of woman which has been brought about under Christian influence, and which has not yet, perhaps, reached its final goal. A system in which 'there can be no male and female' (Gal 3^{28}) so far as all blessings, privileges, and responsibilities are concerned, under which husband and wife are taught to remember that they are 'joint-heirs of the grace of life' (1 P 3^{7}), must of necessity tend to elevate, and, if it may be so expressed, to equalize, the marriage-relation.

When St. Paul compares the marriage-bond to the union between Christ and the Church, he is, no doubt, making use of a very familiar idea frequently expressed by the OT prophets, and applying it to the Christian community. It is easy to see, however, that the substitution of Christ—our brother—for the awful Jahweh of the OT makes all the difference in the world, *the* essential difference, in fact, between the old world conception and that of the Christian Church. The ancient Romans had a high ideal of the sanctity of married life—an ideal which, as the very bitterness of the satirists proves, was not wholly lost in the terrible immorality of the times when Christianity made its appearance. Nevertheless, among Jews and Romans alike, as also, to a considerable extent, among the Greeks, the relation of the wife to the husband was, to all intents and purposes, that of a slave to her master. Under the gospel the superiority of the husband is more that of the parent to the child or, rather, of a protecting brother to a sister. It is sometimes asserted that the terms in which the supremacy of the husband and the duties of obedience and reverence on the wife's part are put forth in the NT are too strong to be in harmony with our ideas to-day, and that we have, in fact, passed beyond the point of view of the NT. If so, this very advance is the natural and necessary outcome of the gospel just as truly as the abolition of slavery—another social institution which is nowhere directly condemned in the NT. It may be argued on rational grounds that the natural characteristics of the sexes must involve a certain superiority and controlling power on the man's side in the nuptial relation; but such questions cannot be decided by the mere appeal to isolated texts of the Bible.

(3) The union of the sexes has been purified, and the happiness of the married relation secured, by the absolute prohibition of every kind of extra-matrimonial connexion. Such connexions were regarded with absolute indifference by the Greeks, and, in consequence, the temporary connexion with the ἑταίρα, or courtesan, came to be much more highly valued than the legitimate marriage, to the manifest injury of the home life and the status of the lawful wife. By the Romans, it may be said, such connexions, though not so lightly regarded as among the Greeks, were, on the whole, regarded with contemptuous indifference. Although the case was different, so far as the Jewish law was concerned, we cannot doubt that the Jews would be much influenced by the prevailing tone of thought in the Gentile world and would imbibe something of the very lax principles of morality current in their day. All such connexions are emphatically condemned in the NT, and it is expressly taught that the physical connexion of itself involves the obligation of the marriage-bond (see 1 Co 6^{16}).

(4) The gospel emphatically condemned divorce as essentially sinful. In ancient Rome divorce was regarded as in some sense dishonourable, and therefore undesirable. For five hundred and twenty years it was boasted that divorce was unknown in Rome (Val. Max. ii. 1), and the very bitterness with which the satirists denounce the laxity of their time in this matter shows that the old idea has not yet been wholly lost. Nevertheless, it is only too evident that, in the time of luxury and advanced civilization in which the gospel was first preached, divorce was coming to be looked upon with the utmost indifference as a commonplace fact in ordinary social life.

The Jews had no doubt as to the lawfulness of divorce (cf. art. 'Divorce,' in *JE* iv. [1903] 624–628), and it is probable that Mt 19^{3} most truly represents the form of their question to our Lord. They desired to have His opinion, not on the question of the lawfulness of divorce, but as to the causes for which divorce might be legitimately instituted. Our Lord's answer declares the essential sinfulness of divorce as inconsistent with the original institution of marriage.

(5) The teaching of St. Paul about marriage as the symbol or analogue of the mystical union of Christ with His Church (Eph 5^{22-34}) has had a profound effect on Christian thought, elevating and purifying the conception of marriage. Marriage for the Christian is something more than the ordinary social institution; it is, above everything else, 'a holy estate.' Man and wife are no longer twain, but one flesh. This, as has already been pointed out, implies more than a merely physical union. How much more? It may be said that it implies a perfect union of love and affection, and entire community of aims and interests, as also of worldly possessions, and a perfect mutual understanding. This positivist explanation may perhaps seem sufficient to the modern mind; but it is easy to see that the comparison with the spiritual union between Christ and the Church might, to Hellenic readers, very naturally suggest something more, something in the nature of a metaphysical basis for the union of aims, affections, and interests. This basis may be conceived as a sort of mystic, or, possibly, psycho-physical bond, uniting the two spirits so as to form a kind of single personality. It is quite conceivable—we may even say that it is probable—that some such idea was in the

mind of the Apostle. The idea may not seem altogether absurd to a modern metaphysician; but, if it should seem inconceivable, we are not bound to defend the infallibility of St. Paul's metaphysics, and may be quite satisfied with the simple, positive, and practical view of the union.

It is, however, necessary to bear in mind that this idea of a mystic or psycho-physical bond formed in matrimony is, essentially, that sacramental view of marriage which was authoritatively defined in the Middle Ages, which is still the accepted doctrine of the Roman and Eastern churches, and which has had important practical consequences for Christian thought and Christian life.[1]

2. Marriage rites and ceremonies.—The history of the rites and ceremonies accompanying marriage belongs properly to the sphere of the Christian antiquarian; but, inasmuch as those rites and ceremonies have been the subject of mystical interpretation on the part of Christian theologians, and have thus acquired a certain religious significance, a brief notice of them may well find a place in the present article.

Marriage-celebrations in all times and in all countries have been either essentially religious functions or, at all events, accompanied by religious rites and ceremonies. The solemnization of marriage by a religious ceremony is, therefore, no new thing peculiar to the Christian Church. In fact, there is not a single feature in the marriage-services of the Christian communities that cannot be traced back to the *sponsalia*, or to the nuptial ceremonies, of the Roman Empire. On the other hand, the form of our Christian services, the ministerial benediction, and the clear expression of Christian doctrine in prayers and exhortations have helped to preserve a living sense of the peculiar sanctity of marriage as taught in the NT.

Marriage is, in the first place, an affair of the family. In the earliest period the Christian congregation regarded itself as a spiritual family, and the life and concerns of every member of the congregation were of intimate interest to the whole body. No member of the congregation ought to enter upon so important a step as the contract of matrimony without the advice and approval of the whole congregation. This is implied in the words of Ignatius:

πρέπει δὲ τοῖς γαμοῦσι καὶ ταῖς γαμουμέναις[2] μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τὴν ἕνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι, ἵνα ὁ γάμος ᾖ κατὰ κύριον καὶ μὴ κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν (*Ep. ad Polycarp.* v.).

It is inconceivable, therefore, that the celebration of marriage should not have been accompanied from the very first with suitable acts of Christian worship, or that the accustomed marriage-rites should not have been celebrated as a solemn religious function. With the expansion of the Church and the consequent weakening of the close bond of social union between members of the same congregation, the necessity for ecclesiastical sanction for marriage would be less strongly felt, and marriages might be contracted without any formal benediction.

The testimony of the Fathers, from the middle of the 3rd cent. onwards, shows that what we should now describe as civil marriages were not unknown, perhaps were not uncommon, but at the same time were strongly discountenanced by the Church. It is evident that the general feeling in the Church was very much the same as it is to-day. While a religious ceremony was not required as a condition of Christian communion, it was felt that the right and proper course was for all Christian people marrying honourably to seek the benediction of the Church upon their union.[1]

From the 5th cent. onwards there can be little doubt that the celebration of marriage with ecclesiastical benediction was the almost universal custom. The inference which has sometimes been drawn from the fact that about A.D. 802 Charlemagne prohibited marriage without benediction (*Capit.* vii. 363) and that so late as A.D. 900 Leo the Philosopher issued a similar edict (*Novel.* 89), that purely civil marriages were very common up to the end of the 8th or 9th cent., is not borne out by anything that we know of those ages.

Nevertheless, marriage without benediction, though thus condemned by the civil law, was, if otherwise unobjectionable, regarded as valid in the Church up to the time of the Council of Trent. That Council (A.D. 1563, sess. xxiv.) decreed that henceforth no marriage should be considered valid unless celebrated by a priest in the presence of at least two other witnesses. The decree, indeed, clearly expresses the principle that the ceremony is not of the essence of the sacrament, the matter of which remains, as before, the consent of the parties; but it claims the right on the part of the Church to regulate the conditions under which a valid marriage can be celebrated. The decree holds good only in those countries in which the decrees of the Council have been published.

In the Eastern Churches the Confession of Peter Mogilas of Kieff (A.D. 1640), in which the priestly benediction, the accustomed formularies, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit are declared to be essentials of marriage, is regarded as authoritative.

The marriage-ceremonies in use all over the Christian world for hundreds of years past contain elements derived from two sources, viz. the *sponsalia*, the ancient ceremony of betrothal, and the *nuptiæ*, or marriage-ceremony proper. The solemn troth-plight, the joining of hands, and the giving and receiving of a ring or rings with certain gifts of money—the *arrhæ*, pledge of the dowry—were the principal features of the betrothal ceremony. The veiling of the bride, the crowning of the bride and bridegroom, the formal handing over of the bride by her parent or guardian to the care of the bridegroom, the solemn declaration of the completion of the contract, and the bringing home of the bride in triumphal procession to her future home were the accustomed nuptial ceremonies. The priestly benediction may perhaps be considered as the distinctively Christian addition to the ancient ceremonies, yet even this may have been simply a special sanctification of the ancient congratulations of the family; it is even possible that in the Christian service there was some attempt to recall the ancient *confarreatio*, which had by Christian times become practically obsolete, but which, with its accompaniment of sacrifice and solemn benedictions, was the only form recognized by Roman law for the celebration of an absolutely indissoluble marriage. The reference to the demand for ten witnesses in St. Ambrose[2] would naturally suggest the *confarreatio*. Old customs are often preserved in an imperfect fashion even when they have become obsolete (see MARRIAGE [Roman]).

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[1] Whenever the sacramental idea is referred to in this article, it may be taken that the idea herein explained is meant.

[2] J. B. Lightfoot prefers γαμούσαις.

[1] The following passages may be referred to as bearing out the view here presented: Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* iii. 11, *Strom.* iv. 20; Tert. *ad Uxor.* ii. 9, *de Pudic.* 4 (this passage is worth quoting in full: 'Ideo penes nos, occultae quoque coniunctiones, id est non prius apud ecclesiam professae, iuxta moechiam et fornicationem iudicari periclitantur. Nec inde consertae obtentu matrimonii crimen eludant'); Ambrose, *Ep.* xix. 7, condemning mixed marriages with unbelievers, which the Church censured, but could not wholly prevent in the earlier centuries; Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, *Ep.* cx.; Basil, *Ep.* xvii., canon 69, etc.

[2] 'Nam si inter decem testes confectis sponsalibus, nuptiis consummatis, quaevis femina viro coniuncta mortali non sine magno periculo perpetrat adulterium' (*de Lapsu virginis consecratæ*, v.). This passage may, of course, simply refer to the old Roman custom by way of example.

There is no express evidence that the veiling of the bride formed part of the Roman ceremonies of betrothal; it seems rather to have been confined to the nuptials proper. In Tertullian's time, however, it was a betrothal ceremony amongst Christians, the bride continuing to wear the betrothal veil from the time of the betrothal to the wedding-day (Tert. *de Virg. velandis*, xi.).

A passage in Tertullian would seem to imply that the giving of a ring, though a harmless heathen custom, was not practised by Christians in his day (*de Idolol.* xvi.). This may have been the case with some of the stricter or more old-fashioned Christians, but the universal custom of the Church from the 4th cent. onwards would seem to show that the giving of the ring had always been generally practised.

The crowning of the bride and bridegroom was condemned by Tertullian as implying acknowledgment of heathen deities. Yet it continued to be commonly practised in the Western Church long after his day. In the Eastern Church it prevails to the present day, and is regarded as the most important part of the marriage-ceremony, marriage in the East being often described as 'the crowning.'

That *sponsalia* and actual nuptials were still regarded as distinct ceremonies, between which an interval of time might elapse, up to the middle of the 9th cent., is evident from the letter of Pope Nicholas I. to the Bulgarians (A.D. 865 [*PL* cxix. 980]), in which he treats of the marriage customs of the Western Church. It is, however, most probable that from much earlier times the two ceremonies had been generally combined in practice. Formal *sponsalia* were not required by Roman law, and were frequently omitted. In such cases it would be natural that the giving of the ring, the troth-plight, and other espousal ceremonies would take place at the actual marriage. The Anglican custom of celebrating the first part of the marriage-service in the body of the Church, while the concluding prayers and benediction are said at the altar, is a vestige of the ancient distinction between espousals and marriages.

3. Asceticism and marriage.—The idea that there is something necessarily impure and degrading in the union of the sexes in marriage, or that, at all events, marriage must be regarded as a somewhat grudging concession to human weakness, finds no place in the teaching of the NT. Notwithstanding the strict inculcation of the general principle of self-denial, there is nothing to suggest that the celibate or virgin state is in any way higher or holier than the estate of marriage. There is just one passage, in the Apocalypse of John (14^4), which, however interpreted, seems to imply a preference for the virgin state; otherwise the NT gives no support to the doctrine. If St. Paul prefers the unmarried state, it is on purely utilitarian grounds, because of the greater freedom from worldly cares enjoyed by the unmarried. If we may accept the Pastoral Epistles as his, or as expressing his mind, the Apostle thought it most desirable that younger widows should contract a second marriage. Yet, inasmuch as what we may call ascetic ideas were widely prevalent, not only among the Essenes (*q.v.*) in Judaism, but in certain circles in the heathen world, it is very likely that such ideas were to some extent prevalent in the Church from the very first. The awful prevalence of vice and immorality, the consequent demand for a resolute fight against those 'fleshly lusts which war against the soul,' and a sense of the strength of sensual desires and impulses would naturally create a feeling of repulsion against all forms of indulgence, even the most innocent, in those newly aroused to a desire for a new and higher life. It is not surprising, therefore, that from the middle of the 3rd cent. the ascetic view should have taken a firm hold on the Christian Church and should have speedily become the predominant and, in fact, universally accepted view. The rise of monasticism and the admiration aroused by the devotion of the monastics and also, from the middle of the 4th cent., the intensified worldliness of the now fashionable Church would naturally foster the growth of the ascetic ideal. The command, 'Love not the world' (1 Jn 2^{15}), had to find some new interpretation when the world was no longer a professedly heathen world, but a community of nominal Christians. The doctrine of the earlier Gnostics, Basilidians, Saturninians, Encratites, etc., and of the Manichæans, of the essential sinfulness of conjugal union was, of course, formally condemned, but in the extravagant laudations of virginity in the writings of St. Jerome, and even the more moderate utterances of St. Augustine, the disparagement of the married state sometimes approaches very closely to the views of those heretics. Throughout the Middle Ages the doctrine of the superiority of the virgin state firmly held its ground, and led to many extravagances. But the teaching of the NT and the constant witness of the Church served at all events as a safeguard against the worst results of the disparagement of marriage.

It was not until the Reformation of the 16th cent. that any serious attempt was made to vindicate the claims of healthy home life and happy marriage to a position of equality with the virgin state. In Luther's eyes all monastic vows were essentially sinful (*de Votis monasticis*, 1521), and, in general, the Reformers maintained a similar position. The question of the superiority of virginity became an essential point of controversy between the Roman Catholics and their opponents, and the Council of Trent (sess. 24, can. x.) condemned with anathema the doctrine of the equality of the married state with, or its superiority over, the state of celibacy.[1]

The objection to second marriages, which were discouraged by the Church and absolutely forbidden by the Montanists, was one result of the ascetic spirit. This we should now regard as a mere harmless eccentricity of no serious importance in the history of Christian thought; but it is far otherwise with another result of the ascetic movement—the enforcement of the celibacy of the clergy.

It is significant that it was in the course of the 3rd cent. that the question of the propriety of clerical marriage seems first to have become prominent. Hitherto the clergy, like other Christian men, might be married or not, according to their discretion. Those who held the essential superiority of the celibate life would naturally consider that the clergy, as especially belonging to the class of holy persons, should be unmarried. At all events, in the 3rd cent. it came to be recognized that, as each man should 'abide in that calling wherein he was called' (1 Co 7^{20}), the clergy should not contract marriage after their ordination. Decisions to this effect are found in the canons of some local synods, though the Council of Ancyra (A.D. 314) made an exception in the case of deacons, who, before ordination, should inform the bishop if they intend to marry. From this position it was a natural step to the view that after ordination clerics should cease to maintain conjugal relations with their wives—a view which could scarcely have been put forth except by a council of celibates. The Council of Elvira (Illiberis; A.D. 305) laid down this rule under penalty of deprivation. The ecumenical Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325) was restrained from passing a similar ordinance only by the emphatic protest of the Martyr Confessor Paphnutius, who pleaded earnestly in favour of the perfect sanctity of married life. From the close of the 4th cent. the principle that the clergy ought to be celibates was universally adopted in theory in the Western Church. Pope Siricius (A.D. 385) in his *Epistle to Himerius* (*PL* xiii. 1132 ff.), described by H. H. Milman[1] as 'the first authentic Decretal, the first letter of the Bishop of Rome, which became a law to the Western Church,' absolutely interdicted the marriage of the clergy. Nevertheless, all through the Middle Ages, despite the zealous efforts of men like Boniface I., St. Gregory the Great, St. Anselm, and St. Dunstan, despite papal edicts and decrees of councils, the marriage of the clergy continued to exist in every part of Europe. It was regarded in general with indifference, sometimes with approval, by the laity, and was zealously contended for as a right by the secular clergy. Even after the vigorous crusade of Hildebrand (1020–85), the 'scandal,' as it was considered, of 'clerical concubinage' maintained its existence here and there, though it was probably never after Hildebrand's time regarded with the same indifference as before.

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[1] In some of his Homilies—*e.g. Hebrews*, serm. 4, *in Seraphim*, serm. 1—Chrysostom strongly asserts the equal blessedness of the married state. Jovinian, the opponent of St. Jerome, was a warm advocate of the same view, but the general consensus of Christian opinion was on the other side.

In the Eastern Church the rule of celibacy has never been imposed on the inferior clergy. By the 6th Council of Constantinople (in Trullo; A.D. 680) the marriage of clerics after ordination was forbidden, but for those married before ordination, with the exception of the bishops, the continuance of conjugal relations was permitted; the wife of a bishop was compelled either to become a deaconess or to retire into a convent. For all practical purposes this remains the rule of the Eastern Churches to the present day, except that marriage is not merely permissible but compulsory for the parish priest, who must, however, be married before ordination. The bishops are chosen from the ranks of the monastics, so that no parish priest can look forward to promotion to the highest position in his Church.

4. Ecclesiastical law and Church discipline.—The Christian Church from the very beginning was constituted as an organized society or, at all events, as a closely connected congeries of societies claiming as a right and duty to exercise moral supervision and discipline over individual members. Church law and ecclesiastical jurisdiction are, then, no late outgrowth or corruption of primitive Christianity, but trace their origin to the earliest time, and even to the days of the Apostles. It was inevitable that in the Apostolic Age such questions connected with marriage should arise as would be considered suitable for the judgment of the community. In 1 Co 7 we have an interesting example of such questions and of the apostolic method of dealing with them. The saying of Ignatius as to the necessity of submitting a proposed marriage-contract for the approval of the bishop has already been quoted.

Nor is it at all surprising that matters connected with marriage should have, from the Apostolic Age until now, occupied an important place in ecclesiastical legislation. From the civil side, marriage is regarded as a legal contract which must be regulated for practical purposes by the State. From the Christian point of view, marriage is a holy estate which the Church may claim to regulate in the highest interests of religion and morality. Experience shows that there must ever be a possibility of conflict between the two jurisdictions, and that, consequently, difficulties in practice may often result.

> 'Aliae sunt leges Caesarum, aliae Christi; aliud Papianus aliud Paulus noster praecepit' (Jerome, *Ep.* lxxvii. 3).

But, while in theory it is very simple to say that the Christian must at all events give the 'leges Christi' the first place in his obedience, in practice he may often find himself confronted with the question whether a law or supposed law of the Church must really be received as a divine ordinance. So long as the Church was a small and uninfluential body in the heathen world, it did not much matter whether its regulations for the discipline of its members came into conflict with generally received opinions or not, and, as a general rule, in the earlier centuries Christians were content to abide by the rulings of their ecclesiastical authorities, though even then we have reason to believe that Church censures were sometimes defied or evaded when Christians wished to avail themselves of some legal right in opposition to the rule of the community. The case of mixed marriages with Jews or pagans, which often took place despite the ecclesiastical prohibitions, is an example in point.

In the Middle Ages the matter was settled by allowing marriage, for Christians at all events, to become entirely an affair of the Church. Much laxity of observance might prevail, and the lawless men of the mediæval period might often flout the wholesome restraints of the law; the princes of the Frankish, Teutonic, and other new nations might decline to abandon their ancient right to have a plurality of wives; but, none the less, it was fully recognized that the Church's jurisdiction in such matters ought to be respected as supreme. It is in the modern period, since the Reformation, that the question of the two jurisdictions and the proper relations of the one to the other has come into prominence and has given occasion to many practical difficulties arising from the conflict of two different ideals. The Reformers vindicated the claims of the State and of the civil magistrate as against the extravagant claims of the mediæval Church, holding that the laws of the Christian State must be regarded as Christian laws and must be obeyed, and that no law-abiding citizen should be subjected to Church censure or other social inconvenience for neglecting some ecclesiastical ordinance, so long as he did nothing illegal or dishonourable. It was, of course, understood that no law contrary to the teaching of the gospel should be obeyed. The Roman Catholic party, on the other hand, while in general admitting the duty of obedience to the law of the State, held that it was the province of the Church to define what should or should not be considered lawful in the matter of marriage. Both parties would agree that the object of all marriage laws should be to safeguard purity and morality, and would probably admit that the Church had no right to impose anything in opposition to the law of the State, unless it were in some sort necessary for that object; but the Reformers would by no means concede to their opponents that it was for the Church to impose any regulations which it pleased, whether in conformity with the laws of the State or not. The two questions which in modern times have given occasion to most difficulty have been the question of divorce and the question of the conditions of valid matrimony.

(*a*) *Divorce.*—Divorce, in the strict and proper acceptance of the term, means the complete rupture of the marriage-bond, the persons divorced being left free to marry again. Canonists and theologians, however, frequently apply the term to what is more properly called 'separation' or, when sanctioned by legal process, 'judicial separation,' in which the *vinculum* is not supposed to be broken and re-marriage is, therefore, not permissible. The latter is described as *divortium a mensa et thoro*, in contradistinction to the more complete *divortium a vinculo matrimonii*.

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[1] *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, London, 1872, i. 97; see also A. P. Stanley, *Lectures on the Hist. of the Eastern Church*, do. 1861, lectt. i. and v.; H. C. Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church*, do. 1868; Photius, *Nomocanon*, Paris, 1615.

It has been universally admitted that adultery and, perhaps, some other grave offences justify the separation of man and wife. Such separation is, indeed, contrary to the high Christian ideal of marriage; but under the new dispensation, as under the old, it is necessary for the hardness of men's hearts in this imperfect world to make provision for occasional failures to attain the perfect ideal. But, while this is the case with regard to separation, there has been considerable difference of opinion on the more difficult question of divorce in the proper sense of the word. The broad general principle is that divorce is something which ought not to be, that it ought not even to be thought of as a possibility by Christian people. But is the broad general principle to be regarded as a law binding universally and unconditionally? If any exceptions are to be allowed, in what cases do they apply? Should man and woman stand on the same footing as regards the right to claim divorce? Should any difference be made between cases where both partners are professing Christians and those in which one is an unbeliever or a heretic? These and similar questions have from century to century occupied the attention of Christian teachers and legislators.

The teaching of our Lord on this subject, as it has come down to us, is found in four passages in the Synoptic Gospels, viz. Mt $5^{31f.}$ 19^{3-9}, Mk 10^{2-12}, and Lk 16^{18}. In Mark and Luke the prohibition of divorce and re-marriage is absolute and unqualified; in Matthew the qualifications 'saving for the cause of fornication,' 'except for fornication',[1] are added. Roman Catholic divines and those Anglicans who adopt the stricter view maintain that, as each Gospel must be taken in and by itself as authoritative, the passage in Mark must be accepted as the decisive rule for Christians, while the qualified statement in Matthew must be understood as merely giving sanction to separation 'a mensa et thoro' in case of adultery.

On the other hand, it is contended that the ordinary rules of exegesis require us to interpret the unqualified statements in Mark and Luke by the fuller and more balanced statement in Matthew, so that we must not take each Gospel as an independent entity, but must compare one with another to ascertain what Christ really taught. Moreover, it is contended that, when He spoke about divorce, our Lord must have had in mind the complete severance of the marriage-bond, since that was the only meaning His hearers could possibly attach to the word. It is pointed out that the sayings in Mark and Luke are simply ordinary examples of the method of the great Prophet, who was accustomed to set forth broad principles in an absolute and sometimes an extreme form, leaving it to His people to apply His teachings with all the necessary qualifications in the manner of legislation to their individual cases and needs. That this principle has always been recognized in the interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount without in the least detracting from the supreme value of that great utterance cannot well be denied. Our Lord as teacher was a prophet rather than a legislator. Hence it is maintained that the passage in Matthew may be taken as a fuller expression of the Lord's mind than the briefer passages in the other Gospels, that we have His express sanction for divorce in case of adultery, with consequent permission to marry again in the case of the innocent partner. It is not, of course, denied that, if the bond is broken, it is broken alike for both partners, but, as the guilty partner is, or has been, living in notorious sin, and can give no evidence of repentance except by abstaining altogether from marriage, such guilty partner must necessarily be refused the Church's benediction in the case of re-marriage. The latter principle has been invariably and universally accepted.

Although it is evident that adultery affects the marriage relation more closely than any other offence, yet it may fairly be said that there are other things which may make married life so intolerable, and the perfect ideal union so impossible, that, if divorce or separation be allowed at all, the grounds for such separation ought not in reason to be confined to the one offence of adultery. This difficulty was met by many of the Fathers by showing, on good Scriptural authority, that idolatry, covetousness, unnatural offences, etc., might rightly be classed under the heading of spiritual adultery. There is probably no more than a formal difference between this and the argument which appeals most forcibly to modern minds—that there are offences which make married life so intolerable that there can be no restoration of affection, that, where the tie of affection has been absolutely destroyed, the real *vinculum* has been ruptured, and that, therefore, such offences may rightly be put in the same category as conjugal infidelity in the strict sense of the word.[1]

The passages in the Synoptic Gospels have been treated as they stand in the NT without any reference to the results of modern criticism; it will be generally admitted that such treatment is justified in dealing with ethical or doctrinal questions. It must, however, be acknowledged that the recent higher criticism of the Synoptic Gospels has thrown a new light upon the matter and, to a certain extent, strengthened the case of those who condemn divorce absolutely. A large and increasing number of competent critics are of opinion that the qualification, 'except for the cause of fornication,' formed no part of our Lord's teaching (*e.g.*, A. B. Bruce, H. Weiss, H. H. Wendt, P. W. Schmiedel, B. W. Bacon, C. G. Montefiore), and that He forbade divorce simply and absolutely. The four passages are reduced to two. The passage Lk 16^{18}, probably derived from the source Q, may be regarded as the original and genuine form which has been edited by the first Evangelist in Mt 5^{32}. It is quite evident that Mt 19^{3-9} and Mk 10^{2-12} are but slightly different versions of the same conversation, while everything goes to show that the form in Mark is the original (see W. C. Allen, *ICC*, 'St. Matthew,'^{3} Edinburgh, 1912, *ad loc.*).[2]

If the modern critical view is generally accepted, it will, no doubt, be admitted that the case of those who absolutely condemn divorce will be somewhat strengthened, but it is not likely that the existing state of opinion on the whole will be very much affected. The acceptance of the critical view will simply bring into greater prominence the fact that questions of this kind have never really been decided on grounds either of exegesis or of authority pure and simple, but that our interpretation of our Lord's teaching has always been guided by moral and theological considerations. The saving clauses, *παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας* and *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ*, may be admitted to be early notes of interpretation added by the Church—a reminiscence, perhaps, of instruction actually received from the Lord—but those who plead for the right of divorce will still maintain that the interpretation was fully justified and quite on a level with many of our other interpretations of the Sermon on the Mount.

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[1] *παρεκτὸς λόγου πορνείας* (5^{32}); *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ* (19^{9}).

[1] Augustine frequently expressed the idea of the wider interpretation of 'fornication.' 'Si infidelitas fornicatio est, et idololatria infidelitas, et avaritia idololatria, non est dubitandum avaritiam fornicationem esse' (*de Serm. Domini*, I. xvi. 46). See also several passages to the same effect in the *de Conjugiis adulterinis*. In the *Retractationes* Augustine expresses doubt as to the legitimacy of this exegesis (i. 19). Passages from Hermas and Origen in which the idea is expressed are also cited (cf. Bingham, *Antiq.* XXII. v. 2).

[2] W. C. Allen, though holding the critical view, yet protests, in letters to *The Guardian* (lxv. [1910] 920, 985, 1684 f., 1782), against making use of critical results to decide dogmatic questions, and justifies the use of the NT as received by the Church. J. Keble, in his pamphlet, 'An argument for not proceeding immediately to repeal the laws which treat the nuptial bond as indissoluble' (Oxford, 1857), attempted to defend the stricter view on the ground that the passages in Matthew were meant only for the Jews of Christ's own time, and were not to apply to Christians, for whom the absolute prohibitions were intended. This view does not seem to have met with much approval, and is not now advanced.

The only other passage in the NT where the subject of divorce is directly treated is 1 Co 7, where St. Paul appeals to our Lord's authority, repeating the general prohibition of divorce. There is nothing, however, to indicate that, when he speaks of a separation between wife and husband, he has the special case of conjugal infidelity before his mind. The presumption is rather the other way, and it would seem as if he were merely thinking of the case of separation for what we should describe as incompatibility of temper. The chief interest of this chapter centres in the rules and regulations laid down by the Apostle with reference to matters about which he could not appeal to any direct utterances of the Lord Jesus.

In the first place, he recognizes the possibility of separation 'a mensa et thoro' (v.[11]); if husband and wife are separated for any reason, they are to remain single or become reconciled to each other. Even though he were not actually considering the case of separation for conjugal infidelity, we may feel sure that, if he had done so, the Apostle would have approved of the counsel given in the *Shepherd* of Hermas.

The Jewish husband who divorced his wife was forbidden by the law to take her back; but it is characteristic of the gospel to give prominence to the possibility of repentance; and so Hermas charges the husband who has put away his unfaithful wife to remain unmarried (διὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν) so that the sinner might have an opportunity for repentance with consequent restoration (*Mand.* iv. 1).

In the second place, St. Paul deals with the case of a marriage between a Christian and an unbeliever—Jew or heathen. If it is desired that the union should continue, well and good; if not (v.[15]), a brother or sister is not under bondage in such a case, and, if the unbeliever dissolves the connexion, the Christian is free. This must be taken to mean free to marry again (cf. Ro 7[1ff.] for the use of the terms 'freedom' and 'bondage'). This passage was expressly cited in later times as the authority for the canon law of the Roman Church, which permits divorce by mutual consent in cases of mixed marriages between Christians and unbelievers (see Innocent III., *Decretales Gregorii*, iv. 19, 'de Divortiis,' ch. 7).

The canon law of the Roman Catholic Church unqualifiedly forbids divorce 'a vinculo matrimonii,' if both parties at the time of marriage had been baptized Christians. In the Eastern Churches, on the contrary, divorce is permitted, not only for adultery, but also for other serious causes, as, *e.g.*, high treason, designs by either party on the life of the other, insanity, leprosy, etc.; but no one is permitted to obtain a divorce more than once. In East and West alike, in the earlier period, and more especially after the ascetic movement became popular—*i.e.* after the middle of the 3rd cent.—the Fathers were strong in their denunciations of re-marriage, even in the case of an innocent partner. In some cases such unions were made the subject of ecclesiastical censure and at least temporary excommunication. Yet, while the civil laws permitted re-marriage, it is evident that all the eloquence of the Fathers could not entirely prevent it, and it is probable that the average lay opinion did not generally approve of the excessive rigidity of what we may call the ecclesiastical view. The Eastern Church, however, has, from the time of the removal of the seat of empire to Constantinople, been at all times more dependent on the civil power, and, as a natural consequence, more subject to the influence of lay opinion, than the Church of the West, where the power of the ecclesiastical authorities was more unfettered.

In the matter in hand this difference is very well illustrated in the 5th cent. by the moderation of the views of St. Basil, who refused to condemn re-marriage absolutely, though he could not approve of it, and of Lactantius, as compared with the Western teachers of the same period. Yet even up to the 12th cent., when the present canon law of the Roman Church was finally formulated, it is evident, from a careful study of the various decrees of synods and councils, that it was not possible in practice to enforce strictly the principle of the absolute indissolubility of marriage.

Re-marriage in certain cases is permitted implicitly or explicitly by the following Councils: Elvira (Illiberis, *c.* 305), Vannes (465), Agde (506), Orleans (533), Compiègne (756), and Bourges (1031); to these we may add the testimony of the *Penitential* of Theodore of Canterbury, drawn up for the guidance of the churches under his control, which in some respects perhaps goes to an extreme in making allowances for the weakness of human nature, but in which very considerable liberty is allowed in the matter of re-marriage.

Civil legislation from the time of Constantine to Justinian bears witness, indeed, to the growth of Christian influence in the attempts made to limit the grounds for divorce and, in general, to make divorce more difficult. Nevertheless, the law permitting divorce by mutual consent remained in force until the time of Justinian, while the grounds on which it might be obtained were numerous enough. Under the legislation of Theodosius the Second and Valentinian a wife might divorce her husband for (1) treason, (2) adultery, (3) homicide, (4) poisoning, (5) violating sepulchres, (6) forgery, (7) stealing from a church, (8) robbery, (9) cattle-stealing, (10) attempts on her life, (11) introducing immoral women into the house, and (12) common assault. A husband might divorce his wife for any of the above causes, and also for (13) dining with men not relatives without her husband's permission, (14) going from home at night without permission or reasonable cause, and (15) frequenting circus or theatre without permission; to which Justinian added (16) procuring abortion, and (17) mixed bathing.

It was very natural that the Reformers in the 16th cent. should call in question the rigid mediæval views on the subject of divorce, regarding them as an outcome of the claims of the ecclesiastical authorities to supreme jurisdiction, and as inspired by the spirit of asceticism. The Protestant and Reforming divines held that divorce with the permission of re-marriage was justified in the case of adultery and, generally speaking, of cruelty or prolonged desertion. In the 16th and 17th centuries the same view was generally expressed by Anglican teachers, even by those who, like J. Cosin and H. Hammond, are generally considered as belonging to the High school in theology.

The Reformers rejected the sacramental theory of marriage, and held that the words 'the twain shall become one flesh' signified no more than a very comprehensible union based on common interests and mutual affections. The doctrine that marriage could be dissolved only by death, since husband and wife could no more cease to be husband and wife than brother and sister to be brother and sister, seemed to them to be the natural outcome of the sacramental doctrine. This is not, indeed, wholly true; for it is quite possible to hold the sacramental view, or something very like the sacramental view, and yet to believe that grievous sin may rupture the mystic bond as really and completely as death itself. Still it is evident that rejection of the sacramental theory makes it easier to reject the strict doctrine of indissolubility.

In the next place, the Reformers maintained that, since separation 'a mensa et thoro' was permitted, it was more conducive to morality and more in accordance with the teaching of 1 Co 7^{9} that an innocent partner should be allowed the right of re-marriage than that temptations to a life of sin should be multiplied. Further, they pointed out that the strict enforcement of the canon law forbidding divorce had not succeeded in putting an end to the evil; that in the later period the multiplication of grounds on which marriage might be declared null and void *ab initio*, implying the consequent dissolution of perfectly honourable unions, had really made divorce easier and more common than before, and had become a grave scandal and the source of much immorality. Finally, with their profound reverence for the Scriptures of the OT, it was natural that the Reformers should urge that divorce could not in every case be morally wrong, since, if it were, it could never have been allowed by God under any circumstances. This last argument was put forward by John Milton with much power and eloquence in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (1643). Probably no Christian writer has ever gone so far as Milton in advocating the utmost liberty for Christian men—he does not concede the liberty to women—in this matter. He is, indeed, willing to admit that 'what God has joined together man may not put asunder,' but he will by no means allow that a mere marriage contract or ceremony, though entered upon freely by mutual consent and duly consummated, must necessarily constitute such a joining together. Marriage is indissoluble only when there is complete and perfect unity of heart and soul between the partners. It may be safely said that the absurdities to which Milton's doctrines would lead if pushed to their logical conclusions are a sufficient refutation, nor does this work of his seem to have had much effect on English thought in his own or any succeeding age.

In most Roman Catholic countries civil legislation has conformed to the ecclesiastical ruling of the Council of Trent, and divorce has been forbidden. In Austria, however, it is permitted to those who are not members of the Roman Catholic Church. France is an exception. The *Code Napoléon* (1804–10) restricted the unlimited licence which had been permitted in the earlier years of the Revolution, but allowed divorce on various grounds, including 'mutual consent.' With the restoration of the monarchy (1816), the older law was again adopted and divorce was forbidden. It was not until 1884 that the provisions of the *Code Napoléon* were revived, with certain modifications, serious injuries or cruelty being admitted as sufficient cause, but divorce by mutual consent being forbidden.

In America the laws vary from one State to another. In S. Carolina and Maryland, originally Roman Catholic States, divorce is not permitted; in New York it is granted only on the ground of adultery; while in Maine and Dakota it may be granted on almost any pretext.

If the Report of the Commission appointed by Edward VI. (*Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum*) had resulted in legislation, it is probable that the opinions of Cranmer, Bucer, and Peter Martyr in favour of divorce would have become part of the law both of the English Church and of the English State. With the king's death, however, the prospect of any alteration of the old law passed away. The Commission appointed to report on the case of the Marquis of Northampton, who, having obtained a separation under the ecclesiastical courts, desired to marry again, allowed the second marriage; but, as the marriage had already taken place while the Commission was sitting, its decision cannot be considered as absolutely unbiased. The Marquis, however, was advised to have his second marriage legalized by special Act of Parliament, and an Act to that effect was passed in 1548, but was repealed when Queen Mary came to the throne. This case is important, as it may be said to have ruled English practice until the passing of the Divorce Act of 1857. The canons of 1604 (can. 107) confirmed the authority of the ecclesiastical court to grant judicial separation, but only on condition that a definite pledge was given by the parties not to contract a second marriage. Divorce proper with privilege of re-marriage could be obtained only by special Act of Parliament. Between the time of the Reformation and the passing of the Divorce Act 317 cases had been dealt with by Act of Parliament in England and 146 in Scotland.

The Act of 1857 abolished the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts in matrimonial cases, and established a civil court for the purpose. In England and Scotland divorce can now be obtained through the court without special legislation, but the law does not apply to Ireland, where an Act of Parliament is still necessary. In Scotland a wife may obtain a divorce on the ground of adultery alone, but in England cruelty or other serious offence on the husband's part must be proved in addition. In both countries a wife may be divorced on the ground of adultery alone.

In 1909 a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the whole question of the laws relating to divorce and separation. The Commission, after very careful investigations, extending over two years, published their report in Nov. 1912. No attempt has as yet been made, however—up to the middle of 1915—to give effect to their recommendations by way of legislation. On two points the commissioners were unanimous: if divorce is to be allowed, the method of procedure should be cheapened by the institution of special courts, so that the divorce should be made, not easy for any class, but as easy for the poor as for the rich; secondly, men and women should be placed on an equal footing, a wife being allowed to divorce her husband on the ground of adultery alone. The majority of the commissioners were in favour of extending the grounds on which divorce might be granted so as to cover cases of wilful desertion for at least three years, cruelty, incurable insanity after five years' confinement, and imprisonment under commuted death sentence; but a strong minority protested against this proposal, and claimed that divorce should be granted only in case of adultery.

The resolutions of the Lambeth Conference of 1888, in which this difficult practical question was fully discussed, may fairly be taken as representing the authoritative ruling of the Anglican Church as a whole at the present time.

> '(1) Inasmuch as Our Lord's words expressly forbid divorce except in the case of fornication or adultery, the Christian Church cannot recognize divorce in any other than the excepted case, or give any sanction to the marriage of any person who has been divorced contrary to this law during the life of the other party.
>
> (2) That in no case, during the lifetime of the innocent party in the case of a divorce for fornication or adultery, should the guilty party be regarded as a fit recipient of the blessing of the Church on marriage.
>
> (3) That, recognizing the fact that there has always been a difference of opinion in the Church on the question whether Our Lord meant to forbid marriage to the innocent party in a divorce for adultery, the Conference recommends that the clergy should not be instructed to refuse the sacraments and other privileges of the Church to those who under civil sanction are thus married.' These resolutions were reaffirmed by the Conference of 1908, with an addition to the effect that 'when an innocent person has by means of a court of law divorced a spouse for adultery, and desires to enter into another contract of marriage, it is undesirable that such a contract should receive the blessing of the Church.'

The increase of wealth and luxury, and the growth of a spirit of self-indulgence so characteristic of the present age, together with the widely spread intellectual unrest, tend to encourage the demands for a wider extension of the facilities for divorce. Impatience of old-fashioned restraints and a certain loosening of old-established bonds are the natural characteristics of an age like ours. The deepened sense of the supreme importance of the spiritual union and companionship in marriage which Christianity has fostered makes the bond more irksome than ever where such union is supposed not to be ideal. Those who realize how much the stability and sanctity of home life depend on the unbroken firmness of the marriage-tie, and who recognize that the frequency of divorce must have a degrading effect upon individual character as well as on society in general, naturally regard with some anxiety the tendency in the present day to make divorce easier and more common. It is undoubtedly necessary for the Christian Church to make resolute protest against this tendency. It is, however, certain that the effects of nineteen centuries of Christian influence can never be wholly shaken off. We shall never again be able to regard divorce with the same easy indifference with which it was commonly regarded in the 1st cent. of our era. Christian influence will make itself felt on behalf of the Christian view of marriage, not in the modern world in the way of conciliar decrees and authoritative edicts, but by the weight of Christian public opinion guided by the principles of the NT.

(*b*) *Conditions of valid marriage.*—(1) *Equality of rank or condition* between the contracting parties, though required by Roman law, has never been regarded as essential in the Christian Church, however desirable in itself.

In Imperial times connexions were sometimes formed between slaves and free women, such connexions, though officially described as concubinage, being regarded as perfectly honourable and moral. It is not improbable that in the Christian Church, with the close relations of brotherhood prevailing between all classes and the excess of the number of free-born women over that of free-born men, such connexions would be by no means uncommon—the fact that they were socially recognized as creditable would, of course, have considerable weight. Some references which have come down to us seem to show that this was the case, and that such connexions were regarded by the Church as essentially marriages.

'Si quis habens uxorem fidelis concubinam habeat, non communicet. Caeterum qui non habet uxorem et pro uxore concubinam habet, a communione non repellatur tantum ut unius mulieris aut uxoris aut concubinae, ut ei placuerit, sit coniunctione contentus' (1st Council of Toledo [*c.* 400], can. 17). 'Christiano non dicam plurimas sed nec duas simul habere licitum est, nisi unam tantum aut uxorem aut certo loco uxoris si conjux deest concubinam' (Isidore, *ap.* Gratian, *Diss.* 4, quoted by Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccles.*, Lucca, 1734, i. 29).

(2) The question of *mixed marriages* between Christians and non-Christians was, as might have been expected, one of the earliest practical problems with which the Church was called upon to deal. It formed the subject of one of the queries proposed to St. Paul by his Corinthian converts. The Apostle's reply is clear enough so far as marriages contracted before conversion are concerned. A Christian ought to continue such a union so long as the unbelieving partner is willing that it should be so. The children born of such a marriage were holy, *i.e.* rightful subjects for Christian baptism. If the unbeliever decided to dissolve the union, 'the brother or the sister is not under bondage in such cases'—which must mean that the Christian would be at liberty to contract another marriage (see, for St. Paul's use of terms 'bondage' and 'freedom,' Ro $7^{1\text{ff.}}$). In 1 Co 7^{39} the Apostle declares that a Christian is at liberty to contract marriage 'only in the Lord.' The general principles laid down in this chapter have always been regarded as the primary authority on this matter, though there has been much controversy as to the practical application, and even as to the exact meaning, of his teaching. Do the words 'only in the Lord' mean that any marriage contracted between one already a Christian and an unbeliever is unlawful? Does 'in the Lord' mean only with a fellow-Christian, and, if so, must the words of St. Paul be taken as a positive command or merely as a counsel of prudence? On these questions St. Augustine expresses himself with some doubt and hesitation, but his opinion on the whole may be taken as expressing the general view of the Church in the preceding centuries. Mixed marriages with unbelievers were discouraged, and even declared, though with some hesitation, to be unlawful for Christians; yet such marriages could not be wholly prevented, nor was any penalty attached to them in the first three centuries, so far as appears. The Council of Elvira affords the earliest example of a specific penalty (five years' penance) being attached to such unions. From the beginning of the 6th cent. the decrees of councils are more numerous and more distinct, while the penalties are in general much more severe.

The civil law supported the ecclesiastical judgments, the Theodosian Code making such wedlock a capital offence. In the Middle Ages the question of the exact interpretation of the Apostle's permission to converts to separate from unbelievers was the subject of much controversy, the chief question being whether the separation should be the deliberate act of the unbeliever, or whether any circumstances making it impossible for the believer to remain 'sine contumelia creatoris' might not justify the separation. The question was decided, on the whole, in the broader sense, by Innocent III. (*de Divortiis*, 1198).

In early times marriage with heretics and schismatics was generally brought under the same condemnation as marriage with Jews or pagans. It is now, however, generally recognized both in the Eastern and in Roman Catholic communions that all marriages duly celebrated between baptized persons are valid and indissoluble, though in the case where one of the parties is a heretic or schismatic the other may be subjected to censure or penalty. Where the decrees of the Council of Trent have been published, however, this ruling does not free those contracting mixed marriages from considerable inconvenience, inasmuch as 'due celebration' is defined to be celebration in the presence of a priest in a Roman Catholic place of worship, the man being further obliged to guarantee that children born of the marriage shall be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith. Marriage otherwise celebrated is declared to be null and void. The publication of these decrees, for all practical purposes, in these countries by Pope Pius X. in the well known 'Ne temere' decree (1907) has given rise to much controversy. Roman Catholic divines defend the decrees on the ground that the Church has a right to make any regulations she pleases as to the conditions on which she shall recognize marriages, and that it is desirable to prevent mixed marriages as far as possible, and is, further, the duty of the Church to take care that the children of marriages blessed by her shall be brought up in the faith. Their opponents urge that it is inevitable that mixed marriages will sometimes occur in a large mixed community; that, when this is so, and a marriage is lawfully performed, the Church has no right to cast a slur on respectable persons who have, admittedly, been guilty of no immoral conduct; that to insist on a religious ceremony to which one party may object is to put undue pressure upon conscience, while to demand a pledge for the education in a particular way of children to be born is to override the law of the land and the natural rights of parents, and that such interference is unjustifiable.[1]

(3) *Kindred and affinity.*—It was a common complaint with the Reformers and those who sympathized with them that the multiplication of grounds of prohibition of marriage, the custom of papal dispensations in doubtful cases or cases of illegality, and the facility with which decrees of nullity of marriage could be obtained had created much uncertainty in the matter of marriage-relations and had been the source of grave scandals. This is forcibly expressed in the statute of Henry VIII. for the regulation of marriages (1533–34):

> 'Many persons, after long continuance together in matrimony without any allegation of either of the parties or any other at their marriage why the same matrimony should not be good, had been divorced contrary to God's law on the pretext of precontract or by reason of other prohibition than God's law permitteth. Marriages have been brought into such uncertainty thereby that no marriage could be so surely knit or bounden but it should lie in either of the parties' power to prove a precontract, a kindred and alliance, or a carnal knowledge to defeat the same.'

In the Roman Catholic Church three kinds of relationship are laid down as impediments to valid marriage, viz. blood-relationship or consanguinity, affinity or connexion by marriage, and spiritual affinity, as, *e.g.*, the connexion between godparent and godchild, or between two persons who are godparents to the same child. In the Eastern Church the system is even more elaborate, and the grounds of prohibition more numerous than in the Western, while at the same time the custom of dispensation commonly practised in the West since the 8th cent. is unknown in the Eastern Church. In the East two brothers are not allowed to marry two sisters, and, in general, marriage between the members of two families debars the members of either from marriage with members of the other within the prescribed limits.

A different method of describing relationships prevails in the two branches of the Church. In the East uncle and nephew are related in the third degree, first cousins in the fourth, and so on; marriage is forbidden within the seventh degree of kindred or affinity, natural or spiritual. In the West first cousins are related in the second degree, second cousins in the fourth, and so on, marriage being forbidden—since the Lateran Council (1215)—within the fourth degree. This is in practice almost the same as the Eastern rule. The Lateran Council, however, abolished all prohibitions on the score of affinity within the second degree according to the Western reckoning. No trace of these somewhat burdensome restrictions is to be found before the 5th century. In the earlier centuries Christians would be familiar both with the Levitical Law of Holiness (=Lv 18) and with the ordinary Roman law, which were, to all intents and purposes, to the same effect—marriage being forbidden within the second degree according to the Western reckoning. It goes without saying that their marriages would be regulated according to the provisions of those codes.

The only question in connexion with this subject of prohibited degrees which excites interest or gives occasion to serious controversy at the present time is the much-vexed question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Such marriages have long been legal and customary in America, in the British colonies, and in several European countries. In England they were not unknown prior to 1835, though condemned by the canon law of the English Church. Such marriages were held by the civil courts to be perfectly valid and unimpeachable in law, unless voided by special legal process undertaken during the lifetime of the parties; but Lord Lyndhurst's Act in 1835 declared all such marriages within the prohibited degrees absolutely illegal. After many futile attempts, and in face of very strong opposition, an Act legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister in the United Kingdom was passed in 1908. A saving clause permits clergymen who have a conscientious objection to refuse to celebrate such marriages, but in the case of Bannister *v.* Thompson, in which proceedings were taken against a clergyman for refusing the Holy Communion to persons so married, it was decided that the clergy may not refuse the sacraments to persons legally married though within the prohibited degrees. Meanwhile the table of affinities in the Anglican Prayer-Book remains the law of the Church, and, in strictness, it would seem that the clergy are prohibited from celebrating a marriage between a widower and his deceased wife's sister, even if they do not feel themselves bound by the famous canons of 1604 to hold that such marriages are 'incestuous and unlawful and altogether null and void' (can. 99). The logical course might seem to be to revise the table of kindred and affinity, but to this a very influential body in the Anglican Church is strongly opposed. Those who object to these marriages do not now, as a general rule, claim that they are expressly prohibited in Lv 18, though attempts more or less ingenious have been made to prove that they are. It is held, however, that the general principle that near affinity is a bar to marriage is laid down in the Law of Holiness, that a greater number of cases of affinity than of consanguinity are cited in Lv 18, and that the case of the deceased wife's sister is so exactly parallel to that of marriage with a husband's brother that the same principle may be held to stand good. Further, it is said that the reference to the sin of the Canaanites (Lv 18^{27}) shows that the prohibitions are regarded as matters of universal moral obligation and not national enactments applicable only to the Israelites. Again, it is maintained that the healthy moral sentiment which makes us regard with loathing and repulsion such unions as those between brother and sister and uncle and niece should also prevail between those who are brought into such close relations of affection as brothers and sisters by marriage. The same sentiment ought to prevail, and anything which may tend to destroy it must be regarded as morally injurious and degrading. Those who hold the sacramental view of a mystic spiritual bond formed in marriage urge that this bond creates as close a relationship between a man and the members of his wife's family as exists between blood-relations. Finally, it is pointed out that marriage with a deceased wife's sister has been expressly forbidden by the Church, at all events since the 4th century. It is most inadvisable, therefore, it is said, to tamper with so long established a custom or, indeed, with any well-established custom in connexion with so delicate a subject as the marriage-relation. Such are the main arguments by which marriage with a deceased wife's sister may be opposed. It is now worth while to consider the arguments which have been brought forward on the other side.

It is very doubtful, it is urged, whether the Levitical law relating to a different state of civilization and specially intended for the people of Israel can be regarded as a moral law binding on Christians; but, even if it be accepted as such, not only is there no express prohibition of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, but, on the contrary, it is implied that such marriage is perfectly lawful (v.^{18}). The Jews have never regarded such unions as forbidden, nor were they forbidden by the ancient Roman law. The very fact that an apostolic canon (date probably late in the 3rd cent.) forbids such marriages *to the clergy* shows that they were not generally regarded at that time as unlawful *per se*.

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[1] On the subject of mixed marriage in general see Decrees of Councils: Illiberis (305), Arles (314), Laodicea (*c.* 341), Agde (506), Orleans (533). See also *Cod. Theod.* iii., xvi.; *Decretum of Gratian*, c. 1–17, C. xxviii. q. 1 (A.D. 1139–42); Innocent III., *de Variis questionibus*, *c.* 1200; Augustine, *de Fide et operibus*, xix.

No injury has resulted, it is held, either to married life or to the general tone of social morality from the permission of such marriages in America and in the British colonies. It is evident from experience that such marriages are in very many cases desired, and in large centres of population among the poorer classes it is absolutely necessary as a safeguard to morality that they should be permitted. It is denied that any feeling of repulsion similar to that inspired by incestuous connexions exists, or ought to exist, in the case of one's wife's near relations. Affinity ought, in certain cases, to be a bar to marriage, but the true ground of prohibition in this case is what is known as *respectus parentelæ*. The marriage of a man with his step-daughter or with his nephew's widow is shocking to the moral sense because of the more or less paternal relationship involved in the connexion. According to old Eastern ideas, this relationship would also prevail between a woman and her deceased husband's brother, now become the head of the house. That marriage with a deceased husband's brother was not regarded with moral repulsion, in itself, is shown by the fact that it was commanded in the case of a man dying without children. There is no reason, therefore, for thinking that any other principle than that of the *respectus parentelæ* governs the prohibitions of marriage within certain degrees of affinity in Leviticus, while, in the evident total absence of any sense of repulsion against such unions among the majority of modern civilized people, no reason can be given why they should be forbidden. It is further urged that, even if the sacramental theory of marriage be accepted, since the mystic bond is dissolved by death, it may be fairly held that the connexions formed are no longer binding. That a great distinction is made between marriage with a deceased wife's sister and marriage with those closely connected by blood is evident from the fact that the Roman Church freely and frequently grants dispensations for the former, notwithstanding her high sacramental belief.

Some Anglicans, while not prepared to condemn marriage with a deceased wife's sister as absolutely wrong or immoral, yet consider it so undesirable that at least it should not receive the blessing of the Church by a marriage ceremony. Such an attitude has in most periods been taken up with regard to objectionable, but not absolutely forbidden, marriages. As pointed out above, it is the position taken by the Lambeth Conference with reference to the re-marriage of the innocent partner in a divorce case. It has, however, been said that such an attitude is not logical, and is at the same time unjust to Christian people. The majority of Christians have come to regard the nuptial benediction as almost, if not altogether, an essential of marriage and the right of every Christian. If members of the Church are committing no moral offence, they may reasonably claim the blessing of the Church upon their union; if they are entitled to receive the sacraments, it is held that it is unjust to cast such a slur upon them as is implied in a refusal to hallow their union.

5. Conclusion.—Poets and story-tellers have made the love and courtship which lead up to marriage a matter of such all-absorbing interest that married life itself may well seem, by comparison, to be utterly dull, prosaic, and uninteresting. At the same time, divines and canonists have generally directed attention to the sterner aspect of the matter, dwelling exclusively on restraints and prohibitions, and scanning with watchful suspicion every form of natural indulgence. Nevertheless, the Scriptural ideal of marriage has maintained its hold in the Christian world and has been a mighty influence for the sanctification of family life and the development of character.

From one point of view, marriage is a restraint—a healthy restriction imposed on unbridled licence and excessive indulgence; it brings with it duties and responsibilities which must tax our powers and energies to the utmost and call for the continued exercise of patience and self-denial. It is well that, in a matter of so much importance, so intimately connected with our social and moral welfare, the restraints and responsibilities should be clearly defined and earnestly enforced. But there is another point of view which is, after all, the higher and truer. In this, perhaps more clearly than in any other connexion, we are taught by the gospel that restraints are imposed and self-denial demanded, not for their own sakes, but as a means to truer and more abiding blessedness. Holy matrimony has been divinely instituted for man's good, and to be a source of blessing. In happy married life man is to find his truest and most lasting happiness, and to reach the fullest perfection of which his nature is capable.

LITERATURE.—Tertullian, *de Monogamia, de Virginibus velandis, ad Uxorem, de Pudicitia*, etc.; Augustine, *de Conjugiis adulterinis, de Fide et Operibus, Retractationes.* For conciliar decisions, early and mediæval, consult C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*^{2}, Freiburg, 1873–90; for papal decrees see H. J. D. Denzinger, *Enchiridion*^{11}, Würzburg, 1911; for canon law, A. Friedberg and A. L. Richter, *Corpus juris canonici*, Leipzig, 1876–80; G. van Mastricht, *Historia juris ecclesiastici*, Halle, 1719; J. Johnson, *Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England*, new ed., Oxford, 1850–51; Z. B. van Espen, *Jus ecclesiasticum universum*, Cologne, 1777; for general treatment of the subject, J. Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, London, 1840, bks. 4, 5, 6, 22; H. Hammond, *On Divorces*, do. 1674; J. Cosin, *Works*, Oxford, 1843–55, iv.; H. C. Lea, *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy*^{3}, London, 1907; H. D. Evans, *Christian Doctrine of Marriage*, New York, 1870; T. D. Woolsey, *Divorce Legislation in the United States*, do. 1882; O. D. Watkins, *Holy Matrimony*, London, 1895; J. Milton, *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, published in convenient form with his other prose works, do. 1898; the works of E. Glasson (*Le Mariage civil et le divorce dans l'antiquité et dans les principales législations modernes de l'Europe*^{2}, Paris, 1880), G. Perrone (*De matrimonio christiano*, Lyons, 1840), and other Roman Catholic writers can be consulted in convenient form in J. P. Migne's *Theologiæ Cursus Completus* (Paris, 1840–45); artt. 'Marriage,' 'Divorce,' 'Sermon on the Mount,' etc., in *DCA*, *PRE*^{3}, etc.; in W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*^{9}, London, 1890, and *Democracy and Liberty*, do. 1899, ii., the whole subject is discussed and much interesting information given, with reference to both the modern and the mediæval periods.

W. M. FOLEY.

MARRIAGE (Egyptian).—Amid the abundance of documents from ancient Egypt there is singularly little to enlighten us on this subject. No representation of the ceremonial or festivities of marriage has been recognized among tomb or temple scenes; the scenes of the divine marriage of Ammon with the queen mother at Luxor and Deir el-Bahri can hardly be quoted for illustrating the human rite. Written contracts of marriage are first found in the XXVIth dyn. (*c.* 600 B.C.), and first became common in the Ptolemaic period; and, notwithstanding the multitudes of relatives recorded in tombs and on stelæ, it is difficult to ascertain what degrees of consanguinity and how many wives were permitted or usual.

To secure hereditary rights in a community with matriarchal tendencies and where women held property, close endogamy might often be convenient. This would especially be the case with the Pharaohs, who claimed the distinction of divine descent, and to them would be permitted acts which could hardly be allowed to their subjects. A genealogical statement regarding the prince Nefermaat at the end of the IIIrd dyn., literally interpreted, would seem to show that he was the offspring of the union of King Seneferu with his eldest daughter (K. Sethe, in *ZÄ* l. [1912] 57), but a more probable interpretation of the same genealogy is given in Erman's *Aegypten*, p. 227, and by H. Sottas, in *REg* xiv. [1914] 150, making him grandson of Seneferu and son of his eldest daughter. There is plenty of evidence that later Pharaohs married their sisters or half-sisters (cf. Erman, p. 221); a case of a less exalted person doing so in the XXIInd dyn. (9th cent. B.C.) is noted by J. H. Breasted (*Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1906–07, iv. 388). In the XXIst dyn. two marriages of uncle and niece in one family are pointed out by A. H. Gardiner (*ZÄ* xlviii. [1910] 50). The Ptolemys followed the precedent of the Pharaohs. In the Roman age marriage of half-sisters and full sisters occurred commonly in the families of cultivators of the soil and artizans (K. Wessely, *Karanis und Soknopaiu Nesos*, Vienna, 1902, p. 23; J. Nietzold, *Die Ehe in Aegypten zur ptolemäisch-römischen Zeit*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 12; the evidence there quoted comes from the Greek papyri of the Fayyum or Arsinoite nome, but A. S. Hunt assures the present writer that there is similar evidence also from Oxyrhynchus). The divine example of Osiris and Isis may have had special force at that period. In the First Story of Sethon Khamwêse (Ptolemaic period), the ancient Pharaoh's argument about his son Neferkeptah and his daughter Ahure seems to be that it would be impolitic, when there were only two children in the royal family, to risk the succession by marrying them together. His preference, following a family custom, would be to marry them to a son and a daughter of two of his generals in order to enlarge his family. At a banquet he questioned Ahure, and was won over by her wishes to the other plan; thereupon he commanded his chief steward to take the princess to her brother's house that same night with all necessary things; Pharaoh's whole household gave her presents, and Neferkeptah made a 'good day' and entertained them all on the marriage eve. This is the only account that we possess of an Egyptian betrothal or marriage that is not of the fairy-tale order, and it is noticeable that there is no mention in it of the writing of a contract, perhaps because this marriage was an affair within the family.

Marriage was no doubt entered on soon after puberty and the circumcision of the male, though evidence here is lacking. Müller (*Liebespoesie*, p. 3, note 5) quotes an instance at the end of the Ptolemaic period of the wife of a priest being married at twelve and a half years of age. Some of the ancient Egyptian stories offer examples of love-matches, but parents or guardians would naturally have had the first word in the disposal of young people.

Although several wives may be recorded on a man's tomb, there are few clear cases of more than one living at the same time except in the large *harîms* of royal wives and concubines (cf. Erman, p. 219). For all these questions see CIRCUMCISION (Egyptian), FAMILY (Egyptian), CONCUBINAGE, vol. iii. p. 811, CHILDREN (Egyptian); also ADULTERY (Egyptian), ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), vol. v. p. 481 f., § 9f. Divorce is provided for in the late contracts mentioned above, sometimes on behalf of the man, sometimes of the woman, and writings of divorce are known (see LAW [Egyptian]). Of the treatment of widows nothing is known beyond that their defenceless state made them objects of help and pity to the just and charitable.

LITERATURE.—A. Erman, *Aegypten und ägyp. Leben*, Tübingen, 1885, p. 216 ff.; W. M. Müller, *Liebespoesie der alten Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1899, Introduction.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

MARRIAGE (Greek). — **I. General.** — The Greeks, as a rule, seem to have entered upon marriage from religious or prudential motives rather than on sentimental grounds. The generation of children[1] was, in fact, the recognized main end of marriage, with which went also the desire to obtain a capable housekeeper.[2] This utilitarian motive lies at the root of that long conversation of Socrates and Ischomachos on household management which, as reported by Xenophon, is our most illuminating evidence on Greek married life in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. (see esp. *Œc.* vii. 19 f.). The purely physical significance of marriage in relation to the State itself found, doubtless, its strongest and most logical recognition in Sparta, where wives were taken simply *ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς τεκνώσεως ἔργον* (Plut. *Comp. Lyc. cum Numa*, iv. 77), and their interchange for this object was both permitted and encouraged.[3] Yet even in Athens, as a result of the development of city life, in which women could not take any direct part (cf. the oft-quoted words ascribed to Pericles [Thuc. ii. 45]), marriage lost the delicate and romantic bloom which belongs to it in the Homeric poems.[4] Indeed the average Athenian woman must have been too ignorant to have been a helpmeet for her husband, intellectually or spiritually, at least in any but the lowest class of society. It would, however, be a mistake to regard the exaggerations of the comic poets, or the *chroniques scandaleuses* of the orators, as complete and faithful reflexions of the ideals and facts of the social life of their time. Nor, again, is it possible to deduce the precise degree of affection, respect, or influence actually enjoyed within the precincts of the home by the Athenian wife, from the regulations of the legal system of which she appears to be the passive victim. That the position of women and the conditions of married life in historical Greece exhibit a considerable variation, apparently for the worse, from the state of things depicted in the Epic is undeniable, however it may be explained; but it is an error to contrast the idealizations of Homer with the crudities of Attic law. The actual content of life, then as now, was just what the man and wife chose to make it.

Monogamy was the Hellenic rule, as among the Egyptians (Herod. ii. 92). Examples to the contrary, however, are not lacking; *e.g.*, in Sparta King Anaxandrides kept a double establishment (Herod. v. 40).[5] It is doubtless true enough that no definite law of Athens nor reference to any law asserting the principle can be adduced, and, on the other hand, that cases of bigamy occurred in Athens as elsewhere; but neither of these facts justifies the statement that Attic law simply took no account of polygamy one way or another.[6]

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[1] *ἐπὶ παίδων γνησίων σπόρῳ*, or *ἀρότῳ*, betrothal formula given in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. 23; cf. Menander, *Perik.* 435: *ταύτην γνησίων παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ σοι δίδωμι.*

[2] Cf. the naive confession in Dem. lix. 122: *τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἑταίρας ἡδονῆς ἕνεκ' ἔχομεν, τὰς δὲ παλλακὰς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν θεραπείας τοῦ σώματος, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τοῦ παιδοποιεῖσθαι γνησίως καὶ τῶν ἔνδον φύλακα πίστην ἔχειν.* See also Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* viii. 12. 7: *οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι οὐ μόνον τῆς τεκνοποιίας χάριν συνοικοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον.*

[3] Xen. *Rep. Lac.* i. 8: *εἰ δέ τις αὖ γυναικὶ μὲν συνοικεῖν μὴ βούλοιτο, τέκνων δὲ ἀξιολόγων ἐπιθυμοίη, καὶ τούτῳ νόμον ἐποίησεν, ἥντινα εὔτεκνον καὶ γενναίαν ὁρῴη, πείσαντα τὸν ἔχοντα, ἐκ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖσθαι.*

[4] Cf. the description of a perfect marriage, put into the mouth of Odysseus, in *Od.* vi. 182–185.

[5] In Herod. vi. 61, *Ἀρίστωνι βασιλεύοντι ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ γήμαντι γυναῖκας δύο παῖδες οὐκ ἐγίνοντο*, the brevity of the expression leaves it uncertain whether Ariston had two wives at once. In vi. 63 he divorces the second, to marry a third—from which, perhaps, he may be allowed the benefit of the doubt (cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, Stuttgart, 1884–1901, ii. § 59 A). But the feature of Sparta was rather practical polyandry (Polyb. xii. 6).

[6] Cf. Hruza, *Polygamie und Pellikat*, p. 31: 'Das attische

That concubinage existed at Athens to a considerable extent cannot be doubted, owing to the influx of free women and their men-folk from the rest of Greece. Lysias mentions a law which authorizes an injured husband to slay with impunity an adulterer caught *flagrante delicto*, whether it be with his wife or with his concubine, though the latter are 'less valuable' than wives (Lys. i. 31 : *καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς παλλακαῖς ταῖς ἐλάττονος ἀξίαις τὴν αὐτὴν δίκην ἐπέθηκε*). So also in a law of Drakon quoted by Dem. xxiii. 53 : *ἢ ἐπὶ παλλακῇ ἣν ἂν ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις παισὶν ἔχῃ*. These passages must cover free foreign women, from which class, as well as from that of slaves and freedwomen, the majority of *παλλακαί* at Athens doubtless came. It is clear, however, from Is. iii. 39, *ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ παλλακίᾳ διδόντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν πάντες πρότερον διομολογοῦνται περὶ τῶν δοθησομένων ταῖς παλλακαῖς*, and from other passages that native Athenian women (*πολίτιδες, ἀσταί*) also sometimes became *ἑταῖραι* and *παλλακαί*. No special laws touching the case of these and giving them privileges over foreign women living *ἐν παλλακίᾳ* with Athenian citizens can be produced. Hence the hypothesis[1] of the existence at Athens of a status of 'legitimate concubinage,' in which an Athenian citizen, already lawfully married, contracted another union with another Athenian woman, who was, like the wife, formally betrothed (*ἐγγυητή*) by her *κύριος*, her children being therefore legitimate, but who nevertheless was not a wife, falls to the ground, as being simply the assertion of legalized bigamy.

Here also should be mentioned Müller's theory[2]—that after the failure of the Sicilian expedition, probably in 411 B.C., changes were introduced into the Athenian marriage law with a view to increasing the number of citizens. His theory is that another form of union (*Nebenehe*) was set up by the side of regular marriage. Marriage in the proper sense could be contracted only with an Athenian woman, but the new legislation permitted a man to take, in addition to his Athenian wife, a partner who was neither *γυνή* nor *παλλακή*—a secondary wife, who had, in fact, no specific title. This *Nebenfrau*, or secondary wife, might be either an Athenian or a foreign woman; her children were citizens, but *νόθοι*, not being admitted to their father's *φρατρία*. If the father left no children by his real wife, theee *νόθοι* had full rights of inheritance, but had a claim only to *νόθεια*, a prescribed fraction of his estate, if he left legitimate issue by the real wife. This institution was abolished on the restoration of the democracy in 403 B.C.

2. Permissible marriages.—It was illegal for an Athenian citizen to marry a foreigner, the alien wife or husband being liable to be sold into slavery (law in Dem. lix. 16, dating perhaps only from the time of Pericles, 451 B.C. [cf. Plut. *Per.* 37], and revived in 403 B.C.). Such marriage, however, was legal if Athenian citizenship had been bestowed on the individual, or if he or she belonged to a community to which the Athenian assembly had granted rights of intermarriage (*ἐπιγαμία*); but, in spite of the law and its penalties, Athenians not infrequently did contract such marriages and smuggle their issue into their *φρατρία*. Legally, the issue of such marriages were illegitimate (*νόθοι*), like the issue of *ἀνέγγυοι*.[3]

Forbidden degrees were few, the practical working of the laws of inheritance and adoption (*qq.v.*) being to encourage marriage between near relatives, and even to enforce it. Marriage of cousins was common (cf. Dem. xliii. 74); union of uncle and niece was possible (cf. Lys. xxxii. 4; Is. iii. 74),[4] and even of aunt and nephew (case of Demosthenes, father of the orator, betrothing on his death-bed his prospective widow to his nephew [Dem. xxvii. 5]). A man might marry his half-sister by the same father, but seemingly not by the same mother.[5] There were, it seems, no other prohibited degrees of affinity, except between individuals in the direct line of descent or ascent (cf. Plat. *Laws*, 838); there is, however, some indication that law and public opinion were not in accord in this matter (Aristoph. *Frogs*, 1081).

It follows from the above that even considerable disparity of age cannot have been generally regarded as an obstacle to marriage. The elder Demosthenes arranged that his five-year-old daughter should marry his nephew *ὅταν ἡλικίαν ἔχῃ*, explained as signifying in ten years' time (Dem. xxvii. 5). The wife of Ischomachos was not fifteen years old at the time of her marriage (Xen. *Œc.* vii. 5). The relatively early age at which girls became nubile in the climate of Greece is to be remembered.[1] The Gortynian Code pronounces a girl nubile at twelve years of age; in Athens the lower limit was perhaps fourteen.[2] The husband must at least have passed his *δοκιμασία*, *i.e.*, he must be turned eighteen. It seems to have been the rule that the husband should be a good deal senior to the wife; and this was approved by the philosophers.[3] Inequality of social position was felt to be a more serious obstacle to marriage than mere disparity in age; but neither this sentiment itself nor the consequences of its violation are specially Athenian (cf. Aristoph. *Clouds*, 41 f.; Æsch. *Prom. Vinct.* 890 : *τὸ κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀριστεύει μακρῷ*). The point lay in the fact that, in historical times, a wife brought a dowry with her, which sometimes had the effect of making her the dominant partner in the household.

3. Choice of wife.—In the selection of a partner neither bridegroom nor bride had much voice; the respective parents arranged the match—often with the aid of a match-maker (*προμνήστρια*). Moreover, the Athenian bridegroom had little opportunity of making his bride's acquaintance, or even of seeing her, before marriage, unless she was a near relative, owing to the strict conventions under which Athenian women in general lived—more strict, apparently, than those which obtained in the rest of Greece[4] (see art. FAMILY [Greek]).

4. Betrothal.—By Attic law betrothal (*ἐγγύησις*)[5] was the indispensable condition of valid marriage, except in the case of an 'heiress' (*ἐπίκληρος*), who was, of course, claimed before the Archon by the next-of-kin (cf. Is. vi. 14 : *ἢ ἐγγυηθεῖσαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἢ ἐπιδικασθεῖσαν*; see art. INHERITANCE [Greek]). Failing the formal ceremony of *ἐγγύησις*, illegitimacy attached to the issue of the marriage. It was simply a contract made between the suitor (or his father or guardian) and the person who as *κύριος* had legal authority over the woman, viz. her father, full brother, paternal grandfather, or

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Recht hat die Polygamie gewiss nicht ausdrücklich verboten, aber wahrscheinlich auch nicht geradezu erlaubt. Das Gesetz enthielt keine Bestimmung, und damit war der Willkür der Bürger freier Raum gegeben.' The law of Charondas of Thurii, inflicting loss of political rights on a man who gave his children a stepmother (Diod. xii. 12, 14), clearly implies universal monogamy (cf. Hruza, p. 56).

[1] See Buermann, 'Drei Studien,' etc. (=*Jahrbücher für cl. Philol.*, 1877–78, Supplementband ix. pp. 578 f., 638 f.); cf. R. Zimmermann, *De nothorum Athenis condicione*, Berlin, 1886.

[2] O. Müller, 'Untersuchungen,' etc. (=*Jahrbücher für cl. Philol.*, 1899, Supplementband xxv. p. 667 f.); cf. Wyse, *The Speeches of Isæus*, p. 280.

[3] Pollux, iii. 21 : *γνήσιος μὲν ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀστῆς καὶ γαμετῆς . . . νόθος δ' ὁ ἐκ ξένης ἢ παλλακίδος.*

[4] At Sparta King Anaxandrides had his niece to wife (Herod. v. 39).

[5] Cf. Dem. lvii. 20 : *ἀδελφὴν γὰρ ὁ πάππος οὑμὸς ἔγημεν οὐχ ὁμομητρίαν*, Paus. I. vii. 1 : *ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρασθεὶς ἔγημεν αὐτήν, Μακεδόσιν οὐδαμῶς ποιῶν νομιζόμενα, Αἰγυπτίοις μέντοι ὧν ἦρχεν*, Plut. *Them.* 32 : *Μνησιπτολέμαν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης γενομένην Ἀρχέπτολις ὁ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ὢν ὁμομήτριος, ἔγημεν.* Marriage of full brothers and sisters was, however, not outside the range of Greek ideas; cf. *Od.* x. 5 f. (sons and daughters of Aiolos)—on which a schol. remarks : *ἀρχαῖον ἔθος τὸ συνοικίζειν ἀδελφούς. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀδελφῇ οὔσῃ συνοικεῖ τῇ Ἥρᾳ.* Cf. also Paus. IV. ii. 3. According to Phil. Jud. *de Spec. Leg.* ii. 779, the Spartan law just reversed the Athenian. See Plat. *Rep.* v. 461 B, and H. Richards, in *ClR* iv. [1890] 6; Hruza, *Polygamie und Pellikat*, p. 159 f.

[1] Soranus, *παθ. γυν.* iv. 20 : *τὸ δὲ ἔμμηνον ἐπιφαίνεται τὸ πρῶτον περὶ τὸ τεσσαρεσδέκατον ἔτος κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ὅτε καὶ τὸ ἡβᾶν καὶ τὸ διογκοῦσθαι τοὺς μαστούς.*

[2] Deduced from F. Blass's restoration of Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* lvi. 7 : *μισθοῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικλ[ήρων, ἕως ἄν τις τετταρ]ακαιδεκέτις γένηται.* For the early age at which girls were married at Troezen, see Arist. *Pol.* 1335*a*, with W. L. Newman's note (*The Politics of Aristotle*, iii. [Oxford, 1902] 464).

[3] Cf. Ar. *Pol.* 1335*a* : *διὸ τὰς μὲν ἁρμόττει περὶ τὴν τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἡλικίαν συζευγνύναι, τοὺς δ' ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα· ἐν τοσούτῳ γὰρ ἀκμάζουσί τε τοῖς σώμασι σύζευξις ἔσται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν παῦλαν τῆς τεκνοποιίας συγκαταβήσεται τοῖς χρόνοις εὐκαίρως.* Sometimes, however, the husband was very young (cf. Dem. xl. 4 : *συνέβη γάρ μοι δεηθέντος τοῦ πατρὸς ὀκτωκαιδεκέτη γῆμαι*). Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 695 f.) recommends a man to marry at about 30, the woman at 18 or 19. Plato, *Rep.* v. 460 E, says : *ἆρ' οὖν σοι ξυνδοκεῖ μέτριος χρόνος ἀκμῆς τὰ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γυναικί, ἀνδρὶ δὲ τὰ τριάκοντα*; cf. Solon, fr. 14.

[4] Hence the curious expression in Xen. *Œc.* vii. 10 : *ἐπεὶ ἤδη μοι χειροήθης ἦν καὶ ἐτετιθάσευτο*, 'after she was accustomed to my hand, that is, was tamed,' used by Ischomachos of his girl-wife.

[5] The form *ἐγγύησις* is used by Isæus only in iii. 53 : *τὴν μαρτυρίαν περὶ τῆς ἐγγυήσεως τῆς γυναικός.* Elsewhere he uses the form *ἐγγύη* (and so Dem. xlvi. 18; Plat. *Laws*, 774 E; Hyper. iii. (v.) 16). But modern writers have in general agreed to use the form *ἐγγύησις* in reference to betrothal, and so restrict the form *ἐγγύη* to signify 'pledge' or 'surety,' which is, in fact, its ordinary significance. The verb *ἐγγυᾶν* is used of the *κύριος* of the woman, *ἐγγυᾶσθαι* (mid.) of the suitor, and *ἐγγυᾶσθαι* (pass.) of the woman; but the last use is not common, its place being taken by periphrases with the noun *ἐγγύη* or the adj. *ἐγγυητή* (Wyse, on Isæus, iii. 4).

legally constituted guardian.[1] It was essentially a family ceremony (although regulated by law)[2] at which, besides the principals, relatives and other witnesses were present, in numbers corresponding to the social distinction of the parties (cf. Is. iii. 18: *ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐγγυᾶν μέλλων εἰς τὸν τριτάλαντον οἶκον, ὥς φησι, τὴν ἀδελφήν, διαπραττόμενος τηλικαῦτα ἕνα μάρτυρα παρεῖναι αὑτῷ προσεποιήσατο*). Nothing, however, is said in any passage as to the presence of the woman, which certainly was not legally necessary, any more than her consent to the match; in point of law she was simply the object of a purely business arrangement or barter between her *κύριος* and the suitor. Of the formalities necessary or usual we know nothing. Herodotus, in his account of the wooing of Agariste of Sicyon, seems to preserve in part the verbal formula of the Athenian marriage-contract in the 5th cent. B.C.[3] It is strange that there is no allusion to any written record of the contract, at any rate at Athens, where, indeed, there was much laxity in this regard; but it is hard to believe that the proceedings were purely oral—more especially as it was at the *ἐγγύησις* that the dowry agreed upon was actually paid, or agreements entered into as to its future payment.[4]

It should be clear from the above that the use of the term 'betrothal' as a rendering of the Greek term *ἐγγύησις* (*ἐγγύη*) is simply by way of analogy and in default of a more appropriate word. For the essentials of a modern betrothal, namely (1) free consent of the woman, and (2) that the act takes place between the two individuals who so declare their will and intention, without any necessary intervention of third parties, are entirely lacking in the Athenian ceremony. The origin of the latter lies in the primitive marriage by purchase, and Athenian law did as a matter of fact select this primitive element, namely, the formal validity of the compact preparatory to the surrender (*ἔκδοσις*) of the woman, rather than the formalities of the consequent nuptials, as decisive in regard to the all-important question as to the legitimacy of the offspring. It does not appear that the wedding ceremonies and home-bringing of the bride had actually any legal significance, except as the natural and public consequences of the formal private contract; and, just because these were the natural and normally inevitable consequences, Athenian jury-courts, so far as our knowledge goes, were never called upon to decide at what precise moment the status of marriage became actual, or what was the precise juristic significance of the *γάμος* in which the suitor asserted the rights bestowed upon him by virtue of the marriage contract (*ἐγγύησις*).[5]

The question, therefore, which has been debated,[6] as to whether *ἐγγύησις* was an act of betrothal or affiancing preceding marriage, or was not rather the beginning of the married state itself—the first and most important of the ceremonies of the wedding-day, and actually constitutive of marriage *per se*—seems to receive its solution through purely historical considerations. Primarily and originally, the ceremony of *ἐγγύησις* was a literal putting of the woman by her *κύριος* into the hands of the suitor for price paid, the interval between the striking of the bargain and exercise of conjugal rights (*γάμος*) being filled by the leading home of the newly-purchased bride. This home-leading, being that part of the entire transaction which was of a striking and necessarily public character, came to possess ever increasing social significance, while at the same time it was the moment at which religion intervened to invest the ceremonies with its own special solemnities, whether of a prophylactic or of a prognostic sort. The whole mass of ceremonial, of infinite variety, and of very various degrees of consciously realized import, which constitutes the actual procedure of marriage, in its social and non-juristic sense, interesting and important as it is for the student of anthropology, can be given here only in barest outline.

5. Wedding ceremonies.—The Greek *γάμος* was essentially a religious ceremony (*τέλος*),[1] covering the deportation of the bride from her parents' house into that of her husband. The month *Γαμηλιών* (Jan.–Feb.) was generally selected, and Greek custom seems to have prescribed in general the winter season as proper for marriage; and the speculations of the philosophers were in accord (cf. Arist. *Pol.* iv. (vii.) 14 = 1335*a*: *τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὴν ὥραν χρόνοις ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ χρῶνται καλῶς καὶ νῦν, ὁρίσαντες χειμῶνος τὴν συναυλίαν ποιεῖσθαι ταύτην*). The bride dedicated to various deities (*θεοὶ γαμήλιοι*) her girlish toys and other gifts, and more especially her maiden tresses, now shorn (Pollux, iii. 38, says that before marriage girls offered their hair to Hera, Artemis, and the Fates; cf. Hesych. *s.v. γάμων ἔθη*).[2] The most important pre-nuptial ceremony was that of the bath (*λουτρὸν νυμφικόν*);[3] at Athens the water must be fetched from the Kallirrhoe (Thuc. ii. 15), tall water-jars of peculiar shape (*λουτροφόροι*) being used for the purpose—which it was also the custom to set up on the tomb of those dying before marriage.[4]

The order of the details of the nuptial ceremonies is not certainly known, and doubtless varied according to the locality. A feast was given in the house of the father of the bride, thus securing publicity of the event, for the guests were really witnesses (Dem. xxx. 21; Is. viii. 18).[5] Associated with this was the unveiling of the bride (the *ἀνακαλυπτήρια*).

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[1] Cf. law quoted in Dem. xlvi. 18: *Ἣν ἂν ἐγγυήσῃ ἐπὶ δικαίοις δάμαρτα εἶναι ἢ πατὴρ ἢ ἀδελφὸς ὁμοπάτωρ ἢ πάππος ὁ πρὸς πατρός, ἐκ ταύτης εἶναι παῖδας γνησίους.*

[2] Cf. Hyper. iii. (v.) 16: *ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐκ ἀπέχρησε τῷ νομοθέτῃ τὸ ἐγγυηθῆναι τὴν γυναῖκα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔγραψε διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, κτλ.*; Dem. xlvi. 18: *σκέψασθε τοίνυν καὶ τοὺς νόμους, παρ' ὧν κελεύουσι τὰς ἐγγύας ποιεῖσθαι, κτλ.*

[3] Herod. vi. 130: '*τῷ δὲ Ἀλκμέωνος Μεγακλέϊ ἐγγυῶ παῖδα τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀγαρίστην νόμοισι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίων.' φαμένου δὲ ἐγγυᾶσθαι Μεγακλέος ἐκεκύρωτο ὁ γάμος Κλεισθένεϊ.*

[4] Dem. xli. 6: *μάρτυρας παρέξομαι τοὺς παραγενομένους, ὅτ' ἠγγύα μοι Πολύευκτος τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπὶ τετταράκοντα μναῖς.* In the island of Myconos, in Macedonian times, public record was made of the amount of the dowry. See inscr. 817 in W. Dittenberger, *Syll.*², Leipzig, 1898–1901, where the entries are of the type *Σώστρατος τὴν θυγατέρα Ξάνθην ἐνηγγύησεν Ἐπαρχίδει καὶ προῖκα ἔδωκε χιλίας καὶ τριακοσίας δραχμάς . . . ἀργυρίου δὲ προσέθηκεν ἑκατὸν δραχμάς, ἐσθῆν δὲ τετιμημένην διακοσίων δραχμῶν.* See R. Dareste, B. Haussoullier, and T. Reinach, *Recueil des inscr. jurid. grecques*, i. [Paris, 1895] 48 f.

[5] Yet *ἐγγύησις* as such did not give either party an action for specific fulfilment (in spite of the assertion to the contrary by Partsch, *Griechisches Bürgschaftsrecht*, p. 49, relying upon Ælian, *Var. Hist.* vi. 4). Action for breach of promise of marriage was unknown in Athens. But, if the dowry had been paid, the *κύριος* of the woman could recover it with interest (Dem. xxvii. 17).

[6] Especially by Hruza, who sums up his position (*Ehebegr. nach att. Rechte*, p. 40) thus: 'Sie (*ἐγγύησις*) ist kein blos präparatorischer Akt, wie die Sponsalien, sondern die Ehebegründung selbst. Wäre die *ἐγγύησις* nur ein Verlöbnis, so müsste später noch die Ehe durch einen besonderen Akt begründet werden. Davon ist aber nichts überliefert.'

[1] Cf. Pollux, iii. 38: *καὶ τέλος ὁ γάμος ἐκαλεῖτο· καὶ τέλειοι οἱ γεγαμηκότες· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἥρα τελεία, ἡ ζυγία.* The Danaids, who, in pseudo-Plato, *Axioch.* 573 E, are *ἀτελεῖς*, are *τῶν οὐ μεμυημένων* in Paus. x. xxxi. 9. The sacrifice preliminary to a wedding was called *προτέλεια*, and the first night was the *νὺξ μυστική*. Cf. J. E. Harrison, 'The Meaning of the Word *τελετή*,' in *ClR* xxviii. [1914] 36 f.

[2] Cf. Paus. II. xxxii. 1: *ἑκάστη παρθένος πλόκαμον ἀποκείρεταί οἱ* [*sc.* Hippolytos] *πρὸ γάμου, κειραμένη δὲ ἀνέθηκεν ἐς τὸν ναὸν φέρουσα*, at Troezen; I. xliii. 4: *καθέστηκε δὲ ταῖς κόραις χοὰς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἰφινόης μνῆμα προσφέρειν πρὸ γάμου καὶ ἀπάρχεσθαι τῶν τριχῶν*, at Megara; he compares the Delian custom (for which cf. Herod. iv. 34); II. xxxiii. 1: *κατεστήσατο δὲ καὶ ταῖς Τροιζηνίων παρθένοις ἀνατιθέναι πρὸ γάμου τὴν ζώνην τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀπατουρίᾳ.* See J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Descr. of Greece*, London, 1898, iii. 279 f. For the dedication of the girdle (*ζώνη*, or *μίτρα*) to Aphrodite, see Theocr. xxvii. 55; Mosch. ii. 73.

[3] In Troas the bride bathed in the river, saying *λαβέ μου, Σκάμανδρε, τὴν παρθενίαν* (Æschines, *Epist.* 16). See M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 366 f. We must be content here with bare reference to the strange survival, apparently, of pre-nuptial defloration, in the island of Naxos, to which allusion is made in the opening lines of the recently discovered frag. of the *Aitia* of Callimachos (*Oxyrh. Pap.* vii. [1910] 15 f.: *ἤδη καὶ κούρῳ παρθένος εὐνάσατο | τέθμιον ὡς ἐκέλευε προνύμφιον ὕπνον ἰαῦσαι | ἄρσενι τὴν τᾶλιν παιδὶ σὺν ἀμφιθαλεῖ*) about which much literature has gathered; see A. Puech, *REG* xxiii. [1910] 255 f.; D. R. Stuart, *Class. Philol.*, Chicago, vi. [1911] 302 f.; C. Bonner, *ib.* 402 f.; K. Kuiper, *REG* xxv. [1912] 318 f.

[4] Cf. Dem. xliv. 18: *τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον . . . ἄγαμος ὤν· τί τούτου σημεῖον; λυτροφόρος ἐφέστηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀρχιάδου τάφῳ* (see also § 30); P. Wolters, 'Rotfigurige Lutrophoros,' in *Mitth. arch. Inst. Ath.* xvi. [1891] 371 f.

[5] Cf. the story of the unfortunate affair of Orgilaos at Delphi given in Plutarch, *Reip. gerend. præc.* 32; cf. Arist. *Pol.* vii. (v.) 4 = 1303*b*.

The procession accompanying the bride ἐφ' ἁμάξης to her new home took place in the evening, by torchlight, the Hymenaios song being meanwhile sung to the piping of flutes (see the description of the scene on the Shield of Achilles in *Il.* xviii. 491 f.). The bride was introduced to the hearth amid showers of dates, figs, and other sweetmeats (*καταχύσματα*).[1]

In Sparta a survival of the primitive capture of the bride lay in the custom of the bridegroom taking his bride from her mother's arms with simulated violence (Plut. *Lyc.* 15; Dion. Hal. ii. 30). For other survivals see M. P. Nilsson, 'Die Grundlagen des spartanischen Lebens,' in *Klio*, xii. [1912] 308 f.; E. Kessler, *Plutarchs Leben des Lykurgos*, Berlin, 1910.

6. Bride-price.—In primitive times, remarks Aristotle, men bought their wives (*Pol.* ii. 8 = 1268*b*; cf. Plato, *Laws*, 841 D). The Epic contains frequent mention of the bride-price (*ἕδνα*), normally calculated in oxen, paid by the suitor to the bride's father. It must sometimes have happened, even in very early times, and under a general system of marriage by purchase, that a father must give something to boot with his daughter in order to secure the desired son-in-law. The economic factor, the relation between population and food-supply, may have contributed largely to establish the custom of dower in place of the bride-price. In historical times, at any rate, the bride-price has been wholly replaced by the dowry given to and with the girl by her parents.

The Epic contains evidence of the transition stages. Of Andromache it is said that Hector took her from her father's house, 'having given bride-price untold' (*Il.* xxii. 472).[2] Of the slain Iphidamas it is said that he fell 'far from his bride, of whom he had known no joy, and much had he given for her' (*Il.* xi. 242 f.; he saw no return for his expenditure of 100 kine). In order to appease Achilles, Agamemnon offers to let him have a daughter of his free (*Il.* ix. 146 f.)—nay, more, to give a present with her (*ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ μείλια δώσω | πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσ' οὔπω τις ἑῇ ἐπέδωκε θυγατρί*);[3] cf. *Od.* vii. 314, xx. 342.

Ultimately the *ἕδνα* come to be a dowry given by her parents to the bride—perhaps through a transition stage in which the bride-price received from the suitor was used wholly or in part to equip the bride and to furnish the feast.[4] In the *Odyssey* the two systems are both found; *e.g.*, in *Od.* ii. 53, *Ἰκαρίου, ὥς κ' αὐτὸς ἐεδνώσαιτο θύγατρα*, the meaning is 'give for the bride-price' (cf. *Od.* xvi. 77, 391 f., xix. 529); but in *Od.* i. 277 f. = *Od.* ii. 196 f., *οἱ δὲ γάμον τεύξουσι καὶ ἀρτυνέουσιν ἔεδνα | πολλὰ μάλ', ὅσσα ἔοικε φίλης ἐπὶ παιδὸς ἕπεσθαι*, a dowry given by the parents is meant, just as by Pindar and Euripides *ἕδνον* is used as equivalent to *φερνή*.[5]

7. The dowry.—In historical times, in Athens, the marriage settlement or dowry (*προίξ*, *φερνή*) was almost a criterion of honourable marriage as distinguished from concubinage; for the freedom of divorce allowed by Athenian law to the husband made the position of a portionless wife very precarious (cf. Is. iii. 28: *κἂν ἀργύριον πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὁ ἐγγυῶν διωμολογήσατο ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικί, ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γένοιτο ῥᾳδίως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ὁπότε βούλοιτο, τῆς γυναικός*). Instances, indeed, are found where no settlement was made; in the lower classes the amount must always have been trivial. Moreover, no legal obligation to provide a dowry can be proved for the father,[1] just as for brothers also the obligation to dower sisters suitably and not suffer them to grow old unmarried was moral, not legal (Lys. xiii. 45).[2]

The dowry did not become the husband's property, but he enjoyed the usufruct;[3] he was generally required to mortgage real estate as security (*ἀποτίμημα*) for its eventual repayment.[4] If the capital sum was not to be paid at once, either because the woman's *κύριος* had not enough ready money or because her husband could not give adequate security for the whole sum, interest upon the outstanding balance was paid to the husband according to agreement (Dem. xli. 6; *Inscr. jurid. grecques*, i. 133 f.). All these arrangements were made before witnesses (cf. Dem. xxx. 9, 21), but were not put in documentary form before an official and published, as at Myconos and Tenos; at Athens the permanent stone record of the mortgage was deemed sufficient safeguard of the rights of the parties. Naturally all this implied the necessity of keeping clearly distinct the property of husband and wife (cf. Dem. xlvii. 57, liii. 28); neither Athens nor, so far as our knowledge goes, the rest of Greece knows community of property between husband and wife, in spite of the recommendations of philosophers.[5] It is clear that the Athenian dowry system, which was probably that of Greece in general, tended to maintain the connexion of the wife with her father's family; the wife did not, as in early Rome, become once for all a member of her husband's family (Dion. Hal. ii. 25).

(*a*) *Amount of dowry.*—According to Plutarch,[6] a law of Solon limited the size of dowries at Athens; but this, if ever enforced, was certainly obsolete in the 4th cent. B.C., and was, in fact, virtually abrogated by the law fixing the minimum amount to be settled on a poor *ἐπίκληρος* by her next-of-kin—a law which equally passed as Solonian (Dem. xliii. 54). Hipponicus, the richest Athenian of his time, gave his daughter ten talents on her marriage with Alcibiades (Plut. *Alc.* 8). The father of Demosthenes the orator, with a property estimated at fourteen talents, gave a dowry of two talents (Dem. xxvii. 5). The orators contain mention of dowries ranging from ten *minæ* to more than 100 *minæ*. Athenian mortgage-pillars, set upon property pledged as security for the repayment of dowries, show sums ranging from 300 to 4500 *drachmæ* (6000 *drachmæ*, or 60 *minæ* = 1 talent); but it is not certain, under the circumstances, that these sums constitute the whole dowry. The register from Myconos (3rd cent. B.C.) shows amounts varying from 700 *drachmæ* to 14,000 *drachmæ* (*Inscr. jurid. grecques*, i. 48; Dittenberger, *Syll.*^{2}, 817). The widow of the rich banker Pasion received three talents (Dem. xlv. 28, 35:

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[1] The marriage was followed by some ceremony or act for which the technical and fixed phrase was *γαμηλίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῖς φράτερσιν εἰσφέρειν* (cf. Is. iii. 79, viii. 18; Dem. lvii. 43). This has been variously interpreted by both ancients and moderns as an introduction or enrolment of the wife among the members of her husband's *φρατρία*, or as a banquet, sacrifice, or donation (see Wyse, *Isæus*, p. 363).

[2] Cf. *Il.* xvi. 178, 190; *Od.* xi. 282. It is clear from *Od.* xv. 367 that the *ἕδνα* were given to the parents, not to the bride. Hence is explained the term used in *Il.* xviii. 593, *παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι*, 'realizing a high price in oxen' (see G. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*^{2}, Oxford, 1911, p. 185 f.). In *Od.* viii. 318 f. there is talk of getting the price of a 'bad bargain' refunded. In *Il.* xiii. 366 Othryoneus receives Cassandra *ἀνάεδνον*, but gives service in war in lieu of bride-price.

[3] Leaf in his note on this passage prefers to see in it an example of an intermediate stage, in which the *ἕδνα* are given by the suitor to the bride herself, and may be increased by gifts from her parents, the word *μείλια* being the technical term for such additional gifts (cf. *Il.* xxii. 51). The example quoted from *Od.* vi. 159 as an illustration of this intermediate stage ('loading thee with gifts') is not in point, the meaning being 'prevail over other suitors with offers,' *sc.* to the parents of the girl.

[4] Such a transition stage would enable us to explain the difficult expression in *Il.* xiii. 382: (*συνώμεθα*) *ἀμφὶ γάμῳ, ἐπεὶ οὔ τοι ἐεδνωταὶ κακοί εἰμεν*, where *ἐεδνωταί* is by Leaf translated 'match-makers,' 'marriage-brokers,' or (Lang, Leaf, and Myers, tr., London, 1883) 'exacters of gifts of wooing.' It means 'one who makes a profit out of the *ἕδνα*.'

[5] See on this development P. Cauer, *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*^{2}, Leipzig, 1909, p. 286 f.

[1] A father might settle a dowry on his daughter by will (Lys. xxxii. 6), but was not obliged to make this provision; failing which, a daughter had no legal claim on his estate. The Code of Gortyn is more liberal, giving daughters a legal claim to one-half of a brother's share, in lieu of a dowry—an already portioned daughter having no further claim. That is to say, at Gortyn there was legal obligation to dower. Ephoros, as quoted by Strabo, p. 482, *φερνὴ δ' ἐστίν, ἂν ἀδελφοὶ ὦσι, τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μερίδος*, attributes the Gortynian rule to Crete generally, and may be correct in so doing.

[2] The nearest male relative of a poor *ἐπίκληρος* or *θῆττα* was under legal obligation either to marry her himself or to portion her on a scale fixed by law (Is. i. 39; law in Dem. xliii. 54). Contempt of the law was possibly construed as *κάκωσις ἐπικλήρων*, involving partial *ἀτιμία*.

[3] Hence Euripides makes Medea complain that women have to buy a husband (*Med.* 230 f.).

[4] Harpocr. xxx. 15: *Εἰώθεσαν δὲ οἱ τότε, εἰ γυναικὶ γαμουμένῃ δίδοιεν οἱ προσήκοντες, αἰτεῖν παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥσπερ ἐνέχυρόν τι τῆς προικὸς ἄξιον, οἷον οἰκίαν ἢ χωρίον.* A mortgage-stone (*ὅρος*) was set up on the pledged property, with an inscription of the following type: *Ὅρος χωρίου καὶ οἰκίας ἀποτίμημα προικὸς Πυθοστράτει Μενάλκου Ἀναφλυστίου* XXX (*i.e.* 3000 *drachmæ*; see E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, *Introd. to Greek Epigraphy* pt. ii., *The Inscr. of Attica*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 497; Dittenberger, *Syll.*^{2}, 818).

[5] Cf. Plut. *Præc. conj.* 20.

[6] Plut. *Sol.* 20. See the explanation given by G. Glotz, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris, 1904, p. 330 f. Plato, in *Laws*, 742 C, lays down the principle *γαμοῦντα δὲ καὶ ἐκδιδόντα μήτ' οὖν διδόναι μήτε δέχεσθαι προῖκα τὸ παράπαν μηδ' ἡντινοῦν* (cf. 774 D). The *νόμος περὶ τῆς προικός* (Dem. xl. 19) has not been preserved.

προστιθεὶς προῖκα ὅσην οὐδεὶς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει φαίνεται; cf. Menander, *Περικειρομένη*, *Oxyrh. Pap.* ii. 211, line 40, where the father promises three talents dowry, to the lover's great content). Apparently there was at Athens no law on the subject, but in other places it was found necessary to fix a legal maximum in order to prevent extravagant dowries; *e.g.*, at Massalia the maximum was fixed at 100 *χρυσοῖ*, with an additional five *χρυσοῖ* for clothes, and five for ornaments (Strabo, p. 181). The aim of the Gortynian Code, in fixing a daughter's share in her father's estate, was probably rather to curtail dowries than to extend women's rights. The general tendency in the 4th cent., at any rate, was to give large dowries; and this in Sparta, as Aristotle remarks, was in part responsible for the concentration of property in the hands of women and their preponderant influence in the State (Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9=1270*a*: *ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν σχεδὸν τῆς πάσης χώρας τῶν πέντε μερῶν τὰ δύο, τῶν τ' ἐπικλήρων πολλῶν γινομένων, καὶ διὰ τὸ προῖκας διδόναι μεγάλας*; cf. Plut. *Agis*, 4, 7).

(*b*) *Refund of dowry.*—In Athens the dowry usually consisted of a sum of money, rarely of real estate (cf. Plut. *Aristid.* 27).[1] The bride's trousseau, however, was in some cases valued and expressly reckoned in the dowry, so that its equivalent was recoverable from the husband—otherwise it was held to be a free gift of the *κύριος*, and was not recoverable (cf. Is. iii. 35, viii. 8; see note in Wyse, p. 314).

Whilst the union continued, the dowry could not be withdrawn; but, upon dissolution of marriage on the initiative of either party[2] or by mutual agreement, it must be refunded to the woman's *κύριος*. It is usually held, however, that in case of the wife's adultery restitution was not enforceable upon her repudiation; but there is no sufficient evidence of this exception.[3] The principles observed are: (1) rupture of union *inter vivos* compels restitution of the dowry, the existence of issue being immaterial; and (2) rupture by death of either party compels restitution, if there is no issue; if there is issue, the children benefit, except when the widow (mother) exercises her option of going back with her dowry to her father's house. Thus the dowry follows the wife, or goes to her children.[4]

The Code of Gortyn shows that there, as at Athens, the wife's dowry was not merged in the family estate, and it was forbidden to the husband to sell or mortgage her property; for in case of dissolution of marriage the wife returned to her own family, taking with her her dowry, together with half the increase thereof, and half the fruits of her own labour, as well as five *staters* if the husband was to blame for the separation. On the other hand, the interests of the husband's family were protected by the provision that he might not make any larger donation than 100 *staters* to his wife, nor might a son make a larger gift to his mother—the intention being the same in both cases, namely, to prevent absorption of the husband's estate by the wife, for all such gifts belonged to her absolutely. If her husband predeceased her, she might, if she chose to remarry, take her own property out of his estate into that of her second husband; the existence of issue was only so far material that, if there were children, she was limited to taking her dowry and such donation as her husband might have made within the legal limit aforesaid, and in the presence of three adult male witnesses. If there were no children, she might take, in addition to her dowry, half the fruits of her own labour, and half the produce in the house—the balance going to her dead husband's heirs-at-law. If she did not wish to remarry, her property remained in her own hands until she died, and then it was divided among her children; she enjoyed, therefore, a more independent position than the Athenian widow, whose property, in similar circumstances, passed into the hands of the eldest son as soon as he came of age.

Under the Gortynian Code, if the wife died before her husband, having had no children, her next-of-kin was entitled to recover her dowry, with the half of its fruits and half of the work of her hands; but, if the widower was left with children, he had the management and use of his dead wife's property until he died or remarried, in which cases it went to her children.[1]

8. Dissolution of marriage.—Dissolution of marriage in Athens was easily effected. The husband's power of repudiation was unfettered by any legal conditions or formalities. He simply sent the woman, with her dowry, back to her father's house. A prudent man would, as usual, summon witnesses, but need not do so (Lys. xiv. 28). When the wife sought a separation, she must lodge with the Archon *τὸ τῆς ἀπολείψεως γράμμα* (Plut. *Alc.* 8; Andoc. iv. 14: *ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐλθοῦσαν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα κατὰ τὸν νόμον*); but nothing is known of the procedure. Against a wife proved guilty of adultery the husband was compelled by law to use his right of repudiation, condonation of the offence being visited with *ἀτιμία* (Dem. lix. 87). On the other hand, it is certain that adultery of the husband gave the wife no legal right of divorce,[2] and it is probable that it was not generally regarded as sufficient ground of separation.[3] It is evident that the possession of a dowry must have been a strong protection to the wife against a husband's caprice, and in many households must have made her virtually mistress of the situation.

Two special features call for remark in this connexion. It was competent for husband and wife to agree to a mutual dissolution of marriage in order that another more congenial union might be made. Thus Pericles so parted from his wife with her consent, to take Aspasia (Plut. *Per.* 24).[4] Again, the operation of the laws respecting heiresses (*ἐπίκληροι*) often, according to Is. iii. 64, severed husband and wife (see INHERITANCE [Greek], vol. vii. p. 304). The latter occasion of dissolution of marriage differs from the first-mentioned in that it came about as the result of an application to a court of law by the next-of-kin as claimant (*ἐπιδικασία*). In all other cases there is no sufficient evidence that any public legal procedure was in use, for even the wife's application to the Archon does not seem to have been more than an application or formal notice to him *in camera*. It is doubtful whether the *δίκη ἀπολείψεως* and the *δίκη ἀποπέμψεως*, which are said to have been available for husband and wife respectively, as if a sort of suit for restitution of conjugal rights, are not mere figments.[5]

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[1] Cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*², 826: *Ἡγησοῦς τῆς Κλεομόρτου θυγατρὸς προὶξ τὸ χωρίον* (inscr. from Syros).

[2] Dem. lix. 52: *κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὃς κελεύει ἐὰν ἀποπέμπῃ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀποδιδόναι τὴν προῖκα, ἐὰν δὲ μή, ἐπ' ἐννέα ὀβολοῖς τοκοφορεῖν καὶ σίτου εἰς ᾠδεῖον εἶναι δικάσασθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς τῷ κυρίῳ*, *i.e.*, alimony at the rate of 18 per cent interest upon the dowry was recoverable from a recalcitrant husband (cf. Is. iii. 8, 35, ii. 9).

[3] Certainly not to be proved for Athens in the 4th cent. B.C., by inference from the Ephesian inscr. of the 2nd cent. (Dittenberger, *Syll.*², 510. 60): *ἢ γήμαντες καὶ διαλυθέντες μὴ ἀποδεδώκασι τὰς φερνὰς οὔσας ἀποδότους κατὰ τὸν νόμον*—even if that will prove anything at all (see T. Thalheim, *Lehrbuch der griech. Rechtsaltertümer*⁴, Freiburg i. B., 1895, p. 163).

[4] Cf. L. Mitteis, *Reichsrecht und Volksrecht in den östl. Prov. des röm. Kaiserreichs*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 232: 'Die vom Vater bestellte Mitgift enthält eine Erbabfindung der Tochter'; cf. Plato, *Laws*, xi. 923 D, E: *ὅτῳ δ' ἂν τῶν υἱέων ὑπάρχων οἶκος ᾖ, μὴ νέμειν τούτῳ τῶν χρημάτων, θυγατρί τε ὡσαύτως ᾗ μὲν ἂν ἐγγεγυημένος ὡς ἀνὴρ ἐσόμενος ᾖ, μὴ νέμειν· ᾗ δ' ἂν μή, νέμειν.*

[1] For comparison of the Gortynian regulations with the later regulations in the East ('jenem spätgriechischen Stadtrecht, welches man heute fälschlich als syrisches Rechtsbuch diagnosticirt,' p. 240) see Mitteis, p. 230 ff.

[2] Athenian sentiment on this matter was very far removed from the position of Arist. *Œc.* i. 4=1344*a*: *ὥσπερ ἱκέτιν καὶ ἀφ' ἑστίας ἠγμένην ὡς ἥκιστα δεῖ ἀδικεῖν· ἀδικία δὲ ἀνδρὸς αἱ θύραζε συνουσίαι γιγνόμεναι*; cf. *Pol.* iv. (vii.) 16=1335*b*; Plato, *Laws*, 784 E. 'Dass die Ehe dem Manne keine Treupflicht auferlege, gehört zu den Grundmerkmalen der antiken Ehe gegenüber unseren Anschauungen und Rechtseinrichtungen' (Hruza, p. 20).

[3] According to Herod. v. 39, at Sparta barrenness was good ground for divorce, at any rate for the royal house; cf. vi. 61.

[4] Other examples: Dem. xxxvi. 28 f.; Is. ii. 6 f., 9: *κἀκείνη τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδ' ἠνέσχετο αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου μόλις ἐπείσθη· καὶ οὕτως ἐκδίδομεν αὐτήν*; cf. the case of Protomachos who, becoming entitled to a rich heiress, persuaded his wife to agree to a dissolution and fresh marriage (Dem. lvii. 41). In Thurii, according to Diod. xii. 18, freedom of divorce was limited by a law forbidding the person to whom the divorce was due to marry one younger than the original partner.

[5] The *δίκη προικός* or *δίκη σίτου*, suits brought by the woman's *κύριος* for the restitution of her dowry or payment of interest thereon, protected the woman's interests in respect of aliment. From this it follows that a woman who married without a dowry was in practically the same position as a *παλλακή*, and had no protection whatever against a husband's caprice short of actual violence to her person.

9. **Widows.**—The Athenian regulations concerning widows were as follows. If there were no children, born or adopted, the widow must return with her dowry to her father's house; she must, as a rule, if of suitable age, marry again in accordance with the wishes of her dead husband or those of her *κύριος* (Is. viii. 8). If there were children, she might remain in her husband's house, where she passed under the authority of her children's guardian, if they were still minors, and under that of her eldest son when he came of age—her dowry becoming the property of her children, subject to her right to support (Dem. xlii. 27, xlvi. 20). She might, however, return with her dowry to her father's house, and be given again in marriage (Dem. xl. 6 f.). The same option was open to her if, on her husband's death, she declared herself pregnant (Dem. xliii. 75), in which case it was the Archon's duty to protect her interests (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 56. 7). It is clear that here again the existence of the dowry secured on mortgage put the final decision completely into the hands of the widow and her *κύριος*.

10. **Marriage law in the papyri.**—In Egypt, under the Ptolemys, Hellenic legal ideas and principles came in contact with those of another, in some respects more highly developed, type; later, both were influenced by the legal conceptions and practices of the Romans. In the Papyri we have, therefore, to distinguish between the enchorial marriage, in which the parties are Egyptians, and the Hellenic marriage, the regulations concerning which are partly derived from the older Greek law and partly developed under the influence of native models.

The technical term for marriage in the Papyri is *γάμος* or *συνοικίσιον*. Dissolution of marriage (and probably therefore entry upon marriage) is no longer a purely private act, but requires the lodging of an *ἀπογραφή* before an official (cf. what was required of the women in Athens, Dem. xxx. 17, 26; Is. iii. 78: *πρὸς ὁποῖον ἄρχοντα ἡ ἐγγυητὴ γυνὴ ἀπέλιπε τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ*, as well as the intervention of *ἱεροθύται*.[1] The precise relation between the religious element thus imported into the transaction and the civil element represented by the *ἀπογραφή* and the marriage contract itself is by no means clear as yet.

The extant marriage-contracts exhibit, when taken together, the following elements. (1) Statement of the giving or receiving of the woman in marriage; *e.g.*, Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, ii. 317, n. 283: *λαμβάνει Ἡρακλείδης Δημητρίαν Κῴαν γυναῖκα γνησίαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός*, as in the older Greek law (cf. Is. ix. 27: *ὅτε γὰρ ἐλάμβανε Θεόφραστος ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα παρὰ Ἱεροκλέους*).[2] (2) Acknowledgment of receipt of the *φερνή* brought by the woman. (3) Mutual marital obligations; the husband promised to support the wife and to treat her properly (*μὴ ὑβρίζειν μηδὲ κακουχεῖν*), and engaged not to repudiate her (*μὴ ἐκβαλεῖν*) or to be unfaithful (*μὴ εἰσάγεσθαι ἄλλην γυναῖκα μηδὲ παλλακὴν μηδὲ τεκνοποιεῖσθαι ἐξ ἄλλης γυναικός*); on her side the woman promised to remain at home day and night (*μηδ' ἀφήμερον μηδ' ἀπόκοιτον γενέσθαι*), to be faithful (*μηδ' ἄλλῳ ἀνδρὶ συνεῖναι*), and to look after their joint interests in the household (*μηδὲ φθείρειν τὸν κοινὸν οἶκον*). (4) The sanction of the mutual obligations; the husband guilty of breach of his promises must repay forthwith (*παραχρῆμα*) the dowry with addition of half its amount (*τὴν φερνὴν ἡμιόλιον*); the wife so guilty lost her dowry entirely. Apparently the ordinary courts settled disputes so arising. (5) Divorce on the man's side (*ἀποπομπή*) was tantamount to breach of his promise *μὴ ἐκβάλλειν*, and rendered him liable to the aforesaid penalty; separation on the woman's part (*ἀπαλλαγή*) was not regarded as breach of promise, but provision was made for repayment of the dowry within a stated time. That is to say, the husband had entirely lost that unfettered power of repudiation, under condition of simply refunding the dowry, which belonged to him under the older Hellenic law. On the other hand, the dowry retained here also the overwhelming importance which it had in Hellas.[3] Here also it was, if not a definite sum of money, valued and expressed as such, and the husband was liable only for refund of that stated amount—the principle being, as at Athens, that the wife's dowry should neither increase nor diminish (cf. the Code of Gortyn); from which it follows that the management of the dowry must have been in the hands of the husband, as was the case at Athens.

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MARRIAGE (Hindu).—1. **General characteristics.**—The earlier Vedic texts, which may be said to cover the period down to the end of the 5th cent. B.C., present with practical uniformity the same account of the condition of marriage among the Hindu tribes whose life they depict. Among these tribes marriage was a union of man and woman, for all practical purposes indissoluble save by death, and normally monogamic except among the highest strata of the population. Marriages were contracted between persons of full age, and often by mutual consent; while there are clear traces of the payment of a bride-price for a wife, there is also proof of the giving of dowries by fathers or brothers in order to secure the marriage of daughters or sisters. Traces of marriage by capture are scanty and confined to the warrior class.

The position of the wife in these conditions of society was one of security and dignity. She was, indeed, under the complete control of her husband, though we do not know to what extent of personal restraint his power extended. But she was the mistress (*patnī*) of the household, as her husband was the master (*pati*). In the marriage-hymn of the Rigveda (x. lxxxv. 46) she is told to exercise authority over her father-in-law and her husband's brothers and unmarried sisters. The case contemplated seems to be one in which the eldest son of a family marries at a time when his father, through decrepitude, has ceased to exercise full control over the family, and when, therefore, the wife of the eldest son becomes the mistress of the joint family. This is not inconsistent with the respect elsewhere mentioned as due from a daughter-in-law to her father-in-law, which doubtless applies to the case in which the father is still able to control his son and to exercise the rightful authority of the head of the house. The wife was also a participator in the sacred rites performed by her husband; but in this regard a certain deterioration of her position can be traced in the Vedic period, doubtless as the result of the growing importance of the priestly class and the rule that women could not be priests. This regulation seems to have been due to the view that women were impure as compared with men, and the same idea may have been at the root of the practice, which appears first in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. ix. 2. 12), requiring a woman to eat after her husband, just as in Bengal at the present day a wife normally feeds on the remnants of her husband's meal.

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[1] For these see W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1908, i. 163 f., ii. 295 f.

[2] A curious exception in *Pap. Giss.* ii. 8 (*ἐξέδοτο ἑαυτὴν Ὀλυμπιὰς . . . γυναῖκα γαμετήν*), in which the woman, of Macedonian origin, gives herself away in marriage, may be a survival of native Macedonian law, which in this respect, therefore, must have resembled that of the Lydians, of whom Herodotus remarks with surprise that the women give themselves in marriage (i. 93: *ἐκδιδόασι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς*—besides collecting their own dowries *σώματι ἐργαζόμεναι*).

[3] Mitteis-Wilcken, ii. 1. 219: 'Im Gerippe dieser Urkunden bildet die *φερνή* das Rückgrat, an welches alle anderen Bestimmungen sich nur anlehnen.'

Naturally enough, there were different views as to the character of women. A wife completes a husband and is half of his self, we are told (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I. iv. 17; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, v. ii. 1. 10), and her good qualities are frequently mentioned. On the other hand, the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (I. x. 11, III. vi. 3) describes woman as untruth and as connected with misfortune, and classifies her with dice and drink as the three chief evils. Elsewhere (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VI. v. 8. 2) a good woman is ranked below even a bad man, and the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* (xxxi. 1) alludes sarcastically to her ability to obtain things from her husband by cajolery at night.

The most important function of a wife was doubtless that of bringing into the world a son in order to perform the necessary funeral rites to his father and to continue the race. Adoption, indeed, was known as early as the Rigveda, but it was not popular (cf. art. ADOPTION [Hindu]), and lack of a son (*avīratā*) was regarded as the greatest of evils. On the other hand, the birth of a daughter was regarded as a misfortune; the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 15) contrasts a daughter as misery (*kṛpaṇa*) with a son as a light in the highest heaven. But the view once widely held, that the Vedic Indians practised infanticide in the case of girls, has been disproved by O. von Böhtlingk.[1]

In political life women took no part; men alone went to the assembly. But, while the position of the wife in the sacrificial ritual was narrowed by the priests, there is evidence that women took part in the speculative activity which manifested itself in the 6th cent. B.C. in the *Upaniṣads*. We learn there not only of several women teachers, who may or may not have been married, but also of one of the two wives of the great sage Yājñavalkya, who shared her husband's intellectual activities.

In the *Gṛhyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras*, which mark the end of the Vedic period proper, and which may be held to represent the views of the period from the 4th cent. B.C. onwards, in the epics (*c.* 200 B.C.–A.D. 200), in the *Arthaśāstra*, and in the *Kāmasūtra* we find in full force the tendencies which reveal themselves in the later classical literature, and can be observed in their development at the present day. Different types of marriage are now recognized and classified, being assigned to the different classes of the population. Marriages between people of full age are still allowed; thus the warrior class is permitted to marry by capture or to form love matches, while the *Kāmasūtra* permits love matches generally. Against these special cases must be set the general rule, which first appears as a counsel of perfection in the *Mānava* (I. vii. 8) and *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtras* (III. iv. 6), but which by the time of the later *Smṛtis*—*i.e.*, not later probably than the beginning of the Christian era—has won full acceptance, viz. that it was sinful on the part of a father[2] to allow his daughter to attain puberty without being married, and the girl herself fell to the condition of a Śūdra (*vṛṣalī*), marriage with whom involved degradation on the part of a husband. The date of marriage is placed earlier and earlier as the authority is later in date. Thus the *Smṛti* of Manu (ix. 94) fixes the ages of husband and wife at 30 and 12 or 24 and 8 respectively; the later work of Bṛhaspati (*ZDMG* xlvi. [1892] 416 f.) and the didactic portion of the *Mahābhārata* (XIII. xliv. 19) give the wife's age in these cases as 10 and 7 respectively, while yet later texts give 4 to 6 as the lower and 8 as the upper limit. There is abundant evidence that these dates were not merely theoretical: the old marriage-ceremonial, which included as its essential part the taking of the bride to her new home, whence the name of marriage (*vivāha*) was derived, was divided into two parts; the actual ceremony took place shortly after the betrothal (*vāgdāna*), but the taking of the bride to her husband's home was delayed until after puberty. The unmarried daughter (*kumārī*) living at home was distinguished from the married daughter (*suvāsinī* or *svavāsinī*), whose connexion with her parents was still recognized to the extent that, contrary to the rule that no mourning was observed for a married daughter, a brief period of mourning was prescribed in the event of her death before her departure from her old home. The early prevalence of the custom is also vouched for by the Greek authorities,[1] and was noted by al Bīrūnī in the 11th cent. A.D.[2] At the present time, despite the efforts of reformers, it is still the prevailing practice among all Hindus who stand under the influence of the Brāhmans to marry their daughters before puberty, and the practice has spread even among Muhammadans.

The better side of such marriages is put before us in the *Hārīta Smṛti* (iii. 3). The wife is to devote her whole thought to her house and her husband, to prepare his food, eat what is left over by her husband and sons, wash the utensils, strew cow-dung on the floor, make the domestic offerings, embrace her husband's feet before going to rest, in the hot season fan him, support his head when he is weary, and so forth. On the other hand, to her falls the place of honour in the household, and she is undisputed mistress of her daughters and any other women living under her husband's roof. The description in the *Smṛti* is confirmed by the literature and by the practice of the present day. On the other hand, it must be noted that the intellectual achievements of women in India since the rule of early marriage became effective have not been in accord with the normal development which might have been expected from the state of society depicted in the *Upaniṣads*, and the heroines of the epic and the classical poetry are chosen, as a rule, from those women who, for some reason or other, have not fallen under the operation of the ordinary practice. There is also much evidence in the proverbial literature of the demerits which were attributed to women in general and wives in particular.

2. Forms of marriage.—In the Vedic period the normal form of marriage appears to have been one in which much was left to the choice of the two persons concerned. It is, at any rate, not proved that the father could control the marriage of either son or daughter of mature age, though doubtless parents often arranged marriages for their children. Of the practice of giving a bride-price there is clear evidence from the later *Saṁhitās*, but there is also clear evidence of the practice of a father and, in his absence, a brother giving a dowry to enable a daughter or sister to obtain a husband; or a daughter might be given to a priest in return for his assistance at some rite. There is also a trace of marriage by capture in the Rigveda, where we hear (I. cxii. 19, cxvii. 20, X. xxxix. 7, lxv. 12) of the carrying off by Vimada of the daughter of Purumitra, apparently with the good will of the maiden but against her father's desire. The normal marriage was duly celebrated at the house of the father of the bride, and its ceremonial, which is fully described in the *Gṛhyasūtras*, is marked by many features which have been found in the marriage-ritual of other Indo-European and non-Indo-European peoples. Of these practices the most important and wide-spread were the solemn handing over of the maiden by her father (*kanyādāna*), the joining of the right hands of the bride and bridegroom (*pāṇigrahaṇa*), the recitation of Vedic formulæ, including a speech by the bridegroom to the bride asserting their unity, the offering of libations in the fire and the threefold circumambulation of the fire, the seven steps taken together by the wedded pair, and, finally, the taking away of the bride to her new home by the bridegroom. There is evidence in the later literature that these customs formed the kernel of the normal marriage-ceremonial throughout the Middle Ages, and much of the ritual is still observed at the present day.[1]

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[1] *ZDMG* xliv. [1890] 494–496.

[2] In his default a brother, grandfather, maternal uncle, or mother, or an agnate or cognate, should act (Nārada, xii. 20–22).

[1] Hopkins, *JAOS* xiii. [1889] 343.

[2] *India*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1888, ii. 154

In the *Smṛti* literature eight forms of marriage are recognized and described, but with many differences in detail. In the case of Brāhmans Manu (iii. 24) recognizes as approved four forms: the *brāhma*, *daiva*, *ārṣa*, and *prājāpatya*. The characteristics of these forms are that in the first the father spontaneously offers his daughter to a suitable husband, in the second he gives her to a priest engaged in performing a rite for him, in the third the suitor gives a pair of oxen, and in the fourth the initiative in proposing the marriage comes from the bridegroom. The first and fourth forms, therefore, practically represent marriages by mutual consent and parental arrangement, while the second and third have traces of marriage by purchase, though the texts are careful to explain that the pair of oxen was not intended as a price (*śulka*), but was to be given to the daughter by her father as a mark of honour. It is perfectly clear, however, that the original sense of the custom was a purchase, and this fact is borne out by references in the older *Gṛhyasūtras* of Pāraskara (I. viii. 18) and Śāṅkhāyana (I. xiv. 16) to the practice of giving the father-in-law a hundred oxen with a waggon, and by the recognition in the *Gṛhyasūtras* of the Kāṭhaka and the Mānava schools (I. vii. 11) of a usage by which the bride-price was paid in money to the father.

Marriage by purchase was recognized among the warrior class; in the *Mahābhārata* (I. cxiii. 9 f.) we are told that Pāṇḍu paid the Madra king in gold, jewels, horses, elephants, ornaments, etc., for the hand of his sister, and that the purchase of women was the family practice of the king. Still more was the custom prevalent among the lower classes of the people. Manu admits (iii. 24) that some allowed the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras the *āsura* marriage, which was an open, out-and-out sale, though he condemns the practice *in toto*. But facts have prevailed over the objections of the Brāhmans to the sale of children, and even at the present day marriage by purchase is common enough in Bombay, Madras, and the Panjāb, and is the normal form in Assam. In Bengal it is restricted to the lower classes of the population, but there the practice of the purchase of bridegrooms prevails instead, the practice of child-marriage having placed a high price on eligible husbands.

In addition to the *āsura* form, the warrior class was allowed the *rākṣasa*, the *gāndharva*, and the *paiśācha* forms, though the last is condemned by Manu along with the *āsura* as altogether improper. The former type of marriage was marriage by capture in its simplest form, and its performance is related of many of the heroes of the epic, though the rape of women of high rank is elsewhere regarded as a capital offence. But, outside the epic, we hear little of this remarkable privilege of the warrior class, and this practice has left no survivals in modern India, though it is found among some primitive hill tribes, where it is of independent origin. Some, indeed, of the details of the marriage-ritual given in the *Gṛhyasūtras* have been interpreted in this sense, but the interpretation is neither necessary nor probable. The *gāndharva* rite, which some authorities recognize as applicable to all classes, and which the *Kāmasūtra* eulogizes as the best form of all, is described as a mutual union by desire, the classical example of which is that of King Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. The *Kāmasūtra* recommends that its performance should be accompanied by the usual offerings in the fire and the circumambulation of the fire by the wedded pair, on the ground that the observance of these formalities would compel the parents of the bride to recognize the validity of the marriage. The *paiśācha*, which is variously described, was marriage with a girl when drunk or insane, and is not recognized as a legitimate form by some authorities, like Āpastamba and Vasiṣṭha.

For the Vaiśya and Śūdra the forms of marriage recognized were the *gāndharva* and the *āsura* with, according to some authorities, the *paiśācha*. In modern times the forms of marriage recognized are, even for Vaiśyas and Śūdras, either the *āsura* or the *brāhma*, under which term is understood a form of marriage containing the essentials of the first four forms of the *Smṛtis*.

The *Smṛtis* do not recognize a form of marriage which plays a great part in the epic—the *svayaṁvara*, or self-choice, a ceremony at which a princess chooses for herself a suitor at a great assembly held for the purpose. The act of choice might be preceded by a trial of strength on the part of the suitors, the victor being rewarded with the hand of the maiden, and, even when this formality was omitted, it is probable enough that the choice was only nominally free, and that the princess was guided by the will of her father or brothers. The only *svayaṁvara* which the *Smṛtis* mention is the right of a daughter in any class, if her father does not find her a husband, to seek one for herself; in this case the daughter ceases to have any right to any ornaments received from her own family, while the husband need not pay any bride-price, and is permitted to steal her away.

Only the first four forms of marriage are at all religious in character; the marriage hymn of the Rigveda (x. 85), which serves to provide verses for the normal form of marriage, deals with marriage in general and the prototype of all marriage in the form of the wedding of Soma, the moon, with Sūryā, the daughter of the sun. This legend is certainly recondite in character, and it is legitimate to deduce from this fact, and from the fact that the *Smṛtis* do not deal with the forms of marriage, that the religious ceremonial was not the essential or primitive part even of the higher forms of marriage.

3. Restrictions on marriage.—It is uncertain how far the modern rule of marriage, which permits alliance between members of the same caste only, was in vogue in the early Vedic period, when the distinction of castes (*jāti*) was only in process of evolution from the system of classes (*varṇa*). It is clear from the *Brāhmaṇas* that purity of descent was an important qualification for Brāhmanship, but cases are recorded (*e.g.*, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, ii. 19) which show that the son of a Brāhman and a Śūdra wife might yet be a Brāhman, and that Brāhmans could marry the daughters of members of the warrior class. With this accords the evidence of the *Gṛhyasūtras* and *Dharmasūtras*, which recognize with a good deal of agreement the right of each class to marry women of the classes below them in the established order, Brāhman, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya, and which differ seriously only on the validity of marriages with the Śūdra women. Arrian, probably on the authority of Megasthenes, records (*Indica*, xii. 8) that marriages were not allowed between γένη—probably a reference to the castes which were certainly in existence by 300 B.C. The Buddhist texts[1] yield the same result, but they recognize that the king might marry where he would and make his son by any wife his heir-apparent. Manu still recognizes mixed marriages subject to the rule of hypergamy, but the later *Smṛtis* tend to rule them out as objectionable. The modern rule is strict against mixed marriages, confining the possibility of marriage to the modern castes; but the date when this practice finally prevailed is unknown, as even late texts repeat the permission for such marriages sanctioned by the older authorities, and the Kulin Brāhmans of Bengal still avail themselves of this now pecuniarily very valuable privilege.

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[1] See M. Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, Vienna, 1892; A. Weber and E. Haas, *Indische Studien*, v. 177–411.

Simultaneously with the growth of the prohibition of marriage within the caste were developed restrictions on marriage within the family. In one hymn in the Rigveda (x. 10) the marriage of brother and sister is expressly treated as improper, and there is no reason to suppose that this was an innovation, as suggested by Weber.[2] No other restriction is alluded to, and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* expressly refers (I. viii. 3. 6) to marriage as permitted in the third or fourth generation, the former being the rule, according to the commentator, among the Kāṇvas, the latter among the Saurāṣṭras, while the Dākṣiṇātyas, or people of the south, permitted marriage with the son of the father's sister or daughter of the mother's brother, but not, apparently, with the son of the father's brother or the daughter of the mother's sister. The *Gṛhyasūtras* and the *Dharmasūtras* in effect agree in prescribing that marriage should not take place between a man and a woman of the same *gotra* (*q.v.*) as his father, or a *sapiṇḍā* of his mother, and these terms extended at least to all relatives within five degrees on the mother's and seven on the father's side. Later texts add to the restrictions by extending the prohibitions in the case of the mother, and by forbidding unions with the daughter of a spiritual teacher or pupil. At the same time, concessions are made to local customs, and the practice of marriage of cousins in S. India is recognized by Baudhāyana (I. ii. 3). But the practice of marrying outside the *gotra*, a term of wide extension and indefinite sense, but covering all those of the same family name, is recorded by al-Bīrūnī,[3] and is the general rule at the present day throughout India—at any rate, among all the higher castes. The chief exceptions are found in S. India, where some tribes practise the opposite rule of endogamy.

In Rājputāna, among the Rājputs who claim to be descendants of the old warrior class, exogamy is closely connected in their history with the practice of marriage by capture; but there is no sufficient evidence for the view[4] that the development of the custom generally was connected with marriage by capture.

Of much less importance are the restrictions arising from the feeling that the eldest son and the eldest daughter should be married before the younger sons and daughters, a breach of this rule being merely a ground for a penance, and not a fatal bar to the validity of the marriage. The rule is, however, very old, being found in the *Yajurveda* (*Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, IV. i. 9), and recognized throughout the later literature. In the south members of Brāhman castes adopt the practice of a mock marriage of the elder brother with a branch of a tree in order to avoid the evil result of a breach of this rule by a younger brother.

The bride should be a virgin, and the importance of this rule lies in the fact that it renders the re-marriage of widows difficult. In the Rigveda (VI. xlix. 8) there is some indication[1] that a woman might re-marry if her husband had disappeared and could not be found or heard of, and in the Atharvaveda (IX. v. 27 f.) mention is made of a spell to secure that a woman married twice may be united in the next world with her second, not her first, husband. The reference here may be to re-marriage in the case of an absent husband or one who had lost caste. The doctrine of Manu is that a woman should never be re-married, and that the marriage formulæ are intended only for maidens, but he admits one exception in the case of a woman whose husband dies before the completion of the marriage. Other authorities permit re-marriage in the case where a husband has disappeared, is dead, has entered a monastic order, is impotent, or has been expelled from his caste; but the authorities differ widely as to the length and condition of absence which entitle a woman to re-marriage. The son of a widow who has re-married (*paunarbhava*) is ranked by Manu and other authorities only among the second six of the twelve kinds of son admitted by Hindu law. But the dislike of re-marriage was one which developed gradually; the actual reprobation of such a son first occurs in Bṛhaspati (xxv. 41), and the forbidding of the re-marriage of a widow occurs only in the *Ādipurāṇa* and later works. The objections to such marriages in modern India are very strong among those castes which lay most stress on child-marriage, and, despite the legalizing of them by Act XV. of 1856, and efforts of social reformers, they are still disapproved by the higher castes.

In the case of a man, while impotence was recognized as a ground on which the wife might contract a new marriage, the marriage was not in itself null, and even mental derangement was not regarded as justifying re-marriage on the part of the wife.

4. Polygamy.—The practice of polygamy among the Vedic Indians is abundantly proved by direct references in the Rigveda and other texts, though in the main monogamy is recognized as normal. In the case of the king four wives are expressly mentioned—the *mahiṣī*, the first wedded, the *parivṛktī*, or discarded (apparently one who bore no son), the *vāvātā*, or favourite, and the *pālāgalī*, who is explained as the daughter of one of the court officials. The *mahiṣī* seems to have been the wife proper, though the others were evidently not mere concubines. In the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Smṛtis*, and the epic the rule is laid down that a man may have wives from his own caste and each of those below his, either including or excluding the Śūdra, and in such cases the wife of the same caste was the wife *par excellence* (*dharmapatnī*), with whom the husband performed his religious duties. The heroes and Brāhmans of the epic are frequently represented as having several wives, but one of them always ranks first, and, similarly, later in inscriptions one wife only is often mentioned with her husband. The rule of precedence among wives according to caste and, within the caste, to date of marriage might, however, be overridden by the husband, who could degrade a wife from her position as chief wife; in that case he was required to make her a present equivalent to that made to the new wife whom he was marrying. The modern rule permits the husband to contract as many marriages as he wishes without any need for justification or consent on the part of his existing wives.

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[1] R. Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit*, Kiel, 1897, pp. 36–40.

[2] See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, i. 475, n. 7.

[3] Tr. Sachau, ii. 155.

[4] See Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 63.

[1] R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart 1888–1901, i. 27.

In addition to wives proper, the *Smṛtis* recognize the existence of concubines (*dāsī*, *bhujiṣyā*), who were distinguished from wives by not being married in due form, and who could not in any case become their husband's heirs. They were, however, entitled to maintenance by his brothers as his heirs on his death, and intercourse with one of them was regarded as adultery. Similarly, at the present day the keeping of concubines by wealthy Hindus is a recognized usage.

The *Smṛtis* show some preference throughout for monogamy. Āpastamba (II. xi. 12) expressly disapproves the re-marriage of a man who has a wife living, and other authorities restrict the right to become the heir of a husband to the chief wife, who is the surviving half of her husband. In all religious observances the husband is to act with his chief wife only, and marriage is treated by Manu (ix. 101) as a pledge of mutual fidelity between husband and wife.

5. Polyandry.—While polygamy is recognized in the Vedic period, though chiefly among kings and important Brāhmans, there is no clear trace of polyandry, all the passages adduced from the Rigveda (X. lxxxv. 37 f.) and the Atharvaveda (XIV. i. 44, 52, 61, ii. 14, 17) admitting of more probable explanations. On the other hand, the heroes of the epic, the five Pāṇḍavas, are represented as marrying Draupadī and having her as wife in common—a fact which is elaborately explained and defended in the epic. This form of polyandry is recognized by Bṛhaspati (xxvii. 20) as practised in the south, and by Āpastamba (II. xxvii. 2) as an antiquated use. At the present day polyandry is still found among Brāhmans, Rājputs, and Śūdras alike in Kumaon, where children are shared by the brothers as by the Pāṇḍavas, and among hill tribes in the Panjāb, where the children are divided among the brothers. The reasons given for the practice are poverty and the desire to avoid division of property. Among the Jāṭs of the Panjāb the wife of the eldest brother has to serve often as the wife of the younger brothers also, and the practice is common in the case of the Himālayan tribes. The custom also prevails in the south among the Nairs of the Kanara country and the Todas of the Nīlgiris. The modern evidence comes mainly from Tibetan and Dravidian tribes, and there is no indication that the practice was ever widely spread among tribes of Aryan culture.

6. Divorce.—The characteristic quality of a Hindu marriage was that it was a union for life; in striking contrast to the Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman usages, marriages among Hindus were seldom broken by divorce. In the *Smṛti* literature,[1] however, cases are recognized in which divorce in the form of the contracting of a new marriage by the wife during her husband's lifetime is allowed, and the occasions for divorce (*tyāga*), *i.e.* abandoning a wife and leaving her without maintenance on the part of the husband, are set out. The abandonment of a faithful wife counts as a serious crime, which must be expiated by a severe penance, and which may involve expulsion from caste. Adultery affords a ground for divorce, and might in certain cases be punished with death, but, according to other authorities, it could be expiated by severe penances. Any serious offence against a husband might, according to Yājñavalkya (i. 72), be a ground of divorce, and Nārada (xii. 92, 93) gives as offences justifying such treatment attempts to murder, wasting property, or the procuring of abortion. In modern Hindu law divorce depends on local custom and, where allowed, is permitted only for adultery, but divorces are very common among all Dravidian tribes, which also allow freely re-marriage of wives in the case of the disappearance, long-continued absence, impotence, or loss of caste of their husbands.

7. Position of widows.—In the funeral rites of the Rigveda the wife of the dead man is represented (X. xviii. 7 f.) as lying beside him on the pyre and as being summoned to leave the dead in order to be united with his brother, apparently as a bride. The passage clearly shows that the wife was not to be burned with the dead, but it unmistakably suggests the existence of an older custom to this effect, and the Atharvaveda (XVIII. iii. 1) refers to this as an old practice.[1] It was evidently not approved by the Brāhmans of the Vedic age, for it is not mentioned in the *sūtras*, and appears first in the late *Vaikhānasa Gṛhyasūtra* (vii. 2) and in interpolated passages of the *Viṣṇu Smṛti* (xxv. 14, xx. 39). The later *Smṛtis* approve it, but not without occasional dissent. In the epics it plays little part,[2] though one of Pāṇḍu's wives insisted on being burned with her husband (*Mahābhārata*, I. cxxv. 31); but in the later romances and historical works it is often mentioned, and as early as A.D. 509–510 an inscription is found to celebrate a *satī*. Forbidden in British India in 1829, it was observed in 1839 in the Panjāb at the death of Ranjit Singh, and in 1877 at that of the Mahārāja of Nepāl. The primitive character of the rite is shown by the fact that often other attendants perished with the queen or queens when the dead man was a prince. Normally the wife was burned with the dead man; if he died away from home, she might be burned alone (*anumaraṇa*), but the burning of a pregnant widow or one with a young child was forbidden, and the practice was normally more or less voluntary, except in the case of royal families, where reasons of policy doubtless reinforced considerations of religion in favour of burning.

In many cases death was doubtless regarded as preferable to the fate of a widow, whom the *Smṛtis* and modern usage, despite the efforts of reformers, condemn to a life of fasting, devotions to her dead husband, pilgrimages, and abstinence from any form of luxury, such as the use of a bed, ornaments, etc. If she had grown-up sons, she fell under their control; if not, under that of her husband's kin, who were bound to maintain her so long as she remained faithful to her late husband. The later texts also recognize her right to be heir to her husband, but only on condition that she remained unmarried—a disability which is not altered by Act XV. of 1856. The harshness of the rule is better realized when it is remembered that the practice of child-marriages enormously increases the number of widows.

In the Rigveda it seems to have been the practice for the wife of the dead man to be taken in marriage by his brother, whether or not the latter had a wife already. This, the natural interpretation of the funeral hymn (X. xviii. 8; cf. also xl. 2), is borne out by the fact that the modern usage in the Panjāb,[3] which has preserved much of ancient practice, is for a man to marry his brother's widow, with the result that many men have two wives. In the *sūtras*, however, this practice is whittled down to the permission given to the brother of the dead or, if there is no brother, a near kinsman to beget a son with the widow in order to continue the race of the dead man. Such a son, when of age, would inherit his father's property, which, until then, would be managed by his mother or by his real father, to whose estate also he might in certain cases succeed. By an extension of the principle the texts allow an impotent or ill man to appoint another during his life to beget a son for him, and in the epic the right to act in these cases is frequently recognized as specially appropriate for Brāhmans. But the general tendency of the later *Smṛtis* is more and more against the practice, which was subjected to increasing restrictions or absolutely forbidden, and in modern times the practice of appointment (*niyoga*) has been replaced by the more primitive form of actual marriage with a brother's widow.[1]

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[1] The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (possibly 4th cent. B.C.) goes far in allowing divorce (III. ii. 59, iii. 59).

[1] A. Hillebrandt, *ZDMG* xl. [1886] 710, explains these passages quite differently; but his view can hardly be correct.

[2] H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, Bonn, 1893, p. 107 f.

[3] Cf. Bṛhaspati, xxvii. 20, ii. 31; *Arthaśāstra*, III. iv. 59.

8. Marriage and morality.—Though fidelity on the part of both parties to a marriage was doubtless an ideal, there is abundant evidence throughout the literature that infidelity on the part of the husband was neither rare nor considered worthy of moral censure. In the case of the wife there is no doubt that in the *Smṛti* literature and in modern usage adultery is regarded as a serious offence which may in certain cases be punished by death. Some of the Vedic passages (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, V. vi. 8. 3; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, III. iv. 7) cited as showing tolerance of adultery are susceptible of other interpretations, but there remain the facts that a special ritual at the *Varuṇapraghāsa* is clearly intended to remove the ill-effects of adultery (*Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, I. x. 11; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II. v. 2. 20), that the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (VI. iv. 11) contains a spell to expiate adultery with the wife of a Brāhman, and that the *Bhāradvāja Gṛhyasūtra* (ii. 28) advises a husband how to proceed in the case of going on a journey if he desires his wife to have lovers in his absence. The romances and fable literature frequently allude to cases of infidelity, and the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Smṛtis* recognize as one kind of son the *gūḍhotpanna*, or secretly born, an illegitimate son who can, nevertheless, succeed to the property of his mother's lawful husband. Baudhāyana (II. iii. 34) and Āpastamba (II. xiii. 7) preserve a saying of a sage to the mythical king Janaka, referring to a time when the virtue of married women was lightly estimated, and the *Mahābhārata* refers (I. cxxii. 4 ff.) to a time when wives were used in common, a practice terminated by Śvetaketu. The lack of chastity of the women of the East is recorded by Bṛhaspati (ii. 30). Too much stress must not, however, be laid on these notices; the reference to the Eastern women may be an allusion to the loose marital relations in Tibet, and the references to the lax morality of previous times are made for the purpose of proving that the recognition of illegitimate sons then accorded was antiquated at the time of the texts.

9. Marriage and property.—The widow of the dead man, according to the *Nirukta* (iii. 4) and Baudhāyana (II. iii. 44–46), was denied the power of becoming an heir. Gautama (xxviii. 21 f.) mentions her in the list of heirs, but points out the alternative of the adoption of the practice of *niyoga* for providing the son in whose absence alone could the mother be heir. In Viṣṇu (xvii. 4) and Yājñavalkya (ii. 135) is first found the express mention of the widow as the next heir in the absence of male issue. But the extent of the right thus obtained is expressly limited by the texts: the widow could not give away, or mortgage, or sell the property thus inherited; she held it for her enjoyment for life, subject to continued chastity and to her not contracting a second marriage, but she held it under the control of her husband's kindred and with the limitation that it should return to them on her death.[2] If there were several widows, the chief wife seems to have been entitled alone to succeed as heir, but on her fell the duty of maintaining the other wives—a rule which is not recognized in modern Hindu law, where all the wives have an equal right of succession.

Distinct from the property obtained by inheritance was the *strīdhana* of the wife, which is mentioned by Gautama, but first described in detail in the *Arthaśāstra* (III. ii. 59) and by Viṣṇu (xvii. 18). It included any presents from parents, sons, brothers, or kinsmen, the marriage gifts, the bride-price when given by her father to her, and the fine paid by her husband in the case where she was degraded from her position as chief wife in favour of another. This property fell on her death to her daughters, if she had any; if not, apparently to her sons, who, according to some authorities, shared it with their sisters in any event; and, in the case of failure of all issue, to her husband only if she had been married according to one of the four superior forms of marriage; otherwise it went to her father. In some cases the unmarried daughter was preferred to the married in heirship to her mother. In the later *Kātyāyana Smṛti* (xx. 80 ff.) are found elaborate rules as to the power of a woman over her *strīdhana*. She was at liberty to dispose in any way of presents from living relatives, even if consisting of immovables; her husband could not use them without her consent. She was also entitled to receive from her sons any property promised by their father and not paid to her, while gifts to wives were encouraged, if not exceeding 2000 *paṇas* or consisting of immovables. On her death her property went back, in so far as it consisted of gifts from relatives, to those relatives; the rest went to any unmarried daughter, or, failing such, to her sons and married daughters, while, if she left no children, her property passed to her parents if she were married in one of the lower forms of marriage, and any landed property went to her brothers. The later texts and the commentators develop in much detail the doctrine of *strīdhana*, and the *Mitākṣarā* (a commentary on Yājñavalkya) argues that all property which women receive in any way falls under that head, and must obey the special laws of devolution of *strīdhana* proper. This is contrary to the earlier evidence, which expressly differentiates between *strīdhana* in the narrow sense and property inherited from a husband, earned by a woman's own exertions, or given by strangers, over which she can exercise power of disposal only with her husband's consent.

LITERATURE.—In addition to many notices scattered throughout the literature, the Hindu marriage of the end of the Vedic period and in the classical period is dealt with in the *Dharmasūtras* and in the *Smṛtis* with their commentaries, and in comprehensive treatises based on the *Smṛtis*. Of the *sūtra* texts, those of Āpastamba, Gautama, Vasiṣṭha, and Baudhāyana have been translated by G. Bühler (*SBE* ii.² [1897] and xiv. [1882]). The *Smṛti* of Manu has also been translated by Bühler (*ib.* xxv. [1886]), and those of Viṣṇu, Nārada, and Bṛhaspati by J. Jolly (*ib.* vii. [1900] and xxxiii. [1889]). Yājñavalkya has been translated by A. Stenzler, Berlin, 1849. Of these Manu is the oldest, Yājñavalkya may be dated in the 4th cent. A.D., Nārada about A.D. 500, and Bṛhaspati about 600. Somewhat earlier than Bṛhaspati is Kātyāyana. Of the later texts the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara (c. A.D. 1100) is the most important, as having become authoritative throughout India except in Bengal. Of modern works, for the Vedic period the most important are: A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1849–84, v. and x.; B. Delbrück, 'Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen,' in *ASG* xxv. [1889] 381–606; H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879; and A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, London, 1912. For the epic a full account is contained in E. W. Hopkins, art. in *JAOS* xiii. [1889], and much material is also given by R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur ind. Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902. The rules of the law-books and the modern law are dealt with in R. West and G. Bühler, *Digest of Hindu Law*³, Bombay, 1884, and in J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*³, Madras, 1883, and a summary of the whole subject with full citations and references to the literature is given by J. Jolly, in *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896 (=*GIAP* ii. 8).

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[1] Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, § 69.

[2] Kātyāyana. xxiv. 55 ff.; Bṛhaspati, xxv. 46 ff.

MARRIAGE (Iranian).—**I. Zoroastrian.**—According to the sacred texts of Zoroastrianism, marriage is divinely favoured (*Vendīdād*, iv. 47; cf. artt. ASCETICISM [Persian], FAMILY [Persian]). The second happiest place in the world is that in which a righteous man sets up his household (*Vend.* iii. 2). In the *Gāthās* the pair who wed are urged to strive to live a life of righteousness and to help one another in good deeds (*Ys.* liii. 5).

Since marriage is regarded as almost a religious duty, Zoroastrians hold it a meritorious act to help their co-religionists to enter the wedded state, and such assistance may even serve to atone for sin (*Vend.* iv. 44, xiv. 15). It is by no means unusual, therefore, for Parsis to enjoin by will or by a trust that a certain amount of their wealth be expended in aiding poor brides to marry, and certain institutions, as the Parsi Pañchāyat of Bombay, provide special funds for this purpose.

The Parsi community in India has passed through so many vicissitudes that it is difficult to determine which of the various marriage customs of the Parsis were originally Zoroastrian, although it appears to be practically certain that the strictly religious portion comes under this category. At the very beginning of the *Aśīrvād*, or blessing known as the *Paēvand-nāmah*, which is recited at the wedding ceremony, the officiating priest declares that the ceremony is 'according to the law and custom of the Mazdayasnian religion.'

According to the Avesta, both manhood and womanhood were attained at the age of 15 (*Ys.* ix. 5; *Yt.* viii. 13 f., xiv. 17; *Vend.* xiv. 15; *Bundahiśn*, iii. 19). Since in the Avesta we find maidens praying for suitable husbands (*Ys.* ix. 23;[1] *Yt.* v. 87), it would appear that child-marriage was not practised. The ritual recited at the marriage ceremony, bidding the pair to express their consent after 'truthful consideration,' points in the same direction. The present Parsi Marriage Act enjoins the age of 21 for males and 18 for females; if the contracting pair are below that age, the marriage certificate must be signed by their parents.

The marriage ceremony is preceded by several other rites. When the match is arranged, an auspicious day is fixed for the betrothal, such as the day of new moon, or the first (Hormuzd) or twentieth (Bāhram) day of the Parsi month. At times, especially in Mofussil (provincial) towns, the parties consult Hindu astrologers, who name one or more auspicious days for the betrothal, marriage, etc. The match is usually arranged by the parents, with the consent of their children; but often, at the present time, the contracting parties make their own choice with the approval of their parents. Mutual friends of the two families generally carry messages and bring about the match—a course recommended by the *Pand-nāmak-ī-Ātūrpāṭ-ī-Māraspandān* (xlii.) and attested in the *Šāh-nāmah* (tr. A. G. and E. Warner, London, 1905 ff., i. 177 ff., ii. 125, 86–88) by the marriages of the three sons of Farīdūn with the daughters of the king of Yemen, of Rustam with Tahmīnah, and of Kāūs with Sūdhābah. Until recently professional match-makers were not unknown, and they still exercise a certain amount of activity.

On the day of betrothal[2] the women of the groom's family visit the house of the bride and present silver coins to her, and the groom receives a similar present from the women of the bride's family. The older term for this ceremony, now called *adrāvvūn*, was *nām pādvūn*, 'to name' (from Pers. *nāmzad shudan*), since after the betrothal the bride receives in religious recitals of prayers for her the name of the groom, even though, by some mishap, marriage does not take place. An unbetrothed girl was said to be 'unnamed' (*nā kardah nām*). Betrothal is regarded as a solemn part of the marriage ceremony, the *miθra vīrō-maza*, or 'pledge of the magnitude of a man' (*Vend.* iv. 2, 4, 9, 15), being considered by the *Rivāyats* to mean a promise of marriage. At the present time the priests do not take an active part in the betrothal, except in Mofussil towns, where two priests—one for each family—formally ask the parents that the bride and groom respectively be given in marriage to each other. The priests took part in the *nāmzad* (betrothal) at Surat in the middle of the 18th cent. (Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1771, ii. 557 f.), when the two families met, and the groom's family priest, after prayer, placed the hand of one of the contracting parties in that of the other.

The betrothal is followed by the Divō, when a lamp (*divō*) is lit early in the morning, and the women of the two families interchange visits and gifts. This day is regarded as more important than the betrothal proper, because on it the dresses and wedding rings are usually presented. The Divō is followed by the Ādarnī, when the dowry given by the bride's father is presented to the groom's family.[1] Presents are exchanged, chiefly from the bride's family, on several other days between betrothal and marriage.

An auspicious day, such as the day of new or full moon, is fixed for the marriage as for the betrothal. Tuesday and Wednesday are inauspicious.

In some families the astrologer's services are engaged before the marriage also. When matches are being arranged by mutual friends, the horoscopes of the intending bride and groom are submitted to him, to find whether the stars predict harmony between the pair. If this is not to be the case, the projected match is broken off.

In the morning or afternoon of the marriage day the bride and groom take a sacred bath—a custom which is mentioned in the *Šāh-nāmah* (ed. T. Macan, Calcutta, 1829, p. 1579), where Bahrām Gūr takes his Indian wife to the fire temple for that purpose. The religious portion of the wedding is usually performed shortly after sunset, perhaps to symbolize that, just as day and night unite and blend, so the wedded pair should be united in weal and woe.

The marriage is generally celebrated with much pomp, as was the case in ancient Irān, as recorded in the *Dīnkarṭ* (ed. P. B. Sanjana, Bombay, 1874 ff., ii. 97). The groom, wearing a white ceremonial robe and holding a shawl in his hand, sits among friends and relatives of his own sex in the compound. Around his neck he has a garland of flowers, and on his forehead is a vertical line of red pigment (*kuṅkun*). In colour this is held by some to represent in India an earlier custom of the sacrifice of animal life, and in shape to symbolize the brilliant, fructifying sun, whereas the round *kuṅkun* of the bride is supposed to be a symbol of the moon, which absorbs the rays of the sun.

A short time before the marriage, a procession, headed by the officiating priests, and often by a band of music, goes to the house of the bride, where the ceremony generally takes place. The men seat themselves in the compound, and the women in the house. At the door, the side posts of which—like those of the groom's house—are marked with turmeric (whose yellow colour is held to symbolize the sun, and hence abundance and fertility), the groom is welcomed by his future mother-in-law, a fresh mark of *kuṅkun* is made on his forehead, and rice is made to adhere to it, and is also thrown over his head.

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[1] Geiger, *Ostīrān. Kultur*, p. 241, sees in this passage an allusion to the custom of asking the hand of the bride from her parent or guardian (cf. also *Vend.* xv. 9).

[2] A considerable time might elapse between betrothal and marriage (*Vend.* xv. 9; cf. Geiger, p. 242).

[1] In early times it was apparently more customary for the groom to give presents. The sum of 2000 silver dirhams and 2 gold dīnārs, mentioned in the *Aśīrvād*, seems to have been the average sum which a groom of moderate means was expected to provide for his bride. On the *Aśīrvād*, with Pahlavi, Pāzand, and Skr. text and tr., see Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, *Zarathushtra and his Contemporaries in the Rigveda*, Bombay, 1913, pp. 77–80.

During the marriage ceremony the officiating priest again sprinkles rice over the bride and groom, and before the recital of the marriage blessing the pair throw a handful of rice on each other, some mothers making the couple eat a few grains of rice thus thrown.

An egg, a coco-nut, and a little tray of water are now passed three times round the groom's head and cast away, and in the course of the evening the women of the bride's family make the groom dip his hand in a water-jar, in which he leaves for them a silver coin. Formerly it was also the custom for the feet of the bride and groom to be washed after the marriage ceremony, but the adoption of English foot-gear has caused this to survive only in washing the tip of the boots.

After the groom has been thus welcomed at the door, he is made to cross the threshold without touching it, and with his right foot first, these precautions being observed also by the bride when she first enters her husband's house. Having entered the house, the groom awaits the bride, who sits on his left, the chairs being placed in the centre of the apartment. On stands beside the chairs are trays of rice to be thrown over the pair, and lighted candles, while beside the bride is a small vessel of *ghī* and molasses (typifying gentleness and sweetness); a servant stands before the pair, holding a burning censer in one hand and a little frankincense in the other. Beside each of the contracting parties stands a witness, usually the nearest kin, and generally married persons.

The following requisites are necessary for a regular marriage: (1) the marriage must be celebrated before an assembly of at least five persons who have been summoned for this special occasion; (2) the contracting parties are asked by the officiating priest whether they consent to be united in wedlock; (3) the hands of bride and groom are joined (*hāthvarō*, 'hand-fastening') and a symbolic knot also plays a prominent part in the ceremony; (4) the actual marriage ceremony is followed by a benediction accompanied by sprinkling with rice, etc.

Before being seated side by side, the bride and groom are made to sit opposite each other, separated by a piece of cloth as a curtain. The senior officiating priest now joins the right hands of the pair, and, with the recital of the *Yathā ahū vairyō*, a piece of cloth is passed round the chairs of both so as to form a circle, the ends of the cloth being tied together. With a repetition of the *Yathā ahū vairyō* the *hāthevarō* is then performed by fastening the right hands with twists of raw yarn, which is passed round the hands seven times, then seven times round the bridal pair, and, finally, an equal number of times round the knot in the encircling cloth. The fee for this ceremony is the perquisite of the family priests, even though the rite may be performed by other priests. The attendant next puts frankincense on the fire, and the curtain between the pair is dropped, while the bride and groom throw over each other a few grains of rice which they have held in their left hands. The one who first throws the rice is said to 'win,' and during the recital of the benedictions the priests also throw rice over the pair. They are now seated side by side.

The more strictly religious portion of the ceremony follows. Two priests stand before the pair, the elder of whom blesses them, praying that Ahura Mazda may grant them 'progeny of sons and grandsons, abundant means, strong friendship, bodily strength, long life, and an existence of 150 years.' He then asks the witness who stands beside the groom whether, on behalf of the bridegroom's family, he consents to the marriage 'in accordance with the rites and rules of the Mazdayasnians, promising to pay her [the bride] 2000 dirhāms of pure white silver and 2 dīnārs of real gold of Nīshāpūr coinage.' A similar question is asked of the witness for the bride's family, and then of the contracting parties, the questions being repeated thrice. Next follows the recital, by both the officiating priests, of the *Paēvand-nāmah* or *Āśīrvād* (tr. F. Spiegel, *Avesta übersetzt*, Leipzig, 1852–63, iii. 232–234, and, in great part, by the present writer, in Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *Hist. of the Parsis*, i. 182 ff.). The admonitions in the *Āśīrvād* are followed by a series of benedictions, in which Ahura Mazda is besought to grant to the wedded pair the moral and social virtues characterizing the *yazatas* (angels) who give their names to the thirty days of the month. Prayer is also made for other blessings, and that the bride and groom may be granted the virtues and qualities of the great heroes of ancient Irān, that they may live long, and have many children, etc. A portion of this address is repeated in Sanskrit—probably a reminiscence of the times of the earliest Parsi emigration to India, when it was desired to make the address intelligible to their Indian hosts.

The *Āśīrvād* is followed by another group of benedictions in Pāzand, this group being called the *Tan darustī* (ed. E. K. Antiā, *Pâzend Texts*, Bombay, 1909, p. 160 f., tr. Spiegel, *op. cit.* iii.).

The marriage ritual is repeated at midnight. From Anquetil du Perron (i., pt. i. 319, ii. 558, n. 5) this appears to be a reminiscence of the earlier Persian custom when, in Kirmān, the marriage ceremony was performed at midnight. This custom is not, however, universal.

A number of minor usages, not regarded in any way as part of the solemn ritual, are also observed, especially by women, in the Mofussil towns. The first of these, which, like the others of this class, is now observed more as a joke, is *chhedā chedi*, in which the nearest friends or relatives tie the skirt of the *jāmā*, or flowing dress, of the groom to that of the *sārī* of the bride; thus united, the pair go to the bridegroom's house. This is followed by foot-washing (cf. above), after which comes the *dahi kūmrō*, or making the newly-wedded pair partake of food consisting of *dapi* (curd) and rice from the same dish, each giving the other to eat. Another custom, now almost obsolete, is making the bride and groom play *eki beki* ('odd or even'). Each takes several rupees in the right hand and asks the other whether the number is odd (*eki*) or even (*beki*); if the opposite party guesses the number rightly, he or she is said to win. The underlying principle is probably similar to that of the rivalry of bride and groom to be the first to cast rice on the other, as already noted.

Marriage songs are sung frequently through the nuptial ceremony; and the whole concludes with a banquet, at which courses of fish (a symbol of good omen) and sweets are essential, but meat is forbidden, either out of deference to Hindu scruples or from motives of economy.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

2. Next-of-kin marriage.—A problem of peculiar delicacy in connexion with Iranian marriage is the question of the *xvaētvadatha* (Pahlavi *xvētōkdas*), usually translated 'next-of-kin marriage.'[1] The modern Parsis maintain that this is a marriage between first cousins, and such is certainly its present connotation. The Greek and Latin writers, on the other hand, regarded *xvaētvadatha* as referring to marriages of parents with children and of uterine brothers and sisters; and in this view they are followed by the great majority of non-Parsi scholars of the present day.

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[1] The etymology of the word is apparently *xvaētu*, 'belonging to (esp. the community or sib)'—cognate with Lat. *suus*—and *vadatha*, 'marriage' (C. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterb.*, Strassburg, 1904, col. 1860). For a less plausible etymology, based on native tradition (*Dinkarṭ*, iii. 82, tr. West, *SBE* xviii. 400), see Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, i. 126 n.

The Avesta itself offers no data for the solution of the problem, and mentions *xvaētvadatha* only in five passages—all late.

The Mazdayasnian religion commands *xvaētvadatha* (*Ys.* xii. 9); in certain religious ceremonies a young man is to be chosen who has contracted it (*Visp.* iii. 3; cf. *Gāh* iv. 8); corpse-bearers may be purified, not only with the urine of cattle, but also with the mingled urine of a man and woman who have performed *xvaētvadatha* (*Vend.* viii. 13; no other human beings can produce this vehicle of purification); and Vīshtāspa is the protector, among others, of the youth who fulfils the requirement of *xvaētvadatha* (*Yt.* xxiv. 17). Bartholomae's claim (col. 1822) that Vīshtāspa's wife Hutaosa was also his sister, on the basis of *Yt.* xv. 35 f., can scarcely be deemed cogent (see Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 206 f.), in spite of the assertion of the late Pahlavi *Yāṭkār-ī-Zarīrān*, 48. The Pahlavi commentator on *Ys.* xlv. 4 clearly sees an allusion to *xvaētvadatha* between father and daughter, but the text does not sustain his exegesis.[1]

The evidence of the Greek and Latin writers is unambiguous as regards the nature of *xvaētvadatha*. That the royal house should practise the marriage of parents and children, or of brothers and sisters, is not inexplicable. It probably rests, at least in historic times, upon a desire to keep the royal blood absolutely pure, and finds a conspicuous illustration in the history of Egyptian dynasties.[2] Thus Cambyses married his sister, and, though Herodotus says (iii. 31) that before this ruler's time 'the Persians were not wont to cohabit with their sisters,' we are told that the notorious Parysatis urged her son Artaxerxes Longimanus to wed his sister Atossa (Plut. *Artax.* 23; cf. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* vi. 275 C; for a less certain instance see Ctesias, *Pers.* 2), to whom her own brother Darius later offered marriage (Plut. *Artax.* 26). The Bactrian satrap Sysimithres married his mother (Quintus Curtius, VIII. ii. 19), and Terituchmes his sister (Ctesias, *Pers.* 54). The only case alleged in the Sasanian period was the marriage of Kavāt with his daughter Sambyke (Agathias, ii. 23). The custom is reported, however, not only of the royal family, but also of the Persians generally. Marital relations with mother, daughter, or sister are ascribed to them by Diogenes Laertius (*Proœm.* 7, ix. 83), Strabo (p. 735), Plutarch (*de Fort. Alex.* i. 5), Antisthenes (quoted by Athenæus, v. 63), Jerome (*in Jovin.* ii. 7), Clemens Alexandrinus (*Pæd.* i. 7), and Minucius Felix (*Octav.* 31). Philo states (*de Spec. Legg.*, p. 778 B) that children from union of mother and son were deemed particularly well-born, and Catullus says (lxxxiii. 3 f.) that 'magus ex matre et gnato gignatur oportet.'

This last quotation is of considerable significance in determining the real origin of a custom which excited horror among the classical authors. Xanthus Lydus, as cited by Clemens Alexandrinus (*Strom.* iii. 2, *ad fin.*), had, centuries before, recorded such marriages as peculiarly Magian, and Strabo (p. 1068) declared them to be an ancient usage (cf. also Sotion, cited by Diog. Laert. *Proœm.* 7). In the Sasanian period the Christian martyr Mihrāmgushnasp had, before his conversion, married his sister (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 95); and, some two centuries later, the reformer of Magianism, Bah Afrīd, forbade his followers to marry their mothers, sisters, daughters, or nieces (al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology of Anc. Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1879, p. 194; al-Shahrastānī, *Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, tr. T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850–51, i. 284; cf. also above, p. 401^b). Yet there was a tradition, reported by Mas'ūdī (*Prairies d'or*, ed. and tr. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861–77, ii. 145), that Farīdūn (the Thraētaona of the Avesta) begot a daughter by his granddaughter, another by his great-granddaughter, and so to the seventh generation (cf. also Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 192).

In the Pahlavi texts allusions to *xvētōkdas* are common. Observance of it is one of the surest signs of piety in the coming days of evil, *i.e.* the Arab conquest (*Bahman Yt.* ii. 57, 61); it expiates mortal sin and forms the one insuperable barrier to the attacks of Aēshm, the incarnation of Fury (*Šāyast lā-Šāyast*, viii. 18, xviii. 3 f.); it is especially obnoxious to demons, whose power it impairs (*Dīnkarṭ*, iii. 82); it is the second of the seven good works of religion, and its neglect the fourth of the thirty heinous sins, and it is the ninth of the thirty-three ways of gaining heaven (*Dīnā-ī Māīnōg-ī-Xraṭ*, iv. 4, xxxvi. 7, xxxvii. 12). It is even said to have been prescribed by Zarathushtra as the eighth of his ten admonitions to mankind (*Dīnkarṭ*, iii. 195; cf. *Selections of Zāṭ-Sparam*, xxiii. 13), and to arrange it is a work of merit (*Dāṭistān-ī Dīnīk*, lxxviii. 19). In a word, from it is to arise 'complete progress in the world . . . even unto the time of the renovation of the universe' (*ib.* lxxvii. 6 f.).

These Pahlavi texts, however, cast no light on the precise connotation of the term. Yet there are references in this literature which are the reverse of ambiguous. The Pahlavi synopsis of the 18th *fargarṭ* of the lost Avesta *Varaštmānsar Nask* clearly refers to the *xvētōkdas* of brother and sister (*Dīnkarṭ*, IX. xli. 27),[1] and that of the 21st *fargarṭ* of the lost *Bakŏ Nask* to the wedlock of father and daughter (*ib.* lxvii. 7, 9).[2] The most explicit statement is found in the account of a controversy between a Zoroastrian theologian and a Jewish objector, recorded in *Dīnkarṭ*, iii. 82 (tr. West, pp. 399–410):

> 'The consummation of the mutual assistance of men is Khvêtûkdas. . . . That union . . . is . . . that with near kinsfolk, and, among near kinsfolk, that with those next-of-kin; and the mutual connection of the three kinds of nearest kin—which are father and daughter, son and she who bore him, and brother and sister—is the most complete that I have considered.'

These three forms are illustrated, respectively, by the union between Ahura Mazda and his daughter Spenta Armaiti (cf. on *Ys.* xlv. 4, above; and on its probable origin as a cosmogonic myth of the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Heaven and Earth, cf. L. H. Gray, *ARW* vii. [1904] 367), from which sprang the primeval being Gāyōmarṭ; by the return of some of the seed of the dying Gāyōmarṭ to Spenta Armaiti (cf. also *Bundahišn*, xv. 1; *Dāṭistān-ī-Dīnīk*, lxiv. 6; al-Bīrūnī, p. 107), resulting in the birth of the first human pair, Masyē and Masyāōī; and by their prolific union (cf. also *Dīnkarṭ*, VII. i. 10, *Dāṭistān-ī-Dīnīk*, xxxvii. 82, lxv., lxxvii. 4 f.).[3]

In the 8th chapter of a Pahlavi *Rivāyat*, probably written between the Arab conquest of Persia and the 16th cent., found preceding the *Dātistān-ī-Dīnīk* in many MSS, there is a lengthy polemic in favour of *xvētōkdas*, there written *xvētōdāt* (ed. Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabar, *Pahlavi Rivâyat accompanying the Dâdistân-î-Dînîk*, Bombay, 1913, pp. 9–21, tr. in extracts West, *SBE* xviii. 415–423). Defending it by the old examples of Ahura Mazda and Spenta Armaiti and of Masyē and Masyāōi, it declares that, when contracted with mother, daughter, or sister, *xvētōkdas* is superior in religious merit even to the ceremonial worship of Ahura Mazda, the replenishing of the sacred fire, or showing becoming reverence to a priest, and that it saves the most heinous sinner from hell.

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[1] See L. H. Mills, *Gâthâs*, Oxford, 1892–1913, p. 224 f.; West, *SBE* xviii. 392 f. The latter scholar dates the final revision of the Pahlavi version in the 6th century. For another possible, though uncertain, reference to the *xvaētvadatha* of Ahura Mazda and Spenta Armaiti, see *Dīnkarṭ*, IX. lx. 2–5. There is an unmistakable allusion to it in *Dīnkarṭ*, III. lxxxii. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, i. 344, n. 12, misunderstands the Pahlavi commentary on *Ys.* liii. 3 as containing a possible reference to *xvaētvadatha*; for the correct rendering see Mills, p. 376 f.

[2] For many other instances see F. Justi, *GIrP* ii. [1904] 437; E. Westermarck, *Hist. of Human Marriage*², London, 1894, pp. 290–295. Cf. also 'Egyptian' section above.

[1] The statement that Arṭā-ī-Vīrāf 'had seven sisters, and all these seven sisters were as wives of Vīrāf' (*Arṭā-ī-Vīrāf Nāmak*, ii. 1–3, 7–10; scarcely earlier than the 6th cent. A.D.) may be compared, but is not absolutely certain in meaning (West, p. 397 f.).

[2] So West, p. 397; later (*SBE* xxxvii. [1892] 382) he retranslates the passage so that *xvētōkdas* is not necessarily implied.

[3] Another stock argument for brother-and-sister marriage was found in the legend of the union of the primeval twins Yima and his sister (Pahlavi Yim and Yimak; see *Bund.* xxiii. 1, and West, *SBE* xviii. 418 f.), which is not mentioned in the extant Avesta, though it evidently dates from the Indo-Iranian period, since it forms the theme of Rigveda x. 10.

> When the millennium is about to dawn, 'all mankind will perform Khvêtûdâd, and every fiend will perish through the miracle and power of Khvêtûdâd.' The first time that a man practises it, 'a thousand demons will die, and two thousand wizards and witches . . . and when he goes near to it four times, it is known that the man and woman become perfect. . . . Whoever keeps one year in a marriage of Khvêtûdâd becomes just as though one-third of all this world . . . had been given by him . . . unto a righteous man. . . . And when he keeps four years in his marriage, and his [funeral] ritual is performed, it is known that his soul thereby goes unto the supreme heaven (garôdmân); and when the ritual is not performed, it goes thereby to the ordinary heaven (vahishtô).' The good deeds of those who observe *xvētōkdas* are a hundred times more efficacious than the same deeds performed by other pious men; and the penalty for dissuading from it is hell.

From certain passages in the same chapter it is very evident that *xvētōkdas* in the narrow sense here advocated was by no means pleasing to the Parsi community.

> Thus, when Ahura Mazda and Zarathushtra held colloquy, 'Zaratûsht spoke thus: "Which duty and good work shall I do first?" Aûharmazd spoke thus: "Khvêtûdâd." . . . Zaratûsht spoke unto Aûharmazd thus: "In my eyes it is an evil (vadŏ) which is performed." . . . Aûharmazd spoke thus: "In my eyes, also, it is just as in thine; but "'—since nothing is so perfect that there is no evil mixed with it—'"it should not seem so"' (West, p. 423).

As early as the date of composition of *Dīnkarṭ*, iii. 82, however, there are indications that *xvētōkdas* had come to bear its present meaning of marriage of first cousins, and this is the teaching of more modern Parsi *Rivāyats* (West, pp. 404, 425 f.) and the practice of Zoroastrians at the present day.

The Parsi theory of the origin of *xvaētvadatha* is fairly clear. The *Dīnkarṭ* holds (iii. 82) that its basis was a desire to preserve purity of race, to increase the compatibility of husband and wife, and to increase the affection for children, which would be felt in redoubled measure for offspring so wholly of the same family. Another reason—doubtless well founded, especially after the Arab conquest—was that marriage outside the family might tend to religious laxity and even to perversion to another faith (*Rivāyat* viii., tr. West, p. 416 f.). As a matter of fact, however, these arguments are inadequate to explain the real origin, and the suggestion of Justi (*GIrP* ii. 435) that the source is to be found in Egypt (cf. 'Egyptian' section, above) is equally improbable.

There is no evidence that incestuous *xvaētvadatha* was known in the Avesta,[1] and it is not until Pahlavi writings of the 6th–9th centuries that it is unmistakably advocated (West, p. 427 f.). At the same time, the testimony of the Greek and Latin writers cannot be ignored; and, while we may grant, for the sake of argument, that in the later Sasanian period there was vital religious reason for incestuous *xvaētvadatha*, as set forth by the *Dīnkarṭ* and the *Rivāyat*, no such reason can be alleged for the Achæmenian and succeeding periods. It is clear, moreover, that incestuous *xvaētvadatha* was then not restricted to noble and royal families, but that it was also practised widely among the common people. On the other hand, the present writer knows at present of no cases in the historic (as distinguished from the legendary) period of Zoroastrianism, except the Sasanian royal instance mentioned above, and the marriage of Mihrām-gushnasp.

We must also note that incest was abhorrent to the Indian branch of the Indo-Iranian family (for the strong exogamy of India see J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* [=*GIAP* ii. 8], Strassburg, 1896, p. 62 f.).[1] Among the other Indo-European peoples the Greeks permitted marriage between uncles and nieces, nephews and aunts, and half-brothers and half-sisters on the paternal side (see 'Greek' section, above, § 2); the ancient Prussians and Lithuanians are said to have allowed marriage with any kinswoman except one's own mother (O. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 909 f.); and equal licence is ascribed to the ancient Irish (cf. 'Celtic' section, above).

There remain, then, two hypotheses on the origin of incestuous *xvaētvadatha*. (*a*) It may be derived from a non-Indo-European people. This is the theory maintained by Moulton (pp. 204–208), who holds that the custom was Magian, and so neither Indo-European nor Semitic (cf. *ib.* chs. vi.–vii., and art. MAGI)—not Iranian at all. (*b*) Without denying or even criticizing Moulton's very plausible, even probable, theory, it may be suggested that the practice was genuinely Persian. In view of the extremely primitive character of the Balto-Slavic peoples, who have, not without reason, been claimed as those who have retained most truly the original type of Indo-European civilization (S. Feist, *Kultur . . . der Indogermanen*, Berlin, 1913, p. 478; O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgesch.*^{3}, Jena, 1907, ii. 129 f.; and art. ARYAN RELIGION, *passim*), the occurrence among them—as among the almost equally primitive ancient Irish—of what is practically identical with incestuous *xvaētvadatha* is certainly significant. On this hypothesis, Zarathushtra's reformation did away with *xvaētvadatha*, as with so much else of the older Iranism which his loftier teaching rejected; but, when the more ancient folk-religion returned, it restored *xvaētvadatha*, together with many other things that had been discarded. In the present state of our knowledge the writer does not attempt to decide between these hypotheses; he merely presents his own for what it may be worth.

Whatever the origin of incestuous *xvaētvadatha*—which is perhaps nothing but endogamy carried to its extreme—so much is clear: pure Zoroastrianism never knew it; it was practised by non-Zoroastrian Persians; it was advocated at least during the Sasanian and early Arab periods by a Magianized priesthood; it appears to have then been a theoretical ideal, prompted by the religious and political situation of the period, rather than an actual practice; it was constantly resisted (even as an ideal) by a large—and, doubtless, ever increasing—body of the faithful; it has disappeared. It had a certain justification during the days of Arab persecution, and Parsis should recognize this. It has been one of the cheap taunts of the type flung against every religion by the ignorant or malevolent outsider, and no Parsi can be reproached for sensitiveness on the subject. Yet it was at worst merely a temporary excrescence, never a real tenet; and it was repudiated, no doubt, as intensely by Zarathushtra as by his modern followers.

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[1] It is true that the Pahlavi summaries of lost Avesta texts affirm in them the presence of this type of *xvaētvadatha* (see above, p. 457^{b}), but the baseless reading of *xvaētvadatha* into *Ys.* xlv. 4 by the Pahlavi commentator (above, p. 457^{a}) hints that we cannot repose implicit confidence in the accuracy of these summaries.

[1] The instance of Yama and Yamī, already mentioned, does not militate against this; for in the hymn Rigveda x. 10 (on which see especially L. von Schröder, *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 275 ff.) Yama manifests extreme reluctance to the union. The problem involved was the origin of the human race from a primeval pair of twins. The same remarks apply to the myth of Brahmā's union with his daughter, a cosmogonic myth comparable with the ἱερὸς γάμος of Ahura Mazda and Spenta Armaiti, noted above (cf. Rigveda, I. clxiv. 33, v. xlii. 13, x. lxi. 5 ff., and especially Muir, *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, i.^{2} [1872] 107–114, iv. [1873] 45–48).

3. Old Persian.—Concerning the specifically Old Persian marriage rites we possess only meagre information. Strabo tells us (p. 733) that marriages were performed at the beginning of the vernal equinox, and that before the bridegroom went to the nuptial couch he ate an apple or camel marrow, but nothing else during the whole day. We also learn from Arrian (*Anab.* VII. iv. 7) that a seat of honour (*θρόνος*) was provided for the groom, and that his prospective bride came 'after the cups had gone round' (*μετὰ τὸν πότον*), being welcomed by her husband with the giving of the right hand and a kiss. Naturally a banquet formed part of the wedding (Est 2^{18}; Jos. *Ant.* XI. vi. 2).

To the Scythians (*q.v.*), at least some of whom were Iranians, the Greeks ascribed the practice of each man having free access to the wives of his fellow-tribesmen, although Herodotus (i. 216, iv. 104) restricts this to the Massagetæ and Agathyrsi. The latter were possibly Iranian (E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 102; cf. W. Tomaschek, in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 764 f.); the former are considered Iranian—their name is certainly so—by J. Marquart (*Untersuchungen zur Gesch. von Eran*, Göttingen and Leipzig, 1896–1905, ii. 77 f., 240, *Erānšahr*, Berlin, 1901, p. 156), though this is doubted by Minns (p. 111), who, probably rightly, regards them as 'a mixed collection of tribes without an ethnic unity.' In any event, as he says (p. 93), this form of marriage (for other Indo-European instances of which see H. Hirt, *Indogermanen*, Strassburg, 1905–07, p. 703; Schrader, *Reallex.* p. 634) is probably non-Aryan.

See, further, art. FAMILY (Persian).

LITERATURE.—B. Brisson, *De regio Persarum principatu*, ed. J. H. Lederlin, Strassburg, 1710, pp. 157 f., 491–498; A. Rapp, *ZDMG* xx. [1866] 107–114; F. Spiegel, *Erân. Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871–78, iii. 677–681; W. Geiger, *Ostīrān. Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882, pp. 240–249; F. Justi, *GIrP* ii. [1904] 434–437; Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *Hist. of the Parsis*, London, 1884, i. 170–188; Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *Marriage Customs of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1900; Darab Peshotan Sanjana, *The Alleged Practice of Next-of-Kin Marriages in Old Irān*, London, 1888; L. C. Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, Bombay, 1889, pp. 156–160, and *BOR* iii. [1889] 169–174, 200–204; J. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–93, i. 126–134; H. Hübschmann, *ZDMG* xliii. [1889] 300–312; E. W. West, 'The Meaning of Khvêtûk-das or Khvêtûdâd,' *SBE* xviii. [1882] 389–430; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, pp. 204–208; the *Patmānak-ī-Katak-xūtāīh*, or 'Marriage Contract,' is ed. by Jamaspji Minocheherji Jamasp-Asana, *Pahlavi Texts Contained in the Codex MK*, Bombay, 1897–1913, pp. 141–143, tr. *ib.* Introd. pp. 47–49.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

MARRIAGE (Japanese and Korean).

I. *JAPAN.* — From ancient times marriage and marriage regulations have been considered important by the Japanese people. Both ideas and legal regulations concerning marriage, however, seem to have passed through three distinct stages: (1) that of the age of the Taiho-ryo (A.D. 701–1192), much influenced by Chinese morals and laws; (2) that of feudalism (from the end of the 12th cent. to the Meiji era), moulded by *bushido*, Japanese knightly morality, to a much higher development; and (3) that of the period since the Restoration, characterized by Christian influences.

1. Consent of parties.—The chief point of difference between Japanese and Western marriage laws may be found in the family system. From the earliest times the Japanese people have been grouped in families as social units, to one of which every individual belongs, and in each family there is a head, who governs the rest. The authority of the head (*patria potestas*) has varied from age to age, but in general may be said to have been strong in ancient times and to have weakened in recent years. The family in the time of the Taiho-ryo was often very large, including over one hundred persons, but the numbers gradually decreased, until at present a family usually consists of only five or six individuals. Marriage under such a system not only brings changes in the status of the contracting parties, but also means the removal of a member of one group to another. In other words, marriage is an act between a man and a woman and also between two families. Therefore, when a marriage is to take place, not only the free contract of the parties is required, but also the consent of the heads of the two families.

From the time of the Taiho-ryo to that of the Meiji era, a marriage engagement was first made between the parents of the parties, and often the consent of the parties was not required, for filial obedience was considered one of the highest and noblest virtues. Lately, with the development of the idea of freedom, the point of view has somewhat changed; according to the regulations of the present civil code, it is necessary to have the free consent of the parties in addition to the consent of the parents. Moreover, when a man reaches the age of thirty and a woman that of twenty-five, the law no longer requires the consent of the parents for the sanction of marriage.

2. Caste.—While caste in the strict sense of the term never existed in Japan, by the Taiho-ryo a humble class, which was not allowed to intermarry with others, was recognized, and the child of such a marriage belonged to the humble class. During the feudal age the people were divided into lords, knights, and commoners including farmers, artisans, and merchants; and intermarriage required special permission. A marriage between members of the lordly class required sanction from the central government until 1871. According to the Taiho-ryo, Buddhist priestesses were not allowed to marry; and one who transgressed was sent to a far island or put to death; but this ban was abolished in 1872.

3. Age of consent.—At the time of the Taiho-ryo a male was allowed to marry at the age of 15 and a female at 13; but the present civil code requires the age of 17 for the male and 15 for the female. There has been no prohibition of marriage on account of old age.

4. Monogamy.—Old laws and customs in Japan forbade multiple marriages, but not concubinage. According to the Taiho-ryo, concubines occupied the position of relatives in the second degree, and no limitation was made as to their number. The child by a concubine held an inheritance right. The custom of concubinage was prevalent among the noble and rich, and society did not condemn it. Moreover, in the opinion of some, concubinage was considered necessary, with the existing family-system, in order to preserve the family line from possible extinction. In the Meiji era, however, through the influence of Christianity, the idea of monogamy became strong; and in 1882 concubinage ceased to be recognized by law, though the long-established custom still lingers to some extent.

5. Second marriage.—When a marriage contract has been dissolved by divorce or the death of one of the parties, a second marriage is permitted. In ancient times, however, the proverb 'A chaste woman never sees two men' had great force; and for a woman to refrain from re-marriage was regarded as a beautiful virtue. There were not a few women who cut off their hair, or became priestesses, or committed suicide, on hearing of the death of their husbands in battle. Such forms of devotion gradually declined; and the civil code does not forbid a woman to re-marry, merely requiring six months to elapse between the dissolution of the first marriage and the consummation of the second.

6. Marriage of adulterers.—A man and woman, either of whom has been divorced or sentenced to be divorced on account of adultery with the other, may not marry—a prohibition which has existed since the time of the Taiho-ryo. Social disapproval of such union is very severe; and, even when the husband or wife forgives and consents, the prohibition is binding and cannot be evaded, so that those found thus married are separated by law.

7. Marriage of relatives.—Marriage between near relatives in direct and collateral lines is forbidden for the sake of health and protection from degeneracy. The marriage of cousins, or of a widow or widower with a brother or sister of the deceased, is not prohibited; and such marriages are not rare.

8. Relation of husband and wife. — In olden times the rights of a husband were very far-reaching, and a wife who obeyed her husband absolutely was considered virtuous. Men were held in high regard, while women were not. Lately the position of woman has improved, but even yet, when a wife makes a contract, she has to get her husband's consent in many cases, and the wife's property is always under the supervision of her husband while they are married. In Japan a woman's private property is very limited; and those who possess property in addition to their dresses and ornaments are very few; for, according to the law of succession, all property is inherited by the eldest son, and only in the case of disinheritance or of there being no son by marriage or adoption can the woman inherit in regular succession. Thus, as a rule, the wife has no property, but is dependent upon her husband for support. Some change, therefore, must be made in the law of succession if the position of woman is to be materially raised.

9. Engagement and ceremony of marriage.—The customs as well as the laws of marriage in Japan have passed through a series of changes. In ancient times marriage by sale and marriage by capture were common; but from the time of the Taiho-ryo customs gradually became more refined. There is in Japan, however, no custom of direct personal engagement or of previous personal acquaintanceship. Such things would be regarded as disgraceful by all Japanese above the middle class, for a formal marriage is always arranged by a match-maker who renders service to the parties and parents. When consent is given and the engagement made, gifts are exchanged, and a marriage-contract is considered to have taken place. Then, upon an auspicious day, the wedding ceremony is performed, usually at the home of the bridegroom at night. The marriage intermediary, escorting the bride in her best attire, takes his seat at an appointed place, and the bride and bridegroom drink wine, exchanging cups nine times. This constitutes the entire ceremony, after which the bride and bridegroom are introduced to relatives and friends at a wedding dinner. No religious or legal form is required, except that, by the present civil code, notification must be made to a registrar in order that the marriage may be officially sanctioned. With the coming of Christianity marriages are increasingly performed in churches; and recently the custom has arisen of holding services at Shintō shrines. The law, however, requires no religious sanction, as it is only a civil marriage that is officially recognized.

10. Divorce.—Before the promulgation of the present civil code (1896–98), divorce, or, rather, repudiation, was very easily secured at the husband's will. No legal procedure was necessary beyond the husband's writ with his signature, but the law fixed seven causes, one of which must exist in order to make the *repudium* effective. Thus the power of the husband was somewhat curtailed; but only the husband could repudiate. The present code recognizes two forms of divorce: by mutual consent, and by judicial decree. The former requires only the mutual consent of the parties, while the latter requires an act of the court upon the contested request of one of the parties. This form of legal divorce must be for some one of certain causes recognized by law, and becomes operative only after judicial judgment has been given. Statistics for 1908 show the total number of marriages to have been 8,583,168 and of divorces 60,376, *i.e.* about 7 divorces out of 1000 marriages. Only judicial divorces, however, are given in statistics, and by far the greater number are by mutual consent.

11. Judicial separation.—This system does not exist in Japan.

II. *KOREA.*—In Korea marriage is according to the old custom. Early marriage prevails, and government control has had but little effect, though upon several occasions laws have been issued, even setting the age for marriage at 20 for men and 16 for women. It is usual for a girl of 12 or 13 years to marry a boy of 10 or less. Wives are usually a few years older than their husbands. Second marriage is not prohibited, but is considered a disgrace by most; and those above the middle class never re-marry. Arrangements for marriage are made by fathers, grandfathers, or elder brothers and relatives in authority; and the wishes of those who are to be married are not taken into account. The ceremony is performed at the home of the bride, and it is not necessary to notify a civil officer. Only the husband can divorce, and the wife has no way of refusal. There is no system of divorce by consent, but by the new law, since annexation, a way has been opened for a wife to seek divorce. The number of marriages made in 1912 was 121,993, and that of divorces only 9058.

LITERATURE.—Alice M. Bacon, *Japanese Girls and Women*, London, 1905; D. Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, do. 1909, ch. xviii., 'Position of Women'; B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*^{4}, do. 1902; L. W. Küchler, 'Marriage in Japan,' in *TASJ* xiii. [1885], pt. i. pp. 114–137; Douglas Sladen, *A Japanese Marriage*, London, 1904; Inazo Nitobé, *The Japanese Nation*, London and New York, 1912.

T. NAKAJIMA.

MARRIAGE (Jewish).—'Every man is bound to marry a wife in order to beget children, and he who fails of this duty is as one who sheds blood, diminishes the Image [of God], and causes the Divine Presence (*sh^{e}khînāh*) to depart from Israel'—thus runs the rule in the Code of Qaro (*Shūlḥān 'Ārūkh, Ebhen hā-'ezer*, i. 1). It is based on ancient Rabbinic (Tannaitic) prescription (*Y^{e}bhāmôth*, 63*b*, 64*a*), itself inferred from well-known Biblical texts (esp. Gn 9^6 combined with following verse), and it is emphasized by the somewhat later apophthegms: 'Whoever has no wife rests without blessing'; such a one 'is not called a man' (*ib.* 62*b*). Marriage was the means by which the human race imprinted on the generations the divine image; it, with the consequent domestic felicity, was the expression of true manhood. It was the basis of the social order, and thus its regulation was, in Rabbinic opinion, one of the chief differences between Jewish and primitive systems (cf. Maimonides, *Ishūth*, i.). The social obligation was strengthened by Messianic hopes: 'the son of David—*i.e.* the Messiah—will not come until all souls stored up for earthly life have been born' (*Y^{e}bh.* 62*a*). Though the purpose of marriage was the begetting of children, other aspects of marital life were fully appreciated (see art. FAMILY [Jewish]; and cf. the quotations in M. Mielziner, *The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce*, New York, 1901, p. 18 f.; I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896, p. 114). Very profound is the Rabbinic view that man's *yēṣer* is in this instance the cause of good; but for his passions man would not build a house, nor marry a wife, nor beget children (*Genesis Rabbā*, ch. ix.). Man, in Rabbinic theology, is impelled by two *yēṣers* ('impulses,' 'inclinations'), one good and one evil, both of which are to be used in turning him to the love of God (*Sifrê* on Dt 6^{5}, *Mishnāh B^{e}rākhôth*, ix. 5). The bodily passions are not in themselves evil (cf. F. C. Porter, 'Yeçer Hara,' in Yale Bicentenary vol. of *Biblical and Semitic Studies*, New York, 1901, pp. 91–156, and M. Lazarus, *Ethics of Judaism*, Eng. tr., Philadelphia, 1901, ii. 79 ff.); Torah was the means by which the control of passion and its direction into holy ends were effected (cf. Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, iii. 33). The Rabbinic theory of marital intercourse is summed up ideally and, in a sense, mystically in the saying: 'Three are associated in every human being: God, father, and mother' (*Qiddūshîn*, 30*b*).

With regard to the authority of parents in arranging the marriages of their children while minors see *ERE* v. 742^{a}. When the parties were adult, the consent of parents was not necessary to make a marriage valid (Maimonides, *Îshūth*, vii.), but, as Mielziner adds,

> 'In consequence of the high respect and veneration, however, in which father and mother have ever been held among Israelites, the cases of contracting marriages without the parents' consent fortunately belong to the rarest exceptions' (p. 69).

Early marriages, arranged by the parents, were long considered a valuable aid to morals. The legal age for valid marriage was the age of puberty, but the usual age of the bridegroom in Talmudic times was 18 to 20 (S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, Leipzig, 1910–11, ii. 28). A Jewish court would often put pressure on a man over 20 to compel him to take a wife (*Ebhen hā-ʿezer*, i. 2), but such pressure was not applied in the case of students, while (as the gloss *ad loc.* points out) in modern times all attempts at compulsory marriages have become obsolete. Curiously enough, no rule is stated with regard to the age of the bride. Girls were treated as marriageable from the beginning of their thirteenth year, and at various times very youthful marriages have prevailed (see Abrahams, ch. ix.). In recent times, while, on the whole, Jews probably marry at a somewhat earlier age than the general population, assimilation in social customs is modifying differences (statistics in *JE* viii. 339). The general impression prevails that Jews more frequently than others marry their cousins. Intermarriage between Jews and Christians has increased (statistics in *JE* vi. 612). No section of Jewish opinion favours marriages between parties who are not of the same religion, the difficulties of the education of the children and the disturbance of the home harmony being felt to offer strong objections. There is no bar, however, to the religious solemnization of a marriage with full Jewish rites in the case of proselytes to the synagogue.

The Biblical 'degrees' were maintained in later Jewish law, with certain extensions (*Y^{e}bh.* 21; Maimonides, *Îshūth*, i. 6; Mielziner, p. 37), the latter being partly theoretical prolongations of lineal ascendants and descendants; but in one case a 'new degree homogeneous to the Biblical was added'; for, 'while the Mosaic Law [Lv 18^{14}] expressly forbids only the *father's* brother's wife, the Talmudic Law adds also the *mother's* brother's wife, and, besides, the father's uterine brother's wife' (Mielziner, p. 38). The Ḳaraites (see *ERE* vii. 663^{a}) imposed still further rigours on the marriage law.

The general question of the relation between Jewish marriages and the civil law of England is historically and legally considered in the monograph of H. S. Q. Henriques, *Jewish Marriages and English Law*, London, 1909. It may in general be said that, while orthodox Jews maintain some disabilities not upheld by the law of the land, no Jews permit marriages which, though allowed by Jewish law, are forbidden by the civil law. Thus, though marriage with a deceased wife's sister is valid in Jewish law, such a marriage was never solemnized in England while English law disallowed it. So, too, though by Jewish law a man may marry his niece (though a woman may not marry her nephew), no such marriage would be performed by Jewish rites, since English law forbids such a union. But, where the Jewish law is more severe than the English, the severity is in most cases maintained, though the tendency in Jewish liberal organizations is toward equalizing Jewish custom with civil conditions. The orthodox Jews do not permit a *kôhēn*—*i.e.* one tracing descent from the ancient priestly family—to wed a divorced woman; nor would the re-marriage of a divorced person be solemnized by the orthodox synagogue unless a divorce had also been obtained from a *Bēth Dîn* (Jewish ecclesiastical court). On the other hand, the levirate marriage, which was no longer in general use (though a few instances are recorded) at the beginning of the Christian era (the Sadducean question in Mt 22^{23} was probably theoretical), has now lost all vogue (*Ebhen hā-ʿezer*, clxv., and commentaries; *JE* vi. 171). In the case of a childless widow the brother-in-law goes through the ceremony of *ḥălîṣāh* (Dt 25$^{7-10}$), which frees her to marry a stranger (Mielziner, p. 54 f.; *JE* vi. 170 f., where the rite is illustrated). On the levirate marriage see, further, I. Mattuck, in *Studies in Jewish Literature*, Berlin, 1913, p. 210; on marriages between uncle and niece, S. Krauss, *ib.* p. 165.

Except for rare cases in countries where Muhammadan law prevails, monogamy is enforced by both law and custom among Jews, although neither Bible nor Talmud formally forbids polygamy (for the Talmudic evidence see Krauss, ii. 27). Only in the case of the levirate marriage did the Pentateuch actually ordain a second marriage, and, as has been mentioned above, the levirate marriage fell into disuse. That monogamy was the Biblical ideal is shown by Gn 2^{24}, Pr 31$^{10-31}$, and the whole tendency of the Song of Songs (cf. A. Harper, *Song of Solomon*, Cambridge, 1902, p. xxxiv); and the same conclusion must be drawn from the prophetic imagery in which marriage typifies the relation between the one God and the unique people Israel. Polygamy survived among the Jews into the Christian era (see references in *JE* viii. 658), but monogamy was then and thereafter the general rule. The difficulty was that, as the end of marriage was the begetting of children, childless marriages were no fulfilment of that end, and in case of the wife's sterility the older authorities were divided in view as to the relative advisability of insisting on divorce or of permitting a second simultaneous marriage (on this and several other questions of Jewish marriage and divorce, see the writer's evidence before the Divorce Commission); but by the beginning of the 11th cent. monogamy was made the binding and absolute rule for all western Jews (Abrahams, ch. vii.).

The ancient and mediæval preliminaries to marriage have, in modern times, lost much of their old significance. Betrothal (*ērūsîn* or *qiddūshîn*) in Rabbinic law was not a mere agreement or contract for a future marriage (*nissūîn*); though not involving the actual privileges or responsibilities of the married state, betrothal was so far the initiation of marriage that it could be terminated only by death or divorce.

'Faithlessness on the part of the betrothed female was treated as adultery. Without having been formally divorced, she could not enter a marriage contract with another person; if entered upon it was void' (Mielziner, p. 77; on the status of the betrothed woman in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., cf. A. Büchler, in *Festschrift zu Israel Lewy's 70ten Geburtstag*, Breslau, 1911, p. 110).

Since the 16th cent. the two ceremonies of betrothal and marriage have been performed on the same day, though in Talmudic times a year might intervene between them (*Mishnāh*, *Qiddûshîn*, v. 2). The legal betrothal was always preceded by an 'engagement' (*shîddûkhîn*), and this 'engagement' gradually replaced the older betrothal. Often a professional match-maker (*shādkhān*) was employed in the Middle Ages, and the custom is still in some vogue (Abrahams, p. 170 f.). The ceremonies of marriage now include the older betrothal and marriage rites. The essence of the marriage ceremony is the presentation by the bridegroom to the bride, in the presence of two witnesses, of an object of value, and the recital of the formula: 'Be thou consecrated unto me by this [ring] according to the law of Moses and Israel.' The marriage rite was and is invalid without the bride's consent—her consent is formally stated in the *k^{e}thūbhāh* (see below); but, until recent times, she took a passive part in the ceremony, the formula being spoken by the man only. In some orthodox and in most liberal synagogues the bride's part is now more active. For the validity of a marriage the presence of a Rabbi is not essential, but such presence is usual, and so are other ceremonies: the use of a ring and a canopy (*ḥuppāh*), the breaking of a glass, the recital of the *k^{e}thūbhāh*, and the repetition of the 'Seven Benedictions.'

The ring, now so usual in Jewish weddings, is not mentioned in the Talmud, but was introduced in the Gaonic age (A. Harkavy, *T^{e}shûbhôth hag-g^{e}ônîm*, Berlin, 1887, § 65), perhaps in the 7th century. The ring replaced the older gift of money or of an article of value; it must not contain gems (Abrahams, p. 183), and need not be of gold. Possibly the use of the ring was derived from Rome, just as the objection to marriages between Passover and Pentecost corresponds to the Roman prohibition of marriages in May (J. Landsberger, in *Jüd. Zeitschrift für Wissensch. und Leben*, vii. [1869] 81). In the Middle Ages Friday was a favourite day for Jewish marriages, though the Talmud objected to such a choice. Wednesday was also a common day for virgins, and Thursday for widows. In modern times there are no restrictions as to days of the week, except that marriages are not celebrated on Sabbaths or festivals. In the orthodox synagogues marriages are still not performed (except on specified dates) between Passover and Pentecost, nor on certain anniversaries of a mournful nature. During the marriage ceremony the ring is put on the forefinger of the bride's right hand; she afterwards removes it and places it on the customary finger of the left hand. Marriages are now frequently celebrated in the synagogue, though there is no loss of validity if the ceremony occurs elsewhere, as is widely the custom in America. The whole problem as to the place where Jewish marriages may be celebrated is treated by L. Löw in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, where many other Jewish marriage questions, historical, social, and legal, are also discussed (iii., Szegedin, 1893, pp. 13–334).

The bride and bridegroom usually stand under a *ḥuppāh*, or 'canopy,' during the marriage ceremony; the rite has been abrogated in some of the modern Jewish congregations. Originally the *ḥuppāh* was the marriage chamber, into which the bridal pair were conducted after a procession; but it is now merely symbolical, and consists of four upright posts covered by an awning of silk or tapestry (for details see Abrahams, p. 193; for illustrations, *JE* vi. 504 ff.). A regular preliminary of the ceremony is the signing by the bridegroom of the *k^{e}thūbhāh* (lit. 'writing'), or marriage contract (for the ordinary wording see Mielziner, p. 87), which sets forth the amount payable to the wife in case of the husband's death or the wife's divorce, and in olden times often rehearsed the wife's dowry, in respect of which, as of the husband's settlement, the *k^{e}thūbhāh* conferred on her an inalienable claim on her husband's property. The wife had considerable rights over her own property (see Mielziner, p. 104 f.), and the *k^{e}thūbhāh* protected those rights, and also formed a potent restraint against rash divorces. Mielziner's statement (p. 89) that the *k^{e}thūbhāh* is 'now almost entirely dispensed with,' refers only to certain American and other reform congregations; it is still retained in most Jewish marriages, though it has little legal significance in many countries. The *k^{e}thūbhāh* is ancient, being perhaps referred to in To 7^{14}; it is certainly as old as the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C. (*K^{e}thūbhôth*, 82*b*; Abrahams, p. 207, note 2; E. N. Adler, in *JE* vii. 474; for the earliest instance of the terms of the wife's jointure the reader may refer to L. Ginzberg, *Geonica*, New York, 1909, ii. 72). In Oriental lands the *k^{e}thūbhāh* often included a solemn undertaking by the bridegroom to observe strictly the law of monogamy (see Abrahams, p. 120, and the document published by him in *Jews' College Jubilee Volume*, London, 1906, p. 101).

Of the many marriage customs which have prevailed in Jewish marriages one deserves special mention. The bridegroom breaks a glass, but the meaning of the rite is uncertain. Some have seen in it a symbolical allusion to the close of the ante-nuptial condition, but 'the most acceptable theory is that the custom arose from . . . a desire to keep even men's joys tempered by more serious thoughts, and on the other hand from the never-forgotten memory of the mourning for Zion' (see *Annotated Edition of the Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, London, 1914, p. ccxvii). The memory of Zion is frequently recalled in the Jewish wedding hymns and songs (on which see Abrahams, p. 188 f., and 'Hebrew Love Songs,' in *Book of Delight*, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 184 ff.). The same phenomenon is seen in the 'Seven Benedictions' cited below, where Jer $33^{10f.}$ is effectively used. As regards the *memento mori* idea the following incident is recorded in the Talmud (*B^{e}rākhôth*, 30*b*):

> 'When the son of Rābbînā was married, the father saw that the Rabbis present were in an uproarious mood, so he took a costly vase of white crystal worth 400 zūzîm and broke it before them to curb their spirits.'

On the other hand, joyousness is the predominant note of Jewish weddings—a joyousness hallowed by the principle that the participation in such functions is a religious duty. The dowering of poor brides was an act of sanctified loving-kindness (*Shabbath*, 127*a*); and the assistance at wedding festivals was an element in pious life (*P^{e}sāḥîm*, 49*a*). Lyric praises of the bride were so regular a habit that we find quaint discussions as to the terms to be used in the eulogies (*K^{e}thūbôth*, 17*a*). On the subject of other wedding customs, both Oriental and Western, see Abrahams, chs. ix. and x.; *JE* viii. 340 ff.; Krauss, ii. 37; W. Rosenau, *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs*, Baltimore, 1912, ch. xi.

Most characteristic of the Jewish marriage ceremony are the Seven Benedictions, which are already quoted in the Talmud (*K^{e}thūbhôth*, 8). First comes the benediction over wine (on the use of wine in Jewish ceremonial see *Annotated Prayer Book*, p. cxxxix); then follows the praise of God as the creator of all things to His glory; after this eulogy of the creator of all comes the praise of Him as creator of man; and next the benedictions pass to the creation of woman, the memory of Zion, the bridal joy, and the hope of Israel's restoration. The current text is as follows (*Annotated Prayer Book*, p. 299):

> 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who createst the fruit of the vine.
>
> Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast created all things to thy glory.
>
> Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, Creator of man.
>
> Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast made man in thine image, after thy likeness, and hast prepared unto him, out of his very self, a perpetual fabric. Blessed art thou, O Lord, Creator of man.
>
> May she who was barren (Zion) be exceeding glad and exult, when her children are gathered within her in joy. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest Zion joyful through her children.
>
> O make these loved companions greatly to rejoice, even as of old thou didst gladden thy creature in the garden of Eden. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest bridegroom and bride to rejoice.
>
> Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast created joy and gladness, bridegroom and bride, mirth and exultation, pleasure and delight, love, brotherhood, peace and fellowship. Soon may there be heard in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, the voice of joy and gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the jubilant voice of bridegrooms from their canopies, and of youths from their feasts of song. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the bridegroom to rejoice with the bride.'

Thus the married state is brought into relation with the story of creation and with Israel's Messianic hopes. The Seven Benedictions, which were recited during the grace at the wedding banquet as well as during the wedding ceremony, cover the whole of Israel's history. The popular maxim, 'Marriages are made in heaven,' was accepted as a commonplace truth by the Rabbis (Abrahams, *Book of Delight*, p. 172 ff.). The reverence for the wife was shown by the husband's recital every Friday eve of the eulogy of the virtuous woman from the last chapter of Proverbs. In many other ways the sanctity of wedded life was symbolized, both in its human aspects and as a type of perfect harmony with the divine scheme of creation.

LITERATURE.—This is cited in the course of the article.

I. ABRAHAMS.

MARRIAGE (Roman).—It is a comparatively easy task to describe the Roman idea and practice of marriage, if we confine our description to historical times; for there the evidence is fairly complete, and the state of society familiar to us. But the subject is complicated by its antiquities; and these cannot be wholly omitted, for they are interesting to a student of marriage systems, and they reflect the earlier conditions of Roman society from which the later practice descended. We shall begin, then, with these antiquities, and so clear away the main difficulties, which, however, cannot be fully explained in the present state of our knowledge.

1. Pre-historic.—There is some evidence, in the form of survivals in later procedure, that marriage by capture existed among the ancestors of the Latin race; but at what stage, whether among the people of the *terremare* in N. Italy or still further back, we cannot tell. The simulated rape of the bride at the *deductio* (see below), the parting of her hair with a spear, possibly the lifting her over the threshold of her husband's house, taken together with the legend of the rape of the Sabine women, may well suggest capture. True, each scrap of evidence may, if taken separately, be explained otherwise, but it must be allowed that the cumulative evidence is strong. On the other hand, capture implies exogamy, of which there was no trace in historical Rome; marriage was originally within the limits of the *gens* (Marquardt, *Privatalterthümer*, p. 29, notes 1 and 2); if, therefore, marriage by capture is to be assumed as an original practice of the race, it must have been so before the development of the *gens* as a social institution. But, if this early form of marriage is not provable for the Roman people, it is highly probable that the later form of marriage by purchase existed among them at one time, leaving its traces in the later *coemptio*, which, as we shall see, was a simulated transference of the bride by purchase from the *potestas* of her father to the 'hand' (*manus*) of her husband (for the possible connexion of the *dos* with marriage by purchase see Westermarck, *MI* ii. 384 ff.).

2. Early forms of marriage: confarreatio, coemptio, and usus.—In early Roman society we find three distinct forms or rules by which marriage could be effected. As to the historical interpretation of these there is endless dispute, but the object and conception of marriage as an institution are clear enough. The object of a *iustum matrimonium*, such as was the result of all of these methods, was beyond doubt to produce children capable of keeping up the religion (*sacra*) of the family, and also of serving the State in war and peace. Children of *concubitus*, *i.e.* cohabitation without marriage, were not so capable; they could not be Roman citizens, and could not represent either family or State in any capacity. The word which covered all legitimate forms of union was *connubium*; as Ulpian says, in the clearest exposition that we have of the subject (v. i. 2), 'iustum matrimonium est si inter eos qui nuptias contrahunt connubium sit.' *Connubium*, or *ius connubii*, is thus the right of contracting true or legal marriage, and belonged, as Gaius tells us (i. 56), to Roman citizens only, to Latins and foreigners only when it had been granted by the State. And, as marriage in this true sense meant the transference of the bride from one definite legal and religious position to another, from the *sacra* of one family to those of another (see FAMILY [Roman]), and from the *potestas* of one *paterfamilias* to the *manus* of another, it is obvious that the process was one of the utmost gravity both for the families concerned and for the State. The sense of this grave importance is best seen in what, rightly or wrongly, is generally believed to have been the oldest form of patrician marriage, which was applicable only to patrician families throughout Roman history—*confarreatio* or *farreum*, so named from the sacred cake of *far* (the old Italian wheat) used sacramentally in the rite.

Confarreatio stood alone as needing the presence of the Pontifex Maximus and the Flamen Dialis, the former, no doubt, representing in the Republican age the Rex of an earlier time (see Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, p. 271), and the Flamen representing Juppiter, the deity of good faith in all alliances. When the preliminaries had been adjusted (*sponsalia*, *auspicia*, etc. [see below]) which were common to all *iusta matrimonia*, a cake of *far* was offered to Juppiter Farreus, and sacramentally shared by bride and bridegroom, in the presence of the Pontifex Maximus, the Flamen Dialis, and ten other witnesses. This number ten has given rise to much conjecture; but it is so common throughout Roman procedure that there need be no special significance in it (in Livy, xxxvii. 3, it apparently has a religious meaning, and so perhaps in *confarreatio*). A victim also was offered (to what deity is uncertain), the skin of which was stretched over two seats, on which the bride and bridegroom had to sit (for these and other details see Gaius, i. 112; Serv. *ad Æn.* iv. 103, 374, *Georg.* i. 31; Dion. Hal. ii. 25). The priests, it must be noted, do not perform the service, but witness it, giving this rite a peculiar solemnity which our authorities do not explain, probably because they did not understand it. Modern scholars and students of Roman law have usually thought of it as the real original form of marriage in the Roman State, which must be imagined as consisting entirely of patrician families; it survived into historical times only as a means of supplying persons duly qualified to fill the old priesthoods descended from that patrician State, viz. the Rex Sacrorum and the three Flamines maiores, Dialis, Martialis, and Quirinalis (see Gaius, i. 112). Of late, however, it has been suggested (by Cuq, *Institutions juridiques*, p. 215 ff., followed by Launspach, *State and Family in Early Rome*, p. 159 ff.) that it came into use only when the old custom of marrying within the *gens* was broken through, when the religious difficulty of transferring a bride from one *gens* to another called for special religious interference by the State. There is something to be said for this; but to the present writer it seems hardly sufficient to account for the sacramental character of the rite and the use of the skin of the victim. No ancient author says that this was the only form of patrician marriage; if it had been so, the Rex and the Flamen must have been constantly in requisition for weddings, more often than would be consistent with their other duties. But it is possible that *confarreatio* may have been a very special religious form, originating in the marriage of the Rex only, or in families forming an inner circle of aristocracy, from which the Rex might be chosen, and which would be likely or willing to supply children qualified to become *camilli patrimi et matrimi* in the service of the State (Serv. *ad Georg.* i. 31). It must be remembered that the patrician State itself had a history, and did not come into existence full-blown; the *confarreatio* probably represents an early form of it, but not exactly that which we have been accustomed to imagine.

There were two other ancient methods of transferring a bride from one family to another, from the *potestas* of her father to the *manus* of her husband; but it is to be noticed that neither of these was, strictly speaking, a marriage ceremony, and it is to be assumed that, when they were used, the real marriage rite was that described below under marriages which did not produce *conventio in manum*. In other words, the true marriage rite was, except in *confarreatio*, distinct from the act which transferred the bride from the *potestas* of her father to the *manus* of her husband, or to that of his father, if he were a *filiusfamilias* in the *potestas* of his father. Thus *coemptio*, the form by which, in the presence of five witnesses and a *libripens* (a form which could be used for other purposes besides marriage), the bride was made over to the *manus* of her husband by a symbolic purchase (Gaius, i. 113), looks as if it were a legal addition devised for some particular purpose, perhaps to enable the ordinary patrician family, which did not seek to produce children capable of filling the highest religious offices, to obtain by a single act the same legal results as in *confarreatio*. This is, indeed, a mere guess, and one among many, into which it is not necessary to go in this article.

The other method which produced *conventio in manum* took a whole year to complete the process; if a duly qualified pair lived together for an entire year without a break, *manus* followed of necessity by *præscriptio*; but by the XII Tables it was possible for the bride to escape this result by absenting herself yearly for three nights from her husband's house, by which means, in legal language, the *usucapio* would be barred (Gaius, i. 111). It is not unlikely that this was really the oldest form by which the husband could acquire *manus*, and the one most commonly in use. *Confarreatio* and *coemptio* both presuppose the existence of the law and religion of the State in full development, but *usus* may go much further back. *Usus* and *coemptio* are, however, alike in this, that they have a private and not a public character, and do not need the presence of priest or magistrate; it was easy, therefore, to pass them on to non-patricians, plebeians or Latins, when these attained *connubium*; but this could not be so with *confarreatio*, if, as we have assumed, the main object of the latter was at all times to produce children capable of holding the exclusively patrician religious offices.

In these three methods of marriage the union was accompanied by *manus*, though in the case of *usus* not till after a year had elapsed. *Usus*, indeed, shows us plainly that the Roman of early times did not think of marriage and *manus* as inseparable: for the bride must have been properly married under *usus*, if her children were to be Roman citizens, though for a year at least she was not under *manus*. We must also remember that, if the husband were not *sui iuris*, but a *filiusfamilias* under the *potestas* of his father, as must constantly have happened, the wife passed under the *manus*, not of her husband, but of his father. Quite early marriage and *manus* became separable both in thought and in fact; under the XII Tables, as we have seen, the wife was given the option of escaping a change of *manus* altogether, and this may be taken as proving that a tendency in this direction had shown itself much earlier. After that time, mainly, no doubt, from reasons of convenience connected with the family property, marriage without *manus* came to be almost universal. *Usus* died out altogether (Gaius, i. 111); *coemptio* survived as a legal expedient in certain cases (*e.g.*, *CIL* vi. 1527—the *Laudatio Turiæ*, line 14); and *confarreatio* became so irksome that its bonds had to be relaxed by Augustus in order to get a supply of candidates for the old patrician priesthoods (Gaius, i. 136; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 71, iv. 16; Sueton. *Aug.* 31). Yet marriage long continued to be as complete and binding a union as before, and we now have to see what made it so, by briefly examining the process as we know it in historical times.

3. **The historic period.**—(*a*) *Conditions of marriage.*—The necessary conditions of marriage were: (1) the families of both parties must possess the *ius connubii* (as explained above); (2) the parties must not be within the prohibited degrees of relationship (*cognatio*). Originally no *cognati* could marry who were within the seventh degree of relationship; *i.e.*, second cousins could not marry; this was, no doubt, a survival from a period in which families of three generations lived together under the same roof, and were therefore, by a well-known psychological law, unsuited for intermarriage (see E. Westermarck, *Hist. of Human Marriage*^{2}, London, 1894, p. 320 ff.). Traces of such large households are not wanting in Roman history (Val. Max. IV. iv. 8; Plut. *Crassus*, i., and *Cato the Elder*, xxiv.). But these strict rules were gradually relaxed, and from the time of the Punic wars it seems to have been possible for first cousins to marry (see Marquardt, *Privatalterthümer*, p. 30, note). When the Emperor Claudius married his brother's daughter, he had to obtain a decree of the Senate for the purpose, and this licence, which was afterwards repealed, was not generally approved (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 6; Gaius, i. 62). (3) The consent of the parents was absolutely necessary, but not that of the parties themselves, who were often betrothed by their parents at a very early age; *e.g.*, Cicero betrothed his daughter when she was only ten years old (Fowler, *Social Life*, p. 140 f.). This was a survival of a practice still common in many parts of the world, where the maintenance of the family is a matter of supreme importance, and no time is to be lost in securing that children shall not remain unmarried. The betrothal (*sponsalia*), however, at Rome was a promise rather than a legal contract, and might be broken by

consent if there was a strong dislike on the part of either boy or girl (see, however, Serv. Sulpicius, in Aul. Gell. iv. 4). The early betrothal serves to show us that the idea at the root of marriage was that of service to family and State, *i.e.* the procreation of children capable of such service, and that love and romance lay wholly outside it. Steady affection there might be and often was (Fowler, *Social Life*, pp. 141, 159 ff.); but the modern idea of passion with marriage as its consummation, which too often subsides and ends in divorce, was unknown at Rome. (4) As a last condition, we must note that bride and bridegroom must be of proper age, *i.e.*, they must have reached the age of puberty and laid aside the *toga prætexta* of childhood; this might happen at different ages, according to natural development, but the minimum age was 12 for a girl and 14 for a boy.

(*b*) *Ritual.*—If all these conditions were fulfilled, a day was fixed for the marriage which must be one of good omen; as with us, May was an unlucky month for this purpose, and so was the early part of June, while certain other *dies religiosi* were to be avoided (Fowler, *Rel. Exper.*, p. 38 ff.). At earliest dawn, according to ancient usage both public and private, the auspices were taken by the flight of birds; but by Cicero's time this seems to have dropped out, and the examination of the *exta* of a victim took its place, as a preliminary to the first step in the procedure, which was the declaration of consent by the parties, usually but not necessarily recorded on *tabulæ nuptiales*. Then the bride assumed the wedding dress, viz. the *flammeum*, or hood of red or yellow, and the *tunica recta* with a woollen girdle fastened with the *nodus herculeus*; this knot, we learn from Pliny (*HN* xxviii. 63), was also used for binding up wounds, and we may therefore suppose that it was a charm against various kinds of evil (cf., however, *ERE* vii. 749^{a}). Her hair was parted into four separate locks with a spear-head (*hasta cælibaris*), which may have been a survival from pre-historic marriage by capture; and under the *flammeum* she carried a bunch of herbs picked by her own hand (Festus, *s.v.* 'Corolla' [p. 56, Lindsay]). She was then ready for the actual marriage rite, which, as will now be seen, was a matter not only of secular contract, but of religious usage; it is occasionally called a *sacrum*, as in Lucan, *Phars.* ii. 350 (of the marriage of Cato): 'sacrisque deos admittere testes.'

(1) The first act of the ceremony was the *dextrarum iunctio*, a symbolic act of union, in which, under the guidance of a *pronuba*, who must be a matron only once married, the bride placed her right hand in the right hand of the bridegroom (Festus, p. 242 [p. 282, ed. Lindsay]). This act, and the sacrifice which seems to have followed, are represented on many monuments, of which accounts will be found in A. Rossbach, *Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmäler*, Leipzig, 1871, *passim*; these are, however, all of very late date, and not easy to interpret. The *dextrarum iunctio* took place, so far as we can discern, either in the bride's house before the hearth or in front of some temple (Nonius, 531); but what temple this was we do not know, nor is it clear to what deity sacrifice was offered. On the monuments we see both cow and pig, which suggest Juno and Tellus (Varro, *de Re Rust.* II. iv. 9, refers to the pig as an Etruscan marriage victim). Possibly Tellus was the usual deity in early times (Fowler, *Rel. Exper.*, pp. 121, 138), and Juno later on; but Vergil combines the two in *Æn.* iv. 166. When the sacrifice had been offered by the pair, the persons present shouted 'Feliciter' by way of good omen, and the wedding-meal followed, and lasted till evening.

(2) The next act was the *deductio*, in which the bride was conducted to her new home—a beautiful ceremony, exquisitely described by Catullus in his 61st poem. She was taken, as it were by force, from the arms of her mother, and led in procession to the house of her husband by three boys, sons of living parents (*patrimi et matrimi*), pure and of good omen, one of whom carried a torch of whitethorn, while the other two held her by the hands; flute-players and torch-bearers went before, the mysterious and unexplained cry 'Talasse' was raised, and nuts were thrown to the youthful lookers-on. When the bride reached the house, she smeared the doorposts with oil and fat (of wolf or pig), and tied a thread of wool around them; probably these old customs were originally charms to avert evil (for wool see J. Pley, 'De Lanæ in antiquorum ritibus usu,' in *RVV* XI. ii. [Giessen, 1911] 82). She was then lifted over the threshold, perhaps as a last sign of simulated reluctance to be thus transplanted, and was received in her new home.

(3) This reception, the third act in the procedure, is obscure in its detail, but the general meaning is plain. It was called 'reception into community of fire and water' ('aqua et igne accipere'), *i.e.* into partnership in these necessities of human existence (E. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, Berlin, 1901, p. 18 ff.). We are also told that she brought with her three coins (*asses*), one of which she gave to her husband, one she laid on the hearth, and the third she threw down at the nearest *compitum* ('crossways' [Nonius, p. 852, Lindsay]). Here she seems to be making an offering to the genius of her husband, to the spirit of the hearth-fire, and to the Lar of the family's land allotment, who dwelt in a *sacellum* at the *compitum* (see Fowler, *Rel. Exper.*, p. 77). She was now in the *atrium*, at the end of which, opposite the door, the *lectus genialis* had been made ready. The morrow would find her a *materfamilias* sitting among her maids in that *atrium* or in the more private apartments behind it.

To help maintain the establishment which the marriage was to set up, she brought with her a *dos*, or dowry, which in strict law became the property of the husband (for modifications of this rule see art. 'Dos,' in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*^{2}). As Cuq well puts it (p. 231), her position of dignity in the house, and her title of *domina* as mistress of its slaves, would have been impaired if she entered it with empty hands and lived at the expense of her husband. The *dos* was also the means of securing to the children born of the marriage succession to their mother's property as well as to the *patrimonium* of the father.

The ritual which we have been examining plainly indicates that the Roman bride was to hold a much nobler position in the household than the Greek wife (see MARRIAGE [Greek]). She shared with her husband all the duties of the family, religious and secular; she lived in the *atrium*, and was never shut away in a woman's chamber. She took her meals with her husband; in all practical matters she was consulted, and only on questions political or intellectual was she expected to be silent.

> 'When she went out arrayed in the graceful stola matronalis, she was treated with respect, and the passers-by made way for her; but it is characteristic of her position that she did not as a rule leave the house without the knowledge of her husband, or without an escort' (Fowler, *Social Life*, p. 144).

The character induced and expressed by such a position is exemplified in the legendary Volumnia of the story of Coriolanus, in Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi, in Cæsar's mother Julia, and, among many others, in the perfect lady whose courage, good sense, and domestic virtues live for ever on the marble of the *Laudatio Turiæ* (*CIL* vi. 1527; Fowler, *Social Life*, p. 159 f.).

4. **Divorce.**—No doubt towards the end of the

Republic the type of womanly virtue just described was growing rare, owing to the gradual break-up of the old type of family life—the result of a moral degeneracy which even Augustus was unable effectually to check. This downward tendency is best seen in the history of divorce. Marriage by *confarreatio* had been practically indissoluble; we hear of *diffarreatio*, but it is said (Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 50) to have been so awful a rite that we assume that it was used only for penal purposes. But the other forms of marriage, not being of the same mystical or sacramental character, did not present the same difficulty, and the legal formula of divorce is as old as the XII Tables, and therefore probably earlier than the 5th cent. B.C. ('claves adimere *or* exigere' [Cic. *Phil.* ii. 28; cf. above, p. 122^a]). By the 2nd cent. marriage was becoming unpopular in high social circles, and divorce was becoming common (Fowler, *Social Life*, p. 147 ff.). In the Ciceronian age it was extraordinarily frequent; almost all the well-known ladies of that period were divorced at least once. Pompey, though a man of excellent character, was married five times, Cæsar four times, Cicero three times, and under the Empire the virtuous Pliny the Younger also three times. There was no difficulty in the operation of divorce; it was purely a private matter, and either party could send the other notice of it without any given reason or any complaint of misconduct. No remedy was found for a disorder so universal; and to the looseness of the marriage-tie, and the corresponding disregard of what had once been the chief object of marriage, must be ascribed in part at least the degeneracy of Rome and Italy in the first three centuries of the Empire (L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*^{7}, Leipzig, 1901, Eng. tr., London, 1908–13, i. 242 f.).

LITERATURE.—A. Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, Stuttgart, 1853 (still the standard work); O. Karlowa, *Die Formen der röm. Ehe und Manus*, Bonn, 1868; art. 'Matrimonium,' in Daremberg-Saglio and Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*^{2}, London, 1875; J. Marquardt, *Privatalterthümer der Römer*, Leipzig, 1868, p. 27 f.; A. de Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma antica*, i. (Milan, 1896) 146 ff.; E. Cuq, *Institutions juridiques des Romains*, Paris, 1891, p. 204 ff.; C. W. L. Launspach, *State and Family in Early Rome*, London, 1908, ch. x.; W. Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*, do. 1908, ch. v. The most complete ancient authority is Gaius, i. 108 ff.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

MARRIAGE (Semitic). — Students of social evolution seem justified in holding that the family of primitive man was an intermediate development between those of the highest animals and the lowest living men. In the lowest known human societies the form of marriage is usually a temporary monogamy.[1] This temporary monogamy has been accompanied among most early men by a greater or less degree of sexual irregularity, and has varied according to economic circumstances and the bent of the people. So far as can be ascertained from the existing evidence, it underwent some interesting variations among the primitive Semites.

1. Primitive Semitic. — Among many savage or semi-savage peoples it is customary to allow unmarried girls complete sexual liberty. In such communities it might in time easily come to be thought that a woman who had exercised such liberty was more likely to bear children than one who had not. There is reason to believe that something like this prevailed among the primitive Semites, and that superstitious value attached to this exercise of liberty, for in many widely-scattered portions of the Semitic world it became a sacred duty for women to sacrifice their virtue by one or more acts of free love. It was thus, apparently, that the temporary *hierodouloi* originated (see HIERODOULOI [Semitic and Egyptian], vol. vi. p. 672 f.). Besides the existence of *hierodouloi* among the Semites, both temporary and permanent, there is also evidence of much sexual irregularity among them.

It is the working hypothesis of most Semitic scholars to-day that Arabia was the cradle-land of the Semitic people. Naturally, the peculiar desert and oasis environment of the Arabian peninsula left its impress on the Semitic family life. In the oases dates and fruit were raised, and some sustenance for the flocks was produced, but it was necessary to lead the flocks into the desert in search of pasturage. Whether, however, men lived in an oasis or wandered from place to place, women would always be needed to perform the duties of the household and the camp, that the men might be free to fight, either in defence or for plunder. There are two reasons for believing that the women were for the most part the sisters and mothers of the men, whether the clan was resident in one fertile spot or was nomadic: (1) Semitic marriage was notoriously temporary, and (2) kinship was reckoned through the mother.

That marriage was, on the whole, temporary seems probable from the frequency of divorce in Semitic lands, especially among the Arabs and Abyssinians (see below). The researches of W. Robertson Smith established as well as the evidence will permit that among the early Semites kinship was reckoned through the mother.[1] The reasons for this view are as follows. (1) The well-known Biblical phrase for relationship is 'bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh.' 'Flesh' (*bāsār*) is explained in Lv 25^{49} by the general word for 'clan.' The Arabs attach great importance to a bond created by eating together; we must suppose, therefore, that the bond between those of the same womb and nurtured at the same breast would be more nearly of the same 'clan' and the same 'flesh' than any others. (2) The word *raḥim*, 'womb,' is the most general word for kinship, and points to a primitive kinship through the mother. (3) The custom called *'aqīqah*, by which a child is consecrated to the god of his father's tribe, cannot have been primitive, but must have sprung up in a state of transition to ensure the counting of the offspring to the father's side of the house. (4) Cases occur in the historical period in which a boy when grown attaches himself to his mother's tribe. The poet Zuhair is a case in point, and the Arabic antiquarians appear to have known that such cases were not uncommon. (5) The fear that sons would choose their mother's clans led men who were wealthy to marry within their own kin. (6) Kinship between a man and his maternal uncle is still considered closer than that between a man and his paternal uncle. (7) Joseph's sons born of his Egyptian wife were not regarded as members of Israel's clan until formally adopted by him (Gn 48$^{5f.}$). (8) Tamar might legally have been the wife of her half-brother Amnon, the relation being on the father's side (2 S 13^{13}). Such unions were known in Judah as late as the time of Ezekiel (Ezk 22^{11}). Tabnith, king of Sidon, married his father's daughter,[2] and such marriages were known in Mecca. Since the marriage of those really regarded as brothers and sisters was abhorrent to the Semites, kinship must in these cases have been counted through the mother. (9) In the Arabic genealogical tables metronymic groups are still found. (10) In Aramaic inscriptions found at Hegra metronymic clans appear.[3] To this evidence may be added a few items gathered by other scholars. Nöldeke noted that among the Mandæans a man is described as the son of his mother, which indicates that kinship was reckoned through the mother.[1] F. E. Peiser pointed out that among the Babylonians a man could, if he chose, join the kindred of his wife, which is a relic of the same custom.[2] Wellhausen has observed that in the Pentateuch J counts descent through the mother, while P reckons it through the father.[3] Among some primitive peoples kinship is counted through the mother because they are ignorant of the part of the father in reproduction;[4] among others, as, *e.g.*, the Nairs of the Malabar coast, it is reckoned through the mother because a system of polyandry prevails. The wife has several husbands, no one of whom lives with her, but all of whom visit her occasionally, and it is not known which one of them may be the father of a child.[5] Which of these causes led to the Semitic system of female kinship? We have no evidence to show that the Semites were so ignorant of the processes of reproduction that paternity was unknown to them. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence indicating that at one time a type of polyandry somewhat similar to that of the Nairs prevailed among the early Semites.

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[1] See E. Westermarck, *Hist. of Human Marriage*^{2}, London, 1894, pp. 14 f., 50; F. H. Giddings, *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1898, pp. 264, 266.

[1] *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*^{2}, p. 175 ff.; cf. also Barton, *Semitic Origins*, p. 51 f.

[2] *CIS* i. i. 3. ll. 13–15.

[3] *Ib.* ii. i. 198, 209.

In three of the *Muʻallaqāt* poems there are specific statements that the women whom the poets visited only occasionally were members of other clans, and that they often visited them at personal risk,[6] on account of the strained relations of the clans. The marriages of Samson (Jg 14, 16) were of this nature. Such marriages were often terminated by the migration of the tribes in different directions.[7] Ammianus Marcellinus was, no doubt, speaking of this type of marriage when he said that among the Arabs the bride presents her husband with a spear and a tent, and, if she chooses, withdraws after a certain day.[8] In this type of marriage kinship would necessarily be reckoned through the mother, and the fact that such alliances prevailed would be sufficient to account for the early Semitic custom of female kinship.

Such marriage conditions, while compelling the women to live with their brothers and sons rather than with their husbands, left them comparatively free from the masculine domination to which they were subjected after the rise of polygamy. Something of this freedom still survives in Arabia in parts of the peninsula like Oman and Hasa, which are not so dominated by Islām as the rest of it.[9]

The type of marriage which seems to have prevailed, at least in part, was a combination of polyandry and polygamy. Just as a woman might receive successive husbands, so the husbands also might have several wives in different clans. On the whole, however, the more numerous partners would seem to have been enjoyed by the women, for the practice of putting girl babies to death prevailed down to the time of Muhammad (see Qur'ān, xvi. 61, lxxxi. 8), so that women must have been fewer than men. Marriages of this early Semitic form were not always exogamous, for Imr-al-Qais boasts in his *Muʻallaqāt* that he followed one day the women of his tribe and spent a day in their company, and the Unaizah with whom he afterwards rode and whose fruit he boasts he repeatedly tasted was the daughter of his uncle.[10] In like manner Lailah, the woman celebrated in the poem of ʻAmr b. Kulthūm, was ʻAmr's kinswoman.[1] Whether the marriages which occurred within the tribe were more permanent than the alliances which were made in other clans cannot be determined, but one would naturally suppose that they were. Out of these general conditions there developed a type of temporary marriage for a specified time —three nights or more—called *mutʻah* marriage, which continued till the time of Muhammad.[2]

Another type of polyandry, that called Tibetan, because first studied in Tibet, was the form of marriage in vogue at one time in the southern part of Arabia. In this form of marriage a whole family of brothers possess one wife in common. The most important witness to this type of marriage is Strabo, who says, in describing Arabia Felix:

> 'All the kindred have property in common, the eldest being lord; all have one wife, and it is first come first served, the man who enters to her leaving at the door the stick which it is customary for every one to carry; but the night she spends with the eldest. Hence all are brothers of all; they also have conjugal intercourse with mothers; an adulterer is punished with death; an adulterer is a man of another stock.'[3]

The reference to conjugal intercourse with mothers is probably not to be taken literally, but it is to be explained by Qur'ān, iv. 26, where it appears that men had married wives of their fathers.[4] In other respects the passage describes all the features of Tibetan polyandry. Its existence in that part of Arabia is also attested by epigraphic evidence.[5]

W. Robertson Smith collected considerable evidence to show that this type of polyandry was also known in N. Arabia.[6] His points are:

> (1) Bukhārī relates that two men made a covenant of brotherhood, which resulted in their sharing goods and wives—a fact which seems to betray a survival of a custom of fraternal polyandry. (2) In Arabic *kannah* means the wife of a son or brother, but is used also to denote one's own wife; in Hebrew *kallāh* means both betrothed and daughter-in-law, while in Syriac *kalāthā* means both bride and daughter-in-law. These facts can be most easily explained as remnants of fraternal polyandry. (3) The Arabic law that a man has the first right to the hand of his cousin, and the fact which the fourth *sūrah* and its attendant traditions attest, that, if a man died and left only female children, the father's male relatives inherited the property and married his daughters, are regarded as the results of a previously existing condition of fraternal polyandry. (4) The Qur'ān (iv. 23 ff.) forbids men to inherit women against their will, and forbids them to take their stepmothers in marriage 'except what is past.' This is regarded as evidence that down to the time of Muhammad these attendant circumstances of polyandry had continued, and that the Prophet did not dare to annul existing unions, though he forbade such marriages in future.

Wellhausen,[7] F. Buhl,[8] I. Benzinger,[9] and Barton[10] have also held that the existence of the levirate marriages in Israel was an outgrowth of fraternal polyandry. This has been contested by C. N. Starcke[11] and Westermarck,[12] but their arguments appear inconclusive. It is difficult to explain why one should ever have thought of counting the seed of one brother as that of one who had died, if there had not been a previous state of polyandry in which all brothers shared in the offspring. The levirate was known in Arabia,[13] in Abyssinia,[14] and in Israel.[15]

It would seem that fraternal polyandry of the Tibetan type may have been an intermediate stage between the less well regulated polyandry of an earlier time and the patriarchal form of marriage, which generally was prevailing at the time of Muhammad. W. R. Smith so regarded it. But, be this as it may, by the time of Muhammad there had come into vogue in Arabia a type of marriage in which the husband was practically the owner (*baʿal*) of the wife, and which is, consequently, known as *baʿal* marriage. In this type of marriage children belonged, of course, to the father's clan. Smith attributed the origin of the *baʿal* marriage to wars and to the consequent custom of marriage by capture. Marriages of this type might be either monogamous or polygamous, according to the caprice or the wealth of the husband. In much earlier times they had become the custom among the other Semites, who had migrated to lands more fertile than Arabia.

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[1] *Monatsschrift*, xvi. [1884] 304.

[2] *MVG* i. [1896] 155.

[3] *GGN*, 1893, p. 478, n. 2.

[4] A. J. Todd, *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency*, New York and London, 1913, p. 70 f.

[5] Letourneau, *Evolution of Marriage*, p. 311 f.

[6] See *Muʻallaqāt* of Labīd, 16–19; that of ʻAntarah, 5–11; and that of Ḥārith, 1–9. That these were real marriages, and not mere amours, Smith has shown in *Kinship*², p. 87 f.

[7] Labīd, *loc. cit.*

[8] xiv. 4.

[9] J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, London, 1838, i. 351–354; W. G. Palgrave, *Central and Eastern Arabia*, do. 1866, ii. 177.

[10] See in F. A. Arnold's ed. of the *Muʻallaqāt* (Leipzig, 1850) the commentators' explanation of 11.

[1] See *Muʻallaqāt*, 11, 13, 14.

[2] Smith, *Kinship*², p. 87 f.

[3] xvi. 4.

[4] Cf. W. R. Smith, in *JPh* ix. [1880] 86, n. 2.

[5] See E. Glaser, in the *Beilagen* of *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Munich, Dec. 6, 1897, and 'Die Polyandrie bei den Minäern,' in H. Winckler's *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II. i. [1898] 81–83

[6] *Kinship*², p. 160 f.; cf. Barton, pp. 50, 65.

[7] Pp. 460 f., 474 f., 479 f.

[8] *Die socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten*, p. 28 f.

[9] *Hebräische Archäologie*², Tübingen, 1907, p. 113.

[10] P. 67 f.

[11] *The Primitive Family*, London, 1889, pp. 141–160.

[12] Pp. 510–514.

[13] Smith, *Kinship*², p. 105.

[14] Letourneau, p. 265.

[15] Smith, *Kinship*², p. 92 f

What form of marriage ceremony the early Semites had is largely a matter of conjecture. The type of marriages of which the early poets boast was probably without ceremony. A simple affinity or agreement between the parties sufficed.[1] This must often have been the case also with the later *mutʿah* marriages. After a marriage of this kind was recognized by the clan of the bride, a feast was celebrated for a week, during which there was much jollity of a type suited to the rough character of the civilization (see Jg 14$^{8\text{ff.}}$). As marriage became more permanent, somewhat similar festivals became the rule and have persisted in all parts of the Semitic world.

2. Babylonian and Assyrian.—There is little direct evidence of marriage and the position of women in Babylonia earlier than the time of Ḫammurabi (*c.* 2000 B.C.), though it is certain that the regulations embodied in his Code of laws are for the most part only the expression of customs that had then been of long duration.

The most conspicuous instance of the position of a married woman of the earlier time is that of Barnamtarra, wife of Lugalanda, Patesi of Lagash about 2825 B.C. From an archive of tablets discovered at Telloh, which contained the pay-rolls of the attendants of her palace, memoranda of her gifts to temples and festivals,[2] and even a record of her accouchement,[3] it appears that she held a position in Lagash analogous to that of a queen in a modern European country. One cannot say that her husband had no other consorts, but it is certain that her position and importance were shared by no others. Her freedom and prominence in the eyes of the public have few parallels in Babylonian history, and are in striking contrast to the insignificance of the women in the *ḥarîm* of Assurbanipal (668–626 B.C.), into which many princesses went, never to be heard of again.[4] Sammuramat, the wife of Adad-nirari IV. (810–782 B.C.), was prominent enough to be described as 'lady of the palace and its mistress.'[5] She is the nearest Mesopotamian parallel to Barnamtarra. In the light of later Babylonian laws, however, it is probable that Barnamtarra was the only wife of Lugalanda, and that he was, at least in theory, a monogamist. If this was true of the ruler, it would be true for most of the men of his kingdom.

For the period of the first dynasty of Babylon (2128–1924 B.C.) the Code of Ḫammurabi affords an authoritative source of information on marriage. The Code contains this regulation: 'If a man takes a wife and does not execute contracts for her, that woman is no wife' (§ 128). This is proof that in Babylonia marriage had passed from the less formal stage of early Semitic life, and had, in consequence of long legal development, become a matter of record. The marriage ceremony was incomplete without the signing of contracts. The law did not recognize anything like our modern 'common law' marriage. One reason for this was that the bride usually brought a dowry from her father's house, which the law safeguarded for her and her children. The husband also generally gave a bride-price to his father-in-law, which, upon certain conditions, reverted to him (§§ 138 f., 162–164). As Babylonian law dealt much in the evidence of written contracts, these were regarded as necessary to a legal marriage. The terms of the marriage, according to the Code, bore somewhat more heavily upon the woman than upon the man. True, if a man was caught defiling the wife of another, both he and she suffered capital punishment (§ 129); if he forced the betrothed of another, he was put to death and the woman went free (§ 130); but a woman, if only slanderously suspected of infidelity, was required to purge herself by the ordeal of throwing herself into the sacred river. The man, on the other hand, might have children by a concubine and suffer only the inconvenience of rearing the children (§ 137). If a man was taken captive, and there were means in his house to support his wife, she must remain true to him; if means were lacking, she was free to marry another (§ 133 f.). If she contracted such a marriage and bore children to her new husband and her former husband afterward gained his freedom and returned, she was bound to return to him, but the second husband retained his children (§ 135). If the husband's absence was due to desertion of his city, he had no claim on his wife on his return, if she had remarried (§ 136).

The Code assumes that marriages shall be monogamous, although it imposes on the father the duty of raising the children of his concubines. Nevertheless, it recognizes that in the case of women who had served as sacred servants in the temple (see HIERODOULOI [Semitic and Egyptian]), and had married late and were, accordingly, unlikely to bear children, and also in the case of wives who through sickness were rendered barren, he may take another (§§ 145–149). If the second wife is taken because of the chronic illness of the first, the first may, if she wishes, take her dowry and return to her father's house (§ 149). Slave concubinage was frequently practised, but a female slave who had borne her master children could not be sold (§§ 146 f., 171).

According to the Code, a man might divorce his wife, if he wished, but in that case he must make certain specified monetary settlements, which varied according to whether the wife had or had not borne him children (§ 137 f.). A woman might take the initiative in a divorce. If she did so, her husband could, if he wished, divorce her without alimony (§ 141). If the wife complained of ill-treatment, the life of the family was subjected to investigation. If her claim proved true, she could take her marriage portion and return to her father's house; if untrue, she was to be thrown into the river (§ 142 f.).

In the marriage contracts of the time of the Ist dynasty it appears that greater privileges of divorce were sometimes secured to the bride than the Code would have granted her. *E.g.*, a priest married, and his contract provided that, if he divorced his wife, he must return her dowry, and pay a half-*mana* as alimony.[1] Another contract, which seems to equalize the penalties for divorce, provides that, if the husband divorces the wife, he shall be driven out to the oxen of the palace; if she divorces him, she shall be driven to the carriage-house of the palace.[1] Another contract provides for a divorce on the part of the man by payment of the usual alimony; on the part of the wife, on pain of having her hair cut off and being sold for money.[2] The latter was a less severe penalty than being thrown into the river. In general, however, the penalties for initiating divorce imposed upon the wife in the marriage contracts are as severe as those of the Code, though not always identical. In one case the wife is to be thrown from a tower;[3] in another, impaled.[4] Nevertheless, the penalty most often imposed is that mentioned in the Code.[5] One marriage, concerning which two documents bear witness,[6] records the wedding of two sisters by one man, but provides that the older shall be the chief wife, and that the other shall perform for her certain specified duties.

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[1] Smith, *Kinship*^{2}, p. 84.

[2] Published by V. A. Nikolsky, *Documents of Economic Accounts from the more ancient Chaldæan Epoch* [Russian], Petrograd, 1908; H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques*, Paris, 1909; Allotte de la Fuye, *Documents présargoniques*, do. 1908–09; and M. I. Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum*, pt. i., Leipzig and Cambridge, U.S.A., 1912.

[3] See Nikolsky, no. 209, and *RAssyr* ix. [1912] 144 f.

[4] Cf. *KB* ii. 168 f.

[5] Cf. *ib.* i. 193.

[1] See *Bab. Exp. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania*, vi.^{2} [1909] 40.

From the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods several marriage contracts have come down to us.[7] The stipulations in them as to bride-price and dowry are in general the same as in those of the time of the Ist dynasty, but the conditions on which the parties may separate are generally omitted from the contracts of that period, although divorce did then occur.[8] In most of the marriage contracts the man acts for himself and arranges with the parents of the bride, though, if the husband is a minor, the parents make the arrangement for him. The bridegroom enjoyed in this respect more liberty of action than the bride. In Babylonia, as in the ceremony of the English Church, she had to be 'given away.'

We have no knowledge of ancient Babylonian marriage ceremonies further than that before marriage every woman had to act once as a temporary *hierodoulos* (see HIERODOULOI [Semitic and Egyptian], vol. vi. p. 674^{a}).

3. Hebrew.—In the story of Samson there are, as noted above, some faint traces of that early Semitic type of marriage in which the wife belonged to a hostile clan, lived with her people, and was visited by her husband for longer or shorter periods. The stories of the Patriarchs reflect various phases of matrimonial development. The marriage of Jacob to the daughters of Laban indicates a type of marriage in which the husband resides in the wife's clan and the children are counted to her family, for Laban says: 'The daughters are my daughters, and the sons are my sons' (Gn 31^{43}). Then Jacob broke away, and the children were counted to his stock. This narrative forms a transition from one system of kinship to the other. A number of survivals of the two matriarchal types of marriage just mentioned are found in the narratives of the OT; Shechem, *e.g.*, consented to circumcision to render himself acceptable to the clan of his proposed wife (Gn $34^{15f.}$). A number of instances also occur in which a son inherits his father's concubines: Ishbosheth regarded Saul's concubine as his own, and resented Abner's taking her (2 S 3^{7}); Solomon for the same reason regarded Adonijah's desire to marry Abishag as treason (1 K 2^{22}; cf. v.^{15}); Reuben was denounced for endeavouring to anticipate the inheritance of his father's concubine during his parent's lifetime (Gn 35^{22}). As noted above (§ 1), these are survivals of Semitic polyandrous marriages. Another survival was the levirate—a custom which required a brother to take the widow of a deceased brother and count the first fruit of the union as the child of the deceased (Dt $25^{5f.}$, Gn 38^{7-11}, Ru 3, 4). The influence of these early forms of marriage is also seen in the great liberty enjoyed by women of the early period (see 1 S 25^{16}, 2 K 4^{22}). In the stories of Abraham and Jacob the type of marriage is also reflected in which slave concubines may be given by a wife to a husband, for the sake of obtaining an offspring which the wife is unable to bear (see *Code of Ḥammurabi*, §§ 144, 146). The general type of marriage of which we have evidence in the Hebrew writings was, however, *ba'al* marriage, the regular Hebrew word for husband being *ba'al*, and that for a married women *bᵉ'ūlāh*, which means 'owned,' 'possessed.' Another evidence of this conception of marriage may be seen in Ex 20^{17}, where the wife is counted among a man's possessions. Among the poor, marriages were probably often monogamous, but there was no sentiment against polygamy, and it was often practised by the rich and powerful, as the large *ḥarīms* of David and Solomon abundantly show. Dt $21^{15f.}$ presupposes that a man will also often have two wives. The law of Ex 21^{7-11} takes it for granted that female slaves will become the concubines either of their owner or of his sons. A similar assumption underlies Dt 21^{10-14}.

The list of the degrees of kinship in which marriage was prohibited in Lv 18, 20, and Dt 27 belongs to the period of Judaism, which began with the Babylonian Exile. At no period were young people allowed to arrange matrimonial affairs for themselves; such arrangements were made by the parents (cf. Gn 21^{21} 24^{3} 28^{1} 34^{4} and Jg 14^{2}). Down to about 650 B.C. a man could divorce his wife without any formalities whatever (see Hos 3^{3} and 2 S 3^{14}). This liberty was somewhat modified by the Deuteronomic Code, which provides ($24^{1ff.}$) that, if a man wishes to divorce a wife, he must give her a written statement to that effect. It permits him to issue the divorce for any cause; she need only 'have found no favour in his eyes.' Apparently this law was designed to make divorce less easy than in earlier times, when no written statement was necessary; for, in an age when writing was not a usual accomplishment, it was quite an undertaking to get the document composed. In Judaism, however, this provision was held to justify frequent divorces.

The law of Deuteronomy permitted only the man to initiate divorce; it granted to the woman no corresponding power. It represents, no doubt, the usual custom among the Hebrews. One instance, however, is known in which a Hebrew bride secured by her marriage contract a similar liberty. Among the Jewish papyri discovered at Elephantine in Egypt a marriage contract was found, which contains this passage:

> 'If to-morrow or any later day Miphṭaḥyah shall stand up in the congregation and say, "I divorce As-Ḥor, my husband," the price of divorce shall be on her head. . . . If to-morrow or any later time As-Ḥor shall stand up in the congregation and say, "I divorce my wife, Miphṭaḥyah," her marriage settlement shall be forfeited,'[1] etc.

Whether other Jewish women at Elephantine were accustomed to gain this liberty by contract, or whether there were special reasons why it was secured to Miphṭaḥyah, we do not know, but in any event it is a significant modification of the OT status of women in such matters.

The Deuteronomic law defined two cases in which a man was for ever powerless to divorce a wife: if he had falsely charged his bride with not being a virgin, and if he had been forced to marry a woman whom he had violated (Dt 22$^{19f. 28f.}$).

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[1] *PSBA* xxix. [1907] 180 f.

[2] *Bab. Exp. of the Univ. of Pennsylvania*, vi.^{2} 48.

[3] *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, vi. 26^{a}.

[4] *Ib.* ii. 44.

[5] B. Meissner, *Zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 89, 90; *Cuneiform Texts*, viii. 7^{b}.

[6] *Cuneiform Texts*, ii. 44; Meissner, p. 89.

[7] See, *e.g.*, the cases cited in Kohler and Peiser, *Babylonisches Rechtsleben*, i. 7 f., ii. 7 f., iii. 10 f., iv. 11 f.

[8] See *Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*, Aldine ed., New York, 1901, p. 270 f.

[1] See A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assouan*, London, 1906, Papyrus G, l. 20 f. Papyrus C confirms the statement.

The penalties for adultery bore more heavily on the woman than on the man, the only cases where they were equal being when the crime was committed with the wife or betrothed of another; then both the man and the woman were to be stoned (Dt 22$^{22-27}$). The point of view was that adultery with a married woman was an offence against her husband's property (cf. art. ADULTERY [Semitic]). The wife was accordingly compelled to be faithful, but no similar fidelity was exacted of him. So long as he did not violate the honour of those who were really or prospectively the wives of others, he was not punished, except that, if he violated a maiden, he might be compelled to take her as an additional wife. The penalty imposed on a wife or a betrothed maiden for adultery seems in the earlier time to have been burning (Gn 38^{24}), but was later changed to stoning (Dt 22$^{13f. 23f.}$). If a woman was simply suspected of adultery, she was tried by ordeal (Nu 5$^{11-31}$). As the ordeal consisted, however, in drinking water into which holy dust from the sanctuary floor had been thrown, it must generally have resulted in the release of the accused woman. The frequent denunciation of adultery on the part of the prophets would indicate that the penalties were not well enforced and that it was of frequent occurrence (2 S 11 and Hos 3 afford specific instances in which the penalty was not enforced).

4. Arabian.—The early Arabian marriage customs have been sufficiently treated above (§ 1); it remains to note how these customs were affected by Islām. By the time of the Prophet *ba'al* marriage had apparently become the normal type, and polygamy prevailed among the rich. The husband had full power over the wife and could enforce his authority by beating her (Qur'ān, iv. 38). Some survivals of customs which belonged to the earlier time were, as noted above, condemned by the Prophet (iv. 26). Before the time of Muhammad no limit had been set to the number of wives a man might possess. In the interest of moderation, Muhammad ordained that legal wives should be not more than four, but that a man might also enjoy as concubines as many slaves as he was able to possess (iv. 3, 29). The Prophet himself was allowed as many as he wished (xxxiii. 49). Marriage with one's mother, daughters, sisters, paternal and maternal aunts, nieces, mother-in-law, step-daughters, and daughters-in-law was prohibited (iv. 27). Marriages with foreign women were permitted, if the women were believers (lx. 10). Adultery was a crime for a woman, but apparently not for a man. Before the time of the Prophet an adulteress had been literally immured,[1] but Muhammad changed this to imprisonment in the house of the wronged husband (iv. 19). A slave girl was to receive half the penalty of the married woman (iv. 30). Divorce of a wife, as among the Hebrews, was possible to the husband at will. Before the time of Muhammad, the formula of divorce consisted of this sentence, which the husband pronounced to the wife: 'Thou art to me as my mother's back!' After this had been pronounced over her, it was considered as unnatural to approach her as it was to approach a real mother,[2] and so it was regarded as wrong to re-marry a divorced wife. Muhammad called this 'backing away' from wives (lviii. 2). He declared, however, that the utterance of this formula did not constitute a real relationship, and so permitted a man to marry a wife whom he had divorced (xxxiii. 4). A man might not divorce a woman who was pregnant, or who was nursing a child (lxv. 4, 6), but apart from this condition a man and wife who did not agree might separate at any time (iv. 129), though liberal alimony was enjoined (iv. 24). It is assumed (xxxiii. 48) that men will frequently divorce their wives for mere whims after marriage, even before connubial relations have been established. Liberty of divorce has been freely exercised by the faithful both in ancient and in modern times.[1] Thus 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, married, including all that he married and divorced, more than two hundred women. Sometimes he included as many as four wives in one contract, and he would divorce four at one time and marry four others in their stead.[2] A certain Mughairah b. Sha'abah is said to have married eighty women in the course of his life,[3] and Muhammad al-Ṭayib, a dyer of Baghdād († 423 A.H.), is said to have married in all more than nine hundred women.[4] Palgrave relates that the Sultan of Qaṭar in E. Arabia married a new wife every month or fortnight, who was then divorced and placed on a pension.[5] C. M. Doughty tells how Zaid, his host, a petty shaikh, not only permitted his wife to be courted by another Arab, but offered to divorce her so that Doughty could marry her.[6]

Naturally a woman could not marry so many men, because she had not the right of divorce, and because she could have only one husband at a time; some of them, nevertheless, managed to have a surprising number. A certain Umm Kharijah of Yemen is said to have had upwards of forty husbands, and her son Kharijah did not know which one was his father.[7]

In parts of Arabia certain old marriage customs still survive in spite of Islām. Thus in Sunan and among the 'Asīr in S. Arabia marriage for a definite term still exists,[8] and a man who has a permanent wife may also take a temporary one. In Sunan the agreement is witnessed before the *qāḍī*, and so has the sanction of Islām. At the expiration of the contract, the couple may separate without the formality of a divorce; if they continue to live together, a new contract is necessary. Such marriages are still practised in Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage.[9] Marriage ceremonies among the Arabs vary greatly according to circumstances. Sometimes they consist of a feast,[10] sometimes of a civil contract before the *qāḍī*,[11] and sometimes there is no ceremony at all. The much married woman Umm Kharijah, mentioned above, is said to have reduced the contract to very simple terms. A man approached her and said to her, 'Betrothed?' and she replied, 'Married!' and was from that moment his lawful wife.[12]

5. Abyssinian.—Abyssinia is Christian, though its form of Christianity is the result of an arrested development. Marriages celebrated by the Church assume something of the permanent character of marriage in other Christian countries. Such marriages are solemnized by a priest, and the contracting parties partake of the Holy Communion. A candidate for holy orders is compelled to marry once, as in the Greek Church, but he cannot divorce his wife, and, if she dies, he may not marry again; one matrimonial venture alone is permitted to him.[13] Among the people religious marriages are not popular. All travellers agree that the Abyssinians prefer to be married by civil contract, as these

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[1] E. H. Palmer's *Qur'ān*, i.; *SBE* vi. [1900] 74, n. 1.

[2] Palmer, ii.; *SBE* ix. [1909] 138, n. 2.

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[1] See Wellhausen, *GGN*, 1893, p. 452 f.

[2] See Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, i. 318 f.

[3] *Ib.* [4] *Ib.* [5] ii. 232 f.

[6] *Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, i. 320 f.

[7] See Lane, i. 318 f.

[8] Wilken, *Het matriarchaat bij de oude Arabieren*, p. 18; Black and Chrystal, *Lectures and Essays of William Robertson Smith*, p. 586 f.

[9] C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, The Hague, 1888–89, ii. 5 f.

[10] See Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, ed. New York, 1908, i. 128.

[11] Cf. Wilken, *loc. cit.* [12] So Lane, *loc. cit.*

[13] See Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, p. 3 f.

marriages may be dissolved at the desire of either party to the contract. This liberty is freely exercised. Wives are changed at will, by mutual agreement, a man divorcing his own and marrying the wife divorced by another.[1] Divorces do not necessarily dissolve friendly relations between those who separate; Parkyns visited a man whose divorced wife and her children lived in the same compound with him and his new wife and family.[2] It frequently happens that those who have been divorced and have each married others divorce their second spouses and are again reunited. If the separating couple have children, the children are divided. The eldest son falls to the mother, the eldest daughter to the father; if there is only one son, he goes with the mother; and, similarly, one daughter goes with the father; if the remaining children are unequal in number, they are divided by lot.[3]

In addition to these irregularities, there is also much concubinage in Abyssinia, as in other Semitic countries. The levirate exists there, and its compulsion operates not only when a brother dies, but when, as so often happens in African wars, he is emasculated, so as to be incapable of begetting children.[4]

These peculiarities of Abyssinian matrimonial life are clearly a survival from early Semitic conditions, and Christianity has never been able to eradicate them.

When a man desires to marry a girl, he applies directly to her parents or nearest relatives; when their consent is obtained, and the dower arranged, the affair is considered settled, the girl being given no voice in the matter. Civil marriages are celebrated by feasts much as in other Semitic lands, the bridegroom and his friends feasting by themselves, and the bride and her friends by themselves. After a day of festivity, the bride is carried to the house of her husband, and the marriage is accomplished. This formality is observed no matter how many times the bride may have been married before.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been fully cited in the notes, but the principal works may be here recapitulated. C. J. M. Letourneau, *The Evolution of Marriage*, New York, n.d.; E. W. Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, London, 1841, i. 318 f.; G. A. Wilken, *Het matriarchaat bij de oude Arabieren*, Amsterdam, 1884; J. Wellhausen, in *GGN*, 1893, pp. 435–480; W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*², London, 1903; F. Buhl, *Die socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten*, Berlin, 1899; G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious*, New York, 1902, ch. ii.; I. Benzinger, 'Marriage,' in *EBi* iii. 2942–2951; W. P. Paterson, 'Marriage,' in *HDB*, iii. 262–277; J. F. McLaughlin, 'Marriage,' in *JE* viii. 335 ff.; C. W. Emmet, 'Marriage,' in *SDB*, pp. 583–587; J. Kohler and F. E. Peiser, *Babylonisches Rechtsleben*, Leipzig, 1890–98; J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, do. 1904–10, iii. 4–8; M. Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, do. 1913, pp. 5–16; J. S. Black and G. Chrystal, *Lectures and Essays of William Robertson Smith*, London, 1912, p. 586 f.; J. C. Hotten, *Abyssinia and its People*, do. 1868, pp. 41 f., 45 f., 50; W. Winstanley, *A Visit to Abyssinia*, do. 1881, ii. 75 f.; J. T. Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, do. 1893, pp. 31–36; A. B. Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia*, do. 1901, pp. 161, 254.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

MARRIAGE (Slavic).—As early as the pagan period the family life of the Slavs was regulated by legal marriages, which were concluded in a solemn manner. Like other nations, the ancient Slavs had two forms of marriage: marriage by capture of a girl belonging to another family or tribe, and marriage by purchase. In the Christian period only the latter was sanctioned by the Church as a more civilized and noble form of marriage, whereas marriage by capture was prohibited and gradually disappeared. Nevertheless, a series of traditions and observances which visibly reflect traces of the old form of marriage by capture is preserved in the wedding ceremony. To these customs belongs, *e.g.*, that of stopping the bridegroom on his way to the house of his bride and that of shutting the door before the bridegroom and hiding the bride; and here may also be mentioned the habit of presenting a false bride to the bridegroom. In S. Russia the wedding-guests engage in symbolical fights, which may rightly be deemed a survival of the ancient marriage by capture. The companions of the bridegroom violently attack the house where the bride lives, while her kinsfolk defend it and repel the aggressors, but at last the two parties put an end to the hostilities and restore harmony by a peaceful negotiation. The Southern Slavs (the Jugoslavs) have preserved the custom of marriage by capture to the present time, and, where this form of marriage has died away, symbolical traditions have taken its place.

The wedding ceremonies celebrated by the different Slavic nations vary widely, but it is possible to discover in them some fundamental traits which are common to all Slavs, and which may be regarded as a survival of ancient times, while their antiquity is also confirmed by their accordance with the chief type of Indo-European wedding ceremony, as reconstructed by H. Hirt and O. Schrader.[1] Among all the Slavic peoples the first preliminaries to the ceremony proper are the 'wooing' and the marriage contract. The deputies of the bridegroom (*družba, svat, starosta, djever*, etc.) negotiate with the bride's father concerning the conditions of the marriage and arrange the precise date for the wedding ceremony. The ceremony begins with the crowning of the bride with a wreath variously arranged and more or less ornate; the bride and the bridegroom shake hands as a mark of their mutual consent, and pass three times round the table or the hearth. Thus the nuptial knot is formally tied, and the pair give each other various presents of symbolical meaning (rings, apples, wedding-shirts, etc.). Afterwards the bride is veiled and conducted in solemn procession to the house of the bridegroom, where a hearty reception is given her, and bread and honey are distributed among the guests, who cast upon the bride various fruits, such as corn, millet, peas, nuts, hops, rice (nowadays sweets), etc., to express their wish that she may bear many children. A similar meaning underlies the custom practised by some Slavic peoples of placing a child in the bride's lap when she arrives at her new home. It is customary, when she reaches the door of the bridegroom's house, to carry her over the threshold and to place her upon a fur, the hair of which is turned upwards. One of the most significant gifts which the wedding-guests bring to the couple is a cock and a black hen. In S. Russia the bride throws such a hen under the hearth, probably as a sacrifice for the domestic genii. A very important place in the wedding pastry is occupied by a large wheat cake, decorated with eggs, flowers, ribbons, and sweets, which is cut in pieces at the wedding feast and distributed among the guests. To the symbolic nuptial ceremonies belong, further, the untwisting or cutting of the bride's plaits and the covering of her hair with a cap-like scarf. There was a rule among the Slavs—which is still, for the most part, observed—which obliged unmarried women, for the sake of distinction, to wear their hair in long, loose plaits, while married women wore a cap. The bride's entrance upon the status of a married woman was symbolized by the ceremony just mentioned, which was performed in a closed room by the women present. Then the bride used to unloose the shoes of her bridegroom to show her submission (sometimes she even received symbolical blows), and, after being clothed in new garments by the women and the 'best man,' she went to bed with her husband in the presence of the witnesses. After the nuptial night purification was performed in a clear stream or at a well; later on, this procedure was reduced to a mere sprinkling with water.

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[1] See Hotten, *Abyssinia and its People*, pp. 41, 45 f., 50; Winstanley, *A Visit to Abyssinia*, ii. 73 f.; Bent, p. 31 f.; and Wylde, *Modern Abyssinia*, pp. 161, 254.

[2] M. Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, New York, 1854, p. 272 f.

[3] Hotten, p. 41.

[4] Letourneau, p. 265.

[1] H. Hirt, *Indogermanen*, pp. 436–447; O. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 353–362, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgesch.*³, ii. 318–322, 333–335.

Besides these chief and almost fundamental ceremonies, the various Slavic peoples have other customs connected with the popular wedding, the details of which cannot be described at full length in this article. It is interesting, however, to notice that for a long time the people attached far greater importance to these domestic wedding ceremonies than to the rites prescribed by the Church. Historical documents testify that, even in the 16th and 17th centuries, not only the common people but also the more cultured classes regarded the ecclesiastical ceremony as a purely religious act without any legal significance. A marriage became legal only after the precise performance of all prescribed observances inherited from the ancestors and consecrated by the family tradition; and this conviction is still to be found among some of the Slavic nations.

LITERATURE.—G. Krek, *Einleitung in die slav. Literaturgesch.*^{2}, Graz, 1887, pp. 196–198, 363; F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, Vienna, 1885, pp. 331–465; O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgesch.*^{3}, Jena, 1906–07, ii. 322-332. All these contain references to works in Slavic languages, as does also H. Hirt, *Indogermanen*, Strassburg, 1905–07, p. 711 f. See, further, art. FAMILY (Teutonic and Balto-Slavic), § i, vol. v. p. 750.

J. MÁCHAL.

MARTINEAU.—James Martineau (1805–1900) was born in Norwich, April 21, 1805, the fourth son and seventh child of Thomas Martineau, a manufacturer of bombazine. Of Huguenot ancestry, he was also descended through his father's mother from John Meadows, one of the ejected ministers of 1662. After four years at the Norwich Grammar School he was placed under the care of Dr. Lant Carpenter at Bristol (1819–21), to whom he owed his 'spiritual rebirth.' His teacher was a pioneer in education, and combined instruction in the elements of science as well as psychology and moral philosophy with classical and mathematical training. Thus equipped, he was placed in machine-works at Derby, but relinquished his apprenticeship after a year (partly under the shock of a bereavement which 'turned him from an engineer into an evangelist' [speech at Nottingham, 1876; Carpenter, *James Martineau*, p. 24]), and in 1822 he entered Manchester College, York, as a student for the ministry. He had been brought up in the Unitarian theology of Priestley, and embraced his necessitarian pantheism with ardour, though at Bristol he had read Wilberforce and Hannah More, and was not without occasional misgivings concerning the freedom of the will. On the completion of his College course he took charge of Dr. Carpenter's school for a year (1827–28), and, after a short period of ministerial service in Dublin (1828–32), terminated through his refusal of the endowment known as the Regium Donum, he began his longest pastorate in Liverpool (1832–57). In 1840 he undertook the additional duty of Professor of Philosophy and Political Economy in Manchester New College, on its return from York to the city of its foundation. During the erection of the Hope St. Church by his congregation (1848–49) he spent fifteen months with his family in Germany, returning to resume his ministry. The transference of the College to London led to his settlement there in 1857, and from 1859 he also ministered in Little Portland St. Chapel till 1872, when a threatened failure of health led to his retirement. In the meantime he had succeeded to the Principalship of the College in 1869, which he held till June 1885.

For more than fifty years he had been actively engaged in literary work of many kinds. To the religious denomination of his birth and education he gave unstinted service, and his was the chief influence in transforming its fundamental theological conceptions, while in the wider field of philosophy he was the powerful antagonist of the empiricism and utilitarianism of the Mills, the monism of Spinoza, scientific materialism, and the agnostic philosophy of Spencer.

The Unitarians of Martineau's youth followed the tradition of Locke. Accepting the NT as the final authority in Christian doctrine, they recognized Jesus Christ as the Messiah, whose teachings were authenticated by miracles. To this interpretation Martineau remained faithful till after 1832. But further study of the Gospels confronted him with the predictions which implied the return of Jesus in the lifetime of His disciples to judge the world, and this begot an investigation into the significance of revelation which led him to declare in his first work, *The Rationale of Religious Inquiry* (1836), that 'no seeming inspiration can establish anything contrary to reason, that the last appeal in all researches into religious truth must be the judgments of the human mind' (p. 125). To work out this principle was to be one of the main occupations of his life. He followed the progress of German critical study; he was familiar with Paulus and Strauss; he adopted the general results of the Tübingen school, and became their earliest and most accomplished English exponent ('The Creed and Heresies of Early Christianity,' *Westminster Review*, 1853). By 1845 he had abandoned the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and in the third edition of the *Rationale* (1845) he ceased to demand belief in the gospel miracles as essential for the Christian name. In the *Prospective Review* (1845–54) and its successor, the *National Review* (1855–64), he secured an organ for his theological and philosophical essays, while others not less brilliant appeared in the *Westminster*. Indefatigable in study, a constant teacher of the young, he devoted long courses of lectures to the exposition of the NT and the history of Christian doctrines, and in his last large treatise, *The Seat of Authority in Religion* (1890), he returned to his earliest theme. He re-examined the claims of the Roman Catholic Church, the infallibility of the Bible, and the historical significance of Christianity, and presented Jesus no longer as the Jewish Messiah, but as the 'prince of Saints,' revealing the highest possibilities of the soul. Looking back at ninety (1895), he wrote to William Knight:

> 'The substitution of Religion at *first-hand*, straight out of the immediate interaction between the soul and God, for religion at *second-hand*, fetched, by copying, out of anonymous traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean eighteen centuries ago, has been the really directing, though hardly conscious aim of my responsible years of life' (Carpenter, p. 540).

Martineau thus remained to the last a Unitarian in his interpretation of the Deity, and a Christian in his allegiance to Jesus Christ. But his position was often misunderstood, partly because of his sympathy with many aspects of traditional devotion, and partly because of his steadfast refusal to belong to a Unitarian *Church*. This was due to the discovery of the real nature of the foundation on which the majority of chapels occupied by Unitarians were held. Some of these had been founded in the 17th cent., others in the 18th, by the English Presbyterians, who, under the leadership of Baxter, had stood for 'catholicism against all parties,' and repudiated creeds of 'human imposition.' In dedicating their chapels 'for the worship of God by Protestant Dissenters' (sometimes specified as Presbyterians, sometimes as

Independents, sometimes as both together), they deliberately rejected all limiting doctrinal names. By slow processes of Scripture study many ministers and congregations gradually became Unitarian in theology. Attention was at length called to this issue, and a suit was instituted against the trustees of a charity in York founded by Lady Hewley, whose husband, Sir John Hewley (M.P. for York in the reign of Charles II.), had been a warm supporter of the Presbyterians. The decision (December 1833), which displaced the Unitarian trustees, was at once seen to imperil the tenure of all the chapels of similar foundation; and after long litigation the existing worshippers were secured in possession only by the Dissenters' Chapels Act (1844). The controversy had a lifelong effect on Martineau's views of the true basis of Church union. To the association of individuals for the promotion of Unitarian teaching he remained constant all his life. But he could not accept a theological name as a condition for religious fellowship. It was inevitably exclusive instead of catholic; it seemed to involve treachery to his spiritual ancestors; it barred the way to those very possibilities of change which had been the secret of the Unitarian advance. Deeply conscious of indebtedness to various schools of religious life, Martineau endeavoured (1868) to form a Free Christian Union, which was joined by representative men of every British Church, but was disbanded two years later. Subsequently he worked out a scheme for 'the National Church as a Federal Union' (*CR* li. [1887] 408 ff.), which proposed to abolish the Act of Uniformity, to release the Church of England from State control, and associate it with the other communions in a United English Christian Church. The plan aroused considerable academic interest, but the Bill in which it was embodied was never actually laid before Parliament.

From the time of his settlement in Liverpool, Martineau had been continuously engaged in teaching and writing, and his intercourse with the young was a prominent cause of the changed view of the moral consciousness which led to the reconstruction of his philosophy. Trained in the pantheistic necessitarianism of Priestley, he had lived under a habitual tension of obligation without realizing its significance. Many influences now contributed to give it new meaning. Wordsworth had long been his favourite poet; Plato called forth his admiration for 'the fair and good'; Coleridge and Carlyle revealed unsuspected deeps of thought and passion in human nature; Channing emphasized its freedom and dignity. In reviewing Bentham's 'Deontology' (*Monthly Repository*, 1834), while still placing the 'criterion of right' in the 'tendency of an action to promote the happiness of an agent,' he laid stress, against Bentham, on the reality and worth of the disinterested affections, and prepared the way for a wholly new set of moral values. The questions of his pupils, his persistent NT studies, and the hymns of the Wesleys opened new aspects of the inner life; and in the lecture on 'Moral Evil' in the Liverpool Controversy (1839) he formally abandoned the determinism of his youth. The change involved many modifications. He ceased to regard revelation as 'communicated truth'; it was effected through character; its organ was the conscience and the affections; its supreme historic type was seen in Christ as the image of the Father.

Reinforced by his reading of Kant, and in opposition on the one hand to the 'association' philosophy of James Mill, and on the other to the monistic schemes of Spinoza and Hegel, Martineau began to work out his new analysis of man's moral nature. The sphere of judgment was transferred from consequences without to springs of action within. In this inner world lay a multitude of appetites and energies, which were not all of equal rank. When they were examined side by side, some revealed themselves as higher, while others fell into a lower place; and this distinction of rank was irresolvable into any other element such as order, truth, beauty, sympathy, or reason. All moral estimates, therefore, were *preferential*; there was always an alternative before the mind, and the power to recognize these diverse values lay with conscience, which pronounced this better and that worse. This view was first expounded in the *Prospective* (1845), in an essay on Whewell's 'Elements of Morality,' and led to the definition: 'Every action is *right* which, in the presence of a lower principle, follows a higher; every action is wrong which, in the presence of a higher principle, follows a lower' (*Essays*, iii. 352). The year before, during a visit to Liverpool, Mrs. Carlyle had described Martineau as 'the victim of conscience.' He was to become the greatest English moralist since Butler. Here was the witness of Deity within; here the access of the soul to divine things; here the true ground for the conception which he was afterwards to define as 'the perennial Indwelling of God in Man and in the Universe.' Alongside this view of man's ethical constitution ran an exposition of our knowledge of the external world (in a review of J. D. Morell's *Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1846, in *Prospective*, 1846): 'The act of Perception gives us simultaneous knowledge of subject and object' (p. 562). Again and again in subsequent essays Martineau vindicated this 'natural dualism' against idealism on the one hand and pantheism on the other, and vigorously defended the veracity of our faculties. But perception involved more than passive consciousness; it was evoked by resistance and the effort needed to overcome it; besides the space-relation of the I and the not-I, a cause-relation was revealed in the same antithesis. In the strenuous conviction of personality which he derived from his ethical experience, Martineau found the true meaning of cause; its seat was in the personal power of the will, and this he boldly applied to the interpretation of the surrounding scene. The 'not-self' must be comprehended personally; its varied energies were but the manifestations of one living Will. Science, by the rising doctrine of the correlation of forces, might point to their ultimate identity. Martineau entrenched himself securely in his prophetic recognition of the part played by the same energy in the constitution of human nature. The relation of the soul to God was a moral relation. Known in the conscience, He was one; the manifoldness of the world, therefore, was only the veil of a hidden unity; and the foundations of theism were thus laid on the conception of God as cause of the universe and revealer of righteousness in man.

Such was the general scheme of the philosophy of religion which Martineau worked out with rich elaboration in the next forty years. His sojourn in Germany and his renewed studies in Plato and Hegel gave him a securer hold of great ontological conceptions. He described it afterwards as 'a new intellectual birth.' But he remained faithful to the English tradition of psychological method, and slowly built up the fabric of thought on the basis of self-knowledge. Again and again he sought to construct a table of the springs of action in the order of their relative worth. This was finally embodied in the first of his three large treatises, *Types of Ethical Theory* (2 vols., 1885). After reviewing 'unpsychological theories,' transcendental (Plato), immanental (Descartes, Malebranche, Spinoza), and physical (Comte), he expounded (vol. ii.) his own interpretation of the nature of moral authority. This involved a classification of the propensions, passions, affections, and sentiments, and an arrangement of them in a scale of values. The scheme thus wrought out of human experience was then contrasted with the hedonist ethics of the older utilitarians, and the modifications introduced by the idea of evolution. In emphasizing 'Hitches in the Evolutionary Deduction' he denied that laws of matter and motion could explain the genesis of consciousness, while the feeling of moral right and freedom involved another point of fresh departure. The section on 'Conscience developed into Social Consensus and Religion' further supplied hints which modified the stress of individualism in some of his earlier writings.

The stream of Essays had ceased for some years after the suspension of the *National Review* (1864); but an important address on *Religion as affected by Modern Materialism* (1874), suggested by John Tyndall's discourse to the British Association at Belfast, and its sequel, *Modern Materialism: its Attitude towards Theology* (1876), brought Martineau again prominently into the field of philosophical discussion. Two other addresses, *Ideal Substitutes for God* (1879) and *The Relation between Ethics and Religion* (1881), belonged to the period in which he was slowly completing the treatise modestly entitled *A Study of Religion* (2 vols., 1888). It opened with an investigation of the limits of human intelligence, a fresh defence of 'natural realism,' a plea for the objective reality of space and time, a reply to the empirical doctrine that we know nothing but phenomena, and a refutation of the agnosticism of Spencer. God had been presented at the outset as a 'divine Mind and Will ruling the Universe and holding Moral relations with mankind' (vol. i. p. 1); and the bases of theism in the doctrine of His sole causation in the natural order and His perfection in the moral order were re-established and supported with fresh illustration. The teleological conceptions which had been discarded in earlier revolt against Paley were now revived on a far wider scale, and the presence of rational ends was displayed with varied scientific knowledge in the vast process of evolution. Assuming the results of his analysis of human nature in the previous treatise, Martineau then argued that the principle of obligation implied the presence within us of a moral order in which God was disclosed as transcendently holy. The intelligent Purpose and the righteous Will were then identified; the place of pain and sin under such a rule was defined; and the theodicy concluded with a refutation of pantheism and a defence of human freedom. A final book carried the argument up to 'the Life to come.'

Martineau's last word on the grounds of belief and their illustration in the NT was uttered in *The Seat of Authority in Religion* already cited, in which the origins of Christianity were expounded with remarkable force and daring (1890). The work was less technical than its predecessors, and appealed to the wide circle of those who had found invaluable help in the author's devotional writings. In the *Endeavours after the Christian Life* (2 vols., 1843–47) he had unfolded secrets of personal religion and moral experience in language often of lyrical poignancy. Successive collections of hymns (1831, 1840, 1874) testified to his deep sympathy with many types of Christian devotion. Later series of *Hours of Thought on Sacred Things* (1876, 1879) carried on the application of his thought to the varied incidents of the human lot. A small book of *Home Prayers* was issued (1891) in response to the urgency of many friends, and in four volumes of *Essays, Reviews, and Addresses* (1890–91) he gathered up those of his detached writings which he wished to preserve. Even their wide range, over history, science, and philosophy, does not exhaust the whole scope of his productiveness, which included political economy and psychology. In the theological timidity and the ecclesiastical strife of the early Victorian era he stood forth (often alone) as the fearless advocate of the principle of religious freedom. Later years brought unsought appreciation. Gladstone designated him as 'the greatest of living thinkers'; and a younger philosopher (A. Seth Pringle-Pattison, *HJ* i. [1903] 444) aptly fixed the character of his service to his age by describing him as 'an ideal champion of the spiritual view of the world in a time of transition and intellectual insecurity.'

LITERATURE.—Besides the works already named, some of Martineau's earlier writings were collected by American friends in *Miscellanies*, Cambridge, Mass., 1852, *Studies of Christianity*, London, 1858, and *Essays Philosophical and Theological*, 2 vols., do. 1883. We may also name his Lectures in the Liverpool Controversy (1839), *A Study of Spinoza*, do. 1882, and *National Duties and other Sermons and Addresses*, do. 1903. See, further, A. W. Jackson, *James Martineau, a Biography and a Study*, do. 1900; J. Drummond and C. B. Upton, *The Life and Letters of James Martineau*, 2 vols., do. 1902; J. E. Carpenter, *James Martineau, Theologian and Teacher*, do. 1905.

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

MARTYRS.—See SAINTS AND MARTYRS.

MARY.—The following article, dealing with the cult of the Virgin Mary, starts from the Scriptural and orthodox positions (1) that our Lord Jesus Christ, being the eternal Son of God, became man, being conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary; and (2) that, inasmuch as He is thus God and man in two distinct natures and one person for ever, so is she, His mother, truly and properly described as Theotokos and Virgo Deipara—the Mother or Bringer-forth of Our Lord and God, who was God when He issued from her virgin womb, wearing the manhood which of her substance had been prepared for Him, which He had taken to Himself, which He carried with Him to the Cross, which He raised in spiritual glory from the tomb, which He wears for ever at the right hand of the Majesty on high. These things are part of the faith of the whole Catholic Church; they are treated here as historical facts.

Another matter which, though Scripture is silent upon it, unquestionably exercised a powerful influence on the development of the cult of the Virgin Mary, is assumed in this article in accordance with the view of overwhelmingly the larger part of Christendom, viz. her perpetual virginity: 'virgo concepit, virgo peperit, virgo permansit.' With the general question of the Invocation of Saints, and the merits or demerits of that practice, this article is not concerned.

The only questions, therefore, to be here discussed concern the implications of these facts. We shall inquire historically (1) what was inferred from them in the Apostolic and early ages of the Church as to the duty of Christians towards the Virgin Mother of the Lord; (2) when and how the wide-spread developments of her cult arose; and (3) the grounds on which these developments have been justified, or are rejected, by those who accept the facts.

1. In Holy Scripture.—Over and above the witness borne by the four Evangelists to our Lord's having a human mother (Mk 3^{31}, Jn 2^{1-5} 6^{42}) whose name was Mary (Mk 6^{3}), and the direct statements of two of them (Mt 1^{20}, Lk $1^{27.34}$) that she was a pure virgin when by the power of the Holy Ghost she conceived and bore our Saviour, we have in the third Evangelist several notes expressive of the high reverence and honour due to her. St.

Luke records the angelic salutation, 'Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee' (1^{28}); and the angelic assurance, 'Thou hast found favour with God' (1^{30}). He makes it plain that she was the moral, and not simply the physical, instrument of the Incarnation; he brings out her wonderful faith, believing in God's power, seeking no sign, though she gets one, and asking only what course the divine call may require her to adopt (1^{34}); his narrative evinces her conscious risking 'the reproach among men with which the poor Jews still blaspheme her Son and revile herself' (Pusey, *Eirenicon*, ii. 25); and he records how 'Elizabeth, filled with the Holy Ghost,' saluted her, 'Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb. And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come to me? . . . And blessed is she that believed' (1^{42-45}). Mary herself, in her inspired song, while acknowledging that God is her Saviour too, expects from 'all generations' a like honour to that which Elizabeth had assigned her, and speaks of 'the great things' that God had done for her ($1^{48f.}$).

Yet, while the NT thus justifies the Church's instinct of loving and reverential gratitude to the Holy Mother of the Lord, and authorizes the naming of her with lofty titles, it presents us with not one instance of her influence with Christ being invoked either in her lifetime or after her departure. At Cana, when she does interpose, she is bidden wait His time; and her advice to those whom she is sure that He will help is, 'Whatsoever *He* saith unto you, do it' (Jn $2^{4.5}$). When, on another occasion, she 'sent unto him, calling him,' He apparently did not go, but answered, 'Whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is . . . my mother' (Mk 3^{31-35}, Lk $8^{20f.}$). When a woman exclaimed, 'Blessed is the womb that bare thee,' He replied, 'Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it' (Lk $11^{27.28}$). He does not imply, of course, that Mary had not these graces—they were conspicuous in her; but He certainly puts the moral virtue higher than even her unique privilege. And when, from the Cross, He commends her to St. John saying, 'Behold, thy mother,' and him to her, 'Behold, thy son,' while to have her with him in 'his own home' (Jn $19^{26f.}$) was doubtless a precious legacy to the theologian apostle, yet the obvious meaning of our Saviour's words was rather that St. John should take care of her than that she should be his protectress (R. Stier, *The Words of the Lord Jesus*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1855–58, vii. 467 ff., on Jn $19^{26.27}$). There is certainly no evidence in St. John or elsewhere in the NT that he, or any other, so much as thought of her being established as a mother to pity all Christians, and help them in their approach to Christ. On the other hand, to expound the passage, as some Protestant writers (even Stier, *loc. cit.*) have not hesitated to do, as an intimation that all Christ's earthly relationships—even Mary's to Him as His mother—ceased and determined by His death is to come perilously near the denial of His abiding manhood whereby, as our High Priest within the veil, He is still 'touched with the feeling of our infirmities' (He 4^{15}). A sufficient explanation of our Lord's neither calling her here His mother nor naming either St. John or her is supplied when we take it as an instance of His considerateness: had He betrayed the relationship, those who mocked at Him would not have been slow to insult her; and the newly re-awakened courage of the disciple might have again been shaken by the utterance of their names.

The only other notices of Mary in the NT are (1) the mention of her by St. Luke (Ac 1^{14}) in the place of honour as the first, and only one named, among the Christian women, and as still, after the Ascension, 'the mother of Jesus'; (2) the reference to her by St. Paul (Gal 4^{4}) as 'a woman'—an obvious allusion to the Protevangelium (Gn 3^{15}); and (3) St. John's taking from her experiences certain features for his prophetic portrait of the Church as the sun-clothed woman (Rev 12).

2. In the first three centuries.—The Christian literature of this period keeps in regard to Mary strictly to the lines of the NT. References to her are sparse; and these, though distinct as to her being the Virgin Mother of the Lord and therefore to be honoured, give no suggestion of aught that could be called a cult of her. Polycarp's short Epistle does not contain her name; but in his *Life* by Pionius there is this:

> 'He, according to the prophecy, . . . being born of an undefiled and spotless virgin' (xiii.).

In the *Apology* of Aristides she is simply 'a Hebrew virgin.' Ignatius, in the short recension of his seven Epistles (here regarded as genuine), is fuller.

> He tells (*ad Ephes.* xix.) how the virginity of Mary deceived the Deceiver; that 'hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her childbearing . . . mysteries wrought in the silence of God, now to be cried aloud'; he adores our Saviour, 'Son of Mary and Son of God'; and he insists (*ad Trall.* ix. f.) that His birth of her demonstrates against the Docetists that His flesh is a reality and no semblance; but the correspondence between Ignatius and the Virgin is a Latin forgery, which never existed in the Greek, and is based on the saint's use of the word χριστοφόρος.

Justin Martyr (*Dial. cum Tryph.* c.) and Irenæus speak of her as does the Puritan Milton, as 'the second Eve.'

> 'The knot of Eve's disobedience was loosed by the obedience of Mary; for what the Virgin Eve had bound fast through unbelief that did the Virgin Mary set free through faith' (Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* III. xxii. 4). And again he dwells on the moral side of her part in the Incarnation: 'Mary, having a man betrothed to her and being nevertheless a virgin, by yielding obedience became the cause of salvation to herself and to the whole human race' (*ib.*).

If, however, we find Irenæus, in the barbarous Latin version of his works, calling Mary the 'advocata' of Eve, we shall do well to remember that his Greek had, apparently, *συνήγορος*, which implies not advocacy in our sense, but rebuke. Origen supplies one of the only two places in the Fathers where the words of our Lord from the Cross to her and to St. John have the least appearance of ascribing to her a permanent office for Christians.

> 'Seeing that, according to those who think soundly of her, Mary had no other son save Jesus; and that Jesus said to her, "Behold, thy son," therefore those in whom Christ lives are sons of Mary' (*in Joan.* i. 6).

But does this go further than Christ's own, 'Behold, my mother and my brethren' (Mt 12^{49}, Mk 3^{34})? Both Origen and Tertullian, like Ignatius before them, draw from her motherhood of Christ arguments against Gnostic or Docetic heresy. Yet even of the Gnostics — so strong already was the Church's faith in the Virgin-birth of the Redeemer—several were constrained to admit the fact, while others, allowing that He issued from her womb, protested that He drew nothing from her substance.

If any cult of the Virgin existed in these early centuries, it is in the records of the Church's worship at the time that we should expect to find it, rather than in the treatises of divines or the apologies of the defenders of the faith. But such accounts of the Church service of the period as have come down to us exhibit precisely the same features as do the writings of the ante-Nicene Fathers. No mention of Mary's name, no reference to her, occurs in the notices of Holy Communion in the NT; nor in the liturgical thanksgiving in the 1st Epistle of St. Clement of Rome; nor in the *Didache*; nor in Justin Martyr's or Tertullian's account of the Eucharistic service. The only place where an invocation of St. Mary could come in is at the Commemoration of Martyrs and the Commemoration of the Departed; and on this all that St. Cyprian has to say is:

'Ecclesiastical discipline teaches, as the faithful know, that at the point where the martyrs are named at the altar of God, there they are not prayed for; but for others who are commemorated prayer is offered' (*Epp.* i. [*Opera*, Oxford, 1682, p. 8]).

There is no direct evidence that among 'the martyrs' the Virgin was so much as mentioned.

The one thing in these centuries that points in the direction of any cult of her in the Church is the appearance, somewhere in the 2nd cent., of an apocryphal *Evangelium Jacobi*, which was very popular and became the basis of two later works, *Liber de Infantia Mariæ et Christi Salvatoris* and *Evangelium de Nativitate Mariæ*. It is from these that the 'traditional' names of her parents, Joachim and Anna, have been derived, and the story of Mary's nurture in the Temple from her third to her twelfth year. These books, if they were not genuine, at least met a growing and significant demand, which was not checked by their condemnation as heretical in the earliest papal *index expurgatorius* attributed to Pope Gelasius (A.D. 492–496).

3. During the period of the four great councils (A.D. 325–451).—With the conversion of Constantine Christianity became fashionable, and, as Newman puts it, the spirit of the world was poured into the Church (*The Arians of the Fourth Century*, London, 1876, p. 258). The leaders of the faithful had to raise their standard against an inrush at once of pagan sensuality and of heresies born of pagan conceptions of the Godhead. It is among the latter that we find the earliest notice in Christian history of an actual worship of St. Mary. Epiphanius reckons it a heresy (*Hær.* lxxix.) that 'certain women in Thrace, Scythia, and Arabia' were in the habit of adoring the Virgin as a goddess and offering to her a certain kind of cake (κολλυρίδα τινά), whence he calls them 'Collyridians.' Their practice (cf. Jer 44^{19}) and the notion underlying it were undoubtedly relics of heathenism always familiar with female deities. Epiphanius rebukes them:

'Let Mary be had in honour, but let the Lord be worshipped' (*Hær.* lxxix. 9).

'Honour to Mary' was inevitably augmented by the Church's answer (true and necessary as that answer was) to the much more formidable heresy of Arius. Arianism, stumbling at the awful mystery of the Word made flesh (Jn 1^{14}), and chiming in with the old pagan conceptions of gods older and younger, greater and less, presented to men the Eternal Son as only the first of creatures. It did not deny that Christ was born of the Virgin, but, by denying that He who issued from her womb was personally God, it lowered the greatness and the glory of her motherhood. It is not so much, however, in the interests of her dignity as for the utterance of the full truth concerning Christ that the orthodox theologians of this period are accustomed to refer to her. This holds of them all—of Cyril of Alexandria as well as of Athanasius, Basil, and the Gregorys, of Ambrose and Augustine as well as of Leo. It was in this connexion that Athanasius had spoken of her as θεοτόκος long before the Nestorian preacher shocked the congregation of St. Sophia by refusing her the title.

Athanasius gave it her because 'from the flesh of holy Mary the Son of God by essence and nature did proceed. . . . How can they wish to be called Christians who assert that the Word descended on a holy man as upon one of the prophets, and deny that He Himself became Man, taking the body from Mary?' (*Ep.* lix. 'ad Epict.' 2); and, again, because, 'when He was descending to us, He fashioned His body for Himself from a Virgin, thus to afford to all no small proof of His Godhead, in that He who formed this is also Maker of everything else as well' (*de Incarn. Verbi*, xviii.).[1]

In like manner, Gregory of Nyssa, 'Have any of ourselves dared to say "Mother of Man" of that most holy Virgin the Mother of God?' (*Ep.* xix.); and Ambrose, 'Talis decet partus Deum' (*Hymn* iv. 'de Adventu Domini' [*PL* xvi. 1474]). Cyril of Jerusalem, with equal force, uses Christ's birth of Mary as demonstrating the companion truth of His real manhood.

'Believe that this Only-Begotten Son of God . . . was begotten of the holy Virgin by the Holy Ghost, and was made Man, not in seeming and mere show, but in truth; nor yet by passing through a channel, but truly of her made flesh. . . . If the Incarnation was a phantom, salvation is a phantom too' (*Cat. Lect.* iv. 9).

All the heresies, we may say, of this period were, in one form or another, denials of the Incarnation; they all fixed men's thoughts on the question propounded by our Lord Himself, 'What think ye of the Christ? whose son is he?' (Mt 22^{42}). It was impossible for the Church to refute any of them without speaking, as of God His Father, so of the Virgin Mary His Mother—to reply to Macedonianism, with its denial of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost who overshadowed her (Lk 1^{35}); to Apollinarianism, which, refusing to Christ a human soul, cut off from His sacred heart its thousandfold return of her love; and then to Nestorianism, which, dissolving the unity of Christ's Person, by one and the same stroke reduced the Saviour from being Himself the Word incarnate to a man in close association with the Word, and made Mary the mother only of a human infant. All these errors helped to burn in upon the mind of the Christians of that age the truth which E. B. Pusey tells us so

'startled him in his young days when first it flashed upon him that it must be true, that one of our nature, which is the last and lowest of God's rational creation was raised to a nearness to Almighty God above all the choirs of angels. . . . Yet it was self-evident, as soon as stated, that she of whom Christ deigned to take His human flesh was brought to a nearness to Himself above all created beings; that she stood single and alone in all creation or all possible creations, in that in her womb He who in His Godhead is consubstantial with the Father, deigned, as to His Human Body, to become consubstantial with her' (*Eirenicon*, ii. 24).

It is no creature-worship; it is the sense of this tremendous fact brought home to a heart inflamed with the love of the Incarnate Son that explains at once the profound solemnity of Cyril's Letter to Nestorius and the splendid eloquence of Proclus's oration on the Virgin Mother. It is not that she is the mediator (there is no hint of such a thought); it is that He is God whom she bare, whom 'she alone inexplicably housed.' Nor need we fancy (with the writer on 'Mary' in *EBr*^{11}) that it was the Nicene 'solution of the Arian controversy, however correct it may have been theoretically,' that 'undoubtedly had the practical effect of relegating the God-man redeemer for ordinary minds into a far away region of "remote and awful Godhead," so that the need for a mediator to deal with the very Mediator could not fail to be felt' (*EBr*^{11} xvii. 812 f.). As a matter of fact, it was the complete manhood of our Lord that the Church in the next succeeding controversies (Monophysite and Monothelete) triumphantly asserted, while at the same time carefully retaining the condemnation of Nestorianism. Indeed it has been observed that it is in the creed of Chalcedon, and not in the canons of Ephesus, that the term θεοτόκος occurs. With all the honour that they gave to her, the Fathers of this age never forgot that, if she ministered to our salvation by becoming, on and through her faith, the Mother of our Redeemer, it was through her faith in Him that she herself was saved. The great titles bestowed upon her by the Fathers relate to the fruits of the Incarnation.

'The flesh of the Virgin differs nothing from the flesh of sin; . . . but her body transmits it not to the Body of Christ, which she did not conceive through concupiscence' (Augustine, *c Jul. Pelag.* v. 15).

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[1] Athanasius was anxious to secure the reality of our Lord's manhood no less than His divinity; and in support of this truth also he, like Ignatius before him, appeals to Christ's birth of Mary: 'Human then, by nature, was that which was from Mary according to the holy Scriptures, and true was the body of the Lord. True it was, since it was the same with ours. For Mary was our sister, since we are all from Adam' (*Ep.* lix. 'ad Epict.' 7).

And Pope Leo I. (in a passage still remaining in the Roman Breviary as one of the Lessons for Christmas Day) says that 'to [Christ's] birth alone the throes of human passion had not contributed.'

In entire consistency with this teaching of the great Fathers, we find that the worship of the Church in the conciliar period shows hardly a trace of any cult of the Virgin. There are indications that she was prayed for.

Thus in the Armenian Liturgy, 'We beseech thee that in this holy sacrifice remembrance be made of the mother of God the holy virgin Mary, and of John the baptist, of the proto-martyr Stephen, and of all the saints' (F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 440).

But she is not often mentioned. In the liturgy in the *Apostolic Constitutions* she is not even named; if she is referred to there at all, it is as included with others—'apostles, martyrs, virgins . . . whose names Thou knowest.' In other liturgical works of the period—*e.g.*, the *Statutes of the Apostles* (Ethiop. *c.* 350)—there is no mention of any commemoration of the departed, nor is there in the Arabic and Saidic versions of this book. The Eucharistic service in the *Testamentum Domini* gives thanks that the 'Word . . . was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin'; but its commemoration of the dead, 'Remember those who have fallen asleep in the faith, and grant us an inheritance with Thy saints,' names neither the Virgin nor any other saint. *The Pilgrimage of Silvia* also is silent concerning her, while the *Catechetical Lectures* (Lect. xxiii. on the Eucharistic service) of Cyril of Jerusalem, where we might have expected to find something, has only this:

'Then we commemorate also those who have fallen asleep before us, first Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, that at their intercessions God would receive our petition'—still no mention of Mary.

In the liturgy of the civil 'diocese' of Africa in the time of Augustine (A.D. 400) 'the only place where an invocation of the Virgin could have come in is in its commemoration of the saints and martyrs, but there is again no direct evidence that her name appeared' (*Ordo Rom. Primus*, App. iv.). Of Basil his latest editor says:

'Of any cultus of the Virgin, St. Basil's writings shew no trace.' 'Even Letter CCCLX, which bears obvious marks of spuriousness, and of proceeding from a later age, does not go beyond a recognition of the Blessed Virgin as Θεοτόκος, in which the Catholic Church is agreed, and a general invocation of the apostles, prophets, and martyrs, the Virgin not being set above these' (Blomfield Jackson, Prolegomena to 'St. Basil,' *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, viii. [1895] p. lxxiii). The passage runs: 'I invoke them to supplication to God, that through them, that is through their mediation, the merciful God may be propitious to me.'

That the departed saints, now 'with Christ' (Ph 1^{23}), do pray for us is an obvious conclusion from their perfected love; it has some sanction in the NT (Rev 6^{10}); it is argued for on this ground by Origen (*de Orat.* 31), Eusebius (*de Martyr. Palæst.* v.), and Jerome (*Ep.* lx.); and it was an easy transition to ask God that their intercessions might be heard for us; but 'Omniscience alone can hear the cry of every human heart, and Omnipotence alone can deliver everywhere,' and it was quite another thing to credit any saint, however highly exalted, with powers or prerogatives of this extent. Not so did the Fathers of the Church and the holy martyrs pray. Cardinal Newman admitted that no prayer to the blessed Virgin is to be found in the voluminous works of St. Augustine. And when, late in the 4th cent., we do find cases of direct invocation of this or that individual saint, it is in private prayer, and in regard to some more restricted matter in which that saint had been interested when on earth and might be presumed to be interested still. Of this limited sort was the prayer of Justina, mentioned with incidental approval by Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat.* xxiv. 11), 'imploring Mary the Virgin to come to the aid of a virgin in danger.' St. Mary had already been thought of as the 'virgin of virgins'—the leader of those virgin bands to whom, next to the martyrs, the Church felt that she owed a special debt. The martyrs were her witnesses to Christian truth; her virgins the conspicuous exponents of Christian purity. Virginity, be it remembered, had been praised—though not enforced—by our Saviour Himself (Mt $19^{11f.}$), and by St. Paul (1 Co $7^{37f.}$); under the pagan persecutions the virgin martyrs had won a twofold triumph; and when, on Constantine's conversion, pagan sensuality proved a menace no less formidable to morals than heresy to doctrine, virginity, organized into monasticism, became more and more alike the expression and the shield of this side of Christian virtue. Athanasius found the monks and virgins of Egypt of the greatest use to him in his contest with Arianism. He introduced monasticism at Rome; Ambrose and Martin carried it respectively to Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul; through the latter, the trainer of missionaries, it spread over the Celtic West. Jerome carried it to Palestine; Basil was its protagonist through Asia Minor. Virginity and monasticism, no less than orthodoxy, turned the thoughts of the faithful very much towards St. Mary. If orthodoxy found, as we have seen, that Christ's birth of her was a witness at once of His Godhead and His manhood, so did monasticism boast of her as the crown of virgins. If orthodoxy called forth the panegyrics on Mary by Proclus and Cyril of Alexandria, the thought of her virginity led even more directly to her being regarded as a patroness.

It is while consoling the votaries of the virgin life that Augustine reminds them how 'the Birth from the one holy Virgin is the glory of all holy virgins: they, too, are mothers of Christ if they do the will of His Father' (*de Sanct. Virg.* v.).

Thus, too, Jerome:

'Therefore the virgin Christ and the Virgin Mary have dedicated in themselves the firstfruits of the virginity of both sexes' (*Ep.* xlviii. 'ad Pam.' 21);

and Gregory of Nyssa:

'What happened in the stainless Mary when the fulness of the Godhead which was in Christ shone out through her, that happens in every soul that leads by rule the virgin life. No longer, indeed, does the Master come with bodily presence, . . . but, spiritually, He dwells in us and brings His Father with Him' (*de Virg.* ii.).[1]

4. During the mediæval period.—For the purposes of this article, this period may be dated from the extinction of the Western Empire by Odoacer (A.D. 476) to the close of the Council of Trent (1563). Throughout this period Christianity runs in an Eastern and a Western stream; but, in spite of their divergence, there took place in both a remarkable development in the cult of the Virgin. It came to a head more early in the East. There, where the chief heresies concerning the Trinity and Incarnation had arisen, and where theological speculation was more congenial to the public taste, new forms of error on these subjects were constantly springing up, and to all these the orthodox found a complete answer in the Scripture records of our Saviour's birth of a Virgin Mother. His Virgin-birth witnessed alike the reality of both His natures and the unity of His Person; it hallowed monasticism; it rebuked the impieties first of the iconoclasts and then of the Muhammadans, while the calamities which afflicted and cut short, if they did not, till A.D. 1453, destroy, the empire in the East, were at least sufficient to impress all Christians who remained, or had been, its subjects with awestruck thoughts of Christ as the Judge of men. They remembered how, in the days of His flesh, the good centurion had, unrebuked, deemed himself not worthy to come to Christ direct (Lk 7^{7}), but had besought Him through the elders of the

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[1] W. M. Ramsay argues that so early as the 5th cent. the honour paid to the Virgin Mary at Ephesus was the recrudescence in a baptized form of the old pagan Anatolian worship of the Virgin Mother (*Pauline and other Studies*, p. 126).

Jews. How much more, then, might they, sin-burdened, approach Him through the prayers of His spotless Mother? The 'Theologian' among the orthodox divines (Gregory Nazianzen) had, as we have seen, approved of Justina asking her help; why might not Justinian ask her advocacy for his Christian empire, and Narses look for her direction on the field of battle, and Heraclius bear her image on his banner, and Simeon Stylites, in his post-communion thanksgiving, invoke as supplicants 'all the saints . . . and with them Thy most holy Mother, . . . receive their prayers, O Christ'? (*Euchology of Orthodox Church*, tr. G. V. Shann, Kidderminster, 1891, p. 257 f.). So strong was the current of feeling that even the great liturgies, already venerable, received interpolations to express it. In some of these we can see the process going on. Thus in the Liturgy of St. Mark (Alexandrian), though originally St. Mary was simply included in the prayer that God would give rest to all the holy dead, now she is mentioned by name, 'especially the most holy, stainless, blessed, our Lady, Mother of God, and ever-Virgin,' and the sequence of thought, which still shows that she is prayed for, is interrupted by a salutation, 'Hail, thou that art full of grace . . . because thou didst bring forth the Saviour of the world.' So in St. James, the parent of all the Syrian liturgies, she had originally simply been commemorated, but now it is added 'that we may obtain mercy through their prayers and intercessions'; and in the Anaphora there is interpolated, not only the angelic salutation, but a long quotation from Proclus's glowing panegyric (Neale and Littledale, *Liturgies*^{3}, p. 54). The alteration is very naively made in the liturgy of the Coptic Jacobites:

'To our fathers and our brethren who are fallen asleep . . . give rest, remembering all saints . . . and most chiefly . . . the holy theotokos Mary. . . . Not that we are worthy to intercede for their blessedness . . . but . . . that standing before the tribunal of thine onlybegotten Son they may in recompense intercede for our poverty and weakness' (Brightman, i. 169).

In the Armenian Liturgy St. Mary's name remains in the Great Intercession:

'We beseech thee that in this holy sacrifice remembrance be made of the mother of God the holy virgin Mary, and of John the baptist, of the protomartyr Stephen and of all the saints' (*ib.* p. 440). But at an earlier stage the Deacon bids the worshippers 'make the holy mother of God and all the saints' their 'intercessors with the Father' (*ib.* p. 415).

The two liturgies remaining in use among the orthodox Greeks are those of Chrysostom and Basil, and are more moderate.

The latter merely mentions her in the Eucharistic Thanksgiving for Christ 'born of a woman, the holy Mother of God, ever-Virgin'; and prays that God 'would unite all of us who are partakers of the one Bread . . . that we may find mercy with all Thy saints . . . especially our all-holy, immaculate, supereminently blessed glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin Mary' (*ib.* pp. 326, 330 f.).

It is not impossible, in view of Basil's own writings, that even the last is an interpolation. The liturgy called Chrysostom's is fuller on St. Mary:

The Prayer of the Trisagion closes 'through the intercessions of the Holy Mother of God and all the Saints'; but, again, it prays for her: 'We offer to Thee this reasonable service on behalf of those who have departed in the faith . . . Apostles . . . Virgins . . . especially the most holy, undefiled, excellently laudable, glorious Lady, the Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin Mary' (*ib.* pp. 314, 331).

When, however, we turn to the less august and more popular of the authorized devotions of the Greek Church, we find her invoked in the most direct manner:

'O most holy Mother of God, light of my darkened soul, my hope, protection, refuge. I thank thee that thou hast enabled me to be a partaker of the . . . Body and . . . Blood of Thy dear Son. Enlighten the eyes of my heart . . . quicken me . . . give me tears of repentance and thanksgiving' (*Euchology*).

In the *Book of Needs*, the 'Prayerful Canon at the Departure of a Soul' teaches the dying man to cry to her:

'Known refuge of the sinful and the low, make known to me thy mercy, O thou pure one, and set me free from the hands of demons, which come about me like dogs.'

It must be admitted that such prayers are but inferences, not unnatural, from the deliberate teaching of the latest, and henceforth the most influential in the East, of the Greek Fathers, John of Damascus, that Mary is the sovereign Lady to whom the whole creation is made subject by her Son—implying, of course, that, over and above her office in the Incarnation, she is herself, through His gift, a direct giver of help to such as may seek it at her hands. It should be added that the Feast of *her* (not of Christ's) Presentation in the Temple (the story is from *Protev. Jac.*) originated in the East in the 8th cent., and was not adopted in the West till the 15th. See art. IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

The Western Church, too, was to find through many ages the practical value of monasticism, and to carry the doctrine of celibacy to further lengths than its Eastern sister. It, too, was to have experience of errors (such as the 8th cent. Adoptianism) which, disparaging the Saviour, disparaged her also. In Spain, Hungary, and the two Sicilies, as well as through the Crusades and Algerian piracy, it was to come into painful contact with Islām. In the West too, therefore, the reaction from those errors contributed its impetus to every movement in the Virgin's honour, while manifold oppressions of the poor turned them naturally to the thought of her as the Mother of Pity, and the chivalry of the knight made her the Lady of his orisons. But the development of her cult was slow in the West. In Adamnan and Bede it is hardly perceptible; in the *Life of St. Columba* she is not mentioned.

In Bede's *HE*, St. Wilfred has a vision of St. Michael telling him, 'the Lord has granted you life, through the prayers of your disciples, and the intercession of His Blessed Mother Mary of perpetual virginity' (v. 19), and the Hymn concerning St. Ethelreda sings how 'over the Virgin Mother a shining virgin band rejoices'; and how 'her honour has made many virgin blossoms to spring forth' (iv. 20).

At Rome in the pope's (8th cent.) mass on Easter-day at the Basilica of St. Mary Major, the only mentions of her are those (1) in the Great Intercession:

'Venerating the memory first of the glorious ever-Virgin Mary, Mother of the same our God and Lord Jesus Christ; and also of Thy blessed apostles and martyrs . . . and all Thy saints; by whose merits and prayers do Thou grant that in all things we may be defended by the help of Thy protection; through the same Christ, our Lord';

and (2) in the Post-Communion:

'Deliver us, O Lord . . .; and at the intercession for us of the blessed and glorious and ever-Virgin Mary, the Theotokos, and of Thy blessed apostles . . . and of all saints, graciously give peace in our days . . . through our Lord . . .' There is no direct invocation of her, nor prayer to her (*Ordo Rom. Primus*, App. 3);

nor, indeed, is there anything more in the Canon of the Roman Mass to the present day, though in the *Proprium Missarum de tempore* this 'collect of S. Mary' is said on all Sundays in Advent:

'God, who willedst that Thy Word should take Flesh from the womb of the Blessed Virgin Mary, grant that we who believe her to be in truth the Mother of God may by her intercessions be helped before Thee.'

But neither is this, nor the *Secreta de S. Maria*, nor the *Post-Communio de S. Maria* a prayer to her; the last was indeed adopted in the English Book of Common Prayer as the collect for the Annunciation. The confession of sins in the Mass made 'to Almighty God, to the Blessed Mary, ever-Virgin . . . and to all saints,' is held to be but a recognition of the fact taught us by St. Paul, that the whole body of the Church (from which death does not separate the saints [Ro 8^{38}]) suffers with the suffering of every member (1 Co 12^{26}); and, inasmuch as, in like manner, the honour of Christ the Head is the honour of all His members, it cannot be wrong, it is thought, to ask, as is done in the prayer 'Suscipe sancta Trinitas,' that our memorial of Christ's Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension may redound to the honour of Mary and all saints, as well as to the salvation of all for whom they pray. These are regarded as fair inferences from the truth which we all confess, in the Apostles' Creed, of the Communion of Saints. The moderation of the Roman Missal did not suffice, however, for the popular devotions, which more and more tended to assume the forms, first, of invoking her directly to intercede for us ('ora pro nobis'), and, next, of asking her personal help for both soul and body. Two festivals really of our Lord—His Presentation in the Temple (Feb. 2), and His Conception (March 25)—became rather those of her Purification and of the Annunciation to her, while the Feasts of her Conception (Dec. 8), her Nativity (Sept. 8), and her Assumption (Aug. 15), already observed in the Eastern Churches, were introduced into the West, at first in other lands rather than in Italy or at Rome, and not always either with the same meaning or without protest.

Thus, the observance of the Assumption was appointed by the synod of Salzburg in A.D. 800, but is marked as doubtful in the capitularies of Charlemagne; literally its title imports no more than her death—the taking of her soul to God—and it is sometimes called her *dormitio*, or 'sleep.' The doctrine of her bodily assumption into heaven, derived from the apocryphal story condemned by Pope Gelasius, though widely believed, and implied in the Breviary lection from John of Damascus, is not even now *de fide* in the Roman Catholic Church, but only a 'pious opinion.' The Feast of the Visitation of the Virgin (July 2), also apocryphal in origin, was introduced from the East in the 14th cent., withdrawn from the Calendar by Pius V. (1565–72), and reintroduced by Sixtus V. (1585–90). The Nativity of Mary (Sept. 8) would be older if the sermon of Augustine, cited in its Office, be genuine, but it is commonly said that this fact is first mentioned by Andrew of Crete (*c.* 750); its observance was appointed by the synod of Salzburg in 800; two centuries later it had not become general in Italy, while (*c.* 1140) St. Bernard blames the canons of Lyons for the innovation of keeping the feast of *her* conception because it was not holy like her Nativity, St. Mary being, he held, not conceived without sin, but sanctified in the womb. Thomas Aquinas said (*Summa Theol.* III. xxix.) that the Church of Rome tolerated it but did not keep it (a not uncommon way with some in those days of treating popular devotions); and, when it did come in at Rome, in the church of St. Mary Major, it was still, so late as 1340, the festival only of the 'Sanctification of the B. V. Mary.' Underlying these different names for this festival lay the long controversy as to the sinlessness of Mary. All agreed (as all orthodox Christians must agree) that she was sanctified so as to yield a perfectly sinless manhood to the Son of God (Lk 1^{35}, He 7^{26}); but there arose in the 13th cent. a question when the process of her sanctification began, and, while divines of the date and authority of Aquinas denied her Immaculate Conception, the arguments on which Scotus based his support of it were derived wholly from abstract and *a priori* considerations. The discussion, nevertheless, tended to her exaltation above all other saints, on the ground not alone of her office, but of the grace bestowed on her. It must be confessed that some mediæval writers transgressed all bounds in the language which they employed, Peter Damian, *e.g.*, speaking of her as 'deificata' (*Serm. de Nativ. Mar.* [*PL* cxliv. 740]), while the very natural use of what Archbishop John Hamilton's *Scots Catechism* of 1552 calls the 'bonny image of the Baby Jesus and His Blessed Mother' to remind us of His gracious coming as an infant to sanctify childhood and maternity was darkened into something not far from idolatry when—as sometimes happened—one image of the Virgin (generally a black or an ugly one) was regarded and resorted to as more powerful for the help of suppliants than another.

5. From the Reformation to the present day.—The fundamental position of the Protestant Reformers, that the justification and salvation of the sinner are through faith in Christ alone, involved, on the one hand, the fullest recognition alike of His Godhead and His manhood; and the Reformers, accordingly, were at one in confessing the Catholic faith as set forth in the ancient creeds and by the great councils, which meant, of course, their acceptance of His birth of a pure virgin, and her honour as His mother. It involved, on the other hand, an insistence that the soul should come to Christ direct, and a repudiation of the idea of any creature coming between it and Him. The latter principle, it is true, could be pushed to the extreme of disparaging the helps which He has graciously provided in His Body the Church (Eph 1^{23}), for bringing men to Himself, and in the ordinances whereby 'Christ and the benefits of the covenant of grace are . . . applied to believers' (*Shorter Catechism*, 92). It brought almost everywhere the practical elimination from Protestant teaching of all thought of the departed saints having any function whatever (save that of remembered examples) towards Christians in this world. The 'Communion of Saints,' while admitted in words, was interpreted as existing simply between believers in this present world; and, contrariwise, the prayers of the living were limited to the 'Church militant here on earth.' The prominence of St. Mary in Roman Catholic devotions reacted among the Reformed in an opposite direction, till Puritanism (in certain sections) 'scrupled' even the singing of her inspired *Magnificat*, gave up the public use of the Apostles' Creed because her name occurred in it, and even so late as the publication of the *Church Hymnary* (1898) was able to secure the rejection of Bishop Richard Mant's version of the *Stabat Mater* and the deletion of the words 'Son of Mary' from H. H. Milman's hymn. It may be doubted whether such courses have helped either to a livelier faith in Jesus Christ or to a deeper love towards Him; or how far they have furthered Christian ideals of purity, chivalry, and saintliness. Puritanism, however, has not conquered either the Scottish or the Anglican Church. The former in the 18th cent. dared to speak of the Virgin in the public service in one of its 'Paraphrases' (Par. 38), and restored the use of the *Magnificat* (in metre) in another (Par. 36), and of late years 'authorized' the chanting of it in prose, as well as the recital of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds (*Church Hymnary*, *Church of Scotland Anthem Book*, and *Mission Hymnal*). These have always kept their place in the Anglican Books of Common Prayer; and the Church of England has further secured a commemoration of St. Mary by retaining among 'the Feasts to be observed' both 'The Purification of the Blessed Virgin' (Feb. 2) and 'The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin' (March 25). In both countries divines universally respected (*e.g.*, the Scottish Dr. W. Hanna and the English Bishops Joseph Hall and John Pearson) have spoken of her in terms of singular reverence and beauty, while W. M. Ramsay, holding, as he does, some pagan ancestry for her cultus as it exists in Asia Minor, speaks of it nevertheless as 'a purifying and elevating principle' (*Pauline and other Studies*, p. 159).

In the Roman Catholic Church there was some hope at the beginning of the Counter-Reformation that much then complained of in the extremer cult of St. Mary would be abated or put down. Something certainly was done; and the Council of Trent in its Decrees, and even in its Catechism, is fairly moderate, distinguishing, as did the older councils, between the λατρεία, due only to God, and the *δουλεία* or the *ὑπερδουλεία*, due in different degrees to His saints and servants, and insisting that the 'worship' to be paid to the Deipara must never exceed *hyperdulia*. But it is difficult to see where, in the practical system which since then has been not only permitted, but more and more encouraged, by the popes the line of difference is drawn; *e.g.*,

> 'Hail, O queen, Mother of Mercy! Hail, our life, our sweetness, our hope! To thee we fly, the banished sons of Eve' (Antiphon to the *Magnificat* in the Roman Breviary, reformed by order of the Council of Trent, published by order of Pope Pius v., and revised by Clement viii. and Urban viii.).

The Breviary, with 'the Offices since granted,' may almost be said to be now—in strange contrast to the NT—nearly as full of Mary as of Christ. On all Saturdays, and throughout the whole month of May, votive offices of the Blessed Virgin are said. The Sunday within the octave of the Nativity is 'the Feast of the Most Holy Name of Mary,' the third Sunday of Sept. that of her 'Seven Sorrows'; four Sundays in October are devoted respectively to her 'Rosary,' her 'Motherhood,' her 'Purity,' her 'Patronage,' while the old feast of her Conception (Dec. 8)—originally her 'Sanctification'—is now that of her 'Immaculate Conception,' and the bull of Pius ix. declaring this an article of faith to be received by all Christians supplies a large proportion of the lessons appointed to be read within its octave. The Breviary itself, moreover, is restrained in comparison with such books as *Le Glorie di Maria* by Alfonso de Liguori (1696–1787), the founder of the Redemptorist Order. Liguori goes far beyond the Council of Trent, for, whereas the latter says only that 'it is useful' to invoke her intercessions, he insists upon the *necessity* of doing so:

> 'Mary is our life, because she obtains for us the gifts of pardon . . . and of perseverance'; 'Mary is the hope of all'; 'Mary is the peace-maker of sinners with God' (ii. 1 f., iii. 1, vi. 3).

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JAMES COOPER.

MĀSAI.—I. **History.**—It is advisable, first of all, to specify what we mean by the term Māsai. It is the tolerably correct designation of a widely scattered but not numerous Nilotic Negro people in E. Equatorial Africa, whose habitat, down to the beginning of the 19th cent., stretched from the Nandi plateau, the south end of Lake Baringo, and the southern slopes of Mount Kenya on the north almost to the 6th degree of S. lat. in the south. On the east they were bounded by the Bantu and Galla peoples of the region between the Tana and the Rufu rivers; on the west by the Nandi and Bantu peoples of the Sotik and Lumbwa highlands, which form the eastern limits of the Victoria Nyanza basin. The older name which this distinct race of pastoral nomads adopted for themselves—or at any rate for the pastoral and warlike section of the original tribe—was (according to A. C. Hollis) Il-maa, which in the 19th cent., if not before, became Il-māsai (spelt Maasae by some). The western and northern sections of the Māsai people, especially those sometimes known as Il-oigob, Enjámusi, or Was'ñgishu, were not only cattle-keepers and shepherds, but also industrious agriculturists. Still, the main bent of this handsome Negro race (which in bodily characteristics verges on the Hamitic negroid) was pastoral; and cattle, sheep, goats, and the domesticated ass of Ethiopia played a great part in their lives and mental considerations. All sections of the Māsai, agricultural as well as pastoral, speak a language which differs but little in its two or three dialects. The relationships of this speech lie most nearly and clearly with the Lotuka language of the Mountain Nile, with the Bari of the southern Egyptian Sūdan, with the Elgumi or Tesw, north-west of Mount Elgon, and with the Turkana of Lake Rudolf; perhaps also with other languages of the Rudolf basin. In a more remote degree Māsai is related to the other members of the great Nilotic speech-group—the Nandi languages of British E. Africa, and those of the Dinka, Shilluk, etc., of the Egyptian Sūdan. The customs and, to some extent, the beliefs of the Māsai similarly connect them with the tall Negroes of the Upper Nile basin. Clearly, the progenitors of the Māsai emigrated originally from those regions which now constitute the northern provinces of the Uganda Protectorate; but at what period there is little evidence to show, except that it was far enough back in the history of E. Equatorial Africa for the migration to have passed out of tribal recollection.[1] In all their myths and stories the Māsai think of themselves as a people indigenous to E. Africa, most of all to the regions round about Mount Kenya. This snow-crowned lofty volcano of more than 17,000 feet in altitude plays a considerable part in their traditions, and is supposed by them to be the habitation of a demigod or goddess Naiterukop,[2] who was at the same time an 'Eve' or 'Adam,' the parent, at any rate, of the higher types of humanity. The Māsai speech, like some other Nilotic languages, especially those of the south-eastern portion of the regions inhabited by Nilotic Negroes, bears evident traces of an ancient Hamitic impress, though it must be emphatically stated that neither it nor any other member of the Nilotic family can be described as Hamitic, or as other than a 'Negro' speech. But many centuries ago, perhaps as far back as the last periods of dynastic Egypt, the Kushitic section of the wide-spread Hamitic race (Caucasians tinged with Negro and perhaps Dravidian blood) profoundly impressed itself on the racial type, the speech, the culture, beliefs, and customs of the Nile Negroes. Similar action on the part of these Hamites appears to have led to the final shaping of the Bantu languages and the impulse of the Bantu conquest of the southern third of Africa. It is curious that, however 'Hamitic' the Māsai, Nandi, and other south-eastern Nilotes may be in physical and mental characteristics, their cattle, on which such a large proportion of their thoughts and beliefs is centred, are of the E. African, humped, originally Indian 'zebu' type. They do not belong to the long-horned, usually straight-backed, Galla breed, a bovine variety which seems to have originated from a wild species in W. Asia in remote Neolithic times, and to have been the earliest form of domestic cattle in ancient Egypt. These Galla oxen are nowadays found in the greater part of Abyssinia, in Darfur, Wadai, and Bornu.[3] The mysterious Ba-hima—the Galla-like aristocracy of E. Equatorial Africa — implanted this long-horned type of ancient Egyptian ox on the highlands between the Victoria Nyanza, Tanganyika, and the frontier of the Congo forest. But the long-horned Galla ox has never yet made its appearance to the east of the Victoria Nyanza or among the Māsai tribes, whose cattle are Indian in type.

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[1] In the traditions of the Māsai their home-land—Kopekob or Kōpekob—lay to the north of their present habitat. They called the south 'the land of strife,' showing that their southward advance was attended by constant struggles with the preceding tribes not of Māsai race.

[2] Na-iteru-kop is a word beginning with the feminine prefix *na*, a prefix originally conveying the sense of 'mother,' but often diverging into an equivalent for 'source of,' 'place of,' 'productive of.'

[3] There are, however, traditions among the south-western Māsai that they once possessed or knew of this long-horned breed.

2. Gods.—Though in physical characteristics the Negro element predominates in the Māsai over any other, this people is superior in mentality to the pure-blood Negro; and one is struck with a certain imaginativeness and a natural poetry in their thoughts, stories, and religious beliefs rarely found among Negro peoples, and probably due to some ancient or modern infusion of the Caucasian. The Māsai believe in a far-reaching divine power emanating from the sky high above the earth, and even above the lower regions of the atmosphere. This divinity, to which they can pray at times with real earnestness, is known usually by a female name, Eñ-ai (*Eñ-* is the feminine article, *ai*, or *gai*,[1] is the root). Eñ-ai is occasionally referred to as 'the Black God,' though in some stories or in some minds there seems to be a triad consisting of (1) Eñ-ai, the greatest and remotest of all gods, the god of the elements; (2) the benign Black God of rain, who takes a real, though far-off, interest in humanity; and (3) the surly or malign Red God, who is, on the whole, spitefully disposed towards mankind and dwells in the lower part of the atmosphere. Eñ-ai and the Black God (or both fused in one personality) would like to send the rain to the parched lands below in perpetual abundance, so that there might always be fat pastures to feed the Māsai cattle, or perpetual cultivation for the Māsai agriculturists; but the Red God frequently intervenes and intercepts the moisture so necessary to life under an equatorial sun. Distant thunder is believed to be the remonstrance of Eñ-ai at this churlishness of his subordinate deity, whom, however, he seldom bestirs himself to circumvent. Eñ-ai is known to some of the non-Māsai tribes as 'Kai' or 'Gai' without the article, and by the Māsai themselves is called by other names, such as Paasai.[2]

3. Demons.—In addition to these two gods or three gods (according as the Black and Good God is or is not identified with the Ruler of the Heavens, Eñ-ai), the Māsai believe in superhuman beings somewhat resembling the *jann* ('genii') of the Arabs—devils, it is convenient to call them. Similar beliefs reappear in the Sūdan and in many parts of the northern range of the Bantu languages, such as the Cameroons. These *jann*, or devils, trench in some of their characteristics on the werwolf conception, being in some aspects like a lion and in others like a man, or having originally taken the form of lions and then put on an appearance half human and half like an inanimate stone; or they are believed to go about looking like a lion on one side, and on the other like a monstrous human being. Their favourite home is the forest. They are mainly, if not entirely, anthropophagous in their food preferences, and do not touch wild beasts.

In one of the Māsai stories recorded by Hollis[3] it is narrated that the devil's custom is to call to human beings who pass the place of his concealment in the forest, 'Come, my brother, help me lift this load of firewood.' If they are foolish enough to proceed to his help, they are struck with a pointed stake which he carries. When any particular district was believed to be haunted by a devil and the Māsai wished to pass through it in their customary migrations in search of pasture for their cattle, they would arrange to march past the cannibals' haunt in as large a body as possible, the warriors going both in front and behind. 'Should a voice be heard issuing from the mist and calling some one, everybody remains silent, for they know that it is this devil that is calling.' In another story[1] the anthropophagous *jann* ate up all the human beings in one district except a woman, who succeeded in hiding herself with her child in a pit. As the boy grew up, he made a bow and arrows, which (presumably) he poisoned; and, when the demon, discovering their existence from the smoke of their fires, came to eat them, the boy from the branches of a tall tree shot all his arrows into the monster's body, who at first thought that it was merely the stings of gad-flies, until he succumbed to their effects. Repenting apparently in his dying moments, he gave the boy information as to how he might proceed to recover the cattle of the tribe, and most, if not all, of the people whom he had eaten. Out of gratitude these resuscitated Māsai elected the boy as their chief.

It is quite possible that this and similar stories, wide-spread over Negro Africa, refer to the lurking cannibals of some big and brutish race which lingered on in the forests of Africa long after the more open country had been populated by the modern types of man. Such grim ogres may have worn over their backs the pelts of wild beasts that they had killed, and thus have seemed on one side beast, and on the other a ghoul-like type of man.

4. Cosmology.—The Māsai believe that, when Naiterukop,[2] the demi-god of Mount Kenya, decided to start a race of true men on the earth—presumably Māsai—he found three things in E. Africa, viz. an already existing Dorobo[3] (the word is properly spelt Torobo and means 'dwarfish'), who was a kind of pre-Adamite man, an elephant, and a serpent, all of whom lived together. In course of time the Dorobo hunter killed both the serpent and the elephant mother, who, however, before her death had given birth to a calf, which escaped from the Dorobo, and in its journeying about the world met a Māsai, to whom it confided its troubles. At this juncture God Himself (Eñ-ai) intervened, and summoned both the Dorobo and the Māsai to His presence. The Māsai came, but the Dorobo seems to have delayed. The consequence was that the Māsai received God's good gifts and henceforth became rich in cattle and the master of E. Africa. Other variants of this story make Naiterukop (the divine man of Mount Kenya) the *deus ex machina* throughout, and do not invoke the intervention of the great sky-god, Eñ-ai.

5. Eschatology.—With regard to a life after death, in some of the Māsai traditions it is related that, when the man-god Naiterukop gave to their primal ancestor, Le-eyo, instructions what to say when a child died, the latter out of selfishness—because the child next to die was not his own—inverted the prayer which was to adjure the child-spirit to return. Le-eyo consequently prayed that the moon, though it died, might return again, but that the dead child might remain dead. Some time afterwards Le-eyo was likely to lose a child of his own, and therefore said the prayer rightly. But it was too late; only the first invocation of nature held good, and thus man, when he dies, never comes back, but the moon always returns.

Yet this great agony of the mind of man—this refusal to regard death as the end of all in the personalities of those whom we have loved or respected—prevails with the Māsai, athwart the repeated assertions in their folklore that 'All is over with man as with the cattle, and the soul does not come to life again.' With this people there has been a gradually growing belief (it is so also among many Bantu tribes) that a medicine-man, a great doctor, a great chief, or a very wealthy

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[1] From the circumstance that this root assumes the form of *-gai* or *-kai* when borrowed by adjoining Bantu or Dorobo tribes it is possible that it was originally Eñ-gai in Māsai.

[2] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905, p. 346.

[3] *Ib.* p. 265 f.

[1] Hollis, p. 221 ff.

[2] J. L. Krapf, the great missionary pioneer of Equatorial E. Africa, writing in 1854 in his preface to the *Vocabulary of the Engútuk Eloikob* (the Western Māsai), thus describes the religious beliefs of the Māsai: 'At the remotest antiquity there was one man residing on "Oldoinyo eibor" (Mt. Kenya) who was superior to any human being, and whom Eñgai (heaven, supreme being, god) had placed on the mountain. This strange personage whose beginning and end is quite mysterious and whose whole appearance impresses the Wakuafi mind with the idea of a demi-god is called . . . Neiterukob. The intelligence of this strange person residing on Oldoinyo eibor reached a man named Enjemasi Enauner, who with his wife Sambu lived on Mount Sambu which is situated to the south-west of Oldoinyo eibor and is a high mountain but does not attain to the height of Oldoinyo eibor. . . . Enjemasi went to the White mountain with his wife who by the intercession of Neiterukob became fruitful and gave birth to a number of children. Neiterukob also taught Enjemasi Enauner the taming of wild cows which he saw in the forest. . . . It is to Oldoinyo eibor ("Kenia," as the Wakamba call it) that the Wakuafi resort in order to obtain the intercession of Neiterukob for getting rain, cattle, and health from the Eñgai.'

[3] The Dorobo are the nomad hunters of E. Africa, shorter in stature than the Māsai, but not very dissimilar from them in appearance, and containing many mixed strains of blood—Hamite, Negro, and possibly Bushman.

person cannot entirely cease to exist in personality even after the body is dead, buried, and decayed. It is thought by the Māsai, as by Zulus and numerous tribes of W. African Bantu, that the soul of a deceased person of importance enters one or other of the python-like snakes which frequent the vicinity of human habitations in pursuit of rats and other vermin. These (usually black) snakes are, therefore, sacred in the eyes of the Māsai, who are careful not to kill them. If a woman sees one in her hut, she pours milk on the ground for it to lick up. A variety of species of snake are even regarded as totem animals by one of the Māsai clans, who protect them against ill-treatment by the members of any other clan, and will even call on them for help if they get worsted in a fight, exclaiming, 'Avengers of my mother's house, come out!' The Māsai believed that the female snakes thus invoked would bite such as had not adopted them as a totem.

It has even been thought by some Māsai, probably not earlier than the latter years of the 19th cent., that the souls of very great chiefs are not sufficiently provided for by transmigration to a snake, but in some way go to heaven, to the abode of Eñ-ai. It is not impossible that this growing belief may have resulted from their talks with the early missionaries in E. Africa. They certainly believe that there *is* what we should define as a soul, some impalpable living essence, and that this quits a man's body when he falls asleep. Therefore a sleeper must not be too suddenly awakened lest the soul be left outside the body and the man die. In one mood the Māsai will assert that no such things as 'ghosts' exist, because they cannot be seen; in another they appear to believe that ghosts do exist and can be seen by cattle, though not by men. When a herd of cattle halts and stares fixedly at something, if it is not a lion or a leopard, it is a ghost.

6. Divination.—They also believe in omens, and, like all the Negro peoples of E. Africa, pay great attention to the cries and the actions of birds which are propitious or unpropitious. Their medicine-men practise divination of future events (1) by shaking a handful of stones out of a horn, (2) by examining the entrails of a slaughtered goat, (3) by getting drunk on mead, and then prophesying at random, and (4) by the interpretation of dreams.

7. Prayers.—The Māsai have a very real belief in God, and, if they are vague about His personality and uncertain whether they are praying to the Great God of the Firmament or to the Black God of the Upper Clouds, to one or other they occasionally make sacrifices of sheep—a rite usually conducted by the women, who, as a matter of course, pray twice a day, while men and children only occasionally utter prayers. In these prayers men and women associate the evening and morning stars, and even the snow peaks of the great mountains, Kenya and Kilimanjaro, with the Deity. They pray for children and for the health of their children, for rain, for successes in time of war, and plenty of cattle. The present writer, however, when residing many years ago at Taveita near the eastern base of Kilimanjaro, noted that the men of the Wa-Taveita (mainly Māsai in race and religion, though now speaking a Bantu language) could pray most earnestly and touchingly to Eñ-ai, the Power of the Sky, if their children were sick.

When one of their number gives birth to a child, the Māsai women gather together and take milk to the mother; they then slaughter a sheep, which is called a 'purifier of a hut,' or simply a 'purifier.' The women slaughter the animal by themselves and eat all the meat, and no man may approach the spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is considered unlawful. When they finish their meal, they stand up and sing a song, which may be rendered approximately thus (paraphrased from Hollis):

'God to whom I pray,
God who thunders and it rains,
Give me offspring.
To thee only every day do I pray,
Thou morning star;
To thee only every day do I pray,
Thou who art of sweet savour like sage plants.
To thee only every day do I pray,
Who art prayed to and who hearest;
To thee only every day do I pray.'

Women and children also pray for rain. The old men's prayer in time of drought (chanted round a bonfire of sweet-smelling wood into which is thrown a charm from the medicine-man) is:

'Black god, Ho!
God water us;
O thou of the uttermost parts of the earth,
Black god, Ho!
God water us.'

Young men pray that their battle raids may be successful and that they may bring back herds of cattle. All these prayers seem to be indifferently addressed both to God and to the morning and the evening star. God is not confused with the sun or the moon, but is something behind, above, beyond, and more powerful than these heavenly bodies, which are beings of either sex that alternately marry and quarrel. Of the stars other than the planets Venus and Jupiter they take little heed, with the exception of the Pleiades (the appearance of which in the heavens is indicative of seasonal changes), the Sword of Orion, and Orion's Belt. Comets are perturbing as indicative of approaching disasters.

8. Source of Māsai religion.—M. Merker, a German officer, who lived much among the Māsai of German E. Africa, published a work (first issued in 1904) in which, after discussing various Māsai beliefs and customs, he attributes these and, in part, the origin of the Māsai, to a strong wave of Semitic influence from the north, even reviving that old story, the dispersal of the Ten Tribes. It is difficult to understand how he can see anything in Māsai belief and ritual that especially suggests Jewish blood or influence and at the same time overlook the presence of similar beliefs and rites in the intervening Hamites or the Semiticized Somālis. For unnumbered centuries waves of Caucasian influence and even trickles of Caucasian blood have been passing from Western and Southern Arabia, Syria, and Egypt through Ethiopia into Nileland, the Central and Western Sūdan, and the steppes and forests and lake regions of E. Africa. The Māsai have brought their share of these beliefs, superstitions, and customs from their northernmost centre of development—somewhere, possibly, in the basin of Lake Rudolf, a region that, no doubt, was influenced from Abyssinia a score of centuries ago, as it is at the present day. At the same time, attention should be given to Merker's records of Māsai traditions and beliefs, especially as set forth in the later edition of his work (*Die Masai*, Berlin, 1910). A. C. Hollis, whose own work on the Māsai is one of importance, and Albert Steggall, a missionary long resident in the eastern part of Māsai-land, both argue that Merker got his information regarding Māsai beliefs chiefly from Māsai who had long been connected with the Roman Catholic mission, and, consequently, that these informants were merely giving him versions of the Hebrew traditions in the OT. The receptivity of the Māsai mind is no doubt great; but no mission had been established in those regions a sufficient length of time for much teaching to have been imparted to Māsai boys, nor, from what the present writer knows of mission work in those regions, is it likely that either Roman Catholic or Protestant missions at that stage in their development spent much time in translating and teaching the book of Genesis to Māsai inquirers. It is more probable that the ancestors of the Māsai in their northern home were in contact with the Christian Gallas or Abyssinians, and from them imbibed those ideas of Adam and Eve and the other traditions regarding the great Patriarchs which irresistibly recall the legends enshrined in the first chapter of Genesis; or the ideas may even have percolated through N.E. Africa in pre-Christian days, when the Jews and Idumæans were influencing a good deal of W. Arabia and of Ethiopia.

The stories transcribed by Merker are not only reminiscent of the Jewish myths of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, and Abraham, but even extend to a personality like Moses, actually bearing the name of Musanna (or Marumi). There are even traces of a belief in a fiery serpent, of the Ten Commandments of Sinai, and of a paradise garden like Eden.

A good deal of this account of the Māsai religion must be taken in the past tense. Year by year old beliefs and traditions are fading away, and the people are becoming either absolute materialists (with the white man as their wonder-working divinity) or adherents of the various Christian missions, to which they are proving useful and influential converts.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works of Hollis and Merker quoted throughout, see J. L. Krapf, *Vocabulary of the Engútuk Eloikob, or Language of the Wakuafi Nation*, Tübingen, 1854 (Preface is noteworthy); J. Erhardt, *Vocabulary of the Enguduk Iloigob, as spoken by the Masai Tribes in E. Africa*, Basel, 1857; J. Thomson, *Through Masăi Land*, London, 1885; H. H. Johnston, *The Kilima-njaro Expedition*, do. 1885, *The Uganda Protectorate*², do. 1904; S. L. and H. Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, do. 1901.

H. H. JOHNSTON.

MASBOTHÆANS.—According to Eus. *HE* IV. xxii. 5 f., Hegesippus had written of the Hemerobaptists and the Masbothæans (Μασβωθαῖοι)[1] as two distinct sects 'in the circumcision among the children of Israel.' The brief characterizations of the Masbothæan sect given by the ancient heresiologists are based simply upon their etymologies of the name, which they connect either with the word 'sabbath' or with צבות, 'will,' 'purpose.' Among modern scholars A. Hilgenfeld has advanced the conjecture that the Masbothæans were the followers of the early heretic Thebuthis, also mentioned by Hegesippus, but in all likelihood the name simply means 'baptists.' In glossaries of Palestinian Aramaic the only word given for 'baptism' is *maṣbô'îthā*, and, as we know that among the Mandæans on the Euphrates the regular term for ceremonial immersion in running water was מאצבותא (see art. MANDÆANS, p. 387ᵇ), we can hardly doubt that Μασβωθαῖοι signifies people in whose religious practice such immersions formed an outstanding element. Thus the Gr. term 'Hemerobaptists' might quite well have been applied to the same group, and the idea that the two names denoted different sects may simply have been a mistake on the part of Hegesippus. It is, no doubt, the case that in the time of Hegesippus there were among the Jews various parties which advocated the practice of immersion, each, however, after its own particular form: there were, *e.g.*, the devout, who bathed every morning and evening, and the 'bathers of the early morning,' who thought it necessary to perform an immersion before morning prayer. The term 'Hemerobaptists' would, of course, be quite appropriate for both groups.

The designation 'Masbothæans,' however, would also suit the Elkesaites, and, in fact, pointedly suggests that sect, as the Elkesaite tradition contains the name Σοβιαί, formed from the same verbal root as מאצבותא (cf. art. ELKESAITES, vol. v. p. 265ᵃ). By the time of Hegesippus the Elkesaites had become so numerous in Palestine—though only, it is true, in the territory east of the Jordan—that he can hardly have remained ignorant of their existence. On these grounds, accordingly, it would seem very probable that those who had become known to him as the sect of the Masbothæans were none other than the Elkesaites.

LITERATURE.—A. Hilgenfeld, *Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums*, Leipzig, 1884; W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, do. 1889, p. 180, *Elchasai*, do. 1912, p. 42 ff. On the Jewish Hemerobaptists and 'bathers of the early morning': Brandt, *Die jüdischen Baptismen*, Giessen, 1910, pp. 48–51, 92 ff.

W. BRANDT.

MASK.—A mask may be defined as a moulded surface, representing the anterior half of a head and face, and usually worn over the face of a person. Further significations are the cast taken from the face of a dead person and the parallel form in sculpture—the front half of a human head and face preserved—and the head of a fox. A division is made by W. H. Dall into 'mask' proper, 'maskette,' resembling mask but worn not upon but above or below the face, and 'maskoid,' resembling mask, but not intended to be worn.[1] This division is primarily anthropological.

The use of masks in one form or other and for various purposes has been practically universal in all stages of culture above that which the natives of Australia may be assumed to represent. The greater proportion of the Polynesian peoples are an exception. It will be most convenient to arrange the subject according to the purposes for which the mask is employed, incidentally noting details of form and manufacture and variations of general type. It may be noted at once that both in form and in use there is the usual similarity between the most widely separated races. The mask is in most cases ethnologically independent in origin.

1. Views as to the original meaning of masks.—The usual purpose of a mask is disguise by a more or less defined impersonation, impersonation alone, or, more rarely, protection, physical or moral. The figures impersonated may be real persons, imaginary persons, especially spiritual and divine, or various animals and natural objects. Robertson Smith regarded the use of animal masks in religious ceremonial as a survival of an earlier practice according to which the worshipper put on the skin of a victim, in order to 'envelop himself in its sanctity.'[2] In the form of a 'maskette' many peoples have used the heads of animals, even as a war head-dress. The ritual mask is frequently credited with the power of imparting to the wearer the qualities of what it represents. The Eskimo believe that the wearer is 'mysteriously and unconsciously imbued with the spirit' represented by the mask, and, when wearing the mask of a totem, he becomes that totem.[3] In the drama of the Pueblo Indians the actor is 'supposed to be transformed into the deity represented.'[4] The wearer of a mask in the dances of 'primitive' peoples is 'assimilated to the real nature of the being represented'—possessed by him.[5] But neither this belief nor the desire to be enveloped with sanctity can be regarded as the original factor in the invention of the mask. Dall considers the original mask to have been a shield held in the hand to protect the face from missiles, and later worn on the face, after which it was carved into a terrifying aspect, with the object of frightening the foe. On another line of development it became the helmet; but this view also fails to give any original psychological element. The Australians do not have the mask, but in their ceremonies they disguise the face by painting, or with down and blood. Previous to the invention of the Attic dramatic mask, the Dionysian mummers painted their faces with wine, possibly with the idea of assimilation to the deity, as in the case of the ancient Roman kings and generals, whose faces were painted with vermilion on state occasions to resemble Jupiter. But this idea is clearly secondary. Again, it cannot be argued that the mask is a development from the custom of painting the face. The two are parallel reactions to the irreducible dramatic instinct in its elemental phase of the assumption of another personality. The elaborate facial make-up of modern dramatic art is, when contrasted with the Attic masks, a fair analogy to the blackened face of the modern peasant mummer, as contrasted with the wooden masks of the N. American dancer. We may conclude that the ideas of assimilation, whether magical or religious, of terrorism, of protection, and even of disguise are secondary, and that the primary meaning of the mask is dramatic; the mask is a concrete result of the imitative instinct.

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[1] In *Apost. Const.* vi. 6 Μασβωθέοι (ε=αι); the form *Mazbuthazi* (emend. *Mazbuthæi*) appears as a Lat. transcription of the name from the Armen. tr. of a Syr. text in one of the two MSS ed. G. Moesinger, *Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a sancto Ephræmo*, Venice, 1876, p. 288.

[1] W. H. Dall, 'On Masks, Labrets,' etc., in *3 RBEW* [1884], p. 93.

[2] W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*², London, 1894, p. 437 f.

[3] E. W. Nelson, in *18 RBEW* [1899], pt. i. p. 394 f.

[4] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, iii. 227 f. *Kachina* means both 'deity' and 'masker.'

[5] H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, New York, 1908, p 76 n.

The various purposes, therefore, to which the mask is applied have no necessary development from one another, but are natural applications to particular purposes of the original mimetic instinct.

2. War masks.—These are not of frequent use. In Central and E. Africa warriors used hideous 'masks' of zebra-hide. The natives of Yucatan wore masks representing lions, tigers, and so forth, to terrify the enemy. In mediæval Europe and Japan soldiers wore helms fronted with frightful masks.[1] The frontal skull on the helmet of the German 'Death's Head Hussars' is of similar origin.

3. The mask of terror.—For other purposes than those of battle, the terrorist idea has been applied. The Chinese placed horrible paper masks on the faces of their children in order to frighten away the demon of smallpox.[2] In Africa there has been the office of 'sham devil.' In China, in order to neutralize the activity of an evil spirit, a man was masked to represent it, and placed in its sphere of operations to discourage its advance.[3] The Greek myth of the Gorgon's head was inspired by similar ideas, with which a primitive custom may be compared: in Timor-laut, in order to deceive evil spirits and prevent them from injuring the remains of a dead man, a coco-nut mask was placed near the body.[4] The further idea is here involved of protection by means of a mask which, so to say, draws the enemy's fire.

A similar use of the mask is seen in the expulsion of evils. The people of China and Celebes, when 'driving out devils,' blacken their faces or wear masks. Possibly the masked Perchten of Central Europe had originally a similar function. There may have been a mimic struggle between the Beautiful and the Ugly masks, symbolizing a struggle for the crops; masked mummers at Kayan sowing festivals represent evil spirits.[5]

4. The mask of justice.—Officers of justice or terrorism assume the personality of a supernatural inquisitor, the Vehme of mediæval Europe being a historical case. Executioners wore a mask, and possibly the black cap of the judge is an adaptation.

5. The mask in secret societies.—These institutions are practically universal in the middle culture.[1] In some cases they include among their functions the administration of some form of justice. This, like all their proceedings, is carried out with mummery, and the mask is employed along with other disguise or impersonation.

The Sindungo society of Loango collects debts; the collectors wear masks.[2] The Kuhkwi, Egbo, and Egungun are other instances of these W. African societies; their masks are based on various ideas connected with the tutelary spirits of the society.[3] The Ogboni society of the Yoruba-speaking peoples is closely connected with the priesthood, and the king is obliged to submit to its decrees. The mask of Egungun represents a hideous human face; he is supposed to be a man risen from the dead, in order to spy out what is going on in the land of the living and carry off those who misbehave.[4] The Tamate of the Banks' Islands is a secret society whose name means 'ghosts.' The members possess much power, and periodically hold meetings and processions, wearing their masks.[5]

The famous Duk-duk societies[6] of New Britain, New Ireland, and the Duke of York Islands comprise practically the whole of the adult male population. In one aspect of its functions the Duk-duk is a personification of justice—judge, policeman, and executioner in one. The remarkable head-dresses worn by the operators are technically mask-like structures, representing some spiritual force in the semblance of a cassowary. The operators are two, Duk-duk representing the male and Tubuan the female cassowary. The mask worn by each is a 'huge hat-like extinguisher' of grass or palm-fibre, 6 ft. high. As far as the body-dress is concerned, it may be said to represent the cassowary, but the head is 'like nothing but the head of a Duk-duk.' A long stick is at the apex, and the 'tresses' are coloured red. The female is said to be plain, the male more gaudy. The extraordinary belief is held that the Tubuan mask gives birth to the novices when initiated into the society; and two female masks are kept from year to year for the purpose of annually breeding two Duk-duks. The persons acting seem to be lost or merged in the mask. No one is supposed to know who the actors are. The male masks appear to be burned after the ceremony.

The committees of adults who supervise the 'making of young men' are frequently dressed in disguise and wear masks. In Torres Straits on these occasions a man represents the deity Agud; he is painted all over and wears a leaf petticoat and a turtle-shell mask. Several masked *magur* (devils) frighten the novices, who are well beaten, and are told the dreadful names of the masks.[7] A 'wolf' society among the Nutkas holds initiation meetings; men wearing wolf-masks carry off the novices.[8]

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[1] R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, new ser., Leipzig, 1889, p. 118 ff.; Dall, p. 75.

[2] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, London, 1866, ii. 316.

[3] Andree, p. 110.

[4] *Ib.* p. 133.

[5] *Ib.* p. 135; J. J. M. de Groot, *Religious System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., vi. 977; *GB*^{3}, pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, i. 95, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, do. 1913, pp. 240 ff., 249.

[1] See Webster, *op. cit.*

[2] A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, Jena, 1874, i. 122.

[3] Andree, p. 135 f.

[4] A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, London, 1894, pp. 93, 107.

[5] R. H. Codrington, in *JAI* x. [1881] 287 ff.

[6] R. Parkinson, *Im Bismarck-Archipel*, Leipzig, 1887, pp. 129–134; W. Powell, *Wanderings in a Wild Country*, London, 1883, pp. 60–66; G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, do. 1910, p. 60 ff.; Andree, p. 140; H. H. Romilly, *The Western Pacific and New Guinea*^{2}, London, 1887, pp. 28–34.

[7] A. C. Haddon, *Head-Hunters*, London, 1901, p. 50, also in *AE* vi. [1893] 140 f.

[8] F. Boas, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, London, 1890, p. 47 f.

6. The divine mask.—The shaman of N.W. America, *e.g.*, among the Makahs, has one mask for each of his familiar spirits. When giving a séance, he puts on a mask and summons the spirit with his rattle.[1] The Eskimo shamans, in making their masks, give expression to their ideas of the spirits represented. Here is a primitive source of creative plastic art. The shaman is said to be able to see through the animal-mask to the manlike face behind.[2] In the ritual of ancient Mexico the priest wore a mask representing the god.[3] On the other hand, priests in Nigeria may not wear or touch a mask.[4]

From a similar point of view the protégé of a guardian spirit wears a mask, when dancing, to represent that spirit and identify himself with it.[5] The Monumbo of New Guinea wear masks representing guardian spirits, when they appeal to them for help, fair weather, and the like, among the masks being those of kangaroos, dogs, and cassowaries The masks, when made, are fumigated in order to 'put life into them.' They are treated with respect and addressed as if they were living persons.[6] A man wears a mask representing his totem. This practice is common in N.W. America,[7] and the belief is that the wearer becomes the totem-animal.

The image of a god may wear a mask; the Mexicans placed on the face of certain idols masks of a human face cut off from the skull and preserved. They also used elaborate masks with pyrites for the eyes, and obsidian and turquoise mosaic in bands across the face.[8] The image of the goddess 'Our Mother' wore a two-faced mask, and her priest donned a replica of this.[9]

7. The death-mask.—In connexion with the dead the mask has been exploited along interesting lines, assisting among other things the art of portrait sculpture. Besides the practice of embalming or otherwise preserving the heads of dead friends or enemies, several peoples have made masks of these. One such has been mentioned as placed upon the face of a Mexican idol, and there is a fine example in the Christy collection in the British Museum. In New Britain and elsewhere in Melanesia and New Guinea, such masks (skull masks) were worn in sacred dances.[10] The Mexicans also placed painted masks or masks of gold or turquoise mosaic on the faces of their dead kings.[11] The Aleuts covered the faces of their dead with masks.[12] The meaning of the last practice is obscure, but the Aleuts think that it is intended to protect the dead against the glances of evil spirits. Their practice of wearing masks in certain religious dances, so as not to behold the idol round which they revolve and whose glance means death, may be compared.[13] Similarly, among the Guaymis of Panama, during the initiation of young men, the women who attend upon them wear masks.[14] Basuto girls at puberty wear straw masks,[15] and Lillooet girls (British Columbia) wear goat-skin masks at the same period.[16] In Mexico, when the king was ill, the images of the gods were masked, possibly to prevent them from drawing away his soul.[1] Some idea of disguising a person dangerous or in danger may be connected with the practice, and here the mask is merely a veil. In Siam and Cambodia masks of gold were placed on the faces of dead kings. The Shans have the same custom, using masks of silver or gold.[2] These cases and the next seem to touch upon the idea of a portrait. The Egyptian mummy had an artificial face forming part of the portrait superstructure over the corpse. Death-masks proper, of gold, silver, bronze, and terra-cotta, have been found in Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, the Crimea, Italy, France, the Danube valley, and Britain.[3] The most conspicuous and complete examples are supplied by Mycenæ and Rome. In the famous shaft-graves opened at Mycenæ golden masks, 'clearly portraits,' were found, corresponding to men and children. Those at least of the latter, being of thin gold leaf, 'must have been moulded with the hand on the faces of the dead.' The masks of the men were of thicker plate, and had no eye-holes. 'The hands and feet of the children were also wrapt in gold leaf.'[4] This suggests that the informing idea was similar to that of swathing the dead, painting the face, and otherwise decorating, while protecting, the corpse. The Roman *nobiles* kept wax portrait-masks of their ancestors in the *atrium.*[5] The dead *nobilis* lay in state for seven days, during which the embalmer (*pollinctor*) took a mould of the face, which he then cast in wax, and painted with the natural colours. The mask was placed on the dead man's face, or, in case of putrefaction, on an effigy After the burial the mask was hung in the *atrium* possibly fixed on a bust, and under it was a *titulus* giving the name and exploits of the man represented. These *imagines* were connected by lines, giving the genealogical succession, and termed *stemmata.* The *ius imaginum* gave a man the right of having his *imago* carried in the funeral train of a descendant. The remarkable custom was that a man was followed to his tomb by all his ancestors, their masks being worn by persons as similar as possible in stature and form, riding in chariots. Marcellus was attended by six hundred of his forefathers and kin. The *imagines* were crowned with laurel on feast days. By Pliny's time the wax masks were giving way to *clipeatæ imagines, i.e.* medallions of metal.[6]

Since Roman times the method of securing a portrait by taking a mould of the dead man's face has been continued in the case of great personages. This is the 'death-mask' of sculpture.

8. The dramatic mask.—The secret societies of N.W. America are, in contrast with those of Melanesia and Africa, chiefly concerned with dramatic representations. Their 'masonic' privileges are important, but they exercise little authority; in fact, these societies might be described as amateur dramatic clubs, with a religious setting like that of the mediæval gilds. Frazer describes the institution as 'a religious drama' like that of ancient Greece.[7] Various purposes other than that of entertainment are fulfilled by the performances; various, too, are the characters represented, according to the constitution of the society, whether totemic or consecrated to guardian spirits or otherwise. But the essence of their function is pantomime, and the mask is the means of impersonation. The masks are made of various woods—alder, maple, or cotton-wood; they are large and prominent of feature, painted red, black, and white. In some of the grotesque sort the eyes and jaws are movable, and worked by a string. Some are held by means of a mouth-bar. Some masks are two-faced, enabling the actor suddenly to change his character.[1] The masks are surrounded, as usual, with considerable mystery, and are burned or thrown away at the end of the season. For their manufacture and use there are elaborate rules. No uninitiated person may see them being made. Little masks are worn on the fingers.[2] The masks represent human persons—mythical, sometimes hideous—or animals. Ancestors, spirits, *sulia* (tutelary spirits), natural objects (*e.g.*, the sun-mask of the Kwakiutl, 'set round with seal's whiskers, and feathers, which gradually expand like a fan'[3]), animals, and birds form the subjects of a remarkably varied collection. The Tsimshians have a mask representing the thunder-bird, and at the performance mock lightning is produced and water is poured from the roof on the spectators. Salish masks represent the ancestors of the clans, viz. the wolf, owl, frog, and coyote. But, since the wearing of a mask is regarded as being unlucky, well-to-do men hire professionals to represent them. This idea may be compared with civilized prejudices against the actor's profession. The dances are pantomimic representations of the myths stored by the society, and may thus be compared with the magical pantomimes of the Australians, intended to encourage the natural processes which they represent, and, on the other hand, with the mediæval 'morality,' which was an object-lesson in good and evil. The use of the mask 'throws a sort of mysterious glamour over the performance and at the same time allows the actor to remain unknown.'[4] Apart from entertainment, the pantomimes are performed in honour of dead personages, or to bring blessings on a particular man or the community. In N.W. Brazil a very pretty pantomime is performed in honour of the dead, at which the masked actors represent the gorgeously-coloured birds and insects of the forest.[5] The drama of the Pueblo Indians is remarkable; it has features resembling those of the morality and the Greek drama. Divine beings are the characters represented by masked actors. The performances take place in the village square, and have (at least as a secondary object) the intention of procuring rain, good crops, or prosperity in general.[6]

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[1] Dall, p. 110; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iii. 438 f.

[2] Nelson, p. 394 f.

[3] Andree, p. 117.

[4] N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, London, 1913, i. 58.

[5] F. Boas, in *Report of U.S. Nat. Mus. for 1895* [Washington, 1897], pp. 337, 396; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iii. 435.

[6] *GB*³, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 382.

[7] Nelson, *loc. cit.*; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iii. 275 f.

[8] Dall, p. 96.

[9] *GB*³, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 287.

[10] E. B. Tylor, *Anahuac*, London, 1861, p. 338; C. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Monuments anciens du Mexique*, Paris, 1864–66, p. viii. pl. 43; Dall, pp. 95 f., 148.

[11] Dall, p. 105.

[12] *Ib.* p. 139.

[13] *Ib.*

[14] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iii. 555.

[15] E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, London, 1861, p. 268.

[16] J. Teit, *The Lillooet Indians*, Leyden and New York, 1906, p. 263 f.

[1] *GB*³, pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 96 n.

[2] J. B. Pallegoix, *Description du royaume Thai ou Siam*, Paris, 1854, i. 247; J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge*, do. 1882, i. 349; A. R. Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*, London, 1885, p. 279.

[3] See generally O. Benndorf, 'Antike Gesichtshelme und Sepulcralmasken,' in *DWAW*, 1878.

[4] Frazer, *Pausanias*, London, 1898, iii. 107.

[5] Pliny, *HN* xxxv. 2 (6).

[6] *Ib.*; Polyb. vi. 53; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 76, iv. 9; Serv. *ad Æn.* v. 64, vi. 802; Benndorf, p. 371; A. H. Greenidge, art. 'Imago,' in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*³, London, 1890–91.

[7] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iii. 550.

The Lāmas of Tibet practised a regular religious drama, exactly parallel to the European morality and mystery; there were good and evil spirits, a protecting deity, men, and animals, and for all there were the appropriate masks.[7] The Burmese drama employed masks for character types such as king and minister.[8] Siamese actors wore paper masks, coloured green, red, black, or gold. A peculiarity was that the wearer did not speak; the parts were spoken by prompters.[9] In Japan the dramatic masks of paper or lacquered wood were very elaborately artistic, gods, demons, men, and animals being represented in masks by good artists.[10]

The drama of ancient Athens, both tragic and comic, employed the mask, which had been used in the old Bacchic mummeries that seem to have produced the drama. Previously the mummers had smeared their faces with wine or covered them with fig-leaves. Similarly, the peasants of Latium wore masks of bark in the Bacchic festivals.[1] The dramatic use of masks was first established by Thespis, who previously had painted his face with white lead or purslane. Linen masks unpainted were then adopted; Chœrilus improved them; Phrynichus introduced female masks; and Æschylus added paint and generally fixed their form.[2]

The Greek mask was made of linen, or, sometimes, of cork or wood. It was large (in tragedy) to correspond to the superhuman proportions of the actors. The *onkos* (ὄγκος), a cone-shaped prolongation of the upper part of the forehead, added size and dignity to the head. The white of the eye was painted strongly, but an aperture was made for the actor to see. The mouth was permanently opened wide, and the tradition remains, unexplained, that resonance was given to the voice by means of the shape of the mask. All that the mask aimed at was the bold emphasizing of types; every feature was exaggerated, and in the huge theatres of the Greeks this fact was essential. No change of facial expression being possible and the finer shades of emotion being excluded, the mask prevented any considerable evolution of the psychological drama. 'It would be difficult to imagine the part of Hamlet played in a mask.'[3] Pollux enumerates twenty-eight styles of tragic masks. The tyrant's mask had thick black hair and beard and wore a frown. The lover's face was pale.[4] The comic mask was, in the Old Comedy, the portrait of a real person; when Aristophanes presented *The Clouds*, Socrates stood up in the auditorium to enable the audience to identify the mask of his impersonation; but, when Cleon was to be staged, the makers refused to supply a mask, such was the fear inspired by the demagogue. In the New Comedy of manners types were represented. The hot-tempered old father wore a mask with one eyebrow drawn up and the other normal; he expressed his changes of temper by turning this or that side.[5] The Roman drama dispensed with masks until the time of Roscius, who is said to have introduced them on his own account, being ugly and affected with a squint; but they had always been worn in the old-fashioned *Atellanæ*, in which an actor, when hissed, was obliged to remove his mask.[6]

In mediæval Europe and England the mask was used in the folk-drama from which the modern drama was evolved. At the Feast of Fools references are made to the wearing of masks through the period from A.D. 1200 to 1445.[7] The term 'visor' was usual for the mask. 'Mumming' and 'disguising' were terms for the various folk-plays, which were often suppressed.[8] A side-development of this drama, and a new application of the word 'mask,' were made in the 'masque' popular in Elizabethan times.[9]

The theory of Frazer as to the magical and religious origin of the drama may be tested by the special case of the mask. He writes:

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[1] J. G. Swan, 'The Indians of Cape Flattery,' in *Smithsonian Contributions*, xvi. [Washington, 1870] 69 ff.; Nelson, p. 395.

[2] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iii. 501 f., 510; *GB*^{3}, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 382; Dall, p. 123.

[3] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iii. 344, 533; F. Boas, *Eleventh Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, London, 1895, p. 52.

[4] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iii. 312, 344, 501.

[5] Nelson, p. 394; *GB*^{3}, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 381 f.

[6] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iii. 237 f.

[7] Andree, p. 114 ff.

[8] A. Bastian, *Reisen in Birma*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 201.

[9] Bastian, *Reisen in Siam*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 503.

[10] A. Humbert, *Le Japon illustré*, Paris, 1870, i. 195.

[1] A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*^{3}, Oxford, 1907, p. 239.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 239, 242.

[3] See Aul. Gell. v. 7, and Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*^{3}, *s.v.* 'Persona'; this term refers to the resonance.

[4] Pollux, *Onomasticon*, iv. 133–141.

[5] Haigh, pp. 262, 264.

[6] Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*^{3}, *s.v.* 'Persona.

[7] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, i. 391.

[8] *Ib.* p. 394. Skeat connects the terms 'mumming,' 'mummer, with the Low German *Mumme* ('mask'); it is onomatopœic from *mum*, *mom*, used by nurses to frighten or amuse children, while pretending to cover the face.

[9] *Ib.* p. 400 ff.

'Actors sought to draw down blessings on the community by mimicking certain powerful superhuman beings and in their assumed character working those beneficent miracles which in the capacity of mere men they would have confessed themselves powerless to effect.'[1]

The mimetic magical ceremonies of the Central Australian natives are a strong piece of evidence in favour of this view, but it seems more probable that the native mimetic instinct expressed itself first with no particular purpose, being later applied to various magical or religious aims. It is impossible to prove that the earliest masks or even face-paints represented anything but fanciful characters of merely dramatic import.[2] The instinctive delight in personal disguise is a universal element in all the applications of the mask, and is repeated to-day in the custom of civilized peoples of wearing a mask on the upper part of the face at fancy-dress balls, which reproduce the barbaric entertainments of lower cultures. The burglar's mask is another modern reproduction of the idea of disguise, but employed for utilitarian purposes.

9. The swinging mask.—Cases have been cited of the mask being separated from its wearer and becoming more or less of an idol. The ancient Italian *oscilla* are an interesting parallel. These were miniature masks in wax, marble, or terra-cotta, and apparently wool, which were hung up on trees at agricultural festivals, and allowed to swing in the wind.[3] The intention may have been magical, to make the crops or vines grow, by disseminating magical force, by swinging high,[4] or by the virtue of movement.

10. Masks in metaphor and history.—Many obvious metaphors have been inspired by the mask, which need not be recapitulated. In history the Faux Visages, a section of the Ghibelline faction in the 13th cent., otherwise the Mascarati, are curiously repeated in name by the 'False Faces' secret society of the Iroquois.[5] 'The man in the iron-mask' is a historic mystery illustrating the permanent fascination of this element of applied psychology.

LITERATURE.—This is fully given in the article.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

MASS.—See EUCHARIST.

MAṢṢĒBHĀH.—In the OT *maṣṣēbhāh* (מַצֵּבָה) denotes a standing-stone, stele, obelisk, or pillar, sometimes conceived as being an abode of spirit or deity. The name is derived from נצב, 'to set up' (Phœn. מצבת, 'tombstone'; Arab. *nuṣb*, pl. *anṣāb*; Aram. נְצִיב; Syr. prop. name Nisibis; Palmyrene (מצב(א)). The *maṣṣēbhāh* is referred to as a heathen symbol of the Canaanites (Ex 23^{24} E, 34^{13} J, Dt 7^{5} 12^{3}), and as an adjunct to a temple of Baal (2 K 3^{2} $10^{26f.}$). It is frequently conjoined with an *ăshērāh*, which was primarily a sacred tree and later a stump or post (1 K 14^{23}, 2 K 17^{10} 18^{4} 23^{14}). *Maṣṣᵉbhôth* and *ăshērîm* were so frequent that it could be said that they might be found 'upon every high hill, and under every green tree' (2 K 17^{10}). The word *maṣṣēbhāh* is used to describe sacred stones in connexion with an altar (Ex 24^{4} E [erected by Moses], Hos 3^{4} $10^{1f.}$, Is 19^{19} [without condemnation, the article being considered usual in Hebrew worship]). The strong pillars of Tyre doomed to destruction are called *maṣṣᵉbhôth* by Ezekiel (26^{11}), and Jeremiah (43^{13}) uses the same term for the Egyptian obelisks at Heliopolis. The use of *maṣṣēbhôth* is strictly forbidden to Israelites by the Deuteronomic code and in the Law of Holiness (Lv 26^{1}), and the editor of the books of Kings estimates their character in the light of this prohibition. The earlier writers, especially E and Hosea, see no harm in these stones; but the teaching of the other prophets of the 8th cent. evoked an aversion, and Hezekiah, Josiah, and Deuteronomy insist on their destruction. Later writers, such as P, consider the altar a divinely authorized instrument of worship, and they scruple to describe the patriarchs as having anything to do with the *maṣṣēbhāh*, representing them as making altars (cf. LXX Ex 24^{4}, substituting אֲבָנִים, 'stones,' for מצבות). Hebrew monotheism, when fully developed, denuded sun and moon of their ancient divinity (Gn 1^{14-17}): 'The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool: what manner of house will ye build unto me?' (Is 66^{1}). At such a period in Hebrew thought there was no longer any superstitious regard for stones, cairns, cromlechs, or menhirs.

Stones are used with no occult associations.

Samuel commemorates a victory by setting up a stone which he called Eben-ezer (1 S 7^{12}); the Temple has two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, set up in the porch (1 K 7^{21}); inscriptions are recorded on stone (Dt $27^{2f.}$, Ex 34^{1} [the Ten Words]); Rachel's grave is marked by a stone (Gn 35^{20}); Absalom in his lifetime rears a pillar, called a 'hand,' to perpetuate his memory (2 S 18^{18}); an agreement between Jacob and Laban (Gn 31^{45-48}) as to the boundary between them is marked by a stone and cairn (*galᶜēdh*, 'cairn of witness').

When men sought an enduring memorial, when they wished to make the deity the protector of a covenant, they often chose some form of stone as an emblem of the divine presence. Something more than this is indicated in a few instances.

Jacob set up a stone for a *maṣṣēbhāh*, poured oil upon the top of it, and called it Beth-el (Gn 28^{18-22}; Gn 35^{14} adds that Jacob poured a drink-offering thereon). As the *maṣṣēbhāh* is found associated with altars and *ăshērāh* figures in religious centres, Jacob's ceremony implies more than it states. Joshua sets up a stone saying, 'This stone shall be a witness against us: for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he spake unto us' (Jos 24^{27} E). The use of unhewn stones for an altar (Ex 20^{25}, Dt $27^{5f.}$, Jos 8^{31}) betrays the feeling that the chisel would offend the *numen* in the stone.

Semitic and other parallels show that such instances are surviving specimens of an elaborate system of stone-worship. The *maṣṣēbhāh* is found in the cognate languages, and denotes 'lapides qui divi dicuntur' (Lampridius). Among the primitive Arabs 'the *nuṣb* serves as an altar, the victim's blood is smeared over it; hence the name *ghariy*. It is, however, more than an altar, it represents the godhead' (J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentumes*, Berlin, 1887, p. 99). Herodotus (iii. 8) describes Arabs making a covenant.

An umpire draws blood with a sharp stone from the hand of each of the two persons making the contract, and with part of their garments he smears the blood on seven stones placed between them, invoking Orotal and Alilat. Herodotus might have added that the parties tasted each other's blood (W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage*, London, 1907, p. 56 ff.).

The Canaanite high-place discovered at Gezer reveals the conspicuous place assigned to standing-stones in the cult of Palestine before the Hebrew occupation (R. A. S. Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer*, London, 1912). Phœnician coins and temples confirm the sanctity of the stone column, and the Greek name *βαίτυλος*, *βαιτύλιον*, appears to be derived from Beth-el.

'Theophrastus, in the 4th century B.C., depicts the superstitious Greek passing the anointed stones in the streets, taking out his phial and pouring oil on them, falling on his knees to adore, and going his way' (*PC*^{4} ii. 165).

Traces of like practice are recorded down to the present day. A full description of 'a shrine of pre-Islamic stone-worship' with a ritual preserving pre-historic customs in a Turkish village of Macedonia is given by A. J. Evans in his 'Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult' (*JHS* xxi. [1901] 99 ff.). It is due to prophetic intolerance of the irrational and immoral that so slight traces of litholatry remain in the OT.

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[1] *GB*^{3}, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 375; cf. the custom of wearing masks representing the animals about to be hunted. This may have an obviously utilitarian origin (Dall, p. 107, n.).

[2] See the collection in the Godeffroy Museum, and J. D. E. Schmelz and R. Krause, *Die ethnographisch-anthropologische Abteilung des Museum Godeffroy in Hamburg*, Hamburg, 1881.

[3] G. E. Marindin, in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*^{3}, s.v. 'Oscilla.'

[4] *GB*^{3}, pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 283.

[5] Dall, p. 144.

'What mean ye by these stones?' asked the Hebrews; *ratio in obscuro*, answered Tacitus. To seek one principle consistently applied is as hopeless in custom as in a language. Feeling, variable and indifferent to logic, determines usage in regard to sacred stones. Mountains have inspired awe and affection—*e.g.*, Olympus, Fujiyama, Hermon, Horeb, Sinai—and it has been suggested that the sacred pillar is a little model of the Holy Hill. Meteorites have been found and treasured; and, if the host of heaven received adoration, any fragment coming on a path of light, like a falling star, or supposed to be sent amid thunder and lightning would command devotion (cf. Diana of the Ephesians and the image which fell down from Jupiter [Ac 19^{35}]; *βαιτύλιον* in Damascenus, quoted by Photius [A.D. 850], *Biblioth.* 342*b*, 26; 348*a*, 28; the Ka'ba at Mecca, as R. Burton thinks [*Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, London, 1893, ii. 300 f.], retaining its sanctity in spite of Islām). Moreover, the shadow of a pillar is a clue to the movement of the sun and the regulation of the calendar. The structures at Stonehenge 'had for the most part an astronomical use in connexion with religious ceremonials' (N. Lockyer, *Nature*, lxxiii. [1905–06] 153; see also series of Notes on Stonehenge, *ib.* lxxii. [1905] 32, 246, 270, lxxiii. 224). The same conclusion is maintained with regard to the standing-stones of Stenness in Orkney by M. Spence (*Scottish Review*, xxii. [1893] 401–417). The late Hebrew term חַמָּנִים, rendered uniformly 'sun-images' in RV (Ezk 6^{4-6}, Lv 26^{30}, Is 17^{8} 27^{9}, 2 Ch 14^{5} [cf. 14^{3}] $34^{4.\,7}$), probably represents the *maṣṣēbhāh* with solar associations. Palestine had a human past before the Hebrews entered it. The stone-tables (dolmens) occurring in hundreds suggested imitation; the menhirs to the east of the Jordan served as prototypes of the *maṣṣēbhāh*. Of the more obvious influences specified by the Biblical writers the commemoration of the dead has always been the strongest inspiration.

Cup-markings on the *maṣṣēbhāh* or on adjoining altars are not infrequent (cf. art. CUP- AND RING-MARKINGS). On an altar they are supposed to receive the blood of the victim; on a tombstone they would serve for food and drink offered to the dead, although a plain Turk explained the hollows on tombstones as meant to gather water for the birds. The cups are sometimes in the side, not on the upper surface of the stone; and they may be arranged in the shape of a horse-shoe. Cup-markings are held to be inconsistent with the purpose of the pillar in one case at Gezer, and the situation showed that the cups and pillar had not originated at the same period (*PEFSt* xxxvi. [1904] 112 f.). The cupped stone is cited to explain Zec 3^{9}: 'Behold the stone that I have set before Joshua; upon one stone are seven eyes: behold, I will engrave the graving thereof, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will remove the iniquity of that land in one day.'

An article by B. D. Eerdmans (in *JBL* xxx. [1911] 109–113), entitled 'The Sepulchral Monument "Maṣṣebah,"' has revived discussion on the meaning of the pillars.

> 'The maṣṣebah is easily explained as a house for the soul. Therefore the name of the deceased person is inscribed upon it; and the monument itself is called "soul." The male form was chosen for the graves of men, the female form for the graves of women' (p. 113).

This result has, with some reservations, been approved by E. Sellin, who adds corroborations and, in consequence, suggests striking interpretations of Is 6^{13} and $51^{1\text{f.}}$ (*OLZ* xi. [1912] 119 ff., 371 ff., 568 f.). The views of Eerdmans and Sellin are strongly contested by K. Budde (*ib.* 248 ff., 469 ff.). This indication of sex is a welcome improvement on the *suggestio concupiscentiæ* which prevailed for some time. In spite of Herodotus, ii. 106, and similar testimony in Lucian, and the phallic columns at Gezer and Petra, it appears that this was a subsidiary and occasional interpretation of the standing-stones. The feeling that the stone slab or pillar may serve as a resting-place for the soul is supported by the Jewish custom in Oriental cemeteries (בֵּית חַיִּים, as they are called) of giving every individual a stone. The inscribed name indicates the sex, apart from a special shape of the stone. The tombstone of a Rabbi or of a person who died of cholera has a distinctive shape.

LITERATURE.—In addition to sources cited in the art. see W. Baudissin, art. 'Malsteine,' in *PRE*³ for main works since 1685; P. Thomsen, *Kompendium der palästinischen Altertumskunde*, Tübingen, 1913, contains references to recent periodical literature.

D. M. KAY.

MASTER AND SERVANT.—See EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYMENT.

MATERIALISM. — Materialism is one of several types of metaphysical theory concerning the nature and number of the ultimate principles to be assumed in order to explain the universe. Dualism (*q.v.*) asserts that two independent principles must be presupposed, viz. mind and matter. Monism (*q.v.*)—in the qualitative sense—regards these two principles as simply modes or aspects of one ultimate. Monism—in the quantitative sense—is opposed to dualism in regarding one principle as sufficient. There are two kinds of such monistic theory: spiritualism, which affirms mind or spirit to be the only ultimate reality, and materialism, which makes the same assertion of matter. Thus, according to the doctrine of materialism, extended, impenetrable, eternally self-existent matter, susceptible of motion, is the one fundamental constituent of the universe; mind or consciousness is but a mode or a property of such matter, and psychical processes are reducible to physical. More precisely, there are three kinds of metaphysical materialism, thus described by Külpe (*Introd. to Philosophy*, Eng. tr., p. 117): '*attributive* materialism, which makes mind an attribute of matter; *causal* . . ., which makes it an effect of matter; and *equative* . . ., which looks upon mental processes as really material in character.'

1. History.—The atomism of Leucippus and Democritus is the earliest example of materialistic theory. According to these philosophers, the physical world is composed of invisible material particles, and mind is made up of similar atoms, smaller, rounder, smoother, and more mobile. The theory reduced all qualitative differences to quantitative (of size, form, arrangement), banished final cause or intelligent purpose from the world, denied the immortality of the soul, and interpreted the universe only in terms of mechanism and fixed law. The last element in early Greek atomism does not necessarily presuppose or involve materialistic theory, though Lange, the historian of materialism, seems to see in it the chief virtue of early materialistic speculation. The theory of Leucippus and Democritus was developed by Epicurus and Lucretius, with certain modifications.

At the beginning of the modern period the early Greek materialism was revived by P. Gassendi, who, however, deprived it of metaphysical significance by reconciling it with belief in God as Creator of the atoms. T. Hobbes, at the same time, taught a similar view, so that, though the tone of his philosophical system is materialistic, he cannot be called a thoroughgoing materialist. He strongly insisted that all that exists is body or matter, and that motion is the only kind of change in the universe. Gradually developing in England, materialism perhaps reached its climax in the writings of the French Encyclopædists (*q.v.*), after science had revealed how closely psychical states and mental development depend on the body. P. H. D. Holbach's *Système de la nature* (London, 1770), which rejects every form of spiritualism and supernaturalism, marks the culmination of this movement of thought.

Nearer to our own time materialism appeared, as a reaction from post-Kantian idealism, with renewed energy in Germany, K. C. Vogt, J. Moleschott, and L. Büchner being its leading exponents at about the middle of the 19th century. Their writings, though evincing—for the first time, perhaps, in the history of materialism—some sense of the need of an epistemological foundation for a metaphysic which resolves mental process into material, reveal great crudity of thought and knowledge in this connexion, and in spite of their popularity are of no philosophical worth to an age which is careful and critical as to epistemological presuppositions, especially such as are involved in the physical sciences. Description of physical and even mental processes, in the language of materialism, is easier to science; and this fact, together with the jubilant confidence with which science, flushed with many successes, over-hastily exaggerated its own scope and functions a generation ago, accounts for the materialistic colouring which many generalizations of natural knowledge have received—a colouring which has often been taken by students of the physical sciences, unpractised in philosophical reflexion and criticism, for an essential implication or consequence of scientific truth rightly so called. T. Huxley, who on occasion could teach materialism of the most dogmatic kind, and in another mood would capitulate to spiritualism, sought permanent refuge in agnosticism; and, since his earlier and more militant essays, materialism has found no literary champion among British scientists. In dogmatic form it is to be found to-day, perhaps, only in the literature of secularist 'free' thought. Even the monism of E. Haeckel, which is materialism in all but its name, awakens no enthusiasm among scientific students in Britain; it is rightly regarded as involving an obsolete standpoint which science, more silent and cautious—if not more critical—than formerly, has left behind.

2. The attractiveness and plausibility of materialism.—The chief outbursts of materialistic metaphysic have coincided with occasions of renewed interest in, or remarkable progress of, physical science. The emergence of this tendency to regard the world as fundamentally material, at successive epochs in the history of thought, is evidence that materialism strongly commends itself to many minds, especially to those whose studies chiefly lie in the sphere of the physical sciences.

There are many reasons for the attractiveness of materialism as a metaphysical theory or view-of-the-world to such minds, and the view possesses great plausibility when it is contemplated from the epistemological standpoint which the natural sciences, as well as the philosophy of common sense or ordinary social intercourse, take for granted. These reasons may now be specified, and the assumed theory of knowledge whence they derive their plausibility examined.

One reason why, as H. Höffding says (*Problems of Philosophy*, New York, 1905, p. 140), 'ever and again essays are made in the materialistic direction, although—since the advent of the critical philosophy—not with such dogmatic assurance as formerly,' is that our knowledge of matter, its changes and its properties, is so much greater, and so much more easy to obtain, than our knowledge of mind. Psychology is a comparatively young science. In so far as it embraces psychophysics and is pursued in its relation to physiology, even psychology deals with matter rather than with mind. And in so far as it is pursued by the analytic method—the only truly psychological one—it is a study beset with enormous difficulties. Moreover, such psychological knowledge as is forthcoming and established is rarely studied by the investigator of physical phenomena, so that he proceeds in abstraction from essential elements involved in every 'objective' fact that he examines and classifies. Psychology, again, more immediately involves metaphysics, which for the most part is as yet disputed ground. Lastly, the physical sciences owe much of their prestige to the fact that they are based on measurement, and, being thus quantitative, are capable of mathematical treatment, whereas in psychology (of the pure or analytic kind) measurement is out of the question.

The physical sciences, again, impress us with their connectedness. The connectedness of the material world exercises an overwhelming power on our minds, and especially upon the imagination. Mind, on the other hand, is discontinuous; it is known only in the form of individual minds; and these minds are not known, as yet, with anything like certainty, to communicate with each other through any other medium than that of matter. Further, we know minds only in connexion with bodies or material organisms, and, so far as observation goes, we have no knowledge of mind existing independently of body, though—again, so far as observation goes—it seems that most material 'things' exist without mind. Science teaches us also of the past history of a material world which existed for ages before organic beings, which alone experience enables us certainly to endow with minds, could exist upon it. Yet more impressive is the array of facts furnished by physiology, comparative anatomy and psychology, and pathology as to the concomitance of psychical processes with physical, their dependence on material phenomena such as the functioning of the brain, the correlation of mental development throughout the animal kingdom with organization and complexity of brain-structure, the effects upon mind of injury or disease in brain tissue, and so forth. Thus a very strong, clear, and convincing case for the priority of matter to mind, and for the dependence of the mental on the material, is presented by science; and there is much to suggest that consciousness is a property, and, indeed, a product or an effect, of matter or material process. The progress of science would seem, as Huxley put it, to have meant the extension of mechanical law and the realm of matter, and the concomitant banishment of spirit and spontaneity from the universe, and to afford as good ground for asserting mental phenomena to be effects of material as for asserting heat to be due to physical causes.

Moreover, it may be added, it is impossible to invalidate this coherent and cumulative argument for materialism from the standpoint of the physical sciences. No countercase can be made, for instance, out of the fact, if it be a fact, that to some mental events no correlated material changes within the brain have been discovered; for future research may possibly discover them, and it is precarious to stake our metaphysical theory on gaps in scientific knowledge. Nor can materialism be refuted by saying that thought, or consciousness in general, is unlike other activities or properties of matter. Heat, light, sound, and electricity are qualitatively different, yet all of them are properties of matter or of ether possessing some of the characteristics of matter. It is a baseless dogma that the effect must resemble the cause, so long as we refer to phenomenal causes and effects. Science, in its more abstract developments, does indeed reduce all diversity to quantitative difference, all causality to identity, so that heat, light, electricity, etc., are resolved into motions of matter—*i.e.* of extended and inert substance; but at this level of analysis consciousness, looked upon as one kind of phenomenon among others, and regarded from the purely or abstractly objective point of view adopted by science, might similarly be held capable of resolution into physical antecedents. Perhaps the most that can be urged, from this epistemological standpoint, in opposition to materialism, is that the adoption of it as metaphysical truth would involve us in absolute scepticism, and therefore in doubt as to the validity of materialism. For, if thoughts and all other modes of being conscious are produced by material causes, and their co-existences and sequences are mechanically determined (so that all purposiveness is excluded), there would seem to be no reason for believing that any of our thoughts and judgments, even concerning matter, are true. This argument should suffice to dispose of the dogmatic certainty of materialism, though not necessarily of the possibility of its (indemonstrable) truth. That material change, while ever pursuing the sole path of least resistance, should throw off psychical epi-phenomena, the connexion of which is that of logical sequence, is a possibility with which the materialist must be credited, and to which, perhaps, his opponent will allow him to be welcome. A similar crux which materialism has to encounter is the order in the universe. If there be enough disorder to disturb the equanimity of the spiritualist and to put the theist in a difficulty, there is surely too much order in the world to allow the materialist to feel at home there.

3. **Refutation of materialism.**—But there are more telling arguments against a materialistic metaphysic than any of those hitherto mentioned. They emerge only when the question of the epistemological standpoint of physical science is raised, and the first principles and presuppositions of such knowledge are exposed to the searching light of criticism.

When science boasts of the 'objectivity' of its knowledge, it does not merely imply possession of knowledge (concerning fact) such as is universal, or capable of being common to all subjects—which is a perfectly legitimate contention; it further drops out of sight altogether, as convenient or essential to its own practical procedure, all reference to the subject of such knowledge, or to the subjective elements which are essential to the very existence of knowledge at all, and which survive in some form even when science has developed its abstractive processes to the furthest limit. Rightly recognizing that any object of universal human experience, such as the sun, is 'independent' of any individual subject's consciousness, we are often apt to speak as if such an object were similarly independent of the experience of human subjects collectively—which is a very different matter. The phenomena which science studies are not indeed the objects of individual experience, the nature of which—in complete isolation from intercourse with other individuals' experience—we can only guess or reconstruct in part; but they are the sum of objective elements common to many individual experiences. Consciousness of an object which is not owned, a cognition which is nobody's, a phenomenon which does not appear to some subject—these things are impossible, inconceivable, and meaningless. Knowledge, moreover, as distinguished from pure passive sensation (if there be such a thing in reality), reveals the work of subjective activity and creative elaboration; and the more generalized and abstract the principles of theoretical science become, the more, and not the less, of this teleological or subjective shaping, guided by interests, ends, and purposes, do they disclose. Thus, to consider the 'objects' of universal experience as entirely sundered from, or independent of, all subjects, to regard the phenomena of science as the phenomena *per se*, however convenient and harmless it may be for purposes of ordinary discourse and practical scientific investigation and description, is epistemologically false, or, rather, nonsensical. Yet it is precisely by the erection of this colloquial fiction into an epistemological principle that materialism and all kindred forms of thought obtain a fixed foundation. Experience—the only ultimate *datum*, the one thing which cannot be doubted or explained away without involving the assertion of its reality—is always essentially a duality in unity, subjective and objective; either aspect without the other is an impossibility. Science can ignore—so long as it confines itself to its own business—the one element in experience, the subjective, though of course its whole procedure involves subjective activity; and it ignores it so completely that its students have sometimes come to look upon what they have agreed to leave out of sight (it being none of their business) as non-existent. Objects come to be talked of as if they were really subjectless; their independence, their priority, their exclusive reality come to be affirmed. The scientist, leaving himself out of account at the beginning, cannot discover himself at the end; he is thus led to think that his own mind, which has largely shaped his phenomena and made them what they are for him, is but an illusion, an effect, an epiphenomenon, a shadow cast by the machinery that he is engaged in contemplating. It is small wonder that, when science, without raising the previous question as to the nature of experience and the implications and presuppositions of knowledge, sets out in quest of a metaphysic, it should land in materialism. It is just as natural that, setting out forearmed with knowledge of the elements of the science of knowledge, it should come, when it seeks a metaphysic at all, to adopt the opposite creed of spiritualism.

Once, then, the materialist is allowed the right to talk of objects without implicated subjects, of 'purely objective' facts, of phenomena *per se*, he can proceed to lay before us an array of imposing facts and arguments which, from the standpoint conceded to him, are as irrefutable as they are impressive. But, once the epistemological assumption that objects, as known to us, can exist to be known independently of all experiencing subjects is shown to be impossible, the tables are turned. Not only do the arguments in question lose all their apparent force, but consciousness, which materialism would resolve into an epi-phenomenal effect or property of self-existent matter, is seen to be the primary reality, and matter as we know it is shown to be a conceptual construction of mind. Materialism, we conclude, misunderstands human experience, in which subjective and objective form one whole, while they are gradually differentiated only through increasingly complicated processes of conceptual distinction. The objective, moreover, is not to be identified with the material, as if these were convertible terms. Matter is a conceptual abstraction from experience, and so cannot be taken for the ground or source thereof. Atoms, again, are only figurative ideas; and that they have to be endowed with the very attributes which, in gross matter, they were invented to explain, if not indeed with attributes that contradict all observation, is a sufficient warning against adoption of the naively realistic view that they are corporeal or material particles.

Materialism also involves the old and obsolete assumption that the so-called secondary characters of matter (colour, tone, odour, etc.) are fundamentally different from the so-called primary (extension, impenetrability, etc.). It was one of G. Berkeley's great contributions to philosophy to show that this distinction is untenable. The secondary qualities of matter have been generally admitted to be 'in our mind' and not 'in matter.' But on closer examination it is to be seen that the primary qualities are in precisely the same case. Our idea of extension, for instance, is gained only through touch or sight; and the perceived 'size' of a body depends on our distance from it. That a material object is of the same size, though at one time it may appear larger and at another smaller to a percipient, is an inference, and involves the revision of the evidence of our senses by reasoning. The extension which we attribute to a physical object, then, is inferred, and not perceived, extension; and, if we abstract from our idea of extension the sensation-elements supplied by touch or sight, nothing remains. Therefore matter possesses extension no more than it possesses colour, except as perceived by our minds. If, then, there be anything at all (which Berkeley denied) other than our minds and the direct action of God upon them which causes the sensations whence our idea of extension (or any other quality of matter) is derived, it is obvious that this something cannot be matter as it is perceived. There may be what J. S. Mill called a 'permanent possibility of sensation' independent of us, whose *esse* is not *percipi*; but, if there be, it is an entity wholly different from the 'matter' of physical science and common sense, and, for all we know, may just as aptly be described as mind or spirit. We can, therefore, without self-contradiction ascribe our sensations to God (Berkeley) or to other spiritual existences (pluralism); but we cannot ascribe them to matter as perceived. Either of the views just mentioned would explain our experience; and, unless we ascribe our sensations to the influence of other spiritual existences endowed with 'being for self,' we cannot but assume, with Berkeley, that the noumenal matter, the substratum of sensations, the substance which constitutes the permanent possibility of sensation, is but a medium or means existing solely for our sakes, and one which, from a theist's point of view, must seem superfluous. The concept of matter, then, is built on the basis of sense-impressions; and materialism uses this manifestly conceptual construction to explain the origin of sense-impressions. It thus seeks to derive the underived from the derived.

There are several other inconsistencies involved in materialistic doctrine, one or two of which may briefly be mentioned. Materialism implies that everything which happens and is accompanied by consciousness of its happening would happen equally well without consciousness; or, in other words, that consciousness makes no difference to the course of the world. But, if so, it is difficult, on the theory of evolution by survival of the fittest, which is the current scientific explanation of the origin and permanence of every organ and every function, as well as of every individual organism and every species, to account for the emergence, and still more for the development, of mind. Materialism, again, of the more thoroughgoing type, regards consciousness as the product or effect of matter, while cherishing the principle of *ex nihilo nihil fit* in its application to what physicists call 'energy.' The law of the Conservation of Energy is often held—though doubtless quite erroneously—to assert that not only is there quantitative equivalence between the energy which, in any physical change, disappears in one form and that which appears in another, but also that the sum-total of energy in the universe is constant. The latter, and illegitimate, part of the generalization has been a tenet of materialists; and it is difficult to reconcile it with their assertion that mental phenomena are caused by material. For in every such production of consciousness a disappearance of physical energy should take place, unless energy is also attributable to consciousness. The last view is so objectionable on many grounds to materialists, partly because it opens the possibility that mind can produce physical effects, that they have avoided working it out. Lastly, it is generally admitted that materialism cannot explain even the simplest type of conscious process. The difficulty of conceiving how a sensation or a feeling could be the necessary consequence or effect of motion in matter or mass-points, and of imagining how mathematical physics would cope with such a possibility, is overwhelming; and, of course, it has never been faced.

4. Recent substitutes for materialism: hylozoism.—It is not surprising, under the pressure of all these difficulties and in the light of the self-criticism to which the structure of physical science has of late been subjected, that materialism should at the present time be a practically abandoned philosophical theory. Useful as a method, it is wanting as a metaphysic; and representatives of natural science with a leaning towards metaphysical speculation and a preference for materialistic terminology adopt in its stead a monism which has much in common with the ancient doctrine of hylozoism, according to which all matter is not inert—as mathematical physics asserts for its necessary postulate—but living. Thus J. Tyndall was willing to endow primordial matter with 'the promise and potency of life'; and W. K. Clifford, in his 'mind-dust' hypothesis, and Haeckel, in his imaginative theory of atoms indwelt by rudimentary souls, go yet further, and couple hylozoism with pan-psychism.

Hylozoism is as ancient as the Ionian school of Greek philosophy, and was taught in a crude form by Thales. The Stoic doctrine of a world-soul is another form of it, revived and developed by several thinkers in the period of the Renaissance (Paracelsus, Telesio, Bruno, etc.). Hylozoism reappears again in the writings of the Cambridge Platonists (*q.v.*), as well as in the speculations of philosophers such as J. B. Robinet and G. T. Fechner; and pan-psychism—the view that all matter is psychical or has a psychical aspect—which was held by Spinoza ('omnia quamvis diversis gradibus animata' [*Ethics*, ii. prop. xiii. note]) and Leibniz, is common to the numerous advocates whom pluralism finds at the present day. It is doubtful whether hylozoism, with its assertion that all matter is organized or living, can be maintained without the further assumption of pan-psychism, that the real elements of the world, and all that we call 'things,' are psychical entities endowed with 'being for self'; and, indeed, many writers seem to use the term 'hylozoism' as if it included the latter doctrine. But, without this added implication, and taken in the etymological sense alone, hylozoism involves the repudiation of most of the consequences drawn from rigid materialism. For it denies the inertia of matter and the statement that motion is exclusively caused by external forces, crediting material bodies with capacity for self-movement, and regarding life as an inherent or essential property of all matter as such. Thus, as Kant saw, hylozoism is the death-blow to science—'science' being understood, as Kant understood it, to mean *a priori* pure or mathematical physics. The latter kind of knowledge being assumed by Kant to be necessary and universal, he could write thus:

> 'The possibility of living matter cannot even be thought; its concept involves a contradiction because lifelessness, *inertia*, constitutes the essential character of matter' (*Kritik of Judgment*, tr. J. H. Bernard, London, 1892, p. 804).

While Kant thus saw that hylozoism meant ruin to science in so far as it involves the calculability (by an intelligence higher than ours, though strictly finite like that imagined by Laplace) of all past and future states of the world from a sufficient knowledge of the position and motion of each of its mass-points at any given moment, modern upholders of the mind-stuff hypothesis, and of Haeckel's hylozoistic or pan-psychic theory, have not been so clear-sighted. They would retain materialism, for all intents and purposes, while changing its name. Qualitative monism is, indeed, in all its forms a position of unstable equilibrium; or, to change the metaphor, it is a half-way house (for temporary lodging) between materialism and spiritualism. And, as retreat upon materialism becomes more and more impossible, as hylozoism is seen to possess greater capacity to explain actuality than the doctrine of dead and absolutely inert matter, and as, finally, life means the power to act or change according to an internal principle, while only one such principle is known to us—*i.e.* thought, together with feeling, desire, and will, which depend upon it—it will doubtless come to be more and more plainly seen that the implications of natural science are not materialistic but spiritualistic.

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F. R. TENNANT.

MATERIALISM (Chinese).—Chinese religion and philosophy have been declared by many writers to be materialistic; one of them[1] went even so far as to regard materialism as a special creed taking rank with Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. This view implies a misconception of materialism: a philosopher who does not believe in a personal God, or who assigns to a Supreme Being a substantial body, is not a materialist. Materialism assumes matter to be the only basis of reality. This is 'cosmological materialism,' to be distinguished from 'ethical materialism,' which sees the aim of life in egotism, pleasure, and sensuality. Both are to be found in China, but they are not at the root of her great religious systems, although materialistic tendencies may be found occasionally. Nobody will seriously think of imputing materialism to the Buddhist faith, which teaches that the visible world is nothing but a semblance, a vision without any reality. Taoism takes a similar view-point: there exists nothing except Tao, the Absolute, a supernatural, incomprehensible entity. But how about Confucianism, which has often been described as materialistic?

Confucius himself owned to a 'benevolent agnosticism,' declining all metaphysical speculations, but was not averse to popular beliefs and customs. To a disciple asking him about death he replied, 'While you do not know life, how can you know about death?' and on another occasion he made the remark, 'Show respect to the spirits, but keep aloof from them.'[2] He believed in a superior being which he called Heaven, but never used the personal name God—a fact by which he laid himself open to the charge of atheism. Probably he had no clear notion of heaven, but certainly he did not conceive it as an anthropomorphic god. Still more than Confucius himself his followers, especially the philosophers of the Sung period (12th cent. A.D.), have been denounced as materialists, but unjustly. The system of Chu Hsi, the head of this school, is a pure dualism. He recognizes two principles, matter and reason, and to the latter even concedes priority. Out of their combination the world was evolved. Matter splits into the five elements (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth); reason is the life- and mind-producing element, which also contains the virtues (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge).

Another kind of dualism savouring much of materialism was in vogue in ancient China, and seems to have been the starting-point of Chu Hsi's philosophy. At the earlier stages of civilization religion, philosophy, and sciences are usually not yet separated. So it was in China, where we meet with the dualistic theory of *yin* and *yang* in Confucian as well as in Taoist works. It was the first germ of a natural philosophy universally accepted by the Chinese irrespective of their religious convictions or philosophic ideas. In the commentary to the *Yi King* ascribed to Tse-sse, the grandson of Confucius (5th cent. B.C.), we read that the origin of existence is due to the cosmic dual forces *yin* and *yang*; *yang* is the bright, male, generative principle, *yin* the dark, female, and receptive power; *yang* forms the heaven, *yin* the earth. Most Chinese critics look upon these principles as material substances—an interpretation open to doubt. But we have another testimony by the Taoist writer Lieh-tse of the same time, showing that he at least considered the *yin* and the *yang* to be substances. The evolution theory, though not quite scientific, reminds us of that of modern naturalists.

> 'The sages of old held that the Yang and the Yin govern heaven and earth. Now, form being born out of the formless, from what do heaven and earth take their origin? It is said: There was a great evolution, a great inception, a great beginning, and a great homogeneity. During the great evolution, Vapours were still imperceptible, in the great inception Vapours originate, in the great beginning Forms appear, and during the great homogeneity Substances are produced. The pure and light matter becomes the heaven above, the turbid and heavy matter forms the earth below' (Lieh-tse, i. 27).

No divine being intervenes in the creation of the world, and yet we are not justified in calling Lieh-tse a materialist, for, notwithstanding this materialistic theory, the highest principle remains Tao, a spiritual being which alone is endowed with reality; the world with all its changes is imaginary.

At an early age the Chinese had further developed this dualistic theory of *yin* and *yang* by enlarging on the working of the five elements which were conceived as physical and as metaphysical essences as well. They were believed to predominate and vanquish one another in regular turns, thus bringing about the four seasons: in spring the element wood reigns supreme, in summer fire, in autumn metal, and in winter water; to earth there is no corresponding season. The elements have their seat in different directions: wood in the east, fire in the south, earth in the centre, metal in the west, and water in the north. They are ruled by five deities, the genii of the seasons and the four quarters.

Whereas this attempt at natural philosophy is nothing but a medley of heterogeneous, more or less fanciful, thoughts, the old dualistic theory was transformed into a consistent materialistic system by the sceptic Wang Chʻung (1st cent. A.D.). From various utterances it would appear that he thought of *yang* as a fiery and of *yin* as a watery element. The former produced the sun, the moon, and the other stars of heaven, while from water and its sediments earth, the oceans, and the atmosphere were developed. Both fluids are in constant motion, but their movement is not governed by any intelligence or subservient to the purpose of any *spiritus rector*; it is spontaneous and regulated solely by its own inherent natural laws; heaven and earth do not act on purpose, nor are they endowed with consciousness. Wang Chʻung rejects all anthropomorphisms which have clustered round the idea of heaven or God. The human body is formed of the two fluids, the *yin* producing the body, and the *yang* the vital spirit and the mind. At death they again disperse, the *yang*, or heavenly fluid, returning to its original state of unconsciousness. Consequently there can be no immortality, which Chu Hsi likewise disclaims.

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[1] H. A. Giles, *Religions of Ancient China*.

[2] *Anal.* xi. 11, vi. 20.

Wang Ch'ung's materialism has not had any serious influence on the Chinese people, not because they had a horror of materialism, as many Westerners have, but owing to Wang Ch'ung's bold criticisms on the national sages, Confucius and Mencius, which they have never condoned. So far as we know, Wang Ch'ung is the only Chinese thinker who set forth a scientific system of cosmological materialism.

Already in the 4th cent. B.C. ethical materialism found an advocate in Yang Chu, the philosopher of egoism and pessimism. He maintains that in human life happiness is far exceeded by misfortune, and that this is the result of the badness of the world and of men's own doing. The practice of virtue is of no avail, because in this world the wicked thrive, and the virtuous are visited with disasters. Therefore men ought not to harass themselves in striving after unattainable or useless aims such as wealth, honour, or fame, or sacrifice themselves for others, but should enjoy their short span and be satisfied with the good that they have, for with death everything ends. In consequence of the vehement impeachments of Mencius this doctrine has never got a hold on the Chinese mind.

Both Yang Chu and Wang Ch'ung have been long buried in oblivion, until they were redeemed from it by the congenial interest of foreign admirers.

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A. FORKE.

MATERIALISM (Indian).—1. We possess several comparatively modern works which set forth the various philosophic systems of India—e.g., *Summary of all the Systems*,[1] and *Reunion of the Six Systems*.[2] The systems are arranged in the order of their increasing orthodoxy, from the author's point of view: the first, for which, as we shall see, materialism is a suitable name, is the worst of all, and the only one which is expressly in contradiction with the general conception of Indian philosophy and mysticism.

In more ancient sources—in the *Mahābhārata*, on the one side, and in the Buddhist scriptures, canonical or scholastic, on the other—we find data concerning this materialistic system which are scanty but generally in agreement.[3]

As regards the sources that would give us direct information about the materialist school only a few citations can be brought forward, and their authenticity is not certain.[1]

We are not convinced that a materialistic 'school,' a 'system,' in the exact sense of the word, existed. There have been 'materialists' who have entertained some very well-defined theories, to whom the 'spiritualists,' whether Brāhmans, Buddhists, or Jains, give different names, and whose opinions are, perhaps artificially, grouped in the works of which we have spoken.

The most characteristic name is Nāstikas, literally 'deniers,' 'misbelievers,' those who say *na asti*, οὐκ ἔστι.[2] The most famous are (*a*) Chārvākas (difficult to interpret; Chārvāka is said to be the founder of the sect; he is undoubtedly the demoniac ogre spoken of in the *Mahābhārata*);[3] (*b*) Lokāyatas,[4] 'worldly,' 'spread throughout the world' (a term which, according to T. W. Rhys Davids, denotes primarily the knowledge of nature-lore, and whose adherents are said to be the 'explainers of [the genesis of] the world'); and (*c*) Bārhaspatyas, 'disciples of Bṛhaspati' (the chaplain of the Vedic gods and the lord of wisdom).

2. In the Buddhist *Suttas* the doctrine of materialism is attributed to 'Ajita of the garment of hair,' one of the scholars and famous ascetics of the time of Buddha. He said:

> 'There is no such thing as alms or sacrifice or offering. There is neither fruit nor result of good and evil deeds. There is no such thing as this world or the next. There is neither father nor mother, nor beings springing into life without them. There are in the world no recluses or Brāhmans . . . who, having understood and realised, by themselves alone, both this world and the next, make their wisdom known to others. A human being is built up of the four elements. When he dies, the earthy in him returns and relapses to the earth, the fluid to the water, the heat to the fire, the windy to the air, and his faculties [=the five senses, and the mind as a sixth] pass into space [or ether]. The four bearers, on the bier as a fifth, take his dead body away; till they reach the burning-ground men utter forth eulogies, but there his bones are bleached, and his offerings end in ashes. It is a doctrine of fools, this talk of gifts. It is an empty lie, mere idle talk, when men say there is profit therein. Fools and wise alike, on the dissolution of the body, are cut off, annihilated, and after death they are not.'[5]

It will be seen (1) that these formulæ show a really authentic character. They are quite independent of Buddhism, for the Buddhists do not believe much more than Ajita in the use of sacrifice and offering. Perhaps they come from the Agnikas or Jatilas (ascetics who give burnt offerings, who have braided hair), who entered in large numbers into the primitive community, and for whom the time of novitiate was shortened 'because they believed in the retribution of actions.'

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[1] Skr. text, ed, Calcutta, 1858, and Poona, 1906; *The Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha, or Review of the different Systems of Hindu Philosophy*, by Mādhavāchārya (A.D. 1331), tr. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, London, 1882; Germ. tr. (which owes much to Cowell's work, but does not mention it) in P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, I. iii. (Leipzig, 1908).

[2] *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuchchaya*, by Haribhadra († A.D. 528), ed. L. Suali, Calcutta, 1905 (the chapter which interests us has been translated into French by L. Suali, in *Muséon*, ix. [1908] 277 ff.); among the other 'modern' sources is the *Prabodhachandrodaya*, xxvii. 18 (11th cent.).

[3] For the *Mahābhārata* see E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901, and the works on materialism cited in the bibliography; *Bhagavad-Gītā*, xvi. 6 (tr. L. D. Barnett, Temple Classics Series, London, 1905, p. 158).

[1] Citations in the 'summaries' mentioned in notes 1 and 2 on previous col.; and also in the Buddhist sources (see p. 494a, n. 4).

[2] *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, Manu, *Mahābhārata*; the name originally extended to all kinds of sceptics, deniers of the Vedic gods, or of the Brāhmanic laws (see below).

[3] See O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Petrograd, 1855–75, ii. 997.

[4] See Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. (Oxford, 1899) 14, 110, 139, 166. C. Bendall (*Athenæum*, 30th June 1900) rightly remarks that Rhys Davids is wrong in saying: 'Of the real existence of a school of philosophy that called itself by the name [Lokāyata] there is no trace.' The traces are numerous. See also art. LOKĀYATA.

[5] *Dīgha Nikāya*, i. 55; *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, iii. 307; *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 515, and also in the Sanskrit sources. This passage has often been translated. The version reproduced above is that of Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 73. Attention should be drawn to those of E. Burnouf (*Le Lotus de la bonne loi*, Paris, 1852), P. Grimblot (*Sept Suttas pâlis*, do. 1876), and R. O. Franke (*Dīghanikāya in Auswahl übersetzt*, Göttingen, 1913). The sacred writings of the Jains contain the same evidence, and confirm the Buddhist tradition (see H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, ii. pp. xxiii, 339, 343; *SBE* xlv. [1895]).

A more complete study would describe the opinions of Pūraṇa Kassapa, another materialist contemporary with Buddha (*Dīgha*, i. 52), who denies responsibility, and teaches what is called the 'theory of non-action': 'If with a discus with an edge sharp as a razor he should make all living creatures on the earth one heap, one mass of flesh, there would be no guilt thence resulting, no increase of guilt would ensue'; and the opinions of Makkhali, who denies liberty: 'There is no such thing as power or energy, or human strength or human vigour. . . . Beings are bent this way and that by their fate, by their individual nature,' and comes very near the well-known point of view of the *Mahābhārata*, namely, the omnipotence of fate (*daiva*) and the weakness of human activity (*puruṣakāra*). It was Buddha who said that fate (*daiva*) is only the sum of our former actions.

(2) Ajita does not believe in life after death or re-birth; he believes only in the four elements, earth, water, heat, wind, conceived in a materialistic sense; he therefore denies the fifth element, consciousness or cognition (*vijñāna*), which, under different names and in different manners, constitutes, in the 'orthodox' or 'spiritualistic' systems, the essential of what the West calls the 'soul.'[1] The doctrine attributed to the materialists by later sources, viz. that 'thought develops in the human body from a special mixture of the elements like the intoxicating power of the fermentation of the grain or of the juice of the sugar-cane,' arises quite naturally from this ancient theory of Ajita.

(3) Ajita denies the fruit of good and bad actions, and, consequently, morality. He is a Nāstika, a 'denier.' He certainly denies sacrifice, supernatural births, etc., but, of all these denials, the denial of the remuneration of good and bad actions is the most monstrous. The Buddhist works teach that false opinion (*mithyādṛṣṭi*) consists essentially in this denial, which destroys the 'roots of merit' and causes a man to commit all kinds of sin.[2]

Ajita seems to have led an ascetic life; but 'unbelievers,' 'deniers,' are usually 'libertines,' if we believe our sources, which attribute to them sayings like the following:

> 'As long as we live we ought to live happily, enjoying the pleasures of the senses. How can the body reappear after it has been reduced to ashes?'[3]

3. What leads us to believe that there was, properly speaking, a materialist school, is the double philosophical theory that our texts attribute to the deniers.

(*a*) 'The only means of knowledge (*pramāṇa*) is the immediate evidence of the senses.' All orthodox Indian schools are wrong in appealing to induction (*anumāna*) or to authority (the word of a competent person, of an omniscient being [*sarvajña*], or of the Veda).

A sentence belonging to the literature of the materialists says: 'There is nothing in man except what is visible to the senses. Look, dear friend, at what these so-called scholars call the traces of the wolf.'[4] A man who wanted to convert—let us say 'pervert'—a woman to his materialist opinions, went out of the town with her, and on the dust of the road he drew with the thumbs, index fingers, and middle fingers of his two hands, marks resembling the footprints of a wolf. In the morning the scholars said: 'Assuredly a wolf came last night from the forest; for otherwise it would be impossible that there could be a wolf's footprints on the road.' And the man said to the woman: 'See, dear friend, what clever thinkers these men are who maintain that induction proves the existence of supra-sensible objects, and who are regarded as scholars by the crowd.'

(*b*) Denying induction, these philosophers without philosophy are forced to deny causality. The name Svābhāvikas is given to the scholars who believe that things, the colour of the lotus and the sharpness of thorns, are born from the *svabhāva*, 'own nature.' Much could be said on the exact value of this word; it probably means: 'Things are not produced by causes; **they are because** they are.'[1]

LITERATURE.—**A. M. Pizzagalli**, ***Nāstika, Cārvāka e Lokāyatika****, contributo alla storia del materialismo nell' India antica*, Pisa, 1907, 'Sulla Setta degli Svabhāvavādinaḥ,' in *Reale Istituto lombardo di scienze e lettere*, xlvi. [1913] 104; L. Suali, 'Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du matérialisme indien,' *Muséon*, ix. [1908] 277. Besides these special works see **H. T.** Colebrooke, *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus*², London, 1858; A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, do. 1882, Index; F. Max Müller, ***The Six Systems of Indian*** *Philosophy*², do. 1903, pp. 94–104.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

MATHURĀ (Muttra).—The name Mathurā, or Muttra, is borne by both a district and a town in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The District (1445 sq. m.) lies to the north of the Agra District, and includes many places sacred to the worship of Kṛṣṇa, the most notable being the small towns of Brindāban, Gobardhan, Gokul, and Mahāban (*qq.v.*). Mathurā town or city stands on the right bank of the Jumnā, on the main road from Agra to Delhi, in 27° 30′ N., 77° 41′ E. (pop. in 1901, 60,042). The city, which is of immemorial antiquity, was placed by early Hindu writers in the country of the Śaurasenas, and was reckoned by Ptolemy (*c.* A.D. 140) to be one of the three cities of the Kaspeiraioi. He calls it Modoura (Μόδουρα), 'the city of the gods' (VII. i. 50). Arrian writes the name as Methora (Μέθορα [*Indica*, viii. 5]), and Pliny (*HN* vi. 19) uses the same spelling. An alternative Hindu literary name was Madhupura, now represented by the village Maholi, which 'is so close to the city as almost to form one of its suburbs' (Growse, *Memoir*, p. 4). Aurangzīb, who destroyed the temples, changed the name to Islāmābad or Islāmpur (*ib.* pp. 6, 35), but the new name never became current (see *Num. Chron.*, 4th ser., ii. [1902] 282). The city was plundered by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī in A.D. 1018–19 and again by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī in 1757. The greater part of the District came under British rule in 1803.

Mathurā, one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus, is second only to Benares (*q.v.*) in sanctity. The city and the western half of the District, known as the Braj-maṇḍal, are now associated almost exclusively with the legend and cult of the cow-herd demi-god Kṛṣṇa, but in ancient days the locality was as sacred to Jains and Buddhists as it was to Brāhmanical Hindus. The literature concerning the religious history and antiquities of Mathurā is extensive, and new objects of interest are constantly coming to light. It is impossible here to do more than indicate the importance of the locality in the history of Indian religions and the exceptional interest of the broken remains which have escaped from repeated Muslim violence.

Mathurā, being situated between the Muhammadan capitals of Agra and Delhi, was specially exposed for centuries to iconoclastic attacks. Hardly any ancient Hindu building of importance is now standing, and the valuable sculptures which make the district famous among archæologists have mostly been discovered by excavation. The sculptures and remains of buildings in an extremely fragmentary state are found in the city and for many miles round.

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[1] Among the questions which the Buddha refused to examine (see AGNOSTICISM [Buddhist], vol. i. p. 221ᵇ) occurs this one: 'Is the vital principle (*jīva*) the same thing as the body (*śarīra*)? Is it different from the body?' The Buddha condemns the two opposite opinions and constructs a middle way.

In order to exhaust the Pāli material on the question of materialism, one must read also the *Pāyāsi Suttanta* (see the tr. in Rhys Davids, *op. cit.* ii. 347), in which there is a discussion not only on the existence of another world, gods, etc., but also on the existence of the soul.

[2] See *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, ch. iv., tr. in *Muséon*, xv. [1914] 3 f.

[3] *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuchchaya*; see *Muséon*, ix. [1908] 282.

[4] *Lokatattvanirṇaya* (*Giorn. Soc. asiat. ital.* xviii. [1905] 290); *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuchchaya*, in *Muséon*, ix. 380; *Madhyamakavṛtti*, Petrograd, 1908, p. 360; *Madhyamakāvatāra*, do. 1909, p. 209.

[1] On the Svabhāvavādins or Svābhāvikas see O. Strauss, *Ethische Probleme aus dem Mahābhārata*, Florence, 1912, p. 242; *Buddhacharita*, ix. 48 (*SBE* xlix. [1894] 99), and C. Formichi, *Açvaghoṣa poeta del Buddhismo*, Bari, 1912, p. 231; *Madhyamakāvatāra*, p. 205, tr. in *Muséon*, xii. [1911] 258 ff.; *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 541 (ix. 117); *Gauḍapādakārikās*, Poona, 1900; *Bull. de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*, iv. [1904] 1018; on the Svābhāvika sect in Nepāl see B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on Languages, Literature, Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874.

The objects connected with the Jain cult have been discovered for the most part in the Kankālī or Jainī Ṭīlā (mound) to the S.W. of the city, which was the site of two Jain temples, one Digambara and the other Śvetāmbara, as well as of a remarkable *stūpa*, the only Jain monument of the kind about which details are known. In its earliest form it dated from remote antiquity, possibly from 600 or even 700 B.C. The Jain faith was vigorous in the Kushān period early in the Christian era, and the images found came down to the 11th century. At the present day Jains are few and unpopular in the Mathurā District, their principal settlement being at Kosi, where there are three temples.

The numerous Buddhist remains, which are of great interest, disclose the former existence of an important monastery founded by Huviṣka Kushān, probably early in the 2nd cent. after Christ. In Fa-Hian's time (A.D. 405) there were twenty Buddhist monasteries with some 3000 monks in the neighbourhood of Mathurā. When Hiuen Tsiang travelled, more than two centuries later, the number of monks had diminished. The Muhammadan attacks from A.D. 1018 onwards wiped out the Buddhist establishments. There are plain indications that the popular Buddhism of Mathurā included a sensual erotic element, which probably has contributed to the subsequent development of the Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa worship now specially associated with the Mathurā region. Nāga worship was much practised during the Kushān period.

Brāhmanical Hinduism appears to be the most ancient of the Mathurā religions. The Greek writers call the chief local god by the name of Herakles, and the sculpture representing the fight of Herakles with the Nemean lion is one of the most famous of Mathurā antiquities.

The temple of Kesava Deva at the Katrā on the western side of the city, rebuilt early in the 17th cent., was described by J. B. Tavernier (*c.* A.D. 1650; *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, London, 1889, ii. 240) as 'one of the most sumptuous buildings in all India.' Aurangzīb destroyed it in 1669, and built a mosque on the site. All the old Hindu temples in the city were destroyed by the Muhammadans at one time or another.

Archæological evidence shows that the cultus of Kṛṣṇa was well established as early as the 4th and 5th cent. after Christ (Bhitarī inscr. of Skandagupta, *c.* A.D. 456; sculptures at Maṇḍōr in Mārwāṛ [*Arch. Surv. Ann. Rep.*, 1905–06, p. 140]), but the Vaiṣṇava cultus of Mathurā in its present form was not developed until the close of the 16th cent. under the influence of the Bengālī Gosāins of Brindāban. The history and character of the cult are well described by Growse, to whose book the reader is referred. The great temple of Viṣṇu under the name of Rang Jī, built between 1845 and 1851 by local merchant princes, is remarkable for being designed on Dravidian lines. It cost 4½ millions of rupees. The notorious erotic sect of Vaiṣṇavas founded by Vallabhāchārya (*q.v.*) (born A.D. 1479) has its headquarters in the town of Gokul.

Three Christian missions (Baptist, Church Missionary, and Methodist Episcopal) are established in the city.

LITERATURE.—*IGI*, Oxford, 1908, *s.vv.* 'Muttra,' 'Brindāban,' 'Gobardhan,' 'Mahāban'; E. Thornton, *A Gazetteer of Territories under the East India Co. and of Native States*, London, 1854, *s.vv.* 'Muttra,' 'Bindraban,' 'Gokul,' 'Goverdhun,' 'Muhabun'; J. Tieffenthaler, *Géographie de l'Indoustan*, Fr. tr. by J. Bernouilli, Berlin, 1781, pp. 201–207; F. S. Growse, *Mathurā: a District Memoir*^{3}, with numerous illustrations, Allahabad, 1883; 'Mathurā Notes' (*JASB* xlvii. pt. i. [1878] 97–134). The antiquities are treated in detail in *Arch. Surv. of India, Reports*, ed. A. Cunningham, vols. i. iii. xi. xvii. xx., Calcutta, 1871–85, *Annual Reports*, ed. J. H. Marshall; J. P. Vogel, 'The Mathurā School of Sculpture' (*Rep.* for 1906–07, pp. 137–160), Calcutta, 1909; 'Nāga Worship in Ancient Mathurā' (*Rep.* for 1908–09, pp. 156–163), Calcutta, 1912; V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1901; J. H. Marshall, *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 149–153; Vogel, *ib.* 1912, pp. 118–123; J. Kennedy, 'Kṛishṇa of Mathurā,' *ib.* 1907, pp. 975–991; F. W. Thomas, 'The Inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion Capital' (*Ep. Ind.* x. [1907–08] 135–147); Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archæol. Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1910 (with detailed bibliography, pp. vi–x). See also the *Travels* of Fa-Hian and Hiuen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrims, in any of the trr., and V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

MĀTṚCHEṬA.—Mātṛcheṭa is the name of a Buddhist author, identified by the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, Tāranātha, with Aśvaghoṣa, concerning whom and the identification itself see art. AŚVAGHOṢA and the works there mentioned. It may be pointed out that the identification is made only by Tāranātha, while a much older writer, the Chinese traveller I-tsing (2nd half of 7th cent. A.D.), plainly distinguishes the two authors; further, the ascriptions of works seem not to betray either in the Chinese tradition or, with one exception (see *Kavīndravachana-samuchchhaya*, ed. F. W. Thomas, in *Bibliotheca Indica*, new ser., no. 1309, pp. 25–29), in the Tibetan any confusion. The sole reason for the identification is the fact that both writers stood in relation to Kaniṣka. But this reason will be seen upon reflexion to have actually a contrary bearing; for nothing is more certain concerning Aśvaghoṣa than that he was a figure at the court of Kaniṣka, whereas we have an epistle from Mātṛcheṭa declining, upon grounds of old age and sickness, to visit the king. Perhaps this is the reason why Tāranātha, identifying the two poets, makes an untenable distinction between the Kaniṣka of Aśvaghoṣa and the Kanika of Mātṛcheṭa.

According to Tāranātha, Mātṛcheṭa was the son of a rich Brāhman named Saṅghaguhya, who married the youngest of ten Buddhist daughters of a merchant belonging to the city of Khorta (Gauḍa ?). The time is given as during the reign of Śrīchandra, nephew and successor of Bindusāra—a statement which reflects the confusion of the Tibetan author's chronological system. The name given to the child at birth is said to have been Kāla; that he was subsequently known as Mātṛcheṭa and Pitṛcheṭa is set down to his filial devotion. We must, however, distrust the whole story; Saṅghaguhya is not a suitable name for a Brāhman, nor is a marriage with a Buddhist woman very probable. The name Mātṛcheṭa, which in later times was attached to other persons, means, no doubt, like its equivalent Mātṛdāsa, 'servant of the Mother (*i.e.* Durgā), or of the Mothers (*i.e.* the forms of Durgā)'; and this is quite in harmony with the fact that Mātṛcheṭa was at first a worshipper of Maheśvara-Śiva (Tāranātha and I-tsing) and composed hymns in his praise (I-tsing). He became an expert in *Mantra* and *Tantra* formulas and a master of dialectic. In the latter capacity he entered upon a course of controversy with the Buddhists of Odiviśa (Orissa), Gauḍa, Tīrahūti (Tirhut), Kāmarūpa, and elsewhere, forcing them to join the heretics, whereby he acquired the soubriquet Durdharṣa-Kāla, 'the unassailable Kāla.' At the suggestion of his mother, who hoped for his conversion by the leading doctors of her faith, he proceeded to the great Buddhist centre of Nālanda, where, in fact, he was overthrown in argument and joined the order.

According to Tāranātha, the agent of his conversion was Ārya Deva, who showed him a *sūtra* wherein he had been foretold by Buddha. If we must reject the introduction of Ārya Deva, which involves an anachronism and is due to a certain confusion (see *IA* xxxii. [1903] 346), the incident is confirmed by the statement of I-tsing that Buddha, on hearing the notes of a nightingale had said: 'The bird, transported with joy at sight of me, unconsciously utters its melodious notes. On account of this good deed, after my Departure (Nirvâṇa) this bird shall be born in human form, and named Mât*riketa*; and he shall praise my virtues with true appreciation' (*Record*, tr. Takakusu, p. 156 f.). We recognize here one of the prophecies (*vyākaraṇa*, *vikurvaṇa*) narrated in connexion with many Buddhist divines and others, in this case involving, perhaps, also an interpretation of the name in Prākrit form, *Mātichiṭa* = *mām atichitta*, 'transported with joy (at sight of) me.' However this may be, we have in Mātṛcheṭa's own work (*Varṇanārhavarṇana*, vv. 1–3 and 30 f.) allusions both to his previous heretical poems and to the supposed prophecy of Buddha.

The remainder of Mātṛcheṭa's career may be recorded in the words of Tāranātha (tr. Schiefner, p. 91 f.):

> 'At the time when Mātṛcheṭa was converted to the Buddha-doctrine, the number of heretics and Brāhmans in the Vihāras of the four quarters, who had entered the order, was very great. It was thought that, if the greatest ornament of the Brāhmans, Durdharṣa-Kāla, had shaken off his own system like the dust of his shoes and turned to the Buddha-doctrine, that Buddha-doctrine must be in truth a great marvel. Consequently there were in Nālanda alone more than a thousand Brāhman monks, and an equal number from the heretics. The Āchārya, being full of great service to religion, collected on his daily perambulations in the city for alms immense quantities of food, wherewith he entertained five hundred Bhikṣus, namely two hundred and fifty sunk in contemplation and two hundred and fifty studying, leaving them to their uninterrupted occupation. . . . The hymns composed by him are also spread abroad in all lands: as finally singers and strollers chanted them and faith in Buddha grew mightily among all the people in the land, greater service was, through the hymns, rendered to the spread of the doctrine. Towards the end of his life king Kanika sent an envoy to invite the Āchārya, who, however, as he was prevented by old age from going, composed an epistle and converted the king to the doctrine. He sent his own pupil Jñānapriya to the king as instructor. Irrespective of the *Jātaka* stories found in the *Sūtras* and other works, he desired to put into writing the ten times ten birth-stories, corresponding to the ten *Pāramitās*, which were transmitted from ear to ear by the Paṇḍits and Āchāryas: but after composing thirty-four he died. According to some biographies, it is related that, having reflected that the Bodhisattva had given his body to a tigress and so forth, he had thought he could do the same, as it was no unfeasible act. Seeing, accordingly, a hungry tigress attended by her young, he essayed to surrender his body, but at first could hardly accomplish it. But, when a still stronger faith in Buddha was kindled in him and he had with his own blood written down the prayer in seventy verses, he first gave the tigress his blood to drink, whereby he lent her weakened frame a little strength, and then surrendered his own body. Others assert that the person who thus acted was an Āchārya Parahitasvarakāntāra, who came after Mātṛcheṭa. The latter composed the abstract of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and many other *Śāstras*, and wrought many benefactions to the Bhikṣus of both the Great and the Little Vehicle: as he (Mātṛcheṭa) did not confine himself to the Mahāyāna alone, and the Śrāvakas were very devoted to him, he is greatly renowned as a general hero of the orthodox.'

The testimony of I-tsing, earlier by some 900 years, is not less emphatic (p. 157 f.):

> 'He composed first a hymn consisting of four hundred ślokas, and afterwards another of one hundred and fifty. . . . These charming compositions are equal in beauty to the heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain. Consequently in India all who compose hymns imitate his style, considering him the father of literature. Even men like the Bodhisattvas Asaṅga and Vasubandhu admired him greatly.
>
> Throughout India every one who becomes a monk is taught Mât*riketa*'s two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts (*S*îla).
>
> This course is adopted by both the Mahâyâna and Hînayâna schools. . . . There are many who have written commentaries on them, nor are the imitations of them few. Bodhisattva *G*ina [Dignāga] himself composed such an imitation. He added one verse before each of the one hundred and fifty verses, so that they became altogether three hundred verses, called the "Mixed" hymns. . . . A celebrated priest of the Deer Park, *S*âkyadeva by name, again added one verse to each of *G*ina's, and consequently they amounted to four hundred and fifty verses (ślokas), called the "Doubly Mixed" hymns.'

He proceeds to include Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghoṣa among those who imitated Mātṛcheṭa. The renown and influence echoed in these statements are further substantiated by the fact that the two hymns particularized were translated, as well as others, into Tibetan, and one of them, the 'Hymn in One Hundred and Fifty Verses' also (by I-tsing himself) into Chinese; moreover, the originals have been found in various fragments among the MS trouvailles from Chinese Turkestan, so that in due time it will be possible to form a first-hand appreciation of the poet's work. Pending the complete publication, we may base our estimate upon what has already been made public and upon the very literal Tibetan versions and the English rendering of a portion of the *Varṇanārhavarṇana* hymn, and of the whole 'Epistle to King Kaniṣka.'

The former, the 'Delineation of the Worthy to be Delineated,' is represented with obvious correctness as the earliest of the author's Buddhist compositions. Abjuring his previous heretical poems, he celebrates with great verve and abundance of poetic imagery the peerless excellences of Buddha and his doctrine. The hymn consists of four hundred verses, divided into twelve chapters with separate titles.

The 'Hymn in One Hundred and Fifty Verses' is quite similar in style and matter, as may be seen from the fragments already published, extending to about half of the poem. The amplified version (*samasyā*) with one hundred and fifty additional verses by Dignāga, constituting the 'mixed' (*miśraka*) hymn, quite corresponds to the description of I-tsing quoted above; the further amplified edition of Śākyadeva is not known. Concerning the minor hymns nothing need be said.

There are also two short tracts in verse, entitled respectively *Chaturviparyaya-kathā* and *Kaliyuga-parikathā*, the former treating of the miseries and deceptions of life, and the latter of the evils of the present Iron Age.

Undoubtedly the most interesting of Mātṛcheṭa's writings is the 'Epistle to King Kaniṣka' (*Mahārājakanika-lekha*). Beginning with excuses for not accepting the great king's invitation and for boldness in offering advice, he proceeds to counsel the young sovereign as to his moral policy, the concluding twenty out of eighty-five verses containing a pathetic appeal on behalf of dumb animals and deprecating the chase. The latter topic was familiar on Buddhist lips, as we may see from the Edicts of Aśoka. The whole epistle is full of mildness, gracious courtesy, and moral worth; that it is an old man's writing appears on the surface, and no doubt it is the latest of Mātṛcheṭa's compositions.

The statement that Mātṛcheṭa set the type for all later hymnologists is certainly so far true that all subsequent *stotras* are in the same form. This may fairly represent his quality as a poet: he displays great art in the use of language, much rhetorical skill, flow, and copiousness of matter. But the abstract nature of his conceptions, which are largely concerned with the dogmatic characteristics of the person and teaching of Buddha, and in consequence their often conventional character, place him upon a different level from his junior contemporary, the author of the *Buddhacharita*. Concerning the other writers who have been identified with him, Ārya-Śūra, Triratnadāsa, and Dhārmika-Subhūti, reference may be made to the literature given below.

LITERATURE.—i. LIST OF MĀTṚCHEṬA'S WORKS (for details of versions see the works cited below, iii.).—*Varṇanārhavarṇana-stotra*, *Śatapañchāśatika-stotra*, *Samyagbuddhalakṣaṇa-stotra*, *Triratnamaṅgala-stotra*, *Ekottarika-stotra*, *Sugatapañchatriṁśat-stotra*, *Triratna-stotra*, *Ārya-Tārādevī-stotra*, *Mātṛcheṭa-gīti*, *Chaturviparyaya-kathā*, *Kaliyuga-parikathā*.

ii. ORIENTAL AUTHORITIES.—I-tsing, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, tr. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896, pp. lv, 156 ff.; A. Schiefner, *Târanâtha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien aus dem Tibetischen*, Petrograd, 1869, Index.

iii. EUROPEAN AND OTHER MODERN AUTHORS (as concerns Aśvaghoṣa see the literature at AŚVAGHOṢA).—T. Suzuki, *Açvaghosha's Discourse on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahâyâna*, Chicago, 1900, Introd.; F. W. Thomas, 'The Works of Āryaśūra, Triratnadāsa, and Dhārmika-Subhūti,' in

Album Kern, Leyden, 1903, pp. 405–408, 'Mātṛiceṭa and the *Mahārājakanikalekha*,' in *IA* xxxii. [1903] 345–360, 'The *Varṇanārhavarṇana* of Mātṛiceṭa,' *ib.* xxxiv. [1905] 145–163, *Kavindravachana-samuchchhaya*, in *Bibliotheca Indica*, new ser., no. 1309 [1912], pp. 25–29; Sylvain Lévi, 'Notes sur les Indo-Scythes,' in *JA* IX. viii. [1896] 447–449, 455–456, n. 1, 'Açvaghoṣa,' *ib.* X. xii. [1908] 66–72; 'Textes sanscrits de Touen-Houang,' *ib.* X. xvi. [1910] 450–456; L. de la Vallée Poussin, 'Documents sanscrits de la collection M. A. Stein,' in *JRAS*, 1911, p. 757 ff.

F. W. THOMAS.

MATRIARCHATE.—See MOTHER-RIGHT.

MATTER.—In metaphysics matter is one of the ultimate principles or 'substances' of which phenomena are appearances or manifestations (dualism), or the sole substance in terms of which the universe is ultimately to be explained (materialistic monism, or materialism [*q.v.*]). In this sense matter is the reality, unknowable in itself, which underlies the properties of all particular things, in which those properties inhere, or by which, as impressions made on our senses, they are caused. It is the support, or substratum, of such qualities, supposed to be necessary in order to explain, in any given case, their constant co-existence as a group. The British empiricists, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, minimized the importance of the conception of substance. Locke found the concept obscure and of little use; Berkeley dismissed matter as an abstraction and a superfluity; and Hume similarly banished spirit. Kant retained the conception in the sense of the permanent in all change. Modern phenomenalism, in so far as it preserves at all the concept of substance, and consequently of matter, regards it as denoting the unknown existent upon which physical properties somehow depend.

In the physical sciences matter is the substance—not in the sense of a metaphysical first principle, but rather in that of the 'stuff'—of which the sensible universe is composed. Its supposed action upon our sense-organs and nervous system gives rise to the totality of changing physical phenomena. Physical science dispenses with metaphysical 'matter,' as perhaps an anthropomorphism, and employs 'matter' to denote simply what is common to all material or sensible bodies, after subtraction of all their particular and diverse characteristics. In the time of Descartes, Boyle, and Locke a distinction was drawn between the primary and the secondary qualities of matter. The properties regarded as primary were extension, figure, and solidity, or impenetrability; and these were believed to inhere in matter, and to be in no way conditioned by our mind. The secondary qualities, such as colour, sound, and taste, on the other hand, were held not to subsist in matter itself; the ideas that we have of them were not supposed to be copies of anything existing independently of the mind—*i.e.*, whether perceived or not—but were regarded as due to sensations occasioned by the different size and motions of the minute particles of which matter is composed. It is doubtful whether in this respect there is any difference between the primary and the secondary qualities; and modern science retains the distinction only in so far as it tends to resolve the secondary qualities into quantitative relations, and to describe them in terms of analogies with the primary.

Absolute impenetrability, as a universal and essential property of matter, is not suggested by actual observation. Indeed, it was in all probability the observed penetrability of gross matter, especially in the gaseous form, that led to the first attempt to explain the properties of matter in terms of its atomic constitution. The happy guess of Democritus, scarcely based upon experiment or observation, was revived as a genuine scientific theory at the beginning of the 19th cent. by Dalton. The observed fact which seemed to this investigator to demand an atomic hypothesis of the constitution of matter was that chemical elements combine with one another in definite and invariable proportions by weight. This would naturally ensue if combination were the union of one or more atoms of the one element with one or more atoms of another, the atoms of each element being precisely alike in weight and in other respects, but different from those of other elements. The atomic theory has ever since Dalton's time been the foundation of the science of chemistry; and without some such hypothesis its facts and laws would be unintelligible.

But the notion of simple, impenetrable, hard atoms, such as Democritus postulated, is not free from difficulties. These atoms must be endowed with elasticity if they are to serve to explain certain physical phenomena; and this is incompatible with their simplicity. Difficulties of this kind led to the suggestion of Boscovich, that the atoms composing matter are not extended, hard bodies, but points, and centres of attractive and repulsive forces—forces whose magnitude varies with the distance between the points in such a way that no force, however great, can bring the points into coincidence. Thus extension and impenetrability were eliminated from the properties of the atom; but Boscovich's theory was never generally accepted because of the scientific prejudice against 'action at a distance,' or, in other words, because of the ingrained tendency to regard interaction between atoms to be conceivable only in terms of the kind of action with which we are familiar, viz. contact action, collision or pushing.

Another hypothesis as to the nature of the atom, and, therefore, as to the constitution of matter, is that devised by Lord Kelvin, according to which an atom is a vortex-ring of 'ether,' in an ethereal plenum capable of transmitting vibrations or waves. This hypothesis escapes at the same time the difficulties attending the notion of the impenetrable, solid, elastic atom, and those besetting the idea of action at a distance, or between isolated points. The ether had been postulated to explain the phenomena of light, and, later, those of electricity. It now also served to explain the constitution and properties of matter. It has not furnished an explanation of gravitation, and it seems to require modification if it is to supply a mechanical representation of what physicists call an electric charge. Inasmuch as the ether is non-material, it is indeed unreasonable to expect it to admit of mechanical description; for mechanical conceptions are derivable only from acquaintance with matter. On the other hand, the success which has attended such mechanical, or semi-mechanical, descriptions suggests that, if ether be not matter, it is at any rate very like it.

Lord Kelvin's kinetic theory of matter, which resolves matter into non-matter in motion, differs from that of Boscovich in that it offers a plenum instead of isolating and empty space; this plenum provides for action and reaction without resort to the notion, distasteful to physicists, of action at a distance. It differs again from Newton's in dispensing with hard atoms, while furnishing atoms which are not only extended, but also, in virtue of their rotational movement, elastic.

It has been claimed on behalf of this kinetic theory of matter that it enables the physicist to deduce material phenomena from the play of inertia involved in the motion of a structureless primordial fluid, and so achieves the ideal of ultimate simplification which scientific description or explanation seeks. This is so, though it must be borne in mind that the explanation attained is an explanation of the world only as it has been first artificially simplified by science. The further claim that physics is thus capable of reduction to a branch of pure mathematics is, however, not allowable; in going too far it refutes itself. For physics professes to deal with the real or sensible material world; it indeed passes, as it becomes more and more abstract, into 'pure' physics; but then it no longer is a science of the real, but only of the ideal or conceptual. Conceptual or pure science applies to the real world, indeed, but only partially or fragmentarily; it exhaustively describes the world in one aspect only, and leaves others out of account. Thus pure or abstract science of the material is valid, within limits, for economical description; it is not adequate to full explanation. That this is true in particular of the kinetic theory of matter can be seen at once when we grasp the fact that the primordial fluid—the non-matter to which matter is reduced, or which science substitutes for matter—is not a real thing, but an abstraction. A perfect fluid, in the first place, is a fiction, not anything known to observation. In the second place, Lord Kelvin's medium, in so far as it is describable by the negative terms incompressible, frictionless, inextensible, and structureless, differs in no respect from empty space. The one property in virtue of which it has been argued that the ether differs from space is that of inertia. But, as Ward has maintained (*Naturalism and Agnosticism*, vol. i. lect. v.), inertia, in the qualitative sense, does not suffice to supply determinateness to the primordial fluid; inertia is a property of matter, but not of modes of motion, and it is precisely the property of mass in molar bodies that, as both Clerk Maxwell and Lord Kelvin recognized, the kinetic theory of matter fails to explain. This theory of the constitution and nature of matter, therefore, belongs to the realm of symbolic description, not to that of explanation or interpretation. Science, indeed, in its higher or more abstract reaches, falls so far short of furnishing, as it was once jubilantly asserted to furnish, a complete philosophy of the world in terms of Newtonian mechanics that it professes to do no more than describe natural phenomena in so far as these are to be regarded as changes in the motion of masses. It abstracts from the qualitative properties and changes of matter, because these are not amenable to scientific method, and replaces them by hypothetically representative movements of ideal 'masses.' Matter, with its diversities of quality for perceptual experience, is not only one in kind for abstract science; as the goal and limit of abstraction is reached, or as physics passes into pure mathematics, matter becomes indistinguishable from space. It may similarly be shown that causality is eliminated by abstract science, and replaced, for descriptive purposes, by identity, change being explained and further explained until at last it is literally explained away. The development of scientific generalization in the direction of the ideal of unification and simplicity has thus not established a materialistic metaphysic or a mechanical philosophy, but has only provided a provisional symbolical description of certain aspects of the material world, valid so long as other aspects may be neglected. Such is the philosophical outcome of the scientific mode of dealing with matter.

Until recently matter was regarded as divisible only so far as to the chemical atom. There were held to be some four score fundamentally different, simple or irresolvable, kinds of matter. Matter was the primary concept of the physicist, and electricity was described more or less in terms of it. Matter was held to be strictly unchangeable in its elementary forms, the atom being supposed to be indestructible. Quite lately, however, all these beliefs have been reversed. It has been found, by a series of researches mainly conducted at, or in connexion with, the Cavendish Laboratory, Cambridge, that the atoms are not simple, but that portions of them can be split off and exist separately, and that these detached fractions, called by J. J. Thomson 'corpuscles,' are identical, from whatever different kinds of atoms they may have been broken off, and possess the same 'mass' or inertia. Thus it has become necessary to regard the atoms as complex systems, and, in spite of their differences, as built up of parts or corpuscles which are identical. Further, the corpuscle has been found to bear, or to be, a constant electrical charge (electron). Corpuscle and electron would seem to be identical, because the whole mass of the corpuscle appears to be due to its electric charge and its motion. Thus 'mass,' the most fundamental and characteristic property of matter, becomes resolvable into an electrical phenomenon; the electron is the fundamental unit alike of electricity and of matter, and matter is 'explained' in terms of electricity. An atom, in fact, is composed of a large number of units of negative electricity (electrons or corpuscles) associated with an equal number of positive units of electricity.

The full importance of the discovery and isolation of electrons cannot be indicated in an article dealing with matter, because they serve to explain the cause of the excitation of the ether-waves which produce light, and also render comprehensible other phenomena not belonging to the realm of the material. But it may be noted that the atomic (or, rather, the ultra-atomic) structure of matter, hitherto a supposition or indirect inference, has at length been experimentally demonstrated. The recent discovery and investigation of radium and other radio-active substances have led not only to the proof that the chemical elements are transmutable—helium, *e.g.*, is produced by the breaking up of radium—but also to the revelation of single atoms.

> 'Single atoms of Helium, shot off by Radium as *α* rays, have been revealed in two ways. Each atomic projectile produces a long train of electric ions as it passes through a gas before its energy is exhausted, perhaps by knocking loose corpuscles out of the molecules it encounters in its path. These ions have two effects. They make the gas a conductor of electricity, while they exist, so that, by placing the gas in a circuit with a battery and an electrometer, Rutherford has shown the effect of each *α* particle by the sudden throw of the needle of the instrument. Secondly, the ions act as nuclei for the condensation of mist, and, in this way, C. T. R. Wilson has made visible as a line of cloud the track of each particle' (W. C. D. and C. D. Whetham, *Science and the Human Mind*, London, 1912, p. 240).

Recent progress in science has thus furnished new light upon the question of the constitution of matter. But the ultimate question as to what matter *is* remains, as before, unsolved, and perhaps, as P. G. Tait (*Properties of Matter*, Edinburgh, 1885, p. 14) seemed to think, insoluble. To have learned that matter is electricity is not to have diminished the mysteriousness of its nature. To physical science indeed, matter, like a 'thing' or a 'fact,' is a datum. The data of science, however, are for philosophy or the theory of knowledge *constructs*. Hence it is to philosophy that we must betake ourselves if we are to hope for further elucidation of the problem contained in the question what matter is. As we have already seen, the more abstract departments of science cannot help us, because they proceed from an artificial definition of matter derived simply to make abstract science a possibility.

> 'The bodies we deal with in abstract dynamics are just as completely known to us as the figures in Euclid. They have no properties whatever except those which we explicitly assign to them' (J. Clerk Maxwell, in *Nature*, xx. [1879] 214).

The fundamental property thus conventionally assigned to matter with a 'let it be granted' is mass or inertia; and the science of matter is then valid of matter *if* it be wholly inert, or in so far as it is characterized by inertia. Whether any matter is wholly inert is a question; that *everything* is inert must be denied. The science of matter is no basis for a materialistic metaphysic.

For other philosophical questions connected with matter see art. MATERIALISM.

LITERATURE. — J. Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*^{3}, London, 1907; J. J. Thomson, art. 'Matter,' in *EBr*^{11}; W. C. D. Whetham, *The Recent Development of Physical Science*, London, 1904; O. Lodge, *Modern Views on Matter* (*Romanes Lecture*, 1903), Oxford, 1903; E. Rutherford, *Radio-Activity*, Cambridge, 1904; A. J. Balfour, *Reflections Suggested by the New Theory of Matter*, London, 1904.

F. R. TENNANT.

MAURICE.—The position of Frederick Denison Maurice (1805–72) in the history of English 19th cent. theology is difficult to define. He regarded himself as a simple old-fashioned Christian; but to the religious world of his time he was a most obscure and dangerous heretic. Julius Hare spoke of him as the greatest thinker since Plato, and Mill thought his intellect one of the most powerful of the age; but to most of his contemporaries Maurice seemed an obscure mystic, with a strange love for the Athanasian Creed and the Thirty-nine Articles, which much of his teaching appeared to contradict. Described as a leader of the Broad Church Party, he indignantly repudiated the epithet 'broad,' and still more the suggestion that he belonged to any 'party.' He spent much of his energy in controversy, sometimes bitter and occasionally hardly fair. Yet he was constantly on the look-out for points of agreement with his opponents, and those who knew him best were deeply impressed by his spirituality and goodness.

The paradoxes of his position may be partly accounted for by his family circumstances, and by the character of the age in which he lived. He was the son of a Unitarian minister, whose wife and daughters were converted to various forms of Evangelicalism, chiefly dissenting and Calvinistic. They were pious, clever people, much addicted to argument; and Frederick learned much from each, though he was repelled by all their theological systems. He combined his father's enthusiasm for the Fatherhood of God with his mother's conviction of the Divine Will as the root of all. His intense reverence for family relationships, together with the discordant doctrines of his loved ones, drove him to seek for some ground of unity more fundamental than doctrinal agreement. This he ultimately found in the conception of the Church as the divine family, and in the conviction that what God feels about us is far more important than what we feel about God. His view of Christ as ethically absolutely at one with the Father separated him from his Evangelical mother as well as from his Unitarian father. It precluded all idea of the Atonement as a changing of the Father's Will, as a bargain, or as a legal fiction. Similarly the popular beliefs about the Bible, the future life, and all the divine ways of working seemed to Maurice tinged with materialism. He was especially repelled by all sects, because he found in himself tendencies to fall into what he believed to be their errors. His controversial bitterness was often directed in reality against elements which he knew to be lodged in his own nature. Everywhere he discovered good, but also evil; and his position was generally a puzzle to his contemporaries.

His attitude towards politics showed the same characteristic. Growing up in the Tory reaction that followed the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, he was naturally disgusted by the brutalities and bigotries of this reaction. But he was almost equally opposed to a Liberalism which consisted mainly of destruction of abuses. The forces which carried Wordsworth and Coleridge into Conservatism and High Churchmanship operated strongly upon Maurice, with his reverence for the past and his attraction towards sacramentalism. For a time he hesitated. At Cambridge, after a distinguished career, he refused to take a degree, because this would have involved a profession of Churchmanship. He wrote a novel, edited the *Athenæum*, and engaged in various literary ventures. Then he decided to offer himself for ordination, and, as a preparation for this, to go through another undergraduate course, this time at Oxford. Then he published a defence of the tests by which acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles was required from all who would obtain an Oxford degree. His arguments were, of course, fundamentally different from those used by ordinary Tories, and perhaps equally unreasonable. He afterwards admitted that his main position was untenable.

Maurice's first really important book was *The Kingdom of Christ* (1842). The book was primarily intended for Quakers. Their doctrine of 'the Inner Light' and of the supreme value of the spiritual was enthusiastically accepted by Maurice; but he set himself to proclaim the sanctity of the visible. Forms are witnesses to the invisible, and channels through which the divine spirit works. The Church is a spiritual kingdom, asserting human brotherhood, and protesting against human self-assertion and individualism, which would, if uncontrolled, destroy society. The author sometimes seems intensely Evangelical, sometimes a pronounced Catholic, sometimes a rationalist and a sort of socialist. He passes from an obscure mysticism to teaching so simple that it seems commonplace; he glances through the whole history of philosophy and theology; everywhere he discovers two tendencies, 'one belonging to the earth, one claiming fellowship with [the] Divine'; and the upward tendency is the search for that kingdom which God has provided in the Catholic Church. All this seemed orthodox enough. Its implications were not generally recognized, and in 1846 Maurice was elected to the professorship of Divinity at King's College, London.

It was characteristic that his next book dealt chiefly with the value of the non-Christian religions, the pagan philosophies, and the mediæval theologies. *The Religions of the World* appeared in 1847, and one form of the *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy* in 1848. The latter had originally been published in 1836, but it was expanded in a series of later editions. It illustrates the wide learning of Maurice and his extraordinary capacity for discovering his points of agreement with diverse and mutually contradictory thinkers. As a history it is open to the criticism that, instead of giving a well-balanced account of systems, it presents only those aspects of them towards which the writer was attracted.

At this period Maurice was keenly interested in social movements. He invented the phrase 'Christian Socialism' as a protest against unsocial Christians and un-Christian socialists. He recognized the good in the aims of Chartists and Revolutionists. He sympathized intensely with their protests against the condition of the poor and the competitive basis of society. He set himself sternly against appeals to force, and was utterly distrustful of democratic ideals; but he started little newspapers, like *Politics for the People* and *The Christian Socialist*, with more revolutionary friends. Naturally Maurice was made responsible for the views of his less eminent associates, whom he warmly defended against the abuse of the propertied classes and their representatives. Moreover, the co-operative schemes at which he worked were regarded as an attack on capitalism, on the leading political economists, and on what was considered as the due subordination of the working classes. The 'respectable' press, secular and religious, fulminated against Maurice, and at length the Council of King's College appointed a committee to investigate the matter. But there was nothing in the Christian Socialism of Maurice inconsistent with his duties or his position as a Divinity professor.

The attack was then shifted from charges of socialism to charges of theological heresy. In 1853 Maurice published the volume called *Theological Essays.* On most points the new book was only reiterating and expanding views previously expressed; but it made clearer the author's divergence from traditional and conventional theology, especially on the subject of eternal death. He maintained, in effect, that 'eternal' means spiritual. Knowledge of God, love, truth, and the like *are* eternal life. Eternal death is not a matter of time or place, but of spiritual separation from the divine. The locality and duration of future punishment were matters outside Maurice's message, and he seems to have believed that it was also outside the message of the Bible and of the Anglican formularies. The religious world felt that much of the book was fatal to what passed as Christianity, but it was expressed in such orthodox language that it was difficult to see how Maurice could be convicted of heresy. He must, therefore, be ejected from his professorship without the formulation of any specific charges. The Council of King's College refused to adopt Gladstone's suggestion that Maurice's writings should be submitted to theological experts; and they compelled him to resign. The responsibility for their decision cannot be laid on any one party in the Church. It represented the view of the High, the Low, and the Moderate. Some High Churchmen had been at first attracted by the fervid sacramentalism of Maurice; but they soon came to suspect that his meaning was something very different from theirs. At length Pusey declared that Maurice and he were not worshipping the same God. Low Churchmen were even more disgusted with books full of intensely Evangelical sentences, which were yet fundamentally opposed to their whole scheme of salvation, their doctrine of the Fall and of the Atonement, and of the doom awaiting those who did not accept the Evangelical tenets. Broad Churchmen alone protested against the expulsion, and even they were puzzled as to how one who was so much in agreement with their hostility to the prevalent doctrines of the religious world could yet enthusiastically accept much that seemed to them superstitious and out of date. Nevertheless, the Broad Churchmen stood by Maurice, though he vigorously repudiated Broad Churchmanship. The Evangelicalism of Wilberforce and Simeon and the Anglo-Catholicism of Keble and Newman were the dominant forces in the religious world. Maurice had learned much from both. But at bottom he was opposed to both powerful parties, and few were disposed to forgive this attitude, in consideration of his enthusiastic support of some at least of their cherished principles.

Time has revolutionized the situation. At present many of the best High and Low Churchmen speak with grateful reverence of Maurice, and appear to ignore the great gulf which separates his views from their own. The fervent sincerity and piety of the *Theological Essays* are unmistakable, though to most readers much of the book seems tantalizing and obscure. More popular are *The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament* (1853) and *The Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament* (1855). Maurice meant by revelation a literal unveiling of truth, and especially of God's character, by a direct intercourse of the divine with the human. God literally spoke to the hearts of the old heroes, and He speaks no less directly to men's hearts in all ages. This conviction attracted Maurice especially to the Johannine books, on all five of which he wrote valuable commentaries, in which, however, he almost ignored what Higher Criticism had to say. His attitude towards the Bible was in some respects vague. Without claiming for it infallibility, he was pained by any criticism of its contents, and disposed to re-interpret rather than reject. He would not join in the outcry against Colenso and *Essays and Reviews*; but he disliked the critical spirit, and had little sympathy with plain speaking which hurt pious souls, except when it was in defence of some spiritual truth. Nevertheless, he was always ready to scandalize the religious world in cases where the traditional views seemed to him profoundly irreligious. Thus Mansel's *Bampton Lectures* (1858) practically declared that man could have no knowledge of God, except what was given him by the Bible. Such orthodox agnosticism was horrible to one who believed in a Light that lightens every man. Mansel taught, in effect, that men had no right to assume that words like 'fatherhood,' 'righteousness,' and 'justice' meant, when applied to God, all and more than what they imply in human relationships. To Maurice this seemed practically atheism; and in his book *What is Revelation?* (1859) he poured out the vials of his wrath upon the Bampton lecturer. There followed a very bitter controversy, in which Maurice for a time received little support. Gradually, however, the more spiritually-minded men of all classes rallied to his side.

Maurice's later years were spent in comparative quiet. The number of his actual disciples remained small, but his ideas spread, and the charm of his personality exercised a wide influence. It was also noticed that this mystic had proved singularly right in many of his ideas of practical reform. His Working Men's College and College for Women were imitated with more or less modification in numbers of institutions all over the country. His co-operative schemes, though unsuccessful, helped to pave the way for a great movement, conducted on less idealistic principles. Christian Socialism, under that or other names, became a great force; and meanwhile the more obnoxious features of the popular theology passed into the background, when they were not altogether dropped out of the conventional religion. Accordingly, though Maurice in books and sermons continually reiterated his old teaching, he aroused little fresh opposition. He continued to protest against popular doctrines, orthodox or liberal, but he had little to add to his old arguments. In 1866 he was appointed to the professorship of Casuistry, Moral Theology, and Moral Philosophy at Cambridge, and threw himself heartily into the duties of that position. Experts are divided as to the value of his contributions to metaphysics and to philosophy. For all departments of thought and life he claimed a theological basis, in a Father revealed in a Son through the operation of a Spirit, and witnessed to by a Catholic Church, with Bible and sacraments. Those to whom these things were either incredible or at least disconnected with philosophy and reason could regard him only as a somewhat muddle-headed mystic, however much they might reverence his character, learning, and ability.

LITERATURE.—Frederick Maurice, *The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice*, 2 vols., London, 1884, is an excellent compilation in which the editor has kept his own views and personality admirably in the background; shorter and more controversial, but adequate, biographies are given by C. F. G Masterman (London, 1907) and W. E. Collins (do. 1902). See also T. Hughes, preface to Maurice's *Friendship of Books*, do. 1874; Leslie Stephen, art. 'Maurice,' in *DNB*, do. 1894; and the references to Maurice in J. McLeod Campbell, *Memorials*, do. 1877, and Caroline Fox, *Memories of Old Friends*, do. 1882.

J. E. SYMES.

MAY, MIDSUMMER.—Agricultural peoples throughout the world have established a ritual, more or less elaborate, about the critical periods of their common industry. This ritual, in effect, is the farmer's religion, and it may be considered the culmination of all pre-ethical animism, and its most important development prior to the great organized faiths. In the form of holiday customs its semblance survives abundantly throughout Europe, and probably not a little of its belief is latent underneath Christianity to-day.

We shall discuss its meaning below. This is perhaps less complex than has been supposed; but it is clear that the agricultural meaning is associated with the popular attitude towards the changes of the seasons, lunar and solar movements, and the growth and decay of vegetation in general. The calendar of this cult is that of the countryside, and this is even suggested by the three categories to which the terms May, midsummer, and harvest belong.

1. May.—The typical European celebration of May Day is well known. Trees, green branches, or garlands are carried round, and a King and Queen of May are appointed from among the young people. According to Mannhardt and Frazer, these objects and persons represent the tree-spirit or spirit of vegetation:

'The intention of these customs is to bring home to the village, and to each house, the blessings which the tree-spirit has in its power to bestow.'[1]

They had 'originally a serious and, so to speak, sacramental significance; people really believed that the god of growth was present unseen in the bough. . . . The idea of the spirit of vegetation is blent with a personification of the season at which his powers are most strikingly manifested.'[2]

The custom of setting up a May Tree or May Pole has been widely spread in Europe. A typical case is that of Swabia; on the first day of May a fir-tree was brought to the village, decorated with ribbons, and set up, and the people then danced round it. It remained on the village-green till the next May Day, when a new tree took its place.[3]

At a later stage, at least in England, the May Pole was permanent, while in Bavaria it was renewed at arbitrary periods of three, four, or five years.

'When the meaning of the custom had been forgotten, and the May-tree was regarded simply as a centre for holiday merry-making, people saw no reason for felling a fresh tree every year and preferred to let the same tree stand permanently, only decking it with fresh flowers on May Day.'[4]

Instead of a tree or a branch, a branch decked with flowers, or simply garlands of flowers, are frequently employed. English children use two hoops of osier or hazel, crossing at right angles, and twine flowers round them; or a pole is carried with a bunch of flowers fixed on the top.[5] In modern English folk-custom the essence of the May Pole is the long ribbons attached to the top; each of these is held by a child, and as they dance round the pole the ribbons twine round it, to be untwined when the dancers reverse.

The tree-spirit is often embodied in human form or in a living person. English children carry a doll in the garland, sometimes styled 'The Lady of the May.'[6] In Alsace a little girl is selected to be the Little May Rose, and carries a small May Tree. The Russian Lithuanians crown the prettiest girl and address her 'O May! O May!' In Brie a boy is wrapped in leaves; he is styled 'Father May.' The 'Green George' of Carinthia and Rumania is a boy covered with green branches; at the end of the procession an effigy of him is flung into the water.[7]

Here is what Frazer terms the double or bilingual representation of the tree-spirit by a tree and doll or a living person.[1] Instances of the single representation by a living person are numerous, such as the Little Leaf Man of Thuringia, the English Jack-in-the-Green, usually a chimney-sweep, who wore a framework covered with ivy and holly, and the innumerable May Kings and May Queens.[2] These still, in many cases, remember to announce the coming of spring, as well as to wish the people good luck.

Often the symbolism is that of a wedded pair, king and queen, lord and lady, bridegroom and bride. Trees, Frazer notes, are sometimes married to each other.[3] In some cases one party is a 'forsaken sleeper,' who is awakened by a kiss or the like. In a few cases there is an indirect representation of a marriage between the May couple.[4] The folk-drama of the marriage of Zeus and Hera in ancient Greece may be similar to the above, and certainly that of the Queen to Dionysus was identical. According to Frazer, the principle is that marriage promotes fertility.

One aspect of these customs is that the symbolic figure is supposed to ensure fertility to women and cattle as well as to vegetation and the crops. This is brought out in German and English folk-custom. The European customs are certainly to be correlated with those of other peoples, whose definite object is to promote the growth of the young crops or of the seed. In N. Morocco, for instance, during May, or at any time in spring, the women engaged to weed fields make a doll. A villager mounted on a horse runs away with it. A regular pursuit follows, and, if a man from another village succeeds in carrying it home, the village where it was made must buy it back, usually with a feast. The doll is termed *Māta*, and is dressed up as a girl.[5]

Another element besides that of the spirit of vegetation is detected here by Westermarck.

'The doll *Mâta* is obviously a personification of the wheat, its vital energy; she is regarded as the bride of the field, and the ceremony itself I have heard called "the wedding of the wheats." Considering how commonly violent movements, contests, and racing are found as rites of purification, I venture to believe that the ceremony of *Mâta* is originally meant to serve a similar purpose, that it is essentially a magical means of cleaning the corn, which is added to the more realistic method employed by the women on the field. At the same time, however, there may also be an idea of distributing *baraka* over the fields by racing about with the doll. Sometimes a large wooden spoon is used' for the frame of the doll.[6]

The two polar ideas of Moroccan magical belief are *l-bas*, evil magic, and *baraka*, holiness or good magic, each being a force or substance. The negative method of assisting the latter by first eliminating the former is conspicuous in Berber custom. But it would be futile to attempt to decide which method is the earlier; they are obviously complementary. A consideration to be adduced later may, however, have some significance here.

The negative aspect of agricultural ritual, viz. the imposition of tabu, has traces in European custom, especially in the prohibition of unlucky acts or times. Tabu is best exemplified, however, in lower cultures. The Dayaks of Borneo, for instance, consider the whole period of farming and all its operations to be subject to supernatural influences, while planting and harvest are especially critical times. The most elaborate tabus are imposed, and omens are constantly taken. Merriment and feasting follow the period of tabu.[7]

The Assamese proclaim a *genna* (communal tabu) at planting and harvest. The idea 'underlying the various restrictions is that men must not give time and attention to anything but the care of the crops.'[8]

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[1] *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 59.

[2] W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, Berlin, 1875, p. 315 f., quoted in *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 79.

[3] E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen*, Stuttgart, 1852, p. 396.

[4] *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 70.

[5] *Ib.* ii. 60 ff.

[6] *Ib.* ii. 74.

[7] *Ib.* ii. 74 ff.

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[1] *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 73.

[2] *Ib.* ii. 80, 82, 84.

[3] *Ib.* ii. 88.

[4] *Ib.* ii. 94 f.

[5] E. Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs . . . in Morocco*, Helsingfors, 1913, p. 20.

[6] *Ib.* p. 22.

[7] W. H. Furness, *The Home-Life of Borneo Head-Hunters: its Festivals and Folk-lore*, Philadelphia, 1902, p. 160 ff.; T. B. P. Kehelpannala, in *JAI* xxv. [1895–96] 104 f.

[8] T. C. Hodson, in *FL* xxi. [1910] 300, and *JAI* xxxvi. [1906] 94.

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If the Christian Lent was developed out of a period of agricultural tabu, there is complete continuity between the old and new faiths.

The question of date may here be noticed. European folk-custom has a large body of similar ritual celebrated previously to and during Lent, such as the Death of the Carnival, the Burial of Shrove Tuesday, Carrying out Death, Sawing the Old Woman, followed by a dramatic advent of Spring, Summer, or Life.[1] The former generally are dated on Shrove Tuesday, sometimes at Mid-Lent, the latter sometimes follow immediately, or at a later date—the fourth Sunday in Lent, for instance—while in Russia similar ritual in both forms is celebrated in spring and at midsummer, and also on St. Peter's Day.[2] These dates suggest that the old agricultural calendar was altered to suit the ecclesiastical.

In the majority of these Lenten customs the tree or branch or doll or person is termed Summer or Summer-tree.

> 'The "customs" of bringing in the May and bringing in the Summer are essentially the same. . . . The Summer-tree must likewise be an embodiment of the tree-spirit or spirit of vegetation.'[3]

With regard to the representation of Death, more prominent in the 'Summer' (Lenten) ritual than in that of May Day, Frazer's view is that it is 'an embodiment of the tree-spirit or spirit of vegetation,' the Summer-tree being often a 'revivification of the effigy of Death.' The idea is 'the death and revival of the spirit of vegetation in spring.'[4] There is also, as already noted, a natural identification of season or date with the spirit. The death is represented frequently by killing, and this may be connected with the idea of slaying the incarnate or embodied spirit while still vigorous, in order that its successor's vigour may be guaranteed.

Another feature of May ritual is the kindling of bonfires,[5] though this is most conspicuous at Midsummer-tide.

> The Beltane fires of Scotland were kindled on May Day as late as the 18th century. The traces of human sacrifices at them were particularly clear and unequivocal. The most significant example is that of the north-east of Scotland. Here the Beltane fires were lit not on the first but 'on the 2nd of May, O.S. They were called *bone-fires.* The belief was that on that evening and night the witches were abroad in all their force, casting ill on cattle and stealing cows' milk. To counteract their evil power pieces of the rowan-tree and woodbine, chiefly of rowan-tree, were placed over the byre doors, and fires were kindled by every farmer and cottar. Old thatch, or straw, or furze, or broom was piled up in a heap and set on fire a little after sunset. Some of those present kept constantly tossing up the blazing mass, and others seized portions of it on pitch-forks or poles, and ran hither and thither, holding them as high as they were able, while the younger portion, that assisted, danced round the fire or ran through the smoke, shouting, "Fire! blaze an burn the witches; fire! fire! burn the witches." In some districts a large round cake of oat or barley-meal was rolled through the ashes. When the material was burned up, the ashes were scattered far and wide, and all continued till quite dark to run through them still crying, "Fire! burn the witches."'[6]

In Ireland, Sweden, and Bohemia bonfires were lighted on the first day of May; and in the last-named country the 'burning of the witches' is prominent.[7]

Bathing, washing the face with dew, and drenching effigies and mummers are common customs on May Day. The European May customs are also, among some peoples, celebrated at Whitsuntide. This date is especially marked in Russia, but also occurs in the Altmark, Bavaria, and other parts of Germany, Denmark, and Austria-Hungary. They are elsewhere celebrated at Midsummer, and on St. John's Eve or St. John's Day. One or two other dates are elsewhere found, cases apparently of arbitrary selection of a spring or summer critical day. The Swedes celebrate a minor form of the ritual on May Day, but are remarkable among European peoples for concentrating these customs upon Midsummer-tide, when May Pole, garlands, arbours, and jumping over bonfires are in great evidence.[1] It is curious that parts of Bohemia have the same date, while in Russia both Whitsun and Midsummer are celebrated similarly. The same ideas and practices are more or less equally applicable to May Day and Midsummer Day, but a Pyrenean custom suggests a special causal connexion. Here a tall tree is cut down on May Day and kept until Midsummer Eve, when it is ceremonially burned.[2]

Similarly there is a continuous connexion between the ritual and beliefs belonging to the whole trio of the critical periods, May, midsummer, and harvest. In Morocco the first day of summer (17th May) is the death of the earth, the first day of a new season, and the first day of harvest.[3] It is quite natural that green trees and green branches should be most conspicuous on May Day, and corn sheaves and the like at harvest; the preponderance of bonfires at midsummer, however, is a curiously difficult problem, whether on the theory of the tree-spirit with its corollary of sun-charms or on that of purification and *baraka.*

2. Midsummer. — Turning now to the midsummer celebrations, we find that in Sweden May Poles are set up and decorated, and the people dance round them, and bonfires are lighted to be danced round and jumped over. In Bohemia the May Pole itself is burned.[4]

> In Russia on St. John's Eve a figure of the mythical personage, Kupalo, is made of straw, and 'is dressed in woman's clothes, with a necklace and a floral crown. Then a tree is felled, and, after being decked with ribbons, is set up on some chosen spot. Near this tree, to which they give the name of Marena [Winter or Death], the straw figure is placed, together with a table, on which stand spirits and viands. Afterwards a bonfire is lit, and the young men and maidens jump over it in couples, carrying the figure with them. On the next day they strip the tree and the figure of their ornaments, and throw them both into a stream.'

In some parts of Russia the ceremony is accompanied by weeping and wailing for the destroyed effigy, or by a mock combat between those who attack and those who defend it.[5] In Sardinia there is a ritual which seems to be a survival of the ancient Greek 'Gardens of Adonis.' The village swain proposes to a village girl early in spring. Then in May she sows in a pot a handful of corn, which is well grown by Midsummer Eve, when it is called *Erme* or *Nenneri.* On Midsummer Day the young couple go in a procession and break the pot against the church door. Feasting follows, and in some districts a bonfire is lighted, round which the people dance. A young couple who wish to be 'Sweethearts of St. John' clasp hands across the fire. The two 'gossips,' suggests Frazer, may correspond to the Lord and Lady of the May, and ultimately represent in flesh and blood the reproductive spirit of vegetation.[6] In Morocco smouldering fires are made on Midsummer Day or the evening before.

> 'Men, women and children leap over them, believing that by doing so they rid themselves of the *bas* or evil, which may be clinging to them; the sick will be cured and married persons will have offspring. Nobody is hurt by the fire since there is *baraka* in it.'[7]

In the Moroccan custom the smoke is more important than the blaze; the practical point is fumigation of men, cattle, trees, and various belongings.

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[1] *GB*^{3}, pt. iii., *The Dying God,* London, 1911, pp. 221 f., 228 f., 233 ff., 240 ff., 246 ff.

[2] *Ib.* p. 262.

[3] *Ib.* p. 251 f.

[4] *Ib.* p. 252.

[5] *GB*^{3}, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful,* London, 1913, i. 159 ff.

[6] W. Gregor, *Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland,* London, 1881, p. 167.

[7] *GB*^{3}, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful,* i. 157, 159, pt. i., *The Magic Art,* ii. 65.

[1] *GB*^{3}, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful,* i. 172.

[2] *GB*^{3}, pt. i., *The Magic Art,* ii. 141.

[3] Westermarck, p. 76.

[4] *GB*^{3}, pt. i., *The Magic Art,* ii. 65, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful,* i. 173.

[5] W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*^{2}, London, 1872, p. 241; *GB*^{3}, pt. iii., *The Dying God,* p. 262.

[6] *GB*^{3}, pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*^{2}, London, 1914, i. 244 f., 251.

[7] Westermarck, p. 79.

It is also noteworthy that in Morocco at midsummer magic forces are supposed to be active in certain species of vegetation.[1] Fumigation by burning certain kinds of plants and the mere application of leaves and branches promote fertility, act as charms against the evil eye, and assist general well-being. There is also a custom of eating, in a quasi-sacramental manner, special foods, in which there is *baraka*.[2]

There is probably no corner of Europe in which it has not been the custom to kindle bonfires at Midsummer-tide. Besides the leaping through the fire, there are customs of throwing blazing disks through the air and of rolling burning wheels downhill.[3] A certain sanctity, as in the need-fire ceremonies, attaches to the kindling of the fire in some instances. A frequent custom is that of making gigantic figures of wicker-work, which are paraded and then burned, these midsummer giants being apparently analogous to the May Kings in their leafy garb. There are also traces of burning animals alive.[4]

Frazer derives these customs of modern Europe, especially those of N. France, from the 'sacrificial rites of the Celts of ancient Gaul,' as typified in the druidical sacrifices, and mythically in the death of Balder.[5]

Two main interpretations of these fire-rituals have been put forward. Mannhardt, originally followed by Frazer, explained them as sun-charms.[6]

At the 'great turning-point in the sun's career,' the summer solstice, primitive man 'fancied that he could help the sun in his seeming decline—could prop his failing steps and rekindle the sinking flame.'[7]

The wheel and disk are suggestive shapes. Frazer also noted the purificatory aspect of these customs.[8] Fire is a cleanser, and is frequently used for the purpose, as in the need-fire. Westermarck emphasized this aspect.

'Their primary object in many or most cases is to serve as a protection against evil forces that are active at Midsummer.'

In the Moroccan customs cleansing by fumigation is the chief idea, although there is also the ascription of positive virtue to the smoke. Westermarck finds no evidence for the sun-charm theory.[9] Later Frazer regarded the two views as being not mutually exclusive, but admitted the purificatory theory as being the more probable.[10]

Traces exist of what has been interpreted as human sacrifice by drowning on this date. Various similar customs have been interpreted as rain charms.[11] In Morocco, however, midsummer ceremonial bathing is connected with the idea of securing health by cleansing, and the same idea is attached to the European custom of rolling in dew.[12] Various kinds of divination, as is natural on special dates introductory of a new season (as midsummer is often regarded), are practised. Mock fights, tugs-of-war, games, and abuse of the ceremonial figure are common incidents. These have been interpreted as dramatic survivals of a ceremonial and magical representation of a struggle between good and evil influences, or designed to produce by homœopathic magic 'movement' in the weather or in the growth of the crops.[13] Magic plants are gathered at midsummer (see art. DEW); such are fern-bloom, fern-seed, mistletoe, and St. John's wort.[1]

For the special harvest-rites see art. HARVEST.

3. Basis of agricultural rituals.—The general theory of agricultural ritual propounded by Frazer can be connected with such primitive magical rites as the Australian *intichiuma* for developing the growth of food-plants and animals. But in many European cases it seems that the main object is to purify the sphere in which the corn grows, and many rites are concerned not with a spirit of vegetation but with vaguely-imagined evils, often in the form of witches.[2] The burning or destruction of the tree-spirit is often a doubtful proposition. It is impossible to dogmatize on the origin and first intention of these agricultural rites, but it is necessary to bear in mind the possibility that beliefs in corn-spirits and the like, and even the magical practices themselves, may be late accretions upon some simple psychological and even utilitarian facts. There is also the sense of crisis, very strong in the primitive mind. Thus, psychic reactions in sympathy with the objects concerned might lead to dramatic, but unconscious, imitations—*e.g.*, jumping to make the corn grow; in the same way imitative explanations might be made of such necessary processes as weed-burning. When established, these *ex post facto* explanations, magical, mythical, or theological, obviously tend to usurp precedence.

LITERATURE.—This is very extensive, but the main critical works are cited in the text.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

MĀYĀ.—*Māyā*, 'illusion, appearance,' is a term in the philosophy of the Vedānta applied to the illusion of the multiplicity of the empirical universe, produced by ignorance (*avidyā*), when in reality there is only One, the *brahman-ātman*. It is not till a somewhat late period that the word assumes the technical meaning of the cosmic illusion, although this development of its sense is not an unnatural one. The word *māyā* is not uncommon even in the Rigveda, where it has the meanings 'supernatural power,' 'cunning,' 'mysterious will-power.' Sāyaṇa usually explains it by *prajñā*, 'mental power,' or *kapaṭa*, 'cunning,' 'guile,' 'deception.' Indra, *e.g.*, is said to assume many forms *māyābhiḥ*, 'by magic wiles, *or* mysterious powers'; as the possessor of this power, he is called *māyin*.

[The use of the term in the Rigveda has been thoroughly analyzed by A. Bergaigne (*Religion védique*, Paris, 1878–83, iii. 80–88; cf. A. Hillebrandt, 'Māyā,' *WZKM* xiii. [1899] 316–320). It, or such derivatives as *māyin*, *māyāvant*, is applied to the wiles of the demons conquered by Agni (V. ii. 9, etc.) and Sarasvatī (VI. lxi. 3), and especially by Indra, whether alone (I. xxxii. 4, etc.) or accompanied by Viṣṇu (VII. xcix. 4). By overcoming the *māyā* of the demons Indra won the Soma (VII. xcviii. 5) Men of evil craftiness are *māyin* (I. xxxix. 2) or *durmāyu* (III. xxx. 15); the sorceress uses *māyā* (VII. civ. 24); but the *māyin* cannot overcome 'the primal firm ordainments of the gods' (III. lvi. 1). The Aśvins conquer the *māyā* of the evil Dasyu (I. cxvii. 3).

On the other hand, the terms are applied to good deities. Through *māyā* Mitra and Varuṇa send rain and guard their law (V. lxiii. 3, 7); through *māyā* the sun-bird is adorned (X. clxxvii. 1). The Maruts employ it (V. lxiii. 6), and are *māyin* (V. lviii. 2), or *sumāya* (I. lxxxviii. 1, etc.). *Māyā* is known to, or used by, Tvaṣṭṛ (X. liii. 9), the Ādityas (II. xxvii. 16), and Varuṇa and Mitra (I. cli. 9, etc.); and it is a characteristic of Varuṇa (VI. xlviii. 14, etc.); while by it the Ṛbhus attained divine dignity (III. lx. 1). It was also employed by Agni (III. xxvii. 7) and Soma (IX. lxxxiii. 3), and in the former deity the *māyās* of the *māyins* are united (III. xx. 3). It was a mark of the Aśvins (V. lxxviii. 6, etc.), and even earthly sacrificers are *māyin* (IX. lxxiii. 8).

Through *māyā* Indra triumphs over the *māyin* demons (I. xi. 7, V. xxx. 6, etc.), and he 'has much *māyā*' (*purumāya*, VI. xviii. 12, etc.). Germs of the later development of the word are found in such passages as III. liii. 8, where Indra 'assumes form after form, working *māyās* about his body,' and VI. xlvii. 18, where 'through *māyās* Indra goeth in many forms' (cf. also III. xxxviii. 7). Sun and moon succeed each other in virtue of *māyā*

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[1] Westermarck, p. 88; cf. p. 82.

[2] *Ib.* p. 90 ff. On the customs in general see Westermarck, 'Midsummer Customs in Morocco,' in *FL* xvi. [1905] 27 ff.

[3] *GB*³, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 116 f., 168 f., 337 f., 340 f., 345.

[4] *Ib.* i. 269 ff., ii. 31 ff., 38.

[5] *Ib.* ii. 40 f., 87 f.

[6] *Ib.* i. 329 f.

[7] *Ib.* i. 160.

[8] *Ib.* i. 329 f.

[9] Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs in Morocco*, p. 98.

[10] *GB*³, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 346.

[11] *Ib.* ii. 26 f., 30; *GB*³, pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*², i. 237.

[12] Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs*, p. 85 f.; *GB*³, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 208, ii. 74.

[13] *GB*³, pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, i. 102 f.

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[1] *GB*³, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 165, 287, 291.

[2] *GB*³, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, p. 158 ff.

(x. lxxxv. 18), and *māyā* explains the double form of Pūṣan and Agni (vi. lviii. 1, x. lxxxviii. 6). Perhaps most significant of all is the passage x. liv. 2: 'When thou didst go, O Indra, waxing in body, speaking mighty things among folk, *māyā* was that which they called thy battles; neither now nor hitherto hast thou found a foe.'

In the Atharvaveda *māyā* was born from *māyā* (viii. ix. 5); it was milked from Virāj (on whom see Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, Breslau, 1891–1902, ii. 50–52, and Muir, *passim*), and on it the Asuras (demons) subsist (viii. x. 22). Luck in gambling is invoked by the aid of *māyā* (iv. xxxviii. 3); the black snake assumes wondrous forms (*vapus*) 'by the Asura's *māyā*' (vi. lxxii. 1); sun and moon follow one another by *māyā* (vii. lxxxi. 1; cf. xiii. ii. 11); the sorceress prevails by its means (viii. iv. 24); by *māyā* the sun makes 'the two days' (*i.e.* day and night) of diverse form (xiii. ii. 3); through Agni the *māyās* of the Asuras are repelled (iv. xxiii. 5, viii. iii. 24); yet the gods (*deva*) go about with Asura-*māyā* (iii. ix. 4).

Some idea as to the original meaning of the term *māyā* may be gained from its etymology. It has been connected with Skr. *mā*, 'to measure' (O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Petrograd, 1855–75, v. 732); with Skr. *man*, 'to think' (H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzig, 1873, col. 1034; similarly P. Persson, *Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation*, Upsala, 1891, p. 120; the closest cognate would be Gr. μῆτις, 'wisdom, cunning, craft'); with Gr. μῖμος, 'imitator' (G. N. Chatzidakis, Ἀκαδημ. Ἀναγνώσματα, Athens, 1902–04, i. 260); with Lat. *mīrus*, 'wonderful' (H. Ehrlich, *Zur indogerm. Sprachgesch.*, Königsberg, 1910, p. 75). The most probable connexion, however, is with a Balto-Slavic group (with which μῖμος may be connected) represented by O. Bulg. *na-mayati*, 'to nod, indicate by a sign,' Russ. *na-mayamt*, 'I indicate by signs, deceive,' *ob-mayakŭ*, 'deceiver,' Bulg. *za-mayvam*, 'I enchant, deceive,' Let. *mât*, 'to nod,' *ap-mât*, 'to blind, enchant.' More distant cognates are, *e.g.*, Bulg. *iz-mama*, 'deceit, swindle,' Russ. *ob-manŭ*, 'deceit,' Lith. *mõnai*, 'sorcery,' Let. *mânit*, 'to enchant,' O. H. G. *mein*, 'falsehood' (Germ. *Meineid*, 'perjury'), Little Russ. *mara*, 'phantom, dream, deception,' O. Ch. Slav. *machati*, 'to swing,' Russ. *makhŭ*, 'error,' Czech *matoha*, 'ghost,' Polish *matać*, 'to swindle, lie, deceive' (E. Berneker, *Slav. etymolog. Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1908 ff., ii. 7, 15, 17 f., 4 f., 25). In Avesta we have the word *māyu*, 'skilful, clever.' The basal meaning seems to be 'to move,' hence 'to change, to deceive.' LOUIS H. GRAY.]

In Upaniṣadic literature *māyā* is first found in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (iv. 10) with the meaning 'cosmic illusion'; it is no longer applied simply to the juggler's art, but now connotes the illusion created by him. It is in the latter sense that the word is henceforth mainly used in philosophical literature. Śaṅkara, in his commentaries on the *Vedāntasūtras*, always used the word with the meaning 'illusion,' and the technical term employed by him became more or less stereotyped by his successors.

Although it is occasionally asserted that the idea of *māyā* is as late in origin as the use of *māyā* to describe it, there is little foundation for this view, and passages may be found in the Rigveda which show that even then it was felt that there was an underlying unity beneath apparent multiplicity; indeed, the doctrine that phenomena are unreal in relation to absolute being is common to all metaphysics.

In Rigveda, i. clxiv. 46, *ekaṁ sad viprā bahudhā vadanti*, 'that which is one the sages call by many names,' it is felt that all plurality is a matter of words only, or in x. xc. 2, where the whole universe is said to be *puruṣa* alone, it is implied that all else but *puruṣa* is illusion.

It was with the introduction of the doctrine of the *ātman* in the Upaniṣads that this denial of the existence of the empirical universe became firmly established in India as a philosophic doctrine. The conception of an all-pervading *ātman*, the 'self' of the universe, necessitates the exclusion of all that is not the self, and hence implies its unreality. The substance of the teaching of the Upaniṣads is '*Brahman* is real, the universe false, the *ātman* is *brahman* and nothing else.' Although it is not possible to quote early forms of the statement that the universe is *māyā*, or illusion, it is frequently insisted that the *ātman* is the only reality, which means the same thing—*i.e.*, all that is not the self (world, etc.) is not real; it is mere appearance or illusion. This is the teaching of Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*:

> 'When the self is seen, heard, perceived, and known, the whole universe is known'; 'he who imagines there is plurality goes from death to death' (iv. iv. 19, v. 6).

With the knowledge of self phenomena become known as phases of it; they are provisionally real to a certain extent, but ignorance of the *ātman* regards them as independent of the *ātman*. We have not quite reached the stage of the later Vedānta, which regards phenomena as absolutely unreal, like a mirage. Ignorance, in the Upaniṣads, is an absence of true knowledge; in the later Vedānta it is rather an active force which conjures up the illusion of phenomena for the delusion of the self. In the Upaniṣads also we find a kind of pantheistic compromise which grants that the world does exist, but holds that the sole reality of the *ātman* is not in the least degree affected, for all is the *ātman*. This view pervades the *Chhandogya Upaniṣad*, *e.g.*:

> 'The *ātman* is above and below, behind and in front. The *ātman* is all the world' (vii. xxv. 2).

As time went on, *māyā* gained an ever-increasing independence as the substance *prakṛti* (nature), which was at first subordinate to the *ātman*. In post-Upaniṣadic literature the term appears frequently in a non-philosophic sense; a *mṛgamāyā* is an 'illusion gazelle' (*i.e.* not a real gazelle); a man who craftily seeks to gain money does it through *māyā*; *amāyayā*, lit. 'without *māyā*,' means 'honestly.' In these cases (for further references see Böhtlingk-Roth, *loc. cit.*) the original meaning of *māyā* persists.

In the philosophical sections of the *Mahābhārata* the term is used in its philosophical sense. Thus Viṣṇu, speaking as the supreme god, says: 'Entering into my own nature (*prakṛti*), I arise through *māyā*' (vi. xxviii. 6 f.); this explains the famous *avatāras* of the deity. 'Māyāvin' is one of the thousand names of Śiva (xiii. xvii. 1214). (On the question of *māyā* in the epic see E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, New York, 1901, pp. 138–142.)

The doctrine of *māyā* in the Vedānta forms the cardinal distinction from its great rival system, the Sāṅkhya (*q.v.*) philosophy. Vedānta is the system of *advaita* (non-duality); the phenomenal world does not exist; it is only *māyā*, arising from *avidyā*, that makes us erroneously think it to be real; *māyā* is overcome when he who ignorantly believed himself to be an individual realizes that in actuality he is one with the *ātman*; then only is salvation (*mokṣa*, lit. 'liberation') finally won. In the Sāṅkhya system, on the contrary, the phenomenal world is real; the Vedāntic *ātman* is ignored (Sāṅkhya is atheistic); the soul (*chit*, lit. 'thought') is involved in the woe of life because of *aviveka* (failure to distinguish between matter and soul), due to *avidyā*, etc.; salvation is gained by the complete isolation (*kaivalya*) of the soul from matter; and the soul then exists as an eternal, but unconscious, individuality. (On the distinctions between Vedānta and Sāṅkhya see especially Max Müller, *Six Systems*, p. 279 ff.)

One of the most important of the early works on Vedānta is the *Kārikā* of Gauḍapāda (8th cent. A.D.), one of whose pupils was a teacher of Śaṅkara. He is an uncompromising advocate of the doctrine of *māyā*, and strongly denies the existence of the universe. The waking world is no more real than the world of dreams. The *ātman* is both the knower and the known; his experiences exist within him through the power of *māyā*. As a rope in a dim light is mistaken for a snake, so the *ātman* is mistaken for the variety of experience (*jīva*). When the rope is recognized, the illusion of the snake at once disappears; when true knowledge of the *ātman* is attained, the illusion which makes us think of it as a multiplicity of experiences vanishes. The world has no more real existence than the snake, and, as one cannot remove or cast off what does not exist, it is wrong to speak of obtaining freedom from it. The *ātman* cannot be said to create or cause the universe any more than the rope creates the snake. Production would be either from the existent or from the non-existent; but the former is impossible, for it would be producing what already exists, and the latter is equally impossible, for the non-existent—*e.g.*, the son of a barren woman—cannot be the cause of anything; it cannot even be realized by the mind.

Gauḍapāda's monism assumed its final form in the commentaries of Śaṅkara (b. probably A.D. 788). Śaṅkara is well aware of the difficulties in the way of reconciling the various views of the Upaniṣads, and is further perplexed by the fact that as *śruti* ('revelation') they all ought to have equal weight; the latter difficulty he overcomes by his classification of knowledge as of two kinds: a higher, the knowledge of *brahman*, and a lower, including all that is not this metaphysical knowledge. He then investigates the cause of ignorance (*avidyā*), and concludes that it is to be sought in the knower. The phenomenal world is considered real so long as the unity of the *ātman* is not realized, just as the creations of a dream are thought to be real till the dreamer awakes. Just as a magician (*māyāvin*) causes a phantom, having no existence apart from him, to issue from his body, so the *ātman* creates a universe which is a mere mirage and in no way affects the self. It is through *māyā* that plurality is perceived where there is really only the *ātman*. Multiplicity is only a matter of name and form, which are the creations of ignorance, being neither the *ātman* nor different from it, through the power of illusion (*māyāśakti*). The Highest One manifests himself in various ways by *avidyā* as a magician assumes various forms by his wiles. Śaṅkara further defines two kinds of existence, empirical and metaphysical, for the first time emphasizing clearly a distinction which seems, however, to be known even in the Upaniṣads. The phenomenal universe is a fact of consciousness, and therefore has a sort of existence; all experience is true so long as the knowledge of the *ātman* is not attained, just as the experiences in a dream are real to the sleeper, until he awakes.

'. . . Therefore before the consciousness of identity with *brahman* is aroused, all worldly actions are justified' (on *Vedāntasūtras*, II. i. 121).

In spite of the discussion that has raged round it since Śaṅkara's time, the doctrine of *māyā* as enunciated by him still holds the field in India to-day and, as one of the fundamental doctrines of his Advaitist school, pervades the philosophy of the great mass of thinkers in India.

LITERATURE.—P. Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1906, pp. 226–239, *The System of the Vedanta*, Eng. tr., Chicago, 1912, pp. 100, 187, 228, etc., *Nachved. Philosophie der Inder*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 24, 35, 472, 601; A. E. Gough, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, London, 1882, pp. 45–50, 235 ff.; Mādhavāchārya, *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, tr. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, do. 1882, and Deussen, *Nachved. Phil.* p. 182 ff.; Gauḍapāda, *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣatkārikā*, tr. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 573 ff.; Śaṅkara, *Commentary on the Vedāntasūtras*, tr. G. Thibaut, *SBE* xxxiv., xxxviii. [1890–96], and Deussen, *Sûtras des Vedânta*, Leipzig, 1887; Rāmānuja, *Commentary on the Vedāntasūtras*, tr. Thibaut, *SBE* xlviii. [1904]; Prakāśānanda, *Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvalī*, ed. and tr. A. Venis, Benares, 1890; Sadānanda, *Vedāntasāra*, tr. G. A. Jacob^2, London, 1889, Deussen, *Nachved. Phil.* p. 639 ff.; F. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899, pp. 157, 162, 185, 367, 457; Prabhu Dutt Shāstrī, *Doctrine of Māyā*, do. 1911. For *māyā* as held by a modern Vedāntist see Max Müller, *Râmakrishna, his Life and Sayings*, London, 1898, nos. 25, 15, 64, 71, etc. Cf. also 'Literature' at artt. ADVAITA, ĀTMAN, UPANIṢADS, VEDĀNTA.

J. ALLAN.

MAYANS.—The territory of what is now the Republic of Guatemala, adjoining parts of the Republic of Honduras and of the Mexican States of Chiapas and Tabasco, and the peninsula of Yucatan, was inhabited in ancient times, as it is to the present day, by a number of different tribes, speaking allied idioms and forming a linguistic family usually designated as 'Mayan,' from the name of its most conspicuous members, the people of Yucatan. This population is to be regarded as the second of the great culture-nations of Mexico and Central America, equal to the Mexicans in material and intellectual civilization and in some ways surpassing them, but, unfortunately, much less known than the Mexicans, as regards the special traits of their civilization, their history, and the elements of their daily life. The chief ancient monuments in Central America—Palenque in Chiapas, Menche Tinamit on the Usumacinta river, Quirigua in Guatemala, Copan in Honduras, Uxmal and Chich'en Itzá in Yucatan—are the work of members of that family. They were the great astronomers and mathematicians who calculated the duration of the revolution of Venus and, perhaps, of other planets as well, and were wont to write down and handle numbers exceeding a million. They had elaborated a system of hieroglyphic writing far superior to that of the Mexicans, but only partially deciphered as yet. They were unexcelled in the apprehension and reproduction of living forms of animals and men. As a whole, their civilization and their religion were closely allied to those of the Mexicans.

In their religious practices they were not so sanguinary as the Mexicans, human sacrifices being much less numerous and in many cases being replaced by the killing of dogs. They resembled the Mexicans in their methods of prayer and offerings, fasting, and torture, and in piercing their ears and tongues and drawing threads through the holes. They also sacrificed living animals by fire to the god of fire, and in some places tortured themselves by running with naked feet over burning coals.

Like the Mexicans, the Mayans divided the year into eighteen periods of twenty days each, and they also commenced their ceremonies early in the year, in our month of January, by renewing all kinds of ceremonial utensils — incense-burners, clay-idols, and the like. This feast was called *Ocna*, and was devoted to the *chac*, the gods of labour, *i.e.* the rain-gods. When they had to make a new wooden image or, as they said, to create a god, the work began in the preceding months, and with great precautions (fasting, etc.), the artisans being confined to the house as long as the work went on. In March they had a great fire-ceremony, performed by the old men and directed to the rain-gods (*chac*) and to the old god Itzamná, who may be considered the god of life and the god of fire. This ceremony was called *tupp-kak*, 'extinguishing the fire.' They brought together every species of animal that was at hand; and, after having kindled a great fire, they killed them by cutting the breasts and tearing out the hearts, which were cast into the flame. The larger animals, such as jaguars, pumas, caimans, were not so easily captured, so they made imitations of their hearts from copal, which was their incense, and threw these into the fire. The hearts having been consumed, the priests extinguished the fire by pouring water from their jars upon it. This ceremony was intended to secure sufficient rain for the crops of the new year. Another ceremony was connected with this performance. They made a kind of terraced pyramid of stones, which seems to have been regarded as an image of the clouds. The priests anointed the lowest step with mud and the upper ones with blue colour, invoking the *chac* and Itzamná. This was, no doubt, another ceremony for bringing rain.

In April the cacao planters, who were also the great merchants, cacao being the staple merchandise of ancient Central America, celebrated a great feast to the black god Ekchuah, the god of the caravans and the merchants, to the *chac*, and to Hobnil, the god of the bee-hives. They killed a dog of the spotted colour of the cacao-pod and offered blue iguanas, feathers of wild fowl, and incense. In the month of May there was another great feast, called *Pacumchac*, celebrated to Cit chac coh, the god of war. It began with a five nights' watch in the temple of the god of war, and during this time the war-chief, called *nacom* and elected for four years by the members of the tribe, was seated on a throne in the temple of the god of war and venerated like a deity with incense-burning. The people performed a dance called *holkon-okot*, 'warrior-dance.' At the end of the five days they performed the fire-ceremony described above, after which the war-chief was taken in a solemn procession all round the temple; a dog was sacrificed, and the heart offered to the god. The heart was put into a bowl and covered by another bowl, after which the assistant priests dashed to pieces some great jars full of water—undoubtedly another ceremony intended to produce rain for the crops. A great banquet of mead and general drunkenness followed. The same banquets and drinking-bouts were repeated in the course of the next three twentieths in all the smaller villages. These feasts were called *Zabacil than*, and it is expressly stated that they were made in order that the new year might be a fertile one and bring rich crops.

The month of July was reckoned as the beginning of the new year by the Yucatecans at the time of the conquest. The twentieth (*uinal*) in question was called Pop, 'straw-mat,' meaning 'dominion,' 'reign.' They swept their houses and the village streets and renewed all objects of domestic use—plates, jars, bowls, wooden chairs, garments, and the wrappings of their idols—throwing the old ones on the dust-heaps. The priests, who had fasted for one, two, or three months, eating only once a day and abstaining from sexual intercourse, assembled in the temple and kindled new fire by friction, twirling a wooden stick in the hole of another; this new fire was put into the brazier before the idol, and all the priests and principal men burned incense with it to the idol. In the following months all the professional instruments of the different classes of the people—the books of the priests, the implements for casting lots and the fetishes of the doctors, the weapons of the hunters, and the fishing-nets of the fishermen—were consecrated by anointing them with blue colour. This feast was called *Pocam*. In the month of September the bee-keepers had a special feast at which they brought offerings of incense and honey to their god Hobnil. In the month of October, called Xul by the Yucatecans, there was a great ceremony in the village of Mani, dedicated to the god Kukulcan, the 'feathered snake,' the Yucatec translation of the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl, who was venerated as a culture-hero in Yucatan, some of the most important towns of the peninsula, Mayapan, and Chich'en Itzá, having been founded by Mexican emigrants. The last feast in the year, celebrated at the time of our months November and December, corresponded in a way to the Mexican *Izcalli*, ceremonies being performed to promote the growth of the youth and to strengthen them. Contrary to the custom of the Mexicans, the Yucatecans performed very particular and important ceremonies in the last five days of the year, which they called *xma kaba kin*, 'days without name,' *i.e.* 'unlucky' days, the names of which it is dangerous to pronounce. On these days they set up in the midst of the village the image of the deity that was to govern the coming year, this god being one of four who corresponded to the four cardinal points and followed each other in turn. These gods were: (1) for the east and the years corresponding to the east, Ah bolon tz'acab, the god of fertility; (2) for the north and the years corresponding to the north, Kinch ahau, the sun-god; (3) for the west and the years corresponding to the west, Itzamná, the old god, the moon-god and the god of fire; (4) for the south and the years corresponding to the south, Uacmitun ahau, the 'lord of the six under worlds,' the god of the dead. A number of different ceremonies and offerings were performed in honour of these gods, and the evil that was to befall the village, according to the character of the new year and of the heavenly quarter corresponding to the god thereof, was taken, represented by the figure of a demon, out of the village in the direction of the coming year.

The priests were called *ah-kin*, 'lords of days,' *i.e.* 'lords of day-signs,' 'dealers in prognostics,' 'sooth-sayers.' They were the leaders and teachers of the people—the learned men whose principal occupation was with books, pictographs, and all the traditional knowledge embodied in them. There is one marked difference between Mexican and Mayan priesthood: in Yucatan the office of sacrificer (*nacom*), who had to kill the victim, was not a highly honoured one, whereas in Mexico the highest priests and—in extraordinary celebrations, such as the inauguration of a newly-built temple—the kings themselves acted as sacrificers.

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EDUARD SELER.

MĀZANDARĀN.—The Persian region of Māzandarān,[1] or Ṭabaristān, is bounded on the north by the Caspian Sea and on the south by the Alburz Mountains, and extends from Astarābād in the east to the Pul-i-Rūd in the west. The winds from the Caspian bring abundant rain, and the country is heavily wooded, in contrast to the arid regions south of the Alburz. The climate is decidedly unhealthy, and the difficulty of access to the country, increased by lack of good roads, has combined with Māzandarān's insalubrity to exclude it from any generous share in the progress of Persia. It is to these disadvantages that the district owes its place in the history of religion in Irān.

Of the aboriginal inhabitants of Māzandarān we know nothing beyond the statement of Strabo (p. 515; cf. 520) that it was their custom to 'give their married women to other men after they themselves had had two or three children by them.' The *Bundahishn* (xv. 28) has a fantastic tradition of their origin, and the *Dīnkarṭ* (IX. xxi. 19) describes them as filthy and dwelling in holes.

In regard to the latter point, we may note that Firdausi (*Shāh-nāmah*, tr. A. G. and E. Warner, London, 1905 ff., ii. 58) makes the Māzandarānī White Dīv inhabit a cavern, although one thinks involuntarily of the repeated Avesta statement that demons hide under earth or dwell in caves (*Ys.* ix. 15; *Yt.* xix. 81; *Vend.* iii. 7, 10).

In the Avesta Māzandarān is the abode of the Māzainya *daēvas*, concerning whom E. W. West (*SBE* xviii. [1882] 93, n. 10) expresses the general view when he says that 'these demons were, no doubt, merely idolaters,' while M. N. Dhalla (*Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914, pp. 8, 160) sees in them the nomads of Māzandarān and Gīlān, 'who poured down in great numbers and pillaged the possessions of the Iranians.' A number of the Avesta references to the Māzainya *daēvas* give no information as to their nature or habitat (*Ys.* lvii. 17, 32; *Vend.* ix. 13, x. 16, xvii. 9 f.). We have, however, more precise indications as to their location in the account of the threefold sacrifice by the hero Haoshyangha Paradhāta on Mt. Hara to gain the victory over 'two-thirds of the Māzainyan demons' (*Yt.* v. 22. ix. 4, xv. 8. xix. 26), for Hara (or, as it is also called in the Avesta, Hara Berezaiti, 'lofty Hara') is generally—and probably correctly—identified with Alburz, though construed in a mythological, rather than a geographical, sense (*e.g.*, Spiegel, *Erân. Alterthumskunde*, i. 191, 463, 482; Darmesteter, i. 101, n. 28; K. Geldner, *GIrP* ii. 38, and especially Geiger, *Ostīrān. Kultur*, pp. 42–45), and the 'peak' (*taēra*, *Yt.* xv. 7; cf. xii. 25; *Bund.* v. 4; *Ys.* xlii. 3) of Hara is probably Mt. Damāvand (Geiger, *loc. cit.*). The identification of Mazan (the noun from which Māzainya is derived) with Māzandarān is also made by Neriosangh (*c.* A.D. 1200), who, in his Skr. paraphrase of the Pahlavi version of the *Yasna*, renders 'Māzainya' by 'Mājandara' or 'Mājandaradeśīya' (*Ys.* lvii. 17, xxvii. 1, lvii. 32).

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[1] The meaning of the name Māzandarān is not certain. The old native etymology (Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. Browne, p. 14) makes it a later form of *Mūzandarūn, 'within [a mountain named] Mūz' (so also Curzon, *Persia*, i. 354 f.; Darmesteter's etymology [*Zend-Avesta*, ii. 373, n. 321] is incorrect); but it more probably means 'Land of the Māzan Gate' (T. Nöldeke, *GIrP* ii. [1904] 178, n. 1). Ṭabaristān, the Arab. form of Pahlavi Tapurstān (on coins) or Taparistān (*Bund.* xii. 17, xiii. 15, xx. 27), is the land of the Τάπουροι of Ptolemy (VI. ii. 6) and the Τάπυροι of Diodorus (II. ii. 3) and Athenæus (442 B; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 129). F. Windischmann's identification of Māzandarān with Media (*Zoroastr. Stud.*, Berlin, 1863, p. 229) was wrong.

Closely associated with the Māzainya *daēvas* are the Varenyan *daēvas* and *dregvants*, or 'adherents of the Lie demon' (*Ys.* xxvii. 1; *Yt.* v. 22, xiii. 137, xv. 8, xix. 26; cf. Darmesteter, ii. 373, n. 33; *Yt.* x. 97, xiii. 71, and *Vend.* x. 14 are unimportant in this connexion). The land of Varena was the fourteenth best created by Ahura Mazda, but Angra Mainyu cursed it with 'untimely infirmities and non-Aryan over-lords' (*Vend.* i. 17).[1] It was 'four-eared' (*čathru-gaosha*, *i.e.* four-square or quadrangular [?]; cf. Darmesteter, ii. 14, n. 38), and was the birthplace of the hero Thraētaona or Farīdūn, who overcame Aži Dahāka (*Vend.* i. 17; *Yt.* v. 33)—a tale which was discussed at length in the lost *Sūṭkar Nask* of the Avesta (*Dīnkarṭ*, IX. xxi. 17–24; cf. also VIII. xiii. 9, IX. xxii. 4).[2] The location of Varena is a matter of some dispute. It was certainly near Ṭabaristān (Spiegel, i. 545), but is hardly to be identified with the modern village of Verek, south of Sārī, as argued by Spiegel (i. 72, n. 2, 545) and F. Justi (*Handb. der Zendsprache*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 270 [with earlier literature], *GIrP* ii. 404). Equally uncertain is the view of C. de Harlez (*Avesta trad.*, Liège, 1875–77, i. 87, n. 2) that it was the modern Kirmān. A. V. W. Jackson (*GIrP* ii. 663) and Dhalla (*locc. citt.*) identify it with Gīlān, and Darmesteter (ii. 14, n. 38) with Ṭabaristān or Dailam. Ṭabaristān was formerly preferred by Geiger (*Ostīrān. Kultur*, pp. 127 f., 184); his later view (*GIrP* ii. 391), identifying Varena with the Caspian Gates, seems scarcely an improvement. Neriosangh was ignorant of the meaning of the term, for he renders *Varenya* by *vibhramakara*, 'confusing,' and *kāma*, 'love' (on *Yt.* i. 19; *Ys.* xxvii. 1), confounding the epithet with the later Pahlavi Varenō, the demon of lust (Jackson, ii. 660, 663; Darmesteter, ii. 373, n. 33; L. C. Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, Bombay, 1889, pp. 91, 166). On the whole, Gīlān appears to be the most probable identification.

It would seem that the legend of Haoshyangha refers to an early invasion of Māzandarān and Gīlān by Iranians, and their conquest of it, at least in part. This is borne out by the local tradition of the early 13th cent., for Ibn Isfandiyār (p. 15) held that

> 'until the time of Jamshīd it was in the possession of the demons. He conquered them, and bade them level the mountains with the plains, fill up the lakes, drain the fens into the sea, open up the country, and distribute the rivers and streams.'

The Iranian religion found some place, at all events, in Māzandarān, for tradition sees in Spiti and Erezrāspa, who are mentioned in *Yt.* xiii. 121, two pious men who came from Māzandarān to receive the faith from Frashaoshtra, the father-in-law of Zarathushtra (*Dīnkarṭ*, IX. xxi. 17–24).

In the Pahlavi texts the most interesting passage in the present connexion is found in the *Shikand-gūmānīg Vijār* (xvi. 28–36), which records a belief closely similar to the frequent Gnostic concept of the entanglement of light in darkness combined with a touch of the Iranian heresy of Zarvanism.

> 'The rain was the seed of the Māzandarāns for the reason that when the Māzandarāns are bound on the celestial sphere, whose light is swallowed by them, and, in order to pass it from them through a new regulation, discrimination, and retention of the light of Time, the twelve glorious ones show the daughters of Time[1] to the household-attending male Māzandarāns, so that while the lust of those Māzandarāns, from seeing them, is well suited to them, and seed is discharged from them, the light which is within the seed is poured on to the earth. Trees, shrubs, and grain have grown therefrom, and the light which is within the Māzandarāns is discharged in the seed.'[2]

In the *Shāh-nāmah* Māzandarān is described with little geographical accuracy (Nöldeke, ii. 178), and the Kargasārs ('Vulture-heads'), who are frequently mentioned as inhabiting the country, like the Sagsārs ('Dog-heads'), Buzgūsh ('Goat-ears'), and Narmpāi ('Strap-feet, Ἱμαντόποδες'), betray the influence of pseudo-Callisthenes upon Firdausī (Nöldeke, ii. 146, n. 3). In his proper shape the king of Māzandarān had a boar's head (Warner, ii. 75). The land itself was

> 'The home of warlock-dívs and under spells
> Which none hath power to loose; . . .
> To go or e'en to think of going thither
> Is held unlucky!' (*ib.* 36 f.).

Nevertheless, it was invaded unsuccessfully by Kai Kāūs and successfully by Rustam (*ib.* 30–41, 42–44, 57–78), one of the great achievements of the latter being the slaying of the 'White Demon,' whom Warner (ii. 27 f.) holds to be a personification of the Māzandarānīs, rendered pale by the unhealthiness of their climate. This 'White Dīv' was

> 'mountain-tall,
> With shoulders, breast, and neck ten cords across' (*ib.* 55).

The magic exercised by the 'White Dīv' against Kai Kāūs reads like a description of a severe hailstorm (*ib.* 40); the only other point worth noting is that his blood cured failing sight (*ib.* 62).

Even in the Arab period Māzandarān remained imperfectly Islāmized. As late as the 10th cent. many of the inhabitants of Dailam and Gīlān were 'plunged in ignorance' (*i.e.* heathenism), and some were Magians, this being particularly the case with those in the mountains, valleys, fortresses, and other inaccessible places (Masʿūdī, *Prairies d'or*, ed. and tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861–77, ix. 5). It was a centre of the Ḫurramite and Zaidite sects of Muhammadanism (*ib.* vi. 188, vii. 117; cf. also Ibn Isfandiyār, pp. 158, 189–193).

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[1] With these 'non-Aryan over-lords' Geiger (p. 185, n. 2) compares the 'Αναριάκαι, a tribe dwelling along the Caspian (Strabo, pp. 507 f., 514; cf. W. Tomaschek, in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 2063; F. Andreas, *ib.* 2195).

[2] In a Turfān fragment Aži Dahāka, who was imprisoned in Damāvand, is called 'Mazan.' The adjective has thus far been found in two other passages, but in both cases the accompanying names are illegible (C. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien*, i. [Petrograd, 1908] 95). For the local Muhammadan version, according to which Solomon imprisoned in Damāvand the *jinnī* who stole his ring, see Ibn Isfandiyār, p. 36.

[1] The zodiacal signs, appointed as celestial leaders by Ahura Mazda (*Dīnā-ī-Māīnōg-ī-Xraṭ*, viii. 18).

[2] According to Darmesteter (ii. 373, n. 32) and West (*GIrP* ii. 110), the Pahlavi *Jāmāsp-nāmak* raises the question whether the Māzandarānīs were demons or men, and where their souls went after death, the reply being that they were all men, that some of them followed the religion of Ahura Mazda and others the law of Angra Mainyu, and that most of them went to heaven; but the text, as edited and translated by J. J. Modi (Bombay, 1903), contains no statement whatever on this matter.

The Zaidites call for no special remark, but the Ḫurramites may be briefly described, as being one of the many attempts at religious syncretism in W. Asia.

The exact meaning of the name is not absolutely certain. It is usually explained as from Pers. *xurram*, 'cheerful' (*i.e.* 'Epicurean'; so T. Haarbrücker, in his note to his tr. of al-Shahrastānī's *Religionspartheien und Philosophenschulen*, Halle, 1850–51, ii. 410, and Flügel, *ZDMG* xxiii. 531, note), but it has also been derived from the town of Ḫurram near Ardābīl, which appears to have been an ancient centre of Mazdakite teaching (A. Müller, *Islam*, Berlin, 1885, i. 505, note). The present writer is inclined to trace the term to the name of Mazdak's wife, Ḫurramah, who, after her husband's execution, fled to Ray, where she carried on a successful propaganda of Mazdakite heresy, calling her teachings *Ḫurram-dīn* (cf. also C. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, Paris, 1883–85, i. 170–175, where the relevant passage of Niẓām-al-Mulk's *Kitāb al-Siyāssat* [ed. and tr. in full by Schefer, Paris, 1893] is given in text and translation; for the Mazdakite heresy see art. Mazdak).

The Ḫurramites were divided into the Bābakīyah and Māzyārīyah (the latter also called Muḥammirah, 'red-badged'). While there is abundant material regarding the rôle played for more than twenty years (815–838) in Ṭabaristān by Bābak (the Arabic spelling of the Iranian name Pāpak),[1] as well as by Māzyār,[2] for a knowledge of the special features of their sects we have only two sources—the *Fihrist* of Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm (written in A.D. 987–988, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871–72, pp. 342. 30–344. 18, tr. Browne, *Lit. Hist.* pp. 324–327) and the *Tabṣīr fī al-dīn wa-tamyīz al-firqat al-najīyat ʿan al-firaq al-hālikīn* of Abū-l-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad al-Isfarāinī († A.D. 1078; the passage in question is ed. by Flügel, *ZDMG* xxiii. 533, note).[3]

From the *Fihrist* we learn that Bābak was the natural son of an oil-seller who migrated from Ctesiphon to the village of Bilāl-ābādh, not far from Ardābīl and Arrajān, and married, after an illicit amour with her, a one-eyed woman who later became the mother of Bābak. One day, while the boy was asleep, his mother saw a drop of blood under each hair on his breast and head, and from this she inferred that he 'was destined for some glorious mission.' Bābak later entered the service of Jāvīdān,[4] a Ḫurramī leader, and, when the latter died, in consequence of a wound received from the rival Ḫurramī chieftain, Abū ʿImrām, Jāvīdān's wife, who had engaged in an intrigue with Bābak, and who had concealed from the public the news of her husband's death, told her lover that she would tell Jāvīdān's followers that he had decided to die and cause his spirit to pass into Bābak, who was to slay the present rulers, restore the Mazdakites, and enrich his adherents. The plan was completely successful, and Bābak became the acknowledged leader of the sect, claiming to be God incarnate. After this, Bābak's mistress 'called for a cow, and commanded that it should be slain and flayed, and that its skin should be spread out, and on the skin she placed a bowl filled with wine, and into it she broke bread, which she placed round about the bowl. Then she called them, man by man, and bade each of them tread the skin with his foot, and take a piece of bread, plunge it in the wine, and eat it, saying, "I believe in thee, O Spirit of Bábak, as I believe in the spirit of Jáwídán"; and that each should then take the hand of Bábak, and do obeisance before it, and kiss it.' Shé then 'brought forth food and wine to them, and seated Bábak on her bed, and sat beside him publicly before them. And when they had drunk three draughts each, she took a sprig of basil and offered it to Bábak, and he took it from her hand, and this was their marriage' (Browne, p. 327).

It is thus clear that Bābak held the doctrines of *ḥulul* (the incarnation of God in human form), *tanāsuḫ* (passing of the soul from one body to another), and *rijʿah* (reincarnation), so that he belonged to the 'immoderate' Shīʿites as described by al-Shahrastānī (tr. Haarbrücker, i. 199 ff.; cf. Browne, p. 328). He appears to have been hostile to Islām, for Ibn Isfandiyār states (p. 153) that he 'ordered the Muhammadan mosques to be destroyed and all traces of Islām to be removed.' It is doubtful whether he was of Persian origin, for, according to the *Fihrist*, his father sang songs 'in the Nabatean tongue,' and Bābak's own tongue 'was cramped by outlandish speech' (see, further, Browne, *loc. cit.*).

To this information al-Isfarāinī adds that the Māzyārīyah 'appealed to the religion of the Muḥammirah,' and he says:

> 'By night the Bābakīyah in those mountains [of Ṭabaristān] agree upon every kind of depravity with women and flute-playing, etc.; and therein [*i.e.* at night] the men and the women agree together. Then the lamps and fires are extinguished, and every one of them rises up to one of the women who chances to sit with him. And these Ḫurramīyah assert that in the Ignorance they had a king named Sharvīn,[1] whom they deem greater than the prophets; and when they mourn for the dead, in his name they pay tears and lamentations, (even) their grief for him.'[2]

It is clear that the Bābakīyah were only a later phase of the sect founded by Mazdak, but in a degenerate form, marred by the cruelty which characterized the career of Bābak, who is said to have slain at least 255,500 persons during his years of power.

Literature. — F. Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871–78, i. 66–70, 585–592; W. Geiger, *Ostīrān. Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882, pp. 42–45, 124 f., 127 f., 184, 187; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 129–135; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London, 1892, i. 354–389 (with abundant references to earlier travellers); G. Melgunoff, *O yužnomŭ berege kaspiiskago morya*, Petrograd, 1863 (Germ. tr. by J. T. Zenker, *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig, 1868); B. Dorn, *Muham. Quellen zur Gesch. der süd. Küstenländer des caspischen Meeres*, 4 vols., Petrograd, 1850–58 (edd. of the local historians Ẓāhir al-Dīn [cf. also H. Ethé, *GIrP* ii. 362], ʿAlī ibn Šams al-Dīn, ʿAbd al-Fattaḥ Fūmanī, and a volume of miscellaneous extracts); Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Isfandiyār, *Hist. of Ṭabaristān*, abridged tr. by E. G. Browne, London, 1905; G. Flügel, 'Bâbek, seine Abstammung und erstes Auftreten,' *ZDMG* xxiii. [1869] 531–542; E. G. Browne, *Literary Hist. of Persia from the Earliest Times till Firdawsí*, London, 1902, pp. 323–331. Much early literature on the history of the country has been lost—*e.g.*, ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Madāinī's 9th cent. *Book of the Victories of the Mountains of Ṭabaristān* and *Book of Ṭabaristān in the Days of Rašīd*, mentioned in the *Fihrist*, 103. 15. For the Māzandarānī dialect see W. Geiger, *GIrP* i. ii. [1901] 345 ff. (with copious references to earlier literature).

Louis H. Gray.

MAZDA.—See Ormazd.

MAZDAK.—i. **History.**—Mazdak, son of Bāmdādh, a Persian (probably a native of Susiana), was the leader of a communistic sect which towards the end of the 5th cent. A.D. became a formidable power in the Sasanian empire. According to some accounts, the original founder of the sect was a certain Zarādusht, son of Khurragān,[3] on whose behalf Mazdak is said to have carried on propaganda among the populace, but in any case it was under Mazdak that the sect first gained importance. His temporary success was largely due to the state of anarchy then prevailing in Persia. The emperor Kawādh, who ascended the throne in A.D. 488, finding himself opposed by the nobility and the influential Zoroastrian priesthood, entered into a close alliance with the arch-heretic and embraced his revolutionary doctrines. The governing classes were strong enough to depose Kawādh in favour of his brother Jāmāsp; but after his restoration, which took place a few years later, the power of the Mazdakites continued to increase, though Kawādh does not seem to have supported them very actively. In the concluding years of his reign a bitter struggle was waged over the succession, which the Mazdakites endeavoured to secure for one of Kawādh's sons who was devoted to their cause, while the Zoroastrian priests, in agreement with the emperor himself, regarded prince Khusrau as the presumptive heir to the throne. The course of the events which culminated in the massacre of Mazdak together with many thousands of his followers is uncertain. According to the narrative of a Persian official who was converted to Christianity and assumed the name of Timotheus (Joannes Malalas, in *PG* xcvii. 654; Theophanes, *ib.* cviii. 395), Kawādh pretended to yield to the Mazdakites, and, having appointed a day for his abdication, caused his soldiers to cut down all the Mazdakites who had assembled with their wives and children in the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon to witness the ceremony; he then gave orders that the surviving members of the sect should be seized and burned, and that their property should be confiscated. Most Muhammadan writers place this massacre in the reign of Khusrau, but the truth appears to be that, although it was carried out under Khusrau's direction and probably at his instigation, it preceded his accession (A.D. 531) by two or three years. Nöldeke assigns it to the end of 528 or the beginning of 529 (*Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden, 1879, p. 465). The ruthless energy displayed by Khusrau on this occasion earned for him, it is said, the title of Anūshakrubān (Anūsharwān, Nūshīrwān), *i.e.* 'he of immortal spirit,' and the further measures which he took were so effectual that henceforward the Mazdakites vanish from history. That they were entirely exterminated is scarcely credible. There is some ground for the suggestion that Mazdak's ideas maintained themselves in secret and found expression in various Antinomian sects which arose in Persia during the Muhammadan period (for an account of one of these see art. MĀZANDARĀN).

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[1] See the references given by Browne, *Lit. Hist.* p. 323, n. 3; C. Huart, in *EI* i. [1913] 547, and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 242.

[2] Justi, p. 202.

[3] On al-Isfarāinī see Haji Khalfa, ed. and tr. Flügel, Leipzig, 1835–58, ii. 183, no. 2390; cf. also Haarbrücker, ii. 378 ff.

[4] Cf. Justi, p. 113.

[1] See Justi, p. 290.

[2] Perhaps we may compare the nocturnal orgies against which the Gāthās polemize (*Ys.* xxxii. 10, xlviii. 10; cf. C. Bartholomae, *Gatha's des Awesta*, Strassburg, 1905, p. 33 f.; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, pp. 72, 129); possibly, however, it was merely a current bit of scandalous gossip without much foundation.

[3] The Mazdakites are called Zarādushtakān in the Syriac *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, ed. W. Wright, Cambridge, 1882, § 20.

2. Doctrine.—It must be remembered that the whole of our information concerning Mazdak is derived from hostile sources. The epitaph written by an intolerant sacerdotal caste over heretics who had brought it to the verge of destruction may fairly be summed up in the words 'de mortuis nil nisi malum'; and, unfortunately, we have nothing from the Mazdakite side to set against the biased narrative of our Zoroastrian and Christian authorities. On the other hand, we cannot suppose that they have altogether obscured the essential character of Mazdakism, however they may have misunderstood or misrepresented it in detail. Its socialistic basis is well described in the following passage of Ṭabarī (Leyden ed., 1879–1901, i. 893. 11 f., translated by Nöldeke, *op. cit.* p. 154):

> 'Among the commands which he [Mazdak] laid upon the people and earnestly enjoined was this, that they should possess their property and families in common; it was, he said, an act of piety that was agreeable to God and would bring the most excellent reward hereafter; even if he had laid no religious commandments upon them, yet the good works with which God was well pleased consisted in such copartnership.'

In another passage (Ṭabarī, i. 885. 19 f. = Nöldeke, *op. cit.* p. 141) we read:

> 'They [the Mazdakites] asserted that God placed the means of subsistence (*arzāq*) in the world in order that His servants might share them in common, but men had wronged one another in that respect. The Mazdakites said that they would take from the rich for the benefit of the poor, and give back to those who had little their due portion at the expense of those who had much; and they declared that he who possessed more than his share of wealth, women, and property had no better right to it than any one else. The mob eagerly seized this opportunity, . . . and the Mazdakites became so powerful that they used to enter a man's house and forcibly deprive him of his dwelling, his womenfolk, and his property, since it was impossible for him to offer resistance. . . . Soon things came to such a pass that the father did not know his son nor the son his father.'

While the principle that every man is entitled to possess an equal amount of property involves logically and practically copartnership, the removal of class distinctions, and the abolition of marriage, it may be asked from what point of view the principle itself was regarded by Mazdak, whether these results of its application formed part of his programme, and how far they were achieved by his followers. To take the last question first, Khusrau, in his speech to the priests and nobles after his coronation (Ṭabarī, i. 896. 15 f. = Nöldeke, *op. cit.* p. 160 f.), dwells upon the ruin of their religion and the heavy losses which they had incurred. The systematic regulations which he made for the purpose of compensating the sufferers, establishing the position of children of doubtful origin, etc., show that the social revolution must have developed considerably, and that the upper classes bore the brunt of it. Our authorities give great prominence to this aspect of Mazdakism, and they are justified in doing so. Mazdak was not a philosopher, like Plato, content to work out on paper a theory of the ideal communistic State. He was a militant social reformer, but he was something more. Nöldeke has remarked that what distinguishes Mazdakism from the organized socialism of modern times is its religious character, a peculiarity in which it resembles all Oriental movements of the same kind (*op. cit.* p. 459; cf. his art. 'Orientalischer Socialismus,' in *Deutsche Rundschau*, Feb. 1879, p. 284 f.). This character is preserved in the hostile Zoroastrian tradition. Mazdak's asceticism—he is said to have forbidden the slaughter of cattle for food—gave offence to the orthodox, who saw in him 'the ungodly fasting Ashemaogha' (Pahlavi commentary on *Vendīdād*, iv. 49; *SBE* iv.^{2} [1895] 48). The passages from Ṭabarī translated above, and still more the epic narrative of Firdausī (*Shāh-nāmah*, ed. Turner Macan, Calcutta, 1829, p. 1611 f.), which reflects the sentiments of the priesthood, bring out quite clearly the fact that Mazdak identified his doctrines of equality and fraternity with the religion of Zoroaster in its original uncorrupted form.

> 'I will establish this [communism] in order that the pure religion
> May be made manifest and raised from obscurity.
> Whoever follows any religion except this,
> May the curse of God overtake that demon (*dēv*)!'
> (*Shāh-nāmah*, p. 1613, line 11 ff.).

> 'Five things turn a man from righteousness;
> The sage cannot add to these five:
> Jealousy, anger, vengeance, need,
> And the fifth one that masters him is covetousness.
> If thou prevail against these five demons,
> The way of the Almighty will be made manifest to thee.
> Because of these five, we possess women and wealth,
> Which have destroyed the good religion in the world.
> Women and wealth must be in common,
> If thou desirest that the good religion should not be harmed.
> These two (women and wealth) produce jealousy and covetousness and need,
> Which secretly unite with anger and vengeance.
> The Demon (*dēv*) is always turning the heads of the wise,
> Therefore these two things must be made common property'
> (*ib.* p. 1614, line 7 ff.).

Without claiming that Mazdak was animated by no other motives than those which his enemies attribute to him here, we may well believe that he regarded his communistic scheme as the only sure means of enabling mankind to attain the object which Zoroaster had set before them, namely, the defeat of the powers of darkness and the triumph of the spirit of light. The astonishing success of his propaganda is to be explained by the force of his appeal to Persian idealism. He would not have gained extensive support for his social programme unless it had been, ostensibly if not in fact, the instrument by which he hoped to accomplish a great religious reformation. In the main he appears to have held fast to Zoroastrianism, and no reliance can be placed on the statements of Shahrastānī and later writers who credit him with cosmological speculations closely akin to those of Mānī.

LITERATURE.—The principal references to Mazdak which occur in Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi, Arabic, and Persian literature are collected by T. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden, 1879, at the beginning of the fourth excursus, 'Ueber Mazdak und die Mazdakiten,' p. 455 f., which

is the best existing source of information on the whole subject, and by E. G. Browne, in his *Literary Hist. of Persia*, i., London, 1902, p. 169. See also F. Spiegel, *Erân. Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871–78, ii. 232–235; G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, London, 1876, p. 342 f.; al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. C. E. Sachau, do. 1879, p. 192; Shahrastānī, tr. T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850–51, i. 291 ff.; *Dabistān*, tr. D. Shea and A. Troyer, Paris, 1843, i. 372 ff.; Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, London, 1908, p. 18 f. The collection of *rivāyats* of Dārāb Hormazdyār (ed. M. N. Unvālā, ii. 214–230—the edition has not yet been published) contains a long poem, written A.D. 1616, on Mazdak and Kawādh (briefly summarized by F. Rosenberg, *Notices de litt. parsie*, Petrograd, 1909, p. 51 f.).

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

MEAN.—The historic varieties of significance associated with this term are all evolved from the general idea of that which comes 'between' or in the 'middle.' Hence the term has an implication of double relationship to two other terms, the primitive significance being that which is 'between' two other things in reference to space or time.[1]

As subst. and as adj. 'mean' entered Mid. Eng. from late Lat. *medianus* through O. Fr. *moien*, Mod. Fr. *moyen*. The Lat. original *medianus* (like Eng. 'middle' through its A.S. original) is connected with one of the oldest and most widely spread roots in human language. Both as subst. and as adj. 'mean,' in the sense here defined, is to be distinguished from adj. 'mean' of A.S. origin (A.S. *gemæne*, O.H.G. *gimeini*, Mod. Germ. *gemeine*, akin to *communis*), which, originally signifying 'general' or 'common' to more persons than one, acquired the sense of 'middling' or 'moderate' and then of 'low' in rank or quality, *ethically* inferior or ignoble, esp. 'avaricious' or 'penurious.'

The idea of the mean was given an ethical application by Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* ii. 6–8), in whose doctrine of virtue it holds the central place. Virtue consists in reasonable moderation, involving the avoidance, on the one side, of excess, and, on the other, of defect; in this sense virtue holds an intermediate position, and may be said to be a mean. Here the mean is not quantitative, and the notion of 'equal distance' from the extreme is not applicable. Every habit or action may err by excess or defect; between these opposed extremes (*e.g.*, *θρασύτης* and *δειλία*) stands that degree of activity which characterizes virtuous conduct (in this instance, *ἀνδρεία*; cf. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 7, 1115^{b}–1116^{a}). Its 'distance' from the extremes will depend on the nature of the agent in relation to that of the moral case before him, and is therefore to be determined, not by any abstract considerations, but by the concrete rational judgment of the man of insight (*φρόνιμος* [*Eth. Nic.* ii. 6, 1107^{a}]).

This conception involves that of an adaptation or harmony of agent, act, and environment, similar to the harmony of parts displayed in a work of art; in fact, it expresses the æsthetic aspect of virtue. Aristotle is aware that, in the strictly ethical sense, virtue is always opposed to vice, and is therefore always an 'extreme' (ii. 6. 11, 1106^{b} 22; 17, 1107^{a} 6; Stewart, *Notes on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, ii. 208). But, in laying stress on the æsthetic aspect, Aristotle is true to the Greek genius. The traditional Greek view of life made it natural that 'moderation,' 'measure,' and kindred conceptions should be appropriated to express excellence in life and action.

The typical Greek virtue is *σωφροσύνη* (most inadequately rendered 'temperance'), closely related to the traditional maxim *μηδὲν ἄγαν*. Its opposite is *ὕβρις*. In Homer the object of moral condemnation is of the nature of 'excess,' 'going too far'; above all, 'wickedness' is *ὕβρις*. In the case of the strong it is the insolence of brutality, especially in reference to the weak and the helpless; in the low and the weak it is irreverence in the presence of something higher.[2] When a man thinks of doing such things, he feels *αἰδώς*; if he does them, the seen and unseen witnesses feel *νέμεσις*, 'righteous indignation.'

There is an application of the Aristotelian principle of the mean in the general theory of knowledge, not, indeed, explicitly stated by Aristotle, but implicit in much of his thinking, as in that of Plato; it was made by Hegel into the first principle of thought and being in the applications of his Logic—his doctrine of thought as a dialectically progressive movement through the meeting of opposites—to the history of human thought and endeavour; it is this that gives to his expositions of history all their strength and value, notwithstanding the excessively rigid formalism with which the principle is applied by him in certain cases. We can seldom find clearly marked theses and antitheses (in pairs) from the opposition of which the higher truth springs; we can find only conflicting *ἐνέργειαι*, streams of tendency, movements of thought.

A movement involving truth mingled with error is found in conflict with another movement, involving different truths mingled with different errors. What is required is a point of view above both the conflicting principles, from which to criticize them. This is the true 'middle way,' found, not by taking what the two extreme views have in common, and disregarding all their differences, but by finding a principle which contains more truth than either of the extremes, not less truth. The value of the conflicts and oppositions of history is to suggest the need for these higher—or, to vary the metaphor, deeper—truths, and sometimes also to suggest the way to reach them.

LITERATURE.—Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*; A. S. Grant, *Ethics of Aristotle*^{3}, London, 1874, Essay iv.; J. A. Stewart, *Notes on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, Oxford, 1892, i. 193–199, 202 f., 208–211, 472–475; Julia Wedgwood, *The Moral Ideal*, London, 1888, ch. iii. ('Greece and the Harmony of Opposites'); Gilbert Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, Oxford, 1907, pp. 80 ff., 264 ff.; S. H. Mellone, *Leaders of Religious Thought*, London and Edinburgh, 1902, ch. i.; W. Wallace, *Logic of Hegel*^{2}, Prolegomena, Oxford, 1904, chs. xxvi.–xxxii. For the Buddhist school of the mean see art. MADHYAMAKA, MĀDHYAMIKAS.

S. H. MELLONE.

MEAN (Chinese).—Outside of Greece, the theory of the mean received formal attention only in China, which produced the classic *Chung Yung*, commonly known as 'The Doctrine of the Mean,' though more exactly rendered 'Equilibrium and Harmony' (see above, p. 90^{b}), the authorship of which is attributed to the grandson of Confucius, Tzŭ Ssŭ, who flourished in the 5th cent. B.C.

Heaven has conferred a spiritual nature on man, and 'an accordance with this nature is called the path [of duty],' which must never be abandoned (i. 1–2). The terms *chung* ('equilibrium') and *yung* ('harmony') are respectively absence of 'stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy,' and the state in which 'those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree' (i. 4). Therefore, 'let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish' (i. 5). According to Confucius himself, the superior man embodies this ideal state, and 'perfect is the virtue which is according to the Mean' (ii. f.); yet some err by exceeding it, and some by falling short of it (iv. 1)—only the sage is in perfect harmony with it (xi. 3). As an example of the practical value of *chung yung*, Confucius cites the course pursued by the emperor Shun (2255–2205 B.C., according to Chinese tradition), who questioned men, 'took hold of their two extremes, [determined] the Mean, and employed it in [his government of] the people' (vi.); but yet, in spite of all, 'the course of the Mean cannot be attained to' (ix.). In a word, the superior man 'stands erect in the middle, without inclining to either side' (x. 5); if he goes beyond the mean, he checks himself; if he falls below it, he puts forth every effort to attain it (xiii. 4).

Yet 'the path is not far from man' (xiii. 1); but, even if 'common men and women, however much below the ordinary standard of character, can carry it into practice; yet in its utmost reaches, there is that which even the sage is not able to carry into practice' (xii. 2). One is not far from the path when he 'cultivates to the utmost the principles of his nature, and exercises them on the principle of reciprocity' (xiii. 3); and yet 'were the superior man to speak of his way in all its greatness, nothing in the world would be found able to embrace it; and were he to speak of it in its minuteness, nothing in the world would be found able to split it' (xii. 2). 'The superior man does what is proper to the station in which he is; he does not desire to go beyond this. . . . The superior man can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself,' and, if he fails in anything, he blames only himself (xiv. 1 f., 5). He advances in regular order from stage to stage (xv. 1), and constantly strives to advance and develop his virtuous nature that he may pursue the path of the mean (xxvii. 6). 'When occupying a high situation, he is not proud, and in a low situation, he is not insubordinate' (xxvii. 7); and it is characteristic of the superior man, though 'appearing insipid, yet never to produce satiety; while showing a simple negligence, yet to have his accomplishments recognized; while seemingly plain, yet to be discriminating' (xxxiii. 1). Among the many virtues of Confucius, special mention is made of the fact that he never swerved from the mean (xxxi. 1).

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[1] From the sense of 'that which stands between two things,' the 'mean' (or plural 'means,' often used grammatically as a singular) may be used for that which produces a result, or, more generally, for any resources capable of producing a result.

[2] The case of Nebuchadrezzar (Dn $4^{27ff.}$) illustrates a form of *ὕβρις*, portrayed in a specifically religious setting.

The remainder of the *Chung Yung* is devoted to laudation of filial piety, and to the duties of government, the obligation of absolute sincerity, the path of the sage, and the character of the ideal ruler—all of which depend on the cultivation of *chung yung*.

The mean is mentioned a number of times in the other Chinese Classics; *e.g.*, the *Yî King* says (xlii. 3) that the ruler should 'be sincere and pursue the path of the Mean'; but these texts add nothing to the main discussion in the *Chung Yung*.

LITERATURE.—The *Chung Yung* is most conveniently ed. and tr. by J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong and London, 1861–73, i. 246–298 (cf. also his Prolegomena to this vol., pp. 35–55), and again tr. by him in *SBE* xxviii. [1885] 300–329.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

MECCA.—Mecca (Arabic Makkah) is a city in Central Arabia, famous as the birthplace of Islām, and, except for a short period at the commencement of the system, at all times its chief sanctuary. A variety of the name, Bakkah, occurs once in the Qur'ān (iii. 90), and this is probably the earlier form, though the etymology is uncertain. The classical geographers, who devote considerable attention to Arabia, are apparently not acquainted with this settlement; for the Makoraba of Ptolemy (VI. vii. 32) is derived from a different root. The 'Chronicles of Mecca,' of which the earliest extant is by Azraqī († 245 A.H.), so far as they treat of the pre-Islāmic period, are collections of fables, in the main based on the Qur'ān, but to some extent influenced by the later history also. It would appear that, when Islām arose, there were no chronicles in existence dealing with the affairs of Central Arabia, and for some generations the days of paganism were regarded with a sort of horror, which prevented the preservation of precise information concerning them.

The references to the city in the Qur'ān throw little light on its early history. A *sūra* incorporated near the end of the collection (cv.) reminds the Prophet of the Owners of the Elephant, who were destroyed by birds (*abābīl*), which flung at them stones of *sijjīl*. The tradition interprets this as an expedition by Abyssinians against the Meccan sanctuary, miraculously frustrated, but it is possible that this story is an invention of exegetes, who coupled *sūra* cv. with cvi., which more decidedly deals with Mecca, and is itself a fragment, scarcely to be construed in its present form. In it the Quraish (the tribe in possession of the Meccan sanctuary) are advised to worship the Lord of this House, who has given them food after hunger and safety after fear. These two phenomena, plenty and safety, are mentioned elsewhere in connexion with the Meccan sanctuary, the former as a result, it would seem, of visits from pilgrims, whereas the latter probably means safety for refugees; but the texts are not very clear. The sanctuary itself is called in the Qur'ān either 'the house,' or 'the house of Allāh, the Sanctuary,' or the Ka'bah (a word said to mean no more than 'house,' and perhaps the Ethiopic word for 'double,' *i.e.* two-storeyed), or 'the place of prostration, the Sanctuary.' In iii. 90 f. it is called 'the first house established for mankind, blessed and a guidance to the worlds, containing manifest signs, the station of Abraham, and whoever enters it is secure.' This would by itself imply that the Ka'bah was the first house ever built, as a model for all others, and that Abraham took refuge there and made it his abode. Elsewhere (xiv. 40) Abraham states that he had settled his family by it (or in it) in spite of the sterility of the valley, in order that they might pray there regularly; and he prays that the *town* (and not the house only) might be secure. In xxii. 27 he is represented as doing in his time much the same as was afterwards done by Muhammad: he was told to purify the house for those that perform the four ceremonies called *ṭawāf*, standing, inclination, and prostration. In ii. 119 f. Ishmael is coupled with Abraham; they laid the foundations of the house, and were told to purify it as before, the ceremony called *'ukūf* being substituted for 'standing.' What may be inferred from these texts is perhaps that prior to Muhammad's time the Ka'bah was a sanctuary which enjoyed some popularity in part of Arabia, and that the right of sanctuary had to some extent been associated with the settlement of Mecca and with its inhabitants. The biography of the Prophet certainly implies that the Meccans had the very strongest objection to bloodshed, and possessed little aptitude for warfare. The association of Mecca with Abraham is unlikely to have been earlier than the Prophet, except so far as the N. Arabian tribes were known by monotheists, on the authority of Genesis, to be descended from the patriarch. It seems clear, however, that the Ka'bah was only one of many sanctuaries which were visited, and, if the word *ḥijjah*, which is used for 'pilgrimage,' be explicable from the Hebrew *ḥūg*, 'draw round,' the Arabian month which is called after it is likely to mean 'month of going-round,' *i.e.* the round of the sanctuaries, as opposed to the preceding 'month of squatting' at home. The word technically used of going round the Ka'bah, *ṭawāf*, seems also to be properly used of going a round, as, *e.g.*, is done by a sentinel, and this ceremony may be due to a confusion of thought. The pilgrimage which became stereotyped in Islām involves visits to places which are likely to have been seats of distinct sanctuaries, some at a considerable distance from Mecca.

The difficult *sūra* cvi. speaks of 'winter and summer journeying,' which is traditionally interpreted of Meccan caravans, and in the biography of the Prophet these play an important part. The Muslim archæologists suppose that the Quraish, owing to their character as 'Allāh's people,' enjoyed immunity from attack, and so had special facilities for the carrying trade. It is not easy to reconcile this with the primitive conditions which very clearly prevailed in Mecca at the rise of Islām, and the complete ignorance which the Qur'ān assumes for its inhabitants. If there be any truth in this carrying trade, it is likely to have been on a small scale.

In the Qur'ān Mecca is sometimes called 'the Mother of the villages,' *i.e.* the chief village; elsewhere the number of the villages is given as two, which the commentators suppose to mean Mecca and Ṭāif; it is more probable that only Mecca is meant. Of walls we first hear in the reign of Muqtadir (A.D. 908–932), and these did not surround the settlement, which was naturally protected by mountains, but merely blocked the passes. Snouck Hurgronje[1] is probably right in thinking that the community first gathered round the well Zamzam, which furnishes a constant supply of brackish water. The tradition gives us the names of the tribes which formed the community, but scarcely hints at any sort of municipal organization or government. Still more surprising is the absence of all mention of priests, such as we should have expected to be associated with a sanctuary. The wealth of the tribes is likely to have consisted mainly in camels, but other forms were probably known; visitors to the shrine have at all times had to pay more or less heavily for the privilege, and this source of wealth is, as we have seen, indicated in the Qur'ān. We possess only casual notices of the amounts demanded in later times, but these indicate that the piety of pilgrims often afforded a considerable revenue. The Fāṭimid khalīfs expected the governor of Mecca to make the pilgrim-tax his chief source of revenue; besides this visitors' fee, they had to pay for admission to the sanctuary, and those who brought goods had to pay import duty. Attempts were made by pious sovereigns to abolish these dues, but they had a tendency to revive, and their analogues doubtless existed in the period before the rise of Islām.

Prior to the rise of Islām it would appear that some notions of Christianity had penetrated to Mecca, and the biographies of the Prophet profess to give us the names of persons who had either adopted that system or showed some leanings towards it. There appears to be no recollection of the existence of any Christian place of worship at any time in this city. The tradition represents the pagan inhabitants as tolerant towards religious innovators and dissentients, so long as the local beliefs and practices were not assailed; but the life of such a community was so intimately bound up with the local religion that it is difficult to suppose that dissent could remain quite immune from persecution.

There is reason for thinking that the Prophet's original attitude towards the Meccan religion was uncompromising, and that his success would have involved the abolition of the ceremonies of which the Ka'bah formed the centre. His rejection by the Jews of Medīna (*q.v.*) caused him to contemplate a partial return to the system which he had abandoned, and some time before the taking of Mecca he obtained a truce enabling him to perform the pilgrimage with some ostentation. Doubtless this performance paved the way for the subjection of the place. But, when Mecca had become Islāmic, its position was modified in two important ways. On the one hand, it became the only sanctuary in Arabia; on the other hand, the presence of non-Muslims at the festival was forbidden. Since the pilgrimage was now made compulsory, Mecca lost nothing by this innovation.

It is uncertain whether the Prophet contemplated retaining Medīna permanently as his capital or at some time making his native place the seat of government. There is no doubt that there were jealousies between the two places before the Prophet's death. None of his successors (except perhaps 'Abdallāh b. Zubair, whose occupation of the khalīfate lasted some ten years) seems to have regarded Mecca as a suitable metropolis for political purposes, but its position as the central sanctuary has rarely been endangered. Certain fanatical sects, such as the Carmaṭians and Wahhābīs (*qq.v.*), have at times done damage to its monuments, and the substitution of Baghdād or Jerusalem for it is said to have been considered by Umayyad and 'Abbāsid khalīfs, although they recognized in time that such experiments would have been fatal to Islām or to their thrones.

For the history of Mecca since its adoption of Islām we possess a series of Chronicles, of which those published by F. Wüstenfeld[1] cover the first millennium from the Hijrah, and to these Snouck Hurgronje[2] has added the substance of certain unpublished records which carry the history up to our time. Regular government was then introduced, perhaps for the first time, a prefect appointed by the sovereign being responsible for the maintenance of order. This personage was leader of the ceremonies at the time of the pilgrimage, unless the sovereign either came himself or sent a special representative. The governorships of the three towns, Mecca, Ṭāif, and Medīna were at times united in the same person, at times distinct; the first was much the most important of the three. In 'Abbāsid times it was the custom, at least for a considerable period, to appoint to the governorship some member of the reigning family. It would seem that the 'Alid pretenders, who rose in a fairly constant series, usually found some support in both sanctuaries, and on several occasions they fell for a time into the hands of these persons. After the reduction of the Baghdād khalīfate to impotence—a process which began in the second half of the 3rd cent. of Islām—it would appear that the dependence of the sacred cities on the central government became lax, though historical details are wanting. About A.D. 960 an 'Alid named Ja'far made himself master of Mecca, and introduced the rule of the Sharīfs, which has lasted to our day; this word, signifying 'noble,' is applied in Muslim countries to the descendants of the Prophet. He submitted to the suzerainty of the Fāṭimids now established in Egypt, but in most respects was an independent ruler. His successors shifted their allegiance from Cairo to Baghdād and back, according to the value of the gifts received; and throughout the subsequent history of Mecca recognition has been granted without difficulty to the suzerain who offered the highest price. According to Ibn Jubair,[3] who visited Mecca in the years 1183 and 1185, the Sharīfs were of the Zaidī sect, which, while recognizing the rights of the Prophet's descendants to the succession, held that considerations of expediency might justify their being ousted; the practice of the Sharīfs was then in accordance with this doctrine. The dynasty founded by Ja'far was displaced at the beginning of the 13th cent. of our era by another, also claiming descent from 'Alī. The founder was one Qatadah, who appears to have energetically supported the rising Zaidite dynasty of San'a, but whose successors fell back into the former practice of recognizing the power which for the time was capable of displaying the greatest generosity. The 'Chronicles of Mecca' consist largely of the quarrels between Qatadah's descendants, which not infrequently had to be settled by the active interference of the Egyptian Sulṭāns, who, from the fall of Baghdād until the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans, were ordinarily recognized as suzerains by the Sharīfs. The Sharīf 'Ajlan (1346–75), who for a time transferred his allegiance to the Mongol rulers of Persia, definitely rejected the Zaidī system and made that of Shāfi'ī dominant in Mecca, though the other orthodox systems were recognized; the dominance of the Ḥanifite school, which is the official system of the Ottoman government, dates from a much later time. A permanent garrison was first established in the neighbourhood by the Egyptian Sulṭān Jaqmaq (1438–53). On the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1516 the allegiance of the Sharīfs was transferred without difficulty to the Sulṭān of Constantinople. The new rulers interfered with the authority of the Sharīfs to a greater extent than their predecessors, and the presence of a Turkish governor at Jeddah has constituted a permanent restriction upon it. The introduction of Turkish suzerainty also led to the adoption by the Sharīfs of an intolerant attitude towards the Shīʿites of Persia, who could only with difficulty and at some risk obtain admission to the pilgrimage. In the 17th cent., owing to the decline of the Ottoman power, the Sharīfs, who were almost always involved in family quarrels, became somewhat less dependent on Constantinople, and could even at times defy the representative of the metropolis at Jeddah. Both the sacred cities were threatened by the rise of the Wahhābite movement towards the end of the 18th cent., and indeed in 1793 and 1798 appeals for help against this new power were addressed to the Ottoman Sulṭān. This was not forthcoming, owing to the European complications in which the Porte was involved, and in 1803 Mecca was evacuated by the Sharīf, and presently occupied by the Wahhābīs, who reformed the place according to their ideas. The Sharīf was, however, after a short time re-installed on his professing to adopt the Wahhābī tenets; and for some years Turkish subjects were excluded from the pilgrimage. In 1813 an expedition sent by Muhammad Alī, founder of the khedivial family in Egypt, succeeded in recovering the sacred cities, and a Turkish Pasha was installed in Mecca, where, however, the rule of the Sharīf was nominally continued. After a time the Ottoman power was again represented by the governor of Jeddah.

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[1] *Mekka*, The Hague, 1888, i. 5.

[1] *Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig, 1858–61.

[2] *Op. cit.*

[3] ed. M. J. de Goeje, London, 1907, p. 101.

Both the meaning and the limits of the sanctuary (*ḥaram*) were extended by Islām. The sense of this Arabic word is 'to forbid,' and a sanctuary is a place where certain acts are forbidden, of which the most important is bloodshed; it is unlikely that this prohibition before Islāmic times extended beyond the Kaʿbah itself. Azraqī is very likely right in asserting that at this time the dwellings of the citizens surrounded the Kaʿbah, leaving only a small area (*finā*); the growth of the Muslim community rendered the destruction of these dwellings necessary; and operations of this kind were undertaken by the second and third khalīfs. The area was further enlarged by the pretender ʿAbdallāh b. Zubair, but the actual mosque surrounding the Kaʿbah was first built by the Umayyad al-Walīd I. (A.D. 705–715), who erected a colonnade with marble pillars and other luxurious decorations. Further additions to the area were made by the ʿAbbāsid Manṣūr (in 755), who also built a minaret, and who, in the inscription placed on his work, claims to have doubled the area. Further large additions were made by his successor, Mahdī, who at great cost had a torrent diverted with a view to bringing the site of the Kaʿbah into the centre of the mosque. Yet further extensions were effected by Mutawakkil (856), who also introduced luxurious ornamentation. The frequent repairs required by the mosque were due in part to the floods by which Mecca was repeatedly visited, and to some extent to damage done during civil disorders. Under the khalīf Muʿtamid considerable extensions and restorations were again carried out in the years 894–896, and the like are recorded for the year 918 under Muqtadir. Under this khalīf serious mischief was wrought by the Carmaṭians, who massacred the pilgrims, and for a series of years practically put a stop to the institution; their atrocities culminated with the seizure in 317 A.H. of the Black Stone, which they conveyed to their headquarters in Hajar, whence it (or some substitute) was sent back twenty years later. This fetish had already been seriously injured in the time of ʿAbdallāh b. Zubair, when the Kaʿbah was burned down, and, in spite of great precautions, it again suffered violence at the hands of an Egyptian Shīʿite in the year 414, and not long afterwards was broken into three pieces by some Persian fanatics. The kissing of this object, which forms one of the pilgrimage rites, is not mentioned in the Qurʾān, but probably is a survival from pagan times.

In 1399 a large part of the mosque was destroyed by fire, and orders were presently given by the Egyptian Sulṭān Faraj for its restoration with increased magnificence; this was finished by 1404. In 1551 the Kaʿbah itself was found to be in need of repair, but before this could be effected the question was raised whether this sacred building could lawfully be touched by the builders; and the fanatical populace were inclined to side with those holding the negative view. The precedent of Abraham and Ishmael (Qurʾān, ii. 119) finally decided the question in favour of the restoration. In 1571 orders were given for the complete rebuilding of the mosque by the Ottoman Sulṭān Salīm II., who, however, did not live to complete the work; this fell to the lot of his successor Murād III. In the colonnades the principle was followed that three marble columns should be succeeded by one of black stone from a local quarry. Details of the numbers and the location of the columns in the old and in the new mosques are given by Wüstenfeld (iv. 318, 9), together with other statistics and dates. The existing mosque appears to be substantially that erected by Salīm and his successor.

It appears, then, from this sketch of the history of the mosque that little remains in Mecca for which any considerable antiquity can be claimed. The archæological taste has rarely developed in eastern countries, and no trouble was taken either in Mecca or in Medīna to preserve historic buildings or retain ancient sites. The theoretic sanctity of Mecca has never stood in the way of leaders who wished to effect their objects by violence; and the Umayyad Yazīd, whose besieging forces were to some extent responsible for the burning of the Kaʿbah in 64 A.H., did no more than would have been done by any other Muslim ruler who was engaged in suppressing a rebellion. Various buildings which figure in the early history of Islām were cleared away as the need for enlarging the temple area arose, and little regret was felt for them. On the other hand, many myths arose which have no justification in the Qurʾān; thus a stone which is called 'the station of Abraham' has acquired great sanctity, but in the Qurʾān (ii. 119, iii. 91) this phrase seems to mean only 'the dwelling-place of Abraham.' The jurist Mālik († 179 A.H.) asserts that this was restored by Omar to a place which it had occupied before the Days of Ignorance, on the faith of a chart preserved in the treasury of the Kaʿbah.[1] As we have seen, the Black Stone, which is supposed to represent the 'right hand of Allāh,' is of very doubtful authenticity.

Besides the prohibition against bloodshed which theoretically covers the area occupied by the city, there are other legal peculiarities belonging to it. Closely allied to this prohibition is that against the chase, which is even extended to the cutting of trees and the plucking of herbs. This ordinance is modified in a variety of ways; it seems clear that the slaughter of noxious beasts is generally permitted, and weeding to a certain extent is also lawful. The slaughter of game has to be atoned for by compensation, on a scale fixed by the Qurʾān. There is some difference of opinion between jurists on the question whether rent may be taken for houses in Mecca; according to modern travellers, this question is purely academic, since the inhabitants largely earn their living by letting their houses to pilgrims.

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[1] *Mudawwanat*, Cairo, 1323, ii. 212.

The place of Mecca in the Muslim religion is otherwise not free from anomalies. On the one hand, it is clear that the standard of morality and piety practised by the inhabitants has at no time been particularly high, and various travellers have been shocked by their experiences; on the other hand, there is no doubt about the sanctity of the place and the spiritual benefits that accrue to those who go thither. These are not indeed free from danger; for, just as the value of good actions is higher in Mecca than elsewhere, so the debt incurred by evil deeds is there increased; and, according to the Ṣūfīs, evil thoughts and intentions are punished in Mecca, but not elsewhere. If Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī († 386 A.H.) is right, pious men in early times who went thither on pilgrimage used to pitch two tents, one within and another outside the sacred area, devoting the former exclusively to religious exercises.[1] The resulting danger was one of the reasons why continuous residence in Mecca was discouraged; two others urged by Ghazālī[2] († 505 A.H.) were the fear lest familiarity should breed contempt and the fact that absence makes the heart grow fonder. It could also be urged that, according to the Qur'ān, 'the House' is a place of returning, *i.e.* one to be visited, not made a place of residence (ii. 119).

The various sovereigns who have been protectors or 'servants' of the sanctuaries have ordinarily been lavish in marks of their favour and somewhat jealous of munificence exercised by rival potentates; among the public works executed by these benefactors the greatest amount of space appears to be devoted in the Chronicles to the aqueducts; one which conveys water from Mt. Arafat to Mecca, utilizing a channel originally constructed by order of Zubaida, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, occupied fourteen years (965–979 A.H.) and cost enormous sums, owing to the difficulty of piercing the rock and the primitive character of the methods in use. Numerous colleges, hospitals, and almshouses have been erected by Islāmic sovereigns and their ministers, many of them furnished with endowments. The fate of all pious foundations in Mecca, according to Snouck Hurgronje,[3] is the same: most of the houses that have any value have been at some time or other purchased in order to serve as endowment, but gradually passed from hand to hand in such a way that they retain the name *waqf* (on which see *ERE* vii. 877 f.), without serving any pious purpose. The name, however, prevents their being legally sold, yet sale is often necessary, and this is effected in fact, though new names are employed to serve instead of 'sale' and 'purchase.' An attempt was made by a Turkish resident in the middle of the 19th cent. to declare all such transactions invalid, but his removal was procured before this could be carried out.

The erection of the places of learning has not had the effect of rendering Mecca at any time a university centre, and its printing-press has contributed very little to Arabic literature; nevertheless as a gathering-place for the pious it has regularly served for the dissemination of ideas, which are worked out elsewhere. A. Le Chatelier, indeed, attributes the part played by Mecca in recent times to the influence of the Sanūsīs:

> 'La confrérie nouvelle rendit à la Mecque le rôle de foyer du fanatisme musulman, que lui avait fait perdre la caste sacerdotale' (*Les Confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris, 1887, p. 19).

The author of a dialogue on Islāmic revival between Muslims of various nationalities recently placed the scene in Mecca.[1] Yet the cosmopolitan character of the pilgrimage appears from the time of the early Islāmic conquests to have rendered this sanctuary the place where it was easiest to address the Muslim world as a whole. Deeds of settlement of succession to the khalīfate were issued and deposited here by Hārūn al-Rashīd.[2] If a man wished to procure a copy of a rare work, he would have a crier advertise the want among the pilgrims.[3]

In spite of the rule which forbids access to Mecca on the part of non-Muslims, many Europeans have undertaken the pilgrimage, some indeed having adopted Islām for the purpose of carrying out this project. In *Christians at Mecca* (London, 1909) Augustus Ralli gives accounts of sixteen such visitors, beginning with Ludovico Varthema, 'a gentleman of the city of Rome,' who reached the forbidden city in 1503. Since the publication of Ralli's collection two more English travellers have been added to the list: Hadji Khan and W. Sparroy, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca, 1902*, London, 1905; and A. J. B. Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, do. 1912. Among the records of these pilgrimages that by R. F. Burton (*Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, London, 1855–56) is classical; it adds, however, very little topographical information to that which had been given to the world by J. L. Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, London, 1829). Of the others the account of the city by Snouck Hurgronje (*op. cit.*, 1885) is the most important. In several cases the travellers were so fully occupied with the task of preserving their lives that they had no time to make observations of value; and in not a few instances the veracity of the narrators has been questioned, not without cause. Besides these accounts by Europeans there are many in existence by Muslims, some of whom have employed the French language. It is asserted that the number of the former who have succeeded in witnessing the pilgrimage and returning to tell the tale is small compared with that of those who have sacrificed their lives in the attempt; and those who have accomplished the task safely have in most cases done so by the exercise of great cunning and ingenuity. The plan of H. Maltzan (*Wallfahrt nach Mekka*, Leipzig, 1865), who, in order to pass for a Muslim, borrowed the personality of an Algerian, the latter undertaking to remain in hiding for the necessary period, may be commended both for boldness and for astuteness; it was not, however, free from danger.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are cited throughout the article.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MEDALS.—See COINS AND MEDALS.

MEDIAN RELIGION.—The religion of the ancient Medes is one of the most difficult and disputable questions in ancient Oriental history. The statements of the earlier classical authorities are not easy to reconcile with the Iranian Avesta, and fresh elements of difficulty have been introduced by the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions.

The actual facts are these. As far back as the 14th cent. B.C. the cuneiform documents of Boghaz Keui have shown that there was an Aryan, but not as yet Iranian, population in Mesopotamia who worshipped the gods Mithra, Varuṇa (written Uruwana and Aruna), Indra, and the two Nāsatyā, the Vedic correspondents of the Dioscuri (cf. E. Meyer, *SBAW*, 1908, pp. 14–19). In the 9th cent. B.C. this Aryan population had become Iranian, and was settled east of the Zagros mountains, where it was known to the Assyrians as Madâ, or Medes, a name also written Amadâ, like Amardi for Mardi. From this time forward the names of the kings and chiefs of Media and the neighbouring districts mentioned on the Assyrian monuments are Iranian, and in a list of Median princes conquered by Sargon in 714–713 B.C. we find the name of Mazdaku, proving that Zoroaster's god Mazdā, 'the Wise,' was already worshipped (cf. also F. Hommel, *PSBA*, 1899, p. 132). The name of 'Mitra,' the sun-god, is also found in the tablets from Assur-bani-pal's library at Nineveh. On the other hand, Istuvegu, or Astyages, the last king of Ekbatana, is termed in the inscriptions, not 'King of Media, but 'King of the *Umman Manda*' or 'Hordes,' an archaistic title given by the Babylonians in early times to the northern barbarians, but applied in the Assyrian age to the Cimmerians and Scyths (*qq.v.*). The similarity of the names Madâ and Manda raises the question whether the Medes of the classical writers who were conquered by Cyrus were not really Scythians whose religious beliefs and practices have been transferred to their Median subjects or neighbours.

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[1] *Qūt al-qulūb*, Cairo, 1310, ii. 119.

[2] *Iḥyā 'ulūm al-dīn*, Cairo, 1306, i. 190.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 164.

[1] *Umm al-qurā*, Port Said, 1316.

[2] Azraqī, p. 161.

[3] Yāqūt, *Dictionary of Learned Men*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1907 ff., vi. 73.

Like the Medes, the Persians also were Iranians.[1] But here again the inscriptions make it doubtful whether Cyrus and Cambyses, the founders of the Persian empire, were of pure Iranian stock, and whether the religion of Cyrus, at all events, was not the polytheism of Susa (cf. art. ACHÆMENIANS, vol. i. p. 70). Both he and his son conformed to the ancient worship of Babylonia. Gaumāta (Gomates), 'the Magian,' is expressly stated by Darius (*Bh.* [Pers. text] i. 63 f.) to have destroyed the *āyadanā*, or 'prayer-chapels,' of Persia, a word which is translated 'temples of the gods' in the Babylonian version of the Behistūn inscription. These Darius claims to have restored, along with other possessions of the Persian and Median peoples, through the help of the 'great god Auramazdā,' the creator of the earth and heavens, who in the Susian version of the Behistūn inscription (iii. 77, 79) is specially called 'the god of the Aryans.' In the eyes of Darius he occupied much the same place as that occupied by Jahweh in the OT: he was the national god of the Persians and Medes and supreme over all other gods. The existence of the latter, however, was admitted: at Behistūn Darius says that he was assisted not only by Aura-mazdā but also by 'the other gods, all that there are.' Opposed to the righteous law of Aura-mazdā was 'the Lie' (*drauga*), the Achæmenian equivalent of the Zoroastrian Angra Mainyu (Ahriman [*q.v.*]). But there is no reference to the Zoroastrianism of the Avesta in the inscriptions of either Darius or his successors; their priests, moreover, were not Magians, whose overthrow and massacre were, on the contrary, commemorated in the festival of the Magophonia;[2] and the bodies of the Persian kings seem to have been buried in the ordinary way instead of being thrown to dogs or birds of prey.[3] This, Herodotus says (i. 140), was a Magian custom.[4]

The date of Zoroaster (Zarathushtra) is uncertain, but modern scholarship is inclined to assign it to the 6th cent. B.C.; and Jackson[1] seems to be right in concluding that he arose in Media rather than in Bactria, the tradition which makes him a Bactrian being late.

Zoroaster is unknown to both Herodotus and Ctesias, the earliest mention of him occurring in a fragment questionably ascribed to Xanthus of Lydia and in Plato (*Alcib. I.*, 122). Herodotus makes the Magi a Median tribe (i. 101),[2] but he also implies that they were a class of priests (i. 140), and he describes certain of them as interpreters of dreams (i. 107). He further ascribes to them the Zoroastrian practices of reverencing the dog and destroying noxious animals (i. 140). No sacrifice could be offered without the presence of a Magus, who accompanied it with a hymn (the Avestan *Gāthā*); and there was neither altar, fire, nor libation (i. 132). The Greek historian adds (i. 131) that 'the Persians' (whose priests were the Median Magi) had 'no images of the gods and no temples or altars, considering the use of them a sign of folly.' They sacrificed to Zeus (Ahura Mazdā) on the summits of mountains, as well as 'to the sun and moon, to the earth, to fire, to water, and to the winds.' The worship of the goddess Anāhita, and presumably also of Mithra, the sun-god, referred to in two inscriptions of Artaxerxes Mnemon (*Sūsa* a, 4 f., *Ham.* 5 f.) was borrowed at a later date from 'the Arabians and Assyrians' (Herod. i. 131).[3]

On the other hand, the scourging of the Hellespont by Xerxes (Herod. vii. 35) is inconsistent with the belief that water was divine,[4] and in Herodotus's account of Magian religion Avestan dualism is conspicuous by its absence. So, too, is any reference to the doctrine of a resurrection. The simplest way of explaining these anomalies is to suppose that the religious system described by Herodotus was that of the Medes, among whom the Magi were a sort of hereditary priests, like the Levites in Israel; and that the religious system of Darius represented the religion of the Persian aristocracy, but that the origin and fundamental principles of the two were the same. The conquest of Media by Persia would have introduced the Median forms of theology among the Persian people, though their influence would have been momentarily checked by the overthrow of Gomates and his party, who perhaps would have stood in much the same relation to the Achæmenian aristocracy as the Pharisees did to the Sadducees. Meanwhile the reformer Zarathushtra had appeared in Media, where he built upon preexisting religious beliefs and practices and attracted the Magi to his side. The result in the course of centuries was the Mazdæism of the Avesta.

LITERATURE.—A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, New York, 1899; C. de Harlez, *Avesta*^{2}, Paris, 1881; J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, do. 1892–93, *Études iraniennes*, do. 1883; Eduard Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, i.^{2}, Berlin, 1909; J. von Prášek, *Gesch. der Meder und Perser*, Gotha, 1906–10; G. Rawlinson, 'Media,' in *Five Great Monarchies of the Anc. East. World*, London, 1862–67; J. Oppert, *Le Peuple et la langue des Mèdes*, Paris, 1879; A. Delattre, *Le Peuple et l'empire des Mèdes*, Brussels, 1883 (= *Mém. couronnées . . . par l'académie royale . . . de Belgique*, xlv., pt. 1).

A. H. SAYCE.

MEDIATION.—Mediation is a word of extreme vagueness, but is here considered only in its technical or quasi-technical applications in religion. In a sense all we are and have is mediated to us somehow. Our very being comes to us through our parents. The society into which we are born and in which we are trained mediates to us most of what we think of as intellectual, moral, and religious convictions. The greater part of what comes under these headings is not original achievement of our own, but inheritance or education; it comes to us in some way by the mediation of others. It may be possible to make our own what is thus mediated to us, and to become possessors, as it were, in our own right of what we have inherited or been taught; but, to begin with, every creature born in time owes to mediation of some sort the whole capital with which he adventures upon independent life.

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[1] This is the general view, but J. H. Moulton (*Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, pp. 228–235) doubts whether it is correct. He hints that the Medes were the aboriginal inhabitants, and that the Magi (*q.v.*) were their priests. If this be so, the Medes were neither Iranians nor Semites. He directly states (above, p. 243^b) that the Medians 'belonged to neither of the two great races which divided Nearer Asia between them.' Prášek (*Gesch.* i. 8 ff.) urges, in more detail, a similar view.

[2] For a somewhat different explanation of the Magophonia, see art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Iranian), vol. v. p. 874 f.

[3] See Moulton, pp. 163, 192 f., 202 f., 217; and cf. art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Parsi), § 15.

[4] The statement of Agathias (ii. 22), that the Medians buried the dead, whereas the Persians exposed them, is almost certainly wrong.

[1] *Zoroaster*, pp. 219–225.

[2] For the argument that Magianism was Median in origin see esp. Prášek, ii. 114 ff.

[3] W. Geiger (*Ostīrān. Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882, pp. 488–492) derives the Zoroastrian fire-priests (*āthravans*) from Media.

[4] See, however, Moulton, p. 215 f.

1. The NT use of the term 'Mediator.'—The technical use of the word is most easily grasped if we start from that application of it which is most definite and concrete, *viz.* its application to the work of Christ. There are four NT passages where this is found: 1 Ti 2^5, He 8^6 9^{15} 12^{24}. In all these passages Christ is represented as mediating between God and man. God and man have been estranged. The relation which normally subsists between them has been destroyed, and the work of the mediator is to restore it. In 1 Timothy this work is explicitly connected with the redemptive death of Christ; there is one mediator between God and men, Himself man, Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for all. The same connexion is implied in all the passages in Hebrews; there Jesus is spoken of as the mediator of a new or a better covenant. The covenant is the religious constitution under which God and men form one society, or live a common life. The old and inferior constitution, under which the ideal of religion was not realized, was the Levitical one. This was annulled because of its ineffective character, and in place of it, through the mediation of Jesus—*i.e.*, by means of, and at the cost of, His incarnation and sacrifice—comes the Christian relation of men to God. In this the ends of religion are really attained. There is real forgiveness of sins, real purification of conscience, real and abiding access to God, and all due to the mediation of Christ. This use of the term 'mediation,' which may be called the specifically Christian one, is that which has been mainly developed in later theology. Christ's work as mediator is that in which He interposes between the holy God and sinful men who are estranged from each other, and makes peace. This specifically Christian use of the term, however, is only a continuation of its use in ordinary relations. In ancient as in modern times a State or a person could offer to 'mediate' between other States or persons at war. The substantive *μεσίτης* is used side by side with such terms as *διαλλακτής*, *διαιτητής*, and is defined by Suidas as =*εἰρηνοποιός*, 'peacemaker.' The verb *μεσιτεύειν*, which occurs once in the NT without an object (He 6^{17}, though some here would supply *τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν*, 'His promise') is elsewhere usually transitive: *μεσιτεῦσαι τὴν διάλυσιν εὐνοϊκῶς* (Polyb. XI. xxxiv. 3) ='to achieve the settlement by friendly mediation.' A state of hostility or estrangement, in which the making of peace is the work of a third party, and can therefore be called mediation, is the background of the primary Christian use of the term.

2. Extension of mediation in the NT from redemption to creation.—But even in the NT it is not limited to this use. It is not only that peace with God, or the forgiveness of sins, or reconciliation, or eternal life for the spiritually dead is mediated through Christ and His redemption; Christ is presented also as the mediator of creation. All that is has come into being through Him. We find this stated without explanation, as if it were self-evident, or an agreed proposition among Christians, in 1 Co 8^6. It is expanded in Col $1^{16f.}$ with a view to securing to Christ, who has just been referred to as the mediator of salvation (in whom we have our redemption, the forgiveness of sins [v.^{14}]), a place of dignity above all angelic powers. In Colossæ, apparently, such powers were recognized by some as mediating between God and man in a way which trenched on Christ's prerogative as the one mediator; and it was an effective method of precluding this to show that all such powers, whatever they were called, owed their very being to Christ, and could therefore in no sense become His rivals. The connexion of ideas in He 1^2 is similar. It speaks of a Son whom God has appointed heir of all things, through whom also He made the worlds. The 'also' implies that the making of the worlds through the Son is what naturally corresponds to His being heir of all things. Probably no idea in the NT is so hard to enter into as this. When we think of Christ as mediating between God on the one hand and men alienated from God by sin on the other, we know where we are. We can speak on the basis of experience, and tell how Christ has come to us in our own estrangement, and made peace between us and God. We can speak of Him as mediator, because that is what He has been to ourselves. But creation is not a process, or an act, of which experience teaches us anything; it is not apparent that it needs to be, or that it can be, 'mediated' at all. The OT simply says that in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. How does Paul come to say (Col 1^{16}), In Him—that is, in Christ—were all things created? How did the thought originate in his mind? What exactly did it mean to him? We cannot accept it merely on his authority, as a piece of information about the beginning of things; the content of revelation—what a man knows by the inspiration of God—never has the character of information. Unless we can enter into the origin and process of the Apostle's thought, we can never really appropriate the idea in which it rests. The idea that not redemption only but creation as well is mediated through Christ, that to Him is due and by Him must be determined not only all that we can call reconciliation but all that we can call being, is so unexpected and so astounding that we cannot but ask how it took possession of his mind.

3. Rationale of this extension in Paul.—So far as can be seen, there are only two possible explanations of Paul's attitude. One is purely formal, and reduces the idea of mediation, so far as it applies to all being, to a pure formality. It assumes that Paul had identified Christ with some supernatural being to whom this attribute or function of mediating creation already belonged, and that with the identification there went, as a matter of course, the ascription of this attribute or function to Christ. This is supposed to explain why Paul, when he introduces the idea of creation through Christ, does it *simpliciter*, without any justification or explanation: he is only doing what every one would concede who agreed with him in identifying Jesus with the Christ. But to this there are many objections. As far as can be known, there was no trace whatever in the Pharisaism in which Paul was reared of any such idea as that the Messiah was participant in the creation of the world. Further, though this may be discounted as a subjective impression, Paul writes in Colossians with passionate earnestness on this subject, and not like a man manipulating borrowed ideas which have no vital relation to his experience. And, if it be said that it is not the Jewish eschatological Messiah with whom Jesus is identified by Paul, but a supernatural being of another sort—the Logos of popular Greek philosophy, of whom such things were predicated as Paul predicates of Christ in connexion with creation—then the further question is raised, How did Paul come to make this identification? He never mentions the Logos by name. There is no indication in his writings that he knew anything about philosophy or that he had any interest in its problems. The Logos of the current philosophy, which did mediate somehow between God and the universe, was the philosophical solution of a difficulty which he had never felt: namely, how the transcendent God was to come into any relation to a material world. Paul was not troubled by this any more than the OT prophets or Jesus Himself, nor does he ever bring his doctrine of creation through Christ into any relation to it. The motive and the meaning of that doctrine must be sought elsewhere.

A real clue to his thought, as opposed to this formal one, may perhaps be found in another way. In Paul's experience as a Christian, Christ was everything. He had reconciled him to God and made him a new creature. He had put him in possession of the final truth and reality in the spiritual world, that which could never be transcended and could never fail. When he lived in Christ, he lived in the eternal world, and he felt that to that world and to the believer's interest in it everything else must be subservient. He could say, 'All things are yours' (1 Co 3^{21}); 'All things work together for good to them that love God, to them that are called according to his purpose' (Ro 8^{28}). And 'all things' here must be taken without restriction. It means not only all that happens, but all that is. Creation must in the last resort be in alliance with the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in league with His purposes. As J. Orr put it (*The Christian View of God and the World*, Edinburgh, 1893, p. 323), it must be built on redemption lines. That is the same as to say, it must be built on Christian lines; the world in which Christians live must be essentially a Christian world. It is not a world in which anything can defeat God's purpose in Christ; it is not a world in which the final sovereignty of Christ can be frustrated; it is a world which is essentially related to Christ, to His work of reconciliation, and to His supreme place at last as heir of all things. Now, is it not legitimate to say that a world which was created for Christ was created in Him and through Him? The difficulty of apprehending what is meant by the creation of the world through Christ is only one aspect of the difficulty of apprehending Christ's pre-existence, and that again is only one aspect of the omnipresent and insuperable difficulty of defining the relations of eternity and time. If pre-existence is a legitimate way of expressing the absolute significance of Jesus—the fact that what we see in Him is the eternal truth of what God is, and that therefore He belongs to the very being of God, 'before the foundation of the world'—then the mediation of creation through Christ is a legitimate way of putting the conviction that in the last resort, and in spite of appearances, the world in which we live is a Christian world, our ally, not our adversary, or, if our adversary, one who is necessary, that in conflict with and victory over him we may prove that we have found the way of salvation. Paul does not start with the speculative idea that creation could not be immediate, and that all material and spiritual existences—things on earth and in heaven, things visible and invisible—must owe their being to the mediation of some supernatural power which is identified in his mind, we cannot tell why, with Jesus. He does not start thus, and then give this vague speculative idea a particular application when he comes to explain the Christian redemption. On the contrary, he starts with Christ and with the experience of redemption which, as a matter of fact, is mediated through Him. But the redemption thus mediated is something of absolute significance. It involves contact with ultimate realities, with the eternal truth and love of God in Christ; it kindles a light in the soul which must fall on everything in the world if we are to see it as it is; it involves no smaller a conviction than that the world is essentially a Christian world, and it is this conviction, which is still involved in Christian faith, that forms the vital content of Paul's doctrine that all things were created through Christ.

That the world has this character may, of course, be doubted. It may even be argued that no moral life, no life involving moral probation, is possible except with a background of nature which is morally indifferent; it is only in a world which is indifferent to the distinction of good and evil that man can prove his devotion to good for its own sake. But there is really no such world, though the lightning does not shun the good man's path. What the doctrine of creation mediated by Christ implies is that in the very constitution of nature it is possible to discover the same principles as are revealed in the life and work of Christ. If it were not so, no one with roots in nature would understand Christ when He appeared. The ultimate task of Christian philosophy is to discover spiritual law in the natural world. This is what Paul felt; it is what every idealistic philosophy teaches; it is the inspiration of the highest poetry; Wordsworth found in nature not an adversary or a neutral, but 'the soul of all my moral being.'

4. Mediation in the Fourth Gospel.—Without using words like μεσίτης and μεσιτεύειν the Fourth Gospel makes perhaps a more conscious and continuous use of the idea of mediation than any other book of the NT. Leaving the Prologue out of account, it is mediation in the specifically Christian sense, just as in Paul and Hebrews. The whole book might be summed up in the phrase of 14^6, 'No one cometh unto the Father, but by me.' It is to Jesus that men owe all the blessings which constitute salvation. They are variously described, most frequently as 'life' and 'eternal life,' but they come to men through Him and Him alone. Yet a counter or complementary truth is presented in the same Gospel. No man comes to the Father but by Jesus, yet no man comes to Jesus but him who is drawn by the Father (6^{44}). It is as though there were powers in the world antecedent to the historical Jesus which had Him in view, which prepared men to understand Him, and to welcome His mediation when He came. In the constitution of nature, in the impression which it makes as a whole on the spirit of man, in human life itself with its various experiences of success and failure, of wronging others and being wronged, of forgiving others and being forgiven by them, there is a sum or complex of forces which bears witness to Christ and constitutes a providential drawing of men by the Father to the Son.

But it is only when we receive the Son and believe in Him that we truly come to the Father. The earlier stages of religion are mediated to us through all the experiences of life; these provide for it a broad and indisputable basis here and now, and make it independent of any particular historical mediation—*i.e.*, of any mediation through persons or facts which have their place in the past. But this immediate experience of religion—a religion, as some might call it, of pure inwardness and spirituality, which has its certainty in itself, and is not at the mercy of a historical criticism for which no fact is beyond question—does not, according to the Evangelist, enable men to dispense with what is mediated through Jesus; it only enables and prepares them to appreciate it. It is consummated through Him. Only he who has seen Jesus has seen the Father. And, paradoxical as it may seem, this historical mediation does not shake the certainty of religion; the perfect religion does not become doubtful because the mediator of it lived in time. We are 'in Him that is true,' and he that believeth hath the witness in himself (1 Jn $5^{10.\ 20}$).

In the prologue the idea of mediation is even more explicit than in the body of the Gospel, and it is wider in its range. The first three verses are more speculative than anything in Paul, and it is difficult to think otherwise than that the author has identified Jesus with the Logos of the current philosophy, and that he is speaking of Him in terms whose antecedents are philosophical rather than evangelical. The very ambiguity of the term Logos (*ratio*, *oratio*) may have commended it to him. It suited him equally well to have Jews feel that in Christ they had God's last *word* to man, and to have Greeks feel that in Christ they were in contact with the *reason* of the world, the rational principle or truth in which all things lived, and moved, and had their being. The one knowledge and the other alike, he would have held, were mediated to men through Jesus. It is by no means clear, however, that the prologue makes the Logos, as distinct from the historical Jesus, the mediator either of a universal revelation of God to man or of a special revelation of God to Israel. The interest of the Evangelist in such speculative ideas is perhaps less than has been assumed. The traditional and somewhat grandiose interpretation of the prologue, according to which the Incarnation does not appear until v.^{14}—an interpretation which has so commended the passage to those who delight in the idea of a general revelation in nature and history culminating in a final and adequate revelation in Christ—is almost certainly wrong. The movement of thought in the prologue is spiral. The Incarnation appears already in v.^{4}, and the history of Christianity up to the time of the writer is summarized in v.^{5}. Revelation in its full and specifically Christian sense, the mediation to men of that knowledge of God which is eternal life, is accomplished only through Jesus, the Word made flesh. The difference from Paul may be said to lie in this: in Paul Jesus mediates revelation through redemption (we know God as Father because He saves us by His Son), whereas in John He mediates redemption through revelation (we are saved from sin and death because through Jesus we have the knowledge of the Father). But the distinction is true only when it is not pressed. In both writers it is the specifically Christian sense of mediation that is vital: Jesus is the mediator between God and men. The wider sense of mediation, according to which Jesus mediates creation as well as redemption, while it is found in both, has not the same emphasis. The apostles seem to feel that their religion ultimately implies this, but it is not this that directly inspires or sustains it.

5. Mediation and Jesus' consciousness of Himself.—The most important of questions to the Christian religion is whether this specific sense of mediation, which is not only recognized by but pervades all the apostolic writings, is confirmed when we turn to the mind of Christ Himself. He never speaks of having anything to do with the creation of the world, but was He conscious of being in any sense a mediator between God and men? Did He stand between them to any intent? Did men in any sense owe to Him either the knowledge of God or reconciliation to God, or were these supreme spiritual blessings immediately open to them, in independence of Him? The questions have been answered in both ways. Harnack's famous *dictum* (*Das Wesen des Christentums*, Berlin, 1900, p. 91), that in the gospel as preached by Jesus the Son has no place, but only the Father, is so qualified by other statements that its author can hardly be cited for the negative. Much more uncompromising representatives of this side are J. Weiss and W. Heitmüller. The former, in *Das Urchristentum* (Göttingen, 1914, p. 364), in discussing the relations of faith in Christ and faith in God (in Paul), explicitly renounces the idea of a necessary mediator of salvation. Christ was there, as a matter of fact, and therefore Paul had to give Him a place in his religion somehow; but Weiss, with a sense of his own daring,[1] declares that there was no necessity for His mission and work in the nature of God, and that God's eternal love, though Paul knew it only through Christ, must have had its way even if Christ had failed the redeeming work of the Father, or if God in the fullness of His love had been able to dispense with the sacrifice of Christ. There is not, indeed, any appeal here to the mind of Christ, with regard to mediation, but there is the expression of a conviction which forecloses any such appeal. In Heitmüller's *Jesus* (Tübingen, 1913) the denial is even vehement:

> 'It is quite beyond doubt that according to the preaching of Jesus we have to do in religion only with an immediate relation of man to God: between God and man nothing and no one has place, not even Jesus. Religious significance in the proper sense Jesus in any case does not claim' (p. 73).

But Heitmüller feels a certain embarrassment when he deals explicitly with some words of Jesus. He admits that they disclose not merely a prophetic but a superprophetic consciousness—*e.g.*, the well-known passage Mt 11^{27}. To be the bearer of a unique revelation, the Son *simpliciter*—it almost terrifies us to think of it. It is not a divine self-consciousness, but it is almost more than human. It might impel us to ask whether it was compatible with soundness and clearness of mind. 'Here is the point at which the form of Jesus becomes mysterious to us, almost uncanny' (p. 71). Further on, he speaks of the riddle as insoluble (p. 89), but apparently he thinks that he has reduced it to less disquieting proportions when he writes (p. 126) that Jesus seems to have claimed for Himself *only* that He is the way to the Father. It is difficult to see how He could have claimed more. The opposite view, that the place which the NT generally assigns to Jesus, as the indispensable mediator between God and men, is in harmony with Jesus' consciousness of Himself, is argued in the present writer's *Jesus and the Gospel* (London, 1908, p. 159 ff. on the self-revelation of Jesus). The argument covers both the Johannine idea of the mediation of the knowledge of God (as in Mt 11^{27}) and the Pauline idea of the mediation of redemption (as in Mk 10^{45}). What it does not expressly extend to is the speculative idea that creation as well as revelation and redemption is mediated through Christ.

6. Other mediators than Jesus.—Emphasis is laid in the NT on the exclusive character of Christ's mediation: there is one God, and one mediator between God and men. This is the idea of such passages as Ac 4^{12} ('none other name'), Col $2^{9f.}$ ('in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in him ye are made full'), and He 7^{24} (the priesthood which does not pass to, or cannot be trenched upon by, another), as well as of Jn 14^{6}. What is in view in these passages is the idea that Christ in His work of reconciliation may have rivals or competitors, powers which in independence of Him prepare for His work, or supplement it, or enable men to dispense with it. This is unambiguously and exhaustively denied. The idea of mediation in the Christian sense has no application but to Him. Spiritual beings, whatever their name or degree—principalities, powers, dominions—owe their own being to Him, and have their functions, whatever they are, in a world which He has reconciled to God.

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[1] 'Wir müssen es aussprechen . . . ehrlicherweise muss man sagen' (*ib.*).

The exclusiveness of His mediation with regard to nature (being) as well as redemption is strongly asserted both in Col 1^{16} and in Jn 1^{3}. Probably in both these passages, as well as in 1 Ti 2^{5}, there is reference to forms of Gnosticism which it is difficult for us to define. For ancient thought generally, and therefore for ancient religion, the world was full of invisible powers of a personal or quasi-personal sort, and these easily asserted a place for themselves in the religious life. They came between God and the soul in ways that we cannot appreciate, and the interest of the apostles is to expel from the relations of God and the soul every power but that of Jesus. Their argument is that of experience against uncontrolled imagination. The controversies of later theologians, Catholic and Protestant, on the mediation (intercession) of saints are like this, but not identical. Those who admit that we can pray for one another have no ground for denying that the saints can pray for us. All that is to be said is that we do not know anything about it; but whatever the saints may do for us they can do only in dependence on Jesus, not as mediators who might bring us to God apart from Him. For statements on opposite sides of this question see Calvin's *Institutio*, III. xx. 20–27; *Westminster Confession*, ch. xxi. 2; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theol.*, III. qu. xxvi. art. 1 f.; S. J. Hunter, *Outlines of Dogmatic Theology*, London, 1895–96, §§ 574, 607; K. von Hase, *Handbuch der protestant. Polemik*^{7}, Leipzig, 1900, p. 294.

7. Mediation in the OT.—If we look back from the NT to the OT, we find much everywhere which can be described in terms of mediation, though μεσίτης occurs only once in LXX (Job 9^{33}), where, according to T. K. Cheyne (*EBi*, col. 3003), it answers to בֵּינֵינוּ, and means a person who could interpose with authority between Job and his imperfect or arbitrary God—an arbitrator who would see justice done. This is akin to the διαιτητής, defined by Aristotle as ὁ μέσος, and often found in Greek as a synonym of μεσίτης; but it is hardly the equivalent of the NT μεσίτης, whether we regard revelation or reconciliation as that which comes to men through Him. If we confine our attention to the relations of God and man, in which the term mediation is properly applied, both aspects of it pervade the OT. Revelation, or the knowledge of God, is mediated to men through the prophet. It is not necessary to ask here how it is mediated to the prophet himself; for the purposes of religion he obtains it immediately. He stands in God's council and hears His voice; it is the voice of God Himself, or such an echo of it as the prophet's voice can utter, that is heard when He speaks. There is no external criterion for distinguishing the true voice of God from a voice which speaks lies in His name. The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him (Ps 25^{14}); they have, without knowing it, what the NT calls (1 Co 12^{10}) the gift of 'discernment of spirits.' As revelation is mediated through the prophet, so in the largest sense is reconciliation through the priest. The Levitical system may have been very imperfect—it was destined, indeed, to perish by its inadequacy; but the idea of it was to enable men to approach God, to give them peace with Him, to put it in their power, in spite of all that they had done, to have communion with God, living as members of a society of which He was the head. The Levitical system does not, of course, exhaust what the OT exhibits of the mediation of reconciliation. Much importance is attached to prayer: the hour of irremediable ruin is come—the final breach between God and His people—when Jeremiah hears that, though intercessors like Moses and Samuel stood before Jahweh, they could not turn His heart toward Israel (Jer 15^{1}). The ministry of intercession mediates for man to God, as well as the ministry of sacrifice—unless we reduce the latter to the former, and regard sacrifice as in essence 'embodied prayer.' It is another form, possibly a form inferior to intercession because less spiritual, of showing the cost at which reconciliation is mediated to sinful men.

8. Later developments of mediation.—Though the main content of mediation in the OT may be condensed under prophecy and priesthood, it is not quite exhausted there. Especially in post-Exilic literature, where the transcendence of God is emphasized till it depresses the soul, we find intermediate beings appear whose functions are wider and less defined. Sometimes they have to do with the creation of the world, sometimes with its government in nature or in history; sometimes they are specially concerned with Israel's fortunes, or with the giving of the law; sometimes they are interested in individual men, attaching themselves to pure souls and making them prophets or sages. Foreign influences as well as philosophical necessities determined the form of such thoughts, and they grew to have a larger and larger space in many minds. In A. Bertholet's *Bibl. Theol. des alten Test.*, Tübingen, 1911, § 32, there is a sufficient account of this faith in intermediate beings (*Hypostasenlehre*), so far as it can be derived from the Greek Bible. The most important of them was Wisdom, though Wisdom, curiously enough, in spite of Mt 11^{19}, Lk 11^{49}, seems to have fallen out of favour in the NT, and is not once mentioned where we might most have expected it, in the Johannine writings. Perhaps this was due, as J. Grill has suggested (*Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums*, Tübingen, 1902, p. 199 f.), to the frequency with which in Gnosticism σοφία represented a lost æon which had to be redeemed (cf. *ERE* vi. 236 f.). Next in importance to Wisdom came the Word or Logos. On this see W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*^{2}, Berlin, 1906, p. 399, and cf. art. LOGOS, § 2. The doctrine of the Logos as 'mediating' is developed at great length and with infinite inconsistency in Philo. It can be best studied in E. Bréhier, *Les Idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1908, ii. ch. ii. f. It is perhaps not unfair to say that in Philo the Logos mediates between God and the κόσμος; that it mediates, further, between God and man as made in the image of God and participant in reason, but that it is not a mediator in the specifically NT sense of the term, *i.e.*, a mediator of redemption between God and sinners. The verbal coincidences between Philo and the NT often, perhaps always, conceal a wide divergence of meaning. A full discussion of what Jewish belief in mediating powers eventually came to may be found in F. Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, Leipzig, 1886, ch. xiii. He enumerates five: (1) the angel Meṭaṭrôn, (2) the Word, or *Mēmrā* (*q.v.*), of Jahweh, (3) the *Shᵉkhînāh*, (4) the Spirit of God, and (5) the *Bath Qôl*, or heavenly voice through which revelation is given. Where the mind starts with these generalities, whether in a more speculative or in a more religious interest, it does not seem able or impelled to bring them to any convergence upon a single mediator; but the NT writers, starting from their experience of Christ as the only and the real revealer of God and reconciler of sinners to Him, are able to regard all these doctrines of mediating hypostases as hints or suggestions of what they possess in Jesus, and are not afraid in a manner to identify Him with them all. Whatever they promised or were intended to secure has been finally made good and secured through Him. He is the Wisdom of God—the Key to the world of nature, of history, and of all human life; He is the Word made flesh; Paul can even say (2 Co 3[17]) that in His exaltation He is the Spirit. All mediation between God and sinful men is summed up and exhausted in Him. He is Himself our Peace. But all mediation, if the name is legitimately extended in this sense, between God and creation is also transacted through Him. The last, however, is not the starting-point; the mind rises to it only inferentially through an overpowering impression of the absolute significance of Jesus as the mediator of reconciliation; it is one way of expressing the conviction that He is the Beginning and the End, the First and the Last.

9. Subordinate sense of mediation (means of grace).—Mediation in a subordinate sense is the subject of the whole doctrine of the means (*media*) of grace; that is, of the divinely appointed ordinances through which the salvation of Christ is brought home to man. Grace is mediated through these ordinances, especially, according to Protestant theology, through the Word, sacraments, and prayer. The conditions under which the use of them becomes effectual for salvation—*i.e.*, the terms on which grace really is mediated through them—are stated in all the confessions in more or less experimental and argumentative forms.

Comparative religion offers examples of mediation more or less analogous to those here considered. Wherever there are religious institutions and customs, they are mediatorial. It is through them that the spirit of a religion is conveyed to those who are brought up within its pale. Sometimes there are what A. M. Fairbairn used to call 'developmental coincidences' between other religions and Christianity where there is no real interdependence. Thus Mithra was called *μεσίτης* in the first instance as dwelling in the air which is midway between heaven and hell. But the local meaning deepened into a moral one. Mithra became mediator between the inaccessible and unknowable God who reigns in the ethereal spheres and the human race which lives its restless life here below. He is addressed as great Mithra, messenger of the gods, mediator of the religion of the elect (F. Cumont, *Les Mystères de Mithra*[3], Brussels, 1913, pp. 129, 139, 146). Similar phenomena are abundant in the religions of India. But we nowhere find a religion of which we can say, as has been said of Christianity, that it is what it is because of the presence in it of the mediator.

LITERATURE.—As the idea of mediation involves that of the nature of Christianity, and especially raises the question whether Christ has a necessary place in the Christian religion, and, if so, what precisely that place is, and what it implies as to Christ Himself (Christology), the literature is really co-extensive with that of Christian theology. Older discussions of main aspects of the subject are to be found in J. Butler, *Analogy of Religion*, ed. J. H. Bernard, London, 1900, pt. ii. ch. v., and J. Martineau, *Studies of Christianity*, do. 1875, 147 ff. Besides the works mentioned in the article, all modern writings on NT theology are more or less relevant, but the formal treatment of it, even in the Jesus-Paul literature, is not frequent.

JAMES DENNEY.

MEDICINE.—See DISEASE AND MEDICINE.

MEDICINE-MEN.—See SHAMANISM.

MEDĪNA.—Medīna, in Arabic with the article, means 'the Town,' as opposed to the desert (Qur'ān ix. 102, 121), and is the name usually given to the city whither Muhammad fled from Mecca, sometimes interpreted as 'the Prophet's City.' Its proper name was Yathrib (*ib.* xxxiii. 13), evidently the Ἰάθριππα of Stephanus Byzantinus (*s.v.*) and the Λαθρίππα of Ptolemy (VI. vii. 31), apparently identical in origin with the Egyptian Ἄθριβις (indeed a form Athrib is mentioned). Another name which is sometimes cited is Ṭaibah or Ṭābah, to be compared with the Hebrew Ṭôb (Jg 11[3], etc.), and perhaps with the Greek Θήβη, meaning 'fragrant' or 'good.' Many more names are collected by Samhūdī (893 A.H.) in his monograph on Medīna (*Khulāṣat al-wafā*, Cairo, 1285), but these are mostly honorific epithets; one, however, which he quotes from the OT is Salqah, which should rather be Salkah (Jos 12[5], etc.); but this identification is certainly erroneous.

Since Stephanus Byzantinus gives the relative adjective of Yathrib as Ἰαθριππηνός, it must have been the home of some persons known to the Græco-Roman world not later than the 6th cent. A.D.; and to the end of the 7th cent. there probably belonged one 'John of Yathrib' mentioned in a letter of James of Edessa 'to John Stylites'; this Yathrib is identified with Medīna by some writers (*ZDMG* xxiv. [1870] 263), but it is difficult to suppose that there can have been a 'presbyter of Yathrib = Medīna' at that time. For the early history of the place, then, as well as the later we have to rely exclusively on Muslim authorities, who naturally have much to say about a town which played so important a part in the history of their system. It is unfortunate that their notices of its pre-Islāmic history are mainly fabulous, though they must contain a little fact as well.

The settlement, which is often called 'Between the two lābas,' *i.e.* volcanic formations, was at the commencement of Islām a joint one of Arabs and Jews. The former were grouped in two tribes, the Aus and the Khazraj, whereas of the latter three tribal names are handed down—Qainuqāʿ, Quraish, and Naḍīr. The native Jewish tradition appears to know nothing of these colonies, whose names surprise us; for the last two are clearly Arabic, and the first apparently so. They are supposed to have had a dialect (or jargon?) of their own, some fragments of which are preserved in the Qur'ān (iv. 48), but are exceedingly puzzling. This fact would seem to militate against the supposition that they were Arabs who had adopted Judaism. If we are justified in attributing to them some of the Jewish matter that is found in the Qur'ān, they must have been acquainted with portions of the Oral Tradition, to which there are occasional references; and it is practically certain that the early Islāmic lawyers were indebted to proselytes from these communities for certain technicalities and even whole maxims. The personal names which are preserved are partly Hebrew, partly Arabic.

The Muslim tradition represents the Jews as further advanced in civilization than the Arabs of Medīna, and engaged both in trade, including lending money on security, and in cultivation of the soil; the date was the most important product. Further, they are said to have had schools, and to have written Arabic in Hebrew script, as was done at a later time and is done even now. They were under the protection of their Arab neighbours, and were occasionally compelled to fight in the tribal wars, much against their inclination.

Between the Aus and the Khazraj there was a long-standing feud, which led to the parties summoning the Prophet in the manner recorded in his biography.[1] Hellenic antiquity, which furnishes many analogies to that of the Arabs, provides illustrations of this expedient for putting an end to civil strife. He called his new adherents Anṣār, 'Helpers,' a name which, according to the Qur'ān (iii. 45, lxi. 14), originally belonged to the apostles, and doubtless is a popular etymology of Nazarene.

Like many other statesmen, the Prophet found in external warfare the best remedy for civil strife; and, since at least for some years all new adherents were required to migrate to Medīna, the town grew vastly in magnitude and importance during his despotism. Neither he nor his immediate successors had any taste for architecture or other forms of art, and, though building must have gone on for the housing of the increasing population, it was, like the Prophet's mosque and domestic quarters, of a primitive kind. There are traditions, probably deserving credit, that the former had to be repeatedly enlarged and repaired during this period; but reconstruction on a considerable scale appears to have taken place first in the time of the Umayyad Walīd b. ʻAbd al-Malik, who gave orders in the year 88 for the destruction of the older building and the houses of the Prophet's wives, and the inclusion of the whole area in a new mosque covering 200 × 200 cubits. According to Ṭabarī (*Chronicle*, Leyden, 1879–1901, ii. 1194), the khalīf demanded and obtained assistance from the Byzantine emperor, both in materials and in workmen. The new mosque was elaborately decorated, and rewards were offered to the artists, who, however, according to Samhūdī's authorities, were at times guilty of profanity. The whole was under the direction of Omar b. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz (afterwards khalīf), who introduced a *miḥrāb* and four minarets.

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[1] Ibn Hisham, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1860, p. 286 ff.

In 160 A.H. further additions were made by order of the khalīf Mahdī, and his successors repeatedly repaired and decorated it. The whole building was burned down in the year 654 A.H., and restored chiefly by the Egyptian Sulṭāns, whose successors continued to adorn and enlarge it. It was again burned down in 886 A.H., and rebuilt by order of Qāïtbāï with great magnificence. This was in the time of the local historian Samhūdī, who was absent at the time of the fire, but lost much of his property owing to it. Qāïtbāï's is the existing mosque. Architectural details connected with the various buildings are given by R. F. Burton (*Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, London, 1855–56, vol. i. ch. xvii.), who also adds some details for the period since Samhūdī. Apparently a certain amount of destruction was effected by the Wahhābīs, who also plundered the treasures; but, when they had been forced to evacuate the place in 1815, the damage was made good.

Visitation of Medīna is not incumbent on Muslims, but it is regarded as a dutiful act, the Prophet having said: 'Whoso performs the pilgrimage and fails to visit me deals undutifully by me' (quoted by Ḥarīrī, *Maqāma* xxxii.). The visit is, of course, to the Prophet's grave, which is the chief object of interest in the sanctuary; for the Sunnīs those of his first two successors and his daughter, who lie beside him, are also of importance. For a description of the tomb itself, which is screened off, Burton goes to the traveller Ibn Jubair (ed. M. J. de Goeje, London, 1907, p. 121), neither having seen it himself nor having met any one who had. According to Ibn Jubair, a place is supposed to be left vacant beside the others for Īsā b. Maryam (*i.e.* the Christian Saviour). The European fable of Muhammad's coffin being suspended by a magnet between heaven and earth seems to be unknown to Islāmic writers, though it bears some resemblance to a story told about that of Timur-Lenk, which, according to Ibn Iyās (*History of Egypt*, Cairo, 1311, i. 347), had to be so suspended because the earth was unwilling to receive it. Various superstitions connected with this tomb are to be found in the works of European travellers, especially that of J. F. Keane (*Six Months in the Hejaz*, London, 1887, p. 225). By some puritan sects the visitation of the tomb is regarded as idolatrous, but this view is unusual.

Medīna remained the political capital of Islām during the reigns of the Prophet's first three successors, but lost that position in the civil wars which followed the death of the third. In normal times it counted as an annex of Mecca (*q.v.*), whose governor was responsible for it; hence there is a dearth of native chronicles, and Samhūdī makes use of the casual notice in the travels of Ibn Jubair, somewhat as modern European writers use the passage. On the other hand, owing to the continued residence of the Prophet's widows and such of his companions as were students or devotees, it became the first university of Islām, where what are called 'the Islāmic Sciences' were founded. Numerous jurists arose in Medīna, and presently a canon of seven was formed. The people of the place claimed that the governors should consult them about all cases which came before them for trial. As late as 200 A.H. its jurists or traditionalists were regarded as more scrupulous than others (D. S. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, London, 1914, p. 73). On the whole, the school of Medīna, associated with the name of Mālik ibn Anas (*q.v.*), was supposed to attach more importance to tradition and less to inference than the school of ʻIrāq, which had been founded by Abū Ḥanīfa. The differences which resulted were not of primary importance, though discussion at times raged fiercely (see LAW [Muhammadan]).

For at least the Umayyad period Medīna was supposed to be the seat of literary criticism as well. When a question arose in Damascus at the court of one of these khalīfs concerning the source of a certain line of poetry and the relative merits of certain poets, the khalīf sent to the governor of Medīna, ordering him after his sermon in the mosque to refer these matters to the congregation, which proved able to decide them (*Aghānī*, Cairo, 1285, viii. 180). It would seem that the beginning of Islāmic libraries is to be sought in Medīna; the poems of the Prophet's court-poet, Ḥassān b. Thābit, were kept there, and the copy was renewed when it showed signs of evanescence.

LITERATURE.—Of the work of Samhūdī cited above the abridgment was published 1285 A.H.; the original, of about thrice the bulk, exists in the Bodleian Library. The portion of it which deals with places of interest in the neighbourhood is summarized by F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Gebiet von Medina*, Göttingen, 1873. Accounts of the modern condition of the place are to be found in many of the records of pilgrimages, most recently in those of Hadji Khan and Wilfred Sparroy, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca, 1902*, London, 1905, and A. J. B. Wavell, *A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca*, do. 1912.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MEDITATION.—See DEVOTION AND DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE.

MEDITATION (Buddhist).—See BODHISATTVA, vol. ii. p. 752 f., DHYĀNA.

MEEKNESS.—**1. OT conception.**—The Hebrew word for meekness (עֲנָוָה) is closely connected with the ideas of humility, poverty, and affliction. A great feature of OT literature is the attempt which it constantly reveals to reconcile with the facts of experience the principle that righteousness brings prosperity, while wickedness is inevitably followed by disaster. In view of the apparent contradiction of this principle by the facts of life, some OT writers (Ps 37, Job) attempt to vindicate the ways of God to man, and to establish the ultimate reality of this principle by insisting that the suffering of the righteous and the success of the wicked are only temporary. In the end divine justice will compensate the 'meek' (who are thus identified with the righteous), while the transient prosperity of evil-doers will end in calamity and downfall.

2. NT conception.—Christian teaching derives the conception of meekness from the OT, but enlarges and spiritualizes its meaning and application. The deep significance attached to this conception in the NT lies in its identification of the loftiest ideal with the profoundest reality. The meek man is thus defined as one who not only 'counts it better to suffer than to do wrong' (Plato), but as one who 'resists not evil' (Mt 5^{39}). He is the one who surrenders the *immediate* interests of life, but in so doing he is not emptying his life but rather filling it with larger interests. 'In ceasing to contend for his own rights against others he makes the rights of all others his own.' Accordingly, Jesus calls upon His disciples to surrender even the most obvious rights of property (Mt 5^{40}). But the ground of such surrender is not the denial of individual rights on the part of Christ. On the contrary, He assigns the highest importance to individual work, and He confers upon the meek a title not only to the Kingdom of Heaven, but also to the inheritance of the earth (Mt 5^{5}). Such possession, however, is to be realized only through spiritual development; that is to say, such possession is not to be won by self-assertion or by insistence upon individual interest, but only as the individual identifies the common welfare of men with his own. Hence Christ's refusal to take part in a selfish struggle for private gain, and His ultimate conquest of all opposition by depriving others of the very power of setting up interests in opposition to His own.

3. **Philosophical conception.**—(1) *Its place in the history of ethics.*—While other ethical systems have in many cases been characterized by lofty ideals of conduct, the profound conception of meekness indicated in the preceding paragraph is distinctive of Christian ethics. The ethical ideal has generally been conceived as pleasure in some form or other. Hedonism (*q.v.*) conceives it as the pleasure of the moment, but the objection to this view is that such transient pleasure cannot satisfy a consciousness that is not momentary. Eudæmonism (*q.v.*) seeks to repair this defect by setting up the happiness of the life as a whole as the *summum bonum*, but a fatal limitation of this view is that the happiness of life as a whole is incalculable. The balance of pleasures and of pains cannot be adjusted, and the values of competing pleasures cannot be quantitatively determined though they may be qualitatively distinguished. The same criticism applies to Utilitarianism (*q.v.*), for the greatest happiness of the greatest number is still less calculable than the happiness of the individual life as a whole. A further criticism applies to all three forms of Hedonistic ethics—the criticism that pleasure, if sought for itself, is not found. This radical defect can be met only by a radical change of ethical ideal. What the nature of the new standard is to be will depend upon the point of view taken. If this be the standpoint of Christian ethics, then the ultimate moral standard cannot be lower than the attainment of perfection; and an essential factor in the rule of conduct by which this ideal is to be realized is the quality of meekness (πρᾳότης, πραότης, later form πραΰτης). True humblemindedness, gentleness, consideration for others, self-respect without vanity, reverence, and perfect humility—for all these qualities are connoted by the term 'meekness'—alone lead, according to Christian ethics, to the realization of moral perfection, and at the same time to the attainment of real temporal prosperity. In NT phraseology the meek are most truly happy (or blessed), because theirs is not only the Kingdom of Heaven, but also the inheritance of the earth.

But how is such a quality of character, which has for its distinctive feature an utter absence of self-assertion, actually to achieve the conquests and acquire the possessions which are thus ascribed to it?

(2) *Its relation to the doctrine of evolution.*—According to the principle of natural selection, it has been argued that in the evolutionary process the unworthy or 'unfit' must be set aside in order to make way for the survival of the fittest. There are some, therefore, who maintain that by supporting such institutions as hospitals, almshouses, and sanatoria we are retarding the process of evolution. It is argued that we are thus breeding degenerates and criminals, consumptives and lunatics, and, worst of all, taxing the sane, healthy, and law-abiding citizens for their support.

But this view fails to recognize all that the doctrine of evolution implies. It confuses this principle with that of letting the weakest go to the wall. It is hardly necessary to point out that by adopting such a principle we should blunt our finer feelings and should therefore sink in the moral scale. And the cost in time, money, and efficiency for other pursuits that is entailed in our care for the aged and diseased is negligible when compared with the moral gain. Thus we find that the preservation of the infirm and consideration for the weak are strictly compatible with, and, indeed, an essential factor in, the law of evolution, inasmuch as they tend to develop a quality of human character which has the highest survival value. The growth of the spiritual Kingdom and the dominance of the world by meekness and humility are thus progressively realized.

LITERATURE.—*HDB*, art. 'Meekness'; cf. art. 'Sermon on the Mount,' vol. v. p. 19; W. S. Bruce, *The Ethics of the Old Testament*, Edinburgh, 1895, *The Formation of Christian Character*^{2}, do. 1908; H. Sidgwick, *Outlines of Hist. of Ethics*, London, 1886, esp. ch. iii.; J. S. Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*^{4}, do. 1904.

A. J. HORROCKS.

MEGARICS (Μεγαρικοί).—Euclides of Megara is generally regarded as the founder of the Megaric school, though it would be more correct to keep the name for his successors a generation or two later. Euclides himself was an Eleatic and also an 'associate' (ἑταῖρος) of Socrates. The account of his philosophy given by E. Zeller (*Philosophie der Griechen*, II. i.^{4}, Leipzig, 1889, p. 244 f.) is vitiated by his adoption of Schleiermacher's identification of the Megarics with the 'friends of the forms' (εἰδῶν φίλοι) of Plato's *Sophist*. It is quite impossible to reconcile the few facts we know about the teaching of Euclides with the theory of plurality of forms, and Proclus, in his commentary on Plato's *Parmenides* (p. 149, ed. V. Cousin, Paris, 1820–27), states quite distinctly that the 'friends of the forms' were the 'wise men of Italy,' that is to say, the Pythagoreans. On such a point Proclus's testimony is conclusive, for he had access to and was familiar with the works of Plato's immediate successors.

The most trustworthy account that we have of the Megaric doctrine is that of Aristocles, the teacher of Alexander of Aphrodisias (2nd cent. A.D.), some extracts from whose *History of Philosophy* are preserved in the *Præparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius (xiv. 17). Its Eleatic origin is at once apparent from these, and Aristocles expressly says that it was first the doctrine of Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno, and Melissus, and later of Stilpo and the Megarics. In the first place, they made it their business to 'throw' (καταβάλλειν, a metaphor from wrestling) all sensation and appearance, and to trust in reasoning alone. The method which they adopted was that elaborated by Zeno, a method which was known as 'dialectic' by its admirers and as 'eristic' by its critics. It consisted in showing that two contradictory but equally cogent conclusions could be established with regard to everything without exception, and that there was therefore no truth at all in any of the appearances presented to our senses. That is what Plato calls *ἀντιλογία*, and we still possess a curious fragment of a work in the Doric dialect, generally known as the *Dialexeis* (the name is without authority), which applies the method to certain ethical antinomies. It is most natural to regard this work as a product of Megara, and we know that the Megarians clung with special tenacity to their native dialect.

The effect of this criticism is to leave us with nothing but the One or the Whole (*τὸ ἕν, τὸ ὅλον*) and to deprive the Many and the Parts of all claim to reality. That was the doctrine of Parmenides, but there is evidence that Euclides understood it in a rather different sense than the founder of his school, and it is here that we can trace the influence of Socrates. The One of the Eleatics had been a continuous, corporeal *plenum*, whether finite (Parmenides) or infinite (Melissus), but Euclides took the step of identifying it with the Good, which was 'called by many names, such as God, Wisdom (*φρόνησις*), and Mind (*νοῦς*).' It was in this way that 'the Absolute' made its first appearance in the history of philosophy, and its claim to be the sole reality was based on the inherent contradictoriness of all appearance.

The philosophy of Euclides had a very great influence on Plato, who had taken refuge with him at Megara after the death of Socrates, and it is to this influence that we may most probably ascribe the unique position assigned to the Good in the *Republic*. It was impossible, however, for Plato to acquiesce permanently in an Absolutist doctrine of any kind; for that excluded from Reality what he was most interested in, the Soul, and especially the best Soul of all, namely God. The *Parmenides* and the *Sophist* are chiefly occupied with this problem, and it is plain that Plato believed himself to have disposed finally of the Absolute. That led, of course, to a breach between the Academy and their fellow-Socratics of Megara, and from this time forward we may discern the beginnings of a distinct Megaric school. As was natural, the negative dialectic was more zealously cultivated than the central doctrine of Euclides. When an abstract Absolute has been set up, there is not much more to be said about it, but the dialectical method is always available for the criticism of rival philosophies. Aristotle was naturally the chief object of the Megaric attack, which was led by Eubulides. Aristotle's own logical theory was to a large extent moulded by this situation, and the title given to his course on fallacies, the *Sophistici Elenchi*, bears witness to it; for, since the time of Plato's *Sophist*, the old term had been revived as a name for thinkers of the class known later as Megarics. The fallacies exposed by Aristotle are, in fact, for the most part, Megaric arguments, and that is the explanation of the sense in which the words 'sophism' and 'sophistry' have been used from that time to the present day. Many of these sophisms are well known, such as the Liar (*ψευδόμενος*), the Veiled Man (*ἐγκεκαλυμμένος*), the Heap (*σωρείτης*), and the Bald Man (*φαλακρός*). As an extreme specimen, we may take the argument of the Horns: 'What you have not lost, you have. You have not lost horns. Therefore you have horns.' Some of the arguments are more serious, however, and raise the problem of continuity. The influence of Zeno is still felt in the *ratio ruentis acervi* (*σωρείτης λόγος*), referred to by Horace (*Epist.* II. i. 45). The most important of all from a historical point of view, however, was the *κυριεύων* of Diodorus Cronus († *c.* 307 B.C.), which continued to be discussed in the schools for centuries. Aristotle's favourite doctrine of potentiality and actuality (*δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια*) was specially objectionable to the Megarics, and Diodorus set himself to destroy the conception of possibility altogether. The argument may be stated thus: 'Nothing impossible can proceed from anything possible. But it is impossible that anything in the past should be other than it is. If it had ever been possible still further in the past for it to be other than it is, then an impossibility must have proceeded from a possibility. Therefore it was never possible that it should be other than it is. Therefore it is impossible that anything should happen which does not actually happen.' Chrysippus confessed that he could not solve this, and Epictetus still busied himself with it.

The definite constitution of the Megaric school as a philosophical sect was the work of Stilpo of Megara, who for some time after the death of Aristotle (322 B.C.) was the most important philosophical personality in Greece. When Ptolemy I. took Megara in 307 B.C. he tried to induce Stilpo to return with him to Alexandria, but the invitation was declined. From the few facts that are told of him it is plain that he revived the positive side of the doctrine of Euclides and insisted on the sole reality of the One. He argued that to speak of man is to speak of nobody; for it is not to speak of A any more than of B. In the same way, he refused to admit that a cabbage shown to him was cabbage. There was a cabbage in just the same sense ten thousand years ago. As he further denied the real existence of forms or species (*εἴδη*), whether in the Aristotelian or in the Platonic sense, it followed that everything was mere appearance. But what distinguished Stilpo from all his predecessors, so far as we know, and what made Megaricism a reality for the first time, was the ethical principle which he deduced from this apparently barren Absolutism. It was the only ethical principle that such a doctrine can yield, that of quietism and insensibility. Plato's nephew Speusippos had already maintained that pleasure and pain were both evils, and that good men aim at imperturbability (*ἀοχλησία*), and the word 'apathy' (*ἀπάθεια*) occurs in the Platonic *Definitions* (413 A), which belong to the early Academy. In his *Ethics* (1104^b, 24) Aristotle alludes to those who define the various forms of goodness as *ἀπάθειαι* and *ἠρεμίαι*. But it was Stilpo who made the doctrine live. Teles, who was his fellow-citizen and a little later in date, holds him up as the great example of indifference to the vicissitudes of fortune. It is unnecessary to suppose that he was influenced in this direction by the Cynics; for the doctrine follows quite naturally from his denial of reality to the world of sense, which he certainly derived from a very different source. As Zeno of Citium was a disciple of Stilpo, we may certainly regard him as a spiritual ancestor of Stoicism. The same tendency was represented by the school of Eretria, whose chief representative was Menedemus (*c.* 352–278 B.C.), and which regarded itself as an offshoot of the school of Elis, which looked upon Phædo as its founder. We know little about it, but its existence bears witness to the growth of the quietist ideal and its intimate connexion with a metaphysical theory which rejects the appearances of the world and holds fast to the One conceived as absolute.

LITERATURE.—There is little literature dealing with the Megarics outside the general histories of Philosophy, and what there is may be regarded as antiquated. It will be sufficient to mention C. Mallet, *Histoire de l'école de Mégare et des écoles d'Elis et d'Erétrie*, Paris, 1845.

JOHN BURNET.

MEIR. — Rabbi Meir, a Jewish sage who flourished in Palestine in the 2nd cent., belonged to the fourth generation of the Tannāîm (Rabbis of the age of the Mishnā); he was one of the foremost disciples of Rabbi Āqiba, and helped, with them, to give a new impulse to 'the study of the Law' (*i.e.* the consolidation and development of Jewish religious thought and practice) after the troubles attending the persecution under Hadrian. So great was the estimation in which he was held that, by one authority, those disciples are styled 'Meir and his associates' (*Midr. Rab.* to Lv 1^{11}). Learning, mental acuteness, and a ready wit combined with a lofty character to make him the remarkable man he was. His parentage and birthplace are either uncertain or unknown. Contrary to the Talmudic practice, he is cited without a patronymic, and his doubtful descent gave rise to the legend which made him a son of Nero, a fabled convert to Judaism (*Giṭṭîn*, 56*a*). Even his real name, Meashah (Moses), was half-forgotten. When Aqiba, flouting the edict of the Roman authorities, continued to teach, Meir stood by him (*Tôs. B*^{e}*rākhôth*, ii. 6). His other masters were Rabbi Ishmael, to whom he went because he deemed himself intellectually unequal to the task of following Aqiba's discourses, and—a still more interesting fact—Elisha ben Abuyah, who was later to become an apostate and a declared friend of the Romans. From the latter, recreant though he was, Meir did not altogether dissociate himself in after years. He listened to his doctrine, and made discreet use of it.

'Like one who eats dates, he devoured the fruit, but threw away the stones' (*Ḥăgîgāh*, 15*b*).

His motive was not exclusively love of learning; there united with it grateful regard for one who had once been a cherished teacher, and likewise the hope of winning back the renegade; but his relations with Elisha were viewed with suspicion, and were partly the reason why his reputation with his contemporaries fell short of his posthumous fame.

Returning to Aqiba later on, Meir was ordained by that master, and began to teach in the Rabbinical schools. In his discourses he availed himself largely of the Haggādā (the homiletical method of Scriptural interpretation) and also of fables and parables. Thus it was said of him in later times that 'when Rabbi Meir died the parable-makers died with him' (*Sôṭāh*, 49*a*). He is credited with being the author of three hundred fables, of which only a few have been preserved in the Talmudic writings (*Sanhedrîn*, 38*b*). His knowledge of Latin and Greek also helped him in his Biblical lectures. His acquaintance with the sacred text was so extensive and precise that, when once, on his travels in Asia Minor, he entered a synagogue on the eve of the Feast of Purim and found that there was no copy of Esther forthcoming for public recital, he wrote out the entire book from memory (*Tôs. M*^{e}*gillāh*, 2). For this intimate knowledge of the sacred text he was doubtless largely indebted to his profession as a scribe. Compared with the exegetical methods of his immediate teachers, his own mode of interpretation may be said to have been rationalistic. Keen and bold dialectic played a large part in his expositions, so that it was said of him (*Sanh.* 24*a*) that, in his lectures, he was like one who uprooted mountains and ground them together. He amazed and perplexed his colleagues by his daring decisions.

'He would declare the unclean permitted and the forbidden clean, and give his reasons' (*'Ērûbhîn*, 13*b*).

It was usual to regard consecutive passages in the Bible as necessarily having a common subject-matter; Meir, however, held a different opinion. There are many such passages, he declared (*Siphrē* to Nu 25^{1}), which have no organic connexion. This originality of his was viewed differently by different minds. Some admired his rationalism and courage; 'Meir's very staff,' they cried, 'teaches knowledge' (Jerus. *N*^{e}*dhārîm*, ix. 1). Others disapproved. 'Enough, Meir,' protested his colleagues when once he was more than usually daring (*Midr. Rab.* to Ca 1^{12}). Nevertheless, as Hamburger remarks (ii. 707; as to the protest see I. H. Weiss, *Gesch.* ii. 15), in virtue of his qualities of mind and heart, he breathed into Judaism the breath of a new life. As to the Hălākhā (the body of decisions on ritual practice), his orderly and logical arrangement of the material contributed greatly to make the compilation of the Mishnā possible. He was a stringent upholder of the ritual Law; but he was even more strict with himself than with others.

'Never have I presumed to set aside, in my own personal practice, the decisions of my colleagues when those decisions have been more stringent than mine' (*Shabbāth*, 134*a*).

His strength of character is further illustrated by his opposition to Simeon ben Gamaliel II., then presiding over the Sanhedrin at Usha. To Meir had been assigned the office of *ḥākhām* of that body (as to the duties of that functionary see *JE*, art. 'Ḥakam'). Holding Simeon's knowledge of the Law inadequate, and resenting the President's excessive regard for his own dignity, he conspired with Rabbi Nāthān, one of his associates, to secure the Patriarch's deposition. Simeon, however, defeated the plot, and it was the conspirators who were ejected. Later on Nāthān was re-admitted, but Meir sturdily refused to make the necessary submission, and he narrowly escaped excommunication in consequence.

His domestic life was at once happier and sadder. His wife Beruria (Valeria) is one of the great women of the Talmud. The daughter of the martyr Rabbi Hananiah ben Teradion, who suffered under Hadrian, she was noted for both learning and moral worth. The touching story which records her wonderful fortitude in the hour of crushing calamity has been told again and again.

During Meir's absence at the academy one Sabbath eve, their two sons suddenly died. Beruria withheld the sad tidings from her husband until the day of peace was ended. Then she told him of it in a parable. 'A friend,' she said, 'left me some jewels to keep for him years ago—so long ago that I had come to look upon them as my own. Now, of a sudden, he has claimed them; but I find it hard to part with them. Must I really give them up?' 'Why ask such a question?' answered Meir, 'you should have restored them already.' 'I have done so,' she replied, as she led him to the death-chamber (*Midr. Mishlē* to Pr 31^{10}).

This is not the only instance in which the Talmud is just enough to admit that one of its greatest sages was taught by a woman; Beruria instructs her husband in the higher knowledge on another notable occasion.

Annoyed by the pin-pricks of uncouth neighbours, Meir angrily calls down imprecations upon his tormentors. His wife rebukes him. 'Rather,' she protests, 'let us pray that they may live to repent; for the Psalmist's supplication is not "Let sinners be consumed out of the earth," but "Let sin be consumed"' (the allusion is to Ps 104^{35}, where the Hebrew is susceptible of Beruria's interpretation; for the story see *B*^{e}*r.* 10*a*).

The Rabbi, despite a certain severity and intolerance, was worthy of his wife. His defects were the defects of his qualities. If sometimes he set his face like a flint towards other men's weaknesses, he was strong and brave when life's sorrows touched himself. He, too, could preach and practise the great duty of submission.

Echoing Ec 5^{2}, he says, 'Let thy words before God be few; school thyself to say, "Whatever God doeth He doeth well"' (*ib.* 60*b*). And, again, 'As we should thank God for the good, so should we praise Him for evil' (*ib.* 48*b*). God Himself suffers with His sorrowing children (*Mish. Sanh.* vi. 5).

Expounding in novel fashion the verse, 'A good name is better than precious ointment; and the day of death than the day of one's birth' (Ec 7^{1}), he said that death, the common lot of men, is good for those who pass hence with a good name (*B*^{e}*r.* 17*a*). Again, he said that what, according to Gn 1^{31}, God saw and proclaimed 'very good' at the Creation was death (*Midr. Rab.* to the verse). The section of the Mishnā known as *Ābhôth*

(Ethics of 'the Fathers') assigns a typical maxim to each of the great Talmudic Rabbis. The maxim associated with Meir reads as follows:

'Limit thy toil for worldly goods and give thyself to the Torah; but be lowly of spirit towards all men' (*Ābhôth*, iv. 10).

Meir was clearly no Pharisee of the baser sort; to be a sage was, for him, to have an incentive not to pride, but to humility. To study the Law, too, was not an end in itself; it must be made an impulse and inspiration to the noble life. Thus in another utterance of the sage he pictures God as saying:

'Devote thyself with all thy heart and soul to know my ways and to watch at the gates of my Law. Keep my Law in thy heart and my fear before thine eyes; guard thy mouth from sin, and purify thyself from all transgression. Then will I be with thee always' (*B*^{e}*r.* 17*a*).

Equally notable are his teachings concerning social duty. Men are not to be judged by outward appearances.

'Look not at the flask, but at what it contains; there is many a new flask that contains old wine, many an old flask which has not even new wine in it' (*Ābhôth*, iv. 20).

Nor are men to be judged by the honey of their words. If we have two friends, one of whom admonishes us and the other flatters, we should love the former, for he is leading us heavenwards (*Ābhôth d*^{e} *R. Nāthān*, 29). He preaches sincerity even in the small things of social intercourse; he warns us against inviting a friend to dinner when we know that he will not accept the invitation, and against offering him a present which we believe he will not take (*Bŏraithā Ḥullîn*, 94*a*; *Tôs. Bābhā Bathrā*, vi. 14). It is a man's duty to adapt himself to the ideas and customs of the community in which he lives; in Rome he should do as Rome does. The angels, the sage points out, when they came down to earth and appeared to Abraham, ate like mortals; when Moses went up to heaven, he neither ate nor drank (*Midr. Rab.* to Gn 18^{8}). Applying to Aaron the words (Mal 2^{6}), 'he did turn many away from iniquity,' Meir thus characterized the great high priest:

'If Aaron chanced to meet a bad man, he was careful to salute him; so that, when the latter next time meditated an evil deed, he said to himself, "Woe is me! how shall I then look Aaron in the face?" In like manner, if two men quarrelled, Aaron would go to one of them and say, "See, my son, what thy friend is doing; he is beating his breast, rending his clothes, and crying: 'Woe is me! how can I look my friend in the face, seeing that I have sinned against him?'" Then he would go and say the same to the other; so that at length they embraced and were reconciled' (*Ābhôth d*^{e} *R. Nāthān*, 12).

Meir has left many maxims on the self-regarding duties also. He exhorts us to contentment with our worldly lot. 'Who is rich?' he asks, and he answers, 'He that hath peace of mind with his riches' (*Shab.* 25*b*). 'He that feels shame,' he says elsewhere, 'will not quickly be led into sin' (*N*^{e}*dhārîm*, 20*a*). The sin of Samuel's sons (1 S 8^{3}), he declared, lay in their demanding what was due to them (*Shab.* 56*a*). The Law (Ex 22^{1}) ordains that a man who steals an ox must make fivefold restitution; but, if he steals a sheep, the restitution is only fourfold. The difference is to be explained by the fact that, unlike sheep, the ox is a toiling animal. 'Here,' cries Meir, 'is a proof of the worth of labour in the sight of God!' (*M*^{e}*khîltā* to the verse). In common with the Rabbis who lived under Roman rule, and with the early Christians (see E. Gibbon, *Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1901–06, ii. 17), he condemns the theatre and the arena. The one is 'the seat of the scornful' (Ps 1^{1}), the other a place of execution (a reference to the cruelties of the gladiatorial contests) (*Ābhôth d*^{e} *R. Nāthān*, 37; *'Ābhôdhāh Zārāh*, 18*b*). He emphasizes the futility of human ambitions by an apt remark: man, he says, is born with his hands clenched as though he would grasp the whole world; he dies with his hands wide open, for he takes nothing with him (*Midr. Rab.* to Ec 5^{14}).

Unbending to the ignorant (*'am ha-areṣ* [*q.v.*]) and the schismatic among his own people, Meir shows himself tolerant and liberal towards men of alien creed.

The Gentile who gives himself to the study of the Law is as worthy as the Jewish High Priest; for Holy Writ (Lv 18^{5}), speaking of God's statutes, says that if a *man* do them, he shall live by them—a man, not a priest or a Levite (*Bābhā Qammā*, 38*a*; *Sanh.* 59*a*).

He had many conversations with Gentiles, chiefly polemical.

One of these opponents designates Israel a people contemned of God, driven by the Master from His house, and put in subjection to other lords. 'God,' argues the controversialist, 'has made you exiles in our midst; why, then, do you not assimilate with us?' Meir protests against the theory. 'Rather,' he affirms, 'we are to be likened to a son whom his father has discarded because of his evil life, but whom the paternal heart is ready to take back if he return penitently' (A. Jellinek, *Bēth ham-Midrash*, Leipzig, 1853–78, i. 21). 'If,' asks another disputant, 'your God loves the poor, why does He not sustain them?' 'In order,' Meir replies, 'to give us an opportunity of escaping Gehenna by the practice of loving-kindness' (*Bābhā Bathrā*, 10*a*).

Like Aqiba, his master, Meir is pictured by the Talmud (*Qîddūshîn*, 81*a*) as undergoing the temptation of St. Anthony. Satan, so runs the legend, appears to the sage in the form of a beautiful woman, who would entice him with her wiles. But he escapes them. The legend puts in concrete shape the traditions concerning the Rabbi's unyielding rectitude which gathered about his name. Another story tells of a journey which he once made to Rome in order to rescue from a house of ill-fame his wife's sister, who had been taken captive after her father's martyrdom. It is said that his mission was successful (*'Ābhôdhāh Zārāh*, 18*a*).

Born, it is believed, in Asia Minor, Meir died in that country. He enjoined his disciples to bury him on the seashore, so that the waters which laved the land of his fathers might touch his bones (Jerus. *Kilayîm*, 32*c*). 'He had no equal in his generation' is one Talmudic appreciation of him (*'Ērūbhîn*, 13*b*); and, in a public eulogy pronounced on him at Sepphoris, Rabbi José declared him to be 'a great man and a saint, but humble withal' (Jerus. *B*^{e}*r.* ii. 7).

Of all the Tannaim, Meir's name is most widely known among the people. In the house of every pious Jew there is a money-box hung on the wall, in which the inmates deposit their alms for the poor of Palestine. This box bears the inscription 'Mēîr, Ba'al han-Nēs' ('Meir, the wonder-worker'), an allusion to the miraculous power attributed to him in Talmudic and popular lore (see *JE* viii. 435).

LITERATURE.—W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, Strassburg, 1890–1903; Hamburger, artt. 'Beruria,' 'Mair R.,' 'Religionsgespräche'; H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig, 1866–78, iv. (Eng. tr., London, 1891–92, ii.); *JE*, art. 'Meir'; I. H. Weiss, *Geschichte der jüd. Tradition*, Wilna, 1904, ii. 90 ff.

MORRIS JOSEPH.

MELANCHOLY.—In Greek physiology the bodily constitution of an individual, his appearance, his liability to disease, and also his mental character were explained by the proportions in which the four humours were distributed in his framework. These were blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm, the predominance or excess of which gave respectively the sanguine, the choleric, the melancholic, and the phlegmatic 'temperament.' Melancholy (μέλας and χολή) was thus the mental disposition of the melancholic temperament. The terms passed into literary and popular use, although the doctrine of the four humours, on which the distinctions were based, was forgotten or discarded. The names seemed, in fact, to correspond to certain broad differences, bodily and mental, among men, and writers on insanity are still careful, in their description of cases, to indicate the 'temperament' of each patient. The differences are now made to depend either upon the blood or upon the nervous system, or both. If the blood is decisive, the difference may be sought either in its substance—the number of red corpuscles, etc.—or in its circulation; if the nervous system, in the strength or the rate of reaction, or both. Henle made use of the conception of nerve-tone, which has since been retained and developed (*Anthropologische Vorträge*). No part of the nervous system, he showed, is ever wholly at rest during life; every stimulus finds a certain degree of excitation already present in the nerve-endings and nerve-fibres on which it acts; what we call rest is, therefore, a moderate degree of activity, which may rise or fall, and which is maintained by internal stimuli, acting through the blood. This is the 'tonus' of the nerves, their preparedness for action; the higher the tonus, the stronger the reaction. On the nerve-tone will, therefore, depend the sensitiveness of the individual, his prevailing emotional attitude, and his quickness and firmness of response. A low tone shows itself in the dull, heavy expression of face (in the phlegmatic, *e.g.*), the relaxed muscles, the deliberate movements, the tendency to 'run to fat'; a high tone in the vivid complexion, alert expression, and quick movements of the sanguine or choleric. The melancholic, according to Henle, has also a high nerve-tone, but reacts through the emotional or affective system, rather than the voluntary; whereas the choleric relieves feeling by prompt and strenuous action, the melancholic is denied this advantage; his melancholy is the brooding upon and nursing of emotions, a habit from which genius, or, it may be, merely hypochondria and hysteria, spring. Wundt's simple formula has been widely accepted: that temperament is primarily a question of emotion, that emotion undergoes two forms of change, one in intensity, or strength, the other in rate; hence the fourfold division: strong and quick—choleric; strong and slow—melancholic; weak and quick—sanguine; weak and slow—phlegmatic. Strong emotions under modern conditions mean a predominance of pain; slowness of change means that the mind takes time to follow out its own thoughts, is not wholly absorbed by the present but looks to the evil ahead. These tendencies characterize the melancholic (*Grundzüge der physiol. Psychologie*^{5}, iii. 637). The scheme is too simple to fit the complexities and subtilties of human character, however, and there is no general agreement even as to the number of distinct temperaments, as many as nine having been suggested.

1. Melancholy and pain.—Melancholy differs from the other dispositions in being a well-recognized temporary emotion or mood, as well as a prolonged or permanent trait, and also in being in an extreme form the most prominent symptom of a definite form of insanity—melancholia or mental depression. It has formed the theme of one of the most wonderful books in our language—*The Anatomy of Melancholy*, by Robert Burton, first published in 1621.

The melancholy with which he deals, and of which the 'causes, symptoms, prognostics, and cures' are set forth with such fertility of illustration, is 'an habit,—a chronick or continute disease, a settled humour,' but it is built up, as he recognizes, out of 'melancholy in disposition,' which is 'that transitory *Melancholy* which comes and goes upon the smallest occasion of sorrow, need, sickness, trouble, fear, grief, passion, or perturbation of the mind, any manner of care, discontent, or thought, which causeth anguish, dullness, heaviness and vexation of spirit, any ways opposite to pleasure, mirth, joy, delight, causing frowardness in us, or a dislike. In which equivocal and improper sense, we call him melancholy that is dull, sad, sour, lumpish, ill-disposed, solitary, any way moved, or displeased. . . . Melancholy in this sense is the character of Mortality' (i. 164 [ed. London, 1896]).

It might be said that this temporary melancholy is merely mental pain, however caused, and that the permanent disposition or habit is a state of mind in which mental pain is the dominant tone. The expression of melancholy is that of pain, the pale face, the drawn look, lips and eyebrows turned slightly downwards at the corners; the respiration slow and sighing, the pulse-beat slow, the temperature lowered, the nutrition-processes, including the appetite, impaired, so that the body seems insufficiently fed. One of the immediate consequences is also a loss of sensitiveness to outer impressions; they lose in clearness and distinctness; the judgment follows suit, and the whole mental character is, even though only for the moment, changed for the worse. In particular, egoism develops:

'The patient thinks only of himself and his sufferings; altruistic passions, family affection yield to an egoism of the most exacting and extreme type' (H. Beaunis, *Les Sensations internes*, Paris, 1889, p. 193 ff.).

Mental pain may be less acute, but it is more persistent than physical pain, and it has the same reverberation throughout the organism. The distinction between the two is probably artificial; mental pain accompanies all physical pain, while in its turn physical pain—discomfort, loss of nervous tone—is a constant accompaniment of mental pain. The most common cause of the former, physical pain, is the over-excitation or exhaustion of some sensory or motor nerve; so the most common cause of the latter, mental pain, is the over-strain or exhaustion of the brain centres and tracts concerned in ideation, emotion, memory, and will. Love and over-study were two of Burton's causes of melancholy. So melancholy may be regarded as a pain of fatigue, as due to excessive functioning on the emotional or intellectual side, especially when the strain has not been rewarded with success.

The extraordinary persistence of melancholy, the difficulty of distracting the mind from it, is due, as Beaunis urges, not merely to the fact that its causes—the desires, the memories—are persistent, but also to 'the sentiment of the irreparable, which is at the root of almost all mental pains, the idea that all is lost and without hope. The mother who knows that she will never see again the child that has died in her arms, the artist who sees that he will never be able to realise the ideal of his dreams, the inventor whose discovery is held up to ridicule, the poet whose verses, that he believes to be inspired, are laughed at, the thinker who seeks for truth and finds only doubt, the Christian who sees the foundering of his belief and of his faith, all have this sentiment of the irreparable, of the lost beyond return, which leaves behind only nothingness and despair' (*ib.* p. 234).

2. Melancholy and the sense of values.—Melancholy is the mood of an imaginative mind; it is true that an animal is sometimes described as 'melancholy'; a dog that has lost his master, a wild animal in captivity in a narrow space, a bird deprived of her mate: death, even self-inflicted death, is known to have followed such misfortunes. So a child may be 'melancholy' after the loss of a mother or a playmate. But in the strict sense melancholy is an adult and a human infirmity. Probably the time of its greatest frequency is the period of adolescence; in middle and old age it tends to disappear, to be replaced in senility, occasionally, by a state outwardly similar, but inwardly different. Byron's lameness and Heine's and Leopardi's delicate constitutions have suggested that physical disease may be the predisposing cause to melancholy; but, as Metchnikoff points out, Schopenhauer preserved his melancholy and pessimism to a vigorous old age, while there are innumerable cases of patients suffering from serious and even deadly diseases, yet retaining their native lightness of heart. If anything, melancholy is more common among the young, healthy, and vigorous. It does not really depend upon the health at all, but upon the sense or 'sentiment' of life. The typical case is Goethe, who in his own youth passed through the torment which he describes in *The Sorrows of Werther*, and had thoughts of suicide, but in his old age is described as casting off the sickly and morbid side of his character, replacing it by a serene and even joyous love of life (E. Metchnikoff, *Essais optimistes*, pt. viii.). The intensity of feeling is greater in the young than in the old, both for pleasure and for pain; hence they are more impressionable; but this is not due to the greater vitality or sensitiveness of their nervous system, but rather to the fact that the older man is better able, through his experience, to interpret the impressions, to see them in their true perspective, and in relation to life as a whole, whereas for the young each impression is taken in isolation, is weighed only in its relation to the immediate needs or desires of the self. Hence the vivid colouring of their life, the higher happiness, and the deeper pain. In the same way melancholy is more frequent in men than in women, in the northern races than in the southern races of Europe. A northern race, perhaps because its civilization is a more recent growth, is more conscious of itself, and less conscious of the wider group in which the loss of one individual is compensated by the gain of another. It was mainly from Russia, Germany, and Scandinavia that the melancholy school of writers of last century—the Fin de Siècle—came. Suicides are said to increase in number northwards, and one of the most common causes of suicide is melancholy (see Burton's disquisition on suicide [i. 495]; and Metchnikoff, p. 306). At the back of all melancholy is fear—fear of pain in the first instance, then fear of loss, of failure, of death, of society's judgment upon oneself. The greater the value, or, rather, the greater the appreciation of a good, the greater the pain at its loss, and the greater the pain at the prospect of its loss. Hence melancholy is, paradoxically, more common in the idealist than in the materialist. Paul Bourget, writing of Baudelaire, finds the key to the profound melancholy of this rather repulsive figure in the mysticism and idealism of his early faith. When such a faith, the faith in the eternal, has been strongly held, its object deeply adored, the loss of faith in it, and of love, is irreparable. The individual may no longer have the intellectual need to believe, but he still has the need to feel as when he believed. The desires remain, strengthened by habit, and in the sensitive soul their influence is irresistible; yet their satisfaction is impossible. Melancholy then is the effect of failure of adaptation to the environment, in matters of faith and belief. The stronger the resistance of facts to the realization of the thinker's dream, the deeper his melancholy. To the mystic soul faith is not the mere acceptance of a formula or of a dogma; God is not for it a word, a symbol, an abstraction, but a real being in whose company the soul walks as a child in its father's, who loves it, knows it, understands it.

> Once an illusion so strong and so sweet has gone, says Bourget, no substitute of less intensity will suffice; after the intoxication of opium, that of wine seems mean and paltry. Driven away at the touch of the world, faith leaves in such souls a gap through which all pleasure slips away. The more the sufferer tries to escape, the more securely is he held, until at last there remains as his only satisfaction 'the redoubtable but consoling figure of that which frees from all slaveries, and delivers from all doubts,—Death' (Paul Bourget, *Essais de psychologie contemporaine*, Paris, 1892, p. 21).

Still deeper is the melancholy of unsatisfied desire, when the failure of satisfaction lies, not in the resistance of external circumstance, but in the inability of the subject to enjoy, an inability which is itself a mark of exhaustion; it is the soul that has lived most, felt most strongly, indulged its passions to the full, till its power to feel is almost destroyed, that finds life most unbearable.

> 'Le mensonge du désir qui nous fait osciller entre la brutalité meurtrière des circonstances et les impuissances plus irréparables encore de notre sensibilité' (*ib.* p. 142).

It is the melancholy of nature after the storm, of evening, of the grey light that comes after the sunset, of the brown tints of autumn trees—exhaustion or decay after stress and life.

Less tragic is the melancholy that is associated with pensiveness, deliberation, thought, as in Milton's *Il Penseroso*—the melancholy of the poet and of the philosopher. Beaunis connects this also with pain, however. When man reflects, he is forced to recognize, according to Beaunis, that he is born to pain, and that pleasure is only an accessary in his life.

> 'There is no physical pleasure which can compensate for an hour of *angina pectoris*, no mental enjoyment which does not disappear before the pain caused by the death of one we love, no intellectual pleasure which is not annulled when we think of how much is unknown in our fate. Pessimism, an irrefutable pessimism, is at the root of every reasoning, of every meditation' (p. 222).

Happily, he adds, most men do not reflect or meditate upon the fate either of themselves or of others; their interest faces outwards, not inwards; they have no time to worry over problems that great minds have found insoluble; or, if they do worry over them, they are able to set their worries at rest by the acceptance of a solution ready-made, on the authority of the Church or the pastor.

3. **Melancholy and exhaustion.**—The essential nature of melancholy has been probed more deeply from the point of view of pathology, and in various ways the idea of exhausted or decreased energy has been brought into connexion with the known laws of mental activity.

To Bevan Lewis melancholy means nervous enfeeblement; the subject is no longer able to do easily and smoothly even the most familiar and habitual acts; it is only with effort that he can think, or attend to what he hears or reads.

> 'It appears to us that the true explanation is due to mental operations being reduced in level so far as to establish conscious effort in lieu of the usual unconscious operations, or lapsed states of consciousness which accompany all intellectual processes. The restless movements of the intellectual eye (in the artist, poet, etc.), as well as those of the state of maniacal excitement, bespeak in the former case the exalted muscular element of thought, and in the latter a highly reflex excitability, but in the melancholic these muscles of relational life are usually at rest, the eye is fixed, dull, heavy, sluggish in its movements and painful in effort, the eyelids are drooped, the limbs motionless. The only muscles in a state of tension are those which subserve emotional life, viz. the small muscles of expression' (*Textbook on Mental Diseases*, p. 121). 'Failure in the muscular element of thought has as its results on the subjective side, enfeebled ideation and the sense of objective resistance' (*ib.* p. 122).

The eye sees less clearly, the mind interprets less accurately; the will acts less vigorously, and less effectively; it may be that the motor ideas, which are the cues, if not the excitants, of action, cannot be formed or recalled accurately in the mind; hence apathy and inaction. The environment, the non-ego, appears as antagonistic or foreign to the self; it is no longer the world in which we moved freely and easily, therefore pleasantly, but one which is new and strange, which resists our efforts and counters our desires. The result is a rise in the subject-consciousness; the mind is thrown back upon itself. The man broods upon his sufferings, which become his wrongs, and, in interpreting or explaining them, suspicion of others is the simplest and therefore the most frequent way out.

According to Pierre Janet's interpretation, melancholy represents a stage on the way to *misère psychologique*, or psychic misery, with its accompanying disaggregation of the personality, and subjugation of the conscious by the subconscious or unconscious self. There are innumerable degrees of attachment and detachment of acts and ideas to the self. In thought-reading and in table-turning we have simple instances of how acts are carried out which correspond to ideas or thoughts in the mind of the subject, yet the acts are neither voluntary nor conscious on his part; he is aware of the result, not of his own agency in it. In spiritualism—the possession of the medium by the supposed spirit of the dead, who gives through the medium information which the latter, in his normal state, is wholly unaware of enjoying—we have a more systematized form of the same thing.

Finally, in hypnotism, in hysteria, morbid impulses, fixed ideas, and obsessions, there are vivid examples of how thoughts, or, rather, systems of thought, though formed by the individual, may yet by the conditions of their occurrence appear entirely foreign to him; he is their slave, they take possession of him, he is carried away by them. Passions, of the source of which the patient is wholly unaware, dating back perhaps to a forgotten childhood, may yet lead to actions for which he cannot recognize his responsibility, which he may indeed forget immediately afterwards and, therefore, wholly fail to connect with his 'real' self. He is unaware even that he was the physical agent; any proof of this that can be brought forward must have a shattering effect upon the self-consciousness; the patient feels that he no longer has a grip of himself, that he may do some incredible act of violence, cruelty, immodesty, or crime. He becomes estranged from himself—and this doubleness is itself an added source of depression; it is the same in effect whether the two personalities succeed each other in time, as alternating personalities, or exist simultaneously, although acting separately; the disaggregation means an impairment of the self, often revealed by an actual loss of intellectual power, weakened concentration of attention and will. The subject becomes morbidly curious about his own feelings, his strength of will, his health, his prospects in life, etc. This subjectivity is the essence of the melancholy disposition. It remains to ask what is the cause of the disaggregation of consciousness, the psychological misery, of which melancholy is so prominent a symptom. According to Janet, the cause may be either physical or mental; physical, as the exhaustion of a prolonged illness, or of a sudden shock, or continued over-exertion, as in heavy physical strain; or mental, as in the shock of terror, excessive grief, prolonged mental worry, strong emotional excitement (*e.g.*, religious). The great vital crises, at puberty, adolescence, and the change of life, with the feeling of strangeness which the loss of old and the gain of new sensations and impulses bring, are common causes of at least a temporary disaggregation and depression. The theory is not widely different in effect from that of Bevan Lewis; in both it is the co-ordinating power that fails, through nervous exhaustion; the elementary impressions and impulses fall apart, as it were, into their primitive independence; the subject seems out of touch with his environment, is unable to face the tasks of his social or occupational life. According to the degree of disaggregation or rise of subject-consciousness, there may be simple melancholy, hysteria, or actual insanity (P. Janet, *L'Automatisme psychologique*, pt. ii. chs. iii. and iv.).

4. Melancholy and personality.—The sense of mystery, of strangeness, of possession, that occurs in melancholy deserves to be considered in detail. In melancholy, as has been shown above (§ 3), the sensations are less clear, their threshold is higher, the perceptions based upon them are blurred, partly from the relaxation of the muscles of attention, partly from the absorption of the mind by the pain, real or imaginary. The individual neither sees nor hears so clearly as before; the commonest objects may look strange, the most familiar voice sound different; but these things are interpreted not as a change in the experiencing subject, but as a change in the objects experienced. One's friends, one's country, one's world have changed, and the subject is unable to face the great activity required to adapt himself to the new sphere. Still greater is the loss of clearness in the memories. The most vivid experiences, when they can no longer be clearly and definitely recalled, tend to lose the warmth and intimacy which memories of 'my own experiences' should possess, as compared with those of others of which I have merely heard or read. Thus in mental exhaustion and depression the memories of my own life lose their emotional tone; they seem to belong to another than myself. It is true that this state lends itself to analysis, and that the habit of analysis, once formed, may continue when normal life has returned.

Amiel is said to have written: 'The desire to know, when it is turned upon the self, is punished like the curiosity of Psyche, by the flight of the beloved object; the outward-facing look makes for health; too prolonged a looking inwards brings us to nothingness. By analysis I am annihilated.' And again, 'All personal happenings, all special experiences are for me pretexts to meditation. Such is the life of the thinker. He depersonalises himself every day; if he consents to experiment and to act, it is the better to understand; if he wills, it is to know what will is. Although it is sweet to him to be loved, and he knows nothing sweeter, there again he seems to himself to be the occasion of the phenomenon rather than its end. He contemplates the spectacle of love, and love remains for him but a spectacle. He is nothing but a thinking subject, he retains nothing but the form of things' (see L. Dugas and F. Moutier, *La Dépersonnalisation*, Paris, 1911, p. 138 ff.).

This is an exact description of the frame of mind in the milder forms of melancholy, as that of the poet or artist, like Byron, Edgar Allan Poe, Heine, the young Goethe, etc. Shakespeare's Hamlet is a classical instance; they are not real experiencers, real agents, or lovers, but mere play-actors so far as emotion is concerned. Probably, however, their descriptions are the more accurate in that they are not blinded by passion, as is the cheerful ordinary mortal.

A somewhat different way of putting the case of melancholy might be drawn from the writings of S. Freud and others of his or allied schools—viz. that depression springs from the influence of a morbid complex on the personality. The complex may be any strong emotional experience, shock, terror, social disaster, etc. Wishes, desires, more or less closely connected with the shock-complex, are repressed, at first consciously, while suggestive ideas and associations, which arise from the same root, are expelled from the mind when they enter it. But a train of thought, when expelled, and a wish, when repressed, do not on that account cease to exist. They continue to live in the subconscious or in the unconscious, and may, so long as they are incomplete or unrealized, influence the conscious life indirectly. They may do this in two ways: (*a*) the complex draws off to itself, for its repression, a considerable degree of the available psychic energy; the individual is mentally weakened. As we have seen above, the greater effort required for the simplest, most habitual acts is felt as strain, as exhaustion, as pain; the self, with its distresses and difficulties, becomes more and more the centre of attention. (*b*) But, further, the complex, though itself driven below the level of consciousness, and shut off from direct connexion by the 'censor' of consciousness, is still enabled during moments of relaxation, half-sleep, reverie, distracted attention, etc., to send disguised messengers through. These take the form of dreams, phobias or terrors, obsessions, sudden impulses, etc. For the most part these dreams and impulsive acts are protective; they are a means of realizing, in however imperfect a way, the wish inspired by the complex; but the subject himself may be wholly unaware of this origin and of their meaning; they seem like an invasion of his personality by a foreign one. Painful experiences and memories have a far greater tenacity of life than pleasant; they have a high degree of 'perseveration,' as it has been called, *i.e.* the tendency to force their way into consciousness, of their own accord, and without any apparent stimulus or associative link. And, again, even the slightest of associations is enough to drag up the painful complex or its substitutes. On the other hand, such memories are not 'sociable'; they do not bring other thoughts in their train; especially they lack 'determination'-value, the tendency to direct the mind systematically from one thought to a train of others; they tend to clog thought. The subject becomes more and more conscious of inefficiency in his profession or in his social life; and the consciousness of failure has the usual consequence of making the actual failure all the greater.

5. Melancholy and pessimism.—Melancholy and pessimism are two sides of the same state of mind, the one expressing the subjective attitude and disposition, the other the theoretical interpretation. Happiness becomes a dream which is never realized, and which it seems hopeless to pursue. Subjectively, indifference, apathy, want of feeling; objectively, death, seem the only desirable things. The ideas, imaginations, and suggestions that arise in the mind of the melancholic, according to a well-recognized law (see Störring, *Mental Pathology*, p. 222 ff.), tend to be of the same emotional tone as that of the disposition in which they are called up, *i.e.* painful, depressing; the melancholic sees only the sad, the tragic, the bitter side of things, the pain that is suffered, the sins and crimes and follies that are committed, not the pleasures, the kindness, the goodness, that are in things. Hence melancholy, whatever its source, has played a powerful part in religious movements. It is not only that religion and its history furnish the melancholy mind with a cohort of images of the most terrifying type, but also that the consciousness of the suffering self sends it to religion, to the idea of sin and its punishment, as the most obvious and nearest interpretation; and, finally, that religion offers the only adequate relief and hope of escape. Religious melancholy is the subject of one of Burton's most curious dissertations (pt. iii. sect. iv. membrum i.), and James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*, lects. vi. and vii., on 'The sick Soul,' give a modern presentation. It is there shown how, as in Tolstoi's case, melancholy may be accompanied by a total change in the estimate of the values of things: things that seemed of the utmost value before now seem worthless; they excite no emotion or interest whatever; and a consequence of this is that the world, and people, look different and are thought of differently—as strange and unreal. It is also shown that in a rational being the strangeness and change of feeling incite to a search for a reason, for an explanation, either directly in oneself or in the action of other beings upon oneself. Either of these ways may lead to religious conversion and relief.

6. Moroseness.—The pathologist Pinel, in his treatise on *Mental Alienation*, depicted melancholics as of two distinct types—the one filled with enthusiasm for art, for literature, for all that is great and noble, or, among ordinary people, merely pleasant, lively, and affectionate, yet apt to torment himself and his neighbours by bursts of anger and chimerical suspicions; the other is the type to which the Emperor Tiberius and Louis XI. of France belonged—men who are gloomy and taciturn, deeply suspicious of others, fond of solitude. Suspicion of others is the dominant mark, with cunning and duplicity of the most dishonourable and cruel kind, which, if power is added, become fiercer and less restrained as age increases (P. Pinel, *L'Aliénation mentale*^{2}, Paris, 1809, p. 161). This represents with some accuracy the morose type of melancholy. Moroseness springs from the disposition to regard others as having secret designs upon one's property or life or place, and to avoid them in consequence. It involves extreme self-centring and misanthropy. Melancholy is a disease of the imaginative, moroseness of the unimaginative mind—the man who does not aspire beyond that which he has already attained, the man of narrow range of ideas, unable to appreciate the values that others place upon things, especially the ideal values. Probably the pivot of the morose character is, like that of melancholy, fear or anxiety.

As de Fursac has said of the miser, 'It is undoubtedly true that from insecurity springs anxiety, and that anxiety becomes a torture and a source of trouble for the mind. It has for effects the diminution of activity, the development of defensive tendencies to the detriment of the expansive tendencies, the cult of absolute security, and the horror of risk. It is intimately bound up with insociability' (*L'Avarice*, p. 23).

This is true also of the insecurity of power or of position, in narrow and selfish characters; there is no sense of the solidarity of the race, even of the family; the morose man sees only the bad side, the weaknesses of his neighbours; he has no sympathy with or any kind of feeling for others; he is vindictive, and, if opportunity allows, savage, brutal, cruel.

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MELANESIANS.—I. Extent and limits of the subject.—The region of the South Pacific, which is called Melanesia, is well defined, except on the western side. The boundary on the east lies between Fiji, which is Melanesian, and Samoa, which is Polynesian. To the south the Melanesian island of New Caledonia is separated by a considerable space of ocean from New Zealand, which is Polynesian, as are the small islands of Micronesia on the north from the Melanesian Solomon group, but to the west the islands of Melanesia overlap New Guinea. Some of the inhabitants of that vast island are Melanesian, at any rate in language; but, though Melanesians have been called Papuans, there can be no doubt that Papua, or New Guinea, cannot be placed as a whole in Melanesia. Five distinct groups of islands are without question Melanesian: (1) the Solomon Islands, with the groups which connect them with New Guinea; (2) the Santa Cruz group; (3) the Banks' Islands and New Hebrides; (4) New Caledonia, with the Loyalty Islands; and (5) Fiji.

The first discovery in Melanesia was that of the Solomon Islands by Spaniards, under Mendaña, in 1567. In 1595 the same voyager discovered Santa Cruz; and in 1606 Quiros and Torres discovered the New Hebrides and Banks' Islands. The Dutch discovered Fiji in 1643. French voyagers in the latter part of the 18th cent., and finally Captain Cook in his second great voyage, completed the general survey of all the groups. In the records of these passing visits it is vain to seek for information concerning the religion of the natives. The discoverers saw what they believed to be temples, idols, worship and invocations of devils; they interpreted what they saw, as succeeding voyagers have done, according to their own conceptions of savage beliefs. It was not till missionaries, about the middle of the 19th cent., began to live in closer intercourse with the native people and to learn their languages that any certain knowledge of Melanesian religion could be gained. The following account represents in the main the knowledge which has been gained by the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England. The religion of the Fijians is considered in another article (see FIJI). The account here given has been drawn from the Solomon Islands, the Santa Cruz group, the Banks' Islands, and the Northern New Hebrides. It has been gathered from natives of those groups in native language, and much of it has been gained from what educated natives have written in a native language. Very little, however, has come from the Western Solomon Islands or the Southern New Hebrides; but there is every reason to believe that religious beliefs and practices in these islands do not differ considerably from those of the central parts of Melanesia.

2. **Basis of Melanesian religion.**—From whatever source they may have derived it, the Melanesians generally have held the belief that their life and actions were carried on in the presence and under the influence of a power superior to that of living man. This power, they thought, was all about them, attached to outward objects, such as stones, and exercised by persons, *i.e.*, either by men, alive or dead, or by spirits who never were men. This 'sense of the Infinite,' as Max Müller (*Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion* [*HL*], London, 1878, lect. i.) calls it, was the foundation of the religious beliefs of the Melanesians; the general object of their religious practices was to obtain the advantage of this power for themselves. This power is impersonal, and not physical in itself, although it is always put in motion by a person; and all remarkable effects in nature were thought to be produced by it. It is not fixed in anything, but can abide and be conveyed in almost anything. All spirits, beings superior to men, have it; ghosts of dead men generally have it, and so do some living men. The most common name for it is *mana* (*q.v.*). The methods by which living men use and direct this power may well be called magical; the controlling force lies generally in words contained in chanted or muttered charms. If worship is addressed to beings who are not living men, and if the use of their power is sought from them to do good or to do harm, it is because such beings have this *mana*; the forms of words have efficacy because they derive it from the beings which have *mana*; a common object, such as a stone, becomes efficacious for certain purposes because such a being gives it *mana* power. In this way the influence of the unseen power pervades all life. All success and all advantage proceed from the favourable exercise of this *mana*; whatever evil happens has been caused by the direction of this power to harmful ends, whether by spirits, or ghosts, or men. In no case, however, does this power operate, except under the direction and control of a person —a living man, a ghost, or a spirit.

3. **Objects of worship.**—The objects of religious worship, therefore, were always persons to whom prayer or sacrifice was offered, or in whose names charms were recited, with the view of gaining supernatural power, or turning it, either directly or indirectly, to the advantage of the worshipper. These personal objects of worship are either spirits or ghosts. By spirits are meant personal beings in whom the spiritual power already mentioned naturally abides, and who never were men; by ghosts are meant the disembodied spirits or souls of dead men. To keep these distinct is essential to the understanding of Melanesian religion. Natives themselves are found to confuse them at times, while Europeans are usually content to call all alike deities, gods, or devils.

(1) *Spirits.*—A native of the Banks' Islands, where spirits are called *vui*, wrote the following definition:

> 'What is a *vui*? It lives, thinks, has more intelligence than a man; knows things which are out of sight without seeing; is powerful with *mana*; has no form to be seen; and has no soul, because it is itself like a soul' (see Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 123).

The *wui* of the Northern New Hebrides is of the same nature. Yet such spirits are seen, in a shadowy, unsubstantial form; and there are many spirits called by the same name to whom the definition does not accurately apply, while the stories concerning them treat them as if they were men with superhuman and quasi-magical powers. Still the natives steadily maintain that these are not, and never were, men. In the Solomon Islands beings were believed to exist who were personal, yet who had never been men, and who lacked the bodily nature of men, but they were very few and enjoyed little religious consideration. The term which is applied to such beings is also applied to some who had undoubtedly existed at some time as men. The question arises whether those beings, concerning whom stories were told and believed in the Banks' Islands and New Hebrides which showed them to be like men of more than human power and intelligence, should not be called gods. Such were Qat in the Banks' Islands, Tagaro, Suqe (in various forms of the names) in the New Hebrides, and Lata in Santa Cruz. To such as these it would certainly not be improper to apply the word 'god.' But the native word by which they are known, such as *vui*, is applicable also to other beings for whom 'god' is too great a name, this category including elves, fairies, nameless beings of limited influence whose nature is still spiritual, so to speak, not corporeal. To describe all these, to distinguish them from dead men, the best general term seems 'spirit'; and it is to these beings that the religion of the New Hebrides and Banks' Islands looks, as possessing and wielding *mana*, the power which must be called spiritual, which men have not in themselves, and which they seek to obtain for their advantage by sacrifices, prayers, and charms.

(2) *Ghosts.*—It makes the matter clear if this term be used when the beings spoken of are simply men who are dead in the body while that part of them that is not bodily retains activity and intelligence. In the Banks' Islands and New Hebrides the word used is merely 'dead man,' such as *tamate* or *natmas*. In the Solomon Islands a very common word in various forms is *tindalo*. The question again occurs whether these should not rather be called gods. There are certainly some to whom prayers and sacrifices are offered, whose place and time in human life are forgotten or unknown, and whose existence as persons possessed of powers far superior to those of living men is alone present to the belief of the existing generation. Such may not unreasonably be called gods. But, whereas in the Eastern groups such beings are plainly called 'dead men,' it seems more correct, and serves better for clearness, to use an English word which shows them once to have been living men, and separates them from any such beings as are believed never to have belonged to human kind. The word 'god' cannot be a translation of 'dead man.' Where, as in the Solomon Islands, a distinct name, such as *tindalo*, is in use, this objection to the use of the word 'god' does not so plainly apply. Yet the natives emphatically declare that every *tindalo* was once a man, that the *tindalo* is the spirit (*tarunga*) which once was the seat and source of life, intelligence, and power in a man who was then in the body. The living men who worship the *tindalo* regard themselves as possessed of that non-corporeal nature which alone remains in the dead, and is the seat of the dead

man's superhuman power. They believe that some of them have a measure of that power, derived by them from the dead. They believe that, when they are dead, they will also, it may be, receive a great access of this power. The difference which they recognize between themselves and the *tindalo* is that they are alive and have but a comparatively small measure of spiritual power. But it should be understood that every living man does not become a *tindalo* after death. The large majority of men are of no great importance, and show no remarkable powers in their lifetime; alive they are nobodies, and such they remain when dead. But there are always some living men who show qualities which give them success and influence. Such success and influence are not ascribed by the natives to natural qualities, but to the possession of that spiritual power which they have obtained from the *tindalo* with whom they live in communication. When a great man dies, it is expected that he should prove to be a *tindalo*, a ghost worthy of worship, an effective helper, one whose relics will put the living in communication with him. Thus, after the death of Ganindo, a chief, a famous fighting man of Florida, his name was invoked and a sign of his power sought from him. On proof of this power a shrine was built for him, his head, his tools, and his weapons were preserved in it, and sacrifices with invocation were offered to him there. Such a one might, indeed, appear to European visitors to be a god; but to the natives of the place, who now worshipped him, and among whom he had lived as one of themselves, it was his ghost, in the common English sense of the term, who was among them.

Again, the question may arise whether this is not the worship of ancestors. The ghost of a dead man, however, who was well remembered in the flesh, and who was often, no doubt, younger in years than some of his worshippers, is not an ancestor. The natural tendency is, as new objects of worship of this character arise, and as one great man after another dies, to neglect and desert the ghosts and their shrines of the past generation, while the newer wonders and powers attract faith and veneration to new ghosts and shrines. As the object of worship thus became more of an ancestor, he was less an object of worship. But certainly there are some concerning whose time and place of life the natives profess themselves to be ignorant, but whose names, such as Daula and Hauri in Florida, are known to all, and who are now universally believed to be very powerful *tindalo*, though in ancient times they lived in human form on the island. These may be called ancestors, and they are worshipped, but not as ancestors.

The personal beings towards whom the religion of the Melanesians turns, with the view of obtaining their *mana* for aid in the pursuits, dangers, and difficulties of life, are thus spirits and ghosts; and it is remarkable that the Melanesians are thus divided by their religious practices into two groups. In the Western group, as in the Solomon Islands, there is a belief in spirits who never were men, but worship is directed to the ghosts of the dead; in the Eastern group, as in the Northern New Hebrides, the ghosts of the dead have indeed an important place, but worship is in the main addressed to spirits who have never been men. And in the arts of life and in the advance from savagery towards civilization, the Solomon Islander who worships ghosts certainly ranks before the New Hebrides man who worships spirits.

4. Prayers.—The Melanesian native, believing himself surrounded with unseen persons who can help him, naturally calls upon them in distress, just as he called upon his father as a child. Such appeals are not prayers according to the meaning of the various native words which would be translated 'prayer' in English. Prayers in the native sense are forms of words; and, strictly speaking, they are formulas which are known only to some, and which have in themselves a certain efficacy and even compelling force. It may be said that exclamatory appeals in case of danger at sea and in the extremity of sickness are prayers in a true sense of the term, which yet to the native are not strictly prayers, because they have public utterance and an elastic form. A man in danger by the sea may call on his father, grandfather, or some ancestor to still the storm, lighten the canoe, and bring it to the shore; when fishing he may beg for success, and when successful may thank his helper. But in such cases a formula, if one were known, would always be preferred, and that would be a prayer in the native sense of the word. Charms, muttered or sung under the breath for magical purposes and in the treatment of sickness, are easily distinguished; but it must be said that in Florida, an important centre of Christian teaching in the Solomon Islands, the word used for Christian prayer is taken from these charms.

It is remarkable that in the Banks' Islands and the Northern New Hebrides, where spirits have a more important place in native religion than ghosts, all prayer must be addressed to the ghost of a dead person. Indeed, every proper form begins with the word *tataro*, which is, no doubt, a word meaning 'ghost.' It is true that in danger at sea a man will call on dead friends to help him, but this is not a true prayer (*tataro*) because no formula is employed. It is also true that men in danger call on spirits, either with or without a formula; but neither is a true *tataro*, since it is not addressed to ghosts. Many forms of words, moreover, which are true *tataro* prayers, are formulas for cursing as well as for petition. Such are used when a man throws a bit of his food aside before eating, and pours a libation before drinking *kava*, or when he pours water into an oven, since in them he asks for benefits to himself and mischief to his enemies. A *tataro* prayer is a spell; a call for help in danger is a cry.

5. Sacrifices.—There can be little doubt that sacrifices properly so called have a place in Melanesian religion. One simple form is probably universal. A fragment of food ready to be eaten, a bit of betel-nut, and a few drops of *kava* poured as a libation are offered at a common meal as the share of departed friends, who are often called by name, or as a memorial of them with which they will be gratified. This is accompanied with a prayer. With the same feeling of regard for the dead, food is laid on a grave or before a memorial image, and is then left to decay, or, as at Santa Cruz, is taken away and eaten by those who have made the offering. In a certain sense, no doubt, the dead are thought to eat the food. Yet the natives do not apply to these offerings the words which connote sacrifices in the strict sense of the term. In the Western Islands the offerings in sacrifices are made to ghosts and consumed by fire as well as eaten; in the Eastern groups they are made to spirits, and there is no sacrificial fire or meal. In the former nothing is offered but food; in the latter native money has a conspicuous place.

(1) *In the Solomon Islands.*—A sacrifice in San Cristoval, one of the Solomon Islands, has been thus described in writing by a native of the place:

> 'In my country they think ghosts are many, very many indeed, some very powerful, some not. There is one who is principal in war; this one is truly mighty and strong. When our people wish to fight with any other place, the chief men of the village and the sacrificers, and the old men, and the men elder and younger, assemble in the place sacred to this ghost;

and his name is Harumae. When they are thus assembled to sacrifice, the chief sacrificer goes and takes a pig. . . . The pig is killed (strangled), not by the chief sacrificer, but by those whom he chooses to assist him, near the sacred place. Then they cut it up; they take great care of the blood lest it should fall upon the ground; they bring a bowl and set the pig in it, and when the pig is cut up the blood runs down into this. When the cutting up is finished, the chief sacrificer takes a bit of flesh from the pig, and he takes a cocoa-nut shell and dips up some of the blood. Then he takes the blood and the bit of flesh and enters into the shrine, and calls that ghost and says, "Harumae! Chief in war! we sacrifice to you with this pig, that you may help us to smite that place; and whatsoever we shall carry away shall be yours, and we also will be yours." Then he burns the bit of flesh in a fire upon a stone, and pours down the blood upon the fire. Then the fire blazes up greatly to the roof, and the house is full of the smell of pig, a sign that the ghost has heard. But when the sacrificer went in he did not go boldly, but with awe; and this is the sign of it: as he goes into the holy house he puts away his bag, and washes his hands thoroughly, to show that the ghost shall not reject him with disgust' (Codrington, p. 129 f.).

The pig thus sacrificed was eaten by the worshippers. When this account was written, the older people well remembered Harumae as a living chief.

In the neighbouring island of Mala a native gives the names of seven kinds of sacrifice. (1) A man returning from a voyage puts food before the case which contains the relics of his father. (2) In sickness, or where failure of a crop shows that some ghost has been offended, a pig is offered as a substitute for the man whom the offended ghost is plaguing, and is strangled and burned whole on the stones of a sacred place, together with mixed food. The sacrificer calls aloud upon the offended ghost and upon many others, and sets a bit of the food which he has left unburned before the relic case of the dead man to whose ghost the pig was offered. (3) To 'clear the soul,' a pig or dog is killed and cooked; the sacrificer calls upon the ghost by name to clear away the mischief, and throws the sacrifice into the sea or sets it in the place sacred to the ghost invoked. (4) This is performed in the house of the sick person who is to benefit by it. A pig or dog is cooked and cut up; the names of the dead members of the family to which the ghost to be propitiated belonged are called out, with a petition to each on behalf of the sick man; the sacrificed animal is eaten by the males who are present. (5) (6) (7) are sacrifices of firstfruits—yams, flying-fish, and canarium nuts—which are presented as food to the ghost concerned, with the invocation of his name, and set in a sacred place.

In Florida and Ysabel, both belonging to the Solomon group, sacrifice is of the same character. There are those who know, having been taught by their fathers or mother's brothers, how to approach the powerful ghosts of the dead, some of whom were the objects of a more public and some of a more particular worship. Such a ghost of worship, called a *tindalo*, had his shrine in which his relics were preserved. The officiating sacrificer is said to 'throw the sacrifice.' A certain *tindalo*, whose worship and influence are not local, is called Manoga. A native writes:

'He who throws the sacrifice when he invokes this *tindalo* heaves the offering round about, and calls him, first to the East where rises the sun, saying, "If thou dwellest in the East, where rises the sun, Manoga! come hither and eat thy mashed food." Then turning he lifts it towards where sets the sun, and says, "If thou dwellest in the West, where sets the sun, Manoga! come hither and eat thy food." There is not a quarter towards which he does not lift it up. And when he has finished lifting it he says, "If thou dwellest in heaven above, Manoga! come hither and eat thy food. If thou dwellest in the Pleiades or in Orion's belt; if below in Turivatu; if in the distant sea; if on high in the sun or in the moon; if thou dwellest inland or by the shore, Manoga! come hither and eat thy food"' (Codrington, p. 131 f.).

Whether, as in this case, the offering be vegetable food or whether it be a pig, a piece is consumed in the fire within the shrine, and the people without partake of the sacrificial food. In these islands, moreover, the sacrifice of the firstfruits must precede the general use of the products of each season.

Human sacrifices were occasionally made, and such were thought most effectual for the propitiation of an offended ghost. In this case the victim was not eaten by the assistants as when a pig was offered; but a piece of flesh was burned for the ghost's portion, and bits were eaten by young men to get fighting power, and by the sacrificer who had made the offering.

In the island of Santa Cruz the flesh of pigs or vegetable food is placed before the stock of wood that represents a person recently deceased for him to eat; feather-money and betel-nuts are laid out for ghosts, and food is thrown to them at sea. These are distinctly offered for the ghost to eat or use, but they are soon taken up and disposed of by the offerers as common things. Such offerings resemble those of food laid on graves or at the foot of an image in the Solomon Islands, which would not there have the name of sacrifices; but the full sacrifices of the Solomon Islands, as has been shown, have the sacrificial characteristics of intercession, propitiation, substitution, and a common meal.

(2) *In Banks' Islands and New Hebrides.*—To offerings here, no doubt, the name of sacrifice is far less properly applied, and yet it is almost necessary to employ it. The offerings are made in almost all cases to spirits, but in some cases to the ghosts of dead men. The offering is generally native money; nothing is killed or burned, nothing eaten; and the offering is laid upon a stone, cast into water, or scattered upon a snake or some other creature, the stone, the creature, or the sacred spot being chosen because of its connexion with the spirit who is to be conciliated or from whom benefits are sought. Access to the spirit is to be obtained through the sacred object; but the common worshipper or suppliant cannot obtain this access by himself, and is consequently obliged to use the services of a go-between who knows the stone or whatever it may be and through it is able to know and to approach the spirit. The worshipper generally gives native money to the 'owner,' as he is called, of the sacred object, who then gives a little money to the spirit, and perhaps pours the juice of a young coco-nut on the stone, while he makes his request on behalf of his client. There is thus an intercession, a propitiation, an offering of what the suppliant values and the spirit has pleasure in receiving. So far it is a religious action of a sacrificial character, and is distinct from prayer. In the New Hebrides, besides similar sacrifices to spirits, offerings are made to the ghosts of powerful men lately deceased, either at their graves or in the places which they haunt. Men who know these and have access to them take mats, food, and pigs (living or cooked) to the sacred place, and leave, or profess to leave, them there. Nowhere in these islands is there an order of men who can be called priests. The knowledge of the spirits and of the objects through which access to them can be obtained is open to all, and is possessed by many. Most of those who possess it have received it secretly from their fathers or elder relatives, but many have found it by happy accident for themselves, and have proved their connexion with the spirit by the success of their ministrations.

6. Sacred places and objects.—The sanctity which belongs to such stones or sacred spots as have been mentioned in connexion with sacrifice has, of course, a religious character. Native life in Melanesia is, for the most part, in continual contact with the prohibitions and restrictions which belong to this religious feeling. The sacred character of the object, whatever it may be, is derived from one of two causes: it may lie in the nature and associations of the thing itself, or it may be conferred by men who have the *mana*, the spiritual power, to confer it. It may be said, generally speaking, that among these sacred objects there are no idols, in the strict sense of the term. It is true that images are made more or less in all quarters to represent the dead, being set up as memorials at funeral feasts, in burial-places, in canoe houses, and in places of general assembly. They are treated with respect; offerings of food are made, and other valuable things are occasionally laid before them; but the images are memorials of men deceased, likenesses to some extent, and representations; they are not worshipped, and are sacred only because of what they represent.

(1) *Stones.*—Sacred places almost always have stones in them. The presence of certain stones gives sanctity to the place in which they naturally lie; and, when a place has for other reasons become sacred, stones which have that character are brought and placed there. Here again recurs the important distinction between spirits and ghosts. The stones of the burial-place of a powerful man receive *mana* from him, or a man who had *mana* is buried near sacred stones, thus connecting the ghost and the stone. In other cases, the stone is believed to have such a relation to a spirit, who never was a living man, that it acquires a mysterious quality, and becomes the means by which the man who has the knowledge of the stone can have access to the spirit. Many sacred stones then are sepulchral, and this is usually the case in the Solomon Islands. The sacrifices already described are offered upon stones. A stone is also frequently sacred in the Eastern Islands because a *vui* (spirit) belongs to it. In this group stones may be divided into those that naturally lie where they are reverenced and those which have *mana* derived for various reasons from a spirit, and which are carried about and used for various purposes, and as amulets. The natives emphatically deny that the connexion between stones and spirits is like that which exists between the soul and body of man. Certain stones are kept in houses to protect them from thieves; and, if the shadow of a man falls on one of these, the ghost belonging to it is said to draw out his life and eat it. It has been supposed that the ghost which consumes the man's life must correspond in the stone to the soul in a living man; but the natives do not believe that the ghost dwells in the stone, but by it or, as they say, at it; they regard the stone as the instrument used by the spirit, which is able to lay hold on the man by the medium of his shadow.

(2) *Trees, streams, and living creatures.*—Trees are sacred because they grow in a sacred place, or because they have a sacred snake, *e.g.*, that haunts them. Some have a certain inherent awe attaching to their kind. The natives deny that they ever regarded a tree as having anything like a spirit of its own corresponding to the soul or *animus* of man. Streams, or rather pools, are sacred as the haunts of ghosts in the Western, and of spirits in the Eastern groups. The reflexion of a man's face upon such water gives the ghost or spirit the hold upon the man's soul by which it can be drawn out and its life destroyed. Among living creatures which are sacred, sharks have a conspicuous place. If one of remarkable size or colour haunts a shore or rock in the Solomon Islands, it is taken to be some one's ghost, and the name of the deceased is given to it. Before his death a man will give out that he will enter into a shark. In both cases it is well understood that the shark to which the ghost has betaken himself was, before it was thus occupied, a common shark; but, now that he is in it, the place where the man lived is visited by the fish, and the neighbours and relatives of the deceased respect and feed it. A spirit, known to some one who sacrifices for it, can, in like manner, be introduced in the Banks' Islands into a shark, which thus becomes familiar. In the Solomon Islands a crocodile may be a *tindalo*, since the ghost of a recent ancestor may possibly have entered it, or may be known to have entered it. Almost any living creature that haunts a house, garden, or village may well be regarded as conveying a ghost. Among birds the frigate-bird is conspicuous for its sacred character in the Solomon Islands; the ghosts of deceased men of importance find their abode in them, and indeed ancient and widely venerated *tindalos* dwell in them. In all the groups there is something sacred about kingfishers. Snakes receive a certain veneration wherever they are found in a sacred place. The original female spirit, that never was a human being, believed in San Cristoval to have had the form of a snake, has given a sacred character to all snakes as her representatives. In the Banks' Islands, and still more in the New Hebrides, snakes with which certain *vui* associate themselves, and which therefore have much *mana*, are worshipped and receive offerings of money in sacred places. One amphibious snake is firmly believed to appear in human form to tempt a young man or woman.

Is, then, the religion of the Melanesians altogether an animistic religion? Nowhere does there appear to be a belief in a spirit which animates any natural object, tree, waterfall, storm, stone, bird, or fish, so as to be to it what the soul of a man, as they conceive it, is to his body, or, in other words, so as to be the spirit of the object. The natives certainly deny that they hold any such belief; but they believe that the spirit of a man deceased, or a spirit never a man at all, abides near and with the object, which by this association receives supernatural power, and becomes the vehicle of such power for the purposes of those who know how to obtain it.

7. Magic and charms.—The belief in magic and the use of magic and charms do not perhaps properly belong to religion; but among Melanesians it is hardly possible to omit this subject. The foundation of religion is the belief in the surrounding presence of a power greater than that of man; and in great part the practice of religion comes to be the method by which this power can be turned by men to their own purposes. The natives recognize, on the whole, a regular course of nature in the greater movements of things which affect their lives, but at every point they come in touch with what they take to be the exercise by men of the power which they derive from either ghosts or spirits. By means of this power, men who know the proper formula and rite can make rain or sunshine, wind or calm, cause sickness or remove it, know what is beyond the reach of common knowledge, bring good luck and prosperity, or blast and curse. No man has this power of himself, but derives it from a personal being, the ghost of a man deceased, or a spirit of a nature which is not human. By charms (certain forms of words muttered or chanted, which contain the names of the beings from whom the power is derived) this power becomes associated with the objects through which the power is to pass. These things are personal relics, such as hair or teeth, remains of food, herbs and leaves, bones of dead men, and stones of unusual shape. Through these objects wizards, doctors, weather-mongers, prophets, diviners, and dreamers do their work. There is no distinct order of magicians or medicine-men, just as there is no separate order of priests; the knowledge of one or more branches of the craft is handed down from father to son, from uncle to sister's son, or, it may be, is bought and sold. Many men may be said to make a profession of magic, and to get property and influence thereby. A man cannot, it may be said, be a chief without a belief that he possesses this supernatural power. There is no doubt that those who exercise these arts really believe that a power resides in them, though, indeed, they are conscious of a good deal of deceit.

A great part of this is sympathetic magic, and seems to the people to have reason in it. The failure of some charm or of some magician does not discredit charms or magic, since the failure is due to the counteraction of another and stronger charm; and one doctor who has failed has been, secretly or openly, opposed by another who has on his side a more powerful ghost or spirit. Thus the people were at every turn in contact with the unseen world and its powers, and in this religion was certainly at work. It is not necessary to go into this subject in any detail. With regard to sickness, it is often said that savages do not believe that any one is naturally sick. That is not the case in Melanesia, in the case of such troubles as fever and ague; but any serious illness is believed to be caused by ghosts or spirits; and the more important the patient is the more reasonable it seems to ascribe his sickness to some ghost or spirit whom he has offended, or to the witchcraft of some enemy. It is not common to ascribe sickness to a spirit in those groups where spirits have so great a place in the religious regard of the people. There it is the ghosts of the dead who inflict sickness, and can be induced to remove it; for there is a certain malignity belonging to the dead, who dislike to see men well and living; a man who was powerful and malevolent when alive is more dangerous than ever when dead, because all human powers which are not merely bodily are believed to be enhanced by death. So, whether to cause sickness or to remove it, the doctor by his charms brings in the power of the dead. A wizard is paid by a man's enemy to bring the malignant influence of the dead upon him; he or his friends pay another to bring the power of other dead men to counteract the first and to save the endangered life; the wizard who is the more powerful—who has on his side the more or the stronger ghosts—will prevail, and the sick man will live or die accordingly. Two parties of such hostile ghosts are believed in San Cristoval to fight the battle out with ghostly spears. All success and prosperity in life, as well as health and strength, are held to depend on the spiritual power obtained by charms or resident in objects which are used with charms; the Melanesian in all his employments and enterprises depends upon unseen assistance, and a religious character is thus given to all his life.

8. Tabu.—This word, commonly *tapu* or *tambu* in the islands of Melanesia now under consideration, and established as an English term, was taken from the islands of Polynesia. In Melanesia the belief prevails, clearly marked by the use of distinct words in some islands, that an awful and, so to speak, religious character can be imposed on places, things, and actions by men who have the *mana* to do it. A place, *e.g.*, in which a powerful man has been buried, where a ghost has been seen, which a spirit haunts, is holy and awful of itself, never to be lightly invaded or used for common purposes. But a man who has the proper power can tabu a place as he chooses, and can forbid approach to it and common use of it. Behind the man who exercises this power is the ghost of the dead or the spirit whose power the man has. Tabu implies a curse. A chief will forbid something under a penalty. To all appearance it is as a chief that he forbids, and as of a chief that his prohibition is respected; but in fact the sanction comes from the ghost or spirit behind him. If a common man assumes the power to tabu, as he may and sometimes does, he runs a serious risk; but if, on the other hand, he forbids the gathering of certain fruit, and sets his mark upon it, and then, as often naturally happens, some one who has disregarded his prohibition and taken the fruit falls ill or dies, this is at once a clear proof that the tabu is real, and any future prohibition made by him will be respected. Thus to a considerable degree, in the Banks' Islands at least, men of no great consequence, as well as the societies which are there so numerous, set marks of prohibition which meet with respect. Every such prohibition rests upon an unseen power; there is in it no moral sanction, but there is the consciousness of the presence of the unseen which certainly works much for morality. What is wrong in itself is by no means always tabu; but what is tabu is very often what the natives recognize as wrong in itself. For it must not be supposed that Melanesians know no moral distinction of right and wrong. Disobedience to parents, unkindness to the weak and sick, are no doubt common, but there is a general feeling, both strong and marked, that it is right to respect and love parents, and wrong to be unkind. Neighbours will carry food to the sick whose friends neglect them, and very plainly express their blame. Those who lie freely upon occasion respect truthfulness, and say that it is bad to tell lies.

9. Totemism.—If totems, properly so called, exist among Melanesians, they must be considered in treating their religion. A totem is defined by J. G. Frazer (*Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, i. 3 f., 8) as being 'a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respect, believing that there exists between him and every member of the class an intimate and altogether special relation.' The relation between a man and his totem has partly a religious and partly a social character. It is held that 'the members of a totem clan call themselves by the name of their totem, and commonly believe that they are actually descended from it.' Each one, moreover, 'believing himself to be descended from, and therefore akin to, his totem, the savage naturally treats it with respect. If it is an animal he will not, as a rule, kill or eat it.'

(1) Florida, in the Solomon Islands, where the native system as it is understood by themselves has been carefully explained by natives of some education, affords probably the best field for consideration of the subject. The people are divided into six exogamous kindreds, called *kema*, each with its distinguishing name, descent following the mother. Two of these kindreds are named from living creatures, a sea-eagle and a crab. Each of the six has some object which its members must avoid, and which they must abstain from eating, touching, approaching, or beholding. This is the *mbuto* of the *kema*. In one case, and one case only, this *mbuto* is the living creature from which the kin takes its name. The Kakau kin may not eat the *kakau* crab, and that crab might accordingly be regarded as the totem of that Crab kindred. But the other kin which takes its name from a living creature, the Eagle kindred, is quite at liberty to kill or eat that bird; it, therefore, cannot be the totem of that kin. Again, a member of the Eagle kindred may not eat the common fruit pigeon, which is his *mbuto*, and would say that the pigeon was his ancestor. Here, then, the pigeon appears as the totem of the Eagle kin; they cannot eat it; it is their ancestor. But was a pigeon their ancestor

in the sense that they are descended from it? Decidedly not. It was a human ancestor who associated himself with the pigeon; the pigeon represents the dead man, the pigeon is a *tindalo*, a dead man of power. A native writes:

> 'We believe these *tindalo* to have been once living men; and something that was with them, or with which they had to do, has become a thing forbidden, *tambu*, and a thing abominable, *mbuto*, to those to whom the *tindalo* (once a living man) belongs' (Codrington, p. 31 f.).

That is to say, the pigeon represents the human ancestor; the man begat the generations of his kindred before he died and entered into a pigeon. The pigeon is not truly an ancestor, nor is it truly a totem. The native writer goes on to give the example of another kindred which avoids the giant clam, the traditional ancestor of which haunted a certain beach. That ghostly ancestor is represented by the clam on that beach, and a native will say that the clam is his ancestor, but without meaning more than he means when he says that an ancient weapon in a shrine is a dead chief, a *tindalo*, that is, belongs to him.

(2) In another of the Solomon Islands, Ulawa, not long ago the people would not eat the fruit of the banana, and had ceased to plant the tree. The elder natives would give to the fruit the name of a powerful man whom they remembered living, and say that they could not eat him, thus accounting for their avoidance of the banana as food. The explanation was that this man, before his death, announced that after death he would be in banana fruit, and that they were not to eat it. Soon he would have been an ancestor, the banana would be an ancestor, while clearly there was no descent from a banana in the belief of the people. This, then, is no totem, though it may illustrate the origin of totems.

(3) In the New Hebrides, in Aurora Island, there is a family named after the octopus. They do not call the octopus their ancestor, and they freely eat it; but their connexion with it is so intimate that a member of the family would go to the reef with a fisherman, call out his own name, and say that he wanted octopus, and then plenty would be taken. This, again, seems to approach totemism.

(4) In the Banks' Islands and New Hebrides, however, there is what comes very near to the 'individual totem.' Some men, not all, in Mota conceived that they had a peculiar connexion with a living creature, or it might be a stone, which had been found, either after search or unexpectedly, in some singular manner. If this was a living thing, the life of the man was bound up with its life; if an inanimate object, the man's health depended on its being unbroken and secure. A man would say that he had his origin in something that had presented itself to him. In Aurora also, in the New Hebrides, a woman dreams or fancies that there is something—*e.g.*, a coco-nut—which has a particular relation to her unborn child, and this the child hereafter must never eat.

10. Societies, mysteries, and dances.—(1) *Societies.*—A very conspicuous feature of native life in the Torres Islands, Banks' Islands, and New Hebrides is the universal presence in those groups of a society, called by some form of the name *supwe.* There are, or were, certain objects commonly in view which, at first sight, could not fail to connect this with the religion of the people. The visitor to a village would see platforms built up with stones, with high, pointed, shrine-like little edifices upon them, within which were the embers of a fire below and images in human form above. If he hit upon a festival, he would see such images carried in the dance. But such appearances show, as a matter of fact, nothing else than the presence of this society, since they are merely the hearth and the emblems of the men of high rank in the *supwe*, an institution which is entirely social, and has no religious character. To gain advance and distinction in it requires, no doubt, the spiritual power of *mana*, as does every other form of success, and so sacrifices, prayers, and charms are used; and doubtless the *supwe* is under the sanction of tabu. It is also true that a man's position after death is believed to depend in some measure on his rank and his liberality in this society. But the account of it cannot come under the head of religion.

(2) *Mysteries.*—A religious character attaches much more truly to the mysteries, the mysterious secret societies which hold an important place in native life in the Solomon Islands and in the Eastern groups. The lodges of these societies appear to visitors to be temples and seats of religious worship; the images within them seem to be idols. The mysteries are closely fenced by a strict initiation, and a rigid tabu guards them; to those outside the secret and unapproachable retreats the mysterious sounds and the appearance of the members in strange disguise convey a truly religious awe. In fact, the mysteries are professedly methods of communion with the dead, the ghosts which are everywhere, more or less, objects of religious worship. In the Banks' Islands the name of the mysteries was simply 'the Ghosts.' Yet, although within the mysterious precincts the ordinary forms of sacrifices and prayers were carried on to gain the assistance of the dead and communion with them, there was no esoteric article of belief made known and no secret form of worship practised. There were no forms of worship peculiar to the society, no objects of worship of a kind unknown to those without. There was no 'making of young men,' no initiation without which the native could not take his place among his people. The women and the children, perhaps, really believed that what they saw and heard was ghostly, but many an accident betrayed the neighbour in disguise; and the neophyte, when introduced into the sacred place, found himself in the company of his fellows of daily life. Still, since the presence of the dead was professed and believed, and since so much of the religion of the Melanesians, particularly in the Solomon Islands, was concerned with the ghosts of the dead, it is true that these secret societies and mysteries belong to the religion of the people.

(3) *Dances.*—This is by no means the case with dances. All the societies have their dances, which are part of the mysteries, and which it is the first task of the neophyte to learn. But there are dances everywhere in the public life of the people which, however difficult, all boys and young men desire to learn, and have to learn in secret before they can perform them at the feasts. The ghosts in Hades, in their shadowy life, dance as living men do. Visitors are too apt to speak of 'devil dances' and 'devil grounds'; but it may be said to be certain that dances, as such, have no religious or superstitious character in Melanesia.

11. Creation, cosmogony.—The consciousness of the relation of men to a creator is commonly accepted as a chief ground of natural religion. Consequently, when natives are asked (perhaps very imperfectly) who made them and the things around them, and they give the name of the maker to whom their origin is ascribed, they are thought to name their creator; and it is assumed that this creator is the chief object of their worship. Thus Qat, under the name Ikbat, was thought at first to be the chief deity at Mota; and the name of the supposed creator has elsewhere been taken as the name of God. But creation, the making of men and things, is by no means a proof of very great power, or a ground for great reverence, among Melanesian people. It may almost be said that relation to a creator has no religious influence at all, though reference to Qat as the maker of men is made in correcting children in the Banks' Island. The existence of the world, as the natives conceived of it, and the course of all the great movements of nature, are quite independent of that creative power which was ascribed to certain spirits. The makers were spirits. In the Solomon Islands the belief in Kahausibware is characteristic. She was a female spirit in the shape of a snake; she made men, pigs, coco-nuts, fruit-trees, and food in San Cristoval; death had not yet appeared. There was a woman who had a child. The snake strangled the child; the mother chopped the snake in pieces; thenceforward all good things changed to worse, and death began. Respect is shown to snakes as the progeny or representatives of this female spirit, but she cannot be said to be worshipped.

In the Banks' Islands and the New Hebrides, as has been stated before, spirits are the principal objects of worship, and they are also believed to have had much to do with the fashioning of the world of man. Yet it must be borne in mind that they are by no means held to be originators; they came themselves into a world existing under circumstances such as those in which men now live, where there were houses and canoes, weapons and ornaments, fruits and gardens. In the Banks' Islands Qat held the highest place. He was born the eldest of twelve brothers, who dwelt in a village in Vanua Lava. There Qat began to make men, pigs, trees, rocks, as the fancy took him, in a land which already existed. His chief assistant in his work was another spirit (*vui*) named Marawa ('spider'); his brothers envied and thwarted him; when he made a wife for himself, they tried to kill him; he instructed them and played tricks on them. There were other spirits in the world when he was born, some enemies whom he had to overcome. From one of these spirits, dwelling in another group, named Night, he bought the night to relieve the tedium of perpetual daylight. Finally, when the world was settled and furnished, he made a canoe in the middle of the island of Santa Maria, where now is the great lake, collected his wife and brothers and living creatures into it, and in a flood caused by a deluge of rain was carried out into the sea and disappeared. The people believed that the best of everything was taken away by Qat, and looked for his return. Though no longer visible, he still controlled to a great extent the forces of nature, and he heard and answered the cries of men. In a way the natives looked upon him as an ancestor as well as their creator, but they were emphatic in their assertion that he was never a man himself; he was a spirit, a *vui*, of a nature different from that of man; and, because a spirit, he was master of all magic power, and full of that *mana* which was at work in all around. It is, however, scarcely possible to take him very seriously or allow him divine rank, even though he is the central figure in the origin of things and his influence is present and effective. In the New Hebrides nearest to the Banks' Islands Tagaro takes the place of Qat. He is no doubt the Tangaroa of Polynesia. He made things as Qat did; he had his brothers, ten of them, and there was another, Supwe, who thwarted Tagaro and made things wrong. Tagaro also went back to heaven. In other islands Supwe appears as the chief of this band of great spirits. In Santa Cruz, Lata corresponds, but not very closely, to Qat and Tagaro, since he also made men and animals.

These greater spirits are named and known as individual persons. Besides these, in all the islands are spirits innumerable and unnamed. These are they whose representative form is very often a stone, who haunt the places which their presence makes sacred, who associate themselves with snakes, sharks, birds, and the various things through which men can communicate with them and draw from them the spiritual power from which comes all manner of success in life, and which can be turned to injury as well as succour. It may safely be said that these spirits were not malignant beings, though they were spiteful at times and were willing to do mischief to the enemies of their worshippers. The multitude of beings who in the Solomon Islands have power in storms, rain, drought, calms, and especially in the growth of food—the *vigona*, *hi'ona*, and others—seem to belong rather to the order of spirits than to that of the ghosts of the dead, and such they are acknowledged to be, though the natives speak of them as ghosts.

Thus the world of the Melanesians was populous with living beings, visible and invisible, with men, with the ghosts of the dead, with spirits great and small; and pervading and surrounding all was a power which belonged to all spirits, to the dead as such, and to many men; all these could direct it and employ it, and it was everywhere at hand. The world so inhabited was bounded to the Melanesians by the circle of the sea which surrounded the islands which were known to them, a circle which varied in place and size according to the position of the centre. The old world of the Banks' Islanders did not include the Solomon Islands; that of the Solomon Islanders was a much wider world. Wherever the circumference of the circle fell the sky was supposed to shut down fast upon it. Under this firmament the sun and moon made their journeys; and the stars hung in it. The heavenly bodies were not thought to be living beings, but rather rocks or islands. In the sun and moon were inhabitants with wives and families, in whom the sun and moon were personified and about whom many stories were told; but these have no religious character.

12. Death and after death.—Without some belief in a life after death, as well as in a power superior to that of living man, it is plain that the Melanesian religion could not be such as has been described. This implies a belief in a soul of man, though what that is they find it difficult to explain. They naturally use different words in their different languages, and these words convey various metaphors, when they are properly understood, the use of which probably involves a certain inconsistency. It may safely be said, however, that, whatever word they use, the Melanesians mean that there is something essentially belonging to man's nature which carries life to the body, which is the seat of thought and intelligence, which exercises a power which is not of the body, which is invisible, and which, after it has become separate from the body in death, still has an individual existence. It is in a sense a spirit, and in some islands is so called; but it is quite distinct from those spiritual beings that never were the souls of men and therefore never disembodied. The soul can go out of a man in a dream or a faint; it can be drawn out of the body or injured in the body by magic or spiteful ghosts or spirits; when finally separated from the body in death it becomes a ghost. Such a soul is peculiar to man. It is true that, as will be seen in the account of Hades, there is something which is like the ghost of a pig, of a weapon or ornament, something that remains and has a shadowy form; but the natives will not allow that even a pig, an intelligent and important personage with a name, has a soul as a man has.

(1) *Death.*—It was not part of the original nature

of men that they should die. In stories the first men are represented as changing their skins, as snakes cast their slough, and returning to youth and strength, until by some accident or folly life could no longer be so renewed, and death came in. When it came, the way to the abode of the dead was opened and men departed to their own place, Hades. The funeral rites do not require description. The disembodied spirit is not thought generally willing to depart far from the body which it has left or the place in which it has lived; but, the body being buried, or otherwise disposed of, the ghost proceeds to its appointed place.

(2) *Hades.*—There is a great difference between the conception of the Solomon Islanders and that of the Banks' Islanders and New Hebrides people with regard to the place where the dead take up their abode. In the Eastern Islands Hades is in the under world; in the Solomon Islands the dead, though there is an under world, depart to islands and parts of islands belonging to their own group, and from Florida they were conveyed in a ghostly canoe, a 'ship of the dead.' In all parts of Melanesia alike the condition of the dead in these abodes is an empty continuation of the worldly life; in all parts the ghostly life is not believed to be eternal, except in so far as the native imagination has failed to follow their existence with any measure of time. But, though the dead congregate in Hades, they still haunt and frequent the homes of their lifetime, are active among the living, and, as has been shown, in the Solomon Islands the religion of the living is mainly concerned with the worship of the dead. In these islands the weapons, ornaments, and money of a man of consequence are buried with him or placed on his grave. Whether these decorate the dead or serve his use in Hades is uncertain. It is as when a dead man's fruit-trees are cut down, as they say, as a mark of respect; he ate of them, it is said, while he was alive, he will never eat again, and no one else shall have them.

The notion is general that the ghost does not at first realize its position, or move with strength in its new abode; and this condition depends to some extent on the period of the decay of the body; when that is gone, the ghost is active. It is to expedite this activity that in some parts the corpse is burned.

While in a general way the ghosts of the dead pass to their Hades above ground, there are some which have their principal abode in the sea. Before his death a man may declare his purpose of taking up his abode in a sea-bird or a shark, or the dead body may be sunk into the sea and not buried. These sea-ghosts have a great hold on the imagination of the natives of San Cristoval and the adjacent islands, and were frequently represented in their carvings and paintings. They appear as if made up of fishes, and fish are the spears and arrows with which they shoot disease into the living.

In Santa Cruz the dead, though they haunt the villages, go into the great volcano Tamami and pass below. In the Banks' Islands the common Hades has many entrances; in this they have villages in which they dwell as on earth, but in an empty life. The ghosts hang about their graves for a time, and it is not desired that they should remain, though at the death-feasts they have a portion thrown for them. The great man goes down to Panoi with his ornaments, that is, with an unsubstantial appearance of them. In the Northern New Hebrides there are passages to Hades at the ends of the islands, the northern or southern points, by which ghosts go down, and also return. In Lepers' Island the descent is by a lake which fills an ancient crater. Living persons in all these islands have gone down to see their dead friends; they have seen the houses, the trees with red leaves, and the flowers, have heard the songs and dances, and have been warned not to eat the food of the ghosts.

(3) *Rewards and punishments.*—There remains the important question whether the condition of the dead is affected by the character of the living man; whether the dead are happier or less happy, in better or in worse condition, according as they have been, in native estimation, good men or bad on earth.

(*a*) *Solomon Islands.*—It cannot be said that in these islands the moral quality of men's lives affects their condition after death. When the canoe of the dead took the ghosts of Florida across to the neighbouring island of Guadalcanar, they found a ghost of worship, a *tindalo*, with a rod which he thrust into the cartilage of their noses to prove whether they were duly pierced. Those who passed this test had a good path which they could follow to the abodes of the dead; those who failed had to make their way as best they could with pain and difficulty. In Ysabel they present themselves to the master of their Hades at a pool, across which lies the narrow trunk of a tree. They show their hands; those who have the mark of the frigate-bird cut in them are allowed to pass; those who have not the mark are thrown from the trunk into the gulf beneath and perish.

(*b*) *Banks' Islands and New Hebrides.*—In these islands there is something which approximates to a judgment of a moral kind. It is true that, as a man's rank in the world has depended very much upon the number of the pigs he has slain for feasts, so the ghost fares badly who has not so done his duty by society. So in Pentecost Island, when the ghosts leap into the sea to go below, there is a shark waiting which will bite off the nose of a man who has not killed pigs; and in Aurora a fierce pig is ready to devour the ghost of a man who has not planted the tree that supplies material for the mats which are so highly valued. But there is a kind of judgment, a discrimination between good and bad, which has a moral character, and is, perhaps, well worthy of remark. Thus in the Banks' Islands it was believed that there was a good Hades and a bad. If one man had killed another by treachery or witchcraft, he would find himself opposed at the place of descent by the ghost of the man whom he had wronged; he dreaded the path which led to the bad place, and wandered on the earth. If a man had been slain in fair battle, his ghost would not withstand the ghost of the man who slew him. The bad, they said, were not admitted to the true Panoi, the Hades where there were flowers, though but shadows, and the empty semblance of social life. But who was the evil man? It was answered, 'One who killed another without cause or by charms, a thief, a liar, an adulterer.' Such in their Hades quarrel and are miserable; they haunt the living and do them what harm they can. The others, who lived as they ought to live, abide at least in harmony in Panoi after death.

It is very likely that these notions of something like retribution in the under world have not entered very deeply into the native mind, and are not generally entertained. But that such beliefs should have been received at all is enough to show that their sense of right and wrong has been carried by Melanesians into their prospect of a future state, a view which can hardly have failed to have something of a religious tendency, even if it cannot be said to prove in itself the existence of a religion which these islanders undoubtedly possess.

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MELETIANISM.—There were two Meletian schisms, each having considerable influence on the fortunes of the Arian controversy. The earlier took its name from the Meletius who was bishop of Lycopolis in Egypt; the later from the Meletius who was consecrated bishop of Antioch in A.D. 360.

1. The Meletian schism in Egypt.—*Μελήτιος* (Epiphanius) or Μελίτιος (Athanasius) was bishop of Lycopolis in Egypt, and his dispute with Peter, bishop of Alexandria, led to a schism which received attention at the Council of Nicæa. According to Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arianos*, 59), Meletius was condemned about A.D. 305 or 306, so that the quarrel was already of long standing when the Council assembled. The origin of it is extremely obscure. As Hefele points out (*Councils*, Eng. tr., i. 343 ff.), there are three separate accounts: (1) in documents discovered by Maffæi and published in M. J. Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, Oxford, 1814–18, iv.; (2) in the writings of Athanasius; (3) in Epiphanius. All these differ in their details as to the origin of the schism. The first of the three documents preserved in Routh is a letter of certain Christians in prison who were afterwards martyred by Diocletian (Eus. *HE* viii. 10). It is supposed that the actual writer of the letter was Phileas, bishop of Thmuis. Meletius is addressed as a fellow-minister (*comminister*, the document being preserved in Latin), so that the schism has evidently not yet begun, and he is blamed for ordaining clergy in strange dioceses, without the consent of his fellow-bishops or even of Peter of Alexandria. The second document is a note, added by an anonymous hand, to say that after the martyrdom of the bishop Meletius had gone to Alexandria and found two discontented men, Arius and Isidore, and proceeded to excommunicate the visitors (*περιοδευταί*) appointed by Peter, who thereupon wrote the letter which makes the third of our documents, to the people of Alexandria, bidding them to avoid all communion with Meletius. From this very early and contemporary evidence we learn that Meletius's offence was that of trespassing on the rights of Peter and the other bishops by conferring orders out of his own diocese. It is to be noticed that these irregularities took place before the deposition of Meletius. Athanasius says nothing about the irregular ordinations. In his *Apology against the Arians* (ch. 59) he gives as the cause of the deposition of Meletius that he had been guilty of many offences, particularly of having sacrificed to idols and of having calumniated the bishops of Alexandria, Peter, Achillas, and Alexander (ch. 11). In his *Letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya* he asserts (ch. 22) that the Meletians were declared schismatics fifty-six years before, and that the Arians thirty-six years ago were convicted of heresy. Socrates (*HE* i. 6) gives practically the same account as Athanasius, and may, as Hefele suggests, have copied from him. The third version of the origin of the schism, however, differs materially from those which we have hitherto considered. It is given by Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxviii.), and printed in Routh (iv. 105). Meletius, says this writer, was a perfectly orthodox bishop. Indeed, he credits him with having accused Arius to Alexander, with whom Meletius, though a schismatical bishop, was on good terms. The real cause of the dispute was, according to Epiphanius, the question of the treatment of the lapsed. But Epiphanius's account, as Hefele shows, is full of inaccuracies, and contradicts the earliest evidence, as when, *e.g.*, he makes Meletius a fellow-prisoner with Peter. But he may have been correct as to the underlying cause of the schism, Meletius being, like Novatian at Rome and the Donatists in Africa, the representative of the severe disciplinarians. Epiphanius had, moreover, special knowledge of the Meletians from their schism having spread to his native place, Eleutheropolis. Perhaps because of his doctrinal orthodoxy, Meletius and his party were treated very leniently by the Council of Nicæa. It may be that canon 6, affirming the authority of the bishop of Alexandria, was directed against them; but in the synodal letter (Soc. *HE* i. 9) Meletius was not permitted to ordain or appoint clerics any more, and those whom he had ordained were to be admitted to the Church (*μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ*) and to rank below the clergy ordained by Peter and his successors. Athanasius was much troubled by those schismatics who joined his opponents; and from their ranks came his bitter enemies, the priest Ischyras, Arsenius, and many others. Athanasius bitterly regretted the decision of Nicæa in this matter (*Apol. c. Arianos*, 71 f., where a list of the followers of Meletius is given). The schism lasted down to the middle of the 5th century (Soc. *HE* i. 8).

LITERATURE.—Besides the historians and Athanasius, C. J. Hefele, *A History of the Christian Councils*, Eng. tr., i.^{2}, Edinburgh, 1894, p. 341 ff.; A. P. Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church*, London, 1884; H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*^{2}, Cambridge, 1900; H. Achelis, art. 'Meletius von Lykopolis,' in *PRE*^{3}.

2. The Meletian schism at Antioch.—The importance of the disputed episcopal succession at Antioch is due to the fact that it hindered the good understanding between the Roman and Alexandrian Churches and those Asiatic Christians who, though at heart orthodox, were less uncompromisingly Nicene than many of the Athanasian party. The dispute, which lasted for more than fifty years, ranged the great saints and Fathers of the later years of the 4th cent. in opposite camps. Against St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Flavian of Antioch, and St. John Chrysostom were opposed St. Damasus of Rome, St. Ambrose of Milan, St. Peter of Alexandria, and, much against his will, St. Athanasius himself. The merits of the controversy are perhaps as evenly distributed as the names on either side. To understand it aright it is necessary to trace the divisions of the patriarchal Church of Antioch from the days of the Nicene Council. Eustathius, the bishop, who had been one of the foremost champions of the accepted creed, was the first to suffer in its cause, being deprived of his see in A.D. 330, though not without a serious tumult in the city, owing to the machinations of Eusebius of Cæsarea and the 'conservative' faction. The see of Antioch was now filled by prelates who were hostile to the Nicene formula—Eulalius, Euphronius, Flacillus, Stephen, and Leontius, the last of whom, by prudently concealing his real opinions on vexed questions, preserved peace till his death in 357. He was succeeded by Eudoxius, 'the worst of all the Arians,' who was installed as bishop of Constantinople in A.D. 360. It now became necessary to provide a successor at Antioch, and Meletius was chosen, being supposed to be a man of peace in accord with the party in power (F. Cavallera, *Le Schisme d'Antioche*, p. 72, note). In his sermon, however, on Pr 8^{22} he declared himself on the side of the Nicenes (Epiph. *Hær.* lxxiii.), and was at once deposed and exiled, and Euzoïus put in his place. Thus Meletius, once the Arian nominee, had become a Catholic confessor. Since the deposition of Eustathius, the faithful Nicene remnant had remained apart under the care of the priest Paulinus, and did not enjoy the prospect of communicating with the followers of Meletius, who, unlike them, had not borne the burden of the contest. The party of Paulinus, however, was not considerable—perhaps its insignificance induced Euzoïus, who is said to have had a regard for its leader, to allow it the use of a small church. Meletius's party, on the other hand, was numerous and increasing owing to the popularity of the bishop, and it seemed probable that under him the Catholics would ultimately be united. In 362 Athanasius held the small but important Council of Alexandria (see ARIANISM, vol. i. p. 780). A synodal letter, the *Tomus ad Antiochenos*, was sent to Antioch by the hands of the bishop Eusebius of Vercelli, who had attended the Council; but on his arrival he found that his companion in exile, Lucifer, bishop of Caliaris in Sardinia, had taken upon himself to consecrate Paulinus bishop of the old Nicene party at Antioch. As far as Antioch was concerned, the schism was unimportant. Meletius was universally beloved, and his moderation in regard to the points at issue in the controversy was more in consonance with Asiatic and Syrian Christianity than the uncompromising attitude of Alexandria and the West. Nor was Athanasius averse to a settlement, which let bygones be bygones, and allowed the good work done by Hilary of Poictiers in reconciling the bishops of Asia Minor to the Nicene Creed to bear fruit. But, not wishing to disavow Lucifer, the bishop of Alexandria recognized Paulinus, as did also the Roman see. The dispute had now reached a stage at which principles were involved not unlike those which made the unhappy Donatist schism so incurable in Africa—the difference being that the Donatists (*q.v.*) rejected bishops who had been unfaithful in regard to heathenism, and the Eustathians of Antioch those who had once been infected with heresy. The Roman see under Damasus declared unhesitatingly for Paulinus; but throughout the East Meletius was regarded as the champion of orthodoxy; and he was a sufferer under Valens for his adherence to the Nicene Creed. The Cappadocian fathers, Basil and the two Gregorys, were devoted to Meletius, and John Chrysostom belonged to his church and was first ordained reader and afterwards deacon by him. The schism at Antioch embittered the life of St. Basil, who in vain appealed to Athanasius to recognize Meletius, and was seriously troubled by the uncompromising support which Damasus gave to Paulinus. Things were further complicated by Apollinaris, the famous bishop of Laodicea, who, though condemned for his erroneous opinions, is recognized not only as a defender of Nicene theology, but also as one of the profoundest thinkers of his time (see APOLLINARISM). Among his friends was the presbyter Vitalius, who had been made priest by Meletius, but was ultimately consecrated by Apollinaris as rival bishop to Paulinus (*c.* 375). Thus, including the Arians, the Church of Antioch was now divided into four parties, the three Nicene bishops being Meletius, Paulinus, and Vitalius. Strangely enough, not a shadow of suspicion rested on any one of these three rivals in regard to character. Meletius and Paulinus were both recognized as saints, while, despite the suspicious orthodoxy of his consecrator, Vitalius was highly respected by the most honoured churchmen of the day. Some hope of ending the schism was given when the six leading presbyters of the Church agreed to recognize either Meletius or Paulinus, if one survived the other. In 381 Meletius was at Constantinople, taking a leading part in the Second General Council. This Council was destined to affirm the creed of Nicæa and reunite the Church, though it proved unable to bring peace to the distracted community at Antioch. Meletius died during the Council; and, for some unexplained reason, Flavian, one of the six presbyters who had agreed to recognize Paulinus if he survived, consented to be consecrated successor to Meletius. His action appears on the face of it indefensible; but, as he proved a remarkably saintly bishop, there may be some extenuating circumstances for his conduct of which we are not aware. The appointment of Flavian was one of the reasons for the Roman see's regarding the Council of Constantinople with disfavour. Paulinus was supported by the bishops of Egypt, Cyprus, and Arabia, whilst Palestine, Syria, and Phœnicia adhered to Flavian. Theodosius recognized Flavian, and, when the serious affair of the statues was causing anxiety in the city, it was he as its bishop who pleaded the cause of the people at Constantinople (A.D. 387). Paulinus died in 388; and before his death he consecrated Evagrius in his place—a most uncanonical proceeding. The Westerners seem to have supported the claims of Evagrius, and Ambrose urged Theodosius to compel Flavian to come to Italy and submit his claims to the decision of the Church there; Theophilus of Alexandria was naturally opposed to him, as were Epiphanius and Jerome. When, however, Evagrius died, no rival bishop was consecrated. On Chrysostom's appointment to Constantinople (398) he managed to heal the schism so far as Alexandria and Rome were concerned; and Flavian placed the names of his two rivals—Paulinus and Evagrius—on the diptychs of the Church. The Eustathians continued to hold separate meetings till the time of Alexander (414–415), who healed the schism by an act of Christian courtesy, visiting the Eustathian church on Easter day and being accorded a hearty welcome by the congregation. The schism was finally ended when Kalandion, patriarch of Antioch (481–485), brought back the relics of Eustathius. The schism of Antioch would be no more than a somewhat dull chapter in ecclesiastical history were it not for the underlying causes, indispensable for the right understanding of the intricate questions which make the religious divisions of the East so complicated. As has been indicated, there was a singular absence of bad feeling and, we may add, of bad motives. We hear nothing of the disorder and even crimes which mark the course of the Donatist schism. But throughout we can see how incompatible were the ideals of the great patriarchates of Rome and Egypt with those of the East. Meletius, Flavian, John Chrysostom, and Nestorius, the great Antiochenes, all felt the encroachments of the bishop of Alexandria supported—except in the case of Chrysostom—by Rome. What has been called the Meletian schism was a foreshadowing of troubles to come which rent the Church asunder, and it is a phase in the long struggle between the rival theologies of Alexandria and Antioch, which dates from the days of Origen.

LITERATURE.—Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iii. 59–62; Rufinus, *HE* i.; Philostorgius, *HE* v.; Socrates, *HE* ii.–vi.; Sozomen, *HE* iv.–vi.; Theodoret, *HE* ii.–v.; Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxxiii.; Basil, *Epp.* 66, 120, 214, 258; Ambrose, *Epp.* 12–14, 56; Jerome, *Epp.* 15, 16; Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 240, *Carm.* II. ii. 1514–1624; Chrysostom, *Panegyrics* on Meletius and Eustathius; C. J. Hefele, *Hist. of the Councils of the Church*, Eng. tr., ii.^{2}, Edinburgh, 1896, pp. 275, 278, 346, 378, etc.; H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*^{2}, Cambridge, 1900, p. 211 ff.; A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*^{3}, Leipzig, 1894, Eng. tr., *Hist. of Dogma*, London, 1894–99, iv. (esp. p. 89 ff.); F. Cavallera, *Le Schisme d'Antioche, iv^e siècle*, Paris, 1905.

F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON.

MEMORY.—**I. Use of the term.**—(*a*) The term 'memory' can be used in a wide biological sense to signify retention of the effects of stimulation. In this sense it is regarded by some writers as a fundamental attribute of living matter—a view which was put forward by Ewald Hering in 1870, in a paper read before the Imperial Academy of Science at Vienna, 'On Memory as the Universal Function of Organized Matter.' Wherever there is life with growth and development, there memory must be predicated, since each new process is the outcome of the old and implies its retention.

> 'Memory is a faculty not only of our conscious states, but also, and much more so, of our unconscious ones. . . . Our ideas do not exist continuously as ideas; what is continuous is the special disposition of nerve substance in virtue of which this substance gives out to-day the same sound which it gave yesterday, if it is properly struck. . . . The reproductions of organic processes, brought about by means of the memory of the nervous system, enter but partly within the domain of consciousness, remaining unperceived in other and not less important respects. . . . The memory of the so-called sympathetic ganglionic system is no less rich than that of the brain and spinal marrow. . . . A muscle becomes stronger the more we use it. . . . After each individual action it becomes more capable, more disposed towards the same kind of work, and has a greater aptitude for repetition of the same organic processes. It gains also in weight, for it assimilates more matter than when constantly at rest. We have here . . . the same power of reproduction which we encountered when we were dealing with nerve substance. . . . This growth and multiplication of cells is only a special phase of those manifold functions which characterize organized matter. . . . Reproduction of performance, therefore, manifests itself to us as reproduction of the cells themselves, as may be seen most plainly in the case of plants, whose chief work consists in growth, whereas with animal organism other faculties greatly preponderate.'[1]

Hering states the doctrine of the heredity of acquired characteristics with great simplicity.

> 'We have ample evidence of the fact that characteristics of an organism may descend to offspring which the organism did not inherit, but which it acquired owing to the special circumstances under which it lived. . . . What is the descent of special peculiarities but a reproduction on the part of organized matter of processes in which it once took part as a germ in the germ-containing organs of its parent, and of which it seems still to retain a recollection that reappears when time and occasion serve?'[2]

For Hering the marvels of instinct are but the marvels of habit handed on from generation to generation.

> 'He who marvels at the skill with which the spider weaves her web should bear in mind that she did not learn her art all on a sudden, but that innumerable generations of spiders acquired it toilsomely and step by step.'[3]

Samuel Butler, in *Life and Habit* (1877), set forth the same doctrine, although he was at that time ignorant of Hering's paper. Into a later book, entitled *Unconscious Memory*, he incorporated a translation of the German lecture.

At the present day a similar view of memory is presented by such biologists as Francis Darwin, R. Semon, and H. S. Jennings. It should be noticed that in such a biological doctrine of memory there is no necessary reference to consciousness. The structural development and behaviour of plants and animals may testify to memory in this wide sense without thereby giving evidence of consciousness.

(*b*) In a psychological use of the term such a reference is essential. As generally understood in psychology, memory denotes the retention of experience, and its subsequent reproduction with the consciousness that it belongs to the past. To remember is to refer back. The distinction between memory as a conscious experience and memory as a biological fact has been emphasized by H. Bergson in his distinction between the memory which imagines and the memory which repeats. All our bodily habits are memory in the latter sense, but not necessarily in the former. Acquired skill implies practice with the retention of past progress, but in the exercise of skill there need not be any conscious reference to those past exercises whereby this skill was acquired. Both forms of memory may be combined when performed habit or acquired skill is guided on any occasion by a conscious reference back to past efforts, successes, and failures. For Bergson the relation of the two forms of memory portrays the relation of body to soul; each may enter into the service of the other.

> 'The bodily memory, made up of the sum of the sensori-motor systems organized by habit, is then a quasi-instantaneous memory to which the true memory of the past serves as base . . . the memory of the past offers to the sensori-motor mechanisms all the recollections capable of guiding them in their task and of giving to the motor reaction the direction suggested by the lessons of experience. . . . But, on the other hand, the sensori-motor apparatus furnish to ineffective, that is unconscious, memories, the means of taking on a body, of materializing themselves, in short, of becoming present. For, that a recollection should reappear in consciousness, it is necessary that it should descend from the heights of pure memory down to the precise point where *action* is taking place.'[1]

James Ward would subscribe to the biological doctrine of memory, but finds it meaningless save as interpreted in terms of the psychological.

> 'Nay, the bare term "retention" itself, and all cognate terms, such as "trace" or "residuum," are meaningless unless some present circumstance can be related to the past; thus they presuppose memory. The analogy of inscribed records is a favourite resort of those who strive to elucidate the nature of memory by physical imagery; we find it again and again in Locke, for example. Such an analogy is about on a par with that between the eye and a telescope—the one is a natural, the other an artificial, organ or instrument of vision; but neither will explain seeing as a psychological fact.'[2] 'Records or memoranda alone are not memory, for they presuppose it. *They* may consist of physical traces; but memory, even when called "unconscious," suggests mind; . . . the mnemic theory then, if it is to be worth anything, seems to me clearly to require not merely physical records or "engrams," but living experience or tradition.'[3]

(*c*) 'Memory' may be used to denote the retention of past experience without reference to the explicit reproduction of such experience. The essential difference of this use of the term from the biological use lies in the word 'experience' with its implication of mental processes. Writers on psychiatry, such as Morton Prince, S. Freud, and C. G. Jung, use the term 'memory' for the influence of past on present experience, whether the subject is conscious of such influence or not.

> 'When we conceive of memory as a process we have in mind the whole mechanism through the working of which this past experience is registered, conserved and reproduced, whether such reproduction be in consciousness or below the surface of consciousness.'[4]

In this sense all perception and all behaviour involve memory. Not only so, but these writers would include in their reference past experience of which the individual took no conscious note. Sensations received, and actions performed, with no consciousness of their occurrence, are said to be remembered and to be of great importance in determining future experience.

(*d*) As usually interpreted, memory belongs to cognition, but, inasmuch as all experience cannot be reduced to processes of cognition, so, it may be urged, neither can the retention and reproduction of experience. Such a theory requires that the emotional aspect of experience, feeling-tone, and conation be reproduced in memory as emotion, as feeling-tone, and as conation. Just as these aspects of consciousness are never experienced alone 'in abstracto' but always in a concrete whole of experience, so they will never be reproduced 'in abstracto,' but in a concrete whole with an idea or with an object of sense-perception in this or that action. In this article memory will be treated as implying the retention of past experience and the explicit reproduction of such experience in the form of ideas.

2. Reproduction of ideas.—It is a disputed point whether ideas of past experience ever arise spontaneously in consciousness or are always suggested by the datum of present consciousness. Evidence in favour of the former view is found in the experimental work of G. E. Müller and F. Schumann, A. Binet, and other experimental psychologists.

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[1] *Ap.* S. Butler, *Unconscious Memory*, pp. 109, 116, 117 f.
[2] *Ib.* pp. 118, 122.
[3] *Ib.* p. 129.

[1] Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, p. 197.
[2] Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*^{2}, London, 1903, ii. 157
[3] Ward, *Heredity and Memory*, p. 55 f.
[4] Morton Prince, *The Unconscious*, p. 2.

The latter view certainly represents the commoner form of memory. The attempt to classify the relation in which the suggested idea stood to the present consciousness gave rise to the 'laws of association.' The types of relationship, contiguity in time and place, similarity and contrast, were erected into principles of explanation. The present datum x was said to suggest the past experience y because previously x and y had been contiguous in time or place, or because they were similar, or, again, because they contrasted—three very different lines of explanation (see art. ASSOCIATION). Modern writers seek to find an explanation for this association of past and present in the direct and indirect connexions of experience brought about through our purposeful activities. Association is but a special form of the bonds existing between different moments of experience in virtue of the organization of experience into systems. Direct or indirect participation in some common system or whole constitutes the bond of union which enables a present datum to suggest past experience. The laws for the organization of experience, for the formation of spatial wholes, temporal wholes, trains of perception, trains of ideas, systems of conduct, are the ultimate principles of association. The conditions which determine the actual line of association followed on any given occasion are of two kinds—those which relate to the whole in which the present datum and a particular past experience participate, and those which relate to the special circumstances of the present moment of suggestion.

A whole which is closely organized will form a stronger basis for association than one which is loosely organized or which lacks a definite principle. A whole which has occurred repeatedly or recently is more influential than one which is of rare or long past occurrence. Experimental investigations have served to demonstrate the efficacy of close organization, intrinsic interest, repetition, and recency in determining suggestion. As illustrative of the influence of close organization one may cite H. Ebbinghaus's work with nonsense syllables. The only principle for organization was the spatial arrangement and time sequence of a string of syllables—*e.g.*, duk, lil, bap, pom, etc.—memorized by reading aloud. Any interference with the spatial and temporal organization of the series rendered rememorizing of the same syllables slower, and the difficulty of rememorizing the syllables was in proportion to the degree to which the original spatial and temporal organization was disturbed. As compared with a whole which has meaning—*e.g.*, a passage of prose or verse—these strings of nonsense syllables are more difficult to memorize, a fact which illustrates the influence of an intrinsic interest as a basis of organization. The work of L. Steffens and P. Ephrussi has emphasized the importance of attention with respect to the basis of organization. It has proved more economical to memorize material by repeating it as a whole than to memorize it piecemeal, provided the material is such as can be attended to without undue difficulty. Continuity of interest is preserved by this so-called 'global' method, whereas it is destroyed by the artificial sections of the 'partial' or piecemeal learning. The value of rhythm in organizing a sequence of experiences has been shown by Müller and Schumann, and is a commonplace of school practice. The influence of repetition in rendering suggestion certain and swift is illustrated by Müller and Schumann's researches. Experimental work by Müller and A. Pilzecker demonstrated the effect of recency in determining which of two possible lines of association suggestion should follow.

Of the conditions relating to the moment of suggestion, two seem to be predominant — the emotional attitude of the individual, and the trend of his ideas. The influence of the first on the line of association is demonstrated by the emotional congruity between the attitude of the present and that of the experience recalled; in a Micawber-like mood we forget failures and recall only ambitions and achievements. The importance of the trend of present consciousness has been shown in much recent work. An investigation by H. J. Watt brought out the control over association exercised by the *Aufgabe*, or task, before the mind at the moment. On the relevance or irrelevance of the reproduced idea depends very largely the serviceableness of our memory in any given difficulty. Appositeness for the purpose of the present moment, for what W. James termed 'the topic' of the stream of thought, will give one line of association the advantage over another.

A question which has become important for psychology is dissociation. Some writers hold that, just as experience becomes organized into wholes and these wholes are interrelated one with another in still larger organizations, so also there takes place the opposite process, viz. dissociation. Through dissociation certain episodes of past experience or certain aspects of that experience drop out of a given organization; such episodes cannot then be reproduced; no suggestion of normal consciousness can connect itself with the dissociated contents of past experience. The theory is of great importance to psychopathology in its bearing on the amnesia of hypnosis and hysteria and on multiple personality. The process whereby the insulation of non-suggestible memories is brought about is described differently by different writers. Dissociation is the line of description followed by Morton Prince; repression (without the implication of dissociation) in virtue of some pain value is the line of description followed by the Freudian school.

3. Obliviscence and reminiscence.—The failure of reproduction, whatever may be the view taken as to disintegration, is by no means the same psychical fact as failure of retention; inability to recall does not in itself prove obliviscence or the decay of past experience. Whether there can be total obliviscence, whether any experience can cease to be influential in mental life, may be open to dispute. Certainly it would seem that many experiences cease to be retained as explicit ideas. In the absence of any interest to organize items of experience obliviscence would be the natural fading out of processes which had fulfilled their function. Ebbinghaus's experiments with nonsense syllables, already referred to, furnished a typical curve of the rate of forgetting such items. The principle of organization was mere spatial and temporal contiguity; no interest gave value to the series of syllables or rendered one syllable of greater worth than another. Ebbinghaus's curve shows that after an interval of twenty minutes 41·8 per cent of any series learnt was forgotten, after an interval of an hour 55·8 per cent was forgotten, after twenty-four hours 66·3 per cent, after six days 74·6 per cent, after thirty-one days 78·9 per cent. The fading away of the processes is rapid at first and very gradual afterwards. Experimental work, however, would also seem to indicate that experience does not necessarily begin to fade from the moment when it ceases to be 'present' experience. On the contrary, there is a certain amount of evidence that processes ripen or mature, the reproduction of past experience being clearer or fuller after some short lapse of time than immediately after the original occurrence. Some of the experimental work of A. Jost suggested this, and recent work with school-children has brought out the same feature. Thus, if the amount of ballad poetry which children aged 12 can reproduce correctly immediately after learning be represented by 100, the amount which they can reproduce forty-eight hours later without any further learning will be 110. A similar increase in content reproduced is found in other kinds of school material. In the case of nonsense syllables, although forty-eight hours later some syllables can be reproduced which have not been remembered immediately after learning, the total amount reproduced is less. This tendency for 'reminiscence,' as it has been termed, is more marked in children than in adults. The greater organization of adult consciousness would enable any experience to attain its full value and association speedily, and, when reproduced, it is already developed, and henceforward decay rather than growth will be its life-history. In the case of the less organized experience of the child it may well be otherwise. The meaning and association of an experience would develop more slowly, and might be incomplete when the demand for reproduction followed at once upon its first reception.

4. **Function of imagery.**—Past experience reproduced as ideas depends very largely upon imagery. Imagery is of the same character as sense experience—visual, auditory, tactual, motor, etc. Francis Galton proposed grouping individuals into classes according to the kind of imagery used in reproduction—*e.g.*, an audile, one who reproduced past experience in terms of auditory imagery, heard words descriptive of the facts recalled. Most people were said to belong to a mixed type, *i.e.* to use all varieties of imagery. It would seem, however, that the kind of imagery used, even by a so-called audile or a visualizer, depends very largely upon the idea reproduced and the purpose for which it is reproduced. The fragmentary character of images, their instability and lack of localization as compared with sense presentations, has always been recognized. The schematic and symbolic character of imagery with respect to the idea for which it stands has received more attention in recent research. The function of imagery would seem to be to provide a focus for attention, and thereby to give clearness and definiteness to ideas. It has been noticed that, where the process of reproduction takes place with difficulty or where a train of ideas develops slowly, there the presence of imagery is marked, and the imagery seems indispensable to the realization of the ideas in question. Where, on the other hand, ideas are reproduced easily or a train of ideas develops rapidly or is familiar in its character, there imagery is sketchy and in some cases scarcely recognizable. The question has been raised whether reproduction is possible without imagery, without even the symbolic imagery of words standing for the ideas reproduced. Here, as in so many other psychological problems, no dogmatic answer is possible in the present state of knowledge. There is much patient research in connexion with the question, and from it there should arise a clearer conception of the problem and of its solution.

On the development of memory and memory training see art. DEVELOPMENT (Mental).

LITERATURE.—S. Butler, *Unconscious Memory*, London, 1880; J. Ward, *Heredity and Memory*, Cambridge, 1913; H. Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, Eng. tr., London, 1911; H. Piéron, *Evolution de la mémoire*, Paris, 1910; Morton Prince, *The Unconscious*, New York, 1914; S. Freud, *The Pathology of Everyday Life*, Eng. tr., London, 1914; H. Ebbinghaus, *Über das Gedächtnis*, Leipzig, 1885: E. Meumann, *Ökonomie und Technik des Gedächtnisses*, do. 1908; G. F. Stout, *Manual of Psychology*^{3}, London, 1913, bk. iv. ch. iii.; H. J. Watt, *The Economy and Training of Memory*, do. 1909.

BEATRICE EDGELL.

MĒMRĀ.

MĒMRĀ.—The tendency of Hebrew imagery to personify abstract powers, such as sin, sheol, wisdom, is evident also in the manner in which the divine word or speech is represented in poetry and elevated language. God's fiat by which creation came into being and continues to exist is spoken of as emanating from Him to execute His will. By the word of Jahweh 'were the heavens made' (Ps 33^{6}). 'He sendeth his word, and healeth them' (107^{20}). In Is 55 the word proceeding from God's mouth assumes form and accomplishes His will as His plenipotentiary. In the Apocrypha also we meet with a few instances where the word stands for God:

It was the word that descended on the offspring of the fallen angels to pierce them with the sword (*Jub.* 5^{11}); it entered Abraham's heart (12^{17}); it slew the first-born in Egypt; 'thine all-powerful word leaped from heaven out of the royal throne' (Wis 18^{15}).

But, while these instances are of rare occurrence in the Targumim—though nowhere else in Jewish post-Biblical literature—the word is already hypostatized under the form of *Mēmrā*. The Aram. *mēmar*, emph. state *mēmrā*, from *emar*, 'to speak,' signifies, like λόγος, from λέγειν, 'a word,' without the additional meaning of 'reason' connoted by λόγος. It occurs about 180 times in the Onḳelos Targum, 100 times in the so-called Jerusalem Targum, and 320 times in the pseudo-Jonathan (in the last two also דִּבּוּרָא) for God.

It stands either in the const. state—*e.g.*, Gn 15^{6} 'He believed in Jahweh' (Onḳ. renders 'in the Mēmrā of Jahweh'), Ex 19^{17} 'Moses brought forth the people before the Mēmrā of Jahweh' (in Jonathan 'before the Shᵉkhînāh'), Nu 23^{21} 'The Mēmrā of Jahweh their God is their support, and the Shᵉkhînāh of their king is among them'—or with suffixes: 'It is a sign between my Mēmrā and you' (Ex 31^{13}); 'This Mēmrā is a consuming fire' (Dt 9^{3}); 'I will shield thee with my Mēmrā until I have passed by' (Ex 33^{22}). It was employed by the Targumists in the place of God wherever anthropomorphisms, anthropopathisms, or any act inconsistent with the nature of a transcendent God, are predicated. Thus, 'By my Mēmrā I have founded the earth, and by my strength I have hung up the heavens' (Is 48^{13}). The mouth of Jahweh becomes the Mēmrā of Jahweh (Gn $8^{8.10}$). The Israelites said: 'Behold, Jahweh our God has shown us his glory (îḳārā), and his greatness, and we have heard the voice of his Mēmrā' (Dt 5^{24}). It is His Mēmrā that repents (Gn 6^{6} etc.); God swears by His Mēmrā (Nu 14^{35}); 'for my sake' is rendered 'for the sake of my Mēmrā' (Is 48^{11}). The Mēmrā gave the Law (Ex 20). 'These are the statutes . . . which Jahweh made between his Mēmrā and the children of Israel' (Lv 26^{46}). The Mēmrā accomplished the exodus from Egypt (Ex 3^{12}, etc.). 'Jahweh thy God, his Mēmrā, is thy help who brought thee out of the land of Egypt' (Dt 20^{1}). Isaiah saw 'the glory of the Shᵉkhînāh of the King of the worlds Jahweh Ṣᵉbhāôth' (Is 6^{5}), and then heard 'the voice of the Mēmrā' (6^{8}).

The above are only a few typical passages of the use of the Mēmrā (for an exhaustive list see F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 180; A. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*^{4}, London, 1887, ii. 659 ff.; he was followed by W. Fairweather in *HDB* v. 284). What, then, did the Targumists understand by the Mēmrā? A cursory glance at the Aramaic version will be necessary before we answer this question. The demand for a version in the Aramaic vernacular by the returned exiles must have been supplied very early; it is difficult to say how far back we are to place the institution of the office of the Mᵉthūrgᵉmān ('Dragoman,' 'Interpreter'), who rendered into the vernacular each verse of the Law and each three verses of the Prophets, as they were read publicly in the synagogue (cf. the office of the Ἑρμηνευτής in the early Christian communities). The frequent repetition must have produced a stereotyped version. The exclamation of Christ on the Cross in the Aramaic of Ps 22^{1} indicates that the Bible was familiar to Him in that language; and St. Paul's quotation of Ps 68^{18} in Eph 4^{8} is more in accordance with the Targum than with our Mas. Text or the LXX. A written Targum on Job existed at the time of Gamaliel (*Shab.* 115*a*). Although neither Origen nor Jerome mentions the existence of a Targum, that of Onḳelos had already at that time the position of a kind of authorized version.

'R. Jehudah says, whosoever transplants a verse (of the Bible) as it stands misrepresents the text, and whosoever adds to it is a blasphemer. Let him render it in accordance with *our Targum*' (*Ḳid.* 49*a*).

Jewish scholars agree that this refers to Onḳelos (*e.g.*, Maimonides, in *Yad*, Îshūth viii. 4; see also L. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*^{2}, Frankfort, 1892, ch. v.). The aim of the version was to give a correct rendering of the text. Where he differs from the original he does so in favour of the Hălākhā and popular usages:

Ex 23^{19} 34^{24}, Dt 14^{21} are rendered 'Ye shall not eat flesh with milk'; 'the fruit of the goodly tree' (Lv 23^{40}) is already called *ethrôg*. 'The Passover shall be eaten in *one assembly*' (Heb. 'one house') (Ex 12^{46}) in accordance with *Pesaḥ*. 86*a*.

It is obvious that the version was intended to embody Palestinian theology for popular use, and deviation from the original in the case of the names and acts of God was to guard against misconception of the nature and irreverent usage of the name of God. We find, accordingly, the divine unity insisted on:

Elōhîm with a plural predicate is rendered in the singular (Gn 35^{7}); Dt 4^{35} is translated 'to know that Jahweh is God, there is none beside him'; 'Who is like unto thee among the gods?' (Ex 15^{11}) becomes 'There is none beside thee. Thou art God'; so 18^{11} 'Jahweh is great, and there is no other God.'

Jahweh may not even be contrasted with other gods. Not even may the term 'god' be applied to other divinities.

They are either 'errors,' 'abominations' (Gn 35^{2}), or 'terrors' (31^{32}); 'he brought him up to the high place of his terror' (Heb. 'Ba'al') (Nu 22^{41}).

To avoid contrasting God with man or ascribing the same action to both, Onḳelos would introduce a paraphrase: 'They believed in the Mēmrā of Jahweh and in the prophecy of Moses' (Ex 14^{31}), 'the people murmured against the Mēmrā of Jahweh and strove with Moses' (Nu $21^{5.7}$); or the construction would be changed into the passive: 'Let it not be spoken to us from before Jahweh' (Ex 20^{19}). The same construction is employed when human actions and passions are ascribed to God:

'The voice of the lad was heard before God' (Gn 21^{17}); 'the labour of my hands is revealed before God' (31^{42}); 'it is revealed before me' (Heb. 'I know') (Ex 3^{19}); a Mēmar from before Jahweh came to Abimelech (Gn 20^{3}); 'Balaam met with a Mēmar from before Jahweh' (Nu $23^{3.4}$). This construction explains Onḳelos's rendering of Dt 33^{27}, which accidentally resembles Jn 1^{10} 'By his word the world was created.' In the place of זרעת עולם, 'the everlasting arms,' he reads, like the Peshiṭta version, זרע העולם 'he (the Mēmrā) sowed (=created) the world,' which in the passive assumed the above rendering.

It is evident that a version made under the influence of rigid uncompromising monotheism and accepted as embodying Rabbinic theology would avoid the assumption of an intermediate being distinct from God. To compare the Mēmrā with Philo's Logos would credit the Targumists with more theosophy than they otherwise claim, and it would be also unaccountable why only this term and nothing more of Philonic exegesis and mysticism should have found its way into the Targums. Its use in all the Targums rather warrants the assumption that its adoption is older than the Alexandrian Logos. We are inclined to think that it was introduced by the M^{e}thūrg^{e}mānîm when the name IHVH ceased to be pronounced and before Adonai was substituted, some time during the Persian period. The Mēmrā, therefore, is the deity revealed in its activity, just as the Sh^{e}khînāh and Îḳārā represent the divine majesty and glory. The term is based on Gn 1^{3}, emphasizing the fact that the world came into being by divine command.

Onḳelos uses Mēmrā when speaking of human authority:

'The Mēmar of Pharaoh' (Heb. 'the mouth of Pharaoh') (Gn 45^{21}); 'he does not receive our Mēmrā' (Heb. 'will not obey our voice') (Dt 21^{20}).

Literature.—Besides the works referred to in the art. see *JE*, art. 'Memra'; S. D. Luzzatto, *Philoxenus*, Vienna, 1830; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentl. Zeitalter*^{2}, Berlin, 1906, p. 399.

A. E. Suffrin.

MEN, THE.—In the Gaelic-speaking portion of Scotland 'the Men' were for about two centuries the recognized leaders of religious thought, and the popular representatives of spiritual and evangelical worship. They were called 'the Men' because they were laymen, and not ministers. The circumstances in which they arose varied in different districts; the causes to which they owed their origin admit of little doubt.

In the reign of James VI., Robert Bruce, the eminent Edinburgh preacher, was banished to Inverness. In a letter, written in Feb. 1613, to Sir James Semple, the laird of Belvise, the exiled minister says:

'If his Hieness wold command me to the scaffold, I have a good conscience to obey him, and it wold be more welcome to me nor this lingering death that I am in' (D. Calderwood, *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1842–49, vii. 183).

The 'lingering death' which Bruce deplored resulted in the establishment in Inverness of meetings for prayer and fellowship, and in the gathering together of bands of godly men whose influence continued to mould the religious life of the Highlands for many generations.

After the restitution and re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland in 1662, nearly 300 ministers relinquished their livings, and their places were filled in the greater number of parishes by ministers who did not possess the confidence of the people. In the more populous districts of the South, the unity of the people, and their devotion to Presbyterianism, enabled them to maintain their religious zeal by means of 'conventicles,' meetings for purposes of worship held in despite of the law. In the North a number of the ministers readily turned Episcopalian, and retained their livings. The people were less devoted to Presbyterianism, but, even so, the more devout among them were roused to opposition by the manner in which the vacant livings were filled. The parishes were large, the population was sparse, and combined action for the holding of religious meetings was almost impossible. Religious instruction was for a time neglected. The 'curates,' as the new incumbents were called, exercised little or no influence. When ministers were no longer regarded as leaders of the people in sacred things, there rose to take their place men of devout lives, of integrity of character, familiar with the Scriptures, and recognized as possessing spiritual gifts, who, going from parish to parish to hold meetings, were accepted as religious guides.

At a later period, the arbitrary manner in which patronage was exercised in the Presbyterian Church, and acquiesced in by Church courts, revived the influence and importance of an institution which had already obtained a foothold in many districts. Bands of earnest Christians boldly denounced legal arrangements which ignored religious needs and aspirations, and the people honoured them for doing so. Interest in a common object drew them together. They deplored the low state of religion in the land, they yearned for spirituality of worship and a greater knowledge of Holy Scripture among their countrymen. They held monthly or quarterly meetings for prayer and fellowship. These were occasions of high spiritual enjoyment. Sometimes the company sat up during the whole night, and passed the time in prayer and praise and spiritual conversation.

In order to prevent any misconstruction of their aims they provided themselves in some cases with carefully drafted constitutions. A document, dated 17th September 1788, setting forth the objects and rules of the society of the Men in Ross-shire shows that, while they deplored the low state of religion throughout the land, they did so not in a spirit of self-righteousness; they were at the same time faithful in dealing with one another. Among various evils they note, 'thrusting in ministers on reclaiming congregations with the force of the law of patronage—pastors who have nothing in view but the fleece.' The same document gives as one of the rules of the society: 'Thirdly, as the Word of God requireth, that we should consider one another, to provoke unto love and good works; therefore, if one or more of us see or hear anything unbecoming in the walk, conduct, or expressions of one another, that we be free with one another according to the Scripture rule: "Go tell thy brother his fault," etc. (Mt 18^{15}); "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him"' (Lv 19^{17}). It adds: 'We are aware that this our meeting together, out of different parishes, will be misconstructed; but, so far as we know ourselves, we have no divisive views in it; nor do we make a faction, and we desire to give none offence.'

Soundness of judgment characterized their utterances and their conduct. Their activity was far removed from that fanatical enthusiasm into which religious zeal frequently degenerates. One exception, still referred to with bated breath, when referred to at all, indicates their general abhorrence of fanatical excess. They organized meetings for prayer and the reading of Scripture among the people. The first Sabbath school in Ross-shire was opened by one of them—Findlater, known as the 'Quaker merchant.' Before the Bible was translated into Gaelic, many of them were experts in making a running translation from the English version into the language of the people. The more gifted among them expounded the Word, and not a few became eloquent and powerful preachers, though lacking the training of the schools. The deep respect of the people for an ordained ministry was reflected in the fact that these spiritual guides, even when their influence was most powerful, were called not ministers or preachers, but 'the Men' (*na Daoine*).

By 'the Men' the evangelical spirit was kept alive in large districts, and the comforts of religion were administered in many a stricken home and in many a remote hamlet. They generally set apart one night of each week for prayer, and another for fellowship or conference. On the latter a portion of Scripture was selected to be the subject of discussion. This passage was referred to as the *Bonn Ceist*, or the 'Question.' The Men, each in turn, gave an exposition, generally bearing on experimental religion, and thus their gifts of speech and of scriptural interpretation were developed. Fitness to expound Scripture in public assemblies, combined with blamelessness of life, secured recognition as one of the Men. This exercise became so popular that, whenever the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, a day was set apart for the Men. Generally it was the Friday between the Fast-day and the day of Preparation. It was known as *là na Ceist* ('the day of the Question'). Great gatherings were expected when popular Men came to 'the Communion.' Worshippers often travelled long distances, and from far and near; multitudes, who never became church members, attended faithfully on the Men's day.

The presiding minister opened the service with praise, prayer, and the reading of Scripture, and afterwards called for the passage which was to become the 'Question.' One of the more highly honoured of the Men announced a passage, indicating its bearing on Christian experience, and requesting speakers to deal with some such topic as 'marks by which God's children are distinguished from the world,' 'marks of true conversion,' 'marks of saving faith,' etc. Then the presiding minister called upon the most aged and experienced Christians present to give the 'marks' to their fellow-Christians. This service was generally held in the open air. Its popularity was such that the largest church could seldom contain the congregation gathered that day. 'To rise to the question' on a Communion Friday stamped the speaker with the hall-mark of public recognition. Henceforward his position was assured. He was one of 'the Men.'

The popularity of the Men was a menace to the Church wherever its services were not characterized by evangelical faithfulness. Many of them would not partake of the Sacraments at the hands of ministers of whom they did not approve, and approved ministers were prevented by ecclesiastical discipline from receiving those who held aloof from the worship of their own parishes. Resolutions against the Men were passed in Presbyteries and Synods, but all efforts to crush them only increased their popularity. The people believed in them, honouring them for the strictness of their lives, and frequently asserting that they were possessed of the gift of prophecy.

In earlier times, wherever the doctrines of grace were faithfully proclaimed, the Men were faithful to the Church, and they undoubtedly created a taste for the more spiritual and evangelical preaching which began early in the 19th century. With the revival of evangelicalism the special circumstances in which they proved a religious force passed away. But power and influence once acquired are not readily abandoned. In many districts the Men heartily welcomed and warmly supported an evangelical ministry; in others they persistently and fiercely opposed all ecclesiastical influence. The estrangement continued too long. In parts of Sutherland, Inverness, and Ross-shire they continued to stand aloof, and in the more northern districts they formed bodies known as 'Separatists.' The more they diverged from the Church the more they developed contempt for all learning except a literal knowledge of the Authorized Version of Scripture. They became narrow and intolerant. Utterly disregarding all outward culture, they attempted to force upon the people a religion of loveless gloom. From one extreme it was easy to pass to others. Antinomianism was openly professed in some districts, and exorcism was practised in others. These fitful throes were the spurious imitations of a life that had gone. In later times opposition to instrumental music and church choirs, a severe observance of the Sabbath, a blind devotion to the recognized translation of Scripture, a general condemnation of scholarship, and a zeal for the doctrine of election which merged into fatalism characterized generally the scattered fragments of a body whose sway was at one time both powerful and beneficent.

But the old spirit has not altogether disappeared. A different type is occasionally met with. 'Men,' tender-hearted and spiritually-minded, still preserve the best traditions of a past age. In the absence of the minister one of these may be found here and there to conduct the Sunday service in church or meeting-house. Standing at the precentor's desk, equally ready to give an extempore address or to read a portion of some 18th cent. divine, he follows devoutly the usual order of service, except that he does not pronounce the benediction. These Men live saintly lives, they are honoured by the people, and they help to preserve the simplicity and spirituality of religion.

G. R. MACPHAIL.

MEN OF GOD.—*Lyudi bozhii*, or 'Men of God,' is the self-assumed name of a Russian sect who regard themselves as the only true worshippers of God; they believe that God is to be found only among themselves, ordinary Christian church-goers being, in their view, worldlings. By the outside world they are usually known as 'Khlysti,' *i.e.* 'Flagellants,' though they themselves repudiate this title. As a matter of fact, they are essentially not flagellants but dancers, flagellation being a mere accompaniment of the dance, and not even a universal practice. The name is probably a corruption from 'Christŭ,' the oldest traceable title by which they designate themselves as those who have Christ in their midst, in their leaders.

Although the Men of God have many 'Christs,' they are not a Christological sect in the proper sense of the word, for their Christology is only one side of their doctrine of spiritual ecstasy; that is to say, they are a secret sect who practise asceticism and fall into trances. Their principal means for drawing down the Spirit is dancing (*radeniye*); other devices are the singing of songs, of which they have a great number, couched in highly poetical language, and fasts. A member of this sect who succeeds in receiving the Spirit in full measure becomes a Christ or even a God Zebaoth (a Christ of the highest rank) or a Mother of God; those who receive the Spirit in a less degree are invested with the title of one of the apostles, or of the ecclesiastical saints, and honoured as prophets or prophetesses. In their belief, even Jesus of Nazareth first became a Christ only through receiving the Spirit at His baptism. While these persons have received the Spirit as a permanent possession, ordinary members of the community may obtain Him temporarily through the same means.

Besides severe and often protracted fasts, complete sexual abstinence is a feature of their asceticism. Those who enter the sect as married people must henceforth live as brothers and sisters. Others are, as a rule, not permitted to marry at all, but may take a young woman into their house as 'spiritual sister' in 'spiritual marriage,' exclusive of sexual intercourse. The latter constituted the trespass of Adam and Eve, and is condemned as the sin κατ' ἐξοχήν; in accordance with this view, childbirth is regarded as extremely sinful, while children are despised as 'little sins.' Generally speaking, the Men of God aim at a monastic style of living, their houses being arranged as convents and the women wearing a kind of nun's dress. Like all Russian sectaries, they enforce complete abstinence from intoxicating liquors; even coffee, and in many communities tea also, is forbidden. On the whole the Khlystic system of morals lays so much stress on the mortification of the flesh (the resurrection of which they deny) that it has not been able to set up a practical ideal of life. Altruism appears among them essentially as sympathy, which has to display itself in the bestowal of alms. Besides practising asceticism, they lay great stress on the voluntary endurance of persecution from the State and from the Church, and the sect is persecuted even to the present day as 'extremely pernicious.' In earlier centuries the persecution was excessively brutal; attempts were made to crush them by the rack and the scaffold, but in vain, and they furnished many martyrs. Since the beginning of the 19th cent. those methods have been replaced by imprisonment and transportation to the Caucasus and Siberia.

The Men of God, however, seek to show the courage of their opinions not by open confession of their faith, but by concealment of it, and it is precisely their obstinacy in this matter that has often brought upon them increased severity of punishment. This concealment of their belief is due to their view of the Holy Spirit, whom they regard as a power which shuns observation, revealing Himself in secret and averse from publicity. If a man talks about the Spirit, he loses Him. Consequently not only are their ecstatic religious services secret, but they generally conceal the fact of their adherence to the sect. They outwardly conform to the State Church, and attend Confession and Holy Communion, although they spit out the wine afterwards. They themselves celebrate communion with *kvas* (a sour drink from rye meal and malt) or with water.

Any one who desires admission into the sect must, at an initiatory rite, conducted with an extremely elaborate ceremonial, swear a solemn oath that under no circumstances whatever, not even under the severest persecution, will he disclose his belief either to his nearest relatives or to the ecclesiastical confessor. In reality this sect thoroughly despise the State Church as 'the world,' the kingdom of Satan, and regard the 'popes' (clergy) as Jewish priests and Pharisees. In opposition to the Orthodox Church, they are sure that they are the only true Church, the Kingdom of God on earth, because they alone possess the Spirit of God. The services of the Orthodox Church are useless, since they dispense with dancing, the proper means for bringing down the Spirit from heaven.

The Men of God have also services in which there is no dancing; these are the 'usual conferences,' and consist in singing, and the reading and exposition of Holy Scripture; but they are only assemblies for attracting adherents, and they hint darkly at the 'better services.' In reality the source of revelation for this sect is not Holy Scripture, but the Spirit which descends on them during the dance. Any one who feels the desire for the 'better services' must undergo long preparation before he is received into the sect by one of the leaders and admitted to them. In the 'better services' a kind of frenzied dance takes place, consisting of a series of variously arranged movements performed singly and collectively, while songs are sung without any instrumental accompaniment. The object of the dance is to induce at least some of the performers to fall into an ecstasy (named the 'bath of regeneration,' since the *radeniye* is regarded as the real spiritual baptism in opposition to the mere water-baptism of the Church). The 'Christs,' 'Mothers of God,' prophets and prophetesses especially, but sometimes also the ordinary members of the community, when in the ecstatic state, break into improvised doggerel, and prophesy the 'common fate' of their sect and the 'private fate' of individual members. This secret service closes with a common meal—the 'love-feast'—which is regarded as the true communion. The services generally begin in the evening, and continue far into the night.

The sectaries have also provided a substitute for the other sacraments of the State Church. But the ritual varies in the different congregations and even in the same congregation, according to circumstances. The Men of God do not believe, with the Orthodox Church, that a sacrament must have the prescribed form in order to be efficacious; in their view, the Spirit operates unfettered and creates for Himself whatever form He chooses. They seem to have special rites of their own, such as dancing round a tub filled with water at the summer solstice. Here, doubtless, we have to do with a relic of Slavic heathenism, and vestiges of heathen ideas are also found in their songs and liturgical formulæ. This rite, however, has received a Christian colouring in the vision of the 'golden Christ,' who appears out of the steam above the vessel.

The attribution of sexual excesses and sacrificial rites to the Men of God appears, according to the Russian official reports themselves, to be utterly slanderous and merely a device of the State Church to combat the sect, and brand as hypocritical an asceticism which is more strenuous than her own.

Our earliest sources of information regarding the sect, which they call 'Christovshtchina,' are Yevrosin (who wrote in 1691), Dimitri, bishop of Rostov (who wrote between 1702 and 1709), and Theophylact Lopatinski (1745), and further information is found in the reports of two trials of Khlysti held at Moscow between 1733–39 and 1745–57. The first shows the sect reckoning its adherents for the most part in the Moscow monasteries, among monks and nuns and peasants connected with the monasteries; it also comprised some tradespeople. In the monasteries it seems to have marked a reaction against deeply-rooted immorality. It also spread beyond Moscow, to the district of Moscow itself, to Yaroslav and Uglitch, and to the town of Venyov, south of Moscow. In the first trial Prokofi Lupkin, a soldier of the bodyguard (*streletz*), appears as 'Christ,' his wife, Akulina Ivanovna, and the nuns Nastasya and Marfa (who were both finally beheaded in Petrograd) as 'Mothers of God.' Altogether more than 300 persons were condemned.

According to the reports of the second trial, the sect had considerably diminished in the Moscow monasteries, but, on the other hand, had spread much more widely among the peasant population as far as Petrograd and in the government districts of Vladimir and Nijni-Novgorod, while, at the same time, Moscow maintained its central position as the head-quarters of the sect.

Moscow was the scene of operations of the 'Christs' Serge Osipov, Vasili Stepanov, and, more famous than these, Andreyan Petrov, who, known as the 'Happy Idiot,' had the entrée to the houses of the aristocracy, and carried on his propaganda there for the sect not entirely without success. The communities of Khlysti in other places also possessed 'Christs' and 'Mothers of God.'

Lupkin and Petrov belong to the seven 'Christs' named by the legend which describes the origin of the Men of God (as the seventh they reckon Selivanov, the founder of the Skoptzy sect, which split off from the Khlystovshtchina in 1772). Since the reports of the trials prove the correctness of the assertions of their tradition regarding the seven 'Christs' and the 'Mothers of God' Akulina and Nastasya, the tradition may be trusted as to what it relates concerning the earlier 'Christs' Danila Philipov and Ivan Suslov. Of these the first is said to have also ranked as 'God Zebaoth' and to have founded the sect about the middle of the 17th cent. in the government district of Kostroma, while the second, as his disciple, spread it in the Oka and Volga districts and introduced it into Moscow. The evidence of Dimitri and Theophylact as to the founder of the Khlystovshtchina applies to Suslov; but ancient songs of the Khlysti speak of one 'Christ,' Averyan, who lived in the 14th cent., and of another, Yemelyan, who laboured in Moscow in the time of Ivan the Terrible. The majority of Russian scholars consider the sect much older than historical information reaches. Although the attempt to derive it from the heathenism of the Slavs and Finns must be pronounced unfortunate, owing to the decidedly Christian character of the sect, the suggestion which derives it from the Bogomils (*q.v.*) seems extremely credible; but, on the other hand, the Khlysti are entirely devoid of a trace of the Bogomilian cosmology, and they suggest rather the Messalians or Euchites (*q.v.*).

In the 19th cent. Kostroma and Moscow maintained their central importance in an ideal sense as places hallowed by tradition, especially in consequence of the intense activity of the 'Mother of God,' Ulyana Vasilyevna. The actual centre, however, was shifted in the middle of the century south-eastward into the government districts of Nijni-Novgorod, Samara, and Tambov, through the activity of Radayev and the 'Christs' Vasili Shtsheglov and Avvakum Kopylov. The former, with his peculiar mystical teaching, and like some later 'Christs,' takes a special place among the Khlystovshtchina inasmuch as, by appealing to the trance-producing spirit, he caused asceticism to fall into abeyance, and shamefully abused the devotion of his female followers. On the other hand, Vasili Shtsheglov and the 'Christs' resembling him have no immoral rites ascribed to them, but merely unchastity.

In the further course of the century the centre of the sect was pushed still further southward into the Caucasus territory, especially through the conspicuous energy of Kopylov's pupil, Perphil Katasonov. He and his followers again took the title 'God Zebaoth,' and ruled not only all the communities of the Caucasus, where the Khlysti, under their new name 'Shaloputy' ('eccentrics'), lead a considerably harassed existence, but also those of Southern Russia upwards to Smolensk, each of which has its own 'Christ.' Many Khlysti communities honour as a Christ the orthodox 'Father John of Kronstadt,' famous through Russia for his faith-healing.

The Khlysti communities are not large, since they depend for their increase, as they must, on account of their sexual abstinence, almost entirely on proselytism. Although they are now generally to be found everywhere in the Russian Empire where there are Russian peasantry, their total number, which can be only approximately reckoned, cannot exceed 200,000. Their significance for the national life, however, is, on account of their sober, industrious mode of life, far greater than this number would lead one to suppose. This article, the attitude of which is very different from that of Russian scholars, is based upon the writer's book, *Die russischen Sekten*, i. (Leipzig, 1907), which, besides the Khlysti, deals with such sects as the Skakuny, Malyovantzy, and Paniyashkovtzy, all of which are dependents of the different bodies of the Khlystovshtchina. The latter have assumed special forms as they passed from the sphere of influence of the Greek Orthodox Church to that of the Lutherans, the Stundists, and the Molokani ('Milk-drinkers'). Among the Lutheran Finns of Ingermannland the sectaries are called Skakuny ('Hoppers'). Kondrati Malyovanny founded a sect intermediate between the Khlystovshtchina and Stundism in Tarashtcha in the government district of Kieff about 1890, and his teaching caused an epidemic of trance-phenomena. The Molokani-Khlysti are called Pryguny ('Jumpers'). There were, and still are, numerous other bodies which, on account of some peculiarity, split off from the sect. Although the 'Worshippers of Napoleon,' who used to revere him as a 'Christ,' seem to have died out, the Adamites, who seek to get rid of modesty as a relic of the Fall, and, therefore, go naked at divine service and in their houses, still exist to-day. The sect of the Paniyashka regard the body as not only sinful but directly possessed by the devil, and intensify their asceticism accordingly.

LITERATURE.—The most important Russian works on the sect are: I. Dobrotvorski, *Lyudi bozhii: Russkaya sekta tak nazyvayemych duchovnych christian* ('The Men of God: the Russian Sect of the so-called spiritual Christians'), Kasan, 1869; fragments of this have been translated into German by A. Pfizmaier in *SWAW* civ. [1883] and *DWAW* xxxiv. [1884] and xxxv. [1885]; N. Reutski, *Lyudi Bozhii i Skoptzy* ('The Men of God and Skoptzis'), Moscow, 1872; K. Kutečov, *Sekty Khlystov i Skoptzov* ('The Sects of the Khlysti and Skoptzis'), Kasan, 1882, ^{2}Stavropol, 1900; A. Rozhdestvenski, *Khlystovshtchina i Skoptzshestvo v Rossii* ('Khlystovshtchina and Skoptzism in Russia'), Moscow, 1883. There are also numerous articles in newspapers.

K. GRASS.

MENCIUS.—1. **Life.**—Mencius, or Meng-tse (371–288 B.C.), second only to Confucius in the annals of orthodox Chinese philosophy, was born in Tsou of a family whose ancestral home was in Lu, the native State of Confucius. While still very young, he lost his father; he was educated by his mother, who is famous among the women of China for the care with which she brought up her son. Nothing is known of his other preceptors, except that they were of the school of Confucius, whom Mencius regarded as supreme among men, and proposed to himself as example (Mencius, II. i. 2, IV. ii. 22). When we get certain knowledge of him, he is a person already well known and accompanied by disciples, moving from one State to another according as the reception of himself and his doctrines was favourable or otherwise, accepting such gifts as he deemed consistent with his self-respect, and devoting himself to the exposition of his views on ethics and politics. This he did with acumen and considerable liveliness, frequently using illustrations, some of which are famous.

From the man of Sung, who assisted his corn to grow long by pulling it up, we are to learn the need of patience in the development of character (II. i. 2). The moral absurdity of not putting an immediate end to unrighteous practices is illustrated by the man who stole his neighbour's fowls, and who replied to one who remonstrated with him, 'I will diminish my appropriations, taking only one fowl a month till next year, and then I will make an end of the practice' (III. ii. 8). The Niu mountain, whose natural vegetation is destroyed by axes and bills and the browsing of cattle, is a figure of human nature, which, through the occurrences of daily life, loses its native goodness and cannot regain it during the brief respite of the night or the calm of dawn (VI. i. 8).

In addressing himself to the princes and governors of his time, Mencius may sometimes have been guilty of undue compliance with the faulty dispositions of those with whom he dealt (I. ii. 5); if so, it was from no unworthy motive, but only to secure the more ready acceptance of his teaching. For the most part he spoke his mind with an admirable freedom, not overawed by 'the pomp and display' of the great (VII. ii. 34), but acting according to his own teaching that respect is best shown by giving righteous counsel (II. ii. 2). Mencius is quite conscious of his own worth. He alone in his age could bring tranquillity and good order to the empire (II. ii. 13). His words will not be altered by any future sage (III. ii. 9). He has, accordingly, a keen sense of the respect due to him (II. ii. 11, IV. i. 24), though he occasionally employs unworthy shifts to maintain his dignity (II. ii. 2). Looking on himself as the continuer of the Confucian teaching (VII. ii. 38), he regarded it as an urgent duty to oppose the teachings of Yang and Mo (III. ii. 9). This he did with vigour and acuteness, while always willing to receive repentant heretics without reproaches, not tying up the leg of a pig which had already been got back into the pen (VII. ii. 26). The last twenty years of his life Mencius spent in Lu, where, with the assistance of his disciples, he prepared that sole record of his teaching which is called by his name and now forms one of those standard writings known as *The Four Books.*

2. **Ethics.**—Mencius's view of human nature is fundamental. Man's nature is good in the sense that 'from the feelings proper to it it is constituted for the practice of what is good' (VI. i. 6). The four cardinal virtues—benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge—are not infused into man from without, but have their rise from the feelings of commiseration, of shame and dislike, of modesty and compliance (reverence and respect [VI. i. 6]), of approving and disapproving (II. i. 6). These four principles are accepted as psychological facts not reducible, *e.g.*, to any form of self-interest (II. i. 6). All that is needed for perfect virtue, in which a man becomes possessor of himself (III. i. 4), is that these innate principles be developed (II. i. 6, VII. i. 15; cf. also 'All things are already complete in us' [VII. i. 4]); and for this human nature is self-sufficient; failure arises not from lack of ability, but simply from not making the necessary effort (I. i. 7, IV. i. 10). From another point of view Mencius analyses human nature into *chih* ('mind,' 'will,' *νοῦς*) and *ch'i* ('passion-nature,' *ψυχή*). The former is supreme, but the latter is not to be violently suppressed, but developed in accordance with righteousness. Otherwise one's nature suffers defeat—as it also suffers defeat through action in which the mind feels no complacency. The mating of the passion-nature with righteousness is to be accomplished only by persistent practice of righteousness; but, given a mind set on righteousness, this result necessarily follows (II. i. 2). The violent suppression of the passion-nature, by which the integrity of a man's being is impaired, must be distinguished from the abscission of desires in an ethical interest (VII. ii. 35). Mencius, in basing his ethics on human nature, appears to have been not unaware of the ambiguity of the term 'nature.' Such seems to be the drift of a Socratic argument in which he maintains that 'the nature is not to be confounded with the phenomena of life' (VI. i. 3 [Legge's tr.]). Elsewhere he points out that there are desires which are natural, but in connexion with them there is the appointment of heaven, and the superior man does not say of them, 'It is my nature.' There are also moral propensities which are the appointment of heaven, but which the superior man recognizes rather as natural (VII. ii. 24). In things equally natural there is a gradation of worth, which can be recognized by thinking (VI. i. 14 f.). Moreover, the sense of shame, which a man may not lack (VII. i. 6 f.), is indicative of his having a moral constitution, which alone is properly his nature. In the possession of this nature, good in its composition, all men are alike, evidence of this being found in the fact that, as in matters of physical taste, music, and beauty there are common standards, so also is it in morals (VI. i. 7). This originally good nature is the child heart (IV. ii. 12), which differentiates man from the lower animals (IV. ii. 19); and in possessing it the ordinary man is of one kind with the sages (II. i. 2, III. i. 1), who simply have apprehended before me what my mind also approves (VI. i. 7). The sages, however, are spontaneously what other men attain to by effort (IV. ii. 19, VII. ii. 33), though they, too, learned from other men (II. i. 8). The great man is he who does not lose his child heart (IV. ii. 12); but for most men it is lost, and the grand aim of education is its recovery (VI. i. 11). Morality is the supreme task laid on each man (IV. i. 19), which requires unremitting diligence (VI. i. 9, VII. ii. 21). Nothing can be done with self-satisfied conformists to current standards, those 'thieves of virtue' (VII. ii. 37); for it is necessary that morality should criticize itself (VII. i. 5). The way to sage-like virtue begins in ordinary duties (VI. ii. 2), and the carrying out of principles already possessed by all (VII. ii. 31). Vigorous action according to the law of 'reciprocity' is the closest approximation to perfect virtue (VII. i. 4). It is also perhaps hinted that virtue is the mean between extremes (II. i. 9, IV. ii. 6 f., 10). For self-direction it is of the greatest importance 'to estimate the mind,' *i.e.*, to become acquainted with the real nature of one's motives (I. i. 7), and second thoughts are often best (IV. ii. 23). Life presents a series of alternatives of which the higher is, by reflexion, to be chosen in spite of

the seductions and obscurations of sense (VI. i. 15). Righteousness is to be preferred before life itself (VI. i. 10). The righteous man is beyond the reach of calamity (IV. ii. 28, VII. i. 21). The only inevitable calamity is self-incurred (IV. i. 8). True greatness is to practise virtue for the sake of oneself and of others, superior to the seductions or threats of riches, honours, poverty, and force (III. ii. 2). To rejoice in virtue breeds unconscious grace of deportment, which is the perfection of music (IV. i. 27; cf. VII. i. 21). 'Benevolence, righteousness, self-consecration, fidelity, with unwearied joy in these virtues—these constitute the nobility of Heaven' (VI. i. 16). Realized virtue is sure of a transforming influence on others (IV. i. 12); failure to evoke a response should lead to self-examination (IV. i. 4). Virtue cannot be selfish; to find purity by withdrawing from all contact with evil one must become an earthworm (III. ii. 10). Each man is responsible to the extent of his moral attainment for the instruction of others (V. i. 7), and to instruct others is the greatest fidelity (II. i. 8, III. i. 4), while neglect of this duty degrades the virtuous to the level of those whom they should teach (IV. ii. 7). Of the special virtues, filial piety is the only one that is referred to in any detail. Mencius quotes the definition of it as serving one's parents with propriety, burying them with propriety, and sacrificing to them with propriety (III. i. 2). The service of parents is the greatest of all services and the root of all others; it has regard not only to physical sustenance, but to the wishes of the parents (IV. i. 19); and it takes unquestioned precedence of duties to wife or children (IV. ii. 30). Filial piety completes itself in the funeral rites (IV. ii. 13); and, in view of the importance of sacrifice to ancestors, lack of posterity is the gravest instance of unfilial conduct (IV. i. 26).

3. Politics.—Mencius has no scheme of social reconstruction. Existing social usages (*e.g.*, concubinage) and the existing political arrangement—an empire consisting of small States, each with its own king, but owning the supremacy of one State whose ruler is emperor—all this Mencius simply accepts. What he is concerned with is the rectification of moral relations within this existent social framework. He follows the current analysis into the five relations of father and son, sovereign and minister, husband and wife, old and young, friend and friend; and desires the cultivation of the corresponding virtues, affection, righteousness, harmony in difference, order, fidelity (III. i. 4). Of these relations that male and female should dwell together is the greatest (V. i. 2); and within the family we have in service of parents and obedience to elder brothers the fundamental exemplifications of benevolence and righteousness (IV. i. 27, VII. i. 15). Mencius opposes any such obliteration of natural relations as he finds in Mo's doctrine of universal love. Men have 'a root,' *i.e.*, they have a special relation to their parents and therefore a special duty corresponding thereto (III. i. 5). So, too, Mencius opposes all pantisocratic schemes, and teaches that society implies a differentiation of function in which those who labour with the mind govern, and those who labour with their strength are governed (III. i. 4), and in which the teacher of righteousness has his due place (III. ii. 4). In Mencius's doctrine of the State two points are to be noted especially: the emphasis on morality and the democratic bias. Rule is based not on force, but on willing submission accorded to virtue (II. i. 3, IV. ii. 16). If the ruler be virtuous, his influence will extend to all his subjects (IV. i. 20, ii. 5). There is no secret of statecraft—it needs only that the ruler give scope to the innate goodness of his nature (I. i. 7, II. i. 6). Let him dismiss all talk of 'profit,' and think only of benevolence and righteousness (I. i. 1). In the disordered times of Mencius such a benevolent government, having regard for the people's welfare (IV. i. 3, 9), would be immediately successful (II. i. 1). The truly benevolent ruler has no enemy within the empire (VII. ii. 4). Rulers are the shepherds and parents of their people (I. i. 4, 6), and must make it their first business to see that they (the people) have a certain livelihood, for without that they will abandon themselves to crime (I. i. 7). Mencius is very emphatic on the necessary precedence of a sound economic condition.

> 'When pulse and grain are as abundant as fire and water, how shall the people be other than virtuous?' (VII. i. 23).

Agriculture, therefore, and then education are prime interests of State (III. i. 3). The strength of a kingdom is in its morale (I. i. 5, IV. i. 1). Destruction is only self-incurred (IV. i. 8). A wise prince will be guided by his ministers (I. ii. 9), but he is himself ultimately responsible for the government of his State (I. ii. 6); he must treat his ministers with respect (II. ii. 2), regarding them as his hands and feet, and they will then regard him as their belly and heart (IV. ii. 3). In the appointment of ministers members of old established families are to be preferred, an ancient kingdom being one in which there are families with this tradition of service (I. ii. 7). Indeed, the art of governing lies in securing the approbation of these great families (IV. i. 6). New men, however, are not to be excluded (I. ii. 7); only the ruler must seek those by whom he may be taught (II. ii. 2). The love of what is good is the main qualification for being a minister, since those who have good thoughts will gladly lay them before him (VI. ii. 13). Let the ruler be guided in the appointment and dismissal of ministers by the voice of the people (I. ii. 7). In a State the people are the most important element; the spirits of the land and grain are the next; and the sovereign is the lightest. Therefore to gain the peasantry is the way to become emperor (VII. ii. 14). The voice of the people is determinative of the sovereignty in a kingdom (I. ii. 10), and in accordance with it a prince may rebel even against the emperor (I. ii. 3). For a sovereign forfeits his rights by wickedness and becomes a 'mere fellow' (I. ii. 8), and, if not removed by the members of the royal house (V. ii. 9) or other ministers (VII. i. 31), he may be removed by the leader of a righteous rebellion. He who takes on him this duty of removing his sovereign must be sure that he is 'the minister of heaven' (II. i. 5, ii. 8). He who is such is marked out by the appointment of heaven showing its will by his personal action and his conduct of affairs, which are such as to win universal submission.

> 'Heaven sees according as my people see; heaven hears according as my people hear' (V. i. 5).

All wars of ambition are condemned (IV. i. 14, VII. ii. 2), and ministers who encourage the ambitions of their prince are 'robbers of the people' (VI. ii. 9). If right government prevails in the empire, the princes of the feudatory States will be submissive one to another in proportion to their virtue, and not in proportion to their strength (IV. i. 7). As for the details of a truly benevolent government, 'never has any one fallen into error who followed the laws of the ancient kings' (IV. i. 1), whence sovereigns should imitate Yao, and ministers Shun (IV. i. 2, VI. ii. 10).

4. Religion.—References in the writings of Mencius to religious worship are merely incidental, and show that he accepted without criticism such worship of spirits and of ancestors as was then current. Of more interest are his references to heaven. He quotes, with approval, from the *Shu King*, or *Book* *of History*, the saying that heaven, having produced the inferior people, appointed for them rulers and teachers to be assisting to God (I. ii. 3). As heaven protects all, so, in glad imitation, should the ruler of a great State protect a small State, while the ruler of a small State should recognize the decree of heaven and be willing to serve the great State (I. ii. 3). Such obedience to heaven ensures preservation, while disobedience entails destruction (IV. i. 7). So, generally, 'calamity and happiness are men's own seeking' (II. i. 4), although heaven's decree and man's causality are both recognized:

> 'That which happens without a man's causing it is from the ordinance of heaven' (V. i. 6).

There is a decree for everything, and a man should receive submissively what can be correctly ascribed thereto; but he who understands what is meant will not stand under a precipitous wall, nor can death under fetters be justly ascribed to heaven's decree, though death in the discharge of duty may be so attributed (VII. i. 2). Man's duty, therefore, is to do the right and leave the issues to heaven (I. ii. 14, VII. i. 1), which in its painful discipline of individuals has moral ends in view (VI. ii. 15, VII. i. 18). From man's nature we can know heaven; and to preserve one's mental constitution and nourish one's nature is the way to serve heaven (VII. i. 1). To have no shame before heaven is one of the things in which the superior man delights (VII. i. 20). Heaven is the realized ideal after which man aspires (IV. i. 12). Specially suggestive is this saying:

> 'Though a man may be wicked, yet if he adjust his thoughts, fast, and bathe, he may sacrifice to Shang-ti' (IV. ii. 25; for the full connotation of Shang-ti see art. GOD [Chinese]).

5. In conclusion a few miscellaneous points may be noted. Mencius indicates the correct method for understanding Nature by obedience and not by violence in the investigation of her phenomena (IV. ii. 26). He gives us a good canon of interpretation:

> 'Those who explain the Odes [*i.e.* the classical *Shi King*] may not insist on one term so as to do violence to a sentence, nor on a sentence so as to do violence to the general scope' (V. i. 4).

To this may be added his comment on the *Book of History*, which may perhaps be generalized:

> 'It would be better to be without the Book of History than to give entire credit to it' (VII. ii. 3).

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MENDELSSOHN.—Moses Mendelssohn, otherwise Rabbi Moses of Dessau, philosopher, writer, and Bible translator, was born 6th Sept. 1729 at Dessau, where his father, Mendel, was a poor scribe and teacher in a family descended from Rabbi Moses Isserles, a distinguished Talmudist and philosopher of the 16th cent., known as 'Rema.' Moses Mendelssohn was taught Rabbinics by the local Rabbi, David Fränkel, who published a commentary on the Palestinian Talmud in 1742. Fränkel was called to the Rabbinate of Berlin in that year, and the young student followed him there in 1743.

At Berlin Mendelssohn was taught French and English by A. S. Gumperz, and taught himself Latin and Greek. His taste for philosophy was inspired by the study of Maimonides' 'Guide of the Perplexed.' He earned a precarious livelihood as tutor in the home of a well-to-do Jewish silk merchant, Isaac Bernhard, in whose warehouse he afterwards, and throughout his life, was employed as book-keeper. His evenings and all his leisure he devoted to philosophy. He was a follower of Wolf and Leibniz, but was much influenced by the English School of empirics, especially Locke and Shaftesbury. His acquaintance with Lessing, who was also born in 1729, began in 1754, when he defended Lessing's drama *Die Juden* against adverse criticism. Lessing became his lifelong friend, and dubbed him the second Spinoza. It was Lessing who had Mendelssohn's first work printed —the *Philosophische Gespräche* (1755). In 1755 they collaborated in an anonymous and piquant attack on the Berlin Academy—*Pope ein Metaphysiker!*, and the next year Mendelssohn translated Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine . . . de l'inégalité parmi les hommes*, though he ridiculed the author's partiality for man in a state of nature. Though M. Steinschneider (*Cat. libr. Hebr. in Bibl. Bodleiana*, Berlin, 1852–60) enumerates 39 separate Hebrew works of his, and though he wrote Hebrew poetry when a child of ten, it is as a writer of classical German that Mendelssohn became famous. His essay on æsthetics, *Vom Erhabenen* (1757), was studied by Schiller and Herder. In admiration, rather than in Lessing's pity and terror, he found the moral object of Tragedy. The stories about his friendship with Frederick the Great are legendary. On the contrary, he criticized the king's *Poésies diverses* in 1760, and found fault with him for writing in French. The royal displeasure was so great that he was threatened with expulsion from Berlin, but the Marquis d'Argens intervened, and as a 'philosophe mauvais catholique' pleaded with his Majesty as a 'philosophe mauvais protestant' to grant to the 'philosophe mauvais juif' the privilege of residence.

In 1763 Mendelssohn was awarded by the Berlin Academy a prize of 50 ducats for his essay *Ueber die Evidenz der metaphysischen Wissenschaften.* In 1771 the Academy elected him a member, but Frederick the Great refused to confirm the appointment, and no protest, not even that of Queen Ulrica of Sweden, was of any avail to get the king to alter his decision with regard to the 'berühmter Jude.' Among his own brethren, and especially in Berlin, Mendelssohn enjoyed the highest esteem. In 1764 he was freed from Jewish communal dues, and in 1772 further honour was shown to him by his co-religionists.

His Socratic Dialogue called *Phaedon, oder über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele* was published in 1767, and created an immense sensation. It was translated into nearly all European languages. A Hebrew translation by I. B. Bing, with a preface by N. H. Wessely, appeared in 1787, and an English translation by C. Cullen in 1792. That work showed a notable reaction against the free thought of Voltaire, and was welcomed by the learned as well as by those in high places, from Winckelmann to Prince Carl of Brunswick. It was the first book of philosophy read and discussed by Goethe and later by Schiller, and dissuaded from suicide many disappointed or degenerates. Mendelssohn rapidly acquired a unique position among the intellectuals of Berlin. His chief friends, besides Lessing, were Hamann, Gleim, Wieland, and Herder, and the Swiss writers Zimmermann, Iselin, Gessner, and Lavater.

The last was the famous physiognomist, immortalized by Darwin; but it was in his capacity as a very zealous pastor that he caused the Jewish philosopher much trouble and annoyance. He publicly dedicated his translation of C. Bonnet's *Palingénésie philosophique* (1769) to Mendelssohn, and urged him to abandon Judaism and become a Christian. The Jew, having obtained the sanction of the 'Consistorium zur Censur,' replied in his *Schreiben an den Herrn Diakonus Lavater zu Zürich* (1770), manfully defending his position. It was not only yesterday that he had examined the evidences of his own religion. What but conviction would induce him to remain a persecuted Jew? He would never change his religion.

This reply produced a storm of protest. J. B. Kolbele in his *Antiphädon* (1770) was among those who heaped invective upon him in various pamphlets, of which his best biographer, M. Kayserling, gives a full list. Next year an anonymous *Promemoria* appeared in his defence.

The attack, though it injured his health, turned his thoughts to Judaism and the Jews. As early as 1761 he had prepared a Hebrew Commentary on the Logic of Maimonides, and had presented the MS to one Samson Kalin, who published it as his own.

Perhaps his most important work, so far as his influence on his co-religionists was concerned, was his translation of the Pentateuch into classical German with a *bîūr*, or commentary, in Hebrew. His first assistant was Solomon Dubno († 1813), who quarrelled with Mendelssohn in 1780. Mendelssohn's brother Saul took Dubno's place in the translation of Exodus, but Hartwig Wessely, a scholar born rich, but afterwards impoverished, later became his chief collaborator. This translation of the Pentateuch met with much opposition from the orthodox Rabbis Landau, Jacob Lissa, Elijah Wilna, and Hirschel Levin (formerly chief Rabbi of London and then of Berlin) because of what they thought a heretical mistranslation in Lv 19^{17}, where 'thou shalt rebuke thy neighbour' was toned down to 'canst'; but the storm of opposition ceased, largely through the aid of Italian Rabbis, who, though orthodox, were also enlightened.

Mendelssohn's translation of the Psalms, which had been begun before 1770, was not completed for thirteen years. During this period the translator took up the work only spasmodically and just when some particular Psalm suited his mood of the moment. It was intended for Christian rather than for Jewish readers, and it was first printed in German characters, not Hebrew. The publisher Maurer bought the MS for 500 thalers and published it in 1783, but lost money by the publication; next year it was published in Hebrew characters with a *bîūr* by one Joel Löwe. The Song of Deborah and the Song of Songs were the other Bible translations completed by Mendelssohn. His commentary on Ecclesiastes he had published anonymously in 1769. It was clear and sympathetic, but, though greatly admired by Herder, is notable chiefly for a novel division into sections, differing from the traditional chapters. Mendelssohn was a keen opponent of the higher criticism of those days, and scouted Bishop Benjamin Kennicott's textual alterations of the Bible. One immediate result of the translation was a change in the course of education of Jewish boys, and the inculcation of German rather than Jewish ideas. Part of the Jewish Liturgy was also translated by him, viz. the Haggādā, a Passover service—a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of bibliographers.

In 1776 Mendelssohn collected money—and students—for the unsectarian college 'Philanthropin' of Dessau. In 1781 he and his rich disciple, Isaac Daniel Itzig, founded the Jewish Free school in Berlin, the first institution of the kind, where not only Bible and Talmud, but also German, French, and sciences were taught by Jewish and Christian teachers. Similar institutions were afterwards founded on the same plan in Breslau and other cities.

After his wife's death, Lessing had to battle for tolerance in his *Anti-Goeze*, and conceived the idea of meeting the theologians with a comedy. This was the orgin of his famous drama *Nathan der Weise*, which appeared in 1779, and which was in some respects a development of his youthful production *Die Juden*. Lessing himself founds the play on the story of the Jew Melchizedek in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. About no German work except Goethe's *Faust* has so much been written. Nathan is Mendelssohn, Recha his daughter Dorothea, the templar Lessing, the Swiss widow Daja is intended for Lavater, the dervish is Mendelssohn's mathematical friend Abraham Wolf Rechenburg, and so on. The play itself is not a plea for Jews and Judaism, but for toleration and humanity, and an attack upon religious persecution of all kinds. In Vienna it was confiscated. The controversy engendered by *Nathan der Weise* led to a plea for the civil emancipation of the Jews by C. W. von Dohm (*Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, Berlin, 1781), translated into French by Mirabeau (London, 1787). Six hundred copies of this translation were forwarded to Paris for the use of the French States General, but lost in that troublous time, and eventually burnt in the Bastille. In 1782 Mendelssohn published a translation of Manasseh ben Israel's *Esperança de Israel* (Amsterdam, 1650), with an introduction pleading for emancipation. He was again reproached for remaining a Jew, or for being a 'wobbler' between Judaism and Christianity, and this induced him to write his *Jerusalem* (1783), a work on religious power and Judaism. In this book, translated into English in 1783, he vindicated his Judaism and explained why he was not a Christian. It is a plea for the separation of State and Church, and urges that 'Kirchenrecht' is incompatible with true religion. Judaism, he urged, has no dogmas or chains upon belief; Joseph Albo († 1444), who had reduced the thirteen creeds formulated by Maimonides to three (cf. *ERE* iv. 246^{a}), was no heretic. Judaism required conformity with ceremonial law, but tolerated complete liberty of opinion.

In a Reader for his children, Mendelssohn substitutes in the creeds the words 'I recognize as true and certain' for the words 'I believe.' Ceremonial laws he regarded as a sort of living scripture and the great bond between Jew and Jew, urging that, even if their utility were no longer clear, they were still binding. Actions are our duty, but creeds, symbols, and formulas are the fetters of reason. In this way he reconciled the deism of Leibniz and the English deists with revealed law. His *Jerusalem* and his unfinished *Betrachtungen über Bonnet's Palingenesie* are both pleas for toleration, but not for uniformity of belief. In both he warns his disciples against prejudice, superstition, and even enthusiasm. *Jerusalem* excited an enormous sensation. Kant said that it was incontrovertible, and wrote a highly appreciative letter about it; Mirabeau said that it ought to be translated into every European language; Michaelis found fault with its condemnation of Anglican bishops for consenting to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, and Mendelssohn had to explain his position in the *Berliner Monatsschrift*, of which he was one of the founders in 1783. By some contemporaries he was attacked as an atheist and by others as a 'Talmud Rabbi,' but he saw no inconsistency between his philosophical belief and his faith. His Hebrew works are written entirely from the Rabbinical standpoint, and he was a good Talmudist, as is proved by his correspondence with Jacob Emden.

Mendelssohn's *Morgenstunden*, like his Bible translation, was in the first instance intended to lead his son Joseph to a true belief in God. Its publication, in 1785, was designed as a refutation of Spinozism itself as well as of the charge that Lessing was a Spinozist. In 1853 Alexander von Humboldt, in a letter to M. Mortara, described how, in his youth, he and Mendelssohn's sons had heard these very *Morgenstunden* given forth by the philosopher in his study. In the first part Mendelssohn proves the existence of God; the nature of the Divine Being and His characteristics were to be treated in the second part. Its philosophy is an attempt to advance upon the sensualism of Wolf by the help of English empiricism. He claimed that human common sense, when working hand in hand with reason, was infallible.

Though self-taught, Mendelssohn was neither a dilettante nor a popular philosopher. Hegel depreciates him as a philosopher, but, as a writer of German, his style furnishes the best example of German prose after Goethe and perhaps Lessing. Its characteristic was its Socratic irony. A predecessor of Kant, his writings are far easier to understand. Kant himself was proud that the Jewish scholar had attended one of his lectures, and was always polite to him, though he expressed disappointment that Mendelssohn had not reviewed his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, when it appeared in 1784. Simultaneously with the publication of the *Morgenstunden* appeared F. H. Jacobi's treatise *Ueber die Lehre des Spinoza an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn*. Lavater had rebuked him for not being a Christian; Jacobi now charged him with atheism. He was profoundly disturbed by what he considered a cruel attack, and retaliated with his address *An die Freunde Lessings*. He brought the manuscript to his publisher Voss on 31st Dec. 1785, and died two days later of a paralytic stroke. There is little doubt that Jacobi's attack, in which Lavater, Herder, and Goethe had all sided against the Jewish philosopher, brought about his end.

He left three sons and three daughters. His sons Joseph and Abraham founded the famous banking house of Mendelssohn and Co., which still exists. The former in 1840 reviewed Rossetti's *Dante*. The great musician Felix Mendelssohn was Abraham's son; another grandson, G. B. Mendelssohn, edited the philosopher's complete works in 1843–45.

Mendelssohn's first biographer, his pupil I. A. Euchel, described him as short and broad-shouldered, but feeble and pigeon-breasted, with thick black hair, dark complexion, bright eyes, and high forehead, a voice soft and gentle, and in conversation crisp and persuasive, but never long-winded (*Tôl^{e}dhôth Rambamân*, Berlin, 1786).

There is much difference of opinion among Jews as to whether his influence has been beneficial to them or not. The general view seems to be that it has proved better for Jews than for Judaism. His chief opponents were the 19th cent. Russian intellectuals known as the Maskhîlîm, especially Perez Smolenskin, who denounced him for denying Jewish nationalism, belittled his knowledge of the wisdom of Israel, and characterized him as a merchant rather than a Rabbi. Yet without doubt he was the first and most typical of modern Jews, the first to identify himself with another nation and yet remain a Jew.

'Judaism, which hitherto had impressed the whole mental activity of the Jew,' says Segal in *Aspects of Hebrew Genius* (p. 183), 'was narrowed down by Mendelssohn into a mere religion. . . . He separated the man from the Jew. . . . To Mendelssohn's followers such a dual life became difficult. . . . Traditional Judaism did not easily lend itself to be compressed and squeezed. . . . Mendelssohn's followers experienced the conflict between Judaism and Germanism at every step. . . . They threw off the burden of Judaism. . . . But . . . the period of the great apostasy . . . was followed by a period of religious reform and the readjustment of Judaism to the new conditions of Jewish existence.'

Jewish nationalists of the present time, not quite fairly, regard Mendelssohn as the chief cause of the desire for assimilation felt by a small section of their co-religionists. Mendelssohn was an apologist for religion in general rather than for Judaism in particular. That was his chief merit in a Voltairean age and in sceptical Berlin. The finest epigram about him, and one which he himself would have appreciated, is the distich,

'Es ist ein Gott, das sagte Moses schon,
Doch den Beweis gab Moses Mendelssohn.'

LITERATURE.—M. Kayserling, *Moses Mendelssohn*, Leipzig, 1862, ^{2}1888, is the standard biography; H. G. R. Mirabeau, *Sur Moses Mendelssohn, sur la réforme politique des Juifs et en particulier sur la révolution tentée en leur faveur en 1753 dans la Grande Bretagne*, London, 1787; M. Samuels, *Memoirs of Moses Mendelssohn*^{2}, do. 1827; M. Schwab, *Moses Mendelsohn: sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris, 1868; M. Kayserling, *Moses Mendelssohn; Ungedrucktes und Unbekanntes*, Leipzig, 1883; E. Schreiber, *Moses Mendelssohn und seine Verdienste um das Judenthum*, Bonn, 1879; *REJ*, *passim*; M. Tuzber, *Sidqath Môsheh*, Hebrew Manuscript (MS Adler no. 162); A. S. Isaacs, *Step by Step*, Philadelphia, 1910.

E. N. ADLER.

MENNONITES.—'Mennonites' is the name applied to those Protestant Christians who, on such subjects as the management of the congregation, baptism, oath-taking, ecclesiastical discipline, civil office, and the bearing of arms, agree wholly or partly with Menno Simons, from whom they derive their name.

1. Distribution.—The Mennonites have congregations in Switzerland (1500 souls), Germany (18,000), France (1200), Russia (70,000), the United States (about 120,000), and Canada (about 90,000); those in the Netherlands, though not the greatest in number (65,000), are the most important section.

(*a*) *Switzerland.*—Their true fatherland is Switzerland; they originated there in 1524, when Konrad Grebel and Felix Manz, members of the congregation of Zwingli, dissatisfied with their leader, condemned the baptism of infants as 'the greatest abomination of the devil and the Roman pope.' They founded a separate congregation in 1525 and baptized their members on confession of faith; a year afterwards they rejected the oath. It is possible, though not probable, that their opinions are connected with those of sects of the Middle Ages, especially the Waldenses. They wished to re-establish the Christianity of apostolic times and preserve only the two 'ceremonies' ordained by Christ; therefore they denied the Christian character of the civil authority, rejected paid ministry and the use of the sword, and demanded the exercise of the apostolic excommunication.

In the persecutions of the 16th cent. many of them died as martyrs or fled to South Germany, where they propagated their tenets. In the 17th cent. also the Mennonites in Switzerland were oppressed by the government; imprisonment and deportation to the Italian galleys greatly diminished their number. Again, at the beginning of the 18th cent., the persecution recommenced, and even in 1811 the Mennonites were molested. In the midst of these sufferings there arose differences between them: the more rigid—called 'Ammansche' or 'Amische' after their leader Jacob Amman—disapproved of every luxury, and demanded that in case of excommunication all intercourse, even between husband and wife, should be, during the period of excommunication, broken off; the less rigid followed Hans Reist; the names of these parties (also 'Obere Mennoniten' and 'Untere Mennoniten') are still preserved among the Mennonites of America.

At the present day the Mennonites in Switzerland are enjoying a new prosperity. They are now free citizens of the State, which allows them exemption from oath-taking and from military service. They have their own organ, *Der Zionspilger* ('The Pilgrim to Zion').

(*b*) *Germany.*—The Mennonites in Germany have continued to survive in spite of great difficulties and oppressions. In the year 1867 they were obliged to give up one of their characteristics, viz. their defencelessness. Many of them, however, agreed with the resolution of the government, and obtained permission from it to serve in the baggage-train of the army. Interest in their history has been aroused recently by the writings of L. Keller and Mrs. A. Brons; and, in 1884, in order to prevent the decline of their little number, the Mennonites founded the *Vereinigung der Mennonitengemeinden im deutschen Reiche* ('Union of the Congregations of Mennonites in the German Empire'). Their periodical, *Mennonitische Blätter*, has been issued since 1854.

They have congregations in Alsace, the Bavarian Palatinate, Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse, Nassau, at the lower part of the Rhine, in Westphalia, East Friesland, at Hamburg, Friedrichstadt, and in West and East Prussia.

(*c*) *France.*—In France the Mennonites held their first conference at Toul in 1901; their paper, *Christ seul*, appeared in 1908.

(*d*) *Russia.*—An emigration of Mennonites to Russia took place when the celebrated empress Catharine had promised them great territories in her empire, where they would be permitted to live according to their own religion and customs. About 2000 left Prussia in 1788; and many others followed them until 1824. At first they suffered many trials, not the least of which were due to discord among themselves. As they persisted in their belief in apostolic succession, their congregation needed an elder who had received the imposition of hands. They prospered, however, in their new fatherland, which gave a shelter also to the fugitive Mennonites from Hungary. At present they have congregations in the districts of Jekaterinoslaw and Tauria, Warsaw, the Crimea, Saratow, Samara, Caucasus, and Chiwa. In their colonies the school management is excellently ordered, the church affairs are managed by the elders of the congregation, and the preachers, selected from among the brethren, fulfil not only the duties of their ministry, but also those of their civil calling.

In 1874 a great danger threatened the Mennonites: exemption from military service was abrogated, and thus the privilege conceded to them by the empress Catharine and the emperor Paul was annihilated. Large numbers of Mennonites prepared to quit Russia; in the years 1874–80 more than 15,000 left for America. This made an impression upon the Russian government; the emperor sent the minister, F. E. I. von Todtleben, to them; after mutual deliberation the resolution was made that the Mennonites could perform their military duties in the forestry of the State. This favourable arrangement has been maintained ever since; the Mennonites, however, according to their old traditions, have always sought to relieve the sufferings of war.

(*e*) *America.*—The Mennonites are far more numerous in America than in any other country. The first colonists were Dutchmen who, about 1650, settled in New Amsterdam (now New York). Under the pressure of the heavy persecutions in the Rhine-land, thirteen families at Crefeld resolved to emigrate to the New World. They landed on 6th October 1683, three pioneers having already bought 8000 acres of land in Pennsylvania from William Penn, and they founded Germantown (now part of Philadelphia). Seven other families followed in 1688; and from that time the emigration continued during the whole of the 18th cent. and still more during the 19th. In 1820 Swiss Mennonites came to America, followed in 1836 by many South Germans, and afterwards, as we have said, by whole congregations from Russia, besides one from Galicia and one from West Prussia.

The emigrants formed many friendly connexions with the Quakers and other sects, but they preserved their independence. They came with the hope of remaining free from all hindrances in following their own customs and institutions; some of them even entertained the desire to establish in the New World the true Kingdom of God according to His Ordinance. It was only after long deliberation that they dared to entrust the ministry of baptism and of the Lord's Supper to an elder who had not received the imposition of hands in Europe; and even now the most rigid of them will not permit their fellow-members to enter a 'church.'

The Mennonites have a great regard for their past history—and not unjustly. Their forefathers were the first to protest against slavery; they committed their scruples to writing on 18th April 1688, and delivered the document to the magistrate. In a manly and Christianlike spirit they declared: 'Freedom of conscience reigns here, which is right and rational, and personal freedom ought to reign here for every one, criminals of course excepted.' In the War of Independence their defencelessness was respected; nevertheless many emigrated in 1786 to Canada, as they could not approve of insurrection against the British government. Conservative in all things, they have not even yet, after two centuries, given up their old language, 'Pennsylvania Dutch.'

The Mennonites in America are divided into: (1) Old Mennonites, who form the great majority; their periodicals are the *Mennonitische Rundschau* and *The Herald of Truth* (the Germ. ed., *Herold der Wahrheit*, has ceased to appear since 1901—an evidence of the decline of the German language among them); (2) 'Amish' Mennonites; and (3) the 'General Conference.' Since 1860 the last-mentioned party has endeavoured to form an organization between all the Mennonites of America, respecting the autonomy and the peculiarities of each congregation. The foundation of Bethel College at Newton, Kans., was favoured by them.[1]

2. Characteristics.—Wherever Mennonites are found—in Switzerland or in Germany, in Russia or in France, in the United States or in Canada—they are known as excellent husbandmen, simple in their manners, blameless in their behaviour, honest, conscientious, and diligent, so that most of them are in easy circumstances. In consequence of their seclusion the civilization of later times has had little influence on them; they are very conservative and often suspicious of opinions which differ from their own. (An exception must be made in the case of the German Mennonites who live close to the frontiers of the Netherlands—East Friesland, Westphalia, and on the Rhine; they have been influenced by the Dutch Mennonites [see below].) They have remained where their forefathers stood three centuries ago; in order to understand their opinions, it is, therefore, necessary to consult the writings composed by their fellow-believers in the 16th and 17th centuries.

3. Religious beliefs.—The oldest defenders of baptism after confession of faith entertained a strong aversion to the papal hierarchy. They would not reform the Roman Catholic Church; they would destroy it by the foundation of separate and wholly autonomous congregations. The preachers were elected by the majority; there was no tie between the congregations except that of community of faith and of love. According to the example of the segregation of Israel, the people of the Lord, from the Gentiles, the congregation of Christ ought to be separated from the world; this was done by the external bond of laws and commandments that formed a sort of fence round the true believers. As the congregation of the Lord consists only of believing and regenerate children of the Lord, only those who are sufficiently advanced in years and experience, and, therefore, able to believe, can be admitted into the congregation by baptism. Hence they highly valued baptism as a token of the confession of faith, but they did not acknowledge the baptism of children as a baptism; he who was baptized as an infant was not baptized at all. The name of Anabaptists (*q.v.*), therefore, was an undeserved nickname, given them by their enemies.

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[1] One of the most renowned professors of this college was C. H. Wedel, author of the *Abriss der Geschichte der Mennoniten*, Newton, 1900–04, who died in 1910.

They sought to maintain the purity of the congregation by excommunication, and taught that true believers must avoid all intercourse with an excommunicated member. The charge has often been brought against them that, since they regard themselves as the perfect or holy congregation of the Lord, they do not admit that they are poor lost sinners. Their lives and their writings, however, contradict this accusation most positively. It is true that they separated themselves from all those who were of a different opinion, but it was from fear of seduction. By the simplicity of their manners and their dress they showed their rejection of the world. A wedding outside of the congregation was a 'worldly,' a sinful, wedding. They were strangers on the earth; therefore no interference with the powers of the world, no using of the sword, was permitted. The oath is forbidden, not only by the gospel (Mt 5^{34} and Ja 5^{12}), but also for conscience' sake, since in the spiritual Kingdom of God on earth the truth is the highest and the only law. By their sharp contrast between the world and the congregation—the natural and the spiritual—they insisted on the necessity of regeneration; but their doctrine on this subject is legal rather than evangelical in character. They teach that regeneration is an OT contrition, awakened in the soul by the threats and the promises of God, who moves us through these to avoid sin and to live according to His will. These threats and promises are written in His word; therefore it is the seed of regeneration. They meant in good faith to be orthodox, but their dislike of all scholastic terms and their desire to use only the phrases of the NT caused them, sometimes, to disagree with the faith of the Church; hence they refused to acknowledge the Holy Ghost as a person—they called Him a power of God—and yet they believed that they professed purely the doctrine of the Trinity. They rejected every dogma from which they feared damage to the practice of their piety, for the tenor of their religious life was above all things practical; hence they repudiated most positively the Calvinistic tenets of predestination, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints. In the doctrine of the Lord's Supper they followed Zwingli; but, for them, it was more a token of mutual love and unity. They combined with it the rite of feet-washing.

Such were the tenets of the community with which Menno Simons (1496–1561) became connected in 1536. He had been a priest at Witmarsum in Friesland, but after a long inward struggle he left the Roman Catholic Church. From that time he defended in sermons, writings, and disputations the opinions of his fellow-believers so eagerly that they were called after him—Mennonites. They had already suffered heavy losses by persecutions; but they struggled bravely on; no torture—not even death at the stake—could terrify them. The congregation in Amsterdam was founded in 1530 by Jan Volkerts Trijpmaker, who died a martyr in 1531. In his preaching he always exhorted his followers to be peaceful and obedient to the magistrate, but Jan Matthijs, by his fanatical impetuosity, prepared the way for the notorious Jan Beukels of Leyden (John of Leyden), whose fatal doctrine was that the time of enduring oppression had passed away, that the sword must be drawn, and that the true believers were summoned to subjugate the kingdoms of the world, and especially Münster. The majority, however, disapproved of such violence; every day during the winter of 1534 the congregation of Amsterdam enrolled about one hundred additional members; and a party of forty insurgents, who on 10th May 1535 conquered the town-hall of that city, found no support. When the terrible tragedy of Münster had terminated, a separation took place throughout the Netherlands between the rebellious and the moderates—the latter party being called at first Obbenites and then Mennonites.

These increased greatly in spite of all obstacles, but their unity was soon broken by disagreement about the practice of excommunication. The more lenient Mennonites lived chiefly in Waterland (a part of North Holland); hence they were called Waterlanders. The more rigid were the Flemish and the Frisian Mennonites; but among those parties so many schisms have occurred that it is impossible to enumerate them all. Let it suffice to say that the Waterlanders formed the most tolerant and liberal party. They would not apply the epithet 'believing' or 'unbelieving' to any one on account of his particular opinions on articles of faith with which God in His word has not clearly connected salvation or condemnation. They even took an interest in the things of this world; *e.g.*, they supported with their money the great William of Orange in his efforts to liberate the Netherlands from the Spanish yoke. Afterwards many of them held magistracies, but the influence of the State Church has put an end to that.

The Mennonites exercised a remarkably attractive influence upon the Brownists who, from 1593, had settled in Amsterdam to evade the persecution in England (see art. BROWNISM). One of them, John Smyth, came to Holland in 1606; with his friend, Thomas Helwys, he forsook Brownism in 1608, administered baptism on confession of faith, and founded a separate congregation. A year afterwards he tried to amalgamate it with the Mennonites; in this his followers were successful (1615). Helwys, on the contrary, though he entertained friendly relations with the Mennonites, maintained his independence; he returned to England in 1611. His followers, influenced by Edward Barber (1641), came to the conclusion that only baptism by immersion was legal. Henceforth they called themselves Baptists, and broke off community of faith with the Mennonites.

In the 17th cent. Socinianism exercised such a great influence on the Mennonites that the Reformed theologian, J. Hoornbeek, could write: 'Anabaptista indoctus Socinianus, Socinianus autem doctus Anabaptista.' The more conservative desired to defend themselves against the intrusion of this dreaded heresy by maintaining the old confessions of faith—a dangerous measure, for these confessions had never had any binding authority. At last a great schism took place in 1664 between the liberal and the orthodox members ('Lamisten' and 'Zonisten'). With regard to the practice of Christian charity, however, the unity was not severed; the two parties worked together to relieve their suffering brethren in the Palatinate and elsewhere.

In the golden age of the Dutch Republic many of its poets and painters—among them probably the celebrated Rembrandt—were Mennonites. They formed more than one-tenth of the whole population, but as a rule neither the nobility nor the lower classes joined their ranks.

In the 18th cent. their number declined for many reasons. The lay-preachers, elected from among the brethren, no longer satisfied the congregations; consequently, a great number of families passed into the State Church. The foundation of a theological seminary in Amsterdam (1735) did not produce any lasting improvement. At many places, fortunately, the piety of the forefathers continued, and the spiritual well-being of the people and the spreading of a higher civilization were objects of great care. The *Teyler's Genootschap* ('Society of Teyler') and the *Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* ('Society for the Promotion of the General Good')—two institutions that to this day do a large amount of useful work —were founded in 1778 and 1784 by Mennonites.

They fully agreed with the Revolution of 1795, for their old ideals appeared to them to be realized by it; they gladly supported it by many sacrifices, but their prosperity greatly declined in the hard times of Napoleon. To improve this state of things the *Algemeene Doopsgezinde Sociëteit* ('General Society of Mennonites') was founded at Amsterdam in 1811 by some wealthy congregations, and at present all the Mennonite congregations are members of it. This Society took upon itself the care of the theological seminary and the support of the indigent congregations. By its influence the desirable end was obtained that all the congregations, in the course of time, possessed only ministers who had received a university education. From that time their seclusion from the other Protestants ceased. In the theological sciences the Mennonites are diligent and able co-operators (*e.g.*, S. Hoekstra, J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, A. W. Wybrands, C. Sepp, S. Cramer). Often their ministers preach to congregations of another confession—in other words, they exchange pulpits. The professors of their seminary are also professors of theology at the university of Amsterdam.

Still the Mennonites have remained congregationalists; they are zealous for the entire independence of each congregation. Consequently, in the respective congregations there is some difference in the form of public worship—*e.g.*, in the use of psalters and hymn-books—and there is also a difference in the manuals used for religious teaching. Nevertheless, they are strongly attached to each other and to their community, and promote their common interests in fraternal unanimity. Their ministers are elected by the majority of the brethren (and often also of the sisters) or, in many congregations, by the church-committee. They are not ordained and wear no official dress, for they form no class and have no authority.

In regard to baptism and oath-taking the opinions of the Mennonites are unchanged. Self-reliance, evident in the voluntary act of becoming a member of the congregation, is still the condition of membership, so that they would rather abolish the whole rite of baptism than permit the baptism of infants. They have no confessions of faith and would not tolerate them. They dislike dogmatic speculations, and hold that the characteristic of a true believer is not his creed but his life. Hence, their toleration allows persons of very different opinions to live peacefully together in the same congregation. The majority of them are liberal; the more conservative profess a Biblical orthodoxy.

Their original tenets concerning ecclesiastical discipline, bearing of arms, and civil office are at present abolished. Considering that the Mennonites form little more than one-hundredth part of the population, it is a significant fact that an important number of ministers, representatives of the nation, burgomasters, etc., have for many years belonged to them. The connexion with the Mennonites of other countries is maintained chiefly by the means of the missionary society, which propagates the gospel in Java and Sumatra. The missionaries and the contributions come principally from their foreign brethren.

LITERATURE.—The literature concerning the Mennonites is very extensive, but there is no good history of them, based on the advanced science of our days. The most important works on the subject are the following:

i. *GENERAL WORKS.*—J. H. Ottius, *Annales Anabaptistici*, Basel, 1672; C. H. A. van der Smissen, *Kurzgefasste Gesch. der Mennoniten*, Summerfield, Illinois, 1895; A. Brons, *Ursprung, Entwickelung und Schicksale der Mennoniten*^{3}, Amsterdam, 1912; C. H. Wedel, *Abriss der Gesch. der Mennoniten*, Newton, Kans., 1900–04.

ii. *SPECIAL WORKS.*—C. A. Cornelius, *Gesch. des Münsterischen Aufruhrs*, Leipzig, 1855–60; L. Keller, *Gesch. der Wiedertäufer und ihres Reichs zu Münster*, Münster, 1880; M. Schoen, *Mennonitenthum in Westpreussen*, Berlin, 1886; J. P. Müller, *Mennoniten in Ostfriesland*, Emden, 1887; D. Musser, *The Reformed Mennonite Church*, Lancaster, Pa., 1878; S. W. Pennypacker, *Hist. and Biographical Sketches*, Philadelphia, 1883; H. P. Krehbiel, *The Hist. of General Conference of the Mennonites of N. America*, Canton, O., 1898; C. H. Smith, *The Mennonites of America*, Goshen, Ind., 1909; S. Blaupot ten Cate, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Nederland*, 5 vols., Leeuwarden and Amsterdam, 1839–47; S. Hoekstra, *Beginselen en leer der oude Doopsgezinden*, Amsterdam, 1863; a great number of essays in the annual periodical *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen*, 50 vols., Amsterdam, Leeuwarden, and Leyden, 1861–1912; *Bureau of the Census, Special Reports*, 'Religious Bodies, 1906,' ii. [Washington, 1910] 402–428; Schaff-Herzog, vii. [1910] 299–310. An almost complete bibliography of the writings concerning the Mennonites of all times and all countries will be found in the new catalogue of the library of the congregation of the Mennonites at Amsterdam (at present in the press).

W. J. KÜHLER.

MENTAL RESERVATION.—It seems to be universally admitted that there are cases in which we should do a grave wrong by supplying a questioner with the information which he demands, and that we are, therefore, justified in misleading him. Yet there is considerable difficulty as to the ethical grounds on which such deception can be defended. Does it not necessarily involve either implicit or explicit falsehood? And can a lie ever be right? The problem is an old one, and moralists have answered it in different ways. The doctrine of mental reservation is the solution offered by many theologians both mediæval and modern. This doctrine depends so closely on the traditional Roman Catholic teaching as to the intrinsic malice of lying that in order to explain it it will be necessary first to state briefly what that teaching is.

Roman Catholic theologians are unanimous in holding that a lie is always and necessarily sinful: there can be no such thing as a permissible lie. This is the teaching of St. Augustine (*de Mendacio*, *contra Mendacium ad Consentium*, *Enchiridion*, xvii. ff.); and every Roman Catholic theologian of weight is in agreement with him. The utterances of Scripture on the subject are, they believe, quite decisive, and leave no room for dispute. Moreover, the Scholastic theologians reach the same conclusion on rational grounds. A lie, they teach, does not necessarily presuppose the wish to deceive; it consists in the intentional assertion of what is contrary to a man's inward thought ('sermo prolatus cum intentione dicendi falsum'). The liar may know that his lie will not deceive; yet, so long as he intends to assert what is false (and is not manifestly joking), his words are a lie. Nature has provided us with the power to express our thoughts by external signs. He who employs this faculty to convey to others the very opposite of his thought is violating moral order; he is using his power for an illegitimate purpose; and his act contains an intrinsic turpitude. The wish to deceive is an aggravation of the offence; but it is not requisite to make the words a lie (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* II. ii. qu. 110, artt. 1, 3). Falsehood is, further, an offence against justice; we owe the truth to our fellow-men. But, even apart from this aspect of it, the act is intrinsically evil.

It is plain that, where so strict a view is taken as to the obligation of truth, the cases which we are considering constitute a grave difficulty. Whatever be the circumstances, a lie can never be justified. Augustine seems to have thought that the only choice lay between silence and a frank declaration of the truth irrespective of consequences (*de Mend.* xiii.). But it is clear that this does not solve the problem; for in many cases silence is equivalent to an admission; and it may well be that to answer the question proposed, whether by words or by silent assent, would constitute a flagrant breach of justice. A violation of the elementary principles of justice is not a whit less wrong than a sin against veracity.

Here, then, arises the question as to the permissibility of 'mental reservations.' A speaker is said to employ a mental reservation when his statement is true only if qualified by a restrictive clause, and when he does not openly express this clause but 'reserves' it within his own mind. Thus, *e.g.*, should a member of the Government reply to some impertinent inquiry regarding matters of State, 'I do not know,' his answer is in all likelihood qualified by such a reservation, and is to be understood as signifying, 'I do not know in my capacity of a private citizen.'

The general verdict of theologians is that a man may lawfully use mental reservations under certain given conditions, viz. if there be a real need of preserving a secret, and if the external circumstances are such as to indicate that the words may have to be understood in a restricted sense. Where these conditions are present, he may use reservation, even with the full prevision that, for one reason or another, his questioner will not advert to the restriction. Thus, to take a classical example, if murderers inquire of a man whether their intended victim is lying concealed in his house, it is allowable for him to reply that no one is concealed there; for the circumstances are such that even the murderers themselves should be aware that the words may have to be understood with a restrictive clause: 'No one is concealed there, of whom I can justly speak to men like yourselves.' Mental reservations of this kind are termed *restrictiones late mentales.* It is only in a loose sense (*late*) that they can be called 'mental'; for their presence is externally recognizable through the circumstances of the case.

It is contended that these statements are not in any sense falsehoods. For it is a principle universally admitted that, in judging of the meaning of words, we must take into consideration the circumstances in which they are used. No one regards the prisoner's plea of 'Not guilty' as a lie. The concrete surroundings show that his words signify only that he is not guilty juridically, in the eye of the law. A priest is not looked on as guilty of falsehood when he professes never yet to have heard of some matter which was long since revealed to him in confession; all are aware that what is spoken in confession is to him as if it were unknown. In each case the circumstances indicate that the words may be employed in a restricted sense. Taken in that sense, they are true: they correspond with the speaker's real judgment. The same holds good in the cases where we are justified in using mental reservation; the circumstances show that there may be a qualifying clause.

It may be urged that in a mental reservation we use language with the deliberate purpose of deceiving another, and that this is, to all intents, falsehood. But the objection is not, in fact, justified. In the first place, our true purpose is not to deceive but to protect our secret—a thing that we have every right to do. We may not, indeed, in order to do so, tell a lie; but we are not bound to supply the questioner with the information which he unjustly seeks to extort. And, secondly, in such cases it is more correct to say that the questioner deceives himself than that we deceive him. He is well aware that to such a question we may be unable to give a full answer without the betrayal of a secret, and he must expect an evasion. If he chooses to take it as an unqualified statement of the whole truth, let him attribute the error to his own folly. We may be the occasion of his mistake; we are not, properly speaking, its cause.

It stands to reason that mental reservation may be employed only where there is real necessity of preserving a secret, and where there is no other way of so doing; to employ such a method in matters of little moment would not be mental reservation, but plain falsehood. In the ordinary intercourse of daily life men assume that no exception will be taken to their inquiries, and that the replies which they receive will be frank; there is nothing in these matters to suggest to them the possibility of a restricted reply. This, however, is not the case if the restriction is such as to be manifest to all except the extremely unobservant. Under such circumstances a comparatively slight cause—*e.g.*, to set aside an inconvenient question—will be justification enough. Again, if the person who asks has a right to demand the information from us, then, unwelcome as the question may be, we must answer fully. It would not, *e.g.*, be justifiable to practise mental reservation to the income-tax commissioners.

In the 16th cent. a prolonged controversy arose as to the permissibility of the *restrictio pure mentalis*, viz. a mental reservation the presence of which is not indicated by any external circumstances whatever. The first to put forward this opinion appears to have been the famous canonist Martin de Aspilcueta ('Doctor Navarrus'; 1491–1586). His authority was so great that he was followed by not a few authors of note, including L. Lessius, A. Diana, etc. On the other hand, theologians no less eminent maintained what is clearly the case, that such reservations differ in no way from falsehoods. This was the view emphatically taught by P. Laymann, J. Azor, G. de Coninck, and many others. In 1679 Innocent XI. condemned three propositions drawn from the works of those who defended the use of the *restrictio pure mentalis* (H. Denzinger and C. Bannwart, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*^{11}, Freiburg, 1911, nos. 1176–1178). Since that time the opinion has been acknowledged to be theologically indefensible.

Protestant moralists reject the doctrine of mental reservation, and those of them who deal with the cases at issue solve the problem by adopting a less rigorous view as to falsehood than is taken by the Roman Catholic theologians. They teach that the malice of lying consists in its being an offence against justice, truth being a debt which we owe our fellow-men; and that, where that debt ceases, falsehood is legitimate—thus, *e.g.*, Grotius (*de Jure Belli et Pacis*, III. i. 11), J. Milton (*Treatise of Christian Doctrine*, in *Prose Works*, London, 1848–53, v. 115–119), Jeremy Taylor (*Ductor Dubitantium*, in *Works*, London, 1828, xiii. 351), W. Paley (*Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, bk. iii. ch. 15, in *Works*, London, 1821, i. 135). For reasons given above this view is regarded as erroneous by the Roman Catholic theologians.

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Protestant criticism: R. Sanderson, *De juramenti promissorii Obligatione*, London, 1647, præl. vi. n. 6; E. Stillingfleet, sermon xvii. (1679), in *Works*, London, 1710, i. 253; O. Zöckler, art. 'Reservatio Mentalis,' in *PRE*^{3}.

G. H. JOYCE.

MERCY.—Mercy, as an ethical quality predicable of both God and man, may be usefully distinguished from love or kindness as connoting in its object a certain inferiority, whether natural or spiritual. It excludes the idea of equality, in this or that relation, as between giver and receiver. In the Bible the divine mercy signifies active pity for the guilty or the miserable; it is manifested in countless ways, but pre-eminently in the bestowal of salvation in Christ, and may therefore be described as the form assumed by divine love in the presence of the sinful or the frail. Either moral failure or creaturely weakness is sufficient to evoke it, and both things are always found in all men. Hence mercy in God is rather a permanent disposition than merely an intermittent source of specific acts. As exhibited at its noblest in Jesus' personal demeanour, mercy has in it nothing of condescension, which is an attitude bordering on scorn; it was because He sought to establish with them such communion of spirit as might produce inward renewal that Jesus showed compassion to the needy, and under these circumstances mercy became the instrument of His trust in the divine capacities of man. Ere long Jesus was able to call the recipients of His mercy by the closer name of 'friends.'

The ascription of mercy to God implies a positive estimate of religious cognition, or at least the rejection of some negative estimates which have figured prominently in 19th cent. philosophy. To say of mercy, with Shakespeare, that 'it is an attribute to God Himself,' is the equivalent of holding that anthropomorphic judgments do not necessarily or substantially falsify our apprehension of the divine reality, and that moral qualities which faith sees in God are not essentially different from qualities in men called by the same names.

Apart from special tenets of the schools, Christian minds have usually held that the divine mercy is characterized, or even constituted, by two qualities. (1) It is free; it is not forced by any outward constraint, nor does it come to manifestation as the automatic response of reason to the facts of the world. God is love, love which has its measure in the Cross; and His mercy, as everlasting as Himself, is greater than we could either ask or think. It is misleading to speak of Him as constrained to mercy, if we mean simply that His action is the free expression of a perfectly loving Will; His pity is evoked, not by merit, or by tears of repentance, but by the need or ruin of His creatures. (2) It is absolute, and covers the whole of human life; it accepts no limit from human prejudice, but puts all men in debt for every good gift. For St. Paul the mercy of God has the aspect of miracle or paradox as being vouchsafed to the unworthy and even to the actively hostile, whose worth it creates but does not presuppose. Our part is not to measure or explain it, but rather to enjoy it with wonder and adoration.

Yet the best religious thought has never held the divine mercy to be incompatible with hostility to sin. Ethically pure compassion is a real capacity for holy anger; there is no mercy in allowing a bad man to go on in badness. Doubtless to an evil conscience mercy and judgment appear to be in conflict, but for Jesus both were living expressions of the Father's love.

Mercy in God asks for mercifulness in man. In the parable of the Unmerciful Servant (Mt 18[23-35]) Jesus made this plain for good and all. Mercy for Him is an element in the righteousness of the Kingdom, and it has been pointed out that 'it needed much to be inculcated in Christ's time, when sympathy was killed by the theory that all suffering was penalty of special sin, a theory which fostered a pitiless type of righteousness' (A. B. Bruce, in *Expositor's Greek Testament*, i. [1897] 99). To seek at God's hands a pity which we refuse to others is insincere; not only so, but in the absence of a merciful spirit we are morally incapable of appreciating the free, unbought mercy of God. Hence the promise to the merciful that they shall receive mercy (Mt 5[7]) expresses one aspect of the moral nature of things.

Human mercy must take the mercy of God as its model and inspiration. Like its exemplar, it is not to be accurately doled out in proportion to the receiver's deserts; in its perfectness it will rather exhibit a certain abandonment and overflowing munificence, and will ask no questions about the offender save as to his penitence. But feeble and complaisant mercy is as demoralizing as indiscriminate charity. 'Be ye merciful, even as your Father is merciful' (Lk 6[36]) is a call for discipline no less than lenity.

The supreme motive of mercifulness, whether to the guilty or to the necessitous, is not the natural desire to be treated mercifully in our own time of need; it is the thankful memory of pity bestowed on us by God. And the living sense that from the mercy of God all our hopes begin, the sight of its glorious freedom and absoluteness in Christ, is far more than a mood of comfortable security; it is charged with moral inspiration enabling Christian men to do and bear all things for the sake of the unmeasured divine love that for them has made all things new.

LITERATURE.—R. C. Trench, *New Testament Synonyms*, ed. London, 1901; H. Jacoby, *Neutestamentliche Ethik*, Königsberg, 1899; T. C. Hall, *History of Ethics within organised Christianity*, London, 1910; W. Herrmann, *Communion of the Christian with God*, Eng. tr.^{2}, do. 1906.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

MERCY (Indian).—Adequately to discuss the significance and operation of the quality of mercy within the range of the Indian peoples would demand a book or treatise of no inconsiderable length. All that is practicable within the limits of an article is to attempt to exhibit the natural qualities and general tendencies that have been at work, to estimate the efficacy and worth of the influences that have been brought to bear, and to indicate the broad results in the character and disposition of the inhabitants of the country, as they are found in evidence at the present day. It is manifest that environment and ethnological origin and development, no less than religious prejudice and ethical culture, have contributed to a resultant quality or characteristic which can be defined only in the most general terms.

It is clear, moreover, that, from early historical times at least, the expression of this quality in the races of India has been obstructed and almost stifled in two directions, the one more or less a consequence of the other. The barriers raised by caste, which became only more formidable with the lapse of time, while permitting or even enjoining the exhibition of kindliness, generosity, and pity within the narrow caste limits, formed insuperable obstacles to the exercise of these qualities without, and therefore tended inevitably to isolation and degradation. And religious pride and prejudice, allying themselves with caste distinctions, promoted the growth of a narrow partisanship and class organization, within which the development of a spirit of fraternity and human kindliness was as little practicable as that of community of interest. The earlier periods of Indian history and social life also show clearly the presence of those feelings of mutual hostility and dislike which exist universally among groups of primitive peoples dwelling in a wide land, among whom isolation and the difficulties of communication are an effective ground of suspicion and of perpetual fear of that which presents itself as of unknown character and intentions. Thus the suspicion engendered by mere strangeness leads not seldom to acts of cruelty, which ultimately obtain the sanction of custom and are fortified by religious precept and rule. An unreasoning dread of that which is exceptional, rather than any other natural impulse, is probably at the basis of all such ruthless practices. The angry and hostile feelings thus aroused check the growth of the spirit of sympathy and mercifulness; and the latter must wait for the rise of a wider and more intelligent and generous outlook upon life and human relationships.

The claims, moreover, of a religious ritual which not only sanctioned, but enjoined, animal sacrifices were hostile to the development of the kindlier qualities of pity and regard for the weaker or less fortunate members of the tribe or community. Familiarity with the taking of life has always tended, not only in India, but elsewhere, to deaden sensibility and to bring into play the harsher and more cruel passions. When the sacrificial act claims the sanction of religion, and is transformed into a sacred rite and duty, the performance of which in all its rigid details is obligatory and of the highest merit, the debasing effect of custom and habit is reinforced by an appeal to the strongest human motives and prejudices. That which in many instances it would revolt a man to do for himself he will do determinedly and with a clear conscience under what he conceives to be divine authority. The elaborate Vedic sacrifices, with their large demands and imposing ritual, could have had in this respect only one consequence—to familiarize men's minds with thoughts of savagery, and to close their hearts and ears to the cry for compassion. With facilities for mutual intercourse and the advance of civilization, and with a higher estimate of the value of life in all its forms, these practices changed their character, or tended altogether to disappear. Offerings of fruit or flowers, or models in paste of animal form, took the place of the living sacrifice at the altar, and bear witness to an alteration of feeling on the part of the worshipper, and a desire to free his ritual from acts and observances which had become repugnant to a more cultivated and sensitive nature.

It is probable also that a distinction should be made—a distinction due to racial characteristic as well as to natural environment—between the primitive peoples of India and the later Aryan tribes, who entered the country in successive bands of invasion from the north-west and north. The latter were swayed by the gentler, more peaceable, and kindly temperament incident always to the pastoral habit of life. Eventually this tendency, though with many a set-back and cross-current, triumphed, and gave its general tone to the character and disposition of the entire Indian people. The primitive tribes, for the most part isolated from one another in gloomy and treacherous forest homes, received a training which developed the suspicious and harsher elements of human nature, brought into prominence the rugged aspects of nature as a whole, and was calculated to present few attractive features of generosity or humanity. Thus they were taught lessons of stern pitilessness and disregard of the life or well-being of others, and more or less unconsciously cultivated a disposition akin to that of the wild beasts against which they had continually to be on their guard. These two currents of thought and feeling may be traced all through the course of Indian history, and are observable at the present time among the racial and caste divisions of the country. It is to the credit of the innate courtesy and sympathetic kindliness of the native Indian that a merciful and generous spirit has, on the whole, maintained itself against religious and social prejudices, and, in the face of influences from within and from without, has to a large extent prevailed against isolating class-feeling and sectarian pride.

In the Indian sacred books the duty of pitifulness and compassion to all is a constantly recurring theme. Mercy (*dayā*) and abstinence from injury to life (*ahiṁsā*) are primary obligations. Especially in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (*q.v.*), and in the type of religious thought and experience which it represents, the enforcement of this duty occupies a prominent place. The true Brāhman may be known by his friendliness to all; and not only the Brāhman, but other castes also, are bound by the same rule. The best sacrifice is that which refrains from doing hurt to any creature; respect should be shown for the life and happiness of even the lowliest of creatures, and no animate being should ever be subjected to injury or wrong. In a similar manner the religious teaching of the schools that are in sympathy with the *Bhagavad-Gītā* repeats and enforces the same responsibility. Two comments upon these injunctions are perhaps natural and inevitable. They seem, in the first place, to show more regard for animal than for human life; it is probable that the original authors assumed the latter, or regarded it as inclusively stated in the larger precept. And, further, the interpretation placed upon the rule has been, at least to the Western mind, in practice so one-sided and exaggerated as to destroy in large part its operative worth. The general tendency, however, it can hardly be doubted, has been in the direction of the cultivation of the qualities of mercy and mutual consideration. These qualities naturally find little or no statement or emphasis in the books on law or ritual, or among the regulations for the detailed observance of the sacrifices. The Vedic hymns, while they extol the forbearance and mercy together with the justice of the gods, leave it a matter of inference rather than of command that men should follow in their steps. In general it may be said that the decisive influence upon Indian character and belief has been exercised not by the ritual precepts, but by the humanitarian teaching of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, by the popular epic poetry, and by the tradition of the lives of the heroes of olden time.

The first organized protest against the sacrificial rule in the interests of a kindlier and more humane spirit was made by Buddhism. The character of Gautama Buddha, as depicted in the extant literature and stereotyped in painting and sculpture, is singularly gentle and attractive. In practice as well as by precept he would seem to have urged the duty of forbearance and brotherliness to all; to do no harm to any living thing was a rule enjoined upon all who desired to unite themselves to his company and be enrolled among his disciples; and the purpose of the law which forbade the Buddhist monk to move from place to place during *Vassa*, the season of the rains, was at least as much to avoid the otherwise inevitable destruction of animal and insect life which would ensue, at a time when the multiplicity and activity of all such life are most apparent, as in recognition of the difficulties of travel incident to the season. Hindu monks and ascetics appear also to have observed *Vassa*, although not so universally or to the same extent. The merciful spirit, of which the rule of *ahiṁsā* was the outcome and logical conclusion, pervaded Indian Buddhism as long as it remained in its native land, found expression in the acts and edicts of its greatest emperor, Aśoka, and emphasized and extolled a generous tolerance towards the feelings and opinions of others, which, with rare exceptions, has characterized its attitude and life in all countries to which it has been carried. In India the influence which it exerted in this respect was strong, and remained as a permanent force in the life of the people after the Buddhist faith itself had become decadent and had perished from the land. In the wider aspect also, and as illustrating this spirit, Buddhism alone of the great religions of the world has never been guilty of persecution.

Jainism, the ancient sect contemporary with Buddhism and possessed of similar views and doctrines, inherited also from Hinduism the principles of mercifulness and regard for life in all its manifestations, but carried these principles to an extravagant and abnormal length. Even noxious creatures, however irritating or insignificant, may not be destroyed; and the literal interpretation of the injunction to do no hurt to living beings has led with them to practical inconveniences of a serious nature, which are not counterbalanced by an equivalent development of the qualities of a real compassion. Buddhism, moreover, in the days of its strength in India, made provision for sick, infirm, or worn-out animals in special hospitals; and similar institutions, established and maintained by adherents of the Hindu and Jain faiths, for many centuries past and even at the present time, bear witness to a compassionate spirit worthy of all commendation. To Western thought, however, these institutions appear not seldom to defeat their own object, and to be accompanied by contradictions in feeling and practice which it is difficult to reconcile with the spirit of the implied religious teaching. The form has been preserved and the letter of the law obeyed; but the meaning and motive of the whole have, in many instances at least, lost their force and been disregarded in the external fulfilment of an obligation which satisfied the conscience, but did little to effect a change in the character or disposition of the individual.

With the coming of the Muhammadans a new spirit invaded India, antagonistic to the old, the consequences of which were great and permanent. Born of religious fanaticism, and nurtured in the camp and on the field of battle, the warlike spirit of Islām bore down all religious opposition and refused to accept the symbol and confession of faith of the vanquished creed. From the minds of the conquerors religious fanaticism, in alliance with a temper naturally stern and self-contained, had banished all feelings of compassion towards aliens or foes. Thus a spirit of inhumanity, based ultimately upon religious precept and belief, not only inculcated indifference to life where the honour or extension of the faith was concerned, but urged the entire elimination of the infidel by force of arms. In a further respect also, and that wholly new to India, the example set has been followed with results calamitous for the whole peninsula, the untoward effects of which have only begun to be repaired within comparatively recent years. There is no evidence that before Islām led the way religious prejudice or rivalry ever found expression to any considerable extent in overt acts of persecution. The warfare between the sects was waged by word and argument in the schools and royal courts, but not by violence. The followers of Muhammad taught men to throw the sword into the scale; and the spirit of division and hatred has never since that time been other than latent on both sides, ready to spring to arms and perpetrate cruelties on any violation of religious comity or outrage upon religious conviction.

Two further external influences deserve consideration, but are of very unequal weight and importance. Of non-Christian ethical systems that of the Parsis is unrivalled for its merciful spirit and regard for the poor and necessitous of its own religious community; and the large-hearted generosity of wealthy members of the Parsi faith has always been beyond praise. In general, however, the obligations of kindliness and mutual helpfulness are valid towards those of their own faith alone; and, except by way of example, it cannot be said that their principles or practice have made any deep impression on the nation as a whole. Their numbers, moreover, are too few, and their social severance from Hindu and Muhammadan alike too complete, to enable them to exercise a wide-spread influence for good in this respect. They are and remain strangers in the land, whose character and life have been for the most part for themselves alone, neither shared in nor sought as a pattern by those among whom their lot was cast.

With Christianity it has been entirely otherwise. From the beginning it threw itself into the national and social life of the country, and, as far as the religious sentiment and pride of its opponents would permit, endeavoured to permeate society with its principles and to uplift the people as a whole to the level of its own ethical ideal. The influence of its temper and teaching has always been wider than the limits of its acknowledged churches or professed disciples. Its example has been pervasive and powerful, and mainly through its preaching and its schools it has exercised a far-reaching ethical influence on the doctrines and practice of the Indian peoples. Whether or how far early Buddhism was indebted to Christianity for moral precept and belief remains an open question, to which it is improbable that any definite or certain answer can ever be given. The later centuries, however, afford abundant evidence of the extent of Christian influence and the attractiveness of Christian ideals in modifying the hold of cruel rites upon the popular mind and in securing, although not always permanently, the acceptance of higher standards of right and mutual regard.

The influence described was never stronger than during the last and present centuries, and it was especially marked in the reform movements of the 19th cent., whose leaders never hesitated to acknowledge their indebtedness to Christian teaching and to the Christian Scriptures. Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, and others, to a large extent accepted the principles of the Christian faith, while repudiating its more distinctive doctrines (see art. BRĀHMA SAMĀJ). Moreover, it was on the ethical side that most would seem to have been learnt and adopted. The broad and kindly tolerance of all sects, which is a marked feature of the religious life of the Reformed churches, the gentle habit of mind and speech, and the regard for the rights and consideration for the needs and sufferings of others, if not altogether due to the leaders' knowledge and appreciation of Christian principles, were thereby greatly strengthened. With the exception of the Arya Samāj (*q.v.*), however, which exercises a growing ascendancy in many directions, the contribution of these sects to the spirit and thought of India has not been so effective or lasting as at one time was anticipated. The leaven of their influence has been restricted in its range, although within these limits a genuine effect has been produced.

At the basis of Indian religious and moral thought, therefore, at least in its earlier stages and as regards the conception of the nature of the gods, lay a belief in the generally beneficent and merciful character of the divine powers. The Vedic deities are, for the most part, kindly disposed towards mankind. It is reasonable to suppose that in those remote ages also the quality of mercy found a place among the attributes of the gods because it was appreciated and practised by their worshippers. On the other hand, the awesome and threatening character which a nature-religion often and quite naturally assumes must not be overlooked. The two elementary characteristics or tendencies met, and, being incapable of complete reconciliation, existed side by side throughout the entire development of Indian spiritual and ethical history. Like most Orientals the Indian is by nature gentle and disposed to kindliness and generosity; and this aspect of his disposition found expression in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* and kindred works, and was put into practice by those sects which more or less sincerely acknowledged its authority and were permeated by its spirit. Lower and darker forms of religious faith maintained a cruel and blood-stained ritual, the effect of which on those who followed it could not fail to promote hardness and insensibility to suffering or need. And the more influential systems of philosophy, if not actively hostile to considerations of humanity and brotherly love, at least stood aside, and found their interest and life in a region where the kindly mutual relations upon which mercy is dependent have no part.

It may be said, therefore, that the Indian faith that heaven is merciful has, on the whole, found expression in the Indian creed, and been translated into Indian practice. To generalize, however, with regard to races so diverse in origin, history, and character, on any but the broadest and most general basis, is impracticable. The cross-currents in the case of India are exceptionally numerous owing to the many elements that have entered into the life of the inhabitants of the country. An appreciation can take account of little more than the general characteristics of the majority, their habit of mind, and mode of action. These considerations, however, justify to the fullest extent the description of the native peoples of India as by nature indulgent and merciful.

LITERATURE.—The subject is discussed more or less incidentally in all works on the religions and philosophy of India. See artt. HINDUISM, JAINISM, PARSIS, BHAKTI-MĀRGA, BRĀHMA-SAMĀJ.

A. S. GEDEN.

MERCY (Muslim).—To despair of God's mercy is one of the great sins, for mercy is one of the attributes of God, and to doubt whether He will show it implies disbelief in this divine attribute.

> 'O my servants who have transgressed to your own hurt, despair not of God's mercy, for all sins doth God forgive' (Qur'ān, xxxix. 54). 'Who despaireth of the mercy of his Lord, but they who err?' (xv. 56).

The words 'In the name of God, the Merciful One,' form the heading of all chapters of the Qur'ān except the ninth. *Al-Raḥmān*, the Merciful One, is one of the names of God; it is used in some *sūras* for Allāh. The Qur'ān refers in various ways to the mercy of God. The angels who celebrate His praises cry out: 'Our Lord! thou dost embrace all things in mercy and knowledge' (xl. 7). Satan is said to have claimed mercy on the ground that he was a thing and, therefore, part of the 'all things.' The reply is that the mercy refers only to the obedient and 'adds to the ruin of the wicked' (xvii. 84). The 'treasuries of the mercies of the Lord' is a Qur'ānic expression, and the word 'mercy' is used as a description of divine books. The book of Moses is spoken of as a guide and a 'mercy' (xi. 20). The Qur'ān is frequently called a 'mercy.'

> 'O men, now hath a warning come to you from your Lord, and a medicine for what is in your breasts, and a guidance and a mercy to believers' (x. 58). 'And we send down of the Qur'ān that which is a healing and a mercy to the faithful, but it shall add to the ruin of the wicked' (xvii. 84).

It is said of those who follow Jesus that God put into their hearts 'mercy and compassion' (lvii. 27); but this is not consistent with the denunciation of them (ix. 29–35) and the prohibition of friendship with them (v. 56). The words probably apply to Christians who become Muslims, for the passage goes on to address those who believe:

> 'Fear God and believe in His apostle; two portions of His mercy will He give to you; He will bestow upon you a light to walk in' (lvii. 28).

The two portions are: one for believing in Muhammad, and one for belief in the former prophets (Baiḍāwī). The light is either the Qur'ān to enable the convert to walk in the right path, or, if the walking refers to the bridge (*al-Ṣirāṭ*) finer than a hair, over which all must pass at the Last Day, then the 'light' is true faith which will preserve its possessor in his perilous walk over that bridge. One chapter of the Qur'ān (lv.) is called *Sūrat-al-Raḥmān*, the 'chapter of the Merciful One,' and begins: 'The Merciful One hath taught the Qur'ān, hath created man, hath taught him articulate speech.' The phrase 'God is merciful' is in constant use, and in practical daily life has overshadowed the idea of His righteousness and justice. It too often leads to complacency and self-satisfaction. A man commits sin and says, 'God is merciful': so, instead of leading to repentance and amendment of life, his idea of the mercy of God too often tends to make disobedience easy and safe.

LITERATURE.—There is no special literature on the subject; see literature under SALVATION (Muslim).

EDWARD SELL.

MERIT (Introductory and non-Christian).—In the earlier stages of religious development, as is attested by abundant examples in artt. BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Primitive and Savage), ESCHATOLOGY, and STATE AFTER DEATH, the moral character of life in this world is not a factor either for securing immortality at all or for determining rank and status in the future world, whether immortality be attained by an individual or be vouchsafed to all. In these early stages earthly position, notably chieftainship, or a particular manner of death—*e.g.*, in battle—is a requisite qualification for life in the future world; character, whether good, bad, or indifferent, has no weight in deciding the question. When, however, religion advances, when immortality is not conferred automatically (if the religion in question believes it to be conferred at all), but is a boon which must be achieved by long and toilsome endeavour, then three conditions—sometimes separated, but usually combined in greater or less degree—are imposed: works, faith, and love.

The ideal combination of these three requisites is found in but one religion—Christianity; and within Christianity only Roman Catholicism gives full recognition in its official statements to all three. The doctrine of the merit of good works has fared poorly. Some religions practically ignore it, notably the Bhakti-mārga (*q.v.*) of India and the Ṣūfiism (*q.v.*) of Persia. In both of these the attitude may be due to what they regard as undue stress on good works in Hinduism and Muhammadanism respectively; but, on the other hand, over-emphasis on faith and love to the exclusion of good works is dangerously apt to degenerate into an antinomianism which is a pitiful parody of religion at its best. Love alone is practically the sole condition of salvation to the Ṣūfī and to the follower of the Bhakti-mārga; faith is scarcely concerned except in so far as one naturally believes with firmness what one loves with fervour. Faith and works are the essential bases of Mandæanism (W. Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 171–174). Mere intellectual faith, without love or works, has never been held, so far as the writer knows, to avail for salvation, except possibly in extreme Lutheranism.

The stress laid by St. Paul on justification 'by faith apart from the deeds of the law' (Ro 3^{28}; cf. 5^1, Gal 2^{16}) must not be wrested from its context in the Apostle's teaching, for he himself tells us that love is greater even than faith (1 Co 13), and that 'faith worketh by love' (Gal 5^6; cf. 1 Th 1^3, 1 Ti 1^5 etc.). There was reason for him to speak disparagingly of works—it was necessary for him to combat the excessive nomism of Judaism. But St. Paul was a man of balanced judgment, and to say that he condemned all works because he deprecated reliance on them alone would be a misrepresentation of his true attitude. He recognized the value and the merit of good works (2 Co 8 f.), enjoining the church at Philippi to 'work out your own salvation with fear and trembling' (Ph 2^{12}), and at Thessalonica to establish their hearts 'in every good work and word' (2 Th 2^{17}). There is no doubt that he would have subscribed heartily to the famous passage of St. James (Ja 2^{17}; cf. v.^{20}) that 'faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself.'

The doctrine of the merit accruing from good works may be viewed from two sides—from the side of man and from the side of the deity. From the human side, the more good a man does, or even tries to do, the greater is the merit which he deserves; from the divine side, it is recognized, practically by Christianity alone, that no man can be so rich in good works as to merit salvation; 'all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God' (Ro 3^{23}); all human righteousness is, as Isaiah said (Is 64^6), but as 'pannus menstruatæ.'

Only a shallow thinker would stress the apparent antinomy here set forth; the two partial truths blend harmoniously in the perfect truth of the Christian faith. Indeed, the Christian is saved solely by merit, though not by his own. Our Lord Himself could say, as His earthly life drew to its close, that He had accomplished the work which His Father gave Him to do (Jn 17^4), and He emphasized the necessity of work (5^{17} 9^4). Only through the work consummated on Calvary did salvation come to man; only through the merit of the Sacrifice of the Atonement can we hope at last to attain to heaven (cf. Council of Trent, sess. v. ch. 3, sess. vi. chs. 3, 16, can. 10).

In the primitive stages of religion its essence may be regarded as works. Beliefs are fluid; ritual is stable; every rite must be performed with minute scrupulosity. If the proper rites are thus exactly observed, the result is certain (provided, of course, that no stronger counter-force opposes); and, if a happy hereafter is the object of such rites, that blessedness is thereby assured (cf. PC^3 ii. 90 f.). Not all, however, are content with the discharge of minimum requirements and, consequently, with minimum results. If one wishes for more, he must do more; perhaps, also, it will be well for him to provide a store against unforeseen contingencies. In that case also he must be more energetic in the doing of such works as will effect such a result; it is even possible that merits may be deliberately amassed for the purpose of achieving results unattainable for those who are content with the requirements imposed on every one; and in some cases the merits thus stored up are available for others as well as for him who originally accumulates them. The doctrine of the merits of our Lord's Passion and, in Roman Catholic theology, of the merits of the saints at once come to mind in the latter connexion; and the Roman Catholic dogma of the merit of works of supererogation also falls within this general category.

The doctrine of merit is, on the whole, a characteristic of the higher types of religion. We find it, it is true, among the lower races, as when the Brazilian Içanna 'say that the souls of the brave will become beautiful birds feeding on pleasant fruits, but cowards will be turned into reptiles' (PC^3 ii. 7); and a similar belief is recorded of the African Maravi and of the Santal of India (*ib.* pp. 8, 10). Elsewhere, as among the Nicaraguans and the Negroes of Guinea, the good alone enjoy immortality, the wicked being annihilated (*ib.* p. 22 f.). Among the Greenlanders the condition of happy immortality is to have been a hard worker in this life (*ib.* p. 86; the manner of death—*e.g.*, by drowning or in child-birth—is also a factor). In all these cases, which might be much multiplied —*e.g.*, from African and American Indian tribes (*ib.* p. 94 f.)—the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' must invariably be interpreted by the standards of the particular peoples concerned. If this is done, there is undoubtedly a very real ethical basis and a true morality—even though quite rudimentary—as the foundation of the belief in the future destiny of the soul.

The doctrine of merit is much developed in the higher religions, as in Egyptian (cf. art. ETHICS AND MORALITY [Egyptian], § 7 f.) and Vedic (cf. Muir, v. [1872] 284 ff.), and reaches its non-Christian culmination in the Zoroastrian triad of 'good thoughts, good words, and good deeds' as antithetic to 'bad thoughts, bad words, and bad deeds.' The course of the evolution is well summarized by E. B. Tylor (PC^3 ii. 84 f.):

> 'The idea of the next life being similar to this seems to have developed into the idea that what gives prosperity and renown here will give it there also, so that earthly conditions carry on their contrasts into the changed world after death. Thus a man's condition will be a result of, rather than a compensation or retribution for, his condition during life. . . . Through such an intermediate stage the doctrine of simple future existence was actually developed into the doctrine of future reward and punishment.'

Turning to the higher religions, we observe, first, that the teaching of Muhammadanism on the subject of merit is practically to the effect that good works are requisite, but that the true believer, being guided by Allāh to perform them, is, in reality, saved only by divine grace, while the wicked are punished eternally for the sins which they have committed, and for their refusal to submit to divine guidance. The problem is complicated here by the fatalism of Muhammadanism (see art. FATE [Muslim]).

At the Last Day 'every soul shall be recompensed as it hath deserved: no injustice on that day' (Qur'ān, xl. 17). It is equally true that whosoever of the 'People of the Book' 'believeth in God and the last day, and doeth that which is right, shall have their reward with their Lord' (ii. 59; cf. ii. 76, 106, 215, iii. 194, iv. 60, 121–123, 172, v. 73, vii. 40, xi. 14, xxv. 64–76; the idea is closely paralleled by Ac 10^{35}); and elsewhere faith is conjoined with observance of almsgiving and the appointed times of prayer (ii. 2–4), while throughout faith and works go together (*e.g.*, iii. 190–199). The whole attitude of Islām on this matter may thus be summarized from the earliest *sūra* (xxxvii. 22–55) which deals extensively with it:

> 'Gather together those who have acted unjustly, . . . and guide them to the road for hell. . . .
> But on this day they shall submit themselves to God. . . .
> "Just, therefore, is the doom which our Lord hath passed upon us." . . .
> Ye shall surely taste the painful punishment,
> And ye shall not be rewarded but as ye have wrought,
> Save the sincere servants of God! . . . .
> "But for the favour of my Lord, I had surely been of those who have been brought (unto damnation)."'

In a word, the saved declare (vii. 41): 'Praise be to God who hath guided us hither! We had not been guided had not God guided us!' (cf. also E. M. Wherry, *Comprehensive Commentary on the Qurán*, London, 1882–86, ii. 12, note 31, and index, *s.v.* 'Salvation').

The most complete development of the theory of merit among the ethnic religions is undoubtedly found in India. The main aspects have already been considered at length in the art. KARMA, where it will be seen that the Indian concept of merit is closely connected—as it is in several other religious systems—with belief in transmigration (*q.v.*) and in asceticism (*q.v.*). One aspect, however, calls for mention here—the accumulation of merit for the attainment of supernatural results in this life.

On the theory of sacrifice as set forth by the *Brāhmaṇas*—*i.e.*, that it is a rite which *ipso facto* compels the result at which it aims—it follows that the accumulation of merit not only by sacrifice but also in other ways will constrain the gods themselves to bow before the might of the ascetic. This power may be used for good or for evil, according to the purpose of him who possesses the merit in question. The records of India are full of stories of sages who have won enormous powers by the accumulation of merit, almost wholly by asceticism.

Thus, Bali conquered Indra and all the other gods except Viṣṇu, and ruled the world until Viṣṇu outwitted him; Chyavana constrained Indra to do his will (*Mahābhārata*, iii. 122–125); the particularly ill-tempered Durvāsas by his curse brought the gods so completely under the power of the demons that only the famous churning of the Ocean of Milk, which produced the *amṛta* ('ambrosia'), restored the divine sway (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, i. 9); Hariśchandra's patience under trial deservedly raised him to heaven, though he unhappily boasted of his merit and fell, but, repenting in mid-air, still remains in his aerial city half-way between heaven and earth (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, i. 7 ff.): Kaṇḍu's austerities, like those of many other sages, were so perilous to the gods that Indra sent the Apsaras Pramlochā to seduce him (*Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, i. 15); Kārtavīrya thus obtained great boons, which he used wisely (*ib.* iv. 11); the demon Rāvaṇa, the evil figure of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, won supernatural power by the merit of his austerities; Viśvāmitra, whose conflicts with the almost equally merit-endowed Vasiṣṭha form an important theme in the earlier Sanskrit literature, rose to be a Brāhman instead of being merely a Kṣatriya (Muir, i.² [1872] 317 ff.). Indeed, the idea recurs constantly throughout Sanskrit literature, the implication being always that the sage owes his power solely to the merit which he has accumulated; and in modern folk-belief the same supernatural might is accredited to the Yogī and Faqīr.

In later Zoroastrianism merit conditions very strictly one's position in the future world. Through full renunciation of sin and complete confession of it 'the duty and good works which were before performed' come back to a man (*Šāyast lā-Šāyast*, viii. 5–9). Those whose good and evil exactly balance go neither to heaven nor to hell, but to Hamēstagān, the 'Ever-stationary' (cf. L. H. Gray, *Muséon*, new ser., iii. [1902] 178), which in one text (*Dāṭistān-ī-Dīnīk*, xxiv. 6, xxxiii. 2) is divided into two parts, one for those whose goodness slightly preponderates, and the other for those whose evil minutely overbalances the scale. Not only is punishment in keeping with one's sin (cf. M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914, pp. 56 f., 273–275, 280 f.), but in the future world justice is so strictly observed that even the good deeds of a wicked man receive reward.

'For instance, a man whose whole body was either cooked in the caldron or was undergoing some other torment had one of his legs stretched out unmolested, because he had either shoved a wisp of hay before a hungry animal that was tied and could not reach it or killed some noxious creatures with it. He had not done any other good deed his whole life long' (Dhalla, p. 281, with reff.; cf. also L. C. Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, Bombay, 1889, p. 167 f.).

Merits avail, as the doctrine of the merits of the saints teaches, not only for one's self, but also for others. This has been recognized by other religions as well as by the older form of Christianity. In the Buddhist *Upasampadā-kammavāchā*, or ritual for admission to the Buddhist priesthood, the candidate prays: 'Let the merit that I have gained be shared by my lord. It is fitting to give me to share in the merit gained by my lord' (J. F. Dickson, *JRAS*, 1875, pp. 7, 9). Buddhism, however, stands almost alone in thus transferring merit during this life. The transfer of merit from the living to the dead is less common, although the Marcionite practice of 'baptizing for the dead' may possibly belong here (cf. J. Bingham, *Antiquities of the Chr. Church*, London, 1843–45, iii. 451–456). It is, however, taught by the Roman Catholic Church that, in virtue of the article of the Communion of Saints, the faithful living may transfer their merits for the benefit of souls in purgatory. More frequently the transfer is made in the future world, particularly at the examination of a recently arrived soul. Thus, in Muhammadanism, according to al-Ghazālī (*Perle précieuse*, ed. and tr. L. Gautier, Geneva, 1878, p. 79 f.), the man whose good and evil exactly counterbalance is bidden by Allāh to borrow some small merit from a more fortunate soul that the balance may be turned in his favour (for other solutions of this problem cf. the discussions connected with the al-A'rāf of Qur'ān, vii. 44–46, and see J. B. Rüling, *Beiträge zur Eschatologie des Islam*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 37 f.; M. Wolff, *Muh. Eschatologie*, do. 1872, p. 85). In late Zoroastrianism sacrificial merit (*kirfak*) of which the officiating priest is unaware goes to the treasury (*ganj*) of the angels, who give the ensuing enjoyment 'to the soul of that person who has at once become righteous in mind' (*Šāyast lā-Šāyast*, viii. 4).

LITERATURE.—*PC*³ ii. 83–107; *MI* i. 86, 96–99, 299–302, ii. 360 f., 550–552.

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MERIT (Christian).—Merit is, properly speaking, an ethical idea. It implies the existence of at least three things: (1) a moral law under which man is placed, (2) a free will which enables him to obey it, and (3) a system of rewards and punishments by which obedience or disobedience to the law is sanctioned. Meritorious conduct is such as is agreeable to the law, and is at the same time voluntary; as meritorious, it claims honour or reward. Demerit, on the other hand, is the mark of such voluntary conduct as is not correspondent to the law; conduct to which this mark attaches demands punishment (for this general conception of merit see J. Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*³, Oxford, 1889, ii. 80 ff.).

In Christian theology the idea of merit is closely connected with that of good works; and there is an important inter-confessional controversy between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism concerning the relation between the two. Both confessions recognize the ethical character of Christianity by declaring good works necessary to salvation, but, while Catholicism views good works, with certain limitations, as meritorious of eternal salvation, Protestantism denies that the standpoint of merit is at all valid in the Christian life.

1. The Jewish and Hellenistic doctrine of merit.—The conception of the merit of good works and the demerit of disobedience was inherited by Christianity and Judaism. It does not belong, strictly speaking, to the prophetic religion of Israel. While the prophetic religion is, above all things, ethical, and its demand is for righteousness, the point of view under which right conduct is regarded is, in the first place, rather that of loyalty to Jahweh than that of the accumulation of merit and demerit, and the consequent hope of reward and fear of punishment. Typical of the prophetic attitude to the subject is such a sentence as Mic 6⁸ 'He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' Nevertheless, there is always the idea in reserve of a judgment by which evil-doers are to be cut off; and in such a passage as Is $1^{19f.}$ the alternative of reward for obedience and punishment for disobedience is very clearly propounded (cf. also $3^{10f.}$).

With the codification of the prophetic morality in the Law, however, the standpoint of merit became much more clearly defined. In Dt 27–29, *e.g.*, the whole duty of religion is brought under the heads of the blessing which rewards obedience to the divine commandments and of the curse which follows disobedience. In Dt 6^{25} 24^{13} also is found the important idea of a 'righteousness before God' established by the performance of the precepts. Prophecy after the establishment of the Law tends more and more to be conformed to the legal standpoint. The general idea of reward and punishment is applied in a very atomistic way to the individual by Ezekiel (cf. 3^{16-21} 18^{1-32}; other notable passages of a similar general tendency in later prophecy are Is 65^{11-15} 66^{14-18}, Mal 3^1–4^3).

The practical way in which the motives of the hope of reward and fear of punishment operated in the post-Exilic legalism can be studied in Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus (cf. Pr 19^{17}, Sir $12^{1ff.}$ $29^{14f.}$). It should be noted, however, that so far there is no idea of rewards or punishments in a future life. The life after death is conceived in all the earlier stages of the Jewish religion as without moral distinction. In the further development of religion during the Greek period, however, moral distinctions are extended into the next life, while in the Palestinian Judaism antagonistic to Greek influence the scribes further developed the preceding legalism into a complete formalism.

In this formalism the different moral duties are regarded in great detail and in separation from one another. The moral task is not viewed as a whole, but as the sum of single observances. The duties of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving are especially prominent. Reward varies precisely as performance:

> 'He who performs one precept has gotten to himself one advocate; and he who commits one transgression has gotten to himself one accuser' (*Pirqê Ābhôth*, iv. 15, ed. C. Taylor^2, Cambridge, 1897, p. 69).

The reward is partly present, partly future; where this world fails fully to reward or punish, the next world redresses the balance.

The result of this atomistic conception of moral duties is to give great prominence to the external and ceremonial duties. It leads naturally to that idea of righteousness by works which was so prevalent in Pharisaic circles in NT times.

Life under the Law was certainly not wholly formalism and externalism. Examples of real heart religion were still to be found among the Jews of this time. C. G. Montefiore rightly insists that the tendency to formalism represents only one aspect of the later Judaism, and that it is not fair to judge it by this aspect alone (see *Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews* [*HL*], London, 1897, lect. ix.). The same truth is emphasized by G. Dalman in his *Worte Jesu* (Eng. tr., *The Words of Jesus*, Edinburgh, 1902).

Nevertheless, the formalistic aspect of the religion of the scribes must here be emphasized, for the following reasons: (1) it distinguishes it from the earlier prophetic stages of the prophetic religion of Israel; (2) it explains the protest of the NT against the religion of the scribes; (3) it still influences the Roman Catholic conception of merit.

> 'Just because the catechisms for the elementary schools adduce passages like Dn 4^{24} [*sic*], To 12^8 for the Roman Catholic doctrine of good works, we must go back to the religion of Judaism' (K. Thieme, in *PRE*^{3} xxi. 110).

A brief glance at Hellenistic Judaism of the same period will conclude this part of our survey. The morality of the book of Wisdom and of Philo combines with the Jewish idea of obedience to the Law Plato's philosophical doctrine of virtue. On the subject of moral retribution Wisdom remains practically one with the earlier Ecclesiasticus. Philo, however, further distinguishes himself both from the Wisdom literature and from the teaching of the scribes by avoiding the principle of 'atomism' and carrying back all virtues to one root, love or faith. The punishment of sin, moreover, he regards as a living death, the reward of virtue as communion with God (see J. Drummond, art. 'Philo,' in *HDB* v. 207).

As regards the views of educated paganism, when Christianity came into being, the doctrine of Plato was a formative influence.

> Plato 'in several dialogues expresses the thought that a judgment upon all souls takes place at death, at which they receive, *κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν* (*Phædo*, 113 E), both the reward for their good and the punishment for their evil deeds (*Rep.* x. 614 ff., *Gorg.* 523 ff., *Phædo*, 113 f.). Here, however, the mere conception of merit is overlaid by the other, that he who strives after righteousness and virtue seeks *ὁμοιοῦσθαι θεῷ*, and therefore will not be overlooked by God (*Rep.* x. 613 A B)' (J. Kunze, in *PRE*^{3} xx. 501).

The last thoughts carry us beyond the sphere of the doctrine of merit. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that in paganism, as well as in Judaism, the view that regards God above all things as a rewarder of good and evil, and tends to review His relation to men under legal analogies, was the dominant and most usual religious theory. The total position of things is well summed up by Schultz in *SK* lxvii. 9:

> 'When Christianity entered the world and found its first expression in the dominant Jewish circles, as well as among the spokesmen of the idealistic Hellenic popular culture, the thought of a divine repayment deciding according to legal standards, and therefore of a merit or demerit of men according to which their fate was to be settled, was a self-evident axiom. A different relation of man to God, now that the prophetic type of religion had ceased to be influential, was not in general imaginable. With faith in God as the representative of the moral order of the world, there appeared to be evidently given the faith that He rewards and punishes according to the rule of human law.'

2. The doctrine of the NT.—The teaching of Jesus links itself on to that of the OT prophets, and also to that better side of the later Judaism upon which Montefiore and Dalman insist. It is, in the first place, essentially ethico-religious; religion and morality are completely blended in it. Jesus demands of His disciples an absolute conformity with the will of God (Mt 5^{48}), a righteousness better than that of the scribes (5^{20}). Without this none can enter into the kingdom of heaven (7^{20}). This better righteousness is, however, not to be attained by a closer conformity to the Law. Jesus further teaches that the only true righteousness is heart righteousness; that, apart from a right motive, outward conformity to the Law is worthless. Again, the idea of God as the Father, so central in His teaching, is the very antithesis of and makes impossible a legal conception of the relation of man to God. The righteousness which Jesus demands is, therefore, in the end just the spirit of sonship, energizing in the imitation of the Father (5^{48}).

While thus rejecting the legalism of the scribes, Jesus employs in His ethical teaching the current ideas of reward and punishment. That righteousness shall be rewarded and wrong-doing punished He reiterates again and again (Mt $5^{1ff.}$ 6^{19} 19^{21} etc.). He speaks once (unless it be the Evangelist) of 'good works' (*ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα*, Mt 5^{16}); he did not reprove the question: 'What shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?' (Mk 10^{17}); in His answer, moreover, He points the asker to the keeping of the commandments. Cf., further, the teaching of the parables of the faithful and unfaithful servants

(Mt $24^{45\text{ff.}}$), and of the talents ($25^{14\text{ff.}}$), and observe again the principle expressed in Mk 4^{24}.

The principle of merit, therefore, occupies a somewhat ambiguous position in the teaching of Jesus. On the one hand, there are fundamental doctrines which appear to leave no room for it; on the other, we find in places a general recognition of it. The position of things in the NT as a whole is much the same.

The rest of the NT corresponds exactly in its ethical demands with the teaching of Jesus Himself. The *necessity* of righteousness is absolute, alike for the Jewish Christianity of the Epistle of James and the anti-Jewish Christianity of Paul, as well as for the other NT writers (cf. Ja $1^{21\text{f.}}$, Gal 5^{19-21}, Eph 5^5, 1 Jn 3^{7-12} esp. v.^{9}). Throughout the NT also the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God is fundamental, though not so dominant as it is in the teaching of Jesus. The idea of retribution according to works is also generally prevalent. Paul, indeed, in the most important cycle of his teaching—that upon justification—appears to exclude the principle of merit altogether. Justification is by faith alone: by the works of the Law no man can be justified (Ro 3^{20} 4^5, Gal 2^{16} 3^{11}; observe especially the direct exclusion, in so many words, of the principle of merit in Ro $4^{4\text{f.}}$). Yet the Apostle teaches also that reward and punishment are according to men's works; and he regards this doctrine as axiomatic, feeling himself here on common ground not only with the Jews, but also with the Græco-Roman world (Ro $2^{6\text{ff.}}$; cf., further, 2 Co 5^{10} 9^6, Gal 6^9, 2 Th 1^9, and also Col 3^{24}, Eph 6^8, 1 Ti 4^8, 2 Ti 4^8).

Even more prominent is the doctrine of retribution according to works in the Apocalypse, and the Epistles of James, 1 Peter, and to the Hebrews (cf. Rev 2^{10-20} $3^{5.\ 12.\ 21}$ etc., Ja 3^{18} 4^{10}, 1 P $1^{9.\ 17}$ etc., He 10^{35} $11^{26.\ 35}$ 12^2). The current idea of retribution is therefore almost universal in the NT, though, as Schultz says (*op. cit.* p. 13), 'without systematic development.' Only in the Gospel and Epistles of John is it almost wanting. The reason for this is assigned by Schultz as follows:

> 'At bottom there is no room for it. The true life work, which the community elect of God performs, is belief in the Son of God, and in this belief eternal life is already given, as possession and as hope' (p. 13).

Here, then, enters a problem which the NT writers do not themselves seem to have felt much. What is the relation of the doctrine of retribution, which the NT has in common with the current thought of its age, to the specifically Christian ideas, such as those of the Divine Fatherhood, or of justification by faith? This is a problem whose full significance was later to be brought to light. We may, however, refer here to the passages in the NT which suggest the limitations with which the doctrine of retribution is to be taken.

To begin with Jesus Himself, when He describes, as He often does, the relation of God to men by comparing it to that of a master and his household servants (cf. Mt $24^{45\text{ff.}}$ $25^{14\text{ff.}}$, Lk 17^9), He thereby does away with the idea of merit and reward in the strict sense.

> 'The servant in the sense of antiquity can acquire no merit. He is δοῦλος ἀχρεῖος, even when he has done all he should (Lk 17^9). His master can reward him, but that remains at bottom an act of good pleasure' (Schultz, p. 15).

In the one instance where Jesus actually does speak of paid labourers, and so leaves the way open for the strict idea of reward according to merit, He emphasizes by contrast the truth that God will not be bound by this rule, but reserves to Himself the right of graciously transcending it (Mt $20^{1\text{f.}}$).

Finally, Jesus opens out the view of a reward which belongs rather to the personality revealed in the work than to the performance as such.

> 'Only where the tree is good, can the fruit be good (Mt 12^{33} 13^{33}). It is the conduct of life, the πρᾶξις, which is recognized and rewarded in the individual deeds' (Schultz, p. 14).

Paul, again, suggests a reconciliation between the idea of justification by faith and judgment according to works in the conception of good works as the fruit of the Spirit (Gal $5^{22\text{f.}}$).

> 'Where justification is, there is also the gift of the Spirit, and therefore also good works. Thus the verdict of present justification and of the future judgment must coincide' (R. S. Franks, *Man, Sin, and Salvation*, London and Edinburgh, 1908, p. 128 f.).

Again, in Eph 2^{8-10} good works appear not as a condition, but as a result, of salvation. 'Sometimes, however, the ethical interest so predominates that Paul even comes to represent future salvation as conditional on perseverance in faith and obedience' (*ib.* p. 129). Cf. Ro 8^{17}, 1 Co 9^{24-27}, Ph 3^{8-14} with exposition given by Franks (*ib.*).

Finally, we may take into account the recession of the idea of retribution in the Johannine writings, which has already been noticed. The tendency in the NT, at any rate in the most important parts of it, is in general to limit the principle of merit and retribution in favour of the doctrines of grace. But it must be admitted that such limitation is by no means universal or absolute (it is least observable in the minor NT writers); and there remains, therefore, a fundamental antinomy in the Christian religion, as originally stated, which theology is called upon to solve. How difficult the task is, the history of doctrine reveals.

3. The doctrine of merit in the Christian Church.—We begin with primitive Gentile Christianity, and note that the whole cycle of Christian ideas by no means passed over equally to the Gentile Christians — what they received was naturally conditioned by their previous preparation. As to the necessity of good works, we find an intense moral earnestness in primitive Gentile Christianity. But, further, the idea of the twofold retribution according to works (reward or punishment) was familiar to the whole Græco-Roman world; hence this element of NT doctrine was easily assimilated, and, indeed, emphasized in more than its proper proportion, so much so that we have to recognize in the early Christian Church a return to a great extent to the Jewish doctrine of works. The doctrines, on the other hand, which should have prevented this return, such as, above all, the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, found but little receptivity awaiting them. Hence the doctrine of good works in the Apostolic Fathers is very similar to that of the Jewish Rabbis. Christianity appears as a new law, and eternal life as the reward of keeping it. Just as in later Judaism, stress is especially laid on the merit of fasting and almsgiving. Cf. *2 Clem.* xvi. 4 (almsgiving becomes a mitigation of sin); *Barn.* xix.; *2 Clem.* iii. 3 f., viii. 4–6, ix. 5; Hermas, *Sim.* IX. xxviii. 5, X. ii. 4. We actually find already the idea of a work of supererogation (Hermas, *Sim.* V. iii. 3: 'If thou doest a good work beyond the commandment of God, thou shalt win for thyself more abundant glory').

In the Greek Fathers this line of thought continues, side by side, indeed, with the idea of grace, with which, however, it is never properly correlated. A more important and characteristic development belongs to Western theology, and begins with Tertullian. Himself a jurist, he gave to the doctrine of good works an essentially juristic stamp, which it has never lost in Latin Catholicism. A typical sentence is:

> 'A good deed has God as its debtor, just as also an evil one, because a judge is a rewarder of every cause' (*de Pœn.* 2).

Tertullian, in fact, looks upon the whole life of the Christian after baptism as strictly a life under the Law, its motives hope of reward and fear of punishment, and the result determined purely according to legal standards. All good works are in general meritorious; merit, however, in a peculiar sense attaches to such as go beyond the strict demands of God—*e.g.*, fasting and the maintenance of virginity. Retribution is strictly according to merit (*Scorp.* vi., *de Pat.* x., *ad Scap.* iv.).

These ideas are continued by the later Latin Fathers. Ambrose, however, begins to correlate them with the idea of divine grace—a work completed by Augustine. The latter still maintains that eternal life must be won by merit, and that good works establish merit, but the divine grace alone can enable men to perform good works, so that all our merits are God's gifts, and, when God crowns our merits, He crowns in reality simply His own gifts (*Ench.* cvii., *Ep.* cxciv. 19).

The teaching of Augustine is systematized and modified by the mediæval schoolmen. The idea that eternal salvation must be merited by good works is common to them all. Baptismal grace simply puts men into a condition to win merit. Works are not properly meritorious unless done from an inner principle of love (*caritas*), which is infused in the heart by the Spirit of God. Alexander of Hales, however, modified this doctrine by distinguishing between two degrees of merit, 'meritum de congruo' and 'meritum de condigno,' and two degrees of grace, 'gratia gratis data,' general grace, and 'gratia gratum faciens,' saving grace. He further taught that, while 'meritum de condigno,' or merit to which God owes a reward in strict justice, is possible only by the help of saving grace, 'meritum de congruo,' which God rewards because His mercy goes beyond strict justice, is possible by the help of general grace. In this way even the first grace can be merited (F. Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*⁴, Halle, 1906, p. 544 f.). Thomas Aquinas was more cautious. He denied the possibility of merit before baptism. All merit, however, so far as it proceeds from the free will is 'de congruo'; so far as it proceeds from grace, it is 'de condigno' (*ib.* p. 549 f.). Duns Scotus taught that 'meritum de congruo' was possible to a man 'in puris naturalibus' according to God's 'potentia absoluta,' not, however, according to his 'potentia ordinata' (*ib.* p. 596 f.). Finally, the Nominalist, Gabriel Biel, the disciple of William of Occam, taught without hesitation that he who does what is in him can merit 'de congruo' the grace which enables him 'de condigno' to merit salvation (*ib.* p. 615). It is from this point that the Reformation antithesis to the Roman Catholic doctrine of good works takes its start. Luther, returning to Paul's principle of justification by faith, declares that the doctrine that salvation can be merited by good works, however modified by a reference to the co-operation of divine grace, is absolutely opposed to the pure gospel.

We ought to notice that Luther's point of view is not altogether without parallel in the Middle Ages. Above all others Bernard of Clairvaux presents similar thoughts.

> 'He is foolish and mad, whoever he be that trusts in any merits of his life, who trusts in any religion or wisdom but only humility' (*de Diversis*, sermo xxvi. 1; other passages are given in A. Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, i., Eng. tr., p. 99).

Luther, however, elevated what was thus occasionally expressed in the Middle Ages as a devotional point of view into the central doctrine of the faith. This teaching, in its ultimate form—there were many stages of development—is that salvation is by faith alone. Works are not the condition of righteousness, but righteousness received as a divine gift by faith is the condition of good works. Faith works by love, and its natural fruits are good works.

In opposition to Luther's view the Roman Catholic Church at the Council of Trent stamped with its approval the mediæval doctrines of good works (see sess. vi. can. 32). R. Bellarmine briefly sums up the Roman Catholic point of view when he says: 'The common opinion of all Catholics is that good works are truly and properly meritorious, and that not merely of some particular reward, but of eternal life itself' (*de Justificatione*, v. 1 [*Disputationes*, Ingolstadt, 1588–93, vol. iii.]).

Protestantism as a whole, both Lutheran and Reformed, completely agrees with the position of Luther, as expressed above. In the early Lutheran Church there was, however, a controversy as to the necessity of good works. If they were not to be regarded as the meritorious cause of salvation, the question was in what relation they stood to it. Melanchthon used phrases which were thought to imply that good works, though not the ground of justification, were nevertheless a *causa sine qua non* of our acceptance with God. To this mode of expression Luther objected, as good works are the consequence, and in no sense the condition, of justification. Agricola, a pupil of his, went further, and taught that good works are not necessary to salvation, the believer being not under the Law but under grace, and accepted for Christ's sake apart from any works of his own. Luther denounced this view also, maintaining that the Law remained under the gospel, not indeed as a means of justification, but as a revelation of the will of God as to what men ought to do (C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, London and Edinburgh, 1872–73, iii. 238).

The controversy was renewed not long afterwards in consequence of the doctrine of George Major, professor at Wittenberg, who had also been a pupil of Luther and Melanchthon. Major was accused of teaching that good works were necessary to justification, but denied this. He maintained that good works were not necessary as meritorious of salvation, but were necessary as fruits of faith. He admitted that the sinner was in a state of salvation as soon as he believed, but taught that, if his faith did not produce good works, it was not saving faith. N. von Amsdorf, his chief opponent, taught, on the other hand, that, though the statement that good works were necessary to salvation might be true in a general way, it was misleading. Good works are necessary to sanctification, but not to salvation in the proper sense, which is identical with justification. Amsdorf went so far as even to say that good works were harmful to salvation (*op. cit.* p. 239 f.).

These controversies were closed by the Formula of Concord (1580), which, on the one hand, condemns the statement that good works are necessary to salvation, but, on the other, equally rejects the doctrine that they are harmful to salvation. Men are to be shown how necessary it is to exercise themselves towards God in good works, but also how necessary it is to avoid all thought of good works in the matter of justification. Finally, the Formula condemns the idea that faith in Christ can consist with intentional or wilful sin (cf. *F. C. Epitome*, ed. Leipzig, 1857, ix., 'de Bonis Operibus').

The Formula of Concord closes the history of the doctrine of good works in orthodox dogmatics. It remains now only to notice that, since the Formula was composed, the whole question of the place of good works in Christianity has passed into a new phase. The essentially ethical character of modern Protestant theology, with its emphasis on the teaching of the OT prophets, and still more on that of Christ, makes the question whether good works are necessary to salvation seem almost absurd. At the same time, in the sense in which the Formula of Concord denies that good works are necessary to salvation, modern Protestant theology is absolutely at one with it. It repudiates the Roman Catholic conception of salvation by merit, and views good works, in essential agreement with the prophets, with Christ, and with Luther, as the expression of the filial attitude towards God.

There is, however, a powerful tendency not simply to deny the applicability of the category of merit to the matter of justification, but to regard it as a complete intruder in the domain of Christian theology. Justification by faith is regarded by Ritschl not as an alternative to justification by works, coming in in view of the failure of the latter, but as from the first the only method of salvation. The consequence of this view is an attempt to remove from theology the conception of the reward of good works in any other sense than that of their immanent fruition. The Pauline doctrine of twofold retribution is regarded simply as a remnant of Pharisaism or as a dialectic concession to his Jewish opponents (cf. Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, ii. 319; also W. Beyschlag, *NT Theol.*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1895, ii. 179; H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentl. Theol.*, Freiburg i. B., 1896–97, ii. 129). Our Lord's use of the category of reward is regarded as merely popular and not fitted to be the basis of a theological statement (cf. Holtzmann, i. 192 f.).

The question is really that of the rights of 'natural theology' within the Christian religion. The doctrine of twofold retribution has always been regarded as one of the pillars of a natural theology. Ritschl, however, regards the whole of the traditional natural theology, and in particular the doctrine of a twofold retribution, as due to the Hellenization of Christianity, and as being no proper part of Christian theology (cf. *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, iii. 24 f., Eng. tr., p. 260 f., also ii. 318 f.), maintaining that the doctrine of twofold retribution, in a word, is Jewish or Greek but not Christian. The Ritschlian doctrine on this point has been by no means generally accepted. Many would still agree with C. Gore when, commenting on Ro 2^{15}, he speaks of natural religion as the necessary and essential basis of all evangelical teaching (*The Epistle to the Romans*, London, 1899, i. 108 f.). It must, however, be admitted that the co-existence in the NT of the doctrine of justification by faith and of reward according to works remains one of the antinomies of the Christian religion, of which, if the Ritschlian position be refused, no satisfactory synthesis has yet been attained. And, further, Ritschl is surely right when he says that 'the rubric of good works is unsuitable as a comprehensive designation of the ethical side of Christianity' (iii. 627, Eng. tr., p. 663). The phrase 'good works' suggests just that Pharisaic atomism which is the very opposite of the teaching of Christ, and, while employed in the NT like many other phrases derived from Jewish thought, it is not one in which the specific genius of Christianity comes out, but rather one in connexion with which there is a perpetual danger of a reversion to a lower stage of religion.

LITERATURE.—The usual Biblical Theologies and Histories of Dogma; also the great systematic theological works, among which A. Ritschl's *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*^{3}, Bonn, 1889, is specially important (Eng. tr., *Justification and Reconciliation*, vol. i., Edinburgh, 1872, vol. iii.^{2}, do. 1902, vol. ii. still untranslated). The great monograph on merit is H. Schultz, 'Der sittliche Begriff des Verdienstes und seine Aufwendung auf das Verständniss des Werkes Christi,' in *SK* lxvii. [1894] 7–50, 245–313, 445–553. See also artt. 'Verdienst' and 'Werke, gute,' in *PRE*^{3}.

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

MERLIN.—The name Merlin is a modification, first found in its Latinized form Merlinus, of the Welsh Myrddin or Merddin. That the latter form in Welsh is not a mere orthographical variant of the former is shown by a line of the poet Dafydd ab Gwilym (middle 14th cent.), which attests the pronunciation with *e* in the first syllable. In mediæval romance Merlin played a prominent part, in close conjunction with the Arthurian legend, as a prophet and as a magician. In the earliest references which we have to him in Welsh literature he appears as a bard, while, later, he is represented in Welsh and other prophetic literature as a seer, until finally, in the Merlin romances, his character as a magician predominates. The origin of the name Myrddin or Merddin is uncertain, and it is only by accident that it has become identical with the second element of Caer Fyrddin, the Welsh name for Carmarthen, since, in that name, Myrddin (in its mutated form Fyrddin) is the later phonetic equivalent of the Celtic Mori-dūnon ('the fortress near the sea'). The reason for the substitution of *l* for *dd* (=soft *th*) in the Latin and other forms of the name is uncertain. Probably it was due to the absence of the soft sound of *th* from these languages, and the consequent necessity for substituting for it some other sound, but it is not clear why that sound should have been *l*. As for the derivation of the name, it may be stated that there is one obstacle, and that a doubtful one, to its derivation from the Latin Martinus. This should give Merthin (with hard *th*), but there is a bare possibility that this form might change to Merddin, in accordance with a Welsh sound-change of *th* to *dd* which operated in certain words, but which was arrested before it affected all instances of *rth*. There is probably an instance of this sound-change in the place-name Gogerddan, in Cardiganshire, which doubtless stands for 'Gogerthan,' another form of 'Gogarthan,' a diminutive of Gogarth ('an eminence'). This derivation of Merddin is only a possibility; but, if it is sound, it is just conceivable that some of the early legends of Merlin contain distorted accounts of St. Martin, to whom St. Ninian is said to have dedicated the church called *Candida Casa* or Whithorn. A magician called Melinus is mentioned in the *Vita Patricii* of Jocelyn (x. 79, ed. *AS*, II Mar. [1865] 556), written in the 12th cent., but whether or not the name stands for Merlinus is uncertain; in the *Vita Patricii* which is ascribed to Bede, though more probably by Mellanius Probus (ed. J. Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum . . . Hiberniæ*, Louvain, 1645–47, ii. 51–63), he is called Locrus. It is interesting to note that Adamnan in his *Life of St. Columba* makes no mention of Merlin.

I. Merlin in Welsh legend.—So far as the earliest allusions to Merlin in purely Welsh literature are concerned, it is clear that his name belonged to the same legendary zone as the majority of the heroes and saints commemorated in early Welsh literature and included in early Welsh genealogies, namely to that of the 'Men of the North,' who are represented as having come into Wales from Northern Britain, more especially from the region of the Clyde and the Forth. This is the zone, *e.g.*, of Cunedda Wledig, Urien Rheged and his son Owain, of St. Kentigern (the patron saint of Glasgow and of St. Asaph), Caw, Rhydderch Hael, Gwenddolen, Cynon ab Clydno Eiddin, and of Arthur himself. The débris of the ancient British legendary cycle is to be found in Nennius, as well as in poems of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, the *Book of Aneirin*, the *Book of Taliessin*, and the *Red Book of Hergest*, while fragments of the same cycle may be detected in the *Mabinogion*, the *Triads*, and the *Bruts*. It is in the *Book of Aneirin*, a MS of the 13th cent., but containing much older material, that the first reference to Merlin by name occurs in Welsh literature, in the phrase 'he defended the fair song of Mirdyn,' the form 'Mirdyn' in this passage being undoubtedly a variant for 'Myrdin,' the mediæval Welsh equivalent of the Myrddin of later Welsh.

Since it is clear that the legend of Myrddin (Merlin), in its earlier developments, must have arisen on British soil and have been circulated in the ancient British tongue, it will be of interest, before considering its later evolution in Latin and other non-Welsh sources, to review the forms in which we find it in the literature of Wales. Unfortunately, the Welsh materials of the Merlin legend do not go further back than the 12th cent., but they doubtless embody more primitive features, though it is no longer easy to determine these elements with certainty. The Myrddin legend owed its popularity in Wales, in the 12th cent. and later, to its convenience as a vehicle for the enunciation of prophecies as to the ultimate success of the Welsh in their struggle against the English. In this form of the legend Myrddin is represented as having, in the battle of Arderydd (often wrongly written Ardderyd), caused the death of the son of his sister Gwenddydd, who apparently was the wife of Rhydderch Hael, a prince of Strathclyde, who, in the battle in question, was the opponent of another Northern prince, Gwenddolen, with whose court Myrddin as a poet appears to have been connected. According to this Welsh legend, smitten with remorse, he flees in his frenzy, under the pursuit of Rhydderch Hael and his hounds, to the Forest of Caledonia (Coed Celyddon), to which, in Welsh mediæval legend, allusion was sometimes made as the home of sprites and departed spirits. In his flight the bard's sole companion is a little pig, and with his companion he reaches the shelter of an apple-tree in the heart of the forest. Under this apple-tree he is represented as uttering prophecies concerning future events in the history of Wales. It would appear from some of Myrddin's utterances that, in the course of his wanderings, communications were sometimes made to him by a female friend, who bears in Welsh the name Chwimbian or Chwiplein, who is probably the original of the Viviane of the later Merlin romances. It is possible that, in earlier forms of the legend than those known to us from Welsh literature, this nymph or Egeria may have originally played a less shadowy part than that which comes to view in Welsh 12th cent. legend, when the chief use of the Myrddin story was as a vehicle for encouraging vaticinations. It is noteworthy that in no part of early Welsh literature, not even in the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, which was written in the Priory of Carmarthen in the latter half of the 12th cent., is there any attempt to connect Myrddin with Carmarthen (in Welsh, Caer Fyrddin), as was done by Geoffrey of Monmouth. Hence we may conclude that the story of the connexion of Merlin with the North and with the battle of Arderydd—fought, according to the *Annales Cambriæ* (ed. *Monumenta hist. Britannica*, i., London, 1848, pp. 830–840), in A.D. 573—was traditional and well-established. The Northern associations of the story are further confirmed by the fact that Nennius mentions a Riderch Hen (*Hist. Brit. ad ann.* 597, ed. *Mon. hist. Brit.* i. 75), who is probably to be identified with Rhydderch Hael, while the life of St. Kentigern (xlv., ed. and tr. A. P. Forbes, *Historians of Scotland*, v., Edinburgh, 1874) names a Rederech, who is doubtless also to be identified with the same person, and a Laloiken, or Laloicen, whose name is clearly the same as that of Llallogan, identified with Myrddin in a poem purporting to be a conversation between Myrddin and his sister Gwenddydd, found in the *Red Book of Hergest* and generally known as the *Kyvoessi Myrdin* ('The Conversation of Myrddin'). H. L. D. Ward (in *Romania*, xxii. [1893] 504 ff.) has published another version of the Laloiken story, from two fragments in the Brit. Mus., and has adduced conclusive evidence to show that Llallogan (Laloiken) is a proper name, found, *e.g.*, in a Breton document called the *Redon Cartulary* as Lalocant and Lalocan (see *Romania*, xxii. 504). The simpler form of Llallogan, Llallawc (= Llallog), is probably a purely Welsh variant. It may be stated that the precise site of Arderydd (given in an older form in the *Annales Cambriæ* as Armterid) has not been fixed with certainty, the usual identification with Arthurel being based on a false pronunciation, but it is probable that the name Gwenddolen survives in the place-name Carwhinelow (Caer Wenddolen) near Carlisle. In the fragments given above, Laloiken is said to have been driven mad by the events of the great battle 'in campo inter Lidel et Carwanolow situato.'

The attribution of prophecies in Welsh literature to a bard Myrddin is not an isolated phenomenon, but is also found in the case of the Welsh poet Taliessin, in whose case, as in that of Myrddin, a legendary nucleus has survived, the chief feature of which is an account of his transformations. It is probable that the connexion of the name Taliessin with prophecy was earlier than that of Myrddin, as is suggested by a statement put into the mouth of the latter in the first poem of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*, in a dialogue between him and Taliessin about the battle of Arderydd, to the effect that Myrddin's prophecy would be widely known *after* that of Taliessin. The conception of a poet that is implied in the utterance of such vaticinations resembles the mediæval idea of Vergil, who was then viewed more as a prophet and magician than as a poet (see D. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, Eng. tr., E. F. M. Benecke, London, 1895). As for the genesis of such prophecies as those of Myrddin, the original models were probably the so-called *Sibylline Oracles*, and such imitations of them as bridged over the time between the period of their composition and the Middle Ages. In the Middle Ages and even later there was a congenial mental atmosphere for the composition of prophecies and the practice of magic, nor was an interest in vaticinations confined to Wales, as may be seen, *e.g.*, in the popularity of such writers of prophecies as Atterbury, Bannister, John of Bridlington, Thomas of Erceldoune, and others in England, not to speak of Merlin himself.

In the *Black Book of Carmarthen* (12th cent.) the two chief forms of prophecy that are associated with the Myrddin legend are those known as the *Afallenau* ('The Apple-trees') and the *Hoianau* ('The Hails'). Both poems contain prophetic allusions, mainly to events of the 12th cent. in Wales. The former poem mentions Coed Celyddon ('the forest of Caledonia'), which was represented as the scene of the Myrddin legend, as well as Prydyn (Pictland) in the North, Mon (Anglesey), Ardudwy (N.W. Merioneth), Dinwythwy (near Carnarvon) in N. Wales, Cors Fochno and Pumlumon (Plynlimmon) in Cardiganshire, and the rivers Tawe, Taf, Teifi, Towy, Machafwy, and Edrywy in S. Wales. The *Hoianau* poem refers to the disagreement between Henry II. and Henry III., and also to the Welsh prince, Llewelyn ab Iorwerth, lord of Gwynnedd or N.W. Wales. There are allusions in this poem to Gwynedd (N. W. Wales), and to Tir Ethlin, the Land of the Heir-Apparent, which was the district situated in N. Wales between the rivers Conway and Clwyd. The student of the prophetic allusions of these poems would do well to consult the Introduction and notes of J. Gwenogvryn Evans's edition of the *Black Book of Carmarthen*. Here, again, most of the topographical allusions are to places in S. Wales, such as Dyfed (S.W. Wales), St. Davids, Milford Haven, Mynwy (Monmouth), y Sarffren and Castell Collwyn in Radnorshire, together with the rivers Taradyr, Mynwy (the Monnow), Machafwy, and Teifi, while there are also allusions to certain famous battles of early Welsh history, which are probably taken from some current bardic list of such battles.

In the *Book of Taliessin* (14th cent.) there is a similar prophetic poem (but without any account of the Myrddin legend itself), put into the mouth of Myrddin under the title *Arymes Prydein Fawr* ('The Prophecy of Great Britain'). The events which are foretold are similar in character to those of the *Afallenau* and *Hoianau*. There are other poems in the MS which, without expressly mentioning Myrddin, are clearly cognate with the Myrddin poems already mentioned.

In the *Red Book of Hergest* (14th cent.) there are two poems which have clear links of affinity with the *Afallenau* and *Hoianau*, but which may have been composed later. They undoubtedly belong, like the latter, to the Welsh Myrddin tradition. These two poems are (1) *Kyvoessi Myrdin a Gwendyd y chwaer*, 'The Conversation of Myrddin with his sister Gwenddydd,' and (2) *Gwasgargerd Vyrdin yn y bed*, 'The Diffused Song of Myrddin in the grave.' Though there are allusions which make it clear that their writers were familiar with the legend of the Northern Myrddin, Myrddin in these poems is little else than the instrument of prophecy. It may be of interest to note that a common feature of the Myrddin and other prophecies of the Middle Ages was an expectation of the return of the princes Cynan and Cadwaladr to life, in order to lead jointly the Welsh forces to victory over the English.

It is in the *Kyvoessi* poem that the term Llallogan, already mentioned, occurs. Though this word is doubtless in origin a proper name, yet W. O. Pughe (*Nat. Dict. of the Welsh Lang.*^{2}, Denbigh, 1832, *s.v.*) interpreted both it and *llallawg* as meaning 'twin brother.' It is not improbable that the term was misunderstood in this sense, even by the author of the *Kyvoessi*, since he makes Gwenddydd speak of 'my *llallogan* Myrddin,' while the term *llallawg*, as a synonym for *llallogan*, is doubtless invented from it by analogy. In the original narrative on which the *Kyvoessi* poem was based, Llallogan was doubtless a proper name, as it is in the Life of St. Kentigern, in the passage 'in curia eius (Rodarci) (erat) homo fatuus vocabulo Laloicen,' and it is this Laloicen that is identified in the *Scotichronicon* (iii. 31; ed. W. Goodall, Edinburgh, 1759), as in the *Kyvoessi* poem, with Merlin. Poems xix., xx., and xxi. of the *Red Book of Hergest* (in Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*) clearly belong to the same cycle as the preceding.

Occasional references to Myrddin are found in the Welsh poets of the Gododin period (A.D. 1100–1300), as, *e.g.*, in Cynddelw's *Elegy to Owain Gwynedd* (*Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*^{2}, Denbigh, 1870, p. 152^a), where the poet says that Owain was 'fairer than Myrddin.' Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, too (*ib.* p. 193^b), speaks of the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth (S. Wales) as having been prophesied by Myrddin. Elidr Sais (*ib.* pp. 243^a, 244^b) refers to Myrddin's brilliancy in song, and likewise Gwilym Ddu o Arfon (*ib.* p. 277^a) speaks of 'the excellent Myrddin of the stock of Meirchion.' The poet Sefny-n, also, in an elegy on Iorwerth Gyrriog, compares the dead bard to Myrddin (*ib.* p. 334^b). Further, a cynical and sarcastic poet, Madog Dwygraig, satirizes the *Afallenau* in one of his poems called *Dychan i Ferch* ('A Satire on a Woman'). In Dafydd ab Gwilym (poem xxviii.) there is an echo of the fame of Myrddin as a poetic lover, while in poem xlvii. he is said 'to have made with the craftsmanship of love a house of glass about a mistress.' The few other allusions to Myrddin in Dafydd ab Gwilym are unimportant. Later legend (see MS 162 in the Peniarth Collection, now in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, written about 1600) associated Myrddin with the Island of Bardsey, off the coast of Carnarvonshire, and located his grave there (cf. R. Higden, in *Polychronicon* [ed. T. Gale, Oxford, 1691, i. 187]), and Giraldus Cambrensis may have had this legend in view when he spoke of Merlinus Celidonius' grave (see below) as being shown near Nevyn in Carnarvonshire.

That Wales was not without an interest in the prophecies of the Sibyl, which are probably the prototypes of the Merlin and similar vaticinations, is shown by the fact that MS 5 of the Peniarth Collection, belonging to the second quarter of the 14th cent., contains a Welsh translation of the Sibylline prophecies, called *Llyma Prophuydolyaeth Sibli doeth* ('Here is the prophecy of the wise Sibyl'), based on the *De Sibillis* of Isidore of Seville. This translation is also found in the *Red Book of Hergest* (cols. 571^a–577), and in Peniarth MS 14, pp. 45–57. The latter bears the title 'The Sibyl's Dream,' and belongs to the middle of the 13th century. It differs both from the versions of Peniarth 5 and from the *Red Book* text. The popularity of prophecies in this and the subsequent century in Wales is further shown by the inclusion in Peniarth MS 3, written about 1300, of the *Kyvoessi* poem, together with the *Afallenau* and *Hoianau*, while MS 20 of the same collection (15th cent.), by its inclusion of the same poem and the addition to it of a further prophetic extension, shows that this popularity continued. This is further proved by the fact that we find in the *Cwtta Cyfarwydd*, a MS written at varying dates from 1415 to 1456, copies of the *Afallenau* and *Hoianau* with the *Gwasgargerd Vyrdin* poem together with English prophecies by Bridlington, Bannister, Thomas of Erceldoune, and others. We find the *Afallenau* and *Hoianau* in Peniarth MS 59, a MS of the first half of the 16th cent., while, in the latter half of that century and in the 17th, the Welsh Myrddin poems still continued to be copied, as we see from Llanstephan MS 41 (1610–30), now in the National Library of Wales.

In the foregoing account the fortune of the Arderydd or Northern legend of Merlin, with the associated prophecies, has been traced. The Merlin thus depicted is sometimes called in Latin 'Merlinus Silvestris,' and in Welsh 'Myrddin Wyllt' ('Merlin the Wild'); while another Latin name by which he is known is that of 'Merlinus Celidonius' or 'Caledonius,' being so called in order to distinguish him from Merlinus Ambrosius, who is a creation of Geoffrey of Monmouth, through the substitution of Merlinus for the Ambrosius of a narrative which Geoffrey found in Nennius. A later MS of the *Annales Cambriæ*, in its account of the battle of Arderydd, reflects the Merlinus Silvestris tradition, in its addition to the original entry of the words 'inter filios Elifer et Guendoleu filium Keidiau: in quo bello Guendoleu cecidit: Merlinus insanus effectus est.' In keeping with the Northern conception of Merlin already mentioned, but also influenced by Geoffrey's account in connexion with the name Laloicen, the Life of St. Kentigern (*Scotichronicon*, *loc. cit.*) refers to Merlin's suffering in the words that are put into his mouth: 'Ego sum Christianus, licet tanti nominis reus, olim Guortigirni vates, Merlinus vocitatus in hac solitudine dira patiens fata,' though the influence of Geoffrey is here unmistakable in the reference to Vortigern.

2. The Vita Merlini.—This is a Latin hexameter poem, giving, in verses of considerable ease and fluency, an account of Merlin's life and adventures. Nearly all writers upon it have taken it, owing to its dedication, to be the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but the legend which it embodies is so entirely different from that given in Geoffrey's *Historia* that it is in the highest degree improbable that he is its author. The legend which it incorporates and expands is essentially that of the Welsh *Afallenau* and *Hoianau* and of the 'Laloicen' tradition that is contained in the Life of St. Kentigern. Ferdinand Lot has published an analysis of the *Vita Merlini* (*Annales de Bretagne*, xv.), and has shown it to be later than the Laloicen fragments already mentioned; but he too readily assumes that Geoffrey was its author, and goes too far in seeking to trace the influence of the *Vita Merlini* on the Welsh Myrddin poems of the *Black Book of Carmarthen* and of the *Red Book of Hergest*, with the exception of the first poem of the former, which purports to be a dialogue between Myrddin and Taliessin. The Latinized proper names of the *Vita Merlini* show quite clearly that they were formed by some one who was familiar with the Welsh names of the Myrddin legend, such as Ganieda for Gwenddydd, Telgesinus for Taliessin, and the like. At the same time, there are important departures from the Welsh form of the legend, as, for instance, the opposition of Guennolous to Merlin; but in the *Vita Merlini*, as in the *Afallenau*, there are prominent allusions to apples, and the whole setting of the Latin poem and of the Welsh poems, in spite of certain discrepancies, is for the most part the same. The *Vita Merlini*, however, contains one name, Mældinus, which, as Lot has pointed out, is probably derived from an Irish rather than from a Welsh source, being, in all likelihood, that of the hero of the voyage of Mælduin. Though the *Vita Merlini* appears to be the work of some one other than Geoffrey, it appeared during his lifetime, having been written about 1148, while he died in 1154. It was dedicated to Bishop Alexander's successor, Robert, who was a man of considerable influence at the court of Stephen. The poem is of great interest as showing the popularity of the Northern and Welsh type of the Merlin legend in cultured circles in Britain in the 12th cent., but familiarity with Geoffrey's history is already shown by the reference to Vortigern (l. 681).

3. Merlin in Geoffrey and in the Chronicles.—The introduction of the figure of Merlin into the mediæval Chronicles is due to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who deliberately transformed the Ambrosius of one of his sources, Nennius, into Merlinus. This is clear from the fact that, in the Prophecy and in the last part of the preceding book, Geoffrey calls Merlin Ambrosius Merlinus. The innovation in question was first made by Geoffrey, when he published 'The Prophecy of Merlin' as a separate work, before the appearance of his *Historia Regum Britanniæ*. This Prophecy must have been published early enough for Ordericus Vitalis to quote from it, as he does in bk. xii. of his *History*, written about 1136 or 1137. Later it was incorporated in Geoffrey's *Historia*, and forms bk. vii. of that work. The Ambrosius with whom Geoffrey identified Merlin first comes to view in Gildas (*de Excidio Britanniæ*, xxv., ed. *Mon. hist. Brit.* i. 15), as Ambrosius Aurelianus, but the first to make him into a legendary person was Nennius, who describes him (xli.–xlv.) as a child without a father, for whom Vortigern searched, by the advice of his sorcerers, in order to render stable the foundations of a tower that he was building. He was found, according to Nennius, in the field or plain of Elleti, in the region of Gleguissing (=Glywyssing in Monmouthshire), and in Nennius's narrative he is also associated with the ancient Carnarvonshire fort of Dinas Emrys (Emrys being the Welsh derivative of Ambrosius), near Beddgelert, and is represented as a sorcerer (*magus*), who prophesies the final overthrow of the English by the Welsh. Ambrosius in Geoffrey appears as a separate character (*Hist. Brit.* viii. 1), but the rôle which he plays in that author was filled in Nennius by Guorthemir (Vortimer). It is Geoffrey, too, that first connects Merlin with Carmarthen (*Hist. Brit.* vi. 17).

Another new element which Geoffrey introduced into the story, and which became a notable feature of the Merlin romance, was the suggestion that the boy's father was a supernatural being of the type known by the name of *incubus*. The suggestion made by Nennius, that the boy was the son of a Roman consul, is omitted by Geoffrey. The idea of introducing an *incubus* into the story probably came from a reminiscence of the pseudo-Bede (*de Elem. Phil.*, bk. i. [*PL* xc. 1131]), who doubtless reflects a view put forward by St. Augustine. The germ of the conception of Merlin as a sorcerer was already in Nennius, and the idea of putting prophecies into his mouth was ready to Geoffrey's hand, and even then a practice of the times, as is seen by Geoffrey's own references (ii. 9, xii. 18) to the prophesying of the eagle at Shaftesbury. Giraldus Cambrensis, too, quotes prophecies of Merlin that are not found among those given by Geoffrey (see R. H. Fletcher, *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, Boston, 1909, p. 93, note 1). He makes a distinction between Merlinus Ambrosius and Merlinus Silvestris (or Celidonius), and attributes to the former only prophecies taken from Geoffrey, and he likewise states (*Itin. Camb.* ii. 6, 8) that he discovered, in an out-of-the-way locality, a copy of the prophecies of Merlinus Celidonius in the British tongue. Geoffrey gives prominence to Merlin's powers, not only as a prophet, but as a magician, and represents him as one whose magic power conveyed Stonehenge from Ireland to Salisbury Plain and changed the forms of Uther and his companions. In Geoffrey, however, Merlin is not mentioned later than Uther's reign, but subsequent legend and romance could not resist the temptation to associate him with Uther's son, Arthur. In romance, Merlin, as a magician, tended to come more and more into prominence, until at last he became a figure second only to that of Arthur himself.

In the case of subsequent chronicles the following points may be noted. The Welsh *Brut Tysilio*, an adaptation of Geoffrey's *History*, shows a development on the lines of the later Romances, and probably under their influence. For example, Merlin is represented as owing his birth to the machinations of Lucifer and other evil spirits, and the increased prominence of the magical conception of his character is seen by the statement that he, by his magic art alone, is able to draw the stones that are to be carried from Ireland to Salisbury Plain as far as the ships, after the complete failure of the warriors. The same tendencies may be noted in Wace, who omits Merlin's prophecies, with the exception of those about Vortigern, on the ground that they are unintelligible to him, while he invests Merlin throughout with superhuman powers, and does not even mention any mechanical assistance in the transmission of the blocks of Stonehenge. Traces of romantic influence come to view also in the Chronicle called *Draco Normannicus* (*c.* 1170; ed. R. Howlett, *Chron. of the Reigns of Stephen*, etc., London, 1884–89, ii. 589–757), which, it may be stated, contains many allusions to the section of Merlin's prophecies that relate to the first half of the 12th century.

In Layamon's *Brut* there are a few additional touches to the story of Merlin, such as Merlin's explanation that the immediate cause of the fall of the tower which Vortigern was trying to build was the fighting of two dragons with one another at midnight. In this narrative, again, there is a marked emphasis on the supernatural conception of Merlin, which shows itself on the side both of supernatural knowledge and of supernatural power. There are some points of contact in the narrative with the *Vita Merlini*, as in the account of the discovery of Merlin in a forest, at Uther's instance, when he wished for his aid to obtain Igerne as his mistress.

In the Latin hexameter poem called *Gesta Regum Britanniæ* (ed. F. Michel, London, 1862), Merlin is entirely supernatural, as, *e.g.*, where he transmits the stones to Stonehenge by means of magical songs, or where he magically changes Uther's form. Merlin, too, gives Arthur new strength in his contest with Frollo. Here, again, there is a link with the *Vita Merlini*, where it is said that Arthur was conveyed to an ever-to-be-remembered island, on which a royal maiden dwelt. In the case of other chronicles, some omit the prophecies or certain of them, as, for instance, Alfred of Beverley (*c.* 1150; ed. T. Hearne, Oxford, 1716), who omits most of them, and Richardus Cluniacensis (in 1162), who omitted the prophecies in the first edition of his *Universal Chronicle* (ed. L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicæ medii ævi*, Milan, 1738–42, iv. 1079–1104), but who found it advisable to include them in his second and third editions. Again, it is clear that all chronicles did not share equally in the tendency to exaggerate the powers of Merlin; *e.g.*, Ralph Niger in his *Chronicon* (ed. R. Anstruther, London, 1851) has a mere allusion to Merlin's transportation of the stones of Stonehenge.

There are, as already stated, traces in Giraldus Cambrensis of an attempt at the fusion and reconciliation of the Caledonian tradition and that of Geoffrey, in his theory of the existence of two Merlins. He follows Geoffrey in his connexion of Merlinus Ambrosius with Carmarthen, while he knows of the madness of Merlinus Caledonius, but attributes it not to remorse at having killed his sister's son, but to fright at the sight of an apparition in the air. Giraldus, like many of the chroniclers who succeeded Geoffrey, succumbed to the temptation of bringing Merlin down to the time of King Arthur. One story, which Giraldus records (*Itin. Camb.* ii. 6), to the effect that Merlinus Caledonius had been found near Nevyn in Carnarvonshire, is probably connected with the legend that associated him with the island of Bardsey. Merlin's burial appears to have been located in some traditions at Carmarthen, where a 'Merlin's Grave' was pointed out, while in Scotland it was located at Drummelzier, anciently Dunmeller, in Tweed-dale.

The wide-spread popularity of the prophecies of Merlin may be gauged by the fact that two Latin poems appear to be extant embodying a number of them from the pen of a Scandinavian monk called Gunlangus Leifi of Thingeyra, while a similar MS in the Copenhagen Library was translated into English, with the History of Hulfdan Einar, and published in London in 1718 (see San-Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin*, Halle, 1853, p. 18).

In 1185–89 there appeared a commentary on the prophecies of Merlin by Alanus de Insulis, and in 1603 it was published at Frankfort. In this commentary Alanus testifies to the existence, in the Brittany of his day, of a strong belief in the prophecies in question. Further, John of Cornwall, a disciple of Peter Lombard, commented on these prophecies publicly in the University of Paris (see *Prophetiæ Merlini cum expositione Johannis Cornubiensis, ap.* K. J. Greith, *Spicileg. Vatican.*, Frauenfeld, 1838, p. 98). The credence given to the Merlin prophecies continued, in Britain and in France, well into the 17th cent., if not later, and the Council of Trent sought to counteract the considerable effects of this popularity by putting the prophecies on the Index. A similar attitude of mind to that of the Council of Trent is reflected in the work called *Vincentii Bellovacensis Speculum Historiale* (xx. 20). For English editions of the Life and Prophecies of Merlin, see Literature.

4. **Merlin in romance.**—Merlin first comes to view as a character of romance proper in a poem of which only a fragment has come down to us, probably dating from the 12th cent., and usually attributed to Robert de Borron (ed. Paris and Ulrich, in their ed. of the *Huth Merlin*; see Lit.). This poem was the basis of a French prose work which forms the Romance of Merlin, and this, again, is thought to be partly the work of the same author. It has come down to us in two forms, the first being generally called the 'ordinary' or 'vulgate' Merlin, while the second is known as the *Suite de Merlin.* Of the latter work Malory's first four books are an abridgment, and from it is derived one of the minor Arthurian stories, namely that of Balin and Balan. In the Merlin romances, as in the later developments of the Arthurian story (see ARTHUR, ARTHURIAN CYCLE), there is an ecclesiastical or theological development, the leading motive which led to the birth of Merlin being the conspiracy of the world of demons to produce an Antichrist, who would be the means of rendering the work of the Incarnation ineffective. Thus the birth of Merlin is represented as a kind of counter-incarnation, and, through the machinations of the demons, he is brought into the world as the child of a woman whose family has been ruined by the evil spirits, and who is herself seduced by a demon. Providentially, however, Blaise, the confessor of Merlin's mother, baptizes the child as soon as it is born, and thereby brings it into the Christian fold. The child, nevertheless, retains, though a Christian, the demonic gifts of magic and prophecy, and these powers he puts to beneficial use even in his infancy, by saving his mother's life and startling her accusers by revealing their family secrets. The narrative then proceeds on the lines of Geoffrey's *History* in the account of his relations with Vortigern, Ambrosius, and Uther. After this, Arthur is represented as having been committed as an infant to Merlin's care, and Merlin hands him over to Antor, who brings him up as his own son. It is Merlin who reveals to Arthur the fact that he is the son of Uther Pendragon and Igerne, and it is to Merlin that Arthur looks for guidance and counsel during the earlier period of his rule. At the termination of this period Merlin vanishes from Arthur's court. The stories accounting for his disappearance vary in different forms of the romance. One story states that he was betrayed by a maiden called Niniane or Viviane, probably the Chwimbian of Welsh legend; but in some versions of this narrative she is represented as a water-fairy, in others as a king's daughter. With this lady Merlin is in love, and she, in the spirit of Delilah, obtains from him the secret of his magic power, and uses this knowledge to cast him into a profound sleep and to imprison him alive in a rocky grave. According to this account, Merlin uttered a loud cry, called the 'Brait,' before he died. Apparently this form of the story was the most popular. In another version his prison is not of stone but of air; and, though Merlin in this prison can see and hear everything, he can be seen by none. He can also hold converse with wayfarers who pass his prison, and one of these happens to be Gawain. The prose *Perceval* contains another form of the story, according to which Merlin is not imprisoned by his mistress, but retires of his own accord to an edifice called an 'Esplumeor,' which he himself builds, after which retirement he is never more seen. The Romance of Merlin eventually became a long

introduction to the prose Lancelot and to the Arthurian cycle generally.

The Romance of Merlin, as already indicated, is to be found first in the fragmentary poem, attributed to Robert de Borron, giving, however, only the introductory part of the story, in a single MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and, secondly, in the prose version based on this poem in combination with the early history of the Grail, which bears the name *Joseph of Arimathea.* In two cases the Merlin story forms a small Arthurian cycle through the addition of a *Perceval* and a *Mort Artus.* Of the 'ordinary' or 'vulgate' Merlin, which is a long and elaborate romance, several copies are extant. This story is continued in two forms, each of which has survived in a single MS. One of these is called the *Huth Merlin,* after the distinguished patron of learning, Alfred Huth, who bore the expense of its publication. It is a version of which Malory made use in his rendering of the story, and the Spanish and Portuguese translators also based their versions upon it. The other sequel is MS 337, also in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and is called by Paulin Paris the *Livre Artus.*

In English the earliest form of the Merlin Romance is a metrical translation called *Arthour and Merlin,* which was made from French at the beginning of the 14th cent.; and a later translation, generally known as the great prose Merlin, was made about the middle of the 15th century. Spenser (*Faery Queen,* canto iii.) alludes to Merlin, and there is reference to his deception by the Lady of the Lake in Ariosto (*Orlando furioso,* canto iii. st. 10). The romantic development of the Merlin story is doubtless mainly due to the desire of the French *trouvères* to bring the legend of Merlin, like those of Arthur and Tristan, into harmony with the general civilization and culture of their time. In the 19th cent. Tennyson utilized the Merlin legend in his *Idylls of the King,* and gave a version of his own of the character of Viviane.

5. Merlin in satire.—Like the other mediæval romances, that of Merlin tended, in the eyes of a more critical age, to provoke satire, and so it is not strange that Cervantes ridicules and parodies it in his *Don Quixote,* while Rabelais also parodies the prophecies in his *Pantagruéline prognostication certaine, véritable et infaillible,* composed about 1533, while in his *Gargantua* he exposes the life and prophecies of Merlin to further ridicule. The contrast between the spirit of Cervantes or Rabelais and that which delighted in the prophecies and romance of Merlin illustrates the change from the characteristic mental attitude of the Middle Ages to that of later times.

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E. ANWYL.

MESMERISM.—See HYPNOTISM.

MESSALIANS.—See EUCHITES.

MESSIAH.—I. *SCOPE OF THE ARTICLE.*—Much confusion is caused by the fact that the term 'Messianic' is used in a much wider range of meaning than 'Messiah.' It has come to be applied by Christian writers to everything in the OT which is thought to refer, however vaguely, to the coming and work of Christ or to the Church, while, even where this implication is wanting, it is given very generally to all passages which speak of the hope of a better and glorious future. 'Messiah,' on the other hand, refers definitely to a person, and it would seem, therefore, that the term 'Messianic' should be confined to passages which imply the coming of an extraordinary person, normally regarded as a king, who is to be in a special sense sent and endowed by God, and whose advent is to mark the end of a world-age. It would, indeed, be an advantage if the looser use of 'Messianic' could be dropped; it suggests that, in the hope of a Golden Age, the principal and original element was the expectation of a Saviour-King, which might here and there be ignored, or which might be assumed to be implied even where it was not actually mentioned. In fact, however, the reverse is the case; the oldest and the most general expectation is that of the era of happiness, and with this the hope of the Messiah was sometimes combined in later times. For it is quite clear that a majority of the OT passages which deal with the hopes of a glorious future do not speak of the King of the future at all; Jahweh Himself is the agent of deliverance and of judgment; He alone is Saviour and Redeemer in the OT; the nation as a whole, or the dynasty of its kings, is the object of His favour. In such cases the Christian interpreter may have good ground for maintaining that, from the religious point of view, such hopes were realized in the coming of Christ, but historically they are not the same as the expectation of a Messiah, and can be called Messianic only in the lax sense. All this wider expectation belongs to the subject of eschatology (*q.v.*), and this article will, therefore, be confined to the consideration of the Messiah in the strict sense, and the term 'Messianic' will be used only in connexion with him. It may be added that, while eschatology does not always imply a Messiah, neither does the

Messiah himself always appear in a strictly eschatological setting.

II. *MEANING OF THE WORD.*—The term 'Messiah' represents the Heb. Māshîaḥ, the Aram. Meshîḥā, 'anointed one.' It is used quite generally in the OT as an epithet, both of priests (Lv 4^{5} 6^{22} etc., and perhaps Dn 9^{25}) and of kings, esp. of Saul (1 S 12^{3} etc.), while in Is 45^{1} it is applied to Cyrus. Nowhere in the OT does it occur in its later technical sense, which is first found in *Enoch* and *Psalms of Solomon* (see below, IV. 1). In the OT language any Jewish king is 'the Lord's anointed,' and the phrase is in no way confined to a single pre-eminent king. In Ps 105^{15} and 1 Ch 16^{22} 'anointed ones' occurs in the plural, of the patriarchs. Dalman[1] suggests that Messiah in its later sense is a shortened form of 'Jhvh's Anointed,' and that no single passage of the OT was responsible for its adoption.

'Christ' is, of course, Χριστός, the Gr. equivalent, which translates the Heb. Māshîaḥ in the Septuagint. In view of discussions connected with its use in the NT, it is well to note that it is sometimes used without the article even when it is an epithet standing in apposition to a proper name—*e.g.*, 1 S $26^{9.\ 11}$.

The general significance of anointing is discussed in the art. under that heading. In view of the fact that 'Messiah' did not become a technical term till late, the primitive meaning of anointing is quite irrelevant in considering the ideas associated with the figure; *e.g.*, even if it be true that anointing was originally transferred from the image of the god to the king, we cannot argue that the Messiah was regarded as a divine being. Anointing had come to denote the two ideas of consecration and endowment.

III. *TEACHING OF THE OT.*—In order to discover the general trend of the OT teaching it is essential first to discuss, however briefly, the exegesis of the separate passages which speak, or may be reasonably thought to speak, of the coming of a Messiah; in no other way is it possible to realize the precise extent and nature of the hope. The examination is complicated not merely by difficulties of interpretation, but also by questions as to authenticity and date. Here it should be noted that, if critics reject as late certain passages which refer to the Messiah, it is by no means always from any *a priori* unwillingness to allow the Messianic hope to be of early date or to find it in a particular prophet, but because on external evidence such passages seem to be inconsistent with the context. In many cases they presuppose the Exile in a way which seems to be impossible in a pre-Exilic writer; in others the note of hope and promise seems to nullify the message of judgment and punishment which occupies the central place. Here the criterion to be applied is a very delicate one. How far did threats and promises actually exist side by side in the message of the same prophet? At what point do the promises become so contradictory of the threats that they can be regarded only as later insertions? However these questions may be answered in any particular case, it may not be superfluous to point out that, when a passage is regarded as 'unauthentic' and late, it does not lose its value, either historical or religious; and it still remains evidence of the Messianic hope, only in a different age and circle from that to which it is commonly assigned. The principle being admitted that the prophetic books are composite works, comprising elements of various periods, each case must be judged solely on its merits.

1. **The data.**—It will be well to begin with 2 S 7 as the passage which is most clearly typical of the OT belief, at any rate on one side. It seems to be Deuteronomic in tone, and can hardly be earlier than the reign of Josiah. Its main purport is to insist on the permanence of the Davidic dynasty (vv.$^{11.\ 16}$). In its context this is contrasted with the fall of Saul's house (v.^{15}), but we may also assume an implied contrast with the various short-lived dynasties of the Northern Kingdom (cf. Hos 8^{4}). The passage itself does not speak of any single pre-eminent or final successor of David and is in no way eschatological, but precisely in proportion as the actual occupants of the throne proved themselves unworthy would it be natural to look for some one king who could realize the ideal. And, if at the same time there were other expectations of a wonderful Saviour, the two lines of hope would easily coalesce. At any rate, the personal Messiah in the OT is nearly always associated with the Davidic dynasty, and the references in the early prophets which have any claim to be regarded as Messianic are all connected with it. They may, indeed, be older than 2 S 7, and in any case this passage will hardly be the origin of the hope; it rather embodies and gives literary form to something which already existed.

In Am 9^{11-15} there is a promise of the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, with no reference to a personal Messiah, but the passage is almost certainly an Exilic addition (so J. Wellhausen, K. Marti, G. A. Smith, etc., though S. R. Driver[*] defends it with some hesitation).

In Hosea it may not be necessary, with Marti and Volz, to reject all passages which speak of future happiness, but the only verse which is in any way Messianic in the strict sense is 3^{5}, 'Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king.' Here, again, the stress is laid on the Davidic dynasty; but either the whole verse or at least the words 'David their king' are of doubtful authenticity.

The crux of the question with regard to early Messianic prophecy is reached when we come to Isaiah.

(*a*) Is $7^{14\text{ff.}}$.[†]—Until a new factor was introduced by considerations derived from comparative religion, it was becoming generally agreed that the passage had no reference to the birth, miraculous or otherwise, of a Saviour-child or king at all. As Gray points out, the promised sign is not necessarily a marvel or miracle (cf. Ex 3^{12}, 1 S $2^{27\text{ff.}}$), but is to be found 'in the chain of events predicted.' By the time a child shortly to be born reaches a certain age the promised deliverance will have come. His name Immanuel does not imply the divinity of the child, or even that he will play a rôle as God's agent in the deliverance (as a matter of fact, there is not the least hint that he does anything of the sort), but, after the common Hebrew usage, expresses the point of view of the parents; it is the reverse of Ichabod (1 S 4^{21}). H. Gressmann,[‡] however, and others argue that the passage is intelligible only if we suppose an already existing belief in the advent of a divine Saviour-child, who is to be born mysteriously. On this view the virgin is 'the virgin of prophecy,' the mother spoken of in the tradition; 'butter and honey' are the food of the gods, as in Iranian and Greek myth; and the whole passage has a mythological background. The theory has an undeniable fascination, but its main hypothesis cannot yet be regarded as proved (see below, 2 (*d*)). In this case it rests on the probably false assumption that the sign must be of a miraculous nature. Further, neither the article nor the noun in *hāʿalmāh* requires the meaning put upon it. If we reject the reference to the wife of Isaiah or Ahaz or to some other particular mother, the definite article may be generic as in Am 3^{12}, while it is now generally agreed that *ʿalmāh* does not necessarily denote virginity, and is certainly not the word which would have been chosen if the supernatural character of the birth without a human father had been the point to be emphasized. 'Butter and honey' may be merely a symbol of plenty, a variant of the common 'milk and honey.'[1] But perhaps the chief objection to the mythological view is to be found in the fact, to which attention has already been called, that Immanuel does not play any part in the deliverance, nor does he afterwards appear as a factor in this or any other prophet's hopes for the future. The apparent reference to Immanuel in 8^{8} is quite meaningless; there has been nothing to suggest that the child is the king to whom the land belongs, and we should probably read with LXX 'for God is with us' (cf. v.^{10}).[2]

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[1] *The Words of Jesus*, p. 291; see p. 292 for later Jewish use of the term.

[*] *Cambridge Bible*, 'Joel and Amos,' Cambridge, 1897, p. 119 ff.

[†] Reference should be made to the very full and excellent discussion of this and the other Isaianic passages in G. B. Gray, *ICC*, 'Isaiah,' Edinburgh, 1912.

[‡] *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1905, p. 272 ff.; A. Jeremias, *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 64 ff.; C. F. Burney, *JThSt* x. [1908–09] 580 ff. For criticism see C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1912, p. 143.

(*b*) Is $9^{6\text{ff.}}$ is a passage of a very different character. We have here a true Davidic Messiah, but it is important to note that the restoration is the work of Jahweh Himself; the child is not himself a conqueror, but is born to be Prince of Peace. The fourfold name is remarkable, and, as Gray points out, 'mighty God' must not be toned down to 'mighty hero'; it is unique in the OT. Clemen[3] admits that all four titles are 'perhaps mythological,' and the passage suggests the influence of the *Hofstil* (see below). The child apparently ascends the throne at once—a suggestion that it is empty at the time of his birth; this may perhaps imply an Exilic date, though there is nothing else in the passage itself which necessitates its being placed later than Isaiah.[4] It is, in fact, the clearest and best passage to establish an early expectation of a Messiah. It is, however, very remarkable that the passage seems to have had no influence on later literature, being never referred to either in the OT or in the Apocalypses or the NT.[5]

(*c*) Is $11^{1\text{ff.}}$ had, on the contrary, a great influence on later thought, and lies behind the picture of the Messiah as drawn in many apocalyptic passages; in particular, the term 'Branch' became technical. Here, again, the Messiah is Davidic, with a special endowment of the Spirit. We note, too, the stress laid on the return of the Golden Age—a feature which may be derived from foreign mythology. At any rate, we have the Davidic Messiah in a clearly eschatological setting; v.^{1} seems to imply a date after 586 B.C.;[6] the metaphor is that of a tree cut down to the stump and sending out fresh shoots, which would describe exactly the revival of the kingdom after its ruin at the fall of Jerusalem.

Mic $5^{2\text{ff.}}$ is peculiarly difficult.[*] Omitting minor questions of reading and exegesis, the main points are as follows. (*a*) The passage follows, though it may not be originally connected with, an eschatological passage in ch. 4 (cf. Is 2) where there is no mention of a Messiah. (*b*) It speaks of a Messianic king born at Bethlehem Ephrathah, and, therefore, Davidic; in spite of his humble origin (so G. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, London, 1896, i. 413 ff.), he is to be a great and apparently a peaceful ruler. Is more than this hinted at? In particular, does v.^{2b} imply pre-existence or merely the antiquity of the family from which he springs? And what is the meaning of 'she which travaileth'? Gressmann and others explain it of the divine mother, and J. M. P. Smith admits this, but regards the verse as a late gloss, implying a Messianic interpretation of Is 7^{14}; the change of person from both v.^{2b} and v.^{4} is very awkward, and so is the contradiction between Jahweh's abandonment of His people and the previous verse. But, even if a mysterious birth is hinted at, there is no suggestion that the mother is a virgin or that the child is in any way connected with Immanuel. Whatever the date of the verse, it is far better to follow some of the older commentators (Calvin, Orelli, etc.) and see in the phrase a reference to the birth-pangs of Zion in $4^{9\text{f.}}$, where exactly the same word is used for 'travaileth,' while in both passages the return of the remnant is referred to (cf. Hos 13^{13}, Is 26^{17}, where the same figure of travail is used). 'She which travaileth' is, therefore, Zion personified. (*c*) Verse ^{2} certainly implies that there is no reigning king and, therefore, suggests an Exilic date. (*d*) Verse $^{5\text{ff.}}$ seem to belong to a different prophecy (tr. 'This'—not 'This man'—'shall be our protection'). The Messiah drops out, and the confidence of the passage rests on a different basis.[†]

In Jeremiah the main stress is laid on the continuance of the Davidic line, and this figures prominently in the book as we have it—a feature which is significant in view of the Deuteronomic origin of the fundamental passage 1 S 7. In $23^{5\text{ff.}}$[‡] we have the righteous Branch or Shoot (*ṣemaḥ*, not *nēṣer* , as in Is 11), with the name Jahweh Ṣidqēnū, 'The Lord our Righteousness,' perhaps with an ironic reference to Zedekiah, the reigning king. But the application of the same term to Jerusalem in the parallel passage (33^{16}) shows that the main stress is on the dynasty rather than on any single or final representative, and this feature appears clearly in 17^{25} 22^{4} ('kings sitting upon the throne of David'),[§] while in $33^{14\text{ff.}}$ a very special emphasis is laid on the covenant with David, interpreted as meaning that he should never want a successor. In 30^{9} ('they shall serve the Lord their God, and David their king, whom I will raise up unto them') the reference seems to be to each successive representative rather than to any single descendant, or to a belief in the actual return of David himself. Finally, we note that Jahweh Himself is consistently the agent of deliverance, the Davidic king appearing only after the salvation is completed.

The general presentation in Ezekiel agrees with that of Jeremiah. We have references to 'David my servant,' as the ruler of the future (34^{23} 37^{24}), with pictures of the Golden Age and a strong stress on the presence of Jahweh Himself. In $17^{22ff.}$ the cedar twig planted on the mountain of the height of Israel may be a reference to the prophecies of Isaiah (?) and Jeremiah, while 'until he come whose right it is' (21^{27}) suggests the Shiloh prophecy of Gn 49^{10}.[*] On the other hand, in the ideal State of chs. 40 ff. the 'Prince' is only one of a series of kings, and plays a very subordinate part in the reformed Jerusalem. The general impression given by Ezekiel is that he was acquainted with popular hopes of an individual Messiah and, in particular, with the promises attached to the Davidic dynasty; these were too strong to be entirely ignored, but the priest-prophet himself had little real interest in them.

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[1] It is not necessary for our present purpose to enter on the vexed question whether the passage is a threat or a promise; in either case we must suppose a certain amount of later insertions or of combination of passages written at different periods. Those who regard the passage as a threat take 'butter and honey' as a symbol of scarcity and nomadic fare—a view which Gray criticizes severely.

[2] The fact that the LXX has this rendering here suggests that its rendering *παρθένος* in 7^{14} does not, as is often argued, imply that it interpreted the passage Messianically. For, if it had done so, it would surely not have dropped the only other possible reference to the divine child.

[3] P. 145.

[4] See Gray, *ad loc.* (p. 168), for a criticism of R. H. Kennett's argument (*The Composition of the Book of Isaiah*, London, 1910, p. 71) that the word used for 'boot' means a military boot worn by Syro-Greek soldiers, this implying a Maccabean date. Gray himself leaves the date open.

[5] Dalman, p. 317, n. 1.

[6] So Gray, etc.; Driver, B. Duhm, and G. A. Smith, however, keep the Isaianic date; see *HDB* ii. 488, for Smith's arguments.

[*] See J. M. P. Smith, *ICC*, 'Micah, Zephaniah and Nahum,' Edinburgh, 1912, *ad loc.*; Gressmann, pp. 278, 284.

[†] P. Haupt, in *Trans. of the Congress for the History of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, i. 268, argues for a Maccabean date; so Marti.

[‡] C. H. Cornill and Marti accept the passage as genuine.

[§] So in 3^{15} 23^{4} the rulers in the happy future are shepherds, in the plural (cf. the 'saviours on mount Zion,' Ob ^{21}).

In Hag 2^{23} Zerubbabel is to be the ruler in the Messianic Age. So in Zec 3^{8} 6^{12}[†] he is the 'Branch' and the servant of Jahweh. The importance of the passages is twofold: (*a*) we have the first undoubted example of the identification of a historical person with the Messiah; (*b*) the reference to the Branch shows, even more decisively than in Ezekiel, that earlier prophecies were being studied and interpreted in accordance with contemporary conditions.

Zec 9^{9} belongs to another and a later prophecy. Though the ass may originally have been the symbol of royalty (cf. Gn 49^{11}), it here stands for humility. The king is victorious over his enemies ('saved' rather than 'having salvation'), but the stress is on the peaceful character of his rule. He is not explicitly Davidic.

In the Psalms we are concerned with a group of royal Psalms, especially 2, 45, 72, 89, 110, 132. Here we are met with almost insoluble problems as to date, since there is not even the *a priori* presumption which we have in the case of passages which stand in the writings of a particular prophet. Further, we must allow for the possibility of glosses in the course of the many editings through which the various Psalters passed; such glosses may have emphasized a supposed Messianic reference—*e.g.*, Ps 72^{8-12}.[‡] In all these Psalms we find startling language used of kings, the extent of their dominion, and their power, usually with stress on the Davidic covenant. It is common ground that such language was never strictly true of any Israelite king in either kingdom. Are these Psalms, then, addressed to the expected Deliverer of the future, *i.e.* to the Messiah? The objection to this view is the strong impression made in most cases that a definite living king is addressed; *e.g.*, Ps 45 is clearly an actual marriage song and is accepted as such, *e.g.*, by Kirkpatrick and Briggs. And, if some of these Psalms are to be understood historically, the general similarity of language suggests that the same principle is to be applied to all. A. F. Kirkpatrick,[§] in fact, argues that all have a primary historical reference, of course without prejudice to their spiritual application. In interpreting the language we are helped by the existence of the *Hofstil*, or 'Court style,' to which Gressmann[‖] and others call attention. Exaggerated language of this kind was a regular feature of the court addresses and poems in honour of Oriental monarchs; cf. the language of Ps 21^{4-8}, which is certainly addressed to an actual king. It is possible that this *Hofstil* in Israel, and perhaps elsewhere (see below, **2** (*d*)), included elements derived from the Messianic expectation. If it was believed that some one member of the Davidic dynasty should be the greatest of all, it was natural for the admirers of any king to suggest on his accession that he and no other was the long-desired. In this case the Psalms may be called quasi-Messianic, and at least illustrate the nature of the Messianic hope.

A warning against too strict an interpretation of this *Hofstil* is to be found in the phenomena presented by the Babylonian hymns. We find Nannar addressed as 'begetter of gods and men,' 'King of kings who has no judge superior to him'; but then precisely the same flattery is offered to Asshur, Ishtar, or Nebo.

As H. F. Hamilton points out (*The People of God*, London, 1912, p. 8), 'the ascription of universal dominion to so many of them [*sc.* the gods] was merely a piece of inexpensive flattery which no one mistook for serious truth. . . . It was a sound policy to avoid too much partiality.'

In the same way we must beware of laying too much stress on the uniqueness, majesty, or finality ascribed to the king addressed in any particular Psalm. Its language, taken literally, may seem to be applicable only to a unique Messiah, but in the mouth of an Oriental its application is less strict or exclusive.

The following points are further to be noted. (i.) As in the Prophets, the stress is on the Davidic covenant; 2 S 7 seems to be continually before the poets' eyes. This is especially marked in Ps 89, which refers to the nation and the dynasty, the nation itself being personified in v.$^{40ff.}$ (cf. Is 5, Ps 80^{12}). So 'firstborn' in v.^{27} seems to refer to the description of Israel in Ex 4^{22}, while 'servant' in v.^{39} suggests a parallel with 2 Isaiah. The Psalm as a whole is a prayer for the restoration of the dynasty and the nation, rather than for the coming of any particular king who is to mark a new epoch. The same applies to Ps 132, though 'horn of David to bud' (v.^{17}) may refer to 'the Branch.' Ps 45, however, is not Davidic (Briggs and Sellin ascribe it to N. Israel), nor is Ps 110 except in the title.

(ii.) The language of the Psalter had great influence on later Messianic ideas, terms being used which afterwards became titles of the Messiah. As they occur in the Psalter they are, however, hardly technical; they are not used of one definite figure or king to the exclusion of all others. We have 'anointed' (Ps 2^{2} $89^{38.51}$ $132^{10.17}$) used in its general sense (see above, § II.), 'son' (2^{7}, probably not in 2^{12}), 'firstborn' (89^{27}), while 'thy throne, O God' (45^{6}), *may* imply deification.[*]

(iii.) Ps 110 stands alone in speaking of a priest-king, who is not, however, Levitical; it is very generally regarded as Maccabean, referring to Simon (see, however, Briggs, *ad loc.*).

There remain a few other OT passages, mainly fragments of poetry embedded in the historical books, which require brief notice.

Gn 49^{10}.[†]—It may be taken for granted that Shiloh is not a personal title of the Messiah. The first hint of such a view is found in the Talmud (*Sanh.* 98*b*), and it was not so used till the versions of the 16th century (Driver). The reading and interpretation are both doubtful, but it is possible that the passage is Messianic—'until he come whose right it is' (Ezk 21^{27}; see above) may be a reference.[‡] The question then arises whether the verse is a late addition on the basis of the Isaianic prophecies (Driver), or whether, with Gunkel, Gressmann, and Sellin, we are to regard it as a fragment of pre-prophetic eschatology, not specifically Davidic. But it is a strange eulogy to say that Judah shall rule only till the great one from elsewhere comes. Skinner holds that the reference is simply to the Davidic dynasty; Judah is to be independent till it is merged in the kingdom of its hero.

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[*] As showing that earlier prophecies were by this time definitely studied, see 38^{17}, where there is a re-editing of Jer 3–6, Zeph 1^{7}.

[†] The text is in disorder; Zerubbabel must have been originally mentioned in 6^{11}; cf. 'crowns' in the plural and 'them both' in v.^{13}. Possibly when the power was centred in the high priest the text was deliberately altered, giving us perhaps the first example of the Levitical Messiah (see Driver, *Cambridge Bible*, *ad loc.*).

[‡] See C. A. and E. G. Briggs, *ICC*, 'Psalms,' Edinburgh, 1906–07, *ad loc.*

[§] See *Cambridge Bible*, 'Psalms,' Cambridge, 1892–1912, vol. i. p. lxxvi ff.

[‖] P. 250 ff.; E. Sellin, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 169 ff.

[*] So Gressmann, p. 256. This interpretation, however, which is that of LXX and He $1^{8f.}$, is open to grave objections; note esp. that in v.^{7} we have 'Jahweh thy God.' Briggs supposes an interpolated address to God; Kirkpatrick favours, out of the many suggestions, 'thy throne is the throne of God,' or else 'thy Throne shall be for ever and ever,' *Elohim* having been substituted for an original *jhjh* or *jhvh*, misread as Jahveh.

[†] See Commentaries by Driver and Skinner, *ICC*, *ad loc.*

[‡] O. C. Whitehouse, however (*DCG* ii. 172), thinks that the Genesis passage is moulded on Ezekiel.

Of Gn 3^{15} the most that can be urged in the way of Messianic interpretation is that the passage is a prediction of the ultimate victory of man, the seed of the woman, in the conflict with evil, typified by the serpent. The 'seed' cannot be understood as referring to any definite descendant of Adam in the singular. The same applies to the other predictions in Genesis with regard to the seed of Abraham, where the thought is of the nation; the exegesis of St. Paul in Gal 3^{16} is admittedly untenable.

Nu 24^{17} is usually understood as referring to David's conquest of Moab. But, on the ground that 'star' suggests a semi-mythological figure, Sellin[*] and others find in the passage a trace of a primitive Messianic hope; others regard it as Messianic but late. Note that the passage is certainly corrupt at the close.

Dt 33^{17} may refer only to the dominion of Ephraim (the Song belongs to the N. Kingdom), but Sellin[†] again urges that the hyperbole is too strong and that we have an echo of an early Messianic hope, transferred to Ephraim. In later times the passage influenced the idea of the Messiah ben Joseph.[‡]

Dt 18^{15} (applied Messianically in Ac 3^{22} 7^{37}) is clearly a promise of a succession of prophets, not of a single and final prophet.

A word must be said with regard to the Servant passages of 2 Isaiah. Very few critics now consider these to be Messianic in the strict sense, the reference being either to the actual nation or to the ideal Israel. This is so clear in the early songs that it must also hold good of Is 53; this is best understood of the sufferings of the Exile, which are seen to have a redemptive value not only for the nation, but for the world as a whole.[§] Gressmann,[‖] however, on the ground of the obscure and oracular character of the language, argues that the writer is using already existing material which would be understood by his readers. Is 53 is a mystery hymn, addressed to a dying and rising God; He is treated as an eschatological figure, parallel to that of the Messiah, who is here neither Davidic nor specifically a king. It cannot be said that there is any real evidence for this view (for a criticism see Clemen, p. 149). Nor, again, is it possible to find a suffering God or Messiah in Zec 12^{10}, which clearly refers to some historical martyr.

In Dn $7^{13ff.}$[¶] there can be little doubt that the figure of 'a son of [a] man' appearing 'on' or 'with the clouds of heaven'[**] is, in the context, a symbol of Israel itself, a human being in contrast to the 'beasts,' the hostile world empires. But it is equally clear that the expression came to be understood of a personal Messiah (see below, IV. 2 (*d*) (2)), and it is urged with some reason that it did not originate with Daniel, but had a history behind it. The figure is introduced as familiar, and no explanation is given in the ch. of the coming with clouds, which may, therefore, be assumed to be a recognized element in the conception. Gressmann[1] believes that we have a figure of foreign origin, parallel with the Messiah and afterwards identified with him. To Sellin[2] he is the Messiah transformed, the *Urmensch*, or 'primal man,' of Paradise, who is to return once more; Clemen[3] is inclined to agree with this explanation of the origin.

In $9^{25f.}$ the references in the AV to the Messiah are certainly misleading.[4] In v.^{25} 'the anointed one, the prince,' is either Cyrus or Jeshua; in v.^{26} he is Onias the high priest.

2. Survey of OT teaching.—(*a*) From our review of the OT passages it becomes clear that the expectation of the Messiah in the strict sense occupied a comparatively subordinate place.[5] The fact that in a large number of books and passages which deal with the future he is not mentioned at all is of the greatest significance as showing that his coming was not an essential or invariable element in the national hopes; *e.g.*, he is never mentioned in Zephaniah, which is entirely eschatological, nor in Joel. It cannot be assumed, as the Christian interpreter often unconsciously assumes, that the Messiah is in such cases taken for granted. There is, in fact, no hint of him, and often no room for him. Further, even in books or groups of writing where we have found possible references to him, there are many passages where he is completely ignored (*e.g.*, in Isaiah). The idea is introduced suddenly and sporadically and as suddenly dropped. Jahweh Himself is always the Redeemer and Saviour, and this is the essential and unvarying element in the OT teaching; the stress is on His coming and manifestation and not on that of any representative.[6]

(*b*) There are constant references to hopes connected with the dynasty of David, and these sometimes take the form of the expectation of another David, a specially endowed ruler. During the degradation and after the fall of the monarchy the earlier period was naturally idealized and became to the nation its Golden Age, while it became more and more necessary that he who was to revive its glories should be regarded as no ordinary man, but as the special representative of Jahweh.

(*c*) The way in which the references to the Messiah are introduced and the fact that they are so frequently enigmatic in form suggest that the Messianic belief was, above all, an element in the popular religion. It is wanting in the Priestly writings, and, as we saw, Ezekiel seems to have been somewhat suspicious of it; the prophets do not use it consistently, and it appears and disappears in an extraordinary way. Its connexion with the kingdom would commend it to the mind of the people, while religious teachers could avail themselves of it only with caution and reserve, though it could not always be entirely ignored. It is obvious that these were, in fact, the features which determined Christ's attitude to the hope in later times.

(*d*) In recent years the whole subject has been reconsidered in the light of comparative religion.[7] Gunkel and, especially for our present subject, Gressmann have urged that Jewish eschatology, including the Messianic hope, is not a new development in the prophetic or Exilic periods, but that it goes back to a far earlier age and is really not specifically Jewish at all. They argue that the hope of a semi-divine Deliverer, or *Heilbringer*, was a common possession of the ancient world, especially in Egypt and Babylonia, and that the OT language is intelligible only when understood as one expression of that hope. Sellin essentially agrees as to the antiquity of the belief, which he regards as not merely pre-prophetic but as pre-Davidic, while he rejects the hypothesis of its foreign origin, being ready to admit foreign influence only in colouring and details.[1]

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[*] P. 171.
[†] *Ib.*
[‡] Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, p. 265.
[§] See art. JUDAISM, vol. vii. p. 583^{b}.
[‖] P. 301 ff.
[¶] The literature is very extensive; reference may be made to Driver, *Cambridge Bible*, 'Daniel,' Cambridge, 1900, Dalman, p. 241 ff., and to artt. in the Dictionaries, *s.v.* 'Son of Man.' For the linguistic problem see art. JESUS CHRIST, vol. vii. pp. 516–519.
[**] It is pointed out that '*on* the clouds,' which is read by LXX, is used only of God; Dalman regards this as the original reading; Bousset, p. 301, n. 1, the reverse.

[1] P. 340 ff.
[2] P. 177.
[3] P. 82.
[4] See, for a full discussion of the traditional and other interpretations, Driver, 'Daniel,' *ad loc.*
[5] See E. Kautzsch, *HDB* v. 694, 713.
[6] Dalman, p. 295 f.; Sellin, p. 193.
[7] H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Göttingen, 1895; Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*; Sellin, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus*; T. K. Cheyne, *Bible Problems*, London and New York, 1904; W. O. E. Oesterley, *Evolution of the Messianic Idea*, London, 1908; criticisms in Gray, 'Isaiah,' and Clemen.

We have already had examples of the principles of this school as applied to such passages as Is 7, Mic 5, etc. It is further suggested[2] that the Messiah is the *Urmensch*, or primal man, the hero-king of Paradise, who is to return with the Golden Age at the end. Gressmann rightly points out that the Messiah is the prince of peace rather than a conqueror; *i.e.*, he is the king of the Golden Age restored by Jahweh. Sellin[3] develops this idea. Job 15^{7} suggests a tradition of the first man as pre-existent with God and sharing His wisdom; he finds a trace of this in Gn 3^{6}, 'to make one wise,'[4] while the same word is used in Jer 23^{5}, Is 52^{13}; cf. the stress on wisdom in Is 11^{2}. He is, further, the 'son of man' of Ps 8 and of Daniel, while his pre-existence is hinted at in Is 49^{1} 51^{16}. Gressmann further argues that the idea of world dominion cannot be Hebrew in origin; cf. Ps 72^{8}, where the river Euphrates is the centre of empire (it cannot be a boundary parallel to the 'ends of the earth'). Again, it is suggested that the descriptions of Jahweh ascending the throne and becoming king must have originally referred to a divine Messiah; the latter, Gunkel and Zimmern believe, is Babylonian in origin, while the same may be the case with the *Hofstil* in general.

The point of view is fascinating and has been argued with great ingenuity, but it has been generally felt that it lacks definite proof when we come to the details, whether of the OT passages or of the supposed parallels. As we have seen, the interpretation of the crucial passages is very doubtful. The Immanuel passage does not seem to refer to the Messiah hope at all, while, if 'she which travaileth' in Micah is understood of Zion, the idea of a mysterious origin disappears; the Shiloh passage is open to so many interpretations that it is very unsafe to build on it. It is quite true that with regard to eschatology in general (and it must be remembered that the view which we are considering starts from eschatology and not from the Messianic hope in particular) the prophets from Amos onwards give the impression of dealing with ideas already to some extent familiar, and it is equally true that the same is sometimes the case with the Messianic passages, but this does not justify us in finding the solution of every obscure passage in hypothetical popular traditions. We have already argued that the way in which the allusions to the Messiah are introduced does suggest that the idea was general and popular, used only occasionally and with some reserve by the prophets, so that it cannot be regarded as the discovery of any one of them. But of its great antiquity there is no real evidence. The passages in which it occurs are in many cases placed late on quite definite grounds, and we could hardly prove that it existed before the Exile except in the form of expectations connected with the permanence and glory of the house of David. We must, in fact, admit that data are wanting whereby we might fix with any certainty the period in which the hope arose. We can only say that the way in which the allusions are introduced does militate against its origin being placed in the Exilic period, in spite of the lack of definite evidence to the contrary, though they do not in any way carry it back to a dim antiquity.

A similar verdict of 'not proven' must be passed on the hypothesis of a foreign origin (with regard to foreign influence on details, such as in the *Hofstil* and partial parallels, especially at a later period, the case is somewhat different). The preceding discussions have already dealt with many of the points. Sellin[1] discusses the supposed parallels in some detail, and concludes that there is no real parallel to the expectation of a divine deliverer to come at the *end* of history or to usher in a new era. The most that we find is a yearning for the return of the Golden Age of Paradise, together with the courtier's flattery applied to some particular king that he will be the one to bring this about—*e.g.*, the famous Letter to Assurbanipal. A. H. Gardiner[2] has shown that the Leyden Papyrus has been misinterpreted and contains no reference to a 'Messiah,' while the Golenischeff Papyrus refers to a contemporary king Amen-em-het I. In all these cases we have examples of *Hofstil*, with the natural hope that each new king will bring in an era of peace and happiness, but no real evidence of a genuine expectation of a Messiah, which, Sellin concludes, is peculiar to Israel: 'The ancient East knows no eschatological king.'[3]

To return to the OT, the hypothesis of the wide-spread expectation of a Redeemer-King is not necessary to explain its language. We have in the earliest Messianic passages expectations connected with the revival and increased glory of the dynasty of David. There are also the eschatological hopes of the return of the Golden Age, which probably go back to a comparatively early period; this is to be brought about by Jahweh Himself; but, since all critical periods of progress are in actual experience connected with the appearance of some specially great individual (Israel was familiar with the work of an Abraham, a Moses, a David, or an Elijah), it was natural to believe that this salvation of Jahweh might be mediated by His earthly representative, who would then be looked for among the descendants of David; in this way the national and the eschatological hopes would easily be combined as we find them combined in the late passage Is 11. So far from the Davidic Messiah being the precipitation of widely diffused ideas of a world Saviour, the latter seems to have developed later as the offspring of the union of national and eschatological hopes.

IV. *DEVELOPMENT SUBSEQUENT TO THE OT.*—**I. The data.**—In passing to the period covered by the Apocrypha and the apocalyptic literature, it will be well again to begin by some examination of the actual data.[4]

(*a*) *Books where the Messianic hope is ignored.*—In the eschatology of the Apocrypha, with the exception of 2 Esdras, the Messianic hope is practically ignored. It is just possible that there may be a hint of it in the reference to the coming of the 'faithful prophet' in 1 Mac 14^{41} (cf. 4^{46}), but, if so, the hope appears in a very attenuated form. In 2^{57} the permanence, or, in the context, the restoration, of the Davidic kingdom is mentioned with no reference to the Messiah. In the rest of the books, though there may be hints of the Messianic kingdom in the wider sense (*e.g.*, 2 Mac 2^{18}, Bar 4^{21}, Sir 44–50), nothing is said about a personal Messiah. Wis 2 ff. deals with the sufferings of the righteous in a way that recalls Is 53, and with the future life, but is clearly not Messianic.

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[1] Pp. 176, 191, 228 ff.

[2] Gressmann, p. 286 ff.

[3] P. 179 ff.

[4] Skinner and *Oxford Heb. Lexicon*, however, translate הַשְׂכִּיל, 'to look at.'

[1] P. 231 ff.; see also Clemen.

[2] *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909.

[3] P. 177.

[4] The references are generally to the *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ed. R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1913, as well as to Charles's editions of the separate books; the dates given are generally those adopted by him; see also his *Eschatology*^{2}.

A similar silence is found in some of the apocalyptic literature, and here this silence is all the more significant since the writers are dealing directly with the hopes for the future. The Messiah does not figure in *Enoch* i.–xxxvi., lxxii.–lxxxii., xcii.–cviii., except in cv., where 'my Son' is suddenly introduced; Charles regards the chapter as an independent fragment. In the pictures of the Golden Age in *Jub.* i. 29, xxiii. 26 there is no Messiah; in xxxi. 18 he figures, though not prominently, as the descendant of Judah and as ruler in the temporary Messianic kingdom; Charles, however, considers the clause to be an interpolation. In the *Assumption of Moses*, which comes from a 'Pharisaic Quietist,' there is again no reference; Taxo (ix. 1) cannot be the Messiah;[1] Jahweh Himself is the avenger, and Moses the only mediator. The Messiah is in the same way ignored in 3 and 4 Mac., the *Secrets of Enoch*, the *Letter of Aristeas*, and the later parts of the *Apocalypse of Baruch*.

(*b*) *Books where the Messiah is mentioned.*—In *Enoch* lxxxiii.–xc. (166–161 B.C.) the Messiah appears after the judgment as the 'white bull,' a human figure, with no very active or definite rôle. In the 'parables,' however (xxxvii.–lxxi.; 94–64 B.C.), we have rich material. Especially in xlv.–lvii. he is the central figure, the pre-existent Son of man, judge, ruler, champion, and revealer. Besides Son of man, he is called 'the Elect One' and 'the Righteous,' titles which appear in the NT. 'Messiah' or 'His Anointed' also occurs in xlviii. 10, lii. 4, and Charles regards these as the first example of the use of the word as a technical title, though Dalman[2] strikes out the passages as interpolations.

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the salient point is that the Messiah is descended from Levi, and is a priest (cf. Ps 110); see *Test. Reub.* vi. 7–12, *Test. Levi*, viii. 14, xviii., *Test. Jud.* xxiv. 1 ff., etc. In *Test. Jud.* xxiv. 5 f., however, we find the usual Messiah ben Judah; so perhaps *Test. Naph.* iv. 5. According to Charles, the former conception is the original, and the book dates from 109–106 B.C., the palmy days of Hyrcanus, the Maccabean dynasty, which came of a priestly family, being then regarded as Messianic. But, after the breach between it and the Pharisees, and the infamies of Hyrcanus' successors, additions were made to the book, reverting to the ordinary view. The conception of the Messiah is that he is a priest and a warrior, sinless, with power over evil spirits, and bringing sin to an end; the ethical note is strongly marked.

In the *Psalms of Solomon* (70–40 B.C.) there is no reference to the Messiah in i.–xvi., though the future deliverance is dealt with. In xvii. and xviii., however, there is a very important description. He is Davidic in contrast to the non-Davidic dynasty of the Hasmonæans; though himself human, he comes with the power and special endowments of God; he is to conquer the nations and purge Jerusalem of sin. The whole picture is full of enthusiastic and vigorous touches, but there are no transcendent traits in the conception. The end and the duration of the Messiah's kingdom are not clear, but 'throughout his days' in xvii. 42 suggests that he is regarded as mortal. He is called 'His' or 'the Lord's anointed,' the title being here certainly a technical one, its first occurrence, if the passages in Enoch are rejected.[3]

In the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 49 (168–51 B.C.), we read of 'a holy prince' who is to reign over the whole earth for all ages, though, somewhat inconsistently, judgment follows; iii. 652 (*c.* 140 B.C.) speaks of a king from the sunrise sent by God who is to bring peace to every land. In the later fifth book (before A.D. 130) we have (in 108) again a king sent from God who apparently destroys Nero *redivivus* (Antichrist), while 414 ff. speak of a 'blessed man' from the plains of heaven, who destroys evil-doers and sets up the new temple.

The *Fragment of a Zadokite Work*,[1] first published by S. Schechter in 1910, is placed by Charles in 18–8 B.C. and by most scholars before A.D. 70, and seems to have come from a reforming party among the priests. 'A Teacher of righteousness' has already appeared (i. 7, etc.), and a Messiah is expected (ii. 10, viii. 2 [?], ix. 10, 29, xv. 4, xviii. 8) who is to arise 'from Aaron and Israel.' Charles interprets this phrase as pointing to the sons of Mariamne and Herod. This is not quite certain, but the Messiah is clearly Levitic, as in the *Testaments*, the book being marked by hostility towards Judah. The 'Teacher of righteousness' or the 'Lawgiver' (viii. 5) is a forerunner of the Messiah, though at a considerable interval, and is identified with the 'star' of Nu 24^{17}, the 'sceptre' of the same passage being applied to the Messiah.

In the composite (*Syriac*) *Apoc. of Baruch* the Messiah appears in the three earlier Fragments, A^1, A^2, A^3, written before A.D. 70. In xxix. f. (A^1) he is revealed mysteriously, apparently from heaven, whither he returns in glory; his rôle is a passive one, and the whole conception is materialistic. In xxxix. f. (A^2) and lxxii. ff. (A^3) he is the warrior slaying enemies and ruling over the Gentiles; the influence of Is 11 is marked. In lxx. 9 the phrase 'my servant Messiah' occurs, but the whole verse is regarded as an interpolation. In the three later Fragments, B^1, B^2, B^3, there is the so-called Messianic Kingdom without a Messiah.

4 (2) Esdras is again composite. In $7^{27ff.}$ (*Ezra Apocalypse*) we have the remarkable conception of 'My Son the Messiah' revealed with his companions and dying after a reign of 400 years (cf. 14^9). In 12^{32} (the 'Eagle Vision') he is the Lion of the seed of David who destroys sinners; the text has been interpolated to represent him as pre-existent and dying at the end, in order to agree with 7^{27}. Of chief importance is the 'Son of man' vision (ch. 13), where the Messiah is 'the man,' as in Daniel, 'My Son,' pre-existent, destroying the ungodly by the fire of his mouth and the breath of his lips, and restoring the ten tribes to the heavenly Zion.

Philo makes only very slight references to the Messiah, who is really foreign to his system. That he is mentioned at all must be regarded as a concession to the popular standpoint. *De Execrat.* 8 f. speaks of the restoration of Israel on one day; the dispersed are to return led 'by a divine superhuman appearance, which, though unseen by all others, is visible only to the delivered.' So in *de Præm. et Pœn.* 15–20 the Messiah is a man of war, reference being made to Nu 24^7.

In the same way the Messiah is recognized by Josephus only very occasionally, and that in a way which shows that he did not take the subject very seriously. In *BJ* VI. v. 4 he practically treats Vespasian as the Messiah in the sense that he is to be the destined 'governor of the habitable earth'; cf. the account of his interview with the same emperor in III. viii. 9, and see Suet. *Vesp.* ch. 4, and Tac. *Hist.* v. 13,[2] passages which are good evidence that the existence of the Messianic hope was a recognized feature of Judaism. In *Ant.* X. x. 4 he refuses to explain the 'stone' of Dn 2^{45} on the ground that his history is not concerned with the future.

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[1] See Charles, *ad loc.*; F. C. Burkitt, *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, London, 1914, p. 39.

[2] P. 269.

[3] In xvii. 36 'Anointed Lord' (χριστὸς κύριος) is generally recognized as a mistranslation or misreading of 'the Lord's Anointed.'

[1] Besides the works already quoted see also a survey of recent literature on the book by J. W. Lightley, in the *London Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1915, p. 15.

[2] See *JE*, *s.v.* 'Messiah,' for similar ideas connected with Alexander, on the basis of the interview recorded in Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 5.

As evidence of popular views, though not of the belief of Josephus himself, we have the various quasi-Messianic risings which he records: Theudas (*Ant.* XX. v. 1), the Egyptian (*Ant.* XX. viii. 6, *BJ* II. xiii. 5), and the unnamed impostor (*Ant.* XX. viii. 10).

A *Samaritan Hymn for the Day of Atonement*,[1] dated A.D. 1376, but certainly embodying earlier material, speaks of the Messiah under the title *Taeb*, which probably means 'the Restorer,' though A. Merx explains it as *rediens*, *i.e.* probably Moses, whose return was expected. This *Taeb* is not supernatural, but restores the lost dominion of the people, and is a prophet, the conception being based on the figure of Moses in opposition to the beliefs of the Jerusalem Jews. He dies after 110 years, and his death is followed by the Judgment and the end. Jn $4^{25ff.}$ shows the antiquity of some Messianic belief among the Samaritans (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 1).

2. Survey of the teaching.—(*a*) We note the sporadic character of the Messianic hope, as in the OT. Certainly the Messiah is mentioned somewhat more frequently, and when he appears we have in some cases a few more details, but it is still true that until the fall of Jerusalem he is not an essential element in Jewish religious thought or even in its eschatology.[2] If it were not for the NT, we should never have imagined that there was a period when the expectation of his coming could be taken for granted as accepted in almost all circles and as the centre of the hope for the future. This aspect is sometimes discussed (*e.g.*, W. Baldensperger, *Die messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judentums*, Strassburg, 1903, p. 92 ff.) as though the problem were the disappearance of the Messianic hope during the Maccabean period. If our interpretation of the evidence is correct, this misrepresents the facts, since there is nothing to show that the hope was at any previous period either universal or essential. It may be true[3] that the figure of the Davidic king came to seem too small for the larger stage on which Israel now found itself, and that the rule of the Maccabees left the pious Jew for a time well content, but it is best to recognize that the data are insufficient for anything like a chart of the rise and fall of the Messianic hope. The one thing we can say is that in the 1st cent. A.D. the Messianic hope had become more universal than ever before. We recognize that even then it is absent in the *Ass. of Moses*, and is not taken very seriously by Philo or Josephus; but the NT evidence is indisputable, and is confirmed by the fact that the Messiah is an integral part of the creed of later Judaism. The explanation is probably to be sought in the political circumstances of the day and in the dislike of the rule of the Herods and the Romans.

(*b*) There is some evidence which suggests that, as before, the hope was mainly an element in the popular religion. The Apocalypses in which it figures were largely popular products, and the NT proves that its chief strength lay among the people;[4] the popular risings recorded in Josephus show the same thing.

(*c*) We may see two influences at work which tended to throw into higher relief the person and function of the Messiah. From the religious side there was the growing tendency to remove God from active interference with the affairs of the world and to fill His place with a series of intermediate beings.[1] Hence the rôle of the Messiah becomes more important, and functions which in the OT are ascribed to Jahweh Himself are now transferred to him. He becomes the Deliverer and Saviour, as in the *Sib. Or.*, Baruch, and Esdras, and the new conception thus meets a real religious need. Again, as outward conditions became more hopeless, it was inevitable that he who was to restore the nation should be increasingly conceived of as endowed with supernatural powers, or as himself more than man. His coming is to affect the whole world, though it is still always regarded from a strictly Jewish and national standpoint. As a keener interest is taken in the fate of the individual, so the conception is linked with beliefs in judgment and resurrection, and receives altogether a more decided and more varied eschatological colouring, though we remind ourselves once more that it is not an *essential* element in the eschatology of the time.[2]

(*d*) Attempts to distinguish varying types of the hope at different periods and in different classes of writings are not always very convincing. We can, however, trace a double development,[3] though the two lines overlap, and each includes contradictory elements derived from the other—*e.g.*, in the combination of the conceptions of a Warrior-Conqueror and of a supernatural Avenger and Judge, or of earthly and heavenly bliss.[4] (1) We have the conception, which is essentially that of the OT, of the Messiah as a human figure, however miraculously endowed, a warrior and a conqueror, and the Son of David. This is seen best in the *Psalms of Solomon* (where the title 'Son of David' occurs for the first time), and is implied in many passages of the Gospels dealing with the popular hope, especially in the attempts to make Christ king, and in the charges brought at His trial, as well as in the Messianic movements mentioned by Josephus. This Messiah is to conquer the nations (*Sib. Or.* iii. 653, v. 108 f., 416 ff.; Bar 39^7 70^9) and sometimes to convert them (*Test. Jud.* xxiv. 6; *En.* xlviii. 5), though their conversion is also often disconnected from the Messiah (To 13^{11} 14^6, *En.* xc. 30, etc.).

Parallel to this conception is that of the Messiah ben Levi,[5] found in the *Testaments* and the *Zadokite Fragment* (cf. Ps 110), and represented in the NT by the heavenly priesthood of Christ in Hebrews.[6]

(2) We find a belief in a transcendent Messiah, connected chiefly with the title 'Son of man,' in the parables of *Enoch* and 4 Esdras (cf. also *Sib. Or.* v. 414). The phrase is derived from Daniel, and, whatever its meaning and origin there, there can be no doubt that in *Enoch* and Esdras it has a definite Messianic significance;[7] it is possibly even a recognized technical title.[8] The fact is, as Baldensperger[9] points out, that Daniel, though not

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[1] See A. Cowley, 'Samaritan Doctrine of the Messiah,' in *Exp*, 5th ser., i. [1895] 161 ff.; Bousset, pp 258, 265.

[2] It is possible that the place of the Messiah was sometimes taken by Michael, as a parallel figure; in Dn 12^1 he, and not the Messiah, is the champion of Israel; so in *Ass. Moses*, x. he is the angel who avenges Israel; note his prominence in Rev 12. Bousset (*Die Offenbarung Johannes*, Göttingen, 1896, *ad loc.*) suggests that the Christology of Hermas can be understood only by seeing that Christ takes the place formerly filled in Jewish thought by Michael; cf. also Rev 14^{14}, where the Son of man on the cloud seems to be an angel; note the language of v.^{15}.

[3] Bousset, *Rel. des Judentums*, p. 255 ff.

[4] *Ib.* p. 257.

[1] See Baldensperger, ch. ii.

[2] This eschatological colouring, the signs of the coming of the Messiah ('the Messianic woes,' etc.), the duration and nature of the Messianic kingdom, and its relation to the Judgment and Resurrection, together with the varying ideas as to the fate of the Gentiles therein, are dealt with in art. ESCHATOLOGY, to which reference should be made. See also Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 137 ff.; W. V. Hague, *JThSt* xii. [1910] 57.

[3] See Hague, p. 72 ff.

[4] Baldensperger, p. 111 ff.

[5] We have not sufficient material to justify us in regarding this as a specifically Sadducean conception as opposed to a Pharisaic Messiah ben David.

[6] For connexion with the *Testaments*, etc., see H. Windisch, *Hebräerbrief*, Tübingen, 1913, p. 67.

[7] Dalman, p. 243.

[8] So Charles, *Eschatology*^{2}, p. 261.

[9] P. 97 ff.

in itself directly Messianic, revived hopes for the future and prepared the way for the apocalyptic Messiah.[1] This transcendent Messiah plays an active rôle as champion of the righteous in *Enoch* lxii. 2, and still more decidedly in 4 Es $13^{9\text{ff.}\ 37\text{ff.}}$. The most significant feature, however, is his appearance as judge, not only of men and the nations, but of evil spirits (*Enoch* lv. 4, etc.); this function is not ascribed to the human king. Except in 4 Es 12^{32}, a Christian interpolation, the transcendent Messiah is never represented as a descendant of David—a fact which may throw light on our Lord's question (Mk $12^{35\text{ff.}}$); He may have been following a recognized line of thought which found the Davidic descent too narrow for the great conception. As is well known, He never speaks of Himself as 'Son of David.' We may note that, though the Apocalypses apparently reject the Davidic descent, they yet use Davidic passages, such as Is 11, Ps 72, 89, in their picture of the Messiah.[2]

(*e*) *Pre-existence and mysterious origin.* — The Son of man is clearly in some sense pre-existent in *Enoch* (*e.g.*, xlviii. 3, 6, xlvi. 1) and in 4 Es 13 and perhaps in 7^{27} 12^{32}, though the former passage is doubtful, and G. H. Box regards the latter as interpolated.[3] The question arises how far a personal pre-existence is really implied. In Jewish thought everything of supreme value was regarded as pre-existing in the mind of God, perhaps to some extent under the influence of the Platonic doctrine of ideas. This applied to such things as the Law and the Temple, while even Moses is pre-existent in *Ass. Moses*, i. 14, iii. 12; it is this sort of pre-existence that is ascribed to the Messiah or his 'Name' in the Targums.[4] But it must be allowed that in *Enoch* and Esdras the Messiah seems to be regarded as pre-existent in a personal sense and revealed from heaven, and this was certainly the view of St. Paul. It should, however, be noted that in 4 Es 7^{28} 'my Son, the Messiah' who is thus revealed dies after 400 years; *i.e.*, he is not a divine being.

This point of view should be distinguished from the hints which we have of the mysterious origin and birth of the human Messiah, since the Son of man of *Enoch* and Esdras is, of course, not born as a man at all. We have doubted the existence of such ideas in Isaiah and Micah, but they are clearly found at a later period—*e.g.*, in the mysterious star of *Test. Levi*, xviii. and in the king ἀπ' ἠελίοιο of *Sib. Or.* iii. 652 (cf. Bar 29^{3}). We have definite evidence of the belief in Jn 7^{27}, Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 8, 110), and the Talmud, the general idea being that the Messiah was to be born in secret (at Bethlehem) and hidden on earth, or even in Paradise, until the time of his revelation.[5] Some such tradition seems to underlie Rev 12; on the question of foreign influence see below, (*g*).

At the same time the passages cited as evidence of a belief in his birth of a virgin or divine mother are unreliable.[6] *Test. Jos.* xix., which seems to speak of a virgin-birth, is with good reason regarded by Charles as corrupt; so in *Enoch* lxii. 5, lxix. 29 he reads for 'son of a woman' 'Son of man,' while the *Midrash Ēkhāh* on La 5^{3} is obscure and of very doubtful date. Nor, again, can 'the travail pangs of the Messiah' imply anything of the kind; the expression is figurative, and applies to the Messiah, not to his mother. According to Justin, *Dial.* 49, the Jewish belief is that the Messiah is to be born ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπου.

To the circle of ideas connected with pre-existence belongs the identification of the Messiah with the first or the spiritual man.[1] Something has been said of the theory that this underlies the figure of the Son of man (see above, III. 2 (*d*)). Philo (*Leg. Alleg.* i. 31, p. 49, *de Op. Mundi*, 134, p. 32) knows of an earthly and a spiritual man, the latter, whose creation is recorded in Gn 1, coming first, while the former is the man of Gn 2. St. Paul (1 Co $15^{45\text{ff.}}$) represents the spiritual man as coming *after* the psychic or earthly, evidently opposing the other view, and identifies him with the Messiah. So in *Test. Levi* the Messiah brings back Paradise, while the Samaritan title *Taeb* seems to mean 'Restorer' (cf. χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως in Ac 3^{21}). The general idea in St. Paul, however, is the identification of Christ with the ideal archetypal man,[2] as opposed to the historical Adam, and not with any first king of Paradise.

(*f*) *Forerunners of the Messiah.*—The starting-point is Mal 3 f., where Elijah is to return before the Day of Jahweh (cf. Sir 48^{10}); the Messiah is not mentioned, and possibly Elijah is a kind of substitute for him.[3] In the Gospels, however, he has become a forerunner of the Messiah (Mk 1^{2} 6^{15} 8^{28} 9^{11}, Jn 1^{21}). There are again traces of a belief in the return of Moses, based on Dt 18^{15}, and the two are combined in the Transfiguration; these are probably the 'two witnesses' of Rev 11^{3}. In the later Antichrist legend the two witnesses are Enoch and Elijah,[4] who were translated without death. There are also hints of other 'companions' of the Messiah in 4 Es 6^{26} 7^{28} 13^{52}; Ezra appears as such in 14^{9}, Baruch in Bar 76^{2}, Jeremiah in 2 Mac 2^{1} 15^{13}; cf. Mt 16^{13}. We may compare the two predecessors of Saoshyant (see below, (*g*)).

(*g*) *Foreign influence.* — We were doubtful of theories which traced the origin of the Messianic idea to foreign sources, but this does not exclude the possibility of foreign influences at a later time on the details of the conception. Such influence is undoubtedly found in the development of Jewish Apocalyptic. We cannot discuss the wider question of the syncretistic character of its eschatology in general, but must confine ourselves to points which directly affect the conception of the Messiah. Naturally it is in the transcendent Messiah that foreign and mythological traits appear most clearly. Hague,[5] following Gressmann, argues that such ideas lie behind 4 Es 13, and even goes further in holding that a star myth is implied in the appearance of the man 'from the sea.' He also traces[6] the whole idea of a mysterious revelation of the Messiah to Is 45^{15}, 'Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself, O God of Israel, the Saviour,' which, he agrees with Gressmann,[7] cannot be of Jewish origin. He traces it to language such as that used by Assurbanipal: 'I was born in the midst of mountains which no man knoweth . . . thou (Ishtar) . . . hast brought me forth from the mountains, hast called me to shepherd thy people.' Many critics[8] argue in the same way with regard to the conception of a miraculous birth, comparing the language used by Sargon I. ('My mother was poor, my father I knew not'), the beliefs connected with Saoshyant, and the legends of the birth of Cyrus, Alexander, and others; there is, in fact, a general tendency to regard extraordinary men as wonderfully born, and this was particularly marked with regard to Egyptian and Babylonian kings. Without pronouncing on the question of direct influence, we may admit that we find the same general tendency at work with regard to beliefs as to the origin of the Messiah, but always with the important proviso that we have found no real evidence, except in Christian circles, of the idea of his birth from a virgin or divine mother, nor have we yet found any complete parallel to the expectation of a final eschatological king.[1]

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[1] Dn 7^{13} is interpreted Messianically by Aqiba (*c.* A.D. 120), and gave rise to the later name for the Messiah, *Ănānī*, 'Cloud Man' (Dalman, p. 245).

[2] Dalman, p. 318.

[3] The LXX of Ps 109 [110]^{3}, ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε, suggests some kind of pre-existence.

[4] In *JE*, *s.v.* 'Messiah,' it is, however, argued that there are traces in Rabbinic literature of a real pre-existence of the Messiah.

[5] Dalman, p. 301; Hague, p. 83.

[6] Jeremias, p. 30; see Clemen, p. 292.

[1] See H. Lietzmann, *Handbuch zum NT*, Tübingen, 1910, on 1 Co $15^{45\text{ff.}}$; Clemen, p. 152 ff.

[2] This conception seems to occur in *Barnabas* v. 5, vi. 12. For later developments see Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1911, p. 172 ff., *Kyrios Christos*, do. 1913, p. 25 f.

[3] Baldensperger, p. 96.

[4] Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, Eng. tr., London, 1896 p. 203 ff.

[5] P. 90 ff. [6] P. 83. [7] P. 311.

[8] Jeremias, pp. 28 ff., 38, 46 ff.; Cheyne, *passim*.

Something must be said of the possible influence of Zoroastrianism.[2] Here, again, we would at once admit a general influence in the sphere of eschatology. Moulton allows this, though to a less extent even than Clemen. He draws attention to Bousset's[3] admission that Parsi influence must have come to Israel by way of Babylon 'when strongly tainted with Babylonian elements,' and argues, further, that Zarathushtra himself had very little influence in the West. Hence, all that the Jews can have known was Parsiism in a comparatively debased form, as represented by the Magi (*q.v.*), and this compels us to regard most of the parallels between the higher doctrines of the two religions as pure coincidences. We are concerned here mainly with two points.

(1) A great deal has been said of the connexion between Yima, the first man, and the Messiah. It is held[4] that this lies behind the idea of the 'Son of man' (see above, III. 1 and 2 (*d*)), which, Clemen agrees, 'comes ultimately from Parsiism.' There is, no doubt, some connexion between Yima and the fall story, though Moulton[5] holds that Parsiism is the borrower. Further, as Bousset allows, there is the important difference that, while Yima is king of Paradise, *der Urzeit*, the Messiah is king *der Endzeit*, and there is no trace of this transformation in Iranian legend. We may add that there is also no trace in Hebrew legend of the Messiah as originally king of the first Paradise (see above, (*c*)).

(2) There is undoubtedly a remarkable similarity between the Messiah and Saoshyant, which is originally an epithet rather than a title. The renovation of the world 'is accomplished by the present labours of "those that will deliver," the *saošyantō*. In the Gathas these are simply Zarathushtra himself and his fellow-workers, whom the Prophet's faith pictures as assuredly leading on an immediate regeneration.'[6] The hope failed, and Zarathushtra himself was to return as Saoshyant. This is certainly the one real parallel with the Messiah proper, but it seems impossible to suppose any direct influence. Moulton[7] dismisses it among 'the certainly fortuitous coincidences,' while Bousset[8] holds that the connexion is between Saoshyant and the forerunner Elijah, rather than with the Messiah himself. At the same time there may have been some reaction between the two, affecting details of the conceptions, especially in the idea of the Messiah coming from the sunrise; cf. the ἀπ' ἠελίοιο of *Sib. Or.* iii. 652, and the LXX ἀνατολή for 'branch' in Jer 33^{15}, Zec 6^{12} (cf. Lk 1^{78}).[9]

We must also allow for the influence of Græco-Roman ideas[1] affecting at any rate the periphery of the Messianic hope and its development under Christianity. After Alexander the title σωτήρ ('Saviour') became common, with deification of kings and emperors, accompanied by hints of their wonderful origin. We may instance the well-known Priene inscription, with the legends connected with Augustus. But here, again, it is doubtful whether we really have proof of the existence of a belief in a final world-Saviour who is to usher in a new era, or only the inevitable court flattery which regards each king as greater than any of his predecessors. The single exception is Vergil's famous Messianic *Eclogue*.[2] Here, whether the child who is to be born be the son of Octavian and Scribonia or not, we have a remarkable and almost unique agreement with OT conceptions—the era of Paradise and its king, the Golden Age following on his conquests, plenty without toil, animals sharing in the regeneration, together with the ethical note. Whether through the Sibylline Books or directly through the LXX, Jewish teaching may have penetrated to Roman literary circles, or we may have an echo of Zoroastrianism.[3] On the other hand, the parallel may point to an independent spread of something like a Messianic hope in pagan circles.

(*h*) *Interpretation of prophecies.*—A feature of this period is the habit of working on earlier prophecies—a tendency which we have found as early as Ezekiel and Zechariah; for a later example see To 14^5.[4] In the apocalyptic books there are certain prophetic passages and ideas which became part of the stock-in-trade and are constantly referred to in dealing with the Messianic hope. The chief are Dn 7, Is 11,[5] used continually (*e.g.*, *Ps. Sol.*, Bar.), Ps 2[6] (*e.g.*, *Ps. Sol.*), Ps 45 (*e.g.*, *Test. Jud.* xxiv. 1), Nu 24^{17}, the star of which is applied Messianically in *Test. Levi* xviii. 3, *Jud.* xxiv. 1, but understood of the Teacher of Righteousness in *Zad. Frag.* ix. 8.

We have in this use of prophecy many examples of the scribal methods[7] working mechanically on the data and fusing the old and new into a single picture, of course not without contradictions. The application of a passage does not decide its historical meaning, but only the interpretation which had come to be put upon it. The vagaries of later Rabbinism had already begun—*e.g.*, the interpretation of Am $5^{26f.}$ in *Zad. Frag.* ix. 5 ff. We have an interesting example of independence in 4 Es $12^{12f.}$, where the interpretation of the fourth kingdom as given in Dn 7^{23} is definitely rejected.

It is important to ask in this connexion whether by the first cent. A.D. the OT was in any circles interpreted as pointing to a Suffering Messiah. It is almost certain that it was not. The conception in 4 Es 7 is the quite different one of a human Messiah who is to die after a reign of 400 years (cf. the Samaritan *Taeb*). There is no evidence that Is 53 was interpreted Messianically until a later period, and, when it is, the verses which speak of suffering are applied not to him but to the nation.[8]

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[1] For foreign influences in Rev 12 see Bousset, *Offenbarung*, *ad loc.*, and Cheyne, p. 77 ff., with criticism in Clemen, p. 303 ff.

[2] See art. ESCHATOLOGY, vol. v. p. 381, with literature there cited, and add J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, esp. Lect. ix., 'Zarathushtra and Israel,' with discussions in Clemen (summary on p. 368). W. Fairweather (*HDB* v. 297, 307) accepts influence in details without supposing direct borrowing.

[3] *Rel. des Judentums*, p. 550.

[4] Gressmann, p. 290 ff.; Bousset, *Rel. des Judentums*, p. 257 ff.; Clemen, p. 154 ff.

[5] P. 308.

[6] Moulton, p. 158.

[7] P. 309.

[8] *Rel. des Judentums*, p. 584, n. 2.

[9] See A. Smythe Palmer, *HJ* v. [1906–07] 156.

[1] Bousset, *Rel. des Judentums*, p. 258; Jeremias, p. 58 ff.; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, Eng. tr., London, 1911, p. 368 ff.

[2] See J. B. Mayor, W. W. Fowler, and R. S. Conway, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, London, 1907.

[3] So Moulton, p. 91, interpreting the simile of the closing lines as a reference to the story that Zoroaster laughed when he was born.

[4] It may be remarked that there are hardly any traces in the LXX of an attempt on the part of the translators to introduce a Messianic meaning; χριστός is never introduced where the Heb. has not Messiah. Is 7 is no exception (see above, III. 1), but the title of Ps 45, 'Song of the Beloved,' for 'Song of Loves,' may be intended to suggest a Messianic interpretation. For ἀνατολή for 'Branch' see above, (*g*).

[5] But not Is 9 (see above, III. 1) or 7.

[6] This, however, is comparatively rare (Dalman, p. 268 ff.).

[7] Baldensperger, p. 104.

[8] V. H. Stanton, *HDB*, art. 'Messiah'; see, further, Driver and A. D. Neubauer, *Jewish Interpreters of Is. liii.*, London, 1877;

The most decisive proof of this position comes from the NT. It is clear that the death of the Messiah was not expected in any quarter, and that the crucifixion of Jesus was the great stumbling-block, while it was not easy to find proof of its necessity from the OT. The story of the Ethiopian eunuch (Ac $8^{27ff.}$) seems to be intended to call attention to an interpretation of Is 53 which is evidently not that generally accepted. The admissions of Trypho (Justin, *Dial.* 68, 89 f.) do not express the Jewish belief, but are put into his mouth under the stress of the argument, while the 'pangs of the Messiah' do not refer to his personal sufferings, but to the woes which are to precede his coming.

The Messiah ben Joseph, who does, in fact, die, in contrast to the Messiah ben Judah, appears clearly only after A.D. 135. According to Bousset,[1] he is the Messiah of the ten tribes, slain in the battle by Gog and Magog; the conception seems to be derived from Dt 33^{17}, Zec 12^{10}, and certainly has no connexion with Is 53. It is possible that this figure is connected with the failure and death of Bar Kokhba, explaining them on the lines of the expectation of a preliminary Messiah who was to fall in battle against the enemies of Israel (Rome).

V. *DEVELOPMENT UNDER CHRISTIANITY.*—The starting-point of the evidence of the NT, and especially of the Gospels, is the way in which the Messianic hope is represented as universal. As we have seen, it is taken for granted in the Apocalypses where it occurs, but it is still sporadic in its appearances, and the future can be painted without reference to it. But in the Gospels the expectation of the Messiah is common to all. It appears, indeed, to be taken more seriously by the common people than by their leaders; but Pharisees, priests, and Sadducees all accept the hope without questioning its validity. The point at issue is only whether Jesus is really the Messiah. As regards the nature of the hope, it would appear, as against A. Schweitzer, that it was at least as much political and national as transcendent, corresponding closely to what we find in *Ps. Sol.* The Messiah is to be a king descended from David, and his rule will be opposed to that of the Romans.

A full discussion of our Lord's own attitude to His Messianic claims will be found in art. JESUS CHRIST. We may here emphasize the salient points. (*a*) As against W. Wrede, it is certain that He did regard Himself as in some sense the Messiah. He did not, indeed, proclaim Himself as such in His public teaching; it was His 'secret,' discovered by St. Peter at Cæsarea Philippi, and first avowed to the world at His trial. (*b*) His favourite designation of Himself in this connexion was 'Son of man,' the title being chosen as containing in it elements of transcendence and mystery, and as free from the political implications of Messiah, and still more of Son of David, a title which He avoids. The difficulty is to reconcile His use of this phrase with the absence of any public proclamation of His claim, since from its use in *Enoch* we should infer that it would at once be recognized as a synonym for 'Messiah' itself. The difficulty is eased by eliminating, on literary grounds, a certain number of the passages in which it occurs (cf., *e.g.*, Mt 5^{10} with Lk 6^{32}, or Mt 16^{3} with Mk 8^{27}), while in others its use is ambiguous, since it might be supposed to refer to some other unnamed person (Mk 8^{38}). It is not, however, possible, except by somewhat drastic criticism, to eliminate all passages where it is used publicly of Himself or privately to the disciples before St. Peter's confession.[1] We must, therefore, suppose, in spite of *Enoch*, that it was regarded as Messianic only in certain circles, and that it could still be used, as in Ps 8 and Ezekiel, in a wider sense.

(*c*) He did not regard Himself as the Messiah merely in the strict sense in which we have used the term, but as gathering up in Himself the various lines of OT hopes and promises. It does not, however, appear that direct argument on the basis of the OT played any considerable part in His teaching, except as recorded in the Fourth Gospel. The proofs from the OT in the NT seem rather to reflect a later stage of controversy between Jew and Christian, in which each adopted the same scribal methods of interpretation.

(*d*) Christ added considerably to the content of the Messianic hope, especially in His teaching as to the necessity of the death of the Messiah. It is not possible to decide with any certainty as to the lines by which He was led to this conviction, though it was, no doubt, helped by a growing recognition of the hostility of the ruling powers to His claims and of the inevitable results of their attitude. Further, He must have meditated on the deeper teaching of the OT as implying, especially in Ps 22 and Is 53, that the means of redemption and the condition of glorification were to be found only in suffering, and this quite independently of whether such passages technically applied to the Messiah or not. Though in Acts and 1 Peter the Servant passages are directly quoted, they are used but little in the Gospels, and hardly at all in Christ's own teaching (see Lk 22^{37}, Mk 10^{45} $12^{6ff.}$). It would seem, then, that as the ultimate source of His conviction we are forced to fall back on an intuition which the Christian will regard as a revelation from the Father.

In the light of the expectation of the Parousia, the idea of a twofold advent of the Messiah was introduced, assuming that Jesus was not merely 'the Messiah of the future' during His lifetime. There is no trace in earlier literature of any belief in two comings of the Messiah.

(*e*) It follows, finally, that the title 'Messiah' or 'Christ,'[2] as used in the NT and in Christian literature generally, has a far richer meaning and content than any that we have felt justified in ascribing to it in earlier periods. It gathered into itself the ideas associated with the Wisdom and Logos,[3] and came to include the whole work of redemption from sin and spiritual regeneration accomplished by Jesus. He has become the centre of history and the inaugurator of a new age in a way which both differs from and transcends anything that we find in the OT or Apocalypses as associated with the future Deliverer. He is the mediator of a new covenant and the bearer of a new revelation to a world of which the outward conditions remain unaltered, while with the passing of the Jewish State the nationalist element dropped away once for all. At the same time, the title 'Christ,' with its historical associations, is a reminder, even to those to whom the promises of the OT may mean little in themselves, that the coming of Jesus of Nazareth was not something new and unexpected, but was the true climax of the long preparation of the chosen people. In particular, the fact that functions which in the OT are reserved for Jahweh and not for the Messiah

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Dalman, *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias*, Berlin, 1888; Schürer, II. ii. 184. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, p. 27 ff., agrees, though he leaves open the bare possibility that the wide-spread myths of the dying and rising god may have influenced Jewish Messianic ideas.

[1] *Rel. des Judentums*, p. 264, *Antichrist Legend*, p. 103. But in *JE*, *s.v.* 'Messiah,' the connexion with the ten tribes is denied.

[1] But see Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 260 ff.

[2] It must be remembered that 'Christ' tends to become a proper name and to lose its technical Messianic implications; the distinctive title of Jesus in Hellenistic Christianity is κύριος ('Lord'). See Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, esp. p. 94 ff.

[3] Note that in Philo the Logos largely takes the place of Messiah; in *de Conf.* 14, p. 414, the 'branch' of Zec 6^{12} is applied to the Logos. Cf. also art. LOGOS.

are in the NT transferred to Christ is of the deepest significance. The real desire of the highest spirits of Israel was not so much for a representative of Jahweh, however exalted, as for a revelation of God Himself. Christian belief finds this satisfied in the Incarnation, and we shall not be disturbed when we find that the OT says comparatively little about the Messiah. The vital question is whether the hopes which it entertained with regard to the coming of God did find their fulfilment in the Christ.

VI. *THE MESSIAH IN LATER JUDAISM.*[1]—From the end of the 1st cent. A.D. a belief in the Messiah was an integral part of the Jewish creed—a proof that the representation of the universality of the hope which we find in the NT is substantially correct. The Messiah is indeed strangely absent from the Mishna, possibly owing to fear of Rome, but he figures both in the Palestinian and in the Babylonian recensions of the *Shᵉmôneh ʿEsrēh*—a fact which indicates that his presence therein must date from the 1st cent. A.D.—and appears constantly in the Talmud. The failure of the Bar Kokhba rising in A.D. 135 marks an important stage. Attempts to anticipate the Messiah's coming were then abandoned, the principle being 'a plague on those who calculate the end,' and the political side was almost dropped. What remained of it was transferred to a temporary Messianic Kingdom, in which Israel was to be restored to Palestine, this national kingdom being, generally speaking, only preparatory to the *ʿôlām hab-bā*, the world to come, where universalistic features are found. The Messiah is Son of David[2] and an earthly deliverer, though in some sense pre-existent and appearing mysteriously (see above, IV. 2 (*e*))—features which need not imply divinity. With the fall of Jerusalem apocalyptic fell into disfavour,[3] and with it the belief in a transcendent Messiah. Polemic with Christians also worked in the same direction, and to this we may attribute the disuse of the title 'Son of man'; the form of the Beatitude in Lk 6²² may be a hint of such controversies.[4] The spiritual side is strongly emphasized in the Rabbinic teaching by its insistence on the need for repentance as the condition of the coming of the Messiah, while we also find considerable detail as to the features of the Messianic era, the Messianic woes, etc.

The twelfth article of the present Jewish creed, as drawn up by Maimonides, is as follows: 'I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah, and though he tarry I will wait daily for his coming.' Liberal Judaism, however, would seem to have abandoned the hope of a personal Messiah, though it still retains the Messianic hope in a wider and spiritualized sense[5]—a sense in which it may fairly claim to have the general trend of the OT on its side.

LITERATURE.—The literature bearing on special points has been indicated in the course of the article. The following may be mentioned in relation to the whole subject: J. Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, London, 1877; V. H. Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, Edinburgh, 1886; E. C. A. Riehm, *Die messian. Weissagung*, Gotha, 1885, Eng. tr., *Messianic Prophecy*², Edinburgh, 1900; C. A. Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, Edinburgh, 1886, and *The Messiah of the Gospels*, do. 1894; P. Volz, *Die vorexilische Jahweprophetie und der Messias*, Göttingen, 1897; E. Schürer, *GJV*³, Leipzig, 1898, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1890; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*², Berlin, 1906; G. H. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, Leipzig, 1898, 1902, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1909; R. H. Charles, *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*², London, 1913; together with relevant sections in works on OT and NT Theology, and articles in the Bible Dictionaries.

C. W. EMMET.

MESSIAHS (PSEUDO-).—From the final loss of the independence of the Jewish State until within a few generations ago, Jewish history has known the frequent advent and passing of self-styled Messiahs, prophets of hope in the darkest periods of the Diaspora, self-appointed leaders of the Jewish race in the Return to the land from which their ancestors were exiled. The appearance of a Messiah was often, especially in the case of the earlier ones, accompanied by revolts and uprisings, and these almost invariably occurred at times when, and in localities where, anti-Jewish persecution was prevalent. Moreover, these Messianic movements were frequently, especially in the latter cases, of a political nature. The religious aspect of the rising was, however, seldom absent, and in many instances the new teacher, anxious to signalize his activity and to secure his influence by religious innovations, endeavoured to subvert the basic teachings of Judaism, to which, in consequence, considerable harm sometimes occurred. New sects were created on some occasions; on others wholesale adoption of Muhammadanism or Christianity took place.

Although it is to some extent customary to include a number of Jewish reformers and revolutionists in the category of pseudo-Messiahs, only a proportion of these agitators in reality attributed to themselves the Messianic semi-divinity. Others, often against their own wish, were hailed by their enraptured followers as the divine leader, promised in Jewish tradition to bring the scattered and troubled people back to their inheritance. Just as there existed a belief in an Ephraimitic Messiah who was to be the forerunner of the Davidic Messiah, so, among the pseudo-Messiahs, many pretended to be not the Messiah Himself but His forerunner. The opening of the Christian era saw in the Holy Land a number of these local minor Messiahs. Thus we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* XX. v. 1; also Ac 5³⁶) that about A.D. 44 one Theudas, claiming to be a prophet, told his followers that he would divide the Jordan and enable them to cross dry-shod. They collected on the bank of the river for the miracle to be performed, but before the prophet could take steps to carry out his prophecy the whole party was massacred by a detachment of Roman soldiery. A similar fate overtook the followers of another Messiah, an Egyptian. They collected, it is said to the number of 30,000, on the Mount of Olives to watch the fall of the walls of Jerusalem at the command of their leader, but the proceedings were interrupted by Felix and his soldiery (Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 6, *BJ* II. xiii. 5; and Ac 21³⁸). A third pretender preparing to lead the people into the wilderness was destroyed together with his followers by Festus the Procurator (Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 10).

A Messiah of a different description was Menaḥem, the son of Judah the Galilæan and the grandson of Hezekiah the leader of the Zealots. He seized the city of Masada together with a large store of arms, with which he supplied his followers, and then attacked Jerusalem. In battle with the soldiers of Agrippa II. Menaḥem was successful, and as a result captured Antonia, one of the defences of the capital. Emboldened by his success, Menaḥem claimed the leadership of all, and thus aroused the jealousy of his colleagues and was assassinated. Menaḥem was the last Judæan Messiah before the destruction of the Temple. Contemporary with these Messiahs of the 1st cent., similar personages arose among the Samaritans, all of whom, after an existence more or less brief, passed away. Prominent among them were Simon **Magus**, who endeavoured to induce the early Christians to join his movement, but who is said ultimately to have become converted to Christianity, together with many of his followers, and **Dositheus**, who, instead of restoring the Hebrew State, founded a Samaritan sect that survived until the 6th century.

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[1] See Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, p. 291 f., etc.; *JE*, *s.v.* 'Messiah'; Oesterley and Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, London, 1907, p. 205 ff.

[2] Yet Aqiba, who spoke of the thrones of Dn 7 as prepared for God and David, supported Bar Kokhba, who was not Davidic!

[3] Burkitt, ch. i.; see *JE*, *s.v.* 'Messiah,' for traces of belief in a transcendent Messiah in later Judaism.

[4] Baldensperger, pp. 140, 168.

[5] See C. G. Montefiore, *Outlines of Liberal Judaism*, London, 1903, pp. 280, 314; also art. JUDAISM, vol. vii. p. 608, etc.

The destruction of the Temple led for a time to a cessation of pseudo-Messianic activity. For sixty years no new Messiah arose until at length, on the accession of Hadrian, the milder government of Trajan gave way to sterner rule. The repressive policy of the Romans aroused once more the spirit of the Jewish people still unsubdued. A rebellion broke out and a leader was immediately to hand in the person of **Bar Kokhba** or Bar Kozibah (probably from the name of his birthplace). Of the personality of this leader little is known. His original name is even doubtful. It is conjectured that he was one Simeon of Cozeba (1 Ch 4^{22}) or Chezib (Gn 38^{5}). The name Bar Kokhba, or 'son of a star,' was given to him by the famous R. Aḳiba, who believed that in him was fulfilled the prophecy: 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob . . . and shall smite through the corners of Moab, and break down all the sons of Sheth' (Nu 24^{17}). Bar Kokhba does not appear to have adopted the designation of Messiah himself. This dignity was attributed to him by R. Aḳiba and other sages. On the outbreak of the rebellion, the whole province, composed of Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, was evacuated by the Romans. The army of the Jews at this time has been estimated at as many as from 400,000 to 580,000 fighting men. Unfortunately, little is known of the campaign, but it is certain that the Roman garrison and the generals in command at the time of the outbreak proved respectively inadequate and incapable. The services of Julius Severus, the greatest soldier of the age, were requisitioned from Britain, where he had been waging an arduous war with the martial natives, to recover the prestige of the Roman arms. But even he, with unlimited resources, was at first compelled to remain on the defensive, and trusted to his tactics of cutting off detached parties and supplies to wear out his formidable enemy. In the course of the operations 50 general engagements were fought, and with every victory the numbers of Bar Kokhba's followers increased. From the most remote of the Jewish colonies men came to fight under his banner. Recruits were not drawn solely from Israel; Bar Kokhba's army included non-Jews in its ranks. Those who could not fight helped to fill the rebel coffers. At first the campaign proved a series of successes for the pretender. Jerusalem was soon captured, and served as a capital for Bar Kokhba, who was proclaimed king, and duly carried out the duties of sovereignty. For three years the Holy City remained in his possession, and during that time his armies succeeded in taking 50 walled towns and 985 villages. At length the tide turned. After a desperate struggle, Jerusalem was captured by the Romans, and no two stones of its buildings were left standing on one another. Other towns fell into the same hands until, of all the territories of Bar Kokhba, the town of Bither alone remained. Here the hero made his last stand, but not with the undivided support of the inmates of the fortress. Dissensions broke out among the garrison, and on the 9th of Ab, already the blackest anniversary in the Jewish calendar, Bither was stormed, Bar Kokhba killed, and his body brought in triumph to the Roman camp.

During the pacification that followed the males were slain by the thousand, and the women and children sold into slavery. Unheard of and unspeakable tragedies were enacted. In Bither alone more are said to have been slain than those who took part in the Exodus from Egypt. The number of dead was counted by hundreds of thousands. All those who were able escaped from a country which offered them the only alternatives of slavery and death with torture. Many fled to Arabia, and the considerable Jewish population of that country, even to this day, may be reckoned one of the results of Bar Kokhba's abortive insurrection. R. Aḳiba, who had been thrown into prison at the outbreak of the rebellion, died under torture at its conclusion. The war led to the final breach between the Jews and Judæo-Christians. The latter suffered severities at the hands of Bar Kokhba and his followers, in consequence of their refusal to join in the national uprising.

The fatal results of the Bar Kokhba movement discouraged for some centuries personation of the Messiah. In fact, an attractive opportunity did not occur again until the 5th cent., when, in accordance with a Talmudic computation, the day of the Messiah was supposed to be at hand. It was at this juncture that such a one, self-styled **Moses**, appeared in the island of Crete. Of his origin or his subsequent fate nothing is known. He induced the Jewish population of the island to support his pretensions, and on a specified date promised to lead them dry-shod to the mainland. On the appointed day the Jews gathered round him on a promontory and at his direction some threw themselves into the sea, expecting a path to be opened for them through the waters. The miracle did not occur. Many of the enthusiasts were drowned; others were rescued. The Messiah himself disappeared.

The pretender next to come under notice was **Isaac ben Ya'ḳūb Obadiah Abū 'Īsā al-Iṣfahānī**, who flourished at Iṣfahān at the end of the 7th century. There are two estimates of his claims. The one was that he was merely the forerunner of the Messiah, the other that he was the Messiah Himself. His call came to him through a sudden and miraculous cure from leprosy, and in support of his divinity his disciples pointed out that, although an illiterate before his call, he was able after that event not only to read and write, but even to compose books. The affairs of the khalīfate were at that period in a chaotic condition, and a military movement, such as Isaac's soon became, had good chances of success. The pretender and his followers met the army of the khalīf in battle at Rai (Rhagæ), but Abū 'Īsā was defeated and slain, and with his death the rising came to an end. The movement, however, did not die with its founder. It survived among the 'Īsāvites, the earliest of the Jewish sects of the Diaspora, who did not disappear until a couple of centuries later. Abū 'Īsā's influence on 'Anān, the founder of the Ḳaraites (*q.v.*), and on his ritual was, however, more enduring.

Abū Īsā left at least one disciple of influence. **Yudghān of Hamadān**, called **al-Rā'ī** ('the shepherd'), did not himself claim to be more than a prophet, although his admirers, in accordance with precedent, insisted on his Messiahship. His teachings showed undoubted traces of Ṣūfiism, then at the opening of its career; they were opposed to anthropomorphism, and to a great extent resembled those of his master Abū 'Īsā. After Yudghān's death his disciples adopted an additional doctrine —that of the immortality of their master, who, they contended, was not dead, but would appear again.

Contemporary with Yudghān al-Rā'ī was **Serenus**, a Syrian, who was both a political and a religious reformer. He promised to restore the Jews to the Holy Land, and, perhaps in consequence, his influence spread as far as Spain. His career commenced in A.D. 720, but was very short-lived. He was speedily captured and brought before the khalīf Yazīd II., to whom he excused himself by stating that he had never been serious in his claims; he had merely been amusing himself at the expense of his co-religionists. Serenus was accordingly handed over to the latter for punishment, while his followers, repenting of their heresies, were re-admitted to the fold.

For the next three centuries and a half no Messiah arose in Israel. Then there was in the West a small group of unimportant pretenders: in France (*c.* 1087), at Cordoba (*c.* 1117), and at Fez (*c.* 1127). Of these there are practically no records beyond the mere mention by Maimonides. About 1160, however, one of far greater importance arose in Kurdistān. **David Alroy** (or Alrui) came from the north of Persia, probably Ādharbaijān, being a member of one of the free Jewish tribes which claimed descent from the **Ten Tribes**, and to which the Afghāns, the Afrīdīs, and Paṭhāns of to-day trace their ancestry. The period was again one of political disorganization. One great element of disturbance was the efforts of the Crusaders to recover and to keep possession of the Holy Land. Moreover, intertribal warfare was incessant, and the weakness of the Sultan led almost to a paralysis of the Government. It was in these circumstances that Alroy visited Baghdād, and on his return to his own people he raised the standard of revolt. A large following immediately collected, and Alroy, who had meanwhile proclaimed himself the Messiah, determined to break the yoke of the Muhammadans and to lead the Jews back to Palestine. From this point truth and legend have so intermingled in the story of Alroy that it is impossible to disentangle them. His command of the magic arts led to the acceptance of his mission far and wide. Only the Jews of Baghdād were sceptical, but his hold on the others was so strong that those in Baghdād were quite incapable of suppressing the movement. Alroy is said to have been summoned by the Sultan, to have appeared in answer to the summons and proclaimed his divine mission, to have been cast into prison, and to have miraculously escaped. Despite his magic powers, Alroy's movement was undoubtedly a failure. In all probability he was killed in an unsuccessful attack on the stronghold of Amadia. According to a less reliable version, the governing powers, unable to overthrow the Messiah by fair means, bribed his father or father-in-law to put him to death. On the death of Alroy his followers, in order to appease the Sultan, had to pay a considerable fine. In Alroy's instance also the pretender's death did not mean the end of his cult. The sect of Menaḥemites, named after Menaḥem, the traditional designation of the Messiah, adopted by Alroy, continued for many years.

A century passed before the next prominent pseudo-Messiah appeared upon the scene, but before that period, in 1172, a minor prophet arose in Yemen. His course lasted but a year, at the end of which term he was beheaded, it is said at his own request, in order to show by his return to life that he was indeed the Messiah.

Abraham ben Samuel Abulafia was born at Saragossa in 1240. While still a youth he was attracted to kabbalistic studies, and it was as a kabbalist rather than as a pseudo-Messiah that his career was of most influence. His life was spent in wandering from town to town and from country to country. In 1281 he was in Rome attempting to convert the pope to Judaism—of course without success. His boldness involved him in imprisonment, from which he is said to have escaped miraculously. Four years later, when in Sicily, Abulafia proclaimed himself the Messiah, and announced the millennium for the year 1290. The year denoted came and went, but the millennium still tarried. Abulafia continued his picturesque career for one more year and then disappeared from history. He also, however, left his spiritual descendants, for his teachings were continued by two of his disciples, **Joseph Jikatilla** and **Samuel**, both of Medinaceli. Where Abulafia had failed, they were little likely to succeed, and it was but for a moment that these two meteors flashed in the firmament.

Immediately following them came **Nissim ben Abraham of Avila**, who pointed to 1295 as the year of the millennium. There were sufficient believers to fill the Synagogue on the appointed day, there eagerly to await the divine manifestation; but again disappointment was the prevailing emotion, and, when the watchers found mystic little crosses on their garments, many, accepting them as heavenly manifestations, embraced Christianity. The fate of the prophet, as of many of his predecessors, is unknown.

A century later **Moses Botarel of Cisneros** appeared. As a prophet he was of little consequence. In 1502 **Asher Lämmlein** suddenly arose in Istria and announced that, if the people would prepare themselves, the Messiah would appear that very year. At his suggestion fasting, prayer, and almsgiving became general throughout the empire. Jews and Christians alike accepted his teachings and prepared for the advent of the Messiah and the return to the Holy Land. Here again the precedent was followed: no Messiah appeared; the prophet disappeared.

At the close of the 14th cent. **Jacob Carson** (or **Carcasoni**), a minor prophet, appeared in the north of Spain, and **David Reubeni**, the picturesque emissary of his brother the mysterious king of Khaibar, or the East, also came upon the scene. Khaibar, according to the generally accepted locality of the kingdom, was a district in S. Arabia inhabited by nomad tribes of Israelites, although the view has been put forward that Reubeni came from India (see E. N. Adler, in *Aspects of the Hebrew Genius*, p. xxii, and *Auto de Fé and Jew*, p. xxx).

Reubeni arrived at Venice in 1524 after having visited Palestine and Egypt. He immediately proceeded to Rome, where he procured an audience of the pope, Clement VII., to whom he announced that he had been sent by his brother to obtain allies and assistance in his war with the Sultan. In support of his claims Reubeni brought letters of introduction from Portuguese officers in the East. The Jews of Italy found the means for him to proceed to Lisbon, and he arrived in Portugal in 1525, with the view of inducing the king, John III., to ally himself with the king of Khaibar. For a time the Portuguese policy seemed to favour such an alliance, and King John definitely promised a fleet of 8 ships and 4000 cannon for the assistance of his new ally. At the same time the pressure that was being put upon the Marranos of Portugal was relaxed, doubtless out of deference to the susceptibilities of Reubeni.

The embassy, the ambassador, and the circumstances that surrounded them, as well as the accompanying legends that immediately began to be woven, endowed Reubeni with almost superhuman powers in the eyes of the Jews, for whom the only hope lay in the future to which all their faculties were ever strained. The interest and excitement aroused by his advent were no less intense among the Marranos than among the Jews themselves. Miraculous powers, a semi-divinity, were attributed to him. If any proof of these claims were needed, his existence as a Jew unmolested at the court of one of the most relentless of the persecutors of Jews and Judaizers was considered sufficient. The people looked eagerly towards him and expected, not a momentary palliation of their tortures, but a final release.

By no means the least of those who were dazzled by the appearance and favour of Reubeni was **Solomon Molkho** (previously Diogo Pires) (*c.* 1501–32), an official of the Government, of Jewish descent. Pires, who was a young man of great promise, aroused by the stir caused by Reubeni's mission, abandoned Christianity, adopting his ancestral Judaism in place of it, and endeavoured to attach himself as a disciple to the newcomer. The latter, however, severely discouraged all conversions to Judaism, fearing probably lest in consequence of them trouble might react on him and his mission, and Molkho found little or no favour with him. Molkho's conversion to Judaism had placed his life in great jeopardy; and, deprived of the protection of Reubeni for which he had hoped, he left Portugal for Turkey. In the East Molkho, although hitherto supposed to be quite unlearned in Jewish lore, is said to have displayed a remarkable acquaintance with that subject, and by his eloquence and learning, and the mysterious manner in which he had acquired the latter, he soon collected around him a school of disciples who considered him almost divine. His teachings went without disguise far into the domain of mysticism. By him the advent of the Messiah was foretold for 1540, and the sack of Rome in 1527, an oft-foretold precursor of the millennium, seemed to confirm Molkho's prophecies. The one ambition of the prophet was to earn a martyr's crown, and in pursuance of this aim after a brief sojourn in Turkey he returned to Christendom.

As was expected by Reubeni, the conversion and flight of Molkho, added to other incidents, shook the position which Reubeni had acquired at the Portuguese court. The royal promises, although made apparently in good faith, lacked fulfilment, and the undoubted excitement of which he was the cause among the Neo-Christians of the kingdom rendered his continued presence among them most undesirable; and, after having spent a year at the Portuguese court, Reubeni was asked to withdraw. The ship in which he sailed was wrecked on the coast of Spain, and for a time he was in the hands of the Inquisition. His release was, however, ordered by the emperor, Charles V., and he settled at Avignon, then under the sovereignty of the pope. From Avignon Reubeni removed to Italy, preceded everywhere by the mysterious reputation which he had acquired, and followed by a host of believers, who hailed him as the precursor of the Messiah and even as the Messiah Himself.

Meanwhile Molkho had also come to Italy with the reputation which he had acquired in Turkey, enhanced, if possible, and a following that grew in numbers from day to day. In Rome Molkho, imbued with Messianic tendencies, had visions and foretold floods and earthquakes, which, it must be added, subsequently occurred. More valuable to him, however, were the favour and protection which he had obtained from the pope, Clement VII., and from some of the cardinals. With their assistance he was able to defy his enemies, who were drawn not only from among the emissaries of the Inquisition, but also from the Jews, some of whom shrewdly considered his influence and pseudo-Messiahship harmful rather than beneficial to Jewry. His critics among his own community were, however, numerically insignificant, and his influence among the Jews increased until he became indeed their accepted prophet. By Graetz Molkho has been described at this period of his career as 'the Jewish Savonarola' (*Hist.* ix. 274). In order to avoid the flood which he had foretold would overtake Rome, Molkho repaired to Venice, and here he met once again the first inspirer of his enthusiasm, David Reubeni. His position in regard to Reubeni had, however, undergone a change since their previous meeting; his fellow-prophet, Molkho, met him now, not as a disciple, but as an equal.

Reubeni was still endeavouring to obtain assistance for his brother, the king of Khaibar, and from the authorities in Venice he received some encouragement in his mission. After the flood Molkho returned to Rome, where he was received with enthusiasm as a successful prophet. The pope, the cardinals, and the ambassadors of the Powers vied with one another in their flattering attentions to him. His influence was so great at this period that he was able to secure the indefinite postponement of the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal; but his Jewish enemies, especially Jacob Mantin of Venice, were untiring, and they ultimately succeeded in securing his arrest by the Inquisition as a renegade Christian, and Molkho was condemned to be burned. All the preparations for the *auto da fé* were made and the victim was in due course consumed by the flames. It was then discovered, however, that the pope, in order to protect his favourite, had gone to the length of substituting another victim, and that Molkho himself was safely hidden within the papal apartments. In the circumstances it is not surprising that Molkho was smuggled out of Rome at the first opportunity.

Molkho thereupon rejoined Reubeni, and the two decided to journey to Ratisbon to plead with the Emperor the cause of the Jews of Khaibar. There is a tradition that advantage was taken of the interview with Charles to endeavour to convert him to Judaism, and it was possibly this attempt that led to the arrest of both the ambassadors. They were put into chains and carried to Mantua, where at the Emperor's request Molkho was again tried by the Inquisition and sentenced to be burned. At the last moment pardon was offered him on condition that he returned to the Christian fold, but he rejected the offer with scorn. He had only one cause for repentance, was his reply, and that was that he had been a Christian in his youth. Molkho's ambition was thereupon gratified and he earned a martyr's crown. Some of his addresses were published by him in 1529 under the title of *The Book of Wonder*. Reubeni was taken to Spain and there handed over to the Inquisition. His ultimate fate is surrounded by mystery, but he appears to have died while in the hands of the Holy Office. The evidence that he was burned is insufficient. A copy of Reubeni's diary is in MS at the Bodleian. Graetz published a portion in his *History*³, ix., and Neubauer published the whole of it in *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles*, ii.

Concerning the existence of Reubeni there can be no legitimate doubt. His mission, however, is not so well authenticated, and there are those, no mean authorities, who consider him to have been merely a charlatan and impostor. Graetz (ix. ch. 8), for instance, judging from the language of Reubeni's *Journal*, expressed the belief that it had been written by a German Jew, and Neubauer held the same view, only more positively. Rieger and Vogelstein (*Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, ii. 41–46, 53–58) are also very sceptical about his *bona fides*, but they express the opinion that he did come from Arabia. Adler (*Auto de Fé and Jew*, p. 30 ff.) seems to have more confidence in Reubeni's credentials, but locates the source of his embassy at Cranganore in India.

Strictly speaking, neither Molkho nor Reubeni should perhaps be included in the list of pseudo-Messiahs, for neither ever claimed divinity. They were Messiahs for the most part against their own inclinations. The same may be said of **Isaac ben Solomon Ashkenazi Luria** (Ari) (1534–72), the founder of the modern kabbala. An ascetic and a mystic, he never pretended to be more than the forerunner of the Messiah, not the Messiah Himself. His principal disciple, **Hayyim Vital Calabrese** (1543–1620), was acclaimed by his master as possessing a soul unsoiled by sin. Around him also a group of mystical legends have collected. On Luria's death Vital succeeded to his position and also claimed to be Messiah ben Joseph, the precursor of Messiah ben David. Both Luria and Vital made Safed the scene of their principal activities. In the time of Vital a rival Messiah arose in the person of **Abraham Shalom**, who in 1574 sent a message to Vital pointing out that the latter was only Messiah ben Joseph, but he, Shalom, was Messiah ben David. He offered, moreover, to shield Vital from the death that would otherwise have been his fate.

The most remarkable and influential of all the pseudo-Messiahs was **Shabbathai Ṣebi**, born, the son of a Sephardi agent of an English mercantile firm, at Smyrna, on the 9th of Ab (the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem and a fast day in the Jewish calendar), 1621 or 1626. He is generally believed to have died on the Day of Atonement in 1676. Even as a boy Shabbathai was noteworthy for his physical beauty and his strange introspective habits. For the ordinary learning of the Jew, that of the Talmud, he had no liking, and the time spent by him at the school of R. Joseph Escapa was for the most part wasted. On the other hand, the kabbalistic mysteries of the *Zôhār* had a great attraction for his mind. He threw himself ardently into the study of them, and endeavoured, by carefully following out the ordinances laid down therein, and especially by the practice of asceticism, himself to solve the mysteries that the *Zôhār* professes to offer its students. On attaining manhood, Shabbathai had already acquired a considerable reputation as a kabbalist, which was enhanced by his mode of life, his obvious belief in his magical powers, and his determined aversion to marriage, probably without precedent in the society in which he lived. Meanwhile Shabbathai's father had learnt, through his correspondents in England, something of the hopes and beliefs of the English millenarian sects, then prominent in English thought, and had in particular been apprised of the identification of the year 1666 with the opening of the millennium. By a coincidence, according to the computations of the *Zôhār*, the year 1648 was to mark the appearance of the Jewish Messiah. Shabbathai, encouraged by these signs and by the almost worshipful attitude of his father, who attributed the whole of his material good fortune to his son's saintliness, by nature and education already prepared for the rôle that he was about to adopt, revealed himself in the latter year to a select circle of his followers as the Messiah. In support of his claim he uttered the Tetragrammaton—an act permitted only to the high priest in the Temple on the Day of Atonement. Shabbathai remained at Smyrna for some years after this event, surrounded by a circle of fervent believers, but with little if any influence outside of the district in which he lived. He and his teachings were closely watched by the Rabbinical authorities, who ultimately, considering that he had overstepped the permissible limits, excommunicated him and his disciples on account of their heresy, and banished him from Smyrna. This occurred about 1654 (according to Graetz, 1651).

From Smyrna Shabbathai is believed to have gone to Constantinople, supported in every sense by his disciples and strengthened in particular by two of them—Moses Pinheiro, a man of some scientific knowledge and of mature years, and Abraham Yachini, a distinguished preacher, who, by means of an alleged ancient MS of very doubtful authenticity, rendered Shabbathai still more steadfast in the belief in his own divine mission. It is doubtful whether Shabbathai, if he ever intended to visit Constantinople, did so on this occasion, but it is certain that he arrived at Salonica, where mysticism was likely to find a sympathetic atmosphere, shortly after his banishment from Smyrna. In Salonica Shabbathai showed himself even more intoxicated with the consciousness of his new rôle than he had been at Smyrna, and his acts led here also to his practical expulsion by the Rabbis. After leaving Salonica the new Messiah spent some time wandering about the Orient, promulgating his views and his claims in every city that he visited and gaining adherents in all parts. In 1660 he was in Cairo, where he remained for about two years. There he gained a valuable supporter in the person of Raphael Joseph Chalebi of Aleppo, a mystic who had long awaited almost with impatience the coming of the Messiah, and whose wealth and influence were both extensive.

The approach of the apocalyptic year, 1666, attracted Shabbathai to Jerusalem, where, suppressing temporarily his extravagances, he built up an influence over the people on less theatrical bases. As the representative of the people of the city, he was sent abroad to obtain funds for their relief from an impending calamity, and the success of his mission rendered him all the more popular among the grateful people in whose midst he was sojourning. While in Cairo, Shabbathai succeeded in yet another mission. A Polish Jewess, who at the age of six had been left an orphan and whose subsequent career was almost as romantic as that of Shabbathai, was at the time in Leghorn, where she was reputed to be living an immoral life. Of great beauty and, moreover, of an eccentric disposition, she was already famous beyond the limits of the town, and her announcement that she was intended as the bride of the Messiah made her known to even a wider circle. In fact, her renown spread as far as Cairo, where it came to the ears of Shabbathai; he sent for and married her, declaring that she was his divinely appointed spouse.

Shabbathai thereupon returned to Palestine. Passing through Gaza, he met there Nathan Benjamin Levi, otherwise known as Nathan Gazati, who immediately became the leading advocate of the new Messiah and took unto himself the rôle of Elijah, the forerunner of the Anointed. One of his first steps was to announce the opening of the Messianic Age for the following year, 1666. This prophecy, together with many subsidiary ones, was promulgated far and wide, spreading even to the shores of the North Sea. These claims were, however, not by any means encouraged by the authorities at Jerusalem, and Shabbathai thought it well to find a more congenial centre for his activities. He returned to Smyrna, his journey thither taking the form of a triumphal progress which culminated in a reception at his destination, remarkable for its enthusiasm. At Smyrna, overwhelmed by his reception, he put the final touch to all the rumours that were current regarding his divinity, and formally announced his Messiahship. He was forthwith entrusted with absolute power as the sole ruler of the local Jewish community. Wherever Jews were to be found, the rise of the new Messiah attracted attention. The business of the exchanges of Europe was neglected in order that the latest of miracles might be discussed. The merchants of the North Sea ports wrote to their agents in the Levant for information. Tribute poured in upon the 'King of Kings.' Embassies were sent to him from the four corners of the earth. In the synagogues he was publicly hailed as the Messiah, and those who doubted went in danger of their lives. Even among the Christians believers in his mission were to be found. In Hamburg Protestants went to their pastor and said: 'We have almost certain accounts not only from Jews, but also from our Christian correspondents at Smyrna, Aleppo, Constantinople, and elsewhere in the East that the new Messiah of the Jews does many miracles, and the Jews of the whole world flock to him. What will then become of the Christian doctrine and the belief in our Messiah?' Prophets, male and female, in accordance with Joel's prediction (Jl 2^{28}), arose and exclaimed in Hebrew, a language with which they were supposed to have no acquaintance: 'Shabbathai Ṣebi is the true Messiah of the Race of David; to him the crown and the kingdom are given!' The daughters of R. Peḥina, Shabbathai's bitterest enemy, blessed the name of the pretender, as had been foretold. In Persia the Jewish agriculturists refrained from work on account of the advent of their deliverer who would lead them back to the Promised Land.

At the beginning of the year 1666 Shabbathai left Smyrna for Constantinople, but before doing so he distributed the kingdoms of the earth among his principal followers. As soon as he had landed on European soil, he was arrested by an officer of the Sultan, who placed him in chains, and it was in this condition that Shabbathai approached the capital. Despite his undignified landing, Shabbathai's popularity in no wise languished, and he was received by hosts of believers in his divinity, who, by the gifts which they brought, enabled the 'Messiah' to secure a considerable alleviation of the lot that would otherwise have fallen to him. Shabbathai's courage did not, however, equal his popularity; and, when questioned by the authorities regarding his claims and intentions, he replied that he was merely a Rabbi sent from Jerusalem to collect funds for charitable purposes. Despite this falling away, the influence of the pretender, instead of waning, grew stronger, and in his prison in Constantinople Shabbathai held a court which was attended by Muhammadans and Jews who alike proclaimed his divinity. After two months the prisoner was removed to Abydos, and there his court was continued with, if possible, even greater success than in the capital. His renown and exaggerated reports of the royal manner in which he was treated spread throughout the civilized world. The castle of Abydos became a place of pilgrimage to Jewries far and near. In parts of Europe the Jews made preparations for the return to Palestine under Messianic guidance. In innumerable synagogues prayers for the pretender's welfare were regularly offered; and with every day the excitement both within Abydos and throughout the world increased. Meanwhile Shabbathai, in order apparently to justify his existence, abrogated certain of the Jewish fast days.

Shabbathai's fall was due to the appearance of a rival, one **Nehemiah Ha-Kohen**, who posed as a forerunner of the Messiah. Shabbathai, learning of Nehemiah's prophecies, summoned him to Abydos. After a long journey Nehemiah arrived. An interview with Shabbathai was followed by dissatisfaction on both sides. Nehemiah, fearful of assassination by the Shabbathaians, fled to Constantinople, where he embraced Muhammadanism and denounced to the authorities the treasonable intentions of his rival. Removed to Adrianople, Shabbathai at length realized the critical position in which he was placed. Hoping thereby to save his life, he also embraced Muhammadanism, and was followed in this course by his wife and some of his adherents. The Sultan was much pleased at this act and appointed the pretender one of his doorkeepers. Shabbathai, in order to retain his hold upon the Jews, announced: 'God has made me an Ishmaelite; He commanded, and it was done. The ninth day of my regeneration.' His apostasy, despite the loyalty to him of many of his adherents, shattered his influence in Jewry, and hosts of Jews, their eyes at length opened by the last act of their prophet, repented bitterly of their support of the movement. For a time, in consequence of the schism caused by Shabbathai's apostasy, Turkish Jewry was in great danger of extermination, the fear of wholesale conversions to Muhammadanism being accompanied by that of the massacre of those who refused to follow Shabbathai's example. Powerful influences, however, warded off the latter danger.

Shabbathai seems never to have abandoned his Messianic claims. He managed to found a Judæo-Muhammadan sect of believers, the Dönmeh, who have survived, especially in Salonica, to the present day. After a time he fell into disgrace, was deprived of his office, and banished to Dulcigno, where he died, it is believed in 1676, leaving behind him a controversy which long continued in Israel. The Dönmeh are in a sense crypto-Jews, inasmuch as, while outwardly conforming to Muhammadanism, they practise certain Jewish or debased Jewish rites in secret. There is, however, in practice little secrecy concerning their difference from the Muhammadans, from whom, although they mix in commerce, socially they keep carefully aloof.

Shabbathai was succeeded by quite a shoal of petty Messiahs. The first of the line was **Jacob Querido**, or Jacob Ṣebi, who was the real founder of the sect of Dönmeh. He was in reality the brother of Shabbathai's fourth wife, who for her own purposes pretended that he was her son by the Messiah. Querido's principal doctrine was that the redemption could not come about until the world was either entirely good or entirely wicked, and, as the latter state was by far the easier of attainment, he preached and practised licentiousness in order that the day of the millennium might dawn. Querido died at the end of the 17th cent., and was succeeded in due course by his son **Bereḥiah** (*c.* 1695–1740). Other Shabbathaian Messiahs who flourished at this period were **Miguel** (Abraham) **Cardoso** (1630–1706), a Marrano, **Mordecai Mokiaḫ** (*c.* 1650–1729) of Eisenstadt, **Löbele Prossnitz** († *c.* 1750), and **Judah Ḥasid.** These were all, more or less, prophets of Shabbathai so long as he survived, and they endeavoured to step into his place when he died. Mokiaḫ flourished and preached in Italy and Poland. Prossnitz was of the class of clumsy conjurers; nevertheless he attracted many adherents in Austria and Germany. Ḥasid, who was a leader of the sect of Ḥăsîdhîm, 'the Ultra-holy,' traversed Europe at the head of a considerable following whom he led to Jerusalem. He died, however, immediately after his arrival in that city, and with his disappearance his followers were left leaderless and destitute.

The last of the most prominent of the successors of Shabbathai was **Jacob Frank** (1726–91). He was born in Podolia, where his first occupation was that of distiller. His original name was Jankiev Lejbovicz, but he obtained the new surname of Frank from the subjects of the Sultan in whose midst he sojourned for a long time. An undisguised charlatan and an apostate from more than one faith, he pursued a career of unceasing warfare against Rabbinical Judaism, and in the peculiar views to which he gave expression he described himself as the re-incarnation of all the prophets and Messiahs who had preceded him. In Turkey he obtained considerable renown on account of his kabbalistic learning, and on the return to his birthplace the remnants of the Shabbathaian party, who were known as Zoharites, appointed him their prophet. The Talmudists, however, disapproved most vehemently and forcibly of his teachings, which were leading directly to the destruction of Judaism and of morality in Poland. Frank and the Frankists were excommunicated, but they found a powerful friend in the bishop of Kamenetz, whom they ingratiated by pretended points of strong resemblance between their faith—which was bitterly opposed to Rabbinic Judaism—and Christianity. With his assistance the tables were turned, and for a time the upper hand was gained over the orthodox element in Jewry. With the death of the bishop, however, another change came over the fortunes of the parties. The position of the Frankists became precarious, and in order to secure the safety of his followers Frank instructed them to accept baptism, he himself setting the example. Conversions to Christianity followed on a considerable scale; but, when the converts were discovered to be leading double lives, and, while outwardly Christians, to be following Jewish practices in secret, the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities was directed towards them. Frank was himself arrested in 1760 on a charge of heresy and imprisoned in the castle of Czentschow, where he remained for thirteen years. This imprisonment did not by any means put an end to his movement or his teachings, and his prison became a centre for the promulgation of his doctrines. The invasion of the Russians in 1772 led to his liberation, and he was then free to make a triumphal progress through Poland, Bohemia, and Moravia. He lived in state until his death in 1791. latterly as the Baron of Offenbach, in various continental capitals, always with an immense retinue and a vast treasure, derived from his infatuated adherents, at his command. His later history, however, hardly belongs to the annals of Jewry, for his influence on Judaism had ceased long before his death. His followers, the Frankists, although for a time they kept themselves apart as pseudo-Jews of a peculiar description, were ultimately absorbed into the population in whose midst they lived.

Frank was the last of the series of pseudo-Messiahs to be accepted seriously by any considerable section of Jewry, but there is one other who deserves mention, before the catalogue of these actors on the world's stage is brought to a close. Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (1707–47) differed considerably from most of his predecessors in the rôle in which he also essayed to live. With most, if not all, of them there was a spirit of charlatanry manifest. Not even Luzzatto's most determined enemy could sincerely suggest any such charge against him. One might almost say that he was merely a victim of his own delusions; his predecessors for the most part found the victims of their delusions outside of themselves. Luzzatto, the cultured son of wealthy Italian Jewish parents, was a poet by nature as well as by profession. Early in life, however, he fell under the influence of the kabbalists and the *Zôhār*, and soon the mysteries of this literature took complete possession of him and he firmly believed himself to be divinely inspired. He even went so far as to create unaided a second *Zôhār*, and by the work of his own hands and mind he was convinced of his divine mission. A circle of young devotees soon settled round him, and his fame began to spread to the confines of Jewry. The leaders of orthodox Judaism in Germany were scandalized and, after some difficulty, brought pressure to bear upon the newly arisen prophet to undertake to refrain from teaching, by means of either the spoken or the written word, the new doctrines. Luzzatto gave the desired promise, but was unable to observe it for very long, and, when he once more reverted to the forbidden studies, he was excommunicated by the board of Rabbis of Venice. Ultimately Luzzatto wandered to Palestine, where he died of plague shortly after his arrival.

LITERATURE.—On the general subject of pseudo-Messiahs relatively little has been written. The principal references to the subject are to be found scattered in works on post-Biblical Jewish history. *JE* x. contains a general résumé of the subject with supplementary articles in other volumes dealing with individual pretenders to the Messiahship. Pseudo-Messiahs in general are also dealt with by Joannes à Lent, in *Schediasma historico-philologicum de Judæorum Pseudo-Messiis*, Herborn, 1697; M. Gaster, in *Jewish Chronicle*, Feb. 11 and March 11, 1898; and A. M. Hyamson, *Gentleman's Magazine*, ccxc. [1901] 79–89. For the individual pseudo-Messiahs, H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig, 1868–78, Eng. tr., London, 1891–92, should be consulted. In addition, for Theudas see Josephus, *Ant.* xx. v. 1; Eusebius, *HE* ii. 2, and E. Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 168. For Dositheus see S. Krauss, in *REJ* xlii. [1901] 27–42; A. Büchler, *ib.* 220–231, and xliii. [1901] 50–71; D. Oppenheim, in *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, i. [1874] 68; S. Krauss, *Griech. und latein. Lehnwörter in Talmud*, etc., ii. [Berlin, 1898] 192; J. W. Nutt, *Fragments of a Samaritan Targum*, London, 1874, pp. 47–52; E. Renan, *Histoire des origines du christianisme*, v. [Paris, 1877] 452; L. Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*^{2}, ii. [Leipzig, 1863] 606; S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, Cambridge, 1910; K. Kohler, in *AJTh* xv. [1911] 404–435. For Bar Kokhba see Eusebius, *HE* iv. 6; Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* lxix. 12–14; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 257 ff.; Arsène Darmesteter, in *REJ* i. [1880] 42 ff.; and J. Derenbourg, 'Quelques Notes sur la guerre de Bar Kozeba,' in *Mélanges de l'École des hautes études*, Paris, 1878. For Isaac ben Ya'ḳūb of Iṣfahān see A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris, 1826, i. 307. For David Alroy see *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M. N. Adler, London, 1907, pp. 77–81; A. 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[1897] 121–127, x. [1885] 288; Vogelstein and Rieger, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*; and S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, ii., London, 1908, p. 222 ff. For Isaac Luria see Steinschneider, *Jüd. Lit.* p. 456; C. D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, London, 1865, p. 134; Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, ii.; and E. J. Worman, in *REJ* lviii. [1909] 281 f. For Hayyim Vital Calabrese see Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, ii. For Shabbathai Ṣebi and Samuel Primo see Abraham Danon, in *REJ* xxxvii. [1898] 103–110 and lviii. [1909] 270–291; N. Brüll, 'Sabbathai Zebi und seine Anhänger,' in *Populärwissenschaftliche Monatshefte*, xii. [1892] 6, 25, 80; E. Finkel, in *Ost und West*, v. [1905] 51 ff.; Ludwig Geiger, 'Deutsche Schriften über Sabbatai Zebi,' in *Zeitschrift der Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, v. [1892] 100–105; M. Horschetzky, 'Sabbathy Zwy, eine biographische Skizze,' in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, ii. 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ALBERT M. HYAMSON.

METALS AND MINERALS.—I. Metals.—Fire and metallurgy may be regarded as the two main bases of material culture. The results of the modern applications of steam and electricity have been described as 'puny and insignificant when compared with those which followed the discovery of metals by the men of the stone age';[1] and with the finding of the art of extracting metal from ore 'human culture was revolutionised.'[2] Possibly the first attempts at utilizing metals were made by applying a modification of hammer-work on stone to fragments of surface-ore. Copper and its alloys, especially a native bronze, would naturally be observed first; but the usual order of discovery—copper, bronze, iron—is not absolute; the order varied in different regions. For instance, it is unlikely that the West and Central Africans found any metal earlier than iron, which is so abundant in their country.

Observing the importance to humanity of the discovery of metals and the invention of metallurgy, philosophers have inclined to attribute them to some remarkable cause. Lucretius, *e.g.*, imagined a mighty conflagration; this, in consuming forests covering metalliferous ground, would reduce the outcropping ore to a metallic state.[3] But, with the discovery of fire-making, there are many possibilities, and various lines of discovery may have converged. Gowland suggests that the origin of metallurgy is to be found in the camp-fires of the Neolithic age.[4] When these were made on metalliferous soil, the lumps of metal melted out would at once attract the attention of a stone-working people, and the blows of the stone hammer on the hot and malleable mass would indicate its possibilities. The camp-fire may thus be regarded as the prototype of the most elaborate modern furnaces.[5]

Naturally, a feeling of the importance of metals, and a primitive appreciation of the 'marvels of science' in connexion with the working of them and of their mechanical capability, reacted upon early man with the results usually found when superstition meditates on critical things. The body of beliefs about metals and, in a less degree, minerals is enormous, but reducible to a few simple types which are found everywhere and survive in peasant psychology to this day. Special properties of this or that metal or mineral are taken into account, and cultural reactions of all kinds modify the various beliefs and usages. These may be typically exemplified without unnecessary multiplication.

In common with all skilled crafts in early culture, the miner and the worker in metal are regarded with wonder, and often with its entailed superstitious feelings.

Among the Bangala of the Upper Congo no one is allowed to step over a smith's fire or blow it with his mouth; such acts would pollute the fire and cause bad workmanship. The smith is supposed to use witchcraft in order to perform his smithing well. Neighbouring peoples simply regard the smith with respect.[6] Some African smiths form sacred gilds; the mythical Wayland Smith of Scandinavian lore is a natural deification, as is part at least of the figure of the Greek Hephaistos.

The usual tabus and animistic beliefs are attached to the working of metals, to mining, and to the ore and metal themselves.

The tin-miners of Malaysia have a remarkable code of tabus and body of superstitious ideas, but they are outnumbered by the Chinese workers, who, however, as will be seen, have a similar faith. The ore is supposed not only to be alive but to grow, to be able to move from place to place, to reproduce itself, and to have special likes or affinities for certain people and things, and *vice versa*. 'Hence it is advisable to treat tin-ore with a certain amount of respect, to consult its convenience, and what is, perhaps, more curious, to conduct the business of mining in such a way that the tin-ore may, as it were, be obtained without its own knowledge.'[1] Of the tabued acts observed by the miners, the chief are that no living creature may be killed in the mine; that the *sarong* may not be put on; that shoes may not be worn, or an umbrella used. Numerous charms are employed by the 'mining wizards' for the purpose of clearing away evil spirits and to induce the ore to show itself.[2] The Malay *pawangs* ('medicine-men'), or mining wizards, used to enjoy 'an extraordinary reputation, some of them being credited with the power of bringing ore to a place where it was known that no ore existed, . . . to possess the power of sterilising such ore as existed, and of turning it into mere grains of sand.' No one but him was allowed to wear a black coat at the mine. He used a special language (*bahāsa pantang*, 'tabu language') for his professional duties, and he had 'a wonderful "nose" for tin.'[3] Sometimes each separate grain of ore was credited with personality.[4] It was believed that tin could 'announce its presence by a peculiar noise heard in the stillness of night.'[5] Sometimes the personality of the tin is described as a buffalo, in which shape it makes its way underground,[6] this being perhaps a sophistication of the lode.

'In Sumatra the spirits of the gold mines are treated with as much deference as the spirits of the tin-mines in the Malay Peninsula. Tin, ivory, and the like, may not be brought by the miners to the scene of their operations, for at the scent of such things the spirits of the mine would cause the gold to vanish. . . . In some cases, for example in removing the grains of the gold, a deep silence must be observed; no commands may be given or questions asked, probably because the removal of the precious metal is regarded as a theft which the spirits would punish if they caught the thieves in the act. Certainly the Dyaks believe that gold has a soul which seeks to avenge itself on men who dig the precious metal.'[7]

In Manipur the iron-ore deposits are under the protection of an *ūmang lai* ('forest god'), who is propitiated before the iron is worked.[8] He capriciously moves the iron about. His symbol is a piece of iron a few inches square. The *lai-harauba* ('pleasing the god') is an annual festival. 'The first thing to be done is to bring the lai into a state of activity. Ordinarily speaking he is supposed to remain inert, unless offended in any way.' He 'particularly affects two plants called Leisang Leirel and Langthei, and when he is about to be pleased the Leirangba, a specially selected official, has to fetch them.' The plants are placed in the house of the *lai*, and then taken in a brass vessel by an old lady to the river. She wades about, suddenly stumbles, and then emerges with a vessel full of water. The god has now come.[9] A procession with music is made to the *lai-pham* ('god's place'), where his images (the pieces of iron) are set out. By them is placed the vessel, and a service of prayer and praise is celebrated, after the lighting of a sacred fire for the sacrifice. The god's servants or priestesses are two old women, termed *maibis*, who are often inspired by him and babble incoherently. If a man is similarly possessed by the god, he is known as *maiba* and during the ceremonies wears the dress of a *maibi*. Dramatic performances end the list of events.[10]

The last example is a perfect one for showing the development of an organized cult around a metal and the processes of its acquisition. There is some vagueness, which is worth noting, as to whether the metal itself is personified. As for its being deified, this is hardly to be inferred here or elsewhere.

The god appears to be rather the owner of the site, resembling the Hebrew Baals.

The Malays regarded gold in a similar way. The gold 'spirit' is 'believed to be under the care and in the gift of a *dewa*, or god.' It has the form of a golden roe-deer.[11] The theriomorphism is analogous to that of tin.

The same ideas are found at the other side of the world.

Gold was regarded by the Central Americans as possessed of 'divine qualities,' and it was gathered in fasting and penance.[12]

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[1] W. Gowland, 'Copper and its Alloys in Prehistoric Times,' *JAI* xxxvi. [1906] 15.

[2] *Ib.* Probably the first iron used was not meteoric or telluric, in spite of cases among the Eskimos.

[3] v. 1250 ff.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 17.

[5] Gowland, *op. cit.*, and 'The Metals in Antiquity,' *JRAI* xlii. [1912] 235–287.

[6] J. H. Weeks, in *JRAI* xxxix. [1909] 456.

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[1] W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, pp. 250, 259 f., quoting A. Hale, in *JRAS* xvi. [1885] 303–320.

[2] Skeat, pp. 269, 267.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 250, 256, 258.

[4] *Ib.* p. 265 f.

[5] *Ib.* p. 263.

[6] *Ib.* p. 250.

[7] *GB*^{3}, pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 409 f., quoting J. L. van der Toorn, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix. [1890] 100; M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische Beschrijving der Dajaks*, Zalt-Bommel, 1870, p. 215.

[8] J. Shakespear, in *JRAI* xl. [1910] 349.

[9] *Ib.* p. 351.

[10] *Ib.* p. 352 ff.

[11] Skeat, pp. 271, 251.

[12] Bancroft, *NR* iii. 500.

An interesting detail with regard to the personality of metals is supplied by Malay superstition. The Malays believe that so long as gold is in the earth it has a soul. When the gold is taken by man, the soul flies away.[1] The idea is parallel to those found in agricultural lore; presumably the corn-spirit leaves John Barleycorn when he is ground, if not when he is reaped. The idea is elaborated in Celebes, on the principle that the soul may be retained and will assist the usefulness of the implements when made.

Among the Alfoers of Celebes iron-working is a prominent industry. Iron is credited with a soul, which is apt to desert the metal under the hammer. Every smithy, therefore, includes a bundle of *lamoa* ('gods'), consisting of wooden imitations of iron implements, and in this the soul of the iron resides. '"If we did not hang the *lamoa* over the anvil, the iron would flow away and be unworkable" on account of the absence of the soul.'[2]

This is an interesting application of the principle of the external soul.

The Chinese in their elaborate animism have not neglected metals. They consider metals and ores when in the ground to possess a *shen* ('soul') of animal or human shape, and this figure is either the mineral or a spirit guarding it. 'Gold, jade, and pearls . . . are the *tsing* of Heaven and Earth.'[3] A particular development is towards the Scandinavian idea of gnomes. The Chinese have tales of silver men and of 'women in white'; when they were attacked and knocked down, they disappeared, and silver mines were found on the spot.[4]

The same kind of analogy connects various metals with various things, according to colour or other properties. The Greeks of to-day call jaundice 'the golden disease,' and heal it on the homœopathic principle with a decoction from an English sovereign, English gold being the best.[5]

One or two examples of the miscellaneous wonder-lore which has gathered round metals may be cited.

Fern-seed, itself a mythical vegetable gold-dust, guides to hidden treasures.[6] A Malay recipe for turning brass into gold is to kill a wild pig, and sew up in it a quantity of 'scrap' brass; then pile timber over it, and burn it; when grass has grown over the remains, 'dig up the gold.'[7] Paracelsus made a magic ring of a mixture of all metals joined under certain constellations,[8] and Van Helmont concocted a ring of magic metal which cured disease.[9] An obvious connexion is practically universal between gold and the sun, silver and the moon. Silver is the lunar metal; hence peasants like to have silver in their pockets when they see the new moon, and to turn it for luck, *i.e.* doubling.[10] Throughout the world magnetic iron and ore have excited wonder.

The relative value of the familiar metals is the same in superstition and ordinary usage. It is interesting to note that the Hindus regarded alloys as impure, and never used them for religious purposes.[11] Here may be detected the notion of mixture, adulteration, as a component of the idea of impurity. Another popular division of metals is into 'precious' and 'base.' The Chinese consider gold 'the most genuine matter.'[12] In all the analogous estimates found in every age it would seem that æsthetic ideas supersede economic. Clearly the æsthetic value of gold and silver rather than their importance as currency is to the fore, and either view preponderates over the mechanical importance of iron.

A similar predilection is shown in the genealogies of the metals.

Manu said that gold and silver arose from the union of water and fire.[13] In Chinese philosophy tin 'is produced by the influence of the feminine principle in nature, being classed between silver and lead. The metal arsenic generates itself in two hundred years and after another two hundred years is converted into tin. Tin, being a product of the feminine principle, has tender qualities. When it is submitted to the influence of the masculine principle, it is converted into silver. It is sometimes found that wine kept in tin vessels has a poisonous action on man, which proves that the arsenic had not been completely transformed into tin.'[1]

This notion of transmutation of metals is a curious parallel to modern discoveries of the degeneration of radium into a series of filial metals. The search of the alchemists for the philosopher's stone included a similar hypothesis.

According to the Pahlavi *Bundahišn*, gold, silver, iron, brass, tin, lead, quicksilver, and adamant arose from the various members of the dead Gāyōmarṭ; and 'on account of the perfection of gold it is produced from the life and seed.'[2] The Pahlavi *Šāyast lā-Šāyast* speaks (xv. 15) of the duty of 'propitiating' melted metal, *i.e.* practising 'habits of the heart so unsullied and pure that, when they shall drop melted metal upon it, it does not burn.' But the ordeal slays a sinner. Metal, especially gold and silver, is a 'counterpart of Shatvaīrō himself in the world.'[3] From the divided body of Indra, according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, metals arose, as well as all kinds of substances and living creatures; *e.g.* from his navel came lead.[4] The five elements in Chinese natural philosophy are water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. Wood produces fire, fire earth, earth metals, metals water, and water wood.[5] The idea of animal souls for metals already referred to has probably no cosmological intention.

In the multitudinous superstitions relative to the protective, curative, or dangerous properties of metals or metallic implements, the analogy of their relative value and efficiency—*e.g.*, between gold and steel—seems to predominate. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* lays down that the slaughtering-knife for the horse should be of gold, that for the *paryaṅgyas* of copper, and that for the other sacrifices to Prajāpati of iron. Gold is a symbol of the nobility, copper of heralds, messengers, and the like, iron of the peasantry.[6] The intrinsic value of gold, its brilliance, analogous to fire and the sun, connect it with vitality. Hence its extraordinary popularity as a panacea to this day among the Chinese, in the form of leaf, dust, decoction, or grease. It is placed in the mouth of the dead to assist revivification and to delay decomposition.[7] The Chinese also put mercury in coffins in order to preserve the body.[8] With no knowledge of embalming they endeavour to insulate, as it were, the coffin against decay. The use of quicksilver may be referred to the analogy between a moving and apparently living metal of worth and organic life. British folklore advises rubbing ringworm with silver.[9]

Metals, in virtue of their various properties, are used both as medicines and as amulets, in either case dependent on magical notions. The Burmese believe that the wearing of silver and gold is itself protective, and base metals may be used in default of precious.[10] Lumps of gold are worn under the skin to secure invulnerability. There is a common practice of covering amulets with gold-leaf to add to their efficacy.[11] For a person to wear something, as if a part of himself, which has a value of its own, adds to his own value and resisting power. On the same line of reasoning, metals of worth are the more useful in warding off ghostly enemies. In European as in Semitic folklore, the most efficacious bullet against a witch is one of silver, or a crooked sixpence;[12] but all metals have efficacy in this direction.

The property of resistance is common to most metals; the precious metals possess the further properties of beauty and value. The strength and hardness of iron make it a favourite charm.

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[1] A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den indischen Archipel*, The Hague, 1906, p. 164.

[2] *GB*³, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, ii. 154, quoting Kruijt, in *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xxxix. [1895] 23 f., xl. [1896] 10 f.

[3] J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., iv. 332, 328.

[4] *Ib.* iv. 332 f.

[5] *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 80.

[6] *GB*³, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 287 ff.

[7] Skeat, p. 188.

[8] W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, London, 1883, p. 174.

[9] *Ib.* p. 176.

[10] Tylor, *PC*⁴, London, 1903, ii. 302 f.; cf. H. Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 81, 88 f.

[11] Rājendralāla Mitra, *Indo-Aryans*, Calcutta, 1881, i. 241.

[12] De Groot, iv. 331 f.

[13] *SBE* xxv. [1886] 189.

[1] Gowland, *JRAI* xlii. 247 f.

[2] *SBE* v. [1880] 183.

[3] *Ib.* p. 375 f.; M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914, pp. 37, 94, 232 f.

[4] *SBE* xliv. [1900] 215.

[5] De Groot, iii. 955, 957.

[6] *SBE* xliv. 303 f.

[7] De Groot, iv. 331, 330.

[8] *Ib.* i. 281.

[9] Black, p. 182.

[10] W. L. Hildburgh, in *JRAI* xxxix. 402 f.

[11] *Ib.* p. 406.

[12] *GB*³, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 316.

To keep off evil spirits, mourners in India carry a piece of iron—a key or a knife or any iron object. In Scotland after a death a piece of iron was placed in all the provisions in the house 'to prevent death from entering them,' and similar customs obtain in Ceylon and Morocco.[1] 'When Scotch fishermen were at sea, and one of them happened to take the name of God in vain, the first man who heard him called out "Cauld airn," at which every man of the crew grasped the nearest bit of iron and held it between his hands.'[2] To this day in parts of Scotland there survives a queer superstition about 'pigs' and 'iron.' It is unlucky to utter the words 'sow,' 'swine,' or 'pig' when fishing;[3] if you hear a man do so, you must shout 'Cold iron.'

It is a mere coincidence that in modern medicine iron is used as a tonic and that in early culture its 'strength' was absorbed by men.

The people of Nias wear iron arm-rings to keep off evil spirits or witchcraft; and they place iron by the side of sleeping infants for the same purpose. In Sarawak biting a piece of iron is a similar protection. The Torajas believe that iron strengthens one's soul, and hold ceremonies at smithies for this purpose. The people of Halmahera drink water in which iron has been dipped.[4] In Surinam iron arm-rings are supposed to strengthen the wearer.[5]

Several Malay sultans have in their regalia a sacred lump of iron, 'a piece of old scrap-iron with supernatural powers.'[6] Long iron nails are used by the Malays to protect new-born infants, betel-nut scissors to drive away evil spirits from the dead, and a sword is put in a strange river before a man will drink of it. When eating alone in the forest a man will sit on his sword, not only to drive away evil but to 'confirm' himself. Such iron implements are called 'representatives of iron.'[7] Scraps of iron are used in ointments for curing the sick.[8]

The supernatural power of a sharp instrument is, of course, to be added in many cases to the intrinsic power of iron and steel as such.

Lead appears but rarely in superstition. The Atharvaveda speaks[9] of a charm against demons and sorcerers by means of lead. Here, as in mediæval Europe and classical antiquity, the softness and malleability of the metal, and perhaps its weight, were possibly connected with ideas of image-making, for which it is as convenient as wax. The practice of injuring a person by damaging his image or effigy is world-wide. Curses inscribed on leaden tablets were common objects of Greek and Roman superstition; a leaden arrow, in classical belief, destroyed love.[10]

The virtues of metal may be enhanced, as is seen in the last-cited cases, by the form and purpose of the manufactured article. The ring has the additional advantage of enclosing and keeping safe; the coin has the further values of currency and of the personality whose head is stamped on the obverse. British folklore adapted the royal 'touch' for King's Evil by using crown-pieces bearing the head of King Charles I. Sufferers from paralysis or rheumatism collected coppers from the charitable at the church-door, and these were commuted into silver rings which were worn to cure the infirmity.[11]

The acoustic properties of metals have also been important in popular religion.

'The idea that the sound of brass or iron has power to put spirits to flight prevailed also in classical antiquity, from which it may have been inherited by mediæval Christianity.'[12]

In the Far East the virtues of the gong as a repeller of evil are well known. Brass is considered by the Chinese the most effective metal for repelling demons;[13] the sound of a brass instrument is the most terrifying.

A remarkable set of beliefs and practices has a strong tabu against the use of iron and the substitution of other metals or substances, previously used or not. These rules usually apply to critical circumstances and persons.

Iron was not allowed to touch the body of the king of Korea. The Archon of Platæa was forbidden to touch iron. Tools of iron might not be introduced into Greek temples, and the Arval Brothers offered an expiatory sacrifice when an iron graving-tool was used. Roman priests were not allowed iron razors. The hair of the Flamen Dialis might be cut only with a bronze knife. It appears that the Greeks ascribed purificatory powers to bronze. The Pawnees, Hopis, Hottentots, and Gold Coast Negroes retain stone implements for sacred purposes. Circumcision is performed with a quartz knife by the Hottentots and the Ovambo.[1] Among the Damaras blood was ceremonially drawn from the slayer of a man or a lion, but with a flint knife.[2] The druids cut the sacred mistletoe with a golden sickle. When making need-fire, the Scots removed all iron from their persons. In making the Yule-tide fire-wheel (*clavie*), the hammering must be done with a stone. Similar tabus were observed in ancient Palestine and Italy. No iron tool was employed in making Hebrew altars or in the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. The Roman Pons Sublicius, a sacred bridge, was made and repaired without any use of iron or even bronze. Hindus have believed the use of iron for buildings to be productive of epidemics.[3]

Frazer considers that the tabu against iron in ceremonial 'perhaps dates from that early time in the history of society when iron was still a novelty, and as such was viewed by many with suspicion and dislike.'[4] Thus, when iron ploughs were introduced in Poland, some bad harvests followed, and the farmers reverted to the wooden implements.[5] The hypothesis is inconclusive. Iron and steel are used in virtue of their death-dealing qualities to ward off supernatural (no less than physical) evil, and weapons made from them are essentially dangerous weapons. Now, ceremonies practised at critical seasons or with reference to persons or things in a critical and sensitive condition call for special treatment with special apparatus, or at least for peculiar delicacy and care. This attitude is quite a sufficient reason for the employment of less dangerous tools, such as flint, quartz, or the human hand in critical operations, and it also sufficiently explains the ceremonial use of flint or bronze instead of iron, and particularly the use of gold or silver in connexion with very sacred persons or things. In Morocco the last sheaf of harvest is regarded as an incarnation of the *baraka* of the crop. It may not be cut with a sickle of steel or iron, but is plucked with the hand. Compare with this the Moroccan custom of placing steel and salt underneath the stack of wheat in order to keep off the attacks of *znūn*.[6] In the first case, steel is evidently too dangerous a substance for dealing with the delicate sanctity of the Bride of the Fields; in the second, its very dangerousness makes it an ideal defence. It is quite possible that in certain sacred operations—*e.g.*, circumcision and cutting the mistletoe—the phenomenon of rust, indicating decay, may also have been a deterrent from the use of iron. This, or the general notion of the dangerousness of hard metals, may have inspired the Chinese rule that metal buttons may not be used on grave-clothes. They would 'give trouble to the dead by injuring his body while it is decaying in the grave.'[7] On the other hand, the Chinese use gold, jade, and mercury to retard the decay and facilitate the future revival of the dead.

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[1] *PNQ* iii. [1886] 60; W. Gregor, *Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland*, London, 1881, p. 206; *PC^4* i. 140; F. Liebrecht, *Gervase von Tilbury*, Hanover, 1856, p. 99 ff.; R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908, p. xxix.

[2] *GB^3*, pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 233.

[3] *Ib.* note.

[4] Kruijt, *Het Animisme*, pp. 161, 163.

[5] K. Martin, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde von Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxv. [1886] 24.

[6] Skeat, p. 273, note.

[7] *Ib.* p. 274.

[8] *Ib.* p. 429.

[9] i. 16.

[10] *Myth. Vat.* III. xi. 18.

[11] Black, pp. 142 f., 174.

[12] J. G. Frazer, in *JAI* xv. [1886] 88.

[13] De Groot, vi. 944 f.

[1] *GB^3*, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 227; W. E. Griffis, *Corea*, London, 1882, p. 219; Plut. *Aristides*, xxi., *Præcepta ger. reipub.*, xxvi. f.; G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, Berlin, 1874, p. 128 ff.; Macrobius, *Sat.* v. xix. 13; schol. on Theocritus, ii. 36; G. B. Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories*, New York, 1889, p. 253; J. G. Bourke, *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, London, 1884, p. 178 f.; T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, do. 1881, p. 22; *GB^3*, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 227.

[2] *GB^3*, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 176.

[3] E. S. Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, p. 306; C. F. G. Cumming, *In the Hebrides*^{2}, do. 1883, p. 226; 1 K 6^7, Ex 20^{25}; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* iii. 45, v. 24; Pliny, *HN* xxxvi. 100; *IA* x. [1881] 364.

[4] *GB^3*, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 230.

[5] *Ib.* p. 232.

[6] E. Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs, etc., in Morocco*, Helsingfors, 1913, p. 25 ff.

[7] De Groot, i. 64.

2. Minerals.—The religious associations of minerals in general are fewer and less marked than those of metals, except in the case of salt. The use, however, of stones of various sorts and shapes as fetishes and vehicles of magic is very widely spread; but, as it demands a special study (see art. STONES), it is touched upon here only to illustrate the general attitude towards the mineral world.

Australian medicine-men possess sacred stones full of strength, more or less regarded as 'living spirits.' They swallow them or rub their heads with them to acquire their virtue.[1] In Melanesia magic and worship are closely connected with sacred stones. The stone is not the *vui* (the spirit) nor is the *vui* in the stone, but there is a 'connexion.' The stone is, as it were, the 'outward part' or 'organ' of the *vui*, and the owner of such a stone is its priest.[2] These stones are kept in houses in order to bring *mana* to the inmates. There are special stones for promoting the growth of the crops and for bringing rain or sunshine. The stone is rubbed with food—*e.g.*, coco-nut—to induce it to act. Food placed on a stone and then eaten gives *mana* to the eater.[3]

Both shape and material are concerned in the prestige of sacred stones.

The Australians are partial to a small round black stone, which is easily manipulated; the medicine-man cures a disease by pretending to extract such a stone from the patient's body.[4] In some tribes every man carried a round black pebble of magic power, *bulk*; placing this in contact with anything coming from an enemy sent the magic force into his body, procuring his death or sickness.[5] Rock-crystal, or quartz, is a favourite material for these purposes.[6] Australian medicine-men used bits of rock-crystal for making rain, curing or causing disease, and poisoning water. To cure disease they would extract a piece of rock-crystal, alleging that a hostile sorcerer had placed it in the patient's body.[7] To make rain the sorcerer breaks off a piece of rock-crystal and spits it towards the sky.[8] White quartz is used for this purpose in Queensland. The stones are fixed to a stick and placed at the bottom of a pool, while in some parts a quartz crystal is ground to powder, which is scattered over the women, who pretend that it is rain,[9] the liquid appearance of the crystal possibly suggesting its connexion with rain. The Wa-wamba of Central Africa anoint a rain-stone and place it in water; Mongolians use a bezoar stone.[10] In the Banks' Islands a round stone, called 'sunstone' (*vat loa*), is decorated with radiating feathers and hung in a tree to produce sunshine.[11] In New Guinea a 'wind-stone' is tapped with a stick to produce wind. If it were struck heavily, a hurricane would result. The people of Vancouver have a number of stones, each representing a particular wind, and the required wind is obtained by slightly moving the corresponding stone.[12] Pebbles, being obviously suitable for counting (cf. *calculus*), are naturally used as representatives of persons; in Scottish folk-ritual at Hallowe'en each member of a family is represented by a stone.[13] In Greece a black stone is placed on the head to produce strength, and people carry stones on their heads while jumping over the bonfire.[14]

The use of crystals of quartz or other mineral for 'seeing' is world-wide, and needs no special illustration here (see art. CRYSTAL-GAZING). Again there is to be noted the analogy between the crystal and the liquid stage.

In the Middle Ages the term 'bezoar' covered mineral as well as animal concretions.[15] One variety was the 'madstone,' curative of madness and poisoning.[16] The adder-stone was worn to cure whooping-cough, amber to ward off croup, the snake-stone to remove serpent's poison, the loadstone to cure rheumatism, in recent Scottish custom.[17] Precious stones particularly have in all ages commanded interest by their unique beauty of colour, sparkle, or phosphorescence. The Greeks wore 'amethysts' to prevent intoxication; agate was a panacea of disease; the bloodstone checked bleeding.[1]

The lore of jewels is a subject in itself, but mainly built up of fanciful analogy rather than of genuine superstition. But the Dayaks, among others, suggest the same elements of animism as have prevailed in the case of metals, when they regard a special form of diamond as 'the soul of diamonds.'[2] At the other end of the scale there is the modern English burglar who carries a lump of coal in his pocket as a charm, possibly a charm for invisibility.[3]

The ceremonial use of flint implements for extraordinary purposes, while steel is used for ordinary, has been alluded to above.

The fine jade of China has attracted to itself almost a special cult; it is identified with the heavens, since all precious substances are from the sky. Like gold, it possesses intense vital force, or *yang*. Some jade is of a beautiful azure colour—a fact with which its heavenly origin may be connected. Chinese folklore has stories of jade-wine flowing from mythical rocks of jade. Jade prolongs life, and even produces immortality.[4] In folk-medicine it was used as a sovereign panacea, and administered as a decoction or ointment. Jade-water was procurable from streams flowing by jade rocks, or was made with powdered jade.[5] In accordance with the idea that death is a protracted sleep, the Chinese place in the mouth of the dead objects possessing vital energy (*yang*) to facilitate revival and retard decomposition, such being jade, jasper, nephrite, and agate. Jade, the most precious mineral, being identified with the heavens, intensifies the souls, or *shen*, of those in contact with it; and the same was the case with gold, sometimes identified with jade.[6]

'When the Sovereign fasts, the jade which he swallows is procured by the Manager of the Jade Stores.'

This would accelerate his intercourse with disembodied *shen*, the object of his fast.[7] There were many stories of a luminous variety of jade.[8]

The discovery of salt[9] and its employment in food-preparation constitute an epoch as socially important as the discovery of metals. Neither has been achieved by the Australian natives; and many metal-using savages are still ignorant of salt. But its discovery generally comes early in culture, though long subsequent, in most cases, to the discovery of metal. Owing, perhaps, to its quasi-medicinal properties, as much as to its effect on food stuffs, salt has attracted an extraordinary amount of superstitious and religious attention. The bond, *e.g.*, created in Arabic and other customs by eating salt together is in the highest degree sacred, and may deserve the name of 'salt-communion.' Very holy obligations were 'covenants of salt.'[10] Salt has analogies with blood and all 'strong foods'; on another side it has analogies with 'strong' metals like iron. Primitive peoples ignorant of salt are supposed to correct its absence from their food by drinking fresh blood.

Harmless superstitions about salt have lasted into modern civilization, owing to its having been a sort of symbol of food-communion and of the common meal.

In mediævalism the salt separated the family from the retainers in hall.[11] In Leonardo's fresco of the Last Supper, Judas was to be recognized by the salt-cellar which he had overturned; the detail is visible in the copy by his pupil, Marco d' Oggiono, in the Brera Gallery.

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[1] K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, London, 1905, p. 35.
[2] R. H. Codrington, in *JAI* x. [1881] 275.
[3] *Ib.* pp. 276, 278.
[4] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, Melbourne, 1881, p. 59.
[5] L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, Melbourne, 1880, p. 251 f.
[6] It is shown as a mystery to boys at initiation (Fison and Howitt, p. 283).
[7] E. J. Eyre, *Expeditions into Central Australia*, London, 1845, ii. 316, 359.
[8] A. L. P. Cameron, in *JAI* xiv. [1885] 362.
[9] W. E. Roth, *North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane and London, 1897, p. 167 ff.
[10] *GB^3*, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 305.
[11] Codrington, *JAI* x. 278.
[12] *GB^3*, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 322.
[13] *Ib.* pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 290.
[14] *Ib.* p. 211 f.
[15] Black, p. 145 ff.
[16] *Ib.* pp. 144, 146.
[17] *Ib.* p. 182.

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[1] Black, p. 176.
[2] Kruijt, *Het Animisme*, p. 160.
[3] Black, p. 219.
[4] De Groot, i. 275, 272 f.
[5] *Ib.* iv. 330.
[6] *Ib.* i. 269, iv. 328.
[7] *Ib.* i. 271.
[8] *Ib.* i. 277 f.
[9] First found in the form of rock-salt and marsh-salt.
[10] Nu 18^{19}, 2 Ch 13^5; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*^{2}, Berlin, 1897, pp. 124, 189; I. Benzinger, *JE*, *s.v.* 'Salt.'
[11] The Latin *salinum* was placed in the centre of the table and rendered it sacred.

Salt has been much used in sacrifice, indicating the analogy between sacred and ordinary meals. *Mola salsa* was offered by the Latins to the *lares*, and salt was sprinkled by Greeks and Latins on the head of the sacrificial animal. On the other hand, the Rabbi Chia, in the 3rd cent., stated that in all salt there is some portion of the salt and sulphur of Sodom, which blinds the person whose eyes it touches.[1] We thus get the two poles usually found belonging to sacred substances, positive and negative, *optimum* and *pessimum*.

Salt has been widely used in protective and curative magic, and the association of ideas may be the same as is seen in the word 'preserve.'

Lao and Siamese women after childbirth washed themselves daily with salt and water, salt being a protection against witchcraft.[2] Moors carry salt in the dark to keep off ghosts,[3] and in Teutonic countries it is placed near infants to protect them.[4] In Morocco it is put in the wheat stack to guard it from *znūn*, and is sprinkled on the hand-mill before grinding the corn.[5] British folk-custom has the charm of carrying salt withershins round a baby before taking it to be baptized.

Salt is a cure for many sicknesses, and procures disenchantment.[6] Like blood and iron, it is a favourite medium for the oath; in early Teutonic custom the swearer dipped his finger in salt, and then took the oath.[7]

As with other trades, sacredness has attached to salt-mining.

In Laos salt-miners observe continence and other tabus.[8] In ancient Germany salt-working was a sacred business.[9] The peoples of Central America worshipped a 'goddess,' Huixtocihuatl, of salt, who was believed to have invented the pan-process.[10]

Prohibitions against the use of salt are instructive for the theory of tabu. Certain professions, and persons in certain states, are forbidden to use salt, as they are forbidden other critical substances.

Mourners may eat no salt among Hindus, Africans, and other peoples. Priests and medicine-men (as among the Egyptians, the Dards, and Central and S. Americans) may eat no salt throughout their lives.[11] The salt-tabu of the Egyptian priesthood is especially emphasized.[12] When travelling, the Central African might not use salt. If he did, and his wives were not behaving well, the salt would act as 'a corrosive poison.'[13] During the ceremonies of firstfruits among the Yuchi Indians of California continence and abstinence from salt are ordered,[14] as is also the case after a solemn communion with a god by the Huichol Indians.[15] No salt may be used in cooking the flesh of the beast or any food at the Gilyak Bear Festival.[16] Some Dayaks after taking heads may not eat salt, or touch iron, or have intercourse with women. Baganda fishermen have the same combined tabu.[17] In Indian ritual the young student, after being brought to his teacher, and the newly-married pair must abstain from salted food for three days.[18]

The following is a luminous instance of the ætiology of the associations of salt.

Among the Nyanja-speaking tribes of British Central Africa the girl at puberty is secluded and may eat no salt. After the seclusion she is married. On the wedding-night she puts salt in the relish which she cooks, and this is set out next morning for relatives to rub on themselves, though not if the husband is impotent.[19]

On this and similar customs, viz. that women at their periods may not put salt in food, lest husband and children contract a disease, Frazer says:

> Abstinence from salt is somehow associated with the idea of chastity. 'Primitive man connects salt with the intercourse of the sexes and therefore forbids the use of that condiment in a variety of circumstances.'[1]

A psychological analysis is assisted by the Rabbinical theory of *kilayim*, the mixture of things differing in species or substance, and by the principle underlying the contrast between Apollo and Dionysus in Greek thought. Persons in a crisis must be chaste; the keynote of chastity is avoidance of alien influence, of mixture. The Apolline ideal is static, that of Dionysus dynamic. The votaries of the latter god celebrated orgies with consumption of flesh, wine, and blood. The principle of the orgy, whether alcoholic, cannibal, flesh-eating, or sexual, is distinctly dynamic—a stimulation of human energy to the utmost degree. Movement and change are among its characteristics; and, in a humble way, salt, as producing chemical change, is in the list of dynamic vehicles. In connexion with sexual intercourse it is analogous to leaven; there is some idea of the process of fermentation, so to say, about the sexual act, as well as the expenditure of vital energy in an ultra-dynamic process.

Alum and sulphur[2] are used, but in a far less degree, as magical substances. Alum is an Egyptian charm against the evil eye,[3] and both are employed in Morocco to protect ploughing oxen from the evil eye.[4] Cinnabar was used in Greek charms for producing invisibility.[5]

The use of coloured ochres, chalk, pipeclay, gypsum, kaolin, and other earths for decorating the body on ceremonial occasions is very widely spread in the lower culture. Magical ideas naturally attach to bituminous deposits and such sources of rock-oil as are found in Western Asia. Chinese folklore includes magical use of oil.[6]

3. In metaphor.—The metallic and mineral world has naturally developed a large literature of metaphor. Gold is in the OT a symbol of purity, of nobility, and of value, and 'brass' (= bronze or copper) is used in the OT as a symbol of hardness.[7] Iron connotes strength and severity—'a rod of iron,' 'a yoke of iron,' 'walls of iron,' 'an iron sinew.'[8] A teacher of the law, said the Rabbis, must be as hard as iron. Being also breakable into pieces, it is a symbol of the Tôrāh with its numerous parts.[9]

The symbolism of Dn 2 and 7 comparing the kingdoms of the world to metals was popular in mediæval literature.

'Gold is Babylon; silver is Media; copper is Greece; iron is not mentioned either at the time of the First or of the Second Temple, since it symbolises Edom (Rome), which had destroyed the Temple.'[10] The Iranians had a longer series of ages—gold, silver, brass, copper, tin, steel, iron.[11]

Philo elaborated a metallic symbolism: gold is wisdom; copper perception.[12] The Sabians associated each planet with a metal, of which the statues of the planetary god were made;[13] and in Mithraism the soul passed through seven gates, each of a different metal — lead, tin, bronze, iron, alloy, silver, and gold—and each corresponding to a planet as well as to a psychic quality.[14] Hesiod's famous metallic series of the ages of the world inspired a considerable literature. The first age, which was the best, was golden; that in which we live is iron.[1] The principle behind this is æsthetic.

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[1] J. Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs depuis Jésus-Christ*, The Hague, 1716–26, iv. 1224.

[2] C. Bock, *Temples and Elephants*, London, 1884, p. 260.

[3] A. Leared, *Morocco and the Moors*, London, 1876, p. 275; Black, p. 131.

[4] Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, iii. 1049.

[5] Westermarck, pp. 27, 31, 47.

[6] Black, p. 131.

[7] Grimm, iii. 1049.

[8] *GB*^{3}, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 200.

[9] Grimm, iii. 1047.

[10] *NR* iii. 369 f.; *GB*^{3}, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, p. 283, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 244.

[11] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, iv. 223–227.

[12] Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* xxxii.

[13] J. Macdonald, in *JAI* xxii. [1893] 104.

[14] F. G. Speck, *The Yuchi Indians*, Philadelphia, 1909, p. 86 f.

[15] *GB*^{3}, pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, ii. 93, quoting C. Lumholtz.

[16] *Ib.* p. 195, quoting L. von Schrenck.

[17] *GB*^{3}, pt. ii., *Taboo*, pp. 167, 194.

[18] Oldenberg, pp. 411, 413 f.

[19] *GB*^{3}, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 26 f., quoting R. S. Rattray.

[1] *GB*^{3}, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 28.

[2] O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, p. 889.

[3] E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London, 1836, i. 323.

[4] Westermarck, p. 16.

[5] Thompson, p. lxvii.

[6] De Groot, i. 28.

[7] Job 23^{10}, La 4^{1}, Is 13^{12}, Dt 28^{23}, Lv 26^{19}, Job 6^{12} 40^{18}, Is 48^{4}.

[8] Dt 28^{48}, Ps 2^{9}, 2 Mac 11^{9}, Is 48^{4}.

[9] *Ta'an.* 4*a*; *Suk.* 52*b*; S. Krauss, art. 'Metals,' in *JE*.

[10] Krauss, *loc. cit.*

[11] *SBE* v. 199 ff.

[12] *De Leg. Alleg.* (Mangey, i. 25) iii. 4.

[13] Krauss, *loc. cit.*; J. H. Gladstone, in *Nature*, April 1898, pp. 594–598.

[14] Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 22; cf. Gruppe, p. 1037.

In Italy Saturn and in Greece Cronus 'was believed to have been a king who reigned in heaven or on earth during the blissful Golden Age, when men passed their days like gods without toil or sorrow, when life was a long round of festivity, and death came like sleep, sudden but gentle, announced by none of his sad forerunners, the ailments and infirmities of age.'[2]

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A. E. CRAWLEY.

METAMORPHOSIS.—**1. Evidence for the belief.**—Metamorphosis, transformation, or shape-shifting is a power universally believed in at low levels of culture. It survives at higher levels, especially among the masses, though it is also found in myths which are current among the educated or where popular belief tends to take the form of dogma, as when 17th cent. theologians accepted the werwolf superstition as a fact. The evidence for this universal belief is copious, and is found in myths, legends, and sagas, as well as in poetry from all lands; in folk-tales, of which it is one of the commonest themes or the most important incident, as, *e.g.*, in the 'Transformation Combat' or the 'True Bride' cycle;[3] in existing folk-belief, whether among savages or the peasantry; in the writings of modern travellers, explorers, and missionaries, as well as in older literature—Egyptian, Babylonian, Hindu, Greek, and Celtic.

2. Varieties of metamorphosis.—Metamorphosis is asserted of every order of beings and even of inanimate things. (*a*) As far as men are concerned, where the belief is current all men do not necessarily claim the power of transformation, but any man will readily admit that others have this power. Hence we have beliefs in the existence of distant tribes or groups possessing the power of transformation. Generally those who are credited with this power are medicine-men, shamans, sorcerers, wizards, and witches. To multiply instances is unnecessary; suffice it to say that, wherever such a class of people is found, shape-shifting is always one of their magical powers. No European peasant believes that he can change his form, though his savage ancestors did so; with him the belief survives in his firmly-rooted opinion that every witch can do so (see LYCANTHROPY). Among certain peoples, however, every one is believed to have some connexion with an animal form. Thus among the nations of W. Africa the bush-soul, one of the souls which each man possesses, exists in an animal; in Indo-China one of the souls of a man has the power of appearing as a man or as a wer-animal. This aspect of the subject is fully discussed under LYCANTHROPY.

While metamorphosis into animal form is more general, that into tree, plant, or flower is also found here and there. Besides this, numerous myths and tales from all parts of the world explain the origin of some tree or plant by saying that it sprang from the body—the arm, leg, head, or blood of some human being. Similarly, men are sometimes held to have sprung from plants. Where a tree springs from a dead human being the identity of the two is obvious, and here the stories may be based on the fact that trees often do grow from the barrows of the dead. They are supposed to be tenanted by the dead man's spirit or are identified with the man himself.[4]

The medicine-man or wizard has also the power of transforming others. He may supply them with magical means to change their form, but more usually he himself casts a spell upon them and transforms them. This is usually done through malice—and no incident is commoner in folk-tales than this—but it is sometimes meted out as a punishment, though transformation for this reason is generally the act of the gods. In such cases the transformation may be for a longer or shorter period, but it is often of a permanent character.

Instances are found at all levels of culture. Classical mythology knew many such punishments for impiety. The incident enters also into Christian tradition, though it is derived from earlier sources. Thus Christ is represented as a tired traveller who is refused food or on whom a trick is played by a peasant or a Jew, and the result for them is the punishment of transformation to animal form. In many cases groups of megaliths are said to be human beings changed to stone for some act of impiety—the idea perhaps originating in the belief that the stones embody ghosts of the dead buried beneath them.[1] Other instances of petrifaction, in some cases also for a punishment, are found in all mythologies—Australian, American Indian, Greek, Hebrew, etc. The idea of petrifaction may be connected with the fact that many rocks bear some resemblance to human form.[2] In folk-tales the power of petrifying is usually in the hands of witch or wizard, and a touch with a wand, binding the victim with the witch's hair, or the repeating of a spell suffices. Cf. Medusa's head.

(*b*) The power of transformation on the part of men was reflected back upon the gods in all mythologies, from the lowest to the highest—Bushman, Australian, Polynesian, Peruvian, Celtic, Greek, Hindu, Egyptian, etc. There was no limit to the forms which they could take, animal or human, in order to serve their purposes—to escape danger, to benefit men, to carry on amours, and the like. As in Egypt, men looked forward to being able to assume any form in a future life, like the gods.[3] The gods, too, as has been seen, had the power of causing metamorphosis as a punishment to men.

(*c*) Demons and supernatural beings of all kinds were also believed to have similar powers. The *jinn* of Arabia, the *bhūts* of India, the devils of early and mediæval Christianity,[4] the water-horses and other monstrous beings of popular belief, can assume any shape to carry out their ends. Often the form is that of an attractive girl or youth who lures away a human victim to destruction. Ghosts of the dead may appear as animals, or project themselves into animals temporarily, but there is a wide-spread belief in their more permanent assumption of animal forms (see ANIMALS, vol. i. p. 493ᵇ).

(*d*) Animals themselves are sometimes believed to be capable of self-transformation. This is true of the fox in Japan and China and of the tiger in Malaysia (see LYCANTHROPY), and the seal and similar animals are well known in folk-belief to have the power of changing into human shape.

(*e*) Inanimate objects may also be changed into other forms by magical power. The best instance of this occurs in the Transformation Flight group of *Märchen*, in which, *e.g.*, a girl escaping with her lover throws down small objects which become a forest, a mountain, or a lake, and impede the progress of the pursuer (see MacCulloch, *CF*, p. 171 ff.). Examples of this are found not only in European and Asiatic folk-tales, but in Samoan, American Indian, and Basuto stories.

3. Origin of the belief in metamorphosis.—An examination of the enormous mass of evidence for the belief in metamorphosis suggests that man's idea of personality, or perhaps rather of the forms in which personality may lurk, is an exceedingly fluid one. There has everywhere been a stage of human thought when no clear distinction was drawn between man and the rest of the universe, between human and animal, between animate and inanimate. In this stage of thought animate and inanimate are equally believed to be alive; men, animals, and things have the same feelings and passions, or act and speak in the same manner. Or, when the idea of soul or spirit is attained, all are equally alive by virtue of the possession of such a soul or spirit. Such beliefs in the underlying similarity of all things hindered men from having a clear notion of personality. It was not fixed and unalterable; it might assume various forms. There was thus obtained a practical, working belief that men, animals, and spirits or gods, as well as inanimate things, might assume some other form than their own from time to time. Hence it is not surprising to the savage if what he now sees as a man he sees immediately after as an animal or a bush. Where the idea of spirit or soul exists, and where it is thought that the spirit can leave its containing body, nothing is easier than to believe further that it can enter for a time into an animal or a tree. Other lines of thought also served to support the belief in the solidarity of men, animals, and things, and in metamorphosis. Totemism, with its assertion of the kinship of a human clan and an animal or plant species, has given rise to various myths which are rooted in this primitive stratum of thought, and in turn have served to deepen it. Thus it is sometimes thought that at first 'all animals were as men,' as the Algonquins say,[1] and only later took animal form. As the Hareskin Indians think, in the beginning men were animals and animals were men, but afterwards changed their rôles; or, according to the Zuñis, all things were originally animals, but now men, trees, etc., are degenerate animals with souls which can leave their bodies.[2] Again, men were once animals who became men—a common Polynesian belief.[3] Where a clan of one totem dislike the animal which is the totem of another distant clan, they may come to regard the men of that clan as possessed of its nature and liable to assume its form. In all such cases, whether totemistic in origin or not, it is easy to see that men and animals might be supposed to revert temporarily to the other forms which once were theirs.

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[1] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 109–201.

[2] *GB*³, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 353.

[3] J. A. MacCulloch, *CF*, pp. 159, 164 f.

[4] *Ib.* p. 115; G. Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, London, 1897, p. 147 f.; A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*², i. 154 f.

[1] A. J. Evans, 'The Rollright Stones and their Folk-lore,' *FL* vi. [1895] 5 ff.

[2] L. J. B. Bérenger-Féraud, *Superstitions et survivances*, Paris, 1896, ii. 371 ff.; MacCulloch, *CF*, p. 156; A. Lang, *op. cit.* i. 151 ff.

[3] E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*², London, 1901, p. 230 f.

[4] L. F. A. Maury, *La Magie*, Paris, 1860, p. 103; cf. 2 Co 11^{14} and the *Apocryphal Acts*, *passim*.

It is also possible that an analogy between the habits of certain animals and those of human beings, in life or after death, may have aided the belief in metamorphosis. Thus, where ghosts of men are believed to return to the house in which they lived and which is also the haunt of such animals as snakes or rats, it is easy to imagine that these are forms of the dead man. This is the case in Zululand with the snake. Night-roaming animals like the cat, tiger, or wolf might be identified, as they were, with witches, who also roamed in darkness.

Hallucination might be a potent factor in aiding the belief. Savages have often declared that they have witnessed such a change of shape. The preconceived idea suggested the hallucination, and it in turn gave support to the belief. Or persons to whom drugs had been administered might have hallucinations of themselves as animals, as in classical and mediæval instances (see LYCANTHROPY, § 2). Madness, again, has also had its part to play. Its victims, especially where the belief in metamorphosis prevails, often imitate the cries, motions, and actions of animals, and this could only serve to establish the belief more securely. The wer-wolf superstition was largely moulded out of such cases of mania (see LYCANTHROPY, § 3). The custom of dressing in an animal skin at sacred dances, or before a bear-hunt, or of wearing animal-masks in war, would also aid the belief in metamorphosis. The frenzy of the dance would suggest self-transformation to the dancer, while the onlookers or the enemy would imagine that they saw human animals. There is no doubt also that medicine-men have often strengthened the belief by exploiting it—*e.g.*, dressing as an animal, imitating its howls and its actions.[1]

In practice the belief in the power of metamorphosis of men is generally limited to the medicine-man, sorcerer, etc., who transforms his victims usually by a spell, talisman, or potion. Self-transformation is caused in many ways, most of them magical. Sometimes, however, it is the result of a divine, supernatural, or demoniac gift.

See, for a further discussion and examples, the art. LYCANTHROPY; cf. also TRANSMIGRATION.

LITERATURE.—A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*², London, 1899, i. 118 f., 150 f.; J. A. MacCulloch, *CF*, do. 1905, ch. vi., 'Transformation'; E. B. Tylor, *PC*⁴, do. 1903, *passim*.

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METAPHYSICS.—It is not easy to give a quite satisfactory definition of metaphysics. The name throws no real light upon its nature, having referred originally merely to the order of some Aristotelian treatises; but it suggests that the subject is concerned with topics that can be properly dealt with only after the more special sciences (which may be taken to include the vital sciences as well as the more purely physical ones) have been discussed. For the purpose of this sketch, it may suffice to state that the subject of metaphysics is the most fundamental problems of knowledge and reality. It will be convenient to divide the treatment of it into three parts: (1) the general nature of knowledge, (2) the conception of reality and its chief applications, and (3) the bearings of metaphysics on other subjects, especially ethics and religion.

1. Knowledge.—The first thing that has to be noticed about knowledge is the ambiguity of the term. It is here employed in a very wide sense; but it is very commonly understood in a narrower one. Thus, knowledge is frequently distinguished from those modes of apprehension which are called sensation, perception, and imagination. It is thus confined to those modes of apprehension which involve definite thought or conception. Again, it is common, especially since the time of Kant, to contrast knowledge with belief. It is now customary to use the term 'cognition' to include all these modes of apprehension; and it is in this extended sense that the term is here employed. But even cognition is generally distinguished by recent psychologists from other modes of consciousness, which are called feeling, or affection, and willing, or conation. There are valid grounds for these distinctions, but it is important to remember that, so far as we are directly aware of these distinguishable aspects of our consciousness, they are, in the widest sense of the word, known or cognized. We apprehend pleasantness and unpleasantness and the fact of striving just as truly as we apprehend sounds or colours, trees or stars, triangles or systems of philosophy. There are, however, some differences in our ways of knowing which it is very necessary to bear in mind. The most fundamental are those that have been expressed by the terms 'simple apprehension and judgment,' 'immediacy and mediacy,' 'acquaintance and description,' 'enjoyment and contemplation,' 'experiencing and experienced.'[2] It may be well to take the last of these first. Whenever there is knowledge of any kind, there is some one who knows and something that is known. Knowledge does not exist *in vacuo*, but at some particular centre; and that centre is not primarily aware of itself, but of some particular object. Whenever any one reflects upon his knowledge, however, he at once becomes aware of this double aspect: he realizes not only that something is apprehended, but that he apprehends it. What exactly *he* is, and what the *something* is that he apprehends, are matters for further consideration; but the general fact can hardly be disputed. Now, when any one reflects further upon his knowledge, and especially when by intercourse with his fellowmen he is able to compare his own knowledge with that of others, he very soon comes to realize that some of the things that he apprehends are more closely connected with his particular way of apprehending them than others are. He finds that some things are cognized by others in substantially the same way in which they are cognized by him. To this class belong especially facts relating to number, to spatial and temporal order, to the forms of objects in space and time, and to the general conditions under which such objects occur. Such things come to be regarded as being in a special sense objective, *i.e.* as being independent of the particular nature of the being by whom they are apprehended. Some other things are more open to doubt in this respect. There is not the same amount of agreement about colours as there is about forms; and there is still more difference of opinion with regard to the extent to which beauty and ugliness, agreeableness and disagreeableness, are to be ascribed to particular objects that we apprehend. Thus we are led to distinguish some of the things that we know as not specially belonging to ourselves, but being simply objects that we contemplate; and others as being more peculiarly our own, things that we have or enjoy, things that are not merely experienced, but that are bound up with our attitude as experiencing. The things that appear to be most emphatically in the latter class are such characteristics as pleasantness and unpleasantness, beauty and ugliness, emotional experiences, values; but the division between these and such experiences as those of taste, smell, colour, etc., is not a very sharp one. Hence, instead of placing objects in one or other of these divisions, we may be led rather to recognize a subjective and an objective aspect in *all* modes of apprehension.[1]

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[1] C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends of New England*, London, 1884, p. 109.

[2] E. Petitot, *Traditions indiennes du Canada nord-ouest*, Paris, 1886, p. 275 f.; F. H. Cushing, *Zuñi Folk-Tales*, New York, 1901, Introd. p. ix.

[3] G. Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, London, 1884, pp. 296, 330.

[1] See M. Dobrizhoffer, *Account of the Abipones*, London, 1822, ii. 77: R. M. Dorman, *The Origin of Primitive Superstitions*, Philadelphia, 1881, p. 248; cf. LYCANTHROPY, § 3.

[2] These are the antitheses that are specially emphasized by G. F. Stout, W. Hamilton, B. Russell, S. Alexander, and C. Lloyd Morgan respectively.

Once this important distinction has been duly recognized, the next that claims our attention is that between immediate and mediate apprehension. Some things are known to us in a quite direct way, and cannot be doubted. When any one has an experience of pain, he may be very uncertain with regard to its source and even with regard to the part of his organism to which it is to be referred; and he may even have some difficulty in distinguishing clearly between the pain that he is experiencing and some other fact that he is experiencing or that he has experienced; but he cannot really doubt that he is having this experience, whatever he may be, and however the object of his experience is to be described or interpreted. Every man is in some degree 'a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief,' and he cannot have any doubt about the grief with which he is acquainted, though he may be quite unable to analyze or describe it, or to explain how it has arisen. As soon as we begin to analyze, to describe, or to explain, we enter into the region within which doubt is possible. Even the naming of an experience may involve some error;[1] for to name it implies that we class it along with some other experiences, and we may be wrong in supposing that it is essentially the same or similar. It may be that what I call my grief should be more properly characterized as simple unpleasantness or as resentment or remorse; and, when I think that I am grieving over my neighbour's misfortunes, I may in reality be considering rather the way in which they affect myself. Knowledge ceases to be immediate as soon as it ceases to be the simple apprehension of something and becomes, implicitly or explicitly, a judgment about something. Here also, however, we have to recognize differences of degree. Though we may conceivably be in error in thinking that grief is the right name for what we are experiencing, yet, if we are really 'acquainted with grief,' we can hardly be mistaken in thinking that what we are experiencing is of the same general kind as what we have experienced before. But we may easily pass to something that we cannot so immediately know. When Lady Constance says, 'Grief fills the place up of my absent child,' we are not likely to be ignorant of what she means by grief, and we can partly apprehend what the rest of her statement means; but, if we have never had any similar experience, our apprehension has very little immediacy. We may even be inclined to doubt whether it has any real meaning at all. It is a description of something that might be apprehended, but with which we do not happen to be acquainted.

Now, the various theories of knowledge turn largely on the distinction between what is immediate and what is mediate, and between what is subjective and what is objective. One theory of knowledge which, in different forms, has played a very conspicuous part in the history of philosophy is to the effect that we have no immediate knowledge of anything but what is essentially subjective. One of the most extreme forms of this theory is found in the doctrine of Descartes, that the only thing of which we are immediately certain is the existence of the self as a conscious or thinking being. What he really brings out, however, is rather that everything of which we are immediately conscious certainly exists as something apprehended. What thus certainly exists is a complex, including certain objects that are apprehended and the fact of their apprehension. But Descartes considered that the objects thus apprehended might be properly described as being 'in the mind,' and that the individual mind should be regarded as a persistent thing within which such objects are contained; and he called the objects 'ideas.' He was thus led to think that the individual mind exists both as something known, *i.e.* as an 'idea,' and as something that persists in a way that is independent of its being immediately known, whereas the other objects that are known are known only as having what he calls 'objective reality,' *i.e.* the kind of reality which consists simply in their being immediately known. But he recognized that *some* of these other objects carry with them the suggestion of a more complete reality than that which belongs to them in the simple fact of their immediate apprehension; and he sought, by various arguments, to give grounds to justify the belief in this more complete kind of reality. In doing this, he founded the doctrine which has been referred to as that of 'representative ideas,' which had a great influence on subsequent speculation. According to this doctrine, the individual mind may be compared to a picture-gallery, the pictures being 'ideas.' One of the pictures is the picture of itself, and that must be supposed to have been always in it. Some others, such as that of God, must also be supposed to have been always there. Some may be supposed to have been painted by itself. Some are daubs of no particular significance. But there are some that appear to be portraits; and these may be supposed to be the portraits of other beings outside the mind, and to have been, as it were, handed in by them. This is, no doubt, a somewhat crude way of stating it; but it appears to be substantially what Descartes sought to maintain; and, with some modifications, it reappears in the writings of several other philosophers. Berkeley dealt it a severe blow by contending that, if we see pictures only in a gallery, we have no ground for supposing that they ever exist in any other way than in a gallery; and Hume improved on this by arguing that, if we see only the pictures, the gallery is an unwarranted supposition. The metaphor that he uses is that of actors on a stage. We see the actors only, and have no reason to suppose that there is a stage. This reduced the whole doctrine almost to an absurdity; and the conception of 'representative ideas' was denounced with considerable force by Thomas Reid. What he had to put in its place, however, was not very clear. Kant took a more fruitful line by urging that we cannot without absurdity regard our knowledge as being confined to what is immediately apprehended by us at any time. We have to recognize certain fundamental orders, such as those of space, time, and causation, which carry us beyond our immediate data and inevitably suggest a coherent system of connexions. In his 'Refutation of Idealism' he urges, against Descartes and Berkeley, that the recognition of such a coherent order is more directly involved in the apprehension of objects distinct from the self than in the apprehension of the subject; and that our knowledge of the persistent reality of the self must, consequently, be regarded as derivative. He contends, however, that the order that we are bound to recognize in the objects which we apprehend is an order that can never be completely systematized, and must, consequently, be treated as 'phenomenal' and distinguished from the real order, which may be supposed to belong to 'things in themselves,' and which we are led to postulate chiefly on moral grounds. But Kant's doctrine carried conviction at least with regard to the necessity of recognizing that some kind of reality belongs to the more mediate forms of apprehension as well as to those that are more immediate. When the significance of this is fully realized, it leads to the doctrine that may be characterized as that of 'epistemological realism,' *i.e.* the doctrine that everything that we in any way cognize has a kind of reality which is not simply to be identified with the fact that it is immediately apprehended at a particular moment.

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[1] The lack of words to distinguish properly between the subjective and the objective aspects of cognition has been a great source of confusion. Sensation, *e.g.*, has had to do duty both for sensing and for what is sensed; and it is only very recently that it has been common to distinguish between perception and percept, conception and concept. Even now we do not readily grasp what Goethe meant when he said that all the thinking in the world (subjective activity) may not bring us to thought (the apprehension of an objective concept). It is largely the failure to realize this distinction that makes it so difficult for most people to understand such an 'Idealism' as that of Plato or Hegel, in which 'ideas,' or 'thoughts,' mean certain objective forms, orders, or universals. The 'New Realism' has greatly helped to make this distinction clearer.

[1] The difficult subject of error, its nature and conditions, cannot be here discussed. But see the references given at the end of this article.

The acceptance of a doctrine of this kind gives a new interest to the study of the objects of cognition. So long as these objects are regarded merely as a flow of presentations, the interest in them tends to be almost purely psychological—*i.e.* it is directed simply to the way in which they come to be apprehended by the individual consciousness. When they are regarded as things possessing permanent characteristics and permanent orders of their own, they become the subject-matter of an independent study, and may almost be said to have given rise to a new science. This is the science that has been called by Meinong *Gegenstandstheorie*. It is the attempt to distinguish and arrange the different kinds of objects that we apprehend. It is obvious that there is a very great variety of such objects, when this term is understood in its most comprehensive sense. We apprehend, *e.g.*, a great variety of sense-data—sounds, colours, pains, strains, and so forth; we apprehend a great variety of percepts—stones, plants, animals, etc.; we apprehend orders, such as those of time and space, intensive and qualitative differences, causal dependence, etc.; we apprehend hypotheses, valuations, distinctions of beauty and ugliness, good and evil, etc. The study of these corresponds to some extent to the doctrine of categories; but, when it is approached from this point of view, it becomes very much more comprehensive than any of the lists of categories that are commonly set forth; and, in fact, it has a rather different aim from that implied in any of these lists. The problems raised by any such attempt to distinguish and arrange the various types of objects are evidently of a fundamental character, and seem, therefore, to belong properly to the subject-matter of metaphysics. It is possible, however, to discuss some of them to a considerable extent without any definite attempt at a systematic metaphysical construction. This brief indication of the general nature of these problems must suffice here.

2. Reality.—The study of the theory of knowledge and *Gegenstandstheorie* leads to the recognition that, in one sense at least, there is no meaning in the antithesis between the real and the unreal. As Parmenides and Plato urged, pure non-being is not to be thought or spoken of. But there is still a sense in which the things that we apprehend may be said to be more or less real. Sometimes our apprehension of things is very incomplete; and, when we gain a fuller apprehension of them, we may be said to know them more truly. Again, the things that we know are in many cases parts of larger wholes; and, so long as we do not apprehend the wholes of which they are parts, we cannot be said to have a full apprehension even of the parts. This is at least the case when they are parts of an organic unity. We could not be said to know much about the brain if we did not understand the function which it fulfils in the life of the organism. Our apprehension of the part, in such a case, is not the apprehension of what is unreal; but it may be said to be less real when it is thus apprehended than it is when its relations to the whole are understood. And, if the universe is an organic whole, this distinction will apply to the apprehension of all the objects in it. Hence there may still be a sense in which it is legitimate to speak of an antithesis between appearance and reality, or of different degrees of reality, though both these expressions are open to some objection. Now, in apprehending and arranging the various objects of our cognition, we are at least trying to regard them as forming a complete cosmos, such that every object has a definite place in the total order; and constructive metaphysics, as distinguished from *Gegenstandstheorie*, tries to find the way in which the objects of our experience can be so regarded. Here we are met at the outset by various forms of scepticism. Such a scepticism as that of Hume, no doubt, is effectively removed by a more thorough doctrine of knowledge, such as that of Kant. But even Kant ends with the view that our knowledge is only of appearance, and that we can never hope to apprehend things as they are in themselves; and such an agnosticism is defended, in different ways, by a considerable number of philosophical writers. If it is strictly pressed, it means that we have to be content with the theory of knowledge, supplemented by *Gegenstandstheorie*. The doctrine of the newer Realists, of whom Meinong is one of the ablest representatives, tends in this direction, though the supporters of it vary considerably in their applications. In the case of Kant himself, the attitude is modified by the two circumstances that, on the one hand, he had not fully reached the point of view of *Gegenstandstheorie*, not having completely freed himself from the subjectivism of Hume, while, on the other hand, he recognized that, though we cannot know anything about things as forming a real cosmos, we are justified in entertaining certain beliefs with regard to such reality, chiefly on moral grounds. This view of belief, as contrasted with knowledge, has been developed by the Pragmatists, who maintain that the ultimate ground of belief is not knowledge, but rather practical need. In general, the Pragmatists hold, further, that there is no real need to think of the world as a complete cosmos; but this is not an essential part of the Pragmatists' point of view. Bergson, again, while agreeing with the Pragmatists that our purely intellectual beliefs are based on practical needs, thinks that it is possible to reach a more perfect knowledge by means of intuition—a view which to some extent connects him with such earlier philosophers as Plotinus and Schelling. All these ways of thinking, and perhaps some others as well, tend to discredit the attempt to form a constructive doctrine of the objects of knowledge as constituting a cosmos. Yet the attempt continues to be made; and Kant at least recognized that, however futile it may be,[1] it is hardly possible for the human intelligence to refrain from trying it, when the scientific interest has been fully developed in it. All that can be done here, however, is to indicate some of the chief ways in which this attempt has been made.

The earliest attempt at a constructive theory of the cosmos, and certainly one of the most interesting and remarkable, is that which is set forth in the *Upaniṣads*. The difficulties of the subject, especially at so early a stage of human thought, prevent it from being dealt with in a perfectly lucid way; and it relies, in consequence, partly on poetic metaphor and partly on vague paradox; but the doctrine that the cosmos is to be conceived as an unchanging spiritual unity, manifesting itself, especially in human life, in a process of slow development, appears to be definitely indicated; and this view, showing itself most clearly in the conception of a long series of successive embodiments,[2] gained a firm hold on Eastern thought. It is a view to which Western thought also has recurred from time to time; but in general Western thought starts rather from the multiplicity of existing things, and makes only very tentative efforts to apprehend the central unity. Among the Greeks the earliest attempts to frame a theory of the unity of the cosmos took the form of a somewhat crude hylozoism, such as that of Thales. Pythagoras is supposed to have introduced conceptions more akin to those of the East; but, if so, they became gradually modified among his followers through the influence of the more materialistic ways of thinking that were current around them, and eventually through the growing interest in mathematical conceptions. In the end their speculative doctrines seem to have been largely lost in a barren formalism and a rather fantastic play with numerical analogies. The early representatives of the Eleatic school were perhaps more faithful to the conception of the unity of the cosmos; but in the poem of Parmenides it is difficult to distinguish what is to be taken literally from what is only metaphor. He sometimes seems to deny altogether the reality of multiplicity and change; but perhaps he meant only that the cosmos as a whole has to be thought of as one and unchanging, though change and multiplicity are contained within it. In any case, a view of this kind would have been very difficult to set forth clearly with such technical language as he had at his disposal; and it is probable that his views were not well understood by his followers. Anaxagoras recognized very definitely the essential unity of the cosmos and connected it with mind or reason; but he does not draw any clear distinction between mind and matter, and, in attempting to contrast the order that is brought about by mind with a pre-existing disorder, he makes use of an antithesis which is as difficult to justify as that between the real and the unreal.[1] It is with the philosophy of Plato that we first come upon a really coherent attempt to set forth a conception of the cosmos; and, in many respects, it may be doubted whether that attempt has ever been surpassed. His main conception is that of the Good as the principle of order; and he combines this with the recognition of a number of subordinate principles, all regarded as universal types in accordance with which the particular objects of our experience are formed. This view was made in some respects clearer by the Aristotelian conception of a hierarchy of forms leading up to the perfect intelligence; but, on the whole, Aristotle's main interest lay rather in the establishment of special sciences on the basis of this conception of fundamental forms. Plotinus, at a considerably later time, working largely under the influence of Oriental sources, but helped by the Platonic doctrines, succeeded more fully than any one else in ancient times in arriving at a conception of a cosmic system unfolding itself by a process from unity to multiplicity and returning into unity again; but his views are difficult to disentangle, and he tends at times to appeal to a mystical intuition rather than to a clearly reasoned doctrine.

In more modern times the system of Spinoza is the first attempt at a thorough constructive theory of the cosmos. In his emphasis on the unity of the whole he recalls Parmenides. The fact that Parmenides described it as finite, while Spinoza insisted on its infinity, is perhaps a somewhat superficial difference; for they probably understood the term 'infinity' in different senses. More significant is Spinoza's antithesis, derived from the Cartesian philosophy, between the unity of the spatial world and that of the world of thought, and his attempt to represent these two forms of unity as essentially identical. This results in a quasi-mathematical conception of the universe, and makes it appear as what James describes as a 'block universe.' Leibniz endeavoured to remove this defect by his conception of monads, which has served as the basis for subsequent theories of spiritualistic Pluralism. Yet he combines the conception of the complete independence of the monads with the recognition that they are parts of a world-order, the nature of which is definitely determined, and which is selected as the best from an infinite number of possible world-orders. How possibility is to be distinguished from actuality is one of the most difficult problems that are raised by his philosophy;[1] but, on the whole, it must be confessed that his philosophy in general, notwithstanding its great ingenuity, is much more remarkable for the number of problems that it suggests than for the convincing character of the solutions that are proposed. His attempt was followed by a great deal of critical work, especially that done by Hume and Kant; and the constructions that followed upon this critical work are deserving of more careful attention.

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[1] Kant's view of its futility is mainly based on the difficulties which he brings out in his 'antinomies.' The solution of these is one of the main problems of constructive metaphysics; but this subject is too large and difficult to be discussed here. Hegel's dialectic is the most elaborate attempt to deal with such difficulties. Attempts have also been made by H. Bergson, B. Russell, and others.

[2] The philosophical conception of the continuity of spiritual life ought, no doubt, to be distinguished from the cruder forms of the doctrine of reincarnation; but this is a subject that can only be hinted at here. The bearings of modern philosophy on this subject are best brought out by J. M. E. McTaggart, *Some Dogmas of Religion*, London, 1906, and B. Bosanquet, *The Value and Destiny of the Individual*.

[1] The meaninglessness of any conception of pure chaos or disorder, such as that with which Anaxagoras appears to start, is well brought out in Bergson's *Creative Evolution*, Eng. tr., London, 1911.

The most important is that of Hegel, and it is also one of the most difficult to interpret. What can be said with confidence is that, by means of a more definite interpretation of the Platonic dialectic, he made a very thoroughgoing attempt to arrange all the fundamental concepts involved in thinking about the world in a definite order from the simplest to the most complex. By this means he sought to show that a certain conception of spiritual unity is the most comprehensive of all conceptions, and the only one by means of which a coherent view of the universe can be obtained. He then proceeds to interpret the non-human world ('nature') and the world of human life ('spirit') as an order of growth through which the spiritual significance of the whole is gradually unfolded. It is generally recognized that a considerable part of the working out of his dialectic carries conviction, but that there are several places in which the movement is difficult to follow. The treatment of human life is generally recognized as being highly instructive, while the interpretation of 'nature' is much more open to criticism. No subsequent writer, however, has succeeded in making substantial improvement on the general view of the cosmos that Hegel has presented. Most of those who have made attempts at definitely constructive work are chiefly distinguished from Hegel by the more tentative character of their doctrine. They seem to provide, at most, only the *disjecta membra* of a more complete system. Some of them may also be criticized on the ground that they rest on a subjective conception of knowledge, in a few cases approximating even to the point of view of Berkeley. But into the details of their work we cannot here enter.

It may seem disappointing, after so many centuries of more or less continuous philosophic endeavour, that it should not be possible to refer more definitely to results that are generally accepted as conclusive. But it is hardly surprising that the interpretation of the whole should present more difficulty than that of some special parts. It is probably necessary that we should have a fairly thorough appreciation of the kinds of order that are contained in the parts before we can have any definite conception of the order that is involved in the whole. By the help of mathematics we are getting a more and more thorough insight into the relations that are involved in the orders of number and space. The Platonic conception of Good has been made more definite by modern discussions of orders of valuation. Physical science is helping us to interpret the causal order with more and more definiteness. Such dialectical discussions as those of Bradley, and such attempts to determine the various kinds of objects as those that are made by Meinong, may be expected to throw fresh light on the most fundamental concepts, and thus supply new instruments for the reinterpretation of the whole. But probably our interpretation must always remain, to some extent, tentative.

3. Bearings of metaphysics on other subjects.—It would be a great mistake to suppose that the value of metaphysical speculation is to be measured exclusively by its success in providing us with a coherent doctrine of the cosmos. Any one who thinks seriously about the ultimate problems of knowledge and reality is almost bound to make some attempt to think about the universe as a whole; but the discussion of the special problems may be treated as an end in itself, and the value of such discussion is to be found largely in the light that it throws on other subjects that are commonly and conveniently regarded as distinct. The debt of the special sciences to metaphysical discussion could not easily be over-estimated. Almost all the special sciences, especially those that are concerned with human affairs, were first established on a firm foundation by Aristotle, who used in their establishment his fundamental conceptions of form and matter, potentiality and actuality, together with his general doctrine of categories and causes. The atomic theory was mainly due to Leucippus and Democritus, working on the foundations that had been laid by the Eleatics. Mathematics, physics, and astronomy owed much to the Pythagoreans and, in later times, to the metaphysical analyses of Descartes, Leibniz, and Kant. Some of the most important ideas of modern biology were anticipated by the early hylozoists; and, in many other ways, the foundations of almost every department of knowledge and action can be traced to metaphysical analysis. This tends to be forgotten owing to the fact that, once the results of such analysis have been well established, they are incorporated in the body of the special sciences and arts and habits of life, and the work of clearing up the fundamental principles is largely ignored; just as, in our more ordinary life, we are sometimes apt to forget the labours of those by whom the means of living are provided. Hence it may be worth while to make some reference here to the fundamental conceptions that seem to be involved in several of the most important subjects.

(*a*) *Psychology.*—The fundamental aim of psychology appears to be that of studying the growth of cognition in the individual mind. It may seem strange to say this in view of some recent attempts to produce a 'psychology without cognition,' which does not appear to differ very markedly from other forms of psychology. But in general the roots of any subject, like those of a plant, may often with advantage be kept out of view. We may have 'psychology without a soul,' because we can take the soul for granted; and it is certainly not the business of psychology to consider the soul except as cognizing or cognized. We may even have 'psychology without cognition,' just because it is entirely concerned with that, and consequently need not single it out as one of the special things with which it has to deal. So we may study wealth without welfare, though apart from welfare wealth would have no meaning. Naturally, in studying psychology, it is the modes of apprehension, rather than the fact of apprehension, that chiefly call for attention. But, whether we are considering sense-data or objects of perception or feeling or desire or emotion or attention or thought or will, the primary question for psychology is, What is it that we apprehend? That there are very many modes of apprehension seems clear, but they are all forms of cognition. The recognition of this ought to guard us against any attempt to divide up our conscious life into separate faculties, though it leaves us free to recognize many distinctions and many stages of growth. Hence psychology is best studied genetically;[1] but it is important to guard against the misconception that, in studying the order of growth in our cognition, we are either explaining cognition itself or accounting for its special modes[2] or giving an account of the genesis of the objects that are cognized. The order of the growth of cognition is one thing; other things have orders of their own. These are perhaps the chief ways in which the consideration of the fundamental problem of psychology may help to guard us against misconceptions in its study.

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[1] No sharp distinction can be drawn between the possible and the actual. To say that anything is possible is to say that it would be if—; and what would be depends entirely on the structure of the actual. In general, things are said to be possible in philosophy when they are not inconsistent with the structure of some special order (*e.g.*, time or space), though they may be inconsistent with the structure of the cosmos. An action, *e.g.*, is possible when it would happen if some one chose to do it. This is well brought out in G. E. Moore's *Ethics*.

(*b*) *Logic.*—The fundamental conception of logic appears to be that of implication. It sets itself to consider the conditions under which one bit of knowledge may be taken to imply another. In order to discover this, it is necessary to determine the precise significance of the knowledge from which we start. Hence the importance of definition and of what are called the 'laws of thought,' the aim of which is to ensure fixity of meaning. Obviously, if A fluctuated in meaning, its implications could not be determined. Formal logic is concerned simply with the attempt to tie down meanings and to discover what they imply. In more concrete forms of logic the doctrine of causation is the chief instrument for the discovery of implications. Hume did much to clear up the general signification of causation by doing away with the obscure conception of efficiency and substituting that of a definite order of sequence. Kant urged that the sequence is essentially logical rather than temporal, and that the general principle of implication—if A, then B—has to be accepted as expressing a necessary order among phenomena. More recent discussions have given still more definiteness to the conception.[3] The dialectic of Hegel is another way in which implications can be brought out. According to this, every conception implies its opposite. The value of these methods cannot be discussed here; but it seems clear that the general significance of implication is one of those ultimate problems that concern metaphysics.

(*c*) *Mathematics.*—The mathematical sciences are closely connected with formal logic. As soon as the general characters of the orders of number and space have been made apparent, the working out of their implications requires no extrinsic considerations. The relations contained in these orders are, however, more complex than the relation of a predicate to a subject or of an individual to a class. But there are many orders from which implications can be directly drawn—*e.g.*, the order of time and that of value. Hence it seems possible to regard mathematics as one of several ways in which the general principle of direct or formal implication can be developed.

It may be well to notice one caution that is suggested by metaphysical reflexion with regard to the application of mathematics. The conclusions reached by the study of the two orders of number and space are so precise and convincing, and some of them can be so readily applied to spatial and temporal objects, that there is a considerable temptation to regard all of them as being directly applicable to such objects. Such an assumption does not appear to be legitimate. It may be doubted, *e.g.*, whether some of the speculations with regard to possible dimensions of space, in excess of three, have any direct application to existing objects. A similar caution is necessary with regard to the conception of infinity. On this point reference may be made to the art. INFINITY.

(*d*) *The natural sciences.*—The natural sciences have nearly always presented a stumbling-block in the way of metaphysical construction. This is due chiefly to the apparent lack of definite order in what are sometimes called the 'brute facts' of the natural world. Hegel compared nature to a bacchantic dance. For Plato also, and for many others,[1] it has tended to appear as a falling off from the unity and intelligibility that are postulated by the conception of a complete cosmos. The objects of nature seem to differ in kind, and no continuity in the ordering of kinds is readily discoverable. This applies to the objects of sense as well as to the objects of perception. There seems to be a gulf fixed between colours, sounds, smells, pains, etc., as well as between mechanical systems, chemical combinations, and organic bodies. Hence it has been sought to bridge these gulfs by teleological conceptions—*i.e.* by the view that differences of kind are to be interpreted by reference to the conception of value, as in some way required for the constitution of the 'best possible world.' But this is at most a postulate; and it is generally recognized that we are not entitled to apply this interpretation in any direct way in the scientific study of natural objects. Apart from this, the chief forms of order that are available are those of time and space, extensive and intensive magnitude, causation, and the general law of continuity in the quantity of what is called energy (a conception that is perhaps still in need of more precise determination). No doubt the doctrine of evolution supplies, to some extent, another principle of order; but it is erroneous to suppose that the earlier stages in this order can be regarded as, in any direct way, implying the later. Epigenesis, or, as Bergson has called it, 'creative evolution,' has to be, in some form, recognized—*i.e.* the doctrine that what comes later is distinct in kind from what comes earlier. It does not follow from this, however, that there is not a definite and intelligible order. But there are still fundamental problems in the study of nature for which metaphysics can as yet offer no very satisfying solution. Still, there is at least the suggestion that a solution might be found in the conception of value. Evolution, in particular, is very naturally thought of as a progress, though a somewhat discontinuous one, towards what is intrinsically better.

(*e*) *Æsthetics.*—In æsthetics at least the conception of value becomes prominent; and its legitimacy within this sphere, where it is applied very largely to objects that can be perceived or imagined, is hardly open to dispute. It is true that sometimes what is described as beautiful may have little claim to be regarded as more than pleasant, and even pleasant only to certain individuals. In this case the valuation is highly subjective, and may hardly deserve to be described as a definite valuation at all. But in the higher forms of art at least an effort is being made to produce something that has intrinsic value; and in some cases it is difficult to resist the conviction that something that is intrinsically valuable—something that may properly be described as 'a joy for ever'—has actually been secured. But the science of æsthetics is still largely in the making.

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[1] This method was, to all intents, inaugurated by Aristotle, who showed in this, as in many other respects, a sounder grasp of the essentials of the subject than many of its later exponents have had.

[2] It is here that the 'associationist' psychology and such a genetic psychology as that of H. Spencer are at fault.

[3] See esp. B. A. W. Russell, 'On the Notion of Cause,' in *Aristotelian Society's Proceedings*, xiii. [1912–13].

[1] Cf., *e.g.*, what is said by Aristotle in *Met.* xii. 10, where the lack of order in nature is likened to the life of a slave to whom, on account of his low estate, a certain licence is permitted. The religious conception of a 'Fall' appears to be closely connected with this. See H. S. Chamberlain, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1909, ii. 34.

(*f*) *Ethics.*—It is in ethics rather than in æsthetics that the conception of intrinsic value comes definitely into prominence. Ethical writers may differ in their views of what is intrinsically valuable —whether it is the good will or pleasure or some form of perfection or completeness of self-conscious life—but almost all recognize that in the moral life men are engaged in the effort to realize something that is intrinsically good, and in the end what is intrinsically best. Yet it is difficult to make the conception of such an ultimate good perfectly clear; and some are inclined to doubt its validity. It must be confessed that we seem to begin with valuations that have little conscious ground. Our primitive likings appear to be based on organic needs; and it is only gradually that we are led to regard them as means to ends that have a truer and more lasting value. We begin with organic impulses, and advance through the pleasant to the beautiful and good. Hence the moral life is still, on the whole, as it was in the time of Socrates, a struggle towards a good that is very imperfectly apprehended, and sometimes even not very consciously pursued. It tends to be guided by custom, convention, positive laws, and generally recognized opinions rather than by any clear apprehension of a good that can be either defined or attained. But in ethical science some attempt is made to define it; and this involves a discussion that may properly be called metaphysical. The discussion of its attainability seems even to involve a general theory of the cosmos.

Apart from the fundamental conception of intrinsic value, the most important problem that concerns ethics is that of freedom. This is closely connected with the conception of value and also with that of causation. It is doubtful whether any definite meaning can be given to moral freedom except that which may be expressed by saying that choice has a real place in the chain of causes; and choice can be interpreted only as a mode of valuation. It is essentially preference, *i.e.* the regarding of one thing as essentially more valuable than another. Thus the problems of value and causation are those that chiefly connect ethics with metaphysics.

Ethical valuations have important bearings on economics and politics; but these cannot be considered here. Nor can we attempt to appraise the significance of what is described by Nietzsche as the 'transvaluation of all values' (*Umwertung aller Werte*).

(*g*) *Religion.*—A chief element in the higher forms of religion consists in a certain intensification of the moral consciousness by its more definite concentration on the conception of intrinsic value —as in such sayings as 'What shall it profit a man, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?' (Mk 8^{36}). This intensification is generally combined with the conviction that the object of ultimate valuation is real and attainable. A conviction of this kind is sometimes based on a definite metaphysical doctrine. At other times it is based rather on some form of intuition or of revelation, or on the authority of some great teacher, or simply on the intrinsic force of the moral principle itself. The founders of religions and their most influential prophets have generally connected their teaching with some doctrines of a more or less explicitly metaphysical character. Buddhism, which is perhaps the most purely ethical form of religion that has ever had an extensive influence, seems to be rather intimately connected with those Indian forms of metaphysical construction that had their origin in the *Upaniṣads.* It conceives of what has ultimate value as the realization of the higher self, to be achieved by the control of the lower, and especially by the suppression of the lower forms of desire —a process which is supposed to be, in general, attainable only through a cycle of reincarnations. The doctrine of the Pythagoreans, which was largely religious, had a somewhat similar character; and the influence of Plato, so far as it can be described as religious, tends, on the whole, in the same direction; as that of Plotinus even more definitely does. Christianity was perhaps in its origin less definitely metaphysical; but it has been to a large extent interpreted, in the course of its historical development, by means of Platonic and more or less kindred conceptions, and in some of its more recent phases is hardly distinguishable from the more esoteric forms of Buddhism. The relations have been thus expressed by Holmes:

> 'Plato reasoned about God. Buddha kept silence about him. Christ made him the theme of his poetry. . . . As a speculative thinker he does not compete with Plato. As a systematic teacher he does not compete with Buddha. But as a source of spiritual inspiration he has no rival' (*Creed of Buddha, ad fin.*).

The gospel of love is the most inspiring, because it implies, when its meaning is fully developed, that everything has value—a more thorough optimism than anything that is involved in the Platonic Good or the Buddhist Nirvāṇa (whatever the exact interpretation of that may be).[1] It is sometimes urged that metaphysical and religious views of the cosmos, by representing the attainment of the moral ideal as involved in the nature of things, have a certain tendency to weaken the moral motive, by making it appear that individual effort is unnecessary. No doubt some metaphysical systems have claimed to advance 'beyond good and evil'; and the same may be said of some forms of religion. But, on the whole, none of the deeper forms either of metaphysical construction or of religious insight has represented the ideal as attainable in any other way than through the individual choice of what is best.

LITERATURE.—The literature of the subject is so vast that only a selection can be made. A. E. Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysics*, London, 1903, gives a good general survey. F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*², do. 1908, supplies the most remarkable of recent attempts at metaphysical construction. L. J. Walker, *Theories of Knowledge*, do. 1910, should be consulted. On the special subject of error, the essay by G. F. Stout, in *Personal Idealism*, do. 1902, is very valuable; and it should be supplemented by reference to B. A. W. Russell, *Philosophical Essays*, do. 1910, and F. H. Bradley, *Essays on Truth and Reality*, Oxford, 1914. A. Meinong's views about *Gegenstandstheorie* will be found in his *Untersuchungen zur Gegenstandstheorie und Psychologie*, Leipzig, 1904, and his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, do. 1913. His important book *Ueber Annahmen*, do. 1902, ²1910, throws much light upon the subject. On the various attempts at metaphysical construction the Histories of Philosophy must be referred to; E. Caird, *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, Glasgow, 1904, and R. Adamson, *The Development of Modern Philosophy*, Edinburgh, 1903, may be specially commended. On some of the earlier phases of speculation E. Schuré, *Les grands Initiés*⁴, Paris, 1899, Eng. tr., London, 1912, is extremely interesting, though perhaps some of his statements are too conjectural and lack evidence. A. Drews, *Plotin*, Jena, 1907, is instructive on a philosopher who is too little known. G. F. Stout, *Analytical Psychology*, London, 1909, indicates the most fundamental problems in that subject. On formal logic J. N. Keynes, *Studies and Exercises in Formal Logic*,⁴ do. 1906, and F. C. S. Schiller, *Formal Logic*, do. 1912, may be consulted—the former is constructive, the latter critical. On the foundations of the more concrete type of logic A. Ruge and W. Windelband, *Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences*, do. 1913, furnish all that is needed. J. M. E. McTaggart, *Studies in Hegelian Dialectic*, Cambridge, 1896, and *A Commentary on Hegel's Logic*, do. 1910, supplies interesting material, both for interpretation and for criticism. B. Croce, *What is living and what is dead in the Philosophy of Hegel*, Eng. tr., London, 1915, gives perhaps the most searching examination of the Hegelian method. On mathematics, B. A. W. Russell, *Principles of Mathematics*, Cambridge, 1903, should certainly be consulted. The *Principia Mathematica*, London, 1910-13, by the same writer, in conjunction with A. N. Whitehead, may be referred to as showing the way in which the logical foundations of the subject can be worked out. J. Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*², do. 1903, discusses the foundations of the natural sciences. W. Ostwald, *Vorlesungen über Naturphilosophie*, Leipzig, 1902, may also be specially referred to. B. Croce, *Æsthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic*, Eng. tr., do. 1909, is probably the most instructive of recent works on the basis of that subject. On ethics reference should be made to the art. ETHICS (by J. H. Muirhead). The conceptions of value and freedom are well discussed by G. E. Moore, in his *Ethics*, do. 1912. The philosophical significance of the conception of value is brought out with great wealth of illustration by B. Bosanquet in *The Principle of Individuality and Value*, do. 1912, and *The Value and Destiny of the Individual* (*Gifford Lectures*, 1912), do. 1913. A. Meinong, *Psychologisch-ethische Untersuchungen zur Werth-Theorie*, Graz, 1894, and C. Ehrenfels, *System der Werththeorie*, Leipzig, 1897–98, are also important on this subject. The *Gifford Lectures* have done much to show the metaphysical foundations of religion. Perhaps E. Caird, *The Evolution of Religion*, Glasgow, 1893, J. Royce, *The World and the Individual*, New York and London, 1900–01, and J. Ward, *The Realm of Ends*, Cambridge, 1911, are the most noteworthy, in addition to those already mentioned. *The Creed of Christ*^{3}, London, 1906, and *The Creed of Buddha*, New York, 1908, by E. G. A. Holmes, are interesting as bringing out the relations between the two highest forms of religion, and emphasizing the metaphysical conceptions that underlie them. H. Höffding's emphasis on 'the conservation of values' as the fundamental aspect of religion in his *Philosophy of Religion*, London, 1906, has also a very special interest; and so has the characterization of 'the free man's worship' in B. Russell's *Philosophical Essays*. The general views expressed in this art. are further developed in the artt. ETERNITY and INFINITY, in the writer's articles in *Mind*, new ser., xxii. [1913], 'A Sketch of a Philosophy of Order,' and xxiii. [1914], 'The Meaning of Reality,' and *A Manual of Ethics*^{5}, London, 1915, esp. bk. ii. ch. vi. Reference may also be made to artt. EPISTEMOLOGY and ERROR AND TRUTH.

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[1] The contrast, in this respect, is well, though perhaps too emphatically, brought out by H. S. Chamberlain, i. 187-200.

J. S. MACKENZIE.

METEMPSYCHOSIS.—See TRANSMIGRATION.

METEORS, METEORIC STONES.—See PRODIGIES AND PORTENTS.

METHOD (Logical).—Besides the ideals proper to the concept, the judgment, and inference, there are certain secondary ideals for thought in general. These supplement the primary ideals in a way comparable with that in which, according to the ethics of Butler, the 'adaptations of human nature to virtue' supplement the 'eternal fitnesses of behaviour' which had been described by Clarke. The secondary ideals should be stated with definite reference to the order and process of thinking, whereas the primary ideals are descriptions of truth when thought.

A wide licence has been taken by logical writers in articulating method, methodology, and applied logic; and it is here proposed tentatively to name as secondary ideals systematization, reform, and development. The course of thought must be such as to approach reality in the subtlety of its constituents and the complexity of their interconnexion; to reconstitute concepts, judgments, and inferences, in correspondence with it; and to realize the mutual support that these give to each other, as dealing with the same cosmos.

Method emerged from an outworn analytic and dialectic of Aristotelian origin, and won a place in modern logical theory, chiefly through the use of the topic made by Descartes in introducing his reformation of philosophy, and through the canonic of empirical science introduced by Bacon; and Kant's subsequent definition of it was in fair accordance with the Cartesian tradition:

> 'Just as the doctrine of elements in logic has for its aim the conditions of perfectness in a knowledge related to an object . . . so, general methodology, as the second part of logic, ought to treat, in contrast with it, the form of science in general, or the way to evolve science from a diversity of knowledge' (*Logic*, § 96).

An even more explicit reference to the course of our thinking is desirable, because only in some relation to ordered sequence can the ideals of concept, judgment, and inference become a personal discipline, and give not a mere consciousness of 'validity' or of 'fallacy,' but a development of our natural 'sense of method' (cf. J. Brough, *The Study of Mental Science*, London, 1903, p. 5 ff.). The sense of method is an estimate of the extent to which the several faculties proper to a conviction have actually played their part in it.

1. Systematization.—The most general impulse of thinking is to make a double approach to reality, by analysis and by synthesis. The impulse has been recognized in various logical contexts; in Aristotle's distinction between problems of reason or of essence and problems of fact or of existence; in Descartes's rule of method to divide the difficulties of an investigation, and his rule to conduct our thoughts in the order of simple to complex; in Newton's requirement that natural philosophy should proceed from compounds to ingredients, from motions to forces, and, in general, from effects to causes, before explaining phenomena by causes as principles. The impulse follows, as it were, an indefinitely receding horizon. There is neither simplicity nor complexity that is final, whether in the world of possible perceptions or in the extensions which scientific imagination may make into the imperceptible.

> 'Scientists have tried to find it [the 'simple fact'] in the two extremes, in the infinitely great and in the infinitely small'—the astronomer in distances so great as to reduce a star to a point, the physicist in the atom, the biologist in the cell (H. Poincaré, *Science and Method*, Eng. tr., London, 1914, p. 19).

Even simplicities so laboured as these are provisional, if only because the structure of systematic science based on them is provisional.

> 'In the . . . advance of science an uninterrupted, but progressive series of mental constructions . . . gives us an approximate [but only approximate] idea of the inter-connected system of Reality' (F. Enriques, in *Encyclopædia of Phil. Sciences*, i. 234).

Under this impulse the course of thinking will lead to the actualization of the primary ideals of concept, judgment, and inference, but does not in itself commit our whole nature, as they do, to expectation, submission, and reaction. Its more immediate end is reform within the ideational content.

2. Reform.—Analysis and synthesis provide for continuous revision and reconstitution of such ideational contents as have previously been available for actualizing the primary ideals.

> 'Only inasmuch as we are set free from the accidental associations of ideas formed through single perceptions, by a happy variety of observations and a steady attention to their distinctions and resemblances do we gradually become cognizant of the more general and essential connections, and our conception of things ever more and more adequately' shows the necessary presuppositions of the understanding 'to hold good in the heterogeneous materials of the actual world' (H. Lotze, *Microcosmus*, Eng. tr., London, 1885, bk. ii. ch. iv. § 4 [i. 236]).

The 'perceptions' here spoken of are 'already permeated with the results of sifting critical energy of mind,' but the spirit of reform, more expressly than that of systematization, claims to pass by any warnings from ancient realism as to the sanctity of universals, and equally by those of our modern pure logic as to identities, necessities, and systematic coherencies. Its claim is among the inevitable paradoxes of permanence and change.

(*a*) *Individuation.*—Even the unity of the individual, of 'that which is neither said of any subject nor contained in any subject' (Aristotle), 'the "It" without anything added' (Occam), 'the point in the tissue of reality where it accepts the predicate' (Bosanquet), may be newly isolated and identified. This unity is more directly imposed in perception and is more firmly sustained by social reference and consent than the conceptual, yet there still continues scientific controversy on the more optional identities, such as independent organs or organisms in botanical or zoological growth, concrete standards of measurement in calculation; and even as to whether units are possible at all within the flow of psychical life, or whether a distinction of persons should be made when consciousness has become pathologically discontinuous.

(*b*) *Classification.*—The special store of concepts embodied in the language of a people or in technical

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terminology may be seen in course of reform, as needs and circumstances without methodical analysis modify the meanings of words. A more methodical initiative in reform proceeds through classification by 'natural kinds,' persistent 'species,' 'types,' or evolutionary 'series'—*e.g.*, metals, grasses, temperament, organisms. But classification can follow only where individuation leads; and also our ultimate interests lie in actual events, open to our influence, rather than in the stereotyped possibilities in a thing, a class, a group, or a series.

(*c*) *Tabulation.*—With the purpose of practical control of nature, Bacon urged the tabulation of instances of event.

> 'Natural and experimental history is so various and diffuse, that it confounds and distracts the understanding, unless it be ranged and presented to view in a suitable order. We must therefore form Tables and Arrangements of Instances, in such a method and order that the understanding may be able to deal with them' (*Novum Organum*, ii. 10).

If our dealing with them is not by way of further analysis into the elements of natural 'form' as Bacon intended, but is numerical, the tables become 'statistics'; and statistics may be summarized through 'graphs'; and the duplication of tables into affirmative and negative may be avoided by 'averages'; and inevitable lapses from accuracy may be regularized as 'probable error.'

(*d*) *Hypothesis.*—Method can pursue the synthesis of simple elements required in judgment, while still suspending the assent or final submission of our nature to its necessity. The course of thought freely varies its subjects and predicates, expands each tentative 'form,' 'causal connexion,' or 'law' into exemplifications, or each imagined 'fact' into natural consequences, and verifies these as independently true or real, or as not so. Many recent writers, including Jevons, Sigwart, and Bosanquet, teach that such a development and trial of ideas is essential for all inductive inference. Thus, if a pencil of light is a composite of varicoloured rays, and is passed through a prism, we shall see the spectrum band; if the process is reversed, we shall reconstitute the untinted whiteness. If eoliths are of human origin, they should serve some purpose, and our ingenuity may discover one.

(*e*) *Colligation.*—A hypothesis may command an indefinite number of such exemplifications or consequences, both already known and waiting for verification. Thus the theory of elliptical orbits for planetary motion covered many planetary positions already registered, and the possibilities of further registrations. This is the 'colligation of facts by means of appropriate conceptions' (Whewell, *Novum Organum Renovatum*, bk. ii. iv.), or the discovery of 'types of order' (Royce, in *Encyc. of Phil. Sciences*, i. 90)—an achievement of intelligence which Whewell considers to be all that is serious in scientific investigation, but which Mill considers as an operation 'subsidiary to induction,' that is to say, to induction as inference (*Logic*, bk. iii. ch. ix. § 3, bk. iv. ch. ii.).

Lotze in his 'pure logic,' and independently of 'methods of investigation,' undertook to exhibit a serial order of schemata for judgment and inference, in which was shown an increasing complexity of conceptual distinctness.

> 'The various forms of thought will be arranged in an ascending series, in which each higher member attempts to make good a defect in the preceding one, due to its failure to satisfy, in regard to its own particular problem, the general impulse of thought to reduce coincidence to coherence' (*Logic*, Introd. § 11).

Thus the categorical form 'S is P,' is followed by the hypothetical, 'if S is X, it is P.' The syllogism, if not a mere *petitio principii*, involves the further conceptions which constitute the induction and analogy supporting its premisses, and these, again, send their roots into larger systems of classification and explanation. Thus the reform of a single concept—*e.g.*, the atom in chemistry, the cell in biology, the vibration in acoustics—may call for readjustments throughout increasing complexities of science.

3. **Development.**—But in method, as in organic life, the whole may decide the part. Nature is more than a 'tissue of uniformities,' as Mill described it. It is a unity. And the ideal of development means that the system of our thinking reacts upon its diversity of content. In perceptual observation, historical narrative, and explanatory conceptions of fact objects and instances are made possible by the growth of knowledge as a whole.

(*a*) *Perceptual extensions.*—Fields of perception beyond those of the natural senses may be opened through science—*e.g.*, in space by the telescope and microscope, in time by the chronoscope and bioscope, in composition of substances by the spectroscope and radioscope. And extensions of sensitivity may be supplemented by artificial mechanisms of record, the chronograph, logograph, and automatograph.

(*b*) *Historical interpretation.*—Records of past events may be given new values by cumulative means of interpretation. Even mere relics may, through a convergence of interpretative hypotheses, as with the relics of pre-historic man, newly disclose remoter ages for methodical retrospect. That our foresight of events yet to come is not similarly from time to time newly lengthened is connected with the fact that here the way of hypothesis cannot be confirmed by verification. Methodical procedure can only assume a number of alternatively possible events, and assign to each a probability.

(*c*) *Explanatory theory.*—A given fact newly known, or more fully observed, may present many varied facets for hypothetical explanation. A chipped flint may be conceived as a geological product, an elastic molecular substance, a surface chemically stained, a contrivance of manufacture, a tool of purpose. And on each facet may centre a separate stress of hypothesis. We may collect contributory explanations of fact in a science predominantly concrete, such as archæology, geology, geography. On the other hand, in sciences comparatively or purely abstract, we may systematize hypotheses among themselves, as empirical, derivative, or ultimate, making exemplification or consequence incidental only—*e.g.*, in physiology, chemistry, mathematics, ethics. But the deepest difference within the 'form of science' is that between *a priori* science, where exemplification or consequence flashes into inference under the magic of intuitive construction, described by Descartes, and empirical science, where the ordered sequence aims and waits to fulfil the primary ideals of inference in '*a posteriori* synthetic judgments' (see artt. INFERENCE and LOGIC).

LITERATURE.—See works mentioned under art. LOGIC. The historical progress may be followed in the works of Aristotle (*Posterior Analytics* and *Topics*), Descartes (*Regulæ*, and *Method*), Arnauld, Bacon, and Whewell (*Philosophy of Discovery*, London, 1860) as mentioned; and in J. Herschel, *Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*², London, 1851; W. Whewell, *History of Scientific Ideas*³, do. 1858, and *Novum Organum Renovatum*³, do. 1858. Of recent logical systems, those of J. S. Mill, R. H. Lotze, C. W. von Sigwart, W. Wundt, and J. Venn (*Empirical Logic*², London, 1907) give prominence to method. Besides the definitely methodological books of Davidson, Venn, Jevons, Pearson, and Poincaré, also mentioned, the following may be referred to on special topics: G. C. Lewis, *Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*, London, 1852; G. Gore, *Art of Scientific Discovery*, do. 1878; E. Naville, *La Logique de l'hypothèse*, Paris, 1880; H. Hughes, *Theory of Inference*, London, 1894; T. B. Strong, and others, *Lectures on the Method of Science*, Oxford, 1906; H. Poincaré, *Science and Hypothesis*, Eng. tr.², London, 1914; F. Enriques, *Problems of Science*, Eng. tr., do. 1914; J. Royce, 'The Principles of Logic,' in *Encyclopædia of Philosophical Sciences*, vol. i., Eng. tr., do. 1913.

J. BROUGH.

METHODISM.—I. *History and polity.*—In this article we shall confine ourselves to a description of the origin, growth, and leading features of the Methodism which is connected with the name of John Wesley. The Methodism within the Church of England which resulted in the rise of the Evangelical party is not within our province (see EVANGELICALISM).

1. The rise of Methodism.—According to Wesley, the 'first rise' of Methodism was in Oxford, in November 1729; the second, in Savannah, Georgia, in April 1736; and the third, in London, on 1st May 1738. We pass over the Methodism that found expression in the 'Holy Club' at Oxford, and in the 'Society' formed by Wesley in Savannah, and strike the path which leads to the origin of Methodism as an existing organization. The date, 1st May 1738, is significant. Wesley had returned to England, having learned many bitter lessons in Georgia. By his contact with the Moravians he had been enlightened and disheartened concerning his religious experience. He had learned that, although he had 'followed after the law of righteousness,' he had not attained to it. His disappointment at discovering that he had been pursuing a wrong path was intense. The Moravians explained his failure by showing him that he had not sought righteousness 'by faith, but as it were by works.' His conversations with them left in his mind the unanswered question, What is the faith that leads to salvation? Waiting in London for a solution of the problem that baffled him, he assisted in forming one of the Religious Societies so numerous at the time. His instinct for 'fellowship' was one of the dominant forces of his life, and explains much that happened in his career. The Religious Society which he joined met in the house of James Hutton. It owed much of its character to the advice of Peter Böhler, a Moravian to whom Wesley was unspeakably indebted for spiritual guidance. The Society was founded on 1st May 1738. Rules were drawn up for its management, and, as was the case in Savannah, the members of the Society who were intent on cultivating a deeper religious life were divided into little companies called 'bands.' The Society grew, and its meeting-place was changed to a room in Fetter Lane. At first the Society, like the other Religious Societies, was in connexion with the Church of England; subsequently it was dominated by Moravian influences, and this connexion was broken.

2. Wesley's spiritual crisis.—Methodism, as it now exists, can be understood only by realizing the facts concerning the progress of Wesley's religious experience. By much conversation, by close study of the NT, by prayer 'without ceasing,' he advanced from an intellectual understanding of the meaning of 'saving faith' to the understanding that comes through experience. While he was in the stage of an ever-brightening intellectual apprehension, he preached the doctrine of 'salvation by faith' in many of the London churches. He taught it as it stands in the *Homilies*; but it was resented by clergymen and their congregations, and the churches were closed against him. In this way a policy of exclusion from the churches was commenced, which, after a time, profoundly affected Wesley's relation to the Church of England.

During this preliminary stage, Wesley was oppressed with a 'burden' which was to him 'intolerable'—the burden of unpardoned sin. That load was lifted on 24th May 1738, in a 'room' in Aldersgate Street, the meeting-place of one of the Religious Societies.

> 'I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death' (*Journal*, i. 476).

In that decisive hour he entered into an experience, new so far as he was concerned, but an old experience not only among Moravians but also among many Churchmen and Dissenters. It is an extraordinary fact, however, that it had become unintelligible to the mass of English Christians. Wesley's 'conversion' filled him with the spirit of the evangelist. He would gladly have borne his testimony in the churches, but he was compelled to wait until a wider sphere opened before him.

3. Beginning of field-preaching.—In April 1739 Wesley found his opportunity, and began his evangelistic work. George Whitefield, a member of the Oxford 'Holy Club,' had entered into the experience of 'conscious salvation' before Wesley, and had made a deep impression in Bristol by the preaching of the 'new doctrines.' Being excluded from the churches, he went into the open air, and addressed great crowds of people in Bristol and at Kingswood. Having to leave England for America, he wrote to Wesley asking him to take his place; Wesley consented, and on 2nd April 1739 he commenced his famous campaign of 'field-preaching.' In addition to preaching in Bristol and to the Kingswood colliers, he got into close touch with the Religious Societies in the city. His genius for administrative reform found scope in them. He divided them into 'bands.' The Societies in Baldwin Street and Nicholas Street so increased that it became necessary to build a 'Room' for their accommodation. A site was secured near the Horsefair, and the 'Room' was opened on 3rd June 1739. Afterwards Wesley went to London to assist in composing disputes which had arisen in the Fetter Lane Society. He again met Whitefield, who, being detained in England, had spent his time in preaching to multitudes in Moorfields, on Kennington Common, and elsewhere. Wesley joined him in his field-preaching. On 11th November 1739 he held a service amid the ruins of 'the King's Foundery of cannon,' a building near Moorfields, which had been shattered by an explosion. Wesley acquired the site and built a 'Room' upon it, which became famous in Methodist history. Some who indulge in regrets concerning the separation of the Methodists from the Church of England point to the building of these 'Rooms' as 'the parting of the ways'; Methodists maintain that it was the closing of the churches that led to the opening of the 'Rooms.'

4. First Wesleyan Societies.—While he was still a member of the Fetter Lane Religious Society, Wesley formed a Society of a different type at the Foundery. It was started, probably, in the latter end of the year 1739, and is looked upon as the Mother Society of Methodism. In July 1740 Wesley was practically excluded from the Fetter Lane Society. Those who left with him joined the Society at the Foundery. By that time Societies, under the special direction of John and Charles Wesley, existed in London, Bristol, and Kingswood. In 1742 Newcastle-upon-Tyne was visited by Charles Wesley, who formed a Society there on the new pattern. These Societies are called by John Wesley, in the 'Rules' which he drew up for them and published in 1743, 'The United Societies,' and they were the nucleus of the Methodist Church. In the 'Rules' a Society is described as 'a company of men, having the form and seeking the power of godliness; united in order to pray together, to receive the word of exhortation, and to watch over one another in love, that they may help each other to work out their salvation.' In these new organizations the 'band' system was a prominent feature; but, in addition, the Societies were divided into 'classes,' each containing about 12 persons who were placed under the care of a 'leader,' not only for their own spiritual edification, but also that Wesley might be assisted in his pastoral supervision. At first the leaders visited the members at their houses; but, that method proving inconvenient, the members were expected to meet their leader at some fixed place, week by week. The 'Rules' mentioned above are still, with slight alterations, the 'general rules' for Methodists, the 'particular rules,' passed in after years, being contained in the disciplinary 'codes' of the different Methodist churches. In the classes contributions, usually a penny a week, were made for the poor. At a later date these contributions were given for the support of the ministry, a special poor-fund being raised from other sources. Stewards were appointed to manage matters of finance, and the leaders met the ministers and stewards of each Society once a week to pay in the moneys that they had received, and to give information concerning any member who was sick or might need special pastoral attention. Out of these arrangements the Leaders' Meeting arose, which became an integral part of the Methodist organization. The oversight of his Societies weighed heavily on Wesley's mind. He never worshipped numerical success; he was not content to gather together a miscellaneous crowd of people of whom he knew nothing. He supplemented the work of the leaders by visiting the members himself in their homes, and met them once a quarter in the classes for personal conversation on their religious experience. If satisfied, he gave them tickets in recognition of the fact that they were members of the Methodist Society.

5. **Attitude of the clergy.**—Those who have studied the constitution of the Religious Societies will note the affinities and divergences between them and the United Societies. One line of divergence was caused by circumstances which Wesley deeply regretted. The Religious Societies were in close connexion with the Church of England, and many of their members were frequent communicants at the churches. Wesley would have gladly preserved this connexion and practice; but such a course was made impracticable by the conduct of the clergy. In some places they arranged among themselves to repel the Methodists from the Lord's Table. In Bristol, on 27th July 1740, Charles Wesley and a company of Kingswood Methodists were sent away from the sacrament in Temple Church. Charles Wesley, therefore, administered the Lord's Supper to the Methodists in the school at Kingswood which had been built for the training of the colliers' children. In Newcastle-upon-Tyne a similar crisis arose. It is significant that in Newcastle the difficulty was aggravated by the fact that three of the dissenting ministers of the town agreed to exclude from the communion all who would not refrain from hearing the Wesleys. The effect of these exclusions, and of Charles Wesley's action, was speedily seen. The Methodists were diverted into a path which gradually but decisively diverged from the Church of England.

6. **Enlisting of lay-preachers.**—Another line of divergence from the practices of the Religious Societies must also be noted. John Wesley's conversion made him an evangelist. He longed to proclaim the gospel not only to select companies but to the world. His heart responded to the counsel of Lady Huntingdon: 'Attempt nothing less than all mankind' (*Journal*, iii. 48, note 1). But how could that advice be followed by a man in his circumstances? His work taxed all his strength. Charles Wesley helped him, especially in the opening years of his mission, and a few friendly clergymen gave him occasional assistance; but such help was inadequate. The double task of the pastoral care of his Societies and the evangelization of the country was too great for a single man. But the way opened. He had great skill in discovering and using the working-powers of laymen, and he soon found himself at the head of an order of lay-preachers who shared with him the hardships and the successes of his work. In 1738 and 1739 laymen had preached with his consent, but the order of lay-preachers is usually considered to date from 1740. The importance of this step cannot be exaggerated. The lay-preachers were divided into 'itinerants,' 'half-itinerants,' and 'local preachers.' They first abandoned their business and gave themselves entirely to the wandering life of the evangelist, under Wesley's personal supervision. For that work, at the beginning, they got no pay; later on a small sum was given them; but many years elapsed before they were rescued from the pinch of poverty. Assisted by them, Wesley went out 'to reform the nation, particularly the Church, and to spread Scriptural holiness over the land' (*Minutes of Conference*, i. 446). Wesley's work as an evangelist, an educationalist, a philanthropist, a social reformer, and a pioneer in enterprises that have deeply affected the condition of the nation must be passed over here. Some idea of the toils of himself, his preachers, and those who were associated with them in his Societies may be gathered from the fact that, when he died in 1791, there were 136,622 members in the Methodist Societies in Great Britain and Ireland, in other parts of the British Dominions, and in the United States of America.

7. **Institution of the Conference.**—It is now necessary to indicate certain facts which have determined the character of modern Methodism. While Wesley was 'the head of his order,' and spoke the last word in matters of administration, he thoroughly believed that there is safety in 'a multitude of counsellors.' He consulted the bands, the leaders, and persons of experience in his Societies, but the chief evidence of his reliance on the counsel of others is to be seen in the conferences which he held with the clergy who helped him, and with his lay-preachers. He also assembled the stewards at intervals in different parts of the country and conversed with them on financial and spiritual subjects. Out of his annual conferences with the clergy and lay-preachers, with whom lay-officers of the Society were sometimes associated, arose 'the Yearly Conference of the People called Methodists.' Towards the end of his life the vagueness of this description of the Conference was seen to be a danger. The power to appoint preachers to the numerous chapels that had been built would revert after Wesley's death to the Conference so inadequately described. To meet this contingency, on 28th Feb. 1784 Wesley signed a Deed Poll explaining the words 'the Yearly Conference of the People called Methodists,' and declaring 'what persons are members of the said Conference, and how the succession and identity thereof is to be continued.' One hundred 'preachers and expounders of God's Holy Word' then 'under the care of and in connexion with' Wesley were declared to be the Conference, and they and their successors, to be chosen in the manner laid down in the Deed, were 'for ever' to be 'the Conference of the People called Methodists.' This Deed Poll received decisive confirmation in 1835, when the Lord High Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst, and the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Lancelot Shadwell, upheld its validity in trials which took place in their courts. In his judgment the Vice-Chancellor affirmed that the Conference had been 'the supreme legislative and executive body' in Methodism since the death of Wesley.

The Conference in Wesley's day was more than a consultative assembly. It took complete oversight of preachers and people. It kept an eye on the moral character and doctrinal beliefs of the preachers, and stationed them in their Circuits. We shall accentuate only one part of its functions. In the form of 'Model Deed' for the settlement of chapels then called 'Preaching Houses,' published first in 1763, a clause appears which constitutes Wesley's *Notes upon the New Testament* and his four volumes of *Sermons* as the standard by which trustees were to judge the orthodoxy of the preachers appointed by the Conference. We may also add that the rights of trustees were strengthened by the clause in Wesley's Deed Poll which provided that, with the exception of clergy of the Church of England, the Conference might not appoint a preacher to the same chapel for more than three years successively.

8. **Provision for the sacraments.**—One other point remains to be considered at this stage. The question of the administration of the sacraments to the Societies had to be settled. The bulk of the Methodist people would not go to the parish churches for the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and provision for its administration in their own chapels was urgently desired. In November 1778 Wesley opened his new chapel in City Road, London. In that chapel the sacraments were administered as they had been in some of the other Methodist chapels in London and the country. Wesley was pressed to extend similar privileges to the rest of his Societies. He saw, however, that, if he yielded, he would have to qualify and appoint some of his lay-preachers to administer the sacraments; and, in his opinion, such appointment necessitated ordination. Time and circumstances led him to a solution of the problem. In 1769 he had sent two of his lay-preachers to New York to direct the work which had been begun there by certain Methodist local preachers. The work in America proved very successful, but the War of Independence gave it a new complexion. The Anglican clergy were scattered, and many of the Methodists had been without the sacraments for years. The Americans would have solved the difficulty by ordaining a sufficient number of their lay-preachers, but Francis Asbury, who had been sent out as a preacher from England by Wesley, checked this movement and advised that Wesley should be consulted. Wesley had satisfied himself that he, as a presbyter, had the power to ordain other presbyters; but he hesitated to do so. In 1784 the American crisis became acute; so, after much thought, he appointed Dr. Thomas Coke, a clergyman who acted with him, and Francis Asbury as 'superintendents' in N. America, and two other preachers as 'elders.' With the exception of Asbury, who was in America, these preachers were set apart by Wesley, assisted by other presbyters of the Church of England, by the imposition of hands. In this way the American difficulty was met, and the Methodist Episcopal Churches, which now number their membership by millions, entered on their remarkable career. Wesley afterwards ordained preachers for Scotland and for Foreign Mission stations. At last he took a still more decisive step in this direction. In 1788 he ordained Alexander Mather 'deacon,' 'elder,' and 'superintendent,' and in 1789 he ordained Henry Moore and Thomas Rankin 'presbyters,' empowering them to administer the sacraments in England. He exhorted them to maintain as close an association as possible with the Established Church; but, when that association was no longer practicable, they were to proceed to confer on other preachers the 'orders' which they had received (see *Proc. Wesleyan Hist. Society*, ix. 145–154).

9. **Influence of Charles Wesley.**—John Wesley is justly considered as the founder of the Methodist Church, and we have, in the main, dwelt on his actions in describing the origin and development of the United Societies. It would be unpardonable, however, if we failed to emphasize the services of his brother, Charles Wesley. During the early days of the 'Revival' he was a daring and successful evangelist, facing the violence of mobs and rivalling his brother in the activities of the wandering preacher's life. Later he settled down in Bristol, and then in London, and his itinerant work was restricted. But his influence as a hymn-writer was strong, and it is still felt not only in Methodism but throughout the Protestant Churches. He died on 29th March 1788.

10. **Events following Wesley's death.**—John Wesley died on 2nd March 1791. His death produced a dangerous crisis. Many thought that the time had come when the Methodist Societies would fall in pieces. Their stability had been secured, in great part, by his firm and reasonable autocracy. Was that autocracy to be exercised by a successor? The answer was in the negative. Then how was the supervision to be maintained which he had exercised over preachers and people during the intervals between the annual meetings of the Conference? The Conference gave the answer by dividing the kingdom into Districts, each containing a small number of Circuits, the preachers in which, being formed into committees, were answerable to the Conference for the maintenance of Methodist discipline. The functions of these Committees were enlarged from time to time, and chairmen, appointed by the Conference, were placed over them. This arrangement has been greatly developed in more modern times. The Committees have grown into District Synods, which exercise great influence in the administration of Methodism.

After Wesley's death the demand for the sacraments became urgent. The party most favourable to the Church of England was first in the field and issued manifestos against administration by the preachers. These provoked replies, and a controversy on the subject was continued until 1795, when an arrangement was made between the Conference and the representatives of the trustees of chapels. This arrangement, contained in the 'Plan of Pacification,' led to the administration of the sacraments in all Methodist chapels. As to ordination, it was decided that the reception of a preacher into 'full connexion with the Conference' should carry with it the right of administration without ordination by imposition of hands. In the case of Foreign Missionaries an exception was made, and they were ordained as in the time of Wesley. In 1836 the Conference determined that all its ministers should be ordained by the imposition of hands.

11. **'Plan of Pacification.'**—Another subject of cardinal importance pressed for settlement. The question had to be answered, Who shall possess the predominant ruling power of Methodism? The country, at the time of Wesley's death, was agitated by the discussions which had accompanied the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. The doctrine of 'the sovereignty of the people' fascinated many minds, and led to a strong wish on the part of some to introduce into Methodism a democratic form of government. But the most serious contest was between the claims of the Conference and of the trustees of chapels. That contest was settled, for the time being, by the 'Plan of Pacification' and by certain regulations that were passed at the Leeds Conference of 1797. In these documents we find the fundamental principles which still govern the Mother Church of

Methodism. The pastoral power of the preachers was safeguarded; but its exercise was limited by giving to the Leaders' Meeting additional rights, as representing the Societies, while matters of finance were placed more completely under the control of the Circuit Quarterly Meetings in which laymen predominated. Thus, in 1795 and 1797, was instituted that remarkable 'balance of power' which is a peculiarity of the system of Methodism. The settlement was almost universally approved. Out of a membership of nearly 100,000, about 5000 persons who were desirous of a democratic form of government united themselves into a Society under the leadership of William Thom and Alexander Kilham, and became the Methodist New Connexion.

12. Connexional system of Wesleyan Methodism.—Speaking of Methodism in the present time, we may say that the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the mother church of the Methodists, has pursued its course along the lines laid down by John Wesley. The Connexional system is intact. The Circuits consist of the several Societies within their boundaries, the Districts are composed of the Circuits in their areas, and 'the Connexion' is the aggregate of all the Societies, Circuits, and Districts in those countries in which Methodism is established in association with the Conference. This great organization is kept together by the unifying power of the Conference. Every attempt to introduce the principle of 'Circuit independency' has been successfully resisted. It is impossible here to describe minutely the organization of Wesleyan Methodism. It is the result not only of the work of Wesley, but of the continuance of his work done in his spirit, for more than a hundred years since his death. We may briefly note some of the changes which have taken place in the Conference since the Deed Poll was signed in 1784. The specific naming of the 100 preachers who composed the Conference produced excitement and ill-feeling, especially among preachers who were not nominated in the Deed. In 1791 the Conference, in accordance with Wesley's request conveyed in a letter, resolved that all preachers who were 'in full connexion' should enjoy every privilege that the members of the Conference enjoyed. That resolution almost completely allayed the ill-feeling that had been excited.

13. Lay-representation and the constitution of Conference.—The action of the Conference in 1876, however, is of still greater interest. Although no alteration can be made in the composition of the Conference created by Wesley's Deed Poll, save by process of civil law, it has been found possible to associate laymen, as well as ministers, with 'the Hundred.' The Conference, which assembles annually towards the end of July, now meets in two Sessions. Its representative Session is held first, and consists of 300 ministers and 300 laymen. The resolutions they pass are made valid by the confirming vote of the 'Legal Conference.' Some of the lay-representatives are chosen by the ministers and laymen present at the preceding Conference; but the greater number are elected by the separate vote of the laymen assembled in the representative Sessions of the District Synods held in May. Those Sessions have been much enlarged, not only by the inclusion of many laymen who are members of District sub-Committees, but also by the addition of the representatives of the Circuit Quarterly Meetings, which, in their turn, have been greatly enlarged through alterations made in the composition of the Leaders' Meetings. The most striking of the alterations in the Leaders' Meetings is the addition to them of persons elected by the Society Meeting in each place to represent the members of the Society. The votes for the laymen and the duly qualified women chosen to attend the Conference represent a wide constituency. As there is a permanent ministerial element in the Representative Session of the Conference consisting, for instance, of members of 'the Hundred,' there is also a permanent lay element. It is composed of the lay-treasurers of certain funds, along with 48 laymen elected by the votes of ministers and laymen present at the Conference. One-third of this number retire annually, and are not eligible for immediate re-election. In the Representative Session it is estimated that nearly 60 members of the Hundred will be present, a quorum of 40 being necessary for the transaction of business, according to the Deed Poll. To these are added several ministerial officials, such as chairmen of Districts who are not members of the Hundred, 8 representatives of foreign missionaries, and others. The rest of the 300 ministers are chosen by the votes of the ministers in the Pastoral Session of each Synod in Great Britain, the number of ministerial and lay-representatives being governed by the principle of proportion of members of Society in the several Districts. The Representative Session of the Conference deals with all questions in which the expenditure of money is involved, and reviews the work done by the committees of ministers and laymen that have managed the affairs of the several Church 'Departments' during the year. New legislation may also be proposed on subjects within the province of the Session, but such new legislation is not confirmed until it has been submitted to the Representative Sessions of the Districts for consideration and report.

At the close of the Representative Session the Pastoral Session is held. This consists of the 'Legal Hundred,' the ministers who have been members of the Representative Session that year, and other ministers who have received the permission of their Synods to attend. When the scheme of lay-representation was adopted, it was agreed that all questions of doctrine, discipline, and the stationing of ministers should be reserved to the Pastoral Session, as also the management of the Book Room, the great publishing department of Methodism. The Pastoral Session exercises strict discipline over the ministers of the Connexion, and also considers all appeals in cases of discipline affecting members. The Circuit Quarterly Meetings have a right to memorialize the Conference, in both its sessions, on Connexional subjects, and to propose alterations in Methodist rules and regulations. When 'provisional legislation' is passed by the Conference in its Pastoral Session, that legislation has to be submitted for the consideration of the ministers of the Districts when assembled in the Pastoral Session of the Synods.

14. Home and Foreign Missions.—The work of Methodism has always been deemed of greater importance than its machinery. The wide-spread character of that work may be judged from the *Minutes of Conference* annually published. The work of the Home and the Foreign Missionary departments is worthy of special consideration. In recent years the evangelistic campaign has been quickened by the erection of large Mission Halls in some of the principal towns of England. The example of renewed evangelistic enterprise in Wesleyan Methodism has made a deep impression on the Churches of Great Britain and other countries. The Foreign Missionary work of Methodism dates from 1769. The work gradually increased. In 1785 appointments in the United States, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Antigua appear in the *Minutes of Conference.* Working in connexion with the Conference, Coke was the leading spirit of Methodist Foreign Missionary enterprise until his death in 1813. In that year the work became more completely organized, and the present Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was formed. In estimating the importance of the work done by that Society, it must be remembered that its present operations are carried on in a field that is only a fragment of the area once occupied. Independent and affiliated Conferences formed in the United States, Canada, France, S. Africa, and Australia have taken over almost all the work which was begun by the British Conference in the several countries mentioned.

I. CHURCHES OF THE EASTERN SECTION.

	Churches.	Ministers.	Local preachers.	Members and probationers.	Churches.	Sunday Schools.	Sunday School officers.	Sunday School scholars.
1.	Wesleyan Methodist	3,066	24,836	664,958	12,542	9,428	139,099	1,094,950
2.	Primitive Methodist	1,192	16,241	211,691	5,136	4,176	59,338	463,821
3.	United Methodist	895	6,239	165,722	3,021	2,374	42,556	317,657
4.	Irish Methodist	244	628	29,648	398	353	2,582	25,834
5.	Wesleyan Reform Union	21	520	8,366	195	179	2,746	21,754
6.	Independent Methodist	414	..	8,769	159	157	3,051	27,703
7.	French Methodist	40	84	1,690	124	70	225	2,456
8.	S. African Methodist	253	5,797	117,146	3,930	788	2,893	39,329
9.	Australasian Methodist	1,069	4,701	150,890	6,554	4,021	23,086	218,170
	Total for Eastern Section, 1910	7,194	59,046	1,358,880	32,059	21,546	275,576	2,211,674

II. CHURCHES OF THE WESTERN SECTION.

	Churches.	Ministers.	Local preachers.	Members.	Churches.	Sunday Schools.	Sunday School officers.	Sunday School scholars.
1.	Methodist Episcopal	20,755	14,718	3,489,696	30,305	35,590	374,118	3,579,999
2.	Methodist Episcopal Church (South)	7,877	4,584	1,883,043	16,457	15,980	127,761	1,337,108
3.	Methodist Church, Canada	2,655	2,589	340,091	3,672	3,678	36,503	340,897
4.	African Methodist Episcopal	6,774	6,302	606,106	5,630	5,695	39,310	316,000
5.	African Methodist Episcopal (Zion)	3,488	3,024	547,216	3,298	..	..	..
6.	Methodist Protestant	1,362	490	188,437	2,390	2,123	17,812	141,899
7.	Coloured Methodist Episcopal	2,901	6,194	234,721	2,857	3,011	12,044	219,999
8.	Free Methodist	1,122	802	32,112	1,163	1,154	7,662	44,275
9.	Wesleyan Methodist	598	192	19,178	571	491	2,523	21,211
10.	Primitive Methodist	72	98	7,407	98	95	1,511	12,900
11.	Union American Methodist Episcopal	138	..	18,500	255	78	481	3,372
12.	African Union Methodist Protestant	200	..	4,000	125	66	441	5,266
13.	Congregational Methodist	337	..	15,529	333	182	1,146	8,785
14.	Congregational Methodist (Coloured)	5	..	319	5	..	..	..
15.	New Congregational Methodist	59	..	1,782	35	27	143	1,298
16.	Zion Union Apostolic (Coloured)	53	..	3,059	45	36	212	1,508
17.	Independent Methodist	2	..	1,161	2	..	..	..
18.	Reformed Methodist	18	..	357	11	..	..	..
19.	Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal (Coloured)	40	..	4,000	58	54	204	1,792
20.	British Methodist Episcopal (Coloured)	20	6	700	21	18	125	..
21.	Japan Methodist	138	81	12,822	107	300	1,150	25,826
	Total for Western Section, 1910	48,614	39,075	7,409,786	67,438	68,578	623,146	6,062,135

NOTE.—The returns for local preachers and for Sunday Schools are in some instances incomplete.

III. SUMMARY OF EASTERN AND WESTERN SECTIONS.

Eastern Section	7,194	59,046	1,358,880	32,059	21,546	275,576	2,211,674
Western Section	48,614	39,075	7,409,736	67,438	68,578	623,146	6,062,135
Total	55,808	98,121	8,768,616	99,497	90,124	898,722	8,273,809

15. Statistics of world Methodism.—It is only at the decennial meetings of the Ecumenical Conference, when representatives of the Methodist Churches in both hemispheres meet, that an idea of the wide-spread influence of Methodism can be gained. Those Conferences were instituted in 1881, the latest being held in Toronto in 1911. The carefully compiled statistics presented to that Conference speak for themselves.

It was estimated that the members and adherents of the Methodist Churches, in 1910, numbered, in the Eastern Section, 6,794,471, and, in the Western Section, 25,934,076, making a total of 32,728,547.

The statistical tables show that there are many separate Methodist Churches in the world. It must, however, be understood that the divisions that have occurred have not been caused by doctrinal differences; in almost all cases they have arisen from varying opinions concerning ecclesiastical constitution and administration. In the Western Section the 'colour question' has had an influence on the number of churches.

There is one Church, bearing the Methodist name, which is not represented in the Ecumenical Conference — the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church. Its history and organization should be studied in Williams's valuable book (*Welsh Calvinistic Methodism*). The Church is closely connected in origin with Whitefield's work in Wales. The doctrinal difference, indicated in its title, suggests a reason for its unique position among Methodist Churches.

16. Methodist Episcopal Churches.—The success of Methodism in the United States of America has been remarkable. We have mentioned some facts concerning its origin in 1769, and the action of Wesley in ordaining Coke as a Superintendent, and two other preachers as presbyters, in 1784. When Coke arrived in America, he ordained Francis Asbury as a Superintendent. Asbury's work and influence have left a deep mark on Methodism in the United States. Like Wesley, he was a man of high spiritual tone. He rivalled Wesley in evangelistic enterprise, and gathered around him men who possessed the courage and devotion of the pioneer preacher. The War of Independence had made the whole country the sphere of the most enterprising Evangelism. In settled towns, in clusters of huts, in lonely backwoods, the Methodist preacher became a familiar figure, as he preached and formed and visited his little Societies. The growth of the churches in the immense areas in which the pioneers worked necessitated the helpful supervision not only of the Superintendents but also of 'Presiding Elders,' who rode hither and thither, constantly giving inspiration and guidance to the scattered evangelists and churches. For a considerable time the work was carried on in close connexion with the British Conference, and on lines similar to those followed in England. A Conference was held in the States in 1773, at which time there were 6 Circuits, 10 preachers, and 160 members. From these small beginnings American Methodism has advanced to its present position.

The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church (South) occupy the chief positions among the Methodist Churches of the United States. They separated in 1844, in consequence of discussions which involved the question of slavery. We may refer to some of the constitutional arrangements of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The members of the Church are divided into local Societies, one or more of which constitute a 'pastoral charge.' A quarterly conference is organized in each 'pastoral charge.' The 'travelling preachers' throughout the States are members of their several Annual Conferences, the sessions of which they are obliged to attend. In addition to the ministerial Annual Conferences, a General Conference is held every four years composed of delegates from all the Annual Conferences in the States. It consists of pastors and lay-delegates, the admission of the latter into the General Conference dating from 1872. The ministerial delegates are elected by the Annual Conferences, each of which is entitled to one delegate at least. The General Conference fixes the ratio of representation and the manner of election. Every four years a Lay Electoral Conference is constituted within the bounds of each Annual Conference for the purpose of voting on constitutional changes to be submitted to the General Conference, which is the supreme legislative assembly. The Lay Electoral Conference is composed of lay-members, one from each pastoral charge, chosen by the lay-members of each charge over twenty-one years of age, in such manner as the General Conference has determined. Each Lay Electoral Conference is entitled to elect as many lay-delegates to the General Conference as there are ministerial delegates from the Annual Conference. In the General Conference the 'General Superintendents,' as the bishops are called in the *Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, preside in such order as they determine; but, if no General Superintendent is present, the Conference elects one of its other members to preside *pro tempore*. The presence of two-thirds of the whole number of delegates constitutes a quorum for the transaction of business. The General Conference elects by ballot as many General Superintendents as it may deem necessary from among the 'Travelling Elders,' as the former Presiding Elders are now called. The Conference has full power to make rules and regulations for the Church, under the limitations and restrictions laid down in the *Discipline*. The principal restrictions are that it cannot revoke, alter, or change the *Articles of Religion*, which were prepared by John Wesley, and which first appeared in *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in the United States of America*, published in 1784. Nor can the General Conference establish any new standards, or rules of doctrine, contrary to the present existing and established standards. In addition, it cannot change or alter any part or rule of government so as to do away with episcopacy or destroy the plan of General Superintendency. It is also unable to revoke or change the 'General Rules' of the Church. Those 'Rules' are, with slight variations, the 'Rules of the Society of the People called Methodists,' as drawn up by John Wesley in 1743. As to the procedure of the General Conference, the *Discipline* shows that, in voting, the ministers and laymen vote together; but it is provided that a separate vote 'by orders' may be taken on any question when it is requested by one-third of either order of delegates present and voting. In all cases of separate voting the concurrence of the two orders is required for the adoption of the proposed measure. If the proposal concerns a change of the constitution, a vote of two-thirds of the General Conference is required. Such, in bare outline, is a sketch of some of the outstanding features of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but it should be supplemented by a study of the book of *Doctrines and Discipline* (1912). In J. H. Rigg's *Comparative View of Church Organisations* there is a chapter on American Episcopal Methodism which contains important information enabling the student to compare the constitution of the Mother Church of Great Britain with that of the Methodist Churches in the United States. For many years the visits of fraternal delegates, representing the Conferences of Great Britain and Ireland and America, have served to strengthen the bond of union between the Methodists of the two countries. The American Methodists hold a conspicuous position among the Churches devoted to the work of Foreign Missions.

17. Early secessions.—We have mentioned the first important Methodist secession in England, taking place in 1797. As the Methodist New Connexion is now part of the United Methodist Church, it is not necessary to describe its original constitution. In 1810 a small Society, numbering 10 members, was formed by Hugh Bourne in Staffordshire, and became the germ of the Primitive Methodist Church. In 1815 a Society, consisting of 22 persons, was formed by William O'Bryan in Devonshire out of which arose the Bible Christian Church. The reasons for the institution of these two Societies were similar. In the former case Hugh Bourne and William Clowes, two earnest evangelists, were indisposed to submit to the restrictions of Methodist discipline and manner of work. They sought and found a sphere in which they could have a larger freedom. They made no attempt to agitate the Church from which they were separated. They gathered their members out of the neglected classes, and displayed in their work much of the spirit of ancient Methodism. The same may be said of William O'Bryan, the founder of the Bible Christian Church.

18. Primitive Methodist Church.—Next to the Wesleyan Methodists, the Primitive Methodists hold the strongest position in Great Britain. The constitution bears, in several points, a strong resemblance to that of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, but there is a marked difference in the composition of the Conference. H. B. Kendall, in his *Handbook of Primitive Methodist Church Principles and Polity* (London, 1913), says:

> 'The Deed Poll provides that members shall be formed into Classes, Societies, Circuits, and Districts, and that Societies shall have their Leaders' Meetings, and Circuits their Committees and Quarterly Meetings' (p. 61).

Dealing with the functions of the Annual Conference, he sets forth the provisions of the Primitive Methodist Deed Poll. First of all, the Conference is to be composed of 12 Permanent Members, irremovable from office except for incompetency or incapacity. Next, it is to be composed of other persons not exceeding 4, whose appointment is to be made by a by-law of the Conference. These may be ministers or laymen, official or unofficial members. Lastly, the Conference is also composed of delegates, who have been elected thereto by their District Meetings, one-third of whom must be travelling preachers and two-thirds laymen, and no layman is to be appointed who is not a local preacher, or a class leader, or a Circuit steward. After long consideration and much discussion it was decided by the Conference of 1876 that the number of delegates to be sent by each to the highest court should be determined by the number of members in the District, 3000 being made the unit for one minister and two laymen (p. 61 f.). Kendall is of opinion that the Primitive Methodist polity is a 'modified Presbyterianism,' one evidence of the fact being that the Churches are jointly governed by ministers and lay-officials, and that all ministers are in theory equal, the Superintendent differing from his colleagues only in function and responsibility (p. 62). Up to the present the Primitive Methodists have not shown any strong desire for corporate union with other Methodist Churches. Their Foreign Missionary work is confined to Africa.

19. United Methodist Church.—In 1827, 1835, and 1849 there were secessions from the Wesleyan Methodist Church resulting from serious controversies concerning questions of government and administration. The first was occasioned by the introduction of an organ into one of the chapels in Leeds. In its course constitutional questions were raised touching the power of the Conference, which re-emerged at a later stage. In 1835 the creation of the Theological Institution for the training of candidates for the ministry roused strong opposition. The first occasion of the disturbance was soon nearly forgotten, and the controversy turned into an attack on the constitution of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. The agitation was elaborately organized and vigorously conducted in all parts of the country, and brought about the secession of several thousands of members, who formed themselves into the Wesleyan Association. The Association held its first Annual Assembly in Manchester in 1836. The Leeds reformers of 1827 joined the new Church.

The largest of all the secessions from the Wesleyan Methodist Church took place in 1849. Its immediate cause was the action taken by the Conference in dealing with certain anonymous publications in which the personal character of ministers holding high official responsibility was attacked. But, as before, the controversy soon involved the question of the constitution and, especially, of the power of the Conference. It is difficult to state the number of persons lost to the Wesleyan Methodist Church through this agitation. The aggressive work of Methodism was paralyzed for several years. When the strife subsided, it was found that the number of members in the Wesleyan Methodist Church was nearly 100,000 less than when the agitation began. The 'Reformers' of 1849–52 formed themselves into a distinct community, which, by union with the Methodist Association, became 'the United Methodist Free Churches.'

In 1907 an Act was passed by Parliament authorizing the union of the Methodist New Connexion, the Bible Christians, and the United Methodist Free Churches, under the name of 'The United Methodist Church.' The constitution of the new Church shows the usual indications of compromise; but it retains the strong marks of original Methodism. The Conference, which is composed of ministers and laymen in equal numbers, meets once a year. It includes the President and Secretary, the President-designate, 12 ministers and 12 laymen, who form, in a sense, a permanent nucleus, the Connexional officers, the representatives of District Meetings, and such representatives of Connexional Funds and Institutions as the last preceding Conference has determined. The whole number of the Conference, exclusive of the Guardian Representatives and Connexional officers, is about 300. The Conference appoints a General Connexional Committee which exercises a 'general oversight over the affairs of the United Methodist Church during the intervals between the Conferences.' The authority of the Church Meeting, the Leaders' Meeting, and the Circuit Quarterly Meeting is great. These meetings are, to a considerable extent, independent of the Conference, but the Conference has certain rights which it can exercise in cases calling for its interference. The constitution of the United Methodist Church may be studied in the *General Rules*, approved by the Conference in September 1907, a new edition of which was published in 1911. Foreign Missionary work is being done by this Church in China, Africa, Central America, and the W. Indies.

20. Smaller Methodist Churches.—The Wesleyan Reform Union consists of those Churches and Circuits which held aloof from the amalgamation producing the United Methodist Free Churches. In 1859 a constitution was formed which is fully described in a pamphlet published by the Wesleyan Reform Union Conference, the latest edition being issued in 1896.

In 1805 several small Churches formed a union which held its first Annual Meeting in Manchester. The distinctive characteristics of the churches so united are an unpaid ministry, conjoined with the free church-life of the Quakers and the doctrines and methods of Wesleyan Methodism (J. Vickers, *Independent Methodism* [Wigan], 1910, p. 3). In 1898 this union assumed the name of the Independent Methodist Church. Its churches are situated chiefly in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the northern counties, with some outlying churches in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, and a few besides in Bristol and the south-west. The Independent Methodists excel in Sunday School work.

Although sharply divided by constitutional distinctions, the Methodists of England have so much in common, especially in their practical work, that they are being drawn nearer together. The Ecumenical and other Conferences have done much to promote the spirit of fraternity among them. In Canada and other countries the Methodist Churches have united, and Methodist reunion in England is often sympathetically discussed.

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JOHN S. SIMON.

II. *DOCTRINE.*—Let us look into the soul animating the body which has been described. Methodism was the offspring of the Evangelical Revival that took place in England during the 18th cent.; its doctrine was moulded under the religious conditions of that age.

1. **Methodism and deism.**—A rationalistic deism then largely prevailed amongst educated men—a system of thought which fenced God off from mankind behind the laws of nature and bounded human knowledge by the limits of sense-perception and logical reason. The Deity was treated as an absentee from His world; and men consequently became godless in practice as in thought. The Revival swept down these artificial barriers. God was realized in living contact with His children. The sense of the divine was recovered; the transcendent became again immanent to consciousness. Accordingly, 'the life of God in the souls of men' was Wesley's definition of religion; 'the work of God' was the habitual Methodist designation for the Revival, because in its phenomena God's immediate action upon human nature was discerned. Hence the emphasis laid in the teaching of the Wesleys on 'the witness of the Spirit' (Ro 8). The doctrine of assurance—the personal certainty of the forgiveness of sins and of restored sonship toward God — was the outstanding feature of original Methodism. To most Churchmen of the time professions of this kind appeared a strange 'enthusiasm' (see G. Lavington, *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists considered*^{3}, London, 1833); that a man might know his sins forgiven was deemed a dangerous presumption. Along with the Fatherhood of God, the Deity of the atoning Saviour and of the witnessing and sanctifying Spirit came to be freshly recognized; an arrest was made of the Socinianism which by the middle of the 18th cent. was rife among both Anglicans and Dissenters.

2. **Methodism and Calvinism.**—The Methodist forces were soon divided on the question of predestination. Predestinarianism, like deism, magnifies the transcendence of God at the expense of His immanence, reducing finite will to an illusion and making man, even in his acceptance of divine grace, the passive creature instead of the consenting child of God. The Puritan theology, in its prevailing strain, was intensely Calvinistic; and to it Whitefield, with the Welsh Methodist leaders and the Evangelical clergy generally, adhered, while the Wesleys espoused Arminian views upon election and grace, in this respect inheriting the High Anglican tradition. But the spring of their universalism lay in the sense of God's mercy to mankind revealed within their own breast and interpreted in the broad light of the NT; they sang:

> 'The boundless grace that found out me
> For every soul of man is free!'

They could not preach that God 'willeth all men to be saved' under the reservation that He has doomed some, of His mere pleasure, to perdition; as Christ's ambassadors, they cried, without any misgiving, 'Ye all may come, *whoever will*!' The

Wesleyan teaching lifted a cloud from the character of God; it brought salvation to thousands who had deemed themselves predestined reprobates. Wesley vehemently contended against another tenet of Calvinism, maintained by contemporary Evangelicals—that of the necessary inherence of sin in the redeemed. The current orthodoxy limited the salvation of Christ in the degree of its attainability as well as in the persons by whom it is attainable. John Wesley arrived at the conviction that the man who is 'in Christ' may become even on earth a thoroughly 'new creature,' that it is possible to be actually 'cleansed from all sin' through 'the blood of Jesus' (1 Jn 1^7)—'freed' (as he would say) 'from the last remains of sin'; on the strength of God's promises and the warrant of experience, he taught his people to seek and expect the power to keep continually the Two Commandments of Jesus and so to become altogether holy and happy. To this effect he used to quote the Communion Prayer, 'that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name,' insisting that this is to ask from God no boon beyond His giving. From the moment of conversion the Methodist was set at war with 'inbred sin,' inspired by the prospect of its extirpation. The Class Meeting, with this ideal before it, became a school of holiness. The 'glorious hope of perfect love' proved an abiding spring of spiritual ardour and a powerful spur to moral endeavour. Sometimes the extravagances and self-delusions of unbalanced minds discredited the doctrine of Perfect Love; to such abuse all earnest religious teaching is liable. But the sight of the goal of faith given to Methodism quickened and sustained the race for multitudes. The endurance of the Wesleyan Revival is due to the spiritual breadth and sanity of its programme. In this sense Wesley defined the object of Methodism as being 'to spread Scriptural Holiness throughout the land.' The hymns of Charles Wesley are the best exposition of Methodism in the fundamental respects which we have stated; they served as its keenest weapon in the arduous conflict which it waged with Calvinism. Along with the hymns, the doctrine which inspired them has leavened the whole Methodist Church.

3. **Methodism and Moravianism.**—Methodism owes a peculiar debt to the Moravian Brethren; their hand led the two Wesleys out of 'the legal wilderness' into the liberty of the sons of God. From this simple people, as well as from William Law and the mystics, John Wesley learned deep lessons respecting faith and inward religion. But there came here also a parting of the ways. Leading members of the Unitas Fratrum in England, and others of Wesley's early associates, were infected with the mystical tendency to despise the external duties of religion. Regarding the inner light and the Holy Spirit's witness as the sum of Christianity, men of this persuasion treated fellowship and Church order as superfluities; some of them verged in theory, if not in practice, upon Antinomianism. Among the latter the maxim was current, which Wesley denounces as an 'enthusiastic doctrine of devils,' that 'we are not to do good unless our hearts are free to it'—in other words, that we should leave disagreeable duties undone (this was a temporary, but widely operative, aberration in Moravianism). In this outbreak Wesley saw the peril of the Revival; he raised a barrier against it in the 'Rules of Society' (dated 1st May 1743), which bear strongly upon private and social duty, and by the mutual oversight secured through the Class Meeting. Thus the experimental in religion was balanced by the practical; inward holiness found in outward holiness its complement and safeguard. Methodism recognized that, while salvation is 'through faith' alone, a true faith 'works by love'; it enforced the teaching of St. James side by side with that of St. Paul, and found the two entirely consistent. Their home-training and Anglican schooling stood the Wesleys in good stead at this crisis.

4. **Methodism and the Church of England.**—John and Charles Wesley were sons and ministers of the Church of England, and taught (as they supposed) her true doctrine. John Wesley quoted the *Articles* and *Homilies* in vindication of his most oppugned tenets. For the guidance of his people he revised the Thirty-nine Articles, reducing their number by omission and abbreviation to 25 (so printed in the Wesleyan Methodist Service Book): the changes are in many instances significant. There disappear, with others, artt. viii. ('Of the Three Creeds'), xiii. ('Of Works before Justification'), xv. ('Of Christ alone without Sin'), xvii. ('Of Predestination and Election'), xx. and xxi. ('Of the Authority of the Church' and 'Of the Authority of General Councils'), xxiii. ('Of Ministering in the Congregation'), and xxxiii. ('Of Excommunicate Persons'). The title of art. xvi. becomes 'Sin after Justification' instead of 'Sin after Baptism,' and 'Ministers' is substituted for 'Priests' in xxxii.; 'Traditions' is paraphrased by 'Rites and Ceremonies' in xxxiv., the substance of the art. being preserved with notable alterations in detail. 'The Civil Magistrates' (xxxvii.) Wesley turns into 'the Rulers of the British Dominions,' adding 'his Parliament' to 'the King's Majesty,' merging 'Ecclesiastical and Civil' in 'all Estates,' and concluding with the first paragraph of the art.; he ignores the Royal Supremacy over the Church. The artt. on 'the Sacraments' and 'the Lord's Supper' are reproduced almost *verbatim*; but that 'Of Baptism' is curtailed, the definition ending with the words 'sign of . . . new Birth'; the statement that by baptism persons are 'grafted into the Church' is avoided, while the clause commending 'the Baptism of young Children' is retained. Art. ix., 'Of Original or Birth-Sin,' is also cut down materially: the Wesleyan teaching on Sanctification appeared to conflict with the assertion that 'this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated.' The reference to 'flesh' and 'bones' is dropped from the art. 'Of the Resurrection of Christ.' The general effect of the recasting is to emphasize the Protestant and Evangelical character of the formulary, to set aside the principle of State-establishment, and to eliminate Calvinism.

5. **Doctrinal standards.**—Neither the Articles of Religion nor any other Anglican document or dogmatic creed was laid down by Wesley as the ground of Christian fellowship. The revised Articles of Religion were, however, from the first incorporated, with certain necessary local adaptations, in the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America (see *Doctrine and Discipline*, etc., of this Church, pp. 21–26). 'There is only one condition previously required,' the Rules state, 'in those who desire to enter these [the Methodist] Societies, viz. a desire to flee from the wrath to come, to be saved from their sins.' This 'narrow gate' leads into the true way; the earnest seeker of salvation approves Christ and the gospel as the sick man his remedy; a deep repentance affords the best guarantee for orthodoxy. To his preachers, however, Wesley prescribed his *Notes on the NT* and the first four volumes of *Sermons* (ed. 1787–88, containing 44 Discourses) for the basis of a common understanding. These standards are introduced into the Model Deed regulating the trusts upon which Wesleyan Methodist church-fabrics are secured, and into the ordination vows of the ministers. Every Local Preacher also declares his assent to 'the general doctrine' contained in the above writings as being

'in accordance with the holy Scriptures.' While they present no formal confession or dogmatic scheme, the *Notes* and *Sermons* contain the full evangelical creed in solution; they are a working standard framed for a preaching ministry, and have proved a sufficient regulative canon for a Church that retains its Evangelical consciousness and is concerned above all things to preserve the life-conveying spirit of these authoritative documents. A Conference Resolution of 1807 forbade the tenure of office in the Societies to any person 'holding opinions contrary to the total depravity of human nature, the Divinity and Atonement of Christ, the influence and witness of the Holy Spirit, and Christian Holiness, as believed by the Methodists.'

6. Four salient points. — The characteristic features of Methodist teaching may be summed up as follows.

(1) *Universal redemption.* — Wesley and his preachers proffered in the name of Jesus Christ 'a free, full, and present salvation' to every sinner—a salvation based on the Sacrifice of the Cross, bestowed on condition of 'repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ,' and certified inwardly by the witness of the Spirit of God bringing peace of heart and the sense of God's fatherly love, and outwardly by a life of holy obedience.

(2) *Entire sanctification.*—Methodism holds the gospel to be as large in its intension as in its extension, to be designed for the 'rooting out' from human nature of 'every plant which the Heavenly Father planted not'; it encourages the Christian man to look for the perfect cure, in himself and in his race, of sin's disease. The Rules of Society, illustrated by Wesley's social work, virtually include the community with the individual man in the scope of Christ's redemption.

(3) *The fellowship of believers.*—Methodism stands for Christian brotherhood. It honours the ministry and cherishes the two sacraments; but, in its view, the proof of Church-membership lies essentially not in observance of sacraments, nor in obedience to priests, nor in subscription to creeds, but in the fulfilling on the part of Christ's brethren of His law of love by their seeking one another's company and bearing one another's burdens.

(4) *Ordered Christian service.*—'This is the love of God, that we keep His commandments': the Wesleyan Rules of Society were conceived as an application of the commandments of Christ to the situation of the Methodist people in early days. Interpreted with good sense and according to the spirit in which they were framed, those rules are found applicable to later times and to the circumstances of Methodists all over the world. They signify that the Christian man is Christ's in body as in spirit, and is called in concert with his fellows to bend everything in life to the furtherance of God's kingdom upon earth.

The above sketch is a narrative, not a criticism—a narrative of the genesis of Methodism as a product of and a factor in the life of Christendom. The changes which the system has undergone in thought and spiritual character, due to its wide expansion and the reaction upon it of later religious movements, cannot here be traced. Suffice it to say that through its manifold divisions and diversities of government a striking identity of doctrine prevails. Ecumenical Methodism retains the stamp of its origin.

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GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

MEXICANS (Ancient).—The territory of what is now the Republic of Mexico was inhabited in ancient times—as in part it still is—by a great diversity of nations and tribes. The plains of Northern Mexico were the domain of tribes of a low culture stage, living mostly without fixed abode, relying chiefly on the produce of the chase, and to some extent on agriculture. These tribes, of whom we know very little, received from the Mexicans the general name of Chichimecs. The more cultivated nations were concentrated in the central highlands, and in the ravines, valleys, and coast-plains of Southern Mexico. Though belonging to different linguistic stocks, and differentiated as to their advancement in culture, art, science, and political power, they were, nevertheless, identical in the special traits of their civilization, forming, so to speak, one great geographical culture province.

The name Mexicans belongs properly to the inhabitants of the city of Mexico or Tenochtitlan, who were otherwise called Aztecs, but the designation was extended to all tribes and tribal fractions who spoke the same idiom, and were known to the citizens of Mexico by the name Naua or Nauatlaca, *i.e.*, 'speaking intelligibly.' Their abodes in historical times were the central highlands, the Federal District, the States of Mexico, Puebla, and Morelos, and the territory of Tlaxcala, where they lived intermingled with fractions of the Otomi nation, with Mazauas, Matlatzincas, Popolocas, and other primitive nations. From that central home parts of the Mexican nation emigrated, in pre-historic times, to the Atlantic coast, reaching as far as Guatemala, San Salvador, and the coasts and islands of the great lake of Nicaragua. Those were the tribes particularly connected with the mythical name of Toltecs. To the Maya-speaking people of Guatemala these emigrants were known by the name of Yaqui, which seems to be but another name of the Toltecs, who were commonly designated by the Mexicans as the Tonatiuh iixco Yaque, 'those who went to the rising sun.' For all these tribes, undoubtedly, a long succession of ages of cultural development must be taken into account, since their civilization, at the time of the Conquest, might have equalled, at least in many respects, that of the ancient nations of the other side of the globe. Their religion had reached a correspondingly advanced stage of development, and was very elaborate, while their pantheon was unusually rich.

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[1] The letters A.M. attached to the name of authors signify American Methodist; G.M., German Methodist; M.N.C., Methodist of the New Connexion; P.M., Primitive Methodist; U.M., of the United Methodist Church; the undistinguished names are Wesleyan Methodist.

1. **Religious ideas.**—As with all the other nations of the world, the religious faith and the metaphysical ideas of the Mexicans had in part developed from attempts to grasp the connexion between the things of this world according to the principle of causality; in part they were the outcome of religious practice, and the crystallization of magic ceremonies, intended to produce certain effects by way of imitation. The great problems that presented themselves to the human mind because of the movement of the sun, the changes in the shape of the moon, and the varying location of the 'great star'—the morning star—have been treated by the Mexicans in a great number of mythical tales and mythical personifications.

The most prominent and the most widely worshipped Mexican god, of whom the largest number of tales and myths were reported, Quetzalcoatl, the 'feathered snake,' the creator of men, the wind-god of the later priestly school, was, in fact, nothing else than a mythical personification of the moon, who in her decrease travels to the east, *i.e.*, draws every day nearer to the sun, and finally dies away in the rays of the rising sun. It was believed that, when dying, this god, or his heart, was transformed into the morning star. The counterpart of this deity, Tezcatlipoca, the young warrior, who was regarded as the watching eye, the god who sees and punishes all kinds of sin, and the sorcerer who roams about in the night, is, in reality, the new, waxing moon who makes her appearance in the evening sky, and will travel on in the night, as the eye of the night. On the other hand, deities like Centeotl, the 'maize-god,' have developed from certain religious practices—*e.g.*, the placing of maize-stalks or young maize-ears in the houses, in order to get rich crops. Xipe Totec, the 'flayed,' the god who wears a human skin, the hide of a sacrificed man, has probably originated from well-known ceremonies celebrated in the beginning of the year in the time of sowing, in order to bring about the re-birth of vegetation. The two classes of deified beings met in the one great idea that the celestial powers, the sun, the moon, and the god of thunder and lightning, were at the same time the promoters of the growth and ripening of the fruit, and in the conviction that the new-born god (the rising sun) and the increasing agency (the waxing moon) were the causes of all birth and growth and of all that maintains and keeps up human life, and that they were the source of human life itself.

The spirits of the dead are to be added to these two classes—the ancestors, the founders of the tribe who had died in ancient times, and who had lived when the sun had not yet made its appearance in the sky. These deified ancestors were believed to awaken and to live in the night and, consequently, were identified with the stars. Xiuhtecutli, the god of fire, who had likewise existed in the 'time of darkness and night,' before the birth of the sun, and was, accordingly, named Ueueteotl, the 'old god,' became in some way the prototype of these ancestral gods.

2. **Origin of the world.**—The Mexicans believed that heaven, earth, and the sun had not been created at once, but that four ages of a somewhat imperfect creation had preceded the formation of the present world. The first of these pre-cosmic creations was named Ocelotonatiuh, 'jaguar-sun.' This was the sun of darkness, or sun of the earth, for the jaguar was considered to be the animal that swallowed the sun in time of eclipse, and, as the earth was the realm of darkness, the jaguar was identified with the earth. This first period came to an end by darkness, when the jaguars were eating men. The second period was called Ecatonatiuh, 'wind-sun.' This period came to an end by great revolving storms, and men were transformed into apes. The third period had the name Quiauhtonatiuh, 'rain-sun,' meaning 'fire-rain.' In this period fire rained from the sky, volcanic ashes and lapilli were strewn over the earth, and reddish lava-cliffs arose. Men were transformed into birds. The fourth period was called Atonatiuh, 'water-sun.' In this period a great deluge took place, men were transformed into fishes, and the sky fell down upon the earth. The fallen sky was raised by the joint action of the gods Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca, and the earth was revived. It was only then, in the year called *ce tochtli*, 'one rabbit,' that the present world was created. Its name is Olintonatiuh, or 'earthquake-sun,' because this present world is to be destroyed by earthquakes. One year after this creation, in the year *ome acatl*, 'two reed,' the god Mixcoatl, 'cloud-snake,' the god of the North—or Tezcatlipoca in the form of Mixcoatl—'drew fire out of the wooden sticks,' kindled fire by means of the fire-drill. Then men were created, and war was begun, in order that there might be human hearts at hand for nourishing the sun. The first who was killed in war, *i.e.*, was captured in war and offered on the sacrificial stone, was Xochiquetzal, the goddess of the moon, for it is the moon who dies every month in conjunction with the sun, and by her death gives life and strength to the rising sun.

Men being created, and war being commenced, there was opportunity for the creation of the sun. At the end of the first half of the first Mexican cycle of 52 years, in the year 'thirteen reed,' the sun was created.

The gods assembled in Teotiuacan, the ancient city of the sun, and took counsel, asking each other who should take charge of lighting the world. The first who offered himself was Tecciztecatl, the moon-god. Again the gods asked which other deity would take charge of lighting the world. As no one replied, the gods requested Nanauatzin, the 'bubonic,' the luetic god, to undertake it, and he consented. The gods kindled a great fire in the *teotexcalli*, the 'divine stove,' and Tecciztecatl tried first to throw himself into the fire, but he was afraid and drew back. Then Nanauatzin shut his eyes and threw himself at once into the fire, and after him Tecciztecatl did the same. This took place at midnight. Then the gods conjectured in what direction the sun was to rise. It was in the east, where the sun rose at day-break, followed by the moon. The chroniclers relate that originally the moon possessed the same splendour as the sun, but the gods struck her in the face with a rabbit, so that her splendour darkened, and now the figure of the rabbit is seen on the face of the moon. After having risen, the sun and the moon stood still for four days and four nights, whereupon the gods resolved to sacrifice themselves in order to give life to the sun. After the gods had killed themselves, the sun commenced to move, and ever since has made his regular courses, alternating with the moon.

3. **Origin of men.**—When heaven and earth were created, the gods took counsel and asked where to get beings to dwell on the earth. Then Xolotl, the dog who jumps down from the sky—the god who carries the setting sun to the under world—went to the kingdom of the dead to fetch a bone of the dead. When he had given his message to Mictlantecutli, the king of the dead, the latter asked him to move four times round the sepulchre in the stone-circle, blowing the conch. The god called upon the worms to make a hole in the shell, and thus he blew the conch. The king of the dead gave the bone to him, but ordered his vassals to follow him and to dig a pit in his way. There the god stumbled and fell, the bone slipped out of his hand, fell to the ground, and was broken in pieces. The god was much grieved, but he arose, picked up the fragments, and brought them to Tamoanchan, a region situated far in the west

There the goddess Ciuacoatl or Quilaztli ground down the fragments on the grinding-stone, and put the pulverized material into the *chalchiuhapaztli*, the bowl hollowed out of a precious stone, and set with gems. On this pulverized material Quetzalcoatl sprinkled blood drawn by piercing his penis with a knife. In this way men were generated, and food was found for them in the same region of the west. It was the maize, whose place the black ant and the red ant showed to the god.

4. Heaven, earth and under world, and the abode of the dead.—The Mexicans were of opinion that from the earth (*tlalticpac*) upwards there were thirteen regions or heavenly spheres (*ilhuicatl*), and from the earth downwards there were nine regions or under worlds (*mictlan*). The second, third, and fourth of the heavenly spheres were the regions where the moon and the clouds, the stars and the sun moved, while the uppermost or thirteenth region was the abode of Ometecutli, Omeciuatl, or Tonacatecutli, Tonacaciuatl, the gods of generation. The second of the under-world regions was the Chicunauhapan, the 'nine streams,' the water that encircled the realm of the dead and was in a way identified with the ocean of the western region. The third under-world region was the *tepetl imonamiquian*, the gateway by which the sun entered the under-world region. The undermost region was the abode of Mictlantecutli and Mictecaciuatl, the lords of the dead. To this under-world region there went, however, only the men and the women who had died in their homes from sickness, injury, or the infirmities of age. Men who were drowned, struck by lightning, or carried away by malignant fever or contagious disease were believed to be taken by Tlaloc, the rain-god. Their corpses were not burned, but buried, blue colour—the colour of water and rain—having been put on their foreheads. They went to Tlalocan, the home of the rain-god, situated on a great mountain in the east, a paradise of vegetation, in order to serve him there. Men killed in war or sacrificed on the sacrificial stone and women who had died in childbed belonged to a third order, and went to heaven, to the house of the sun. The warriors went to the east, to receive the rising sun and to accompany him up to the zenith. The women had their dwelling in the west, in the region of the setting sun. In the morning they climbed up to the zenith, where, at noon, they received the sun from the hands of the warriors, and accompanied him on his downward course. At sunset they delivered the sun to the dwellers in the under-world region, for at night the sun illumines the under world, and the dead awaken and live.

5. Principal deities.—A detailed study of Mexican mythology and the character of the Mexican gods leads to the conclusion that the forefathers of the Mexicans worshipped the sun, the moon, the morning star, the hearth-fire, the maize-god, and the other deities of vegetation, the god who pours down the beneficial rain, and a host of *numina* and spirits who were believed to dwell in particular places, as mountains, caves, water-holes, etc. In the course of time those cosmic potencies assumed very different shapes in the mythopoetic imagination of the people, coalescing in part with a deified ancestor, or being merged in certain regional festivals, thus giving rise to certain well-defined divine personages, who in the different tribes, towns, and villages were acknowledged as the *altepeyollotli*, the 'heart (or living principle) of the town.'

Thus Uitzilopochtli, the war-god, the particular protector of the citizens of Mexico (Tenochtitlan), must originally have been the rising sun, or the morning star. His mother conceived him from a feather-ball coming down from the sky. Her other children, the Centzon Uitznaua, the 'four hundred Southerns' (the stars), and their elder sister Coyolxauhqui (the moon), seeing their mother pregnant, wished to kill her, but just at this moment Uitzilopochtli was born. Armed with shield and spear, he came forth from his mother, decapitated his elder sister Coyolxauhqui, and drove the 'four hundred Southerns' from the 'Snake mountain' (the sky). The other war-god Camaxtli, or Mixcoatl, the god of the Tlaxcaltecs, the 'shooting god,' was probably a mythic conception of the morning star. Tlaloc was the rain- and thunder-god and the god of the mountains. He had his residence on the top of a mountain in the east, where he owned four chambers and four barrels, from which his servants, dwarf-gods, bailed out the water and poured it down on the earth. Stone images of this deity are to be found all over the country. Tezcatlipoca was the god of the Tezcocans and of the tribes dwelling on the slopes of the volcano. He was the sorcerer who roams about in the night, the god who sees and punishes sin, and the patron of the *telpochcalli*, the club-house of the young warriors; and certainly developed from the conception of the new, waxing moon. Xiuhtecutli, the 'lord of the turquoise,' or Ixcoçauhqui, the 'god with the yellow face,' the god of fire, was the tutelary deity of the citizens of Tlatelolco and their brethren on the western mountain slope, the Tepanecs of Tacuba and Coyouacan. Tonatiuh, the sun, and Metztli, or Tecciztecatl, the moon, had in ancient times been worshipped at Teotiuacan, north of the valley of Mexico, and two great pyramids dedicated to them are still to be seen in that place. The moon alone was the principal deity of the inhabitants of Xaltocan and of the province of Meztitlan, on the borders of the Huaxteca. Quetzalcoatl, the 'feathered snake,' the creator of human life, the wind-god, was another conception of the waning and resuscitating moon. He was the great god of the merchants of Cholula and all the Mexican commercial colonists, down to the provinces of Guatemala and San Salvador. Xipe Totec, 'our lord, the flayed,' the god of the sowing time, the god of vegetation, was generally worshipped in the whole country; but it seems that the Nauatl tribes on the borders of the State of Oaxaca, the inhabitants of Tehuacan, Cozcatlan, and Teotitlan del Camino were particularly addicted to his cult. He is also called god of the goldsmiths, because the goldsmiths, located in the town-quarter, or clan Yopico, regarded him as their tutelary deity. Xochipilli, the 'flower-prince,' the lord of the green maize, the god of food, had his worshippers all along the Atlantic slope. He was believed to be incorporated in the Quetzalcoxcoxtli, the wild fowl that chants in the morning. He had a brother called Macuilxochitl, 'Five flowers,' or Auiateotl, 'the god of voluptuousness,' who was the deity of pleasure, of music, dancing, gaming, and debauchery. Ome tochtli, 'two rabbits,' the pulque-god, the Mexican Bacchus, was the town-god of Tepoztlan, in the State of Morelos.

Female deities were Couatlicue, the mother of Uitzilopochtli, worshipped in Mexico City; Ciuacouatl, the female warrior, the goddess of Colhuacan; Itzpapalotl and Quilaztli, the earth-goddess and the fire-goddess of the towns of Quauhtitlan and Xochimilco; Teteo innan, the 'mother of the gods,' or Toci, 'our grandmother,' also called Tlazolteotl, the 'goddess of ordure,' or Tlaelquani, 'mire-eater' (*i.e.* sinner); she was generally worshipped as a harvest-goddess; Xochiquetzal, the goddess of flowers and of love, had her worshippers throughout the country, and a magnificent pyramid dedicated to her is still to be seen in Xochicalco, south of Cuernavaca. All these goddesses, without any doubt, were originally moon-goddesses, but developed into goddesses of fertility and generation, into earth-goddesses and patronesses of women's art. Chalchiuhtlicue, the 'goddess whose garments are precious stones,' was the impersonation of running water, brooks, and lakes; Uixtociuatl that of the salt water, and accordingly the patroness of the salt-makers. Centeotl, the maize-god, was represented either as a female or as a male deity, and was particularly related to the gods of generation, the authors of life.

6. Religious practices.—The Mexicans were penetrated by a feeling of absolute dependence on their gods. They regarded them as the givers of all things and as those who inflicted punishments upon them, and they were convinced that most of these punishments were brought down on them by their own sins. In order to obtain the favour of their gods or to appease their wrath, they used to address them with prayers, to present offerings to them, to humiliate themselves in their presence, and to torture themselves in their honour. In the work compiled by Bernardino de Sahagun, the original of which was written in Aztec, he has preserved many prayers directed to several gods, distinguished by a high and noble feeling, and by a wonderfully refined and poetic language, while another chapter of the same work contains twenty ancient and very curious songs, which they used to sing in honour of their gods at the different anniversary festivals (text, Germ. tr., and commentary in E. Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur amerikan. Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1902–08, ii. 959–1107).

The offerings which the Mexicans were accustomed to bring to their gods consisted of food and garments, flowers and green twigs (*acxoyatl*) to adorn their altars, copal, rubber, and different kinds of aromatic herbs to burn, and piles of wood to heap up and kindle on the top of their temple-pyramids. They humiliated themselves in the presence of their gods by eating earth (*tlalqualiztli*), *i.e.*, by touching the earth with the finger and putting it to the mouth. When they requested something from their gods, and before every festival dedicated to them, they fasted, eating only once in the day, avoided red pepper sauce and every kind of spices, abstained from sexual intercourse, and did not wash their heads. When the request which they had to make was a very earnest one, they tortured themselves by piercing their tongues, or the margin of their ears, sometimes drawing stalks or threads through the hole made in the tongue, and offering the blood issuing from their wounds, collecting it on agave leaves. If they had committed a sin such as intercourse with the wife of another man, and wished to atone for it, they went to the priests of the goddess Tlaçolteotl and made confession, and the priests, after having heard the confession, imposed some penance—*e.g.*, to go naked in the night to some shrines of the 'women-goddesses' (*ciuateteô*), there to deposit garments made of the common bark-paper. By performing this penance they were believed not only to have got rid of the sin committed, but also of the punishment for it enjoined by the law. A Mexican religious practice that excited the curiosity and even the amazement of the Christian priests was the so-called 'eating of the god' (*teoqualiztli*). At a certain festival a number of devotees assembled, and, after having made an image of the god from the paste obtained by grinding certain seeds, the high priest sacrificed the image and cut it into pieces. The assembled persons ate the pieces, and those who had partaken were obliged to pay for a year all expenses for the cult of the god in question.

Finally, the Mexicans felt compelled to bring living beings as an offering to their gods. They sacrificed to the fire-god by casting into the fire all kinds of animals that could be found in the fields, and they also offered human prisoners in the same way. The warriors who had captured them brought them, their limbs tied together, and hanging on a pole, like captured game, for the fire-god was the god of war and of the chase. The Mexicans killed quails by decapitating them, as an offering to the sun and other deities such as Uitzilopochtli, for the quail was the spotted bird, the image of the starry sky.

They fastened prisoners with extended arms and legs to a wooden frame, and shot them with arrows. This was a sacrifice for the earth-goddess, and was intended to fertilize the earth. There is no doubt that it was originally meant as an imitation of the sexual act. They decapitated a woman as an image of the 'mother of the gods'—the moon-goddess, the harvest-god—and flayed her, for the old moon, the waning moon, is cut into pieces, and her splendour is stripped off. Yet she would revive, and therefore the flayed skin of the victim was donned by a man who, in the following ceremonies of the feast, represented the goddess.

The Mexicans practised to a terrible extent the offering of human hearts, torn out of the bodies of living men. They used for that purpose a sacrificial stone of a rounded pyramidal shape. The victim was thrown backwards on the top of it, his extended arms and legs were held by four men, and the sacrificer, armed with a big stone knife, made a broad cut across the breast, under the ribs, and, putting in his hand, tore out the heart. The heart itself was presented to the sun, and with the blood they moistened the mouth of the idols, while the heads of the sacrificed were put in rows on poles. The body was delivered to the man who had captured the prisoner and had presented it as a sacrifice. He cooked the flesh with maize, and made a feast of it with his relatives and friends. With the thigh-bone of the dead man he made a bundle that was hung up on a high pole in the middle of the house-courtyard. This was a token of the valour of the owner, and probably, at the same time, a fetish for luck and protection.

7. Annual festivities.—The Mexicans divided the year into eighteen sections of twenty days each and five remaining days. On each of these twentieths they had a feast with many elaborate ceremonies, dedicated successively to various special deities, all these feasts being intimately connected with the exigencies of the different sections of the year with regard to the culture of the soil, sowing, and harvesting, and with the changing aspects that in the different years those important affairs presented to the anxious eye of the labourer. They commenced with the ceremonies early in the year—in the time of our February. At that time, in the houses and on sacred spots—mountains, caves, water-holes, and localities considered as the abodes of the rain-gods—they set up poles to which papers painted with the emblems of the *numina* of these localities were attached; and they carried children, who were bought from their parents, to the same localities and sacrificed them to the rain-gods, in order that these divinities might grant rain in sufficient quantity for the crops of the new year.

In the second twentieth they celebrated a great feast to Xipe Totec, the god of vegetation, a form of the ancient moon-god. This was just before sowing, and it seemed to those ancient philosophers to be necessary to fertilize the earth, that she might receive the germ and bring forth the crops. For this important business a sacrifice of value and a vigorous man were required.

They took a prisoner of war, the most gallant whom they had at hand, and with him performed a ceremony that was in a way a testing. He was fastened by a rope to the central hole of a stone of flat cylindrical shape, the so-called *temalacatl* (spinning wheel of stone). There he had to fight with four other men until he was exhausted, after which they bound him, with extended arms and legs (*mamaçouhticac*), to a wooden frame, where he was shot with arrows, so that the blood might drop on the earth and fertilize it. This was the original form of the ceremony, as it is seen in the pictographs, and as it was performed in certain ancient towns up to the time of the conquest. In Mexico City, however, when the prisoner was exhausted and no longer able to defend himself, he was sacrificed in the regular way, by cutting the breast and tearing out the heart; and many prisoners were sacrificed in the same way after him. The bodies of the sacrificed were skinned, and the skins donned by certain men who represented the god in the following ceremonies, to show by this garb that the earth-god had put on a new cloak. From this custom this second annual feast was called Tlacaxipeualiztli, 'flaying men.' The feast concluded with a great ceremonial dance, where priests disguised as maize-ears, maize-stalks, and other vegetables, or as beings connected with the fields, exhibited to the people the abundance of food which the new year was expected to bring.

In the third and fourth twentieths, called Toçoztli, 'awakening,' the temples and shrines were adorned with green stalks, and the ears destined for sowing were brought to the temple of the maize-goddess to be consecrated. The fifth feast, called Toxcatl, fell at the time when the sun, shifting to the north, came to the zenith. This was regarded as the real feast of the new year, and the present writer has shown, in his explanation of the Humboldt Codices, that the day-names by which the Mexicans designated the different years correspond to the days with which the feast Toxcatl began. In this feast a living image of the god Tezcatlipoca, *i.e.*, a prisoner of war who in the disguise of this god had represented him all the year round, was sacrificed, and immediately replaced by another prisoner, who, invested with the paraphernalia of the god, had to represent him in the new year. The sixth twentieth, the time when the rainy season set in, was celebrated by a general and severe fasting of all the priests of all the temples, including the little boys in the priestly schools. The Mexicans ate at this feast a certain meal prepared with maize in grain and beans, called *etzalli*, whence it bears the name Etzalqualiztli, the 'eating of the meal of maize and beans.' In the seventh and eighth twentieths the sprouting of the young maize-ears was celebrated by a ceremonial dance of the kings and rulers of the town, and a general feeding of the people, the feast being called Tecuilhuitl, the 'feast of the kings.' The ninth and tenth twentieths were called Tlaxochimaco and Xocotl uetzi, 'when the Xocotl comes down (or is born),' or Miccailhuitl, the 'feast of the dead.' At these festivals living prisoners were thrown into the fire as a sacrifice to the god of fire, and the image of Xocotl or Otontecutli, the 'god of the Otomi,' the 'soul of the dead warrior,' having the shape of a bird, a butterfly, or of a mummy packet, was placed on the top of a high pole, and brought down by the male youth, vying with each other in climbing to the top.

The eleventh twentieth, called Ochpaniztli, 'sweeping the roads,' was the harvest feast, and at the same time a great expiation ceremony, by which evil was taken out of the town.

A woman representing Teteo innan, the 'mother of the gods,' having been decapitated at midnight and flayed, a priest put on the skin and represented the goddess in the following ceremonies. From a portion of the skin of the thigh, a mask was made and worn by the son of the 'mother of the gods,' Centeotl-itztlacoliuhqui, the maize-god, the 'curved obsidian knife,' who is described as the god of cold and punishment, and is, in fact, only another form of the morning star, the son of the moon-goddess. The principal ceremony consisted in a ceremonial impregnation of the goddess by Uitzilopochtli, and, on the way to meet the god, Teteo innan was accompanied by warriors and by phallic deities called Cuexteca (men of the province of the Huaxteca). Ceremonial dances followed, where Teteo innan was replaced by the maize-goddess. At the end of the feast warriors, racing with each other, took the mask out of the town, and buried it somewhere in the territory of their enemies. The goddess herself, *i.e.*, the priest wearing the skin of the victim, was likewise driven out of the town, and the skin was hung up, beyond the boundaries of the town, on a frame-work dedicated to Teteo innan, being her sanctuary.

In the twelfth twentieth, called Teotleco, the Mexicans celebrated the return of their gods, *i.e.*, of the fire-gods, who were reputed to have gone out of the country during the rainy season. The feast may also be called the 'birthday of Uitzilopochtli.' It concluded with another fire-ceremony, in which living prisoners were thrown into the flames. The thirteenth feast, called Tepeilhuitl, the 'feast of the mountains,' was another harvest feast, when the pulque-gods—the gods of fecundity—were honoured by sacrifices, and offerings were brought to the rain-gods, *i.e.*, to the gods of the mountains. The fourteenth feast, called Quecholli, was dedicated to Mixcoatl, the god of hunting and war, and was celebrated by a great ceremonial hunting. Arrows and other weapons were made.

The fifteenth feast, called Panquetzaliztli, 'raising the banners,' was the great feast of the god Uitzilopochtli, when the myth of the birth of this god and the victory which he obtained over his brethren, the Centzon Uitznaua (the stars), were dramatically represented by a combat between the warriors and the prisoners designated for sacrifice. The fire-snake, the weapon with which Uitzilopochtli had killed his sister Coyolxauhqui, came down from the upper platform of the temple to burn the offerings heaped up on the great cylindrical stone at the foot of the staircase leading up to the platform. The sixteenth feast, Atemoztli, was dedicated to the rain-gods. The seventeenth, Tititl, was a commemoration feast of the dead, at which the *ciuateteô*, the 'women-goddesses,' *i.e.*, the deified women, the spirits of the women who died in child-bed, and their patroness Ilamatecutli, the old goddess, the goddess of fire, played an important part. The eighteenth and last feast was called Izcalli, 'increasing,' and was dedicated to Xiuhtecutli, the god of fire, who was honoured by offerings of all kinds of animals thrown into the flames. The god was represented in this feast by two different figures—at one time as a god of vegetation, clothed in green quetzal-feathers and wearing a mask of turquoises and green stones, and at another time as the god of the burning fire, clothed in feathers of the red macaw and wearing a mask of red and black stones. The five last days of the year, called *nemontemi*, were deemed unlucky. No feast was celebrated on them, nor any business of importance taken in hand.

Other ceremonies were performed to the deities who were believed to rule certain days, according to the name of the day in question, these names being composed of one of the numbers one to thirteen and of one of the twenty day-signs. As these names, in the different years, were not assigned to a fixed date—the initial days of the years bearing different names—the feasts of the rulers of the days were denominated 'movable feasts.'

8. Priests.—For the performance of all these ceremonies, filling out, in the true sense of the word, nearly the whole year, and for the regular service of the different gods, many priests were employed, called *tlamacazquê*, 'servants.' They were divided into different classes, such as the *tlenamacaque*, 'incense-burners,' the *teouaquê*, 'guardians of the idols,' the *quaquacuiltin*, 'old priests,' and the *ometochtzin*, 'pulque priests,' who were at the same time the musicians and the singers. At the head of all these priests there were in Mexico City two high priests, called Quetzalcoatl Totec tlamacazqui and Quetzalcoatl Tlaloc tlamacazqui, *i.e.*, the special priests of the two great gods, Uitzilopochtli and the rain-god

Tlaloc, whose sanctuaries were situated close to one another on the top of the principal pyramid.

9. General characteristics.—In spite of their adherence to bloody sacrificial rites, the Mexicans were sober, honest people, of tender susceptibility, governed by laws of a high moral standard, respecting the rights of property, detesting lying and falsehood, cheerful with their friends, brave in war, and unflinchingly obedient to their native kings. Their governors and princes exercised arbitrary power, but were restrained by unwritten laws, handed down from their forefathers, and by public opinion. Their punishments were severe, but never cruel. Vices such as drunkenness and untruthfulness arose with the misery and slavery of the Spanish times. In material culture, too, the Mexicans were nearly equal to their conquerors. Spanish government did not add very much to their cultural standard, and to-day the Indians are, if not the most refined, certainly the most honest, component of the population of the Mexican territory.

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EDUARD SELER.

MEXICANS (Modern).—An intimate knowledge of the religion of the ancient peoples of Mexico is necessary in order to understand the religious life of the present native population of the country. On first acquaintance with the people an impression is given that the Roman Catholic religion is everywhere present, yet many of the pre-Columbian religious ideas remain. Too much cannot be said of the energies and the fervour of the Roman Catholic priesthood in their attempts to Christianize the natives. The originality of their methods and their enthusiasm for the work resulted in a marked success. They learned the native languages, and collected much data upon the customs and religion of the people, and to these early accounts we owe practically all our knowledge of the pre-Columbian life.

The clergy soon noted the ability of the people to read in pictures, and this was turned to account in their teaching of the Roman Catholic Catechism. Figures were drawn on large pieces of cloth representing most ingeniously, in a series of pictures, the various teachings of the Church. These pictures were also made in books, some of which, according to N. Leon (*Am. Anth.*, new ser., ii. [1900] 726), are still used among the Mazahuas of Michoacan. A more ambitious attempt was made by the priests to teach the natives the Latin words of the Lord's Prayer and other Articles of the Church. A native monosyllabic word was selected, the sound of which was similar to a syllable of the Latin word, and this word was represented by a picture. The first syllable, *pa*, of *pater*, was shown by a picture of a flag, which in Nahuatl was *pantli*, and the second syllable, *ter*, was represented by a drawing of a stone, *tetl* in Nahuatl. In this way, picture by picture, the native word was known, and each word recalled a similar word or syllable in the Latin.

J. de Torquemada tells us (*Monarquía Indiana*, Madrid, 1723, xv.) that the Christian priests illustrated the vicissitudes and the instability of life by pictures representing a great expanse of water on which were vessels manned by sailors. On one ship Indian men and women were praying, with garlands of roses in their hands, and they went to heaven accompanied by angels, while on another vessel the Indians were shown fighting with one another, ogling women, becoming intoxicated, and receiving glasses of wine from devils. According to J. de Acosta's statement (*The Natural and Moral Hist. of the Indies*, ed. C. R. Markham, London, 1880, bk. vi. ch. vii.), in illustrating the doctrine of the Trinity, God was pictured with three carved heads, and St. Peter and St. Paul were drawn as two carved heads with keys and sword. As Sapper remarks:

> 'It is easy to suppose that this sort of picture must have been absolutely incomprehensible to an Indian, but there is little doubt that the effect of these pictures was extremely favourable to the spread of Christianity' (*Globus*, lxxx. 126).

The Spanish *padres* were not content with these mnemonic and symbolic methods of teaching the Christian religion, but soon learned the languages of the country, translated the Catechism into the various dialects, and preached in the native tongues. Priests taught the Indians how to record their languages phonetically by the use of the Spanish characters, and from the early days of the Conquest there was a constantly increasing amount of printed and MS material in the languages of the different peoples of Spanish America.

With a knowledge of the native languages, together with the names and attributes of the various gods, the Spanish priests had a wonderful asset in their teaching, and they used their knowledge to good effect. Their explanation of the native pantheon was an earnest attempt to incorporate it, as much as possible, into their own religion, and, accordingly, we find many of the ancient myths turned into a new setting, with the saints now figuring as the actors in the ancient tales. It is difficult to determine how much of this transformation was due to the initiative of the priests of the new faith, and how much may be attributed to the Indians' own attempts to reconcile their old religion with the new. Knowing the tendency of primitive man to explain everything in terms of his own mental fabric, we may suppose that many of the strange metamorphoses which came about were the natural result of implanting ideas upon an older foundation, but a result not recognized or authorized by the Church. In many cases the gods of the ancient religion were incorporated into the new, as when the three most important gods were sometimes turned into the Trinity, while the lesser gods became the saints of the Church. The evil one already had a counterpart in the Mexican religion; among the Mayas he was Kisin, the earthquake.

The present population of Mexico may be divided, for the purposes of this article, into four classes as regards their religion: (1) those of Spanish descent who are true Roman Catholics; (2) those of mixed descent who are nominally Roman Catholics, but still retain some of the ancient pre-Columbian religious ideas; (3) those of mixed blood who are fundamentally pagans from the Christian point of view, with religious rites coloured by Roman Catholic teaching; and (4) those who show no trace of the Roman Catholic teaching, and still continue to practise the ancient religion. It is, of course, impossible to draw a hard and fast line between any two of these classes; the two middle divisions are differentiated only by the degree in which the Christian or the native religion predominates.

Class I.—In the large cities and towns there is a numerous population of Spanish-speaking people who have little or no Indian blood, and these carry out the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church as practised in Spain. The festivals of the Church are celebrated with great pomp and ceremony. An interesting survival of the teaching of the early Franciscans is seen in the *Nacimientos* the *Pastorales*, and the Mystery Plays performed at Corpus Christi and at other times. Soon after the Conquest the sacred dramas, so popular in Spain at that time, were introduced into Mexico, and were regarded as an important means of propaganda.

Class 2.—The casual observer seldom sees any of the native element among the peoples who have been placed in this division, and he considers the population good Roman Catholics. It is only after close intimacy extended over a considerable period of time, together with a knowledge of the nature of the native practices, that one gradually finds that the underlying principles of the religion are based on the native ideas rather than upon the Christian faith. The veneer of Roman Catholicism is removed, and the native religion stands out clearly. The greater part of the population of Mexico are of mixed blood, with a strong preponderance of the Indian over the Spanish strain. This type of native is present even in the large cities and towns, where a great proportion of the people fall into Class 2, whose religion is Roman Catholic, with an undercurrent of the old ideas. The *gente* of Mexico City, *e.g.*, are of this class.

Holy Week throughout Mexico is a time of great religious enthusiasm. In addition to the Passion Plays which have already been mentioned, there is a constant round of festivals, many of which are strongly flavoured by the native elements. The season of prayer and fasting appeals to the natives, some of whom wear the crown of thorns and flagellate themselves. From Holy Thursday until the Gloria of Saturday the bells of the churches are silent, and the *matracas*, or rattles, take their place. Each child and adult has a rattle, and the streets are full of vendors, each selling some sort of noisy toys. On the *Sabado de Gloria* new fire is struck from the blessed flint. The burning of Judas is a common sight in every Mexican town; figures of Judas, representing him as a man or woman, a negro, a soldier or a knave, a devil or a gentleman, are burned in every village plaza. Many of these figures contain jars filled with various objects, and, when the container is broken, the contents fall into the struggling crowd. Firecrackers and rockets often form the hands and feet of these Judas figures. It is a time of much merriment.

In Mexico City on *Viérnes de Dolores*, the eve of Palm Sunday, there is a long procession of decorated boats in the Viga Canal; and flowers, small shrines, and altars are displayed everywhere, the native love of flowers and their varied use of them as decoration being seen at this time at its best. These religious festivals play a very important part in the life of the people.

The custom of erecting wooden crosses along the roads and trails is very common in Mexico. The traveller, in passing one of these crosses for the first time, usually deposits a stone or a flower before it.

It is on the magical side of the religion that we find the greatest number of survivals at the present time. Symbolic and contagious magic abounds among all strata of the population. Some of their ideas are, of course, derived from the Spanish element, but the greater number are purely native. Hypnotic suggestion is the important feature in all the ceremonies which deal with healing the sick. The air is full of evil spirits, which linger round the entrances of the villages, and precautions must be taken to placate or outwit them.

Class 3.—This class is represented in the small *pueblos* in the country districts, where the headman of the village performs the offices of the Church, except at infrequent intervals when the priest of the district makes his visit to celebrate Mass and to perform marriages and baptisms. The native religious ideas are much in evidence, for the visits of a priest of the Church are often too infrequent to make much headway against the presence of the strong native religious element. This cannot be stamped out among the people, and it remains a sturdy growth unless persistent and energetic efforts are made to counteract its influence by Christian teaching. It is among people of this class that the blending of pre-Columbian and Christian ideas may best be studied.

The native elements come to the front especially in connexion with agriculture and the burial of the dead. Incense is burned and offerings are made to the gods of fertility at the time of sowing; other gifts are presented to the gods of rain; in some cases offerings are given to the wind-gods when the burning of the brush of the maize-field is undertaken; and abstention from sexual intercourse before the planting is another of the survivals. Among the Otomi an idol is buried in the maize-field, another is kept in the domestic house, and a third in the granary. The hunter may burn incense for a successful hunt, the traveller for a prosperous journey. Every house has its *santo*, or saint, often the crudest kind of picture or image, and the firstfruits of the harvest are usually placed before this shrine; in time of sickness and death many offerings are made and incense is burned. It is the nature of the gifts and the spirit in which they are made, rather than the act itself, that show the pre-Christian ideas.

In many of the prayers the native element is seen. Sapper tells (*Das nördl. Mittel-Amerika*, p. 270) of the Kekchi praying, 'Thou art my mother, thou art my father,' a form common in the *Popol Vuh* (*q.v.*). The Indian origin of many of the prayers is seen in the poetical form, the parallelisms, the antitheses, and the repetitions of single words and phrases. Seler tells of a stone idol discovered in a cave in the State of Puebla before which offerings of flowers, eggs, and wax candles were found. In another case the visiting *padre* saw, to his indignation, a stone idol occupying the place of honour beside the crucifix, on the altar of the village church. In a cave in Oaxaca a pottery incense pan and two turkey feathers were discovered, the feathers having undoubtedly been used in connexion with the sacrifice of human blood, so common a part of the religious ritual of the ancient Mexicans. These definite examples will show the hold which the older ideas have upon the people, who are nominally good Roman Catholics.

Class 4.—The number of individuals who have been placed in this division is comparatively small, and, as might be expected, they are found only in the most unsettled and inaccessible portions of the country. They show practically no influence from the outside world in their customs, their languages, or their religion. Spanish is seldom understood, and the native languages show little change from those portions which were recorded by the early Spanish conquerors. It is among these people that one can obtain a clear picture of the pre-Columbian aborigines. The polytheistic ideas are still maintained, and many of the gods now worshipped may be identified with the ancient deities of the people —Sakaimoka of the Huichols, *e.g.*, is recognized as the old rain-god, Tlaloc. It is seldom that the ancient gods of the sun, the moon, the morning star, and other planets can be noted in the present pantheon, although among the Seri of Lower California the sun and moon find a place among the gods, and among the Tarahumare there is a 'father-sun' and 'mother-moon.' Among the present-day Mayas the sun and moon are servants of the gods.

Worship by means of prayer, divination, and sacrifice takes many different forms. Human sacrifice has been abolished, although there are a few sporadic cases where it has been reported within the last century. Blood sacrifice is not uncommon among people of this class, the ear and other parts of the body being cut with a stone knife, and the blood allowed to drop upon the idols. Offerings of food and drink now form the main portion of the religious practices of the population, although burning of copal or other incense to the gods is also very common. Compulsory intoxication—a common feature of the ancient religion—is still carried out by means of the *pulque* of the Mexicans, the *hikuli* of the Huichols, the *tesvino* of the Tarahumare, and the *balche* of the Lacandones. Divination is practised in many forms, and among many peoples there is a class of soothsayers who look into the future by means of the movements of sacrificed animals, the smoke of the incense, the crystal, the image on the surface of a basin of water, and many other ways. The prayers of the Cora, collected and translated by Preuss (*Die Nayarit-Expedition*), furnish an excellent criterion of the native point of view towards the gods and religion in general. The dances of the people are often held for magical purposes. Among the Tarahumare, *e.g.*, the dance is a prayer, a petition for prosperity for the harvest, or for health and freedom from ill-fortune.

The idea of renovation, the renewal of the incense-burners and the cleansing of the houses and of the places of worship at certain times of the year, is an ancient practice. Among the Lacandones, at the main ceremony of the year, when the firstfruits are offered, the entire collection of incense-burners is renewed. The old ones are 'dead,' and new ones are made to take their place. Priests no longer form a distinct class by themselves in Mexico, but the head-man of the village or the head of the family now performs the priestly functions, and among some of the tribes the class of *shamans* still remains. It is claimed that one-fourth of the Huichols (*q.v.*) of Northern Mexico are *shamans*; the name of the tribe signifies 'the doctors or healers.' It is they who have the power to look into the future and who understand and interpret the will of the gods. Religious temples, so common a feature of the pre-Columbian culture, no longer play a part in the religious life, though the Lacandones still make pilgrimages to the ruined structures where they believe their gods reside, carrying with them incense-burners and other offerings. The religious practices are usually carried on either in the domestic habitations or in a house set apart for the purpose, this house being called *topina*, 'the house of all,' among the Huichols. Women are usually excluded from these religious places, except at the termination of the worship, when general feasting takes place, and the offerings, previously made to the gods, are consumed by the worshippers. Perhaps the best example of a people who have had no contact with Spanish ideas are the Lacandones, who live in the State of Chiapas on a tributary of the Usumacinta River, which forms a portion of the boundary between Mexico and Guatemala. The early efforts of the Spanish to Christianize these people met with failure, and they have remained undisturbed for three hundred years. The customs, and especially the religion, of this people are important as an aid in understanding much of the life of the early Maya tribes, and many of the ceremonies are counterparts of those represented in the pre-Columbian MSS.

A geographical survey of the principal religions of the native Mexicans shows an interesting change from north to south. From the religious point of view, the ideas of the tribes of Sonora and Chihuahua are directly associated with those of the natives of the south-western portion of the United States: the religion of the Puebloan peoples and of the Navahos and Apaches shows a striking similarity to the religious ideas of the Huichols, the Cora, and other peoples of Northern Mexico. The rain and the importance of rain are the prime factors in the religion of all these peoples. The symbolism of the Huichols centres in the phenomena of nature. In Central and Southern Mexico the religious ideas of the present native population show a great number of survivals of the ancient religion of the formerly highly cultured peoples belonging to the Nahua, the Maya, and kindred civilizations.

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A. M. TOZZER.

MICHAELMAS.—I. The origin of the festival and the Michael churches in Italy.—The *Martiloge in Englysshe*, translated by Richard Whytford of Syon monastery and printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1526, records the Roman and Sarum tradition of the origin of the festival:

> 'The xxix day of September. In the moūt of gargane the reuerend memory of saynt Mychaell the archaūgell where a chirche of hym is cōsecrate that is but of poore buyldyng yet notw^{t}standyng it is adourned w^{t} many grete vertues' (Henry Bradshaw Society, iii. [1891] 153).

The Sarum Missal in the calendar has: '3 kl. Oct. Michaelis archangeli,' and in the text: 'Michaelis archangeli' (*Miss. ad usum . . . Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–83, pp. 25^{xx}, 918). The calendar of the Westminster Missal of 1362–86 has: 'iii kl. Oct. Sancti Michaelis archangeli' (H. Bradshaw Soc. i. [1891] p. xiii). The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, an English Service-Book written, probably at Winchester, between the years 1008 and 1023, has in the *Kalendarium*: 'iii. Kl. Oct. Sci. Michahelis archangeli.' The rubric in the text reads: 'iii Kal. Oct. Dedicatio Basilicae Sancti Michahelis Archangeli' (H. Bradshaw Soc. xi. [1896] 17, 215). This agrees with the title in the Leofric Missal (A), a French MS of the first half of the 10th cent.: 'iii. Kal. Oct. Dedicatio basilicae sancti Michahelis archangeli' (*Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E. Warren, Oxford, 1883, p. 162). The *Kalendarium* of the Leofric Missal (B), a Glastonbury MS of the latter part of the 10th cent., has: 'iii. Kl. Oct. Sci. Michahelis archangeli' (*ib.* p. 31). The Leofric Missal (A) is a Gregorian Sacramentary, and the title is based upon that in the Codex Vaticanus (ii.) published by Muratori: 'iii Kalendas Octobris id est xxix Die mensis Septembris. Dedicatio Basilicae Sancti Angeli' (L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venice, 1748, vol. ii. col. 125). This is evidence of the 9th century.

The earlier Gelasian Sacramentaries carry the evidence back to the 7th century. The Vatican MS of the 7th or early 8th cent. has 'Orationes in Sancti Archangeli Michaelis.' The Rheinau MS and the S. Gall MS, of the 8th or early 9th cent., have the title: 'Dedicatio Basilicae Angeli Michaelis' (H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, 1894, p. 200).

The rubric in the Leonian Sacramentary throws still further light on the origin of the festival. It stands alone in assigning it to 30th Sept. and not 29th Sept., but it adds a note of locality which differs from that of the later Roman tradition: 'Prīd. Kāl. Oct. N̄ Basilicae Angeli in Salaria' (C. L. Feltoe, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 106). Feltoe refers to a 9th cent. MS at Padua, which reads: '29 Sept. Dedic. basil. S. angeli Michahelis via Salaria' (*ib.* p. 203). Martin Rule, in his 'Analytical Study of the Leonian Sacramentary' (*JThSt* ix. [1908] 515 ff., x. [1908] 54 ff.), traces the materials of this Verona MS of the 7th cent. to three collections made during the pontificates of Leo I. (440–461), Hilarus (461–468), and Simplicius (468–483). This carries the evidence of the rubric to the 5th century.

The festival is, therefore, in its origin the dedication festival of a church. The evidence is not confined to the liturgical books of the Roman rite. The early Mozarabic rite is represented in a MS of the 11th cent. at Paris (Bibl. Nat. nov. acq. lat. 2171). In a short treatise, *Adnuntiationes Festivitatum*, the festival is announced thus: 'Adveniente diae il. festivitas erit dedicatio sancti Micahelis archangeli vel sociorum eius' (MS 2171, p. 25). And in the *Martirum Legium*, a calendar in the same MS under Sept. 29, is: 'iii. (Kal. Oct.) dedicatio sancti Micahelis arcangeli' (G. Morin, 'Liber Comicus,' *Anecdota Maredsolana*, i. [1893] 392, 402). A contemporary MS from the same Spanish monastery of Silos in Old Castile (Brit. Mus. Add. MS 30851) has two hymns: 'in diem Sancti Micaeli Arcangeli,' where reference is made to the 'socii.' The first hymn has the line: 'ut glorietur in deo cum consortes socios'; and the second: 'Urielo Gabrielo Rafaelo socius' (*Mozarabic Psalter*, H. Bradshaw Soc. xxx. [1905] 254, 256). The Ambrosian rite in the 12th cent. refers to the 'dedicatio in monte Gargano.' The *Kalendarium* has: 'iii. k. Oct. s. Michaelis in monte Gargano,' and the *ordo pro denariorum divisione*: 'dedicatio s. Michaelis in monte Gargano' (Beroldus, ed. M. Magistretti, Milan, 1894, pp. 11, 17).

i. *The Castello S. Angelo at Rome.*—Quentin has sifted the further evidence of the Martyrologies. The earliest entry is that of the Martyrology of Bede: 'iii. Kl. Oct. Dedicatio ecclesiae sancti angeli Michaelis.' This is modified by the Mâcon MSS: 'Romae, dedicatio basilicae sancti angeli'; by the Clermont MS: 'Romae, dedicatio basilicae sancti Mikaelis archangeli'; and by the Bologna MS with the insertion of the words 'miliario sexto' between 'Romae' and 'dedicatio.' The earliest evidence supports that of the Leonian Sacramentary, and points to the dedication of a church at the sixth mile-stone on the Via Salaria. The MSS of Toul and Remiremont read: 'In Monte Gargano, dedicatio basilicae sancti Michaelis archangeli.' This is the source of the entry in the Martyrology of Ado, archbishop of Vienne, *c.* 870; but he adds:

> 'Sed non multo post, Romae, venerabilis etiam Bonifatius pontifex ecclesiam sancti Michaelis nomine constructam dedicavit, in summitate circi, criptatim miro opere altissime porrectam. Unde et isdem locus, in summitate sui continens ecclesiam, inter nubes situs vocatur' (Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques*, p. 561).

The entry in the Martyrology of Ado is the most ancient testimony to the consecration of the tomb of Hadrian to St. Michael. A century later Liutprand of Cremona witnesses to this church on the top of the Castel S. Angelo:

> 'Munitio vero ipsa . . . tantae altitudinis est, ut ecclesia quae in eius vertice videtur, in honore summi et caelestis miliciae principis archangeli Michaelis fabricata, dicatur sancti Angeli ecclesia usque ad caelos' (*ib.* p. 561).

Baronius also identified the Church of St. Michael 'inter nubes' with the Castle of S. Angelo, assigning its dedication to Boniface III. (606) or Boniface IV. (607–614), in memory of the staying of the plague under Gregory the Great (C. Baronius, *Martyrologium Romanum*, Venice, 1602, p. 544).

ii. *The church on the Via Salaria.*—The dedication festival of Sept. 29 would seem to have three steps in historical progress. The earliest has reference to the church on the Via Salaria, the second to the Apulian church on Monte Gargano, the third to the church on the Castel S. Angelo. The sixth mile-stone on the Via Salaria is north of the site of Fidenæ, somewhere between Castel Giubileo and Casale Marcigliano. The Casali Sette Bagni, which lies on the hill-side north of the little stream of the Allia, cannot be far from the old Basilica of St. Michael. The evidence from the Michael shrine near Spoleto, which was known for its healing springs, may explain the origin of the dedication.

iii. *The church on Monte Gargano.* — Monte Gargano juts out from the north end of Apulia into the Adriatic. The Michael shrine is on the Monte S. Angelo, about ten miles from Manfredonia, the ancient Sipuntum. The dedication is assigned to the last years of the 5th century. Baronius refers to it under the year 493 (*Annales Ecclesiastici*, ed. Mainz, 1601–05, sub anno xliii.; cf. his *Martyr. Rom.*, p. 261). The 'Apparitio S. Mich. Ang.' is kept on May 8. The *Liber Pontificalis* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius reads: 'Huius temporibus inventa est Ecclesia sancti Angeli in Monte Gargano' (*Liber Pont.* ch. 50, S. Gelasius). It was a great centre of pilgrimage in the 10th century. Otto III. visited the sanctuary in 998. The fact rests on the credible witness of the *Vita S. Romualdi* of Petrus Damianus (F. Gregorovius, *Storia della città di Roma*, Ital. ed., Venice, 1872–76, iii. 559). In the church was a spring of water which was held to be a cure for fever:

> 'Ex ipso autem saxo quo sacra contunditur aedes: ad aquilonem altaris dulcis et nimium lucida guttatim aqua dilabitur: quam incolae stillam vocant. Ad hoc et vitreum vas . . . argentea pendet catena suspensum . . . denique nonnulli post longas febrium flammas hac austa stilla celebri confestim refrigerio potiuntur salutis' (B. Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, ed. duo Monachi Solesmenses, Paris, 1910, i. 391).

iv. *The Michael sanctuary in Umbria.* — The Antonine *Itinerary* thus notes two stations on the way from Rome to Milan by the Via Flaminia: 'civitas spolitio . . . mil. vii: mutatio Sacraria . . . mil. viii.' This 'mutatio' is placed at Le Vene, near Spoleto (*Itin. Ant. Aug.*, ed. G. Parthey and M. Pinder, Berlin, 1848, pp. 288, 378). Wesseling rejects the theory of P. Cluver that this referred to a sanctuary of Jupiter Clitumnus, and accepts that of L. Holstein that there was a Christian sanctuary on this site when the *Itinerary* was written (P. Wesseling, *Vet. Rom. Itineraria*, Amsterdam, 1735, p. 613). H. Leclercq states definitely that the sanctuary cannot have been dedicated to the 'God of Angels' before the epoch of Theodosius, or at the latest before the beginning of the 5th century. The inscriptions of the *Tempio di Clitunno* belong to this date. The inscription over the central door reads: 'S̄C̄S̄ DEUS ANGELORUM QUI FECIT RESURRECTIONEM.' Leclercq says:

> 'Cet édifice, dont la première destination n'était pas chrétienne, et qui portait primitivement le nom de sacrarium, n'a pu être transformé et dédié au Dieu des anges qu'à l'époque de Théodose' (*DACL*, art. 'Anges,' p. 2147).

And again, after examining the theory of H. Grisar that these buildings (*i.e.* the Tempio di Clitunno and the Church of S. Salvatore at Spoleto) are works of a school of the 12th cent., he concludes:

> 'Nous pensons donc, jusqu'à nouvelle démonstration, que contrairement à l'opinion de Luc Holstein, le *tempietto di Clitunno* a eu une destination primitivement païenne, il fut un de ces *sacraria* qui bordaient en assez grand nombre la rive du Clitunne pour avoir fait donner le nom de *Sacraria* au gîte d'étape situé entre Spolète et Trevi' (*ib.* p. 2149).

The consecration of the healing water of the Clitumnus to the God of Angels suggests a similar origin for the basilica on the Via Salaria, and may perhaps lie behind the dedication on Monte Gargano. The early Christian association of angelic agency with healing springs is recognized in Jn 5⁴. Leclercq states that there is evidence of the prevalence of the cult of angels in Umbria from the first half of the 5th century. The Church of S. Salvatore outside the walls of Spoleto is on the site of a small church originally dedicated to St. Michael in 429. There is another in the parish of Mandorleto near Perugia, of the same epoch, called in the inscription: 'basilicam sanctorum angelorum' (*ib.* p. 2148).

2. **The Michael churches in the East.**—i. *St. Michael of Khonai.*—The Church of St. Michael the Archistrategos was the centre of the angel cult of Asia. When the hill-station of Khonai took the place of Colossæ in the 7th cent., the Church of Colossæ became known as the Church of St. Michael of Khonai. The legend tells that St. Michael had saved the people of the Lycus valley from inundation by clearing the gorge outside Colossæ. The miracle of Khonai in its present forms is of the 9th cent., but it represents the foundation legend of the great Church of Colossæ. W. M. Ramsay has no doubt of the identity of the Church of St. Michael of Khonai with the Church of Colossæ. The raid of the Turks in 1189 swept along the Lycus valley. Khonai on the hill-side escaped them, but the threshing-floors along the valley were destroyed, and the great church was burnt (Nicetas Choniates, *Annales de Isaaco Angelo*, bk. ii. ch. 2 [*Hist. Byzant.*, Venice, 1729, xii. 210]). The legend also explains the origin of a spring of sweet water on the north of the city (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. 214 ff.). St. Michael of Khonai in the later Christian legend takes the place of the Zeus of Colossæ of pagan tradition. The power associated with Zeus was in the Christian period attributed to St. Michael. Ramsay sums up the importance of the legend in its bearing on early Christian history:

> 'The worship of angels was strong in Phrygia. Paul warned the Colossians against it in the first century (Col. ii. 18). The Council held at Laodiceia on the Lycus, about A.D. 363, stigmatised it as idolatrous (Conc. Laod. Can. 35). Theodoret, about 420-50 A.D., mentions that this disease long continued to infect Phrygia and Pisidia (Interpr. Ep. Col. ii. 16). But that which was once counted idolatry, was afterwards reckoned as piety' (*Church in the Roman Empire*, London, 1893, p. 477).

ii. *Asia.*—Michael the Archangel was honoured throughout Asia. His name is preserved in Mikhayil near Prymnessos, in Mikhalitch on the Sangarios, and in other city names (Ramsay, *Phrygia*, i. 31 f.). He is connected with the introduction of Christianity into Isaura, and is associated with the cities of Akroinos-Nicopolis and Gordium-Eudokias. Sozomen speaks of the cures wrought at the Michaeleion, a shrine built by Constantine on the north shore of the Bosphorus (*HE* ii. 3). Its ancient name was Hestiæ, and was traditionally associated with a temple built by the Argonauts (Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* [*Hist. Byzant.* vii. 96]; Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.*, p. 477, n.). It was 35 stadia from Constantinople, and is now represented by Arnautköi.

Procopius describes the rebuilding of this basilica by Constantine, and the building of another under the dedication of St. Michael at Proochthous on the Asiatic shore (Procopius, *de Ædificiis*, i. 8). He built another on the Asiatic coast at Mokadion (*ib.* i. 9). Procopius also mentions the Michael churches erected by Justinian at Antioch (*ib.* ii. 111) and at the healing springs of Pythia in Bithynia, with a house of rest for the sick (*ib.* iv. 3), while at Perga in Pamphylia stood a ptocheion of St. Michael (*ib.* v. 9).

iii. *Constantinople.*—There are important references to the Michael churches of Constantinople and the neighbourhood in the *Imperium Orientale* of Anselmo Banduri (*Hist. Byzant.*, xxiii. and xxiv.) and in the *Constantinopolis Christiana* of C. D. du Cange (*Hist. Byzant.* xxii.). The latter gives a list of fifteen churches (*Const Christ.* iv. 3) in the city and five monasteries in the suburbs (*ib.* iv. 15). The chief festival of St. Michael in the Eastern Church is kept on Nov. 8.

iv. *Alexandria.*—The *Annals* of Eutychius of Alexandria († 940) have a legend connected with a Michael church in Alexandria. It was on the site of a temple of Saturn, in which had been an image of brass named Michael. The image was broken up, and the pagan festival was transferred to St. Michael (R. Sinker, *DCA*, p. 1179).

3. **The Michael churches in the West.**—In Italy and the East, headland, hill-top, and spring sanctuaries now dedicated to St. Michael were formerly sacred sites of earlier religions. The associations rest frequently on folk-lore; the testimony is that of legend and tradition or place-name. The same associations are to be expected in the West. In some cases the legend may be traced; in others it may linger in folk-lore, and can be looked for only in local tradition. But, given an ancient dedication to St. Michael and a site associated with a headland, hill-top, or spring, on a road or track of early origin, it is reasonable to look for a pre-Christian sanctuary.

i. *Headland and coast churches.*—On the French coast are St. Michel near the mouth of the Loire, St. Michel on the Pointe du Raz in Brittany, St. Michel en Grève to the south of Lannion, the Île St. Michel near the Cap de Frehel, and, best-known of all, Mont St. Michel. The legend associated with Mont St. Michel suggests the tradition of an ancient sanctuary of Celtic heathendom. The giant slain by Arthur on the site is said to have come from Spain, the Hades of Celtic mythology (Rhŷs, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 90 f.). He is said to have ravished Elen, who is equated with a goddess of Welsh mythology (*ib.* p. 161). Thus, by the overthrow of a giant by the champion of Christendom, the Celtic sanctuary becomes the sanctuary of St. Michael.

Among the coast and headland churches in England are St. Michael's Mount, the church of Lyme Regis, and that of Bere near Seaton, all of ancient origin. There are also St. Michael near the mouth of the Camel opposite Padstow, St. Michael, Mawnan, overlooking Falmouth Bay, and St. Michael-Caer-hayes. On the west coast there is a Michael church at Workington in Cumberland; on the east coast, Garton in the East Riding, Sidestrand and Ormesby St. Michael, in Norfolk; on the south coast, Newhaven in Sussex and East Teignmouth, Devon. With a few exceptions the majority are in Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, where the old lore lingered longest.

ii. *Hill-top churches.*—These are to be found throughout the West, sometimes as hermitage chapels, sometimes as town and village churches. St. Michel is the central church of Limoges, the Augustoritum or metropolis of the Lemovices. St. Michel is also the central church of Castelnaudary on the old road between Carcassonne and Toulouse. These sites are frequently the high-places consecrated to early religious rites. The church of Penkridge in Staffordshire is dedicated to St. Michael. Penkridge is the Celtic site of the ancient city of Pennocrucium, 'a place-name which bears evidence to the worship of the heathen god in the centre of ancient Britain' (Rhŷs, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 202 f.). It is the Brythonic equivalent of the Irish *Cenn Cruach*, 'the Chief of the Mound,' who bowed before the staff of St. Patrick.

Penkridge was formerly the sanctuary of the Celtic Zeus.

A Michael church may often witness to some pre-historic centre of religious worship.

The story of a bull is associated with the foundation-legend of the Church of St. Michael 'in Monte Gargano.' The legend rests on a 'libellus' which was kept in the church. Garganus, a rich citizen of Sipuntum, missed his bull from the herd:

> 'Quem dominus collecta servorum multitudine per devia queque requirens, invenit tandem in vertice montis foribus cuiusdam asistere speluncae. Itaque promotus cur solivagus incederet: statim corripit ira motus arcum, et appetit illum sagita tossicata que venti flamine retorta: eum a quo iacta est mox versa percussit' (Mombritius, *Sanctuarium*, i. 390; cf. Hereford Breviary in Chapter Library, Worcester, 15th cent., *ap.* H. Bradshaw Soc. xl. [1911] 339).

The sanctity of the bull-shrine is here vindicated. The terror is averted by the dedication of the site to St. Michael.

The life of St. Francis of Assisi alludes to the forty days' fast in honour of St. Michael. It was kept 'ad heremum Alvernae.' It was on the occasion of one of these fasts that the birds gathered round his cell. They are called his 'sorores aviculae' (Mombritius, *Sanct.* i. 512). The vision of the stigmata is assigned to the same sanctuary.

> 'Biennio itaque antequam spiritum rederet caelo . . . perductus est in montem excelsum seorsum: cui nomen Alvernae. Cum igitur iuxta solitum morem quadragessimam ibidem ad honorem archangeli Michaelis ieiunare coepisset . . . coepit immissionum cumulatius dona sentire' (*ib.* i. 524).

iii. *The spring churches.*—The dedication of wells and springs to St. Michael may be noted in the Michael churches of Askerswell, at the head of the Asker Valley in Dorset, at Barwell in Lincolnshire, and at Houghton-le-Spring in Durham. In Portugal near Leiria on the Monte de São Miguel a warm and a cold spring issue close together from the Olhos de São Pedro.

There is a remarkable example of a Michael church in association with a spring at Llanmihangel near Llantwit Major in Glamorganshire. The church is in a dell, and just outside the N.W. corner of its churchyard is a spring. The spring-head is ornamented with the bust of a woman, and the water used to issue from the breasts. It is now (April 1915) nearly filled up with mud.

iv. *The Llanfihangel churches in Wales.*—It has been noted by W. L. Bevan (*Dioc. Hist. of St. David's*, London, 1888, p. 36, *ap.* Willis Bund, *The Celtic Church of Wales*, p. 336) that the Michael churches in the diocese of St. David's, to the number of forty-five, with one exception, are in the country districts. It has been suggested by Willis Bund (p. 336) that they mark a second stage in the spread of Christianity in Wales:

> 'The group of Michael churches would therefore represent the villages of the lay tribe that had become Christian, but which still belonged to the lay tribe, and so could not be called by the name of the Saint, or the tribe of the Saint, or of his family. They thus form a group which marks the spread of Christianity. . . . The term selected was one that would celebrate the victory of the cross over the Pagan' (*ib.* p. 336).

The Michael churches of Anglesey bear out this suggestion. There are four of them; and they are all in the near neighbourhood of sites of great antiquity, associated with the legend and myth of Wales. Llanfihangel-ty'n Sylwg, on the coast north-west of Beaumaris, is within the pre-historic site of Bwrdd Arthur. Llanfihangel Tre'r Beirdd derives its name from the ancient Carneddau Tre'r Beirdd. It lies to the east of Llanerchymedd. Llanfihangel-yn-Nhowyn, south-east of Valley, is near the site of Cær-Ellen. Llanfihangel Esceifiog is parochially connected with the old site of Plas Berw. This association of the Michael churches of Anglesey, taken together with the evidence of the churches in Italy and the East, can hardly be accidental. It would seem to support the evidence that the Michael churches occupy the shrines and sites of Celtic heathendom.

v. *The Michael churchyards.*—The churchyard of St. Michael's at Lichfield is referred to in the MS *Historia Ecclesiæ Lichfeldensis* in the Cathedral Library at Lichfield. It was a venerated site even in the time of St. Augustine:

> 'Corporibus occisorum sepelliendis insolitae magnitudinis coemeterium quod fano Divi Michaelis adiacet, fertur inserviisse; quod ferunt Augustino, qui Anglorum Apostolus dicitur, cum illas insulae partes inviserat, religione venerabile fuisse' (MS *Hist. Eccl. Lichf.*, *ap.* H. E. Savage, *The Church Heritage of Lichfield*, Lichfield, 1914, p. 14).

A note 'de Cemeteriis' in the same MS speaks of certain national burial-places in the early ages of the Church:

> 'In primordiis nascentis Ecclesiae Anglicanae cemeteria erant rara, pauca sed amplissima et spaciosa: ut cemeterium Avelloniae sanctum in quo Rex Arthurius sepultus est; cemeterium Doroverni Cantiorum; Eboraci Brigantium; Lindisferne; atque adeo cemeterium Divo Michaeli sacrum Lichefeldiae ab Augustino Anglorum Apostolo, ut fama est, consecratum' (*ib.* p. 14).

There is a passage in Bede which probably refers to a similar burial-place in the neighbourhood of Hexham:

> 'Est mansio quaedam secretior, nemore raro et vallo circumdata, non longe ab Hagustaldensi ecclesia . . . habens clymeterium sancti Michahelis archangeli, in qua vir Dei saepius, . . . manere cum paucis, atque orationibus ac lectioni quietus operam dare consueverat' (*HE* v. 2).

The Church of St. Michel at Bordeaux is on the site of an ancient cemetery, the soil of which has the property of preserving the bodies.

vi. *The Angel Victor in Ireland.*—The *Genair Patraicc*, the hymn of St. Fiacc in honour of St. Patrick, has two references to St. Michael under the name of Victor. In v. 4 it is by his command that Patrick went across the seas:

> 'Asbert Victor fri gniad
> Mil con tessed for tonna,'

> 'Said Victor to Milchu's bondsman, that he should go over the waves' (*Irish Liber Hymnorum*, H. Bradshaw Soc. xiii. [1898] 98, xiv. [1898] 32).

In l. 47, an angel sends Patrick to Victor, who stopped him from going to Armagh at his death:

> 'Dofaith fa-des co Victor,
> ba he ar·id·ra·lastar,'

> 'He sent him south to Victor: it was he [Victor] that stopped him' (*ib.* xiii. 102, xiv. 34).

The gloss on v. 4 reads:

> 'Victor. i. angel communis Scotticae gentis sein: quia Michael angelus Ebreicae gentis, ita Victor Scottorum' (*ib.* xiii. 98).

The translation of the Irish gloss on v. 46 reads:

> 'i.e. to meet him, to summon him to go to Victor. He was his soul-friend, and he is the common angel of the Gaels [aingel coitcend na ńGoedel]; sicut est Michel Iudeorum ita Victor Scotorum' (*ib.* xiii. 102, xiv. 184).

The hymn seems based on notes written by Muirchu Maccu Mactheni in the 7th cent. and preserved in the Book of Armagh. The hymn itself belongs to the 8th century (*ib.* xiv. 176). The name Victor may be traceable to the *inlatio* of the Mozarabic Missal for Michaelmas:

> 'E celo missus: iniquum hostem perimens submittet in inferno: et ipse victor exultans victori plaudet: a quo victor manebit' (*Missale Mixtum dictum Mozarabes*, ed. A. Lesley, Rome, 1755, p. 392).

It is a point of affinity between the liturgical uses of Ireland and Spain.

But the name Michael is not sunk in the title Victor. J. H. Bernard, in his note on the Hymn of St. Colman Mac Murchon in honour of St. Michael, says:

> 'St. Michael was very popular in Ireland. In the Second Vision of Adamnan we read in section 19: "the three hostages that were taken on behalf of the Lord for warding off every disease from the Irish—are Peter the Apostle, and Mary the Virgin, and Michael the Archangel." There are a large number of fragmentary Irish poems in praise of St. Michael in the manuscript collection of the Royal Irish Academy. There were churches dedicated to him in many localities; the place-name *Temple-Michael* still exists in 6 or 7 counties' (H. Bradshaw Soc. xiv. 133).

4. The Michaelmas goose.—There is an old saying: 'If you eat goose on Michaelmas-day you will never want money all the year round' (Hone, *Every-Day Book*, i. 1339). In Herefordshire in 1470, 'one goose fit for the lord's dinner on the feast of St. Michael the archangel' was due as part of service or rent for land (*ib.*). G. Gascoigne, in his poems published in 1575, alludes to a similar custom ·

> ‘At Christmasse a capon,
> At Michaelmasse a goose,
> And somewhat else at New-yeres tide,
> For feare their lease flie loose’ (*ib.*).

Such customs lie deep in the folk-lore and religious ideas of a people. Geese have sacred associations. They saved Rome (‘anseres non fefellere: quibus sacris Junoni’ [Livy, v. 47]). The goose-pond, or ‘fuente de las ocas,’ is still preserved in the cloister court of the cathedral of Barcelona. The cathedral is built on the site of a Roman temple—a temple ascribed to Hercules. Some columns in an adjoining street still witness to the antiquity of the site. There were sacred geese in the Greek temples (*ERE* i. 518). Geese were tabu to the ancient Britons (‘leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant’ [Cæs. *de Bell. Gall.* v. 12]). They also have a place in the story of St. Werburga (‘in Wedune mansione, quod est iuxta Hamptoniam . . . infinita aucarum silvestrium . . . multitudo’ [*Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. C. Horstmann, Oxford, 1901, ii. 423]). The witness of East and West, the folk-lore and legend of Britain, alike point to the sacred associations of the Michaelmas goose. This established Michaelmas custom rests, together with the sites of so many of our Michael churches, on a foundation of primitive religion, and in Britain they are no less sacred to Christianity for thus keeping alive the deep-rooted religious convictions of Celtic heathendom.

5. The liturgical meaning of the festival: St. Michael and All Angels.—The festival of Michaelmas is specially in honour of St. Michael, but the words of the *officium* or *introit* to the mass in all Western uses are: ‘Benedicite Dominum omnes angeli.’ The festival thus includes All Angels. The English Prayer-Book entitles the festival ‘St. Michael and All Angels.’ The Colbertine Breviary of *c.* 1675 (H. Bradshaw Soc. xliii. [1912] p. xxxvi) agrees in this title: ‘S. Michaelis et omnium Angelorum.’ The Dedication of the Great Hall of the Baths of Diocletian in 1564 under the title *S. Maria degli Angeli* shows the same intention.

The Collect ‘Deus, qui miro ordine’—‘the services of Angels and men in a wonderful order’—is common to all the uses. Its subject is the ministry of angels. The gospel, offertorium, and postcommunio are also common to all. The Gospel—‘Quis putas maior’—refers to the guardianship of the angels, the Offertory—‘Stetit Angelus’—to the incense of prayer, the Postcommunio—‘Beati Archangeli tui Michaelis’—to the intercession of St. Michael. The Epistle common to the Roman and Sarum and most of the Western uses—‘significavit Deus quae oportet fieri cito’—commemorates the Angel of the Apocalypse (H. Bradshaw Soc. xii. [1897] 1595).

The Epistle in the English Prayer-Book, ‘There was war in heaven,’ represents a different strain of liturgical tradition, and celebrates the victory of St. Michael over the dragon, ‘that old serpent, called the devil and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world.’ The Westminster Missal of *c.* 1375 has this Epistle as a First Lection, followed by the usual Epistle, ‘Significavit Deus.’ It is a rare instance of two prophetical lessons before the gospel, which of itself shows the influence of Gallican use. This inference is strengthened by its use as the First Lection in the Mozarabic *Missale Mixtum* (ed. Lesley, p. 389). It also appears as a Matins lesson in the Milan Breviary (*Breviarium Ambrosianum*, Milan, 1896, Pars Aestiva, ii. Prop. de Tempore, p. 403). Wickham Legg traces it in the Missals of Durham, Abingdon, and Sherborne among old English uses; and in that of Rouen of 1499 and the Cistercian Missal of 1627 (H. Bradshaw Soc. xii. 1595).

The English Epistle is inspired by the thought of the triumph of Christianity over heathenism, and belongs to the same cycle of ideas as the Angel Victor in Ireland.

Literature.—*DACL*; Henry Bradshaw Society; *DCA*; F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, London, 1899; W. Hone, *Every-Day Book*, do. 1830; H. Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques*, Paris, 1908; W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford, 1895–97; J. Rhŷs, *Celtic Heathendom*^{3}, London, 1898; J. W. Willis Bund, *The Celtic Church in Wales*, do. 1897.

Thomas Barns.

MICIUS.—‘Micius’ is the latinized form of the words otherwise transliterated Mih Tsze, or Mo Tsze, meaning ‘the philosopher Mih.’ His personal name was Teih (or Ti). He was a native of the State of Sung, and is regarded by some as a younger contemporary of Confucius (E. Faber, E. H. Parker), and by others as ‘very little anterior to Mencius’ (J. Legge). His opinions are preserved in 71 chapters arranged in 15 books; but 18 of the chapters, in some cases along with their very titles, have been lost. Faber speaks of him as an ancient Chinese socialist, and Parker calls him ‘a Quixotic Diogenes,’ head of ‘the school of simplicity, socialism, and universal love’ (*China and Religion*, London, 1905, p. 67). It is this doctrine of universal love by which he is best known, largely because of the criticism of it by Mencius (*q.v.*). All social disorders in the empire, and between persons, families, or States, spring from selfishness, and would be impossible if men loved the persons, families, and States of others as they love what belongs to themselves. Such universal love may be difficult; but, if men can be induced to sacrifice their lives for the sake of pleasing their sovereign, how much less difficult should they find it to practise universal love, which, moreover, would be responded to by love. Others would follow if only rulers would lead the way by administering their government on this principle, taking pleasure in it, stimulating men to it by rewards and praise, and aweing them from opposition to it by punishment and fines. Micius adduces the ancient kings as examples, for equally with Confucius he builds on the ancient books. What gives rise to hate and all its evils is the principle of making distinctions. In spite of the brevity of life and the selfish desire to make the most of it for oneself, each man should be for the other as for himself. There is no one who would not prefer as his friend or his sovereign one who practises universal love rather than one who acts on the opposite principle. To the objection that universal love is injurious to filial piety Micius replies that the filial son is one who wishes to secure the happiness of his parents by inducing men to love and benefit them, and that to love and benefit the parents of others is precisely to secure for one's own the same treatment in return (bk. iv.). It is here that Mencius joins issue with the Mihist I Tsze. Taking Micius's doctrine as inculcating *equal* love to all, he argues from the actual facts of human nature, pointing out that a man's affection for his brother's child is not merely the same as his affection for the child of his neighbour, and that man is related in a special way to his own parents, heaven having made man to have this one root (Mencius, bk. iii. pt. i. ch. 5, pt. ii. ch. 9). Legge admits that Micius appears to lose sight of the other sentiments of the human mind in his exclusive contemplation of the power of love, but denies that Micius taught equal love to all. It is true that we do not find in Micius the phrase ‘without difference of degree,’ used by I Tsze, though it may be held that I Tsze represents the logic of his master's doctrine. I Tsze also exposed himself to Mencius's criticism by his exaggeration of his master's teaching on simplicity in funeral rites (Mencius, bk. iii. pt. i. ch. 5). Micius did no more than discourage extravagance on utilitarian grounds, as being of no profit to men or gods, while he allowed all that was necessary for a decent interment (Micius, bk. v. ch. 25). Among other points worthy of notice are these. In bk. iii., on the value of uniformity, Micius holds that men originally were hopelessly at sixes and sevens, each having his own view of right, and that order is based on submissive acceptance of the judgment of the supreme ruler, whose judgment, however, must conform to heaven if heaven-sent punishments are to be avoided. Hence the piety of the ancient kings. Micius is firmly convinced of the existence of spiritual beings, the instruments of heaven's righteous administration, and so far affirms the necessity of religious belief for social stability (bk. viii.). Of two chapters criticizing the Confucian school one survives, though Chinese editors are inclined to deny this reference of his remarks. On the whole Micius deserves Legge's praise of him as 'an original thinker,' who exercised a bolder judgment on things than Confucius or any of his followers.

LITERATURE.—J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, London, 1867–76, ii. Prolegomena; E. Faber, *Die Grundgedanken des alten chinesischen Socialismus*, Elberfeld, 1877.

P. J. MACLAGAN.

MICMACS.—See ALGONQUINS (Eastern).

MIDRASH AND MIDRASHIC LITERATURE.—The term *midrāsh* (from the root *dārash*, 'to seek,' 'inquire') signifies 'research,' 'inquiry,' 'study.' Applied by the Chronicler to historical writings of didactic import,[1] as the Midrash of the Prophet Iddo (2 Ch 13^{22}) and the Midrash of the book of Kings (2 Ch 24^{27}), it assumed later, with the advent of the *sôf^{e}rîm*, or scribes, upon the stage of Jewish history, the connotation of free exposition or exegesis of Scripture, eventually becoming a general term for pure theoretic study as opposed to a practical pursuit of knowledge.[2] From the latter usage the Jewish academy received its name *bēth ham-midrāsh*, 'house of study.' In a narrower sense, *midrāsh* is employed to mean any specific exposition of a Scriptural passage differing essentially from the *p^{e}shāṭ*, the literal meaning (the plural form in such case being *midrāshôth*), and the name is then transferred to a collection of such free expositions, known collectively as *midrāshîm*, Midrashic works.[3]

The intellectual activity of the Rabbis with regard to this free exposition of the Bible was developed along two distinct lines, the Hălākhāh and the Haggādāh, and a few brief remarks on the basic differences between these two currents of Rabbinic thought, flowing in parallel streams, are of paramount importance. Reduced to their bare etymology, the terms signify: *hălākhāh*, 'way of acting,' 'habit,' 'rule of conduct'; *haggādāh* (also known in its Aramaic form *'aggādāh* or *'agādā*), 'narrative,' 'explanation.'[4] The Hălākhāh confines itself to the legalistic aspect of the Scriptures; the Haggādāh to their moralizing and edifying aspect. From the Rabbinic standpoint, the Bible is a microcosm in which is reflected every move and event of the great universe. One teacher comments: 'Turn it, and again turn it; for the all is therein, and thy all is therein' (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 96). It requires only the light of a great thinker to extract from its compact pages all this esoteric wisdom; like a hammer which strikes the inherent sparks from the rock, it is possible to unravel all the secrets which lie beneath the surface of the cold letter of the text (*Sanh.* 34*a*). The Hălākhāh takes up this work of rekindling the mystic spark of knowledge in the legal field; in all other fields of human activity that task is undertaken by the Haggādāh. The Hălākhāh relies, for its powers, mainly on the intellectual and logical faculties of man; the Haggādāh on the imaginative and emotional faculties. The Hălākhāh strives to preserve the letter of the law by insisting on the observance of all the details in the ritual; the Haggādāh, by a well-defined analysis of the relation of man to his environment, seeks to preserve its spirit.[1]

Midrashic study, therefore, assumes a twofold aspect. On the one hand, it is concerned with the evolution of legalism—the Hălākhāh; on the other, it centres about the problems of God, man, and the universe—the Haggādāh. The origin of Midrashic study is shrouded in the gloom of antiquity. The Rabbis themselves often assign Midrashic interpretations of Scripture to Biblical personages, but such statements are not to be taken literally. A noteworthy instance of this occurs in the Mishna (*Sh^{e}ḳālîm*, vi. 6): 'This is the midrash which Jehoiada, the high-priest, taught,' etc. By such assertions the Rabbis probably meant to emphasize the continuity and binding force of the traditional law. There can be no doubt, however, that this free method of inquiry into Scripture was well established during the period of the early scribes, the men of the Great Synagogue, who took up the reconstructive work initiated by Ezra.[2] The author of Daniel uses Midrashic exegesis quite liberally in interpreting the words of Jeremiah ($25^{11f.}$ 29^{10}) in his famous prophecy of the weeks (ch. 9). With the advent of the scribes Midrashic study becomes a permanent institution in the Jewish intellectual world and passes through its process of evolution during the succeeding ages. Three historical periods are generally distinguished: (*a*) the period of the *sôf^{e}rîm*, or scribes, 400 B.C.–A.D. 10; (*b*) the period of the *Tannāîm*, the early Rabbinical authorities, A.D. 10–220; (*c*) the period of the *Ămôrāîm*, later Rabbinic authorities, A.D. 220–500. The historical side of the development of Midrashic study has been ably dealt with in the works of L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Frankfort, 1892; Z. Fränkel, *Hodegetica in Mischnam*, Leipzig, 1859, and *Introductio in Talmud Hierosolymitanum*, Breslau, 1870; D. Hoffmann, 'Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim' (*Beilage des Rabbiner-Seminars zu Berlin*), 1887; and especially in the works of W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, Strassburg, 1903, *Die Agada der babylonischen Amoräer*, do. 1878, and *Die Agada der palästinischen Amoräer*, do. 1892–99. Only few traces remain of the Midrashic exegesis of the early scribes (cf. *Mishnāh Sôṭāh*, viii.; *Ma'ăśēr Shēnî*, v. 10 f.). During the second period, the Tannāitic, Midrashic study must have developed to grand proportions, as is evident from the fact that the various schools of Rabbis, beginning with Hillel, laid down specific rules for exegesis to keep the study within definite bounds.[1] The period of the Ămôrâîm was most prolific in the field of Midrashic research, most of the collections, in fact, having their beginnings during that period.

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[1] Cf. S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the OT*^{9}, Edinburgh, 1913, p. 529.

[2] *e.g.*, Rabban Simeon, the son of Gamaliel, adds: 'Not the *midrāsh* (pure theoretic study) is the groundwork, but the deed' (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, ed. C. Taylor^{2}, Cambridge, 1897, p. 5, Heb. text).

[3] Cf. W. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur*, Leipzig, 1899–1905, i. 103.

[4] Bacher (*JQR* iv. [1892] 406–429) derives this word from the formula *maggîd sh^{e}*, 'the text explains that,' in use in the earliest Midrashic works.

[1] Cf. I. H. Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Tradition*^{2}, Wilna, 1904, iii. 220.

[2] The following passage is of interest as confirming this position. Rabbi Levi says: 'We have received this midrash from the men of the Great Synagogue. Wherever Scripture uses the expression "and it came to pass," the phrase generally implies calamity' (*M^{e}gillāh*, 10*b*). Parallel passages on the authority of a number of different teachers are found in *B^{e}rēshîth Rabbā*, xlii. 3; *Wayiḳrā Rabbā*, xi. 7; *Rūth Rabbā*, i. 7 prooem.; *Estēr Rabbā*, i. 1 prooem.; *P^{e}siḳtā Rabbāthî*, 5. In these the period of the Babylonian Exile is assigned as the date for this midrash (cf. N. Krochmal, *Môreh Nebûkhê haz-Z^{e}mān*^{2}, Warsaw, 1894, p. 224).

1. **Halakhic Midrāshîm.**—The legalistic exegesis of Scripture did not proceed in an unsystematic manner. Each school of Rabbis would hand over the results of its work to the next in the form of rules of legal hermeneutics which were derived from a collation of similarly worded passages in the Pentateuch. Accordingly, the school of Hillel, at the beginning of the first century of our era, left seven such rules, which, in the school of Rabbi Ishmael, were later amplified into thirteen.[2] These are either based on some logical syllogism or of purely exegetical character. Thus the seven original rules laid down by the school of Hillel embrace the following: (1) the inference from minor and major (at the bottom of which is *a fortiori* reasoning); (2) the analogy of expressions; (3) the generalization of one special provision; (4) the generalization of two special provisions; (5) the effect of general and particular terms; (6) the analogy made from another passage; (7) the explanation derived from the context.[3]

From the school of Rabbi Ishmael a complete commentary on the legal portion of the Pentateuch was issued, the following parts of which have been preserved.

(*a*) The *Mᵉkhîltā* (Aramaic for 'rule' or 'measure'), which is the earliest Rabbinic work extant, is a running commentary to the legal portions of Exodus. It begins with the injunction concerning the Paschal lamb in $12^{1ff.}$, and ends with the injunction concerning the kindling of fires on the Sabbath (35^3). A large portion of Haggadic material has also been added. In the *Mᵉkhîltā*, as well as in all the other Halakhic Midrāshîm, the activity of the Rabbis in the legal field is analyzed; in the Mishna it is synthesized. The *Mᵉkhîltā* went through the hands of later redactors, whose work is still traceable. The *editio princeps* was Constantinople, 1515, and the two critical editions are *Mechilta . . . von I. H. Weiss* (Vienna, 1865) and *Mechilta de Rabbi Ismaël . . . von M. Friedmann* (do. 1870).[4]

(*b*) The existence of a commentary to Leviticus from the same school is posited by Hoffmann ('Einleitung,' pp. 72–76) from fragments preserved in various places in Rabbinic literature.

(*c*) The Halakhic Midrash to Numbers from the same school is the *Sifrē* to Numbers, forming a running commentary to $5–35^{34}$ with omissions. The work is generally bound together with the *Sifrē* to Deuteronomy, and both were, for a long time, considered of similar origin. The latter work, however, originated in the school of Rabbi Aḳiba. The name *Sifrē* probably means 'books.' The first edition was printed in Venice, 1545, and a critical edition was issued by M. Friedmann, *Sifre debê Rab* (Vienna, 1864).

(*d*) Fragments, from the same school, of a commentary to Deuteronomy were published by D. Hoffmann, in *Jubelschrift zum siebzigsten Geburtstag des Dr. Israel Hildesheimer*, Berlin, 1890, pp. 1–32.

Opposed to the methods pursued by the school of Rabbi Ishmael was the more rigoristic school of Rabbi Aḳiba. The latter, in expounding the law, followed a method known as 'extension and limitation' (*ribbūî ū-mî'ūṭ*), introduced by his teacher, Nahum of Gimzo. According to this system, it was necessary to consider the amplifying or limiting value of certain particles used in the Pentateuch when considering the legal question involved in the passage, in order to include the additions of tradition or to exclude what it no longer sanctions. Thus the particles 'even,' 'every,' 'also,' 'with' were considered as amplifying, the particles 'but,' 'only,' 'from' as limiting, the original law. Rabbi Aḳiba's disciples included the most distinguished teachers of the Law, such as Rabbi Me'îr, Judah ben 'Ilāi, Simeon ben Yôḥāi, and Yôsê bar Ḥălaftā. His disciple, Aquila, followed his methods of exegesis in his Greek version of the OT. From the school of Rabbi Aḳiba the following Halakhic Midrāshîm have been preserved: (i.) the *Mᵉkhîltā* of Rabbi Simeon ben Yôḥāi on Exodus, contained in the *Midrāsh hag-Gādhôl*, and published by D. Hoffmann (*Mechilta de Rabbi Simon b. Jochai*, Frankfort a. M., 1905);[1] (ii.) the *Sifrā* or *Tôrath Kôhănîm*, 'the Law of the Priesthood,' which is a most complete running Halakhic commentary to Leviticus, and was edited by Rabbi Ḥiyya (middle of 2nd cent.; cf. Hoffmann, 'Einleitung,' p. 22); the *editio princeps* was Venice, 1545, and the standard edition is *Sifra, Commentar zu Leviticus . . . nebst Erläuterung des R. Abraham ben David und I. H. Weiss . . . herausgegeben von Jakob Schlossberg*, Vienna, 1862; (iii.) the *Sifrē Zūṭā*, the Halakhic commentary to Numbers from the school of Rabbi Aḳiba, existing only in fragmentary form in various collections, foremost among which is the *Yalḳūṭ Shimᵉ'ônî*, the *editio princeps* of which uses the expression *Zūṭā*, 'smaller,' to distinguish this Midrash from the *Sifrē* to Numbers mentioned above (cf. Hoffmann, 'Einleitung,' pp. 59–66); and (iv.) the *Sifrē* to Deuteronomy, which is the legal commentary to this book issuing from the same school. It is usually bound with the *Sifrē* to Numbers emanating from the school of Rabbi Ishmael (cf. above).

These Midrashic collections are but small remnants of the great number of such works which the ravages of time have destroyed. They were compiled, for the most part, during the first two centuries of our era. While their scope is primarily Halakhic, the Haggadic content in each instance forms no mean proportion, for the Rabbis felt themselves bound by no rigorous division-line in arranging their material. The later Mishna and Talmud are similar extensive collections which comprise the greatest efforts of the Rabbis in the realm of Hălākhāh and Haggādāh.

To illustrate the methods of the Halakhic Midrash the following passage, in which the legal aspect of tort is discussed, will be of interest:

> '"Eye for eye" [Ex 21^{24}] means a money-compensation. This, however, is a mere assertion; perhaps we are actually to understand the passage in its literal sense. Says Rabbi Eleazar: "Scripture unites in one passage [Lv 24^{21}] the two injunctions, 'He that killeth a beast shall make it good: and he that killeth a man shall be put to death.' For what purpose is this collation?—in order to establish a like precedent for the laws of tort in the case of man and beast. Just as the damage inflicted on a beast is punishable by a fine, so the damage inflicted on a human being is punishable by a fine." Rabbi Isaac adds: "In the case where one's beast had repeatedly inflicted death on several human beings, Scripture specifically imposes a fine on the owner to escape a deserved death-penalty [Ex $21^{29f.}$]; in this case, where the Scriptural penalty is only the loss of an eye, there is all the more reason to believe that the text meant to allow a money compensation"' (cf. *Mᵉkhîltā of Rabbi Ishmael, Mishpāṭîm*, 8).

The binding force of the decisions of the Rabbis with regard to their interpretations of the Mosaic law is clearly expressed in the following:

> 'Concerning the authority of the words of the scribes, Scripture says [Dt 17^{11}]: "According to the tenor of the law which they shall teach thee." It does not say which the Torah

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[1] Cf. S. Horovitz, in *JE* viii. 549.

[2] For these see *JE* x. 511 f.

[3] Cf. *Tôseftā, Sanhedrin*, ch. 7; *Ăbhôth of Rabbi Nathan*, ch. 37; and *Sifrā*, introductory ch.

[4] Cf. J. Winter and A. Wünsche, *Die jüdische Litteratur*, Trèves, 1894, i. 371–410; and *JE* viii. 554 f.

[1] Cf. S. Schechter, *Midrash Haggadol*, Heb. preface, Cambridge, 1902; I. Lewy, 'Ein Wort über die Mechilta des R. Simon,' *Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars 'Franckelscher Stiftung,'* Breslau, 1889; and L. Ginzberg, in *Festschrift zu I. Lewy's 70ten Geburtstag*, do. 1911, pp. 403-436.

shall teach thee, but rather which *they* shall teach thee. . . . Furthermore, it enjoins, "Thou shalt not turn aside from the sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left," which means that thou shalt listen to their opinions in reference to what is right, if they tell thee that it is right, and in reference to what is left, if they tell thee that it is left; and even if they were to tell thee concerning the right that it is left, and concerning the left that it is right, thou must yield to their opinion' (*Shîr hash-Shîrîm Rabbā*, i. 2).

2. Haggadic Midrāshîm.—The Haggādāh is the expression of the philosophy of Jewish life, and, as a result, had a wider appeal than the more abstruse Hălākhāh. With a keen appreciation of the consoling powers of the Haggādāh, Rabbi Isaac informs us:

> 'Generations before, when the penny had a freer circulation, there was a desire to listen to lectures on Mishnah and Talmud: but to-day, however, when the penny is scarce, there is only a desire for Scripture and Haggādāh' (*Pᵉsiḳtā of Rav Kahana, Baḥôdesh hash-Shelîshî*).

The Haggadic Midrāshîm are of two kinds: (1) exegetical, and (2) homiletic. The first form running commentaries to the text of the various books of the OT, and in this respect follow the method of the Halakhic Midrāshîm. They are, however, frequently introduced by several proems—opening remarks generally based on some text in the Hagiographa—which is rather a characteristic of the homiletic Midrāshîm. The latter are collections of homilies or sermons which were delivered during the Sabbath and festival services in the synagogues, and which were based on the portion of the law read during such service. The homiletic Midrāshîm, therefore, differ essentially, in structure as well as in the treatment of their subject-matter, from all the other Midrashic works. They are regularly introduced by proems in which a passage from the Hagiographa or Prophets is explained and introduced into the context. Several homiletic works (notably the *Tanḥûmā*) also resort to a Halakhic exordium. The lesson of the day is then attached to the opening verses of the portion of the law read during the service, the text being often used merely as a basis for a lesson on morals quite fully developed. The homilies close, for the most part, with verses of encouragement, prophesying the redemption of Israel and the advent of the Messianic era. Two cycles of homiletic Midrāshîm are in existence: (*a*) those originating in the three-year-cycle of Scriptural Sabbath readings then in vogue in Palestine—the *Sᵉdhārîm* cycle[1]—and (*b*) those based on the readings during the special Sabbaths in the Jewish calendar (occurring before Purim and Passover) and on the festivals and fast-days—the *Pᵉsîḳtā* cycle.

3. Exegetical Midrāshîm.—Of these the oldest and most important is *Bᵉrēshîth Rabbā*, a Haggadic commentary to Genesis.[2] It is the first in the collection known as *Midrāsh Rabbā*, or *Midrāsh Rabbôth*, which comprises ten Midrashic works, one for each book of the Pentateuch, and one for each of the Five Scrolls (the books of Esther, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes). The works included in this collection are of a miscellaneous character, and their time of composition extends from the 6th to the 12th cent.—the period in which the different Haggadic Midrāshîm were redacted. Of the Haggadic Midrāshîm *Bᵉrēshîth Rabbā* is, no doubt, the oldest as well as the richest from the point of view of subject-matter. Like most of the Midrāshîm, it had its origin in Palestine, and was put into its final form no later than the 6th century. Older authorities assign the work to Rabbi Hoshaiah, a Palestinian teacher of the 3rd cent. (with whose remarks the book opens), but he cannot be responsible for the work in its present form. The historical and legendary content of Genesis furnishes ample material for Haggadic exposition. The ten Midrashic works forming the collection *Midrāsh Rabbā* were printed for the first time in Venice, 1545. The standard edition is that of Wilna, 1878–87. The collection was translated into German by August Wünsche in *Bibliotheca Rabbinica, eine Sammlung alter Midraschim*, Leipzig, 1880–85, and L. Shapiro translated a part of *Bᵉrēshîth Rabbā* into English (*Midrash Rabba*, New York, 1906).

Ēkhā Rabbāthî, a Haggadic commentary to Lamentations, is also a very early exegetical Midrash, and is included in the *Midrāsh Rabbā*. This work (as well as *Bᵉrēshîth Rabbā*) is introduced by many elaborate proems followed by commentary to the text of Lamentations. The book is especially rich in anecdotes and legends of the pathetic events that transpired during the destruction of Jerusalem. A critical edition has been issued by S. Buber, *Echa Rabbati*, Wilna, 1899.

Shîr hash-Shîrîm Rabbā is an exegetical Midrash to Canticles, included in the *Midrāsh Rabbā*. The entire work is an elaborate allegorical rendition of the relation between God and Israel implied in the dialogues between the shepherd and his bride.

Rūth Rabbā (also included in the *Midrāsh Rabbā*) is an exegetical Midrash to Ruth. The book is introduced by a series of proems, and the conversion of Ruth furnishes many a beautiful lesson to the Rabbinical commentators.

Ḳôheleth Rabbā (also included in the above collection) is an almost complete exegetical commentary on Ecclesiastes. The author utilized much of the material found in the Talmud and in various earlier Midrashic works, and mentions several sources by name—a sign of the late origin of the Midrash.

Finally, *Estēr Rabbā* is an exegetical commentary on Esther included in the *Midrāsh Rabbā*. This is one of a number of extant Haggadic Midrāshîm to the book of Esther, very popular because of its use during the Purim festival. The others were published by S. Buber, *Sammlung agadischer Commentare zum Buche Esther*, Wilna, 1886, and *Agadische Abhandlungen zum Buche Esther*, Cracow, 1897.

Besides the above-mentioned Midrāshîm to the Five Scrolls, Buber published several other extant Midrāshîm to the books of Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Ecclesiastes, in *Midrasch Suta*, Berlin, 1894.

There are still extant several Haggadic Midrāshîm dealing with the remaining books of Scripture. There can be no doubt that originally such exegetical works existed on all the books, but they have been lost. Foremost among them is *Midrāsh Tᵉhillîm*, a Haggadic commentary to the book of Psalms. It is also known as *Shôḥēr Ṭôbh*, 'He that seeketh good' (Pr 11^{27}), which are also the opening words of the book. This Midrash is especially rich in the rhetorical devices employed by the Haggadists—analogies, legends, fables, maxims, etc. A critical edition was issued by Buber (*Midrasch Tehillim*, Wilna, 1891). A Midrash to the book of Samuel has, likewise, been preserved, known as *Midrāsh Shᵉmū'ēl*. It is a collection of Haggadic comments on the book, gleaned from various parts of Rabbinic literature. The first edition of the work was Constantinople, 1517. A critical edition was issued by S. Buber (*Midrasch Samuel*, Cracow, 1893). *Midrāsh Mishlē* is an incomplete Haggadic Midrash to Proverbs. The comments in this Midrash are exceptionally brief, so that the work approaches the character of a Biblical commentary. A critical edition was issued by S. Buber (*Midrasch Mischle*, Wilna, 1893). The Midrāshîm to the books of Isaiah and Job are mentioned by older authorities, and, of the latter, extracts are found in the collection, *Yalķūt Mākhîrî* (to Is 61^{11}), and in a few other old works. Several fragments of a Midrash to the book of Jonah have been published by A. Jellinek (*Beth ham-Midrasch*, Leipzig, 1853–77, i. 96–105); and by C. M. Horowitz (*Sammlung kleiner Midraschim*, Berlin, 1881).

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[1] Cf. J. Theodor, in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, xxxiv. [1885–87] 356.

[2] For introductions to the various Midrashic works cf. *JE*, under each title; Winter and Wünsche, i. 411–601; and the introductions to the separate works.

Finally, there are in existence a number of works known as *Yalķūţîm*, 'collections,' which are in the nature of thesauri to all the books of Scripture, and which give (with their proper sources) a wealth of Haggadic material for each of the books. Three of these works are very important: the *Yalķūţ Shim^e'ônî*, frequently known merely as *Yalķūţ*, ascribed to Rabbi Simeon, the preacher (last edition, Wilna, 1898), the *Yalķūţ ham-Mākhîrî*, ascribed to Rabbi Machir ben Abba Mari, only portions of which have appeared (Buber, *Yalkut Machiri . . . zu den 150 Psalmen*, Berdyczew, 1899), and the *Midrāsh hag-Gādhôl*, of which the part to Genesis has been published by Schechter (*op. cit.*), and the part to Exodus by D. Hoffmann (Berlin, 1913–15).[1]

4. Homiletic Midrāshîm.—The purely homiletic Midrāshîm belonging to the *S^{e}dhārîm* cycle (based on the triennial readings of the Pentateuch in the synagogues of Palestine) are: (1) the *Tanḥūmā*, (2) *Aggādath B^{e}rēshîth*, and (3) the four remaining works in the *Midrāsh Rabbā* on the four last books of the Pentateuch. The *Tanḥūmā* (also known as *Y^{e}lamm^{e}dēnû*, 'Let him teach us,' because of the frequent use of this formula to introduce the Halakhic exordiums in the Midrash) is a complete homiletic commentary to the Pentateuch, extant in two versions, containing also special homilies for the days of the *P^{e}sîķtā* cycle. A third version is known to have existed. A critical edition was issued by Buber (*Midrasch Tanchuma*, Wilna, 1885). *Sh^{e}môth Rabbā* on Exodus, *Wayiķrā Rabbā* on Leviticus, *B^{e}midhbar Rabbā* on Numbers, and *D^{e}bhārîm Rabbā* on Deuteronomy are four homiletic works of different origin belonging to the same cycle. Of these the homilies to Leviticus are, no doubt, among the oldest, and are characterized by a frequent use of popular sayings and proverbs to illustrate the lesson of the day. The other three works include many homilies that are already found in the *Tanḥūmā* collection. *Aggādath B^{e}rēshîth* is a collection of homilies to portions of Genesis and to portions of the Prophets and Psalms, and was edited by Buber (*Agadath Bereshith*, Cracow, 1902).

Two collections of homilies of the *P^{e}sîķtā* cycle have been preserved: (1) *P^{e}sîķtā of Rav Kahana*, and (2) *P^{e}sîķtā Rabbāthî*. The first consists of thirty-four homilies on the lessons for the special Sabbaths and the feast days. It was edited by Buber (*Pesiķta . . . von Rav Kahana*, Lyck, 1868). The *P^{e}sîķtā Rabbāthî* is a later work, and also contains homilies for the special days of the *P^{e}sîķtā* cycle. It was edited critically by M. Friedmann (*Pesiķta Rabbathi*, Vienna, 1880).

5. Style and content of the Haggadic Midrash.—In order to make their teachings most effective, the Rabbis resort to well-known rhetorical devices.[1] Foremost among these is the use of the *māshāl*, 'analogy.' The analogy, or extended metaphor, is a well-known figure in literary composition; in the hands of the Rabbis it reached the zenith of its didactic powers. The analogies were drawn from two sources—first, from the events of every-day life, and, secondly, from the institutions of the Roman empire, during which period the Rabbis lived. On the subject of the political institutions of Rome as depicted in the *māshāl* an interesting volume of no mean size has been written (I. Ziegler, *Die Königsgleichnisse des Midrasch beleuchtet durch die römische Kaiserzeit*, Breslau, 1903). On the comparative side, Paul Fiebig has contributed an interesting volume on the differences between the Rabbinic and the NT use of the *māshāl* (*Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu*, Tübingen and Leipzig, 1904). The analogy was most helpful in explaining difficulties in the textual narrative, and often in accounting for extraneous matter in Scripture not quite adaptable to preaching purposes. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the use of the *māshāl*.

> A *matrona* once asked Rabbi Yôsê bar Ḥălaftā, 'Why does Scripture say: "He giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding" [Dn 2^{21}]? It were meet that the passage should read, "He giveth wisdom unto the unwise, and knowledge to them that have no understanding."' This Rabbi Yôsê met with the following: 'Let me give you an analogy. If two men, one poor and one wealthy, were to approach thee to borrow a sum of money, to whom wouldst thou lend the money, to the poor man or to the rich?' 'Of course to the rich man,' she replied, 'for, in the event of its loss, he still has assets from which I might recover, whereas from the poor man I could not get a penny.' Thereupon Rabbi Yôsê replied: 'Would that thy ears would hear what thy mouth doth utter! If the Holy One, Blessed be He, were to grant wisdom to simpletons and fools, they would decant this wisdom from the public baths, the theatres, and at other unseemly moments; He therefore granted wisdom to the wise, who confine it to its proper place in the synagogue and the academy' (*Ķôheleth Rabbā*, i. 7).

In commenting upon the fact that the Pentateuch does not enumerate by name the participants in the sedition of Korah, the Rabbis use the following *māshāl*:

> Rabbi Judah, the son of Simon, explained, on the authority of Rabbi Levi ben Parta—'This may be compared to the son of a decurion who once committed a theft in the public bath, and the keeper of the bath does not desire, for tactful reasons, to reveal his name; but describes him as "a handsome youth dressed in white." Similarly the Pentateuch does not mention the names of all the participants in the sedition of Korah, but merely describes them in the following terms: "princes of the congregation, called to the assembly, men of renown"' (Nu 16^2; cf. *B^{e}midhbar Rabbā*, xiii. 5).

Another form of the *māshāl* was the fable or parable. Collections of parables are already associated in the Jewish world with the name of the wise king, Solomon, who is said to have spoken 'of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes' (1 K 4^{33}). In the Talmud two collections are mentioned on several occasions—a collection of fox-fables and a collection of date-tree parables (cf. *Sukkāh*, 28*a*; *Bābhā Bathrā*, 134*a*). The OT uses the parable in the speech of Jotham (Jg 9^{8-15}) and in that of Jehoash (2 K 14^9). A casual example will illustrate its use in the Midrash. In the following, the fable of the fox and the fishes is effectively employed by Rabbi Aķiba:

> During one of the persecutions, when the study of the Torah was forbidden under penalty of death, Pappus discovered Rabbi Aķiba busily engaged in its study. Pappus asked him, 'Rabbi, art thou not endangering thy life in transgressing the royal mandate?' Whereupon Rabbi Aķiba replied, 'Let me give thee an analogy in the following story: Once the fox rambled alongside the bank of a river and, beholding the fishes, exclaimed, "Come out to me, and I shall hide you from all harm in the crevices of the rock, where you will never fear capture." To which the fishes replied, "Thou, who art the most clever of beasts, art nothing more than a simpleton. Our whole life depends on the element of water, and thou wouldst have us leave it for the dry land." Similarly, the life of Israel is wrapped up

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[1] Besides the collections already mentioned, there are special Haggadic works of didactic import based upon a large amount of material in previous works, but not arranged in the form of commentaries to the Scriptures. Such are the *Pirķê d^e Rabbî Elî'ezer*, Warsaw, 1879; *Tannâ d^{e}bhê Elîyāhū*, crit. ed., M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1907; and the whole collection known as *Smaller Midrāshîm*, dealing with Haggādāhs on special subjects, such as the Decalogue, the death of Moses and Aaron, etc., scattered in various collections, and especially in the works of Jellinek (*op. cit.*); C. M. Horowitz (*op. cit.*, and *Bêth 'Ēķedh Hā'agādôth*, Frankfort, 1881); S. A. Wertheimer (*Battê Midrāshôth*, Jerusalem, 1893); L. Grünhut (*Sammlung älterer Midraschim*, do. 1858–94); and J. D. Eisenstein (*Ôşar Midrāshîm*, New York, 1915). The Midrash known as *Leķaḥ Ţôbh* (ed. Buber, Wilna, 1880), of Tobiah ben Eliezer, is not a true Midrash, but rather a commentary on the Pentateuch.

[1] For the following, cf. Zunz, pp. 102–179; and Krochmal, pp. 222–230.

in one element—the study of the Torah, as it is written, "For he is thy life, and the length of thy days" [Dt 30^{20}], and thou wouldst have me leave it because of personal danger' (*Tanḥūmā Tābhô*, 4; *Berākhôth*, 61*b*).

Another means of impressing a lesson is the aphorism, maxim, or proverb. The OT already contains extensive gnomologies in proverbial form. The wisdom of the great Ben Sira later added to this original store, and the *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* is a historically arranged gnomology written in the Tannāitic period, and comprising the most important maxims of the learned teachers from the time of Simon the Just to the period of the Ămôrāîm. A later author, Rabbi Nathan, is said to have made a large collection of such maxims; and in the *Ābhôth of Rabbi Nathan* (ed. Schechter, Vienna, 1887) a substratum of his original work remains. This work is characterized by the frequent use of the numerical proverb, in which a number of sayings are associated by means of a numerical key.[1] The material in these collections, as well as the sayings current among the masses (generally introduced by the formula 'as the people say'), was employed by the Rabbis in teaching their lessons. Many of these proverbs are also found in the Gospels.[2] For example, the well-known saying in the Sermon on the Mount, 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you' (Mt 7^2), is very frequent in Haggadic literature (cf. *Tanḥūmā*, *Berēshîth*, 33; *Tehillîm*, xxii. 2; and *Mishnāh Sôṭāh*, i. 17). Similarly, 'Enough for the servant that he be as his lord' (Mt 10^{25}) is found in *Tanḥūmā*, *Lekh Lekhā*, 23; *Tehillîm*, xxvii. 5; and in the Talmud (*Berākhôth*, 58*b*). Only a few of these gems can be quoted here:

'A single coin in an empty jar makes a loud noise' (*Tehillîm*, i. 21, and, in the Talmud, *Bābhā Meṣî'ā*, 85*b*). 'Say to the bee, I want not thy honey and I crave not thy sting' (*Tehillîm*, i. 21; *Bemidhbar Rabbā*, xx. 10). 'Woe to the dough which the baker condemns as unfit' (*Tehillîm*, ciii. 14). 'Woe to the living who implores aid of the dead, woe to the hero who intercedes with the weakling, woe to the seeing who ask help from the blind, and woe to the generation whose leaders are women' (*ib.* xxii. 20).[3]

Another rhetorical device for impressing a lesson is the pun. This leads into the field of Rabbinic humour. Scripture has set the precedent for its usage in carefully executed word-plays and puns especially on the names of individuals.

'And she bare Cain, and said, I have gotten' (Heb. *ḳānîthî*) (Gn 4^1). 'God shall enlarge (*yaft*) Japheth' (*yefeth*) (Gn 9^{27}). The prophet Isaiah (5^7) very eloquently says, 'He looked for judgment (*mishpāṭ*), but behold oppression (*miśpāḥ*); for righteousness (*ṣedhāḳāh*), but behold a cry' (*ṣe'āḳāh*).

Similarly, the Rabbis take great liberties in punning on proper names.

'Wherefore was the prophet called Jeremiah? Because, during his life, Jerusalem was left in a state of ἐρημία' ('desolation') (*Ḳôheleth Rabbā*, i. 2). 'The name of the daughter-in-law of Naomi was Orpah because she turned her back (*'ôref*) to her mother-in-law. The name of the other was Ruth, because she apprehended (*rā'athāh*) the words of her mother-in-law' (*Rūth Rabbā*, ii. 9).

The Rabbis decide from a pun that the language of the creation was Hebrew.

'"She shall be called Woman [*'ishshāh*], because she was taken out of Man [*'îsh*]" [Gn 2^{23}], from this it is evident that the Torah was given in the holy tongue.' Rabbi Phinehas and Rabbi Ḥilkiah claim the following on the authority of Rabbi Simon: 'Just as the Torah was given in the holy tongue, so was the world created with the holy tongue. For, hast thou ever heard anyone derive a form *gynia* from the word *gyne* (Gr. γυνή, 'woman')? Or does one derive *anthropia* from the word *anthropos* (Gr. ἄνθρωπος, 'man'), or *gebhartā* from *gabhra* (Syr. for 'man')? But one does say *'ishshāh* [Heb. for 'woman'] from *'îsh* [Heb. for 'man']"' (*Berēshîth Rabbā*, xviii. 4).

The Massoretic variations of the Heb. text of the Bible open up new channels for Haggadic exegesis. The Midrash often assigns explanations for the defective writing in the text or for the marginal variations (*ḳerî* and *kethîb*). The following is an example:

'"When it giveth its colour (lit 'eye') in the cup" (Pr. 23^{31}) is rendered "the script reads 'in the purse' (Heb. *bakkîs*), not 'in the cup' (Heb. *bakkôs*), referring, on the one hand, to the drunkard, who giveth his eye in the cup; and, on the other hand, to the merchant who fixeth his eye on his purse"' (*Tanḥūmā Shemînî*, 7).

The Midrash also employs the well-known kabbalistic method of exposition, *gemaṭriā*, which consists in deducing hidden meanings from the numerical value of the letters in the Heb. words.[1]

Finally, the Midrash employs the anecdote to advantage. The value of the anecdote as a didactic force is generally recognized. But, more than this, we are to seek in the anecdote for historical events witnessed by contemporaries, for folk-lore, for primitive conceptions of natural science, etc. Only a few examples can be given here. The following pathetic tale is one of a series of anecdotes depicting the events that transpired during the destruction of the Holy City:

'The story is told of Miriam, the daughter of Naḳdîmôn [Nicodemus], whom the sages had granted an allowance of 500 (*sic*) gold denarii for her daily ointment expenditures, and who maligned them for it in the words "Thus mistreat your own daughters!" . . . Says Rabbi Eleazar: "So sure may I be of seeing [Zion's] consolation as I am that I saw her [some time after the destruction] in Acco, picking barley-grains from beneath the stalls of horses, and I applied the Biblical verse to her case, 'If thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherds' tent'" (Ca 1^8)' (*Ēkhā Rabbāthî*, 1, 48).

The superstitions of the day were shared alike by Rabbi and priest. Many are the stories told of demons infesting wells and desert places (cf. *Tanḥūmā*, *Berēshîth*, 27; *ib.* *Ḳedhôshîm*, 9), often driven out through the opportune intervention of the Rabbi who called magical formulæ to his aid. Very often the heathen practices of antiquity are recorded. Thus, in *Ēkhā Rabbāthî* (proem 23), it is said, 'The Arab slays a lamb and inspects the liver for the purpose of auguring future events.' This practice is well known to students of *Kulturgeschichte*. Philosophy, primitive conceptions of science, natural history—all cater to the one end of teaching a lesson in ethics or morals, which is ever the ultimate aim of the Haggadic Midrash.

LITERATURE.—This is given throughout the article.

SOLOMON T. H. HURWITZ.

MIGRATION.—See RACE.

MIKIRS.—1. Name and history.—The people known to the Assamese by the name Mikir are one of the numerous Tibeto-Burman races of Assam. Their own name for themselves is Ārlèng, which (like many other tribal names in this region and elsewhere) means 'man' in general. Their numbers, according to the Census of 1911, were 106,259—a large total for a homogeneous Tibeto-Burman group in Assam; of these 736 were classed in the returns as Hindus, 1182 as converts to Christianity, and the remainder as animists. The race occupies the central portion of the Assam range, looking north to the Brahmaputra, and the isolated mountainous block south of that river between Nowgong and Sibsāgar called the Mikir Hills; a few have settled in the plains of Nowgong and Kāmrūp, and north of the river in the Darrang district, and follow plough cultivation, but the main strength of the tribe is found in the hilly region of the Kāmrūp (about 11,000), Khāsi and Jaintia Hills (15,600), Nowgong (45,000) and Sibsāgar (25,000) districts. They are essentially a hill race, practising the form of cultivation by axe, fire, and hoe known as *jhūm*. Their remembered history, like that of most tribes of the kind, goes back a very short distance in time. There is reason to believe, from the local names of places and streams, that they once occupied the southern portion of the hill tract north of the Kachar valley, where they are not found at the present day; it is certain that they afterwards resided in mass in the eastern portion of the Jaintia Hills, as subjects of the Jaintia Raja; and a still clearer tradition relates that, being harassed by warfare between Khāsi (or Jaintia) chiefs, they resolved to move into territory governed by the Āhoms, and thereupon migrated into the tracts which they now hold in the Nowgong and Sibsāgar districts. This migration probably took place, as can be gathered from the Āhom annals, about A.D. 1765. As the figures just given show, large numbers continued to live in the Khāsi and Jaintia Hills and along the Kāmrūp border, which tract they call Nihàng, the territory into which they migrated in the east being called Nilīp. They are a peaceful and unwarlike race, and are said to have given up the use of arms when they placed themselves under the protection of the Āhom kings. Their traditions tell of fights with the Hill Kachāris, or Dīmāsā, but these were anterior to the migration into Jaintia territory, or at any rate to that into the Āhom dominions.

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[1] A. Wünsche has collected all the numerical proverbs in the Talmud and the Midrash in *Die Zahlensprüche im Talmud und Midrasch*, Leipzig, 1912 (reprinted from *ZDMG* lxv.–lxvi.).

[2] For the Haggādāh, as used by the Church Fathers, the work of L. Ginzberg is important (*Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern*, i., Amsterdam, 1899, ii., Berlin, 1900).

[3] Among the great number of collections of Rabbinic proverbs the work of M. Schul (*Sentences et proverbes du Thalmud et du Midrasch*, Paris, 1878) deserves mention.

[1] In Heb. the letters have numerical values.

2. Physical characteristics.—Physically they present the ordinary features of the Tibeto-Burman hill races of Assam: a light yellowish-brown complexion, an average height of about 5 feet 3 inches, cephalic index 77·9. The nose is broad at the base, and often (but not always) flat, with a nasal index of 85·1 and an orbito-nasal of 107·7. The facial hair is scanty, and only a thin moustache is worn. The front of the head is sometimes shorn; the hair is gathered into a knot behind, which hangs over the nape of the neck. The body is muscular, and the men are capable of prolonged exertion. They have been largely employed (like the Khāsis) as porters in frontier expeditions in Assam, and carry heavy loads, the burden being borne upon the back and secured by a plaited bamboo or cane strap passing round the forehead; this, however, is the general method of carriage from Nepāl eastwards along the whole sub-Himālayan region, and not peculiar to the Mikirs. The staple food is rice, fish, and the flesh of pigs, goats, and fowls, but meat is chiefly eaten at sacrifices. The flesh of cows is not eaten, nor is milk drunk. Large quantities of rice-beer are made and consumed, being prepared by each household, and spirit is also distilled. Opium is used to a large extent, as by other races in Assam. Tobacco and betel-nut are also commonly used.

3. Marriage and inheritance.—The Mikir people are divided into three sections, called Chintòng, Rònghàng, and Āmrī. These, however, are only local names, the first representing that portion of the tribe inhabiting the Mikir Hills, the second the central portion, in the hilly parts of Nowgong and N. Kachar, and the third those in the Khāsi and Jaintia and Kāmrūp Hills. The whole tribe, wherever settled, is divided into five large exogamous groups, and these into sub-groups. The five main groups are called Ingtī, Teràng, Lèkthē or Inghī, Teròn, and Timung. Within each of these groups intermarriage cannot take place. The scheme of society is patriarchal, the children being counted to the father's group. The most usual marriage, however, is between first cousins on the mother's side, and the maternal uncle occupies a privileged position at the funeral ceremonies; this may be a custom adopted from the Khāsis, among whom the strictly matriarchal system prevails. Ordinarily the son on marriage brings his wife home to his parents' house; but, if he has to make a payment to his father-in-law, he may stay a year, two years, or even for life, according to agreement, giving his work to the family in return for his bride. There are traces of a former condition of things analogous to that which obtains among the Nāga tribes, in which the boys of a village lived together in the *teràng*, or bachelors' house, and the unmarried girls are said also either to have had their own *teràng* or to have lived in that of the boys, when promiscuous intercourse and illegitimate births were common. This practice, however, no longer obtains anywhere. The marriage-tie is said to be ordinarily observed with strictness, but divorce is permissible. Polygamy has been adopted sporadically from the Assamese, but generally monogamy prevails. The sons inherit; if there are none, the brothers; after them the deceased's nearest agnate of his own exogamous group. The wife and daughters get nothing, but retain their personal property, ornaments, clothes, etc.

4. Gods.—The religion of the Mikirs has been to some extent affected by ideas borrowed from the Khāsis, and in a larger degree by Hinduism. One of their gods, Pirthàt Rēchō (the god of thunder), bears a Khāsi name; but borrowings here are chiefly noticeable in the funeral ceremonies and the methods of divination. Hinduism has contributed the name of Jòm, or Yama, as the god of the dead, and the abode of spirits is called Jòm-āròng, or 'Yama's town.' Possibly Mahādeva may be the original of Ārnàm-kethē (='the great god'), who is a house-god worshipped by a triennial sacrifice; and one of the gods, called Ārnàm-pārō (='the hundred-god'), includes under this name Kāmākhyā, the Hindu goddess of Nīlāchal above Gauhāti. The original Mikir conception of deity is, like that of the rural population of India generally, open to the adoption into the pantheon of any divine agency venerated or propitiated by their neighbours. The word *ārnàm* ('god') may be generally defined as 'anything felt to be mighty or terrible.' All natural objects of a striking or imposing character have their divinity. The sun and moon are regarded as divine, but are not specially propitiated. Localities of an impressive kind, such as mountains, waterfalls, deep pools in rivers, great boulders, places where a river disappears underground, have each their *ārnàm*, who is concerned in the affairs of men and has to be placated by sacrifice. Such local divinities of the jungle are propitiated chiefly to avert mischief from tigers, which are a terrible plague in some parts of the Mikir country.

Besides these divinities of flood or forest, there are other deities of a more specific character. These may be classified into house-gods, concerned in the welfare of the household, and gods concerned in the prosperity of the village generally, while a third class preside over various kinds of disease or trouble. The most important of the house-gods is Hèmphū ('head of the house,' or 'householder'), who owns all the Mikir people. With him is associated Mukràng, who is slightly lower in dignity. These two gods, the preservers of men, are approached by the sacrifice of a fowl or goat. Everybody can sacrifice to them at any time, and Hèmphū must be invoked first in every sacrifice, being the peculiar owner of men. Pèng, another house-god, lives in the house, and gets the offering of a goat, sacrificed once a year in the space before the house; maize, rice, and a gourd of rice-beer are placed for him above the verandah of the house, and the first-fruits of the harvest are offered to him. Ārnàm-kethē, already mentioned, is another house-god, but lives in heaven, not, like Pèng, in the house itself. He is propitiated by the sacrifice of a castrated pig once in three years. Both Pèng and Ārnàm-kethē have to be specially invoked to take up their abode in the house, and their introduction to it is generally due to the action of a diviner (*uchē*), called in on the occurrence of a case of sickness, who declares (after the appropriate incantations) that Ārnàm-kethē or Pèng wishes to join the household. If it were not for this, Mikir families would generally be satisfied with Hèmphū and Mukràng.

The village or communal gods are called Rèk-ànglòng (= 'mountain of the community') or Inglòng-pī (= 'great mountain'), and Ārnàm-pārō, already mentioned. The Mikir villages are nomadic, moving from place to place as the soil in the neighbourhood becomes exhausted. Rèk-ànglòng is the god of the hill on which the village stands, the *deus loci*, with whom they have to be at peace. He is worshipped in the field, and only men eat the sacrifice, which is a fowl or goat per house once a year. Ārnàm-pārō is the name of a god who takes a hundred shares of rice, rice-flour, betel-nut, and the red spathe of the plantain-tree cut up; the name seems to be a collective, and to indicate all the divine powers in the neighbourhood. He is worshipped with a white goat and a white fowl. These two gods figure particularly at the *Ròng-kēr*, or great annual festival, celebrated for the most part in June at the beginning of the year's rainy-season cultivation, or in some villages during the cold weather. The sacrifice is eaten in common by the men only of the village, and they keep apart from their wives on the night of the festival. The observances correspond with the custom of *genna* (village tabu), which is common among the neighbouring Nāga tribes.

The gods named above are all invoked and propitiated to grant prosperity and avert misfortune, both generally and specially. There are, besides, numerous gods who take their titles from the special diseases over which they preside or which they are asked to avert; such gods are called after rheumatism, cholera, barrenness among women, goitre, phthisis, stone, diarrhœa, dysentery, smallpox, black and white leprosy, elephantiasis, etc. Each worship has its appropriate ritual, often of a complicated character. Among these deities perhaps a trace of Hinduism may be discovered in the name for smallpox, *pī-āmīr*, 'the mother's flowers': in Assamese and Hindī the goddess of smallpox is known as 'the mother' (Mātā, or Sītalā Māī). It is difficult to draw the line which divides the gods, *ārnàm-ātum*, who preside over these plagues from the demons or devils, *hī-ī*, who are also said to cause continued sickness. They too are propitiated with sacrificial offerings in the same manner as the gods.

An interesting name in the list of gods is Lāmāphū, 'the head or master of words,' a power probably of modern origin. He is the deity sacrificed to by a man who has a case in court; the sacrifice is a young cock, which should be offered at night, secretly, by the sacrificer alone, in a secret place.

There is no worship of trees or animals, and the gods have no visible shape, temples, or shrines. Idols are not in use. At the time of the sacrifice the gods to whom it is offered are addressed in set forms of words by the worshipper, but there does not appear to be any separate class of priests charged with the sacrificial ritual. The animal sacrificed is beheaded, as in Hindu sacrifices, by a stroke delivered from above with a heavy knife.

5. Diviners.—The most important person with reference to the worship is the diviner (*uchē*, fem. *uchē-pī*), who decides on the deity to be invoked. Here, again, there does not appear to be any caste or hereditary function: any one may be an *uchē*. The diviners are of two kinds—the inferior, generally a man, called *sàng-kelàng-ābàng*, 'he who inspects grains of rice,' whose art is acquired by instruction and practice; and the superior, called *lodèt* or *lodètpi*, invariably a woman, who works under the inspiration or *afflatus* of divine powers. The services of these persons are generally sought in cases of sickness, the *lodèt* being inquired of in the more serious cases.

The humbler practitioner proceeds by arranging grains of rice, taken at random from those left in the pot, in particular fashion in small heaps; the grains in the heaps are then counted, and, if the odd numbers predominate, the omen is good. Cowries are sometimes used instead of grains of rice. Another way, apparently borrowed from the Khāsis, is to arrange in a circle, equidistant from a point marked on a board, as many little heaps of clay as there are gods suspected in the case, each heap being called by the name of a god. An egg is then sharply thrown at the point marked in the middle of the board; when it breaks and the yolk is scattered, that heap which receives the largest splash of yolk, or towards which the largest and longest splash points, indicates the god responsible for the affliction. Another mode is to hold upright in the hand a long iron knife of special form, called the *nòkjīr*, which is invoked by a spell to become inspired and to speak the truth. The holder then asks questions of the *nòkjīr* as to the probability of the sufferer's recovery and the god responsible for his sickness, and the *nòkjīr* shakes at the correct answer and name.

The *lodèt* is an ordinary woman (not belonging to any particular family or group) who feels the divine *afflatus*, and, when it is upon her, yawns continually and calls out the names and will of the gods. Her assistance is invoked when witchcraft (*mājā*) is suspected.

She bathes her hands, feet, and face in water in which the sacred basil (*ocymum sanctum*, the *tulsī* of Indian languages) has been steeped, and begins to shake and yawn. A gourd of rice-beer is brought, of which she drinks some, and begins to call out the names of gods, and they descend upon her. She is now inspired, and, when questioned, indicates, by indirect and riddling answers, the enemy who has bewitched the sufferer, or the gods to whom sacrifices must be offered.

Charms are much used for the treatment of disease, as they are everywhere else in India, and do not present any special features. Oaths and imprecations take the place of ordeals, the speaker inviting evil on himself if he swears falsely or fails to perform a promise.

6. Funeral ceremony.—The most elaborate celebration is the funeral ceremony, of which a long account, full of detail, is given in Stack and Lyall's monograph on *The Mikirs* cited at the end of this article. Much money is spent upon it, and it is spread over several days. It is the only occasion on which dances are performed by the young men of the village or music used, except (to a much less extent) at the harvest-home. The ceremony is considered obligatory in all cases except that of a child who has been born dead, or who has died before the after-birth has left the mother; in such cases the body is buried without any ceremony. Victims of smallpox or cholera are buried shortly after death; but the funeral service is performed for them later on, the bones being dug up and duly cremated. When a person is killed by a tiger, if the body or clothes are found, they are buried at a distance from the village, because the tiger is supposed to visit the burial-place. Such persons cannot gain admittance to Jòm-āròng unless elaborate funeral and expiatory ceremonies are performed for them. Being killed by a tiger is generally imputed to the victim's sin; his spirit is believed to dwell in the most dreary of the places where dead men's spirits go. Except in such cases, the dead are disposed of by cremation, the burnt bones being afterwards buried.

What is chiefly noticeable about the ceremony, as described in the work referred to, is the confident assumption of the continued existence of the dead person's spirit, for whom food, specially prepared by the *uchē-pī*, or divining woman, is set apart; the insistence upon the due performance of the rites in order to get admission to Jòm-āròng; and the use of dancing, which is marked by its name (*chomàng-kàn*) as adopted from the Khāsis, in the ceremony. If the deceased is a person of unusual importance, a still more elaborate ceremony is required, and monumental stones, upon the model of those erected by the Khāsis, are set up.

7. Ideas of future life.—Apart from the ritual of the funeral, the Mikirs seem to have a strong conviction of the survival of the dead. They speak of having seen the 'shade' or 'image' (*ārjàn*) of a dead man; a sickly or neurotic person catches such glimpses in the house, on the road, etc. *Phārlō*, 'spirit,' is used both of living persons and dead. They say of one deceased, 'Last night in my spirit I saw him,' where *phārlō* is the spirit of the sleeping man. When such glimpses are experienced, betel and food are set aside in the house, and after a time thrown away. After a death a chant is composed, setting forth the parentage and life of the dead, and ending: 'You will now meet your grandparents, father, deceased brother, etc., and will stay with them and eat with them.' As already mentioned, food is regularly provided for the spirit until the completion of the funeral; after that there are no regular offerings, but occasionally a man or woman puts aside from his or her own share of food a portion for the dead, as, *e.g.*, when another funeral reminds them of those who have died before. There is said to be no fear of the dead coming back to trouble the living. The Mikirs' conception of 'Jòm's town' is that everything there is different from the earth-life. An idea, perhaps borrowed from Hinduism, is said to prevail that the spirits of the dead do not stay for ever in Jòm-āròng, but are born again as children, and this goes on indefinitely. On the other hand, Stack records, in the words of his informant, the following:

> 'The Mikirs give the names of their dead relations to children born afterwards, and say that the dead have come back; but they believe that the spirit is with Jòm all the same' (*Mikirs*, p. 29).

8. Conclusion.—The unwarlike character of the Mikirs has prevented them from becoming, like their neighbours, the Nāgas and Kukis, split up into different units, with hostile feelings towards all outside the community, and with languages gradually diverging more and more from the common standard. Their speech is very uniform wherever they are found, and a large amount of co-operation and friendly intercourse exists among them. On the other hand, the group differs very much, in habits, institutions, and particularly in language, from the other tribes by whom they are surrounded. A study of their speech and social institutions has led to the conclusion that they should be classed with those tribes which form the connecting link between the Nāgas and the Kuki-Chins, and that the preponderance of their affinities lies with the latter race, especially with those dwelling in the south of the Arakan Roma range, where the Chin tends to merge into the Burman of the Irawadi valley.

LITERATURE.—All that has as yet been put on record about the Mikirs is summarized in the volume in the series of Assam Ethnographical Monographs entitled *The Mikirs*, from the papers of E. Stack, edited, arranged, and supplemented by C. J. Lyall, London, 1908.

C. J. LYALL.

MILINDA.—Milinda is the Indian name for the Greek king of Bactria called in Greek Menander. When Alexander's empire broke up on his death, Greek soldiers on the east of India founded separate States, and the names of about thirty of them and their successors are known by their coins. Of these the most powerful and successful was Menander, who must have reigned for at least thirty years at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 1st cent. B.C. He died probably about 95 B.C., but we know neither the boundaries of his kingdom nor how far he was merely over-lord, rather than the actual administrative sovereign over the various portions of his vast domain. He is the only one of those Greek or half-Greek potentates whose memory has survived in India; and he is there remembered, characteristically enough, not as a political ruler, nor as a victor in war, but as an intelligent and sympathetic inquirer into the religious beliefs of his subjects.[1]

This has found expression in a very remarkable book, the *Milinda Pañha* ('Questions of Milinda'). Just as in one of the most popular of the Dialogues of the Buddha Sakka, the king of the gods, is represented as coming to the Buddha to have his doubts resolved, so in this work the Greek king is represented as putting puzzles in religion to Nāgasena, a wise teacher among the Buddhists of his time. In all probability it was with the *Sakka Pañha Suttanta* in his mind that the author of the *Milinda Pañha*, whoever he was, framed his work.

The *Milinda Pañha* is divided into seven books. The first is introductory, and is very cleverly so drawn up as gradually to raise the expectations of the reader regarding the great interest of the encounter of wit and wisdom which he will find in the following books. Bk. ii., 'On ethical Qualities,' and bk. iii., 'On the Removal of Difficulties,' contain a number of questions, put by the king and answered by Nāgasena, on the elementary doctrines of Buddhism. On the conclusion of this book the king is converted, and devotes himself to a long and careful study of the text of the Pāli canon. In bk. iv., the *Meṇḍaka-pañha*, or 'Dilemmas,' the king submits to Nāgasena the difficulties which he has met in the course of his studies. The discussion of these difficulties leads up to and culminates in the meaning of *nirvāṇa*, and closes with an eloquent peroration on that subject.

Having thus brought his reader up to the bracing plateau of emancipation, the author proceeds in the next book, the *Anumāna Pañha*, 'Problem of Inference,' to describe what is to be found there. In an elaborate allegory of the City of Righteousness he sets out the various mental and moral treasures enjoyed by the *arahant* who has reached in this life the ideal state. The next book, the *Dhutaṅgas*, 'Extra Vows,' is devoted to an exaltation of those who have adopted the ascetic practices so called. The last book, incomplete in our existing MSS, consists of a long list of types of the *arahant*, showing how he has, *e.g.*, five qualities in common with the ocean, five with the earth, five with water, and five with fire. The details of sixty-seven such similes are given. Of the remaining thirty-eight only the list is given, the detailed explanations being lost.

There are peculiarities both of merit and of defect in this book. The author, or authors, have an unusual command of language, both in the number of words used and in the fitness of the words chosen in each case. There is great charm in the style, which rises occasionally throughout the book to real eloquence; and there is considerable grasp of the difficult and important questions involved. On the other hand, there is a great weakness in logic. The favourite method is to invent an analogy to explain some position, and then to take for granted that the analogy proves the position taken to be true; and quite often, when the right answer to a dilemma would be a simple matter of historical criticism, the answer given savours of casuistry, or is a mere play on the ambiguity of words. Then the author, though he naturally avoids the blunders so often repeated in European books against Buddhism—that *nirvāṇa*, *e.g.*, is a state to be reached by a 'soul' after it has left the body, or a state not attainable except by a 'priest' or a 'monk'—does not stand on the ancient Path. His description of the *arahant*, whom he calls a *yogī* (a term not found in the older books), lays more stress on those qualities afterwards ascribed to the *bodhisattva* (*q.v.*) than on those belonging to the Path, or mentioned (of the

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[1] See the authorities quoted in Rhys Davids, *Questions of King Milinda*, i. (*SBE* xxxv.) pp. xviii–xxiii.

arahant) in the *Nikāyas.* His Buddhology has advanced beyond that of the *Nikāyas.* The ethics of the Aryan Path are barely referred to; the doctrine of causation, the necessity of seeing things as they really are (*yathābhūtaṁ pi jānanaṁ*), is not even mentioned, notwithstanding its cardinal importance in the earlier teaching. The author devotes a whole book to the *dhutaṅgas*, a term not occurring in the *Nikāyas*, and in that book manifests a spirit entirely opposed to the early teaching.[1] All these peculiarities of style and mental attitude are uniform throughout the work. It would seem, therefore, most probable that it was the work either of one author or of one school within a limited period of the history of that school. Probably the latter will eventually be found to be the right explanation.

The work is four times quoted as an authority by the great Buddhist commentator, Buddhaghoṣa.[2] It is the only work outside the Pāli canon which he thus quotes. It is also quoted as an authority in the *Dhammapada* commentary (i. 127).[3] All these references may be dated in the 5th cent. A.D. They are taken from the second, third, and fourth books, which at least must be considerably older than the works in which the *Milinda* is quoted as an authority. None of the quotations is exactly word for word the same as the corresponding passage in Trenckner's edition of the text,[4] and the present writer has pointed out elsewhere the various interpretations possible of these interesting, though slight, discrepancies.[5] In one passage (p. 102 of the text) Buddhaghoṣa seems to have the better reading. Nāgasena is also quoted in the *Abhidharma-kośavyākhyā*, a Sanskrit Buddhist work which may be dated in the 6th cent. A.D.[6] There are also several incidental references in Chinese 'translations' of Indian books. When we know the dates of the latter, and can be sure that the references really occur in them, those references may have importance.

At the beginning of the work (p. 2 of the text) there is a table of contents giving the titles of the subdivisions of the book. The editor, V. Trenckner, also gives us titles, which differ, however, from those in the table of contents given in the text. Hīnaṭikumburē's translation into Siṁhalese[7] likewise gives titles, presumably from the much older Pāli MSS which he used. These titles differ from both the other lists. Trenckner, who has certainly made one glaring mistake (p. 362), gives no *apparatus criticus* for his titles; and, as he used only three of the seven MSS of the work known to exist in Europe,[8] one would like to be informed also as to what readings are given by the other four. Even for the canonical books the discrepancies in the subsidiary titles are very frequent, and it is often probable that such titles are later than the text to which they refer. It is clear that, pending further information, Trenckner's titles to the divisions of the *Milinda* cannot be relied on as original.

B. Nanjio, in his most useful catalogue of Chinese Buddhist books,[9] gives under no. 1358 the title of one called *Nāsien Bikhiu King*, 'Nāgasena the Bhikkhu's Book.' The attempt to reproduce the sound of the words of this title suggests that the words before the translator must have been, not Sanskrit (*bhikṣu*), but Pāli (*bhikkhu*) or some other Indian dialect akin to Pāli. J. Takakusu has discussed the date of this work, which purports to be a translation of some Indian book with the same title.[1] It is first mentioned in a catalogue dated A.D. 785–804, and subsequently in others. But, though the compilers of all these catalogues are usually careful to give the name or names and the date of the translators or authors of the books which they mention, they do not do so in this case. They add, however, a remark:

> 'The translator's name is lost, and we register it as belonging to the Eastern Tsin dynasty (A.D. 317–429).'

So we have a book known to have existed at the end of the 8th cent., and then believed, on grounds not recorded, to have existed in the 4th cent. A.D. There is no evidence that the original was in Sanskrit.

There are two recensions of this book in Chinese, the longer one about half as long again as the shorter one. The difference arises mainly from the omission in the shorter of two long passages found in the longer. In other matters the two are much the same. These omissions are probably due to a mere mistake, perhaps of the translator, perhaps of the printer, and the two recensions may be considered as really one. This bears to the Pāli text the following relation.

The translation into English by the present writer consists of 580 pages. The Chinese corresponds more or less to 90 of these pages (one recension omitting about 34 of those 90). The paragraphs corresponding in Chinese and Pāli are those on pp. 40–135 of the English version. But there are seven or eight omissions, and three additions of whole paragraphs, and quite a number of smaller variations or discrepancies.[2] It is clear that there is some connexion between the Chinese and Pāli books. It is possible that the Indian original (for there was only one) of the Chinese book may be the original out of which the Pāli was developed, mainly by the addition of the last three books. It is equally possible that the Indian work translated into Chinese was itself derived from an older work in seven books, and that its author or authors omitted the last three books as dealing with *arahant*-ship, in which he (or they) took no interest. This would be precisely in accord with the general feeling in the north-west of India at the period in question—the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. The doctrine of an emancipation to be reached in this life by strenuous mental exertion was, not unnaturally, yielding place to a doctrine of salvation in the next life through *bhākti*, personal devotion to a deity. The psychological details of the old system of self-control rather bored people. So the *Milinda* may, quite possibly, have been reduced to a short and easy book, with the sting of *arahant*-ship taken out of it.

A solution of this *Milinda* problem would be of the utmost importance for the elucidation of the darkest period in the history of Indian literature. Unfortunately, each of the alternatives suggested above involves great difficulties, and none of the scholars who have written on the subject has so far been able to persuade any other to accept his conclusions. The evidence at present available is insufficient. When the Tibetan translation has been properly examined, when all the quotations from the *Milinda* in the Pāli commentaries are edited, when all the references elsewhere (and especially those in the numerous Buddhist Sanskrit works still buried in MSS) have been collected, we shall be better able to estimate the value of the external evidence as to the history of the *Milinda* literature in India. When an adequate comparison has been made between the words used and the ideas expressed in the Pāli *Milinda* and those found in the canon on the one hand and the commentaries on the other, we shall have more valuable internal evidence than is yet available. The lists of about a hundred words peculiar to the *Milinda* published by the present writer in 1890[1] was necessarily inadequate, and has not since then been improved upon.

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[1] See above, *ERE* ii. 71^{b}.

[2] See the references given in Rhys Davids, *op. cit.* pp. xiv–xvi.

[3] *Dhammapada A.* i. 380 might, at first sight, be taken for another, but it is from *Majjhima*, ii. 51.

[4] The *Milinda-pañho*, ed. V. Trenckner, London, 1880.

[5] *Op. cit.* p. xv ff.

[6] See Rhys Davids' note in *JRAS*, 1891, pp. 476–478, and Max Müller, *India, What can it teach us?*, London, 1883, p. 209.

[7] See on this translation Rhys Davids, *Questions of King Milinda*, i. p. xii ff.

[8] *Ib.* p. xvii.

[9] *Catalogue of Chinese Buddhist Literature*, Oxford, 1883.

[1] *JRAS*, 1896, p. 12 ff.

[2] See the comparative table given by F. O. Schrader, *Die Fragen des Königs Menandros*, p. 120 f.

Literature.—*Milindapañho*, ed. V. Trenckner, London, 1880; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Questions of King Milinda*, *SBE* xxxv. [1890], xxxvi. [1894]; F. Otto Schrader, *Die Fragen des Königs Menandros*, Berlin, n.d., but probably 1906; R. Garbe, *Deutsche Rundschau*, cxii. [1902] 268 ff. (reprinted in *Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1903, p. 95 ff.); A. Pfungst, *Aus der indischen Kulturwelt*, Stuttgart, 1891; J. Takakusu, 'Chinese Translations of the Milinda Paṇho,' *JRAS*, 1896, pp. 1–21; Rhys Davids, 'Nāgasēna,' *ib.*, 1891, pp. 476–478; E. Specht, 'Deux Traductions chinoises du Milindapañho,' *Trans. of the 9th Oriental Congress*, London, 1893, i. 518–529; M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der ind. Literatur*, ii., Leipzig, 1913, pp. 139–146; L. A. Waddell, 'A Historical Basis for the Questions of King "Menander,"' *JRAS*, 1897, pp. 227–237; Hīnaṭikumburē Sumaṅgala, *Milinda Praśnaya* (Siṁhalese), Colombo, 1877. For the historic Milinda see V. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*³, Oxford, 1914.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

MILITARISM.—See WAR.

MILK (Primitive Religions).—That milk should have become an object of sacred importance in the mind of early man was inevitable. All food was sacred, and milk, so beneficial in every way, has been accorded a special place among the objects of religious veneration by mankind at nearly all stages of his development. Anthropologists have not specifically dealt with the first stages in the domestication of animals, except as a part of the larger question of totemism. There are people who have practically no tamable animals, and these are in the lowest stages of savage culture. An observation of O. T. Mason is clearly indicative of where these first stages must be looked for.

> 'Women were always associated especially with the milk- and fleece-yielding species. Before the domestication of milk-yielding animals and in the two continents where they were not known in aboriginal times, the human mother had to suckle her young two or three years until they were able to walk at her side and partially take care of themselves. The effect of this upon her nature and all social life was on one side in her favour, but on the other dreadfully increased her burdens and retarded the growth of population' (*Women's Share in Primitive Culture*, London, 1895, p. 151).

The two continents here referred to are America and Australia, and E. J. Payne has succinctly summarized the economical and social results of the absence of milk-producing animals (*Hist. of America*, Oxford, 1892, i. 287–292).

These results may be contrasted with the corresponding condition of the people inhabiting the European, Asiatic, and African continents, who have, as far as observation goes, always possessed milk-producing animals. Milk takes an important part in their religious belief and ceremonial. It is not clear, however, whether the diverse practices obtaining among the varied races of these continents have any relationship as stages in the evolution of man's religious attitude towards milk. Consideration of the subject from this point of view can be conducted only by the widest survey of the evidence, and it will be well to approach it from the highest form to which religious belief concerning milk has attained and proceed thence to some of the lower forms of the cult.

The use of milk in religion has reached its climax among the Toda tribes of India. The sanctity of the dairy among these people is the chief element in their religion. The gods take part in the churning, and the dairy organization marks off two great clan divisions: 'The most important dairy institutions of the Todas belong to the Tartharol, but their dairymen are Teivaliol' (W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 680). The milk of the buffaloes is sacred. The ritual connected with the buffalo and with the dairy is 'certainly of a religious character,' and there can be little doubt that the dairy formulæ 'are intercessory and that they bring the dairy operations into definite relations with the Toda deities' (*ib.* p. 231). The dying are given milk to drink when on the point of death (W. E. Marshall, *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, London, 1873, p. 171), and the dead body is taken into the dairy (Rivers, 339 ff.). From these facts, carefully marshalled by Rivers, it is clear that these people have developed the sanctity of milk to its highest point. With them it is an essential feature of organized worship.

There is nothing like this in any other part of the world. It is the highest specialized use of milk in religious observance. The sacred character of milk in other parts of the primitive world is shown by its use in various ceremonies of a religious character, but not in connexion with an organized religious cult, as among the Todas. Both in Africa and in India these ceremonies reach a high grade in places, but do not attain the Toda level. Perhaps the royal milk-drinking observances of the king of the Unyoro, a section of the Bantu people in Africa, affords the nearest parallel (J. G. Frazer, *Totemism*, London, 1910, ii. 526–528) to the Toda practice. An interesting Kaffir folktale, 'The Story of the Bird that made Milk' (G. M. Theal, *Kaffir Folk-lore*, London, 1882, pp. 1–46), appears to be founded on the first use of milk and refers to events which preceded the use of milk, but it contains details which bring it within the general condition of the African beliefs. 'They used to get milk from a tree. This was got by squeezing, and the people who drank it were always thin.' The Kaffirs now drink a kind of fermented milk, and it is noticeable that, 'when poured out for use by the master of the household, who is the only one permitted to touch the milk sack, a portion is always left behind to act as leaven' (*ib.* p. 195). These are clearly religious practices which require further investigation, but in the meantime it is permissible to classify them as less developed in form than the Toda example.

Every one knows the reverence paid to the cow in India; but, in spite of the attempt of the early mythologists to identify the cow with the higher forms of Hindu religion (A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, London, 1872, i. 1–41), the fact remains that the cow is not a god. The reverence for the cow is quite human in its character, and the 4th book of the *Laws of Manu* contains the clearest evidence of this.

Crooke points out that respect for the cow in India is of comparatively modern date, and gives some interesting data to show the lines along which it has developed (*PR* ii. 226–236). This view is confirmed by the uses to which the products of the cow were put. According to Viṣṇu, a house is purified by plastering the ground with cow-dung, and land is cleansed by the same process; cows alone make sacrificial oblations possible by producing sacrificial butter, and among six excellent productions of a cow which are always propitious milk and sour milk are included (*Institutes of Vishnu* [*SBE* vii. (1900)], xxiii. [1883] 56–61).

On the other hand, the evidence from the Panjāb is that, when a cow or buffalo first gives milk after calving, the first five streams of milk drawn from her are allowed to fall on the ground in honour of the goddess (D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Punjāb Ethnology*, Calcutta, 1883, p. 114). It is also a protective from the evil eye, and has various uses in magic and divination. This suggests that in the Panjāb milk is on its way towards a definitely religious position.

In Europe the once sacred character of milk is indicated by the evidence of folk-lore, which records the protective measures which have to be taken to secure it against harm from witches and other malevolent powers (*GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 52 f.).

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[1] *Questions of King Milinda*, i. p. xlii ff.

The best examples are found in Russia, where the people on Midsummer eve drive the cattle through the fire to protect the animals against 'wizards and witches, who are then ravenous after milk' (W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*², London, 1872, p. 391). This rite affords the explanation of a curious story told of an Irish prince, Bress, son of the Fomorian Elatha. It is related of him 'that he arrogated to himself the milk of all the hairless dun cows in the land,' and he 'caused a great fire of ferns to be made, and all the cows in Munster to pass through it, so that they might fulfil the necessary conditions, and their milk become the royal property' (H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Irish Mythological Cycle*, Eng. tr., Dublin, 1903, p. 95). Included in this tradition are the following ritual observances—the restriction to cows of a single colour, the passing through fire to secure protection, and the right of the king to a royal supply of milk. The restriction as to colour also appears elsewhere in Irish folklore (C. Plummer, *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, Oxford, 1910, vol. i. p. cxlvi, and K. Meyer and A. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895–97, ii. 186). The legend of the Dun Cow of Whittingham near Preston is of the same order, the attacking witch being successful in this case (J. Harland and T. T. Wilkinson, *Lancashire Legends*, London, 1882, pp. 16–19).

Ritual in custom and ritual in myth are parallels, and it would be well to inquire whether in folklore there is more than this suspicion of sanctity in the attitude of popular belief as to milk. The milkmaid is almost everywhere an important personage in the social fabric of the village, and her utensils share her importance. The present writer differs from Lady Gomme in her explanation of the famous game of 'Milking Pails' as a mere teasing of the mother (*Dict. of Traditional Games*, London, 1894–98, *s.v.*) in that it appears to be a cumulative estimate of the superior value of the milking-pail as an article of domestic use, and it is pertinent to note in this connexion that the Irish chieftain had 'in his house constantly a cask of milk' (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, Dublin, 1865–1901, iv. 311). That milk was poured on the ground is attested by J. G. Dalyell (*Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1835, p. 193), and W. Gregor states that at death all the milk in the house was poured out on the ground (*Folklore of N.E. of Scotland*, London, 1881, p. 206). This must have originally been an offering to the earth-god as in the Panjāb. In Ireland it is called an oblation to the fairies (W. G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, London, 1902, ii. 7), and the fairies are the successors of the gods. It was offered every Sunday on Brownie's stone in the island of Valay and other islands (M. Martin, *Western Islands*, London, 1716, pp. 67, 110).

This brings us very close to the stage when milk was a sacred object in the cult of the gods. In the Christian Church it was substituted for wine in the elements of the communion. This was afterwards prohibited by canon law (Dalyell, p. 193, quoting Gratian, *Decretalia*, p. 111), but it may be surmised that it originated as one of the surviving rites of ancient pagan religion. St. Bridget was in some degree regarded as the special patron of milking, as appears in the beautiful milking-songs of Scotland (A. Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Edinburgh, 1900, i. 261–275), and she was at her birth bathed in milk (*Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Oxford, 1890, pp. 184, 318). St. Bridget is in many of her attributes a pre-Christian goddess, and her association with milk in the surviving forms once more takes us back to ancient pagan religion.

That bathing in milk was also a death rite is shown both in traditional ballad lore and in traditional games. In the beautiful ballad of 'Burd Ellen,' preserved by R. Jamieson (*Popular Ballads and Songs from Tradition*, etc., Edinburgh, 1806, p. 125), is the verse:

> 'Tak up, tak up my bonny young son,
> Gar wash him wi' the milk.
> Tak up, tak up my fair lady,
> Gar row her in the silk.'

Lady Gomme has analyzed the different versions of the children's game of 'Green Gravel,' and has shown from the general movements of the game that it is derived from a funeral rite. This view is confirmed by the fact that the most constant formulæ in the game rhymes include the line,

> 'Wash them in milk and clothe them in silk' (i. 172).

There seems little doubt that these words are survivals of an ancient burial rite.

In the religions of antiquity there is more definite evidence. J. E. Harrison, in her discussion of primitive baptism (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 596 f.), asks 'what was the exact ritual of the falling into milk? . . . Did the neophyte actually fall into a bath of milk, or . . . is the ritual act of drinking milk from the beginning metaphorically described?' and, in spite of a useful parallel from Egyptian ritual, comes to the conclusion that 'of a rite of immersion in milk we have no evidence.' This, however, cannot be quite true if St. Bridget represents, as there is strong evidence to prove, an early Celtic goddess who has brought into her Christian attributes traditions and rites of pre-Christian origin. There is the further example of the Picts in Ireland saving themselves from the poisoned arrows of their Fir-Fidga enemies by taking a bath filled with the milk of one hundred and twenty white hornless cows, where the single colour condition is again repeated. The rite of bathing in milk attributed to St. Bridget was certainly not of Christian origin any more than the offering of milk and honey in early baptismal rites was Christian (*ib.* p. 597 f.), and we must take it that these rites come from early Celtic religion. The offerings of milk and honey were made to the nymphs and to Pan (Theocr. *Id.* v. 53 f. and 58 f.), and to this day in modern Greece they are made to the Nereids (J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 150 f.).

To sum up the evidence—it would appear that in primitive religions there are three stages in the sacred characteristics attributed to milk: (1) where it is a definite part of the dominant religious cult; (2) where it is extensively used in religious ceremonial, but is not an exclusive or predominant element in the ceremonial; (3) where it is looked upon as a religious object, and is, consequently, subject to danger from outside forces, from which it demands various forms of protection. The survey seems to make it clear that the unique example of the Todas is a highly specialized development of the religious conception of milk, and not a normal condition, while the evidence of folklore and of the religion of antiquity leads us to conclude that the endowment of milk with sacred properties arose from its enormous social influences, which led to specialization of its use on solemn and important occasions. This would be the normal position of milk in religious thought. A last stage is represented by the necessity of protecting it from malignant influences. This is survival from the normal stage, and arises only when it was no longer a protective force itself.

LITERATURE.—This is given fully in the article.

L. GOMME.

MILK (Civilized Religions).

1. As food and sacrifice.—Since man is a mammal, milk is universally known; and, as man early learned to use the milk of goats, cows, and camels, milk became a natural symbol of nourishment. The ancient Egyptians sometimes pictured the heavens as a woman with hanging breasts, and sometimes as a cow with full udder,[1] thus suggesting that the heavens nourished men. The Babylonians suggested, similarly, that milk is the divinely given nourishment of man by picturing the mother-goddess with breasts so full that she must support them with her hands.[2] Since milk is so universal an element of human diet, it is but natural that it should have been offered at times in sacrifice to deities, as meat, meal, and firstfruits were. Thus in *Yašt* xv. of the Avesta there is frequent mention of a sacrificial gift of boiled milk, and it was mingled with *haoma* (*q.v.*) in sacrifice.[3] Among the Arabs flesh seethed in milk is still a common dish,[4] yet the Hebrews were prohibited from boiling a kid in its mother's milk. W. R. Smith thought that this was because milk for boiling is usually sour, so that such boiling would involve the offering of a fermented sacrifice, or that possibly milk was here regarded as a substitute for blood.[5]

2. In a supposed Semitic myth.—In the OT 'flowing with milk and honey' is a phrase frequently used to designate the fertility of Palestine. It occurs in Ex $3^{8.17}$ 13^5 33^3, Lv 20^{24}, Jer 11^5 33^{22}, and Ezk $20^{6.15}$. Curdled milk (the modern *laban*) and honey are also mentioned in Is 7^{15} as the food of the child that is to be named 'Immanuel.' It occurs again in the same chapter (7^{22}), where it is more difficult to interpret, and where its occurrence may be due to editorial redaction. The phrase 'flowing with milk and honey' occurs in the J document (*c.* 850 B.C.), and continued to be used till the time of Ezekiel. T. K. Cheyne[6] in 1901 noted that the phrase is more poetical than the context seems to justify, and suggested that it might be a survival of a description of Israel's idealized past. Since ancient poetry is always tinged with mythology, he thought it not improbable that this phrase was of mythological origin. Usener[7] in 1902 held that the phrase was of mythological origin, and that it was borrowed by the Hebrews from Iranian mythology, where, according to him, we hear of heavenly honey and holy cows. The phrase had, he thought, descended by one line to the Hebrews and by another to the Greeks, who described the food of the infant Zeus on Crete as curds and honey. Stade,[8] in commenting on Usener's article, claimed that the phrase 'flowing with milk and honey' was not used earlier than the time of Ezekiel, that in the J document and Jeremiah it was a later addition, and that Usener was right in claiming that in Jl 3^{18} the use of the figure was due to Greek influence. Whether 'curd and honey' could have been a mythological phrase introduced from Assyria, he thought, was a problem for Assyriologists. H. Zimmern[9] in the next year, 1903, claimed from the Assyriological side that honey and curd played a great rôle in the Babylonian cult, and that it was of mythological origin, though he offered little proof for the statement. Finally, Gressmann[10] in 1905 endeavoured to work this view into an elaborate scheme of Hebrew mythology, which formed, he believed, the basis of the prophetic eschatology.

Before accepting this view, it should be noted just what part milk and curdled milk, or *laban*, played in the life of the Hebrews. Milk, like wine, was in early Israel a symbol of prosperity and plenty. An old poet sang of Judah:

> 'His eyes shall be red with wine
> And his teeth white with milk' (Gn 49^{12}).

Laban was a dish so relished as an article of diet that Abraham is said to have offered it to his guests (Gn 18^8), and Jael to the tired Sisera (Jg 5^{25}); honey and *laban* along with wheat, barley-meal, beans, and lentils were furnished as food to David and his men (2 S 17^{27-29}). It is natural, therefore, that *laban* and honey, the two most delicious viands known to them, should enter into poetical descriptions of abundance, fertility, or prosperity (see Dt $32^{13f.}$, Job 20^{17} 29^6, Sir 39^{26}). The natural uses of these articles of food are sufficient to account for these poetic allusions.

The strongest arguments of the mythological school rest, however, on the highly-coloured language of Joel and later apocalyptic writers, and upon supposed Assyrian parallels. In Jl 4^{18} (EV 3^{18}) we read:

> 'And it shall come to pass in that day that
> The mountains shall drop sweet wine,
> And the hills shall flow with milk
> And all the water-courses of Judah
> Shall flow with water.
> And a spring shall come forth from the house of Yahweh
> And water the valley of Shiṭṭim';[1]

in the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 744 ff.:

> 'For Earth the universal mother shall give to mortals her best
> Fruit in countless store of corn, wine and oil.
> Yea, from heaven shall come a sweet draught of luscious honey,
> The trees shall yield their proper fruits, and rich flocks,
> And kine and lambs of sheep and kids of goats.
> He will cause sweet fountains of white milk to burst forth';

and again, *ib.* v. 281 f.:

> 'But the holy land of the godly alone shall bear all these things.
> An ambrosial stream distilling honey and milk shall flow from rock and fountain for all the righteous.'[2]

In view of the aridity of the desert, it would seem to need no mythology, but only a little poetic exaggeration, to lead to the designation of Palestine by the nomads as a 'land flowing with milk and honey.' The use of these viands in the life of the Hebrew nation easily accounts for the poetic use in Deut. and Job, and these in turn furnish the point of departure for the later more hyperbolic language in Joel and the *Sib. Or.* Unless we can find some outside parallels, there is, then, no need for the mythological hypothesis.

Most of the Assyrian parallels hitherto cited turn out to be unreal. Thus a passage cited by Zimmern simply enumerates honey and *laban* along with oil, wool, gold, and silver as desirable things.[3] Another passage deserves more attention. It is part of an incantation for driving the demon of sickness from a man's body. It runs:

> '*Laban* from a pure stable they shall bring,
> Milk from a pure corral they shall bring,
> Over the pure *laban* from the pure stable utter an incantation:
> May the man, son of his god, become pure!
> May that man become pure as *laban*!
> Like that milk may he become pure!'[4]

It is clear that no mythological meaning can be involved in this passage. It is the purity of the *laban* and the milk that is emphasized. A mythological quality is as much out of place as it would be in the Avesta, when milk is enumerated among the foods which may be given to a woman who has brought forth a still-born child, in order to effect her purification (see *Vendīdād*, v. 52, vii. 67). Milk is here only one of several ingredients—meat, bread, wine, water. As she had first to drink ox-urine, the milk can hardly have been chosen for mythological reasons. Another fragmentary text which has been frequently cited on the basis of an indefinite reference by Friedrich Delitzsch[1] runs as follows:[2]

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[1] See J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, New York, 1909, p. 55.

[2] See, *e.g.*, M. Jastrow, *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1912, Tafel 7, No. 23.

[3] *Yasna*, x. 13; *Nyāyišn*, i. 16; *Nīrangistān*, 76; it is also an offering by itself in *Yasna*, iii. 1, 3, iv. 1; *Visparad*, xi. 8; *Nīr.* 57, 60, 108.

[4] See *PEFSt*, 1888, p. 188, and W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Semites*², London, 1894, p. 221 n.

[5] W. R. Smith, *loc. cit.*

[6] *EBi* ii. 2104 f.

[7] *Rhein. Museum für Phil.* lvii. 177–195.

[8] *ZATW* xxii. 321–324.

[9] *KAT*³, p. 526.

[10] *Ursprung der israel.-jüd. Eschatologie*, pp. 209–221.

[1] So J. A. Bewer, in *ICC*, 'Obadiah and Joel,' Edinburgh, 1912, p. 140 f.

[2] H. C. O. Lanchester, in R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, 1913, ii. 391, 402.

[3] H. Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 239.

[4] *Cuneiform Texts from Bab. Tab. etc. in Br. Museum*, xvii., London, 1903, pl. 23, ll. 170–181; cf. Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Assyr.* i. (Giessen, 1905) 347.

> 'Crown of . . .
> For the shepherd of the black-headed [people] . . .
> I pray a prayer . . .
> A sceptre of lapis lazuli may his hand [grasp] . . .
> For the shepherd of the black-headed [people] . . .
> Honey and *laban* abundantly . . .
> The mountain bearing produce . . .
> The steppe, the field bearing fruit . . .
> The orchards bearing fruit . . .
> On his left hand may the god Sin . . .
> To the king in person may they do homage!

This is clearly a prayer for a Babylonian ruler. The petitioner asks that great fertility and prosperity may come in his time. The language resembles that of Joel and the Sibyl, but the imagery is capable of as natural an explanation as is that of the Hebrew seers.

The other passage which has been thought to show that the Babylonians and Assyrians held mythological views of milk and honey occurs in an incantation. The part in question reads:

> 'Pure water bring into its midst.
> The exalted lord, the great serpent of heaven,
> By his pure hands shall establish thee;
> Ea to a place of purity shall bring thee,
> To a place of purity shall bring thee,
> With his pure hands shall bring thee,
> Into honey and *laban* shall bring thee.
> Water of an incantation he shall put to thy lips,
> Thy mouth with an incantation he shall open.'[3]

Here at last we have a passage that moves in such a realm of heavenly unreality that it may fairly be regarded as based on a myth, but the mythical part does not centre at all in the honey and *laban*, but in the action of the god. Honey and *laban* are used to denote a place of fertility and plenty, and it may fairly be claimed that they were introduced here from such usage as that of the preceding passage, and are no necessary part of the myth.

The Semites probably had their origin as a separate people in Arabia,[4] which was a land of deserts and oases. It was thus that the oasis and its palm-tree became one of the symbols of paradise and an emblem of the Golden Age, and finally entered as one of the elements into the Christian symbolism of the New Jerusalem.[5] It seems probable that in the primitive language of the desert an oasis or a fertile land like Babylonia and Palestine may have been designated as a 'land flowing with milk and honey.' The occurrence of the phrase among both Babylonians and Hebrews points in this direction; it probably had an origin in their common ancestry. As the phrase is lacking, however, in the description of paradise both in Gn 2, 3 and in Ezk 28, it can hardly have formed an integral part of the traditions of the Golden Age, or have entered as an important element into the mythology of the Semites.

Indeed, in the paradise story of Gn 3 the food which makes man like God is not milk and honey, but the fruit of a tree. So in the corresponding Babylonian story, the Adapa myth, it was not milk and honey, but 'food and water,' that might have gained immortality for Adapa.[6] As these accounts are doubtless both variants of the same primitive paradise myth, it is impossible to resist the conviction that milk and honey formed no part of that myth among the Semites, but was simply a descriptive phrase employed by the dwellers in the desert to describe fertile lands—a phrase which survived both in Babylonia and in Palestine, and which came only in post-Exilic times among the Hebrews to designate a Golden Age that was still future.

3. In the Avesta.—Among the Persians these ideas apparently did not in the early time play a prominent rôle. Milk was offered in sacrifice and was used in certain incantations, as noted above. Homage was rendered to it,[1] and it was regarded as a divinely purified provision in the breasts of females, as was the seed in males;[2] a prosperous woman was 'rich in children and rich in milk.'[3] The cow was regarded as a beneficent animal guarded by Ahura Mazda as he guarded all other things on which the prosperity of people depends,[4] but in no sense a heavenly animal. So far from Jews having borrowed a myth from Persians, as Usener thought, the elements of the supposed myth appear only in the later syncretistic Mithra cult, and would seem to have been borrowed from the Semites.

4. In the Vedas.—In India milk was viewed as a symbol of nourishment. The Atharvaveda regards a house full of nurture as one full of milk,[5] and the earth is a mother who can pour forth milk for her suppliants.[6] Nevertheless in the Rigveda both milk and honey were employed in the ritual, though they were both subordinate to the all-prevailing *soma*. When milk was used as an offering, it was sometimes sweet and sometimes sour, both kinds of offerings being recognized.[7] As in Iranian ritual, the milk was often mixed with *soma*, the lacteal element sometimes being sour.[8] Honey was in the same way used as an offering; sometimes it was mixed with *soma*,[9] but sometimes with milk. Thus Rigveda, VIII. iv. 8, addresses Indra:[10]

> 'With honey of the bees is the milk mixed;
> Come quick, run and drink!'

Milk was created in kine by Varuna, even as he gave cool breezes to the forests, swiftness to horses, wisdom to the heart of man, lightning to the clouds, the sun to the sky, and *soma* to the mountains (Rigveda, v. lxxxv. 2). This reveals a high estimate placed upon milk and honey as foods, but lacks any mythical element,[11] as does the passage (x. lxiii. 3) in which the sky (*dyau*) gives milk to the All-Gods.

The Sanskrit poets often allude to the ability of the swan to separate milk from water; but this, as C. R. Lanman has shown, has no mythological significance. It is a reference rather to the fact that these birds fed on the milk-like juice of the lotus stalks, which grew beneath the water.[12] Similarly the religious teachers of India often use as an illustration of a changing existence the relationship between sweet milk, sour cream, and butter, not because they saw anything mythological in them, but because they illustrated change in forms of existence.[13]

In India, then, it can only be said that milk and honey were so highly valued as food that they naturally formed a part of the most valued offerings to the gods. Perhaps the proper mixture of these viands was supposed to have some magic significance, for one passage (Rigveda, IX. xi. 2) says that they were mixed by the *atharvans* ;[1] but there is no trace of such a myth as some have supposed for the Semites.

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[1] In George Smith, *Chaldäische Genesis*, Leipzig, 1876, p. 285 n.; cf. Kennedy, 'Honey,' in *EBi*, col. 2104, and G. B. Gray, in *ICC*, 'Isaiah,' Edinburgh, 1912, i. 129 f.

[2] H. C. Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, iv., London, 1891, no. 3, 1-27.

[3] *Ib.* 25, 39-55*a*.

[4] See G. A. Barton, *Sem. Origins*, New York, 1902, ch. i.

[5] *Ib.* p. 96, n. 1, and Barton, *The Roots of Christian Teaching as found in the OT*, Philadelphia, 1902, pp. 262-266.

[6] Cf. *KB* vi. 97-99.

[1] *Yasna*, vi. 17, vii. 26, viii. 1, xvi. 8.

[2] *Ib.* lxv. 5.

[3] *Vend.* xxi. 6, 7; *Yašt* xxiv. 13, 49.

[4] *Vend.* v. 20.

[5] Atharvaveda, IX. iii. 16.

[6] *Ib.* XII. i. 9 f., 59.

[7] Cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* i. 219-222.

[8] *Ib.* p. 222.

[9] *Ib.* p. 243 f.

[10] *Ib.* p. 238.

[11] For the various sacrifices into which milk entered as an element (sacrifices to the dead, new and full-moon sacrifices, etc.) see A. Hillebrandt, *Rituallitteratur: Vedische Opfer und Zauber* (=*GIAP* iii. 2), Strassburg, 1897, pp. 95, 110, 111, 117, 131, 135, 160, 172, 186.

[12] *JAOS* xix. [1898] 151-158.

[13] Cf. H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1900, pp. 114, 134, 149.

5. In Egypt.—In Egypt, as already noted, the sky-goddess was pictured as either a woman or a cow with full breasts; but this was only to symbolize her nurture of her earthly children. If milk had in early Egyptian thought any mythological significance, we should expect to find it prominent among the foods promised to the deified kings to whom the pyramid-texts of the Old Kingdom promised a place among the gods. True, the departed king is frequently represented as suckled by the sky-goddess or some other divinity connected with Re. The goddess is once thus addressed: 'O mother of this king Pepi . . . give thy breast to this king Pepi, suckle this king Pepi therewith.' The goddess replies: 'O my son Pepi, my king, my breast is extended to thee, that thou mayest suck it, my king, and live, my king, as long as thou art little.'[2] Milk was, then, the food of the celestials only during their heavenly childhood. When Pepi was grown, he was promised 'bread which cannot dry up' and 'beer which cannot grow stale.'[3] Later he is given a 'snared fowl.'[4] Bread is called 'the bread of the god.' Pepi is invited to 'sit down to thy thousand of bread, thy thousand of beer, thy thousand of oxen, thy thousand of geese, thy thousand of everything whereon the god liveth.'[5] Another source of food for the deified king is the tree of life situated in a mysterious isle at a distance, and this king Pepi sought and attained.[6] This tree of life is probably a survival from a desert and oasis life similar to that of the Semites.[7] Milk plays very little part in these Egyptian myths.[8] It is only the food of the deified kings during that part of their celestial life which corresponds to childhood on earth.

6. In Græco-Roman literature.—Among the Greeks and Romans, as among the Semites and people of India, milk and honey were delicacies that were much appreciated, and their use goes back to an early time. Libations of milk and honey were, according to the *Iliad*,[9] poured out for the dead, and such libations appear to have continued down to the Christian era.[10] In case of pestilence milk and honey were among the offerings presented at the sacred mountains of Pelion and Ida ;[11] and, before eating, milk, honey, and bread were offered to Hestia.[12] Milk and honey were also symbols of plenty and prosperity. Thus Pindar († 442 B.C.) says:

> 'Rejoice, my friend! Lo, I send you, though at late hour, this honey mixed with white milk, fringed with the froth of blending, a draught of song conveyed in the breathings of Aeolian flutes.'[13]

Though here metaphorical for sweet poetry, the metaphor attests the use of milk and honey as delicacies. In course of time both milk and honey became symbols of plenty. Thus Tibullus († 18 B.C.) says:

> 'The oaks themselves give honey, and beyond the sheep
> Bring udders of milk ready to the hand of the care-free.'[14]

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[1] See Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* i. 238.

[2] See K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, ii. (Leipzig, 1910) §§ 910–913, and J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, London and New York, 1912, p. 130.

[3] Sethe, i. [1908] § 859.

[4] *Ib.* ii. § 1394.

[5] *Ib.* § 2026 f.; Breasted, p. 132.

[6] *Ib.* i. § 484; Breasted, p. 134.

[7] Barton, *Sem. Or.* p. 117 f.

[8] So W. Max Müller in a private letter to the writer.

[9] xxiii. 170 f.

[10] Cf. Eur. *Orestes*, 114 f., and Vergil, *Æn.* iii. 66.

[11] O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythol. und Religionsgesch.*, Munich, 1906, p. 248.

[12] Silius Ital. vii. 184.

[13] *Nem.* iii. 76 ff.

[14] I. iii. 45 f.

Similarly Ovid:

> 'Now rivers of milk, now rivers of nectar run,
> And yellow honey distils from the green ilex.'[1]

With these poets milk and honey have become emblems of the Golden Age, but with many others they are simply symbols of plenty.[2]

Latin writers are, of course, dependent on Greek models for their imagery, and it is possible that Tibullus and Ovid were influenced directly or indirectly by Semitic ideas. A usage of milk and honey, however, which goes back to Homeric times cannot have been borrowed from the Persians. Possibly it may have come from Semitic Mesopotamia through the Hittites, since Hittites appear to be mentioned in the *Odyssey*,[3] but we know as yet too little of Hittite ritual to regard this as more than a remote possibility. Possibly, too, it may have been carried to the Ægean lands by Phœnicians, but it is quite as probable that the uses of milk and honey developed in the Ægean lands independently of Semitic ideas.

7. Among Christians.—The many references to milk and honey in Patristic literature collected by Usener[4] are clearly echoes of Joel and the Sibyl. Some curious Christian myths connected with the milk of the Virgin Mary are, however, still current in Bethlehem and its vicinity. There is at Bethlehem a cave called the 'Milk Grotto.'[5] A legend has it that the Holy Family once took refuge there, and that, as the Virgin nursed the Child, a drop of her milk fell on the floor. Because of this it is still believed that a sojourn in the grotto not only increases the milk of women and animals, but cures them of barrenness. In reality this legend arose to Christianize a grotto that was originally a shrine of Ashtoreth.[6]

All about Bethlehem the limestone crumbles and forms little white pebbles about the size of peas. These are accounted for by the story that a drop of the Virgin's milk fell on the rock, and that these pebbles are the miraculous result. Similarly it is said that, as the Virgin nursed the Child by the wayside, a drop of her milk fell on a thistle, which on this account became flecked with white and is called 'Mary's thistle.'[7] These myths are the outgrowth of the transfer to the Virgin of the old grotto of the mother-goddess, and are really much more exotic to Christianity than the quotation in the Patristic writers about the Golden Age.

In the early Church the newly baptized were given milk and honey to taste (or, in some Western churches, milk and wine) as symbolizing their regeneration through baptism (cf. 1 Co 3^2, He 5^{12}, 1 P 2^2). By the twenty-fourth canon of the Third Council of Carthage (397) this milk and honey was to be consecrated at the altar on Easter Even, the most solemn day for baptism; but the use has been forbidden since the Trullan Council of 692.[8]

LITERATURE.—A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, Breslau, 1891–1902, i. 219–222, 238–244; A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, London, 1912, i. 67, 208 f., 234, 338, 490 f.; T. K. Cheyne, *EBi*, 2104; H. Usener, in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, lvii. [1902] 177–195; B. Stade, in *ZATW* xxii. [1902] 321–327; H. Gressmann, *Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1905, pp. 209–221; C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, Edinburgh and New York, 1912, p. 143 ff.; O. Dähnhardt, *Sagen zum Neuen Testament*, Leipzig, 1909, ch. xviii.

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[1] *Metam.* i. 111 f.

[2] Cf. Aristoph. *Birds*, 749; Horace, *Odes*, II. xix. 9 f. IV. ii. 27 *Epod.* xvi. 47–50; and Vergil, *Ecl.* iv. 30.

[3] xi. 520 f.

[4] *Op. cit.*

[5] See K. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*[5] (Eng. tr.), Leipzig 1912, p. 106 f.

[6] Cf. Barton, in *BW* xxiv. [1904] 178, n. 21.

[7] Cf. O. Dähnhardt, *Sagen zum NT*, ch. xviii.

[8] J. Bingham, *Antiquities of the Chr. Church*, London, 1843–45, iv. 50–52, v. 35.

MILL, JAMES AND JOHN STUART.—The two Mills, father and son, occupy a unique position in the history of British thought. They were, after Bentham, the greatest figures in the utilitarian school and the leaders of the philosophical radicals in politics.

1. **James Mill.**—Next to Bentham, James Mill was the force that moulded the early expression of utilitarian doctrine. He was a Scotsman by birth, the son of humble parents (his father a country shoemaker and his mother a farmer's daughter), born at North Water Bridge, on the North Esk, in the parish of Logie-Pert, Forfarshire, on 6th April 1773. By his intellectual ability and his indomitable power of work, he raised himself to the commanding position that he ultimately attained. His early education was received at the parish school of his native place, and afterwards at Montrose Academy, where he had as schoolfellow Joseph Hume. From Montrose Academy he went to Edinburgh University (in the palmy days of Dugald Stewart), where he graduated M.A. in 1794, and forthwith proceeded to the study of Divinity, and was licensed as a preacher of the gospel in the Church of Scotland in 1798. The ministry, however, was not destined to keep him long. Being appointed tutor to the only daughter of Sir John Stuart of Fettercairn (Member of Parliament for Kincardineshire), he came under the special notice of Sir John, and went with him to settle in London in 1802. He was not long in London before he made his presence felt. In 1803 we find him active in originating *The Literary Journal* and making many contributions to it. In 1804 he produced his pamphlet on the *Corn Trade*. Thenceforth he contributed articles, in an unceasing flow, to innumerable periodicals and magazines—*The Philanthropist, The Annual Review, The Westminster Review, The London Review, The Edinburgh Review.* But his most outstanding essays were written for the Supplement to the fifth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, the chief of them being on 'Government,' 'Education,' 'Jurisprudence,' and 'Laws of Nations.' A reprint of the *Encyclopædia* articles was made in book form and had a wide influence. For about eleven years (from 1806 to the end of 1817) he worked strenuously at his *History of British India*, which, on its publication, produced a great impression. The immediate result was his appointment to a post in the India House, in the department of Examiner of India Correspondence, where he became head of the office in 1830. Besides a little book on the *Elements of Political Economy* (1821), largely reproducing Adam Smith, but embodying also the distinctive principles of Ricardo, he produced his great psychological work, the *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, which was brought out in 1829. This at once raised him to the position of psychologist in chief of the utilitarian school, filling the gap that had been left in the elaborate and multifarious teaching of Bentham. With Bentham himself Mill was on terms of the most intimate friendship, and the master regarded him as his most stalwart disciple. So staunch a Benthamite, indeed, was Mill that it has been doubted whether he was anything more than a brilliant reproducer of Bentham's opinions. That, however, does Mill an injustice. He was no mere echo, but a voice. His psychology alone proves it; and he was potent as a political force to an extent that even Bentham hardly equalled. When he died (his death took place in London, on 23rd June 1836), he was generally admitted to be the great inspiring spirit of radicalism and the one man who could have made the radical propaganda the success that it had become. In the year before his death (1835) appeared his *Fragment on Mackintosh.* This is really a vigorous defence of empiricism against intuitionism, though it assumes the form of a vehement criticism of Mackintosh, and is chiefly valuable as presenting Mill's philosophical positions in a clear and condensed light, rendered all the more effective by the polemic setting.

Mill's fame as a psychologist rests on his consistent experientialism, his thoroughgoing application of association to the phenomena of the mind, and his uncompromising insistence on the power of associationism to explain the mind and all its processes. But this has already been brought out in the art. ASSOCIATION, and need not be further dwelt on. A word, however, may be said on his psychological ethics. Mill's ethics is essentially hedonistic: the human will is moved by pleasure (or the avoidance of pain) and by this alone; and with a view to the attainment of pleasure (or to the getting rid of pain) men habitually act. But there is such a thing as disinterested conduct; and by the utilitarian himself benevolence is regarded as the supreme virtue. How, then, explain this? In the first place, Mill has recourse to the distinction (of which Bentham had made so much) between motive and intention, and maintains that, while our intention in benevolence is disinterested, our motive is interested; in other words, a benevolent action pleases the individual, gives him satisfaction, else he would not do it, but it also promotes the happiness of others. Now, this being pleased with acting benevolently towards another—what else is it than the individual identifying another's happiness with his own? And what more could be demanded of him? 'Can any greater degree of social love be required,' asks Mill, 'than that the good of others should cause us pleasure; in other words, that their good should be ours?' (*Frag. on Mackintosh*, p. 294). Then, again, there is the ethical principle of transformation (the phrase is not Mill's) to be considered—the principle that we see at work in the miser, whose nature is so changed by his traffic with money that the original desire of money for the pleasure that it can procure him becomes ultimately the desire of money for its own sake. What happens in the case of the miser happens in the case of disinterestedness and benevolence. Although individual pleasure lies at the root of a man's benevolent action, he has come, through continued intercourse with men and the experience of mutual help, to submerge the thought of his own pleasure and make benevolence itself his end.

What, then, of conscience, with its intuitions and its vaticinations? Conscience to Mill is not a simple and elementary faculty in human nature, but the product of association. That gives to it its power, and explains its peculiarities, and indeed constitutes its value. The ultimate test of morality is utility: right and wrong are qualities of conduct and are to be gauged by the tendency of actions to produce pleasure or pain.

Education occupied a large share of Mill's attention. As a utilitarian radical, he was eager that the people should be educated—educated so as to develop and improve their intelligence, and render them fit to be worthy citizens. Hence, he took a practical interest in the educational movement of the time, and entered as a keen polemic into the controversy between the Lancasterian and the Bell systems of education; he tried to establish a school (but failed) on the principles of Bentham laid down in his *Chrestomathia* ('Study of useful things'); and he was one of the small band of ardent educationists who originated the University of London. But his claim to honour as an educationist rests on his broad-minded theory of education, as developed in his *Encyclopædia* article, where education is shown to be the work of a man's life-time, where the roots of it are laid in associationist psychology, and where the principles of Helvetius regarding the almost unlimited power of education in transforming the individual are vigorously enforced.

In the realm of jurisprudence Mill made for himself a great name in the sphere of international law. His *Encyclopædia* article on that subject is, within its limits, almost perfect. It might be elaborated at points and more fully illustrated, but it is everywhere wise and suggestive. Particularly striking are its handling of the rights of nations in the time of war, and its treatment of the possibility of an effective court of arbitration in international quarrels.

As a philosophical politician Mill achieved fame by his theory of government. It is not a theory that is invulnerable. It lays itself open to objection as to the adequacy of its analysis of human nature; it was attacked by Macaulay on the ground of its deductive method and disregard of the inductive mode of procedure; and Sir James Mackintosh attacked it on the side of its extreme advocacy of popular representation, which seemed to ignore the danger of democratic tyranny, or the abuse of power on the part of the 'masses' in defiance of the interests of the 'classes.' The foundation of the theory is that the individual man is by nature self-centred, that he aims at pleasure for self and as much of it as he can obtain, and that, in his pursuit of personal interest, he is ready to lay hold of everything that ministers to his gratification, regardless of the pleasures and desires of others. Hence the need of government, and its meaning: government just signifies keeping one man from grasping at and mercilessly pursuing what belongs to another. But the members of a government are themselves men, with men's selfish passions and readiness to tyrannize over others, and, consequently, need themselves to be restrained. The restraint comes and only can come from the people; and the only tolerable form of government is a representative government — a government where the people's representatives act as a check on legislative abuse. It is only when the people are governed by men elected by themselves and representing them that the interests of governors and governed can be identified. Yet this identification of interest is liable to be broken through, if the representatives are not themselves watched. A body of representative men, if left entirely to their own actions, will have 'sinister' interests and may become as selfish and oppressive as an individual may be. The safeguard lies in frequent parliamentary elections: thus only (so it appeared to Mill) could the people retain a proper hold on their own representatives.

Into social reform Mill threw himself with much energy. Reforming zeal was the great characteristic of the utilitarians. This was but the practical side of their all-controlling principle, the general welfare, or the greatest happiness of the greatest number. Prisons and prison discipline, mendicancy, the Poor Laws, and such like engaged his pen; and it was through the influence of his views, to no small extent, that subsequent reforms were effected.

2. **John Stuart Mill.**—The eldest child of James Mill was John Stuart Mill (born in London on 20th May 1806; died at Avignon, in France, on 8th May 1873). His early education was conducted solely by his father, who, although constantly occupied in literary and exacting work, did not grudge to act as schoolmaster to his son. His method of teaching was altogether of an exceptional kind; and, although the result of it was also exceptional, the method has not been imitated by others or regarded as generally practicable. At three years of age the boy was set to learn Greek, which was his chief study for the next five years, English and arithmetic being added as secondary subjects. This created in the youthful learner a love for Greek—not only for the language, but for the literature and the thought of Greece—that lasted throughout his life. There is nothing more noticeable in his writings than his genuine appreciation of the dialectic method of Plato and his constant use of the Socratic mode of inductive defining, in order to secure clear concepts and exact verbal expression of them, with a view to truth. At the age of eight, the boy had Latin added to his Greek; and, by the time that he was fourteen years of age, he was indoctrinated into the principles of logic, psychology, and political economy. These were stiff subjects for a boy of that age; but they were the subjects in which he afterwards excelled.

All the time that these subjects were being set as tasks, the father was making the boy his constant companion, sharer in his daily walks, and, through his conversation and judicious cross-questioning, was gradually developing the boy's mind and imparting to him clearness and exactness of thought and confidence in thinking. This Socratic procedure was supplemented at the earliest moment by making the boy himself a teacher. He was set to superintend the education of the younger members of the family, thereby enabling him to gain further clearness of ideas and to strengthen his intellectual faculty. No wonder that the precocity of young Mill became proverbial.

A further stage in his education was a year's sojourn in France, as the guest of Sir Samuel Bentham, at the age of fourteen. This introduced him to the French language and to French literature and politics; and, through excursions in the Pyrenees and elsewhere, aroused in him an enthusiasm for natural scenery and a love for botany and zoology. These things all influenced him in later life.

On his return from France, he was further taken in hand by his father. He was now directly introduced to Bentham's teaching, in the French translation and exposition of it in P. E. L. Dumont's *Traités de législation* (London, 1802). 'The reading of this book,' he says (*Autobiography*, p. 64), 'was an epoch in my life; one of the turning points in my mental history.' At this time also he studied Roman law under John Austin, the jurist.

At the age of sixteen, the youth was beginning to feel his intellectual independence. Burning with enthusiasm for Bentham, he started a Bentham Club of young men, which he designated 'The Utilitarian Society.' Somewhat later he became a member of 'The Speculative Society,' and was also a prominent figure among the youths who met, at stated times, in George Grote's house for discussion of philosophical and economic questions. Later he took an active share in 'The Political Economy Club.' Thus was the development of young Mill's thought and mind further aided by a variety of powerful intellectual agencies.

In 1823, at the age of seventeen, came his appointment, by the East India Company, to the post of Assistant Examiner, under his father, in the Office of the Examiner of India Correspondence. This continued till he reached the position of Chief of the office in 1856—two years before the abolition of the East India Company.

A turning-point in his life was his break-down in health in 1826. There is little doubt that hard work, long-continued and unintermitted, and the over-strain of early education under his father's tuition were largely the cause of this. But there was something more. There was the emotional nature of the young man, which had been cramped but not destroyed by his father's one-sided training, craving for satisfaction. The end of the crisis was what he himself regards as analogous to a 'conversion.' It came in large measure through study of the poetry of Wordsworth and the philosophy of Coleridge, and showed itself in a revolution both in his intellectual opinions and in his character. He was no longer the undiscriminating follower of Bentham that he had been; he was no longer neglectful of the emotional side of human nature. He emerged from the ordeal a new man, with wider mental outlook and deeper and intenser sympathies. The extent of the change may be seen by reference to his two remarkable essays on Bentham and Coleridge, republished in vol. i. of his *Dissertations and Discussions* (London, 1859–67).

Another important factor in his life was the influence over him of Mrs. Taylor, who became his wife in 1851.

His work in connexion with literary journals was enormous. He wrote articles almost without number and on an exhaustless variety of subjects (philosophical, political, economic, social). They began with *The Westminster Review* and extended to other magazines—especially *The London Review* and, afterwards, *The London and Westminster Review*. They are valuable as enabling us to trace the development of his opinions, the growth of his views in philosophy, and the gradual modification of his radicalism in politics.

His first great intellectual work was his *System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive*, which appeared in 1843. This was followed, in due course, by his *Essays on some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy* (1844), and *Principles of Political Economy* (1848). In 1859 appeared his little treatise on *Liberty*, and his *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform*. His *Considerations on Representative Government* belongs to the year 1860; and in 1863 (after first appearing in magazine form) came his *Utilitarianism*. In 1865 came his *Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*; in 1867 his Rectorial *Inaugural Address* at St. Andrews University, on the value of culture; in 1868 his pamphlet on *England and Ireland*; and in 1869 his treatise on *The Subjection of Women*. In 1869 also was published his edition of his father's *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, with many valuable notes illustrative and critical by J. S. Mill himself, by Bain and Grote, and by Andrew Findlater. His two posthumous works are his *Autobiography* (1873) and his *Three Essays on Religion* (1874). To these have to be added the two large volumes of *Letters* (ed. Hugh S. R. Elliot) published in 1910.

A phase of Mill's life has still to be noted—his parliamentary career. In the Parliament of 1865–68 he sat as Radical member for Westminster. Three things in chief did he advocate in the House of Commons—women suffrage, the interests of the labouring classes, and land reform in Ireland.

In philosophy J. S. Mill's fame rests chiefly on his *Logic*, his *Political Economy*, and his *Examination of Sir William Hamilton*, to be taken in connexion with his notes in his edition of his father's *Analysis*.

As a logician he stands out as the great empiricist who formulated and elaborated inductive logic, who re-stated and in part revolutionized deductive logic, who made systematic application of logical principles to the moral sciences (including politics), and who enforced, in polemic form, the power of experience to be the criterion or ultimate test of truth. The brilliancy of his thought and the clearness of his style (including an unwonted aptitude for felicitous illustration, ranging over a wide field of knowledge) cannot be too highly praised. The stimulus to the student derivable from a study of his *Logic* is undoubted. The epoch-making character of his great work must be acknowledged without reserve. But how far he has succeeded in bridging the gulf between inductive and syllogistic logic may be disputed—even Bain, his intimate friend and associate, has his doubts (see his *Dissertations on Leading Philosophical Topics*, London, 1903, pp. 21–26); and empirical logic has made great advances since his day. On the other hand, it must be allowed that these advances were rendered possible only through Mill's work.

In psychology Mill upheld the associationism of his father, but gave a more attractive expression of it as 'mental chemistry.' He carried forward his psychology into theory of knowledge and formulated his doctrine of psychological idealism (founding on Berkeley), which, resting on the empirical genesis of knowledge through the various senses operated by association, issues in the conception of matter or objective reality as 'the permanent possibility of sensations' and of mind as 'the permanent possibility of feeling.' In the case of mind, however, there is a peculiarity: it is *conscious* of its states. This we must accept, as it is given in our experience, but we must accept it as inexplicable—no further account of it is possible. He was unbending in his opposition to those who base truth on intuition. Not that he denied the fact of intuition, but he demanded that it should be tested by experience, so that it may not become (as it had become to a school of philosophers at the time) the bulwark of prejudice and irrationality and the hindrance to intellectual, political, and social progress.

Mill's great work on *Political Economy* (equal in originality of thought and in importance to his *Logic*) is a clear exposition of the various branches of the science—wealth, distribution, consumption, and exchange, and all the various topics that arise out of these. It shows him also as a keen, but fair, critic. But his chief merit lies in his widening the scope of political economy and removing from it the reproach of being 'the dismal science.' This he did (partly under the influence of Auguste Comte) by infusing into it human feeling and associating it with the philosophy of society. Economic principles were now conjoined with their practical applications, and a transformation took place. Not only do we have a minute and scientific handling of such things as labour, capital, rate of interest, money, international trade, and all the other points that the ordinary political economy dealt with, but also a stimulating discussion and wise treatment of such deeply interesting problems as the future of the labouring classes, the land question, socialism, etc. In explanation of the exceptional popularity of the treatise he himself says:

> 'It was, from the first, continually cited and referred to as an authority, because it was not a book merely of abstract science, but also of application, and treated Political Economy not as a thing by itself, but as a fragment of a greater whole; a branch of Social Philosophy, so interlinked with all the other branches, that its conclusions, even in its own peculiar province, are only true conditionally, subject to interference and counteraction from causes not directly within its scope: while to the character of a practical guide it has no pretension, apart from other classes of considerations' (*Autobiog.*, p. 236).

That is, doubtless, absolutely correct.

Mill's utilitarian ethics, as expounded in his *Utilitarianism*, is extraordinarily significant; both the matter and the style fascinate, not less than the glow of conviction that permeates the whole. Justice has rarely been done to it by opponents, because they have failed to see (*a*) that it is not a treatise of pure abstract reasoning, but one written out of the living conviction of a man who loved his fellow-men; (*b*) that it is practical in its object, and not merely theoretical; and (*c*) that, although it sets forth pleasure or happiness as the standard and test of human conduct, it makes supreme the conception of man as a social being and conditions all by the conception of the general welfare. His view of the human will as determined by character, and of character as formed *by* a man, and not *for* him, is his contribution to the solution of the free will problem, and his defence of the position that there can be such a thing as a *science* of ethics—and, if of ethics, then also of economics.

Mill as a political thinker is a great subject. As a radical democrat, he loved the people and worked hard for them in parliament and out of it. But he would not submit in any degree or for a moment to their irrational desires and expectations. They had to be led and not followed. He was acutely conscious of their tendency to tyrannize and their selfish disregard of justice. He was exceptionally alive to their readiness to domineer over minorities; hence, he powerfully advocated the principle of parliamentary proportional representation. Thus alone, he thought, could minorities of electors get their rights. He saw the people's jealousy and suspicion of the educated and refined classes of society; hence, he stood fast by the principle of plurality of votes, as determined by culture and social position. He was very sensitive to the tendency in the masses to act unscrupulously and in an underhand fashion; therefore he opposed vote by ballot.

On the other hand, he was a strong upholder of the liberty of the individual; and he gave a powerful defence of individualism in his treatise *Liberty*—a defence of the right of the individual to hold his own opinions and to give free expression to them, and his right to live in such a way as seemed fit to himself, so long as his mode of living did not interfere with the rights and liberties of others. In the same spirit, though he was quite alive to the necessity of the government dictating and controlling within limits, and, therefore, restricting the liberty of the individual to that extent, he thought that the less government interfered the better: his legislative principle, with necessary qualifications, was *laissez-faire*.

Another object that lay near to Mill's heart was that of women suffrage. His book on the subject has exhausted the handling of the theme from that point of view. But he added active support to theory by consistently advocating universal franchise in parliament, and by pushing on and personally guiding the Women Movement in London and the provinces.

The problems of the universe were constantly in Mill's thoughts. He puzzled himself long and anxiously over the question of the freedom of the will, and ultimately reached the deterministic solution that has just been referred to. The nature of the external world and of the human ego also exercised his mind; and his doctrine of 'psychological idealism' was the result. But there still remained the problem of God. With the conception of the Deity as 'the Absolute,' unknown and unknowable, to whom no attributes (such as knowledge, mercy, and love) could be applied, he had no sympathy. His criticism of H. L. Mansel's view, as set forth in his Bampton Lectures on *The Limits of Religious Thought* (^{5} London, 1870), is scathing and effective. But Mill's thought on the great theme is best given in his supremely interesting posthumous *Essays*. His honesty of character and his 'indifferency to truth' (as Locke would express it) here come out in a very striking fashion. Discouraged from theistic thinking by his father in his early training, and not encouraged to it by his utilitarian friends and fellow-thinkers in after life, he yet had that openness of mind that would willingly receive truth to whatever extent it might reveal itself. He fain would have been optimistic in his view of the universe, but he could not; and the most that he could do was to allow a conception of God that conserved His goodness but limited His power. In face of our harrowing experience of Nature 'red in tooth and claw with ravin' and of the unutterably hard and harsh experiences of life in general, he could not rise to the idea of a Great Power who was All-loving, Omniscient, and Omnipotent. But he was willing, or, at any rate, not unwilling, to believe in a Power of Goodness or of Love who would, if He could, subdue evil and put an end to suffering and misery and was only hindered by the recalcitrant circumstances of the world. This admission, combined with his admiration of Jesus of Nazareth as the highest of ethical teachers, shows his power of detachment from early upbringing and from immediate social environment, and his readiness to respond to the light whenever it came. This was the noblest trait of his character.

Mill's nature was, in many ways, an attractive one, characterized by high and sterling qualities. He was generous in his outlook and sympathetic with men in their struggles, aspirations, and doubts. He was eager to be fair in his estimate of others and of their opinions, and always ready to admit that there is likely to be some truth in every doctrine and belief that has been sincerely held; there was nothing of the persecutor in him. His disinterested regard for truth was unbounded; and he took little care to cloak or hide unpalatable opinions, but expressed himself freely without regard to personal consequences. He delighted in championing persons and causes that he conceived to be unjustly treated by society or by the law of the land. His public spirit was intense; and he never feared to attack legislative or other injustices, and to uphold unpopular views, in the interest of the working classes or of the down-trodden. His life was consistently devoted to one end—furtherance of the good and welfare of his fellow-men.

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MILLENNIUM.—See ESCHATOLOGY.

MILTON.—1. Life.—John Milton was born in London at the Spread Eagle in Bread Street, Cheapside, on 9th Dec. 1608. He was the eldest son of John Milton, a London scrivener, whose conversion to the faith of the Anglican Church had led to his being disinherited by his father, a yeoman of Shotover Forest and a staunch Roman Catholic. The poet inherited the stubborn self-will of his grandfather and the more sensitive and cultured spirit of his father, from whom he also derived his taste for music. From the first he boy was studious, and his father supplied him with the best teachers. When in 1625 (Feb. 12) he entered Christ's College, Cambridge, at the age of sixteen, he had already acquired, under his first tutor, Thomas Young (a graduate of

St. Andrews), and at St. Paul's School, under the older and the younger Alexander Gill, a mastery of Latin, a competent knowledge of Greek, and even some acquaintance with Hebrew. 'From the twelfth year of my age I scarce ever forsook my nightly studies for bed before midnight' (*Defensio Secunda*, 1654). In English poetry he was familiar with Joshua Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas (1605), Fairfax's *Tasso* (1600), and probably Spenser, Drummond, and others. The older Gill was a reader of English literature, but probably Shakespeare and play-books were not welcomed in a religious family like that of the scrivener's, where 'last of all, not in time, but as perfection is last, that care was ever had of me, with my earliest capacity, not to be negligently trained in the precepts of Christian religion' (*Apology for Smectymnuus*, 1642). Milton was not attracted by the dialectical and theological studies of Cambridge. The lines *At a Vacation Exercise* and some Latin pieces show that he took his part in the prescribed work, but his favourite studies were literary and classical, 'grave orators and historians,' the 'smooth elegiac poets,' from whom he passed in 'riper years' to 'the shady spaces of philosophy; but chiefly to the divine volumes of Plato and his equal [*i.e.* contemporary] Xenophon.' To a knowledge of the classical poets he added now the Italians, 'the two famous renowners of Beatrice and Laura,' the 'lofty fables and romances' of Boiardo and Ariosto (*Apology for Smectymnuus*, Introd.). On the world of mediæval romance Milton looked out through Italian windows, but he was familiar (later, at any rate) with Geoffrey of Monmouth and probably with Malory. The poems of this period, both English and Latin, bear witness to the double source of Milton's poetic inspiration—classical literature and the Biblical Christianity of Puritan England. The finest expression of these, not always entirely compatible, tastes is the tender (an epithet so rarely applicable to Milton's poetry) and beautiful ode, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* (1629); while some lines of the *At a Vacation Exercise* and the short odes, *On Time* and *At a Solemn Music*, show the poet of *Paradise Lost* 'mewing his mighty youth' and meditating the sublimest flights of religious song:

> 'Yet I had rather, if I were to choose,
> Thy service in some graver subject use,
> Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
> Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound:
> Such where the deep transported mind may soar
> Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
> Look in, and see each blissful deity,' etc.
> (*At a Vacation Exercise*, 29 ff.).

Milton left the University in 1632 without taking orders, and the next six years of his life were spent at Horton in the quiet prosecution of his studies in classical literature, history, mathematics, and music, with occasional visits to London to purchase books, to visit the theatre, to be an onlooker perhaps at Court ceremonials,

> 'Where throngs of knights and barons bold
> In weeds of peace high triumphs hold' (*L'Allegro*, 119 f.),

and to enjoy the company of friends, among whom the first place was held by Charles Diodati. A young Italian girl, too, of whom we know only that her first name was Emilia, seems to have touched his fancy and occasioned the writing of his earliest Italian verses. The experience is perhaps referred to in the seventh of his Latin elegies. During these years he also extended his knowledge of English poetry from Chaucer and *Piers Plowman* to Shakespeare (at Cambridge he had already written his famous lines for the second folio), Jonson, and the later Elizabethans. All the poems written at this period bear witness to this native and Elizabethan influence, and some of them, as *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, are composed in a lighter, more secular and Epicurean vein than any English pieces (some of the Latin elegies are very much in this vein) had been or were ever again to be written by Milton. But in *Comus, or A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* (1634), which he composed at the invitation of Henry Lawes, all the resources of Milton's learning and art were employed to set forth his deepest ethical and religious convictions, his passionate love of purity, his sense of the dependence of all human virtue on the protecting grace of God. The theme of the second book of the *Faerie Queene* is rehandled by a poet of a higher moral temper and a no less, though more controlled and classically educated, sense of beauty.

Milton had gone to Cambridge with a view to taking orders, and, though he left without doing so, there is no evidence that he had ceased to be, when he settled at Horton, an orthodox Anglican. He was a communicant; he had signed the Articles; nothing had yet betrayed that he was by conviction a Presbyterian in his views on Church government; while on the doctrine of predestination in its relation to the human will his position was always closer to that of the Arminians than to that of the Calvinists. What alienated Milton from the Church of England was less its dogma than its practice, the rigour of Laud and the identification of Episcopacy with the Court and its arbitrary policy. His intense and ideal love of liberty was awakened, and the first notes of the coming storm were heard in *Lycidas* (1638), the most passionate, plangent, and musical poem which Milton had yet written. In the same year he went abroad, still intent rather on self-culture and the preparation for the task of writing a great poem than on controversy and theology. In Paris he met the Dutch *savant* Hugo Grotius, whose *Adamus Exul* was one of the sources of *Paradise Lost*. He spent two months in Florence, conversing and interchanging Latin and Italian verses with young Academicians. He proceeded to Rome, where he visited the Vatican Library and the English College, and heard Leonora Baroni sing at the palace of Cardinal Barberini. The elevated strain of compliment in the Latin verses addressed to her betrays the influence of Italian preciosity. At Naples he met Manso, Marquis of Villa, Tasso's patron and Marino's, and in a Latin poem addressed to him prays that he may find a like patron when he undertakes to sing of

> 'reges,
> Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
> Aut dicam invictae sociali foedere mensae
> Magnanimos Heroas, et (O modo spiritus adsit!)
> Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!'
> (*Sylvæ*, 'Mansus, 80 ff.)

But Milton was not destined to sing of kings or the knights of the Round Table. The meeting of the Long Parliament determined him to return home, and he made his way back to England by Venice and Geneva to plunge soon into that long course of controversy, ecclesiastical and political, which determined the choice of themes, the doctrinal framework, and the temper and spirit of *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*.

The first of the controversies into which Milton plunged with ardour and vehemence was that concerning Church government, and the rival claims of a Presbyterian and Prelatical organization. In the first pamphlet, *Of Reformation in England* (May–June 1641), he raises the question why the English Reformation had lagged behind that on the Continent and attacks Episcopacy and English bishops and their 'policy' from Cranmer and Ridley to the promoters of the war with Scotland, closing with an amazing denunciatory prayer. *Of Prelatical Episcopacy* (June–July 1641) is an examination of the origin of Episcopacy in reply to a tract by Archbishop Ussher. Of the other pamphlets two, *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus* (July 1641) and *An Apology against a Pamphlet called a Modest Confutation of the Animadversions of the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus* (March–April 1642), were contributions to a controversy on Episcopacy between Hall and certain now little-known Puritan divines, of whom Thomas Young was one. The most fully reasoned and interesting statement of Milton's ideal Presbyterianism is contained in *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty* (Jan.–March 1641–42). Two undercurrents of thought run through the main stream of controversy, rising to the surface from time to time, the one with unmistakable and eloquent distinctness, the other with less obtrusive yet sufficient clearness. The first of these concerns the great poem which he was meditating; the other shows him full of high thoughts concerning the mysteries of love and marriage. The Puritan movement had heightened men's ideals both of purity and of marriage, and Milton was as impassioned a champion of chastity as he was an enemy of asceticism. Love had touched his fancy in youth, but, when in May 1643 he married, it was clearly the act of one whose choice of the individual was too hastily determined by an ideal regard for the wedded estate; and the result was, what, as Milton himself complains, is more often the fate of the chaste and unworldly student than of the libertine, the discovery that in the wife whom he had chosen was to be found none of the qualities that he had so fondly anticipated, no intellectual help-meet, but an 'unconversing inability of mind,' 'a mute and spiritless mate,' begetting 'that melancholy despair which we see in many wedded persons' (*Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, i. 4). Others have experienced the same misfortune and in the end have managed to work along; but Milton was no average man, and he turned passionately round to discover an escape, and that one which should enjoy the approval of his own conscience and the Christian Church. *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce Restored* (Aug. 1643) was written and published (anonymously and without licence) before his wife had given any definite ground for separation. An enlarged and improved edition appeared in February 1644 with a signed introductory letter to 'the Parliament of England with the Assembly.' A second tract, *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*, followed in July of the same year, vindicating Milton's position against critics; and to the same end he issued in March 1645 *Tetrachordon*, a discussion of four passages in Scripture, and *Colasterion*, a savage onslaught upon a certain Joseph Caryl, one of the licencers. Incidentally the divorce controversy called forth the most famous of Milton's pamphlets, *Areopagitica, A Speech . . . for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing* (Nov. 1644).

The outcry which the divorce pamphlets evoked opened Milton's eyes to the interval that separated his ideal Church from the Presbyterian Church which its votaries were seeking to invest with all the divine right and intolerant authority of the overthrown Episcopal Church of England, and helped him to formulate his own conception of Christianity as independent of any visible and authoritative Church. He never, therefore, identified himself with the Independents, but from this time to the close of the Commonwealth his sympathies were with that party in politics; and, when the death of the king completed the rupture between them and the Presbyterians, Milton came forward as the champion of regicide and the impugner of all connexion, whether of authority or endowment, between Church and State.

On 13th February 1649—a fortnight after the execution of Charles—appeared *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, 'proving that it is lawfull, and hath been held so through all Ages, for any who have the Power, to call to account a Tyrant or wicked King, and after due conviction to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected, or deny'd to do it. And that they who, of late, so much blame deposing are Men that did it themselves.' The sting in the tail of this bold title is intended for the Presbyterians, who are roughly handled throughout as hypocrites and revolters from their own principles. The *Eikonoklastes*, of the same year, follows chapter by chapter the *Eikon Basilike* in Milton's most scornful style. To Salmasius and other impugners of the King's execution Milton replied in his first and second *Defensio pro populo Anglicano* (1651, 1654). The *Defensio contra Morum* (1655) was a savage onslaught on one who, he believed, had slandered himself. His last purely political pamphlet, the *Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* (March 1660), was published on the eve of the Restoration.

That conception of the Church's influence and authority as purely spiritual which is evident in Milton's first sketch of an ideal Presbyterianism, and had been intensified by his rupture with the Presbyterians, led him to disapprove of Cromwell's attempt to combine religious endowment with a wide though still limited toleration; and his own position was expounded in the *Defensio Secunda* (in the middle of a eulogy of the Protector and his associates) and, after Cromwell's death, in *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Cases* (Feb.–March 1659). When the Rump superseded Richard Cromwell and the question of tithes was raised, Milton published his *Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church* (Aug. 1659), a bitter onslaught on the clergy, Presbyterian or Independent, who claimed tithes or fees instead of trusting to the 'benevolence and free gratitude' of their flocks. Milton's last religious works were the short pamphlet *Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism, and what best Means may be used against the Growth of Popery* (1673) and the body of divinity *De Doctrina Christiana*, on which he had been busy for many years, but which was not printed till 1825.

Throughout the rule of the Commonwealth Milton's life had been the twofold one of a private student and tutor (to children living in or coming to his house) and of a servant of the State as Latin secretary to the Council of State (1649–59). The incidents of his private life are few. In 1653 his wife died, and in 1656 he married Catharine Woodcock, whose early death in 1658 is referred to in the most touching of his sonnets. His marriage with Elizabeth Minshull in 1663 was a convenient arrangement.

During all these years Milton had written very little poetry. From 1640 to 1642 his mind had been full of his great projected work, and the commonplace-book preserved at Trinity College, Cambridge, shows the steady trend of his thoughts towards a drama on the subject of the Fall. Two sketches of the drama are set down, and his nephew, Edward Phillips, reports that the speech of Satan at the opening of the fourth book of *Paradise Lost* is part of the original scheme. The interest of controversy and the shock of his unhappy marriage interrupted the work and it was not resumed till 1658. In the interval the only English poems which Milton wrote were some sonnets on public events or persons and private incidents in the dignified manner of his Italian predecessors in similar poems, and in Italian form, for even the device of running the sense on from octave to sestet (which has been thought a device peculiar to himself) had been practised by Italian poets known to Milton. In 1658 *Paradise Lost* was resumed in epic, not dramatic, form; was composed to dictation, corrected, and completed by 1665; and published in 1667. It was followed in 1670 by *Paradise Regained*, an epic on 'the brief model' of the book of Job, and *Samson Agonistes*, Milton's sole experiment in those 'dramatic constitutions wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign.'

2. Thought and works.—Of Milton's early poems no more need be said here. Apart from their rare poetic beauty they bear delightful witness to the delicate purity and profound piety of the poet's childhood and youth, combining in an effect of unique and too transitory loveliness literary and classical culture with the finer spirit of a Puritanism which was not yet heated and hardened by the fires of religious and political controversy. The purpose of the present article is to outline the creed of Milton as it took shape in the years of storm and stress which followed his return to England and to consider the reflexion of this creed, and the temper which it at once expressed and intensified, in his longer poems.

In his earliest pamphlets Milton ranges himself on the side of the Presbyterian reformers of the Anglican Church. The Scriptures are the sole authority for the right government of the Church, which is not a matter that has been left to human discretion and experience to devise. God, who shaped to its minutest detail the government and worship of the Jewish temple, 'should he not rather now by his own prescribed discipline have cast his line and level upon the soul of man which is his rational temple, and, by the divine square and compass thereof, form and regenerate in us the lovely shapes of virtues and graces, the sooner to edify and accomplish that immortal stature of Christ's body which is his church, in all her glorious lineaments and proportions?' (*Reason of Church Government*, i. 2). But the NT recognizes only two orders, bishops or presbyters (they are the same thing) and deacons—so Paul writes to Timothy ('not once naming any other order in the Church'). Prelacy is an addition of man's devising and ambition ('Lucifer . . . was the first prelate angel') opposed to 'the reason and end of the gospel' (*ib.* i. 3 ff.).

But, when Milton came to state the respect in which Episcopal jurisdiction opposes the reason and end of the gospel, he parted company at once (how far consciously it is hard to say) with his Scottish and English sympathizers, and with the actual practice of dominant Presbyterianism. For his objection to Episcopal jurisdiction is the, for Milton, fundamental principle 'that jurisdictive power in the Church there ought to be none at all.' His objection is to the archidiaconal courts with their penalties and fines, and the Star Chamber. Over the outward man, person, and property, authority belongs to the State, which is not concerned with inner motives but with 'the outward peace and welfare of the commonwealth, and civil happiness in life' (*ib.* ii. 3). The authority of the Church is over the inward and spiritual man, and her sole weapons are instruction, admonition, reproof, and, finally, excommunication, the last to be so used as always to keep open the door of reconciliation to repentance. The motive to which the Church appeals is not terror, but shame, 'the reverence and due esteem' in which a man holds himself 'both for the dignity of God's image upon him and for the price of his redemption which, he thinks, is visibly marked upon his forehead,' making him account 'himself a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth than to deject and defile, with such a debasement, and such a pollution as sin is, himself so highly ransomed and ennobled to a new friendship and filial relation with God' (*ib.*). Such a conception of Christian conduct as springing from a man's sense of his own worth, a worth conferred by God from the beginning and renewed by redemption, is as characteristic of Milton, nurtured on the Bible but nurtured also upon the classics, as it is alien to the general trend of Protestant thought in Milton's England, which laid more stress on man's worthlessness than on his worth, and appealed less to shame as a motive than to fear of death and the judgment to come. Bunyan and Milton are separated by a wide gulf; and the noble temper of Milton's early lines *On Time* shows as little of Ronsard's or Shakespeare's regretful sense of the ravages of 'Time's fell hand' as of such a preacher as Donne's awed apprehension of the terror and the ecstasy of the Christian's death. And the idea of a Church whose authority is purely spiritual is even more remote from the thought and practice of Presbyterianism in power whether in Geneva, Holland, or Scotland. It was not to promote general toleration that the Scottish Presbyterians signed the Solemn League and Covenant.

Milton was quickly made aware of the interval that separated him from the Presbyterians by the publication of his pamphlets on divorce. The opposition which they excited seems to have taken him by surprise, but the anger which followed was intense and coloured all his subsequent thought. Repelled by Protestant orthodoxy—though he maintained strenuously that some of the greatest Protestant divines were on his side—he was driven to reconsider the whole question of orthodoxy; and he set out, with all the confidence of Satan voyaging across the 'wild abyss' of chaos, to articulate a creed for himself in the dogmatic manner of Trent and Westminster. The record of this progress is to be found in the controversial pamphlets, the elaborate *De Doctrina Christiana*, and, finally, in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*.

Two principles control all Milton's findings. The first is that the ultimate arbiter of every question is the individual reason and conscience 'than which God only is greater.' The mind of each man is absolutely free to try all things and hold fast by his own conclusions uncontrolled by State or Church. This liberty is 'the fundamental privilege of the Gospel, the new birthright of every true believer, Christian liberty' (*A Treatise of Civil Power*, etc., also *De Doctrina Christiana*, Dedicatory Epistle). No one could assert more absolutely the fundamental principle of the Renaissance—the emancipation of the individual; and Milton approaches the solution of each question in the spirit of the later age of reason, with this difference that he accepts as a fundamental experience not to be reasoned upon—more than one can reason upon the fact of an external world—the Christian consciousness of sin and of redemption and regeneration through Christ as set forth in the Scriptures. This directs us to the second of the principles on which Milton's conclusions rest. The final source of all saving religious knowledge is the Bible. It is on this that the emancipated mind must exercise itself, from this its conclusions must be drawn. Milton's method, therefore, in discussing every question which he takes up, from the divinity of Christ to the liberty of the press, is twofold when the subject admits of both lines of argument: firstly, what does reason declare?—and Milton is as confident of the competence of *a priori* reasoning on political and social questions as any later theorist of revolution; secondly, what has Scripture declared, to what conclusion does it lead us when different passages are duly compared and when all are interpreted in the light of the Christian law of charity, in the spirit of the words 'the sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath'? The one consideration to which Milton never condescends is expedience, the difficulties and the practical means of obviating these revealed by experience; he has none of Burke's reverence for 'prudence constituted as the god of this lower world.'

Milton's polemical pamphlets are, accordingly, a bewildering blend of ideal reasonings, high *a priori* principles set forth in glowing and harmonious but elaborately Latinized periods; a pedantic, at times captious and wrong-headed, citation and cross-examination of Biblical texts; truculent polemic, condescending not infrequently to coarse personal abuse; and withal a general absence of the mellower wisdom that proceeds from experience and charity. There is much to inspire and delight in these pages burning with fires that are perhaps not yet altogether extinct but in general have died down; there is little to interest the statesman. If Milton's pamphlets yet live, it is as eloquent statements of high and abstract ideals, to ignore which altogether is to reduce political expedience to sheer opportunism.

The divorce pamphlets have nothing to say upon the difficult problems of children and the mutual relations of the family and the State. They combine elevated reflexions on the ideal significance of marriage as a spiritual rather than a carnal union (regarded solely from the point of view of the man) with a tedious, passionate, wrong-headed attempt to reconcile Christ's prohibition of divorce 'but for adultery' with Moses' permission. God cannot have at any time permitted sin. The later command cannot have been intended, therefore, to annul the earlier, but merely to check certain prevalent abuses. Milton was not without apprehension of the fact of moral and religious progress. He went beyond the English Protestantism of his day in asserting that under the new dispensation the Mosaic moral as well as ceremonial law had been abolished. But the new law was, he maintained, a law of liberty, of greater responsibility because of greater freedom. Such a rigid law of marriage as the Churches asserted was a curtailment of the liberty which even the Law had granted, a fresh enslavement of the spirit to the letter. Looking at the question exclusively from the man's point of view, he advanced to an assertion of divorce as the private concern of the individual and to a defence of polygamy (*De Doctr. Christ.* i. 10).

The *Areopagitica* was an overflow from the divorce controversy, and is a magnificent *a priori* vindication of freedom of thought and speech as the fundamental condition of the successful quest of truth. The practical difficulties which have beset the attempt to find a solution, other than a compromise varying in different countries, lay outside Milton's ken; nor could he foresee all the evils that have attended the freedom allowed to a Chauvinist or a commercial press to deceive and to pervert.

The same lofty but *a priori* idealism combined with exposition of texts and interchange of personalities characterizes the pamphlets, Latin and English, written to vindicate the execution of Charles I., and those on, what became his favourite themes, an unendowed clergy and a universal toleration of all religious bodies, the Roman Catholic Church alone excluded. Of the original and inalienable rights of subjects and the duties and responsibilities of kings Milton writes with all the passion of a mind nurtured upon classical republicanism and OT history, and heated by the fires of civil war:

> 'There can be slain
> No sacrifice to God more acceptable
> Than an unjust and wicked king'
> (Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 992, tr. in ***The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates***).

The doctrine of the civil contract is buttressed by precedents from the turbulent annals of Israel, the early history of the Britons, the rebellions in Scotland and Holland. Of the real difficulties of the problem, as Hobbes saw them, of the fact that somewhere in every society there is and must be an authority against which no rights can be pleaded, Milton shows no suspicion. He was at work recasting with the utmost confidence the government of England at the moment of the Restoration. His sympathies were aristocratic: the best should rule. Of the difficulty of securing this he knows nothing. Hooker's claim for a divine sanction attaching to usage and expedience is spurned by Milton's contempt for tradition, confidence in *a priori* reasoning, and conception of the Bible as the sole oracle of God, of authority in *all* fields of thought and experience. His Latin orations and English pamphlets on the issue between parliament and king made no enduring contribution to the political thought of the 17th century.

Milton's denunciation of an endowed clergy—a subject on which he found himself at variance with his hero Cromwell—and his claim for complete tolerance of all religious differences of opinion were the natural outcome of that conception of the purely spiritual character of ecclesiastical authority with which he set out, of his growing dislike of the Presbyterian clergy and their claim to usurp the privileges and intolerance of their Anglican predecessors, and of the purely individualistic character of his philosophical Christianity. From rejecting ecclesiastical discipline and authority Milton was driven onward by a ruthless logic to the denial that any regard is due, in religion or ethics, to the collective consciousness of Church or society. Yet without such collective consciousness, however imperfectly developed, is either religion or morality possible? For Milton every man is his own Church; his creed the product of his own study of the inspired text. The true heretics are those who follow a Church against their conscience and their convictions based on Scripture. Congregations of like-minded men, meeting to worship together, Milton seems to assume there will always be; but for the service of a clergy, except to teach the young and to exhort the careless, there is no need.

> 'If men be not all their life-time under a teacher to learn logic, natural philosophy, ethics or mathematics, which are more difficult—certainly it is not necessary to the attainment of Christian knowledge that men should sit all their life long at the feet of a pulpited divine' (*The likeliest Means to remove Hirelings*).

Let there be a voluntary, simple, itinerant clergy living by the labour of their hands and the free-will offerings of the richer congregations.

This conception of Christian doctrine as something as definable and demonstrable as mathematics (but easier of comprehension) is crucial for a right apprehension of what Milton was in quest of throughout these years of theological and political polemic—that justification of God's ways to men which was to be the theme of his great poem. For a study of that thought as finally articulated we must go to the *De Doctrina Christiana*. 'Joannes Milton Anglus Universis Christi Ecclesiis Necnon Omnibus Fidem Christianam Ubicunque Gentium Profitentibus' are the dedicatory words of the MS in which was set down the creed of the Church of John Milton, the final result of his resolve to have done with traditions and definitions, councils and assemblies, and to formulate for himself, from a study of the text of Scripture, a complete and articulate body of divinity and morality.

The creed so formulated is, as might have been anticipated, at variance in essential respects with the creed both of orthodox Protestantism and of historical Christianity. Milton's faith might be described as Protestant Christianity accommodated to the spirit of the classical Renaissance, for the points on which Milton stands most resolutely aloof from orthodox Calvinist Protestantism are just those in which the latter seemed to compromise the dignity and liberty of the human mind which the Renaissance had re-asserted.

In this respect Milton's Arianism, though the most startling, is not the most important of the dogmas which he formulates. Yet it reflects the poet's temperament, and is in harmony with the religious tone of the two epics. The doctrine of the divinity of Christ regarded on its psychological side is the expression of the transcendent worth ascribed by the Christian consciousness to the personality and life of Jesus; it is the intellectual expression of a passionate devotion. Milton's reverence for the 'author and finisher' of the Christian faith is sincere and profound, but it is not animated with the ardent flame of love which throbs in Dante's *Divina Commedia* or Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* or Thomas à Kempis' *Musica Ecclesiastica*, or many others of the great distinctively Christian works of feeling and imagination. A high and austere monotheism is of the innermost texture of Milton's soul.

The same high, not to say proud, soul is revealed in Milton's refusal to accept the Calvinist doctrine of predestination and the complete corruption of man's soul after the Fall—his refusal to sacrifice the reality of human freedom, the intrinsic worth of human nature. Predestination, he declares, extends to election only, not to reprobation. It did not determine man's fall, but the means of his redemption, since God foresaw that of his own free will man would fall:

> 'For man will hearken to his glozing lies,
> And easily transgress the sole command,
> Sole pledge of his obedience: so will fall
> He and his faithless progeny. Whose fault?
> Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
> All he could have; I made him just and right,
> Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall'
> (*Paradise Lost*, iii. 93 ff.).

The redemption purchased by Christ is in the same way freely offered to all, not to an elect, predestined number. To all, God gives grace, 'though not in equal measure yet sufficient for attaining knowledge of the truth and final salvation':

> 'for I will clear their senses dark
> What may suffice, and soften stony hearts
> To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
> To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
> Though but endeavoured with sincere intent,
> Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut' (*ib.* 188 ff.).

Nor — and here again Milton diverged from orthodox Protestantism—is all apprehension of and aspiration after good extinguished in man as a result of the Fall. The result, indeed, of Adam's sin is not only guilt but spiritual death, which is 'the obscuration to a great extent of that right reason which enabled man to discern the chief good,' 'that slavish subjection to sin and the devil which constitutes, as it were, the death of the will.' Yet the divine image in man's soul is not wholly extinguished.

'This is evident, not only from the wisdom and holiness of many of the heathen, manifested both in words and deeds, but also from what is said Gen. ix. 2 *the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth*, v. 6. *whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man.* These vestiges of original excellence are visible, first, in the understanding. Ps. xix. 1 *the heavens declare the glory of God*; which could not be if man were incapable of hearing their voice. . . . Nor, secondly, is the liberty of the will entirely destroyed' (*De Doctr. Christ.* i. 12 [Sumner's tr.]).

Man retains sufficient liberty at least to endeavour after righteousness, at least to make him responsible for his sins, though its power is so small as to afford him no subject for boasting.

In accordance with the same high regard for the will, for conduct as the test of a living religion, Milton refuses to accept the orthodox distinction of faith and works and the ascription of justification to the former alone. In the text 'A man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law' (Ro 3^{28}), he insists that stress must be laid on the words 'of the law.'

'For Paul does not say simply that a man is justified without works, but without the works of the law; nor yet by faith alone, but "by faith which worketh by love," Gal. v. 6. Faith has its own works which may be different from the works of the law. We are justified therefore by faith, but by a living not a dead faith; and that faith alone which acts is accounted living. James ii. 17. 20. 26' (*ib.* i. 22).

The same spirit makes Milton assert more completely than the Westminster Confession the liberty of the Christian under the new dispensation. It is not the ceremonial law alone that is abolished, but the entire Mosaic law, including the Decalogue (*ib.* i. 26 f.), the place of which is taken by a higher law 'written not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart,' the law of love given in our Lord's words, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbour as thyself' (Lk 10^{27}). In the Decalogue is included the Fourth Commandment (*ib.* i. 10, ii. 7), on which English Puritanism laid so much stress. In his first pamphlet Milton had joined in the general condemnation of the Book of Sports and its instigation to 'gaming, jigging, wassailing and mixed dancing' on 'that day which God's law, and even our reason, hath consecrated.' But in *The likeliest Means to remove Hirelings*, 'the seventh day is not moral, but a convenient recourse of worship in fit season, whether seventh or other number.' Our rigid observance is an unnecessary cause of separation from the Reformed Churches of the Continent. The argument (*e.g.*, of the Westminster Confession) that the Jewish law of the Sabbath had been transferred intact to the first day of the week is invalid (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 7).

'Under the gospel no one day is appointed for divine worship in preference to another, except such as the church may set apart of its own authority for the *voluntary* assembling of its members, wherein, relinquishing all worldly affairs, we may dedicate ourselves wholly to religious services as far as is consistent with the duties of charity' (*ib.*).

Such are some of the most important divergences of Milton's creed from the creed of the Protestant Churches around him. Of this creed *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* are the poetical setting forth. Like the *Divina Commedia*, the *Paradise Lost* is not primarily an epic, but a didactic exposition of a theological creed; and, as all the details of Dante's creed may be discovered in the *Summa* of Thomas Aquinas, so Milton's conception of God, of Christ, and of the angels and devils is that which he has set down more drily in the *De Doctrina*; and the purpose which Milton declares he has in view—

> 'To justify the ways of God to men'—

is theologically conceived. His poem is not an attempt to reconcile the heart and the imagination to truths already accepted. It is a restatement in poetic form of these doctrines in such a way as will finally justify God and indict man. 'Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, whosoever thou art that judgest' (Ro 2^1).

Looked at steadily from this point of view, it cannot justly be said that *Paradise Lost* will bear comparison with the *Divina Commedia* or the *De Natura* of Lucretius. Take away from either of these poems the high purpose that shines through them, and half their beauty is gone. It is its symbolic, mystic character that gives sublimity to every detail of Dante's heaven and hell. Few to-day read *Paradise Lost* with any desire to discover Milton's creed, or, if they do, will accept with any conviction, any such willing suspension of criticism as it is the function of poetry to beget, his justification of God's way to men, this stern and harsh rendering of Paul's 'as in Adam all died.' The time is past in which Milton's poem was read almost as if it were the Bible itself, the poetic presentation of those momentous events as if they actually occurred, to judge of the justice or injustice of which was forbidden. Now we can see that the epic form and the spiritual intention of the poem are not capable of being harmonized. The poem is held together from the first line to the last by the miracle of Milton's style—a veritable 'cloth of gold' encrusted with all the barbaric spoil of his multifarious learning—and by the miracle of his verse harmonies. But, when we look beneath this dazzling surface, we see that the unity is not so complete as we imagined, that a magnificent epic story is troubled and rendered abortive by the cramping theological purpose. All that is greatest in *Paradise Lost* is the product of Milton's creative, mythopœic faculty working as freely on the scanty material of Biblical record and ecclesiastical tradition as did Homer or any primitive poet when shaping and embroidering popular myths. But the result has nothing in it that is essentially Christian. The splendid scenes of the opening books—Satan and his companions debating in hell, Satan voyaging through chaos or descending through the heavenly bodies in the first freshness of their creation, the scenes in Eden, the wars in heaven—these might be fragments from the primitive myths of some forgotten religion, and perhaps nowadays we should read them with greater and less troubled interest if we might do so without the necessity of a reference to our own religious traditions and feelings, without having to ask ourselves 'Is this our God? Is this the Second Person of the Trinity?' For, as Milton approaches his proper theme, in the theological disquisition in heaven, in the story of the Temptation and what follows, we cannot but feel, despite frequent beauties, a steady subsidence of the creative power of the opening; the didactic displaces the epic poem. The magnificent promise of the opening books seems to be unfulfilled. The great characters there brought upon the stage achieve nothing. Even the Satan of the Temptation strikes us as not quite the Satan of the first and second books, of whose dauntless, passionate soul we should have expected some action larger, more magnificent, than this rather over-elaborately treated temptation of a not too wise woman. The simple Bible story will not adapt itself to the classical epic treatment. The large, creative movement of the earlier episodes is lost as the poet feels himself confined by the original story and the didactic purpose.

The harmonizing of story and didactic is better achieved in *Paradise Regained*, Milton's epic on the 'brief model' of the book of Job; but it is so because the didactic and argumentative strain is, as in Job, dominant throughout. The poem is a finely wrought presentation of Milton's ideal Christian virtues, obedience, temperance, and the scorn of worldly glory. But, beautiful poem as it is, austere in spirit and chaste yet rich in texture, there is none of the wonderful creative power of the great episodes and characters in the longer poem; and its austerity of tone marks its limits as a religious poem, for obedience, temperance, and unworldliness are Christian virtues only as they flow from or lead to charity, and but little of the radiance of Christian love illumines and warms this severe and stately poem.

The passion which sleeps under Milton's austerest lines flowed forth like a flood of lava in the work which closed his career. *Samson Agonistes* has the rare interest and beauty of the personal passages in *Lycidas* and *Paradise Lost*. Unfettered by Scriptural details or didactic purpose, Milton pours into the artificial mould of classical tragedy all the passionate feeling with which he reviewed the course of his own life and the history of the cause with which he had identified himself so wholeheartedly. The never-closed wound of his first marriage, the loss of his sight, the defeat of the high hopes which he had conceived for his country as a chosen people, a Kingdom of God on earth, the triumph of the hated prelates and the despised

'sons
Of Belial flown with insolence and wine'—

all found utterance in the severely moulded lines and choruses of this tragedy, not a lament, as Treitschke called it, but the last utterance of Milton's indomitable will, that unshakable self-confidence which he called faith in God—a fitting close to the career of the loftiest soul among English poets:

'Samson hath quit himself
Like Samson, and heroicly hath finish'd
A life heroic' (*Samson Agonistes*, 1709 ff.).

Of Milton's supreme greatness as a poet there is no question. In sustained loftiness of soul, elaborate magnificence of language, and mastery of varied cadences he has no superior. His works have become the touchstone of poetic taste, for, unless a reader has an ear and taste for the technique and music of poetry, he may not find much to attract him in Milton; if he does, he will find endless delight. To the question whether he is also to be considered a great Christian poet a more modified answer must be given. A study of his articulated creed bears out the impression communicated by his poetry that Milton's was not an *anima naturaliter Christiana*. His was rather the soul of an ancient Stoic, blended with that of a Jewish prophet, which had accepted with conviction the Christian doctrine of sin and redemption. The spirit of his poetry wants two of the most distinctively Christian notes—humility and love. Milton's soul was as proud as Dante's; he was less conscious of the failing (*Purg*. xiii. 186 ff.). It is the absence in all his poetry of the note of passionate self-surrender to the love of Christ that separates him, not only from Dante, but from a Puritan like Bunyan, an Anglican like Herbert, a Roman like Crashaw and Vondel, among his contemporaries. It was on another side that Christianity claimed Milton. His work begins and ends in the idea of liberty and its correlative duty, human freedom and the responsibility that it carries with it of living

'As ever in the great Taskmaster's eye.'

God is, for Milton, indeed the great Taskmaster, but he rejoices in the tasks; 'the victories of the conscience are gained by the commanding charm which all the severe and restrictive virtues have for him' (Emerson, in *North Amer. Review*, xlvii. [1838] 65); for Milton freedom is obedience in the highest and hardest tasks. To restore this freedom is the great service of Christianity, the fruit of Christ's perfect obedience and the regenerating work of the Holy Spirit. Christianity alone is perfect liberty, a liberty that no human authority, Church or State, may limit. Milton, with all his defects, is an ethical and religious poet because of the conviction which his poetry imparts that, in the words of a recent French writer,

> 'God is for Milton the all in all of life. There is no more terrible evil than sin which separates us from God; there is no more sublime mystery than the Redemption which reconciles us to God' (P. Chauvet, *La Religion de Milton*, Paris, 1909, p. 241).

All his acts and writings were inspired by his desire that the Kingdom of God might come on earth, be it that his conception of that Kingdom was in some way maimed and incomplete, that it was not always given him to distinguish between his own will and God's:

> 'O, may we soon again renew that song,
> And keep in tune with Heaven, till God ere long
> To His celestial consort us unite,
> To live with Him, and sing in endless morn of light!'
> (*At a Solemn Music*, 25 ff.).

LITERATURE.—i. *EDITIONS.*—Edd. of Milton's poems are numerous, but a really good annotated ed. has yet to be made. T. Newton's ed. (London, 1749–52) is still valuable because of its collection of classical sources. Of later edd. mention may be made of D. Masson's (London, 1874) and W. Aldis Wright's (Cambridge, 1903). Collected edd. of the prose works are J. Toland's (Amsterdam, 1698), T. Birch's (London, 1738, 1753), and J. A. St. John's (Bohn's Libraries, 1836). Some of the pamphlets—*e.g.*, *Areopagitica*—have been edited separately.

ii. *CRITICISM.*—The criticism of Milton begins with Dryden's epigram and includes J. Addison, *The Spectator*, Dec. 1711–May 1712; S. Johnson, *Lives of the Poets*, London, 1778–81; S. T. Coleridge, *Literary Remains*, do. 1836–39, *Seven Lectures*, do. 1856; T. B. Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays*, do. 1854 (the essays on 'Milton' appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1825, on the occasion of the publication by C. R. Sumner of the newly-discovered *De Doctrina Christiana*, Cambridge, 1825); R. W. Emerson, 'Milton,' *North Amer. Rev* xlvii. [1838] 56 ff.; W. S. Landor, *Imaginary Conversations*, London, 1846; T. De Quincey, *Collected Works*, do. 1853, vols. vi., x.; E. H. A. Scherer, *Études critiques de littérature*, Paris, 1876; H. von Treitschke, *Historische und politische Aufsätze*^{2}, Leipzig, 1865; J. R. Lowell, *Among my Books*, Boston, 1876; Matthew Arnold, *Mixed Essays*, do. 1879, *Essays in Criticism*, 2nd ser., do. 1888; Mark Pattison, *Milton* (*English Men of Letters*), London, 1879; T. H. Ward, *English Poets*, do. 1880; E. Dowden, *Transcripts and Studies*, do. 1888; R. Garnett, *Life of John Milton*, do. 1890; W. Raleigh, *Milton*, do. 1900.

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MĪMĀṀSĀ.—*Mīmāṁsā* in Sanskrit signifies 'investigation,' 'explanation.' The word is usually employed as the title of one of the six systems of philosophy recognized as orthodox by the Brāhmans. The Mīmāṁsā system is most closely related to the Vedānta (see art. VEDĀNTA); for in them both the subjects of ancient Indian speculation which meet us in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads are methodically developed.

The two systems form a connected whole in the sense that the Mīmāṁsā comprises the ritualistic doctrine of works, the Vedānta the doctrine of salvation by knowledge. Each, while limited to its own sphere, makes reference also to the other, so that it is impossible to doubt that they received a literary form at the same time. It is due chiefly to this close connexion with the Vedānta doctrine, and in the second place probably to the form into which it has been cast, that the Mīmāṁsā has found a place in India among the philosophical systems; for with philosophy its particular subject-matter has nothing to do.

Mīmāṁsā as a name of the ritualistic system is an abbreviation of *Pūrva-* or *Karma-mīmāṁsā*, 'first explanation,' or 'explanation of the function of work.' These names are explained by the connexion of the system with the Vedānta, which on its side is termed *Uttara-* or *Brahma-mīmāṁsā*, 'second explanation' or 'explanation of the All-Soul,' also *Śārīraka-mīmāṁsā*, 'explanation of the incarnation' (of Brahma). The oldest and most important text-book of the Mīmāṁsā is the *Mīmāṁsādarśana* of Jaimini. H. Jacobi places the composition of this work (and the contemporary completion of the Vedānta- or Brahma-sūtras) between *c.* A.D. 200 and 450 (*JAOS* xxxi. [1911] 1 ff.).

The aim of the Mīmāṁsā is to give rules for the correct interpretation of those Vedic texts whose subject is the Brāhmanical ritual. Since these texts contain in great parts an imperfect and obscure description of the ceremonies, and, besides, are interspersed at every step with speculations on the mystical meaning of the separate acts and implements, the assistance of rules was, in fact, absolutely necessary for the sacrificer, who believed that he had to dread the most serious consequences from the least mistake in ceremonial observance. The Mīmāṁsā offers a solution of all doubts which might present themselves with regard to the details of the sacrifice, and also professes to remove the discrepancies which are actually found in the Vedic texts. These last, however, according to the view of the Mīmāṁsā, are in every instance only apparent. The system, moreover, discusses at the same time the rewards which are offered for the correct performance of the sacrifice; so that the Mīmāṁsā is a compendium of the special theology of the Brāhmans.

The Mīmāṁsā does not recognize the existence of God. Nevertheless this fact interferes as little here as in the Sāṅkhya and the other systems with belief in the supernatural beings of the popular Indian faith. If we ask on what authority the instruction given with regard to the sacrifice and its consequences rests, the Mīmāṁsā answers that the Veda needs no authority, but is eternal and uncreated; and that its revelation concerns only things existing from eternity, and self-evident. This conviction is in India maintained with remarkable tenacity, and is strangely opposed to the entirely personal wishes, for the most part quite worldly, which were continually presented to the gods by the authors of the ancient Vedic hymns. In reality the teachers of the Mīmāṁsā associate the word *Veda* less with these ancient hymns than with the ritualistic texts of the second period of Vedic literature, in which the individuality of the authors is not so prominent.

It has been already remarked that the form in which the Mīmāṁsā is presented may have contributed towards its being regarded, in spite of its essentially unphilosophical character, as a system on a level with the other five systems of Indian philosophy. For the contents of the Veda are here classified under definite categories, and every subject of investigation is explained according to a method which represents already a high degree of logical skill in arrangement. This methodical and established scheme, which the other schools also adopt as their standard, contains the following five divisions: (1) the proposition, (2) the doubt as to its correctness, (3) the erroneous method of treating the question, (4) the refutation of the erroneous method by the true argument, (5) the result of the investigation. Occasionally also, for the purpose of establishing the special doctrines of the Mīmāṁsā, questions of philosophical import are discussed. This is true especially of the proposition that sounds and therefore words are eternal, and likewise the connexion of words with their meaning. On the basis of this theory the Mīmāṁsā teaches that the relation of word and meaning is not dependent on general agreement, but that the meaning is naturally inherent in the word. The Mīmāṁsā was compelled to propound this theory in order to protect the Veda from the suspicion of fallibility which attaches to all human works. If the Veda were to be regarded not as a collection of books composed or inspired, but as something uncreated, existing independently from eternity, then the connexion of the words of which the Veda is composed, with their meaning, could not be the result of human activity; but the words, and in the last resort the sounds that form the words, must have existed from all eternity—a view which could have held sway only within the narrow horizon of a school to which one language alone was known.

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MINÆANS. — See **Arabs (Ancient)**, **Sabæans**.

MIND.—Questions of empirical psychology and of the relations between body and mind are discussed in other articles (see Body, Body and Mind, Brain and Mind). The present article must be limited to a discussion of the metaphysical theories of mind. Owing to the peculiar position which these problems occupy in philosophy, as well as in the study of ethical and religious problems, it is advisable, first of all, to make explicit some of the epistemological problems which especially confront the student of the nature of mind; and, in order to do this, we must, in view of numerous traditional complications which beset the theory of the knowledge of mind, open our discussion with some general statements concerning the nature of problems of knowledge.

The history of epistemology has been dominated by a well-known contrast between two kinds of knowledge, namely, perceptual knowledge and conceptual knowledge. This dual contrast seems insufficient to supply us with a basis for a really adequate classification of the fundamental types of knowledge. It is proposed in the present article to base the whole discussion upon a threefold classification of knowledge. Having begun with this threefold classification and briefly illustrated it, we shall go on to apply it to the special problems which we have to face in dealing with mind. We shall then consider in some detail what kinds of mental facts correspond to the three different kinds of knowledge thus defined. In conclusion, we shall deal with some problems of the philosophy of mind in the light of the previous discussion.

1. Perception and conception as fundamental cognitive processes.—A careful study of the processes of knowledge, whether these occur in the work of science or in the efforts of common sense to obtain knowledge, shows us three, and only three, fundamental processes which are present in every developed cognitive activity and interwoven in more or less complicated fashion. Of these two have been recognized throughout the history of science and philosophy, and their familiar contrast has dominated epistemology. The third, although familiar and often more or less explicitly mentioned, was first distinguished with sharpness, for epistemological purposes, by the American logician, Charles Peirce. We shall speak first of the two well-known types of cognitive process, perception and conception.

The name 'perception' is used in psychology with special reference to the perceptions of the various senses. We are here interested only in the most general characteristics of perception. William James has used, for what is here called perception, the term 'knowledge of acquaintance.' He distinguishes 'knowledge of acquaintance' from 'knowledge about.' In the simplest possible case one who listens to music has 'knowledge of acquaintance' with the music; the musician who listens in the light of his professional knowledge has not only 'knowledge of acquaintance,' but also 'knowledge about'; he recognizes what changes of key take place and what rules of harmony are illustrated. A deaf man who has learned about the nature of music through other people, in so far as they can tell him about it, but who has never heard music, has no 'knowledge of acquaintance,' but is limited to 'knowledge about.' 'Knowledge of acquaintance' is also sometimes called 'immediate knowledge.' In the actual cognitive process of the individual human being it never occurs quite alone, since, when we know something perceptually or by acquaintance, we also always have more or less 'mediate' knowledge, *i.e.*, one who listens to music, but who also considers the person of the artist, the relation of the music to the programme, the name of the composer, or the place of this experience in his own life, has in his knowledge that which is more than the immediate hearing of the music.

'Knowledge about' includes, on occasion, mental processes which may vary very widely and which may be mingled with 'knowledge of acquaintance' in ways which are far too complex to analyze here. But 'knowledge about' is especially opposed to 'knowledge of acquaintance' in one class of cases which need to be emphasized through the use of a special name. We may name that class by calling the kind of knowledge involved in it by the name already used, 'conceptual knowledge.' Conceptual knowledge is knowledge of universals, of relations, or of other such 'abstract' objects. The Socratic-Platonic theory of knowledge called attention from its very beginning to universals and relations, and consequently made this type of knowledge specially prominent.

No doubt, even if one is disposed to cling to this merely dual classification of knowledge, one may well question whether all knowledge which is not merely 'knowledge of acquaintance' is of the grade of conceptual knowledge. For there is much 'knowledge about' concerning which we should all hesitate to say that it is knowledge of universals. Socrates himself, in his effort to define the knowledge of universals, met at the start with the fact that much of our knowledge of universals is confused and inarticulate. But if, for the moment, we neglect the intermediate cognitive states in which we more or less mingle 'knowledge of acquaintance' and conceptual knowledge, or possess conceptual knowledge in imperfect degrees of development, we may readily admit that this traditional dual classification of cognitive states is sufficient to call attention to a distinction which is of the utmost importance, both for empirical science and for metaphysics.

While the distinction between perceptual and conceptual knowledge is of great importance in determining the distinction between the deductive and the inductive methods in the sciences, the classification of these two modes of cognition does not of itself suffice to determine what constitutes the difference between inductive and deductive science. When we have clear and accurate conceptual knowledge, we are in general prepared to undertake scientific processes that in the case of further development will involve deductive methods. Thus, in particular, a conceptual knowledge of universals leads, in the mathematical sciences, to the assertion of propositions. Some of these propositions may appear at the outset of a science as axioms (*q.v.*). Whether accepted as necessarily true or used merely as hypotheses, these propositions, either alone or in combination, may, and in the mathematical sciences do, form the starting-point for a system of rational deductions. The type of knowledge involved in this deductive process will be, in the main, the conceptual type. In what sense and to what degree a 'knowledge of acquaintance' enters into a process of mathematical reasoning we have not here to consider. All will admit that the sort of knowledge which dominates such a deductive process is 'abstract,' is concerned in reaching results which are true about the propositions that themselves form the premisses of the deduction. And so our knowledge concerning numbers, the operations of a mathematical science, and similar cases form exceptionally good instances of what characterizes conceptual knowledge in its exact and developed form.

In the inductive use of scientific methods we find a more complicated union of the perceptual and the conceptual types of knowledge. When a hypothesis, such as Newton's formula for gravitation, or Galileo's hypothesis concerning the laws of falling bodies, is stated, the type of knowledge involved in formulating and in understanding the hypothesis is prevailingly conceptual. When the hypothesis is tested by comparing the predictions based upon it with experience, the test involves appealing at some point to perceptual knowledge, or 'knowledge of acquaintance.' The processes of experiment used in an inductive science might seem to be typical cases of processes involving perceptual knowledge. And experiments unquestionably do involve such knowledge. But an experiment reveals a truth, because it brings concepts and percepts into some sort of active synthesis. Upon such active synthesis depends the process of validation which is used as the basis for the definition of truth used by recent pragmatists (see ERROR AND TRUTH).

In so far as we insist upon this dual classification of fundamental processes of cognition, the questions which most come to our notice, regarding both knowledge and its objects, concern (1) the relative value of these two cognitive processes, and (2) the degree to which, in our actual cognitive processes, or in ideal cognitive processes (such as we may ascribe to beings of some higher order than ours), the two can ever be separated. These two questions have proved especially momentous for the theory both of knowledge and of reality.

(1) Regarding the relative value of the two fundamental types of cognition, Plato, as is well known, held that conceptual knowledge is the ideal type, the right result an expression of reason. Conceptual knowledge gives truth; perceptual knowledge gives illusion or appearance—such is, on the whole, the Platonic doctrine. In recent discussion the pragmatists—and still more emphatically Bergson—have insisted upon the relative superiority of the perceptual type of knowledge. The familiar expression of this view is the thesis of recent pragmatism that conceptual knowledge has only a sort of 'credit value'; perceptual knowledge furnishes the 'cash of experience'; conceptions are 'bank notes'; perceptions, and perceptions only, are 'cash.' The statement of Bergson goes further, and declares that, if we had unlimited perceptual knowledge, *i.e.* 'knowledge of acquaintance' whose limits and imperfections we had no occasion to feel, because it had no limits and no imperfections, then conceptions could have no possible interest for us as cognitive beings. In other words, we use concepts, *i.e.*, we seek for a knowledge of universals, only when our perceptions in some way fail us. Conceptual knowledge is in its very essence a substitute for failing perceptual knowledge. The opposition between Plato and Bergson regarding this estimate of the relative significance and truthfulness of the two kinds of cognitive processes is thus characteristic of the contrast which is here in question. Of course all the philosophers admit that, in practice, our knowledge makes use of, and from moment to moment consists in, a union which involves both conceptual and perceptual processes.

(2) On the question whether the two foregoing types of knowledge, however closely linked in our normal human experience, can, at least in ideal, be separated—*i.e.*, whether a knowledge by 'pure reason' is possible on the one hand, or a knowledge of 'pure experience' is ever attainable on the other hand —the historical differences of opinion are closely related to well-known metaphysical controversies. For Plato, as (in another age, and in a largely different metaphysical context) for Spinoza, it is at least in ideal possible for philosophy, or for the individual philosopher, to attain a purely intellectual insight into the realm of 'ideas' or into the nature of the 'substance.' For various forms of mysticism, as well as for theories such as the one set forth in the *Kritik der reinen Erfahrung* (Leipzig, 1888–90) of R. H. L. Avenarius, a mental transformation may be brought about through a process which involves either a practical or a scientific correction and gradual suppression of erroneous intellectual illusion; and, at the limit of this process, reality becomes immediately and perceptually known, without confusion through abstractions.

The 'radical empiricism' of James's later essays makes use of a theory of knowledge which attempts, as far as possible, to report, apart from conceptual constructions, the data of pure experience.

2. Interpretation through comparison of ideas as a third fundamental cognitive process.—It is an extraordinary example of a failure to reflect in a thoroughgoing way upon the process of knowledge that until recently the third type of cognitive process to which we must next refer has been neglected, although every one is constantly engaged in using and in exemplifying it.

When a man understands a spoken or written word or sentence, what he perceives is some sign, or expression of an idea or meaning, which in general belongs to the mind of some fellow-man. When this sign or expression is understood by the one who hears or who reads, what is made present to the consciousness of the reader or hearer may be any combination of perceptual or conceptual knowledge that chances to be in question. But, if any one cries 'Fire!', the sort of knowledge which takes place in my mind when I hear and understand this cry essentially depends upon this fact: I regard my fellow's cry as a sign or expression of the fact either that he himself sees a fire or that he believes that there is a fire, or that, at the very least, he intends me to understand him as asserting that there is a fire, or as taking an interest of his own in what he calls a fire. Thus, while I cannot understand my fellow's cry unless I hear it, unless I have at least some perceptual knowledge, and while I equally shall not have a 'knowledge about' the nature of fire, and so a 'knowledge about' the object to which the cry refers, unless I am possessed of something which tends to be conceptual knowledge of his object, my knowledge of my fellow's meaning, my 'grasping of his idea,' consists neither in the percept of the sign nor in a concept of its object which the sign arouses, but in my *interpretation* of the sign as an indication of an idea which is distinct from any idea of mine, and which I refer to a mind not my own, or in some wise distinct from mine.

It is to be noted that, however we reach the belief in the existence of minds distinct from our own, we do not regard these minds, at least in ordinary conditions, as objects of our own perceptual knowledge. For the very motives, whatever they are, which lead me to regard my perceptions as my own even thereby lead me to regard my fellows' perceptions as never present within my own field of awareness. My knowledge of my own physical pains, of the colours that I see, or of the sounds that I hear is knowledge that may be called, in general terms, perceptual. That is, these are objects with which I am, or upon occasion could be, acquainted. But with my fellow's pains I am not acquainted. To say this is merely to say that, whatever I mean by 'myself' and by 'the Alter,' the very distinction between the two is so bound up with the type of cognition that is in question that whatever I am acquainted with through my own perception is *ipso facto* my own object of acquaintance. Thus, then, in general, perceptual knowledge has not as its object what is at the same time regarded as the state of another mind than my own.

But, if the mind of my fellow, in particular his ideas, his feelings, his intentions, are never objects of perceptual knowledge for me, so that I am not directly acquainted with any of these states, must we regard our knowledge of the mind, of the ideas, of the intents, purposes, feelings, interests of our fellow-man as a conceptual knowledge? Is our fellow-man's mind the object of a concept of our own? Is the fellow-man a universal, or a relation, or a Platonic idea? Wherein does he differ from a mathematical entity or a law of nature? Unquestionably we regard him as possessing conceptual knowledge of his own, and also as engaged in processes of knowledge which may be conceptual, or which may involve any union of percept and concept. But the fact remains that neither by our own perceptions can we become acquainted with his states of mind, nor yet by our own conceptions can we become able to know the objects which constitute his mental process. In fact, we come to know that there are in the world minds not our own by interpreting the signs that these minds give us of their presence. This interpretation is a third type of knowledge which is closely interwoven with perceptual and conceptual knowledge, very much as they in turn are bound up with it, but which is not reducible to any complex or combination consisting of elements which are merely perceptual or merely conceptual.

Every case of social intercourse between man and man, or (what is still more important) every process of inner self-comprehension carried on when a man endeavours to 'make up his own mind' or 'to understand what he is about,' involves this third type of cognition, which cannot be reduced to perception or to conception. It is to this third cognitive process that, following the terminology which Peirce proposed, we here apply the name 'interpretation.'

In order to distinguish more clearly the three types of cognition, we may say that the natural object of perception is some inner or outer datum of sense or of feeling, such as a musical tone, a colour, an emotional state, or the continual flow of the inner life upon which Bergson so much insists. For these are typical objects of perceptual knowledge, *i.e.* of 'knowledge of acquaintance.' The typical objects of conceptual knowledge are such objects as numbers, and relations such as identity and difference, equality, and so on. But typical objects of interpretation are signs which express the meaning of some mind. These signs may be expressions of the meaning of the very mind which also interprets them. This is actually the case whenever in memory we review our own past, when we reflect upon our own meaning, when we form a plan, or when we ask ourselves what we mean or engage in any of the inner conversation which forms the commonest expression of the activity whereby an individual man attains some sort of explicit knowledge of himself.

The form of cognitive process involved in the social relations between man and man is essentially the same as that involved in the cognitive process by which a man makes clear to himself his own intent and meaning. For, despite well-known assertions to the contrary on the part of Bergson, nobody has any adequate intuitive 'knowledge of acquaintance' with himself. If such perceptual or intuitive knowledge of the self by the self were possible, we should not be obliged to acknowledge that the world of human beings is dominated by such colossal and often disastrous ignorance of every man regarding himself, his true interests, his real happiness, his moral and personal value, his intents, and his powers, as we actually find characterizing our human world. In brief, man's knowledge, both of himself and of his neighbour, is a knowledge which involves an interpretation of signs. This thesis, very ably maintained by Peirce in some of his early essays, involves consequences which are at once familiar and momentous for the theory of knowledge.

That the type of knowledge involved whenever signs are interpreted is a fundamental type of knowledge which cannot be represented either to perception or to conception can be exemplified in most manifold ways, and will appear somewhat more clearly through the illustrations given below. It may be useful to point out here that, while all our interpretations, like all our perceptual and conceptual knowledge, are subject to the most manifold illusions in detail, it still remains the case that, whenever one is led to attempt, propose, or believe an interpretation of a sign, he has actually become aware, at the moment of his interpretation, that there is present in his world some meaning, some significant idea, plan, purpose, undertaking, or intent, which, at the moment when he discovers its presence, is from his point of view not identical with whatever idea or meaning is then his own.

If somebody speaking to me uses words which I had not intended to use, I may misunderstand the words, or I may not understand them at all. But, in so far as I take these words to be the expression of a meaning, this meaning is one that just then I cannot find to be my own—*i.e.*, these words do not express my ideas, in so far as these ideas are by me interpreted as my own. The cognitive process here in question divides, or at least distinguishes, that part of the objects, ideas, or meanings in question into two distinct regions, provinces, or modes of mental activity. One of these regions is interpreted at the moment as 'my own present idea,' 'my own purpose,' 'my own meaning'; the other is interpreted as 'some meaning not just now my own,' or as 'some idea or meaning that was once my own'—*i.e.*, as 'my own past idea,' or as 'my neighbour's meaning,' or perhaps as 'a meaning that belongs to my social order,' or 'to the world,' or, if I am religiously minded, 'to God.' In each case the interpretation that is asserted may prove to be a wrong one. Interpretation is fallible. So, too, is conception, when viewed as a cognitive process, and so is perception, whose character as 'acquaintance with' is no guarantee of its accuracy, whether mystical apprehension or ordinary observation is in question. The fact for our present purpose is not that our human knowledge is at any point infallible, but that there is the mode or type of cognition here defined as interpretation. Interpretation is the knowledge of the meaning of a sign. Such a knowledge is not a merely immediate apprehension, nor yet a merely conceptual process; it is the essentially social process whereby the knower at once distinguishes himself, with his own meanings, ideas, and expressions, from some other self, and at the same time knows that these selves have their contrasted meanings, while one of them at the moment is expressing its meaning to the other. Knowledge by interpretation is, therefore, in its essence neither mere 'acquaintance' nor yet 'knowledge about.'

There is another way of expressing the distinction of these three kinds of knowledge which proves useful for many purposes. Knowledge of the first kind, 'knowledge of acquaintance,' may for certain purposes be characterized as 'appreciation.' Conceptual knowledge, owing to the means often employed in making a concept explicit, may be for many purposes called 'description.' In each case, as will be noted, the main character of the type of knowledge in question can be designated by a single term, namely, appreciation or description, just as in the foregoing these two types of knowledge have been designated each by a single term, acquaintance in one case and conception in the other.

In designating the instances of interpretation it is well to note that every interpretation has three aspects. For the one who interprets it is an expression of his own meaning. With reference to the object, *i.e.* to the sign, or to the mind whose sign this is, the interpretation is the reading or rendering of the meaning of this mind by another mind. In other words, every interpretation has so far a dual aspect: it at once brings two minds into quasi-social contact and distinguishes between them or contrasts them. In the light of this contrast and with reference to the direction in which it is read, the two minds are known each in the light of the other. As has already been said, the two minds in question may be related as a man's own past self is related to his present or future self. And in fact, as Peirce has pointed out, every act of interpretation has also a triadic character. For the cognitive process in question has not only a social character, but what one may call a directed 'sense.' In general, when an interpretation takes place, there is an act B wherein a mental process A is interpreted, read, or rendered *to* a third mind. That the whole process can take place within what, from some larger point of view, is also a single mind with a threefold process going on within it has already been pointed out. Thus, when a man reflects on his plans, purposes, intents, and meanings, his present self, using the signs which memory offers as guides, interprets his past self to his future self, the cognitive process being well exemplified when a man reminds himself of his own intents and purposes by consulting a memorandum made yesterday for the sake of guiding his acts to-day. Every explicit process involving self-consciousness, involving a definite sequence of plans of action, and dealing with long stretches of time, has this threefold character. The present self interprets the past self to the future self; or some generally still more explicit social process takes place whereby one self or quasi-self has its meanings stated by an interpreter for the sake of some third self.

Thus, in brief, knowledge by interpretation is (1) an expression (by an 'interpreter') of (2) the idea or meaning whereof some other mind gives a sign, and (3) such an expression as is addressed to some third mind, to which the interpreter thus reads or construes the sign.

3. Self-interpretation, comparison of one's own ideas, and knowledge of time.—When such interpretation goes on within the mind of an individual man, it constitutes the very process whereby, as is sometimes said, he 'finds himself,' 'comes to himself,' 'directs himself,' or 'gets his bearings,' especially with reference to time, present, past, and future. In the inner life of an individual man this third mode of cognition, therefore, appears at once in its most fundamental and simplest form as the cognitive process whose being consists in a *comparison of ideas.* The ideas compared here belong in one sense to the 'same self'; but they differ as the ideas of 'past self' and 'future self'; or, in various other ways, they belong to different 'quasi-minds.'

That such a process is, indeed, irreducible to pure perception, to pure conception, or to that active synthesis of the two which James has in mind when he uses the term 'idea,' readily becomes manifest if we consider what takes place when two 'ideas' are 'compared,' whether these two belong to men who are 'different individuals' or to the past, present, or future selves of one who is, from another point of view, the same man.

An 'idea,' when the term is used in the sense which recent pragmatism[1] has made familiar and prominent, is not a mere perception, nor a mere collection or synthesis of various perceptions, images, and other immediate data; nor yet is it a mere conception, whether simple or complex. It is, for James and his allies, a 'leading,' an 'active tendency,' a 'fulfilment of purpose,' or an effort towards such fulfilment, an 'adjustment to a situation,' a seeking for the 'cash,' in the form of sense-data, such as may, when found, meet the requirements, or 'calls,' made by the conceptual aspect of the very idea which is in question. This concept has, in Bergson's phrase, its 'credit value.' Eventual sense-data may furnish the corresponding 'cash.' The idea is the seeking for this 'cash.' When the wanderer in the woods decides to adopt the idea that 'yonder path leads me home,' he makes an active synthesis of his concept of home and of his present sense-data. This active synthesis, expressed in his idea, 'I am homeward bound,' is a 'leading,' which, if he is successful, will result in furnishing to him, when his wanderings cease, the perceptions of home which constitute the goal of his quest. This, then, is what is meant by the term 'idea' in that one of its senses which pragmatism has recently most emphasized.

In this way we may also illustrate how the cognitive process possesses the two forms or aspects which have usually been regarded as the only fundamentally distinct aspects of knowledge: perception and conception. We meanwhile illustrate that active *union* of these two which constitutes the 'idea' as defined by recent pragmatism. But we do not thus illustrate an aspect of cognition which is equally pervasive and significant, and which consists in the *comparison of ideas.* It is just this aspect of cognition upon which our present theory most insists. For by what process does the wanderer, when he reaches home, recognize that this home which he finds is the very home that he had sought? Not by the mere presence of a 'home-feeling,' not by a perception which, merely at the moment of home-coming, pays the 'cash' then required by some then present conception of home, but by a process involving a comparison of his ideas about his home, at the moment when he reaches home, with his memories of what his ideas were while he was lost in the woods and while he still inquired or sought the way home.

In order to consider what such a comparison essentially involves, it is not necessary to suppose that the act of comparison must take place in a form involving any high grade of self-consciousness, or depending upon a previous formation of an elaborate system of ideas about the self, the past, and similar objects. The essentially important fact is that whoever begins, even in the most rudimentary way, to take account of what seems to him as if it were his own past, whoever is even vaguely aware that what he has been seeking is the very object which now he finds, is not merely perceiving the present, and is not conceiving the past, and is not simply becoming aware of his present successes and disappointments as present facts—he is comparing his ideas of present success or failure with his ideas of his past efforts. This comparison is essentially an interpretation of some portion of his own past life, as he remembers that life, in the light of his present successes or disappointments, as he now experiences them. A third cognitive process is then involved. This interpretation compares at least two ideas: (1) the past idea or 'leading' (*e.g.*, the past search for home by the path through the woods); (2) the present success or failure (*e.g.*, the reaching home itself, or getting to the close of some stage of the wandering); and, in making this comparison, this interpretation estimates the result, perhaps in the light of one's idea of one's own future ('and henceforth I need search no more'), or perhaps in the light of one's idea of one's entire self ('I have succeeded,' or 'I am a knower of the truth,' or 'So much of the world of reality is mine'). In any case two comments may be made upon every such act of comparing two ideas and interpreting one in the light of the other.

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[1] See W. James, *Pragmatism*, London, 1907.

(1) Unless such processes of comparing ideas were possible, and unless, in at least some rudimentary form, it took place, we could never make even a beginning in forming a coherent view of our own past and future, of our own selves as individuals, or of selves not our own. Our ideas both of the Ego and of the Alter depend upon an explicit process of comparing ideas. The simplest comparison of ideas—such as the case upon which recent pragmatism lays so much stress—the comparison upon which the very idea 'my success' also depends, the comparison, namely, which is expressed by saying, 'What I sought at a past moment is the very same as what, at the present moment, I now find,' is an instance of an act of interpretation, and is not reducible to the two other types of knowledge.

(2) All such processes of comparison are equally characteristic of the cognitive activity which goes on during our explicitly and literally social life and of the cognitive activity which is needed when we think about our relations to our own individual past and future. In brief, neither the individual Ego nor the Alter of the literal social life, neither past nor future time can be known to us through a cognitive process which may be defined exclusively in terms of perception, of conception, and of the ideal 'leadings' of the pragmatists. The self, the neighbour, the past, the future, and the temporal order in general become known to us through a third type of cognition which consists of a comparison of ideas—a process wherein some self, or quasi-self, or idea interprets another idea, by means of a comparison which, in general, has reference to, and is more or less explicitly addressed to, some third self or idea.

4. The relation of the three cognitive processes to our knowledge that various minds exist and to our views about what sorts of beings minds are.—The use of the foregoing classification of the types of cognitive processes appears of special importance as soon as we turn to a brief outline of some of the principal theories about the nature of mind which have played a part in the history of philosophy. Nowhere does the theory of knowledge show itself of more importance in preparing the way for an understanding of metaphysical problems than in the case of the metaphysics of mind. No attentive student of the problem of mind can easily fail at least to feel, even if he does not very explicitly define his feeling, that in dealing with the philosophy of mind both common sense and the philosophers are accustomed to combine, sometimes in a very confused way, a reference to different more or less hypothetical beings, while the ideas that are proposed with regard to the nature of these beings are of profoundly different types.

Thus it may be a question for common sense or for a given metaphysical doctrine as to whether or not there exists a so-called soul. Now it makes a great difference for the theory of the soul whether the kind of soul which is in question is viewed as in its essence an object of a possible immediate acquaintance or perception, as an object of a possible adequate conception, or as an object whose being consists in the fact that it is to be interpreted thus or so. Unless the three kinds of cognition are clearly distinguished, the one who advances or tests a given theory of the soul does so without observing whether he himself is speaking of the soul as a possible perception, or is treating it as if it were, in its inmost nature, an object which can be known only through some adequate conception. If one has called to his attention the fact that he is speaking now in perceptual and now in conceptual terms of the mind or soul which his theory asserts to be real, he may then attempt to solve his difficulties in the way which recent pragmatism has emphasized, *i.e.*, he may declare that his doctrine is of necessity a 'working hypothesis' about the nature of the soul, that it is, of course, in part stated in conceptual terms, but that the concepts are true only in so far as they prove to be somewhere directly verifiable in terms of immediate percepts.

Yet nowhere does recent pragmatism, in the form in which William James left it, more display its inadequacy as a theory of knowledge than in the case where it is applied to an effort to define the truth of hypotheses concerning mind, or to test such truth. For, as a fact, nobody who clearly distinguishes his neighbour's individual mind from his own expects, or can consistently anticipate, that his neighbour's mental states, or that anything which essentially belongs to the inner life or to the distinct mind of his neighbour, can ever become, under any circumstances, a direct perception of his own. For, if my neighbour's physical pains ever became mine, I should know them by immediate acquaintance only in so far as they were mine and not my neighbour's. And the same holds true of anything else which is supposed to be a fact essentially belonging to the individual mind of my neighbour. At best I can hope, with greater or less probability, to *interpret* correctly the meaning, the plan, or some other inner idea of the mind of my neighbour; but I cannot hope to go beyond such correct interpretation so far as to perceive my neighbour's mental states. For, if my neighbour's states became the immediate objects of my own acquaintance, my neighbour and I would so far simply melt together, like drops in the ocean or small pools in a greater pool. The immediate acquaintance with my neighbour's states of mind would be a knowledge neither of himself as he is in distinction from me nor of myself as I am in distinction from him. For this general reason 'working hypotheses' about the interior reality which belongs to the mind of my neighbour can never be 'converted into the cash of experience.' My neighbour's mind is never a verifiable object of immediate acquaintance, precisely as it is never an abstract and universal idea. The one sort of knowledge for which recent pragmatism has no kind of place whatever is a knowledge, statable in pragmatistic terms, concerning my neighbour's mind.

James himself follows a well-known and ancient philosophical tradition by declaring that our assertion of the existence of our neighbour's mind depends upon the argument from analogy. Because of similar behaviours of our organism we regard it as by analogy probable that both our neighbour's organism and our own are vivified by more or less similar mental lives, so that we have similar experiences. But to regard or to believe in the mind of our neighbour as an object whose existence is to be proved through an argument from analogy raises a question whose answer is simply fatal to the whole pragmatistic theory of knowledge. Surely an argument from analogy is not its own verification. For pragmatism the truth of a hypothesis depends upon the fact that its conceptual constructions are capable of immediate verification in terms of certain facts of immediate experience. But my neighbour's inner states of mind can never become for me objects of immediate acquaintance, unless they become my states of mind and not his, precisely in so far as he and I are distinct selves.

The hypothesis that our mental lives are similar may thus be suggested by analogy or may be stated in terms of analogy; but the analogy in question is essentially unverifiable in the required terms, *i.e.*, in terms of immediate perceptions. For my neighbour can immediately perceive only his own states, while I, in so far as I am not my neighbour, can verify only my own states. From the point of view, then, of the argument from analogy, my neighbour, in observing his own states, does *not* verify my hypothesis in the sense in which my hypothesis about him demands verification, namely, in terms of the experience of the self who makes the hypothesis. From this point of view, the problem of the mind of my neighbour remains hopeless.

It is possible, of course, to say of the foregoing argument from analogy what is also said both by common sense and by science, on the basis of a theory of truth which is in its essence conceptual and realistic. One can, of course, assert that in actual fact the mental states of my neighbour really exist and are in a certain relation which makes it true to say that they are analogous to mine. This real relation may be asserted to be as much a fact as any other fact in the universe. If this fact of the real analogy is granted, then it may be declared that my hypothesis to the effect that my neighbour's mind is a reality is actually true. This, however, is precisely the type of truth which William James's pragmatism undertakes to reject.

A very different appearance is assumed by the whole matter if we recognize that there is a third kind of knowledge, which is neither conceptual nor perceptual, and which is also not the sort of union of conception and perception which is completely expressible in terms of the favourite metaphor of Bergson and the pragmatists, namely, the metaphor of the conversion of conceptual credits or bank-notes into perceptual cash, *i.e.*, into immediate data of experience. For interpretations are never verified merely through immediate data, nor through the analysis of conceptions. This is true whether I myself am the object of my own interpretation or my neighbour is in question. If we seek for metaphors, the metaphor of the conversation, already used, furnishes the best means of indicating wherein consists the relative, but never immediate, verifiability of the truth of an interpretation.

When I interpret (whether my own purposes or intents or the ideas of another man are the objects which I seek to interpret), what I first meet in experience is neither a matter of acquaintance nor a mere 'knowledge about.' What I meet is the fact that, in so far as I now understand or interpret what I call myself, I have also become aware, not immediately but in the temporal process of my mental life, that ideas have come to me which are not now my own, and which need further expression and interpretation, but which are already partially expressed through signs. Under these circumstances, what happens is that, as interpreter of these signs, I offer a further expression of what to me they seem to mean, and I make the further hypothesis that this expression makes more manifest to me both the meaning of this sign and the idea of the mind or self whereof this sign gave partial expression. It is of the essence of an expression which undertakes to interpret a sign that it occurs because the sign already expresses a meaning which is not just at the present moment our own, and which, therefore, needs for us some interpretation, while the interpretation which at the moment we offer is itself not complete, but requires further interpretation.

In literal conversation our neighbour utters words which already express to us ideas. These ideas so contrast with our own present ideas that, while we find the new ideas intelligible, and, therefore, view them as expressions of a mind, we do not fully know what they mean. Hence, in general, our neighbour having addressed us, we in reply ask him, more or less incidentally or persistently, whether or not this is what he means—*i.e.*, we give him back our interpretation of his meaning, in order to see whether this interpretation elicits a new expression which is in substantial agreement with the expression which we expected from him. Our method in a conversation is, therefore, unquestionably the method of a 'working hypothesis.' But since this 'working hypothesis' refers to our neighbour's state of mind, it is never conceivably capable of direct verification.

Nor does what the pragmatists are accustomed to call the successful 'working' of this hypothesis consist in the discovery of any perceptible fact with which we get into merely immediate relation. Our interpretation of our neighbour satisfies our demands, precisely in so far as our interpretations, which are never complete, and which always call for new expressions and for further interpretations, lead to a conversation which remains, as a whole, essentially 'coherent,' despite its endless novelties and unexpected incidents.

Our whole knowledge of mind, in so far as by this term we mean intelligent mind, not only depends upon, but consists in, this experience of a consistent series of interpretations, which we obtain, not merely by turning conceptual 'credits' into the 'cash of immediate acquaintance,' but by seeking and finding endlessly new series of ideas, endlessly new experiences and interpretations. This never-ended series of ideas, in so far as we can hold them before our minds, tends to constitute a connected, a reasonable, a comprehensible system of ideal activities and meanings. The essence of mental intercourse—we may at once say the essence of intelligent mental life and of all spiritual relations—not only depends upon, but consists in, this coherent process of interpretation.

Or, again, an interpretation is not a conceptual hypothesis which can be converted into 'perceptual knowledge'; it is a hypothesis which leads us to anticipate further interpretations, further expressions of ideas, novel bits of information, further ideas not our own, which shall simply stand in a coherent connexion with one another and with what the original interpretation, as a hypothesis, had led us to expect. When I deal with inanimate nature, I may anticipate facts of perception, and then my hypotheses about these facts 'work,' in so far as the expected perceptions come to pass. But, when I deal with another mind, I do not merely expect to get definable perceptions from that mind; I expect that mind to give me new ideas, new meanings, new plans, which by contrast are known at each new stage of social experience to be not my own, and which may be opposed to my own and in many respects repellent to me.

But it is essential to the social intercourse between minds that these endlessly novel ideas and meanings should, through all conflicts and novelties and surprises, retain genuine coherence. Thus, in dealing with other minds, I am constantly enlarging my own mind by getting new interpretations, both of myself and of my neighbour's life. The contrasts, surprises, conflicts, and puzzles which these new ideas present to me show me that in dealing with them I am dealing with what in some respects is not my own mind. The coherence of the whole system of interpretations, ideas, plans, and purposes shows me just as positively that I am dealing with a mind, *i.e.*, with something which through these expressions constantly interprets itself, while, as I deal with it, I in turn constantly interpret it, and even in and through this very process interpret myself. It will and must be observed that this Alter, with which I have to deal, both in reflecting on my own mind and in seeking for new light from my neighbour, is never a merely single or separable or merely detached or isolated individual, but is always a being which is of the nature of a community, a 'many in one' and a 'one in many.' A mind knowable through interpretation is never merely a 'monad,' a single detached self; its unity, in so far as it possesses genuine and coherent unity, tends, in the most significant cases, to become essentially such as the unity which the apostle Paul attributes to the ideal Church: many members, but one body; many gifts, but one spirit (Ro $12^{4\mathrm{ff.}}$)—an essentially social unity, never to be adequately conceived or felt, but properly the object of what the Apostle viewed, in its practical and religious aspect, as the spiritual gift of charity, in its cognitive aspect as interpretation: pray rather that ye may interpret (1 Co 14^{13}).

5. Metaphysical theories of the nature of mind.—(*a*) *Predominantly perceptual theories.*—The nature of mind may be defined by a given metaphysical theory mainly in terms which regard mind as best or most known through possible 'perceptions' or through possible 'acquaintance' with its nature. Such theories have been prominent throughout the whole history of human thought. They depend, first, upon ignoring the fact that what is most essential to the mind is known through the cognitive process of interpretation. They depend, further, upon making comparatively light of the effort to give any abstract conceptual description of what constitutes the essence of mind. They depend upon turning to what is sometimes called 'introspection,' or, again, 'intuition,' to bring about an immediate acquaintance with mind.

Since, in general, any one who forms a predominantly perceptual idea of what mind is very naturally is not depending solely upon his own personal experience, but upon the experiences which he supposes other minds to possess, these perceptual theories of the nature of mind actually make a wide use of the reports of other people and so, more or less consciously, of arguments from analogy.

The simplest and vaguest, but in some respects the most persistent, of all theories of mental life appears, upon a largely perceptual basis, and also upon a basis of an argument from analogy, in countless forms of so-called 'animism.' Leaving aside all the historical complications, we may sum up the animistic theory of mind thus. We perceive, within ourselves, certain interesting processes which include many of our feelings, embody many of our interests, and characterize many of our activities. These activities, which in ourselves we more or less directly observe, are closely connected with the whole process of the life of the organism, *i.e.*, of the body in whose fortunes each one of us is so interested. That which produces all these feelings, awakens in us all these interests, vitalizes our own body, and forms for each of us a centre of his own apparent world—this is the mind. The mind, then, strives and longs. It feels pain and pleasure. It prospers as the body prospers, and suffers as the body suffers.

Analogy shows that other people have such minds. These minds are as numerous as the organisms in question. They resemble one another and differ from one another, much as the organisms resemble and differ from each other. An extension of this analogy, on the basis of many motives, leads us to regard the world about us as containing many minds which are not connected with human bodies—at least in precisely the same way in which our minds are connected with our bodies. When the vast mass of superstitious beliefs which have made use of such analogies and such experiences can be more effectively controlled through the advances of the human intelligence, this primitive animism tends to pass over into theories of which we find some well-known examples in early Greek philosophies. These early Greek theories of mind appear, on a somewhat primitive and already philosophical level, as 'hylozoistic.' The world, or, at all events, the organic world, has life principles in it which vary as the organisms vary, and which are also of a nature that feeling and desire reveal to ourrelatively immediate 'knowledge of acquaintance' with our own minds.

The theories of mind of this type have played a great part in the life both of philosophy and of religion. As a general theory, animism has proved very persistent, and that for obvious reasons.

One of the Hindu *Upaniṣads*[1] well suggests both the origin and the logical basis—such as it is—of these theories when, in an allegory, it represents the question arising within the body as to where and what the soul most is. The question is disputed amongst the various bodily organs, each asserting itself to be the principal seat of life and also of mind. To discover which view is true, the members of the body take turns in leaving the organism. When the eyes go, blindness ensues, but life and mind continue, and so on with various other members. But, when the breath starts to leave the body, all the other members together cry, 'Stay with us! You are the life, you are the soul, you are the self or Ātman.'

This allegory sufficiently indicates how primitive, how vague, and how stubborn is such a perceptual theory of mind when defined in terms of immediate intuition, and of a more or less pragmatic testing of various views about the physical organism.

Later in its origin, but continuing in its influence to the present day, is another perceptual theory of mind, which the later *Upaniṣads* present at length, and which, in another form, is exemplified by a notable assertion of H. Bergson in his *Introduction to Metaphysics*[2]—namely, that of one object at least we all have intuitive knowledge, this object being the self. The entire history of mysticism, the history also of the efforts to discover the nature of mind through introspection, can be summarized by means of these instances in the Hindu *Upaniṣads* that discover the true self through the experiment with breathing, and of the latest vision of Bergson, who defines the nature of mind, and also its contrast with body, in terms of the *élan vital*; for all these views emphasize, in various more or less primitive, or in more or less modern, forms, essentially the same theory of mind: the essence of the mind is to be known through immediate acquaintance. That which Schopenhauer calls the will to live, that which Bergson characterizes in the terms just mentioned, that which the shamans and medicine-men of all the more intelligent tribes have sought to know, is, in every case, mind viewed as an object of possible perception.

In the history of thought such perceptual theories of mind have become more highly developed and diversified, and have assumed other and very widely influential forms, by virtue of an insistence that we have an immediate perception of what is variously called 'mental activity,' 'the active soul,' or 'the principle of individual selfhood.'

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[1] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, VI. 1. 7–14, tr. in P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 503.

[2] Eng. tr., London, 1913.

Motives which as a fact are not statable in purely perceptual terms have joined with this fondness for defining mind in perceptual terms to make emphatic the assertion that this theory of mind ought to be stated in expressly 'pluralistic' terms. It has, consequently, been freely asserted that we 'immediately know' our own self to be independent, to be distinct from all other selves, and thus to be unique. Since it is also sometimes asserted that we know, or that we 'know intuitively,' upon occasion, the fact that we can never be directly acquainted with the conditions of our neighbour's mind, such perceptual theories have given rise to the so-called problem of 'Solipsism.' For, if we know mind by perception only, and if we are sure of it only when we perceive it, and if each of us can perceive only his own mind, then what proves for any one of us that there is any mind but his own? The analogy which primitive animism so freely and so vaguely used becomes, for the critical consciousness, questionable. In consequence, the problem of Solipsism has remained in modern times a sort of scandal of the philosophy of mind.

The solution of the problem of Solipsism lies in the fact, upon which Peirce so well insisted,[1] that no one of us has any purely perceptual knowledge of his own mind. The knowledge of mind is not statable, in the case either of the self or of the neighbour, in terms of merely immediate acquaintance. If the truth of this proposition is once understood, the entire theory of mind, whether for metaphysics or for empirical psychology, is profoundly altered. Until this inadequacy of knowledge through acquaintance to meet the real end of human knowledge is fully grasped, it is impossible to define with success either the mind or the world, either the individual self or the neighbour.

(*b*) ***Predominantly conceptual theories.***—As is the case with every highly developed doctrine, the conceptual form is very naturally assumed by any philosophical theory of mind which seeks for theoretical completeness. The conceptual theories of mind have been in history of two general types: (1) the purely conceptual, *i.e.* 'the abstractly rational' metaphysical theories; and (2) the more inductive conceptual theories based upon the more or less highly developed 'empirical psychologies' of the period in which these theories have flourished. We need not enumerate these theories or give their history.

Of principal importance in their history have been (1) that type of vitalism whose most classical representative is the Aristotelian theory of mind; (2) the monistic theory of mind, which often depends not so much upon the general metaphysical tendency to define the whole universe as One, but rather upon the effort to conceive mind and matter by regarding them both as the same in substance; and (3) the various types of monadology, which are characterized by the assertion of the existence of many real and more or less completely independent minds or selves, whose nature it is either to be themselves persons or to be beings which under certain conditions can assume the form of persons.

Of those various important theories which are expressed in the predominantly conceptual form that of Aristotle is very deeply and interestingly related to primitive animism on the one hand, while, on the other hand, it looks towards that development of the idea of the distinct individual self upon which more modern forms of monadology have depended.

Whatever special forms the conceptual theories of mind may assume, the well-known problem remains: How are these conceptions of the various mental substances, or principles, or monads, which are each time in question related to the sorts of experience which the psychologists, the students of the natural history of mind, have at any stage of knowledge discovered or may yet hope to discover? From the point of view of modern pragmatism, conceptual theories of mind might be entertained as 'working hypotheses' if they led to verification in perceptual terms.

In fact, the modern physical sciences, in conceiving the nature of matter, deal with manifold problems, but use conceptual hypotheses regarding the nature of matter which are, in a large measure, subject to pragmatic tests. Molecules and atoms and, of late, various other types of conceptual physical entities, which were formerly supposed to be incapable of becoming objects of physical experience, now appear to come within the range of the experimenter's verifications. Therefore the processes of the experimental verification of physical hypotheses have, on the whole, a direct relation to the sort of knowledge upon which the pragmatists so much insist. The 'conceptual credits' of physical hypotheses are, on the whole, verifiable in terms of the 'perceptual cash' of laboratory experience. When this is not the case, there is a tendency towards such direct verification. Hence physical hypotheses, at least regarding what is generally called the phenomenal nature of matter, have generally proved to be topics for an inquiry within the strict realm of inductive science.

But it has been, in the past, the reproach of the conceptual theories about the nature of mind that no pragmatic test can be discovered by which one might learn what difference it would make to an observer of mental processes and, in particular, of his own mental processes whether minds are 'soul substances,' or Leibnizean monads, or not, or whether the introspective observer of his own sensations or feelings is or is not himself a Leibnizean monad or Aristotelian 'entelechy'; or, again, whether he is essentially persistent and indestructible. Thus, from the pragmatic point of view, the majority of these conceptual hypotheses regarding the nature of mind show little sign of promising to prove more verifiable than they thus far have been. In consequence, the outcome of conceptual views regarding the real nature of mind has been, for many reasons, on the whole sceptical. In fact, the whole nature of mind cannot be adequately conceived, and could not be so conceived even if one's power to perceive mental processes were increased indefinitely, unless another type of cognitive processes were concerned in such an enlargement. For a mind is essentially a being that manifests itself through signs. The very being of signs consists in their demanding interpretation. The relations of minds are essentially social; so that a world without at least three minds in it—one to be interpreted, one the interpreter, and the third the one for whom or to whom the first is interpreted—would be a world without any real mind in it at all. This being the case, it might well be expected that a conceptual theory of mind would fail precisely as a perceptual theory fails. Such theories would fail because they do not view the cognitive process as it is and do not take account of that which is most of all needed in order even in the most rudimentary fashion to grasp the nature of an intelligent mind.

(*c*) *Theories making use of the cognitive process of the interpretation.*—Despite the inadequate development of the doctrine of interpretation thus far in the history of epistemology, there have not been lacking theories regarding the nature of mind according to which mind is an object to be known through interpretation, while its manifestations lie not merely in the fact that it possesses or controls an organism, but in the fact that, whether through or apart from an organism, it expresses its purposes to other minds, so that it not merely has or is a will, but manifests or makes comprehensible its will, and not merely lives in and through itself, as a monad or a substance, but is in essence a mode of self-expression which progressively makes itself known either to its fellows or to minds above or below its own grade.

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[1] See Royce, *Problem of Christianity*, ii.

That theories of mind which are based upon such a view have existed, even from very primitive times, is manifest wherever in the history of religion a consultation of oracles, discovery of the future or of the will of the gods through divination, or, in fact, any such more or less superstitious appeals to other minds, and readings or interpretations of these appeals, have taken place. Primitive belief in magic arts has apparently, on the whole, a conceptual type of formulation. Therefore magic has been called the physics of primitive man. It depends upon the view that man is subject to laws which, if he could discover them, he could use for his purposes, just as we now make use of the known laws of physics for industrial purposes. The supposed realm of magic arts is thus analogous to our present realm of industrial arts. The view of pragmatism—that primitive magic is not true merely because its hypotheses regarding how to cause rain or how to cure diseases do not 'work'—is in this case fairly adequate to express the situation both epistemologically and metaphysically.

Moreover, as we have seen, animism, in its more primitive forms, expresses a predominantly perceptual theory of mind, and whether such a theory, either of mind or of the relations between mind and the physical world, is held in some simple form by the medicine-man of an obscure tribe or is impressively reiterated in a Hindu *Upaniṣad*, or is fascinatingly placed in the setting of a modern evolutionary theory by Bergson, makes comparatively little difference to the essential views of the philosophy of mind which are in question. But that view of the nature of mind which gained, apparently, its earliest type of expression when men first consulted, and hereupon more or less cautiously interpreted, the oracles of their gods has (as befits a theory of mind which is founded upon a fundamental cognitive process) persisted throughout the history of human thought. This way of viewing mind has, in fact, persisted in a fashion which enables us to distinguish its expressions with sufficient clearness from those which have had their origin either in the conceptions of primitive magic or in the perceptions which guided primitive animism.

From the point of view of the cognitive process of interpretation mind is, in all cases where it reaches a relatively full and explicit expression, equally definable in terms of two ideas—the idea of the self, and the idea of a community of selves. To an explicit recognition of what these two ideas involve a great part of the history of the philosophy of mind has been devoted. Both ideas have been subject to the misfortune of being too often viewed as reducible either to purely conceptual terms or to purely perceptual terms. If the self was defined in predominantly conceptual terms, it tended to degenerate into a substance, a monad, or a mere thing of some sort. Under the influence of a too abstract epistemology (such as the Kantian) the self also appeared as the 'logical ego,' or else as the 'pure subject.'

The fortunes of the idea of the community have been analogous. In religion this idea has proved one of the most inspiring of the ideas which have gradually transformed tribal cults into the two greatest religions which humanity possesses—Buddhism and Christianity. In ancient philosophy the community, viewed as the soul 'writ large,' inspired some of the most fruitful philosophical interpretations of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics. In the general history of civilization loyalty, which is identical with the practically effective love of communities as persons that represent mind on a level higher than that of the individual, is, like the Pauline charity (which is explicitly a love for the Church universal and for its spirit), the chief and the soul of the humanizing virtues—that virtue without which all the others are but 'sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.' Yet, in the history of thought the idea of the community has greatly suffered, less frequently from the attempt to view it as the proper object of a direct mystical perception than from the tendency to reduce it to a purely conceptual form. As a conceptual object the 'mind of the community,' the 'corporate mind,' has tended to be thought of as an entity possibly significant in a legal or in a sociological sense, but difficult, and perhaps unreal, in a metaphysical sense.

Experience shows, however, that the two ideas —the idea of the individual self and that of the community—are peculiarly adapted to interpret each the other, both to itself and to the other, when such interpretation is carried on in the spirit which the religion of Israel first made central in what undertook to be a world religion, and which the apostle Paul laid at the basis both of his philosophy of human history and of his Christology.

Modern idealism, both in the more vital and less formal expressions of Hegel's doctrine and in its recent efforts at a social interpretation of the self, of the course of human evolution, and of the problems of metaphysics, has already given a partial expression to a theory of which we tend to become clearly aware in proportion as we recognize what the cognitive process of interpretation is, and how it contrasts with, and is auxiliary to, the processes of conception and perception. Only in terms of a theory of the threefold process of knowledge can we hope fully to express what is meant by that form of idealism which views the world as the 'process of the spirit' and as containing its own interpretation and its own interpreter.

LITERATURE.—The epistemology of Charles Peirce is discussed at length by the present writer in *The Problem of Christianity*, London, 1913, ii. (in Index, *s.v.* 'Peirce,' references will be found which will serve as a guide to the understanding of Peirce's theory of knowledge, and its relation to the metaphysical theories of the nature of mind).

JOSIAH ROYCE.

MIND AND BODY.—See BODY AND MIND.

MIND AND BRAIN.—See BRAIN AND MIND.

MINERALS.—See METALS AND MINERALS.

MÎNÎM.—Certain persons of Jewish origin mentioned in the Talmud and contemporary Rabbinical literature, usually with severe disapproval, are called Mînîm. Considerable difference of opinion has existed upon the question who the Mînîm were; but the view is now generally, though not universally, held that they were mainly Jewish-Christians. This theory has the support of Graetz, Jost, Weiss, Bacher, and Lévi; the chief opponent is Moritz Friedländer. The writer of this article, from an independent study of the evidence, decides for the Jewish-Christian interpretation, while admitting a wider denotation in a few passages. The evidence, consisting of the whole of the passages (so far as they are known to him) where mention is made of the Mînîm, is presented in full in the writer's work

Christianity in Talmud and Midrash, to which the reader is referred for details which cannot be given in the short space of this article.

The book *Siphrē*, § 115, p. 35^{a}, quoting Nu 15^{39} 'And ye shall not walk after your heart,' says, 'This is Mînûth'—meaning that this is the state of mind, or principle of conduct, characteristic of the Mînîm. This is the earliest attempt at a definition of the term, though the word itself was in use earlier. It amounts to saying that a 'Mîn' (singular of Mînîm) was one who followed the dictates of his own selfish nature as against those of the lawful authority. The result of doing so is, indirectly, the rejection of beliefs and practices enjoined on those who hold the true religion. A Mîn, accordingly, disregards the authority of the Rabbis, as teachers of religion and expounders of the Torah both written and unwritten, and also maintains doctrines and practices which are not those of the true religion. Tos. *Sanh.* xiii. 4 f. has the following censure on the Mînîm:

> 'The sinners of Israel, and the sinners of the nations of the world, descend into Gehenna, and are judged there twelve months. . . But the Mînîm, and the Apostates, and the betrayers, and the Apîqôrôsîn. . . . Gehenna is shut in their faces, and they are judged there for generations of generations.'

If the term Mînîm denoted all unfaithful Jews, there would be no need of four descriptive names. The distinction between the four is as follows. The betrayers (M^{e}sôrôth) are political informers, 'delators.' Apostates are those who wilfully and openly transgress some part of the ceremonial law, thereby proclaiming their disloyalty. Apîqôrôsîn are 'Epicureans,' free-thinkers, whether Jewish or Gentile. The Mînîm are those who are false at heart, but who do not necessarily proclaim their apostasy. They are the more dangerous because more secret; they are not an open enemy, but the foe within the camp; and it is in accordance with this that the Talmud refers to the Mînîm more frequently and with more hostility than to the other classes of unfaithful Jews. The Mîn might be an apostate or a delator, and could hardly fail to be a free-thinker; but the real nature of his offence was moral rather than intellectual.

Why was the name Mîn given to such persons? Various derivations of the word have been given, some of them mere fanciful guesses. The best explanation seems to be that proposed by Bacher (in *REJ* xxxviii. 45) and accepted by I. Lévi (*ib.* p. 205), according to which *mîn* (מִין) is at first the ordinary word for 'sort,' 'kind,' and is translated in the LXX, Gn 1^{12}, by *γένος*. Figuratively the word is used to denote a 'sect' (*αἵρεσις*), and more particularly the sect of the Sadducees (*τὸ Σαδδουκαίων γένος*, Jos. *Ant.* XIII. x. 6, where *ἡ Σαδδουκαίων αἵρεσις* is also used). Gradually the term lost the meaning of 'sect' and took on that of 'sectary,' the Jew who separated himself from the community and adopted false doctrines. If this explanation is correct, it throws light on the fact that in the Rabbinical texts the reading sometimes varies between Mîn and Ṣaddûkî (Sadducee). It is usually said that the latter word is due to the Christian censor, who objected to the word Mîn, but in some cases the reference is certainly to the Sadducees, while yet the word Mîn, or possibly both words, may have been read. The writer of this article proposed another derivation of the word Mîn (*op. cit.* p. 362), but now surrenders it in favour of the one just set forth.

The Mînîm, then, were Jewish heretics of some kind. The question is, Of what kind? The answer resolves itself into a choice between Jewish-Christians and Jewish-Gnostics. That they were Jews is beyond dispute, for a Gentile is never called a Mîn, unless in one or two instances through ignorance or inadvertence. The only conspicuous advocate of the Gnostic interpretation is Friedländer (*Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*; cf. also a defence in reply to criticism in *REJ* xxxviii. 194 ff.), but it is a serious defect of Friedländer's book that the argument is based on Rabbinical texts from which he strikes out, as interpolations, passages of crucial importance, without mentioning the fact. By this method any hypothesis could be proved. Bacher and Lévi, in articles in *REJ* (xxxviii. 38, 204) have severely handled Friedländer's hypothesis as well as his peculiar method of proof, and Lévi elsewhere refers to it as 'cet échafaudage de propositions puériles' (*RHR* li. [1905] 412). The evidence for the view that the Mînîm were Jewish-Christians may be briefly summed up as follows. In many of the passages where they are mentioned there is nothing distinctive, certainly nothing definitely Christian; but in a few passages a connexion between Mînûth and Christianity is so definitely stated that it cannot be excluded from neutral passages except on the ground of equally definite statements to the contrary. Such contrary evidence is not to be found, and even Friedländer does not produce any. (1) In a famous passage, Bab. *'Ăbhôdhāh Zārāh*, 16*b* (and in three other places), it is told how a certain Rabbi Eliezer (end of 1st cent.) was arrested for Mînûth. He accounted for this afterwards by saying that he had once met 'one of the disciples of Jesus the Nazarene, by name Jacob of K^{e}phar S^{e}khanyā,' who told him the exposition of a text and added, 'Thus hath Jesus the Nazarene taught me.' Also, in the same treatise, p. 27*a*, the same Jacob is called 'Jacob the Mîn,' and it is said that he offered to cure a sick man, while in Tos. *Ḥull.* ii. 22 f. the same Jacob proposed to work his cure 'in the name of Yeshūa' ben Pandîrā,' *i.e.* Jesus. (2) In Bab. *Shabb.* 116*a* there are mentioned, in close connexion, the books of the Mînîm and the Evangelion, *i.e.* the Gospels. (3) The characteristic doctrine of the Mînîm—that of Two Powers in Heaven—is closely allied to, if not identical with, the teaching of the Ep. to the Hebrews, and is not the Gnostic doctrine of the Demiurgus. The connexion of this doctrine with Christianity is shown by a passage in P^{e}sîḳtā *Rab.* xxi. 100*b*: 'If the son of the harlot saith to thee, "There are two Gods,"' etc., where 'the son of the harlot' denotes Jesus.

The combined force of these arguments, which could be supported in great detail if space allowed, seems conclusive in favour of the Jewish-Christian interpretation; and this view is strongly confirmed by a passage in Jerome:

> 'Usque hodie per totas Orientis synagogas inter Iudaeos haeresis est, quae dicitur *Minaeorum*, et a Pharisaeis nunc usque damnatur; quos vulgo Nazaraeos nuncupant, qui credunt in Christum, filium Dei, natum de virgine Maria, et eum dicunt esse qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est et resurrexit, in quem et nos credimus; sed dum volunt et Iudaei esse et Christiani, nec Judaei sunt nec Christiani' (*Ep.* cxii. [lxxxix.] 13 [*PL* xxii. 924]).

The general conclusion to be drawn from the evidence, of which the foregoing is the most important, is that, wherever in the Talmud and Midrash mention is made of the Mînîm, the author of the statement intended to refer to Jewish-Christians. At the same time it is possible that the Rabbis attributed to Mînîm actions or opinions which, in fact, were not those of Christians; and, further, that the Rabbis occasionally applied the term Mîn to Gentiles as being enemies of Judaism.

The references to the Mînîm in the Rabbinical literature are few and fragmentary. The passages where they are mentioned amount to about 120, most of which contain either polemical dialogues between a Mîn and a Rabbi or allusions to heretical interpretations of texts, although a few are anecdotes of events in connexion with the Mînîm. It is not possible to construct a history of the Mînîm; the material is sufficient only to give a few glimpses of them, and to throw some little light upon their relations with orthodox Jews.

The Mînîm, as stated above, were apostates who concealed their apostasy, and it was necessary, therefore, to have some means of detecting them. This was the object with which the Formula against the Mînîm was introduced. It is stated (Bab. *Ber.* 28*b*, 29*a*) that R. Gamaliel II. (president of the Sanhedrin at Jabneh) said to the Rabbis: 'Is there any one who knows how to compose a Benediction of the Mînîm?' Samuel the Little stood up and composed it. The following year he forgot it, and sought to recall it for two and even three hours, and they did not call him up (from the lectern). The 'Benediction' of the Mînîm was an addition made to the Eighteen Benedictions (*Sh^{e}môneh ʿEsrēh B^{e}rākhōth*), which are short prayers, some of them very ancient, forming the nucleus of the Jewish liturgy. The twelfth in order, as composed or adapted by Samuel the Little, runs: 'May there be no hope for the Mînîm.' Those who were Mînîm could not, of course, join in this prayer, and would be detected. The introduction of this formula marks the official condemnation of the Mînîm by the Rabbis; and the date may be placed at A.D. 80, or thereabout. This does not imply the separation of the Mînîm from the strict Jews at and after that time; they were still to be found, as Jerome says, in all the synagogues of the East in his time; but it is true, nevertheless, that the Mînîm did to some extent possess a separate organization, with synagogues of their own.

The reason why a formula of detection against the Mînîm became necessary about A.D. 80, was, in part, that the Temple had been destroyed ten years before. As long as the Temple stood, Jewish-Christians in Jerusalem appear to have taken part in the ritual observances equally with non-Christian Jews. After the destruction of the Temple, however, it was possible to argue that the ceremonial law was not merely *de facto* suspended (as the Jews admitted), but *de jure* abrogated; and this is the link which connects the original Jewish-Christians with the Mînîm. The latter appear, from the notices of their doctrines, to have held a theology closely akin to that set forth in the Ep. to the Hebrews; and, if so, the inference is ready to hand that it was the symbolic interpretation of the ceremonial law that opened the way for a Christology more highly developed than that of the original Jewish-Christians.

The hostility towards, and dread of, the Mînîm were at their height in the 2nd cent.; afterwards they declined, till in the 4th cent. we find comparatively friendly relations with them. The Mînîm of Cæsarea applied to R. Abahu to find them a teacher, and he sent them R. Saphra, a Babylonian Jew of unquestioned orthodoxy (Bab. *Ăbhôdhāh Zārāh*, 4*a*). The meaning of this gradual change is that at first it was not evident to the Rabbis that the Christian Church would not develop on Jewish-Christian lines. When, in course of time, it appeared that the Mînîm did not represent the strength of the Christian movement, there was the less reason to dread it; there was less danger to Judaism from a Gentile Christianity than from a Jewish form of it. Of Gentile Christianity the Rabbinical literature takes scarcely any notice. Space does not allow of illustrations of the polemics between Mînîm and Jews, or of the anecdotes which represent the former as being not only apostates but licentious. It must suffice to say that they appear to have been a dwindling sect, in Judaism but not of it, spurned alike by Jews and by Christians. In their theology they departed from the strict monotheism of Judaism, and held a doctrine—called the Doctrine of the Two Powers in Heaven—which corresponds with the relation between God and Christ set forth in the Ep. to the Hebrews. No mention is made in any of their polemical discussions of the Messiahship of Jesus, nor is there more than one very slight trace of the doctrine of the Trinity (Jerus. *Ber.* 12*d*, 13*a*). Jerome identifies them with the Nazarenes, and the corresponding name, *Nôṣrîm*, is found in two passages (Bab. *Ăbhôdhāh Zārāh*, 6*a*; Bab. *Taʿan.* 27*b*). The name Ebionite does not occur in the Rabbinical literature.

LITERATURE.—See the Histories of H. Graetz, London, 1891–92, I. M. Jost, Leipzig, 1857–59, and I. H. Weiss, Vienna, 1887; W. Bacher and I. Lévi, artt. in *REJ* xxxviii. [1898] 45 ff., 205 ff.; M. Friedländer, *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, Göttingen, 1898, *Die religiösen Bewegungen . . . im Zeitalter Jesu*, Berlin, 1905, and *REJ* xxxviii. 194 ff.; R. T. Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, London, 1904; *JE*, art. 'Min.'

R. T. HERFORD.

MINISTRY (Early Christian).—An attempt will be made in this article to collect the more important facts in connexion with the ministry as far as the first five or six centuries of our era are concerned. About the facts themselves there is general agreement; but the interpretation of the facts has been disputed. A summary will be made, as briefly as possible, of the theories that have been deduced from the facts as to the institution of a ministry by our Lord, and its development in subsequent ages. But a discussion of these theories is not part of the design of the article.

1. The Apostolic Age.—In Acts and in the Epistles of the NT we find in active operation a ministry of two kinds, itinerant and local.

i. THE ITINERANT MINISTRY.—We read of apostles, prophets, and evangelists, all of whom come under this heading. The first of these terms includes at least a few (even in the early ages) who were not of the Twelve (see below, § 2). The qualification of an apostle seems originally to have been that he should have seen our Lord, and have been His 'witness' (Lk 24^{48}, Ac 1^{8}). Thus, when the vacancy in the number of the Twelve has to be filled up, the qualification mentioned by St. Peter is that the person chosen should have 'companied with [the Eleven] all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and went out among' (or 'over,' ἐπί) them, 'beginning from the baptism of John, unto the day that he was received up from' them; so that he might become a witness with them of Jesus' resurrection (Ac $1^{21f.}$). St. Paul received his qualification, though in a different way, at his conversion (cf. Gal 1^{1}, 'An apostle, not from men, neither through man, but through Jesus Christ, and God the Father'). That St. Barnabas and the others mentioned below (§ 2) had seen Christ is not stated, but is quite probable. Hegesippus says (Eus. *HE* ii. 1) that Barnabas was one of the Seventy. This qualification may have been waived in the sub-apostolic period.

Hort (*Christian Ecclesia*, p. 28) thinks that the word 'apostle,' which is of comparatively rare occurrence in the Gospels, referred originally only to the mission to the villages, though such passages as that about judging the twelve tribes (Mt 19^{28}, Lk 22^{30}) were indications of the extended signification of the name which we find in Acts.[1] It is clear, however, from Lk 6^{13} (the reading in ‖ Mk 3^{14} is doubtful) that our Lord gave them the title; and that He intended more than a mere mission to the villages by the designation appears almost certain from such passages as Lk 12^{41-48}, where He speaks of a commission for future ages (see below, § 9). St. Luke certainly uses the name without reference to the mission to the villages.

Christian prophets are frequently mentioned in the NT—Agabus and others (Ac $11^{27f.}$ 21^{10}); those at Antioch, 'prophets and teachers,' including

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[1] The name 'apostles' for the Twelve is found, according to Westcott and Hort's text, only in Mt 10^{2}, Mk 3^{14} 6^{30}, Lk 6^{13} 9^{10} 17^{5} 22^{14} 24^{10}, and not at all in Jn, though 13^{16} seems to be an allusion to the title.

Barnabas and Saul, also Symeon Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen (Ac 13^{1}); Judas and Silas (15^{32}); and an unstated number in 1 Co 12$^{28f.}$ (see § 2) 14$^{29-33}$. Prophets are mentioned as a class in Eph 2^{20} 3^{5} 4^{11} (see § 2), possibly in 1 Th 2^{15}; also in Rev 18^{20} 22^{9}. They are coupled in Eph. and Rev. with apostles.[1] They are described as receiving revelations (1 Co 14$^{29ff.}$). Christian prophetesses are also mentioned (Ac 21^{9}, Philip's daughters). But it may be doubted if 'prophets' ought to be described as a class of the ordinary Christian ministry. Their office was purely charismatic (see below, § 3).

It is otherwise with 'evangelists.' These are mentioned in Ac 21^{8} (Philip), Eph 4^{11} (see below, § 2), 2 Ti 4^{5} (Timothy). This name would seem to be that given to those who, though not apostles, because they had not the qualification stated above, yet were itinerant officials and not of the local ministry. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 37) gives the name to those who 'occupied the first place among the successors (διαδοχῆς) of the apostles' and were itinerant preachers of the gospel. He says that, when they had only laid the foundations of the faith in foreign places, they appointed others as pastors (ποιμένας) and then went on to other countries and nations. A few lines later he talks of 'pastors or evangelists,' and seems to mean by the former the local, by the latter the itinerant, ministry.

Apostles and prophets are also mentioned in the *Didache* (§§ 10–13), a manual probably of the beginning of the 2nd century. These were normally itinerant officials, and were perhaps identical (see *Did.* § 11). The value of this evidence is discounted by J. A. Robinson (*JThSt* xiii. [1912] 339), who thinks that the writer does not describe the conditions of his own day, but those which he thought had been in force at an earlier time. This theory, however, is very doubtful (for Robinson's earlier view see his *Com. on Ephesians*^{2}, London, 1904, p. 98, n.).

The function of the itinerant ministry was evangelistic (cf. 1 Th 2$^{8f.}$, 1 Ti 2^{7}). The itinerants might settle for a time at a place, as Timothy settled at Ephesus, Titus in Crete, and St. Paul himself at various places where he founded churches; but this was not their normal work. In the *Didache* it is recognized that a prophet may settle in a place (§ 12 f.).

ii. THE LOCAL MINISTRY. — Under this heading are included in the NT 'bishops,' 'presbyters,' and 'deacons.' For other names of these officials see § 2. The functions of the local ministry were administrative and pastoral. Thus baptism seems to have been specially entrusted to it (cf. 1 Co 1^{14}, and perhaps Ac 19^{5}; ct. v.^{6}). In the beautiful story of St. John and the young robber related by Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives*, 42), the apostle does not himself baptize the young man, but gives him over to the local bishop-presbyter to baptize (see below).

(*a*) *Bishops.*—During the period covered by the NT, we read of this name being given to Christian ministers only in Gentile churches — at Philippi (Ph 1^{1}), at Ephesus (Ac 20^{28}, 1 Ti 3$^{1ff.}$), in Crete (Tit 1$^{7ff.}$). So St. Peter, writing to the churches in most of the provinces of Asia Minor, uses the participle ἐπισκοποῦντες, 'exercising the bishop's office' (1 P 5^{2}). That the 'bishops' are the same as 'presbyters' in the Apostolic Age seems to follow from a comparison of Ac 20^{17} with 20^{28}, where the same individuals are called by both titles; and of 1 Ti 3$^{1-7}$ with 5$^{17-19}$, the first of which passages describes the qualifications of 'bishops,' the second of which gives regulations for 'presbyters' as for those who have already been mentioned in the Epistle; and of Tit 1^{5} with v.^{7} ('appoint presbyters in every city . . . for the bishop must be blameless'); also from the use by St. Peter of ἐπισκοποῦντες when speaking of presbyters (see above, and 1 P 5^{1}). The same thing is apparently found in Clement of Rome (*Cor.* 42, 44), where the local ministers are called 'bishops and deacons,' and yet 'presbyters' are spoken of, and their 'episcopate' (ἐπισκοπή). He says that the apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the episcopate. In the *Didache* also (§ 15) the local ministry consists of 'bishops and deacons.' Perhaps 'presbyter' expressed the rank, and 'bishop' the function.

Hort (pp. 98 f., 189–212) takes a different view. He holds that the words 'bishops' and 'deacons' are used in a non-technical sense in the NT as meaning 'those who have oversight' and 'those who minister.' He thus interprets the words in Ac 20^{28}, 1 Ti 3$^{1ff.}$, and deduces the conclusion that the same holds good in Ph 1^{1}, where ἐπισκόποις and διακόνοις have no article. He does not deny that 'deacons' may have become the name of the officials before the Pastoral Epistles were written, but he thinks that St. Paul uses the word in a non-technical sense.

(*b*) *Presbyters.*—The name was perhaps taken over by the Christians from the Jews, who gave it to the members of the Sanhedrin and others. But inscriptions show that the heathen Greeks used it for members of a corporation, and the same thing appears from the papyri. A. Deissmann thinks (*Bible Studies*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1901, p. 154 ff.) that the Christians of Asia Minor may have adopted the term, not from the Jews, but from the Greeks. In Egypt, as Deissmann shows (p. 233), pagan priests were called 'presbyters.' [It may be added that inscriptions also prove that the title ἐπίσκοπος was used for certain officials in Greek-speaking countries in pre-Christian times (Deissmann, p. 230 f.).] In the early Church the name 'presbyter' was specially used, as it would seem, at Jerusalem (Ac 11^{30} 15^{2} etc. 16^{4} 21^{18}), but it was also used by the Christian Jews of the Dispersion (Ja 5^{14}), and in the Gentile communities, for Paul and Barnabas appointed 'elders in every church' on a journey in Asia Minor (Ac 14^{23}).

The identity in the NT of 'bishops' and 'presbyters' was completely forgotten before the end of the 2nd century. Thus Irenæus (*Hær.* III. xiv. 2), referring to Ac 20$^{17ff.}$, speaks of St. Paul meeting at Miletus bishops and presbyters from Ephesus *and the other cities*; the last four words are no doubt due to the plural 'bishops,' as to Irenæus the idea of more than one bishop (in the sense in which the word was used in his day) in any city would be quite foreign. Clement of Alexandria, at the end of the century, was also ignorant of the identity; he speaks (*Pæd.* III. xii. 97) of commands in Holy Scripture given to presbyters, bishops, deacons, widows (in that order), as to distinct persons. In *Quis dives*, 42, he speaks of a single 'bishop' in one of the cities of Asia in St. John's time; this is doubtless historically correct, yet we may notice that a few lines later he calls the bishop 'the presbyter.' This is an instance of that fluidity of phraseology which we shall have occasion to notice below (§ 2). In the 4th cent. Jerome and other Fathers had learnt that the bishops and presbyters of the NT were the same persons (see references in Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 98 f.).

(*c*) *Deacons.*—These ministers are mentioned in the NT in Ph 1^{1}, 1 Ti 3$^{8.\,10.\,12f.}$ only. They are not found in the Epistle to Titus. They are also mentioned, together with 'bishops,' in Clement of Rome and the *Didache* (as above). The usual view has been that they represent the Seven whose appointment is recorded in Ac 6. Others think that the Seven were the prototypes both of the diaconate and of the presbyterate, and that at some time after St. Stephen's death the office was divided into those two branches. Another view is that the appointment of the Seventy (or Seventy-two) in Lk 10^1 was the foundation of the presbyterate. The Seven of Ac 6 were appointed in the first instance for the administration of relief (v.^{3}), but that they were also preachers of the gospel is seen from the history of Stephen and Philip, and might be inferred from their solemn ordination with prayer and laying on of hands.

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[1] In Eph 2^{20} the Church is said to be built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets (no article before 'prophets'). Both here and in 3^{5} prophets come after apostles, and Christian prophets must therefore be meant. Hort (p. 165) gives good reasons for thinking that here (not in 4^{11}) the same persons are meant by both designations. All the apostles were probably prophets, though all the Christian prophets were not apostles.

iii. THE POSITION OF JAMES THE LORD'S BROTHER AT JERUSALEM.—Christian antiquity agrees in giving St. James a local ministry at Jerusalem, and yet in making him, in a real sense, equal to the Twelve, and in ascribing to him rule or presidency over the presbyters, though nothing is said of any autocratic powers possessed by him. This account of his position is borne out by the NT writers. In Ac 12^{17} Peter bids those who are assembled in Mary's house tell of his escape 'unto James and to the brethren.' In $15^{13ff.}$ James presides over, or at least takes a leading part in, the apostolic council, and gives the decision, *i.e.* interprets the evident sense of the assembly. In 21^{18} Paul and his companions visit him assembled with the presbyters in a formal meeting. In Gal 1^{19} he is, perhaps, called an apostle (see § 2); he and Cephas are visited by Paul at Jerusalem. In 2^9 he is named before Cephas and John, and the three are 'reputed to be pillars.' In 2^{12} the Jewish Christians who come from Jerusalem to Antioch are said to come 'from James.' Of the Fathers the earliest to bear witness to St. James's position in Jerusalem is Hegesippus, known as the father of Church history (*c.* A.D. 160). He says that 'James, the brother of the Lord, succeeded to the government of the Church in conjunction with the apostles' (Eus. *HE* ii. 23); he describes the appointment of Symeon, a cousin of the Lord, as 'the next bishop' (iv. 22). So Eusebius, who depends on Hegesippus, says (iii. 11) that they pronounced Symeon to be worthy of the throne of that diocese (παροικία), and (iii. 32) that Symeon was the second bishop of the Church of Jerusalem; in the former passage he says that there was a second Apostolic Council on the occasion of Symeon's election. The last statement is very doubtful; but the tradition probably gave rise to the detailed pseudepigraphy of the Church Orders, which assign all sorts of directions to the apostles. The same supposed council has been thought by some to have decreed the establishment of diocesan episcopacy; but the latter was probably of gradual growth rather than the result of an enactment of a formal council (see below, § 4). The position of James is also spoken of by Clement of Alexandria (*Hypotyposes*, bk. vi., quoted by Eus. *HE* ii. 1):

> 'Peter, James, and John, after the ascension of our Saviour, as if also preferred by our Lord, strove not after honour, but chose James the Just bishop of Jerusalem. . . . The Lord after His resurrection imparted knowledge to James the Just and to John and Peter, and they imparted it to the rest of the apostles, and the rest of the apostles to the Seventy, of whom Barnabas was one.'

The phrase about imparting knowledge to James may probably be a reference to 1 Co 15^7. The description of him as 'bishop of Jerusalem' is an anachronism of nomenclature, but it roughly describes his position. His office at Jerusalem is a favourite theme in the 'Clementine' literature, but the date of these works is uncertain.

iv. ANGELS IN THE APOCALYPSE.—The 'angels' in Rev 1^{20}–3^{22} have been taken by some to be the chief ministers of the Church in the province of Asia. But this interpretation is so doubtful that no argument can be built upon it.

v. There is no certain trace of any local officials in the NT inferior to the 'bishops and deacons.' Interpreters are mentioned in 1 Co 14^{28}, for those who speak with tongues (cf. 12^{10}). But there is no indication that an ecclesiastical office is intended.

2. **Fluidity of phraseology.**—It is important to remember that the names of Christian ministerial offices were not stereotyped in the Apostolic Age. Many theories have been erroneously built on the supposed identity of offices in different centuries, because of the identity of names. In the earliest age the names of the orders of the ministry were in a fluid condition, even if the functions and duties of the offices were fixed, which is doubtful.

(*a*) *The name 'apostle.'*—This is used in the NT of the Twelve (see above, § 1). It is also used of certain other persons who had equal authority with the Twelve in the early Church—Paul, Barnabas, probably James the Lord's brother (see Lightfoot, *Galatians*^{5}, pp. 84, 95; cf. 1 Co 15^7), probably also Andronicus and Junias, who were 'of note among the apostles' (Ro 16^7; but some think that the latter was the name of a woman), perhaps Silvanus, who was associated with St. Paul in writing to the Thessalonians (1 Th 2^6; cf. 1^1). Timothy might have been included under the same designation but that he is excluded from it by 2 Co 1^1, Col 1^1, doubtless because he had not seen Christ (see § 1). The name is also used in the NT of messengers simply (2 Co 8^{23}, Ph 2^{25}), and of our Lord Himself (He 3^1; cf. Jn 20^{21}). In the Syriac-speaking churches it was given to any missionary; and so the Greek-speaking Irenæus says (*Hær.* II. xxi. 1): 'After the twelve apostles, our Lord is found to have sent forth seventy others.' Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iv. 24) gives the name to the Seventy as well as to the Twelve ('he chose also seventy other apostles besides the twelve'). Note that St. Luke (10^1), in describing the appointment of the Seventy, says that Jesus 'sent them forth' (ἀπέστειλεν), whence the name ἀπόστολος comes at once. It means 'one commissioned.' Certain persons, called 'false apostles,' arrogated the name to themselves (2 Co 11^{13}, Rev 2^2).

(*b*) *The names 'bishop' and 'presbyter.'*—We have already seen that the name 'bishop' was used in the 1st cent. in a sense different from that which it afterwards acquired. And we may notice how fluid was the phraseology with regard to both 'bishop' and 'presbyter.' Our Lord is called a 'bishop' in 1 P 2^{25}; St. Peter a 'presbyter' in 1 P 5^1 (συμπρεσβύτερος), St. John in 2 Jn ^{1}, 3 Jn ^{1}. In the 2nd cent. the term 'presbyters' came to be used somewhat as we use the term 'the Fathers.' We may also notice how easy was the change from 'presbyter' to 'old man'; so much so that it is not always easy to determine in any given passage which translation ought to be taken. In 1 P 5^5 St. Peter, who has been addressing the presbyters, suddenly says: 'Likewise, ye younger [men], be subject to the elder' (πρεσβυτέροις). Clement of Rome (*Cor.* 1) says: 'Submitting yourselves to your rulers (ἡγουμένοις), and rendering to the presbyters [Lightfoot: 'older men'] among you honour,' etc.; and so in § 21. A little later Polycarp, after saying that 'the young men must be blameless,' goes on to exhort the Philippians to submit themselves 'to the presbyters and deacons' (*Phil.* 5). The association of the presbyterate and old age survived for a long time. It is found in the *Apostolic Church Order* (Bohairic version), where it is said that presbyters should live 'after the manner of old men' (§ 18; H. Tattam, *Apost. Const. in Coptic*, London, 1848, p. 20). The ordination prayer of a presbyter in the *Testament of our Lord* (*c.* A.D. 350?) speaks by a paronomasia of 'the Spirit [masc.] of the presbyterate who doth not grow old' (i. 30). Pseudo-Pionius (4th cent.) in the *Life of Polycarp* (§ 17; Lightfoot, *Apost.*

Fathers, pt. ii., 'Ignatius and Polycarp,' iii. 447 f.) unhistorically makes Polycarp to be an old man before he is ordained presbyter. So perhaps Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 4 (2nd cent.), where the presbyters are the officials of the *πρεσβυτέρα* ('aged woman'), who is interpreted as the Church. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* xlii. 11, 4th cent.) speaks of the presbyters being 'honoured for years and wisdom.'

(*c*) *The name 'deacon.'*—In addition to the use of the word *διάκονος* in the non-ecclesiastical sense of a 'servant,' as in Mt 22^{13}, Jn 2$^{5.9}$, and elsewhere in the Gospels, and (metaphorically of a ruler as God's servant) in Ro 13^{4}, or of a 'follower' (of Christ) in Jn 12^{26}, we have it used frequently of others than the ordinary 'deacons.' Our Lord is called a 'deacon' in Ro 15^{8} ('deacon of the circumcision'); St. Paul in Col 1$^{23.25}$, 2 Co 3^{6} 6^{4} (pl.), Eph 3^{7}, 1 Co 3^{5} (also Apollos); Timothy in 1 Th 3^{2} (Westcott-Hort's text), 1 Ti 4^{6} (cf. the technical use of *διάκονος* in 3$^{8ff.}$); Epaphras in Col 1^{7}; Jewish Christians in 2 Co 11^{23}. Satan's 'deacons' are mentioned in 2 Co 11^{15}. This fluidity of expression would be realized by the English reader if the translation 'deacon' (instead of 'minister') were adopted throughout, and if it were borne in mind how often *διακονία* and *διακονέω* are used in the NT, always in the non-technical sense of 'service' and 'to do service.'

(*d*) *St. Paul's lists of the ministry* show a great fluidity of nomenclature. But they do not give technical names to the various classes of the ministry. In 1 Co 12^{28} we have: apostles, prophets, teachers, powers, charismata of healings, helps, governments, kinds of tongues. These cannot all be offices; some are (as we see from v.^{29}) purely charismatic, namely powers (working of miracles), healings, tongues. Probably no orders of the ministry are here explicitly enumerated, but only the different kinds of work done in the Christian Church. On the other hand, officials of the ministry are enumerated in Eph 4^{11}, where we have apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors[1] and teachers (the last two are one class). These offices are said to be 'for the perfecting of the saints unto the work of ministering,' *i.e.*, to equip the members of the body for the function of service to the whole (Robinson, *Ephesians*^{2}, p. 98 f.; the RV inserts a comma after 'saints,' but the two clauses probably go together). In this list we have no 'bishops,' 'presbyters,' or 'deacons,' and yet these officials existed at Ephesus (Ac 20$^{17.28}$, 1 Ti 5$^{17ff.}$). Hence in this Pauline list we cannot look for technical designations, but rather for a description of the work done by different officials. The 'pastors and teachers' appear to be the local ministry. In Ro 12$^{6f.}$ we have the abstract charismata or gifts: prophecy, ministering (*διακονία*), teaching, exhortation, giving [alms], ruling, showing mercy. In 1 Th 5^{12} we have leaders (*προιστάμενοι*); cf. 1 Ti 3$^{4f.12}$ 5^{17}, where this word is used of 'bishops' and 'deacons.'

(*e*) *Fluidity of 'hieratic' language.*—In the NT and the sub-apostolic writers the word *ἱερεύς* is not used of a Christian minister, though Christians as a body are called 'priests' and 'a priesthood' (*ἱεράτευμα*) in 1 P 2$^{5.9}$, Rev 1^{6} (cf. Rev 5^{10} 20^{6}), just as all Israel had been 'priests' (Ex 19^{6}). Our Lord Himself is called a 'priest' or 'high priest' (*ἀρχιερεύς*) in He 3^{1} 5$^{5f.}$ 7$^{17.26}$ 10^{21}, etc. Clement of Rome, Ignatius, and Irenæus do not use 'hieratic' language of the Christian ministry, but the *Didache* says of the Christian prophets: 'they are your high priests' (§ 13). Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, *c.* A.D. 190, says (quoted by Eus. *HE* v. 24) that St. John was a priest, wearing the mitre (or 'golden plate,' *πέταλον*); but the meaning is not clear.[1] Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 150) calls the Christian body 'the true high-priestly race of God' (*Dial.* 116). Tertullian at the end of the century speaks of the bishop as 'high-priest' ('summus sacerdos,' *de Bapt.* 17), and, in reference to the Christian ministry, speaks of 'functions of priesthood' ('sacerdotalia munera,' *de Præscr.* 41). Hippolytus, early in the 3rd cent., uses similar language (*Hær.* i. pref.): 'We being their [the apostles'] successors and participators in this grace of high-priesthood,' etc. In Cyprian the bishop is frequently called 'sacerdos,' and his office 'sacerdotium.' The *Older Didascalia* (3rd cent.) calls the bishops 'high-priests' (Funk, *Didasc. et Const. Apost.*, Paderborn, 1905, i. 102), and says that the Jewish priests and levites now correspond to the deacons, presbyters, widows, and orphans. The names 'high-priest' for the bishop, and 'priests' and 'levites' for the presbyters and deacons respectively, were frequently used in the 4th cent. and onwards, and are often found in the Church Orders (for references see Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 67, n.). In the ordination prayer for a presbyter in the *Apost. Const.* viii. 16 (*c.* A.D. 375) and in the Epitome known as *Constitutions through Hippolytus*, § 6 (Funk, ii. 80), his functions are called *ἱερουργίαι*, 'priestly duties.' Of other 4th cent. writers we may take as an example Epiphanius, who uses *ἱερεύς* for a Christian priest (*Exp. Fid.* 21), and whose 'priesthood' (*ἱερωσύνη*) includes subdeacons, but not readers (*ib.*). Jerome calls his famous treatise on the ministry 'Concerning priesthood' (*Περὶ ἱερωσύνης*). At the Council of Laodicea (*c.* A.D. 380, can. 27, 30), 'hieratics' (*ἱερατικοί*) are the bishops, priests, and deacons, as opposed to the 'clerics' (*κληρικοί*), who include the minor orders. In *Apost. Const.* iii. 15, and in the *Apost. Canons*, 63 (*c.* A.D. 400), the minor orders are included among the 'hieratics.' In the Syriac-speaking Churches the word *kāhnūthā* (which is the translation of *ἱερωσύνη*) is used for all orders of the ministry.

The use of this language does not mean that a new conception of the ministry was entertained by those in whose writings it is first found. It was not likely to be used as long as any Jewish priests or levites were in the ranks of the Christian ministry. For example, Barnabas was a levite (Ac 4^{36}), and could not well have been called a 'priest' without considerable confusion. When 'hieratic' language was first used in the Christian Church, it was a new nomenclature, but did not imply any new functions. It is a fallacy to describe some 2nd cent. Christian writers as unsacerdotal, and some as sacerdotal. The use of 'hieratic' language meant that the writers who employed it ascribed to Christian officials the ministry delivered by the Great, and in the strictest sense the Only, High Priest, our Lord Himself. The writers like Ignatius who do not use 'hieratic' language are even more emphatic about the authority of the ministry than those who do.

3. Charismatic ministry.—This term properly indicates those who are endowed with any spiritual gifts, called *χαρίσματα* ('gifts') in 1 Co 12^{4} or simply *πνευματικά* ('spiritual [things']) in 12^{1} 14^{1}; but it is conveniently used for those who had 'extraordinary' charismata. We must distinguish between the 'charismatic' and the official ministry. As long as extraordinary charismata continued, the two went on side by side. Yet the same person might be of both ministries; thus St. Paul was an apostle, and yet spoke with tongues more than all (1 Co 14^{18}). The charismata enumerated in 1 Co 12^{8-10} include wisdom, knowledge, faith, healings, miracles, prophecy, discerning of spirits, tongues, interpretation of tongues. Of these probably the most prominent was prophecy. For the passages in which Christian prophets are mentioned see § **1**, above; these, however, do not imply that Agabus, Judas, Silas, and others held office in the Church as prophets, though they may have done so in another capacity. It is recognized that any one might receive a revelation, and so be a 'prophet' (cf. 1 Co 14^{30}). Thus those whom we should call 'laymen,' as not being of the official ministry, spoke in the Christian assemblies (*ib.*). But women were not allowed to do so (v.^{34}), though they might be prophetesses (Ac 21^{9}). In 1 Co 14 the charisma of tongues is somewhat disparaged as compared with prophecy.

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[1] The word 'pastor' or 'shepherd' (*ποιμήν*) is used of our Lord in He 13^{20}, 1 P 2^{25} (cf. 1 P 5^{4}, Jn 10$^{11.14}$). It was often applied to bishops by later writers (e.g., *Apost. Const.* ii. 1). The verb *ποιμαίνειν* is used of the Christian ministry in Jn 21^{16}, Ac 20^{28}, 1 P 5^{2} (cf. Jude^{12}). In Ac 13^{1} 'prophets' and 'teachers' are joined together (cf. 1 Co 12^{28}).

[1] H. Delff's theory is that the 'beloved disciple' (whom he distinguishes from the apostle John) was a native of Jerusalem and belonged to one of the high-priestly families (W. Sanday, *Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, Oxford, 1905, p. 99 f.).

Prophecy long continued. For the prophets in the *Didache* see above, § **1**. Quadratus, early in the 2nd cent., was renowned for his prophetical gifts (Eus. *HE* iii. 37). Polycarp is called in the letter written by the Smyrnæans 'an apostolic and prophetic teacher' (*Mart. Pol.* 16; A.D. 155 or 156). Hermas received revelations, and his *Shepherd* (*c.* A.D. 150?) was widely received as a prophetic writing. Even in the 4th cent. the Church Orders speak of charismata, and in particular of revelations, being expected; *e.g.*, the *Test. of our Lord* speaks of those expected by the bishops, presbyters, widows, and by any Christians (i. 21, 23, 29, 31 f., 40); gifts of healing or of knowledge or of tongues are referred to as being a possible endowment of any Christian (i. 47). Such a one was not to be ordained ('a hand is not laid on him'), but to be had in honour (*ib.*). See also below, §§ 6–8.

The term 'charismatic ministry' is capable of being misunderstood, as if the official ministry was considered a purely mechanical one, and only of human appointment. But St. Paul clearly recognizes the official ministry as charismatic in another sense. Timothy had the charisma in virtue of his ordination (1 Ti 4^{14}). The official ministry had the 'spiritual gift,' though it was not of the same nature as that of those who had extraordinary endowments; and the two ministries, as we have seen, might overlap.

4. Bishops, presbyters, and deacons from the 2nd cent. onwards.—(*a*) *Bishops.*—In the Epistles of Ignatius (*c.* A.D. 110) we find bishops in the later sense of the word fully established. We may here make an endeavour to collect the facts with regard to the diocesan episcopate, postponing a statement of the theories that have been advanced as to its origin. The phrase 'diocesan episcopate' is perhaps the best that we can use, as it begs no question as to the relation of the bishop to the presbyter; the phrase 'monarchical episcopate,' which is used by many writers, is open to this objection.

The establishment of bishops in the later sense in the Churches of the province of Asia and elsewhere is ascribed by a steady tradition to John the Apostle. Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives*, 42) says that 'after the tyrant's death' John 'returned to Ephesus from the isle of Patmos,' and 'went away, being invited, to the contiguous territories of the nations, here to appoint bishops, there to set in order whole Churches, there to ordain such as were marked out by the Spirit.' Tertullian similarly says (*adv. Marc.* iv. 5) that 'the order of the bishops' [of the Seven Churches of Asia, or of all the Churches of the province] 'when traced up to their origin' rests 'on John as their author.' And the *Muratorian Fragment* (*c.* A.D. 180?) says that John was exhorted by 'his fellow disciples and bishops' to write his Gospel. Ignatius speaks of bishops being established all over the world (*Eph.* 3). But we do not find the diocesan episcopate established in all places at an equally early date. Thus Ignatius writes to the Philippians, but makes no mention of their bishop. Clement of Rome (*c.* A.D. 95) likewise omits all reference to a bishop at Corinth when writing to the Corinthians. It is, of course, possible that the office at Philippi and Corinth was vacant at the dates of these letters; but this hypothesis cannot be proved, and the deduction has usually been made that the diocesan episcopate was not established in these two places so soon as elsewhere. The position at Rome at the end of the 1st cent. has been considered doubtful. Clement writes in the name of his Church (not of the presbyters), but he does not call himself its bishop, nor does he name himself at all; we have to gather information about the authorship of this Epistle from subsequent writers. Clement obviously held a prominent position in the Roman Church; and, though nomenclature and organization matured themselves more slowly at Rome than elsewhere, the testimony of all antiquity must be taken as showing that he held the first place in it. Thus Irenæus makes Clement the third bishop of Rome in the list which he gives of bishops of that city up to his own time (*Hær.* III. iii. 3). He says that Linus, the first bishop, received the office from the apostles Peter and Paul, and that Anacletus succeeded him, and was in turn succeeded by Clement. Before Irenæus, Hegesippus had already made a list of the bishops of Rome, as all the Greek MSS and the Syriac versions of Eus. *HE* iv. 22 assert (see Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, pt. i., 'Clement,' i. 154). The alternative (rejected by Lightfoot but accepted by Harnack) of *διατριβήν* for *διαδοχήν* is a conjecture based on the loose paraphrase of Rufinus. But, as Hegesippus's list is not extant, we cannot tell where it began. We notice that Ignatius, in writing to Rome, mentions no bishop there, and that, as G. Salmon remarks (*Introd. to the NT*^{6}, London, 1892, p. 519, n.), all through the first two centuries the importance of the bishop of Rome is merged in the importance of his Church. Dionysius of Corinth (*c.* A.D. 170) writes to the Church of Rome, not to Soter its bishop, though he mentions him in the third person.

Long before the end of the 2nd cent. the diocesan episcopate was universal, so much so that writers like Clement of Alexandria, as we have seen, did not know that the 'bishops' of the NT were the same as the presbyters. It is therefore unnecessary to carry further an investigation into the spread of the system in the 2nd century (for detailed information reference may be made to Lightfoot, 'Dissertation,' in his *Philippians*). But it is desirable to refer to the conception of the episcopate which we find in the works of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage in the middle of the 3rd century. Ignatius and Irenæus had described the bishop as a centre of unity, and Cyprian emphasizes this still more in his treatise *de Unitate Ecclesiæ* and in his *Epistles.* In this connexion he dwells strongly on the sin of schism from the visible unity symbolized and guarded by the bishop. It has been said that he 'magnified his office,' and extended its claims to autocracy; yet no one emphasizes more than he the necessity of constitutional action on the part of the bishop, and his obligation to carry his clergy and laity with him (see below (*b*)). He also dwells on the election of the bishops by the people (see art. LAITY, § 4). There is no real foundation for Hatch's view, from which his German translator Harnack dissents, that the rule that there should be only one bishop in each community was not fully established before Cyprian's time, and was due to his dispute with Novatian (*Organization of the Early Christian Church*, p. 103; for an account of Cyprian's view of the ministry reference may be made to Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*⁵, pp. 151–156, with his quotations in the footnotes).

It would seem that at the first the primary object of a local ministry was liturgical. Thus the *Didache*, immediately after mentioning the Sunday worship (§ 14), continues: 'Appoint (*χειροτονήσατε*) for yourselves *therefore* bishops and deacons' (§ 15). And so in the succeeding ages one of the principal functions of the diocesan bishop was to celebrate the Eucharist. In the Church Orders of the 4th and 5th centuries the newly-consecrated bishop himself begins to exercise his functions by doing so, rather than the principal consecrator, as in modern times. The same idea underlies the ancient practice, still preserved in some parts of Christendom, of 'concelebration,' that is, of the newly-ordained presbyters joining aloud with the bishop who has just ordained them, in consecrating the Eucharist. (In the early ages concelebration was not confined to ordinations.) We may compare the custom, which also survives, of a newly-ordained deacon reading the liturgical gospel, that being one of his functions which he immediately begins to discharge. In this connexion we may notice that the bishop and the presbyter were the only persons allowed to celebrate the Eucharist (see art. LAITY, § 5 (*a*)).

The Council of Nicæa enacted that bishops were not to be translated from one see to another (can. 15; A.D. 325). But this rule was almost immediately disregarded (see Athanasius, *Apol. c. Arian.* 25). The Nicene Council applied it also to presbyters and deacons.

(*b*) *Presbyters.*—In early Christian literature the presbyters are frequently recognized as the councillors of the bishop. Ignatius, who says that the presbytery is attuned to the bishop as strings to a lyre (*Eph.* 4), bids the people submit to the bishop and presbyters (*Eph.* 2, 20, *Trall.* 13), and do nothing without them (*Magn.* 7, *Trall.* 2 f., 7); he speaks of 'the bishop presiding (*προκαθημένου*) after the likeness of God, and the presbyters after the likeness of the council (*συνεδρίου*) of the apostles' (*Magn.* 6); in *Smyrn.* 8, the bishop is compared to our Lord, and the presbyters to the apostles (cf. *Magn.* 13: 'with your revered bishop and with the fitly-wreathed spiritual circlet of your presbytery, and with the deacons who walk after God'). In the same way, more than a century later, Cyprian says (*Ep.* xiv. [v.] 4, 'To the presbyters and deacons') that he had determined from the beginning of his episcopate to do nothing without the advice (*consilium*) of the presbyters, and the concurring feeling (*consensus*; see arts. LAITY, § 8) of the people. The presbyters are here recognized as councillors of the bishop in a higher sense than the laity. This is not quite the same position as in *Ep.* xxxviii. (xxxii.) 1 ('To the presbyters, deacons, and people'), where Cyprian speaks of consulting them all before he ordained clergy. This is the equivalent of the more modern *Si quis* or public intimation of a proposed ordination. Origen likewise compares the 'councillors' and 'rulers' of the Church with those of the city, clearly meaning the presbyters and the bishop (*c. Cels.* iii. 30). A similar state of things is seen in the *Older Didasc.* (ii. 28, 3rd cent.; Funk, i. 108), where it is said that the presbyters are 'honoured as apostles and councillors of the bishop, and the crown of the Church, for they are the council and curia of the Church.' The derived *Apost. Const.* (ii. 28) use nearly the same language.

It is for this reason that the bishop had his throne in the church with the presbyters sitting round him on either side. Thus in the *Apost. Ch. Ord.* (*c.* A.D. 300; for the Syriac text and tr. see *JThSt* iii. [1901] 59) the presbyters are appointed by the bishop, and sit on either side of him, those on the right being the regulators of the service of the altar, those on the left the regulators of the people; and the presbyters are 'sharers in the mysteries' with the 'shepherd' (the bishop; see above, § 2). In the *Older Didasc.* (ii. 57; Funk, i. 158), the *Apost. Const.* (ii. 57), and the *Test. of our Lord* (i. 19) the same arrangement is found. In the last-mentioned manual the more exalted and honoured presbyters, who 'labour in the word,' sit on the right, and 'those of middle age' (*i.e.* the younger ones; see above, § 2 (*b*) for the association of the presbyterate and old age) sit on the left. For an ambiguity as to the position of the bishop and presbyters when ministering at the altar, see Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 37.

The presbyters were charged with celebrating the Eucharist, at least when the bishop was absent (see above), and with pastoral duties to the flock. In the 4th cent. the *Apost. Const.* thus sum up the functions of bishops and presbyters (viii. 28):

> 'The bishop blesses, but does not receive the blessing; he lays on hands (*χειροθετεῖ*), ordains (*χειροτονεῖ*),[1] offers (the Eucharist), receives a blessing from bishops, but not at all from presbyters; the bishop exercises discipline (*καθαιρεῖ*) over every cleric who deserves discipline, except over a bishop, for alone he cannot (do this). The presbyter blesses, but does not receive the blessing except from a bishop or fellow-presbyter, and so he gives it to a fellow-presbyter; he lays on hands but does not ordain; he does not exercise discipline, but he separates those inferior to him,' etc.

An interesting feature is that the presbyter is allowed to confirm, for this seems here to be the meaning of *χειροθετεῖν*,[2] blessing and ordaining being mentioned as different actions. Ordinarily the presbyter baptized, and brought the neophyte to the bishop for confirmation; this is the regular practice in the Church Orders and was the earlier custom in both East and West. In the East the presbyter has for many centuries confirmed, both in the Orthodox and in the Separated communions, but he uses chrism consecrated by the bishop. The same thing is also found in the West, but only in exceptional cases. Innocent I. in his *Epistle to Decentius* (§ 3; A.D. 416) shows that Western presbyters had the power by custom, though he did not approve of their exercising it. The Council of Orange (A.D. 441) says (can. 1, 2) that in the absence of a bishop a presbyter may receive penitent heretics, marking them with the chrism and benediction, *i.e.* (apparently) confirming them. Still earlier the first Council of Toledo (A.D. 400) shows the same thing by implication. It forbids (can. 20) a presbyter to consecrate the chrism, and allows only a bishop to do so, but says that deacons or subdeacons shall fetch the chrism from the bishop before Easter. The Council of Carthage, A.D. 390 (can. 3), also forbids presbyters to consecrate the chrism. This implies a regular practice of confirming by presbyters (for further references see Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, p. 338, n.). For Egypt we have the evidence of the writer known as Ambrosiaster (*in Eph.* iv. 12), who says that in that country the presbyter 'signs' (*consignat*) if the bishop be not present; and we read the same in *Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test.* § 101, printed as an appendix to vol. iii. of the Benedictine ed. of Augustine (another reading there has 'consecrate,' *i.e.* consecrate the Eucharist). Lightfoot ('Dissertation,' p. 231) makes the surely strange error of supposing that this 'consignatio' means 'ordination.'[1]

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[1] One good MS reads: 'ordains, does not lay on hands.'

[2] It has, however, been interpreted of the absolution of penitents. C. H. Turner (*JThSt* xvi. [1915] 61), who adopts the alternative reading, interprets this 'laying on of hands' of the custom of the presbyters laying on hands at the ordination of a presbyter. Against this, however, is the fact that in the *Apost. Const.* that custom is not mentioned, and is perhaps negatived (see below, § 8 (*a*)).

There are traces in our period of a very close connexion between presbyter and bishop. Thus in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, which in their present form are perhaps of the 4th cent., but which adhere very closely to their 3rd cent. source, we read that a bishop and a presbyter are ordained with the same prayer except for the name of the office, and except that in the case of the presbyter enthronization is omitted. 'The bishop is in all things put on an equality with the presbyter, except the name of the throne and ordination, for the power of ordination is not given to him,' *i.e.* to the presbyter (can. iv.; ed. H. Achelis, Leipzig, 1891, §§ 30–32). So in the *Egyptian Church Order* (§ 32) there is only one ordination prayer for bishop and presbyter. The later Church Orders have separate prayers.

A bishop is still called a 'presbyter' in the 2nd and later centuries (see, *e.g.*, Iren. *Hær.* III. ii. 2, 'successions of presbyters,' which in iii. 2 he explains as 'successions of bishops'). In his letter to Victor Irenæus speaks of 'the presbyters before Soter who presided over the Church which thou rulest' (Eus. *HE* v. 24). Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria (*c.* A.D. 258), speaks of 'my fellow-presbyter Maximus' (Eus. vii. 11). For Clement of Alexandria see above, § 1 (*b*), and for Firmilian see below, § 8 (*a*).

(*c*) *Deacons.*—This was a numerous and important order in all the early ages. The deacon's functions are summarized by the author of the *Apost. Const.* (viii. 28), by saying that he does not bless or baptize or offer [the Eucharist], but that, when a bishop or presbyter has offered, he gives [the sacrament] to the people, not as a priest (*ἱερεύς*) but as one who ministers to the priests. He is described in the oldest as well as in the later liturgies as assisting at the Eucharist, and especially as saying the short exhortations and the ectene, or litany (see, *e.g.*, the liturgies in the *Test. of our Lord* and in the *Apost. Const.* viii.); he keeps order in service time (*Test.* i. 34; *Older Didasc.* ii. 57, etc.); he assists at baptism in all the Church Orders which describe the rite; in some authorities he is allowed to baptize in the absence of bishop and presbyter (see art. LAITY, § 5); he often reads the liturgical gospel at the Eucharist (Sozomen, *HE* vii. 19; *Test.* i. 27), as at this day in the West; he administers the eucharistic gifts in Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 65), and often in the Church Orders (for details see J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, *Test. of our Lord*, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 223; for *Apost. Const.* see above); he has many pastoral duties, such as visiting the sick (*Test.* i. 34, *Apost. Const.* ii. 32, 44, iii. 19, *Egyp. Ch. Ord.* 33), entertaining strangers (*Test.* i. 34), arranging for burials[2] (*ib.* and Eus. *HE* vii. 11). The deacon also attends to the eucharistic offerings and is often the almoner of the Church (*Older Didasc.* ii. 57; *Apost. Const.* iii. 19). In some authorities the bishop and presbyters exercise the discipline of the laity through the deacons (*Test.* i. 36 f.; *Apost. Const.* ii. 16; *Ethiopic Didasc.* § 4). As time went on, deacons pressed their claims and relegated several of their lesser functions to the minor orders. We find several writers repressing deacons for this reason—*e.g.*, Cyprian (*Ep.* iii. [lxiv.] 13, 'ad Rogatianum'), the Council of Arles (can. 15; A.D. 314), which says that many deacons attempted to celebrate the Eucharist, that of Nicæa (can. 18; A.D. 325), and almost all the Church Orders, the *Test. of our Lord* being a solitary exception, for in that manual the position both of deacons and of 'widows who preside' is greatly extolled.

(*d*) *Number of the clergy.*—Cornelius, bishop of Rome, writing to Fabian or Fabius, bishop of Antioch, A.D. 251 (the letter is given by Eus. *HE* vi. 43), enumerates the various orders and classes at Rome as follows: one bishop (about this he is emphatic), 46 (*var. lect.* 36) presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, 52 exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers, and more than 1500 widows and persons in distress (for the minor orders see below, § 6). But in unimportant places the clergy were much fewer. In the *Apost. Ch. Ord.* (*c.* A.D. 300) there were: one bishop, 3 presbyters, 3 deacons (so the Syriac), one (?) reader, 3 widows. In the *Test. of our Lord* (*c.* A.D. 350?) we have (i. 34), besides the bishop, 12 presbyters, 7 deacons, 14 subdeacons, 13 'widows who preside' (the Greek original no doubt had *προκαθήμεναι*). Seven was a very ordinary number for the deacons, because of the Seven in Ac 6. Sozomen says (*HE* vii. 19) that even in his day (5th cent.) there were only 7 deacons in Rome, though 'in other Churches the number of deacons is a matter of indifference.' The Council of Neo-Cæsarea, appealing to Acts, says that even in the largest towns there are not to be more than 7 deacons (can. 15; *c.* A.D. 314, or perhaps a little later). The number twelve for the presbyters in the *Test. of our Lord* may be due to the comparison of their order to the apostles. Eutychius (10th cent.) describes Alexandria in old days as having had twelve presbyters; but his evidence is quite untrustworthy (see below, § 8 (*d*)).

(*e*) *Age of ordination.*—At Neo-Cæsarea it was enacted (can. 11) that no one was to be ordained presbyter before he was thirty years of age, because our Lord then began to teach. This became the general rule for many centuries. There was no similar rule about bishops, but the 2nd can. of Nicæa says that no novice in the faith is to be ordained presbyter or bishop. The minimum age for deacons seems to have been twenty-five. The Council of Hippo (A.D. 393) says that no one is to be ordained at all under that age (can. 1); but this rule can hardly have applied to the minor orders, for the same Council (can. 18) speaks of readers who are appointed as quite young boys. So Cyprian (*Ep.* xxxviii. [xxxii.] 1) and Socrates (*HE* vii. 41) speak of very young readers. The *Gallican Statutes* (*c.* A.D. 500; see below, § 6 (*c*)) say that a bishop must be of the 'prescribed age,' but does not say what that is (§ 1).

It may be convenient to note here some later rules as to age of ordination. The Maronite rule is that a presbyter must be over 30, for the reason stated above (H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Würzburg, 1863–64, ii. 148), and a deacon must be over 21 (*ib.* p. 128). The East Syrian or Nestorian *Sunhādhūs*, or 'Book of Canon Law' (VI. iv. 2; Maclean and W. H. Browne, *Catholicos of the East*, London, 1892, p. 201), says that readers must not be ordained till past boyhood, subdeacons when nearly grown up, deacons a little later, presbyters about 18, though (it adds) the ancient age was 30. The Anglican minimum age for deacons is 23, for presbyters 24, for bishops 30, and this is the usual Western custom; some relaxation of the rule has rarely been made in the case of deacons.

5. Development of the supervisory offices.—(*a*)

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[1] The present writer can find no good instance of 'consignare' or its Greek equivalent *σφραγίζειν*, or their substantives, being applied to ordination. The Greek *σφραγίς* and its Oriental equivalents usually refer to baptism or confirmation, or both, or to the sign of the cross; by analogy Tertullian (*adv. Valent.* 1) uses 'consignare' of admission to the Eleusinian mysteries (see also Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, pt. i., 'Clement,' ii. 226, n.; Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 109). In the *Verona Latin Fragments* (ed. Hauler, p. 110) 'consignare' is used in contradistinction to ordination, for the part played by the presbyters at a presbyter's ordination (see below, § 8 (*a*)): 'The presbyter at the ordination (*ordinatione*) of a presbyter signs (*consignat*) when the bishop ordains (*episcopo ordinante*).' Ducange (*Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, Paris, 1840–50, Niort, 1883–87) gives no instance of *consignatio* meaning 'ordination,' though he gives instances of its meaning 'confirmation.' Suicer (*Thesaurus*, 3199) gives one instance from pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita (*Eccl. Hier.* v. p. 312 [*PG* iii. 509]) of *σφραγίς* meaning 'ordination,' but this instance is very doubtful.

[2] It has been suggested that 'the young men' of Ac $5^{6.10}$ (note the definite article) who buried Ananias and Sapphira were prototypes of the deacons in this respect. For the *copiatæ*, or 'grave-diggers' (mentioned by Epiphanius, *Exp. Fid.* 21), and the *parabolani* (visitors of the sick) see J. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, p. 195 f.

Metropolitans.—The name is first found in the 4th cent., before which there is no certain trace of provincial organization, the 'eparchy' in the *Apost. Ch. Ord.* being apparently the civil province. At Nicæa metropolitans are mentioned by that name (can. 4, 6), and the word 'eparchy' is apparently used of an ecclesiastical province, though, as the civil and ecclesiastical provinces normally coincided, this is not quite certain. At the Council of Antioch *in Encæniis* (A.D. 341) metropolitans are recognized in effect, though the name is not given to them (can. 9, 19); 'the bishop presiding in the metropolis' (*i.e.* in the civil capital) is the phrase used, and the corresponding verb is employed in can. 19. The word 'metropolitan' is used at Laodicea (can. 12; *c.* A.D. 380). On the other hand, there is no mention of a metropolitan in the Church Orders, and this is a cogent argument against their being dated later than the 4th cent., and for their not being assigned to any of the great centres like Alexandria or Antioch. In these manuals the neighbouring bishops come together for the election of a bishop, and the whole assembly of bishops, clergy, and laity elect, just as they do in Cyprian (*Ep.* lxvii. 5, 'To the clergy and people in Spain'); but there is no metropolitan. There is perhaps just a faint trace of a primacy in *Apost. Const.* viii. 4, which speaks of 'one of the first bishops' saying the ordination prayer of a bishop; and so in the *Arabic Didasc.* (*c.* A.D. 400?; § 36, 'the first bishop among them'). But this is all. A rather stronger trace is to be seen in the *Apost. Canons* (can. 35 [also numbered 34 or 33]; *c.* A.D. 400). After the 4th cent. metropolitans became practically universal.

Although there was no regular organization of provinces before the 4th cent., yet bishops of certain important cities, like Rome, Carthage, Alexandria, Antioch, wielded great influence over the neighbouring bishops. We see this in the case of Cyprian. At Nicæa the authority of the bishops of Alexandria and Rome is spoken of as an ancient custom, and no one is made bishop without the metropolitan (can. 6). Alexandria is to have, as before, authority over Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, *i.e.* over more than one civil province (*ib.*). The growth of this influence was promoted by the holding of synods, when external circumstances permitted. Synods would ordinarily be held in the 'metropolis' (chief town) of the civil province or eparchy, and the bishop of that city would naturally preside. So the civil metropolis tended to become the ecclesiastical metropolis. But this was not always the case with synods. At that of the bishops of Pontus held to consider the Paschal question, Palmas as the oldest [bishop] presided (Eus. *HE* v. 23). Palmas was bishop of Amastris (iv. 23). At the end of the 4th cent. the Council of Hippo decreed that a bishop of a principal see (*prima sedes*) was not to be called 'princeps sacerdotum' or 'summus sacerdos,' but simply 'primæ sedis episcopus' (can. 25). Thus the name 'metropolitan' was apparently not in use in the province 'Africa'; and Hefele thinks that, except at Carthage, the metropolitan rights went to the oldest bishop of the province, and that the same thing held good in Spain before Constantine's time (*Hist. of the Councils*^{2}, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1872, i. 162).

In spite of his position at Carthage, Cyprian affirms that all bishops are equal. Thus in *de Unitate*, 5, he says that the episcopate is one and that all bishops are full partners in it with joint and several responsibility; for this is the meaning of his phrase 'cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.' So in *Ep.* lv. (li.) 21, 'ad Antonianum,' he says that every bishop disposes and directs his own acts, and will have to give an account of his purposes to the Lord. Cf. also *Epp.* lvii. (liii.) 5, lix. (liv.) 14, both to Cornelius; Cyprian says that appeals are not to be carried outside the province in which the cause began.

The custom of giving the pallium to metropolitans hardly falls within the limits of this article (see *DCA* ii. 1174).

(*b*) *Patriarchs.*—The name 'patriarch' was probably borrowed from the Jews. In the LXX of 1 Ch 27^{22} it is used for the head of a tribe, and in 24^{31} and some MSS of 9^{9} 23^{20} for the head of a πατριά, or subdivision of a tribe. In the NT it is used of David (Ac 2^{29}), the sons of Jacob (7$^{8f.}$), and Abraham (He 7^{4}). In 4 Mac 7^{17} 16^{22} (ed. W. R. Churton, *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, London, 1884) it is used of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and others. In the early centuries of our era a Jewish 'patriarch,' or representative of the nation, is several times mentioned—*e.g.*, by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* xii. 17; A.D. 348), who speaks of the Jews' 'recent measures relative to their patriarchs as they now call them.' The Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 134?) refers to the Jewish patriarch in his letter to the consul Servianus about religion in Alexandria (see Lightfoot, 'Dissertation,' p. 225). Hadrian visited Egypt A.D. 130. In Christian literature we find the term first applied to Christians non-officially. Basil seems to use it as equivalent to 'bishop' when he says (*Ep.* clxix. 'ad Greg.') that the deacon Glycerius assumed the style and title of patriarch. An example in Gregory of Nyssa's *Funeral Oration on Meletius, bishop of Antioch* († A.D. 381), when he exclaims 'Behold these your patriarchs,' is perhaps purely oratorical; he is referring to the bishops who attended the second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople. Gregory of Nazianzus explicitly uses the term of senior bishops (*Orat.* xlii. 23): 'aged bishops or, to speak more accurately, patriarchs.' But it came to be used of the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, though not by canons of councils till long after our period—not before the 9th cent.; the whole subject is treated in detail by Hatch in *DCA* ii. 1573 (art. 'Patriarch'). The growth of the authority of these sees is shown by the 6th can. of Nicæa, and the 28th of Chalcedon; the latter was rejected by the bishop of Rome. The ultimate result was the joining together of several provinces or eparchies, each of which was governed by its own metropolitan, under a single patriarch, whose jurisdiction was somewhat loosely defined, just in the same way as in civil affairs several 'eparchies' were grouped together into one *diœcesis*, which was a very different thing from our 'diocese.'

(*c*) *Archbishops.*—This term, which in the West became the customary title of metropolitans, was not so used in the East. It was a title of honour conferred on bishops of some of the greatest sees, though its application was not always uniform. In the 4th cent. Epiphanius uses the term (*Hær.* lxix. 3) of Meletius, bishop of the Thebais, and (lxviii. 1) of the bishop of Alexandria. At Chalcedon (A.D. 451) it is applied to the bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Rome (can. 28, 30; the last is not considered to be a canon proper; see Hefele, iii. 422).

(*d*) *Chorepiscopi.*—These 'country-bishops' were assistants to the diocesan bishops for the work of the rural districts. In the Greek-speaking Churches and in the West they were, at least normally, bishops—such is the trend of the evidence, though Morinus denies it—but in the Syriac-speaking Churches, at a later date, they were often confused with the περιοδευταί, or 'visitors,' and were presbyters. They somewhat resembled the assistant ('suffragan') and coadjutor bishops of the present day, in that they worked under the direction of the diocesan bishop, though their functions were not entirely the same. They are first mentioned at Ancyra (can. 13 [see below, § 8 (*b*)]; A.D. 314), Neo-Cæsarea (can. 14; A.D. 314 or a little later), Nicæa (can. 8; A.D. 325). From the 10th can. of the Council of Antioch *in Encæniis* (A.D. 341) we may perhaps gather that not all chorepiscopi were bishops, for it uses the expression 'even if they have received consecration as bishops.' They are also mentioned by Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arian.* 85), Basil (*Ep.* xxiv. etc.), and other 4th cent. writers. But they are not referred to in the Church Orders, and it is probable that they were to be found only in the busy centres, from which, as we have seen above (*a*), these manuals did not come. In the *Edessene Canons*, *i.e.* the Syriac *Teaching of the Apostles* (see *Ante-Nic. Chr. Lib.*, 'Syriac Documents,' p. 42 f.), a 'ruler' is to be appointed as head over the village presbyters; and these 'rulers' must have been itinerant visitors, for a reference is made to Samuel also making visits from place to place and ruling (can. 24; *c.* A.D. 350). The Council of Sardica in Illyricum (*c.* A.D. 347, or earlier) does not appear to recognize the existence of chorepiscopi. The 6th can. says that a bishop is not to be ordained in a village or small town for which one presbyter suffices, for it is not necessary there that a bishop should be made, lest the name of a bishop and his authority become cheap (the authenticity of these canons is disputed).

Among the functions of the chorepiscopus were the appointment and ordination of minor orders, but not as a rule of deacons and presbyters. To ordain these he must have the explicit consent of the diocesan bishop who had appointed him (Antioch *in Encæniis*, can. 10). He could also confirm; see the 3rd can. of the Council of Riez or Regium in Provence (Hefele, iii. 157; A.D. 439). Schismatic bishops when reconciled were sometimes made chorepiscopi, as there could not be more than one diocesan bishop in each see (Nicæa, can. 8; Socrates, *HE* i. 9; Riez, can. 3). Lightfoot ('Dissertation,' p. 233, n.) looks upon chorepiscopi as a survival of the 'presbyter-bishops' which his theory of the origin of the diocesan episcopate postulates (see below, § 10); but there is absolutely no evidence for this survival, and indeed it is very unlikely that chorepiscopi existed before the 4th century.

An attempt was made towards the end of that century to abolish the office. The Council of Laodicea (can. 57; *c.* A.D. 380) forbids their appointment for the future, and says that there are to be only periodeutæ (apparently presbyters), while chorepiscopi who had already been appointed were to act only with the consent of the diocesan bishop (this points to a certain self-assertiveness on the part of the chorepiscopi). But this canon did not put an end to the office. Chorepiscopi are found frequently in the Far East (see below), and were revived in the West for a time (Hefele, i. 18). There were some of this order present at the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431, but not at that of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.

In the East Syrian *Sunhādhūs* (vi. 1) there are three orders of the ministry, each with three subdivisions. In the second order (the presbyterate), chorepiscopi or periodeutæ (both these names are transliterated into Syriac) form the first subdivision, and seem to be identical. Their duties were to visit the villages and monasteries as representatives of the bishop (Maclean-Browne, *Catholicos of the East*, p. 182). They were not specially ordained, for the *Sunhādhūs* says that bishops 'ordain all readers, subdeacons, deacons, and presbyters, give a blessing to periodeutæ, and say a prayer over archdeacons' (*ib.*).

(*e*) *Archdeacons.* — Neither the name nor the office of an archdeacon is found before the end of the 4th century. The name is found in the *Pilgrimage of 'Silvia'* (*'Etheria'*), which has usually been assigned to that date, though some place it later; but even there it is not the name of a distinct office. Neither the name nor the distinct office is found in the Church Orders, though in the *Test. of our Lord* the principal deacon has certain duties assigned to him. Some writers at the end of, or later than, the 4th cent. give to certain famous deacons the name 'archdeacon,' as when Augustine calls Laurence by that title (*Serm. de diversis*, cxi. [ed. Ben. ccci.] 8); so Theodoret (*HE* i. 25) calls Athanasius the 'leader of the chorus of deacons, though a young man.' There is no archdeacon in Cornelius's list of Roman officials (above, § 4 (*d*)). Jerome (*Ep.* cxlvi., 'ad Evangelum'), mentions archdeacons as an order, and after his time they were common in both East and West. In the *Ordo Romanus Primus* the archdeacon plays a very important part in the eucharistic liturgy at Rome (*e.g.*, §§ 18, 20, ed. E. G. C. F. Atchley, London, 1905). But this work is probably of the 8th cent., though founded on a similar document of the 6th (Atchley, p. 7). The archdeacon was at first a deacon, and in some cases the senior deacon succeeded automatically to the office; but Sozomen (*HE* viii. 9) speaks of Chrysostom appointing Sarapion as archdeacon, and therefore he could not have succeeded automatically. There was only one in each diocese in the time of Jerome (*loc. cit.*). For the later development of this office see *DCA* i. 136.

In the East Syrian Church the archidiaconate is the middle subdivision of the second order, *i.e.* of the presbyterate (see above). The office is still used in that Church as an honorary one, and an influential presbyter is appointed 'arkān,' or archdeacon. In the West the office is in frequent use, and in most Western countries each bishop has at least one archdeacon, called the 'eye of the bishop.' The archdeacon is a senior presbyter, deputed to relieve the bishop of some of his minor functions.

6. Development of the lesser offices.—At an early date we find the existence of some orders of the ministry lower than those of bishops, presbyters, and deacons. We read at various times of subdeacons, readers, singers, interpreters, doorkeepers, acolytes, exorcists. There was also a ministry of women — widows, presbyteresses, deaconesses. It must be noted, however, that some of these offices were not always and in all places reckoned as orders; *e.g.*, exorcists were long considered to exercise a charismatic ministry, and were reckoned as being outside the ordinary roll of the clergy.

(*a*) *Readers* (*ἀναγνῶσται, lectores*).—This is probably the oldest of the minor orders. In Justin Martyr's description of the Eucharist (*Apol.* i. 67; *c.* A.D. 150) the reader of the lections plays an important part, though Justin may not mean that he was of a separate order in the ministry. In the *Apost. Ch. Ord.* (§ 19; *c.* A.D. 300) he comes before the deacon, and Harnack thinks (*Sources of the Apost. Canons*, Eng. tr., London, 1895, p. 71 f.) that his office was at first a charismatic one, and that he was not originally included among the clergy. Stress is laid in the manual just named on the necessity of the reader being learned. He must be 'able to instruct' or 'narrate' (*διηγητικός*), and he 'fills the place of an evangelist.' This qualification is not always insisted on in the case of a bishop; this Church Order says (§ 16) that, if a bishop does not know letters, at least he is to be meek. The *Test. of our Lord* also insists that the reader must be learned, and have had much experience (i. 45). Probably he had, at first, the duty of expounding what he read; but, when he was limited to the mere reading of the lections, his position fell, as it did at Rome in the middle of the 3rd century (see above, § 4 (*d*), where the readers are classed with the exorcists and doorkeepers, below the acolytes). In the other Church Orders the reader comes, sometimes before, and sometimes after, the subdeacon. In *Sarapion's Sacramentary* (§ 25; *c.* A.D. 350) the minor orders are 'subdeacons, readers, and interpreters.' There are indications in some of the authorities that readers were not numerous. The *Older Didasc.* and the *Apost. Const.* (ii. 28; Funk, i. 108 f.) suggest that it is probable that a church may not have a reader at all; and in several Church Orders there is an indirect indication that there was only one in each place (Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, pp. 14 f., 87). Readers come below deacons in Tertullian (*de Præscr.* 41). They are frequently mentioned in Cyprian; and they often had the important duty of reading the liturgical gospel at the Eucharist: this they did from a desk, or *ambo* (*Ep.* xxxix. [xxxiii.] 4, 'About Celerinus'). In the Diocletian persecution they had the custody of the Scriptures (J. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, p. 189).

(*b*) *Subdeacons* (*ὑποδιάκονοι*, *ὑπηρέται*, *subdiaconi*, *ministri*).—These officials, whose chief duty was to assist the deacons at the Eucharist and in their other functions, are mentioned in the 3rd cent. by Cornelius at Rome (above, § 4; he speaks of seven) and Cyprian in Africa (*Ep.* xxxiv. [xxvii.] 3, 'To the presbyters and deacons': he speaks of two subdeacons by name and a certain acolyte), and in the *Older Didasc.* (E. Hauler, *Verona Latin Fragments*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 40; Funk, i. 116; see below). In the 4th cent. we find them in Spain at Elvira (can. 30; *c.* A.D. 305; no other minor order is mentioned in these canons), in Egypt in *Sarapion's Sacramentary* (§ 25), in the Church Orders (but not in the *Apost. Ch. Ord.*), at Neo-Cæsarea in Cappadocia (can. 10; A.D. 314 or later), at Antioch *in Encœniis* (can. 10; A.D. 341), at Laodicea (can. 20–22, 25; *c.* A.D. 380), and in Athanasius (*Hist. Arian. ad Monachos*, 60; A.D. 358). At Neo-Cæsarea and Laodicea, and in *Apost. Const.* iii. 11, and elsewhere the subdeacon is called *ὑπηρέτης*, or 'minister.' The existence of subdeacons in the East before the 4th cent. has been disputed, and it has been thought that the passage in the *Didascalia* where they are mentioned is an interpolation; yet it occurs both in the Latin and in the Syriac versions. Eusebius (*HE* viii. 6) makes their existence in most parts of the East during the Diocletian persecution uncertain. He says that a royal edict directed that the presidents (*προεστῶτες*) of the Church everywhere should be imprisoned, and that the prisons were filled with bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcists; he omits any mention of subdeacons here. In the *Canons of Hippolytus* (can. xxi. [ed. Achelis, § 217]) they are mentioned together with presbyters and readers, in a passage where deacons are omitted; but this may be due to the present (4th cent. ?) form of the *Canons*; the omission of deacons may be a mere clerical error.

(*c*) *Acolytes, or collets* (*ἀκόλουθοι*, *acolythi*, *acoliti*).—These are first mentioned by Cornelius (above, § 4), and by Cyprian (*loc. cit.*). They are also mentioned in the *Gallican Statutes* (as J. Wordsworth has conveniently named them [*Ministry of Grace*, p. 58]) or *Statuta Ecclesiæ antiqua*, a collection of canons which used to be ascribed to the so-called 'Fourth Council of Carthage' (can. 6; Hefele, ii. 410; their real date is *c.* A.D. 500). Acolytes assisted at the Eucharist, and performed various minor functions in the services. They are found only in the West, where they became very numerous. Cornelius says that there were 42 at Rome in the 3rd century. As there were 14 regions in that city, there would be one deacon or subdeacon and three acolytes for each region (Harnack, *Sources of the Apost. Can.*, p. 95). An acolyte was sent by Cornelius as a messenger (Cyprian, *Ep.* xlix. [xlv.] 3).

(*d*) *Singers* (*ψάλται*, *ᾠδοί*, *ψαλτῳδοί*, *cantores*, *psaltæ*, etc.).—In the earlier Church Orders singers are mentioned, but not as a separate order. They had, however, already become such in the *Apost. Const.* (iii. 11, vi. 17; *c.* A.D. 375), at Laodicea (can. 23), in the *Apost. Canons* (can. 43 [42], 69 [68]; *c.* A.D. 400), and in the Arabic translation of the *Test. of our Lord* (i. 45), which adds a chapter to that manual about their appointment, and reduces the lesser orders in the *Test.* (see above, § 4) to 'four subdeacons and readers, three widows and singers'; the date of this Arabic translation is unknown. Singers are a separate order also in the *Gallican Statutes* (can. 10).

(*e*) *Interpreters* (*ἑρμηνεῖς*, *ἑρμηνευταί*, *interpretes*).—These are not mentioned in the Church Orders They naturally are found only in bilingual countries. Eusebius mentions them in Palestine (*Mart. Palest.*, longer version, § 1, tr. A. C. McGiffert, p. 342 [*Nic. and Post-Nic. Fathers*]); he says that Procopius was a reader, interpreter, and exorcist. Sarapion (§ 25) mentions them in Egypt, Epiphanius (*Exp. Fid.* 21) in Syria and Palestine. In the *Pilgrimage of 'Silvia'* (*'Etheria'*) we read (vii. 5) that at Jerusalem some spoke Greek only, and some Syriac only, and that, as the bishop, though he knew Syriac, yet spoke only in Greek, a presbyter stood by to translate the bishop's Greek into Syriac. For 1 Co 14^{28} see above, § 1 (*e*).

(*f*) *Doorkeepers* (*πυλωροί*, *ostiarii*).—These are mentioned in Cornelius's list, and in the *Apost Const.* (ii. 57, iii. 11), and the *Ethiopic Didasc.* (§ 10), but not in the other Church Orders, which retain (as indeed do also the *Apost. Const.*, rather inconsistently) the old direction that deacons are to guard the doors. For the devolution of the deacon's functions see above, § 4 (*c*).

(*g*) *Exorcists* (*ἐξορκισταί* in the NT, Josephus, and elsewhere, but *ἐπορκισταί* in *Apost. Const.* viii. 26, and Epiphanius, *Exp. Fid.* 21, *exorcistæ*).—Jewish exorcists are mentioned in Lk 11^{19} (where 'your sons' can hardly mean the disciples, but must be the Jews), Ac 19^{13}, and Jos. *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5 (he is speaking of the time of Solomon). Christian exorcists are mentioned by Cornelius, as above, and by Firmilian, who in his letter to Cyprian speaks of exorcists in Cappadocia twenty-two years before his time (Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxv. [lxxiv.] 10). But the Christian exorcizing of demons is mentioned by Justin (*Dial.* 85, *Apol.* ii. 6), Tertullian (*de Idol.* 11, *de Præscr.* 41), Origen (*c. Cels.* vii. 4). On the other hand, candidates for baptism were exorcized by the bishop before Easter (Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 97; T. Thompson, *Offices of Baptism and Confirmation*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 28). The Council of Laodicea (can. 26) says that no one may exorcize in churches or houses unless authorized by the bishop. The office of an exorcist was at first entirely charismatic, and he was not originally one of the clergy (see below, § 8 (*g*)). We can well understand that unrestrained exorcism became an abuse, and that exorcists needed stringent regulations.

(*h*) *Ministry of women.*—It is not very easy to distinguish between the 'widows' who were on the Church roll for relief and those who were, in some sort, in the ministry. The widows in Ac 6^{1} come under the former category; those of 1 Ti 5$^{3-16}$ perhaps under both, for v.$^{11ff.}$ seem to imply ministering. A deaconess, Phœbe, is mentioned in Ro 16^{1}, though Hort (*Christian Ecclesia*, p. 208) thinks that *διάκονος* (fem.) is here used in a non-technical sense, and merely means that Phœbe ministered to the needs of the Church. Many think that 'women' in 1 Ti 3^{11} (*γυναῖκας* without article) means deaconesses; note the qualifications for deacons which precede and follow.[1] We also read of Prisca (Priscilla) joining with Aquila in his evangelistic work (Ac 18^{26}); this was no doubt in private teaching, as St. Paul forbids a woman to speak in church (1 Co 14$^{34f.}$, 1 Ti 2$^{11f.}$). In the Christian literature after the NT we find frequent mention of a ministry by women. In the *Apost. Ch. Ord.* one of the 'widows' is to visit the sick, while the other two are to pray and receive spiritual revelations (see above, § 3). In the *Test. of our Lord* the 'widows who preside' (*προκαθήμεναι*) are an important order; they are also called 'presbyteresses,' as corresponding to presbyters, while deaconesses are mentioned as corresponding to deacons; deaconesses carry the Eucharist to a sick woman (ii. 20), just as a deacon does to a sick man (cf. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 65). At Laodicea presbyteresses (*πρεσβύτιδες*) are identified with 'those who preside' (can. 11); and their appointment for the future seems to be forbidden, though the interpretation is not quite clear. In early times widows or deaconesses were employed especially in the baptism of women. The deaconess is sometimes called *ἡ διάκονος* (Ro 16^{1}), but usually *ἡ διακόνισσα* (Nicæa, can. 19; *Apost. Const.* viii. 19; Epiphanius, *Exp. Fid.* 21). For further details see Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 83 f.; J. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, ch. v.

It may be interesting to give here Epiphanius's list of clergy and other classes of Christians in *Exp. Fid.* 21. He mentions bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, virgins, monks, ascetics, widows, 'those who marry honestly,' deaconesses (especially for baptism), exorcists, interpreters, grave-diggers (or *copiatæ*, see above, § 4 (*c*)), doorkeepers; and he adds: *καὶ ἡ πᾶσα εὐταξία.*

(*i*) *Promotion.*—It is a common, and in the West the usual, thing for a deacon and the lower officials to be in due course promoted; but it is doubtful if this was often the case in the first three centuries. The 'good step' (*βαθμὸν καλόν*; see § 8 (*g*)) of 1 Ti 3^{13} has been interpreted by Ambrose, Jerome, and some moderns, of promotion, though this is not very probable, and does not well suit the rest of the verse. The only instance of such a course in the 1st cent. is perhaps Philip, who in Ac 8 is one of the Seven, without authority to lay on hands, but in Ac 21^{8} is called 'the Evangelist,' that is (probably) one of the 'apostolic men' like Timothy and Titus who, though not apostles, yet shared the apostolic office (above, § 1 (*a*)). But, at any rate from the 4th cent., perhaps earlier, promotion from the lower to the higher offices became common. Those of readers and subdeacons are referred to in the *Test. of our Lord* (i. 44 f.), *Apost. Const.* (viii. 22, readers), and are implied by Basil (*Ep. canon. tert.* ccxvii. 69). Cyprian (*Ep.* xxxix. [xxxiii.] 5, 'To the clergy and people') speaks of promoting readers to the presbyterate—this was because they had been confessors (cf. § 7 below). The promotion of deacons is mentioned in the *Apost. Ch. Ord.* 22 (to the episcopate), *Apost. Const.* viii. 17 f., *Ethiop. Ch. Ord.* 24, and probably in the *Test.* i. 38; explicitly also in the *Codex Canonum Ecclesiæ Africanæ* (can. 31; Hefele, ii. 470). Polycarp is said by the 4th cent. pseudo-Pionius (see above, § 2 (*b*)) to have been successively deacon, presbyter, and bishop (§§ 11, 17, 23); and the Council of Sardica (can. 10, if genuine) says that a bishop must have been a reader, deacon, and presbyter, some time before becoming bishop.

7. **Honorary offices.**—It appears from the Church Orders that confessors, *i.e.* those who had been apprehended in the persecutions and had confessed their religion, but had escaped martyrdom, enjoyed an honorary presbyterate. A confessor (*ὁμολογητής*) had 'the honour of the presbyterate by his confession' (*Egyp. Ch. Ord.* 34; *Ethiop. Ch. Ord.* 25; *Canons of Hippolytus*, vi. [ed. Achelis, 43–47], *Test. of our Lord*, i. 39). It is, however, enacted in these manuals that, if a confessor is wanted for a bishop, he must receive the laying on of hands, or ordination. There is no evidence that confessors were ever allowed to minister, or to celebrate the Eucharist, without ordination. Indeed the *Canons of Hippolytus* (*loc. cit.*) say that a confessor has not got the form of the presbyterate, but he has obtained its spirit. An honorary presbyterate was possible, as there were many presbyters in each place; but an honorary episcopate was not possible, both because there was only one bishop in each see and because the bishop had the duty of ordaining others, which an unordained person could not do. It is noteworthy, and a sign of the earlier date of the Church Orders above mentioned, that the *Apost. Const.* (viii. 23; *c.* A.D. 375), while giving honour to confessors, yet repress their undue claims. This work says that a self-asserting confessor is to be cast out; confessors are not to be ordained unless wanted as bishops, priests, or deacons, in which case they are to be ordained. It says nothing about the honorary presbyterate.

That confessors were in some cases entitled to an honorary office is not the same thing as saying that confessors were preferred to others for the higher offices of the Church when they became vacant. Tertullian (*adv. Valent.* 4) tells us that Valentinus was indignant, when he expected to become a bishop, because another was preferred before him by reason of a claim which confessorship (*martyrium*) had given him. It is not said that the confessor who was preferred was made bishop without being ordained. Eusebius (*HE* v. 28), quoting an unnamed writer about the heresy of Artemon, mentions a confessor Natalius who was chosen by the heretics as their bishop, apparently because of his confessorship (early 3rd cent.). Hippolytus (*Hær.* ix. 7) relates how Callistus, having been imprisoned in Sardinia, succeeded Zephyrinus at Rome as bishop. Asclepiades, a confessor, became bishop of Antioch (Eus. *HE* vi. 11). But these and other instances prove nothing as to confessors becoming bishops without ordination.

8. **Transmission of the ministry.**—In this section we enter on the consideration of a series of facts whose significance is much disputed. An endeavour will be made to state the whole of the facts as far as they are relevant to the early period with which this article deals. For a description of rites used in transmitting the ministry see art. ORDINATION.

(*a*) In the NT we find, in the case of the Seven (Ac 6$^{1-6}$), that the people 'elect' (v.^{5} *ἐξελέξαντο*), while the apostles 'appoint' (v.^{3} *καταστήσομεν*) and set apart by prayer and imposition of hands (v.^{6}). In 14^{23} Paul and Barnabas 'ordain' (*χειροτονήσαντες*) presbyters 'for' the people of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, etc. The word used is a general one, and does not necessarily imply laying on of hands. It is used for election by a show of hands, or (as here) simply for appointing. In the case of the elders (presbyters) at Ephesus, Hort (*Christian Ecclesia*, p. 99) remarks that there is no indication that St. Paul appointed them. Yet the phrase 'the Holy Ghost hath made you bishops' (Ac 20^{28}) cannot be pressed to mean a direct authority of the presbyters received from God without human intervention, such as St. Paul himself had (Gal 1^{1}). God works through human means; and the analogy of 6$^{3f.}$ 14^{23} will lead us to suppose that, though the people probably elected their presbyters, St. Paul appointed them. St. Luke is not accustomed to repeat details of this nature. In 1 Ti 4^{14} the presbytery are said to have laid hands on Timothy, and in 2 Ti 1^{6} St. Paul is said to have done so; probably here we have the counterpart of the custom which is found in later ages of the presbyters and bishop joining in the ordination of a presbyter (see below). In 1 Ti 5^{22} Timothy lays on hands, though it is doubtful if ordination is here referred to. In Tit 1^{5} Titus 'appoints' (*καταστήσῃς*) presbyters in every city in Crete. We may notice, by way of analogy, another laying on of hands in Ac 8^{17} 19^{6}, which is not ordination; this is reserved for the apostles in those passages, though ordinarily they did not baptize (8^{13} 10^{48} 19^{5}, 1 Co 1^{14-17}).

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[1] Another interpretation makes these 'women' the wives of the deacons; but then we should have expected the article.

For the sub-apostolic period we have very little evidence on the point which we are now considering. But Clement of Rome describes in general terms how the ministry was appointed.

> '[The apostles] preaching everywhere in country and town, appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons. . . . They appointed (*κατέστησαν*) the aforesaid persons [the bishops and deacons], and afterwards they provided a continuance,[1] that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those therefore who were appointed by them (the apostles), or afterward by other distinguished (*ἐλλογίμων*) men with the consent of the whole Church . . . these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration' (*Cor.* 42, 44).

Here we have popular election, and 'appointment' (*κατάστασις*; for this word see art. ORDINATION) by 'distinguished men,' *i.e.*, not by the 'bishops and deacons,' but by such *viri apostolici* as Timothy and Titus.

For the 3rd cent. we have evidence that only bishops (in the later sense) could then ordain; for Novatian had to get, by a disreputable trick, three bishops to ordain him (see below (*e*) and (*f*)). Firmilian of Cappadocia, writing to Cyprian about the re-baptism of heretics (Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxv. [lxxiv.] 7 f.), denies that heretics can baptize, and says that 'all powers and graces are established in the Church where the presbyters preside who possess the powers both of baptizing and of imposition of hands and of ordaining.' Then, referring to St. Paul's having baptized (*sic*) John Baptist's disciples again, and having laid hands on them that they might receive the Holy Ghost, Firmilian goes on to say that the 'bishops of these times' can by imposition of hands alone give the Holy Spirit (*i.e.* by confirmation). His argument is against admitting heretics without re-baptism, because of St. Paul's action in Ac 19; but his words necessarily mean that none in his day but bishops could receive heretics by confirmation. With regard to the words which he uses in the earlier part of the paragraph, we may remark that by 'presiding presbyters' he must, being himself a bishop in the later sense of the word, mean bishops, even if he alludes to the custom of the presbyters joining in the ordination of a presbyter (see below); and it is significant that Cyprian translates Firmilian's *πρεσβύτεροι* by 'maiores natu' and 'seniores,' not by 'presbyteri'; cf. also § 4 in the same Epistle: 'we the presbyters and prelates.' We notice here another instance, besides those mentioned above in § 4 (*b*), of bishops being still called *πρεσβύτεροι*.

At least from the 4th cent. onwards we find explicitly stated the rule that only a bishop can ordain; possible exceptions will be noted below. As the *Canons of Hippolytus*, though not in their present form of the 3rd cent., reproduce very faithfully the language of their source, which probably goes back to Hippolytus's time, and may even have been written by him, it seems likely that this explicit rule also goes back to Hippolytus's time at least (see iv. [ed. Achelis, § 32]: 'the power of ordaining is not given to [a presbyter]').

In and after the 4th cent. (we have no earlier evidence on the point) we find a custom which is still prevalent in the West, that at the ordination of a presbyter the presbyters should lay on hands together with the bishop, though he alone says the prayer of ordination. This is found in the *Egyp. Ch. Ord.* (§ 32), the *Ethiop. Ch. Ord.* (§ 22), the *Test. of our Lord* (i. 30), the *Gallican Statutes* (§ 3; Hefele, ii. 411), and the *Verona Latin Fragments* (Hauler, pp. 108–110). These manuals emphasize the fact that the bishop acts alone in ordaining a deacon. This (as the last manual says) is because the deacon is ordained for the service of the bishop, and does not take part in council with the clergy, while 'on a presbyter the presbyters also lay (their) hands, because of the common and like spirit of the clergy (*cleri*); for a presbyter can only receive, he cannot give [this spirit], and therefore he does not ordain the clergy, but at the ordination of a presbyter he signs when the bishop ordains' (see above, § 4 (*b*)).

The custom of presbyters joining in the laying on of hands when a presbyter is ordained was apparently not known to the writer of the *Apost. Const.* He says (viii. 16): 'When thou ordainest a presbyter, O bishop, lay thy hand upon his head in the presence of the presbyters and deacons, and pray,' etc. He uses almost exactly the same words about the ordination of a deacon, while he does not, as the other Church Orders do, emphasize the fact that a bishop acts alone in ordaining a deacon. So in iii. 20 we read, according to the best MSS: 'A presbyter and a deacon [are to be ordained] by one bishop and [so are] the other clerks.' Three MSS here read 'by one bishop and the other clerks'; but this cannot in any case be the right reading, for deacons were never ordained by the bishop and presbyters jointly, and moreover 'clerks' must here mean the minor orders. See also above, § 4 (*b*).

The limitation of the power of ordaining to bishops is found in a large number of writers. For the *Canons of Hippolytus* see above. The *Apost. Const.* say that a presbyter cannot ordain even the minor orders (iii. 11, 20, viii. 28). So also the *Ethiopic Didasc.* (§ 14) limits ordination to bishops. Jerome, who energetically enunciates the closeness of relation between bishop and presbyter, yet denies that the latter can ordain: 'What does a bishop,' he writes, 'that a presbyter does not *except ordination?*' (*Ep.* cxlvi. 1, 'ad Evangelum'). The case of Ischyras, which happened early in the 4th cent., is important in this connexion, and is related by Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arian.* 11 f., 76). Ischyras had been ordained presbyter by Colluthus, who was, Athanasius tells us, never other than a presbyter. When after the Meletian schism in Egypt at the beginning of the 4th cent. Alexander (bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 313–326) admitted the presbyters who had been ordained by Meletius (bishop of Lycopolis), Ischyras was not even numbered among them, and therefore he did not receive ordination in that quarter (§ 11); but he was ordained presbyter by Colluthus, and all ordained by that man were, after the schism, reduced to the rank of laymen; and, Athanasius adds, no one doubts it (§ 12). The same writer quotes (§ 76) a letter of the clergy of Mareotis (in Egypt) saying that Ischyras was no presbyter; that he had been ordained by Colluthus who *pretended to the episcopate* [this is significant for the point of view of the clergy of Mareotis]; and that all ordained by Colluthus resumed (at the end of the schism) the same rank that they had before, and so Ischyras proved to be a layman. Alexander himself, in a letter quoted by Theodoret (*HE* i. 3), accused Colluthus of 'making a trade of Christ for lucre,' and says that he set up his sect before Arius's separation. Colluthus was declared by the Council of Alexandria (A.D. 324) to be only a presbyter. We must notice that the refusal to recognize Ischyras' ordination was not due to the fact that Colluthus was in schism (as also Meletius was), but to the fact that he was only a presbyter, and therefore could not ordain (on Colluthus see also Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxix. 2).

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[1] *ἐπιμονήν*. This is a conjecture; the MSS have *ἐπινομήν*, *ἐπιδομήν*, and the Syriac versions apparently read *ἐπὶ δοκιμήν* or *ἐπὶ δοκιμῇ* (see Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, pt. i., 'Clement,' ii. 132). Gore (*Church and the Ministry*, p. 288, n.) renders 'gave an additional injunction,' retaining *ἐπινομήν* on the strength of a recently discovered Latin version, which has 'legem dederunt.'

We may now consider certain possible exceptions to the above-named rule.

(*b*) *The 13th canon of Ancyra* (A.D. 314).—This canon, according to one reading, seems to say that under certain circumstances a presbyter was allowed in Galatia to ordain. It runs thus:

> 'It is not permitted to chorepiscopi to ordain presbyters and deacons, ἀλλὰ [μὴν] μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους (*var. lect.* πρεσβυτέροις) πόλεως, unless permission be given by the bishops in writing in every (*var. lect.* another) parish' [*i.e.* diocese].

The words left untranslated are uncertain both as to the reading and as to their signification. The dative πρεσβυτέροις is adopted by Lightfoot, who translates 'nor even to city presbyters, except permission be given in each parish by the bishop in writing.' This would recognize that city presbyters might, if allowed by the bishop, ordain. On the other hand, Routh, Gore, and Rackham read the accusative, and the last writer has gone into the readings with great care (in *Studia Bibl. et Eccles.*, iii. [Oxford, 1891] 139, 194). This would forbid chorepiscopi to ordain city-presbyters without leave. If so, there is still a doubt as to the meaning of ἀλλὰ μὴν μηδέ. Routh renders 'much less'; Gore 'no, nor'; while Rackham follows Lightfoot here and translates 'not even'—he takes the middle clause as a parenthesis, and understands the canon to say that chorepiscopi may not ordain presbyters and deacons in another parish, not even may they ordain town-presbyters (in their own parish) without the bishop's permission. On the whole, the readings of this canon are so uncertain that no argument can safely be built upon it. It is a decided objection to Lightfoot's general interpretation that, if it were the true one, this canon would stand absolutely alone in 4th cent. literature; the Alexandrian case (see below) is quite different. Another objection is that it would place the city-presbyters on a higher level as to powers of ordination (cf. 'not *even*') than the chorepiscopi, who at any rate were normally bishops. For detailed discussions on this canon see Lightfoot, 'Dissertation,' p. 232 f.; Gore, *Church and Ministry*^{5}, note D, p. 338.

(*c*) *The Canons of Hippolytus* say (ii. [ed. Achelis, § 10]) with regard to the ordination of a new bishop that 'one of the bishops and presbyters, who lays his hand on his head,' is to say the ordination prayer. This canon has sometimes been quoted as if it said that 'one of the bishops *or* presbyters' is to do so. As we have seen, the *Canons* say that a presbyter cannot ordain, and therefore this is clearly not a permissible interpretation. But what does the canon mean? Gore (p. 132, n. 5) supposes that in the original (we have the *Canons* only in a translation of a translation) the direction was that one bishop and one presbyter were to lay on hands and to say the prayer. This would be in accordance with the close relation between these orders elsewhere hinted at in the *Canons* (see above, § 4 (*b*)). Yet this explanation does violence to the grammar of the text as we have it; for all the verbs are in the singular. Another explanation may therefore be preferred, that 'unus ex episcopis et presbyteris' means 'one who has both the episcopate and the presbyterate,' for we have already seen (in § 4 (*b*)) that a bishop was not considered to cease to be a presbyter when he became bishop. The facts of the transmission of the *Canons* make it precarious to fix certainly on any one translation of the words; but they cannot be adduced as an exception to the rule which we are considering.

(*d*) *The succession at Alexandria.*—Much more important than the above is a peculiarity said to have existed at Alexandria in the earliest ages. (The matter is full of difficulties and may be studied in detail in Lightfoot, 'Dissertation,' p. 230 f., and in *JThSt* ii. [1901] 612 f. [E. W. Brooks, Turner], iii. [1902] 278 [Gore].) Jerome says (*Ep.* cxlvi., 'ad Evangelum') that at Alexandria till the middle of the 3rd cent. the presbyters nominated (*nominabant*) as bishop one of their own number, and placed him in a higher grade, as if an army were to appoint (*faciat*) a general, or deacons were to choose from their own body one whom they knew to be diligent, and to call him archdeacon. He then goes on to deny that a presbyter can ordain, in the words cited above (*a*). Somewhat similarly, Severus, Monophysite patriarch of Antioch in the 6th cent. (we have his letter only in a Syriac translation), says that the bishop of Alexandria used in former days to be appointed (the Greek verb was doubtless καθίστασθαι) by presbyters, but 'afterwards the solemn (or mystical?) institution of their bishops has come to be performed by bishops.' The word rendered 'institution,' *mettasrḥānūthā*, may mean either 'election' or 'ordination' (R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxford, 1879–1901, ii. 2737). Jerome may mean, as some later writers understood him to mean, that the Alexandrian presbyters elected their bishop from their own number, and that no further ordination was necessary; we should thus have, as an exceptional custom, a body of what we may call presbyter-bishops, who had been entrusted when they were ordained with the full powers of the ministry, including the ordination of others, though they delegated the function of ruling to one of their number. Or the meaning may be that, unlike other presbyters, the presbyters of Alexandria had the right of electing their own bishop without the intervention of the neighbouring bishops.

Confirmation of Jerome's statement has been found in three writers besides Severus. Ambrosiaster's testimony, however, as we have already seen in § 4 (*b*), is irrelevant. In the apophthegms of the Egyptian monk Poemen (*JThSt* ii. [1901] 613) it is said that certain heretics accused the archbishop of Alexandria [probably Athanasius or his successor] of having his ordination (χειροτονία) from presbyters. This was in the latter half of the 4th cent., and Jerome distinctly states that the custom which he mentions had ceased a hundred years before. Certainly Athanasius was elected by the people and the bishops, and ordained by the latter (cf. art. LAITY, § 4). Poemen, in his meekness, made no reply; but, though the accusation was doubtless a pure calumny, it may probably be an echo of some former peculiarity at Alexandria. The third writer is Eutychius, an Arab patriarch of Alexandria in the 10th cent., who says that the twelve presbyters of Alexandria, when the patriarchate was vacant, chose one of their number, and the remaining eleven laid their hands on him, and blessed him, and created him patriarch, and that this lasted till the time of Bishop Alexander (A.D. 313–326). Those who are familiar with the late ecclesiastical histories of the Eastern Churches, which are full of fables and of impossible statements, will hesitate to accept Eutychius's testimony as an independent confirmation of Jerome. He probably depends on Jerome at third or fourth hand, and it is not surprising that he flatly contradicts him.

We are, then, met with a perplexing series of contradictory statements. But they can hardly be all dismissed as entirely devoid of truth. Probably there was at Alexandria in very early times some peculiarity in the appointment or in the ordination of bishops, whether it took the form of the presbyters electing him or of their ordaining him. A great difficulty in the way of the latter supposition is the fact that Jerome makes the change to have taken place in the time of Origen. Yet Origen, who suffered much from the autocratic authority of the bishops of Egypt, and especially of the bishop of Alexandria, and who was prompt to castigate bishops for going beyond their powers, gives no hint that in his own day a great change was taking place by which the Alexandrian presbyters were being deprived of their rights (on this point see, further, Gore, *Church and Ministry*^{5}, p. 127 f.). On the whole, the remark of C. H. Turner (*JThSt* ii. 613) seems just, that 'it becomes harder than ever to discover the history and character of this exceptional system in detail.'

(*e*) *Some other exceptions* which have been alleged are due to a misapprehension. Thus Paphnutius, a presbyter and hermit in the Scetic desert in Egypt in the 4th cent., is said by his younger contemporary Cassian, the historian of Oriental hermits (*Conferences*, iv. 1), to have 'promoted' a certain Daniel to the diaconate and presbyterate. The meaning here must certainly be 'to nominate,' as is often the case even with the words 'constituere,' 'ordinare,' and the like. We read, *e.g.*, of kings 'ordaining' bishops and popes (see Gore, p. 341). To suppose that at the end of the 4th cent. a presbyter in Egypt laid on hands to ordain, and that Cassian, writing at Marseilles in the 5th cent., mentioned it without surprise, would indeed be an anachronism. Another instance is the statement by Cyprian that Novatus, a schismatical presbyter in Africa in the 3rd cent., appointed (*constituit*) Felicissimus deacon (*Ep.* lii. [xlviii.] 2, 'ad Cornel.'). The meaning here is capable of being tested. A few lines later on Cyprian says that Novatus, who had 'made' (*fecerat*) a deacon, 'made' [Novatian] a bishop. But Cornelius tells us (Eus. *HE* vi. 43) that Novatian got three rustic bishops from a remote part of Italy to come to Rome, and when they were drunk to ordain him 'through a counterfeit and vain imposition of hands.' Thus 'making' a deacon or bishop here means 'getting him ordained.' [Eusebius calls Novatian 'Novatus'; on this see *DCB* iv. 58.] The story of Aidan lies outside our period, but it may be here briefly referred to. Bede says (*HE* iii. 5) that the seniors of Iona, A.D. 634 or 635, 'ordaining' (*ordinantes*) [Aidan] bishop, sent him to their friend King Oswald to preach the gospel. Here 'ordaining' can only mean 'procuring the ordination of.' We know that the Irish and Columban monks had a bishop with them for episcopal acts, though they had no system of diocesan episcopacy. But in any case it is impossible to believe that Bede, the ardent upholder of the customs of Rome, would have accepted (as in fact he did accept) Aidan as a true bishop if he had been ordained by presbyters only.

(*f*) *Bishops ordained by not fewer than three bishops.*—The earliest example of this rule, as a definite enactment, is at the Council of Arles in Gaul (A.D. 314), which says that ordinarily seven, but at any rate not fewer than three, bishops are to take part in the ordination of a bishop (can. 20). The 4th canon of Nicæa says that a bishop is to be appointed (*καθίστασθαι*) by all the bishops of the eparchy (province); at any rate at least three shall meet and ordain, the other bishops giving their assent in writing. The *Apost. Const.* (iii. 20) say that a bishop is to be ordained (*χειροτονεῖσθαι*) by three bishops, or at least by two, and is not to be appointed (*καθίστασθαι*) by one; so *Apost. Canons*, 1, *Ethiopic Didasc.* § 16. But this rule must have been in force long before the 4th century. Cornelius was ordained by 16 bishops (Cyprian, *Ep.* lv. [li.] 8, 24, 'ad Antonianum'). Novatian was ordained, as we have seen (*e*), by three; had the rule not been then in force, he would have been content with getting a single bishop to ordain him. Much stress is laid by Athanasius on the number of bishops who took part in his own election (see art. LAITY, § 4). At the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397) it was proposed that twelve bishops should be the minimum; but this proposal was not carried (Hefele, ii. 408).

An exception to the rule is found at Rome, where, at least from the 6th cent. onwards, the pope acted alone in consecrating bishops (Duchesne, p. 361). And in the Celtic Church it was common for a bishop to be consecrated by a single bishop.

The object of the rule seems to have been to secure the assent of the comprovincial bishops to the election. But in the ordination itself there is a variety of usage as to what part the bishops took (see art. ORDINATION).

(*g*) *Appointment of the minor orders.*—In the 4th cent., when minor orders were developed, there was a certain discrepancy of usage as to whether certain classes of persons were 'ordained' at all, *i.e.* set apart by some solemn ceremony; and also a distinction was frequently made between ordination with, and ordination without, laying on of hands. Basil distinguishes the ministers who were ordained without it from those 'in orders' (*ἐν βαθμῷ*, *Ep. can. tert.* ccxvii. 51). So the *Apost. Canons* (82 [81]) speak of the *χειροτονία βαθμοῦ*, meaning 'ordination to the higher ministry.'[1]

In the *Test. of our Lord* (i. 44 f.), *Canons of Hippolytus* (vii. [ed. Achelis, § 48 f.]), *Egyp. Ch. Ord.* (35 f.), *Ethiop. Ch. Ord.* (27), subdeacons and readers are ordained without imposition of hands; so the reader in the *Const. through Hippolytus* (13); and the subdeacon in the *Gallican Statutes* (§ 5), which take the same thing for granted in the case of the ordination of an acolyte, exorcist, reader, doorkeeper (§§ 6–9). On the other hand, the *Apost. Const.* (viii. 21 f.) press the laying on of hands, and appoint it for the ordination of both subdeacon and reader. The *Const. through Hippolytus* appoint it for a subdeacon (11), but not for a reader.

In many of these manuals persons holding charismatic offices are not ordained at all. Such are confessors, virgins and ascetics, widows, exorcists. But there are exceptions, in which some of these classes receive an ordination of some sort, though without imposition of hands. In the *Test.* widows 'who preside' are ordained (i. 41); in the *Canons of Hippolytus* (viii. [ed. Achelis, § 53 f.]) one who wishes to be ordained because he has the gift of healing is not to be ordained until it is made clear that the gift is of God (other manuals say that one who has a charisma is not to be ordained, *i.e.* merely for that reason); in the *Gallican Statutes* (§ 7) an exorcist is ordained, and a book is given him in which the exorcisms are written. Virgins (ascetics) receive a blessing on their profession, not from presbyters, but only from the bishop, in *Gallican Statutes* (§ 11) and the 3rd canon of the Council of Carthage, A.D. 390 (Hefele, ii. 390).

9. The institution of a ministry by our Lord.—We now enter upon the consideration of theories as to the origin and development of the ministry. There are two main trends of opinion, and an attempt will be made to summarize them, without going into questions of detail, and without going beyond general principles.

(*a*) It is held that our Lord founded a ministry to be a means of bestowing grace on the Church and for its government. For this purpose He founded an apostolate, and gave to it a commission apart from the Church at large. It is clear from Acts, and to a certain extent from the Epistles, that the apostles exercised an authority over the Church, and it is difficult to conceive that that authority was due to delegation from the people themselves. Of such a delegation there is no trace in the NT, and the position of the apostles after Pentecost appears to presuppose a distinct commission from our Lord Himself. The ministerial commission, whether given to the apostles or to the Church as a whole, was not bestowed till after the Resurrection; but our Lord foretells the gift in more than one passage. Whatever be the true exegesis of the promise to St. Peter after his confession of the Christ (Mt $16^{18\text{f.}}$), and of the phrase, 'Upon this rock I will build my Church,' the passage about giving the keys of the kingdom of heaven carries a commission of binding and loosing, *i.e.* of government. It is not a commission then given, but a promise that it will be given; and the promise was fulfilled after the Resurrection. The commission is, however, not here promised to the Church as a whole. On the other hand, in Mt $18^{17f.}$ the Church (ἐκκλησία) is spoken of as exercising discipline, and our Lord then gives (apparently to the Twelve, but this is disputed) that promise of binding and loosing which had already been given to St. Peter. 'The supernatural authority does inhere in the Church as a body, but the Church has (not by her own but by Christ's authority) executive officers, and it is through them that her judicial power is put into effect' (Gore, *Church and Ministry*^{5}, p. 207). A distinct stewardship, however, apart from the powers promised to the whole flock, is foretold in the parable of Lk 12^{41-48}. This parable, as F. Godet remarks (*Com.*^{4}, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1887, ii. 108), assumes that the apostolate will be perpetuated till Christ returns, a ministry of the word established by Christ. The same writer adds that the theory which makes the pastorate emanate from the Church as its representative is not Biblical; this office is rather an emanation from the apostolate, and therefore mediately an institution of Jesus Himself. It may be added that in the parable the stewardship is appointed by the Lord (note the future: 'shall set over his household'), in order that the household may be fed, and that it will last until the Lord comes.

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[1] For *βαθμός* in 1 Ti 3^{13} see above, § 6 (*i*). The word is used in Eus. *HE* iii. 21 and at the Council of Ephesus (can. 1, A.D. 431) in the sense of the 'position' or 'order' of bishops.

The ministerial commission was given after the Resurrection, but it is disputed whether it was given to the apostles or to the Church at large. The commission in Jn 20^{21-23}, with the gift of the Holy Ghost (*i.e.* πνεῦμα ἅγιον without the article) and the power of binding and loosing, was given on the evening of Easter Day, when only ten of the apostles were present, Thomas being absent (v.^{24}). It was distinctly a 'mission': 'As the Father hath commissioned (ἀπέσταλκε) me, I also send (πέμπω[1]) you.' But it is uncertain whether others were present on this occasion besides the Ten. 'The disciples' are mentioned (v.^{19}), but this often means the apostles. In the description in Lk $24^{33ff.}$, which seems to refer to the same appearance of our Lord, we read of 'the Eleven and them that were with them.' The number 'eleven' is only a general way of speaking, for Thomas was not present; in this passage there is no word of any commission. Putting the passages together, we may conclude that it is probable that others besides the Ten were present, but the indications point to the commission having been given only to the apostles. That Thomas had the commission given to him at another time can only be conjectured. In the First Gospel the commission is given when the 'eleven disciples' are assembled on the mountain in Galilee: 'All authority hath been given unto me in heaven and on earth. Go ye therefore,' etc. It has been suggested by H. Alford (*Com. in loc.*) that others besides the Eleven were then present, because 'some doubted.' But this is against the grammar. The 'some' must have been certain of the Eleven; nor is it at all improbable that the apostles, or some of them, though they believed on Easter Day, yet allowed doubts to assail them afterwards. This hesitating faith was characteristic; it was finally confirmed only by the Pentecostal gift. We do not know what account St. Mark gave of the ministerial commission; but the author of the Appendix certainly conceived the commission as having been given to the Eleven ('Mk' $16^{14ff.}$). The more probable conclusion seems to be that the special ministerial commission was given to the apostles to hand on in perpetuity to succeeding generations, although the Church at large was given a supernatural authority to be exercised by divinely appointed ministers. For a fuller exposition of this view see Gore, *op. cit.*, ch. iv. and (in the later editions) note M.

(*b*) A very different view is taken by Hatch (*Organization of the Early Christian Church*) and Hort (*The Christian Ecclesia*). Hort holds that the commission was given to the Church as a whole, and that the Church as a whole appointed the apostles, whose authority was due to the spontaneous homage of the Christians in Judæa. He thinks that the apostles were not commissioned by our Lord to govern the Church, but only to be witnesses of His resurrection; that they were not, strictly speaking, officers of the Church as the Seven were (p. 231). He doubts if they had any authority outside Judæa. An indefinite authority grew up round them because they were personal witnesses. 'The Ecclesia itself, *i.e.* apparently the sum of all its male adult members, is the primary body, and, it would seem, even the primary authority' (p. 229). With regard to the commission in Jn 20, Hort thinks that others besides the apostles were probably present, and that, though perhaps the charge was 'directly and principally' spoken to the apostles, yet it was spoken to them as representing the whole community (p. 32 f.). [There is no scriptural authority for Hort's addition of 'adult male' to the narrative.]

On these various views it may be remarked that it is common ground that the apostles were given the commission as representing the Church. The point in dispute is whether they received a commission from our Lord direct, distinct from the Church, *i.e.*, whether they derived their authority from Him immediately or from the people to whom they were to minister.

10. The origin of the diocesan episcopate.—We may in conclusion state very briefly the main theories which have been advanced to account for the universal existence of the diocesan episcopate from the 2nd cent. onwards.

(*a*) The first view is that the diocesan episcopate is the successor to the apostolate, but localized. The old local ministry was represented by the presbyters and deacons of the later period; and the supervisory ministry of the apostles, which was formerly itinerant, by the bishops who were now settled in one place. In this view the complete commission, which was held at first by the apostles, was given to certain *viri apostolici* and then to bishops (in the later sense) only, and presbyters and deacons never from the first possessed the commission to hand on the ministry to others. This was the more usual patristic view. For an able statement of it reference may be made to Gore, *The Church and the Ministry.*

(*b*) The second view is that the diocesan episcopate was evolved, by apostolic direction, from the presbyterate; or, to speak more accurately, from the body of presbyter-bishops. This evolution was effected by one of the members of this body being given certain sole powers, notably that of ordaining. In this view the old presbyter-bishops had the complete ministerial commission, even as the apostles had it, but the complete commission was restricted at an early date to one of their number. This is the view of Jerome, Ambrosiaster, and some other Fathers. It may be studied in J. B. Lightfoot's 'Dissertation,' which upholds it.

It is clear that either of these views is compatible with either of those described in § 9. On the one hand, the second view is compatible with the highest doctrine of apostolic succession, such as Jerome himself held. And, on the other hand, the first view is compatible with the belief that the apostles derived all their authority from the people.

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[1] This word 'marks nothing more than the immediate relation of the sender to the sent,' while the other verb denotes a delegated authority (see B. F. Westcott, *Com. in loc.*).

Whatever view be taken of the matters touched on in this and the preceding section, it is important to notice a point on which all are agreed. The Christian ministry is not vicarious, but representative. The members of it do not form a class having a closer relationship to God than the laity, for every Christian holds personal communion with the divine Head of the Church (Lightfoot, pp. 181, 268; Gore, p. 76). All have direct access to God, and the minister does not perform the people's religion instead of them. He represents the people to God by acting as their mouthpiece, but the worship which he offers is the people's and not merely his own. The sacrifice of prayer and praise is offered by all, though the minister may be the only one who gives audible utterance to it. He represents God to the people, as the human instrument by whom the word is preached and the sacraments are administered. But he is not a barrier between God and the people.

Literature.—The following works represent very various opinions, Anglican, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and others: J. Morinus, *de Sacris Ordinationibus*, Paris, 1665, 2nd ed., Antwerp, 1695; C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*⁵, London, 1902 (1st ed., 1889); J. B. Lightfoot, 'Dissertation on the Christian Ministry' (in his Commentary on *Philippians*), 1st ed., 1868 (quotations from edition of 1903); see also his appended note on 'bishop' and 'presbyter,' p. 95 ff.; T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*, London, 1902; E. Hatch, in *DCA*, artt. 'Archdeacon,' 'Orders, Holy,' 'Ordinal,' 'Ordination,' 'Priest,' 'Patriarch' (a large fund of antiquarian information will be found in these articles), also *Organization of the Early Christian Church*, London, 1881; A. W. Haddan, in *DCA*, art. 'Bishop'; B. Shaw, in *DCA*, art. 'Metropolitan'; A. J. Maclean, *The Ancient Church Orders*, Cambridge, 1910; L. Pullan, *The Christian Tradition*, London, 1902, chs. 3, 4; R. C. Moberley, *Ministerial Priesthood*, do. 1897; F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, do. 1897 (posthumous); J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, do. 1901; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: its Origin and Evolution*⁴, Eng. tr., do. 1912.

A. J. Maclean.

MINOTAUR.—I. **The myth.**—Minotaur (ὁ *Μινώταυρος, ὁ Ταῦρος ὁ Μίνω καλούμενος*,[1] 'the Minos-bull' or 'bull of Minos') is in Greek myth the offspring of Queen Pasiphae's union with a bull, and is represented as a man with a bull's head and tail. As Apollodorus tells the story,[2] her husband, Minos, had become king of Crete through the goodwill of Poseidon; after telling the people that the gods had chosen him and would grant whatever he asked, he prayed Poseidon to send a bull from the sea that he might sacrifice it. But he broke his vow, for, when the splendid creature came forth from the deep, he added it to his herd and offered a substitute on Poseidon's altar. To punish him the god inspired Pasiphae with an unnatural passion, gratified through the artifice of Daidalos, who concealed her in a wooden cow. She bore a child, Asterios, surnamed 'the bull of Minos,' who had a bull's head, but was otherwise like a man. Warned by an oracle, Minos imprisoned the monster in the labyrinth built by Daidalos. Moreover, the bull from the sea was made savage by Poseidon, and it was one of the labours of Herakles to capture it and carry it to the Peloponnese; thence it wandered to Marathon in Attica, and ravaged the country. Androgeos, son of Minos, having come to Athens and beaten all opponents at the games, King Ægeus challenged him to go forth against the bull, which killed him.[3] Minos, to avenge his son, made war on Athens, and exacted as a condition of peace that every year (every ninth year, according to Plutarch, *Theseus*, 14) the Athenians should send seven youths and seven maidens to be devoured by the Minotaur. On the third occasion Theseus, who had overcome many robbers and, last of all, had captured the Marathonian bull, was chosen or offered himself as one of the victims. When he landed in Crete, Ariadne, daughter of Minos, fell in love with him, and, on his promising to take her to Athens as his wife, contrived with Daidalos that he should escape from the labyrinth, giving him a clew of thread which he was to make fast at the entrance. Holding the thread, he penetrated to the Minotaur's lair and slew him with his fists. Then he made his way out and escaped by night with Ariadne and his companions.

Apollodorus omits the incident of Minos' ring and Poseidon's recognition of Theseus as his son.[1] The story is further rounded off by Pherekydes;[2] Theseus sacrifices the Minotaur to Poseidon, and the injured god at last gets his due.

In this form the story owes much to Attic dramatists, who depicted Minos as a cruel tyrant, while the general tradition saw in him a wise lawgiver and founder of Hellenic civilization.[3] The Attic version became an intricate romance in which Daidalos was almost as much the hero as Theseus. It credits Athens through him with the miracles of Minoan craftsmanship. It emphasizes Minos' fraud on Poseidon, because the god's son, the Attic prince Theseus, is to be the instrument of his vengeance. When, outwitted by Theseus, Minos imprisons the other Athenian hero, Daidalos makes himself wings, and his escape is the motive for Minos' futile campaign and ignominious death in Sicily.

The genuine Cretan elements in the rambling composite tale are the sea-born bull, so closely resembling the divine lover of Europa, the Minotaur and the labyrinth, both figured on coins of Knossos, and the fall of the Minoan Empire in a Sicilian expedition (cf. Herod. vii. 170). The break between pre-historic and Hellenic Crete was in many respects complete, but the coins make it probable that the legend of a bull-monster clung to the pre-historic palace at Knossos, and was adopted by the Dorian settlers. A. J. Evans, the excavator of the site, has shown how the complex of ruined walls, adorned with frescoes of bull-fights, in which boys and girls took part, and processions of tribute-bearers, must have helped to shape the story.[4] The name of the labyrinth is explained with the help of λάβρυς, the Lydian word for 'double-axe,'[5] as meaning 'house (or place) of the axe,' a sacred emblem which stood in shrines within the palace and was often engraved on its walls and pillars. This may have been the ancient name of the palace, placed under the protection of a deity with whom both axe and bull were closely associated (hence the frequent juxtaposition of double-axe and horns; see art. Ægean Religion, vol. i. p. 145, fig. 5). The remarkable preservation of the ruins proves that they were respected by the Greek and Roman inhabitants, perhaps as the remains of the labyrinth, which the ancients located at Knossos. Diodorus mentions 'the foundations of Rhea's house and a cypress-grove which has been hallowed since ancient times'[1] as existing there in his day; the tabus attached to such a precinct go far to account for the survival of the pre-historic walls in the midst of a classical city. He denies that any trace of the labyrinth remained,[2] but seems to be combating an accepted belief; Philostratus,[3] writing early in the 3rd cent. after Christ, mentions the labyrinth as the chief 'sight' of Knossos. Late writers[4] transfer the tradition to the subterranean passages of a quarry above Gortyna, described by P. Belon[5] and other travellers.

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[1] Paus. I. xxiv. 1.

[2] Apollod. II. v. 7, III. i. 3, xv. 7, Epit. i. 7 ff.

[3] Schol. Plato, *Minos*, 321 A.

[1] Paus. I. xvii. 3, describing a painting of the 5th cent. B.C. by Mikon; cf. Bacchylides, xvii.

[2] Frag. 106 (*FHG* i. 97)=schol. to *Od.* xi. 320 (Theseus is told how to surprise the Minotaur as he sleeps in the *μυχός*, evidently the central point of a conventional maze; cf. § 3 below).

[3] This conflict of views is discussed in the Platonic dialogue *Minos*, 318D and 320E, and in Plut. *Thes.* 15. Both writers remark that Minos made a mistake when he quarrelled with a city like Athens, whose tragic poets could make or mar a reputation.

[4] *JHS* xxi. [1901] 109 ff., *BSA* viii. [1901–02] 103.

[5] Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 302A. A cognate form would be the name of Labraunda, the Carian town where an axe-wielding Zeus was worshipped.

2. The Minotaur in ancient art.—In the Cretan art of the bronze age we meet with a series of hybrid monsters, combining a human body with various animal-heads, which seem to represent demons (cf. ÆGEAN RELIGION, vol. i. p. 145); the types may have been influenced by the animal-headed deities of Egypt or have been generated locally by ritual dances in which animal-masks were worn. Among them is a Minotaur-like figure, the most significant instance being a clay seal-impression from Knossos which shows a seated monster with calf's head and forelegs and a bearded man standing before it.[6] Bull-headed men appear in the archaic art of Greece and Etruria, and until the reforms of Marius a figure of this kind was one of the standards of the Roman army.[7] The earliest representation of Theseus and the Minotaur is a small gold plaque from Corinth (Berlin Museum,[8] a work of *c.* 600 B.C.). In the second half of the 6th cent. the slaying of the Minotaur appears on black-figure vases, and, according to Pausanias, the Minotaur was twice figured among the mythological groups on the Amyclæan throne: (*a*) bound and led captive by Theseus (cf. the sacrifice to Poseidon mentioned by Pherekydes), (*b*) being slain by him.[9] At first isolated, the killing of the Minotaur is associated on later black-figure and red-figure vases with other deeds of Theseus, a cycle which took shape at the beginning of the 5th cent., when the Attic hero was exalted into a second Herakles. The Minotaur is drawn as a man with a bull's head and tail; his body is often spotted or brindled, and once sprinkled with stars (in allusion to his name Asterios), once with eyes, like that of Argos.[10] He is naked and unarmed, but sometimes clutches one or more stones. Theseus usually attacks him with a sword, but an interesting group of vase-paintings shows him dragging the dead monster out from a building with columns; here we may suspect the influence of stage-representations. Athene, Ariadne, and even Minos are sometimes present as spectators. Later designs treat the combat as a wrestling-match, the finest example being a bronze relief from Pergamon now in the Berlin Museum.[11] In sculpture we have a metope of the Theseion at Athens, fragments of a group found on the Acropolis (where Pausanias saw and described it), and fragments of two other groups in Rome, all representing the combat.[12] Campanian wall-paintings show Theseus standing over the dead Minotaur, while the rescued boys and girls press round, and some mutilated marble groups seem to have represented the same scene.[1]

Evans traces the origin of the Cretan type to certain Egyptian cylinders found in the Delta, which influenced Cretan sealstones from about the VIth dynasty onwards. These in their turn borrowed types from early Babylonian cylinders.[2]

3. The labyrinth in art.—On coins of Knossos the labyrinth is represented by a pattern of increasing complexity, advancing from a simple fret-pattern, through a more or less elaborate swastika, to a developed maze.[3] On several vases of the 5th cent. the scene of Theseus's combat with the Minotaur is indicated by a panel of mæanders and similar patterns, evidently a conventional representation of the supposed ground-plan.[4] The labyrinth, in fact, became assimilated to the mazes which have been familiar in most parts of Europe from antiquity to the present day—a large subject which cannot be fully discussed here.[5] In Italy, where the maze had been known as the Game of Troy (*Truia* inscribed upon a maze on an early Etruscan vase), the name 'labyrinth' took its place, and the Minotaur is figured in the centre of several Roman mosaic mazes. Similar pavements were constructed in Christian churches; they are especially common in the cathedrals of N. France—Chartres, Amiens, and others; they were known as *Domus Dedali* or *Chemin de Jerusalem*, and to tread their windings was a recognized form of penance. It seems that the original use of the maze, wherever found, was to serve as the track of a ritual dance. Plutarch tells a story which was evidently intended to establish a connexion between Greek dances of this type and the Minotaur legend; Theseus had landed at Delos on his voyage home, and with his companions danced a dance 'which is still kept up by the Delians' in imitation of the windings of the labyrinth.[6]

4. Explanations of the myth.—(*a*) ***Rationalistic.***—According to Philochorus,[7] the Cretans said that the Minotaur was a general named Taurus whom Theseus defeated at an athletic meeting; the tribute-children were kept prisoners in the labyrinth and given as prizes to the victors; or else he was a captain whom the Athenians beat in a sea-fight. A modern writer, E. Fabricius,[8] who assumed that the quarry near Gortyna was the labyrinth, explained its narrow entrances as a device for the guarding of prisoners made to work in its galleries, and supposed that this gave rise to the story of the tribute-children.

(*b*) *The Minotaur as an old bull-god.*—W. H. Roscher[9] equated Minotaur = Cretan bull = Minos. E. Bethe[10] has argued that Minos, son of the bull-Zeus and husband of Pasiphae, who bears a bull-son, was originally the bull-god himself. The story of Theseus and the Minotaur is a doublet of the stories of Herakles vanquishing the Cretan bull and Theseus capturing the bull of Marathon; in each case the story is allegorical and represents the overthrow of Cretan rule. Herakles, who goes to Crete to capture the bull, stands for the Dorian colonists; Theseus, who overcomes the same bull in Attica, delivers the country from a Cretan conqueror.[1] On somewhat different lines J. E. Harrison argued in a paper read before the Hellenic Society in 1914 that the slaying of the Minotaur, son of the sea-born bull, expresses the downfall of Cretan sea-power; 'the Minotaur was the primitive "point de repère" round which ultimately crystallised the complex figure of Poseidon.'

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[1] Diod. v. 66; cf. Evans, in *BSA* x. [1903–04] 51, *Scripta Minoa*, Oxford, 1909, p. 103.

[2] Diod. i. 61.

[3] Philost. *Vita Apollon.* iv. 34.

[4] The first is Claudian, *de Sexto Consul. Hon. Aug.* 634, written in A.D. 404.

[5] *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez*, Paris, 1553, bk. i. ch. vi.; plan in T. A. B. Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, London, 1865, ii. 49.

[6] *BSA* vii. [1900–01] 18, fig. 7*a* (cf. 7*b* and 7*c*), 133, fig. 45.

[7] Pliny, *HN* x. 16.

[8] *Archäol. Zeitung*, xlii. [1884] pl. 8, fig. 3.

[9] Paus. III. xviii. 11, 16.

[10] Probably a mistake on the part of the vase-painter, who copied a stage-dress, the edges of which are seen at wrists and ankles. The vase is in the British Museum (E 48), and is signed by Douris (see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i., Cambridge, 1914, p. 494).

[11] A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klass. Altertums*, Munich, 1884–88, fig. 1875.

[12] S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1897–1904, ii. 693.

[1] Baumeister, fig. 1876; Reinach, ii. 510.

[2] *Scripta Minoa*, i. 122 ff., *Nine Minoan Periods* (in the press).

[3] *Brit. Mus. Coin Catalogue, Crete*, London, 1886, pl. iv. ff.; Cook, i. 476 ff.

[4] Illustrated by P. Wolters, in *SMA*, 1907, p. 113 ff., plates I.–III.

[5] For the literature see J. G. Frazer, *GB*^{3}, pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 76 ff.; and Cook, i. 484–490. Evans found maze-patterns painted on wall-plaster at Knossos; in his forthcoming *Nine Minoan Periods* he derives the labyrinth-pattern in Crete, through the simple key-pattern, from the Egyptian sign for 'the palace in its court' which was taken over into the Minoan system of hieroglyphs.

[6] Plut. *Thes.* 21. Lucian, *de Salt.* 49, mentions the 'labyrinth' in a list of Cretan dances.

[7] Quoted by Plut. *Thes.* 16.

[8] Roscher, *s.v.* 'Labyrinthos.'

[9] *Über Selene und Verwandtes*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 136 ff.

[10] *Rhein. Mus.* lxv. [1910] 214 ff.

(*c*) *The solar interpretation.*—Pasiphae's name connects her with the moon;[2] her bull is often held to be the sun. Two recent writers have seen in the Minotaur a human actor impersonating the sun-god. J. G. Frazer maintains 'that Cnossus was the seat of a great worship of the sun, and that the Minotaur was a representation or embodiment of the sun-god,' and suggests that Ariadne's dance, the track of which was the labyrinth, may have been an imitation of the sun's course in the sky.[3] A. B. Cook, after showing that in Cretan myth the sun was conceived as a bull and that the labyrinth was 'an *orchestra* of solar pattern presumably made for a mimetic dance,' goes on to suggest that the dancer who imitated the sun masqueraded in the labyrinth as a bull—the Minotaur, in fact, was the Knossian Crown Prince wearing a bull-mask, a piece of ritual borrowed perhaps from Egypt.[4]

(*d*) *The suspicion of human sacrifice.*—The Minotaur, like the horses of Diomede, is a man-eater; the myth implies that it was necessary for Minos to gratify this appetite. W. Helbig[5] saw in the story another version of Kronos devouring his children; Kronos was banished by Zeus to the under world, the Minotaur by Minos to the labyrinth. There was a tradition that in old days in Crete the Kouretes had offered human sacrifices to Kronos,[6] and the 'feast of raw flesh'[7] which Euripides mentions in the famous chorus from his tragedy *The Cretans*, as part of the initiation to the service of Idaian Zeus, was open to a similar suspicion; in a recently discovered fragment of this play Pasiphae taunts her husband in terms which leave no doubt as to the charge.[8] Euripides probably had in mind the Cretan mysteries in which the votaries tore with their teeth a living bull in commemoration of the eating of the boy Zagreus by the Titans.[9] But these mysteries stand in no direct relation, so far as can be seen, to the substratum of Minoan religion; they explain the cannibal element in the Euripidean story, but not the bull-form of the man-eating demon. Frazer has conjectured that in Crete, as in other parts of the Mediterranean, children were sacrificed to a Moloch-like image with the head of a bull.[10]

Phœnicians and Carthaginians sacrificed children to a bronze image of Kronos (= El?), so contrived that victims laid on its outstretched hands fell into a furnace beneath.[11] Rabbinic writers describe Moloch's image in similar terms, and add that it had the head of a calf.[12] Now Talos, the brazen coast-guard of Crete, who killed strangers by hugging them to his red-hot breast, was by some called Tauros (Apollod. I. ix. 26), and a gloss of Hesychius makes him a by-form of the sun-god. A tradition as old as Simonides connects him with Sardinia and with human sacrifices there;[1] recent excavations have shown that the Sardinians of the bronze age worshipped a bull-god in subterranean temples.[2] Suggestive as these combinations are, however, we have no real evidence of any cult of the Minotaur, nor of human sacrifice to a Cretan bull-god;[3] at most they prove that the Greeks were familiar with the rites of adjoining countries and used them to add a touch of horror to the local legends of Knossos.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently cited throughout the article.

R. C. BOSANQUET.

MIRACLES.—1. Introductory.—Miracles have often been studied *in vacuo*—a method which does not tend to belief in them. It is better to have a standard of comparison, to study them in the light of those alleged of their chief worker, who, if any one can work miracles, is most likely to have done so. This is the point of view that will be taken in this article. Christ's miracles suggest unusual and striking power, presumably divine, used for beneficent ends, not to cause wonder, and this points to the essence of miracle. We therefore define miracle as an occasional evidence of direct divine power in an action striking and unusual, yet by its beneficence pointing to the goodness of God. Mere wonders, by whomsoever wrought, would have a thaumaturgic aspect and would not reveal character—*e.g.*, spiritualistic marvels. Christ calls His miracles ἔργα, 'works,' or σημεῖα, 'signs.' Σημεῖα may be combined with τέρατα, 'wonders,' in describing what the Jews seek or the work of false Christs. His own miracles are not called by Him τέρατα, though He calls them δυνάμεις, 'powers.' But the stress is on that of which they are signs—the love of God.

All three words—'works,' 'signs,' 'powers'—are used by Christ in describing His disciples' miracles, by the Evangelists, and by friends and critics. The first two are favoured in the Fourth Gospel.[4] In Acts and Epp. τέρατα and δυνάμεις are combined with σημεῖα in speaking of Christ's and the apostles' miracles. In Rev 13^{14} the beast, in 16^{14} devils, in 19^{20} the false prophet, work σημεῖα; cf. 2 Th 2^9 and Mt $7^{22f.}$[5] Rev $12^{1.3}$, σημεῖον ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, throws light on the sign expected by the Pharisees (Mk 8^{11}, Lk 11^{16}).

2. Miracles in the lower culture.—Whether the savage does or does not believe in a cosmic order is uncertain. Some savage mythologies certainly seem to suggest that he does. But he believes that the medicine-man, or shaman, has power to alter certain concrete events—*e.g.*, to produce rain in time of drought, to allay storms, etc. In so far as he recognizes any order in nature, this action is really supposed to be *contra naturam* and thus corresponds to the popular view of miracles. Hence it is not only a religious view of the universe which suggests to the savage mind an elasticity in the order of nature, as Frazer insists.[6] It is elastic to the magician, as it is elastic to the divinity. This power of altering events is the power of magic in which every savage believes. He himself may practise it to some extent by means of fetishes obtained in various ways, but in that case the power is in the fetish. But more usually he attributes magical power to the medicine-man, to traditional culture-heroes,[1] to the gods ('white' or beneficent magic), or to sorcerers (those who practise 'black' or anti-social magic). Magic is a sort of thaumaturgic miracle, and is looked upon as something abnormal. If it were a normal thing, it would have no aspect of mystery, as it has, and the magician would not be regarded as he is by his fellows. For the savage magic is mysterious, and everything mysterious is more or less abnormal, magical, miraculous. Magic or thaumaturgic miracle, as believed in by the savage, includes power over nature—producing or stopping rain, sunshine, and wind; curing sickness, exorcizing spirits and demons, and removing barrenness; producing fertility or increasing the food-supply; causing success at hunting or fishing; causing sickness, injury, or death. Other powers are shape-shifting, invisibility, and raising the dead. Generally the power by which these things are supposed to be done comes from an exterior entity of which some persons possess a large share —the Melanesian *mana*, the Annamese *tinh*, the Siouan *wakan*, etc.[2] It is that which 'works to effect everything beyond the ordinary powers of man, outside the common processes of nature.' It is a miraculous power, a theoretical force by which the savage accounts for magic in all its forms. Why magic should have come to be believed in, why some men should have been thought to possess magical power, is not clear, though various causes might be suggested. One of these is the unexplained phenomena of the x region—telepathy, hypnotism, cure by suggestion, clairvoyance, inspirational possession.[3] These exist among savages, and would be regarded as magical, as to us they are supernormal. They would suggest other powers still more fantastic. Magic or thaumaturgic miracle belongs to a quite primitive stage of thought, but many of the actions attributed to the shaman are reproduced in the miracles ascribed to Lao-tse, Buddha, Muhammad, or to ethnic and Christian saints.

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[1] *Rhein. Mus.* lxv. 218, 225.

[2] Paus. III. xxvi. 1.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 77.

[4] *Op. cit.* i. 490 ff.; cf. Diod. i. 61.

[5] Roscher, ii. 3011.

[6] Porphyry, *de Abst.* ii. 56, and Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* IV. xvi. (p. 156), both quoting from a lost work by Istros on Cretan sacrifices.

[7] Eur. *Cretes*, frag. 472 (Nauck).

[8] *Berliner Klassikertexte*, Berlin, 1907, v. ii. 75.

[9] Firmicus Maternus, *de Errore prof. rel.* vi. 1 ff.

[10] *Op. cit.* p. 74 f.

[11] Diod. xx. 14; schol. Plat. *Rep.* 337 A, and other passages collected by M. Mayer, in Roscher, ii. 1501 ff.

[12] See references in Cook, i. 723, note 1.

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* Ταλῶς· ὁ ἥλιος; Zenobius, *s.v.* Σαρδόνιος γέλως; Suidas, *s.v.* Σαρδάνιος γέλως.

[2] *Bull. Paletnol. Ital.*, 1909, pp. 159–177; *Mon. Ant. dei Lincei*, xxiii. [1915] 313–436. These θόλοι may be the very buildings which Greek writers attributed to Daidalos; see pseudo-Arist. *de Mirab.* 100 (2); Diod. iv. 29, v. 15.

[3] G. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*², Oxford, 1911, p. 156 ff., thinks that Minos' periodic visits to the cave of Zeus imply a ceremony of sacrifice and rejuvenation, and asks whether the tribute-children may not have died with, or for, the king in the cave of the bull-god.

[4] Cf. also τὰ θαυμάσια (Mt 21^{15}), τὰ ἔνδοξα (Lk 13^{17}), παράδοξα (Lk 5^{26}).

[5] It is a fact that psychic gifts are often possessed by unattractive and bad people.

[6] *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 224, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, do. 1913, ii. 305.

3. The miraculous in the ethnic religions.—Miracles occur plentifully in religions at a higher level than those of savagery, and are freely ascribed to the great ethnic teachers and to saintly persons or ascetics in those religions. Asceticism and austerity are, in fact, sometimes a necessity as well as a guarantee of miracle, as they are also in the case of Christian saints.

As for the great religious founders, it should be clearly noted that they themselves made no claim to work miracles. This statement is supported by their own sayings in most cases, or it may be proved from the early writings describing the origins of these religions. In the *Gāthās*, the earliest part of the Avesta, there are no miracles, and no very high place is ascribed to Zoroaster.[4] Confucius was largely indifferent to spiritual matters and avoided anything dealing with the supernatural. He is most unlikely to have made any claim to miracles, and in fact he said:

> 'To search for what is mysterious, and practise marvellous [arts], in order to be mentioned with honour in future ages:—this is what I do not do.'[5]

Lao-tse was opposed to all magic, and was a man of humble mind. Buddha himself protested against miracles, and, though he knew of miraculous acts, he was indifferent to them. When a disciple gained an almsbowl by a display of miracles, he caused it to be broken and forbade these.[1] Some sayings of his point to his dislike of miracles:

> 'There is no path through the air, a man is not a Samaṇa by outward acts'—perhaps a reference to the supposed gift of walking on air. When an *arhat* flew through the air, Buddha is represented as rebuking him: 'This will not conduce either to the conversion of the unconverted, or to the increase of the converted, but rather to those who have not been converted remaining unconverted, and to the turning back of those who have been converted.' He also said: 'I command my disciples not to work miracles.'[2]

Muhammad also knew of miracles, but he disliked them and wrought none himself. The people demanded signs, but he disclaimed these, usually on the ground that they are powerless to convince. In earlier ages they had been regarded as lies or sorcery, not as divine acts. God's revelation to the Prophet was the true miracle, and the Qur'ān contained it.[3]

Nor did any one of the great ethnic teachers lay claim to divinity. Yet, in spite of this and of their own utterances about miracles, miracles are freely ascribed to them, sometimes even in the actual works which contain such disclaimers. How soon this process began it is difficult to say, yet probably no very long time was necessary for the growth of miraculous legend. In many cases, however, as in similar instances in Christian hagiography, it is possible to trace the growth of a miraculous story in successive versions of the same incident.[4] The miracles and supernatural events associated with the lives of these men are either connected with their conception and birth or acts alleged to have been performed by themselves. The miracles of the former class are invariably lacking in lives contemporary, or nearly so, where these exist. There is sometimes a semi-miraculous origin (Lao-tse, Zoroaster, Buddha), but not a virgin-birth, for both parents are concerned in the act of conception.[5] The moment of birth is hailed by a great variety of portents on earth, in the sky, or in the lower regions. Unearthly lights are seen, mysterious music is heard. Prophecies of future greatness are made. The child himself speaks, laughs, stands, walks, or announces his intention of saving the world. Or, again, the child is miraculously saved from persecution and danger of death. There are also wonderful signs at the death of some ethnic teachers, especially at Buddha's death.[6]

> For wonders associated with the birth of a *bodhisattva* or with the Dalai Lāma in Tibet, see *SBE* xi. 46; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, pp. 247, 249; and for those connected with future beings in Zoroastrian belief, *SBE* xlvii. 105 f., 111 f., 115 f.

In the case of miracles of the second group beneficent actions are extremely rare, *i.e.* miracles performed to benefit others. As a rule, the miracles merely exalt their worker, and sometimes they are of a kind to force belief in him. Lao-tse is said to have raised the dead, and Buddha to have healed wounds; but these are occasional, and are in a minority compared with the great number of thaumaturgic acts.[7] These largely consist of power over nature and complete control over its processes, and are often of a most grotesque and obviously improbable kind. Buddha made floods recede, or passed miraculously from one side of the river to another. Levitation, flying through the air, and ascent to heaven are frequent miracles, or, as in the case of Buddha, treading on water, entering earth as if it were water, and passing through a wall.[1] Understanding or influencing the thoughts of others *à distance*, change of form, and invisibility occur. Frequently the miracle-worker saves himself from accident or death.

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[1] See HEROES AND HERO-GODS; G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, London, n.d. [1855], p. 11 f.; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, pp. 156, 163, 168.

[2] Codrington, pp. 118 f., 191; P. Giran, *Magie et religion annamites*, Paris, 1912, pp. 21, 22, 157; E. S. Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914, p. 26 ff.

[3] O. Stoll, *Suggestion und Hypnotismus in der Völkerpsychologie*², Leipzig, 1904; A. Bastian, *Ueber psychische Beobachtungen bei Naturvölkern*, Leipzig, 1890; A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*², London, 1900.

[4] Cf. J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, p. 80.

[5] *Lî Kî*, xxviii. 1. 20 (*SBE* xxviii. [1885] 303 f.); cf. G. G. Alexander, *Confucius the Great Teacher*, London, 1890, p. 290.

[1] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, London, 1880, p. 71.

[2] *Dhammapada*, xviii. 254 (*SBE* x. [1881] pt. 1, p. 63 f.); *Chullavagga* (*SBE* xx. [1885] 81); E. Burnouf, *Introd. à l'histoire du bouddhisme indien*, Paris, 1844, p. 170.

[3] See Qur'ān, v. 110, vi. 34, x. 21 f., xvii. 60, xxvii. 10 f. (*SBE* vi. [1900] 113, 119, 195, 233, ix. [1900] 7, 35 f., 46, 92, 100, 106, 111).

[4] Cf. Rhys Davids, p. 13 f.; W. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, London, 1878, pp. 369, 590, 599.

[5] *SBE* xl. [1891] 313, xlvii. [1897] 18 ff., 138 ff., xix. [1883] 2 ff.; *Lalitavistara*, tr. P. E. Foucaux, Paris, 1884-92, *passim*. Cf. J. A. MacCulloch, 'Comp. Religion and the Historic Christ,' in *Religion and the Modern World*, London, 1909, p. 130 ff.

[6] *SBE* xi. [1900] 44, etc.; Rhys Davids, p. 14.

[7] R. K. Douglas, *Confucianism and Taoism*, London, 1877, p. 179 ff.; *SBE* xvii. [1882] 83.

Some of these miracles are simply repetitions of the magical acts attributed to medicine-men. They are traditional stock incidents easily fitted on to the life of any person. Others are sheer inventions. Others may be exaggerations of actual events, perhaps in some cases of real supernormal powers possessed by this or that teacher, or of great shrewdness or spiritual insight. But they are generally of a most unlikely character, and have seldom a beneficent purpose, nor is there any historic evidence for them, even if they were of such a kind as would require it.

In most of these religions miracles are commonly attributed to saints, sages, and ascetics. They bear a similar character in widely distant regions and under different creeds, and often run on parallel lines. Here again these miracles bear a curious likeness to many which are ascribed to Christian saints. Taoist, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Hindu, and Muhammadan all believe in the possibility of the miraculous in the case of gifted persons. In Taoism those who through asceticism and saintliness 'rise to the Tao' become like gods and are superior to the laws of nature.[2] In Buddhism the cause is profound meditation. By this the *arhat* gains transcendent faculties—the five *abhijñās* ('magical powers') and *iddhi*, saintship, but also the power of working miracles.[3] Holy men in Islām possess similar powers as a result of their faith, piety, and self-denial. They are also helped to them by the *jinn* and by knowledge of the divine name.[4] The range of these wonders in the different religions is very wide. It includes a great variety of powers over nature—the production or cessation of storms or sunshine, causing the sun to stand still, drinking up rivers, superiority to fire or water (*e.g.*, not being wet in heavy showers, or walking or passing through water); superiority to the limitations of matter and space (a common Buddhist attribute), the power of invisibility, change of form or of sex, invulnerability, levitation and swift passage through space, penetrating walls, mountains, earth, lengthening beams of wood, opening doors without keys, swift transference from one place to another. Again, light is made to stream from the fingers or hands, or miraculous supplies of food are provided. Inanimate objects are made to act as if alive. Supernormal knowledge of distant events or of men's thoughts is asserted. The power of exorcizing and dispelling demons commonly occurs. Less rarely the cure of disease and the removal of barrenness and even the raising of the dead are found.[5] One method of curing disease used by Muhammadan wonder-workers is to pass the hand over the part affected — perhaps a species of mesmerism.[1] As to these miracles as a whole, there is no evidence that they ever occurred, and, as Burton says of the incredible miracles of Islām, collateral or contemporary evidence is never sought for.[2] The question of supernormal powers will be discussed later.

Occasionally, especially in Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islām, miracles are wrought by relics or at the graves of saints. As far as Buddhism is concerned, these are of a very dazzling kind. In Islām they are mainly, though not wholly, works of healing or the removal of barrenness.[3] In the case of the latter the spirit of the dead saint begets the child —a form of primitive belief (see FAIRY, § 9, vol. v. p. 687).

Such miracles are occasionally said to cause belief. Those to be wrought in future ages on behalf of Zoroastrianism will make all mankind believe in the good religion (*e.g.*, causing the sun to stand still). Those wrought by Buddhists also cause conversion, especially incredible marvels in the world of nature.[4]

4. Classical miracles.—This group, as it includes so largely miracles of healing, may be considered by itself. These were mainly the result of divine rather than human agency and they cluster around the practice of incubation (*q.v.*), or 'temple-sleep.' The patient, after ritual and sacrifice, slept in the temple; in the course of his sleep he dreamed that the god touched and healed, or opened his body and cured him (? an operation under hypnotic influences), or indicated a remedy either directly or by symbolic means. The actual healing was speedy or more gradual, and in some instances—*e.g.*, that of Aristides in his *Sacred Orations*—it was prolonged over many years, yet the god was always supposed to intervene. The *stelæ* recording miraculous cures found at Epidauros are obviously fictitious—a kind of advertisement of the shrine.[5] There is no reason, however, to doubt that cures of a more or less miraculous aspect did take place—the result of faith-healing or of a strong mental suggestion, aided by all the adjuncts of the place (the ritual, the dream, the medicaments).[6] It is not impossible that in sleep the subconscious self may cause dreams about diseases, of the early indications of which it has become aware, or might even suggest a cure. The dream-cures may have been based on phenomena of this kind. The hero-god mainly concerned was Asklepios, who was thought once to have been a human healer and to have raised the dead, while wonderful events—*e.g.*, brilliant light—were associated with his birth.[7]

Healing miracles were also wrought by images of gods, heroes, or famous persons. Other miracles were wrought by such images—they moved, wept, spoke, and gave advice—and there are numerous parallels to this in all religions, even in Christianity.[8] Mythology and popular belief also ascribed great wonders to relics of gods or heroes. Some of these were multiplied exactly as mediæval relics. They were miraculously found, and various places disputed their possession.[1] Healing also took place at tombs of heroes. Less common are miracles by human wonder-workers. Tacitus speaks of Vespasian curing blindness and lameness,[2] and the fictitious life of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus contains miracles at his birth and death, healings, and exorcizing of demons. He may have had supernormal healing gifts, but some of the stories are modelled on the NT miracles. Others are told by none but Philostratus.[3] The emissaries of the impostor Alexander of Abonoteichos (*q.v.*), according to Lucian's life of him, credited him with healing and with raising the dead.

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[1] *SBE* xi. 21, xvii. 104, xix. 222, 240, 251; P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama*, Rangoon, 1866, i. 218.

[2] J. J. M. de Groot, *Religion in China*, New York, 1912, p. 182 f.

[3] *SBE* xxi. [1884] 1 ff., xi. 40, 207 f., 214; Rhys Davids, p. 174 f.; art. MAGIC (Buddhist), § 1. These powers sometimes result from religious exaltation in a previous life.

[4] E. W. Lane, *The Modern Egyptians*, London, 1836, ii. 45, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, do. 1883, p. 49; *PR* i. 218.

[5] For these miracles see Douglas, p. 225 and *passim*; de Groot, pp. 84 f., 152, 186, 271; *SBE* xlvii. 72, 105 f., 111 f., 115 f., xxi. 421 f., 426, 428 f., xvii. 3, 76, 270, xiv. [1882] 309, xix. 260, xx. 8, 394, 396, xxi. 268; *PR* i. 7, 36, 191; R. C. Temple, 'The Folklore in the Legends of the Panjab,' *FL* x. [1899] 396 ff.; M. Monier-Williams, ***Brāhmanism and Hindūism***[4], London, 1891, pp. 247, 266.

[1] R. Burton, *History of Sindh*, London, 1851, p. 229.

[2] *Ib.* p. 229.

[3] S. Beal, *Romantic Legend of Sâkya-Buddha*, London, 1875, pp. 92, 94; *SBE* xxxvi. [1894] 174 f.; S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, London, 1902, pp. 75 ff., 115 ff., 157 f.; Lane, ii. 54; Temple, *loc. cit.*; *PR* i. 184 f.

[4] *SBE* v. [1880] 231 f., xxi. 421, 426, 428.

[5] *CIG* iv. 951 f.

[6] For incubation see E. Thrämer, in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 1686 f.; P. Kavvadias, Τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπίου, Athens, 1900; M. Hamilton, *Incubation*, London, 1906; artt. HEALTH AND GODS OF HEALING (Greek), INCUBATION.

[7] Pliny, *HN* xxvi. 3; Julian, *c. Christianos*, p. 300, ed. K. J. Neumann, Leipzig, 1880.

[8] Clem. Alex. *Cohort. ad Gentes*, xi. (32); Plutarch, *Aratus*, 32; Lucian, *Deorum Conc.* 12, *Philops.* 18 f.; L. J. B. Bérenger-Féraud, *Superstitions et survivances*, Paris, 1895–96, ii. 10 f.; O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder*, p. 137 ff.; J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, i. 114 f., iv. 1320 f.; cf. *ERE* vi. 553[b].

5. On the whole the miracles of ethnic religions do not possess an air of truth. They are incidents ascribed to this or that person, some of whose doings, on account of his greater insight or skill, may have seemed miraculous. Some, however, may be supernormal phenomena. As to the cases of healing, they are seldom asserted of individual teachers, but rather in connexion with shrines and relics. Suggestion or hypnotism may explain such as are genuine. Whether any influx of life or healing power from another sphere was also present is a question which must always be an open one (see § 12).

6. **Miracles in the OT.**—Roughly speaking, the miracles of the OT fall into two groups, those connected with Moses and Joshua, and those connected with Elijah and Elisha. The documents describing these are of a date far removed from the events described, and their evidential value is thus small. Some of the miraculous events are doublets of each other, and in those of Elijah and Elisha a kind of artificial parallelism is to be observed. The narratives are in some cases composite, and a more or less non-miraculous substratum may be traced. Many of the miracles have a strong thaumaturgic aspect, and they suggest that, as in the case of ethnic religious teachers and the Christian saints, it was not enough that the outstanding character, insight, and leadership of Moses or Elijah should be recorded, but miracles should also be ascribed to them. While, in the case of Elijah and Elisha, it is not impossible that they had some gift of healing—which might then be the *point d'appui* of the miraculous legend attached to their history—it is remarkable that in the case of the greater prophets, save once with Isaiah (2 K $20^{8ff.}$), there is no thaumaturgic element. The idea of God which the miracle stories reflect is not of the loftiest kind, but rather that of men at a lower spiritual level. The spirit animating some of the miracles resembles that which animates barbarous men. There is aggressiveness, ruthlessness in dealing with human life where men do not know or worship God, and intolerance. Few of the miracles have that beneficent aspect which we find in the majority of the NT miracles. Again, there is a certain materialism in the method of describing the miracles—*e.g.*, in the idea of speaking face to face with God. Some of the miracles are magical, and are alleged to have been copied by pagan magicians (Ex $7^{11f. 22}$ 8^{7}). Others seem to reflect the traditional beliefs of the Semites—*e.g.*, that of God's manifestation in fire—or are traditional stories rather than true histories. Some, no doubt, have a symbolic value, as when a record of spiritual revelation is told in material terms (the burning bush, the revelation to Elijah—the latter a reminder that miracles as outward phenomena parallel to thunder, fire, etc., are a lower kind of testimony to God). Some of the miracles—*e.g.*, the ten plagues—are regarded as direct divine interpositions. It is possible, doubtless, to suppose that God made use of existing phenomena to effect His purposes. It is equally possible that phenomena coincidental with a crisis in the nation's history may have been regarded as direct Providential interpositions. Especially would this be the case if prayer for deliverance had preceded them. Such answers to prayer must not be ruled out, and all such answers have a miraculous aspect. They show the superiority of spirit to matter (see below, § 16). This is also true of the event on Carmel, when Jahweh's superiority to Baal was clearly seen in answer to Elijah's prayer. There was some divine intervention, even if that is explained thaumaturgically or associated with rather ruthless methods. Again, we need not doubt that God led His people 'with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arm, . . . and with signs, and with wonders' (Dt 26^{8}). We need not doubt that in the movements of history He does 'make a way to His indignation' (Ps 78^{50}) against the unrighteous. But whether the leading and interpositions were in the manner depicted is open to question. A strong belief in divine deliverance might easily lead to the formation of legendary accounts of it. The real miracle in the OT is the growth of the idea of God, the strong sense of the divine presence in the world, divine guidance in the affairs of the universe and of men. The real religion of the OT lies elsewhere than in the accounts of separate miracles. It is found in the growth of a spiritual religion, in such documents as that which tells of creation, in the records of spiritual experience and aspiration, in the phenomenon of prophetism.

7. **The miracles of Christ.**—(*a*) When the documents composing the Gospels are examined, it is found that even in the earliest there is no non-miraculous substratum; all alike contain miracles. By every one Christ's teaching is admitted to be marvellous, yet authentic. This raises a presumption that the marvellous deeds are also authentic. The date of the documents is sufficiently near to the events recorded to admit of authenticity, and the evidence is as good as anything short of signed scientific evidence is likely to be. The writers were men who knew themselves to be witnesses, and had regard for truth.

(*b*) Christ ascribes His miraculous power to God, as He does His teaching (Jn 14^{10}). There is a real divine work being done (Lk 11^{20}, Mk 5^{19}, Lk 8^{39}; cf. Jn 9^{3} $11^{4. 40. 42}$ 14^{10}). So also the witnesses of the miracles regard them (Mk 2^{12}, Mt 9^{8} 15^{31}, Lk 7^{16} 9^{43} 18^{43}). Yet power is inherent in Christ, as the method of the miracles shows, or the definite 'I will' (Mk 1^{41}). Here also the people recognize this inherent power (Mk 7^{37}). All power is delegated from God, as Christ taught. Hence the power to work miracles is not necessarily confined to Christ (Mt 12^{27}), though He has that power in a supreme degree.

(*c*) Christ as sinless is a moral miracle without *a priori* likelihood, therefore there need be no *a priori* objection to His miracles, which generally tend to rectify an unnatural, disordered state in the world. Unlike Buddha, Christ had not to grope His way to perfection—an instructive contrast. The sinless Christ was in unison with the forces of the divine will. Hence power to cure disease flowed from Him who was untouched by disease.[1] So, also, in whatever way He was divine

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[1] Paus. v. 13. 7; *HN* xxviii. 4; Herod. i. 67 f.; Plutarch, *de Genio Socr.* 4 f., *Theseus*, 36; P. Decharme, *Mythologie de la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1879, p. 302 f.; L. F. A. Maury, *Hist. des religions de la Grèce antique*, do. 1857–59, ii. 52.

[2] Tac. *Hist.* iv. 81; Suet. *Vesp.* 7.

[3] *In Honour of Apoll. of Tyana*, ed. J. S. Phillimore, Oxford, 1912, pp. lxxvi, lxxx, text iii. 38, 39, iv. 45, viii. 5.

[1] Cf. D. W. Forrest, *The Christ of History and of Experience*, Edinburgh, 1897, pp. 117 f., 157; A. Morris Stewart, *The Crown of Science*, London, 1902, pp. 74, 80.

He was certainly more than man. His powers would thus be greater than those of ordinary men, and might therefore be miraculous.

(*d*) Christ's miracles are in harmony with His personality and teaching. There is an air of naturalness and ease about the miracles not found elsewhere. He never doubts His own power to work them, never falters in exercising it. His method, unlike that of other healers or exorcists, causes amazement, showing that it was not similar to theirs. He casts out demons with a word, or *à distance*, and no mere faith-healing or magical exorcism accounts for these cures. Yet there is an economy in the use of miracles which we do not find in ethnic narratives, while, again, Christ never works miracles for Himself.

(*e*) But, if miracles are so easily ascribed to great ethnic teachers, why should they not have been ascribed to Christ? This is certainly a possibility, nor need we deny that there was time enough for a miraculous legend to grow. But all the facts must be faced. The greater part of the Gospels is from eye-witnesses who had no wish to deceive. No miracles are recorded of John the Baptist. The basis of the narrative is true, and it contains miracles as well as the wonderful teaching. In several cases the teaching is intimately connected with the miracles, indeed springs out of them.[1] If Christ wrought miracles at all, it is not impossible that there would be a tendency in a biographer to exaggerate the miraculous. But, again, the miracles as a whole are very different from those ascribed to ethnic teachers, as may be seen by comparison. We have every reason to believe that Christ wrought miracles, even if the truth of any given miracle cannot be asserted or demands investigation. The miracles are in keeping with Christ's personality, and *vice versa*, and the impression made by them on the people, on inquirers (Jn 3^{2}), and on hostile critics who admitted their truth is of great importance.

(*f*) Comparing Christ with ethnic teachers or Christian saints, we find that they never claimed to work miracles, and disliked them, while Christ made such a claim. If He refused to work a sign from heaven (Mk 8^{11}), this is really a proof of His power to work signs of a kind,[2] but not of the kind so liberally allowed to ethnic teachers. Christ's miracles are beneficent, never egotistical like Buddha's or even those of Christian saints; their setting is different from those of the ethnic religions; they are harmonious with the character of the worker; they have invariably a moral and spiritual quality not found elsewhere.

(*g*) Miracles, properly regarded, assist faith. But was this the primary purpose of Christ's miracles? Were they mere credentials of His mission? This is doubtful. Beneficence was primary, and often forestalled the faith of the person concerned (Mk 3^{1}, Lk 7^{11}, Jn $5^{2f.}$), as it did in the case of demoniacs. Crowds of people were doubtless influenced by the miracles, especially by their unique character, for they produced fear or amazement even if that was followed by praise to God (Lk 7^{16}, Mt 15^{31}). The result was that crowds of people flocked to Christ and forced on Him a popularity which He disliked and from which He sometimes withdrew (Mk 1^{45}, Lk $5^{15f.}$). One whose credentials were miracles would have acted otherwise. The multitude connected the miracles with Christ's Messiahship (Mt 12^{23}, Jn $16^{14f.}$)—a belief which He did not at first encourage (cf. Lk 4^{41}, Mk 1^{25} $3^{11f.}$). When John sends to know if He is Messiah, He points to His works of mercy (Mt $11^{2ff.}$); the stress is on these, rather than on Messiahship. Miracles are not wrought to cause belief in it; miracles are works of mercy, and their merciful rather than their miraculous character is important. They are part of a spiritual mission rather than proofs of it. Disbelief in the worker's power shows hardness of heart, for the mercy and love displayed, rather than the miraculous power, are spurned (cf. Mk $3^{21f.}$ 5^{17} 6^{43}, Mt 11^{21-23}, Lk 10^{13-15}). Mere popularity was distasteful, and silence about a cure is often enjoined.

The exception in Mk 5^{19} is explainable because Christ was unknown in Gadara and was leaving it. What the man was to tell of was the divine mercy.

True, Christ's compassion often overcame His dislike of mere popularity, while this popularity might sometimes indicate a genuine faith and love. But, if Christ works miracles at all to evince faith, it is not the faith of a fickle crowd, but the faith of the individual. Such an individual or those who intervened for him would already have faith, and that faith would be augmented (Jn 4^{53}, Lk $17^{15f.}$). Yet even here it is an existing confidence that is rewarded rather than a divine mission that is proved.

Christ does not appear to rank His 'works' very high, as the phrasing of Jn 5^{36} shows. Works are of less importance than the personal appeal of Christ (Jn $10^{37ff.}$; cf. $14^{10f.}$). Christ's personality and His words are witnesses far more than His works (Jn $5^{40f.}$ $6^{33f.}$; cf. 8^{51}). This lower position corresponds to the refusal to work a sign to sceptics; cf. also Jn 20^{29}.

The disciples followed Christ first as a result of the impression which His personality had made on them. Later the effect of His miracles—those only of the non-healing group—on them is sometimes noted. In spite of the comment in Jn 2^{11}, the disciples must already have believed. In other cases new thoughts are suggested to them, or a confession of belief is made (Mk 4^{41} 6^{51}; cf. Mt 14^{33}). The miracles, however, were not wrought primarily for these purposes, but to quell fears or to confirm existing confidence. Even the lesson of the withered fig-tree is not that of the power of Christ, but of faith in God and of what faith can do (Mt 21^{20}). The true attitude is seen in Jn 21^{7}, when recognition follows the miracle. The act is consonant with a personality already known and loved. The cumulative effect of miracles was no doubt to quicken understanding of Christ, and we remember that the great miracle of the Resurrection was what finally convinced the disciples of Christ's true nature.[1] Still, on the whole, the miracles were not meant to force belief or to act as credentials. They were part of a divine mission, and had their value, but it was rather that of contributing to a better understanding of a personality, not as a proof of it, and that because they were signs (σημεῖα) of a divine compassion. As for the people, their amazement was at the authority, ease, and naturalness of Christ's method, seen also in His teaching (Mk $1^{22. 27}$; cf. Mt $7^{28f.}$). Signs are part of a revelation which confirms itself, for, when as thaumaturgic displays they are sought,[2] refusal follows, or a symbolic answer, or some piece of spiritual teaching.[3]

There is no real contradiction in Jn 15^{24}, for elsewhere the works are a witness to divine love (3^{2} 7^{31} 9^{33} 10^{32-37}), not as a mere proof of it, but because they are done out of love. Men who do not see such love are spiritually blind, and to that degree in sin (cf. Mt 11^{20}, Mk 10^{20}). In the miracle on the paralytic, which is said to witness to divine authority, Christ's authority had been derided, and proof was necessary (Mk $2^{10f.}$). In the case of the raising of Lazarus, this is done that 'they [disciples and bystanders] may believe' (Jn $11^{15. 42}$). Many bystanders did believe; others did not. Yet Martha's existing faith is the condition of this miracle (cf. v.$^{25ff.}$ with v.^{40}).

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[1] Cf. F. Godet, *Lectures in Defence of the Christian Faith*³, Edinburgh, 1895, p. 114 f.; A. B. Bruce, *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels*, do. 1886, p. 104.

[2] *Pace* P. W. Schmiedel, *EBi*, col. 1881; cf. J. R. Seeley, *Ecce Homo*⁵, London, 1866, Preface, p. viii.

[1] Even by the apostles miracles are seldom referred to as having an evidential character. Cf. A. T. Lyttleton, *The Place of Miracles in Religion*, London, 1899, p. 53 f.

[2] Lk 11^{16} 16^{31}, Mk 8^{11}. Such a sign from heaven is seen in Rev $12^{1. 3}$.

[3] Mk $8^{11f.}$, Mt 12^{38} $16^{1f.}$; cf. Jn 2^{18} 4^{48} 6^{30}, Lk $11^{16. 29}$.

Here and elsewhere in this Gospel a theory of its author that miracles cause belief is at work (2^{11} 9^{3} 11^{4}). In this miracle belief of a specific kind—in Christ's power over death—is to be taught to those who believed in Him already.

Generally healing is the reward of faith, Christ's power working with the person's faith. There is thus more than subjective faith-healing, for with Christ there is 'power to heal,' obvious enough where the faith of the person healed is not in question. Where there was no faith, but *conscious* opposition, miracle was naturally impossible (Mk 6^{5}). Christ could have forced a miracle, but this was against His method, though even here He did heal 'a few' who believed. A writer who recorded this was not one who was likely to invent or imagine miracles. Christ also Himself had faith in God, as His words show (Mk $9^{23.\ 29}$ $11^{22f.}$; cf. Mt 14^{21}).

The miracle in Mk $5^{28ff.}$ shows in a crude way that power to heal was in Christ, and was made effective by the patient's faith. In Mt $9^{20f.}$ the woman thought that by merely touching His garment healing would follow (cf. Mk 3^{10} 6^{56}, Mt 14^{36}, Lk 6^{19}). Christ was somehow aware of this, and, rewarding her faith, healed her. Mark and Luke suggest that He was aware of the woman's touch by power going out of Him. This would seem to reduce the miracle to magic.

(*h*) *Possession.*—Not all but only certain kinds of sickness were regarded by the Jews scientifically or colloquially as possession. Only once does Mark connect bodily disease with possession ($9^{17f.}$); Matthew and Luke do so on three occasions. In Mk 9^{17} a dumb spirit is mentioned; Luke (8^{36}) makes it a case of possession, Matthew (17^{15}) of epilepsy (σεληνιάζεται, 'epileptic'), though later the demon is said to be cast out. Epilepsy was a kind of intermittent possession (cf. Mt 4^{24}), as also was lunacy (Mk $5^{1f.}$; cf. Jn 10^{20}), or any apparent eccentricity.[1] The recorded cases are eight in number, with a few general instances. Whatever be the explanation of possession, the fact of the cure is not in question. Christ's healing of it was thorough, masterly, immediate, probably permanent,[2] and sometimes *à distance*. His method was not that of mere exorcism, as has been insisted.[3] Both the manner of the cure and its result show that it differed in degree, if not in kind, from that of the exorcist. Yet Christ taught that others might or did use it, if they had faith (Mt $17^{17f.}$, Mk 11^{23}). Serious cases are healed by a word, and the superlative nature of the cure is recognized even by hostile witnesses (Mk 3^{22}; cf. 6^{16}).[4] It had thus a miraculous quality: here was the 'finger' or the 'spirit' of God (Lk 11^{20}, Mt 12^{28}).

Possession by a demon is a world-wide savage explanation of sickness, and, as a survival at higher levels, of certain diseases, where the symptoms seemed to suggest the demon's movements or his speech in a voice different from that of the patient. But was the disease more than epilepsy, lunacy, hysteria, *clounisme*, or such a psycho-pathological state as that of alternating personality, 'temporary control of the organism by a widely divergent fragment of the personality, self-suggested in some dream-like manner into hostility to the main mass of the personality'?[5] In such cases the person may believe himself possessed by the devil, or he may speak in another voice, simulate another personality, or develop automatic writing.[6] As to epilepsy,

> 'No demon could by possibility produce more fearful results by entering into a man than I have often seen resulting from epilepsy.'[1]

Supernormal knowledge is often a characteristic of those believed to be possessed, knowledge of which the ordinary self could not be aware. This is ascribed to the demon; rightly it should be ascribed to the subconscious self or the fragmentary personality. In the NT the demoniacs show knowledge of Christ which He wishes to be kept secret, or they assume that He has power over them.[2] The fragmentary or subconscious self, identifying itself with a demon, speaks in accordance with the belief that Messiah would destroy demoniac power and asserts that Jesus is Messiah. Yet these men, in lucid intervals, may have heard that He was so regarded. Thus their knowledge would not be supernormal. Lunatics often dread one particular person.

A man's belief in his possession by a demon is paralleled by the belief that he is a wolf. Both are pathological states, and where the belief in transformation disappears lycanthropy is apt also to disappear. This is more or less true of the belief in demons and the supposition of possession (see LYCANTHROPY).[3]

Demon-possession as a belief continued long after, as it had existed long before, Christ's time. It is not explained, therefore, by saying that demons were allowed to torment men while He lived, so that His power might be seen. If Christ then accommodated Himself to an existing belief, yet He did not accept it in all its current forms, and some at least of what is ascribed to Him may be the thoughts of His reporters.[4] Christ could hardly have cured the patients save by sympathetically accepting their point of view. So also for the sake of refuting an argument He accepts the point of view of the Pharisees, without categorically saying that He actually casts out demons (Mt $12^{27f.}$, Lk 11^{19}; cf. Mt 12^{43}, Lk $10^{17ff.}$). An accurate explanation would not have been understood, and might even have gone beyond present-day science. Or, with power to heal, was Christ's knowledge here limited? Did He believe in possession? In any case there is no doubt about His healing this strange disease instantly and permanently, and differently from exorcists, or from modern physicians in the cases of apparent possession. Of course it is a large assumption to say that there are no existences which might not take possession of a human personality and act through it.[5] Psychical research tends to admit that there are such existences in the case of discarnate human spirits, but has no evidence of diabolical or hostile possession.[6] This, of course, does not exclude such possession—*e.g.*, by some alien power at the centre of man's being where consciousness and will reside. Yet an unexplained mental disease is not necessarily possession. In a sense, it is true, there was possession if disease was caused by sin or vice, disease being objectively regarded as evil. But there is no clear proof that the cases cured were directly the result of sin.

For alleged demon-possession in modern China and elsewhere see J. L. Nevius, *Demon Possession and Allied Themes* (London, 1897), though it is doubtful whether the cases are not explainable on other grounds. Much of the evidence comes from Christian natives, whose earlier belief in demons was still strong. Healthful and life-giving influences of Christianity may explain the cures where pagan methods failed, as Justin long before asserted (*Apol.* ii. 6) and also H. A. Junod, of Thonga cases (*The Life of a South African Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1912–13, ii. 460). On Nevius's theory see W. R. Newbold, *Proc. of Soc. for Psychical Research*, xiii. [1897] 602.

(*i*) *Healing.*—Christ's miracles of healing are not explainable by M. Arnold's 'moral therapeutics,' *i.e.* the cure of neurotic diseases by mental influences. Many of these diseases were not neurotic, and were such as do not yield to mental treatment, while the evidence for their cure is as good as that for neurotic cases.[1] Occasional miracles at Lourdes are also wrought on more than neurotic diseases, and they suggest an influx of healing power from without. But Christ's miracles of this kind are more than occasional. Here surely some healing power—'the power of the Lord' (Lk 5^{17})—wrought through Him. It was neither variable nor uncertain, and it enabled the patient to throw off disease immediately. It was communicated to the sick by an act of will, a word, a touch, or sometimes *à distance*, perhaps by telepathy. To this use of such a power there is no authentic parallel. If it be said that Christ had merely superior access to an x region, to which others might have access, yet His access was so superior as to be miraculous. His faith in the power awakened faith in the patient, so that in a sense there was suggestion both from without and from within. There was more than mere 'faith-healing,' a word which is apt to be used loosely. If it is used as mere auto-suggestion, there was obviously more than that. Diseases which apart from scientific diagnosis were plainly most serious were cured without difficulty. If Christ merely did what one day may be more generally possible,[2] at least He did act perfectly in a way as yet undiscovered.

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[1] Mt 11^{18}, Jn $7^{19f.}$ 10^{20}; cf. Mk $3^{21f.}$

[2] This is implied in Mk 5^{15}; cf. 9^{26} and 16^{9}. Cf. Bruce, p. 191. W. Bousset, *Jesus*, Eng. tr., London, 1906, p. 50, regards the cures as temporary, appealing curiously to Mt $12^{43ff.}$.

[3] As by J. M. Thompson, *Miracles in the NT*, London, 1911, p. 37. For the Jewish method see Josephus, *Ant.* VIII. ii. 5.

[4] Cf. Mk $1^{27f.}$, Mt 8^{13} 9^{33}, Lk 4^{36}, Jn 11^{37}.

[5] F. W. H. Myers, *Human Personality*, London, 1903, i. 200; cf. B. Sidis, *The Psychology of Suggestion*, New York, 1910, p. 283 f.; B. Sidis and S. P. Goodhart, *Multiple Personality*, New York, 1905.

[6] Cf. Lang, *Making of Religion*², p. 139 f.; O. Lodge, *The Survival of Man*, London, 1909, p. 111, and *passim*; Myers, *passim*.

[1] T. S. Clouston, *Unsoundness of Mind*, London, 1911, p. 237.

[2] Cf. Ac 16^{16}.

[3] Cf. Bruce, p. 187.

[4] John does not appear to accept the theory of demon-possession, though he refers to the Jewish belief.

[5] The demons, if they existed, were not necessarily like the horrible figures of later imagination.

[6] Myers, ii. 198.

(*j*) *Raising the dead.*—The instances of this are so few in number as to raise a presumption of their truth, for here is exactly where miracles would probably be exaggerated in a fictitious narrative.[3] The possibility of catalepsy or trance cannot be excluded, yet we may assume that Christ would know the truth. To Him, indeed, death was no more than a sleep (Mk 5^{39}, Jn 11^{11-14}), from which the sleeper might be roused in the presence of the Lord of life, who could command the return of the principle of life to the lifeless body, whenever He was beside the dead.[4]

(*k*) *The nature group.*—The evidence for these miracles is as good as for those of healing. Here again their small number—six (or, admitting duplicates, five)—suggests genuineness, as do also generally the narratives which relate them, as well as the manner of the relation. The attempts to interpret them as symbolic teaching related as miraculous action do not command respect any more than the various rationalistic methods of explaining them away. The real questions are concerned with their adequacy to the occasion, with the power involved—was it one accessible to others?—with the method of its use—to excite wonder or to minister beneficence. Was there again a real breach of the order of nature?—a statement which no one is competent to assert (§ 15). For, though it is easy to assume a 'reversal of the natural physical order,'[5] some of the miracles of healing are just as contrary to our experience. If Christ's was a unique personality, we must take account of what may be proper to Him either in or out of nature. Such a one on occasion may as easily walk on the sea as on dry land. These miracles suggest the superiority of the spiritual and moral order to the material. They, with one possible exception, are in keeping with the personality and character of the worker. The question of adequacy[6] to the occasion may be safely answered in the affirmative as regards stilling the tempest, walking on the sea, and feeding the multitudes. In the first two, lessons of faith were immediately taught, but they also have a permanent value in this direction as well as in showing the supremacy of spirit to matter. In the third the adequacy is seen in the beneficence of the action involved. It is more difficult to prove adequacy in the case of the change of water to wine. Was it probable that such a great miracle would be wrought to enhance the joy of a wedding-feast? Yet the narrative has an air of genuineness, though, if it were performed for symbolic reasons also, these are not hinted at. As to the power involved, it is certainly beyond that of men in the cases of stilling the tempest, changing water to wine, and multiplying food. Yet, in a universe ruled by divine will, was it impossible for one in whom that will was supreme to use it to still a storm, or to perform such probably creative acts as the other miracles involve? No breach of the order of nature is involved, for in the first two there is but a quickening of natural processes—the storm would sooner or later have ceased; a change is slowly effected in the moisture taken up by the growing vine. In the third, though the act is incomprehensible to us, can it be said that there was any breach of nature involved? While it is not impossible that a miraculous aspect has been here given to a non-miraculous action, the narratives have a genuine air, and the numerous different rationalistic explanations suggest that there is an inexplicable fact. In the case of walking on the sea a supernormal power which might be open to others might be suggested, if the story of D. D. Home's[1] floating in the air be accepted, or if there is genuine fact behind the numerous stories of levitation. The difference, however, is that Christ used such a power consciously and purposively; this is not observable in the other cases.[2]

The withering of the fig-tree presents difficulties as to adequacy, and because it is contrary to the principle that Christ never wrought miracles for Himself. The tree was destroyed because it had no fruit for Him. Is He likely to have acted thus? There is no hint in the story or its context that it is an acted parable. While we need not question Christ's power, it is open to us to seek explanations of the origin of such a story, and these are much easier to find, and have much more verisimilitude, than those offered for the other nature miracles.

(*l*) The story of the stater and those of the draught of fishes need not be interpreted miraculously. The first appears to involve supernormal knowledge and directive purpose in bringing the fish to the spot, and this is again contrary to the principle of economy in the miraculous observed elsewhere, for the money might easily have been obtained otherwise. Probably an ordinary incident has been given a miraculous aspect. As to the others, there is no note pointing to the miraculous (as, *e.g.*, in Mk 4^{41} $6^{51f.}$, Jn 2^{11}), and it is perhaps not necessary to assert it here.

(*m*) *Incarnation and virgin-birth.*—The idea of incarnation involves no breach of an order of nature, for we have no evidence that such an event was necessarily contrary to any existing order. It begins a new order, and it is a superlative instance of what all are familiar with already—the influence of spirit on matter. To such an event virgin-birth may have been necessary and consonant, since no ordinary child was concerned. Sinlessness is as much a miracle in the moral as virgin-birth in the physical sphere, but it need not be said that the latter was necessary to the former. This is a theological speculation, not found in early writers who speak of the Virgin-birth,[3] nor in the NT itself.

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[1] See R. J. Ryle, 'The Neurotic Theory of the Miracles of Healing,' *HJ* v. [1907] 572 ff.

[2] See a suggestive passage in Stewart, p. 182 ff.

[3] Contrast the large number of raisings from death by the relics of St. Stephen alleged by St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8.

[4] Little touches of exaggeration in the story of Lazarus need not detract from the essential fact.

[5] W. Sanday, *Bishop Gore's Challenge to Criticism*, pp. 19, 23 f.

[6] There is no question of working these miracles in answer to any demand for a sign.

[1] H. H. L. Carrington, *The Physical Basis of Spiritualism*, London, n.d., p. 378.

[2] Evidential value is also found in the fact that this is the sole instance of such a miracle in Christ's life, unlike those of miraculously crossing a river so often told of Buddha.

[3] *E.g.*, Ignatius, *ad Ephes.* 19; cf. *Asc. of Isaiah* x. 8–xi. 19

Parallels to incarnation and virgin-birth have been alleged from pagan sources, but there is no real analogy. The idea of divinity becoming really incarnate in human flesh was alien to Jewish thought, and probably also to pagan. Hence it is really impossible to assert that the story was invented in Jewish-Christian circles at the early date involved. That it is an early story is undoubted, and the evidence for the two versions of it in Matthew and Luke must go back to Joseph and Mary.[1] There is some evidence that it was known even in Christ's lifetime that He was not Joseph's son—a knowledge apt to be perverted by hostile critics. As to the story itself, it has only to be compared with the versions of it in the Apocryphal Gospels to see how an existing story could be exaggerated without being recast. The lack of such exaggeration in Matthew and Luke points to genuineness. Comparative mythology is often relied on to show that virgin-birth is a universal myth, but examination of the instances shows no real parallel. A human or divine father regarded in a material sense, or some material means, is always involved. This is true even of the late miraculous stories of the birth of Buddha, whose human father appears all through, and also of the birth of the future saviour Saoshyant in Zoroastrianism.[2] Yet, even if such stories were more nearly parallel, the question should be faced—Do myths never come true?

(*n*) *The Resurrection.*—Arguments against the Resurrection usually make much of the discrepancies in the narratives. Are these more than may be looked for regarding such an event? Or do they really discredit the central fact to which all bear witness? Without discussing them in detail, it may be said that they offer evidence as good as that for the Crucifixion, and, if they do not prove a real resurrection, do they prove anything at all about Christ? Certain facts are important: the empty tomb, the definite date never varied from, as well as the personality involved—no ordinary man whose resuscitation to a normal human life might be rejected, as Huxley would have rejected that of the hypothetical ordinary man[3]—and the vast change effected in the apostles' characters and methods of action. We may here consider the main modern explanations.

(1) Visions, subjective or objective, or telepathic impressions are really inadequate to account for the story. No such experiences have ever produced such a result, and they could not have given rise to the story of the Resurrection or of the empty tomb, or have so changed the disciples. A phantom would only have made them afraid (Lk $24^{37f.}$). The disciples already knew of the existence of Christ's spirit, for this was the common Jewish belief, and as Jews they also looked forward to a future resurrection. How then could such alleged communications from such a spirit have so altered them or originated such a belief in the Resurrection with the definite meaning which the word had to any Jew? If it be said that it was precisely this Jewish belief in a future resurrection that made the disciples imagine that their experience of a phantasm was really that of a Risen Christ, this is in effect to make them the most credulous and untrustworthy of men—which no one really believes of them.

(2) Equally inadequate is the theory which would derive the story from myths and cults of slain and risen gods. It is claiming too much to assert that the apostles were influenced by these, supposing they knew of them, which is unlikely. Was there anywhere a myth of a god who had died and risen again on earth? The revival even of Osiris took place in the Other-world. No such myth had ever been applied to the history of any man, as the theory supposes it to have been to that of Jesus. Such myths were sensuous, and had sprung out of nature-cults. How could they originate a whole new world of ethical and spiritual ideas? The theory produces the greater out of the less with a vengeance, and sets aside every shred of historical evidence, while it has never explained why Christianity supplanted such myths and cults as it is alleged to have sprung from.[1]

On neither theory is the Resurrection or its vast results explainable, and each postulates a miracle as great as the miracle of the Resurrection itself. The change involved in the Resurrection is beyond our ken; yet there was a change, not merely the resuscitation of a dead body. We know too little of the laws of the universe to assert that such a change is impossible, or that there is no law of resurrection of whose working Christ's resurrection is the first instance. The new theories of matter seem to make the change conceivable, if the 'basis' of matter is to be found in a strain in the ether giving rise to the electrons of which the atom is composed. Ether is described as sub-material, while electrons might conceivably be resolved into ether again. Matter would thus be destroyed.[2] Others regard matter as a complex of energies.[3] If these theories be true, might not Christ's body be resolvable without corruption into the ultimate constituents of matter and then re-formed as a new etherial body, since ether is sub-material, the indwelling spirit moulding it as if it were a material body, yet not subject to the limitations of such a body? At all events these new theories lessen the difficulties in the way of accepting the Resurrection.

(*o*) *The Ascension* was probably a final vanishing (Lk 24^{31}) from the sight of the apostles, interpreted conventionally and symbolically as ascension, and, as far as the vision of angels is concerned, objectively. Heaven being regarded as a place above, this was inevitable, and was in keeping with the symbolism of up and down, high and low. Christ vanished out of space conditions into a higher state, and this is the essential truth behind the descriptions, while it is the natural corollary of the Resurrection.

8. Miracle in the Apostolic Age.—The miraculous powers included in the apostolic commission may have received additions—*e.g.*, raising the dead (Mt 10^8)—while some are allegorical (Lk 10^{19}). Mk $16^{17f.}$ probably is an addition mingling the authority with the record in Acts and this passage in Luke. Certain it is that some miraculous power was transmitted to the apostles or made accessible by their faith. In Acts we see it at work. Faith on the part of the recipients of cure is also clearly in evidence, sometimes of a superstitious kind (5^{15} 9^{11}) perhaps resulting in cures by auto-suggestion. St. Paul both appeals to these powers of healing and refers to them (Ro 15^{19}, 1 Co $12^{9f.\ 28f.}$, Gal 3^5). They are regarded as credentials of the apostolic mission—perhaps not a sound theory. Those who believed because they saw signs and wonders had not the highest faith, unless the signs were accepted as tokens of divine love. It is obvious that St. Paul meant more than mere faith-healing, some actual miraculous gift, by his *χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων* or *ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων* (1 Co $12^{9\text{f.}}$). There was, in some cases at least, the influx of divine power into the diseased. In the case of Eutychus it is doubtful if a miraculous return to life is intended. In that of Dorcas it is so, though some unusual recovery from apparent death may have been locally exaggerated into a miracle.

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[1] For arguments *a silentio* see A. C. Headlam, *The Miracles of the NT*, p. 277 f.; and, regarding the genealogies, J. Moffatt, *Introd. to the Literature of the NT*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 250 f.

[2] See J. A. MacCulloch, in *Religion and Modern Thought*, p. 130 ff.; C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1912, p. 288 ff.

[3] T. H. Huxley, *Hume*, London, 1879, p. 137.

[1] Pagan sceptics never tried to derive the Resurrection story from their own mythology. See, further, J. A. MacCulloch, in *Religion and the Modern World*, p. 137 ff.

[2] O. Lodge, *The Ether of Space*, London, 1909, pp. 83, 87, *Life and Matter*, do. 1905, pp. 28, 82 f., *Man and the Universe*^{2}, p. 172, *Modern Views on Matter*, Oxford, 1903, p. 18; W. C. D. Whetham, *The Recent Development of Physical Science*^{4}, London, 1909, pp. 36, 244 f., 256 f., 280 ff.; T. G. Bonney, *The Present Relations of Science and Religion*, do. 1913, p. 25 f.

[3] Whetham, p. 265 f.

The account of Pentecost and its marvels describes an incursion of the spiritual audibly and visibly into the material world. Such an incursion would be difficult to describe, but it is no more than what might be expected on such an occasion. A distant analogy may be found in the phenomenon of light or of a cold breeze accompanying phantasmal appearances.[1] As to speaking with tongues, the phenomenon is perhaps no more than ecstatic utterance, and it is one which is apt to be degraded. The kindred phenomena of trance-utterance and inspirational address studied in our day have little value. Whatever might be the value of the tongues at Pentecost or at other times, St. Paul came to have a low opinion of the gift. The effect of a spiritual invasion would vary with the nature of the person invaded. The real miracle of Pentecost was the power shown by St. Peter and his fellows, and the spiritual results following.

The stories of release by means of an angel have been regarded as symbolic accounts of connivance or friendly interposition interpreted as divine aid. Yet, if other orders of beings exist, they might so intervene, and might have power over matter. The real question is one of adequacy to the occasion, and we find no such intervention in the case of James (Ac 12^2).

St. Paul's experience on the way to Damascus is really similar to that of the Resurrection appearances, though there is more splendour, so that he is blind for a season. If these appearances are accepted, St. Paul's 'vision' at once falls into place, even if the accounts vary. That he himself should cause blindness is perhaps no more wonderful than that he should heal. Did his words cause a temporary auto-suggestion of blindness to Elymas? The incident of the viper ($28^{3\text{ff.}}$), though viewed as miraculous, is not necessarily so. This is also true of the death of Ananias and Sapphira. Emotional shock might account for the deaths, and this would lend itself to a miraculous interpretation.

9. Ecclesiastical miracles.—The question as to the time when miracles ceased, if at all, used to be much debated. Some supposed that they continued down to the 3rd, 4th, or 5th cent.; others, like Middleton, made them end with the age of the apostles and characterized all later records of them as stupid and untrue.[2] The evidence alleged for miracles is continuous to the present time; how far it is based on fact is an open question if miracles are possible at all. The miracles of some individuals in the early Church are far more amazing and numerous than those of Christ. They were wrought not only on the sick or the dead, but on nature. Miracles of the last class are of a most stupendous character, incredible on the face of them and quite beyond all adequacy to the occasion. The age was doubtless one of considerable credulity, when miracles had to be forthcoming to rival those of paganism, in which the ecclesiastical writers believed, though attributing them to demons. Many accounts of miracles are too rhetorical to be taken seriously—*e.g.*, the Benedictine editors of Chrysostom's account of the miracles of St. Babylas say that it is rhetorical and for the most part destitute of truth.[3] In some cases, again, natural or perhaps supernormal events have been interpreted miraculously. Many are wrought to support some doctrine or practice not always of the essence of Christianity—*e.g.*, the use of relics, *at bottom* a species of fetishism. Some concern the Eucharist, but many of these are magical rather than miraculous.

Some miracles copy those of the Bible. Others are such as are found in ethnic sources—*e.g.*, changing the course of a river, drying up a lake, causing a staff to become a tree.[1]

The healing of the sick and the possessed is referred to from the time of Justin[2] onwards. The evidence for many of these miracles is of a very slender kind; credulity accepted them, sometimes pious fraud suggested them; but their possibility need not be denied. Gifts of healing may have existed with certain persons who had faith to use spiritual power or to aid the faith of others. In 'an age of spiritual exaltation and spaciousness, of enlarged consciousness and deepened faith and more buoyant hope'[3] such miracles might be expected. On the other hand, there are few instances of such cures as our Lord performed. Most are wrought in connexion with relics or the Eucharist. That cures should thus occur need not be doubted. Where the power of these was believed in or the patient's faith was strong, suggestion might heal, even if there was no power to heal in these media themselves.[4] There may also have been an influx of power from another sphere, as a reward of faith or an answer to prayer, and this would be a miraculous cure (§ 12). So in the case of exorcism, while, here again, the use of relics or the Eucharist is found quite as much as prayer, it need not be doubted that the patient might respond to the treatment, which was really a form of suggestion. Indeed, where the resources of a spiritual religion were called upon, why should not these have brought calm and order to the disturbed mind? (see § 7 (*h*)). There is, however, no such evidence for cures as exists for Christ's healing method. Patients continued to be afflicted at intervals in many cases. Exorcism tended to become a business, and the 'cure' was often of a very drastic kind.[5]

The most circumstantial accounts of raising the dead come from St. Augustine.[6] These are all connected with the shrine or relics of St. Stephen. The evidence is perhaps no more than hearsay, and there is no real proof that the persons were really dead. Elsewhere Augustine describes what was really a case of trance as the return from death.

10. Mediæval miracles. — During the Middle Ages nothing seemed too incredible to be related or believed. Every saint was expected to work miracles, and miracles freely adorned the popular Lives of the saints. It was said of St. Vincent Ferrer that it was a miracle when he performed no miracle. Any saint in whom a particular district, monastery, or church was interested was apt to have many miracles attributed to him. The people seemed incapable of being content with his spiritual victories; these had to take material form, to be symbolized as miracles. As in the earlier period, many miracles were alleged in support of particular doctrines or practices—the cult of the Virgin and saints, of relics, the Eucharist, the use of images. Protests were made from time to time by theologians, but in vain.[7]

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[1] Cf. Myers, ii. 128, 323, 515, 538; E. Gurney, F. W. H. Myers, F. Podmore, *Phantasms of the Living*, London, 1886, i. 550, and *passim*; Carrington, p. 366.

[2] C. Middleton, 'Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian Church,' *Miscellaneous Works*², London, 1755.

[3] *Opera*, Paris, 1718–38, ii. 530 (= *PG* l. 527 f.).

[1] Some of these are accepted by J. H. Newman, *Two Essays on Biblical and on Eccles. Miracles*², London, 1870.

[2] *Apol.* ii. 6, *Dial.* 39, 85.

[3] W. F. Cobb, *Spiritual Healing*, p. 45.

[4] The right reception of the Eucharist might have effect in ill-health. Cf. the words, 'preserve *thy body* and soul.'

[5] J. Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, London, 1821–29, i. 284, iii. 182, v. 335.

[6] *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8. Prayer was also used, but the relics are mainly in evidence.

[7] See passages in J. A. W. Neander, *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, Eng. tr., London, 1851–58, vii 433 f.

The folk expected miracles, and miracles were freely provided for them. Many of the miracle stories are repeated in countless Lives of saints; one biographer plagiarized freely from another, and later Lives are often more full of miracles than the earlier Lives of the same saint. Biblical miracles were freely imitated; only in any given case they were multiplied a hundredfold. Other miracles belong to a floating tradition, and repeat those already found in ethnic sources or in classical writings. Some are versions of folk-tale incidents. Frequently the quite ordinary or the particular gifts of a saint were exaggerated into miracles. Others can be traced to a misunderstanding of Christian artistic *motifs*—*e.g.*, the stories of saints carrying their heads in their hands can be traced to pictures where they were thus represented to symbolize their death by decapitation—or to the visions or hallucinations of hysterical devotees, though these were supposed to belong to the highest state of ecstasy, in which reason played no part. All these miracles may be divided into four classes: (*a*) miracles wrought on nature, often of a most extravagant type—arresting the sun's course, hanging a cloak on a sunbeam; (*b*) miracles wrought by or upon inanimate objects—the numerous moving, talking, smiling images, already met with in paganism, or the opening of locked doors at the touch of a saint's finger; (*c*) miracles occurring to a saint—*e.g.*, light streaming from his fingers, talking at birth, carrying fire, bilocation, levitation; and (*d*) miracles of healing, exorcism, and raising the dead.

The practice of incubation passed over to the Christian Church and was mainly associated with St. Cosmas and St. Damian, but the cures were often of a prolonged character. The methods were much the same as in pagan temples, *mutatis mutandis.*[1] As to healing miracles in general, what has already been said of these applies here also (cf. also § 12).[2]

Possibly some miracles were actual instances of supernormal phenomena of the x region, so long scoffed at, but now more or less investigated by science. There are incidents corresponding to cases of hypnotism, telepathy, clairvoyance and clairaudience, telekinesis—the movement of objects without being touched—appearances of phantasms of the living or dying (perhaps that which underlies cases of bilocation), and the occasional superiority of the senses to outward effects (carrying fire). Of these as well as of levitation there has been a constant tradition through the ages, and in the mass of alleged occurrences there may have been some genuine instances. Such phenomena are not necessarily miraculous or even evidence of saintliness. On the other hand, if mind can communicate with mind, communications from another sphere may be made to minds on this earth, and these would have a miraculous quality—*e.g.*, the voices and visions of Jeanne d'Arc or those which prefaced the healing of Dorothy Kerin.[3] The communication may be coloured by the preconceptions of the percipient—a divine message may appear as a voice or vision of Virgin or saint, or a case of real spiritual healing may be associated with belief in a relic. Divine power might also be manifested from time to time through the supernormal phenomena referred to, making them miraculous. There should, in fact, be no cleavage between normal and supernormal and supernatural in our appreciation of the divine working.

11. Modern miracles.—These are mainly connected with healing, though supernormal phenomena in connexion with spiritualism have been claimed as miraculous.[1] Typical cases are associated with shrines and relics—*e.g.*, the cures at the tomb of the Abbé Paris or by the Holy Thorn related by Pascal[2]—or are accomplished by various personages representing every form of Christianity, or by mind-cures, faith-healing (*q.v.*), and Christian Science (*q.v.*).

The cures at Lourdes (*q.v.*) are associated with the vision of the Virgin seen by Bernadette Soubirous in 1858, though nothing was said to her about these. The number of pilgrims amounts to some 600,000 yearly, but no more than 2 per cent of the cures are regarded as 'miraculous.' Some vouched for are of an almost instantaneous nature.[3] Christian Science is associated with a theory of the unreality of matter and of pain. Disease is the result of false thinking. The Divine Spirit heals by casting out 'mortal-mind.'[4]

All these various methods of healing are traced to the spiritual value and truth of the creed or theory or practice with which they are associated. Yet some of them flatly contradict each other. They are rather means by which a cure is mediated, quite apart from their truth or value. A key to the problem is perhaps found in 'spontaneous cures' occurring in medical practice, which may be traced to suggestion. This is probably the main factor behind the cures effected by these various methods. It is the power of the unconscious as well as of the conscious self over the body, when once an idea has been accepted.[5] Existing beliefs are strengthened; new hopes are initiated; fears and inhibitions are removed; and the physical processes by which pathological conditions are removed begin to be affected. Thus in all the various methods 'the differences are subjective rather than objective, differences in the mind of the sufferers, rather than in any scientific evidence as to the nature of the healing agency.'[6] Susceptibility to suggestion may vary, and it should not be forgotten that there may be evil as well as healthful suggestions. But that it is a real psychic process is undoubted.[7] The suggestion may come from belief in a relic, a saint, or from the 'mystic theism' of Christian Science. The main fact is that it often works, even if the cures are seldom instantaneous, though they may occur in a quicker manner than in ordinary physical therapeutics. We are still left to inquire, however, whether any other exterior force works in connexion with the vital healing force inherent in the organism, and set in motion by suggestion. If so, we should be in presence of the miraculous. This possibility must now be considered.

12. Mental and spiritual healing in relation to Christ's miracles of healing.—Psychic forces affect the body in normal life, and of these suggestion is one. But is there also at times, with the healing suggestion or as an answer to prayer, an influx of exterior, divine, spiritual power to heal? This would correspond to the exaltation of mind by spiritual influences in inspiration. It would be a particular and outstanding instance of what we find everywhere, if all life is dependent for its energy on some all-environing Life. It might not be regarded as miraculous or supernatural, for, if miracle is part of the process of the universe, in a sense it is natural. But in so far as the result testifies clearly to processes outside our ken, to the power of a divine person thus making Himself known, the current of whose energy is entering our life for a particular purpose, this is a sign, or miracle. The spirit has let loose 'life-giving forces which sweep before them the evils of sickness and disease.'[1] There is more than mind-cure; faith has tapped a divine source, and it has aided the unconscious mind. That this has never taken place cannot be affirmed, though a leader of the movement for applying the spiritual powers of the Church to disease[2] in conjunction with medical treatment is still seeking for an authentic instance. The appeal to spirit in one form or another has been made in all religions where healing was practised, and doubtless the divine spirit has not confined His work to any one of them, if thus He works at all. But, while uncertainty attaches to all mental therapeutics, our Lord's healing methods were never uncertain. He always set free the healing power, the divine life which healed, whether His own or acting through Him as a perfect channel, unsusceptible to disease. This is seen by His words, 'I will, be thou clean.' The result was swift and certain cure. Thus Christ as healer differs in degree and kind from all media of occasional cures. That He cannot effect such cures where perfect faith exists is not credible.[3]

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[1] L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian*, Leipzig, 1907; M. Hamilton, p. 109 f.

[2] For these groups of miracles see *AS*; J. J. von Görres, *Die christliche Mystik*, Regensburg, 1836–42; Gregory of Tours, *de Miraculis*; A. Butler, *Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other Principal Saints*, Dublin, 1833–36; S. Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*^{2}, London, 1897–98; cf. W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*^{2}, do., 1912, pp. 143 f., 264; J. A. MacCulloch, 'Saintly Miracles,' *ExpT* xix. [1908] 403 ff.

[3] On this see E. L. Ash, *Faith and Suggestion*, London, 1912.

[1] A. R. Wallace, *Miracles and Modern Spiritualism*; see § 14.

[2] D. Hume, 'Of Miracles,' *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*, ii. 131, ed. Green and Grose, ii. 88; B. Pascal, *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1858, ii. 143.

[3] J. Jörgensen, *Lourdes*, London, 1914, p. 161 f.; A. T. Myers and F. W. H. Myers, 'Mind Cure, Faith Cure, and the Miracles of Lourdes,' *Proc. of Soc. for Psych. Research*, ix. [1893] 160–210.

[4] M. B. G. Eddy, *Science and Health*, Boston, 1902, *passim.*

[5] B. Sidis, *The Psychology of Suggestion*, pp. 15, 180.

[6] Myers, i. 213.

[7] It is accepted by medical science; see *British Medical Journal*, Supplement, July 15, 1911, p. 211.

13. Hostile criticism of miracles.—Though the Schoolmen were probably refuting current objections to miracles, no serious criticism appeared until the 17th cent. with *Spinoza's* attack. The laws of nature are the decrees of God. Miracles cannot happen because they violate the order of nature, and thus God would be contradicting Himself, for nature is fixed and changeless. Miracles could tell us nothing of God, since they surpass our powers of comprehension.[4]

Spinoza's view is mechanical and takes no account of the interaction of existing 'laws,' their interference with each other without violating the order of nature. This may also be true of miraculous action. The material universe may be subject to the spiritual order. God may bring in new forces from time to time, or combine existing forces for a definite end, and His guidance exists through all. Moreover, even if miracles are incomprehensible, they do tell us certain definite things about God, as Christ's miracles did. Spinoza's pantheistic doctrine of God deprived God of all real freedom.

The *Deists* opposed miracles on the ground of a fixed order of nature. God, having made the world, never interfered with it, and to assert miracle was a kind of treason to Him. Hence the Gospel miracles were explained away or allegorized. Miracle was a possibility, but it never occurred. This also was the position of *David Hume*, whose argument, aimed at Roman Catholic miracles primarily, was regarded by him as invulnerable. Miracle was a violation of the laws of nature by a particular volition of deity, of whose attributes or actions, however, we could know nothing otherwise than from our experience of them in the ordinary course of nature. No testimony could establish a miracle, unless its falsehood would be more miraculous than the alleged miracle itself. The belief in miracles arises from the pleasing sensations which they arouse, and they are common adjuncts of religious enthusiasm. A miracle could never be proved so as to be the foundation of a system of religion.[5]

Huxley criticizes Hume's argument on the ground that every event is a part of nature and proof to the contrary is impossible. 'Calling our often verified experience a law of nature adds nothing to its value,' since we cannot affirm that the experience will be verified again. Any seeming violation of the laws of nature would be investigated by science, and its existence would simply extend our view of nature. Miracle is conceivable, and involves no contradiction, yet evidence for it must be complete.[1] It may be added that Hume's 'experience' is such as he only would admit. His own criterion of evidence, even when fulfilled, is at once rejected by him,[2] and some of his admissions—*e.g.*, as to the hypothetical eight days' darkness—tell against his own argument. A particular volition of deity may reveal a world transcending ours without violating laws of nature, which are also volitions of deity. Christ's signs are part of our experience of the working of God. As to miracles establishing a doctrine, the argument has little force now. Miracles of healing, *e.g.*, need not prove the truth of the system in which they are found (§ 11), and it is questionable whether any ethnic system was founded on a miraculous basis. Christ, not His miracles, established Christianity, but His miracles are inherent in His religion in a way that those alleged of ethnic teachers are not.

German rationalism, represented by *H. S. Reimarus*, opposed miracles as impostures effected by Christ. *H. E. G. Paulus*, however, regarded them as ordinary or perhaps unusual events interpreted by readers as miracles—a thing which the authors of the Gospels never intended, though they sometimes had mistaken ordinary action for miracle. *D. F. Strauss* started, like Paulus, from the Spinozan principle, and regarded miracles as legendary accretions—a halo of wonder placed round Christ's head by the early Church, because the Messiah had been expected to work miracles. Yet, mythical as they are, the miracles are symbols of metaphysical ideas.

Literary criticism in the persons of *E. Renan*, *M. Arnold*, and *W. E. H. Lecky* set aside miracle altogether. 'Miracles do not happen,' was Arnold's catchword. Renan maintained that Jesus had to either renounce His mission or become a thaumaturgist. Miracles were a violence done to Him by His age—a statement incompatible with Lk 13^{32}—and yet He believed in miracles, and had no idea of an order of nature. Arnold, while opposed to explaining miracles in detail, thought it a mistake to rest Christianity on miracle, for, when that was discredited, as he believed it had been, Christianity was apt to go with it. Both Renan and he admitted some truth in the miracles of healing, but Renan's description of these comes short of what is said of their thoroughness and ease, and is, in fact, grotesque.[3] Arnold's idea of 'moral therapeutics' assumes that illness was due to sin, while Christ, as bringer of happiness and calm, addressed the moral cause of disease. Such a method might be used extensively in the healing art.[4]

The assumption that illness was due to sin is not proved, and some healing miracles are not explainable by moral therapeutics. In any case Christ had a power which has not been imitated, and the other miracles are quite as well attested as those of healing.

The literary pantheism favoured by *R. W. Emerson* (*q.v.*) saw miracle everywhere, therefore definite miracles nowhere. Miracle as taught by the churches was a monster.[5] Christ's miracles are explained by saying that He felt man's life and doings to be a miracle—an insufficient account of *σημεῖα*.[6] There is some truth, however, in the saying that 'to aim to convert a man by miracles, is a profanation of the soul.'[7] Not dissimilar is *Carlyle's* 'natural supernaturalism,' though he admitted that such an event as the raising of one from the dead would violate no law, but prove the entrance of some deeper law.[8]

Materialism rejects miracle altogether and refuses to investigate individual miracles — too often the attitude of science. Agnosticism, as represented by *Huxley*, admitted the possibility of miracle, but, in the event of such 'wonderful events' happening, would widen its view of nature. All that would thus be shown would be that all experience, however long or uniform, is apt to be incomplete. There would be no necessary divine power behind such a wonderful event.

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[1] Cobb, p. 224.

[2] McComb, Worcester, and Coriat, *Religion and Medicine*, p. 4.

[3] Cf. the remarks of P. Dearmer, *Body and Soul*, p. 315; J. M. Hickson, *The Healing of Christ in His Church*, n.d., and *The Healer*, *passim*.

[4] *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, Eng. tr., London, 1862, ch. 6.

[5] *Op. cit.* ii. 115 ff. For the sources of Hume's argument see J. H. Burton, *Life and Correspondence of D. Hume*, Edinburgh, 1846, i. 57.

[1] Huxley, *Hume*, p. 129 ff.; cf., for further criticism, T. De Quincey, 'On Miracles as Subjects of Testimony,' *Works*, Edinburgh, 1862, vii. 224 f.

[2] Cf. ii. 122, 131 with p. 483.

[3] *Vie de Jésus*, Paris, 1863, ch. xvi.

[4] *Literature and Dogma*, p. 126 ff. (*Works*, London, 1903, vii.).

[5] *Works*, Riverside ed., London, 1898, i. 128; cf. ii. 66.

[6] *Ib.* i. 128.

[7] *Ib.* i. 131.

[8] *Sartor Resartus*, bk. iii. ch. 8, *Essays*, iv. 37.

But, while science might investigate any 'wonderful event,' has it yet explained even an ordinary event? Christianity regards all events as expressions of divine will, direct or indirect, and such as are miraculous are more striking evidence of that, not just because they arouse wonder, but because of their appeal to what is ethical or spiritual in us. They witness to the supremacy of spirit over matter (§ 15).

On the whole, the scientific attitude to miracle is less hostile now than it once was. Many scientific men are also religious men, and the new vistas open to science have made a spiritual interpretation of the universe more possible.

14. The defence of miracles.—The *Apologists* generally connected miracles with prophecy, and showed that they fulfilled predictions of such deeds made long ago. They are by no means the sole evidence for Christianity, though, as the Greek Fathers maintained, they might help those who through sin could not see God in His works. Origen pointed out that Christ's miracles were not done for show, like a juggler's wonders, and that, unlike a juggler, He demanded a new way of life.[1] The Fathers commonly appealed to the miracles done in their day, and *Arnobius* devotes much attention to miracles as proving Christ's divinity. *Augustine* first gives a philosophy of the miraculous. God's will is the ultimate source of all things, and nothing can be *contra naturam* which happens by God's will. Everything is natural, not to us, but to God. Miracles are part of an established order. They are not *contra naturam*, but may be contrary to what is known to us of nature.[2] The *Schoolmen* start from this idea of uniformity, forestalling the ideas of science, but not on experimental grounds. There is a higher and a lower order of nature, the former at once natural and supernatural, God's ideal plan. In it are *causales rationes et primordiales* of miracles. In the actual order, known to us, with its chain of causes and effects, miracles could not originate, but these have the capacity for higher powers being inserted in them—all parts of God's original plan. Miracles are not such to God, who can interfere with the *ordo secundarum causarum* which is subject to Him. Miracles are *præter hanc ordinem*—the order known to us—but not *contra naturam*.[3] Again, as the course of things can be changed by creaturely power, so God's power may bring an event to pass otherwise than in the usual course, so that men may know His power. This is equivalent to the view that there may be guidance of forces in nature to a particular result which may appear miraculous to us (§ 15). Later the idea came generally to be held that miracles were a real suspension or violation of the laws of nature, the view attacked by Spinoza and Hume, both sides arguing as if all nature's 'laws' were known to them. *Bishop Butler* wisely points out that, while we see nature carried on by general laws, God's miraculous interpositions may have also been by general laws of wisdom. Nature is plastic to Him, and these laws are unknown to us. There may be beings to whom the miraculous is as natural as ordinary nature is to us. Butler was arguing against the Deists, but he sometimes forestalls Hume's objections, as when he says that miracles should be compared not with ordinary but with extraordinary events in nature. With the Schoolmen he tends to regard miracles as part of the original plan of things. He again forestalls Hume when he argues that fraudulent miracles do not disprove those of Christianity, but he is on less sure ground when he says that Christianity was offered and received on the ground of miracles publicly wrought to attest its truth. *J. B. Mozley* continued Butler's position that miracles are necessary to a revelation,[1] but argued, with him, that no miracle could make us accept anything contrary to moral or true religion. There is order, cosmos, in nature, but the mechanical expectation of recurrence which would keep out miracle cannot be proved true. Anything contradictory to experience might be either some event in accordance with an order of nature or a direct divine interposition, spirit prevailing over matter. Such a miraculous event, as the act of a Personal Being, would show moral will and intention and be evidence of a higher world. The order of nature might be suspended, if there was use in suspending it. But the laws of nature would be suspended, not the laws of the universe, which would be a contradiction. Suspension of the laws of nature is possible, and it happens—*e.g.*, where the laws of matter are suspended by the laws of life. If spirit be regarded as above matter and capable of moving it, miracle becomes possible.

In opposition to German rationalism *Schleiermacher*, in his *Der christliche Glaube* (Amsterdam, 1830–31), maintained that nature admitted of new elements, consonant as it was to God's will and work, even if conditioned by it. Nature may contain the cause of the miracle, but it appears only when God calls it forth. Christ had a supernatural origin and, as sinless, was a moral miracle. Yet the Virgin-birth, Resurrection, and Ascension were set aside along with many of the miracles, though miracle was admitted, since God has complete power over nature. Our belief in Christ, according to him, does not depend on miracles. Thus, though Schleiermacher still opposes certain miracles, he offers a constructive theory of miracle. Later *A. Ritschl* refused to regard miracles as contrary to natural law, and held that they were akin to Providential action. *J. Kaftan* argues from the same side that 'laws of nature' are unreal, a mere formula allowing us to grasp the course of nature. Miracle is such an unusual event as will awaken us in a special manner to God's living government of the world. He works in all things, but can use special means to enable faith to trace His presence.[2] *Hermann Lotze* also refuses to regard miracle as setting aside laws of nature. The miracle-working power, by virtue of its internal connexion with the inner states of things, can alter these and so modify the result of the laws. Law is thus turned to account. Even if there be mechanical necessity, this change in the internal state of things subject to it causes it to produce an external miraculous phenomenon. The elements of the universe are not 'selfless and void points of attachment for unalterable forces,' but living parts of the living One. No law is altered when miracle occurs, but the bearers of the forces obedient to these laws are altered. The conditioning cause of miracles is in God and nature both, hence there is no arbitrariness in miracles. Yet Lotze sets aside Christ's miracles, partly because the change in man's conceptions of nature has made them dubious.[3]

On the whole, modern theology tends to regard the universe as plastic to God and miracles as the evidence of will. Even man can produce effects in nature not producible by nature itself. Such a view is elaborated by *H. Bushnell*.[4] Again, as by

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[1] *c. Cels.* i. 68; cf. iii. 22.

[2] *c. Faustum*, 26, *de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 7 f., *de Gen. ad Lit.* vi. 13.

[3] Cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* I. cv., cvi., *Summa c. Gentiles*, III. xcix. f.

[1] *Eight Lectures on Miracles.* Miracles, far from being a decisive proof of revelation, have now themselves to be proved!

[2] *Truth of the Christian Religion*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1894, ii. 393 ff.

[3] *Microcosmus*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1885, i. 450 f., ii. 478 f.

[4] *Nature and the Supernatural*, London, 1868. See *ERE* iii. 45b.

J. R. Illingworth, divine immanence is made the ground of miracle. There is unity rather than uniformity in nature; it is due to spirit which uses matter for its purposes. The moral aspect of miracles is also emphasized by him and by other writers. Christ's miracles do not interfere with law, but restore laws which were broken. Disease is here regarded as due to sin. As to the Resurrection, there is no reason why a sinless soul should not resume at will a sinless body.[1] The supremacy to an extraordinary degree of spiritual force over the mere material is also emphasized by *A. C. Headlam* in his recent book on miracles.[2]

From a spiritualistic point of view *A. R. Wallace* argues for miracles on the ground that intelligent beings, unperceived by us, have power over matter, producing supernormal phenomena, the occurrence of which has been noted in all ages. By this view he claims that Christ's miracles as well as answer to prayer find new support.[3]

15. The question of the miraculous.—Miracles are not fortuitous events, breaking in upon a fixed order of nature. Both they and that order are evidences of divine will. The more the nature of the universe is revealed to us, the more impossible is it to believe that it all merely happened, that there was no guidance or control to produce such a vast and complex result. This impossibility is only the more increased by recent discoveries in science. If there is an infinite number of ultimate elements all of precisely the same form, it is most unlikely that all these should have happened upon the same form. Neither matter nor energy possesses the power of automatic guidance and control. Hence some form of guidance is essential, some directing mind and will. Life is outside the categories of matter and energy, yet it can use both, guiding and controlling them in accordance with the laws which govern them. Such guidance should not be denied to a supreme will and source of all life. But, if such guidance is granted, then miracles—particular instances of that guidance—become possible. A fixed order of nature does not necessarily mean that nature is self-contained and self-sufficing or subject to unalterable mechanical necessity. We do not know all of that order, nor is it likely that it is the only possible order. We cannot assert that a limit has been set to every combination of matter and energy, to every method of guiding these, to every possible result. If so, a miracle is not a breach of the order of nature, which, modifying St. Augustine's formula of known and unknown, may be regarded as one of which we do not know everything. As to the 'laws of the universe,' all that this means is governance of the universe according to law. If things always happen in an unvarying sequence, this does not exclude guidance, nor does it mean that the ultimate cause of the sequence has been discovered. Nor, if some phenomenon happened but once, would it be outside law or happen apart from guidance. Man can interfere with nature, utilizing its forces to produce new results, without breaking any single law of nature. What man can do is possible for the mind and will behind the universe. Law, again, if it exist in the material, must also exist in the super-material universe which interacts with the former. By its laws those of the material universe may be suspended, and in so far as any such action is purposive and beneficent it reveals a law of love, a universe governed all through according to law by a competent and good will. A miracle would thus be a beneficent and intelligent control and guidance of existing forces in accordance with law by a supreme spiritual power, and this is precisely what we find in the miracles of Christ. They were natural actions to Him, either because of what He was or because He was in perfect harmony with that supreme spiritual power.

It is easy to hold a wrong idea of the uniformity of nature or, rather, its unity, to adopt Illingworth's *dictum.* Theology has been apt to insist upon miracle as a sort of catastrophic gap in an existing uniformity. Science has tended to forget the possibility or, rather, the fact of endless variety in that uniformity. Such variety is only the more in evidence with the new discoveries of science, which now postulates either an energy as the only physical reality or a sub-material basis of matter with a psychical significance. But, apart from that, how endless is the diversity even in a uniform nature, not even two blades of grass precisely the same! Nor is life explainable in terms of mechanical uniformity. It uses and controls matter and energy, and may exist apart from them.[1] Unity, with endless variety, is a better description of the universe than mere mechanical uniformity. In the interaction of the forces of the universe a slight increase of one force will produce a different result. And, if the forces, the interaction, the result, are guided and controlled, this would not detract from, but only augment, the theory of science that this is an orderly universe. Such guidance and control are not occasional but continuous, for a true theology can never postulate a God outside the universe, interfering with it on occasion. He always does what is best for it, and all that the universe contains—not merely its physical contents—is utilized for definite ends. Thus, if a slight increase of one force in any combination of forces—a re-arrangement of forces—will produce a different result from what is generally produced, miracle becomes possible. The result would show more definitely will and beneficence in the guiding process. Science might investigate this result, might even conceivably reproduce it. Could it explain the process? Could it tell how Christ could do such things in a pre-scientific age? There must have been some influence working with Him or in Him to produce such purposive, intelligent results. Science might create life, say, out of certain chemical combinations of dead matter. But could it explain why precisely that combination, that arrangement of forces or conditions, produced life? There would not be an act of creation, but the setting in motion of certain forces already possessing the potency of life. Why or how they possessed this would remain unexplained.

As there are physical so there are moral and spiritual facts, not explainable in terms of the former, though they interpenetrate. Miracles, as such, are not isolated physical phenomena or prodigies. They are not unrelated to any moral or spiritual sequence. They have a moral and spiritual purpose, a clear relation to surrounding circumstances. Unlike the vast majority of ethnic miracles, Christ's miracles have that moral and spiritual quality which differentiates them from physical prodigies. They are distinct revelations of God or of God's nature in relation to the universe and man. As in a less degree in all His miracles, so in a higher degree in the Resurrection, there is a union of physical and spiritual, such as is seen also wherever mind and life control matter and energy. Matter is here completely controlled, spiritualized, and such an event could scarcely have been imagined or invented. All miracles imagined or invented would have been little else than wonders. But Christ's miracles, with their spiritual and moral quality, are continuous with the system of the universe as a whole. So again many alleged supernormal phenomena are not miracles; they do not show a direct moral, purposive action on the part of a divine power, but reveal unsuspected and unexplained human powers. If God directs the whole universe, miracles are in no sense a rectifying of His own mistakes. They are instances of the overcoming of evil and disorder in a universe where these exist and where evil may have been necessary to the world-process, a stage on the way to perfection. Yet that perfection is being brought about, and miracles are an instance of this, since they clearly show God's purpose, more clearly perhaps than the more quietly-working process. They show, as Lotze says, that God is so related to matter that it cannot resist Him at all. So Christ's healing miracles show that spirit and will are superior to the causes which produce disease. Thus in no sense is miracle *contra naturam*; rather is it an expression of divine action in ways which may contradict our ordinary experience, *i.e.* our real ignorance of the universe.

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[1] *Divine Immanence*, chs. iv. and v., *The Gospel Miracles.*
[2] *The Miracles of the NT.*
[3] *Miracles and Modern Spiritualism.*

[1] O. Lodge, *Life and Matter*, p. 133 ff.; J. S. Haldane, *Mechanism, Life, and Personality* London, 1913, p. 60; cf. H. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Eng. tr., do., 1911, p. 13.

The unchanging nature of radium might have been regarded as an unalterable law; yet the lapse of time (it takes 2500 years for an atom of radium to change) would show that this was a mistaken view, a parable of our knowledge of the laws of the universe.

The divine will, acting normally in certain ways, may act in different ways, perhaps in our limited view contrary to these. One set of laws is put aside for the moment, just as man can transcend the physical order by his will. Yet order is not interrupted, for the whole order of nature—all that happens—is just the divine will to which, *e.g.*, a swift 'miraculous' process of healing may be as natural as a slower process, or the turning of water to wine as natural as the slower growth of the vine. In either case there is a quickening of a natural process, and yet to God that quickening may be perfectly normal. Does this take away the miraculous from what we call 'miracle'? In a sense it does, for we tend to draw too straight a line between natural and supernatural. All events, inasmuch as they express the divine will, are natural, yet they are supernatural in so far as they all end for us in mystery. What constitutes a miracle is its quality, its instant suggestion of divine power and goodness. Man's spiritual vision is clouded, and he does not always see these in the ordinary event, nor is that always the fullest revelation of God. All things speak of God, but some speak more clearly. Yet these are by no means abnormal; they do not occur on inadequate occasions, nor do they contradict the fundamental laws of experience. The reign of law is not set aside, for the ways in which miracle is brought about are still in accordance with law, even if the miracle happen but once.

Certain persons, for no very obvious reason, seem to possess supernormal powers, or these are manifested through them; others have genius; others, men of God, have spiritual gifts. What powers may not be open to one like Christ, in whom divine power existed and whose sinless will was in perfect harmony with God's? He claimed to possess divine power, and He said that He came to do the Father's will. Things were therefore natural to Him which might have been unnatural to another. Yet His miracles were in subordination to the moral miracle of His sinless personality, and therefore in harmony with it. Divine power and goodness overflowed, as it were, from Him upon nature and man. His miracles are perfect examples of the control of the material by the spiritual, and they prove that all force, all guidance, are in the last resort spiritual. Yet the real reason for following Him was Himself, not His signs. The power by which He wrought these was in Him because of what He was. It might be open to all who live upon the same plane, as He pointed out.

As has already been said, there is no evidence in Christ's miracles of the lawless breaking of a 'law of nature.' Rather is it as if existing forces were being directly influenced, whether neutralized or quickened, or as if a new force was working with a natural force to produce a result different from what the latter could produce. In the case of healing disease a slow process gives place to a swifter process. So in the calming of the sea a natural process is heightened. In either case there is the power of will. When walking on the sea, Christ must have exerted a power which witnessed to some law quite as much as the law which for the moment it displaced. When water was changed into wine, was this more marvellous *for Christ* than the transmutation of one element into another as proved possible by science?

In the case of feeding the multitudes analogy is more difficult to find. Were bodily needs forgotten through a miraculous mental exaltation, so that a sacramental partaking of a small portion of food sufficed? This does not account for the fragments that remained. We cannot trace the method, but our limited vision need not detract from its miraculous aspect. Those most concerned believed that a miracle had occurred, unless the texts are wholly fictitious.

In Christ it is not a question of divinity breaking through a humanity in acts which are superhuman, but of a constant superiority to humanity in one who is its perfect type. It is therefore no stranger that His actions should be more wonderful than those of other men than that His teaching or His sinless life should surpass theirs.

Apart from the general control or guidance of the universe, divine will may work through normal or supernormal actions, or may act directly in specific cases, for what are to us miraculous purposes. Speaking is a normal action, but where a man speaks under the influence of the Spirit there is inspiration. Healing by suggestion is supernormal, but, if the suggestion is aided by spiritual influences, there is a miraculous cure. Again, as in some of Christ's miracles, we trace more direct action upon material things. Such action may be regarded as supernatural because mysterious; yet to God it is natural. All action, human or divine, is part of an ascending series; we cannot say where the natural ends and the supernatural begins; what we can assert is that Christ's confidence in His power or in God's power working through Him never faltered. He intimates that, if men had faith enough, they could do even greater works. Have we yet sounded 'the abysmal depths of personality,' or used to the full the power of the divine spirit working with us?

16. **Prayer.**—The relation of miracle to prayer may be briefly touched on. If miracle is a special instance of divine control, then answer to prayer has a miraculous aspect. Human mind and will can control existing physical forces or overcome the laws which govern them. There is readjustment without catastrophe. To every single fact there are countless antecedents, and a little of less or more will produce a new result, as is seen, *e.g.*, by the different chemical products obtainable by even the slightest increase in the number of similar atoms combining with others to produce these. Man himself can produce new effects in the physical world. Must we deny this power to God? He can surely guide, deflect, or neutralize one force by another, or act directly upon matter and energy so that a new result will follow, subject, of course, to every limitation of reason and order. How little exercise of power on God's part would be necessary to cause rain in answer to prayer! Since man and man's actions and thoughts, hence also his prayers, are a part of the forces of the universe, when we do not pray, the result, even in

the physical world, may be different from what it would have been had we prayed. Prayer is energy, and earnest prayer cannot be useless, even if its result is not just what man wants. If God's plan for the universe is so far conditioned by man's misuse of free will, how speedily will that plan be accomplished when man's will is at one with God's! It is His will that we pray, and every answer to prayer, as a direct manifestation of His will, is so far miraculous, and yet, like all miracle, quite natural. God foresees all that will happen in the universe; therefore He foresees whether we shall pray, and whether any particular prayer will be answered in one way or another. If the occurrence of certain things in God's plan depends on prayer, then we must pray. Are we then not free? Still we have the feeling of acting as free agents, and feeling is perhaps here truer than reason.

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J. A. MACCULLOCH.

MIRACLE-PLAYS, MYSTERIES, MORALITIES.—1. Introduction.—As was indicated in the introduction to the art. DRAMA, the origin of the mediæval drama, like that of the Greek, is to be found in religious observances. It is true that from the earliest reigns of Norman kings in England secular pageants were common features of any day of special rejoicing; but these were not strictly dramatic in their nature, nor did they contribute to the essential development of the form. The true beginning of the long course which leads up to Shakespeare and Racine is found in the Churches; the most striking fact in the history of the mediæval drama is its evolution from the simplest germs in the responses of the liturgy into an elaborate new form without the influence of either antecedent or contemporary dramatic material. Though many steps and many dates in the history of the Miracles and Moralities are still to be discovered, and their due place to be assigned to many influences, it is possible to write a clear history of the drama in the Middle Ages from its origin in the antiphonal tropes of the liturgy to its final expression in the great Passion-plays, 'Mystères,' and 'Miracle-cycles.'

The probability of some survival of classical influence in the mediæval drama has led some writers to trace all possible ancient dramatic and mimetic traditions in the period between the closing of the theatres and circuses in the 6th cent. to the establishment of a developed liturgical drama in the 10th and 11th; but, notwithstanding the efforts of the modern Greek scholar K. N. Sathas (*Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν*, Venice, 1878) and his followers to found the mediæval religious drama on the ruins of the ancient Greek, preserved in Byzantium and carried to the west by the returning crusaders, it is the opinion of most scholars that no more can be said than that there was possibly a continuance of the mimetic tradition, kept alive by wandering, outlawed entertainers—a tradition that may have helped the development of the drama by aiding the survival of some feeling for dramatic form, and may later have had a part in the secularization of the religious drama. (For the Byzantine stage see K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*^{2}, Munich, 1897, pp. 644–648, 746–749; for the views of Sathas, J. S. Tunison, *Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages*, Chicago, 1907; for the subject in general, Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, i. ch. i.)

2. The liturgical drama.—The antiphon, of Eastern origin, introduced into Italy by St. Ambrose, was the germ from which the mediæval drama developed. Certain antiphonal services had many dramatic possibilities, which more or less unconsciously began to take form in the tropes, or interpolations in the liturgical text for certain feast-days. The most important from the standpoint of dramatic history were the tropes of the Easter mass, the earliest dramatized form of which is the 'Quem quæritis.' This, assigned to about the year 900 and ascribed to the trope-writer Tutilo of St. Gall (Karl Young, 'The Origin of the Easter-Play,' in *Publications of the Modern Language Assoc. of America*, March 1914), seems to have developed into a considerable play as a trope of the introit for the day, and to have sent out branches which, combining with other ceremonies, such as the 'Visitatio sepulchri,' and other dramatic forms, such as the 'Prophetæ,' grew into the great Passion-plays and Miracle-cycles.

This earliest form is:

> 'Interrogatio.
>   Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, Christicolae?
> Responsio.
>   Jesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae.
>   Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat;
>   ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro.
>   Resurrexi.'

The last word, 'Resurrexi,' is the first word of the Easter introit. By textual accretions, partly by additions from the Vulgate, but more often by 'free composition,' and by the development of a dramatic setting (the 'sepulchrum') and truly dramatic personalities (the three Marys, the angel at the tomb, etc.), this trope grew into a well-developed though brief liturgical play (MS Brescia, 15th cent., quoted by Young), and attained a much larger development as a 'Visitatio sepulchri' at the end of Easter matins.

The altar served as the setting for the 'Quem quæritis' plays, as was natural, for it symbolized the tomb of Christ (Young, p. 45). This made easy the transition to the use of the 'Quem quæritis' as part of the 'Sepulchrum' ceremony at Easter matins (the 'Elevatio crucis' following the 'Adoratio crucis' and 'Depositio crucis' on Good Friday; the ceremonies were symbolical of the burial and resurrection of Christ). This second and dramatically more fruitful use of the 'Quem quæritis' grew by textual additions, such as the sequence 'Victimæ paschali,' and by additions of incident—first, details of the Biblical story (*e.g.*, the visit of the three Marys to the tomb, and of Peter and John); secondly, secular imaginative details (*e.g.*, the visit of the Marys to the 'unguentarius,' or dealer from whom they bought the necessary spices, a character who later became popular in the vernacular Passion-plays).

Though there was a considerable dramatic development of the 'Quem quæritis,' it remained strictly a liturgical drama; it was chanted, the parts were taken by churchmen, there was little real dialogue, and the setting was of the simplest. In certain late forms there are introduced motives that do not belong to the events of Easter morning, such as the kiss of peace accompanying the greeting 'Surrexit Christus,' or the 'Tollite portas' ceremony prescribed by the ritual for the dedication of a church. These point to the possibility of a development of the Easter play which, however, was not to take place in the 'Quem quæritis' proper. This matter will be considered in speaking of the Passion-play.

But the 'Quem quæritis' was not the only drama of Easter-week. The 'Peregrini,' attached to the vespers of Easter Monday, established in the 12th cent., was known in England, France, and Germany. The simplest form tells of the journey to Emmaus and the supper there (Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, i. 67; Chambers, ii. 37). In others Mary Magdalene appears, or the Virgin and the other Marys greet the risen Christ; or a new scene is added of the incredulity of Thomas; or there is even a merging of a developed form of the 'Quem quæritis,' the 'Peregrini,' and the Easter morning ceremony of the 'Elevatio crucis.'

Parallel with the plays of the Resurrection, other liturgical plays developed as parts of the office of other feasts. The Christmas season was the most productive; but there were plays for Epiphany and certain saints' days, particularly that of St. Nicholas. Though evidence of their existence has been found, the plays for many occasions have entirely disappeared. A Christmas drama, the 'Pastores,' commemorating the visit of the shepherds, grew out of a Christmas introit-trope, modelled on the Easter 'Quem quæritis.' It begins 'Quem quaeritis in praesepe, pastores, dicite.' It is purely liturgical, very simple in form, and of infrequent occurrence in the MSS, but is of interest for its connexion with the ancient and still popular representations of the crib, or *crèche*, of the infant Christ (see BAMBINO), and for its influence on the more fruitful dramatic forms into which it was absorbed. The essence of the play is the visit of the shepherds, a crib with images of the Virgin and Child, the announcement of the birth of Christ by a boy 'in similitudine angeli,' the singing of the 'Gloria in excelsis' by the angels and a hymn by the shepherds, a dialogue between the shepherds and two priests 'quasi obstetrices,' the adoration of the shepherds, and a final hymn.

A more common form of Christmas drama was the 'Stella,' a play of the visit of the Magi, originally consisting of antiphons and simple prose dialogue, representing the following of the star, the visit to the Infant, the offering of gifts, and the warning to the Magi (Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, i. 60; Chambers, ii. 45; Petit de Julleville, i. 51; texts in du Méril, *Origines latines*, and in Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques*). The simplest and probably the earliest examples are from Rouen and Limoges. This form of liturgical play developed early. Dates are uncertain, but MSS of the late 11th cent. have the play in a well-developed form. As the Easter 'Quem quæritis' centred about the 'Sepulchrum' and that of Christmas about the 'Præsepe,' the 'Stella' had as its starting-point the star. A gilt star, the points sometimes holding candles, was lowered from a hole in the ceiling or held up by an assistant. Like the Nativity plays, the 'Stella' developed partly from dumb show, and the simpler forms continued parallel with the expanded forms and outlived them.

The dozen or so complete extant versions of the play vary considerably. The drama developed by the representation, in action instead of narrative, of the visit to Jerusalem, by the addition of various scenes in which Herod plays a part, as, *e.g.*, his anger at the escape of the Magi and his order for the massacre of the innocents, and even the actual representation of the massacre, and finally the lament of Rachel, which had received independent dramatic treatment. As Chambers puts it, 'the absorption of the motives proper to other feasts of the Twelve Nights into the Epiphany play has clearly begun' (ii. 48). This absorption was to result in certain larger and more complex plays made up by the joining of the 'Pastores,' the 'Stella,' and the 'Rachel.' It is only in view of the result from this fusion and of the expansion of certain parts that the 'Stella' is of great importance for the later history of the drama. The part of Herod grew by expansion and emphasis even to take the first place in the English Corpus Christi cycles.

More important for the future of the mediæval drama than any of the forms thus far considered was the 'Prophetæ,' which had a curious origin, first studied by Sepet (*Les Prophètes du Christ*). It was based on the apocryphal *Sermo contra Judæos* attributed in the Middle Ages to St. Augustine, but really of later origin, and used in many churches as a lesson in the Christmas offices. In the passage so employed, the author invokes thirteen witnesses to the divine mission of Christ and calls upon them to predict His coming. The prophets invoked are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Moses, David, Habakkuk, Simeon, Zacharias, Elisabeth, John the Baptist, Vergil, Nebuchadrezzar, and the Sibyl. The dramatic growth of this sermon had certainly begun by the 11th century. In the earliest forms the play follows the sermon closely, but is written in verse. Classical language and even direct quotations from the *Eclogues* appear in the prophecies of Vergil and the Sibyl. In later examples from Laon and Rouen the dialogue is expanded, the 'precentor' is replaced by two 'appellatores' or 'vocatores,' and Balaam is added to the prophets. More remarkable is the little added drama of Balaam and his ass, which has been considered by many writers the origin of the notorious Feast of the Ass, but which is perhaps more probably a reaction from the disturbing festival. In the Rouen text the part of Nebuchadrezzar is also expanded into a miniature play: Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego refuse to worship the image, are cast into the fiery furnace, and escape all harm, whereupon the king testifies to the might of the coming Saviour.

It will be seen that at this stage of development the 'Prophetæ' necessitated a much more complex setting than was usual with liturgical drama—the throne of the precentor, the fiery furnace, distinct costumes (described in the rubrics), Balaam's ass. This was a beginning of the complexity that was to characterize the great Miracles.

This complexity and the fusion alluded to above may be seen in a Latin play preserved in a 13th cent. MS (Royal Library, Munich; text in du Méril). It is a combination of most of the Christmas dramatic forms. St. Augustine sits with the prophets at his right, the chief of the synagogue and the Jews at his left. The prophets foretell the Messiah; the head of the synagogue is angered at their blasphemies. A new character, the 'bishop of the children,' interposes the suggestion that St. Augustine shall be questioned. The Rabbi in anachronistic and pedantic words argues the impossibility of the Virgin-birth, and St. Augustine answers. The argument is taken up by the choirs of prophets and Jews, the one singing 'Res miranda,' the other 'Res neganda.' So far the play is an expanded 'Prophetæ,' still mostly liturgical in feeling and form. The prophets take their places in the church, and a play of the Annunciation begins abruptly. This part is brief. The Scriptural dialogue between the Virgin and the angel is followed by the visit of Elisabeth. The next direction is that Mary 'vadat in lectum suum . . . et pariat filium.' The choir hails His coming, and immediately the 'Stella' begins. A star shines forth, the three kings follow it, and appear before Herod; an angel announces the coming of Christ to the shepherds (the 'Pastores' element). The devil hints that the angel has deceived them, but they are convinced by the chanting of the 'Gloria in excelsis' by a heavenly choir; they seek the cradle and worship Christ; they meet the Magi bearing gifts. The Magi are warned not to return to Herod, who orders the killing of the innocents. The mothers lament their lost children (the 'Rachel' element); Herod falls dead, and is seized by demons. An angel sends Joseph into Egypt. The king of Egypt advances, accompanied by a choir singing 'choses fort profanes.' The Holy Family arrives in Egypt; the idols fall, and the priests, unable to restore them, are converted. Finally the choir chants a malediction against Herod and the Jews. The last part is free and individual in composition. Petit de Julleville thinks it unlikely that it was played in church (because of the 'episcopus puerorum'), and that more likely it was given in a monastery school.

As this play well represents the form attained by the liturgical drama through the combination of types and free composition, certain plays founded on the stories of Daniel and Lazarus represent another development—the expansion of single scenes in the older plays into independent dramas. Most interesting, because the first liturgical play attributed to a definite author, is the 'Daniel' of Hilarius, a cosmopolitan Goliardic scholar, disciple of Abelard, who flourished in the first half of the 12th cent. (text in J. J. Champollion-Figeac, *Hilarii versus et ludi*, Paris, 1838, and in du Méril). The 'Historia de Daniel representanda' opens with the feast of Belshazzar; the mystic words appear, and Daniel interprets them; Darius enters Babylon with his army and kills Belshazzar; Daniel appears at court, refuses to worship the king, and is thrown to the lions; the angel brings Habakkuk to him; Daniel is again in favour. The play is expanded by choruses in honour of the various personages, 'conductus Danielis,' 'conductus regine,' etc. The chant to Daniel (as also in the similar play from Beauvais) is a hymn in honour of the birth of Christ. This, as well as the rubrics, indicates the connexion of the play with the liturgy; but the note at the end, 'This done, if the play has been given at matins, let Daniel sing the Te Deum, if at vespers the Magnificat,' indicates that it was not a regular part of the office. In this partial detachment from the liturgy we see the beginnings of that development which was to take the drama entirely out of the hands of the clergy.

3. The secularization of the drama.—The indications of a tendency to make the liturgical drama more popular that we have seen in the expansion of certain themes in the 'Prophetæ,' in the freer and more poetical composition of many of the later liturgical plays, in their comparatively independent position in relation to the Church offices, are emphasized by the gradual change in the language, spirit, and setting of the plays, as they progressed towards that final and almost complete secularization which should take them out of the Church and out of the control of the clergy, and make them great popular spectacles rather than expositions of Christian faith. The degrees of popularization were innumerable. In the 15th cent., even when the purpose was edification, whole scenes were often frankly amusing and vulgar, with no religious significance whatever—*e.g.*, in the scene or playlet of Mak and the shepherds in the Towneley cycle, and in the comic scenes of the German Passion-plays.

The vernacular came by slow degrees to replace Latin. At first the two languages appear side by side; in the earliest examples the local speech appears only in refrains or in the lines of a few minor characters, or in the less impressive passages. But there is no discoverable rule; the same character may speak Latin in one passage, French in another. One of the earliest cases of the two languages used together is the 'Sponsus,' a 12th cent. play of the wise and foolish virgins from Limoges (text in *Romania*, xxii. [1893]; du Méril). Here a considerable part is in the 'langue d'oc'; the angel who announces the coming of the bridegroom speaks only French, the virgins both languages. The refrains are in French. The final words in which Christ condemns the foolish virgins are first Latin and then French, ending thus, perhaps to make the lesson clear and impressive to the congregation:

'Amen dico
Vos ignosco,
Nam caretis lumine;
Quod qui perdunt [MS pergunt]
Procul pergunt
Hujus aulae limine.
Alet, chaitivas! alet, malaureas!
A tot jors mais vos penas livreas;
En efern ora seret meneias.'

Occasionally, as in the 'St. Nicholas' of Hilarius, the vernacular is found only in the refrains. In other plays it is a translation of the preceding Latin lines—an indication of the reason for the use of the common tongue—as in the 12th cent. 'Adam' (text from Tours, first ed. by V. Luzarche, Tours, 1854; K. Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*⁴, Leipzig, 1880), and in many German plays. Latin and the vernacular were even mingled in the lines, as in the Beauvais 'Daniel' (text in Coussemaker, no. iv.):

'Vir propheta Dei, Daniel, vien al Roi,
Veni, desiderat parler à toi,' etc.

Some late dramas are wholly in the vernacular, except for refrains or certain impressive passages.

In France particularly the development of the drama was marked by the adoption of a more varied versification. The earliest liturgical plays were entirely in prose, the later ones mostly in verse.

In these later forms 'the versification is rather complicated, very varied; almost all are written in stanzas. But these stanzas differ in the number of lines and in metre; the lines are syllabic, but vary in length from four syllables to ten' (Petit de Julleville, i. 23).

Dactylic hexameters also are used, sometimes leonine, as in the lament of Rachel in the Fleury 'Interfectio puerorum' (cf. Petit de Julleville, i. 49; text in du Méril; MS in Orléans Library):

'O dolor! O patrum mutataque gaudia matrum!'

Occasionally lines are quoted or imitated from the classics; *e.g.*,

'Quae rerum novitas aut quae vos causa subegit
Ignotas temptare vias? Quo tenditis ergo?
Quod genus? Unde domo? Pacemne huc fertis, an arma?'
(cf. *Æn.* viii. 112–114).

As important as this change in language is the gradual secularization of the spirit of the plays. The last part of the composite Munich play referred to above will illustrate this point. Though written in Latin, one part is an original secular poem in praise of spring, filled with pagan allusions and with no liturgical or Biblical connotation. The introduction of the comic element and of the melodramatic in the passages relating to Balaam's ass and Herod points to an equally strong secular influence, one that was to lead to some of the most striking and unfortunate developments of the great Miracles and even of the Passion-plays of the 15th century. We must not make the mistake of ascribing all the crude humour and vulgarity of Miracles to a naive and simple taste for such things; as Petit de Julleville points out, even in plays as early as those of Hilarius a conscious vulgarization has begun, a conscious appeal to an audience rather than a congregation, and the author's intention is even satirical.

The secular tendency which perhaps had most to do with the final almost complete secularization of the mediæval drama was the elaboration of the setting required by the constantly increasing length and complexity of the plays; for this development brought about the transference of the plays to the open (first the churchyard or square in front of the church, then the main square of the town, or several places at once), and, still more important, gradually brought the plays under the control of the laity. It is a long way from the simple 'sepulchrum' or 'præsepe,' the two chanted parts, the lack of appropriate costume, of the 'Quem quæritis' to the varied setting, the many characters, the costumes of the 'Conversio Pauli' (Petit de Julleville, i. 69; text from Fleury MS, mentioned above, in du Méril, and in Coussemaker, no. xiii.) with its several 'sedes' for Saul, Judas, etc., its two scenes, Jerusalem and Damascus, its armed men, and its 'lectus' for Ananias, or the Munich 'Prophetæ' described above, with its 'sedes' for the prophets, its 'lectus' for the Virgin, its shining star, its mouth of hell, its many characters. Henceforth the change in setting was one of degree rather than of kind; the elaboration merely followed the increasing complexity of the plays as they added one incident after another. Within the church, the crucifix, the altar, the 'sepulchrum,' the rood-loft (representing heaven), and the crypt furnished the chief accessaries of the play. To these, which were in the sanctuary and choir, were probably added in the more elaborate plays 'sedes,' 'domus,' and 'loca' extending down the nave. This natural arrangement was apparently followed when the drama left the church, as in the 12th cent. Norman 'Resurrectio.' Chambers (ii. 83) suggests such an arrangement of the 'lius,' 'mansions,' and 'estals' required by the prologue, following the analogy of a Donaueschingen Passion-play of the 16th cent., the plan of which is extant (given in Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, p. 277). The prologue gives the order of the required sets: the crucifix, the monument ('sepulchrum'), the gaol, heaven, hell, Emmaus, Galilee, and six 'estals' or 'sedes.' The only other extant French religious play of the same period, the 'Adam,' shows even better how far the drama had outgrown the simplicity of the 'Quem quæritis.' The Latin rubrics indicate not only a complex setting, but great care in stage management, even extending to the gestures and voice of the actors.

> For instance: 'Let there be built a paradise in a higher place; around it let there be draperies of silk. . . . There shall be sweet flowers and foliage; various trees from which shall hang fruits. . . . Then the Saviour shall arrive, clothed in a dalmatic; before him shall be placed Adam and Eve, Adam in a red tunic, Eve in a woman's white robe and a veil of white silk' (Chambers, ii. 80).

The rubrics mention not only the costumes for all the characters, and the localities—paradise, hell, a cultivated field—but also 'properties'—a spade, a rake, chains for the devils to use, cauldrons for them to beat upon, flames.

The development of the liturgical drama was practically complete by the 13th century. Thereafter the growth was mainly outside the church, secular and more vernacular, much more rapid and national. The liturgical drama was much the same in different countries, but the vernacular religious plays took on national characteristics in the 14th cent.; so that thenceforth, to be understood with any clearness, the special literary types that developed must be studied by countries. Furthermore, the influence of particular authors and of particular methods of representation makes itself felt.

4. England.—The early dramatic history of England is difficult to trace, for much the larger number of plays have been destroyed. The development of the liturgical drama in England must be partly guessed at from that of France. Only the slightest indications of what it originally was are extant. The earliest dramatic piece is the 'Quem quæritis' from the Winchester troper dating probably from about 979 (text in W. H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper*, London, 1894). This is not nearly so simple as the St. Gall 'Quem quæritis' mentioned above. More interesting is the very full account of the 'Quem quæritis' ceremony in Bishop Ethelwold of Winchester's *Concordia regularis*, which probably dates from 965 to 975 (Chambers, ii. 14, 306; text in *Anglia*, xiii. [1891] 365). This includes a simple trope not much more elaborate than the St. Gall one. Of it, however, Chambers (ii. 15) says:

> 'The liberal scenario of the *Concordia regularis* makes plain the change which has come about in the "Quem quæritis" since it was first sung by alternating half-choirs as an introit-trope. Dialogued chant and mimetic action have come together, and the first liturgical drama is, in all its essentials, complete.'

The only other extant English text of the liturgical period is a 14th cent. 'Quem quæritis' from Dublin. But church inventories, account-books, and statutes indicate the existence of the 'Pastores,' 'Peregrini,' 'Resurrectio,' 'Stella,' 'Prophetæ,' etc., at a number of places, including York, Lichfield, Salisbury, and Lincoln; and William Fitzstephen, writing of the late 12th cent. in London, records

> 'repraesentationes miraculorum quae sancti confessores operati sunt, seu repraesentationes passionum quibus claruit constantia martyrum' (*Vita S. Thomæ*, quoted by J. P. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry* ^{2}, London, 1879, i. 11).

Of a Beverley 'Resurrectio' (*c.* 1220) the (bilingual) text of only one actor's part remains. So little do we know of this early period that it cannot be decided whether the liturgical drama passed directly from Latin to English, or whether there intervened a Norman-French period.

The full development of the English Miracle-play came in the 14th cent., and during the next two centuries and more it can be studied more clearly from extant texts. Whether or not the English drama received a special impulse from the establishment of the Corpus Christi festival in 1311, the most characteristic English dramatic form, the Corpus Christi processional cycles, were founded soon after that date. The Chester plays were probably given first in 1328. The dates of the establishment of the other cycles are not known, but references to them are found as follows: Beverley, 1377; York, 1378; Coventry, 1392. In 1350 there is a reference to a 'ludus filiorum Israelis' at Cambridge. From this time on there was the greatest activity throughout the country.

It will be impossible to analyze at all adequately even the chief monuments of the period under consideration; the four great Corpus Christi cycles and the minor instances of dramatic activity can hardly be mentioned. Generally the English Miracle-plays were represented in separate scenes, each by a different trade-gild, on its own 'pageant'—

> 'a high scafolde with two rowmes, a higher and a lower, upon four wheeles. In the lower they apparelled them selves, and in the higher rowme they played. . . . They begane first at the abay gates, and when the firste pagiante was played it was wheeled to the highe crosse before the mayor, and so to every streete . . . to se which playes was greate resorte, and also scafoldes and stages made in the streetes in those places where they determined to playe theire pagiantes' (Archdeacon Rogers' description of a play at Chester, 1594, quoted by Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*, p. xxv).

Though the plays were given by the gilds, they were under the direction of the town council, which made the strictest rules concerning the manner, thoroughness, and promptness of the performance—*e.g.*, at York (1415):

> 'And all maner of craftsmen yat bringeth furthe ther pageantez in order and course by good players, well arrayed and openly spekyng, upon payn of lesyng of C.*s*, to be paide to the chambre without any pardon' (*York Plays*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, p. xxxiv).

The plays of the cycle were not the work of one author, but an 'organic growth.' The number of gilds acting varied; hence there was also a variety in the number of plays or scenes. The play for each gild was often slight in subject—*e.g.*, 'Adam and Eve, an angel with a spade and a distaff assigning them to work,' played by the armourers at York. An outline of the subjects of the York cycle (probably composed towards the middle of the 14th cent.) will give an idea of the wide range of the plays:

> the Creation, the Temptation, the Fall, Noah and the Ark, the Sacrifice of Isaac, Moses in the Wilderness, the Prophecies of Christ, the Annunciation, the Birth of Christ, the Shepherds, the Magi, the Slaughter of the Innocents, Christ in the Temple, the Temptation, the Woman taken in Adultery, the Raising of Lazarus, Judas, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion, the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection.

Although this list is incomplete, we can see in it all the elements that we have found in the Continental liturgical plays, and may be permitted to suppose that the Miracle-cycles developed by the extension and amalgamation of liturgical forms such as the 'Prophetæ,' the 'Stella,' the 'Pastores.' Though, like their French and German contemporaries, the authors allowed themselves considerable freedom in expanding the Biblical text (as, *e.g.*, in the part of Herod), yet the characters most freely drawn are almost exclusively those of persons to whom neither Scripture nor legend ascribes either name or individuality. Such personages as Cain's 'garcio,' or servant, Noah's wife, the shepherds, are introduced for the sake of relief—often inappropriately, it seems to us, as in the Crucifixion scene.

> 'It is to this desire for dramatic relief that we owe the story of Mak and his sheep-stealing in the Coventry cycle—our first English comedy' (Pollard, p. xli).

In the Coventry cycle there are various characters that link the Miracle with the Morality, the dramatic form more characteristic of the later years of the pre-Elizabethan drama. Such characters appear as Death, Veritas, Misericordia, Pax. The earliest known English Morality is lost. It was a 14th cent. play,

> 'setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer . . . in which play all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise' (J. Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds*, London, 1870, p. 137).

The earliest Morality that has survived is 'The Castle of Perseverance.'

> Its purpose was 'to trace the spiritual history of *Humanum Genus* . . . from the day of his birth to his appearance at the Judgment Seat of God, to personify the foes by whom his pathway is beset, the Guardian Angel by whose help he resists them, and the ordinances of Confession and Penance by which he is strengthened in his conflict' (Pollard, p. xlvi).

The play is wordy but impressive; it has logical development and unity of purpose. The stage directions show that it was elaborately presented. The most famous morality is 'Everyman,' composed in the 15th cent.; it is thoroughly dramatic in language and treatment.

The great Moralities were followed by shorter ones dealing with narrower subjects—'didactic interludes,' Pollard calls them. From these are derived most of the common notions regarding Moralities. One of the earliest is 'Hycke Scorner.' Some are written in praise of religion, others in praise of learning (*e.g.*, the 'Interlude of the Four Elements'). Some of the later interludes are real plays, in the modern sense—*e.g.*, 'A New and Pleasant Enterlude; intituled the Marriage of Witte and Science,' licensed 1569–70. The amusing lines, the act-division, and the characterization make the play modern rather than mediæval. John Heywood's plays illustrate still better the change that was taking place in dramatic art—a change which was to lead rapidly to the splendid Elizabethan drama.

5. France.—The development of the liturgical drama outlined above carried us into the 12th century. In France there are few plays known of the 12th and 13th centuries, the period when the drama became thoroughly secularized. Of the 12th cent. two plays are known, Jean Bodel's 'Jeu de Saint Nicolas' and Rutebeuf's 'Miracle de Théophile.' In the 14th cent. the French drama first acquired its national character. Petit de Julleville says that forty-three plays of the period are extant, all except one being 'Miracles de Notre Dame.' Here we have a form not found generally in other countries. That there must have been other forms of plays in this century is certain; the derivation of the dramas of the 15th cent. from those of the 12th and 13th makes this clear. Forty of the plays of the Virgin are in one MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale. These plays, however they vary in story and in source, all have as a central theme a miraculous event brought about by the intervention of the Virgin—always a mechanical and unexpected intervention. In other respects—in style, stage-management, songs—the plays are so similar as to make them seem, if not the work of one author, at least the répertoire of one company; and this is the more likely as such plays were performed by societies, called 'Puys,' formed for the purpose.

In the 15th cent. for the first time the word 'Mystère' appears as a dramatic term, and in this century it meant a representation of either Biblical story or the lives of saints. The NT was more used than the OT, for, as we have seen, the interest of the Middle Ages in the OT was chiefly in the foreshadowing of the redemption of mankind. This view accounts for the inequality and lack of dramatic feeling in the use of OT story. Furthermore, the mediæval drama was not original; it did not build up a play from a situation as did Corneille or Racine, but transcribed Scriptural narrative regardless of dramatic effect.

Though the French 'Mystères' seldom approach the completeness of the English cycles, they are often cyclical in form and extremely long. The famous 'Passion' of Arnoud Gretan is about 65,000 lines, a length attained not merely by prolixity but by following the career of each of the apostles after the Crucifixion. The French Passion-plays, the most notable of the 'Mystères,' centred, of course, around the Passion, which they developed in a painfully realistic manner; but they were extended at the pleasure of the author by the addition of any scenes preceding or following the main event. The Mysteries based on the legends of the saints, also popular in this period, had often a local interest.

> 'Many were composed for a certain province, city, or brotherhood, in order to celebrate a patron saint, to commend a relic, or to give sanction to a pilgrimage' (Petit de Julleville, i. 230).

6. Germany.—The early texts are scarce in Germany, but from those that are extant it appears that the liturgical play had much the same history as in other countries, and that the transition from the Latin to the vernacular took place in the same manner. As early as the 12th cent. the Tegernsee 'Anti-christus' (text in Froning, p. 206), though written in Latin, has several secular characteristics: an ambitious plan, allegorical figures, and particularly a political motive, for it is 'a subtle vindication, on the one hand, of the Empire against the Papacy, on the other of the "rex Teutonicorum" against the "rex Francorum"' (Chambers, ii. 64). In the 14th and 15th centuries the religious drama flourished in Germany, its most characteristic form being the Passion-play, of which numerous texts survive. There were also some cycles, such as those for Corpus Christi from Swabia (15th cent.). The Passion, which came in the 14th and 15th centuries to be the chief theme of the religious drama in France and Germany, had seldom been represented in the liturgical drama. The nearest approach to a Passion-play was found in the dialogued versions of the 'Planctus Mariæ.' The earliest Passions seem to have been in Italy (Siena, *c.* 1200; Padua, 1244). The earliest text is German from Benediktbeuern. Like other mediæval dramatic forms, the Passion-play grew by additions and by amalgamation with other forms, either 'prefigurations' of Christ or events following His Passion. By the 14th cent. the form was well developed, but its main period in Germany was from 1400 to 1515. Great 'Passions' were played at Frankfort, Alsfeld, Friedberg, and other towns. Some, as at Eger and Donaueschingen, were cyclical in extent.

7. Modern survivals.—Traces of mediæval dramatic custom can be found here and there in Europe to the present day. In general the survivals are no more than dumb show like the popular *crèche*, or representation of the infant Christ at Christmas, which is, however, rather a reversion to the ceremony from which the Christmas play was derived than a survival of the play. Most notable in this way are the representations of the Passion-play that have been either kept alive in out-of-the-way places or revived, most famous among them being that of Oberammergau. The first mention of it is in 1633, and the oldest text, dating from about 1600, contains traces of two earlier texts (K. Trautmann, *Oberammergau und sein Passionsspiel*, Bamberg, 1890). In 1662 the text was altered by the weaving into it of the version of Sebastian Wild, the Augsburg Meistersinger, and parts of that of Johann Aelbel. In the middle of the 18th cent. it was further remodelled by the Benedictine Rosner after the model of the Jesuit drama, and in 1780 Rosner's bombastic version was simplified by Knipfelberger. Its present simple and dignified form is the work of two authors, P. O. Weiss and M. Daisenberger. The play is given every ten years, in pursuance of the original vow on deliverance from pestilence. Other versions of the Passion-play have been performed in recent times at Brixlegg and Vorderthiersee in the Tyrol and at Höritz in southern Bohemia (A. Hauffen, *Ueber das Höritzer Passionsspiel*, Prague, 1894). Representations of this kind occur to this day in southern Italy (T. Trede, *Das geistliche Schauspiel in Süditalien*, Berlin, 1885).

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ii. LITURGICAL PLAYS.—Léon Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge*, vol. i., 'Les Tropes,' Paris, 1886; C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge*, Rennes, 1860; Carl Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, Munich, 1887; E. du Méril, *Origines latines du théâtre moderne*^{2}, Paris, 1896; M. Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ*, do. 1878, *Origines catholiques du théâtre moderne*, do. 1901.

iii. ENGLAND.—A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*, Oxford, 1890; K. L. Bates, *The English Religious Drama*, New York, 1893; C. Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, New Haven, 1892; texts, *The Chester Plays*, re-ed. H. Deimling, London, 1893; *The Digby Plays*^{2}, ed. F. J. Furnivall, do. 1896; *Ludus Coventriæ*, ed. J. O. Halliwell, do. 1841; *Towneley Plays*, re-ed. G. England and A. W. Pollard, do. 1897; *York Plays*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, Oxford, 1885.

iv. FRANCE.—G. Paris and U. Robert, *Miracles de Nostre-Dame*, 8 vols., Paris, 1876–93; L. Petit de Julleville, *Histoire du théâtre en France: les Mystères*, 2 vols., do. 1880.

v. GERMANY.—R. Froning, *Das Drama des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, 1891; L. Wirth, *Oster- und Passionsspiele bis zum 16ten Jahrhundert*, Halle, 1889; J. E. Wackernell, *Altdeutsche Passionsspiele aus Tirol*, Graz, 1897; E. Wilken, *Geschichte der geistlichen Spiele in Deutschland*, Göttingen, 1872; G. Milchsack, *Die Oster- und Passionsspiele*, Wolfenbüttel, 1880.

vi. ITALY.—F. Torraca, *Il Teatro italiano dei secoli XIII, XIV, e XV*, Florence, 1885; A. d'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*^{2}, Turin, 1891, *Sacre Rappresentazioni dei secoli XIV, XV, e XVI*, Florence, 1872; A. Lumini, *Le Sacre Rappresentazioni italiane*, Palermo, 1877.

A. I. DU P. COLEMAN and A. D. COMPTON.

MIRROR.—The invention of the mirror[1] seems to coincide with the beginnings of the higher civilization, following upon the institution of metallurgy. It is clearly an instance of adaptation of the polished reflecting surface of metals. The Egyptian mirror apparently set the mode for all subsequent developments of the instrument, at least in the Western world.

1. Mirrors of the ancients.—These were almost invariably hand-mirrors for ladies' toilette purposes. The Egyptian were made of bronze (not brass, as often stated), or similar mixed metal. From six to eight inches in diameter, they were elliptical in shape, with the long axis at right angles to the handle, which also served as a stand. The polish was extraordinarily fine, and in some cases still remains.[2]

Mirrors are not mentioned in Homer, but were used in classical Greek times, and borrowed by Rome. Few Greek mirrors are extant, but their shape suggests derivation from Egypt, as does that of the Roman mirror from Greece. Both Greek and Roman artificers preferred the absolutely circular form, with the handle as in the Egyptian original. They were usually made of bronze, with 20 to 30 per cent of tin; some specimens are silver or silver-plated. The Romans developed the box-mirror, consisting of two circular disks joined by a hinge. At the back of Greek and Roman mirrors embossed work was usual.[3] The most numerous collections are from Etruria. The Etruscans were sedulous imitators of Greek art, and much of their work on mirror-backs is interesting and intelligent, though lacking the fineness of Greek technique. Pliny notes the manufacture of glass mirrors backed with tinfoil at Sidon,[4] but the invention did not succeed, and had to be repeated in the Middle Ages. The Romans made large mirrors also, similar to the modern cheval-glasses, but fixed in the walls of rooms, and working up and down like a window-sash.[5] The mirror-case was especially developed by artists. Metal mirrors were known in northern India by the Christian era,[1] and they were used to some extent by the Central American peoples,[2] while the Hebrews were familiar with them at an early period for women's use.[3] In Greek art Aphrodite is sometimes represented as holding a mirror; and in the Indian marriage ritual a mirror is placed in the left hand of the bride to enable her to dress her hair.[4] A mirror and a comb are not infrequently found on Scottish sepulchral monuments of the early mediæval period, but their precise signification is still uncertain.[5]

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[1] The word is derived from Lat. *miratorium* (*mirari*) (*OED*, *s.v.*). Similar formations are found in Skr. *darpaṇa*, 'mirror'; Gr. *δρωπάζω*, *δρώπτω*, 'see'; Pers. *āyīnah*, Baluchi *ādēnk*, 'mirror'; Av. *dī*, 'see'; O.H. Germ. *spiagal*, Germ. *Spiegel*, 'mirror'; Lat. *speculum*; O. Ch. Slav. *zrŭcalo*, 'mirror,' *pozrŭcati*, 'see.' The mirror is also connected with the shadow—O.H. Germ. *scûkar*, 'mirror,' *scû*, 'shadow'; O. Ir. *scathán*, 'mirror,' *scáth*, 'shadow'; O. Ir. *scaterc*, 'mirror,' for **scáth-derc*, 'shadow-seeing' (C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgefasstes etymol. Wörterb. der altind. Sprache*, Amsterdam, 1899, p. 122; W. Geiger, *ABAW*, 1 Cl. xix. i. [1890] 113; O. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 784). Here also belong Heb. מַרְאָה, 'mirror,' רָאָה, 'see.'

[2] J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*^{2}, London, 1878, ii. 350.

[3] W. Wroth, in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*^{3}, *s.v.* 'Speculum' (*κάτοπτρον* [class.], *ἔσοπτρον*, *ἔνοπτρον*).

[4] *HN* xxxvi. 26 (193); one was found at San Remo.

[5] J. H. Freese, in *EBr*^{11}, *s.v.*

2. Mediæval mirrors.—The mirror-case continued to be popular among the rich, but the mirror itself became smaller, and was usually carried on the person.

> 'Probably the largest mirror known in the Middle Ages did not exceed the size of a plate.'[6]

The circular shape was retained.

> 'The reflecting surface was usually of polished steel or other metal, and steel mirrors were still in use in the sixteenth century.' There is a reference to a 'round "looking-glass" of Catherine of Aragon, which was probably a polished metal surface with a sheet of glass over it. An arrangement of this sort had been employed since the thirteenth century, and in the inventories of the Dukes of Burgundy, dating from the fifteenth century, we hear of the *Verre à mirer*, evidently a looking-glass.'[7]

This method is a noteworthy, but futile, attempt at a combination of metal and glass.

> 'Considering the great quantity of glass manufactured for windows from the thirteenth century onward, it would have been curious if the idea of employing a substance admitting of so high a polish had not suggested itself to the mirror-makers of the day. But until a really satisfactory metallic backing was discovered, the advantage of a looking-glass over a steel mirror would be slight, and this fact may account for the persistence of the latter for domestic use down to so late a period. The amalgam of mercury and tin which gives the modern looking-glass its efficiency was not known before the sixteenth century.'[8]

A final improvement was effected in the middle of the 19th cent. by the French invention of plate-glass. Backing for glass was known in the 13th cent., and in the 14th there was a gild of glass-mirror-makers in Nüremberg, but it was first in Venice that mirror-making acquired commercial importance.[9]

The mirror naturally has lent itself to the production of curiosities, mostly the result of experimentation. The effects of concave and convex surfaces seem to have been known at an early time in both the East and the West. The 'magic mirror' of China and Japan reflects on a screen an image of its back.[10] In mediæval Europe small spherical glass mirrors were known as *Ochsenaugen*. The use of reflectors to produce light and heat was early discovered, as by the Greeks and Central Americans.[11] Mirror-writing is often practised by ambidextrous persons, as by Leonardo, and it also occurs pathologically in forms of aphasia.

3. Superstitions connected with the mirror.—The property of reflecting images naturally inspires wonder, and thus tends to produce superstitious beliefs and practices. Most of these are connected with the common idea that the reflexion of a person is his soul.

> 'A savage who had been made to look into a mirror exclaimed, "I gaze into the world of spirits!" One of Darwin's children, at nine months old, turned to the looking-glass on hearing his name called.'[12]

These two cases illustrate the connexion between soul, self, and consciousness. The philosophy of Hinduism was fond of mirror-analogies when discussing this connexion.

> 'The person . . . that is seen in the eye, that is the Self. . . . This is *Brahman*.'[1] 'The person that is in the mirror, on him I meditate.' 'I meditate on him as the likeness. Whoso meditates on him thus, to him a son is born in his family who is his likeness, not one who is not his likeness.'[2]

In the simpler thought of uncultured peoples, however, the reflexion is a spiritually real soul.

> The Andamanese 'do not regard their shadows, but their *reflections* (in any mirror) as their souls,'[3] and in one account of the Fijians a man's likeness 'in water or a looking-glass' was regarded as his soul.[4] Savages of New Guinea when first looking into a mirror thought their reflexions were their souls,[5] while the New Caledonians believed that their reflexions in mirrors or water were their souls,[6] and the Macusis of Guiana held the same belief about the reflexion in the eye of another.[7] Many terms for the soul point to the same notion. The Melanesian *atai* ('soul') means 'reflexion,'[8] and the same meaning belongs to many terms among the Indonesians.[9]

Hence the frequent notion that there is something uncanny about a mirror, a belief which culminates in the idea that the reflecting surface has abstracted and retains the soul.

> There is a pool in a Saddle Island river (Melanesia) into which any one who looks dies; the malignant spirit takes hold of his life by means of his reflexion in the water.[10] The Zulus have a similar terror of looking into any dark pool; a beast therein will take away their reflexions.[11] The Aztecs supposed that to see one's reflexion in water wherein a knife had been placed meant a stab to the soul,[12] and the Galelarese forbid their children to look in mirrors, which will take away their beauty.[13] Manu said (in rules for a *snātaka*): 'Let him not look at his own image in water.'[14] The old Greeks had the same maxim; to dream of seeing one's self reflected foreboded death, and Frazer explains the story of Narcissus on these lines.[15] The Rabbis laid it down that one must not look into a mirror on the Sabbath, unless it were fixed on a wall. Later they forbade men generally to use mirrors, as being effeminate, reserving, however, the privilege to their own relatives, as being 'close to the government.'[16] The Rabbinical idea was doubtless merely puritanical.

With these notions is connected the custom of covering mirrors or turning them to the wall after a death.

> 'It is feared that the soul, projected out of the person in the shape of his reflection in the mirror, may be carried off by the ghost of the departed, which is commonly supposed to linger about the house till the burial.'[17]

This practice is widely spread over Europe, and occurs in Islām.[18] Similarly, sick persons should avoid looking into a mirror, and it is advisable for a bride to refrain from using a mirror in modern Greece.[19] Since the mirror holds the soul, it is said to be extremely unlucky to break a looking-glass.[20]

> 'A mirror,' say the sectarian Russian Raskolniks generally, 'is an accursed thing.'[21]

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[1] *Milinda-pañha*, IV. i. 60 (*SBE* xxxv. [1890] 189).

[2] *GB*^{3}, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 243.

[3] J. Jacobs, in *JE*, *s.v.*; Ex 38^{8}, Is 3^{23}, Job 37^{18}, 1 Co 13^{12}. AV 'glass' refers to the metal mirror.

[4] A. Hillebrandt, *Rituallitteratur* (=*GIAP* iii. 2), Strassburg, 1897, p. 65.

[5] J. Anderson, *Scotland in Early Chr. Times*, 2nd ser., Edinburgh, 1881, pp. 51, 62, 68, 178, 181 f.

[6] *Guide to the Mediæval Room, British Museum*, 1907, p. 213.

[7] *Ib.*

[8] *Ib.* p. 213 f.

[9] *EBr*^{11}, *s.v.*

[10] *Ib.*

[11] Archimedes was said to have set fire to enemy ships by means of gigantic mirrors or burning glasses.

[12] H. Höffding, *Outlines of Psychology*, Eng tr., London, 1891, p. 7.

[1] *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*, VIII. vii. 3 (*SBE* i. [1900] 135).

[2] *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* iv. 11 (*SBE* i. 304).

[3] E. H. Man, 'On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,' *JAI* xii. [1882] 162.

[4] T. Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1858, i. 241.

[5] J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, London, 1887, p. 170.

[6] *GB*^{3}, pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 92.

[7] E. F. im Thurn, in *JAI* xi. [1882] 363.

[8] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 250 f.

[9] A. C. Kruijt, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, The Hague, 1906, p. 13. See generally *GB*^{3}, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 92 ff.; A. E. Crawley, *The Idea of the Soul*, London, 1909, p. 196 ff.

[10] Codrington, in *JAI* x. [1881] 313.

[11] H. Callaway, *Nursery Tales, etc., of the Zulus*, Natal and London, 1868, p. 342 f.

[12] *GB*^{3}, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 93, quoting B. de Sahagun.

[13] *Ib.*, quoting M. J. van Baarda. For further instances cf. J. von Negelein, *ARW* v. [1902] 24–26.

[14] iv. 38 (*SBE* xxv. [1886] 135).

[15] *Loc. cit.*

[16] Jacobs, in *JE*, *s.v.*, quoting *Shab.* 149*a*.

[17] *GB*^{3}, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 94 f.; cf. *PR*^{2} i. 233.

[18] Jacobs, *loc. cit.*; *GB*^{3}, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 95.

[19] J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 10.

[20] F. T. Elworthy, *Evil Eye*, London, 1895, p. 83, and esp. von Negelein, p. 23 f.

[21] *GB*^{3}, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 96.

On the other hand, a mirror, as when set in a ring, may be used to repel demons.[1]

Divination by means of a reflecting surface is an ancient and world-wide practice, its principle being that figures representing the souls of persons at the moment or in future actions may be seen. A pool of ink is a common substitute for the mirror (cf. art. CRYSTAL-GAZING), and a combination of mirror and pool of water was used at Demeter's sanctuary at Patræ, where was a sacred spring, but its use was permitted only in cases of sickness.

> 'They tie a mirror to a fine cord, and let it down so far that it shall not plunge into the spring, but merely graze the surface of the water with its rim . . . they look into the mirror, and it shows them the sick person either living or dead.'[2]

It is also used, especially in German and Slavic lands, to discover one's future husband or wife.[3]

Divination by mirrors is a variety of a widespread method of 'seeing,' the most frequent instrument being the crystal ball.[4] A magic mirror possessed of the power of speech is not uncommon in folk-tales;[5] and in Shintoism actual worship is rendered to mirrors which, originally presented to deities, have come to stand for the divine beings themselves.[6]

The supernatural associations of mirrors are chiefly the foregoing, but one or two of a miscellaneous order may be noted, as illustrating the general subject.

Pausanias describes a temple near Megalopolis, within which was a mirror fixed on the wall. 'Any one who looks into this mirror will see himself either very dimly or not at all, but the images of the gods and the throne are clearly visible.'[7] The Greeks kindled sacred fires by means of the mirror or crystal, and the same was the case in China and Siam, while in the Inca kingdom the new fire was kindled at the summer solstice by means of a concave mirror turned to the sun.[8]

4. The mirror in metaphor.—The optical properties of the mirror are so important and impressive that all civilized thought is permeated by ideas derived thence. One or two only can be cited. The Hebrew parœmiographer says: 'As in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man,'[9] while the Buddhist *suttas* speak of 'a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth.'[10] Mirror was a favourite component of titles of books in Elizabethan literature, in its meaning of 'true description,' and its meaning of 'pattern, exemplar, model' is similar. Shakespeare writes 'the mirror of all Christian kings.' 'To hold as 'twere the mirror up to Nature' uses the simplest connotation of the term. An interesting metaphor is used of psychic processes; 'the mirror of the mind' occurs both in Chaucer and in Shakespeare. Among new sources of metaphor are the two remarkable biological and chemico-physical analogies to the optical fact of mirror-image (in which right becomes left and *vice versa*). All vertebrate animals, many invertebrate, and the leaf and other systems of plants are bilateral, one side being the mirror-image of the other, while the formation of right-handed and left-handed crystals is connected with the division of acids into right and left according to the effect produced in relation to polarized light.

LITERATURE.—With the exception of the well-known archæological works on antique mirrors and popular folklore collections, the relevant literature is included in the article.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

MISHMIS.—The Mishmis are a tribe who inhabit the Mishmi hills, a section of the mountain ranges on the northern frontier of Assam, which shut in the eastern end of the Brahmāputra valley, between that river and the Dihāng, a region practically unexplored, consisting of steep ridges, covered as a rule with tree forest, and including some peaks 15,000 ft. in height (*IGI* xvii. [1908] 377 f.). They are divided into four tribes, speaking three distinct but probably connected languages. The most western tribe is known as Midu, Midhi, Nedu, or Chūlīkaṭā, 'hair-cropped'; they inhabit the Dihāng valley with the adjoining hills. To their east are the Mithun, or Bebijiyā, 'outcasts,' who speak practically the same language. East of the Bebijiyās are the Taying or Digāru Mishmis, beyond the Digāru river. The Mijus are still further east, towards the Lama valley of Dzayul, a sub-prefecture of Lhāsa. Most of these live beyond the British frontier. The numbers counted at the last three Censuses in Assam were 217, 98, and 271 (*Census Rep. Assam*, 1891, i. 203; 1901, i. 139; 1911, i. 134).

1. Ethnology.—The Mishmis have been identified by some authorities with the Miaotzu or Hmeng, the aborigines of Yunnan, whose name has been interpreted to mean 'children of the soil,' 'roots,' or as a contemptuous reference to their 'simple dirt' (J. G. Scott and J. P. Hardiman, *Gaz. Upper Burma*, pt. i. vol. i. [Rangoon, 1900] p. 597 ff.).

> 'So far as the means at our disposal permit us to draw conclusions, it seems most probable that these four tribes belong neither to the Tibeto-Himalayan nor to the Assam-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages. They seem to be descendants of clans which, when the parting of the ways between the two branches took place, accompanied neither, but made their own way at different periods into the hills overlooking the Assam valley from the north' (G. A. Grierson, *Census Rep. India*, 1901, i. 263).

2. Relations with the British Government.—The British first came in contact with the Mishmis in 1825, when Lieut. Burlton reported that the 'Mishmah' were inhabited by tribes 'who were very averse to receive strangers.' Other officers visited them between that time and 1851, when M. Krick, a French missionary, was murdered by them. Then followed a succession of outrages. In 1885 one of their headmen was taken to visit the Calcutta Exhibition. Soon after his return he died, and the tribe, holding the British Government responsible for his loss, decided that the head of a British subject should be buried with him, in order to propitiate his spirit. So they slew a British subject and carried off his head. An expedition in 1899–1900 reduced them to submission, and since that time they have given little trouble. But they are keen tappers of rubber, and it has been found expedient to prevent them from crossing the Brahmāputra into British territory for that purpose (B. C. Allen, *Gaz. Lakhimpur*, 1905, p. 55 ff.).

3. Religious beliefs.—The best account of their religious beliefs is that by E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 16 f.:

> 'The religion of the Mishmis is confined to the propitiation of demons whenever illness or misfortune visits them. On these occasions the sprig of a plant is placed at the door to intimate to strangers that the house is for the time under *tabu*. They appear to have no notion of a supreme or benevolent deity. They worship Mujidagrah as a god of destruction, Damipaon as god of the chase and knowledge, and Tabla as a god of wealth and disease, and a great many others without name. It appears both from Lieutenant Rowlatt and the Abbé Krick's notes that the Mishmis have priests, but they are few in number and have to be brought from a distance when required. M. Krick describes one that he saw at a funeral ceremony. . . . For several days previous to the arrival of a priest, an attendant was employed in singing a devotional chant to the accompaniment of a small bell. There was also a preliminary sacrifice of a red cock and hen, the blood of which was received in a vessel containing some other fluid, and the mixture carefully examined, as it is supposed to indicate if the result will be fortunate or otherwise. At last the priest arrived, dressed like an ordinary chief, but he wore a rosary of shells, and, attached

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[1] *PR*² ii. 35 f.

[2] Paus. VII. xxi. 12 (tr. J. G. Frazer, London, 1898).

[3] Von Negelein, p. 28.

[4] Eng. 'mirror' has the meanings of 'a magic glass' or 'crystal' (*OED*, *s.v.*).

[5] *CF*, p. 34 f.

[6] W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905, pp. 218, 72, 134 f.; cf. L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, do. 1895, pp. 393, 445.

[7] Paus. VIII. xxxvii. 7.

[8] *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 243 ff.

[9] Pr 27^{19}.

[10] *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* ii. 8 (*SBE* xi. [1900] 26).

> to the front of his headdress, two appendages like horns. For two days, at intervals, the priest and his son employed themselves in singing chants, marking the time by waving a fan and ringing a bell; on the third day he put on his chief's Tibetan robe, and assumed what may be regarded as his pontifical dress—a tight-fitting coat of colored cotton, a small apron, a deer skin as a mantle; from his right shoulder descended a fringe of long goats' hair dyed bright red, and over his left shoulder he wore a broad belt embossed with four rows of tigers' teeth, and having attached to it fourteen small bells. On his head he placed a bandeau ornamented with shells, and round the knot of hair at the top of his head a movable plume which turned like a weathercock. This was followed by a wild demoniacal dance; but whether a *pas seul* by the priest, or one in which the people generally joined, we are not informed. The object was, however, to make as much noise as possible to frighten the devils. After this, lights were all extinguished, till a man suspended from the roof obtained a fresh light from a flint. He was to be careful not to touch the ground as he produced it, as the light thus obtained was supposed to be fresh from heaven [cf. *GB^3*, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 234 ff.; pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, do. 1913, i. 2 ff.]. When the burial is of a person of note, animals are slain, and the skulls arranged round the tomb [cf. *ERE* i. 499; *PR* ii. 225; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 484 n. 1], and under the shed built over the grave, raw and cooked flesh with grain and spirits are placed (the share of the dead), and all the arms, clothes, and implements he was in the habit of using when living. The poor, it is said, bury the dead without much ceremony, or throw the bodies into the river.'

About 1872—the writer gives no clear dates—T. T. Cooper (*The Mishmee Hills*, London, 1873) visited the tribe, and gives some account of their appearance, dress, manners, and customs (p. 180 ff.).

> An earthquake occurred, and they told the chief, Chowsam, 'that the devil residing in a neighbouring mountain had been angry, and rent the side of the mountain' (p. 193).
>
> 'The Mishmees being polytheists, though of the lowest order, it was not difficult to make Poso [another chief] understand the existence of one Great Spirit above all' (p. 197). 'The Mishmees,' he said, 'are very unfortunate. We are everywhere surrounded by demons; they live in the rivers, mountains, and trees; they walk about in the dark and live in the winds; we are constantly suffering from them. . . . In answer to a question as to which demon he thought the strongest, after some hesitation he said that the demon of fire was the strongest and most dangerous, as he dried up the water and burnt the mountains; he was also good-natured, as he warmed them and cooked their food' (p. 198).
>
> 'As to religion, their notions are very vague. Polytheism, encumbered with all the rites and ceremonies of fetishism, is their true creed. The yearly sacrifice and feast in honour of their deceased parents shows that they have some idea of a future state, but I could not find out their particular ideas, as death is a disagreeable subject of conversation among them, and Chowsam always declined to interpret questions relating to it' (p. 238). 'The two most important ceremonies of the Mishmees are undoubtedly those attending deaths and marriages. In the case of sickness a soothsayer is called in, and he generally prescribes the sacrifice of fowls or pigs, according to the state of the patient. These sacrifices he orders as a propitiation of the demon who is supposed to be instrumental in causing sickness. When death ensues, particularly in the case of a chief, mhittons [*mithan*, also called *gayāl*, *bos frontalis* (W. T. Blanford, *Fauna of British India*, *Mammalia*, London, 1890–91, p. 487 ff.)], pigs and fowls are killed without stint, and all the old men and women feast to their heart's content, hospitality being considered a great virtue. They eat in honour of the departed, talking the while of his great and good qualities. The body is burnt after two days, and the ashes are collected and placed in a miniature house, erected close to the family residence. This unique tomb is then surrounded by some of the skulls collected by the chief during his lifetime, which serve as a monument of his past hospitality, while the rest of his treasures are divided amongst his sons, the son-and-heir taking the lion's share. When there are no sons the skulls go to the nearest male relations. The eldest son takes the title of gam, or chief, and holds a yearly feast in honour of his deceased father, which is considered one of the most sacred observances among them' (p. 237).

When Cooper suffered from an abscess in his ankle, a soothsayer or exorcist was called in. He was dressed like the other Mishmis, but allowed his hair to fall in long, unkempt masses over his shoulders. After inspecting the patient's foot, he stripped himself naked except for a small loincloth, and produced a handful of rushes from his waistbelt. These he began to plait and unplait, accompanying the operation with a buzzing noise, as though he were counting. Occasionally he would place his hand on the painful spot, and then shake the rushes over it, keeping his eyes shut the whole time. After nearly an hour he announced that two fowls must be killed, which would ensure recovery. He declined to answer what devil had been at work, and what effect the rushes had on him (p. 252).

LITERATURE.—The chief authorities are quoted in the article.

W. CROOKE.

MISHNA.—See TALMUD.

MISSALS.—See RITUAL.

MISSION (Inner).—*Die innere Mission* is the name used in Germany to describe the sum-total of those efforts which are made by the Protestant Churches to ameliorate the conditions of the suffering of the poor and to bring the institutions and usages of society into harmony with the will of God. It is to be distinguished from *Die äussere Mission* ('foreign missions') in that it confines its activities to Germany and Germans resident or sojourning in foreign lands. It is an endeavour to overcome the heathenism found within the borders of a country professedly Christian. It is to be distinguished from mere humanitarian effort in that it definitely makes temporal and material aid a means to spiritual redemption, and from the official activity of the pastors and paid officers of the Church in that it works through the voluntary agency of individual Christians or groups of Christians, the pastor's office being to arouse the spirit of willingness and marshal its powers for the purpose of redeeming love. It aims at realizing in sacrificial service the universal priesthood of believers.

The movement originated after the close of the Napoleonic Wars when orphan homes were established for children whose parents had lost their lives in the war (Johannes Falk, Graf Adalbert von der Ricke, C. Heinrich Zeller). A number of societies and institutions arose organized on a large scale for the care of the poor, the nursing of the sick, and the saving of destitute children. This grew out of the pietistic movement (see PIETISM), and was largely inspired by the efforts of Great Britain in the foreign missionary field, the foundation of the Bible Society, the work of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, and the City Missions. Conspicuous among the leaders were Johann Hinrich Wichern (1808–81), who in 1833 founded at Hamburg the *Rauhe Haus* (a reformatory institution built upon the household system with a training home for lay-workers), and Theodor Fliedner (1800–64), who in 1826 founded at Kaiserwerth the first society for prison-visiting in Germany, in 1833 the first refuge for discharged female prisoners, and in 1836 the famous *Diakonisseninstitut* for the training of nurses and infant teachers.

The name 'Innere Mission' was first employed in a narrower sense by Friedrich Lücke, of Göttingen, in *Die zweifache, innere und äussere Mission der evangelischen Kirche* (Hamburg, 1843), to mean work among the lapsed members of the different Christian communities and the fortifying of a weak church with the help of a strong, while Wichern broadened out the meaning of the term to include all practical Christian work in the homeland and among Germans in foreign lands (*Diaspora*).

It was Wichern who first organized the movement on a comprehensive scale in 1848. The revolution of that year roused the Church from its apathy, and opened its eyes to the glaring evils of heathendom which had grown up in the midst of the nation. A Church Diet was summoned at Wittenberg, where 500 representatives of Protestant German Churches assembled. Standing on Luther's grave, Wichern delivered a memorable address, picturing the wide-spread power of the paganism which had arisen in their midst and the fruits which it had produced, and calling upon the

Churches to join hands in remedying these evils. He sketched on large and statesmanlike lines the programme of the remedial activities needed, and proposed the formation of a central committee (*Centralausschuss*), consisting of ministers and laymen, to make a survey of the fields of work, place the various societies already at work in touch with one another so as to save overlapping, point out the need of new effort and help such effort to succeed, guide the movement as a whole, and, above all, make it clear that all the several ministries, of whatever kind, were animated by the one divine spirit of redeeming love in Christ. Thus was established a free confederation of all the activities of the Protestant Churches, so far as these were extra-official. The object of the Innere Mission, as defined in the first report of the *Centralausschuss*, is 'that the Christian Church with all its resources, and through all its agencies, may fill and quicken the whole life of the people in all ranks of society, inspire all social arrangements and institutions with the might of a love energizing heart and life—and through all its living members labour to save the neglected and the poor.' The Innere Mission was to be 'the practising doctor in the great hospital of the people.' Its programme and policy are set forth in full in *Die innere Mission der deutschen evangelischen Kirche, eine Denkschrift an die deutsche Nation*, written by Wichern at the instance of the Central Committee and published in April 1849. This book sets out the scope of the work and the relations of that work to the activities of the State on the one hand, and of the Church on the other. For twenty years Wichern remained practically the directing spirit. Pamphlets (*Fliegende Blätter*) were published annually at the *Rauhe Haus* giving reports of the various agencies carried on.

The most comprehensive survey of the work is given in two Jubilee publications of the *Centralausschuss* in 1899 (*Statistik, Fünfzig Jahre*). These contain reports by different authoritative writers on the work done in each of the following departments:

(1) The care of children, crèches, infant schools, care of cripples, Sunday schools and children's services, refuges and orphanages, country holidays for city children.
(2) The care of adolescents, associations and homes for apprentices and journeymen, schools of domestic economy, Rescue homes, *Jugendbund für entschiedenes Christentum* (analogous to Christian Endeavour Societies).
(3) The care of tramps and the homeless, colonies for unemployed, homes for girls, railway-station missions, Girls' Friendly Societies and Lodges, missions to soldiers and sailors, river and canal boat population, railwaymen, navvies, brickyard-workers, waiters.
(4) The quickening of the Christian spirit, city missions, men's brotherhoods, support of weaker Churches, Christian art associations, lectures.
(5) Work among emigrants and Germans in foreign lands (*Diaspora*), pastorates at holiday resorts.
(6) Care of the poor, sick, and infirm, district nursing associations, Red-cross work in war, homes for imbeciles, epileptics, inebriates, blind, deaf and dumb.
(7) Combating of social evils, Sunday observance, housing reform, prison missions, temperance work, savings banks, anti-gambling work, friendly societies, building societies, Christian education.
(8) Christian literature, dissemination of Bibles, tracts, and sermons, periodicals, libraries, colportage.
(9) Organization of Inner Mission according to province and district, conferences.
(10) Training of workers for prisons, asylums, unemployed colonies, nursing, etc., courses of instruction for social workers.

As the result of the Innere Mission the whole of Germany has been covered with a network of philanthropic agencies, imbued with the Christian spirit; the social conscience has been quickened and enlightened, and the efforts of the Churches have been co-ordinated and wisely directed. The State has co-operated. In 1852 the brothers of the *Rauhe Haus* were allowed to act as warders in Prussian prisons, and Wichern was commissioned to visit the prisons, investigate their conditions, and suggest reforms. Later, Wichern was appointed Councillor of the Ministry of the Interior and made a member of the *Evangelischer Oberkirchenrat*. The work of the Innere Mission paved the way for the social legislation which followed the Franco-German War. The most notable results of the Innere Mission are the mobilization of women for Christian work, especially in sick-nursing, the Elberfeld system of poor-relief and its extension to other German towns, and the work of Pastor F. v. Bodelschwingh (b. 1831), who founded at Bielefeld a colony for epileptics and unemployed, and organized, with the help of the Government, the national scheme of relief-stations for tramps.

In the Church the Innere Mission has given the laity, and especially women, their sphere of service; it led to the official institution of the diaconate in the Evangelical Church in 1856, and gives material expression to the universal priesthood of believers. It has filled a place in the educational system by caring for orphans and infants, and counteracting the movement for the secularization of schools.

The movement has affected other countries, especially Switzerland (J. A. Bost), Denmark (Wilhelm Beck), Norway (P. Harem), and Holland (O. G. Heldring). Florence Nightingale received her first training at Kaiserwerth. The work of Thomas Guthrie (Ragged Schools), William Pennefather (Mildmay Conference), and John Brown Paton (Lingfield Homes for epileptics, training colony for unemployed at Wallingford, National Home Reading Union, Social Institutes, Boys' Life Brigade, Girls' Life Brigade, Civic Leagues of Help) was consciously influenced by the Innere Mission. In 1873 J. B. Paton and Francis Morse summoned a conference at Nottingham 'to consider the practical relations of Christianity to the social wants and evils of our time,' at which Paton expounded the Innere Mission of Germany, and a union of all existing Christian charities and societies working for social ends was formed at Nottingham. W. T. Stead took up the same idea in his agitation for a Civic Church. The nearest approach in England has been the organization of Civic Leagues (or Gilds) of Help (beginning 1906), which represent an attempt to adapt the Elberfeld system to the conditions of English city life and bring all the social activities of the civic community into touch with each other.

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Adverse critics have not been wanting: F. v. Holtzendorff, *Die Brüderschaft des rauhen Hauses, ein protestantischer Orden im Staatsdienst*, Berlin, 1861; F. A. W. Diesterweg, *Die innere Mission in ihrer Gefährlichkeit*, Berlin, 1852; G. Rasch, *Ein protestantisches Mönchkloster in Moabit*, 1870.

J. L. PATON.

MISSIONS.

Buddhist (M. Anesaki), p. 700.
Christian—
  Early and Mediæval (C. R. Beazley), p. 705.
  Roman Catholic (M. Spitz), p. 713.
Christian—
  Protestant (H. U. Weitbrecht), p. 727.
Muhammadan (T. W. Arnold), p. 745.
Zoroastrian (L. H. Gray), p. 749.

MISSIONS (Buddhist).—**1. In China.**—Buddhist missionary enterprises outside of India were started by King Aśoka in the latter half of the 3rd cent. B.C. On the other hand, a later Chinese record informs us that in 217 B.C. (in the reign of Shih-Huangti of the Tsin dynasty) eighteen Buddhist monks were brought to the capital of the empire. The authenticity of the information may be questioned, but, when we take into account the facts that Chinese Buddhists used to ascribe the 7th cent. B.C. to Aśoka's reign, and that, in spite of that, the date of the story almost agrees with the historical date of Aśoka, the tradition seems not to be a mere forgery. About one hundred years after that event, as stated in an official record, another contact of Buddhism with the Chinese took place. An expedition sent to the Western regions by the Emperor Wu, the most ambitious sovereign of the former Hān dynasty, in 121 B.C. brought a golden statue and prisoners; and in 2 B.C. the Yuechi ambassadors are said to have brought some Buddhist scriptures. These stories point to the spread of the Buddhist missions in Central Asia in the centuries immediately after Aśoka's missionary enterprises.

Historical records agree in assigning to A.D. 67 the first official introduction of Buddhism into China. The Emperor Ming, stimulated by a dream, sent an expedition in search of the golden man of whom he had dreamt (A.D. 64), and, when the expedition returned in 67, it brought not only Buddhist statues and scriptures, but also two monks, both Indians, Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmarakṣa by name. The first Chinese Buddhist book, containing the forty-two sayings of Buddha, was written by Kāśyapa, and translations of several texts are said to have followed it. The Pai-ma, or White Horse Temple, was built in Loyāng, the capital, and soon after the emperor's brother built another temple. Conversions *en masse* are said to have taken place in 71, many nobles and Taoist priests being among the converts. The new religion was received with open arms and heart; the way must have long been prepared for it.

There is a gap of about eighty years between the mention of the first missionaries and the advent of two other monks, one of whom was Shih-kāo of Parthia, who came to China in 148 and worked till 170. He is said to have been of royal blood and to have left his country because of the fall or decline of his own royal family. This is one of the evidences that Buddhism had a strong foothold in Parthia and Central Asia. It is quite conceivable that Chinese Buddhism had its source close to China's western borders at that time. Shih-kāo's works are mostly texts from *Āgamas*,[1] the counterparts of the Pāli *Nikāyas*, and some of them treat of hygienic matters, connected with the practice of counting the respirations, or *ānāpāna*. Perhaps we may see here the first of the medical works of the missionaries.

For a century after the great Parthian translator we have only scanty records of missionaries, yet we have reason to suppose that missions were going on slowly. The Buddhist propaganda in this period consisted chiefly in translations of the scriptures and in miracle-working. Certainly the works of art and architecture in a new style, aided by elaborate rituals and music, were great attractions; the Pai-ma temple is said to have been decorated with mural paintings representing Buddha and his saints; but the worship of Buddha's relics and the miracles worked by them are mentioned oftener than the works of art. The relics (*śarīra*, Chin. *shöli*) were represented by pearls of mysterious origin, and the miracles ascribed to them were mostly the rising of variegated mists from them. Little is heard of works of charity, though they are sometimes mentioned later than the 4th century. That the translations played a great part in the Buddhist missions is proved by the work done during the five centuries after the first undertaking. This was quite natural, because the Chinese already had rich literatures, both Confucianist and Taoist, when Buddhism came to China, and the new religion found it urgent to confront them with scriptures of its own.

Besides the translations, the first apologetic writing is ascribed to A.D. 195, and a series of apologetics and polemics followed.[1] This literature continued throughout the whole history of Chinese Buddhism. Its most flourishing period was in the 4th and the 5th centuries, during which Taoism was a powerful rival of Buddhism. These polemics were mostly carried on by native teachers, while foreign missionaries were occupied with translations.

Though polemics do not belong properly to missionary works, we may here consider one instance, in order to throw a side-light on our subject. In 195 Mou-tzu, a Confucianist convert, wrote 37 sets of questions and answers in defence of his new faith. These questions may be divided into two groups: (1) those from the Confucianist side, asserting that Buddha's ascetic religion was against humanity, and (2) those from the Taoist side, asserting that immortality (or, rather, physical longevity) was attainable only by Taoist practices, not by Buddhist teaching. Mou-tzu defended his religion with abundant quotations from Confucius and Lao-tse, but the doctrines with which he confronted the attacks were really Buddhist. The transcendental idealism of supreme enlightenment was the position which he assumed against Confucianist positivism, and the teaching of impermanency of physical life was his standing-ground against Taoist mysticism.[2] This may be taken as a typical example of the apologetic writings of the period.

The fall of the Hān dynasty in 220 and the subsequent division of the country into the Three Kingdoms were of great significance for the history of the nation, both politically and religiously. From this time down to the close of the 6th cent. the country was divided into many contending dynasties and kingdoms, and in a country like China, where the ruler's will determines everything, the fate of the Buddhist mission was always influenced by the vicissitudes of the ruling dynasties. Centres of missions were identical with the residences of dynasties, and the missionaries worked under their patronage, or were expelled by rulers who preferred Taoism to Buddhism. Under these circumstances three important centres of the mission grew up:

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[1] Cf. B. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, p. 382; Anesaki, 'The Four Buddhist Agamas in Chinese,' in *TASJ* xxxv. 3 [1908], pp. 17 f., 28–34.

[1] There are collections of these writings; see Nanjio, nos. 1471, 1472, 1479, 1480, 1481.

[2] The question begins with 'Who is Buddha?' The answer to it shows that the author was acquainted with Buddha's life through information which is very similar to the *Lalitavistara*. Some critics doubt even the existence of this person, on the ground that the polemic literature flourished not earlier than the 4th cent., but we omit discussion of the question and follow the legend.

(1) Chāng-ān (the modern Sing-ān), (2) Lo-yāng (on the Hoang-ho) in the north, and (3) Chien-yeh (the modern Nanking) in the south. During the first half of the 3rd cent. the last two were the respective capitals of two of the Three Kingdoms, while the third was situated far in the west, beyond the reach of Buddhist influence. After a short interval of unity (280–302) these three places remained as the three centres of China in all the vicissitudes of rulers and States. Thus the missionaries who came to China by land routes worked mostly in the north, deriving their sources from Central Asia or the north-west of India, though some went further to the south.

The 4th cent. was a period of confusion in China, caused by a hopeless division of the country and by intrusion of invaders from the north. Yet Buddhist missions proceeded to cover the greater part of the land, and many of the contending rulers welcomed missionaries from Central Asia. One of these men, Fo-t'u-cheng, who came in 310 to Lo-yāng from a 'western country,' laboured not as a translator but as a social worker. It is said that he was 'well versed in magic formulæ and saved many people from diseases and sufferings by his supernatural attainment.' No fewer than 893 monasteries and sanctuaries were established by him, and his 'disciples' numbered 10,000. But his significance in Chinese Buddhism lay perhaps more in his having educated one of the most powerful thinkers, Tao-ān, than in his actual works; though he laboured mostly in the north, his influence was later propagated to the south by his disciples.

The demarcation between north and south became more conspicuous when, at the beginning of the 5th cent., two comparatively powerful dynasties divided the country into two. While the northern, the Wei dynasty, patronized those who came from or through Central Asia, the southern, the Sung dynasty, invited missionaries from S. India, who came by the sea route. Moreover, the repeated persecutions of Buddhists by Taoist rulers of the northern dynasties drove many missionaries and Chinese monks to the south, and it was through them that a start was made in establishing groups of men of similar tendencies, which became the origin of sectarian division in Chinese Buddhism.

Among those who worked in the north the most prominent was Kumārajīva, a native of Karachar. He came to Chāng-ān in 401, having been invited by the prince of the Tsin dynasty, and, being highly patronized by the latter, he worked there with great success for more than ten years. His lectures were attended by crowds from various classes of people, and his work of translation was assisted by the best scholars and men of letters. It is no wonder that the translations ascribed to him are ranked as classical Chinese, and that his translation of the *Lotus of the True Law* ([*q.v.*] *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*) remains the most valued and revered of the Chinese Buddhist scriptures.[1] Kumārajīva was apparently a monk, but his conduct was very irregular, for he lived with many concubines; yet his talent was so appreciated and his fame so high that his patron and the people honoured him, despite his neglect of Buddhist discipline and in spite of attacks heaped upon him.

A powerful rival, however, appeared in the person of Buddhabhadra, who was invited to Chāng-ān in 398. He is believed to have arrived at the coast of Shantung by the sea route, having once failed to come by land. In contrast to Kumārajīva, he observed austere rules of monastic life, and instructed his followers in discipline and in meditation. At last a critical rupture between the two great men broke out, and Buddhabhadra took refuge in the south, where Tao-ān's disciples were living secluded in a monastery on Mount Lu-shan, in the modern province of Chiang-hsi. The leader of the group was Hui-yüan († 416), and its members were monks, poets, and philosophers who were disgusted with the troubles of the world and devoted themselves to meditation and conversation with one another. Here Buddhabhadra found men more congenial than the Buddhists of the north, and instructed them further in the secrets of Buddhist mental training. In this group of thinkers we see Chinese Buddhism quite acclimatized to the native soil, especially to the poetic and transcendental mood of the southern Chinese, and preparing for further union of Buddhist meditation with Chinese quietism. It was on this ground that a definite school of meditation, known as Shan-no (Skr. *dhyāna*), later established itself and further impressed Buddhism with the poetry of the valley of the Yang-tzu. Although the followers of the Shan-no school trace their origin to Bodhidharma, who is believed to have come to China by sea in 520, the further source is to be found in the group of recluses at Lu-shan who welcomed Buddhabhadra. After all, we can assign the foundation of Chinese Buddhism, relatively apart from foreign missionaries, to Tao-ān and Hui-yüan. Yet, parallel with this native movement, missionary work was proceeding, both in the north and in the south.

As we have mentioned, the south welcomed Indian missionaries, many of whom came by sea, and we find a sudden growth of sea-communication with India from the dawn of the 5th century. The pioneer of the sea-voyage from Ceylon to China was the famous pilgrim Fa-hian, who arrived at Shantung in 414, and who was followed by a series of Buddhists who sailed to China and worked mostly under the patronage of the southern dynasties. The most eminent of these was Guṇavarman, who came to Canton from Ceylon, *via* Java, in 424. He laid the foundations of two monasteries called Chao-t'i (Chetiya) and Ch'i-yuan (Jetavana) in Nanking. Here he instructed his followers in the strict discipline of the Vinaya and instituted the system of ordination, as an initiation into Buddhist mysteries, by establishing a special centre for the purpose, after the model of the Sīmā of Nālandā (*q.v.*). The arrival of a number of Siṁhalese nuns in 434 under the leadership of a certain Tissara (?) was probably connected with his institutions and intended for starting nunneries after the model of Sinhalese Buddhism. Another group of nuns came from Ceylon in 438. Among those who followed the footsteps of Guṇavarman are to be mentioned Kālayasas and Dharmamitra, both translators of Mahāyāna texts; Guṇabhadra, the translator of the *Saṁyukta-āgama*; and Saṅghabhadra, the translator of the Pāli *Samanta-pāsādikā*, a commentary on the Vinaya written by the famous Buddhaghoṣa. The last of these is said to have come together with his master, a Tripiṭaka-āchārya.[1]

In the 6th cent. we have two notable instances of sea-journeys. One was the journey of Bodhidharma, mentioned above, who is said to have remained silent for nine years after his arrival in China, but who yet succeeded in impressing his spiritual influence and in opening a powerful stream of meditative naturalism in China and Japan.

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[1] Later in the 6th cent., the Indians Bodhiruchi and Jñānagupta, the famous translators of many Mahāyāna texts, worked in the north.

[1] See J. Takakusu, *Pali Chrestomathy*, Tokyo, 1900, pp. lxxiv–lxxvi, and *JRAS*, 1896, pp. 416–439. Takakusu's conjecture that this 'master of the Three Baskets' might have been Buddhaghoṣa himself is plausible, but requires further confirmation. The translation of the *Samanta-pāsādikā* is dated 489.

LIBRARY OF
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
[illegible] EAST [illegible] STREET
LONG BEACH, CALIF.

The next instance was the voyage of Paramārtha, who arrived in China in 546 and was invited to Nanking in 548. To him we owe the translations of many of Asaṅga's and Vasubandhu's works and some other books. He was the first propagator of the Yogāchāra Buddhism in China, even before Yuan-chwang, the great translator of the 7th century.

Thus the Buddhist missionaries came to the Middle Kingdom from two sides by two routes, one *via* Central Asia and the other *via* Ceylon.[1] Their works of translation laid the foundation for the further development of their religion in the East, and have given us a rich store of information. On the other hand, we must not forget the pious zeal of the Chinese pilgrims who went to the West in search of truth and scriptures, the most prominent of whom was Fa-hian. It is related that the missionaries coming eastward and the pilgrims going westward met one another everywhere in the 5th and 6th centuries. By the conjoint labour of these men were completed the translations of the four *Āgamas*, together with several of their single parts; the Vinaya texts in various versions, belonging to different schools;[2] and the important Mahāyāna texts, such as the *Lotus*, the *Flower-garland* (*Avataṁsaka*), etc. From these works we can see how Buddhist ideas and expressions were naturalized in the Chinese language, which is totally of different structure from the originals. These books and expressions now form an integral part of the Chinese language and literature.

Up to the 5th cent. Buddhist missions in China consisted chiefly in the work of translation, though we may suppose that popular propaganda was not neglected. Besides these, the monastic institutions were an integral part of the Buddhist religion. The first translation of the *Pratimokṣa* (Pāli *Pātimokkha*) and the regular monastic discipline based on it were carried out by Dharmakāla, an Indian, who came to Lo-yāng in 250. In the 5th cent. we see a further establishment of the regular method of ordination under the government's patronage and supervision, carried out by Guṇavarman in the south, as mentioned above. The sustenance of these ordained monks and nuns was eagerly patronized as a deed of great merit by rulers as well as private persons. We hear that, when, in 446, Emperor Tā-wu of the northern Wei dynasty persecuted Buddhists, there were 3,000,000 of these monks and nuns in his territory alone. This may be an exaggeration; but it is quite conceivable that there were 83,000 ordained patronized by the Emperor Wu (reigned 502–549) of the Liāng (southern) dynasty, the great protector of Buddhism, and himself an ordained monk. Besides these regular monks many ascetics were revered as saints by the people, and they contributed much to the propagation of the religion, but as much to the dissemination of superstitions. They formed an eclectic element in Buddhism by adopting Taoistic and Indian ways of living and practices, but there were some who were really saintly, or at least beyond the world. Their lives are described in the *Book of Saints and Miracles* (Nanjio, no. 1484), and many of them are hardly to be distinguished from the Taoist 'men of mountains.' The people accustomed to look upon the Taoist miracle-workers as holy men were also attracted to these Buddhist 'saints.'

We can mention only one instance of a definite record of charitable work. That was a method of famine relief, called *Seng-chi-su*, or 'Church grain' (*Seng-chi* = Pāli *Saṅghika*), which was inaugurated by Thān-yao, a man of unknown origin, in the southern kingdom in 469; a certain percentage of the crops was stored in monasteries and distributed in cases of famine.

While missionary work was advancing, the foundations of doctrinal division, based on the schools prevalent in India, began to arise. The man who stood foremost in systematic treatises on doctrines was Tao-ān, mentioned above, who wrote commentaries and essays and emphasized the vacuity of the phenomenal world. In his time a translation of an *Abhidharma* text (Nanjio, no. 1273) was produced, and prepared for the promulgation of Vasubandhu's philosophy by Paramārtha sixty years later. The group of Lu-shan, already mentioned, was another sign of sectarian division, and these men opened the way for the later growth of the meditative Shan-no school and of the pietistic religion of the Buddha Amitābha. These were, however, only precursory movements for real sectarian division and dogmatic systematization; a really independent growth of Chinese Buddhism and formation of branches date from the latter half of the 6th cent., and then we pass from the missionary stage.

The unity of China achieved by 580 and the rise of the glorious Tʻāng dynasty in the beginning of the 7th cent. mark a new era of Chinese history, political as well as religious; and we may close our survey of the Buddhist missions with this time. It remains to be added that, in the 8th cent., the mystic Buddhism, known as the Mantra sect, was introduced by two foreign missionaries, Śubhakarasiṁha and Amoghavajra. This form of Buddhism became influential in Japan after the 9th century. Towards the close of the 10th cent. there was again an influx of Indian missionaries, but they are of no great significance.

2. In Tibet.—As in the case of China, the early history of Buddhism in Tibet is shrouded in nebulous legends. The missionaries dispatched by King Aśoka touched the Tibetan borders, probably along the western parts of the Himālayas; but it is more than a hundred years after his time that legend tells us of the establishment of a Buddhist temple on the Tibetan side of the mountain range. This legend and the story of the miraculous descent of four caskets containing Buddhist treasures, in the 4th cent. A.D., may be taken as indications of Tibet's contact with Buddhist missions. Dismissing these legends, the first date that can be assigned with certainty for Buddhism in Tibet is the 7th century. The reigning king was Srong-btsan Gam-po († 698), and Buddhism was introduced into Tibet by his marriage with a Chinese princess and also with a Nepālese princess. The former marriage is confirmed by Chinese history; the name of the princess was Wen-ch'eng, and the marriage took place in A.D. 641. She brought with her Buddhist statues and books, and probably some priests, and established a firm footing for Buddhism in that country, which had gradually been coming into contact with the religion through its eastern and southern borders. The Nepālese princess was the agent in introducing the occult worship of the Buddhico-Hindu goddess Tārā, the event which determined to a great degree the nature of Buddhism destined to prevail in Tibet.

The legends concerning this introduction of Buddhism into Tibet and the succeeding events throw little light on the nature of the missionary labours undertaken by the Buddhists; we are told only of the actions taken by the rulers and their ministers. Certainly the propaganda proceeded among the people by supplying them with new objects of worship and new methods of cult, but the most important factor in determining the fate of the new religion was in the hands of the rulers. The stimuli given by the Buddhist consorts of Srong-btsan Gam-po caused him to send his able minister Thummi Sambhota to India, where he performed a great service for Buddhism and for Tibet by inaugurating a Tibetan alphabet after the model of the Skr. Devanāgarī. Translation of Buddhist books, partly from Chinese, but much more from Sanskrit, was made possible by this system of Tibetan letters. A decisive step in the work of translating Buddhist books into Tibetan was taken more than a century later, in the reign of Khri-Srong De-btsan (reigned 740–786), who was a successful conqueror of borderlands. It was he who invited learned Buddhists from India and gave a decided turn to the nature of Tibetan Buddhism, because those Indians mostly advocated occult mysticism based on the belief in the efficacy of *dhāraṇī*, or mystic formulæ, and magic practices. Among these agents of mystic Buddhism we mention two names: Padmasambhava (or 'Lotus Growth,' with an allusion to the lotus as the womb of the cosmos), who introduced many writings, and his disciple, Pagur Vairochana, the 'Great Translator.'

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[1] According to Nanjio, App. ii., among 72 translators who worked between 67 and 420, there were 15 Indians, 7 Yuechis, 5 Parthians, 7 Kubhans, 21 from the western countries and 17 Chinese; among them 22 worked in the south, of whom 5 were Chinese. Among 43 workers who worked between 420 and 550, 14 were Indians, 10 from Kubha and other western countries, 4 Siṁhalese and Indo-Chinese, and 4 uncertain. Among them 27 worked in the south.

[2] For the whole extent of the work done up to 520 see Nanjio, pp. xiii-xvii; for the *Āgama* texts see Anesaki, *op. cit.*

The 9th cent. was a period of confusion in Tibet, and the fate of Buddhism passed through various vicissitudes in association with the inclination of the rulers and with their rise and fall. From the latter part of the 10th cent. we see fresh streams of N. Indian Buddhists and a firmer establishment of mystic Buddhism. Besides the translations, many original writings, historical and doctrinal, were composed in Tibetan; and the missionary stage may thus be closed in this period. After all, accessible material concerning Buddhist missions in Tibet is scarce, and what is known relates only to political support by the government, and to translations produced by foreigners and Tibetans.

The 13th cent. was an epoch-making period in the history of Tibetan Buddhism, in connexion with the conquest of Asia by the Mongol Kublai Khān. Buddhist missions seem to have been active before this time in Mongolia, and the Mongol conquerors were partly converted to Tibetan Buddhism, though all of them were eclectics of promiscuous nature. Tibetan Buddhism was definitely established as a theocracy by the energy and ability of Phagspa, the ally of Kublai Khān, and its influence was extended to the northern countries and even to China. The definitely independent, and totally isolated, growth of Tibetan Buddhism is to be dated from the latter part of the 14th cent., when the Mongol dynasty in China fell and the Tibetan reformer Tsong-Kha-pa arose.

3. **In Korea.**—When, in the 4th cent., Buddhism was being naturalized in Chinese culture, its propagation further eastwards began. At that time Korea was divided into three kingdoms and several minor States. Of these three Koryŏ (or Kokuryŏ) was situated in the north, and first came into contact with Buddhism. In 374 two monks, Atao and Shuntao, both of whom are said to have been foreigners, were invited from N. China to the capital of Koryŏ (the modern Pien-yang), and in the next year two temples [1] were built for them, while in 384 a certain Mālānanda was welcomed by the court of Păikchyŏi, which was situated in the middle of the country. Historical records tell of the construction of temples and of the arrival of missionaries, both Indian and Chinese, from China, but little information is given of how they worked in their propaganda, this fact being partly due to the circumstance that these records were compiled by the Confucianists of the anti-Buddhist dynasty of the 15th century.

The Buddhist propaganda advanced to the southern extremity of the peninsula in the middle of the 5th century. An ascetic, nicknamed the 'Black Foreigner,' preached the Three Jewels in the south and is said to have cured a princess of the Silla kingdom by means of incense and spells. He was followed by some missionaries who came to the south and gained hold of the people's minds. The worship of Buddha was received officially by the king of Silla in 528, and this monarch and his successors were not less zealous in the Buddhist cause than the rulers of the north. The construction of temples and organization of Buddhist rites came into vogue. A king who ruled in 540–576 became a monk, and his consort became a nun; and the propaganda advanced so far in his reign that a Korean priest was appointed archbishop of the realm of Silla.

4. **In Japan.**—In nearly a century and a half Buddhism had converted the whole of Korea, and it was quite natural that the tide of the mission should also reach Japan, which had a close communication with the peninsular States and had introduced Chinese learning in the beginning of the 5th century. The religion was first advocated by the Korean immigrants, and then by some natives. After these preparations, it was presented officially by the king of Păikchyŏi to the Japanese court as a sign of homage and friendship in 538 (the date is usually, but erroneously, given as 552). The presents consisted of a gilt statue of Buddha, scriptures, banners, and other ritual instruments,[1] and the message which accompanied these presents said:

> 'This teaching (*dharma*) is the most excellent of all teachings It brings infinite and immeasurable fruits to its believers, even to the final enlightenment (*bodhi*). Just as the *Chintāmaṇi* [2] jewel is said to give inexhaustible wealth to its possessor, so the jewel of this glorious Law never ceases to give response to those who seek for it. Moreover, it has come to Korea from India, far distant, and the peoples of the countries lying between these two are now all adherents of it,' etc.

These words, accompanied with a fine image and works of art, were a marvellous revelation to a people who knew only how to invoke spirits supposed to be little superior to men. The court, on the other hand, was divided into two parties, one favourable to the new worship, and the other hostile, the point of their dispute being whether the newly-offered deity was more powerful than the national deities or not. The hidden motive of the difference, however, was the political clan strife, intermingled with the difference of progressive and conservative policies. During fifty years of strife the fate of the new religion seemed always wavering. But the presents were followed by an incessant influx of priests, monks, artisans, and physicians, as the rearguards of the religion. It was natural that elaborate rites and the practice of medicine should be most effectual means in the conversion of a rather primitive people like the Japanese at that time. Though the religion was not yet accepted officially by the court, some sovereigns cherished it as their faith, and the Soga family, the head of the progressionists, became its zealous advocates. They built topes and temples, and we hear of a nunnery founded by the family in 584. The fall of the conservative party in 587 marked a decisive step in the progress of Buddhism, and to commemorate this event a temple was built, for the first time at State expense. The erection of these and other Buddhist buildings caused constant importations of Buddhist statues, utensils, etc., accompanied by missionaries and artisans, and these displays of art were associated with works of charity. Three institutions—an asylum, a hospital, and a dispensary—were attached to a temple built in 593, and similar institutions were founded here and there in the subsequent centuries.

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[1] The names of these temples, Syo-mun and I-pul-lan, sound neither Chinese nor Korean.

[1] Cf. W. G. Aston, *Nihongi*, ii. 65 f.

[2] The *chintāmaṇi* is a mythical jewel; Aston's translation, 'to his heart's content,' is not accurate.

In the regency of Prince Shōtoku, the Constantine of Japan (reigned 593-622), the new religion became the State Church. Not only were missionaries and learned monks invited from Korea, but direct communication with Chinese Buddhism was opened (605), and Japanese monks were sent to China for study. The number of the Korean missionaries who worked in this period was considerable, and their achievements in preaching religion, in teaching science, especially astronomy, and in other matters, were a great credit to them; but the new religion found native teachers in less than a hundred years after its introduction. The prince himself gave lectures on Buddhist scriptures and organized various institutions. In short, the Buddhist propaganda in this century consisted first in the display of forms, then in works of charity, chiefly medical practices, and lastly in teaching. The mission, however, did not extend very far from the capital in Yamato. The acceptance of Buddhism was closely connected with the diplomatic relations with the Korean States and China, on the one side, and with the efforts to centralize the government and to unite the divided clans by religion, on the other. The development of religious institutions and the management of State affairs assisted each other.

After the decisive step of the adoption of the Buddhist faith had been once taken, the progress of the religion was sure and steady. Its influence was propagated gradually from the capital to the provinces. Many Korean immigrants, some of whom were usually monks and nuns, were offered homes in various provinces, and the number of native workers increased, some of whom studied in China or Korea. The donations given not only to large monasteries and to clergy of higher ranks, but also to the poor and aged monks and nuns, show how numerous were the ordained natives and immigrants. Besides these Korean and Japanese priests, a certain number of Chinese, Indians, and other foreigners carried on the Buddhist propaganda, the most famous of whom were Kanjin, a Chinese, and Bodhisena, an Indian. The former founded the central institution for ordination and monastic discipline, and was appointed archbishop (754–763 in Japan).[1] He was also an organizer of medical practice and founded a botanical garden. The Indian was of the Brāhman family Bhāradvāja. He came to Japan in 736 with his Annamese and Chinese followers, some of whom were musicians, and worked as a bishop till his death in 760, being known as the 'Brāhman bishop.' These missionaries brought many useful arts and things Indian, which contributed to the influence of the religion, such as musical instruments, Indian harps, and the bas-relief in the Græco-Bactrian style, preserved in the Imperial treasury, dating from the 8th century. Among the native workers there were some learned men, who laboured mostly in the capital as teachers and bishops; others were practical men who worked in the provinces in bridging rivers, constructing roads, canals, harbours, and ponds, opening mountain passages, planting avenues, etc. We do not know how or where these men learned their arts and crafts, but their works were so wonderful to the people that many miraculous stories are told of them even to this day. The mention of some Ainu monks, whom the court favoured with gifts in 689, shows the advance of the propaganda to the far north-east.

The elaborate system of ritual, medical work, etc., which had been the chief means of the propaganda, remained in vogue for a long time. The distribution of medical stores and the dispatch of combined bands of monks and physicians into the provinces are constantly mentioned in the 8th century. In addition to these methods, religious ceremonies for the welfare of the ruling families and for the tranquillity of the country became the order of the day in the court as well as in the temples, and were patronized by the government and by the nobles. These pious deeds were extended to the provinces, and scriptures were distributed wherever there were any priests. The founding of provincial cathedrals (*kokubun-ji*) was followed by the founding, near the capital, of the central cathedral, which was dedicated to the great statue of Lochana Buddha, now known as the Daibutsu in Nara, and was completed in 754. These works and dedications converted the whole of Japan into a Buddhadom before the close of the 8th century. There are many remains of these works to this day, and Japan owes the sculptures, which have never been excelled by later works, to the same period.

It is obvious that the methods of the religious mission contributed to the unification of the country. Charitable works were regarded in the provinces as the boons not only of the Church but also of the State; splendid religious buildings were held to be signs of the power of the court. It was not merely by the mysterious efficacy of the worship and ceremonies that the security of the throne and the tranquillity of the country were maintained and increased; the Buddhist mission in the provinces during these two centuries was at the same time a political mission.

By the 9th cent. the unity and centralization of the national government were complete. From that time Japanese Buddhism began to stand on its own feet, even though the Japanese Buddhists were still indebted to their co-religionists on the continent. The two brightest stars of the Buddhist history of Japan, Dengyō († 822) and Kōbō († 835), were once students in China, but these two men opened the way for the development of Japan's own Buddhism. Thus the beginning of the 9th cent. may be taken as the end of the Buddhist mission in Japan.

One thing remains to be added, viz. a new influx of Chinese influence in the latter half of the 13th century. The introduction of the Zen (*dhyāna*) Buddhism, which was produced by Bodhidharma in China, as mentioned above, necessitated a fresh influx of monks and artists, whose great influence upon Japanese art, literature, and social life in the 14th and 15th centuries must be recognized. Tea, fans, kakemono, and similar things, now known in the West as 'things Japanese,' Japan owes to these communications with Chinese Buddhism.

Taking a general survey, we see a remarkable contrast between the Buddhist missions in China and those in Japan. In China works of charity seem to have played rather an insignificant part and translations of scriptures an important part; the opposite was the case in Japan; no Japanese translation of the Buddhist scriptures was made till quite recent times. Chinese has remained the sacred language of Japanese Buddhism almost throughout, though there have been some original writings in Japanese. This antithesis is due to the different levels of civilization on which China and Japan stood at the time of the introduction of Buddhism.

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[1] *Travels of Kanjin*, tr. J. Takakusu (in preparation).

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M. ANESAKI.

MISSIONS (Christian, Early and Mediæval). —**1. From the close of the Apostolic Age to the conversion of the Empire (c. A.D. 100-323).**—Missions were the main external activity of the Christian community in the earliest time. Before the middle of the 2nd cent. (*c.* 140) Justin Martyr claims for them a very wide field of operations—not merely over the Helleno-Roman world, but beyond.

> 'There exists not a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race, by whatsoever title or manners they may be marked out, however ignorant of arts or of agriculture, whether they dwell under tents or wander in covered waggons, among whom prayers are not offered in the name of a crucified Jesus to the Father of all things' (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 117).

Much to the same effect, but more guardedly, Irenæus tells us (*c.* 180) that even then many barbarous nations held the Christian faith, written not with pen and ink, in books or papers, but by the Holy Spirit in their hearts (*adv. Hær.* III. iv. 2). Tertullian likewise (*c.* 200) boasts of the rapid spread of the Church:

> 'We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you . . . your very camp, palace, . . . forum . . . we leave you your temples only. We can count your armies; our number in a single province will be greater' (*Apol.* 37).

Britons beyond the Roman pale, Sarmatians, Germans, and Scythians are among the more distant races that he reckons as already touched by Christianity (*adv. Judæos*, 7). Origen (*c.* 230-240) declares the gospel not merely to have won myriads of converts among 'all nations,' but, more precisely, to have penetrated into many parts of the barbarian world (*c. Cels.* i. 27, ii. 13); while Arnobius (*c.* 304) denies that any nation of the barbarians was then without some Christian influence (*adv. Gentes*, i. 16, ii. 5). From Eusebius (*c.* 320-330) we hear of the ex-Stoic Pantænus of Alexandria undertaking a missionary journey to India about 180 (*HE* v. 10); here Pantænus is said to have found a Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew which had been left there by the apostle Bartholomew. Even if by this 'India' is understood the 'Lesser' or 'Third India' of some early geographers, including parts of the S. Arabian shore-lands and of Abyssinia, this is a noteworthy journey. Origen again, about 215, was invited to teach the Gospel in Arabia, and accepted the invitation (Eus. *HE* vi. 19). From Edessa in N. Mesopotamia, where the Church was firmly settled by 150, Christianity was propagated in the Persian kingdom, even to Bactria. Bishop John, 'of Persia and Great India,' attended the Nicene Council in 325. Armenia, which may, however, be reckoned as usually within the Roman Empire, or at least within its sphere of influence, till the disasters of the later 4th cent., was won by the Church, shortly before the winning of the Empire, at the end of the 3rd century. Gregory the Illuminator was the leading person of this mission (*c.* 302), and Armenia was the first country in which Christianity was adopted as the national religion. In the early days of Constantine (*c.* 311) Bishop Hermon of Jerusalem sent missionaries (Ephraim and Basil) to 'Scythia' and to the Crimea, part of which at least may be considered Roman. About A.D. 100 St. Clement, the fourth bishop of Rome, had been martyred at Kherson, representing the modern Sevastopol.

2. From the conversion of the Empire to the rise of Islām (c. 323-632).—Important extensions of Christianity followed the conversion of Constantine.

(*a*) *Africa.*—Among these one is African. The Abyssinian Church was founded, or at least Christianity became the religion of the nation, from about 330, through the work of missionaries from Alexandria. Frumentius, a follower of Athanasius, who consecrated him as bishop of Ethiopia, or Nearer India, was the leader of this mission. From 356, again, the Arian emperor Constantius entered on a far-reaching scheme of Arian proselytism in Abyssinia, Southern and South-Western Arabia, and the coast lands of Persia and India, as far as the Indus, and perhaps beyond. Even before 250, perhaps by 200, Christianity had begun to spread among the native African tribes, on the fringe of the Roman Empire, in modern Tunis and Tripoli. In the 6th cent., in the reign of Justinian, and largely through the influence of the empress Theodora, Christianity was planted among the Nubians (from *c.* 548). Till the 14th cent. a Nubian Church maintained itself, though cut short by Muhammadan conquest, when, less fortunate, if not less heroic, than the Abyssinian (protected by its highlands, and saved, at a critical moment, by Portuguese aid), it succumbed to Islām.

(*b*) *Asia.*—In Asia, beyond the limits of the Empire, Christianity, Orthodox or Nestorian, went far afield, before the outbreak of Muhammadan conquest in the 7th century. Bishop John, 'of Persia and Great India,' as we saw, attended the Nicene Council in 325; in 334 we hear of a bishop of Merv; the line of the metropolitans of 'Babylon' (*i.e.* Ktesiphon and Seleukeia [Σελεύκεια ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι]) likewise began in the 4th cent.; and in the same period the Persian Christians suffered fierce persecutions from the government, largely at Magian instigation. In the 4th cent. a Syrian mission went to Malabar. Arnobius even speaks vaguely of Christianity having been preached among the 'Seres,' or Chinese of the interior—'China as approached by land'—before the conversion of Constantine, but this is unsupported and in itself doubtful.

In the 5th cent. Nestorius and his followers were cast out of the Church (431); a Nestorian communion was rapidly organized; and a wonderful missionary energy was shown by this 'Protestantism of the East.' In 498 the Nestorian patriarchate of Babylon or Ktesiphon was set up; this in 762 followed the 'Abbāsid khalīfs to their new capital of Baghdād. About 505 Christianity reached China in Nestorian form. In 551 Nestorian monks brought the eggs of the mulberry silkworm from China to Constantinople. Before 540 Nestorian bishops appeared at Samarqand and Herat, and from the same time we have sepulchral evidences of Nestorian Christianity as far as the Semiryechensk, or 'Seven Rivers,' district of the Balkhash basin, close to the Russo-Chinese frontier of to-day. These funeral monuments extend from A.D. 547 to 1027, but are mostly of the 10th and early 11th centuries; they commemorate clergy, laymen, and women. One refers to a priest 'sent round to visit the churches,' perhaps something of a missionary. Gregory of Tours in the 6th cent. collected some information about Indian Christianity, partly from an Indian Christian who had come to Western Europe from the 'Thomas Country' near Madras. Nestorian missions had now penetrated to India, and were transforming the native Christianity.

Cosmas Indicopleustes of Alexandria, the author of the *Christian Topography*, who in his earlier life was probably a Nestorian himself, describes the vast extent of an Eastern Christianity, beyond the Imperial limits, which must have been largely Nestorian, about 550. Churches were then to be found, he declares, in Ceylon, Malabar, and Socotra, with 'a bishop and clergy ordained and sent from Persia'; in Bactria and among the Huns; in Mesopotamia, Scythia, Hyrcania, and other lands east of the Euxine (see bks. iii. and xi., esp. p. 178 f. of B. de Montfaucon's ed. [*Coll. nova Patr. et Script. Græc.*, Paris, 1706, ii. 113 ff.]=*PG* lxxxviii. 168 f.). At no time, perhaps, till the Russian colonization of North Asia was Christianity more strongly supported in Eastern lands than at this time.

(*c*) *Europe.*—St. Patrick's conversion of Ireland (from *c.* 430) opened to Christendom a land that had never been Roman, and was practically unknown to Continental Europe, after Honorius withdrew the legions from Britain. The full discovery of Ireland was the work of Christian missionaries. Within a century of St. Patrick's death the Irish took up a great mission-work of their own. From about 550 to 800 the Irish Church showed its greatest energy abroad, and perhaps reached its highest prosperity at home. Its followers preached with remarkable success among the English who had overrun Eastern Britain. They carried the gospel further into Caledonia than Agricola had ever carried Roman conquest. Some of their pioneers reached the Orkneys, the Faroes, the outermost Hebrides, and even Iceland (of the last Irish monks were the first discoverers, in 795).

Despite the fictions with which the early history of Scotland is overlaid, it need not be questioned that some progress was made by Christian missions beyond the Firth of Forth even in the 5th century. St. Ninian, the founder of 'Candida Casa' in Galloway, who was apparently working in the south-west and centre of modern Scotland about 390–430, is specially associated with these enterprises.

The Roman mission dispatched by Pope Gregory I. to England in 597 was concerned with a country lying within the Old Empire, and so outside the proper field of this article. It was, however, the commencement of a movement which in course of time penetrated to non-Roman lands—Scotland, Ireland, Central Germany, the Scandinavian kingdoms—and played a great part in winning them to Christianity, or in turning them from their native Church to Roman allegiance.

3. From the rise of Islām to the Crusades (632–1096).—The vigour, or at least the extent, of Nestorian missions in South Asia in the first age of Islām is evident from a letter of bitter complaint from the Nestorian patriarch to the bishop of Fārs (or 'Persia' proper) about 650. It was owing to his neglect, the patriarch declares, that the people of Khorāsān had lapsed from the faith, and that India, 'from Fārs to Colon' (Kulam, or Quilon, near Cape Comorin), was now being deprived of a regular ministry. We find the same patriarch writing to the Christians of Socotra and of Balkh, and undertaking to provide a fresh supply of bishops for his spiritual subjects of the Upper Oxus. His successor, in order to appease an old quarrel between the Christians of Bactria and the metropolitan of Persia, visited Balkh about 661.

But the crowning achievements of early Nestorian enterprises were in China, and of these we have an account in the famous monument of Si-gan Fu. In 635–636 a missionary, who appears in the Chinese Record as 'Olopan' (Rabban), entered the 'Flowery Land,' and reached Si-gan Fu, the capital of the Tang dynasty. He had come, we are told, from 'Great China' (the Roman Empire); he was received with favour; his teaching was examined and approved; his Scriptures were translated for the Imperial library; and within three years an Imperial edict declared Christianity a tolerated religion. With the speculative fairness of his race (and of one of the greatest of Chinese rulers) T'ait-sung welcomed any religion whose spirit was 'virtuous, mysterious, and pacific.'

> The radical principle of the new faith, he thought, 'gave birth to perfection and fixed the will.' It 'was exempt from verbosity, and considered only good results.' Therefore it was 'useful to man, and should be published under the whole extent of the Heavens. . . . And I command the magistrates to erect a temple of this religion in the Imperial city, and twenty-one religious men shall be installed therein.'

T'ait-sung's successor was no less friendly.

> 'He fertilized the truth, and raised luminous temples [Christian Churches] in all the provinces,' till they 'filled a hundred cities. . . . The households were enriched with marvellous joy.'

'Olopan' himself became a 'Guardian of the Empire,' and 'lord of the Great Law.'

Then followed, from about A.D. 683, a time of disfavour and oppression. Chinese conservatism rallied against the new worship.

> 'The children of Che [Buddhists] resorted to violence, and spread their calumnies; low-class men of letters put forth jests. . . .'

But after a time the Nestorian Church in China, as in India (and about the same time), revived. Fresh missionary enterprise was one cause of this, in both fields.

> In A.D. 744 'there was a religious man of Great China named Kiho, who travelled for the conversion of men'; on his arrival in the Middle Kingdom, illustrious persons united 'to restore the fallen Law.' In 747 the emperor brought back 'the venerable images' to the Temple of Felicity, and firmly raised its altars; with his own hand he 'wrote a tablet' (probably for the great church of the capital). His three successors all 'honoured the luminous multitude.' One observed Christmas by burning incense; another 'instituted nine rules for the propagation of the doctrine'; various high officials of the court, a member of the council of war, and several governors of provinces 'rendered perpetual service to the luminous gate.' The inscription closes with words of thankfulness; never had the mission been more prosperous than when 'in the year of the Greeks 1092 (A.D. 781), in the days of the Father of Fathers, the Patriarch Hanan-Yeshuah, this marble tablet was set up with the history of the . . . preaching of our fathers before the kings of the Chinese.' Hanan-Yeshuah died in 778, but news of his death would naturally take a considerable time to travel from Baghdād to Si-gan Fu.

The general truthfulness of this record (the most remarkable witness that we possess of Christian activity in the Further East before the 13th cent.) is supported by what we know of the Chinese mission from other sources.

Between 714 and 728 the Nestorian patriarch appointed the first metropolitan for China; in 745 the Chinese emperor decreed the name of 'Roman temples' to the Christian churches of his empire; about 790 the patriarch of Baghdād sent a new metropolitan to Si-gan Fu, and after his murder at the hands of robbers a successor was dispatched, with six other bishops and a party of monks.

Like the Chinese mission, the Indian was revived in the middle of the 8th century. About 745 a party from Baghdād, Nineveh, and Jerusalem, under orders from the arch-priest at Edessa, arrived in India, with the merchant Thomas — the 'Armenian merchant' of Gibbon (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1896–1900, v. 150).

In 774 the Hindu ruler of the Malabar coast granted a charter, graven on copper, to the Christians of his dominions. A famous inscription discovered in 1547, on St. Thomas Mount near Madras, probably of the 8th cent., but perhaps even earlier, another charter of 824, to the Malabar Christians, the journey of Bishop Abraham about 800 from Basra to China, and the Arab references to the strength of Christianity at this time and down to the Far Eastern revolution of 878, may also be cited. Finally, the continuance of the lines of metropolitans in China, India, and the Merv region, and the permission granted them, about 850, to be absent from the central councils of the Nestorian Church (at or near Baghdād, every four years), are other fragments of evidence to the vigour of Nestorian missions at a time (*c.* 750–850) which perhaps marked the close of their greatest development.

From the end of the 9th cent., however, this Nestorian expansion began to be seriously checked. The Nestorians had been in high favour, not only with the Chinese emperors, but also with the Muhammadan khalīfs, as guides to the Greek treasures of letters, science, and medicine. But, as Arabic learning progressed, the Nestorian position became less important and privileged; the spread of Islām tended more and more to contract the area still left open for Nestorian activity in many regions; and in China the old conservatism revived. The disorders of 878 and the years following produced another Chinese reaction against alien importations. The baleful effects of civil war were attributed to foreign devilry, and in the next century Chinese Christianity much declined. Thus a Muslim writer of the later 10th cent. (*c.* A.D. 987) reports a conversation in Baghdād with a monk who had been sent to China seven years before, and had returned in despair on finding but one person of his faith still extant there. This was probably pessimism. Nestorianism, even to the 14th cent., maintained a certain position in the Far East; it was the only form of Christianity that the Polos found (and in many a city they found it) scattered, however thinly, throughout the Chinese Orient; in the 11th cent. it had won fresh triumphs in Central Asia. About 1007–08 the Khān of the Keraits (one of the four main branches of the Mongol Tatars, living in the basin of Lake Baikal) was converted to Nestorian Christianity. With him doubtless went many, perhaps the bulk, of his tribe; and in this event is apparently the ultimate source of the tradition of 'Prester,' Presbyter, or Priest, 'John.' In all its earliest forms this tradition is not African, but Asiatic; it refers to a Christian potentate in the 'extremity of the East' or the heart of Asia, supposed to unite in himself royal and sacerdotal power and office, to have great military and political importance, to rule extensive dominions, and to uphold the faith of the Cross, though surrounded by unbelievers, and cut off by vast distance from the main body of the Church. This is the story, as it takes shape in the 12th cent., and as it is referred to by the great European travellers of the 13th; not till the 14th (from *c.* 1330) do we find it transferred to Africa and associated with the 'Emperor of the Ethiopians' or Negush of Abyssinia.

In Northern Europe, beyond the limits of the Old Empire, the Roman missions advanced rapidly in the 8th cent., after success in England had once been achieved, and largely as a result of the reflex action of that English mission. The movement that Gregory had started flowed back upon the Continent with new force from the converted island. In Frisia, Thuringia, and Bavaria the tribes beyond the Rhine were gradually converted by Frankish, Irish, and English missionaries in the obedience of Rome; chief among these was the church-statesman and martyr St. Boniface or Winfrith of Crediton (680–755), who became the 'apostle of the Germans,' the first bishop of Mainz and primate of Germany, the reformer of the Frankish Church.

Charles the Great's very forcible conversion of the Old Saxons, between the Ems and the Elbe, again advanced the borders of Christendom on the North (772–804). The same emperor compelled the prince of the Slav Czechs of Moravia to receive baptism (801); but the real conversion of this people, as well as of the neighbouring sister-race of Bohemia, was begun by the Byzantines Cyril and Methodius of Thessalonica, the 'apostles of the Slavs,' from about 863. Cyril had already worked with great success among the (Turkish ?) Khazars of S. Russia. Like Ulfilas with the Gothic script, Cyril and his brother formed a Slav alphabet still prevailing in Russia, Serbia, and Bulgaria, and in Moravia down to the 16th century. Greek formed the basis of the 'Cyrillic' letters in most cases; but some were entirely new—either invented by the missionaries or adapted from various Oriental writings. By the diplomacy of Pope Nicholas I. Cyril and Methodius were brought into close relations with, and obedience to, Rome, and all their Central European work was turned to the profit of the Roman Church. By the end of the 9th cent. the victory of Latin Christianity among most branches of the Czechs may be accepted as complete.

The conquests of Charles the Great brought Frankish Christendom into close proximity to the Scandinavian peoples and the Slavs of the North European plains, and soon after the death of Charles the conversion of these races was seriously commenced. Ansgar or Anskar, the 'apostle of the North,' was born about 801, and about 826 left the monastery of Corbie for the 'Northern mission.' First he worked (with his helpers) in Nordalbingia (or Holstein) on the Danish border, and in Schleswig; obliged to quit this field by a pagan reaction, he made his way even to Sweden in 829, preached before the king, won a great measure of success, and in 831 was consecrated the first archbishop of Hamburg. He was driven hence by a Scandinavian invasion about 845; but in 848 he was appointed to the vacant see of Bremen, with which the missionary diocese of Hamburg was now united. He resumed his work in Denmark (848–853), won the favour of the Danish king, converted a large part of the people, and again opened his campaign in Sweden (*c.* 853). At his death in 865 Danish, Swedish, and perhaps even Norse Christianity had been securely founded, though complete triumph was not reached for more than a century.

The Bulgarians of the Balkans, settled within the limits of the Old Empire, received Christianity from Constantinople about 845–865, largely by means of the patriarch Photius. This gain was fiercely disputed between Rome and the East, for the Bulgarian Czar, instructed and probably baptized by Photius, also turned his inquiring mind to Pope Nicholas I., and received from him a further supply of Christian teaching and practical advice. The struggle over Bulgaria was one of the chief surface-causes for that schism of Eastern and Western Christianity which now became decisive, and was never really healed again. But the Orthodox Church remained in possession of her Bulgarian gains—in spite of the appeal of Nicholas to listen first to Rome amidst the claims of conflicting teachers, and to cleave to that Church 'which had always been without spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing.'

In the 9th cent., after the sack of Iona by the Northmen (806), the relics of St. Columba seem to have been translated to Dunkeld, which became for a time the centre of Scottish Christianity—till St. Andrews, from about 905, took its place.

Poland perhaps received its first knowledge of Christianity from Bohemia and Moravia. From about 967 the court and ruling classes accepted the new faith in its Roman form, and before 1000 the establishment of Latin Christianity was completed, under the great conqueror Boleslav, who first raised Poland to the position of an important European State.

The earliest mission among the heathen Prussians was probably undertaken by Adalbert (or Voytyech), second bishop of Prague, who travelled into Prussia in 996, and was martyred on the shores of the Frische Haff in April 997. Boleslav 'the Great' of Poland, who had encouraged this mission, placed the martyr's relics at the court-town of Gnesen, which now became an Archbishopric.

The Hungarians, whose attacks on Germanic and Italian Europe were finally ended by the defeat on the Lechfeld in 955, at the hands of Otto the Great, were rapidly won to the Western Church by mission enterprise. By about 975 considerable progress had been made; the reigning Hungarian prince Geisa (972–997) was a nominal, if semi-pagan, Christian; but the complete victory of Christianity was gained by the first king, Stephen 'the Saint,' baptized by Adalbert of Prague about 983. Stephen was called to succeed his father Geisa in 997; he took the royal title in 1000; he put down the pagan opposition; and before his death in 1038 he had completed the establishment of the Latin Church in his kingdom, had organized that kingdom with remarkable success, and had given it a first impression of civilization. He founded colleges, hospitals, and monasteries for Hungarians in Rome, Ravenna, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, and his hospitality to pilgrims was so generous that the overland route through the Hungarian plain came to be generally preferred by the mass of those travelling from Western Europe to Constantinople and Syria.

Roman Christianity, as introduced by Ansgar, won the allegiance of the king, court, and ruling classes of Denmark in the days of Harold Blaatand, or 'Blue Tooth,' a century after Ansgar, from about 966. Yet even after this there was a pagan reaction, accompanied by some persecution (1000–04), under Svend, or Swegen, 'Forkbeard,' the conqueror of England, who vacillated between the old heathendom and the new faith, but finally embraced the latter, after his triumph in the West. Cnut the Great, Svend's son and successor (1014–35), was almost a Danish Clovis, and identified his policy with the work of the Christian Church in all ways.

Christianity in Sweden, likewise founded by Ansgar, did not become the faith of the court and the governing classes till the end of the first millennium, under Olaf the 'Lap-King' (955–1022). Pagan reactions still occurred till far on in the 11th cent., a final one on the eve of the First Crusade—but the battle was really won by 1020.

The first faint beginnings of (Latin) Christianity in Norway may also be traced back to Ansgar's time. Under Haakon I. (935–961) it began to struggle for predominance; the king for a long time endeavoured to promote it, but in his later years, for political and other reasons, he yielded much to the wishes of the pagan party. Heathen and Christian struggled for ascendancy till the short and brilliant reign of Olaf Tryggvason (995–1000), who forced the gospel on the bulk of his subjects with every kind of violence and every art of persuasion. The work was completed by Olaf the Saint, the godchild and third successor of Tryggvason (1015–30).

From Norway Christianity was carried to the Norse colonies of Iceland and Greenland. The German priest Thangbrand, a truly militant missionary, who killed opponents in single combat, was sent to Iceland by Olaf Tryggvason in 997; in 1000 the new faith was accepted (with some important concessions to heathenism) in a National Assembly; and at the same time the gospel reached Greenland, where it soon won the allegiance of the colonists.

Leif Ericson, probably the first discoverer of America, was commissioned by Olaf Tryggvason in 1000 to proselytize his countrymen, on his return from the court of Norway to his home in Eric's Fiord, but the missionary journey was interrupted by storms, which drove Leif to Vinland (Nova Scotia?).

Russia was not really won till the time of Vladimir the Great ('St. Vladimir,' 986–1015). The patriarch Photius, it is true, claims (*c.* 867) that the fierce and barbarous Russians had already been converted by the missions of the Eastern Church, but even a century later the mass of the people were thoroughly heathen. Decisive Christian success began with the conversion of Olga, the princess-regent of Kieff, and widow of the grand-prince Igor, who visited Constantinople in 955, and was there baptized into the Greek Church. The full triumph of the faith was delayed for a generation by the refusal of Olga's son Svyatoslav to abandon his heathenism. The work was finished by Vladimir, son and successor of Svyatoslav, and the most effective and powerful head of the Russian people that had yet appeared, under whom Russia gave premature and deceptive promise of playing a first-class part in the world, in the 10th and 11th centuries. After his capture of the Imperial (Byzantine) dependency of Kherson in the Crimea (on the site of the later Sevastopol), and his marriage with an Imperial princess in 988, he accepted the Christianity of the Eastern Church; and his court and the mass of his people followed the example of the grand-prince of Kieff. The progress of the faith was both rapid and deep; no part of Europe became more intensely attached to its Christianity, and no nation perhaps has done more to spread the Christian faith, as it has understood the same. Vladimir died in 1015, but under Yaroslav the Lawgiver (1019–54), who with his father must rank as the chief Russian statesman of the earlier and freer age—before the Tatars—the establishment of the Church was completed.

4. From the First Crusade to the end of the mediæval time (1096–1453).—Thus, before the close of the 11th cent., nearly all Europe had been won to Christianity of the Roman or the Greek allegiance, and the borders of Christendom had been extended, to North and East, far beyond the limits of the Old Empire—to Greenland and Iceland, to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, to the shores of the Baltic, the plains of Poland, the Carpathian highlands, and the western regions of Modern Russia—Kieff, Smolensk, Novgorod. Novgorod enterprise, it is probable, had by 1096 carried the religion as well as the trade of that great Republic into some of the regions and among some of the tribes of the furthest North and North-East—in the White Sea basin and in the valleys of the Dvina and Pechora.

A little later, in 1121, the bishop of Greenland undertook what was probably a missionary journey to America—he 'seeks Vinland'—but we hear no more of him.

Christendom, as thus constituted, included some pagan *enclaves*, mainly along the South and East of the Baltic, such as the countries of the Lithuanians, the Finns of Finland (and N. Russia), the Old Prussians, and the Wends and other Slavs of Pomerania and other lands afterwards included in Eastern Germany. In the 12th cent. much of this land began to be won. The Finns of Finland were conquered by the Swedes in a war which had something of a crusading character (*c.* 1157–58), and the profession of the Roman Catholic faith was gradually enforced. Russian Christianity meanwhile appears expanding in the far North and East by its foundation of the St. Michael's monastery, on the site of Archangel (in the 12th cent.), and of the important Novgorod colony of Vyatka, north of Kazan (1174). Latin Christianity accompanied the early victories of Germanism beyond the Elbe in the 10th century. The pagan and anti-German reaction which set in about 983 was equally injurious to Teutonic Christendom and Empire, and much of the new mission ground was lost. Polish and German attempts to convert the Pomeranians led to small result till well on in the

12th cent., when Otto of Bamberg (in 1124–28) became the 'apostle' of this country. From the time when the main German advance beyond the Elbe was permanently resumed, about 1130, the progress of Christianity was rapid between the Elbe and the Oder; and the extension of the bishoprics of Magdeburg, Oldenburg, and Ratzeburg witnessed to this. German colonization followed German conquest, and, as the colonists were at least nominal Christians, the Church grew steadily stronger.

German Christianity (accompanying German colonization) was planted as far east as the Düna or Western Dvina (the river of Riga) in the later 12th cent.; some Bremen merchants formed a settlement on or near the site of Riga about 1158, and about 1168 Meinhard, an Augustinian canon of Holstein, headed a mission to Livonia. The work was difficult, for the Livonians were a faithless race who professed the proper sentiments when advantage was to be gained from them, but turned upon the mission with mockery and insult when they no longer needed its help (Meinhard built them not only churches, but fortifications). An eclipse brought the missionaries into peril—they were accused of swallowing the sun. Their danger was hardly less when they were justly suspected of a more successful cultivation of the land than was then usual in Livonia. Baptisms were constantly 'washed off' in the Dvina by lapsed converts. Meinhard, consecrated bishop of Livonia in 1170, died in 1196, without having achieved much success. His second successor, Albert of Apeldern and Riga, had superior fortune, tact, and abilities. He organized a Livonian Crusade (permitted by Innocent III. to rank as a fulfilment of the vow for the Holy War in Syria); he enlisted considerable forces of warriors and missionaries; in 1200 he founded, or re-founded, the city of Riga as a new base for conquest and proselytism, and as the seat of the bishopric; and in 1202 he started the *Fratres Militiæ Christi*, the 'Knights' or 'Brethren of Christ,' or 'of the Sword,' the *Schwertträger* or *Port-glaives* of German and French historians, an important element in the Teutonic Order and a main source of its dominion on the Baltic. Pope Innocent gave the 'Sword-Brethren' the statutes of the Templars. Albert's mission-crusade had rapid success, and most of Livonia was baptized before the close of 1206.

A mission in Esthonia was commenced a little earlier than this by Bishop Fulk, formerly a monk of La Celle; and Dietrich, Meinhard's chief lieutenant in Livonia, became bishop of Esthonia in 1213. He was killed in 1218, and the next bishop transferred the headquarters of the mission (now thoroughly German) to Yuryev, Derpt, or Dorpat, in 1224. A Danish mission in Esthonia, at this time largely in Danish hands, was organized from Reval, which became a bishopric in 1218. Even in Lithuania a Roman mission appears to have started in the first half of the 13th cent., but its progress was slow, and general or definite success was not attained till the first Union of Poland and 'Litva' in 1386.

In 1236–37 the 'Sword-Brethren' united with the Teutonic Knights, founded at Acre in 1190, and summoned to help in the conquest and conversion of Old Prussia in 1226. They had much in common—an origin from Bremen, a constitution on the model of the Templars, the patronage of the Virgin, the protection of the emperors, the 'duty of fighting for the Cross,' the championship of the German race and German interests against all other.

This brings us to the Prussian crusade and mission. The early unsuccessful attempts at proselytism in Old Prussia, mainly under Polish patronage, have been noticed. In 1207 the Poles began again, with better appearance of success. In 1215 a Prussian bishop was consecrated. But a violent heathen reaction soon followed, accompanied by massacre, and by the destruction, it is said, of 250 churches. The supporters of the mission now fell back on the idea of a holy war, and in 1218 Pope Honorius III. allowed a Prussian Crusade as a substitute for the Syrian. In 1226 the Teutonic Order, already despairing of much permanent effect in the Levant, though its nominal headquarters remained at Acre till 1291, was invited to help, and terms were made between the grandmaster, Hermann of Salza, and the Poles, mainly represented by duke Conrad of Mazovia. The emperor Frederic II., the intimate friend and patron of Hermann, gave the fullest support in his power, bestowing on the Order the sovereignty of all such territories as they had acquired by gift or should win by conquest. A long, bloody, and desperate struggle of over fifty years brought about (by 1283) the complete submission of the Prussians, the partial extermination of the race, the enforced conversion of the remainder, and the German colonization of a great province which was to become one of the most Teutonic of lands, and to give name, by union with Brandenburg, to the chief German State of modern times, the creator and core of the present German Empire.

The opening of intercourse in 1245 between Western Europe and the new Mongol masters of Asia, through the embassies sent by Pope Innocent IV. to the Tatar courts, proved to be the beginning of an important and romantic chapter of mission history. Among the distant enterprises of the Christian Church, or the forgotten incidents of past intercourse between remote civilizations, there are few more interesting than the early Roman missions in Further and Central Asia, and in the border-lands of Eastern Europe. We have seen how, in the earlier Middle Ages, Nestorian missionaries carried the gospel to China, Turkestan, and the Indies. Almost to the close of the crusading period, their creed was practically the sole representative of the Nazarene faith in Asia, outside the narrow limits of the shrunken Byzantine Empire and the crusading principalities. But in the 13th cent. the Church of Rome began to be heard of in the depths of 'Tartary,' and between 1245 and 1255 the great overland travellers of the first generation, the Friars John de Plano Carpini, William de Rubruquis or Rubrouck, and Andrew of Longumeau, appeared in the Mongol courts, on the Volga, or in the Baikal or Balkhash basins. Yet their work was primarily that of diplomatists, of envoys from the pope or the king of France, in their capacity as Christian leaders; the missionary was not prominent in their work; Rubruquis alone, of this famous group, seems to have spent time or energy in doctrinal discussions or proselytizing efforts, and even he does not claim in any way to have founded a mission church in Asia or in Russia.

The Polos, again, who represented Roman Christendom among the Mongols from 1260 to 1295, and gave us our first good account of the Chinese and Indian worlds and of so much of Central Asia, cannot be considered active propagandists. Kublai Khān expressed a desire for official Christian instructors; but his wish remained unfulfilled. Marco Polo and his relatives were primarily merchants, adventurers, men of the world. No mission work can be credited to them.

But, while the Polos were still in China, the founder of the Latin churches both in Cathay and in India started on his way. Friar John de Monte Corvino, a Franciscan like Carpini and Rubruquis, and a man of untiring energy, courage, and patience, began his life-work in Asia about 1275, and in 1289 was sent by Pope Nicolas IV. with letters to the great men of the Tatar empire and of neighbouring lands—the supreme Khān in Cathay, the Īlkhān in Persia, the 'emperor of Ethiopia,' and others. Corvino reached Cathay in 1292 or 1293, apparently by the South Asiatic sea-route from Ormuz, making a long halt upon the way in the Madras region (or 'St. Thomas's country'). He achieved conspicuous success in the Far East; he was repeatedly reinforced from home; and his work led to the creation of a regular Roman hierarchy, with at least two bishoprics, in the 'Middle Kingdom.' He was even credited, by one tradition, with the conversion of a Mongol-Chinese emperor. To him is due not only the first planting of Western Christianity in China and in the Indies, but the earliest noteworthy Christian account of South Indian climate, people, manners, and customs, and some valuable evidence upon the overland and oversea routes which connected the Levant and the Far East, as well as upon the association of Western traders and Western missionaries in the European penetration of Asia.

Corvino seems to have made his way into Persia by much the same route—through Sīvās, Erzerum, and Kars—as merchants then took between the Gulf of Scanderoon and Tabrīz. At Tabrīz, however, he was joined by a 'great merchant and faithful Christian,' Peter of Lucolongo, and with this companion he turned aside from the continental main track and made his way south into India, with the view of there taking ship for Cathay (1291). Some time, however, was yet to elapse before the friar committed himself to the frail barks of the Indian seas—'flimsy and uncouth, without nails or iron of any sort, sewn together with twine like clothes, without caulking, having but one mast, one sail of matting, and some ropes of husk' (cf. *Münchner gelehrte Anzeigen*, xxii. [1855] 175).

In the sacred region of St. Thomas's shrine, near Madras, he remained eighteen months, and here died his comrade, Nicolas of Pistoia, 'on his way to the Court of the Lord of all India.' He was buried in the Church of St. Thomas, while Corvino transmitted to Europe (22nd Dec. 1292) a quaint and memorable sketch of the Deccan and its people from his own observation—one of the earliest pictures of Indian life drawn by a Roman Christian or Western European — which seems to have awakened the papacy to the possibilities of Hindu conversion. Meantime, while Friar John was writing, the Polos were off the Coromandel coast —on their return to Europe—and here Messer Marco Millione may have met the man who was to represent Christendom in the 'Middle Kingdom' during the next thirty years, as the Venetian merchants had done for the past thirty.

We next meet with Corvino in China itself—at the Imperial city. His second letter (of 8th Jan. 1305) is dated from Peking, or 'Cambalec,' and tells how for eleven years, from 1293, he had laboured in Cathay; how he had struggled against prejudice and calumny; how brilliant successes had followed dismal failures; and how, in 1304, he had at last been joined by a colleague, Friar Arnold of Cologne. Probably he landed at the great port of 'Zayton,' or Amoy, in Fo-kien; apparently he made his way immediately to Peking. In any case, he failed to convert the emperor, Tīmūr Oljāitū, son and successor of Kublai, and a great favourer of the Buddhist lamas—'nimis inveteratus in idolatria,' as Corvino puts it. But he was not long without a triumph. In his first year at Cambalec he won the Nestorian Prince George, 'of the family of the great King Prester John of India' (Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, vi. 69). George died in 1299, but before his death he found time to build a fine church for his new allegiance, 'called the Roman Church,' at a place twenty days' journey from Peking—perhaps at Tatung in Shan-si, just east of the great Ho-ang-ho elbow, where Friar Odoric seems also to fix 'the capital of Prester John' (*ib.* vi. 70). The 'Prester John' and Prince George here referred to are probably of the royal house of the Kerait Tatars, of the Baikal basin, apparently converted to Nestorian Christianity in the 11th century (cf. above, p. 707ᵃ). Nor was this all. Prince George's heir was named after the missionary; a translation of all the Roman service-books was ordered and begun; many Nestorians embraced Corvino's faith.

With the death of King George, however, the sky was again overcast; apostasy succeeded conversion; there was no more translation of the Latin ritual; and Corvino was left alone to endure the slanders of the Nestorians—a community 'professing the Christian name, but deviating from the Christian faith,' and now so powerful in Cathay that they would tolerate no Christian rivals (*ib.* vi. 69).

At last the prospect brightened; a leading enemy confessed; in 1303 the friar was at last permitted to live at court; in 1304 Brother Arnold joined him; with a little more aid the emperor himself, 'Imperator Cham,' might be gained. The writer was now old and grey, more with toil than with years, for he was but fifty-eight; yet he was now building a second church in Peking; New Testament and Psalms he had just done into the 'language most used among the Tatars.' For one thing he still yearned—news of Europe, of the Church, of his Order. Twelve years had passed in silence; and now a farrago of incredible blasphemies about the court of Rome, the Order of St. Francis, and other matters of the Western world had been spread abroad by a Lombard surgeon newly come to Cathay—'ante duos annos,' otherwise in 1302 or 1303. Brother John, therefore, on every account was anxious for fresh help; but, warned by his own troublous sea-voyage, he laid down the best route for subsequent travellers—by the Crimea, the Volga, and the Steppes. By this overland path, travelling along with the Imperial messengers, a man might get through to Peking in six months.

Corvino's third letter is also from Peking, and was written on Quinquagesima Sunday, 13th Feb. 1306. Its tone is hopeful; its record is one of steady progress. In 1305 a new church and adjoining mission buildings had been commenced in 'Cambalec'; the emperor honoured the friar above all other 'prelates' at his court; and, like Kublai, his great ancestor, he desired earnestly to see envoys from the see of Rome and the nations of Western Christendom. With such a soil to work upon, the writer joyfully anticipated the harvest that might reward the friars who had lately arrived in Persia and the Crimea.

In a postscript Corvino tells of yet another triumph. Some time previously, either during his stay in India or after his arrival in the Flowery Land, an embassy from Ethiopia had waited on him with entreaties to come over and help them, to visit their country himself, or to send good preachers there. Since the days of St. Matthew and his disciples, they declared, they had never seen a Christian teacher. It is with Nubian Christianity that tradition especially associated St. Matthew; the local Church, though long doomed, was not everywhere extinct; and the earlier 14th cent. saw more than one effort of the Roman see to win this difficult and dangerous country.

Corvino addressed these letters to the Brethren of the Franciscan and Dominican missions in Persia and the Steppe lands of Southern Russia. His appeal was not unheeded; and the authorities of the Church, fired with his own enthusiasm, took up the mission that he had begun with something of the spirit that he desired.

New conquests seemed now to open before the Church of Rome. Friar John was created archbishop of Cambalec (with exceptional powers) in the spring of 1307, and seven bishops (of whom three only persevered) were dispatched to consecrate and help the new primate of Cathay. In 1308 these three suffragans—Gerard, Peregrine, and Andrew—reached China, and carried out the consecration of Corvino. Each of them appears successively in the history of the mission as bishop of 'Zayton' in Fo-kien, where a powerful Latin mission was gradually established, and where some Genoese traders appear to have settled in the early years of the 14th century. A Franciscan tradition maintained that the emperor Khaishan Kuluk (1307–11), third of the Yuen, or Mongol, dynasty in China, and grandson of the great Kublai, was converted by Monte Corvino; and it may have been the news or legend of this success that led Clement V. in 1312 to send three more suffragans to the aid of Archbishop John; in any case, we find one of these later bishops, Peter of Florence, becoming head of a monastery in this harbour-town of 'Zayton.'

The remaining fragments of our knowledge of Corvino are soon told. In 1322 he appoints Andrew of Perugia, one of his first group of suffragans, to the see of 'Zayton'; in 1326 Andrew, writing home, refers to the Archbishop, without naming him; and about 1350 the Franciscan chronicler, John of Winterthur, makes a confused allusion to what is evidently Corvino's first Peking letter, supposed by the annalist to be the work of a nameless Franciscan of Lower Germany, possibly the very Arnold of Cologne who joined the mission in 1304. Lastly, in 1328, we hear of the death of that aged missionary who first carried Roman Christianity as an active faith to India and China, who perhaps converted the 'Emperor of Emperors,' and who was the first and last effective European bishop in the Peking of the Middle Ages.

The best days and brightest hopes of the Chinese mission really closed with the life of its founder; but the Church at home showed no consciousness of failing energy. A certain Brother Nicolas, apparently a Franciscan like Corvino, was nominated to succeed him, and, with twenty friars and six laymen, set out for Cathay. We are not sure, however, that he ever reached the Middle Kingdom. All that we do know of his journey is that he arrived at Almalig, the modern Kulja, now on the Central Asian frontier of China and Russia, that he received good treatment there, and that in 1338 Pope Benedict XII. wrote to the Chagatai Khān (June 13), thanking him for his kindness to Nicolas.

Meanwhile, a little earlier (in 1338), an embassy from the Great Khān then reigning—Tīmūr Ukhagatu—had appeared before Benedict XII.; and with this embassy letters had arrived from certain Christian princes of the Alan nation in the Khān's service, begging for a bishop and legate worthy to replace Corvino. In reply to these communications, four Franciscan envoys and a large company of less important representatives carried the papal briefs from Avignon, by way of Naples, Constantinople, Kaffa in the Crimea, and Almalig-Kulja, to Peking, which they reached in 1342. After four years in China they returned, like the Polos, by the southern waterway from Amoy to Ormuz, making a lengthy stay in Southern India, and finally re-appearing at Avignon in 1353. The historian of this embassy, John de Marignolli, draws a glowing picture of the prosperity of the Roman Catholic mission in the Far East; but of the mission history after this time we know almost nothing. Of one thing we may be certain: the Chinese national reaction which broke out in 1368 set the Ming dynasty upon the throne, and expelled the Mongol Yuen, put an end for centuries to Western Christianity and to European trade within the Middle Kingdom. When this calamity befell, it is said that the friars, flying across Asia from Peking to Sarai and the Volga, carried with them the relics of the Grand Khān converted by Corvino.

In Persian, Mesopotamian, Armenian, and Caucasian lands the religious explorations of the Western Church began about the middle of the 13th century. The Dominicans penetrated to Tiflis about 1240; in 1255 Rubruquis found several friar-preachers in Armenian towns, and tells us of their travels to Tabrīz as well as to Tiflis. Yet it was only with the Tatar conquest of Baghdād, and with the overthrow of the khalīfate, in 1258, that Roman Catholic influence assumed real importance in Persia. From this time to the early years of the 14th cent., Latin missions and Latin trade played an important part in the empire of the Īlkhāns; several of Hulagu's successors seem to have been 'almost persuaded' to accept some form of Nazarene faith; not till about 1304 did they definitely end their religious hesitation by embracing Islām. Even then, for more than half a century, Rome struggled bravely against the current; though her cause might be declining, she continued to maintain the airs of a conqueror—founding bishoprics, creating provinces, vaunting the submission of heretical patriarchs. In 1318 we hear of the inauguration of a complete Persian hierarchy, with a metropolitan at the Īlkhāns' capital of Sulṭāniyah (a little south of the Caspian), whose jurisdiction included not merely Persia, but also Central Asia, India, and 'Ethiopia.'

Yet after the death of Abū Sa'īd, the last true Īlkhān, in 1336, Roman proselytism seems to have completely lost touch of the governing classes among the Mongols of South-West Asia; in the age of Tīmūr (1380–1405) the Islāmizing of the latter was fairly complete. The Middle, like the Farther East, though less completely, shut its door on Christian enterprise before the age of Henry the Navigator.

The first trace of a Roman Catholic mission in India is the visit of Monte Corvino to the Madras region in 1291–92, an incident of deep significance in the history of mankind, not only as evidencing a fresh opening of intercourse between India and Europe, but also as bearing upon the Persian and Chinese enterprises of the Roman Church, and as representing the first joint effort of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, under papal direction, upon the remoter heathendom of Southern and Eastern Asia. The chief incident in this chapter of European enterprise is the foundation of a Roman mission in the Bombay region and in Malabar, and the establishment of a Roman bishopric near Cape Comorin a generation later (1321–30). In the *Letters* and *Marvels* of Bishop Jordanus, the first and apparently the only occupant of this see in the Middle Ages, in the *Recollections* of John de Marignolli, in the Travel Record of Friar Odoric, and in the official *Annals* of the Franciscan Order and of the Roman Church, we learn a little about this remarkable undertaking. Its history cannot be traced below the middle of the 14th cent. (*c.* 1349–50); but its leader's references to Latin intercourse with Nubia and Abyssinia, and plans for a European fleet upon the Indian Ocean —like his repetition of Indian prophecies of a coming European domination, and his personal conviction of the ease with which such domination could be established—are among the curious things of mediæval literature.

We have seen something of the vigour with which the Latin missions and Western commerce of this time fought to win and maintain a position in China, in India, and in Persia. During the same period (*c.* 1245–1370) the fates of Christianity and of Islām were decided in Higher Asia, and Latin missionaries and traders fought no less keenly, no less vainly, than in Cathay and Persia for the victory of their creed and commerce in Turkestan, in the Volga basin, and in the Crimea. But of the latter enterprises we have a slenderer record, and what we know of them is frequently incidental to the larger story of Roman Catholic proselytism in the Celestial empire or in Irān.

Before the great Tatar invasion of Eastern Europe, in 1237–43, Dominican missionaries had penetrated into the countries lying east of the Middle Volga, even if the expeditions of Carpini and Rubruquis in 1245–55 had not to any large extent the character of proselytizing ventures. It was apparently in the early part of the 14th cent., and especially under Uzbeg Khān (1321–40), that Rome exerted herself most strenuously for the winning of the North-Western Mongols, and that the mission stations at Astrakhan on the Lower, and at Kazan on the Upper, Volga, at Torki, and other places on the west shore of the Caspian, at Khiva, near the Lower Oxus, at Samarqand, and at Kulja in the Balkhash basin, by the Russo-Chinese frontier of to-day, came into being. Even more, perhaps, than in China or India, these Latin outposts, from the Caspian to the Kama, from the Caucasus to the Altai, represent the exploring spirit of the European at this time in its most daring form. For where could the enmity of nature and men be defied more recklessly? Where in all the known world could distance, barbarism, sterility, and fanaticism present a more formidable combination of obstacles?

Even as late as 1362 we find traces of Roman Catholic effort in Northern Tartary. But about this year the Latin missions in Central Asia may be supposed to have ended in a final storm of persecution; and before Tīmūr's death, in 1405, European missionary activity had really withered away in other Western Mongol lands.

In Europe the later 14th cent. witnessed the conversion of the last considerable people which still professed heathenism. The 'Litva,' or Lithuanians, whose central region is the Vilna country, had become an important power by conquest from the Russian nation, now lying, for the most part, helpless and crushed beneath the heel of the Mongol Tatars. Most of Western Russia had fallen into their hands (some valuable districts had become Polish), and the Lithuanian dukes aspired to a great position in the world. In 1382 the Polish throne was left to a woman, the daughter of Lewis 'the Great'; and Yagielo (or 'Jagellon'), the 'Litva' prince, hoped that by marriage with this heiress (in spite of her strong distaste for his person) he might become one of the chief European sovereigns. His hopes were realized; and a Roman Catholic Polish-Lithuanian State was thus founded by the marriage- and conversion-treaties of 1386. This State gradually became a Polish empire under one faith and one sovereign, with one (terribly defective) constitution and administration (1501; 1569). With Vitovt, or Vitold, the last great 'Litva' conqueror, ended the brief hope that Lithuanian conversion might after all turn to the profit of the Eastern Church.

For 'Prince Vitovt,' the Russian annalist laments, 'had previously been a Christian . . . but he renounced the Orthodox faith, and adopted the Polish, and perverted the holy churches to service hateful to God' (*Chronicle of Novgorod*, A.D. 1399).

In the 14th cent. we also hear of the progress of Russian missions, the pioneer or attendant of Russian colonization, in the most distant regions of North-Eastern Europe. About 1376 the monk Stephen, afterwards canonized as the apostle of Perm ('Stephan Permsky'), founded the earliest Christian church on the Upper Kama. It was a venture of some risk, for a former missionary in this country had been flayed by the natives, 'while they were yet but infants in the faith.' Before his death (in 1396), however, Stephen had confounded the heathen priests and sorcerers of the Kama, overthrown the idols of the *Voipel* and the 'Golden Old Woman,' stopped the sacrifice of reindeer, secured the triumph of Christianity, and founded Moscovite influence in a region from which, two centuries later, Moscow overthrew the Siberian Khānate. Under Stephen's successors, Andrew, Isaac, and Pitirim (1397–1445), the Russian Church took root in the Pechora country, just as it did on the White Sea during the same period, through the foundation of the most famous monastery of the Far North in the island of Solovki, or Solovetsky (1429). The Solovetsky monastery began with the hermitage of the monk Savvaty, or Savvatii, in 1429; after this, Zosima, with the sanction of Archbishop Jonas of Novgorod, joined in founding the community which became so celebrated. On the neighbouring mainland Christian enterprise appears much earlier: the St. Michael monastery, the germ of Archangel city, was established in the 12th cent. by Archbishop Ivan of Novgorod. In Lapland, again, religious enterprise accompanied political and commercial. Like Stephen in the Kama, and Isaac in the Pechora, Iliya of Novgorod and Theodorite of Solovetsky appear as apostles of faith and culture to Kola and the Lapps.

The Portuguese, in their great oversea expansion of the 15th cent., especially from 1445, undertook mission-work with enthusiasm, perseverance, and at least considerable temporary success. Even from the beginning of his enterprise (*c.* 1415) Prince Henry 'the Navigator' did not entirely forget the duty of proselytism, though at first more absorbed by the idea of Crusade. His biographers, even in his earlier years, emphasize his purpose of 'extending the Catholic religion,' of 'showing the natives the way of the holy faith,' of 'making increase in the faith of Christ.' The new slave-trade was used to help to create a native African Church. From 1445 a policy of friendly intercourse with the Negroes of the Sūdan and the Moors of the Sahara was adopted, as leading to conversion, as well as trade, in place of the raiding and kidnapping of earlier time. For the prince's purpose was 'to make Christians of them.' Professed missionaries were soon (before 1453) sent out to Negroland. But the history of this development, and most of the Portuguese success in the mission-field, belong to times after the close of the mediæval period.

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C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

MISSIONS (Christian, Roman Catholic).—When Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Redeemer of mankind, had fulfilled His divine mission in the world, had sealed it with His death, and endorsed it by His resurrection, He empowered His apostles, and through them His Church, to continue the same in His name and by His authority. That apostolate of salvation was to be catholic, or universal in space, doctrine, and time, to teach all nations all things at all times (Mt 28^{18-20}). Mindful of the Last Will and Testament of Christ, the Church has always looked upon missionary work as an essential and solemn obligation, and upon its progress as an unfailing gauge of her vitality. Since the day of Pentecost, when she received her baptism by the Holy Spirit, the Church has carried on the apostolate with more or less success in the midst of constant persecutions from within and from without, and in spite of unfavourable political conditions and anti-Christian legislation. The missionary character which she displayed in apostolic and sub-apostolic times equally manifested itself in the Celtic, Germanic, and Frankish missionaries, till the Benedictine missionaries SS. Gregory, Augustine, Wilfrid, Boniface, Ansgar, and Adalbert gave to the missionary movement its definite shape. When in subsequent ages new countries were discovered or opened up, the Orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic became important factors in the missions among the followers of Islām and the Mongols, in Morocco and Egypt, in Syria and Palestine, India and China. In 1252 a special missionary congregation was formed out of members of the two orders known as *Societas peregrinantium propter Christum*. A new impetus to the Roman Catholic apostolate was given when, in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, Spain and Portugal took the lead in exploration, conquest, and commerce in the East and the West. They gave freely of the wealth that they had won in their respective colonies to found missions, schools, and colleges for the propagation of the faith, and their fleets never set forth without having on board missionaries—Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, or Jesuits—destined for the peaceful conquest of souls. To avoid political troubles and to further the cause of Christianity, Pope Alexander VI. in 1496, by the famous line of demarcation, assigned the East to the Portuguese and the West to the Spaniards, and with a remarkable zeal they devoted their protection for nearly three centuries to the spread of the gospel, though this Protectorate had its serious disadvantages for a healthy development. Franciscan missionaries accompanied Columbus in 1493, and they were followed by others to the Antilles (1500), Mexico or New Spain (1519), Yucatan, Guatemala, and Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. In S. America the Franciscans had missions in Colombia and Venezuela, in Peru and Ecuador. At the request of the king of Spain Franciscans went to Chile and Bolivia, to the Indians in the Pampas of Argentine and in Gran Chaco, and in 1538 they landed in Southern Brazil. When in 1664 Narváez undertook an expedition into Florida, five Franciscans went with him, and from there they extended their work to New Biscaya, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California. French Franciscans were the first missionaries in Canada (1615) and Nova Scotia, while in Africa they continued their work in Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, and Abyssinia.

The Society of Jesus, founded by St. Ignatius Loyola (†1556) in 1534, placed itself from the very beginning at the disposal of the Church for missionary work. St. Francis Xavier inaugurated in 1542 the Roman Catholic apostolate in India, Ceylon, Malacca, and Japan. Under Francis Borgia (1565–72) Jesuit missionaries were sent to Florida, Mexico, Peru; under Acquaviva (1581–1615) to Canada, Chile, Paraguay, the Philippines, and China; under Vitelleschi (1615–40) to Tibet, Tongking, Maranhão, etc. What the suppression of the Society of Jesus (1773) meant for the Roman Catholic apostolate may be best realized by the fact that by one stroke of the pen the Church was deprived of 3300 Jesuit missionaries alone in that year.

Besides the Franciscans and Jesuits, other missionaries belonging to various religious orders were engaged in the mission field of the Roman Catholic Church, although not to so large an extent. Among these may be mentioned the Theatines (1524), Capuchins (1528), Barnabites (1533), Oratorians (1575), Carmelites (1565), Augustinians (1588), Lazarists (1624), the missionary seminaries of Rome (1608) and of St. Sulpice (1642), and, lastly, La Société des Missions Étrangères of Paris (1663). For the sake of unity and conformity all these various missionary organizations were finally centralized from Pope Gregory XIII. (1572–85) to Gregory XV. (1621–23). By the brief of 22nd June 1622 (*Inscrutabili*) the latter, with the help of the Carmelite Thomas a Jesu and the Capuchin Girolamo da Narni, instituted the Congregatio de propaganda fide, or Propaganda, whose sphere of jurisdiction has recently been circumscribed by Pius X. (29th June 1908). The Congregation consists of 25 cardinals with a cardinal-prefect, 4 secretaries, 10 minutanti, and some 50 consultors. Their chief work is to establish and circumscribe the boundaries of the missionary jurisdictions or districts, *i.e.* mission, prefecture, vicariate, diocese, etc., to entrust the particular field to the various missionary societies, to appoint the missionary superiors, etc.

Thus from the beginning of the 16th cent. the Roman Catholic Church carried on her apostolate throughout the world in N. and S. America, in Africa and the adjacent islands, in Asia, China, India, etc. On the other hand, the struggles and the storms which she had to endure in the 18th cent. from the tyrannical absolutism of European rulers, from the crippling tutelage of the State, from a false philosophy, the Encyclopædists (*q.v.*), and finally from the French Revolution and the subsequent suppression of almost all the religious orders and missionary societies, brought her apostolate to a temporary standstill, till it was revived between 1820 and 1830.

The 19th and so far the 20th centuries are witnesses of the unswerving fidelity of the Church to the command of Christ and a pledge of her vitality and energy in the mission field. Unsupported by emperors and kings as her protectors and promoters, nay, hampered in her efforts by Roman Catholic governments and anti-Christian legislation, she has carried on the work of reconstruction and reorganization, has recovered her ground, and, finally, has carried her propaganda into every corner of heathen lands. The ancient orders have taken up their work in the field, new missionary societies have been founded during the course of the century, training colleges have been established, and religious orders of women, formerly almost excluded from the missions, are now to be found everywhere, about 20,000 taking their share in the educational, charitable, and industrial work. To support the missionaries and the missions materially, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith (1822) and the Society of the Holy Childhood have done good work, while Popes Gregory XVI., Pius IX., Leo XIII., and Pius X., as well as the Roman Catholic hierarchy throughout the world, have given their support to promote the revival of missionary work among the heathen.

According to H. A. Krose (*Katholische Missionsstatistik*, Freiburg, 1908), the total result of missionary work on the part of the Roman Catholic Church in the 19th cent. amounted to 8,321,963 converts from paganism. This flock is attended by 12,305 missionary priests, of whom 5369 are natives, 4863 brothers, and 17,284 sisters, with 30,414 stations, 22,736 churches, 17,834 schools with 791,878 pupils. When we add the results of the Roman Catholic missions since the time of the Reformation, we have in the Roman Catholic mission field 30,000,000 native converts.

According to Karl Streit (*Katholischer Missionsatlas*, Leipzig, 1906) there were: 7933 European and 5837 native priests, 5270 brothers, 21,320 sisters, 24,524 catechists, 42,968 stations, 28,470 churches, 7,441,215 native members, 1,517,000 catechumens, 24,033 schools with 840,974 pupils, etc. The *Atlas Hierarchicus*, by the same author, published at Paderborn in 1913, does not give a summary of the apostolate.

The review of missionary societies and their respective missions given on the opposite page will help the reader to understand the position of the Roman Catholic missions in our own days.

I. *ASIA.*—As far as missionary work in its strictest sense is concerned, Asia may be divided into: (1) India Proper, or the British Empire of India with Ceylon, Burma, and Malay Peninsula, (2) the Chinese Empire, including Mongolia, Manchuria, and Tibet, (3) Indo-China, with Siam and Laos, and (4) the Japanese Empire, with Korea. The early history of missions in this continent has been outlined in the 'Early and Mediæval' section, above.

1. British India.—British India and Ceylon, with an area of 1,800,000 sq. miles and a population of some 300,000,000 souls, is one of the most important and probably one of the most difficult mission fields of the Roman Catholic Church owing to the babel-tongued tribes (120), the many non-Christian religions (Hindu, Brāhman, Buddhist, Muhammadan, pagan) and Christian denominations (40), and the prejudices of the highly developed caste system.

In 1498 Vasco de Gama landed in Calicut, the capital of Malabar, accompanied by the Trinitarian Pedro de Covilham, who in 1500 became the protomartyr of the missions in India. In the same year eight secular priests and eight Franciscans arrived with Pedro Alvarez Cabral, three of whom were put to death by the Muhammadans. Yet, in spite of persecution and death, the Franciscans, and after 1503 the Dominicans, went forth to India as the pioneer missionaries, to sow the seed of Christianity in Cochin (1503) and Goa (1510), and gradually extended their work to Bombay, Madras, Damão, Bengal, Agra, Ceylon, Mailapur, etc., under Fathers Antonio do Lazal (1530), do Porto, and Padrão. To establish the Church on a firm footing Pope Paul III. erected the bishopric of Goa (1534) with Bishop John of Albuquerque as its first occupant; the see was raised to an archbishopric by Paul IV. (1557) with three suffragans at Cochin (1557), Cranganore (1600; archbishopric 1605), and Mailapur (1606). Two Franciscans, James of Borbas and Vincent of Lagos, founded the college of St. Paul at Goa for the purpose of training a native clergy.

In 1541 the Jesuits entered the mission field of India and, at the request of John III. of Portugal, St. Francis Xavier, accompanied by Paul of Camerino and Francis Mansilhaes, set out to inaugurate a new period of missionary labours. From Goa he extended the faith to the Fishery Coast, Travancore (1544), Cochin, Quilon, and Ceylon. His Jesuit successors took up and carried on his work: de Nobili among the Brāhmans of Madura (1605–48), Tanjore, and Mysore (30–100,000 converts), Criminalis on the Fishery Coast (90–130,000 converts) (1602), de Britto among the Maravas (1693), Acquaviva at the court of Akbar the Great; Father Goes penetrated from India into China, and Andrada crossed the Himalayas and went to Tibet. They were followed by other members of the Society such as da Costa, Martinez, Laynez, Bouchet, Martin, Calmette, Cœurdoux, and Constantine Breschi (1700–40). Franciscans in Agra and Delhi, Capuchins in Madras (1642), Barnabites and Augustinians (Archbishop Menezes of Goa [1594–1610]) in Hyderabad and Bengal, Theatines and Oratorians (Father Vaz, apostle of Ceylon [† 1711]) shared with them in this new harvest of souls in India, whilst, after 1656, the Carmelites worked for the return of the Syrian Christians of Malabar to Roman Catholic unity.

With so many missionary labourers in the Indian mission field, hopes of a speedy conversion of India were entertained, and, no doubt, would have been realized to some extent, had Portugal remained faithful to the duties and sacred obligations that she had promised in connexion with the Padroado—the right of patronage—which the Holy See from Leo X. to Paul V. (1514–1616) had granted to her kings. When, however, the power and the influence of Portugal began to decline and the Dutch and the English took her field in the East, the supply of missionaries became limited, the missionaries themselves were put to death or expelled, the churches were destroyed, and the native Christians were cruelly persecuted. The Sultan Tippu Sahib of Mysore between 1782 and 1799 put 100,000 Christians to death, forced 40,000 into apostasy, and sold 30,000 as slaves to Muhammadan dealers. The dispute regarding concessions to Hindu usages or Malabar rites, commencing with de' Nobili in 1606 and ending in 1744 with the bull of Benedict XIV., *Omnium sollicitudinum*, greatly divided the missionaries to the disadvantage of their work, which suffered a heavy blow by the suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese dominions in 1755, in the French possessions in 1762, and throughout the world in 1773. There were at this time 150 Jesuits in Goa, 47 in Malabar, and 22 in Pondicherry. True, their places were partly filled by Capuchins, by the Missionary Seminary of Paris (1776), and by some native priests, who were ordained without a vocation or an adequate education. Thus the missions in India, which in 1700 numbered some 1,500,000 or even 2,500,000 Roman Catholics, were only ruins and wreckage (500,000 or even less) in 1800. The archbishopric of Goa, with its three suffragans of Cranganore, Cochin, and Mailapur, numbered 340,000 members with 400 priests, and outside the Goanese jurisdiction there were four missions—Agra, with 5000 converts under the care of 10 Capuchins, Pondicherry, with 42,000 and 6 priests, the Carmelite missions of Malabar, with 88,000 converts and 5 priests, and Ceylon, with 1 missionary and 20 native priests for 50,000 members. All this was due to the anti-Christian policy of Pombal and the neglected obligations of Portugal's right of the Padroado. The Holy See,

ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND MISSIONARY SOCIETIES, AND THEIR FIELDS OF WORK.

Name.	Abbreviation.	Founded.	Mission-fields (A.D. = Archdiocese, D. = Diocese, Prel. = Prelature, V. = Vicariate, P. = Prefecture, M. = Mission).
Augustinians (Hermits)	E.S. Aug.	1526	V. North Hu-nan, Cooktown; P. Amazonas.
" (Recollects)	"	1588	V. Casanare; P. Palawan; M. in Brazil.
Benedictines	O.S.B.	1529	Prel. Rio Branco; Abbeys of New Nurcia; Seoul; V. Dar-es-Salam; P. Katanga and North Transvaal; M. Drisdale River; Indians in U.S.A.
Capuchins	O.F.M. Cap.	1528	D. Candia, Agra, Allahabad, Lahore; A.D. Simla; V. Arabia, Caroline-Marianne, Erythrea, Gallas, Somali, Goajira, Guam, Seychelles, Sophia; P. Araucania, Bettiah, Southern Borneo, Caqueta, Upper Solimões, Miso Calanga, Belgian-Ubanghi, Rajputana, Sumatra; M. Mardin, Syria, Trebizond, Kephalonia, etc.
Carmelites (Discalced)	O. Carm.	1562	D. Quilon, Verapoly, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Armenia; M. Baghdād.
Dominicans	O. Pr.	1216	V. Amoy, Canelos y Macas, Curaçao, Fo-kien, Central-East and Northern Tongking; P. Shikoku, Urubamba; M. Mossul, Trinidad, E. Uuelle.
Franciscans	O.F.M.	1209	Palestine; V. Aleppo, S. and N. Shan-si, E. and N. Shantung, N. and Central Shen-si, S. Hu-nan, S.-W., N.-W., and E. Hu-peh, Egypt, Morocco, Zamora; P. Rhodes, Tripoli, Ucayali; Prel. Santarem; M. Mozambique.
Jesuits	S.J.	1534	D. Calcutta, Bombay, Galle, Madura, Mangalore, Poona, Trichinopoly, Trincomalee; V. Batavia, Kiang-nan, S.-E. Chih-li, Central Madagascar, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica; P. Alaska, Kwango, Zambesi; M. Albania, Syra, Tinos, Armenia, Adana, Syria, Philippines, Australia, U.S.A., Mexico, Cuba, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Argentine, Brazil, Japan.
Lazarists	C.M.	1625	D. Ispahan; V. Abyssinia, S., E., and N. Kiang-si, S. Madagascar, C., S.-W., N., E., and Maritime Chih-li, E. and W. Che-kiang; M. Macedonia, Constantinople, Syria, Palestine, Egypt.
Marists	S.M.	1816	V. Fiji, New Caledonia, New Hebrides, Central Oceania, Samoa, Solomon Islands.
Missionary Seminaries—			
Lyons	M.A.	1856	V. Benin, Dahomey, Gold Coast, Nile Delta, Ivory Coast, Liberia; P. E. and W. Nigeria, Korhoga; M. Negro Missions U.S.A.
Milan	S.M.	1850	D. Krishnagar, Hyderabad; V. E. Burma, S. and N. Ho-nan, Hongkong.
Mill Hill	S.M.H.	1866	A.D. Madras; V. Upper Nile; P. N. Borneo, Kashmir; M. Auckland, Congo, Philippines, Maori, Panjāb.
Paris	M.E.P.	1658	A.D. Tokio; D. Nagasaki, Osaka, Hakodate, Pondicherry, Mysore, Coimbatore, Kumbakonam, Malacca; V. Seoul, Taiku, N. and S. Manchuria, S., E., and W. Sze-ch'uen, Tibet, Kientchang, S., W., Upper, and Maritime Tongking, E., W., and N. Cochin China, Cambodia, Siam, Malacca, Laos, S. and N. Burma; P. Kwang-tung, Kwangsi, Kwei-chow, Yun-nan.
Parma	S.P.	—	W. Ho-nan.
Rome	S.S. Apostl. Petri et Pauli	1867	S. Shen-si, Lower California.
Scheutveld	C.i.c.M.	1865	V. E., C., and S.-W. Mongolia, N. Kansuh, Upper Congo; P. S. Kansuh, Upper Kassai; M. Kulja, Philippines.
Steyl	S.V.D.	1875	V. S. Shantung, Togo; P. Kaiser Wilhelmsland, Niigata; M. Philippines, Mozambique, Dutch India, Negro Missions U.S.A., and among Indians in S. America.
Turin (la Consolata)	M. Cŏnsol.	1901	V. Kenia; P. S. Kaffa.
Verona	F.Ss.C.	1867	V. Sūdān.
Missionary Societies—			
Congregation of the Holy Ghost	C.Sp.S.	1703 and 1842 United in 1848.	V. Bagamoyo, Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar, N. Madagascar, French Upper Congo, Gabun, Loango, Senegambia, Ubanghi, Sierra Leone; P. Lower Katanga, Upper Cimbebasia, Portuguese Congo, French Guinea, North Katanga, Nossi Be, Lower Niger, Senegal, Teffe; M. Bata, Lunda, Cunene, Réunion, Mauritius, Hayti, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Trinidad, Ubanghi-Chari, Landana.
Algerian Miss. or White Fathers	P.B.	1868	V. N. and S. Nyanza, Kivu, Unyamyembe, Tanganyika, Upper Congo, Nyassa, Bangweolo, Sahara; P. Ghardaia; M. Sūdān, Algiers, Jerusalem, Kabylia.
Picpus	C.Ss.CC.	1800	V. Hawaii, Tahiti, Marquesas; P. Kaiser Wilhelmsland.
Pallotinians	P.S.M.	1835	V. Cameroons; M. Kimberley, Australia, Brazil.
Oblates of Mary Immac	O.M.I.	1816	D. Jaffna; A.D. Colombo; V. Athabasca, Basuto, Keewatin, Mackenzie, Natal, Oranje, S. Transvaal, Kimberley; P. Lower Cimbebasia, Yukon.
Missionaries of the S. Heart	M.S.C.	1854	D. Port Victoria; V. New Pomerania, British New Guinea, Gilbert Islands, Marshall Islands; P. Dutch New Guinea; M. Philippines, Brazil.
Salesians of Don Bosco	C. Sal.	1846	V. Mendez-Gualaquiza, N. Patagonia; P. S. Patagonia.
Missionaries of Immac. Heart of Mary	C.M.F.	1849	V. Fernando Po; P. Choco.
Company of Mary a Montfort	S.M.M.	1705	V. Llanos de S. Martin, Shire; M. Hayti.
Priests of S. Heart of Jesus	S.Ss.C.	1877	V. Stanley Falls; M. Belgian Congo.

Salvatorians (S.D.S. 1881), P. Assam · Premonstratensians (O. Praem. 1120), P. W. Uuelle; Silvestrines (O. Silv. 1231), D. Kandy; Trappist Missionaries (R.M.M. 1909), Natal; Trinitarians (O.Ss.Tr. 1198), P. Benadir; Redemptorists (C.Ss. Redempt. 1732), V. Surinam (Dutch Guiana), Matadi; Passionists (C.P. 1735), Bulgaria; Assumptionists (A.A. 1845), Missions in the Orient; Salesians of Annecy, D. Nagpur; Oblates of St. Francis of Sales, Great Namaqualand, Orange River.

recognizing the inadequacy and the unwillingness of Portugal, began to provide for the neglected field of India. Hitherto only missionaries of Portuguese origin had been admitted, and this by way of Lisbon and Goa. For years Portugal left the bishoprics vacant and in 1827 withdrew all material subvention. The misery was too evident, and Gregory XVI. took matters into his own hands without consulting the interests of Portugal. India was opened to all Roman Catholic missionaries irrespective of nationality or religious orders. In 1837 the French Jesuits entered Madura, and they were followed by the Germans (Bombay and Poona 1854, 1857), the Belgians (Calcutta 1859, Galle 1895), and the Italians (Mangalore 1878). The Missionaries of Paris took up their work in Malacca (1840) and Burma (1857), those of Milan in Krishnagar (1855), Hyderabad (1863), and E. Burma (1866), the Oblates in Jaffna (1847) and Colombo (1883), etc. In 1832 the Propaganda asked Portugal either to fill the vacant sees or to renounce the Padroado. As no answer arrived for two years, Gregory XVI. began to institute vicars-apostolic in Bengal and Madras (1834), in Ceylon and Pondicherry (1836), etc. But new trials and difficulties commenced. The Portuguese Government protested against sending missionaries into India and against the establishment of new vicariates without the consent and the co-operation of the kings of Portugal, and the patriarch of Goa placed himself at the head of a schism in India—the Goanese schism—which was maintained under the patriarchs of Goa, Joseph de Silva y Torres and Joseph de Matta. Pius IX. tried in 1857 to come to a settlement, but this was accomplished only by Leo XIII. on 23rd June 1886. A million and a half of native Christians were again under the allegiance of the Holy See when on 1st Sept. 1886 Leo XIII. established the hierarchy in India—8 archbishoprics: Goa, Verapoly, Colombo, Pondicherry, Madras, Calcutta, Agra, and Bombay, to which Simla was added in 1910, the patriarch of Goa holding the dignity of primate, and twenty-five dioceses, etc. For the furthering of the mission work Leo XIII. also established a papal delegation for India in 1884, which since then has been administered by the titular archbishops Agliardi (1884–87), Ajuti (1887–92), and Zaleski.

The first thirty years of the Indian missions after the reorganization under Gregory XVI. was a period of reconstruction in gathering together and strengthening in the faith the remnants of the old Roman Catholic congregations. With the decline of the Goanese schism and establishment of the hierarchy a steady flow of conversions began, and since then remarkable progress has been made, more conspicuously among the Tamil races in S. India and Ceylon, less so in the Aryan lands of the north. In 1887 the numbers of Roman Catholics in India were:

India	989,381	1,224,427
Ceylon	207,692	
Three vicariates of Burma	27,354	

According to the Census of 1911 (including Burma):

Native Roman Catholics of the Latin Rite	1,394,000
Native Roman Catholics of the Syrian Rite	413,142
Eurasian and European Roman Catholics	97,144
Total	1,904,286
Ceylon (native Roman Catholics)	322,163
Total for India and Ceylon	2,226,449

To complete the survey of the Roman Catholic missions in British India, we subjoin the general statistics taken from the *Atlas Hierarchicus* (1913): the hierarchy consists of 9 archbishoprics, 22 dioceses, 3 vicariates, and 4 prefectures, with 1268 foreign and 1230 native priests, 638 brothers, 3592 sisters, 2776 catechists, 4920 native teachers, 2,215,682 Catholics, 1108 principal and 7208 secondary stations, 5891 churches, 27 theological seminaries with 1121 students of theology, 2843 elementary schools with 163,696 pupils, 519 higher schools with 32,616 boys and 15,273 girls, 290 orphanages with 14,706 orphans, 48 hospitals, 175 dispensaries, 18 printing presses, etc.

2. China.—The revival of Roman Catholic missionary activity in China after the close of the mediæval period dates from the time when the Jesuit Father Ricci was allowed to settle there (1583). Science was to pave the way for religion and missionary work. In 1600 Ricci went to Peking and with the help of his Jesuit brethren started missions at Canton, Nanking, and Kian-si, receiving converts from the highest to the lowest classes of the population, till his death in 1610. The persecution which broke out in 1617 was brought to a speedy end by the invasion of the Manchu Tatars. In 1628 the Jesuit Adam Schall arrived in Peking, gained great influence by his learning, and turned it to the advantage of religion. In the meantime the Dominicans, who in 1625 had established themselves on the island of Formosa, had also opened missions in Fu-kien. One of these Dominican missionaries, the native priest Gregory Lopez, or A-Lo, known as the Chinese Bishop, the first and the only Chinaman who has been raised to the episcopate, rendered the greatest services to the Roman Catholic Church in his native land (1654).

At the request of Bishop Pallu, Clement X. divided China, which had hitherto been under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Macao, into two vicariates and entrusted the northern part to Gregory Lopez, consecrated bishop at Canton in 1685.

About this time the emperor K'ang-hi, a pupil of Father Schall, repealed all the edicts against the Christians, and the missionaries who had been imprisoned were released and resumed their work. Like Fathers Ricci and Schall, Father Verbiest, another learned Jesuit, who arrived in China in 1660, became the favourite of the Mandarins, and K'ang-hi appointed him president of the faculty of mathematics and gave the missionaries permission to preach the gospel throughout China.

Through the influence of Verbiest and his learned successors Christianity made great progress within a century, and when he died the Roman Catholic Church was in a flourishing condition, honoured at Court, professed by the highest mandarins, and numbering about 300,000 members. Since, however, the Roman Catholic religion was not officially recognized, and the natives were forbidden by law to embrace the faith, the local mandarins put many obstacles in the way and caused many a local persecution, till Father Gerbillon, in 1692, obtained an edict from the emperor giving full liberty to all his subjects to embrace and practise the Roman Catholic religion.

But, whilst the Church was enjoying peace from without, she was sadly disturbed from within by a controversy about the Chinese rites, *i.e.* the lawfulness of taking part in the Chinese ceremonies in honour of Confucius and of using the word *Tien* ('heaven') to express the idea of God, and whether the prostrations and sacrifices in honour of Confucius and of the ancestors were merely civil ceremonies or connected with idolatry and superstition. Instead of preaching the gospel, converting the infidels, and applying their abilities to other clamant duties, missionaries of the first class wasted their talents, time, and work in useless and fruitless discussions, for Jesuits and Dominicans were divided in their opinions. Father Ricci, as well as the Chinese bishop, Gregory Lopez, and most of the Jesuit missionaries, considered the Chinese rites as merely civil ceremonies, while the Dominicans strongly objected to this view. In 1693, however, the controversy became acute by the action of Bishop Maigrot, vicar-apostolic of Fu-kien, who condemned the rites and threatened with interdict all the missionaries who refused to conform to his command. To settle the dispute, a papal legate was sent to China in 1705, who, owing to lack of tact, only offended the emperor.

In 1706 K'ang-hi made all the priests in China promise that they would teach nothing contrary to the received usages in China, and in the following year issued an edict threatening death to all who should preach against the rites. Alarmed lest the Government should be provoked to harsher measures, the Jesuits appealed to Rome, asking for instructions. A new papal legate arrived in China in 1721 with letters to K'ang-hi, assuring him that the Holy See would ask nothing more than that the Christians should be allowed to pay their respects to the dead in a manner not prejudicial to their religion. In spite of this decision the controversy continued till 1742, when Benedict XIV. condemned the rites and forbade the Christians to take part in them. After peace was restored, Jesuits and Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians, priests of the Society for Foreign Missions of Paris and Lazarists worked hand in hand for the evangelization of China. Some shed their blood, while others, such as Gerbillon, Bouvet, and Parenin, became the scientific advisers to the Court or wrote learned books and treatises or published works of piety for their converts. The emperor K'ang-hi, during his long reign of sixty years, treated the Christians with justice, revoked all the edicts against them, raised them to the highest offices in the empire, and made the ministers of the Christian religion his companions, friends, and advisers. He died in 1721 without embracing Christianity, although he desired to be baptized in his last illness.

After the death of K'ang-hi, a reaction took place. His son and successor, Yung-chin (1722–35), drove the missionaries from the Court, and ordered them to leave the country, with the exception of Father Parenin and three of his colleagues. A general edict of persecution was issued in 1724, the missionaries were seized and banished, and 300 churches were destroyed or turned into pagan temples, while 37 Manchu princes who had become Christians, with 300 of their servants, were sent into exile (1724). The accession of K'ien-lung (1735) to the throne of China mitigated for a time the severity of the anti-Christian laws, but in 1745 a new persecution broke out in Fu-kien, where, in the following year, Bishop Sanz and four Dominicans were tortured and beheaded, and soon the flame spread to other provinces. All the hatred was turned against the priests, who were obliged to seek refuge in flight.

Scarcely had the Church recovered from her trials when a new misfortune overtook her. The Jesuits, who from 1583 to 1773 had worked in China as elsewhere, were suppressed. At the request of the Propaganda, the Lazarists took charge of the Jesuit missions in China—*i.e.* four large churches in Peking and the missions in 13 out of 18 provinces—in 1783. For many years, however, the Lazarists were unable to send a sufficient number of missionaries to continue the work of the Jesuits; seven missionaries seem to be all that were sent from 1773 to 1793. Finally the French Revolution cut off the supply of missionaries from France, and for over thirty years the Lazarists were unable to send a single priest to China. The Roman Catholic Church in China, which in the reign of the emperor K'ang-hi is said to have numbered 800,000 members, was reduced at the beginning of the 19th cent. to 220,000, divided among the Lazarists at Peking and Nanking, the Franciscans in Shan-si, the Dominicans in Fu-kien, the Missionaries of Paris in Sze-ch'uen, and the Portuguese secular priests at Macao and Canton.

Yet, in spite of bloodshed and persecution, of cruel edicts issued by the emperors, and the anti-Christian hatred of provincial and local mandarins, and notwithstanding anti-foreign policy fostered by the literati and carried into effect by members of secret societies, the Taiping and Boxers, the Roman Catholic Church has made good progress during the course of the 19th and specially since the beginning of the 20th century. The Franciscans and Dominicans, the Jesuits and Augustinians, the Lazarists and the Missionaries of Paris who had been in the Chinese missions for the last two centuries, have strengthened their ranks and extended their work, while new missionary societies founded in the 19th cent., such as the Scheutveld and the Steyl missionaries, and the missionary seminaries of Milan, Rome, and Parma, have opened up new fields, and all the European missionaries engaged in China have strengthened their ranks with a large number of native priests.

True, the opening of the 19th cent. did not promise a bright future, for Kia-k'ing (1795–1820) proved to be one of the greatest persecutors, having revived the old anti-Christian laws. Bishop Dufresse was beheaded in 1825, Father Clet in 1820, and Father Perboyre in 1840. But China was shaken to her very foundations when in 1842 Britain declared war on her and compelled her to open certain ports, while France demanded religious liberty for the Roman Catholic missionaries in 1844. The Chinese Government acceded, and in 1844–45 two edicts were issued by which Christianity received legal recognition in the empire, and in 1846 a third ordered the restoration to Roman Catholics of all the churches which they had lost since the reign of the emperor K'ang-hi. The eighty missionaries who at this period were at work in China were strengthened in 1841 by the arrival of the first missionaries of the Society of Jesus, who were once more entrusted with one of their former fields of labour, the vicariate of Kiang-nan.

Though religious liberty was granted by the edicts of 1844, 1845, and 1846, they remained a dead letter in many of the provinces in the interior. In 1851 the emperor Hien-fêng revoked them, and renewed those against the Christians. The murder of Father Chapdelaine (1856) brought matters to a crisis. France joined Britain in a war against China, and the result was the Treaty of Tientsin (1858) and the Convention of Peking (1860); the churches were restored as well as the religious and charitable institutions, the missionaries obtained free passports throughout the empire, the faithful were guaranteed unrestricted exercise of their religion, and all the edicts against the Christians were abrogated. Yet the Christians were not safeguarded from local persecutions, which broke out in Kiang-si, Kwang-tung, Sze-ch'uan, Hu-nan, and finally in Tientsin in 1870. After the accession of Kwang-su in 1875 the Roman Catholic Church enjoyed a long period of peace, and, though the empress Tsz'e Hsi was not favourable to Christianity, yet she did nothing against its progress and development. In 1895 and 1899 the French minister in Peking obtained new concessions for the Christians, among them the privilege that the Roman Catholic missionaries were put on an equality with the Chinese local authorities—a privilege which was cancelled a few years later.

The political plunders of Europe in China, by taking Kiaochow (Germany, 1897), Talienwan (Russia, 1898), Wei-hai-wei (Britain, 1898), and Kwang-chou-wan (France, 1898), resulted in the Boxer riots, which brought sad days for the missions. Bishops, priests, and sisters lost their lives; churches, schools, and hospitals were levelled to the ground; and native Christians were slaughtered. Peace was restored only when a strong international army entered Peking on 14th Aug. 1900 and ten foreign Powers dictated their terms in the Chinese Capital on 7th Sept. 1901. A movement towards the Roman Catholic Church then began, a great number of Chinese entering the list of the catechumens, and it has steadily advanced since the Boxer rising. The overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in China and the proclamation of a Chinese republic have not interfered with missionary work. Yuan-Shi-Kai, the first president of the new republic, promised absolute religious liberty, mandarins and governors eulogized the tact of the Roman Catholic missionaries, and Christian and non-Christian sects look up with admiration to the spiritual power of the Church whose missionaries are living examples of the poverty, zeal, and heroism of apostolic times.

During the flourishing period of the Roman Catholic Church in China, from 1583 to 1773, the hierarchy was not developed, though the Propaganda had resolved in 1651 to appoint a patriarch, two or three archbishops, and twelve bishops. In 1577 Gregory XIII. created the diocese of Macao for China and Japan, which was divided into two, viz. Macao and Funay (Japan) in 1587. In 1659 Alexander VII. erected within the diocese of Macao two vicariates for China, and to satisfy Portugal Alexander VIII. created the dioceses of Peking and Nanking under the jurisdiction of Goa, to which were added three vicariates, viz. Shan-si, Fu-kien, and Sze-ch'uan. In 1800 there were in China five missionary districts divided between the Franciscans (Shan-si), the Dominicans (Fu-kien), the Missionary Society of Paris (Sze-ch'uan), the Lazarists (Peking, Nanking, Hu-nan, Hu-peh, Kiang-si), and the secular priests (Macao) with 200,000 members. Fifty years later the number had increased to 18 districts with 330,000 members, in 1890 to 40 ecclesiastical jurisdictions with 601,000 members; in 1905 we find 43 vicariates with 931,000 members, and in 1911-12, 48 vicariates and prefectures with 1,345,376 members (1913=1,431,000; 1914=1,605,107) and 496,912 catechumens.

According to the *Atlas Hierarchicus*, we find for China and her dependencies, Mongolia and Manchuria, the following statistics: 49 missionary dioceses or vicariates and prefectures, 1365 European and 721 native priests, 247 European and 86 native brothers, 743 European and 1429 native sisters, 4327 male and 2752 female catechists, 7191 native teachers, 1,406,659 native Christians and 613,002 catechumens, 1442 principal and 13,806 secondary stations, 9214 churches and chapels, 54 theological seminaries with 1638 students, 6974 elementary schools with 129,320 (?) pupils, 157 higher schools with 4439 (?) boys and 906 (?) girls, 392 orphanages with 29,198 inmates, 97 hospitals, 427 dispensaries, and 21 printing presses.

3. Indo-China.—Indo-China, the bridge between India and China, the most easterly of the three peninsulas of S. Asia, is politically divided into Upper and Lower Burma (British), the Malay Peninsula (British and Siamese), Siam (independent), French Indo-China, which consists of Cochin China, Annam and Tongking, Cambodia and Laos, covering a total area of some 735,000 sq. miles with a population of 35,000,000 or 40,000,000 souls. As Burma and the Malay Peninsula are—ecclesiastically—included in British India, we have to deal here only with French Indo-China, Cambodia, Laos, and Siam.

The area of French Indo-China has been estimated at 262,000 or 309,000 sq. miles with a population of 16,000,000 or 21,000,000 inhabitants. The first attempts to preach the gospel in French Indo-China were made in the 16th cent. by a French Franciscan, Bonfer (1554), and two Portuguese Dominicans, Gaspard of the Cross, who penetrated into Cambodia, and Sebastian de Cantu; both were put to death in Siam in 1569. These were followed by Lopez Cordoso, Sylvester Azevedo, and John Madeira, who preached in Siam and Cambodia, while Louis Fonseca and Diego Advarte (martyred in 1600) went to Cochin China in 1596. These early missionaries, however, had little success. When the Jesuits engaged in the missions of Japan were expelled in 1614, they made their way to Indo-China; such were Francis Buzoni, Diego Carvalho, and Francis del Pina, who in 1615 entered Cochin-China and Cambodia in 1617, and they were followed by Alexander of Rhodes, the pioneer missionary of Indo-China, in 1624. From Cochin-China Father Julian Baldinoti extended the work to Tongking in 1626. In a short period of time the Church made such rapid progress that, in spite of repeated persecutions, the number of Christians amounted to 108,000 in 1641, while Father Tissanier on his arrival in 1658 found 300,000 converts under the charge of only 6 Jesuit priests and 30 lay catechists. To plead the cause of the Church in Indo-China and the insufficient number of workers, Father Rhodes returned to Europe to appeal for help. In the meantime persecutions raged against the native Christians in 1644, 1645, and 1647; but, on the other hand, a new missionary society was founded in Paris (Les Missions Étrangères), whose members were to become the instruments for a rich harvest in the East. Among the first missionaries of the Society of Paris we find Fathers Chevreuil, Haingues, Brindeau, Mahot, and Vachet. To strengthen the work Pope Alexander VII. appointed in 1659 two members—the actual founders of Les Missions Étrangères—viz. Francis Pallu and Pierre de la Motte Lambert, as vicars-apostolic of Tongking and Cochin China. Under their administration parishes were established, schools and seminaries were opened for the training of a native clergy, and de la Motte founded a congregation of native sisters called 'Les Amantes de la Croix.' A persecution which broke out in 1664, during which the Jesuits were temporarily expelled till 1669, greatly reduced the number of native Christians, partly by martyrdom, partly by apostasy, so that on the arrival of the Missionaries of Paris there were only 100,000 Christians left, but this number was increased to 200,000 in 1681. To strengthen the position of the missionaries Pallu in 1672 urged Colbert, the French minister, to establish commercial relations between France and Indo-China, and persuaded Louis XIV. to use his influence on King Le-hi-tong to allow the freedom of Christian worship. In 1678 the vicariate of Tongking was divided into Eastern and Western Tongking; the former, since then divided into Northern and Central, was entrusted to Spanish Dominicans, and the latter to the 'Missions Étrangères' of Paris.

The rapidly growing religious influence exercised by both bishops and priests led to renewed persecutions, which have scarcely been interrupted till our own day. Yet in 1737 we find there 250,000 Christians, *i.e.* 120,000 under the care of the Jesuits, 80,000 under the Missionaries of Paris, 30,000 under the Augustinians, who in 1676 had entered the field, and 20,000 under the Dominicans. This number was not only maintained but increased in spite of civil wars and uninterrupted persecutions during the 18th cent., and notwithstanding the suppression of the Society of Jesus and the consequent decrease of European missionaries. In 1800 we find the following table of statistics:

Cochin China: 1 vicar-apostolic, 5 missionary and 15 native priests, 50,000 native Christians (Missionaries of Paris).
Tongking W.: 1 vicar-apostolic, 6 missionary and 63 native priests, 120,000 native Christians (Missionaries of Paris).
Tongking E.: 1 vicar-apostolic, 4 missionary and 41 native priests, 140,000 native Christians (Dominicans).

3 bishops, 15 missionary and 119 native priests, 310,000 Christians.

In the meantime a political movement had taken place in Indo-China which at first seemed very favourable to the spread of Christianity, but which in reality became the cause of serious hindrances, obstacles, and persecutions. During the civil war which commenced in 1777, Nguyen-anh, the ruler of Cochin China, implored the help of the European

Powers against the rebellious Tai-Shans. Britain, Holland, and Portugal willingly offered their help, but Pierre-Joseph Pigneaux de Béhaine, since 1771 vicar-apostolic of Cochin China, offered to enlist the help of France, and Nguyen-anh accepted the proposal. Accompanied by Prince Canh, the king's son, Pigneaux set out for France, and, as plenipotentiary of the Annamese king, signed a convention on 28th Nov. 1787, according to which France was to assist Nguyen-anh to recover his throne. But to his dismay the bishop, on his return to the East, found that France had abandoned the project, and, therefore, he persuaded 20 officers and 500 men of Pondicherry to come to the rescue of the king, who defeated his enemies and in 1802 proclaimed himself as emperor of Indo-China and Annam under the name of Gialong.

Owing to this success Gialong was favourable to Christianity, which made splendid progress throughout the Annamese empire. This period of peace (1802–20), however, was only a preparation for future trials. In 1819 the Christian community included 4 bishops, 25 European and 180 native priests, 1000 catechists, and 1500 sisters. Gialong was succeeded by his son, Minh-mang (1821–41), a cruel and profligate tyrant and a bitter enemy of Christianity and foreigners. He dismissed his father's trusted friends, summoned all the missionaries to appear at court, and resolved to obliterate the very name of Christianity within his realm. Though his object was defeated for a time, he issued a new edict in Jan. 1833, ordering all Christians to renounce their faith, to trample the crucifix under foot, to raze all churches and religious houses to the ground, and to punish all the missionaries with the utmost rigour. Hundreds of Christians, 20 native and 9 European priests, and 4 bishops fell as victims to this tyrant—Fathers Gagalin (1833), Marchand (1835), Cornay (1837), de la Motte (1840), Mgr. Borie (1838), and Mgr. Delgado (1838), 84 years old. The persecution abated under Minh-mang's successor, Thieu-tri (1841–47), who did not possess the energy of his predecessor, and was afraid of Britain's successes in China and of a threatened interference of France. Instead of being annihilated, the Church's missionaries and converts increased year after year in spite of all the edicts and tortures of Minh-mang. In 1840 we find:

Cochin China: 1 vicar-apostolic, 1 coadjutor, 10 missionary and 27 native priests, 80,000 Roman Catholics.
Tongking W.: 1 vicar-apostolic, 8 missionary and 76 native priests, 180,000 Roman Catholics.
Tongking E.: 1 vicar-apostolic, 1 coadjutor, 6 missionary and 41 native priests, 160,000 Roman Catholics.

3 bishops, 2 coadjutors, 24 missionary and 144 native priests, 420,000 Roman Catholics.

To facilitate the work of the missions in the Annamese empire, Gregory XVI. in 1844 divided Cochin China into two vicariates, Eastern and Western, and W. Tongking into Western and Southern in 1848, while in 1850 Cambodia and N. Cochin China were also raised to vicariates.

Though King Thieu-tri did not shed the blood of the priests, yet they did not escape imprisonment; such were Fathers Gali, Berneux, Charrier, Miche, and Duclos, who were set free by Captain Levêque of the *Héroine* in 1843. This and similar interferences by the French in 1847 and 1856 provoked the resentment of King Tu-duc (1847–83), whose reign of 36 years is one uninterrupted period of persecution of the bishops, priests, and Christians. In 1848 he issued an edict setting a price on the heads of the missionaries, and in 1851 he ordered the European priests to be cast into the sea and the native priests to be cut in two; Fathers Schäffler (1851), Bonnard, and Minh (1852) were martyred. In 1855 a universal proscription of Christians followed, and in 1857 Bishop Pellerin, vicar-apostolic of N. Cochin China, appealed to Napoleon III. to intervene. In August 1858 France and Spain, roused by the slaughter of their countrymen, took joint action, and seized Touran (1858) and Saigon (1859). The persecution meanwhile raged with unabated vigour. Bishops Diaz, Hermosilla, Garcia, Cuenot, etc.—altogether 5 bishops, 28 Dominicans, 3 Missionaries of Paris, 116 native priests, over 100 native sisters, and 5000 Christians—were put to death, 100 towns, all centres of Christian communities, were razed to the ground, 40,000 Christians died of ill-treatment, and all the possessions of the remainder were confiscated. Peace was restored in 1862, when Annam ceded to France the southern provinces of Cochin China and guaranteed freedom of religious worship. That peace, however, did not last long; it was broken by the interference of the French freebooters Dupuis, Dupré-Garnier, and Philastre, and Mgr. Puginier, vicar-apostolic of W. Tongking, became involved to the detriment of the missions. A new treaty was signed between France and Annam on 15th March 1874, which again guaranteed religious freedom and the safety of the missionaries, and from 1874 to 1882 the Christians enjoyed a period of relative peace, till the Annamese mandarins disregarded the treaty and compelled France to interfere. Hue was captured on 25th Aug. 1883, the Annamese were defeated, and on the same day the new treaty was signed, and on its ratification, 23rd Feb. 1886, Annam became a French protectorate. Yet, before this was accomplished, the Christians, who were considered as friends of France and enemies of Annam, had to suffer severely. At the close of the year 1886 Tongking, Cochin China, and Laos had to mourn the loss of 20 European and 30 native priests, and 50,000 Christians; E. Cochin-China alone lost 8 European and 7 native priests, 60 catechists, 270 sisters, 24,000 Christians, 17 orphanages, 10 convents, and 225 chapels, etc. Yet the blood of the martyrs has been here as elsewhere the seed of Christianity, and surely during the 28 years of peace the Roman Catholic Church has made marvellous progress in Indo-China, and has never been in so flourishing a condition as she is to-day. Of this the statistics given below are ample proof.

Siam.—The first Roman Catholic missionary who entered Siam was the French Franciscan, Bonfer, who preached the gospel there from 1550 to 1554, but without result. He was succeeded by two Dominicans, Jerome of the Cross and Sebastian de Cantu, who converted some 1500 Siamese from 1554 to 1569, when they were put to death. The Dominicans were replaced by Jesuits in 1606 and 1624, and in consequence of a persecution the field was abandoned till 1662, when Alexander VII. made it a vicariate and in 1669 entrusted it to the Missionary Society of Paris with Mgr. Laneau as its first bishop. The Siamese king, Phra Narai, in 1687 signed the treaty of Louvo with Louis XIV. of France, by which the Roman Catholic missionaries obtained permission to preach the gospel throughout Siam. This was done till 1727, when a serious persecution broke out which lasted without interruption for the rest of the century. After the Burmese inroads and wars were over, the 12,000 Siamese Christians were reduced to 1000 with Bishop Florent and 7 native priests in charge. In 1826 and 1830 fresh European missionaries arrived, among them Fathers Bouchot, Barbe, Pallegoix, and Courvezy. In 1834 Courvezy was appointed bishop, and under his administration Siam had 6590 Roman Catholics with 11 European and 7 native priests. His successor, Bishop Pallegoix (1840–62), the best Siamese scholar and the most successful missionary among the Laos, induced Napoleon III. to renew the French alliance with

STATISTICS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN INDO-CHINA AND SIAM.

Missionary Districts.	Missionary Societies.	Priests.		Brothers.	Sisters.		Catechists.	Seminarists.	Native Roman Catholics.	Catechumens.	Principal Stations.	Out-stations.	Churches.	Elementary Schools.	Pupils.	High Schools.	Pupils.	Orphanages.	Orphans.	Hospitals.
		Foreign.	Native.		Foreign.	Native.														
N. Tongking, 1883 . . .	Dominicans	19	25	—	10	45	80	53	33,474	126	25	218	190	—	—	—	—	16	356	2
E. Tongking, 1848 . . .	,,	14	45	5	10	96	137	115	63,398	435	25	330	296	—	—	2	150	6	400	4
Central Tongking, 1848 . . .	,,	19	100	—	7	431	310	181	240,947	430	45	593	638	—	—	—	—	5	400	4
Upper Tongking, 1895 . . .	Sem. of Paris	27	20	—	6	42	103	58	25,239	449	32	138	137	169	2,526	—	—	4	127	8
W. Tongking, 1678 . . .	,,	45	102	16	52	349	422	275	141,216	946	47	809	523	663	19,837	2	650	10	2016	7
Maritime Tongking, 1901 . .	,,	38	67	—	12	140	198	164	98,000	1,012	31	369	364	626	16,008	—	—	13	2008	—
S. Tongking, 1846 . . .	,,	35	88	—	—	162	290	277	142,404	677	78	486	408	182	4,892	—	—	6	205	12
N. Cochin China, 1850 . . .	,,	43	62	14	11	573	47	113	58,895	1,930	60	261	235	68	2,318	3	300	3	185,	2
E. Cochin China, 1659 . . .	,,	65	42	—	4	271	89	166	61,047	2,000	32	503	490	57	735	—	—	25	581	1
W Cochin China, 1844 . . .	,,	57	79	31	70	648	80	125	70,467	1,457	85	170	235	168	9,514	2	575	12	713	13
Cambodia, 1850	,,	48	41	4	42	202	74	157	45,920	1,500	38	117	170	129	6,634	1	90	8	701	9
Laos, 1899	,,	32	4	—	8	14	62	4	12,509	149	23	56	64	53	1,414	—	—	19	195	7
Total .	. . .	442	675	70	232	2,973	1,892	1,688	993,516	11,105	521	4,050	3,750	2,115	63,878	10	1,765	127	7,887	69
Siam, 1662	Sem. of Paris	45	21	18	35	87	21	44	24,025	296	23	33	56	76	3,740	4	858	17	523	7

King Mongkut of Siam (1856). Thanks to the broadmindedness of Mongkut (1851–68) and Chulalongkorn (1868–1910), the Roman Catholic missions in Siam enjoyed peace under Pallegoix's successors, Bishops Dupont (1862–72) and Vey (1875–1909). In 1875 there were in Siam 11,000 Roman Catholics, 17 European and 7 native priests, with 30 churches; in 1913 we find 24,000 Roman Catholics, 45 European and 21 native priests, 35 European and 87 native sisters, 23 principal and 33 secondary stations, 56 churches, 76 elementary schools with 3740 pupils, and 4 high schools with 858 students under Bishop M. J. Perros.

The missions in Laos, which were commenced in 1876 and formally opened in 1883, were separated from Siam as a vicariate in 1899. In 1913 we find there 32 European and 4 native priests, 8 European and 14 native sisters, 12,500 Roman Catholics with 23 principal and 56 secondary stations, and 64 churches and chapels with 53 elementary schools.

4. **Japan.**—The existence of the island empire of Nippon, or Ji-pen, 'the Land of the Rising Sun,' was first revealed to the Western world by the Venetian traveller Marco Polo (1295–98), under the name of Cimpangu, but was not visited by Europeans until three centuries later. Famous among these was the Portuguese Mendez Pinto, who, on 23rd Sept. 1543, landed on Tanegashima and became instrumental in the conversion of three shipwrecked Japanese, Anjiro and his servants. In 1549 St. Francis Xavier, accompanied by the Jesuit Cosmo de Torres and by Brother Fernandez, set out for Japan and landed at Kagoshima, whence he extended his work to Hirado, Hakata, Yamaguchi, Meako, and Bungo, forming everywhere nuclei of promising Christian centres. Before his departure to China in 1551, St. Francis had obtained new helpers from Goa, such as Fathers Balthasar Gago, Gaspar Berse, Edward da Silva, and Peter de Alcavera, who were later on joined by Gaspar Coelho, Vilela, Louis Froes, Melchior, and Antonio Diaz. For forty years the Jesuits remained in sole charge of the missions in Japan, and their work progressed under the protection of Nobunaga, then actual ruler of Japan (1573–82). Torres is said to have baptized 30,000 converts and built 50 churches from 1549 to 1570. Thirty years after the death of St. Francis, we learn from Coelho's annual report for 1582 that at that time 'the number of all Christians in Japan amounts to 150,000 with churches great and small 200 in number.' Down to the year 1563 there had never been more than 9, down to 1577 only 18, and to 1582, 72 members of the Society engaged in the Japanese mission-field. In 1582 a Japanese embassy, consisting of four Japanese princes and a Japanese Jesuit, went to Rome and were received in audience by Gregory XIII. In the meantime Nobunaga had died that same year, and his successor, Hideyoshi Taikosama, became a fierce persecutor of the Christians, ordering the destruction of all the churches and the immediate expulsion of all the Roman Catholic priests (1587). The return of the Japanese embassy from Rome in 1590 and the arrival of Father Valignani with new European Jesuits effected a change, however, and the Japanese Christians began to breathe more freely. In 1593 the Japanese missions numbered 56 European Jesuit priests, 11 European scholastics, 87 Japanese Jesuit brothers, 5 Japanese and 3 Portuguese novices with 23 residences, and about 300,000 or even 600,000 members. Pius V. had appointed the Jesuit Antonio Oviedo bishop of Japan with Melchior Carnero as his coadjutor, but the latter died at Macao, and his successor, Sebastian Morales, who was appointed by Sixtus V., came only as far as Mozambique. Bishop

Pedro Martinez, also a Jesuit, appointed in 1591 and consecrated at Goa in 1595, arrived in Japan in the following year. In 1593 four Spanish Franciscans—Peter Baptist of San Estevan, Bartholomew Ruiz, Francis de Parilla, and Gonsalvus—arrived in Japan and started work at Meako, Nagasaki, and Osaka, thus trespassing upon the privilege granted by Gregory XIII. in 1585 to the Jesuits. The progress of Christianity roused the Bonzes, who accused the Roman Catholic missionaries of being only political agents of Spain and Portugal, and Hideyoshi gave the signal for a cruel persecution, during which 6 Franciscans, 15 Japanese Tertiaries, 3 Japanese Jesuits, and 2 servants, known as the '26 martyrs of Nagasaki,' were put to death on 5th Feb. 1597. Instead of destroying Christianity, however, the persecution only helped to make it known. Hideyoshi died in 1598, and his successor, Jeyasu Daifusama (1605–15), left the Church in peace, which was then governed by the Jesuit Bishop Luiz Serqueyra. In 1602 the Jesuits were reinforced by Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, and by the year 1613 we find in Japan 130 Jesuits and some 30 priests belonging to the other missionary societies. The actual number of native Christians, however, is doubtful. Between 1549 and 1598, 500,000, between 1598 and 1614, 152,000, and between 1614 and 1630, 25,000 adults were baptized, and we are told that the actual number of native Christians in 1614 amounted to 1,800,000. But the peace and prosperity were the prelude to one of the most terrible persecutions begun by Jeyasu for some unknown reason. In 1614 Bishop Serqueyra died and was succeeded by the Franciscan martyr, Bishop Louis Sotelo, who was burned alive in 1624. In order to weaken the Christians the Shogun arrested 117 Jesuits and 27 other missionaries, together with the Roman Catholic leaders, and transported them to the Philippines (1614); but many of them returned.

Jeyasu died in 1615 and was succeeded by Hidetada, who renewed the edicts of his father, and from 1617 to 1640 the persecution went on without interruption. The 'Great Martyrdom' took place at Nagasaki on 2nd Sept. 1622, when 10 Jesuits, 6 Dominicans, 4 Franciscans, and 32 Japanese nobles were put to death. Jemitsu, the following Shogun, is said to have killed about 20,000 every year from 1623. Over 200 of the missionaries, some 800 native catechists, and 200,000 Christians suffered actual martyrdom. From the year 1638 Christianity appeared to be extinct in Japan; though sporadic efforts were made by Jesuits in 1642 and later, all these failed. Father John Sidotti was the last Roman Catholic priest who entered Japan (1708), and he was put to death on 15th Dec. 1715.

The blood of so many martyrs, however, was not destined to be shed in vain. When in 1832 Gregory XVI. erected the vicariate of Korea, Japan was included. In 1844 Father Forcade and Ko, a catechist, landed on Liu-Kiu Island, and they were joined by Father Leturdu in 1846. In the same year the vicariate of Japan was erected with Father Forcade as vicar-apostolic. But Japan was still a forbidden land till, in 1853, the United States broke down the barriers by a treaty, which was followed by others with Great Britain, Russia, etc., and Father Petitjean was able to build a Roman Catholic church at Nagasaki, which, on 17th March 1865, became instrumental in finding that there were in Japan still 25 Christian villages with several thousand Christians who for 200 years had kept the faith. In 1866 Petitjean was appointed vicar-apostolic. Though some minor persecutions broke out, the Church made progress, and in 1873 the laws and edicts against Christianity were abolished. In 1876 Japan was divided into two vicariates, and under Leo XIII. two more were added in 1888 and 1891, till on 15th June 1891 Leo XIII. re-established the Roman Catholic hierarchy, *i.e.* the archdiocese of Tokyo with three suffragan sees of Nagasaki, Osaka, and Hakodate, which were placed under the care of the Missionaries of Paris, to which have since been added the prefectures of Shikoku (1904) and of Niigata (1912) under the care of the Dominicans and the Missionaries of Steyl. The number of Roman Catholics, which in 1870 amounted to 10,000 with 13 priests, reached 23,000 in 1880, 44,000 in 1891 with 82 European and 15 native priests, 63,000 in 1910 with 150 European and 33 native priests, and 69,755 in 1913.

Korea.—From 1636 to 1876 Chosen, 'the Land of the Morning Calm,' was known only under the name of the 'Hermit Kingdom of the Far East' on account of the rigorous enforcement of her policy of isolation against all foreigners. Yet Roman Catholic missionaries made their way and found their faithful children in Korea, whose very name became known in Europe as the symbol of persecution and martyrdom. When, in 1592–94, Taiko Sama of Japan sent his soldiers to Korea, the Jesuit Gregorio de Cespedez accompanied the troops as chaplain to the numerous Roman Catholics in the army, and in his spare time instructed the Koreans also, baptizing, on his return to Japan in 1593, some 300 Korean prisoners of war. Nothing, however, is known of the fate of his converts in Korea, as in the beginning of the 17th cent. all traces of Christianity had disappeared from the land. In 1783 Seng-hun-i, one of the Korean *literati*, joined the annual embassy to Peking and interviewed there Alexander de Govea, the Franciscan bishop, who baptized him by the name of Peter. On his return he was joined by two friends, Pieki and Il-sini, who became the pioneers of Christianity in Korea. From 1784 to 1794 they received some 4000 neophytes into the Church, who were persecuted by the Bonzes from 1785 to 1791. An attempt made by de Remedios in 1791 to penetrate into Korea failed. In 1794 Father Jacob Tsiu (*alias* Padre Jayme Vellozo), a Chinese priest, succeeded in entering, and for six years continued the apostolate, during which time he baptized 6000 converts and thus increased the flock from 4000 to 10,000 souls. In 1801 new edicts were published against the 'new religion'; among the martyrs were Peter Seng-hun-i, Father Tsiu, and 300 of his flock. For thirty years the Christians in Korea remained without a pastor in spite of repeated requests both to Peking and to Rome, owing to persecutions in China. In 1827 the mission field of Korea was entrusted to the Société des Missions Étrangères of Paris, and on 9th Sept. 1831 Korea was made a vicariate with Bruguière as its first bishop, Fathers Chastan and Maubant being his only assistants. The bishop died in the sight of Korea, while Fathers Maubant and Chastan reached Seoul in 1836 and 1837 respectively. At the end of the year the newly-appointed bishop, Imbert, arrived and found the flock reduced from 10,000 to 6000, which was increased to 9000 two years later, when the bishop and the two priests were put to death (1839). In 1845 Bishop Ferréol, accompanied by Fathers Daveluy and Kim, the first native Korean priest, took over the field, but the latter died the death of a martyr in the following year. From 1846 to 1866 the Church in Korea enjoyed comparative peace, during which numerous converts were made both under Ferréol and under his successor, Bishop Berneux—from 11,000 to 25,000. This was the most flourishing period in the annals of the Church in Korea, which then possessed 2 bishops (Berneux and Daveluy) and 10 priests. In 1866 the persecution raged again, and during it the 2 bishops with 7 priests were put to death and 3 priests had to leave the country. In 1867 attempts were made to reopen the mission, but failed. In 1869 Ridel was appointed bishop, but was not able to enter Korea until 1874, was expelled in 1877, and died in 1884. The treaties of Korea with Japan, the United States, Britain, France, and Austria again opened the gates of the Hermit Kingdom. Bishop Blanc found on his arrival in 1883 only 13,000 Roman Catholics out of 25,000 in 1866, but the flock numbered 16,590 at his death in 1890. During the long reign of Bishop Mutel (since 1890) the missions in Korea, which was declared an independent kingdom in 1895, a Japanese protectorate in 1905, and a Japanese general residency in 1910, have enjoyed freedom. In 1897 we find 32 European and 3 native priests with 32,217 members in 497 stations, in 1909, 46 European and 10 native priests with 68,016 members. At the request of Bishop Mutel, Korea was divided in 1910 into the two vicariates of Seoul and Taiku, and numbered, in 1913, 58 European and 17 native priests with 59 principal and 978 out-stations, and 150 churches with 80,500 members.

II. *Africa.*—There is hardly a more glorious chapter to be found in the annals of the Roman Catholic Church than that of Africa. After the decay of early Christianity there, except for a few sadly corrupted remnants surviving in Kabylia, and among the Copts and the Abyssinians, Africa remained for many centuries a closed continent to Christianity, though the Franciscans and Dominicans, the Trinitarians and the Order of Our Lady of Mercy tried their best in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries to alleviate the lot of Christian captives and to instil the lessons of Christianity into the hearts of the Muhammadans of Morocco, Tunis, and the Barbary States. When in the 15th cent. the Portuguese, under the leadership of Henry the Navigator, son of King John I. of Portugal, began their discoveries and expeditions along the west coast of Africa, passed Cape Bojador (1433), reached the Rio de Ouro (1442), and doubled Cape Verde (1444), they unfurled the banner of the Cross. In 1471 they crossed the equator, Diego Cam discovered the Congo (1484), Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope (1487), while Vasco da Gama came as far as Mozambique, Malindi, and Mombasa (1497). Pope Alexander VI. in 1494 assigned to Spain all the lands discovered and still to be discovered 370 miles west of Cape Verde Islands, and to Portugal all the land to the east, with the one obligation to further the propagation of Christianity and to support mission work in the east and west. Dominicans and Franciscans, Augustinians and Jesuits, Capuchins and Carmelites, supported by secular priests, vied with one another in carrying into effect the command of Christ 'to teach all nations.' Bishoprics were founded on the adjacent islands of the Dark Continent, viz. Las Palmas in the Canary Islands, Funchal in Madeira (1514), São Thiago do Cabo Verde (1532), São Thomé (1534), etc. King Emmanuel of Portugal took a special interest in the evangelization of the Congo, and from 1505 to 1512 sent annually some missionaries of different religious orders (Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustinians), who, supported by the native King Alphonsus, made good progress. The bishop of St. Thomas (Gulf of Guinea), to whose jurisdiction the Congo belonged, adopted the title of bishop of the Congo, transferred his see to San Salvador, and erected a chapter consisting of 28 canons. As the missionaries already engaged in the Congo did not suffice for the growing demands, St. Ignatius, at the request of the king of Portugal, sent some Jesuits—among them Fathers Vaz, Ribera, Diaz, Soveral, Noguera, Gomez, etc.—who founded a college at San Salvador. From 1554 to 1592, 8 bishops occupied the see of San Salvador, and, when in 1592 the bishopric of Angola was united with that of the Congo, the see of San Salvador was transferred to St. Paul de Loanda. With the growth and expansion of Portuguese power in the E. and W. Indies, however, Portugal neglected to supply the Congo with a sufficient number of missionaries, so that in 1587 we find only 12 priests for thousands of Christian villages. King Alvaro II. therefore applied to Rome for help in 1608; but it was only in 1640 that 6 Italian Capuchins under Francis of Pamplona were sent, and these were strengthened between 1648 and 1683 by Italians and Portuguese, such as Dionysius Mareschi, Bonaventure Carriglio, Joseph of Antiquera, Jerome of Puebla, Francis of Monteleone, and Anthony Zuchelli, as well as by Carmelites who arrived in the Congo in 1659. It seems that these earlier missionaries extended their work as far as Stanley Pool and to the valley of the Kassai. Carmelites, Franciscans, Jesuits, and secular priests also started missionary work in Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Benin, Angola, and Upper and Lower Guinea. Among these pioneers we may mention the Jesuits Barreiva († 1612), Fernandez, Barros, Almeida, Netto, and Alvarez, and the Capuchins Bernardine Renard and Angelus of Valencia. On the east coast missionary work was commenced soon after its discovery—in Mozambique by the Jesuits Sylveira (martyred 11th Aug. 1561), Acosta, and Fernandez; at Sofala by the Dominicans (1586) John dos Santos, John de Pietate, and Nicholas de Rosario; in Madagascar by the Lazarists (1648) Nacquart de Champmartin, Gondren, and Bourdaise (1657). In Egypt the Franciscans continued their work among the Copts, and the Jesuits among the Ethiopians (Bermudez, John Nuñez, Andrew Oviedo, Melchior Carneiro, etc.).

The various wars waged between the Dutch and the Portuguese, the slave-trade which was encouraged by the Christian European Powers, the civil feuds among the natives, the more promising colonies in the east and in the west, and the decrease of Portuguese power in Africa soon made the Portuguese forget their solemn obligation, and, instead of furthering the welfare of Christian civilization, they only became a standing obstacle to the work of evangelization, since they would not allow any missionaries but Portuguese in their colonies. Unable—or, rather, unwilling—to support the missionary work, the flourishing churches on the west and east coasts of Africa became weaker and weaker, and social, political, and religious disturbances, such as the sectarian policy of Pombal, the anti-Roman Catholic attitude of Holland and England, and, finally, the French Revolution, brought every missionary enterprise in Africa to a standstill. According to Louvet (*Les Missions catholiques au XIXième siècle*), the total number of Roman Catholics of continental Africa at the beginning of the 19th cent., including Uniate Copts and Abyssinians, amounted to 47,000.

With the formation of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1822 we perceive the first signs of a change for the better. The conquest of Algiers by France in 1830, which broke down the ramparts of Muhammadan fanaticism, and the reopening of the missions among the Copts in Egypt and their kindred in Abyssinia by de Jacobis in 1839 were the preludes to the Christian awakening of the Dark Continent. The son of a Jewish Rabbi was destined to take up anew the Roman Catholic missions in Africa and to inaugurate the magnificent apostolic movement, for Libermann became the founder of the Missionary Society of the Holy

Heart of Mary and the Holy Ghost, usually called the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, whose members (since 1843) have devoted themselves to the evangelization of the Negroes in Senegambia and Gabun (1844), Sierra Leone (1864), the Portuguese Congo (1873), French Guinea (1878), Cimbebasia (1879), Kunene (1882), Loango (1883), Lower Nigeria (1885), Ubanghi (1887), Zanzibar (1863), Bagamoyo (1891), N. Madagascar, etc. When Mgr. Marion de Bresillac returned from the depth of India to France in 1858, his feelings were drawn to the Dark Continent, and he founded the African Missionary Society of Lyons, whose fields principally lie in the districts known as the 'White Man's Grave'—Dahomey (1861), Benin (1868), Gold Coast (1881), Ivory Coast (1895), Liberia (1906), E. and W. Nigeria, Korhogo (1912), and the Nile Delta. Ten years later another missionary society came into existence, viz. the Missionaries of Our Lady of Africa, or the White Fathers, whose field of action extended rapidly from Algeria to Kabylia, from Tunis to the Sahara and the Sūdān, till the bold hand of its founder, Cardinal Lavigerie, came to drive it, in spite of all obstacles, right to the heart of the African continent. To-day they have charge of 11 missionary districts—Kabylia, Gardaia, W. Sūdān, Nyasa, Bangweolo, Upper Congo, Tanganyika, Unjanjembe, S. and N. Nyanza, and Kivu, with 187,129 members, 196,000 catechumens, 138 principal stations, 502 priests, 52 brothers, 244 sisters, 2289 catechists, 85 native sisters, 2 native priests, 30 students in minor orders, 378 aspirants, 1974 schools with 79,521 pupils, and 341 charitable institutions.

Besides these three African Missionary Societies *par excellence*, work is also carried on by the orders which in days gone by laboured as pioneers in Africa, such as the Franciscans (Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco), the Capuchins (Erythrea, Galla, Somaliland, Seychelles), the Trinitarians (Benadir), the Lazarists (Abyssinia, S. Madagascar), the Jesuits (C. Madagascar, Kwango, Zambesi), and the Missionary Seminary of Verona (C. Africa), the Benedictines of St. Ottilien (Dar-es-Salam, Lindi), the Trappists (Natal, Congo), the Belgian, English, and German missionary societies of Scheut (Congo Free State), of Mill Hill (Upper Nile), of Steyl (Togo), the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (Natal, Transvaal, Orange, Kimberley, Lower Cimbebasia, Basuto), etc.

The missionaries, if they do not precede the explorers or conquerors, accompany them; nowhere are they wanting. From the valleys of the Atlas to the highland plains of Abyssinia, from the Sūdān to the Cape, on the great rivers and lakes, in the desert plains and in the equatorial forests, in the heart of the continent and in the islands, the Cross of Calvary is found to-day set up as the sign of redemption. Where the missionaries have been able to labour they have laboured, and where they could only die they have died. According to the *Katholische Missionen*, Oct. 1912, Africa, as far as it is a missionary country, consists of 6 dioceses, 44 vicariates, and 28 prefectures apostolic, 1 prelature nullius, and 7 independent missions, with 1,100,000 native members and some 600,000 catechumens. When we add the dioceses of Africa and her islands which are not under the jurisdiction of the Propaganda, and, therefore, do not fall under the heading of the African mission field strictly speaking, we find the total number of Roman Catholics amounting to 3,742,000—insignificant when compared with the number of inhabitants, which is said to amount to 165,000,000 or 180,000,000 or even 200,000,000 souls.

III. *N. AND S. AMERICA.*—When, in 1492, Columbus landed on the island of San Salvador, he found a brown-skinned people whose physical appearance confirmed him in his opinion that he had at last reached India, and he called the inhabitants, therefore, 'Indios,' or 'Indians.' Subsequent navigators and explorers found that the same race was spread over the whole continent from the Arctic shores to Cape Horn, and that the people were more or less everywhere alike in their main physical characteristics, whence they extended the name 'Indians' to these aborigines in both S. and N. America with the exception of the Eskimos in the extreme north. Much has been written about the atrocities and cruelties of the white invaders—Spanish, French, Portuguese, Dutch, and English—committed against the Red Men, the original inhabitants and owners of the soil. The Roman Catholic Church, from the very outset of the political conquest of S., C., and N. America, has acted as the protectress of the down-trodden Indians, and her missionaries—Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Hieronymites such as Las Casas, Montesino, Nobrega, and Anchieta—have taken up their cause of liberty and religion. Lopez de Vega, one of the greatest Spanish poets, unfolds the whole aim and purpose of the Spanish conquerors in S. America in two lines:

> 'Al rey infinitas tierras
> Y a Dios infinitas almas,'

i.e. 'to extend the boundaries of the Spanish empire over the vast territories of the new world and thereby to gain an infinite number of souls to God.' Religion was her great end and aim, her all-pervading motive. The soothing influence of the Roman Catholic missionaries in S. America is still to be seen in the splendid churches and colleges and the thousands and millions of devoted converts; and, as long as Spain remained faithful to her solemn obligations, she was successful and prosperous. The destruction of the Indian missions, in which the Roman Catholic missionaries had worked for two hundred years, was due to the anti-Roman Catholic policy and legislation of Spain and Portugal; the revival is to be ascribed to the efforts of Pius IX., Leo XIII., and Pius X., who worked in harmony with the rulers of the different States and republics through their apostolic delegates. To describe the Roman Catholic missionary work among the Indians in S. and C. America would mean to write the history of the Roman Catholic Church in the colonial period of these countries from 1520 to 1820. It may suffice to note the work of the Franciscans and the Jesuits during this period.

Franciscan missionaries accompanied Columbus in 1493, and they were followed by others to the Antilles in 1500, to Mexico or Nova Hispania (Peter of Ghent, Martin of Valencia, Molina, Ribeira, the famous Zummaraga [1548], the first archbishop of Mexico, and Martin of Coruña), to Yucatan (Didacus of Landa [1579]), Guatemala and Honduras (Peter of Betancour and Maldonado), Nicaragua and Costa Rica. In S. America the Franciscans had missions in Colombia and Venezuela (John a S. Philiberto [1527], Louis Zapata, and Ferdinand Larrea) with some 200,000 baptized Indians, in Peru (Mark of Nizza and Jodokus Ryke), in Ecuador and Ucayali (Philip Luyando, Dominic Garcia, and Francis Alvarez [1686]). At the request of the king of Spain, Franciscans went to Chile (1553) (Martin of Robleda and Angelus of Espineira (1778]), to Bolivia (Andrea Herrero [1838] and Antonio Comajuncosa [1814]), and into the Pampas of Argentine and to Tucuman (Francis Solanus [1610]). In 1538 they landed in S. Brazil (Bernard Armenta, John de los Barrios [1547], Bernardine of Cardenas, and Louis Bolaños [1629]).

Between 1565 and 1572 Jesuit missionaries went to Florida, Mexico, and Peru, and, under Claudius Acquaviva (1581–1615), the second successor of St.

Ignatius, to Chile and Paraguay, and later on to Maranhão. Names such as Nuñez, Correa, Nobrega, and Anchieta have become household words among the Indians in S. America, while the name of Azevedo, who, with 39 of his fellow-missionaries, suffered martyrdom in Brazil (1570), stands for loyalty to duty. At the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus the Jesuits were represented in Brazil by 445, in Maranhão by 146, in Paraguay by 564, in Mexico and California by 572, and in New Grenada, Chile, Peru, and Ecuador by 192, 242, 526, and 209 members respectively.

Equally famous among the defenders of the Indians are the Dominicans Las Casas, Louis Bertrand, Antonio Montesino, Dominicus de Betanzos, Dominicus Ortiz, the Augustinian Francis John de Medina, etc. With the suppression of the religious orders and the downfall of the Spanish supremacy in S. and C. America came also the destruction of the flourishing missions. The Christian Indians and Negroes were allowed to drift, nay, were often driven back into paganism, were slaughtered by their cruel white taskmasters, their plantations were destroyed or ruined, their schools and churches were reduced to ashes, and the missionary work which had been accomplished among them by the self-sacrificing heroes of Christian charity during two hundred years with the greatest outlay of money and valuable lives was destroyed. The political upheaval and the masonic influence in the beginning of the 19th cent., with the subsequent scarcity of priests in the S. American Republics, scarcely allowed the missionaries to resume their work among the remaining Indians and Negroes. In recent years the Propaganda has once more appealed to willing workers among the various religious orders and missionary societies for help to establish missionary work among the Indians; yet it remains a difficult task to obtain a precise record of their work, since most of them are at the same time engaged among the numerous European colonists in the S. American Republics. In the following we give only the names of the vicariates, prefectures, and missions in the various States, the dates of their erection, and the missionaries engaged.

Colombia: V. Goajira (Capuchins), 1905; V. Casanare (Augustinians), 1893; V. Llanos de S. Martin (Society of Mary), 1903; P. Caquetà (Capuchins), 1904; P. Choco (Immaculate Heart of Mary), 1908.

Guiana: V. Demerara (Brit. Guiana) (Jesuits), 1837; V. Surinam (Dutch Guiana) (Redemptorists), 1825 (1852); Cayenne (French Guiana) (Congregation of the Holy Ghost), 1643 (?).

Ecuador: V. Canélos y Mácas (Dominicans), 1893; V. Mendez y Gualaquiza (Salesians), 1893; V. Napo (Jesuits), 1893; V. Zamora (Franciscans), 1893.

Peru: P. Amazonas (S. Leon) (Augustinians), 1900; P. Ucayali (Franciscans), 1900; P. Urubamba (Dominicans), 1900; M. Putumayo (Franciscans), 1912.

Brazil: Prel. Santarem (Franciscans), 1903; M. Rio Branco (Benedictines), 1907; Prel. Araguaya, 1911; P. Rio Negro, 1910; P. Solimões (Capuchins), 1910; P. Teffé (Congregation of the Holy Ghost), 1910.

Argentine-Paraguay: V. Patagonia N. (Salesians), 1884; P. Patagonia S. (Salesians), 1883; Gran Chaco and Pampas (Franciscans).

Chile: V. Autotagasta (secular priests), 1895; V. Tarapaca (secular priests), 1894; P. Araucania (Capuchins), 1901.

Mexico: V. California, 1874.

Central America: V. British Honduras (Jesuits), 1888 (1893).

Antilles: V. Curaçao, 1842; V. Jamaica (Jesuits), 1837.

Krose (*op. cit.*) reckons the number of the uncivilized Indians in America at 1,500,000 or 1,750,000, *i.e.*, Brazil, 600,000; Paraguay, 100,000; Argentine, 30,000; Chile, 50,000; Peru, 350,000; Bolivia, 250,000; Ecuador, 200,000; Colombia, 150,000; Venezuela, 60,000. To these must be added some 200,000 or 250,000 Coolies, Negroes, and Chinese. In these missions European colonists live side by side with the Indians, etc. According to Krose, some 401,000 are Roman Catholics, and, allowing some 150,000 as being Europeans, there remains a Roman Catholic Indian and Negro population of 250,000 souls. In the whole mission field there were 476 priests, 230 brothers, 435 sisters, 418 stations, and 340 churches. In C. America and the W. Indies there are still 500,000 or 600,000 pagans, among whom Jesuits, Dominicans, Redemptorists, and Lazarists are at work, some 180 missionaries among 330,000 native Roman Catholics.

The United States of America are composed of former British, Spanish, and French colonies, and their population—91,972,266 (Census of 1910)—consists of a small remnant of the original American Indians (270,000, according to some, 330,000 or 444,000, according to other writers), of imported Negro slaves and their descendants (9,827,763), of yellow or Asiatic immigrants (146,863), and of white or European settlers and their descendants. In the former Spanish (Florida, Texas, New Mexico) and French (Louisiana) colonies the Roman Catholic missionaries have worked for the conversion and Christian civilization of the Indians from the beginning of the colonial epoch. Dominicans entered Florida in 1560, and they were supported in 1568 by the arrival of 12 Franciscans, 5 secular priests, and 8 Jesuits, among whom we may mention Fathers Martinez, Segura, de Quiros, and de Solis. In Texas and New Mexico Spanish Franciscans—Marcos of Nizza, John of Padilla, and Louis of Escalon—had commenced in 1539, but made little progress. In Arizona Francis of Porras (1683) and in California Juniper Serra (1784) commenced missionary work among the Indians, and along the Mississippi we find Father Marquette. The conquest of N. America by the white immigrants drove the Indians further and further, and 'spoliation, outrage, and murder' were the orders for almost one hundred years. According to H. G. Ganss ('The Indian Mission Problem, Past and Present,' in *The Catholic Mind*, no. 13 [New York, 1904]), there remain in the United States some 270,000 Indians, of whom 100,000 are Roman Catholics, 40,000 Protestants (74,000?), 110,000 'follow the old ways,' and 20,000 have no Church affiliation. According to Streit (*Atlas Hierarchicus*, 1914), there are in the United States 440,931 Indians, of whom 64,741 (67,255) are Roman Catholics. These are scattered in 33 dioceses, possess 306 churches, and are attended by 163 priests (Benedictines, Franciscans, Jesuits, etc.) and 391 sisters; 100 schools are attended by 7359 children. Famous among the Indian missionaries in the 19th cent. are Father de Smet and Bishop Marty.

The Negro population in the United States (one-ninth of the whole population), descendants of the slaves who for two hundred and fifty years had been imported into America, have for the last fifty years been emancipated, but are still treated as outcasts. Owing to hostile legislation, the Roman Catholic Church had for many decades a poor chance of alleviating the miserable conditions of the Negroes, since baptism was considered inconsistent with the state of slavery. After the emancipation of the Negroes (1863) and the second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866), Archbishop Spalding raised his voice for their conversion. The same course was pursued at the third council (1884) by Archbishop (Cardinal) Gibbons, who established a commission for Roman Catholic missionary work among the Negroes and the 'Catholic Board for Mission Work among the Colored People.' It is difficult to obtain the exact number of Negroes professing the Roman Catholic religion in the United States, since some live in coloured parishes while others are mingled with the white population, and of the latter a report is hardly ever made. The *Catholic Encyclopædia* (xii. [1911] 629) gives the number as amounting to 200,000 or 225,000, while, according to the *Atlas Hierarchicus*, there are only 103,436 scattered in 33 dioceses, with 109 churches, 162 priests (Josephites, Missionary Society of Lyons, Congregation of the Holy Ghost, and Mission of Steyl), and 173 schools with 14,181 pupils.

The 'Catholic Board for Mission Work among the Colored People,' in its semi-annual publication, *Our Colored Missions*, 1912, gives the following statistics: churches, 72; priests working exclusively for Negroes, 99; schools, 126 with 11,270 pupils; charitable institutions, 27 with 2520 inmates; Roman Catholics, 260,000. Two religious orders of priests devote themselves exclusively to coloured missions, namely the Josephite Fathers and the Fathers of the African Missions (Lyons). Besides these two there are eight other orders of men in the field: the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Marists, Lazarists, Fathers of the Holy Ghost, Fathers of the Divine Word, and the Capuchins (see also *Our Negro Missions*, by the Fathers of the Divine Word, Techny, Ill., U.S.A., 1914).

In Canada the descendants of the aborigines are divided into four families: (1) the Huron Iroquois, (2) the Innuits or Eskimos, (3) the Dénés, (4) the Algonquins. In 1905 their total number amounted to 107,637, of whom 85,553 lived inside, the others outside the reservations. In the earliest days of the French colonial period Franciscans in 1615, Jesuits in 1625, and Sulpicians in 1657 devoted themselves to the conversion of the Algonquins and the Huron Iroquois—some 100,000 souls. Famous among these missionaries are d'Olbeau, Le Caron, Viel, Sagard (Franciscans), Brébeuf, Lallemant, Lejeune, Garnier, Chabanel, Daniel, Jogues, Jolliet, and Marquette (Jesuits). In 1659 the ecclesiastical hierarchy was established in Canada, and the Church entered from the missionary to the colonial period among the immigrants.

Of the 107,637 Indians to-day 35,060 are Roman Catholics; the remainder, with the exception of 10,906 who are still pagans, belong to various Protestant denominations, who are scattered in 33 dioceses. The Roman Catholics are attended by some 160 priests in over 110 stations, with 104 schools, and 200 sisters.

IV. *OCEANIA*.—The southern realm of islands which stud the Pacific Ocean has been named Oceania, and for convenience of reference has been divided into four districts, viz.

Australia with Tasmania.
Melanesia (New Guinea, New Pomerania, Bismarck Archipelago, Solomon Islands, New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, New Zealand).
Micronesia (Marianne, Caroline, Marshall, and Gilbert Islands).
Polynesia, comprising all the smaller islands between Hawaii in the north and Easter Island in the east.

Discovered in the 16th and 17th centuries by Spanish and Portuguese admirals, such as Balboa, Magellan, Mendana, Quiros, and de Torres, who were followed by Dutch, French, English, and German explorers—Roggewein and Tasman, La Pérouse and d'Urville, Cook and von Humbold—they remained more or less in obscurity till the beginning of the 18th and even the 19th century. That Roman Catholic missionaries set their foot on the islands soon after their discovery, although only occasionally, is certain. Padre Pigafetta accompanied Magellan to the Ladrone Islands in 1521, another priest landed on the Marquesas in 1595, two Spanish missionaries visited Tahiti in 1774, and Abbé de Quelen converted a few natives in the Hawaiian group in 1819. As Spanish and Portuguese supremacy declined, the discoveries were of little consequence to Christianity, and, owing to the political and religious revolution in Europe, the suppression of religious orders, and the scarcity of missionary vocations and pecuniary support, the Roman Catholic missions were to a large extent neglected in the Pacific. The Marianne and Caroline groups were the only ones where progress was made. The former was visited by the Jesuit Diego de San Vittore, who landed with four other Jesuits on Guam in 1668, and these were followed by five more in 1670; but nearly all the Spanish missionaries were killed in 1670, 1672, and 1684. From 1700 to 1766 the Marianne missions were entrusted to German Jesuits, who in 1731 extended their work to the Carolines. After the suppression of the Jesuits the Marianne Archipelago was handed over to Spanish Augustinians in 1786, and the latter were replaced by German Capuchins in 1907.

Several attempts were made by the Jesuits on the Philippines to open a mission in the Caroline Islands in 1700, 1708, 1709, and 1721, but all of them failed, till Father Cantova succeeded in 1731. Owing to the serious loss of lives, however, the Jesuits abandoned the field, and it was only in 1886 that twelve Spanish Capuchins were able to resume missionary work once more in the Carolines; they remained in charge till 1904. In 1911 the German Marianne and the Carolines were united into one vicariate-apostolic with Walleser as its first bishop, while the United States possession of Guam was made an independent vicariate in charge of Spanish Capuchins. The vicariate of Guam numbered, in 1913, 12,000 Roman Catholics, and that of Marianne-Caroline had 5395 in 1914. With the exception of these two island groups, the beginning and development of Roman Catholic missionary enterprise in the Pacific belong to the 19th and 20th centuries. It was on 7th July 1827 that Alexis Bachelot, accompanied by Abraham Armand, Patrick Short, and Robert Walsh of the Picpus Society, landed in Honolulu (Hawaii) to resume the apostolate in Oceania, the whole of which was placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Solages, then prefect-apostolic of Mauritius (1830). Three years later the vicariate of Oceania was established, and in quick succession the Roman Catholic missions were extended to the various island groups and entrusted to the two pioneer missionary societies in the Pacific, viz. the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (Picpus) and the Society of Mary (Marists). From 1827 to 1845, under Cardinal Prefect Capellari of the Propaganda and under his pontificate as Gregory XVI., the Society of Picpus sent its missionaries to Hawaii (1827), the Gambier Islands (1834), the Marquesas (1838), and Tahiti (1841), while the Marists went to Wallis, Tonga, New Zealand (1837), New Caledonia (1843), Fiji (1844), and Samoa (1845). Gregory XVI. divided Oceania into two distinct vicariates: Eastern (1833–44) and Western Oceania (1836–48), from which Central Oceania was separated in 1842. These three vicariates form, so to speak, the roots of the ecclesiastical jurisdictions in the Pacific. From the Eastern vicariate were separated those of Hawaii, Marquesas, and Tahiti (1844 and 1848), and from the Central those of New Caledonia (1847), Samoa (1851), and Fiji (1863 [1887]), while W. Oceania was divided into the vicariates of Melanesia (1844–89) and Micronesia (1844–97). From Melanesia were separated New Guinea and New Pomerania (1889), and from Micronesia the Gilbert (1897) and the Carolines (1886). Some of the groups were again divided and subdivided, such as New Guinea and New Pomerania, from which were separated the Solomon (1897–98) and the Marshall Islands (1905). The Marianne group depended upon the diocese of Cebu (Philippines) till it was made an independent vicariate. The divisions demanded new helpers in the ever-expanding field, and during the colonial period of Oceania (1882–1903) three other missionary societies were asked to help: to the Capuchins were entrusted the Caroline (1886 and 1904) and the Marianne Islands (1907), to the Picpus Society the Cook or Hervey Archipelago and Kaiser Wilhelmsland W. (1913), to the Society of the Divine Word (Steyl) Kaiser Wilhelmsland E. (1896), to the Marists the New Hebrides (1887) and the Solomon Islands (1898), and, finally, to the Congregation of the Sacred Heart (Issoudun) New Pomerania (1882), New Guinea, British and Dutch (1884 and 1903), the Gilbert (1888) and the Ellice

STATISTICS OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1913.

Mission districts. V. = Vicariate. P. = Prefecture. M. = Mission.	Year of Foundation.	Missionary Society.	European priests.	Native priests.	European brothers.	Native brothers.	European sisters.	Native sisters.	Catechists, male.	Catechists, female.	European Roman Catholics or descendants.	Native Roman Catholics.	Catechumens.	Non-Roman Catholics.	Principal stations.	Secondary stations.	Churches and chapels.	Catechetical seminaries.	Pupils (Catechists).	Elementary schools.	Pupils.	Higher schools.	Boys.	Girls.	Orphanages.	Orphans.	Dispensaries.	Printing presses.
Marianne and Carolines, V.	1886 1911	Capuchins.	16	—	16	—	10	—	1	2	50	4,730*	300	27,856	13	9	17	—	—	22	894	—	—	—	—	—	8	1
Guam, V.	1911	"	6	—	2	—	12	—	?	?	?	12,000	?	2,000	6	—	10	—	—	?	?	—	—	—	?	—	—	—
New Pomerania, V.	1889	Congr. of Sacred Heart.	37	—	43	—	34	—	83	49	140	20,417	1,934	300,000	31	102	90	3	89	131	4,698	2	34	23	18	633	28	1
Kaiser Wilhelmsland E., P.	1896 1911	Society of Divine Word.	29	—	23	—	40	—	6	—	—	2,410	1,200	150,000	17	—	19	1	12	26	1,500	—	—	—	—	—	17	1
Kaiser Wilhelmsland W., P.	1911	Picpus Congr.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Guinea, V.	1889	Congr. of Sacred Heart.	26	—	21	—	38	—	8	—	180	4,767	2,300	300,000	12	22	28	—	—	39	1,258	—	—	—	2	?	19	1
N. Solomon Islands, P.	1898	Society of Mary.	12	—	4	—	11	—	4	—	?	480	649	100,000	5	?	14	—	—	12	350	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
S. Solomon Islands, V.	1897 1912	"	16	—	2	—	8	—	41	11	67	3,000	1,500	150,000	10	54	51	1	32	50	416	—	—	—	1	4	—	1
New Hebrides, V.	1901 1904	"	26	—	6	1	17	3	40	—	400	1,500	2,500	68,000	17	6	21	1	35	28	443	—	—	—	1	?	—	—
New Caledonia, V.	1847	"	57	—	7	10	22	29	18	—	29,234	10,783	?	16,000	31	26	82	1	?	43	4,744	5	244	285	1	65	—	—
Marshall Islands, M.	1905	Congr. of Sacred Heart.	6	—	6	—	15	—	6	—	6	730	140	10,000	5	3	7	—	—	5	182	4	25	40	—	—	5	—
Gilbert Islands, V.	1897	"	23	—	12	—	19	—	95	—	50	14,037	885	12,000	18	125	117	1	20	100	2,266	9	60	143	6	216	27	1
Fiji Islands, V.	1863 1887	Society of Mary.	33	—	12	18	47	50	247	—	350	12,000	?	128,000	18	278	85	2	92	44	2,915	4	100	170	—	—	—	—
Central Oceania, V.	1842	"	24	4	—	—	19	28	52	—	—	9,940	?	16,862	16	?	34	1	60	31	2,446	4	—	347	—	—	—	—
Samoa (Navigator Island), V.	1851	"	20	4	13	—	15	10	96	96	250	7,854	180	40,000	14	106	83	1	40	106	2,016	4	85	79	—	—	—	1
Sandwich (Hawaiian Isl.), V.	1848	Picpus Congr.	37	—	35	—	68	—	—	—	30,000	15,000	?	102,000	22	—	106	—	—	14	2,335	3	710	510	1	30	—	—
Marquesas, V.	1848	"	9	—	2	—	8	—	21	—	130	2,488	?	800	9	28	37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Tahiti, V.	1833 1848	"	30	—	8	—	25	—	80	—	2,000	5,800	150	80,500	56 (?)	8	30	—	—	20	1,950	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Dutch New Guinea, P.	1902	Congr. of Sacred Heart.	20	—	15	—	10	—	35	—	?	3,500	360	650,000	9	?	19	—	—	40	1,325	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
			427	8	227	29	418	120	833	158	62,857	131,436	11,598	2,104,018	309	690	900	12	380	711	29,738	35	2855		30	948	99	9

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* According to *Katholische Missionen*, July 1914, the Roman Catholic population of the Marianne-Carolines is 5395, that of Guam 12,400.

Islands (1897), and, lastly, the Marshall Islands (1899).

Where eighty years ago there were—with the exception of the Marianne group—scarcely any Roman Catholics, and no priest or bishop, we find to-day an established hierarchy, with 14 bishoprics, 4 prefectures-apostolic, and 1 mission with 131,000 native and 63,000 European members, 427 priests (8 native priests), 227 brothers, 418 sisters, 1000 stations, 990 churches and chapels, and 700 schools with 30,000 pupils. The population of Oceania proper (without Australia and Tasmania) amounts to 2,650,000 or (without New Zealand, no longer a missionary country) 2,000,000, or, according to others, 1,340,000 souls. The Roman Catholic population is, therefore, comparatively small, and the work, especially in New Guinea, the Solomon group, and other islands, is little advanced. But, bearing in mind the social, moral, religious, political, ethnological, and linguistic problems of the various groups and their natives, the unhealthy climate, in many cases absolutely unsuitable for Europeans, the variety of dialects even among the inhabitants of the same islands, and, lastly, the hostile attitude of some of the European Powers that have divided the islands among themselves towards every Christian enterprise, and the fierce opposition displayed against the Roman Catholic missionaries from 1830 to 1880, the Roman Catholic Church has made slow but sure progress. She has become a Christianizing and civilizing factor in the Pacific, and as such she is now acknowledged by the various European governments and their representatives, by explorers and tourists, and by missionaries of every denomination, whatever their attitude towards the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church may be.

Famous among the Roman Catholic missionaries in the Pacific are the two pioneer missionaries (later bishops), Bataillon (1843–77) of C. Oceania, the founder of the missions in New Caledonia, Fiji, Samoa, and Rotuma, and his fellow-worker, Pompallier of W. Oceania, Bishop Epalle, who was murdered in 1845, Bishop Rouchouze of E. Oceania, etc. Nor must we forget Father Chanel, the proto-martyr of the Pacific and the apostle of Futuna (1841), Father Damian Deveuster, the leper apostle of Molokai, or Fathers Bontemps of the Gilbert and Castanié of the Cook Islands, and, lastly, Brother Eugene Eyraud, the lay apostle of Easter Island.

As space does not allow of a detailed history of the interesting work of Roman Catholic missionary enterprise in the Pacific, we give on p. 726 a table of statistics which will tell the story of the heroic work which the missionaries have achieved within the years 1830–1913 under very trying circumstances of persecution, hunger, poverty, and death.

In the following table of statistics we give the summary of missionary work during the 19th cent. and the results of previous centuries since the Reformation. These statistics we borrow from Krose (*op. cit.* p. 123).

A.—SUMMARY OF R.C. MISSIONS IN THE 19TH CENT. (STATISTICS, 1908).

Mission field.	Roman Catholics.		Priests.		Mission helpers.		Stations.	Churches.	Schools.	Pupils.
	Total.	Of European origin.	Total.	Native.	Brothers.	Sisters.				
Asia	6,299,886	138,000	9,086	5,237	2,930	11,996	25,157	17,837	13,083	504,074
Australia and Oceania	170,054	—	392	9	291	531	547	553	497	20,634
Africa	853,931	130,000	1,842	123	1,357	3,668	3,702	3,418	3,392	193,813
America	998,092	170,000	985	?	285	1,089	1,008	928	862	72,357
Total *A*	8,321,963	438,000	12,305	5,369	4,863	17,284	30,414	22,736	17,834	790,878

B.—RESULTS OF FORMER CENTURIES.

Asia	6,700,000	10,000
Africa	1,038,000	15,000
America	14,250,000	—
Total *B*	21,988,000	25,000
Totals *A* and *B*	30,309,963	463,000

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M. SPITZ.

MISSIONS (Christian, Protestant).—I. *INTRODUCTION.*—The missions of the Reformed Churches of Christendom seem at first sight to be discontinuous from those of the mediæval Church and from the post-Reformation missions of the Roman Church. While the Roman Church carried on extensive missions from the 16th to the 18th cent., the Reformed Churches during the same period were doing practically nothing. Indeed, their divines, when they touched the subject of the Christian obligation to evangelize the world, were mainly occupied in elaborating arguments to show that the command of Christ to do this had lapsed in their day. The causes of this inaction are complex.

After the great crisis of the Reformation the Protestant countries of Europe had not only to adapt their religious life to new conditions, but also to maintain their political existence against powerful hostile combinations. Meanwhile it was to Spain and Portugal, the great representatives of the old creed, that the discovery of America and of the Cape route to India had fallen. To them, accordingly, the pope had committed authority over the newly-found regions of America and Africa as well as the E. Indies, and this dominion they were able, to a considerable extent, to make effective. The revival of the Roman Church which followed the Reformation naturally threw much of its best force into these national undertakings, sanctioned by 'holy Church.' With the armies and administrators of Spain and Portugal went the priests and friars, whose task it was to bring these new territories into the Roman obedience.

With the 17th cent. began the colonial expansion of England, which resulted in the Christianization of N. America, not by the labour of missionaries, but by the migration of Christian peoples. A little later the Netherlands, freed from the rule of Spain, began to take over the dominions of Portugal in the East, and eventually founded a great empire in the Malay Archipelago; they also colonized the extremity of S. Africa and thereby founded a white nation in yet another temperate clime. To the Dutch also largely belongs the credit of opening commercial relations with China and Japan. Meanwhile, in the course of the 18th cent., the great Indian empire of Britain came into existence, and, following on this, relations with the Further East developed during the 19th century. The same period saw the penetration of Africa from south, east, and west, and its partition between Western Powers, among whom Britain and, latterly, Germany represented the Reformed faiths. It was through these political developments that the missionary sphere of the Protestant nations was opened up, so that, when their religious life was effectually revived towards the close of the 18th cent., the missionary call of an open world for which they were specially responsible came to Reformed Christendom with irresistible force.

When we have indicated the main features of the expansion of Protestant nations, we have indicated also the main lines of their missionary development as compared with that of the primitive and the mediæval Church. At first Christianity was conscious in principle of its universal destiny, but was practically confined by a limited world-outlook and the lack of communication between East and West. In the Middle Ages the Church on the one side was straitened by Islām, and on the other was grappling with the unfinished task of absorbing and training the barbarian nations of Europe. In both these periods the evangelist and the evangelized were, on the whole, of similar races and of cultures not radically different. In the modern period the world-outlook has become complete and practical, while, with the facility of intercourse, the immensely greater progress in arts and sciences since the 15th cent. by the Christianized nations has made the intellectual and social difference between the Christian and the non-Christian far greater than at any earlier time. This is at once the advantage and the impediment of modern missions as compared with ancient.

Modern missions generally are continuous with the primitive expansion of Christianity, and in the case of Protestant missions in particular we must go back to the primitive records of the faith and to its early history in order to estimate their work. But in so doing we are at once struck by certain outstanding contrasts connected with the historical situation. Since in primitive times the missionary and his hearers belonged broadly to the same level of culture and to the same sphere of thought and language, and were members of the same or similar communities, the whole range of problems connoted by the terms 'home base' and 'foreign field' was for them non-existent, and the economic problem of modern missions was present only in germ, or even in an inverted form, financial help being sent by the daughter Churches to the mother. Not unconnected with this feature of early conditions is another fact. The propagation of the faith was the work of the Church in each place, whether through its officers or through its ordinary members, for the Church itself was the evangelizing body. Hence in the early records of expansion the professional missionary, as distinguished from the ordinary minister or layman, is conspicuous by his absence. There were great leaders in the work of evangelization among the bishops and others, but for associations distinct from the Church, set apart for evangelism, there was no place. Finally, the political relation of the missionary to his hearers was either simply that of a fellow-subject of the same great empire or that of a stranger from a land of no very different conditions.

Following on the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the Roman State, the irruption of the barbarians, and the rise of monasticism, these conditions were modified. The missionary trained and set apart for the work appears on the scene, more often as a member of an order than as an isolated evangelist. The conversion and control of virile and turbulent barbarians seemed to demand a sterner discipline than the Church alone could exercise; repeatedly the arm of the State was vigorously used, and orders came into existence that were half-monk, half-warrior, such as the Knights of St. John and the Order of Teutonic Knights. The Christianization of the West was largely accomplished through monastic and military agencies, though the individual missionary was not absent. In Asia the wide-spread missionary work of the Nestorians had little of the political element, but it went down before the great onrush of Asiatic migrations—either under the military impact of Islām or under the unified forces of Buddhism. On both sides of the world the faith spread or receded amid the reciprocal contact and strife of nations whose land-frontiers were contiguous. The more stringent organization of missionary work and the training of the worker had made progress, but the political factor had deteriorated its texture.

The doctrine of the Reformation insisted on the liberty of the individual conscience and the freedom of individual access to God, together with the absolute sovereignty of His grace in the work of salvation. The result of this in principle, although slowly realized in practice, was the elimination of the political factor from the spiritual activity of the Church, more especially in missionary work The missions of the counter-Reformation were still closely linked with political conquest and administration, but so also were the earlier Dutch Protestant missions in the East. Both were in reality survivals of the mediæval method. The modern missionary method, both in the Roman and in the Reformed communions, is substantially that of free associations, working on a basis of voluntary co-operation. The missionary orders of the Roman Church have indeed retained continuously their historical organization, adding new orders, as needed, on a similar basis; but the missionary societies of Protestant Christendom are, in effect, an expression of the same principle, only that in them the exercise of individual freedom has been combined with obedience to superimposed organization and discipline for a common purpose. It would not be correct to say that Protestant missions are differentiated from Roman by a lack of direct subordination to Church authority, for many of them are directly administered by the governing bodies of their Churches. There is, however, this obvious difference, that the missions of the Roman Church are all co-ordinated and guided by a single central authority which is conspicuously lacking in Protestant Christendom. On the other hand, the Protestant organizations are now systematically endeavouring to gain the benefits of unity, together with those of freedom, by voluntary co-operation and co-ordination in missionary work, not only as between Churches but also as between nations.

II. *HISTORY.*—**1. Formation and development of societies.**—Up to the 18th cent. the missionary societies in Britain and on the Continent were closely connected. The Dutch East India Company, founded in 1602, was enjoined by its charter to care for the conversion of the heathen in the newly-won possessions of the Republic, and it appointed preachers for the purpose; but the work was carried on mechanically under government pressure. After a century the number of registered Christians in Ceylon was 350,000, in Java 100,000, and in Amboyna 40,000, but few were left of these myriads in Ceylon after English rule came in, and only a small minority in Java under Dutch rule. In New England the Pilgrim Fathers at first had to defend life and property against the Indian tribes who surrounded them, but in 1646 John Eliot, pastor of Roxbury, gave himself to work among the aborigines, learning their language, carefully teaching them, and gathering them into organized churches—the first real Protestant missionary enterprise. In 1649 the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was formed, and it is still extant, but its activities have consisted chiefly in the collection of funds. In 1698 the efforts of Thomas Bray, Rector of Sheldon, Warwickshire, resulted in the formation of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. During the 18th cent. this aided the Danish-Halle Mission and other missions in India, but its principal work since 1813 has been the publication and circulation of Christian literature, both at home and abroad. In 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded to provide clergy for the colonies and dependencies of Great Britain and also to take steps for 'the conversion of the natives'; but little was done for the latter object till after 1817. These three societies are connected with the Church of England.

The revival of spiritual religion in Germany known as Pietism (*q.v.*) resulted in two missionary movements during the 18th century. Frederic William IV., king of Denmark, feeling responsibility for his colonial dominions, found the men whom he needed in Bartholomæus Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plütschau, followers of the great Pietist leader, Hermann August Francke. They were sent out in 1705 to the Danish settlement of Tranquebar in S. India, and there founded a work which was developed by many successors of note, especially Christian Friedrich Schwartz (1749–98). Their work was partly maintained by the S.P.C.K. The other far-reaching missionary movement of German origin was the Moravian. Members of the Unitas Fratrum of Moravia, driven from their homes for their faith, were settled by the Pietist Nikolaus Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf, on his estate at Herrnhut in Saxony in 1722. Very soon their zeal led them to send missionaries to the Negroes of the W. Indies and to the Greenlanders who had been evangelized by the Norwegian, Hans Egede, but were left after his return uncared for. This was the beginning of a world-wide work, carried on by a community never numbering more than 40,000 souls in Europe, but with 100,000 converts abroad, and a roll of more than 2000 missionaries, sent out since its foundation. See, further, art. MORAVIANS.

The Presbyterian Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, founded in Scotland in 1709, deserves mention, because among a few missionaries whom it sent to the Indians of N. America was David Brainerd, the evangelist of the Delaware Indians. He died after only three years' work, but his biography powerfully influenced William Marsden of New Zealand, William Carey and Henry Martyn of Bengal, and many others.

By the middle of the 18th cent. these early movements of Protestant missions had greatly slackened owing to the religious deadness which had overtaken the various Churches. But the antidote to this was already working in the evangelical revival connected on the Continent with the names of Francke and Zinzendorf, and in England with those of John Wesley (1703–91) and George Whitefield (1714–70). The inevitable result in the revival of zeal for the evangelization of the outside world became manifest towards the end of the century. The two great leaders and their immediate followers were ministers of the Church of England, but, owing to the deadness of her leaders and people, the movement, while powerfully influencing the Church, resulted in the formation of the strongest of the Protestant bodies, the Methodists of England and America. But it was to another dissenting body that the missionary call first came effectively. The great pioneer William Carey and his fellows founded the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792. In 1795 followed the second society, at first called simply the Missionary Society. It was founded by Church of England, Independent, and Presbyterian ministers. In 1796 two Scottish associations were established, known as the Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies. In 1799 Evangelical members of the Church of England decided to establish the Church Missionary Society, and the undenominational society already mentioned became known as the London Missionary Society. Though others are not excluded, it has since then practically remained the organ of the English Congregationalists. The British and Foreign Bible Society was set on foot in 1804 by the joint action of churchmen and dissenters. The Wesleyan Methodists had already been carrying on missionary work in East and West since 1786 under the personal guidance of Thomas Coke, but after his death in 1814 they established their own society. The societies named, together with the revived operations of the S.P.G., represent the formative beginnings of Protestant missionary work in Great Britain. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, formed mainly by Congregationalists in 1810, and the American Baptist Missionary Union (1814) were the earliest societies in America. Before sketching the development of these and indicating the minor societies, it is desirable to mention two outside movements which greatly influenced the history of missions in Africa and the East.

It is reckoned that the African slave-trade during the hundred years preceding 1786 conveyed no fewer than 2,000,000 Negroes into British colonies, chiefly the W. Indies and British N. America; but even in England Negroes were sold and bought till the judgment pronounced by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield in 1772: 'As soon as any slave sets his foot on English ground, he becomes free.' This formed the starting-point for the campaign against the slave-trade in the entire British possessions, carried on within and without Parliament by William Wilberforce from 1789 till its victorious climax amid the throes of the Peninsular War in 1807. The abolition of the slave-trade did not as yet do away with slavery in British possessions outside the United Kingdom, nor with the slave-trade carried on by foreign nations. But it gave a powerful impulse to missionary work among Negroes, and arrangements were made at Sierra Leone for the reception of liberated slaves, of whom many thousands were settled there under the care of C.M.S. missionaries, the same thing being done later on the E. African coast near Mombasa. Meanwhile, the agitation against slavery in the British dominions was continued by Wilberforce and his successors till it was crowned with success in the Emancipation Act of 1833, which liberated 1,000,000 slaves in the W. Indies at a cost to the State of £20,000,000 paid to the owners as compensation. Slavery in the United States, and the trade that fed it, continued till Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Since then what remained of slavery under Christian rule has been abolished, and slavery in Muslim and pagan lands has been greatly limited. As a result of the shifting of populations, there are now some 12,000,000 Christianized Negroes in the United States and W. Indies, apart from those who have been brought in through missionary effort in Africa.

In the East the greatest of all colonial empires was built up by English merchant adventurers. The East India Company dates its charter from the year 1600, but for 150 years little was done for the spiritual benefit of its European servants, and nothing for the evangelization of the natives of the land. After the battle of Plassey in 1757 things improved somewhat among Europeans, but, when Parliament, on the motion of Wilberforce, in 1793 was ready to afford facilities for missionary work in India, the opposition of the E.I.C. threw out the clauses, and for the next twenty years Christian missionaries were rigorously excluded from its territories. At length in 1813, when the E.I.C. charter was once more revised, not only was the entry of missionaries conceded, but an ecclesiastical establishment was provided for Europeans, the representatives of which have done not a little to forward the cause of missions.

i. BRITAIN.—The later development of British societies, especially Anglican, was strongly influenced by several religious movements. The Irish Revival of 1859 affected England in 1860 and gave an impetus to the formation of undenominational societies, such as the China Inland Mission. In 1875 Dwight L. Moody's first revival in London and the first Keswick Convention marked the beginning of a movement which resulted in an immense growth of missionary zeal, both in offerings and in service on the part of university men, especially in connexion with the C.M.S. The Tractarian Movement had influenced one side of the Church of England for a generation before it began to appear extensively on the mission-field during the last quarter of the century.

(a) *Anglican.*—The *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* in 1817 was supporting a few clergy and schoolmasters in the N. American colonies and elsewhere. From that time it began its missions to non-Christians (1823) by sending men to Bengal and to S. India, where Robert Caldwell was distinguished as linguist and bishop. It has carried on all its missions under the direct superintendence of the diocesan bishops in the mission-field, and it has included in its activities the provision of ministration to white men in the colonies and on the continent of Europe. Its work among non-Christians has steadily increased and now absorbs £165,000 out of an income of £250,000. In India it has occupied Calcutta, Lucknow, Delhi, Bombay, Madras, Assam, and Burma. In 1821 it advanced to S. Africa, in 1848 to Borneo, in 1862 to the Pacific, in 1863 to N. China, in 1873 to Japan, in 1889 to Korea, in 1892 to Manchuria, and in 1903 to Siam. By constitution the S.P.G. is as broad as the Church of England, but as a matter of fact it has represented mainly the High Church side. It has developed in varying degrees the community type of missions. The Oxford Mission to Calcutta (1881) is now independent; the Cambridge Mission to Delhi and the Cawnpore Christ Church Brotherhood are still connected with the S.P.G. Its most flourishing missions are those to the Tamils of Tinnevelly and to the Kols of Chotā Nāgpur, both in India.

The principal other societies of this type are: (1) the *Melanesian Mission*, founded in 1846 by George A. Selwyn, afterwards bishop of Lichfield, and carried on by the martyr John C. Patteson; (2) the *Universities Mission to Central Africa*, a response made in 1859 to the call of David Livingstone, who appealed to the youth of Oxford and Cambridge to carry on his work. Bishop Edward Steere was its most distinguished scholar and statesman.

The earliest missionaries of the *Church Missionary Society*, like those of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., were Germans, and the Basel Missionary Institution, established in 1815, supplied no fewer than 88 C.M.S. missionaries, including the Arabic scholar and writer, K. G. Pfander, and the E. African explorers, J. Rebmann and L. Krapf. Its first mission was in W. Africa (1804). India was entered in 1813, when 'Abd-al-Masīḥ, the disciple of Henry Martyn, opened work at Agra. In 1814 Madras and New Zealand were occupied; Travancore in 1816; Ceylon in 1818; N.W. Canada in 1822; in 1820 C. T. E. Rhenius began work in Tinnevelly. In 1837 L. Krapf first went to E. Africa, and in 1841 H. W. Fox and L. L. Noble began the Telugu Mission in S. India. In 1847 China was entered by W. A. Russell and R. H. Cobbold. In 1850 the Sindh Mission was begun, and in 1852 the Panjāb Mission was started at Amritsar. The N.W. Frontier was first touched at Peshāwar in 1854, British Columbia in 1856, and Kashmīr in 1864. Uganda was opened up in 1876, Persia and Japan in 1869, Egypt (the revival of a previous mission) in 1882.

The C.M.S. represents the Evangelical school of the Church of England, in touch with the more pronounced Anglicanism on the one side and with nonconformist and interdenominational effort on the other. Its missionaries, after the first supply of German recruits, were drawn largely from its college at Islington, but of late years they have been furnished in increasing numbers by the universities. It is the largest of the Protestant missionary societies, with a missionary roll of 1340, an annual income of £400,000, and 450,000 adherents in the mission-field.

The *Church of England Zenana Missionary Society*, founded in 1880, works side by side with the C.M.S. in India and China. In 1913–14 it had 224 women missionaries, 27,239 pupils in zenanas and schools, and an income of £60,000. The *South American Missionary Society* (1851) carries on the Patagonian work begun by Allen Gardiner, and also works in Paraguay and S. Chile.

Most of these societies have associations in Ireland and Scotland, but the contributions and missionaries from those countries are not separately given.

(*b*) *English Free Churches.* — Only the chief societies can be dealt with here. The earliest is the *London Missionary Society* (1795). The discoveries of Captain John Cook moved the founders to send their first mission to the South Sea Islands, where John Williams, after years of work, was martyred on the island of Erromanga (1839). In 1798 S. Africa was occupied, and the labours of Robert Moffat, followed by those of his yet more distinguished son-in-law, David Livingstone, became classical. The most remarkable of L.M.S. missions was that in Madagascar, founded in 1820, and resumed, after long expulsion of the missionaries, with extraordinary fruitfulness. In N. and S. India L.M.S. work has been going on since 1804, extending to Bengal, the United Provinces, Madras, and Travancore. Robert Morrison of this society was the first missionary to enter China (1807), and missions are now planted in S., C., and N. China. C. Africa was taken up as a memorial to Livingstone in 1877. In 1913–14 this mission had 294 missionaries, an income of £214,000, and 316,000 adherents.

The *Baptist Missionary Society*, founded in 1792 on the impulse of William Carey, cobbler, preacher, missionary, and linguist, sent him out as its first messenger. Moved by the narrative of Cook's voyages in the South Seas, his first desire was to go there, but his destination was changed to India, and, being debarred by the E.I.C.'s regulations from settling in British territory, he started the first mission in Bengal at the Danish settlement of Serampore. This became the centre of a unique literary and linguistic work, carried on by Carey with the help of his colleagues, Joshua Marshman and William Ward. From Bengal the English Baptists extended their work eastwards to Assam, north-westwards to Agra, Delhi, and Simla, and southwards to Orissa; also to Ceylon, where a considerable work is done, to three provinces of China, and in Africa to the Lower and Upper Congo; they also did work in Kamerun, which was eventually made over to German missionaries when their government occupied the country. In 1913–14 they had 463 missionaries, an income of £99,000, and 25,170 Church members.

The Wesleyan Methodists had already begun work in the British W. Indies under Thomas Coke in 1786, and in W. Africa from 1811. After his death the *Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society* was founded as a separate organization, and the work advanced in 1814 to Ceylon, in 1815 to S. Africa, in 1817 to India, in 1822 to Australasia, and in 1851 to China. In the last region, and in S. Africa and the W. Indies, many of the churches are no longer under the management of the society. Like the Baptists in the north of India, the Wesleyans in the south have done much for the cause of vernacular literature. In 1913–14 their missionaries numbered 392, their income was £130,000, and their adherents 307,000.

Of societies connected with the minor sects of Methodism it must suffice to mention the Methodist New Connexion (1824), working in China; the United Methodists (1837), in China, E. and W. Africa, and Jamaica; and the Primitive Methodists (1869), in Africa. The Methodist missions generally are an integral part of the Church organizations. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists (1840) are, properly speaking, Presbyterian. They have an exceptionally successful work among the Khāsis of the Assam hills.

For convenience we may add here the *Friends' Foreign Mission Association* (1865), working in Madagascar, India, Ceylon, China, and Syria. Like the Moravians, though very much later in time, the Friends prosecute their missionary operations to an extent that is in striking contrast to the smallness of their community, reckoned, as it is, at some 30,000 members.

(*c*) *Presbyterian.* — The Presbyterian societies, like the Methodist, are part and parcel of the Church organization.

Scottish Churches. — The *Glasgow* and *Scottish Missionary Societies*, founded in 1796, carried on their work in the face of considerable indifference and even opposition. In 1824, at the instance of John Inglis, the General Assembly undertook a mission to India, and the sending out in 1829 of Alexander Duff, followed by Murray Mitchell and John Wilson, marked an epoch in the history of educational missions in India, which these men opened up with marvellous ability and zeal. The work at Lovedale in Kaffraria (1841) became famous among industrial missions. At the Disruption in 1843 the missionaries in India and Kaffraria cast in their lot with the Free Church, and this new body soon greatly increased its operations, adding Natal, Nyasaland, the New Hebrides, Syria, and S. Arabia. Since the union of the Free Church with the United Presbyterians the United Free Church field has included operations in W. Africa, the W. Indies, China, and Japan. The work of the Established Church was also revived and extended in India, C. Africa, and China.

The *English Presbyterian Church* (1847) is working in China, Formosa, the Straits Settlements, and India; the *Irish Presbyterian Church* (1840) in Manchuria and India.

All these societies have their organizations for women's missionary work, in some cases distinct from the main body, but mostly as a department of it. Generally speaking, the women's societies or auxiliaries are later developments, for it was hardly practicable to send out unmarried women as missionaries till after the middle of the last century; before this, work among women was carried on by the wives of missionaries, to whom some of the most important organizations owe their foundation and development. In the figures given the women's work is included in that of the main society.

(*d*) *Undenominational.* — Among undenominational societies we notice the two most prominent. The *Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society* was founded in 1852 for the educational purposes indicated in its name. In 1880 the majority of the Church of England members seceded, and started the *Church of England Zenana Missionary Society.* Under the new name of the *Zenana, Bible, and Medical Mission* the original body has continued to co-operate with Church of England and Presbyterian missions in India, and has developed medical work. The *China Inland Mission* was founded in 1865 by J. Hudson Taylor, who had already worked in China as an evangelist from 1853. Vocation and spiritual preparation are insisted on, but not high educational attainments; careful training, however, is given in language-schools on the field. No direct appeals for funds are made at the home base, and no fixed salary is guaranteed to the missionary. The plan of advance has been to 'occupy' province after province by stationing missionaries in the inland provincial capitals, instead of remaining in or near the treaty ports on the coast. The sending out of seven Cambridge athletes in 1885 created great enthusiasm. The work of the C.I.M. has spread rapidly and given an impetus to advance by other societies into Inland China. In the Boxer Rebellion of 1900 the martyr roll of missionaries of this society far exceeded that of any other. The

Salvation Army has been doing missionary work, principally in India, since 1883; its operations have been mostly of a social kind, such as industrial undertakings and reclamation of certain criminal tribes. The *North Africa General Mission* works mainly in Algeria and Morocco; the *Egypt General Mission* as indicated by its name; the *Regions Beyond* and the *Sudan United Missions* in W. and C. Africa.

(*e*) *Missionary publishing societies.*—In all Protestant missionary work the rule has been to give converts and others access to the Christian Scriptures as soon as possible. Occasionally this may have resulted in premature productions which have afterwards been the cause of misunderstanding or hindrance, but, taken as a whole, the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the non-Christian world has been one of the most signal and fruitful achievements of modern missions. The Bible, as a whole or in part, is now printed in about 500 languages and dialects. The great bulk of this work has been and is being done by the *British and Foreign Bible Society* (1804), which has issued 487 of these versions up to 1914. The number of these is being increased year by year, and the work of revision of older versions in the light of the best scholarship is constantly proceeding. Many scores of these languages possessed neither book nor script before they were reduced to writing by the missionaries, who soon followed up the spelling-book and the school-reader with the Gospels, and gradually added the whole NT and in many cases the OT also. The B. and F.B.S. circulated, in 1914, 10,162,413 copies of the Scriptures. It received a charitable income (exclusive of sales) of £90,000. The *National Bible Society of Scotland* and the *Trinitarian Bible Society* in the same year circulated respectively 2,762,616 and 154,952 copies in 13 and 2 languages (besides those dealt with by the larger society).

For the production of Christian literature of a more general kind the *Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge*, already noticed, is the oldest society. It helps Church of England missions in all parts of the world, principally with books of devotion and theology, but also with works of a more general nature. It has published in 99 languages. The *Religious Tract Society* (1799), with an income (apart from sales) of £17,196, does a similar work on an interdenominational basis, and it has been the means of founding several daughter societies in India and China. It publishes in 200 languages. The *Christian Literature Society for India* was founded in 1858 as a Christian reply to the mutiny. Under John Murdoch (1859–1904) it developed a wide-spread activity in production, both of educational works and of religious and general literature. A similar *Christian Literature Society for China* has done much in producing high-class literature under the leadership of Timothy Richards and others. The *Nile Mission Press* at Cairo (1902) produces Arabic literature for missions to Muslims in the Near East. But the mission presses at work in the four quarters of the globe run into many hundreds.

ii. AMERICA.[1]—The *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, founded in 1810, sent out its first missionaries to India in 1812; but, owing to the hostile attitude of the E.I.C., they did not secure a footing in W. India till 1814, and in the same year they entered Ceylon. The other principal steps forward were to Oceania (1819), W. Africa (1830), S.E. Africa (1835), China (1847), and Japan (1869). Since the separation from this Board of the Dutch Reformed and the Presbyterian missions the A.B.C.F.M. represents the Congregationalists of the U.S.A. Income, £200,978; missionaries, 615; adherents, 193,742.

The *American Baptist Missionary Union* came into existence in 1814, when Adoniram Judson entered Burma. In 1827 he began a remarkably successful work among the Karen tribe, which has come over in masses to Christianity. Another Indian mission of the A.B.M.U. in the Telugu country (from 1840) has been the sphere of a large movement. The Union entered China in 1843, the Congo Territory in 1866, and Japan in 1872. The Southern Baptist Convention, an off-shoot from the main body, carries on missions in China, W. Africa, and Japan. Income, £222,885; missionaries, 701; adherents, 505,600.

The *Methodist Episcopal Church* represents the Wesleyan movement in the U.S.A. The larger, or Northern, branch carries on its missions to non-Christians in S. India (1833), China (1847), N. India (1856), Japan (1872), Korea (1885), and Malaya (1889). The Southern branch began missionary work in 1846, and carries it on in India, China, and Japan. The foreign work of this denomination has spread rapidly and widely. Income, £296,506; missionaries, 1396; adherents, 687,368.

The *Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* is also a leading missionary force. It separated its work from that of the A.B.C.F.M. in 1837, and has missions in Syria, Persia, India, Siam, W. Africa, China, and Japan. Its educational work in India especially is of a high order. The Presbyterians of the Southern States (*Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.*; 1861) work in China, Japan, Congo Territory, and Korea. The *United Presbyterian Church* (1859) maintains a vigorous work in China, India, and Egypt (the last named chiefly among Copts); in their Panjāb Mission accessions have been very large. The *Dutch Reformed Church* (1832) works in China, Japan, India, and on the Persian Gulf. The *Disciples of Christ* have missions in China, Japan, India, and Turkey. The first of these denominations in 1914 had an income of £561,142, 1537 missionaries, and 370,238 adherents.

The *Lutheran Churches of the U.S.A.*, numbering over 2,000,000 communicants (and, say, 10,000,000 adherents), are divided into six chief sects, whose first mission was undertaken in 1841. They work mainly in India, where their most important mission is in the Telugu country. Income, £68,907; missionaries, 81; adherents, 70,426.

The total figures for Protestant Missions in N. America amount to 6627 missionaries and 1,396,631 adherents.[1]

Canada has eight leading Protestant missionary societies. The principal of these are the *Baptist*, the *Methodist*, the *Presbyterian*, and the *Anglican*.

In addition to the Boards connected with the various Churches, one organization, connected with no Church in particular, has powerfully influenced the missionary life of all, not only in America, but in the United Kingdom, and on the continent of Europe. The going out of the 'Cambridge Seven' to China in 1884 excited great interest among the students of America as well as among those of Great Britain, and at a conference of students summoned in 1886 by Moody at Mount Hermon, Mass., the *Student Volunteer Missionary Union* was formed on the basis of a declaration by each member of his or her intention to become a foreign missionary. The same movement continued in a less organized form in Britain till it was formally established there also, in Edinburgh, in 1892. It soon became evident that the appeal for missionary service could not be effective without a strengthening of the general Christian life of the student world at large, and in 1893 the *Student Christian Movement for Great Britain and Ireland* was started. This has now a membership of over 9000 students, including those in theological colleges, and it is affiliated to the *World's Student Christian Federation*, with a membership of over 180,000 students in some 40 countries. The S.V.M.U. has become a department of the more general work. Since 1896 it has systematized the study of missions among its members and outside by the formation of study circles and the provision of suitable textbooks for them. The Liverpool Conference of 1912 co-ordinated the foreign missionary and home social problems of the movement more closely than before, and the S.C.M. works at the solution of both as inseparable the one from the other. From the British branch of the S.V.M.U. over 2000 students have left in thirteen years for the mission-field; 700 are still in college, and 600 are undergoing post-collegiate training for missionary work. The Union sends out no missionaries itself, but only through the societies.

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[1] The figures given are exclusive of work among Indians or others in home territories. Unless otherwise specified, they are for the year ending Dec. 1914. Generally speaking, these American Boards are part of the official organization of their respective Churches. The principal ones only are mentioned.

[1] It is impossible to estimate accurately the distribution of income between home and foreign missions.

iii. GERMANY.—In the latter part of the 18th cent. the Danish-Halle Mission died out, its missionaries being taken over by other societies. The *Moravians* quietly continued their work and celebrated their first centenary in 1832 with much cause for rejoicing; their influence was felt, too, in new undertakings elsewhere. During their second century the work has increased till it embraces 21 mission-fields, mostly in America, but also in Africa, Australia, and India. The income from home contributions is little more than one-third of the total expenditure, the balance being met from free-will offerings in the mission-field, government grants, and trade profits. The fields of work are largely the most remote and inhospitable lands, such as Greenland, Labrador, Alaska, the Mosquito Coast, N. Australia, and Lesser Tibet.

Other German Protestant missionary efforts began with the training of missionaries for societies outside of Germany. Johann Jaenicke from 1800 to 1827 carried on a missionary seminary in Berlin whose *alumni* were sent out from Holland and England. They included pioneers in Tinnevelly (C. T. E. Rhenius) and China (C. Guetzlaff). In S. Germany Christian life was strongest in Würtemberg, Baden, and German Switzerland, and here missionary interest resulted in the foundation of the *Basel Missionary Institute* in 1815, from which 88 candidates were passed on to the C.M.S., many of whose early missions were founded or conducted by them. In 1822 the *Basel Evangelical Missionary Society* was founded, largely through the efforts of Christian Gottlieb Barth. Their first permanent mission was started on the Gold Coast in 1828. In 1843 work was begun on the south-west coast of India, in 1846 in China (Kwantung), and in 1886 Kamerun, becoming a German colony, was taken over from the Baptist Missionary Society. The Industrial Association connected with the Basel Mission has taken a lead in industrial work in S. India, where it carries on weaving, tile-making, etc., at Mangalur and other centres.

The *Berlin Missionary Society* sent out its first missionaries to Africa in 1834, and in 1872 it took over work in S. China, and in 1891 in E. Africa. The valley of the Wupper in Rhenish Prussia was a strong centre of active Christian life, and here, after much preliminary work, the *Rhenish Missionary Society* was founded in 1828. This, too, began work first in S. Africa, extending in 1834 to Borneo, in 1862 to Sumatra, in 1865 to Nias, in 1846 to China, and in 1887 to Kaiser Wilhelmsland. The missions in S. Africa have attained a large measure of self-support, and in Sumatra many Muhammadans have been brought in, together with masses of pagans.

The year 1836 saw the foundation of three German societies. The *Bremen Missionary Society* has had a chequered career, its principal mission being in W. Africa, where the deadly climate has carried off many missionaries. The *Leipzig Missionary Society* was first established in Dresden, and transferred to Leipzig by its director, K. Graul, in 1848. It makes more use of university graduates as missionaries than do the other German missions, which generally employ seminarists. It also more than others represents the pronounced Lutheran element. The Leipzig M.S. in 1840 took over what remained of the old Danish-Halle Mission, and in 1892 it opened work in German E. Africa. The *Gossner Missionary Society* was founded by a Berlin pastor of that name. He began on his own responsibility to train missionaries in Scripture and the devotional life, and within 22 years he had sent out 178 to Australia, British and Dutch India, N. America, and W. Africa. Not a few of them proved able and successful evangelists. After Gossner's death in 1858 many of them joined other societies, but the work among the Kols of Chotā Nāgpur, which had been specially fruitful, was put under a board, since then known as the Gossner M.S. Notwithstanding the secession of several missionaries with their flocks to the S.P.G. in 1868, the Gossner Mission (113,000 adherents) represents the largest group of Christians in the Province of Bengal.

Another mission which belongs to the extreme Lutheran section of German Protestantism, and which also owes its origin to the enterprise of a single man, is the *Hermannsburg Missionary Society*, begun by Ludwig Harms in 1849. After parting with certain fields to others, this mission has work now in S. Africa and India.

Besides the eight societies mentioned above, the following have been founded later: *Schleswig Holstein* (1877), *Neukirchen* (1882), *General Evangelical Protestant* (1884), *Berlin Missionary Society for E. Africa* (1886), together with a number of minor bodies, including several small societies for women's work. The G.E.P. Society is the only body representing a modernist standpoint approximating to Unitarianism. It has a few missionaries in Japan.

iv. HOLLAND.—Owing, perhaps, to the State propagation of the faith in former years, independent missionary societies have not multiplied here so rapidly as elsewhere. The *Dutch Missionary Society*, founded in 1797, has worked in the Malay Archipelago, and the results of its work have largely—especially in Minahassa in Celebes—been taken over by the Established Church, which maintains 36 pastors and 26 assistants, who minister both to converts and to colonists. A number of minor societies have been formed from time to time. The Dutch missions have had considerable success among the Muslims of their colonies.

v. FRANCE.—In France the cause of Protestant missions is represented by the *Société des Missions Evangéliques*, founded in Paris in 1824. Its chief mission is the very successful one among the Basutos in S. Africa with which the name of François Coillard is connected. It has also taken over work from English and American societies in territories such as Madagascar, Gabun, and the Society Islands, which had come under French domination. In French Switzerland the *Mission Romande* was founded in 1879; it works in N. Transvaal and Delagoa Bay.

vi. SCANDINAVIA.—In Scandinavia the *Danish Missionary Society* was founded in 1862, and works in S. India and China. The *Norwegian Missionary*

Society (1842) has missions among the Zulus and in Madagascar. There are minor missions connected with the China Inland, the Alliance, and other societies. Sweden also has had its own *Swedish Missionary Society* since 1835, working in S. India and S. Africa, and a *Swedish Missionary Union*, since 1878, with missionaries in Algeria, the Congo, Ural, Persia, China, and Chinese Turkestan, besides minor associations. Finland has a *Lutheran Missionary Society* with work in S. Africa and *Free Church* missions in China and India.

vii. BRITISH COLONIES.—The British colonial Churches of various denominations maintain a considerable and increasing amount of missionary work. This is done partly through societies locally formed, partly by assisting the older societies in home lands. Australia and New Zealand, in addition to work among their own aborigines, send men and women principally to Asiatic countries, the S. African churches to the pagans of their own territories, the now independent W. Indian Churches to their own neighbours and to their race-fellows in Africa. In India and China, though very few churches are as yet self-supporting, various indigenous missionary societies have been formed, such as the *Tinnevelly Missionary Society* and the *National Missionary Society*, for work in various parts of India. These two had 2416 adherents, 5 missionaries, and an income of about £4000 in 1912.

2. Preparation of missionaries.—In the beginnings of societies the first step taken was frequently the establishment of a missionary seminary. As a rule, the candidates required some school training before entering on their theological course. The fact that many of them had been engaged in trades or handicrafts rendered them all the better suited to the pioneer work which largely fell to their lot, but not a few distinguished scholars developed among them. The Free Churches in England and America have drawn their missionaries mainly from the theological colleges of their denominations, but the Scottish Churches have usually sent out graduates of the universities. In the Anglican Church, missionary seminaries have a more important position, the most prominent being the C.M.S. College at Islington (797 missionaries up to 1913, of whom 13 are bishops) and St. Augustine's College at Canterbury (307 and 5 respectively). On the Continent the great majority of missionaries are seminarists, but their training is generally most thorough, and they seem to have produced as many scholars in proportion as the university-trained men. In American missions it is difficult to distinguish accurately between university and non-university men. In any case, both there and in Europe the S.V.M.U. has greatly tended to bring men and women of good university attainments into the missionary ranks—a tendency emphasized by the rapidly increasing demands of higher education in the mission-field.

Till recently good theological training with a university degree was considered the *ne plus ultra* of missionary preparation from the intellectual side. But since the beginning of this century the conviction has been gaining ground that the task of the missionary demands, besides these, a technical training proper to it. This opinion was voiced by Commission VI. of the Edinburgh Conference, which recommended the establishment of Boards of Study for the special preparation of missionaries both in Britain and in America. This was carried into effect. The American Board of Missionary Studies is working on a somewhat wider basis, taking in theological subjects as well as others, whereas the British Board of Study, by mutual agreement, as an interdenominational body, deals only with general subjects (history and methods of missions, phonetics, linguistics, comparative and special study of religions, ethnography, anthropology, sociology, hygiene, business methods, educational methods). Some colleges already give themselves more or less to the teaching of these subjects: in America the Kennedy School of Missions at Hartford, Conn., the Missions Department of Yale University, the Bible Teachers' Training School, New York, the College of Missions, Indianapolis, the Cincinnati Missionary Training School, in Britain the U.F.C. Women's Missionary College, Edinburgh, and the Kingsmead Training Institution, Birmingham, take up many of these subjects, and it is in contemplation to merge the British Board of Study in a Central College of Missionary Study.

3. Missionary conferences.—The lack of unity and co-ordination in Protestant missions has long exercised the minds of their promoters, and the effort has been made to overcome this difficulty by gatherings for common counsel. The general missionary conferences thus far were held in Liverpool in 1860 (126 members); London, Mildmay Park, 1878 (158 delegates); London, Exeter Hall, 1888 (1494 delegates); New York, 1900 (2300 members); and Edinburgh, 1910 (1206 delegates). The bulk of the membership in these has consisted of delegates of missionary societies and boards, supplemented by missionaries from the field and experts of eminence. The composition of these conferences has become increasingly interdenominational and international; and in Edinburgh not only did High Anglicans attend as members, but messages of greeting were received from Greek and Roman prelates, while Asiatics, Africans, Australasians, Americans, and Europeans of many nationalities took part. The conferences have no legislative or executive authority, but the 'findings' which are formulated as the result of their debates exercise great practical influence on missionary work and methods. The reports of these conferences form a valuable record of the progress of missionary life and policy and a storehouse of missionary thought and argument. The report of the Edinburgh Conference especially (in 9 vols., London and New York, 1910) is indispensable to the student of missions. Its investigations and discussions are carried on by a Continuation Committee which publishes the quarterly *International Review of Missions*. The same kind of work has been carried on in the mission-field by periodical conferences of representatives from different missions at such centres as Madras and Shanghai, and in 1912-13 J. R. Mott convened a series of Continuation Committee Conferences in India, China, and Japan, the findings of which are published in a bulky volume (New York, 1913). By these and other means a large amount of practical union in work has been attained, and the tendency in the mission-field and at the home base towards closer unity has been promoted.

4. The field.—i. AMERICA.—The spread of Christianity in this continent has been mainly through immigration. Paganism is now only a fringe of the total population of 170,000,000. The work of Protestant missions has been chiefly in N. America, among Eskimos, Indians, and Negroes. For our purposes the W. Indian Islands and Guiana go together with N. America. S. America has been touched in Patagonia and Paraguay.

(*a*) *Eskimos.*—The Norsemen who immigrated to Greenland in the Middle Ages had a bishopric of their own, but both they and their faith died out before the 18th century. In 1721 a Norwegian pastor, Hans Egede, having heard of them, repaired to the west coast of Greenland and began work among the Eskimos under great difficulties owing to their utter indifference. It was continued, however, by his son, and eventually taken up by the Danish M.S. The west coast population in this region is Christianized, and missionary work is going on among the pagans of the east coast. Further south on the west coast the Moravians, beginning in 1733, founded the settlement of New Herrnhut, and from that centre Christianized the tribes, so that in 1899 they were able to hand over this territory to the care of the Danish Church. In Labrador since 1771 the scattered Eskimos have been mainly brought in by the Moravians, and they are cared for with the help of trade carried on by the mission ship 'Harmony.' On the other side of the continent the U.S. territory of Alaska contains a relatively considerable population of Eskimos, besides Aleutians, Indians, immigrant Chinese, and white men. Here in 1877 a Presbyterian mission was founded, followed by Moravians, American Anglicans, and others, totalling about 6000 Christians. The race, about 40,000 in number, is intellectually apathetic and feebly organized; hence its contact with white traders has been unfavourable to the development of independent Church life, but missionary work has meant their salvation from extinction through strong drink, disease, and exploitation.

(*b*) *Indians.*—These number now in the U.S. and Canada under 400,000. Over one-half live on reservations; the rest are scattered among their white fellow-citizens. From the 17th cent. onwards the relations of the colonists, whether French, English, or Dutch, with the Indians were those of perennial warfare and commercial exploitation, till the peace of the country was fully established and a more sensible and humane policy was gradually introduced. Missionary efforts were never entirely wanting. John Eliot (from 1646), David Brainerd (from 1743), and David Zeisberger (from 1745) gathered many thousands of Indians into Christian congregations of peaceful citizens, but again and again their work was destroyed by civil war. The later and more gradual settlement of Canada was advantageous to the Indian population, as the missions of all Churches were able to gain a hold, before land-grabbing and commercial greed came strongly to the fore. The first Protestant mission was begun in the Hudson's Bay Territory in 1820; it has been developed largely by the C.M.S., and much heroic work was done by its pioneers among the sparse native population before the colonists came in. Now the whole dominion is parcelled out in dioceses of the Anglican Church, and work among the Indians is carried on by other denominations also, Presbyterians and Methodists being specially active. Since the separation from England the evangelizing of Indians in the U.S. has been more and more taken over by the various Churches, and the still pagan Indians are a small remnant. Their assimilation as citizens of the Republic is still an incomplete process.

(*c*) *Negroes.*—These number (including coloured or mixed population), in the U.S. 9,827,763 (1910), and in the W. Indies 1,280,000. Their introduction into the latter dates from the Spanish conquest, into the U.S. from 1640. Organized missions among the U.S. Negroes practically began about 1860, but during their time of slavery large numbers had been Christianized, especially by the Methodists and Baptists. The bulk of these Negroes are now connected with the various Protestant Churches. In 1913 they contributed about £20,000 for home missions and £10,000 for foreign missions, besides maintenance of churches, ministry, and education. The Negroes of Cuba and Haiti are but little touched by Protestant work, but in the remaining islands they are incorporated into self-supporting churches, the result of previous missionary effort, and their economic condition is less complicated by an overweight of white population than in the U.S. They number about 1,000,000.

(*d*) *S. America.*—The territory of Guiana is closely connected with the W. Indies. Anglicans, Moravians, and Methodists have gathered converts amounting to 90,000. These are partly from among the E. Indian indentured coolies working on the sugar-plantations (who are also to be found on the islands). Catechists and clergy of Indian nationality work among them, and coolies returning home help to spread the faith in India.

Of the 38,000,000 in S. America the aborigines number about 5,000,000, mostly belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. Protestant missions have touched them in Patagonia, where the work set on foot by the heroic pioneer, Allen Gardiner, changed the opinion of Charles Darwin as to the susceptibility of a savage race to higher culture. The Indians of the Chaco in Paraguay have also begun to come in, and the mission among them has been recognized by the government of the Republic as the best mediator between white and coloured peoples.

ii. AFRICA.—(*a*) *W. Africa.*—It is this part of the continent that, owing to the slave-trade, has had the earliest and most intimate connexion with Protestant lands, especially with N. America. The endeavour to influence Africa directly by means of the liberated slave is chiefly represented by the little republic of Liberia, founded in 1824 by the American Colonisation Society. The Christian Negroes who settled there were hardly ripe for administering the Free State proclaimed in 1847, but from this centre work is being carried on by sundry societies among the neighbouring non-Christians. A certain number of American Negroes have been sent as missionaries to Africa by their Churches in the U.S.A., but the effective shaping of their work is a problem that awaits solution.

The north-west coast of Africa as far as the Senegal borders on sparsely-inhabited Muhammadan territory which has scarcely been entered as yet. From this to the mouth of the Congo is the region of Protestant mission-work.

At Sierra Leone the settling of liberated slaves began in 1808, after the abolition of the slave-trade, and its capital received the name Freetown. Up to 1846, 50,000 African slaves had been brought there, chiefly by British cruisers. For years great loss of life was experienced among the C.M.S. and other missionaries who worked there, and among the welter of tribes represented the only common language available was English. To some extent the varying elements were sifted out, and Christianity spread by means of those who rejoined their kindred elsewhere. In 1852 an Anglican bishopric was constituted, and in 1861 the Church, in which meanwhile education had spread rapidly, was made self-governing. It carries on missions among its pagan neighbours. Here and elsewhere in W. Africa the missionary comes into contact increasingly with Muslims from the north. Among a population of 75,000 in the colony 57,000 are Protestant Christians.

The Gold Coast Colony has a population of 1,500,000. The western part is worked by Wesleyan missionaries, the eastern by the Basel Society. The latter, since 1828, has penetrated effectively into the back country formerly under Ashanti rule; the Wesleyans, too, have moved into the northern territory. The country is being opened up by railways, and the rapid increase of commerce is enriching the Christian community here as elsewhere in W. Africa, to the advantage of self-support, but not always to that of spiritual life and morals. The Christian community now numbers upwards of 30,000.

The German colony of Togoland, next on the east, has considerably developed missionary work from that country, during the last few years, among the Ewe nation. Good linguistic work has been done. The community numbers some thousands.

The work in the lower basin and delta of the Niger has assumed increased importance since the constitution of Nigeria, the richest of Britain's African possessions, as a Crown Colony, with a population of 18,000,000. The first mission stations (from 1846 onwards) were started to look after natives of the Yoruba country who had returned from Sierra Leone to their own people. Lagos, the great port of the palm-oil trade, and the large interior towns of Abeokuta and Ibadan were occupied, and considerable Christian communities were gathered, amounting (1913) in the Yoruba province to 50,000. Economic development is going on rapidly, and the demand for education, especially in English, is increasing year by year.

After the Niger had been opened up by three voyages of exploration (1841, 1854, 1857), an African priest of the C.M.S., Samuel Crowther, was sent to this region. He planted several stations, and in 1864 was consecrated bishop. The work was carried on by Africans, with some vicissitudes but with substantial progress, till Crowther's death in 1891, when W. Equatorial Africa was placed under an English bishop, assisted by two Africans, the wealthy churches of the Delta being granted self-government. In N. Nigeria the town of Lokoja had been occupied in 1865, but it was not till the end of the century that an effective advance was made into this territory, where a predominantly Muhammadan population alternates with large patches of paganism, while the spread of Islām continues in a southerly direction. The work here is still in its beginnings. In Calabar at the south-east corner of Nigeria a Christian community of 11,000 has been gathered in by the U.F.C. mission.

Kamerun, a German colony since 1884, was originally evangelized by English Baptists, but their work was taken over mainly by the Basel Society, who were pushing into the back country before the outbreak of the great European war. The Christians number about 15,000 out of an estimated population of 3,000,000.

The Congo River was first opened up completely by Stanley in 1876–77, and the Congo Free State, under the protection of Belgium, has been the scene of rapid missionary advance along the river. Yakuso, the furthest point, near Stanleyville, is 1200 miles from the mouth. Among the first explorers in detail were the English Baptists G. Grenfell and W. H. Bentley from 1879 onwards. Other missionaries of various nationalities followed. Owing to the difficulties of climate and the great multitude of tribes and languages, progress has been limited, but some dozen societies are now at work in this area. Indigenous churches are being formed, and elementary education is being pushed.

The characteristic problems of the W. African missions generally are presented by the constant advance of Islām from the north, the demoralization of commercial intercourse caused by the liquor-trade, and the unsettling effects of a rapid acquisition of wealth formerly undreamt of. On the other hand, the removal of the evils connected with the slave-trade, the increase in prosperity and intelligence, and the creation of a Christian standard of conscience and morals, with the opportunity given to the natives of rising to a higher life, are elements in appreciable progress towards the regeneration of the Negro peoples.

(*b*) *S. Africa.*—In this we include the regions south of the river Kunene on the east and the Zambesi on the west. It contains three African races: the Bantu (including Zulus and Kafirs), the Nama or Hottentot, and the Bushman, the last two scarcely remaining pure, the first virile and prolific. The climate being temperate, Christianity has spread by immigration from western nations, and the white population is reckoned at 1,300,000. Hence the racial problem is at its acutest in S. Africa, and it specially affects the work of missions, which aim at raising the native populations to a higher level, religious, moral, and social, and at giving them the best education which they are capable of assimilating. The earliest Dutch colonists regarded the natives as an inferior class of beings whom it was both lawful and expedient to keep in subjection, and this attitude has not been confined to one section of the white races. Thus there has been a persistent prejudice against, and often actual antagonism to, the work of missions, sometimes aggravated by lack of prudence on the part of the missionary and by unbalanced policy on the part of the government. The conviction is gaining ground, however, that without the moral influence of Christianity the problems resulting from the contact and blending of two cultures cannot be thoroughly solved. Among some 4,000,000 natives there are now about 750,000 Christians, the result of the work of 30 missionary societies belonging to 8 nationalities. The racial factor is especially in evidence in the 'Ethiopian Movement,' composed of groups of congregations who in 1892 formally seceded from their missionary connexions. Some of them in 1899 joined the Anglican Church as 'the Ethiopian Order'; the remainder do not appear to be progressive either in internal life or in external expansion.

In what became in 1886 German S.W. Africa the principal work has been done by German missionaries of the Rhenish Society since the forties. The fruits of their persevering and systematic efforts have suffered greatly through colonial wars. Protestant Christians in the colony number, by last figures, 13,000.

The largest indigenous Christian population is in Cape Colony, numbering 1,145,000 out of a total of 2,500,000; it comprises westwards, broadly speaking, bastardized Hottentots, and, eastwards, Kafirs of relatively pure race. The Moravians, who began work in 1737, were followed in 1799 by the L.M.S., whose missions in Bechuanaland are remarkable for their great pioneers, R. Moffat and, above all, Livingstone. Through the persistence of John Mackenzie and the intervention of the British Government, all attempts to block the northward way of the missionary were frustrated, and the path of the gospel was opened up to the C. African lakes and eventually from the Cape to Cairo. The converts of the L.M.S. in Cape Colony now form a Congregational Union with some 35,000 adherents. Efforts of later dates are represented by the adherents of the Wesleyans (over 90,000, now independently organized), Rhenish M.S. (16,000), Berlin M.S. (50,000), and Scottish Presbyterians (25,000). The majority of the white colonists belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, which for a long time held aloof from missionary work. Since the middle of the 19th cent. its attitude has changed, and it carries on missions within and beyond Cape Colony. In the latter it counts over 80,000 native Christians, the majority of whom are under the charge of its parochial clergy. The Anglican Church in the three dioceses of the Colony claims over 70,000 adherents.

Among the Zulus and Swazis of Natal the work of many denominations has been greatly hindered by frequent and destructive wars, but Christian congregations have grown, and some converts have been gained from among the Indian coolies. Basutoland, blessed with a more quiet development since it became a Crown Colony in 1884, has been worked principally by the Paris M.S., which now counts about 70,000 adherents. Among the Bechuanas of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony Dutch, Anglican, Wesleyan, and Lutheran missions have gathered a Christian community of considerable importance. The problems of moral and social development are greatly complicated by the congestion of labourers, both Christian and non-Christian, in the mine compounds of Johannesburg and the Rand. The thinly-populated Bechuanaland Protectorate includes Khama's Country, where a Christian African prince rules his people well.

Madagascar has been a land of great vicissitudes in missionary work. The first missionaries of the L.M.S. began work with considerable success among the Hovas, the ruling race of the central province, in 1820. In 1836 the accession of a hostile queen brought about the expulsion of the missionaries, and for twenty-five years the Christians were severely persecuted, yet they increased considerably. In 1861 a new ruler recalled the missionaries, and, when another queen was baptized in 1869, conversions began in masses. To cope with the situation other societies, Friends, S.P.G., and Norwegians, entered the island. In 1895 Madagascar was annexed by France, and Protestant mission work was so severely hampered that the L.M.S. was fain to give over a large part of its work to the Paris M.S. The total number of Protestant Christians in Madagascar is estimated now at 287,000, while the scholars number 44,577.

(*c*) *E. and C. Africa.*—Missionaries helped to open up these lands both from the east coast and from the interior southwards. In 1844 Ludwig Krapf, a German in C.M.S. service, landed on the island of Mombasa and began work on the mainland opposite. He planned (1) to carry a chain of mission stations across Africa from Mombasa to Gabun; (2) to establish on the east coast a colony for liberated slaves like that in Sierra Leone on the west; and (3) to work for an African ministry under an African bishop. The second of these objects was accomplished at Freetown in 1874; the first and third are in process of realization now. In 1846 Krapf was joined by Johann Rebmann. After nine years Krapf was invalided; Rebmann held on for twenty-nine years. By their discovery of the snow-peaks of Kilimanjaro and Kenia on the equator, and of the great inland-sea of Nyanza, they revolutionized the geography of C. Africa, and their linguistic labours prepared the way for later workers in a fruitful field.

The yet greater work of David Livingstone is part of history. From his first station of Kolobeng in S. Africa he constantly pressed northwards, crossed Africa from east to west, and opened up the lake regions of Nyasa and Tanganyika, exploring ceaselessly till he died at Ilala in 1873. In his opinion the end of the geographical feat was the beginning of the missionary enterprise. He desired to uproot the slave-trade, and to open up Africa to legitimate commerce and to Christian culture with faith as its root. The Universities Mission to Central Africa undertaken by members of the Church of England, the L.M.S. mission on Lake Tanganyika, and the Scottish Presbyterian missions in Nyasaland are the direct results of his lifework; but it affected the whole missionary enterprise of inland Africa. To Stanley it was given to complete the work of Livingstone by his exploration of the Congo valley, and in the course of it he gave the impulse which has resulted in the formation of a virile Christian State in the centre of Africa, now the kingdom of Uganda. Stanley found the king, Mutesa, hesitating between the claims of Christianity and Islām. Through a Swahili Christian interpreter he put the Christian case before the monarch and straightway appealed to English Christendom to enter this open door. The result was the sending of the well-known C.M.S. mission in 1875. The murder of James Hannington and the barbarous persecution of the early converts only served to increase zeal and enthusiasm. After sundry conflicts and imminent risk of abandonment by the Colonial Office, Uganda became a British Protectorate, under which mission work has gone forward peacefully. The country now contains 96,000 Protestant Christians, with a somewhat larger number of Roman Catholics and a smaller number of Muhammadans. The schools contain scholars up to a secondary standard. The growing Church now forms an effectual breakwater against the rising tide of Islām.

The two protectorates of E. Africa, the English and the German, have each brought the country under civilized administration, and the British Government has opened up its territory by a railway, preceded or accompanied by missionaries. The English work in German territory has been partly made over to German missions since the establishment of the colony in 1884, but a group of C.M.S. missions remains round Mpwapwa, and another of the U.M.C.A. opposite Zanzibar. The German work is chiefly on the northern frontier, and on the north shore of Lake Nyasa and its vicinity. The principal missions of the Nyasaland Protectorate are those of the Scottish churches, with the two industrial centres of Livingstonia in the north and Blantyre in the south—fit memorials of the great Scottish missionary pioneer. His successors have seen the slave-trade entirely wiped out and fierce animist tribes subdued by the influence of Christian love, exemplified in medical missions, and brought under training in civilized industry and commerce. The Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān in its Muhammadan parts is closed to missionary effort by government ruling; among the pagan Dinkas, Azandi, and other tribes missionary work is in its first stages.

iii. OCEANIA.—Missions in Oceania date from 1769, and owe their first impulse to the interest excited by the story of Cook's voyages in the South Seas. The major part of this area is suitable for European colonization, and the aborigines belong to more or less primitive states of culture, in which their physical as well as mental stamina has remained weakly. Owing partly to this and partly to unscrupulous exploitation by white settlers and traders, the result of contact with the white races has been the rapid diminution, and in some cases, as in Tasmania, the entire extinction, of the native races. The work of missions has therefore largely consisted in the rescue of weaker races from extermination through contact with exponents of higher civilizations not imbued with the Christian spirit. In no part of the world have the results of missions been more rapid and wide-spread, but stability is sometimes lacking. The effects of kidnapping, strong drink, and disease have been appreciably counteracted.

Work in *New Zealand* was started by Samuel Marsden in 1814, and after a time made rapid progress. In 1840 the islands became a British colony; unfortunately wars broke out, and in 1864 the strong Hau Hau apostasy, a recrudescence of pagan cults mixed with Christian heresies, drew away great numbers. In spite of this the leading missions of the C.M.S. and Wesleyans were able, before the end of the century, to make over their converts to the local Church organizations. The New Zealand Parliament also has its Maori members. The Maori population of New Zealand is about 50,000, of whom some 30,000 belong to Reformed communions. There appears to be some hope that, in place of declining, the native population is beginning to increase.

In *Australia* the aborigines have dwindled to 74,000, living mostly in the northern parts of the continent. After several abortive attempts missions, with a strong industrial element, have been continuously carried on since 1851 by English bodies of various denominations, as well as by Moravians and Lutherans. Despite pessimism, the aborigines have proved susceptible to the elevating influence of the gospel, and decadence has been to some extent arrested, though independence is not yet in sight. The number of Protestant Christians is computed at 6000.

The *Islands of the Pacific* may be roughly grouped into Polynesia (south of Hawaii), Melanesia (west of Polynesia), and Micronesia (north of Melanesia). Among the larger islands of Polynesia, Hawaii, now a United States territory with Honolulu for its capital, was first evangelized by the American Board from 1820 onwards and Christianized within fifty years. It has sent out and supported missionaries to several other islands. Tahiti, occupied by missionaries of the L.M.S., had a similar history, but after the annexation of the group by France it became necessary to transfer the work to the Paris M.S. Raiatea, the sphere of the famous John Williams, has remained in British connexion. In the Tonga and Viti, or Fiji, Islands the Wesleyans have been the principal workers. Practically the entire population is Christian, and is efficiently ruled by princes of the same faith. Education is wide-spread, and evangelists from Fiji have carried the faith to many other islands.

Melanesia has a population of 475,000, of whom 111,000 are Protestant Christians. The gathering in of these numbers has cost not a few missionary lives, owing to resentment on the part of islanders who had been oppressed by traders. The missionaries are British, German, Dutch, and Norwegian. The martyrdom of Bishop Patteson in 1871 called forth much enthusiasm and service, and during his long life John G. Paton of the United Presbyterian Mission saw 20,000 natives converted in the New Hebrides and contributing £1300 in one year for Church purposes.

On the Micronesian Islands, now under British, German, and American protection, developments since 1852 have been similar. Missionaries from Australia have taken part. Roman Catholic work is stronger here than in the other islands; out of 30,000 Christians the Roman Catholics claim 12,000.

New Guinea, or Papua, was first entered in 1871, when Christians from L.M.S. missions in Polynesia volunteered for the work, in which many of them laid down their lives. They had a great leader in James Chalmers (1876–1901). The Christians now number 35,000. Anglican, Wesleyan, German, and Dutch missionaries have taken part.

In various parts of Oceania, especially Australia, Hawaii, and Fiji, missionary work is carried on among the Asiatic immigrants from India, Japan, and China with the help of native preachers from those countries, not without some result. The barriers of caste and social opposition are less rigid than at home, but the restraints of conventional morality are also loosened.

The total population of Oceania, excluding Australia and New Zealand, is reckoned at some 2,000,000, of whom 320,000 are Christians.

iv. INDIA.—The impact of Christianity on India has been conditioned by certain outstanding features of the land and people. The peninsula is isolated by land and sea. The culture of the people ranges from the most primitive to a highly developed, though stationary, form. Its religion contains a similar variety of cults, ranging from spiritual adoration to cruel and obscene orgies, all bound together intellectually by a subtle pantheistic philosophy, socially by the unique system of caste (*q.v.*). Its contact with the outer world during recent centuries has been mainly through the immigration of foreign invaders, who have brought with them the monotheistic religion and polity of Islām, so that Indian Musalmāns now constitute by far the largest Muslim nation of the world. Most recently, however, India has come into connexion with a seafaring nation of the West more intimately than any other Asiatic land. Here, as elsewhere, the missionary has employed in the first instance the agencies of preaching and persuasion, but the form which the results of his work have assumed has mainly been determined by the conditions of the classes to whom he has addressed his message. To bring out the chief features of it, we may deal with 'mass movements,' education, and philanthropy as main channels of evangelization.

The earliest form of Christianity in India is that of the Syrian Churches of Travancore and Cochin, which probably owe their origin to the Nestorian community of Persia, whose members traded with the Malabar Coast in their early days. From about the 4th cent. a trading and landholding community accepted the Christian faith, and has continued as a local caste to the present day. Early in the last century they were aroused from lethargy by contact with Anglican Christianity, and the work of the C.M.S., first in combination, and afterwards side by side, with the Syrians, has stimulated reform and progress, both in education and in evangelizing zeal. The work of St. Francis Xavier, Roberto de' Nobili, and other great Roman Catholic missionaries of the Portuguese period is principally in evidence now in the masses of fisher folk and other labouring castes in the west and south of India; and in the earliest Protestant missions the same factor of community-movements appears. In the Danish-Halle Mission of the 18th cent. the greatest name is that of C. F. Schwartz (landed 1750, died 1798). The 20,000 Christians whom he gathered in Tanjore and elsewhere were mainly from the village labourers. After his death the work dwindled, till it was taken over by the Anglican Church, and during the first half of the 19th cent. the work of the C.M.S. and S.P.G. in Tinnevelly (principally among the palm-tree climbers), together with that of the L.M.S. in S. Travancore, yielded much more than half the entire number of Protestant converts in India, and naturally also the best organized churches. In 1851 these missions had 51,355 adherents, the remainder of the Madras Presidency 23,821, and all the rest of India 16,916. In the succeeding sixty years these missions and others in S. India have greatly developed, largely through the agency of American societies. The Protestant Christians now number 870,425 (besides over a million and a half Roman Catholics and Syrians), and they contribute £33,721 to the support of worship and schools. The Indian ministry includes 492 ordained men as against 487 foreign missionaries, and the self-administration of the churches is on the increase. Self-extension, too, is shown by the activity of more than one mission of the Indian Churches. The largest is the Tinnevelly Missionary Society, with an income of 12,000 rupees, 4 ordained men, and 2000 converts in a mission which they carry on in the Nizam's territory. Part of their work was made over to the diocese of the first Indian bishop, V. Azariah of Dornakal, when he was consecrated in 1913.

In Travancore a similar movement has made headway in the L.M.S. and C.M.S. missions, which now number 73,000 and 57,000 Christians respectively. Still more wide-spread is the movement in the Telugu country north of Madras. Here, especially since the great famine of 1877–78, the out-caste village labourers have pressed into the churches in myriads. The Christians belonging to Anglicans, American Baptists, Lutherans, and others are estimated at some 150,000.

In Bengal an older movement in the forties of the last century left a considerable church in the Nadiyā district; more recently the Nāmaśūdras of E. Bengal are turning their hopes towards Christianity, and the B.M.S. has admitted some hundreds from among them. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the Chamārs (leather-workers) and sweepers have been principally gathered in by the American Methodist Episcopalians, who record congregations numbering 102,000 adherents, while other Protestant missions have 22,000. The most rapid movement during the last decade was in the Panjāb, where the Christians entered in the government Census returns had increased from 37,000 in 1901 to 163,000 in 1911 chiefly in the American Presbyterian missions.

The movements among the Indian village proletariat which have resulted in these large and growing accessions to Christianity all form part of one upward tendency of populations representing pre-Aryan inhabitants, enslaved by the Aryan conquerors and kept for millenniums in servitude, but now afforded the opportunity of emancipation by rulers whose political and social ideals are bound up with Christianity and whose rule has been accompanied by active Christian efforts of teaching and philanthropy. The effect of these efforts in raising the masses who have responded to them is expressed thus by the Hindu Census superintendent of the Mysore State:

> 'The enlightening influence of Christianity is patent in the higher standard of comfort of the converts, and their sober, disciplined and busy lives' (*Census of India, 1911*, Calcutta, 1913, vol. i. pt. i. p. 138).

To this we may add that evidences of spiritual regeneration and devotional life are also to be found.

The populations so far referred to are the 'untouchables' who live among the Hindus and Musalmāns of the plains. They may number (accuracy is very difficult to secure) some 30,000,000. But there are some 10,000,000 more of non-Hindu aborigines, living mainly in hilly regions, among whom the Christian faith has found ready entry. Such are the Karens of Burma, the Khāsis of Assam, the Kols and Santāls in Bengal. The Christian communities among these amount to some 200,000 persons. Both among these and among the out-castes the expansion of the movement appears to be limited only by the capacity of the Christian Church adequately to shepherd and educate the candidates for discipleship. The effect of education and Christian influence in raising the status of the Christian community as compared with its Hindu and Muhammadan neighbours has been very marked. Some progress has been made in improving their position as agriculturists; in the Panjāb the Christians have been recognized by Government as an agricultural tribe, and in the irrigation colonies there are several flourishing villages of Christian cultivators, holding land direct from the State.

Education of a simple kind, including that of girls, was from the first a regular part of missionary activity, but it was brought into prominence by the Scottish missionary, Alexander Duff (1830–57). He set out to evangelize the upper classes of Bengal by means of higher education, given through the medium of the English language, which, through the efforts of Macaulay and others, had already been adopted by Government as the vehicle of learning for India. Duff was assisted in his plans by Rājā Rām Mohan Ray, the founder of the Brāhma Samāj (*q.v.*). Duff's converts were counted rather by the score than by the hundred, but they included men who made their mark on the Christian Church as leaders throughout N. India. His school also had a powerful effect on the development of the Brahmā Samāj and other liberal movements in Hinduism, and not less did he influence the educational policy of the Government of India, which in 1854 founded departments of public instruction, and in 1857 established universities in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, followed later by others in Lahore and Allāhābād, and recently by a Hindu university at Benares and a Muslim one at Aligarh. Duff's school soon developed into a college, and no fewer than 8 other colleges were founded in different parts of India during Duff's lifetime. The most noteworthy contemporary of Duff as an educator was John Wilson of Bombay, who founded the college which bears his name, and added to his English work a profound acquaintance with Hinduism. There are now 38 Protestant missionary colleges in India, containing, in 1912, 5447 students, including 61 women, the latter practically all Christians. Of the total, 4481 students were Hindus, 530 Muhammadans, and 436 Christians. There is a fully-organized missionary college for women in Lucknow; and a college department works in connexion with a girls' high school in Lahore.

The work of elementary and secondary education was powerfully forwarded by the system of grants-in-aid which the Government instituted in 1854. The grants are made in proportion to the educational efficiency of schools, regardless of the religion of the managers. Educational efficiency being greatest among the missionaries, they have earned the chief portion of the grants, though their lead in this respect is no longer so marked as it was. Their secondary schools number 283, with 62,602 boys and 8400 girls; 880 boarding-schools contain 22,193 boys and 17,566 girls, all Christian. In 87 theological schools 1852 students are in training, and 127 training-schools have 1904 male and 1173 female students. The boarding-schools are partly secondary and partly primary. The result of secondary education in conversions has been small, but the influence on social ideals and practice and on religious thought has been very great. The care bestowed on the education of the Christian community, especially the women, has made it, with the exception of the Parsis, the most literate in India, far above the average of the Hindus generally, and little, if any, behind the Brāhmans. The number of Christian officials and teachers is large in proportion to the size of the community, and it is not easy to keep pace with their need for a highly educated ministry, while satisfying the wants of the large rural populations. The provision of elementary education for these is the most urgent missionary problem of the day. True, the elementary pupils in mission schools throughout India number about 450,000, but the great majority of these are non-Christian. In missionary colleges and schools of every kind 576,371 persons were being educated in 1912—about one in ten of all pupils.

Christian literature took its first effective start with the work of the great pioneer, William Carey (1793–1834). Together with Marshman and Ward, he worked chiefly at Bible translations into a multitude of different languages, and also founded a missionary college in Serampore. Most of these versions were mere *ballons d'essai*, but the Bengali became the foundation of all further work in that tongue. Henry Martyn at the same time produced his remarkable Urdu version of the NT, and a long line of translators and authors followed, supported by the publishing societies mentioned above. Krishna Mohan Banerjea among Hindu converts, 'Imād-al-Dīn among Muslims, and John Murdoch among English writers and publishers of Christian literature are outstanding names. Besides Bible versions there is also an incipient Christian literature in all the principal Indian languages, amounting in some of them to several hundred works. These are directed both to the training of the Christian Church and to convincing and persuading outsiders.

Among the philanthropic auxiliaries to the gospel message, medical work takes a foremost place. The effective prosecution of this in India dates from the middle of last century, when W. Lockhart of the L.M.S. was sent to Travancore, and Henry M. Scudder of the American Board to Ceylon. The chain of medical missions on the N.W. Frontier was begun in Kashmīr in 1864, and has since then extended to Peshāwar, Bannu, Derā Ismāīl Khān, and Quetta. The attitude of a turbulent, fanatical, and treacherous Muhammadan population has been greatly modified by the work of medical missions, and, while converts have shown their faithfulness in martyrdom, Christian Scriptures and literature, illustrated by the example of disinterested Christian love, have penetrated far into regions otherwise inaccessible to the missionary. Similar effects have been produced on the intolerance of the caste-proud Hindu, and, while suffering is impartially relieved, regardless of creed or condition, the ministry of healing has brought many to the discipleship of the Healer. The first qualified woman-doctor came to India in 1880, though medical work by women had been carried on long before. Medical missionary women have led the way in relieving the once hopeless suffering of secluded Indian womanhood, given over to treatment by ignorant and clumsy midwives and barber-women. Of the Indian women-doctors now serving under the Dufferin Fund and other public bodies the great majority are Christians, with a sprinkling from the Brāhma Samāj.

Closely allied with general medical work is that of the leper missions. Of the unfortunate leper community, hitherto uncared for, several thousands are under care in Christian institutions, and many of them have accepted Christianity. Christian institutions for the blind and the deaf and dumb are the only ones for these classes in India. Famine orphanages are common, and have furnished an appreciable fraction of the Christian community, especially in N. India; these have in recent years found imitators among non-Christians, and, owing to the influence and example of mission schools and colleges, the conception and practice of social service are spreading among Indian students, as shown by the society of the 'Servants of India,' promoted by G. K. Gokhale.

India affords the largest and most influential sphere of work among the Muslims of the world. Its Musalmān community numbers 65,000,000, and it is both specifically Indian in type and cosmopolitan by ties of religion—a fact which gives this community a greater political importance than its numerical proportion to the Hindu population would warrant. The largest Muhammadan community of India, that of Bengal, now numbering 24,000,000, came under British rule after the battle of Plassey in 1757, but the first effective Christian work among them was done by the chaplain-missionary Henry Martyn when he translated the NT and much of the OT into the Muhammadan *lingua franca* of India—the Urdu, or camp dialect of Hindōstānī. His one convert, 'Abd-al-Masīḥ, was the forerunner of many ex-Muslims who have joined the Christian ministry. It is impossible to estimate accurately the number of converts among the laity, but with their descendants they must run into several myriads. The circulation of the Scriptures, which the Muslim professedly recognizes as divine, is especially effective as a means of evangelism.

Among the Buddhists of Burma and S. Ceylon the results of work have been similar to those among the middle classes in India; *i.e.*, conversions have been sporadic, occasionally in families, with here and there outstanding personalities. The Census of 1911 gave the number of Protestant Christians in India as 1,452,759, compared with 970,385 in 1901. The largest proportion is in S. India (626,000), where the work has been established longest and is most systematic. The distribution elsewhere varies chiefly according to the incidence of mass movements. Protestant Christians in other parts number: Bengal, 178,000; United Provinces, 135,000; Panjāb, 155,000; Bombay, 51,000; Central Provinces and C. India, 24,000. In the native States they are generally fewer—*e.g.*, Haidarābād, 29,000; Mysore, 9,000; Panjāb States, 500; Kashmīr, 700.

Syncretism, in the shape of reform movements, both religious and social, is much in evidence. The earliest organized body of this kind is the theistic Brāhma Samāj, founded in 1828 by Rājā Rām Mohan Ray—a small sect, but influential owing to the social standing, literary ability, and philanthropic zeal of its members. The teaching of its sections ranges from a modified Hinduism to a kind of Unitarian Christianity with Indian atmosphere. The Ārya Samāj (*q.v.*), founded in 1875 by Dayānand Sarasvatī, represents a cruder modification of original Hinduism, professing to hold to the Vedas as absolutely inspired, and accordingly forcing their interpretation to fit modern standards. It has a strong political and nationalist vein, and is bitterly hostile to Christianity; but it has done good work in the cause of education and social reform. It prevails chiefly in the Panjāb and United Provinces. In Bombay the Prārthanā Samāj (*q.v.*) does a similar work. These bodies, following missionary example, are beginning to interest themselves in the amelioration of the depressed classes by education, and the Ārya Samāj actually admits them and also Muhammadans into the 'Vedic religion' by a ceremony of purification (*śuddhi*).

Modernist movement among the Muhammadans dates from the efforts of Sir Sayyīd Aḥmad, who began in 1858 to arouse his fellow-religionists to the imperative need for English education, which resulted in the establishment of the Anglo-Muhammadan College at Aligarh and the All-Indian Muslim Conference. It has also produced something of a school of liberal theology. A more wide-spread movement was inaugurated by Ghulam Aḥmad of Qādiān in the Panjāb in the year 1879. He, like Dayānand, harked back to his sacred Scriptures, and treated the Qur'ān as verbally inspired, interpreting it in a new fashion with an eye to modern thought. This sect, too, is strongly opposed to Christianity, and some members of it have started a mission to England at Woking. Despite their attitude of opposition, these new sects all owe more or less of their originating impulse and of their specific doctrine to the message of Christian missions. The Indian national movement has a tendency to bring the reformed sects nearer together, and its influence is being felt in the Christian community also in a certain touchiness and impatience of foreign influence. At the same time there are signs of an increased feeling of responsibility for the evangelization of

India, marked by the establishment of the National Missionary Society and other efforts.

The Dutch possessions known as Indonesia were previously under Hindu rule, but since the 12th cent. they have gradually been overrun by Muslim chieftains, and out of the total population of 38,000,000 all but 2,000,000 are now Muhammadan. The Dutch East India Company, while building up its Eastern empire, also Christianized the natives after a fashion, but their condition at the beginning of the 19th cent. was very low. Since then it has improved, and the so-called permanent congregations (*gevestigte gemeenten*) are under the care of clergy appointed and maintained by the State; churches of later converts are from time to time placed under this organization. Modern missionary work began in the second decade of last century, and has been carried on mainly by Dutch and German missionaries on the four principal islands of Sumatra, Java, Celebes, and Borneo, as well as on some of the smaller ones. Large numbers of converts have been gathered in Java, in the Batak country on the north coast of Sumatra, and in the Minahassa district of Celebes. In the second of these an effective barrier has been erected to the inland advance of Islām. The total number of converts from Islām in these islands is estimated at 40,000.

v. CHINA.—In contrast with India, China has but one standard language and literature, and may therefore be regarded as a unity, despite its size and diversity. Modern missionary work was begun by Robert Morrison of the L.M.S. in 1807. He baptized the first convert in 1814, and before his death (1834) he had translated the Bible into Chinese, besides writing many pamphlets. But neither he nor his colleague, Robert Milne, was able to enter the jealously-guarded empire of China; they could only reside in the Portuguese settlement of Macao or in British territory at Malacca. The opening of China to foreign intercourse, including missionary effort, was the result of a series of wars, internal and external, the first of which, while it helped to admit the missionary, did much to discredit his message. The three 'opium wars' of 1842, 1858, and 1860 resulted in the opening of twenty-four 'treaty ports' to foreign intercourse, and it was in these, especially Shanghai, Hangchow, Tientsin, and Canton, that Protestant missions first gained a footing. Up to 1850, 3 English societies, 1 German, and 7 American had begun work, and the converts may have amounted to 100. The preponderance of American workers in China became more marked as time went on, and the same is true of Japan.

The next great convulsion was an internal one, the Taiping rebellion, which lasted from 1850 to 1864, and was eventually suppressed by the 'ever victorious army' of a Western leader, General Charles George Gordon, himself in deep sympathy with Christian missions. The leader of the rebellion had once come under the influence of a Christian missionary, and he claimed to have received a divine revelation to destroy idolatry and to put an end to the Manchu dynasty. The second of these aims was accomplished half a century later by another great convulsion, and we may believe that the Taipings did much towards preparing the way for the first, which is yet to come; but we may also be thankful that their iconoclasm did not prematurely succeed before the constructive forces of Christian faith and practice were ready to step into the breach. Meanwhile, missions on the coast were increasing their work, and the year after interior China had been quieted (1865) Hudson Taylor formed the China Inland Mission, which led the way to the formation of a network of stations during the last half century, now extending to the remotest interior of the Republic. This mission alone now numbers 1076 foreign missionaries, as against 473 of all societies and nationalities in 1877. In that year the number of converts was reckoned at 13,000.

The final break-up of the Manchu dynasty was first marked by the Boxer outbreak of 1900, directed, with the connivance of the Empress, against both foreigners and Chinese Christians; 135 missionaries, with 53 of their children, were killed, and some 16,000 Chinese Christians were massacred, many of them accepting death willingly rather than deny the faith. A strong impression was created by the refusal of missionary societies to accept a money indemnity from the Chinese Government for the missionary lives laid down freely for the gospel. During the succeeding decade the number of foreign missionaries in China increased almost 50 per cent (2785 to 4175, including wives of missionaries), and the number of converts more than doubled (204,672 to 469,896 in 1910). In 1913 the number of 'full members' was given as 235,303. Counting children and other adherents who are not included in their statistics by many bodies, the total may be estimated at about 500,000. Foreign missionaries, including wives, are 5186, and Chinese workers 17,879.

The revolution of 1911-12 was the final stage in the opening up of China to Western culture and Christianity. There has, it is true, been a slight reaction from the abolition of Confucianism as the religion of the State, but a stronger power than the iconoclasm of the Taipings is shaking the foundations of the old cults, namely the re-casting of the world-old system of Chinese education in Western and 20th cent. moulds. Moreover, the official request made by the Chinese Government on 27th April 1913 for the prayers of its Christian subjects, whatever motives of policy may have inspired it, was a recognition of Christianity as a power affecting deeply the interests of the nation; and Sun Yat Sen, the leader of the Cantonese revolutionary section and almost of the Republic, is a Christian who seeks to model his political policy on the principles of the Bible. Happily, too, the establishment of the Chinese Republic has coincided with the final abolition of the Indian opium traffic once forced on China by Britain.

The situation thus created has offered to the Christian Churches unexampled opportunities of access to the educated classes of China. These had hitherto looked with contempt on teachers who in very few cases could master the intricacies of their literature, but now they are ready to welcome Western language, literature, and science. Great efforts have been made, especially by the American missions, to grapple with the task of providing centres of higher education on a Christian basis throughout China, and in this, as well as in general work, the tendency towards co-operation between allied bodies is strong and helpful. No fewer than 9 university colleges are in effective operation, 7 in coast provinces, 1 in the centre, and 1 in the west. In several the medical faculty is strong, and Christian missions at present lead in the training of qualified doctors for China. There are some 264 mission hospitals (1913) with 126,788 in-patients and 2,129,774 out-patients for the year. Among the agencies which have been particularly active in taking advantage of the present opportunities the Y.M.C.A. has been specially in evidence. The evangelistic meetings conducted by J. R. Mott, and still more by George Sherwood Eddy (1912-14), were attended by large audiences of educated Chinese, sometimes up to 4000, in many of the principal towns of China. Among the hearers were officials of high rank, of whom one was baptized, while thousands of men promised to study the Bible, and hundreds have actually joined the Christian Church.

The creation of a Christian literature for China has been carried on mainly by co-operation between the missions represented in the Christian Literature Society for China, under the guidance of Timothy Richards and others. The rapid opening of the mind of China to appreciation and reception of Western thought has given missionary scholars both the opportunity and the task of providing not only religious but general and scientific literature for readers, whether Christian or non-Christian. Both this and the work of Bible translation in China have been greatly facilitated by the existence of a common standard of written language, though versions of the Bible are being produced in several local vernaculars, as also in a popular form of the Mandarin. The circulation of the Bible is increasing by leaps and bounds; in 1910 a million and a half copies of Bibles, New Testaments, or single books were circulated; in 1914 two million and a quarter.

The first L.M.S. woman missionary to China was appointed in 1868. The work among women has been greatly hampered by the custom of foot-binding and by social prejudice, but these have been in great measure overcome, largely as the result of missionary effort, and the desire for the education of women is greatly on the increase; some are using their education not only to qualify for the medical and teaching professions, but also for social service. Over 600 members have been enrolled in a Student Volunteer Movement for the Christian ministry, putting aside prospects of lucrative careers. The tendency in this class is to work for the formation of an indigenous Chinese Church free from Western control, and some progress is being made in the self-support of native churches. Meanwhile the various cognate bodies which have hitherto been carrying on separate missions, such as Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Methodists, are amalgamating their organizations as a first step towards larger union.

In the outlying provinces of China work is still in its beginnings. It is furthest advanced in Manchuria, where Presbyterians and Lutherans have a community of some 33,000. The devoted work of James Gilmour (1870–91) in Mongolia left little visible result, and the societies which are following it up are gathering a few converts amid great difficulties. In Chinese Tibet these are insuperable, and the only quarter from which the gospel has entered that land is Little (or Western) Tibet, belonging to India, where Moravian missionaries have some small congregations, and have done much for the investigation of Tibetan language, literature, and history. Among the Muslims of Chinese Turkestan Swedish and China Inland missionaries are in the early stage of work.

vi. JAPAN, KOREA, AND FORMOSA.—Here, as in China, we have countries in which, after periods of notable success on the part of Roman Catholic missions, the native rulers have turned upon them as politically dangerous, and have violently persecuted the Christian Church, almost to extinction, till, through political changes, intercourse with the West has been resumed, but on a different footing, and with this the way has been opened for missions of the Reformed communions also. In the case of Japan this re-opening dates from the year 1859, when American missionaries were the first to settle in the country. The first Protestant Christian was baptized in 1864, but meanwhile persecution of Christians continued, sometimes with severity, till the Revolution of 1868, which once more brought the Mikado to power, and inaugurated the modern government of Japan. G. Ensor (C.M.S), who arrived in 1869, was the first English missionary, but full religious toleration was not granted till 1873, to be speedily followed by the serious suggestion that Christianity should be made the State religion. This was, however, negatived, and subsequently there was a distinct reaction against foreign influences, among which Christianity was included, especially during the first decade of this century. But a swing back of the pendulum was indicated by the action of the Minister of Education in 1912, when he announced that the Government had resolved to recognize Christianity, alongside of Shinto and Buddhism, as a religion deserving of encouragement, expressing, at the same time, the hope that Christianity would conform itself to national aspirations. In this connexion it is noteworthy that the Christian message in Japan has appealed specially to men of culture. A quite disproportionate number of Christians are found among members of Parliament, high military and naval officers, doctors and professors, and Count Okuma has recorded that 'the indirect influence of Christianity has poured into every realm of Japanese life' (*Intern. Review of Missions*, Oct. 1912, i. 654). The number of Protestant Christian adherents in Japan may be reckoned at about 100,000. Forty per cent of the mission stations are said to be self-supporting. Three-fourths of the converts are attached to one or another of four amalgamated Churches representing the Anglican, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Methodist missions respectively. The great majority of the Protestant missions have established an organization for the promotion of common work, called the 'Federated Missions of Japan.' This has formed a general Christian Literature Society, and promoted joint efforts for evangelization, both in the towns and in the hitherto neglected rural districts.

The work of missionary education bulks less largely at present in Japan than in China, owing to the fact that from the first opening of the country education has been steadily taken in hand by the State, which now provides a completely organized system of education from the primary schools (at which attendance is compulsory) up to the universities and technical schools. There are 14 Protestant middle schools, with about 5500 scholars, and two colleges of university grade, of which the Doshsisha College at Kyoto, founded by Joseph Niishima, has 700 students. Elementary missionary education is backward, as Christian children have access to well-worked Government schools. The educational work of the Y.M.C.A. has been much appreciated in Japan, and has strongly influenced the student world; and the Y.W.C.A. is reaching women increasingly. Christian missionary efforts among the aboriginal Ainus of Yezo have been appreciated by the Japanese Government, who bestowed a decoration on John Batchelor of the C.M.S. in recognition of his work for this dying race.

Among the dependencies of Japan, Formosa, first entered in 1865, now has some 30,000 Christians. Korea, after three and a half centuries of absolute seclusion, was not effectively entered till 1882, first by American missionaries, and, in 1890, by Anglicans. The growth of the work has been phenomenal, especially in the years following the Russo-Japanese war of 1905–06. Adherents in 1913 numbered 185,000, over 19,000 children were under education in mission schools, and 20 hospitals and 23 dispensaries were in operation. This progress has been accompanied by remarkable zeal in the study of Scripture and by reformation of life.

vii. THE NEAR EAST.—Under this term we include the lands, stretching from Morocco to Persia, in which Islām first arose and spread. Owing to the long dominance of Islām the work of Christian missions to Muslims in this region is either non-existent or in its infancy. For our present purpose, we are not dealing with missions to the surviving Abyssinian, Coptic, Armenian, Syrian, Nestorian, or Jacobite Churches. We may, however, note that the educational work carried on among Oriental Christians, principally by American missionaries, in the Turkish empire and Egypt has resulted in the formation of considerable Protestant communities, whose progress in intelligence, morality, and zeal has raised the Christian name in the eyes of the Muslims and reacted favourably on the ancient churches by stimulating a desire for reform and progress. There is among the Protestant Orientals also the dawn of a desire to evangelize the Muslim—a feeling that had been eradicated from the Oriental Christian by a thousand years of oppression and misrule, which prevented him from seeing in the Muslim anything but an irreconcilable tyrant. The most effective missionary work done by men of these nationalities is that of Bible colporteurs. The Muslim verbally acknowledges the Scriptures of the OT and NT to be inspired, and, if once induced to study them, he is in many cases led to see that the theory of their corruption subsequently to Muhammad is a figment of his divines. Thus their witness to Christ, as well as their incompatibility with the Qur'ān, is a powerful influence in the conversion of the Muslim. The British and Foreign Bible Society employs in the countries referred to 71 colporteurs, and has 27 depots, through which 128,926 copies of Bibles, Testaments, and portions are circulated. Individual conversions through these means are fairly frequent, but the building up of Christian communities is a slower process, hampered by special obstacles.

In Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, among a total population of about 14,000,000, work is carried on mainly by the N. Africa Mission and other undenominational agencies. There are converts here and there. The principal agency, besides that of colportage, is schools, which are elementary. In Egypt work was begun in 1854 by the American United Presbyterians, principally among the Copts, and resuscitated by the C.M.S. in 1882. Considerable access has been gained among the Effendi class, and a number have been baptized, while medical work has to some extent reached the masses, in both town and country. Schools, primary and secondary, contain 17,094 pupils (largely of Coptic faith or origin), and a scheme for the establishment in Cairo of a Christian university is being actively promoted by American missionaries. German and English missionaries are pushing out into the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān, and, though Christian propaganda is barred among the Muslims of that region, yet in Omdurman some educational work is being done. Cairo is the chief literary centre of the Muhammadan world, and from the Christian side vigorous efforts are being made by the Nile Mission Press, an Anglo-American undertaking, to produce and circulate evangelistic literature in Arabic.

In Asia Minor and Syria Protestant work has been done chiefly by American missions working among the ancient churches. The system of education which they have developed, from primary schools to colleges, especially the Roberts College in Constantinople, has notably affected the Muslim community in thought and attitude towards Christianity. Medical missions, in Palestine especially, have tended in the same direction. Arabia is touched on its outskirts at Baghdād, Bahrain, and Aden by schools, medical work, and colportage. Persia was first entered by Henry Martyn, when he completed his translation of the NT at Shīrāz in 1811. In 1829 K. G. Pfander visited Persia, and wrote his celebrated *Balance of Truth*, laying the foundation of a Persian Christian literature, built upon later by W. St. Clair Tisdall and others. In 1871 American Presbyterians organized work among the tribes of N. Persia, and in 1875 S. Persia was occupied by R. Bruce of the C.M.S. Medical and educational work has developed largely, and the demand for schools on a Western model far exceeds the power of the missionaries to supply it. The modernist sect of Bahaism, sprung from the Bābī reform movement, has borrowed freely from Christianity but does not so far make much return (see art. BĀB, BĀBĪS). Throughout these missions work among women, visiting, teaching, and medical, has initiated or helped on the movement perceptible in Muslim lands for the elevation of the female sex.

viii. MISSIONS TO JEWS.—The Jewish population of the world is approximately 12,000,000. Protestant missionary work among them is carried on by 95 societies, maintaining 500 men and 350 women missionaries. The *London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews* (253 missionaries; income in 1914, £51,000) is the principal one. Statistics are quite imperfect. Some 250 of the Anglican clergy are converts or sons of converts from Judaism. J. F. de le Roi estimates baptisms during the 19th cent. in Protestant churches at 72,740; Roman Catholic, 57,300; Greek, 74,500. The theologians Neander and Edersheim, the missionary bishops Schereschewsky, Hellmuth, Alexander, and Gobat, were Christian Jews.

III. *GENERAL ASPECTS.*—**1. Principles.**—As a result of the work of missions by the Reformed Churches since the end of the 18th cent. there is now a growing community of some 6,000,000 native Christians belonging to the most varied races and cultures, from the primitive aborigines of Australia to the progressive people of Japan. Yet in the age which has seen this unexampled expansion of Christianity in every direction the question has been raised whether Jesus of Nazareth ever intended that His disciples should carry the message of His redemption into all the world, though it is fully allowed that the world mission of His faith was the legitimate and necessary consequence of the principles which He enunciated and exemplified. To suppose that the Originator of this life and teaching, which have persisted in spreading their vitalizing influences among the nations for nineteen centuries, was Himself without desire for or intention of producing such an effect would be to face the most insoluble enigma of history. The development which we have sketched makes it abundantly clear that the mainspring of this world-wide enterprise of missions has been the conviction that its promoters and messengers were carrying out the conscious purpose and explicit command of the Saviour of the world. At the same time it would be unnatural that the reconstruction of thought which our age is experiencing in every sphere of life should leave the conception of foreign missions entirely unaffected. Among the Reformed Churches more especially Zinzendorf's motto of 'souls for the Lamb' as the one goal of missionary effort has expanded, under the influence of teachers like G. Warneck in Germany and B. F. Westcott in England, into the wider and deeper conception of a call to regenerate the nations spiritually, morally, intellectually, and socially, and to build up the universal Church of Christ. Moreover, the results of research into Christian origins have helped us, with a truer historical perspective, to test our contemporary missionary work by the example and spirit of the Apostolic Age. From subsequent early and mediæval history, too, the Churches have been learning lessons of the manifold adaptation of the form of missionary work to the conditions and needs of different ages and peoples, and of these lessons the whole modern development is an amplification. But this larger sweep of outlook and effort has by no means made the first aim of individual conversion superfluous. On the contrary, this remains the vital centre of the whole, and it is as this is expanded and co-ordinated in the larger aim that the true end of missionary work is attained.

2. Methods, apostolic and contemporary.—The radical question is raised again and again whether the close following of the methods of St. Paul is not the true solvent of our most fundamental difficulties, particularly of the lack of spiritual and economic independence in our mission churches. Were the evangelist to make brief sojourns instead of settling down, to devolve authority straightway on native helpers instead of keeping them in long tutelage, to demand instead of giving pecuniary assistance, Christian congregations might, it is urged, be smaller, but they would be stronger and self-reproducing. Each of these paths has been tried in modern missions, generally with scant success, for the same end under different conditions may demand different means. Where there was a Jewish diaspora standing at the threshold of Christianity, teaching and discipline had been assimilated which may now require a generation; where habitat and civilization of evangelist and evangelized were practically identical, the problems now arising from disparity of civilizations and distance of abode were non-existent. Recognizing these and other special difficulties and defects of modern missionary work, we have to seek their solution not in the forms of apostolic, or any other, evangelism, but in the principles embodied in those forms. Thus in the adventure of faith undertaken by the C.I.M., which has so remarkably opened up China to the gospel, we have a contemporary adaptation of the Pauline method, rapidly following the main lines of communication and occupying the chief cities of an empire which in culture and administration offers much analogy to that of Rome. Or, again, in the revival of community life in the brotherhoods and sisterhoods of Anglican missions we have a useful adaptation of early and mediæval monasticism to the conditions of the mission-field of to-day. But both of these have the defects of their qualities.

The effect of modern thought on the adaptation of NT principles to contemporaneous missionary work may be traced in the development of the chief missionary methods. The mission school and college have no precedent in apostolic times, and they differ greatly from the cloister school of monastic missionaries, their original purpose being to serve as a means of conveying the message to the children of the literate, or would-be literate, classes who are otherwise not easily reached, and of bringing them into the Christian Church when they have arrived at years of discretion. The most notable effect of earlier educational work was the conversion of men of mark, who exercised great influence on the development of the Church. Within the last generation this aspect of the work has receded into the background; the conception of educating the mind of a nation and creating an atmosphere permeated by Christian ideals has exercised increasing influence on missionary educators, especially in high schools and colleges, and it is certain that their successes have lain mainly in this direction. The value of such preparation of the community for the eventual reception of Christ as Lord and Master is immense, and it may be hoped that much of the work which commonly falls to be done after conversion is thus being accomplished beforehand. But there is need of balanced judgment and steadfast will, lest elaboration of the scaffolding delay or even prevent the erection of the building. Similarly, in the now indispensable work of medical missions the physical benefits conferred were at first entirely subsidiary to the spiritual aim; but the conception of a Kingdom of God to be realized in things temporal as well as spiritual has led to emphasis upon the fact that the work of healing, even apart from any spiritual effects, is a worthy aim of the missionary. This involves the risk that the medical missionary may be merged in the philanthropist. The modern medical missionary would not, if he could, ignore the demand for the greatest possible scientific efficiency, for he will not allow Christian zeal to be the bosom friend of second-rate professional skill; yet he will lay the decisive emphasis of his calling on the specific aim of the missionary to carry home his message. Again, in the delivery of that message by the general missionary a comparative study of religion and sociology has modified the method of approach by the Christian messenger to non-Christians. He is less inclined to attack their observances and rites than to elicit the need latent in each human heart of something higher, less prone to controvert their doctrines and deities than to set forth Christ in life and teaching. The conviction is gaining ground among his hearers that he is no ruthless iconoclast of their national religion, but a sympathetic guide who would lead them to satisfactions which it fails to supply. But, if he is to do this, his aim must still be that they may be 'redeemed from the vain manner of life handed down from their fathers' (1 P 1[18]) and come to know the only true God. Without attacking concrete sin and error this cannot be done. The manner of controversy has been rightly modified, and it is well to use points of agreement as a basis for approach; but the reason for adopting one faith in place of another cannot lie in their points of resemblance, but only in those of difference. Hence controversy or polemic, in the right form, can never become obsolete as a missionary weapon. Once more, in the case of missionary work for women its first, and most worthy, aim was simply to deliver sisters whom the Christian woman found in degradation, ignorance, and suffering from these evils into the liberty of Christian womanhood. As, in the course of generations, they laboured for this end, the great task of training new types of Christian motherhood suited to each nation gradually dawned upon them, and they became aware that they had stimulated a greater awakening than they had dreamed of among the women of China, India, and Africa. But Christian personality remains the key of the position, and the feminist movement, which is growing in East and West alike, finds its true regulative everywhere in the principles of the gospel.

3. Cognate activities.—A bare mention must suffice of the achievements of missionaries in works ancillary to their main calling. The names of Livingstone, Krapf, and Rebmann among explorers, of James Legge, R. Caldwell, H. A. Jaeschke, and Carl Meinhof among philologists, and of R. Codrington and John Roscoe among anthropologists are but a few among many. In civil life, too, missionaries have sometimes held a prominent place—*e.g.*, C. F. Schwartz in Tanjore and John Mackenzie in Bechuanaland; and in India municipal offices have occasionally been held by them. To outsiders these public services have been a vindication of the missionary's usefulness; to some among the missionary public it has seemed that they might be a hindrance to it. In the nature of things such services must remain exceptional, rendered by isolated individuals who possess the ability and energy. As by-work they have been of service; were they more than this, they would prove a hindrance.

4. Results and problems.—The present condition of the world mission-field shows off-shoots of the Reformed Churches in every stage of growth. Their members, as always, vary in genuineness and strength, but everywhere they include whole-hearted followers of Christ, and, as a body, they have advanced greatly in tone and conduct from their former non-Christian manner of life. The animist, the pantheist, the agnostic, and the deist have come to believe in one almighty Father, one sinless Saviour, one indwelling sanctifying Spirit. From this faith grow the fruits, both of higher morality and of social amelioration, enhanced culture, and intellectual progress. In many directions the desire is shown to hand on the benefits of the gospel to others, and readiness to make sacrifices in so doing is evident. It has been remarked that the churches of the mission-field have produced no first-class heresy, implying thereby a lack of serious intellectual striving. But other causes may more reasonably be assigned for this. The intellectual training and status of the foreign teacher is so far superior, in the great majority of cases, to that of his converts that it would be difficult for them to maintain positions contrary to those which he has laid down—all the more so as the possible variations of intellectual formulation have been fairly fully worked out by previous heresies, the weaknesses of which have been pointed out to them. Moreover, no inconsiderable part of the effect produced by Christian missions is to be found in the change of attitude, the new beliefs and ideals of conduct, individual and social, taken over from them by the still non-Christian world. In this process the analogues of early Christian heresies are to be found in the teachings of bodies outside the Christian Church. Thus the Brāhma Samāj reform of Hinduism represents a kind of Arianism; the Bahai offshoot of Islām would stand for one variety of Gnosticism, and theosophy (*q.v.*) for another. Generally speaking, syncretism is largely practised, and in many cases by men of noble character who are striving for a reconciliation of the old and the new, but the religion of the amateur collector is not more likely to stand now than in the early centuries, though it is a pitfall of which the abler intellects of the young churches need to beware.

Analogous to this is the problem of unity in the Reformed Churches. The majority of the divisions which have sprung up in the West from local and temporary causes have naturally no meaning to the Eastern convert; and the same holds good of many dividing lines in doctrine. The resulting tendency to unity in faith and practice, in face of powerful opposing forces, is healthy and hopeful. There is, however, a danger that members of the young churches should regard all distinctions in doctrine and discipline indiscriminately as mere Western peculiarities which may be swept aside in order to construct an edifice of truly indigenous Christianity. A sound attitude of the missionary teacher towards questions of race and nationality will do much to meet this danger.

Next to the essential spiritual element no factor in missionary work is more weighty than the social progress which it has initiated or stimulated. From these successes a difficulty often springs. In the contact of two deeply-separated civilizations the convert naturally assimilates that of his Western teacher, but without the exercise of wisdom and restraint he may evolve a mere caricature of Western culture without its balance and restraint, thereby repelling alike his own countrymen and his Western fellow-Christians; and among higher races he may acquire needs and habits which will involve him in economic difficulties. Meanwhile, Western culture and commerce are ceaselessly flooding into mission lands, and the change of life connected with them is affecting non-Christians scarcely less than Christians. As a result of this the efforts of the missionary to promote a simple indigenous style of living may be resented as intended to repress the progress of the native Christian. One of the missionary's most difficult and delicate tasks is to decide and to convince his charges what is justly due to the decencies and progress of Christian life and what is illegitimate as ministering to extravagance and parasitic growth.

Thus social progress is intimately connected with the great difficulty presented by the economic dependence of the mission churches on their parents at the home base. The amount annually expended by home churches on the maintenance of ministers, preachers, and teachers of indigenous races is estimated at £7,000,000. The amount recorded as raised by the native churches in the same connexion is £1,500,000. Allowing for a liberal margin of error, the disparity is still immense, even when we consider that a large number of the converts are drawn from impoverished strata of society whose financial weakness must be great for some time to come. Almost every advance is dependent on fresh exertions made by the mother churches, who also contribute largely to the maintenance of worship, pastoral care, and teaching. In the last resort the economic dependence of mission churches is part of the larger problem of the economic dependence of the coloured races on the white, and in all probability the one will not be solved without the other.

Everywhere we are brought up against the racial problem. It was there from the first, and the success of missions has been in proportion to that of the messenger in understanding and treating with wise sympathy people of a foreign race. As the races have become conscious of their common ideals, traditions, and interests, the racial question in the mission-field has developed into the national. Everywhere the missionary is met, actively or passively, by insistence on the rights of the race in its own sphere and a demand for equal opportunity, as against the old idea of the inherent superiority of the white man. The opposition thus engendered reacts against the white man's religion, and there is on each continent a restiveness and impatience of control on the part of converts and churches such as did not exist a generation ago. To deal with this firmly and sympathetically as a sign of healthy growth, and as a pathway to new and fruitful relations, is the part of wisdom. Premature independence and unduly delayed emancipation both have their dangers. Smartness and efficiency may be made an idol; but it is also a temptation to take the easy path of lowering the ideals of the gospel, and this leads to deterioration. The problem is to be solved only by patient, tenacious charity on the part of the missionary who understands the national and racial feeling, and whose watchword is the responsibility of the stronger.

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H. U. WEITBRECHT.

MISSIONS (Muhammadan).—The materials for the history of Muhammadan missionary activity are much less abundant than those for the history of the propagation of Christianity. Muhammadan historians appear to have been singularly incurious as to the spread of their own faith, and only scanty references to conversions are found at rare intervals in the vast historical literature of the Muhammadan world. The absence of a priesthood in Islām, implying the setting apart of a separate body of men as exponents of the doctrines of the faith, has had its counterpart in a lack of ecclesiastical annals; there have been no Muslim missionary societies (except towards the end of the 19th cent.), no specially trained propagandists, and very little continuity of missionary effort; even the religious orders of Islām, which have at times done much for the spread of the faith, have not cared to set on record the story of the success that has attended their preaching. There is, therefore, nothing in Muhammadan literature to correspond to the abundant materials for the history of Christian missions provided in the biographies of Christian saints, the annals of the Christian religious orders, and the innumerable journals and other publications of the various Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary societies. In fact, the fullest details as to Muslim missionary activity are generally to be found in the writings of the Christian clergy who have watched with apprehension the rapid extension of Islām. Yet to this poverty of information from Muhammadan sources there is one notable exception, namely, the biography of Muhammad himself. The missionary activity of Islām begins with the life of the founder, and the numerous biographies of the Prophet are full of stories of his efforts to win over unbelievers to the faith.

In the Qur'ān itself, the duty of missionary work is clearly laid down in the following passages (here quoted in chronological order according to the date of their revelation):

'Summon thou to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and with kindly warning: dispute with them in the kindest manner' (xvi. 126). 'They who have inherited the Book after them [*i.e.* the Jews and Christians] are in perplexity of doubt concerning it. For this cause summon thou (them to the faith), and walk uprightly therein as thou hast been bidden . . . and say, In whatsoever Book God hath sent down do I believe: I am commanded to decide justly between you: God is our Lord and your Lord: we have our works and you have your works: between us and you let there be no strife: God will make us all one: and to Him shall we return' (xlii. 14). 'Say to those who have been given the Book and to the ignorant, Do you accept Islām? Then, if they accept Islām, they are guided aright: but if they turn away, then thy duty is only preaching' (iii. 19). 'Thus God clearly showeth you His signs that perchance ye may be guided, and that there may be from among you a people who invite to the Good, and enjoin the Just, and forbid the Wrong; and these are they with whom it shall be well' (iii. 99 f.). 'To every people have we appointed observances which they observe. Therefore let them not dispute the matter with thee, but summon them to thy Lord: Verily thou art guided aright: but if they debate with thee, then say: God best knoweth what ye do' (xxii. 66 f.). 'If any one of those who join gods with God ask an asylum of thee, grant him an asylum in order that he may hear the word of God; then let him reach his place of safety' (ix. 6).

Further, the faith of Islām was to be preached to all nations, and all mankind were to be summoned to belief in the One God.

'Of a truth it [*i.e.* the Qur'ān] is no other than an admonition to all created beings, and after a time shall ye surely know its message' (xxxviii. 87 f.). 'This (book) is no other than an admonition and a clear Qur'ān, to warn whoever liveth' (xxxvi. 69 f.). 'We have not sent thee save as mercy to all created beings' (xxi. 107; cf. also xxv. 1 and xxxiv. 27). 'He it is who hath sent His apostle with guidance and the religion of truth, that He may make it victorious over every other religion, though the polytheists are averse to it' (lxi. 9).

In the hour of Muhammad's deepest despair, when the people of Mecca turned a deaf ear to his preaching, when the converts that he had made were tortured until they recanted and others had to flee from the country to escape the rage of their persecutors, the promise was revealed:

'One day we will raise up a witness out of every nation' (xvi. 86).

The life of the Prophet himself presented, for succeeding generations, an ensample of Muslim missionary activity. When he began his prophetic career, his first efforts were directed towards persuading his own family; his earliest converts were his wife, Khadījah, his adopted children, Zaid and ʻAlī, and some members of his immediate circle. He did not begin to preach in public until the third year of his mission, but he met only with the scoffing and contempt of the Quraish. In the fourth year of his mission he took up his residence in the house of al-Arqam, one of the early converts, and many Muslims dated their conversion from the days when the Prophet preached in this house, which was in a central position, much frequented by pilgrims and strangers. The conversion of ʻUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about two years later was a source of great strength to the little band of Muslims, who now began publicly to perform their devotions together round the Kaʻbah. Though Muhammad continued to teach for ten years, the number of converts remained very small, and an attempt to win adherents outside Mecca, in the town of Ṭā'if, ended in complete failure; but some pilgrims from Yathrib (or, as it was afterwards called, Medīna) showed themselves to be more receptive, and Muhammad sent one of his early converts, Muṣʻab b. ʻUmair, to Yathrib to spread the faith in that city. Muṣʻab's mission was so successful that in the following year he was accompanied by more than seventy converts in the pilgrimage to Mecca; they invited Muhammad to take refuge in Yathrib, and he accordingly migrated thither in September 622—a date which was afterwards adopted as the beginning of the Muhammadan era. In Medīna the little Muslim community gradually developed into a political organism that spread over the greater part of Arabia before the death of Muhammad in 633, and political expediency tended to thrust purely religious considerations into the background; but the proselytizing character of the new faith was not lost sight of, and the Arab tribes that submitted to the political leadership of Muhammad accepted at the same time the faith that he taught. But of distinctively missionary activity there are only scattered notices, and for some time after the death of Muhammad there is a similar lack of evidence of distinctively proselytizing effort on the part of the Muslims during the expansion of Arab rule over Syria, Persia, N. Africa, and Spain, though in all these countries large numbers of persons from among the conquered populations passed over to the dominant faith. There is one notable exception in the case of the pious Umayyad khalīfah, ʻUmar b. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz (717–720), who was a zealous propagandist and endeavoured to win converts in all parts of his vast dominions from N. Africa to Transoxania and Sind.

With the decline of the Arab empire the Muslim world was faced with the task of converting its new rulers. The conversion of the Turks proceeded very slowly; the earliest converts appear to have been the Turkish soldiers who took service under the khalīfah in Baghdād; there are a few legends of proselytizing efforts in Turkestan, but the history of the conversion of the Turkish tribes is obscure, and Islām seems to have made little way among them before the 10th cent., when the Seljūq Turks migrated into the province of Bukhārā, and there adopted Islām. The conversion of the main body of the Afghāns probably belongs to the same period or a little earlier, though national tradition would carry it back to the days of the Prophet himself.

A more formidable task was the conversion of the Mongols, and here Islām had to enter into competition with two other missionary faiths, Buddhism and Christianity, both of which at the outset met with greater success. The devastations of the Mongols had brought ruin to the centres of learning and culture in the Muhammadan countries which they overran, and it was only by slow degrees that Islām began to emerge out of the ruins of its former ascendancy and take its place again as a dominant faith. From the latter part of the 13th cent. converts began to be made from among the Mongols, and a new epoch in Muslim missionary history then commenced, in which the religious orders, and the Naqshbandī in particular, played a prominent part. In the profound discouragement which filled the Muslims after the flood of the Mongol conquest had poured over them their first refuge had been in mysticism, and the *pīr*, or spiritual guide, who during this period began to exercise an increasing influence, became of special importance among the proselytizing agencies at work. The first Mongol ruling prince to profess Islām was Baraka Khān, who was chief of the Golden Horde from 1256 to 1267; according to one account, he owed his conversion to two merchants whom he met coming with a caravan from Bukhārā; but the conversion of their prince gave great offence to many of his followers, and half a century later, when Uzbeg Khān (who was chief of the Golden Horde from 1313 to 1340) attempted to convert the Mongols who still stood aloof from Islām, they objected, 'Why should we abandon the religion of Jenghīz Khān for that of the Arabs?' In other parts of the Mongol empire the progress of Islām was still slower and more fluctuating, and it did not become the paramount religion in the kingdom of the Īlkhāns of Persia until 1295, or among the Chaghatāy Mongols until three decades later. The first Muhammadan king of Kāshgar (which the break-up of the Chaghatāy dynasty had erected into a separate kingdom) was Tūqluq Tīmūr Khān (1347–63), who is said to have owed his conversion to a holy man from Bukhārā, by name Shaikh Jamāl al-Dīn; but so late as the end of the 16th cent. a dervish named Isḥāq Walī found scope for his proselytizing activities in Kāshgar and the neighbouring country, where he spent twelve years in spreading the faith.

The extension of Mongol rule over China gave an impulse to the spread of Islām in that country; though Muslim merchants had been found in the coast towns from a much earlier period, the firm establishment of their faith in China dates from the 13th cent., and the settlements of immigrants from the west, which were founded from that period, developed into the great communities of Chinese Muslims of the present day—through various causes, of which proselytism has been one. The rise of the Mongols was also incidentally the cause of renewed missionary activity in India; Islām had gained a footing in Sind and on the Malabar coast as early as the 8th cent., and in the north after the establishment of Muhammadan rule at the close of the 12th cent., but the terror of the Mongol arms caused a number of learned men and members of religious orders to take refuge in India, where they succeeded in making many converts.

To the period of the Mongol conquests—though in no way connected therewith—is traditionally ascribed the first establishment of Islām in the Malay Archipelago. Sumatra appears to have been the first island into which it was introduced—probably by traders from India and, later, Arabia; but the extension of the new faith was very slow, and even to the present day large sections of the population of this island remain unconverted. The conversion of Java, according to the native annals, began in the 15th cent. and spread from this island into the Moluccas and Borneo. The arrival of the Portuguese and, later, of the Spaniards, in the 16th cent. checked for a time the growing influence of Islām in the Malay Archipelago, and the rival faiths of Christianity and Islām entered into conflict for the adherence of its peoples; but the oppressive behaviour of the Spaniards and their attempts to enforce the acceptance of their religion ultimately contributed to the success of the Muslim propagandists, who adopted more conciliatory methods for the spread of their faith, intermarried with the natives, and conformed to their manners and customs. The missionary activity of Islām has been carried on spasmodically in these islands up to the present day—for the most part by traders. From the very nature of the case, there has been little historical record of their labours, and this little is chiefly found in the reports of Christian missionaries. Legendary accounts of the arrival of the earliest apostles of Islām in several of the islands have been handed down, but they are uncritical and of doubtful historical value.

The history of the spread of Islām in India by missionary effort is not quite so scanty, but it has largely been overshadowed by the absorbing interest of political events; for, though the Indian Muhammadans have produced a large body of historical literature, their references to the propaganda of their faith in these histories are few. The biographies of saints, however, and local traditions contain many references to a successful propaganda, and, among much that is legendary and fantastic, there is evidence of the activity of a number of missionaries from the beginning of the Muhammadan period. Among these may be mentioned Shaikh Ismā'īl, a Bukhārī Sayyid who preached in Lahore in 1005, Sayyid Nādir Shāh, the patron saint of Trichinopoly (where he died in 1039), and 'Abd Allāh, who landed in Cambay in 1067, and is said to have been the first missionary of the Musta'lī Ismā'īlī sect (known in India as 'Bohorahs'). Towards the close of the same century another Ismā'īlī missionary, but of the Khojah sect, Nūr al-Dīn (generally known as Nūr Satāgar), carried on a successful propaganda in the Hindu kingdom of Gujarāt. In 1236 there died in Ajmer one of the greatest of the saints of India, Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī, who settled in that city while it was still under Hindu rule and made a large number of converts; ten years later died one of the apostles of Islām in Bengal, Shaikh Jalāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī, the forerunner of a long series of missionaries in that province. Of importance in the history of Islām in the Panjāb is the settlement in that part of India of saints of the Suhrawardī order; *e.g.*, to the preaching of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyā, and of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn and his descendants, many of the tribes of the Panjāb owe their conversion. These are but a few out of the long series of preachers of Islām who carried on a distinctively missionary work, side by side with the various influences, social and political, that contributed to the spread of Islām in that country.

Of the vast history of the spread of Islām in Africa it is not possible here to give more than a brief sketch. For the early period of the Arab conquest of Egypt and N. Africa, though conversions took place on a large scale, there is little evidence of active missionary effort. The opposition of the Berbers in the west and the Nubians in the Nile valley checked for a time the southward movement of Muslim influences. By slow degrees, however, Islām penetrated among the Berbers, but acquired an ascendancy over them only when it assumed the form of a national movement with the rise of the native dynasties of the Almoravids in the 11th, and the Almohads in the 12th, century. The Berbers introduced Islām into the lands watered by the Senegal and the Niger, and Arabs from Egypt spread their faith in the eastern Sūdān during the 12th cent., to which period the conversion of Kordofan and Kanem appears to belong. In the 13th cent. the Mandingos come forward as zealous missionaries of Islām, to be followed by the Hausas, whom they had converted, and the Hausas have carried their faith with them from one end of the Sūdān to the other. Their propagandist efforts were intermittent, however, and many parts of the Sūdān remained untouched by Muslim influences until the 19th century.

Except in India and the Malay Archipelago, there are few records of Muslim missionary activity from the 15th to the 18th century. Nevertheless many conversions occurred during this period; *e.g.*, the Turkish conquests in Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries were followed by conversions to Islām on a large scale, and in the 17th cent. thousands of Christians in Turkey in Europe went over to the religion of their rulers; similarly the conquests of Aḥmad Grāñ in Abyssinia (1528–43) were signalized by numerous conversions to Islām; but there is little evidence of any direct propagandist efforts on the part of the Muslims.

A great revival of the missionary spirit of Islām followed the Wahhābī reformation; this movement stirred the whole of the Muslim world—either to sympathy or to opposition—and thus directly or indirectly gave the impulse to the great missionary movements of the 19th century. In India the Wahhābī preachers aimed primarily at purging out the many Hindu practices that caused the Muslims to deviate from the ways of strict orthodoxy, but incidentally they carried on a propaganda among unbelievers, and their example was followed by other Muhammadan missionaries, whose preaching attracted to Islām large numbers of converts throughout the country. In Sumatra Wahhābī reformers stirred up a revival and made proselytes. But a more momentous awakening was felt in Africa. 'Uthmān Danfodio returned from the pilgrimage to Mecca full of zeal for the Wahhābī reformation, and under his leadership his people, the Fulbe, who had hitherto consisted of small scattered clans living as shepherds, rose to be the dominant power in Hausaland; the methods of the Fulbe were violent and political, and they endeavoured to force the acceptance of Islām upon the pagan tribes which they conquered. On the other hand, a peaceful propaganda was carried on in the Sūdān by members of the Amīrghaniyyah and Qādiriyyah orders; the former takes its name from Muhammad 'Uthmān al-Amīr Ghanī, whose preaching won a large number of converts from among the pagan tribes about Kordofan and Sennaar; after his death in 1853 the order that he founded carried on his missionary work. The Qādiriyyah order had been introduced into Western Africa in the 15th cent., but awoke to renewed life and energy in the 19th. Up to the middle of that century most of the schools in the Sūdān were established and conducted by teachers trained under the auspices of the Qādiriyyah, and their organization provided for a regular and continuous system of propaganda among the heathen tribes. Another order, the Sanūsiyyah (founded in 1837), has also been very active and successful in proselytizing.

A fresh outburst of Muslim missionary zeal in Africa exhibited itself when the greater part of that continent was partitioned among the Powers of Christian Europe—Britain, France, and Germany; by establishing ordered methods of government and administration, and by facilitating communication by means of roads and railways, they have given a great stimulus to trade and have enabled that active propagandist, the Muslim trader, to extend his influence in districts previously closed to him and to traverse familiar ground with greater security.

Throughout the course of Muhammadan history Islām has at times received large accessions of converts for various reasons—political and social—wholly unconnected with missionary enterprise; at the same time it has always retained its primitive character as a missionary religion, without, however, having any permanent organization to serve as a medium for its expression. Societies for carrying on a continuous propaganda were unknown in the Muslim world before the last decades of the 19th cent., and such Muslim missionary societies as are now found in Egypt and India appear to have owed their origin to a conscious imitation of similar organizations in the Christian world. The most characteristic expression of the missionary spirit of Islām is, however, found in the proselytizing zeal of the individual believer, who is prompted by his personal devotion to his faith to endeavour to win the allegiance to it of others. Though there have been religious teachers who may be looked upon as professional missionaries of Islām, especially the members of the religious orders, it is the trader who fills the largest place in the annals of Muslim propaganda; but no profession or occupation unfits the believer for the office of preacher of the faith, nor is any priestly ministrant needed to receive the convert into the body of the faithful. Some observers, entitled to respect for their knowledge of the Muhammadan world, have gone so far as to say that every Muslim is a missionary:

> 'À tout musulman, quelque mondain qu'il soit, le prosélytisme semble être en quelque sorte inné' (Snouck Hurgronje, *RHR* lvii. [1908] 66). 'The Muslim is by nature a missionary . . . and carries on a propaganda on his own responsibility and at his own cost' (W. Munzinger, *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, 1867, p. 411).

However exaggerated such an opinion may be, stated thus as a universal, it is certainly true that there is no section of Muslim society that stands aloof from active missionary work, and few truly devout Muslims, living in daily contact with unbelievers, neglect the precept of their Prophet:

> 'Summon thou to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and with kindly warning' (Qur'ān, xvi. 126).

Even the prisoner will on occasion take the opportunity of preaching his faith to his captors or to his fellow-prisoners. The first introduction of Islām into Eastern Europe was the work of a Muslim jurisconsult who was taken prisoner, probably in one of the wars between the Byzantine empire and its Muhammadan neighbours, and was brought to the country of the Pechenegs (between the lower Danube and the Don) in the beginning of the 11th cent.; before the end of the century the whole nation had become Muhammadan. In India, in the 17th cent., a theologian, named Shaikh Aḥmad Mujaddid, who had been unjustly imprisoned, is said to have converted several hundred idolaters whom he found in the prison. Women as well as men are found working for the spread of their faith; the influence of Muhammadan wives made itself felt in the slow work of converting the pagan Mongols, and in Abyssinia in the first half of the 19th cent. the Muhammadan women, especially the wives of Christian princes, who had to pretend a conversion to Christianity on the occasion of their marriage, brought up their children in the tenets of Islām and used every means to spread their faith. In the present day the Tatar women of Kazan are said to be zealous propagandists of Islām.

The individualistic character of Muhammadan missionary effort partly explains the absence of detailed records of conversion; there is a similar lack of the common apparatus of modern Christian missions—*e.g.*, tracts and other missionary literature for general distribution; but in learned circles a vast controversial literature has been produced, to which some of the ablest of Muslim thinkers have contributed—*e.g.*, al-Kindī († 873), al-Mas'ūdī († 958), Ibn Ḥazm († 1064), al-Ghazālī († 1111), etc., as well as a number of converts who have written apologies for their change of faith and in defence of their new religion.[1] Several documents making a direct appeal to unbelievers have been preserved; the earliest of these are the letters[2] which Muhammad addressed to the great potentates of his time, the emperor Heraclius, the king of Persia, the governor of Yaman, the governor of Egypt, and the king of Abyssinia. To the reign of al-Ma'mūn (813–833), who himself is said to have been zealous in his efforts to spread the faith of Islām, belongs the interesting treatise of 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'īl al-Hāshimī, in which he makes an impassioned and affectionate appeal to his Christian correspondent to accept Islām.[3] Of a much more formal character are the two letters, one in Arabic and the other in Persian, which the Tīmūrid prince, Shāh Rukh Bahādur, addressed in 1412 to the emperor of China, inviting him to 'observe the law of Muhammad, the Apostle of God, and strengthen the religion of Islām, so that he might exchange the transitory sovereignty of this world for the sovereignty of the world to come.'[4] A similar royal missive was sent by Mawlā'ī Ismā'īl, Sharīf of Morocco, to King James II. in 1698.[5] Coming from such an exalted source, these documents have been preserved, while the efforts of humbler folk have remained unrecorded. The publication of tracts and periodical reports of missionary societies makes its appearance only in the latter part of the 19th century.

LITERATURE.—Some attempt to give a bibliography of the scattered notices of Muslim missionary activity is made in *The Preaching of Islam*², London, 1913, by the present writer. For the early period the most valuable source is *Annali dell' Islām*, by Leone Caetani, Milan, 1905 ff., with exhaustive references to authorities, both Christian and Muhammadan. China is the only country to which any detailed monograph on the spread of Islām has been devoted, in Marshall Broomhall, *Islam in China*, London, 1910; see also *Mission d'Ollone, Recherches sur les Musulmans chinois par le commandant d'Ollone*, etc., Paris, 1911 f. For different parts of Africa separate monographs have appeared, *e.g.*, C. H. Becker, 'Zur Geschichte des östlichen Sūdān' and 'Materialien zur Kenntnis des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika,' *Der Islam*, i. and ii., Strassburg, 1910, 1911; G. Bonet-Maury, *L'Islamisme et le Christianisme en Afrique*, Paris, 1906; A. Le Chatelier, *L'Islam dans l'Afrique occidentale*, do. 1899; M. Klamroth, *Der Islam in Deutschostafrika*, Berlin, 1912. For the Malay Archipelago see the article 'Mohammedanisme' and the various place-names in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ed. P. A. van der Lith and J. F. Snelleman, Leyden, 1899–1905; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Nederland en de Islâm*², do. 1915; G. Simon, *Islam und Christentum im Kampf um die Eroberung der animistischen Heidenwelt: Beobachtungen aus der Mohammedanermission im Niederländisch-Indien*, Berlin, 1910. Much material may be gathered from the works of travellers in Muhammadan countries, from the journals and other periodical literature published by the various Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary societies, and from the periodicals specially devoted to the study of Islām, viz. *Revue du monde musulman*, Paris, 1906 ff., *Der Islam, Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients*, Strassburg, 1910 ff., *The Moslem World, a Quarterly Review of current Events, Literature, and Thought among Mohammedans*, London, 1911 ff., *Mir Islama*, Petrograd, 1912 ff., and *Die Welt des Islams, Zeitschrift der deutschen Gesellschaft für Islamkunde*, Berlin, 1913 ff.

T. W. ARNOLD.

MISSIONS (Zoroastrian).—Zoroastrianism began as a distinctly missionary religion. According to tradition, Yima (on whom see art. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Persian]) was the first mortal asked by Ahura Mazda 'to remember and to cherish' the faith (*Vend.* ii. 3), but he professed himself unequal to the task and—unless the tradition is devoid of all meaning—contented himself with extending the domain of Iranian temporal power. Previous to the rise of Zoroaster there is no record of any conscious endeavour to propagate Iranism, which, like all religions which have no personal founder, was non-missionary.[1] With Zoroaster's advent, however, the attitude changed, and he himself, convinced that his religion was 'the best for existent beings, to further my creatures when followed in accord with righteousness' (*Ys.* xliv. 10), and that it would confer blessing for all eternity (*Ys.* liii. 1), besought Ahura Mazda and Aša to reveal to him their divine plan that he could rightly know how to proclaim (*srāvayaēmā*) the religion (*Ys.* xlix. 6), to the end that he might 'convert all men living' (*yā jvantō vīspēng vāurayā*, *Ys.* xxxi. 3). The potency of the faith would convert many hearers (*Ys.* xlvii. 6), and the promise of Paradise would turn the wicked (*Ys.* xxviii. 5). Indeed, a later text (*Yt.* xiii. 87–94) celebrates the greatness of Zoroaster, destined to spread the Mazdayasnian faith over all the world. Such was the merit of the religion that, if a non-believer accepted it and did not sin in future, all his past transgressions, even the most heinous, were forgiven (*Vend.* iii. 40 f.).

Zoroaster was successful in winning to his doctrine King Vištāspa of Bālkh, who spread the faith with his conquests (cf. *Yt.* xiii. 99 f.; *Šāh-nāmah*, tr. A. G. and E. Warner, London, 1905 ff., v. 76 f., 85; A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster*, New York, 1899, pp. 80–92); and among the converts were Turanians,[2] such as Fryāna and his descendant Yōišta (*Ys.* xlvi. 12; *Yt.* v. 81, xiii. 120), Arejahvant (*Yt.* xiii. 113), Frārāzi (*Yt.* xiii. 123), Saēna (*Yt.* xiii. 97; cf. *Dīnkarṭ*, IX. xxxiii. 5), and Isvant (*Yt.* xiii. 96; *Dīnkarṭ*, *loc. cit.*). Zoroaster is represented as praying that he may be able to cause heads of houses, villages, districts, and lands to think, speak, and act in accordance with the religion (*Ys.* viii. 7), and missionaries went afar 'to them who in [other] lands seek for righteousness' (*Ys.* xlii. 6), while, according to a Persian *rivāyat*, some account of the Zoroastrian propaganda was contained in the lost Vištāsp Nask of the Avesta (*SBE* xxxvii. [1892] 424). Itinerant (*pairi-jaθan*) priests are mentioned side by side with those who laboured at home (*dainhāurvaēsa* [*Vīsp.* iii. 3, ix. 2; *Yt.* xxiv. 17]), and in some cases such priests were evidently invited abroad, since they are described as 'desired afar' (*dūraē-frakāta* [*Yt.* xvi. 17]). On the other hand, the missionaries sometimes encountered opposition, as when Keresāni sought to suppress them, but was driven from his kingdom by Haoma (*Ys.* ix. 24), though the present writer is inclined to regard this account as an Iranian reflex of a Vedic myth, the rôle of the hero being reversed, as is the case also in certain other figures surviving from the period of Indo-Iranian unity.[1] When, in like manner, the Pahlavi *Šikand-gūmānīk-Vijār* states (x. 67 f.) that the sons of Vīštāspa 'even wandered to Arūm [the Byzantine empire] and the Hindūs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion,' the tradition of missionary activities in these countries (on which see Jackson, pp. 85–90) deserves no credence, and equally apocryphal is the statement of the *Dīnkarṭ* (*SBE* xxxvii. p. xxxi) that the Avesta was translated into Greek.[2]

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[1] For an account of such writings see Moritz Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Litteratur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*, Leipzig, 1877; Ignaz Goldziher, 'Ueber muhammedanische Polemik gegen Ahl al-kitâb,' *ZDMG* xxxii. [1878] 341 ff.

[2] On the doubtful authenticity of these letters see Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, i. 725 ff.

[3] *Risālah 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'īl al-Hāshimī ilā 'Abd al-Masīḥ b. Isḥāq al-Kindī*, London, 1885, pp. 1–37.

[4] E. Blochet, *Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols de Fadl Allah Rashid ed-Din*, London, 1910, p. 249 f.

[5] *RHR* xlvii. [1903] 174 ff.

[1] In one of the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine a Persian is mentioned as head of a city (perhaps Syene; cf. E. Sachau, *Aram. Papyri und Ostraka aus . . . Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 51–54) in the reign of Darius II., and is described as a 'Mazdayasnian' (מזדיזן). Since this word (Av. *mazdayasna*) is frequently used in the Younger Avesta to denote a Zoroastrian (cf. C. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1904, col. 1160 f.; the borrowed Armenian *mazdezn* is employed in the same sense [H. Hübschmann, *Armen. Gramm.*, Leipzig, 1895–97, i. 190]), it may possibly support the theory (opposed by the present writer in art. ACHÆMENIANS, but advocated by J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, p. 39 ff.) that the Achæmenians were Zoroastrians. On the other hand, the writer has always maintained that the Achæmenian Persians were Mazdayasnians in the rigid sense of the word, so that the Av. term would prove little in this connexion.

[2] The ethnology of the Turanians is uncertain. They have commonly been supposed, since the days of F. Max Müller, to be non-Iranian, but this seems to be true only in part. Their names, as recorded in the Avesta, are Iranian, and the *Šāhnāmah* (i. 189) records that they were descended from Tūr, son of Farīdūn, while the name Tūra appears to be Iranian (Bartholomae, col. 656). It is possible that they were Scyths (J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 155–157; S. Feist, *Kultur . . . der Indogermanen*, do. 1913, pp. 405 f., 425, 471; cf. art. SCYTHS). While they may well have been a congeries of races, like the Scyths, they appear to have been regarded, by the Avesta, as nomad Iranians as opposed to the pastoral folk who evolved the Avesta. See, further, art. TURANIANS.

From the close of the Avestan period to the dynasty of the Sasanids (224–651), there is almost a blank in the history of Zoroastrianism, for neither Seleucids nor Parthians seem to have taken much interest in the religion.[3] Nevertheless, there was considerable diffusion, if not of orthodox Zoroastrianism, at least of Iranism during this time. We have already had occasion to note the spread of Iranian concepts in Cappadocia as shown in the month-names of that country (art. CALENDAR [Persian], vol. iii. p. 130ᵃ); and a curious amalgamation of Semitic and Iranian religious ideas is revealed by a Cappadocian Aramaic inscription of the 2nd cent. B.C. (M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für sem. Epigraphik*, i. [1902] 67–69), which runs as follows:

'This (?) Dēn-Mazdayasniš (דינמזדיסנש־א), the queen (?), the sister and wife (אחתא ואנתתא) of Bēl, spake thus: "I am the wife of King Bēl." Thereupon Bēl spake thus to Dēn-Mazdayasniš: "Thou, my sister, art very wise, and fairer than the goddesses; and therefore have I made thee wife of Bēl (?)." The reference to *xvaētvadatha* (on which see MARRIAGE [Iranian], § 2) is also of interest.[4]

An inscription of Antiochus I. of Commagene (1st cent. B.C.) at Nīmrūd Dāgh is of much value as the expression of the religious fervour of a prince who traced his lineage, on the paternal side, to the Achæmenians themselves, and also as showing the character of a late Zoroastrian cult in a foreign land. The relevant portions of this text (ed. most conveniently by W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Græci inscript. selectæ*, Leipzig, 1903–05, no. 383 [i. 593–603]) may be summarized as follows (cf. also F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs au culte de Mithra*, Brussels, 1896–99, i. 11, 233, 238, ii. 89–91, and below, p. 754ᵇ):

'I considered piety (εὐσέβειαν) not only the strongest foundation of all things good, but also the sweetest joy to men, and held it to be the criterion both of fortunate power and of blessed usefulness (κρίσιν καὶ δυνάμεως εὐτυχοῦς καὶ χρήσεως μακαριστῆς); throughout my life I was seen by all to deem holiness (ὁσιότητα) both the most faithful guardian and the inimitable delight of my kingdom' (11–19); and to this all his success during a long and hazardous career was due. When he ascended his ancestral throne, he appointed a common abode for all the gods (κοινὴν θεῶν ἁπάντων . . . δίαιταν), adorned their images with every device according to ancient Persian[1] and Greek regulation, and honoured them with sacrifices and laudations (μορφῆς μὲν (ε)ἰκόνας παντοίαι τέχνηι καθ' ἃ παλαιὸς λόγος Περσῶν τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων—ἐμοῦ γένους εὐτυχεστάτη ῥίζα—παρέδωκε κοσμήσας θυσίαις δὲ καὶ πανηγύρεσιν [20–34]). He was not, however, content with this. Having determined to found a mighty monument (ἱεροθεσίου) most nigh the heavenly thrones (οὐρανίων ἄγχιστα θρόνων), where, after he had sent his soul 'to the heavenly thrones of Zeus Oromasdes,' his body might slumber 'till boundless time,'[2] he declared that holy spot to be the common enthronement of all the gods, who were imaged in token of his piety (34–53). Accordingly, he set up statues of Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithra-Helios-Hermes, Artagnes [Verethraghna]-Herakles-Ares, Commagene, and himself[3] in gratitude for the 'immortal care' (ἀθανάτου φροντίδος) which had aided him in all his times of trial (54–66). He made every provision for the upkeep of the shrine, the priests of which were to wear Persian vestments (71 ff.). Besides the sacrifices enjoined by old and new custom alike, he directed that the anniversary of his birth and of his coronation be observed annually by all, and that in each month the priests should commemorate the days—the 16th and the 10th—on which the gods had caused these two events to take place. All this is safeguarded by a law which 'my voice spake, but the mind of the gods ratified' (121 f.).

At the festivals the images of the gods should be clad in Persian fashion and be crowned with golden diadems (132–139); incense and perfumes were to be offered (142 f.), and an abundant feast was to be provided for all comers (146–161). The service at these banquets was performed by *hierodouloi* (*q.v.*), who, with their children, were inalienable (161–191), as were also the villages, etc., dedicated for the maintenance of the shrine (191–205); and the inscription closes with the hope that the dedicator's children will follow his example, and with blessings on those who observe his will and curses on those who seek impiously to undo his work (205–237). For a fragmentary inscription which begins in closely similar fashion see Dittenberger, no. 404 (i. 621 f.).

As regards India, we note that on the coinage of the Kuṣān kings Kaniṣka (*q.v.*) and Huviṣka (1st–2nd cent. B.C.) a number of Zoroastrian deities appear along with Greek and Hindu gods and effigies of the Buddha (M. A. Stein, 'Zoroastr. Deities on Indo-Scythic Coins,' in *BOR*, 1887, pp. 155–166; and especially A. von Sallet, *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, vi. [1879] 386–409; A. Cunningham, 'Coins of the Kushâns, or Great Yue-ti,' in *Numismatic Chron.* III. xii. [1892] 40–82, 98–159 and plates xiv.–xxiv.; P. Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the Brit. Mus.*, London, 1886, pp. 129–161 and plates xxvi.–xxix.; *Cat. of Coins of the Ind. Museum* [Calcutta], Calcutta, 1893–96, iv. 39–50; further literature in E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 18).

According to a section (ch. cxxxvi. [cxxxix.]) of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* written after the middle of the 6th cent. A.D., priests called Magas were brought from Šākadvīpa ('Scyth-[is] land') to serve sun-temples. This is scarcely to be construed as Iranian propaganda; for the function of these foreign priests see art. SAURAS AND MAGAS, and cf. D. B. Spooner, *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 63–89, 405–455.

With the rise of the house of Sāsan Zoroastrianism not merely revived, but again developed a markedly missionary spirit. According to the *Dīnkarṭ* (ed. and tr. P. B. and D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1874 ff., vol. x. p. 12), Ahura Mazda commands that the faith be spread through the world; and in elucidating the meaning of Av. *fravarāne*, 'I profess,' the Pahlavi commentators add that every Zoroastrian endeavours to propagate the religion among all mankind, while the highest praise attaches to the quondam non-believer who renounces his former tenets in favour of Zoroastrianism (*SBE* xviii. [1882] 415). Sapor II. (309–379), aided by his great priest Ādarbād (on whom see Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 49), worked zealously in the cause of proselytism (*Dīnkarṭ*, vol. ix. p. 579), and the *Dīnkarṭ* (vol. viii. p. 26) directly sanctions propaganda by force. That this was by no means a merely academic attitude is amply proved by the records of persecution of the Christians by the Sasanid rulers in Persia.[1] The Pahlavi portion of the *Nīrangistān* (ed. D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1894, fol. 16^a, 17^a) bears witness to the admission of proselytes, and the Pahlavi *Māṭigān-ī-Hazār Dāṭistān* (ed. J. J. Modi, Poona, 1901, p. 1; tr. Bartholomae, *WZKM* xxvii. [1914] 347 ff.) states that a slave belonging to a Christian should be ransomed by Zoroastrians from his master if such a slave embraces Parsiism, though he is not to be set free if he becomes a Zoroastrian together with or after his master.

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[1] Keresāni is apparently to be identified with the Vedic Kṛśānu, an archer who shot at the eagle which was carrying off Soma (Rigveda, IV. xxvii. 3 f.; cf. A. Bergaigne, *Religion védique*, Paris, 1878–83, iii. 30 f.; A. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, Breslau, 1891–1902, i. 448 f.; A. A. Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 137). For Keresāni see F. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, p. 161 (J. Darmesteter's identification of him with Alexander the Great [*Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–93, i. 80–82] is quite improbable).

[2] Contrariwise, much of a very second-rate character was current in Greek under the names of Zoroaster, Ostanes, Hystaspes, etc. (J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, Hamburg, 1705–28, i. 245–252, 92–95); cf. also the folk-medicine and magic ascribed to Zoroaster in *Geoponica*, I. vii. f., x., xii., II. xv., V. xlvi., VII. v. f., xi., X. lxxxiii., XI. xviii. 11, XIII. ix. 10, xv. 1.

[3] On the Parthian religion see G. Rawlinson, *Sixth Great Orient. Monarchy*, London, 1873, pp. 398–402; F. Justi, *GIrP* ii. [1904] 486 f.; A. V. W. Jackson, *ib.* p. 694; J. M. Unvala, 'The Religion of the Parthians,' in *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Vol.*, Bombay, 1914, pp. 1–10. Cf. also art. PARTHIANS. For the Seleucids see E. R. Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, London, 1902, i. 290 f.

[4] It is implied in *Yt.* xvii. 16 that Daēna (Religion personified) is the *daughter* of Ahura Mazda and Ārmaiti, but she is neither his sister nor his wife.

[1] Cf. art. IMAGES AND IDOLS (Persian). The term 'laudations' (πανηγύρεσιν) looks very like a literal translation of Av. *yašta*, 'Yašt,' panegyric of an individual deity.

[2] τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα may possibly translate Av. *zrvan akarana*.

[3] For the brief individual inscriptions to all these see Dittenberger, nos. 384–388 (i. 604–606).

During the period under consideration there was some extension of Zoroastrianism in China (cf. Jackson, pp. 278–280), though no details are thus far known. It would appear, however, from the discoveries made by M. A. Stein, A. Grünwedel, A. von Le Coq, and P. Pelliot in Turkestan, where Buddhist, Persian, Turkī, Greek, and Chinese relics lie intermingled, that Zoroastrianism passed along the great trade-routes. It may be doubted whether there was any active propaganda.[2]

We have just seen that the Sasanids proceeded by force against non-Zoroastrians in Persia; they pursued a similar course in Armenia. Ample proof of this is given in the Armenian historians,[3] and much further information is doubtless to be gleaned from the hitherto untranslated Acts of the Armenian Martyrs.[4] As an example it will be sufficient to summarize the data of the 5th cent. writer Elisæus (*Hist. of Vartan*, tr. C. F. Neumann, London, 1830):

All non-Zoroastrians were oppressed in Armenia from the reign of Aršak III. (341–367) till that of Artašēs IV. (422–429). The Persian Yazdagird II. (438–457) followed this example, urged by the Zoroastrian priests to 'exterminate the sect of the Christians,' and he deprived them of their property and martyred those who remained steadfast. Some he induced to become apostates by money and high rank, saying, 'Oh that you would but receive the doctrine of the Magi into your souls! Oh that you would but exchange the heresy of your souls for the true and excellent laws of our gods!' The Magi exhorted him, if he would prove his gratitude for his power and his victories, to make Zoroastrianism dominant everywhere. In the course of his endeavours the Zoroastrians promulgated an interesting Zarvanite statement of theology, to which the Christians replied (pp. 11–20). The persecution provoked a revolt, which was not suppressed until the Christian leader, Vardan, fell in battle in 451. The whole account of Elisæus shows the clash of two religions, each of uncompromising character. Cruelty and craft were only too evident, but the spirit of sincere conviction must be recognized.

With the overthrow of the Sasanian dynasty by the Arabs the missionary enterprise of Zoroastrianism practically came to a close. The plight of those who remained in Persia was—and is—too wretched to allow more than a reluctant and hostile toleration at best from the dominant Muhammadanism.[1] Those who, in the 7th cent., migrated to India and thus gave rise to the communities of Parsis (*q.v.*) were received with none too warm a welcome. As Dhalla observes (p. 323), with regard to their abstention from propaganda in India,

'The precarious condition in which they lived for a considerable period made it impracticable for them to keep up their former proselytizing zeal. The instinctive fear of disintegration and absorption in the vast multitudes among whom they lived created in them a spirit of exclusiveness and a strong feeling for the preservation of the racial characteristics and distinctive features of their community. Living in an atmosphere surcharged with the Hindu caste system, they felt that their own safety lay in encircling their fold by rigid caste barriers.'

Nevertheless, a certain amount of proselytizing continued as late as the 18th cent., especially in the case of slaves purchased from low-caste Hindus. Such procedure, however, instead of being welcomed as extending the faith, aroused hostility on social grounds, some Parsis being unwilling to permit such converts to prepare sacred cakes (*drons*) for the festivals or to allow the proselytes to be exposed after death on the Parsi 'Towers of Silence.' The question was referred more than once to the Zoroastrians in Persia, whose replies were in favour of admitting converts. From the point of view of orthodox Zoroastrianism, there cannot be the slightest question that the ruling of the Īrānī (Persian) Zoroastrians was right. On the other hand, it was felt by the Parsis of India that an influx of low-caste Hindus would be prejudicial to the purity of their Iranian community.

The only cases in which proselytism has been urged in recent years have been instances in which a Parsi has married a non-Zoroastrian wife, or has desired to have children born by such a wife, or by a non-Zoroastrian mistress, received into the Parsi community. In all these cases admission has been granted only in the face of intense opposition.

The motives of the converts have been, in practically every instance, worldly, not religious, and the conversions have been purely nominal. Parsis hold that such proselytes are harmful to the faith, and that, if converts are admitted at all, it must be under conditions which put the sincerity of the neophytes' religious convictions beyond suspicion. The Zoroastrian community has no organization for training new converts; the matrimonial opportunities of Parsi girls are lessened by the possibility of converting prospective wives of other religions; and the admission of illegitimate children of Parsis is felt to be virtually a condoning of immorality.

This attitude—so different from that of Zoroaster and of Zoroastrianism until the migration to India—is fraught with grave possibilities to Parsiism. The age of marriage is rising, and the birth-rate is falling. There is a steady leakage towards agnosticism (not towards conversion to Christianity, Muhammadanism, or any form of Hinduism). Even among those who regard themselves as Zoroastrians there is much laxity. Theosophy (*q.v.*) is making a form of 'esoteric' Zoroastrianism which can scarcely be reconciled with the Avesta. Some of the radical wing of the 'reforming' party, at the other extreme, rationalize the religion until it becomes a travesty of its real content. Against all this must be reckoned many wisely conservative Parsis, both priests and laymen,[2] but whether, so long as all accessions from without are forbidden, they can advance and extend the 'good religion' is a question for the future.

LITERATURE.—M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914, pp. 11–13, 72–75, 198 f., 323–325, 367 f.; letter of Rustamji Edulji Dastur Peshotan Sanjana to the writer (5th July 1915).

LOUIS H. GRAY.

MISTLETOE.—See CELTS, vol. iii. p. 295 f.

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[1] S. E. Assemani, *Acta martyrum orientalium*, Rome, 1748; P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, Paris, 1890–97; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyrer*, Leipzig, 1880; J. Labourt, *Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, Paris, 1904; L. H. Gray, 'Zoroastrian . . . Material in the Acta Sanctorum,' in *Journ. of the Manchester Egyp. and Orient. Soc.*, 1913–14, pp. 37–55; further material is given in the Bollandists' *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis*, Brussels, 1910. For Zoroastrian hostility towards Christianity and Judaism see artt. JESUS CHRIST IN ZOROASTRIANISM, JEWS IN ZOROASTRIANISM. Justi (*GIrP* ii. 521, 529 f.), followed by A. J. H. W. Brandt (*Mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 162, note 1), holds that the persecutions were political rather than religious in motive, the Nestorians enjoying State protection and even favour, whereas the Catholics, owning allegiance to a non-Persian power, were objects of hostility.

[2] As illustrating the extent to which Iranian ideas were current in China it is interesting to note that a long Manichæan treatise exists in Chinese (ed. and tr. E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, 'Un Traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine,' in *JA* x. xviii. [1911] 499–617, XI. i. [1913] 99–199, 261–394).

[3] M. Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*, Petrograd, 1874–76, *Deux historiens arméniens*, do. 1870; V. Langlois, *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1867–69.

[4] *e.g.*, J. B. Aucher, *Sanctorum acta pleniora*, 12 vols., Venice, 1810–14; L. Alishan, *Bibliotheca Armeniaca*, 22 vols., do. 1853–61; *Vitæ et passiones sanctorum*, 2 vols., do. 1874; *Vitæ patrum*, 2 vols., do. 1855 (all in Armenian only). The 'Passion of SS. Abdas, Hormisdas, Šāhīn, and Benjamin' is tr. by P. Peeters, *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxviii. [1909] 399–415. For further details see the *Bibl. hag. orient.* cited above.

[1] See art. GABARS and the literature there cited, to which may now be added five papers by Khudayar Sheriyar in the *Jejeebhoy Jubilee Vol.*, pp. 299–318, 432–438.

[2] On all these movements see esp. J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York, 1915, pp. 84–91, 343–346.

MITHRAISM.—The religion generally known by this name, which enjoyed a wide-spread popularity in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, centred in the worship of Mithra, a divinity worshipped in the Indo-Iranian period by the two most easterly branches of the Aryan race, as is shown by the fact that his name appears in the form Mitra among the gods of the Vedic pantheon and in that of Mithra in the early religious poetry of Persia. The name coincides in form with a common noun which in Sanskrit means 'friend' or 'friendship' and in Avestan 'compact,'[1] and it would seem to follow that from the earliest times the conception of Mithra was an ethical one.

1. Mitra in Vedic religion.—In the only hymn addressed exclusively to him in the Rigveda (iii. 59) Mitra is said to 'bring men together, uttering his voice' and to watch the tillers of the soil 'with unwinking eye'—phrases which suggest a solar divinity; and from the numerous hymns in which Mitra and Varuṇa are conjointly addressed it is abundantly clear that both divinities are manifested in the celestial light. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, indeed, the view prevails that Mitra represents the light of day, especially that of the sun, while to Varuṇa belong the 'thousand eyes' of night. This seems, however, to be a later refinement, the beginnings of which may be traced in the Atharvaveda, especially IX. iii. 18, where Mitra uncovers in the morning what Varuṇa has concealed. The theory of Oldenberg,[2] that the group of divinities known as Ādityas, who are said in Rigveda IX. cxiv. 3 to have been seven in number,[3] originally represented sun (Mitra), moon (Varuṇa), and five planets, and was borrowed from a Semitic race, has little to commend it. It is more probable that Varuṇa was by origin the all-encompassing vault of heaven (√*var*, 'cover'), Mitra the light which proceeds therefrom. Ethically the two gods were probably differentiated in the Indo-Iranian period, Varuṇa being the supreme upholder of physical and moral order, Mitra the all-seeing witness who guarantees good faith between man and man. This is not so clear in the Vedas as in the early religious poetry of Persia, where the place of Varuṇa is taken by Ahura Mazda (='Wise Lord,' the word Ahura corresponding to Skr. *asura*—a term which in later Vedic literature means 'demon,' but in the Rigveda is applied to gods, more especially to Varuṇa and Mitra, and is plausibly suggested to have connoted the possession of occult power).

2. Mithra in Iran.—Among the Iranian peoples the worship of Mithra attained an importance which it never possessed in India. The early history of this worship is very obscure, owing to the uncertainties which beset the interpretation of the Avestan texts. From the inscriptions found by H. Winckler at Boghaz-keui in 1907,[4] especially the treaty between the Hittite king Subbiluliuma and Mattiuaza, the son of Tushratta, king of Mitanni, it appears that Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nāsatya, or 'Twins,' were worshipped in the district of Mitanni in the 14th cent. B.C. Eduard Meyer ('Das erste Auftreten der Arier in die Geschichte,' *SBAW*, 1908, p. 14 ff.) regards this fact as a proof that an Aryan community existed in Mitanni; in *EBr*[11] xxi. 203 he suggests that the Aryans in question were a caste ruling over a non-Aryan people. It is, however, uncertain whether we should regard them as the ancestors of the Iranians, and even possible (as J. H. Moulton has suggested, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, pp. 7, 26) that we have here the relic of a prehistoric migration backward from India to the North-West. It is to be observed that the name Varuṇa is otherwise unknown in Iranian texts, whilst Ahura Mazda, who takes his place, appears under the form Assara Mazāsh in an Assyrian list of divinities of about 650 B.C. (published by F. Hommel, *PSBA*, 1899, pp. 127, 138), and had, no doubt, been borrowed from an Iranian people at a considerably earlier date. To the same period belongs a tablet from the library of Assurbanipal in which Mithra is identified with Shamash (R. iii. 69, 5, l. 72). Our next evidence dates from the Achæmenian dynasty. The inscriptions of Cyrus, it is true, throw no light on his worship of Iranian divinities, and Darius I. mentions Ahura Mazda only; but the evidence of theophoric names (*Μιτραδάτης* [Herod. i. 110, 121], *Μιτροβάτης* [*ib.* iii. 120, 126, 127], and, earlier still, *Μιτραγαθής*, if this is the correct reading, in Æsch. *Pers.* 42) makes it plain that Mithra was prominent in the Persian pantheon,[1] while Artaxerxes Mnemon (403–358 B.C.) names as his divine protectors Ahura Mazda, Anāhita, and Mithra (*Art. Sus.* a, 4 f., *Ham.* 5 f. [O. Pers. text]). The coupling of Mithra with the goddess Anāhita reminds us of the confusion between the two of which Herodotus is guilty in the passage (i. 131) in which he describes the Persian religion, and identifies *Μίτρα* with the 'Assyrian' Mylitta (an appellative of Ishtar).

3. Mithra in early Zoroastrianism.—We have next to consider the position of Mithra in the religion of Zarathushtra. Adopting the position (1) that the *Gāthās* go back to the time of the Prophet himself, and that this was not later (and very possibly earlier) than the traditional date (7th cent. B.C.), and (2) that the *Yashts*, at any rate as regards the metrical portions, are not many centuries later,[2] we observe that Mithra is never mentioned in the former, and was ignored by Zarathushtra in his reform. It may even be possible to go further, and to hold that the Prophet regarded him as a *daēva*, or demon, whose worship was to be banished from the pure faith. In *Ys.* xxxii. 10 we hear of the teacher of evil who 'declares that the Ox and the Sun are the worst thing to behold with the eyes,' which may perhaps refer to the nocturnal sacrifice of the bull by Mithraists; and it is also possible that the Ox-Creator (*Gēush-tashan*) named in *Ys.* xxix. 2 was a substitute for Mithra devised by Zarathushtra. These are only conjectures;[3] but we shall find in later Mithraic ritual abundant proofs of the survival of primitive conceptions such as Zarathushtra endeavoured to eradicate. It is not necessary here to discuss the difficult questions regarding the measure of success attained by the Prophet's reform and the origin of the counter-movement (perhaps Magian) which restored the more primitive worships. It may be worth mentioning, however, that in the Persian calendar, which there is reason to think (on astronomical grounds) was introduced into Cappadocia by Darius I.,[4] the names of the months are derived from divine names, which include those of Mithra

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[1] These words are connected by etymology with the base **mei*, 'exchange,' seen in Lat. *com-munis*, Goth. *ga-mains*, M.H.G. *ge-mein*, etc.; see K. Brugmann and B. Delbrück, *Grundriss*², Strassburg, 1897 ff., II. i. 346, and especially A. Meillet, *JA* x. x. [1907] 143–159.

[2] *Religion des Veda*, p. 185 ff.

[3] Six Ādityas are enumerated in Rigveda II. xxvii. 1, and eight in x. lxxii. 8 f.

[4] Cf. H. Winckler, 'Die Arier in den Urkunden von Boghazköi' *OLZ*, 1910, pp. 289–301.

[1] Cf. also the names Μιθροβαρζάνης (Corn. Nepos, *Datam.* vi. 3, Diod. Sic. XV. xci. 5), Μιθροβουζάνης (Diod. XVII. xxi. 3; Arrian, *Anab.* I. xvi. 3), Μιτραφέρνης (Nicolaus Damasc. *FHG* iii. 363), Μιθροπαύστης (Plut. *Themist.* 29), Μιθραύστης (Arrian, *Anab* III. viii. 5), etc. (F. Justi, *Iran. Namenb.*, Marburg, 1895, pp. 208 f., 213, 216 f., and esp. Cumont, *Textes*, ii. 76–85, 464–466).

[2] A popular account of the present state of the question will be found in J. H. Moulton's *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, Cambridge, 1911, and further details in the same author's *Early Zoroastrianism*.

[3] Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 129, 357.

[4] See excursus, *ib.* p. 430 ff.

(but not Anāhita) and the six Amesha Spentas (or Amshaspands), which are among the most characteristic features of Zoroastrianism properly so called. For our knowledge of Mithra-worship among the Persians we naturally turn to the *Mihir Yasht* (*Yt.* x., Eng. tr. in *SBE* xxiii. [1883], by J. Darmesteter, more accurately in German by F. Wolff, *Avesta . . . übersetzt*, Strassburg, 1910, pp. 198–221). The opening lines of the poem show clearly the high position enjoyed by Mithra, although, as a *yazata* ('adored one') he stood technically on a lower level than the six Amshaspands of Zarathushtra's creed.

> 'Thus spake Ahura Mazda to the holy Zarathushtra: When I created Mithra, lord of wide pastures, then, O Spitama, I created him as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy of prayer as myself, Ahura Mazda' (*Yt.* x. 1).

The *Yasht* speaks with no uncertain voice either of the physical or of the ethical character of the god:

> 'The first of the spiritual *Yazatas*, who rises over the Mountain[1] before the immortal sun, driver of swift horses; who foremost attains the gold-decked, fair summits, whence he surveys the whole dwelling-place of the Aryans, he, the most mighty' (*Yt.* x. 13).

This is clearly neither the sun himself nor any individual object, but the heavenly light in general, and it suits well with the recurring formula of the hymn:

> 'To Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, we sacrifice, the truth-speaking, eloquent in assembly, the thousand-eared, the shapely, the myriad-eyed, the exalted, (lord of) the broad look-out, the strong, the sleepless, the vigilant' (*Yt.* x. 7, etc.).

Here the ethical and the physical are already combined; and in the second stanza of the hymn the god and the 'promise' or 'compact' over whose fulfilment he watches are almost identified; for Zarathushtra is thus addressed by Ahura Mazda:

> 'Break not the compact [*mithrem*], whether thou make it with the faithless or with the righteous fellow-believer, for Mithra stands for both, for the faithless as for the righteous.'

Throughout the *Yasht* the invincible might of Mithra is invoked against the *mithradruj*, which may be translated either 'deceiver of Mithra' or 'promise-breaker.' It is this guardianship of truth and good faith that gives Mithra his special character; but he is also invoked, like other divinities, as the protector of the needy,

> 'whom the poor man, who follows the teaching of righteousness, when wronged and deprived of his rights, with uplifted hands invokes for help' (*Yt.* x. 84), and his aid is sought 'in both worlds, in this world of the body, and in the world of the spirit' (*ib.* 93).

The last trait may remind us that among the functions of Mithra was that of assisting the souls of those departed in the faith on their journey to Paradise.

> He is implored to 'be present at our sacrifice, come to our libations . . . bear them for atonement, lay them down in the House of Praise' (*Yt.* x. 32).

It is natural, therefore, to find as his companions Sraosha ('obedience') and Rashnu ('justice'), who, in later Zoroastrianism,[2] are found beside Ahura Mazda in the Final Judgment. In the *Yasht*, however, they figure as his henchmen in the great struggle between the powers of light and darkness.

> 'Mithra strikes terror into them, Rashnu strikes a counter-fear into them, Sraosha drives them together from every side toward the protecting angels' (*Yt.* x. 41).

Throughout the poem Mithra appears as pre-eminently a god of battles; he was, therefore, especially fitted to become, as he did in later times, the favourite deity of the Roman soldier. Of the ritual of Mithra-worship the *Yasht* tells us little; *haoma* (*q.v.*) and milk were offered to him in libation; and the Mazdayasnian is bidden to sacrifice 'beasts small and great, and birds that fly,' and to prepare himself for the sacrifice by ablutions and penance (*Yt.* x. 119–122).[1]

4. External influences on Mithraism.—(*a*) *In Babylonia.* — The picture thus sketched — and nothing essential would be added by drawing on the later portions of the Avesta or the Pahlavi texts—is in many ways very different from that of Mithraism as known to us from the inscriptions and monuments of the Roman period, and the problem of accounting for the difference is one which the evidence at present available does not enable us to solve. It is, however, clear that the transformation was due partly to Babylonian influence, partly to contamination with beliefs current in Asia Minor. The former influence, no doubt, began to exert itself at an early date, since the confusion of which Herodotus was guilty, in identifying Mithra (as a supposed female divinity) with Ishtar, and the coupling of Mithra with Anāhita (*q.v.*), who, in spite of her associations with the Oxus, was a goddess of an easily recognized Semitic type, point to a close *rapprochement* between Persian and Babylonian cults. The most important feature of later Mithraism, due to Chaldæan influence, was the prominence of astrolatry. There is nothing to show that this was a feature of early Iranian religion, whereas we know that the observation of the heavenly bodies and the belief in their influence on the affairs of men were of great antiquity in Babylonia. When, therefore, we find the busts of sun and moon and the circle of the zodiac standing features in Mithraic monuments, we can have no doubt as to the ultimate source of this element; nor can it be questioned that the elaboration of a body of doctrine, expressed in and through myth and symbols, also took place in the Farther East, although the details of the process escape us. We can say no more than that the dualism of Iranian religion furnished a clue both to the cosmic process and to the destiny of the individual soul, and that the results which flowed from the doctrine were worked out in detail on the banks of the Euphrates. The brief account of Zoroastrianism given by Plutarch in the *de Iside et Osiride*[2] shows us how far the Magians had already carried the transformation of the simple Persian faith into that which meets us in the *Bundahishn* and other Pahlavi texts of the Sasanian era, and enables us to rely on these to some extent for the interpretation of doubtful details in the evidence. Essential features are: (1) the separation in the material universe of the province of Ahura Mazda, 'withdrawn beyond the sun as far as the sun is from the earth,' from that of Angra Mainyu, the prince of darkness, and the intermediate position of Mithra, the μεσίτης; and (2) the doctrine that the soul is a divine spark of light descending from the highest heaven and acquiring a gross and earthly envelope which taints it with corruption and makes its existence on earth a continual struggle with the power of evil. The moral consequences of this doctrine, particularly the inspiring conception of Mithra, the Mediator, as at once the commander under whom the individual shares in the fight against the prince of darkness and the Redeemer[3] who grants to his faithful servants final deliverance from the body of death, followed by the return of the purified spirit to the sphere from which it came, we may believe to be characteristically Iranian; to Chaldæa we shall attribute the elaboration of the astrological dogmas connected with the influence exercised by the planets upon the soul in its passage through their spheres, and the prominence given to the conception of Destiny as revealed in the unchanging order of the heavenly process, carried on throughout unending time (*zrvan akarana* in later Zoroastrianism). Fatalism was the necessary corollary of these doctrines; but its acceptance in theory did not prevent Mithraism from becoming an intensely practical creed, full of stimulus for the activity of the individual.[1]

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[1] *Hara berezaiti* is the name elsewhere applied to the peak upon which 'Ahura Mazda the Creator fashioned for Mithra a dwelling where is neither night nor darkness, nor chill wind, nor hot, nor death-dealing sickness, nor pollution wrought by demons, nor do mists rise thereon' (*Yt.* x. 50). To the Iranian this meant Mt. Alburz.

[2] See L. C. Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, Bombay, 1889, pp. 79–81; Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 239 f.; Cumont, *Textes*, i. 37.

[1] At the close of the *Yasht* (x. 145; cf. 113) Mithra and Ahura are jointly invoked, just as Mitra and Varuṇa are in the Vedic hymns.

[2] Ch. xlvi. f.

[3] In a Manichæan Turfān fragment Mithra is designated as 'redeemer and benefactor' (*bōxtār ūd xvābar*, C. Salemann, *Manichaeische Studien*, i. [Petrograd, 1908] 4 d, 2 [p. 6]).

(*b*) *In Asia Minor.*—It is much more difficult to say what was the effect upon Mithraism of its diffusion throughout Asia Minor.[2] We have no contemporary evidence for the stages by which this took place, but it is at least probable that the later Achæmenian kings, who were, as we have seen, ardent votaries of Mithra and Anāhita—Artaxerxes Ochus is said[3] to have erected statues of the goddess in many places—established the worship of these divinities in the outlying portions of their dominions. It was not long before they became assimilated to those which were indigenous to the land; Anāhita was readily identified with the Great Mother whose worship was so deeply rooted in Anatolia (see art. MOTHER OF THE GODS), and thus the way was paved for an alliance between Mithra and Cybele (*q.v.*). Mithra himself took the shape of Men in Pontus (see below), and was assimilated in art with Attis (*q.v.*), in spite of the profound differences of nature and function between the two. More than this we can hardly say, for the primitive features of Mithraic ritual, to be considered later, were not necessarily borrowed, but may go back to Iranian antiquity. The *taurobolium*, however, is believed by Cumont (i. 334 f.) to have been taken over by Mithraism from the cult of the Great Mother. The propagation of Mithraism in the West had its political as well as its religious side. One of the earliest conceptions of Iranian religion was that of the 'glory,' or *hvarenō*.[4] This was conceived as a kind of mystical effulgence or aureole derived from the heavenly light, and possibly borrowed some of its features from the widely diffused conception of the external soul. In the story of the Fall, embodied for the Iranians in the myth of Yima, sin entailed the loss of this precious talisman; and in the *Mihir Yasht* the *dush-hvarenō*, 'he of evil glory,' is the man who 'thinks that Mithra sees not all his evil deeds and lying' (*Yt.* x. 105). But the *hvarenō* was more especially the talisman of the royal house of Irān, and as such is the main subject of an entire *Yasht* (*Yt.* xix.), which deals with those who have or will possess it, beginning with Ahura Mazda himself and ending with Saoshyant, the future deliverer of the world from evil, but giving in the main, as Darmesteter points out (*SBE* xxiii. 286), 'a short history of the Iranian monarchy, an abridged Shāh Nāmah.' Historically, therefore, the *hvarenō* is the token of Iranian kingship and the talisman which gives victory over the Turanian. Naturally enough, the Near Eastern dynasties which sprang from the wreck of Alexander's empire were anxious to secure this token of legitimacy, and were therefore fervent worshippers of Mithra, 'the spiritual *Yazata* who rides through all the Karshvars, bestowing the *hvarenō*' (*Yt.* x. 16). The prevalence of this conception is but thinly veiled by the disguise which the *hvarenō* attained among half-Hellenized Asiatics as the Τύχη *βασιλεως*. It was doubtless at the courts of these mushroom monarchs that the Hellenization of Mithraism, which was the indispensable condition of its further diffusion, was brought about. In this respect our most instructive monument is the enormous cairn set up by Antiochus I. of Commagene (69–38 B.C.) on the tumulus of Nimrūd Dāgh, on either side of which was a terrace with identical series of five statues.[1] These, as the king tells us in his inscription, represented (1) Zeus-Oromasdes (=Ahura Mazda), (2) Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, (3) Artagnes-Herakles-Ares (= Verethraghna, 'victory'), (4) Commagene, (5) Antiochus himself; of the last the king says that by setting up the fashion of his own form he has 'caused the honour of ancient deities to become coeval with a new Τύχη.' The identification of Mithras with three Greek divinities illustrates the elastic methods of syncretism; Hermes is probably chosen as the guide of souls in the world beyond the grave,[2] and, at the same time, it may be, with allusion to the planet assigned to him (in common with Apollo) by the Greeks, since Antiochus was a convinced astrologer and has left us his horoscope in relief on the retaining-wall of the terrace; yet Mithras is also, as so often later, identified with the sun himself. Antiochus's father, it may be added, was one of the numerous bearers of the name Mithradates; and another of the reliefs shows Antiochus clasping the right hand of Mithras, represented in Persian costume with the radiate nimbus. This grouping of the god with the ruler whom he protects is a motive which recurs in various quarters, especially, as M. I. Rostowzew[3] has shown, in Scythia. On the coinage of Trapezus (Cumont, ii. 189–191) Mithras, in Persian costume, appears on horseback —in one instance flanked by the figures of Cautes and Cautopates (see below); hence we are able to recognize him in the mounted divinity (generally trampling on a prostrate foe) represented on various works of art found in the tumuli of the Scythian princes in the Caucasus and Southern Russia. A notable example is the silver *rhyton* from Karagodeuashkh,[4] where Mithra, holding sceptre and drinking-horn, is faced by a Scythian prince, also mounted, who uplifts his right hand in the gesture of adoration.

5. Contact with Greece and Rome.—It was in Asia Minor that Greek art was enlisted in the service of Mithraism and created the sculptural types which were diffused throughout the West and form the chief source of our knowledge of the cult. The group of Mithras the bull-slayer, to be described presently, though ultimately inspired by the bull-slaying Nike of the Athenian acropolis, is manifestly the creation of a Pergamene artist, and adorned every sanctuary of Mithras. In spite of this fact, however, it is to be noted that Mithraism never became popular in Greek lands; it is not found, *e.g.*, at Delos, where so many foreign cults flourished in the later Hellenistic age, and its traces are rare (and generally of Imperial date) throughout the Hellenized East, in Syria, Egypt, etc. Even in the 2nd cent. A.D. Lucian writes of Mithras as a barbarian god, οὐδὲ ἑλληνίζων τῇ φωνῇ (*Deorum Conc.* 9).

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[1] 'Astral theology' as a system is foreign to the Avesta; the worship of Tishtrya (=Sirius), to whom *Yt.* viii. is addressed, forms no real exception to this rule. Of the constellations only the Great Bear is mentioned in this hymn (*Yt.* viii. 12).

[2] That Mithraism came to Asia Minor from Semitic sources is proved by the Græco-Aramaic bilingual inscriptions of Cappadocia, in one of which (from Rhodandos) a Persian records how he *ἐμάγευσε μίθρῃ* (*Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscriptions*, 1908, p. 434), and also (as Cumont points out) by the fact that the form Μαγουσαῖοι is a transliteration from the Aramaic.

[3] Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 5.

[4] The word appears in the compound names which the Greeks wrote Τισσα-*φέρνης*, Φαρνά-*βαζος*, etc. Cf. for other names Justi, pp. 90–98, 178, 181 f., 493. On the 'glory' itself see especially E. Wilhelm, 'Hvarenō,' in *Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Vol.*, Bombay, 1914, pp. 159–166.

[1] For this inscription see K. Humann and O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Klein-Asien und Nord-Syrien*, Berlin, 1890, p. 262 ff., and cf. Cumont, ii. 89–91, 187–189.

[2] Cf. the dedication 'Deo invicto Mithræ Mercurio' found at Stockstadt together with a statuette (F. Drexel, *Das Kastell Stockstadt*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. 86; Cumont, *Mystères*^{3}, p. 146).

[3] *Predstavlenie o monarchitcheskoi vlasti v Skithii i na Bospore*, Petrograd, 1913, p. 4 ff.

[4] *Ib.* pl. i. 1.

The cult of Mithras is said by Plutarch (*Pomp.* 24) to have been brought to Rome by Cilician pirates taken captive in 67 B.C., and there is no reason to doubt the statement; but it certainly failed to achieve the popularity already attained by some other Oriental religions until almost the close of the 1st cent. after Christ, for the earliest Mithraic inscription as yet found in Rome was set up by a freedman of the Flavian dynasty (*CIL* vi. 732 = Cumont, ii. 105 f.), and, although the British Museum contains a statuary group of Mithras and the bull dedicated by a slave of Ti. Claudius Livianus, *præfectus prætorio* in A.D. 102 (Cumont, ii. 228; cf. 106), Mithraic monuments and inscriptions do not become common in the West until the Antonine period.

6. Diffusion in the Roman world.—(*a*) *By the army.*—The diffusion of Mithraism was largely the work of the army. Pontus, Cappadocia, Commagene, and Lesser Armenia—precisely those regions in which the specialized form of the cult had been developed—were recruiting-grounds largely drawn upon by the Romans, even while as yet only client-kingdoms of the empire, and still more when they were annexed and became provinces. During the Parthian wars under Claudius and Nero a considerable Oriental element thus entered the service of Rome, largely as auxiliaries, but also in the legions. Whether or no the soldiers of the Third Legion who saluted the rising sun at the second battle of Betriacum (A.D. 69) were Mithraists, it is at least certain that the Fifteenth, which served in the Parthian wars of Nero and was transferred by Vespasian to the Danube, brought the cult of Mithras to its camp at Carnuntum in A.D. 71. Another important centre of the cult in the same region was Aquincum, the headquarters of Legio II. Adjutrix, founded by Vespasian from the sailors of the Ravenna fleet, who, as freedmen, were doubtless in many instances of Oriental birth. But the wide spread of Mithraism on the frontiers was largely due to the auxiliary corps—*alæ* and *cohortes*—raised in the East under the Flavian and succeeding dynasties and used to garrison the line of the Danube and the Rhine or the Vallum in Northern Britain. Except for a relief found in London (Cumont, ii. 389 f.), all the Mithraic monuments and inscriptions found in Britain belong either to the legionary camps at Isca (Caerleon-on-Usk [*CIL* vii. 99 = Cumont, ii. 160]) and Eboracum (York [Cumont, ii. 391 f.]) or to the forts on or near the wall, such as Borcovicum (Housesteads [*CIL* vii. 645–650 = Cumont, ii. 161, 393–396]), Amboglanna (Birdoswald [*CIL* vii. 831 = Cumont, ii. 162]), Bremenium (High Rochester [*CIL* vii. 103 = Cumont, ii. 162]), Vindobala (Rutchester [Cumont, ii. 392 f.]), and others. So, too, in the Two Germanys the sanctuaries of Mithras (with some few exceptions[1]) are found either in legionary camps, such as Vetera Castra, Bonna, and Moguntiacum (Cumont, ii. 389, 385 f., 381–383), or in the forts along the *limes Germanicus*, where they are lacking in none of the principal posts—Butzbach, Friedberg, Saalburg, Heddernheim, Grosskrotzenburg, Osterburken, Böckingen, Murrhardt (*ib.* ii. 354–360, 472 f., 362–381, 351–354, 348–351, 154), and others. We have already mentioned the military settlements of Carnuntum and Aquincum, on the Upper Danube, as centres of Mithraism; the same might be said of practically every important post on that river down to its mouth—*e.g.*, Vindobona, Brigetio, Viminacium, Oescus, Durostorum, and Troesmis (*ib.* i. 363, ii. 329, 275, 130, 489 f., 272), to name the principal centres. In Africa also the camp of the Third Legion at Lambæsis, and several military posts, such as Mascula and Sitifis (*ib.* ii. 168, 170, 405 f.), have furnished Mithraic monuments; and in the countries where traces of Mithraism are relatively rare they are often found in the colonies of veterans—*e.g.*, Emerita (Merida) in Spain[1] (*ib.* ii. 166) and Patræ in Greece.

(*b*) *By slaves.*—Next in importance to the army, in the diffusion of Mithraism, came the slave population employed by the State, the municipalities, or private individuals. The first class comprises more especially the employés of the custom-houses and the State-properties, such as mines and quarries. Thus in the Danubian provinces, especially Dalmatia and the Pannonias, the *stationes* of the customs-barrier at which the *vectigal Illyrici* was levied have furnished a number of Mithraic dedications, due to slaves and freedmen in the public service, several of whom bear Greek names and were, therefore, doubtless natives of the Eastern provinces. Again, the presence of numerous Mithraic monuments in Noricum (*ib.* ii. 150–152, 335–339, 472) is accounted for, not so much by the military occupation—though the station of Commagene, which clearly takes its name from an auxiliary regiment, forms a natural exception—as by the mines owned by the State in that province. In Italy the *servi publici* of the municipalities contributed largely to the spread of the religion. At Sentinum, which has yielded an inscription (*CIL* xi. 5737 = Cumont, ii. 121) giving a list of thirty-five *patroni* of a Mithraic congregation, the slaves and freedmen of the municipality figure side by side with *ingenui*; at Nersæ a slave employed as *arcarius* restored a Mithræum (*CIL* ix. 4109 f. = Cumont, ii. 120). It goes without saying that private slaves—especially in the households of the wealthy in Rome itself—played a large part in the spreading of Mithraism.

(*c*) *By trade-routes.*—We may in part trace to imported slaves the spread of Mithraism along the trade-routes which were in communication by sea with the Eastern Mediterranean, though doubtless the merchants themselves were often worshippers of Mithras. Thus in the African provinces, apart from the military stations mentioned above, the only traces of Mithraism are to be found in such coast towns as Cæsarea, Cirta, or Rusicade (Cumont, ii. 171, 168, 170, 406 f.); in Southern Gaul we can trace by the presence of Mithraic monuments the spread of the cult on the trade-route which followed the valley of the Rhone and in the towns of Narbonensis, which were always open to transmarine influence from their nearness to Massilia; and Aquileia, whence the trade of the Mediterranean found its way into Central Europe, was itself both a centre of Mithraic worship and a stage in its further diffusion. It is thus, *e.g.*, that we must explain the remarkable prevalence of Mithraic monuments in the upper valley of the Adige and on the Brenner route to the Upper Danube, as well as on the North-Eastern route *via* Emona and Poetovio. No province of the empire is richer in remains of Mithraism than Dacia, where all the principal sites—Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, Napoca, Potaissa, etc. (Cumont, ii. 131–139, 280–306, 308–319)—have furnished material of this kind. We can hardly explain this entirely by the influence of the army which occupied Dacia and the neighbouring Danube provinces, and are forced to conclude that among the settlers planted by Trajan in the province and drawn 'ex toto orbe Romano' (Eutrop. viii. 6) were many Orientals who brought with them their native faiths, among which the worship of Mithras soon assumed a commanding position.

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[1] Four out of twenty-six, according to Toutain (see below, p. 756a).

[1] It may be noted that an officer of the Seventh Legion dedicated an altar in this sanctuary (*L'Année épigraphique*, 1905, no. 25). The finds have recently been published fully by Pierre Paris (*RA* ii. [1914] 1 ff.)

7. Geographical and social distribution.—The geographical distribution of the monuments of Mithraism may most easily be grasped by an examination of the map which accompanies Cumont's volumes, upon which the sites, when they have been found, are marked in red. It will be seen at a glance that, except in the places and districts of which mention has already been made, traces of the cult are few and far between. In Greek lands, in Western Gaul, and in Spain, taken together, the sites where its monuments have been found may almost be counted on the fingers. Hence Toutain[1] has argued that the cult of Mithras never became widely diffused in the West, outside the army and certain regions in direct communication with the East, and that the notion that it was at one time not far from achieving the triumph which was reserved for Christianity is much exaggerated. Toutain leaves out of account Rome and Italy—which makes his presentation of the evidence one-sided. But he endeavours to reinforce his argument by a consideration of the social condition of the adherents of Mithraism. He points out with justice that the dedicators of votive sculptures and the builders or restorers of Mithraic sanctuaries are very largely drawn from the official classes and provincial governors, military commanders, or *procuratores*, etc., employed in the civil administration. As early as the age of the Antonines we find *legati* and *tribuni militares* among the votaries of Mithras; in the reign of Commodus, M. Valerius Maximianus, governor of Dacia, dedicates an offering to 'Sol invictus Mithras' (*CIL* iii. 1122 = Cumont, ii. 133); under Septimius Severus, C. Julius Castinus, governor of Pannonia, consecrates an altar to Mithras (*CIL* iii. 3480 = Cumont, ii. 141), and the number of similar instances is multiplied in the 3rd cent. after Christ, while imperial *procuratores* in Noricum and Dacia follow their example. It would be natural to infer that Mithraism was at least favourably regarded by the government; and, in fact, we learn from the *Historia Augusta* (cap. 9) that Commodus was initiated into the mysteries, while an inscription of the age of the Severi (*CIL* vi. 2271 = Cumont, ii. 100) mentions a 'sacerdos invicti Mithrae domus Augustanae,' and the largest Mithræum at present known was discovered in 1912 in the Thermæ of Caracalla; in this was found an inscription in honour of Zeus-Helios-Sarapis-Mithras,[2] and this unusual identification is explained by Caracalla's special devotion to the Egyptian divinity. This imperial patronage goes far to explain the popularity of Mithras-worship in the 3rd cent.; it also accounts for the fact that, though by no means confined to the public services, military and civil, it was mainly found among their members and took no general hold on the population of the western provinces, so that the withdrawal of imperial favour was a fatal blow.

8. Grades of initiation.—Our knowledge of the doctrines and ritual of Mithraism is largely drawn from the inscriptions and monuments discovered in the Mithræa, to the interpretation of which something is contributed by ancient texts, especially those of Christian apologists. The most important of these is a passage of St. Jerome (*Ep.* cvii.), who describes the destruction of a 'cave of Mithras' and the 'monstrous images' used in the initiation of the votaries, who are enumerated as follows: *Corax*, *Gryphus* (MSS *nunphus* or *nymphus*), *miles*, *leo*, *Perses*, *heliodromus*, *pater*. These names are naturally taken to indicate seven grades through which the neophyte passed in succession; and this is confirmed by other texts. The inscriptions found in a Mithræum in Rome (*CIL* vi. 749 ff. = Cumont, ii. 93 f.) mention ceremonies described by the words 'tradiderunt hierocoracica, leontica, persica, heliaca, patrica'; the adjectives clearly correspond with five of the grades mentioned by St. Jerome. We find also 'ostenderunt (*or* tradiderunt) cryfios (chryfios).'[1] The last word seems to be equivalent to *κρύφιος*, and has been substituted for the corrupt *nymphus* in the text of St. Jerome. The title *pater* (or *pater patrum*) for the highest grade is common in inscriptions; and a passage of Porphyry refers as follows to the others:

> τοὺς μὲν μετέχοντας τῶν αὐτῶν ὀργίων μύστας λέοντας καλεῖν, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ὑαίνας, τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρετοῦντας κόρακας· ἐπί τε τῶν πατέρων . . . ἀετοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἱέρακες οὗτοι προσαγορεύονται· ὅ τε τὰ λεοντικὰ παραλαμβάνων περιτίθεται παντοδαπὰς ζῴων μορφάς (*de Abstin.* iv. 16).

We infer that the *κόραξ* was a low grade, and that initiation into the mysteries proper began with that of *leo* (cf. *τοῖς τὰ λεοντικὰ μυουμένοις* [Porph. *de Antro Nymph.* 15]). The mention of women called *ὕαιναι* stands alone; it has been proposed to read *λεαίνας*, and some confirmation may be found in the discovery of a tomb at Œa in Tripoli in which a husband and wife were buried and described as *leo* and *lea* (*Comptes rendus de l'acad. des inscriptions*, 1903, p. 357 ff.). For the 'eagles' and 'hawks' independent evidence is not forthcoming, unless two inscriptions from Lycaonia which mention *ἀετοί* are Mithraic (cf. *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 1902, p. 12). Porphyry, it will be noticed, speaks of the animal disguises worn by the *leones*. In the *Quæstiones veteris et novi testamenti* falsely attributed to St. Augustine (*PL* xxxv. 2348) we read how 'some flap their wings like birds and imitate the voice of the crow; others roar after the manner of lions'; and the passages quoted are strikingly illustrated by a relief found at Konjica, in Bosnia, carved on the reverse of a slab which shows the usual subject of Mithra the bull-slayer (see below).

In the centre of the scene are two figures reclining on a couch, in front of which is a table with four loaves marked with a cross; beside the table are seen a lion and a bucranium. On either side are two figures; on the left a *κόραξ*, *i.e.* a man wearing the mask of a crow, and a 'Persian,' distinguished by his dress; to the right a *leo*, wearing a lion's mask, and a figure the upper portion of which is unfortunately lost. It will be noticed that the *miles* of St. Jerome does not appear in the other sources—though the use of the term in Mithraism is confirmed by a passage of Tertullian (*de Præscr. Hær.* 40) and by the title *miles pius* in two inscriptions from Wiesbaden (*CIL* xiii. 7570, 7571), in Greek *στρατιώτης εὐσεβής* (inscription of Amasia, *Recueil des inscr. du Pont*, Brussels, 1910, 108). It is possible, therefore, that the mutilated figure of the Konjica relief represents the *cryfius*, and that the *miles*, though he belonged to the rank and file of Mithras's soldiery, was not admitted to partake in the mysteries. He was, however, initiated by a ceremony described by Tertullian (*de Corona*, 15); a crown was set before him, *interposito gladio*, and then placed on his head, but removed by the neophyte, who exclaimed 'Mithras is my crown.'

In the passage previously quoted Tertullian speaks of a soldier of Mithras as 'branded in the forehead'; and the *καύσεις μυστικαί* of which Gregory of Nazianzus speaks (*Orat.* iv. 70 [*PG* xxxv. 592]) may refer to this. Tertullian (*de Bapt.* 5) also mentions a Mithraic purification 'per lavacrum' resembling the rite of baptism; and it is to be noted that the Mithræa which have been excavated either contain natural springs or have water specially laid on. Of the ceremonies which accompanied the higher degrees of initiation we know little; Porphyry (*loc. cit.*) tells us that the *leo* had both hands and tongue purified with honey, which was also used in the initiation of the *Persa*. In the passage quoted above Gregory of Nazianzus mentions the *βάσανοι* to which the initiates were subjected; and his commentator Nonnus (*PG* xxxvi. 989, 1009, 1012) enlarges on this topic and speaks of 'eighty punishments' by water and fire, frost, hunger, thirst, and journeyings, in an ascending scale of severity. These may to some extent be imaginary; but it must be remembered that the *Mihir Yasht* (§ 122) speaks of ablutions and stripes. Tertullian (*de Præscr. Hær.* 40) uses the phrase 'imago resurrectionis,' which suggests a simulated death; and the biographer of Commodus tells us that the emperor 'sacra Mithriaca vero homicidio polluit.'[1] Thus the little that we know of the Mithraic rites of initiation shows that they were of a type well known in primitive religion, and carry us back to a stage far earlier than the developed theology of later Iranian times. Nor can we say more of the rites in which the initiates partook; Christian writers found an analogy to the eucharist in the Mithraic communion of bread and water (*ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος* [Justin, *Apol.* i. 66], *panis oblatio* [Tert. *loc. cit.*]), which seems to be represented on the Konjica relief.

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[1] *Les Cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, ii. 144 ff.

[2] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1912, p. 328.

[1] A relief from Arčer, now at Sofia (*ARW* xv. [1912] pl. i. 4), shows a kneeling figure wearing the 'Phrygian' cap, partly hidden by a veil held by two other figures. Rostowzew (p. 53) explains this with reference to the phrase quoted in the text

9. Sanctuaries, ritual, and monuments.—The central act of worship in Mithraism, however, appears to have been the sacrifice of the bull, the prototype of which was the slaying of the bull by Mithra himself, represented in relief in every Mithraic sanctuary. These places of worship were described by the term *spelæum* (*CIL* iii. 4420 = Cumont, ii. 146), for which we also find *crypta* (*CIL* iii. 1096 = Cumont, ii. 132) and *antrum* (*CIL* vi. 754 = Cumont, ii. 94), and were often established in natural caves or grottoes, as, *e.g.*, on the north slope of the Capitol at Rome, beneath the church of Araceli. As a rule, however, the place of the grotto was taken by a subterranean crypt, approached by a stairway; the chapels attached to private houses were naturally placed in cellars—*e.g.*, the Mithræum below the church of San Clemente in Rome. It should be noted that the Mithræa are never of great size, and, where the adherents of the worship were numerous, the number of *spelæa* was multiplied. Thus Ostia possessed five, Aquincum at least four, and Carnuntum three sanctuaries. The more elaborate examples show a fore-court, or *pronaos* (the term is used in *CIL* xiv. 61), leading to a small chamber, whence the staircase descended to the crypt in which the mysteries were celebrated. This was traversed by a central passage, on either side of which were *podia* about six feet broad with inclined surfaces. Whether, as Cumont supposes, the worshippers knelt upon these, or reclined upon them while partaking of the ceremonial banquet, it is hard to say. At the extremity of the crypt, which often took the form of an apse (called *exedra* in *CIL* iii. 1096), was placed the relief of Mithras and the bull, often accompanied by other sculptures, such as figures of Cautes and Cautopates or the lion-headed Kronos.

The symbolism of these monuments is not easy of interpretation, and ancient texts help us little. In the central scene, the type of which (as was mentioned above) was certainly fixed by a Pergamene artist, probably in the 2nd cent. B.C., Mithras, clothed in the conventional costume which in Greek art signified the Oriental, places his left knee on the back of a bull, and, seizing its horn (or muzzle) with the left hand, plunges a knife into its throat.[2] The scene of the action is a cave, the prototype of the *spelæum*, which sometimes contains plants or even trees. A scorpion fastens on the testicles of the dying bull, while a dog, and usually a serpent also, drink the blood which flows from the death-wound. A crow is almost always present, perched either on Mithras's mantle or on the edge of the cave. Finally, we have a significant detail in the ears of corn in which the tail of the bull terminates (or which, in some instances, spring from the wound). In interpreting the scene we must also take into account a second representation with which the reverse of the slab is decorated at Heddernheim (Cumont, ii. pl. viii.). Here Mithras stands beside the body of the slain bull, holding a drinking-horn in his left hand and receiving from the hands of the sun-god a bunch of grapes. On either side are the figures of children holding baskets of fruit; in the background a radiate cap is planted on a pole; and in an upper register we have a scene in which a central figure, unfortunately defaced, is surrounded by animals (dogs, wild boar, sheep, ox, possibly horse). The explanation of these scenes can hardly be doubtful. We read in the *Bundahishn* (esp. xiv. 1) of the bull which was the first creation of Ahura Mazda, and was slain by Ahriman, but through its death gave birth to vegetable life on the earth; from its spinal marrow 'grain grew of fifty-five species, and twelve species of medicinal herbs.' Moreover, its seed was 'carried up to the moon, where it was purified and produced the manifold species of animals' (*ib.* 3). From its blood, again, sprang 'the grape-vine from which they make the wine' (*ib.* 2). Though we cannot definitely trace this cosmogony to earlier Avestan sources, it is indubitably of great antiquity; and the Mithraic monuments offer a remarkable modification of it. Here the central doctrine that the death of the bull was the source of life, both animal and vegetable, remains the same; but the killing of the animal is not the act of the evil spirit, but a sacrifice performed by Mithras himself, probably acting as the minister of Ahura Mazda, whose messenger we may see in the crow.[1] The function of the creatures of Ahriman (scorpion and serpent) is limited to that of endeavouring to nullify the miracle in process. But the significance of the scene was not only cosmological; it was also eschatological, for the new creation to which the Zoroastrian looked forward at the end of time was to be heralded by the sacrifice of a second bull, this time by the 'redeemer' (Saoshyant) (*Bundahishn*, xxx. 25). Nor can we doubt that these myths, like so many others, were interpretations of a rite older than mythology, and that the sacrifice of the bull was in origin intended to promote fertility and ensure the annual renewal of life on the earth, the bull being chosen as the victim on account of his great generative power.

10. Myth.—The myth of which Mithras was the hero and the slaying of the bull the culminating episode can no longer be reconstructed in its details, but many of its episodes are represented on the monuments. The reliefs of the bull-sacrifice are often enclosed in a framework broken up into small panels, on each of which an episode of the myth is shown. The chief of these are the following.

(1) *Birth of Mithras from the rock.*—On several monuments the figure of the god is seen emerging from a rock, the 'petra genetrix' of several inscriptions (*CIL* iii. 8679 = Cumont, ii. 139, etc.); cf. the expressions θεὸς ἐκ πέτρας (Firmicus, *de Err. prof. relig.* 20), πετρογενὴς Μίθρας (Lyd. *de Mens.* iii. 26), etc. The scene is sometimes completed by the addition of a shepherd or shepherds who witness the miraculous birth.

(2) *Mithras and the tree.*—On some monuments the figure of Mithras is seen half-concealed by a tree from which he seems to be emerging, or, again, which he is stripping of its foliage. The first might be considered as a variant of the birth-scheme, if it did not occur on the same monuments; in any case, it seems to show that Mithras was on one side a vegetation-spirit.

(3) *The archer and the rock.*—Mithras, in Oriental costume,

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[1] *Vita Commodi*, ix. 6. The statement of Socrates (*HE* iii. 2) that human sacrifices were offered in Mithraism is unworthy of credence.

[2] In the best examples Mithras wears an expression of pathos, as though he were the unwilling instrument of heaven; A. Loisy (*RHR* lxvi. [1913] 538) suggests that this is because god and victim are, in a sense, one; but this seems fanciful. The 'Alexandroid' type used by the artist was a 'romantic' creation.

[1] For the crow in Zoroastrian literature cf. *Bundahishn*. xix. 22.

discharges an arrow at a rock, from which a stream gushes out; a kneeling figure receives the water in his hands or refreshes his throat. Sometimes a suppliant kneels before Mithras and implores him to perform the miracle.

(4) *Mithras and the sun.*—Here there is a series of scenes, of which the following are the most important: (*a*) investiture of the sun by Mithras; the sun-god kneels before Mithras, who places the radiate crown on his head with the left hand, while in the right hand he holds an indistinct object, probably a drinking-horn; (*b*) alliance of Mithras and the sun; the two figures are represented clasping the right hand in token of friendship; (*c*) Mithras conveyed in the sun's chariot across the ocean, represented as a reclining figure in the style of Greek art; (*d*) banquet of Mithras and the sun (sometimes with other guests); they recline on a couch, generally holding drinking-horns, and before them is a small table with viands.

(5) *Mithras and the bull.*—Though the slaying of the bull is never found except as the principal scene, other episodes of the legend are often used in the decoration of the side-panels. The following are the chief: (*a*) and (*b*) the bull in a boat, the bull issuing from a gabled building; these two scenes, when found on the same monument, are always in juxtaposition; in one case (a relief found at Saarburg in Lorraine) two figures in Oriental costume are setting fire to the building; (*c*) the capture of the bull; this is represented in a series of scenes, which display, first the bull at pasture, then Mithras seizing it by the horns, vaulting on its back and riding on it, and eventually either carrying it on his shoulders or, more often, dragging it by the hind-legs, while its fore-feet hang on the ground; the last scene seems to be described by the word *transitus* (*CIL* iii. 14354, 27 and 28).

(6) *Scenes in which Mithras takes no part.*—These are either simple representations of other divinities in the form given to them by Greek art, such as the unexplained head of the Osterburken relief (perhaps = Kronos), the figures of the Earth-goddess, of Atlas, of Oceanus, and the three Fates, or scenes in which Zeus is shown, either receiving the thunderbolt as the symbol of power at the hands of Kronos or in combat with the giants.

No successful attempt has been made to explain the series of representations just described; the last class, no doubt, clothe in Greek form conceptions derived from Persian sources, the identification of which can at best be a matter of guess-work.[1] We can, however, be certain that, whatever the original content of the Mithraic legends, it had been profoundly modified by the astral religion of Babylonia. Mithras, as we saw, was by origin a god of the heavenly light; and it is possible that his birth from the rock may symbolize either the appearance of the dawn on the mountain-tops or the effulgence of light from the vault of heaven conceived as a solid dome. At any rate, there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the two torch-bearers, dressed in the same Oriental costume as Mithras himself, who regularly appear on either side of the scene of the bull-slaying, and are also found at the birth of Mithra. One holds his torch aloft, the other lowers it, and these actions clearly symbolize the rising and setting of the sun,[2] so that Mithras and the torch-bearers form a triad hinted at in the phrase Μίθρας τριπλάσιος (pseudo-Dionys. Areop. *Ep*. vii. 2).[3] But the monuments show that the heavenly phenomena played a still more important part in Mithraism. Mention has been made of the lion-headed figure of human form, wrapped in the coils of a serpent, of which a large number have been found in Mithræa. The figure often has four wings and holds in its hands a pair of keys, or a sceptre and thunderbolt. The symbolism of the figure would be easy of comprehension even apart from the fact that we find the signs of the zodiac engraved on its body in some instances. It represents eternal time, the *zrvan akarana* which became the chief divinity in one of the theological systems that sprang up in the bosom of later Zoroastrianism, and seems to have been described in Greek as Κρόνος, though we have no direct proof of this.[4]

The zodiac is also commonly found either as a framework enclosing the scene of the bull-slaying or, as in most of the reliefs from the *limes Germanicus*, as a border to the upper edge of the *spelæum* in which this takes place. In addition to this, the more elaborate reliefs are almost always decorated with busts of sun and moon, while many also exhibit the planets, or symbols which represent them.[1] We also find the seasons and the winds; and it is beyond doubt that the lion,[2] the *crater*,[3] and the serpent must be combined with these last as emblems of the elements. It may be added that the sea (*oceanus*) and heaven (*cœlus*) are both mentioned on a stele from Heddernheim (Cumont, ii. 156). It is clear, therefore, that in the Mithraic mysteries a complete system of cosmography was taught; nor can there be any doubt of its application to the soul and its destiny. The doctrine of the microcosm, which pervades all the speculations of later antiquity, was popularized by the Stoics, especially by Posidonius, and, together with the astrological doctrines which accompanied it, was derived from Oriental sources. It formed part of the common stock of teaching imparted to the votaries of the various 'other-worldly' religions (of which Mithraism was one) which became diffused throughout the West from the beginning of the Christian era onwards. We should be able to give a more definite account of Mithraic eschatology if we could assume that the 'Mithrasliturgie' published by Dieterich from the Paris magical papyrus (*Bibl. Nat. Suppl. Grec.* 574) deserved that name. This document, committed to writing about A.D. 300, is in its present form part of the stock-in-trade of an Egyptian magician, and is interspersed with *voces magicæ* and supplemented by directions for its use in the *séances* of this practitioner. The question is whether the compiler made use of a genuine Mithraic document; this is suggested by the opening words, which may be translated as follows:

> 'Be gracious unto me, Providence and Fortune, to me, who am writing down these, the first of all traditional mysteries, and grant immortality to my only child, an initiate worthy of this mighty power, which the Great God, the Sun, Mithras, bade his archangel transmit to me, that I alone, an eagle, might soar through the heavens and behold all things.'

It is to be noted that this private revelation made by the initiator to his 'only child' resembles those of the *Corpus Hermeticum* (the product of an Egyptian school of theosophy) rather than the ritual of a community; also that the 'eagle' is introduced into the text by a conjectural emendation of Dieterich. In the revelation itself we find nothing that distinguishes Mithraism from other theosophies, and a good deal which is definitely Egyptian; Dieterich lays stress on the 'golden shoulder of the ox, which is the Great Bear,' which he would recognize in the object held by Mithras in the investiture of the sun as represented on a relief from Virunum (Cumont, ii. 336, fig. 213); but the identification is extremely doubtful; other examples of the same subject show nothing at all resembling an ox's shoulder, and in any case the conception is specifically Egyptian. On the whole, therefore, it is safer to regard the papyrus as nothing more than a syncretistic product.[1] It is likely enough, however, that the ascent of the soul through the seven spheres was taught in the Mithraic mysteries; Celsus (*ap.* Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 22) explicitly tells us of a 'ladder with seven gates' made of the seven metals assigned to the planets which was shown to the initiates; Porphyry, quoting a certain Eubulus, who attributes to Zoroaster the doctrine that the 'cave' was a symbol of the universe, of which Mithras was the creator, speaks of it as containing *κατὰ συμμέτρους ἀποστάσεις σύμβολα τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων καὶ κλιμάτων*;[2] and it can be no accident that in one of the Mithræa at Ostia six semi-circles are traced on the floor of the central passage, while six planets are represented on the walls of the *podia* and the signs of the zodiac on their upper surface (Cumont, ii. 243–245). Beyond this all is speculation; and Porphyry himself probably knew little more than we do, for he mentions (*de Abstin.* iv. 16) as his chief authority on the mysteries a certain Pallas, who explained the animal disguises worn by the initiates either as symbols of the zodiacal constellations or as shadowing forth the doctrine of metempsychosis (which Eubulus also stated to be Mithraic). It is not necessary to repeat the astrological speculations, confused in themselves, by means of which Porphyry endeavours to interpret the symbols of Mithraism; but there can be no doubt that the all-pervading influence of astrolatry affected Mithraic doctrines. Thus we sometimes find that the figures of Cautes and Cautopates hold the symbols of the bull and the scorpion, the signs which mark the beginning of spring and winter.

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[1] Explanations differing in some respects from those of Cumont are given by Toutain, *RHR* xlv. [1902] 145 ff.

[2] But see also § 9 *sub fin.*

[3] No explanation can be given of the names Cautes and Cautopates applied, as the inscriptions show, to these figures; that they were by-forms of Mithras himself is proved by the full expression 'Deo M(ithræ) C(auto)p(ati) S(oli) I(nvicto),' *e.g.* *CIL* vii. 650 = Cumont, ii. 161.

[4] F. Legg (*PSBA* xxxiv. [1912] 138 ff.) prefers to see in this figure a representation of Ahriman, whose worship by Mithraists is attested by dedications 'deo Arimanio' (Cumont, ii. 98, 141). A mutilated relief at York (Cumont, ii. 393) seems to represent this figure with some variation from the usual type, and the inscription (also mutilated) contains the name ARIMANIV(S).

[1] On a relief from Apulum (Cumont, ii. 311) we find a series of the following four objects: (*a*) sacrificial knife, (*b*) altar, (*c*) *pileus*, (*d*) tree, repeated seven times. These symbols represent the elements, and their repetition indicates that each planet contained all four.

[2] 'Ardentis naturæ sacramenta leones Mithræ philosophantur' (Tert. *adv. Marc.* i. 13).

[3] *παρὰ τῷ Μίθρᾳ ὁ κρατὴρ ἀντὶ τῆς πηγῆς τέτακται* (Porph. *de Antro Nymph.* 18).

11. Final phase.—In its final phase Mithraism was absorbed into the 'solar pantheism' which supplied Roman society in the 3rd and 4th centuries with a theology reconciled with contemporary philosophy and science, and became, under Aurelian, the official religion of the Roman State.[3] 'Sol invictus,' as the ruler of the universe was called in a phrase of Oriental associations, was represented on earth by the emperor, and his identification with Mithras was far easier than many others which syncretism was able to effect. Thus 'invictus Mithras,' 'deus invictus Mithras,' or (in full) 'deus Sol invictus Mithras' became the commonest title of the god. It was with this modification that Mithraism bade fair during the last quarter of the 3rd cent. A.D. to become a world-religion. The State-cult of Sol was no more fitted than the worship of the emperor to satisfy the religious instinct; but Mithraism could supply the defect through its mystical teaching and its ties of brotherhood; and it was, besides, *par excellence* the religion of the army and the official classes. In A.D. 307 Diocletian, Galerius, and Licinius, meeting in conference at Carnuntum, dedicated an altar to Mithras, 'fautori imperii sui,' in one of the oldest centres of his worship in the empire; but the victory of Constantine dispossessed him in favour of a rival creed, which had struck its roots more deeply in those populations of the empire which were less immediately in touch with the legions and the official hierarchy. It became clear that the vogue of Mithraism was in large measure an artificial one, created by the powerful machinery of the imperial government. When Mithraism sank from a position of privilege to one of toleration, and before long became an object of persecution, its days were numbered. It lingered on, on the one hand, in certain less civilized outposts of empire and in the Alpine valleys, while, on the other, it became the symbol of a lost cause to the group of cultured pagans which maintained the defence of paganism in the senate-house. The emperor Julian, whose oration, *εἰς βασιλέα* Ἥλιον, is a characteristic exposition of 'solar theology,' was a votary of Mithras; but his attempt to revive the defunct creed of the pagan emperors and to give it an organization resembling that of Christianity was still-born. After his death persecution began in earnest, and, as far as the evidence enables us to judge, the destruction of Mithræa was wide-spread during the reign of Gratian. The letter of St. Jerome quoted above, which enumerates the seven Mithraic grades, describes such an act performed in Rome by Gracchus, *præfectus urbi* in A.D. 377. The latest inscriptions in which Mithras is named are those of the group of senators belonging to the society of which Macrobius's *Saturnalia* gives us a picture. Vettius Agorius Prætextatus († A.D. 385) is called 'pater sacrorum' (*CIL* vi. 1779 = Cumont, ii. 95) and 'pater patrum' (*CIL* vi. 1778 = Cumont, ii. 95), and these inscriptions are the latest datable evidences of the cult. The measures of Theodosius gave the death-blow to the practice of pagan worship; and the Mithræum at Saarburg in Lorraine was destroyed in his reign.

12. Relations with other cults.—Mithraism lent itself readily to alliances with other worships, especially those of female divinities, which supplied what it was unable to offer to women; and it seems to have been specially associated with the cult of the Magna Mater. We find their sanctuaries adjoining each other at Ostia and on the Saalburg; dedications are commonly made simultaneously to both divinities; and the *taurobolium*, which (whatever its origin) was certainly attached to the worship of Magna Mater in the West, received an added significance when interpreted in terms of Mithraism, in which the life-giving blood of the bull became the pledge of immortality. In the Danube region a curious by-form of Mithraism is revealed to us by a series of reliefs and leaden plaques which have been interpreted by Rostowzew in the article (in Russian) quoted above. Here a female goddess, whose attribute is a fish, no doubt a local derivative of Anāhita, is accompanied by two mounted figures, in whom we must recognize a duplication of the horseman Mithras found on the coasts of the Black Sea.

LITERATURE.—The great work of **Franz Cumont**, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1896–99, supersedes all previous treatises, a list of which he gives in vol. i. p. xxi ff.; he has also published an abridgment of his larger work under the title *Les Mystères de Mithra*^{3}, Paris, 1913, in which the bibliography of the subject is brought up to date; the earlier editions of this work have been translated into English and German. Among recent works the most important are **A. Dieterich**, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*^{2} (ed. R. Wünsch), Paris and Berlin, 1910, and **J. Toutain**, *Les Cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1908–11, vol. ii. ch. iv., 'Le Culte de Mithra.' Other works and articles dealing with special points are referred to in the course of the article. For the Vedic Mitra see **A. A. Macdonell**, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, §§ 13, 44, and authorities there cited, especially **A. Hillebrandt**, *Varuṇa und Mitra*, Breslau, 1877; **H. Oldenberg**, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894; **A. Eggers**, *Der arische Gott Mitra*, Dorpat, 1894. For the Avesta Mithra see especially **M. N. Dhalla**, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914, pp. 103–111.

H. STUART JONES.

MOAB.—The name 'Moab,' like that of the neighbouring peoples, Israel, Edom, Ammon, Aram, etc., appears to have been the name of a race rather than of a district, for, as G. A. Smith has pointed out (*EBi*, art. 'Moab,' § 1), in Nu

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[1] We do not even know what was the language officially used in the Mithraic communities. The inscriptions are naturally for the most part in Latin. Some Persian words occur—*e.g.*, *nabarze* (usually connected with Pers. *nabard*, *nabardah*, 'courageous'; this etymology, proposed by G. Kuun, *Arch. epigr. Mitteilungen*, vi. [1882] 107, is uncertain because of the Pahlavi form, *n(i)part*, 'battle'; Persian was scarcely spoken as early as the Mithraic period), as an epithet of Mithras, and *nama sebesio*, where *nama* probably = 'praise' (cf. Cumont, i. 314, note 2).

[2] *de Antro Nymph.* 6.

[3] For this see esp. Cumont, 'La Théologie solaire,' *Mémoires présentés à l'acad. des inscriptions*, xii. [1909].

21^{11-15} (cited by F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Heb. and Eng. Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1906, p. 555, as evidence that the name Moab=‘territory of Moab’), ‘in v.^{13} Moab is parallel to the Gentilic Amorite ; in v.^{15} also it is the people.’ The derivation and meaning of the name are unknown. The etymology מֵאָבִי, ‘from my father,’ given in Gn 19^{37} (LXX), which doubtless gave rise to the malicious story of Moab's origin, is merely popular. Since Moab and Ammon are represented as related to Israel through Lot, Abraham's nephew, whereas Esau is Jacob's twin brother, we may conclude that at the time when these stories took shape the Israelites considered that the Moabites and Ammonites, though of kindred stock, were by no means so closely related to them as Edom. Moab is said to be descended from Lot's elder daughter (Gn 19^{37}); therefore it was probably supposed that the settlement of Moab preceded that of Ammon. Whether the Moabites themselves possessed any tradition of a migration from Mesopotamia may well be doubted, the statements of Gn 11^{31} $12^{4f.}$ being perhaps mere inferences from the belief that the Israelites were connected with Mesopotamia. Since, however, the expression ‘children of Lot’ (Dt $2^{9.19}$, Ps 83^{8}) scarcely rests directly upon Gn $19^{37f.}$, Lot was probably more prominent in early times than the OT as a whole would imply; but whether the Moabites and Ammonites regarded themselves as ‘children of Lot,’ or succeeded them in the districts which they occupied, cannot be determined. The late antiquarian note in Dt 2^{10} implies that the population of Moab was not altogether homogeneous, while the place-names clearly show Canaanite influence.

The constant boundary of Moab on the west was the Dead Sea and the Jordan ; the north, east, and south frontiers varied from time to time. Probably the Wādy el-Ḥasy represents the farthest extent of Moabite territory to the south and the Ḥajj road that to the east. The Wādy Nimrīn, some 8 miles north of the Dead Sea, may be taken as the extreme northern limit (see G. A. Smith, *op. cit.* § 2).

Beyond the mere mention of Moab as included in the conquests of Ramses II. nothing is known of its history before the period of the Israelite invasion of Palestine. According to Nu 21^{21-31}, shortly before the arrival of Israel, an Amorite king, Sihon, seized the Moabite territory north of the Arnon. What circumstances determined the Israelite invasion of Palestine from the east is not certainly known, but it is not unlikely that the Israelites attacked Sihon in response to an appeal from the Moabites (as Wellhausen, *EBr*^{9}, art. ‘Israel,’ has suggested), and that it was only after the defeat of Sihon that the Moabites discovered that their allies had no intention of giving up the fruits of their victory. There is certainly no valid reason for disputing the general historicity of the tradition. The statement that Reuben was the first-born son of Israel naturally implies that Reuben was the first tribe to obtain a settlement, while the assignment of Moabite territory to Reuben, and the belief that Moses died and was buried there, as well as the tradition that the Israelites crossed the Jordan near Jericho, all point to a belief that N. Moab was occupied at least for a time by Israel. After the invasion of W. Palestine, however, the Israelites were disintegrated and engaged in a perpetual conflict with the Canaanites, Philistines, etc. (see art. ISRAEL), with the result that the Moabites were able to recover their own. The tribe of Reuben, in spite of its reputation for bravery, was nearly exterminated (Gn $49^{3f.}$, Dt 33^{6}), and Moabite rule was extended even over the Jordan valley west of the river. For a time, indeed, Moabite aggression was checked by Ehud, but we find Israel and Moab again at war during the reign of David, and perhaps also during that of Saul.[1] But, although David's treatment of Moab is said to have been drastic enough, Moab was not incorporated in Israel. The Moabites merely ‘became servants to David, and brought presents’ (2 S 8^{2}). It may be inferred that Reuben had already been nearly exterminated or practically absorbed in Moab. Whether Moabite influence was strong in Jerusalem in the days of Solomon, notwithstanding 1 K $11^{1-8.33}$, is very doubtful ; Solomon's idolatry is described in terms of a later age. It was probably during his reign or that of Rehoboam that Moab recovered independence.

Under the vigorous rule of Omri the Moabites again felt the hand of Israel. According to the inscription of Mesha (found at Dîbān [Heb. Dîbhôn] in 1868, commonly called the Moabite Stone), the period of Israelite domination occupied forty years.[2] It is not necessary to suppose that Mesha's inscription is earlier than the events recorded in 2 K 3, for it is clear from that account that the campaign of the allied kings was unsuccessful. Moreover, an ancient king in recording his achievements was naturally silent about his reverses.

The independence which Moab recovered under Mesha was perhaps lost again in the reign of Jeroboam II. It is, however, impossible to speak with certainty on this point, for the south limit of Jeroboam's kingdom is given as ‘the sea of the Arabah’ (2 K 14^{25}), and may refer only to the north of the Dead Sea. For ‘the sea of the Arabah’ Amos (6^{14}) speaks of ‘the brook of the Arabah,’ which has been identified with ‘the brook of the ‘*Ărābhîm*’ or ‘willows’ (Is 15^{7}), which by some has been identified with the Wādy el-Ḥasy. These identifications are, however, by no means certain, and the order of names in the preceding verses of Is 15 suggests that ‘the brook of the willows’ is to be sought in the north of Moab. Amos (2^{3}) mentions a judge of Moab in lieu of a king, and it has accordingly been argued that at the time Moab possessed no king of its own ; but this cannot be decided with certainty.

During the Assyrian period Moab appears to have shown more prudence than the Israelite kingdom in bowing to the storm. Tiglath Pileser exacted tribute, and, although in 711 B.C. Sargon mentions Moab in conjunction with Philistia, Judah, and Edom as having formed an alliance with Egypt, Moab probably avoided an invasion by a timely submission. It continued subject to Sennacherib, Esar-haddon, and Assurbanipal, and, according to 2 K 24^{2}, furnished troops to Nebuchadrezzar against Jerusalem. Doubtless in Moab as in Judah there was throughout a party bent on regaining the national independence, and at the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah of Judah (Jer 27) this party appears to have been in power. Yet no actual revolt from Nebuchadrezzar seems to have taken place, and Moab afforded an asylum to fugitive Jews (Jer 40^{11}). It is not improbable that after the destruction of Jerusalem the policy of Moab coincided with that of the king of Ammon, who apparently intended by the murder of Gedaliah to compel Judah to join a confederacy against the Chaldæans.

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[1] The summary of Saul's wars (1 S 14^{47}) bears such a strong resemblance to that of David's (2 S 8) that it may be doubted whether there was any definite tradition of a campaign of Saul against Moab. Hostilities between Saul and Moab would not indeed be inconsistent with 1 S $22^{3f.}$, and David, when he succeeded to the throne, would at once stand in a different relation to the king of Moab from that which he had occupied as a rebel against Saul.

[2] A discussion of the way in which this statement is to be harmonized with the Biblical chronology lies outside the scope of this article. It is to be noted that, although by ‘the son of Omri’ Mesha probably means Ahab, the expression would not preclude a later successor (see W. H. Bennett, *The Moabite Stone*, pp. 20–22).

Moab was menaced, however, by a danger even more formidable than that from Assyria or Babylonia: east and south the country was exposed to invaders from the desert, and Ezekiel ($25^{8\text{f.}}$) already perceived the coming disaster. The criticism of Jeremiah (48), which describes the devastation of Moab, is extremely difficult; the chapter, however, appears to be to a great extent a cento of various earlier passages, and this in itself implies a late date. Is 15–16^{12}, which is used by the author of Jer 48, notwithstanding the corrupt condition of the text and later modifications, gives a clearer picture of Moab's disaster. Here it is evident, if we argue from the names of places which may be identified with tolerable certainty, that the invader advances from south or south-east to north or north-west, and therefore cannot be the Assyrian, Chaldæan, or Persian, but must be a foe from the desert.[1] With this invasion the national existence of Moab came to an end, though Jewish writers long continued to mention the country by the old name (Is 25^{10}, Ps 60^{8} 83^{6} 108^{9}). It is remarkable that the name Moab does not occur in 1 Maccabees. It is found, however, in Dn 11^{41}, and Josephus (*Ant.* I. xi. 5, XIII. xiii. 5, XV. 4) uses the term 'Moabites' to denote the Nabatæan Arabs.

The language of Moab, as we know from Mesha's inscription, was Hebrew, differing only dialectically from the language of the OT. It is, indeed, not impossible that what we regard as peculiarities of Moabite speech once belonged also to the spoken Hebrew of W. Palestine. Although portions of the OT are earlier than the 9th cent. B.C., they were probably long preserved in an oral form, in which case peculiarities of dialect may well have been modified.

The land of Moab affords many proofs even in these days of its former fertility and prosperity. The OT has several references to the cities of Moab, many of which are named, and mentions its vineyards as well as its sheep. Being situated off the direct line of communication between Egypt and the great Asiatic empires, it was less liable than W. Palestine to be made a battlefield, though doubtless there was constant need of warding off the attacks of dwellers in the wilderness. On the whole, however, Moab seems to have had a far more peaceful history than Israel. In the words of Jer 48^{11}, 'Moab had been at ease from his youth, and had settled on his lees, and had not been emptied from vessel to vessel, neither had he gone into captivity.'

The religion of Moab presents many parallels to the popular religion of Israel in pre-Exilic times. There is no evidence, however, that any great Moabite prophets, if such existed, could point, as did the Israelite prophets, to a tradition of purer religion in the past. Like Israel, Moab had taken possession of a land containing stone circles (in OT language, *gilgāls*) and other primitive monuments, and it is probable that in the land of Moab, as in W. Palestine, some of these were adapted to the worship of the later strata of population. From the occurrence of such names as Baal-Meon and Baal-Peor it may be inferred that the pre-Moabite religion of the land resembled the pre-Israelite religion of W. Palestine, and was in fact Canaanite. This inference is confirmed by the occurrence of the curious compound 'Ashtar-Chemosh' (Moabite Stone, line 17); for Ashtar is probably a masculine form of the name familiar to us as Ashtoreth, and the combination of it with Chemosh suggests that some ancient sanctuary of Ashtar or Ashtoreth had been appropriated by Chemosh, just as the ancient sanctuaries of Canaan in W. Palestine came to be considered sanctuaries of Jahweh. We know both from the OT and from the Moabite Stone that Chemosh was the national god of Moab exactly as Jahweh was the national God of Israel. Indeed, the Moabite conception of Chemosh appears to have coincided with the ordinary Israelite conception of Jahweh. The name Chemosh appears compounded in proper names precisely as the name Jahweh. Thus Mesha's father's name was Chemosh in combination with some word which has been variously read as *melekh* and *gad*; a Chemosh-nadab (cf. the Israelite name Jonadab) paid tribute to Sennacherib; and the name Chemosh-yahī (cf. the Israelite Jehiah) is inscribed on a gem found near Beirūt (*EBi*, art. 'Chemosh'). Mesha speaks of Chemosh in precisely the same terms as an Israelite of his day might have used in speaking of Jahweh, and in Nu 21^{29} the Moabites are called 'the people of Chemosh' and also his 'sons' and 'daughters.' Evidence of the existence of other cults in pre-Moabite times may be found in the occurrence of such a name as Nebo, but there is no reason for supposing that such worship continued among the Moabites. The name Dawdah, or Dawdoh, occurs on the Moabite Stone (line 12) apparently as a divine name; but, since Ataroth, where the altar-hearth of Dawdoh was seized, was Gadite, the name throws no light on Moabite religion. Whatever the worship of Chemosh may have been before the permanent settlement of Moab, it is extremely probable that it was thenceforth largely intermingled with Canaanite elements. The OT makes it abundantly clear that the worship of Jahweh was tainted in precisely the same way, and Nu 25 affords no evidence that Moab was worse than Israel in this respect; only, whereas, by the 6th cent. B.C., Israelite religion had to a considerable extent been purged of the grosser Canaanite elements, that of Moab remained unreformed. Besides religious prostitution, indications of the prevalence of drunkenness in Moab have been found in Gn $19^{32\text{ff.}}$, Jer 48^{26}; and, having regard to the references to vine-culture, this is not improbable, though the Israelites were scarcely in a position to throw stones. It is related (2 K 3^{27}) that Mesha, when hard pressed by Israel, sacrificed his son, and we may therefore assume that human sacrifice was a definite feature of Moabite religion. Human sacrifice, not only of the infant first-born, but on occasion of other victims also, was common in Israel down to the 7th cent. B.C. Mesha's sacrifice of his son should probably be compared, not with 2 K 16^{3}, Mic 6^{7}, for in the case of Ahaz probably only the ordinary offering of the infant first-born is meant, but rather with Jg $11^{30\text{f.}}$ Cf. also Gn 22, 2 S 21^{9}, 1 K 16^{34}. Further evidence of the general agreement of Moabite religion with that of Israel is to be found in Mesha's boast (Moabite Stone, line 17) that he has banned or made tabu the population of Nebo.

The danger to Israel of intimate intercourse with a people closely akin in race, speaking the same language, and holding religious ideas similar to those of which the prophets had so earnestly laboured to rid Israel, was clearly perceived by the Israelite reformers, and will partly account for the stringent law in Dt 23^{3}, though political considerations may also have dictated this.

LITERATURE.—See the excellent articles on 'Moab' in *HDB* and *EBi*; also W. H. Bennett, *The Moabite Stone*, Edinburgh, 1911, with the bibliography there given (p. 64).

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MOCHI.—See CHAMĀRS.

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[1] See R. H. Kennett, *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah*, London, 1910, p. 34 f.

MODERATION. — Cicero in an interesting passage expresses some hesitation as to the proper Lat. equivalent of the Gr. word *σώφρων* :

> ‘Veri etiam simile illud est, qui sit temperans, quem Graeci *σώφρονα* appellant, eamque virtutem *σωφροσύνην* vocant, quam soleo equidem tum temperantiam, tum moderationem appellare, nonnunquam etiam modestiam; sed haud scio an recte ea virtus frugalitas appellari possit’ (*Tusc. Quæst.* iii. 8).[1]

He proceeds to describe the virtue in question as follows :

> ‘Eius videtur proprium, motus animi appetentis regere et sedare, semperque adversantem libidini, moderatam in omni re servare constantiam.’

Moderation, according to this view, is a part of temperance. If temperance consists in self-control in regard to the pleasures of sense, moderation is self-control exercised in less difficult spheres. Limitation (*modus, moderatio*) is, of course, a feature in all virtue; this idea has a long history in the philosophy of Greece, and takes formal shape in Aristotle's doctrine of ‘the mean’ which gives expression to the peculiarly Greek notion that virtue in its essence means ‘harmony, grace, and beauty in action’ (see A. Grant, *The Ethics of Aristotle*^{2}, London, 1866, vol. i. essay iv.).[2] The word ‘moderation,’ however, is in Christian ethics specially assigned to the virtue which ‘in least things sets the limit.’ If temperance is concerned with strong passions, moderation controls those which are less vehement. Such, at any rate, is the view of Aquinas in his discussion of *modestia* (*Summa*, II. ii. 160).

Following the guidance of Aquinas, we find that ‘moderation’ is chiefly concerned with four matters : (1) the desire of excellence or superiority ; (2) the desire of knowledge; (3) the outward actions concerned with the conduct of life, business, and recreation, work and rest, etc. ; (4) apparel, furniture, and the external apparatus of life.

Each of these points is fully discussed by Aquinas in II. ii. 161–169.

(1) As regards the desire of superiority, the virtue which moderates it and regulates it is humility (*q.v.*).

(2) The virtuous control of the desire of knowledge is called by Aquinas *studiositas* as opposed to a form of excess which he calls *curiositas* (cf. Aug. *Conf.* X. xxxv. 54). Little needs to be added to the discussion in the *Summa* (II. ii. 166, 167). We may, however, call attention to a fine passage in Bernard (*in Cant.* xxxvi. 3), who points out that in 1 Co 8^{2} St. Paul ‘non probat multa scientem, si sciendi modum nescierit.’ Christian moderation, he says in effect, will prescribe the limitations under which knowledge should be pursued, in respect of the choice of subjects, the degree of zeal, and the purpose of the student. He lays great stress on the question of motive. Those who wish to know merely for the sake of knowing give way to ‘turpis curiositas.’[3] Those who pursue knowledge ‘ut aedificent’ are guided by charity; those who seek it ‘ut aedificentur,’ by prudence (cf. T. Wilson, ‘Maxims of Piety and Morality,’ no. 429 [*Works*, Oxford, 1847–63, v. 423]).

(3) Moderation in the matter of work and recreation and other corporal actions and movements is discussed in *Summa*, II. ii. 168. What Aquinas says practically amounts to this—that man's external behaviour is to be consistent with his dignity as a reasonable being and with the claims made upon him as a member of a community. What St. Paul means to imply in the words *σεμνός* and *κόσμιος* is here in point (1 Ti $3^{2.4}$), as to which Trench (*Synonyms of the NT*, Cambridge, 1854, § xcii.) draws the following distinction :

> ‘Whatever there may be implied in *κόσμιος*,[1] . . . something more is involved in *σεμνός*. If the *κόσμιος* orders himself well in that earthly *πολιτεία*, of which he is a support and an ornament, the *σεμνός* has a grace and dignity not lent him from earth; but which he owes to that higher citizenship which is also his,’ etc.

Aquinas deals at length with the question of recreation, but says little as to the duty of moderation in work. This point is one which has its importance for us owing to the conditions of modern industrial life. It has been said of the Anglo-Saxon race that ‘an excess of industry,’ ‘intemperate labour,’ is one of its most prominent characteristics (A. Wylie, *Labour, Leisure, and Luxury*, new ed., London, 1887, p. 19). Christian moderation implies such self-restraint in the matter of labour as will give fair play to the faculties, spiritual and mental, which are not absorbed in the business of life (on this point W. Law writes suggestively in his *Serious Call*^{10}, London, 1772, ch. iv.). On the other hand, pleasure-worship is a more obvious peril of our time. In every class there are multitudes who are ‘lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God’ (2 Ti 3^{4}), and the result is seen in a wide-spread enfeeblement of will and conscience. Recreation is, of course, a duty which we owe to our nature—a duty distinctly implied in the Fourth Commandment, and there is a virtue concerned with the due regulation of the natural desire for relief from labour.

> ‘Ludendi etiam est quidam modus retinendus’ (Cic. *de Off.* i. 29; cf. 34).

We can scarcely on this point improve upon the maxim of Aristotle that in determining the right mean in such matters tact alone (*ἐπιδεξιότης*) can decide, *i.e.* a sense of fitness trained by exercise and reflexion.[2] Aquinas points out that, as there can be sinful excess in the matter of amusement, so there may be a wrong defect, for a man in social intercourse must ‘show himself friendly’ (Pr 18^{24}).

> ‘It is contrary to reason for a man to make himself irksome to others, taking no pains to please them and even hindering their pleasures’ (*Summa*, II. ii. 168. 4 resp.).

Still, since amusement is to be sought with a view to labour (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* x. 6. 6 : *παίζειν ὅπως σπουδάζῃ*), happiness does not consist in amusement, and to make a serious business of it is ‘foolish and very childish’ (*ib.*). Christian *tact* in these matters was what the Puritans of the 17th cent. lacked. They were credited with the opinion that ‘no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in our religion’ (see the *Declaration* of Charles I. of 18th Oct. 1633, which may be found in H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, *Documents illustrative of Eng. Church Hist.*, London, 1896, p. 528 ff.). The Puritan, says J. R. Green, lacked ‘all sense of measure and proportion in common matters.’[3] John Bunyan's sin which ‘he could not let go’ was ‘a love of hockey and of dancing on the village green.’ It was in the midst of ‘a game of cat’ that the converting voice ‘did suddenly dart’ into his soul (Green, v. 103 f.).

(4) The virtue of moderation finally finds scope in the *minutiæ* of external apparel, furniture, and other conveniences of life (cf. Cic. *de Off.* i. 39 : ‘eadem mediocritas ad omnem usum cultumque vitae transferenda est’; see also i. 35, and cf. Basil, *Hom. de Humilitate*, vii., and Ambrose, *de*

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[1] Cf. *Orat. pro Deiot.* ix. 26 : ‘Ego frugalitatem, id est, modestiam et temperantiam, virtutem esse maximam iudico’ (quoted by Aug. *de Beata Vita*, 31). Ambrose, in *de Off. Min.* i. 43, treats moderation and temperance as synonymous.

[2] Cf. Aug. *de Nat. Boni*, 3; Aquinas, *Summa*, II. ii. 141. 7.

[3] Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* lxxxviii. 36 : ‘Plus scire quam sit satis, intemperantiae genus est.’

[1] Theodoret (on 1 Ti 3^{2}) remarks that the word *κόσμιος* implies good behaviour in voice, appearance, and gait, *ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος φαίνεσθαι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς σωφροσύνην*.

[2] The virtue concerned with recreation, according to Aristotle, is *εὐτραπελία*, for which *urbanitas* or *comitas* might be a fair Latin equivalent. As to the peculiarly Greek grace of *εὐτραπελία* see *Eth. Nic.* iv. 8; cf. Thuc. ii. 38, 41.

[3] *Hist. of the English People*, London, 1895–96, v. 102; cf. Ambrose, *de Off. Min.* i. 18 [78], who derives *modestia* ‘a modo scientiae quid deceret.’

Off. Min. i. 18). We may note that the word κόσμιος is applied to the dress of women (1 Ti 2^{9}), and a similar expression, ἐν καταστήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς, is found in Tit 2^{3}. The principle implied seems to be that a person's dress is to be proportioned to his station or office in life, or to the occupation in which he may chance to be engaged (work, or recreation, or worship).[1] Law goes to the root of the matter when he represents 'Paternus' as advising his son on these points:

> 'Let your dress be sober, clean, and modest, not to set out the beauty of your person, but to declare the sobriety of your mind, that your outward garb may resemble the inward plainness and simplicity of your heart. For it is highly reasonable, that you should be *one man*, all of a piece, and appear outwardly such as you are inwardly' (*Serious Call*, ch. xviii.).[2] As to the dress of women see what is said of 'Miranda' (ch. ix.).

It may be objected that this entire account of 'moderation' is somewhat arbitrary. The fact is that moralists have evidently found difficulty in distinguishing between the different spheres of action in behaviour which are regulated by moderation, sobriety, and temperance respectively. There is, however, practical convenience in following the line suggested by Aquinas. He may be criticized as over-systematic, but we need not suppose that his classification is intended to be exhaustive. The virtue which 'in minimis modum ponit' will be differently estimated according to the various circumstances in which men find themselves placed:

> 'Quaerendum etiam in omni actu quid personis, quid temporibus conveniat atque aetatibus, quid etiam singulorum ingeniis sit accommodum. Saepe enim quod alterum decet, alterum non decet' (Ambrose, *de Off. Min.* i. 43 [212], speaking of moderation).

It remains to add that the word 'moderation' occurs in AV only in Ph 4^{5} (τὸ ἐπιεικές). In RV the word is translated 'forbearance.' The grace which St. Paul has in mind—'considerateness' or 'reasonableness'—is, of course, a form of that beautiful 'moderation' which Wilson describes in 'Sacra Privata' (ed. Oxford, 1849, p. 41 [*Works*, v. 31]) as 'the way of an happy life':

> 'Lay nothing too much to heart; desire nothing too eagerly; rejoice not excessively, nor grieve too much for disasters; be not violently bent on any design; nor let any worldly cares hinder you from taking care of your soul; and remember, that it is necessary to be a Christian (that is, to govern one's self by motives of Christianity) in the most common actions of civil life.'

This is essentially the spirit enjoined by St. Paul (1 Co 7$^{29-31}$). Cf. Ambrose, *de. Off. Min.* i. 18 [70]:

> 'Magna igitur modestia, quae cum sit etiam sui juris remissior, nihil sibi usurpans, nihil vindicans, et quodammodo intra vires suas contractior, dives est apud Deum.'

LITERATURE.—Ambrose, *de Officiis Ministr.* i.; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiæ*, II. ii. 161–169; J. Taylor, *Holy Living*, ch. ii. § 5; H. L. Martensen, *Christian Ethics* (*Individual*), Edinburgh, 1881, § 170; J. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, pt. 3, sect. i. ch. 10 (on the relation of moderation to art).

R. L. OTTLEY.

MODERATISM.—See EVANGELICALISM.

MODERNISM.

—Modernism is the name given by the papal encyclical which condemned it to a complex of movements within the Roman Communion, all alike inspired by a desire to bring the tradition of Christian belief and practice into closer relation with the intellectual habits and social aspirations of our own time. These movements arose spontaneously and, for the most part, in entire independence of one another during the last decade of the 19th century. Since they had thus a common inspiration and a common purpose, it was neither unnatural nor unfair that the authority which condemned them should unite them under a common designation in a common censure. Yet it is necessary to insist that, in the earlier stages of their development, the various movements grouped together and logically correlated by the author of the encyclical *Pascendi* had little or no conscious connexion, and that it was only the external pressure of adversity that gradually forced them at a later period into mutual relations of a more intimate kind.

It may be well in the first place to sketch briefly the history of this complex movement as a whole, and then to give some account of the various forms which it has assumed. These may perhaps be treated most conveniently under the heads of (*a*) apologetic, (*b*) historical criticism, and (*c*) ecclesiastical and social reform.

1. History.—It must not be forgotten that the Vatican Decrees were the result of a liberal movement in the Church. For its founders, or at any rate for most of them, Ultramontanism was the vision of a Roman Catholicism freed from the entanglements of ancient dynastic contentions and in its new independence pledged to the spiritual leadership of the rising democracies. It was natural that the movement should find its fruitful seed-bed in the countries which had yielded most readily to the spell of the Revolution. Lamennais, Lacordaire, and Montalembert were its chief names in France; in Italy, Gioberti and Rosmini. But the hopes of the earlier Ultramontanism, open to all the winds of the century, perished in 1848. The consolidation of the spiritual empire of the papacy was to be achieved by other instruments and in another spirit. The Council of the Vatican seemed, both to the victors and to the vanquished, to be the definite reproof of the generous dreams which had made it possible. Its reactionary character was accentuated by contemporary happenings—the consolidation of the Italian kingdom at the expense of the temporal power, and the establishment of the Third Republic in France. Yet, in fact, a new era had dawned. Both in the intellectual and in the political spheres new and strange problems urgently demanded the attention of Roman Catholic scholars and thinkers. Many among them felt that the Church was in danger of being paralyzed by the Syllabus and the Vatican decrees, and were resolved that this danger must at all costs be averted. The accession of Leo XIII. in 1878 seemed to give them their opportunity. His numerous encyclicals, while conservative and traditional in tone and perhaps still more so in intention, were nevertheless so framed as to be capable of being turned to account by the progressives. Of these encyclicals, three may be specially recalled: *Æterni Patris* (4th Aug. 1879), which enjoined a return to the traditional metaphysics of St. Thomas Aquinas as the necessary foundation for the demonstration of the chief points of Christian belief; *Rerum Novarum* (15th May 1891), which dealt with the condition of the working classes; and *Providentissimus Deus* (18th Nov. 1893), which expressly condemned 'disquieting tendencies' in Biblical interpretation 'which, if they prevailed, could not fail to destroy the inspired and supernatural character of the Bible.' The warnings and counsels contained in these documents were resumed and reinforced in a further encyclical, dated 8th September 1899, and addressed to the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of France. It may be said that the whole history of Leo XIII.'s pontificate, its success and its failure, is to be found in a comparison of the last of these documents with its three predecessors. Such a comparison reveals a growing alarm on the part of authority at the development both of those new tendencies in apologetic or exegesis which it had attempted to repress and of the social action of the clergy which it had encouraged.

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[1] In classical writers sentiments of this kind occasionally occur: *e.g.* Hor. *Carm.* I. v. 5; Ter. *Heaut.* II. iii. 47; Cic. *de Off.* i. 36: 'a forma removeatur omnis viro non dignus ornatus; et huic simile vitium in gestu motuque caveatur.'

[2] We are reminded of the advice of Polonius to Laertes in *Hamlet*, act i. sc. 3. Ambrose says strikingly (*de Off. Min.* i. 18 [71]): 'Vox quaedam est animi, corporis motus.'

That alarm was not without justification. It is in France, intellectually and politically the most highly developed country of the Roman Communion, that the reason for it can be most clearly traced. In 1875 the French episcopate secured from the government of the Third Republic the right to establish what were practically Roman Catholic universities free from all State control. Of the foundations thus authorized the most important was the Catholic Institute of Paris, which came into existence in 1878. Among its first professors was Louis Duchesne, a scholar who, though then only thirty-five years of age, had already achieved considerable reputation as an ecclesiastical historian of wide knowledge and independent judgment. Three years afterwards one of Duchesne's pupils, Alfred Loisy, a young priest belonging to the diocese of Châlons, was appointed to the chair of Hebrew at the Institute. Both scholars claimed the right to apply a rigorously scientific method to their respective spheres of research, the one to ecclesiastical history, the other to Biblical exegesis. Their contention was that it was not only possible, but necessary, to distinguish between the requirements of history and of faith. Duchesne's critical boldness in the treatment of ecclesiastical legend speedily aroused the hostility of the traditionalists, and in 1885 he was compelled to suspend for a year his course at the Institute. It was not till 1893 that Loisy was forced to resign his chair—a resignation which was followed by the condemnation, in the encyclical *Providentissimus*, of the principles of Biblical interpretation which he had upheld. During the decade of his connexion with the Institute, however, a group of scholars had been formed who, having become teachers in their turn, carried an enthusiasm for the critical method into the other Catholic Institutes and many of the diocesan seminaries.

The new movement towards a positive theology, as it was called, had its effect also upon the lay world. The beginning of the nineties was marked in intellectual France by what Brunetière described as 'the bankruptcy of science.' This meant that science had proved unequal to the needs of life, that man could not live by science alone, and that religion was coming into its own again. But, if it meant a revolt against scientific dogmatism, it meant equally a revolt against philosophic dogmatism. New tendencies in philosophy were beginning to appear which assigned to the will or to the total activity of the human spirit the principal rôle in determining truth. A young Roman Catholic philosopher, Maurice Blondel, turned these new tendencies to account in the interests of Christian apologetic in a thesis entitled *L'Action*, sustained before the Sorbonne for his doctor's degree on 7th June 1893. A year or two earlier, a group of young members of the university, attracted by the new spirit among the teaching clergy and prepared to find in it a promise of reconciliation between religion and contemporary knowledge and ways of thought, had founded a society which was to embrace those who desired to retain or regain religious belief without sacrifice of intellectual honesty. The society (its title, *L'Union pour l'action morale*, sufficiently indicated its object) had among its members religious freethinkers, Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. On the occasion of a congress of Roman Catholic youth, held at Grenoble in May 1892, Leo XIII. had written a letter to the bishop of Grenoble in which he declared that it was the part of Christian wisdom to promote the co-operation of all men of goodwill, whether believers or those who, while not believers, were yet *naturaliter Christiani*, in the pursuit of individual and social good. This declaration was received with enthusiasm by the members of the new Union, and its president, Paul Desjardins, sought an interview with the pope and obtained from him the assurance of his entire sympathy with its aims. Meanwhile many of the younger clergy had found in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and in Leo XIII.'s advice to French Roman Catholics to rally to the Republic the long-awaited opportunity of religious action upon the democracy. Numerous Roman Catholic democratic journals were started, the democratic clergy were invited by many bishops to explain their views to the students of the diocesan seminaries, and public conferences were organized at which men of all shades of democratic opinion were welcomed.

Thus throughout the French Church a new era of intellectual and social activity seemed suddenly to have dawned under the immediate sanction of authority. Leo XIII.'s later pronouncement, it is true, aimed at keeping in check the various phases of the complex movement which his earlier encyclicals had been interpreted as in some degree encouraging. Yet up to the end of his pontificate no individual condemnation had taken place, and that though it was believed that determined efforts had been made to procure the condemnation of Loisy's first attempt to utilize the results of his critical studies for popular apologetic purposes in his little book *L'Évangile et l'église*. This book, published towards the end of 1902, was afterwards described by its author as '(1) a historical sketch and explanatory account of the development of Christianity, and (2) a general philosophy of religion and an essay in the interpretation of dogmatic formulas, official Symbols, and conciliar definitions, with a view to bringing them into agreement, by the sacrifice of the letter to the spirit, with the data of history and contemporary ways of thinking' (*RHLR* xi. [1906] 570). It precipitated a ferment which had been slowly and silently working throughout the Roman Church during twenty years. In Italy, Germany, England, America, and even in Spain, Loisy was suddenly hailed as an interpreter of ideas which had long been more or less clearly present to many minds. His treatment of religion on its side of human growth had welded together the philosophical and the more strictly theological elements of the new apologetic method. His treatment of the nature of ecclesiastical authority in the *Autour d'un petit livre* (a sequel to *L'Évangile et l'église*) served to demonstrate to the social reformers within the Church a close kinship between their own aims and methods and those of the theological reformers. Loisy had all unconsciously become the nucleating centre of a movement which knit together all the various elements of reform and extended its ramifications throughout large sections of the Roman Catholic world.

The election of Pius X. to the papal chair was an opportunity for stern dealing with this new threat to the fixity of Roman Catholic tradition. For some years before the death of his predecessor the peril of the new doctrines had been vehemently proclaimed by the traditional theologians, notably by C. F. Turinaz, the bishop of Nancy, and J. Fontaine of the Society of Jesus. Leo XIII. had probably no sympathy whatever with the attempted reconciliation between the Church and modern life, but he had himself aimed at some reconciliation, and he therefore shrank from direct condemnation. Pius X. had no such difficulty. Reconciliation implied that tradition was perfectible, which he could not admit. He hastened, within a few months of his election, to strike at both the theological and the social activities of the reformers. On 16th December 1903 five of Loisy's books were placed on the Index, and two days afterwards a *motu proprio* was issued which aimed at regulating 'popular Christian action.' The war, which was to be waged during the next four years, had been declared. A varied and continued literary activity, on the one side, was met by repeated condemnations, on the other. Loisy indeed made a formal submission, and devoted himself in silence to the preparation of his great work on the Synoptic Gospels. But Blondel's 'philosophy of action' was popularized by Lucien Laberthonnière, a priest of the Oratory, in a series of articles published for the most part in the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, and afterwards issued in two small volumes—*Essais de philosophie religieuse* and *Le Réalisme chrétien et l'idéalisme grec.* In the *Quinzaine*, a review edited by Georges Fonsegrive, a professor of the university, another university professor, Edouard Le Roy, inaugurated a discussion of the nature of religious dogma which provoked a considerable controversy. Le Roy afterwards published, in the form of a volume entitled *Dogme et critique*, a collection of replies to his critics, together with the original articles. In Italy Antonio Fogazzaro, the novelist, launched a programme of ecclesiastical reform, having for its object a general renewal of Christian life, in his novel *Il Santo* (Milan, 1906). In the same country Giovanni Semeria, a Barnabite, did much by his lectures on both the historical and the philosophical aspects of apologetics to disseminate the new ideas, while Romolo Murri, a secular priest of the diocese of Fermo, continued his crusade on behalf of Christian democratic action, undismayed by numerous manifestations of hostility on the part of authority. Among his chief supporters in this crusade was Salvatore Minocchi, a professor of Hebrew at Florence, who had also become known as a Biblical critic through his studies of the Psalms and of Isaiah. In England the movement was represented principally by the writings of George Tyrrell, a member of the Society of Jesus, and Friedrich von Hügel. The latter had read a paper on the progress of OT criticism as it concerned the Hexateuch at a Roman Catholic Congress held at Fribourg-in-Switzerland in 1897, which afforded ample evidence of his accurate scholarship and of the freedom of his critical method and conclusions. Since then he had been engaged on an important work on *The Mystical Element of Religion* (it was not published till 1908), which revealed his originality and depth as a thinker on all the problems connected with religion, while it gave further proof of his competence as a critical historian. Meanwhile he had contributed articles to the *Quinzaine*, *Il Rinnovamento*, and other Modernist reviews, notably a reply to an article by Blondel which had impugned the right of criticism to a complete autonomy in the religious domain, and a defence of critical conclusions with regard to the Pentateuch against a judgment of the papal Biblical Commission affirming its Mosaic authorship (27th June 1906). Tyrrell was already widely known for his frank and bold handling of religious difficulties, but it was his acknowledgment of the authorship of *A Letter to a University Professor*, which had been privately circulated, and his consequent expulsion from the Society of Jesus (Feb. 1906), that brought him to the forefront of the Modernist movement and made him its universally acknowledged leader till his death in July 1909. In Germany the movement was for the most part confined to an agitation for ecclesiastical reform. Franz Xavier Kraus, a professor at Freiburg-im-Breisgau, was the determined opponent of Ultramontanism. An Ultramontane he defined as 'one who places the Church before religion, who identifies the pope with the Church, who is ready to sacrifice a clear decision of his own conscience to the sentence of an external authority' ('Kirchenpolitische Briefe,' ii., in *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Supplement, 1895, no. 211; the letters were signed 'Spektator,' one of the pseudonyms adopted by Kraus; see Schnitzer, *Der katholische Modernismus*, in the series *Die Klassiker der Religion*, p. 39, where the letter is given in full as the work of Kraus). Kraus, however, died in 1902, too early to be involved in the distinctively Modernist controversies. Hermann Schell, a professor in the Theological Faculty at Würzburg, had as early as 1896 published a book entitled *Katholizismus als Prinzip des Fortschritts*, which provoked long and bitter controversy. As a result certain bishops of Northern Germany forbade their priests to attend his lectures. Two years afterwards controversy was renewed over Schell's views on eternal punishment, and four of his books were placed on the Index. Schell made a formal submission after receiving an assurance from the bishop and the Theological Faculty of Würzburg that such submission did not imply any sacrifice of conviction on his part. But he withdrew none of the condemned books from circulation, and continued till his death in 1906 to be the leader of a strong liberal movement in German Roman Catholicism. Among his most influential disciples were Albert Ehrhard of Strassburg, Joseph Schnitzer of Munich, and Hugo Koch of Braunsberg.

Pius X. did not fail to reply to the growing menace of this movement. During the years 1905–06 he issued a series of encyclicals in condemnation of the Christian Democratic movement in Italy. Another series of decisions by the Biblical Commission which Leo XIII. had appointed in 1902 reproved the audacities of criticism in questioning accepted beliefs as to the authorship and authenticity of certain books of Scripture. In April 1906 the works of Laberthonnière and Fogazzaro's *Il Santo* were condemned by the Congregation of the Index. But it was not till the beginning of 1907 that the storm burst in its full fury. Murri was suspended 'a divinis' on 15th April. Two days later the pope delivered an allocution in which he denounced the new movement as 'the compendium and poisonous essence of all heresies,' and called upon the cardinals to aid him in eradicating these evils from the Church. At the end of the same month the Cardinal Prefect of the Index wrote to Cardinal Ferrari, archbishop of Milan, enjoining him to procure the suppression of *Il Rinnovamento*, a Modernist review which had been launched at the beginning of the year. The Cardinal Prefect's letter was remarkable not only for the strong terms in which it denounced the review as 'notoriously opposed to Catholic spirit and teaching,' but also because it took the unusual course of expressly naming certain writers—Fogazzaro, Tyrrell, von Hügel, and Murri. In May the archbishop of Paris, inspired, no doubt, by similar action on the part of the Cardinal Vicar, prohibited the reading of Le Roy's *Dogme et critique*, and at the same time forbade any priest in his diocese to collaborate in Loisy's *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses.* The professors of the Catholic Institute of Paris were at the same time forbidden by the bishops who controlled that seat of learning to contribute to *Demain*, a small Modernist weekly which had been founded at Lyons in 1905. In June Pius X., in a letter of felicitation to Ernst Commer, a professor at Vienna, who had written an attack upon the theology of Hermann Schell, described those who had projected a monument to Schell's memory as 'either ignorant of Catholicism or rebels against the authority of the Holy See,' though among them were the archbishop of Bamberg and the bishop of Passau.

By this long series of censures the way was prepared for a more stringent and inclusive condemnation of all the various heresies, exegetic, apologetic, philosophical, and social, that were troubling the Roman Catholic world. That condemnation was pronounced in the decree of the Inquisition, *Lamentabili sane exitu*, dated 3rd July 1907, and the encyclical *Paecendi Dominici gregis*, of 8th September in the same year. The decree *Lamentabili* was a mere collection of sixty-five propositions which were to be condemned. No indication was given of the sources from which they had been derived, and no writer was condemned by name, but thirty-eight of the propositions were directly concerned with Biblical criticism, and Loisy, in some notes on the decree which he published at the beginning of the following year, accepted its condemnation as directed in large measure against himself. The encyclical *Pascendi* was a document of much greater importance, and was recognized as such by the leading Modernists. Tyrrell met it with vigorous criticism and open defiance in two articles which appeared in the *Times* on 30th September and 1st October, in the full knowledge that he was exposing himself to the severest censures of the Church. On 28th October a more detailed reply was published in Rome under the title *Il Programma dei modernisti.* The encyclical had deduced from an unsound philosophical principle all the various errors which it grouped together under the name of Modernism, and it maintained that the false conclusions of the Modernists with regard to history, dogma, and the Bible were all the necessary result of an erroneous philosophy. To this the *Programma* replied that it was, on the contrary, the undeniable results of historical criticism that had made necessary a new apologetic of some kind.

The attitude of Tyrrell and of the authors of the *Programma* revealed a determination to resist the action of authority. The watchword of this resistance was to be 'No schism.' Even if excommunicated, the Modernist leaders were resolved to claim their inalienable right of spiritual domicile within the Church. Authority might cut them off from its outward communion, but could not affect their inward communion with it. Tyrrell expounded the new policy in an article contributed to the *Grande Revue*, and remained till his death its most consistent adherent. But the difficulty of giving effect to the policy soon became apparent. The chief difficulty lay in the economic dependence of the Modernist clergy, which prevented their action in the open. On the morrow of the publication of the *Programma*, *e.g.*, the reading of the book was forbidden to the faithful and its authors were excommunicated. But, as they still remained anonymous, the effect of their protest upon the outer world was largely discounted. Yet it was in Italy that resistance to the encyclical was most obstinate and prolonged. In spite of the assiduous suppression of Modernist journals, both scientific and social, new ones continually appeared in that country. Among these the most influential was *Nova et Vetera*, founded in January 1908, in which for the first time theological views of a decidedly negative character, such as found expression in the *Lettere di un prete modernista*, published at Rome in the same year, began to appear. Meanwhile condemnations were launched against the leaders who had appeared in the open. Loisy was formally excommunicated on 7th March 1908. The same sentence was pronounced against Murri, who had been elected as a deputy to the Italian Chamber, on 22nd March 1909. Tyrrell had been deprived of the sacraments on 22nd October 1907. The same fate befell Schnitzer at the beginning of February 1908. Minocchi was suspended 'a divinis' in January of the same year, and in the following October voluntarily withdrew into secular life. This series of personal condemnations was followed up and completed by a blow aimed at the Christian Social movement in France. The *Sillon*, the organ of the movement, was formally condemned on 25th August 1910, and its promoters ordered to work henceforward for social reform under the direction of their respective bishops. Marc Sangnier, the lay leader of the movement, made his submission, but Pierre Dabry, its most prominent clerical representative, withdrew into secular life.

The various measures of repression set forth in the encyclical *Pascendi* having failed, after a lengthened trial, to produce the desired effect, Pius X. issued, on 1st September 1910, the *motu proprio Sacrorum Antistitum*, in which he enjoined the imposition of a special oath of adhesion 'to all the condemnations, declarations, and prescriptions contained in the encyclical *Pascendi* and the decree *Lamentabili* upon all professors of seminaries and Roman Catholic universities and institutes on admission to their office and upon all ordinands. It fell, however, not to a priest or even to a layman, but to a woman, to make a protest against what she conceived to be a violation of Christian liberty. Maude Petre, the biographer of Tyrrell, having been called upon by the bishop of the diocese in which she resided to subscribe to the condemnations contained in the encyclical *Pascendi* and the decree *Lamentabili* as a condition of her admission to the sacraments, refused to do so on the ground that such subscription would imply a readiness to defend, if necessary with her life, every word of those documents as being equally important for faith with the Apostles' Creed itself. About the same time an anonymous document, purporting to represent the views of a numerous group of ecclesiastics belonging to all the French dioceses, appeared in a Parisian newspaper, the *Siècle*. It contained a declaration that its authors desired, before taking the oath under constraint, to protest before God and the Church that they did not regard their act of submission as in any way binding upon their consciences or as implying any modification of their opinions. Whether with this reservation or not, the anti-Modernist oath was generally taken by most of those suspected of being Modernists, and the history of Modernism as an open movement in the Roman Catholic Church had come to an end.

2. Forms.—(*a*) *Apologetic of immanence.*—It was the aim of the philosophic Modernists, notably of Laberthonnière, to establish the cardinal points of Christian belief by the aid of the modern evolutionary or dynamic view of the universe. That involved a departure from the traditional scholastic method of apologetic. But they did not abandon scholasticism arbitrarily, simply because it was old. On the contrary, it was their sincere belief that the Aristotelian metaphysic and logic utilized by the scholastic theologians provided a less perfect instrument for the illustration and defence of specifically Christian belief than the more modern conceptions of life. It is, *e.g.*, an essential part of Christian belief that God is personal and that He is Creator. But it is only in the light of a dynamic conception of the universe that the full significance of these affirmations is disclosed. The God of Aristotle was a logical abstraction, the ultimate Idea. Creation was but the logical derivation of the divine Idea in specific forms towards a passively receptive matter. It was in no sense a productive effort realizing new life. But that is just what the Christian belief demands. For it God is the sovereign source of power, and that power goes forth, must by its very nature go forth, in a real creative effort issuing in new life independent of and yet closely united with its source. And the very essence of that new life is again real creative action. For action is always creative, an extension of life beyond itself, its prolongation into another life, not itself, of which it remains the constitutive principle. Thus creation is God's transcendent reality introducing itself into the world and becoming immanent in it. And this act of creation is the act of the divine love by which God is eternally pledged to His world, by which His world, becoming self-conscious in man, needs and can receive His grace. Again, as Laberthonnière points out, it is just because God is not the 'pure act' of Aristotle, but the power which by His own nature acts continually, that we can conceive of a plurality, a society engendered within the unity of His own Being. The doctrine of the Trinity assumes a vital and not a merely formal character.

Thus the reality which we assign to life, because we already feel it there, is itself the motive of our belief in the personality of God. That personality is not a mere idea to which we attain by logical inference. It is a vital inference from our total experience of life as free creative action. That experience implies a more or less conscious communion of each separate creative unit with an original infinite source of creative life, and of all the units with one another in and through that life. All the terms which this essentially religious experience has formulated to express itself—communion, inspiration, revelation, faith, judgment—imply a concretely personal character in God. On the other hand, these terms, when interpreted to us and by us through the logical abstractions of the Aristotelian metaphysic, lose much of their distinctively religious significance. The conception of faith, *e.g.*, as an assent of the intelligence to the truth acquired extrinsically, by the teaching of a divinely deputed authority, fails to do justice to its concrete reality. That concrete reality of faith is an immediate response of the whole personal nature to the personal divine action upon it, a response in virtue of which it recognizes authority and the measure in which authority mediates the divine action to it. The intellectual element in faith exists, but it exists as a derivative from some profounder and more vital action of faith. So, again, revelation, when conceived as the final and imperfectible deposit of truth-statements to be imposed upon the intellect from without, is shorn of much of its religious character. Assent to such a revelation need not be religious at all. The real concrete revelation of God is to the whole personal nature apprehending His action upon it. And the perfect instruments of that revelation are Christ, the Incarnate Word, and the life of His Church in so far as it is a real extension of His life. The thought of the Church, its dogmas, its truth-statements, are but the partial and ever-perfectible translation in terms of one aspect of man's activity, his power of intellectually apprehending reality, of its living apprehension of God in Christ. Thus even the Gospels themselves are not a completed revelation. They indeed enshrine the perfect revelation of the Christ-life. But that revelation can be apprehended only in proportion as it is lived, and by those by whom it is lived. The Gospels were but the earliest attempt of those who had lived it to read and interpret its mysteries. Thus history is not of merely accidental importance to Christianity, but is, on the contrary, of its essence. As Laberthonnière frequently puts it, Christianity has dared to conceive of God *sub specie temporis.* God condescends to weave the texture of His vast designs with human hands. The divine inspiration of each individual life is a free product of the total inspiration of past humanity and a contribution towards all future inspiration. So tradition acquires a vital, and not a merely formal, value.

(*b*) *Historical criticism.*—It was the aim of the philosophical Modernist to vindicate the Church as the supreme organ of the vital religious tradition of mankind. The historical Modernist sought to do the same thing in his own special field of study. The orthodox apologist, grounding himself on the closed character of revelation as imperfectible truth-statement, had to prove the practically formal identity of the dogmatic statements of the Church to-day with the Scriptural revelation. For the historian, however, the admission of such formal identity was impossible. The development of dogma from the most general to the most exact forms of statement, from the simplest to the most complex and detailed forms, was a fact of history. As a historian, the Modernist had merely to trace the development and expose its character. But, as a Christian apologist (the rôle which alone constituted him a Modernist), he had to undertake the much more difficult task of reconciling this development of dogma with its permanent truth-value. This he attempted to do by distinguishing between the spirit and the form of each dogmatic statement, ascribing to the former an absolute and permanent, to the latter a merely relative, instrumental, and mutable value. By the spirit of a dogma such apologists meant its witness to some aspect of religious experience which was necessary to the reality of the religious life, and therefore universal or capable of becoming universal. But that witness could pass current between mind and mind only by the aid of some intellectual symbol capable of suggesting the actually experienced reality. Such symbols, necessarily shaped by the intellectual methods and habits of their period of growth, were clearly perfectible. But the growth of dogma was something more, and more truly organic, than the adaptation, as it were consciously and from without, of more perfect thought-forms to a constant experience. For thought reacts upon life, the clear perception of an experience upon the experience itself, enlarging and deepening its import. And so many of the Modernist apologists were ready to find in the more developed forms of dogma a fuller expression of its spirit, the experienced reality actually deepened by the more adequate form of the witness to it. A similar method of treatment was applied by the Modernist historian to the growth of ecclesiastical government and institutions and all the formal aspects of the Church's life. As a historian, he had to deny the orthodox contention that the actual fabric of Church order had been instituted by Christ Himself. But he claimed that the Church as a society had grown out of the spirit of Christ, and that each stage in the evolution of its order could be shown to have been the necessary means, under the circumstances of its particular historical moment, of preserving or extending the operation of that spirit.

(*c*) *Ecclesiastical and social reform.*—Yet the movement did not propose simply to divinize the existing Church. Her actual institutions came into existence in a distant past in response to the needs of the spirit then operating within her. But to-day those institutions may be suffocating her true life. They may even, as Fogazzaro's saint suggests, be introducing false and destructive spirits into her system—'the spirit of falsehood, the spirit of clerical domination, the spirit of avarice, the spirit of immobility' (*Il Santo*, pp. 336–342). Yet none of the chief Modernist writers can be said to have put forward any definite programme of ecclesiastical reform. They urge rather that Church authority should remember of what spirit it is, what spirit it exists to serve and extend.

'The Church is the hierarchy with its traditional concepts, and it is the world with its continuous hold upon reality, with its continuous reaction upon tradition; the Church is official theology, and the inexhaustible treasure of Divine truth which reacts upon official theology; the Church does not die, the Church does not grow old, the Church has in its heart more than on its lips the Living Christ, the Church is a laboratory of truth in continuous action' (*ib.* p. 293).

Only when possessed by such a conception of her character and mission will the Church discover what reforms she needs to make her equal to both in the profoundly changed circumstances of contemporary life. It is the conception which has inspired the Modernist social reformer also. He has aimed at making Christianity the leaven of national, political, social, and economic life, and therefore the principle of a larger and humaner life which may embrace and harmonize all these. He has conceived of the Church as an instrument of world-civilization rather than of world-renunciation, and of world-renunciation only in so far as it is involved in and necessary to a genuine world-civilization. And so he has tried to understand sympathetically and to co-operate with all the generous hopes and endeavours of the modern democratic movement, whether among Churchmen or among those who are outside the Church's pale. It has been perhaps the chief burden of his offence in the eyes of authority. The Modernist social reformer has been at one with the Modernist ecclesiastical reformer in thinking that the Church needs especially to be saved from the danger of becoming increasingly a clerical autocracy, exacting from the laity as the sum of their duty a passive submission to its decrees. It may be said in conclusion that the one purpose which was common to all the allied but independent movements grouped together under the name of Modernism was the self-reform of the Church, a reform inspired by belief in life, in the totality of human action, as itself most likely to provoke man's need of God and to ensure a genuine satisfaction of that need—a reform, therefore, which was to be sought along the lines of contemporary thought and action. It was a generous purpose, arising out of a genuine revival of intelligent religious faith. Though authority, taking a different view of the religious needs of the time and of the method of their due satisfaction, has succeeded in suppressing the open activity of the movement, it is as yet impossible to predict its ultimate success or failure. One thing, however, may with some confidence be asserted, viz. that its apparent failure for the moment has been due less to the action of authority than to the prevailing lack of interest among the Latin peoples in thought about or discussion of religious questions. If that interest should ever be revived, it is certain that it will demand and procure throughout the Latin churches reforms similar in inspiration, in range, and in effect to those for which the Modernist leaders contended during the last decade of the 19th cent. and the first decade of the 20th.

LITERATURE.—For the history of Modernism the following books are the most important: A. Houtin, *Histoire du modernisme catholique*, Paris, 1912, *La Question biblique chez les catholiques de France au xix*^{e} *siècle*, do. 1902, and *La Question biblique au xx*^{e} *siècle*, do. 1906; J. Schnitzer, 'Der katholische Modernismus,' in *Zeitschrift für Politik*, v. 1 [1911]; J. Kübel, *Geschichte der katholischen Modernismus*, Tübingen, 1909; M. Petre, *Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell*, London, 1912; A. Loisy, *Choses passées*, Paris, 1913. Among the chief Modernist documents are: A. Loisy, *L'Évangile et l'église*, Paris, 1902, *Autour d'un petit livre*, do. 1903, *Simples réflexions*, do. 1908, and *Quelques Lettres*, do. 1908; G. Tyrrell, *A Much-Abused Letter*, London, 1906, *Lex Orandi*, do. 1904, *Lex Credendi*, do. 1907, *Through Scylla and Charybdis*, do. 1907, *Medievalism*, do. 1908, *Christianity at the Cross-Roads*, do. 1909; L. Laberthonnière, *Essais de philosophie religieuse*, Paris, 1903, *Le Réalisme chrétien et l'idéalisme grec*, do. 1904; E. Le Roy, *Dogme et critique*, do. 1907; F. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, London, 1908; G. Semeria, *Scienza e fede*, Rome, 1903, *Dogma, gerarchia, e culto*, do. 1902; R. Murri, *La Vita religiosa nel Cristianesimo*, do. 1907, *Della Religione, della chiesa, e dello stato*, Milan, 1910; U. Fracassini, *Che cos'è la Bibbia*, Rome, 1910; *Il Programma dei modernisti*, do. 1907, Eng. tr., London, 1908. To these may be added an excellent anthology, representative of the chief Modernist writers of Germany, France, Italy, and England, selected by J. Schnitzer, and published under the title *Der katholische Modernismus* in the series *Die Klassiker der Religion*, Berlin, 1912. Unfortunately this anthology bears the same title as the same author's critical study of Modernism mentioned above. The chief pontifical condemnations are conveniently given in Denzinger^{11}, nos. 1701–80 ('Syllabus errorum'), 2001–65 ('Lamentabili'), 2071–2109 ('Pascendi'), 2145–47 (anti-Modernist oath); and all the documents are collected by A. Vermeersch, *De Modernismo tractatus*, Bruges, 1910 (cf. also his art. 'Modernism,' in *CE* x. [1911] 415–421).

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MOGGALLĀNA.—Moggallāna was one of the two chief disciples of the Buddha. He was a Brāhman by birth, and his mother's name is given in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 52) as Bhadra-kanyā. Nothing is known of his youth, but in a very early document[1] we are told the story of his conversion.

There was a Wanderer (or Sophist) at Rājagaha named Sañjaya.[2] Moggallāna and a friend of his, another young Brāhman from a neighbouring village, had become 'Wanderers' (*paribbājakā*) under Sañjaya. Each had given his word to the other that the first to find 'ambrosia' should tell the other. One day his friend, Sāriputta, saw Assaji, another Wanderer, passing through Rājagaha on his round for alms. Struck by Assaji's dignified demeanour, Sāriputta followed him to his hermitage and, after compliments had been exchanged, asked him who was his teacher and what was the doctrine he professed, seeing that his mien was so serene, his countenance so bright and clear. 'There is a great man of religion, one of the sons of the Sākiyas, who has gone forth from the Sākiya clan. He is my teacher; it is his doctrine I profess,' was the reply. 'Well, what is the doctrine?' asked Sāriputta. 'I am but a novice, only lately gone forth. In detail I can not explain, but I can tell you the meaning of it in brief.' Sāriputta told him that that was just what he wanted—the spirit, not the letter, of the doctrine. Then Assaji quoted a verse:

'Of all phenomena sprung from a cause
The Teacher the cause hath told;
And he tells, too, how each shall come to its end,
For such is the word of the Sage.'

On hearing this verse Sāriputta obtained 'the pure eye for the truth'; that is, the knowledge that whatsoever is subject to the condition of having an origin is subject also to the condition of passing away. (This is the stock phrase in the early Buddhist books for conversion.) He at once acknowledged that this was the doctrine that he had sought for so long a time in vain. He went immediately to Moggallāna, and told him that he had found the ambrosia, and, when he explained how this was, Moggallāna agreed with him in the view that he had taken, and they both went to the Buddha and were admitted into his order.

The story here summarized is repeated, in almost identical terms, in various commentaries.[3] It is curious in two ways. In the first place, who, on being asked to give the spirit of the Buddhist doctrine in a few words, would choose the words of Assaji's verse? One may search in vain most manuals of Buddhism to find any mention of the point raised in the verse;[4] and yet the verse has been so frequently found on tablets and monuments in India that Anglo-Indians are wont to call it, somewhat extravagantly, 'the Buddhist creed.' The Buddhists, of course, have no creed in the European sense of that word, but any one who should draw up one for them ought to include in it a clause on this matter of causation. The quotation may very well have made a special impression upon Sāriputta and Moggallāna. They had already renounced the sacrifice as a satisfactory solution of the problems of life, and were seeking for something more satisfactory than the vague hints now to be found only in later passages, such as *Īśā* 14, where the ambrosia is brought into a mystic connexion with cause and with passing away. Here, in this new theory of causation, was a quite different view of things, which seemed to these inquirers to meet the case.

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[1] *Vinaya*, ed. H. Oldenberg, i. 39–44; translated in Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, i. 144–151.

[2] It is not stated that he was the same as the Sañjaya of *Dīgha*, i. 58, the famous 'eel-wriggler.'

[3] *Dhammapada Com.* i. 85–95: *Theragāthā Com.* on verse 1017; *Aṅguttara Com.* on i. 83, etc.

[4] But see the chapter on causation in C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, London, 1912, pp. 78–106.

It is also, at first sight, curious that they should have called this particular doctrine 'ambrosia' (*amata*). Though this expression was no doubt first used of the drink that preserved the gods from death, it must before the rise of Buddhism have acquired, among the Wanderers, the secondary meaning of salvation as being the ineffably sweet.[1] It is true that the other idea of salvation, as being a deliverance (from evil, or from the eternal round of rebirths and redeaths), is also found in pre-Buddhistic works (see MOKṢA). But it was natural, in the beginnings of speculation, to have varying attempts at the expression in words of so complicated a conception; and it is improbable that the early Buddhists invented such a phrase as ambrosia, connoting, as it does, so much of the earlier polytheism.

Moggallāna is frequently mentioned in the canon, and usually with the epithet Mahā ('the Great'). A number of verses ascribed to him, including one long poem and several shorter ones, are preserved in the anthology called *Theragāthā* ('Psalms of the Brethren').[2] The *Dīgha* is curiously silent about him; but a whole book is assigned to him in the *Saṁyutta*;[3] and about two score of passages in the *Majjhima* and the *Aṅguttara*, and elsewhere in the *Saṁyutta*, record acts done or words spoken by him.[4] We need not give the details of these passages. The general result of them is that he was considered by the men who composed them to have been a master of the philosophy and of the psychological ethics, and especially of the deeper and more mystical sides, of the teaching. There is, *e.g.*, an interesting passage where the Buddha compares Sāriputta with Moggallāna:

> 'Like a woman who gives birth to a son, brethren, is Sāriputta to a young disciple, like a master who trains a boy so is Moggallāna. Sāriputta leads him on to conversion, Moggallāna to the highest truth. But Sāriputta can set forth the four Aryan Truths and teach them, and make others understand them and stand firm in them, he can expound and elucidate them.'[5]

In one characteristic Moggallāna is stated to have been supreme over all the other disciples. This is in the power of *iddhi* ('potency').[6] Both word and idea are older than the rise of Buddhism; and the meaning is vague.[7] The early Buddhists, trying, as they often did, to pour new wine into the old bottles, distinguished two kinds of *iddhi*—the one lower, intoxicating, ignoble; the other higher, temperate, religious.[8] The former has preserved for us the belief common among the people, the latter the modification which the Buddhists sought to make in it. The former reminds us of the *mana* of the South Seas, or the *orenda* of some American tribes, or sometimes of the strange accomplishments of a spiritualistic medium. Birds have *iddhi*, with especial reference to their mysterious power of flight.[9] Kings have *iddhi*[10] of four kinds (differently explained at *Dīgha*, ii. 177 and *Jātaka*, iii. 454). It is by the *iddhi* of a hunter that he succeeds in the chase.[11] *Iddhi* is the explanation of the luxury and prosperity of a young chief.[12] By *iddhi* one may have the faculty of levitation, or of projecting an image of oneself to a distant spot, or of becoming invisible, or of walking on water, or of passing through walls, or of visiting the gods in their various heavens.[1] All these are worldly *iddhi*, the *iddhi* of an unconverted man. That of the converted, awakened man is self-mastery, equanimity.[2] Both these kinds of potency were regarded as natural, that is, neither of them was, according to Indian thought, what we should call supernatural. And neither of them, in Buddhist thought, was animistic, that is, either dependent upon or involving the belief in a soul as existing within the human body.

In both these respects of *iddhi*, the worldly and the spiritual, Moggallāna, in the oldest records, is regarded as pre-eminent. An amusing and edifying story is preserved of the way in which, like an ancient St. Dunstan, he outwits the Evil One.[3] We are also told how, in order to attract the attention of the gods to the very elementary exposition of ethics that he thought suitable to their intelligence, he shook with his great toe the pinnacles of the palaces of heaven.[4] Other instances of Moggallāna's instructing the gods are given in the *Moggallāna Saṁyutta* referred to above, and in the *Aṅguttara* (iii. 331, iv. 85), while two anthologies, probably the latest and certainly the most dreary books in the canon, the *Vimāna Vatthu* and the *Peta Vatthu*, consist entirely of short poems describing interviews which Moggallāna is supposed to have had with spirits in the various heavens and purgatories.

Most of the episodes in which Moggallāna figures are localized, that is, the place where the incident or conversation took place is mentioned by name. The names are very varied, and it is clear that no one place could be regarded as his permanent residence.

Tradition has preserved no further account of his life, but the manner of his death is explained in two commentaries, the two accounts being nearly identical.[5] Both Sāriputta and Moggallāna died in the November of the year before the Buddha's death, just before the Buddha started on his last journey.[6] Sāriputta died a natural death; Moggallāna, it is said, was murdered, at the instigation of certain jealous Jain monks, by a bandit named Samaṇa-guttaka, at the Black Rock cave on the Isigili Hill near Rājagaha.

When Cunningham opened the topes (memorial mounds) at Sānchī, he found in one of them two boxes containing fragments of bone and inscribed respectively 'Of Sāriputta' and 'Of Moggallāna the Great' in Pāli letters of Aśoka's time.[7] A similar discovery was made in the neighbouring group of topes at Satdhāra.[8] It is evident that more than two centuries after their death the memory of the two chief disciples had not yet died out in the community, and that the Buddhist laity who erected these monuments considered it suitable that their supposed relics should be enshrined in the same tomb.

The name Moggallāna was occasionally adopted as their name in religion by candidates for the order until the 12th cent. of our era. The belief that the power of *iddhi* had been actually exercised by Moggallāna the Great and others in the ancient days is still held by those of the orthodox who adhere to the ancient tradition, though, except as practised long ago, the belief in it soon died out. There is no evidence, later than the canon, of any

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[1] Cf. the use of the phrase by a non-Buddhist, and before the first sermon had been uttered, at *Vinaya*, i. 7, 8.

[2] *Theragāthā*, 1146–1208, tr. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, in *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, ii. 337 f.

[3] *Moggallāna Saṁyutta*, iv. 262–281.

[4] See the index volumes to these works.

[5] *Majjhima*, iii. 248.

[6] *Aṅguttara*, i. 23; cf. *Milinda*, 188, and *Divyāvadāna*, 395.

[7] See art. MAGIC (Buddhist), § I.

[8] *Dīgha*, iii. 112, 113.

[9] *Dhammapada*, 175; but the commentary, iii. 177, interprets the passage otherwise.

[10] *Udāna*, p. 11.

[11] *Majjhima*, i. 152.

[12] *Dīgha*, ii. 21; *Aṅguttara*, i. 145.

[1] The stock passages are at *Dīgha*, ii. 83; *Majjhima*, i. 34, 494; *Aṅguttara*, i. 255, iii. 17, 28.

[2] *Dīgha*, iii. 113.

[3] *Majjhima*, i. 332 ff.

[4] *Ib.* i. 252 ff.

[5] *Jātaka Com.* v. 126; *Dhammapada Com.* iii. 65 ff.

[6] *Jātaka Com.* i. 391.

[7] A. Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, p. 297.

[8] *Ib.* p. 324.

contemporary cases of the lower, worldly *iddhi* of the unconverted man.

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MOKṢA (Skr., also *mukti*) and **VIMUTTI** (Pāli, also (*vi*)*mo*(*k*)*kha*).—These terms, other prefixes being sometimes substituted, are all derivatives from *much*, 'to let go,' 'discharge,' 'release,' and, with varying import, are identical in primary meaning with our 'deliverance,' 'emancipation,' 'freedom,' 'liberty,' 'release.' Whichever equivalent be selected, the inquirer may start with two general way-marks. In the first place, the concept in question has a negative side, viz. a having got loose from, or rid of, and a positive side, viz. the cœnæsthesis, or general sense of expanded outlook, calm, security, attainment, power to be and do, without which the 'getting freed from' were in some cases too costly a gain. If these two aspects be held together in the mind, then the common terms for them, stated above, may—and this is the second way-mark—be considered as, more perhaps than any other idea, the pith and kernel of the religious faiths of India, and as coming nearer to the Christian 'salvation' than any other. It should, however, be added that the concept grew within those faiths, and that it was by no means always and everywhere given this paramount emphasis and importance. Awareness of emancipation as such, or of its absence and desirability, is not patent in the earliest recorded expressions of the Indian mind. The vital importance of solidarity, either with tribal custom and convention or with the decrees and the very life of his gods, is far more pressing on the man of primitive culture than is any revolt or self-exclusion from, or independence of, any order or destiny, socially or divinely imposed on all. Moreover, the particular deliverances or riddances that came in time to be generalized under a common notion varied in kind.

Before making good these general considerations by analysis, it may be well to guard the reader of translations from Indian literature against gaining an inaccurate idea of the frequency of allusions to 'freedom,' etc. Perhaps no language is as rich in privative or negative inflexions as is that of the Indian classics, whether it be Vedic, Prākrit, Pāli, or Sanskrit. We have ourselves a few terms where the negative form exceeds, in inspiring emphasis, the positive form—*e.g.*, independence, infinite, immortality, etc. Such terms are very numerous in Indian literature, and it often happens, notably in translations by Max Müller and Fausböll, that, to give the force or elegance of the originals, words with a negative prefix—*a*, *ni*, *vi*—are rendered by 'free from,' and even 'freedom from.'

Thus we find such renderings as 'free from evil,' *a-pāpa*; 'free from fear,' *a-bhaya*; 'free from grief,' *vi-śoka*; 'free from desire,' *niṣkāma*; 'free from the body,' *a-śarīra*; 'free from decay, death,' *vi-jara*, *vi-mṛtya*, *a-mṛta*; and many others, notably, 'being freed from good and freed from evil,' *vi-sukṛta*, *vi-duṣkṛta*, *i.e.* 'sundered from (*vi*) the well-done and the ill-done,' in other words, rid of the effects of his actions or *karma* (*Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*, i. 4).

Many other 'liberties' taken by the lavish use of 'free from' go to swell this misconception. The phrase just quoted occurs in an archaic account of *saṁsāra*, or transmigration. Now, it is true that the *mukti*, or *mokṣa*, concept centres in the release of the soul or self, not only from this body, but also from all future bodies. But the only term expressive of release here is in the translation. 'All who depart from this world go to the moon . . . if a man make reply [on arriving] to the moon, it *passes him on*' (*atisṛjate*), *i.e.* he does not return to be reborn on earth. This is translated, in *SBE*, 'sets him free.' Further on, in ii. 7, in an ancient sun-hymn occurs the unique appellation *varga*, 'twister' or 'turner': 'Thou art the twister! twist thou the sinning of me' (*vargo 'si pāpmānaṁ me vṛṅdhi*). This is translated (*ib.*): 'Thou art the deliverer, deliver me from sin.' In the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, ii. 9: 'he frees himself' is, literally, *spṛṇute*, 'he saves himself.' In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV. iv. 23, Regnaud renders *uparatas* (M. Müller: 'satisfied,' Deussen: 'entsagend') by 'libre de tout désir.' In the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*, VIII. i. 6, the words rendered 'freedom in all the worlds' are, literally rendered, 'faring as they list' (*kāmachāra*); and in *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, i. 2, 'had obtained freedom from all desires' (M. Müller) is, in the original, 'had turned to renunciation' (Deussen).

It is very possible that the translators were encouraged in this habit by consulting the mediæval commentaries of Śaṅkara, in whose philosophy *mokṣa* was a well-evolved concept, and who uses it liberally in his paraphrases.

For instance, in *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, II. vi. 18—'Nachiketa became free from passion (*vi-raja*) and obtained Brahman'—the last clause is explained as 'became freed' (*mukto 'bhavad*).

In being thus advised to discount much factitious emphasis laid in these ancient works on a notion that was evolving in them, the reader may contend that most at least of the translations criticized render only what is really implicit in the various riddances referred to, namely, a liberty emerging through the abandonment of this or that. It is true that the Indian mind did indeed work its way to a positive concept of *mokṣa* or *vimutti* chiefly through an austere elimination viewed as the getting relieved of discarded burdens. Even a Buddhist commentator of probably the 5th cent. A.D. chose to define *vimokha* as so-called 'because of the being set free (*vimuchchanato*) from opposing things' (*Puggala-Paññatti Com.*). But the state of emancipation, as a conscious assurance, belongs none the less to that more evolved and positive side of its psychology which, in the West, is usually associated with political autonomy and social or personal self-congratulation. The freedom in which the Indian gloried was spiritual:

> 'O free indeed! O gloriously free am I
> In freedom from three crooked things . . .
> Ay, but I'm free from rebirth and from death,
> And all that dragged me back is hurled away'
> (*Psalms of the Sisters*, 11).

'Henceforth in the real (or true) Brahman he becomes perfected and another. His fruit is the *untying of bonds*; without desires he attains to bliss imperishable, immeasurable, and therein abides' (*Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, vi. 30).

And *Kathā-vatthu*, ix. 1, is intended to bring out the fact that, whereas one enters on 'the Path' to salvation, full of a sense of dangers to be got rid of, the gradual putting off of 'fetters' converts this consciousness into expectation of the bliss of perfected deliverance, *i.e.* of Nibbāna.

For *vimutti* is 'comparable to' Nibbāna, and 'the holy life is planted on, and leads to and culminates in Nibbāna' (*Majjhima*, i. 304; *Saṁyutta*, v. 218).

There is but the faintest anticipation of this in the Vedas. The only 'setting free' in those pages is the resting-place (*vimochana*) where horses are eased for a while from harness. Gods are called upon to deliver from sin—but it is such 'as clings to our bodies' (*Rigveda*, VI. lxxiv. 3; cf. I. xxiv. 9, VIII. xviii. 12, *muñchatam*)—and to let the enemy catch snares and be slain (VII. lix. 8). But such a prayer as 'May I be *detached from death* like a gourd from its stem, but *not from the immortal* [*amṛta*]' (*ib.* 12) is the precursor of the later thought. Beyond such expressions the vocabulary of freedom was, it would appear, unborn.[1] The Brāhmanas give, in the elaborate ritual of the altar-building, a rite to be chanted while laying the 'bricks of saving' (*spṛtah*), that is, from evil and from death (*Śatapatha Brāhmana*, VIII. iv. 2), but elsewhere (XI. iii. 3) it is said that none but a *brahmachārin* or *religieux* is exempted by Brahman from death, and only on the condition that he daily tends the sacred fire. Not here any more than in the Vedas does the grasp and realization of an emancipated consciousness appear. It is still apparently only inchoate in the Upaniṣads ranked as the oldest. Of these the *Kena Upaniṣad* is silent on the matter. In the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, an ancient mystic nature-monologue, there are hymns prescribed for rites proficiency in which brings the compassing of 'all desires.' These desires are enunciated—long life, luck, wealth, fame, etc.—but 'liberty' is not among them. Progress in spirituality is revealed in the *Taittirīya* and *Chhāndogya Upaniṣads*, but the emancipation-spirit is still immature. The former shows the growth of it at the end of the second part:

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[1] *Mukti* is said in O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth (*Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Petrograd, 1855–75, v. 801) to occur once in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, but it is a faulty reference, and the present writer cannot trace it.

> 'He who knows the bliss of that Brahman whence speech, whence mind turn back, not finding it, . . . tortures not himself with: "What good have I left undone? What evil have I done?" He, knowing this, saves himself.'

The latter (*Chhāndogya*, VI. xiv. 2) shows a parallel growth in the parable of the man brought blindfold from his Gandhāra home into the desert, and thence, with sight restored, directed how to get home again; even so does one who has gained true knowledge through his teacher know that

> 'I shall only so long belong to this [system of rebirth] till I am emancipated (*vimokṣye*); then I shall go home' (so Deussen).

And in the closing section occurs the favourite simile for deliverance:

> 'Freeing myself from the body, as the moon frees himself from Rāhu's jaws, I go into the world of Brahman.'

The same simile is hinted at in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*:

> 'He who has perceived the soundless, the intangible . . . the eternal . . . the unchangeable, is freed from the jaws of death' (I. iii. 15).

But in the following passage (*ib.* II. v. 1) we see how the idea is finding expanded expression:

> 'There is a town with eleven gates of the Unborn, of thought influctuate. Whoso approaches (Deussen: 'honours') it, he grieves no more and, emancipated, is set free (*vimuktaś cha vimuchyate*). Verily this is that.'

From what 'set free' is not unambiguous (M. Müller: bonds of ignorance; Deussen: the body), but 'liberty' is becoming realized as an ideal.

Turning now to the long *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, we come at length to an emphatic designation of certain attainments as constituting 'liberty' (III. i. 3 ff.). The priest asks the Veda-teacher how he who institutes a sacrifice may be freed from the influence and thraldom of death, of day and night, and of the waxing and waning moon, and how the bright worlds shall be reached up a stairless sky. By this or that celebrant priest are given the several replies, and to each reply is added: '*That* is liberty, *that* is utter liberty (*sā muktiḥ sā atimuktiḥ*).' These are then termed the *atimokṣas*.

It is noteworthy that, while these four 'liberations' are alone so emphasized, aspiration does not (in the adjacent section) stop at heaven. Urged by another interlocutor, a Kṣatriya, again and again, with proffered largess, to 'speak of that higher thing which avails for emancipation,' Yājñavalkya, the Veda-teacher, finally discourses of the soul and of beholding the soul as God.

> 'Scarce visible and old there lies a path
> That reaches into me, was found by me.
> Thereon the wise whose is the Brahma-lore
> Fare onward to the world of light, and thence
> O'erpassing that are utterly released'
> (*utkramya svargaṁ lokam ito vimuktāḥ*).

> 'As the slough of a snake lies on an anthill dead and cast away, there lies this body, but that disembodied, that immortal, that life, is Brahman only, only light' (IV. iv. 8, 7).

This with its context is not designated as *atimokṣa*, or as *mukti*. When we find again the snake-skin simile, in the *Praśna Upaniṣad*, V. 5, where the emancipation described is that of spiritual ecstasy rather than of a disembodied spiritual unity, or full realization of the same, the freedness, on the one hand, is made more explicit, and, on the other, the liberation is described as 'from evil.' But, whether emancipation be from the power of the body during life or from the body itself and from all subsequent bodies at final death, the main positive consciousness, realized in this early stage of Vedāntist *mokṣa*, is, intellectually, discernment of the identity between the Absolute, Brahman or Ātman, and the soul located in man, and, emotionally, the sense of security and assurance resulting therefrom. For the individual becomes invested with the powers, negatively expressed, of the Absolute Being: undecaying, imperishable, unattached, unbound, unlimited, unsuffering, etc. (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, IV. ii. 4).

> 'If a man clearly beholds this self as lord of all that is and will be, . . . who has entered into this patched-together hiding-place, he is creator, maker of all, his is the world, he is the world . . . then is he no more afraid' (*ib.* IV. iv. 13, 15).

Proceeding to the less ancient Upaniṣads, such as may have been influenced by Buddhist and other developments, we find in the 'Upaniṣad of the Shavelings' (*Muṇḍaka*) the compound *parimuchyanti* (III. ii. 6), 'completely freed':

> 'They who have grasped the sense of Veda-lore,
> All anchorites, their inmost being purged
> In earnest resignation, at the final death
> In Brahma-heaven become immortal, wholly freed.'

But in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, and the allied but perhaps still later *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, the reader finds himself among new ideas jostling against the older ones. These are yet present—soul and Brahman, release from life and death, and knowledge as giving release—but the current has widened, if not deepened. The theism of Yoga, the theory of separate souls and their self-emancipation from conditioned, mutable concomitants of the Sāṅkhya system, the critical, scientific attitude of Buddhism, and the tragic earnestness of the two former and of Jainism—all these have caused a revolution in outlook that strikes a new note at the very first words:

> 'Om! The Brahman teachers say: What is the primal cause, what Brahman? Whence are we?' (*Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, i. 1).

Through it all the *mokṣa*-idea appears as the work of a creator:

> 'The Deva' or Īśvara ('Lord'), 'himself self-caused, is the condition (the cause) of the maintenance and the movement (*sthiti*, *saṁsāra*), the bondage and the liberation (*bandha*, *mokṣa*) of the world' (*ib.* vi. 16). To know him, to 'see, making his own being a lamp, the being of the Lord,' is to have 'all fetters fall away, all sufferings destroyed, and the ceasing of birth and death come to pass' (*ib.* i. 11, ii. 15). 'I, seeking for freedom, take in him my refuge, supreme Causeway to that-which-is-not-dead (*amṛtasya paraṁ setuṁ*), Fire that burneth where no fuel is' (*ib.* vi. 18 f.).

> 'As soon a man might wrap the atmosphere
> About himself like any cloak, as reach
> The end of suffering, not knowing God' (*ib.* vi. 20).

Yet both here and in the *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad* the Ātmanistic monism is none the less maintained, and all personal deities are recognized as names of the self (IV. v. f., VI. v. 8).

> Much, it is true, is made of a disparate 'element-soul' or self, bound by the fetters of the fruits of good and evil, crippled, and as one in prison, till 'by knowledge, by *tapas* (austerities), by meditation he is freed from those things by which he was filled and overcome, and obtains union with the Ātman' (IV. ii. 4).

Yet this concept no longer satisfies:

> 'Having seen his own self as the Self (or soul), he becomes selfless (*nirātman*); and, in virtue of selflessness he is to be conceived as immeasurable, unconditioned. This is the highest mystery, betokening emancipation . . . through selflessness he has no part in pleasure or pain, but attains absoluteness (*kevalatva*)' (VI. xx. f.)—

a wondrous blend of Buddhist and Sāṅkhya concepts.

Yet another new term reveals a fresh and notable development of the *mokṣa*-consciousness, that of 'autonomous,' or independent—*svatantra* (V. xxviii. 38):

> 'Independent, standing on his own greatness, he contemplates the cycle of rebirth as it were a rolling chariot-wheel' (that has ceased to convey him). Cf. the 'autonomy' prescribed in and vital for Buddhism (*Dīgha Nikāya*, ii. 100, and elsewhere).

The psychology also of the *process* of self-liberation has attained an interesting development (*Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, VI. xxxiv.). *Manas* (*i.e.* the mental mechanism of sense-cognition, a narrower concept than 'mind') is, like Īśvara himself, called 'the cause of bondage and of liberty.' And to bring it to its right anchorage, to bring it, in fact, 'to an end in the heart' (the seat of the soul)—'that is knowledge, that is *mokṣa* . . . that man is wholly freed (*parimuchyate*).' Nor does this austere discipline, nor does the evolving power of introspection dull the rapture associated in the earlier books with this setting free. With a poet's licence, or through theistic influence, the poet pictures the Absolute soul (Brahman) as reciprocally 'longing for a true (or real) man' (*ib.* VI. xxx.).

That the yet later Upaniṣads could use *mokṣa* as practically synonymous with religion appears in the *Mukti Upaniṣad*, which recommends him who seeks for *mokṣa* to study the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*, and, if that suffice not, certain others, and so on till all are included. The one named consists in a concise effort to define the essence (*sāra*) of the soul or Brahman. More pertinent is the definition of *mokṣa* in another of the aforesaid Upaniṣads, the *Sarva-sāra*, as the destruction of the illusion that the material body, or any other factor of the phenomenal self, is the Ātman ('soul'), who is God. The illusion is the bond, ignorance its cause. (This illusion is the first of the 'Ten Fetters' of Buddhism.)

Mokṣa as the supreme aspiration runs through that best known portion of the *Mahābhārata* epic called the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. The allusions occur almost entirely in the parts judged by R. Garbe to be older (see BHAGAVAD-GĪTĀ). We find *mokṣa* applied to liberation from evil (iv. 16), from the body (v. 23), from lusts and anger (v. 26), from decay and death (vii. 29), from works (ix. 28), from the illusion of opposites (xv. 5). But, however the bondage be conceived, release is effected, here also, by a spiritual union with Brahman, conceived as, or as behind, Īśvara, lover of the human soul, who invites his utter self-surrender, and bestows on him, in virtue of that surrender, release from this or that form of limitation (cf. ix. 26 f., xii., xiii. 9 f.). Another section of the epic is called 'the *mokṣa*-doctrine'; yet it is in the *Anugītā* section that the complete picture of the emancipated individual occurs (*Adhyāya*, 19). In this we see him contemplating Ātman, attaining Brahman, sunken in this one goal, oblivious as to the past, freed from results, heedless of 'this' or 'that.' Yet he is a friend to all, suffering all, master of sense and self, fearless, wrathless, meek, upright, treating all creatures as if they were he, indifferent to opposites, lost to social and domestic ties, wanting naught, cleaving to naught, detached. 'He is in every sense free.' All classes, the trader and the labourer, too, may enter on this upward way, and even women, but much more the Brāhman and the Kṣatriya who study, joy in their duty, and hold the Brahma world as highest; for the fruit of achievement is liberty, and the utter abatement of ill. Beyond that lies no greater bliss.

This notable climax is in complete harmony with Buddhist thought. It is more than probable that, before the epic attained its final form, the influence of Buddhist culture had made itself deeply felt, and that to it is largely due the breaking down of class and sex disability to attain the highest, the humaneness of the lonely saint, and the crucial emphasis on the ending of suffering. *Dukkha* ('ill') is not, of course, absent from the earlier Vedāntic literature, but it attains emphasis only in that which must have felt the impress of Buddhism, to say nothing of Jainist and Sāṅkhyan influence. Now, in the doctrine of Arahantship, or the release from continued deaths and rebirths by the perfected character, *vimutti* is not only dominant to the same extent as is *mukti* (*mokṣa*) in Vedānta, but the treatment of it is more consistent and therefore, perhaps, simpler. In it *vimutti*, *vimutta*, 'freedom,' 'freed,' express the actual and consciously realized achievements; *vimok(k)ha* nearly always refers to certain prescribed courses of rapt mentality, whereby such a state might be sooner acquired, or, if acquired independently, quickened—a sort of morning sacrament (*Dīgha Nikāya*, ii. 112; *Puggala-Paññatti Com.* [*JPTS*, 1914, p. 177]):

> 'He who before he breaks his fast can touch
> Mental emancipation's eight degrees,
> In grade ascending and so back again'
> (*Psalms of the Brethren*, 1172).

Hence the terms 'freed by understanding,' 'freed-both-ways,' meaning emancipated by the work of understanding only, or emancipated both thus and by the eight *vimokhas* or similar exercise in *samādhi* (cf. *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 477).

Moreover, *vimutti*, as expressing final achievement, with the rapturous assurance of it, was at the heart of the Buddhist Dhamma from the first. In that which is recorded as his second sermon—the *Anatta-lakkhaṇa Sutta* (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 101; cf. 107)—Gotama Buddha stated how emancipation grew out of the rejection of the cosmic soul as immanent in and identical with the sense of individual personality ('self' being only an abstract idea inseparable from bodily and mental factors). Perception of the absence of Ātman-qualities (permanence, omniscience, bliss) in these denuded them of factitious attraction. Craving to renew them in future lives fell away. The freed individual knew that he was free, and thenceforth needed only to await the final hour in quieted but blissful well-being and righteous living. Again, in sending forth his first missionaries, the Buddha named as his and their supremely adequate qualification:

> 'I am freed from all snares human and divine; ye are freed from all snares human and divine . . . Go ye now . . . for the welfare of the many . . .' (*Vinaya Texts*, i. 112 f.).

The subjective awareness of the freed state, held to be also valid objectively, is further enhanced by the use of such terms as 'realizing,' 'touching,' 'tasting' (*Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. 230; *Majjhima Nikāya*, i. 477; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, ii. 244, i. 36, iv. 203, etc.).

> 'Wherefore thus must ye study: "more and ever more striving our very best shall we realize supreme emancipation"' (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, iii. 218).
>
> 'Having liberated his mind with respect to things that should be let go he touches perfect liberty' (*ib.* ii. 196; cf. 244).
>
> 'The eight deliverances (*vimokhā*) are to be realized by personal contact' (*Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. 230).
>
> 'Few are they who obtain the taste of liberty' (*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, i. 36).
>
> 'As the ocean has but one taste, that of salt, so has Nibbāna but one taste, that of emancipation' (*ib.* iv. 203; *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 304).

Awareness of full attainment was realized as a timeless moment of ecstatic consciousness (*Kathāvatthu*, iii. 4), but the reverberations formed an abiding joy:

> 'Gladness springs up within him, and rapture thereto; the thoughts of his enraptured consciousness become tranquillized; thus tranquillized he knows bliss; and in that bliss his consciousness is stayed' (*Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. 241, 'The five occasions of emancipation'; cf. i. 73).

Imagination plays about the term:

> 'He with fair flowers of Liberty enwreathed,
> Sane and immune, shall reach the perfect peace'
> (*Psalms of the Brethren*, 100).
>
> 'Above the rolling chariot of this earthly life spreads the silken canopy of emancipation' (*Saṃyutta Nikāya*, iv. 293).

And in the later *Questions of King Milinda*:

> 'As the ocean is all in blossom with the innumerable . . ripple of its waves, so is Nibbāna all in blossom, as it were, with

the innumerable, diverse, delicate flowers of purity, knowledge, emancipation' (iv. viii. 69).

Arahantship, again (*ib.* v. 17), is called 'the Exalted One's jewel of emancipation (*vimutti-ratana*), chief diadem of all.'

The three terms here brought together—Nibbāna, Arahantship, emancipation—are largely, though not wholly, coincident in range, presenting different aspects of the ideal, Nibbāna: the having eliminated 'the fires' of evil and of craving for continued life human or divine; the contemplation of an Ātman-less Absolute; Arahantship: supreme positive attainment in life on earth; Vimutti: the subjective aspect of both, the negative force in it never far off:

'Let go (*muñcha*) that which has been, let go what will be,
Let go what thou art midst of, thou that dost
Transcend Becoming! On every side freed-minded
Thou'lt not again come toward birth and dying'
(*Dhammapada*, 348).

But the self-knowledge that he *is* free is a clause in the formula confessing Arahantship:

'Emancipated by right (or perfect) gnosis (*sammadaññā-vimutta*)'; 'in him thus set free there arises the knowledge "freed"!' . . . (Nikāyas, *passim*; *Dialogues*, i. 93).

And the unity connecting the negative and positive aspects may be discerned in the *Sutta Nipāta* verses:

'In whom no sense-desires do dwell,
For whom no craving doth exist,
Who hath crossed o'er [the sea of] doubt:—
What sort of freedom [waits] for him?
No other freedom [waits] for him' (1089 f.).

In the Nikāyas *vimutti* and Nibbāna are declared to be 'comparable' one with another (in the same thought-category, *Majjhima*, i. 304). But in the *Dhamma-saṅgaṇi vimutti* is distinguished into higher mental freedom and Nibbāna (p. 234; cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, i. 174).

As the subject of a distinct group (*khandha*) of religious experience, *vimutti* is ranked in the *Suttas* fourth with the groups 'ethics' (*sīla*), concentrative studies (*samādhi*), and insight (*paññā*, *Majjhima*, i. 214; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, i. 125, *passim*), while for the Arahant a fifth was reckoned: knowledge and intuition of *vimutti* (*vimutti-ñāna-darsana*, *ib.* i. 162, etc.). Closely associated with the fourfold path to Arahantship, and called, later, modes of progress, avenues, or channels to *vimutti*, are the studies in 'Emptiness,' 'the Signless,' 'the Not-hankered-after' (*Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. 219; *Saṁyutta*, iv. 295–297; *Dhamma-saṅgaṇi*, 344 f., and *Compendium of Philosophy*, London, 1910, p. 216).

A very frequent allusion to emancipation in the Nikāyas is that of *chetovimutti paññāvimutti*, corresponding fairly well to emancipation of heart and head. The systematic expansion of ethical emotion was not peculiar to Buddhism (see LOVE [Buddhist]). But the founder of Buddhism is represented (*Saṁyutta*, v. 118) as claiming that he alone inculcated in such exercises emancipation of the heart.

In this way, in suffusing the idea of more and more beings with (1) love—'let all beings be void of enmity and malevolence,' (2) pity—'let all be set free from suffering,' (3) sympathy—'let all be happy and fortunate,' (4) equanimity—'all are the owners, the heirs of their deeds,' these mental exercises, if fully practised, result in a thorough self-mastery through complete emancipation from the respectively opposed moods of (1) enmity, (2) harmfulness, (3) antipathy, (4) passion (Ledi Sadaw, Mahāthera, in a letter to the writer).

Taken alone, apart from that supreme enfranchisement from all the conditions for rebirth, they constituted the best way to Brahma-heavens.

'*Sāriputta*: This, I told Dhānañjani, is the way to share existence with the Brahma gods.

The Buddha: Why did you establish Dhānañjani in that inferior Brahma-world, when there was more to be done?

Sāriputta: I judged, lord, that these Brāhmans preferred that heaven' (*Majjhima*, ii. 195).

'All other bases of meritorious acts which are stuff for rebirth (*opādhika*) are not to be compared to the emancipation of the heart by love. That takes all those up into itself, as the moon outshines the stars, the sun the mirk, the morning star the night, shining in radiance and in splendour' (*Iti-vuttaka*, 19–21).

But to be emancipated by intuition or insight is to have broken all the ten 'fetters' by the four successive stages of the Ariyan Path—Stream-winning, Once-Returning, Never-Returning, Arahantship—and to have reached the going-out of all fevered desires as to lives on earth or in the heavens (*Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. 108).

'For not by the slothful nor the fool, the undiscerning, is that Nibbāna to be reached which is the *untying of all knots*' (*Iti-vuttaka*, 102).

The mountain ranges of *vimutti* were the haunts of those who, 'with the world well lost,' had developed the symptoms of life's culminating in its final end. Hence it is in the two works containing the legacies of such matured creatures—the *Sutta-Nipāta* and the anthologies of *Theras* and *Therīs*—that the theme of emancipation is maintained most steadily:

'Come now, let us see Gotama, who lion-like
Doth roam alone . . .
. . . and let us ask of him
How can we be set free from snare of death?
Declare to us who ask as to the way
How may a man from sorrow be set free'
(*Sutta-Nipāta*, 164 f.).

'Passed he away fraught with the seed of rebirth,
Or as one wholly free? That would we know'
(*Psalms of the Brethren*, 1274).

'And as the sun rose up out of the dawn
Lo! then my heart was set at liberty' (*ib.* 477).

'Whose range is in the Void and the Unmarked
And Liberty:—as flight of birds in air
So hard is it to track the trail of him' (*ib.* 92).

'And see, O Master! Sundarī who comes
To tell thee of Emancipation won
And of the night no more to be reborn;
Who hath herself from passion freed (*vītarāgā*),
Unyoked from bondage' (*Psalms of the Sisters*, 334).

'Tho' I be suffering and weak and all
My youthful spring be gone, yet have I come,
Leaning upon my staff, and clomb aloft
The mountain peak. My cloak thrown off,
My little bowl o'erturned: so sit I here
Upon the rock. And o'er my spirit sweeps
The breath of Liberty!' (*ib.* 29, 30).

'Passion abandoned, hatred and illusion,
Shattered the bonds, nor is there any trembling
In that the springs of life are wholly withered:—
Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely'
(*Sutta-Nipāta*, 74).

'E'en as a fish that breaks its net in ocean,
E'en as a fire that turns not back to burnt stuff:—
Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely' (*ib.* 62).

'Dwelling in love, in pity, and in freedom,
In friendly joy, in balance, each in season,
Nought in the world disturbing his composure:—
Like the rhinoceros let him wander lonely' (*ib.* 73).

The evolution of *mukti*, or *mokṣa*, in Jainism cannot be adequately dealt with till its early literature is more fully accessible. As evolved, the idea is clearly presented above (art. JAINISM, vol. vii. pp. 468, 470).

Similarly the (*vi*)*mokṣa*, or *apavarga*, concept of Sāṅkhyan thought, which survives in mediæval commentaries, and which, even in the aphorisms on which these are based, shows a later and a more habile metaphysic than such as the foregoing discussions reveal, will be dealt with in art. SĀṄKHYA. In those aphorisms (*Sūtras*) the individual soul, called *puruṣa*, is conceived as 'neither bound, nor liberated, nor migrating' (lxii.), as is the rest of man's nature, physical and mental. Emancipation consists in having discerned the 'subtle difference between this [dual] nature (*pradhāna*) and the soul' (xxxvii.). 'By knowledge is liberation (*jñānena chā'pavargo*), by the opposite is bondage' (xliv.). With this knowledge the work of good and evil is done; the union of soul and organism may 'go on like the potter's wheel revolving from the effect [of his impact]' (lxvii.) after the finished pot is removed, but, when nature thereupon ceases to act, the soul obtains absoluteness (*kaivalyam āpnoti*) (lxviii.).

LITERATURE.—Works quoted from: *The Upanishads*, tr. Max Müller, *SBE* i. [1879], xv. [1884]; P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig, 1897; P. Regnaud, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la philosophie de l'Inde*, Paris, 1876–79 (translates many selections, giving the original as well); P. Deussen, *Vier philosophische Texte des Mahâbhâratam*, Leipzig, 1906, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, i. pt. 3, iv. 6, do. 1908; *Vinaya Texts*, tr. T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, 3 vols., *SBE* xiii., xvii., xx. [1881–85]; *Questions of King Milinda*, tr. T. W. Rhys Davids, *SBE* xxxv.–xxxvi. [1890–94]; the four *Nikāyas, Dhammapada, Sutta-Nipāta*, and other Pāli works: publications of the PTS, London, 1882 f. (the two last tr. Max Müller and V. Fausböll, *SBE* x.^{3} [1898]); *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, 2 vols., and *Points of Controversy (Kathāvatthu), PTS; Dialogues of the Buddha*, tr. of *Dīgha Nikāya*, i. (in *SBB*, ii., iii.). The blend of theism and 'ātmanism' handed down from the stage of Vedāntist thought indicated in the *Maitrāyaṇa* and *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣads*, and developed in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, may be studied in P. Narasimha's description of *mukti* in 'The Vedântic Good,' *Mind*, Jan. 1915. Another interesting account of *mokṣa*, with a criticism on P. Deussen's treatment of the place of moral considerations in the doctrine, is by Dvijadas Datta, 'Moksha, or the Vedântic Release,' *JRAS* xx. pt. 4 [1887–88], p. 513.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

MOLINISM.—There is no problem in theology more difficult than that which has reference to the knowledge and causality of God, on the one hand, and the liberty and eternal destiny of human beings, on the other. The problem includes three difficulties: (1) How is it possible to reconcile God's foreknowledge with the freedom of the human will? (2) If the entire physical reality of our free acts proceeds from God as the First Cause, how is it possible for our will to be a free cause, or for evil actions to be imputed to us? (3) Given the sincere will of God to save all men, how account for the terrible fact that many die without the light of faith and never attain to eternal salvation?

The endeavours of theologians to throw light on these difficulties have brought forth two systems: Thomism and Molinism. The doctrine of the Thomists, which is the old traditional doctrine of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas (*qq.v.*), was attacked by Molina at the close of the 16th cent.; since then an unending controversy has raged in Roman Catholic schools of theology.

I. *HISTORY OF THE CONTROVERSY.*—In the 13th cent. St. Thomas Aquinas, a Dominican, synthesized the sum of human knowledge with regard to God as the First Cause and Final End of all things in a work called the *Summa Theologica*. Herein is contained all that the human mind, aided by revelation, can know concerning God's providence, universal causality, grace, etc. So great became the renown of St. Thomas for the solidity and sublimity of his doctrine that at the Council of Trent the *Summa Theologica*, alone of all theological treatises, was thought fit to be used in consultation with the sacred Scriptures. The Order of St. Dominic is sworn to love and defend the doctrines of St. Thomas as by hereditary right; and it is their loyalty to these doctrines that has earned them the well-merited name of Thomists.

At the close of the 16th cent. the Jesuit Luis de Molina (1535–1600) published a new doctrine on predestination, grace, free will, etc. The basis of the whole system is the so-called *scientia media*, a theory borrowed by Molina from his master, Pedro da Fonseca, who, knowing it to be entirely new and against the traditional doctrine, had not dared to publish it. Molina's book was published at Lisbon in 1588 and is entitled: *Concordia liberi arbitrii cum gratiæ donis, divina præscientia, providentia, prædestinatione et reprobatione.* Had this theory been known, says Molina, Pelagianism would never have existed, Luther would not have denied free will, and Semi-Pelagianism would easily have been stamped out. Molina further adds that St. Augustine and the other Fathers would have unanimously approved of this theory of predestination and this manner of conciliating free will with the foreknowledge and providence of God, if it had been propounded to them (*Concordia*, ed. Paris, 1876, p. 548). This new doctrine, however, did not arrest the teachings of Michael Baius, nor did it prevent the rise of Jansenism (*q.v.*), but was itself the cause of an unending and bitter controversy which has lasted for centuries between Thomists and Molinists. The above assertions of Molina aroused the indignation of the followers of St. Augustine and St. Thomas. Dominic Bañes vigorously attacked the new theory, and so great was the dissension caused by the ensuing controversy that in 1594 the matter came before Pope Clement VIII., who, in 1598, instituted a special board of inquiry, known as the 'Congregatio de Auxiliis.' There were, in all, 181 assemblies of this congregation, which debated the doctrines under discussion. Three condemnations in succession were drawn up by the consultors against Molina. On 13th March 1598 they declared that the *Concordia* and the doctrine of Molina must be unreservedly condemned. On 19th Dec. 1601 they condemned 20 propositions taken from the *Concordia*. At the assembly of the Cardinals (8th March 1606) it was decided to give orders to the consultors to draw up a bull for the condemnation of 42 propositions taken from the *Concordia*. The bull was actually prepared for publication, but on 28th Aug. 1607 Paul V. held a congregation of cardinals in which it was decided to postpone the condemnation. The result of the 'Congregatio de Auxiliis' was, then, a moral defeat for Molinism. So forcibly was this brought home to Acquaviva (the General of the Jesuits) and his counsellors that the Congruism of F. Suarez was substituted for Molinism and imposed upon the Society by Acquaviva by his decree of 14th Dec. 1613. For more than 200 years Congruism (see below, p. 776^{b}) was taught by the Jesuits in obedience to the decree of Acquaviva, but pure Molinism has now been revived by some Jesuit theologians.

In this matter an important point to be noted is the declaration of Paul V. that both Molinism and Thomism agree in *substance* with Catholic truth, but differ only as regards the *mode* of explaining the efficacy of grace, *both of which opinions may be held.* Innocent XII., in reply to the University of Louvain (7th Feb. 1694), and Benedict XIII., in a brief (*Demissas preces*, 6th Nov. 1724), vindicated the Thomistic doctrine of the efficacy of grace *ab intrinseco* and the gratuity of predestination. Lest, however, the words uttered by Benedict XIII. should be understood to minimize the doctrines of Molinism, Clement XII. said (2nd Oct. 1733):

> 'We do not wish the eulogies (which we iterate, approve, and confirm) of our predecessors (Clement XI. and Benedict XIII.) in praise of the Thomistic school to detract in any way from the authority of other Catholic schools' (*Bullarium Ord. Præd.* viii. 291).

Since the encyclical *Æterni Patris* of Leo XIII. (4th Aug. 1879), Roman Catholic schools of theology have done their utmost to claim as their own not only the doctrine, but the very name of St. Thomas Aquinas. In spite of the remonstrances of Thomists, Molinists have endeavoured to drag St. Thomas to their side, and even to impose on St. Thomas the theory of *scientia media*, which, before Molina, was not even dreamed of ('ne per somnium quidem'), as C. Tiphanus, himself a Jesuit, declares.[1] The first crossing of swords took place between R. P. Beaudoin and C. Mazzella. Not long after, G. Schneemann published a work in 1881, in refutation of which A. M. Dummermuth published a work at Paris in 1886, which contains a complete demonstration of the mind of St. Thomas. In 1893 V. Frins essayed a reply, and in refutation of this Dummermuth published another work in

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[1] *De ordine deque priori et posteriori*, 24

1895. Since then there have been many minor publications, chiefly in theological and philosophical *Reviews*.

II. *ESSENCE OF MOLINISM*.—**1. Natural order.** —(1) *God's foreknowledge and free will.*—The knowledge of God, considered in itself, is one and indivisible; considered with reference to objects which are the term of His knowledge, it is divided according to the diversity of objects into speculative and practical, into necessary and free, etc. The division which concerns us now is that into the knowledge of vision (*scientia visionis*) and the knowledge of simple understanding (*scientia simplicis intelligentiæ*). The former has reference to things which have existed, exist, or will exist; the latter has reference to the purely possible, *i.e.* to objects which have not existed, do not, and will not exist (cf. *Summa Theol.* I. qu. 14, art. 9). Now, if this division is adequate, God must know a future free act by the 'knowledge of vision.' But, according to St. Thomas (I. qu. 14, art. 8, and art. 9 ad tertium), this knowledge necessarily implies an act of God's will or a divine decree. Hence a future free act is known by God by virtue of, in fact *in*, His decree, and therefore no future free act can exist unless God decrees its existence. This is the doctrine of the Thomists.

For Molina this is subversive of the freedom of the human will. Hence, he says, a means must be found whereby God knows a future free act before, and independently of, the divine decree. Now there is a third kind of object, continues Molina, which neither is purely possible nor yet belongs to the category of those objects which, in some difference of time, have actual existence. There is the future event which would exist if certain conditions were realized, which, however, will *not* be realized. Under this head are to be classed all those free acts which, though never destined actually to exist, would exist if certain conditions were fulfilled. These are called conditioned future events (*futura conditionata*, or *futurabilia*); and God knows these by the *scientia media*, a knowledge which is midway, as it were, between that of vision and that of simple understanding. Although a future conditioned event is that which will never come to existence, because the condition on which it depends will never be fulfilled, the *scientia media*, as such, abstracts from the realization or non-realization of such a condition; hence, by the *scientia media*, God explores and knows, with infallible certainty, what the human free will will infallibly do by its own innate liberty (consent or dissent, do this act or that, etc.) if it be placed in such or such circumstances. God, if He wishes, *e.g.*, Peter to consent, to do this act, etc., decrees to put Peter in these or those circumstances, and decrees conditionally to grant His help or concurrence for the particular action determined upon by Peter's free will (see below, 'simultaneous concourse'). In this decree, which follows the foreknowledge of the future free act, Molinists say God knows the absolute future consent without prejudice to the free will; but the certitude of His knowledge is due, not to the intrinsic efficacy of the decree, but to the *scientia media*, which sees the consent before the decree.

The unanimity among Molinists is mainly negative, namely, that God does not know future free acts in any absolute, actual decree of His will; but, as regards the medium in which God sees a future free act, *quot homines, tot sententiæ.*

(*a*) Molina and, after him, R. Bellarmine, M. Becanus, etc., teach that God knows the future free act in the super-comprehension of the free will; *i.e.*, God's knowledge penetrates into the innermost recesses of the will and sees there what it will infallibly do in such and such circumstances. This is the direct denial of free will, for the certain knowledge of an effect in its cause is the knowledge of a necessary effect. (*b*) Therefore Suarez taught that God knows the future free act in His decree foreseen as future. But it is impossible even to conceive of a future decree in God: the divine decrees are eternal, and are therefore neither past nor future. Unable to answer this, Suarez had recourse to another medium: (*c*) God knows future acts in their truth, which is either formal or objective. The reality of the future free act is the objective truth; the proposition expressing that reality is the formal truth. Some Molinists (G. Vasquez, M. Liberatori, H. Kilber, D. Palmieri, etc.) hold to the formal truth, asserting that of two contradictory propositions expressing a future contingent event one is determinately true, the other determinately false from all eternity, and this independently of God's will; but God knows all truth; therefore . . . This medium is rejected, not only by all Thomists, but by many Molinists, by Billot, G. Lahousse, etc. Others (F. Suarez, J. B. Franzelin, Mazzella, etc.) hold to the objective truth, since the truth of a proposition expressing the future depends on the objective truth of a future event. This medium is rejected by other Molinists—by Lahousse, who says that God sees future free acts, not in their truth, as such, but in their reality (*in ipsismet*). Billot, among others, refutes this. Others—J. Kleutgen, P. Carnoldi, T. de Régnon—failing to find a medium which does not involve absurdities, admit the *scientia media*, but acknowledge their ignorance as to its process of operation. Hence, the *scientia media*, invented to explain a difficulty, is the greatest difficulty of all.

(2) *God's causality and free will.*—God is the First Cause; therefore no being or mode of being can escape His causality. Thomists teach that in virtue of the divine decree the human will is physically, *i.e.* efficiently, predetermined by God to produce a free act. This divine influx precedes the action of the will by a priority of nature and causality, and applies the will to act (*i.e.*, makes the will pass from the state of not acting to the state of acting), thus rendering the will *in actu primo* capable of freely determining itself *in actu secundo*. The free will infallibly consents to that to which it is premoved; *i.e.*, the premotion is efficacious; yet the power to dissent remains with the will, for the premotion, divinely efficacious, effects that, although the will has the power to dissent, it infallibly consents and does not dissent. According to pure Molinism, the divine influx does not precede the action of the free will, but simultaneously co-operates with it, helping, as a partial cause, to produce the same action and the same effect. This divine action, called 'simultaneous concourse,' is, therefore, not received into the will, but is rather alongside of it, and is received immediately into the action and effect of the will. In order to safeguard the universal causality of God, it is said that, although God and the free will are partial causes of the free act, nevertheless the effect is wholly produced by God as the First Cause, and wholly by the will as the secondary cause. The simultaneous concourse is not efficacious, but is, of its very nature, indifferent, and is modified or determined by the free will, and hence can be used for volition or nolition, for this act or that act, indiscriminately, according to the determination of the free will. Other Molinists reject this simultaneous concourse, and admit a kind of premotion, *i.e.* a physical influx received into the faculty of the will previous to the determination (action) of the will. By this influx the will is moved and determined to general or universal good,

but of itself the influx is indifferent and inefficacious for this or that particular good : without any further influx from God, the will determines itself to act, not to act, to do this, or to do that.

Thomists are accused of making God the cause of sin by the physical premotion which is efficacious, but the difficulty of sin has to be solved by Molinists also. Physical premotion effects, it is true, that the will cannot but infallibly do that to which it is premoved, but no Thomist allows that God predetermines to sin *qua* sin (see THOMISM): the simultaneous concourse of the Molinists is a co-operation of God with the will, not indeed to produce the sinful action as sinful, but to produce the physical reality of the action. It is a lesser evil to co-operate than to make another commit a sin ; Molinists have chosen a lesser evil, but have not solved the difficulty.

Against the two theories of Molinism with regard to the divine influx Thomists object that neither safeguards the universal causality of God. The self-determination of the will is not nothing; it is a reality, which, therefore, cannot escape God's causality. To argue, as does a recent Molinist (Lahousse, *Theol. Nat.*, Louvain, 1888, cap. 9, art. 3, no. 502), that there seems no reason why this quality (*i.e.* the determination of the will whereby it makes itself pass from the state of not willing to the state of willing) cannot be efficiently produced by a created being is not only to beg the question, but manifestly to deny, in very words, God's universal causality.

2. Supernatural order.—(1) *Grace and free will.*—Against Pelagians both Thomists and Molinists defend the necessity of grace for the production of a salutary act. Against Semi-Pelagianism both defend the necessity for the very beginnings of faith, and for the desire to do a salutary work. Both teach the absolute gratuity of actual grace, even for the very beginnings (*prima gratia vocans*) of justification. Against Calvin, Luther, and Jansen both teach that sufficient grace is given to all without exception, and that, under the influence of efficacious grace, the freedom of the will remains intact. The first point of difference between Thomism and Molinism concerns the nature of sufficient and efficacious grace, which both agree to be a division of actual grace. For the Thomist efficacious grace is entitatively, *i.e.* intrinsically (*ab intrinseco*), different from sufficient grace. Sufficient grace gives the proximate power of producing a salutary act ; it raises the will to a supernatural level, and constitutes it *in actu primo* capable of performing a salutary act ; but in order to produce that act *de facto* an efficacious grace (which is a physical premotion in the supernatural order) is necessary. Hence sufficient grace in Thomism gives the *posse*, efficacious grace the *agere* (see THOMISM). For the Molinist the same grace can be sufficient or efficacious ; it remains sufficient if the will resists ; it becomes efficacious if the will consents. Grace, therefore, is efficacious, not intrinsically or of its very nature, but extrinsically, by the consent of the will (*gratia efficax ab extrinseco*). In the natural order, as said above, the divine indifferent concourse is not received into the will, nor does it precede the action of the will, but in the supernatural order it precedes (owing to which it is called *gratia præveniens*) the action of the will, and is received into it, thus elevating and making the will the principle *in actu primo* of the salutary act (this saves Molinism from Semi-Pelagianism). Prevenient grace is a physical reality produced by God in the soul moving it (owing to which it is called *gratia excitans*) morally (not physically, *i.e.* efficiently) to consent; it co-operates (owing to which it is called *gratia co-operans*) with the will to elicit a salutary act ; but the consent does not follow infallibly, because this grace is not of its very nature, or intrinsically, efficacious (cf. Molina, *Concordia*, qu. 14, art. 13, disp. 41). According to this doctrine, one and the same grace can be merely sufficient for one individual and efficacious for another ; further, a lesser grace can be efficacious for one person, while a greater grace can remain merely sufficient for another. Nevertheless, an efficacious grace is a greater boon than a grace merely sufficient. Thus, God from all eternity foresaw (by the *scientia media*) that, if He gave grace A to Peter, he would consent, but, if He gave grace B, Peter would not consent. When, therefore, God gives to Peter grace A, which He foresees will be efficacious, that grace is a greater gift than grace B, which He foresees would be merely sufficient (Molina, L. Lessius, Mazzella, H. Hurter, Palmieri, P. Tepe, etc.).

Bellarmine, Suarez, Vasquez, etc., modified this doctrine, and held what is called Congruism. In this form of Molinism sufficient grace is not indeed intrinsically different from efficacious grace, but differs only as regards the manner in which it affects the will. Efficacious grace (called *gratia congrua*) is that which is so accommodated to man's temperament and to the circumstances of time and place that the will infallibly, but freely, consents ; sufficient grace (*gratia incongrua*) is that which is not so perfectly adapted to a man's character and to the circumstances of time and place, etc., and hence the will *de facto* resists. If, therefore, God wishes Peter to consent to grace, He decrees to give him congruous grace—*i.e.* a grace perfectly adapted to Peter's character—to put him in the most fitting circumstances, etc.

(2) *Predestination.* — According to the two theories of grace in the Molinist system, there are two theories of predestination : predestination due to foreseen merits (*post prævisa merita*) and gratuitous predestination (*ante prævisa merita*).

(*a*) *Predestination due to foreseen merits.*—God truly and sincerely wishes all to be saved (the salvific will of God) ; to all he gives sufficient grace. Foreseeing, by the *scientia media*, who will consent to grace and persevere in it, God predestines them to glory. In this opinion predestination to glory presupposes the good use of grace and is therefore not gratuitous (Lessius, Vasquez, Becanus, Franzelin, H. Tournely, etc.). As is evident, this theory entails all the insoluble difficulties of the *scientia media*. Moreover, all that man has he receives from God, according to St. Paul (Ro 11[35f.] 'Who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again ? For of him, and through him, and unto him, are all things'; cf. 1 Co 4[7] 'What hast thou that thou didst not receive ? but if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it ?'). Now Pelagians, Semi-Pelagians, and Molinists deny the gratuity of predestination, for no other reason than because they presuppose something on man's part which is the reason why God predestines some to glory and not others. The Pelagians presuppose good works, the Semi-Pelagians the beginning of good works, and Molinists the good use of grace. But, if all these things are from God, He cannot look for or await them in order to predestine some and not others ; on the contrary, He gives even the good use of grace to some because he pre-elected them to glory. In accordance, then, with the teaching of St. Paul, with the doctrine of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, Thomists, and some Molinists of high repute, teach the absolute gratuity of predestination, *i.e.* irrespective of foreseen merits.

(*b*) *Gratuitous predestination.*—God wishes all to be saved ; to all He gives sufficient grace. By a special act of love and mercy He elects some to glory in preference to others, without any other reason than that of His own divine will. To the chosen He gives graces by which they will infallibly reach heaven (Suarez, Bellarmine, J. de Lugo, Billot, etc., and all Thomists, after St. Augustine and St. Thomas). On this point there is practically no difference between Thomists and this group of Molinists; the difference between them has reference to another question treated above, namely, the origin of the efficacy of grace. Some Congruists teach that God gratuitously elects certain ones, not to glory, but to congruous grace, to which they will infallibly consent, and in which they will persevere. Foreseeing this consent by the *scientia media*, God predestines them to glory. Against the latter opinion Thomists object, in particular, that God is made to act in a manner that implies the denial of an axiom received as true not only by all schools of philosophy but by common sense. In the order of actual realization the means must necessarily precede the end; but in the order of intention the end must precede the means, for it is impossible to choose and adapt means to an end without a preconception of the end. Now, since God must act as an intellectual being, He must (according to this axiom) first of all conceive the end, then choose the means for obtaining that end. But grace, good use of grace, merit, are the means, and glory is the end. Therefore He must first predestine to glory before He predestines to congruous grace. In the Congruist theory He does exactly the opposite. To this simple and irrefragable argument no Congruist has ever essayed a reply that is not suicidal. Molina also teaches the gratuity of predestination (*Concordia*, qu. 22, art. 4, 5, disp. 1, membr. xi.), but his explanation is very different from that of the majority of those who follow him. In eternity God knows all possible universes, infinite in number; in each universe or order there is a series of free acts, all of which God knows by the *scientia media* independently of any act of His will. In each of these possible orders certain people are predestined, not, indeed, through the efficacy of a divine decree (which as yet has not intervened), but through grace made efficacious by the consent of the human will, in which the will perseveres unto the end. The omniscient God knows all this by the *scientia media*. By His own free will, without any regard whatsoever to foreseen merits, He gratuitously decrees to bring one of these orders to existence. The difference between Molina and Suarez on this point comes to this, that the former teaches predestination to glory before a prevision of absolute future merits, but after the prevision of conditioned future merits, whereas the latter teaches predestination to glory before prevision of future merits, whether absolute or conditioned. Molina explains his own theory in a manner more subtle and more profound than any of his followers. But, apart from the insuperable difficulty of the *scientia media*, there are difficulties in this explanation which absolutely destroy free will. We deny absolutely that a free act can be connected with any one order; it is the denial in very words of the freedom of the act. It is absolutely false that a free act is connected with any circumstances whatever, in the sense that, given the circumstances, a particular free act must follow. All those possible universes are contradictions, and have therefore no reality or conceivability; God, therefore, could not conceive them.

(3) *Reprobation.*—It is a defined doctrine of Catholic faith that no one is destined by God to eternal damnation except after a prevision of demerits; this is called 'positive reprobation.' In the theory of gratuitous predestination, by the very fact that God gratuitously elects some and not others, those not chosen will infallibly not be saved; hence a reprobation of some sort is concomitant with the predestination of some to glory; this is called 'negative reprobation.' The difficulty is to conciliate negative reprobation with the universal salvific will of God. Suarez and his followers say it is a 'positive act of nolition to elect'; some Thomists (as J. B. Gonet, V. Contenson, etc.) that it is a 'direct exclusion from glory'; others (as A. Goudin, C. R. Billuart, etc.) that it is the 'omission of an effectual election' to heaven. It is, however, very difficult to safeguard the salvific will of God if negative reprobation be a positive act on God's part. Why not say, therefore, that it is the entire absence of any act of the divine will, whether of volition or nolition? It is the mere absence of the act of assumption.

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ÆLRED WHITACRE.

MOMENTARY GODS.—'Momentary gods' (*Augenblicksgötter*) is an expression coined by H. Usener (*Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 279), and one whose credentials are open to question. It must certainly be admitted that the phenomena which Usener brings under the term are of very diverse kinds. It is true, of course, that human beings whose minds are dominated by fetishistic and animistic ideas may, under the influence of a momentary impression, ascribe to objects or occurrences a divine or dæmonic character; but the question is whether it is worth while to differentiate such procedure from the general mass of fetishistic and animistic phenomena by the use of a special term. Thus we frequently meet with the practice of worshipping the lance or other weapon (L. Deubner, *ARW* viii. [1905], Beiheft, p. 71), such being often invoked to witness an oath (Æsch. *Sept.* 529; schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 57); but these facts in reality furnish reasons for doubting whether the weapon was only then deified, and suggest rather that it was thought of as permanently possessed of divine qualities. Thus, too, while Vergil makes Mezentius say: 'dextra mihi deus et telum quod missile libro,'[1] and is imitated in this artifice by later epic authors (Silius Ital. v. 118, vi. 137; Statius, *Theb.* iii. 615, ix. 548), such poetic fancies throw no light whatever upon primitive religious feeling. The lightning-flash smiting down upon the earth is regarded everywhere with a religious dread, and Greeks and Romans alike avoided all contact with the spot where it had struck, this being for the former a consecrated place (ἠλύσιον, ἐνηλύσιον), and for the latter a *bidental*, which is explained by the phrase 'fulgur conditum.'[1] Thus the lightning-flash actually came to be regarded as a divine being: some of the Diadochi adopted the name Keraunos; in Seleucia Seleucus Nicator instituted a cult of the κεραυνός (Appian, *de Rebus Syr.* 58), the existence of which is attested by numerous coins; and there is an Orphic hymn dedicated to this deity. Keraunos is often represented as subordinate to Zeus, who in this capacity is called Keraunios, Kataibates, and Kappotas, just as Juppiter Fulgur is designated Fulgurator and Fulminator (Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, iv. Leipzig, 1913, p. 471). The natural phenomenon here involved is, of course, one of relatively rare occurrence, and but seldom arrests special attention by leaving visible traces of its action, but the worship of lightning, in its essential features, cannot be separated from that of winds and meteoric stones. Quite a different case, again, is presented by the worship of the last sheaf, or of the harvest-wreath (Gr. εἰρεσιώνη), and by other practices which have been explained by W. Mannhardt;[2] the harvest-wreath, which was wound round with white and red woollen threads, and for the year remained hanging at the door as an amulet for the house, is unmistakably a fetish, *i.e.* a sacred object fashioned and consecrated by human beings (R. M. Meyer, *ARW* xi. [1908] 320); in the last sheaf, however, and things of similar formation, is concealed the corn-spirit which, according to animistic ideas, renews the life of the corn, but, while it is only at harvest-time that the spirit becomes in a manner manifest to sight, it is in reality always present, and is therefore not a 'momentary god' in the proper sense. Usener likewise adduces the conceptions of the δαίμων and the *genius* of the individual. It is very difficult to come to a definite conclusion regarding the ultimate origin of these conceptions; they have undoubtedly been influenced in part by ideas of the soul, and, in the case of the δαίμων, by the notion of 'possession' (J. Tambornino, *De antiquorum dæmonismo*, Giessen, 1909), while the snake-form of the *genius* seems to point in quite a different direction (W. F. Otto, in Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 1155 ff.). In any case, the present writer can see no rational grounds for bringing δαίμωὶν and *genius* under the category of 'momentary gods.'

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[1] *Æn.* x. 773.

While, however, the conception of 'momentary gods' is thus in part a rather indeterminate one, and in part of limited significance, the introduction of the term 'special gods' (Germ. *Sondergötter*) has proved to be of real advantage. This term, too, we owe to Usener, who framed it on the suggestion of E. Lehmann in connexion with Varro's *di certi*; like the latter, the special gods are deities with a clearly defined sphere of action, and thus closely allied to the momentary gods. Usener has shown that in the development of religion—so far, at least, as Greece was concerned—they are anterior to the great deities, and this result might, no doubt, be very widely generalized. Unmistakable examples are found in Greek heroes like Euodos (G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Græca*, Berlin, 1873, no. 825), Myiagros (Paus. VIII. xxvi. 7), Teichophylax (Hesych. *s.v.*), or Horophylax (*JHS* viii. [1887] 236), who never had more than a local significance and a narrow sphere of action. Other beings of this type were absorbed by the great Olympian (*i.e.* Homeric) deities; thus Kourotrophos (also in plur., *Ephem. Arch.*, 1899, p. 143) was originally an independent deity who at length became a mere epithet of Ge, Artemis, Demeter, etc., and Zeus Erechtheus, Athene Hygieia, etc., are to be interpreted in the same way. We may even venture to say that the displacement of these special deities by the Olympians was one of the most important processes in the development of Greek religion within historical times.[1] Among the Romans such special deities are found more especially in the Indigitamenta (*q.v.*), in which every particular operation—*e.g.*, in agriculture—was assigned a distinct tutelary spirit—Vervactor, Redarator, Imporcitor, Insitor, Obarator, Occator, Sarritor, Subruncinator, Messor, Convector, Conditor, Promitor. It is said, indeed, that even the *lupanaria*, *culinæ*, and *carceres* had each their special deity (Tertull. *ad. Nat.* ii. 15).[2] From this, however, we derive but scanty information as to the earlier state of things which had been disturbed by the incursion of the Greek religion; even in Varro's lists of these gods we already find many names of extraneous origin, and we are quite unable to say what degree of importance attached to the individual deities.

Very valuable data are furnished by the accounts of the Lithuanian special gods, as critically discussed by Usener (*Götternamen*, p. 79; cf. Deubner, *ARW* ix. [1906] 284; O. Schrader, *ERE* ii. 31 f.); here we find Austheia, the goddess of bees, Babilos, the honey-god, Budintaia, the goddess who arouses from sleep, Kiauliukruke and Kremata, the swine-gods, Meletele, the goddess of the colour blue, Raugupatis, who causes the fermentation of beer, and Wejopatis, the lord of the wind. Kindred figures are found among the Letts.

As regards the existence of such special deities in other religions—with the exception, however, of the heathenism that was not wholly submerged by the Roman Catholic Church (see below)—our knowledge is at fault, partly from lack of materials and partly from lack of research. We may unhesitatingly take for granted, however, that, *e.g.*, the pantheons of the Vedas and the Avesta[3] correspond with that of Homer in presenting various types of deities, and that the place of the great gods who hold sway in these literary monuments was, among the people, *i.e.* in the living religion, taken by a multitude of less imposing beings, of whom, it is true, our knowledge is most imperfect. The Phœnician religion provides an instructive example; here it was not, strictly speaking, a single self-identical Baal to whom divine honours were paid; on the contrary, each several tribe and city had its own special Baal, and worshipped him as a tribal or tutelary deity. The data which lie most readily to hand are found in countries where residual elements of heathen views still co-exist with or underlie the Roman Catholic religion in the practice of saint-worship, and have to some extent been countenanced by the Church (D. H. Kerler, *Die Patronate der Heiligen*, Ulm, 1905). Thus, *e.g.*, among the Zamaites of Prussia, St. Agatha took care of the household fire and St. Nicholas was the guardian of boatmen, St. Apollonia cured toothache and St. Laurentius rheumatic pains, St. Crispin was the patron of shoemakers and St. Goar of potters.[4] In the Vosges St. Abdon is believed to drive away fleas, St. Catherine to secure husbands for maidens, St. Sabina to allay the pangs of love, and so on. A number of these tutelary offices of saints are universally recognized by the Roman Catholic Church, and are entered in the *Diario Romano*, in which we are told, for instance, that St. Blasius cures sore throat and St. Liberius pains due to calculus, and that St. Martha protects from epidemics. Almost every district has its own particular patron saint, and in many cases clings to him with marked tenacity.

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[1] Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 5.13: 'hoc modo [*i.e.* fulmine] contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere fulgurales pronuntiant libri.'

[2] *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1877.

[1] Cf., however, the criticism by L. R. Farnell, 'The Place of the "Sonder-Götter" in Greek Polytheism,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to . . . Tylor*, Oxford, 1907, pp. 81–100.

[2] The necessary corrections of Usener's statements in this connexion will be found in G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur röm. Rel.- und Stadtgesch.*, Munich, 1904, p. 304, and W. F. Otto, *Rhein. Mus.* lxiv. [1909] 449, 468.

[3] On Iranian 'special gods' cf. the remarks of J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, pp. 69–71, 105, 150. A notable instance is Verethraghna, 'Victory.'

[4] On the saints who exercised an official function Deubner, *De Incubatione*, Leipzig, 1900, is well worth consulting.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article.

W. KROLL.

MONADISM.—See LEIBNIZ.

MONARCHIANISM.—Monarchianism is a term generally used to designate the views of those heretics who, to safeguard the Divine unity (*monarchia*), so refined away the distinction of the Divine Persons as to destroy the Trinity. Hippolytus has left us a summary account of their origin. A certain Noetus, so he tells us, was the protagonist of these ideas; they were upheld by his disciple, Epigonus, and further propagated by the latter's disciple, Cleomenes.[1] From Epiphanius we gather that Noetus must have died shortly before A.D. 250.[2] But Hippolytus, who appears to have been martyred about A.D. 240, and who composed his *Philosophumena* between the years 230 and 235,[3] says in his *Tractate against Noetus*, i., that he 'died not very long since.'[4] And this seems more probable; for Cleomenes, the disciple of Noetus's disciple Epigonus, according to the *Philosophumena*,[5] caused much trouble during the pontificates of Zephyrinus and Callistus, viz. 198–222.[6]

Hippolytus endeavours to show that Noetus's views were in reality only those of the philosopher Heraclitus the Obscure, who held that 'the Father is an unbegotten creature who is creator.'[7]

> Noetus and his disciples hold, says Hippolytus, these Heraclitean tenets, for they say 'that one and the same God is the Creator and Father of all things; and that when it pleased Him, He appeared.'[8] And again: 'When the Father had not been born, He [yet] was justly styled Father; and when it pleased Him to undergo generation, having been begotten, He Himself became His own Son, not another's.' 'In this manner,' adds Hippolytus, 'he thinks to establish the sovereignty [of God], alleging that Father and Son, [so] called, are one and the same [substance], not one individual produced from a different one, but Himself from Himself; and that He is styled by name Father and Son, according to vicissitude of times.'[9]

Hippolytus, as we have seen, says that Noetus set forth his views as a means of upholding the Divine sovereignty, but, as a fact, the term *monarchia* (*μοναρχία*) was ambiguous and could be used as the watchword of both parties. Thus Eusebius tells us[10] that St. Irenæus wrote a work, *de Monarchia*, against those who held that God was the author of evil. Similarly Justin Martyr has left a treatise, *de Monarchia*, to prove that God is the sole governor against paganism;[11] see also Athenagoras, *Legatio* viii.[12] But, as was only natural, the Apologists previous to the Council of Nicæa were faced with the grave difficulty that, while combating polytheism, they had to maintain the divinity of Christ without impairing the Divine unity. And it must be acknowledged that, in insisting upon the divinity of Christ, they often, through lack of precision in their choice of terms, laid themselves open to the charge of ditheism. Thus Hippolytus says that Callistus reproached the opponents of Noetianism with being ditheists;[1] and Pope Dionysius felt himself compelled to point out that in opposing Sabellius many 'divide and cut to pieces and destroy that most sacred doctrine of the Church of God, the Divine monarchy, making it as it were three powers and partitive subsistences and godheads three.'[2] An example of this unintentional vagueness may be found in Justin, *Dial.* cxxix., and, what is even more remarkable, in those who most strenuously resisted the Noetians and their successors, the Sabellians. Thus Novatian, while insisting on the divinity of Christ and urging the precision with which Christ Himself says 'I and the Father are one' (*ἕν*, 'one,' that is, in the neuter, and consequently not in person, but in substance or nature), yet offers no explanation of how this can be. The retort was obvious: Then you hold that there are *two* Gods![3] Even Tertullian, in spite of his lawyer-like precision of terms and his undoubted orthodoxy on this point—even in his Montanist days—has some most misleading expressions which the post-Nicene writers would have avoided at all costs.[4] Yet these things are inevitable, and it is by such discussions, with occasional lapses from exactitude on either side, that the Church can come to a full knowledge of the deposit of truth.[5]

A remarkable exception to this prevailing vagueness is furnished by Athenagoras, who, in his *Legatio*, says:

> 'The Son of God is the Logos of the Father, in idea and in operation; for after the pattern of Him and by Him were all things made, the Father and the Son being one. And, the Son being in the Father and the Father in the Son, in oneness and power of spirit, the understanding and reason (*νοῦς καὶ λόγος*) of the Father is the Son of God. But if, in your surpassing intelligence, it occurs to you to inquire what is meant by the Son, I will state briefly that He is the first product of the Father, not as having been brought into existence (for from the beginning, God, who is the eternal mind [*νοῦς*], had the Logos in Himself, being from eternity instinct with Logos [*λογικός*]); but inasmuch as He came forth to be the idea and energizing power of all material things.'[6]

Nor is it surprising that these so-called Monarchians should have had a strong following. God is One. For this monotheism the prophets had fought and prevailed. But, if God is One, then, though there may be diversity of actions *ad extra*, there can be no such diversity of action *ad intra* as shall imply distinction of Persons. But Christ is God, and Christ suffered upon the Cross. Therefore the Father suffered![1] The conclusion seemed compelling; but the Noetians and Sabellians shrank from it and endeavoured to explain that this suffering of the Father was in some sense not really His.[2] Theirs was a strong position. They seemed to be the advocates of orthodoxy against the orthodox themselves. It was in vain that the latter rejoined: Then, according to your argument, it is the Father who sits at His own right hand! For, while the NT as a whole clearly taught the divinity of the Son and the distinction of Persons, yet there were certain texts which, while maintaining the former, seemed expressly to deny the latter. Thus Praxeas insisted on 'I and the Father are one' (Jn 10^{30}); this it was easy to explain in a monotheistic sense, as Tertullian does.[3] But it was not so easy to explain 'He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and I am in the Father, and the Father in me' (Jn $14^{9f.}$). Tertullian treats this passage at considerable length,[4] but it can hardly be said that his answer precludes the retort: Then there are *two* Gods!

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[1] *Phil.* ix. 2.

[2] *Hær.* lvii. 1 (*PG* xli. 994 f.).

[3] See A. C. McGiffert's 'Eusebius' (*Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, i. [1890]), note on *HE* VI. xxii. 1.

[4] Hippolytus, *Fragments* (from A. Gallandus), in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ix. [1883] pt. ii., p. 51.

[5] IX. ii., vi. f.

[6] Zephyrinus was pope, A.D. 198–217; Callistus reigned only five years, 217–222; cf. *HE* V. xxviii. 8 and VI. xxi. 1, with McGiffert's notes.

[7] *Phil.* ix. 4.

[8] *Ib.* ix. 5.

[9] *Ib.*

[10] *HE* v. xx. 1.

[11] Περὶ Θεοῦ Μοναρχίας, tr. in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ii. [1892] 329 ff. (*PG* vi. 311), but probably not the work referred to by Eusebius, *HE* IV. xviii. 4; and note Origen, *Com. in Ep. ad Titum* (*PG* xiv. 1304): 'philarchiae morbo languentes dogmata statuerint.'

[12] Athenagoras, Πρεσβεία (*PG* vi. 903; *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ii. 375 ff.).

[1] *Phil.* ix. 7. Much capital has been made out of Hippolytus's violent attacks on the orthodoxy, and, indeed, on the personal character, of Popes Zephyrinus and Callistus. But Hippolytus himself says (*Phil.* ix. 7) that Callistus excommunicated Sabellius, though he maintains that Callistus did so out of fear of himself, Hippolytus. Perhaps the best commentary on Hippolytus's diatribes is furnished by the absolute silence of all other writers of the period.

[2] Quoted by Athanasius, *Epistle in Defence of the Nicene Definition*, 26 (*PG* xxv. 462); J. H. Newman, *Athanasius*, Oxford Library of the Fathers, 1842–44, i. 45; also *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, xviii. [1895], 'Tertullian,' iii. 385–387, a fragment of an epistle or treatise of Dionysius, bishop of Rome, against the Sabellians; cf. also Dionysius of Alexandria, *adv. Sabellium*, given in Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* viii. 19 (*PG* x. 1270); Mansi, *Concilia*, i. col. 1011.

[3] Novatian, *de Trin.* xi.–xviii., xxvii.

[4] Thus in *adv. Prax.* iii. (*PL* ii. 158) he speaks of the angels as being 'members of the Father's own substance,' and in iv. (*ib.* 159) of the *monarchia* as 'committed' by the Father to the Son.

[5] Cf. St. Augustine's remark apropos of the re-baptism controversy: 'Quomodo enim potuit ista res tantis altercationum nebulis involuta ad plenarii concilii luculentam illustrationem confirmationemque perduci, nisi primo diutius per orbis terrarum regiones multis hinc atque hinc disputationibus et collationibus episcoporum pertractata constaret? Hoc autem facit sanitas pacis, ut, cum diutius aliqua obscuriora quæruntur et, propter inveniendi difficultatem, diversas pariunt in fraterna disceptatione sententias, donec ad verum liquidum perveniatur, vinculum permaneat unitatis, ne in parte præcisa remaneat insanabile vulnus erroris' (*de Baptismo c. Donatistas*, II. iv. (5) [*PL* xliii. 129]; the whole passage is worth reading in this connexion).

[6] Athenagoras, Πρεσβεία, x. (*PG* vii. 907; *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ii. 385); cf. xxiv. (*PG* vii. 946).

It is only when we turn to such an analysis of these passages as is furnished by Athanasius (*e.g.*, on Jn 14^{10}, in *Orat.* iii. 23) and Augustine (*Tract.* xix. 13, xxi. 4, xxii. 14) that we realize the distinction between ante- and post-Nicene clearness of expression when handling the questions ventilated by the Noetians and their successors. St. Phœbadius († *c.* A.D. 393) puts the dilemma clearly:

> 'If we speak of one God in the singular, excluding the word "Second Person," we thereby approve that mad heresy which says that the Father Himself suffered. If, on the other hand, we admit of number combined with division, then we join hands with the Arians who hold that God was made from God, and who say that He fashioned a new substance out of nothing. We must, then, hold to the rule which confesses that the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father, to the rule which while preserving the oneness of substance acknowledges an economy (*dispositionem*) in the Divinity.'[5]

Both sides, then, claimed to be the sole upholders of a true conception of the Divine monarchy:

> 'Marcellus and Photinus,' says Athanasius, 'negative Christ's existence before ages, and His Godhead and unending Kingdom, upon pretence of supporting the divine monarchy.'[6]

Tertullian states the case in his usual pithy manner:

> 'We, say they, maintain the monarchy. . . . Yes, but while the Latins take pains to pronounce *monarchia*, the Greeks refuse to understand *œconomia* . . . for, extolling the *monarchia* at the expense of the *œconomia*, they contend for the identity of Father, Son, and Spirit.'[7]

And then he puts his finger on the real difficulty which the Noetians had to face:

> 'Praxeas put to flight the Paraclete, and he crucified the Father!'[8]

Hence the opprobrious nickname for the so-called Monarchians—Patripassians,[9] *i.e.* 'those who made the Father suffer' in the person of the Son. Methodius († *c.* 312), commenting on Rev 12^{1-6}, likens those who have gone astray with regard to one of the Three Persons in the Trinity to the third part of the stars that fell:

> 'As when they say, like Sabellius, that the Almighty Person of the Father Himself suffered.'[1]

It is of interest to note how these heresies shaded off into one another. Thus Sabellius apparently denied that he was a Patripassian; but, in order to do so, he seems to have held that our Lord came into being only on His human birth.[2] The Arians, on the contrary, said 'before the ages,' thus agreeing, so it would seem, with the Patripassians. Again we note that, whereas Sabellius claimed to rank as a Monarchian, yet the Arian bishops, writing to Alexander, say:

> 'We do not do as did Sabellius who, *dividing the One*, speaks of a Son-Father.'[3]

Thus their ground of complaint against Sabellius was precisely that on which he plumed himself on not doing, viz. separating the Divine *monarchia*. Similarly Athanasius says:

> 'Sabellius supposed the Son to have no real subsistence, and the Holy Spirit to be non-existent; he charged his opponents with dividing the Godhead.'[4] And once more: 'Sabellius, dreading the division invented by Arius, fell into the error which destroys the Personal distinctions.'[5]

It must, however, be remembered that no one can at this date say what precisely were Sabellius's opinions, partly because of the inevitable fluctuations through which he passed, partly, and chiefly, because history is apt to confuse him with his disciples, as in the passage last quoted from Athanasius.[6]

How grievous were the ravages worked by these Monarchian views can be seen by the frequent condemnations of them in the shape of Sabellianism. Thus Pope Damasus condemned them in the Council held at Rome in 380 (or [?] 382):

> 'We anathematize those also who follow the error of Sabellius in saying that the Father is the same as the Son.'[7]

Similarly, in the ecumenical Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381) the first canon is directed against various shades of Arianism, and finally against the Sabellians, Marcellians, Photinians, and Apollinarists.[8] By the time of the provincial Council of Braga (561) we see how these Monarchian principles have verged into Priscillianism and are tainted with Manichæism.[9] The same comprehensive condemnation was repeated in the Lateran Council of 649 (can. xviii.).[10] Lastly, Eugenius IV. found it necessary to remind the Jacobites, in his decree dated 4th Feb. 1441, that the Church 'condemns Sabellius for confusing the Persons and for thus altogether doing away with the real distinction between them.'[11]

The subsequent ramifications of the Monarchian tenets do not concern us here. Suffice it to say that they spread very widely, though in forms which varied considerably from those originally set forth. Thus Eusebius mentions that Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, 'deserted the ecclesiastical standard,' *i.e.* the Rule of Faith, and asserted that Christ did not pre-exist in a distinct form of His own, neither did He possess a divinity of His own, but only that of the Father dwelling in Him.[12] This is clearly a derived form of Monarchianism. The most prominent, perhaps, among the later

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[1] Tert. *adv. Prax.* xxix. (*PL* ii. 194).

[2] *Philos.* ix. 5; cf. x. 23.

[3] *Adv. Prax.* xxii. (*PL* ii. 183).

[4] *Ib.* xxiv.; cf. Novat. *de Trin.* xxviii. (*PL* iii. 940–942).

[5] *Liber c. Arianos*, xxii. (*PL* xx. 29 f.); cf. also Zacchæus, *Consultationes*, ii. 15 (*ib.* 1135).

[6] Athanasius, *De Synodis*, 26 (vi.) (*PG* xxvi. 731); Newman, *Athanasius*, i. 114.

[7] *Adv. Prax.* iii. (*PL* ii. 158), and ix. (*ib.* 164). Tertullian's use of the term *œconomia* is unusual. In the NT it generally refers to the ministry of the Word of God (*e.g.*, 1 Co 9^{17}); also to the divine counsel as fulfilled in the Incarnation (Eph 1^{10}). And thus it is used by the Greek Fathers of the mystery of the Incarnation (cf. J. C. Suicer, *Thes. eccles.*, Amsterdam, 1728, *s.v.*). But here Tertullian uses it of the relationship of the Three Persons of the Trinity, a usage of which Suicer takes no notice.

[8] *Ib.* i. (*PL* ii. 156). Of Praxeas himself very little is known. Hippolytus apparently knows nothing of him, though, if we are to argue from his silence, we could equally well argue from Tertullian's silence regarding Noetus, Cleomenes, and Sabellius. For some of the views which have been held regarding his identity see *DCB*, *s.v.* 'Praxeas.'

[9] Cf. Augustine, *Tract.* xxxvi. 8, *in Joan.*; cf. xxxvii. 6, lxx. 2, lxxi. 2 (*PL* xxxv. 1667, 1672, 1819, 1820); and Origen, *Com. in Ep. ad Titum* (*PG* xiv. 1304).

[1] *The Banquet of the Ten Virgins*, discourse ix. ch. 1 (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, xiv. [1906] 77).

[2] Athanasius, *Orat.* iv. 3 (*PG* xxvi. 471); cf. Newman, i. 114, ii. 529, n.

[3] Newman, i. 97.

[4] Athanasius, *adv. Apoll.* i. 21 (*PG* xxvi. 1130); W. Bright, *Historical Writings of Athanasius*, Oxford, 1881, p. 114.

[5] *Ib.* ii. 3 (*PG* xxvi. 11380); Bright, p. 120.

[6] *Orat.* iv. 3 (*PG* xxvi. 471); Newman, ii. 529.

[7] Mansi, iii. 481, 486.

[8] *Ib.* iii. 557.

[9] *Ib.* ix. 774, canons 1–14.

[10] *Ib.* x. 1151.

[11] *Ib.* xxxi. 1735.

[12] *HE* vi. xxxiii. 1, with McGiffert's notes.

Monarchians were the Priscillianists. They are of interest by reason of the strange influence which they had on the Latin text of the Gospels[1]—*e.g.*, indirectly on 1 Jn 5[7]. To them are due the Monarchian *Prologues* which have attracted so much attention in later years.[2]

It is usual to embrace under the heading Monarchianism the so-called Adoptianist heresies. But, while it is true that the Adoptianists may be regarded as the legitimate outcome of the Monarchians, yet they approach the question from an entirely different standpoint. For Adoptianism is a Christological heresy, whereas Monarchianism, at least in its original form as Patripassianism, concerns the Father rather than the Son. To embrace the two heresies under one heading is to obscure the issue. See art. ADOPTIANISM.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works referred to throughout the article, see A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Eng. tr., London, 1894–99, ii., iii., *s.v.* 'Modalism'; J. A. W. Neander, *History of the Planting and Training of the Church by the Apostles*, ed. Bohn, do. 1851, ii.; Harnack, art. 'Monarchianismus,' in *PRE*³; J. H. Newman, *The Arians of the Fourth Century*³ (written previous to the discovery of Hippolytus's *Philosophumena*), London, 1871; J. Chapman, art. 'Monarchians,' in *CE*; *DCB*, *s.vv.*; L. J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes*², i. Paris, 1905, ch. viii.

HUGH POPE.

MONASTICISM.—I. *ETYMOLOGY; DEFINITION.*—The word 'monasticism' is derived from the Gr. word *μόνος*, 'alone,' 'solitary,' from which a whole family of words has been formed: *μονή* and *μοναστήριον*, 'monastery'; *μοναχός*, 'monk' or 'solitary'; *μονάζειν*, 'to lead the solitary life'; *μονάζοντες*, 'solitaries'; *μονάστρια*, 'nun'; *μοναδικός*, *μοναχικός*, *μοναστικός*, *μονήρης*, 'monastic'; *μονάζουσα*, *μοναχοῦσα*, *μοναχή*, 'nun'; *τὸ μοναχικόν*, 'monasticism'; *μοναστικῶς*, 'monastically'; *μοναχισμός*, 'monachism.'[3]

In Latin this word has given *monachus* and its derivatives, *monacha*, *monachatus*, *monachare*, *monachizare*, *monachismum*, *monachatio*, *monasterium*, and a few other words.[4]

> 'Interpretare vocabulum monachi, hoc est nomen tuum: quid facis in turba qui solus es?' (Jerome, *Ep.* xiv. [*PL* xxii. 350]). 'Sin autem cupis esse quod diceris, monachus, id est solus, quid facis in urbibus, quae utique non sunt solorum habitacula sed multorum?' (*Ep.* lix. [*PL* xxii. 583]).

All these words, derived as they are from the same root, indicate the idea of solitude, of isolation. This solitude must not, however, be interpreted as implying absolute isolation—such as that of the hermit in the desert. As we shall see, the term 'monk' has come to be applied to men living the same life in common—a life in which they are indeed separated from the world, but not from one another.

In common usage the word 'monasticism' is often incorrectly extended to embrace the idea of the religious state in general, comprising even those religious orders which cannot be regarded as belonging to this category — such, *e.g.*, as the Dominicans and Franciscans, the Jesuits and other clerks regular. Strictly speaking, the term should be reserved for the form of religious life led by those who, having separated themselves entirely from the world, live in solitude—as, in fact, the etymology of the words 'monk,' 'monastery,' etc., clearly indicates. We shall see below (§ III.) in what the special characteristics of the monk properly so called consist, the special conditions of the monastic life, and its various types. The monks, in fact, form a class apart among what are known as the 'religious orders'; they must be distinguished from those that are commonly termed the 'mendicant orders' or 'friars'—*e.g.*, Dominicans, Franciscans, or Carmelites—from the clerks regular, such as the Jesuits, and from other forms of the religious life and religious congregations—*e.g.*, the Redemptorists, Oratorians, Sulpicians, etc. (see art. RELIGIOUS ORDERS).

At the present day monks are represented in the Catholic Church by the Basilians and other monks of the East; by the Benedictines, Cistercians, Camaldolese, Olivetans, Carthusians, and other religious families of less importance. They must be distinguished from the ascetics who existed in the early ages of the Church, and who were simply Christians living a more austere life in the world. Nevertheless, after the monastic life properly so called had been instituted, many of these ascetics of both sexes entered the monasteries; hence we find the name 'ascetic' applied sometimes to the monks also (see, *e.g.*, the *Peregrinatio Etheriæ*; cf. art. ASCETICISM, vol. ii. p. 63 f.). The canons regular and the military orders should also be distinguished from the monks, although there were many points of contact between them. We are not, however, concerned with them here.

II. *MONASTICISM OUTSIDE OF CHRISTIANITY.*—Monasticism cannot be regarded as an institution belonging exclusively to Christianity, although it is chiefly in that religion that its full development is to be sought. Examples occur in the non-Christian religions as well, and we shall see in what relation these stand to Christian monasticism.

1. Worship of Sarapis.—In recent years it has become the fashion to see in the *κάτοχοι*—pagan recluses who lived in the temples of Sarapis and their dependencies—the authentic ancestors of the Christian monks. Weingarten, to whom this theory owes its origin, has even maintained that St. Pachomius, the founder of Christian cenobitism, not only drew a large part of his Rule from the usages of these *κάτοχοι*, but had been himself a *κάτοχος* of Sarapis, before his conversion to Christianity, at the Sarapeum of Chenoboscium. This theory, however, rests on a series of unverified hypotheses. Pachomius was never a *κάτοχος*. All that can be gathered from the most ancient life of this saint is that he withdrew to an abandoned temple of Sarapis, and that, while there, he had a vision of God—not, however, of the pagan divinity, but of the God of the Christians. Moreover, the analogies that have been drawn between these *hierodouloi* and the cenobites of Christianity are only apparent.[1]

2. Neo-Platonism.—The Alexandrian school of philosophy in the 2nd and 3rd centuries taught a kind of mysticism, more philosophical than religious, in which moral ideas and ascetic practices occupied an important place. The attempt has been made to find in this mystic philosophy the source of Christian asceticism. The latter, however, was in existence before this date, and under a very different form. Moreover, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Alexandrian philosophy, far from influencing Christianity, was itself deeply imbued with Christian ideas (cf. ASCETICISM, vol. ii. p. 65ᵇ).[1]

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[1] Thus note canon xvii. of the Council of Braga (A.D. 561): 'If any one reads the Scriptures which Priscillian corrupted in accordance with his own erroneous views . . . let him be anathema' (Mansi, ix. 774).

[2] John Chapman, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, Oxford, 1908, chs. xii.–xv.

[3] J. C. Suicer, *Thesaurus ecclesiasticus*, Amsterdam, 1728, *s.vv.*; E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Boston, 1870, *s.vv.*

[4] C. du F. du Cange, *Glossarium*, ed. L. Favre, 10 vols., Niort, 1885–87, *s.vv.*

[1] With regard to this question of *κάτοχοι* and cenobites cf. H. Weingarten, 'Der Ursprung des Mönchtums im nachkonstantinischen Zeitalter,' in *ZKG* i. [1877] 1 ff.; E. Preuschen, *Mönchtum und Sarapiskult: eine religionsgeschichtliche Abhandlung*, Giessen, 1903; E. Revillout, 'Le Reclus du Sérapéum, sa bibliothèque et ses occupations mystiques,' in *REg* i. [1880] 160, also *Rapport sur une mission en Italie*, Paris, 1878, p. 38; P. Ladeuze, *Étude sur le cénobitisme pakhomien*, Louvain, 1898, p. 37; J. Mayer, *Die christliche Ascese*, Freiburg, 1894, p. 37; Brunet de Presle [C. M. Wladimir], 'Mémoire sur le Sérapéum,' in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants*, I. ii. [1852] 575; A. Bouché-Leclercq, 'Les Reclus du Sérapéum de Memphis,' in *Mélanges Perrot: Recueil de mémoires concernant l'archéologie classique, la littérature et l'histoire anciennes*, Paris, 1903, p. 21 f.; A. Rusch, *De Serapide et Iside in Græcia cultis*, Berlin, 1907; Leclercq, art 'Cénobitisme,' *DACL* ii.² 3053–3056.

3. Druidical communities.—It will be enough to mention the theory of Alexandre Bertrand, who saw in the druids the ancestors of the Christian cenobites. This theory, which regards the monks not only as the imitators, but as even the legitimate descendants of the communities and brotherhoods of the old Celtic religion, has no solid foundation, and has been unanimously rejected by specialists; hence we need not discuss it in detail.[2]

4. Orphic communities.—Orphism, which had so much in common with Pythagoreanism, had, like it, a certain resemblance to Platonism and Neo-Platonism; it counselled practices of asceticism, some of which resemble those of Christianity. It imposed on the 'pure' and the 'holy' a rigorous system of penances and privations, among which were the practice of vegetarianism and numerous purifications. Although our information regarding these *thiasoi*, or Orphic societies, is not very extensive, we know that they were not only spread throughout Greece, but were also found in Italy, Africa, Gaul, and the whole of the Western world. Lactantius alludes to these confraternities (*de Div. Instit.* i. 22 [*PL* vi. 242 f.]). There were rites of initiation, mysteries, prayers, hymns, and unbloody sacrifices, which were celebrated during the night. But the doctrines and mysteries of Orphism have a very special character of their own and very little in common with those of the Christian religion.[3]

5. Buddhist asceticism.—Both Buddhism and Brāhmanism possess institutions that have certain characteristics analogous to those of Christian monasticism. In the sacred books of the Hindus mention is made of hermits forming colonies and dedicating their lives to the study of the Vedas and to the contemplation of Brahman. They are vegetarians, and practise mortification in all its forms. While in Brāhmanism the monastic life has preserved its eremitic character, in Buddhism we find it, on the contrary, in the cenobitic form. The monks live together in monasteries, in the practice of poverty—as mendicants, in fact—and celibacy. Such monasteries are still to be found in Japan, Korea, China, India, and Ceylon.

The lamaseries of Tibet are the most curious examples of this form of monasticism. The monastic capital of Tibet (*q.v.*) is Lhāsa, and of the 30,000 inhabitants of this city 10,000 are monks, who are divided among 2500 monasteries. In the provinces of China there are also monasteries of this kind, some of which contain from 300 to 400 bonzes. They have the head shaven, and spend their time reciting prayers and performing ceremonies before the statue of Buddha. Many of them condemn themselves to a life of absolute silence, others to complete immobility.

The *faqīrs* of India offer another variety of the life of mortification and renunciation. A. Hilgenfeld and other writers have tried to establish the influence of these institutions on Christian monasticism. But it is easy to show, with the advance of scholarship, that it is the contrary that is true, and that certain practices of Buddhist monasticism owe their inspiration to Christian influence.[1]

6. Monasticism among Jews and Muhammadans.—(*a*) *Essenes.*—The Essenes (*q.v.*) may be regarded as one of the most striking examples of the monastic life outside of Christianity. Whether they be looked on as a sect, as a tribe, or as a religious community, the Essenes (150 B.C.) offer all the principal characteristics of the cenobitic life—community of goods, practice of poverty and mortification, prayer, and work, meals and religious exercises in common, silence, celibacy, etc. Although there is no direct relationship between them, it is nevertheless true that both Essenian and Christian asceticism derived much of their practice from the same source, viz. the Jewish religion.

(*b*) *Therapeutæ.*—The Therapeutæ (*q.v.*), whose very existence has been disputed, are described by Philo (*de Vita Contemplativa*) as cenobites, leading a life almost identical with that of the Christian cenobites. This description bears so striking a resemblance to the life led by Christian monks that more than one writer has been led to deny its authenticity as a work of Philo and to uphold the opinion that it is a Christian compilation undertaken with the view of providing a venerable ancestry for the Christian cenobites. Renunciation of the world, prayer, life in common in real monasteries, vigils, chants carried out by alternate choirs, the practice of fasting and other mortification—such are the chief characteristics of the life of the Therapeutæ. Nevertheless, they do not seem to have exercised any direct influence on Christian monasticism.[2]

(*c*) *Nazirites.*—The Nazirites (*q.v.*) were men who lived an austere life, abstained from wine and all fermented liquors, never cut their hair, avoided scrupulously all legal impurities, and took a vow to consecrate their lives to God. They had certain practices in common with the monks, although their ideal was not the same. Regarding such resemblances we may point out that, as in the case of the Essenes, since Christianity itself had its ancestor in Judaism, it is not astonishing that there should be certain resemblances between their respective institutions on many points.[3]

(*d*) *Rechabites.*—Some (cf. T. K. Cheyne, *EBi* iv. [1903] 4019) regard the Rechabites as forming 'a sort of religious order, analogous to the Nazarites,' and St. Jerome himself saw in them the precursors of the monks (*Ep.* lviii., 'ad Paulin.,' 5 [*PL* xxii. 583]). But such analogies should not be pressed too far. The Rechabites were distinguished by certain special observances, such as abstinence from wine, the prohibition against building houses, and the obligation to live in tents, but it is difficult to see in them anything more than a tribe of Bedawī such as still exist in these days and observe the customs of their ancestors with such zeal.[4]

(*e*) *Muhammadans.*—Muhammadanism has given birth to several 'religious orders,' the chief of which are the Qādirī, the Maulavī, the Baqtāshī, the Rufā'ī, etc. The monks are called Dervishes ('poor'); they live together, 20, 30, or 40 at a time, in a monastery under a head (*shaikh*). The Dervishes wear a long robe of coarse stuff. Reception into their order is preceded by a time of probation, which lasts sometimes 1001 days. As regards their religious practices, these Muhammadan monks have prayers, sacred dances, and sometimes penances, such as the privation of sleep, immobility (ensured by fetters on the feet), fasting, and solitude (see art. DERVISH). Many of them are also mendicants. Some of the orders claim to go back to the time of the Prophet himself, although he had said 'In Islām there are no monks,' and although no mention of the monastic life is to be found in the Qur'ān. Even during the lifetime of Muhammad, however, the Ṣūfīs gave themselves up to certain practices of monasticism and lived together in community (see art. ṢŪFĪISM). Abū Bakr and 'Alī, contemporaries of the Prophet, formed, with his approval, communities of the same kind. Other orders were founded on the same model in Egypt, Arabia, Persia, and Turkey. There were no fewer than 27 monasteries in the island of Crete alone. One of the most celebrated of Muhammadan monasteries, that of Konia in Asia Minor, possessed 500 cells.[1]

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[1] T. Keim derives Christian asceticism from this source (*Aus dem Urchristenthum*, Zürich, 1878, p. 204 f.). Against this theory cf. D. Völter, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, Freiburg, 1900, p. 39, and G. Grützmacher, 'Mönchtum,' in *PRE*³ xiii. 217.

[2] A. Bertrand, *Nos Origines*, iv. *La Religion des Gaulois: Les Druides et le druidisme*, Paris, 1897, pp. 417–424, appendix J, 'Les grandes Abbayes chrétiennes d'Irlande, d'Écosse, et du Pays de Galles, heritières des communautés druidiques de ces contrées'; cf. G. Boissier, in *Journal des Savants*, 1898, pp. 578–580; G. Dottin, 'La Religion des Gaulois,' in *RHR* xxxviii. [1898] 151 f.

[3] Cf. E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, Tübingen, 1844–52, i. 88; L. F. A. Maury, *Hist. des religions de la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1857–59, iii. 300; O. Gruppe, *Die griech. Culte und Mythen*, Leipzig, 1887; E. W. T. Maass, *Orpheus*, Munich, 1895.

[1] Cf. Grützmacher, in *PRE*³ xiii. 217; Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, i. 54 f.; J. J. Bochinger, *La Vie contemplative ascétique et monastique chez les Indiens et chez les peuples bouddhistes*, 1831.

[2] On the Therapeutæ and the question of the authenticity of the famous treatise of Philo, cf. Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.² 3063. Since the works of H. Massebieau and F. C. Conybeare on the subject, the authenticity of the treatise would seem to be solidly established.

[3] Cf. G. Less, *De Nazireatu*, Göttingen, 1789; J. B. Wirthmüller, *Die Nazoräer*, Ratisbon, 1864; B. Duhm, *Die Gottgeweihten in der alttestamentl. Religion*, Tübingen, 1905.

[4] Cf. A. Calmet, 'Dissertations sur des Réchabites,' in *Commentaire littéral (Jérémie)*, Paris, 1724–26, pp. xliii–liii; *HDB* iv. 203.

III. *CHRISTIAN MONASTICISM.*—Is Christian monasticism derived from one or other of these sources, or is it an original institution? This is a question that has often been discussed. On account of certain undeniable resemblances between Christian monasticism and the various forms just described, some writers have not hesitated to regard the one as the child of the other. But in this case, as in that of the history of all institutions, however striking such resemblances may appear at first sight, they are not sufficient of themselves to establish a relationship. This is a principle now accepted by all serious students of history. To prove relationship between the institutions of Christianity and those of other religions, it is necessary to produce facts clearly demonstrating that one institution has been derived from the other. This, however, still remains to be done. We shall therefore regard Christian monasticism as a plant that has grown up on Christian soil, nourished exclusively on the principles of Christianity. This seems, for the moment at least, to be the only theory that can safely be maintained.[2]

i. PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS. — Christian monasticism possesses certain characteristics all of which are not equally essential, but which, nevertheless, when taken together, are necessary to constitute a monk.

1. Poverty, chastity, humility, and obedience.—The first monks, after the example of the Christian ascetics, practised poverty, chastity, and humility—virtues which, along with obedience, soon came to be regarded as essential to the monastic life. In order to carry out the evangelical counsels and to imitate the life led by Christ Himself and, after Him, by the apostles and first disciples, it was necessary to give oneself up to these virtues:

'Beati pauperes spiritu' (Mt 5^{3}); 'si vis perfectus esse, vade, vende quae habes, et da pauperibus' (Mt 19^{21}); 'non potestis Deo servire et Mammonae . . . ne solliciti sitis animae vestrae quid manducetis, neque corpori vestro quid induamini,' etc. (Mt $6^{24\text{ff.}}$). 'Sunt eunuchi qui seipsos castraverunt propter regnum coelorum. Qui potest capere, capiat' (Mt 19^{12}). Cf. St. Paul (1 Co $7^{7\text{f.}\ 32\text{-}35}$). 'Si quis vult post me venire, abneget semetipsum, et tollat crucem suam, et sequatur me' (Mt 16^{24}; cf. 10^{38}).

The first monks, like the ascetics before them, took these words of the gospel literally and abandoned all that they had in order to live in poverty and by the labour of their hands. They practised chastity under the form of complete celibacy and perfect continence. The practice of obedience consisted in following in the footsteps of Jesus Christ, recognizing Him as their Master, and in submission to those who represent Him here below. In the case of the cenobites this obedience was the result of their very life itself. The moment that many monks united to live together, they were obliged to adopt a rule of life which would be the same for all, and to submit to the authority of a head. This, again, was but to obey Christ, by showing obedience to the Rule or to him who was its guardian. Schenoudi of Atripe obliged his monks to make a profession of obedience to the Rule of the monastery. This profession was a written and signed engagement, and was preserved in the archives of the monastery.[1] The greater number of monasteries had the same custom under one form or another. These virtues were taught and practised by all the early monks, and, as soon as monastic customs began to be drawn up and codified, we find severe laws laid down to ensure their practice.

2. Mortification (fasting, etc.). — Along with these virtues we find others which in reality flow from them or complete them, and which were always practised by the monks and prescribed by the different Rules. Mortification is essential to the practice of asceticism; it takes the form of the renunciation of the pleasures of sense (chastity, celibacy, fasting, etc.); work, silence, prayer even, may all be considered forms of mortification. As in all schools of asceticism (Neo-Platonist, Buddhist, etc.), fasting is considered one of the essential exercises of the Christian 'athlete'; Jesus taught it to His disciples and practised it Himself; and it was regarded by the monks as one of the most efficacious of all exercises of mortification. The history of the early solitaries tells of intrepid fasters who passed two, three, and even five days without touching food. The custom of taking food only once during the week from Monday to Saturday which was observed by those known as 'Hebdomadarii' was common.[2] There is, in fact, no monastic Rule in which restraint in matters of food and drink is not arranged for.

It is chiefly in the monasteries of the East (Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor) that one comes across extraordinary forms of mortification; though these must be regarded as exceptional cases, they cannot be passed over in silence. There were, first of all, the Stylites and the Dendrites, who condemned themselves to perpetual immobility, the former on their columns, the latter on the branch of a tree. Then there were the βοσκοί, or 'Browsers,' mentioned by Sozomen. These were solitaries of Mesopotamia, and were so called because they lived on grass like cattle. Others, again, chained themselves to a rock, or bore on their shoulders a species of cangue, or yoke. Sozomen also speaks of a Syrian monk who abstained from eating bread during eighty years.[3] All these are exceptional cases, and are even regarded by some as mere eccentricities, recalling the practices of the *faqīrs* of India. It should be noted carefully that the monastic Rules not only never prescribe such feats of strength, but even condemn them.[4]

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[1] Heimbucher, i. 51 f.; art. 'Dervich,' in *Kath. Lexicon*, iii. 1527 f.

[2] It should be remarked that this is the conclusion now reached by writers of very different opinions, such as Berlière, *L'Ordre monastique*, Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, Grützmacher, *loc. cit.*, and Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*, p. 86 f. An exception must be made, as we have already pointed out, for certain Jewish institutions, since between Jews and Christians many principles and religious ideas are held in common.

[1] E. Amélineau, *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire*, IV. i. [1888] 234–236.

[2] Cf. F. Cabrol, *Étude sur la Peregrinatio Silviæ; les églises de Jérusalem; la discipline et la liturgie au IVe siècle*, Paris, 1895, p. 135 f.

[3] Soz. *HE* vi. 33 f. (*PG* lxvii. 1391 f.); cf. C. Clermont-Ganneau, 'L'Abstinence de pain dans les rites syrien, païen et chrétien,' in *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, ii. [1898] 134, n. 45.

[4] Cf. Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3143 f.

3. **Work.**—Certain fanatics, such as the Messalians or Euchites (*q.v.*), maintained that the life of a monk should be entirely given up to prayer; hence they condemned all work or other forms of activity. This tendency was early reprobated by the Church; all monastic founders or legislators realized the danger of such exaggerations; and one and all signalized the vice of idleness as the one most to be dreaded in the monastic life. St. Augustine, in his treatise *de Labore Monachorum*, condemns this error, and shows the real necessity of work for those who follow the monastic vocation. Already in the East, during the 4th cent., it was an established principle that the monk should live by the labour of his hands. The work of the monk was of two kinds: (*a*) manual, and (*b*) intellectual.

(*a*) *Manual.*—The manual labour of the early monks consisted chiefly in the weaving of mats or the cultivation of the soil. These occupations had as their principal motive not so much interest or gain as mortification in addition to all the mortifications already forming part of their existence, and especially the avoidance of idleness. The proceeds of their work were usually handed over by the monks to the poor or to the prisoners, or else they served to sustain the community itself (Cassian, *de Cœnobiorum institutis*, x. 22 [*PL* xlix. 388 f.]). In the case of the monks of the West this manual work was carried out in so orderly and methodical a manner that it resulted in the clearing of a large part of the waste-land of Europe.[1]

The various arts and crafts had also their place in monastic activity, but in the West rather than in the East. A monastery came, in course of time, to form a little city in itself. Founded, as most monasteries then were, far from the towns and centres of worldly activity, they were obliged to provide for themselves, and, besides cultivating the soil, the monks had to give themselves to the exercise of the various trades necessary for their wants—*e.g.*, baking, carpentry, weaving, etc. In addition to the arts of drawing and miniature painting, architecture, sculpture, and the fine arts were cultivated with great success.

(*b*) *Intellectual.*—The intellectual work of the monks consisted chiefly in the *lectio divina*, *i.e.* the reading and study of the sacred Scripture and other holy writings. In the West this part of the monastic curriculum underwent a great development. More and more time was given to intellectual work. The copying of ancient MSS in the scriptorium of the monastery became one of the principal occupations of the monk, and it is to this fact that we owe the preservation of the greater part of the works of classical antiquity. The arts of calligraphy, drawing, painting, and the illumination of MSS soon followed as a natural consequence, and some monasteries had attached to them studies, from which came forth works of art that are now among the most precious possessions of the libraries of Europe.[2]

(*c*) *External work; the sacred ministry.*—The monks, especially in the East, retired from the world into solitude, there to lead lives of prayer and labour apart from all intercourse with it. They took part in the external ministry of the Church only on rare occasions and by force of special circumstances. A number of monasteries, however, received 'oblates,' *i.e.* children consecrated from an early age by their parents to the monastic state. These it was necessary to instruct; hence schools were established in the monasteries, some of which became famous and were attended by secular students as well.[1]

In the West the monks were led in time to take up in certain countries—*e.g.*, England and Germany—the work of evangelizing the people. They thus became missionaries, and had, in fact, a large part in bringing about the conversion of Europe.

4. **Prayer.**—But it was always clearly understood that neither work nor any other occupation should absorb the whole of the monk's activity. A considerable part of his time was always devoted to prayer. In substance this prayer consisted in meditation on, or recitation of, the Psalter, which was distributed according to the days of the week or the hours of each day. It was organized more methodically when regular monasteries began to be established in greater numbers; and from it has evolved the divine office as we now have it, with its different 'Hours' for the night and the day—Matins, Lauds, Prime, Tierce, Sext, None, Vespers, and Compline.[2]

5. **Silence.**—Silence, recommended by philosophers as a necessary condition for meditation or intellectual research, was one of the practices most rigorously enforced in the monastic life. In the case of the hermits, living in complete isolation, silence was practically absolute, and rare were the occasions on which they could indulge in conversation. They did, however, occasionally visit one another, and sometimes returned to their monasteries for a certain length of time. For the cenobites talking was naturally of more frequent occurrence, but severe regulations were established on this point in the greater number of monasteries.

6. **Solitude.**—Solitude, as in the case of silence, was interpreted in a more or less wide sense. For the anchorites, hermits, and Stylites, living in their caves, in their tombs, or on their pillars, solitude was absolute and complete. For the cenobites it consisted rather in their separation from the world, in the practice of silence, and in certain restraints. It is this need of solitude that may be said to have given to monastic architecture its principal characteristics and the disposition of its various parts. The monastery was enclosed by walls; one gate alone gave access to it. Communication with the outside world was subject to strict control, and, to render the necessity less frequent, the monastery, like a little city, was to be self-contained. There were exercised all the different trades and crafts demanded by the needs of the community.

7. **Stability.**—Stability, *i.e.* the engagement undertaken by a monk to remain all his life in the same monastery, was only an accidental condition of the monastic state, and was not established everywhere. In certain regions a monk could, without any breach of his vows, pass from one monastery to another. The abuse of this custom, as seen in the wandering monks, or 'Gyrovagi' (see below, iii. 6), and other considerations as well, led to the establishment of stability as a law of the monastic state, which little by little became general. St. Cæsarius of Arles imposes it in his Rule, and also St. Benedict.[3]

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[1] H. Hallam, *Middle Ages*^{4}, London, 1826, iii. 436; M. Guizot, *Hist. de la civilisation en France*^{6}, Paris, 1851, i. 378; M. P. E. Littré, *Études sur les barbares et le moyen âge*, Paris, 1867; Berlière, ch. iii., 'L'Œuvre civilisatrice'; E. Levasseur, 'Le Travail des moines dans les monastères,' *Séances et travaux de l'acad. des sciences morales et polit.*, Nov. 1900, pp. 449–470; C. Duvivier, 'Hospites: Défrichements en Europe, et spécialement dans nos contrées aux XI^e, XII^e et XIII^e siècles,' *Revue d'hist. et d'archéol.* i. [1859] 74–80, 131–175.

[2] Cf. art. 'Bibliothèque,' in *DACL*.

[1] For the monastic schools cf. L. Maitre, *Les Ecoles épiscopales et monastiques de l'occident*, Paris, 1866; A. T. Drane, *Christian Schools and Scholars*, London, 1867; G. von Detten, *Ueber die Dom- und Klosterschulen des Mittelalters*, Paderborn, 1893; Berlière, 'Les Ecoles abbatiales au moyen âge,' in *Messager des fidèles*, vi. [1884] 499–511, also *L'Ordre monastique*, iii. 116 f.

[2] L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, Eng. tr.^{4}, London, 1912, p. 446, 'The Divine Office'; S. Bäumer, *Gesch. des Breviers*, Freiburg, 1895; P. Batiffol, *Hist. du bréviaire romain*, Paris, 1893, Eng. tr., London, 1898.

[3] A. Malnory, *Saint Césaire, évêque d'Arles*, Paris, 1894, pp 10–12: *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, cap. lviii.

ii. CUSTOMS, ORGANIZATION, HIERARCHY, CONSTITUTIONS OF THE MONASTERY, RULES, COSTUME.—The hermits and anchorites lived separate and alone in the desert; hence they were their own masters. It often happened, however, that the hermit, sensible of the dangers resulting from this independence, would submit himself to the direction of another, whom he regarded as his spiritual father. Sometimes colonies of hermits were formed under the direction of a head, to whom the others rendered obedience. Again, we find hermits living near a monastery of cenobites, to which they were obliged to return at certain times, generally on Saturday and Sunday and on feast-days. With regard to the monastic hierarchy and the organization of authority among the cenobites, great variation is to be observed in primitive ages. It was generally, however, fairly simple in character. At the head of the monastery was a superior, at once spiritual father and temporal administrator, who was known by the various titles of archimandrite (ἀρχιμανδρίτης), hegumenos (ἡγεμών, ἡγεμονεύς, ἡγούμενος), abbot (ἀββᾶς and ἄμμα),[1] προεστώς, præpositus, or provost, etc. This superior governed the community, sometimes with the help of an assistant and other officials who fulfilled various charges, such as cellarer, porter, etc. He was generally assisted also by a council composed of the older members of the community (*seniores*). The office of the seniors, who were nominated by the superior himself, expired at the end of the year. The government of these monastic societies was a monarchy rather than an oligarchy; often it was even an absolute monarchy.[2] The cellarer (κελλαρίτης, whence *cellerarius*, 'cellarer'), the official who had charge of the stores of the monastery, had, as a rule, very wide powers over the temporal affairs of the monastery. Sometimes the abbot, as already mentioned, was assisted in his office by an official who ranked second after himself in the monastery; sometimes there was a third as well (prior and subprior).

The monasteries thus constituted usually enjoyed complete autonomy. There was nothing resembling the modern order or congregation, in which the different religious houses are united under a superior-in-chief or 'general,' and depend upon one house, which is the mother-house of the whole congregation. In the West it was not till the time of St. Benedict of Aniane that the idea of grouping monasteries together under a central authority was actually realized. For example, St. Basil in his Rule, which was the law everywhere in the East, contents himself with giving a few general principles as to the choice of the superior and the exercise of authority. In certain monastic colonies, too, the organization was very rudimentary in character. St. Anthony and St. Hilarion, *e.g.*, were the spiritual and temporal heads of the communities founded by them, and unity and order were maintained by visiting the various houses subject to them (*Vita S. Hilarionis*, ch. iii.).

Nevertheless, even in the early age of monasticism, we have instances of the attempt to group certain monasteries together under a central authority. Pachomius, *e.g.*, formed his monasteries into a real 'congregation.' He visited each house in turn; he assembled the superiors together four times a year in what closely resembled the general chapters of later days. In these assemblies the interests and affairs of the various communities were discussed and settled. Pachomius himself nominated the superiors of the different houses, and a 'procurator-general' for the whole confederation. Tabenna, the head-house of this congregation, was an almost military organization. The monks were divided into companies, often under an official called the dean; ten companies formed a further division, at the head of which was another official. At an early period the Rules, or constitutions, of the various monasteries came to be written down. A great number of these exist, some of which can be safely attributed to the most ancient masters of the monastic life. We shall speak only of the principal ones.

The *Regula Antonii* cannot be regarded as the work of St. Anthony himself, but it is extremely ancient.[1] This collection of maxims on the monastic life was brought together in Egypt, in the course of the 6th cent., but there is nothing against the belief that many of them are authentic and of much earlier date than the collection itself.[2] The same may be said of the authenticity and age of the *Regula ad Monachos Macarii Alex.* (*PG* xxxiv. 967–970), and the *Regula ad Monachos Serapionis, Macarii, Paphnutii et alterius Macarii* (*PG* xxxiv. 971–978).

The Rule of St. Basil (Ὅροι κατὰ πλάτος, *Regulæ fusius tractatæ*; Ὅροι κατ' ἐπιτομήν, *Regulæ brevius tractatæ* [*PG* xxxi. 889–1052, 1080–1305], tr. Rufinus, in L. Holste, *Codex Regularum*, Paris, 1661, i. 67 f.; cf. C. T. G. Schoenemann, *Bibl. Patr. Latina*, Leipzig, 1792–94, i. 619 ff.) has had a wide influence on Oriental monasticism, and is at the present day practically the only Rule existing. Even in the West its influence was considerable, as may be seen—to cite but one example—from the reference made to it in the Rule of St. Benedict. A long letter, written by St. Basil to St. Gregory of Nazianzus before the drawing up of his Rule, may be regarded as an outline or rough draft of the latter.[3]

The Rules attributed to St. Pachomius and to Schenoudi, although not authentic in the same sense as the Rule of St. Basil, are, nevertheless, substantially their work in spite of later retouching and additions.[4] The Rule of Pachomius, written originally in Coptic, was translated into Greek and Latin (Ladeuze, p. 272). There are three texts of the Rule of Schenoudi (cf. *Monuments de la mission archéologique française au Caire*, iv. 235 f., and Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.² 3111).[5]

The Book of the Governors of Thomas of Marga, of the 6th cent., describes the life led by the cenobites and anchorites of the Nestorian monastery of Beth-Abhe in Mesopotamia.[6]

In the West, besides Cassian, whose two works exercised the widest influence on monasticism in that part of the world,[7] we must mention the Rule of St. Benedict, *Regula S. Patris Benedicti*.[8]

Other Rules are: the *Regula incerti auctoris*, later than the works of Cassian, but earlier than the Rule of St. Benedict (Holste, *Codex Regularum*, ed. M. Brockie, Augsburg, 1759, i. 137 f.), the *Regula Sanctorum Pauli et Stephani*, almost contemporary with that of St. Benedict (*ib.* i. 138 f.), the Rule for nuns attributed to St. Augustine, *Ep.* ccxi. (*ib.* i. 141). For this Rule and those of SS. Fructuosus and Isidore, see, further, v. iii. 1 (*d*) below.

Several Rules written for the Celtic monks are in existence. The Rule written in verse, and attributed to St. Ailbe, is not, strictly speaking, a Rule. That attributed to St. Columba is a short collection of prescriptions and maxims of asceticism, and was written for the use of solitaries. There are also other documents of the same character, attributed with more or less likelihood to St. Comgall of Bangor and others. The Rule of

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[1] The word 'abbot' did not originally designate the superior (cf. J. M. Besse, *Les Moines d'Orient*, Paris, 1901, p. 168; also art. 'Ama,' *DACL* i.² 1306–1323).

[2] Monastic government has even been presented as a kind of 'spiritual democracy' (Workman, p. 132). This is true, in a sense, but the monastic form of government cannot in reality be ranged under any very definite category. It possesses the characteristics alike of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy.

[1] Cf. B. Contzen, *Die Regel des heil. Antonius*, Metten-gymnasialprogramn, 1895–96; *Apophthegmata Patrum* (*PG* lxv. 71–440); *Verba Seniorum* (*PL* lxxiii. 739–810); and J. B. Cotelier, *Ecclesiæ Græcæ Monumenta*, Paris, 1677–86, i. 524.

[2] Regarding the edd. of these maxims, cf. K. Krumbacher, *Gesch. der byzantinischen Litteratur*², Munich, 1897, p. 188; C. Butler, *The Lausiac History of Palladius*, 2 vols. [*TS* vi.], Cambridge, 1898–1904, pp. 208–215; S. Vailhé, 'Les Apophthegmata Patrum,' in *Echos d'Orient*, 1902, pp. 39–46; Leclercq, *loc. cit.*

[3] St. Basil, *Ep.* ii. (*PG* xxxii. 223–233; cf. Paul Allard, 'St. Basile avant son épiscopat,' *Revue des questions historiques*, lxiv. [1898] 29 f.); Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*, p. 287; A. Kranich, *Die Ascetik in ihrer dogmatischen Grundlage bei Basilius dem Grossen*, Paderborn, 1896; K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum: Studie zu Symeon dem neuen Theologen*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 140 f. On the authenticity of the Rule of St. Basil cf. Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.² 3147 f.

[4] For the discussions to which these Rules have given rise cf Ladeuze, p. 259 f.

[5] P. E. Lucius, 'Die Quellen der ältesten Gesch. des ägyp. Mönchtums,' *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, vii. [1885] 163 f.

[6] E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Governors: Historia Monastica of Thomas, Bishop of Marga, A.D. 840*, ed. from Syriac MSS, 2 vols., London, 1893.

[7] See below, V. iii. 1 (*b*).

[8] On the Rule of St. Benedict, the authenticity of which is incontestable, and its various edd. see below, p. 792ᵇ, note 1.

St. Columban, his Penitentiary, and that of St. Cummian, are the only ones the authentic character of which is really established.[1] At an early date collections were made of all these monastic Rules.[2]

The question of monastic costume is one with regard to which the different Rules show a bewildering variety. It is also, from the archæological point of view, one of the least clear. It seems that there was originally no special dress for monks. The only rule on this point seems to have been that the monk in his character of ascetic should, like certain ancient philosophers, show in his costume the outward sign of the poverty and humility of his state of life and of his detachment from the things of this world. Even St. Benedict, at a time when monasticism already had customs and traditions both numerous and of long-established date, does not seem to have given much importance to the form, colour, or quality of the habit worn by his monks (*Regula*, ch. lv.). Nevertheless, at an early date certain garments worn by the monks, and borrowed in all probability from the peasant population among whom they lived, came to be regarded as traditional, and in time even had a mystic meaning attached to them, as in the case of the liturgical vestments. In spite of this the monastic habit must always be carefully distinguished from the latter category.

We may now enter into greater detail regarding the various garments worn by the ancient monks both in the East and in the West. Many of these garments are still in use among their descendants.

The ancients did not know the use of linen. The tunic of wool was their only under-garment (λεβιτίον, κολοβή, *colobium*). The monks adopted this. It had short sleeves or was sleeveless. The anchorites often wore the tunic made of goatskin or camel's hair, which acted as a veritable hair-shirt (Cassian, *Instit.* i. 8 [*PL* xlix. 74]). The tunic was girded by a cincture, which recalled that worn by John the Baptist ('zona pellicea circa lumbos suos,' Mt 3[4]), and which soon became an essential part of the monk's habit. It was usually made of leather (*cinctura, zona*, ζώνη, *balteus, cingulum*, etc.).[3] The hood and the scapular are also characteristic of the monastic habit. The first (*cucullus, cucullio*) was originally merely a covering for the head. It was, in fact, the ordinary head-covering of peasants, and is found in both East and West. It protected the head against the heat or the cold, and could be thrown back at will on the shoulders.[4] The hood came in time to be attached to a garment covering the shoulders and breast to protect them against the weather, and finally developed, after various transformations, into the cowl—an ample vestment falling in wide folds to the feet and with large sleeves. The cowl is the distinctive choir-habit of the monk. The scapular (*scapulare*) seems to be peculiar to Benedictine monks, since there is no mention of it before the time of St. Benedict. Still it is evident, from the text of his Rule, that it was not his own invention. By some it has been compared to an analogous garment worn by Eastern monks; but it is more probable that it was originally a kind of blouse or smock-frock with hood attached, such as was worn by peasants in the neighbourhood of Monte Cassino. St. Benedict prescribes it as a working dress—'scapulare propter opera.' It was worn to protect the rest of the habit, and replaced the cowl. Its etymology indicates that it covered the shoulders.[5]

The Eastern monks usually went barefooted. St. Pachomius, however, gave his monks sandals, and St. Benedict speaks of 'pedules et caligae,' which seem to have been a kind of stocking, or sock, and sandals. Archæologists have disputed at length as to the exact meaning of these terms and also regarding the other parts of the monastic habit.[1]

iii. DIFFERENT TYPES OF MONKS.—The monks may be divided into various classes.

1. **Hermits.**—The hermits (ἐρημῖται, from ἔρημος, 'desert') lived in solitude in the desert; St. John the Baptist, and later St. Paul the Hermit and St. Anthony, were the first of these.

2. **Anachorites or anchorites** (ἀναχωρηταί, from ἀναχώρημα, 'retreat').—This title is synonymous with the first, and indicates those monks who practised the solitary life. This form of the monastic life is the most ancient; it spread, first of all, in Egypt, then in Palestine and Syria, through the whole of the Eastern world, and, finally, in the West.[2] In course of time the Camaldolese, Carthusians, Hermits of St. Augustine, and certain other institutions of like character arose. These may be grouped under the class of anchorites or hermits, since they have preserved, along with the cenobitic element in their lives, many of the characteristics of the eremitic state.

3. **Recluses and Stylites.** — With the hermits and anchorites must be classed the recluses and Stylites, who, on account of their relatively small number, may be regarded as exceptional cases. The former lived enclosed in cells, sometimes completely walled up and communicating with the exterior only by means of a small window. The latter, who are found almost exclusively in the East, lived on the top of a pillar, more or less elevated from the ground.[3]

4. **Dendrites.** — The Dendrites (from δένδρον, 'tree') lived in trees.

5. **Cenobites** (from κοινόβιος, 'one who lives in common with others').—This was the general term for all monks living together in community. During the primitive period the comparative advantages and excellence of the solitary and cenobitic forms of monastic life formed the subject of frequent discussions. St. Basil stoutly maintains his preference for the cenobitic life over the eremitic life, and his preference is shared by St. Benedict. It is undeniable that in early days the eremitic life had the greater number of adherents; but in course of time it declined, even in the East, while, in the West, it cannot be said ever to have existed except as an exceptional state of things. After the 16th cent. it almost completely disappeared.[4]

6. **Sarabaites and Gyrovagi, or Circumcelliones.**—Among the other monastic types, ancient authors draw attention to the Sarabaites and the Gyrovagi, who were regarded as an evil kind of monks. The first, mentioned by St. Jerome under their Syriac name of 'Remoboth' (*Ep.* xxii. 34 [*PL* xxii. 419]), lived together in twos and threes in a monastery, in order to live a life without

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[1] Holste gives two other Rules attributed to SS. Comgall and Columba. For this question see L. Gougaud, 'Inventaire des règles monastiques irlandaises,' in *Revue Bénédictine*, xxv. [1908] 167–184, 321–333; O. Seebass, *Ueber Columba von Luxeuils Klosterregel*, Dresden, 1883; Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3212 f.

[2] The earliest and most celebrated of these collections is that made by St. Benedict of Aniane († 821), entitled *Concordia Regularum* (*Concordia Regularum nunc primum edita ex Bibliotheca Floriacencis Monasterii, notisque et observationibus illustrata ab H. Menard O.S.B.*, Paris, 1638 [=*PL* ciii. 701–1380]); cf. L. Traube, 'Bibliotheca Goerresiana,' in *Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xxvii. [1902] 737 f. For other attempts of this kind see J. Trithemius, Aubert Le Mire, etc.; cf. also Heimbucher, i. 76. Of more recent date: L. Holste, *Codex Regularum Monasticarum et Canonicarum*, 3 vols., Rome, 1661, completed by Brockie, *Holstenii Cod. regular. etc. nunc auctus, amplificatus et observ. criticis historicis illustratus*, Augsburg, 1759 (*PL* ciii. 393–700).

[3] Cf. art. 'Ceinture,' in *DACL* ii.^{2} 2779 f.

[4] Daremberg-Saglio^3, i. fig. 2094; artt. 'Birrus,' *DACL* ii.^{1} 907 f., and 'Capuchon,' *DACL* ii.^{2} 2127 f.

[5] Cf. *RA*, May–June 1892, pp. 331 and 338, for representation of peasants wearing the scapular; cf. also J. Mabillon and L. d'Achéry, *Acta Sanctorum O.S.B. sæc.*, Venice, 1733–38, v. præf. p. xxxi, *Annales O.S.B.*, Paris, 1703–39, i. 505.

[1] See especially A. Calmet, *Commentario litterale, istorico, e morale sopra la Regola di S. Benedetto*, Arezzo, 1753, ii. 179 ff., and the *Commentaire sur la règle de S. Benoit* by (D. Delatte) the abbot of Solesmes, Paris, 1913, p. 394 f. On the question of monastic costume in general cf. P. Bonanni, *Ordinum religiosorum in ecclesia militante catalogus eorumque indumenta*, 5 vols., Rome, 1722; Hélyot, *Hist. des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires*, etc.; R. A. S. Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments*, London, 1896, App. I., 'Costumes of the Religious Orders'; J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient*, Freiburg i. Br., 1907.

[2] Cf. Heimbucher, i. 41.

[3] For the recluses cf. *Hist. Laus.* 43; Theodoret, *Hist. rel.* 29, 30, etc. (*PG* lxxxii. 1490–1494); R. M. Clay, 'The Hermits and Anchorites of England,' in *The Antiquary's Book*, London, 1914; Heimbucher, i. 145, note; for the Stylites, all quotations in H. Delehaye, *Les Stylites*, Brussels, 1895; Vailhé, 'Les Stylites de Constantinople,' in *Echos d'Orient*, 1898; for the different classes of monks cf. Besse, p. 19 f.

[4] Cf. Synod of Vannes, 465, canon 7; Synod of Agde, 506, canon 38; G. D. Mansi, *Concilia*, Paris reprint, 1901–13, vii. 954, viii. 331.

either rule or law, following no other rule than that of their own will or caprice. The Gyrovagi or Circumcelliones (‘vagabonds’) went from monastery to monastery, demanding a lodging for a few days, and scandalizing all true Christians by their excesses.[1]

7. Catenati.—As the name indicates, these monks loaded themselves with chains. They took no care of their bodies, allowed their hair and beards to grow neglected and untrimmed, went barefooted, and wore a black cloak (Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3218).

8. Apotactites (from ἀποτάσσεσθαι, ‘to renounce’; cf. Lk 14^{33}).—These formed a class intermediary between the earlier ascetics and the monks properly so called. They are found in Jerusalem, in the East, and in Asia Minor. Some of them followed the example of the Gyrovagi, and spent their life wandering about, and some fell into the heresy of the Encratites.[2]

IV. *HISTORY OF MONASTICISM.*—i. ORIGIN OF THE MONASTIC LIFE; THE ASCETICS. — The ascetics of early Christianity may be regarded as the ancestors of the monks. The greater number of the characteristics of which we have already spoken as belonging to the essence of the monastic life are found among the ascetics—poverty, celibacy, the practice of mortification, fasting, silence, prayer, etc. The ascetics were, in fact, simply monks living in the world.

> ‘Asceticism and cenobitism are inseparable. Asceticism is an individual phenomenon, cenobitism is a social institution.’[3]

It was but natural that, as Christians gradually became more worldly, the ascetics should retire from their midst and betake themselves to the desert; and here we have the origin of true monasticism—the first monks were ascetics living retired from the world in the desert.

This is not the place to enter upon a detailed history of these Christian ascetics (see art. ASCETICISM). But it may be remarked, in passing, that Christian asceticism, while recognizing among some of the prophets and just men of the Old Law (such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, and John the Baptist) its ancestors or forerunners, claims, above all, as its source and foundation the doctrine of Jesus Christ, who taught renunciation under all its forms. Not to mention certain texts occurring in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers—in those, *e.g.*, of Tertullian, Origen, and Clement of Alexandria, whose ‘true Gnosticism’ offers many characteristics of asceticism — one may consult certain documents that will give assistance in arriving at a knowledge of this movement precursory of monasticism, especially the *Epistles* of pseudo-Clement ‘To Virgins’ and the work of pseudo-Cyprian, *de Singularitate Clericorum*.[4]

ii. MONASTICISM IN THE EAST.—**1. Sources.**—The question of the authenticity and truthfulness of the documents on which the history of the early years of Eastern monasticism is founded has given rise, in recent years, to lengthy and impassioned disputes.

(*a*) *Vita Pauli.*—The *Vita Pauli*, written by St. Jerome, is sometimes considered to have no serious historical basis. The first of the hermits withdrew to the desert not before the middle of the 3rd cent., and, towards the end of his life, would have made the acquaintance of St. Anthony.[1]

(*b*) *Vita Antonii.*—If the authentic character of St. Jerome's life of Paul the first hermit be denied, it is St. Anthony who must be regarded as the father of the eremitic life. The *Vita Antonii*, attributed to St. Athanasius, has serious historical foundation, despite the discussions of which it also has been the subject.[2] In it St. Athanasius describes the life of a man whom he has himself known, and who died between 356 and 362. According to this life, Anthony was born at Coma, or Comon, in the middle of Egypt. At the age of 20, on hearing the passage in the Gospel of St. Matthew regarding the rich young man (19$^{17ff.}$), he sold his belongings and put himself under the direction of an ascetic in order to learn the practice of Christian renunciation. Then he retired to the desert and led the life of a hermit for twenty years, a number of disciples gathering round him. During the persecution of Maximian, he went to Alexandria to fortify his brethren in the faith, returning there again, later on, to refute Arius. Living retired in his desert, he visited from time to time the colonies of hermits who had been his disciples and who peopled the desert. He died in 356 (or 362), at the age of 105. We have already seen what is to be thought of his Rule. The letters and sermons attributed to him are not more authentic in character (*PG* xl. 963–1066).

(*c*) *Lausiac History of Palladius.*—Another document which has been much disputed is the *Lausiac History of Palladius* (*PRE*^{3} xiii. 219); it recounts the origins of monasticism. Weingarten and Lucius see in it nothing more than a romance, and Amélineau has further complicated the question by the unjustifiable use of the Coptic sources. Butler, in his excellent work on the subject, *The Lausiac History of Palladius* (Cambridge, 1898–1904, i. 257–277), has re-established the real text and demonstrated its importance from the historical point of view.[3]

(*d*) *Rufinus.*—Rufinus of Aquileia († 410) travelled through Egypt in order to visit the most celebrated solitaries, and his *Historia Monachorum* furnishes interesting details on the monastic life in that country.[4]

(*e*) *Cassian.*—Far more important for the history of monastic institutions, customs, and teaching are the two works of Cassian—*de Institutione Cœnobiorum* (12 books), and *Collationes Patrum* (24 Conferences). Cassian, like Rufinus, travelled about from one monastic colony to another in Egypt and Palestine in order to be initiated into the manner of life there observed.[5]

(*f*) *Peregrinatio Etheriæ.*—The *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, of which the date has been so much disputed, but which can, in all probability, be assigned to the latter half of the 4th cent., is the account of a pilgrimage to the monasteries of Egypt, the peninsula of Sinai, Palestine, and Syria, and gives many interesting details regarding the hermits and the monasteries of the period.[6] There are many other sources of Eastern monastic history, but the historians and writers of the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries, such as Eusebius, Theodoret, Sozomen, Socrates, etc., afford less room for discussions as to authenticity and credibility, and their testimony serves to control the truth of the accounts furnished by Palladius, Rufinus, and the others.

2. History.—Apart from the life of St. Anthony, summarized above, the general lines of monastic history in the East may be presented as follows.

(*a*) *Egypt.*—Amun (Ammonius), a contemporary of St. Anthony, founded colonies of hermits in

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[1] For these different kinds of monks cf. Cassian, *Collationes*, xviii. ch. iv. f. (*PL* xlix. 1093 f.), and *Institutiones*, v. 36, with the notes by A. Gazée (*PL* xlix. 255); *Regula S. Benedicti*, i.; *Regula Magistri*, i.; St. Jerome, *Ep.* xxii. ‘ad Eustochium’ (*PL* xxii. 419 f.); St. Augustine, *de Opere Monachorum*, 28 (*PL* xl. 575 f.).

[2] Cf. art. ‘Apotactiques, Apotaxamènes,’ in *DACL* i.^{2} 2604 f.; Cabrol, *Étude sur la Peregrinatio Silviæ*, p. 135 f.

[3] Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3048 f.; cf. Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*.

[4] Cf. Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3078–3090; Heimbucher, i. 86 f.; N. M. Antonelli, ‘Dissertatio de Ascetis,’ in *Sancti Patris Jacobi Episcopi Nisibeni sermones, cum præfatione, notis*, etc., Rome, 1756; S. Schiwietz, ‘Vorgeschichte des Mönchtums oder das Ascetentum der drei ersten christl. Jahrh.,’ in *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, i. [1898] 3 f., ii. 305 f.; and especially F. Martinez, ‘L'Ascétisme chrétien pendant les trois premiers siècles de l'église,’ in *Les Etudes de théologie historique de l'Institut Catholique de Paris*, Paris, 1914.

[1] Weingarten, *PRE*^{2} x. 760; Grützmacher, *PRE*^{3} xiii. 217, and *Hieronymus*, Leipzig, 1901, i. 160; see, however, in favour of the reality of his existence, Butler, *Laus. Hist.* i. 231; Workman, p. 96.

[2] On the *Vita Antonii* cf. Weingarten, ‘Ursprung,’ p. 21 f.; H. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, Cambridge, 1882, pp. 102–107, *Arian Controversy*^{4}, London, 1898, p. 48; F. W. Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, Edinburgh, 1889, i. 451; in favour of the historicity, A. Robertson, ‘Athanasius,’ in *Post-Nicene Fathers*, iv., Oxford, 1892, p. 189; Butler, i. 178 ff.; Workman, p. 354.

[3] Cf. Ladeuze, *op. cit.*; E. Preuschen, *Palladius und Rufinus: ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des ältesten Mönchtums* (*TU*), Giessen, 1897.

[4] The authenticity and veracity of the *Historia Monachorum* have also been the subject of much discussion, but it has a certain historical value. For discussions regarding the text see the works of Butler, Ladeuze, and Preuschen, already cited in reference to Palladius; see also Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3098 ff.

[5] Cabrol, art. ‘Cassian,’ in *DACL* ii.^{2} 2348–2357; O. Bardenhewer, *Patrology*, Eng. tr., Freiburg i. Br., 1908, p. 515 ff. The text of the Rule of Cassian, which was believed to be lost, has recently been discovered in Munich and at the Escurial (cf. H. Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgesch. der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln*, Munich, 1906, pp. 70–84).

[6] *Sanctæ Silviæ Aquitanæ Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, ed. G. F. Gamurrini, Rome, 1887; other edd.: P. Geyer, Vienna, 1898, E. A. Bechtel, Chicago, 1902; cf. M. Férotin, ‘Le véritable Auteur de la Peregrinatio Silviæ, la vierge espagnole Etheria,’ in *Revue des questions historiques*, lxxiv. [1903] 367–397; and *PRE*^{3} xviii. 345–347.

Lower Egypt, and was the father of monasticism in Nitria.[1] His disciples lived in huts and met together in the monastic church on Saturdays and Sundays. There were 8 priests in the colony to carry out the liturgical functions for the community. According to the *Lausiac History*, there were 600 hermits in the desert of Nitria. Idleness was carefully excluded, each monk being obliged to provide for himself by his own labour. In the evening psalms and hymns were chanted. The discipline of the life was very strict. Ammonius died before 356. His disciples continued his traditions in Nitria. The theological works of Origen were studied there, and the 'tall brothers,' Ammonius, Dioscorus, Eusebius, and Euthymius, who made such a disturbance in the theological world later on, belonged to this monastic family.[2]

About six miles to the south of the mountain of Nitria was the Desert of Scete, where another colony of hermits was established. The brethren observed perpetual silence; as at Nitria, they assembled in church for the offices only on Saturdays and Sundays. Their cells were either mere caverns in the rocks or else wattled cabins. Macarius the Greater († 383 or 387) was the first of these hermits. He has left behind him among the *Apophthegmata* a series of remarkable maxims and homilies that show him to have been one of the founders of Christian mysticism.[3] Macarius the Younger, Evagrius Ponticus, and Mark the Hermit are also figures that stand out among these solitaries.[4] The Desert of Scete still preserves the ruins of their ancient monasteries, one of which, known as the monastery of St. Macarius, is inhabited by a few Coptic monks.[5]

Besides Nitria and Scete, the whole of Egypt was strewn with hermitages—the Thebaid, Lycopolis, Kopres, Oxyrhynchus (where there were to be found, it is said, 10,000 monks and 20,000 nuns), and Arsinoë, where there were also 10,000 monks (*Hist. Laus.* 5, 18).

In Upper Egypt the name of Pachomius attracted special attention. He was instructed in the monastic life by a venerable hermit named Palamon, and established himself at Tabenna (Tabennîsi)—a name that was to remain famous in monastic history. Pachomius is the real founder of the cenobitic life. His disciples lived together under the same roof and were subject to the same discipline. Other monasteries were founded which followed the same observance, and thus cenobitism was established. Regarding the organization of the Pachomian monasteries see above (p. 785; cf. also W. E. Crum, *Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri, edited with an Appendix upon the Arabic and Coptic Versions of the Life of Pachomius, Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic ser., pt. ii., 1913).

While speaking of Pachomius, we must not omit to mention one of his disciples named Schenoudi of Atripe, whose history has been revealed recently through Coptic MSS, and who, although he did not exercise so marked an influence as Pachomius, played an important part in the history of the cenobitic life. The profession of obedience which he imposed on his monks is the oldest document of this kind that we possess, and it marks a stage in the history of monastic Rules. Schenoudi made the attempt to combine the eremitic with the cenobitic life, and he succeeded to a certain extent.[1]

(*b*) *Sinai.*—From Egypt the monastic life soon spread as far as the Sinaitic peninsula, on which there were later several flourishing monasteries. St. Nilus the Sinaitic († *c.* 430) and St. John Climacus were its shining lights, and may be regarded as the great doctors of the ascetic life. The *Peregrinatio Etheriæ* gives interesting details regarding the monasteries of Sinai (see below, iii. 1 (*d*)).

(*c*) *Palestine.*—The monastic foundations of Palestine were no less illustrious. It will suffice to quote the names of Hilarion of Gaza, a disciple of St. Anthony of Egypt, and especially those of Melania the Elder at the Mount of Olives, Paula, and St. Jerome.[2] In this region monasticism made considerable headway. The number of monasteries and lauras rose to 100, and the influence of these religious houses in the quarrels between Origenism, Eutychianism, Monotheletism, and iconoclasm was very important. It would be impossible to give here even a résumé of this history; we must be content to refer the reader to the authors cited in note 2 below, and also to the attempt at a classification of some of the Palestinian monasteries in Leclercq, *DACL* ii.^{2} 3165–3175. It was only with the Arab invasion of Palestine that the progress of these monasteries was arrested.

(*d*) *Syria.*—Syria became at an early period a land of monasteries. It has even been questioned whether the monastic life there was not indigenous, *i.e.*, whether it did not, as in Egypt, spring directly from the native practice of asceticism—which must be regarded as an early phase of monasticism—or whether, on the other hand, it was an importation from without. The latter opinion seems to be the more likely. The Syriac life of Mark-Arogin, beneath its legendary surface, contains a residue of history that can be extracted with little difficulty. According to this history, he came from a Pachomian monastery, established himself among the mountains near Nisibis, and died there in 363, leaving behind him a flourishing monastic house.[3] The recently edited works of Aphraates give some curious information about other solitaries (μονάζοντες), who seem to have been ascetics living in the world rather than real monks.[4]

At Edessa and in Osrhoene we have Julian regarded as the founder of monastic life in that country, and especially Ephraim the Syrian, a contemporary of St. Basil. He lived many years as a hermit, then went to study monastic traditions under the guidance of St. Basil, and perhaps visited Egypt also. He is one of the principal scholars of the Syrian Church, and his numerous works contain much information regarding the monastic life.[1]

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[1] *Hist. Monast.* 30; *Hist. Laus.* 8; Sozomen, i. 14 (*PG* lxvii. 900 f.); Socrates, iv. 23 (*PG* lxvii. 509 f.); L. Bulteau, *Essai de l'hist. monast. d'Orient*, Paris, 1678; Besse, *op. cit.*; S. Schiwietz, *Das morgenländische Mönchtum*, Mainz, 1904; R. N. C. Curzon, *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, London, 1849.

[2] P. van Couenbergh, *Etude sur les moines d'Egypte depuis Chalcédonie jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, Louvain, 1914.

[3] *Apophthegmata Patrum*, in Cotelier, *Ecclesiæ Græcæ Monumenta*, i. 24 (*PG* lxv. 257 f.); *Homilies*, in A. Gallandi, 'Prolegomena in Vitas et Scripta SS. Macariorum,' *Bibl. Vet. Patr. Ant. Script. Eccles.*, Venice, 1765–81, vii. 3 f. (*PG* xxxiv. 449 f.).

[4] *Hist. Laus.* 20, 86.

[5] G. Steindorff, 'Durch die libysche Wüste nach der Oase des Grysiter Ammon,' *Berliner Lokalanzeiger*, 18th March 1900.

[1] With regard to Schenoudi see Amélineau, *Mémoires publiés par la mission archéol. au Caire*, iv. [1885 f.], i.; J. Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national-ägyptischen Christentums* (*TU*), Leipzig, 1903; Ladeuze, *Revue d'histoire eccl.* vii. [1906] 76–83; Revillout, 'Les Origines du schisme égyptien; le précurseur et inspirateur Senuti le prophète,' in *RHR* viii. [1883] 401–467, 545–581; Amélineau, *Vie de Schnoudi*, Paris, 1889; Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3104 f.

[2] *Hist. Laus.* 117–129; 'Vita Melaniæ Junioris,' *Analect. Boll.* viii. [1884] 11 ff.; Zöckler, 'Hilarion von Gaza,' in *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, iii. [1894] 146–178; Vailhé, 'Les premiers Monastères de la Palestine,' in *Bessarione*, iii. [1897] 39–59, 209–225, 334–356, iv. [1898] 193–210; A. Couret, *La Palestine sous les empereurs grecs*, Paris, 1869, pp. 326–636.

[3] P. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, Paris, 1890–97, iii. 376 f.; J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, do. 1904, p. 302 f.

[4] Cf. a discussion on this point in R. H. Connolly, 'Aphraates and Monasticism,' in *JThSt* vi. [1904–05] 522–539; F. C. Burkitt, 'Aphraates and Monasticism,' *ib.* vii. [1905–06] 10–15, *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1899, and *Early Eastern Christianity*, London, 1904. See, further, Connolly, 'Some early Rules for Syrian Monks,' in *Downside Review*, xxv. [1906] 152–162; G. Bert, *Aphrahat's, des persischen Weisen, Homilien: aus dem Syrischen* (*TU*), Leipzig, 1888, ed. J. Parisot, Paris, 1894 (cf. esp. 6th hom. to the ascetics); P. Schwen, *Afrahat, seine Person und sein Verständnis des Christentums*, Leipzig, 1907.

There were colonies of hermits in Cilicia, round about Antioch, and in the Desert of Chalcis in the 4th century. The Desert of Chalcis was known as the Thebaid of Syria, and there St. Jerome lived as a hermit from 373 to 380.[2] In the 5th cent. the first of the Stylites, St. Simeon, makes his appearance in the north of Syria (Theod. *Hist. Rel.* 26 [*PG* lxxxii. 1464 ff.]). This strange form of monastic life survived as late as the 15th century.[3]

(*e*) *Asia Minor.*—In Asia Minor in the 2nd cent. Montanism (*q.v.*) had appeared—a movement in the direction of an excessive ultra-asceticism. In Pamphylia in the 4th and 5th centuries the Euchite or Messalian monks allowed themselves to be carried away by the same excessive views, and appear also to have undergone Manichæan influences. They were always resisted by the Church and were finally condemned, but revived during the Middle Ages in the sects of the Paulicians and Bogomils.

Eustathius of Sebaste, who introduced monasticism into Armenia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus, was of Egyptian origin and a disciple of Arius. He exercised a wide influence on monasticism in that part of the world and also spread his errors abroad. His disciples, the Eustathians, were condemned by the Church.[4] The Council of Gangra, in 340, gives valuable information concerning the history of the ascetics and monks and the excesses of some of those whom it condemns.[5]

(*f*) *Cappadocia.*—It was chiefly in Cappadocia and under the inspiration of St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. Gregory of Nyssa, and St. Basil, the real legislator of the monks of the East, that monasticism started its true development. Basil had become acquainted with the monastic life in Syria and in Palestine. He declared himself distinctly in favour of the cenobitic type, and it was for cenobites that he wrote his Rule, or rather his Rules (see above, p. 785^b). The Rule of St. Basil has remained in use in the East to the present day. It does not enter into details, but lays down in general the virtues and duties of the monastic state. The monk is the perfect Christian; the ascetic life does not consist merely in carrying out certain practices, but in the sanctification of one's whole being and in the love of one's neighbour. One must raise up and perfect nature and not destroy it. Christian perfection completes, elevates, and purifies the wisdom of the ancients. In his monasteries the education of children was undertaken, and work was recommended and encouraged. The public prayer of the community was already organized, and we find the various Hours of Matins, Tierce, Sext, None, Vespers, and the Night Office (*μεσονύκτιον*).[6]

(*g*) *Cyprus.*—According to St. Jerome, monasticism was brought to the island of Cyprus by Hilarion. St. Epiphanius, who had himself been a monk in Palestine, defended the monks with ardour.

(*h*) *Constantinople.*—When Palestine and Egypt had ceased to be the chief centres of monastic life in the East, it was Constantinople, and, later, Mt. Athos, that succeeded to that position. The foundations attributed to Constantine or to the time of his immediate successors can, however, be admitted only with reserve.[1] It was not till towards the end of the 4th and especially during the course of the 5th cent. that monasticism began its development at Constantinople. In the reign of Justinian there were no fewer than 80 monasteries at Constantinople,[2] and the emperor legislated for the monastic life as for all other institutions of the empire. The Acœmetæ and the Studites deserve a long study to themselves; they have already formed the subject of monographs, to which we can here only draw attention in passing. The names of St. John Damascene and Theodore the Studite recall the long strife maintained by the monks on the question of the iconoclasts.[3]

(*i*) *Mount Athos.*—From the 9th, but especially during the 10th, cent. the peninsula of Mt. Athos, in the Ægean Sea, became a monastic centre of the highest importance, and formed a kind of monastic republic. Safe in their monasteries, built for the most part on steep cliffs, defended by the sea and by the thickness of their walls, the monks of this peninsula, which is connected with the mainland only by a narrow isthmus, were able to defy all attacks, and the cenobitic life has been maintained there up to the present day. The history of this monastic colony may be given in a few words. The origin of monasticism on Mt. Athos is obscure. The first testimony on which we can depend is found in the 9th cent., but it is probable that long before that there were hermits living among the rocks and in the forests of this peninsula, so well fitted for the solitary life. The year 963 is the date of the foundation of the first great monastery by St. Athanasius, one of the most celebrated of the Athos monks. From this date onwards foundations followed one another in rapid succession. The great monasteries of Iviron, Vatopedi, Xeropotamos, Esphigmenon, Dochiaru, Agios Paulos, etc., rose up in different parts of the holy mountain from the 10th to the 14th century. The latest in date is the monastery of Stavronikita, founded in 1542. A number of smaller houses and simple hermitages depend upon these greater monasteries. The Rule followed is that of St. Basil. The monasteries form a kind of confederation or little republic, which is represented by 20 members, constituting at once a parliament and a tribunal under the direction of 4 presidents, one of whom has the title of *πρῶτος*. In each monastery the *ἡγούμενος* enjoys supreme authority. In the 14th cent. the idiorrhythmic form of life (*ἰδιοῤῥυθμία*) was introduced, in accordance with which, in certain of the monasteries, the monks possess money of their own and enjoy a number of dispensations. Autonomous during a certain period, the governing council of Mt. Athos was finally subjected to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople. Under the various governments and dynasties that succeeded one another in the East—the Comneni, the Palæologi, even the Turks themselves, and the hospodars of Wallachia—the liberty of the monks of Mt. Athos was always respected. Painting, architecture, and calligraphy were cultivated with success, and their libraries contain MSS of the highest value.[4]

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[1] Ephraim, *Opera omnia*, Rome, 1734–46; for the other edd. cf. *PRE*^{3} v. 406; R. Duval, *Hist. politique, religieuse et littéraire d'Edesse jusqu'à la première croisade*, Paris, 1891, pp. 150–161; Bardenhewer, pp. 387–393.

[2] Cf. Grützmacher, *Hieronymus*, i. 155 f.

[3] Delehaye, *op. cit.*; see also above. p. 786^b.

[4] F. Loofs, 'Eustathius von Sebaste,' in *PRE*^{3} v. 627–630.

[5] Mansi, ii. 1095–1106; C. J. Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Hist. des conciles*, Paris, 1907 ff., i. 1029.

[6] E. F. Morison, *St. Basil and his Rule*, Oxford, 1915.

[1] Cf. E. Marin, *Les Moines de Constantinople depuis la fondation de la ville jusqu'à la mort de Photius (330–898)*, Paris, 1897; J. Pargoire, 'Les Débuts du monachisme à Constantinople,' in *Revue des questions hist.* lxv. [1899] 68–72; art. 'Constantinople,' in *DACL* ii.^{2} 1445–1448.

[2] Cf. Marin and Pargoire, *locc. citt.*

[3] See 'Acémètes,' in *DACL* i.^{2} 307–321; A. Tougard, 'La Persécution iconoclaste d'après la correspondance de St. Théodore Studite,' in *Revue des questions hist.* vi. [1890] 80–118.

[4] V. Langlois, *Le Mont Athos et ses monastères*, Paris, 1867; W. Gass, *Zur Gesch. der Athos-Klöster*, Giessen, 1865: A. Riley, *Athos; the Mountain of the Monks*, London, 1887; E. Miller, *Le Mont Athos*, Paris, 1889; Porphyrius Uspensky, *Hist. of*

iii. MONASTICISM IN THE WEST.—1. Before St. Benedict.—(*a*) *Rome and Italy.*—It has been remarked, and with justice, that while, in the inscriptions of the catacombs, careful mention is made of all the various degrees of the ecclesiastical hierarchy—even down to that of *fossor*—no allusion has ever been found to ascetic, anchorite, cenobite, monk, or nun.[1] The existence at Rome of monks, of consecrated virgins, and of monasteries at that period cannot, however, be denied. We leave on one side the legend of Boniface and Aglæ, which is, moreover, of Eastern origin.[2] Constantia, daughter of Constantine, gathered together around the tomb of St. Agnes a community of virgins. It was in a Roman monastery also that St. Marcellina, sister of St. Ambrose, consecrated herself to God (352–366.)[3] Pammachius, another Roman patrician, along with Fabiola, lived the ascetic life, and founded near the mouth of the Tiber a hospice which was served by monks.[4] St. Athanasius arrived in Rome after 339, accompanied by two Egyptian monks. He remained there three years and inspired this community, so deeply Christian in spirit, with admiration of and sympathy with the monastic ideal of the Thebaid. He made proselytes even from among the highest society of Rome, and Marcella, daughter of the widow Albina, along with Melania the Elder, devoted herself to the life. A community of ascetics and cenobites was founded on the Aventine, from which stand out names such as those of Sophronia, Asella, Paula, and Fabiola. The favour shown towards such institutions by Pope Damasus and, in particular, the arrival in Rome of St. Jerome, who became the spiritual father of the community on the Aventine, greatly accentuated the movement.[5] The attempt made by Vigilantius to oppose it in favour of monasticism had no other result than that of starting a controversy with St. Jerome, from which Vigilantius came forth utterly crushed and humiliated (*c.* 385).[6]

In the rest of Italy the progress of monasticism was scarcely less rapid than in Rome itself. In the middle of the 4th cent. Eusebius of Vercelli, till then exiled in Egypt, returned to his church (in 363) and obliged the clergy of his cathedral to submit to the monastic rule of life. His example was soon followed in Milan, under St. Ambrose, and at Aquileia,[7] while Cremona, under the bishop Vincent (407–422), Novara, under the bishop Gaudentius (397–417), Bologna, Ravenna, under St. Peter Chrysologus, Pavia, under the bishop Ennodius, and Turin, under the bishop Victor, all favoured the monastic movement.

In S. Italy, besides Nola with its illustrious bishop, St. Paulinus, we find monasteries at Naples, at Capua, and in Etruria, Sabina, Umbria, Picenum, at Tusculum, Monte Calvo, Fundi, on the banks of Lake Fucino, on the islands off the Mediterranean coast of Italy, Gorgona, Capraja, Sardinia, and the Isle of Cabis (near Torrentum).[1] It would be difficult to draw up even a simple catalogue of these monasteries, so numerous were they.

Cassiodorus (*c.* 570) was contemporary with St. Benedict. It has even been conjectured that his Rule was borrowed from the latter, but this is no more than a conjecture. What is certain is that the minister of Theodoric, on his property of Vivarium, gave the example of a monastery where the ascetic practices of the monastic life were allied with a high degree of intellectual culture. While, on the summit of Mt. Morius, the hermits gave themselves up to their solitary vocation, in the monastery built at the foot of the mountain the cenobites spent their time in the diligent copying of MSS.[2]

(*b*) *Gaul.*—Monasticism, which was to play so considerable a part in Gaul, was established there at an early date (2nd half of the 4th cent.) and with great éclat by St. Martin of Tours. At first it took the eremitic form. The disciples of St. Martin lived as hermits, meeting for exercises in common only on certain occasions. The first monastery founded in Gaul was that of Ligugé, in 360. There were, besides, Marmoutier (Martini Monasterium) and, no doubt, a great number of other houses, for we read that 2000 monks were present at the obsequies of St. Martin.[3] St. Martin wrote no Rule for his monks, and the latter seem simply to have followed the general traditions of the ascetic life. Several of his disciples applied themselves in company with their master to the work of the apostolate. This would explain why this first attempt at monasticism in Gaul did not leave any lasting traces behind it.

We find, about the same date, that there were monks at Rouen, in the Morinie (Boulonnais, Artois, W. Flanders), in the forests, along the seacoast, and even in the islands of the coasts.[4]

St. Sulpicius Severus, the historian of St. Martin, established a community of ascetics in his villa of Primuliacum.[5] Gregory of Tours († 594) gives in his works most valuable information regarding the monastic movement in Gaul in the 5th and 6th centuries. The greater number of the monks whose lives he wrote, while possessing their own characteristic spirit, are still largely under the influence of the teaching of St. Martin.

The most interesting of all these experiments in the monastic life at this period is the foundation of the celebrated monastery of Lérins on an island of that name off the coast of the Mediterranean near Cannes. Monastic life, inaugurated there towards the year 410 by St. Honoratus, was to continue through many long centuries, almost without interruption, to our own day. It was at the beginning a mingling of the eremitic and cenobitic elements. Both manual and intellectual work were held in honour, and great was the influence exercised by the monks of Lérins throughout the Middle Ages.[6] It will be sufficient, for this earlier

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Athos and its Monasteries, 3 vols., Kieff and Moscow, 1845–92 (Russ.); Curzon, *op. cit.*; E. M. de Vogüé, *Syrie, Palestine, Mont Athos, Voyage au pays du passé*, Paris, 1876; Krumbacher, pp. 511–515, 1058 f.; D. Placide de Meester, *Voyage de deux bénédictins aux monastères de Mont Athos*, Paris, 1908; V. Vannutelli, *Monte Athos e le meteore*, Rome, 1888; K. Lake, *Early Days of Monasticism on Mt. Athos*, Oxford, 1909.

[1] Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3175.

[2] *AS*, May, iii. 279–283; Duchesne, 'Notes sur la topographie de Rome,' in *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'histoire*, x. [1890]; Franchi de Cavalieri, 'Dove fu scritta la legenda di S. Bonifacio?' in *Nuovo bollettino di archeol. cristiana*, vi. [1900] 205–234; A. Dufourcq, *Études sur les Gesta Martyrum romains*, 4 vols., Paris, 1900–10, i.; cf. *Anal. Boll.* xx. [1901] 337 f.

[3] E. Spreitzenhofer, *Die Entwicklung des alten Mönchtums in Italien von seinen ersten Anfängen bis zum Auftreten des heil. Benedikt*, Vienna, 1894, p. 29; Leclercq, *DACL* ii.^{2} 3176.

[4] Cf. G. B. de Rossi, *Bollettino di archeol. cristiana*, 1866, p. 103.

[5] C. Daux, 'Amédée Thierry et les premiers monastères d'Italie aux IV^e et V^e siècles,' in *Revue des questions hist.* xxi. [1877] 404–473.

[6] On Vigilantius cf. below, p. 791^b.

[7] Spreitzenhofer, p. 13 f.; F. Ughelli, *Italia sacra*, 9 vols., Rome, 1644–62, iv. 747, 580, vi. 44, etc.; Albers, 'El Monachismo prima di S. Benedetto,' *Rivista Storica Benedettina*, x. [1915].

[1] Cf. Spreitzenhofer and Leclercq, *locc. citt.*

[2] *Works of Cassiodorus*, ed. J. Garet, Rouen, 1679 (*PL* lxix. and lxx.); A. Franz, *M. Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator*, Breslau, 1872; Chevalier, *Répertoire: Bio-Bibliographie*, *s.v.* 'Cassiodore.' For his library cf. A. Olleris, *Cassiodore conservateur des livres de l'antiquité latine*, Paris, 1841.

[3] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita S. Martini*; F. Chamard, *Saint Martin et son monastère de Ligugé*, Paris, 1873; E. Martène, 'Hist. de Marmoutiers,' in *Mémoires de la société archéol. de Touraine*, Tours, 1874–75; Lecoy de la Marche, *Saint Martin*, do. 1881; A. Hauck, *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 52 f.

[4] Malnory, *op. cit.*

[5] A. Curie-Seimbres, *Recherches sur les lieux habités par Sulpice Sévère, premiers monastères institués en Aquitaine*, Tarbes. 1875; F. Mouret, *Sulpice Sévère à Primuliac*, Paris, 1907.

[6] Malnory, *op. cit.*; L. Alliez, *Hist. du monastère de Lérins*, 2 vols., Draguignan, 1862; P. Lahargou, *De schola Lerinensi, ætate merovingiaca*, Paris, 1892; *DACL* ii.^{2} 3196–3198.

period, to cite the names of Vincent of Lérins and Salvianus.

Another important influence exercised over the development of monasticism in Gaul during this period was that of Cassian. His works were in reality the first monastic code in Gaul (see above, p. 787^b), and, it may be said, in the whole of the West. He founded the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, which became renowned, and other monasteries also.[1]

St. Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, must also be regarded as one of the principal monastic legislators at this date.[2] We can only mention the monasteries founded by Leonian in the diocese of Vienne, by St. Theudaire in Isère, in the Isle Barbe, at Condat (St. Claude), and at St. Maurice of Agaune, and by SS. Romanus and Lupicinus in the Jura.[3]

(*c*) *Britain, Ireland, the Celts.*—The monastic life was established fairly early among the Celts and Anglo-Saxons, and underwent an extraordinary development among them. Its introduction into Great Britain was due to St. Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, who came to the island in 430 to restore ecclesiastical discipline. In Wales Llan Lltud, Llancarvon, Ti-Gwen, and Bangor soon became renowned. Some of the monks from these monasteries—St. Gildas, St. Lunain, St. Paul Aurelian, and St. Samson—established the monastic life in Brittany (Armorica), where it also made great advance.[4] Monasticism in Ireland has much in common with that of Brittany, to which it seems, in fact, to owe its origin. The name of St. Columba and that of his foundation at Iona stand out conspicuous in its history.[5] Another saint whose name we must not forget to mention among the Celtic monks, although his chief foundation, Luxeuil, belonged to Gaul, is St. Columban, the rival and namesake of Columba. His Rule, inspired entirely by the principles and traditions of Irish monasticism, spread rapidly in Gaul and disputed for a time the predominance of that of St. Benedict.[6]

(*d*) *Spain.*—In Spain the beginnings of the monastic life are somewhat obscure. The Council of Elvira (*c.* 300) makes no allusion whatever to either ascetics or virgins. The *Peregrinatio Etheriæ* belongs to the last quarter of the 4th century. It is the account of her journeying in the East and her pilgrimages to the holy places, sent to her nuns in Spain by a Spanish virgin named Etheria, or Egeria, who was, in all probability, abbess of the community to which she writes.[7] We find further traces of the ascetic and monastic life among the Priscillianists of Spain, in this century. Priscillian gave himself out as an example of asceticism (see art. PRISCILLIANISM). It has recently been shown that the *Regula Consensoria Monachorum*, attributed at first to St. Augustine, then to a contemporary of St. Fructuosus, probably comes from a Priscillianist source, in the 5th century. It is a Rule for cenobites, original in character.[1]

The Rule of St. Isidore († 636) and that of St. Fructuosus of Braga (*c.* 660) also deserve mention. They enjoyed considerable success until the advent of the Rule of St. Benedict in Spain, which became there, as in almost the whole of the Western world, the only Rule for monks.[2]

Vigilantius, who represents the element hostile to the monks and ascetics, was a priest at Barcelona in 396. During the year 409 the invasions in Spain, as everywhere else, resulted in the destruction of the monasteries. Mention of this is to be found in the chronicles of the period.[3]

The Council of Tarragona, in 516, turned its attention to the monks.[4] St. Martin, abbot of Dumio near Braga, who is known as St. Martin of Braga, and who had been a monk in Palestine and played so important a part in the history of the conversion of the Suevi, laboured at the restoration of the monastic life in Spain.[5]

Two other bishops, SS. Leander and Isidore, also worked for the same end. The first wrote a Rule for the use of virgins, and the second drew up a Rule for monks.[6] The latter was already known to St. Leander, the friend of St. Gregory the Great, and to Tajo, bishop of Saragossa (*c.* 650), the great admirer of the works of St. Gregory and of his *Dialogues*, in which the praises of St. Benedict are set forth. This bishop did much to spread the knowledge of these works in Spain.[7] Besides these names, we find, between the date of the conversion of Visigothic Spain (587) and that of the Arab invasion (711), those of certain monks and hermits—the African Donatus, who, along with 70 monks, also from Africa, took refuge in the monastery of Servitanum, in the province of Valencia; St. Emilian, who enjoyed a wide-spread cultus in Spain; the hermit, Valerius, in the neighbourhood of Astorga, etc.[8]

(*e*) *Africa.*—In Africa the first monastic centre seems to have been formed around the person of St. Augustine. This saint had studied the monastic life both in Rome and in Milan, and, on his return to Tagaste, he installed himself with some of his friends in a house, where they gave themselves to the practices of asceticism. Ordained priest, he founded a second monastery at Hippo, where he lived himself till he was made bishop in 396. He then transformed his episcopal dwelling into a monastery like those of the bishops of Milan, Vercelli, and others at this time, and so founded what we may call a 'cathedral monastery,' or, as he himself called it, *monasterium clericorum*. Others of the African episcopate soon followed this example, and Hadrumetum, Uzala, Calame, Cirta, Mileve, and Carthage became real centres of monastic life. The *Regula pro Monachis* attributed to St. Augustine is not his under this form, as we have already said, but it is drawn from his letter (ccxi.) to religious bodies of both sexes living in poverty and chastity, passing their time in prayer and ascetic practices, and in certain works of charity. The counsels of the great bishop are characterized by the charity, discretion, breadth of mind, and high spirituality to which all his works bear witness.[1] We have already spoken of his famous treatise, *de Opere Monachorum*, composed in the year 400.

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[1] *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St. Victor de Marseille*, 2 vols., Paris, 1857.

[2] Malnory, *op. cit.*

[3] L. Niepce, *L'Île Barbe: son ancienne abbaye*, Lyons, 1890; P. Benoit, *Hist. de l'abbaye et de la terre de Saint-Claude*, 2 vols., Paris, 1890–92; B. Krusch, 'Vitæ Patrum Jurensium,' *Mon. Germ., Script. Merov.*, iii. [1896–97] 125–166; Duchesne, 'La Vie des Pères du Jura,' *Mélanges d'archéol.*, xviii. [1898] 1–18; Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3197–3198; Besse, *Les Moines de l'ancienne France: Période gallo-romaine et mérovingienne*, Paris, 1906.

[4] A. de la Broderie, 'Les Monastères celtiques aux VI^e et VII^e siècle,' in *Annales de Bretagne*, ix. [1893] 183–209, 379–394, *Hist. de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1896, i.; J. W. Willis-Bund, *The Celtic Church of Wales*, London, 1897; *DACL* ii.^{2} 3207.

[5] C. F. R. de Montalembert has devoted to the history of the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon monasteries a large portion of his book, *Les Moines d'Occident*, Paris, 1860–77; see esp. bks. x.–xiii.; see also L. Gougaud, *loc. cit.*

[6] Seebass, *op. cit.*; Malnory, *op. cit.*; L. Gougaud, 'L'Œuvre des Scotti dans l'Europe continentale,' in *Revue d'hist. ecclés.* ix. [1908] 21–37, 255–277; G. Bonet-Maury, 'St. Colomban et la fondation des monastères irlandais,' *Rev. Hist.* lxxxiii. [1903] 277–299.

[7] Cf. above, p. 787^b.

[1] Ed. in Holste-Brockie, *Codex Regularum*, i. 136 f., and in *PL* lxvi. 993–996; cf. D. de Bruyne, 'La *Regula consensoria*: Une règle des moines priscillianistes,' in *Revue Bénédictine*, xxv. 83–88.

[2] On the *Regula Communis* of St. Fructuosus see T. Herwegen, 'Das Pactum des heil. Fructuosus von Braga,' in *Kirchenrechtl. Untersuchungen*, xl. [1907] 71–79; and Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3223. With regard to the *Pactum* of St. Fructuosus and the *Pacta*—a curious form of religious profession—besides Herwegen, see R. Klee, *Die Regula Monachorum Isidors von Sevilla und ihr Verhältnis zu den übrigen abendländischen Mönchsregeln jener Zeit*, Marburg, 1909.

[3] Cf. Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, Paris, 1906, p. 213 f.

[4] *Ib.* p. 241.

[5] Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3222; Albers, 'El Monachismo prima di S. Benedetto; il monachismo nella Spagna,' *Rivista stórica Benedettina*, ix. [1914].

[6] Leander, *Libellus ad Florentinam*, in *PL* lxxii. 874–894; Isidore, *Regula Monachorum*, in *PL* lxxxiii. 867–894.

[7] Tajo of Saragossa, *PL* lxxx. 720 ff.

[8] Cf. Montalembert, ii. 186 f.; Leclercq, *L'Espagne chrétienne*, p. 325 f.

The Vandal persecution was unable to destroy all these monasteries, but it arrested for the time the progress of monasticism in Africa. Byzantine rule (533–709) restored peace and liberty, and a true renaissance of religion took place, in which monasticism naturally benefited. Several new monasteries were founded, notably at Ruspe and at Tebessa. The ruins of the latter still exist.[2] But the Muhammadan invasion was to destroy monastic life in Roman Africa as well as Christian life in general.

(*f*) On the Danube, in the region of Noricum, we have to mention the wonderful work among those people of St. Severinus († 482), called 'the apostle of Noricum.'[3]

2. From St. Benedict to the 13th century.—St. Benedict, born at Nursia (*c.* 480), died at Monte Cassino (*c.* 540), deserves a place apart in the history of Western monasticism. The influence exercised by his Rule in the West may be compared to that of St. Basil in the East. Having dwelt, at first, as a hermit among the Sabine mountains, he later gathered disciples round him, founded monasteries at Subiaco and Monte Cassino, and wrote a Rule which, after the lapse of two centuries, was to become the one monastic Rule of the West. It may, in fact, be said that the history of Western monasticism is practically identical, for the greater part of the Middle Ages, with that of the Benedictines.[4] The Rule of St. Benedict, which is divided into 73 chapters, is written for cenobites, and addresses itself exclusively to those who follow that form of monastic life. It teaches the virtues of humility, obedience, and poverty, and enjoins the practice of silence, hospitality, and manual work. It regulates the hours for prayer and lays down the order of the psalmody. The monastery forms, as it were, a little city or, better, a complete society provided with all its necessary organs. At the head of all is the abbot, assisted by his provost, or prior, and his seniors, while at the head of every 10 monks is the dean. Then there are the cellarer, who is charged with the temporal affairs of the monastery, and the various other officials that divide between them the different functions necessary to the well-being of the house. The monastery should, as far as possible, provide for itself and possess a garden, a mill, and all the necessary offices and work-shops. The sick, too, are to be specially taken care of, and the monks and the *oblati* receive necessary instruction. Guests are to be received with honour. Those who offend against the Rule must receive punishment according to their deserts.[1] Such is, in summary, the Rule of St. Benedict—a Rule characterized by great simplicity, but in which is clearly reflected that spirit of wise discretion and justice which was the genius of the Roman character, while at the same time it is penetrated through and through by the purest spirit of Christian asceticism, and rivals in its discretion and its sublimity of view the Rule of St. Basil itself.

St. Gregory († 604), the greatest of all the popes of the early Middle Ages, in giving to this Rule the support of his authority and in recounting, in his *Dialogues*, the life and miracles of its author, assured its predominance over all other monastic Rules. He himself founded a monastery in his own house (the Monastery of St. Andrew, on the Cœlian), in which the Rule of St. Benedict was observed, and sent to England one of its monks, his disciple St. Augustine, who, while commencing the work of converting the Anglo-Saxons, at the same time implanted in their midst that Rule which was destined to take such firm root there and to spread far and wide over the land.

(*a*) *England.*—The Christianity established by St. Augustine among the Anglo-Saxons was thoroughly monastic in character. In the greater number of towns—*e.g.*, at Canterbury, York, London, Ripon, Peterborough, etc.—the monastery was the centre of the new Christianity. The church of the monastery became the cathedral, and the abbot the bishop of the diocese that was thus gradually formed. The kingdoms of the Saxon heptarchy were one after another converted by the disciples or successors of St. Augustine, and the history of the four centuries extending from the death of St. Augustine in 605 to the Norman Conquest in 1066 is one of the finest parts of the history of Western monasticism.[2] It would be impossible to give even a summary of it here. We cannot do more than cite some of the principal characters and the names of the chief monasteries that stand out in its pages. Among the former we have the abbots and monks Aidan, Oswald, Wilfrid, Theodore, Cuthbert, Benedict Biscop, Aldhelm, Boniface, Bede, Alcuin, Odo, Dunstan; among the latter are Canterbury, Westminster, Malmesbury, York, Lindisfarne, Ripon, Peterborough, Yarrow, Wearmouth, Croyland, Whitby, Coldingham, Tynemouth, and Hartlepool. Even after the Norman Conquest in 1066 the history of monasticism in England does not come to an end. It was still flourishing in the 11th cent., and the Normans, far from destroying the English monasteries, founded new ones. Lanfranc and Anselm, archbishops of Canterbury, re-peopled the Saxon monasteries with colonies of monks brought over from the famous abbey of Bec and from other Norman monasteries. Cluny, too, made several foundations in the country, and the Cistercians, in their turn, established themselves at Waverley, Rievaulx, Fountains, and many other places. St. Stephen Harding, who exercised so great an influence on the order of Citeaux and gave it its organization, was an Englishman. The order of Savigny, which also had numerous foundations in England, was absorbed by that of Citeaux. But with the 14th and 15th centuries English monasticism began to decline.[1]

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[1] Cf. Leclercq, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Paris, 1904, ii. 73–77, and *DACL* ii.^{2} 3225 f.; Besse, *Le Monachisme africain*, Paris, 1900; Albers, 'Il Monachismo prima di S. Benedetto; il monachismo in Africa,' *Rivista stórica Benedettina*, ix.

[2] H. Saladin, 'Rapport sur une mission en Tunisie,' in *Archives des missions scientifiques*, 3rd ser., xiii. [1887] 179–181; cf. C. Diehl, *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques*, iv. [1893] 331–335, also *L'Afrique byzantine*, Paris, 1896, p. 429 f. For a list of the monasteries cf. Leclercq, in *DACL* ii.^{2} 3231, and *L'Afrique chrétienne*, ii. 73–77.

[3] *AS*, Jan. i. 483, 497; L. S. le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'hist. ecclés. des 6 prem. siècles*^{2}, Paris, 1701–12, xvi.

[4] On St. Benedict and the Benedictines see Mabillon, *opp. citt.*; G. Krätzinger, *Der Benediktinerorden und die Kultur*, Heidelberg, 1876; Berlière, *Mélanges d'hist. bénédictine*, Maredsous, 1897–1902; Bulteau, *Abrégé de l'hist. de l'ordre de saint Benoist jusqu'à la fin du IX^e siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1684; see esp. Chevalier, *Répertoire: Topo-bibliographie*, *s.v.* 'Bénédictins.'

[1] On the Rule of St. Benedict see the edd. and works of E. Schmidt (Ratisbon, 1891), E. Woelfflin (Leipzig, 1895), L. Traube (Munich, 1898), C. Butler, Morin, etc., as cited in art. 'Bénédictins,' in *DACL* ii.^{2} 664; Plenkers, *op. cit.*

[2] It is to this history of the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic monks that Montalembert has consecrated the greater part of his history of the monks of the West; see also W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new ed., London, 1817–30; E. L. Taunton, *The English Black Monks of St. Benedict*, 2 vols., do. 1897; F. A. Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, do. 1904.

(*b*) *France.*—However great the success of the Benedictine life in England, it may be said with truth, if its history be regarded as a whole, that France was the land of its predilection. The story of the Rule of St. Benedict being brought to Merovingian Gaul by his disciple, St. Maurus, and of the latter's foundation of the abbey of Glanfeuil on the banks of the Loire as the first Benedictine monastery in that country, has been contested.[2] Whatever the truth of this question may be, it is certain that the Rule was introduced into France at an early date—from the beginning of the 7th cent.—and it spread there with such rapidity that it soon succeeded in supplanting the Rule of St. Columban and in imposing its authority on all the monasteries. A synod held at Autun, in 670, speaks of it as though it were the only monastic Rule in existence, and that of Châlons, in 813, declares formally that it is followed in almost all the monasteries of the country.[3] The movement attained its apogee under Charlemagne, the great protector of the Benedictine monks, and under his son, Louis le Débonnaire. The reform of St. Benedict of Aniane witnesses at once to the unity and to the vitality of Benedictine life.

It is again in France that we must seek the origin of the important monastic reform of which Cluny was the cradle, and which, little by little, spread beyond the limits of France into Italy, Spain, England, Germany, and Poland. The abbey of Cluny, near Macon, was founded by William, Duke of Aquitaine, in 910; the monks were brought from the abbey of Baume, where the Constitutions of St. Benedict of Aniane were followed; hence the Cluniac reform sprang from that of the 9th century. Its first abbots, Bernon, Odo, Mayeul, Hugh, Odilo, and Peter the Venerable, raised Cluny to the highest degree of prosperity and extended its influence to every country in Christian Europe. The work of Cluny, in the religious, social, and political order, was considerable; during the 10th, 11th, and a part of the 12th centuries it exercised an unrivalled influence on Christian morals and institutions. From the political and religious points of view, it offered to the popes valuable and indispensable assistance in their struggle against the emperors of Germany, and the latter, as well as the kings of France, were obliged, more than once, to reckon with the powerful abbey.

Among the monasteries that accepted the Cluniac reform and flourished under it must be cited especially the great abbeys of Moissac, St. Martial, Uzerches, St. Jean d'Angély, St. Bertin, St. Germain d'Auxerre, and Vézelay in France, and Cava, Farfa, and S. Paolo fuori le mura in Italy.[4]

At the very moment when the influence of Cluny began to decline, a new star arose on the monastic horizon. On 21st March 1098, Robert, abbot of Molesmes, founded in the diocese of Dijon the abbey of Citeaux, which was to become the centre of a new reform of Benedictine life. While Cluny, although careful to remain faithful to the spirit of St. Benedict, had become the seat of culture, of the liberal arts, and of letters, and had exercised considerable influence on the external world, Citeaux, under the inspiration especially of St. Bernard, returned to an austerer conception of the monastic life. All sumptuousness and solemnity, even in the liturgical offices, were proscribed, monastic architecture was reduced to its simplest expression, and intellectual and artistic culture was set on one side, manual labour and the exercise of every kind of hard work taking its place.[1]

The Cistercian reform, whose influence, while not to be compared with that of Cluny, was nevertheless of considerable importance, especially during the 12th cent., spread beyond France and took in a large number of monasteries in other countries. It continued to exercise its influence till the end of the Middle Ages, and was revived on a new basis in the 17th cent. in the celebrated reform of La Trappe under the Abbé de Rancé.[2]

(*c*) *Germany.*—Before the introduction of the Benedictine Rule into Germany, monastic life was but feebly represented in that country. The Anglo-Saxon monks, SS. Pirmin and Boniface, with their disciples, brought to Germany, along with their missionary zeal, the traditions of Benedictine life, which scarcely existed there at that period, the only known trace during the 6th cent. being found in the life of St. Eugendus.[3]

During the 7th and 8th centuries the Celtic monks of St. Columban came into Germany and founded a number of monasteries. Among these we may mention St. Gall, Ebersmünster, Moyen-Moutier, St. Odile, Honau (Onogia), and Aschaffenburg, not to speak of those at Strassburg, Mainz, Cologne, Ratisbon, Würzburg, Erfurt, and Heggbach.[4]

In 1185 all the Scottish monasteries of Germany were united to form a congregation, under the jurisdiction of the abbot of St. James of Ratisbon, by Innocent III. Gradually the numbers of Scoto-Irish monks that were at first continually coming into Germany began to diminish, and by the 15th cent. they were replaced, in most of the monasteries, by Germans. This congregation ended by entering that of Bursfeld and becoming one with it. Mention, however, is made in the 17th cent. of a Scottish abbot, Ogilvie by name († 1646).

Reichenau on Lake Constance began, in 724, a history glorious in monastic annals, and Murbach, Fritzlar, Hersfeld, Heidenheim, and Bischofsheim are scarcely less famous. Fulda, in the days of its prosperity, counted 100 monks among its inmates and became a nursing-ground for missionaries, of whom the chief were to play an important part in the history of Christian Germany. Such were Sturmius, Willibald, Wunibald, and also SS. Walburga, Lioba, and Thekla. Synods held in Germany in 744 and 745 discussed monastic affairs and prescribed that all monks were to live according to the Rule of St. Benedict. Worthy of special mention in this connexion is the Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle in 802, famous for the legislation which it laid down for the monks. Under Dukes Ottilo and Tassilo, no fewer than 29 cloisters were founded, some of which have left a name behind them in history—*e.g.*, Tegernsee, Benediktbeuern, Polling, Wessobrunn, Kremsmünster, Scharnitz, and Metten.

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[1] Dugdale, *op. cit.*; *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls series, 5 vols., London, 1864–69, and several other vols. of the series; *A Hist. of the English Church*, ed. W. R. W. Stephens and W. Hunt, London, 1899–1910, ii. 273, iii. 306; L. Janauschek, *Origines Cistercienses*, Vienna, 1877, i. 22 f.

[2] C. de la Croix, *Fouilles archéol. de l'abbaye de Glanfeuil*, Paris, 1899; C. Port, *Dict. histor. de Maine-et-Loire*, do. 1879, iii. 428–431.

[3] Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, iii. 1144; Besse, *Les Moines de l'ancienne France*, Paris, 1906.

[4] P. Lorain, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Cluny*, Dijon, 1839; J. H. Pignot, *Hist. de l'ordre de Cluny*, 3 vols., Paris, 1868; E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrh.*, 2 vols., Halle, 1892–94; Berlière, *L'Ordre monastique*, p. 188 f.; cf. Chevalier, *Répertoire: Topo-bibliographie*, *s.v.* 'Cluny'; and esp. A. Molinier, *Les Sources de l'hist. de France*, Paris, 1901–04, I. ii. 234–244.

[1] P. Guignard, *Les Monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne*, Dijon, 1878; Janauschek, *op. cit.*; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Etude sur l'état intérieur des abbayes cisterciennes*, Paris, 1858; Berlière, *op. cit.* pp. 271–274; Chevalier, *Répertoire: Topo-bibliographie*, *s.v.* 'Cisterciens.'

[2] La Trappe (in the diocese of Séez, Orne). On La Trappe and its history see Chevalier, *Répertoire: Topo-bibliographie*, *s.v.* 'Trappe.'

[3] Achéry and Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum O.S.B.*, i. 558; cf. Hauck, ii. 732 f.; Heimbucher, i. 226.

[4] A. Bellesheim, *Gesch. der kathol. Kirche in Irland*, 3 vols., Mainz, 1890–91, i. 338 f., 585 f., 'Die Benediktinerstiftungen in dem Rheinland,' in *Studien und Mittheilungen*, ix. [1888] 445 f.

Charlemagne and Louis the Pious were the great protectors of the Benedictine monks. At their courts were to be seen Alcuin, Adalhard, Wala, Angibran, Arn, Ansegise, Paul the Deacon, and, above all, Benedict of Aniane, the great monastic reformer. The Cluniac reform found its way also to Germany, where it commenced a new era of activity and prosperity for the monastic life. The monasteries of Reichenau, St. Maximin of Trèves, Echternach, St. Emmeran of Ratisbon, Tegernsee, St. Maurice of Magdeburg, and Weissenburg flourished anew under its protection. Einsiedeln, whose patron was St. Meinrad, a hermit who died in 861, became likewise the centre of an important monastic reform,[1] which extended to the abbeys of Petershausen, Disentis, Pfäffers, St. Blaise and Muri, Hohentwiel, Kempten, Ebersberg, and Rheinau (near Schaffhausen). The monastery of St. Emmeran of Ratisbon in its turn introduced its own customs into the monasteries of St. Peter of Salzburg, Tegernsee, Prüll, Weltenburg, and several others. Ulrich of Ratisbon (or of Cluny, † 1093) was one of the most active agents in the Cluniac movement in Germany and Switzerland.

Hirsau, or Hirschau, founded about 830, was also of great importance from the monastic point of view. The constitutions of this monastery were adopted by 150 other monasteries. Hirschau, as well as Cluny, offered valuable assistance to St. Gregory VII. in his struggle against investitures and against the abuses among the clergy. Like the great Burgundian abbey, it also had much influence on art, architecture, and culture in general. The reform of Hirschau, while keeping its own spirit intact, was, to a large extent, inspired by that of Cluny. The annals of the abbey were written by Trithemius and Baselius.[2]

Another reform, which, like that of Hirschau, drew much of its inspiration from Cluny, while keeping certain special characteristics of its own, made itself felt not only in Italy, the land of its birth, but in Germany also. This was the reform inaugurated by the monastery of Fructuaria (Früdelle), near Turin, founded in 1003. Its constitutions were adopted by many Italian monasteries and in Germany, notably by the monasteries of Gorze, St. Maximin of Trèves, St. Blaise, in the Black Forest, and by Muri, Garsten, Gottweig, Lambach, etc.[3]

Besides these reforms issuing from within the monastic order itself, mention must be made of the efforts made by ecclesiastical councils to bring back the monasteries to the practice and observance of the Rule. In particular may be cited the Synod of Rouen (1074), and those of Poitiers (1078), Rome (1083), London (1112), and Paris (1212–13). The decrees of the last council, which received the approbation of Innocent III., exercised a great influence on the monastic order as a whole. The 4th Council of the Lateran (1215) established rules that are still in force at the present day, especially as regards the convoking of general chapters—a kind of monastic council, composed of abbots and delegates from the various monasteries, wherein are discussed matters relating to the discipline and general interests of the monastic life.[1]

3. From the 13th to the 20th century.—In the 13th cent., whilst monasticism, in spite of all these attempts at reform, continued to decline, new forms of the religious life arose which answered better perhaps to the spirit of the age, but which none the less drew numerous souls athirst for perfection and formed a current which, although not actually inimical to the ancient monastic institutions, was nevertheless very distinct from it. Such were the great Dominican and Franciscan orders and a few other religious families inspired with the same principles. No other attempt at monasticism that was really original and powerful remains to be considered, with the possible exception of the congregation of St. Maur. Hence it will be sufficient to give a brief outline of the principal characteristics of monastic history during the last centuries of the Middle Ages.

The great schism of the West and the Hundred Years' War dealt another terrible blow to the monastic orders, but the attempts at reformation were not less numerous than in the preceding centuries. The Council of Constance (1414–18) consecrated some of its decrees to the reformation of the Benedictine order, and was the factor that inspired a great meeting, comprising 131 abbots of various monasteries, which was held at Petershausen in 1417. In 1418 Pope Martin V. sent the abbot of Subiaco, Nicholas Seyringer, to Melk, the great Austrian abbey, to lay the foundation of that restoration of monastic life. The enterprise was successful, and a great number of the monasteries of Austria, Bavaria, and Swabia rallied to the movement—*inter alia*, Mariazell, Seittenstetten, St. Peter of Salzburg, Kremsmünster, St. Emmeran of Ratisbon, Braunau, Tegernsee. The great Italian abbeys of Subiaco and Farfa also accepted this reformation. In other respects all these monasteries remained independent and did not form a real congregation.[2]

The Council of Trent dealt with the question of monasteries as it did with all other Christian institutions. The 25th Session (3rd Dec. 1563) treats *de regularibus et monialibus*, renews the decree of Innocent III. and of the 4th Lateran Council, unites the exempt monasteries to form congregations, institutes, general chapters, and cloisters, and legislates concerning visitors, presidents of congregations, novices, and the election of superiors and nuns; in a word, it establishes a collection of rules and laws concerning the monastic life.[3] Congregations were immediately after founded on those principles.[4]

Even more important than the Melk reformation, so far at least as Germany is concerned, was that of Bursfeld. Founded in 1003 on the banks of the Weser and colonized by Corby, this abbey was destined to play an important part in monastic history from the 15th century. John

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[1] On Einsiedeln see *Annales Einsidlenses*, in Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Script.* iii. [1839] 145 ff. Chevalier, *Répertoire: Topo-bibliographie*, s.v. 'Einsiedeln.'

[2] J. Trithemius, *Chronicon Monasterii Hirsaugiensis*, Basel, 1560; P. Giseke, *Ausbreitung der Hirschauer Regel durch die Klöster Deutschlands*, Halle, 1877; cf. Heimbucher, i. 253, note 2.

[3] Albers, *Untersuchungen zu den ältesten Mönchsgewohnheiten*, Munich, 1905; cf. Heimbucher, i. 256; Berlière, *L'Ordre monastique*, p. 189.

[1] We have already seen that, even as far back as the time of St. Pachomius, the endeavour was made to unite monasteries in a species of federation; another example of this occurs in the 9th cent., under the authority of St. Benedict of Aniane. But it is not, in reality, till the 11th cent. that we find among the Cistercians the usage of general chapters properly so called. From the Cistercians the practice passed to the Benedictines, and from them to other orders (cf. Berlière, 'Les Chapitres généraux,' in *Mélanges d'hist. bénédictine*, 4th ser., Maredsous, 1902, p. 52 ff., and Heimbucher, i. 274 f.).

[2] A. Schram, *Chronicon Mellicense*, Vienna, 1702; M. Kropff, *Bibliotheca Mellicensis*, do. 1745; F. Keiblinger, *Gesch. des Benedictinerstiftes Melk*, 2 vols., do. 1851, 1869; Berlière, 'La Réforme de Melk au XVe siècle,' in *Revue Bénédictine*, xii. [1895] 204 ff.

[3] Petrus ab Audomaro (Walloncapello), *Institutionum monasticarum secundum Concilium Tridentinum Decreta*, Cologne, 1584.

[4] See the list in Heimbucher, i, 300 f.

Dederoth († 1439), who had already reformed the abbey of Clus, took Bursfeld in hand in 1433 and also Rheinhausen. The three monasteries remained closely united. In 1446 the abbot of Bursfeld became the president of the congregation. The constitutions show a solid organization, with general chapters, visitors, and every means of safeguarding the observance of piety and regularity. The success of this reformation grew from day to day. The cardinal of Cusa,[1] Nicholas V., and Pius II. became its ardent promoters. At the death of Abbot Johann von Hagen (1469) the congregation numbered 36 monasteries, which later increased to 230. In 1579 the abbey of Bursfeld, which up to this time had been the head-house of the congregation, went over to Protestantism under the influence of Julius of Brunswick, and the congregation was itself secularized in 1803.[2]

We have already spoken of the monastic origins in Spain. For a long time the Rule of St. Isidore was observed in that country, side by side with that of St. Benedict. The Synod of Coyaca (1050) prescribed that either the Rule of St. Isidore or that of St. Benedict should be observed in all monasteries in Spain. Not many years later, however, the influence of Cluny began to be felt and to spread throughout Spain; gradually it predominated, until it finally eliminated the observance instituted by St. Isidore. In the 14th and 15th centuries two important congregations rose up, those of Valladolid (1390) and Monserrat (1492). The latter made foundations in Portugal, Peru, and Mexico.[3] The movement of the claustrales at Saragossa and at Tarragona were less important.[4]

The Low Countries were a monastic land for centuries. Wilfrid of York, on the occasion of a journey to Rome in 678, having been thrown on the shores of Friesland, was there welcomed with great warmth. After his return to his monastery at Ripon, he sent over Willibrod, one of his monks, who established himself at Utrecht, and became the great apostle of Friesland, having St. Boniface as a fellow-labourer for some time. Other missionaries soon came from Iona, and, like England, the country became Christian and monastic at the same time. The most celebrated of these foundations was the monastery of Echternach.[5]

The Reformation in Germany in the 16th cent. led to the expulsion of the monks from their monasteries, the closing of monastic buildings, and the handing over of their revenues to laymen, and especially to Protestant princes. A great number were sacked. It has been calculated that in the Peasant War more than 1000 monasteries and castles were destroyed. A few monasteries were, however, saved from the general ruin (cf. Heimbucher, i. 295).

In England the effects of the Protestant Reformation were still more terrible for the monasteries. In 1524 the Holy See had caused Cardinal Wolsey to make a visitation of the monasteries, and one of the consequences of this general visit was their confiscation and almost complete secularization by Henry VIII. and his minister Thomas Cromwell (1534). Elizabeth finished the work of destruction in 1560. Scotland's turn came later on (1559–1560). In all it has been estimated that 578 monasteries, of which 63 were Benedictine, were confiscated. Besides the falls and lamentable defections there were not wanting monks who became martyrs, and who paid with their lives their fidelity to their vows.[1] Benedictine life was maintained throughout all these centuries of persecution, and the Anglo-Benedictine congregation has preserved the inheritance of its ancestors to the present day.

The Reformation which destroyed the monasteries in England and Germany did not succeed in establishing itself in France. There the monasteries held out. The 17th cent. was marked by an important monastic restoration, the Benedictine congregation of SS. Vannes and Hydulphus in Lorraine and that of St. Maur in France. These two congregations, with an end and a constitution that were similar, had for their common object to re-establish a stricter mode of observance in Benedictine monasteries and to bring back the monks to the rigorous practices of the Benedictine Rule. The very large part played by the congregation of St. Maur in intellectual work bore splendid fruits and helped to found a school of erudition that has given to France a Mabillon and a Montfaucon, a Denys de Sainte-Marthe, a d'Achéry, a Coustant, a Ruinart, etc.—a school that has never been equalled.[2]

A certain number of new orders which practised the monastic life and accepted the Rule of St. Benedict as their fundamental guide may be regarded as branches of the Benedictine order. We can give only a very brief outline of their history here.

(*a*) *Sylvestrines.*—The first of these orders sprung from the Benedictine trunk is the Sylvestrines, so called from the name of its founder, Sylvester Gonzelin, of the family of Gozzolini († 1267). In 1227 he retired to Osimo and followed the Rule of St. Benedict, adding new austerities, until in a short time a few ancient monasteries took their place under the new discipline. At the time of its greatest prosperity it comprised 56 monasteries, the greater part of which were in Italy and a few in Portugal and Brazil. At the present day this number is greatly diminished. The church of St. Stephen del Cacco in Rome now belongs to them.

(*b*) *Celestines.*—The Celestines are a more important branch than the Sylvestrines. They owe their foundation to the pope of that name, St. Celestine V., who at first was a hermit on Monte Morone in the Abruzzi, and then at Mt. Majella. He endeavoured to combine under one manner of life the cenobitic principle of the Benedictines and the practices of the anchoretic life. When he became pope, he protected and favoured the order which he had founded, approved of its constitutions, and accorded it many privileges. His congregation, having made numerous foundations in Italy, spread into France, Saxony, Bohemia, and the Low Countries. It possessed 150 monasteries, of which 96 were in Italy and 21 in France.[3]

(*c*) *Olivetans.*—The Olivetans were founded by Bernard Tolomei († 1348), a professor of Law at Siena, who, in company with a few companions, retired to Mount Oliveto, some leagues from Siena, whence his congregation takes its name. They lived as hermits, while following the Rule of St. Benedict in so far as its main principles are concerned. Pope John XXII. gave his approbation to their constitutions. Fourteen years after its foundation more than 100 monasteries, including Monte Cassino, had rallied to this mode of life. Their principal monasteries were those of San Miniato in Florence, and Settignano and S. Francesco Romana at Rome. Among their members are counted 4 cardinals, 5 archbishops, 30 bishops, and a few savants, such as Lancelotti, Bianchieri, etc.[1]

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[1] For this great man's influence in the reformation of the monasteries of Germany, Switzerland, and Spain, cf. Heimbucher, i. 292, note.

[2] On Bursfeld see J. G. Leuckfeld, *Antiquitates Bursfeldenses*, Leipzig and Wolfenbüttel, 1713; Berlière, 'La Congrégation de Bursfeld,' in *Revue Bénédictine*, xvi. [1899] 360 f., 385 f., 481 f., 550 f.

[3] Hélyot, vi. 236 f.; Curiel, *Congregatio Hispano-benedictina*; cf. *Studien und Mittheilungen*, xxv., xxvi., xxvii.

[4] Besse, *Revue Bénédictine*, xvii. [1900] 275 f.

[5] O. Reiners, *Die St. Willibrod-Stiftung in Echternach*, Echternach, 1895; Heimbucher, i. 233; Chevalier, *Répertoire: Topo-bibliographie*, *s.v.* 'Echternach.'

[1] A. Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution*, Oxford, 1909; Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, London, 1888; Taunton, *op. cit.*

[2] On St. Vannes and St. Hydulphus congregation see Hélyot, vi. 272 f.; on St. Maur, *ib.* p. 286; Heimbucher, i. 305 f.; B. Pez, *Bibliotheca Benedictino-Mauriana, seu de ortu, vitis et scriptis patrum Benedictinorum e congr. S. Mauri in Francia*, Augsburg, 1716; P. Le Cerf de la Viéville, *Bibliothèque historique et critique des auteurs de la congr. de St. Maur*, The Hague, 1726, etc.; cf. Heimbucher, i. 305; Chevalier, *Répertoire: Topo-bibliographie*, *s.v.* 'Bénédictins.'

[3] Cœl. Telera di Manfredonia, *Historie degli uomini illustri per santità del ordine dei Celestini*, Bologna, 1648; on Celestine V. cf. *AS*, May, iv. 418–537, and Heimbucher, i. 279.

(*d*) *Humiliati, Pulsano, and Monte Vergine.*—Three other orders or congregations—the Humiliati, Pulsano, and Monte Vergine—are also offshoots in Italy of the Benedictine tree. The first was founded in the 12th cent., with the aid of St. Bernard, by St. John Oldrado († 1159) near Cosmo, but later they joined the partisan demagogues of Arnold of Brescia and then the Waldenses. St. Charles Borromeo made a futile attempt to reform them; the rebel monks tried to get rid of the saint by endeavouring to bring about his death, and were consequently suppressed by St. Pius V. in 1571.[2] The order of Pulsano, which never made any great progress, was founded in Apulia by St. John de Matera († 1139).[3] That of the Guilhelmites, or hermit Benedictines of Monte Vergine, was founded by a friend of St. John de Matera—St. William (Lat. Guilielmus) of Vercelli († 1142), who had at first lived as a hermit on Monte Vergine, in the neighbourhood of Naples. He had a certain number of followers, and built several other monasteries in Italy and even as far off as Sicily. The monastery of Monte Vergine became and has remained the centre of a very flourishing pilgrimage.[4]

(*e*) *Fontavellane.*—Among the reforms in the Benedictine order we must not omit to mention that of Fontavellane under the inspiration of Dominic of Foligno († 1031) at Faenza in Umbria. St. Peter Damian († 1072) was its most powerful and most fervent promoter, and St. Dominic le Cuirassé ('the armoured') is also one of its glories. Its Rule added new austerities to those of St. Benedict's. In 1570 it was united to the Camaldolese.[5]

(*f*) *Camaldolese.*—This was one of the most numerous and most powerful of the congregations of the Benedictine order. They essayed to combine the cenobitic with the anchoretic mode of life. At one time they numbered 2000 monks, and their history is intermingled with the most important events of the Church in Italy in the 11th century. Their founder was St. Romuald († 1027), who was at first abbot of San Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, and withdrew thence to Campo Maldoli (whence the name 'Camaldoli' or 'Camaldolese') in the Apennines with a colony of hermits.[6]

(*g*) *Vallombrosa.*—The order of Vallombrosa was founded by St. John Gualbert († 1073) at Vallombrosa in Tuscany. The founder, who was not ignorant of the attempt of the Camaldolese, also took up the idea of uniting the anchoretic life with the cenobitic mode, basing his plan on the Rule of St. Benedict. This congregation, like that of the Camaldolese, also played an important part under Leo IX. and St. Gregory VII. in the reformation of the Church in its fight against simony.[1]

(*h*) *Grammont and Fontevrault.*—France, which, in Cluny and Citeaux, had given birth to the two most illustrious reformations of the Benedictine order, has still two more interesting attempts to its credit, although of much less importance—the order of Grammont and that of Fontevrault. The first resembles the Camaldolese order. Its founder, St. Stephen of Muret, near Limoges († 1142), where he lived a very mortified life, withdrew to Grandmond, or Grammont, a place which was at that time a desert in the same country. His order was more or less of a success in France, and at one time numbered about 60 monasteries.[2] Fontevrault (*Fons Ebraldi*), in the Department of Maine-et-Loire, gave its name to the order founded by Robert d'Arbrissel, who renewed an ancient institution, namely, that of double monasteries.[3] The founder's influence as a missionary and preacher was enormous, and at his death 3000 monks and nuns were united under his guidance. His Rule spread to England and Spain, but Fontevrault remained the principal house. The most rigorous discipline maintained the spirit of St. Robert in the monasteries thus brought together.[4]

There were also a few partial reformations that arose in certain great abbeys which we might call monastic capitals, Chaise-Dieu, L'Abbaye de Cluse, Sasso-Bigno, Sauve Majour, Le Bec, Thiron, Savigny, Saint-Sulpice, and Cadouin.[5]

(*i*) *Mechitarists.*—The Mechitarists represented one of the most curious attempts at reform in the Benedictine order. Mechitar (Mechithar or Mekhitar, † 1749) was an Armenian who, with the object of enlightening his fellow-countrymen concerning the Roman Catholic Church, resolved to found an order consecrated to the work of the mission and the education of youth and the composition or the translation of Catholic works. In Armenia he was subjected to long persecutions on the part of the schismatics, but, far from being discouraged, he succeeded in founding his congregation in Armenia. His most celebrated foundation, however, was in the island of St. Lazarus, near Venice; it became a very active centre for Armenian studies. The monastery of Vienna, founded in 1810, is also celebrated for its printing-press and its seminary.

(*j*) *Carthusians.*—The Carthusians, like the Camaldolese, represent a mixture of the anchoretic and the eremitic modes of life in Western monasticism. St. Bruno, their founder, withdrew to the desert of the Chartreuse (whence the name 'Carthusian') in the diocese of Grenoble, France, where he established a little colony of hermits, whose successors have succeeded in keeping together and maintaining their traditions down to the present day. A great number of foundations were made throughout all the nations of Europe. In a Carthusian monastery each monk lives in his own cell and cultivates his little garden. They come together only for divine office in choir, for conference, or for chapter, and on certain days they meet in the common refectory and for the weekly walk. They have always been noted for their fervour, and among them there have been a few ascetic writers of high merit. Some of their chapter-houses are celebrated for their architectural beauty and for the art treasures which they contain.[1]

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[1] S. Lancelotti, *Historiæ Olivetanæ*, Venice, 1623; Hélyot, vi. 192 f.

[2] For the Humiliati cf. P. Sabatier, *S. François d'Assise*, Paris, 1894, p. 158 (Eng. tr., London, 1901); H. Tiraboschi, *Memorie degli Humiliati*, Modena, 1766; *Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta*, 3 vols., Milan, 1766–69; Hélyot, vi. 152 f.

[3] Hélyot, vi. 135 f.

[4] T. Costo, *Storia dell' origine del S. luogo di Monte Vergine*, Venice, 1691; G. Giordano, *Croniche di Monte Vergine*, Naples, 1648; Hélyot, vi. 122 f.

[5] R. Biron, *Vie de Saint Pierre Damien*, Paris, 1908.

[6] A. Florentinus, *Historiarum Camaldulensium*, etc., Florence, 1575; G. Grandi, *Dissertationes Camaldulenses*, Lucca, 1707; cf. Chevalier, *Répertoire: Topo-bibliographie*, s.v. 'Camaldules.'

[1] V. Simius, *Catalogus virorum illustrium congregationis Vallis Umbrosæ*, Rome, 1693; Hélyot, v. 298 f.

[2] J. Levêque, *Annales ordinis Grandi-Montensis*, Troyes, 1662.

[3] On the double monasteries cf. Mary Bateson, 'Origin and early History of double Monasteries,' *Trans. of the Royal Hist. Society*, xiii. [1899] 137–198; J. Varin, 'Mémoire sur les causes de dissidences entre l'église bretonne et l'église romaine,' *MAIBL* v. [1858] 165 f.

[4] H. Nicquet, *Hist. de l'ordre de Fontevraud*, Angers, 1586, Paris, 1642; M. Cosnier, *Fontis Ebraldi exordium*, Masserano, 1641.

[5] For the details cf. Heimbucher, i. 265.

The 19th cent. was one of restoration for monasticism. While in England, Germany, Austria, and Italy the ancient monastic congregations and the great abbeys were maintained in spite of all difficulties, some attempts at monastic restoration were made in France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and America. It will suffice to refer the reader to the article 'Benedictine Order,' in *CE* ii. 443–465, for a fuller account of these attempts (cf. Heimbucher, i. 600).

V. *CONCLUSION.* — In an article that must necessarily be brief, we have been able to give only a very short summary or historical outline. To give it any degree of completeness one should study in detail the influence exercised by the monks on the Church and on society in general; consider what has been their work of sanctification, of charity, of apostleship; enumerate the services which they have rendered to civilization as savants, litterateurs, artists, agriculturists, and, at times, as politicians. It would then be seen that, although vowed by their monastic profession to a life of retreat and renunciation, which is the kernel of their vocation, the monks have accomplished a work that has been equalled by no other society down to the present day.

If this résumé of monastic history had any pretensions to completeness, some mention should here be made of the nuns, in whose ranks are found characters as remarkable as those of Lioba, Mechtild, Gertrude, Hildegarde, Roswitha, and others. From the historical point of view, however, this is unnecessary. The nuns brought no new element into the monastic life, but were content to follow in the footsteps of the monks under the influence of the great reformers of the monastic order.

LITERATURE.—U. Berlière, *L'Ordre monastique des origines au XII^e siècle*, Maredsous, 1912; E. C. Butler, 'Monasticism,' in *Cambridge Medieval History*, i., Cambridge, 1911, pp. 521–542, 683–687; U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen-âge : Topo-bibliographie*, Paris, 1894–1903, *s.vv.* 'Ascètes, Ascétisme,' 'Moines'; H. J. Feasey, *Monasticism : What is it?* London, 1898; J. O. Hannay, *The Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism*, do. 1903; A. Harnack, *Das Mönchtum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte*, Giessen, 1895 (cf. *Reden und Aufsätze*, i. [Giessen, 1904]), Eng. tr., London, 1901; M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, Paderborn, 1896 f.; P. Hélyot and M. Bullot, *Histoire des ordres religieux*, 8 vols., Paris, 1860 (orig. ed. 1714–19); H. Leclercq, art. 'Cénobitisme,' in *DACL* ii.² [1910] 3047–3248; C. Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, Eng. tr., London, 1896; H. B. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal from the Earliest Times down to the Coming of the Friars*, do. 1913; O. Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*, 2 vols., Frankfort, 1897.

For a complete bibliography see Heimbucher, i. 46 f.; art. 'Monasticism,' in *CE* x. 463, 464, 467, 472; art. 'Mönchtum,' in *PRE*³ xiii. 214 ff.; Berlière, *op. cit.* (bibliography at the end of each chapter), and *Bulletin d'hist. bénédictine*, 1907–12, Suppl. to *Revue Bénédictine*, Maredsous, 1912; Butler, *op. cit.* pp. 683–687; Leclercq, *loc. cit.*, and Chevalier, *Répertoire : Topo-bibliographie*, *locc. citt.*

F. CABROL.

MONASTICISM (Buddhist).

I. The monastic order.—The monastic order in Buddhism, as instituted by Gautama Buddha himself, was not essentially a new creation in India, but was derived from ancient Hindu usage and practice. Separation from the world, in the solitary existence of a hermit or ascetic or in regulated communities, had been almost from time immemorial a characteristic feature of Indian life. In adopting the principle of monastic rule and self-discipline as the basis of his religious system, and defining this as the sole way of religious attainment, the Buddha presented to his hearers no new doctrine or ideal, but urged and enforced a duty familiar to them from the teaching of their own sacred books. The distinctive feature of the Buddhist order, in which it was differentiated from its predecessors, and to which, in large part at least, it owed its wide extension and success, was the removal of all restrictions of caste. Membership of the order was open to all from the highest to the lowest, without distinction of race or birth. All alike were bound by the vow of poverty, relinquished all personal or individual possession of worldly goods, and sought in meditation and spiritual endeavour that deliverance from the bonds of existence and misery which, the Buddha taught, could never be achieved in the turmoil and distraction of a life in the world. To indicate, therefore, the life of renunciation and strenuous pursuit of the highest aim to which they pledged themselves the monks were known as *bhikṣus*, 'beggars,' *śramaṇas* or *śrāmaṇeras*, 'endeavourers,' the latter term being given to the novices or junior monks, and *sthaviras*, 'elders,' to those who were the senior or ruling members in the monasteries. The community of monks as a whole was known as the *Saṅgha*, or order, and with the Buddha himself and the *Dharma*, the sacred rule or law, formed a Buddhist triad, each member of which was idealized and invested with a sacred character, and ultimately became the object of a definite worship.[1] On the sculptures the Saṅgha is represented as a man holding a lotus in his hand, the symbol of stainless purity.

In inception and intention the monasteries were not the established homes of the monks. To the latter no permanent abodes were assigned, but they were to follow the wandering life of an ascetic or beggar, dependent for their livelihood upon the gifts of the laity, their only shelter the trees of the forest, or booths constructed of leaves and branches (*parṇaśālā, pannasālā*). Only during *Vassa* (*Varṣa*), the season of the rains, when travelling became impracticable or could be prosecuted only at the grave risk of injury to living beings, was it incumbent upon them to remain in a definite place or a permanent building. Caves, either natural or artificially excavated in the rock, seem to have been among the favourite dwelling-places of the early Buddhist monks. Gautama is represented as giving permission for five different kinds of abodes (*pañcha lenāni*): 'I allow you, O Bhikkhus, dwellings of five kinds, vihāras, aḍḍhayogas, storied dwellings, attics, caves.'[2] The more elaborate and permanent dwellings were, in the first instance, apparently always the gifts of wealthy laymen, who desired in this way to do honour to Gautama himself or to the order which he had founded. A usual name for the larger monasteries was *saṅghārāma*, the abode or delight of the Saṅgha; and the term *vihāra* was employed also to denote the temple where the images were enshrined, in a building which, in the great monasteries at least, was usually distinct from the main hall.

It became necessary, moreover, at an early date to place restrictions upon the absolute freedom of entrance into the order. Such restrictions took the form of the prohibition of admission to those suffering from any mental or bodily defect, as the blind or lame, and to the vicious in habit or life, gamblers and those involved in debt.[1] The consent of parents also was required in the case of a minor. No distinction or priority of caste, however, was ever recognized in Buddhism, although it seems to have been true that the earliest converts were for the most part Brāhmans. Inasmuch as in and through the order alone was final deliverance to be attained, it was an essential feature of the Buddha's gospel that no accident of birth should hinder a man from entering upon and prosecuting the path that led to salvation, to *nirvāṇa*. It was impossible for the layman to work out his own salvation while in the world, fettered by its ordinances and under the spell of its attractions. He must renounce the world and become a monk, that, undistracted and at leisure, he might pursue the highest ends and win for himself final deliverance.

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[1] A. Miræus, *Origines monasteriorum Carthusianorum per orbem universum*, Cologne, 1609; G. Corbin, *Hist. sacrée de l'ordre des Chartreux*, Paris, 1653; C. Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, new ed., 8 vols., Neuville-sous-Montreuil, 1888–91; on the bibliography of the Carthusians cf. Chevalier, *Répertoire : Topo-bibliographie*, *s.v.* 'Chartreux.'

[1] Thus in the 'three-refuge formula' which every candidate for admission into the order was required to repeat the Saṁgha is personified, and to each in succession the suppliant applies for protection and aid: *Buddhaṁ śaraṇaṁ gachchhāmi, Dharmaṁ śaraṇaṁ gachchhāmi, Saṅghaṁ śaraṇaṁ gachchhāmi*, 'I seek refuge in the Buddha, the Religion, and the Order' (*Mahāv.* i. 12. 4).

[2] *Chullav.* vi. 1. 2; *SBE* xx. 158; cf. *Mahāv.* i. 30. 4, where these are termed 'extra allowances'; *aḍḍhayoga* is explained by the commentator to mean a gold-coloured Bengali house.

The earliest ceremony of admission to the monastic order appears to have been as simple as possible, and confined to a recital of the 'three-refuge formula,' together with a declaration on the part of the applicant of his desire to become a monk. At first Gautama himself received and admitted all candidates. Later he entrusted this right to the monks themselves, each monk being permitted to ordain one novice. This rule again was found to be too strict, and ultimately the only limit to the number that a monk might himself receive was the condition of efficient oversight.[2]

On admission the candidate provided himself with the usual almsbowl and the appropriate three vestments (*trichīvara*) which constituted almost his sole possessions.[3] The colour of the robes seems to have been originally dull red or reddish-yellow, as worn by most of the Hindu ascetics, but varies at the present time in different countries; in the south it is usually yellow. They were to be made in patches or torn pieces, like the rice-fields of Magadha.[4] Besides the almsbowl the ordained monk carried also with him a staff, a razor and tooth-pick, and a water-strainer, the last in order to ensure that no living creature should inadvertently be destroyed by him when drinking. The use of the rosary in addition was a practice of later origin. Frequently the robes were the gift to the Buddha or his disciples of wealthy laymen, who sought to secure merit for themselves by generosity to the order.

Upon converts from other sects who came desiring to receive *upasampadā* a probation (*parivāsa*, 'sojourn,' 'delay') of four months was imposed. Fire-worshippers and Jaṭilas (wearing the *jaṭā*, *i.e.* with matted hair), however, were to be accepted forthwith, on the ground of their orthodox belief; Śākyas also, because of their kinship with the Buddha.[5]

The daily routine of monastic life admitted of little variation. The day began early with recitation and prayers, followed by the regular round for alms. Silently and with downcast eyes the monks moved in procession and presented themselves before the householders' doors, to receive whatever food might be placed in their bowls. For this they were not allowed to make request, as the Brāhman students and ascetics were accustomed to do. Whatever was bestowed they were to accept with gratitude; if no gift were offered, they were to pass on to another house without showing resentment. On their return a simple noon-day meal was followed by rest and meditation, the day closing with service and recitations in the temple or hall of the monastery. In most of the monasteries regular instruction was given to the *śrāmaṇeras*, or junior monks, and an elementary education was thus available for the entire male population. There were no public services, however, within the monasteries, nor any worship in the usual sense of the term. Only in *Vassa* did the monks ordinarily engage in preaching, or place themselves at the service of the laity for the reading of the Scriptures or prayer. Twice a month at the new and full moons on the *uposatha* days, the days of abstinence and fasting, the *pratimokṣa*,[1] or confession of sin, was to be formally recited at a full chapter of the monks. Later a weekly recitation was instituted, which included the intermediary days, on the seventh and twenty-first of the lunar month.[2]

In intention and practice, therefore, the Saṅgha formed a brotherhood, within which no distinction was made of rank or birth; age, learning, and seniority formed the only title to authority and respect. The control of the monasteries was in the hands of the *sthaviras*, the elders or senior monks. The *upādhyāyas* or *āchāryas* were ordained members of the fraternity, of some years' standing, qualified by character and learning to give instruction and to conduct the recitations and prayers. The novices or junior monks were required to devote themselves to study, to perform the necessary services of the monastery buildings, to wait upon the senior monks, and sometimes to attend them when they moved abroad. All alike pledged themselves to obey the rules and discipline of the order. There were, however, no irrevocable vows. The monk was free at any time without blame to discard his robes and return to the world. In this way in some Buddhist countries the entire male population passed through the monastery schools, and for a longer or shorter period wore the yellow vestments. By his return to the world the monk definitely desisted from his endeavour to secure for himself deliverance from suffering and misery; for only within the order, according to the teaching of the Buddha, was salvation to be attained. Lay brethren also (*upāsaka*, 'worshipper,' 'servant') were admitted to the monastery as labourers and servants, and upon them a less strict discipline and obligation were imposed. Nothing further probably was required of them than to recite the 'three-refuge formula.' They took no part in the regular life of the monastery, did not join in the daily itinerancy for alms, and were in all matters under the direction of the monks. The outside laity also were accustomed to visit the monasteries to make offerings at the shrines.

The rules of extreme poverty incumbent upon the monks individually did not extend to the monasteries in their corporate capacity. These might be and often were powerful and wealthy corporations, possessed of great resources, and wielding a corresponding influence in the neighbouring districts. Their property consisted for the most part of land and the revenues of estates or villages which had been granted to them in perpetuity by wealthy patrons, whose piety and liberality earned its recompense in the merit which thereby accrued to the donor. Gifts in money as well as in kind were frequently bestowed. Sometimes also these donations took the form of the building and furnishing of monasteries for the use of the brethren. Such benefactions are recorded within the lifetime of Gautama himself. He gave his permission for the dedication of the estate and buildings, expressed his pleasure at the meritorious service of his followers, and prophesied of the future good which would be theirs as a certain reward. In respect, however, of their wealth and resources the monasteries of Buddhist countries differ to a considerable extent. In Ceylon, with the exception of a few that are more influential and renowned, the buildings are small, and shelter few inmates. In Mongolia and Tibet they are large and elaborately furnished and decorated, and frequently occupy imposing positions of great natural beauty. Burma and Siam possess buildings of much architectural merit; and the monasteries and temples of Japan are not excelled for stateliness and charm by any in the whole Buddhist world. The Chinese monasteries have suffered much from neglect and decay, and in many instances have within recent years been altogether abandoned, or diverted to secular purposes.

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[1] *Mahāv.* i. 39–76.

[2] *Ib.* 52, 55. See art. INITIATION (Buddhist).

[3] The regulations with regard to clothing appear to have been in part polemical and directed against the Jain ascetics, who went about unclothed.

[4] *Mahāv.* viii. 12.

[5] *Ib.* i. 38.

[1] Pāli *pātimokkha*, 'release,' 'liberation.' That the term ordinarily conveyed this meaning there can be no doubt. Its original significance is in dispute (see Kern, pp. 74 and note, 85 ff.).

[2] Kern, p. 99 f.

2. **Nuns.**—Apparently only with much reluctance did the Buddha consent to the establishment of an order of nuns (*bhikṣuṇīs*, Pāli *bhikkhunīs*). The traditional account relates that at the thrice-repeated request of Mahāpajāpatī, Gautama's aunt and nurse, strongly supported by Ānanda, the Buddha gave his permission for women to 'go out from the household life and enter the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata.' The concession, however, would prove disastrous, so Gautama prophesied, to the prosperity and duration of the faith which he taught; the pure religion and the good law would endure only for five hundred years instead of a thousand. On the same occasion he prescribed the obligations and duties of the *bhikkhunīs* contained in 'Eight Chief Rules,' to which they were bound in strict obedience. The regulations involved subservience to and dependence upon the order of monks in all respects. A nun even of a hundred years' standing was to rise and respectfully salute even the youngest monk, nor was a nun to venture to admonish a monk, though she must submit to receive admonition from him. Further a nun may not keep *Vassa* in a district in which no monk is resident.[1] It is probable that the ordination of women as *bhikkhunīs* and the establishment of nunneries are in reality due to a later age than that of the founder of Buddhism. The institution has never become popular or gained a strong hold in any Buddhist country; and the number of the nuns has always been small relatively to the number of monks.

3. **India.**—The Chinese pilgrims, Fā-Hian, Hiuen-Tsiang, and others, in the 5th and following centuries of the Christian era, found monasticism flourishing in N. India, and the great monasteries with their thousands of learned and studious monks exercised a powerful and attractive influence. They belonged in almost equal proportion to the two great schools of Buddhist doctrine, the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna (*qq.v.*). In the time, however, of the visit of Hiuen-Tsiang, the most renowned of the Chinese monks (A.D. 629–645), they seem to have been losing ground everywhere to the rival sects of the Brāhmans. The most famous Buddhist monastery was that at Nālanda, the modern Barāgāon near Gayā (*q.v.*), a description of which is given by the latter pilgrim.[2] See, further, art. NĀLANDA.

4. **Ceylon.**—In Ceylon the power and influence of the community during the early centuries of the Christian era, under the rule of the native Ceylonese kings, who were enthusiastic Buddhists, attained a high level, and were exercised not only ecclesiastically but also in political affairs. The rulers themselves received *abhiṣeka* (*q.v.*) at the hands of the monks, who not only offered advice and exercised authority in matters of State, but as judges decreed penalties for breaches of the law. On the other hand, the kings interfered in the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, and are themselves said to have taught publicly and expounded the principles of the religion. The most flourishing period of monastic life, when the communities of the monks were most numerous and wealthy, appears to have been from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 10th cent. after Christ, when the Tamil invaders from S. India began to overrun the northern half of the island, which was then the chief home of religious faith and prosperity, destroying the monasteries and introducing the beliefs and practices of Hinduism. Towards the close of the 12th cent. a brief revival of national religion took place with the re-establishment of national independence under Parākrama the Great († *c.* A.D. 1197). After the death of the king, however, a decline of national and religious life again set in, during which the monasteries and schools of Buddhism manifested little vigour or initiative, and, although the religious life of the community maintained itself outwardly, it gradually fell to a low level of intelligence and spirituality. Only within the last few years have there been signs of a renewed vitality and interest in the purer doctrines and principles of the faith, and of energy or zeal on behalf of its preservation and extension.

The chief authority for the history of the order in Ceylon is the *Mahāvaṁsa*, or 'Great Chronicle,' a native record of religious and political events in the island from the introduction of Buddhism by Mahinda (Mahendra), the son, or, according to Hiuen-Tsiang, the younger brother, of Aśoka, at the close of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd cent. B.C., to the reign of King Mahāsena in the earlier part of the 4th cent. A.D.[1] There is also a collection of devotional 'songs' or 'psalms' of the monks (*Theragāthā*) contained in the *Sutta-Piṭaka* of the Pāli Scriptures, which throws much light on the thoughts and aspirations of the inmates of the monasteries, and gives on the whole a high conception of their piety and self-denying spirit. A similar collection of *Therīgāthā*, 'Songs of the Nuns,' forms part of the same *Piṭaka*.[2] The defect of the *Mahāvaṁsa* regarded as an authority, over and above its obvious exaggeration of details and naive acceptance of miraculous traditions intended to glorify the course of Buddhist history, is its partisan character. Written in the interest and from the point of view of the monks of the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura, the capital city of N. Ceylon and for many centuries the centre of Buddhist monastic life and enterprise, it takes no account of the development of doctrine or teaching in the two great rival communities of the Abhayagiri and the Jetāvana monasteries, each with an independent life of its own. For a period of more than ten or twelve centuries, to the close of the 12th cent. A.D., when the leading sects were reunited, no record is available of the activities or influence of these two important monastic institutions. Apparently they were protestant in their beliefs and practices as regarded the leading and established church of the Mahāvihāra. To what extent, however, their teaching diverged from the orthodox standard, or their manner of life was nonconformist, we have no means of ascertaining.[3]

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[1] *Chullav.* x. 1; *SBE* xx. 320 ff.

[2] S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, London, 1906, ii. 167 f., 170 ff.

[1] See *Mahāvaṁsa*, tr. into Eng. by W. Geiger and M. H. Bode, Oxford, 1914, with Introduction and references to other literature. The text of the *Mahāvaṁsa* was edited and published by Geiger for the *PTS* in 1908, and an earlier tr. by G. Turnour and L. C. Wijesiṁha was reprinted at Colombo in 1889.

[2] The Pāli text of both collections was edited by H. Oldenberg and R. Pischel, London, 1893. Translations of the *Therīgāthā* and *Theragāthā* by C. A. Rhys Davids under the titles of *Psalms of the Early Buddhists, the Sisters*, and *Psalms of the Early Buddhists, the Brethren*, were published at Oxford in 1909 and 1913.

[3] See Cave, *Ruined Cities of Ceylon*; Copleston, *Buddhism in Magadha and Ceylon*^{2}, ch. xxiv.

More recently there has been a recrudescence of sectarian differences in the island. These, however, concern monastic usage and habit rather than belief; and in the latter respect there is little if any variation throughout Ceylon. There are three chief sects, the origin of which appears to have been due in all instances to external initiative and influence; and one of these at least seems to owe its existence to a distinct protest against laxity of demeanour and rule. The earliest and most numerous sect is known as the Siamese, established about the middle of the 18th cent. by a number of monks from Siam, who came to Ceylon to restore, it is said, the true succession which had been lost. About fifty years later a separation took place, apparently on disciplinary, not doctrinal grounds, and the Amarapura sect was founded, its leaders being monks who owed their rank and ordination to the Burmese city. The third and protestant sect, the most recent and numerically the least important, is the Rāmanya or Rangoon. The Siamese is the most wealthy and numerous, including among its followers about half of the monks of the island. Most of the important and popular temples and shrines are in their hands. From ten to fifteen per cent belong to the Rāmanya. These last pledge themselves to a stricter observance of the vow of poverty, and neither individually nor collectively do they own, as do the others, landed property. They follow also a simpler mode of life, and avoid with the greatest scrupulousness all contact with the worship or customs of Hinduism. Outwardly the sects differ in the manner in which the yellow robe is worn; the Siamese leave the right shoulder uncovered, but the Rāmanya and the Amarapura draw the robe over both shoulders. The Rāmanya is most influential in the southern part of the island, the Siamese in the central provinces; but the latter is said to be losing ground to its younger rival.[1]

The monasteries of Ceylon are for the most part small, rarely containing more than from ten to twenty monks. The few larger and more important institutions alone, as at Kandy, will accommodate up to forty inmates. In the country districts frequently only two or three monks live together. Recitation, confession, and preaching by the monks take place especially at new and full moon, and on the mid-days intervening; thus four times in the lunar month. More formal services last for ten days or a fortnight without intermission, and are carried out at the expense of wealthy laymen, who by charity to the monks secure merit for themselves. During the three months of *Vassa* (*Was*) the monks leave the monasteries and live in the villages, either in specially constructed sheds or booths or by invitation in the houses of rich laymen, who entertain them generously at their own expense. The rule that in the season of the rains, corresponding in Ceylon to our late summer and autumn, no journeying may be undertaken is interpreted in the sense that no monk may be absent from his village or temporary home for more than six or seven days.[2]

5. **Siam.**—Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Siamese monastic rule is the control exercised by the monarch. Otherwise the habit and discipline of the monks are similar to the practice of Ceylon. The king is visitor and patron of the monasteries, and himself nominates the *sangkharat*, or archbishop, the supreme ecclesiastical dignitary of the country. He selects for the office one of the four chief abbots, who are entrusted severally with the control of the northern and southern provinces of the kingdom, the general oversight of morals and ritual, and the management of the interests of the wandering monks or ascetics who are unconnected with any of the *wats*, or monasteries. These hermits, who make their home in the jungle, are now few in number, but are said to have been very numerous in former times. The inmates of the monasteries themselves frequently spend a considerable part of the year in journeying from one shrine or sacred place to another. Parties of these pilgrims are known as *phra todông*, and as they file in procession along the roads they form a picturesque element in the country side. Each monk is accompanied by a *sisya*, or attendant, who carries his almsbowl and other utensils, and a portable shelter or tent consisting of a large Chinese umbrella, which is set up in the ground at halting-places and a white cloth thrown over it. There are also a few nuns, known as *chi-sông*, who live for the most part in huts in the neighbourhood of the monasteries. They are usually women advanced in years who are without relatives to provide for their well-being or maintenance. There are no regular nunneries.

The four chief abbots, together with four coadjutors or assessors, form a sort of Court of Final Appeal in all matters of religious or ecclesiastical administration or discipline. The general control is in the hands of provincial ministers of the Church, who exercise jurisdiction within districts that correspond usually with the civil divisions of the country. The ecclesiastical organization, therefore, is parallel to the civil; and the ruler of the State is supreme over all.

In Siam, as in Burma, the rule obtained that every male member of the nation should at some time in his life take upon himself the monastic vows, and become resident in a monastery. The accepted minimum period of residence was three months; after this the monk was free to return to the life of a layman. Most of the boys also passed through the monastery schools, receiving an elementary education in reading and writing and the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism. The layman retained an attachment to the monastery of which he had been an inmate, and once at least in the twelve months, at the religious celebrations in the autumn at the close of *Was*, brought gifts and new robes for the use of the monks during the coming year. At the more important monasteries in Bangkok the king himself, as head of the Church, goes in procession with much ceremony, bearing rich presents and costly robes for the monks. In all the festivals and numerous public holidays the monks take a considerable if unofficial part, and are the recipients of much attention and many generous gifts. In Siam the obligation of individual and personal poverty is less strictly observed than in most Buddhist countries. In some instances the monastic cells are adorned with books and pictures and furnished with ornaments and other objects of luxury, and the monks may be seen driving about the streets in carriages. The majority, however, live a simple life, and are regular in their duties and apparently sincere in their devotion. The monasteries also frequently derive considerable revenues from land or other endowments granted to them by Government, or from the gifts of private donors.

The routine of life within the monasteries is practically the same as in Burma and elsewhere in the south. The day begins and ends at an early hour. Morning prayers in the *bôt*, the principal hall or temple of the monastery, before the great gilded image of the Buddha, are followed by the usual early begging round. The food placed in the bowl is received in silence, and eaten immediately on the return to the monastery. No solid food is taken after mid-day. The intervals in the morning and afternoon are occupied with study and meditation and in giving instruction, in recitation from the sacred books, or in preaching. The usual title of the monk is *phra*, 'saint,' or *telepoin*. The latter name is said to be of Môn origin, signifying 'our Master.' The Japanese term *bonze* is also in use among Europeans.

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[1] See Copleston, ch. xxvii., 'Modern Monastic Life,' where other and minor differences between the sects will be found recorded; A. S. Geden, *Studies in the Religions of the East*, London, 1913, p. 556 ff.

[2] *Mahāv.* iii. 1 ff.; Copleston, pp. 129 f., 261 f.

6. **Burma.**—The monastic life of Burma is in its essential features similar to that of Ceylon. The monastic buildings themselves, however, are on a far more elaborate and costly scale, and the lives of the monks are more strictly ordered and devotional. The monasteries also have been more closely in touch with the laity, both because the monks have mingled freely with the people in their festivals and religious ceremonies and, more especially, on account of the influential position which they have occupied as centres of learning and education. Previous to the establishment of European missionary and Government institutions, which to an increasing extent have supplanted them, every Burmese lad passed through the monastery schools, owed whatever book knowledge he possessed to the teaching of the senior monks, and for a longer or shorter period himself participated as a recognized member of the community in the orderly life of the monastery.[1] Thus, although the majority returned to a secular life and to the pursuit of agriculture or trade, the entire male population of Burma had practical acquaintance with the life of a monk, and knew from within his requirements and aspirations. The system contributed effectively to national unity and strength, and for many centuries made of the Burmese a literate people, even if the standard of attainment was not very high. The boys learnt also respect for their elders and habits of regularity and obedience which served them well in their after careers. See art. BURMA AND ASSAM (Buddhism in).

7. **Tibet.**—The distinctive feature of the monasticism of Tibet is its elaborate and gorgeous ritual, recalling in many respects the ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church. The similarity is due for the most part to the influence of the early Nestorian missionaries, who, while leaving little trace of their doctrinal teaching, succeeded in impressing upon the religious life of the country much of the outward form and observance which had been developed in Western lands and on Christian foundations. But, further, the Lāmaist ritual includes ceremonies of exorcism and magic, accompanied by music, dancing, and dramatic performances, the whole most widely divergent from the spirit and simplicity of primitive Buddhism, the source of which is to be found in the ancient native superstitions and practices of the people, which the Buddhist missionaries from India tolerated either from necessity or of choice, if they did not actually foster them. The monastic communities of Tibet are wealthy and powerful, with large revenues and possessions. The buildings themselves are often of great size, sheltering as many as ten thousand inmates, and are imposing rather from their unrivalled position on the sides or summits of lofty rugged hills than from any architectural excellence. At the other extreme, among the anchorites and hermits has been developed a rigorous and cruel asceticism, which is no less opposed to the true Buddhist spirit, but which is closely allied to and probably derived from the Saivite mysticism and practices of N. India. See art. LAMAISM.

8. **Central Asia.**—That for a considerable period Central Asia was the home of a broad and vigorous Buddhist life has long been known. That life naturally centred in the monastic communities established in the several cities on the important roads of pilgrimage and traffic that skirted the central desert of sand on the north and south. In the countries, however, that were subjected to Muhammadan invasion and conquest little trace of the faith remains. The Chinese pilgrims repeatedly make mention of monasteries with large numbers of inmates whose zeal and piety excited their admiration;[1] these for the most part if not entirely were adherents of the Mahāyāna school. Their narrative, nevertheless, conveys the impression that the real influence of the faith upon the character or habits of the people beyond the monastery walls was but slight. Recent exploration and excavations have entirely confirmed the record of the Chinese, and suggest a fairly strong and prolonged Buddhist hold upon the country. Ruined *stūpas* are numerous, and bear witness to Buddhist traditions and the presence of Buddhist monks. The monastic buildings themselves would be of less solid construction, and either have perished or are unrecognizable.[2]

9. **China.**—Of the monastic life of other Buddhist lands which follow the Mahāyāna with more or less concession to native modes of thought and superstitions there is little further that requires notice in a general survey. It will be sufficient to refer to the articles on the several countries. The main character and type have been everywhere preserved, but the details of mode of life and profession have varied greatly with environment and the genius of the people. In China the monks have occupied generally a degraded position, with a few honourable exceptions, holding a creed and practising a ritual in which there was more of sorcery and magic than of Buddhist faith. The exceptions were the highland monasteries, and those remote from the centres of population, where the monks, though ignorant, were simple, kindly, and pious, seeking salvation through self-denial and right living. The nuns were no less degraded and for the most part despised. Recent events in China, however, with the diversion of numerous temples and monasteries to educational purposes, the desertion or destruction of others, and the spread of Western influence and science, have entirely changed the situation as far as the religious life and thought of the people are concerned. It is not easy to forecast what the ultimate effect upon Buddhism will be, or how far it will modify or even destroy so essential and characteristic a feature of the Buddhist faith as monasticism has ever been. That the effect will be profound and far-reaching there can be no doubt.[3]

10. **Korea.**—The monastic institutions of Korea resemble those of China, whence both doctrine and practice have been derived. Religiously as in other respects the country has always been dependent on its greater neighbour to the south, and neither in belief nor in rule of life does Korean Buddhism present much that is novel or of interest. Overshadowed by Confucianism and ancestor-worship, it has developed few distinctive features, and has for some centuries exercised a decreasing influence on the thought and habits of the people.

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[1] See art. EDUCATION (Buddhist), vol. v. p. 177 ff.

[1] *e.g.* Kashgar, Beal, ii. 306 f.; Khotan, *ib.* 309 ff., Fa-Hian, ch. iii. (Legge, p. 16 ff.); Yarkand, Beal, ii. 307 f.; Sarikol, *ib.* 298 ff.

[2] Cf. M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1907, *passim*, and *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, 2 vols., London, 1912; artt. by L. Giles, J. Pelliot, and others, in *JRAS*, 1914, etc. Stein found that the memory of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, is still retained at the 'Halls of the Thousand Buddhas,' in the west of the province of Kansu, and elsewhere in Central Asia to the present day. The tradition of his learning and devotion, and of the miraculous powers with which he was credited, proved to be a real power in the minds of the priesthood.

[3] Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, bk. iii. ch. vi.; Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*^{2}; Wieger, *Bouddhisme chinois*, i., 'Monachisme,' p. 133 ff.

The monasteries are usually small, the number of inmates rarely exceeding twenty-five or thirty, and sometimes, as in Ceylon, no more than three or four monks are found living together. The more important institutions are grouped around the capital, but none are allowed within its walls. Their numbers also are decreasing. The monks themselves command little respect, and are drawn, for the most part, as in China, from the lower classes. The example and influence of Japan also may perhaps be traced in the character of some of the buildings, which are fortified and built on high ground to dominate the country at their base. In the neighbourhood of Seoul a few nunneries exist.

The most distinctive feature of Korean monasteries is the presence of pictures on the walls. These are drawn and coloured on paper and mounted on silk, and usually represent scenes from the lives of the Buddha. Often the entire surface of the interior walls is thus hung with pictures, presenting a remarkable contrast to the monasteries of other lands. Externally the walls are covered with paintings in bright colours of *bodhisattvas* or other supernatural beings. The sanctuaries often contain only a single image, rarely more than two or three; and these are small, and for the most part of clay or wood. Metal images are almost if not entirely unknown.

In their dress the monks have preserved the national costume in the form of a long cloak with sleeves, worn over all, and generally white. The head is shaved, in conformity with Buddhist practice, but not the beard. The shaven head, however, is not branded after the Chinese custom, although branding may be effected on other parts of the body, as the breast or arms. The order is recruited mainly from boys received by dedication or adoption in early childhood. Endowments are not numerous. Most of the monasteries are dependent for their maintenance upon the gifts of the laity, or, where opportunity serves, upon the personal labour of the monks in the cultivation of the temple lands.

11. Japan.—The temples and monasteries of Japan are large and well-appointed, and give the impression of a reality of creed and life which is almost altogether wanting to those on the continent. The numerous Buddhist sects of Japan have their home and distinctive life in the monastic communities, and the monasteries themselves in the details of their architecture present varieties of construction according to the sect to which they belong. In creed and belief the sects differ greatly among themselves, and have few features in common with the Buddhism of the south. In the past the activity and strenuousness of the national life found their almost complete counterpart in the monasteries, which formed associations of fighting monks at war with one another, oppressing and plundering the common people. In more settled times speculative thought, mystical, devotional, and idealistic, has been highly developed, perhaps most conspicuously in the 'Sect of the Pure Land,' who hold a theistic creed, and expound and practise a moral code which has much in common with that of the NT. Accompanying a revived religious life also, at different periods of the nation's history, missionary effort and preaching have been prosecuted with zeal and success. Both at home and in China a similar work of propagandism is being carried on at the present time with much devotion and energy.[1]

12. Conclusion.—It is natural to compare and contrast the monastic principles and life of Buddhism with those of the Christian orders of the Early and Middle Ages in Europe. In the general features of discipline and government there is much obvious similarity. All communities vowed to poverty and a celibate life, whether Hindu, Muhammadan, Buddhist, or Christian, almost of necessity organize themselves on somewhat similar lines. The essentially distinctive features of Buddhist monasticism would seem to be two: (1) the practice of literal mendicancy, which takes the form of a daily round, equipped with staff and begging-bowl, to receive whatever portions of food the charity of the householders may bestow. In the countries where the Mahāyāna type of Buddhism has prevailed this custom is not and probably never has been obligatory or usual. It forms a distinct and characteristic element, however, of early Buddhist rule and observance. (2) According to Buddhist teaching, salvation is to be found only within the limits of the order. The layman can achieve his own deliverance only if and when he dons the robe of the monk, and takes upon himself the monastic vows. He must seek refuge from the world in a life of retirement, meditation, and self-denial, for not otherwise can the fetters of *karma* be broken and *nirvāṇa* gained. In Buddhist polity and doctrine, therefore, the order holds a pre-eminent place distinct from and above that which it occupies in any other great religious system.

LITERATURE.—A selection only from a great and ever-growing literature can here be given. Many important works have been referred to in the course of the article. The original sources are available in the translations of *SBE* and elsewhere: *SBE* xiii. [1881], xvii. [1882], xx. [1885], 'Vinaya Texts,' xi. [1900] 'Buddhist Suttas,' xlix. [1894] 'Buddhist Mahāyāna Sūtras'; H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1896; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pts. i. and ii., London and Oxford, 1899 and 1910; cf. H. Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1910; P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*^{3}, 2 vols., Tübingen, 1905, i. 104–114, ii. 74–122; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896, pp. 73–101; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, new ed., London, 1910; R. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*^{2}, do. 1880; R. S. Copleston, *Buddhism in Magadha and Ceylon*^{2}, do. 1908, chs. xii.–xiv., xxiv., xxvii.; H. W. Cave, *Ruined Cities of Ceylon*, new ed., do. 1900; Shway Yoe, *The Burman, his Life and Notions*^{3}, do. 1910, chs. iii. f., xii. f., xv., xx. f.; V. C. Scott O'Connor, *Mandalay and other Cities of Burma*, do. 1907; W. A. Graham, *Siam*^{2}, do. 1912; L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, do. 1895, pp. 169 ff., 255 ff., and *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, do. 1905; P. Landon, *Lhasa*, 2 vols., do. 1905; J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*^{2}, do. 1893; E. H. Parker, *China and Religion*, do. 1905, ch. iv.; L. Wieger, *Bouddhisme chinois*, i., 'Monachisme,' Paris, 1910, p. 133 ff.; R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, London, 1913; A. J. Little, *Mount Omi and Beyond*, do. 1901, chs. iv.–vi.; B. H. Chamberlain, *Hand-book for Travellers in Japan*^{7}, do. 1903; artt. ASCETICISM (Buddhist), EDUCATION (Buddhist), HĪNAYĀNA, IMAGES AND IDOLS (Buddhist), and on the several Buddhist countries.

A. S. GEDEN.

MONASTICISM (Hindu).—The habit of monasticism owes its origin, it has been said, to the natural tendencies of mankind towards mysticism and asceticism. These are developed, set in order, and satisfied, in the rule and restraint of the monastic life. In India, more perhaps than elsewhere, the practice is of very great antiquity; and the motives and instincts suggested, although true in general of the rise and history of Indian monasticism, in two respects at least render an insufficient account of the causes at work. In the routine existence of the monasteries, as far as this is distinct from the solitary or wandering life of the hermits and ascetics, mystical devotion has played but a small part. Mysticism in India has shunned companionship. The mystic aim has been the chosen and cherished pursuit of the lonely ascetic. And the latter, the ascetic motive or ideal, has been overwhelmingly predominant among the causes that have urged such great numbers of Indian men and women at all times to adopt the monastic robes and manner of life. A third motive, however, exercised a powerful influence in determining the choice of the monastic profession. This was the Indian view of life as a whole. By the Indian life has ever been regarded as essentially evil, and relief from the burden and sorrow of existence as the chief and final goal. In many forms of Indian doctrine, especially the Buddhist, but also in that of Hindu leaders and teachers before Gautama, this end was to be achieved only in and through a monastic dedication and life. It was impossible for the layman, distracted by the cares and encumbered by the possessions of the world, to secure salvation. Emancipated from these, he was free to devote himself to the highest aim, and to win his way to deliverance (*mokṣa* [*q.v.*]).

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[1] Hackmann, bk. iii. ch. viii.; Geden, *Studies in the Religions of the East*, p. 368 ff.

A second respect in which historically Indian monasticism in general has been distinguished from Buddhist or Christian is the deficiency of co-ordination or of a central control. The various orders have been for the most part loosely organized, and that from want not of organizing power but of inclination and will. The ideal of the Indian monk or ascetic is not and never has been a fixed residence and occupation, but rather freedom to wander at pleasure, to visit the various sacred places and shrines, and to dispose his manner of life and his time independently in all respects as seemed best to himself. Apparently the habits and methods of the monastic life have undergone little change or development since the earliest ages. The mendicant, or wandering ascetic, rather than the resident community of monks, has been the characteristic feature of Indian religious life; and the monasteries have served in a greater degree as lodging- or rest-houses than for fixed and permanent habitation. The earliest delineations of Indian social and religious life present the same features as are seen in modern times—a large drifting population of mendicants and ascetics, who find only a temporary home in the monasteries, and after a longer or shorter stay move on entirely as their own inclination prompts.

The habitual practice of a life thus ordered and determined is of extreme antiquity in India. It would seem to be based ultimately upon the Hindu regulation of the four *āśramas* (*q.v.*), according to which every Brāhman towards the close of his life must renounce the world and adopt the homeless life and the ascetic garb. In intention, therefore, no low-caste or out-caste man could become a monk, but only the 'twice-born.' In practice, of course, the wandering population is recruited from all castes; and many follow the life as an easy and convenient mode of gaining a subsistence without trouble to themselves.[1] The ancient Indian custom, familiar to Indian thought and in closest harmony with Indian ideals, formed the model for the great Buddhist and Jain communities of monks, and gave to them precept and habit and rule. Only in organization did the daughter communities go far beyond anything that was developed in Hinduism. Here the preference for an independent and self-regulated life proved itself the stronger, and broke away from all attempts at a settled and established order or government.

The Hindu monasteries, or 'maths' (Skr. *maṭha*), are invariably of small size, providing accommodation for only a few inmates. Except at the important pilgrim centres, as Hardwār or Benares (*qq.v.*), where durable buildings of brick are found, they are often little more than a collection of huts or cells ranged around a central court-yard. Permanent quarters are provided for the *mahant*, or presiding abbot, of the monastery and his resident students. The remaining buildings are occupied at the periodical festivals by the members of the order to which the monastery belongs. Attached are a temple or shrine for the service of the deity, and in the larger monasteries at least a separate *dharmaśālā*, or rest-house, for the accommodation of travellers. The term *maṭha* appears to have been originally applied to the solitary hut of the religious recluse, and then to similar dwellings of the communities of hermits living together in the forest in the practice of austerities. Of such a woodland hermitage an attractive description is given in Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*. The name was ultimately extended to include all more or less permanent homes or residences for the monks. The maths exist in considerable numbers all over India, but the inmates for the most part live a retired life, keeping to themselves, and both they and their homes are little known to outsiders or Europeans. Each sect or monastic order has its own maths, that of the founder of the order being regarded as the chief. There is, however, no central control, nor any interference in the management or affairs of another monastery. The older monastic buildings are of the simplest character and architecture. Later more elaborate buildings were erected, sometimes of more than one storey; but they never compete in size or architectural pretensions with the great Buddhist *vihāras*. When the latter faith died out in Bengal, some of its monasteries passed into Hindu keeping and were appropriated for the use of Hindu monks.

To erect a monastery for the service of the monks and wandering ascetics has always been regarded as an act of religious merit. The math is the gift of a generous and pious layman; and of such donors there has never been any lack in India. In most instances an endowment for the upkeep of the monastery is provided either at the time of erection or by subsequent grant, and this is increased from time to time by the gifts of patrons who endeavour thus to secure merit for themselves. The individual monk is bound by a vow of poverty, but the monasteries often become exceedingly wealthy in revenue and lands. Since the monks themselves do no manual labour, nor indeed work of any kind, the lands are usually farmed out to Hindu lay-proprietors. The management, however, by the temple authorities of their large revenues has sometimes been so defective that the British Government has been compelled to interfere, and take over temporarily the control of the monastic estate.

The Hindu monk is known as *yatin*, one who curbs his passions and has renounced the world, or *vratin*, the devotee who has taken upon himself the vows of renunciation and consecration. The former term is technical among the Jains also, but is said to be regarded with disfavour. The *naiṣṭhika* is the religious student, who engages himself to remain with the *guru* as pupil and disciple after the close of the regular period of service as a *brahmachārin*. The titles *yogin* and *sannyāsin* are more appropriate and more usually applied to the wandering ascetic, without home or stated means of livelihood. The former denotes the Hindu mystic and saint, who endeavours to attain to union with God by the way of self-control and asceticism. The *sannyāsin* has 'cast off' all worldly fetters and attachments, and is separated from all earthly wants or ties. *Bhikṣu*, 'beggar,' describes rather the common characteristic of the class. In the Pāli form of *bhikkhu* it has become the usual term for the Buddhist monk; Hindu usage ordinarily gives the preference to other names. All monks depend for their livelihood solely upon the charitable gifts of the laity. The daily round with the begging-bowl for doles of food at the door of the Hindu householder is never made in vain, and the flow of Indian charity and hospitality to ascetics is unstinted. The red- or yellow-coloured robe of the monk is an unfailing passport to generosity and benevolence all over India. Such generosity accrues to the merit of the giver, and has no regard to the character or motive of those who receive the alms. Among the latter there are not a few whose robes cover avarice and greed, or perhaps more often mere indolence and a desire to save themselves the trouble of providing for their own wants. But there are also among them sincere men, often of considerable learning, earnest and devoted in their pursuit of the truth.

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[1] The abbot of a monastery in the Panjāb made complaint to J. C. Oman of the crowd of idle and worthless *sādhus* who charged themselves upon him and took advantage of his hospitality (*Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, p. 262 f.).

The Sanskrit law-books contain rules and regulations for the guidance of the ascetic life. The sixth book of Manu is entirely devoted to this subject. Hermits and ascetics are to beg for their food once a day, to be indifferent to their reception, neither vexed at a refusal nor exultant when their bowl is well filled, to restrain their senses and appetites, eating little, and always to be on their guard lest they accidentally destroy life, watching the ground before them as they move, that their feet may not crush any living thing.[1] The same purpose is in view in the rule that a monk must not change his residence during *Vassa*, the season of the rains.[2] Elsewhere it is provided that students, ascetics, and others shall be free from tolls and taxes.[3] They are not to be allowed to bear witness in the law-courts,[4] probably because, being separated from the world, their testimony with regard to its doings would necessarily be unreliable; nor do they inherit property.[5] Penances also are prescribed for those who for successive days omit to go on the begging round or neglect their other duties.[6] The oversight of the monastery and the responsibility for entertaining itinerant monks or strangers are in the hands of a presiding elder or abbot (*maṭhādhipati*). Around him usually is gathered a band of young disciples, who are instructed by him in the Hindu scriptures and render him personal service in accordance with ancient immemorial custom. There is, however, no definite or fixed hierarchy or gradation of office. The inmates of the monastery are free to come or go at their own will, and neither their movements nor their actions are in any way controlled. They must wear the monastic garb, observe the vow of poverty, and depend entirely upon the bounty of others for their daily sustenance. Beyond these simple conditions they do as they please. The actual possessions which the monk or *sannyāsin* carries with him vary to a slight degree with the sect to which he belongs. The essentials are the robes and a begging-bowl; to which are usually added a staff, water-pot, and rosary, a strainer, a pair of sandals, the materials for smoking and betel-chewing, and perhaps one or more vessels for carrying or cooking food.

The vows (*vrata*) which the ascetic or monk undertakes to observe are five in number: avoiding hurt to any living creature, truthfulness, abstinence from theft, self-restraint, and liberality (Skr. *ahiṁsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmachārya*, *tyāga*). These have been adopted, with the exception of the last, in the Jain and Buddhist systems. There are also five lesser vows: equanimity of mind, obedience to the *guru*, gentleness, cleanliness, and purity in eating.[7] The third is explained as having reference to the danger to living beings involved in rough or hasty conduct. There is considerable difference between the sects in respect of the degree of ascetic self-denial or actual discomfort and pain which they voluntarily endure. Saivite monks are, as a rule, more extreme in their manner of life and austerities. The Vaiṣṇavites allow themselves greater liberty and seldom, if ever, inflict upon themselves the prolonged bodily tortures by which the others seek to gain notoriety or accumulate merit. In all the monasteries the chief Hindu festivals are observed with religious rites and free entertainment for visitors, and the introduction or appointment of a new abbot is attended with much ceremony. Of the routine details of the ordinary monastic life, however, little is known.

The Sikhs also have monasteries of their own and religious orders. The three principal are those of the Akālins, Nirmālins, and Udāsins (*qq.v.*).[1] They vary in both their dress and manner of wearing the hair, some being shaven and others displaying the loose dishevelled locks of the typical *sādhu*. In one instance at least in a monastery visited by J. C. Oman the *mahant* wore robes differing from those of the ordinary monk—a white long-sleeved coat or tunic and a turban of bright colours. The chief and largest monastery is at Amritsar (*q.v.*) near the Golden Temple, built of brick in two storeys and with two open courts, belonging to the Udāsin sect. The other sects also possess monasteries and temples of considerable size. In all a large part of the religious worship consists in the reading of the *Granth* (*q.v.*), and sometimes of other Hindu sacred books. Except at the seasons of the great festivals the monasteries are usually almost deserted, but on these occasions they are thronged with monks and others who have come to join in the feasting and religious ceremonies.

The monastic institutions of the Jains in some respects hold an intermediate position between those of the Hindus and the Buddhists. Their rule and order are more definitely framed than the former, but are less exacting than the Buddhist and allow more freedom to the individual. As in Buddhism also, the existing system or practice of the Brāhman monks or ascetics formed the model on which the founder of the Jain faith ordered his own community. Mahāvīra himself is said to have had a following of fourteen or fifteen thousand monks, and more than twice that number of nuns. Over the monastic schools into which the community was divided were placed eleven chief disciples, or *gaṇadharas*, or twelve if Gośāla be reckoned, who proved himself the unworthy rival and opponent of his master. Jain writers are said to compare the twelve disciples of their founder with the twelve apostles of Christ, and to assign to Gośāla the part of Judas the traitor.

The prevision and independence of the founder of Jainism are shown in the recognition which he accorded to the laity. It has been urged with much probability that this was one of the chief facts that enabled Jainism to withstand the stress of persecution and the steady pressure of the dominant Hinduism, when Buddhism, based solely upon a priesthood, decayed and fell away. Mahāvīra established four orders of society within his system, each with its respective functions and rights: monks (*bhikṣus* or *yatins*) and nuns (*bhikṣuṇīs*), laymen (*śrāvakas*) and laywomen (*śrāvikās*). The Jain laity thus hold a definite place in the Church by the side of the ecclesiastical order. The Digambaras, however, refuse to women the right to enter the order, and assert that they cannot attain salvation (*mokṣa*).

The five vows of the Jain monk are the same as those of the Brāhman ascetic with the exception of the last, for which is substituted *aparigraha*, the renunciation of all desire, *i.e.* entire indifferentism.[1] This was the aim also of the Hindu monk; and it is probable that this was the original meaning of the fifth vow in Hinduism, although it is now differently explained. A sixth vow is said to be undertaken by some of the Śvetāmbaras, never to eat after dark lest they should inadvertently destroy life; others declare that this rule is implicit in the first, *ahiṁsā*. To this duty of avoiding in every way injury to life Jains of every sect attach greater importance than either Hindu or Buddhist monks. The Jain layman is hardly less rigorous and careful than the monk. All Jain ascetics carry a piece of cloth to place over their mouths lest they should cause injury when inhaling.[2] The stricter sect of the Sthānakavāsins (Dhuṇḍhīas) wear the mouth-cloth always, by night as well as by day; the other sects are less scrupulous. These precautions against the taking of life do not under all circumstances apply to the monk's own life. When the twelve necessary years of asceticism have been passed, which every monk observes in imitation of the founder of his faith, religious suicide is not only innocent but an act of merit and may be even a duty. Most of the *gaṇadharas* are said to have thus ended their lives by voluntary starvation, and the practice is reported to have been not infrequent in former times.

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[1] Manu, vi. 55 f.; cf. Baudh. II. x. 18. 4 ff.; Vas. x. 7 f.; *Khād. Gṛhyasūtra*, II. v. 16.

[2] Gaut. iii. 13; Baudh. II. vi. 11. 20.

[3] Manu, viii. 407; cf. vii. 133; Vas. xix. 23; Āpast. ii. 13 ff.; Viṣṇu, v. 132.

[4] Manu, viii. 65; Baudh. i. 13; Nārada, i. 158, 182.

[5] Vas. xvii. 52.

[6] Viṣṇu, xxviii. 52; cf. *Sāṅkh. Gṛhyasūtra*, II. xii. 6 ff.

[7] Baudh. II. x. 18. 1 ff.; cf. Gaut. iii. 11 ff.; A. S. Geden, *Studies in the Religions of the East*, London, 1913, p. 610 ff.

[1] Cf. art. ASCETICISM (Hindu), vol. ii. p. 94.

In addition to the mouth-cloth the Jain monk bears the usual begging-bowl, and a strainer for his drinking-water. The members of all sects carry also an instrument for sweeping the path before them, which in the case of the Digambaras is usually a peacock's feather; the Śvetāmbaras and Sthānakavāsins use a broom, of greater or less size. The head is shaved, and the two last-named sects wear the monastic robes of five pieces, of a white or yellow colour. The Digambaras ('sky-clad') go about unclothed. These last are for the most part found in the south of India. All monks are subject to the vow of personal poverty, but it is said that in many instances this is evaded, even to the extent of carrying coin or bank-notes on their person.

The monastic life both of the monks and of the nuns is ordered on similar lines to the Buddhist. In the ordinary course the inmates of the monastery rise early, and each then makes confession of the known or unknown sins of the past night, and proceeds to the temple for morning worship. This consists in meditation, bowing down before the idol with recitation of a sacred *mantram*, and in *pradakṣiṇa*, or circumambulation, which is performed four or seven times. About ten in the morning the round is made to beg for food. One monk, however, goes on behalf of all the inmates of the monastery; and in this respect Jain practice differs from Hindu or Buddhist. The food may not be eaten in the houses of the laity, but is brought back to the monastery and divided among all. According to rule the begging round should be made only once a day, but it is often repeated in the afternoon. After returning confession is made to the *guru* before partaking of the morning meal. The hours from one to three are devoted to study; and, if an afternoon circuit is undertaken for alms, it is succeeded, as in the morning, by confession. The second and last meal of the day is taken about sunset, and no monk is allowed to leave the monastery after dark.[3]

Initiation (*dīkṣā*) into the monastic order takes place at the hands of a priest after a year's probation. The novice lays aside his lay garments and ornaments, and adopts the robes of a monk. Within the monastery itself three grades or orders are recognized, based upon seniority or the choice of the community. The ordinary *sādhu*, monk or ascetic, of not less than a year's standing, may be elected *upādhyāya*, and it then becomes part of his duty to give instruction to the younger monks. Further powers of administration and discipline, including the right of excommunication, are in the hands of the *āchārya*, who is appointed on the ground of seniority, or for recognized knowledge and ability. Confession is usually made to the *āchārya*. For the greater part of the year most of the monks itinerate from place to place. It is only during the rainy season and at the principal festival seasons that the monasteries are fully occupied.

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A. S. GEDEN.

MONEY.—Money is the name applied to the instrument devised by man which enables him conveniently to effect exchanges of goods and services. It was a great advance upon barter when an intermediary was adopted by the trafficking parties that provided at the same time a measure of values and a generally acceptable medium of exchange. As man advanced from simple barbarism, he acquired some elementary forms of personal wealth, and the practice of exchanging with others to satisfy his growing diversity of wants would naturally arise; in course of time the advantage of possessing an intermediary which formed a unit of comparison of worth and represented a standard of values would come to be recognized. For this purpose objects of common utility or ornament were early adopted—oxen, cattle, sheep, furs, slaves, shells, nuts, precious stones, and bits of metal are examples of the various substances used as money in different circumstances and stages of civilization. These selected substances illustrate the kinds of wealth that were accumulated as stores of value and used as means of paying tribute and debt. They thus became also a form of what is called 'capital' in modern economics.

Gradually the defects of some of the various substances employed to satisfy the money-function became apparent in their inconvenient bulk and lack of divisibility for small payments, their perishableness and absence of equality and stability. Thus by degrees the essential attributes of good money emerged; it was found that the superior metals (gold and silver) possessed in an exceptional degree the qualities desirable in a good medium and a measure of value. Money should have stability in value; it should be durable, portable, divisible; it should be easily recognizable and capable of being coined. No substances possess and retain all these attributes absolutely, but gold and silver display them in the highest degree; consequently they have been generally adopted for money by civilized nations. Since they are natural products, variations in their supply create some fluctuations in value, as do also changes in demand which follow on the growth of population and the irregularities of trade. But, on the whole, gold has responded best to the needs of society as a basis for its complex and ever increasing trade and commerce. Standard money has the attribute of universal acceptability; it commands confidence that it will be promptly received by others without loss of value. It measures the value of the services of labour; and wages as well as goods are estimated in terms of money. The value of goods, when expressed in money, is called their price.

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[1] For a full statement and discussion of the Jain vows see Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 234 ff.

[2] It is usually supposed that the purpose of this is to avoid killing insects or minute animalcules in the air by drawing them into the mouth. Mrs. Stevenson, however, maintains, on the authority of some of the Jains themselves, that it is done lest the air itself should suffer harm (*Heart of Jainism*, pp. 100, 227).

[3] Stevenson, p. 228 ff.

The business of money-changing, of banking and finance, consists largely in the manipulation of money in its various forms and of obligations—debts, credits, loans, etc.—expressed in terms of money. These claims are discharged either by gold and silver or by documents (notes, cheques, bills, etc.), *i.e.* by paper money, representative of sums of metallic money and ultimately redeemable in standard coin.

The introduction of credit-instruments, as the paper substitutes for gold are called, is an extension of the money-function and a refinement upon the employment of metallic money. It is virtually a kind of return to barter; for, while it diminishes the use of coin, it simplifies exchanges and substitutes for payment in metal a promise on paper; this representative money becomes a valuable commodity and multiplies business by its convenience. Debts are set off against debts by means of credit-instruments, substitutes for money that circulate quickly; they become a peculiar currency of promises or claims that do temporary duty, and they are easily transmitted by post; thus they vastly facilitate the business of exchange. The term 'credit' implies that these instruments are promises, and they rest in the long run upon the recognized metallic basis—gold; therefore an adequate amount of gold must be accumulated and safely stored in order to give stability and confidence to the system.

In OT times money was always weighed (Gn 23^{16}). This was a necessary precaution in earlier periods, but in modern times the process of coining, exercised as an exclusive function of the Government, confers absolute certainty, accuracy, and uniformity, and inspires confidence; the stamped coin carries with it evidence of the amount and value of the gold that it represents, where gold is the accepted standard of value. The subsidiary coins of silver and bronze are legal tender only within moderate limits, viz. two pounds in silver, and twelve pence in bronze in Great Britain; they are only token coinage, and do not correspond to their intrinsic value in metal, which is small. The value of gold, like that of other commodities, depends ultimately upon the law of supply and demand; the value varies with the amount available for money purposes, for large quantities of the precious metals are absorbed in the arts and as personal ornaments.

The quantity theory of money—*i.e.* that the value varies inversely as the quantity—assumes that all exchanges are made in the standard coin, but the use of paper substitutes, while it does not nullify the abstract theory, introduces modifications too technical for detailed explanation in an article which is mainly descriptive. The system of substituting paper currency for the standard coin requires for security that such paper shall be convertible into gold on demand. To provide this most essential requisite an adequate cash reserve of gold must be maintained. This is one of the responsible functions of the Bank of England. The management and control of the reserve are matters too intricate for present discussion. The excessive issue of inconvertible paper—*i.e.* of notes which cannot be met by gold on demand—has led many countries into great difficulties, and has frequently caused much loss and suffering. Paper currency debased by over-issue drives out gold, destroys confidence, raises prices, and produces financial disaster; business is checked, and the injury falls with peculiar severity upon the wage-receiving classes, who find that their wages paid in paper at such times fall greatly in buying power. There is no remedy but the re-instatement of the currency on a sound basis. A large number of interesting economic problems arise in connexion with the use of money; they are, however, too technical for present consideration, which is restricted to a general account of the nature and services of this useful instrument of civilization. Money is a powerful factor in the spread of civilization, in advancing progress, in distributing the varied products of nature throughout the world. Money, in fact, may rank with roads, vehicles, beasts of burden, railways, steamships, posts, and telegraphs in the advancement of human material well-being. The oft-quoted passage, 'The love of money is the root of all evil,' is frequently misapplied as casting a slur upon money itself and upon those engaged in occupations concerned with its employment. The dictum was, however, intended as a condemnation of greed, selfishness, worldliness, and absorption in gain; its profound truth and seriousness render it in no sense condemnatory of the use of money, which is of as great service to society in the distribution of products as a ship, a railway, or any other instrument subservient to the material needs of man. In many of the remarks of Jesus in the parables and in the gospel narratives reference is made to money in its ordinary uses; in all these cases its practical utility is taken for granted and its economic service is unquestioned.

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G. ARMITAGE-SMITH.

MONGOLS.—1. Ethnology and habitat.—Like the Ainus and the Dravidians (*qq.v.*), the Mongols are a race distinctively Asiatic. They fall into three great divisions—Buriats (*q.v.*), Western Mongols (Kalmuks), and Eastern Mongols. The habitat of the Kalmuks extends from the Hoang-ho to the Manich (a tributary of the Don), their special centres being Astrakhan and the Caucasus, Zungaria, N.W. Mongolia, Alashan, N. Tibet, and the Chinese province of Kokonor. The Eastern Mongolians inhabit chiefly Mongolia, the southern portion being divided into a number of tribes, such as the Tumets and Chakhars, while the northern section consists of the more homogeneous Khalkas.

The Mongolian type is best represented by the Kalmuks and the Khalkhas:

> 'Nearly average stature (1m. 63–64); head, sub-brachycephalic (ceph. ind. on the liv. sub. 83); black straight hair, pilous system little developed; the skin of a pale-yellow or brownish hue, prominent cheek-bones, thin straight flattened nose, Mongoloid eyes,' etc. (J. Deniker, *Races of Man*, London, 1901, p. 379).

Another peculiar characteristic of this race is the 'Mongolian spot,' small dark patches of pigmentation, especially in the sacrolumbar region, frequently observable in infants, but disappearing in early childhood. The 'Mongolian spot' is not, however, restricted to the Mongols; it occurs sporadically elsewhere, instances having been noted, *e.g.*, among the modern Indians of Mexico (cf. also Deniker, p. 51).

As a result of migrations, the Mongolian race has spread far beyond its original habitat. It has profoundly affected the Chinese (particularly in the south) and Japanese; in Bengal and Orissa the crossing of Mongolian with Dravidian has given rise to the Mongolo-Dravidian type, and other 'Mongoloid' types appear in the Himālaya region and in the Far East.

The chief Asiatic area occupied by non-Buriat

Mongols (Kalmuks, Khalkas, etc.) is bounded on the north by Siberia, on the south by China, on the west by Russian Turkestan and Chinese Turkestan, and on the east by Manchuria. It forms a high but depressed undulating plateau, roughly 2500 feet in altitude, hemmed in by an immense double or triple chain of forest-covered mountains, known together as the Hingan and Yinshan, on the one side, and by the Altai range and its offshoots on the other. Although the greater portion is Gobi (a Turki word), or 'Great (Desert) Expanse,' and is destitute of rivers sufficiently broad and deep to impede seriously the swooping movements of horsemen, there are plenty of salt lakes (only one of which escapes into Russia by a river), innumerable oases and pasture lands, suitably located sweet-water wells, and even cultivable or forest lands dotted about and available in turn at different seasons of the year to the nomads who know the peculiarities of the country so well. This fact explains how armies of millions can easily move on the simple condition that they possess sufficient cattle, horses, sheep, and camels to drive before or with themselves as food and clothing; nothing else matters, for wood and iron can be picked up by the way at various well-known places, and women with babies can be carried with the tents in huge carts. This vast rim of mountain range nearly all round constitutes a huge watershed, and on the outer side rivers run into Manchuria, Russia, and Turkestan; but the gravelly expanse of Gobi with its parched atmosphere soon causes the sources flowing into the depressed desert portions of Mongolia to dry up or disappear into the sands, so that in many places recourse must be had to rude cisterns or reservoirs, automatically collecting fresh water after each summer storm. The Onon and Kerulon rivers, the valleys of which have during the past 2000 years witnessed the successive rise to political prominence of several obscure tribes, bring the north centre of Mongolia proper into direct water communication with Siberia (*i.e.* Russia) and N. Manchuria (*i.e.* China).

2. Civilization and religion.—Mongol family life has been admirably described in a series of articles written (anonymously) by a Protestant missionary for the *Chinese Recorder* (a Shanghai publication) in 1875. Immovable property is scarcely conceived of, and the idea of personal property and individual rights is almost equally lacking, except in reference to one's horse and saddle, clothing, and weapons. Even one's wife—who, so far as nature allows it, seems to be the absolute equal of her husband—is only a life interest, for all wives (except one's own actual mother) pass over on the death of their temporary possessor, with the felt tent and the stock-pot, to the eldest son, or, failing sons, to brothers, cousins, or uncles. In case of great warlike expeditions, of course, there are temporary aggregations of men, and the modern Mongols, like the Turks and Huns, always have an annual tryst; but as a rule tribes scatter, families scatter, and individuals scatter, so that the *yurtā*, or the felt tent (or *mêng-gu bo*, as the Chinese call it in E. Mongolia), is the sole economical unit. In 1760 the entire Kalmuk nation, four subdivisions, consisted of only 200,000 tents all told, *i.e.* before they were conquered. In the distance, on the prairie or grassy plain north of the Great Wall, one sees one or more black spots like dung-heaps. These turn out on closer inspection to be felt *bo*, firmly attached by long ropes to pegs or other firmer anchorages fixed in the ground. It is the correct thing to make some sound on approaching; otherwise one or more powerful dogs, often of Tibetan breed, may attack the intruder. The tents are composed of thick felts, arranged to withstand the wind and snow. According to wealth or poverty the interior is hung with handsome or shabby stuffs, and the exterior is sometimes additionally protected with Chinese oil-paper or other such impervious material; but severe simplicity is the general rule; all luxury is makeshift. If a man has horses and dogs, or even only one horse and one dog, and maybe works for someone else as a herd, he is a poor man; a rich man may have as many as 1000 or more horses and 100 or more camels (all of the two-humped or Bactrian kind), not to mention sheep and goats (never pigs); but, rich or poor, the mode of life is always the same—rough, strong, home-made clothes, harness, and equipment; one or two trunks to contain treasures and best clothes; a hospitable reception for any traveller, poor or rich; no tables or chairs; and a fixed etiquette as to privacy, precedence, or the right to squat in certain honoured or tabued places. No one who carefully reads all that has been recently written about the eastern and western nomads from the Shilka to the Volga can doubt that in physique, mode of life, and even in basic language, they are and always in historical times have been practically the same people, *i.e.* a congeries of tribes whose national designations have no deeper significance than that from time to time an eponymous hero or a brilliant family, clan, or tribe has succeeded in bringing most other tribes under his or its own name or banner.

With regard to the modern Mongols—especially the Khalkas—who had (sometime before the Manchus seized their opportunity of taming them through Lāmaism and saintly influences) already succumbed to drink and earlier strong religious influences, they may be said to have now entirely lost the ferocity, warlike initiative, and passion for plunder that characterized the conquering hordes of Jenghiz Khan in the early 13th century. Even Jenghiz himself, though a mere shamanist, or casual 'idolater,' and, so far as is known, destitute of any religious training, seems to have been by natural rectitude of character susceptible to ethical influences when not injudiciously thrust upon him; and this quite spontaneously, for he sent for and respectfully consulted a humble Chinese Taoist philosopher who travelled all the way from Shan Tung to Samarqand to advise him as to the humanity of his own warlike proceedings.[1]

The religion of the Kalmuks and of the Eastern Mongols is Lāmaism (*q.v.*); the older Mongol religion, however, was shamanism, which is retained by the Buriats (*q.v.*).

3. Present-day distribution.—When the Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368 sent the Mongol tyrants in Peking back to their steppes, the old division into the Western or right 'wing' and the Eastern or left 'wing'—practically Kalmuk and Khalka—was reverted to by the ejected Mongols, and these two wings were subdivided into the *Djïrgughan Tumen*, or 'Six Myriads.' When the Manchus conquered or conciliated the Chakhars and other inner (Eastern) Mongols in 1628–33 (*i.e.* before they became emperors of China in 1644 as well as Manchu emperors), they organized all of them except the Chakhars into six *chogolgan*,[2] or 'leagues' (translated by the Chinese word *mêng*, 'sworn alliance'). These six leagues, four east (Chih Li) and two west (Shan Si), are again subdivided into 24 *aimak*, or 'tribes' (translated by the Chinese word *pu*; this word *aimak* occasionally appears in Chinese Jenghizide history as *aima*, and in Chinese Manchu history occasionally as *aiman*).

[1] See E. Bretschneider, 'Travels of the Taoist Ch'ang Ch'un,' *Chinese Recorder*, v. [1874] 178–199, vi. [1875] 1–22; also 'Traces of Christianity in Mongolia in the XIII century,' by the archimandrite Palladius, *ib.* vi. [1875] 104–114.

[2] W. F. Mayers, *The Chinese Government*, Shanghai, 1878, suggests that, in so doing, the Manchus were continuing the principle of the Six Myriads, and (pending the conquest at a later date of the Khalkas and Kalmuks) were applying it to the Inner Mongols along the Great Wall.

This is not the place to introduce a discussion on language or a long list of native Mongol tribal names; but it may be mentioned as specially significant that the Khartsin tribe of the Chosotu league are the absolutely direct descendants of Jenghiz and Kublai; they now occupy the steppes north of Jêhol (thrice visited in 1869–71 by the present writer).

Besides the 24 tribes of Inner Mongols under their own native *jassaks*, and irregularly subdivided into 49 flags, or banners, there is still a more intimate class of Inner Mongols known as the 'herdsmen,' who are not ruled by their own princes at all, but by the military governors at Tenduc, Kalgan, and Jêhol. The extramural area of which Kalgan (='the gate' in Mongol) is the governing centre is popularly known as Chakhar, a word derived from the leading tribe, called during the Ming dynasty Chakhar, or Chakhan-r. There are also the Mongols of Kokonor, descendants of a collateral branch of Jenghiz's family, with whom have been associated a number of Kalmuk tribes from the west; they also intermarry with the Manchus, but were not entitled, like the Inner Mongols, to style themselves 'cousin.' Besides these main divisions, there are the Tumet tribes of N. Shan Si, the Bargu, the Urianghai, the Mingad, the Jakchin, and other odd remnants mostly of Kalmuk type, which for convenience are ranked among the herdsmen, and are under the administration of one or the other of the Manchu (now Chinese) *tutungs*, or military governors, from Uliassutai in the west to Jêhol in the east.[1]

The Outer Mongols mainly consist of two races—the Khalkas and Kalmuks—between whom there were prolonged and bloody wars until the Manchus (after having subdued the Inner Mongols and China itself) reduced both to complete subjection. Even after the ejection of the Jenghizide dynasty from China, when both classes of Mongols were thrust back upon their deserts, they frequently crossed the desert and fought incessantly between themselves, besides, separately or in unison, making raids upon the Ming empire. The Khalka area is easily recognizable on any map because the four (originally three) tribes or khanates into which they are divided are usually plainly marked as the Tushétu, Tsetsen, Jassaktu, and Saïnnoïn khanates; the last-named was carved out of the first, during the Ming dynasty, by the Dalai Lāma of Tibet as a reward for services rendered to the Yellow-hats at the expense of the Red. These four Khalka tribes, or khanates, were again subdivided into over 80 flags, or banners, but this arrangement was complicated by two of their banners having been incorporated with the Inner Mongols, whilst, on the other hand, three Kalmuk banners were incorporated with the Khalkas. The other two of the four Khalka khanates used to fall under the high political influence of the Mongol *hutuktu*, or saint, at Urga, who had a Manchu resident to keep things right. A certain proportion of the Kalmuk race was moved to the neighbourhood of Lake Kokonor after the Manchu conquest of 1753–54, and it there falls under the control of the Chinese military governor at Si-ning. These Mongol tribes are divided among themselves; the Kalmuks have their own local saints both in the west and at Kokonor, but the Khalkas, though kinsmen, are almost hereditary enemies. Nor can the Khalkas easily coalesce with the 49 flags or 24 tribes of Inner Mongols. The latter represent the true historical Tata, as the immediate descendants of the Jenghizides were officially styled by the Ming dynasty; after nearly 200 years of warfare with China they joined the Manchus honourably and nearly as equals, for they were never conquered, as the Khalkas and Kalmuks were some generations later. They have always been kindly treated by and have intermarried with the Manchus, some of whose emperors have married pure Mongol women, recognizing them as legitimate empresses of China. When the Republic was first declared in 1912, there was some talk of the Inner Mongols from a racial point of view joining their countrymen, the Khalkas, under the united rule of the rebellious *hutuktu* at Urga, but this uprising was averted by the moral delinquencies of the *hutuktu*, the political acumen of President Yüan, and the lack of sympathy between the pure outer nomads and their inner brethren, who are now by long habit more or less impregnated with Chinese civilization, political privilege, and economic luxury.

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E. H. PARKER.

MONISM.—1. The term.—The term 'monism' was coined by Christian Wolff (1679–1754), and was used by him to denote the philosophical theories which recognized only a single kind of reality, whether physical or psychical, so that he could apply the name 'monists' equally well to the materialists and to the so-called idealists of his age. It is easy to understand why the word in this artificial sense should never come into general use, and in fact it was so employed only sporadically by individual thinkers of the 18th century. In the 19th cent. the term 'monism' came to be used by the disciples of Hegel as designating their own peculiar mode of thought; thus, *e.g.*, K. F. Goeschel, in 1832, published a work entitled, *Der Monismus des Gedankens* ('The Monism of Thought'). In this sense too, however, the term had but a limited usage. In point of fact, it first found a place in current speech as the designation of a philosophical movement closely related to the modern theory of biological evolution, and it was, in particular, the biologist Haeckel and the philologist Schleicher who brought the word into general currency. In Germany the philosophical movement referred to has found concrete expression in a 'monistic society' (*Monistenbund*), which has drawn to itself a considerable body of adherents. Nevertheless, certain other applications of the term still maintain their ground. In especial, the name 'monism' is given to the philosophical theory which, instead of subordinating the soul to the body, or the body to the soul, interprets them as equivalent aspects of a single fundamental process, and on this ground constantly refers each to the other. Of monism in this sense Spinoza is generally regarded as the leading exponent. Finally, taking the term in its widest sense, we might apply it to every mode of thought which seeks to transcend the distinction between the physical and the psychical, and to reach an ultimate unity. The fact that these various significations are often mingled together in common usage has led to great confusion and much unprofitable controversy.

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[1] See Parker, 'Manchu Relations with Mongolia,' 'Campaigns against the Khalkas and Oelots,' and other papers on this subject in *China Rev.* xv. [1886–87], xvi. [1888–89]; also a paper on 'Kalmuck Organization,' *ib.* xxiii. [1898–99].

2. **Monism as expressing an inherent need of the mind.**—In its widest sense monism is the expression of a demand which no philosophy and no religion can in the last resort evade. The human mind at length refuses to allow the real to fall apart into the irreconcilable opposites of body and soul, of nature and spirit; and every system of thought must ultimately arrive at some kind of unity. In this sense Christianity itself is a monism—a spiritual monism—since it traces all reality to the divine Spirit. In the philosophical realm, however, monism usually stands for the Spinozistic view, which recognizes an exact correspondence between extension and thought, the visible and the invisible, finds the same laws and forces to work in each, and interprets the order and connexion of thought as identical with the order and connexion of things (Spinoza, *Eth.* ii. prop. 7: 'ordo et connexio idearum idem est ac ordo et connexio rerum'). This view has the advantage of providing a solution of the simplest kind for a problem which cost Spinoza's predecessors much trouble—the problem, namely, of the interaction of soul and body; for, on this theory, according to which the two series of facts proceed side by side quite independently, and yet remain ever in mutual harmony, there is no interaction at all, the specific data of either series being explained by the relations of that series alone. Modern psychology, in following up this theory, has propounded the doctrine of 'psychophysical parallelism,' and strives to apply the doctrine to mental and bodily processes in detail. As this whole mode of thought apparently permits each aspect to develop its own distinctive character, without severing it or keeping it apart from the other, it has proved remarkably attractive to the human mind.

3. **Its tendency to one-sidedness.**—Its power of attraction, however, lasts only as long as we keep to the general outlines of the problem, and every attempt to give the idea a more precise application encounters great difficulties, and results in giving the preponderance to one or other of the two sides: either the physical becomes predominant, and the psychical a mere reflexion or concomitant of it, or else the psychical is assigned the superior position and the physical becomes simply its outward expression or a means to its ends. Thus monism inevitably breaks up into two forms—an idealistic and a naturalistic—and there never has been, nor can there ever be, a pure monism, *i.e.* a monism maintaining a perfect equipoise between body and spirit. The clearest exemplification of this is found in Spinoza himself; a closer scrutiny of his thought shows that he is never purely monistic, but always leans more either to naturalism or to idealism—the former in the groundwork, the latter in the consummation, of his system, as appears more especially in his *Ethics*. In the beginning of that work the supreme factor, the core of the real, is nature, while psychical life is a mere representation of the natural process, and simply follows its order; at the close, however, this naturalism is transmuted into an idealism, for Spinoza's doctrine that all reality is supported and integrated by a divine life, and that nature only moulds that life into visible form, as well as the doctrine that man is capable of assimilating the whole universe, and of attaining infinity and eternity by the intellectual love of God ('amor dei intellectualis'), cannot be called anything but idealism. Whatever Spinoza may have meant, he certainly did not reach a pure monism; and the subsequent development of philosophical thought shows that the monistic movement always inclines either to the one side or to the other.

(*a*) *Idealistic monism.*—The classical period of German literature was dominated by an idealistic monism, and, in particular, Goethe gave his full adherence to the view. In the philosophy of the period, this type of idealism found powerful support in Schelling's philosophy of identity. Yet, while in art and philosophical thought the outer and inner worlds were made closely dependent upon each other and were firmly interlinked, they were not regarded as of co-ordinate authority; on the contrary, the universe of reality seems here to be pervaded by an inner life, and the union of the visible and the invisible world is brought about upon the basis of the spirit. It was, however, strongly insisted upon that the inward life cannot come to its own, or realize itself perfectly, without in some way embodying itself and taking perceptible form in the external. Here we have the genesis of an æsthetic and philosophical monism of the idealistic type.

(*b*) *Naturalistic monism.*—On the other hand, the monism frequently associated with the modern theory of evolution exhibits a naturalistic tendency. It regards the physical world as the essential substance of the real, and differs from materialism only in the circumstance that it conceives the psychical, not as derived from physical processes, but as present from the first even in the most minute elements of the material world, and as forming an essential constituent therein. Even so, however, the psychical is not thought of as attaining to independence and spontaneity; it has no powers or laws peculiarly its own, but is in every respect subordinate to, and wholly interwoven with, external nature; nor again, on this theory, is human life endowed with any special significance or accorded any distinctive vocation. It is true that this naturalistic monism, in its theory of practical life, recognizes the ideal ends of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, and undertakes the task of furthering them. But it can do so only by contravening its own naturalistic principles, and thus it comes to exhibit the fatal inconsequence of theoretically recognizing unity as its supreme aim while in practice falling into an absolute contradiction between thought and action.

The progress that this theory of naturalistic monism, in spite of its inherent flaws, is making in contemporary life, in Germany at least, is due to the concurrence of various causes. Nature, formerly so often sadly ignored, has come to mean more and more for the modern mind. Not only does she reveal ever more fully the delicate texture of her being, but in yielding herself to the practical arts she has added vastly to our command of the environment. The importance of the material factor for human well-being is much more widely recognized in modern civilization than was once the case. The result of these various developments is that

Nature now exercises a much more profound influence even upon our thoughts and convictions than she formerly did. This does not, of course, lead necessarily to a naturalistic philosophy, nor was there any great danger of such an issue as long as high spiritual ends held sway among human beings and dominated their common efforts. But such spiritual ends have been, if not entirely lost sight of, yet largely obscured, in the development of modern life; with regard to the ultimate questions of human existence mankind is now in a state of grave disunion, and common effort has given place to widely divergent tendencies. Amid so much diversity regarding the content of the spiritual life, the longing for a single all-embracing theory of existence readily attracts men to the path of naturalism, which proffers what seems to be the simplest and most intelligible solution of the great problem. In reality, therefore, it is the defects of the opposite view that here lend strength to monism.

Another factor which—in Germany at least—operates in favour of naturalistic monism is found in the perplexities that have emerged in the province of religion and the Church. That religion at the present day bristles with problems, and that the minds of men differ widely in the treatment of them, are facts that cannot be denied even by those for whom religion is a supreme interest. In Germany, however, the situation is greatly aggravated by the intimate relations between Church and State, since in such circumstances the doctrines of religion readily come to be felt as a restraint imposed by the State upon thought; and, where large numbers are already alienated from religion, or in dubiety regarding it, there is a natural tendency to look with sympathy upon movements that set forth with perfect candour the conflict of ideals, especially the conflict between natural science and the teaching of the Church, and seek to bring it to a decisive settlement. From this position the monist may regard himself as a champion of freedom and truth.

4. Its function and limitations.—When we have in this way explained the spread of naturalistic monism, we have at the same time shown its limitations. It possesses a certain power and has also a degree of rightful authority as long as it maintains a critical attitude and provides incentives to special tendencies of thought; and this condition is fulfilled when it insists upon a higher recognition of the natural factor in human life, and demands that the assured results of modern science shall not be ignored by those who speak in the name of religion. Its weakness, again, shows itself in the positive aspect of its work, and in its claim to serve as a guide to human life and to satisfy the human soul. For such ends it has, in truth, nothing to offer but an intellectual interpretation of things—an interpretation which purports, by improving our conceptions of nature and by showing that man forms part of nature, to be able to supply the human heart with powerful impulses and endow it with happiness. But between ends and means, between claim and achievement, there is a wide disparity. The scientific procedure of monism, moreover, suffers from the defect of confusing natural science with the philosophy of nature, and of too rashly transforming the results of natural science into principles of the cosmos, while giving no recognition at all to the peculiar character of spiritual life or the process of universal history. But, whatever judgment we may pass upon this modern monism, it is certainly a notable feature in the life of the present day.

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R. EUCKEN.

MONKEY.—See ANIMALS.

MONOLATRY AND HENOTHEISM.

—A whole group of words, some of them classical, are compounded with *μόνος* as a prefix. Ecclesiastical usage added not a few others—*e.g.*, 'monogamy,' marriage only once, re-marriage after the death of one's wife being forbidden, 'Monophysites,' 'Monotheletes.' To these was added, in modern times, 'monotheism' (*q.v.*); this term was touched with ambiguity, since it was sometimes a synonym for unitarianism. Last of all, apparently by Julius Wellhausen,[1] 'monolatry' was coined to express not belief in the sole existence of one god, but restriction of worship to one object of trust and loyalty, although other races might admittedly have other supernatural helpers.

If the first half of the word shows it to be akin to monotheism, its affinities on the other side are with idolatry (see IMAGES AND IDOLS). Christian usage, from the Bible downwards, vacillates between interpreting idolatry as image-worship and as worship of 'false' gods in the sense of non-existent beings. In the Roman Catholic Church the distinction is made between *latria*, worship paid only to the Persons of the Trinity, and *dulia*, veneration of the saints (even the Blessed Virgin receives not *latria*, but *hyperdulia*). Both in the Roman and in the Greek Churches *adoratio* (*προσκύνησις*) or *dulia* is rendered to images or icons of the Divine Persons and saints, as well as to the Gospels, relics, etc. (cf. Denzinger^{11}, nos. 302, 337, 342, 985 f.).

Unhappily, there is another term which habitually presents itself as a synonym for monolatry and as a rival—henotheism. This word was coined by F. Max Müller while under the influence of Schelling. In a review of Renan, entitled 'Semitic Monotheism,' and contributed to the *Times* in 1860 (reprinted in *Chips from a German Workshop*, i. [1867], and again in *Selected Essays*, ii. [1881]), Müller, while repudiating Renan's theory of a monotheistic instinct peculiar to the Semites, finds at the basis of all religion a crude or vague faith in the divine, not yet articulated either into polytheism or into monotheism, and calls this 'henotheism.' As thus defined on its first emergence, henotheism is a hypothetical construction, belonging to a period earlier than recorded history. E. von Hartmann[2] is fairly in line with this when he speaks of henotheism as 'the original nature-religion'; as the 'indifference of mono-, poly-, and pan-theism'; as the 'identity of essence of all the gods.'

Much greater importance, however, attaches to Müller's later usage, introduced in a 'Lecture on the Vedas' of 1865 (also reprinted in *Chips*, i. and *Essays*, ii.). Here we have a pair of synonymous terms—'henotheism' and 'kathenotheism'—which refer to a well-marked historical phenomenon. Study of the Vedas had impressed Max Müller with the way in which each deity, out of a large recognized pantheon, is treated in turn as if the supreme or even the sole god. While Indian religion offers the classical illustration of this attitude, it recurs elsewhere. Max Müller recognizes it in Greece, Italy, and Germany (*HL*, 1878, London, 1879, p. 286), as well as in Finland (*Contributions to Science of Mythology*, London, 1897, p. 264). Both these books speak of 'henotheism or kathenotheism' (*HL*, p. 271), 'kathenotheism or by a shortened name henotheism' (*Contributions to Science of Mythology*, p. 140). When P. Asmus describes the whole of 'Indo-germanic' religion as henotheistic,[1] because of the alleged tendency of all its divinities to pass into each other, he is inspired by Max Müller's second usage, though he distorts it.

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[1] T. H. Huxley (*Nineteenth Cent.*, xix. [1886] 495) is quoted by *OED* in this sense; Robertson Smith is also quoted (*OTJC*, Edinburgh, 1881, p. 273; 'natural . . . Semitic monolatry').

[2] As summarized in O. Pfleiderer, *Phil. of Religion*, Eng. tr. London and Edinburgh, 1886–88, iii. 19.

It may seem to us that Müller has himself been guilty of a certain confusion. But the worst confusion of all is introduced by Pfleiderer (*loc. cit.*), without regard to either of Müller's definitions, and in conscious opposition to Hartmann and Asmus. He recognizes—distinctively among the Semites—not, of course, a monotheistic instinct, but a 'national or relative monotheism which in the case of Israel was the porch to pure monotheism' (iii. 34 n.); and this he calls henotheism. We cannot wonder if high authorities have proposed to suppress the term 'henotheism' because of its ambiguity (*e.g.*, J. Estlin Carpenter, in *EBr*^{11} xxiii. 72^{a}; H. Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 101, note 1; E. W. Hopkins, 'Henotheism in the Rig Veda,' in *Class. Studies in Honour of H. Drisler*, New York, 1894, pp. 75–83, *Religions of India*, Boston, 1895, p. 139 f.; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 16 f., with references to earlier literature).

'Kathenotheism' is regarded by Carpenter as already extinct. The word is cited by E. B. Tylor (*PC* ii. 354), but has certainly found little favour.

One might have wished to see 'kathenotheism' and 'monolatry' spared, as names for two very different approaches towards monotheism, while the word 'henotheism' might either be wholly suppressed or else generalized to include both kathenotheism and monolatry, together with any other workings of monotheistic tendency that fall short of monotheism properly so called. There is much significance for theists in irrepressible movements towards recognition of one great help, one supreme power, one sovereign goodness.

Allan Menzies's distinction (*Hist. of Religion*^{4}, London, 1911, ch. iv. p. 55; he has been good enough to confirm or explain his meaning in a private letter) between henotheism and kathenotheism follows Pfleiderer (and makes henotheism cover exactly the phenomena of monolatry). But any suggestion that this distinction is Max Müller's own must be repelled. Cf., further, Müller's *Physical Religion*, 1891 (Glasgow Gifford Lecture of 1890), p. 181 n.: 'It is to be regretted that other scholars should have used the name henotheistic in a different sense from that which I assigned to it. Nothing causes so much confusion as the equivocal use of a technical term [but is Müller himself quite clear of blame?], and the framer of a new term has generally had the right of defining it.'

The classical region of monolatry is the religion of Israel, whose phenomena, as we saw, probably suggested the name. The First Commandment (of the greater Decalogue, Ex 20 or Dt 5) crystallizes the requirement and carries it into the moral region. Kindred Western Semitic races—possibly other races too—may have known something similar, upon its lower side. Moab or Ammon or Edom may have been loyal to the tribal god in mere patriotic prejudice. Loyalty to the God of righteousness, in Israel or in all lands under heaven, means vastly more. The only real justification for monolatrous behaviour is the monotheistic fact. It is indeed true that 'the distinction between monolatry and monotheism' is often a narrow one (art. GOD [Biblical and Christian], vol. vi. p. 253). It is also true that there will be an element of monolatry in religion as long as earthly conditions endure. Human faith—theistic, or fully Christian—is no bare recognition of facts which exist independently of our attitude. Faith is choice of God and a pouring out of our humble all in His service.

LITERATURE.—Besides the references given above, see art. GOD (Biblical and Christian), noting both 'monolatry' (vol. vi. pp. 251^{b}, 252^{a}, and 253^{b}) and 'henotheism' (pp. 252^{ab}, 275^{b}, 276^{a}, 277^{a}, 283^{b}, 289^{b}). The student must carefully observe in what sense either word is employed by the different writers. 'Kathenotheism' is not employed at all in the articles.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

MONOPHYSITISM.

1. Before the Monophysites.—The name 'Monophysites,' as denoting a party in the Christian Church, ought in strict usage to be applied only to those who regarded as erroneous the doctrine formulated as a standard by the Synod of Chalcedon (A.D. 451), *i.e.* the doctrine of the two natures (*δύο φύσεις*), divine and human, in the one person (*ὑπόστασις* or *πρόσωπον*) of Jesus Christ, and who took as the watchword of their faith 'the one nature of the incarnate Word of God' (*μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένου*). The doctrine of the single nature of Christ, however, did not then emerge for the first time, and we begin by narrating the history of Monophysitism prior to the rise of the Monophysites proper.

The formula *μία φύσις* is first found among the Arians (see art. ARIANISM, vol. i. p. 775 ff.). **Lucian of Antioch** and his followers had spoken of the one divine or, more properly, semi-divine nature (*φύσις* or *ὑπόστασις*, the two terms not being as yet distinguished) of the Logos, in which inhered liability to suffering (*πάθη*) and limited knowledge (*ἀγνοεῖν*). **Eudoxius of Constantinople** († A.D. 370) acknowledged the Word made flesh but not become man (*σαρκωθέντα, οὐκ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα*), who had not assumed a human soul, but became flesh in order to manifest Himself to us as God through the flesh as through a curtain; it was therefore quite wrong to speak of two natures (*δύο φύσεις*), since the Word was not man in the full sense (*τέλειος ἄνθρωπος*), but God in the flesh (*θεὸς ἐν σαρκί*), *i.e.* viewed as a whole, one composite nature (*μία τὸ ὅλον κατὰ σύνθεσιν φύσις*). **Apollinaris of Laodicea** (see art. APOLLINARISM, vol. i. p. 606 ff.) expressed himself in similar terms, though in a line of thought directly contrary to that of Arianism. It was his firm conviction that the perfect God (*θεὸς τέλειος*) had descended upon the earth, and in this belief he felt that he was at one with the Nicæans as opposed to the Arians; but no less decisively he maintained also that two complete entities cannot become a unity (*δύο τέλεια ἓν γενέσθαι οὐ δύναται*), and thus that the union of perfect deity with complete manhood is impossible (*εἰ ἀνθρώπῳ τελείῳ συνήφθη θεὸς τέλειος, δύο ἂν ἦσαν*). Hence Apollinaris, in writing to the emperor Jovian, expressed himself as follows:

> 'We acknowledge, not two natures in the one Son, one worshipped and the other not worshipped (*μίαν προσκυνητὴν καὶ μίαν ἀπροσκύνητον*), but one nature of the Divine Word (*μίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου*), incarnate, and worshipped together with His flesh in one worship (*σεσαρκωμένην καὶ προσκυνουμένην μετὰ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ μιᾷ προσκυνήσει*)' (*Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἰοβιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα* [J. Dräseke, 'Apollinarios von Laodicea,' *TU* vii. [1892] 3, 4, p. 341; H. Lietzmann, 'Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule,' *TU* i. [1904] 1, p. 250]).

This, however, involves a deification of the flesh, and it is but a short step to the inference that all the conditions which rendered the Logos liable to suffering during His earthly course are in the flesh brought into connexion with the divine nature (*παθητὴν εἶναι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θεότητα*).

For a time Christian theology was in danger of surrendering to this illusory logic, as was the case, *e.g.*, when it undertook the task of coming to terms with the Antiochene school (see art. ANTIOCHENE THEOLOGY, vol. i. p. 584 ff.). The Christological interest of the Antiochenes, in contradistinction to that of the Apollinarians, culminated in the view that a perfect humanity was retained along with perfect deity in Christ. These theologians, accordingly, spoke of two natures (*δύο*

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[1] Pfleiderer, iii. 20.

φύσεις or *δύο ὑποστάσεις*) in the one Christ—since for their conceptions, too, *φύσις* and *ὑπόστασις* were equivalent terms—and thus seemed to endanger the unity of His person. Their leading opponent, **Cyril of Alexandria,** was supremely concerned to maintain this unity, but he did it only by leaving out of account every element of human personality in the Saviour. According to Cyril, we must assume that two natures, the divine and the human, existed in Christ before He became man, and that at His becoming man these two natures were fused together in an indissoluble unity (*συνέλευσις δύο φύσεων καθ' ἕνωσιν ἀδιάσπαστον ἀσυγχύτως καὶ ἀτρέπτως*), and could thus be distinguished only in theory (*θεωρίᾳ μόνῃ*). To denote this divine-human nature Cyril likewise availed himself of the formula *μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη*; he borrowed it from a confessional work of Apollinaris — the *Περὶ τῆς σαρκώσεως τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου* (cf. *ERE* i. 608), of which, it is true, he believed that Athanasius was the author. We can see how closely he approaches Apollinaris at this point. The Alexandrian, nevertheless, did not proceed to the conclusions drawn by the Laodicean, who rejected the view that the Saviour had assumed a complete humanity and a *ψυχὴ λογική*. To Cyril the formula remained a religious postulate, and he used all the resources of an artificial logic to give it also a theological validity. Here he takes *φύσις* simply as a *κοινόν*; the divine-human nature, however, is something new in relation both to the divine nature and to human nature, and the properties of these, viz. sovereign majesty and passibility respectively, may be in mutual communication in Christ without forcing us to assume that there is any blending of them. In this way, accordingly, two natures go to form one (*ἐκ δύο φύσεων μία φύσις* [or *ὑπόστασις*]).

To follow such intricate theories was a task beyond the power of simple and unlearned minds. It is true that, of the subtleties of Cyril's discriminative logic, **Eutyches,** the aged archimandrite of a monastery near Constantinople, had come to a knowledge of the idea expressed in the phrase *μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν μία φύσις*, but precisely on that ground he would not grant that Christ's bodily form was identical in character with the human (*ὁμοούσιος ἡμῖν*); at the local Synod of Constantinople in 448, addressing the tribunal of bishops, he declared, *οὐκ εἶπον σῶμα ἀνθρώπου τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σῶμα*; and, although in the course of the proceedings he further modified his statements, he was condemned on the ground of the Docetic tendencies which he could not conceal (see art. DOCETISM, vol. iv. p. 832 ff.). Thenceforward, in the memory of the Church the name of Eutyches was one of reproach, and Eutychianism was stigmatized as heresy. Another group who would not renounce the idea of *δύο φύσεις μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν* were those who in their deepest hearts assented to the formula *μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη* defended by Cyril. For them it served to ease the situation that a distinction was now being made between the terms *φύσις* and *ὑπόστασις*. This distinction, in fact, soon came to be quite as important as that between *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* in the doctrine of the Trinity. In the development of that doctrine the latter distinction had served to make intelligible how three divine persons (*ὑποστάσεις*) could participate equally in the divine being (*οὐσία*); and in like manner it was now thought possible to explain how two natures (*φύσεις*), the divine and the human, could equally inhere in one person (*ὑπόστασις*), viz. Jesus Christ.

The theologians of the West, from the days of Tertullian, had been accustomed to speak of the 'duplex status, non confusus, sed coniunctus, in una persona, deus et homo Jesus.' What they called *natura* (*substantia*) found an equivalent expression in *φύσις*, and *persona* could be rendered by *ὑπόστασις*. In reality, therefore, the best solution of the problem seemed to be that formulated by Pope Leo in his letter to Flavian of Constantinople (dated 449; the so-called *Τόμος Λέοντος*, *Ep.* xxviii., 'ad Flavianum') as follows:—

> 'Salva proprietate utriusque naturae et substantiae et in unam coeunte personam suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas . . . agit utraque forma (*μορφή*) cum alterius communione, quod proprium est . . . propter hanc unitatem personae in utraque natura intelligendam et Filius hominis dicitur descendisse de coelo . . . et rursus Filius Dei crucifixus dicitur et sepultus' (*PL* liv. 755 ff.).

What was subsequently termed the *communicatio idiomatum* (*ἀντίδοσις τῶν ἰδιωμάτων*) thus already finds clear expression in Leo's words. Nevertheless Gibbon is quite right in saying:

> 'An invisible line was drawn between the heresy of Apollinaris and the faith of St. Cyril; and the road to paradise, a bridge as sharp as a razor, was suspended over the abyss by the master-hand of the theological artist' (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, v. 126).

In point of fact, while Western theology thus avoided the extreme of Apollinarism, it was menaced by the spectre of the Antiochene peril. Here too it could be said: 'incidit in Scyllam qui vult vitare Charybdin,' and at all events the doctrine of the two natures in one person (Dyophysitism, or, grammatically more correct, Diphysitism) not only failed to compose perturbed minds, but actually fanned the latent elements of controversy into flame. In this controversy the disputants, moving on the lines of Cyril (and Apollinaris), went back to the watch-word *μία φύσις*; now, however, they spoke, not of the one incarnate nature of the divine word, but of the one nature of the incarnate word (*σεσαρκωμένου*, not *σεσαρκωμένη*), the intention being to indicate decisively that the point involved was not *μία φύσις* merely *μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν*. We now proceed to trace the history of this Monophysitism properly so called.

2. The Council of Chalcedon and its results.—After Cyril's death in 444 the episcopal throne of Alexandria was occupied by **Dioscurus,** a man destitute of theological learning and possessed with a more daring ambition than even his predecessor. His great aim was to secure the supremacy of Alexandria, and the Alexandrian theology, in the Eastern Church, and, as long as he had the ear of the emperor, and Rome did not contest his claims, he seemed to be on the fair way to attain his end. At his instigation Theodosius II. summoned a general Synod to meet in Ephesus in 449 (shortly afterwards stigmatized by Leo I. as *latrocinium*, *σύνοδος λῃστρική*, 'the Robber Synod'). Here, with the assistance of the civil power, and the physical violence of fanatical Egyptian monks, he succeeded in giving full effect to his claims; and, while Eutyches, who enjoyed the protection of Dioscurus, was restored to the communion of the Church, Flavian of Constantinople, Domnus of Antioch, and Theodoret of Cyrus were deposed. The triumph of Dioscurus, however, was but short-lived, for not only did he damage his case by his ruthless dealings, but he committed the blunder of irritating Leo by refusing, in spite of the protest of the Roman legate, to have the *Epistula ad Flavianum* read at the Council. The result was a swift revulsion. The emperor died on 28th July 450, and his sister Pulcheria, the moving spirit of the administration, had even before his death come to recognize that the transference of the ecclesiastical centre of gravity from the capital to Alexandria, and the consequent liberation of the Church from political control, might be attended with the gravest consequences. As empress, with the acquiescence of her husband, the military commander Marcian, who was little interested in ecclesiastical or doctrinal affairs, she actively promoted a plan of co-operating with Leo to put an end to the theological dispute at a great assembly of the Church and thus to restore the ecclesiastical balance in the East.

To achieve this desirable end was the task of the fifth Ecumenical Council, held in 451 at Chalcedon in the vicinity of Byzantium. The deposition of Dioscurus, as it could quite well be justified on grounds of ecclesiastical polity, was effected without difficulty. The demand that Leo's doctrinal letter should be accorded the authority of a symbol, however, was resisted with the utmost tenacity by a majority of the members. After protracted discussions the Council at length agreed—not, indeed, without menaces from the throne—upon a formulary designed to make for reconciliation, although, as a matter of fact, it involved, in its most decisive passage, a rejection of the Cyrillian tradition. The formulary, which was carried on 22nd Oct. 451, starts from a recognition of the Councils of Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), and Ephesus (431), and reproduces the Nicene and the so-called Nicæno-Constantinopolitan creed; it then affirms that Cyril's letters to Nestorius and the Orientals, as well as Leo's *Epistle to Flavian*, have been adopted as attestations of the true faith. It next proceeds to the confession of belief in Jesus Christ as perfect God and perfect man, consubstantial with the Father according to His deity, consubstantial with us according to His humanity, in two natures (*ἐν δύο φύσεσιν*, not *ἐκ δύο φύσεων* as in portions of the literary tradition), without confusion or change, without division or separation (*ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως*). The confession ends with a statement already quoted from Leo's letter, now rendered as follows:

> *τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνῃρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης.*

A decree, promulgated (7th Feb. 452) by the two emperors Marcian and Valentinus III., imposed severe penalties upon all who should henceforth dispute in public regarding the faith; offending clergy and army officers should be deprived respectively of their priestly and military status, and others proceeded against by law. Dioscurus was exiled to Gangra in Paphlagonia, where he died in 454.

The results of the Council were not long in manifesting themselves. In *Palestine* an active revolt broke out among the monks. Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem, who had become prominent at Ephesus (449) as an energetic partisan of Dioscurus, had at Chalcedon, in fear of a diminution of his ecclesiastical power, deserted the Alexandrian and his protégé Eutyches, and had also accepted the formula, taking part, indeed, in its final revision. By this defection he lost the confidence of a large and influential body of monks in Palestine, who elected the monk Theodosius as bishop in opposition to him. The spiritual leader of the insurgents was Peter the Iberian, monk and bishop of Mayuma, the port of Gaza. The rebellious monks found a patroness of high rank in the empress-dowager Eudocia, then resident in Jerusalem. It is told of one of these fanatics that, when Leo's *Epistle* was brought to him, he took it to the tombs of the Fathers and asked whether he should accept it or not, and that a voice cried from the tomb:

> 'Cursed be the ungodly Leo, robber of souls, as his name signifies; cursed be his profane *Tomus*; cursed also be Marcian and the ungodly Pulcheria; cursed be Chalcedon and its Symbol and all who yield acceptance to it; cursed be he who acknowledges two natures in Christ, the Son of God, after the union' (E. Renaudot, *Hist. patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*, Paris, 1713, p. 120).

This wild outburst of hate expresses most appositely the state of feeling then prevalent in Palestine. By A.D. 453, however, the movement was suppressed for the time by military measures.

In *Egypt* the situation was still more troublesome. A certain Proterius was forcibly thrust by the government upon the Alexandrians as bishop in place of Dioscurus. On the accession of the emperor Leo I. (457–474), the presbyter Timotheus Aelurus (*i.e.* 'the Weasel'), who had been on friendly terms with Cyril and was known as a rigid Monophysite, was raised to the episcopal throne by methods of sheer violence. At Easter, 457, Proterius was murdered by the populace in the baptistry of the cathedral church, while Timotheus purged the Egyptian sees of Diphysites, and pronounced the anathema upon Chalcedon ('the Synod,' as it now comes to be called in the sources). Timotheus held his position until 460, when, after fierce conflicts, he was driven from Alexandria and banished to Gangra; he was subsequently sent to Cherson, and there devoted himself to the composition of a 'Refutation of the doctrine laid down at the Synod of Chalcedon,' a work which only recently (1908) came to light in an Armenian translation.

The patriarchate of *Antioch* was likewise kept in a state of unrest by long protracted dissensions. Here the presbyter Petrus Fullo (*Γναφεύς*, 'the Fuller'), who in no long time supplanted Bishop Martyrius, zealously opposed the teaching of the Council, and contended for the doctrine that God had been crucified (*ὅτι θεὸς ἐσταυρώθη*). To the liturgy he added the singing of the Trisagion (Is 6^{3}) supplemented by the phrase *ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς*; and he also introduced the 'Credo' (the Nicene) into the Mass, probably with a view to emphasizing his opposition to the Chalcedonian formula, as also, however, to Eutychianism. But his tenure of the see did not last long, for in 471 the emperor Leo ordered him to be deposed. The imperial government thus found itself confronted by a serious task. On the one hand, it was a matter of urgency to preserve unity between East and West, between Byzantium and Rome, and this could be done only if there was no deflexion from the lines marked out at Chalcedon; on the other, those in the East whose dissatisfaction and resentment were due to the Council had to be restrained, pacified, and, if possible, reconciled to what had been done. The emperors Zeno (474–491) and Anastasius (491–498) exerted all their energies to establish ecclesiastical equilibrium in the East, but they failed altogether in the task of maintaining peace with Rome at the same time. A proceeding of signal importance was the attempt of Zeno (482) to gain acceptance for a new formulary, the so-called *Henotikon*, in place of the Chalcedonian symbol. The Henotikon was designed to give emphatic expression to what was common to all parties, and accordingly it recognized the Councils of Nicæa, Constantinople, and Ephesus as witnesses to the faith, disclaimed Nestorius and Eutyches, and condemned every one who 'now or ever, at Chalcedon or elsewhere, thought or thinks otherwise.' The formulæ expressing the doctrine of the natures of Christ were adroitly kept in the background, so that every cause of offence might be removed. In spite of all, however, the project of the emperor failed of complete success. It is true that Acacius, the court-patriarch of Constantinople, and Petrus Mongus (*i.e.* 'the Stammerer'), who now occupied the episcopal chair of Alexandria instead of Timotheus Aelurus, worked straightforwardly for the union of the warring factions, but the policy of reconciliation was repudiated by the uncompromising Monophysites, especially in Egypt, where the extremists (*ἀκέφαλοι*) actually severed themselves from the rest of their party. On the other hand, the convinced Diphysites, including the Acœmetæ monks of Constantinople, bitterly resented the virtual repudiation of Chalcedon. The most serious result was the rupture of good relations with Rome. This was due in part, no doubt, to the dogmatic problem, but certainly not less to jealousy of the ever-growing ascendancy of the Constantinopolitan bishop as 'ecumenical patriarch'—a title that now begins to gain currency. Thus the rupture of communion between East and West which was brought about in 484 by Felix III. of Rome presents itself as the outcome of an inner necessity. That ecclesiastic excommunicated Acacius, and demanded that in the *causæ Dei* the emperor should subordinate his own will to that of Christ's priests. The two communions remained apart for thirty-five years. The first overtures for peace were made by the emperor Anastasius in negotiations with Pope Hormisdas, the proposal of calling another general synod being taken as a basis; but the demands of the Roman pontiff, who insisted upon the recognition of Chalcedon and the condemnation of the now long deceased Acacius, brought the negotiations to an end. It was not till the accession of Justin I. (518–527), who left the administration of affairs to his nephew Justinian, that the hour of re-union struck. To win Rome seemed well worth a sacrifice; and all Rome's conditions were accepted, the name of Acacius, as well as those of the emperors Zeno and Anastasius, being removed from the diptychs of the Church.

This renewal of amity with Rome, purchased at so great a cost, carried with it, of course, a complete rupture with the Monophysites. During the reign of Anastasius the latter had gradually won a position of greater influence in Church politics. Anastasius too, no doubt, tried to steer a course in line with the Henotikon, but his own Monophysite convictions tempted him, especially towards the close of his reign, to show an imprudent complaisance to the more fiery and impetuous spirits in the Monophysite camp, and it is not without good cause that his name stands in the Monophysite calendar of saints. The aggressive movement of the malcontents began in Syria, where the Monophysites, under the leadership of Severus of Antioch and Philoxenus of Hierapolis (cf. § 3), gained an ascendancy over the Henoticists. At the Synod of Tyre (513, or, more probably, 515) they renounced the Council of Chalcedon, and thus publicly proclaimed their repudiation of the policy directed from Constantinople. Palestine, too, was the scene of a Monophysite reaction, while in Egypt they completely gained the upper hand. The change of policy begun in Justin's reign was dictated mainly by a desire to put an arrest upon these successes. A fierce persecution was the result, especially in the diocese of Antioch, many bishops, including Severus and Philoxenus, being banished from their sees.

3. The Monophysite theology.—The views of the Monophysites regarding the theological problem were by no means homogeneous. The one point in which the sect were unanimous was their opposition to Leo's *Tŏmus* and the symbol of Chalcedon—that idol with the two faces, as Zacharias Rhetor called it. Only a few of them drew from the doctrine of the one nature the Docetic inferences of Apollinaris or even of Eutyches. The majority tried to keep to the lines marked out in the theology of Cyril. This was the case, *e.g.*, with Timotheus Aelurus, and, above all, with Severus of Antioch, ecclesiastically the most influential, and theologically the most outstanding, champion of moderate Monophysitism, while Julian of Halicarnassus and Philoxenus of Hierapolis were more extreme in their views.

Severus, born *c.* 465 at Sozopolis in Pisidia, was the grandson of a bishop and the son of a town-councillor. He studied grammar and rhetoric at Alexandria and law in Beirūt. While in Alexandria he had been in touch with pietistic circles (φιλόπονοι), but was converted through the influence of Zacharias Scholasticus, subsequently his biographer, in Beirūt. He was baptized, and gave himself devotedly to fasting and prayer. In a short while he joined the monks of Peter the Iberian's monastery at Mayuma; for a time he lived as a hermit in the Desert of Eleutheropolis, and afterwards built a monastery of his own, soon winning great renown as a director of souls. In 508–511 we find him in Rome, acting as the representative of the monks who were being persecuted for their Monophysite principles. At the court of Anastasius he laboured for the principle of the Henotikon. At the expulsion of Flavian he was raised, despite the opposition of the suffragan bishops, to the patriarchal chair of Antioch (6th Nov. 512). The Synod of Tyre (515; cf. § 2) marks the summit of his work as an ecclesiastic. He was very active in the visitation of his diocese, and was most willing to preach either within or beyond the confines of his episcopal city. At the accession of Justin (Sept. 518), however, he was driven from his see, and fled to Alexandria. Considerably later, the administration of Justinian seemed to open a prospect of further ecclesiastical activity for Severus, who expected that the conferences in Constantinople (538) would set the seal of success upon his efforts. But the fall of Anthimus (cf. § 4) brought disaster to him too; he was excommunicated in 536, and withdrew to the desert country southwards from Alexandria. He died at Xois, on the Sebennitic arm of the Nile, probably on 8th February 538 (not 543).

Of his numerous writings all that has come down to us in Greek is fragments in Catenæ and anthologies. There are, however, Syriac translations of his works by Paul of Callinicus, Jacob of Edessa, and others. Of his exegetical and doctrinal writings may be mentioned *ἀποκρίσεις πρὸς Εὐπράξιον κουβικουλάριον*, and *κατὰ Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ τοῦ Καισαρείας*. Other writings worthy of note are his *λόγοι ἐπιθρόνιοι* or *ἐνθρονιστικοί* (125 homilies dating from the years he spent in Antioch, ed. R. Duval and others in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris, 1906 ff.), his letters, extant in 23 books (bk. vi. ed. E. W. Brooks, London, 1902–04), and his hymns (the so-called Octoēchus, ed. E. W. Brooks, *Patrologia Orientalis*, 1910; cf. also art. Hymns [Greek Christian], vol. vii. p. 8^b).

Philoxenus, whose native name was Xenaya, was a student in Edessa while Ibas was bishop of that city, and we may thus infer that he was born *c.* 450. From Edessa he went to Antioch, where his ardent championship of the Henotikon brought him into conflict with the patriarch Kalandion, who had him expelled from the city. In 485 he was ordained by Peter the Fuller as Metropolitan of Hierapolis (Mabug). From the time when Flavian of Antioch, who was an adherent of Chalcedonian views, held office, Philoxenus appears as the spokesman of the Monophysite party in the patriarchate; subsequently, however, he was thrown into the background by Severus. Like the latter, he was eventually exiled (518 or 519), being sent first to Thrace, and then to Gangra in Paphlagonia, where, perhaps in 523, he died a violent death. He ranks as one of the most eminent of Syrian writers, though most of his works still lie dormant in the British Museum and other libraries; of those that have been published the most important is the *Discourses on Christian Doctrine* (tr. E. A. W. Budge, London, 1894–95).

Our knowledge of Julian rests upon very meagre data. The date of his birth is unknown. While bishop of Halicarnassus in Caria, he was concerned in the intrigues which led to the downfall of Macedonius, patriarch of Constantinople, in 511. He was himself expelled from his bishopric in 518, and took up his abode in the monastery of Enaton, outside the gates of Alexandria. Here he was embroiled in a doctrinal controversy with Severus (see below), who was then resident in that city, and this resulted in a temporary rupture within the party. At the death of the Monophysite patriarch Timotheus IV. the followers of Julian were able to secure the chair for their candidate, Gaianus, in place of the regularly elected Theodosius, and Theodosians and Gaianites were soon involved in a bitter strife. Of Julian's later fortunes we have no knowledge, nor, indeed, can we say definitely whether he was alive when, for the second time, the ban was pronounced upon him at Constantinople in 536. Of his writings we still possess a number of letters from his correspondence with Severus, and a Commentary on Job, transmitted in a Latin translation, and wrongly ascribed to Origen.

It was far from the minds of Severus and those who shared his views to argue for a fusion of the divine and the human in the person of Christ. Their insistence upon the singleness of Christ's nature after the Incarnation rested upon their conviction that the hypothesis of two natures necessarily implied two subjects or individual entities. What they found specially objectionable was the inference drawn in Leo's letter from the permanently distinct character of each nature—the inference, namely, that in the unity of Christ's person each nature, while no doubt in communication with the other, maintains its own distinctive function. According to the Monophysites, the theory that ascribed to each of the two natures a distinct mode of action (ἐνέργεια) divided the one Christ into two *πρόσωπα*, since no nature could possibly assert itself (*ἐνεργεῖν*) that did not remain self-subsistent (*ὑφίστασθαι*); the hypothesis of two *φύσεις* led to that of two *ὑποστάσεις*, and so to the abhorred heresy of Nestorius. In conformity with the position of Cyril, and with a mode of expression first met with in the writings of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, viz. *ἀνδρωθεὶς θεός* and His *καινὴ θεανδρικὴ ἐνέργεια* (cf. art. MONOTHELETISM, § 1, p. 822^a), Severus took as the basis of his speculations the inherently complete divine nature and person of the Logos. The Logos, in His act of assuming flesh—flesh animated by rationality—becomes flesh and man, and, as man, is born of woman, but still remains, even as He had been, One, since, in virtue of such an indissoluble union, and without detriment to His inherent character, He transmutes and transfigures the flesh with His own glory and power. The united elements thus form a composite nature and a divine-human hypostasis, and it is to this that all His activities are to be traced.

The thesis that the body of Christ was subject to the laws of nature was deemed of the utmost importance by the Severians and Theodosians, who saw in it an expression of the identity of essence between that body and our own, and were thus able to avoid the heresy of Eutyches. It was precisely this thesis, however, that gave offence to the extremists of the party. To Julian and his followers it was simply inconceivable that Christ's body had been subject to corruption (*φθορά*), which has been a characteristic of human nature since the Fall. In order to understand the precise usage of this term in the present connexion, we must note that it did not refer to the *φθορά* which denotes the complete dissolution of the body into its elements at death; all parties were at one in asserting that Christ's body was not subject to *φθορά* in that sense, *i.e.* as decomposition. The question at issue here had to do with the natural infirmities of the human body (*ἀνθρώπινα πάθη*)—its liability to hunger, thirst, weariness, sweating, weeping, bleeding, and the like. The view of Julian, Philoxenus, and the Gaianites was that, while Christ certainly hungered and thirsted, it was because He desired, not because He required (*οὐκ ἀνάγκῃ φύσεως*), to do so—because, in short, according to the divine counsel (*κατ' οἰκονομίαν*), He had voluntarily taken upon Himself human pains and needs. He was the Son of man, as man was before the Fall, while all other men, though sons of Adam too, were possessed of a body and a soul of a nature that was due to Adam's fall.

We are thus able to understand the heretical designations applied by the warring Monophysite parties to one another. The Julianists or Gaianites charged their opponents with phthartolatry, the worship of the corruptible. These 'phthartolaters,' however, retorted upon their accusers with the epithet 'aphthartodocetists' or 'phantasiasts,' *i.e.* those who would change the reality of Christ's human experience into a mere appearance. As a matter of fact, the latter view was quite a natural inference, and many of the extremists were led astray by it. The most extravagant view seems to have been reached by those Gaianites who asserted that the body of Christ, from the moment of its union with the Logos, should be regarded not only as uncorrupted (*ἄφθαρτον*) but also as uncreated (*ἄκτιστον*). These were stigmatized as 'aktistetes' by their opponents, whom in return they called 'ktistolaters,' *i.e.* 'worshippers of that which was created.' Divisions arose even among the Severians themselves. Themistius, a deacon, taking his stand upon such Scripture passages as Mk 13^{32} and Jn 11^{34}, maintained that, as the body of Christ was subject to natural conditions, so its animating spirit could not be regarded as omniscient. To the adherents of this doctrine their opponents applied the name 'agnoetes.'

4. Justinian and the new orthodoxy.—On 1st August 527 Justinian became sole emperor of Rome. It does not fall to us here to set forth fully his far-reaching ecclesiastical policy in its transforming effect upon all things. The decisive factor in his attitude towards the West was his recognition of the Roman chair as the supreme tribunal of the Church, though this did not prevent him, after his victory over the Goths, from giving the popes an experience of his autocratic power. The defection of the Eastern Church gave the imperial ecclesiastic many an anxious hour. He soon came to recognize that his persecution of the Monophysites (see § 2 at end) had been a grave error. Little as he might wish to displace once more the orthodoxy now officially recognized, he could hardly help desiring to reconcile the Monophysites, especially as the empress Theodora was working with growing fervour for the rehabilitation of the party with which she sympathized in her devout moods. A few years after Justinian's accession to the throne, accordingly, negotiations were opened with the insurgents, and the most eminent of the bishops deposed in 518—not, however, including Severus—were summoned to Constantinople, where, it was hoped, they would be won over at a religious conference. In this conference, on the orthodox side, only such theologians were to take part as unequivocally accepted the thesis that one of the Trinity had suffered in the flesh (*ἕνα τῆς τριάδος πεπονθέναι σαρκί*). This Theopaschite formula was manifestly a friendly overture to the Monophysites. But the 'Collatio cum Severianis' (533 [or 531]), after two days of verbal controversy, came to nothing. On 15th May 533 Justinian issued an enactment in which he once more declared Chalcedon to be a standard of faith co-ordinate with the three earlier councils. The negotiations with the Monophysites were, nevertheless, still proceeding, and communications were now opened with Severus as well. Severus, yielding to reiterated pressure, went at length to the capital, where in 535 Anthimus, a protégé of the empress Theodora and a theological partisan of Severus himself, had been raised to the episcopate. But the interlude was not of long duration. In the following year (536) Pope Agapetus was able so to influence the emperor that the doctrinally suspect patriarch was superseded by the orthodox Menas. It is nevertheless the case that, during the entire reign of Justinian, the Monophysites firmly maintained their position at the court, while in Syria and Egypt their ecclesiastical power was supreme (cf. § 5).

Justinian himself made zealous efforts to comprehend the points of the doctrinal controversy. His great aim was to reconcile the teaching of Cyril and the Symbol of Chalcedon. In this he found effective support in that most eminent of his theologians, **Leontius of Byzantium** († 543 as a monk in Palestine), who, in his *Ἐπίλυσις τῶν ὑπὸ Σευήρου προβεβλημένων συλλογισμῶν*, *κατὰ Νεστοριανῶν καὶ Εὐτυχιανιστῶν* and other writings, won renown as a prolific author and an able assailant of the Severian Christology. The theology of Leontius is based wholly upon the Aristotelian logic. A novel feature of it, however, was his ingenious application of the idea that the *ὑποστῆναι* of Christ's human nature was *ἐν τῷ λόγῳ*, so that that nature is not *ἀνυπόστατος*, but *ἐνυπόστατος*. The term 'enhypostasis' operated like a spell. It seemed to obviate in the happiest way all the difficulties that beset the doctrine of the God-man. By its means the Chalcedonian Symbol could, without violation of its actual words, be interpreted in the sense of

Cyril's doctrine. It was nevertheless the use of this expression that led to the introduction of scholasticism into the Byzantine theology.

Justinian died in 565. Under his successors the Monophysites of the city and diocese of Constantinople had much to bear, and their harsh experiences have been graphically described by John of Ephesus, himself a Monophysite, in his Church History. Negotiations for a union of the warring factions, it is true, were once more resumed, but were foredoomed to failure by the circumstance that the ecclesiastics of the imperial court would not surrender the understanding with Rome, while the Monophysites regarded that understanding as the root of all evil. The consequence was that in the course of the 6th cent. the Monophysite communities in the Byzantine patriarchate were destroyed one after another. The Churches of Egypt and the Eastern provinces, on the other hand, remained quite impervious to the ecclesiastical influence of the capital, and the severance of the purely Monophysite communion from the Catholic Church became ever the more complete.

5. The independent Monophysite churches.—The Monophysites of *Syria* never ceased to regard the banished Severus as the rightful patriarch of Antioch, and declined to recognize the standing of those who were successively appointed to the office by the emperor. The organizer of their church life was **Jacob Barâdai** (*i.e.* 'he with the horse-cloth'; † 578), who, originally a monk in Constantinople, had been ordained, *c.* 541, bishop of Edessa by Theodosius of Alexandria (cf. § 3), then also resident there; and in consequence the Syrian Monophysites came to be called Jacobites. Barâdai, in his long journeys in W. Asia and Egypt, instituted communities, and consecrated patriarchs, bishops, presbyters, and deacons. The chief representatives of literature in Syria were nearly all Monophysites.

In addition to Severus, Philoxenus, and Julian (cf. § 3), the following writers of the earlier period deserve mention: Jacob of Sarug († 521), the author of widely read metrical homilies, which earned for him the title of 'Flute of the Holy Spirit'; Sergius of Resaïna († 536), physician and priest, who translated into Syriac several works of Aristotle and Galen, as also of the pseudo-Dionysius Areopagitica; Jacob of Edessa († 708), equally renowned as theologian, liturgical writer, philosopher, historian, exegete, and grammarian; George, bishop of the nomadizing Arabs, a writer whose letters have come down to us in large numbers. Of the mediæval authors one of the most prominent was Bar Hebræus (Abulfaraj; † 1286), whose *Chronicle* forms one of the most important sources of information regarding Monophysitism.

From the time when Islām became the dominant power in Syria, the Jacobites decreased in numbers more and more. At the present day there are some 200,000 of them in the Turkish empire, and about 1,000,000 in India—on the Malabar coast and in Ceylon. Their ecclesiastical superior (formerly entitled 'maphrian,' now 'katholikos') resides in the monastery of Deir-Safaran, near Mardin. Efforts made by the Jacobites, from the close of the 18th cent., to effect a union with Rome had a very meagre result. At the present day the Roman Catholic Syrians number about 30,000, and are subject to a patriarch, who takes his title from Antioch, but lives in Mardin.

In *Egypt* the conflicts between the Severians and the Julianists or Gaianites (cf. § 3) at length ruptured the unity of Monophysitism, which, nevertheless, became the faith of nearly the whole Coptic population. The patriarch of the orthodox, the Melchites (*i.e.* 'Imperials'), who was also procurator of the province, could count upon the homage of very few outside the higher official ranks in Alexandria and some of the larger towns. The Monophysite propaganda was carried also to the Nubians and the Alodians. From 616 marauding bands of Persians ravaged the religious stations on the Upper Nile, and it was only after the Arabs, with the hearty good-will of the Copts, took possession of the country that the Monophysite patriarch ventured to leave his place of refuge in the Upper Egyptian desert. During the Middle Ages the condition of the Coptic Church was a fairly prosperous one, but subsequently it was sorely harassed and ravaged by Muslim fanaticism, and it is only within recent times that it has been able to make a fresh advance. The Christian Copts of the present day still maintain their Monophysite creed (see, further, art. COPTIC CHURCH).

Finally, Monophysitism penetrated also to *Armenia*. The Armenians, while still engaged in battling for their own faith with Parsi Mazdæism, were quite unaffected by the dogmatic controversies of the Imperial Church. The expanding propaganda of the Persian Nestorians, however, induced them to adopt the Henotikon of Zeno (cf. § 2). Thereafter they maintained close relations with the Syrian Monophysites, and at the Council of Dvin, in 554, they overtly accepted the more radical position represented by Julian of Halicarnassus. From that time they have remained faithful to Monophysitism, though they subsequently gave their adherence to the more moderate Severian school.

LITERATURE.—i. *SOURCES.*—(*a*) Decrees of the Councils, Declarations of Synods, papal briefs.

(*b*) *Historical works and Chronicles.*—Zacharias Rhetor (Scholasticus), shortly after the accession of Anastasius, wrote, from the Henotic standpoint, a record of ecclesiastical events from the Council of Chalcedon to the death of Zeno (extant only in a Syriac version; see below, under *Historia Miscellanea*); Theodorus Lector, Anagnostes in the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople at the beginning of the 6th cent., wrote, from the orthodox standpoint, a history of the Church from Nestorius to Justin I., which now exists only in fragments; Johannes Malalas, *Chronography*, composed in Justinian's reign; Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, written after 546 (ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London, 1899); Theophanes Confessor, *Chronography*, composed between 810 and 815 (ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig, 1883–85). Of the Latin chroniclers Liberatus, *Breviarium causæ Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum*, is worthy of note. The most important of the Syrian authorities are: *Chronicon Edessenum* (ed. I. Guidi, in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 'Chronica Minora,' I. i., Paris, 1903), dating from the middle of the 6th cent.; *Historia Miscellanea*, a compilation of the same period by an unknown Monophysite writer, and including the history of Zacharias Rhetor mentioned above (ed. K. Ahrens and G. Krüger, Leipzig, 1899; also F. J. Hamilton and E. W. Brooks, London, 1899); John of Ephesus († *c.* 585), *Ecclesiastical History* (3rd part ed. W. Cureton, Oxford, 1853).

(*c*) *Various.*—The *Plerophories* of Johannes Rufus of Mayuma, a collection (*c.* 515) of the sayings, prophecies, visions, and revelations of various distinguished Monophysites, and especially of Peter the Iberian (ed. F. Nau, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, Paris, 1911); the biography of Peter the Iberian, probably by the Johannes Rufus just named (ed. R. Raabe, Leipzig, 1895); *Vitæ virorum apud Monophysitas celeberrimorum* (ed. E. W. Brooks, in *Corpus Script. Christ. Orient.*, 'Scriptores Syri,' III. xxv., Paris, 1908); the biographies of the Syrian monks Euthymius and Sabas, by Cyril of Scythopolis († after 557), etc.

ii. *MODERN WORKS.*—L. S. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'hist. ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*^{2}, Paris, 1701–12, xv. f., E. Gibbon, *The Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, 7 vols., London, 1901–06, and C. W. F. Walch, *Hist. der Kezereien . . . bis auf die Zeiten der Reformation*, Leipzig, 1762–85, vi.–viii., are still indispensable. Of more recent works on the general history of the period the following deserve special mention: J. B. Bury, *A Hist. of the Later Roman Empire*, London, 1889; H. Gelzer, 'Abriss der byzantinischen Kaisergeschichte,' in K. Krumbacher's *Gesch. der byzantinischen Literatur*^{2}, Munich, 1897; C. Diehl, *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au vi^{e} siècle*, Paris, 1901; and W. G. Holmes, *The Age of Justinian and Theodora*, London, 1905–07. On the questions of literary history the reader should consult (in addition to Krumbacher) W. Wright, *A Short Hist. of Syriac Literature*, London, 1894, and R. Duval, *La Littérature syriaque*^{3}, Paris, 1907. Of Histories of the Church and of Dogma, the most important are the following: I. A. Dorner, *Entwicklungsgesch. der Lehre von der Person Christi*, ii.^{2}, Berlin, 1853 (Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1861–63); C. J. von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*^{2}, Freiburg, 1873–90, ii. (1875) (best form now in the Fr. revised ed. of H. Leclercq, Paris, 1907–13); A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*^{4}, Tübingen, 1909–10, ii. (Eng. tr., London, 1894–99); L. J. Tixeront, *Hist. des dogmes dans l'antiquité chrétienne*, 3 vols., Paris, 1906–12, iii.; L. Duchesne, *Hist. ancienne de l'église*, Paris, 1906–10 (only to the close of the 5th cent. A.D.),

iii. ; the best monograph on the subject is J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme sévérien*, Louvain, 1909. In writing the present article the author has drawn upon his contributions to *PRE*^{3} ('Julian von Halikarnass,' 'Justinian I.,' 'Monophysiten,' 'Philoxenus,' 'Severus,' 'Zacharias Scholastikus,' etc.), and upon his *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, i. (Tübingen, 1911); additional literature will be found both in the articles and in the book.

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MONOTHEISM.—In the history of religion monotheism, the doctrine that 'there is one God,' or that 'God is One,' is somewhat sharply opposed to a very wide range of beliefs and teachings. The contrast, when it appears in the religion of a people, or in the general evolution of religion, tends to have an important bearing both upon religious practices and upon religious experience, since to believe in 'One God' means, in general, to abandon, often with contempt or aversion, many older beliefs, hopes, fears, and customs relating to the 'many gods,' or to the other powers, whose place or dignity the 'One God' tends henceforth to take and to retain. If these 'many,' as the older beliefs, which some form of monotheism replaces, had dealt with them, were themselves for the older faiths 'gods,' then the monotheism which is each time in question opposes, and replaces, some form of 'polytheism.' This is what happened when Judaism and Muhammadanism replaced older local faiths. If one were satisfied to view the contrast in the light of cases closely resembling these, and these only, then the natural opponent of monotheism as a belief in 'One God' would appear to be, in the history of religion, polytheism as a belief in 'many gods.'

Since, however, there are various religions and many superstitions which recognize the existence of powers such as, despite their more or less divine character, lack some or all of the features which naturally belong either to God or to gods, and since demons, the spirits of the dead, or magic powers may be in question in such religions, the name 'polytheism' can hardly be quite accurately applied to the whole class of beliefs which are in any important way opposed to monotheism. So, in the history of religion, monotheism has two opponents: (1) polytheism proper, and (2) beliefs that recognize other more or less divine beings besides those that are properly to be called gods.

In the history of philosophy, however, monotheism has a much narrower range of contrasting or opposing beliefs. Polytheism, as an explicit doctrine, has played but a small part in the history of philosophy. To the doctrine 'God is One' or 'There is one God,' where this doctrine forms part of a philosophy, there are opposed forms of opinion which are often classified under three heads: (1) philosophical pantheism, (2) philosophical atheism, (3) philosophical scepticism regarding the divine beings. The modern name 'agnosticism' has been freely used for a philosophical scepticism which especially relates either to God or to other matters of central interest in religion.

Frequently, in summaries of the varieties of philosophical doctrine, the term 'pantheism' has been used as a name for such philosophical doctrines as 'identify the world with God.' Pantheism is often summed up as the doctrine that 'All is God,' 'Everything is God,' or, finally, 'God is everything.' But a more careful study of the philosophical doctrines which have gone under the name of pantheism, or which have been so named by their opponents, would show that the name 'pantheism' is too abstract, too vague in its meaning to make any clear insight easily obtainable regarding what ought to constitute the essence of a philosophical pantheism as opposed to a philosophic monotheism. The two propositions (1) 'God is One,' and (2) 'God is identical with all reality,' or 'with the principle upon which all reality depends,' are not, on the face of the matter, mutually contrary propositions. How far, in reference to a given creed, or theology, or religious tradition, the first proposition appears to be contrary to the second depends upon the special interpretation, and sometimes upon the special prejudices of critics, sects, or philosophers of a given school.

One who asserts the 'unity of God' may or may not be laying stress upon the fact that he also makes a sharp distinction between the reality called God and other realities—*e.g.*, the world. That such sharp distinctions are often in question is an important fact in the history of philosophy. Nevertheless the doctrine that 'God is One' has been philosophically maintained at the same time with the doctrine that 'God is all reality.' For such a view, the two doctrines would simply be two ways of expressing the same centrally important fact. One who wishes to understand the numerous controversies, subtle distinctions, and religious interests which at one time or another have been bound up with the name 'pantheism' must be ready to recognize that the term 'pantheism,' when used without special explanation, is a poor instrument for making clear precisely where the problem lies. In brief, one may say that, while the term 'pantheism' has been freely employed by philosophers, as well as by those who are devoted to practical religious interests, it is, as a historical name, rather a cause of confusion than an aid to clearness. The proposition, 'God is One,' has, despite the complications of doctrine and of history, a comparatively definite meaning for any one who advances a philosophical opinion concerning the nature of God. But the proposition, 'God is all,' or 'God is all reality,' has, in the history of thought, no one meaning which can be made clear unless one first grasps all the essential principles of the metaphysical doctrine of the philosopher who asserts this proposition, or who at least is accused by his critics of asserting it.

If we endeavour, then, to make clearer the essential meaning of the term 'monotheism' by contrasting the historical forms of monotheism with philosophical doctrines which have been opposed to it, we may attempt to solve the problem of defining what is essential to philosophical monotheism by dwelling upon a contrast which, especially in recent discussion, has been freely emphasized. One may assert, *e.g.*, that in speaking of the nature of the 'One God' who is the essential being of monotheistic belief, either (1) one holds that God is 'immanent' in the world, thus asserting the doctrine of the 'divine immanence,' or (2) one holds to the doctrine of the 'transcendence' of God, thus asserting that the divine being in some fashion 'transcends' the world which He has created or with which He is contrasted. But here, again, one deals with two doctrines which, in certain philosophical contexts, do not appear to stand in contrary opposition to each other. For, as is well known, there are philosophies which insist that God is in a certain sense 'immanent' in the world, and also in a certain sense 'transcendent' in His relation to the world. Aristotle, in a well-known passage (*Met.* xii. 10), gave a classic expression of the relations of the doctrines which are here in question, when he stated the question as to whether the divine being is related to the world as the 'order' is to the army, or as the 'general' is to the army. Aristotle replied by saying that 'in a certain sense' God is *both* the 'order' of the world and the 'general,' 'although rather the general.' Thus the opposition between divine immanence and divine transcendence does not precisely state the issue and class of issues which one finds playing the most important part in the history of philosophical monotheism (see art. IMMANENCE).

Another attempt to get the issue between monotheism and the contrasting or opposed philosophical doctrines clearly before the mind may take the well-known form of declaring that monotheism, properly so called, lays stress upon the 'personality of God,' while the opposed or contrasting doctrines, which so often are regarded as constituting or as tending towards pantheism, have as their essential feature the tendency to view God as 'impersonal.' From this point of view, it would be of the essence of monotheism to declare that the One God is a person, while it would be of the essence of those doctrines which are opposed to monotheism to declare, in a fashion which might remain simply negative, that the divine being is not personal. It would then remain for further definition to consider whether the divine being is 'superpersonal' or is 'merely material,' or, again, is 'unconscious,' or is otherwise not of a personal character.

But the difficulty in this way of defining the contrasts which have actually appeared in the history of thought lies in the fact that the very conception of personality is itself, in the history of philosophy, a comparatively late as well as a decidedly unstable conception. It is fair to ask how far the most widely current modern ideas of personality were present to the minds of such Greek philosophers as Plato and Aristotle. All the ideas of personality which philosophers may now possess have recently been vastly influenced by the whole course of modern European civilization. The problem of how far the Occidental and Oriental minds agree regarding what a 'person' is is one about which those will be least likely to dogmatize who have most carefully considered the accessible facts. In fact, the whole experience of the civilized consciousness of any nation or philosopher is likely to be epitomized in the idea of personality which a given philosophy expresses. It seems, therefore, inconvenient to make one's classification of the philosophical doctrine about the nature of God depend upon presupposing that one knows what a philosopher means by the term 'person.' It is true that whoever makes clear what he means by 'person' will thereby define his attitude towards nearly all fundamental philosophical problems. But the idea of personality is, if possible, more difficult to define than any other fundamental philosophical idea. Therefore, to define monotheism as a 'belief in a personal God' will give little aid to the understanding of what sort of belief is in question, so long as the idea of what constitutes a person remains as obscure as it usually does.

A still further effort has been made to define monotheism by making explicit reference to philosophical doctrines concerning the question whether the world was created or is self-existent. As a matter of fact, that set of Christian theological doctrines and of scholastic interpretations of Aristotle which goes by the name of 'creationism' has played an important part in the history of the more technical forms of monotheism. Yet the issues regarding creation are, after all, special issues. How they bear upon the problem of monotheism can hardly be understood by one who has not already defined monotheism in other terms. Creationism is the familiar doctrine that 'the world was created by God.' This doctrine can become clear only if one first knows what one means by God.

The effort to make some further advance towards unravelling the great variety of interwoven motives which appear in the history of monotheism, and which have been suggested by the foregoing considerations, will be aided by attempting, at this point, once more to review the issues with regard to the nature of God, but now from a somewhat different point of view. The problems, both about 'God' and about 'the gods,' have everywhere been inherited by the philosophers from religions whose origins antedated their philosophy. In a few cases, notably in the case of Greece on the one hand and India on the other, the origin of the philosophical traditions regarding the divine being can be traced back to ancient religious tendencies, while the transition from religion to philosophy is fairly well known, and passes through definite stages. In one other instance, the transition from a tribal religion to a form of monotheism which was not due to philosophers but which has deeply influenced the subsequent life of philosophy is also decidedly well known, and can be traced in its essential details. This is the case of the religion of Israel. Now in the three cases in question—that of India, that of Greece, that of Israel—the rise of a doctrine which is certainly in each case a monotheism can be fairly well understood. The three forms of monotheism which resulted led in the sequel to contrasts of doctrine which, in the case of the history of philosophical thought, have been momentous. Ignoring, then, the complications of early religious history, ignoring also the effort further to define and to classify those doctrines which have been summarized in the various definitions of monotheism and its opponents which we have just reviewed, it seems well to reconsider the important varieties of philosophical belief regarding the divine being in the light of the great historical contrast of the three forms of monotheism which India, Greece, and Israel put before us. We shall discard the name 'pantheism,' and make no attempt to define the contrast between divine immanence and divine transcendence, or to speak of the problem in what sense God is personal and in what sense impersonal. Nor can we here exhaust the varieties of philosophical opinion. But the threefold contrast just given will help us to make clearer the philosophical issues of monotheism by naming certain varieties of philosophical thought which have both a definite historical origin and a great influence upon the character of opinion about the divine being. Simplifying the whole matter in this somewhat artificial but still well-founded way, we may say that, from the historical point of view, three different ways of viewing the divine being have been of great importance both for religious life and for philosophical doctrine. No one of these three ways has been exclusively confined to the nation of which the form of opinion in question is most characteristic, and in the history of philosophical thought the three motives are interwoven. But a comparatively clear distinction can be made if we emphasize the three contrasting doctrines, and then point out that these doctrines, while not exclusively due each to one of the three nations or to philosophies which have grown out of the religious traditions of the nation in question, are still, on the whole, fairly to be associated, one with the tradition of Israel, the second with the influence of Greece, and the third with the influence either of India or of nations and civilizations which, in this respect, are closely analogous in spirit to the civilization of India.

(1) The monotheism due to the historical influence of the religion of Israel defines God as 'the righteous Ruler of the world,' as 'the Doer of justice,' or as the one 'whose law is holy,' or 'who secures the triumph of the right.' The best phrase to characterize this form of doctrine, to leave room for the wide variety of special forms which it has assumed, to indicate its historical origin, and also to imply that it has undergone in the course of history a long process of development, is this: 'the

ethical monotheism of the Prophets of Israel.' We include under this phrase that form, or type, or aspect of monotheism, which characterizes philosophies that have been most strongly influenced, directly or indirectly, by the religion of Israel.

(2) The monotheism which has its historical origin very largely in the Greek philosophers defines God as the source, or the explanation, or the correlate, or the order, or the reasonableness of the world. It seems fair to call this form 'Hellenic monotheism.' In the history of philosophy, and especially of that philosophy which has grown up under the influence of Christianity, this idea of God has, of course, become interwoven—sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously—with the ethical monotheism of Israel. But, when a philosophy of Christian origin is in question, while in some respects this philosophy, if positively monotheistic, is almost sure to be strongly influenced by ethical monotheism, the most important and essential features of the philosophy in question will be due to the way in which it deals with the relation between the order of the world and the nature of the 'One God.' Aristotle's statement of his own problem regarding whether God is identical with the 'order' or is related to the world as the 'general' is related to the army is a good example of the form which the problem of monotheism takes from this point of view.

(3) The third form of monotheism is very widespread, and has actually had many different historical origins. In the history both of religion and of philosophy this form of monotheism, somewhat like the Ancient Mariner, 'passes, like night, from land to land' and 'has strange power of speech.' Often unorthodox at the time or in the place where it is influential, it has indirectly played a large part in the creeds of various times and places. Usually fond of esoteric statements of doctrine, and often condemned by common sense as fantastic and intolerable, it has had many times of great popular influence. The official Christian Church has had great difficulty in defining the relation of orthodox doctrine to this form of opinion. In the history of philosophy the more technical statements of it have formed part of extremely important systems.

This form of monotheism is especially well marked in the early history of Hindu speculation. It is often called 'Hindu pantheism'; and it is indeed fair to say that it is in many respects most purely represented by some systems of belief and doctrine which have grown up on Indian soil. On the other hand, it has a less exclusive relation to Indian philosophy than the Hellenic form of monotheism, in its later history, has to Greek philosophy, so that the connexion here insisted upon between this kind of monotheism and the early history of Hindu philosophy must be interpreted somewhat liberally. In fact, at the close of the history of Greek philosophy this third form of monotheism appeared as a part of the Neo-Platonic philosophy. Yet in this case an Oriental origin or direct influence is extremely improbable. Examples of the tendency of this form of monotheism to take on new forms, and to be influenced by other motives than those derived from the religion or philosophy of India, are to be found in the recent revival of such types of doctrine in various forms of 'intuitionalism' and 'anti-intellectualism' in European thought.

The essence of this third type of monotheism is that it tends to insist not only upon the 'sole reality of God,' but upon the 'unreality of the world.' The name 'acosmism' therefore is more suggestive for it than the name 'pantheism.' It might be summed up in the proposition 'God is real,' but all else besides God that appears to be real is but an 'appearance' or, if better estimated, is a 'dream.' If we attempt to make more precise the vague word 'pantheism' merely by saying, 'God and the world are, according to pantheism, but one,' the natural question arises, 'If they are but one, then which one?' But what we may now call, in a general way and upon the general historical basis just indicated, 'Indic monotheism,' whether it appears in Hindu philosophy, in Spinoza, or in Meister Eckhart, tends to assert, 'The One is God and God only, and is so precisely because the world is but appearance.' This definition of the third form of monotheism relieves us of some of the ambiguities of the term 'pantheism.'

The threefold distinction now made enables us similarly to review some of the great features of the history of philosophical monotheism in a way which cannot here be stated at length, but which, even when summarily indicated, tends to elucidate many points that have usually been unduly left obscure.

The ethical monotheism of the Prophets of Israel was not the product of any philosophical thinking. The intense earnestness of the nation into whose religious experience it entered kept it alive in the world. The beginnings of Christianity soon required philosophical interpretation, and in any such interpretation the doctrine of the righteous God must inevitably play a leading part. In the course of the development of the Church this doctrine sought aid from Greek philosophy. Consequently, the whole history of Christian monotheism depends upon an explicit effort to make a synthesis of the ethical monotheism of Israel and the Hellenic form of monotheism. This synthesis was as attractive as, in the course of its development, it has proved problematic and difficult. The reason for the problem of such a synthesis, as the philosophers have had to face that problem, lies mainly in the following fact. Whether taken in its original form or modified by philosophical reflexion, ethical monotheism, the doctrine that 'God is righteous,' very sharply contrasts God, 'the righteous Ruler,' or, in Christian forms, 'God the Redeemer of the world,' with the world to which God stands in such ethical relations. On the other hand, for the Hellenic form of monotheism, the problem which Aristotle emphasized about the 'order' and the 'general' indeed exists. But in its essentials Hellenic monotheism is, on the whole, neutral as to the kind of unity which binds God and the world together. Our later philosophies, in so far as they are founded upon Hellenic monotheism, must therefore attempt explicitly to solve the problem which Aristotle stated. And, on the whole, such philosophies tend towards answering the question as Aristotle did: God is both 'order' and the 'general' of the army which constitutes the world. Hellenic monotheism, moreover, is influenced by strongly intellectual tendencies. On the other hand, the monotheism of Israel was, even in its ante-philosophical form, a kind of voluntarism. God's law, viewed as one term of the antithesis, the world which He rules, or which He saves, viewed as the other, are much more sharply contrasted than Aristotle's 'order' and 'general' tend to be. When, in the development of the philosophies which grew out of the Greek tradition, the Hellenic concept of the Logos (*q.v.*) assumed its most characteristic forms, its intellectual interests were, on the whole, in favour of defining the unity of the divine being and the world as the most essential feature of monotheism. But, at each stage of this development, this intellectual or rational unity of the Logos and the world gradually came into sharper and sharper conflict with that ethical interest which naturally dwelt upon the contrast between the righteous

Ruler and the sinful world, and between divine grace and fallen man.

Therefore, behind many of the conflicts between so-called pantheism in Christian tradition and the doctrines of 'divine transcendence' and 'divine personality,' there has lain the conflict between intellectualism and voluntarism, between an interpretation of the world in terms of order and an interpretation of the world in terms of the conflict between good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness.

Meanwhile, in terms of this antithesis of our first and second types of philosophical monotheism, we can state only half of the problem. Had the monotheism of Israel and the Hellenic doctrine of God as the principle of order been the only powers concerned in these conflicts, the history both of philosophy and of religion would have been, for the Christian world, far simpler than it is. The motives which determine the third idea of God have tended both to enrich and to complicate the situation.

It is true that a direct connexion between ancient Hinduism and early Christian doctrine cannot be traced. But what we have called, for very general reasons, the Indic type of idea of God became, in the course of time, a part of Christian civilization for very various reasons. As we have seen, the doctrine that God alone is real while the world is illusory depends upon motives which are not confined to India. In the form of what has technically been called 'mysticism,' this view of the divine nature in due time became a factor both in Christian experience and in philosophical interpretation. The Neo-Platonic school furnished some of the principal technical formulations of such a view of the divine nature. The religious experience of the Græco-Roman world, in the times immediately before and immediately after the Christian era, also in various ways emphasized the motives upon which this third type of Christian monotheism depends. The Church thus found room within the limits of orthodoxy for the recognition, with certain restrictions, of the tendency to view the world as mere appearance, ordinary life as a bad dream, and salvation as attainable only through a direct acquaintance with the divine being itself.

The very complications which for philosophy have grown out of the efforts to synthesize Hellenic monotheism and the religion of the Prophets of Israel have repeatedly stimulated the Christian mystics to insist that what the intellect cannot attain, namely, an understanding of the nature of God and His relation to the world, the mystic experience can furnish to those who have a right to receive its revelations. Philosophy—intellectual philosophy—fails (so such mystics assert) to solve the problems raised by the contrasts between good and evil, between God and the world, as these contrasts are recognized either by those who study the order of the universe or by those who thirst after righteousness. What way remains, then, for man, beset by his moral problems, on the one hand, and his intellectual difficulties, on the other, to come into real touch with the divine? The mystics, *i.e.* those who have insisted upon the third idea of God, and who have tested this idea in their own experience, have always held that the results of the intellect are negative, and lead to no definite idea of God which can be defended against the sceptics, while, as the mystics always insist, to follow the law of righteousness, whether with or without the aid of divine grace, does not lead, at least in the present life, to the highest type of the knowledge of God. We approach the highest type of knowledge, so far as the present life permits, if we recognize, in the form of some sort of 'negative' theology, the barrenness of intellectualism, and if, meanwhile, we recognize that the contemplative life is higher than the practical life, and that an immediate vision of God leads to an insight which no practical activity, however righteous, attains. To teach such doctrines as matters of personal experience is characteristic of the mystics. To make more articulate the idea of God thus defined has formed an important part of the office of theology.

Without this third type of monotheism, and without this negative criticism of the work of the intellect and this direct appeal to immediate experience, Christian doctrine, in fact, would not have reached some of its most characteristic forms and expressions, and the philosophy of Christendom would have failed to put on record some of its most fascinating speculations.

It is obvious that, on the face of the matter, the immediate intuitions upon which mystical monotheism lays stress are opposed to the sort of insight which the intellect obtains. Even here, however, the opposing tendencies in question are not always in any very direct contrary opposition in the thought or expression of an individual thinker or philosopher. Thus, in an individual case, an exposition of mysticism may devote a large part of its philosophical work to a return to the Hellenic type of theism. That this was possible the Neo-Platonic school had already shown (see art. NEO-PLATONISM). Wherever Christian monotheism is strongly under the Neo-Platonic influence, it tends to become a synthesis of our second and third types of monotheism. In such cases the monotheism is Hellenic in its fondness for order, for categories, and for an intellectual system of the universe, and at the same time devoted to immediate intuitions, to a recognition that the finite world is an appearance, and to a definition of God in terms of an ineffable experience, rather than in terms of a rational system of ideas. Such a synthesis may, in an individual system, ignore the conflicts here in question. Nevertheless, on the whole, the opposition is bound to become, for great numbers of thinkers and, on occasion, for the authorities of the Church, a conscious opposition. And the opposition between the ethical and the mystic types of monotheism is in general still sharper, and is more fully conscious. Despite all these oppositions, however, it remains the case that one of the principal problems of Christian theology has been the discovery of some way to bring the third of the ideas of God, the third of the tendencies to define God as One, into some tolerable and true synthesis either with the first or with the second of the three types of monotheism, or with both.

In the technical discussions of the idea of God which have made up the introductory portions of many systems of so-called 'nature theology,' it has been very general for the philosophers of Christendom to emphasize the Hellenic type of theism. The so-called philosophical 'proofs of the divine existence' make explicit some aspect of the Hellenic interest in the order and reason of the world. The 'design argument,' first stated in an elementary form by Socrates, and persistently present in popular theology of the monotheistic type ever since, is an interpretation of the world in terms of various special analogies between the particular sorts of adaptation which the physical world shows us and the plans of which a designing intelligence, in the case of art, makes use. The so-called 'cosmological argument' reasons more in general terms from the very existence of this 'contingent' world to the Logos whose rational nature explains the world. The highly technical 'ontological argument' insists upon motives which arise in the course of the effort to define the very nature of an orderly system. In its briefest statement the ontological argument is epitomized by Augustine when he defines God as 'Veritas' and declares that Veritas must be real, since, if there were no Veritas, the proposition that there is no Veritas would itself be true. The more highly developed forms of the ontological argument reason in similar fashion from our own ideas of the nature of the Logos, or of the rationally necessary order system of the universe—in other words, from the realm of Platonic ideas, in so far as it is manifested through and to our intellect, to the reality of such a system beyond our intellect.

It has been insisted, and not without very genuine basis, both in religion and in the controversies of the philosophers, that all such efforts, through the intellect, to grasp the divine nature lead to results remote from the vital experience upon which religious monotheism and, in particular, Christian monotheism must rest, if such monotheism is permanently to retain the confidence of a man who is at once critical and religious. Into the merits of the issues thus indicated, this is no place to enter. In any case, however, both the warfare of the philosophical schools and the contrast between intellectual theology and the religious life have often led to philosophical efforts to escape from the very problems now emphasized to some more immediate intuition of the divine, or else to assert that there is no philosophical solution to the religious problem of theism. Thus intellectualism in theology, in the forms in which it has historically appeared, has repeatedly tended to bring about its own elimination. The more highly rational it has become, and the more its apparent barrenness, or its inability to combine the various motives which enter into the three different monotheistic tendencies has become manifest, the more the result of a careful analysis of the intellectual motives has led either to the revival of mysticism or to a sceptical indifference to philosophical theism. To say this is merely to report historical facts.

Some negative results of the more purely Hellenic type of monotheism became especially manifest through the results of the Kantian criticism of reason and of its work. It is extremely interesting, however, to see what, in Kant's case, was the result of this criticism of the traditional arguments for the existence of God. By temperament Kant was indisposed to take interest in experiences of mystic type. For him, therefore, the failure of the intellect meant a return to the motives which, in no philosophical formulation, but in the form of an intensely earnest practical faith, had long ago given rise to the religion of Israel. Therefore the God of Kant is, once more, simply the righteous Ruler. Or, as Fichte in a famous early essay defined the idea, 'God is the moral order of the world.' This Kantian-Fichtean order is, however, not the Hellenic order, either of the realm of Platonic ideas or of the natural world. It is the order of 'the kingdom of ends,' of a universe of free moral agents, whose existence stands in endless contrast to an ideal realm of holiness or moral perfection, after which they must endlessly strive, but of whose real presence they can never become aware through a mystical vision or by a sure logical demonstration. The righteous man, according to Kant, says: 'I will that God exists.' Kant defines God in terms of this will. Monotheism, according to this view, cannot be proved, but rationally must be acknowledged as true.

Yet, in his *Critique of Judgment*, Kant recognized that the requirement to bring into synthesis the intellect and the will, and to interpret our æsthetic experience, *i.e.* our acquaintance with the kind of perfection which beauty reveals—this ideal, a synthesis of the ethical, the intuitional, and the rational—remains with us. And, despite all failures, this ideal is one from which philosophy cannot escape.

The revived interest in intuition and in religious experience which has characterized the transition from the 19th to the 20th cent. has once more made the mystical motives familiar to our present interest. The permanent significance of the ethical motives also renders them certain to become prominent in the attention of serious-minded men, even though the Kantian formulation of the ethical ideals seems for the moment, in our mobile contemporary philosophical and religious thought, too abstract and rigid. And so we are not likely, in future, to accept any merely one-sided Hellenism.

While no attention can here be given to the solutions of the problem of philosophical monotheism which have been proposed during the last century, the problem of monotheism still remains central for recent philosophy. It may be said that dogmatic formulations are at the present time often treated with the same indifference which is also characteristically shown towards the faith of the fathers, viewed simply as a heritage. Nevertheless, the problems of philosophical monotheism remain as necessarily impressive as they have been ever since the early stages of Christian theology. They are as certain to survive as is philosophy itself. What the whole history of the monotheistic problem in philosophy shows becomes to-day, in view of our explicit knowledge of the philosophy of India, and in view of our wide comparative study of religions, more explicit than ever. Philosophy is a necessary effort of the civilized consciousness, at least on its higher level. Monotheism is a central problem of philosophy. This problem is not to be sufficiently dealt with by merely drawing artificial or technical distinctions between Platonic or Neo-Platonic theories; nor can the problem be solved by calling it the problem of the immanence of God as against His transcendence. The question 'Is God personal?' becomes and will become more explicit in its modern formulation the more we become aware of what constitutes a person. Meanwhile, as was remarked above, the problem of monotheism has other aspects besides the problem of personality.

The essentials of the great issue remain for us, as for our fathers, capable of formulation in the terms which have here been emphasized. To repeat, the philosophical problem of monotheism is (1) In what sense is the world real? (2) In what sense is the world a rational order? (3) In what sense is the world ethical? The effort to answer these questions cannot be made by exclusive emphasis on one of them. For, as we have seen, the problem of monotheism requires a synthesis of all the three ideas of God, and an answer that shall be just to all the three problems. Whether monotheism is true or not can be discovered, in a philosophical sense, only through a clear recognition of the contrast of the three ideas of God, and the synthesis which shall bring them into some sort of harmony. The further discussion of the nature of this harmony does not come within the scope of this article (see art. GOD [Biblical and Christian]).

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MONOTHELETISM.—1. The problem.—The Monenergistic or Monothelete controversy seems at first glance to be a mere sequel to the Monophysite conflict, a knowledge of which is assumed in the present article. On a closer examination, however, we see that the later controversy has a character of its own, since it shows how the adoption of the orthodox Diphysite point of view was not regarded as leading necessarily and directly to Dithelete conclusions. In the art. MONOPHYSITISM (p. 811 ff.) it was indicated how the new orthodoxy came to terms with the problem of the two natures in the one person of Jesus Christ—the problem raised by the Symbol of Chalcedon. The person of the God-man was conceived as arising from the person (*ὑπόστασις*) of the Logos, which assimilated the human attributes, and upon which, as the core of personality, human nature was, so to speak, engrafted by the process of *ἐνυπόστασις*. On this hypothesis it might seem entirely justifiable to ascribe everything that Christ said or did to the one volitional activity (*ἐνέργεια*) of the God-man, and actually, indeed, to regard all as emanating from His undivided will (*θέλημα*). Such a view, moreover, could be supported by the evidence of earlier Fathers. Cyril, with reference to Lk 8^{54}, had said of Christ: *μίαν τε καὶ συγγενῆ δ᾽ ἀμφοῖν* [*i.e.* word and hand] *ἐπιδεικνὺς τὴν ἐνέργειαν*; and it was possible, above all, to adduce the witness of a passage in the fourth Epistle of the pseudo-Dionysius—a passage containing the phrase *μία θεανδρικὴ ἐνέργεια*, which was destined to play so important a part in the coming days. The Monenergists were possessed with the idea that the redemptive activity of the God-man emanated wholly and solely from His divine nature, that nature providing the stimulus which was mediated by His rational soul and brought to realization in His body. Nor had even the natural operations of Christ as a rational being their source in His human nature purely by itself, as that nature subsisted, not by itself alone, but in the divine nature conceived as inherently personal. Hence that which in Christ corresponds to human nature was itself the work of God: it was one energy, whose source is God, and whose instrument was His humanity; it was one will, and that will was divine. To Sergius of Constantinople (cf. § 2) it seemed perfectly obvious that the rationally endowed body of Christ effected its natural movements only in accordance with the measure assigned by His divine will, and that, just as our bodies are governed by our rational souls, so the whole complex of Christ's human nature was constantly directed by His deity.

The objections urged by the opposite party against this theory of the oneness of Christ's *ἐνέργεια* were based upon the feeling that it surrendered the distinctively human element in Christ's activity, since it implied that His human nature was a mere passive instrument, and must therefore be conceived as inanimate or, at least, as non-rational. Such a view, however, was in reality a reversion to Apollinarism (*q.v.*); and, even if the Monenergists did not go so far, yet their idea of the one composite energy really presupposed that of the one composite nature as held by the Severians. In point of fact, the theses of the Monenergists approximate very closely to those of the Severians—the more moderate party of the Monophysites. As the Monenergists themselves came to recognize this, they surrendered the phrase *μία ἐνέργεια* and rallied around the *ἓν θέλημα*. This position they regarded as unassailable, since two wills (as distinguished from mere impulses or natural tendencies to action) seemed inevitably to involve two subjects endowed with volition (*δύο ὑποστάσεις*). They rightly recognized that, if there was in the God-man a will which diverged from His divine will, that divergent will could spring from nothing else than an ungodly tendency in the nature which He had assumed. Such a view, however, would have been in conflict with the doctrine of the sinlessness of Christ's human nature, in which all parties were at one, and would therefore have been accounted blasphemy. Gregory of Nyssa, writing long before, had said: *τὸ ἐκείνου θέλειν οὐδὲν ὑπεναντίον τῷ θεῷ, θεώθεν ὅλον*. The adverse party was wont to appeal to passages like Mt 26^{39}, where the human will and the divine will seem to stand in opposition; but the Monotheletes sought to show from the Fathers that, on a strict interpretation of this text, Christ had a human will *κατ᾽ οἰκείωσιν* only. They did not mean to deny the presence of a human activity in the one will of Christ, but they held that this activity was entirely due to His divine will. In relation to His divine *ἐνέργεια*, they maintained, the human *ἐνέργεια* becomes a *πάθος*, and, when Gregory said of Christ that His soul wills, he meant that the volition of Christ's soul was due to the will of the Deity who was personally united with His soul, and that, accordingly, it was divine volition in a human form.

The Monenergists and Monotheletes sought to support their contention also on the ground that the phrase *δύο ἐνέργειαι* had never yet been heard in the doctrinal controversy; and, while this claim was not absolutely valid, yet Sergius could say with some show of reason that none of the *θεόπνευστοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας μυσταγωγοί*, *i.e.* none of the recognized Fathers of the Church, had made use of the phrase. As regards the formula of the *δύο θελήματα*, again, the Monothelete case was a still stronger one. In earlier writers the phrase *δυὰς θελημάτων* is used only as expressing a final consequence foisted upon those who held the doctrine of the two natures. The use of the phrase in a positive sense can be traced only in a single work, written—if genuine—before the Monothelete controversy, viz. the treatise *περὶ τῆς ἁγίας τριάδος καὶ περὶ τῆς θείας οἰκονομίας* ascribed to Eulogius of Alexandria († 607). But, while the Ditheletes were thus unable to call tradition to their aid, they operated all the more zealously with the inherent logic of their case. In point of fact, no logical objection could be urged from the standpoint of the new orthodoxy, as, *e.g.*, from that of Leontius of Byzantium, against the procedure of ascribing *δύο φυσικαὶ ἐνέργειαι* to the *δύο φύσεις*. Indeed, it was, more than all else, this logical inference, *i.e.* the consistent development of the position affirmed in the formulæ of Chalcedon, that helped the doctrine of the two wills to gain the day. It is true that the contradiction involved in the doctrine of the two natures was rendered still more palpable in that of the two wills. But those who had come to terms with the former doctrine had no difficulty in accepting the latter, and it is the aim of the following historical sketch to show how this point was reached.

2. The beginnings of the controversy.—The secession of the Monophysites did serious damage to Byzantium and its Church. It smoothed the way for the advance of the Arabs and of Islām. Far-seeing and energetic politicians sought to arrest the mischief by working for the ecclesiastical reconciliation of the eastern and southern provinces of the empire. The most outstanding figures in this movement were the emperor Heraclius (610–641) and the patriarch Sergius (610–638). Sergius, a Syrian born of Jacobite parents, was already giving his mind to the thought of union in the early years of his tenure of office. He caught at the watchwords *μία ἐνέργεια* and *μία θέλησις ἤγουν ἓν θέλημα*, which had apparently been introduced into the controversy by the Alexandrian Monophysites, and he succeeded at the outset, on the basis of the doctrine implied by these expressions, in winning the emperor's approval of his designs. Soon afterwards (622) Heraclius issued an edict proscribing the doctrine of the *δύο ἐνέργειαι*. But, although Sergius brought all the weapons of patristic learning to bear upon the Armenian and Syrian Monophysites, the negotiations made little headway. It was not until 633 that indications of real progress began to show themselves. **Cyrus**, patriarch of Alexandria, whom Heraclius had translated to that city from Phasis in Lazica, succeeded in bringing about a union with the Theodosians, *i.e.* the Monophysites (see art. MONOPHYSITISM, § 3). The doctrinal programme drawn up by Cyrus, while setting the doctrine of the two natures in the forefront, guarded it carefully by special clauses; it distinctly recognized the Cyrillian terminology of the one incarnate nature, and it adopted the Areopagite formula of the one theanthropic energy. The Monophysites had some grounds for thinking that, as one of our sources puts it, it was not they who made alliance with Chalcedon, but rather Chalcedon with them. About this time, too, the metropolitan church succeeded in effecting an understanding with the Armenian, though this did not last long. The greatest triumph, however, was the winning of **Athanasius**, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch; for now the occupants of the three great Oriental sees were all on the same side. But at this juncture the union that had been brought about with such difficulty was gravely imperilled by the action of a Palestinian monk.

This was **Sophronius**, who had at an early date maintained relations with the Alexandrian patriarchs Eulogius and John the Merciful. He now made his way from Palestine to Egypt in order to lodge a protest with Cyrus against the articles of union, in which he thought he discerned Apollinarism. As Cyrus hesitated to withdraw the articles at the request of Sophronius, the latter proceeded to Constantinople and tried to induce Sergius to delete the expression *μία ἐνέργεια* from the document. The patriarch was not prepared to take that step, but for the sake of peace he agreed to send his Alexandrian colleague a letter recommending him to have done with the dispute as to one *ἐνέργεια* or two, but forbidding him to sanction the thesis of the two wills, which he stigmatized as blasphemous (*δυσσεβές*). With this Sophronius was satisfied. Sergius, moreover, secured another triumph in gaining the support of Pope Honorius for his pacific policy (cf. § 3). Shortly afterwards (634) Sophronius was appointed to the see of Jerusalem. He broke away at once from the accepted understanding by referring in his inaugural encyclical to the two natures, though he certainly avoided any overt acceptance of the doctrine of the two wills. His action was deeply resented by Sergius, and Honorius tried, though without success, to persuade him to drop the objectionable expression. Eventually the emperor issued a decree, framed by Sergius—the so-called Ecthesis of 638—forbidding all mention either of one energy or of two energies: of one, because the mention of it might lead to a denial of the two natures, and of two, because two energies seemed logically to involve two mutually antagonistic wills.

3. The case of Honorius.—Honorius of Rome, by reason of his attitude in the Monothelete controversy, was, as will be explained below (§ 5), put under the ban by an Ecumenical Council. This proceeding has had such important consequences in the war of the confessions that the historian cannot afford to ignore it. Here we must first of all ask what Honorius had really said. The missive in which he explained his theological position to his colleague in Constantinople is extant only in a Greek translation, but the agreement of this translation with the Latin autograph was definitely confirmed at the Council. In this letter Honorius had set in the foreground his desire that the controversy as to one or two energies should be allowed to rest or relegated to the grammarians. The introduction of the new phrases into the doctrinal terminology might bring those who used them under suspicion either of Eutychianism or of Nestorianism. He nevertheless adhered impartially to the view that, whatever decision might be made between the hypothesis of the one and that of the two energies, it was at all events necessary to accept the doctrine of a single will (*ὅθεν ἓν θέλημα ὁμολογοῦμεν τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*); for, as the Son of God had assumed a pure and supernaturally begotten human nature, the idea of a second will, disparate or antagonistic (*διάφορον ἢ ἐναντίον θέλημα*), was simply out of the question. Passages like Mt 26[39] or Jn 5[30], in which Christ seems to mark a contrast between His own will and the will of God, did not in any real sense indicate a different will, but simply referred to the economy of His assumed humanity (*οὐκ εἰσὶ ταῦτα διαφόρου θελήματος, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκονομίας τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τῆς προσληφθείσης*). Christ, as our example, adopted this manner of speaking for our sake, *i.e.* in order that we should follow His footsteps, not seeking our own will but the will of God.

The letter of Honorius reveals throughout an intelligent and accurate grasp of the situation. To reproach its writer with having adopted the doctrine of the one will is simply an anachronism, for that doctrine had not yet become ecclesiastically suspect. Even Sophronius himself, in fact, as has already been said, had not put the doctrine of the two wills upon his programme, and the question as to the Monotheletism of Honorius is of a piece with that regarding the Monophysitism of Cyril of Alexandria. We might venture to say, indeed, that, if Honorius had, a generation later, occupied the Roman chair in place of Agatho, he would have given the same judgment as the latter did, and thus, to speak paradoxically, would have pronounced his own condemnation. Agatho and the Council of 681 stood face to face with a situation of a totally different kind. As Monotheletism had then become a thing of evil repute, they were simply bound to condemn it, and, in doing so, they could not avoid reprobating the missive of Honorius as well. Above all, however, we must not forget that Agatho not only refrained from protesting against the anathematization of his predecessor, but by the voice of his legate actually gave it his sanction. In the following year Pope Leo II. expressly ratified the condemnation in a communication to the emperor, in which he spoke of Honorius as one 'qui hanc apostolicam sedem non apostolicae traditionis doctrina illustravit, sed profana proditione immaculatam fidem subvertere conatus est.' This judgment is, no doubt, unduly severe, and, measured by the standard of historical truth, positively false. Still, it certainly shows the remarkable freedom from prejudice with which the authority of a pope in matters of doctrine could then be viewed even in Rome itself. It is quite incompetent, on the other hand, to bring the case of Honorius into the question of papal infallibility. If we keep in mind the provisions of the Vatican dogma regarding the import and scope of the pope's infallibility, we shall see at once that they do not apply at all to the missive of Honorius. If the latter is declared to be without error, the same attribute might with equal justification be applied to any other utterance of a pope.

4. Byzantium and Rome in conflict.—After the death of the emperor Heraclius, and the brief reigns of his two sons, his grandson, **Constans II.** (641–668, son of Constantine III.), was raised to the throne in consequence of a court revolt. Constans, too, adhered to the Ecthesis, which, however, had meanwhile encountered a keen resistance, especially among the clergy of the West. In Rome Pope John IV. officially condemned Monotheletism; the N. African bishops raised a vigorous agitation against it; and soon the whole western province was ringing with passionate debate. Constantinople, on the other hand, remained loyal to the Ecthesis. The patriarch Pyrrhus, who had succeeded Sergius, was deposed by Constans on political grounds, being superseded by Paul, a man of like doctrinal views with himself. Pyrrhus went to Africa, and there intervened vigorously in the conflict. With Maximus, an abbot of Constantinople, who had likewise removed to Africa, he conducted a discussion the records of which are among the most notable documents of the whole controversy. Here Maximus proved the victor.

This Maximus was the most eminent and effective champion of Ditheletism, and his constancy to his creed won him the title of 'Confessor.' He was born *c.* 580 at Constantinople. His career was that of a high State functionary, and he acted as imperial secretary in the reign of Heraclius. From 630 he lived in the monastery at Chrysopolis (now Scutari), where he soon attained to the dignity of an abbot. He worked energetically on behalf of Ditheletism both in Africa and at Rome, and it was at his instigation that the Lateran Council of 649 (see below) was summoned. As the part which he thus played ran counter to the policy of the emperor, he was at length put upon his trial. In 653 he was arrested and taken to Constantinople, and two years later he was banished. In 662 the unfortunate man was once more subjected to a legal process, as a result of which his tongue was cut out and his right hand struck off, and he died within the year in Lazica on the east coast of the Euxine. The best known of his extant works is his *Scholia* to the pseudo-Dionysian writings, and it was, in fact, the comments of Maximus that secured the Church's recognition of these texts.

The vehement opposition of the Ditheletes, however, did not wholly fail to influence the ecclesiastical policy of the emperor. Already in 648 Constans, acting on the advice of the patriarch Paul, had issued a decree, the so-called Typus, declaring that the dispute regarding the doctrine of the wills must come to an end at once. The Typus, unlike the Ecthesis, avoids all argumentation on matters of detail; disobedience to its provisions was to be visited with severe ecclesiastical and civil penalties. But the Ditheletes would not be silenced. They had now their centre in Rome, and a Council conducted in 649 by Pope Martin in the Constantinian basilica of the Lateran Palace, and attended also by the Greek monks who had fled to Rome, affirmed, in explicit conformity with the declaration of Chalcedon, its adherence to the doctrine of two wills and two energies corresponding to the two natures of Christ. The action of Martin raised an agitation in both East and West, and the emperor, bitterly resenting this, as well as the pope's friendly relations with the exarch Olympius, then lying under suspicion of high treason, had him sent to Constantinople (653), and, after a criminal trial, banished to the Chersonese, where in 655 death released him from his sufferings.

5. The 6th Ecumenical Council and the end of the controversy.—For a time it appeared as if the new policy of peace would be attended with success. Pope Vitalian entered into friendly alliance with the emperor; ecclesiastical communion between East and West was tacitly restored; and, when Constans visited Rome in 663, he was received with due imperial honours. At the murder of the emperor, however, the antagonism broke out more fiercely than ever, and the dissension led to a fresh rupture of ecclesiastical relations. Such a state of matters was felt by the politicians, as formerly in Justinian's time, to be intolerable; and to deal with it the emperor **Constantine IV.** Pogonatus (668–685) resorted to the plan of holding an imperial Synod. In November 680, accordingly, the Eastern prelates, together with the legates of Pope Agatho, assembled in the Hall (*τροῦλλος*, hence 'Trullan' Council) of the imperial palace at Constantinople. This Council, which sat, with considerable interruptions, until September 681, is recognized officially by both Churches as the 6th Ecumenical Council. The members, with abundant excerpts from the Fathers in their hands, carried the debate from one point to another, until at last the Roman representatives won acceptance for the doctrine of the two wills, and procured the condemnation of its opponents, living and dead alike, including, as we saw above (§ 3), Pope Honorius. The Roman point of view is set forth in the comprehensive statement laid by Agatho before the emperor—a document that came to be regarded as a counterpart to the Tomus of Leo I. (cf. art. MONOPHYSITISM, § 1). In the Symbol of the Council the terms in which the Chalcedonian formula defines the relation of the two natures are applied to the two inherent wills (*δύο φυσικαὶ θελήσεις ἤτοι θελήματα*). Thus the two wills corresponding respectively to the two natures are not opposed to each other (*οὐχ ὑπεναντία*); on the contrary, the human will is obedient to the divine and omnipotent will to which it is subject (*ἑπόμενον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτοῦ* [*i.e.* *τοῦ λόγου*] *θέλημα καὶ μὴ ἀντιπίπτον ἢ ἀντιπαλαῖον, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ θείῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ πανσθενεῖ θελήματι*), for it was necessary that, while the will of the flesh must indeed act, it should be subordinate to the divine will. Just as the flesh of the God-Logos (*τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου*) is called flesh, and is flesh, so the natural will of this flesh is called, and rightly called, the will of the God-Logos. And, as His holy and stainless animate flesh was not taken away in being made divine (*θεωθεῖσα οὐκ ἀνῃρέθη*), but remained within its own limitations and relations (*ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτῆς ὅρῳ καὶ λόγῳ διέμεινεν*), so the human will likewise was not abolished in the act of deification, but was still preserved.

Agatho did not live to see the triumph of his cause, and it was left to his successor, Leo II., to secure the acceptance of the Council's decrees in the West. The most zealous antagonist of Ditheletism in the East, Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, was prevented from doing further mischief by confinement in a monastery. The second Trullan Council, the so-called Concilium Quinisextum (692), homologated the condemnation of Monotheletism. This does not mean, of course, that the conflict was wholly at an end, and, in fact, it was intermittently fanned to fresh outbursts by the wranglings of the Byzantine court. Eventually the emperor Philippicus Bardanes (711–713) undertook to deal with it, while his successor, Anastasius II. (713–715), restored the authority of the Council of 680–681. But Monotheletism was still faithfully adhered to by the Maronites of Mt. Lebanon.

LITERATURE.—i. *SOURCES.*—(1) Letters and other written communications of those who took part in the controversy, as found in the documents of the Lateran Synod and the 6th Ecumenical Council; (2) contemporary works, esp. the writings of Maximus Confessor (*Opuscula theologica et polemica ad Marinum*, *Disputatio cum Pyrrho*) and statements in Anastasius Sinaita, Περὶ τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, bk. iv. (A. Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Coll.*, Rome, 1821, vi. 193 ff.); (3) later chronicles and historical works, as, *e.g.*, the Ἱστορία σύντομος of the patriarch Nicephorus, and the Χρονογραφία of Theophanes.

ii. *MODERN WORKS.*—The reader should consult the works cited at the art. MONOPHYSITISM; those of Gibbon, Walch, Dorner, Hefele, Harnack, and Krumbacher are well worth attention also as regards Monotheletism. The disputes in Armenia touched upon in § 2 of the present article are discussed with special care in G. Owsepian, *Die Entstehungsgeschichte des Monotheletismus nach ihren Quellen geprüft*, Leipzig, 1897. The best recent discussion of the case of Honorius—though from

the standpoint of papal infallibility—is given in J. Chapman, *The Condemnation of Pope Honorius*, London, 1907 (=*Dublin Review*, cxxxix. [1906] 129 ff., cxl. [1907] 42 ff.). For the relation of the present art. to the writer's artt. in *PRE*^{3}, cf. the closing note in the literature of art. MONOPHYSITISM.

G. KRÜGER.

MONSTERS (Biological).—'Monstra vocantur quia monstrant.' This ancient platitude may seem ridiculous to-day, but it has not yet lost its meaning entirely. Doubtless in a modern civilized society the birth of a two-headed lamb, of a 'bull-dog calf,' or of a cyclopian child no longer excites attention as a portent of disaster or proof positive of witchcraft. Yet to a certain section of the community the objects present opportunities of enlarging the common store of biological knowledge. The specimens themselves demonstrate eloquently the possibilities of aberration in the processes of normal development and growth. They testify to the existence of numerous independent forces or influences, balanced delicately under normal circumstances. They point to a disturbance of the balance. They reveal the nature of individual influences, as manifested when one has been exerted in excess, to the exclusion or suppression of the countervailing factors.

In biology monsters are regarded as extreme instances of developmental varieties. Variations of lesser degrees constitute the class of 'abnormalities,' although, as explained in art. ABNORMALITIES (Biological), no hard and fast line separates the two groups. Many monstrous formations are determined by disturbances affecting the embryo or the fœtus, though the post-natal period of growth is by no means free from disorders productive of a comparable result. And instances of the latter kind, such as retarded adolescence, or precocious senility, may be included fairly with others showing the extreme tenuity of the neutral zone between health and disease.

The study of monsters falls naturally into two divisions: (*a*) the investigation of their actual structure, and (*b*) research into the mode of their production.

(*a*) On the anatomical side a classification has been attempted, and it is based upon consideration of the part or parts actually affected. In view of the vast number of categories thus recognized, only the most cursory survey is possible here; and, instead of rehearsing the long list of classes and their subdivisions, it must suffice to note that, while the whole body has suffered in some cases, in others certain parts only will be found to be distorted.

The developmental history of monsters shows us that, as a general rule, the departure from what is normal will be greater and more complete in proportion as the disturbance was early in its occurrence. For in the first phases of development, when the total mass of the embryo is almost infinitesimally small, even a slight error will affect the rudiments of every organ and structure that is to be perfected subsequently. At this point again two distinct groups of monsters must be contrasted. In some cases the uterus may void its contents prematurely as a shapeless mass; to this, in human pathology, the antiquated term 'mole' is still applied. Or, again, the disturbance may lead to partial 'gemination,' *i.e.* to some distorted kind of twin-formation. Thus twins of equal size may continue to grow though connected with each other, and at the birth may produce such a phenomenon as the 'Siamese twins.' In other instances of this class the twins are quite unequal in point of size and, it may be, of development. As a result, an almost normal child may be born with an imperfect twin attached to it. The two are then distinguished as the 'autosite' and 'parasite' respectively. The parasite is most commonly attached to the autosite in or about the middle line of the body. It may present almost any appearance, from that of a mere wart-like excrescence to that of a headless trunk with arms and legs. In rare instances the parasite has been found to be entirely enclosed within the body of its host, so that it is not visible externally at all.

Lastly, in yet another class of monsters, the process of gemination may have been complete but unequal, and one twin is born in a normal state, while the other is represented by a spherical mass, consisting of various tissues and rudiments of organs in the most complete confusion. Even the latter may be maintained alive throughout the intra-uterine period of existence.

Apart from these instances of 'twinning,' we may notice that certain particular structures such as the heart or the brain may be defective to the point of obliteration, while a large class bears witness to interference with such normal processes as the formation of the face or the closure of the walls of the body to protect the viscera.

(*b*) The study of the normal processes of development throws a flood of light on the problem of explaining the particular aberration responsible for the occurrence of a monster. Physiological investigations have dealt with the nature of the disturbing causes, and to these we shall now turn.

The artificial production of monsters first claims attention. In fish-hatcheries the occurrence is accidental and unwelcome, yet the frequency with which grotesquely-formed individuals appear among the fry is so well known as to be almost a matter of common knowledge. The eggs of the domestic fowl have been used for experimental purposes for at least fifty years past. In this department of biology the name of the French observer, C. Dareste, deserves special mention. The more usual modes of procedure are to subject the eggs during artificial incubation to selected abnormal influences. These may be of the nature of magnetic force, variations of temperature, or, again, the disturbances caused by partially varnishing the eggs, or by subjecting them to incessant rotation. In these ways various physical agencies have been shown to be influential in producing monstrous forms. Eggs of other animals (often those of Invertebrates) have been employed to test the effects of chemical agents or of altering the chemical constitution of the media in which the developing eggs normally rest. Such ova have also been the subjects of experiments in which the fertilizing element has been varied.

Physiological research of this kind has established clearly the susceptibility of the egg-cell to a variety of influences, whether these be physical, mechanical, or chemical. At this point another possibility seems to demand notice. The influence of so-called maternal impressions has long been discussed by those who are not prejudiced on this subject. Only the highest forms of life are suitable for observation or research in this respect, and it cannot be said that the potency of such impressions has been established.

Turning more particularly to human beings, it may be mentioned that medical research has shown that certain monstrous developments, viz. Acromegaly and Achondroplasia, are due to the excess or deficiency of certain fluids which normally pass with the blood to bathe the tissues of the body. In this department of research only the first steps have been taken as yet.

In such ways the anatomical study of monsters shows the investigator what parts have suffered, while the physiologist is able to point to the disturbing element. Thus we are left with the impression that, where the balance of reacting forces is so delicate, no absolute standard of what is a normal form is possible. A normal individual is connected with others which we call abnormal by an infinite number of intermediate forms. And the abnormal examples in turn lead on to monsters.

That which is born is the outcome of a host of interacting forces. Its capacity to maintain existence and to reproduce its kind depends first upon its conformation, and then upon the environment in which it finds itself. Two remarks may be made in conclusion. Though the attribute of vast size is commonly associated with our ideas of monsters, yet from the biological point of view this is not necessary, and huge monsters are but representative of one out of many possibilities.

And lastly, while in this article the occurrence of monstrous forms among animals has been reviewed, it is to be remembered that most of the considerations here set forth are applicable equally to the vegetable kingdom.

LITERATURE.—Special mention may be made of **C. Dareste**, *Recherches sur la production artificielle des monstruosités*, Paris, 1877; other contributions to the literature are so numerous as to preclude even a partial enumeration here. Reference is made specially to the exhaustive bibliography provided by E. Schwalbe, *Morphologie der Missbildungen*, Jena, 1906.

W. L. H. DUCKWORTH.

MONSTERS (Ethnic).

1. Various kinds of monsters.—The existence of monstrous beings, human, animal, or diabolic, is believed in at all levels of culture. They are referred to or described in stories, traditions, or myths, or they are depicted or represented in some artistic form. Among savages monstrous animals are often supposed to exist, like the Bun-yip of Australian tribes—a mythic water-monster who carries off women—or the monsters or dragons said to swallow youths at initiation in New Guinea.[1] Frequently more or less distant tribes are believed to have some monstrous or abnormal feature—one eye, more than two eyes, eyes under the arms, vast ears, two or more heads—to be headless or featureless or of great size, or to possess tails. Ghosts, especially ghosts of those who have died a violent death, are often visualized as monsters of a more or less horrible kind, usually with a fondness for human blood. Among barbaric peoples similar beliefs are found, especially in Oriental mythology and folk-lore. Here whole classes or tribes of monstrous beings exist, like the *rākṣasas* of Hindu myth—hideous fiends with shape-shifting powers—or the evil *jinn* or the ghouls of Arabic belief, or the satyrs, centaurs, and cyclopes of Greek mythology. Here also human tribes of monstrous form are a subject of popular belief. The people of Jābah (Java?) were supposed by the Arabs to have their heads in their breasts.[2] Herodotus describes some of the tribes supposed to live beyond the region of the Scythians—men with goats' feet, men with one eye (the Arimaspi)—and other tribes believed in by the Libyans—monsters with dogs' heads or headless with eyes in their breasts.[3] Pliny also writes copiously about such tribes.[4] Irish mythology speaks of tribes of men with dog, or cat, or goat heads.[5] Tribes or individuals covered with an abnormal growth of hair are often mentioned by ancient or mediæval travellers from the Carthaginian Hanno onwards.[6] In Egypt monstrous creatures were often figured on tombs, and the god Bes is depicted as a dwarfish but monstrous and repulsive figure. The monstrous creatures of Babylonian and Assyrian art are well-known—winged bulls or lions with human heads, and other abnormal forms. These were set in front of entrances as a means of frightening away evil spirits, and a similar use of hideous figures is known elsewhere (see DOOR, vol. iv. p. 848 f.), at both lower and higher levels.[1]

Among the folk everywhere monstrous beings have a real existence to the imagination, and are doubtless survivals of similar beings believed in by their forefathers. But the influence of Christianity was often to give a sinister aspect to the supernatural beings of the older paganism. The water-horse and water-bull of Celtic lore are typical examples of monsters which have still a real existence to the folk in remote districts. Demoniac beings are also often envisaged as monsters, and everywhere more or less repulsive giants and dragons have been subjects of popular belief (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS, GIANTS).

The mythologies of most races tend to give a demoniac, gigantic, or monstrous form to the supernatural enemies of culture-heroes[2] or the gods—Tiāmat and her brood in Babylonia, the opposing hosts of beings whom Rā daily conquered in Egyptian belief, the demons, giants, or monsters who strive with gods in Hindu, Greek, Teutonic, or Celtic myth. They typify chaotic powers as opposed to and conquered by the powers of order, and hence they constantly tend to be regarded as evil, while their opponents embody righteousness and goodness.

As early as the days of primitive man monstrous forms have been depicted in various ways. Thus in caves at Marsoulas and Altamira grotesque faces may represent demons, while other curious hybrid figures, half-human, half-animal, have been variously interpreted, but may represent monsters of the imagination of the Stone Age.[3] Savage art tends to give all its human or supernatural subjects a grotesque, if not monstrous, form, often, no doubt, from lack of skill, but there is sometimes a deliberate exaggeration, in a horrible or grotesque direction, of features or of one or more members of the body. This monstrosity of feature is also seen in masks worn on ceremonial occasions by savages, and often meant to represent the faces of particular spirits.[4] Indian art delighted to represent its divinities as many-headed or many-armed—a method which has spread into adjacent countries.[5] Tibetan representations of demons or gods are often repulsive in their monstrosity. Reference has already been made to the monstrous Babylonian figures. In mediæval and later Christian art demons and the devil were depicted in the most sinister and horrible form possible—half-human, half-animal, or with exaggerated features, tusks, horns, tails, or with faces on chest, stomach, or knees.[6]

2. Origin of the belief in monsters.—Probably no single origin is to be looked for. There may have been different origins for the belief as a whole, or particular monstrous forms may have had an origin different from that of some other forms.

(*a*) Imagination is doubtless responsible for much of the monstrosity that is attributed to men, mythical animals, or demons in mythology or primitive art. As man's imagination peopled the world around him with spirits, so these appeared to his imagination as 'gorgons, hydras, and chimæras dire.' There was a constant tendency to visualize the creatures of belief as human and yet as more than human, as animal and yet as more than animal. As man drew little distinction between himself and animals, as he thought that transformation from one to another was possible, so he easily ran human and animal together. This in part accounts for animal-headed gods or animal-gods with human heads. Or, where gigantic superhuman strength, wisdom, or productiveness was concerned, man represented these to himself by forming images of the beings who possessed them with numerous or enormous heads or arms or phallus.[1] There is little doubt also that the lack of skill in depicting the human form tended to fill with suggestions of monstrosity the minds of those who gazed on such images.

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[1] R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch-Neu-Guinea*, Berlin, 1911, iii. 296, 402 f., 489, 493 f.

[2] S. Lane-Poole, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, London, 1883, p. 45.

[3] iv. 25, 27, 191.

[4] *HN* vii. 1 ff.

[5] J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 217.

[6] [illegible] Double and F. Houssay, *Les Velus*, Paris, 1912, p. 136 ff.

[1] Cf. a monstrous figure for scaring evil spirits from the Nicobar Islands (*Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections, Brit. Museum*, London, 1910, p. 77; cf. *ERE* iii. 435ᵃ).

[2] Cf. *ERE* vi. 638 f.

[3] W. J. Sollas, *Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives*, London, 1911, p. 247.

[4] R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, new ser., Leipzig, 1889, p. 107 ff.; W. H. Dall, 'On Masks, Labrets,' etc., *3 RBEW* [1884], p. 67; *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections, Brit. Museum, passim.* See also art. MASK.

[5] Cf. HAND, HEAD, for other instances.

[6] This is particularly noticeable in illuminated MSS or in pictures of the Temptation of St. Anthony type. Cf. Le Double and Houssay, *passim.*

(*b*) This last fact may have in turn influenced the dreams of men, and, as dream figures were realities, such forms were believed to have a real existence. But, apart from that, and especially when we consider the way in which dreams are deliberately cultivated by the medicine-man (see AUSTERITIES), they have, no doubt, had strong influence in the creation of monsters, of which the mind in waking hours could no more rid itself than could Frankenstein escape his monstrous creation. The combination of existing but diverse forms would easily occur in sleep, and such monstrous forms would play a part in the drama enacted during the hours of sleep. Such forms, seen in sleep by men to whom dreams had an intense reality, became a real part of the contents of the actual world in which they lived.[2] Primitive and savage men are like children, and they no doubt had their night terrors, caused by fantastic or horrible figures seen in dreams and still appearing to haunt them when sleep was rudely broken by the effect of fear. Again, hallucinations seen in waking hours by those whose mental balance was deranged might also aid in the creation of monsters, as they form part of the world inhabited by persons with certain kinds of mental affliction.

> 'Long rows of horrible characters may pass in endless procession before the strained and wearied eyes; pictures of a vividness scarcely ever realised in normal life are presented, in which the most horrible acts are being committed by personages of frightful mien.'[3]

Such hallucinatory appearances, described to the sane, would by them be accepted as real, and it is probable that the medicine-man, living an abnormal life and given to seeing visions, is never quite sane. But, again, the savage in his waking life is probably the subject of hallucinatory impressions to a far greater extent than the civilized man. His psychic state when awake bears a close resemblance to his psychic state when asleep. What he thinks he sees is actual to him, and every illusion, however incredible or monstrous, is a fact.[4] Even in cultured Egypt there were figured on the tombs the monstrous forms which the deceased thought he had seen in his lifetime.[5]

(*c*) Monsters, again, may owe their origin to a basis of fact. Any large predatory animal whose coming and going was obscure would tend to be envisaged in still more awful guise. Some, indeed, have argued that belated survivals of now extinct animals may have suggested the dragons and other monsters of folk-tale and tradition, and, if this were true, it is certain that the impression made by them would easily become legendary.[1] Most savages have traditions of monstrous animals, which are really exaggerated forms of actual animals seen by their ancestors, but unknown to their descendants in their new habitat—*e.g.*, the monstrous lizards of Maori tradition are the crocodiles of the land whence the Maoris migrated.[2]

Perhaps actual abnormal or monstrous births may have assisted in the formation of mythical monsters, or would tend to be regarded in popular belief as matters of common occurrence. Thus in China the standard histories are full of such prodigies.[3] It is certain also, apart altogether from the possibility of abnormal births as a result of bestiality, that men have often speculated upon this or imagined the effects of such unnatural unions between different species of animals or between beasts and human beings. This is seen in universal folk-lore and in ancient myth, as well as in the half-gossiping histories and chronicles of bygone days and in the pseudo-scientific works on natural history from the time of Pliny onwards.[4] Mediæval theology also believed that the union of demons and human beings resulted in the birth of monsters.

The brutality or merely the hostility of other tribes, nearer or more distant, would inevitably cause them to be regarded in a still more sinister or monstrous aspect. Horrible deformities were attributed to them, or this or that feature was exaggerated, or habits of a peculiar vileness were ascribed to them—*e.g.*, forms of loathsome cannibalism. Even remoteness or ignorance of such tribes would invest them with distorted forms. Here, probably, is to be seen the origin of the belief in those monstrous tribes already alluded to. Invading peoples, behaving with brutality, are sure to be regarded as monsters. In the same way the monstrous cannibalistic ogres of folk-tale are exaggerated forms of actual cannibals (see CANNIBALISM). Again, where certain deformities are assumed by warriors to strike terror into their opponents, where faces are painted or tatued, masks or animal head-dresses worn, these are apt to become a real part of the men themselves.[5] They are regarded as monsters rather than as men.

(*d*) Lastly, the misinterpretation of fact may easily give birth to monsters. This is especially seen where the bones of fossil animals of large size have been regarded as those of monsters or giants, or their tusks as the claws of monstrous birds—the griffin or the rukh. Hence the rise of many myths about these beings—*e.g.*, of how they were slain by gods or spirits beneficent to men.[6]

There is no doubt that the belief in the existence of monstrous forms has had a profound influence on the mind of man, probably for the reason that, as has been proved experimentally, any abnormal shape has a strong power of suggestion.[7]

LITERATURE.—U. Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum Historia*, Bonn, 1642; E. P. Evans, *Animal Symbolism in Ecclesiastical Architecture*, London, 1896; C. Gould, *Mythical Monsters*, do.

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[1] Cf. HAND, HEAD; cf. the images of Hermes and similar images among the Bushmen, Admiralty Islanders, tribes of the Niger Coast, Yorubans, Fijians, etc. See A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*^{2}, London, 1899, ii. 275; *JAI* xxviii. [1899] 110; A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, London, 1894, p. 78; T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, i., do. 1858, p. 177.

[2] Cf. L. Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*, Berlin, 1889, for the creation of myths and mythical beings from dreams.

[3] B. Hollander, *The First Signs of Insanity*, London, 1912, p. 237.

[4] S. Freud and his school have argued that the mythopœic faculty is one akin to dream fancy. Myth is a kind of waking dream. See his 'Der Dichter und das Phantasieren,' in his *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, Leipzig, 1911 f. Cf. K. Abraham, *Traum und Mythus*, Vienna, 1909.

[5] A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, Eng. tr., London, 1897, p. 179. The sphinxes, griffins, etc., were thought to be real creatures of the desert.

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[1] J. A. MacCulloch, *CF*, p. 395.

[2] K. M. Clark, *Maori Tales and Legends*, London, 1896, pp. 79, 184; E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*^{2}, do. 1856, p. 73.

[3] J. J. M. de Groot, *Religion in China*, New York, 1912, p. 271.

[4] Le Double and Houssay, pp. 228 ff., 239; MacCulloch, *CF*, pp. 253 ff., 277; de Groot, p. 277.

[5] Cf. B. Thomson, *Savage Island*, London, 1902, p. 127 f.; C. I. Elton, *Origins of English History*^{2}, do. 1890, p. 241; MacCulloch, *Rel. of Ancient Celts*, p. 217; Y. Hirn, *Origins of Art*, London, 1900, p. 272.

[6] E. B. Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind*^{2}, London, 1870, p. 306 ff.

[7] Cf. Boris Sidis, *The Psychology of Suggestion*, New York, 1910, p. 42 f.

1886; F. Hedelin, *Des Satyres brutes, monstres, et démons*, Paris, 1888; Joannes Damascenus, *De Draconibus*, in Migne, *PG* xciv. 1599 ff.; Pliny, *HN*; P. Sébillot, *Le Folk-lore de France*, Paris, 1904–07, vol. iii.

J. A. MacCulloch.

MONTANISM.—1. The movement now generally known, from the name of its founder, as Montanism had its birth at a village called Ardabau in the part of Mysia adjoining Phrygia, probably not far from Philadelphia (Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 573). There, as it seems, about A.D. 156, Montanus, a recent convert, who had been a pagan priest, began to prophesy. His prophesyings were accompanied by strange phenomena resembling those associated with demoniacal possession. In what way his exercise of the prophetic charisma was regarded by his opponents as differing from that of the genuine prophets we have various hints from nearly contemporary documents: he spoke while he was actually in a state of ecstasy; the true prophets received their message in ecstasy, but did not deliver it till their faculties returned to a normal condition. Moreover, the 'ecstasy' of Montanus was a kind of madness, deliberately induced, whereas prophets, acknowledged as such by the Church, even when in a state of ecstasy, were of sound mind; the so-called ecstasy of Montanus was, in fact, not *ἔκστασις*, but rather, as a contemporary writer (*ap.* Eus. *HE* v. xvi. 7, 14) calls it, *παρέκστασις*. In agreement with these statements an oracle of Montanus declares that the prophet is as a lyre played upon by the divine plectrum; and the form in which most of his extant utterances are cast implies that he was a mere passive instrument, and that the phrases which fell from his lips were actually the *ipsissima verba* of the Deity. His opponents reminded him of the style of the ancient prophets, who as human agents proclaimed the will of God—'Thus saith the Lord.'

2. After a time—as seems to be implied, a considerable time—Montanus was joined by two women, Maximilla and Priscilla, or Prisca, who with his sanction deserted their husbands, and who also claimed to possess the prophetic charisma. Their utterances were similar in matter and in manner to those of their leader.

3. There can be no doubt that Montanus maintained that this 'new prophesying' differed essentially from all preceding prophecy. Thus the novelty of its form was to be explained. It was the fulfilment—so it was alleged—of the Lord's promise of the coming of the Paraclete (Jn 14^{12-18}). The apostles had not the perfection of the Holy Spirit (1 Co 13^{8-10}); this was reserved for the new prophets, of whom Christ spoke in Mt 23^{34}. This is stated to be the Montanist doctrine by many writers, and it is the basis of the exaggerated assertion of Eusebius (*HE* v. xiv.) that Montanus claimed that he himself was the Paraclete.

4. It is not clear whether in the earliest period the prophetesses were regarded as mouth-pieces of the Paraclete in the same sense as Montanus. Eusebius suggests the contrary when he reports that, while Montanus was held to be the Paraclete, the women were 'as it were prophetesses of Montanus' (cf. Did. Alex. *de Trin.* iii. 41. 2; pseudo-Tert. *Hær.* 7). It is possible that at first they were put in a lower position, Mt 23^{34}, but not Jn 14^{12-18}, being taken as referring to them; and that it was only at a later time, perhaps after the death of Montanus, that they were regarded as on a par with him.

5. It is evident that the acceptance of the 'new prophecy' as embodying the final teaching of the Paraclete, and as in some sense superseding earlier revelation, was the cardinal principle of Montanism. This is made manifest by the very phrase 'new prophecy' constantly used by its adherents; by the title *πνευματικοί* which they arrogated to themselves, as distinguishing them from other Christians (*ψυχικοί*) (Tert. *passim*; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 13 [*PG* viii. 1300 C]); and by the polemics of anti-Montanist writers, whose argument was mainly directed to proving that this 'so-called prophecy' was in truth a false prophecy proceeding from the spirit of evil.

The charisma was not regarded as confined to Montanus and 'the women.' Theodotus, *e.g.*, was an ecstatic, and was reported to have died while in an ecstasy.

6. We are not surprised to learn that this sudden outburst of prophecy, and the claims that were made for its leaders, provoked much opposition. Many of those who heard Montanus and his companions would have silenced them. Two Phrygian bishops made an ineffectual attempt to 'prove and refute' the spirit that spoke in Maximilla; another, who had come from Anchiale in Thrace, attempted to exorcize Priscilla. At first, we are told, the movement advanced slowly: 'but few of the Phrygians were deceived.' But after a time, it seems, the majority of the Phrygian Christians became adherents of Montanus. Thus only can we account for the fact that at an early period his followers were commonly spoken of as 'the Phrygians,' and their teaching as 'the heresy of the Phrygians' (*οἱ Φρύγες, ἡ κατὰ Φρύγας αἵρεσις*, whence the Latin *cataphryges*, *cataphrygiani*). In due course formal protests were issued by the bishops. While the movement was still in its infancy, Claudius Apollinarius, bishop of Hierapolis, wrote a treatise against it, to which were appended the signatures of many bishops, at least one of whom came from Thrace. Other confutations of the new teaching followed it (Eus. *HE* v. xvii. 1). Many synods met in Asia and excommunicated its adherents. On the other hand, the Montanists used scathing words about the ecclesiastical rulers, and stigmatized them as slayers of the prophets. They put forth treatises in which the arguments of their opponents were answered. It is impossible to determine with accuracy the date of the inevitable crisis; but it is certain that in Phrygia before the year 177 the Montanists were excluded from the Catholic Church (Eus. *HE* v. iii. 4; cf. xvi. 22, which clearly refers to the persecution under Marcus Aurelius).

7. It is difficult to fix the date of the beginning of the prophesying of Montanus. The choice is usually held to lie between A.D. 172, under which year Eusebius records the origin of the movement in his *Chronicon*, and A.D. 156–157, which is supported by Epiphanius (*Hær.* xlviii. 1). It is not clear, indeed, that these two dates are inconsistent, for Eusebius may be giving the year, not of the earliest prophesying of Montanus, but of some prominent event which he regarded as the starting-point of the 'heresy'—*e.g.*, the migration to Pepuza (see below, § 9), or the promulgation of one of Montanus's more startling innovations. In any case it is probable that Eusebius's date is a mere inference from the fact that Claudius Apollinarius wrote his anti-Montanistic treatise—which Eusebius appears to have dated on insufficient grounds after 174 (Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, p. 150 f.)—'when Montanus with his false prophetesses was in the act of introducing his error' (*HE* iv. xxvii.). It must therefore be regarded with caution. It is to be observed that Apollinarius wrote some time after Montanus had been joined by 'his false prophetesses' (*ib.* v. xix. 3)—an event which was itself probably a good deal later than the beginning of the prophesying. Further, (1) the history of which a short account has been given in the preceding section requires a period of a good many years; and (2) Maximilla, the last of the three leaders, died in 179–180. The movement must have enjoyed the advantage of their supervision for a sufficiently long time to give it the strength and stability which it undoubtedly possessed. These considerations point to an origin much before 172. The earlier date is therefore to be preferred, though with the misgiving which necessarily attaches itself, in such matters, to the statements of Epiphanius. He has certainly fallen into error in one passage (perhaps two) in which he gives dates connected with the Montanist movement (*Hær.* xlviii. 2, li. 33).

8. That the Paraclete was manifested in Montanus, and in him and his companions revealed the fullness of Christian teaching, was, as we have seen, the original and essential doctrine of Montanism. But, since it was the office of the Paraclete to supplement the teaching of Christ, it was to be expected that this doctrine would be made the basis of a system differing at many points from the teaching of the Church as usually understood. Montanus,

it is true, did not consciously deviate from ecclesiastical dogma. His opponents bear witness that he accepted the canonical Scriptures and was orthodox with regard to the resurrection of the dead and the doctrine of the Trinity. But in another sphere his 'innovations' were considerable.

9. Not long after the beginning of the prophesying Montanus crossed the Phrygian border and established himself with his followers at a city called Pepuza, which Ramsay (pp. 213, 573) places west of Eumenia, and not far from the Phrygian Pentapolis. Pepuza, with the neighbouring village of Tymion, he named Jerusalem. To this settlement, which was thenceforward the centre and holy city of Eastern Montanism, he endeavoured to gather adherents from all quarters. These facts, coupled with the lavish promises made by the prophets to their adherents and certain predictions of Maximilla (Eus. *HE* v. xvi. 9, xvii. 4; Epiph. *Hær.* xlviii. 2), apart from a more explicit oracle attributed to another prophetess (Epiph. *Hær.* xlix. 2), would lead us to the conclusion that the 'new prophecy' taught men to expect in the near future, at Pepuza, the final Parousia of the Lord (*ib.* xlviii. 14). The primitive Montanists, in fact, held the doctrine of chiliasm, but chiliasm of a new kind. It was this hope of the Parousia at their Jerusalem that gained for them the name of Pepuzians.

10. Connected in some measure with their chiliastic teaching was their view of the prophetic office in the Church. The prophetic charisma was not an occasional gift, bestowed as the need for its exercise arose; according to the dictum of 'the Apostle' (1 Co $13^{8f. ?}$), it was perpetual, one of the notes of the Church. Consequently Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla received their office in a line of succession. Quadratus and Ammia of Philadelphia were the links which connected them with Agabus, Judas, Silas, and the daughters of Philip (Eus. *HE* v. xvii. 3, 4; Epiph. *Hær.* xlviii. 2). But, since Montanus and his companions were the channels of the ultimate revelation, they were the last of the prophetic succession. After them would come the end.

11. Again, the exalted position given to the 'new prophets' led naturally to the assignment to them of prerogatives generally regarded as belonging to the bishops, and thus to a conflict between the prophets and the regular hierarchy. The prophets had the power of absolution (orac. *ap.* Tert. *de Pud.* 21). This power they shared with the 'martyrs' or confessors (Eus. *HE* v. xviii. 7).

12. Once more, the association with Montanus of two prophetesses involved the recognition that women might hold high office in the Church. Maximilla and Priscilla seem to have made independent contributions to Montanist teaching (Hipp. *Phil.* viii. 19; cf. Did. Alex. *de Trin.* III. xli. 3; *ZKG* xxvi. 486); and they were probably in the habit of prophesying in the congregation (Eus. *HE* v. xvi. 9: ἀκαίρως). There is evidence that, at any rate in later times, other women followed their example (Orig. *ap.* Cramer, *Cat.* v. 279), or even outdid it; for we read of a prophetess in Cappadocia in the 3rd cent., perhaps a Montanist, who baptized and celebrated the Eucharist (Firmilian, *ap.* Cypr. *Ep.* lxxv. 10), of female bishops and priests, and of virgins who regularly officiated in the congregation at Pepuza (Epiph. *Hær.* xlix. 2 f.; Did. Alex. *de Trin.* III. xli. 3).

13. Montanus made laws regarding fasts (Eus. *HE* v. xviii. 2: ὁ νηστείας νομοθετήσας; cf. Hipp. *Phil.* x. 25; Tert. *de Iei.* 13). This does not mean, apparently, that he increased the number or the rigour of fasts, but rather that he reduced them to rule, eliminating thereby the element of free will in such matters, making them a duty to be observed by all Christians alike, and not only by those who used them as a means for attaining higher perfection. Among these ordinances (perhaps a later development, due to 'the women' [Hipp. *Phil.* viii. 19]) were some which enjoined abstinence from particular kinds of food (ξηροφαγίαι, ῥαφανοφαγίαι). There is some evidence that in Phrygia the Montanist rule as regards the number of fasts fell below Catholic custom (Soz. *HE* vii. 19, where the two weeks of Lent seem to correspond to the 'duae hebdomadae xerophagiorum' of Tert. *de Iei.* 15), while in the West it did not greatly exceed it (see de Labriolle, *La Crise*, p. 399 f.). The regulations about fasting are therefore to be regarded as instances of the Galaticizing or legal tendency which was descried in Montanism by its adversaries (Tert. *de Iei.* 14). This was the natural outcome of a system which invested the exhortations of the prophets with a divine sanction, giving them the character of unalterable laws, to be observed as ends rather than as means for the attainment of holiness.

14. Under the same category may be brought the Montanist repudiation of second marriages. For on this point their divergence from the Church must not be exaggerated. The Church discouraged second marriage; the Montanists held it to be fornication. That which the Church permitted in special cases the Montanists excluded by a law which admitted no exception.

15. We learn (Eus. *HE* v. xvi. 20, xviii. 5) that the Montanists held martyrs (including confessors) in high honour, and even set special store by their opinion on questions of doctrine and practice. But this was no peculiar feature of their system; it reflected the general feeling of the age. And, when they went a step further and allowed them the power to forgive sins, they were in agreement with the orthodox of the West (Tert. *de Pud.* 22), if not also with those of Phrygia. It must be added that there is no proof of the statement, often made, that Phrygian Montanism inculcated a severe asceticism, or that its adherents were more antagonistic to heathenism than other Christians in the same district, or displayed special eagerness for martyrdom. Such evidence as exists points in the opposite direction (Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 127–135).

16. Montanism, after its severance from the Church, though it retained the hierarchy of bishops, priests, and deacons, developed in its organization some peculiar features. Montanus was responsible for the innovation (as it was esteemed) of salaried preachers, and for the institution, doubtless connected therewith, of collectors of money, headed, as it seems, by a steward (ἐπίτροπος [Eus. *HE* v. xvi. 14]). St. Jerome (*Ep.* xli. 3) reports, in agreement with an ordinance of Justinian (*Cod. Just.* I. v. 20. 3), that the hierarchy consisted of the patriarch of Pepuza, κοινωνοί (apparently the successors of the stewards), bishops, and inferior ministers.

17. Of the peculiarities of Montanism here enumerated some were a revival—perhaps rather a survival—of the belief and practice of an earlier period; such, *e.g.*, are the recognition of prophets as a permanent order (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}; *Didache*, 11 ff.), the prohibition of second marriage (Athenag. *Leg.* 33; Theoph. *ad Autol.* iii. 15; Iren. III. xvii. 2), chiliasm (Just. *Dial. c. Tryph.* 80; Eus. *HE* III. xxxix. 12 f.). Others are in harmony with what is known of the Oriental religious temperament, especially that of the Phrygians, and may be accounted for by the influence of environment. Among these are the 'enthusiasm' of the prophets (Bonwetsch, *Gesch. des Montanismus*, p. 62 ff.), the ministry of women, and the expectation of an immediate Parousia (Hipp. *in Dan.* 18 f.; Orig. *c. Cels.* vii. 8–10). The substitution of Pepuza for the literal Jerusalem may be due to the same influence. It had, at any rate, the practical advantage of providing a holy city in the district from which Montanus drew the greater number of his adherents.

18. It is not necessary to pursue the history of

Eastern Montanism in detail. For some years after the death of Maximilla, the last of the original trio, in 179–180, there were no prophets, and the Church and the world enjoyed peace—facts which, as anti-Montanistic writers pointed out, disproved the claims of the first prophets. But the spread of the sect was not permanently checked thereby. A revival of prophecy seems to have taken place shortly before A.D. 200 (Eus. *HE* v. xviii. 3–12), and ultimately adherents of the movement were found in every part of Asia Minor, in Egypt (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 13 [*PG* viii. 1300 C]; Did. Alex. *de Trin.* etc.), and even in Constantinople, though they were always most numerous in Phrygia. The sect survived the stringent edicts of various emperors, and was perhaps not wholly extinguished till the period of the Turkish invasion (Ramsay, p. 574).

19. Before we turn to its history in the West, some important facts may be mentioned. The early Montanists were prolific writers. Their controversial tracts have been referred to above (§ 6). Here it is to be noted that Caius (*c.* A.D. 200) accuses them of composing new Scriptures (Eus. *HE* VI. xx. 3), while other authorities attribute numerous writings to Montanus, Maximilla, and Priscilla. A certain Asterius Urbanus compiled a collection of oracles of the prophets (*ib.* v. xvi. 17); and Themiso 'wrote a Catholic Epistle in imitation of the Apostle' (*ib.* xviii. 5). An anonymous author quoted by Eusebius alludes to literature of this class when he states that he hesitated to write against the Montanists for fear of being charged with adding to the Canon (*ib.* xvi. 3). It is clear that the 'new prophecy' was propagated by writing as well as by oral teaching.

A necessary result of this was a tendency to division. The Montanists must have regarded the writings of their own prophets as of at least equal value with the Scriptures: they constituted in fact, if not in intention, an enlargement of the Canon. It was inevitable that they should be used, like the canonical Scriptures, as authoritative expositions of dogmatic Christianity, and that, like them, they should be variously interpreted. By the end of the 2nd cent. there were two parties of Montanists, who took different sides in the Monarchian controversy, and both of them appealed to the oracles of the prophets as well as to the Scriptures (Hipp. *Phil.* viii. 19; pseudo-Tert. *Hær.* 7; Did. Alex. *de Trin.* ii. 15, iii. 18, 23, 38, 41; *ZKG* xxvi. 452 ff.; Tert. *adv. Prax.* 2, 8, 13). Thus the authority ascribed to the writings of the prophets produced a tendency to the formation of parties differing from one another in matters of faith, and probably also in matters of discipline. This tendency would be greater if, as seems likely, such writings were not collected into a *Corpus.* Each community would follow the teaching of such books as they happened to possess, without the obligation of harmonizing it with that of the books possessed by other communities.

20. A similar tendency is revealed in the fact that in the earliest times, apart from the title of Phrygians, which merely indicated the place of its origin (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 17), there was no generally accepted name for the sect. The various communities seem to have been commonly designated by the names of local leaders. Thus we hear of the followers of Proclus or of Æschines (pseudo-Tert. *Hær.* 7), the adherents of Montanus, Alcibiades, and Theodotus (Eus. *HE* v. iii. 4), the followers of Miltiades (*ib.* xvi. 3: probably the Montanists of the Pentapolis), the Priscillians, and the Quintillians (Epiph. *Hær.* xlix. 2; on the latter name see Voigt, *Eine verschollene Urkunde des antimontanistischen Kampfes*, pp. 107, 129 f.). Apparently the last name of this class to emerge was that with which we are most familiar, 'Montanists' (first found in Cyril, *Cat.* xvi. 8). There are also nicknames, which we may suppose to have been merely local, and to have witnessed to local customs (cf. Jerome, *in Gal.* ii. 2). Such are the Artotyritæ of Galatia (from the use of bread and cheese in the mysteries), the Tascodrugitæ (from a peculiar way of holding the hands in prayer; of this Passalorynchitæ is a variant form; cf. Ramsay, p. 576), and the Ascodrugitæ or Ascitæ of Galatia (from orgies connected with a wine-skin [Epiph. *Hær.* xlviii. tit. 14; Filast. 49, 76; Aug. *Hær.* 76]). It is perhaps scarcely correct to speak of Montanism as a sect. In its later stages it was rather a congeries of sects somewhat loosely held together by an acknowledgment of the manifestation of the Paraclete in Montanus (cf. Voigt, p. 131).

21. The earliest notice which we possess of any knowledge of the Montanist movement in the West appears in the year 177. In that year the Christians of Gaul, acting as ambassadors for the peace of the churches, wrote letters to Pope Eleutherus and to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia expressing their opinion of the movement. Since Eusebius (*HE* v. iii. 4) pronounces their judgment 'pious and most orthodox,' it may be inferred to have been, on the whole, anti-Montanist. And this conclusion is confirmed by an examination of the account of the persecution at Vienne and Lyons, written at the same time (de Labriolle, *La Crise*, p. 225 ff.). If we may judge from two passages of Irenæus (*Hær.* III. xi. 9, IV. xxxiii. 6 f.), who was their emissary to Rome, though they avoided the extreme position of the Alogi (see art. LOGOS, above, p. 137ª), who in their zeal against Montanism rejected the Johannine writings, and though they refused to deny the existence of prophetic gifts or the right of women to prophesy in the church, they yet condemned the followers of Montanus as schismatics. It would seem that Eleutherus confirmed their judgment.

It is difficult to explain this incident without supposing that there was at the time a Montanist propaganda in Rome. No doubt the Montanist missionaries there were quickly followed (perhaps preceded) by representatives of the orthodox party in Phrygia; and it may be conjectured that among these was Avircius Marcellus of Hierapolis in the Pentapolis, 'the chief figure in the resistance to Montanism in the latter part of the second century' (Ramsay, p. 709). He certainly visited Rome with a purpose in some way connected with the welfare of the Church; and in one of the passages from Irenæus just referred to there are phrases which recall both the labours of the Gallican Christians for the peace of the churches (cf. Iren. *Hær.* IV. xxxiii. 7 with Eus. *HE* v. iii. 4) and a treatise dedicated to Avircius almost at the time when his famous epitaph recording the visit to Rome was written (cf. Iren. *Hær.* IV. xxxiii. 6 with Eus. *HE* v. xvi. 7 f., and see Ramsay, pp. 709 ff., 722 ff.).

22. Twenty-five years later, under Pope Zephyrinus, a fresh attempt was made to introduce Montanism into Rome. The Montanist leader Proclus held a disputation there with Caius, which was afterwards published, and some fragments of which remain (Eus. *HE* II. xxv. 6 f., VI. xx. 3). The pope favoured the 'new prophecy,' and had actually put forth 'letters of peace to the churches of Asia and Phrygia'; but in the end, under the influence of Praxeas, these letters were withdrawn (Tert. *adv. Prax.* 1). There were doubtless later attempts of the same kind; one is referred to by St. Jerome (*Ep.* xli.). But Montanism was never strong in Rome, and it is not heard of there after the beginning of the 5th century.

23. It secured some foothold in Spain. But of its history in that region we know nothing except

that it had some adherents there at the end of the 4th century (Pacianus, *Ep.* i. 1 ff.).

24. In Africa the propaganda had more success. By the end of the 2nd cent. knowledge of the 'new prophecy' had reached Carthage—perhaps from Rome, less probably direct from Phrygia—and it gained there its most illustrious convert in the person of Tertullian. St. Augustine seems to have gone beyond his evidence when he stated that Tertullian at first opposed the movement; he was certainly in later life a sincere and ardent champion of the teaching of Montanus, as he understood it.

25. The qualifying words are necessary; for Montanism, as it appears in the pages of Tertullian, differs so much, and withal is so little conscious of difference, from the Montanism of Phrygia that we are compelled to suppose that his acquaintance with the teaching of the prophets was imperfect. He can hardly have received direct instruction from Eastern Montanists; his knowledge of their tenets must have been, in the main, derived from books, including a collection (*de Fuga*, 9; note the words 'et alibi') of the oracles of Montanus and Priscilla (he never quotes Maximilla by name), which was apparently incomplete.

Tertullian accepted, without reserve, the claim of the prophets to inspiration by the Paraclete. But, though he speaks of prophetic speech in a state of ecstasy (*de Iei.* 3), we find no hint in his writings of the strange phenomena which were the normal concomitants of Montanist prophecy in the East. He tells us (*de An.* 9) of a sister who fell into an ecstasy during a church service; but she was not permitted to communicate the revelation which she had received till the congregation had departed. None of the usual anti-Montanist arguments (see Epiph. *Hær.* xlviii. 3–8) would have had any force against ecstasy so well controlled as this. Tertullian, indeed, identifies ecstasy with *amentia* (*adv. Marc.* iv. 22, v. 8), but with such qualifications of the meaning of *amentia* (*de An.* 45) as to bring him very near to the standpoint of Eastern orthodox writers. Moreover, with habitual inconsistency, he affirmed, in direct opposition to the Phrygians, that the apostles had the fullness of the Spirit.

Further, Tertullian seems to betray no consciousness of the doctrine that there was a succession of prophets from the days of the apostles to Montanus. In his view prophecy ceased with the Baptist (*de An.* 9, *de Iei.* 12), till it was restored in the prophets of the Paraclete.

Again, Tertullian never mentions Pepuza. He was a chiliast, and he expected the Parousia in the near future; but he believed that it would take place in Jerusalem (*adv. Marc.* iii. 24). He cannot have read the oracle (Epiph. *Hær.* xlix. 1) which declared that the New Jerusalem would descend at Pepuza.

Tertullian agreed with the Phrygians in allowing to the prophets authority to absolve from sin, though he has some difficulty in reconciling this view with his own opinion that certain sins are unpardonable (*de Pud.* 19, 21). But he is indignant with those who hold that martyrs have a like prerogative (*ib.* 22).

On another subject he is in conflict with the Phrygians. He will not permit a woman 'to speak in the church, nor to teach, nor to baptize, nor to offer, nor to assume any function which belongs to a man' (*de Virg. Vel.* 9). If the sentence had been less trenchant, one might have supposed that it came from an anti-Montanist polemic.

26. Thus Tertullian rejected much that in Asia Minor was counted Montanist. And he added much, especially in the direction of rigorism, of acute opposition to paganism, and of avidity for martyrdom. For it is not to be assumed that, when his later views differ from his earlier, and when he proclaims them as taught by the Paraclete, they were really derived from primitive Montanism. Thus in his *de Fuga* he denounces flight in persecution as sinful, though in his *ad Uxorem* (i. 3) he counts it lawful; and in his *de Pudicitia*, forsaking the milder teaching of the *de Pœnitentia*, he denies the power of the Church to forgive grosser sins. But in the former case he quotes oracles which make no reference to flight, and in the latter one which flatly contradicts his thesis (*de Fuga*, 9, *de Pud.* 21). In both, the oracles are more in harmony with his earlier than with his later opinions. Visions also enabled him to add, now a new doctrine (*de An.* 9), now a fresh rule of discipline (*de Virg. Vel.* 17), to the official teaching of the 'new prophecy.'

27. Even on subjects in which he was in entire accord with Eastern Montanism we find no essential difference between his earlier and later teaching; *e.g.*, he expressed disapproval of second marriage in his pre-Montanist treatise *ad Uxorem*; the arguments used are identical with those of his *de Exhortatione castitatis* and *de Monogamia*, including that founded on the nearness of the end, which is more strongly stated in the earlier work. His description of marriage as a form of fornication occurs in all three. The result of his adoption of Montanist principles is seen merely in the fact that an absolute prohibition takes the place of a strong expression of disapproval; or, in other words, that he draws the logical conclusion from his argument. Here, as elsewhere, he found in oracles or visions only a new sanction for opinions already formed.

28. Thus we see that, if the form of Asiatic Montanism was largely determined by environment, and possibly by the influence of individual leaders, the form of African Montanism, or, as it was afterwards rightly called, 'Tertullianism,' was determined by the personal force of Tertullian himself, and doubtless in some degree by the environment which moulded his character. We cannot forget that the home of Tertullianism was later to become the home of Novatianism and Donatism.

29. If it be asked, What was there in Montanism to attract such a man as Tertullian? it must be remarked that he was unaware of, or ignored, many of those features of the movement which to Eastern opponents caused most scandal. There remained the proclamation of the inspiration of the living Church, burdened with a few corollaries, most of which had been anticipated by his own thinking. Premising this, we may accept the answer of Swete (*Holy Spirit*, p. 79): 'For Tertullian the interest of Montanism lay chiefly in the assurance which the New Prophecy seemed to give that the Holy Spirit was still teaching in the Church.' It need only be added that the acceptance of the Montanist oracles as embodying the teaching of the Paraclete was made easier for him by the support which they seemed to give to opinions which he maintained in opposition to other Christians.

30. The Tertullianists seem to have become an insignificant body after the death of their founder. They are never referred to by St. Cyprian, in spite of his veneration for Tertullian. The last adherents of the sect returned to the Church when St. Augustine was at Carthage, and he reports that, when he wrote his work on heresies, their basilica was in Catholic hands (*Hær.* 86).

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Tertullian, *adv. Omnes Hæreses*, Epiph. *Hær.* xlviii. 1; Filastrius, *Liber de Hæresibus*; Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, viii. 19, x. 25 f., *in Dan.* iii. 20; the early document underlying Didymus Alex. *de Trinitate*, iii. 41, and the Μονταvιστοῦ καὶ ὀρθοδόξου διάλεξις (ed. G. Ficker, in *ZKG* xxvi. [1905] 446 ff.); Montanist treatises of Tertullian.

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H. J. LAWLOR.

MOON.—See STARS.

MORAL ARGUMENT.—'Moral argument' is distinguished from logical either in the nature of the facts to which appeal is made or in the assurance which the conclusion expresses. It is possible that both implications are associated with its meaning. But in general it is often used to denote some probability in the nature of it as distinguished from the certitude of logical argument.

It is probable that the term derived its specific import from the implications of the 'moral argument' for the existence of God and immortality in the Kantian philosophy. In this method of 'proving' them Kant remarked the impossibility of meeting the demands of the moral law in this life, and, as this law required the adjustment of duty and happiness, he sought this realization in a life to come. To effect this adjustment the existence of God was supposed to be required. This argument was assumed to be valid when all the logical arguments for the same conclusion were null and void. The want of absolute assurance implied in the conclusion was transferred to all arguments which gave what is called 'moral certainty.'

It also derives part of its meaning from the implication that the moral order of things favours or expresses the ultimate significance of what lies behind it. That is, the assumed rationality of things is taken to imply the nature of the causal agency behind it, and the 'moral argument' is an expression of what is supposed to be implied by the admission of an actual moral order in the world, while the logical argument is supposed to be limited to a physical order and its implications.

A fuller exposition of Kant's moral argument for the existence of God and immortality is the following:

> 'Happiness is the natural condition of a rational being in the world, and is the natural accompaniment of virtue. In fact, the moral law itself requires a union or synthetic connexion between virtue and happiness. But in the present natural order this ideal union is not effected, and we cannot treat the world as rational unless it provides for this connexion between them. The connexion requires an infinite time for its realization, and hence we have to postulate immortality as the condition of realizing the demands of the moral law which holds valid for the present. Immortality thus becomes a necessity of a rational order. But this union of virtue and happiness, not being a necessary one, requires the causal interposition of something to bring it about. Since we postulate immortality as the condition of rationality, we postulate the existence of God to effect the realization of happiness in connexion with virtue The argument, thus, is that morality, if valid and binding at all, requires God and immortality to make its imperatives rational and its rewards possible.

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JAMES H. HYSLOP.

MORAL EDUCATION LEAGUE.—Following on the rise of the Ethical Movement (*q.v.*) in England, a number of persons interested in the training of the young began to study methods of imparting moral instruction on an ethical basis pure and simple, and in such a manner as to meet the needs of children drawn from all denominations. The Union of Ethical Societies seized the opportunity of an approaching election of the London School Board to invite a wide variety of societies to send delegates to a conference. In July 1897 the delegates met under the presidency of Frederic Harrison, and adopted a policy of which the two leading statements were as follows:

> (1) 'That there is urgent need of introducing systematic moral instruction without theological colouring into the Board schools in place of the present religious teaching.'
>
> (2) 'That this moral instruction should be made the central, culminating and converging point of the whole system of elementary education, giving unity and organic connection to all the other lines of teaching, and to all the general discipline of the school life.'

A direct result of this conference was the establishment of the Moral Instruction League at a well-attended meeting in St. Martin's Town Hall on 7th December 1897, and annual meetings have been regularly held and reports issued since January 1898. The original object, 'to substitute systematic non-theological moral instruction for the present religious teaching in all State schools,' was changed, in 1901, to the purely constructive policy 'to introduce systematic non-theological moral instruction into all schools.' On the same principle, the object was, in 1909, relieved of the phrase 'non-theological,' and made to run thus: 'To urge the introduction of systematic moral and civic instruction into all schools, and to make the formation of character the chief aim in education.'

At the same time the title of the society was altered to the Moral Education League. The League, however, definitely affirms that it 'works on a non-theological basis,' and both its considerable output of literature and its practice during the seventeen years of its history (1898-1915) have obviously exhibited its detachment from all forms of sectarian and denominational principles. Its supporters in the earlier stages made attempts, with some success, to induce parents to take advantage of the Conscience Clause of the Education Act of 1870, withdraw their children from religious instruction, and apply for special moral lessons. These efforts ceased as the League became more absorbed in its scheme for building up a sound method of civic teaching, and for illustrating that method by lessons publicly given under the direction of a Moral Instruction Circle. The Circle was nominally conducted by the Union of Ethical Societies, but naturally proved very useful to the League as a means of propaganda, and it was maintained for several years. Active dissemination of the League's views by meetings, in the press, and among Education Committees and Members of Parliament gradually leavened public opinion. In 1904 the Government Education Code appeared with a preface in which character-training was emphasized; in 1905 the official volume of *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and Others concerned in the Work of Public Elementary Schools* contained a section on the formation of character; and in 1906 the Code, issued by Augustine Birrell, directed local authorities to devote 'greater and more systematic attention' to the subject, though the choice of 'direct' or 'incidental' methods was left open. In 1909 a debate on moral instruction, led by G. P. Gooch and William Collins, took place in the House of Commons, and a deputation, largely composed of League representatives, waited upon the Minister of Education (W. Runciman) in May of the same year. Since that date the League has been quiescent in the political field, and has mainly devoted its energies to influencing the opinion of educationists and the general public. A return issued by the League in 1908 showed that, of the 327 local education authorities in England and Wales over 100 had taken definite action in emphasizing moral instruction in their schools, in some cases by setting apart a lesson in the secular time-table, but usually by incorporating special moral elements in the religious course; and twenty authorities had adopted the syllabus drawn up by the League. Besides this syllabus, which supplies a detailed series of notes for the seven standards, the literature of the League includes a number of text-books by A. M. Chesterton, Baldwin, Waldegrave, Robson, Reid, Wicksteed, and F. J. Gould, numerous pamphlets, a Quarterly (beginning April 1905), and a volume designed for use in India (*Youth's Noble Path*, 1911). The education authorities in Bombay, Ceylon, and Mysore have evinced practical interest in the methods of the League; and significant sympathy has been shown by H.H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, and many other Indians as well as Anglo-Indians. Each annual report testifies to a spirit of inquiry aroused in various colonies and foreign countries. A remarkable testimony to this spirit was afforded in 1907, when a committee of inquiry into moral instruction and training in schools examined witnesses and collected papers, its report being published in two volumes in 1908 (vol. i. 'United Kingdom,' vol. ii. 'Foreign and Colonial'). The inquiry was carried on independently; but several members of the League sat on the Committee and contributed to the volumes just named. A still more striking reinforcement of the League's endeavours appeared in 1908 in the shape of the first International Moral Education Congress, held in London under the secretaryship of G. Spiller. A similar congress was held at The Hague in 1912.

F. J. GOULD.

MORAL LAW.—The concept of law is one of the two concepts which may be taken as fundamental in an ethical system. According as we start from the idea of a good to be attained or of a law to be obeyed, we have a teleological or a jural theory of ethics. The former of these was the characteristic type of Greek theories; the latter became predominant in Christian times. Under the teleological conception morality is looked upon as fundamentally a matter of self-expression or self-realization, and its laws are regarded as rules for the attainment of a good which every man naturally seeks. It is in this sense that Socrates was able to maintain his paradoxical position that no man is willingly vicious and that all vice is ignorance. Such a position is essentially a naturalistic one, implying a native goodness in human nature which needs only enlightenment to realize its natural good. Moral conduct is the rational pursuit of happiness.

In a jural system of ethics, on the other hand, human nature is conceived as divided against itself and therefore in natural opposition to the good. Morality is not a harmonious development of natural powers guided by the idea of happiness, but a life of discipline and subordination to an authoritative law. It is not the natural value or the pleasure of an act that renders it moral, but its value as commanded by the law. It is not commanded because it is good, but it is good because commanded.

It is evident, therefore, from this distinction of starting-points and attitudes that the term 'moral law,' in its strict meaning, denotes an imperative, regarded as having practical efficacy in conduct. The idea is of an order which is to be imposed upon human nature and, accordingly, to be accepted by the rational will. One must, therefore, distinguish between such an imperative, which does not rest upon any natural desire for happiness, and a moral rule or law in the teleological sense of the term. The moral laws, in the teleological view, are not imperative, but counsels of prudence, pointing out the best ways for the attainment of happiness. Their practical efficacy rests upon a natural desire for satisfaction, and hence, in their hypothetical character, they have more the nature of uniformities in the scientific sense of the term 'law.' They are rules of applied psychology. Although such rules are often spoken of as laws, yet, lacking the element of imperativeness, they are perhaps better not designated by that term.

Historically, the conception of morality as law is an early one, primitive morality consisting in obedience to tribal custom regarded as ultimately imperative for the individual. When ethical reflexion awakes, however, with its scepticism and questioning of authority, the natural view of morality is the teleological one, and the concept of moral law gives way to that of good. Experience and a deepening of the moral and religious consciousness, such as occurred in the Hellenistic age and in early Christian times, revived the dualistic idea of morality, and we have the Christian theories with their central doctrine of moral law and obligation. While these were at first theological in character, in modern philosophy we find the idea of law maintained also upon a natural basis.

Considered with reference to the nature of moral law and its authority, three types of system may be distinguished: (1) theological, (2) natural, and (3) rational.

1. Theological. — In the theological systems moral law is regarded as a rule of conduct which has its ground in the nature or will of God and not in the nature of man or in the consequences involved in obedience or disobedience to the law. The rule may be for the good of man, but it is for his good because it is the divine will, and not the divine will because it is for his good. 'Man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy him for ever.' God is the beginning and the end of the moral world, man but an incident in the creation. Sometimes it is the will, sometimes it is the intellect, that sets the standard, but in all cases systems of this type are theocentric in nature. To this type belong the various forms of scholastic theory, so far as they succeed in really breaking away from their classical originals, as well as the chief systems of Protestant moral philosophy.

The serious difficulty in theological systems has always been the question of the authority of the divine law and its hold over the individual. Emphasis upon the divine has tended by contrast to raise new centres of interest in the human, and men have always refused to remain satisfied with the idea of a law whose basis is outside themselves. The significant element has therefore been found either in the consequences of the law for man, in which case we have a utilitarian principle, or in the human nature itself, under which hypothesis we have a natural basis for morals.

2. Natural.—Natural law as a basis for morals may therefore be described as an order of human nature, known to be such by the unaided reason of man, and recognized as binding without reference to the desires or pleasures and pains of the sentient life. Man knows himself as properly of a certain nature, and cannot reasonably depart from the rules involved in its realization. These rules are not imposed from without, but are the expression of his own nature and binding only as such. To be moral is to be truly a man, and to be truly a man is to be truly a rational animal. The norms of reason are the moral laws. This type of theory was prevalent in the earliest period of modern ethics, and represented the attempt to place morals upon a rational basis. The general idea takes various forms as it is expressed in the Stoic formulæ of Grotius and the Neo-Platonic doctrines of the Cambridge Platonists and their like. While theistic in their philosophical implications and foundations, these systems agree in their desire to free morals from theological authority and to found them upon an immanent rather than a transcendent basis. Yet in so doing they tend to lose their jural character and revert to the teleological type of their Greek originals. The dictates of reason which reveal these moral or natural laws are indeed authoritative, but their authority really rests upon the value of the good end or ideal which they express. Moral law, when rationalized, ceases to be supreme, whence it was very easy for the transition to be made from these Platonizing systems to the early forms of English utilitarianism. Indeed, in spite of their legal terminology, it is hardly accurate to include them at all under the jural type; they are the natural compromises of the transitional period.

3. Rational. — The rational interpretation of moral law finds its clearest expositor in Kant. It is true that Butler formulated the traditional English theory of conscience half a century earlier, but even in his conception the supremacy of conscience does not involve independence of consequences; its function is to decide between the rival interests of self-love and benevolence, not to dictate a law irrespective of either. It was Kant's merit, as he conceived it, to separate out the pure principle of a moral law and present it free from any admixture of motions drawn from a consideration of consequences. To be moral is not to seek to satisfy a desire for anything, however good, but to obey a dictate of reason determined by nothing outside its own rationality. A moral law is thus a categorical imperative addressed by the reason to a being not naturally inclined to obedience. The motive to obedience is respect for the law itself whose authority we feel in our sense of moral obligation. The law, as grounded neither in the nature of God nor in its consequences for man, is thus absolute and the expression of a free reason which commands of itself alone, or is autonomous—to use Kant's term. That there is such a categorical imperative is the only fact given us by pure reason, and that, if there are free beings, they must govern themselves by such laws is evident; but how there can be free beings at all, and how we as sentient beings can be subject to such absolute dictates of reason—these are matters involved in the mysteries of personality. The form of such a law, as independent of consequences, must be abstract. Be rational, or 'act from a maxim fit for universal law,' is the formula. It is thus essentially negative—a critical test rather than an informing principle. No act is to be done whose maxim is not capable of universalization, but no principle is given us, apart from experience, by which to determine any positive control for the will.

In its illustration of this rational concept of moral law, Kant's theory also illustrates most adequately the jural concept of morality in general, the essence of which, as in Kant's system, is the primacy and absoluteness of law. In the theological forms the law tends to become heteronomous and foreign, and hence immoral, while in the natural systems it tends to subordinate itself to the concept of good and thus lose its jural character. In Kant's system alone is it at once a law and absolute.

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NORMAN WILDE.

MORAL OBLIGATION.—The word 'obligation' comes from Lat. *obligare*, and implies that we are bound to some rule or norm. While legal obligation involves, in any last analysis, some external coercion, moral obligation assumes an inner compulsion, a sense of the personality being bound by that which may have no external authority to enforce it, and which, indeed, may be but very imperfectly formulated. Language bears witness to a universal human experience of a sense of this obligation or 'oughtness.' Even the most primitive speech reveals the sense of an inner compulsion, an inner voice that says 'I must.' In its actual history, however, this inner compulsion has rarely been quite separated from the sense of some external coercion. We find it first expressed in a series of more or less definite inhibitions. Its earlier chapters are written in a series of commandments, saying, 'Thou shalt not,' and this primitive morality is based upon customary and largely external usage. It is, moreover, shaped and sustained in an increasingly elaborate system of 'tabus,' which form a link between the external and internal authorities. The realization of an internal authority as compelling as any external coercion is a relatively recent conception. Indeed, only quite recent discussions have clearly distinguished in theory what practical purpose early made definite, namely, that to the extent that coercion becomes foreign to the agent's will, to that extent it ceases to be the agent's action. Moreover, older moral reflexion failed to draw any sharp line between the sense of moral obligation, as a category of the practical understanding, and that empiric content of the rule or norm to which the moral agent feels himself bound.

1. Uncritical religious intuitionalism ascribed both the sense of moral obligation and the content of the ethical code to an innate sense, and regarded both as a divine implanting in the human soul. Thus to both was ascribed a certain absolute and fixed character that often ended in an unreal and static morality. Religious and philosophical history and reflexion have revealed the fact that all codes are, in part at least, subject to change according as social and economic conditions change. And, as it became clear that empiric morality was thus conditioned, the question naturally arose whether the whole sense of moral obligation was not equally empiric and destitute of any normative or permanent character. Men began to seek its origin in the ebb and flow of human tradition. Thus arose the question of the seat of this inner voice and the historic genesis of conscience.

2. Greek intellectualism was prone to seek the origin of this sense of obligation in the rational process. Plato represents Socrates as identifying all moral obligation with rational insight, and he himself taught that morality recognized the given heavenly types or norms of conduct in the eternal ideas of the good. And, though Aristotle parted company at this point with Plato, and saw the social and empiric character of the ethical norms, yet on the whole Greek intellectualism never succeeded in keeping clearly apart these two elements in every ethical situation—the code of morals to which a moral agent is bound and the inner compulsion by which he is bound. Hellenistic ethics thus swung between an uncritical intuitionalism and an equally uncritical empiric rationalism. It may now be taken for granted that, though the discursive reason is and always must be concerned in every ethical situation, and is more particularly interested in the critical analysis of every given code of ethics, nevertheless it is vain to seek the origin of the sense of moral obligation in the rational process alone. Nor can we successfully resolve moral obligation into clear rational insight into consequences of any kind.

3. Critical rationalism began with the work of Hobbes, Locke, and Hume. Locke had little difficulty in showing how untenable was the uncritical intuitionalism that sought for innate codes of morals. But both Hume and Hutcheson leave unanalyzed a 'moral sense' as something ultimate. This moral sense Adam Smith, in his brilliant ethical treatise, sought to resolve into sympathy, or at least to trace its origin to sympathy as a natural attribute of man. It was distinctly on the basis of this critical rationalism that Bentham and the two Mills made their famous analysis of the sense of moral obligation in terms of utility, and more especially of social utility. So far as this empiric rationalism dealt with the codes of morals found in human history, it was fruitful and stimulating in a high degree. At the same time, it became increasingly evident that empiric utilitarianism could build no bridge from the socially useful to the sense of personal responsibility to be socially useful. And, when John Stuart Mill conceded an intuitive capacity for estimating values as higher and lower, and thus also a capacity for the intuitive recognition of moral values as higher over against other types of value, clear-eyed critics of rational utilitarianism realized that Bentham's system had gone into bankruptcy.

4. Biological evolution, however, infused new life into the discussion as to whether the origin of the sense of moral obligation might not be found in the socially useful. It was suggested by Darwin himself that the conflict of instincts, and the survival of groups obeying the instincts that made for group-preservations, would in a long process of development link the socially useful with the morally right, and this line of inquiry has been followed up by Leslie Stephen, Alexander Sutherland, E. Westermarck, L. T. Hobhouse, and others. The exceedingly useful light that this line of research has thrown upon the gradual development of empiric codes of conduct has led to confusion of the two issues involved. It may be readily conceded that the socially useful has determined in a measure, perhaps we may say in large measure, what men consider morally right, but the origin of the category 'moral obligation' remains unexplained. Evolutionary analysis has not as yet succeeded in building a bridge between the socially useful and the sense of moral obligation to the group. Somewhere at some time such a sense must appear in unmoral life as a variation, and, this variation having been once assumed, law and morals link themselves with group purpose, as von Ihering abundantly shows (*Der Zweck im Recht*^{3}, esp. vol. i. ch. vi.), but the biological analogy has been distinctly overworked, and it is becoming increasingly evident that evolutionary philosophy must assume variations and does not explain them. Thus on the ethical field origins are no more explained than on the biological, and the sense of a moral obligation cannot so far be successfully analyzed into unmoral elements. Moreover, even in detail the sense of individual moral obligation presents many difficulties in connexion with the socially useful, for historically it is easy to show that the sense of moral obligation has time and again protected courses of conduct patently socially detrimental.

5. Critical intuitionalism is therefore in many different phases reasserting itself, and, especially on the ethical field, there are many attempts to re-state more satisfactorily the position of Kant and Lotze. There is some return to Jacobi and Fries, and the philosophies of Wundt, Eucken, Eisler, James, and Bergson are suggesting new formulations for the sense of moral obligation as a category of the practical reason incapable of further analysis —an empty concept, it is true, in this form, whose content is given in empiric experience and is subject to the laws of evolutionary process and progress, among which laws the socially useful is one of the most important factors. Thus from the psychological point of view Wundt and James, as well as Eisler and others, assume the capacity for moral distinction and the sense of moral obligation, without attempting to analyze the category further, while realizing that the content of moral appreciation is a subject for scientific examination, and has its own evolutionary history. From this point of view the feeling of moral obligation arises as a variation, and maintains itself by its social usefulness. Bergson has as yet given no development of his philosophy along ethical lines, but the revival of a critical intuitionalism has found support in his main contention, and followers of Fries and Jacobi see in the sense of moral obligation the evidence of a capacity for reaching beyond the phenomenal, and link this with a re-statement of the Kantian argument for God's existence. According to this school, the fundamental significance of the sense of moral obligation is the compelling power of the purposeful character of life. The unity of our mental and spiritual life demands that moral judgments be not irrational, even though complete rationalization may be beyond our power. However divergent the empiric codes of social behaviour may be, the existence of a moral obligation is an element everywhere; hence the very rational process itself is involved in a defence of the inherent validity of moral obligation.

6. Conclusion.—Moral obligation may then be said to so far defy any further ultimate analysis, and its origin is as mysterious as are all other origins and variations. It is a category of the practical reason, and is in so far super-rational, but the contents of the moral judgment are subject to the rational process, as in the sphere of the phenomenal. Thus the total ethical complex reveals rational, sympathetic, eudæmonistic, and hedonistic elements. But into no one of these can the fundamental sense of personal obligation be quite successfully resolved. Moreover, this sense of inner compulsion, covering as it does fields of action which no external coercion could regulate, is everywhere becoming the regulative principle of human society, displacing in the moral man outward law, and giving the sense of new freedom, because our obligation is the categorical imperative of the informed conscience, and has its seat within, and is not based upon, outward law with its concomitant of external coercion.

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MORAL SENSE.—The term 'moral sense' is practically equivalent to 'conscience,' and shares the field of ethics with such principles as rectitude and duty, happiness and social health. In the form of *συνείδησις*, the term 'conscience' appears as early as Periander and Bios (Stobæus, p. 192. 21); as an approving and fortifying moral sense, Epictetus uses the synonym *συνειδός* (bk. iii. ch. xxii.), while the disapproval of *conscientia* is referred to by Cicero (*Laws*, i. 14). Upon the basis of a natural moral sense, St. Paul speaks of the Gentiles as those who performed by nature (*φύσει*) the works of the law, being guided by conscience (*συνείδησις*, Ro 2^{15}). The appreciation of an inner moral sense distinct from external commandment seems to have been indicated by Sophocles in the *Antigone*, where the heroine appeals to a higher principle of action, while she repudiates the established law; the Sophists' distinction between *φύσις* and *θέσις* further marks off the internal sanction of conduct from all forms of external statutes. However important the principle of a moral sense may appear to be, it cannot be denied that the most profound moral systems have been elaborated in independence of it. Socrates based Greek ethics upon the general principle of knowledge, whence Plato and Aristotle, Stoic and Epicurean, perfected the ancient ethical ideal, leaving the ethics of conscience to the minor moralists. The meagre development of ethical theory in mediæval times failed to develop the notion of a natural moral sense; it is in modern systems of ethics that the analysis of the moral sense is to be found; even here such ethical philosophies as those of Kant and Spinoza were perfected without appealing to a special sense of morality.

When modern ethics began with Hobbes, it was the opposition to relativism and egoism that led R. Cumberland (*de Legibus Naturæ*, London, 1672) to postulate conscience and benevolence as the true foci of conduct, although it was the latter principle that received chief emphasis. As a deist, Shaftesbury insisted upon a 'natural sense of right and wrong' (*Inquiry concerning Virtue*, London, 1699, bk. i. pt. iii. 2), which he identified with conscience, and thus spoke of 'religious conscience' and a 'displeasing consciousness' (bk. ii. pt. ii. 1). With F. Hutcheson the moral sense was discussed more æsthetically than ethically in the form of a disinterested regard for universal humanity, whence he inquires,

> 'If there is no moral sense . . . if all approbation be from the interest of the approver, What's Hecuba to *us* or *we* to Hecuba?' (*Inquiry concerning Moral Good and Evil*, London, 1725, sect. i. 2).

J. Butler was the first to subject the moral sense to exact psychological analysis, whence he regards conscience as the 'principle in man by which he approves or disapproves his heart, temper, and actions' (*Sermons upon Human Nature*, London, 1726, serm. i. [*Works*, ed. J. H. Bernard, London, 1900, i. 31]). This inward sense of approval and disapproval is further regarded as a principle of 'reflexion' whose essence is that of 'authority' (serm. ii.). Butler tends to complicate the problem when he asserts that the dictate of conscience is ever in accordance with the impulses of reasonable self-love, while the supreme sanction of the moral sense is found in the principle of harmony with nature.

Among the ethical idealists of the 18th cent., Richard Price and Kant opposed the notion of a moral sense as such, and sought in reason the ultimate moral authority. In his *Review of the Principal Questions and Difficulties in Morals* (London, 1758), Price denies the validity of Hutcheson's 'moral sense,' and appeals to the 'understanding' as the ground of ethical distinctions, although Price's treatment of the understanding makes it possible for him to depart from mere rationalism, and repose in a Platonistic 'intuition' (ch. i. sects. i., ii.). Kant, who derived moral distinctions autonomously from reason, whence also springs the categorical imperative, treats the moral sense with contempt when he says:

> 'As to moral feeling, this supposed special sense, the appeal to it is indeed superficial when those who cannot *think* believe that feeling will help them out, even in what concerns general laws' (*Metaphysic of Morals*, tr. T. K. Abbott, London, 1889, p. 61).

In its treatment of the moral sense, then, the Enlightenment (*q.v.*) insisted upon something even more rationalistic than conscience.

If the tendency of the 17th and 18th centuries was to regard the moral sense as something rational, the tendency of the 19th and 20th centuries has been to reduce the principle in question to the social. In the middle of the 18th cent. Adam Smith inaugurated the career of social ethics when he sought the source of moral sentiment in 'sympathy.' The first to raise the question concerning the *origin* of moral sense, Smith had no hesitation in founding the ideas of propriety, merit, and duty upon the instinct of natural sympathy (*Theory of Moral Sentiments*, London, 1759). A century later Darwin connected the moral with the biological, and thus made the moral sense dependent upon the predominance of the social tendency in man. To 'sociability' Darwin adds the principle of 'reflexion,' without which the social could not have become ethical, so that the ideals of Butler, to whom Darwin pays due tribute, have not been wholly lost to view (*Descent of Man*, London, 1871, ch. iii.). Equally significant with the departure from the rational is the change from the individualistic to the social; for, where Butler identified conscience and reasonable self-love, Darwin united conscience with the non-egoistic in human nature.

When biological ethics transferred the seat of the moral sense from the self to society, much of the phenomenology of conscience, shame, approval, obligation, etc., seemed intelligible; at any rate, 'scientific' ethics has assumed that the social is conclusive, as appears from such a work as L. Stephen's *Science of Ethics* (London, 1882), where biological, social, and ethical are firmly linked (ch. viii.). In opposition to Stephen, and in the general style of Butler, J. Martineau has insisted upon the rational and individualistic conception of the moral sense (*Types of Ethical Theory*, Oxford, 1885, vol. ii. bk. ii. ch. ii.).

Where the moral individualism of the 18th cent. has practically succumbed before the advance of social ethics, there has arisen an æsthetic individualism which, while not allying itself with the moral-sense theory, has not failed to make vigorous warfare upon the social conception of life. Beginning with the romanticism of Friedrich Schlegel and the realism of H. B. Stendhal, and advancing with the *Décadence* of C. P. Baudelaire, this anti-social view has come to a climax in Nietzsche, who stigmatizes the compunctions of the social moral sense as so much 'bad conscience' from whose terrors he would emancipate mankind (*A Genealogy of Morals*, tr. W. A. Haussmann and J. Gray, London, 1899, pt. ii.). In the same manner Ibsen speaks of the modern man as one who, suffering from 'sickly conscience,' stands in need of a 'robust conscience' (*The Master Builder*, tr. E. Gosse and W. Archer, London, 1893, act ii.), while H. Sudermann, with more direct reference to social ethics as such, speaks derisively of the 'conscience of the race' (*The Joy of Living*, tr. E. Wharton, London, 1903, act iv.). Similar expressions of anti-social immoralism may be found in Anatole France, August Strindberg, and Bernard

Shaw. Thus, the status of the moral sense in contemporary thought seems to consist of a dogmatic assertion of the social on the part of science and a violent repudiation of the principle by culture.

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MORAL THEOLOGY.—See CASUISTRY.

MORALITIES.—See MIRACLE-PLAYS, MYSTERIES, MORALITIES.

MORALITY.—See ETHICS AND MORALITY.

MORAVIANS.—**1. History.**—The Moravian Church, or the Unitas Fratrum, belongs to the historic Churches of Christendom. For more than four and a half centuries it has never wavered in its claim to be a part of the Catholic Church, possessing the historic episcopate and the three orders of the ministry, administering the sacraments and preaching the Word according to apostolic precept, laying special emphasis on the importance of Christian unity, the cultivation of personal religion, and the necessity of personal service.

Whatever obscurity surrounds certain points in its history, there is nothing doubtful as to its origin. It dates from the year 1457; Bohemia was the land of its birth; and the more spiritually-minded followers of John Hus were its first members. Hus, the gifted rector of the University of Prague, an earnest reformer and eloquent preacher, owed much of his religious enlightenment to the writings of Wyclif, introduced into Bohemia by the wife of Richard II., a princess of that country. After his martyrdom at Constance in 1415 the greater part of his followers took up the sword in defence of their religious liberties. Some were pacified by concessions, such as their partaking of the cup as well as of the bread at the Holy Supper; but others, whose convictions went deeper, the Puritans of their day, withdrew from political life, retired to a remote corner of the country, and settled down in the Barony of Lititz. Here they formed themselves into a religious community on NT lines, in which many of the institutions of the early Christian Church were revived, under the leadership of duly elected elders. At the Synod of Lhota in 1467 they further proceeded to elect their own ministers, and for these they obtained ordination from the Waldenses (*q.v.*), whose bishop, Stephen, consecrated Michael Bradacius as the first bishop of the Unitas. The episcopate was given and received in the conviction of its apostolic origin, coming from the Eastern, not the Western, Church, transmitted possibly through the so-called sects, such as the Euchites, the Paulicians, the Cathari, etc. The validity of these orders was recognized even by the enemies of the Unitas; and, as the step thus taken involved complete ecclesiastical separation from Rome, it resulted in fierce persecution, despite which, however, the membership increased, the congregations multiplied, and the Church's influence spread far and wide, not merely in Bohemia, but beyond its borders also. The name adopted was *Jednota Bratrská*, the Latin rendering of which, 'Unitas Fratrum,' fails to give the exact meaning; 'Ecclesia Fratrum,' 'the Church of the Brotherhood,' would be more correct. The leaders in those early days were Peter of Cheltcic, Gregory the patriarch, and Lucas of Prague—men of very different temperaments, but of equal devotion. The Church's doctrines soon became distinctly evangelical; thus, at the Synod of Reichenau in 1495, the Brethren decided the great question, 'How shall a man be justified before God?' by the answer, 'Through the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ and the righteousness which is of God.' They laid special stress on Christian character and conduct; hence their strict discipline, which later excited the admiration of the Reformers. By the year 1500 they had over 200 congregations with more than 100,000 members; and in 1535 these figures had doubled themselves. It was the Brethren who issued the first hymn-book in the vernacular, in 1501; they set up some of the finest printing-presses in Europe, and used them largely for the production of their own translation of the Bible, which is still the standard Bohemian version of to-day. Their schools had a well-deserved reputation; Bohemia's best literature was the product of their scholars. Their church music became famous, especially for the congregational part-singing. Family worship was a feature of their homes; the children were early grounded in the Scriptures; the catechisms were clear, concise, and practical. The Church government was Presbyterian, with the Synod as the supreme court. Under its authority the bishops controlled their own dioceses, and they alone ordained; the presbyters preached and administered the sacraments; the deacons acted as assistants. Infant-baptism was practised, followed by confirmation.

As the Church expanded, it came to include three separate branches, in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland; yet the three remained organically one, and thus the Unitas became the earliest International Protestant Church. Its history during the greater part of the 16th and 17th centuries is one long record of persecution, broken by intervals of rest and of official favour. It suffered terribly during the period of the Counter-Reformation, especially after the disastrous battle of the White Mountain in 1620. A veritable 'Book of Martyrs' might be compiled dealing with the days when Rome set itself to exterminate the Unitas. Its foremost leaders among the nobility were executed, its clergy imprisoned, its members sent to the mines or kept in dungeons; its churches were closed, its schools destroyed, its Bibles and hymn-books, catechisms and histories were burned. More than 36,000 families fled from Bohemia, and with them their sole surviving bishop, John Amos Comenius, the herald of humanistic and religious training for the young. He was at that time the leading educationist in Europe, and his writings still rank among the standard authorities. His wanderings took him to Poland and Holland; and he was also invited to England to re-organize the very defective system of education which prevailed in that country. Much sympathy for the Bohemian martyrs had already been aroused during the Commonwealth, when Cromwell offered the Unitas a home in Ireland; and this continued afterwards also, when collections on its behalf were made in many of the Anglican churches. In the belief that the days of the Unitas were numbered Comenius drew up a remarkable document in which he says:

> 'As in such cases it is customary to make a Will, we hereby bequeath to our enemies the things of which they can dispossess us; but to you our friends (of the Church of England) we bequeath our dear Mother, the Church of the Brethren. It may be God's will to revive her in our country or elsewhere. You ought to love her even in her death, because in her life she has given you an example of Faith and Patience for more than two centuries' (*Ratio Disciplinæ*, Amsterdam, 1660, Dedication).

He also secured the episcopal succession, apart from the Polish branch in which it still continued, by having his son-in-law, Peter Jablonsky, consecrated as bishop by Bishop Bythner at Milenczyn in Poland.

With the death of Comenius in 1672 the first part of the history of the Unitas ends. The second part opens at Herrnhut, in Saxony, where in 1722 a company of fugitives from the Moravian border valleys, in which isolated families of the ancient Church had still preserved the faith of their fathers, found a refuge on the estate of a young nobleman, Count Nicolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf. They were soon joined by others from Bohemia; and in association with a number of German Pietists they formed themselves into a society similar to those which then existed within the Lutheran Church. But this did not satisfy the descendants of the Unitas; they insisted that they were not Lutherans, they belonged to a much older Church; and, being now in the possession of a certain amount of religious liberty, they desired its re-establishment. To this Zinzendorf was at first opposed, till from a chance copy of the writings of Comenius he learned what the history of the Unitas had been, how glorious its past, how evangelical its doctrine, how strict its discipline, how firm its faith and steadfastness under suffering. Almost unconsciously he found himself being led on to devote his life, his means, and his talents to the re-organization of this venerable Church, and its equipment for further service. But the Renewed Church was not of Zinzendorf's creation. Its points of contact with the Unitas lie in the personal descent of many of its members, in the church regulations which were again introduced, and, above all, in the orders of the ministry, which in 1735 were restored, when David Nitschman was consecrated bishop by Bishop Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, whose father had received the succession from Bythner with the written commission of Comenius.

The little community at Herrnhut rapidly increased and developed in spite of the banishment of Zinzendorf by order of the Saxon Government, on the ground of his having introduced unauthorized religious novelties and of teaching false doctrine. Its fame spread far and wide, since in it a striking union of spiritual life with good works and industrial activity was to be seen. The danger of a narrow type of Pietism (*q.v.*) was averted by a wonderful experience of revival and a wave of evangelizing zeal, which visited the Church in 1727, under the impulse of which it embarked on that particular work in the doing of which lay the pledge of its continued existence. At the beginning of the 18th cent. foreign missions were almost entirely unknown among the Reformed Churches; it was left to the Moravians to inaugurate the modern missionary movement. This dates from the year 1732, when two of the Brethren set out to evangelize the enslaved Negroes in St. Thomas, willing to become slaves themselves if that should be the only way of winning them for Christ. In the same spirit others went to the Eskimos in Greenland; others settled in S. America, and carried the gospel for the first time to the natives in the Dutch Colony of Surinam. Work was also begun among the N. American Indians, to whom David Zeisberger devoted sixty-three strenuous years of life. In S. Africa these early missionaries were to be found teaching Hottentots and Kaffirs the faith of Jesus. They penetrated to Persia and Ceylon, they preached in Egypt and Algiers, they established their stations on the Gold Coast and in eight of the W. India Islands, they started a mission to the Jews—and all this as pioneers, and within a few years after the founding of that little Saxon village whose inhabitants numbered only some 600. They formed the first Protestant Church that recognized and attempted to fulfil the duty of world evangelization; and in this effort they stood alone for sixty years. This early characteristic of the Renewed Church still remains its outstanding distinction; and that is why, alone among all others, it possesses no separate missionary society, since the whole Church is the society, and within it the principle prevails that 'to be a Moravian and to further missions are identical.'

From Herrnhut strong religious influences began to spread at home as well as abroad among the students in the German universities, the landowners in the Baltic provinces, the merchants of Amsterdam, and the military in Berlin. Zinzendorf and his Brethren were invited everywhere, and, as the result of their evangelistic work, societies or congregations, known as 'settlements,' sprang up in Denmark, Holland, Russia, and Switzerland, and in several of the German principalities. Each became, like Herrnhut, an industrial as well as a religious centre, for the apostolic rule of being 'diligent in business' as well as 'fervent in spirit' was insisted on. It was largely by means of these industrial undertakings, supplemented by the unstinted generosity of Zinzendorf, that the cost of the mission work was met—not to mention the fact that most of the missionaries provided for their own necessities.

The first official visit was paid to England in 1735; and here it was that Peter Böhler three years later met with John Wesley and became the means of his spiritual enlightenment. Here also the name 'Moravian' came into use; given originally as a convenient nickname (like 'Methodist'), it has now gained a kind of permanence, though it cannot be regarded as satisfactory, since it emphasizes only one point, and that a comparatively unimportant one, in the long history of the Unitas.

The Moravian influence was unquestionably one of the main factors in the early days of the Evangelical Revival; for a time it equalled that of the Methodists. Moravian evangelists preached throughout the length and breadth of the United Kingdom, leaving their mark especially in Yorkshire and the Midlands; and, through the preaching of John Cennick, to a yet greater degree in Ireland and the west of England.

In America also the Church took root in the middle of the 18th cent., around two centres, Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, and Salem in N. Carolina; and from each of these two places it spread rapidly. Thus the Church came to consist again of three distinct provinces, according to the different nationalities—German, English, and American. These form the home base, and, though widely separated, they are organically one. Each province is independent as regards the conduct of its own affairs, elects its own bishops, appoints its own administrative boards, and legislates for itself through its own synods. The main outward bond of union between the parts (and the seat of final authority) is the so-called General Synod, made up of delegates from all the provinces. This bond may seem a very slight one, yet through these many years the spirit of brotherhood in Christ has been strong enough to prevent any kind of schism in the body.

The death of Zinzendorf in 1760 had important results. It involved a severe financial strain which at one time threatened disaster and dissolution, but it also led to the framing of a distinctive system of church government, the settlement of its constitution, the definition of its doctrine, and the reorganization of its undertakings. The administrative centre still lay in Germany, where during the latter part of the 18th cent. the Moravians found themselves in the forefront of the controversy with rationalism; they became the recognized champions of orthodox Evangelicalism. Here also their influence was as far-reaching as in England, though in a different way. In this case it was due largely to the writings and the personality of Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg, originally a professor at Halle. It made itself felt in the universities; Schleiermacher learned his religion and gained his conception of the historic Christ at a Moravian college; and Kant, the philosopher of Königsberg, referred his students, when searching for peace, to 'the little Moravian church over the way; that,' he said, 'is the place in which to find peace.'

2. Characteristics.—(*a*) *Diaspora.*—A unique feature of the Church's work on the Continent was, and still is, the so-called Diaspora, an extensive agency for promoting spiritual life and fellowship within the National (Protestant) Churches. It is carried on in many parts of Germany, in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Russia; and, according to synodal resolution, no worker in it is allowed to seek converts for the Moravian Church from among the members of other communions. The effort is in the interests of the Kingdom of God as a whole, supplementary to the existing religious agencies, and is designed to strengthen and promote the unity of believers. This accounts to a great extent for the good-will shown to the Moravians by those who know the disinterested nature of their labours, and the catholicity of their spirit. Had there been more denominationalism, no doubt a larger numerical increase would have resulted, but it would have meant the loss of that kindliness of mutual feeling which has marked the Church's relationship to other Christian communities.

(*b*) *Education.*—Another Moravian characteristic is the educational system, officially recognized and regarded as belonging to the Church's work and responsibility. Love of education, and enthusiasm for it, formed a part of the inheritance which had come down from the days of the Unitas. It was held that, just as the Church had its mission to the heathen, who had never heard the gospel, so had it also a mission to the young to ground and train them in its divine precepts. To carry this out was a priceless privilege ordained of God, to be undertaken with prayer, and to be done for Him. In this spirit numerous boarding-schools were opened in Germany, Holland, England, Switzerland, and America; many of them have become famous, not only on account of the education given, but also by reason of the pupils who have gone forth from them, men distinguished in almost every calling and rank of life. The standard was high; and, if in many cases the discipline was strict, it was always blended with the kindly influences of a distinctly Christian atmosphere.

(*c*) *Missionary zeal.*—The third, and the most characteristic, feature of Moravianism is its missionary zeal. Never since the beginning of the work in 1732 has this waned; the Church has sent forth its sons and daughters in an unbroken stream, in some cases through five generations of the same family. Most of its congregations have their representatives in the missions, and through these living links the bond of sympathy with the foreign field is maintained. The Church's energies flow largely along this channel, in support of what represents, and is felt to be, its God-appointed work in the present as much as in the past, a glory that has not faded. Hence the surprisingly large number of Moravian missionaries in proportion to the membership; and also the relatively high standard of financial support. Whilst in the Protestant Churches at large the proportion of missionaries to members is about 1 to 5000, among the Moravians it is 1 to 60. These are the words of J. R. Mott on the subject:

> 'If members of the Churches in Great Britain and America gave in like proportion [as the Moravians], then the Missionary contributions would aggregate over £12,000,000 per annum instead of some £3,000,000. And if they went out as Missionaries in corresponding numbers, we should have a force of nearly 400,000 foreign workers, which is vastly more than the number of Missionaries estimated as necessary to achieve the evangelisation of the World' (*Report of New York Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, New York, 1900, i. 97).

The work abroad has to a great extent been among primitive races, some of them now approaching extinction, in out-of-the-way parts, in lands that are peculiarly unpromising and uninviting, and that have been neglected by every one else. These have been taken up by the Moravians in accordance with Zinzendorf's early desire and determination, when, as a school-boy, he established among his companions the so-called 'Order of the Mustard Seed,' for the purpose of seeking the conversion of the heathen, having in mind 'especially such as others would not trouble themselves about.' Thus the Moravian Brethren were the pioneers in work among the lepers, first in the Cape Colony, where as early as 1818 a missionary and his wife cut themselves off from their fellow-Europeans, and settled down in a lonely valley among the poor outcasts, in order to care for their bodies as well as their souls. The result was remarkable, for within six years over 90 of the lepers were converted and baptized. Afterwards the work was continued on Robben Island, a sandy stretch lying off Cape Town; and still later a spacious hospital has been built outside the walls of Jerusalem, where the aim is to gather all the lepers of Palestine, and to alleviate the sufferings caused by this dread disease.

Continuous expansion has marked the missionary enterprise of the Church, till now it is to be found in every continent. The fields are as follows: Labrador, Alaska, California, the W. Indies (Jamaica, St. Thomas, St. John, St. Croix, Antigua, St. Kitts, Barbadoes, Tobago, Trinidad, San Domingo), the Mosquito Coast, Nicaragua, Demerara (British Guiana), Surinam (Dutch Guiana), S. Africa, East and West, Nyasa and Unyamwezi (in German E. Africa), W. Himalaya, and N. Queensland—14 different countries, 343 stations, with 1503 preaching places. The workers include 367 European and American missionaries, among them doctors, educationists, deaconesses, etc., 48 ordained native ministers, 459 native evangelists, 1663 native helpers; with a total of 107,379 souls in their care. The annual expense amounts to £114,000, exclusive of the Leper Home, which costs an additional £1500 per annum. Mission colleges exist in England, Germany, America, the W. Indies, and S. Africa; hospitals in Labrador, Jerusalem, Surinam, and Kashmīr, where Zenana work is also carried on.

The above figures, if not large in themselves, are strikingly so when compared to the size of the home Church. This consists of the continental congregations, in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Russia, Sweden, and Norway; the British province (England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales); and the American provinces, North and South. The last-named have 134 congregations; in Great Britain there are 45, and on the Continent 30—or 74, if the Diaspora centres are included. A joint undertaking of the whole Church, apart from the foreign enterprise, is the evangelization of the lands of its birth and early history, viz. Bohemia and Moravia. Work among the young is carried on in both day and boarding-schools; the home Sunday schools number 179, and have 23,000 scholars; abroad there are 189 schools, with 1430 teachers, and over 25,000 scholars. In England an agency known as the Rural Mission works on lines somewhat similar to the Diaspora on the Continent.

3. Worship.—The worship of the Church combines the liturgical element with a large measure of freedom in extempore prayer—a blending of order and liberty. The British Book of Worship includes two liturgies for public service, an alternate form of prayer, a confession of faith, and formularies for the baptism of infants and of adults, for confirmation, ordination, marriage, and burial—and combined with these is a newly-revised collection of hymns of all ages. It is the latest successor of the first Protestant hymn-book ever issued. The Church's ritual is marked by simplicity and directness of purpose, due largely to a wise caution in the use of symbolism, and also to a dislike of whatever would serve to quench the spiritual impulse of the moment. A stately dignity marks the special services and the doxologies in use at the consecration of bishops and the ordination of ministers. The same applies in a measure to the confirmation service, which, as in the Greek Church, is not considered an exclusively episcopal function, but may be performed by a presbyter. At all these services the surplice is worn, as well as at the administration of the sacraments. The Apostles' Creed is in use as representing the oldest, simplest, and most generally accepted expression of the faith of Christendom; and in addition a special confession, based on that compiled by Luther and made up mainly of a connected sequence of Scripture passages, is recited on the great Church festivals, such as Easter, Whitsunday, etc. In it the Trinitarian belief of the Church finds marked emphasis—the Fatherhood of God, the Creator of all things and the Author of salvation; the redemptive and mediatorial work of the Son in His perfect humanity, the 'Lamb of God' once slain, now risen and glorified; the presence and power of the Holy Spirit, 'Who proceedeth from the Father, and Whom our Lord Jesus Christ sent after that He went away . . . that He should abide with us for ever.'

4. **Doctrine.**—The main points of doctrine as held and taught are defined in the Church Book under the following heads: the doctrine of the total depravity of human nature; the doctrine of the love of God the Father; the doctrine of the real Godhead and the real humanity of Jesus Christ; the doctrine of our reconciliation unto God and our justification through the sacrifice of the Cross; the doctrine of good works as the evidence of faith; the doctrine of the fellowship of believers; the doctrine of the Second Coming of the Lord; and the doctrine of the Headship of Christ over the Church, which is His Body. Thus in essence the theological position is that of the Nicene Creed, the XXXIX Articles, the Augsburg and the Westminster Confessions; but, since no one Creed can be said to be a complete statement of the whole range of Christian dogma, liberty is allowed for difference of view in non-essentials. The Holy Scriptures are regarded as the only rule of faith and conduct, the basis of all teaching, and the final court of appeal. More stress is laid on Christian life and character than on perfect agreement of opinion. Devotion to Christ, and personal union with Him, form the foundation of the Brotherhood. The Church has kept itself free from anything approaching sectarian peculiarities of doctrine, and this because it came out from Rome on the broad ground of gospel truth and liberty, and did not separate itself from any other Evangelical Church.

5. **Constitution and government.**—The constitution and government of the Church, which at one time was something of an oligarchy, is now essentially democratic, as may be seen from the fact that in the General Synod, which meets every six years and controls the funds and the work of the entire body, the elected members outnumber those who have a seat in virtue of their office. The same applies to the provincial synods, and also to the authorities of the individual congregations. The principle at work in Church affairs is that of 'the government of the people, by the people, and for the people,' under the sole headship of Christ. The bishops have no administrative powers on account of their position, though, as a matter of fact, a bishop is almost invariably the president of the board of elders which directs the work of each province. These boards are elected by synod, the members holding office only during the inter-synodal period; they are responsible to the synod for their administrative doings. The foreign missions, as the concern of the whole Church, stand under the management of an international mission board, on which each of the home provinces, as well as the foreign field, is represented. This has at present its seat in Herrnhut, though it might just as well be located anywhere else. In addition there is a general directing board of the Unity, which has to see to the carrying out of the principles laid down by the General Synod in regard to constitution, doctrine, worship, orders, congregation rules, and discipline. It exercises also the functions of a court of appeal; it summons the General Synod, and acts as the standing representative of the Church in its entirety.

All appointments in the ministry are made by the directing boards of the respective provinces; each congregation is entitled to suggest names for the filling of a vacancy, and each minister has the right to accept or decline a call sent to him. The different provinces make their own arrangements for the training of their students, whilst in all the various colleges the standard is equally high. The normal course includes the work necessary for a University Degree in Arts, which each student is expected to gain; then follows a three years' study of theology. As a rule, some period is devoted to teaching in the boarding-schools. Later on comes ordination, in the first instance as a deacon when acting as assistant minister; and, on being appointed to a separate charge, a second ordination admits to the presbyterate. Thus the Church possesses and combines within itself many of the features which in other cases separate some of the larger religious bodies. Its orders are strictly episcopal, for only bishops can ordain, but its government is presbyterian. Its teaching is distinctly evangelical, though no formal subscription to any specific Creed is demanded, or expected, from ministers or members. The individual conscience is bound by no formularies; the bond of union lies not so much in a common Confession as in the exercise of mutual love as the supreme mark of discipleship. Infant-baptism and confirmation are practised; at the Holy Supper the wafer is generally used; the Church seasons are observed with very special stress on the services of Holy Week and Easter. In some of these observances there is a marked element of ritual, hallowed by the usage and tradition of past centuries; but at the same time the Church is as free from the bondage of form and ceremony as it is from all sacramentarianism.

The whole body, scattered over the world's surface, on the Continent, in Great Britain, in America, and in the 14 mission-fields, is still an organic Unity, each portion maintaining its own national characteristics, the Germans attached to their German ways, the English and Americans equally loyal to their own country's interests and customs. Jointly they form an international brotherhood, composed of men of many races and differing opinions, all banded together, not to propagate any special system of church government or any kind of ritual, or any particular point of doctrine, but to evidence and promote the oneness of believers in Christ, and to prove the possibility of a union, organic as well as spiritual, which rises above all barriers of nationality and opinion. The Moravian Church does not work in opposition to any other evangelical Church, nor does it seek to increase its membership by any system of proselytizing. Its aim is to gather into the fold of Christ those who are still outside, and then to further that growth in grace and that fruitfulness of service which are the divinely appointed means for the spread of the Kingdom of God among the children of men. It is above all else a missionary and a union Church.

LITERATURE.—i. *ANCIENT CHURCH.*—Anton Gindely, *Gesch. der böhmischen Brüder*, Prague, 1857–58; Jaroslav Goll, *Quellen zur Gesch. der böhmischen Brüder*, do. 1878–82; E. de Schweinitz, *Hist. of the Unitas Fratrum*, Bethlehem, Pa., 1885; J. T. Müller, *Die deutschen Katechismen der böhmischen Brüder*, Berlin, 1887.

ii. *RENEWED CHURCH.*—David Cranz, *Ancient and Modern Hist. of the Brethren*, Eng. tr., London, 1780; A. G. Spangenberg, *Life of Count Zinzendorf*, Eng. tr., do. 1836; J. E. Hutton, *Hist. of the Moravian Church*^{2}, do. 1909; G. Wauer, *Beginnings of the Brethren's Church in England*, do. 1901; E. R. Hassé, *The Moravians* ('Leaders of Revival' Series), do. 1912, and *Count Zinzendorf* (in preparation); J. E. Hutton, *Hist. of Moravian Missions* (in preparation); J. T. Hamilton, *Hist. of the Moravian Church*, Bethlehem, Pa., 1900, and *Hist. of the Missions of the Moravian Church*, London, 1901; cf. also *Bureau of the Census*, *Special Reports*, 'Religious Bodies: 1906,' Washington, 1910, ii. 494–499; and see art. HUSSITES.

E. R. HASSÉ.

MORBIDNESS.—The term 'morbidness' as applied to moral and religious states of mind is popular rather than scientific. It designates particularly any unduly depressed state connected with one's moral or religious status. Little effort has been made thus far to discover a scientific differentia for religious and moral disease or morbidness. One author,[1] essaying a moral pathology, treats largely of ordinary moral faults and classes as pathological even such habits as result from mistaken conceptions of the moral life. Here 'pathological' loses all definite meaning; as well might we class as morbid the misspelling of a word. On the other hand, neurologists and medical writers tend, on the whole, to limit moral and religious morbidness to certain phenomena of the insanities, such as the delusion that one is God or Jesus Christ, or that one has committed the unpardonable sin. While it is difficult to differentiate between sanity and insanity, a useful mark of the insane is that they are incapable, for the time being at least, of fulfilling their social functions. Thus, all the insanities are cases of moral inability and, in this sense, of moral morbidness.

There is, however, a broad expanse of moral morbidness that is neither insanity, on the one hand, nor, on the other, mere deflexion from a moral ideal through erroneous thinking or through the common instinctive impulsions. The best example is the moral distortions frequently found among adolescents. Under the stress of the neural and intellectual re-organization that is going on at this period of life, the following types of morbidness are not uncommon.

(1) Excessive or minute introspection of one's desires, motives, or choices, often with the application of excessively severe standards to one's self. In religious communions that emphasize such experiences as conversion, regeneration, and the witness of the Spirit, this introspection often consists in a search for signs of the divine presence or of divine operations within one's soul.

(2) Hypersensitiveness to moral and religious situations and distinctions. To be wrong at all is to be heinous; only perfection is really good—this is the attitude of mind. This is what is often called 'morbid conscience.' The victim of it is likely to put absurd emphasis upon the exact performance of trifles that seem to be duties. Habitual self-condemnation or censoriousness towards others may also appear.

(3) A passion for certitude, and refusal to live by the ordinary, commonsense assumptions, probabilities, and 'rule o' thumb' devices of mature practicality. Sometimes a sense of uncertainty becomes almost an obsession. The victim feels uncertain, for instance, whether he has locked the door, although he knows, in the ordinary sense of 'knowledge,' that he has done so. So, also, he may feel that he ought or ought not to do a certain thing, although he understands, in a way, that his feeling is unreasonable.

(4) Feverish or self-annihilating devotion to a person, a cause, or an ideal. Here morbidness consists partly in emotional excess, partly in the egregious self-assertion upon which the supposed sublimity of self-obliteration depends.

(5) In the four types thus far named we behold a sort of psychical congestion and soreness. A fifth type displays the opposite—insensibility and failure to function in the presence of normal stimuli. Callousness towards the pains and pleasures of others and lack of a sense of obligation are its marks. In less extreme cases the callousness appears only in spots, as towards some one person, human interest, or kind of duty.

These adolescent twists illuminate the whole subject of moral and religious morbidness. For, if the five types be broadly interpreted, they will be found to cover all cases of such morbidness at whatever stage of life. Here we have over- and under-sensitiveness, excess of action and defect of it, excess and defect of introspection, over- and under-caution, and disproportion in thinking. This is not normal or healthy, yet it includes no insane delusions and no such failure of practical adjustment as puts one outside the pale of social toleration.

The causation of morbidness in the sense that now grows towards definiteness includes two factors: neural depression (or at least lack of vitality), and some incidental experience that starts an unfortunate mental habit. The fundamental facts with which we have to deal are excess, defect, and distortion of emotion. Not infrequently morbid persons cherish a conviction that their mental processes are rational rather than emotional even though observers easily discover the lack of emotional balance. Conduct, and what passes as reason, are alike determined by some congestion or soreness, or by abnormal callousness. These emotional tendencies are primary psychical signs of neural conditions. The depression may be a hereditary or temperamental trait, an incident of a disease, or the product of an internal irritant, of a drug, or of fatigue. The reason why morbidness occurs so frequently in adolescence is that the pubertal change and the consequent re-organization of habits put extraordinary demands upon the nervous system. To this cause must be added the peculiar loads in school life, economic life, and social life that our occidental customs impose upon youth. Finally, in many cases sexual perversions and difficulties connected with the firm establishment of a healthy sexual life increase the tendencies to depression. In mature life the same general principles apply. Morbidness may safely be assumed, in practically all cases, to spring partly out of nerve depression, which, in turn, may have many causes.

The last of the five adolescent types enumerated does not readily reveal its neural basis. Moral insensibility, indeed, may not seem to require any special neural basis. May it not be a matter of mere habit? Habit might, perhaps, account for it in older persons, but, whenever a child or youth exhibits it, the presumption is that strength for a full social reaction is lacking. Let it be remembered that socialized conduct is an achievement that implies power to feel in particular ways, and to resist and organize impulses. In the games of children and youth 'foul play' is often simply the resort of individuals who have not sufficient muscular strength or mental power to hold their own while playing the game according to the rules. In social situations that present stimuli of normal strength a child of normal powers will react socially unless some positive counter training has preceded. Persistent unresponsiveness to social stimuli is strongly suggestive of constitutional weakness or of incidentally depressed vitality.

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[1] A. E. Giles, *Moral Pathology*, London, 1895.

But the neural basis of morbid moral and religious states is not nearly the whole explanation of them. Neural depression is generic rather than specific; it puts consciousness into a minor key, but it does not of itself construct the melody. The particular reaction depends upon particular stimuli and upon incidental as well as permanent subjective conditions. The same neural background may be present in a person who worries about his soul's salvation and in one who worries about his health. Further, habit plays a leading rôle in the whole matter. A morbid reaction, once induced in a period of weakness, may become fixed as a habit, and so persist even after the original neural depression has been partly or wholly removed. The relation beween moral and religious morbidness and neurasthenia is often close. In both we find a general background of neural depression and a foreground of habitual ideas and practices, often highly systematized and therefore regarded as rational.

A gloomy theology or moral theory rarely, if ever, produces settled morbidness in the absence of predisposing nervous weakness or depression. Healthy and nervously strong persons, if they accept such doctrines at all, usually hold them in a theoretical way for the most part, or yield to their terrors only now and then when attention is specially directed to them. There is truth in the popular observation that, if men really believed in the grim theology that some of them profess, they would 'go wild.' The fact that, even in circles in which such theologies are accepted, men pursue and enjoy the common values of life, such as family, home, property, and social recognition, is direct evidence that any settled emotional realization of the prevailing belief depends upon something more than a set of ideas. If, however, any individual in such a circle has a tendency to nervous weakness, religious instruction may easily become the decisive factor in producing morbidness of a serious kind. In the aggregate the spiritual havoc thus wrought is undoubtedly large, although the cases of it are scattered. It is most unfortunate that among those who are susceptible to such injury are many persons whose sensitiveness and fineness of organization adapt them for high tasks. It is sometimes, no doubt, the possible prophet, poet, reformer, or thinker whose energies are fruitlessly introverted by depressing instruction.

LITERATURE.—G. Vorbrodt, 'Zur Religionspsychologie, Prinzipien und Pathologie,' *Theologische Studien*, Jena, 1906, pp. 237–303, argues against the view that religion as such is a morbid phenomenon. Josiah Moses, *Pathological Aspects of Religions*, Worcester, Mass., 1906, gives an extended analysis of religious extremes of various sorts. E. D. Starbuck, *The Psychology of Religion*, London, 1899, shows that conversion is, in general, a normal rather than abnormal phenomenon, chiefly of adolescence (ch. xiii.), but he presents numerous cases of adolescent doubt, brooding, depression, and introspection (ch. xvii.). G. A. Coe, *The Spiritual Life*, New York, 1900, also discusses adolescent difficulties, particularly doubts and morbid conscience. As already indicated, A. F. Giles, *Moral Pathology*, London, 1895, is not significant for our topic. A popular discussion of depressive states of the neurasthenic type will be found in E. Worcester and others, *Religion and Medicine*, New York, 1908. See also J. Bresler, *Religionshygiene* (pamphlet), Halle, 1907.

GEORGE A. COE.

MORDVINS.—1. Introduction and sources.—The Mordvins form a branch of the Finno-Ugrian race (cf. vol. vi. p. 22^b), and consist of two tribes called respectively the Erzä and the Moksha. Our knowledge of their ancient religion, coming, as it does, almost exclusively from a time when, in name at least, they had been converted to Christianity by the Russians, and when they could practise the rites of their earlier faith only in secret, is very scanty and defective. After the Mordvin people, as a whole, in consequence of the victory by which the Russians finally overthrew the Tatar khanate of Kazan (1552), had come under the sway of the conquerors, measures of a more or less violent nature were taken here and there to convert them, and were continued in the 17th century. It was not, however, till about 1740–50 that they came to submit *en masse* to the rite of Christian baptism, and the following decades witnessed the disappearance of the last vestiges of their heathenism. Yet for a long time their conversion was, in the main, a merely nominal change, and, accordingly, even in quite recent times the exploration of remote districts has yielded much valuable material for the elucidation of their ancient religion.

Our earliest information on the subject comes from an Italian traveller, G. Barbaro, who visited the district now called Eastern Russia in 1446, and who gives a short account of how the victim was dealt with in the horse-sacrifice of the Moksha tribe. The notes on the religion and sacrificial practices of the Mordvins made by N. Witsen, a Dutchman, at the close of the 17th cent. are altogether negligible; nor can we gather much of value from the accounts of P. J. Strahlenberg, K. Müller, I. Lepechin, J. G. Georgi, and P. S. Pallas, in the 18th century. A more useful source (in spite of errors due to misapprehension) is the Russian MS written by a land-surveyor named Miljkovič in 1783, and several times printed (most recently in *Tambovskija Eparchialjnyja Vědomosti*, no. 18, Petrograd, 1905, p. 815 ff.). From the middle of the 19th cent. we find in Russian newspapers and periodicals (especially those of the provinces), as in other publications, sporadic notices and descriptions of local conditions. Accounts of a more general character have been given by Meljnikov, Mainov, and Smirnov (cf. Literature at end). Meljnikov (writing *c.* 1850) draws his material mainly from MS sources; but, as regards the ideas of the gods, deals with his data too freely, and adds imaginative embellishments. The same may be said of Mainov, who, some thirty years later, devoted himself to the investigation of Mordvin ethnography, and even travelled over the Mordvin district; in many points he merely follows Meljnikov. A much more valuable production is that of Smirnov, who carefully utilizes the available literature as well as a number of MS sources, and also draws upon his own observations. The following account is based not only on the published sources, but also upon collections made by the present writer among the Mordvins themselves, and the fairly abundant MS material subsequently forwarded by native Mordvins to the Finno-Ugric Society in Helsingfors; it likewise draws upon some (in part very valuable) MSS dating from the middle of the 19th cent. and now in the keeping of the Imperial Geographical Society, or else deposited in the Asiatic Museum of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Petrograd. The latter group of MSS had been already used in part, though very unscientifically, by Meljnikov and Mainov.

2. The dead.—Life after death was regarded as a direct continuation of earthly life. The departed in their graves live and occupy themselves in much the same way as they did upon earth—hence the articles required by them were placed beside their bodies in the grave. In death as in life kith and kin are still together, so that the graveyard is the counterpart of the village; there is no realm of the dead in a universal sense. From the graveyard the human-like shades come forth to visit the living. Each family worships its own dead, the foremost and mightiest of whom is the first who was buried in the particular graveyard, *i.e.* the progenitor of the family (together with his wife), who was often still spoken of by his own name and was honoured with the title of 'ruler of the graveyard' (*kalmon' kirdi*). The prevailing idea seems to be that this progenitor should not belong to too remote a past; thus among certain Erzä Mordvins in the government of Saratov, who migrated thither some 200 or 250 years ago, the earliest ancestors to whom worship is accorded are positively stated to have been the first settlers—the memory, and thus also the worship, of the earlier generations having faded away. Festivals in honour of departed individuals are celebrated during the first year after death—one immediately after burial, and others at specified times, as, *e.g.*, six weeks, or the fortieth day, after death, from which time onwards the shade of the dead becomes more closely attached to the corpse in the grave, while prior to that time it lingers chiefly in its former home or, it may be, in places which the living person had been accustomed to visit. At this festival the previously deceased members of the family are believed to be in attendance, and are implored to take the newly departed into their midst.

General festivals for all departed ancestors (*pokštšat babat*, or *at'at babat*, 'grandfathers and grandmothers' [=ancestors]), again, are celebrated at least twice a year, in spring and autumn (latterly the dates of both the individual and the general festivals were for the most part brought into accordance with those of the commemorative celebrations appointed by the Russian Church). The ancestors are invited in due form to a feast in the village, the several houses of the family-group being taken in rotation for this banquet of the living with the dead. According to a tradition from the beginning of the 17th cent., joint festivals for the dead were in an earlier period held by larger family-groups or clans also at intervals of some fifty years. Formerly, animal-sacrifices were offered at the celebrations, and the ceremonies connected with them contain features that seem to point to a still earlier practice of human sacrifice. The living approach the ancestors with prayers and gifts in all circumstances in which, as they think, they require the help of these ancestors either for their own benefit (particularly in cases of illness, which may be sent by the ancestors themselves, if angered) or in order to injure others. Moreover, at the sacrificial feasts which are held by the community in honour of the (nature-) gods, the ancestors are in some districts conjoined with these as objects of worship, being invoked in the prayers immediately after the deities, and besought for the same earthly blessings—success in tillage and cattle-rearing, good fortune, and health. The dead, when thus present by invitation, are welcome guests, from whose benignity all good things may be expected—though at the close of the festival, it is true, they are driven away, sometimes with threats—but, when they appear on their own initiative, they are greatly feared, especially as causing disease. Peculiar terrors are excited by the dead who perish by accident—*e.g.*, by drowning—or who for other reasons have not received proper burial, as also by those who die without surviving kindred; such unfortunates are, accordingly, attended to only in the festivals for their own ancestors.

In connexion with the ceremonial of this ancestor-worship, special mention must be made of the fact that at the festivals for deceased individuals, according to some older accounts, a wooden image or a doll representing the dead was set on the bench by the festal table; subsequently this was replaced by articles of clothing belonging to him. At these festivals, however, the departed has also a living representative, a person of the same sex and of about the same age, who acts his part, and is treated by those present as if he were the deceased. He presents himself in the clothes of the dead, and frequently is conducted from the graveyard, and then, at the end of the feast, taken back to it. According to some accounts, he never speaks at all, but partakes heartily of the banquet, and receives the tokens of respect accorded by those present. Other accounts inform us, however, that he carries on an active conversation with them: he tells them of the life of the under world, and of those who have gone there before him; he gives them good counsel, admonishing them to live in unity, to abstain from theft and excessive drinking, to look well after their cattle, and the like; he blesses man and beast, settles disputes regarding inheritance, etc.

According to some authorities, the dead, during their existence in the grave, undergo a second experience of death, passing thereby 'into a higher state,' in which they no longer maintain direct relations with those living upon the earth, but have intercourse only with those who have died once, and through the latter alone influence the fortunes of the living.

Although the ancestors are worshipped and invoked like the gods, and to some extent conjointly with them, the two classes are, nevertheless, rigidly distinguished from each other. Still, there seem to be cases where the people have quite forgotten the human origin of a dead person whom they worship, and he is invoked as a 'god' (*pas*). Among the Erzä in the governments of Kazan and Samara we find a deity called Staka pas, 'the heavy god,' who is honoured with special sacrificial festivals, and is entreated not to launch 'his heaviness' (*i.e.* evil generally) upon the people. In some parts a divine pair bearing various proper names—*e.g.*, Onto and Bonto (who are popularly supposed to be husband and wife)—are invoked by the epithet of Staka pas, while elsewhere the 'heavy god' is addressed in the sacrificial prayers also as Kan pas, Kuvan pas, and regarded as living 'in the black earth.' The word *kan*, the signification of which is now unknown to the people at large, is simply the Tatar *kan*, 'prince,' so that *kan pas* means 'the god-prince'; *kuvan*, again, is in all likelihood traceable to the Turkish princely title *kagan* in its Chuvash or Bulgar phonetic form *kogan* or *kugan* (with *o* or *u* instead of the common-Turk. *a*), which, though it has not come down to us, would correspond perfectly to the Mordvin *kuvan*. As the Mordvins, in part at least, were at one time among the subject peoples of the Volga Bulgars, the ancestors of the Chuvashes of to-day, we may be permitted to conjecture that the 'heavy god' was originally the spirit of a high Turkish ruler; similarly, the other heavy gods, such as Onto, etc., perhaps represent native princes of a bygone age.

With the Mordvin cult of the dead is probably connected in some way also the worship of the deity or spirit called Keremet (Erzä) or Kerämät, Kerämäd (Moksha), a name of Chuvash origin (in the Chuvash tongue of to-day, *Kirämät*, originally an Arab. word). Among the Mordvins this deity bears the title *soltan*, *salhta*, which is obviously the same as the Arabo-Turkish *sultān*. What is told of him among the Mordvins is meagre and inconsistent. Among the Moksha, according to an early account, he was a deity of great prestige and power, and superior to all others in his influence upon everyday life—in no sense a malign spirit, like Keremet among the Cheremisses. Although he bears a name of foreign origin, and was regarded by the Moksha as 'born and bred with the earth'—a fact which shows that the people had no idea of his human origin—it would seem, nevertheless, that his worship contains certain elements of a former native hero-cult. In the legal proceedings of the community oaths are taken in the name of Kerämät, and it is believed that he punishes those who are guilty of crime.

3. **Nature.**—(*a*) *Air and sky.*—In the Erzä tribe the deity of the sky is called Vere-pas, *i.e.* 'the god who is above.' We also find mention of Ški-pas and Niške-pas or Niške, the latter of whom, while now identified by some of the Erzä with Vere-pas, was originally in all likelihood a distinct god (probably of foreign origin). In a number of ancient MSS the name Niške occurs in the form Ineške, whence it appears that the name is really a synthesis of *ine*, 'great,' and the first element in the divine name Ški-pas just mentioned. *Ški*, again, is a participle of an obsolete verb *ška-*, meaning 'bear,' 'procreate,' so that Ški-pas signifies literally 'the generative god,' 'procreator-god,' and Niške, 'the great procreator.' The sky-god of the Moksha is called Škaj—a name corresponding exactly to the Erzä Ški—or, with the addition of the term for 'god,' which among the Moksha is still found in the more primitive dissyllabic form *pavas*, Škabavas (also Škabas and Škajbas), which accordingly corresponds in form with the Erzä Ški-pas. In the prayers he receives the designation Värdä, 'he who is above,' or Ot′s′u, 'the great one' (see above, the explanation of the Erzä name Niške). The Erzä Niške or Niške-pas has a consort named Niške-ava, 'Mother Niške,' who is worshipped at any rate by women in their homes (she is now often identified with the Virgin Mary, the Theotokos); he has also two daughters, Kastargo and Vezorgo, while in the songs we likewise hear of a son. Among the Moksha the wife of the sky-god is, so far as is known, mentioned, along with a daughter, only in a single song, where she is called Škabas-ava, 'Mother Škabas.' Strahlenberg states that the highest deity of the 'Mordvins' (by which term he obviously means the Erzä tribe) is Jumishipas; in the first portion of his name, *jumi*, we have perhaps a cognate form of the Cheremiss term Jumo, applied to both the sky-god and the sky, and of the stem in the Finnish *jumala*, 'god,' while the second element is either equivalent to Ši-pas, 'sun-god,' or, more probably, an incorrect form of Ški-pas (see above).

Among the Mordvins generally the sky-god ranks as supreme among the gods, and to him must frequently be offered the first sacrifice and prayer. It may be noted, however, that, according to a report from the middle of the 19th cent., the Moksha, or at least part of them, did not offer sacrifice to Skaj at all, but simply, at the beginning of every sacrificial festival, addressed him with a brief prayer for protection.

A special deity of thunder, who is worshipped in the communal sacrificial feasts, is found among the Erzä. He is named Pur′gine (lit. 'thunder'), or Pur′gine-pas ('the god Thunder,' 'thunder-god'), and the worshippers beseech him to send a beneficial rain, but not the noisome hail; his figure has been strongly influenced by that of the prophet Elijah in popular Russian belief. Among the Moksha thunder is called *at′am*, a derivative of *at′a*, 'grandfather,' 'old man,' and this, together with the fact that the rainbow is termed *at′am-jonks* (*jonks* = 'bow,' 'cross-bow'), seems to indicate that the Moksha also personified thunder, though the imperfect sources certainly say nothing of a thunder-cult among them.

In the prayers and elsewhere the sun as well as the moon is designated a god (*pas*, *pavas*), viz. Tši-pas (Erzä), Ši-bavas (Moksha), 'the god sun,' 'sun-god,' and Kov-bas, Kov-bavas, 'the god moon,' 'moon-god.' Special oblations are accorded to the sun at the sacrificial feasts. The worship of the moon seems to involve no more than that, when a person first descries the new moon, he bows before it with a prayer for good health, and promises it a whole (*i.e.* uncut) loaf. The morning and the evening glow are invoked, with Russian proper names attached to the terms, almost exclusively in magic formulæ—*e.g.* as 'morning-glow Mariya,' 'evening-glow Dariya'—and were probably derived, along with the formulæ themselves, from the Russians, resembling in this the spirits of midday and midnight, and others of similar character, which are likewise designated by Russian proper names in the magic formulæ.

Among the deities of the sky should perhaps be included a goddess styled Azĕr-ava, 'mistress,' who, in addition to Kerämät, was once highly revered among the Moksha, at least in some districts. She was said to dwell 'in the high place, in the upper parts of the atmosphere,' and bore the epithets 'rain-bringer' and 'corn-begetter'; she seems, however, to have been rather closely related in some way to Kerämät, as in the local law-courts oaths were taken in her name and in his (see above). Here, too, may be mentioned an obscure goddess named Ange-pate or Ange-pate pas (*pate*, more correctly *pat′a*, means 'elder sister'), who is said in one MS to have been worshipped among the so-called Teryuchans (Russianized Erzä in the government of Nijni Novgorod), but is otherwise unknown.

The name Ujsud or Ujvĕs′id—a word of obscure origin—is used among the Moksha to denote a host of spirits who move about in the upper atmosphere amid harmonious sounds (mingled, indeed, with inharmonious) and to whom girls make offerings of their hair. Should one who catches a glimpse of these spirits at once implore them to send him good fortune, he obtains his wish, though at times their gift may be death. With this host may be compared the celestial spirit known among the Chuvashes as Kčvak Xuppi, 'the gate of heaven'—the personification of some luminous appearance: 'when the gate of heaven opens, one obtains what one asks for.'

In some districts the Mordvins worshipped the wind, mostly under the name of Varma-ava, 'mother wind,' 'wind-mother,' both privately and at the communal sacrifices; and in her divine capacity she was specially implored not to damage the corn and hay crops. Worship, with offerings of food, was accorded also to frost, usually as Moroz-at′a or Kelme-at′a, 'old man frost,' but only within the house; the ceremonial of this cult is manifestly of Russian origin, as is probably also the spirit itself.

(*b*) *Earth, field, and grain.* — Mastor-ava, 'mother earth,' 'earth-mother,' especially among the Erzä, appears as one of the most revered of deities, being often named, indeed, immediately after the sky-god; thus in the songs we often find the set phrase, 'First he bowed before the sky-god, and then before mother earth.' At the communal sacrifices the Erzä besought her to give them a good harvest and to bestow good health upon the tillers of the field. She seems sometimes to have borne the epithet Mastor-pas, 'god earth,' 'earth-god,' although elsewhere Mastor-pas appears as a distinct (male) deity, whom people invoked in their imprecations to bring their enemies to destruction. The Moksha, too, had their Mastĕr-ava, 'mother earth,' but in their official worship her place is taken by Paks′-ava, 'mother field,' 'field-mother,' or Paks′-azĕrava, 'field-mistress,' 'field-hostess,' or, again, Noru-paks′ä, 'corn-field.' Among the Erzä there is little mention of the spirit of the tilled field; here, along with 'mother earth,' we find the place of that spirit usually taken by Norov-ava, 'mother corn,' 'corn-mother,' also designated Norov-pas, 'the god (goddess) corn,' to whom, among the Moksha, corresponds S′or-ava (or sometimes Noru-ava), 'mother corn'; S′or-ava, however, is found mainly in the magic formulæ and the songs. Each tilled field had its own particular spirits. For the meadow likewise there was a special presiding spirit, called Nar-azĕrava, 'mead-mistress,' or the like; but, as far as we know, she was not the object of a distinct cult, or, at most, she was presented before the hay harvest with a few pieces of bread, accompanied by a prayer for her protection.

(*c*) *Forest and tree.* — The forest-spirit — each forest has one of its own—is usually designated Vir-ava, 'mother forest,' 'forest-mother,' and is now generally an evil-disposed being, whose characteristics (with the exception of her sex and her large breasts) have been borrowed in detail from Lješyj, the evil forest-spirit of the Russians (on the Lješyj see *ERE* iv. 628); she is not worshipped. According to our older records, however, the forest-mother, who among the Moksha is also known as Vir-azĕrava, 'forest-hostess,' 'forest-mistress,' was a friendly deity, to whom hunters and those who gathered fruits, berries, or mushrooms prayed for protection against wild beasts, serpents, and ill-luck of all kinds, and for success in their efforts, presenting her at the same time with small oblations of food, drink, and money. Among the Moksha similar petitions are addressed also to Virĕ-pavas, 'the god forest.' While, according to the extant sources, the forest-spirits were not worshipped at the communal sacrifices, it seems likely from certain reports that such worship was paid to particular trees—oak, lime, birch, pine—which were entreated to grant prosperity to crops and cattle; we read, *e.g.*, of Tumo-pas, 'the god oak,' 'oak-god,' to whom were addressed prayers for rain. In the spells there is frequent mention of Čuvto-ava, 'tree-mother,' who, as in the case of many other spirits, was asked to pardon some supposed injury unwittingly done to her—*e.g.*, by a push—and who punished the offender by afflicting him with disease.

(*d*) *Water.*—The water-deity common to all the Mordvins is Ved-ava, Vedmastor-ava, 'mother water,' 'water-mother,' known among the Moksha also as Ved-azĕrava, 'water-hostess,' 'water-mistress.' She holds an important position in the cultus, principally as the spirit who presides over the fecundity of the earth, of women, and of cattle—though, at least latterly, less as the sender of fish, probably on account of the small importance of fishing as an industry. Each distinct body of water—river, brook, lake, fountain, well—has its special presiding spirit, who may bear a more definite name — *e.g.*, Rav-ava, 'mother Volga,' 'Volga-mother,' Äš-ava, 'mother fountain,' etc. In the songs we find mention also of a 'sea-mother' (Mor′ava), probably of Russian origin; with her should perhaps be identified the Ot′s′uved-azĕrava, 'sea-mistress' (*ot′s′u-ved*, lit. 'great water,' also 'sea'), of an older Moksha account, although our informant interprets her name as Ot′s′u ved′-azĕrava, 'the great water-mistress,' *i.e.* as denoting a universal supreme water-goddess, 'the ruler of all local waters.' In an Erzä sacrificial prayer we find Veden′-kan, 'khan or prince of water,' or Ved-kan, 'water-prince' (the sense of the word *kan*, which is of Tatar origin, is not known to the people generally); mention is made also of Lis′man′ girde pas, 'the god who presides over the well.' A special water-spirit is Ved-eräj, 'water-dweller,' or Vetsa-eräj, 'he who inhabits the water'; there are, in fact, many such spirits; they are malignant beings, who, like vampire spirits, lie in wait for newly-born children, devour the grain that has been cursed by an enemy, etc. So far as we know, they are not worshipped. It is probable that these water-spirits, our information regarding whom is very meagre, were originally the souls of persons who had been drowned.

(*e*) *Fire.*—Among the nature-spirits should also be included Tol-ava, 'fire-mother,' 'mother fire,' who is often named in magic formulæ and in songs, but of whose public worship we know virtually nothing.

4. House, court-yard, etc.; the village.—The spirit of the dwelling-house bears various names. Among the Moksha it appears as Kud-azĕrava or Kudži-azĕrava, 'house-mistress,' 'house-hostess,' and also as Kud-ava, 'house-mother,' and Kudži-pavas, 'house-god,' 'the god house'; while among the Erzä we find Kudon′-tšin′ pas, 'god of the house' (*tši*, *ši* or *ži* being the analogue of *kudo*, *kud*, 'house'), or Keren′ šotskon′ pas, 'god of the lime-bark and the beams,' 'lime-bark and beam-god,' sometimes (perhaps through a misunderstanding and corruption of the original name) Ker′an′ šotškon′ pas, 'the god of the hewn beam, *or* beams,' and in some districts also Kudo-jurtava, 'house-mother' (lit. 'dwelling-place-mother of the house').[1]

The dwelling-place as a whole, *i.e.* the court-yard, the dwelling-house, and its adjoining buildings, which the Mordvins designate by the name *jurt*, a word borrowed from the Tatar language, has a special spirit of its own, the Jurt-ava, 'dwelling-place-mother,' known among the Moksha also as Jurt-azĕrava, 'dwelling-place-mistress.' This spirit, especially among the Erzä, has in many cases dispossessed the above-mentioned household-spirit in the proper sense, and taken its place; in this capacity it is also called Kudo jurtava (see above) by way of distinguishing it from Kardas-jurtava, 'dwelling-place-mother of the yard,' and is represented as a dwarfish female being, or as a cat-like creature, which lives under the stove, being thus obviously connected with the Russian domestic spirit Domovoj (on which see *ERE* iv. 626 f.), which likewise lives near the stove, and has the form of a dwarf or a cat. Common to all the Erzä is a special spirit of the court-yard named Kardas-s′arko, 'court-*s′arko*' (a word of obscure meaning in this connexion), who lives beneath a stone situated in the court,[1] and is generally represented as a male, though sometimes as a female. Among some of the Moksha we hear of a court-spirit named Koram-ot′s′unä, 'the chief of the court,' while others speak of a special spirit called Kaldas-ava, 'cattleyard-mother.'

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[1] More particularly in the magic formulæ we find a vast number of domestic spirits, *quasi*-personifications of various parts of and articles in the living-room, and generally described as 'mothers,' 'mistresses' or 'rulers'—*e.g.*, Pätnakud-azĕrava (Moksha), 'stove-mistress,' Uštuman′ kirdi (Erzä), 'ruler of the stove,' Kenkš-ava, 'door-mother,' etc. Among the Moksha Kujgĕrĕš, and among the Erzä T′r′amo, is a benevolent domestic sprite of dwarfish human form, who, however, is not worshipped. He brings to his master whatever of other people's property the latter may desire, but a task must be set for him every night, else he will begin to carry his master's goods to others. Those who wish to obtain such a spirit must keep an egg of a hen or a cock (!) from seven to twelve weeks in the armpit, remaining meanwhile under the floor; it is then hatched out. It is also possible to kill this spirit. The name T′r′amo seems to be derived from the verb *t′r′a*, 'to nourish,' while Kujgĕrĕš is probably a compound formed of *kuj*, 'serpent,' and *korĕš*, 'owl,' and thus originally meant 'serpent-owl'—though the Mordvins no longer think of it as having such a form. With this we may compare the fact that, *e.g.*, among the Lithuanians the analogous spirit, the Kaukas (on which cf. *ERE* iii. 696), is represented now as an owl and now as a fiery dragon; cf. also the myth of the basilisk.

To these house- and court-spirits sacrifices are offered by the individual family at stated seasons, and also on special occasions—the birth of a child, the birth of a cow's first calf, etc. At the legal tribunals held by the head of the household with his family, according to an early Moksha account, it was the practice to swear by the house- and the dwelling-place-spirits as well as by deceased ancestors. As protectors of the cattle we also find, sometimes even at the communal sacrifices, certain saints of the Russian Church—*e.g.*, Frollavrol (a distortion of two saints' names, Flor and Lavr), surnamed Alašan′-pas, 'horse-god,' Nastasija (Russ. Anastasia), with the epithet Reven′-pas, 'sleep-god(dess)'; Miljkovič mentions also a 'swine-god' (Tuon′-pas), etc. Moreover, the store-pit, the bathroom, the threshing-place, etc., had each its special presiding spirit, usually designated 'mother,' or (among the Moksha) 'mistress,' 'hostess,' as, *e.g.*, Ban′-ava, 'bathroom-mother,' or Ban′-azĕrava, 'bathroom-mistress,' and on certain definite occasions offerings of food and drink were presented to these spirits. Likewise the bee-garden, sometimes forming part of the house-garden, sometimes situated in the forest, had its particular spirit: Neškĕper-ava (Moksha), 'bee-garden-mother,' Neške-pas (Erzä), 'beehive-god,' etc. Mention is made even of an alley- or lane-god (Ul′t′s′a-pas). The village, too, had its spirit, named Vel-ava, 'village-mother,' or Vel-azĕrava, 'village-mistress,' or Velen′-pas, 'god *or* goddess of the village'; this spirit was worshipped at the communal sacrifices.

5. **Evil spirits.**—To this class belong the spirits called *šajt′an* ('Satan'; pl. *šajt′at*), who dwell in marshes and waters (especially in deep parts), but also on dry land, in caverns. They beget children; they appear in various forms, including that of a fish. In the Mordvin spells they are found also as servants of the wicked earth-god Mastor-pas (see above, p. 845^a). The Erzä believe in a distinct spirit of curses, 'the ruler of the curse,' called Ert, 'curse,' Ert-pas, 'curse-god,' 'the god curse' (also Erks), and is anthropomorphically figured as having a wife and a large family. Another evil spirit is Ávĕs′, or Jävĕs′ (Moksha), Eves′, Evs′ (Erzä), called also Idem-eves′ (*idem*, 'fierce'), etc. According to a Moksha account, this spirit and his wife produce seventy-seven children every year; every year, however, the whole family is killed by thunder except two, who in the following year beget other seventy-seven, and so on. The Erzä seem to regard this spirit as a wicked sorcerer, who flies in the air as a meteor. Numerous diseases are personified, and addressed as 'mother'; some of these disease-spirits, too, are thought of as married people, while others take the form of chickens, etc.

6. **General observations on Mordvin mythology.**—Among the Mordvins the personification of the deities (nature-spirits) is of a very feeble character, especially in the cultus—a fact signally attested by linguistic usage, and more particularly by that of the sacrificial prayers. Thus the 'rising and setting sun-god (god sun)' and 'the moon-god (god moon) who moves in a circle' are simply the sun and the moon in their visible form, but regarded as animate; in the sacrificial prayers there is nothing that would point to their personification, and, while in the mythology the sun is depicted as a maiden and the moon as a man, this is probably due to foreign influence. Nor can the designation 'mother' (*ava*), which—with the epithet *kirdi*, 'ruler' (fem.), *e.g.*, Mastoron′ Kirdi Mastor-ava, 'earth-mother, the ruler of the earth'—is the general term of most frequent occurrence in the names of the deities, be regarded as implying the attribution of personality to any particular deity;[1] these 'mothers,' in fact, are, especially in the sacrificial prayers, only the amorphous and indistinct 'souls' of natural objects, etc. Thus men 'dig' the earth-mother, and 'sow corn in her'; the field-mother—in place of whom the 'tilled field' is sometimes invoked—may 'be crushed by the horse's foot,' and 'carried away to another person's field'; the corn-mother, it is true, appears in a popular lyric as singing songs in the festive attire of a Mordvin woman, but this personification is not long maintained, for in her song the corn-mother speaks of herself thus: 'I was sown in the morning twilight, reaped in the evening twilight, thrown into the granary in order to be brewed into small beer at Easter, and baked into pastries at Christmas'; the water-mother 'streams,' or 'wells forth like silver'; the fire-mother 'blazes,' and so on. So, too, with the household-spirit, we can still to some extent distinctly trace the original idea that it is the animate dwelling-house itself, or, in other words, the amorphous soul of the house. Thus we find it said in a Moksha magic prayer, 'Kud-azĕrava ('house-mistress'), pardon him who built you and heats you'; in an Erzä petition of similar character we read, 'Kudo-jurtava ('house-mother'), above is thy lime-bark [the roof is thatched with this], beneath are thy beams'; while a parting utterance of a girl who has just been married runs, 'Dear house [=soul of the house], I have sojourned much in thy warm house.'

In conjunction with the spirits designated 'mothers' (*avat*) and 'mistresses' or 'hostesses' (*azĕr-avat*) are found the correlative (male) 'old ones' (*at′at*) and 'lords' or 'hosts' (*azĕrht*)—*e.g.*, Ved-at′a, 'water old one,' Ved-azĕr, 'water-lord,' Kud-at′a, 'house old one,' Kud-azĕr, 'house-lord.' They are for the most part absent from the sacrificial prayers, belonging rather to the sphere of the magic formulæ and of folklore, where such married couples are even represented as having children. Here we have obviously a later development, perhaps not unconnected with ancestor-worship, in which male and female progenitors are generally named together as married pairs. It is only in the case of the god of the sky and the god of thunder that personification has reached a more advanced stage. These two deities are always represented as human-like figures, and it is mainly with them that the few myths current among the Mordvins have to do. Thus, the thunder-god appears in the songs as the son-in-law of the sky-god Niške, while the latter, again, finds a wife for his son (of whom otherwise nothing has come down to us) in a Mordvin maiden whom he bears up to the sky in a silver cradle upon a chain. This myth-making process, which perhaps was to some extent due to foreign influence, does not, however, appear in the worship—the sacrificial prayers—at all, while among the Moksha the name of the sky-god, the form of which certainly suggests personification (*škaj*, 'procreator'; see above, p. 844^a), is also used as the designation of the natural sky—*e.g.*, in the phrase *škajs′ mazems′*, 'the sky reddens.' The older conception of nature as animate merely, but not personal, still tends to maintain its ground, and to impede the process of personification.

Virtually no limits were set to the practice of ascribing life to inanimate things. In the magic formulæ we find that, *e.g.*, plants, the claw of an otter, the handle of a pan, a distaff, a laundry beetle (the last three are invoked by the magician as his 'elder sisters'), are all endowed with life, and their aid is sought to expel disease.

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[1] The blood of sacrificial animals is allowed to run into the cavity under this stone.

[1] Cf. the Mordvin name for the pupil of the eye: *s′elme-ava*, lit. 'eye-mother.'

It is manifest that, in the course of centuries, the religion and worship of the Mordvins have been affected by foreign (Aryan, Lithuanian, Turkish) influence, as is shown, for one thing, by a number of mythological terms—*e.g.*, *pavas*, *pas*, 'god' (cf. O. Ind. *bhagas*, O. Pers. *baga*), Pur′gine, the thunder[-god] (cf. Lith. *perkúnas*), Kerämät (=Chuvash Kirämät), Šajt′an, an evil spirit (cf. Tatar Šajtan, Chuvash Šujttan); in later times they have also been greatly influenced by Russian popular beliefs, especially in ancestor-worship.

7. **Worship.**—Besides the oblations performed at home by the individual family, usually under the direction of the head of the household or his wife, and accorded mainly to the domestic spirits and to ancestors, every village community held its own sacrificial feasts, in which the participants frequently arranged themselves in groups corresponding to their families or clans. From certain reports and indications, however, it would seem that at an earlier time there were joint sacrificial festivals for larger districts. The places at which sacrifices were paid to Kerämät appear to have been fenced in. On at least some of the sacrificial sites stood a simple building without windows, which, like the ordinary dwelling-house, was called *kudo*, and was used for religious purposes. The deities were not represented in material forms—the obscure indications of such likenesses found in Russian sources probably refer to representations of the dead. The offerings comprised all kinds of edible animals, from horses to fowls, while, as has already been said, allusions to an earlier practice of human sacrifice are not wholly absent from the tradition. Parts of the sacrificial animal—especially, but not exclusively, the inner parts—were presented to the deities, and in the sacrifices in honour of the dead the idea that the soul of the victim is to serve the dead person in his under-world life is brought out quite distinctly. There are indications that the colour of the animal sacrificed corresponded with that of the natural phenomenon or the object worshipped, so that the earth-spirit received a black animal, and so on. The ceremonial of the sacrifices to the nature-deities sometimes included magical actions (analogous magic), while the form of the prayer used occasionally recalls that of a magic formula—*e.g.*, 'Sky-god, may the corn prosper!' The ceremonies have, on the other hand, been noticeably influenced by the cult of the dead; thus, in the sacrificial feast, the sky-god, like the dead in the mortuary feast, had a human representative, who in his stead responded to the person praying.

The notices regarding the sacrificial priests show great divergences. According to some accounts, there were priests and priestesses—designated respectively *in-at′a*, 'great old man,' and *im-baba*, 'great old woman,' among the Moksha—who held a life appointment, and who did duty also at marriages and in the legal proceedings of the community, while other reports indicate that they were selected for definite periods of longer or shorter duration. In addition to the designations just given, we find the following: *at′a*, 'old man,' *voz-at′a*, meaning something like 'sacrificing old man,' *oznit′s′a*, 'he who sacrifices *or* prays,' *ozni-baba*, 'the old woman who sacrifices *or* prays,' and *pokš-baba*, 'great old woman.' In some of the sacrificial feasts both sexes took part, but there were also distinct festivals for males and females respectively. The public worship of the deities was connected in the closest way with agriculture, the principal employment of the people, and also with the related industry of cattle-rearing, and the deities were specially besought to grant success in these. In the cult of the nature-deities there is no trace whatever of an ethical element, prayers being addressed to them for earthly boons alone; but that element, as already indicated, does not seem to have been wholly absent from the cult of the dead, or from the worship of Kerämät (and the obscure Azĕr-ava), and the spirits of the house and the homestead.

8. **Magic.**—From the sacrificial priest should be distinguished the sorcerer and sorceress, although there is certainly a suggestion that the priests were selected from the family or caste of the sorcerers. The latter are now usually designated by a term borrowed from the Russian, viz. *orožija*, *voražjä* (Russ. *vorožeja*), but we find also a genuine native term, *sodit′s′a*, *sodaj*, 'he (she) who knows.' These sorcerers prophesy; they discover lost things; they find out the causes of disease and all misfortune with the aid of forty-one (or forty) beans or other objects like beans, or by gazing into water freshly drawn from a well in the early morning, or by looking into the face of the person afflicted; they cure diseases by magic spells and magic prayers conjoined with the appropriate offerings, and among these prayers there is a specially large number in which a spirit (*e.g.*, the earth-mother) is solicited to pardon a presumptive injury unwittingly done to him by a fall, a push, etc., and punished by a visitation of disease or other calamity. Other kinds of disease (disease-spirits) are driven out by threats and by magic practices, special magic formulæ serve to protect against the evil eye, and so on. Magic might, of course, be employed also to cause injury.

The magic formulæ and associated practices of the Mordvins show, on the whole, strong evidence of Russian influence, or, to speak more accurately, have for the most part been borrowed from the Russian people.

LITERATURE.—Besides the writings cited in § 1, cf. P. Meljnikov, 'Očerki Mordvy,' in *Russkij Věstnik*, v. xxi. [1867]; W. Mainov, 'Les Restes de la mythologie mordvine' (=*Journal de la société finno-ougrienne*, v.), Helsingfors, 1889; I. N. Smirnov, 'Mordva. Istoriko-etnografičeskij očerk,' in *Izvěstija Obščestva Archeologii, Istorii i Etnografii pri Imper. Kazanskom Universitetě*, x.–xii. (also separately, Kazan, 1895; contains abundant references to further literature; Fr. tr. P. Boyer, *Les Populations finnoises des bassins de la Volga et de la Kama*, Paris, 1898, pt. ii.); H. Paasonen, 'Über die ursprünglichen Seelenvorstellungen bei den finnisch-ugrischen Völkern und die Benennungen der Seele in ihren Sprachen,' in *Journal de la société finno-ougrienne*, xxvi. [1909] (also separately); V. J. Mansikka, 'Über russische Zauberformeln,' etc. (with Finno-Ugric supplement), in *Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ*, i. [1909]; U. Holmberg, 'Die Wassergottheiten der finnisch-ugrischen Völker,' in *Mémoires de la société finno-ougrienne*, xxxii. [1913] 132–159; H. Paasonen, 'Mythologisches, Etymologisches,' *ib.* xxxv. [1914]; M. E. Evsevjev, 'Bratčiny i drugie religioznye obrädy mordvy Penzenskoj gubernii,' in *Živaja Starina*, xxiii. [1914].

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MORMONISM.—See SAINTS, LATTER-DAY.

MOSQUE.—See ARCHITECTURE (Muhammadan in Syria and Egypt).

MOTHER.—See CHILDREN, FAMILY, MOTHER-RIGHT.

MOTHER OF THE GODS (Greek and Roman).—The Mother of the Gods was identified by Homer (*Il.* xv. 187) and Hesiod (*Theog.* 634) with Rhea, the wife of Cronos. She was famous in legend for having prevented Cronos from swallowing Zeus by providing him instead with a large stone which she had wrapped in swaddling-clothes (Hes. *Theog.* 485 ff.; Apollod. i. 5). The story was localized in Crete, which thus became the fabulous birth-place of Zeus. There is some evidence of an old-established cult of the Mother of the Gods at various places on the mainland, although the name Rhea scarcely appears in this connexion. Thus, there was an altar of the Mother of the Gods in the agora at Athens (Æschin. i. 60), and a sanctuary (μητρῷον [Paus. I. iii. 5]), which was used as a record office (Lycurg. 66). An ancient festival, known as Galaxia, on the occasion of which a barley cake was boiled in milk, was celebrated in her honour (I. Bekker, *Anecd. Græca*, Berlin, 1814–21, p. 229. 5). The ætiological legend which ascribes the foundation of the sanctuary to the expiation required for the murder of a Phrygian μητραγύρτης (schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 431; Phot. *Lex.* p. 268. 7) shows clear traces of the later conviction that the worship of the Great Mother had been imported from Asia Minor. The same influence[1] may be present when Pindar speaks of a sanctuary of the Mother close to his own gate, where she was worshipped in conjunction with Pan (*Pyth.* iii. 77 ff. [137 ff.]), and the scholiast, who does not hesitate to identify her with Rhea, relates that Pindar himself set up her statue near his house in consequence of a stone image of the Mother of the Gods having fallen from the sky at his feet. Pausanias (VIII. xxx. 4) records the existence of a ruined temple of the Mother of the Gods at Megalopolis in Arcadia, and of another, which was roofless, close to the sources of the Eurotas and the Alpheus, and of two lions made of stone in its immediate neighbourhood (*ib.* xliv. 3). But the oldest of her temples in the Peloponnese, containing a stone image of the goddess herself, was at Acriæ in Laconia (*ib.* III. xxii. 4).[2] Yet another temple was at Corinth (*ib.* II. iv. 7) with a stone throne, and a stone image of the goddess.

From the 5th cent. at least Rhea came to be identified with the Phrygian Great Mother (Eur. *Bacch.* 58 ff., 127 ff.), whose influence in Greek religion was henceforth increasingly important. Already in the Homeric prelude (*Hymn* xiv.) the Mother of the Gods is addressed as rejoicing in the clash of cymbals, the beating of drums, the blare of pipes, and the roar of wolves and lions. In another passage (Soph. *Phil.* 391 ff.), where the name of Rhea is not mentioned, she is clearly referred to as the mother of Zeus, and is identified with the Phrygian Mountain-Mother, the mistress of the swift-slaughtering lions. She is there also addressed as 'all-fostering Earth,' and there are other passages in which the earth-goddess is described as Mother of the Gods (*Hym. Hom.* xxx. 17; Solon, frag. 36. 2; Soph. frag. 268)—a title which she might well have claimed as mother and wife of Uranus according to the Hesiodic theogony (117 ff.). But it is impossible to explain the worship of the Mother of the Gods as merely a development from the vague conception of a motherly earth. The identification of the Mother of the Gods by certain 5th cent. poets (Eur. *Hel.* 1301 ff.; Melanippides, frag. 10 [T. Bergk, *Poetæ Lyrici Græci*^{4}, Leipzig, 1878–82, iii. 592]; Pind. *Isthm.* vii. 4) with Demeter, who, according to the received genealogy, was a daughter of Rhea (Hes. *Theog.* 454), is a further cause of perplexity. The existence of a Metroum at Agræ (*FHG* i. 359; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, London, 1898, ii. 204), where the lesser mysteries were celebrated in honour of Demeter, may assist those who maintain that the Athenian Mother was another form of Demeter Θεσμοφόρος (L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*, i.^{4}, Berlin, 1887, p. 651). Lastly, we must take into account the antiquity of the cult of the Mountain-Mother in Crete, which has been abundantly established by the archæological discoveries of recent years. Most significant in this connexion is the impression of a signet-ring found at Cnossos, which represents the goddess standing on the apex of a mountain and guarded on either side by a lion (see art. MOUNTAIN-MOTHER).

To disentangle the actual course of development from these extremely complicated facts is one of the most puzzling tasks within the sphere of Greek mythology. The leading consideration is that, though the name of Rhea was often associated with Cybele, the identity of the two goddesses was never so completely merged that the Rhea of the Greek theogonies did not remain distinct from the partner of Attis (Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie*, p. 1521). Some modern investigators hold the opinion that the fusion did not take place until the period subsequent to the Persian Wars (J. Beloch, *Griech. Geschichte*, Strassburg, 1893–1904, ii. 5_3). Others, while maintaining that the cult of the Mother belonged to the oldest stratum of Greek religious thought, believe that her legend and ritual passed from Crete to the Greek settlements in Asia Minor, where she was completely assimilated to Cybele in the 7th cent. or earlier (Gruppe, p. 1526 f.). Beyond this lies the question whether the goddesses subsequently identified were in origin entirely distinct (Wilamowitz, in *Hermes*, xiv. [1879] 195), or whether the Phrygian Cybele and the Cretan Rhea both developed in their separate manifestations from an identical substratum of belief belonging to the pre-Hellenic and pre-Phrygian inhabitants of Crete and Asia Minor (P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache*, Göttingen, 1896, p. 194 f.). Modern theory inclines to go further (A. Rapp, in Roscher, ii. 1660), and to distinguish from Rhea a Greek Mother of the Gods, whose relation to the Phrygian Mother is to be explained by the fact that she belonged to a period anterior to the separation of Greeks and Phrygians. It is argued that, though the evidence of the cult of Rhea is scanty, its existence as distinct from that of the Mother of the Gods is well attested in Arcadia (Paus. VIII. xxxvi. 2), at Olympia (schol. Pind. *Ol.* v. 10), and at Athens (Paus. I. xviii. 7). To this it has been replied (*CGS* iii. 296) that the double title justified the establishment of distinct sanctuaries, and that it was quite possible for Greek travellers who found in Crete the worship of a great maternal goddess of fertility, bearing the name of Rhea, to transfer her cult to the mainland, using sometimes her original name, and sometimes the title μήτηρ θεῶν, in reference to their own god Zeus, whom they affiliated to her. From this point of view it becomes significant that the cult of the Mother prevailed especially in districts which are known to have been affected by Cretan influences. Instances of such coincidence are the appearance of the Idæan Dactyls at Olympia (Paus. V. vii. 6) and the legendary connexion of Athens with Crete. Moreover, the result of recent Cretan discoveries enables us to gauge better the extent of the influence which Cretan civilization must have exercised in pre-historic times. On the other hand, although Cybele did not appear in myth as the Mother of the Gods, the supposition that she was originally distinct from Rhea, and that some accidental resemblance led to their coalescence, seems to be refuted by the remarkable agreement of the traditions relating to the two goddesses. Thus, the birth of Zeus in a cave on Mt. Ida in Crete corresponds to the worship of Cybele in the hollows of Trojan Ida (Eur. *Or.* 1449; Lucr. ii. 611 ff.); the stone which Rhea offered to Cronos to the sacred stone of Cybele at Pessinus (Livy, xxix. 11); the noisy rites of the Cretan Curetes to those of the Phrygian Corybantes (Lucian, *de Salt.* 8); and the Idæan Dactyls, the attendants of Rhea, were located both in Phrygia and in Crete (Soph. frag. 337).

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[1] Pindar (frag. 80) is the earliest writer who is known to have given the name Cybele to the Mother of the Gods (cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 875 f.).

[2] The reference of Pausanias to Mt. Sipylus indicates the permanence of the belief that the μήτηρ θεῶν was identical with the goddess worshipped in Asia Minor. There is a curious reference to the cult of an anonymous Mother-goddess in Alexis, frag. 267, ii. 395 K.

Since it appears to be established that there was a primitive cult in Crete and Asia Minor, and to a lesser degree in Greece proper, devoted to the celebration of the Mother of the Gods, or Great Mother, but, on the other hand, the specifically Oriental features attending the ritual of Cybele were regarded as essentially foreign to Greek sentiment and were introduced to the mainland at a comparatively late period, it must be inferred that the character of the Asiatic cult had been largely modified by barbarian, especially Semitic, influences. The native Hellenic conception of the Mother is best illustrated by an Attic relief (now at Berlin) dated about 400 B.C. and in the form of a *ναΐσκος*, where the beautiful and benign figure of the goddess is represented enthroned and holding the tympanum, with lions couching at her feet (reproduced by Rapp, p. 1663, and by Farnell [*CGS* iii. pl. xxxiv.]).

The general characteristics of Cybele-worship have been described elsewhere (see artt. ATTIS, CYBELE), and consequently we may limit ourselves to the impression which it made upon Greek civilization at various epochs. Attis was a youth beloved by Cybele, and the story of their relations is parallel to that of Aphrodite and Adonis. According to the various narratives, none of which is earlier than the Hellenistic age, Attis was either a hunter who, like Adonis, was killed by a boar (Hermesianax, *ap.* Paus. VII. xvii. 9), or a hind (Theocr. xx. 40) that mutilated himself under a pine-tree and died from loss of blood (Ov. *Fast.* iv. 223 ff.). At the festival held in his honour a mimic representation of his death, burial, and resurrection took place, in which a pine-log was substituted for the corpse (*GB*² ii. 130 ff.).

The story, which attests the identification of Cybele with her Semitic counterpart Ishtar or Astarte (Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, 15), must have been current in Asia Minor from a very early date; for clear traces of Attis are recognizable in Herodotus's narrative of the death of Atys, the son of Crœsus, at a boar-hunt (Herod. i. 34 ff.), and the herdsman Anchises, the favourite of Aphrodite, is obviously a double of the herdsman Attis. Theopompus, the comic poet, whose plays belong to the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 4th cent., refers to the association of Attis with Cybele (frag. 27, i. 740 K.), and it is probable that the name is to be recognized in the cry *ὕης ἄττης* mentioned by Demosthenes (xviii. 260) in his famous account of the vulgar initiation-rites—doubtless of Asiatic origin—in which Æschines took part as an acolyte. In classical times these barbaric cults became familiar to the common people as a congeries of superstitious practices (C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, 1829, i. 116; Lucian, *Icarom.* 27, etc.), so that the worship of Attis and the Mother was apt to become confused with the observances proper to Dionysus (Strabo, p. 470), Sabazius (Aristoph. *Av.* 875), and Artemis (Diog. frag. 1 [A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Græcorum Fragmenta*², Leipzig, 1889, p. 776]). With Artemis in particular Cybele was associated as the protectress of lions, bears, panthers, and other wild beasts; and with Hecate, who was identified with Artemis at an early date, she shared the title Antæa (schol. Apoll. Rhod. i. 1141; Hesych. *s.v.*) as the sender of nocturnal apparitions (Gruppe, p. 1539).

The worship of the Mother was distinguished from the indigenous Greek cults chiefly by its emotional, ecstatic, and mystical character. Indeed Phintys the Pythagorean pronounced that participation in the rites of the Mother was inconsistent with the requirements of womanly modesty (Stob. *Floril.* lxxiv. 61). In the Corybantic initiation-rites the novice was placed on a chair (*θρόνωσις*), while the celebrants danced round him, accompanied by the wild notes of soul-stirring music (Plat. *Euthyd.* 277 D, *Legg.* 790 D). Although, in consequence of the syncretism already explained, the mysteries of Cybele are sometimes associated with the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter, the symbolic words of initiation, as recorded by two of our authorities (Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* I. ii. 13, p. 14 P.; schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 C), are undoubtedly derived from the Phrygian worship of the Great Mother: 'I have eaten from the timbrel, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have borne the sacred vessel, I have entered into the bridal chamber' (J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 158). The last phrase relates to the mystical communion between the goddess and her lover, which was ritually enacted all over the East, whether in connexion with the names of Cybele and Attis, of Aphrodite and Adonis, or of Isis and Osiris (*GB*² iii. 159 ff.).[1] It was common to each of these legends that the lover was put to death and afterwards restored to life, if not always in the same incarnation. The mystical marriage may have been in its origin a magical process intended to stimulate the reproductive forces of nature, while the subsequent death and resurrection of the priest-king represented the annual decay and revival of vegetation.[2] The self-mutilation of Attis, which is, of course, the transference into myth of a primeval custom of priestly emasculation, though at first sight not easy to reconcile with the other data, probably belonged to the same circle of ideas. Whether we should regard the act in its primary intention as the final oblation by means of which the votary seeks to assimilate himself to the essential nature of the goddess (E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*², Stuttgart, 1907–09, I. ii. 649), or whether it was intended to secure the continued fruitfulness of the Earth-mother and the renewal of her crops (*GB*³, pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1907, p. 224 ff.; Cumont, in Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 681), is not altogether certain, and the two ideas are not necessarily inconsistent with each other. Considerations bearing on the question may be deduced from the fact that the severed genitals were dedicated in the sanctuary of Rhea-Cybele (schol. Nicand. *Alex.* 8), and from the statement of Lucian that they were thrown into some particular house from which the Gallus received female raiment and ornaments (*de Dea Syria*, 51). Anyhow, it is unnecessary to suppose that the custom was introduced into the cult owing to a fresh impulse of mysticism which, moving from East to West, perhaps in the 6th cent., aimed at the liberation of the worshipper from the indulgence of sensual desires (Gruppe, p. 1542). Certainly asceticism was by no means characteristic of the begging priests of the Mother (*μητραγύρται*),[3] who earned their living by vulgar quackeries imposed upon the superstitious masses, and who, although they are first known to us from the fragments of the poets of the New Comedy (*Μητραγύρτης*, a play of Antiphanes, ii. 74 K.; cf. Menand. frag. 202, iii. 58 K.), were probably familiar figures in Athens at a much earlier date (R. C. Jebb, on Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 388 [*Tragedies*, Cambridge, 1904]; cf. Plat. *Rep.* 364 C). It may be conjectured with some probability that the influence of this traffic was considerable, although the conception of the frenzied Galli who scourged themselves with whips (Plut. *adv. Colot.* 33, p. 1127 C), and lacerated their flesh with knives (*Anth. Pal.* vi. 94. 5), cannot be traced to an earlier source than the Alexandrian writers (Cumont, *op. cit.*, col. 675), and has become known to us chiefly through Latin literature (*e.g.*, Sen. *Agam.* 723; Lucr. ii. 614 ff.).

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[1] Gruppe, p. 1541, points out that the names *θαλάμαι*, *καλύβαι*, and *παστάδες* given to sanctuaries of Cybele (schol. Nicand. *Alex.* 8; Hesych. *s.v.* Κύβελα; *Anth. Pal.* ix. 340. 4) are to be interpreted in the same way.

[2] The notion that Cybele and Attis stand for the generative principle and its terrestrial process survives in the Neo-Platonic treatise of Sallustius *περὶ θεῶν* (iv.; tr. G. Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, New York, 1912, p. 191 ff.).

[3] Some of these may have been eunuchs (Babrius, cxxxvii. 1).

In the year 205 B.C. a Sibylline oracle was discovered by the Decemviri, directing them, as a condition of success in the war, to introduce into Rome the worship of the Great Mother of Pessinus (Livy, xxix. 10). Accordingly, the sacred stone, which was then in the custody of Attalus, king of Pergamus, having been removed by him from its original home at Pessinus (L. Bloch, in *Philol.* lii. [1895] 580 ff.), was brought to Italy in circumstances of great ceremony, and reached its destination in the year 204. Strange happenings marked its arrival. The ship conveying the sacred object grounded on a sandbank in the Tiber. Then Claudia Quinta, a noble matron whose freedom of speech had provoked censorious tongues to slander, prayed to the goddess that her character might be cleared by the ordeal, if she succeeded in drawing off the ship after strong arms had failed. The ship at once began to follow her direction, and Claudia's innocence was triumphantly vindicated (Ov. *Fast.* iv. 291 ff.; Suet. *Tib.* 2; Tac. *Ann.* iv. 64). On the 4th of April the goddess was received as a temporary guest, until a permanent home could be provided for her, in the temple of Victory on the Palatine, and the day was set apart for a festival to be known as the Megalesia, on which gifts were presented to the shrine, and a *lectisternium* and public games were held (Livy, xxix. 14). Ten years later scenic performances were for the first time exhibited at the Megalesia (*ib.* xxxiv. 54). Subsequently, thirteen years after the contract had been placed, a temple on the Palatine for her sole and separate occupation was dedicated to the Magna Mater Idæa on the 10th of April 191, when the *Ludi Megalenses* were included for the first time in the State calendar (*ib.* xxxvi. 36). Somewhat later, if not immediately, they were extended so as to occupy the entire interval between the 4th and 10th of April (*CIL* i.^{2} 314). On the first day of the festival the *prætor urbanus* made a solemn offering to the goddess in her temple (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 19). The third day was reserved for the performance of stage-plays (Ov. *Fast.* iv. 377), and we know that four of the extant works of Terence were presented on this occasion. Races (*circenses*) were held on the last day (Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*^{2}, iii. 501), and in the age of Nero and Domitian these had become by far the most popular feature of the whole celebration (Juv. xi. 193). The recurrence of the festival was marked by general merrymaking and licence; clubs were formed to promote social enjoyment (Cic. *de Senect.* 45); and so lavish was the expenditure of the upper classes on reciprocal hospitalities that in 161 a sumptuary law was found necessary to restrain it (Aul. Gell. ii. 24).

In the last two centuries of the Republic the participation of State officials in the cult was limited to the extent already described; but, dating from the time of Augustus, who restored the temple of the Magna Mater after it had been burned down in A.D. 3, there is evidence of a further ceremony of a primitive character which took place on the 27th of March. This was known as the *lavatio*, when the symbolic stone and possibly also the knife of the Gallus (Mart. III. xlvii. 2) were conveyed, by the direction of the Quindecimviri, through the Porta Capena, and washed in the waters of the Almo, which debouches into the Tiber just outside the city (Ov. *Fast.* iv. 337; Lucan, i. 599). In all other respects the administration of the cult was left in the hands of its foreign ministers, particularly the Galli with their Archigallus (*CIL* vi. 2183), and no Roman citizen was allowed to acquire any official status in relation to it. The Phrygian priests, however, were permitted on stated occasions to march in procession through the city in their sacerdotal dress, singing their wild songs to the accompaniment of flutes and tympana (Dion. Hal. *loc. cit.*), and collecting alms from the bystanders (Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 22).

In the latter part of the 2nd cent. a complete re-organization of the cult seems to have taken place. Henceforth, as the evidence of numerous inscriptions shows, Roman citizens were permitted to assume priestly offices subject to the approval of the Quindecimviri, but the privilege was exercised chiefly by the freedman class. To the ceremony of the *lavatio* on March 27th there was now added a further festival of five days, the opening ceremony of which on March 15th was denoted *Canna intrat* on the Calendar of Philocalus (*CIL* i.^{2} 264), while the remaining four days, the 22nd, 24th, 25th, and 26th of March, were designated respectively *Arbor intrat*, *Sanguen*, *Hilaria*, and *Requietio*. The ceremonial represented in detail the various incidents of the story of Attis with which we are already familiar. On the 22nd the procession of reed-bearers (Cannophori) which entered the city was intended to recall the fact that Attis as a child was exposed among the bulrushes of the river Gallus (Julian, *Or.* v. 165 B). Similarly on March 22nd the Dendrophori carried to the temple on the Palatine a pine-tree, encircled with fillets of wool and adorned with violets, as a representation of the tree under which Attis mutilated himself. The day of blood (24th) was given up to lamentation for the death of the god, and, whereas originally the act of self-mutilation was then performed by the priest, subsequently it was sufficient for the Archigallus to make an incision in his arm and symbolically to sprinkle his blood (Tert. *Apol.* 25). The climax of the festival was reached in the rejoicings over the resurrection of the god which occupied the day of the *Hilaria*. It was recognized in antiquity that the renewal of the sun's power after the vernal equinox was hereby symbolized (Macrob. *Sat.* I. xxi. 10), and that the whole festival was devised to celebrate the decay and re-birth of vegetation (cf. Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* 69 [378 F]). Modern scholars have noticed the parallel presented by our Lenten and Easter services, which occupy a corresponding position in the calendar (*CGS* iii. 301).

It remains to mention the rite known as *taurobolium*, performed on 28th March, the existence of which is attested by a series of inscriptions extending from the 2nd to the end of the 4th century. Although during this period it was invariably linked to the service of the Great Mother, there is no doubt that it belonged originally to the cult of some other deity, and it has been conjectured that this was the Persian goddess Anāhita, who had been identified with Ἄρτεμις Ταυροπόλος (F. Cumont, *Rev. archéol.* xii. [1888] 132 ff.). There is also much obscurity in the details of the rite. In the earlier period the chief incident of the *taurobolium* and of the certainly similar *criobolium* was the sacrifice of a bull or a ram; but at a later date, according to both the epigraphic (*e.g.*, *CIL* vi. 511) and the literary (Prudent. *Peristeph.* x. 1011 ff.) records, the recipient of the *taurobolium* stood in a cavity having a perforated roof through which the blood of the bull was poured over him so that he might suffer a 're-birth.' The whole ceremony was under the control of the Quindecimviri.

In the Roman Imperial period the cult of the

Great Mother, by passing under State control, lost many of its original characteristics; but the power of the Roman organization was such that, by the adoption of suitable accretions from outside, and by its association with the cults of Isis and Mithra, it exercised during the last days of paganism a wider and more potent influence than at any earlier time.

LITERATURE.—E. Gerhard, *Ueber das Metroon zu Athen und über die Göttermütter der griech. Mythologie*, Berlin, 1851; A. Rapp, in Roscher, ii. 1638 ff.; W. Drexler, *ib.* ii. 2910 ff.; L. R. Farnell, *CGS*, Oxford, 1896–1909, iii. 289–306; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich, 1906, pp. 1521–1555; Grant Showerman, *The Great Mother of the Gods* (= *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*, no. 43, phil. and lit. series, i. 3 [1901]); F. Cumont, in Pauly-Wissowa, ii. 2247 ff., vii. 674 ff.; H. R. Goehler, *De Matris Magnæ apud Romanos cultu*, Meissen, 1886; J. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, iii.², Leipzig, 1885, p. 367 ff.; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich, 1902, pp. 263–271; G. E. Marindin, in *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*,³ London, 1891, ii. 155, *s.v.* 'Megalesia.'

A. C. PEARSON.

MOTHER-RIGHT.—1. Introduction.—Mother-right is a form of social organization in which the rights of a person in relation to other members of his community and to the community as a whole are determined by relationship traced through the mother. In this condition the duties which a person owes to society, the privileges which he enjoys, and the restrictions to which he is subject are regulated, and their scope is determined, by the relations in which the person stands to his mother's relatives and his mother's social group.

Mother-right is a highly complex condition in which a large number of social processes are involved. The following are the chief elements that can be distinguished.

(1) *Descent.*—This term should be limited to the process which regulates membership of the social group, such as clan, caste, family, etc. In mother-right descent is matrilineal; a person belongs to the social group of his mother. The use of the term is most appropriate when the community is divided into distinct social groups, and this distinctness is most pronounced in the clan-organization in which the practice of exogamy separates the social groups called clans clearly from one another. The social organizations based on the family or kindred are made up of social groups less clearly distinguishable from one another, and, though we may speak of descent in the family whether in the limited or extended sense, the term is here less appropriate.

(2) *Kinship.*—In a community based purely on mother-right kinship would be traced solely through the mother and would not be recognized with the relatives of the father. Everywhere in the world, but especially among peoples who possess the clan-organization, kinship carries with it a large mass of social duties, privileges, and restrictions (*ERE* vii. 705), and in a typical condition of mother-right these social functions would exist only in connexion with the mother's relatives. We have no evidence, however, of the existence of any society in which kinship is not recognized with the relatives of the father, although in many cases the functions are very restricted as compared with those of relationship traced through the mother, good examples being those in which marriage is allowed with any of the father's relatives, but is strictly forbidden with equally near relatives on the mother's side.

(3) *Inheritance.*—In a condition of typical mother-right children would inherit nothing from the father; their rights to property would be determined solely by relationships through the mother. Mother-right does not imply that rights in property should be vested either mainly or exclusively in women. On the contrary, in many cases in which children inherit nothing from the father, women are debarred from holding property, though they form the channel by which it is transmitted from one member of the community to another. The usual rule of inheritance in mother-right is that the property of a man passes to his brother or his sister's son. Often it passes from brother to brother, and, on the death of the last surviving brother, to a sister's son.

(4) *Succession.*—This term is most conveniently used for the process whereby rank, office, or other social distinction is transmitted. In mother-right succession usually follows the same rules as inheritance, a chief, priest, or other holder of rank or office being succeeded either by his brother or by his sister's child.

(5) *Authority.*—Mother-right has often been supposed to imply mother-rule, but in the great majority of the societies which furnish us with examples of mother-right authority is definitely vested in the male—in the father or oldest male as the head of the household, and in the chief as the head of the tribe or corresponding social group. In some societies, however, authority in the household is vested in the mother's brother, giving rise to a form of social organization which has been called the 'avunculate,' and the authority of the mother's brother in one form or another is very common, not only associated with other features of mother-right, but in societies in which descent, inheritance, and succession are patrilineal. Only very rarely is authority in the household vested in the mother or oldest female. The term 'matriarchate,' which is often used loosely as the equivalent of mother-right, should be limited in its scope to this condition of mother-rule. Many societies exist in which women are chiefs or monarchs, but, as a rule, this condition is not associated with mother-right. Among peoples over whom women rule the father is usually the head of the household.

(6) *Marriage.*—Mother-right in its typical form is associated with a mode of marriage, most suitably called 'matrilocal,' in which the husband lives with his wife's people. In its extreme form the husband may be only an occasional visitor to his wife's home, so that the children grow up with little or no social obligation towards their father, and live under the authority of the mother and the mother's brother.

In a state of typical mother-right a person would belong to his mother's social group. He would not recognize the existence of any kind of social duty except towards his mother's relatives, and would ignore the relatives of his father; property, rank and office would pass solely through women. It is not a necessary feature of mother-right, however, that authority should be vested in the woman. It might be so vested, but, if the woman is not the ruler, it would be vested in her brothers. In mother-right in its most typical form the father should have no authority in the household.

The condition thus described as typical mother-right occurs very rarely, being found most purely among such people as the Iroquois and Seri Indians of N. America and the Khasis of Assam. In many cases which have been regarded as examples of mother-right some of the social processes included under this head depend on the tie with the mother, while others are determined by relationship traced through the father, producing social conditions of the most varied kinds. Thus, while descent is matrilineal, succession may be patrilineal. Kinship is everywhere, so far as we know, recognized through the father as well as through the mother, and authority in the household is often paternal where descent, inheritance, and succession are all matrilineal. Moreover, a mixture of social groupings may be present, one of which may be patrilineal while the other is matrilineal, this being especially the case when local organizations accompany different forms of exogamous grouping.

There are cases in which matrilineal processes show themselves only in certain departments of social life. Thus, a people who possess patrilineal institutions in general may yet show the presence of matrilineal practices in connexion with slavery. The children of a free father and a slave mother may be slaves even if the father is of high rank, while the children of a free mother and a slave father may be free, and even noble, if the mother belongs to the nobility.

Another condition in accordance with mother-right is that in which marriage between half-brother and sister is allowed when they are the offspring of one father and different mothers, while it is forbidden when they are of the same mother by different fathers. The form of marriage which is forbidden would be impossible with mother-right, while that which is allowed would be natural, provided that the mothers belonged to different exogamous groups.

Another large group of matrilineal practices is characterized by the authority of the mother's brother. Among a people who practise patrilineal descent, inheritance, and succession the mother's brother has sometimes more authority than the father, and this authority may be accompanied by a number of other social functions which show that the tie with the mother's brother is closer than that with the father. Thus, mother's brother and sister's son may hold their property in common, or the sister's son may take the goods of his uncle without restraint. The mother's brother may act as the special guardian and instructor of his nephew, he may initiate him into the mysteries of secret societies, or may take the leading part in such rites as circumcision and its variants, ear-boring, knocking out teeth, and other operations.

2. Distribution and varieties.—Owing to ignorance or neglect of the complexity of mother-right on the part of ethnographers, the available evidence often leaves us uncertain how far the social processes of a people correspond with those of mother-right.

(1) *America.*—Mother-right[1] exists in America in an especially pure form. Not only are descent, inheritance, and succession purely matrilineal among many of its peoples, but the woman takes a place in social life which would justify the use of the term 'matriarchy.' A striking example of this condition is found among the Iroquois and Hurons,[2] where women are the heads of the households, elect the chiefs, and form the majority of the tribal council. Almost as striking an example occurs among the Pueblo Indians, where, with the exception of the Tewa,[3] descent is matrilineal, the house is the property of the woman, marriage is matrilocal, and the children are regarded as belonging to the mother. Other purely or predominantly matrilineal stocks are the Caddoan (Pawnee, Arikara), the Muskhogean (Creek, Choctaw, Seminole), the Yuchi, and the Timucua.

In other cases matrilineal and patrilineal tribes are found among one stock. Thus, though the Siouan tribes are mainly patrilineal, the Biloxi, Tutelo, Crow, Hidatsa, Oto, and Mandan are matrilineal; while among the Winnebago the sister's son formerly succeeded, a woman could be chief, and the mother's brother exercised much authority.[4] Again, though the majority of Algonquians are patrilineal, the Mohegans are matrilineal, succession formerly passed to the sister's son among the Ojibwa,[1] and there is evidence of matrilineal inheritance and of the authority of the mother's brother among the Menomini.[2] Another stock with both modes of descent is the Athapascan. While the outlying Navaho and Apache in the south are matrilineal, the main body of the people in the north vary. The western tribes, such as the Loucheux, Takulli, Tahltan, and Knaiakhotana, have matrilineal moieties or clans with inheritance and succession in the female line. The eastern tribes, on the other hand, are made up of bands within which social rights pass patrilineally.[3] The tribes of California, broken up into a large number of linguistic stocks, are organized in villages. Marriage is often matrilocal, but inheritance and succession are patrilineal. A totemic clan-organization has been recorded among the Miwok, and the totemic organization of the Yokut is said to be associated with matrilineal descent.[4] The Yuman stock practise patrilineal descent, but have also another form of social grouping which may stand in some relation to mother-right.[5] The local form of organization seems to prevail in the Shoshonean stock, except among the Hopi, who are, however, Pueblo Indians in general culture though they speak a Shoshonean language. This form of organization also extends northwards as far as the Salish, beyond whom the Kwakiutl form an intermediate link with the matrilineal Heiltsuk, Haida, Tsimshian, and Tlingit. The Tsimshian show traces of a mixture of matrilineal and patrilineal modes; for, though a man belongs to his mother's clan, he takes the name of his father's totemic crest as part of his personal name.[6] This mixture is still more evident among the Kwakiutl, where a man belongs to his father's clan, but takes the totemic crest of his wife's father when he marries, and transmits it to his son, who bears it till his marriage, when, in his turn, he takes the crest of his father-in-law.[7]

It is very doubtful whether the Eskimos possess any form of clan-organization. The chief social unit seems to be the family, the social rights of which pass from a father to his children.

Southward of the United States, the Seri Indians possess mother-right in a most complete form.[8] Women take the chief place in government, sometimes putting their decisions into execution themselves, while in other cases their brothers execute their wishes and are consulted by them in cases of difficulty. The husband only visits his wife and takes a very unimportant place in her household, though he may occupy a leading place in another household in his capacity of mother's brother.

We have little knowledge of the social organization of the peoples of Central America, but the Aztecs appear to have been matrilineal, at any rate so far as succession was concerned, the ruler being followed by his brother or by his sister's son.

Our knowledge of the social organization of S. America is more fragmentary than in any other part of the world, but there are definite records of the presence of mother-right in several regions and facts which suggest its presence elsewhere. One centre of the practice is the Santa Marta peninsula in Colombia,[9] where the Goajiro are organized in totemic clans with matrilineal descent. Property passes to the sister's sons, and compensation for injury goes chiefly to relatives on the mother's side. Among the Aruacs, who are said to have been the original inhabitants of the peninsula, we have no record of the nature of the social organization; but the people trace their descent to an ancestress, and women take an important place in social life.[1] Another centre of mother-right is in British Guiana,[2] where the Arawaks practise matrilineal descent and matrilocal marriage. The neighbouring Warau and Makusi are also said to be matrilineal. If a Makusi woman marries a man of another tribe, the children will belong to the Makusi; but, as it is said that these people may marry the daughter of the sister, it is improbable that they have a matrilineal clan-organization. Apparently this region is in an intermediate condition, and the presence of patrilineal succession among the Siusi,[3] a branch of the Arawaks, also points in this direction. The Arawaks who have wandered into Brazil are matrilineal,[4] and there is another centre of mother-right in this country on the Kulisehu branch of the Xingu River.[5] The Bakaïri of this region are matrilineal in that the children of the Bakaïri woman who marries a man of another tribe belong to the Bakaïri, and this is true of other tribes; but, as in British Guiana, we do not know of any definite matrilineal clan-organization. Succession appears to be in an intermediate condition, a chief being succeeded by his son, his sister's son, or his daughter's husband. The mother's brother shares the exercise of authority with the father.

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[1] For general information regarding America see Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 62–185; *HAI* i. [1907], ii. [1910]; J. R. Swanton, *Amer. Anthropologist*, vii. [1905] 663.

[2] See Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, Rochester, N.Y., 1851, pp. 84 f., 325 f.; J. W. Powell, *1 RBEW* [1881], p. 19 ff.

[3] *Amer. Anth.* xiv. [1912] 472.

[4] J. Carver, *Travels through the interior Parts of N. America*, London, 1778, p. 259; Radin, *Amer. Anth.* xii. [1910] 214.

[1] Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 166.

[2] W. J. Hoffman, *14 RBEW*, pt. i. [1896] p. 11 ff.; A. Skinner, *Anth. Papers, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xiii. [1913] 20.

[3] C. Hill-Tout, *British North America*, London, 1907, p. 143 ff.

[4] C. H. Merriam, *Amer. Anth.* x. [1908] 562.

[5] A. L. Kroeber, *ib.* iv. [1902] 276; J. P. Harrington, *JAFL* xxi. [1908] 344 n.

[6] F. Boas, *Rep. Brit. Assoc.*, 1889, p. 819.

[7] Boas, *Rep. U.S. Nat. Mus.*, 1895.

[8] W J McGee, *17 RBEW*, pt. i. [1898] p. 9 ff.

[9] F. A. A. Simons, *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* vii. [1885] 789; F L Nicholas, *Amer. Anth.* iii. [1901] 606.

Among other peoples of S. America, such as the Caingang[6] and the Tsoroti,[7] there is matrilocal marriage; but we do not know whether this custom is associated with other features of mother-right.

(2) *Oceania.*—Since the great majority of Polynesians do not possess any form of clan-system, and we know little of their local organization, the nature of descent is doubtful; but where the clan-organization exists, as in Tikopia, it is definitely patrilineal.[8] The communism of the people also makes the nature of inheritance doubtful, but there is certainly no evidence of any of the modes of transmission which accompany mother-right. Chiefs are usually succeeded by their children, and this mode of succession also holds of hereditary occupations. In Tonga, however, succession may pass to the sister's son, and a woman may be chief in several parts of Polynesia. As a rule, the father has authority in the household; in some islands, such as Tonga and Tikopia, the mother's brother has certain social functions, but not of a kind that shows any special exercise of authority. In New Zealand,[9] and perhaps elsewhere, matrilocal marriage is frequent.

Micronesia, on the other hand, is the seat of definite mother-right. In the Marshall and Mortlock Islands and in the Carolines, with the exception of the island of Yap, the matrilineal mode of transmission is general.[10] In Ponape there are exogamous clans with matrilineal descent, and property passes to the sister's sons.[1] Only in Yap does the son follow his father, who elsewhere is said to be a stranger to his children. Marriage appears to be largely matrilocal. In the Marianne Islands all that we are told is that the woman commands absolutely in the house.[2] In the Pelew Islands there are exogamous totemic clans with matrilineal descent.[3]

Melanesia has usually been regarded as one of the most definite examples of mother-right; but, even where descent is matrilineal, its social organization departs so widely from the typical condition as to make it doubtful whether the term should properly be used.[4] Descent is often matrilineal, but follows the father in New Caledonia, and in many islands of the New Hebrides as well as in one part of Santa Cruz. In other places, such as most parts of Fiji and one region of the Solomons, the absence of a clan-organization makes the nature of descent doubtful. Chieftainship is always patrilineal where it is hereditary at all, and inheritance is in an intermediate condition. Property passes to the children in some places and to the sisters' children in others, while elsewhere different kinds of property follow different rules of inheritance. In Santo in the New Hebrides, people take the totem of the father as part of the personal name, but belong to the mother's clan, and in Vanua Levu in Fiji, where there is matrilineal descent, a man pays special respect to the totem of his father, though he belongs to his mother's clan and inherits her sacred land.[5] Matrilocal marriage is not frequent even where descent is matrilineal, and there are often definite social relations between a man and his mother's brother, though not always of a kind to show any special exercise of authority on the part of the uncle.

(3) *Australia.*—There are at least four forms of social grouping in this continent: the moiety, the matrimonial class, the local group, and the totemic group; since two or more of these may co-exist, there may be more than one rule of descent.

Wherever there is a simple dual organization, as among the Dieri and Ngarabana (Urabunna) of Central Australia, descent is matrilineal so far as the moiety is concerned.

The peculiarity of descent in the case of the matrimonial class is that it is neither patrilineal nor matrilineal, but the child belongs to a class different from that of either father or mother. Where marriages follow the orthodox rule, it is not possible to tell definitely the nature either of descent of the class or of the moieties of which the classes may be regarded as subdivisions. Marriages do not always follow the ordinary rules, however, and A. R. Brown has used the exceptional marriages of certain eight-class tribes as the means of detecting the true nature of descent.[6] By means of evidence provided by R. H. Mathews he shows that among the Arunta the children of the chief form of irregular marriage belong to the class to which they would have belonged if they had been the children of the man by a regular marriage, thus showing that descent among this people is determined by the father. Among the Tjingilli, on the other hand, the children of an irregular marriage belong to the group to which they would have belonged if they had been the offspring of the union of their mother with a husband married according to rule, showing that here descent is properly matrilineal so far as the class is concerned.

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[1] W. Sievers, *Reise in der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta*, Leipzig, 1887, p. 91 f.

[2] R. Schomburgh, *Reise in Britisch-Guiana*, Leipzig, 1847, i. 169, ii. 314; E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 185 f.

[3] T. Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 68, 109.

[4] C. F. P. von Martius, *Zur Ethnographie . . . Amerika's*, Leipzig, 1867, p. 690 f.

[5] K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*², Berlin, 1897, p. 285 f.

[6] Borba (Barbo ?), *Globus*, l. [1886] 235; Ambrosetti, *ib.* lxxiv. [1898] 245.

[7] E. Nordenskiöld, *Indianerleben*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 92.

[8] W. H. R. Rivers, *Hist. of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914, ii. 239.

[9] R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, London, 1855, p. 164.

[10] J. Kubary, *Mitt. der geogr. Gesellsch. in Hamburg*, 1878–79, p. 224.

[1] F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, London, 1899, p. 74.

[2] C. Le Gobien, *Hist. des îles Mariannes*, Paris, 1700, p. 59.

[3] J. Kubary, *Die socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer*, Berlin 1885.

[4] Rivers, ii. 90.

[5] A. M. Hocart, *Man*, xiv. [1914] 2

[6] *Man*, x. [1910] 55, xii. [1912] 123.

The local group is probably always patrilineal, but this form of social grouping has been largely neglected by ethnographers, and we must await further information to show whether this mode of descent is universal.

The totemic grouping shows great variety of descent. Sometimes the totemic group corresponds with the local group, and where this is so descent is necessarily patrilineal. In other cases, where the totemic groups form subdivisions of the matrilineal moieties, they are of equal necessity matrilineal. Among the Dieri there are two forms of totemic organization: one kind of totem, called *pintara*, is transmitted from father to son together with special knowledge of legends and rites, while a man takes another kind of totem called *madu* (the *murdu* of Howitt) from his mother. The intermediate condition of the people between matrilineal and patrilineal transmission of the totem is shown by the fact that the father often transmits his *madu* as well as his *pintara* to his son. Each man also obtains from his mother or her relatives special knowledge of legends, etc., relating to his maternal ancestors.[1]

The communistic habits and the poor development of personal property in Australia make the subject of inheritance of little importance, but in so far as it exists it seems to follow the same lines as descent of the moiety or class. Thus, among the Arunta, whose irregular marriages point to patrilineal descent, certain objects, and especially *churinga*, or ancestral bull-roarers, pass from a man to his son, or, if he has no son, to his brother and his brother's son. Among the Tjingilli and other tribes whose irregular marriages show them to have matrilineal descent, property passes into the possession of the mother's brothers or the daughter's husbands, the inheritors being men of the moiety of the mother of the dead man. The latter mode of inheritance also occurs among some of the tribes of the northern territory.[2]

Since the Australians have neither chiefs nor priests, the subject of succession is also quite unimportant. The special powers of a wizard or leech are acquired by special processes of initiation. Perhaps the topic which comes most definitely under this head is the knowledge of native legends and rites, the double character of which among the Dieri has already been considered. Elsewhere this kind of knowledge is closely connected with totemism, and probably follows the laws of transmission of the totem.

(4) *New Guinea*.—The most definite example of mother-right in this region occurs among the Massim of the south-eastern islands.[3] This people, who speak a Melanesian language, practise mother-right in a purer form than is found anywhere in Melanesia proper. Not only does a man belong to the totemic clan of his mother, but property passes to his sister's children in some localities, and everywhere a chief is succeeded by his brother or his sister's son. In parts of the Papuan Gulf descent is probably matrilineal, but succession to the rank of chief is patrilineal. Another locality where mother-right apparently prevails is on the Mamberamo River, in the Dutch portion of New Guinea,[4] where a boy belongs to his mother's tribe, and wears its distinctive dress, even when he lives with his father's people.

Elsewhere in New Guinea patrilineal customs are found, though here and there indications of mother-right occur. Thus in the Mekeo district, which has a form of the dual organization, descent sometimes passes in the female line, and among the neighbouring Pokao descent is sometimes matrilineal, and a woman may be chief and be succeeded by her child. Among the Koita, Motu, Roro, and Mekeo peoples the mother's brother has certain social functions, and these functions are highly developed in the western islands of Torres Straits, where, side by side with patrilineal descent, inheritance, and succession, the mother's brother has more authority than the father.[1]

(5) *Indonesia*.—Father-right prevails throughout the greater part of the Malay Archipelago. There is a peculiar form of matrilocal marriage in one part of the Timor,[2] in which the husband returns to his own home after a time, leaving behind him his children, who inherit their mother's property.

In several parts of Sumatra mother-right is present in its most definite form.[3] Among the Malays of Minangkabau, of Upper Padang, and certain other districts there are matrilineal clans and the extreme form of matrilocal marriage in which the husband continues to dwell in his mother's house and only visits his wife. The people live in long houses, which accommodate a family in the extended sense, consisting of persons descended from one woman, the head of the household being the eldest brother of the leading woman. He takes the place of a father to his sister's children, who inherit his property after it has been enjoyed by his brothers and sisters. A form of organization intermediate between the condition of Minangkabau and father-right occurs in Tiga Loereng, where husband and wife live together, but the father has little power over his children, authority being exercised by their mother's eldest brother. Property belonging to husband or wife at the time of marriage passes to their respective clans, but that acquired by them after marriage is divided between their children and their sisters' children.

(6) *Asia*.—There are no examples of mother-right in E. Asia, with the possible exception of the Ainus in the north and Cambodia in the south. Among the Ainus relationship through the mother is said to be more important than that through the father, and the mother's brother is the most important member of the family group, but we have no definite information about descent or inheritance. The peoples of Siberia are usually organized in patrilineal clans, but matrilocal marriage is frequently present.[4]

In India there are two centres of mother-right. One of these, represented by the Khasis and Synteng of Assam, affords a most definite example of the condition.[5] Descent is matrilineal in the clan, which is traced back to an ancestress and embraces kindred groups consisting of the female descendants of a great-grandmother. The house and other property belong to the women, and the husband or father has no authority except in those cases in which, at some time after marriage, he removes his wife and children to another house. Property is inherited by daughters, the house and its contents go to the youngest daughter, and, in default of daughters, the inheritance passes to a daughter of a mother's sister. The *siem*, or chief, is a man, except in Khyrim, but is succeeded by his brother or the son of his eldest sister. The neighbouring Wár people show an intermediate form in that both men and women inherit, but the youngest daughter obtains an additional share. The Gāros, who live to the west of the Khasis, and the Megam, or Lynngam, who are a fusion of Khasi and Gāro, practise a form of mother-right closely resembling that of the Khasis. Though a man cannot inherit property and can possess only that acquired by his own exertions, he nevertheless exercises some control over the property of his wife, and can even appoint a member of his clan, usually his sister's son, to exercise this control in the event of his death.[1] Among the Kochs of N. Bengal, who are in contact with the Gāros, marriage is matrilocal, and a man is said to obey his wife and her mother.[2]

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[1] O. Siebert, *Globus*, xcvii. [1910] 48.

[2] B. Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, London, 1914, p. 250.

[3] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 435 f.

[4] M. Moszkowski, *ZE* xliii. [1911] 323.

[1] *Rep. Cambridge Exp. to Torres Straits*, v. [1904] 144.

[2] H. O. Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, London, 1885, p. 457.

[3] For a more complete account of the distribution of mother-right in this island, see J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 185 ff.

[4] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, Oxford, 1914, p. 28 f.

[5] P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*, London 1907, p. 63 f.

The other Indian centre of mother-right is on the Malabar coast, where matrilineal descent, inheritance, and succession are practised by the Nāyars, northern Tīyans, and other peoples, including even the Muhammadan Māppilas, or Moplahs, of N. Malabar. This system of law, known as *marumakkatāyam*, is closely connected with the so-called polyandry of this part of India. In the unions of Nāyar women with Nambutiri (Nambūri) men, which are habitual in this region, the father has so little to do with his own children that he cannot touch them without pollution.

Elsewhere in S. India where descent, inheritance, and succession are patrilineal, matrilocal marriage occasionally occurs in the form known as *illatam*. This custom is especially followed in families where there is no son, male heirs being obtained by the daughter staying at her own home after marriage. Matrilocal marriage also occurs in Ceylon.

Several peoples of the Caucasus show traces of mother-right. Thus, in marriages between slaves and free persons the child follows the station of the mother, and a woman may habitually go to her father's house for the birth of her children.[3] The maternal uncle has much authority, and in Georgia takes the leading part in all that concerns blood-revenge.[4]

The earliest record of mother-right comes from Lycia, where, according to Herodotus, the people took the mother's name, and the status of children in marriage between free and slave was determined by the condition of the mother.

Among the Arabs of Yemen succession passes to the sister's son, and many records of the Semites of Arabia and Palestine have been regarded as evidence of an early condition of mother-right.[5] The marriage between half-brother and sister, of which the story of Abraham affords an example, accompanies mother-right elsewhere, and several passages in the OT, such as Gn 31^{43} and Jg 8^{19}, suggest this form of social organization.

At the present time the mother's brother has some degree of authority in Palestine, and a formula used in the Bedu (Bedawī) marriage ceremony shows that great importance is attached to motherhood.[6]

(7) *Africa.*—The Semites of N. Africa are definitely patrilineal, but in some Arab tribes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān the wife returns to her own home for the birth of every child—a custom probably connected with matrilocal marriage. Though the Hamitic Beja are now patrilineal, there are records which show that five centuries ago they counted genealogies in the female line and practised succession to the sons of sister and daughter.[1] Among the Bogo, Barea, and other allied Hamitic or partially Hamitic peoples the mother's brother takes an important place in social life, though the patrilineal character of their institutions is otherwise very definite.[2]

The Nubas of S. Kordofan form a striking exception to the patrilineal institutions of most of the mixed Hamitic and Negro Nilotic peoples, such as the Shilluks and Dinkas; as boys grow up, they spend more and more time with their mothers' brothers, who are held to be more closely related to them than their fathers. Property is transmitted to the sister's sons, and a man lives for some time with his wife's people.[3] The Māsai, Nandi, Suk, and other partially Hamitic peoples of the northern part of tropical E. Africa are purely patrilineal.

The Bantu peoples show much variety in the mode of transmission of social rights. About Lake Nyasa and the Rovuma River[4] there are a number of definitely matrilineal tribes, such as the Wa-Yao, Achewa, Wa-Makonde, and Wa-Makua. The children take the totem of the mother, a chief is succeeded by his sister's son, and the mother's brother is regarded as the nearest relative and the natural guardian of his sister's children. The Anyanja practise both modes of descent, but the patrilineal sections are said to have derived this form of transmission from the Angoni, a branch of the Ama-Zulu. This people, together with the Ama-Xosa,[5] Ba-Suto,[6] Ba-Thonga,[7] and other Bantu peoples of S.E. Africa, are definitely patrilineal, though the mother's brother exercises much authority.

Passing northwards from Lake Nyasa, we find a more or less gradual change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent.[8] The Wa-Sagara and Wa-Digo are definitely matrilineal, while among the tribes about Lindi inheritance and succession pass to the sister's children. In other tribes, such as the Wa-Niamwesi and Wa-Jagga, the mode of descent varies according as the bride-price has or has not been paid, the children belonging to the mother's people in the latter case and to that of the father in the former. In general in this region the social institutions tend to become more patrilineal on passing from the coast to the interior.

The Ba-Ganda, Ba-Hima, Ba-Nyoro, and other Bantu peoples of Uganda are definitely patrilineal.[9] The only exceptional feature is that, while the mode of succession is purely patrilineal, the king of Uganda belongs to the totemic clan of his mother, though he also takes certain other totems connected with royalty.

The Bantu of the northern part of the Belgian Congo are mainly patrilineal.[10] Among the Ba-Ngala children inherit, but the mode of descent is determined by a family council, which usually ordains that a child shall take the totem of its father. Here the same rule holds as in E. Africa; social institutions become more matrilineal on passing from the interior towards the coast. Mother-right also occurs in Loango and Angola.[1]

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[1] A. Playfair, *The Garos*, London, 1909, p. 62 f.

[2] B. H. Hodgson, *Proc. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, xviii. [1849] 707.

[3] W. Sobolsky, *Russ. Rev.* xii. 2 [1883] 176.

[4] M. Kovalevsky, *Tableau des origines et de l'évolution de la famille et de la propriété*, Stockholm, 1890, p. 21.

[5] See W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, new ed., London, 1903; G. A. Wilken, *Het matriarchaat bij de oude Arabieren*, Amsterdam, 1884, Germ. ed., Leipzig, 1884; and J. R. Wetzstein, *ZE* xii. [1880].

[6] Mrs. H. H. Spoer, *FL* xxi. [1910] 270 ff.

[1] See Seligmann, *JRAS* xliii. 649.

[2] W. Munzinger, *Ost-afrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen. 1864, pp. 207, 477 f., 527 f., *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, Winterthur, 1859, p. 75.

[3] The writer is indebted to Professor and Mrs. Seligman for this information.

[4] H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, London, 1897, p. 471; A. Werner, *British Central Africa*, do. 1906, p. 252 ff.: K. Weule, *Native Life in East Africa*, Eng. tr., do. 1909, p. 309.

[5] G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1873, p. 117.

[6] E. Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, Paris, 1859, p. 190.

[7] H. A. Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1912, i. 221 f.

[8] J. Kohler, *ZVRW* xv. [1902] 27; H. Cole, *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 305 ff.

[9] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 128 ff., *The Northern Bantu* (in press).

[10] J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, London, 1913, p. 111 f

Among a group of Bantu peoples in the S.W. Free Congo[2] property and rank are transmitted to the brother or the sister's son, and among one of these peoples, the Ba-Mbala, kinship is said to be counted farther in the female than in the male line. Not only is succession matrilineal, but the mother of the chief enjoys great esteem, if not authority. We are not told of any definite social groups with either line of descent, but respect is shown to animals by not eating their flesh, and this *ikina bari* is transmitted from father to son. This institution is almost certainly a kind of totemic grouping, so that these people show a condition almost exactly the reverse of that found in Melanesia, descent being patrilineal, while inheritance and succession are mainly matrilineal. If, as seems almost certain, the *ikina bari* is a form of totem, we have here an example of the connexion of totemism with patrilineal descent, and this association comes out still more strongly among the Ova-Herero of S.W. Africa. This people possess two distinct forms of social grouping, one matrilineal and the other patrilineal, and the most recent and trustworthy account[3] shows that, while there is no definite association of animals or plants with the matrilineal *eanda*, the patrilineal *oruzo* is definitely totemic.

In Nigeria and the countries west of it, we find an interesting series of transitions between mother- and father-right. The westernmost people of whom we have knowledge are the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast.[4] They have totemic groups with matrilineal descent, property passes to the eldest brother born of the same mother, and, in default of brothers, to the eldest sister's son. Only if there are no nephews does the son inherit; and, if there is no son, the chief slave inherits. Succession passes to the brother and the sister's son. In addition to the totemic clans, called *abusua*, there are also groups, called *ntoro*, which appear to have a totemic character.[5] In these groups descent is in the male line, or, as the people themselves put it, 'a person takes the fetish of his father and the family of his mother,' the condition thus having a remarkable resemblance to the two totemic groupings of the Dieri of Australia. Among the neighbouring Fanti-speaking peoples the son inherits only the property of the mother, a slave inheriting the property of a man if he has no sister's son.

Among the Ewe-speaking peoples of Dahomey[6] kinship is counted through females in the lower, and through males in the upper, classes. Among the former property passes to the brother and to the sister's son, while a chief is succeeded by his son. The Ewe of Togoland are said to count relationship through the father rather than through the mother, but the mother's brother is the proper heir. It is noteworthy that the knowledge of the art of circumcision is transmitted from father to son.[7] Among the next people, passing eastwards, the Yoruba,[8] we do not know of any definite rule of descent, but the people are said to trace kinship in both lines, and a chief is succeeded by his son. That kinship through the mother is regarded as of great importance is shown by the fact that children of one father by different mothers are scarcely considered as blood-relatives. The property of a man passes to his sons, and that of a woman to her daughters. Next to the Yoruba come the Edo,[1] who practise two forms of marriage. In one, the *amoiya* marriage, apparently the more regular, the children belong to the clan of the father, while in the other, called *isomi*, they belong to the mother's clan, unless they are bought by the father, or unless in later life they elect to stay in their father's country. In the Sobo country, whence the Edo are said to have come, there is matrilocal marriage. The Ibo,[2] still farther eastward, practise male descent, and property passes to the sons, except in the *idebwe* form of marriage, corresponding with the *isomi* marriage of the Edo, in which the children belong to their mother's clan and are the heirs of their mother's father. As a rule, a man allows his daughter to contract this form of marriage only when he has no son, the custom thus resembling the *illatam* of S. India.

(8) *Europe.*—There is hardly a European people of antiquity to whom some form of mother-right has not been ascribed.[3] Perhaps the clearest evidence comes from the Basques, among many of whom the father has little authority, whereas women hold property, and transmit rights to their children, even when they cannot exercise them themselves.[4] According to Strabo,[5] women were the heads of families in Spain, and the Picts are said to have been matrilineal,[6] the chief line of evidence being that where the fathers of kings are mentioned they are neither kings nor Picts, but belong to neighbouring tribes. Among the Celts the king and magician are said to have been succeeded by the sister's son.[7] In Ireland the sister's son was important,[8] and the frequent mention of this relative in English ballads has led F. B. Gummere[9] to infer the close relation between a man and his mother's brother which is one of the features of mother-right. The account by Tacitus[10] of the authority of the mother's brother affords the chief evidence in favour of mother-right among the Teutons, but the position of a woman at the head of the genealogical tree of the Lombards and passages in the *Nibelungenlied* and *Edda* point in the same direction.[11] The inscriptions on tombs and other facts point to the prevalence of some form of mother-right among the Etruscans,[12] and this form of organization has also been claimed for the early inhabitants of Latium.[13] The evidence for matrilineal institutions among different elements of the population of Greece has been much discussed.[14] Perhaps the

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[1] O'Hier de Grandpré, *Voyage à la côte occidentale d'Afrique*, Paris, 1801, i. 109.

[2] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, *Les Bushongo*, Brussels, 1910, *JAI* xxxv. [1905] 398 ff., xxxvi. [1906] 39 ff., 272 ff., *JRAS* xxxvii. [1907] 139.

[3] E. Dannert, *Zum Rechte der Herero*, Berlin, 1906.

[4] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, London, 1887, pp. 234, 297.

[5] C. H. Harper, *JAI* xxxvi. 178 ff.

[6] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, London, 1890, p. 177 f.

[7] J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, Berlin, 1906, p. 120.

[8] A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, London, 1894, p. 174.

[1] N. W. Thomas, *Edo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, London, 1910, i. 47 f.

[2] Thomas, *Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, London, 1913, i. 31, 86, ii. 60.

[3] O. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 564–566, 576; H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, do. 1905–07, p. 706 f.; B. Delbrück, 'Das Mutterrecht bei den Indogermanen,' *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, lxxix. [1895] 14–27.

[4] E. Cordier, *De l'Organisation de la famille chez les Basques*, Paris, 1869, p. 42 f.

[5] P. 165.

[6] McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 102; H. Zimmer, *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, xv. [1894] 209.

[7] J. Rhŷs, *Celtic Folk-lore*, Oxford, 1901, p. 637.

[8] H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de littérature celtique*, Paris, 1883–1902, vii. 187.

[9] *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall*, Oxford, 1901, p. 133.

[10] *Germ.* 20, *Ann.* xii. 29.

[11] L. von Dargun, *Mutterrecht und Raubehe.*

[12] Bachofen, *Die Sage von Tanaquil*, p. 281 f.

[13] W. Ridgeway, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* iii. [1907–08] 32.

[14] See, among many other works, McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 235; H. J. Rose, *FL* xxii. [1911] 277 ff.

strongest evidence is that in Athens half-brother and sister were allowed to marry when by the same father. Lastly, though in, rather than of, Europe, may be mentioned the Gypsies of Transylvania,[1] among whom a father shows little interest in his children, who remain with their mother's people if their mother dies and their father, as usual, marries a woman of another 'clan.'

3. Mixture-forms.—The preceding survey has shown not only that descent may follow one mode of transmission, while other social processes, such as inheritance and succession, may follow another, but that there may also be two kinds of descent. This is especially frequent where a local grouping is combined with exogamous clans or moieties, the usual rule being that the local grouping is patrilineal, while the grouping in clan or moiety is matrilineal. Another kind of mixture is that found among the Dieri of Australia and the Tshi of W. Africa, in which there are two forms of totemism with different modes of descent. The condition of the Ova-Herero of S. Africa, where a patrilineal totemic grouping is combined with matrilineal clans which are probably non-totemic, affords another example of the combination of two modes of descent. A less definite condition is that in which, combined with one or other definite mode of descent, there are customs which bring a person into definite social relations with relatives on the side from which descent is not counted. An interesting example occurs among the widely separated Tsimshian of N. America and the people of Santo in the New Hebrides. In both of these localities a person belongs to the totemic clan of his mother, but takes the totem of his father as part of his personal name. Another form of totemism which shows mixture of the two modes of transmission is found among the Massim of New Guinea and the people of Vanua Levu in Fiji, where persons belonging to the social group of the mother pay special respect to the totem of the father. A still more eccentric example is that of the Kwakiutl of the N.W. Pacific coast, who belong to the clan of the father, but are indirectly brought into relation with the clan of the mother by receiving from the father the totemic crest which he had adopted from the father of his wife when he married.

4. Associated conditions.—It is not at present possible to connect mother-right with race. It occurs side by side with father-right and with intermediate forms among many peoples, including the Australian, Melanesian, Indonesian, Bantu, W. African Negro, and N. American Indian. At the present time it is absent among Caucasian and Mongolian peoples, but it is doubtful if this has always been so. There is more reason to connect mother-right with scale of culture. Most of the peoples who practise it rank low in the scale, but there are definite exceptions to this generalization in the Khasis of Assam, the people of the west coast of India, the Minangkabau Malays of Sumatra, and many tribes of N. America.

As already pointed out, mother-right in its purest form can occur only in conjunction with the clan-organization, but it is not connected with any special form of this organization. The dual system, in which the whole community forms two exogamous moieties, is always matrilineal in Melanesia and, where not complicated with a class-system, in Australia, but the dual systems of N. America are sometimes patrilineal.

Totemism is still less habitually associated with either form of descent. As was said above, one people may even possess two forms of totemism, one associated with matrilineal and the other with patrilineal descent. The special regard for the father's totem which accompanies some cases of matrilineal transmission suggests a peculiar connexion of totemism with father-right, and other considerations also imply that the totemic organization tends to be patrilineal.[1] Social organizations founded on a local basis, especially those with local exogamy, are usually patrilineal, and in societies devoid of the clan-organization, in which kinship is equally important on the two sides, it is exceptional for inheritance and succession to be matrilineal.

If mother-right is especially connected with the clan-organization, we should expect to find it associated with the classificatory, or 'clan,' system of relationship, and so it is. We do not know of any people with definite mother-right who do not use the classificatory system. The correlation is especially striking in Africa, in more than one part of which classificatory and kindred systems exist side by side. Thus, in the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān the only people who use the classificatory system are the Nubas, and they are also the only people to practise mother-right. Again, in the series of peoples of W. Africa who show so definite a transition from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions (see above, p. 856ª) it is the Tshi, with their classificatory system, whose social institutions are most clearly matrilineal.

There is some reason to suppose that mother-right may be peculiarly associated with agriculture. In N. America typical clan-systems are found especially in the maize country,[2] and in Africa mother-right seems to be present especially among peoples who live chiefly by agriculture, while father-right is associated with pastoral life. The association is, however, by no means universal.

5. Survivals of mother-right.—By this expression is meant social customs found in societies organized on a patrilineal basis which are the natural concomitants of mother-right and are, therefore, assumed to be vestiges of the earlier presence of this form of society. The most prominent of the customs which have been so regarded is the relation between a man and his mother's brother. Many peoples among whom descent, inheritance, and succession are patrilineal show the existence of just such relations between a man and his sister's child as are prominent among the social practices of mother-right. That they are such survivals is especially probable where they show the authority of the mother's brother, while the power of the nephew to take any of the property of his uncle is also a natural survival of a social condition in which the sister's son is heir to his uncle's goods. Advocates of the view that these relations between a man and his mother's brother are survivals of mother-right regard it as psychologically natural that such rights to authority or property would not easily be relinquished, but would persist in one form or another long after the formal laws of the community had ordained a different disposition of authority or property.

The marriage of half-brother and sister when of the same father but different mothers has also been regarded as a survival of mother-right. In a society which attached any great importance to kinship through the father such a marriage would be impossible, while it is natural among people who pay special regard to kinship through the mother. When, therefore, this form of marriage is found among a patrilineal people, it has been held to point to an antecedent condition of mother-right.

Other survivals of mother-right have been seen in tradition and myth. It is frequently the case among matrilineal peoples that the descent of the clan or tribe is ascribed to a female ancestor, and the belief in a female ancestor among a patrilineal people has been regarded as a survival of mother-right. A similar supposed survival is the wide-spread mythological theme of unwitting patricide.[1] This absence of knowledge of the father would be natural in the more pronounced forms of matrilocal marriage, and, in consequence, the occurrence of the theme in the mythology of a people has been regarded as evidence that the people were once in a stage of mother-right. Amazon-legends have also been interpreted as relics of mother-right.

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[1] H. von Wlislocki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, Hamburg, 1890, p. 66.

[1] For Melanesia see Rivers, ii. 337.

[2] Swanton, *Amer. Anth.* vii. 671.

Less direct is the relation of certain social customs, such as the *couvade* and the cross-cousin marriage. According to one theory, the *couvade* is associated with the desire on the part of the father to assert his rights over his child, and those who adopt this explanation of the custom will regard it as a survival of mother-right when it is found in a patrilineal society. Again, there is reason to believe that in some parts of the world the cross-cousin marriage (see above, p. 425 f.) has come into existence through the desire of a father that his son shall acquire his property by marrying a woman who would be one of his heirs under a condition of mother-right. Another custom which may be a survival of mother-right is the rule found in several parts of Africa that the daughter or sister of a king shall not bear children. Such a prohibition would put an end to succession by the sister's son.

Etymology has also been called upon for evidence of former mother-right. Thus, the fact that the Chinese word for clan-name means 'born of a woman' has been held to point to matrilineal descent in China,[2] and the derivation of the Arabic word for 'clan' has been adduced to support a similar conclusion in the case of early Semitic society.[3]

6. History.—In several parts of the world we have definite evidence that a condition of mother-right has changed either into one of father-right or into a form of social organization in which social rights are recognized with the relatives of both father and mother. Thus there is evidence that some form of mother-right once existed in Europe, while in the Sūdān there is historical proof that five hundred years ago the Beja, who are now definitely patrilineal, kept their genealogies in the female line and transmitted property to the sons of sister or daughter. In Melanesia, again, and in some parts of America, there is positive evidence of a change from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions, the transition being still in progress in some parts of Melanesia. On the other hand, there is no unequivocal evidence from any part of the world of a change having taken place in the opposite direction. Consequently, it has been held by many students that the change from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions has been a universal feature of the history of human society, and this proposition has become a dogma among many anthropologists.

This dogma has recently been attacked from two quarters. The idea of the priority of mother-right is supported in many parts of the world by the low state of culture of the peoples who possess this form of social organization, but, as already pointed out, this is not universally true, and students of the ethnology of N. America have been led to question the dogma, largely because the matrilineal Iroquois and Pueblo Indians are among the most advanced peoples of the continent. The other line of attack is closely connected with a change which has recently taken place in the attitude of many students towards the history of social institutions. The idea that any product of human society, such as mother-right, has been universal is closely connected with the belief that human society as a whole has been the product of a relatively simple process of evolution which has proceeded everywhere on similar lines and passed through similar stages. To those inspired by this belief it was only necessary to show that mother-right has often changed into father-right, and it followed that this order must have been universal. Among many students, however, the conviction has been growing that human society is not the product of a simple process of evolution, but has been built up by a highly complex process in which a vast variety of forms have been produced by blending of cultures. If the transitions between mother-right and father-right have arisen as the result of the mixture of peoples, we should not expect to find that one form has always preceded the other, but it is probable that in the vast complexity of human progress matrilineal should sometimes have been superposed on patrilineal institutions, and that sometimes father-right would have changed into mother-right. One school of students who have adopted this point of view, viz. that of which F. Graebner and W. Schmidt are the most distinguished adherents, believe that in most parts of the world matrilineal migrants have settled among earlier patrilineal peoples, so that the main change has been from father-right to mother-right, and not in the reverse direction. According to them, people possessing the dual organization with matrilineal descent have settled among patrilineal totemic peoples, and have thus produced the various forms intermediate between the two kinds of society which are found in so many parts of the world. According to this school, the undoubted changes from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions which are found in certain regions are the result of later movements, the change in Melanesia, *e.g.*, being due to relatively late Polynesian settlements, and that in N. America to European influence.

There is much reason to suppose that Graebner and Schmidt have gone too far in their reaction against the prevailing view, and that the evidence on which they base their opinions is fallacious. But, while it is almost certain that by far the most frequent process throughout the world has been a transition from mother- to father-right, the reverse change may have occurred. The region which presents the strongest evidence of a change in this direction is N. America. Not only do some of its matrilineal peoples, such as the Iroquois and Pueblo Indians, possess the most advanced cultures of the continent, but, where one people, such as the Déné or northern Athapascans, practise both lines of descent, it is the less cultured who use the patrilineal mode. Moreover, it is said that there is definite evidence that matrilineal institutions have been taken over from others by people who were previously patrilineal or were devoid of any form of clan-organization. Several peoples of N. America possess a custom which provides a mechanism for changing one mode of descent into another. Personal names are often definitely connected with a moiety or clan, each social group having names especially reserved for its members. Among some matrilineal people of N. America, such as the Shawnees, a father gives his own clan-name to his child, thus taking a definite step towards the transference of the child to his own social group. This or some similar mechanism might well have come into play to assist a change in the opposite direction.

One of the cases most often put forward by

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[1] M. A. Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem.*

[2] H. A. Giles, *China and the Chinese*, New York, 1902, p. 27.

[3] Wilken, Germ. ed. p. 38.

American ethnologists as an example of change from father- to mother-right is that of the Kwakiutl.[1] This people practise patrilineal descent, but the peculiar system by which a man takes the crest of his wife's father has been ascribed to the influence of their northern matrilineal neighbours, the Tsimshian and Haida. Other examples are the Athapascan tribes bordering on the Tlingit, who are said to have adopted the matrilineal dual organization of the people, and the Babine branch of the Takulli, another Athapascan tribe who are said to have taken their matrilineal four-clan system from the Tsimshian.

In other parts of the world there is definite evidence that the change has been from the matrilineal to the patrilineal mode. There is a large body of evidence pointing to the change having been in this direction in Melanesia ;[2] but even here it is possible that certain conditions, such as the highly developed mother-right of the Massim of New Guinea, may have been assisted by some later matrilineal influence. In Africa, again, there is much reason to believe that the change has been in the patrilineal direction. The transition from matrilineal to patrilineal institutions which occurs among the peoples of W. Africa from the Tshi to the Ibo points to the gradual infiltration of immigrants coming from the north-east, who became the chiefs of those among whom they settled. While introducing their patrilineal institutions completely in the east, they did not succeed in altering descent among the general body of the people as they progressed westwards. The transitions found among the Bantu and the association of patrilineal transmission with high development of culture among such people as the Ba-Ganda and Ama-Zulu would seem to be the result of the settlement of a patrilineal pastoral people among a matrilineal population who, till then, had thriven upon agriculture.

7. Origin.—Until we know the history of this form of social organization, it is hardly profitable to discuss its origin at length, but some of the leading views which have been put forward may be mentioned.

In the first place, mother-right has been widely held to be the natural consequence of sexual promiscuity and group-marriage. The less important is fatherhood in a society, the more will that society be driven to base its social rights upon the mother. Another view is that matrilineal descent is a secondary consequence of matrilocal marriage. Where a husband merely visits his wife and is only an outsider in her household, descent and other social processes must be expected to rest on the relation between mother and child. A third view regards mother-right as a social state which has resulted from the dominance of woman, and especially from her importance in agriculture. As already seen, there is reason to connect mother-right with a high development of the art of agriculture, especially in N. America, and it is noteworthy that it is in this continent that we have our clearest evidence of the dominance of the woman.

LITERATURE.—J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, Stuttgart, 1861, ^{2}Basel, 1897, *Die Sage von Tanaquil*, Heidelberg, 1870, *Antiquarische Briefe*, Strassburg, 1881; J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, 1st ser., London, 1876; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, do. 1877; L. von Dargun, *Mutterrecht und Raubehe und ihre Reste im germanischen Recht und Leben*, Breslau, 1883, *Mutterrecht und Vaterrecht*, Leipzig, 1892; A. Giraud-Teulon, *Les Origines du mariage et de la famille*, Paris, 1884; C. N. Starcke, *The Primitive Family*, London, 1889; E. B. Tylor, *Nineteenth Century*, xl. [1896] 81 ff.; E. Grosse, *Die Formen der Familie und die Formen der Wirthschaft*, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1896; M. A. Potter, *Sohrab and Rustem*, London, 1902; E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, do. 1909; J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, do. 1910. Cf. also A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnolog. Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1894–95, i. 71–79, 83–90, 212–216.

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MOTIVE.—1. Different senses.—The term 'motive' is used in philosophy and psychology in four different senses.

(1) In the first and most general sense it means any force, of an internal or mental character, which impels to action or prevents some kind of action, be the force conscious or unconscious, and the action voluntary or non-voluntary. Thus Bentham defines motive as 'any thing that can contribute to give birth to, or even to prevent, any kind of action' (*Principles of Morals and Legislation*, p. 46). In this sense motive includes what Reid calls mechanical principles of action, such as instinct and habit, and also what Bentham calls 'speculative' motives, which influence acts that rest purely in the understanding.

(2) In a second sense 'motive' is taken with a more restricted signification, as limited to some end which we present to ourselves and of which we are conscious. Bentham has this meaning in view when he defines motive as 'any thing whatsoever, which, by influencing the will of a sensitive being, is supposed to serve as a means of determining him to act, or voluntarily to forbear to act, upon any occasion' (*ib.*). Such motives are termed by Bentham 'practical,' and are, he holds, ultimately reducible to pleasure and pain, though whether it be the expectation of the pain or the pain which accompanies that expectation that is the motive he leaves undetermined (p. 47, note). This contains the germ of an important distinction. In motives in this sense we may distinguish two things: a subjective and affective element, sometimes called affect, a spring of action, *Triebfeder*; and an objective, presented or intellectual element. Whether this subjective element is reducible to pleasure or pain, or includes more, and in what relation it stands to the objective, intellectual element and to the conative factor in mind, are among the most difficult questions in the psychology of the feelings. Here it is taken as standing in relation to certain volitions as a spring of action (see Morell, *Outlines of Mental Philosophy*, pt. vii. chs. i. and ii.; Baldwin, *Handbook of Psychology*, ii. 313–315, 332 f., 354; Stout, *Manual of Psychology*^{3}, bk. i. ch. i.; Mellone and Drummond, *Elements of Psychology*, Edinburgh and London, 1907, ch. iv.). Cf. Bentham's figurative and unfigurative motives (*infra*).

(3) A third sense of the word 'motive' occurs in the writings of Green and his followers. According to the teaching of Green, something more is required to constitute a motive than the conscious presentation of an end. In the analysis of one of Green's followers, the voluntary satisfaction of a want involves five things:

> '(1) The want. (2) The feeling of the want. (3) An idea of an object by which the want can be satisfied. (4) An idea of the satisfaction actually taking place, the work of the imagination. (5) The presentation of this satisfaction as, under the circumstances, the greatest good. The self identifying itself with the attainment of the object; finding in the realisation of the idea, not the satisfaction of a want merely, but the satisfaction of self' (D'Arcy, *Short Study of Ethics*^{2}, p. 32).

It is only to this last stage (5) that Green and D'Arcy apply the term 'motive.' Hence the doctrines that a conflict of motives is impossible and a strongest motive an absurdity (Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, bk. ii. ch. i.).

(4) A fourth sense of the word 'motive' belongs to Kant. Kant reserves the term *Bewegungsgrund* for the objective ground of the volition, which he opposes to the subjective ground of the desire, or the spring (*Triebfeder*). The objective ground of the self-determination of the will is the end which is assigned by reason alone, and is free from all

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[1] F. Boas, *Rep. U.S. Nat. Mus.*, 1895, p. 334.

[2] Rivers, ii. 90, 319.

mixture of passion and sensuous affection (*Werke*, ed. Rosenkranz and Schubert, viii. 55; Abbott, *Kant's Theory of Ethics*^{6}, London, 1909, p. 45). Such objective ends are common to us with all rational beings, and are to be distinguished from subjective ends, to which we are impelled by natural disposition. Unlike all inclination and fear, respect or reverence for the moral law is an effect, not a cause (Kant, *Werke*, viii. 21, note). Regarded as a spring, this feeling acts negatively only.

In these four senses of the word 'motive' we see a progressive change of meaning from that of a mere impelling force, not even necessarily accompanied by consciousness, to that of an internal impulsion to the existence of which consciousness is essential; passing thence to the idea of an object which gives satisfaction; finally ending in Kant in the conception of motive as an object which is free from, and even opposed to, all subjective ground of desire. Green's view, though later in point of time, seems not so developed as that of Kant, since in Green the object is still made to be a motive by relation to a want or internal principle of desire, though such want or desire is again conceived as dependent on the object with which the self identifies itself. Kant's distinction of motive and spring and relegation of these terms to different classes of action get rid of the wavering between contradictory points of view implicit in Green's doctrine.

Whether we shall give to the term 'motive' the extensive signification contained under (1) may appear a mere question of the use of language; but, as is the case in most questions of terminology, important issues lie concealed beneath the purely verbal discussion. This extensive use of the word early aroused dissent. Reid in 1793, criticizing Crombie's 'Essay on Philosophical Necessity,' said:

> 'I understood a motive, when applied to a human being, to be that for the sake of which he acts, and, therefore, that what he never was conscious of, can no more be a motive to determine his will, than it can be an argument to convince his judgment.
>
> Now, I learn that any circumstance arising from habit, or some mechanical instinctive cause, may be a motive, though it never entered into the thought of the agent.
>
> From this reinforcement of motives, of which we are unconscious, every volition may be supplied with a motive, and even a predominant one, when it is wanted' (Reid, *Works*, ed. Hamilton, p. 87).

Reid then acutely remarks that 'this addition to his [Crombie's] defensive force takes just as much from his offensive,' since it undermines the evidence for the necessary action of motives known or felt. In other words, necessitation by efficient is fatal to necessitation by final causes. At this stage the distinction seems to turn upon the presence or absence of consciousness. But, even if we regard consciousness as the condition of the existence of motive in sense (2), this does not prevent the motivation or impelling force being essentially mechanical as when non-voluntary in sense (1). Green's doctrine tries to evade this by assigning to self-consciousness the power of determining the predominance of the motive which actually does succeed, while still admitting that the end to which we thus determine ourselves is assigned by the pathological or affective element. Kant, on the other hand, assigns to reason a power of determining action to an end, which is quite independent of, and even opposed to, the pathological feeling. 'Motive' in this sense has passed over entirely from the meaning of an impelling force to that of an object determined and decided upon by reason.

These distinctions are closely bound up with the inquiry regarding the freedom of the will. If our will is possessed of an original power by which it can control the direction in which it utters itself, then the causal action of motives must be distinct from mechanical impulsion; they may induce, or incline, but do not determine, according to inevitable law. If, on the other hand, our will has no such power, what we call inducing and inclining must be merely the subjective side of the collision of predestined forces, of which we are the theatre or rather the play itself. If this be the case, the appearance of a causation, which may yield to conscious motives, but is not controlled by them, must be an illusion. The illusion demands explanation. This Münsterberg undertook to furnish in his *Willenshandlung* (1879). In *Man's Place in the Cosmos* (^{2} Edinburgh and London, 1902), J. Seth Pringle-Pattison gives an acute analysis of Münsterberg's views. According to Münsterberg, the will is only a complex of sensations. Our activity, whether the inner activity of attention or the outer activity of muscular contraction, appears to us to be free, just because the result of the activity is already present in idea, and is, in all cases, accompanied by the sensations flowing from previous motor innervation. The feeling of innervation itself is 'just the memory-idea of the movement, anticipating the movement itself.' In the *Grundzüge der Psychologie* (1900) Münsterberg's position is modified by a Fichtean point of view. The 'action theory of mind' here put forward makes the consciousness of sensation dependent on motor discharge. It, therefore, precludes any theory of action other than that of mechanical causation. Nor is this conclusion altered by the theory of taking an attitude (*Stellungnahme*) towards the world, which Münsterberg puts forward. Such activity as lying outside consciousness could not even give rise to the illusion of voluntary activity.

It was maintained by Hartley (*Observations on Man*, London, 1810, i. 522) that 'to prove that a man has free will in the sense opposite to mechanism, he ought to feel that he can do different things while the motives remain precisely the same,' and that here 'the internal feelings are entirely against free will where the motives are of a sufficient magnitude to be evident,' while he admits a power of resisting motives. Such a power, on Hartley's view, can come only from some other and stronger motive; that is, there is no intrinsic power of resisting motives. The attribution to the self of an intrinsic power of strengthening indefinitely certain desires, which then become motives (in Green's sense), seems the essence of the third theory of motives. There is an illusory atmosphere of determinism about Green's theory. The will is determined by motives. That desire only is a motive which is successful. There is no conflict of motives, nor any strongest motive. But then the strongest desire is made to be the strongest, *i.e.* to be a motive by the action of the eternal consciousness which is perpetually reproducing itself in us, and which helps to constitute, in cognition and action, all the objects of knowing and will. Is now this action of the eternal consciousness something from all eternity, unalterably the same? The result is practically identical with Hartley's—the only freedom in it is that the ego, since it determines the motive, is consequently, in being determined by the motive, determined by itself. This is only Spinozistic necessity. But, if the action of the eternal ego on the finite ego is not so predetermined, is something which, at the moment of decision, may fall out differently on different occasions, notwithstanding identity of desire and circumstances, then such action is not different from free will in the ordinary sense, and implies a surplus of undetermined or self-determined free activity of the ego, as in the Kantian doctrine.

Green's theory of motives must be carefully distinguished from a modern psychological doctrine, to which it bears a strong verbal resemblance. Green says (*Proleg. to Ethics*, p. 93) that an appetite or want 'only becomes a motive, so far as upon the want there supervenes the presentation of the want by a self-conscious subject to himself and with it the idea of a self-satisfaction to be attained in the filling of the want.' Stout, too, says (*Manual of Psychology*^{3}, p. 709):

> 'Motives are not mere impulses. They come before consciousness as reasons why *I* should act in this or that way. They are not independent forces fighting out a battle among themselves, while the Ego remains a mere spectator. On the contrary, the motives are motives only in so far as they arise from the nature of the Self, and pre-suppose the conception of the Self as a determining factor. From this it follows that the recognised reasons for a decision can never constitute the entire cause of decision. Behind them there always lies the Self as a whole, and what this involves can never be completely analysed or stated in the form of definite reasons or special motives.'

The great verbal similarity of this to what Green says is evident. But to Green the self-conscious subject, through determination by which a want becomes a motive, is 'a principle of other than natural origin,' is, in fact, an entity of a sort. To Stout the self as a whole, even if what it involves can never be completely analyzed or stated, is not an entitative principle eternal or otherwise, but, rather, the 'thought of the self.' In deliberation, he says, 'the concept of the Self as a whole will not directly tend to reinforce or suppress a desire' (p. 708).

> 'A certain line of action being suggested as possible, I contemplate myself as I shall be if I put it in execution, so as to make it part of my actual life-history, and on the other hand I contemplate myself as I shall be if I leave it undone. I follow out this representation of a hypothetical Self in more or less detail until that turning-point in the process which is called Voluntary Decision emerges' (*ib.* p. 709).

This theory, that motives arise and are constituted by relation to the conception of self, whether we take it in Green's metaphysical or in Stout's psychological form, as a *general* theory of motives, seems not to be true. That very many motives are determined by conscious relating of the end in view to the self is true—notably the self-regarding ones. But it is difficult to regard altruistic motives as necessarily related to the concept of self. They may sometimes be so, but not necessarily or universally. The highest moral ends are disinterested. The disinterested character of æsthetic emotion has been emphasized by Burke and Kant, Hegel and Schopenhauer. Molinos, Fénelon, and Madame Guyon have maintained the possibility of a disinterested love of God. It must, therefore, be admitted that, while the analysis of the term 'motive' given under (2) and (3) is in many cases a correct and complete analysis, there are other cases where, even if impelled towards the end by some subjective affective element, the self-conscious satisfaction of this impulse need form no part of the objective end in view nor even of the subjective impelling force.

It is when we come to the fourth sense of the term 'motive'—the strict sense given to it by Kant—that we find the most striking detachment of the term from all association with the subjective self. It may still bear relation to something universal, common to the individual selves, but the ends are then ends in which the individual self loses its individuality. They are objective. This is the essential of morality to Kant, and the point which separates the ethics of Kant from the ethics of Green. It was to retain in the moral motive the reference to self that Green was compelled to characterize the good as the 'perfection of human character' or 'self-devotion to the perfecting of man.' D'Arcy (*Short Study of Ethics*^{2}, p. 277) has seen this defect in the ethics of Green. The defect is, however, a necessary outcome of Green's initial position. To Kant, on the other hand, reason, not the mere self, is able to give itself an end, which, though realized in the matter of desire, is independent of the relation of that matter to the particular self. Kant is often criticized as if the categorical imperative set up ends, detached from all the material of desire and inclination, as if purely formal ends existed by themselves. It is the impenetration of particular desires and inclinations by the categorical law of duty that gives to the individual the absolute value expressed in that form of the categorical imperative which is expressed: 'so treat humanity whether in thine own person or that of another always as an end and never as a means.'

We have, therefore, in our highest ends, moral, æsthetic, and religious, the singular paradox that in them an element, which comes into existence only through particular feelings and inclinations, becomes, as regards its essential character, independent of these and a motive of selfless and disinterested action.

In the above discussion we have considered the several distinct senses in which the term 'motive' may be used. There are, however, some ambiguities connected with its use which, while not really adding to the multiplicity of senses, might nevertheless appear to do so. Bentham says:

> 'Owing to the poverty and unsettled state of language, the word *motive* is employed indiscriminately to denote two kinds of objects, which, for the better understanding of the subject, it is necessary should be distinguished. On some occasions it is employed to denote any of those really existing incidents from whence the act in question is supposed to take its rise. The sense it bears on these occasions may be styled its literal or *unfigurative* sense. On other occasions it is employed to denote a certain fictitious entity, a passion, an affection of the mind, an ideal being, which upon the happening of any such incident is considered as operating upon the mind, and prompting it to take that course, towards which it is impelled by the influence of such incident. Motives of this class are Avarice, Indolence, Benevolence, and so forth. . . . This latter may be styled the *figurative* sense of the term *motive*' (p. 46 f.).

The real incidents—motives in the unfigurative sense—are:

> '1. The *internal* perception of any individual lot of pleasure or pain, the expectation of which is looked upon as calculated to determine you to act in such or such a manner; 2, any *external* event, the happening whereof is regarded as having a tendency to bring about the perception of such pleasure or such pain.'

Each of these is further distinguished according as it is in *prospect* or in *esse*, meaning by the former the posterior possible object which is looked forward to as the consequence of his action [or inaction], by the latter, the present existing object or event which takes place upon a man's looking forward to the other.

These distinctions partly depend on Bentham's doctrine that the only motives are pleasure and pain, which has been ably criticized by Sidgwick (*Methods of Ethics*, bk. i. ch. iv.). They may be reduced to those drawn by Fleming (*Manual of Moral Philosophy*, ed. London, 1870, p. 176) between 'the external object, the internal principle, and the state or affection of mind resulting from the one being addressed to the other.' The internal principle may be dismissed as, at any rate for the purposes of this article, a 'fictitious entity.' The distinction, however, between the external object and the resulting state or affection of mind has an important bearing on the foregoing discussion. It might seem plausible to say, as Fleming says, that 'speaking strictly it [the term 'motive'] should be applied to the terminating state or affection of mind which arises from a principle of human nature having been addressed by an object adapted to it; because it is this state or affection of mind which prompts to action.' This is true in all cases where an affection is the spring of action. But there are cases in which the affection does not exist, or the action takes place without, or contrary to, its prompting. In the 'beautiful soul' in Schiller's *Anmuth und Würde*, affection produces moral results, but, to Kant, true moral action is independent of such affection. In art, however much feeling may guide, it cannot be considered as the motive. In true art it cannot even be said that there is a conscious image or ideal which impels the artist to produce. In art, as Schelling says, the ego is unconscious in regard to its product (*System des transcendentalen Idealismus*, vi., Tübingen, 1800 [*Sämmtl. Werke*, Stuttgart, 1856–61, iii.]).

An important distinction is that between motive and intention. The nature of intentionality is thus stated by Bentham:

> ‘Let us observe the connexion there is between intentionality and consciousness. When the act itself is intentional, and with respect to the existence of all the circumstances *advised*, as also with respect to the materiality of those circumstances, in relation to a given consequence, and there is no mis-supposal with regard to any preventive circumstance, that consequence must also be intentional. In other words, advisedness, with respect to the circumstances, if clear from the mis-supposal of any preventive circumstance, extends the intentionality from the act to the consequences’ (p. 44).

The distinction itself is most clearly expressed by Martineau (*Types of Ethical Theory*^{2}, ii. 272):

> ‘The *Intention* comprises the whole contemplated operations of the act, both those for the sake of which, and those in spite of which, we do it. The *Motive* comprises only the former.’

Dividing the intention as Martineau does into persuasives, dissuasives, and neutral consequences, it is only the first that fall under the heading of ‘motive’ (cf. Mill, *Utilitarianism*, London, 1879, ch. ii. p. 27; Muirhead, *Elements of Ethics*^{2}, p. 61; Mackenzie, *Manual of Ethics*, p. 64 ff.).

This excludes from intention all motives in sense (1) which are unconscious or involuntary. It includes motives in senses (2) and (3). It is more difficult to say whether it includes motives in sense (4). The particular object or end is certainly included in the intention, but the law which the will gives to itself, while controlling and determining the intention, seems not necessarily to form part of it. The act, even if done for the sake of the law, has not the law in its universality as its end. To make Martineau's statement true we must understand ‘persuasives’ in an affective sense.

2. **Classification of motives.**—The various classifications reflect the difficulties which have attended the foregoing discussions. Our impulses or active principles are classified by Reid into mechanical, animal, and rational; but only to the last two does he apply the term ‘motives.’ Stewart has criticized this classification on the grounds that ‘mechanical’ cannot be applied to instincts and habits (which is done by Reid), nor to any of our active principles. It is capricious to call our appetites animal principles, because common to man and brutes, and to distinguish our instincts as mechanical, in regard to which our nature bears so strong an analogy to the lower animals. Mechanical principles of action produce their effect without any will or intention on our part. Animal principles of action require intention and will, but not judgment. Rational principles of action require not only intention or will, but judgment or reason. Stewart censures Reid for including under animal principles of action the desire of knowledge, of esteem, pity, patriotism, etc.

Stewart's own classification falls under five heads: (1) appetites, (2) desires, (3) affections, (4) self-love, (5) moral faculty. This classification has been ably criticized by Martineau (ii. 134).

McCosh gives the following classification of the orective or motive powers, or, as he prefers to say, of the motive and moral powers:

i. The native appetencies of the mind leading to emotions. These include: (1) the inclination to exercise every native power voluntarily or involuntarily; (2) the desire to receive pleasure and avoid pain; (3) the appetites: tendencies to seek for knowledge, esteem, society, power, property; (4) an inward principle that impels to seek for the beautiful; (5) the moral power as a prompting energy; (6) unselfish motives prompting to action in relation to other beings, *e.g.* sympathy.

ii. The will not as furnishing incitements, inducements, or motives, but as seated above these, sanctioning, restraining, and deciding among them.

iii. The conscience—a cognitive power involving certain beliefs and judgments (*Intuitions of the Mind*, p. 242 ff.).

More important than any of these classifications is that of Martineau (ii. 129–175). He begins by distinguishing between two sets of impelling principles in man: (1) ‘those which urge him, in the way of unreflecting instinct, to appropriate objects or natural expression,’ and (2) ‘those which supervene upon self-knowledge and experience, and in which the preconception is present of an end gratifying to some recognized feeling’ (p. 135). The former he calls primary springs of action, the latter secondary. Under the primary come—(1) propensions: including organic appetites and animal spontaneity; (2) passions: antipathy, fear, anger; these do not arise as forces from the needs of our own nature, but are rather what we suffer at the hands of objects; (3) affections: parental, social, compassionate; these operate as attractions towards other persons; (4) sentiments: wonder, admiration, reverence; these direct themselves upon *ideal relations*, objects of apprehension or thought that are above us, yet potentially ours.

Under the secondary principles which are characterized by their *interested* nature or invariable aim to produce certain states of ourselves come—(1) secondary propensions: love of pleasure, money, power; (2) secondary passions: malice, vindictiveness, suspiciousness; (3) secondary affections: sentimentality; (4) secondary sentiments: self-culture, æstheticism, interest in religion.

The secondary series is the self-conscious counterpart of the primary series. These principles give rise to ulterior combinations, such as love of praise, emulation, fellow-feeling. In addition to these are prudence and conscience, but neither is, according to Martineau, a positive principle, so as to range in the series of impulses. Each exercises a judicial function—prudence among the secondary principles, conscience over the whole.

If we examine these various classifications, we shall find much to confirm the wide view of motives which we have taken. Martineau's distinction of primary and secondary springs of action directly contradicts the narrow view of motives taken by Green, which would limit motives to those associated with the notion of self. Such association gives rise to secondary springs of action. Again, some of these classifications rightly regard conscience and the moral faculty as motive powers prompting to action and yet *per se* incapable of being identified with an affective element. In Martineau's theory the moral element consists in relative position in a scale of excellence intuitively discerned. Other moralists might seek to analyze further in what this excellence consists, and this analysis might be dangerous to the intuitive scale, might show that the position of a spring varies with circumstances; but the insight that the moral element is not an affective spring of action, in either the primary or secondary form, remains; and with it remains the necessity of recognizing a fourth form of motive, the motivity of which, whether proceeding from an autonomy of the will itself or from a recognition of an intrinsic authority in certain imperatives of action, or from a recognition of superiority or authority in inward springs or outward courses of conduct, demands a unique position for itself in the classification of those forces which impel the human will to action.

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G. J. STOKES.

MOUNTAINS, MOUNTAIN-GODS.

—There are few peoples who have not looked upon mountains with awe and reverence, or who have not paid worship to them or to gods or spirits associated with them in various ways. Their height, their vastness, the mystery of their recesses, the veil of mist or cloud now shrouding them, now dispersed from them, the strange noises which the wind makes in their gorges, the crash of a fall of rock, or the effect of the echo, their suggestion of power, their appearance of watching the intruder upon their solitude—all give to them an air of personality, and easily inspire an attitude of reverence and eventually of worship. They are next thought to have a spirit akin to, yet greater than, man's, and such a spirit may become separate from the mountain and exist as a god of the mountain. The natural dangers encountered by the traveller or mountain-dweller, as well as the mystery of gorge, precipice, or cavern, suggest the presence of spirits, dangerous or at times beneficent, and in many cases also ghosts of the dead are thought to haunt the mountains. Their summits, being near the sky and often surrounded by cloud, suggest their connexion with gods of sky or rain; or the remoteness and mystery of their peaks cause them to be regarded as dwellings of gods or of ghosts.

Sporadically we find no cult of mountains or mountain-spirits, but that is generally where no cult of nature exists, or, of course, where no mountains exist. Where they are feared, it is generally as much because of the demons supposed to infest them as because of their own suggestion of terror. The horror of mountains found in writers from Waller to the time of Scott, Byron, and Wordsworth was perhaps a literary affectation as much as genuine lack of appreciation. Wordsworth's 'voice of the mountains' has generally made a strong appeal to men and has given a great impulse to the imagination.

1. The personification of mountains.—The various impressions which mountains made upon men's minds led to their being regarded as alive, or possessed of a power lurking behind their massive forms, and, finally, to their personification in a greater or less degree. The next stage was that the mountain-god—the personified mountain which received worship—became a god of the mountain, separate from it, yet connected with it. It is difficult in particular cases to say which of these stages is intended, or to disentangle them, since the human mind so easily adopts either attitude; and, even where a god of the mountain is worshipped, the mountain itself still looms vast and, as it were, personal. In this section we shall examine instances where the mountain seems to be worshipped for itself alone or to be regarded as sacred and to some extent personal.

The Choles of Itza regarded one particular hill as god of all the mountains, and on it burned a perpetual fire.[1] To the Huichol Indians every hill and rock of peculiar shape is a deity,[2] and hills as well as lakes, rain, etc., are tribal gods of the Thompson Indians.[3] The Mexicans had gods of mountains (§ 2), but they regarded all mountains as divine and personified them. Iztaccihuatl was the wife of Popocatepetl. Molina describes the hill Huanacauri as the chief *huaca* of the Incas.[4] In Korea mountains are personified, and the idea of guardianship, *e.g.*, of towns, is associated with them (cf. § 5). Yet there are also spirits of mountains.[5] In Japan the term *kami*, applied to deities, is likewise applied to mountains, which are supposed to possess great power.[6] Similarly in China, where spirits of mountains have always been worshipped, mountains themselves are included among the *shen*, or beneficent gods. There are ten principal mountains included among the *t'i-ki*, or earth-gods—the five *yoh*, of which the greatest is T'ai Shan in Shantung, and the five *chen*.[1] Of each of these there is one in each chief cardinal point (the four mountains), and one in the centre. The chief minister of Yâo was called 'president of the mountains.'[2] To these, or to their spirits, sacrifices are made on the great altar of the earth at the summer solstice. Other mountains are also included in the category of gods and in the official worship (see also § 7).[3] In Tibet Mt. Kanchinjunga was once an object of worship, but is now regarded as the dwelling of a god of the same name. There are four great deified mountains in Tibet.[4] In Media and in Phrygia gods were identified with mountains, and a cult was paid to them on their summits.[5] Among the Celts a cult of mountains, as well as of gods of mountains, is to be traced. One inscription was 'To the Mountains'; the mountains are often invoked in spell or prayer or invocation in Irish texts; and Gildas speaks of the 'blind people' who adored mountains and other parts of nature.[6] While the Greeks adored divinities associated with mountains, some mountains still retained a degree of personification—*e.g.*, Mt. Ida as a nymph.[7] In India as early as the Rigveda (VII. xxxv. 8) there is a direct appeal to the mountains: 'May the mountains be propitious to us.' The Himālaya is king of mountains, the great divine range *par excellence*, pre-eminently sacred. It 'cannot be shaken,' and it is the abode of the dead, of mighty creatures, and of living saints and ascetics, as well as the haunt of demons of all kinds. But its own virtues are supreme. To think of it is to gain vast merit; to see it is to have one's sins removed. It was personified as Himavat or Harivaṁśa, father of Gaṅgā and Umā Devī, or Pārvatī, the mountain-goddess, identified with one of the peaks.[8]

An ancient story tells how Pārvatī covered up the eyes of Mahādeva when he was performing *tapas* on Himavat. Flame burst from his forehead and scorched the mountain; but, when she assumed a submissive attitude, her father was restored to his former condition.[9]

Among the aboriginal tribes of India mountains are personified. The Santāls sacrifice to Marang Burū, at once a mountain and a god. Other tribes have no other gods but mountains, rivers, and the dead.[10] Among the Semites mountains and hills had been personified, and many of them were regarded as peculiarly sacred—the dwelling-place or seat of a god (§ 5). But the evidence is mainly that of cults upon hills or high places to a god associated with these (§ 7). The pagan Slavs are described as worshipping mountains.[11]

Where a god associated with a hill or mountain bears a name similar to it, it is probable that the mountain personified gave this name to the subsequent god of the mountain. A Celtic god Poeninus was god of the Pennine Alps, Vosegus was god of the Vosges mountains. Cf. other examples above.

Evidence of the personification of mountains is also to be found in the sporadic cases of alleged descent from mountains, possibly because these mark the region whence some tribe took its origin or migrated.

The Navahos thought that they came from the bowels of a great mountain near the San Juan.[12] Some Mexicans regarded the mountain Cacalepei as their mother.[13] The Iranian kings were supposed to have descended from the mountain Ushidarena.[14]

2. Gods and mountains.—Besides being personified, mountains are associated with clearly defined gods, either as their occasional or as their more permanent seats or abodes, or there are gods of the mountains distinct from these as personified.

The house of the Māsai god Ngai (Eñ-ai) is in the snows of Kilimanjaro.[15] Among the Yoruba there is a god of the mountains called Oke. In Hawaii several distinct deities of the volcano Kilauea were recognized, each of these being connected with some part of it.[16] Among the Todas most deities are associated with hills, each occupying a separate peak, on the summit of which is a stone circle, barrow, or cairn.[17] The

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[1] *NR* iii. 122.

[2] *FL* xii. [1901] 108.

[3] *Ib.* xi. [1900] 398.

[4] W. H. Prescott, *Hist. of the Conquest of Mexico*, London, 1843, ii. 41; C. R. Markham, *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, do. 1873, p. 13.

[5] *FL* xi. 328 f.

[6] W. G. Aston, in *FL* x. [1899] 317.

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[1] J. J. M. de Groot, *Religion in China*, New York, 1912, pp. 16, 201 ff.

[2] *SBE* iii. [1879] 35.

[3] *Ib.* xxxix. [1891] 244; de Groot, *loc. cit.*

[4] L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 370 f.

[5] Diod. Sic. ii. 13; L. F. A. Maury, *Hist. des religions de la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1857–59, iii. 185.

[6] J. A. MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, pp. 39, 172; Gildas, *de Excidio Britanniæ*, ii. 4.

[7] Apollodorus, I. i. 6.

[8] Crooke, *PR* i. 60 f., 62; Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, i.^{2} [1872] 130; *Milinda-pañha*, IV. viii. 16.

[9] Muir, iv.^{2} [1873] 269 f., quoting *Mahābhārata*, xiii. 6355 ff.

[10] *PR* i. 61; E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, Boston, 1895, p. 537; cf. *ERE* ii. 482^b.

[11] L. Leger, *La Mythologie slave*, Paris, 1901, p. 190.

[12] *NR* iii. 121.

[13] Prescott, ii. 41.

[14] *SBE* xxxi. [1887] 200, note 2.

[15] J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, London, 1885, p. 445.

[16] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, London, 1832–36, iv. 248 f.

[17] *FL* xviii. [1907] 103.

Khonds worship a god of hills, and among the Kols the great deity Marang Burū, or 'Great Mountain,' is the rain-god, Marang Burū being a conspicuous peak in Chotā Nāgpur which is either the god himself or his dwelling-place. Before the time of rain elaborate ceremonies take place on the mountain for rain and a fruitful season.[1] Mt. Shasta is thought by American Indian tribes to have been made of snow and ice by the Great Spirit from the sky, after which he stepped down upon it and hollowed it out as a wigwam where he might live on his visits to earth.[2] Among the Thompson Indians the 'Old Man' is a being living on high mountains, and there making rain or snow by scratching himself.[3] The Master of Life is thought by other tribes to dwell in the Rocky Mountains.[4] The Mexicans thought that Tlaloc, god of rain, dwelt on the highest mountain-tops where the clouds gather. Other gods, his lieutenants, bearing his name, dwelt in hills and were worshipped as gods of water and of mountains. The cult of Tlaloc was of great importance, and was connected with festivals of the first rank.[5] In Central India the sun-god is supposed to dwell on hills, and isolated rounded hills are hence called 'sun-rays.' Several outstanding peaks of the Himālaya are the seat of gods—Kailāsa of Śiva and Kubera—and a title of Śiva is the 'mountain-god.' Other mountain chains or peaks are associated with divinities—*e.g.*, the Vindhya ranges with Mahārāṇī Vindhyeśwarī, the goddess of the range. In earlier times Rudra was believed to dwell among the mountains, or on their tops, and Durgā was called 'the dweller in Mandara.'[6] Manu is said to have descended on a slope of the Himālaya called 'Manu's Descent,' and to have tied his ship to a peak after the flood.[7] As has been seen, there is a constant confusion between the mountains personified and the personal gods of mountains in India. In Greece certain gods were closely associated with mountains. The habitual cult of Zeus on mountain-tops, like that of the Mexican Tlaloc, shows his earlier connexion with rain, cloud, and lightning sent down from the heights, and he probably had been identified with and had absorbed similar earlier gods there worshipped—*e.g.*, at Mt. Lykaion in Arcadia (Zeus Lykaios). In several other instances the mountain where the cult took place gave a title to the god—*e.g.*, Zeus Olympios (here the cult no longer was observed), Zeus Laphystos (Bœotia); on Mt. Pelion he was worshipped as Zeus Akraios.[8] Clouds resting on peaks where Zeus as rain-god was worshipped were a sign of rain.[9] Hermes had a temple on the summit of Mt. Cyllene, and Apollo on the hill of Phigaleia. Artemis was also worshipped on high places in Arcadia. The Cretan Mother-goddess, like the Phrygian Cybele (*q.v.*), was represented standing on a hill (cf. art. MOUNTAIN-MOTHER). Cybele was the Mountain-mother (*μήτηρ ὀρεία*),[10] and she loved the mountain and its recesses, called by her name *Κύβελα*.[11] Another divinity associated with mountains was Pan, who was born on Mt. Lykaios and had one of his sanctuaries there. Several mountains—*e.g.*, Mt. Mænalus, Mt. Lampea—were sacred to him. There he loved to hunt, and there he might be heard piping.[12] The personalized nymphs were also of the mountains, and were worshipped there. They had caves on Mt. Cithæron, and gave oracles from them. Certain nymphs, called *Ὀρεστιάδες* or *Ὀρειάδες*, presided over mountains, and were companions of Artemis.[13] Mt. Olympus was supposed to be the seat of the gods, with the palace of Zeus on its summit. In Cappadocia, according to Strabo,[14] a mountain was called after a god Omanos. Some Babylonian gods were called 'ruler of the mountains,' and Enlil is described as 'the great Earth-Mountain'—a reference to Babylonian cosmogony and to the belief that he was god of all the forces of life. For his worship, and later that of all the gods, an artificial mountain was erected in the plain.[15] The world-mountain was the seat of the gods. Among the Celts gods were associated with hills, where some cult was offered to them, or with mounds. Within these they were believed to have retired on the coming of Christianity, and there they live as fairies.[16]

For Berbers see *ERE* ii. 506.

3. Ghosts dwelling on mountains.—To some extent the belief that ghosts haunt mountains or that the Other-world of the dead is situated on a mountain-top may have arisen from the custom of burying the dead on hills, but the belief often exists where this custom is not found. It was doubtless connected with the fact that mountains are lofty and touch the clouds or are swathed at times in mists. They are near the sky-land which is so often associated with the dead. They are lofty and mysterious; and, as they are the dwelling-place of gods and spirits other than human, it was natural enough to regard them as also the habitation of ghosts.

Burial on hills is only one of many methods of disposing of the dead, and is by no means universal. It is found among the Comanches, Arapahos, and other N. American tribes, the Caribs and Patagonians, in Arabia and Tibet, and among the Parsis where no *dakhma* exists (the body is surrounded by stones, not buried). Hill-burial was also favoured by the Norsemen.[1]

In Melanesia the idea that ghosts dwell on mountains is frequently found—*e.g.*, in British New Guinea (life like that of earth [Koita]; a blissful Elysium [Aroma]; ghosts as a light or a fungus [Roro-speaking tribes]), and among the Kai of German New Guinea (ghosts as animals haunting wild glens). In the D'Entrecasteaux group is the spirit-mountain Bwebweso, the happy spirit-land which the ghosts reach by a snake-bridge over a chasm. No mortal dare climb it or speak above a whisper when passing it.[2] In Tahiti the heaven of the dead, Tamahani, is on a mountain on the north-west side of Raiatua, and frequently in Polynesia a mountain-top or rocky defile or the surrounding mists are the abode or resort of ghosts.[3] In the Shortland Islands the dead go to certain mountains, and, after remaining there for some time, depart to a volcano.[4] Among the Dayaks of Borneo hill-tops are associated with ghosts. The heaven of the Idaans and other tribes is on the top of Kina Balu, and the ghosts feed on the moss on its sides. Among the Sea Dayaks a hero who becomes the object of a cult is buried in a lonely spot on the crest of a hill.[5] Various African tribes have similar beliefs.

The Akamba think that ghosts dwell on hills, and that volcanic veins are their paths. Sacrifice is made to them there, and they fear to approach the hill among the woods of which the ghosts dwell.[6] Among the Kagoro ghosts dwell in groves or on mountains.[7] The Bondei god, Mlinga, is a mountain, and souls go thither, storms come from it, and in war drums are heard upon it. Death is the penalty for trespassing on it.[8] The Anyanja hear the ghosts talking on their spirit-hill, or drums beating. To hear these is dangerous.[9] Malagasy ghosts and animal spirits reside in a great mountain in the north.[10]

In N. America the Sonora Indians thought that ghosts dwelt in caves and rocks, the echo being their voices.[11] Of other tribes it is said that souls of the dead go to Wakondah, who dwells in the Rocky Mountains, and there live in bliss.[12] Tlalocan, a Mexican Elysium in the mountains, was the place of souls of those sacrificed to Tlaloc and of those who died of leprosy or by drowning or lightning.[13] The Hindus regarded the Himālaya as the home of the sainted dead.[14] One Chinese paradise is in the Kuen-lun mountains, and is for those who attain holiness or divinity; many tales are told of its wonders.[15] Similar beliefs lingered on in the W. Highlands. Certain clans had hills 'to which the spirits of their departed friends had a peculiar attachment,' and which were supernaturally lit when a member of the clan died.[16]

In pagan Slavic belief the dead must climb a steep glass mountain, on whose top is paradise, and in *Märchen*, Scandinavian and Slavic, this idea reappears as the rescue of a princess or a fair being from the top of a glass mountain by a hero.[17]

The road which the soul has to traverse to the region of the dead is often a difficult one, and in some savage instances it passes over mountains, or the entrance to the Other-world is from a cave in a volcanic vent (see DESCENT TO HADES [Ethnic], § I).

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[1] Hopkins, p. 528; E. T. Dalton, *TES* vi. [1867] 34.
[2] *NR* iii. 90 f.
[3] *FL* xi. 398.
[4] W. Irving, *Astoria*, London, 1839, p. 142.
[5] *Ib.* pp. 324, 343 ff.
[6] *PR* i. 61, 63; Hopkins, pp. 461, 416.
[7] *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. viii. 1. 5 f.
[8] Paus. I. xxxi. 4, xxxii. 2, IV. iii. 9, xxxiii. 2, VIII. ii., xxxviii. 3, IX. xxxiv. 5; *CGS* i. 50 f.
[9] Theoph. *de Signis Tempestatum*, i. 20, 24.
[10] *CGS* iii. 296.
[11] L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 109.
[12] Paus. VIII. xxiv. 4, xlii. 3, xxxvi. 8; *CGS* v. 382, 432.
[13] *CGS* v. 424; Homer, *Il.* vi. 420; Paus. IX. iii. 9.
[14] xi. p. 521.
[15] Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, p. 104; G. F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions*, Edinburgh, 1914, i. 202.
[16] MacCulloch, p. 66.

[1] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the U.S.*, Philadelphia, 1853–57, ii. 133; W. H. Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, London, 1868, p. 125; R. Fitzroy, *Narrative of Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, do. 1826–39, ii. 158; J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, do. 1831, i. 280; A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York, 1906, p. 394; cf. *ERE* iv. 422^b, 510^b.
[2] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 189; J. Chalmers and W. W. Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, London, 1885, p. 86; R. W. Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, do. 1912, p. 267 f.; R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch-Neu-Guinea*, Berlin, 1911, iii. 112, 150 f.; G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, p. 399 f.
[3] Ellis, i. 331, 516.
[4] *FL* xvi. [1905] 115.
[5] S. B. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, London, 1862, i. 172, 278; H. Low, *Sarawak*, do. 1848, p. 245; I. H. N. Evans, *JRAI* xlii. [1912] 380; C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, ii. 10; cf. *ERE* ii. 683^a.
[6] C. Dundas, *JRAI* xliii. [1913] 535, 548.
[7] A. J. N. Tremearne, *JRAI* xlii. 159.
[8] G. Dale, *JAI* xxv. [1896] 232 f.
[9] *FL* xxii. [1911] 257.
[10] Ellis, *Hist. of Madagascar*, London, 1838, i. 429 f.
[11] *NR* iii. 529.
[12] Irving, p. 142.
[13] *PC* ii. 61.
[14] *PR* i. 60.
[15] De Groot, *Religion in China*, p. 175.
[16] R. G. MacLagan, *FL* viii. [1897] 208.
[17] W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*^{2}, London, 1872, p. 109 f.; *CF*, p. 368 f.

In Mexican belief the soul of one dying a peaceful death had to pass between two mountains which threatened to meet and crush him, if he were not armed with a passport.[1] Mt. Demavend in Persia was the resting-place of the blessed on their way to paradise,[2] and Mt. Albūrz was one of the supports of the Chinvat bridge. In ancient Egyptian belief the 'Mountain of the West,' through which lay the road to the region of the dead, was guarded by Taûrt or Hathor, who is represented emerging from the mountain,[3] where Rā also sits. At the tomb the coffin was set on a small sandhill, representing the mountain.[4]

Many folk-tales and myths tell of a deliverer, some *rex quondam, rex futurus*, like Arthur, who is one day to return as the saviour of his people.[5] In some of these he is in fairyland or heaven, but 'the cruder and more archaic belief is that he sleeps within the hills.'[6] Sometimes he is seen there by one who has been able to penetrate into the hill. Such tales are told of Arthur, Merlin, Fionn, Bruce, and many another hero, and there are innumerable Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavic instances.[7] The story is also found in Korea.[8] Hartland suggests that these heroes are gods of the earlier faiths, vanquished by Christianity but not destroyed.[9] So in Irish myth the Tuatha Dé Danann had retired within the hills.[10] But, while this is not impossible, the idea seems to be linked more directly with that of the dead being alive in grave or barrow or in hills (as in Scandinavian belief), whence they might come in the hour of their people's need.

4. Mountains as the abode of spirits.—Besides being the seat of gods, mountains are also peopled, like other parts of nature, by spirits, or are haunted by fierce demons.

In Australia Twanjirika is the mountain-spirit of the S. Arunta, and in the Lake Macquarie district Yaho lived on the tops of high mountains and was hostile to the blacks. The Arunta also fear spirits called *oruntja*, dwelling on a hill.[11] In British New Guinea the Koita dread a spirit living on a hill which they will not approach, but a spear made from a tree growing near it is peculiarly effective.[12] In Polynesia spirits people the mountains and are generally dangerous.[13] The *yaku* of the Veddas people rocks and hill-tops, among other places, and are named from them. They send disease, and are much feared. Some of these *yaku* are spirits of the dead—of headmen or their wives. They also have a dangerous aspect—sending sickness or stealing children—and are placated by offerings.[14] The Kayans and other tribes of Borneo believe in spirits manifesting themselves in parts of nature—*e.g.*, mountains. Spirits of this kind are called *toh*, and are malevolent; hence people are careful not to offend them. The most dangerous are found on the most rugged summits, which the natives will hardly approach.[15] Among the Lushei Kuki clans *lashi* are beings dwelling in precipices and controlling animals, but demons people hills, streams, etc., and cause much trouble.[16] In Chitral bad spirits with feet turned backwards dwell on Tirich Mir.[17] Among the Oraons every rock and natural feature is haunted by demons, and this is true of every part of India.[18] The Himālaya is the dwelling of innumerable beings, its recesses the haunt of demons, its caves of witches and fairies. Other hills are equally infested and consequently feared. As early as Vedic times such beliefs are found, and in the *Mahābhārata* witches are said to live in mountains.[19] In Korea the spirits of mountains are duly worshipped by sacrifices, and on every pass is a shrine where prayer is made to them or an offering laid. They control tigers and give the hunter power to catch them.[1] In China mountain spectres are much feared, and evil spirits haunt mountains, their power being proportionate to the size of these. Only on certain days should mountains be crossed, and only after fasting and purification. The genii of mountains are more friendly and have a regular cult (§ 7).[2] In Indo-China the Thai believe in the *phi* dwelling on steep mountains, who have the power of imitating storms by night.[3] In Annam female spirits or fairies called *chu vi* dwell in forests and mountains, and for each hill there are genii good and bad.[4] Among the Bantu of S.E. Africa demons haunting mountains are much feared.[5] On the other hand, the Awemba believe in guardian spirits attached to hills, etc., who send rain and fertility.[6] For similar Berber beliefs see *ERE* ii. 506b. The Babylonians thought that evil spirits dwelt on mountain-tops.[7] In Persia Demavend is the home of genii and demons,[8] and wizards assemble there. It is a general Muhammadan belief that the mountains of Qāf, supposed to be the circular boundary of the earth, are the chief abode of *jinn* and *ifrīts*.[9] European folklore makes hills and mountains one of the dwelling-places of elves, fairies, dwarfs, and similar beings,[10] and the *devs* (demons) of Armenian folk-belief live in mountains,[11] while fairyland is often within a hollow hill (see art. FAIRY, § 11). So the Serbian *vilas*[12] and the Nereids of modern Greece haunt hills and mountains. Certain mountains were trysting-places of spirits, demons, and witches—*e.g.*, the Horselberg, the Brocken, the Puy de Dôme, and innumerable others in every part of Europe, these gatherings probably being reminiscent of sacrificial rites in pagan times on the same spots.[13]

5. Sacred mountains.—Wherever mountains are personified or associated with gods or are the seat of a cult, their sacredness is obvious. But some mountains have a peculiar sanctity. Legend clusters thickly round them, and they are places of pilgrimage or sources of merit.

Among the Western Nandi there is a sacred hill called Chepel-oi, the hill to which the spirits set fire. Ghosts are supposed to fire the grass there annually, and no Nandi will go near it.[14] In Japan Fuji-yama is the sacred mountain, regarded as a goddess or connected with a goddess of the same name.[15] Pilgrims ascend its summit in vast numbers annually, and it is a frequent object of Japanese art. The Kwan-lun mountains are the sacred mountains of Taoism, and have given rise to numerous fanciful legends.[16] In early Hinduism Mt. Mandara in Bihār was a kind of Olympus. It formed the stick with which the gods churned the ocean for ambrosia. But more usually Himavat (Himālaya) is the sacred mountain-chain, 'the divine mountain, beloved of the gods.' As has been seen, it is extolled as a god. There are many temples on it, and it is the object of innumerable pilgrimages. It is inhabited by beings whose mere presence adds value to the merit of the penances of ascetics (see also § 1). Other mountains are sacred—*e.g.*, the Vindhya range—an object of devotion and prayer, and have their temples or shrines.[17] In ancient Persia Albūrz or Hara Berezaiti was peculiarly sacred, the first of mountains. The sun and stars revolved round it; light came from it and returned there; on it was no night or darkness, no cold, no wind, no sickness; on it the Amesha Spentas built a dwelling for Mithra, and he looks upon all the material world from it; below it was the Chinvat bridge. All mountains are said to have grown from its roots.[18] In the Qur'ān Ṣafa and Marwah are said to be 'beacons of God,' and pilgrims are advised to compass them about. Idols formerly stood upon them and were worshipped, but Muhammad ordered their destruction, though the visitation of the mountains is an important part of the Hajj rites.[19] Mt. Sinai was also regarded as sacred, and oaths were taken by it.[20] Among the Semites several mountains were sacred as the dwelling- or resting-place of gods or the scene of a cult (§ 7). Sinai was sacred before Israel received the Law from it, and it is specifically called the mount of God in OT (Ex 3^{1} 4^{27} 24^{13}, 1 K 19^{8}). Several other sacred mountains are also mentioned there—Moriah, Nebo (perhaps originally the seat of the god Nebo), Hor, and Zion (Gn 22^{14}, Dt 32^{49}, Nu $20^{22ff.}$, Is $2^{2f.}$ 25^{6}). The last remained sacred in much later times as the central seat of worship, and was regarded as God's holy mountain, the 'mountain of the Lord's house.'[1] In ancient times Mt. Atlas in Morocco was held in great reverence. Religious fear seized those who approached it, and the Libyans are said to have regarded it as a temple and a god, the object by which they swore, and a statue.[2]

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[1] *NR* iii. 537.

[2] *FL* xii. 274.

[3] A. Wiedemann, *Rel. of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1897, p. 169 f.

[4] *Ib.* p. 236.

[5] E. S. Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, London, 1891, pp. 205, 228 f.

[6] *Ib.* p. 207.

[7] MacCulloch, p. 344; J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, p. 953 ff.

[8] *FL* xi. 327 f.

[9] Hartland, p. 229.

[10] MacCulloch, p. 66.

[11] N. W. Thomas, *Natives of Australia*, London, 1906, p. 218; Spencer-Gillenb, p. 496.

[12] Seligmann, p. 183.

[13] Ellis, *Polyn. Res.* i. 331; A. Bastian, *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, Berlin, 1888, i. 46; T. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1859–72, vi. 295 f.

[14] C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 140, 153 f.

[15] Hose-McDougall, ii. 1, 23, 25.

[16] J. Shakespear, *JRAI* xxxix. [1909] 375, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, London, 1912, p. 65.

[17] *FL* xiii. [1902] 183 f.

[18] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 258; *PR* i. 62.

[19] *Milinda-pañha*, IV. viii. 16; *PR* i. 60 ff., 261; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 89 f.; Hopkins, p. 415 f.

[1] *FL* xi. 328 f.

[2] De Groot, *Rel. System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., iv. 109; R. K. Douglas, *Confucianism and Taoism*, London, 1877, p. 244.

[3] A. Bourlet, *Anthropos*, ii. [1907] 619.

[4] P. Giran, *Magie et religion annamites*, Paris, 1912, pp. 184, 222.

[5] G. M. Theal, *Records of S.E. Africa*, vii. [1901] 405.

[6] J. H. West Sheane, *JRAI* xxxvi. [1906] 151.

[7] M. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 260 f.

[8] E. C. Sykes, *FL* xii. 262, 274; S. Lane-Poole, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, London, 1883, pp. 37, 104.

[9] *SBE* vi. [1900] p. lxix f.; cf. W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, pp. 14, 81.

[10] Grimm, pp. 448, 452, 455, 474. Cf. the stories of the Venusberg, *ib.* p. 935. See also E. H. Meyer, *Germ. Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891, pp. 126–128, 158 f.

[11] M. Abeghian, *Armen. Volksglaube*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 111 f.

[12] M. E. Durham, *JRAI* xxxix. 86.

[13] Grimm, pp. 1051 ff., 1619 f.

[14] A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, Oxford, 1909, p. 100.

[15] *FL* xx. [1909] 251.

[16] *SBE* xxxix. 244, xl. [1891] 70.

[17] Hopkins, p. 358 f.; M. Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*4, London, 1891, p. 349; *Buddha-charita*, vii. 39 ff.

[18] *Yt.* x. 50 f., xii. 23; *Bund.* v. 3–8, viii. 2–5; *Dāṭistān-i-Dīnīk*, xcii. 5; *Dīnkarṭ*, IX. xx. 3, xxii. 4.

[19] Qur'ān, ii. 153.

[20] *Ib.* xcv. 2.

In China mountains have a curious importance, especially the two groups of five already referred to and other sacred mountains. According to the doctrine of *feng-shui* (*q.v.*), every house, temple, field, etc., should be so situated that the beneficent influences of the universe may be freely exercised upon it. These influences are modified by the configuration of the earth. Hence hills intercept noxious influences—*e.g.*, bad winds—or they send far and wide the beneficent influences of water, the chief element in nature; or they are bearers of heavenly influences to man; or, standing around a town, they symbolize the animals of the four quarters, and bring it prosperity. The shape of hills or of any part of them may also influence a village or its inhabitants for good or evil. Hence it is important to select a site near a favourable contour, or a hill or rock in which there is a beneficial combination of elements, as given in the books of geomancy.[3] Similar ideas are found in Korea. Towns, houses, and graves must have their guardian peaks, and care must be taken to avoid or to counteract hostile influences from a hill. People are born according to the nature of the hill on which graves of ancestors are—*e.g.*, a craggy hill denotes a warrior. There are currents or veins of influence in mountains, and prosperity depends on the proper circulation of these.[4] In India it is held that mountains as well as rivers or temples are places which destroy sin, this being especially true of Himavat.[5] In the *Laws of Manu*, however, it is said that a student who has completed his term is not to reside long on a mountain.[6] In Zoroastrianism mountains are said to have been created by outgrowth from the root of Albūrz, the first mountain, in 18 years, after their substance was formed in the earth during 1000 years. High mountains, being near heaven, are apt to become seats of heavenly beings. On the top of one Ahura revealed the law,[7] and mountains are said by the Spirit of Wisdom to be moderators of wind, warders-off, rest-places, and supports of rain-clouds, smiters of Ahriman and the demons, and maintainers and vivifiers of the creation of Ahura Mazda.[8] Of 'him who goes to the lofty mountains' their glory is said to 'bless him and be friendly' (cf. Himavat, § 1).[9] Some are said to have been made by Ahura Mazda.[10] Yet their creation is connected in the *Bundahišn* with the rushing in of the spirit of evil,[11] and at the restoration of all things earth is to receive its original perfect state of a level plain, because mountains are the work of the evil spirit.[12] Even Albūrz, whose summit supports the Chinvat bridge, will no longer exist.[13] Perhaps also this conception accounts for the tabu in the *Sad-dar* against women after child-birth looking at a hill.[14] J. H. Moulton regards this idea, so contrary to Parsi and Aryan notions of the sacredness of mountains, as one of the beliefs brought in by Magian influences, neither Aryan nor Semitic, and superimposed upon Zoroastrianism.[15] A similar idea is seen in the description of the Buddhist paradise, Sukhāvatī, which will be level and contain 'no black mountains nor jewel mountains, nor Sumerus, king of mountains, nor Chakravāṭas, great kings of mountains.'[16] The friendly influence of the hills is especially marked in the OT, as is natural where so many of them were sacred, and Zion was in particular the seat of God's house.[17] They are symbols of God's might, yet are subject to Him. They melt like wax before Him or smoke at His touch. They rejoice with the worshipper, or are bidden to do so, or they break forth into singing before the return of the exiles. They are symbols of God's righteousness; they bring peace and righteousness to the people.

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[1] For many others see Baal, vol. ii. p. 287^{a}, and references there: cf. Ps $48^{1.2}$ 87^{1}.

[2] *HN* v. 1; Max. Tyr. *Dissert.* viii. 57; see Berbers, vol. ii. p. 506.

[3] De Groot, *Religious System of China*, iii. 947 ff., *Religion in China*, pp. 285, 294 ff., 301, 314; cf. *Shih King*, iii. 5.

[4] *FL* xi. 329 ff.

[5] *Vasiṣṭha Dharmaśāstra*, xxii. 12; *Baudhāyana Dharmaśāstra*, III. x. 12.

[6] iv. 69.

[7] So the Mosaic Law was revealed from Sinai. In Gnostic books Christ's esoteric revelations are given on a mountain—perhaps a combination of Mt 5^{1} 24^{3} and 28^{16}. Cf. also the *Apocalypse of Peter*.

[8] *Dīnā-ī-Maīnōg-ī-Xrat*, lvi. 2–6; cf. also *Yt.* i. 31; *Bund.* viii. 2–5; *Selections of Zaṭ-sparam*, vii. 1–7.

[9] *Šayast lā-Šayast*, xix. 12. [10] *Nyāyišn*, v. 5 f.

[11] *Bund.* viii. 1 ff.

[12] *Bund.* xxx. 33; cf. Plutarch, *de Is. et Osir.* 47: 'the earth having become flat and level.'

[13] *Bund.*, *loc. cit.* [14] *Sad-dar*, xvi. 4.

[15] *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, pp. 214, 403.

[16] *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*, 17. Is 40^{4} is probably not analogous, but cf. Rev 16^{20}.

[17] Ps 121^{1} 125^{2}; cf. J. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, 'The Mountain Glory.'

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6. Fabulous mountains. — As the preceding section has shown, actual mountains are often regarded in a mythical light — *e.g.*, Albūrz in Zoroastrian belief, Himavat in Hindu, Kwan-lun in Taoist. Some mythologies, however, have invented mythical mountains, mainly in connexion with cosmogony.

Among such is the Bab. 'mountain of the world' (§ 9 (*b*)). In Hindu and, more particularly, Buddhist mythology Meru or Sumeru, the abode of the gods, occupies a prominent place. It is the primeval and the chief of mountains, the 'golden mountain.' It holds fast the earth, yet it swayed at the coming of Buddha.[1] It is 84,000 miles high, and is surmounted by the heavens. Seven concentric rings of vast mountains surround it, with intervening seas. Between these and an eighth outmost ring are the four continents.[2] Round Meru the sun, moon, and planets revolve. In Tibet the Lāmas offer to the Buddhas daily the universe in effigy; Meru is represented by a dole of rice in the middle.[3] In Muhammadan belief the mountains of Qāf are believed to encompass the earth and its surrounding ocean like a ring, as Albūrz was held to do in Zoroastrian belief.[4] They are of green chrysolite, and are the chief abode of the *jinn*. Our earth is one of seven successive earths, rising above each other, and supported by a rock communicating with Qāf by veins or roots, the origin of earthly mountains. In Malay belief Qāf (which may = the Caucasus) is being bored through by people called Yājūj and Mājūj, and, when they succeed, the world will come to an end. The Malays believe in the existence of a central mountain Mahameru—a borrowing from Hindu belief.[5]

7. Cult of mountains.—A cult offered to mountains or to divinities connected with them cannot be sharply divided from a cult on mountains, whether that is to such gods or to others. In some cases, no doubt, mountain-tops were selected for altars, shrines, or temples because of their supposed nearness to heaven—one seat of the gods.[6] Here and there, however, the difference can be seen even in the same religion.

Among the Nandi, after harvest the people of each geographical division hold a feast on the top of a hill, and in drought people look to Tindiret or Chepusio hill every morning and say, 'Rain, Tindiret!'[7] The savage Malays of Malacca sacrifice to the mountain-spirits on the summits, make a wish, addressing the spirit, and then partake of the sacrifice. This may be done three times, if not successful; should a third visit fail, another mountain is visited.[8] Among the American Indian tribes Bancroft says that a direct worship of hills was unusual, but there was a liking for hills and mounds as places of worship.[9] The Thompson Indians, however, offered the first berries of the year to the mountains, an old man dancing and holding the offering up to them.[10] The Mexicans worshipped mountains and mountain-gods, and, when no hills were available for temples, made artificial mounds, or *teocalli*, for worship. Effigies of the mountains were made of dough and eaten in connexion with human sacrifices to the Tlalocs and mountains.[11] Infants and hairless dogs were also sacrificed on high mountains.[12] In China from ancient times mountains and rivers share with heaven the reverence of the State. There are many historical notices in the sacred books of this or that emperor or king worshipping towards the hills or going to famous hills and sacrificing the appropriate sacrifices to them, usually to the five mountains (§ 1), or to the spirits of the hills.[13] This was done on festivals, at the successful conclusion of war,[14] or on the occasion of a progress through the kingdom. In this way rest was given to the spirits of the hills.[15] Omission to sacrifice to any of these spirits was an act of irreverence, and the ruler was deprived of part of his territory.[16] At Peking is the great altar of 'Empress Earth,' and here at the summer solstice, when sacrifices to heaven are made, the emperor sacrifices to earth's chief components—mountains, rivers, and seas. Similar sacrifices are offered to the ten mountains on other State occasions, as well as to the ranges dominating the site of the imperial mausoleums.[17]

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[1] *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, I. i. 25 (*SBE* xix. [1883] 5); *Mahābhārata*, III. clxiii. 14; cf. I. xvii. 5, I. xviii. 1.

[2] Waddell, p. 78; S. Beal, *Buddhism in China*, London, 1886, p. 172 f.

[3] Waddell, p. 397 f. [4] *Yt.* v. 21, xix. 1.

[5] Lane-Poole, pp. 37, 100, 104 f.; Skeat, p. 1 f.

[6] In the *Li Ki* (VIII. ii. 12) ancient kings appointed wise men who ascended famous hills and there announced to heaven the good government of the princes.

[7] Hollis, p. 47 f.

[8] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. 326 f.

[9] *NR* iii. 122.

[10] J. Teit, *Thompson Indians of British Columbia*, p. 345 (*Jesup N. Pacific Expedition, Memoirs of Amer. Museum of Nat. Hist.*, 1900).

[11] *NR* iii. 123, 343 ff. [12] *Ib.* p. 330 f.; *FL* xviii. 276.

[13] *Li Ki* III. ii. 14–16, iii. 6, VIII. ii. 7, ii. 12.

[14] *Shû King*, II. i., III. i. 9 f., v. iii. 1.

[15] *Shih King*, i. 8. [16] Cf. Douglas, pp. 12, 80 f.

[17] De Groot, *Rel. in China*, pp. 194 f., 201 f.

In India from early times a cult has been paid to or on mountains (§ 1). The *Institutes of Viṣṇu* say that mountains are excellent places for performing *śrāddhas*,[1] and the *Gṛhyasūtras* speak of an oblation of butter made on a mountain to east or north.[2] The cult of sacred mountains, on which shrines or temples are commonly built, has already been referred to. Aboriginal tribes attach a high importance to this cult, and many sacrifices and rites take place upon hills and mountains (Santāls, Korwas, Kols, etc.).[3] In Korea people go once a year to worship the popular god of hills. Pilgrims ascend mountains for merit, and carry a pebble, which is placed on the heap at the top dedicated to this god.[4] In ancient Persia there are frequent references in the sacred books to worship and sacrifice being offered to mountains 'glorious with sanctity,' or 'brilliant with holiness.'[5] The mountains which give understanding are worshipped with libations, as part of the liturgical service.[6] The *Yasna* mentions worship of Sraosha by Haoma on 'the highest height of high Haraiti,'[7] and Herodotus speaks of the custom of ascending the highest peaks and offering sacrifices to Zeus, calling the whole vault of the sky Zeus, probably some Zoroastrian sky-god representing the primitive Indo-European god of the sky.[8] In Greece numerous mountains were crowned by temples dedicated to some particular god, but no deity was so much worshipped on mountain-tops as Zeus, who from his heights was supposed to rule the world. The Greek cults on high places were of ancient date, and perhaps concerned gods supposed to dwell in heaven, rather than gods of the heights. In modern Greece monasteries often stand on the site of these ancient mountain-shrines.[9]

Pausanias describes the cult of Zeus on Mt. Lycaon. There was a mound of heaped-up earth for an altar with two pillars facing the rising sun. Here also and on Mt. Tmolus the priest performed certain rites for the production of rain.[10] In ancient Anatolia festivals in honour of Cybele were celebrated on the tops of Ida and Berecyntus, where she was supposed to reside, and where the trees were sacred to her and never cut down.[11]

Among the Samogitæ on a certain mountain-top there was a perpetual fire in honour of the god Pargn, who controlled thunder and tempest.[12] Among the Semites hills or high places were favourite places of worship, and are frequently referred to in OT in connexion both with pagan tribes or peoples and with Israel. Jahweh was commonly worshipped on high places, and was supposed to dwell there, according to an older stratum of thought, while Israel also offered sacrifice and incense on them to the local gods—the B^{e}ālîm of hills—or other gods from time to time (cf. Hos 4^{13}, Jer 2^{20} 3^{6} 17^{2}, Ezk 20^{28}, 1 K 11^{7} 14^{23} 2 K 16^{4} 17^{10}). For the Canaanite cults see Dt 12^{2}, Nu 33^{52}; Moab, Is 15^{2} 16^{12}; cf. Nu 22^{41}–23. The references to the worship of Jahweh on high places, whether natural or artificial, are frequent—*e.g.*, 1 S $7^{1.17}$ $9^{12f.}$, 2 S 15^{32}, 1 K 3^{4} $18^{20f.}$, Jg 6^{26}, Dt 27^{4}.

Archæological research has discovered remains of many 'high places,' often on hills, and even now remains of temples and sacred groves are to be seen on Hermon and other mountains. On some mountains worship and sacrifice still take place, and circular enclosures of stone crown the summits.

Aaron has a shrine on Mt. Hor, and is supposed to visit it twice a week. Muhammadan saints have also shrines on hilltops.[13] In European folk-survivals from earlier paganism, ritual acts—*e.g.*, 'hill-wakes' or bonfires at May-day or midsummer—often take place on hills.[14]

Many high places are probably artificial constructions.

The Bab. temple-tower (*ziqqurat*) was an earthly copy of the world-mountain, and served the purpose of the worshippers, whose ancestors had been accustomed to worship on heights, gaining nearer access to heaven (cf. *ERE* i. 690^{b}). The Mexicans and other American peoples built mounds, pyramids, or *teocalli*, where no hills were available for worship. Some of these mounds were of great size. On them sacred buildings were erected, and the higher these could be placed the more sacred they seemed. *Teocalli* were also erected on high mountains. The mounds are found in the bottom lands, though occasionally on higher ground.[1]

Heaps of stones, often dedicated to the local genius on the highest point of mountain-passes, to which every traveller adds a stone, are found in all parts of the world and at all stages of culture. The added stone may be an offering (in Ladakh the mountain-spirit is said to be offended if no stone is given[2]), or may carry off weariness (it is often alleged that weariness leaves the traveller when he offers it), or the contagion of evil, or it may drive away evil spirits, or it may be a materialization of the prayer made at the moment. See LANDMARKS, vol. vii. p. 794 f.; *GB*^{3}, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, p. 11 ff.

In all religions which have encouraged asceticism men have chosen to live a solitary life among mountains, partly because of their loneliness, partly because of their sacred associations. Their living there tended to increase the sacred aspect of some mountains.

In India Himavat has always been the resort of saints and ascetics.[3] Buddhist monasteries in Tibet are often on almost inaccessible heights, like many in Eastern Christian regions. Taoist hermits have been fond of mountains,[4] as also have Christian ascetics.

8. Symbolism.—Mountains are everywhere symbolic of strength and everlastingness (cf. the frequent phrase in OT 'the everlasting hills,' though compared with Jahweh they are as nothing). To the Hebrews they were symbols of Jahweh's righteousness, His kindness, His guardianship.[5] In the *Yî King* a mountain is a symbol of resoluteness.[6] The Bab. Bel is called 'the great mountain,' or 'the great Earth-Mountain.'[7] The Zulus speak of their king as being 'high as the mountain,' or address him as 'Yon mountain,'[8] and elsewhere 'mountain' is a title of honour.[9] Buddha is said to be composed and firm as Sumeru, or he is called 'the golden mountain,' and he is illustrious among men as Sumeru among mountains.[10] The name *montagne* was given to the extreme French Revolutionists, who occupied the higher part of the hall where the Assembly met.

9. Mountains in cosmogony.—(*a*) The creation of mountains is referred to in some cosmogonies.

In an American Indian myth they were made by the crow and the hawk from mud brought up by a duck.[11] In W. Australia one myth tells how they were made from a heap of roots which a man kicked in all directions.[12] A Maori myth describes how the mountains and valleys of New Zealand were carved out by the knives of Maui's brothers, and an Australian myth of the god Bunjil and his knife is like this.[13] Scandinavian, Cochin-Chinese, and Orphic myths recount how the mountains were made from the bones of a giant or of Zeus.[14] An Indian myth regards certain mountains as offshoots from the Himālaya, brought for Rāma when he was building a bridge[15] (see also §§ 5, 6).

(*b*) As to the ordinary observer the sky seems near the tops of mountains, so many myths regard it as so near as to be easily reached from them;[16] or, again, the mountains, real or mythical, support the sky or the heavens.

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[1] lxxxv. 58.

[2] *Gobhila-Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. viii. 14.

[3] Monier-Williams, p. 349 f.; Hopkins, p. 358 f.; cf. *ERE* ii. 482^{b}.

[4] *FL* xv. [1904] 449.

[5] *Yasna*, i. 14, ii. 14, iii. 16, xxii. 26, xlii. 2, etc.; *Visparad*, i. 6, ii. 8.

[6] *Yt.* i. 31.

[7] lvii. 19.

[8] Herod. i. 131; cf. Moulton, pp. 60 f., 391 ff.

[9] *FL* xii. 501; *CGS* i. 50 ff.

[10] Paus. VIII. ii.; W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford, 1891, no. 382.

[11] F. Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Chicago, 1911, p. 47 f.; Virgil, *Æn.* ix. 85.

[12] *FL* xii. 298.

[13] See W. W. Baudissin, *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1876–78, ii. 231 f.; S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, London, 1902, pp. 79 ff., 139, 142 f.; P. S. P. Handcock, *Latest Light on Bible Lands*, do. 1913, p. 244. Cf. BAAL, vol. ii. p. 287, HIGH PLACE, vol. vi. p. 678 f.

[14] *FL* xxii. 86; *GB*^{3}, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, i. 149.

[1] *NR* iii. 123, iv. 765 ff.; F. S. Dellenbaugh, *North Americans of Yesterday*, New York, 1901, pp. 195, 206, 391.

[2] *FL* xv. 448; cf. *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, tr. C. R. Markham, London, 1869–71, bk. ii. ch. 4.

[3] *PR* i. 60.

[4] De Groot, *Rel. in China*, pp. 84, 139.

[5] Ps 36^{6} 72^{3} 125^{2}; cf. Is 54^{10}.

[6] App. ii. sect. i. hex. iv. (*SBE* xvi. [1882] 271).

[7] Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, p. 104.

[8] A. F. Gardiner, *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country*, London, 1836, p. 91; J. Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal*, do. 1857, p. 290.

[9] H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, London, 1893, i. 367.

[10] *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, I. i. 49, IV. xix. 1549; cf. V. xxiv. 1890.

[11] *NR* iii. 124.

[12] *FL* xx. 341.

[13] A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*^{2}, London, 1899, i. 186; R. Brough-Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, do. 1878, i. 423.

[14] Grimm, pp. 559, 570.

[15] *PR* i. 63.

[16] K. L. Parker, *More Australian Legendary Tales*, London, 1898, p. 84; G. Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, do. 1884, p. 13; *JAI* xvi. [1886] 283 [Borneo]; E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*^{2}, London, 1901, p. 51 f.; *ERE* ii. 682^{b}.

Mt. Atlas was formerly known as 'the Pillar of Heaven.'[1] In Bab. cosmogony the sky rested on the 'mountain of the world,' *i.e.* the world itself conceived as a hemispherical mountain with gently sloping sides.[2] In Hindu and Buddhist cosmogony the various heavens are arranged on and above the mythical Mt. Meru in an ascending series (see COSMOGONY [Buddhist], [Hindu]). Fragments of Celtic myth suggest that with the Celts also a mountain supported the sky—*e.g.*, a mountain near the sources of the Rhone was called 'the column of the sun,' perhaps bearing up the sky while the sun revolved round it.[3] We may note the Greek myth of the Titans piling Mt. Ossa on Olympus, and Pelion on Ossa, in order to scale heaven.[4]

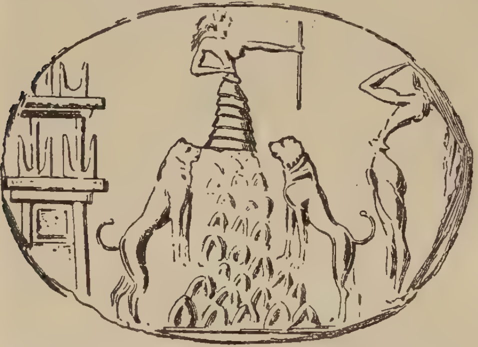
(*c*) In Hebrew story the ark rested on Mt. Ararat after the Flood (Gn 8^4). So in Bab. myth the 'mountain of the land of Nitsir' held the ship fast and did not let it slip, and on its top Utnapishtim offered sacrifice and incense to the gods.[5] The Hindu flood-myth tells how the fish bade the seven *ṛṣis* bind the ship to the highest peak of Himavat. Manu descended from it on Himavat; hence the northern mountain is called 'Manu's descent'[6] (cf. DELUGE).

LITERATURE.—C. Albers, *De Diis in Locis Editis Cultis apud Græcos*, Zutphen, 1901; F. F. von Andrian, *Der Höhencultus asiatischer und europäischer Völker*, Vienna, 1891; T. C. Banfield, *De Montium Cultu*, do. 1834; R. Beer, *Heilige Höhen der alten Griechen und Römer*, do. 1891; J. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, London, 1843–60, pt. 5, esp. ch. 19 f.; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*⁴, do. 1903, ii.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

MOUNTAIN-MOTHER.

MOUNTAIN-MOTHER. — The Mountain-Mother is the only Greek divinity certainly known to be of pre-historic origin. In the accompanying figure we have a seal-impression of late Minoan style (*c.* 1500 B.C.) found at Knossos.[7] It is of cardinal importance and embodies, indeed, nearly all that we certainly know of the Mother. She wears the typical flounced Minoan skirt, and, holding either sceptre or lance, stands flanked by guardian lions on the peak of her own mountain. To the left is a Minoan shrine with pillars and 'horns of consecration'—the symbols that connect her with plant and animal life, the pillar being only a shaped and stylized tree. The mountain stood for earth, and the earth is Mother because she gives life to plants, animals, and man. 'Earth sends up fruits, so praise we Earth the Mother' (Γᾶ καρποὺς ἀνίει, διὸ κλῄζετε ματέρα γαῖαν) was the litany chanted by the priestesses of Dodona.[8]



Impression of signet-ring showing Mountain-Mother and pillar-shrine.

On the seal figured here the Mother rules alone, with an ecstatic male worshipper before her, but on other gems a male divinity appears, sometimes descending from the sky. It is noticeable, however, that he is always young and manifestly subordinate. In Cretan religion the male divinity is sometimes a child, the necessary attribute of motherhood, sometimes a young man, and sometimes a sky-power fertilizing Mother Earth; but always the Mother is dominant. This dominance of the Mother divinity is of prime importance, and is in marked contrast to the Olympian system of Homer, where Zeus the Father reigns supreme. The Mother- and the Father-cults are, in fact, characteristic of the two strata that go to the making of Greek religion—the southern (Ægean or Anatolian) stratum has the dominant Mother-god, the northern (Indo-European) the dominant Father-god, the head of a patriarchal family, who is, ostensibly at least, the monogamous husband of a subordinate wife. The northern religion obviously reflects patrilinear, the southern matrilinear, social conditions. A further distinction is of importance—the Homeric patriarchal Olympus is the outcome of a 'heroic' condition of society; it emphasizes the individual; it is the result of warlike and migratory conditions; the worship of the Mother focuses on the facts of fertility, and emphasizes the race and its continuance rather than the individual and his prowess. Mother-worship is of the group rather than of the single worshipper. We find the Mother and her subordinate son or lover attended always by groups of dæmonic personages—Kouretes, Korybantes, Telchines, Dactyls, Satyrs, and the like.

A further characteristic of this southern matrilinear group-worship of the Mother is that it is mystical and orgiastic. The mysteries all centre not on Zeus the Father, but on the Mother and the subordinate son—Demeter in Greece, whose daughter, Kore, is but her younger form, and Rhea or some other form of the great Mother; the Dionysos of the mysteries is son of the Earth-Mother. The reason is simple; mysteries are now known to be simply magical ceremonies, dramatic representations of birth, marriage, and death, enacted with a view to promoting fertility. Mysteries, in fact, spell magic, and the mysteries of the Mother stand again in marked contrast to the rational worship of the Olympian Father. In the Olympian system the worshipper approaches his god as he would his fellow-man, with prayer, praise, and presents; his action is rational and anthropomorphic, not magical, not mysterious, not orgiastic.

The mysteries of the Mother are based, like all other mysteries, on initiation-ceremonies, which have for their object to prepare the boy for adult life and especially for marriage (see INITIATION [Greek] and KOURETES AND KORYBANTES). Each young man, each member of the band of Kouretes, or grown youths, became by initiation not only the son but the prince-consort of the Mother; he went through a mystical and magical ἱερὸς γάμος.[1] This explains at once the expression used by Euripides (*Bacchæ*, 120), ὦ θαλάμευμα Κουρήτων. It also elucidates the confession made by the Orphic initiate, Δεσποίνας δὲ ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας.[2] Marriage is the mystery *par excellence*. In the matrilinear worship of the Mother the series of consorts was perennial. In Crete the fructifying of the Mother was mimetic and dramatic; in some Asia Minor cults it was attended by the horrors of castration.[3] In the *Cretans* of Euripides (frag. 472, Nauck) the mystic 'held aloft the torches of the Mountain-Mother' (μητρί τ' ὀρείῳ δᾷδας ἀνασχών), the blazing torch being a familiar fertilizer and purifier of fields and crops.

To the Olympos of Homer—a product of the Achæan heroic age—the Mother was never admitted; even Demeter had there only a precarious footing. But in post-Homeric days, when north and south were fused, a place was found for her in a more elastic pantheon as Mother of the Gods.

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[1] Herod. iv. 184.

[2] L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, London, 1899, p. 29 f.

[3] MacCulloch, p. 228.

[4] Homer, *Od.* xi. 315 f.

[5] King, p. 135.

[6] *Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. viii. 1. 1 ff.; *Mahābhārata*, iii. 12,790 f.

[7] A. Evans, *BSA* vii. [1900–01] 29, fig. 9

[8] Paus. x. xii. 10

[1] A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i., Cambridge, 1913, p. 650.

[2] J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 668.

[3] For an explanation of the practice see J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*², London, 1907, p. 224.

She lent many of her sacred animals, attributes, and traits to the women-goddesses of Greece—to Hera her *ἱερὸς γάμος*, and sometimes her lion, to Artemis her function as *πότνια θηρῶν*, to Aphrodite her dove, to Athene and the Erinyes her snakes, to Demeter her mysteries. How far these several goddesses were indigenous forms of the Mother, how far they were directly immigrant from Crete, cannot certainly be stated, but undoubtedly the dominant Mother with the male attendant—*e.g.*, Attis and Adonis—half son, half lover, is echoed in Hellenic mythology in the figures of the great patroness-goddesses with the heroes whom they protect, in Hera and Jason, in Athene and Perseus. The Mother has many names—Rhea, Cybele, Dindymene, Ma—but her functions remain the same; her characteristic attributes and sacred animals—lion, bull, and goat—vary with the culture and local surroundings of her worshippers. Cf., further, art. MOTHER OF THE GODS (Greek and Roman).

LITERATURE.—Roscher, *s.vv.* 'Meter,' 'Gaia'; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Cybele'; L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1896–1909, iii. 289–306; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903, pp. 260–286 and 497–501, and *Themis*, do. 1912, p. 492; A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, Leipzig, 1905: see also art. ÆGEAN RELIGION, vol. i. p. 142. For the Hittite form of the Mother see H. A. Strong and J. Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, London, 1913.

J. E. HARRISON.

MOURNING.—See DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

MOUSE.—See ANIMALS.

MOUTH.—In many ways the mouth is of importance from a religious point of view. It is that by which man speaks to the gods in prayer, or utters or sings their praises; many wind instruments used in sacred rites are blown by its means (see MUSIC); sacred things and persons are kissed with the lips, and the kiss has an important part to play not only in sexual but in social and religious life, while it has also a large folklore of its own.[1] Silence is sometimes even more important than speech with the lips in religion and magic as well as in social affairs.[2] Laughter is also a function of the mouth, and plays a large part in life, while it has likewise a ritual and folklore aspect.[3] The *Bhagavad-Gītā* regards the body as 'the city of nine portals,' of which the mouth is one.[4] Voice and breath are two of the immortal parts of the body, according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, and it calls Indra the breath and Sarasvatī the tongue.[5] On the lips sit the seven *ṛṣis* (the senses), and the tongue is an eighth which communicates with Brahman.[6] In the account of the creation of the different classes in the Rigveda, priests are said to be from the mouth of the primeval man.[7] In the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* the god Anubis has charge of the lips, as other gods have of other parts of the body.[8]

Hell is often conceived in Christian literature and art as a monster with a vast mouth into which souls fall and are swallowed, as already Sheol in Hebrew thought (Pr 1^{12}; cf. Nu $16^{32f.}$). In Scandinavian mythology Hel has also a gaping mouth. Mythology often makes night a monster which devours the light or the sun. Cf. Skr. *rajanimukha*, 'the mouth of night,' evening.

1. The mouth and the soul.—Whether the soul is regarded as a breath, a mannikin, or a tiny animal, the mouth is one of the orifices by which it may leave the body either during life or at death.[1] Popular sayings like 'to have one's heart in one's mouth' or 'the soul on the lips' illustrate this.[2] It is also seen in the precaution taken by the Hindus of snapping the thumbs to keep the soul back[3] when any one yawns. The soul may escape from the mouth during sleep, as is illustrated by many tales where, in the form of a small animal, it has been seen doing so. By preventing its re-entering one can cause the death of its owner.[4] At death, in the belief of many peoples, the soul finally makes its exit by the mouth. In the *Mahābhārata* (iii. 297) Yama opens the mouth of Satyavīn while he sleeps and draws out his soul, which is afterwards given to his wife, who replaces it in his mouth. Ovid tells how Hylonome applied her lips to those of the dying Cyllarus to prevent his breath leaving him.[5] Homer says that life cannot return once it has passed the lips.[6] On the frescoes of the Campo Santo, Pisa, the soul is depicted as a sexless child leaving the body by the mouth. Similar beliefs are common among savages and with the folk everywhere. Hence, where the soul as a ghost is feared, precautions are sometimes taken to prevent its egress from the mouth. The mouth and other orifices are forcibly closed or stopped up, as among the S. Australians, Itonamas and Cayuvavas (S. America), Malays, New Caledonians, and Marquesas Islanders.[7] In some cases the jaws are bound for the same purpose, and it is possible that, where this is done merely to keep the mouth closed, its real origin may be traced here.[8] The Ainus bind the mouth of a fox when killed first at a hunt, lest its ghost come forth and warn other animals of the hunter's coming.[9]

On the other hand, the desire of recalling the soul to the body gives rise to certain practices connected with the mouth. In China it is stuffed with things endued with vital energy, so that, if the soul returns, revival of the body may be aided and decomposition prevented. Among these are certain minerals, cowries, pearls, grain, and coins, and a ritual is prescribed for the purpose.[10] Similar practices are found in Bali (gold ring on tongue), in Tongking (gold and silver in mouth), and elsewhere.[11] De Groot holds that the placing of a coin in the mouth of the dead had the same purpose. This practice is best known from its use among the Greeks and Romans, but it is also recorded in India (small pieces of gold in mouth, etc., or melted butter allowed to trickle down [Hindus]; coin, etc., placed with dead [non-Aryan tribes]), and among the Litu-Slavs and Teutons.[12] This has been generally regarded either as a fee for the ghostly ferryman, as held by Greeks and Romans themselves, or as part of a gift to the dead, or a commutation of such a gift.[13] The Chinese practice, however, throws new light on the subject, and points to a possible origin for the same practice elsewhere, though it came to be regarded otherwise.

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[1] See KISSING; cf. J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, pp. 1101, 1632.

[2] *Ib.* pp. 1102, 1633; cf. Ps 141^3, Ja $3^{5ff.\ 9f.}$, and Carlyle's frequent praise of silence.

[3] See LAUGHTER; S. Reinach, 'Le Rire rituel,' *Cultes, mythes, et religions*, Paris, 1905–12; Grimm, pp. 1100 f., 1632.

[4] v. 13.

[5] x. i. 3. 4, XII. ix. 1. 14 (cf. IX. i. 1. 13, v. 2. 4).

[6] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II. ii. 3.

[7] Rigveda, X. xc. 12; cf. also J. Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, $\mathrm{i.}^2$ [1872] 10.

[8] A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1897, p. 272.

[1] Grimm, p. 828 ff.

[2] Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* iii. præf. 16; Herodias, *Mim.* iii. 3 f.

[3] *PNQ* ii. [1887] 114, § 665.

[4] Grimm, pp. 1082 f., 1548, 1625 f.; R. Chambers, *The Book of Days*, Edinburgh, 1863, i. 276.

[5] *Metam.* xii. 424 f.

[6] *Il.* ix. 409.

[7] J. G. Frazer, *JAI* xv. [1886] 82, and references there; *JAI* viii. [1879] 393; A. d'Orbigny, 'L'Homme américain,' in *Voyage dans l'Amér. méridionale*, Strassburg and Paris, 1839, iv. pt. ii. pp. 241, 257; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 401; *Annales de la propagation de la foi*, xxxii. [1860] 439; M. Radiguet, *Les derniers Sauvages*^{2}, Paris, 1882, p. 245.

[8] See DEATH, vol. iv. pp. 473^b, 498^b, 501^a; cf. 485^a for Japanese ceremonies for keeping the mouth shut.

[9] J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, p. 504.

[10] J. J. M. de Groot, *Rel. System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., i. 269 ff., 278.

[11] *Ib.* i. 279 note.

[12] Lucian, *de Luctu*, 10; cf. *ERE* iv. 474^a, 505^b, 477^a, 480^b, ii. 22^a; Grimm, pp. 831, 1550, 1785.

[13] A gold coin was put in the dead man's coffin in the W. Isles to pay the ferryman, but the reason is perhaps a classical borrowing (A. Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Edinburgh, 1900, ii. 238).

To the same origin may be ascribed the practice of filling the mouth of the corpse with food before burial. This, often regarded as a sacrificial feeding of the dead, may have been intended as a means of recalling the soul, though each instance must be examined in its own context, and it must be admitted that quite different reasons are often given by those who practise this rite. Yet, if the dead used earthly food, this would keep them from eating the food of the Other-world, which binds the eater to that world. Thus they might be able to return.[1]

It is found among the Thô of Tongking (*ERE* iv. 418^{a}), some Papuan and Polynesian tribes, and the Badayas (de Groot, i. 357 f.). In the Panjāb leaves of the *tulasi* plant and Ganges water are placed in the mouth as offerings to Yama, that he may be merciful to the dead (*PR* ii. 69). In S.E. India the Kumi fill the corpse's mouth with rice and rice-beer (T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, p. 230). At the funeral feast of the father among the Kukis food is placed beside him and his pipe is put in his mouth, and he is bidden to eat because he is going on a long journey (*ib.* p. 273). The ancient Persians dropped *haoma* juice, which produces immortality, or some pomegranate seeds into the mouth of the dying (*ERE* iv. 502^{b}). With this may be compared the practice of putting the Host in the mouth of the dead, which was condemned at the 3rd Council of Carthage and at other councils and synods (J. Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, London, 1829, v. 338, vii. 344).

Of course, if the dead are to be fed at all, it is most natural to place food in the mouth, and in some instances a tube connected with the mouth is made to protrude from the grave so that nourishment may be poured down through it.[2] Where head-hunting is practised, the heads or, rather, the spirits connected with them are often fed by having food placed in the mouth.[3] The Egyptian ceremony of 'opening the mouth and eyes' was performed that the deceased might see and eat the food offerings and utter the right words in the right manner.

As a preparatory rite the mouth and eyes of the mummy or statue representing the deceased were rubbed with part of the food to excite the appetite. Then the *sem* priest addressed the deceased: 'I have set in order for thee thy mouth and thy teeth. I open for thee thy mouth, I open for thee thy two eyes. I have opened thy mouth with the instrument of Anubis, the iron instrument with which the mouths of the gods were opened.' Mouth and eyes were touched with this instrument, and Horus was asked to open the mouth of the deceased as he had opened that of Osiris. With another instrument the lips were touched so that right words might be spoken. Then the mouth was touched with other articles to give life and colour to the lips, and touched again so that the jaw-bones might be established; and, finally, food was then placed in the mouth.[4]

The establishing of the jaw-bones probably refers to an old custom of dismemberment. Various texts speak of restoring the jaw-bones and the mouth in the reconstituted body. The lists of the members of Osiris include lips, mouth, and jaw-bones,[5] and there may have been an ancient rite of cutting out the jaw-bone and preserving it separately. This is done by some African and Melanesian tribes.

In Uganda the king's jaw-bone is cut out and preserved in a special house, where it is consulted as an oracle, as the spirit is supposed to attach itself to it.[6] Widows among the tribes of the Hood peninsula carry the husband's jaw-bone.[1] The Tamos of German New Guinea exhume the corpse after some months and with great ceremony remove and preserve the lower jaw. Similar customs are observed by other tribes of this region.[2] Again, the Saa (Solomon Islands) preserve it with the skull in a hollow wooden image of a fish or in the public canoe-house.[3] In New Britain the jaw-bone is worn by a relative as a means of obtaining its owner's help.[4]

These customs are perhaps akin to that of making trophies of the jaw-bone or lips of enemies, as in Ashanti, Dahomey, Tahiti, etc. (see HEAD, vol. vi. p. 534^{b}), if the purpose is to secure power over the ghost of the dead man.

The Egyptian custom should be compared with the 'way of purifying the three deeds'—body, mouth, and heart—as practised on the deceased by the Shingon sect in Japan.[5] Among the Basoga the lips of the dead are smeared with oil.[6]

2. Hostile spirits and the mouth.—The mouth as a spirit-opening is naturally one which is exposed to the entry of hostile spirits which take possession of a man. In India *bhūts* are thought to enter by the mouth, and in Egypt in common opinion all kinds of evil spirits try to do the same. Various customs are more or less clearly connected with this belief, and have for their object the warding off of such noxious influences. Eating in private is one of these; uttering a charm or performing some ritual act after yawning is another; scrupulous teeth-cleaning, as with the Hindus, is a third; veiling the face is a fourth.[7] Probably the wide-spread custom of knocking out or filing the teeth, usually at puberty, is also connected with these dangers at initiation to man's food.[8] Though, from the savage point of view, tatuing the lips or boring one or both lips and inserting feathers or a wooden or metal plug, which is often increased to large dimensions, is regarded as ornamental, the origin of the practice is perhaps magical. The lip-ornament is a protective charm against spirits entering by the mouth door, or perhaps also against the escape of the soul. This custom is found among the Eskimos, Haidas, and other N. American tribes, and very commonly in S. America (the most extravagant use of it being among the Botocudoes), as well as among many African tribes.[9]

3. The mouth and the breath.—As the soul or life is so often connected with the breath—whether breath in general, or, as has been suggested, the last breath—which may be expelled by a sneeze or yawn, and which leaves the body finally at death,[10] certain rites in connexion with the mouth have arisen. In some instances a relative receives the last breath into his own mouth, by application of his lips to the dying man's, or by a kiss.[11] The Alfoors, on the other hand, close the mouths of animals at a birth lest they swallow the infant's soul, and the mother and others in the house must keep the mouth shut.[12] The breath, again, may have life-giving properties. Hence the Eskimo *angekok* will breathe on a sick man to cure him or give him a new soul;[13] or, as among the Bribri Indians, the medicine-man purifies a woman after child-birth by breathing on her.[1] Healing by breathing or blowing upon a patient is also found among American Indian medicine-men and in Oriental countries. On the other hand, the breath as connected with the life may contaminate sacred objects. Hence these must not be breathed upon, or the mouth must be covered when one is near them.

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[1] Cf. *ERE* iii. 561 f., iv. 653^{b}, v. 682^{a}.

[2] A. B. Ellis, *Land of Fetish*, London, 1883, p. 134 (Old Calabar).

[3] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, ii. 21, 118; H. Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, do. 1896, ii. 170.

[4] H. M. Tirard, *The Book of the Dead*, London, 1910, p. 23 ff.; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, do. 1899, p. 195 ff., *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, do. 1911, ii. 49, 92. *The Book of the Making the Spirit of Osiris* says, 'O Form, thou hast thy mouth, thou speakest therewith. Horus has preserved for thee thy mouth. O Form, thy jaw-bones are on thee firmly fixed.' Cf. *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, ed. and tr. Budge, London, 1909, ii. 162.

[5] Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, i. 387, ii. 49.

[6] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 109 ff., *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 130; J. F. Cunningham, *Uganda and its Peoples*, do. 1905, p. 226; J. H. Speke, *Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile*, do. 1908, p. 207.

[1] R. E. Guise, *JAI* xxviii. [1899] 211.

[2] B. Hagen, *Unter den Papua's*, Wiesbaden, 1899, p. 260; R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch-Neu-Guinea*, Berlin, 1911, p. 82.

[3] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 262.

[4] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, p. 183.

[5] *ERE* iv. 490^{b}.

[6] H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London, 1902, ii. 718.

[7] See *PR* i. 240, ii. 22, 47, and references.

[8] A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 135 f.

[9] A. P. Maximilian von Wied-Neuwied, *Reise nach Brasilien*, Frankfort, 1820, ii. 5 ff.; *Handbook to Ethnographical Collections, Brit. Mus.*, London, 1910, *s.v.* 'Lip-piercing'; O. Stoll, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 98 ff.; W. H. Dall, 'On Masks, Labrets,' etc., *3 RBEW* [1884], p. 73; H. S. Stannus, *JRAI* xl. [1910] 316.

[10] So E. Monseur, 'L'Ame poucet,' *RHR* li. [1905] 374.

[11] See instances in *ERE* iv. 415^{a} (Nias), 505^{b}.

[12] W. F. A. Zimmermann, *Die Inseln des indischen und stillen Meeres*, Berlin, 1860–65, ii. 386.

[13] F. Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, London, 1893, p. 227.

In Timor the common people, in addressing the Raja, place the hand before the mouth, lest they profane him by their breath.[2] Among the Parsis the priest must cover his mouth and nose with a thick veil—the *paitidāna*—on approaching the sacred fire and other sacred objects.[3] Giraldus Cambrensis relates of the sacred fire in the shrine of St. Brigit at Kildare that it must not be breathed on by those who tended it—probably an earlier pagan Celtic tabu.[4] Similarly the *Laws of Manu* forbid the Brāhman to blow the sacred fire with his mouth.[5] A tabu of this kind is found among the Balkan Slavs in connexion with the sacred house-fire on the hearth.[6] Shinto priests have also to veil their mouths when cooking the sacrificial food, and so have the cooks in the Mikado's kitchen.[7] Saxo Grammaticus tells of a shrine at Rügen so sacred that the priest might not breathe in it, but had to go to the door for that purpose.[8] On the other hand, a Maori chief would not blow upon a fire lest his sacred power should pass to it and so to the food cooked on it, and then to the eater of the food, causing his death.[9]

The old custom of 'scoring above the breath,' *i.e.* making an incision on a witch's forehead to neutralize her evil power, may have been connected with the idea that her evil life-influence came forth with the breath.[10] Saliva, as connected with the mouth, is at once a tabued thing and a source of danger and magic influences and also a safeguard—*e.g.*, against witchcraft—as well as of use in healing rites (see SALIVA).[11]

See also BREATH.

LITERATURE.—This is given throughout the article.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

MOZOOMDAR.—See BRĀHMA SAMĀJ.

MUGGLETONIANS.—The followers of the London prophets, John Reeve (1608–58) and his cousin Lodowicke Muggleton (1609–98), were designated 'Muggletonians.' Both Reeve and Muggleton were originally Puritans, but Reeve became a Ranter and Muggleton dropped all public worship, being attracted by Boehme's writings and by the prophecies of John Robins and Thomas Tany. In 1651 Muggleton had inward revelations interpreting the Scriptures; Reeve had the same experience next year, and on 3rd–5th Feb. 1652 Reeve announced an audible commission urging him to rebuke Robins and Tany and constituting him the last messenger of the third and final dispensation, Muggleton being his 'mouth.' They were the two witnesses of Rev 11, to announce a new body of doctrine and to declare the eternal destiny of individuals. By 27th July 1652 their *Transcendent Spirituall Treatise* was complete for publication. They declared that all succession had ceased for 1300 years, and, when challenged to prove their new commission, their last resort was to curse their opponents; a few accidents or deaths from fear established their credit. Being imprisoned for blasphemy in 1653, they issued two more pamphlets. Demands for new truth were met by Reeve laying down six principles, published 15th Aug. 1656, as to the person of God, person of angels, person of devils, condition of Adam at his creation and how he lost his estate, heaven and glory, hell and death. The same year a full exposition appeared in *The Divine Looking Glass, or the Third and Last Testament*, printed in the style of the AV.

The leading doctrines run thus. Matter is eternal and independent of God; this earth is the centre of the universe, sun and moon being fixed in the firmament about as big as we see them. God is one and eternal, with a material body rather larger than human, clear as crystal. The One God came to earth as Jesus, entrusting the temporary charge of the universe to Elijah. Angels have spiritual bodies and rational natures; Adam's body was natural, and his soul spiritual. Eve, however, is the important person; one angel and one only fell; he tempted her, entered bodily into her, and there dissolved, whence was born Cain. Eve tempted Adam to carnal intercourse, and thence arose Abel and Seth. Thus in the world are two distinct races, cursed and blessed. The soul is mortal, generated with the body, and returning to dust, whence it shall rise with the body. At the resurrection each person shall be re-created where he died, the wicked lying immovable in eternal lonely misery.

Reeve died in 1658, and Lawrence Clarkson aspired to fill his place, publishing three works. At the Restoration Muggleton was abandoned by many, but he regained his influence, even over Clarkson. He added the new doctrine that God has ceased intervening in the world, so that prayer is useless. For the next few years he was at war with the Friends, till William Penn, in 1672, published his *New Witnesses Proved Old Heretics.* A second secession took place in 1670 in consequence of his Nine Assertions, but Alexander Delamaine and John Saddington vigorously supported him. In 1676 G. Sheldon found some followers near Ashford. Next year he was again indicted for blasphemy, pilloried, imprisoned, and fined. He then wrote his autobiography, and, though no new revelation came, he was highly respected during the rest of his life for practical counsel. An anonymous attack by Bishop J. Williams in 1694 was promptly repelled by Thomas Tomkinson, who, in 1699, published his correspondence and autobiography, under the title *Acts of the Witnesses.*

Though one early revelation was quite explicit, that the end of the world was imminent, belief persisted. Many works were reprinted in 1756, after Swedenborg announced a kindred system, and others were written. Then James Birch led a reformation back to the views of Reeve; but, in 1778, he claimed direct inspiration, so that a secession took place, known especially in Pembroke and Bristol, as well as in London till 1871. A revival occurred about 1829–31, resulting in a fine edition of the primary works in three quarto volumes; and *The Looking Glass* was reprinted even in 1846. Prayer and preaching not being practised, public worship was confined to reading the standard books aloud, and singing the *Divine Songs*; the chief reading-room was in New Street, off Bishopsgate Street. Since 1870 worship seems to have ceased, though annual meetings were held at Denby in Derbyshire within living memory.

LITERATURE.—Sources are cited in the article; for bibliography see Joseph Smith, *Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana*, London, 1873. Modern studies are: Alexander Gordon, *The Origin of the Muggletonians*, Liverpool, 1869, *Ancient and Modern Muggletonians*, do. 1870; A. Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars*, London, 1888.

W. T. WHITLEY.

MUHAMMAD.—I. Historical sources.—Muhammad († 7th June A.D. 632; called also Aḥmad, and by poets Maḥmūd) Abu'l-Qāsim, sometimes localized as Al-Tihāmī (‘of the Tihāmah’ [Mutanabbī, ed. F. Dieterici, Berlin, 1861, p. 331]), known by his followers as ‘the Apostle *or* the Prophet of Allāh,’ and also by numerous other names, variously estimated at 30, 300, or even 1000 (see the collection in Qasṭallānī’s *Mawāhib Laduniyyah*, Cairo, 1278, iii. 133–179), was the founder of the religious and political system called in Europe after him, but named by him Islām or Ḥanīfism. The event in his life which furnishes his followers with an era, viz. his migration (*hijrah*) from Mecca to Medīna, is fixed by synchronism with the Jewish Day of Atonement for 20th September, A.D. 622. That era was introduced several years after his death, and, indeed, for the purpose of arranging the events in his career, by his second successor ʿOmar I. (Mubarrad [† 285 A.H.], *Kāmil*, Cairo, 1308, i. 325), whereas the calendar on which it is based uses a lunar year of 354 days, introduced by the Prophet near the end of his life. Since both the calendars and the eras previously employed in Central Arabia are only vaguely known, and the story of ʿOmar implies that he had not before heard of an era (which perhaps is confirmed by the fact that the word used for ‘era’ signifies ‘month-making’), accurate dating of events in the Prophet’s life is impossible. There is, however, an allusion in the Qur’ān (xxx. 1) to the victory of Chosroes in the Nearer East, which took place A.D. 616, and this agrees with the tradition that Muhammad preached for some ten years in Mecca before his migration. Probably the earliest written account of him is that in the Armenian *Chronicle of Sebeos* (Armen. text, Petrograd, 1879, pp. 104–106; Russ. tr. by K. Patkanian, do. 1862, pp. 116–118), of the 7th cent.; it is very scanty, giving little more than the statement that he was an Ishmaelite who taught his countrymen to return to the religion of Abraham and claim the promises made to the descendants of Ishmael. His career may, therefore, be said to be known entirely from Islāmic sources, which contain no biography that is quite contemporary. The earliest work that was intended to be a chronicle of his life is that by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (*c.* 150 A.H.), who composed his *Sīrah* (‘Biography’) for the ʿAbbāsid Khalīfah Manṣūr (136–158 A.H. = A.D. 754–775) at least a century and a quarter after the death of his subject. This work does not appear to exist in its entirety, though probably the bulk is preserved in the *Compendium* of Ibn Ḥishām († 218 A.H.) and the *Chronicle* of Ṭabarī († 310 A.H.). Its author was in communication with eminent members of the Prophet’s family, but is said to have been a man of indifferent morals, besides being a Shīʿite and a Qadarī (believer in the freedom of the will); he employed versifiers to compose poems to be put into the mouths of the personages who figure in his narrative; and his credibility was otherwise impugned.[1] Contemporary with Ibn Isḥāq was Mūsā b. ʿUqbah († 141), whose collection of *Campaigns* was studied in Cairo as late as the 15th cent., but of which hitherto only some fragments have been discovered (ed. E. Sachau, *SBAW*, 1904), and those of little value. Shāfiʿī († 204) quotes this author once for what is clearly an edifying fable (*Umm*, Cairo, 1321, iii. 100). Later by some fifty years is the work of Wāqidī († 204), which to some extent embodies the same materials as the work of Ibn Isḥāq; and somewhat later still the encyclopædic work of Ibn Saʿd († 230), secretary of Wāqidī, on the Prophet, his family, and his followers. The memoirs or table-talk of the Prophet’s associates were collected and tabulated (with infinite repetitions) by the jurist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal († 241), and the recollections of these persons, after being critically sifted, were arranged in the order of subjects for the use of lawyers by numerous authors shortly after this date, and by some considerably earlier. Very little of this material has historical value. In the main, then, our knowledge of the Prophet’s career comes from the work of Ibn Isḥāq.

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[1] H. Pittier de Fábrega, *SWAW*, phil.-hist. Classe, cxxxviii. [1898] 20.

[2] A. Featherman, *Social History of the Races of Mankind*, London, 1881–91, ii. 465.

[3] J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–93, i. p. lxi, ii. pp. xv, 214, note 31, 241, note 1; M. Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*3, London, 1884, p. 243; cf. Strabo, xv. 3. 14.

[4] Gir. Cambr. *Top. Hib.* ii. 34 f.

[5] iv. 53.

[6] *AE* xiii. [1900] 1.

[7] G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, Edinburgh, 1914, i. 104.

[8] Saxo Grammaticus, *Danish History*, tr. and ed. O. Elton, London, 1894, p. 393.

[9] R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*2, London, 1870, p. 164.

[10] See M. M. Banks, 'Scoring a Witch above the Breath,' *FL* xxiii. [1912] 490 f.

[11] See *GB*3, pt. ii. *Taboo*, London, 1911, p. 287 ff.; J. G. Bourke, *Scatologic Rites of all Nations*, Washington, 1891, p. 848 f.; *JAFL* iii. [1890] 53 f.; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scotland*, iv. [1855] 212; *CF*. p. 193.

There is reason for thinking that shortly after Muhammad’s death some sketch of his life, comparable to the Christian *paradosis*, was communicated orally to those who embraced Islām, enabling them to understand allusions in the Qur’ān; but this is likely to have been brief, and statements in early law-books indicate that considerable uncertainty prevailed with regard to events of primary importance in the Prophet’s biography. It is of interest that the Khalīfah ʿAbd al-Malik (65–86 A.H.) wrote to ʿUrwah b. Zubair (born 22) for an account of the battle of Badr, and his letter in reply is preserved by Ṭabarī (i. 1284)—as usual, not from a copy but from oral tradition. This personage was born twenty years after the event, and appears in treating the subject to have consulted the Qur’ān. Another letter of this jurist in reply to a question about the sense of the Qur’ān has the appearance of a conjecture as to its meaning rather than of a historical tradition (Ṭabarī, *Commentary*, xxviii. 24). The general suspicion of and objection to written matter other than the Sacred Book which prevailed prior to the foundation of Baghdād, and indeed for some time after, prevented the perpetuation of memoranda or memoirs which would have formed a secure basis for the biography. Although the work of Ibn Isḥāq contains a certain number of ostensibly contemporary documents—*e.g.*, letters and State-papers—their authenticity seems in every case liable to question, not only on internal grounds, but because different authorities are in disagreement about them. It is, indeed, clear that no official collection was ever made of Muhammad’s correspondence, treaties, and rescripts; Shāfiʿī († 204), who appears to have made accurate search in Arabia, could find nothing in writing referable to the Prophet except the Qur’ān and one apocryphal document, of which he knew only by hearsay. Contemporary treaties, produced in ancient and modern times, have been shown to be fabrications by the anachronisms which they contain (see Yāqūt, i. 248).

The Qur’ān appears to be for the most part authentic, but those who collected it avoided chronological arrangement as much as possible, combining in the same *sūrahs*, or chapters, matter belonging to widely different periods. In order to use it for historical purposes the reader has to interpret it by Ibn Isḥāq’s biography; but there are many cases in which that biography appears to be conjectural interpretation of the Qur’ān. It is true that the commentaries on the latter, of which one on an enormous scale was compiled by the historian Ṭabarī in the middle of the 3rd Islāmic cent., profess to locate most or all of the texts; but, unfortunately, they give a variety of locations, and leave on the mind the impression that nothing was certainly known or remembered about the ‘occasions of revelation’ beyond what the texts themselves imply.

If, in spite of these considerations, the general trustworthiness of Ibn Isḥāq’s narrative is probably to be maintained, there are three reasons for this. (1) The practice ascribed to the second Khalīfah of assigning pensions to the Muslims, which varied with the length of time during which they had been members of the community, accounts for the existence of lists of fighters in various battles, and for the preservation of the chronological order of those battles, since each was followed by some accessions. (2) The biography rarely has recourse to the supernatural, and, when this element is introduced, it does not appear to affect the causation; where, *e.g.*, angels or the devil take part in battles, they do not really contribute to the result. (3) The character which the narrator ascribes to his prophet is, on the whole, exceedingly repulsive. To this may be added the fact that, although Ibn Isḥāq wrote for an ʿAbbāsid patron, he takes very little trouble to glorify his ancestor ʿAbbās, whereas he paints a pleasing picture of Abū Ṭālib, the uncle of the Prophet, whose son ʿAlī was the head of a family which also claimed to succeed the Prophet. Hence it is clear that this biographer has not as a rule yielded to the temptations which lead astray men in his position.

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[1] See Yāqūt, *Dictionary of Learned Men*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1907 ff., vi. 399–401.

2. Life.—For the present purpose the briefest sketch of the Prophet's career, as Ibn Isḥāq narrates it, will suffice.

It is not possible to throw any serious doubt on the location of Muhammad as a member of a numerous Meccan family, though the name of his father excites suspicion, since ʻAbdallāh' (the equivalent of ʻsome one') is used at a later period as a substitute for an unknown name; perhaps it is in this case a substitute for a name of which the second element was that of a pagan deity. Few have accepted the suggestion of Sprenger[1] that the name ʻMuḥammad' itself was adopted by the Prophet when he entered on his prophetic career; for the name is found in pre-Islāmic inscriptions, and its connexion with the prophecy Hag 2^7, ʻand the desire (*ḥemdath*) of all nations shall come,' seems to be an afterthought; there is therefore no reason for supposing that this name or its variants had Messianic associations. According to the biography, the life of Muhammad falls into four periods. (1) For forty years he lived as a pagan at Mecca (which comes into history with his enterprise, not having been mentioned previously). At the age of twenty-five he married a woman much older than himself, who bore him one or more sons (who died in infancy) and four daughters. In his fortieth year he became the recipient of revelations, wherein the office of prophet was conferred upon him. (2) For three years he carried on private propaganda, winning some adherents in his own family, among his private friends, and among the humbler classes in the town. (3) For ten years he carried on his mission publicly in Mecca, for the greater part of the time under the protection of his uncle Abū Ṭālib, who was not a believer; after his death the mission had for a time to be transferred to Ṭā'if, until another protector could be found among the Meccan magnates. Meanwhile a temporary refuge had been obtained for the Prophet's persecuted followers in Christian Abyssinia. Towards the end of this period the continuance of civil war at Yathrib (Medīna) suggested to some of the inhabitants the desirability of securing a prophet to settle their disputes. Muhammad was invited to undertake this task, and accepted; but he wisely sent his followers before him to Yathrib to serve as a bodyguard when he arrived; he himself escaped with difficulty from Mecca, where danger was anticipated from this move. (4) Once in Medīna, he proceeded to organize his followers as an army, ruthlessly suppressed internal opposition, secured the alliance of various Arabian tribes, and started raiding the Meccan caravans. Involved in war with his former fellow-citizens, he inflicted on them a series of defeats, culminating in the capture of the city in the eighth year of his migration. By the end of his life he had imposed his doctrine on the whole of Arabia, exterminating the Jewish communities, with few exceptions, rendering the Christian communities tributary, and abolishing paganism.

So far as this career is that of a military and political adventurer, countless parallels could be adduced. A man who can organize an armed force and lead it to victory may rise from obscurity to autocracy anywhere. Probably every century of Islām has its tale of such personages. The ʿAbbāsid, Fāṭimid, Buwaihid, Seljūq, and Ottoman dynasties all arose in this way; and in most of these the religious appeal played an important part. The success of the founders was clearly due not to the objective truth of the doctrines with which they were associated, but to their skill as organizers and military leaders. In Muhammad's case, owing to the amount of information which we possess about him, it is easier to analyze the qualities which produced success than where the records are scantier. In the first place, his ability to gauge the capacities of others was abnormal; hence in the choice of subordinates he seems to have made no mistakes. In the second place, he was thoroughly familiar with the foibles of the Arabs, and utilized them to the utmost advantage. The stories of his successes as told by Ibn Isḥāq indicate a complete absence of moral scruple; but they also show a combination of patience, courage, and caution, ability to seize opportunities, and distrust of loyalty when not backed by interest, which fully explain the certainty with which results were won. If his age is correctly recorded, and no events of great importance in his early life concealed, his military career began when he was over fifty; this seems astonishingly late, yet analogies, if not parallels, can be found. Surprise is also excited by the ease with which the Arabs abandoned their gods and goddesses, readily accepting the logic of the stricken field; for, though new prophets arose after Muhammad's death, there appears to have been no recrudescence of paganism. Yet to this, too, some analogies can be discovered. The fact of primary importance in the rise of Islām is that the movement became considerable only when its originator was able to draw the sword and handle it successfully. That he was summoned to Yathrib was doubtless due in part to the presence of a Jewish element in that community, intellectually further advanced than the Arab tribes, which at first evidently favoured this advocate of monotheism; that he was able to make the fullest use of that opportunity was due to his own ability. The only difficulties which are to be found in his career are, therefore, those which render all history difficult. It is impossible to say why one man should be more gifted than his fellows, or why opportunities should occur for the development of special talents.

According to the Qur'ān (xliii. 30), he was not a ʻgreat man' in his city, and, if the words of xciii. are to be taken literally, he lost his parents at an early age, and at some period was poor and burdened with a family. The question whether he could read and write has been much discussed, and it is unfortunate that we do not know certainly whether those accomplishments formed the basis of education in Mecca when he was a lad; there is, however, some slight reason for supposing that they did. The evidence indicates that he could do both of them, but not well. Thus, when he records the charge made against him of copying the ancient history which he reproduced in the Qur'ān from dictation (xxv. 5 f.), he does not rebut it by the assertion that he could not write. The tradition makes him a tradesman, and can even name his partner and the goods in which he dealt. Some have tried to find evidence of this in the language of the Qur'ān, which undoubtedly takes metaphors from sale and barter, profit and loss; but whether it does so to a greater extent than other books may be doubted. Some stories say that he was employed by his first wife Khadījah in the conduct of a caravan; and others tell of him following this occupation early in life.

It is, on the whole, probable that he travelled in his youth, for, though the geography of the Qur'ān is vague, the descriptions of travel which it contains seem to be based on personal experiences. Moreover, the charge of ignorance which is repeatedly made against the people of Mecca is more likely to have been brought by one who had some acquaintance with a higher civilization.

3. Origins and development of system.—The tradition does, indeed, name precursors of Muhammad at Mecca, among them a relative of his wife who had either copied or translated a portion of a gospel. Since Christianity had made progress in both N. and S. Arabia, it is not unlikely either that missionaries had found their way to Central Arabia, or that travellers thence had had their curiosity aroused and made inquiries into the system. The phenomena of the Qur'ān on the whole render it improbable that any part of it is based on book-learning; for, though in one place the Psalms are quoted with fair accuracy (xxi. 105 = Ps 37^{29}), the nature of the references is ordinarily explicable only as the reproduction of hearsay. Thus it cites (liii. 37 f., lxxxvii. 19) 'the Scrolls of Moses and Abraham' for maxims that are analogous to those occurring in the Prophets or the NT, though not quite identical with them; and the mode of quotation implies that the writer had a vague notion of the book cited, such as actual perusal would have corrected. Further, the form assumed by the proper names and the religious technicalities indicates a great variety of linguistic sources; for in these Ethiopic, Greek, Syriac, Hebrew, and perhaps other languages are represented. Some of the proper names are not at present traceable to any version of the Scriptures—*e.g.*, Ṭālūt for Saul, ʿĪsā for Jesus. Moreover, from the manner in which the Biblical narratives are told it is difficult to imagine that the writer was acquainted with the continuous history of the Bible; he knows only stories out of it. All this points to the probability that Muhammad heard the stories from narrators of different nationalities, who translated them orally into Arabic, leaving on their hearer a decidedly vague impression, in spite of the fact that they interested him keenly. Besides the canonical books, various uncanonical works contribute to the matter of the Qur'ān, which, in addition, refers to prophets not mentioned elsewhere. The Prophet was charged with employing as mentor a resident in Mecca, and after the migration to Medīna, where there were Jews, he may have been able to utilize the Biblical learning of one or other among his converts. But it seems probable that what was reproduced during the Meccan period had been heard from travelling companions or from Jews and Christians whom he had met in foreign parts.

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[1] *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, i. 158.

Prior to his call Muhammad is said to have practised ascetic retirement on Mt. Ḥirā, and for this an old technicality, *taḥannuth*, is preserved, which is said to mean 'to acquire merit,' and certainly has nothing to do with the Heb. *tᵉḥinnôth*, 'supplications.' The call itself evidently took the form of a command to read, which the Prophet reluctantly obeyed. The communications embodied in the Qur'ān were, according to the tradition, made to the Prophet and uttered by him in trance; he would wrap himself in a blanket and perspire copiously at the time. A certain number of these stories may be inference from *sūrahs* lxxiii. and lxxiv., where the Prophet is addressed as 'Thou that art wrapped up,' combined with *sūrah* xcvi. (supposed to be the first revelation), where he is bidden 'read.'

The form of the utterances at times approaches verse, *i.e.* a series of sentences in which the same quantity and quality of syllables are reproduced, the termination of each unit being marked by rhyme, whereas more usually rhyme only, and this of a somewhat loose character, is observed. The relation of this Qur'ānic style to the verse and rhymed prose of classical Arabic is an enigma which cannot at present be solved. An artifice based on the recurrence of letters is obviously literary; *i.e.*, it depends for its existence on the practice of writing, since only those who are accustomed to read and write think of their words as agglomerations of letters; to the illiterate the word, if not the sentence, is the unit. Indeed, in what is supposed to be the earliest revelation the deity is said to have taught with the *calamus*, or reed-pen. The existence of poets before the Qur'ān is attested by a *sūrah* which is directed against them (xxvi.) and a text in which the deity states that He had not taught Muhammad poetry (xxxvi. 69). If the poetry which existed before the Qur'ān was analogous to the classical poetry, the people of Mecca cannot have been in the state of naive ignorance with which the Qur'ān credits them; yet the poetry which is ascribed to the Umayyad period—*i.e.* the second half of the 1st Islāmic cent.—is to a great extent clearly authentic, while its authors represent the continuance of a pagan tradition. With regard to rhymed prose, probably we have nothing in this style that is certainly genuine and older than the 2nd cent. of Islām. It is, however, a much easier performance than verse, though no less dependent on writing. Oracles are supposed to have been delivered in it by pre-Muhammadan wizards.

Now the respect of ignorance for knowledge is a well-attested phenomenon, displayed in the desire of the Prophet that Jews and Christians should not be molested in the exercise of their creeds. It is therefore unlikely that the poets and wizards who preceded Muhammad presented a higher stage of education; hence, according to natural sequence, the style of the Qur'ān would seem to come between such naive jingles as may have counted for versification in Arabia and the highly artificial products with which we meet in the Umayyad period. It would follow that all the pre-Islāmic poetry as well as all that ostensibly belongs to the time of the Prophet and his immediate successors is spurious; but, as has been seen, the spuriousness of that which is incorporated in the Prophet's biography is otherwise attested; and the most distinguished philologists of the early ʿAbbāsid period, to whose labours we owe our collections of early poetry, were unscrupulous fabricators.

The Prophet, then, claimed to introduce literature into his native language, and the form was probably modelled on the quasi-poetic experiments which had preceded the Qur'ān. It is, however, very noticeable that in his lifetime his book resembled a newspaper in having a fluid rather than a stationary existence; it was as a whole continuous, but each number had ephemeral importance. The theory was gradually evolved that it was a reproduction of a divine archetype, first as a series of copies, then as a single copy. The complete development of this theory was not possible before the collection of the Qur'ān; and the Prophet himself never thought of attempting such an undertaking.

The difference between his first conception of a prophet and that current in ancient Israel, before the literary prophet had arisen, was perhaps not very great. The oracles were partly spontaneous, partly required for emergencies; their form differed from that of ordinary speech by the presence of an artifice; and the prophet delivered them in what spiritualists call 'the superior condition.' At times the oracles were supplemented by dreams. Further, the Hebrew prophet was a 'warner,' which is one of the epithets applied by Muhammad to himself; he foretold misfortunes, which, however, were ordinarily contingent, since it was his business to indicate the line of conduct whereby they could be averted. Muhammad's notions of prophecy seem to have been chiefly influenced by those cases in which the prophet also claimed to be the head of the community, its priest and its king.

Attempts have been made by Sprenger and others to specify the epileptic fits which in Muhammad's case ostensibly accompanied the revelations; but it is doubtful how far these are to be regarded as real occurrences. It is clear that he was a man of great physical strength, since his life as tyrant of Medīna was spent in constant military expeditions, added to the cares of a rapidly increasing community, of which he was at once priest, legislator, ruler, and judge. Yet we never hear of his health breaking down under the strain. The 'fits' seem to have been experienced only when they were required for the delivery of the revelations, and in no case to have interfered with his activities.

A message must have matter as well as form, and, when Muhammad became head of a State, his Qur'ān served as government organ, containing rescripts and something like an official chronicle of important events, with comments upon them. But before the migration the matter was not so easily supplied. To a certain extent it reproduces narratives from the Christian Bible, which *ex hypothesi* could not have been known to Muhammad from books, and therefore must have been communicated to him by direct inspiration, and so are a proof of the miraculous character of the whole work. The chief purpose of these and of the other messages is to insist on the importance of obeying God's messengers implicitly.

It is not easy to say whether Muhammad had any desire to inculcate any particular doctrine, for there appears to be none which he was not prepared to abandon under political pressure, and the tradition represents his followers as far more attached than himself to the dogmas. The main doctrines of the early teaching are the future life, the unity of God, and the folly of idolatry. Since he ultimately retained in his system the kissing of the Black Stone (cf. *ERE* vii. 743^a), it is difficult to treat the campaign against idolatry as quite serious. The doctrine of the future life was preached in the early days as a warning of the approaching end of the world and the Day of Judgment; yet he had afterwards to make the martyrs in his cause enter paradise at once, and his enemies enter hell immediately after death—a belief not easily reconciled with the former. According to Ṭabarī, during the Meccan period he at one time, under stress, issued a revelation admitting the Meccan goddesses to his pantheon; and, though this text was expunged from the Qur'ān, the apology for it, viz. that it was the devil's interpolation, remains (liii. 19–23, xxii. 51; see *ERE* vii. 150). He even consented at one time to erase his title 'Apostle of God' from a document, when it stood in the way of the ratification of a treaty. Even the formula with which the *sūrahs* and other documents commence shows clear signs of compromise: 'In the name of Allah the Raḥmān the Merciful.' Since the last adjective is an Arabic rendering of the second, which is Aramaic, used as a divine name by Jews and pagans, and in Arabic not an epithet, but a name, some mystery must lie behind the employment of this name with a translation following it. The tradition suggests that the name 'Allāh' was familiar to the Meccans, but not the name 'Raḥmān,' which, indeed, had been adopted by one or more false Messiahs. In certain parts of the Qur'ān, however, it may be said to be dominant. This formula, then, was doubly accommodated to Meccan prejudices.

The tradition does not conceal the fact that the 'canons of Islām' were of slow growth; it is probable that the part of the programme which never varied was the restoration of the religion of Abraham. One of Muhammad's precursors, Zaid b. 'Amr, is represented as travelling with the view of discovering the religion of this patriarch, from whom the tribes of N. Arabia, according to Genesis, are descended. It is not probable that his name was known in Mecca before Muhammad introduced it; but in doing so he was treading on safe ground, since the 'people of learning,' *i.e.* Jews and Christians, were agreed about the relationship. If the tradition is to be trusted, the new system was called by the Meccans 'Ṣābism,' a name connected historically with Ḥarrān, where a cult of Abraham is likely to have existed; the Ḥarrānians appear to have been called Ḥanpē, 'heathens,' by their Christian neighbours, and possibly this is the solution of the puzzling name 'Ḥanīf' applied in the Qur'ān to the religion of Abraham, and synonymous with 'Muslim,' which, according to the same book (vi. 163), was a title invented by the patriarch. The Qur'ānic tales about Abraham are traceable to the Jewish Midrash; what is chiefly known about his religion is that he was an iconoclast, and was not one of the *mushrikūn*, *i.e.* polytheists. When the Prophet decided to make the Meccan pilgrimage part of his system, he ascribed the building of the Ka'bah to Abraham and Ishmael (ii. 119 ff.), and brought the prayer-ceremonial into connexion with the former. It is probable, though not certain, that both that ceremonial and the fasting month are Ḥarrānian.

There is reason for thinking that, besides the prohibition of idolatry, the earliest form of Islām enjoined certain daily ceremonies which were afterwards developed and regulated until they became stereotyped as the five *ṣalawāt*; and it is not easy to dissociate from these the theory of legal purity, which, however, seems to have existed in parts of pagan Arabia, since some of the technicalities are found in Sabæan inscriptions. Of the actual growth of the ritual or liturgy nothing certain is known; the prayer which corresponds with the *Paternoster*, and is called the *Fātiḥah* ('Opener') because it is prefixed to the Qur'ān, contains polemical references to Jews and Christians ('those who have incurred anger and those who go astray'), which point to a late period in the Prophet's career; for his hostilities with the Jews did not commence until after the migration, and those with Christians were some years later. Moreover, the prayer-ceremonies were connected with military drill, which is unlikely to have been required before the raising of an army was contemplated.

The other canons or main institutions of Islām—the pilgrimage, the fasting month, and the tax called 'alms' (*zakāt* or *ṣadaqah*)—belong to the Medīna period, though they cannot be precisely dated. The establishment of the first indicates the Prophet's resolve to conciliate so far as possible the pagans of Mecca, and to abandon Judaism, which on his arrival at Medīna he was inclined to adopt; it belongs to the same policy as that which dictated his making the Meccan temple the direction of prayer instead of Jerusalem (ii. 139 f.). The fasting month, whatever its origin, is evidently a military exercise; on the one hand, it accustoms the fighting men to endure privation, and, on the other, it trains them to turn night into day. The alms or income-tax of 2½ per cent is organized poor relief. An innovation which is at least as important as the canons, though it is not termed one, is the tabu on intoxicants (ii. 218, v. 92), which is said to have been introduced in the third year of the migration, and appears to belong to military discipline. There may, however, be some truth in the idea of W. G. Palgrave[1] that this tabu is definitely anti-Christian in intent.

It is probable, then, that the positive parts of Islāmic teaching belong to the period after the migration, and that these were largely suggested by the Judaism which the Prophet got to know there. His usual plan when he adopted institutions was to disguise the borrowing; but he also introduced serious modifications. Thus, in the case of the Sabbath he not only shifted the day from Saturday to Friday, but reduced the time when business might not be transacted to the period occupied by the mid-day religious service (lxii. 9 f.). Instead of the elaborate system of food-tabus which occupies so prominent a place in the Mosaic code, he adopted the minimum retained by the Council of Jerusalem, recorded in Ac 15, with the tabu on swine's flesh which some think was originally to be found in those regulations (ii. 168, v. 4, xvi. 116). He held that each of the communities (Jewish and Muslim) might eat the food of the other, and, indeed, went out of his way to record in the Qur'ān what he supposed to be the Jewish rules on the subject (vi. 147).

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[1] *Central and Eastern Arabia*, London, 1865, i. 428.

From Christianity he appears to have taken very little in the way of either doctrine or practice. His first relations with Christians seem to have been friendly, and, as has been seen, during the Meccan period he is said to have found a refuge for persecuted followers at Christian Axum; at a later period he used eulogistic language of Christian monks whom the Qur'ān had affected to tears (v. 85 ff.). He supposed (v. 116) the Christians to worship three deities, Allāh, the Virgin Mariam, and 'Īsā, whom he identified with the spirit of God, but also called 'a Word' (iv. 169). When he became acquainted with the division of Christendom on the subject of the nature of Christ, he conceived that it was his mission to settle the dispute; it is noticeable that he fully accepted the Virgin-birth and the Ascension, though not the Resurrection, as he denied that Christ had been crucified; but he rejected with vehemence the doctrine of the divinity of Christ (xix. 17 ff., iii. 40 ff., iv. 156). Sprenger fancies that he horrified his Christian visitors by his *ḥarīm* as much as he shocked his Jewish subjects by his ignorance of the OT;[1] what is certain is that the embassy from Christian Najrān which waited on him in Medīna, when his power was making progress in Arabia, ultimately eschewed religious discussion and resigned themselves to the payment of tribute.

4. **Relation of system to paganism.**—Comparison between Muhammad's system and that of those which it displaced in non-Christian Arabia is difficult owing to the fragmentary nature of our information about the latter. The name applied to the heathen Arabs in the Qur'ān, *mushrikūn*, if it really means 'those who assign associates to Allāh,' would imply that these pagans were to some extent monotheists, *i.e.* recognized one Supreme Power; but it is curious that the subordinate deities are called 'their' partners, *i.e.* of their worshippers (vi. 138). It is likely that the communities had their tribal and local cults, the abolition of which was regarded as a preliminary for the political union of Arabia. In order to employ monotheism for a political and, indeed, imperialistic object the deity had to be treated as a tribal god, favouring one community and hostile to all others. The men whose accession to Islām after the migration led to its great military successes, especially Khālid b. al-Walīd and 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, appear to have had little or no religious conviction, but to have been moved by admiration for the Prophet's military and diplomatic skill, and anxious to serve under so able a chief. So far as religion entered into their consideration, they probably thought of the god of the community as leading it in war, and found the deity of the Muslim society able to defeat the others. More devout members of that society regarded the Prophet as able to call in the divine aid whenever he was in need of it. As the political programme increased, doctrine diminished in importance; and the institution of practices seems to have been based on the desire to give the new system the equivalent of what other systems possessed, in order that those others might have no rival attractions.

5. **The Prophet's sincerity.**—The question of Muhammad's sincerity in his claim to be the spokesman or *προφήτης* of the deity has often been discussed, and various views have been held on the subject; as examples we may quote that of Sprenger, who regards Muhammad's assertions on this subject as a case of epileptic mendacity,[1] while L. Caetani finds no contradiction between his supposed elaborate preparation of revelations and his ascription of them to direct communication from the deity.[2] The former view, as has already been seen, is scarcely tenable; nor does the latter correspond with the facts, for the revelations furnish little indication of elaborate preparation, and, when once delivered, they appear to have been neglected; there are, indeed, traditions of collections of revelations having been made by some of his followers, but it seems certain that Muhammad himself kept no such collection. Caetani's theory, however, is probably sound to this extent, that in Muhammad's case, as in those of many other men of vast energy and ability, there was a belief or consciousness of being directed by the deity, which, however, by no means led to his trusting anything to chance; and, while the angels whom he declared to have won his battles were partly pious, partly poetical personifications of the heroism of his followers, he was fully conscious of the value of attributing his victories to these supernatural auxiliaries; to be defeated by angelic cavalry was no discredit to any foe. He was also quite conscious of the value attaching to the right to dictate the moral law.

6. **Moral reforms.**—As a moral reformer Muhammad has to his credit the abolition of infanticide, which, if we may trust the Qur'ān (xvi. 61 f., lxxxi. 8 f.), was commonly practised in Arabia in the case of female infants. On the other hand, serious evil was caused by his institution (v. 91) of compensation for oaths, *i.e.* the principle that an oath might be violated at the pleasure of the person who had sworn it, if he performed some sort of penance. While the Qur'ān scarcely formulates any general principles of morals, it on the whole insists on *moderation*, and probably aimed at no considerable departure from current notions on these matters. Hence it tolerates polygamy and unlimited concubinage, and assumes the institution of slavery. In the matter of the blood-feud Muhammad did not contemplate complete abolition, but he endeavoured to mitigate its consequences and favoured mild reprisals (ii. 173–175). With the institution of private property and the acquisition of wealth he found no fault, and he deprecated extravagance in almsgiving as in other matters. The quality of personal courage he rated very high, and, though he often inspired it by the promise of paradise, it is clear that his followers were largely persons who required no such stimulus to make them brave. The ascetic morality afterwards taught by Ṣūfī preachers and, if the tradition is to be believed, approved by some of Muhammad's early adherents finds little support in any interpretation of the Qur'ān that is reasonably literal, and clearly receives no countenance from the Prophet's own career, if any credibility attaches to his biography. Like other sovereigns, he claimed a large share of the booty won in his raids as his perquisite, and appropriated territory as his domain.

It is not clear, then, that Muhammad can be credited with any considerable reform except in the matter of infanticide, whereas in the subordination of the family tie to the religious brotherhood he appears to have weakened one social sanction without introducing any other equally strong by way of compensation. The history of this subordination can be traced in the Qur'ān rather more continuously than most institutions.

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[1] ii. 371.

[1] i. 207 ff.

[2] *Annali dell' Islamo*, Milan, 1905 ff., i. 204 ff.

Where moral codes are drawn up, as is the case in several *sūrahs*, honour to parents is given a high place in the list of commandments. When Abraham is first introduced, he prays for his parents; then he becomes involved in a dispute with his father on the subject of idolatry, but promises to pray for him; and this, when Abraham next comes on the scene, he actually does. But after the migration, when the younger generation were joining Muhammad against the wishes of their parents, such filial duty towards their unbelieving parents was thought undesirable; hence they are forbidden to pray for the latter, and Abraham's conduct is excused on the ground that he had made the promise; finally, Abraham himself is represented as repudiating all parental claims, and his conduct is declared exemplary except for his undertaking to pray for his father (xiv. 42, xix. 42–49, xxvi. 70 ff., xliii. 25, lx. 115, lx. 4).

This is only one example of the movement in the direction of intolerance which the Qur'ān exhibits as it proceeds. The Prophet undoubtedly wished to make Muslim life as sacrosanct within the Muslim world as in the old tribal system the tribesman's life had been within the tribe; but in this he failed, since his first followers eventually waged civil war with each other, and in the history of Islām the victims of massacres by Muslim Sulṭāns have frequently been Muslim communities, and, indeed, families claiming descent from the Prophet himself.

7. Toleration.—On the question of religious toleration the Qur'ān contains a series of utterances belonging to different periods, and varying from large-minded tolerance to extreme fanaticism. In one text (v. 73) future happiness is promised to four communities—believers, Jews, Ṣābians, and Christians—on condition of their believing in Allāh and the last day, and doing good works; in another the last three communities are mentioned with the pagans and the Mazdæans in a context which implies that the prospect before them is less satisfactory (xxii. 17). At times no form even of controversy is permitted except rivalry in kindness; elsewhere the Muslims are told to fight with other communities relentlessly until they accept Islām or pay tribute, which they are to bring in humiliation. Friendship with members of other communities is forbidden. The most intolerant utterances are the latest ones, but the progress in this direction does not seem to have been regular. The permission granted the Muslims to conceal their faith if confession is dangerous (iii. 27, as ordinarily explained) is characteristic of a system which is more political than religious. The ultimate system adopted was to permit the existence of communities which professed to follow a revealed book, but to disarm them and make them tributary; this condition is identified by some jurists with that of slaves. The existence of communities to which this description did not apply was forbidden. Since the chief Christian doctrine is said in the Qur'ān (xix. 92) to be so blasphemous as to be calculated to produce a general convulsion of nature, this toleration, though praiseworthy, is clearly illogical; for we can scarcely conceive a convulsion of nature being averted by the payment of a moderate poll-tax.

8. Legislation. — As a legislator Muhammad probably perpetuated current practice rather than introduced a fresh system, and the Qur'ān is on many grounds ill-suited for a basis of jurisprudence. It is imperfect, self-contradictory, and destitute of order. So far as any principle can be traced in its arrangement, the collector seems to have been anxious to avoid any semblance of chronological order, whence, in the case of conflicting enactments, it has to be supplemented by tradition. Where there is anything like systematic treatment of any topic—*e.g.*, the laws of inheritance in *sūrah* iv.—the signs of improvisation are very apparent; and even a little consideration should have shown the barbarity and folly of the punishment of hand-cutting for theft (v. 42). There is a curious tradition that on his death-bed Muhammad desired to frame a code for the guidance of the community; but to those who supposed that they had in the Qur'ān the actual word of God this utterance not unnaturally seemed delirious. The State, however, suffered very seriously for the want of guidance in the matter of appointing successors to the sovereign; and until the introduction of European codes it was never able to get rid of the doctrine that all law was to be got from the Qur'ān or the Prophet's equally inspired conduct, and so lacked the power to legislate on a sound basis.

9. Philosophy.—Though it is not probable that Muhammad had any liking for metaphysical speculation, the rôle which he had assumed rendered it necessary for him to formulate views on various matters which any form of religious propaganda brings to the front. The reduction of these questions and their answers to precise and philosophical form probably belongs to a later age, and, indeed, in the tradition Muhammad names sects which came into existence a century or more after his death; but in a vaguer form the Qur'ān deals with them, and so furnishes a basis for theology, though one of doubtful firmness. His theory of the deity is, on the whole, naively anthropomorphic; the Allāh of the Qur'ān has been compared to a magnified Oriental despot. A royal court is formed by the angels; Jibrīl conveys messages to the Prophet (ii. 91), whereas others are sent, mounted on horses, to fight the Prophet's battles (iii. 125, viii. 9, ix. 26, 40). Other intelligent beings are the *jinn*, or *shaiṭāns*, whose prince is Iblīs; the second word is taken from the Ethiopic, the third from the Syriac transliteration of the Greek; the *δ* of *διάβολος* was mistaken for the Syriac sign of the genitive, somewhat as Ὀδύσσεια gets transformed into *Liber essentiæ*. To these the Prophet preaches (perhaps through a vague reminiscence of 1 P 3^{19}), and some are converted (xlvi. 28–30, lxxii. 1 ff.). Satan himself is the power that makes for evil, causes men to forget, and even interpolates the oracles of prophets. He has the divine permission to mislead mankind for a season (xv. 37–39). The Qur'ān, on the whole, seems to favour the theory of predestination, but there are passages which contradict it, and to those who impugn it an evasive answer rather than a rejoinder is given (see art. FATE [Muslim]). The resurrection of the body is taught in a crude form, and the future life is thought of as one of bodily pains and pleasures; hence metaphysical questions concerning the soul are scarcely touched. The creation is narrated mainly as in Gn 1, but with the addition of some apocryphal matter. The teleological argument for the existence of God is often emphasized.

10. The Prophet's apologists.—The distinction drawn in the case of the founder of Christianity by D. F. Strauss[1] between the historical and the mythical can be accommodated to that of the founder of Islām, though as regards Muhammad we have not so much to sift canonical documents as to contrast the impressions left by the biography of Ibn Isḥāq with the character of the Prophet as it appears at later periods of Islām. That biography, as will be seen, left room for some important supplements and called for modification in certain respects.

The character attributed to Muhammad in the biography of Ibn Isḥāq is, as has been seen, exceedingly unfavourable. In order to gain his ends he recoils from no expedient, and he approves of similar unscrupulousness on the part of his adherents, when exercised in his interest. He profits

[1] *Das Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet*, Leipzig 1864, p. xxiv.

to the utmost from the chivalry of the Meccans, but rarely requites it with the like. He organizes assassinations and wholesale massacres. His career as tyrant of Medīna is that of a robber-chief, whose political economy consists in securing and dividing plunder, the distribution of the latter being at times carried out on principles which fail to satisfy his followers' ideas of justice. He is himself an unbridled libertine and encourages the same passion in his followers. For whatever he does he is prepared to plead the express authorization of the deity. It is, however, impossible to find any doctrine which he is not prepared to abandon in order to secure a political end. At different points in his career he abandons the unity of God and his claim to the title Prophet.

This is a disagreeable picture for the founder of a religion, and it cannot be pleaded that it is a picture drawn by an enemy; and, though Ibn Isḥāq's name was for some reason held in low esteem by the classical traditionalists of the 3rd Islāmic cent., they make no attempt to discredit those portions of the biography which bear hardest on the character of their Prophet. The theory that this person's conduct was a model for his followers has in consequence done serious mischief.

Apologies for Muhammad were started in the 18th cent. by H. de Boulainvilliers,[1] who was favoured by Gibbon because this apology provided some instruments against Christianity. More importance was attached to the lecture of Carlyle on 'The Hero as Prophet,' incorporated in the collection called *On Heroes and Hero-Worship* (London, 1841), in which Muhammad was taken as the type of a heroic prophet, just as Odin was made the type of a heroic divinity, the author's knowledge of the two personalities being about equal. Another apologist who acquired some popularity was Bosworth Smith,[2] who, too, was satisfied with superficial and second-hand information, and committed the error of basing his estimate of Muhammad's character and aims on the ill-recorded Meccan period instead of on the far more accurately chronicled period of Medīna. No European apologist for Muhammad seems to have possessed any proper acquaintance with the Arabic sources. Only after the definite assertion of European superiority over the world of Islām, which may be dated from the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt, and the acquisition of European nationality or its equivalent by large numbers of Muslims, has the necessity for apologies made itself felt in Muslim communities. The most prominent writer on this side is Syed Ameer Ali,[3] but there are many others. These apologists endeavour to discredit the biography of Ibn Isḥāq where it shocks the European reader; and, where this cannot easily be done, they suggest honourable motives or suppose the course followed by the Prophet to have been the least objectionable of those that were open to him at the time. Thus his toleration of polygamy is declared to have been a limitation with the view of ultimate suppression, and his attitude towards slavery is regarded as similarly intended to lead to its abolition. He has even been made to set an example of monogamy, but the ingenuity required for this is so great that the result is unconvincing.

But, while Muslim dogma, by assuming that whatever the Prophet did must necessarily have been right, renders apology unnecessary, from the earliest times there has been much edifying fiction in which the Prophet is shown to have practised all the virtues which mankind agree in admiring. The lines on which the historical character has been distorted and a mythical character substituted have in the main been three.

(1) In the Qur'ān Muhammad on the whole disclaims the character of thaumaturge, arguing that his predecessors were ordinary men, though he accepts the most important of the miracles ascribed to Moses, Jesus, and others (*e.g.*, vii. 160, iii. 43). The miracles which he claims are victories in the field, won by the assistance of angels, and the Qur'ān itself, which is a miracle either as containing historical matter to which the Prophet had no natural access or as being of unattainable eloquence (cf. xlvi. 1 ff., liii. 1 ff.). To these it is possible that one case of foretelling the future, viz. the recovery by the Romans of the territory seized by the Persians in the Nearer East (xxx. 2 f.), should be added, though the text of the Qur'ān does not insist on this as evidence of mysterious knowledge. Since the miracles of earlier prophets are attested by the Qur'ān, this scarcity of the miraculous doubtless from the first constituted a serious difficulty to Muslim controversialists, and it is likely that in Muhammad's lifetime many miracles were attributed to him which he did not himself claim; in time he was credited with the analogue of every miracle of consequence in either OT or NT, with the exception of raising the dead, which perhaps was not ascribed to him on the ground that his own resurrection never became a dogma of Islām. In works of the 4th cent. of Islām these miracles are collected and, as is usual in Muslim works, attested by chains of witnesses, under the title 'Proofs of the Mission.' The most frequently narrated of these miracles is the 'splitting of the moon,' for which it seems possible to adduce Qur'ānic attestation (liv. 1), though perhaps the text should be taken hypothetically rather than as an assertion. Another form of miracle which was popularly attributed to him was foretelling the future; even the reverse which he sustained at Uḥud was, according to the tradition, revealed to him in a dream, though the official account of that affair in *sūrah* iii. 133 ff. makes no allusion to the warning. Of marvellous experiences that which has attracted most attention is his supposed 'ascent into heaven,' which grew up round a text of the Qur'ān (xvii. 1), which merely says that God took His servant by night from the sacred place of prostration to the furthest place of prostration, usually supposed to mean from Mecca to Jerusalem. It is probable that this is the dream to which reference is made in the same *sūrah* (xvii. 62), where it is coupled with 'the accursed tree in the Qur'ān' as a temptation to the people, *i.e.* a stumbling-block to those whose faith was weak. Nothing more is known of this 'dream,' of which we should gather that the Qur'ān had contained an account which was afterwards expunged; but in the tradition it has been so expanded as to form the analogue on the one hand of the Christian Transfiguration, on the other of the colloquy of Moses on Sinai. There is even a tendency to ascribe to this ascent into heaven such non-Qur'ānic legislation as is generally adopted by Islām, in the same way as analogous Jewish legislation is called 'rules given to Moses on Sinai.' In the story that the Prophet was transferred from Mecca to Jerusalem and from Jerusalem to heaven we probably have a combination of glosses on the expression 'the furthest place of prostration,' the meaning of which is obviously obscure.

(2) The Prophet's sayings and doings were made into a source of law, corresponding with the Oral Law of the Jews, and, like the latter, not at first written down. The great collections of these precedents or rulings date from the second half of the 3rd Islāmic cent., but their accumulation goes back to the 1st cent. of the migration, when the

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[1] *La Vie de Mahomed*, London, 1730.

[2] *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, London, 1873.

[3] *Life and Teachings of Muhammad*, London, 1891.

system of jurisprudence began to be established by the labours of jurists of Medīna. The impartial criticism of these traditions seems to lead to a purely negative result; the practice of inventing scenes in which the Prophet delivered some judgment or of fathering sayings upon him was so common from the very beginning of the Islāmic empire that any genuine sayings of his are inextricably mixed up with such as are apocryphal. The native criticism of this tradition consisted in ascertaining if possible the credibility of the persons who had handed it down. This was by no means easy, and various motives prevented those who endeavoured to criticize it from exercising their judgment freely; hence the chains which are technically regarded as strong appear to the non-Muslim critic fatally weak. The Prophet's merits as a legislator must, therefore, be judged exclusively by the Qur'ān; for, though the rest of the 'sacred code' is ascribed to him, there is little reason for thinking it to be his.

(3) The Prophet is supposed to have expressed opinions upon all sorts of subjects—*e.g.*, medicine —and writers of essays usually start by quoting these dicta. Those which have to do with the commendation of various virtues or the condemnation of vices were collected on a considerable scale by Ghazālī († 505 A.H.) in his *Revival of the Religious Sciences* (Cairo, 1282 A.H.), the standard text-book of orthodox Islāmic theology; he was, however, criticized severely for employing so many spurious dicta, many of which could be traced to fabricators.

11. The Prophet's Companions.—No account of Muhammad, however brief, could omit all notice of his Companions, the persons by whose instrumentality he accomplished so much. Many of these became historical figures, as sovereigns, governors, or generals; it is remarkable that none of them undertook the office of biographer or even collector of memoirs. The tradition implies that certain institutions were suggested to the Prophet by one or other of these adherents; but there is no evidence that he was seriously influenced by any one of them, and we should gather that their attitude towards him was that of worshippers. Although the later parts of the Qur'ān approach the character of official documents, and we actually have a State paper inserted in *sūrah* ix., it is not clear that these associates had any share in their composition. Indeed, such participation would have been at variance with the theory that the *sūrahs* were direct communications from the deity. The tradition represents Abū Bakr and 'Omar, both of whom gave their daughters to the Prophet, as the innermost cabinet; the former is said to have been regularly in favour of mild, the latter of severe, measures. Of emissaries sent to teach we hear very little; an agent was sent to Medīna to prepare for the arrival of the Prophet, but the duties of this person were probably political, at least as much as religious; and, when the policy of winning the Arab tribes had commenced, missionaries were sent to teach neophytes those portions of the Qur'ān which were to be employed in the liturgy; these missionaries appear, however, to have had in part military character. When the time had come to extend the mission outside Arabia, envoys were sent bearing copies of the Prophet's letter to all monarchs known to him; but, as these contained a command to adopt Islām on pain of being attacked, there was no occasion for the messengers to endeavour to persuade.

The theory that Islām is primarily a political adventure is borne out by the subsequent careers of its most distinguished adherents. They accumulated fortunes, and otherwise obtained conspicuous worldly success; 'Omar is credited by some historians with consummate statesmanship, and several others displayed talents as commanders of armies; but there was much rivalry for the first place, and a quarter of a century after the Prophet's death different groups of Companions led armies against each other. The later legend transforms all of them into saints and preachers, and sometimes into ascetics. This is done in particular in the case of 'Alī, of whom a sort of cult arose, especially in Persia; history, however, presents him as an ambitious libertine, endowed with personal courage, but little else that merits admiration.

12. His domestic affairs.—The women of the Prophet's family enter into the story of his career somewhat as they enter into the subsequent history; the tradition makes the first wife, Khadījah, a woman of wealth, whose acceptance of her husband's claim to a supernatural mission was an important element in determining its success. Her death is said to have occurred shortly before the migration. Since his followers at Mecca were at least to some extent persons who required temporal support, it is likely that her wealth (whatever that term may have meant) was devoted to this purpose and, indeed, consumed therein. After her death the Prophet began that course of polygamy and concubinage which has given offence to European students of his career, but does not appear to have scandalized his Arabian contemporaries, except, indeed, in the case of his marriage with the wife of his adopted son, which is defended in a Qur'ānic revelation (xxxiii. 4). On two other occasions the pages of the sacred book are devoted to the Prophet's domestic troubles—once when his girl-wife 'Ā'ishah had incurred the suspicion of unfaithfulness, and was defended by a special oracle (xxiv. 11 ff.); and another time, when, owing to the introduction of a Coptic concubine to the *ḥarīm*, the remaining members of it were so embittered that the Prophet threatened to divorce them all, and the revelation which he produced assured him that he would be able to find adequate substitutes (lxvi. 1 ff.). Since matters no less private and delicate find a place in the prophetic books of the OT (Hosea and Isaiah), perhaps their presence in the Qur'ān ought not to shock us; nevertheless the tradition states that, according to 'Ā'ishah, the Qur'ān would have profited by the omission of the affair of the adopted son, and this criticism might be extended to the others. In several of these marriages it is easy to see that political considerations were dominant. Muhammad, like other leaders, wished to unite his chief helpers to himself by as many bonds as possible, and to get a hold on dangerous opponents. Had he had sons, he would probably have utilized them in the pursuit of this policy. Of these women 'Ā'ishah, the daughter of his most faithful follower, Abū Bakr, played a historical part of great consequence, and in the first civil war herself took the field. The descendants of the Prophet, distinguished since the year 773 A.H. by green turbans, all trace their pedigree to Fāṭimah, his daughter by Khadījah; the other daughters appear to have died without issue. Fāṭimah herself, the wife of 'Alī, seems to have been cruelly treated by the first successor, and died six months after her father, being called to play a political part for which she was unfitted in supporting her husband's claim to the succession. It is curious that the exact number of his sons is unknown, though it is certain that all died in infancy. Of one, born late in his life of a Coptic concubine, sent as a present by the Byzantine governor of Egypt, the death synchronized with an eclipse of the sun, supposed to be that of 27th Jan 632.

LITERATURE.—This, in both the Islāmic and the Christian languages, is enormous, and even a list of important works would be lengthy. Besides the sources enumerated above, the Islāmic general histories mostly devote a great deal of space to the Prophet's biography—*e.g.*, Ismā'īl Abu'l-Fidā († 722 A.H.), whose account, ed. with Lat. tr. by J. Gagnier, Oxford, 1723, was for more than a century the basis of European researches. Many Arabic monographs in prose and verse are enumerated by Ḥājjī Khalīfah, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1835–58, iii. 634–636. To these should be added the work called *Insān al-'Uyūn* of Burhān al-dīn al-Ḥalabī († 1044 A.H.), published Cairo, 1292, with the biography by a modern writer of Mecca, Aḥmad Zaini Dahlan, on the margin. The modern European study of the subject was started by G. Weil, *Mohammed der Prophet*, Stuttgart, 1843; it was popularized in English by Washington Irving, *Lives of Mahomet and his Successors*, London, 1850. The work of A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, Berlin, 1869, claimed to be based mainly on new materials; much the same were simultaneously employed by W. Muir, *Life of Mahomet and Hist. of Islam*, London, 1856–61, reprinted in an abridged form, 1877, and ed. T. H. Weir, 1912. More recent biographies are those by H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, Munich, 1904, and D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*, London, 1905.

Besides biographies, numerous works deal with either the prophetic character of Muhammad or certain aspects of his work. One of the most popular of the former sort is the *Shifā fī ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* of the *qāḍī* 'Iyāḍ († 544 A.H.), on which there is a vast literature, described by Ḥājjī Khalīfah, iv. 56–61; the ed. of Constantinople, 1315, in 4 vols. with the commentary of Khafājī († 1069 A.H.), is probably the best. Somewhat similar is the *Mawāhib Laduniyyah* of Qasṭallānī († 923 A.H.) with the commentary of Zurqānī, 8 vols., Cairo, 1278. Of European works mention may be made of O. Pautz, *Mohammeds Lehre von der Offenbarung*, Leipzig, 1898; O. Procksch, *Über die Blutrache und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr*, do. 1899; P. Casanova, *Mohammed et la fin du monde*, Paris, 1911; H. Lammens, *Mohamet, fut-il sincère?*, Paris, 1914. The ninth volume of V. Chauvin's *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, etc., Liége, 1908, contains a list of all European works on the subject from 1810 to 1885.

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MUHAMMADANISM.

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MUHAMMADANISM (in Central Africa).—Muhammadanism is said to have reached Central Africa from three sources—Egypt by the Nile and its affluents, Tripoli *via* Ghadames to Timbuktu, and Algeria *via* Wargla. Certain details of the dates of its introduction into various communities were collected by the traveller, H. Barth; about A.D. 1000 it found its way into Songhi, near the end of the 11th cent. into Kanem, about 1500 into Bagirmi, and not much later into Katsena. It was introduced into Logon about the beginning of the 19th century. In 1907 it was computed that the number of indigenous Muslims in British Central Africa was 50,000 as compared with 950,000 fetishists. Its introduction in certain places is connected with the names of historical personages; the chief missionary for Central Negroland was one Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Maghili, a native of Buda in Tạwat, who flourished about 1500.

The Islām of Central Africa seems to be everywhere of the Mālikite school; and, if it has produced a literature, few monuments of it have as yet come to light. In *Revue du monde musulman*, xii. [1910] 197 Ismaël Hamet gives a summary of the *Kitāb al-Ṭarā'if* by Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār of the Kounta tribe of Azawad; this personage died in 1826, twenty years after the completion of his work, which consists of an edifying biography of his parents, containing the kind of matter which is usually found in hagiographies. In *Revue du monde musulman*, xiv. [1911], Hamet gives extracts from the works of a somewhat earlier writer Sīdī Muḥammad al-Yaddālī († 1752), a poem by whom in praise of the Prophet was published by L. Massignon (*ib.* viii. [1909] 199). Some contemporary poems (satires) by one Bakai were published by Barth. There appears to be nothing in these specimens that is distinctly African. In the same magazine (viii. 409) Massignon published the catalogue of a library belonging to a Central African chieftain Shaikh Sidia; the editor notices the absence of books bearing on philosophy, alchemy, and music, but otherwise it does not differ in character from other Islāmic libraries, and the want of representation of these subjects may be due to accident.

LITERATURE.—I. Hamet, 'La Civilisation arabe en Afrique centrale,' in *Revue du monde musulman*, xiv. [1911] 1–35.

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MUHAMMADANISM (in N. Africa). — I. History. — The introduction of Islām into N. Africa commenced shortly after the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, who in A.D. 641 penetrated as far as Barca, and in the following year took Tripoli by storm. It was not till the autumn of 647, however, that an expedition on a great scale was organized for the subjugation of Africa, where the Patricius Gregory had declared himself independent of the Byzantine emperor, and made Sbeitla (in Tunisia) his seat of government. The Arab invader, 'Abdallāh b. Abī Sarḥ, who had advanced through the interior, defeated the forces collected by Gregory in the battle of Akuba, where Gregory himself perished, took and pillaged Sbeitla, and proceeded to devastate the country southwards as far as Gafsa and Jerid and northwards as far as Marmajanna. Permanent occupation was not yet contemplated, and the conquerors were satisfied with a heavy money payment, on the receipt of which they withdrew; certain conversions, however, were made. The civil war which followed the death of 'Uthmān delayed the activities of the Muslims in this region for a time, but in 665 the first Umayyad Khalīfah, Mu'āwiyah, dispatched an expedition thither, which overcame the troops sent by the Byzantine emperor, and in 669 established a province Ifrīqiyyah, with 'Uqbah b. Nāfi' for its first governor, who for the first time employed Berber converts as soldiers, and founded the city of Kairawan. Since the Islāmic programme was carried out by this governor, who threatened the pagans with extermination, the religion began to spread fast among the Berber tribes. In 675 'Uqbah was replaced by a less vigorous governor; but he was sent back to his province by Yazīd I. shortly after his accession, and proceeded to organize an expedition which finally reached Ceuta in the extreme west of Africa, whence he turned south and saw the Atlantic before starting homeward; but he did not again reach Kairawan, as his army was attacked by superior forces and annihilated at Tehuda, N.E. of Biscra. His defeat and death (683) were followed by a general revolt of the Africans from Arab rule, and an independent Berber state, with Kairawan for capital, was able to maintain itself for five years. In 690 this city was re-taken by the Arabs, who, however, evacuated the province, which lapsed into anarchy. An end was put to this by Mūsāh b. Nuṣair, sent in 705 to Kairawan as governor of Ifrīqiyyah, who traversed as far as Ceuta the country previously invaded by 'Uqbah, penetrated as far south as the Oasis of Sijilmasa, took Tangiers, and installed a Berber convert there as governor. He returned to Kairawan in 708, having definitely won N. Africa to Islām, and put an end to Christian domination, where it still existed. The pious Umayyad ʿOmar II. is said to have manifested zeal in the propagation of Islām among the inhabitants of these territories.

The Khārijites, who were giving much trouble in the eastern dominions of the Khalīfahs, also sent missionaries to the west, where they found a ready hearing among the recently converted tribes. The Ṣufrī doctrine spread among the westerly tribes, the Ibāḍī in Ifrīqiyyah proper. In 740 a revolt broke out in the extreme west against the Umayyad ruler in favour of the Khārijite doctrine, and, as it met with some initial success, it spread over Muslim Africa; a Syrian force sent by the Khalīfah Hishām to quell the rebellion was defeated on the Sebu. Another force headed by the governor of Egypt in 742 was more fortunate; but, though Kairawan was rendered secure, the Khārijites maintained themselves at Tlemsen and in the neighbouring parts of the modern Morocco, and various independent Khārijite communities established themselves to the west of the continent.

At the beginning of the 9th cent., while the dynasty of the Aghlabites was establishing itself at Kairawan, under the nominal suzerainty of the Khalīfahs of Baghdād, but virtually independent, an ʿAlid dynasty called the Idrīsid became dominant in the west, and in 808 founded the city of Fez. Other petty dynasties were also established in various places. The great event in the history of Muslim Africa during this century was the arrival of the Fāṭimid missionary Abū ʿAbdallāh, who won adherents among the Ketama, and by skilful organization and strategy was able to overthrow the Aghlabites, and install at Kairawan a Shīʿah dynasty, which presently substituted for Kairawan a new city, Mahdiyah, as metropolis. The petty principalities to the west of Kairawan alternated in their allegiance between the Umayyads of Spain and the Fāṭimids of Mahdiyah, but the latter remained the dominant power in N. Africa until they, having conquered Egypt, transferred their capital to Cairo, leaving in possession of Mahdiyah a dependent dynasty called the Zirids, who in the middle of the 11th cent. threw off Fāṭimid suzerainty. As the 11th cent. neared its end, the Almoravid dynasty, founded by an adventurer named Yūsuf b. Tāshifīn, with its capital at Morocco, obtained the hegemony; and this, in the middle of the 12th cent., was displaced by that of the Almohads founded by Ibn Tūmart, which under its first actual sovereign, ʿAbd al-Mu'min, obtained possession of all N. Africa as well as Spain. This dynasty lasted one century only, and was succeeded by three—the Merinids with their capital at Fez, the Ziyanids with theirs at Tlemsen, and the Ḥafṣids, with theirs at Tunis—whose constant disputes kept N. Africa in a state of turbulence for some two centuries. In the 16th cent. various points on the north and west coasts were seized by Portuguese and Spanish forces and then by Turks; the three native dynasties gradually disappeared, and, whereas that of Tunis gave way to Ottoman domination, which had Algiers for its centre, in the west a new empire, that of the Sharīfs, arose. The capital of the Sharīfs was at different times Morocco and Fez, and sometimes Meknes; their first dynasty, that of the Saʿdians, lasted from 1520 until 1654, when it was ousted by that of the Ḥassānians, which became prominent in 1633. The Sharīfs and the Turks succeeded in ousting the Christian invaders from the places which they had occupied, but in 1830 Algiers was occupied by the French, whose empire has ever since been extending in N. Africa. The connexion of the Turkish settlements in N. Africa with the government of Constantinople grew constantly looser from the time of their establishment, and the pasha of Algiers had difficulty in maintaining his authority over the territories which lay to the west of that place.

The population forming the Islāmic communities has remained Berber in the main, but, besides the influx of Arabs at the time of the original invasion, the introduction of the Arab tribes Hilal and Sulaim in the 11th cent. has been of great importance for the political development of the country. These tribes, which had been located in Egypt, were, it is said, sent westwards by the Fāṭimid Khalīfah Mustanṣir, by way of avenging himself on the Zirid Muʿizz, who in 1048 had accepted the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsid Khalīfah, destroyed the Ismāʿīlia college at Kairawan, where the Shīʿite doctrine was taught, and burned in public all that was indicative of Shīʿism. The Arabs advanced victoriously, and compelled the Berber sovereigns to make terms with them; under the Almohads some of the divisions of these tribes were introduced into the western provinces and employed by the government as a military force.

> 'Far from attaching themselves to the soil as the al-Mohads had hoped, these tribes continued to live in the nomad state and to annoy the government by their turbulence' (E. Michaux-Bellaire, 'Les Tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkous,' in *Archives marocaines*, iv. [1905] 59).

Indeed, their risings form many a chapter in the history of N. Africa. Towards the end of the 17th cent. the Ḥassānid Sharīf Ismāʿīl purchased or procured a great number of Negroes, of whom he formed agricultural colonies, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Morocco, enjoying various privileges, but bound to place all male children from the age of ten at the disposal of the sovereign, to be trained for his guard, while various employments were also found for the females. By the end of his reign as many as 150,000 of these black soldiers were registered in his lists; they were placed under the patronage of Bukhārī, the author of the chief collection of traditions, whose sanctity in certain parts of the Islāmic world approaches or even exceeds that of the Prophet. The purpose of this scheme was to provide the Sulṭān with a guard unconnected with the native population, on whose fidelity he could rely. A Turkish and a Levantine element, neither very considerable in magnitude, were introduced into the eastern provinces by the Ottoman conquests.

2. Sects and orders.—It will have been seen from this sketch that during the first four centuries of Islām both Khārijite and Shīʿite opinions held sway in different parts of N. Africa. The former are still represented by certain isolated communities (see art. KHAWĀRIJ); when the Zirids asserted their independence of the Fāṭimids, Shīʿite opinions were condemned, and a general persecution of those who held them took place (1014); some years later (1045), on the occasion of a further dispute between the Zirid and the Fāṭimid monarchs, the former asserted the legitimacy of the ʿAbbāsid Khalīfate and proclaimed the orthodoxy of the Mālikite system, upon which the Almoravids also insisted. The founder of the Almohad dynasty was a follower of the Ashʿarite theology, and himself propagated it in Africa, displacing that of the Zahirites (Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, Cairo, 1915, v. 191). The further changes of dynasty appear to have produced no alteration in the dominance of these systems. The historians of the earlier period call attention to two purely African sects, both of which obtained some hold. The first of these was that founded by Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf, prophet of the Bargwata in Temessna, who about A.D. 750 promulgated a Qur'ān containing *sūrahs* named after 'the Cock,' 'the Elephant,' 'the Asses,' 'Adam,' etc., and was recognized by his tribe. After a reign of forty-seven years he departed to the East, promising to return under the seventh sovereign of his dynasty and leaving his son Elias to continue his work. This successor reigned, we are told, fifty years, professing Islām, but secretly harbouring his father's heresy, which was openly professed by the third of the line, Yūnus. Yūnus endeavoured to enforce its acceptance under penalty of death, and is said to have razed numerous cities and massacred crowds of his subjects in his endeavour to propagate the doctrine. The doctrine seems to have differed from orthodox Islām in matters of ceremony chiefly. It substituted Rajab as fasting month for Ramaḍān; it prescribed ten daily and nightly prayers instead of five; its sacrificial day was 11th Muḥarram; its alms-tax was a tithe of all fruits; its ceremonial cleansing was much more elaborate than the orthodox; some of the prayers consisted of gestures without bending of the body; and the formulæ were in the vernacular of the tribe. The cock served instead of *mu'adhdhin*; its flesh was a forbidden food, whereas that of the hen was only disapproved. Eggs also were forbidden. The sect survived till the middle of the 11th cent., when it was exterminated by the Almoravids.

Another Berber author of a Qur'ān was Ḥāmīm, prophet of the Ghumarah near Tetuan, who came forward in A.D. 925; in his system prayer was only twice a day, and the only attitude adopted in it was an inclination in which the ground was touched with the back of the hands. He prescribed fasting all Thursday, and on Wednesday till noon. He reduced the fast of Ramaḍān by a number of days, abolished pilgrimage, purification, and the total ablution, and permitted sow's flesh to be eaten, on the ground that the Qur'ān of Muhammad forbade that of the boar only. Specimens of his Qur'ān, which was in the Berber language, are given in the *Kitāb al-istibṣār* (tr. E. Fagnan, Constantine, 1900, p. 143), and relics of the sect which he founded existed in the time of the historian Ibn Khaldūn (*c.* A.D. 1400), who asserts that the greater number of sorcerers came from the Jabal Ḥāmīm, which took its name from this personage, whose actual career appears to have been very short. He was defeated in the neighbourhood of Tangiers by a force sent by the Spanish Umayyad al-Nāṣir in the year 927, and his head was sent to Cordova.

In the year 1228 another prophet arose among the Ghumarah, called Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Ṭawājin, who performed miracles and instituted a code; he was, however, cursed by the saint and ascetic 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh, in consequence of which most of his Berber followers withdrew from him. The prophet in retaliation caused the saint to be assassinated, but was himself shortly afterwards defeated by the garrison of Ceuta, and killed by a Berber; his descendants are still to be found in the neighbourhood of the Wad Ras, where, however, they are under a sort of ban, and forbidden access to the Jabal Alam, where the saint Ibn Mashīsh dwelt, of whose cult hatred for the Bani Ṭawājin forms a part (*Archives marocaines*, ii. [1905] 24). Ibn Khaldūn gives no details of the system which this prophet tried to establish (*History*, ed. Cairo, 1284, vi. 222). The title 'Mahdī' is said to have been taken by the first of these prophets, and, being less likely to offend popular prejudice than the title 'Prophet,' it has been assumed by many pretenders in Africa—*e.g.*, the founders of the Fāṭimid and Almohad dynasties, a contemporary of the former, 'a young man' at the commencement of the reign of the Fāṭimid Manṣūr (A.D. 946). It is noticeable that the Almohad Ma'mūn, at his triumphal entry into Morocco in 1230, definitely rejected the claim of the founder of his dynasty to this title, asserting that the only Mahdī was Jesus the Son of Mary, and that the ascription of it to Ibn Tūmart was a fable. Numerous claimants to it have risen since that time (see art. MAHDĪ).

Of an obscure sect called the Baḍadwa, located on the right bank of the Sebu, an account is given by G. Salmon in *Archives marocaines*, ii. [1905] 358–363. A branch of these called 'the sect of Yūsuf' is mentioned as having arisen in the 10th century (*ib.* xix. [1913] 214). Apparently they base their system on the Qur'ān, but differ from other Muslims in points of ritual.

The general dominance of the Mālikite code, of which the most familiar compendium is that of Sīdī Khalīl (Abū Ḍiyā), was not affected by the dynastic changes, except that in the provinces governed by Turks the official system of the Ottomans, that of Abū Ḥanīfah, was introduced without displacing the other; in these regions there were two *qāḍīs*. In the cities of N. Africa there were theological schools which produced orthodox writers and teachers of eminence, and such were to be found as far south as Timbuktu, which was made subject to Morocco in 1590; one of the prisoners then taken, Aḥmad Bābā, who belonged to a family of theologians, complained that the conquerors had pillaged his library, which, though containing 1600 volumes, was smaller than others which belonged to his relatives. The Islām of N. Africa was greatly influenced by the introduction of the form of Ṣūfīism connected with the name of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī ([*q.v.*] † 561 A.H.), to whom the establishment of orders is traced. In one of the earliest European accounts of the orders (E. de Neveu, *Les Khouan: Ordres religieux chez les Musulmans de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1846) various popular beliefs about this personage are collected.

> 'He it is whose name is ceaselessly repeated by beggars demanding alms, and whose name is invoked by all whom any accident befalls. When a man falls, the bystanders and he himself cry out, "Ah, my lord 'Abd al-Qādir!" The miserable in their sufferings, and women in travail, pray him to intercede for them. In the month Ṣafar 380,000 evils of all sorts descend from the sky; of these he bears three-quarters himself' (p. 23 f.).

Lists of the orders established in N. Africa were made by this writer, and more complete registers were later drawn up by L. Rinn, O. Depont, and X. Coppolani. Some of these either originated in Africa or are only known to exist there.

In the 15th cent. Shādhilīism was propagated in Morocco by Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Jazūlī, who counts as the starting-point of all the orders and *zāwiyahs* of this region. An account of this personage, who died in 1464, and is famous throughout Islām as the author of the *Dalā'il al-Khairāt*, is given in *Archives marocaines*, xix. 277 ff., as an appendix to the treatise *Da'wat al-Nāshir* of Ibn 'Askar, which contains the lives of ascetics of Morocco; A. Graulle, who is the translator of this work, added to it as a continuation in vol. xxi. [1913] the *Nashr al-Mathānī* of Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Qādirī, and proposes to add as another supplement the *Ghurb al-Muhtaḍar* of Ja'far al-Kittanī. The *Salwat al-anfās*, published at Fez in 1316, is of similar import. The amount of historical matter contained in these lives is small; their purpose is chiefly to edify. The growth of the orders throughout N. Africa, ultimately (according to French authorities) rendering possible a territorial division by *zāwiyahs* like parishes, does not appear to have at any time had a beneficial effect either on the religion or on the morals of the inhabitants. In an essay, 'Sur la Mentalité religieuse dans la region de Rabat et de Sale' (*Archives marocaines*, vi. [1906] 423–435), E. Mercier describes the effects which he witnessed in two towns which count as sacred.

'The people are fanatics rather than believers, haters of the non-Muslim rather than religious'; the member of an order shares the superstitions of the ignorant, but is more bigoted and, having secured his own salvation, looks down on others who are less fortunate. 'Convinced of his immense superiority, he shuts himself up in a strict formalism, scrupulous and punctual observation of the rites which take up his time and save him the trouble of reflecting' (p. 4).

It is asserted that religion occupies a much larger share of Berber than of Arab life, and the names of the dynasties, Almoravids, Almohads, bear this out. In the 16th cent. the devotees (called *murābiṭ*, or *marabout*) begin to play a political rôle of great importance; their *zāwiyahs*, or hermitages, which at times were like towns in magnitude, are regularly employed as refuges; they themselves in times of peace (so far as there were any) enjoyed divers privileges—*e.g.*, under Turkish rule the marabouts of the Amokran family in the neighbourhood of Jijeli had the right to direct the provision of timber for shipbuilding, and others had a share in the proceeds of the piracy; they were employed as envoys, as mediators, and, at times, as regents. Most frequently we hear of them as heading insurrections. The dynasty of the Saʿdian Sharīfs is said to have commenced by the inhabitants of Sus at the time of the Portuguese settlements betaking themselves to a marabout named Ibn Mubārak, whom they implored to place himself at their head and march against the Christian invaders; he referred them to the Sharīf Abu ʿAbdallāh al-Qaim, then residing at Tagmadaret, whose sons undertook the duty. In 1612 the Saʿdian Sharīf al-Ma'mūn, who, in order to regain his throne, had handed over Al-Araish to the Spaniards, was assassinated by the *muqaddam* (abbot) Muḥammad b. Abī' l-Lif, at the instance, it is said, of the marabout Abū'l-Mahalli, who belonged to the Raḥmānī order, and even proclaimed himself Mahdi. This personage was able to take Morocco, where he established himself as sovereign until defeated by another marabout Yaḥyā, who espoused the cause of the Saʿdian Zaidan, and was then, not without difficulty, persuaded to return to his monastery. In 1619 an insurrection in the province Habt was headed by a marabout al-Ḥasan b. Raisun, also in favour of a Saʿdian, who undertook to restore orthodox practice; and early in the 17th cent. the marabouts of Dela, Sale, and Sijilmasa headed political parties in different parts of the Saʿdian empire. In 1639 a Turkish force dispatched from Algiers which was entrapped in the Kabiliyah was saved by the intervention of a marabout, who obtained reasonable terms from the natives for it. In 1641 the Algerian pasha Yūsuf, starting an expedition for the suppression of anarchy in the province of Constantine, obtained the good offices of the marabout Ibn Sasi of Bone. In 1664 one named Sīdī Hamud obtained a passage for the Algerian troops marching to the relief of Jijeli, which had been occupied by the French. In 1668 the marabouts of Dela were at war with the Ḥassānian Sharīf Rashīd, who defeated them and stormed their *zāwiyah*, which had grown into a populous and sumptuous town. His brother and successor, Ismāʿīl, had to face an insurrection headed by one of the survivors from this monastery, named Aḥmad b. ʿAbdallāh, who was defeated in the neighbourhood of Tedla. Their activity was no less marked in the 18th century. In 1757 a marabout raised the standard of revolt against the Ḥassānian Sharīf Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh in the country of the Ghumarah. In 1777 an insurrection was started at Tlemsen by a fanatic of the Derkawī order, named Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh, whose followers were ultimately bought off. In 1787 Salah Bey of Constantine conducted a series of campaigns, not all of them successful, against the heads of *zāwiyahs* in this province. In 1803 another Derkawī, Ibn al-Ahrash, said to be favoured by the British Government, established himself at Jijeli, and organized the natives against the bey of Constantine, whom he defeated and killed; and in 1805 the Derkawīs revolted in the province of Oran and besieged Oran itself. In 1818 the marabouts of this province gave further trouble, and many more recent instances of their activity are recorded.

In general the ostensible aim of these devotees has been to free the soil of Africa from Christian occupation; but this has not invariably been the case, as there are instances of the marabouts compromising with the Christians or even invoking their assistance against rivals (*Archives marocaines*, ii. 46).

3. **Cult of saints.**—Closely connected with the orders is the cult of saints, which is wide-spread in N. Africa. The tomb of Idrīs, founder of the Idrīsī dynasty, is a common place of pilgrimage, and both it and other tombs figure in the history as places of refuge. The tomb of Ibn Mashīsh (see above, p. 882^a) is visited in the month Shaʿbān, and comprehends a series of visits to those of his ancestors and descendants (*Archives marocaines*, ii. 24). A list of the tombs visited in the Gharb is given in *Archives marocaines*, xx. [1913] 246–278; of the saints thus venerated the most popular is Sīdi Qāsim b. Lallūsha († A.D. 1666). 'What is certain is that he has two sanctuaries, one on the left and one on the right bank of the Sebu' (p. 261), and that he has several festivals in the year, one of which lasts three days. A list for the province Habt is given in *Archives marocaines*, xvii. [1911] 481 ff. These saints have functions corresponding closely with those of the patron saints of Christianity.

'The *zāwiyah* Sharqāwiyah of Bū'l-Ja'd is not only a religious centre, but likewise a centre of preparation for the sacred war, and the greater number of the horsemen and shooters of the Gharb are placed under the patronage of Sīdi Bū Abīd al-Sharqāwi. In this region one frequently finds the name Bū Abīd, which is considered to be of good omen for horsemen. Parents often give their children the name of a marabout under whose patronage some military exercise is placed' (*ib.* xx. 39).

An account is given (*ib.* p. 276 ff.) of various Maraboutic 'tribes,' *i.e.* groups of villages attached to some saintly cult, and not, like the *zāwiyahs*, isolated villages.

LITERATURE.—E. Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique septentrionale*, Paris, 1888–91, based on both native and European authorities. Much material is to be found in *Revue africaine*, nos. 1–293 [1856–1915], *Mémoires de la société archéologique de Constantine*, vols. i.–xlv. [1853–1912], *Archives marocaines*, vols. i.–xxi. [1904–13]. See also I. Hamet, *Les Musulmans français au nord de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1906; T. H. Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco*, London, 1904.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Arabia).—One of the results of the taking of Mecca by Muhammad was a determination on his part no longer to tolerate paganism in Arabia, and the destruction of the ancient cults took place throughout the peninsula with extraordinary rapidity; the ease with which the fetishes were discarded by their worshippers has elicited expressions of wonder from some who have chronicled the period. It is indeed suggested at times that there are still unexplored regions in Arabia whither Islām has not penetrated, but of these rumours there appears to be no confirmation. So far as the authorities before us warrant, every tradition of the older religions appears to have perished; statements about them which meet us in Arabic literature are ordinarily fictions based on Qur'ānic texts, and the so-called 'pre-Islāmic poetry' must, if genuine, have undergone wholesale expurgation. Even the revolts in Arabia which followed the Prophet's death do not appear to exhibit any recrudescence of paganism, but merely a desire for liberation from some of the more onerous exactions of Islām; and permanent relief in one matter (the number of daily prayers) is said to have been obtained by one of the rebellious tribes, though the revolt was otherwise a failure. It is worthy of notice that these rebellions were led by prophets who aimed at re-enacting Muhammad's part, not by priests or other representatives of the fallen idols. The liberation of Arabia from paganism was speedily followed by the penalizing therein of all non-Islāmic cults, even the Jews and Christians, whose rights had been respected by the Prophet, being either banished or forcibly converted in the time of the second Khalīfah.

The murder of the third of these rulers in the year 35 A.H. was an event of the greatest importance for both Arabia and Islām. On the one hand, as some of the far-sighted are said to have urged at the time, it split the community into sects; complete unity has never been restored. On the other hand, the political centre of Islām was thereby shifted to a point outside Arabia; the Assassins came from Egypt, and the battles for the succession were fought from Baṣra, Kūfa, and Damascus. These cities became the capitals of the rival claimants, and Medīna was never restored to the position which it had once held. Arabia has, therefore, ever since been a province, at a distance from the seat of government; and such principalities as have asserted their independence within the peninsula have been mediocre both in magnitude and in importance. Such talent as Arabia produced has been attracted to the political centre, whereas the persons attracted to it from outside have been mainly devotees.

There are, however, certain ways in which the influence of Arabia upon Islām has been constant or permanent. On the one hand, Mecca has maintained its position throughout history as the greatest Islāmic sanctuary; some sovereigns are said to have contemplated substituting either Jerusalem or Baghdād, but to have abandoned the idea as impracticable. This place has not only served to perpetuate the traditions which Islām took on from older times, but has also served as a rallying ground for the sects; and only occasionally has its sanctity been violated. Mecca is the place where the Islāmic world as a whole can be most easily addressed, and to this day revivalist movements, which are usually reactionary, have a tendency to materialize there.

On the other hand, Medīna remained the chief seat of Islāmic learning some generations after it had ceased to be the political capital. At this place, the residence of the Prophet's widows, several of whom survived him for many decades, and the theatre of his most eventful years, the science of tradition came into existence, and this speedily became the most important source of law, though not first in the list. In the 1st cent. of Islām Medīna produced a school of jurists who, though they left nothing in writing, by their labours prepared the way for the codes whose publication followed shortly after the foundation of Baghdād. In the middle of the 2nd cent. it was the home of the jurist Mālik, where he received as pupil Shāfiʿī; Shāfiʿī in later life went to Baghdād, where alone conspicuous ability could find its reward. With the names of these personages two of the three great Islāmic codes are connected. It is, therefore, Arabian (and indeed Medīnese) law that theoretically is observed throughout Islām, though in the more civilized States the civil and criminal portions have given way to the Code Napoléon.

The development of the other Islāmic sciences has little to do with Arabia, which in these matters has lagged behind the other provinces. The chief battles of the sects, too, have been fought outside Arabia; they could not, however, cut quite adrift from the sacred territory, where they did not, as a rule, win many enthusiastic adherents. There has, however, been always a smouldering desire to recover that hegemony which was lost after the murder of Othmān; hence there has generally been disaffection towards the ruling power. Perhaps the most serious attempt made at recovering the lost hegemony was when in the early ʿAbbāsid period ʿAbdallāh, son of Zubair, was able to maintain the two sacred cities for a time against the Umayyad generals. His cause perished with him; and rebellions which have since taken place in Arabia have had for their object recovery of independence within the peninsula rather than reestablishment of the political headquarters of the empire.

An account of the religious condition of Arabia in the 4th cent. of Islām is given by the geographer Muqaddasī (ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1877, p. 96). The three great political sects, the Sunnīs, Shīʿahs, and Khārijīs (called by him Shurāt), were represented in different parts of the peninsula. One sect which has since disappeared, the Qarmaṭīs, was dominant in Hajr. The Sunnī schools were not then restricted to four, and, besides the systems of Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik, those of Dāwūd the Ẓāhirī, Sufyān al-Thaurī, and Ibn al-Mundhir had adherents. The Shīʿites in parts of the country were also distinguished as Muʿtazilites.

Of the rise of the Khārijī power in Oman an account has been given in the art. IBĀḌĪS. Of a Khārijite who maintained himself in Yemen from 538 to 569 A.H. a notice is given by Ibn Khaldūn (tr. H. C. Kay, *Omarah's History of Yemen*, London, 1892, pp. 161–165). The branch of the Shīʿah which has maintained itself permanently in S. Arabia is the Zaidī (*q.v.*). It is called after a descendant of ʿAlī, Zaid, who perished in an abortive rising of the year 122 A.H. For its history, references may be given to the work of H. C. Kay (pp. 184–190), and Khazrajī's *History of the Rasúlí Dynasty of Yaman* (tr. J. W. Redhouse, London, 1907). An account of the Qarmaṭīs in Yemen by Janadī is also translated in the work of Kay (pp. 190–212). Other sects were either at one time represented in Arabia or are still to be found there; of a Shīʿite sect called Sabʿiyyah representatives are to be found in a Yemenite community called Yām (Aḥmad Rāshid, *History of Yemen and Ṣanʿā* [Turkish], Constantinople, 1291 A.H., ii. 87); their views appear to be similar to those of ʿAzāqirī (Yāqūt, *Dictionary of Learned Men*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1907–13, i. 301).

Probably the most important religious movement which has taken place in Arabia since the rise of Islām is that called Wahhābī (*q.v.*), the origin and course of which have been described by the English travellers W. G. Palgrave, Lady Anne Blunt, C. M. Doughty, and the Austrian traveller E. Nolde.

So far as the literature of these sects has hitherto been made accessible, it would appear that they have had to adopt and modify the results of the labours carried on at the great Islāmic centres, and have themselves been incapable of producing original works of any consequence. One of the few specimens as yet accessible of purely Arabian theology, *Al-ʿIlm al-Shāmikh*, by Ṣāliḥ b. Mahdī of Yemen († 1108 A.H.), in which an endeavour is made to find a common ground for the sects by going behind the supposed innovations of the founders, appears to rest entirely on the older theological works, already known in Europe, the authors of which were natives of extra-Arabian provinces. We learn from this work that the Ṣūfī orders and practices, which originated in Baghdād and Baṣra, were in the author's time well represented in S. Arabia. Against these the Wahhābī movement in the centre and north of the peninsula was to some extent a revolt.

From the statements of the few travellers who have spent much time in the peninsula and have been able to familiarize themselves with its conditions, it would appear that the great bulk of the population are, in theory at any rate, fiercely Muhammadan, but that the observation of the practices which the system enjoins is much more regular in the towns than in the desert. There is, however, considerable difference between the statements of different travellers, and much variety has doubtless been occasioned by local, temporal, and personal factors. When K. Niebuhr (in the latter half of the 18th cent.) visited S. Arabia, he found that a Christian was there treated somewhat as a Jew was treated in Europe—as an inferior being, but not necessarily to be molested.[1] Perhaps the greater number of visitors in the 19th cent. either adopted or simulated Islām; and this, indeed, has been a necessity in the sacred territory, where the presence of unbelievers is not tolerated by the government. In the Wahhābī States the tendency seems to have been in the direction of intolerance; yet on this matter almost contemporary accounts are inconsistent, and it would appear that the demeanour of the traveller has largely determined the conduct of his entertainers; even a missionary who went to Ḥaiel with the avowed object of circulating the NT was only sent under escort out of the Wahhābī territory. The explorers of S. Arabia appear to have undergone little molestation on religious grounds; intertribal wars and international politics have interfered with them much more. It is worth noticing that the Cairene journal which is conducted ostensibly in the interest of the Muslim chieftains of S. Arabia has for its proprietor and editor a Christian with the unmistakable name ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, 'Slave of Christ.'

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently quoted throughout the article.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Central Asia).—In sketching the peculiarities of Islām in Central Asia, it is necessary to begin with the impression which the difference between the religious life in western and middle Asia must make upon any one who has occasion to study these wide-spread portions of the Muhammadan world. From Constantinople east a gradually increasing fanaticism and ignorance will be observed, and the deeper the penetration into Asia, the more outspoken and intense become the hatred and aversion of the believer to the adherents of a foreign creed, and the less is it possible to ignore the points of divergence separating men of various religions. In Turkey, where Christians and Muslims have lived for centuries in close proximity, a long existing and continuous intercourse with the European world has undoubtedly smoothed away many asperities, and has, to a certain extent, prepared for a mutual understanding. In spite of the temporary outbreaks of enmity between Kurds and Armenians, caused by the predatory habits of the Kurds and not by their religion—for they are very lax Muslims—the relations between Christians and Muhammadans are fair, and would be much better if the misrule of the central government on the Bosphorus and the political instigations from without did not steadily envenom the situation. In Persia Islām presents itself in quite a different form. There first appears the deep-rooted enmity between Shīʿites and Sunnites, and the fire which this schism kindled more than 1200 years ago is still raging. As for the life of the Shīʿite sect, what the present writer saw and heard during his wanderings as a dervish in Īrān gave him a very poor opinion of their piety and the moral effect of their teachings. Outward appearance and formalities, hypocrisy and fanaticism, hatred and implacability, are the main characteristics of the national religion of Persia; and, whereas in Turkey a good deal of the hierarchical power is invested in the hands of the Sulṭān, in Persia we find the clergy the supreme arbiters of the spiritual life, unchecked by the secular government, and very frequently its rival. During the more than 100 years' rule of the present Persian dynasty the Shāhs have striven in vain to curtail the influence of the priests; the Imām Jumʿa of Iṣfahān and Karbalā were and are their equals if not superiors in power, and the Shāh's ordinances are nil without their consent.

If we turn now to Central Asia, the difference will at once appear which separates Islām there not only from Irān—which is very natural—but also from the western portion of the Muhammadan world, in spite of their common Sunnite character and common Ḥanīfite rite. For it is only in E. Turkestan that adherents of the Shāfiʿite rite are to be met with. There we find a distinctly different religious life, the manners and customs of which do not resemble those of W. Asia. There everything bears the special stamp of extravagant fanaticism, of an exalted conception of the value of ritual trivialities, and of a deep hatred against innovations. In observing the Central Asian Muslim in his daily life, his social intercourse, his trade, and his attitude towards his government, one is tempted to believe oneself not in the 14th, but in the 2nd cent. of the Hijrah, and probably even then the prescriptions of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah were hardly so rigorously observed as they are to-day in Central Asia. Nearly one-third of the day is devoted to religious practices. Every good Muhammadan has in his room a quadrangular depression for the ritual ablutions, a niche in the wall in which to keep the Qur'ān, and a special place reserved for the *sajjādah*, or prayer carpet. Like most Orientals, he is careful to have his dress in harmony with the prescripts of his religion, and not the slightest alteration has taken place in the cut and shape of his inner and outer garments. Any deviation from the old custom, be it only in button or braid, is looked upon as an infringement of the spirit of the law. Even the material of his dress is under rigorous rule; and, as the use of pure silk is prohibited by orthodox Islām, the silk stuffs manufactured in Bukhārā and Khoqand are intermixed with a few threads of cotton. The turban, also, the *jubbah*, or overcoat, and many other garments have undergone no change for centuries, there being a predominant desire to imitate and reproduce the usage of the Muslim world of bygone ages, and particularly of Baghdād, Damascus, and the holy cities of Arabia. The case is similar as to the relations between the sexes. The separation is much more strict, and women are looked upon as mere chattels and slaves in the hand of a tyrannical master, in spite of the milder views of the Qur'ān and its expounders. They not only cover their faces with a thick impenetrable veil, but they are literally shrouded in a cloak of greater length and width than their body; and, in order not to attract the covetous glance of men, young girls even have to feign the appearance of old decrepit matrons, and very often walk leaning on a stick, as if bowed down by age or infirmities. The prohibition, also, of alcoholic drinks is very naturally more rigorously enforced than elsewhere in Islām, although in former times the ruling classes were noted for indulging freely in spirits; during the epoch of the Tīmūrids princes are mentioned who died of *delirium tremens*; and Bābar and his followers transported this vice to the court of the Mughals. This, however, could not be said of the masses. In the present writer's time (1862–64) they were rigorously abstemious, and it is only since the annexation by Russia that the use of brandy and beer has begun to spread among the inhabitants of the towns.

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[1] *Description de l'Arabie*, Amsterdam, 1774, p. ix.

In the observance, then, of the ruling prescripts of the Qur'ān and Sunnah the Muhammadan in Turkestan surpasses all his co-religionists elsewhere; his creed is the moving power in his spiritual and material life; by it he is guided in all his undertakings, thoughts, deeds, and wishes. His Muslim brother in Turkey and Persia is satisfied when he is able to perform his five daily prayers, consisting of a certain number of *rak'ahs* (bowings), and has spent three to six minutes at *murāqabah* (contemplation). The religious man in Central Asia must go far beyond this, for he has to add a few *nāfilah* (additional) *rak'ahs*; he remains from ten to fifteen minutes in contemplation, and, after having performed this extra prayer, he has to read in the forenoon either the *sūrah Yā Sīn* (xxxvi.) or *Innā Fataḥnā* (xlviii.), and in the afternoon he has to recite a portion of the *Mathnavī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (*q.v.*), or to chant a few *ilāhīs* (hymns). This form of devotion is obligatory on every educated and respectable man, whereas the performance of the five prayers is indispensable for every Muslim irrespective of sex, age, or calling; and whoever neglects this duty, or remains ignorant of the elementary teachings of Islām, cannot escape every kind of vexation and reprobation on the part of the authorities. For this purpose a special functionary called *ra'īs* (chief) is appointed, who, accompanied by one or two servants, has to traverse the bazaars and the public places with the *dirrah*, a whip made of twisted thongs, in his hand, and, whenever he notices any one who does not go to the mosque on the first sounds of the *mu'adhdhin* (the public crier who assembles the people to prayer), he is entitled to beat the lingerer with the whip, or to put him in prison. The *ra'īs* plays, besides, the part of a public examiner: he stops at random any one in the street, puts to him a question concerning the main prescriptions of Islām, and the individual unable to answer is sent at once to school without consideration of age or profession. Full-grown and even grey-bearded men are sent to school by the religious police to learn their lesson by heart before being allowed to go. The *ra'īs*, whose office is a survival from the early Khalīfate, nonexistent elsewhere in Islām, also superintends the laws of public morality. Women indecently dressed are publicly rebuked and sent home, and even children are subjected to his control. What he is still for Central Asia that the *muḥtasib* (police inspector) was for all Islām in former times; but at present, when modern European institutions are gaining ground, the office is but a nominal one in Persia as well as in Turkey. Further, not only are the prescripts of the Qur'ān more rigorously kept; they are also differently expounded. In Turkey, *e.g.*, the cutting or shaving of the beard has been practised at all times, whereas in Central Asia it is looked upon as a deadly sin, or even as apostasy. In Turkey, again, and everywhere in Islām, it suffices for the believer to wash certain parts of his body after relieving nature; in Central Asia this is much more circumstantial, for he must apply *istinjā* (cleaning with a flint or with a clod), *istinqā'* (washing with water), and *istibrā* (drying). For this purpose he conceals a few clods in the fold of his turban.

But these and many other peculiarities of Islām in Central Asia are of secondary importance in comparison with one salient phase of the religious life, namely, the wide-spread and highly influential religious orders which dominate the situation, and have ever been the main moving power of the spiritual life. During many years' intimate acquaintance with the Muhammadans of Turkey and Persia, the present writer never observed such strict adherence to the rites of the different orders and such veneration for their members, generally called dervishes, as in Turkestan. In the Ottoman empire—and this is particularly the case with the genuine Turks—the Maulavī, the Baqṭāshī, the Rifā'ī, and the Qādirī orders have many votaries among the lower classes, and the respective dervishes are looked upon as saints. But the better classes, *i.e.* the Efendis and the higher dignitaries, very rarely manifest the same degree of attachment. They visit the convents on Friday afternoons, they attend the sacred ceremonies, they take advice sometimes on both worldly and spiritual matters; but they have long ago ceased to be weak instruments in the hand of the Shaikhs, and particularly of the Baqṭāshīs, who, having acted as revolutionary factors against the innovations in the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd II., are officially interdicted and only secretly followed. Somewhat similar is the case in Persia, where the conflicts between Shī'ites and Sunnites engage too much attention to leave room for the orders, although the Shaikhīs and 'Alī Illāhīs find followers among the lower classes. The host of dervishes to be met with in towns and villages are either vagabonds, living upon the credulity and superstition of the people, or harmless idlers who conceal their laziness under the *khirqah* (mantle) of religious exaltation.

In the settled parts of Central Asia, and even among the nomads, the orders play a very different and a far more important part. There they have taken hold of the entire population; they have pushed aside the secular clergy, *i.e.* the *'ulamā*, or priests educated in the *madrasahs*, and appointed as such by the government. These, of course, are continually at war with the members of the orders, among whom the Naqshbandis, founded by Bahā al-Dīn, best known as the author of the *Rashahat 'ain al-ḥayāt* ('Drops from the Fountain of Life'), occupy the foremost place. Having associated with the Naqshbandī dervishes during his stay in Central Asia, the present writer found among them various subdivisions, the character of which is expressed partly in outer appearance, partly in the way in which they fulfil their obligations. They begin as *murīds* (disciples), and as such they must forsake all worldly purposes and, clad in the *khirqah* and *kulāh* (conical hat), holding in one hand the *'aṣā* (staff) and in the other the *kashkūl* (a bowl made of a half coco-nut), have to wander about singing hymns or taking part in the *dhikr* (mentioning the name of God) and *tawḥīd* (acknowledgment of the unity of God). As the majority of the dervishes are illiterate, they learn a certain number of hymns by heart and recite them in chorus, accompanying the monotonous melody with frantic gesticulations and wild exclamations. Public places are usually selected for such performances, in order to attract attention and to collect contributions; for the dervishes, although forbidden to accept money, often betray the greatest greed, and their obtrusiveness has become proverbial. Once or twice the present writer tried to join such a howling company, but he could hardly stand the fatigue for more than an hour, whereas these adepts wander about for days without becoming exhausted. What struck him most was the endurance manifested during the *dhikrs*, and he remembers having seen one dervish crying for two nights without interruption the *Yā Hū, Yā Ḥaqq* ('He is the true and the right') without exhaustion. This, of course, refers to the lower degree of dervishes, who very rarely attain the rank of *khalīfah*, a kind of graduate, entitled to preside over a *takyah* or *khānqāh* (convent), and to lead the ritual proceedings. The title of *khalīfah* is mostly given to learned dervishes, who afterwards are addressed as *īshān* ('they,' as a polite expression instead of 'thou'), and have always a group of followers, who either stay continually with them or call on them once or twice a week. The *takyah* or *khānqāh* is really a kind of lodging-house in which there are always a few stationary dervishes, while the majority of the inmates are wandering members of the respective orders, who get a temporary shelter in an empty cell without any furniture or bedding and no regular food, except from time to time a *pilau* (rice dish), and, if deprived of all means, a piece of bread. The guests and inmates of the *takyah* regard it as a duty to assemble round the chief at the time of the five daily prayers and also at the particular exercises of the dervishes, such as the *talqīn* (recitation or instruction) and the *ḥalqah* (ring). The latter is a circle of dervishes, presided over by the *īshān*, who sing and cry so long and so vehemently that they pass into a state of excitement and hallucination; their eyes turn wildly, their mouths foam, they tremble in all their limbs, and whoever touches a dervish in this state of ecstasy is believed to have a share in his devotion, and to be cured of all kinds of infirmities. Strange to say, the spiritual leader, who presides over the exercise, always remains quiet and motionless, unaffected by the eccentricities of his disciples, and expressing his satisfaction only by a complacent nodding. Old and young women, children, greybeards, and particularly ailing people, press around; they spasmodically seize the dervishes by their arms, head, or shoulders, they cling round their necks and embrace them, crying and sobbing; and some of them actually surpass the dervishes in their ecstasies. In Turkey this excitement, bordering on madness, is seldom or never seen, nor is there a similar participation on the part of the public.

In this and in many other respects the Islām of Central Asia stands alone. Everything in it bears the stamp of extravagance, unbridled passion, and weirdness of aspect. The believer is expected to follow blindly the tenets of the Qur'ān; no discussion or explanation is permitted, nor any effort to attract. Hence we see that, whereas in Western Islām the *adhān* (call to prayer) is given from the top of a minaret in a sweet melodious song, the *mu'adhdhin* in Turkestan summons the faithful in rough and half-articulated words from the flat roof of the mosque. The performance of religious duty, they say, does not require any allurement. Austerity and draconic rigour, too, prevail with regard to neglect or trespass of the laws of Islām. In the present writer's time a Muslim convicted of the use of alcoholic drinks was sentenced to death by being hurled from a tower, and a woman caught in adultery had to undergo the penalty of *rajm* (being stoned to death). Strange to say, the Central Asians are themselves fully alive to the exceptional position which they occupy in Islām; they are even proud of it, asserting that they are the most rigorous executors of the ordinances of the Prophet, and the only Muslims whose religious belief has not been contaminated by foreign influence, but has remained as pure as in the time of the Prophet, which they call *waqt-i-sa'ādat* (the period of happiness). Accordingly, the spiritual leaders and teachers in Central Asia form a distinct class, and enjoy greater fame and reputation in Turkestan and the neighbouring countries than in the West. This refers particularly to the saints (*auliyā*), religious teachers (*khwājahs*), and chiefs of orders (*pīrs*), and not to the learned in general. They are peculiarly esteemed and venerated in Central Asia proper, and, though not unknown in the rest of Islām, may be styled the eminently national or Central Asian Muslim worthies. As such they have taken hold of the religious spirit of the people of Turkestan, Afghānistān, and India. A few of these may be mentioned here, and, first, the previously named **Bahā al-Dīn Naqshbandī**. He was Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī, and, as a pupil of Sayyid Amīr Kulāl, he was early known for his great learning and piety in Bukhārā, then the centre of Muslim letters. There he founded the order named after him. During his lifetime he became the object of great veneration, and after his death the Amīr 'Abd al-'Azīz Khān erected over his tomb in the year 1544 the famous mausoleum and convent near Bukhārā, which has since become the greatest place of pilgrimage in Central Asia, and of such sanctity that three visits to it are deemed equal to a pilgrimage to Mecca. Next to Bahā al-Dīn ranks **Khwājah Kāshānī**, known as Makhdūm A'ẓam ('the greatest lord'), born in the village of Kāshān near Andijān (Farghāna), who died A.H. 949 (A.D. 1542), and was buried in Dehbid, a village near Samarqand. In the early part of his life he acted as governor of various places, but later he devoted himself exclusively to religious contemplation and theological studies, and aroused so high a veneration that his children reached princely rank. Of these the most noted was the great saint of E. Turkestan, **Khwājah Axath** (his proper name was Hidāyat Allāh), the founder of a ruling dynasty, members of which still exist in Kashgar. Frequently mentioned and highly venerated also is **Khwājah 'Ubaid Allāh Ahrār**, one of the greatest theologians of his time († A.D. 1489 at Kumaghiran, a village near Samarqand), whose grave is still a place of pilgrimage. Similarly with the tomb at Ghijduvān of **Khwājah 'Abd al-Khāliq**, a pupil of Khwājah Kāshānī († A.H. 1010). Others are **Khwājah Abūfer Parsah**, a pupil of Bahā al-Dīn († A.H. 845), whose grave in Balkh is a place of pilgrimage, particularly for Afghans; **Khwājah 'Abd Allāh Hātifī**, a famous poet and mystic, who spent much time in India with Bābar, the founder of the Mughal dynasty, and died there in A.H. 927 (A.D. 1520); and Juibarī († A.H. 997 [A.D. 1588]), whose grave is in Bukhārā.

Apart from these great theological scholars, saints, and mystics, there are a number of popular spiritual worthies who are venerated by the lower classes, sedentary and nomadic, and whose plain, unadorned, and more intelligible works are the favourite reading of the masses. To these belongs **Khwājah Aḥmad Yesevī**, the Kirghiz patron-saint of the 12th cent. A.D.; his grave in Ḥadrat-i-Turkestan, surrounded by a huge dome now in decay, is a place of pilgrimage famous through all Central Asia. His religious poems, known as *Ḥikmat* ('Wisdom,' 'Philosophy'), are still much esteemed, although their language, mixed with Arabic and Persian expressions, is not easily understood by the uninstructed nomads. What Yesevī is to the northern part of Turkestan, **Mashrab** (personal name, Raḥīm Bābā) is for the east and south. He was a native of Namangan in Khoqand, and known as a *dīvānah*, a religious madman. A *dīvānah* wanders from place to place, behaves like a man insane, but, possessed of divine powers, works miracles, and has consequently an extraordinary influence over the ignorant masses. The present writer's own observation of these *dīvānahs* or *faqīrs* (poor) has led him to the conviction that most of them are cunning men with a lust for adventure, ready to exploit the plain people, and unwilling to submit to the sometimes rigorous monastic regulations of the orders to which they belong, or disliking the individuality of their *īshān*, or spiritual chief. It was chiefly in the villages and in the tents of the nomads that he met with these religious vagabonds; there they are highly reverenced. The *mullās*, on the other hand, accuse them of ignorance, and of breaking the precept of Islām—*Lā ruhbān fī'l-Islām*, 'There are no monks in Islām.' The majority of them are illiterate, but the present writer has met with *dīvānahs* who were versed in religious lore, had studied in *madrasahs*, and had been moved simply by wandering propensities to renounce the regular and sedentary life of a priest. Among these dervishes there is also a certain Turk-dīvānah, a Turk by origin, as the name indicates (date unknown), who is very often spoken of by the nomads as a saint, and who interceded with Allāh for sinful humanity. He asked Him to deliver mankind from hell, to which Allāh replied that He would when peace, justice, charity, etc., reigned supreme in the world. Further, among the latter dervishes there are many of local celebrity, though others coming from distant countries have their own influence; in fact, the farther a dervish has wandered, the greater is deemed his supernatural power, and the stronger is his grip on the masses. The reason for this extraordinary influence of the beggar-dervishes does not lie merely in the utter ignorance of the people, but rather in the tyrannic rule of the governing classes, who, lay and ecclesiastic, are everywhere hated. These unofficial servants of God, then, discredited and despised by the *mullās*, are regarded by the lower class as of themselves; they thus very naturally become popular favourites, and frequently play the part of publicly avowed protectors against oppression.

In Western Islām there is hardly a trace to be found of these roaming saints, and those whom the traveller accidentally meets in the Balkan countries, in Asia Minor, and in Syria are mostly foreigners, and principally adventurers from Central Asia, India, or Persia. The Turk himself is too lazy, too easy-tempered, and too much given to a quiet life to find pleasure in the eccentricities of the wandering dervish. The Ottoman Turk, like the Kurd and the Arab, clings with great attachment to his faith; but he is very far from giving way to the religious ecstasy and wild fanaticism which are imputed to him by his detractors. In this respect the Western Muhammadan is many hundred years ahead of his fellow-believer in Central Asia; for the latter has remained absolutely in the position of the first centuries of Islām, and, indeed, at the beginning of the past century was even more fanatical and orthodox than in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn. Such, however, was not always the case. As long as the Iranian element was predominant beyond the Oxus, worldly science found many votaries, and during the reign of the Sāmānids and later Central Asia was the birthplace of literary celebrities of high standing. But with the increase of the Turkish population and under the rule of warlike Turkish chieftains, mostly of nomadic origin, a great change has set in. The place of scientific culture has been taken by exclusively theological studies and mystic speculation. There has been no want of richly endowed colleges and schools; but the students, flocking from all parts of Central Asia and India, have turned their attention to purely religious questions, neglecting even such subjects as philosophy, law, and philology, which are still cultivated in the colleges of Western Islām. Naturally, then, scientific inquiry having been gradually banished, religious eccentricity has taken its place, and Central Asia has long been the seat of fanaticism. Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the author of the *Mathnavī*, was right in saying:

> 'Thou wilt to Bukhārā? O fool for thy pains!
> Thither thou goest, to be put into chains.'

Similar things were said to the present writer by his learned friends in Turkey and Persia when they heard of his intended visit to Central Asia; and when, on returning, he related to them his experiences, many of them disdainfully criticized and laughed at the overheated religious zeal of their fellow-believers. Another reason for this great difference is to be sought in the belt of dreary sand steppes, infested by nomadic robbers, which surrounds Central Asia, and has always been a great hindrance to its communication with the rest of the Muhammadan world. Whilst Western Islām has undergone essential changes in the course of time, Islām in Central Asia has remained stationary, unaffected by the temporary intellectual movements in the West, and checked by the strong conservatism of a fanatical clergy and a despotic form of government. If Shī'ite Persia had not produced its great cleft in the general Muslim body, extending from W. China to the shores of the Adriatic, Islām in Central Asia could hardly have retained its fanaticism or degenerated into these aberrations, often censured by pious Muslims of other countries, but extolled by the Central Asians themselves, who accuse their co-religionists in Turkey and Arabia of levity of mind, and proclaim with pride: 'Bukhārā is the real strength of Islām and of the faith.' This difference becomes still more important when we observe that the spirit of zealotism has extended into N. India, and has particularly infected the barbarous mountaineers of Afghānistān. When we hear of a murderous attack by some Paṭhān or Khaibarī on an unoffending British officer, we have always to think of one of those fanatics, who, anxious to become a *ghāzī*, a warrior for the faith, is ready to sacrifice his life for the title of martyr, and for the prospect of a place in Paradise. The existence of such *ghāzīs* was formerly reported among the adherents of Shaikh Shamil in the fierce struggle between the Russians and Lesghians in the N.W. Caucasus, but nowhere else in Islām. It is, therefore, to the wild influence of the Islām of Central Asia that their appearance in the north of India must be ascribed.

A. VAMBÉRY.

MUHAMMADANISM (in China).—**1. Historical.**—China, regarded as a portion of the Muhammadan world, may be divided into (1) China proper (the 'Eighteen Provinces'), and (2) the external provinces (Turkestan, Tibet, and Mongolia). Of the external provinces only Turkestan need concern us here, for the Muhammadans resident in Tibet and Mongolia have never been more than an insignificant fraction. According to H. d'Ollone, *Revue du monde musulman*,[1] v. [1908] 94, they are to be found all along the highway to India through Tibet; thus, *e.g.*, there is a mosque at Tatsienlu for the hundred or so Muslim families living in the vicinity, while mosques are found also in Batang and Lhāsa, those in the latter city being attended, it is said, by Hindu Muhammadans. The Lāmas of Tibet are in no way hostile to Islām—a fact that need excite no surprise, since the adherents of the two religions have a common political interest in making all possible resistance to the domination of China. Nevertheless, there is no prospect of any considerable expansion of Islām in Tibet (cf. *RMM* v. 458). Hitherto, at all events, the commercial relations between Muhammadans and Tibetans have brought about no conversions to Islām, though the commercial bond is far from being insignificant. In particular, the Muslims of Sung-pʻan-tʻing in Sze-chuan carry on with Tibet an important traffic in tea, but in this locality the d'Ollone expedition of 1907 found only a single Tibetan convert to Islām, who, moreover, was rather lukewarm in his adherence (*RMM* v. 458 f.); on the other hand, several cases of conversion to Christianity were met with in Sung-pʻan-tʻing.

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[1] Hereafter cited as *RMM*.

Muhammadanism was introduced into Turkestan at the time when the powerful kingdom of the Sāmānids was pressing towards the east. According to the tradition—interwoven with many legendary features—which is given in the *Tezkiret al-Boghra* (extracts in R. B. Shaw, *Sketch of the Turki Language*, Calcutta, 1878–80), the Turki prince Satak Boghra was converted to Islām at the age of twelve (A.D. 966; he reigned till 1047) by a certain Abū Naṣr Sāmānī, who came from the west. It is a fact of history that the descendants of Satak Boghra, known as the Boghraids or Ilekids, maintained their power till the year 1103, and in 1070, during the reign of Tapghach (one of that dynasty), Yūsuf Khass Hajib finished his great didactic poem *Qudatku Bilik* ('Joy-giving Science'), a work imbued with the spirit of Islām. Probably the diffusion of the Persian language and civilization among the Turki population had contributed to the spread of Islām in that region. But, if Islām was here the recognized religion of the rulers, it certainly was no more than tolerated in the adjacent Turki kingdom to the east—the land of the Uigurs. Nor can the position of the Muslims have undergone any essential change by the time when the Kara-Khitai overthrew the Ilekid kingdom, since the conquered people were left in full exercise of their religious freedom as long as they paid tribute to the victors. Similar methods were practised by the Mongol conqueror Jenghiz Khān and his immediate successors. At the division of his empire Turkestan fell to his grandson, Jagatai, whose successors soon embraced Islām. Even at a later time, however, as the records conclusively show, the adherence of princes and people alike to the new faith was half-hearted, and the ideas and usages of Lāmaism (*q.v.*) were quite common among the professed Muslims. The blind superstition of the people facilitated the usurping tactics of the philosophically gifted descendants of Makhdūm ʻAẓam, who at first ruled as the spiritual advisers of the dispossessed house of Jagatai, and eventually in their own name. The dissensions that arose within the family of Makhdūm, their struggle with the Kalmuks of Zungaria, and the internal wars of the Kalmuk kingdom led (*c.* 1750) to the conquest of Zungaria by the Chinese, who shortly thereafter won Kashgaria as well, and joined the two territories together as the 'New Province' (Hsin-chian). Ever since that time the Chinese have been the ruling power there, and various attempts at revolt have proved abortive. Only for a short period, from 1864 to 1877, did the country—as Altyshahr ('Six Cities'), and subsequently Yettishahr ('Seven Cities')—figure as an independent Muhammadan State under the savage but politically capable Yaʻqūb Beg, who recognized the suzerainty of the Sulṭān of Constantinople as Khalīfah; *e.g.*, the coinage was stamped with his name. The Muhammadans of these districts are nearly all Turki, though an insignificant number are Dungans (see below, pp. 891^{a}, 892^{a}) or Chinese, and the total population is estimated at from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000.

In China proper there existed no considerable groups of Muhammadans before the Mongolian period, and the reports of an earlier immigration are altogether legendary. Chinese tradition says that Islām found its way into the country by land and sea. It tells of a maternal uncle of the Prophet, Wahb Abū Kabshah, who landed at Canton in A.D. 628 or 629, bearing presents from Muhammad to the emperor of China, together with an invitation to embrace Islām, and who then proceeded to Hsi-an-fu. Other reports say that the earliest message was brought by Saʻd Ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, whose tomb may be seen in Canton. The tradition attaches special importance to an expedition of 4000 Muslim troops which the Khalīfah Manṣūr is said to have sent to assist the emperor in a struggle with rebels (A.D. 755). The emperor permitted them to settle in the chief cities of the country; they took Chinese wives and became the progenitors of the numerous and important Muslim communities in China.

These traditions find no corroboration in the writings of Arabian historians. China and Islām, as a matter of fact, were brought into contact with each other as a result of the conditions prevailing in either sphere. About 620 a new power in Nearer Asia emerged, and another in China, each characterized by a remarkable ambition for conquest, and, advancing respectively eastwards and westwards, at length came into contact. Just as Islām (*c.* 720) conquered Transoxania, which it had been attacking incessantly after the conquest of Khurāsān, so Tʻai Tsung (627–649), the second emperor of the Tʻang dynasty, made himself master of Kashgaria. Of the more general incentives to mutual intercourse the strongest was commerce,[1] which was strenuously fostered by the later emperors of the Sui dynasty; another connecting link was the work of Christian missionaries, of whose bold advance into China the Nestorian stele of Hsi-an-fu (dating from 781) affords telling evidence. Against these influences, however, must be placed the impediment to intercourse arising from the tendency of both empires to rest content with their gains, and so to limit their frontiers. The emperor Tʻai Tsung showed caution in rejecting the appeal of Yazdagird III. for assistance (as may be inferred from Ṭabarī, i. 2669 f., though the report of the ambassador is a fabrication; cf. i. 2876). The Muslims became more aggressive after their able general Qutaiba Ibn Muslim had subjugated Farghāna, but his expedition against Kashgar in 713 was unsuccessful. A comparison of the sources (Ṭabarī, i. 1275–1279) shows that Kashgar remained unconquered. The sending of ambassadors to the emperor of China (Hsüan Tsung, 712–756), however, is probably historical, though, as narrated by Ṭabarī (ii. 1277 ff.) in the traditional form, it is garnished with all the conventional features.[2] Under the Umayyads the Muslims had, indirectly, a good deal to do with China, since the *khāqān* of the Turki, and also the *jabghu*,[3] were vassals of the emperor. A time-honoured tale is that of the scene between Naizak and the *jabghu* on the one side, and the *shadd* (the *shad* of the Orchonian records) and the *sebel* (probably to be identified with the *ziebel* of Theophanes; cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) orientaux*, Petrograd, 1903, p. 228) on the other, in which the *shadd* makes the kow-tow before the *jabghu* (Ṭabarī, ii. 1224, year 91 [= A.D. 710]). The *jabghu*

[1] Notwithstanding the surreptitious introduction of silk-culture into the Byzantine empire under Justinian, the silk merchandise of China was largely imported into Nearer Asia. It was conveyed on land by the ancient 'iter ad Seres,' or by sea through the Persian Gulf, on the north shore of which Al'ubulla (Ṭabarī, ed. Leyden, 1879–1901, i. 2384), and afterwards Sīrāf (references in G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Calcutta, 1905, p. 258 f.), was the port for such products.

[2] Nothing is said, however, of an embassy from the Chinese side. At an earlier date, in the reign of Chosroës Anūshirvān there were Chinese at the Sasanian court (Ṭabarī, i. 899; cf. T. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden, 1879, p. 167).

[3] In Ṭabarī this term is always mutilated to *jīghūyah*.

was sent to Damascus, and was probably the first Chinese, or Chinese Turki, that the Syrians had ever seen. It may be regarded as certain that it was Chinese statecraft that abetted the opposition of the Turki *khāqān* and that of the smaller nationalities in Transoxania dependent upon him or upon China itself, so that the Muslims had to maintain a ceaseless struggle. The Khottal, who are probably to be located in the Pamirs, were not dislodged till A.D. 750 (Ṭabarī, iii. 74), while Al'ikhrid, king of Kashsh, was slain in 751, his treasures—costly Chinese ware—being conveyed to Abū Muslim at Samarqand (Ṭabarī, iii. 79 f.). When with the downfall of the Arabian empire the vigour of Muslim expansion had somewhat relaxed, and the central authority was busy with the maintenance and organization of what had been won, and when contemporaneously the central power of China under the T'ang emperors showed symptoms of decline, the interjacent territory was soon occupied by strong buffer States—first of all by the Uigurs, and then by the Ilekids (see above). Islām was thus placed in a very unfavourable position for making an advance into China. Weak as were the dynasties that followed the T'ang emperors, the people held firmly to the maxim, 'No foreign religion in China.' Buddhism, it is true, had made a successful entry in the face of vigorous opposition, but this is explained by the facts that (1) Buddhism was to some extent in harmony with the cult of reason (*li*), which, if hardly to be called a religion, was more widely diffused than any other, and (2) it assimilated certain elements of the national spirit and so adapted itself to the prevailing sentiment (see art. CHINA [Buddhism in]). Islām, which with its rigid doctrine of uniformity does not on principle express itself in creeds, and tends to repel by the defiant and arrogant tone of its adherents, and which, above all, contrasts with Buddhism in its being essentially a political religion, could not strike root in China save under the protection of the strong hand. The required protection was first provided by the rulers of the Mongol empire founded by Jenghiz Khān. These potentates had no religion—nothing at all events beyond the worship of their lucky star, conjoined with the egregious ambition to bring this star down from heaven. Jenghiz Khān himself saw only the advantages of a huge centralization of human beings, and, wherever it suited his purposes, he intermingled detached fragments of races without regard for nationality or religion. As a Mongol, his leading aim was the disintegration of the Chinese element and the fusion of the population, so that he might have nothing to fear from the formation of any powerful alliance against him. He found his auxiliaries—apart from his own countrymen—in the various Muslim tribes of the West, a race renowned for their courage. Among these the Turki took precedence, alike in numbers, in importance, in capacity for bearing arms, and in discipline. We shall hardly err in adding Afghan mercenaries; for the Afghans—the Paṭhāns of India—were always willing to serve for pay; and bands of warriors may also have flocked to him from the mountains of Persia—the fastnesses of the Kurds—though not the Persians in the narrower sense, the inhabitants of the plains, who had small reputation for bravery. Yet we can hardly look for definite information regarding the composition of his armies, or those of his successors, for the great Mongol rulers were not the people to lend themselves to the statistician, their great concern being with men, not with the keeping of trim muster-rolls. We may venture to assume, however, that the largest hordes of their followers were supplied by the countries lying nearest the scene of their conquests, viz. besides the land of the Turki between the Great Wall and the mountain barrier of the Thian Shan (Chinese Turkestan), Transoxania and Khurāsān. This explains also the curious phenomenon that from that day till the present Persian has been regarded by the Muslims of China as the language of polite education, and that the vernacular Chinese written by these Muslims is mixed with scraps of Persian.[1] In elucidation of this it has been supposed that at some time or other Persian immigrants had settled in the country, losing their mother tongue, but retaining vestiges of it in these numerous fragments. This, however, is certainly erroneous,[2] for the intermixture of Persian in the Muslim idiom of Chinese is due rather to the superstitious regard for the Persian language entertained by the barbarian and semi-barbarian hordes of Nearer Asia who swarmed to the camps of the Mongolian Khāns. Moreover, as soon as Kublai Khān had established his sway in China, he brought Persians in great numbers to fill the offices connected with the government and the court. Both Marco Polo and the Arabian traveller Ibn Baṭūṭah supply full information regarding these foreigners in the Chinese services.[3] To a great extent they would be full-blooded Persians, and they no doubt helped to enhance the respect accorded to their language, and to keep it alive in the very heart of the country.

As to the numbers of Muslims brought into China by the Mongol emperors, we can hardly even hazard a conjecture, although an incident now to hand may throw light upon such importations. In A.D. 1226 a young Muslim warrior, a native of Bukhārā, who claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet—a Sayyid—placed himself at the disposal of Jenghiz Khān. The latter perceived at once the outstanding ability of the youth, and, attaching him to his bodyguard, soon began to employ him on commissions of a special kind. His successor, Kublai Khān, entrusted this Sayyid (who appears as Sayyid-i Ajall in the work of Rashīd-al-Dīn, and as Sai-tien-ch'e in the Chinese sources) with the task of subjugating the province of Yün-nan, and for six years the affairs of that province were administered by this talented Muslim. He died in office, and his two tombs—the first in Yün-nan-fu, the other near Hsi-an-fu—were discovered almost simultaneously by French explorers.[4] The official employment of this Muslim from Bukhārā, who, of course, did not come single-handed, but was attended by a company of armed men, is of special interest, because his soldiers were sent on service to Yün-nan, while he himself was installed as viceroy of that province. We may accordingly infer that the influx of Islām into Yün-nan began at that time, for that it reached

[1] An excellent specimen of this idiom is found in the short Chinese MS (MS Sin. Hartmann 1 of the Royal Library, Berlin) ed. A. Forke, which contains a Chinese text in Arab. script (*T'oung-pao*, II. viii. [1907] no. 8). From the nature of the language Forke inferred—wrongly, as the present writer thinks—the Persian origin of the Dungans.

[2] It is no argument against the theory, however, to say that it would involve a wider diffusion of Shī'ism than we actually find, for the introduction of Shī'ism as the national religion of Persia and the dissemination of the Shī'ite principle among the people did not take place till a later period. There is also a tendency to regard all Persian writings as of Shī'ite origin—an utterly mistaken idea, as even the widely-read work, *Ma'ārij al-Nubuwwat*, 'Life of the Prophet,' by Mu'īn al-Dīn al-Miskīn († A.D. 1501), is Sunnite in character.

[3] One of these officials made himself very obnoxious—Achmath [Aḥmad] 'the Bailo,' whose story is given not only in the Chinese sources (cf. J. A. M. de M. de Mailla, *Hist. générale de la Chine*, Paris, 1777–85, ix. 412 f. [tr. of *Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou*]), which might naturally be expected to take a prejudiced view, but also in a straightforward account by Marco Polo (cf. H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*^{3}, London, 1903, i. 415 ff.).

[4] For reports of these discoveries see P. Berthelot, 'Note sur des inscriptions arabes, persanes et chinoises du Chen-si, du Ho-nan, et du Chan-toung,' *CAIBL*, Paris, 1905. A. Vissière has wrought the facts into a graphic and ingenious sketch (*RMM* iv. [1907] 330 ff.).

that province by sea is in the highest degree unlikely.

Now, when we take into consideration the number of Muslims in China at the present day and the isolated movement just mentioned—the only known instance of the systematic migration of Muslims into China, and there was certainly no other—we are prompted to ask how the Muslim element has attained to such vast proportions. The total number of Muslims who settled in China from the date of the earliest campaigns of Jenghiz Khān (*c.* A.D. 1200) to the fall of the Mongol dominion (*c.* A.D. 1367) cannot certainly be reckoned at more than 1,000,000. At the present day, however, the Muslims resident in China amount on the lowest estimate to 4,000,000. That this vast expansion is due entirely to natural increase is inconceivable; we must therefore look for other possible factors. (1) From time to time fresh companies of Muslims came to China, as, *e.g.*, in the retinue of Turki princesses of Muslim faith who entered the *ḥarim* of the Chinese emperors.[1] (2) Chinese-born children were, and still are, sometimes made Muslims. (3) When great devastations occurred among the Chinese, the vacant places were filled by Muslims, as the latter, being endowed with superior vigour, were better qualified to grapple with the manifold misfortunes which throughout the centuries have fallen upon this ill-governed country. It has already been noted that the Muslims are represented as stately, strong, and brave. The high appreciation accorded to their eminent qualities by the Chinese government is shown by a recently-issued decree to the effect that Muslims are to be employed in the cultivation of sections of land adjoining the projected Ordos Road. Against these favourable conditions, however, must be set certain drawbacks. For one thing, the Chinese government has frequently been stricken with fear of the Muslims, the power of whose politico-religious organization it has good reason to know. Then there is the antagonism that arose between the Muslims of China and their co-religionists in the West; and, finally, their internal conflicts must be taken into account (see p. 894).

A word may be added regarding the names applied to the Muslims of China. It is a common notion that they are all called Dungans, and in point of fact the present writer has noted the use of this designation in Kashgar and Yarkand; by the Turki all Chinese-speaking Muslims are called ‘Dungan(lar).’[2] They themselves do not use that name, but term themselves ‘Hui-hui’ or ‘Hui-tzŭ,’ and this appellation is applied by the Chinese to all Muslims, whether resident in China proper or in Turkestan. The Turki offer strong resistance to this usage, and desire to be called ‘Chan-tu,’ ‘the turbaned,’ lit. ‘head-bound.’

A few details will now be given regarding the several provinces:

(1) *Kan-su.*—In this province the Muslims, according to P. Dabry (*Le Mahométisme en Chine et dans le Turkestan oriental*, Paris, 1878), number 8,350,000, *i.e.* about 85·6 per cent. The capital, Lan-chou (G. M. H. Playfair, *The Cities and Towns of China*, Hongkong, 1879, ^{2}Shanghai, 1910, p. 3992), took no part in the insurrections of 1863–74 and 1895, and the Muslim residents received no damage. They possess a relatively high degree of culture. Lan-chou, as the terminus of the great trade-route from the West, is frequently visited by Muslims from India, Persia, and both divisions of Turkestan. Ho-chou and Kin-ki pu (of which, however, the Chinese name is Ning-ling-t‘ing; in Fu, Ning-hsia [Playfair, p. 5226]) are celebrated as centres of religious activity.[1] Kin-ki-pu was the nucleus of the sect of Ma-hua-lung (see p. 894). Hsi-ning-fu, not far from Kokonor, is a place of special interest on account of its mixed population; it affords a most fertile field for the student of ethnology and philology, since, being situated on the frontier between China and Tibet, it gives an opportunity for observing the most heterogeneous elements such as seldom occurs elsewhere. With reference to the Salars, who live compactly in twelve townships around Hsün-hua-t‘ing, see below, p. 892^{b}. In Kan-su there are also Mongolian Muslims (cf. F. Grenard, ‘Note sur l'ethnographie du Kansu,’ in *Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie*, Paris, 1897–98, ii. ‘Mission Dutreuil de Rhins,’ p. 456).

(2) *Shen-si.*—According to Dabry, the Muslim population of Shen-si—probably largely overestimated—is 6,500,000, *i.e.* 76·7 per cent. Hsi-an-fu, the capital (Playfair, p. 2620), according to a report of the Futai (1782) to the emperor Ch‘ien-lung, then contained 50,000 Muslim families (Dabry, p. 41 f.), with 7 large mosques. According to Gabriel Maurice (in H. Havret, *La Stèle chrétienne de Si-Ngan-Fou*, ii. [*Variétés sinologiques*, Shanghai, 1892–1902, no. 12] 115 ff.), the total population, including that of the four suburbs, is estimated—by mere guess-work—at some 400,000; of these one-tenth are Tatars, two-tenths Muslims, and seven-tenths Chinese. According to the tradition regarding General Kuo-tzŭ-i (697–781), who is said to have been a Christian, the Muslims had settled on the banks of the Yü-ho. When the great insurrection broke out in 1863, the Muslims of Shen-si wrought considerable damage, and, after they were overpowered, were expelled from the province. The people of Hsi-an-fu, the only city in which Muslims are now found, were kept under too strict a watch to take any part in the movement, and the Muslims were allowed to remain.

(3) *Shan-si.*—In this province the Muslims (including those of S. Mongolia) number, according to Dabry, 50,000, *i.e.* 0·41 per cent; exact data are lacking.

(4) *Chi-li.*—The available data for the Muhammadan population refer only to the Muslims in Peking, who are said to number 20,000 families, say 100,000 persons, with 11 mosques.

(5) *Shan-tung.*—Muslims are found in many towns on the Great Canal, one of their centres being the important commercial city of Lin-ch‘ing-chou (Playfair, p. 4276), where there is an academy (*madrasah*), in which most of the *mullās* of Peking are trained. There are said to be 325 mosques in Shan-tung.

(6) *Sze-chuan.*—In this province the Muslims, according to *RMM* v. 91 ff., number about 70,000 families (300,000 persons), with about 400 mosques, 11 of these being in Ch‘eng-tu alone (Playfair, p. 572). During the insurrections in Kan-su and Yün-nan, Sze-chuan remained passive. Visitors from Turkestan are numerous. The town of Sung-p‘an-t‘ing, already mentioned, is in this province; its 10,000 inhabitants, according to *RMM* v. 458, include 4000 Muslims, with 3 mosques, and about 100 *ahongs*.

(7) *Ho-nan.*—The Muslim population, according to Dabry, is 200,000.

(8) *Yün-nan.*—The Muslims here, according to Dabry, number from 350,000 to 400,000. With reference to the history of this province, the Muslim settlement of which we can trace from its starting-point, see above, p. 890^{b}; for its more recent history we have the monograph of E. Rocher, *La Province chinoise du Yün-Nan*, Paris, 1880; cf. also d'Ollone, ‘L'Islam au Yunnan,’ in *RMM* iv. 285–290.

(9) In the remaining provinces Muslims are found in relatively small numbers. Dabry furnishes the following figures: Hu-nan (with Hu-pei), 50,000; Kiang-hsi, 4000; Kiang-hsu (with An-hui), 150,000; Kuang-tung, 21,000; Kuang-hsi, 15,000; Kuei-chou, 40,000; Che-kiang (with Fo-kien), 30,000. These numbers, however, are not reliable; cf. Dabry's estimate (40,000) with d'Ollone's (300,000) for the province of Sze-chuan.

2. Descriptive.—If we may regard the Muslims of China as forming a single social complex, we may indicate the main features of that complex as follows.

(*a*) *Race and language.*—Whatever be the origin of the various Muslim groups, they must all be described at the present day as Chinese. The extent to which they share the distinctive qualities of the Chinese peoples cannot be precisely determined, the requisite data not being available. In any case they all speak the language of their adopted country; they share the variation of idiom, and resemble the real Chinese in their ways of thinking, while in writing also they use almost exclusively the national language. At the same time they are differentiated from the Chinese by important characteristics, and the division of the people as a whole—exclusive, however, of the Tatars

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[1] The leading instance of this is furnished by the still existing colony of Turkish Muslims which can be traced back to the reception of a Turkish princess into the *ḥarim* of the emperor Ch‘ien-lung; cf. O. Arendt, ‘Peking und die westlichen Berge,’ *Mitteil. der geograph. Gesellschaft Hamburg*, 1889–90, p. 64.

[2] This term may signify ‘those who have come home,’ *i.e.* those who have returned to the true faith, the implication being that all human beings come into the world as adherents of Islām, though some are alienated from it by their parents, and so become Jews or Christians. The word corresponds, therefore, to the Osmanic *dönmeh*, the name applied to the Jews of Saloniki who have been converted to Islām. The designation Dungan would thus seem to imply that the majority of Chinese Muslims have been converts.

[1] With reference to the history of Ho-chou see *RMM* ix. [1909] 530 ff.; cf. Kin-ki-pu, *ib.* p. 564.

(Mongols) and the aborigines of the south (Lotos, Miaotze)—into Chinese and Muslims holds good throughout. The name Dungans is applied to a large section of the Chinese Muslims, who, however, as was said above, term themselves simply Hui-hui or Hui-tzŭ, and repudiate the appellation Dungans; but they would never think of calling themselves Han ('Chinese'), nor are they ever designated so. They form, in fact, a distinct racial aggregate, co-ordinate with the Chinese and the Manchus. The name Dungans is sometimes erroneously extended also to the Turki of Turkestan, but in reality there exists a marked contrast between Dungans and Turki. The Dungans who speak Turkish—they are by no means few—use a peculiar dialect of that language; and, as regards the Chinese spoken by the Dungans, it should further be noted that the document of Dungan origin in the Berlin Royal Library (see above, p. 890^b) is composed in a very corrupt Chinese. In Forke's opinion, however, its solecisms are not such as might be perpetrated by an uneducated Chinese, but are in many cases not Chinese at all, suggesting that the Dungans are of alien origin. As a special illustration of the intercourse between the Chinese Muslims and the Turki, cf. the story of Hidāyat-Allāh (Apaq Khojam) of Kāshghar, who came to Hsi-ning-fu, in MS Hartmann 1 (Forke, p. 65 f.).

The process which dominates everything found within the Great Wall is one of adaptation to Chinese standards, of assimilation to the character of the yellow race—or 'black-heads,' as they like to call themselves. This process overcame the Manchus and many other peoples who invaded the country, and it was impossible that the Muslims should altogether elude its operation. The Chinese have a capacity for dissolving racial characteristics. This holds good even of physical qualities, for Chinese sentiment does not discountenance the affiancing of native women with foreigners, while Muslim women cannot legally be given in marriage to non-Muslims. The resultant diffusion of Chinese blood among the Muslims is of vast importance, and we cannot but admire the tenacity with which the latter have kept themselves from complete absorption by the Chinese. In spite of a considerable degree of assimilation in external matters, the two peoples look at things from a fundamentally different standpoint. For the Chinese reason (*li*) is supreme; for the Muslims tradition is all. Notable, too, is the contrast in certain traits of character. The Chinese is patient to a degree, and will put up with a great deal; the Dungan has an intense self-esteem, and is a dangerous man to offend. The difference reveals itself also in the outward bearing. The Chinese not seldom gives one the impression of being a dejected and downtrodden man; the Muslim carries himself proudly, and faces the world with a frank and open countenance. The relative physical debility of the Chinese may be due in part to the opium habit. Among the Muslims this is but rarely found; tobacco smoking is prohibited, and the drinking of wine and other intoxicants, which the stringent interdict of the law does not prevent in Western Islām, is quite inconsiderable among the Muslims of China. All this testifies to a very real cleavage between the Chinese and the Muslims, and is a constant reminder that the latter are not Han-yen, but something else.

What, then, are the Muslims of China, ethnologically considered? To this question there is no answer, whether or not we postulate a connexion between the name Hui-hui (Hui-tzŭ) and the name Uigur, with all its various transcriptions in the Chinese language (Chavannes, pp. 87–94). From the time of the earliest considerable incursions of Muslims, this region of many races has been overwhelmed with so many devastations that it is now impossible to speak of any single racial type. In addition to this we must also take into account the Muslim policy of incorporating people of other faiths, notably purchased children (cf. the present writer's note in his *Der islamische Orient*, i. [Leipzig, 1905]; more recently d'Ollone, in *RMM* ix.). Such absorption of foreign elements must be regarded as a very important factor. In this connexion we should note the suggestive remark of d'Ollone to the effect that the purchased Chinese children do not exhibit a uniform Chinese type, and that the homogeneity of the Chinese 'race' is simply one of those *fables convenues* that cannot be too vehemently opposed, since in point of fact many who are not Muslims at all are no more Chinese than the Muslims themselves.

A distinct ethnological group is formed by the Salars, who live in Hsün-hua-t'ing (Playfair, p. 3110) on the right bank of the Hoang-ho, and in the surrounding villages, and who are also found on a section of the road between Hsi-ning-fu and Ho-chou. They show a racial character markedly divergent from the ordinary Chinese Muslims. In figure they are tall and spare, with nose large but not broad, eyes black and set horizontally, cheekbones not very prominent, face longish, eyebrows bushy, beard black and abundant, forehead receding, skull flattened behind, skin brown but not in any sense yellow. The Salars thus bear a striking resemblance to the Turki of Chinese Turkestan. Their chief peculiarity is their language, which may be described as a degenerate Turkish. Their style of dress is Chinese, but they shave the head completely and wear a polygonal cap (*tübe*) of white colour. In religion they are strict Ḥanīfites, and show the utmost respect to their spiritual guides (*akhons*), many of whom speak and write the Persian language; but they are given to the use of strong drink. Even the lower classes are acquainted with the Arabic script. They do not burn incense in worship, nor do they tolerate the emperor's portrait in their mosques. This form of the Muslim faith is said to have emanated from a reformer named Ma-ming-hsin (Muhammad Emin), who preached to the Salars *c.* 1750, laying great stress on the practice of praying aloud (see below, p. 894^b), which led to serious disturbances. The Salars are daring brigands, and fraternize with the rabble of the upper Hoang-ho, with whom they also share a fierce hatred of the Chinese.[1]

(*b*) *Marriage, family, kinship.*—The external aspects of the sexual relation among the Muslims of China are regulated by the *sharī'ah*—in the scholastic form developed in the Ḥanīfite school—which applies to all Islām, though here the separate ordinances are not very well known to the people at large, nor, even where they are known, are they very strictly observed. As to the degree in which the Chinese environment has brought about modifications in practice, we do not possess the necessary details of information; nor would such details yield a complete and uniform picture, since the influence varies greatly in different localities.[2]

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[1] Our authority for these particulars is Grenard, *Mission*, ii. 457 f. A somewhat different account is given by d'Ollone (*RMM* ix. 538 ff.), who says that the Salars are confined to twelve villages in the district of Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the Hoang-ho, but that the bulk of their traffic is with the left bank, especially the town of Hsi-ning, in which, however, there reside only five Salar families; they do not shave the head completely, but retain the pigtail; they wear, not the polygonal cap, but the turban-like head-dress of the Chinese; they have taken part in various risings; and they assert that their original home was Samarqand.

[2] With reference to the well-known canon allowing the Muslim to marry as many as four wives, and to have slaves as concubines, Dabry (ii. 266, n. 1) writes: 'In China the Muslims are forced to submit to the laws of the land regarding marriage.' This is undoubtedly a mistake in so far as it implies that

The like is true of the position of women in general. According to d'Ollone, the so-called law of veiling is not observed by Muslim women in China, who walk abroad without reserve (*RMM* ix. 540); Grenard had indicated the fact, but noted an exception in the case of the wealthier classes. In Ho-chou, however, d'Ollone found a different practice, the women there wearing a veil of black silk below the eyes (a custom which seems to the present writer to be connected with the sect of Ma-hua-lung); further, they go on the street on horseback instead of in carriages. As regards foot-binding, d'Ollone notices no difference between Muslim women and Chinese women; in Kan-su especially the practice is very common. That a Muslim should take in marriage one of alien faith is not objected to; it is rather deemed a meritorious act thus to bring an unbeliever to the true religion. The Muslim woman, on the other hand, must not be given in marriage to a non-Muslim; such a union is regarded as the most heinous of sins. In this matter, however, compromises are sometimes made with heaven: the marriage of a Turki princess with the emperor Ch'ien-lung has already been referred to; and, when the present writer passed through Minjol (a day's journey west of Kashgar) in 1902, a Chinese with a Turki wife (? concubine) was presented to him. Illicit intercourse is not punished here, any more than in other Muslim countries, with the strict legal penalty (forty whip-lashes, or stoning), but it must not be supposed that any unusual laxity of morals prevails, and the unnatural vices common among the Chinese (see an instructive chapter in J. J. Mantignon, *Superstition, crime et misère en Chine*^{4}, Lyons, 1902, p. 185 ff.) are less prevalent among the Muslims. No special attention is devoted to the education of children (for the schools see below (*d*)). Two very prominent features of family life are filial piety and ancestor-worship. The former is extolled in the narrative given in the Chinese-Arabic MS edited by Forke; the latter finds expression in the liturgical prayers for parents and ancestors, while use is also made of pictures of ancestors after the Chinese manner. Social distinctions are not inevitably fixed by descent, except in the case of the Prophet's descendants. The mischief wrought in other Muslim countries by surreptitious enrolment in the sacred lineage does not seem to be extensive among the Muslims of China. Nor does the veneration of Sayyids appear to have assumed any unusual forms on Chinese soil, apart at least from the case of the schismatic Ma-hua-lung, who claimed to be a Sayyid, but who failed to win such prestige as the notorious sons and grandsons of Makhdūm 'Aẓam (see above, p. 889^a). The relative indifference to Sayyids (Sharīfs) in China is explained by the popular belief that they are for the most part converts to Islām or the descendants of converts (Dungans).

(*c*) *Industries.*—The industries in which the Chinese Muslims are engaged are (1) agriculture, (2) commerce (including handicraft and traffic in goods), and (3) transit-trade. The Muslims do not take naturally to agriculture, but here the environment has asserted itself, inasmuch as the Chinese are pre-eminently an agricultural people, and have in great measure the faculty of infecting the alien population with their own habits. Accordingly, the Chinese Muslim is everywhere one of the most industrious tillers of the soil, so that it was recently reported that those employed in colonizing the part of S. Mongolia which is to be opened by the railway-line between Kalgan and Kuei-hua-ch'eng are predominantly Muslims (*Bull. Com. Asie Franç.*, Oct. 1909, p. 456). While commerce as such is almost wholly in the hands of Chinese, who combine the qualities of the hard-working peasant with those of the astute merchant, yet the Muslims very largely monopolize the related branches of mercantile industry—the conveyance of goods from place to place and the retailing of products of their own or others' labour. Thus the Mafus, *i.e.* horse-hirers and horse-dealers, as also carriers throughout the whole of China, are principally adherents of Islām, while certain trades—especially that of slaughtering animals (not including the pig, of course)—are largely in the hands of Muslims. Their special preference, however, is for official life, though in this department they are faced by a great obstacle, viz. the number and difficulty of the examinations to be passed by aspirants to the Chinese civil service. The Muslims who could successfully undergo these tests must always have been very few. This in itself, however, does not carry any discredit, for it simply means that the Muslims have not the required degree of plodding dullness for such ordeals. On the other hand, the most capable and energetic of them were doubtless able to fulfil the conditions of entrance into the Chinese army, and to work their way to the higher ranks. From the Mongolian period onwards Muslims have often filled the more distinguished military positions. As recent instances of this, mention may be made of General Tung-fu-hsiang (see below (*d*)), as well as of Ma-ti-kai, of Yün-nan, nephew of Ma-hua-lung, and commander-general of the forces in Sze-chuan.

(*d*) *Cultus, education, etc.*—The religious attitude of the Chinese Muslims is—outwardly, at least—characterized by moderation. They make concessions to the ruling power, hoping thus to gain security for person and property, and the most capable and resolute of those who enter the government service take part in the ceremonial of the national cult. The hatred of foreigners sometimes shown by Muslim officers of high rank, like that displayed by the Chinese themselves, is to be referred, not to religious motives, but to the exasperation provoked by the high-handed way in which foreigners interfere with the internal affairs of the country. In not a few cases, indeed, the conduct of the Muslim generals is to be traced simply to a vulgar hankering after rank and wealth, as has now been made clear by the observations of d'Ollone (*RMM* vi. [1908] 7 ff., controverting the misleading note in *RMM* iv. 441 f.). Tung-fu-hsiang, *e.g.*, was in no sense a 'fanatical Muslim,' but a mere adventurer, who gained a following amid the chaos caused by the rising of 1861–74, and who, in return for the gift of a mandarinate, made himself the tool of the viceroy, Tso-tsung-t'ang, and of General Lu-song-shan. He caused Ma-hua-lung, the prime mover of the revolt, and the prophet of the 'new doctrine,' who fell into his hands in a sortie from the rebel city of Kin-ki-pu, to be beheaded. At that time Tung acquired landed estates of enormous extent. It was he also who crushed the rebellion of 1895 in Hsi-ning-fu and Ho-chou, enriching himself, as usual, with the spoils filched from his co-religionists. He received the title of 'generalissimo' (*ta jue*), and was in effect king of the country. When the Boxer rising broke out at Peking in 1900, Tung hurried thither with his henchmen—the foremost of whom was the infamous Ma-an-liang, Tongling of Ho-chou—and made himself conspicuous by his violent and malicious proceedings against the foreigners, who saw in him only a Muslim at the head of a horde of Muslims,

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Chinese law would intrude upon this domain of personal rights, though it may perhaps be necessary to assert the universal validity of the imperial ordinances. These ordinances are lucidly set forth in Pierre Hoang, *Le Mariage chinois au point de vue légale* (*Var. Sinol.*, no. 14), Shanghai, 1898. The present writer has not succeeded in discovering among them anything that formally concedes an exceptional position to the Muslims.

and were quite unaware of his real relation to Islām. Having been ostensibly punished by 'banishment' to Kan-su, he lived there like a *sulṭān*. He held two fortified castles near Kin-ki-pu, and had a bodyguard of 500 veterans—as tenants of the surrounding estates which he had taken from Muslims. The local councils of Kin-ki-pu and Lin-chou could not lift a finger without his approval. After his death in February 1908, all his titles, of which he had been deprived at the instance of the European Powers, were restored, and his remains were buried with the highest honours at Kon-yuen, his birth-place (*RMM* vi. 700 ff.). Apart from adventurers of this stamp, whom probably the majority of Muslims would regard as apostates, there is a far-reaching antagonism between the indigenous and the immigrant peoples. The Chinese realize the danger involved in the Muslim aspiration of an *imperium in imperio*, while the Muslims, enjoined as they are by the Qur'ān to fight against the unbeliever, feel the ascendancy of the latter as a heavy infliction, and from time to time the strain has found expression in open revolt. The most notable and most serious of such outbreaks have been those of the north (Kan-su and Shen-si) in 1861–74, and of the south (Yün-nan) in 1856–72. It would be a mistake, however, to attribute these ruinous insurrections to religious motives alone, for racial antagonisms and the conflicting interests of different social classes were certainly no less potent factors.

The mosques resemble pagodas, the *miḥrāb* and *minbar* alone proclaiming their Muslim origin. We sometimes meet with Indo-Arabic styles, as, *e.g.*, the two cupolas above the porch of each of the mosques in Sui-fu. For occasions of prayer the *akhons* (Pers. *ākhūnd*, 'learned one'; in China, 'mosque-minister') don the white tunic; the rest of the faithful wear for the time a cap never otherwise used, which is encircled by the turban, and may be of various colours—white, blue, green, or red. This cap has two shapes: the Meccan—a round, low cowl, wholly covered by the turban—not worn by many; and the Bukharian—polygonal, being formed of four or six pieces—which hangs out from beneath the turban. It is identical with the *tübe*, or *topa*, worn by all Muslims in Russian and Chinese Turkestan.

The disruptive tendencies so common in Islām generally have made themselves felt in China. Ma-hua-lung, who was put to death during the rebellion in Kan-su, was the founder of a new sect, and his followers in Kan-su, where they are numerous, and in Sze-chuan, where as yet they are but few, regard him as the true successor of Muhammad. His descendants and disciples claim to possess superhuman powers. His teaching is called *hsin chiao*, 'new doctrine,' in contradistinction to *lao chiao*, 'ancient doctrine' (*RMM* v. 93). The nature of this new doctrine is something of a mystery. There is a tendency to regard it as an endorsement to Shīʿism, or perhaps an unusually bold representation of Ṣūfīism, but the notices of d'Ollone (*RMM* ix. 571 ff.) show that in reality it is of genuinely Sunnite character, and not a degenerate variety of the mystical philosophy so widely diffused throughout Central Asia. Ma-hua-lung was undoubtedly one of that class of visionary impostors represented in Chinese Turkestan by the Khodyas, *i.e.* the descendants of Makhdūm ʿAẓam, of whose ecclesiastico-political organization the present writer has given a detailed account in 'Ein Kirchenstaat im Islam' (in *Der islamische Orient*, i. 195 ff.). It remains an open question whether the Mahdistic idea played any part in the project of Ma-hua-lung; the reports of d'Ollone make no distinct reference to it. In any case, the pretender was regarded as an incarnation of the Spirit—a *sheng jen* ('holy man,' 'prophet') equal to, or even higher than, Muhammad himself. It speaks well for the Muslims of Kan-su that only the lower classes were duped by this charlatan, who, wholly destitute of learning, presumed to know everything, and had his answer ready for every question. As the founder of a new sect, he had to enjoin certain external forms by which his adherents might be distinguished from others. For this purpose he chose the practice of praying aloud and of holding the hands straight open and horizontal in the *qiyām* (at prayer), in contrast to the general custom of silent prayer with the hands rounded and hollow. From this practice of audible prayer is derived the usual name of the sect, viz. Ẓāhirīyah (corrupted to Chaiherinye), 'those who pray openly,' as contrasted with the Khāfīyah (vernacularly 'Hufeye'), 'those who pray secretly.' In these externals Ma-hua-lung shows a certain affinity with a movement in the West which had found its way into China at an earlier date. About 150 years previously a reformer had appeared among the Salars (see above, p. 892^b) in the person of Muhammad Emin, known in China as Ma-ming-hsin, who introduced the custom of praying aloud, and thereby gave occasion for serious disturbances (Grenard, *loc. cit.*). Mu-hua-lung did not actually forbid his followers to attend the mosque, but he allowed prayer to be performed at home—in the 'common hall'—without special ceremonial garments. Usually three or four houses have a place of prayer in common, *i.e.* a single room set apart for worship, this arrangement being designed, it is said, to familiarize the adherents with the practice of prayer (*RMM* ix. 571). In Sung-pʻan-tʻing, according to *RMM* v. 462, the followers of the new faith attend the same mosques as those of the old, while in Shen-tu, on the other hand, the breach is complete (*RMM* v. 462, ix. 561). The d'Ollone expedition had a very uncivil reception in the mosque at Chʻêng-tu; the people of the 'new doctrine' have the name of being hostile to Europeans, while the Muslims in general are friendly. After Ma-hua-lung's death in 1871, a rupture took place within the sect. His son-in-law, Ma-ta-hsi, and his grandson, Ma-mih-hsi, fought with each other for the sacred inheritance. Ma-ta-hsi, who is now (1915) sixty-two years old, has the advantage in numbers, and his place of residence, Cha-kou, near Ku-yuen, is an important religious centre, and has a *madrasah*. Ma-hua-lung's teaching was introduced into Yün-nan by his younger brother (or nephew) Talasan or Talamasan, who fell in a struggle with Ma-ju-lung. In Yün-nan, however, the sect has apparently a smaller following than in Sze-chuan, where d'Ollone met with adherents of the Hsin chiao from the boundaries of Yün-nan to Sung-pʻan-tʻing on the border of Kan-su.

Alongside of the two groups of Hufeye and Chaiherinye are found two others, viz. Kuberinye and Katerinye. The meaning of 'Kuberinye' cannot be precisely determined—the word may possibly stand for Kubārī ('great'); 'Katerinye' is undoubtedly equivalent to 'Qādirīyah,' signifying the adherents of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (*q.v.*). It is maintained by a certain *akhon* that these four sects are respectively connected with the first four *khalīfahs*, each of whom is said to have inaugurated a particular ritual, viz. Abū Bakr that of the Hufeye, Othmān that of the Chaiherinye, ʿOmar that of the Kuberinye, and ʿAlī that of the Katerinye. The last-mentioned name is said to be applied also to those who venerate graves. In China, as elsewhere on Muslim soil, peculiar honour is accorded to the tombs of the eminently pious—those who have given credentials of saintship

Thus, *e.g.*, within a mile to the north of Sung-p'an-t'ing is to be seen the tomb of an *akhon* from Medīna, who came to Sung-p'an-t'ing in 1668, lived for a time in Shen-si, and by his prayers saved the land from a drought in 1673. He died in 1680, and his tomb is guarded by an *akhon*. Another tomb, somewhat smaller, is found within the mausoleum. The orthodox *mullās* inveigh strongly against this practice (*RMM* v. 459). D'Ollone thinks that the veneration of graves is also a characteristic of the Hsin chiao sect (*RMM* ix. 533 ff.); but this cannot be admitted, and, indeed, it conflicts with other statements of the same writer. As a matter of fact, the veneration of graves is a world-wide custom, and naturally prevails here too; and that Ho-chou, the rallying-point of the new doctrine, should also contain an unusual number of sacrosanct tombs is a mere coincidence. Moreover, with reference to the name Kumbe chiao, which d'Ollone mentions as being applied to the 'new doctrine,' and upon which he bases his conclusions (*RMM* ix. 533), it remains to be shown whether the term (='grave-doctrine') is meant to indicate the distinctive characteristic of the sect. As regards the religious position of the ethnologically distinct Salars see above, p. 892^{b}.

The idea of a *khalīfah* as a single individual invested with authority over Islām as a whole is unknown to the vast majority of Chinese Muslims (*RMM* ix. 561 f.). Yet the efforts directed from Stamboul in the latter half of last century were not altogether without result. Ya'qūb Beg recognized 'Abd-al-'Azīz as commander of the faithful, while Sulaimān, the Muslim king of Yün-nan, appealed to him, as *khalīfah*—in vain, it is true—for assistance.

As the intellectual life of the Muslims bears the closest possible relation to their religion, the aim of elementary education is to inculcate the rudiments of religious doctrine, the children being taught by readings from the Qur'ān and by short catechisms. In these exercises two languages are employed—both the national language and that of the Qur'ān (or a mixed Perso-Arabic dialect). There is a considerable circulation of anthologies from the Qur'ān, either with or without a Chinese translation, and booklets containing the leading elements of doctrine in both languages are also found.[1] The life of the Chinese Muslims has no place for art. To anything in the nature of artistic activity only a single field is open—the Arabic script, which is often elaborated in pedantic forms suggestive of the Chinese method of writing, angles and loops being formed as in the native calligraphy (especially in epitaphs). The Muslims also erect ornately written Arabic tablets, which, however, often show such a divergence from the common script that they are very difficult to read. Even the experienced E. Blochet mistook an *r* for a *y* (*RMM* v. 291).

(*e*) *Political relations.*—In China proper the Muslims have never secured an independent political existence, while in Turkestan, since its annexation (*c.* 1750), they succeeded in establishing only the short-lived Muslim government of Ya'qūb Beg (see above, p. 889^{a}). The object of the Muslim rising in Kan-su and Shen-si (1863–74), which was among the contributing causes of Ya'qūb Beg's success, was likewise independence; but the movement proved abortive, and, in fact, no other issue was to be expected. The necessary condition of a permanent political organization is that it shall have a basis of nationality, and no such thing exists among the Chinese Muslims. The latter, as interspersed among the Han (Chinese), form, not a national, but merely a religious, aggregate, and all history teaches that political establishments based upon religion are ephemeral. It has certainly been hinted that the Muslims of China may possibly force their religion upon the rest of the population, and thus evolve a powerful Islāmo-Chinese kingdom. It is indubitable that such an ambition is not wanting among the Muslims, and that it will continue to act in certain localities as a source of insurgent movements against the imperial government. It is regrettable that the idea has been exploited for the double purpose of acquiring religious influence among the Chinese Muslims and of furthering political ends. Considerable efforts in this direction were made—though without the least success—by Sulṭān 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd in the latter part of 1900; and minor attempts at a later date proved equally fruitless, though hopes were not abandoned even after the deposition of the Sulṭān.

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M. HARTMANN.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Īndia).—Islām was introduced into India by the Arab invaders who entered Sind under Muḥammad ibn Qāsim in A.D. 712 and founded a Muhammadan State which was eventually absorbed in the Mughal empire; but this early Arab occupation was confined to Sind, and the Muhammadan conquest of the rest of India did not begin until nearly three centuries later, with the raids of Sabuktagīn and Maḥmūd of Ghazna; when, however, Maḥmūd died in 1030, the province of Lahore was the only part of Indian territory that he bequeathed to his successor. The permanent extension of Muslim rule in India dates from the latter part of the 12th cent., when the conquests of Muḥammad Ghorī resulted in the establishment of a Muhammadan dynasty in Dihli, which continued to be a Muhammadan capital up to the extinction of the Mughal empire in 1858. The scope of this article being limited to religion and ethics, no account of the political history can be given, though the intimate connexion between Islām as a religious system and the Muhammadan governments in India makes it difficult to consider them apart. A brief reference must be made, however, to the relations between the Muslim rulers and their non-Muslim subjects. The Muhammadan invaders at times during the early stages of the conquest exhibited a brutal intolerance towards the Hindus who opposed their armies, and ruthlessly massacred Brāhmans and razed temples to the ground; but, after the savageries of conquest were over, a certain amount of toleration was allowed to their Hindu subjects. The Arabs in Sind left the Hindus in undisturbed exercise of their religion and in the enjoyment of their old rights and privileges, and the later conquerors who founded kingdoms in N. India and the Deccan were generally too much occupied with the military consolidation of their own power, or felt too little interest in spiritual matters, to turn their attention to the propagation of their own faith. Even under the settled rule of the Mughals, dynastic and financial considerations dictated their policy rather than consideration of the interests of Islām. On the other hand, the reigns of several monarchs were signalized by outbursts of fanaticism and the cruel oppression of unbelievers, their temples being destroyed and many of them converted by force. In Gujarāt Sulṭān Maḥmūd III. (1537–53) was hated by the Hindus for the stringency of his enactments against them. In Kashmīr Sulṭān Sikandar (1393–1417) acquired the designation Butshikan ('idol-smasher') by his ruthless destruction of Hindu idols and temples, and in Bengal Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh (1414–31) made himself notorious by his persecution of unbelievers. Aurangzīb's (1659–1707) attempt to carry out a policy of unification led to several acts of repression, and tradition attributes to him the destruction of temples and the forcible conversion of Hindus in various districts throughout the whole extent of the Mughal empire. The latest example of such fanaticism on the part of a Muhammadan ruler was that of Tīpū Sulṭān (1782–99), whose barbarities outdid anything recorded of previous monarchs after the first conquerors. Apart from such outbursts of fanaticism, the rule of the Muhammadans has generally been characterized by an attitude of toleration towards their Hindu subjects, and the adherents of the rival religions have often been closely drawn together by a spirit of amity and mutual respect.

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[1] The present writer possesses a copy of such a bilingual catechism.

The fact that the Muhammadan dynasties in India were almost entirely founded by foreign invaders was of great importance in the history of Islām; they brought with them a large number of foreign troops, and attracted to their courts military adventurers, poets, scholars, and others, who ultimately settled in the country. The foreign immigrants and their descendants—Arabs, Persians, Turks, Mughals, and Paṭhāns—formed an important element in the total Muhammadan population, and exercised a preponderating influence in the administration, the social organization, and the religious life. They received grants of land from the Muhammadan governments, or in times of political unrest arrogated to themselves rights of ownership, and thus formed the nucleus of an aristocracy that looked down with contempt on the native converts. The missionaries, to whose proselytizing efforts the conversion of whole tribes is attributed, and the saints, whose tombs are still venerated throughout all parts of Muslim India, were for the most part of foreign extraction. The shrines of these saints are still centres of religious influence and attract thousands of pilgrims every year; among the most famous are those of Khwājah Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī († 1236) at Ajmīr, Farīd al-Dīn Shakarganj († 1269) at Pākpattan, Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā († 1325) at Dihli, and Shāh 'Ālam († 1475) near Aḥmadābād. The great family of Bukhārī Sayyids, who settled in Uch in the 13th cent., may be taken as a typical example of the wide-spread influence exercised by some of these foreign immigrants. The effect of this constant stream of foreign immigration has been to keep India in close contact with the main currents of theological thought and speculation in Islām, and the religious beliefs and practices of the educated section at least of the Muslim population, whether Sunnī or Shī'ah, have tended to conform to those in other parts of the Muslim world. A large part of the religious literature has been written in Arabic, and still more in Persian—both languages foreign to India—and the study of these languages has kept the theologians acquainted with the writings of Muslim thinkers outside India. These foreign influences have thus prevented Islām in India from taking on a provincial character, so far at least as the literate are concerned. But among the uneducated converts and the descendants of converts, of Hindu origin, especially in the country districts remote from the centres of Muslim culture, many survivals of older cults are to be found, and there the Muhammadan differs little but in name from his Hindu neighbour. He continues to worship the gods of his ancestors—particularly the village godlings, whose rites are associated with the cultivation of the soil, and the deities of disease, especially Sītalā, the dreaded goddess of smallpox—and to take part in the Hindu festivals connected with the changes of the season, such as Holi, the festival of the spring equinox, and Dasahrā, the festival of the autumn equinox. Against such Hindu beliefs and practices the orthodox have at all times protested, but the first active campaign against them appears to have been started by Sayyid Aḥmad and Ḥājī Sharī'at Allāh, who in the second decade of the 19th cent. began to disseminate in India the doctrines of the Wahhābī reforming movement. The writings of a later religious reformer, Maulavī Karāmat 'Alī († 1874), were especially influential in combating the observance of Hindu rites and ceremonies by Muhammadans. In more recent years, the greater facilities of communication between one part of the country and another, the spread of education, and the consequent growing influence of theological text-books have increased the tendency towards an orthodox uniformity, but the low level of education among the mass of the Indian Muhammadans still keeps a large proportion of them ignorant of the tenets of the faith which they profess.

The abiding influence of Hindu institutions on the converts to Islām is still further shown by their rejection of the *sharī'ah* in favour of their old tribal ordinances in regard to marriage and inheritance. As is well known, Islām is not merely a body of religious dogma but also a system of legislation, but the Muhammadanized Rājputs and Jāṭs in the Panjāb and the Mappillas on the west coast of S. India have always continued to follow the customs of their Hindu ancestors in preference to the Muslim law of succession.

The influence of Islām in India has not been confined to the Musalmāns themselves, but may be observed in sections of the population that stand outside the Muslim community. There can be little doubt that the Hindu reform movements of the 15th and 16th centuries, especially those connected with the names of Kabīr and Nānak, owed much to Muslim influences. Many low-caste Hindus, especially in N. India, worship Muhammadan saints; these saints are sometimes legendary, like Sakhī Sarwar and Shāh Mādār, or historical personages such as Pīr Shams Tabrīz of Multān, or sometimes a mixture of both as in certain enumerations of the Pañch Pīr ('five holy men'), who are represented by some thousands of Hindus to be the only divinities that they worship. An influence of a different character was that of the Mughal court upon the higher ranks of Hindu society, resulting in the adoption of many Muhammadan habits and observances such as are generally significant of adherence to the faith of Islām.

As an ethical system Islām in India presents in many ways a strong contrast to Hinduism. Both, it is true, cherish an ascetic ideal, pursued by the few, and Hindu and Muslim ascetics have often found that they have much in common, and both have often received the veneration of pious adherents of the rival creed. But the stern Puritanism of Islām has set its face rigidly against those characteristics of Hindu conduct which are set forth in the *Kāmaśāstras* and illustrated on such Hindu temples as have escaped the iconoclastic wrath of outraged Muslim sentiment. This austerity of Muslim morals runs through the whole of their social life, and lends to their outward bearing an aspect of dignity and self-respect such as springs from a constant recognition of moral obligation; at the same time it relegates women to the seclusion of the zenana, depriving social intercourse of the charm of their society, and deprecates amusements that other countries find harmless, such as dancing and card-playing. This moral fervour is capable of producing such types as that of the judge who cut himself off from all human associations lest his judgment might be influenced by consideration for a friend, the hard-worked administrative officer who gave away the whole of his official salary in charity, and the scholar who repented in bitter tears because he had made a profit out of the sale of a work on religion. The moral sanction is sought in religion, and moral precepts are based on the Qur'ān, the traditions, and the works of authoritative theologians; maxims of conduct are also frequently quoted from the poets and Ṣūfī writers. Treatises on ethics, such as *Akhlāq-i-Nāṣirī*, *Akhlāq-i-Muhsinī*, etc., are read by the learned, and similar works—*e.g.*, *Akhlāq-i-Jahāngīrī*—were compiled in India, but acquaintance with them has been too restricted for them to have exercised much influence on the general moral consciousness of the Indian Musalmāns. This legal and didactic view of ethics may at times degenerate into formalism, and a low level of moral achievement may subsist side by side with fervid professions of piety; but the tendency of modern Muslim society in India is towards a more distinctively ethical basis for conduct and less dependence upon religious authority.

Within the narrow limits of this article it has not been possible to do more than briefly indicate some of the main characteristics of Islām in India. See, further, MISSIONS (Muhammadan), SECTS (Muhammadan).

LITERATURE.—No comprehensive work has yet been written on the religion and ethics of the Indian Muhammadans. The reader will find articles bearing on these subjects in such periodicals as *JASB* (Calcutta, 1832 ff.); *Calcutta Review* (Calcutta, 1844 ff.); *Journal of the Moslem Institute* (Calcutta, 1905 ff.); *Revue du monde musulman* (Paris, 1906 ff.); *EI* (Leyden, 1908 ff.). For the bibliography of historical works see *The History of India as told by its own Historians; The Muhammedan Period*, ed. from the papers of H. M. Elliot by John Dowson, London, 1867–77. A vast amount of material is to be found scattered throughout the official publications of the Government of India; for bibliography see F. Campbell, *Index-Catalogue of Indian Official Publications in the Library, British Museum*, do. 1900. Among separate works may be mentioned: J. H. Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur les particularités de la religion musulmane dans l'Inde*², Paris, 1869; Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, London, 1832; W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, do. 1871; Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-Islam, or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India*, tr. G. A. Herklots², Madras, 1863; Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam, or the Life and Teachings of Mohammed*², London, 1896; S. Khuda Bukhsh, *Essays Indian and Islamic*, do. 1912. A more detailed bibliography will be found in the present writer's art. 'India' in *EI*.

T. W. ARNOLD.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Persia).—Islām began in Persia very early. Within a year of Muhammad's death the Muslim armies came into collision with the Persian power, and the conflict lasted for thirty years, extending from the Tigris to the Oxus. The last Zoroastrian dynasty was overthrown in A.D. 750 in the region south of the Caspian. The conversion to Islām was a slower process, and the disappearance of Zoroastrianism was gradual. The intellectual life of Islām was very soon enriched by Persian scholars. It is significant that after the Arab conquest Nestorian missions were successfully prosecuted among Iranians described as pagans.[1] Still, Islām was identified with a foreign invasion—a fact that influenced subsequent history.

The cause of ʿAlī gained adherents in Persia from the first, perhaps because Ḥusain married a Sasanian princess. In the Umayyad period revolts were frequent, many of them Khārijite in origin. The ʿAbbāsid conspiracy was begun in Persia; Abū Muslim, the chief conspirator, was a Persian; and the battle of the Zāb, which decided the contest, was fought on the border of Īrān. Although revolts were common, the authority of the ʿAbbāsids was generally recognized by the ruling dynasties in Persia, few of which were Shīʿite. The most determined and powerful attempt to establish Shīʿite Islām was that of the Ismāʿīlians, or Assassins (*q.v.*). Persia was the greatest sufferer of all in the ruin wrought by the heathen Mongols, and Islām seemed about to perish; Tīmūr was a Sunnite Muslim, but he had mercy on none. With the rise of Ṣafawī kings (A.D. 1500) Shīʿite Islām of the Twelve was established as the State religion—a position challenged since only by the audacious Nādir († 1747), who proposed to make Shīʿite Islām a fifth sect co-ordinate with the four recognized divisions of Sunnite Islām. The paper constitution of modern Persia recognizes Shīʿite Islām as the religion of the realm.

The inner development of Shīʿite Islām has never been adequately described. From the first many Persians refused to believe that the cycle of revelation had closed with Muhammad, and the deification of ʿAlī seems to have begun even before his death.[1] This mystical belief in a continuous revelation and a divine presence, different in kind from anything found in the Qur'ān, developed into the doctrine of the *imāmat* (cf. art. INCARNATION [Muslim]). In the process of the elaboration of this doctrine sects were formed, the most remarkable being that of the Ismāʿīlians, which, strangely, has left scarcely a trace in modern Persia. The cult of ʿAlī, and especially of Ḥusain in the celebration of ʿĀshūrā (the 10th of Muḥarram), is still in process of growth. Another line of theological development has been Ṣūfiism, the great names in which are Persian (though not all Shīʿite), and which has greater influence to-day in Persia than in any other land. Important events in recent Shīʿite Islām have been the growth of Shaikhiism, the birth of Bahāism, and the attempt to join Western constitutional government to Islām.

The influence of Persia in Islām is a larger subject than Islām in Persia. Traces of Zoroastrian influence are to be found in the Qur'ān, and still more in the developed Muslim theology.

> 'The victory of the Abbasids was, in a sense, a conquest of the Arabs by the Persians . . . the battles of al-Qadisiya and Nahawand were avenged; Persian ideas and Persian religion began slowly to work on the faith of Muhammad.'[2]

What Islām owes to Persian Sunnites in formal theology, as well as to the dervish orders and Ṣūfiism, may be indicated by mentioning the names of al-Ghazālī, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (*qq.v.*).

Modern Persia is the resultant of the interaction of complex forces through a long period, and religiously it is far from homogeneous in character. Sunnites number a million or more. The majority of these are Kurds, some are Arabs, some Turks in Ādharbaijān, and some are Persians in the Gulf region. Among them the most numerous sect is the Shāfiʿite. Shīʿites are believers in the Twelve Imāms. Sects that are numerous and wide-spread enough to merit attention are the Mutasharīʿs, the Shaikhīs, and the Zahabīs. Other sects that should be mentioned are the ʿAlī Illāhīs and the Bahāīs. Ṣūfiism, influential as it is, cannot be regarded as a separate sect. The dervishes are an institution that cannot be neglected (cf. art. DERVISH). The following figures are given as an approximation: Sunnites, 1,000,000; Shīʿites, Persians, Lūrs, etc., 5,000,000; Tatars, 2,000,000; ʿAlī Illāhīs, 300,000; Bahāīs, 100,000.

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[1] W. A. Shedd, *Islam and Oriental Churches*, Philadelphia, 1904, p. 163 f.

[1] Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, i. 220.

[2] D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory*, London, 1903, p. 133.

Even among the Sunnites (especially the Kurds) religion centres much in the cult of the Shaikhs, who are credited with miraculous powers. Many of these are connected with the dervish orders, especially the Naqshbandīs.

The great religious principle of the Shīʽites is the veneration of the family of ʽAlī and the doctrine of the *imāmat*. While every community numbers its *ḥajjīs*, the great shrine for pilgrimage of the living and burial of the dead is Karbalā, which, moreover, is the place of religious authority, the seat of the chief *mujtahids*, and the centre of theological education and learning. In every city there is a *madrasah* (college), but an ambitious student completes his training at Karbalā, or at one of the neighbouring shrines that share in its importance. The unifying power of such a centre is very important. The other shrine of importance is Mashad. For the mass of the people the great religious observance is the commemoration of the battle of Karbalā on the 10th of Muḥarram and preceding days. On the spectacular side it is the carnival of the populace, and the timid disapproval of the educated is unavailing to check continual increase of the excesses of grief in cutting the head and beating the breast. Regular passion-plays are uncommon (cf. art. DRAMA [Persian]). Preaching has an important place in the mosque life, and the great topic for sermons is the life of the Imāms. Ghadīr Bairām (when Muhammad is supposed to have designated ʽAlī as his successor) is at least equal to Qurbān Bairām in popular estimation. The *ḥadīth* (traditions) deal with the sayings and doings of the Imāms as well as of the Prophet, the most popular collections being those of Mullā Baqir Majlisī of Iṣfahān, made three hundred years ago. The expectation of the reappearance of the Twelfth Imām as al-Mahdī is general. The Sayyids rival the *mullās* in authority and claim the fifth of field and herd. So far the description applies to all Shīʽite sects.

The Mutasharīʽs, who are by far the most numerous sect, regard the *mujtahids* as the only representative of the Qā'im, or hidden Imām, and only inasmuch as they interpret the *sharīʽah* (canon law). They are conservatives and traditionalists. The Shaikhīs, Zahābīs, and minor sects hold that there is always a representative of the Imām, who possesses in some degree his divine authority. They differ as to who that representative is, and in other matters. The Shaikhīs are the intellectual mystics, interpreting, *e.g.*, the *miʽrāj* (Muhammad's ascent to heaven, deduced from Qur'ān, xvii. 1) in a spiritual way. Zahābīs resemble the dervishes in ascetic practices and in the use of the *dhikr*, both *lafẓī* and *qalbī* (spoken and silent).

ʽAlī Illāhīs and Bahāīs, widely different in other respects, may be classed together as being Muslim in only a modified sense. The former recognize none of the Imāms except ʽAlī, care nothing for the *sharīʽah*, pay no attention to Ramaḍān or the prayers, and have their own yearly feast, in connexion with which a common religious meal is eaten. Among Shīʽites they conform more or less, but in private they claim that they are not Shīʽite. They believe in an incarnation, but it is not very clear whether the connexion with ʽAlī is not a blind. They call themselves Ahl-i Ḥaqīqah ('people of the Truth'). In practical life the reverence paid to the Sayyids, or *pīrs*, is great. Their religious centre, where the head of the sect lives, is near Kirmānshāh. They are numerous both north and south, among Kurds, Turks, and Persians, and especially in the villages and among the nomads, and are found in smaller numbers in the cities. The Bahāīs are too well known to require description. For them Muhammad and the *sharīʽah* are superseded. They are found in the cities and among the more educated classes, less often in the villages, and not at all among the nomads. They are increasing. Though only a fraction of the less numerous classes of society, their influence is not to be measured by their numbers. The Azalīs are practically extinct, and the Bahāīs, with insignificant exceptions, follow ʽAbbās Efendi. Both these sects practise *taqiyyah*, or religious deception.

The Ṣūfīs (or ʽĀrifs, 'γνωστικοί') are the philosophical and intellectual devotees of religion, belonging, it may be, to some sect, but not often to the Mutasharīʽs. Among them are many dervishes. They usually recognize some one as their guide (*murshid*). The most popular poets among them are Jalāl al-Dīn, Shams-i-Tabrīz, Farīd al-Din ʽAṭṭār, and Ḥāfiẓ. Dervishes in Persia are loosely organized, and monasteries are almost unknown. Many dervishes will claim to be *khāksārī* ('abject,' 'humble'), others to be followers of Shāh Naʽmat-Allāh or of Ṣafī ʽAlī Shāh, a saint of recent date.

The organization of religion is democratic, and in the last analysis it is popularity that determines rank and authority. The government exercises a control by granting titles and recognition, and the *mullās* and *mujtahids*, both as authorized expounders of the *sharīʽah* and as popular leaders, influence government. They are from the people and are susceptible to the influences that affect the people. Low birth is no bar to ecclesiastical advancement. The dervishes are to some extent controlled by the appointment from them of a *naqīb*, or civil head, in each city. Curiously, he has charge also of jugglers, mountebanks, snake-charmers, etc.

The influence of religion in moral and social matters is not easily estimated. Of course it is pervasive. The only education open to most of the people is that in the mosque schools. The pilgrimages promote intelligence and national unity. On the other hand, the shrines are centres of vice, the *mullās* are notorious for venality, the *sharīʽah* is an obstacle to progress, and religious teaching often makes wrongdoing easy rather than difficult. It may be doubted whether those who desire moral or social reform look to religion for inspiration and aid. The least religious classes are the educated and the nomads.

An influence at work that must affect the future of Islām is the rationalization of religion. It takes the form of reducing religion to the minimum of doctrine, equalizing all forms of revelation by admitting truth in each, but granting finality to none. Another tendency is what the Persians call *ṭabīʽī* ('naturalistic'), denying all revelation and taking an agnostic position on the question of God's existence. Another growing influence is the renascence of Turkish literature in the Ādharbaijān dialect in Tiflis and Baku. The reaction due to foreign dominance is also to be reckoned with. The influence of Western civilization is in many ways disintegrating. The influence of Christianity mediated by commerce, politics and literature, and missionary effort must not be forgotten. This had its part in Bābism and still more in Bahāism.

See, further, artt. BĀB, BĀBĪS, SHĪʽAHS, ṢŪFIISM.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works cited in the article, see T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*², London, 1913; E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 2 vols., do. 1902–06, *A Year among the Persians*, do. 1893.

W. A. SHEDD.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia).—*A. SYRIA.*—Syria and Palestine have always formed one of the outlets for the superfluous population of Arabia. The invasion of the country by the Arabs in the first half of the 7th cent. A.D. was only one of a series of incursions which had been going on from time immemorial. The conquest, which took place in the Caliphate of ʿOmar, only a year or two after the death of Muhammad, occupied a few years (13–15 A.H.), and was facilitated by the fact that the people of Syria came, to a large extent, both in origin and in language, of Semitic stock. The kingdom of Ghassān, which, with that of Hīra on the other side of the Syrian desert, formed a buffer State between the empires of Rome and Persia, was of pure Arab blood. When, therefore, the Arabs made their inroads into the country, they were not invading a foreign people, but rather attacking the governing classes only, the representatives of the Eastern Roman empire. Moreover, it was only a score of years since the Persians had wrested the country from the Greeks and held it for ten years. The Persian Wars had depleted the exchequer of Constantinople, and Heraclius had been compelled to withdraw the wonted subsidies from the frontier tribes—a fact which made them all the less unwilling to throw in their lot with the Arabs. When, therefore, ʿOmar's forces entered the country, they did not come altogether as invaders, and to the indigenous population the issue was not subjection so much as a change of masters; and it was not impossible that the new masters might be more gentle than the old.

To the Arabs the conquest of Chaldæa was motived by the lust of plunder, the conquest of Egypt was to a large extent a necessity—had it been acquired a year or two earlier Medina would have been saved from famine—but the conquest of Syria was largely a matter of sentiment. Within its borders were contained nearly all the holy places of Islām. Hūd and Ṣāliḥ had ministered to tribes within the boundaries of Arabia, but nearly all the remaining prophets—Abraham, Solomon, but above all Jesus—had lived and died in Palestine. Muhammad, too, had visited Syria, once as a mere boy, with his uncle Abu Ṭālib, and again as the agent of Khadījah. Jerusalem had been the goal of his mysterious night-journey, from which he had ascended to the Divine Presence, and it was from Damascus that he had turned away, saying that one could not enter Paradise twice. The reverence of the Arabs for Jerusalem is shown by the fact that it was towards it that the Muslims turned in prayer during the first two years after the arrival of Muhammad at Medīna, and that the capitulation of the city in 637 was accepted by the Caliph in person. On this occasion ʿOmar visited most of the sacred places, under the guidance of the patriarch Sophronius. He is said to have identified the site of Solomon's temple, and he erected a small mosque, probably of wood and clay, for the worship of the Muslims. Jerusalem did not become the political capital of the province of Palestine. For that Ramleh was founded somewhat later. But the sacred character attributed to the ancient city by the Arabs appears in the name Bait al-Maqdis ('holy house') by which their historians always call it, or in the shortened form Al-Quds, by which it is known at the present day.

The sanctity in the eyes of the Muslims even of Jerusalem is, however, surpassed by that of Hebron, the home and place of burial of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, with their wives, as well as of Joseph. Hence it used to be named Masjid Ibrāhīm ('Abraham's mosque'), but now it is always called Al-Khalīl ('the friend'), abbreviated from 'the city of the friend of God.' Hebron fell into the hands of the Crusaders in A.D. 1099 and remained so until it was retaken by Saladin in 1187. The Crusaders do not seem to have had much scruple about entering the sepulchral chambers, but the curiosity of the Muslim does not exceed his sense of reverence, and one of them mentions with a feeling of the deepest awe that he had conversed with one who had with his own eyes seen Abraham. At the present day Europeans are not permitted to enter the mosque (originally a Crusaders' church), with very rare exceptions, and then only by a special *firmān*.

Under the Umayyads (A.D. 661–750) Syria attained to the hegemony of all the Arab States, and Damascus became the capital of an empire stretching from India to Spain. Muʿāwiya, the first of the line, had been governor of the country under the Caliph ʿOthmān: it was to the Arabs of Syria that his dynasty owed its birth and stability, and the Caliphs of the line naturally wished to do all in their power to strengthen the position and precedency of their adopted country. Hence it was that, after the assassination of ʿAlī, Muʿāwiya proclaimed himself Caliph, not at Medīna, which had been the political as well as the religious capital under the first three Caliphs, but at Jerusalem. When, on the death of his son Yazīd, the rest of the Muslim world did homage to the rival Caliph Ibn Zubair in Mecca, it was no doubt in some measure owing to the possession of the sacred city of Jerusalem and the tombs of the patriarchs at Hebron that the Umayyads were still able to maintain their position in Syria. And, whilst their rival was engaged in rebuilding the holy house at Mecca, which their armies had besieged, the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Malik was building the famous Dome of the Rock upon the site of the Temple of Solomon, as the inscription, in spite of its mutilation under the ʿAbbāsids, still bears witness; and it was only after the building was finished, and a substitute for the Kaʿbah had been provided to which the pious Muslim might make his pilgrimage, that the rival Caliph was crushed and the Muslim world once again united under one head. Muʿāwiya had already wished to remove the pulpit of the Prophet at Medīna to his new mosque, but in deference to the religious feelings of the people he refrained from doing so. There is no reason to suppose that the Umayyad Caliph acted in this matter from merely pecuniary motives, because he wished to divert the commerce arising out of the pilgrimage to the Hijāz into his own coffers; because, as soon as he was undisputed Caliph, it would not have mattered which town became the object of pilgrimage (J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Berlin, 1902, p. 132 f.).

The truth is that the Umayyad Caliphs, with the exception of the pious ʿOmar II., were not Muslims at heart. They sprang from the old aristocracy of Mecca, the bitterest opponents of the Prophet, who submitted to him only at the last possible moment. They did not scruple to attack and plunder the city of Medīna where he had lived and died, and even to destroy the Kaʿbah itself, and they had well-nigh exterminated the family of the Prophet. They were a purely civil dynasty ruling in the name of religion, and they did not care what means they used to attain their ends. The great bulk of the population of Syria were Christians. They were, many of them, well educated, and in every way, except in fighting, more useful to the dynasty than the Arabs themselves. All the clerks in the government offices were Christians, and the State archives were written at first in Greek. A similar state of things existed in Persia and in Egypt. It was only under ʿAbd al-Malik that the Arabic language began to be used exclusively, and even then the clerks continued to be non-Arabs. Some of the most influential persons about the Caliphs were also Christians. John of Damascus, as well as his father, held high office under these Arab rulers of his native city, and the panegyrist of the Umayyads was the Christian poet al-Akhṭal. Moreover, it was not that these Caliphs merely made use of their Christian subjects, whilst ignoring their religious creed. Questions of theology seem to have been discussed by the two parties in the presence of the more liberal Caliphs upon equal terms. Al-Akhtal made no attempt to conceal either his religious belief or the external emblems of his faith, when he stood before ʻAbd al-Malik; and John of Damascus was an ardent defender of the use of images in divine worship, wherein he stood in opposition not only to the Caliph but to the Greek emperor as well. Such a state of things could not but react upon Muhammadanism itself, and there is little doubt that some of the less strict ways of thinking which began to prevail were due to this cause. It was to condone the delinquencies of the Umayyads that the Murjites professed to believe that there was no deadly sin for any one who made the profession of Islām, or that at any rate the sinner would not be punished until the Day of Judgment. Belief in divine predestination also began to be modified in the direction of an admission of free will. This tendency towards freedom of thought culminated in the Muʻtazilite movement under the ʻAbbāsids (see SECTS [Muhammadan]). Nor was it only on the religious side that Christianity moulded Muslim life. Hishām, one of the last and best of the Umayyad Caliphs, was a notable agriculturist. His governor over ʻIrāq was Khālid al-Qasrī, who was also a farmer on a grand scale. Khālid's mother was a Christian, and he built her a chapel beside the mosque at Kūfa. He employed Christians and other non-Muslim peoples in preference to Muslims, as he no doubt found them more intelligent and capable. In Hishām's days the doctrine that the Qurʼān is not eternal, which became the accepted creed for a short time under the ʻAbbāsids, began to be professed. The century and more during which the Umayyads ruled the Muslim world from Damascus was the most glorious in Arabian annals, and it is not without significance that it was after the last Caliph of the line had removed the capital to his native town of Ḥarrān that the dynasty fell and was replaced by that of the ʻAbbāsids.

With the fall of the Umayyads the Arabs ceased to be the ruling race and Syria became one of the provinces of the empire, not specially distinguished in the religious aspect from the rest. On the break-up of the Caliphate, with its resulting chaos, Syria became, with its many holy places, the battle-ground of Christianity and Islām. When it was prosperous and well-governed, it was generally as a dependency of Egypt, under Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid, or Mamlūk rulers. For the last four hundred years it has formed a province of Turkey.

LITERATURE.—There are no reliable reports published officially by the government. Much information is obtainable from daily and other periodicals appearing in Beirūt, mostly edited by Christians. See also A. I. S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*, Paris, 1838; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890; G. W. Chasseaud, *The Druses of the Lebanon*, do. 1855; C. H. Churchill, *Mount Lebanon*, do. 1853; J. Finn, *Stirring Times; Records from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles, 1853–56*, do. 1878; J. E. Hanauer, *Folklore of the Holy Land*, do. 1910; P. G. Baldensperger, 'The Immovable East,' in *PEFSt*, 1903 (p. 65 ff.) and foll. years; R. A. S. Macalister and E. W. G. Masterman, 'The Modern Inhabitants of Palestine,' in *PEFSt*, 1904 (p. 150 ff.) and foll. years.

B. EGYPT.—Since its conquest by the Arabs about the year A.D. 640, Egypt has, owing partly to its natural wealth and partly to its possession of the Azhar University and its frequent sovereignty over the holy places, played a leading part in the material and spiritual progress of Islām, and especially during the last hundred years it has outstripped all other countries in the direction of the Europeanizing of the faith. The people of Egypt have always been subservient to those of another race. At the beginning of the 7th cent. they had to endure twelve years of Persian domination. After the conquest was over, however, the Persians ruled, as they generally did, with moderation and tolerance, and, when the country was recovered for the Eastern empire by the conquests of Heraclius, the change of masters was a change for the worse. The natural craving of the Egyptian for a strong arm on which to lean had shown itself in the sphere of theology in their deification of Jesus Christ, which was the basis of their whole-hearted attachment to the Monophysite doctrine; when, therefore, Heraclius sought, through his instrument Cyrus, to force upon them the orthodox formula, and at the same time to increase the revenues obtained from the taxation of the country, the attempt was met by the Copts with dogged resistance, culminating in the flight of their patriarch Benjamin. It was owing to this prevailing discontent that the conquest of the country by the Arabs was a comparatively easy matter, accomplished within a couple of years, and with not more than a handful of troops. ʻAmr, who had planned and carried out the expedition, became the first governor of the country. He at once granted religious toleration to the people, whose disputes he did not understand; he restored the Coptic patriarch to his office; and he, at any rate, did not increase the burden of taxation. The seat of government was removed from Alexandria to the fortress of Babylon, close to the modern Cairo, around which a town, called Fustāt, soon sprang up. The southern boundary of the province was at Philæ, the limit of the Christian kingdom of Nubia, with which the Arabs concluded a treaty.

The Copts did not at once go over to the faith of the conquerors. Probably they believed that the occupation would be temporary, as that of the Persians had been. Their only motives in becoming converts to Islām would have been those of self-interest, for Muslims were not subject to taxation. But it was not by any means the interest of the Arab that the subject populations should become converts to the faith, as that would endanger the source from which they drew their stipends, and lead to the bankruptcy of the government. The policy of the Arab rulers, in Egypt as elsewhere, was one of non-interference and continuity. The administration of the conquered territories was carried on, as nearly as possible, as it had been under their previous rulers. The Arabs formed a ruling class, corresponding as closely as may be to the British in India. Their business was, not to make converts to their religion, but to maintain public order, to see that justice was executed, and to collect the revenues. This was pre-eminently the case in Egypt, to such an extent that the newcomers, professed unitarians as they were, to whom images and pictures were abhorrent, did not scruple to take over even the seals of their predecessors in office, on which was frequently engraved the figure of a wolf or other animal—a rather hard nut for modern writers of Hebrew history to crack. The wise tolerance of the Arabs is shown by the fact that not only were their official documents written in Greek and Coptic as well as in Arabic, but many important positions in the government were filled by Christian natives of the country. No doubt, complaints of oppression were not wanting, but what oppression there was seems to have been due to the system which the Byzantines had bequeathed to the Arabs rather than to the manner in which the system was carried out by the latter, and sometimes the fault lay with the native intermediary.

Once more it fell to ʻAmr to become the conqueror of Egypt, this time on behalf of the Umayyads, in whose hands it remained for nearly a century (A.D. 658–750). The tragic fall of the Umayyad dynasty and the massacre of their house made a deep impression upon the Christian population of Egypt, and it is not without significance that it was in Egypt that the last of the Umayyad Caliphs sought shelter from his enemies. For a century the ʿAbbāsids continued to send Arab governors to Egypt, and it was not until the year 586 that non-Arab, practically independent dynasties began to be set up in the country.

Under the two centuries of Arab sway Egypt appears to have enjoyed a period of comparative prosperity and good government. The governors are no doubt often abused, but generally without justice. This is especially the case with Qurrah ibn Sharīk, who is usually described as an oppressor and persecutor, but whom numerous papyri show to have been a just, if strict, ruler. Moreover, not only was there no religious persecution of the Christians by the Arabs, but these had rescued the native Jacobite church from the hands of their co-religionists, the Greek Malkites, the free-lance nature of the Bedawī always leading him to support the more heretical side—a course which subserved his own interests also. The Arabs even discriminated in the taxation in favour of the Jacobites as against the Malkites to such an extent that not a few of the latter went over to the native church. The Arabs found Egypt in a state of feudalism. The people were serfs attached to the land, and many of the papyri are taken up with the capture of some fugitive who has escaped from his own domain. Not the least benefit which the Arabs conferred upon the Egyptians was to deliver them from their feudal lords, by converting these into mere tax-gatherers for the government.

The purely Arab government under the direct sovereignty of the Caliph was followed by a succession of dynasties of Turkish origin, the Ṭūlūnids (A.D. 868–905), whose capital Qaṭāʾiʿ, between Fusṭāṭ (*i.e.* Latin *fossatum*) and modern Cairo, was famous for its splendour, and who for a quarter of a century ruled Syria as well as Egypt; and, after a brief interval, the Ikhshīdids (A.D. 935–969), who also ruled both Syria and the holy cities of the Hijāz, Mecca and Medīna.

The Arabs did not leave behind them much in the way of architecture to tell the visitor of their occupation of the country. The so-called 'mosque of ʿAmr' may at least indicate the site on which that of the first conqueror of the country was built, but the latter was a building of very much more modest dimensions than the present spacious place of worship, and not a trace of it remains.[1] Indeed, the original Arab town of Fusṭāṭ, although it maintained an independent importance for many centuries, is now regarded as merely a part, and not the most flourishing part, of its younger sister, Cairo.

The dynasty of Ibn Ṭūlūn, on the other hand, left many memorials of their supremacy. The mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, said to be an imitation of the Kaʿbah designed by a Christian architect, but with a dome superimposed and a minaret round which winds an external staircase resembling that of the Church of the Redeemer in Copenhagen, is still one of the sights of Cairo. Ibn Ṭūlūn's brilliant but unfortunate son also resembled the late Khedive Ismāʿīl in his devotion to building and public works.

It was, however, under the Fāṭimids that Egypt rose to the height of its greatness. Claiming descent from Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet, these sectaries, as they were held to be by the orthodox ʿAbbāsid Caliphs, took their origin, like so many other movements, both political and religious, in N. Africa, from which they conquered Egypt (A.D. 969–1171). Muʿizz, the fourth of the dynasty, proclaimed himself Caliph, in opposition to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph in Baghdād, and founded a new city close to the old capital, which he called Al-Qāhira ('the victorious'), the modern Cairo. The name bears a curious resemblance in sound to that of the ancient Egyptian town of Khere-ohe in the same neighbourhood. Like most heterodox peoples, the Fāṭimids were enlightened rulers. In spite of famine at home and the inroads of the Carmaṭians (*q.v.*) from Syria, they quickly consolidated their empire over all the countries bordering upon the shores of the Mediterranean, from Algeria to Syria, the holy cities of Arabia also acknowledging their sway. Security of life and property led to a great increase of population. Commerce was flourishing, and the trade of India, which had up till now passed through Baghdād, began to flow into Egypt, and from this period begins the decadence of the ʿAbbāsid capital and the resulting aggrandizement of Cairo. ʿAzīz, the son of Muʿizz, was especially distinguished for his enlightenment and religious tolerance. His reign is the culminating point of the dynasty, although it was considerably later that the prayers were said in the name of the Fāṭimid Caliphs in the ʿAbbāsid capital itself, but only for one year (A.D. 1059). Under Ḥākim, the son and successor of ʿAzīz, the free thinking of the Fāṭimid régime ran riot: under the malign influence of the Persian Darazi the Caliph proclaimed himself an incarnation of ʿAlī, and claimed divine honours. He disappeared, but his doctrines were propagated in the sect of the Druses (see Sects [Christian]). A persecution was also instituted against both Jews and Christians, in spirit not unlike those which the early Christians suffered for refusing to acknowledge the deification of Domitian and other Roman emperors.

The most enduring benefit which the Fāṭimids conferred upon Egypt and upon the whole Muslim world was the founding of the Azhar College. It was begun immediately after the conquest of the country, and opened in the year A.D. 972. The text of the inscription commemorating the opening has been preserved (M. van Berchem, *Corp. Inscr. Arab.*, i. [Paris, 1904] 43, no. 20). It received its name ('the fair') from an epithet of the alleged ancestress of the dynasty. Originally built as a mosque, it was transformed into a college and hospital for the poor by ʿAzīz. Under the Fāṭimids the instruction imparted was naturally Shīʿite, but of this period little is known, and by a curious irony the college did not attain to full usefulness until it came under the rule of Sunnī, or orthodox, masters.

The annexation of Egypt by Saladin in the year 1169 and the consequent supersession of the Fāṭimid by the Ayyūbid dynasty, naturally led to the immediate abolition of the Shīʿite faith of the descendants of ʿAlī and the establishment of the orthodox Sunnī profession, not only in the Azhar College but throughout Egypt (1171–1250). This was the more easy of accomplishment as the Egyptian Muslims were always Sunnites at heart, and had submitted to the faith of their Fāṭimid rulers only through compulsion or for the sake of peace. But, if the Fāṭimid form of faith vanished with their dynasty, they have left behind them monuments which show till the present day the greatness of their race. In addition to the Azhar mosque, the ancient city gates which are shown to the tourist date from the Fāṭimid period, as also does the mosque of Ḥākīm, modelled on that of Ibn Ṭūlūn, situated between the Bāb Nasr and the Bāb Futūḥ. But their best memorial is the city of Cairo itself.

Of the four schools of doctrine which are recognized as orthodox by the Sunnite Muslims, the one

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[1] See E. K. Corbett, 'The Hist. of the Mosque of Amr at Old Cairo,' in *JRAS* xxii. [1891] 759–800.

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which first prevailed in Egypt was that of Mālik ibn Anas († A.D. 804). It is still the accepted rite of the rest of N. Africa, but in Egypt itself it has been replaced by that of his friend and disciple Shāfi'ī, who died in Fustāt in the year A.D. 819, and whose tomb is visited still by the pious near the foot of the Mokattam Hills. With a view to rooting out the Shī'ah doctrines and planting in their stead the orthodox faith, Saladin despoiled the Azhar of many of its privileges and endowments, and founded in its place a mosque and college round the tomb of the Imām Shāfi'ī (A.D. 1191), at the same time instituting missions to the outlying districts for the propagation of the true faith. The Azhar, however, quickly rose again into favour with the great and benevolent, and it is from the Ayyūbid rather than from the Fāṭimid period that its career of brilliance and usefulness takes its beginning. With the coming of the Mamlūks (1250–1517), who succeeded the Ayyūbids, the Ḥanīfite school (called after Abu Ḥanīfah, † in Baghdād, A.D. 767) came into prominence, and still more under the Ottoman Turks (from 1517 on). Being the least strict of the four schools and also the most inclined to monarchy, it was naturally favoured by the government, whilst the Shāfi'ite remained the popular school. As for the Ḥanbalī, the last of the four orthodox schools (founded by the fanatical Ibn Ḥanbal, † 855), it has never taken hold in Egypt, and its students in the Azhar have never been more than a handful at the most.

Meantime the Azhar University, which may be considered the intellectual barometer of Egypt, grew in importance and splendour by leaps and bounds. In the West the conquests of the Christians ending in the expulsion of the Moors from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1498, and the incursions of Jenghiz Khān at the beginning of the 13th cent. and of Tīmūr Lenk (Tamerlane) at the end of the 14th in the East, left Egypt untouched. Thus, when its rivals in Cordova and in Baghdād had been swept away, Cairo remained the undisputed mistress of Muslim learning and culture. Both its professors and students were drawn from all parts of the Muslim world, a preference even being given in some cases to those whose homes were most remote. The Muslim man of learning is cosmopolitan in his habits; he visits all countries where he may hope to pick up some crumbs of knowledge or obtain a diploma from some world-famous doctor; and the fame of the Azhar and its instructors naturally led many of these travelling students to settle in Cairo, and sometimes to lecture in its college. The best known of these is probably the philosopher-historian Ibn Khaldūn, who was a native of Tunis and was given posts in the government not only of that country, but also of Fez and Granada. He then came to Cairo, where he was given the office of *qāḍī* of the Malikis. From there he paid a visit to Tīmūr Lenk at his camp in Syria, and finally died in Cairo in A.D. 1406.

But, while the Azhar may be considered as holding aloft the torch of learning to the whole world, both Muslim and Christian, up to the period of the Renaissance in Europe, it must be confessed that after that epoch it became a stronghold of obscurantism. This is evident from the books which continued to be studied there. The ancient poetry, which is the whole literature of pre-Islāmic Arabia, was unheard of, and even the *Assemblies* of the inimitable Ḥarīrī[1] were neglected. All study was theological (including jurisprudence) or grammatical. Even the original texts of the Qur'ān and the *Traditions* of Bukhārī were not studied so much as commentaries and super-commentaries upon these. Mathematics, natural philosophy, history, and geography were ignored. In other words, the Azhar, like the 'University' of Fez, continued to be a mediæval school after the Middle Ages had passed away.

Egypt was one of the first homes of Christian monasticism, and this religious tendency of its people showed itself also after they had largely gone over to Islām. One of the earliest and most typical mystics of Egypt is called Dhū'l-Nūn (a name of the prophet Jonah, meaning 'he of the fish'), who flourished in the first half of the 9th cent. A.D.; but perhaps the most famous is Ibn al-Fāriḍ, who is considered the greatest of all the poets of the mystics. He was born in Cairo in 1181, and died there in A.D. 1235. He was buried on the Mokattam Hills near the tomb-mosque of Shāfi'ī. His principal poem, in 671 lines, has been translated by J. von Hammer-Purgstall (Vienna, 1854). Already under Saladin not only cells and monasteries, but even convents (for divorced wives and other women), began to multiply rapidly. Būṣīrī († A.D. 1279), the author of the famous 'Ode of the Mantle,' which is known all over the Muhammadan world and has been often printed and translated into many languages, was, as his name implies, of Egyptian origin.

Although Islām is theoretically a strictly monotheistic religion, there is perhaps no faith in which the worship of saints plays a larger part. The prayer-book of Jazūlī, a native of Morocco who died in A.D. 1465, consisting of litanies in which the Arabian Prophet is a being certainly more than human, is used wherever his followers are found, and not least in Egypt. The whole of N. Africa, and indeed the Muslim world generally, is honey-combed with secret societies or brotherhoods (*ikhwān*), mostly religious in character. They form each an *ecclesia in ecclesia.* In Egypt there are four such orders named after four mystic or Ṣūfī (see ṢŪFĪISM) saints of the highest rank called 'poles' (*qutb*). The most famous of these is the Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī († 1165), whose shrine is to this day a place of visitation in Baghdād; but the best known locally is Aḥmad al-Badawī, a native of Tunis of the 12th cent., whose tomb-mosque is at Tanta, a town of some 60,000 inhabitants, on the railway line about halfway between Alexandria and Cairo. A fair is held there annually on his saint's-day, during which the population swells to half a million, drawn from all the neighbouring countries. It resembles a fair elsewhere, shows of all kinds predominating over whatever religious motive ever existed. In Morocco the four recognized 'poles' differ from those acknowledged in Egypt, and one of them, Shādhilī, a native of the country († A.D. 1258), is also the eponym of one of the more important brotherhoods. In these shrines the room containing the catafalque of the saint is lined with banners, rosaries, ostrich eggs, and votive offerings of every description. Where the shrine has fallen into ruin and consists of four bare walls, rags and pieces of cloth are often tied to a neighbouring tree. These pious emblems represent the prayers of the faithful to the saint to intercede for them in order to obtain some much-desired object, recovery from sickness or, often, the birth of a son. The saints' tombs, which are such a marked feature of the landscape in all Muhammadan countries, are the emblems of an ineradicable superstition, and, it is said, in many cases the haunts of crime.

With the French expedition of 1798 a new era began in the history of Egypt, owing to the attempts of the Khedives to transform it into a European State. Muḥammad 'Alī sent the youth of the ruling classes to be educated in Paris, from which they too often returned imbued with the vices rather than the virtues of Europe. Ismāʿīl laid down railway and telegraph lines all over the country. Under Taufīq slavery largely disappeared, and polygamy is fast becoming a thing of the past. From Taufīq also dates the liberty of the Egyptian newspaper press, a liberty which has been mostly abused. Indeed, the number of newspapers printed in Cairo is out of all proportion to the number of readers. They are, as might be expected, for the most part published in the interest of some political propaganda, nationalist (which generally means Turkish), conservative, or progressive. The best Christian newspapers are edited by Syrian immigrants. There are three or four journals published by and for women.

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[1] Tr. T. Chenery and F. Steingass, London, 1898.

The progressive movement initiated by the Khedives naturally reacted on that stronghold of conservatism, the Azhar University. Incredible as it may appear, the instruction given there continued on the same lines as in the 13th century. To meet present-day needs the Gordon College was founded at Khartūm, and also a modern university in Cairo, but the latter has practically no students. Meanwhile the students of the Azhar, who have always been more or less inclined to take the law into their own hands, in 1909 went out on strike, with the result that some concessions were made to modern ideas. The last century in Egypt, however, can hardly be fairly considered as an example of Muhammadan rule, as all the ideas were European, although the instruments putting them in force were Muslim.

On the whole, it may be affirmed that Muhammadanism in Egypt has, considering the times and country, been enlightened and a source of enlightenment. Even at the period of conquest they did not put in force the iconoclastic theory of their faith, and under the Mamlūks, and even under the Fāṭimids, stone and metal work are, as may be seen by the specimens of the latter in the museum at South Kensington, of a very high order. Neither was there any scruple about making representations of living creatures. Ibn Ṭūlūn caused two plaster lions to be set over one of his gateways. Saladin introduced the eagle as an ornament in design. On one ewer, of the year A.D. 1232, in the British Museum there are over one hundred animal figures. It was from the Mamlūk artists of Egypt and Syria that this art passed into Europe. In architecture also the Mamlūks excelled. Nearly all the mosques of Cairo originated in their period, and certainly all the finest, not the least remarkable buildings being those of one of the last of the Mamlūks, Kait Bey (1468–96); yet it is on two of the oldest mosques, those of Ibn Ṭūlūn and of Ḥākim, that are found the supposed beginnings of Gothic architecture. With the coming of the Turks a period of decadence supervened, which was only intensified under the Khedives.

With regard to their moral qualities it can be said that the Muslim rulers of Egypt, with the exception of the Caliph Ḥākim, were not worse than Muslim rulers elsewhere; Saladin and a few other masters of the country were admirable rulers. The ancient monuments of Egypt still witness to the fact that the Arab conquerors of the country were not ruthless fanatics. The Coptic Church was not exterminated, as Zoroastrianism practically was in Persia, or Protestantism in Christian Spain. The native churches in Cairo are more magnificent than the mosques. One can only hope that the accounts of the persecution, especially under Ḥākim, have been exaggerated; but, even if they are literally true, they would not prove that the Muslims treated Jews and Christians much worse than they treated one another. It is certainly remarkable and significant that, at the time of the British occupation, the Copts took the side of their former masters, thus bringing about an inrush of educated Syrian Christians. British writers do not give the Copts a very high character, and much prefer the Muhammadan in many ways; but this may be the result of ages of subordination. For the present, it is more than doubtful whether a Coptic government would not be more corrupt than the Muhammadan has been. The amusements of the people consist in smoking *ḥashīsh* (*Cannabis Indica*), which, being intoxicating, is forbidden, watching public dancers, and listening to songs and stories. All these are degrading to both spectators and performers, and it would be well if they could be put down by the government. The great want of Egypt, as of all Muslim countries, is books of fiction which are at once amusing and decent, but it would take a generation or two before a taste for such literature could be cultivated in the mind of the youthful Egyptian.

LITERATURE.—The most reliable information in regard to present-day Egypt is to be obtained from Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt*, London, 1908, and from his and his successors' annual Reports to the British Government (1888 ff.), as well as those of the Education and other Departments of the Government of Egypt; see also A. M. Milner, *English in Egypt*, London, 1892. Much information is also obtainable from E. W. Lane's notes to his tr. of *The Thousand and One Nights*, London, 1839, and his *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, do. 1836; also Ibrahim Hilmi, *Literature of Egypt and the Sudan*, do. 1886–88; H. Jolowicz, *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, Leipzig, 1858–61; M. Beiram, *Treatise on the History of the Azhar*, Cairo, 1321 A.H.; K. Vollers, in *Minerva* for 1894 (under 'Cairo'); M. Hartmann, *The Arabic Press of Egypt*, London, 1899; Artin Pasha, *L'Instruction publique en Egypte*, Paris, 1890; W. E. Jennings-Bramley, 'The Bedouins of the Sinaitic Peninsula,' *PEFSt*, 1905 (p. 126 ff.) and foll. years; T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*^{2}, London, 1913; J. Ohrwalder, *Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp*, ed. F. R. Wingate, do. 1892; R. C. Slatin, *Fire and Sword in the Sudan*, tr. F. R. Wingate, do. 1898.

C. MESOPOTAMIA.—In the first quarter of the 7th cent. A.D. the Persians had conquered Egypt and Syria, and the Eastern Roman empire was, for the moment, almost limited by the walls of Constantinople. By a mighty effort, however, Heraclius drove the enemy from his provinces and the Persian empire was in its turn completely broken. This was the opportunity of the Arabs. Chaldæa became an easy prey, and in half a dozen years the empire, which under one dynasty and another had withstood the might of Greece and Rome for a millennium, had ceased to be.

The sudden collapse of Persia is explained by Arab writers by the decadent condition of the country, the effeminacy of the people, the tyranny of the great landowners, and the chaotic state of the government when brought face to face with the hardy nature and simple habits of the Arabs. But equally important is the fact that the population of Chaldæa was itself Arab. The Lakhmid kings, whose capital was at Hīra, near the ancient Kūfa and the present Najaf, were, like the Ghassānids on the other side of the Syrian desert, immigrants from Southern Arabia. Mesopotamia itself was peopled by the tribes of Taghlib, Iyād, and, further to the west, Nimar; and at Dūma, in the Jauf, on the route leading from Medīna to the Euphrates, was settled a branch of Kelb, the tribe which so influenced the Umayyads in Syria. All these tribes made a profession of Christianity; but how lightly their religion sat on them is clear from the nonchalance with which the tribe of Taghlib fell in with ʿOmar's stipulation that they should not bring up their children in the Christian faith. Accordingly, when the Muslims set out to invade Mesopotamia, they met with little opposition and with some assistance from these tribes. The ties of blood proved stronger than those of religion.

Thus Mesopotamia quickly became a Muhammadan country, and, being peopled largely by

Arabs of the tribe of Quraish, it rapidly assumed a leading place in the Muslim world, and remained for three centuries, even when the political capital was Damascus, the intellectual and religious centre of Islām. It was generally divided into two provinces—'Irāq, the southern half, its most northerly town being Takrīt, and the northern portion, Jazīra (the Peninsula). Much the more important of the two provinces, from the point of view of the history of the faith, is 'Irāq. It has always been the storm centre of S.W. Asia, from which the majority of the great schisms and disruptions arose, and it remains to-day the seat of the Shī'ah, or party of 'Alī. Even in the days of 'Alī himself it produced the Khawārij (or Seceders), whose main principle was to oppose the established order of belief and of society, and to clamour for a theocracy, by which they really meant anarchy and nihilism. Often apparently exterminated, they continued to be a thorn in the side of the recognized Caliphate for many a day. Baghdād itself was originally built and fortified to protect the person of the Caliph against the fanatical Rawandīs, a sect of Khurāsān (A.D. 762). In the first half of the 9th cent. three of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs threw in their lot with the Mu'tazilah, or party of freedom of thought, and instituted a vigorous persecution of the orthodox believers; and in the second half of the same century a servile war broke out in the country to the north of the Persian Gulf and continued for fifteen years before it was quelled. With the 10th cent. the incursions of the terrible Carmaṭians began, who, though originating in Bahrain, quickly overspread and devastated Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt (see CARMAṬIANS). Meanwhile the Turkish slave-soldiers of the Caliphs had become so out of hand that the court was compelled to quit Baghdād and establish itself at Sāmarrā, some seventy-five miles further up the Tigris, and remain there for fifty-five years. By the time they returned the glory had departed from the Caliphate, and the supreme pontiff of Islām had become a puppet in the hands of the military power which happened to be supreme at the moment, until the last semblance of authority was swept away by the Mongol invasion.

But, whilst 'Irāq was the principal seat of heresy and sedition, it became for that very reason a stronghold of orthodoxy and firm government. Its turbulent population required the best brains and the strongest arm to keep them in check, and their very opinionativeness led to the necessary evolution of the particular view which eventually became accepted by the civil power. Just as some of the Caliphs liked to send their worst governors to the holy city of Medīna, so some of the best, from the point of view of the Caliph, were sent to 'Irāq. Such governors were, under the Umayyads, Ziyād, half-brother of the Caliph Mu'āwiya; the famous, if bloodthirsty, Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf, and Khālid al-Qasrī. 'Irāq, too, produced Ḥasan al-Baṣrī († 728), a commentator on the Qur'ān and collector of traditions about Muhammad, to whom the mystics trace their origin; and Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, who at first a Mu'tazilite, ended by reducing the faith to a system which was quickly acknowledged as orthodox and remains so at the present day.

The twin cities of Baṣra and Kūfa were founded immediately after the conquest of Mesopotamia by the Arabs (about A.D. 638). They were at first cantonments for the Arab garrison stationed in the territory conquered by them. These two cities, however, quickly lost their military character, and became what may be called the university towns of Islām. They have been well compared to Oxford and Cambridge, not only in their mutual rivalry, but also in the wide-spread authority which attached to their dicta. Their scholars laid down the principles of Arabic grammar, and decided, or at least pronounced upon, the proper reading of the text of the Qur'ān, those of one city often taking the view opposed to that advocated by the other. Baṣra especially was the home of free-thinking. It was there that the Arab encyclopædists published their tracts, and nowhere could the *Assemblies* of Ḥarīrī († 1122), with their airy use of expressions from the sacred volume, have been so fitly written. The Zanj and the Carmaṭian insurrections, which devastated 'Irāq, brought ruin to both towns; but, whilst Baṣra, under the enlightened 'open door' policy of native rulers, rose again, and is likely to continue an important commercial city, Kūfa never recovered.

One of the most curious facts in connexion with the history of Islām in Mesopotamia is the continuance of idolatrous rites in the midst of the true Faith at the city of Ḥarrān. Originally the seat of the worship of the moon-god, and best known from its mention in the Biblical story of Abraham, this city, from the time of Alexander, became a centre of Greek civilization. Long after Mesopotamia had become a Muslim province, Babylonian magic and Greek wisdom, Syrian paganism and Christian rites, all combined into one system of religion, continued to flourish there. Muslim governors were either kept in ignorance of these practices or bribed to remain silent regarding them. It was only in the year 830 that the Caliph Ma'mūn, when on an expedition against the Byzantines he passed by Ḥarrān, was struck by their strange garb and long hair. Then for the first time their existence became known to the central government. They were offered the alternatives of Islām—one of the tolerated sects or the sword. After some delay they declared that they were the Christians ect of the Ṣābians to whom toleration is granted in the Qur'ān. No doubt the Caliph was only too glad to let them be, as they were one of the chief means of introducing Greek learning into Islām. They produced many writers and translators, of whom perhaps the best known is Ṭābit ibn Qurrah († 901).

The 'Abbāsid was essentially a Persian dynasty. The cause had its beginnings in Khurāsān. One Caliph even wished to make the capital there. But the claims of the West were still too great for that, and so 'Irāq, the meeting-point of Semite and Persian, became and remained the seat of government. Baghdād was founded by Manṣūr in the year 762, and quickly eclipsed in grandeur all the other cities of the empire. Originally built on the west bank of the Tigris, the government offices and residence of the Caliph were later removed to the east. The insubordination of the Turkish guards at one time necessitated the withdrawal of the court to the small town of Sāmarrā further up the river. There it remained for over half a century (836–892). During this and the subsequent period nearly all the 'Abbāsid Caliphs came to a violent end at the hands of their own prætorians. Order was somewhat restored when the temporal power of the Caliphs was taken over by the Buwaihids (A.D. 945). These princes were, however, Shī'ites, whereas the population of Baghdād were Sunnites. Thus religious strife was added to civil, and was arrested only on the coming of the Seljūqs (A.D. 1055). Mesopotamia had been split up under innumerable petty chieftains, but now all Asia from Egypt to Afghanistan was under one strong ruler. The proclamation of the Fāṭimid Caliph in Baghdād in A.D. 1058 was merely a passing incident, and did not stay the march of events. The Buwaihids had already restored the old royal palace of the Khuld and turned it into a hospital, and now under the Seljūqs many colleges sprang up in Baghdād. Their famous Wazīr Niẓām al-Mulk, among his other benefactions, founded the college named after him the Niẓāmīya, which continued to be the principal college in Baghdād, until it was replaced by that of the second last of the Caliphs, Mustanṣir (A.D. 1226–42). Meantime the commercial importance of Baghdād had passed away at the same time as the temporal power of the Caliphs, and it was not the spiritual head of Islām, but the Seljūq Sulṭāns, and later Saladin, that proved the chief obstacle to the crusader.

After the fall of Baghdād and the extinction of the Caliphate by the Mongols, Mesopotamia came under the sway of Persia until these were driven back by the Ottoman Turks, who have held it for the last four hundred years. Thus the old rivalry of Constantinople and Īrān has been revived, with the added bitterness of the hatred of Shīʽah and Sunnah. To the Persian Muslim Mesopotamia is the most sacred country upon earth, holding as it does the dust of ʽAlī and his son Ḥusain. ʽAlī was assassinated in Kūfa in A.D. 661, but it was not until 791 that the place of his burial was discovered by Hārūn al-Rashīd, and even the authority for this statement is much later. To ʽAlī were quickly attributed superhuman qualities, until he came not merely to be regarded as not inferior to the Prophet himself, but even to occupy the place of the second person in the Christian Trinity. Najaf or Mashhad ʽAlī ('ʽAlī's shrine'), some four miles to the west of Kūfa, and Karbalā, the scene of the battle in which Ḥusain and most of his family perished in A.D. 680, some fifteen miles to the north of Najaf, are held, by the Persian protagonists of the divine right of Caliphs, to surpass in sacredness Medīna itself, whilst to the Turk, who now rules the land, as to some of the ʽAbbāsid Caliphs, this devotion is nothing less than idolatry.

Mesopotamia, like N. Africa, has always been and still remains a forcing-house for religious fanaticism. In the strife of sects this fair province, one of the richest in the world, has almost gone out of cultivation. There is some prospect, however, that with the construction of the Euphrates valley railway and the annexation of Baṣra, the efforts to repair the system of canals, which were recently begun under W. Willcocks, will have the effect of restoring the country to what it was under its Sāsānid and Arabian rulers.

LITERATURE.—There are no reliable official reports. J. B. Fraser, *Mesopotamia and Assyria*, Edinburgh, 1842; Justin Perkins, *Eight Years in Persia*, Andover, 1843; F. R. Chesney, *Survey of Euphrates and Tigris*, London, 1850; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris, 1890; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig, 1900; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Berlin, 1900; G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 1–126; R. P. A. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, 'Nouveaux Documents pour l'étude de la religion des Harraniens,' in *Actes du viᵉ Congrès internat. des orientalistes*, Leyden, 1888, ii. 281 f.

T. H. WEIR.

MUHAMMADANISM (in Turkey).—**1. Statistics.**—Statistics relating to Turkish conditions have hitherto been of very limited value, and in the circumstances of to-day it is virtually impossible to obtain them. The most recent computations will be found in *Die Welt des Islams*, I. i. [Berlin, 1913] 32, with which should be compared 'L'Islam en Bulgarie et dans la Roumelie orientale,' in *Revue du monde musulman*,[1] v. [1908] 482. It is unquestionable, however, that the decline of Islām in the Balkan Peninsula proceeds swiftly, and the rapidity with which the numerical decrease of a Muslim population may take place under Christian rule can be estimated from the data relating to Thessaly given by Franchet d'Espérey in *RMM* xiii. [1911] 87; thus, while in 1881 the 330,000 inhabitants of that district included 50,000 Muslims, in the present population of 381,000 there are only 3000. This shrinkage in numbers can be traced, though not in the same degree, also in Cyprus, Crete, Bulgaria, and Bosnia. It would seem to be doubtful, indeed, if the number of Muslims in the entire peninsula, even including such as are no longer Turkish subjects, would now amount to 3,000,000. As an offset, it is likely enough that there has been an increase in Anatolia. In the Muslim population of Asia Minor those of Turkish blood number about 11,000,000.

2. Development.—It is a manifest fact that the Turks as a people have not played so important a part in the formation of doctrine as in the popular religion. The share which they have had in the later development of Islām cannot as yet be determined, since the necessary scientific investigations have not so far been made. Nor has the protracted struggle which Sunnite orthodoxy has had to wage in Turkey with the Shīʽite faction and various sectarian movements been as yet examined in detail. On the other hand, the innovations introduced during the last century as a result of European influence have been in a measure exhaustively studied. While it is true that many of the proposed improvements were but imperfectly carried out, or were not carried out at all, they nevertheless form the most significant effort made in recent times to modernize Islām. At the outset they were ostensibly to be put in practice in the spirit of Islām, but in many cases, as a matter of fact, they ran counter to it. We are here concerned only with the reforms which come into conflict with the provisions of the *sharīʽah*, or Muhammadan law, and thus bear upon Islām as a religion. Besides a number of laws and regulations of the most diverse types there were in particular two decrees issued by the Sulṭān which, promulgated in a peculiarly impressive form, may be regarded as the pivots of modern Turkish life. These were respectively the *Ḥaṭṭ-i-sharīf* of Gulḥānah, issued on 5th Nov. 1839, and the *Ḥaṭṭ-i-humāyūn*, 18th Feb. 1856—both belonging, therefore, to the administration of ʽAbd al-Majīd. While the former made promise, in a merely general way, of sundry reforms which should be in harmony with the spirit of the *sharīʽah*, the latter pledged the government to various changes in certain ordinances laid down by that legal system. These changes related to the legal oath and the military service of Christians, and to the abolition of the capital penalty for apostasy from Islām. In connexion with these points a new penal code was issued, and the suppression of slavery resolved upon, in 1858.[1]

None of these reforms sprang from the will of the Turkish people themselves; on the contrary, they were effected at the instigation of the European Powers, especially of Great Britain, and were introduced only after long temporizing on the part of the higher governing classes in Turkey. When the Western Powers had succeeded in saving Turkey in the Crimean War, they demanded, as an act of gratitude, the abrogation of the ordinances which could not but be humiliating to the Christian mind. They likewise expected that the changes would serve to intensify the nationalistic consciousness of the non-Muhammadan elements in Turkey, and thus provide a barrier to the growing influence of Russia. The Turkish administration was not blind to the difficulty of the undertaking, and to some extent evaded it in a very adroit fashion.

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[1] Hereafter cited as *RMM*.

[1] These laws were published in the *Dustūr* (Constantinople, A.H. 1289 [=A.D. 1872], 4 vols. and a supplementary vol., consisting of four books [Turkish]; Fr. version in Aristarchi Bey, *Législation ottomane*, 7 vols., do. 1873–88). The laws passed since 1908 have appeared in the *Taqwīm-i-waqāyʽ*; Fr. version in *Législation ottomane depuis le rétablissement de la constitution*, ed. A. Biliotti and Ahmed Sedad, Paris, 1912, i. Other useful works are: G. Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford, 1905–06; E. Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat*, Paris, 1882–84; F. Eichmann, *Die Reformen des osman. Reiches*, Berlin, 1858.

The various points were settled as follows:

In order to permit Christians to take oaths as witnesses—a privilege denied to them by the *sharī'ah*—an entirely new judicature, upon which experts had been at work for a number of years, was established. In addition to the jurisdiction of the *sharī'ah*, which thenceforward retained its competence only in certain cases arising out of the personal status of Muhammadans—such as, *e.g.*, affairs relating to marriage, alimony, divorce, inheritance, etc.—the *maḥākim-i-niẓāmīyah* were introduced, organized on European models. At these courts, instead of the sworn evidence permitted by the *sharī'ah*, documentary evidence alone was received as valid, so that it was now possible for a Christian to give his testimony even against a Muhammadan.

The abolition of capital punishment for defection from the Muslim faith was conceded in the following terms: 'As every religion and sect in my empire may practise its form of worship with complete freedom, no one shall be obstructed or molested in practising the worship of the religion to which he belongs, and no one shall be compelled to change his religion or sect' (Fr. text, § 8).

The abolition of *ḫarāj* (poll-tax) and the introduction of military service for non-Muhammadans were effected in name, but commutation (*badal-i-'askarī*) was still to be allowed (cf. the present writer's art. 'Bedel-i-'askerī,' in *EI*). In reality, therefore, the state of affairs remained as it was, the only modification being that the term *ḫarāj* was replaced by the expression *badal-i-'askarī*. It was not till the Revolution of 1908 that military service was actually imposed upon all Turkish subjects quite independently of their religious profession—a measure certainly not conducive to the national welfare.

Similarly, the new penal code was altogether at variance with the criminal law of the *sharī'ah*. It was framed by the simple process of taking over the French *code pénal* in 1858, although as early as 1839 the *Ḫaṭṭ-i-sharīf* had promised that such a code would be drawn up, and this had in some measure been attempted. The new penal law was at length modernized by the supplementary decrees of 4th April 1911. The later code, however, did not supersede the penal ordinances of the ancient *sharī'ah*; on the contrary, the two sets of laws remain in operation side by side, and offences can be tried by either (cf. E. Nord, *Das türkische Strafgesetzbuch*, Berlin, 1912, and A. Heidborn, *Droit public et administratif de l'empire ottoman*, i., Vienna, 1909, p. 354). Of the other reforms, reference need here be made only to the enactments relating to the slave-trade. An irade of 1st Oct. 1854 forbade the buying and selling of Georgian slaves; various ministerial ordinances, dating from the years 1868, 1870, 1871, 1879, and 1889, prohibited all commerce in slaves whatsoever; since 1892 the trade has been regarded as smuggling. From 1890 Turkey has taken part in the International Conferences for the suppression of the slave-trade in Africa at Brussels.

While it is true that many of these reforms were very imperfectly carried out, or not carried out at all, yet their importance should not be underrated. In not a few cases they made a breach in the fabric of the *sharī'ah* alike in theory and in practice. A consistent application of the new laws would serve to bring Islām into line with modern ideas; but to what extent this may be effected without great religious wars, and how far Muslim theology is able and willing to deal with the fresh problems involved, the future alone can show. Hitherto Muslim theology has tacitly submitted to the reforms, and has not expressed itself openly regarding them. It is only within recent years that the aspirations of the young Turks have won support among the theologians, but no attempt has been made as yet to produce works of importance in the field of scientific theology. The views of this liberal tendency—if we may so call it—in theology find expression in the *Ṣirāṭ-i-Mustaqīm*, a periodical founded immediately after the Revolution, and from no. 183 (8th March 1912) continued under the name of *Sabīl al-Rashād* (cf. L. Bouvat, in *RMM* xx. [1912] 282–304; M. Hartmann, *Unpolitische Briefe aus der Türkei*, Leipzig, 1910, p 137).

3. Religious organization. — Apart from the theological group just referred to, the religious ranks of Islām in Turkey have no liking for innovation. The name by which the entire class, as well as the individual member of it, is known is *'ulamā* (the plural of *'alīm*, 'learned'). This long-established organization, as still existing with but little change in its main features, was founded in the reign of Sulṭān Muhammad II., the Conqueror (1451–81) (cf. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, pt. ii., Vienna, 1815, p. 373 ff.; W. Gibb, *A Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, London 1900–09, ii. 394; C. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, iv. 2, Paris, 1791, p. 482 ff.). At its head stands the Shaikh al-Islām, whose office, as now constituted, was created for him by Sulṭān Sūlaimān I. the Magnificent (1520–66), though the title had been conferred by Muhammad I., the Conqueror, upon the mufti of Constantinople. In consequence of the reforms, and especially the creation of the *maḥākim-i-niẓāmīyah* (see above), his authority has suffered a considerable decline; he now controls only the religious schools and the *sharī'ah*. The board over which he presides is called *Bāb-i-mashaiḫat-i-islāmīyah*, *Bāb-i-fatwā-panāhī*, or, popularly, *Shē-islāmqapusu*, and consists of the following departments:

(*a*) *Administrative boards*: (1) *Majlis-i-intiḫāb-i-hukkyām-i-shar'*), the commission for the selection of spiritual judges; (2) *Majlis-i-imtiḥān*, commission for the entrance examination for the *maktab-i-nuwāb* and the *mudarrislik*, presided over by the *dars vakīlī*; (3) *Majlis-i-maṣāliḥ-i-ṭalabah*, commission for the affairs of students; (4) *Majlis-i-mashāiḫ*, commission for the affairs of the dervish orders; (5) *Majlis-imtiḥān-i-qurrā*, commission for examining *madrasah* students with a view to their exemption from military service; (6) *Ma'mūrīn-i-'ilmīyah tāqa 'ud ṣandīghi*, superannuation fund for spiritual officials; (7) board for the administration of the property of wards. (*b*) *Judicial boards*: (1) *Rūmīlī qāḍī askarī*, the kadiasker of Rumelia; (2) *Anātūlī qāḍī 'askarī*, the kadiasker of Anatolia; (3) *Istāmbūl qāḍī 'askarī*, the *qāḍī* of Constantinople; (4) *I'lāmāt ōtasī*, the office for verdicts; (5) *Majlis tadqīqāt sharī'ah*, commission for revisal of the decisions of the *sharī'ah*. (*c*) *Fatvāḫānah*, office for the legal decisions of the *sharī'ah* (cf. Heidborn, i. 252 ff.).

While the standing of the Shaikh al-Islām, as of the *'ulamā* generally, is now greatly inferior to what it once was, their influence among large masses of the people is still very considerable, and to this day they form a power which cannot safely be ignored by the politicians.

4. The dervish orders. — Perhaps an even greater influence among the people is enjoyed by the dervish orders. From the foundation of the Ottoman empire they have played a great rôle in Asia Minor, as they did to some extent even before. As a matter of fact, the gradual Muslimization of the Christian elements in Turkey has been their work; in their indifference towards the existing forms of religion, views of the most diverse character could find a refuge in their midst. Their ideas have come, in course of time, to be assimilated to those of the official and national religious organization. The order of the highest repute at the present day is the Maulavī, so called from the name of its founder, Maulānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (*q.v.*), and known in the west as the 'dancing dervishes.' The next in general regard are the Rufā'ī—the so-called 'howling dervishes.' Certain orders which at one time occupied a powerful position—*e.g.*, the Naqshbandī, the Halvatī, the Qādirī, etc.—have now sunk to a lower level; others, again, have been of late gradually growing in prestige—*e.g.*, the Malāmī (cf. Hartmann, Index).

The Baqṭāshī, an order which at one time, owing to its close connexion with the Janizaries, held a position of special prominence, sank into the background after the suppression of that force by Sulṭān Maḥmūd in 1826, but have quite recently begun to display a more active spirit. In Asia Minor, and even more decidedly in Albania, this order is constantly adding to its strength. By reason of its heterodox views it should hardly be regarded as belonging to Islām at all, but it certainly makes this claim.

It has been methodically dealt with in several recent works of great reliability, such as G. Jacob, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des*

Derwischordens der Bektaschis, Berlin, 1908, and *Die Bektaschijje in ihrem Verhältnis zu verwandten Erscheinungen*, Munich, 1909; C. Huart, 'Les Derviches bektachis,' in *RMM* ix. [1909] 235, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Houroûfis*, Leyden, 1909; Ryfqy, *Bektāšī sirri*, Constantinople, A.H. 1325.

Of literature relating to the orders there is not much of a serviceable kind. J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, London, 1868, contains many valuable items of information, but must be read with extreme caution; and the same may be said of A. de Chatelier, *Les Confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris, 1887.

We need not deal here with such sects as the Yezīdīs (*q.v.*), the Nuṣairīs, the Taḫtaji, the Kizil Bash (*q.v.*), etc., which, though professing certain Muslim doctrines, cannot now be included under Islām. In contrast to the Baqṭāshī, who, as has been said, still claim to rank as Muslims, these sects in general renounce the name. As the Shīʻites proper have no real standing in Turkey, they, too, lie outside the scope of this article.

5. Superstition and popular religion.—Superstition is extremely prevalent among the masses, and popular thought exhibits residua of the most diverse forms of religion. We find survivals of the ancient shamanism of the Turki peoples, as well as of Christian and Jewish superstition. This interesting side of Turkish Islām has not yet been exhaustively dealt with, but there are several compilations from which we may glean an adequate impression of it.

Besides a number of shorter papers, as, *e.g.*, F. Schrader, 'Zum vorderasiatischen Volksglauben,' in the Supplement to *AZ*, 25th Sept. 1903, the following deserve special mention: F. Mészáros, 'Osmanisch türkischer Volksglaube,' in *Keleti Szemle*, vii. [1906] 48, 140; Wladimir Gordlewski, 'Osmanskiya skazaniya i legendy,' in *Ethnographic Review*, Moscow, 1912 (Russ., reviewed by T. Menzel in *Der Islam*, iv. [1913] 123, and F. Schrader in *Osmanischer Lloyd*, 31 Jan. 1913).

There is evidence to show, moreover, that the worship of saints (*avlīyā*) and their places of pilgrimage (*ziyāratgāh*) has a predominant place in Turkish popular belief. A large number of these saints can be traced to personages held sacred in ancient Byzantium, the names being in some cases greatly corrupted—*e.g.*, 'Toglu Dede' from St. Thekla—and the places of pilgrimage are still found on the Byzantine sites.

The religious needs of the common people, and more especially of the women, are served by a large mass of devotional literature. The principal works of this class are among the oldest literary monuments of the Osmanli Turks, and their idiom is thus frequently unintelligible to the readers of to-day—a fact which, of course, in no way detracts from their popularity. Pre-eminent among these are the *Muḥammadīyah* and the *Aḥmadīyah*, as also the *History of Junus Imre* (cf. Gibb, i. 164, 389; Hartmann, Index, *s.v.* 'Junus Imre'). For the study of Turkish literary history these works are all of importance, but their theological value is of the slightest, and their contents need not further concern us here. Similarly, the *ʻIlm-i-ḥal* literature requires but the briefest mention; it consists of booklets which, like our modern catechisms, set forth the leading religious doctrines in the form of question and answer.

LITERATURE.—There is as yet no systematic account of Islām in Turkey. Studies dealing with special aspects of the subject have been cited throughout the article in connexion with the particular points, and the older literature will be found in them. The numerous works designed for the general public do not fall to be mentioned here, but we may name as the best of them C. N. E. Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*, new ed., London, 1908.

F. GIESE.

MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN IBN AL-ʻARABĪ.—Muḥyī al-dīn ibn al-ʻArabī, the celebrated Muhammadan mystic, who is generally known by the name of Ibn al-ʻArabī or Ibn ʻArabī, was born at Murcia in S. Spain in A.D. 1165. Much of his youth was spent in Seville, where he devoted himself to literary, theological, and mystical studies. After visiting Granada and other Spanish towns, as well as Tunis, Fez, and Morocco, he set out in 1201 for the East by way of Egypt, whence he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He did not return to Spain. Many of the remaining years of his life were passed in the neighbourhood of Mecca, but he also travelled extensively in Babylonia, Asia Minor, and Syria, everywhere gaining disciples and spreading his doctrines in conversation with high and low, while, as behoved a good Muslim in the period of the Crusades, he called for repressive measures against the Christian population and encouraged his fellow-Muhammadans to persevere in their faith. He died at Damascus in A.D. 1240.

Whether we regard the extent of his theosophical writings or their influence on the subsequent development of Islāmic mysticism, Ibn al-ʻArabī can justly claim the supreme position among Ṣūfī authors which posterity has accorded to him, and which is attested by the title, 'al-Shaikh al-Akbar,' conferred on him by the almost unanimous voice of those who are best qualified to judge. The list of his works drawn up by himself contains 289 titles (Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litteratur*, i. 442), and some of them are of enormous length. The most famous and important is the *Futūḥāt al-Makkīya* (4 vols., Būlāq, 1876, comprising about 3300 pages). In this, as in many of his works, Ibn al-ʻArabī professes to communicate mysteries revealed to him in ecstatic vision by prophets, angels, and even God Himself (a brief résumé of part of the contents of the *Futūḥāt* will be found in H. O. Fleischer and F. Delitzsch, *Catalogus librorum manuscr. bibliothecæ senator. Lipsiensis*, Grimma, 1838, pp. 490–495). Another book, of smaller compass but equally celebrated, is the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, in which the author discourses upon the nature and significance of the divine revelations imparted to twenty-seven prophets, beginning with Adam and ending with Muhammad. Besides the *Futūḥāt* and the *Fuṣūṣ*, both of which contain a considerable quantity of verse, his prose writings include a mystical commentary on the Qurʼān, a collection of definitions of Ṣūfiistic technical terms, which has been edited by G. Fluegel, (Leipzig, 1845), and a short treatise on mystical psychology (Arab. text with Span. tr. by Asín Palacios, in *Actes du xiv^e Congrès internat. des orientalistes*, iii. 151 f.). He also produced several volumes of mystical poems, one of which, the *Tarjumān al-ashwāq* (ed. with Eng. tr. by the present writer, London, 1911), has a curious history. The erotic style in which it is written gave rise to scandal, and in order to refute his accusers Ibn al-ʻArabī published a second edition accompanied by a commentary in which the mystical sense of each verse is explained. Although his interpretations are often far-fetched, the poems themselves supply evidence that there was no ground for the charge brought against him, plausible as it might appear to the uninitiated. The question of his orthodoxy was keenly disputed, and, if many Muslims saw in him a dangerous heretic, others had no doubt that he was a great saint; but even his admirers recognized that the outward sense of his writings was frequently ambiguous, and that the study of them should be permitted only to mystics of ripe experience. At first sight, it seems hard to reconcile Ibn al-ʻArabī's extreme conservatism in the sphere of religious law with his remarkably bold and fantastic speculations in the domain of theosophy. He belonged to the Ẓāhirite school, which rejects opinion, analogy, and authority, and takes its stand on the external (*ẓāhir*), literal meaning of the Qurʼān and the traditions. But, while his attitude in regard to legal and ritual practice was that of the literalist (*ẓāhirī*), who looks only at the outward form, in all matters of doctrine and belief he was pre-eminently the mystic (*bāṭinī*), who fixes his gaze on the inward spirit and seeks to discover the reality of which the words and letters are a symbol. As I. Goldziher has shown (*Die Ẓâhiriten*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 179 ff.), the two points of view are not mutually exclusive. The Ẓāhirite practice appealed to many Ṣūfīs, who found in it an expression of their own dislike for the hair-splitting pedantry of the rival schools of law, for the acceptance of external authority as the standard of truth, and for the method of logical demonstration as opposed to intuitive knowledge.

Ibn al-‘Arabī, like other Ṣūfīs before and after him, endeavours to combine the Ash‘arite theology with philosophical ideas which, in his case, are mainly derived from Plotinus and the Neo-Platonic circle. Thus he has to deal with two different conceptions of God: (1) the Allāh of the Qur’ān, endowed with attributes that are superadded to His essence, and (2) the One Being which is devoid of every attribute, quality, and relation, and which is all that exists. His God retains the attributes of Allāh, but these are reduced to mere relations, having no real existence; hence, although they are the archetypes of the sensible world, they do not affect the essential unity of God, in whom all contraries are identified. In his attempt to explain how plurality can proceed from the Simple One, Ibn al-‘Arabī employs the same metaphors as Plotinus, his favourite illustration being the diffusion of light. The intelligible world is constituted by a series of seven realities: (1) God, the One Essence; (2) the First Intelligence or Universal Reason, which comprises every species of divine knowledge and, in Qur’ānic language, is the Pen that inscribes on the Tablet of Universal Soul the divine ideas whereof created things are a copy; (3) Universal Soul; (4) Universal Nature; (5) Universal Matter; (6) Universal Body; (7) Universal Figure. The entire phenomenal universe is the manifestation of those realities, which, before their manifestation, exist potentially—or, as Ibn al-‘Arabī says, are non-existent—in the luminous darkness that hides eternally the essence of the Godhead. Manifestation involves relativity, and the relation of the universe to God is that of the determined to the Absolute, of the shadow to the sun. All existence is constituted by form (*ṣūrah*) and spirit (*rūḥ*). Form answers to the Aristotelian definition of matter; *i.e.*, it is essentially potential and imperfect. Spirit, on the other hand, is what Aristotle calls ‘form,’ the principle that gives reality and perfection to the forms produced by Universal Nature, which take their place in the order of existence according to their capacity for receiving and manifesting the life of the Universal Spirit that animates the whole. Of these forms the highest is man, who, in virtue of the microcosmic function assigned to him by his Creator, unites and displays all the divine names and attributes, so that he is the mirror in which God beholds and reveals Himself as He really is. This description refers only to the supreme type of humanity, ‘the perfect man’ (*al-insān al-kāmil*), whom Ibn al-‘Arabī identifies with Adam as representing the class of men—prophets, saints, and theosophists—that possess a unique knowledge of God (*Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, ch. i.; cf. *EI*, art. ‘al-Insān al-Kāmil’). Knowledge is a process of reminiscence. In proportion as each particular soul is purified, it receives illumination from Universal Reason by means of revelation (*waḥy*), and from Universal Soul by means of inspiration (*ilhām*). The organ of this knowledge is the reasonable soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiqah*), which must be distinguished from the vital or animal soul (*al-rūḥ al-ḥayawānī*). While the former has only an accidental connexion with the body and is incapable of sin, the animal soul, though not consciously evil, is naturally corrupt, and suffers punishment for sins committed in the flesh.

The system of Ibn al-‘Arabī may be described as a pantheistic monism. God and the world are two correlative and complementary aspects of one Absolute Reality: the world could not exist apart from God, and, if the world did not exist, God could not be manifested and known. The terms ‘creator’ (*al-Ḥaqq*) and ‘creature’ (*khalq*) are logically involved in one another as moments of the Absolute Being, not indeed of equal worth—since *al-Ḥaqq* is eternal, while *khalq* is contingent (*i.e.* eternal in the knowledge of God, and originated in respect of its manifestation)—but interchangeable subjects of predication (cf. L. Massignon, *Kitāb al-Ṭawāsīn*, Paris, 1912, p. 139 ff.). Ibn al-‘Arabī delights in the daring paradoxes which this line of thought suggests to him—*e.g.*,

> ‘He praises me and I praise Him,
> And He worships me and I worship Him.
> In one state I acknowledge Him,
> But in the objects of sense I deny Him.
> He knows me and I know Him not,
> And I know Him and behold Him.
> How can He be independent,
> When I help and aid Him?
> For that cause God brought me into existence,
> Therefore I know Him and bring Him into existence’
> (*Fuṣūṣ*, Cairo, 1321 A.H., ch. v. p. 78).

Although the contrary might be inferred from some passages of his writings, he makes a distinction between the divine and human natures, and his pantheism does not lead to the doctrine of incarnation (*ḥulūl*) or identification (*ittiḥād*). Man can never say with Ḥallāj, ‘I am God’ (*Ana ’l-Ḥaqq*), because, owing to the constitution of his mind, he is unable to think all objects of knowledge simultaneously, as God thinks them; therefore he is only ‘a truth’ (*ḥaqq*), not ‘the Truth’ (*al-Ḥaqq*), who is the counterpart of the whole universe of created things (cf. Massignon, p. 182 f.).

In view of the scanty attention that Ibn al-‘Arabī has hitherto received from European scholars, it would be impossible to give a detailed account of his doctrines, and premature to make a more definite statement concerning the character of his theosophy as a whole. Much of it, of course, belongs to the common stock of Ṣūfiistic speculation, but there is also a great deal that appears to be original and based upon the immense store of his own mystical experiences, which he has so copiously recorded and analyzed (for his theory of ecstasy and the seven degrees of ‘passing-away’ [*fanā*] which he enumerates, see Asín Palacios, ‘La Psicología segun Mohidín Abenarabi,’ in *Actes du xiv^e Congrès internat. des orientalistes*, iii. 125 ff.). Among the twenty-four heretical doctrines attributed to him by ‘Alī al-Qārī’ (*Risālah fī waḥdat al-wujūd*, Constantinople, 1294 A.H.) the following are noteworthy:

(*a*) That man stands to God in the same relation as the pupil of the eye, which is the instrument of vision, to the eye; *i.e.*, man is the means whereby God beholds His creation and knows Himself; and that we (mankind) are ourselves the attributes with which we endow God—excepting only the attribute of necessary and essential being—so that, ‘when we contemplate Him, we contemplate ourselves, and when He contemplates us, He contemplates Himself’ (*Fuṣūṣ*, ch. i.). Elsewhere Ibn al-‘Arabī says: ‘We are the food that sustains the being of God, and He is our food’—a further instance of the way in which he turns the principle of logical correlation to pantheistic uses.

(*b*) That God is the ‘self’ (‘*ain*) of the things that He brought into existence, for He is the ‘self’ of things in manifestation, though He is not the ‘self’ of things in their essences. Therefore Ibn al-‘Arabī holds that the true mystic, combining the doctrines of *tanzīh* and *tashbīh*, worships God both as absolutely transcendent and as externalized in nature (*Fuṣūṣ*, ch. iii.).

(*c*) That all forms of religious belief are relatively true. This follows from the proposition that God is the ‘self’ of all created things, whether they be sensible or intelligible. Every sectary forms some notion of God, and in praising the god which he has made he praises himself, while at the same time he blames the gods of other sects and individuals. It would be more wise and just if he perceived God in every form and in every belief, according to the verse (Qur’ān, ii. 109), ‘ Wheresoever ye turn, there is the face, *i.e.* the reality, of Allah’ (*Fuṣūṣ*, chs. x. and xxvii.; cf. *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*, Preface, p. vi).

(*d*) That, even if the infidels shall remain in hell for ever, their torments will ultimately be transmuted into such pleasure as is enjoyed by the blessed in paradise. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī develops this theory in his *Insān al-Kāmil* (see the present writer’s article, ‘A Moslem Philosophy of Religion,’ in *Muséon*, 3rd ser. I. i. [1915] 83 ff.). Evidently there is no room in Ibn al-ʿArabī’s system for the Muhammadan scheme of rewards and punishments. The fullness of the divine wisdom as manifested in creation requires that the spiritual capacities of human souls shall be infinitely various, and salvation and perdition are the effects that correspond with the capacity eternally implicit in God’s knowledge of every human soul before its individualization in the material world. Ibn al-ʿArabī proceeds to argue that, inasmuch as knowledge is a relation dependent on the object known, viz. the soul and its potential capacity, each individual is responsible for the good and evil which are produced by that capacity (*Fuṣūṣ*, ch. v.); but in another passage of the same work (ch. viii.) he declares that it is a more profoundly mystical thought to regard the soul as a mode of God, and its recompense as a divine illumination (*tajallī*) in the form of pleasure or pain which are felt by God Himself.

(*e*) That the saints are superior to the prophets. Ibn al-ʿArabī does not state the doctrine in this absolute way. The prophets, he says, may be viewed in three aspects: as apostles, they bring a religious code to their people; as prophets, they inform them about God in proportion to their own knowledge; and, as saints, they pass away in God and abide in Him. Saintship is the inward, mystical, everlasting element in prophecy. Hence the prophet *qua* saint ranks above the prophet *qua* religious legislator or preacher of divine truth (*Fuṣūṣ*, ch. xiv.). According to ʿAlī al-Qārīʾ, Ibn al-ʿArabī claimed to be the Seal of the Saints (*Khātam al-auliyā*), as Muhammad is the Seal of the Prophets.

LITERATURE.—The best general survey of Ibn al-ʿArabī’s theosophy is contained in two papers by Asín Palacios—‘La Psicología segun Mohidín Abenarabi,’ in *Actes du xiv^e Congrès internat. des orientalistes*, Algiers, 1905, iii. 79–150, and ‘Mohidín,’ in *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, Madrid, 1899, ii. 217–256. The latter volume (pp. 191–216) includes an essay by Julián Ribera, ‘Origenes de la filosofía de Raimundo Lulio,’ which gives much information concerning the life of Ibn al-ʿArabī and the influence of his ideas upon those of Lull. See also A. von Kremer, *Gesch. der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, Leipzig, 1868, p. 102 ff.; C. Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Litteratur*, Weimar, 1898–1902, i. 441 ff.; R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, London, 1907, p. 399 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, do. 1903, p. 261 ff.

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MUKTI.—See MOKṢA.

MULLĀ.—*Mullā* is a title of varied usage, given to officials of different ranks, but invariably to men who have received some degree of education in a *madrasah*, or higher mosque school, and hold certificates testifying thereto; it is also a generic term applied to such officials as a class.

Mullā is a proper pronunciation of the Turkish *mevla*, the Arab. *maulā* (lit. ‘lord,’ ‘master,’ ‘patron’; also ‘slave,’ ‘client’; any one standing in any sort of fixed relationship to another); it is used commonly among the Muhammadans of Turkey, Persia, Russia, India, and their spiritual dependencies. In India, however, the form *maulavī* or *mūlvī* is also used in reference to the *mullās* of the lower grades, below the rank of *ʿālim* (plural = *ʿulamā*). The form *mevlānā* (‘our lord’) is applied to the most eminent *ʿulamā*, and also to eminent Ṣūfī leaders. In Turkish a distinction is further made by affixing instead of prefixing *mullā* to the name of a judge of a higher court. In Arabic-speaking countries *mullā* as a generic term is not so frequently used; in the term ‘Mullā of Jerusalem,’ ‘of Cairo,’ ‘of Medīna,’ etc., the reference is to the chief justice of the Muhammadan religious court of each city; while *shaikh*, a title of older usage in Muhammadanism, has persisted especially in application to a religious teacher of authority. The term ‘Mad Mulla’ has sometimes been applied to certain fanatical religious leaders in India and the Sūdān who, having proclaimed themselves the *Mahdī* (*q.v.*), have led revolts against the established government.

The characteristics of the *mullās* as a class are determined largely by the education which they receive. The ranks are recruited normally from the lower, less often from the middle, classes. Between the ages of eleven and fifteen, having passed through the *maktab* (‘elementary school’), students are admitted as *softas* (‘undergraduates’) to the *madrasah* (higher mosque school). The curriculum offers training mainly in dialectics, theology, and the canon law based on the Qur’ān and traditions (*ḥadīth*); it is that of a theological seminary of the orthodox type. The Oriental languages are also taught, and in previous centuries there were *mullās* who became famous in the field of *belles-lettres*; but in more recent times the graduates have been only lawyer-theologians. The complete curriculum requires at least fifteen, in practice generally eighteen, years for fulfilment; but very few students succeed in completing the course and passing the various examinations which entitle them to a place in the higher ranks of the *ʿulamā* and to appointment to the higher judicial and university positions. Owing to the Oriental veneration for scholars, as well as to certain privileges which they enjoy (such as exemption from military service, and free, though very simple, food and lodgings), many students enter the *madrasah* who are physically unable to bear the hardships of the student life and mentally unfitted for the full curriculum. Accordingly, the majority leave the *madrasah* after from one to five years of study, during which any tendency to independent thought and investigation has been discouraged and a blind devotion to traditional Muhammadanism has been made the fixed principle of life. At the end of each year’s work or the completion of each professor’s course, the student receives a certificate testifying to his fitness to hold some position demanding that amount of learning. Leaving the *madrasah*, he is now in the *mullā* class, and receives the support of that class in the appointment to some minor office, generally in some village or small town in the provinces. He may become an *imām*, ‘leader in prayer’ (though this office is not reserved exclusively for the *mullā* class), or a teacher in a primary school (and the incapacity of such teachers in the Orient is proverbial), or a lecturer in some small *madrasah*, or even a judge of one of the minor courts. It is the *mullā* as provincial mosque preacher who is regarded as typical of the class. Once in office, the *mullā* is sure of a position for life, though he may be transferred from one school or mosque to another.

Without any fixed organization, the *mullās* nevertheless form almost a caste; they are distinguished by the large turban and the flowing robe, though neither is prescribed. In influence over the masses and in devotion to formal religion, the *mullā* class has often been likened to a priesthood —a comparison which fails in accuracy only in so far as the *mullā* receives no special consecration to office, does not in any way replace the individual in offering prayer or sacrifice, cannot grant absolution, and performs no necessary part in the rites connected with birth, circumcision, marriage, or death. But, in being the teacher of these rights and duties and the accepted adviser in questions of faith as well as of daily life, the *mullā* considers himself in a position above that of the other Oriental clergy—whose equal at least he generally is in learning and whose superior he is in the persuasive powers of his dialectics.

In their conservative and reactionary tendencies the *mullās* have generally given their support to the absolutism of temporal authorities—in Turkey especially to the Sulṭān as head of both the Church and the State—and they have opposed the introduction of Western culture as encouraging religious indifferentism and ceremonial laxity, and as substituting rationalism for their own fatalism. In Persia, however, where the Shīʿitic form of Muhammadanism prevails, and where, consequently, the temporal ruler is not regarded as the head of the Church, the *mullās* often exercise their popular power against the State authority, matching the despotism of the latter with their own extreme fanaticism. There the house of the *mullā*, like mosques and shrines in all Muhammadan lands, is an inviolable place of refuge; and Persian *mullās* have often been charged with harbouring outlaws, whose services they have then used in furthering their own designs. The power of the *mullās* is sometimes checked to a certain extent by that of the dervish orders, and in Turkey, India, and Egypt by the secular courts instituted in more recent times to administer the so-called ʿ*urf* ('customary law').

The *mullās* in general, being sincere in their devotion to their calling, are seldom guilty of infractions of the moral law; indeed, they have generally been held to contrast favourably with the lower priesthood of other faiths. Moral probity is less marked among the Persian *mullās*, however, who, at heart more devoted to Persian poetry than to Muhammadan theology, hold their own functions in light esteem. In one respect, too, the *mullās* everywhere, especially those who fill the office of minor judge, are not above reproach; inasmuch as the stipend furnished by the mosque endowments, and official salaries in general, are very small, the practice of usury and acceptance of bribes is frequent—an abuse which early Muhammadanism attempted to avoid by the principle that religious teachers should always have some other means of gaining a livelihood.

Despite the reactionary tendencies and the corruptibility generally ascribed to the *mullā*, the history of Muhammadanism contains the names of many *mullās* conspicuous for nobility of character and devotion to absolute justice, who have risked their lives to rebuke the corruption and tyranny of rulers. To-day, too, the number of clear-headed, honest leaders among the Turkish, Arabic, and Indian ʿ*ulamā* is steadily increasing; not a few *softas* have been sent from Turkey to receive part of their education in Europe; in India the *mūlvīs* have sometimes warmly advocated the innovations of the English; and everywhere in the larger cities subjected to European influence the traditional type of *mullā* is being combated by advanced Muhammadans who, even when they are rationalists, at the same time deny that they are guilty of any defection from the fundamental principles of Muhammadanism; and fatalism is often taught, practically if not logically, as a doctrine which induces fortitude in bearing the accidents and misfortunes of life, without permitting the cessation of righteous endeavour in any cause as long as Allāh has not shown, by making its failure a *fait accompli*, that His will and decree are opposed thereto.

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